

Etymological
Dictionary
of the Iranian Verb



Johnny Cheung

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Etymological Dictionary of the Iranian Verb

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Alexander Lubotsky

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By
Johnny Cheung



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FOREWORD

The realisation of this work, “Etymological Dictionary of the Iranian Verb”, started with a grant from the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) for a project in 2000. This project was part of a larger etymological dictionary project, the Indo-European Etymological Dictionary research project (<http://www.ieed.nl>), directed by professor Alexander Lubotsky of the Department of Comparative Linguistics (VTW). The task was to compile a database that contained all Iranian verbal forms possibly traceable to Proto-Indo-European (in practice, Proto-Iranian) and, in due course, to publish it as a book. The project ended in 2003. Meanwhile, I accepted a position at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. The date for the publication was put on hold, until last year, when Brill Publishers, Leiden, expressed interest to publish this work. This willingness gave me an incentive to scrutinise the database afresh. Naturally, after such a long pause, I discovered many errors and shortcomings in the reconstruction and analysis of forms. I have revised many records of the database and incorporated (recent) literature that I had overlooked sofar. Although I do not have the illusion that the present work is now free of inconsistencies, not to mention mistakes and omissions, I do hope that it will still prove useful for Indo-Europeanists and Sanskritists, for whom many Iranistic publications are often inaccessible or simply unknown, and Iranisants, who may not have detailed knowledge about the huge strides that Indo-Europeanists have made in the past forty years.

It goes without saying that the completion of the “Etymological Dictionary of the Iranian Verb” was not possible without the help and support from several institutions and persons. It is only appropriate to acknowledge in the first place the financial support given by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research. Further, I am grateful to the Department of Comparative Linguistics of my *Alma Mater*, Leiden University. It provided me with a congenial environment in which I was able to work and exchange views with its staff members. The physical finalisation of these years of toil and labour must be credited to Brill Publishers, who have kindly agreed to publish it in their “Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series”. Also, I would like to warmly thank the Ancient India and Iran Trust (Cambridge, UK), which, at the final stage of the work, became an extremely convenient place for consulting books and articles from its very well-stocked library, at practically any time of the day. Only rarely could I not find a particular reference.

In addition, it is my great pleasure to acknowledge the help and kind suggestions of the following persons. Above all, I am heavily indebted to my friend and former supervisor Alexander Lubotsky, whose constant help and encouragement made the realisation of the “Etymological Dictionary of the Iranian Verb” possible. I simply

cannot thank him enough for the time and meticulous attention which he has so kindly and unsparingly devoted not only to me but also to the progress of this work. Many of the Indo-European or Indo-Iranian etymologies cited in the Dictionary have gone through his critical eye, which has graciously saved me from not a few errors and far-fetched etymologies. Only in some instances this has been explicitly indicated by the abbreviation A.L. or Lubotsky in the dictionary part. Also, he took on the rather laborious task to proofread and edit the whole manuscript: my most sincere and heartfelt gratitude to him must be expressed here again. Secondly, I am most grateful to Nicholas Sims-Williams, who has pointed out to me some of the mistakes and errors which have crept into the Dictionary, and suggested several important references which I had overlooked sofar. His contributions have been indicated by S-W. Of course, I bear full responsibility of any errors or omissions still found in the work. Thanks are also due to my former Leiden colleagues, Rick Derksen, Alwin Kloekhorst, Guus Kroonen, Hrach Martirosyan, Michael Peyrot and Michiel de Vaan, for checking the indices. Last but not least, warm thanks should also go to Sjoerd Siebinga and especially Jasper May, who have spent a lot of time on the conversion of the original database format to a readable and publishable book. Jasper May has been so kind to compile the indices of forms, to which I have added the English-Iranian index.

J.C.

Cambridge, 2006

INTRODUCTION¹

1.0. *Overview and aim*

For a very long time, a dictionary which incorporates all Iranian languages has been a desideratum. For the time being we are still awaiting the arrival of a comprehensive dictionary which would be the Iranistic equivalent of Pokorny's famous "Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch" (*IEW*), although the eminent Russian Iranists V.S. Rastorgueva[†] and D.I. Edel'man have started compiling an "Etymological Dictionary of the Iranian Languages" ("Ètimologičeskij slovar' iranskix jazykov", *ESLJa*). The first volume starting with *a - ā* appeared in 2000. Since then, a second volume, *b - d*, was published in 2003. Regrettably, they have ignored any progress in the research of Indo-European linguistics since Julius Pokorny. It is hoped that despite the passing of one of the editors we may be able to see the completion of their work. The arrival of such a comprehensive work is long overdue, considering the wealth of publications that have shed light on so many Middle and New Iranian languages barely known to many non-Iranists or even to not a few Iranists as well. And in fact we are not devoid of etymological dictionaries for Iranian. A milestone in lexical-historical research of any Iranian language is the publication of the "Historical-Etymological Dictionary of Ossetic" ("Istoriko-ètimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka") by the late Ossetian scholar Vassilij Abaev, who completed this *opus magnum* in four decades. Another great accomplishment is the "Dictionary of Khotan Saka" (*DKS*) by the late Sir Harold W. Bailey, equally relevant for the linguistically oriented Iranist. Of a much more modest scope, yet certainly not to be overlooked, is Georg Morgenstierne's "Etymological Vocabulary of the Shughni Group" (*EVS*). Other etymological dictionaries for other languages have appeared since. Ivan Steblin-Kamenskij completed his "Etymological Dictionary of the Wakhi Language" ("Ètimologičeskij slovar' vaxanskogo jazyka") in 1999, whereas R.L. Cabolov[†] treated the entries from A to M for Kurdish in his "Etymological Dictionary of the Kurdish Language" ("Ètimologičeskij slovar' kurdsckogo jazyka"), which appeared in 2001. Gharib's "Sogdian Dictionary" published in 1995 may be helpful to historical linguists, too, although its aim is not etymological. It does regularly refer to other Iranian cognate forms. Recently, Joseph Elfenbein completed "A New Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto Compiled and Edited from the Papers of Georg Morgenstierne", which was initiated by the late Neil MacKenzie, and finally published in 2003. As for Persian, notably New Persian, disappointingly little has been published since Paul Horn's

¹ This introduction is the revised and expanded paper I gave at the Conference of the Societas Iranologica Europaea, Ravenna 2003. Since 2003 many important works, which had to be included in my Dictionary, have been published.

“Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie” from 1893, especially when we consider the prominence of Persian language and culture within the Iranian group. For the time being we have to be content with glossaries with etymological elucidations and articles from journals and periodicals. Some attempts have been made or are still made to come up with a comprehensive work. For example, Leonard Hertenberg has been working on a full etymological dictionary of New Persian for some time now.

1.1. *Scope*

The present dictionary has a limited scope, only the attested verbal² Proto-Iranian³ roots and their continuations are treated. The verbal forms present a rather manageable category that is relatively immune to (inner-Iranian) borrowing. Also, possible loanwords are easier to detect, as the verbal paradigm in most Iranian languages requires a separate present / past stem for the formation of the tenses: borrowed verbs therefore tend to have analytic or periphrastic present / past stems. In some instances I have separated forms that, although originally derived from a single root, clearly show a well-developed semantic differentiation of presumably Proto-Iranian date. I have avoided the reconstruction of roots that are solely supported by nominal (I)Ir. continuations.

Several major Iranological reference works have been incorporated systematically throughout the book. For Avestan I have perused Jean Kellens, “Liste du verbe avestique” (*Liste*) and for Old Persian the classic handbook of Roland Kent, “Old Persian”. Ronald Emmerick, “Saka Grammatical Studies” (*SGS*), has been consulted for Khotanese, whilst for the Choresmian forms, the standard work of M. Samadi, “Das chwaresmische Verbum”, has been used. For Middle Western Iranian, liberal use of the recently published and already indispensable reference work of Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, “Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian” (*DMMPP*) has been made. I have also gleaned from the works mentioned in 1.0.

Finally, with regard to modern Iranian languages I had to limit myself to a representative selection of Eastern and Western languages, such as Ossetic, Shughni, Wakhi, Yagnobi, Pashto, New Persian, Balochi, Kurdish, and several modern dialects of Iran. Also Ormuri and Parachi forms have been frequently cited. Three important, recently published, contributions to the research of modern Ir. languages (not mentioned above) should not go unnoticed here, viz. Pierre Lecoq, “Recherches sur les dialectes kermaniens (Iran Central)” (2002), Charles Kiefer, “Grammaire de l’ormurī de Baraki-Barak (Lōgar, Afghanistan)” (2003), and last, but not least,

² This also includes originally nominal roots that became verbal in Proto-(Indo-)Iranian.

³ This postulated ancestral language forms together with Indo-Aryan (and the little known group of languages spoken in Nuristan, Afghanistan) the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family.

Agnes Korn, “Towards a Historical Grammar of Balochi” (2005). Their works have been incorporated in the *Dictionary* as well.⁴

In addition, Iranian forms that have been borrowed (cited as such) in other languages have been referred to as well⁵. The provenance of a root has been assessed by comparing it in the first place to the attested Sanskrit form, as treated in Mayrhofer’s reference work, “Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindiarischen” (*EWaia*). Further afield, the possible Indo-European origin of the (Indo-)Iranian forms has been critically evaluated with the “Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben” (*LIV*) and *IEW* taken as reference.

1.2. Challenges and obstacles

As with other etymological dictionaries that contain vast amounts of languages and/or their attested forms, it can only be expected that the present Dictionary will have its own share of errors and misquoted forms. In some instances, the interpretation or allocation of the roots/forms may be disputed. This work should therefore be regarded, in the first place, as a *starting* point for future research. Copious bibliographical references have been given for this purpose, roughly in chronological order. At the present moment, the *definitive* edition of a well-balanced etymological dictionary of the Iranian languages is still hampered by several obstacles:

- our understanding of the Avestan texts is still imperfect, many passages have not received a satisfactory interpretation;
- the absence of a comprehensive Pahlavi dictionary, which cannot be realised when so many Pahlavi texts, especially the Pahlavi commentary on the Avesta, are still unpublished;
- the research on the modern Iranian dialects of notably Iran, Afghanistan and Tajikistan shows many gaps, the “dialects” may yet yield archaic forms that are not attested in the older Iranian languages, especially in the daily life vocabulary;⁶
- a comprehensive, analytic Sogdian dictionary is wanting;
- a comprehensive etymological dictionary of New Persian has yet to appear.

⁴ I have further used on a large scale the dialect descriptions of Oskar Mann (“Kurdisch-persische Forschungen” = *KPF*), Arthur Christensen (“Contributions à la dialectologie iranienne”), R. Abrahamian (“Dialectologie iranienne, dialectes des israelites de Hamadan et d’Ispahan, et dialecte de Baba Tahir”), W. Eilers (“Westiranische Mundarten”) and “Jagnobskie teksty” by M.S. Andreev and E.M. Peščereva.

⁵ Not included are the most recent, mainly New Persian, borrowings in languages such as Turkish, Uzbek, Urdu-Hindi, Indonesian, etc.

⁶ I only recently discovered that the root **gar*³ ‘to be/make warm’ has been preserved as verb in Oss. (*ænzaryn*) and several modern dialects spoken in Iran. Also the informal form NP *šāš* ‘pee’ has a more ancient pedigree than previously thought, once the connection with Av. *šā-* ‘to defecate’ is recognised.

It is for this reason that I have reconstructed Iranian roots that are sometimes based on little data, as it cannot be excluded that in the future one would find more, perhaps even more convincing, cognate forms.

1.3. *Methodology*

The roots have been reconstructed according to the principles of comparative (Indo-)Iranian and Indo-European philology. It is inevitable that, as with many other works, this Dictionary has a certain degree of bias towards a particular theory or school, whether intentional or not. The results of the laryngeal theory⁷, which is now generally accepted among Indo-Europeanists, have been systematically incorporated in the present work. It is conceivable though that in some instances and positions the laryngeal **H* that has been reconstructed for Proto-Iranian has already disappeared at this stage, as can be observed in (Old) Avestan, our most archaic representative of the Iranian language group. With regard to the (non-)Indo-European etymology assigned to the (Indo-)Iranian forms in the major handbooks and recent articles I have tried to assess the assumptions made from the different perspectives of Iranists and Indo-Europeanists. For instance, numerous IE etymologies suggested or cited in the *DKS* proved to be untenable for Indo-Europeanists and should therefore be discarded.⁸ On the other hand, several wrongly interpreted Iranian forms have found their way in Pokorny's *IEW* and, recently, *LIV*.⁹

1.4. *The reconstructed phonemes*

The phonemes of the Iranian roots have been reconstructed on the basis of evidence provided by the Iranian languages and also, if attested, their Indo-Aryan (mainly Sanskrit) cognates.

The postulation of **H* in Proto-(Indo-)Iranian has sometimes far-reaching consequences. The previously reconstructed **ī* and **ū* can now be analysed as **iH* and **uH* respectively. Other implications are that a root cannot begin with a vowel or (old) **r* and all ablaut series consist of the pattern, full grade **aC*, lengthened **āC* and zero **∅C* (*C* also includes **H*, **j* and **y*).¹⁰

⁷ The main tenet of the laryngeal theory is the existence of three kinds of laryngeals, **H₁*, **H₂* and **H₃* in the Indo-European proto-language. These three laryngeals would have merged in a single laryngeal **H* in Proto-(Indo-)Iranian.

⁸ Bailey's Indo-European reconstructions are not seldom based on isolated or even obscure Khotanese forms with no further (Indo-)Iranian correspondences.

⁹ A good example is the citation of BSogd. 'y'np as an Ir. continuation of IE **H₃iebh-* 'to have sexual intercourse', based on an erroneous meaning given by Henning 1939: 103, viz. 'to commit adultery'. The Sogd. form should rather mean 'to seduce, pervert' and probably be connected to an IE root **iebh^(w)-* 'to go (slowly)', on which see the entry **ia(m)b/p*.

¹⁰ For further details on the development of the Proto-Indo-European laryngeals in Proto-(Indo-)Iranian see the most recent publication of Manfred Mayrhofer, *Die Fortsetzung der indogermanischen Laryngale im Indo-Iranischen* (Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Klasse 730), Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005.

The diphthongs **au*, **ai*, etc. have been left out as they are actually combinations of two phonemes. The phonemic status of **ž* and **l* is doubtful.

Inventory of the Proto-Iranian phonemes

<i>Vowels:</i>		i		u		
			a			
			ā			
<i>Stops:</i>						
	<i>voiceless</i>	p		t		k
	<i>voiced</i>		b		d	g
<i>Fricatives:</i>		f		θ		x
<i>Affricates:</i>						
	<i>voiceless</i>		č			
	<i>voiced</i>			ǰ		
<i>Sibilants:</i>						
	<i>voiceless</i>		š	s		
	<i>voiced</i>			(ž)	z	
<i>Liquids:</i>		m			n	r (l)
<i>Semi-vowels:</i>		ɤ		i		
<i>Laryngeals:</i>			h			H

1.5. Presentation

The lemmata are the Proto-Iranian roots that have been reconstructed from the evidence of the attested Iranian languages. These reconstructed roots are presented in their full grade form (except in instances where there is no evidence for this ablaut) and sorted according to the order of the Latin alphabet. The letters with diacritics (haček, macron) are placed after their simple equivalents, **θ* after **t* and **H* after **h*. The attested prefixed formations of the roots are clearly marked. The languages are presented roughly in order of age and importance, similar to the presentation in the “Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum” (*CLI*): the oldest first (Avestan, Old Persian), followed by the Middle Iranian languages (Middle Persian, Parthian, Khotanese, Sogdian, etc.) and the New Iranian languages, the most prominent members first (New Persian, Kurdish and so on), finally followed by the Sanskrit cognate (if attested) and the (non-)Indo-European provenance with additional remarks and observations. This is completed by further bibliographical references (especially those not mentioned in the main entries).

The entries of each language (or cluster of languages) are given as follows. For Avestan and Old Persian, the (postulated) full grade root is given, except in instances where such a root form is impossible as can be inferred from, for instance,

the Sanskrit correspondence. As to the Middle Iranian languages, the usual practice is observed here: the entries are represented in their present stem (if attested), except for Choresmian, which has mainly imperfect forms. The entries of the modern Iranian languages are also accompanied by their preterite / past stems, which are often in the guise of the infinitive or past participle. Nominal formations are sometimes cited in addition, particularly in the absence of verbal finite forms.

In the case of the extinct languages, references to the textual passages are also given. For Avestan and Old Persian, every effort has been made to be complete, on account of their importance for the reconstruction of Proto-Iranian: every attested form may be relevant. As to the Middle Iranian languages, this either proves to be superfluous (since they can be found in the standard handbooks) or it was more time consuming to compile and correct the attested forms than anticipated initially. For the Middle West Iranian and Sogdian I have decided just to indicate how widespread or scarce the attested verbal forms are.

1.6. *Formal and semantic aspects*

Many Iranian roots reconstructed here show great similarity in meaning and form. Already Hermann Güntert, *Über Reimwortbildungen im Arischen und Altgriechischen* (1914) signalled a remarkable number of these so-called “rhyming formations” or *Reimwortbildungen* in (Indo-)Iranian: Skt. *ched* / *bhed* = Ir. **said* / **baid* ‘to split’, Skt. *srav* / *plav* = Ir. **hrau* / **frau*² ‘to flow’, Skt. *kram* / *gam* / *dram* = Ir. **xramH* / **gam*¹ / **dram* ‘to go, run, walk’. In several cases this may be coincidental, but especially for the following roots that lack a convincing IE etymology one may assume a secondary origin, possibly having arisen as the result of contamination in Proto-Indo-Iranian or, at a later stage, Proto-Iranian: **rauč* / **sauč* ‘to burn, light’, **raiθ*¹ / **frait/θ* ‘to die, decompose’, **čaud* / **paud* ‘to run’.

The assignment of the meaning to the roots quite often proves to be complicated (cf. *ESIJ*a I: 17 ff.). I have decided not only to look at the meanings exhibited by the Old Iranian languages (and/or Sanskrit) primarily, but also to weigh in the meanings of the later Iranian languages. In many instances we see quite noticeable differences among the languages. The solutions have been either to reconstruct a separate (homonymous) root that would cover a specific meaning shown by several languages, e.g. **baud*² ‘to smell’ (**baud*¹ ‘to feel, sense’), **gaH*² ‘to have sexual intercourse’ (**gaH*¹ ‘to enter’), or to reconstruct a tentative, primordial meaning from which the meanings of these languages could have developed, notably **zarH*³ ‘to bewail the deceased’, **čarH* ‘to come and go, wander’. This approach is admittedly subjective, but I believe this is preferable to a long catalogue of meanings assigned to the root. In some instances the semantic deviation displayed by a particular form is such that it is more likely that it has a different provenance altogether. This form is preceded by a query in the Dictionary.

In a number of roots the semantic shift or departure from the original, inherited IE meaning can be explained in terms of euphemistic usage, notably **HraiH* ‘to

defecate’ < *‘to flow’, **tarp* ‘to steal’ < *‘to enjoy’ and **raiθ* ‘to die’ < *‘to pass’. In other instances a root with a particular semantic specialisation may have largely replaced the older, inherited etymon, being considered rather inappropriate or uncouth, e.g. **gaH²* (developed from **gaH¹*) has replaced **H₁ab* (Gr. ὄφω, Russ. *ebát*). It is also interesting to note that the old IE “eat”-root (**H₁ed-*, Skt. *ad*, Gr. ἔδμενοι, Lat. *edere*, Goth. *itan*, etc.) has been supplanted by **h₂ar³*, which originally meant ‘to take’ and has developed the secondary meaning ‘to partake, eat, consume’ (**h₂ar¹*).¹¹

1.7. Stem formations

Some Iranian roots actually go back to specific IE stem formations (cf. *LIV*: 10 ff.), which may not always have an exact IE correspondence. The following roots go back to such an older stem:

*-*so*, e.g. **baxš* ‘to divide, apportion’ (cf. **baǵ* ‘to divide’), **H₁raxš* ‘to protect, defend’ (Gr. ἀλέξω ‘I ward off, defend’);

*-*d^ho*, e.g. **fraHd* ‘to increase’ (Gr. πλήθω ‘I fill up’), **pazd* ‘to cause to thread, go’ (cf. **pad* ‘to fall, stuck in’ < *‘to thread, go’);

reduplicative, e.g. *čas¹* ‘to teach, show’, **HaHh* ‘to be seated, sit’ (Gr. ἠσται ‘he sits’).

*-*eH₁*, one certain example: **darH* ‘to have pain’ (Lat. *doleō* ‘I suffer, am in pain’)

1.8. Denominatives

In several instances originally nominal roots or formations became deverbal in Indo-Iranian or Iranian, e.g. **diHp* ‘to shine, light up’ (Skt. *dīp*), **uai(H)n* ‘to see’ (Skt. *ven*) and **rauxšn* ‘to shine’.

1.9. Provenance and substrate

A substantial part of the Iranian vocabulary cannot be traced back to Proto-Indo-European. Many of these forms, both verbal and nominal, are exclusively Indo-Iranian. In the 1999 conference in Helsinki, Lubotsky (2001) argued that they might be loan words from an unknown language spoken in the towns of Central Asia in the second millennium BCE (p. 306). Iranian verbs, such as **baru²* ‘to chew, swallow’ (Skt. *bharv*), **gauš* ‘to hear’ (Skt. *ghoṣ*) and **nard* ‘to lament, moan’ (Skt. *nard*), would have been borrowed from this “substratum”.

Several roots are common Iranian without any known (or indisputable) etymology. Either they were borrowed from this non-Indo-European substrate language during the common Indo-Iranian period (the absence of a Sanskrit cognate would be purely coincidental) or they arose only during the Proto-Iranian phase (due to local borrowing, taboo, interference from semantically similar roots, blending,

¹¹ Traces of the IE “eat”-root have been preserved in a few nominal forms, notably NP *aspat* ‘lucerne’, Oss. I. *ad*, D. *adæ* ‘taste’.

etc.). Examples are *čaxš ‘to drip, sip, eat’, *šar¹ ‘to shame, be ashamed’, *gaub ‘to say’, *h₂ah ‘to strike, thresh’ and *xar ‘to go, pass’.

A few reconstructed roots are attested only in a limited area, for instance, exclusively in West Iranian or East Iranian. It cannot be excluded therefore that these roots are not of Proto-Iranian date, notably, *dauč ‘to sew’, *fan ‘to move, pass (time ?)’ and *gāz ‘to receive, accept’.

1.10. *Transcription*

The romanized transcription of the Iranian forms follows the practice as established among Iranists for the respective languages. I have generally adopted the spelling of the forms as transcribed in recently published major handbooks, cf. *ESLJa* I: 30 and Korn 2005: 29 ff.

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

SYMBOLS

C	consonant	*	reconstructed form
T	stop	**	hypothetical form
H	laryngeal	< >	graphemic representation
R	resonant (esp. l, r)	[]	phonetic representation
N	nasal	//	phonemic representation
V	vowel	°	part of (pre)form
∅	zero (ending)	+	and later (Skt.)
<	developed from	◇	comment
>	developed into	+	emended reading of a form
<<	analogically replacing	x	tentative reading of a form
>>	replaced analogically by		

ABBREVIATIONS OF LANGUAGES

Abd.	Kurdish dialect of Abdui
Abkh.	Abkhaz
Abyan.	dialect of Abyāneh
Abz.	dialect of Abuzeydābād
Aeol.	Aeolic Greek
Afr.	Pashto dialect of Afridi
Aft.	dialect of Aftar
Akkad.	Akkadian
Alb.	Albanian
Alem.	Alemannic German
Anar.	dialect of Anārak
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	(classical) Aramaic
Ard.	dialect of Ārdestān
Arm.	Armenian
Asht.	dialect of Āštiyān
Att.	Attic Greek
Av.	Avestan
Awrom.	Awromani (dialect of Hawramān)
Babyl.	Babylonian
Bactr.	Bactrian
Baj.	Shughni dialect of Bajui
Bajal.	Gurani dialect of Bājalān
Bakht.	Lori dialect of Bakhtiari
Bal.	Balochi (= Baluchi)
Bart.	Bartangi
Bashk.	Bashkardi (dialect of Baškard)
Blruss.	Byelorussian
BMP	Book Pahlavi / Zoroastrian Middle Persian
Brah.	Brahui
Bret.	Breton
BSkt.	Buddhist Sanskrit
BSogd.	Sogdian in Buddhist texts
Bulg.	Bulgarian
Cha.	Tati dialect of Čāli
Chor.	Choresmian = Khwarezmian
Chuv.	Chuvash
CS	Church Slavonic
CSogd.	Sogdian in Christian texts
Cz.	Czech
D.	Digoron Ossetic

Dan.	Tati dialect of Dānesfān	Ir.	Iranian
Dard.	Dardic	Isfah.	dialect of Isfahan
Delij.	dialect of Delijān	Ishk.	Ishkashimi
Dor.	Doric Greek	Ital.	Italian
Du.	(modern) Dutch	Jow.	dialect of Jowšaqān
Ebr.	Tati dialect of Ebrāhimābād	Judeo-	(pref.) an Ir. dialect spoken by Jewish communities
EHB	Eastern Hills Balochi dialect	Kafr.	dialect of Kafrōn
EIr.	East Iranian	Kand.	Gurani dialect of Kandūleh
El-OP	Old Persian in Elamite texts	Kesh.	dialect of Kešeh
Engl.	(modern) English	Khetr.	Khetrani
Esh.	Tati dialect of Eštehārd	Khf.	Khufi
Fariz.	dialect of Farizand	Khor.	dialect of Khorasan
Fr.	French	Khot.	Khotanese
Gab.	Gabri	Khow.	Khowari
Gahv.	Gurani dialect of Gahvāreh	Khr.	dialect of Khur
Gall.	Gallic	Khuns.	Khunsari (dialect of Xūnsār)
Georg.	Georgian	Kor.	Zazaki dialect of Kor
Germ.	Germanic	Kumz.	Kumzari
Gh.	Gheg Albanian	Kurd.	Kurdish
Gil.	Gilaki	Kurm.	Kurmanji Kurdish
Goth.	Gothic	Lah.	Lahnda
Gr.	(Ancient) Greek	Langob.	Langobardian
Gur.	Gurani	Lasg.	dialect of Lāsgard
Gz.	dialect of Gaz	Lat.	Latin
Ham.	dialect of Hamedan	Latv.	Latvian
Harz.	Tati dialect of Harzan(d)	Lith.	Lithuanian
Hebr.	Hebrew	LKh.	Late Khotanese
Hi.	Hindi	Lor.	Lori
Hitt.	Hittite	Luw.	Luwian
HLuw.	Hieroglyphic Luwian	Lyc.	Lycian (A, B)
Hom.	Homeric Greek	Lyd.	Lydian
Hung.	Hungarian	M.	Munji
I.	Iron Ossetic	Mah.	dialect of Mahallāt
IAr.	Indo-Aryan	Mand.	Mandaic
IE	Indo-European	Maz.	Mazanderani
IIr.	Indo-Iranian	MBret.	Middle Breton
Illyr.	Illyrian	MDu.	Middle Dutch
IMP	Middle Persian in monumental inscriptions	ME	Middle English
Ion.	Ionian Greek dialect	Meim.	dialect of Meime'
IPth.	Parthian in monumental inscriptions	MHG	Middle High German

Mr.	Middle Iranian	Par.	Parachi
MIrish	Middle Irish	Pash.	Pashto
MLG	Middle Low German	Pers.	Persian
MMP	Manichaean Middle Persian	PIE	Proto-Indo-European
MP	Middle Persian	PIIr.	Proto-Indo-Iranian
MSogd.	Sogdian in Manichaean script	PIr.	Proto-Iranian
MWelsh	Middle Welsh	Pkt.	Prākrit
Myc.	Mycenaean Greek	PKurd.	Proto-Kurdish
Natan.	dialect of Natanz	Pol.	Polish
NHG	New High German (= modern German)	POss.	Proto-Ossetic
Nicel.	New Icelandic	PSl.	Proto-Sla(vo)nic
Nn.	dialect of Nāin	Pth.	Parthian
Norw.	Norwegian	Qohr.	dialect of Qohrūd
NP	New Persian	Rosh.	Roshani
OAv.	Old Avestan	Rsht.	Gilaki dialect of Rašt
OCS	Old Church Slavonic	Russ.	Russian
OE	Old English	Sag.	Tati dialect of Sagzābād
OFr.	Old Frankish	Sang.	dialect of Sangesar
OFris.	Old Frisian	Sangl.	Sanglechi
OHG.	Old High German	Sariq.	Sariqoli
OHitt.	Old Hittite	Sarm.	Sarmatian
OIr.	Old Iranian	SCr.	Serbo-Croatian
OIrish.	Old Irish	Sede	dialect of Sedeh
OKh.	Old Khotanese	Semn.	dialect of Semnān
OLat.	Old Latin	Sh.	Shughni
OLith.	Old Lithuanian	Shamerz.	dialect of Šāhmerzād
ON	Old Norse	Si.	Sindhi
OP	Old Persian	Sist.	Sistani
OPhr.	Old Phrygian	Siv.	dialect of Sivand
OPr.	Old Prussian	Siwer.	Zazaki dialect of Siwerek
Orm.	Ormuri	Skt.	Sanskrit
Orosh.	Oroshori (= Roshorvi)	Sl.	Slavic
ORuss.	Old Russian	Slov.	Slovenian
OSax.	Old Saxon	Sogd.	Sogdian
Osc.	Oscan	Sor.	Sorani Kurdish
Oss.	Ossetic	Sorkh.	dialect of Sorxeh
OSwed.	Old Swedish	SSogd.	Sogdian in Sogdian script
Owr.	Tati dialect of Owrazani	Sul.	Kurdish dialect of Sūlaymāniyya (Sorani)
Pahl.	Pahlavi (= BMP)	Syr.	Syriac
Pal.	Palaic	Tadj.	Tadjiki-Persian
Panj.	Panjabi	Tak.	Tati dialect of Tākestān

Tal.	Taleshi	Wai.	Waigali
Thrac.	Thracian	Wan.	Pashto dialect of Wanetsi
Tk.	(a) Turkic (language)	Waz.	Pashto dialect of Waziri
Toch.	Tocharian (A, B)	WIr.	West Iranian
Tr.	dialect of Tār	Xia.	Tati dialect of Xiāraji
Tt.	Tati	Xoz.	Tati dialect of Xoznin
Tumsh.	Tumshuqese Khotanese	Yar.	dialect of Yaran(d)
Udm.	Udmurt	YAv.	Young Avestan
Ukr.	Ukrainian	Yghn.	Yaghnohi
Umb.	Umbrian	Yi.	Yidgha
Varz.	dialect of Varzeneh	Yzd.	dialect of Yazd
Ved.	Vedic	Yzgh.	Yazghulami
Vel.	dialect of Velatru	Zaz.	Zazaki
Von.	dialect of Vōnišun	Zef.	dialect of Zefreh
Wa.	Wakhi	Zor.	Zoroastrian

GRAMMATICAL TERMS

abl.	ablative	desid.	desiderative
Absg.	ablative singular	Dpl.	dative plural
abs.	absolute	Dsg.	dative singular
acc.	accusative	du.	dual
act.	active (voice)	du. tant.	dual only
adess.	adessive	dur.	durative
Adsg.	adessive singular	encl.	enclitic
art.	article	f.	feminine
adv.	adverb	fut.	future (tense)
all.	allative	gen.	genitive
aor.	aorist	Gdu.	genitive dual
ANsg.	accusative-nominative singular	GLsg.	genitive-locative sg.
Apl.	accusative plural	Gsg.	genitive singular
art.	article	Gpl.	genitive plural
Asg.	accusative singular	impf.	imperfect tense
caus.	causative	impv.	imperative
comp.	comparative	inch.	inchoative
conj.	conjunction	ind.	indicative
dat.	dative	indecl.	indeclinable
def.	definite	indef.	indefinite
dem.	demonstrative	inf.	infinitive
denomin.	denominative	inj.	injunctive
		instr.	instrumental

intr.	intransitive	perf.	perfect
Isg.	instrumental singular	pl.	plural
iter.	iterative	pl. tant.	plural only
loc.	locative	postp.	postposition
Lpl.	locative plural	ppp.	passive past participle
Lsg.	locative singular	prec.	precative
m.	masculine	pref.	prefix
med.	middle (voice)	prep.	preposition
n.	neuter	pres.	present (tense)
NAVdu.	nominative-accusative- vocative dual	pron.	pronoun, pronominal
NAsg.	nominative	ptc.	participle
Npl.	nominative plural	sg.	singular
Nsg.	nominative singular	subj.	subjunctive
obl.	oblique	subst.	substantive
opt.	optative	suff.	suffix
partic.	participle	supplet.	suppletive (verb)
pass.	passive (voice)	tr.	transitive
pcl	particle	voc.	vocative

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

A.L.	A. Lubotsky	Hes.	Hesychius
Aog.	Aogemadaēcā	ibid.	at the same place
AV	Atharva-Veda	insc.	inscription(s)
AVP	Paippalāda version of Atharva-Veda	KS	Kāthaka-Saṃhitā
Br.	Brāhmaṇa	Lex.	in lexicographic works
cf.	compare	l.c.	at the cited place
cit.	cited, citations	LW	loan word
class.	classical	MS	Maitrāyaṇīya-Saṃhitā
DB	Darius, Behistun	obs.	obsolete
deriv.	derivative, derivation	P	Pursiśnīhā
Dhā.	Dhātupāṭha	Pind.	Pindar
dial.	dialectal	PN	proper name
Dk.	Dēnkārd	q.v.	see there
DN	Darius, Naqshe- Rostam	RV	Rig-Veda
Ep.	Epic (Sanskrit)	RV+	Rigvedic and later
FrW	Fragment of Westergaard	Shahn.	Shahnameh
		s.v.	see under the lemma
		S-W	N. Sims-Williams

UppInd.	Sogdian inscriptions of the Upper Indus	VS XP	Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā Xerxes, Persepolis
V	Vīdēvdād	Y	Yasna
VdPZ	Pahl. comment of Vīdēvdād	Yt YV	Yašt Yajur-Veda
Vr.	Vīspereḍ	Z(amb.)	Book of Zambasta

Etymological Dictionary of the Iranian Verb

B

***baH** ‘to shine’

•AVESTAN: (+ *ā-) ? YAv. *auuā-* ‘to have the appearance of, be like’ || (+ *fra-) *frauuā-* ‘to shine’ || (+ *ni-) ? YAv. *-niuūā-* ‘to radiate downwards’ || (+ *ui-) YAv. *viuuā-* ‘to shine forth’ (cf. Forssman 2000: 104) || (+ *ui-ā-) YAv. *viūuuā-* ‘to be luminous’ ⇒ Liste: 38

Pres.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *frauuāiti* (Yt 14.13), YAv. *viuuāiti* (Yt 8.40); Partic.: pres. YAv. *auuāntəm* (Yt 8.50), YAv. *viūuuant-* (Yt 8.2), YAv. *rāmaniuuā* (Yt 8.9). ◇ YAv. *auuāntəm* shows shortening of initial (prev.) ā-?, for other examples see De Vaan 2003: 123. For a different interpretation of YAv. *auuāntəm* see Panaino, l.c.: 74: ‘to such an extent’, cf. Gershevitch, l.c.: 152. On YAv. *rāmaniuuā* ‘radiating peace downwards’, cf. Gershevitch 1967: 282 f., Panaino, *Tišt.* I: 102.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *b’m*, BMP *b’m* ‘splendour, radiance’ ⇒ DMMPP: 103b

•PARTHIAN: *b’m* ‘radiance, splendour’. ◇ There is no justification for assuming an additional meaning ‘reason’, *DMMPP*: l.c. ⇒ DMMPP: 103b

•KHOTANESE: *bā’ya-* ‘ray of light’ || (+ *ui-) LKh. *vīv(a)-* ‘to shine’ (perhaps *vīv-* < *ui-*bi-bā-*, *SGS*: l.c.) ⇒ *SGS*: 124

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *β’m*, MSogd. *β’m* ‘glow, colour’, CSogd. *b’m* ‘dawn, morning’, BSogd. *β’m’k* ‘colour’, BSogd. *β’m’nt* ‘shining’ || (+ *pati-) ? BSogd. *ptβyw*, CSogd. *ptbyw* ‘honour, respect’ || (+ *pari-) BSogd. *prβ’s*, CSogd. *prf’-* ‘to change colour’. ◇ BSogd. *prβ’s*, CSogd. *prf’-* possibly go back to a pres. stem **prf’s-* < redupl. **pari-b’/a-bā-sa-*, with *-f* < **-β-f* < **-β-β-* (Sims-Williams 1984: 148). (+ *pari-) Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *pr’yβ’s*; Partic.: perf. pass. CSogd. *pr’c* (f.) ‘changed in colour, pale of face’

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *apa-) *bβ’s-* ‘to become pale (of face)’ ⇒ Samadi: 13

•NWIR: NP *bām* ‘morning, dawn; splendour, light’

•NEIR: Oss. *bon* ‘day’, Sariq. *vuyn* ‘light, radiance’, Wa. *voyn* ‘fire; light’ || (+ *ni-) Oss. I. *nyv*, D. *nivæ* ‘image, drawing, painting, form’ || (+ *ui-) Oss. I. *ivajyn/ivad*, D. *ivajun/ivad* ‘to pale, wither; to dawn’

•SANSKRIT: *bhā* ‘to shine, be bright’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 259

•PIE **b^heH₂-* ‘to shine’ ⇒ LIV: 68 f. | Pok.: 104 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. φάε (aor.) ‘lit up, appeared’ (Hom.), Gr. φαίω ‘I shine, appear’, Arm. *banam* ‘I reveal’, OIrish *bán* ‘white, shining’, etc.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 547; *Abaev, Slovar’* I: 265, 553; *Abaev, Slovar’* II: 210 f.; *EVS*: 87a; *DKS*: 277a f.; *Werba* 1997: 306 f.; *Steblin-Kamenskij* 1999: 381; *Cheung* 2002: 92 f., 194; *ESIJ*a II: 154 ff.

***baǰ** ‘to bestow, divide, have a share; to give, apportion’

•AVESTAN: *baž-* (*baxš-*) ‘to bestow, divide, give a share’ (cf. Martínez 1999: 128 ff.) || (+ *ā-) ‘to apportion, portion out’ ⇒ Liste: 37

Pres. *ja* (?): INJ. 3sg. YAv. *bažaŋ* (Yt 19.8); Aor. *s-*: INJ. med. 3sg. OAv. *baxštā* (Y 31.10), SUBJ. 3sg. OAv. *baxšaitī* (Y 47.5, Y 50.3, ? Y 18.6), IMPV. med. 2sg. OAv. *ābaxšōhuuā* (Y 33.10)

•OLD PERSIAN: *big-* ‘to bestow’. ◇ The interpretation of OP **bigna-* is supported by MSogd. *prbyn*, a synonym of BSogd. *pr-b’yt*k, and Chor. *βyɲyk* ‘good fortune’, cf. Morgenstierne 1971: 326. ⇒ Kent: 199a

Partic.: perf. pass. **bigna-* <°-b-i-g-n-> (DB 4.84)

•KHOTANESE: *būšš-* ‘to give, distribute’ || (+ **niš-*) LKh. *našphaj-* ‘to be obtained’ || (+ **ham-*) ? LKh. *hamphāj-* ‘to hold’ ⇒ SGS: 103, 51, 141 f.

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *by-* ‘to give, bestow’, SSogd. *βxt°* ‘luck, fortune’, MSogd. *pr-byɲ* ‘gift’

Pret.: tr. IND. 1sg. BSogd. *βytw δ’r’im*, 3sg. BSogd. *βytw δ’rt*; Inf.: pret. BSogd. *βyty*

•CHORESMIAN: *βyɲyk* ‘good fortune’

•NEIR: Yzgh. *vež* ‘partner (in hunting, sharing the bag made)’ (< **bājīa-*), Wanji *wej* ‘part, portion’ || (+ **ham-*) Sh. *ambōj* ‘for, instead of, in exchange for’, Rosh. *imbōj* ‘id.; substitute, substitution’. ◇ Sh. *ambōj*, etc. are probably not from **ham-pāka-*, Skt. *sam-pāka-* ‘ripening thoroughly, maturing’, as cautiously suggested by Morgenstierne, l.c., but rather from the root **baĵ*, on which see *ESIJ*a II: 57. In addition, the meanings assigned by Morgenstierne have been corrected in *ESIJ*a II: ‘за, вместо, взамен’ and ‘за, вместо, взамен; замена, замещение’ respectively.

•MISC: Arab. (LW) *baxt* ‘luck’, *baġt* ‘incident, occasion’ (< WIr.), *waqt* ‘time’ (< EIr., Eilers 1971: 601)

•SANSKRIT: *bhaj* ‘to divide, distribute, allot to’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 241

◇ On the meaning see Gotō: 221 f.

•PIE **b^heH₂g-* ‘to divide, share’. ◇ The OP past participle with stem vowel *-i-* (from vocalised **H*) corroborates the IE reconstruction **b^heH₂g-*, rather than IE **b^hag-* (with stem vowel **a*). On the loss of *H* in Ilr. in front of voiced stop see Lubotsky 1981: 134 ff. ⇒ LIV: 65 | Pok.: 107

•IE COGNATES: Gr. (aor.) *ἔφαγον* ‘ate, consumed’, Toch. A *pāk*, B *pāke* ‘section, chapter, part’

•REFERENCES: *EVS*: 117b; *Chantraine* 1168a; *DKS*: 300b; *Werba* 1997: 209 f.

*baid ‘to split’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *astō.biδ-* ‘who breaks a bone’ (V 4.37, V 4.39) ⇒ Liste: 38

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **pari-*) MMP *frbys-* (inch.) ‘to be afflicted, suffer’ (Sundermann 1985: 291, fn. 19) ⇒ DMMPP: 277b

Inch./Pass.: pres. SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *frbys’nd*

•NEIR: ◇ On Wa. *zūbūt-* ‘to break’, cited in *IIFL* II: 556, see Wa. *z(ə)bəθ-*, *z(ə)bət-*, s.v. **pat*. The Wa. form has a (voiced) stop *-b-*, which cannot derive from old Ir. **b* in this position, v. Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 439.

•SANSKRIT: *bhed* ‘to split’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 273

◇ The reconstruction of **baid* is largely based on Avestan.

•PIE **b^heid-* ‘to break, split’ ⇒ LIV: 70 f. | Pok.: 116 f.

•IE COGNATES: (?) Gr. φείδομαι ‘I spare’, Lat. *findō/fissum* ‘I split’, Goth. *beitan*, OE *bītan*, NHG *beißen*, Engl. *to bite*, etc.

•REFERENCES: DKS: 283b, 292a; Werba 1997: 211; *ESIJ*a II: 60 f.

*baiH ‘to fear’

•AVESTAN: *b(a)ii-* ‘to fear [intr.]; to be scary, scare’ || (+ **ni-*) ‘to be afraid of’, also YAv. *niuuaiiaka-* ‘fearful’ (Yt 5.95) ⇒ Liste: 38

Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *nib(a)iiēiti* (P 20), med. 3pl. OAv. *biēntē* (Y 34.8), YAv. *baiēnte* (Yt 17.12 f.); Partic.: perf. YAv. *biβiuuāh-* (Yt 11.5, Yt 13.41, Yt 19.48). ◇ On YAv. *biβiuuāh-* in notably Yt 19.48, cf. Hintze 1994: 264 f. The interpretation by Bartholomae, *AIW*: 971 of *biβiuuāṅha*, perf. 3sg. < *biiah-* (cf. Skt. *bhyas-*), is to be discarded.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *bym /bīm/* ‘fear, fright, dread’

•KHOTANESE: ◇ The Khotanese forms cited in DKS: 269 f., 462 (also in *ESIJ*a II: l.c.), are to be interpreted differently. Khot. *baya-* ‘fear’ is, despite Bailey’s assertion to the contrary, a borrowing from BSkt., on which see Emmerick, *SVK* II: 100. An Ir. origin of Khot. *haṃbālkā* ‘fear’ is also suspect, considering the strange consonant cluster *-lk-*.

•SOGDIAN: (+ **pati-*) ? MSogd. *ptβyw* Asg. ‘honouring, paying homage’ (*MKG* 585)

•NWIR: NP *bīm*, Bal. *bēm* ‘fear’, NP *bāk* ‘fear; hesitation’

•NEIR: Yzgh. *vāḡ* ‘afraid’

•SANSKRIT: *bhay^j* ‘to fear’ (RV+), *bhīmá-* ‘terrible’ ⇒ EWAia II: 245

◇ The root has an impeccable IE etymology.

•PIE **b^heiH₂-* ‘to fear’ ⇒ LIV: 72 f. | Pok.: 161 f.

•IE COGNATES: Luw. */piha-/*, Lyc. *piçe-*, *pige-* ‘fear’, Lith. *bijóti(s)*, Latv. *bītiēs* ‘to fear, be afraid’, OCS *bojati se* ‘to fear [intr.]’, OHG *bibēn*, NHG *beben* ‘to shiver’

•REFERENCES: *GMS*: §79; *EVS*: 116b; Werba 1997: 307; *ESIJ*a II: 159 ff.

*baǰ ‘to break’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *bxt-gyh* ‘opposition, division, conflict’ ⇒ DMMPP: 119b

•PARTHIAN: *bxš’dnft* ‘disagreement, discord, schism’ ⇒ DMMPP: 119b

•KHOTANESE: ? *bajsīha-* ‘mortar’

•SOGDIAN: MSogd. *βxt-wnyy* ‘internal conflict, schism’

•NWIR: Tr. *sūnǰa/(v)sōnǰ-* ‘to tear’ || (+ ?) ? Tr. *vsōnǰ-* ‘to break’. ◇ The initial *-s-* and pret. stem *fēsēs-* are from the root **said¹*.

•NEIR: ? Pash. *wat* (m.) ‘break, hole; gorge, defile’. ◇ *NEVP*: 93 derives the form from **bišta-*, envisaging a connection with M. *viškyo*, Yi. *viščo* ‘ravine, steep embankment’.

•SANSKRIT: *bhañj* ‘to break’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 242

- PIE **b^heg-* ‘to break’ ⇒ LIV: 66 f. | Pok.: 114 f.
- IE COGNATES: Arm. *bekanel* ‘to break’, Arm. *ebek* (aor.) ‘broke’, Arm. *bek* ‘shattered’, (?) OIrish *-aid-begar* ‘is dissolved’
- REFERENCES: DKS: 266a; Werba 1997: 210 f.; *ESIJ*a II: 58; Lecoq 2002: 128

***ban** ‘to afflict, be afflicted’

•AVESTAN: *bañ-* (caus.) ‘to make ill, afflict’. ◇ Kellens 1984: 143 emends YAv. *bañdaiieiti* (V 22.5) to *^xbañaiieiti*, which is not supported by the ppp. *bazda-* (N 56), Khot. *baśdaā-* (cf. Sims-Williams 1989: 256). ⇒ Liste: 37

Caus.: pres. INJ. 3pl. OAv. *bañaiien* (Y 30.6); Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. *banta-* (Yt 13.24, V 22.5)

•KHOTANESE: (?) *ban-* ‘to cry out, lament’, *banānu* (pl.) ‘mockery, [transl. BSkt.] *ābhañḍana-*’. ◇ The comparison of Khot. *ban-* to Skt. *bhan^(t)* ‘to speak’, cited in *SGS*: l.c., is semantically unsatisfactory (as noticed by Schirmer, *LIV*: 69 f., fn 7). The presumed shift from ‘to speak’ to ‘to cry out, lament’ needs an explanation, having hardly any parallels in Ir. (or IE). Alternatively, the meaning of Khot. *ban-* perhaps allows a connection with Av. *ban-*, cf. *DKS*: 266b, s.v. *bañcai* ‘with lament’. The Khot. verb, which is solely attested in the middle voice, can go back to *‘to be afflicted’ (whence ‘to cry out, lament’), whereas the nominal Khot. derivative *banānu* may originally indicate ‘something that is distressing, i.e. offensive, to a person’. ⇒ *SGS*: 93

◇ No further Ir. correspondences are found. Also, an IE origin for this root cannot be ascertained. The (Celts-)Germanic forms, Goth. *banja* ‘wound, strike’, ON *bani* ‘death, man-slaughter, murder’, etc., cited by Pokorny: 126 (and accepted in *DKS*: l.c.), rather contain the root **g^{wh}en-* ‘to slay, kill’ (***jan**). On IE **g^{wh}* > Germanic *b-*, cf. Seebold 1967: 104 ff.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: 74 f. | Pok.: 126

•REFERENCES: *ESIJ*a II: 67 f.

***band** ‘to bind’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *bañd-* ‘to bind’ ⇒ Liste: 37

Pres. {1} *ajā-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *bañdaiieiti* (V 22.5, V 5.8 f.), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *bañdaiiaṭ* (Y 11.7, Yt 19.77), med. 3sg. YAv. *bañdaiiata* (Yt 5.128), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *bañdaiieni* (Yt 9.18), 3sg. YAv. *bañdaiiāiti* (Vn 96), YAv. *bañdaiiāṭ* (Y 11.7); Pres. {2} them.: IND. 1sg. YAv. *bañdāmi* (Yt 4.5)

•OLD PERSIAN: **band-* ‘to bind’ || (+ **ui-*) ? El-OP *hh.mi-ban-da* PN (= OP **vibanda-*, Gershevitch *apud* Hinz 1975: 259; Hinz -Koch 1987: 919) ⇒ Kent: 199b Partic.: perf. pass. *basta-* <b-s-t> (DB 1.82, DB 2.75, DB 2.90, DB 5.26)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *bnd-* (‘*SLWN-*’)/*band-* ‘to bind, fetter’, MMP *bn* ‘bondage, prison; band’ || (+ **pati-*) MMP *pywyn-* ‘to bind, join’ || (+ **pari-*) BMP *plwnd-/parwand-* ‘to surround, enclose, contain, comprise’ || (+ **ni-*) ? MMP *nwn-* ‘to begin’ ⇒ *DMMPP*: 108a, 291b, 248a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP ^xbynyd, 3pl. MMP bynynd, SUBJ. 2sg. MMP ^xbynyh, 3pl. MMP byn'nd; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP bstg, BMP bstk /bastag/, MMP bst, bst; Inf.: BMP bsth /basthan/, MMP bsth || (+ *pati-)

Pres.: IND. 2sg. MMP pywynyy, 3pl. BMP ptwandynd /paywandēnd/; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP pywst, BMP pywst /paywast/; Inf.: BMP ptwstn /paywastan/; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP pywst, BMP pywst (YK'YWMWN-)yt /paywast ēstēd/ || (+ *pari-) Partic.: perf. pass. BMP plwstk /parwastag/ || (+ *ni-)

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP nwnyd, 3pl. nwnyyd; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP nwyst, nwyst

•PARTHIAN: *bnd-* 'to bind', IPth. *bs-* 'to construct (a bridge)' || (+ *pati-) *pdnd-* 'to bind' || (+ *fra-) *frbst-* (pret. stem) 'to close, clog, stop up' || (+ *ui-) *wbst-* (pret. stem) 'to undo, take off' ⇒ Ghilain: 54 f., 55 | DMMP: 108a, 268b f., 154b, 337b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *bndyd*, 3pl. *bndynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *bst* 'štyd; Partic.: perf. pass. *bst*, IPth. *bsty*; Inf.: IPth. *bstny* || (+ *pati-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *pdndyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *pdbst* || (+ *fra-) Partic.: perf. pass. *frbst* || (+ *ui-) Inf.: *wbstn*

•KHOTANESE: *bañ-* 'to bind' || (+ *pati-) *pabañ-* (*pabas-*) 'to bind' || (+ *ham-) OKh. *hambañ-* (*hambas-*) 'to compose', LKh. **hambad-* (intr./pass.) 'to stop' ⇒ SGS: 92, 71, 142

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *bynt*, CSogd. *bynt*, MSogd. *bynd* 'to bind', (pass.) BSogd. *βyδ-* 'to be impeded, restricted' || (+ *ā-) BSogd. **'βnd-* 'to bind, join' || (+ *pati-) BSogd. *pcβynt* 'to join, connect', BSogd. *ptβ'ynt*, CSogd. *ptbynt* 'to answer, reply', MSogd. *ptβ'ynt* 'to prolong; connect; overtake, join' || (+ *pari-) CSogd. *prbnty* (m.) 'burden' || (+ *ni-) BSogd. *nβ'ynt* 'to attach' || (+ *ui-) CSogd. *wbnty* (m.) 'snare' || (+ *ham-) BSogd. *'nb's-* (pret. stem) 'atteler'

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *bynt*, BSogd. *byntt*, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *bynt't*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *bynt*, MSogd. *byynd*, etc. || (+ *ā-) Pres.: IND. 3pl. CSogd. *'byntnt*; Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. *'β'stk*, CSogd. *'bst-* || (+ *pati-) Pres.: OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *pcβynt'y*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *ptβ'ynt*, BSogd. *ptβ'yntt*, CSogd. *ptbynt*, MSogd. *pcyβynd*; Perf.: intr. IND. 3sg. MSogd. *ptβstyy* 'štyh (KawK: 71); Partic.: perf. pass. MSogd. *'ptβyst'k* || (+ *ham-) Inf.: BSogd. *'nβ'st*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *uz-) *m/zfsy-* (intr./pass.) 'to become complicated, obscure, difficult (of speeches)', *m/zBncy-* (caus.) 'to complicate, make complicated, obscure (of speeches)' || (+ *pati-) *pcβncy-* 'to bind together', (pass.) 'to be bound together' || (+ *ni-) *m/nβncy-* 'to swear (oath)' || (+ *ham-) *'nbncy-* 'to intend, have it mind' ⇒ Samadi: 262 f., 139, 118, 117

•BACTRIAN: βασ- (pret. stem) 'to bind, tether', βαστο (ppp.) 'seizure', βανδο 'bundle' || (+ *ni-) ναβανδο, ναβανδο-, νοβανδο 'beside, with' ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 186a, 185b, 206b f.

•NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *bastan/band-* 'to bind, tie', Bal. *bast-/band-*, Kurd. *bastin/band-*, Zaz. *bestiš*, Abz. *basta/band-*, Abyan. *basta, bassa/band-*, Anar. *hat'-bes/ha-bend*, Awrom. *bastáy/bas-*, Fariz. *-bās/-bānd-*, Yar. *-bas/-band-*, Gil. (Rsht.) *dæbæstcēn/dæbæcēd-*, Gur. *bās-ā/-us-*, Ham. *dār-bāstān/der-e-bend-*, Isfah. *bāstān/bānd-*, Khuns. *bend-/biss*, Mah. *bānd-/bās(t)-*, Nn. *bās-/bānd-*, *-bēnd-*, Natan. *-bānd-/bast*, Qohr. *basta/band-*, Sang. *-bāst-/bānān-*, Shamerz. *bāst-/bānd-*, Sorkh.

-*βást-/βást-*, Lasg. *-bast-* ‘to bind’ || (+ **pati-*) NP *payvastan/payvand-* ‘to join, attach to’, Kurd. (Sor.) *pēwenān/pēwenē-* ‘to stick to; to add’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *bæddyn/bast*, D. *bæddun/bast*, Sh. (Baj.) *vīnd-/vūst*, Yzgh. *vənd-/vūst*, Rosh. *vind-/vost*, Sariq. *vind-/vist*, *vūst*, Yghn. *van(t)-/vásta*, Ishk. *vond-/vūst*, Sangl. *vānd-/vost-*, Wa. *vand-/vast-*, M. *vond-/vost-*, Yi. *vad-/vast-* ‘to bind’ || (+ **pati-*) Rosh. *padvēθ-/padvost* ‘to knit (a broken bone)’ || (+ **ni-*) Oss. I. *nyvændyn/nyvæst*, D. *nivændun/niva(n)st* (+ I. *tyn*, D. *tunæ* ‘sheet’) ‘to stretch, tighten the warp’, Oss. I. *nyvond*, D. *nivond* ‘sacrifice’ || (+ **ūi-*) Oss. D. *ivændun/ivæst* ‘to twist the yarn before piling up to the loom’ || (+ **ham-*) Yi. *bástiko* ‘shearers’

•MISC: Par. *bež-/bōst-* ‘to bind’ || (+ **pari-*) Toch. (LW) *perpente* ‘burden, load’ (< Sogd. *prbnty*, K.T. Schmidt, *apud* Sims-Williams 1985: 63)

•SANSKRIT: *bandh* ‘to bind, to tie together, to fasten’ (RV, AV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 208

◇ This root has an impeccable IE provenance.

•PIE **b^hend^h-* ‘to bind’ ⇒ LIV: 75 f. | Pok.: 127

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *πεῖσμα* (n.) ‘rope, cord’, Thrac. *βενδ-*, Goth. *bindan*, OHG *bintan*, Engl. *to bind*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 79b, 135a; *KPF* II: 184; Ivanow 1926: 419; *IIFL* I: 244a; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 60, 154 f., 256; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 51, 111 f., 156; *IIFL* II: 258a, 547, 199a; Abrahamian 1936: 111, 128; Abaev, *Slovar* I: 243 f., 554; Andreev – Peščereva: 343a f.; MacKenzie 1966: 90; Abaev, *Slovar* II: 212 f., 214; *EVS*: 84b, 53b; *WIM* I: 66; *DKS*: 266a; Kurdoev – Jusupova: 130b; *Verba* 1997: 359 f.; Paul 1998: 292a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 377; Cabolov 2001: 129; Lecoq 2002: 120, 123, 125 (passim); *ESIIa* II: 68 ff.; Korn 2005: 318, 340, 356

*bar ‘to bring, carry’

•AVESTAN: *bar-* ‘to bring, carry’ || (+ **ati-*) ‘to carry over, to’ || (+ **apa-*) ‘to take, carry away, off’ || (+ **abi-*) ‘to procure’ || (+ **aqa-*) ‘to bring down, insert; to take out (clothes) from above’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘to carry with; to bring to’ || (+ **upa-*) ‘to bring on’ || (+ **uz-*) ‘to bring, carry out’ || (+ **pati-*) ‘to bring back; to commence’ || (+ **para-*) ‘to carry off, forth’ || (+ **pari-*) ‘to take around?’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘*proferre*, to carry, bring forward to, offer’ || (+ **niž-*) ‘to take, carry, bring out’ || (+ **ūi-*) ‘to separate, split, divide’ || (+ **ham-*) ‘*conferre*, to take, bring together, collect’
⇒ Liste: 37

Pres. them.: IND. 1sg. YAv. *barāmi* (Yt 5.77, FrK 12, FrW 7.2), YAv. *auui.barāmi*¹ (Yt 8.25, cf. Panaino, *Tišt.* I: 116), med. YAv. *baire* (Yt 14.57), 2sg. YAv. *barahi* (Yt 10.23), YAv. *auua.barahi* (Yt 10.23), med. YAv. *barahe* (Vyt 50), 3sg. *baraitī* (Y 31.12, Y 50.6, Y 38.1, etc.), YAv. *apa.baraiti* (V 5.38), YAv. *ābaraiti* (Yt 14.12), YAv. *upa.baraiti* (Yt 17.58, N 103), YAv. *vī.baraiti* (V 8.80), med. YAv. *baraite* (Yt 13.18, F 240), 3du. YAv. *ḥam baratō* (Yt 8.22), med. YAv. *baraēte* (F 240), 1pl. YAv. *ḥam.barāmahī* (V 5.39), med. YAv. *pairi.barāmaide* (Yt 11.7), 3pl. YAv. *barənti*, YAv. *ābarənti* (Yt 14.55), med. YAv. *auua.barənte* (Yt 5.15, Yt 8.47), YAv. *uzbarənte* (Yt 13.65, V 8.14), YAv. *frabarənte* (Yt 5.94), INJ. 1sg YAv. *uzbarəm* (V 20.4), YAv. *frabarəm* (V 2.6), YAv. *nižbarəm* (Yt 4.5), med. YAv.

uzbaire (Yt 5.6), 3sg. YAv. *baraṭ*, YAv. *apa.baraṭ* (V 9.51), YAv. *upa.baraṭ* (V 2.33, V 2.35 f., V 2.38, etc.), med. YAv. *barata* (Yt 19.29, Yt 19.33 f.), 3pl. YAv. *barən* (Yt 13.1, Yt 13.19), YAv. *vībarən* (Y 10.11), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *barāni* (Yt 5.63, Yt 15.12, V 19.12), YAv. *apa.barāni* (Yt 9.10), YAv. *apabarāni* (Yt 10.111), 2sg. YAv. *barāhi* (Vyt 50), YAv. *paiti.barāhi* (Y 55.4), 3sg. YAv. *barāt*, YAv. *vī.barāt* (N 108), 3du. YAv. *barātō*, 1pl. YAv. *barāma* (V 6.44, V 6.49), 3pl. YAv. *paiti.barānti* (N 54), YAv. *aiti barəṇ* (V 5.41 ff.), YAv. *para.barəṇ* (V 3.27), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *barōiš* (Yt 10.23), YAv. *apa.barōiš* (V 17.4), YAv. *ābarōiš* (V 17.5, V 17.7), YAv. *frabarōiš* (Y 65.10, V 19.21, V 19.24, etc.), 3sg. YAv. *barōiṭ*, YAv. *auuarōiṭ* (Yt 10.73), YAv. *uzbarōiṭ* (V 6.27), med. 3sg. YAv. *baraēta* (V 12.2), 3pl. YAv. *baraiiən* (V 5.40, V 8.2, V 8.2, V 8.8, etc.), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *bara*, YAv. *upa.bara* (V 2.25, V 2.27 f., V 2.30), med. YAv. *ḥam baraṇ*^ha (Yt 10.32), 2pl. YAv. *barata* (N 103C). 3pl. YAv. *barəntu* (Yt 13.157); Aor. athem.: IMPV. 3g. OAv. *barəti* (Y 33.9), med. ? YAv. *bərətam* (H 2.18); Perf.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *frabauara* (Yt 10.79), 3pl. YAv. *baḫrarə* (Y 65.6), OPT. 3pl. YAv. *auui.baḫriiṇ* (Yt 8.24); Partic.: pres. YAv. *baraṇt-* (Y 52.2, Yt 8.40, Yt 13.136, etc.), med. YAv. *barəmna-* (Yt 13.121, V 6.26, V 8.73, etc.), perf. pass. YAv. *bərəta-* (Y 62.9, Vr 2.11, Vyt 64), YAv. *ābərəta* (Yt 17.14); Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *bairiiete*^o (V 5.40), 3pl. YAv. *bairiieṇte* (V 3.29), SUBJ. 3pl. OAv. *bairiiāntē* (Y 32.15); Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. YAv. *ḥanbāraieṇti* (Yt 6.1, rep.), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *uzbāraiiāt* (V 19.19), SUBJ. 3sg. ? YAv. ^h*uzbāraiiāt* (V 18.10), 1pl. YAv. *ḥam.bāraiiāma* (V 19.44 f.), OPT. 3pl. YAv. *uzbāraiiən* (Yt 8.58, Yt 14.50), YAv. *frabāraiiən* (V 9.39), YAv. *nižbāraiiən* (V 6.29, V 6.31, V 6.37), YAv. *ḥam.bāraiiən* (V 4.44)

•OLD PERSIAN: *bar-* ‘to bear, lift, esteem’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘to perform’ || (+ **pati-*) ‘to bring back’ || (+ **pari-ā-*) ‘to bring back, restore’ || (+ **para-*) ‘to bear way, take away’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to offer, grant’ ⇒ Kent: 200a

Pres. them.: IND. 1sg. *paribarāmiy* <p-r-b-r-a-mi-i-y> (DNb 17), 3sg. *ābaratiy* (+ *ā*) <a-b-r-t-i-y> (DNb 25), 3pl. *baraⁿtiy* <b-r-t-y> (DB 5.22), <b-r-t-y> (DNa 42), impf. 1sg. *abaram* <a-b-r-m> (DB 1.22), <a-[b]-r-m> (DB 4.66), 3sg. *abara* <a-b-r> (DB 1.25, DB 1.55, DB 1.88, DB 1.94, etc.), <a-b-r> (2.34), <a-[b]-[r]> (DB 3.87), <a-b-r> (DNa 50), 3pl. *abaraⁿ* <a-b-r> (DPe 10), <[a]-[b]-r> (DSf 34), *abarahan* <a-b-[r]-h> (DNa 19), ? <a-b-r-n> (XPh 17), med. 3pl. *abaraⁿtā* <a-b-r-t-a> (DB 1.19), SUBJ. 2sg. *paribarāhy* <p-r-i-b-r-a-h-y> (DB 4.78), *paribarāh^o* (+ pron. *-diš*) <p-r-i-b-r-a-h-^o> (DB 4.74), IMPV. 2sg. *paribarā* <p-r-i-b-r-a> (DB 4.72, DB 4.88), 3sg. *baratuv* <b-r-tu-u-v> (DPd 14, DSk 5); Partic.: perf. pass. ^o*brta-* (+ *u-* ‘good, well-’) <^ob-r-t-^o> (DB 1.21, DB 4.66); Inf.: *bartanaiy* <b-r-t-[n]-[i]-y> (DNb 47); Pass.: impf. IND. 3sg. *abariya* <a-b-[r]-i-y> (DSf 31), <a-[b]-[r]-i-y> (DSf 35), <a-b-r-i-y> (DSf 36, DSf 40, DSf 45), <a-b-r-i-y> (DSf 38), <[a]-b-r-i-y> (DSf 43), 3pl. *abariyaⁿ* <a-b-r-i-y> (DSf 41, DSf 47)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *br-*, BMP *bl-* (YBLWN-) ‘to carry, bear, take, endure’ || (+ **apa-*) MMP *’pr-*, MMP *’pwr-*, BMP *’pwl-* /*appur-* (sec. stem) ‘to carry off, steal’ || (+ **ā-*) MMP *’wr-*, BMP *’wwl-* (YHYTYWN-) /*āwar-* ‘to bring’ || (+ **pari-*) BMP *plyw’l* /*parwār* ‘citadel; circumvallation; suburb, surroundings’ || (+ **niž-*) MMP *nzbwrd* (pret. stem) ‘to humiliate’, BMP *nzbwltyhy* /*nizburdīhī* ‘humiliation, abasement’ || (+ **ūi-ā-*) MMP *wy’wr-* ‘to talk, speak; to answer’ (Pth. ?) || (+ **ham-*) MMP *hmb’r-*, BMP *hnb’l-* /*hambār-* ‘to fill, collect’. ◇ The etymology of Nyberg II: 28b (and accepted by Back 1978: 176 f.) for BMP *’pwl-* /*appur-* is unacceptable. The reconstruction **apa-par-* (**par²* ‘to go over, cross over’) is hardly possible, as the preverb **apa-* ‘off, away’ is semantically incongruous with the root **par²*. ⇒ DMMPP: 109 f., 50, 70a, 351a, 257a, 178a

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP *brwm*, 3sg. MMP *bryd*, 1pl. MMP *brym*, 3pl. MMP *brynd*, etc. || (+ **apa-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *'pwr̥yd*, BMP *'pwlyt /appurēd̥*, 1pl. BMP *'pwlym /appurēm̥*, SUBJ. 1sg. MMP *'pr'n*, 3sg. MMP *'pr'd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *'pwr̥d*; Inf.: MMP *'pwr̥dn* || (+ **ā-*) *widely attested:* Pres.: IND. 2sg. MMP *'wryy*, 3sg. MMP *'wryd*, etc. || (+ **ui-ā-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *wy'wryd*, 3pl. MMP *'wy'wrynd*, IMPV. 2pl. MMP *wy'wryd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *wy'wr̥d* || (+ **ham-*) Pres.: IND. 1pl. MMP *hmb'rwm*, MMP *hmb'rym*, 3pl. MMP *hmb'rynd*; Partic.: pres. pl. MMP *hmb'r'g'n*

•PARTHIAN: *br-* 'to carry, bear, bring' || (+ **ā-*) *'wr-* 'to bring' || (+ **pari-*) IPth. *prybr* 'surroundings' || (+ **ui-ā-*) *wy'wr-* 'to talk, speak; to answer' || (+ **ham-*) *'mb'r-* 'to amass, collect' ⇒ Ghilain: 58, 57 | DMMPP: 109 f., 70a, 351a

Pres.: IND. 2sg. *bryh̥*, 3sg. *bryd*, 3pl. *brynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *br'm*, 2sg. *br'h̥*, 3sg. *br'h̥*, OPT. 3sg. *'bryndyh̥*, IMPV. 2sg. *br*, Partic.: perf. pass. *bwr̥d*; Inf.: *bwr̥dn* || (+ **ā-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *'wryd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *'wr̥d* || (+ **ui-ā-*) Pres.: IND. 1pl. *wy'wr'm*, 3pl. *wy'wrynd*, 3sg. *wy'wr'*, IMPV. 2sg. *wy'wr*, 2pl. *wy'wryd*; Partic.: pres. *wy'wr'g*, perf. pass. *wy'wr̥d* || (+ **ham-*) Partic.: pres. *'mb'rg* 'collector, gatherer'

•KHOTANESE: *bar-* 'to carry', (med.) 'to ride' || (+ **ati-*) *ttuvar-* 'to bring' || (+ **para-*) *puror-* 'to take away' || (+ **fra-*) *haur-* 'to give', *haura-* 'word' || (+ **ni-* or ? **anu-*) LKh. **nuvar-* (*nvīd-*, *nūd-*) 'to offer' ⇒ SGS: 93 f., 39, 85, 155, 59

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *βr-*, BSogd. *βr-*, CSogd. *br-*, MSogd. *βr-* 'to bear, take, perform' || (+ **apa-fra-* ?) ? SSogd. *'pδβyr* (caus.) 'to let give' || (+ **ā-*) BSogd. *'βr*, CSogd. *'br*, CSogd. *'βr* 'to carry', MSogd. *'βr* 'to carry' || (+ **uz-*) CSogd. *'zβr-* 'to cross (river)' || (+ **para-*) SSogd. *pr'βyr* (pass.) 'to be delivered' || (+ **pari-*) SSogd. *prβ'yr*, BSogd. *prβ'yr*, CSogd. *prbyr*, MSogd. *prβ'yr* (caus.) 'to explain, expound, relate' || (+ **fra-*) SSogd. *δβr-*, BSogd. *δβ'r-*, CSogd. *θbr-*, MSogd. *δβr-* 'to give' || (+ **ui-*) MSogd. *yβ'r-* 'to take care of' || (+ **ui-ā-*) BSogd. *wy''βr*, MSogd. *wy'βr* 'to speak, say' || (+ **ham-*) BSogd. *'nβrt* *'kw* 'in brief'

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. SSogd. *βr'm*, 2sg. dur. CSogd. *brysq*, 3sg. BSogd. *βrt*, *βrt'*, *βrty*, CSogd. *brty*, MSogd. *βrty*, dur. BSogd. *βrty 'skwn* || (+ **ui-*) Partic.: pres. MSogd. *yβ'ryny* || (+ **ui-ā-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *wy''βrt*, BSogd. *wy'βrty*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *wy''βr*; Partic.: pres. *'wy'bryny*, CSogd. *wy'brn'*, CSogd. *wy'bmyt* pl. 'speaking, capable of speech'

•CHORESMIAN: *βr-* 'to bring; to fast' || (+ **ati-*) *cβr-* 'to lean on, put in, insert' || (+ **ā-*) *m/'β'ry-* 'to forgive' || (+ **upa-*) *bβr-* 'to declare, speak; to describe', (intens.) *bβ'ry-* 'to explain, expound; to inform' || (+ **ni-*) *m/nβ'ry-* 'to treat (wrongly), get (someone) into trouble' ⇒ Samadi: 40, 49, 1, 13, 150, 86 f., 118

•BACTRIAN: βαρ- 'to bear, bring, take', -βαρο poss. suff. || (+ **ā-*) αβαρο 'delivery' || (+ **uz-*) αζ(α)βαρ- (αζοβαρ-, εζβαρ-) 'to bring forth, produce' (supplet. αζγαδο, s.v. ***gam-**) || (+ **para-*) παροβαρ- 'to bring forth, produce' || (+ *ham-*) αμβαρο-βιρσαλογο, αμβαρο-βιρσαρλογο 'store-keeper' ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 173, 178a, 216b, 179b

•NWIR: *Widely attested:* NP *burdan/bar-* 'to carry off, take', Bal. *burt/bar-* 'to carry, bring', Kurd. *birin/bi-*, *birdin/ba(r)-*, *birān/birē-*, Anar. *barte/bir*, Awrom.

barđáy/bar-, Jow. *bam-ba(r)t/a-ber-*, Shamerz. *-vórd-/bórán-* ‘to take, carry (away, off)’, Awrom. *berd/ber-*, Gur. (Kand.) *bárd-/ír-* (subj./impv. *bár-*) ‘to carry off’, Zaz. *berdiš/ben-*, (subj.) *ber-*, Abz. *barda/bor-*, *ber-*, Abyan. *barda/bar-*, Fariz. *-bárd-/bär-*, Yar. *-bard-/bar-*, Ham. *bärtan/ber-*, Isfah. *bärtän/bär-*, Jow. *bam-â:rt/a-ta:r-*, Meim. *bem-ba/a-ber-*, Mah. *bir-*, Natan. *-bord-/bor-*, *-bär-*, Qohr. *barda/ber-*, Varz. *barte/ber-* ‘to carry, bring (to)’, Nn. *barte/bir-* ‘to carry off, take away’, Khuns. *ber-*, *bir-/birt* ‘to carry (away); to win (in games)’, Semn. *bárd-/bär* ‘to carry away, forth’, Sang. *-bárt-/bänd-*, (subj./impv.) *-bär-*, Soi *-bär-*, Sorkh. *-βord-* (supplet. *bé-n-*, *bé-nn-* < ***naiH¹**), Lasg. *-bard-* (supplet. pres. 1sg. *bī-n* < ***naiH¹**) ‘to bring, carry (away, along)’ || (+ **ā-*) NP *āvurdan/ā(va)r-* ‘to bring’, Kurd. (Sina) *hāwirdin/er-*, Awrom. *āwirdáy/ār-* ‘to bring; to set to’, Abyan. *ārdan/* (subj.) *b-or-*, Anar. *-iyorto/iyor-*, Bakht. *avērdan*, Fariz. *-t-ār-/m-ārd-*, Yar. *-t-ār-/m-ārd-*, Gil. (Rsht.) *āvārdæn/ævār-*, Gur. (Kand.) *-āwúrd-*, *āwird-/ār-*, Ham. *artän/ar-*, Isfah. *arän/ar-*, Jow. *bam-â:rt/a-ta:r-*, Meim. *bem-t/a-tar-* (infl. caus. of ***tarH¹** ?), Khuns. *ār-ārt*, Khr. *bi-oword-*, *bi-owurd-*, Mah. *ār-*, Nn. *yārt/t-ār-*, Natan. *-ārd-/ār-* ‘to bring, fetch’, Semn. *āvārd-/bī-ār-* ‘to bring’, Shamerz. *-ord-*, *urán-*, Sorkh. *-ærd-* (supplet. *a-ví-n-*, *a-ve-n-* < **ā-* + ***naiH¹**), Lasg. *-ord-* (supplet. *ö-ví-n* < **ā-* + ***naiH¹**), Sang. *-jórt-* (supplet. *â-vä-n-* < **ā-* + ***naiH¹**) ‘to bring, lead’ || (+ **fra-*) Kurd. (Kurm.) *farwār(a)* (f.) ‘favour; gift, present’ || (+ **ham-*) NP *anbār* ‘ricks, stacks of corn’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *baryn/barst*, D. *barun/barst* ‘to contemplate, measure’; to forgive’, Pash. *wṛ-/wṛəl* ‘to carry (something)’, Sh. *vār-/vūd*, Orosh. *vār-/vūg*, Sariq. *vor-/væg*, Yzgh. *var-/væg*, Yghn. *var-/vúrta*, *vúrta* ‘to bring’, Wa. *vyr* ‘load, burden’ || (+ **ati-*) Yghn. *dívar-*, *dēvár-/dēwár-* (supplet. *dīyáta* < **ati-gam-*) ‘to insert, introduce’ || (+ **ā-*) Yi. *āvər-/āvəṛ*, M. *áver-/áver-* ‘to bring (something)’ || (+ **para-*) Yzgh. *pərvər-/pərvəg* ‘to drag across’, Khf. *parfur* ‘transfer of hay or sheaves to the carrying frame’ || (+ **fra-*) Oss. I. *læværd*, D. *lævard* (pret.) ‘gave’ (supplet. of *dæddyn*, D. *dæddun*, s.v. ***daH¹**), (orig. caus.) ? Sh. (Baj.) *rivir-/rivirt* ‘to force a cow to give milk’, Oss. *lævar* ‘gift, present’, Yghn. *tífár-*, *tēfár-*, *tfar-/tíráfta*, *tēráfta* ‘to give’ (see Sogd.) || (+ **ni-*) Yi. *nəvór-/nəvəṛ-*, M. *nevér-* ‘to take out, draw out’, Wa. *nəvír* ‘provision (on the way)’ || (+ **niž-*) Yghn. *živár-*, *žēvár-*, *živár-* (supplet. *žīyáta* < **niž-gam-*) ‘to bring, lead, drag, pull out’ || (+ **ui-*) Oss. *ivar* ‘punishment, prohibition’ (< **act of carrying away, confiscation*) || (+ **ham-*) Oss. I. *æmbaryn/æmberst* ‘to understand, comprehend’ (old ppp.) I. *æmbyrd*, D. *æmburd* ‘meeting’

•MISC: Par. *bar-/buṛ* ‘to carry’ || (+ **apa-*) Arm. (LW) *apuṛ* ‘booty’ || (+ **aṣa-*) ? Orm. *ūr-uk* ‘to hold, keep’ || (+ *ā-*) Par. *ār-/āwuṛ* ‘to bring’ || (+ **ni-*) Orm. *nawár-/nawulōk* ‘to take out, draw out’ = *nawar-/nawólók* || (+ **ham-*) Arm. (LW) (*h*)*ambar* ‘store’, Arab. (LW) *anbār* ‘ricks, stacks; storehouse’

•SANSKRIT: *bhar* ‘to carry, bear’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 246

◇ The Ir. root **bar* has an impeccable IE etymology.

•PIE **b^her-* ‘to bring, bear, carry, sim.’ ⇒ LIV: 76 f. | Pok.: 128

•IE COGNATES: Gr. φέρω, Lat. *ferō*, OIrish *biru* ‘I carry’, Welsh *cymeraf* ‘I take’, Goth. *bairan*, ON *bera*, OHG *beran*, OE *beran* ‘to bring, carry, bear’, OCS *berŏ*, Russ. *berú*, ScR. *bērēm* ‘I gather, take’, Lith. *beriu*, Latv. *beŗu* ‘I scatter’, Toch. *pār-* ‘to carry, bring’, Arm. *berem* ‘I carry, bring’, Alb. *bie* ‘I carry, bring, lead’

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 79a f., 133b, 134b, 205a, 243b; *KPF* II: 183, 178 f.; Ivanow 1926: 419, 427; *IIFL* I: 242a, 403a, 235a, 387b, 277a; *EVP*: 92; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 58, 151, 153, 255 f.; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 49 ff., 111, 155; *IIFL* II: 259, 234a, 547, 194a; Abrahamian 1936: 110, 107, 126 f.; Lambton 1938: 41a, 77a; Andreev – Peščereva: 343b f., 247b, 334a f., 370a f.; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 238, 135 f., 141 f., 553; MacKenzie 1966: 90, 89; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 35 f.; *EVS*: 84b, 59b f., 70a; Lecoq 1974: 62; *WIM* I: 65 f.; Back 1978: 176 f., 246; *DKS*: 271, 278; Sims-Williams 1989: 260; Vahman – Asatrian 1991: 78; Werba 1997: 212 f.; Paul 1998: 292; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 385, 250; Cabolov 2001: 184, 349; Cheung 2002: 160, 194; Lecoq 2002: 120, 122, 125 (passim); *ESIJ*a II: 84 ff.; Kiefer 2003: 202; Korn 2005: 269 f., 354 (passim)

***barH** ‘to move rapidly?’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *barənti* (Lsg.) ‘when it storms’ (V 8.4)

•SOGDIAN: (+ **pari-*) BSogd. *pr̥βyr-* ‘to cross (arms, legs)’

Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *pr̥βyr* ‘he crossed (arms, legs)’; Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. *pr̥βrt-* (in *~p’ō* ‘cross-legged’, *~δstt* ‘with crossed arms’, *SCE*: 400), MSogd. *pr̥βrt-* (in *~δst* ‘cross-armed’)

•CHORESMIAN: *m/βr-* ‘to tousle, card’, *m/βrs-* ‘to be tousled’ ⇒ Samadi: 40 f.

•NEIR: ? Oss. I. *byrsyn/byrst*, D. *bursun/burst* ‘to break; to intrude; to push, press on; to overcome in a fight, fight’ || (+ **fra-*) ? Khf. *ravār*, Rosh. *ravār* ‘white, saline efflorescence on the ground’ || (+ **ham-*) ? D. *æmpursun/æmpurst* ‘to crush; to intrude’. ◇ The stem vowel of the Oss. verbs (if related at all) is in need of an explanation.

•SANSKRIT: *bharⁱ* ‘to move rapidly to and fro, hurry, quiver’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 250

◇ The inclusion of the modern EIr. forms cited here is doubtful. The Ir. forms with the meaning ‘to boil’, quoted in *ESIJ*a II: l.c. under the same entry **²bar-*, belong to a separate root **baru¹*.

•PIE **b^herH_{2,3}-* ‘to move rapidly’ ⇒ LIV: 81 | Pok.: 132 f.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */parh-/* ‘to rush, attack’, Lat. *furō* ‘I am in a fury’

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 282, 144 f.; *EVS*: 70; Werba 1997: 308; *ESIJ*a II: 106 ff.

***barj** ‘to praise, honour’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *bərəj-* ‘to honour, welcome’. ◇ A noun, probably instr. sg. *bərəjā*, attested in YAv., is often connected to the verb *bərəj-*, despite the fact that it is translated as ‘desire’ (*/ārzōg/*) in the Pahlavi commentary. ⇒ Liste: 38

Pres. *aĵa-*: INJ. 1sg. YAv. *bərəjaēm* (V 7.52), 3sg. YAv. *bərəjaiaṭ* (Yt 10.90), 3pl. YAv. *bərəjaiaēn* (Yt 10.90), SUBJ. 3pl. YAv. *bərəjaiaēnti* (V 7.52), 3pl. YAv. *bərəjaiaēn* (Y 65.11); Perf. pass.: perf. pass. *bərəxḍa-* (Y 34.9, Y 44.7, Y 51.17, etc.)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *bwlc-* /*burz-*/ ‘to praise, honour, exalt’

Pres.: IND. 1sg. BMP /*bwlycm/ burzēm*, 3pl. BMP /*bwlycnd/ burzēnd*, IMPV. 2pl. BMP *bwlyct /burzēd/*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *bwlyct /burzēd/*, BMP *bwlyctk /burzēdag/*; Inf.: BMP *bwlycyn /burzēdan/*

•PARTHIAN: ^x*bwrz-* ‘to exalt, honour’ (< MP ?) ⇒ Ghilain: – | DMMPP: 118a

Pres.: IND. 3pl. ^x*bwryznd*

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *bulj-* ‘to honour’. ◇ The meaning of Khot. *aurīṣṭa, oriṣṭa* is not ‘desirous, eager, agreed’ (DKS: 47b), but rather *‘attended (by), intent (upon), *abhiyukta*’ and may derive from **ā-fras-* ‘to inform’ (**fras/prs*), on which see Skjærvø, SVK III: 37. ⇒ SGS: 102

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *βrys*, BSogd. *βrys* ‘to congratulate, felicitate’ || (+ **ā-*) SSogd. ^ʾ*βrync-* ‘to refine’ ? ◇ According to Gershevitch *apud* Sundermann 1985: 39, the hapax verbal form ^ʾ*βrync-* is connected to Pth. *ʾbrng*, *ʾbrnng* ‘zeal’, which is compared to Av. *bərəg-*. The *n*-infix “changes defilement into refinement”, which ultimately yields the meaning ‘cultivation’. Pth. *ʾbrng*, *ʾbrnng* is rather from ***Hranj**. || In *ESIJ*a II: 113, BSogd. ^ʾ*nβrytyk*, CSogd. *ʾbryty* ‘paralysed, cripple’ are classified under this root, which is wrong. These Sogd. forms actually derive from the (near-)homonymous root ***braj** ‘to break’.

Pres.: IND. 3sg. SSogd. *βrysty*, 3pl. SSogd. *βrysʾnt*, IMPV. 1pl. BSogd. *βrysʾym* || (+ **ā-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. SSogd. ^ʾ*βryncynt* {hapax}

•CHORESMIAN: ◇ Chor. *m/βž-* ‘to rejoice, become happy’, derived by Henning 1970: 12b from **barj*, may rather go back to ***bauj**³ ‘to rejoice’.

◇ There are no particular reasons to consider possible convergence or contamination with the root ***barz** ‘to enlarge, make high’, which does not appear to have acquired a more metaphorical connotation (other than ‘loud’ of sound). According to Henning 1945: 487, fn. 2, the meaning of *barəg* (i.e. **barj*) in composition with **ā-* is ‘to like to possess, to desire’, for which BSogd. ^ʾ*βʾrxsʾk*, BSogd. ^ʾ*βʾrxsʾkw* ‘wish, desire, lust’, Khot. *aurīṣṭa, oriṣṭa*, Pth. *ʾwrjwg*, MP /*ārzōg/* (MMP ^ʾ(^ʾ)*wrzwg*, BMP *ʾlcwk*) ‘desire, lust’, NP *ārzū* ‘desire, wish’ are cited. This can be disputed, either for semantic or for formal reasons. Semantically, the Sogd. (inchoative) formations are perhaps more likely to contain the root ***braHz** ‘to shine, burn, set on fire’. Equally semantically difficult to reconcile with ‘to praise, honour’ are the Pth. and Pers. ‘desire’ formations (v. ***rauj**²), on which see the cited lit. in Kellens 1974: 351 ff., and on the Khotanese forms above.

•PIE **b^herg^h-* ‘to honour, be attentive to (a guest)’ ⇒ LIV: 79 f. | Pok.: 145

•IE COGNATES: OCS *ne-brěšti* ‘to neglect’, Russ. *berěč*’ (*beregú*) ‘to take care of, look after’, Goth. *baigran* ‘to protect, shelter’, OE *borgian* ‘to give a pledge’, Engl. *to borrow*, etc.

•REFERENCES: Nyberg II: 51a; DKS: 298b f.; Gharib: 19, 106; *ESIJ*a II: 111 ff.

***baru¹ (*brau)** ‘to brew, boil’

•NEIR: Sh. *wārv-/wīrvd*, Rosh. *wārv-/wīrvd*, Sariq. *worv-/wirvd*, Yzgh. *wirv-/wirvd* ‘to boil, be boiling’, M. *wurw-/wurw-*, Yi. *urw-/urw-* ‘to be boiling’

•MISC: Par. *yarw-* ‘to boil’

◇ The evidence for the Ir. continuation the IE root **b^herū-* is confined to several modern East Ir. languages. The ‘brew’ root has been mixed up with **²bar-* ‘to move rapidly’ (***barH**) in *ESIJ*a II: l.c.

•PIE **b^herū-* ‘to boil, brew’ ⇒ LIV: 81, 96 | Pok.: 144 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *fervere* ‘to seethe’, OIrish *berbaim*, MWelsh *berw-* ‘to boil, seethe’, OIrish *bruth* (m.), ON *broð* (n.), OE *brōd*, Engl. *brood*, etc., ? OHG *briuwan*, OE *brēowan*, Engl. *to brew*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 257a; *IIFL* II: 192a; *EVS*: 92a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 421, s.v. *yakš-*; *ESIJ*a II: 107 f.

***baru² (*barHu ?)** ‘to chew, swallow’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *aš.baouruua-* ‘(place) where there is a lot to chew [i.e. to eat]’ (Yt 5.130, Yt 17.7), YAv. *baoiriia-* ‘chewable [of food]’ (Y 3.3)

•OLD PERSIAN: ? *Gaubaruva* <gubr^uuv-> PN ‘cattle-eater’ ⇒ Kent: 182b

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **aṃa-*) MMP *’wb’r-*, BMP *’p’l- /ōbār-/* (caus.) ‘to swallow’ ⇒ DMMPP: 65a f.

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *’p’lyt /ōbārēd/*, 3pl. MMP *’wb’rynd*, BMP *’wp’lynd /ōbārēnd/*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *’wb’rd*, BMP *’wp’lt /ōbārd/*, MMP **’wb’ryhyst*; Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. MMP **’wb’rynd*; Inf.: BMP *’wp’ltm /ōbārdan/*

•NWIR: Bal. *ēr-burt/ēr-bar-* ‘to swallow’ (+ prev. *ēr-* ‘down’) || (+ **aṃa-*) NP *auburdan/auubar-* ‘to swallow un-masticated’, NP *aubārīdan* (caus.) ‘to engulf, swallow, devour’, NP *aubāštan/aubār-* ‘to devour, swallow’

•SANSKRIT: *bharv* ‘to chew, devour, eat’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 252

◇ The Pers. and Bal. forms quoted above may not contain ***bar** ‘to bring, carry’. The semantic discrepancy between the Ir. continuations of ***bar** and the latter forms rather suggest a different root. The sparsely attested root **baru²* appears to be exclusively Ir., with no certain IE cognate forms.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 133 f.

•REFERENCES: Klingenschmitt 1982: 231, n. 4; Werba 1997: 466; *ESIJ*a II: 116; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *ērbar-*

***barz¹** ‘to make high’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *barəz-* ‘to enlarge’, (Gpl.) *barəzimanəm* ‘heights’, YAv. *bərəzaṃt-* ‘rising high, high, loud’ ⇒ Liste: 38

Caus.: pres. SUBJ. YAv. *us ... barəzaieni* (Yt 10.108)

- OLD PERSIAN: *barsnā* (instr. sg. m.) <b-r-š-n-a> ‘height, depth’ (DSf 26 f.) ⇒ Kent: 200b
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *bšn*, BMP *bšn* /*bašn*/ ‘top, peak, height’, MMP *b’l’y*, BMP *b’l’d* /*bālāy*/ ‘height’, MMP *bwlnd*, BMP *bwlnd* /*buland*/ ‘high’ ⇒ DMMPP: 111b, 103b, 117a
- PARTHIAN: *bwrz* ‘high, lofty’, *bwrzynd* ‘high, height’, *bwrzyyft* ‘height’ ⇒ DMMPP: 118a
- KHOTANESE: OKh. *balysga-* ‘high’, OKh. *bulysa-* ‘long’
- SOGDIAN: BSogd. *βrz’y*, MSogd. *βrzyy* ‘long’, BSogd. *βrzkw*, MSogd. *βrzqwy* ‘length’, CSogd. *brzy* ‘loud’
- CHORESMIAN: *βžk* ‘long’
- NWIR: NP *bālā* ‘height’, NP *buland* ‘high, tall’, Bal. *burz*, Tal. *barz*, Kurd. *barz*, Zaz. *berz* ‘high’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *bilind*, (Sor.) *biḷind* ‘high, enormous’
- NEIR: Oss. *bærzond* ‘high, height’, Sh. *vūj* (m.), (Baj.) *vōj* (f.), Rosh. *vūz*, Bart. *vūz*, Yzgh. *vəz*, Yi. *vān*, Yghn. *vann*, Pash. *uŷd* (Waz.) *wīzd* ‘long’, Sangl., Ishk. *vəždūk* ‘long; high (?)’. ◇ Oss. I. *æmbærzyn/æmbærzt*, D. *æmbærzun/æmbarzt* ‘to cover’, cited in *LIV*: l.c., fn. 6a, is unconnected, on account of the semantic discrepancies. See ***barz²**.
- SANSKRIT: *brhánt-* ‘high’ (RV+). ◇ The connection of *brhánt-* with the root *barh* ‘to make strong, make great’ (RV+) is semantically difficult: it does not fit very well with the generally attested ‘high, tall’. See further ***barz²**. ⇒ EWAia II: 212, 232
- PIE **b^herǵh-* ‘to become high’ ⇒ *LIV*: 78 f. | Pok.: 140 f.
- IE COGNATES: Hitt. *pár-ak-ta-ru* ‘should raise himself’, Toch. *pärk-* ‘to rise (of the sun)’, NHG *Berg* (m.) ‘mountain’
- REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 418a; *GMS*: par. 138, 999; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 254; *EVS*: 84a; *DKS*: 272b; Benzing 1983: 209 f.; Werba 1997: 209; Paul 1998: 292a; Cabolov 2001: 127, 177; *NEVP*: 8; Korn 2005: 97, 143, 355 (passim)

***barz²** ‘to cover, cushion’

- MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *b’lyn* /*bālēn*/ ‘cushion, pillow’ (MacKenzie, *Pahlavi*: 16). ◇ Nyberg II: 43 rather assigns the more poetic meaning ‘the crown of the head’, comparing the Persian form to Av. *barazan-* ‘top’.
- KHOTANESE: ? *vūḍa-* ‘covered’. ◇ The Khot. past participle can also derive from ***Huar** ‘to cover’, which is not mentioned in *DKS*: l.c.
- CHORESMIAN: *βžnyk* ‘cushion’ (< **barzanaka-*)
- NWIR: ? Tt. (Cha.) *u-mi-verzene* ‘he seats’ (< *‘he puts someone on a cushion’ ?) || (+ **ham-*) Tt. (Cha.) *amberāz* ‘clothing’
- NEIR: Sh. *vīj(ēj)* ‘pillow, head of a bed’, Wa. *vorz(ik)*, Sangl. *vōzd*, Yi. *virzánē*, M. *vizní* ‘pillow’ (**bīzanaka*) || (+ **ni-*) Oss. I. *nyværxæn*, D. *niværxæn* ‘bedside’ ||

(+ **ui-*) ? Oss. D. *iværzun/ivarzt* ‘to promise; to give hope’ (< *‘to cushion someone against unpleasantness’ ?) || (+ **ham-*) I. *æmbærzyn/æmbærzt*, D. *æmbærzun/æmbarzt* ‘to cover’

•SANSKRIT: *barh* ‘to stretch, put under(neath)’ (homonymous with *barh* ‘to make strong, make great’) || *barhīs-* ‘straw, sacrificial straw, bed of *kuśa*-grass’ (RV+). ◇ The root *barh* with the meaning ‘to stretch, put under(neath)’ is attested in, notably, the following RV-passages: 1.53.6, 5.61.5, 10.10.10. ⇒ EWAia II: 212 ff.

◇ The generally accepted connection with OIrish *bolgaim* ‘I swell up’, ON *bolginn* ‘swollen’, etc., found in Pokorny: 125 f, LIV: 73 f., to which we may add Skt. *barh* ‘to make strong, make great’, is difficult to uphold semantically. It rather suggests the existence of two separate, yet quite similar, roots: **b^helg/g^h*- ‘to swell up’ and **b^helg^h*-, which is continued in Ilr. **barj^hiš-*, etc. The latter root appears to have only nominal IE correspondences outside Ilr. The Oss. / Ved. verbs probably reflect an old Ilr. denominative of **barj^hiš-*.

•PIE **b^helg^h*- ‘cushion’ ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 126

•IE COGNATES: Slov. *blazína*, SCr. *blázina* ‘pillow, cushion’, OPr. *balsinis* ‘cushion’, Lith. *baĩnas* ‘saddle’

•REFERENCES: IIFL II: 418a, 260; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 137 f., 554 f.; Yarshater 1969: 208, 105, 1210 f. (passim); EVS: 83b f.; DKS: 389b f.; Benzing 1983: 210; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 380

*baud¹ ‘to feel, sense’

•AVESTAN: *baod-*, YAv. *baod-* ‘to feel, sense’ || (+ **pati-*) ‘to concentrate on, heed’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to wake up’ ⇒ Liste: 39

Pres. {1} *ja-*: OPT. med. 3sg. YAv. *būidiiaēta* (Y 9.21), med. 1pl. YAv. *būidiioimaiḍe* (Y 9.21); Pres. {2} them.: IND. med. 3sg. YAv. *baodaite* (Yt 17.6); Partic.: pres. {1} med. YAv. *frabūidiiaamna-* (V 18.49), pres. {2} OAv. *paītī ... baodant-* (Y 30.2), YAv. *baodant-* (Yt 19.69), perf. pass. YAv. *busta-* (Yt 17.9); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *baodaiieiti* (Yt 10.90)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *bwd /bōy/* ‘perception, sense’ || (+ **pati-*) MMP *pyws-* (inch.) ‘to desire, long for’ ⇒ DMMPP: 291b

(+ **pati-*) Pres.: pres. IND. 3pl. *pywsynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *pywst* {unpubl.}

•PARTHIAN: *bws-* (inch.) ‘await, wait for, expect’ || (+ **pati-*) *pdbws-* ‘to desire, yearn’ || (+ **ham-*) ‘*mbwy-* ‘to kiss’ ⇒ Ghilain: 65, 80 | DMMPP: 118a, 269a, 39a Pres.: IND. 3sg. *bwsyd*, SUBJ. 1pl. *bws’m*, IMPV. 2sg. *bws* || (+ **pati-*) Inch.: pres. IND. 1sg. *pdbws’m*, 1pl. *pdbws’m*, 2pl. *pdbwsyd*, 3pl. *pdbwsynd*, SUBJ. 1pl. *pdbws’m*; Partic.: perf. pass. II **pdbws’d* || (+ **ham-*) Partic.: perf. pass. II ‘*mbwy’d*; Inf.: II ‘*mbwy’d*

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *but-* (*buv-*, *bus-*) ‘to perceive, know’ || (+ **ham-*) LKh. *hambus-* (etc.) ‘to agree, fit’ ⇒ SGS: 101, 143

•SOGDIAN: (+ **pati-*) BSogd. *ptβyδ-*, CSogd. *ptbyd-* ‘to know, recognize, understand’

Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *ptβyδty*, CSogd. *ptbydyt*, 3pl. CSogd. *ptbydnt*, MSogd. *ptyβyδ'nd* (GMS: §622), OPT. 3sg. *ptβyδ'y*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *ptybyd*, MSogd. *ptyβyδ* (Sogdica: 31), 3pl. CSogd. *ptybydnt*; Fut.: IND. 2sg. CSogd. *ptbydyq*; Partic.: perf. pass. CSogd. *ptbstyt* (pl.) 'sensible, notable', BSogd. *ptβystk*

•NWIR: NP *bōsīdan/bōs-*, Abyan. *būsoya/būs-*, Khuns. *būs-/būsā* 'to kiss', Ham. *busayān/bus-* 'to kiss, embrace', NP *bōs(ah)*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *bōsa* (m.), Qohr. *būsa*, Varz. *bus* 'kiss'

•NEIR: (+ *ham-) Oss. I. *æmbudyn*, D. *æmbodun* 'to sense, feel'. ◇ Pash. *lwast-/lwal-* 'to read' is probably unrelated, cf. NEVP: 46. The reconstruction **ni-bauda-*, suggested in EVP: 41, is semantically unsatisfactory, on which see ***HvadH**.

•MISC: (+ *ham-) Arm. (LW) *hamburem* 'to kiss', Arm. (LW) *hamboyr* 'kiss' (< Pth.)

•SANSKRIT: *bodh* 'to wake, awaken; to perceive, notice, heed' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 233

◇ Rastorgueva – Edel'man, *ESlJa* II: 136 ff., reconstruct a separate, onomatopoetic root *²*bau-*: *bu-*, **ba-*, **bā-* 'to kiss' (cf. Pokorny: 103), which is probably unnecessary. The Pth. form provides us with the clue to the origin of NP *bōsīdan/bōs-* (etc.), which appears to be an inchoative formation of **baud* (as reiterated by Weber 1970: 107 f.). The other forms cited in support of the root *²*bau-*: *bu-*, **ba-*, **bā-* are not compelling either. M. *bəy-/boyr-*, Yi. *boh-/bohay-*, Sh. *bā čidōw* 'to kiss' do not show the typical affricatisation of PIr. **b-*.

•PIE **b^heud^h-* 'to become attentive, be awake, perceive' ⇒ LIV: 83 f. | Pok.: 150 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *πεύθω* 'I proclaim, summon', Gr. *πεύθομαι* (med.) 'I learn, hear', OIrish *ad-bond-* 'to proclaim, declare', OCS *bljusti* 'to take care, look after', Lith. *budžiù* (*budėti*) 'I wake up', Lith. *budrūs* 'watchful', Goth. *ana-biudan* 'to order', *faur-biudan*, Engl. *to for-bid*, etc.

•REFERENCES: Abrahamian 1936: 111; Abaev, *Slovar*' I: 140; WIMI: 66; DKS: 299a f.; Werba 1997: 208 f.; Cabolov 2001: 208; Lecoq 2002: 126 (passim); *ESlJa* II: 138 ff.

*baud² 'to smell'

•AVESTAN: YAv. **baod-* (*bus-*) 'to smell' || (+ **upa-*) 'to smell, have a smell' || (+ **ā-*) caus. 'to incense, suffuse with fragrance ?' || (+ **ham-*) *ham.baoδ-* 'to smell'

⇒ Liste: –

Partic.: med. (+ neg. *a-*) YAv. *aḥam.baoδəmna-* 'not smelling, incapable of using his sense of smell [said of dogs]' (V 13.35, V 13.37), perf. pass. YAv. *hupō.busta-* 'well scented' (Yt 17.9); Caus.: pres. SUBJ. 3pl. YAv. *upa.baoḍaiiṇ* (V 7.14 f.), OPT. med. 3sg. YAv. *ā.baoḍaiiēta* (V 9.32, V 19.24)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *bwy-*, BMP *bwd-/bōy-* 'to smell [intr.]' ⇒ DMMPP: 119a

Partic.: pres. MMP *bwyy'g* 'fragrant' || (+ **ham-*) Partic.: pres. MMP *hwmbwy'g* 'smelling'; Inf.: BMP *hnbwdytn/hambōyīdan/*

•PARTHIAN: *bwy-* ‘to be fragrant’ ⇒ Ghilain: 65 | DMMPP: 119a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *bwyyd*

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *bū(d)- (buv-)* ‘to be fragrant’ ⇒ SGS: 103

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *βwδ* ‘to smell’ || (+ ? **pati-uz-*) CSogd. *pcbws̄*, MSogd. *ptzβws̄* ‘to smell’

(+ ? **pati-uz-*) Pres.: IND./SUBJ. 3pl. MSogd. *ptzβws̄’nd* (*Sogdica*: 46); Inf.: pres. CSogd. *pr pcbws̄*, MSogd. *pcbws̄yy* (*BBB*: 38)

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **ā-*) *m/’bwzy-* (denomin.) ‘to smell, sniff on’ ⇒ Samadi: 2

•NWIR: NP *bōy* ‘smell, scent’, NP *bōstān* ‘garden’, Bal. *bōd* ‘smell, perfume’, *Zaz. boy* (f.), Kurd. *bō* (f.) ‘smell’, (Sor.) *bōn* ‘smell, stench’ || (+ **uz-*) Bal. *izbōtk* ‘lovage’

•NEIR: Oss. *bud*, D. *bodæ* ‘fragrance, incense, scent’, Yghn. *vud*, *wud*, *wod* ‘scent’ || (+ **ham-*) Oss. I. *æmbudyn*, D. *æmbodun* ‘to smell’

•MISC: Par. *b(u)hām* ‘smell’, Arm. (LW) *boyr* ‘(good) smell, scent’

◇ In view of the well-defined, semantic distribution ‘to feel, sense’/‘to smell’ it seems necessary to assume two separate Ir. roots. But on the other hand, ***baud²** may be ultimately an ancient specialisation of the root ***baud¹**, cf. Engl. *sense*.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 240a; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 269, 140; *DKS*: 294b f.; Paul 1998: 293a; Cabolov 2001: 204, 206; *ESJJa* II: 138 ff.; Korn 2005: 185, 357 f.

*bauH ‘to be, become’

•AVESTAN: *bauu-* (*bū-*) ‘to be, become’ || (+ **pari-*) ‘*sich machen über*; to get hold of; to come to an end’ ⇒ Liste: 39

Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *bauuaiti* (Y 10.6, Yt 5.129, Yt 8.14, etc.), YAv. *pairi bauuaiti* (V 14.17), 3pl. YAv. *bauuaiti* (Yt 5.94, Yt 10.20, Yt 13.15, etc.), YAv. *pairi.bauuaiti* (V 19.27), YAv. *ham.bauuainti* (V 17.13, V 7.58), impf. 1sg. YAv. *pairi.abaom* (Yt 19.57, etc.), 3sg. YAv. *abauuaṭ*, YAv. *pairi.abauuaṭ* (Yt 19.64), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *bauuaṭ*, 3du. YAv. *bauuatəm*, 3pl. YAv. *baon* (Yt 13.38, Yt 5.98), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *bauuāni*, 2sg. YAv. *bauuāhi*, 3sg. YAv. *bauuāṭ*, 1pl. YAv. *bauuāma* (Yt 5.58, Yt 5.73), 3pl. YAv. *bauuāṅti* (Yt 8.36, Yt 8.9, FrW 4.3), YAv. *bauuān*; Aor. athem.: SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *buua* (V 18.29), 3sg. OAv. *b(a)uuaitī* (Y 30.10), OAv. *b(a)uuat* (Y 28.11), YAv. *buuaṭ*, 3pl. OAv. *b(a)uuaitī* (Y 33.10, Y 45.7), YAv. *bun*, OPT. 2sg. YAv. *buiiā*, 3sg. YAv. *buiiāṭ*, 1pl. OAv. *buiiāmā* (Y 41.4), YAv. *buiiama* (Y 70.4, Yt 10.75), 2pl. YAv. *buiiata*, 3pl. YAv. *buiiārəš* (Ny 3.11), YAv. *buiiān* (Y 55.2, Yt 16.3); Perf.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *buuūua* (Yt 13.2, V 5.25), 3pl. YAv. *bābuuarə* (Yt 13.150); Partic.: pres. *bauuaṅt-* (Y 21.4, Vr 18.2, FrK 62, etc.), fut. YAv. *būšūiānt-*, aor. YAv. **b(a)uuānt-* (Y 38.3)

•OLD PERSIAN: *bav-* ‘to be, become’ ⇒ Kent: 200

Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. *bavatiy* <b-v-t-i-y> (XPh 55 f.), 3pl. *bavaⁿtiy* <b-v-t-i-y> (DNb 14), impf. 1sg. *abavam* <a-b-v-m> (DB 1.28, DB 1.60, DB 1.72, etc.), <a-b-v-m> (XPf 36), 3sg. *abava* <a-b-v> (DB 1.32 ff., DB 1.40, DB 1.48), <a-b-v> (DB 2.16), <[a]-b-v> (DB 5.30), 3pl. *abavaⁿ* <a-b-v> (DB 1.76, DB 2.7, DB 3.78, etc.), <[a]-[b]-v> (DB 2.93), SUBJ. 3sg. *bavatiy* <b-v-a-[t]-i-y> (DNa 43, DNb 59), <b-v-t-i-[y]> (DNa 45), OPT. 2sg. **biyā* <[b]-[i]-[y]-a> (DB 4.69), 3sg. *biyā* <b-i-y-a> (DB 4.56, DB 4.58 f.), <b-i-y-a> (DB 4.74), <b-i-[y]-a> (DB 4.75), <b-i-y-a> (DB 4.78), <b-i-[y]-[a]> (DB 4.79)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *bw-*, BMP *bw-* (*YḤWWN-*) ‘to become’ || (+ **ham-*) MMP *hmbwd-* (pret. stem), BMP *hmbw-*, *hm(YḤWWN-)* /*hambaw-* ‘to be together, united, composed’, MMP *hmbws-*, BMP *hanbws-* /*hambūs-* (inch.) ‘to come into being’ ⇒ DMMPP: 112 ff., 178a

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP *bwym*, 2sg. MMP *bwyh*, 3sg. MMP *bwyd* etc. || (+ **ham-*) Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *hmbwd*, BMP *hmbwt* /*hambūd*; Inch.: pres. IND. 3pl. BMP *hanbwsynd* /*hambūsēnd*

•PARTHIAN: *bw-* ‘to become’ ⇒ Ghilain: 67 | DMMPP: 112 ff.

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. *bw'm*, 2sg. *bwyh*, 3sg. *bwyd*, etc.

•KHOTANESE: *vā-* (supplet. ***Hah**) ‘to be’ || (+ **pari-*) LKh. *parbav-* ‘to overcome; [intr.] to grow up’ || (+ **ham-*) ? *hamphv-* (*hamphu-*) ‘to enfold, embrace’, *hamphūs-* (*hamphu-*) ‘to find, join (life)’ ⇒ SGS: 7, 75, 142

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *βw-*, BSogd. *β(w)-*, CSogd. *b(w)-*, MSogd. *βw-*, MSogd. *wβ-* ‘to be, become, happen’

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. BSogd. *β'm*, 3sg. SSogd. *βwt*, BSogd. *βwt*, BSogd. *βwt*, CSogd. *bwt*, SSogd. *βwt*, dur. CSogd. *bwtq*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: *m/β-* ‘to be, become; to suit, fit’ ⇒ Samadi: 36

•BACTRIAN: *βo-* ‘to be, become’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 186b f.

•NWIR: *Widely attested:* NP *būdan/bāš-* ‘to be, become’, Bal. *būag*, Kurd. *būn/bi-*, Zaz. *bīyāyiš/ben-*, Aryan. *bōyan*, Awrom. *biáy/b-*, Fariz. *bu-*, Yar. *bu-*, Gz. *bū-*, Gur. (Kand.) *bīān/ -u(w)-*, (subj.) *bū-*, Ham. *biān/* (supplet. *h-*), Isfah. *bežān/* (supplet. *ei-*), Jow. *bu/ba-b-*, Khuns. *b-/* (supplet. *ēid*), Bakht. *bīdan, bīdan / bū(h)-*, *bī*, Mah. *bā-/bid-*, Nn. *bī-/b-*, Semn. *bū, -bīč-*, Soī *bōd-, būd-/bū*, Tal. *be* ‘to be, become’, Ham. *dār-bian/dār-^o* ‘to be, be situated’, *va-biān/(v)a-b-* ‘to become’, Siv. *bi-/bī*, Sorkh. *boán* ‘to be’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *wyn*, D. (*w*)*un*, Yzgh. *vu-*, *və-/vúta* ‘to be’, Wa. (pret.) *vit-* ‘happened’, Pash. *wu* ‘he was’, Sh. (Baj.) *vī-/vud*, Rosh. *vaw-/vid*, Sariq. *vew-/vid*, Yzgh. *v-* ‘to be’ || (+ **pari-*) Wa. *pərv(ə)y-/pīrvīt-, pərvət-* ‘to seem; to achieve, to hit the target’

•MISC: Par. *bī* ‘he was’, Orm. *b-/būk, biyōk* ‘to be, become’ = *b-/buk*

•SANSKRIT: *bhavⁱ* ‘to become, happen, come into being’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 255

◇ The root **bauH* has an impeccable IE etymology and is widely attested in Iranian.

•PIE **b^heuH₂-/b^heH₂u-* ‘to be, become’ ⇒ LIV: 98 ff. | Pok.: 146 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *φύομαι* ‘I grow, become’, OLat. *fūr* ‘I have been’, OIrish *boí*, MWelsh *bu* ‘was’, OCS *byti*, Lith. *būti* ‘to be, to become’, Engl. *to be*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 79b, 135a f., 205a f., 243b f.; *KPF* II: 185 f.; *IIFL* I: 238b, 389a; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 166; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 43 ff., 51; *IIFL* II: 548; Abrahamian 1936: 110, 128, 112, 122; Lambton 1938: 78a; Andreev – Peščereva: 346b ff.; MacKenzie 1966: 91; *EVS*: 83b; Lecoq 1974: 62; *DKS*: 385a f., 218b; Vahman – Asatrian 1987: 74; *WIM* III: 101; Abaev, *Slovar* IV: 115; Werba 1997: 307 f; Paul 1998: 293a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 379, 278; Cabolov 2001: 212 f.; Cheung

2002: 244; Lecoq 2002: 184 f. (passim); Kiefer 2003: 193; *ESJJa* II: 128 ff.; Korn 2005: 77 f., 312, 357 (passim)

***bauj¹** ‘to bend’

- AVESTAN: (+ *api-) ? YAv. *api-δβaoya-* ‘bending from behind (?)’ (-d- < ?, Yt 15.45)
- KHOTANESE: (+ *ni-) OKh. *nihujs-* ‘to sink down, set’ || (+ *ham-) *ha(m)bujs-* (*hambuš-*) ‘to bow down’. ◇ On gdv. LKh. *hamphājāñāq* see Emmerick, *SGS*: 160. ⇒ *SGS*: 58
- NWIR: Bal. *bōg* ‘joint, knot’
- SANSKRIT: *bhoj* ‘to bend, curve’ (RV+) ⇒ *EWAia* II: 274
◇ The evidence for this root is limited in Ir.
- PIE *b^heug^(h)- ‘to bend, bow’ ⇒ *LIV*: 85 f. | *Pok.*: 152 f.
- IE COGNATES: Russ. *bgat*’, Ukr. *bháty* ‘to bend’, Goth. *biugan*, OHG *biogan*, OE *būgan*, Engl. *to bow*, OE *bōg*, *bōh*, Engl. *bough*, etc.
- REFERENCES: Bailey, *Gs Minorsky*: 67 f.; *DKS*: 188a, 463a; Werba 1997: 212; *ESJJa* II: 147 ff.; Korn 2005: 80, 228, 357

***bauj²** ‘to release, free, open; to save, deliver’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *būj-* (*buñj-*) ‘to save, redeem’ ⇒ *Liste*: 39
Pres. {1} n-: IND. 3pl. YAv. *buñjaiñti* (Yt 14.46), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. (+ *aja-*!) *buñjaiiāt* (V 7.71, Aog 57);
Pres. {2} them.: INJ. 3sg. YAv. *būjañt* (Yt 4.3); Partic.: pres. *aja-* med. YAv. *būjaiiamna-* (Yt 1.17)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *bwz-*, BMP *bwc-* /*bōz-*/ ‘to free, to release’, MMP *bwxs-* (inch.) ‘to be saved’ ⇒ *DMMPP*: 119a
Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP *bwzym*, 3sg. MMP *bwzyd*, 3pl. MMP *bwzynd*, etc.
- PARTHIAN: *bwj-* ‘to free, liberate, save’, *bwxs-* (inch.) ‘to be saved’ ⇒ *Ghilain*: 51 | *DMMPP*: 116a f.
Pres.: IND. 2sg. ^x*bwjyh*, 3pl. *bwjynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *bwj’n*, etc.
- KHOTANESE: (+ *pati-) ? LKh. *paphūj-* (*paphv-*) ‘to collect’ ⇒ *SGS*: 71
- SOGDIAN: BSogd. *βwxs*, MSogd. *βwxs* (inch./intr.) ‘to be delivered, freed, get free’, CSogd. *bwc* ‘to save’, MSogd. *βwc* ‘to deliver, free’
Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *βwxsty*, MSogd. *βwxs’m*, SUBJ. 1sg. BSogd. *βwxs’n*, 3sg. MSogd. *βwxs’ṭ*, etc.
- CHORESMIAN: ? *mβwzy-* ‘to drag, pull out, away’ (cf. Henning 1971: 11b) ⇒ *Samadi*: 43
- BACTRIAN: *βoy-* (pret. stem) ‘to save’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 187a
- NWIR: Bal. *bōtk/bōj-* ‘to open’, *butk/busk-* (inch.) ‘to be released (from jail), be fired (a gun), be emptied’ (see also ***Haxš**), Kurd. (Sor.) *būžānawa/būžē-* ‘to revive’, ? NP *buzīdan/buz-* ‘to pluck off hair, wool’ (LW)
- NEIR: Oss. I. *byğdæg*, D. *buğdæg* ‘open (of space), not enclosed, laid bare’

•SANSKRIT: ? Pāli *bhuñjati* ‘cleanses’ ⇒ EWAia II: 275

•PIE **b^heug-* ‘to release, flee’ ⇒ LIV: 84 | Pok.: 152

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *φεύγω*, Lat. *fugiō* ‘I flee’, Goth. *us-baugjan* ‘to wipe off’

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 277; Bailey, *Gs Minorsky*: 67 f.; Cabolov 2001: 214; *ESIJ*a II: 145 ff.; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *busk-*; Korn 2005: 86, 229 f., 357 (passim)

***bauj³** ‘to enjoy, experience’

•KHOTANESE: Khot. *būjsana-* ‘feasting’ || (+ **ham-*) OKh. *hambuš-* ‘to enjoy’ ⇒ SGS: 143

•CHORESMIAN: ? *m/βž-* ‘to rejoice, become happy’. ◇ According to Henning 1970: 12b this (hapax) verbal form is possibly from ***barj** ‘to praise, honour’, which is semantically not quite satisfactory. Samadi, l.c. therefore cautiously suggests ***barz** ‘to enlarge, make high’, which is, again, semantically somewhat imprecise. The etymology suggested in *ESIJ*a II: 150, which derives *βž-* from the formation **buǰ-ja-*, is perhaps more preferable. ⇒ Samadi: 47

•NEIR: Oss. I. *byxsyn/byxst*, D. *buxsun/buxst* (inch. ?) ‘to go through, tolerate, bear, endure’

•SANSKRIT: *bhoj* ‘to enjoy; to make use of’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 275

◇ The evidence for a root ***bauj³** ‘to enjoy, experience’ is confined to three East Ir. languages.

•PIE **b^heug-* ‘to enjoy, experience; to make use of’ ⇒ LIV: 84 f. | Pok.: 153

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *fungor* ‘[positively] I enjoy, go through, experience, [negatively] suffer, endure’, Arm. *buci* ‘fed, foddered’

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 283 f.; Werba 1997: 211 f.; *ESIJ*a II: 149 f.

***baxš** ‘to bestow, divide, apportion, have a share’

•AVESTAN: *baxš-* ‘to divide, have a share’ ⇒ Liste: 36f.

Pres. them.: IND. 2sg. YAv. *baxšahe* (Y 11.1), 3sg. YAv. *baxšaiti*, med. 3sg. YAv. *baxšaitē* (Y 10.13), 3pl. YAv. *baxšānti*, med. 3pl. ? YAv. **baxšānte* (V 8.100 ff.), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *baxšaŋ* (F 229), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *baxšāni* (Yt 10.108), 3sg. ? YAv. **baxšāŋ* (N 76), 3pl. YAv. *baxšānti* (Vyt 34, Vyt 46), OPT. 2pl. YAv. **baxšaēta* (Vyt 8)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *bxš-* ‘to divide, apportion’, BMP *bhš-* (*HĻKWN-*) /*baxš-*/ ‘to share, divide, bestow’, MMP *bxšyh-* (pass.) ‘to be divided’ || (+ **aŋa-*) MMP **wbxt* (ppp.) ‘apportioned’ || (+ **ham-*) MMP *hmbxš-* ‘to divide (up); distribute, bestow’ ⇒ DMMP: 119b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *bxšyd*, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *bxš’d*, 3pl. MMP **bxš’nd*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. MMP **bxšyhyd*, 3pl. MMP *(^s)bxšyhynd*; Partic.: pres. MMP *bxš’g*, perf. pass. BMP *bht/baxt*, MMP *bxšyhyst* || (+ **ham-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *hmbxšyd*, MMP *hmbxšyyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *hmbxt*

•PARTHIAN: *bxš-* ‘to divide, distribute, bestow’ ⇒ Ghilain: 59 | DMMP: 119b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *bxšyd*, *bxšyyd*, 3pl. *bxšynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *bxt*, *bxtg*

•KHOTANESE: *būšš-* ‘to give, distribute’ ⇒ SGS: 103

•SOGLIAN: SSogd. *βxš-*, BSogd. *βxš-*, MSogd. *βxš* ‘to give, distribute’ || (+ **pati-*) SSogd. *ptβxš-* ‘to hand over’ || (+ **para-* or **pari-*) CSogd. *prβxš* ‘to hand over, deliver over’ || (+ **ham-*) SSogd. *’nβxš*, MSogd. *’nβxš* ‘to divide’

Well attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. BSogd. *βxš’m*, 3sg. BSogd. *βxšty*, INJ. 1sg. *βxšyw*, IMPV. 2sg. BSogd. *βxš’*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. SSogd. *βxš’*, BSogd. *βxš’*; Fut.: IND. 1sg. *βxš’m k’m*, etc. || (+ **pati-*) Impf.: IND. 3sg. SSogd. *ptyβxš’* || (+ **para-* or **pari-*) Pres.: IMPV. 2sg. CSogd. *prbyšt*, Partic.: pres. CSogd. *’prβxšny* ‘betraying’, perf. pass. CSogd. *prbyty* (m.), CSogd. *prβxšc* (f.) ‘delivered over’ || (+ **ham-*) Pres.: POT.-IMPV. 2sg. SSogd. *L’ ’nβytw kwn* ‘do not dare to impart (?)’; Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *mnβxš*; Fut.: IND. 3pl. SSogd. *’nβxšnt k’m*; Partic.: perf. pass. SSogd. *’nβ’yt’k*

•CHORESMIAN: *βš-* ‘to give, bestow; to share’ || (+ **ni-*) *m/nβx-* ‘to share’ ⇒ Samadi: 43, 118

•BACTRIAN: *βαχ-* (pret. stem) ‘to give away’ || (+ **ham-*) *αμβαχ-* (pret. stem) ‘to give away, distribute’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 184, 179b

•NWIR: NP *baxšūdan/baxšāy-* ‘to grant, bestow’, Gur. (Kand.) *bāš* ‘give !’, Ham. *bāxšayān/bāxš-* ‘to give, distribute’, Kurd. (Sor.) *baš* ‘share, part’

•NEIR: Yzgh. *vaš-/vašt* ‘to sell’

•MISC: Orm. *baš-/b(aš)ēk* ‘to give, grant’ = *baχ-/baχōk* ‘to offer, pardon’

◇ According to Schirmer – Kümmel, *LIV*: l.c., the Ir. forms go back to a desid. formation **b^h(e)H₂g-s^ε/o-* ‘to wish to divide’ of **b^hag^h-* ‘to get a share’ (***baj**). The desid. formation has no further IE correspondences though.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: 65 | Pok.: 107

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 390a; *KPF* II: 183; Abrahamian 1936: 110; *EVS*: 86b; Cabolov 2001: 129; Kiefer 2003: 193; *ESLJa* II: 56 ff.

***bād** ‘to press’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *auui.bāda* ‘due to pressure’ (Yt 10.134)

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *ham-*) ? *’nb’zy-* ‘to cause (milk) to curdle’. ◇ The reconstruction cautiously suggested by Henning 1971: 28b, viz. **apa-* + **mādaja-* (Bal. *madag*, Wa. *mod-*, Kurd. *mayīn* ‘to curdle’) is phonologically troublesome: we would rather expect Chor. ***(*)bm’zy-*. Perhaps, the Chor. form *’nb’zy-* is related to Skt. *bādh-* ‘to press’ instead. The meaning of Chor. would thus derive from **‘to compress’*.

⇒ Samadi: 116

•NWIR: ? NP *bastah* ‘curdled’ (< **‘bound’* ?), Bal. *bast*, *badit/bad-* ‘to freeze (of water), curdle (of yoghurt)’. ◇ These forms are perhaps contaminated with ***band** and/or **mad²**, on which see Shahbakhsh, s.v. *bad-*.

•SANSKRIT: Skt. *bādh* ‘to press (away), oppose, repel’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 222

◇ Further Ir. correspondences are unknown, but according to *ESLJa* II: 159, Khot. *puvād-* ‘to fear’ may be included. The long vowel in the Skt. and Av. forms is peculiar and perhaps suggests a denominative origin: no corresponding verbal forms

can be found in IE. It can also be noted that **bād* / Skt. *bādh* rhymes with **nād* / Skt. *nādh* ‘to be distressed’.

•PIE **b^hēd^h*- ‘pression, stress’ ? ⇒ LIV: 68 | Pok.: 114

•IE COGNATES: OCS *běda*, Lith. *bėdà* ‘distress, worry’, Lith. *bādas* (m.) ‘sorrow’

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 465 f.; *ESlJa* II: 158 f.

bišaz* (baišaz*) ‘to heal, cure’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *bišaz-* ‘to cure, heal’, also YAv. *baēšaza-* ‘healing, curative’
⇒ Liste: 38

Pres. *ja-*: SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *bišazāni* (V 22.6), 3sg. YAv. *bišaziāt* (V 7.40 ff.), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *bišaziōiš* (V 22.2, V 22.9)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *byš’z-*, BMP *byš’z-*, *byš(‘)c-* / *bēšāz-* /, BMP *byš(‘)zyn-* / *bēšāzēn-* / ‘to heal, cure’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *byš’zynyd*; Partic.: pres. MMP *byš’z’g’n* (pl.) ‘healing’; Caus.: IND. 3sg. MMP *byš’zynyd*, 3pl. BMP *byš’zynynd* / *bēšāzēnēnd* /, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *byš’zyn’d*, 3pl. MMP *byš’zyn’nd*; Inf.: caus. BMP *byšzynyt / bēšāzēnīdan*

•SOGDIAN: BSogd., MSogd. *βyc* ‘physician’ (*GMS*: §384)

•CHORESMIAN: ? *m/ṛβsy-* ‘to heal [intr.]’ (< **fra-bad-s-ja-* ?) ⇒ Samadi: 169

•NWIR: NP *pizišk* (re-introduced), Kurd. (Kurm.) *bizišk*, (Sor.) *pazišk*, *pizišk* ‘doctor’

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *bžišk* ‘doctor’

•SANSKRIT: *bhiṣáj-* (m.) ‘healer, physician’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 264

◇ The denominative form *bišaz* derive from a noun **biš*, which is continued in YAv. *biš-* (*bišiš framātō* ‘skilled in medicine’, F 576), YAv. *paiti.biši-* ‘medicinal, healing’ (Y 10.18), cf. Klingenschmitt 1968: 171 ff. This root has no IE etymology and may reflect an ancient cultural borrowing, on which see Lubotsky, *Early Contacts*: 310. The forms with a long vowel in the first syllable reflect an ablauting (denominative) variant: **baišaz*.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 432; Cabolov 2001: 196

**braHz* ‘to shine, set on fire, alight’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *brāz-* ‘to shine’ ⇒ Liste: 40

Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *brāzaiti* (Yt 10.143), INJ. med. 3pl. YAv. *brāzənta* (Yt 5.129)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *br’z-* ‘to shine’ (LW), BMP *bl’h / brāh/* ‘splendour, beauty’ (genuinely Pers.) ⇒ DMMPP: 110a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *br’zyd*, 3pl. MMP *br’zynd*, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *br’z’d*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *br’zyst-*

•PARTHIAN: *br’z-* ‘to shine, gleam’ || (+ **ui-*) *wybr’z-* ‘to shine, be lit up’ ⇒ Ghilain: 59 | DMMPP: 110a

Pres.: IND. *br'zyd*; Partic.: pres. *br'z'g* 'shining' || (+ *ui-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. (?) ^x*wybr'zyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *wybr'z'd*

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *βr'z'nt* 'shining', BSogd. *βr'zyntk*, MSogd. *βr'zn(d)tyy* 'ablaze' || (+ *ā-) CSogd. *'br'z* 'to be lit up, become angry', ? CSogd. *'bryž* (caus.) 'to light, set on fire', BSogd. *'β'rxs'k*, BSogd. *'βrxs'kw* 'wish, desire, lust', MSogd. *'βrxsyy* 'desire, lust', SSogd. *'βrxs'kmync* 'lascivious' (cf. Sims-Williams 1976: 49 f.)

(+ *ā-) Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *'br'z*; Partic.: perf. pass. CSogd. *'br'zc* (f.) 'lit up, angry', CSogd. *'br'ztr* (compar.) 'angrier'; Caus.: pres. OPT. 3pl. CSogd. *'br-yžy>nt*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *ā-) *m/'br'z-* 'to burn, light up', (caus.) *m/'br'zy-* 'to lit (fire)'; *'br'z* 'flame' (450.1) ⇒ Samadi: 1

•NWIR: NP *barāzīdan/barāz-* 'to shine, beam'

•MISC: Orm. *bras-/braštak* 'to burn [intr.]' = *bréš-/bréšók, bróxtok*

•SANSKRIT: *bhrāj* 'to shine, beam' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 279

•PIE **b^hreH₁ǵ-* 'to shine' ⇒ LIV: 92 | Pok.: 139 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lith. *brėkšti* 'to break [of day], dawn', Pol. *o-brzasknąć* 'to become light'

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 389b f.; *Werba* 1997: 467; *Kiefer* 2003: 193; *ESUa* II: 184 ff.

*braiH 'to shave, shear, cut'

•AVESTAN: (+ *pari-) YAv. *pairi.brī-* 'to shave, shear' ⇒ Liste: 40

MED.; Pres. them. *nā-*: IND. 3pl. YAv. *pairi.brīnənte* (V 17.2), INJ. 2sg. YAv. *pairi.brīnaṇha* (V 17.4)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *bryn-*, BMP *blyn-* (PSKWN-) /*brīn-*/ 'to cut off', MMP *bwr-*, BMP *bwr-* /*bur-*/ 'to cut off, sever' (secondary formation, cf. Hübschmann 1895: 28) ⇒ DMMPP: 111a, 117b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *brynyd* || Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *bwrynd*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *bwr*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *blyt*, BMP *bwlytk* /*brīdag*/ (or /*bur(r)īdag*/ ?), MMP *bryd*; Inf.: BMP /*brīdan*/

•PARTHIAN: *bryn-* 'to cut off' ⇒ Ghilain: 111a |

Pres.: IND. 3pl. *brynynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *bryd*

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *bārrai* 'sculptor'

•CHORESMIAN: *m/βn-* 'to shave, shear' ⇒ Samadi: 39

•NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *burrīdan/burr-*, Zaz. *biṛnāyiš/biṛnen-* 'to cut (off)', Bal. *bur(r)it/bur(r)-* 'to cut' (< Pers. ?), Kurd. *biṛīn/biṛ-*, (also Sor.) *wiṛīn/wiṛ-* 'to cut (off), shave', Awrom. *biṛiáy/biṛ-* 'to cut', Abz. *berīda/berīn-*, Gur. (Kand.) *-ur-*, (impv. *birāūwä*), Ham. *beriyān/berin-*, Isfah. *birintān/birin-*, Delij. *bar-binī*, Siv. *-bur-*, Zaz. *birn-* 'to cut' (LW), Fariz. *-brī-*, Khuns. *bīrn-*, *brīn-/brīnā*, (LW) *bur-/burā*, *burnā*, Natan. *-beri-*, Semn. *-brīn-*, Qohr. *birīd/bir-*, Soi *birīt/-bīrn-* 'to cut (off)', Tal. *byṛm-* 'to shave', Kurd. *biṛīn* (f.) 'wound, injury' (< **briH-nā*-)

•NEIR: Oss. I. *ælvynyn/ælvyd*, D. *aelvinun/ælvīd* 'to shave', Yghn. *virin-/virita* 'to shear', Ishk. *vərn-/vred* 'to shave, shear', Wa. *vrin-*, *vrun-/vrit* 'to shave, shear',

Yghn. *vīrín-*, *vě́rín-/vīríta* ‘to shear off (wool)’, ? Yghn. *vīrīč-*, *vě́rīč-/vīrīčta* ‘to shave, shear’ (-č- < ?) || (+ **apa-*) Pash. *būrai* ‘one whose nose, lips, ... have been cut off’ || (+ **ā-*) Oss. I. *arviston* ‘a mixture of hay and straw in pulverized form’

•SANSKRIT: *bhrī* ‘to harm’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 282

◇ The root *³*bar-* : *br-* postulated in *ESIJ*a II: 108 ff. is incorrect.

•PIE **b^hreiH-* ‘to cut off (?)’ ⇒ LIV: 92 f. | Pok.: 166

•IE COGNATES: OCS *briti*, Russ. *brit* ‘to shave’, etc., Irish *bronnaid* ‘injures, damages’

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 205a, 243b; *EVP*: 16; *KPF* II: 184; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 154, 256; *IIFL* II: 258b f.; Abrahamian 1936: 110, 128; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 72 f.; Andreev – Peščereva: 345b; MacKenzie 1966: 90; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 48 f.; *EVS*: 85; *WIM* I: 66; *DKS*: 278b; Safari 1373: 99; Werba 1997: 308; Paul 1998: 293a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 381; Cabolov 2001: 189, 186; Lecoq 2002: 123 (passim); Korn 2005: 133, 320, 354

***bra(i)ǰ** ‘to roast, bake’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *bryz-* ‘to roast, bake’ (*KPT*: 119) ⇒ DMMPP: 111a

Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *bryzind*

•PARTHIAN: *brynz-* ‘to roast, bake’, *bry-* ‘to burn [intr.]’ (< **brǰja-*, with disappearance of the affricate ?) ⇒ DMMPP: 111a

Pres.: IND. 1sg. ^x*brynz’ym*

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *brrijs-* ‘to roast’ || (+ **uz-*) LKh. *aysbrrijs-* ‘to roast’ ⇒ SGS: 107, 16

•SOGDIAN: MSogd. ^x*br’xs-* (inch.) ‘to be roasted’

Pres.: SUBJ. 1pl. MSogd. [’]*br’xs’’m* (*Sogdica*: 39)

•CHORESMIAN: *βryz-* ‘to roast, bake’ ⇒ Samadi: 41

•NWIR: NP *birīštan* ‘to roast’, *biryān* ‘roasted’, Bal. *brētk/brej-* ‘to roast, fry, parch’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *birāžtin*, *birāštin*, *birīštin*, *barīštin/birāž-*, *birēž-* ‘to bake [tr.]’, (Sor.) *birīžān/birīžē-* ‘to bake, cook (tr./intr.)’, Awrom. *bireštáy/birež-* ‘to roast’, Gur. (Kand.) *birīžān* (intr./pass.)/ *-riž-* (tr.) ‘to roast, bake’, (ppp.) Gz. *birīšte* ‘roasted, baked (through)’ || (+ **aua-*, **ui-*) Gil. *vabišt-*, *vavišt-/vabij-*, *vavij-* ‘to roast’

•NEIR: Yghn. *vīráy-/vīráyta* ‘to roast’ (Andreev – Peščereva: 345b), Sarii. *virz-/virzd* ‘to fry, parch, roast grain’ (**brǰja-*), Wa. *vrəš-/vrəšt-* ‘to bake, roast’, Yi. *vroč-/vrexč-* ‘to roast’, (ppp.) Pash. *writ* ‘roasted’

•SANSKRIT: *bhraj* ‘to fry, roast’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 278

◇ Most Ir. forms show *i*-vocalism in the root, which may be the result of vocalisation of **r̥* to *ir* in the zero grade with subsequent introduction of *-i-* in the full grade.

•PIE **b^hreg-/b^herg-* ‘to roast’ ⇒ LIV: 92 f. | Pok.: 137

•IE COGNATES: Gr. φρύγω, Lat. *frīgō* ‘I roast’, OLat. *ferctum* (n.) ‘a kind of sacrificial cake’

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 90; *KPF* II: 183; *IIFL* I: 389b f.; *IIFL* II: 259, 547; MacKenzie 1966: 90; *EVS*: 86a; *DKS*: 314a, 7a; Kerimova: 254, 257; *WIM* II/2: 644; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 382; Werba 1997: 213 f.; Cabolov 2001: 182 f.; Kiefer 2003: 193; *ESIJ*a II: 169 ff.; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *brēj*-

*braǰ ‘to break’

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ati-*) ? *tcabr(r)īs-* (intr./inch.) ‘to be scattered’, OKh. *tcabalj-* (caus.) ‘to scatter’ || (+ **ui-ati-*) ? LKh. *gūjsabrīs-* ‘to be dispersed’, LKh. *gūjsaba’j-* (caus.) ‘to overcome; disperse’ ⇒ *SGS*: 40, 29

•SOGDIAN: (+ **aya-*) BSogd. *’wβr’wytk* ‘benumbed (with cold)’ || (+ **ham-*) BSogd. *’nβrytk*, BSogd. *’nβryty*, CSogd. *’bryty* ‘paralysed, crippled’

•NEIR: Sh. *virāy-/virūxt*, (Baj.) *virāw-/virōyđ*, Rosh. *virāw-*, Bart. *virāw-/virawđ*, Yzgh. *vəraw-/vəroxt*, Sarii. *varaxt* ‘to break [intr.]’ (with inexplicable *-y/w-*), Yi. *vrī-/vrīr-*, M. *vrīr-/vrīšk^v* ‘to break [tr.]’

◇ The evidence for a root **braǰ* ‘to break’ is relatively limited in Ir.

•PIE **b^hreg-* ‘to break’ ⇒ *LIV*: 91 f. | *Pok.*: 165

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *frangō* ‘I break’, OIrish *braigim* ‘I break wind’, Goth. *brikan*, OE *brecan*, Engl. *to break*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 155, 258b f.; *EVS*: 85a f.; *DKS*: 135 f.

*bram ‘to cry, weep’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *bl’m-* /*brām-* ‘to cry, weep’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *bl’mynd* /*brāmēnd*; Partic.: pres. BMP *bl’m’n* /*brāmān*/

•PARTHIAN: *brm-* ‘to cry, weep’ ⇒ Ghilain: 56 | *DMMPP*: 110b f.

Pres.: IND. 1sg. *brm’m*, 1pl. *brm’m*, 3pl. *brmynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *brm’d*

•KHOTANESE: *brem-* (*brraim-*) ‘to cry, weep’ ⇒ *SGS*: 107

•NWIR: *Well attested* (but not in NP): Zaz. *bermāyış/bermen-*, Aft. *burme*, Abz. *börömowa/böröm-*, Anar. *ibreft/ibremb-*, Gil. *barmē*, Harz. *beram*, Jow. *ba-rbaft-/a-rbom-* (with metath. *-br-* > *-rb-*), Khuns. *burm-/buruft*, Maz. *barm-*, Nn. *biréfte/biremb-*, *birēmb-*, Qohr. *bōrat/bōrm-*, Tal. *bāmē*, Tt. (Cha.) *bermam/bermas*, (Tak.) *berban/berbanast*, (Ebr.) *bebram/bebramast*, (Esh.) *berben/berbenest*, Yzd. (Zor.) *bremōdvūn* ‘to weep’ (why long *-ī-* ?), Jow. *bōrma*, Meim. *berma*, Mah. *burmä*, Lasg. *burmá* (in *burmá bájāš* ‘he wept’), Yzd. (Zor.) *b(e)rema* ‘weeping’, Sang. *bərmá* ‘tears’

•PIE **b^hrem-* ‘to cry’ ⇒ *LIV*: 91 f. | *Pok.*: 142 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *fremō* ‘I make a thud, mumble, moan’, MWelsh *bref-* ‘to roar’, Pol. *brzmię* (*brzmieć*) ‘I sound, buzz’, OE *barmen*, NHG *barmen* ‘to complain, moan’, *Erbarmen* ‘pity’

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 84a, 145b f.; Ivanow 1926: 420; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 236; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 63, 138b; Lambton 1938: 42b, 76b, 72a f.; *GMS*: §48, 53; Yarshater 1969: 182; *WIM* I:

66; MacKenzie, *Pahlavi*: 19; *DKS*: 316a f.; Paul 1998: 292a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 102; Vahman – Asatrian 2002: 25; Lecoq 2002: 122, 125, 132 (passim); *ESIJ*a II: 172 f.

*bramH ? ‘to wander, roam’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *brās-* ‘to wander, roam ?’ ◇ The interpretation of hapax YAv. *brāsaŋ* in passage Yt 19.34 is extremely difficult, on which see Henning 1940: 509 (**bram-* ‘to cry, weep’), Hintze 1994: 193f. (**bram-* ‘to roam, wander’ = Skt. *bhramⁱ-*) and Kellens 1984: 104 (the identity of the root is not specified). Pirart 1992: 47, suggests to see it as the inchoative of *brā*, i.e. ***barH** ‘to move rapidly’, also Humbach – Ichaporia 1998: 111. ⇒ Liste: 40

Pres. inch.: INJ. 3sg. YAv. *brāsaŋ* (Yt 19.34)

•SANSKRIT: *bhramⁱ* ‘to move to and fro unsteadily, flicker, blaze up’ (BṛUp.+) ⇒ EWAia II: 279

◇ The existence of an Ir. root **bramH* is uncertain. No certain IE cognates can be mentioned, cf. *LIV*: 94 f.

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 416 f.; *ESIJ*a II: 171 f.

*brans ‘to fall, collapse’

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *bras(š)-* ‘to fall’ ⇒ SGS: 107

•NEIR: ? Oss. I. *ælvasyn/ælvæst*, D. *ælvasun/ælvæst* ‘to extract, take out; to pull on’.

◇ The comparison to OKh. *bras(š)-*, suggested by Benveniste, *ELO*: 35 f., and accepted by Emmerick, *SGS*: l.c. and Bailey, *DKS*: l.c., is troublesome, both semantically and formally, cf. Abaev, l.c. For etymological reasons Benveniste considers ‘to throw’ (“éjecter soudain, faire sortir d’une secousse, projeter hors de”) as the starting point, with no further justification. The appearance of *-l-* in inherited forms is normally the result of palatalisation of **r* or dissimilation of (**)r ... r*. In addition, the Oss. vocalism *-a-*, which normally derives from Ir. **ā*, would be left unexplained, too: full grade **-an-* nor zero grade **-ŋ-* can possibly yield long **-ā-*.

•SANSKRIT: *bhramś* ‘to fall (down), drop’ (YV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 277

◇ The evidence for an Ir. root **brams* is very meagre, being confined to Khotanese *bras(š)-* and possibly Oss. *ælvasyn/ælvæst*.

•PIE – ⇒ *LIV*: 95 | Pok.: 168

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 131 f.; *DKS*: 313a; Werba 1997: 214; *ESIJ*a II: 173

*buHš ‘to endeavour’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *būš-* ‘to endeavour, strive for’, OAv. *būštīš* (pl.) ‘endeavours’ (Y 43.8). ◇ On OAv. *būštīš* see Insler, *Gāthās*: 236. Diff. Humbach 1959 I: 112 (“Gedeihnisse”). ⇒ Liste: 39f.

Inf.: OAv. *būždiīai* (Y 44.17)

•SANSKRIT: *bhūṣ* ‘to support, promote, be ready, busy’ ⇒ EWAia II: 270

◇ The Av.-Skt. "root" is probably an old desiderative formation of ***bauH** /*bhav'*, cf. *LIV*: l.c. No further Ir. cognate forms are known.

•PIE desider. **b^huH₂-s^e/o-* ⇨ *LIV*: 98 | *Pok.*: 146 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Lith. *būs* 'will be', RussCS *byšešt*, *byšqšt-* 'μέλλων'

•REFERENCES: Gershevitch 1952b: 176; Humbach 1958a: 213, fn. 8; Werba 1997: 466 f.; De Vaan 2003: 299

Č

***čai¹** 'to heap up, gather, collect'

•AVESTAN: Av. *caii-* 'to heap up, gather' || (+ **ui-*) 'to select, choose' || (+ **ham-*) 'to be put together [of paces]' ⇨ *Liste*: 22

Pres. *nu-*: INJ. 3sg. OAv. *vīcinaoŋ* (Y 46.17), OPT. med. 3sg. YAv. *vīcinaēta* (V 16.2); Aor. athem.: INJ. 1sg. YAv. *-caēm* (Yt 13.11), med. 3pl. OAv. *vīšiiātā* (Y 30.3, Y 30.6), SUBJ. 2pl. OAv. *vīcaiaθā* (Y 46.15); Aor. them.: INJ. 3sg. ? YAv. *-caiaŋ* (Yt 13.28, ? P 56), med. ? YAv. *haŋcaiaata* (V 9.9), 3pl. ? YAv. *-caiaŋ* (Yt 13.22), SUBJ. 3pl. YAv. *caiaŋ* (N 1); Partic.: pres. *cinuuant-* (Y 46.10, Y 56.13); Inf.: OAv. *vīcidiāi* (Y 31.5, Y 49.6)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *cyn-*, BMP *cyn-* /*čīn-* 'to gather, collect; tend (fire)' || (+ **pari-*) MMP *przyd* (past stem) 'to shut in, imprison; fix in, fasten in' || (+ **ni-*) MMP *ncyn-* 'to pile up, heap together' || (+ **ui-*) MMP *wcyd*, BMP *wcyt* /*wizīd*/ (past stem) 'to choose' ⇨ *DMMPP*: 132, 283a, 240a, 337b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *cynyt* /*čīmēd*/, 3pl. BMP *cynynd* /*čīnēnd*/, IMPV. 2pl. MMP *cynynd-*; Partic.: pres. MMP *cyn'g*, perf. pass. MMP *cyyd*, BMP *cytk* /*čīdag*/; Inf.: MMP *cyydñ*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. MMP *cynyhyd* || (+ **ni-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *nycynyd*, MMP *ncynyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *ncyd*

•PARTHIAN: *cyn-* 'to gather, collect' || (+ **ni-*) *ncyn-* 'to pile up, heap up together' || (+ **ui-*) *wžyn-* 'to choose' ⇨ *Ghilain*: 85 | *DMMPP*: 132a, 240a, 338

Pres.: IND. 3pl. *cynynd* || (+ **ni-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *ncynynd* || (+ **ui-*) Pres.: IND. 2sg. *wycyn'h*, 3sg. *wžynynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *wjydg*, *wyzyd*, *wjyd*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **pari-*) *pārgyiña-* 'treasury, storeroom, enclosure'

•SOGDIAN: (+ **pati-*) BSogd. *pc'y* 'to profit' || (+ **ui-*) CSogd. *wcn-*, MSogd. *wcy-* 'to choose, select'

(+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *pc'yt* || (+ **ui-*) Pres.: IMPV. 2sg. CSogd. *wycn'*; Pret.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *wcytw δ'rt*; Partic.: perf. pass. *wcytyt* (pl.) 'chosen'

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **upa-*) *bcn-* 'to collect (wood) and heap up', (pass./intr.) *b/pcy-* 'to swell up, [intr.] blow up' || (+ **ui-*) *m/wcn-* 'to collect, gather' || (+ **ham-*) *m/ncn-* 'to close', (pass.) *m/ncn-* 'to be closed'. ◇ Concerning *b/pcy-*, the cautiously suggested etymologies of MacKenzie III: 321 and Samadi (l.c.), **api-tušja-* (***tauš** 'to (be) empty', q.v.) and **pati-θrušja-* (***θraHu** 'to nourish', q.v.) respectively, are both semantically and phonologically cumbersome. The Chor. form perhaps reflects

pass. *upa-čija-, cf. Skt. *upa-cít-* (f.) ‘a particular disease, a kind of swelling disease’ (VS). || Samadi: 14, 148, 212, 120

•NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *čīdan/čīn-* ‘to collect, gather’, *cin* (impv.) ‘pluck !’, Bal. *čīt/čīn-* ‘to pick, gather’, Kurd. *čīnīn/čīn-* (Kurm.) ‘to reap; to mow’, (Sor.) ‘to gather, glean [ear of corn]’, Awrom. *čīniáy/čīn-* ‘to pluck’, (caus.) Kurd. (Kurm.) *čāndīn/čīn-*, (Sor.) *čāndīn/čēn-* ‘to sow, plant’, Gur. (Kand.) *-čīn-* ‘to gather, reap, pluck, heap’, Abz. *čīda/čēn-*, Abyan. *čīa/čīn-*, Ard. *čende/čēn-*, Khuns. *čīm-/čī* ‘to pluck, pick’, Jow. *bam-tfī/a-tfīn-*, Meim. *â:rem tfī:n/â:r etfī:n-*, Nn. *čeye/čīn-*, Natan. *čīā*, Qohr. *čīda/čīn-*, Tr. *čīya/šn-*, Varz. *činde/čīn-* ‘to reap, gather’, Semn. *-čīnč-* ‘to gather, pluck’ || (+ **pari-*) NP *parčīdan/parčīn-* ‘to beat down the point of a driven nail so as to fix it; to rout’, Gur. (Kand.) *pārčīn* ‘thorn-hedge’, Bakht. *parzīn* ‘bramble’ || (+ **ui-*) NP *guzīdan/guzīn-*, Bal. *gičint/gičin-* ‘to choose, select, elect’

•NEIR: Sh. *ci(y)-/cid*, Rosh. *cay-/cid*, Bart. *ciy-/cid*, Sariq. *čey-/cid* ‘to reap, harvest’, Yghn. *čīn-/čīta*, ? Wa. *čip-*, *čыр-/čopt* ‘to collect, pick’, Yi. *čū-/čūvd*, M. *jūv-/juvd* ‘to pick, choose’ (< **čīnuā*- ?), M. *čīn-/čīnoy-* ‘to build a wall’, *čīnv-* ‘to collect; to build’ || (+ **abi-*) Wa. *vjin-/vjīt-* ‘to cover with a roof’ || (+ **pari-*) Yi. *parzīn* ‘enclosure for sheep’, *parzīnī* ‘thorn-hedge’ || (+ **ni-*) Yi. *lažīno* ‘pile of firewood’ || (+ **ui-*) Sh. (Baj.) *wijin-/wijid*, Bart. *wijin-/wijid* ‘to release, sort out, cleanse, remove’, Wa. *wičin-/wičīnd-* ‘to disperse, scatter grain’ || (+ **ham-*) Sh. *anjic* ‘clay jar for keeping nuts, dried apricots, etc.’ (**han-čīti-čī-*, EVS: 14b) || (+ *) ? Yzgh. *pacū* ‘stubble-field’. ◇ On Sh. *ci(y)-/cid*, etc., hardly likely EVS: 25a: **draja-/drita-*. Perhaps, the Pamir forms are old borrowings from Persian (or another Iranian language ?).

•SANSKRIT: *cay* ‘to gather, pile up’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 531

◇ The long *-ī-* frequently found in WIr. forms is analogical, cf. Hübschmann 1895: 137, perhaps from the infinitive of causive-denominative formations in **īdan*. There are no past stems with short *i* in Persian, for instance.

•PIE **k^wei-* ‘to pile up, to heap, make’ ⇒ LIV: 378 f. | Pok.: 637 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *ποιέω* ‘I make, produce, compose’, OCS *čīniti* ‘to arrange’

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 206a; *KPF* II: 190; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 257; Lambton 1938: 41b, 77b; *IIFL* II: 200b f., 518b, 240b, 225b f.; Andreev – Peščereva: 239a; MacKenzie 1966: 92; *EVS*: 25a, 89b, 52b, 14b, 116a; *WIM* I: 67; Werba 1997: 181 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 126, 379 f., 389; Cabolov 2001: 237, 228; Lecoq 2002: 120, 123, 125 (passim); *ESUa* II: 205 ff.; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *gičīn-*; Korn 2005: 313, 371, 85, fn. 48, 395 (passim)

***čai²** ‘to atone, pay penalty’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *ci-* (*caii-*, *kaii-*, *kaē-*) ‘to atone’ ⇒ Liste: 22

Pres. athem. red.: SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *cikaiiaṭ* (V 7.38, V 13.10, V 13.31, etc.), 3du. YAv. *cikaiiatō* (F 48, F 50, F 117), 3pl. YAv. *^scikaiiən* (V 15.12, V 15.22, V 14.40), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *frā ... cici* (? *frā ... ^sciciḍi*,

F 238); Partic.: pres. desid. med. YAv. *aīβi.cicišəmnā-* (N 63); Caus.: pres. OPT. med. 3pl. YAv. *pairi.ākaiianta* (Yt 10.122)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *cy-* ‘to mourn, grieve, be troubled’, MMP *kyn* ‘hate, malice, revenge’ ⇒ DMMPP: 131b, 219b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *cyyd*, IMPV. 2pl. *cyyd*; Partic.: pres. MMP *cy’g*

•PARTHIAN: *kyn* ‘hate, malice, revenge’ ⇒ DMMPP: 219b

•NWIR: Oss. D. *kinæ, kenæ* ‘revenge’

•NEIR: NP *kēn* ‘anger, wrath’

•SANSKRIT: *cay* ‘to punish, take revenge’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia I: 532

◇ The root *čai² is usually not distinguished from *čai¹, cf. Hoffmann – Forssman 1996: 205; *AiW*: 441. However, the distinction as made by Kellens (et al.) is semantically justifiable.

•PIE *k^wei- ‘to collect a debt, take revenge, punish’ ⇒ LIV: 595 f. | Pok.: 636

•IE COGNATES: Lyc. A *ttiti*, B *kikiti* ‘sentences (as payment, penalty)’, Gr. τίνω ‘I pay, settle (a score)’, τίνομαι ‘to cause to pay, punish, avenge’, ποινή ‘blood-money, punishment, revenge’

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 596; Nyberg II: 117b f.; Werba 1997: 182 f.

***čai³** ‘to see, observe, perceive’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *caiias-cā* (n.) ‘attention, respect’ (Y 45.5) || (+ *ui-) YAv. (Gsg.m.) *vikaiehe* ‘witness’ (F762, Klingenschmitt 1968: 246)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *ui-) MMP *gwg’y*, BMP *gwk’dy /gugāy/* ‘witness, testifier’ ⇒ DMMPP: 166b

•PARTHIAN: (+ *ui-) *wyg’h* ‘witness’ ⇒ DMMPP: 352b

•KHOTANESE: (+ *ui-) *bye* ‘witness’ ◇ From *ui-kāiāuāh ?, with loss of intervocalic *k, EIr. shortening: *āj > *āj. ⇒ SGS: 336

•SOGDIAN: (+ *pati-) ? SSogd. *ptškwy-* ‘to reply; explain’, Sogd. *ptškwy* ‘to (re)turn’, BSogd. *ptškwy-*, CSogd. *pcwqy-* ‘to say (to a superior), entreat’, MSogd. *ptškwy* ‘to speak, say’ || (+ *ui-) CSogd. *wyc’w*, CSogd. *wyc’wyt* ‘martyr(s)’, CSogd. *wyc’wqy* (f.) ‘witness, martyrdom’

(+ *pati-) Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. SSogd. *ptškwy’m*, MSogd. *ptškwy’m* (BBB: 40), dur. CSogd. *pcwqy’msq*, INJ. 1sg. SSogd. **ptškwyw*, etc.

•BACTRIAN: σι- ‘to see, consider’ || (+ *ui-) ογαλφ ‘witness’, ογαλφανο (pl.) ‘witnesses’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 223b, 212b

•NEIR: Oss. I. *cyt*, D. *citæ* ‘honour, τιμή’, I. *kad*, D. *kadæ* ‘fame; honour, homage’ || (+ *ui-) Oss. D. *igawun/igawd* ‘to look sad’

•MISC: (+ *ui-) Arm. (LW) *vkay* ‘witness’

•SANSKRIT: *cay* ‘to perceive, to observe’ (RV+)

•PIE *k^wei- ‘to observe, be observant’ ⇒ LIV: 377 f. | Pok.: 636 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. τίω ‘I honour’, OCS *čajō* ‘I expect, hope for’

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 327, 565, 541; Werba 1997: 182

***čaiH¹** ‘to sew’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *upa-) MMP ’bzyn- ‘to sew, tailor’ ⇨ DMMPP: 18b

(+ *upa-) Pres.: IND. 3pl. BMP ’bzynynd, IMPV. 2sg. MMP ’bzyn

•PARTHIAN: Pth. ’bjyn’gr ‘tailor’ ⇨ DMMPP: 18b

•KHOTANESE: ? OKh. *cile* (pl.) ‘dress’ (< Pkt. ?, cf. EVS: 23, s.v. *cel*) || (+ *ā-) *ācana-* ‘thread’

•SOGDIAN: ? CSogd. *šwm*, MSogd. *šwm* (denomin.) ‘to sew’, CSogd. *šwmqy* ‘sewing’

Pres.: IND. 3pl. MSogd. *šwm’nd*; Pret.: tr. IND. 3sg. MSogd. *šwmδ’rt*; Partic.: pres. MSogd. *šwmnyy* ‘tailor’, MSogd. *šwmnyy* ‘sewing’ (*Sogdica*: 16)

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *upa-) *bcn-* ‘to mend, patch up (clothing)’. ◇ Not related to *bcn-* ‘to collect’, as suggested by Samadi, l.c. ⇨ Samadi: 14

•NWIR: Awrom. *čāni* (f.), Siv. *čān*, *čēn(ne)* ‘needle’ (hardly *saučan(i)a-) || (+ *ā-) NP *ājīdan* ‘to sew, stitch’ (LW), ? NP *āzīn-/āzīdan* (cf. Horn, *GIPh. I/2*: 128)

•NEIR: Yghn. *šiy-/šíta* ‘to sew’ || (+ *pati-) ? Sh. *pijēn-/pijēnt*, Bart. *pajān-/pajīnt*, Sariq. *pajīn-/pajīd* ‘to thread, string’ (< *pati-kānaya- ?, EVS: 56a) || (+ *ham-) Pash. *ancóy*, *incóy* (f.), (Waz.) *snay* ‘woollen thread, yarn’, Yghn. *ičīn*

•SANSKRIT: ? *cīra-* ‘strip, tatter, rag’ (TA+), *cela-* (n.) ‘clothes, garment’ (Gaut.+)
⇨ EWAia I: 545

◇ For semantic (and formal) reasons it is unlikely that the above-mentioned Iranian forms contain the root *čai¹ ‘to heap up, gather’. It must be admitted though that an IE provenance for *čaiH¹ ‘to sew’ is doubtful. The root itself is perhaps exclusively Ir. (cf. Skt. *cīra-*, *cela-*) and may be related to the second part of the (presumably) compounded formation Skt. *sū-cī-* ‘needle’, YAv. *sū-kā-* (f.), Oss. I. *su-zin*, D. *so-zinæ* ‘needle’, etc. Persian *pēč, BMP *pyc-*, NP *pēč-/pēčīdan* ‘to twist, distort, bend, wreath, coil, wind in a serpentine form’ (borrowed into modern dialects) is probably unrelated, it derives from adverb *patiča ‘back’ + *čīdan* ‘to collect’, Nyberg II: 160a f.

•PIE – ⇨ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *KPF* II: 189; Abrahamian 1936: 119; Lambton 1938: 41a, 77a; *IIFL* II: 279a; Andreev – Peščereva: 327b f.; MacKenzie 1966: 92, 104; *WIM* I: 71; *WIM* II/1: 81; *DKS*: 1, 16; *WIM* III: 307; *NEVP*: 9.

***čaiH² ?** ‘to rest, sit down’

•NWIR: Abz. *češta/čīn-*, Abyan. *čāsta/čīn-*, Anar. *nigište/nig-*, Fariz. *hā-čašt-/hā-a-čīn-*, Yar. *hā-čašt-/hā-a-čīn-*, Jow. *bam-tfunoa/ha a-tfun-*, Meim. *hā: tʃeʃt-*, *hā: tʃaʃt-/ha: a-tʃi:n-*, Kafr. *ništemún/hó-ningōn-*, Kasa *hō-čaštēmún/* (supplet. *hó-a-nig-* < *ni- + *kap/f¹ ‘to (be)fall’ ?), Khuns. *čīn-/čes-*, *kis-* ‘to sit down’, Nn. *nigište/nig-*, Natan.

hâ-čîn (supplet. *hâ-ni-* & *hâ-n(e)šišť-*) ‘sit down!’, Qohr. *čišťa/ čîn-*, Tr. *čašťa/* (supplet. *ng-*), Von. *ô-čessán/ô-t-čîn-* ‘to sit down’, Soi *čišť-/á-čîn-* ‘to sit (down)’, (sec. caus.) Kasa *hō-čōnō’imún/hó-a-čōn-*, Qohr. *jō-čînēdén/jó-va-čîn-*, Sang. *hū-čūndetén/hū-čūn-*, Sede *nišťén/nikón-*, *nikú-*, Von. *ô-čūndán/ô-t-čūn-* ‘to place, make sit’. ◇ The suppletive stems of Natan. *hâ-čîn* are from from the pass. formation **ni-daja-* < **ni-* + **daH²* and **ni-* + **had* respectively.

◇ Evidence for this root, which may be a variant of **čjaH¹*, is chiefly confined to the modern dialects of Central Iran. The forms attested in these dialects may then derive from a nasal pres. formation **či-naH-*. Naturally, interference with the root **had* ‘to sit, be seated’ or its corresponding prefigated formation **ni-š/had* ‘to sit down, place’ (or another unidentified root ?) is to be expected. The *k*-forms point to influence from *kūn* (*kīn*) ‘backside’ or rather to the existence of a caus.-iter. formation **kājHaia-* ?

•PIE ? **k^w(e)jH₁-* ‘to rest, be quiet, tranquil’ ⇒ LIV: 393 | Pok.: 638

•IE COGNATES: ? Lat. *quiēscō* ‘I rest’, Lat. *quiēvī* (pret.), Arm. *han-geaw* ‘rested’, OCS *po-čijō* ‘I rest’, OCS *po-kojō* (caus.) ‘I calm (someone)’

•REFERENCES: Zhukovskij I: 200a f.; Zhukovskij II: 346b ff.; *KPF* I: 147, 249b f.; Ivanow 1926: 421; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 173, 263; Lambton 1938: 41b, 78b; *WIM* I: 67, 70; Lecoq 2002: 122, 124, 127 (passim)

***čaiš (*kaiš)** ‘to assign, make known, teach’

•AVESTAN: *cīš-* ‘to assign’, *tkaeša-* ‘teaching’ || (+ **para-*) ‘to make it understood’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to teach’ ⇒ Liste: 22 f.

Pres. *n-*: IND. 1sg. YAv. *cinahmī* (Y 12.1, Y 12.9), 3sg. YAv. *cinasti* (Y 19.12 ff., Y 20.1, Y 20.3, etc.), 1pl. OAv. *cīšmahī* (Y 35.5, Y 39.4, Y 41.1), med. 1pl. YAv. *cīšmaide* (Y 27.7, Vr 12.2, Vr 12.4), INJ. 3sg. OAv. *cinas* (Y 44.6), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *cīšiiāt* (A 3.6), 3pl. YAv. *vī^scīšiiān* (V 8.2), IMPV. 2sg. OAv. *cīždī* (Y 44.16); Aor. {1} athem.: INJ. 1sg. OAv. *cōišəm* (Y 46.18), 2sg. OAv. *cōiš* (Y 31.3, Y 47.5), 3sg. OAv. *cōišť* (Y 45.10, Y 50.3, 51.15), 2pl. OAv. *cəuiišťā* (Y 34.13), YAv. *cōišťa* (P 25); Aor. {2} them.: INJ. 3du. ? YAv. *fracaēšaētəm* (Yt 8.38); Partic.: fut. med. ? YAv. *caēšəmna-* (Yt 19.93); Pass.: aor. INJ. 3sg. OAv. *cəuiišť* (Y 51.15). ◇ On YAv. *caēšəmna-*, compare for instance Humbach – Ichaporria: 167, but Hintze 1994: 377 f.: **jaēšəmna-*, see ***jai**.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *qyš-* ‘to teach’, BMP *kyš /kēš/* ‘faith, religion’ ⇒ DMMPP: 222a

Pass.: pres. SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *qyšyh’d*

•NWIR: NP *kēš* ‘religion’

◇ Further (I)Ir. cognates are unknown.

•PIE **k^weis-* ‘to observe, see’ ⇒ LIV: 381 | Pok.: 637

•IE COGNATES: OIrish *ad-cí* ‘sees’, Gall. *pissiumí* (fut.) ‘shall see’

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 196; Nyberg II: 118a

***čait/θ** ‘to remark, observe’

•AVESTAN: *c(ō)it-* ‘to remark, observe’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to recognise [Humbach II: 80; Kellens – Pirart II: 241]; to mark [Insler, *Gāthās*: 202]’ ⇒ Liste: 22

Pres. *n-*: INJ. 3sg. OAv. *fracinas* (Y 32.5), SUBJ. med. 1pl. YAv. *cinaθāmaide* (Vr 12.4); Aor. athem.: IND. med. 3sg. ? OAv. *acistā* (Inj. ? : *a- < *ā-*, Y 51.11), INJ. med. 3sg. OAv. *cistā* (Y 51.5, cf. previous), SUBJ. 3sg. OAv. *cōiθat* (Y 46.9), med. 3sg. OAv. *cōiθaitē* (Y 33.2); Perf.: IND. 1sg. YAv. **cikaēθa* (Yt 1.26), 3pl. ? OAv. *cikōitarəš* (cf. Jasanoff 1997: 119 ff., Y 32.11); Partic.: perf. YAv. *cikiθβāh-* / **ciciθuš-* (V 18.67, V 18.69), ? YAv. *ciciθβā* (rather verb. adj., Insler 1974: 232, Y 43.2)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *cyhyn-* / *čihēn-* ‘to teach, make known, inform’ || (+ **ni-*) MMP *ncyh-* ‘to teach’ || (+ **ui-*) MMP *wcyh-* ‘to teach’, BMP *wcyh-* / *wizēh-* ‘to announce’ ⇒ DMMPP: 240a, 338a

Pass.: pres. IND. 1sg. BMP *cyhywm* / *čihiyum*/, pret. caus. 3sg. BMP *cyhynyt* / *čihēnīd*/ || (+ **ni-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *ncyhyd*, *ncyhyd*, 2pl. *ncyhyd*, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *ncyh’nd*, OPT. 3sg. MMP *ncyhyh*, IMPV. 2pl. MMP *ncyhyd*; Partic.: pres. MMP *ncyh’g*, perf. pass. MMP *ncyst* || (+ **ui-*) Pres.: IND. 1sg. BMP *wcyhym* / *wizihēm*/, 3sg. BMP *wcyhyt* / *wizēhēd*/ ‘announces’, MMP *wcyhyd*; Partic.: pres. MMP *wcyh’g-* ‘teacher’, perf. pass. MMP *wcyst*, *wcyst*

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ui-*) *wcyh-* ‘to teach, clarify’ ⇒ Ghilain: 62 | DMMPP: 338a

(+ **ui-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. *wcyhynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *wcyh’*, IMPV. 2pl. *wcyhyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *wcyh’d*

•NEIR: Oss. D. *cetun/citt* ‘to keep an eye; to remind; to rebuke’, (old caus. ?) Oss. I. (*ær-)**k’ityn* ‘to realize, come to one’s senses’ || (+ **abi-*) Oss. I. *ævgid*, D. *evged* ‘bail, guarantor’ || (+ **us-* ?) Oss. D. (*ær-)**æsk’etun/æskitt* ‘to realize, come to one’s senses’ || (+ **ui-*) Oss. I. *gityn*, D. *igetun/igitt* ‘not able to do something, to be indecisive, hesitant’

•SANSKRIT: *cet* ‘to perceive, take notice of’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 547

•PIE ? **(s)k^wei-t-* ‘to perceive, observe’ ⇒ LIV: 382 | Pok.: 636 f.

•IE COGNATES: Latv. *šķietu* (*šķist*) ‘I mean’, Lith. *skaitaū* (*skaityti*) ‘I count, gather’, OCS *čьтѡ* (*čisti*) ‘I count, read; to honour’

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 311, 634, 202, 520; Werba 1997: 183 f.; Kümmel 2000: 179 f.; Cheung 2002: 37, 166

***čak/g** ‘to strike, hit’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **pati-*) BMP *pcyn* / *pačēn*/ ‘copy, *Durchschlag*’

•SOGLIAN: *cx-* ‘to do battle, fight’ || (+ **ā-*) SSogd. ’c’yt (pret. stem), SSogd. ’c’xš ‘to grasp, grab’ (Sundermann 1984: 177)

Pres.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *cxyt*, 3pl. CSogd. *cxt*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *cx’*; Pret.: tr. 3pl. CSogd. *cx’d’mt*; Partic.: perf. pass. CSogd. *cx’yt* (pl.) ‘having fought’ || (+ **ā-*) Partic.: perf. pass. SSogd. ’c’yt

•NWIR: ? Gil. (Rsht.) *du-čækæstæn/du-čæk-* ‘to be glued’, (sec. caus./tr.) *du-čækænæn/du-čækæn-* ‘to glue, stick together’, NP *čāk* ‘fissure, rupture, cleft, crack’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *cægdyn/cağd*, D. *cægdun/cağd* ‘to shake (out); to strike the iron; to play on an instrument, clock’ ? Yzgh. *čok-/čokt* ‘to pound; to stamp, put on a pattern

[of tattoos]', Wa. *čuk-/čukt-* 'to strike' (LW ?), ? Sh. *cuy*, Rosh. *coy* 'breaking, tearing, ripping up' (EVS: 23a: < **č/θr/dr-*agu-* ?) || (+ **fra-*) Oss. D. *ræzæğdun/ræzaxt*, (inch.) D. *ræzæxsun/ræzaxst* 'to spread around, scatter', Oss. *ræzæğd* 'heap' || (+ **ui-*) Oss. D. *ižæğdun/ižæğd* 'to spread, scatter', Oss. D. *ižæğnæ* 'tinder'

•MISC: (+ **pati-*) Arm. *patčēn* (LW), Hebr. *ptšgn* 'copy' (LW, Esther 3:14), Syr. *paršagnā* 'copy' (with sec. -*r-*, Benveniste 1934: 180 ff.)

◇ The root is no doubt expressive in origin. A second expressive/onomatopoetic root is cited in *ESIJ*a II: 211 f.: *čak 'to drip; flow'. Most, if not all, Iranian forms seem to point to borrowing from (New) Persian *čakīdan/čak-*, which evidently cannot go back to PIr.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Christensen, *Contributions* I: 62; Abaev, *Slovar*' I: 298 f., 540 f.; Abaev, *Slovar*' II: 363 f.; Edel'man 1971: 62; Nyberg II: 147a; *ESIJ*a II: 213 ff.

*čam ? 'to walk'

•PARTHIAN: *cm-* 'to walk, move to' ⇒ Ghilain: 56, 72 | DMMPP: 125b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *cmyd*, 3pl. *cmynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *cm'h*, 1pl. *cm'm*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *cm'd*; Inf.: *cm'dn*

•KHOTANESE: ? *tcāma-* 'leaping insect, either locust or grasshopper'

•NWIR: NP *čamīdan* 'to walk proudly', Bal. *čamit/čam-* 'to shake, dance, prance, dangle'

•MISC: Par. *č(h)īm-*, *č(h)em-/č(h)īmī* 'to go, move, wander', Par. *čīmō* 'walking, gait', Arm. (LW) *čem* 'walk'

•SANSKRIT: *camūra-* 'an antelope' (Harav., Śiś.) ⇒ EWAia III: 180 f.

◇ This sparingly attested root does not have an IE origin and may be a blend of *čar(H) and *gam¹ ? Rastorgueva – Edel'man (*ESIJ*a II: 261 f.) cite a late Skt. form *camūra-* 'an antelope', which would be borrowed from an Iranian, possibly Parthian, source. Skt. *camūra-* is perhaps rather a so-called "substrate" word, as it phonologically conforms to the category of forms with long middle vowel, e.g. *mayūra-* 'peacock', on which see Lubotsky, *Early Contacts*:305 ff.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 246a; *DKS*: 139a; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *čam-*

*čap 'to seize, attach, stick, strike'

•KHOTANESE: ? Khot. *cev-* 'to get' ⇒ SGS: 34

•SOGDIAN: (+ **fra-*) MSogd. *βr'cp-* 'to press' (cf. Sims-Williams, *apud* Sundermann 1981: 181b)

Impf.: IND. 3pl. MSogd. *βr'cp'nt* (MKG: 593)

•CHORESMIAN: *čp-* 'to attach to, contrive (a lie) against (someone)' ⇒ Samadi: 58 f.

•NWIR: NP *čāpīdan/čāp-*, Gur. (Kand.) *čāpāyūšān kār-*, Khuns. *čāp-/čāpā* ‘to plunder, rob’ (LW), Bal. *čāmpit/čāmp-*, *čānpit/čānp-* ‘to snatch’, NP *čāfsīdan*, Abz. *čawsowa/čaws-*, Nn. *čāsḅ-*, Qohr. *časpāda/časp-*, Tr. *čawsā(ya)/čaws-* (inch.) ‘to stick, adhere’, ? Anar. *čapowger* ‘robber, thief’

•NEIR: Oss. *cævyn/cavd*, D. *cævun/cavd* ‘to hit, strike’, Yghn. *čūmf-/čūmfita* ‘to push (to)’, Sh. *cāp-/cāpt* ‘to feel, touch’, Oss. I. *cæfsyn/cæfst*, D. *cæfsun/cæfst* (inch.) ‘to stick, glue’, M. *cəb-/cəvd* ‘to pluck’ || (+ *us-) Oss. I. *sk’æfyn/sk’æft*, D. *(æ)sk’æfun/(æ)sk’aft* (*sk’avd*) ‘to carry, drag (quickly); to grab’, Wa. *skaf-* ‘to slip, shift to’ || (+ *ni-) Oss. I. *nyzævyn/nyzævd*, D. *nizævun/nizævd*, (inch.) D. *nizævsun/nizævst* ‘to touch (on)’, ? Sh. (Baj.) *nijūv-/nijūvd* ‘to pack up, put to bed’ || (+ *ham-) Oss. I. *ænzævyn/ænzævd*, D. *ænzævun/ænzævd* ‘to touch’. ◇ The derivation of Wa. *skaf-* from *us-kaf-, with prev. *us- ‘up’, is semantically implausible, cf. *us-kas³ ‘to ascend, go up’ (*kas³ ‘to fall’). || Sh. (Baj.) *nijūv-/nijūvd* from *ni-čaubā-, cf. Lat. *cubāre*, etc. ??, EVS, l.c.

◇ This root may have an IE etymology. The connection with Gr. *κόπτω*, Lat. *capere*, etc. (cf. IEW, l.c.) is semantically very attractive. IE "a" would not palatalize the preceding velar in (I)Ir. though: Ir. *č- in *čap- is from *čak/g- ?

•PIE ?*k(e)H₂p- (*kap-) ‘to grab, stick to’ ⇒ LIV: 344 f. | Pok.: 527 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *κόπτω* ‘I grab; I snap, swallow’, Lat. *capio* ‘I take’, Goth. *hafjan* ‘to lift’, *haftjan* ‘to stick, attach’, (ppp.) *-hafts* ‘stuck with’, NHG *haften* ‘to stick to’, *haben*, Engl. *to have*, etc.

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 98 f.; KPF II: 212; Andreev – Peščereva: 242a; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 306, 294, 159; Abaev, *Slovar’* II: 194 f.; EVS: 23b, 48b; WIM I: 67; Abaev, *Slovar’* III: 121 f.; Lecoq 2002: 122, 125, 129, 607b (passim); ESIIa II: 221 ff.; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *čāmp-*

*čarH ‘to come and go, wander’

•AVESTAN: *car-* ‘to come and go’ || (+ *para-) ‘to pass over’ || (+ *ūi-) ‘to go to and fro’ || (+ *ham-) ‘to walk around’ ⇒ Liste: 21f.

Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *ācaraiti* (Yt 8.8, Yt 8.46, Yt 10.112, Yt 10.137), YAv. *fracaraiti* (Yt 18.3 f.), med. ? YAv. *fracaraitē* (Yt 10.112), 3du. YAv. *caratō* (V 13.49), med. ? YAv. **fracaraēte* (Yt 10.112), YAv. *fracarōiθe* (Y 9.5), 2pl. med. YAv. *fracaraθbe* (Yt 13.34), 3pl. YAv. *carənti* (N 52), INJ. 3pl. med. YAv. *fracarənta* (V 2.11, V 2.15, V 2.19), SUBJ. 1pl. ? OAv. *carānī* (Y 44.17), med. YAv. *fracarāne* (Y 9.17), 3sg. YAv. *carāt* (Y 9.24), OPT. 3sg. med. YAv. *fracaraēta* (Yt 13.107), 3du. med. YAv. *vīcaraiiatəm* (N 79), IMPV. 2sg. med. YAv. *ham.caran’ha* (Yt 17.60), 3pl. YAv. *vīcarəntu* (Yt 13.156); Partic.: pres. YAv. *para.carənt-* (Y 62.8). ◇ A different interpretation for OAv. *caraiī* and *carānī* is given by Kellens – Pirart 1990: 229. On the correction of YAv. *fracaraitē* to **fracaraēte* see Klingenschmitt 1972: 91, n. 1. YAv. *fracarōiθe* is originally 2du. med., on which see Kellens 1984: 212 f.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *cr-* ‘to pasture, graze’ || (+ *para-) MMP *przr-* ‘to keep away from’, MMP *prc’r-* (caus.) ‘to refrain, withhold, keep back’ || (+ *ūi-) ? BMP *wcl-/wizar-/* ‘to get through’, MMP *wc’r-*, BMP *wc’l-/wizār-* (caus.) ‘to separate,

divide'. ◇ BMP *wcl-* /*wizar-*/ is deduced from the reading in KAP ii,28, which Nyberg 1974 II: 210 interprets as *vicarēt*, being derived from a verb BMP *wcy-* /*wizar-*/, is uncertain. BMP *wc'l-* /*wizār-*/ with the meaning 'to fulfil, (accomplish, perform)' may have a different origin: < **ui-kar-*. ⇒ DMMPP: 126a, 283b, 278a, 351b

Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *crynd* || (+ **para-*) Pres.: OPT. 3sg. MMP *hyb przyryd*; Caus.: pres. 3pl. MMP *³prc'rynd* || (+ **ui-*) Caus.?: pres. IND. 1sg. BMP *wc'lym /wizārēm*/, BMP *wc'lyh /wizārē*/, 3sg. MMP *wc'ryd*, BMP *wc'lyt /wizārēd*/, 3pl. BMP *wc'lynd /wizārēnd*/, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *wc'r-*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *wyc'rd*, BMP *wc'lt /wizārđ*/; Inf.: caus. BMP *wc'ltm /wizārđan*/

•PARTHIAN: *cr-* 'to pasture, graze' || (+ **para-*) *prc'r-* (caus.) 'to withhold, keep back' || (+ **ui-*) *wyc'r-* 'to perform, accomplish' ⇒ Ghilain: 57, 73 f. | DMMPP: 126a, 278a, 351b

Pres.: IND. 3pl. *crynd* || (+ **para-*) Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. *prc'ryd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *prc'r'h*, 3sg. *³prc'r'h* || (+ **ui-*) Pres.: IND. 2sg. MMP *wyc'ryy*, 3sg. *wc'ryd*, *wyc'ryd*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ati-*)? LKh. *ttājsēr-* 'to surpass'. ◇ Cf. DKS: 122a. Khot. *car-* 'to go on a course' (DKS: 99b) is probably not genuine: < BSkt. ⇒ SGS: 38: 'to dispraise(?)'

•NWIR: NP *čarīdan* 'to graze, pasture', Bal. *čart/čar-* 'to graze, feed', *čar(r)it/čar(r)-* 'to turn, move', *čarāg* 'pasture, grazing', Kurd. (Kurm.) *čērīn/čēr-*, *Zaz. čērāyiš/čeren-*, *Tal. čarde*, *Abz. čerowa/čer-*, *Khuns. čir-*, *Ham. čarayān/čār-*, *Siv. čar-* 'to pasture', NP *čarānīdan/čarān-*, *Meim. bēm-tšernā/a-tšern-*, *Qohr. černā/ čern-*, *Tr. černā/čern-* (caus.) 'to graze', *Zaz. čārnāyiš/čānnen-* 'to lead around, let walk around' || (+ **ui-*) NP *guzārdan/guzār-* 'to accomplish [work, job, etc.], perform [e.g. prayer]; to pay; to explain, interpret', Kurd. (Kurm.) *bžārtin/bžēr-*, (Sor.) *bžārdin/bžēr-* 'to select, distinguish'. ◇ NP *guzārdan/guzār-* with the meaning 'to fulfil, (accomplish, perform)' may have a different origin: < **ui-kar-*. || Kurd. (Kurm.) *bžārtin/bžēr-*, (Sor.) *bžārdin/bžēr-* are not connected with Oss. I. *ævzaryn/ævzærst*, D. *ævzarun/ævzurst* 'to pick out, choose; to separate [etc.]' (v. **uar(H)*¹), *pace* Cabolov, l.c.

•NEIR: Oss. I. *cæryn/card*, D. *cærun/card* 'to live', Oss. I. *ær-caryn/ær-card*, D. *ær-carun/ær-card* (caus.) 'to give life, revive', *Pash. carēdəl* 'to graze'. ◇ These verbal forms are unrelated to Oss. I. *ænzaryn/ænzærst*, D. *ænzarun/ænzarst* (caus.) 'to kindle, light a fire', cited by Abaev, l.c.: 158 f. They rather contain the root **gar*³ 'to heat'.

•SANSKRIT: *car⁽ⁱ⁾* 'to move, walk, go, wander, travel' (RV+), ◇ Also in *Wai. carāy* 'to pasture' ⇒ EWAia I: 534 f.

•PIE **k^welH₁-* 'to move, turn, wander; to pasture; to settle and cultivate' ◇ This verb seems to describe several stages of the Indo-European way of living, viz. nomadism, followed by pastoralism and (semi-)sedentary agriculturalism. ⇒ LIV: 386 ff. | Pok.: 639

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *πέλομαι* ‘I move [intr.]’, *ἔπλετο* (aor.) ‘was, were, happened’, Lat. *colō* (caus.) ‘I till, cultivate, inhabit’, OIrish *buachail* (m) ‘cowherd, *bouvier*’
 •REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 204; *EVP*: 17; Abrahamian 1936: 111; Abaev, *Slovar*: I: 303, 291, 158 f.; Werba 1997: 286 f.; Paul 1998: 293; Cabolov 2001: 253, 214 f.; Lecoq 2002: 125, 591 (passim); *ESIIa* II: 227 ff.; Korn 2005: 84, 133, 319, 370 (passim)

***čaš¹** ‘to teach, show’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *caš-* ‘to teach, show’ ⇒ Liste: 22

MED.; Pres. athem.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *cašte* (N 17), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *cašāite* (Fr.); Partic.: pres. YAv. *cašāna-* (Y 13.3)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *c’š-* / *čāš-* ‘to teach’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *c’šyt* / *čāšēd* /, IMPV. 2pl. BMP *c’šyt* / *čāšēd* /; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *c’št* / *čāšt* /; Inf.: caus. BMP *c’štn* / *čāštan* /

•PARTHIAN: *c’š-* ‘to teach’ ⇒ DMMPP: 124a

Pres.: IND. 2pl. *c’šyd*

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *kāt-* ‘to think; protect’ || (+ **aṃa-*) *vaj(s)āš-* (*vaj(s)īs-*) ‘to perceive, see’ || (+ **pati-*) OKh. *pājsaš-* ‘to look at’ || (+ **ni-*) *nijaš-* ‘to show’ || (+ **ham-*) OKh. *hamjsaš-* ‘to be about to; intend to’ ⇒ SGS: 22, 117, 82, 53, 139

•CHORESMIAN: *m/c’ty-* (denomin.) ‘to convey secretly, disclose in secret’, *c’tyk* ‘riddle’ || (+ **ni-*) *’nc’h-* ‘to show’, ? *m/ncs(y)-* ‘to look at’. ◇ Henning 1958: 111 derives Chor. *m/ncsy-* from **ni-čāšja-* (corresponding to *’nc’h-* ‘to show’), "wie Itr. zu Tr. (oder Kaus.)". Samadi objects to this derivation as we would rather expect the outcome **m/ncš-*, cf. *bywš-* ‘to become silent’ < **apa-gauš(a)ja-*. Also, *m/ncsy-* has a direct object (*-’h* ‘him’) as well. Her objections may be circumvented, if *-y-* in the impf. form *mncsyd-’h* is the secondary, "unstable" *ǃ* (NB: the geminate sign *̄* is optional!). Of course, the (old) caus. formations can also correspond to "normal" transitive formations as well. ⇒ Samadi: 48, 118 f., 121

•BACTRIAN: (+ **ham-*) ? *αυζηβαγο* ‘will, wish’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 180a

•NWIR: Gur. *čāšāin/-čāšy-* ‘to be accustomed to, adept at’

•NEIR: (+ **ni-*) Yi. *nišāž-/nišāžī-*, M. *nijaš-/nijašt-* ‘to show’

•SANSKRIT: *caḥṣ* ‘to shine, appear; observe, see’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 523

◇ This common Itr. root is probably originally an IE redupl. formation of **k^weġ-*, Ir.

***kas¹**, cf. *LIV*, *ibid*.

•PIE ? **k^we-k^wk-* ◇ Thus Lubotsky. Differently Lippe, *LIV*, l.c.: desid. **k^weġ-s-*. ⇒ *LIV*: 383 ff. (fn. 12 ff.) | Pok.: 638

•REFERENCES: *KPF* II: 178; *IIFL*: II: 233b; Werba 1997: 426 f.; *ESIIa* II: 235 ff.

***čaš²** ‘to drip; to drink, eat?’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *c’xš-* (redupl.) ‘to let taste’, MMP *c’šnyg* ‘taste’, BMP *c’št* / *čāšt* / ‘meal’ ⇒ DMMPP: 125a, 124a

Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *c'xšyd*

•PARTHIAN: *c'šnyg* 'taste' ⇒ DMMPP: 124a

•KHOTANESE: (+ **aya-*) OKh. *vatciš-* (*vatcāš-*) 'to besprinkle'. ◇ The reconstruction hesitantly suggested by Emmerick (SGS: 117), viz. **aya-sčāša-* as an *s*-extension of IE **skek-*, is best to be discarded as other Iranian correspondences rather presuppose the existence of Ir. **čaš-*, which was hinted at by Bailey (DKS: 373). ⇒ SGS: 117

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *cš'nt*, BSogd. *cš'nty*, CSogd. *cšnt* 'drink' || (+ **pati-*) CSogd. *pcš-* 'to drink', BSogd. *ptcš-*, BSogd. *'pc's-*, MSogd. *pcš-* 'to taste' (+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *'pc'sty*, 2pl. ? MSogd. *pcšt'h*, SUBJ. 1sg. CSogd. *pcš'n*; Inf.: BSogd. *ptcš't*

•CHORESMIAN: *Cš-* 'to drop' ⇒ Samadi: 52

•NWIR: NP *čašīdan/čaš-*, borrowed into Bal. *čaš(š)it/čaš(š)-* 'to taste, sip', Abyan. *čāšt/čāš-* 'to taste, savour', NP *čāst* 'noon; breakfast', Gz. *čāst* 'noon'

•NEIR: Pash. *čašəl* 'to drink', ? Pash. *cac-eğ-* 'to drip' || (+ **pati-*) Yghn. *p'čaš-/p'čāšta* 'to taste, try'. ◇ On Pash. *cac-eğ-*: "... *srasc*, caus. *srascaya-* 'to drip' would have given Pš. **xac-*. Poss. contaminated by Prs. *čākīdan*", NEVP: 17; EVP: 16 f.

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *čaš* 'breakfast', *čašak* 'taste'

•SANSKRIT: *caṣ* 'to eat' (Dhā.), *caṣaka-* 'drinking vessel' (class.) ⇒ EWAia III: 183f. ◇ The root is exclusively Iranian: the Skt. forms are late and no doubt loanwords from Iranian. The attempt of Rastorgueva – Edel'man, *ESIIa* II: *ibid.*, to link it to **kas*¹ 'to look, appear' and **čaš*¹ 'to teach, show' meets semantic difficulties. Starting from 'to see, be shown' the assumed shift to 'to try' is not very likely, but more importantly, the original meaning of **čaš*² is perhaps rather 'to drip, sprinkle, drink', if we also consider the Khotanese and Choresmian forms. The latter forms are left out in this entry of *ESIIa* II.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Hübschmann 1895: 51; *KPF* I: 81a f., 141b f.; *EVP*: 18; Andreev – Peščereva: 305a; *DKS*: 101a, 137b; *WIM* II/2: 648; Lecoq 2002: 574a; *ESIIa* II: 235 ff.; Korn 2005: 114

***čat ?** 'to tremble, shake'

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *cn-*, BMP *cnd-* /*čand-*/ (with *n*-infix ?) 'to tremble, shake [intr.]', MMP *cnyh-* (caus.) 'to shake [tr.]' ⇒ DMMPP: 126a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *cndyt* /*čandēd*/, 3pl. BMP *cndynd* /*čandēnd*/, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *cn'nd*; Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. MMP **cnyynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *cnyst*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3pl. MMP **cnyhynd*

•PARTHIAN: *^xcnd-* 'to tremble, shake' ⇒ DMMPP: 126a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *^xcndyd*

•NWIR: NP *čandiš* 'severe tremor', Delij. *čandeš* 'tremble, *larziš*', also borrowed in Bal. *čandag* 'to shake'

•NEIR: ? Pash. *caṇḍəl* ‘to clean by shaking’ (LW ?), ? Yi. *čad-/čast* ‘to fall, stumble’.
 ◇ On Yi. *cad-/čast*. "Scarcely connected with Phl. Psalter *cnd-* ‘to shake’...", *IIFL* II: 201a.

•MISC: ? Orm. *cwan*^{yβ}*ēk* ‘to shake out dust from clothes’ = *cwan-/cwanók*

◇ In *ESIIa* II: 219, a root **čand-/čad-* ‘to shake, swing; to be swinging, rocking’ is constructed and connected to Skt. *skand* ‘to leap, to spring, to fall off’, which derives from IE **skend-* ‘to leap, jump’, Lat. *scandō* ‘I rise’. Both the meaning and form of **čand-/čad-* do not agree with the Skt. root very well though. A more plausible etymology is a connection with Lat. *quatiō*, etc., despite the difficulties surrounding the reconstruction of the PIE root.

•PIE *(s)*k^weH₁t-* ‘to shake’ ? ◇ Perhaps not *(s)*k_ueH₁t-*, as reconstructed in *LIV*, l.c. ⇒ *LIV*: 563 f. | Pok.: 632, 957 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *quatiō*, *-cutiō* ‘I shake, winnow’, Gr. πῆ (aor.) ‘scattered’, Germ., OE *scūdan* ‘to shake’, OHG *scunten* ‘to incite, drive’, etc., CS *skytati se* ‘to wander, roam’

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 271; *IIFL* I: 391b f.; Safari 1373: 148; Kiefer 2003: 194

***čaud** ‘to urge to, impel’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ui-*) BMP *wcwd-* /*wizōy-*/ (or /*wizōh-*/ ?) ‘to examine, investigate’

Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *wcwst* /*wizōst*/; Inf.: BMP *wcwstn* /*wizōstan*/

•NWIR: NP *čust* ‘quick, brisk, active’ || (+ *) NP *pižōhīdan/pižōh-* ‘to investigate’ (LW)

•NEIR: Oss. I. *cudyn/cudt*, D. *codun/cudt* ‘to be shaky’

•SANSKRIT: *cod* ‘to impel, to excite, to incite’ (RV+) ⇒ *EWAia* I: 551

•PIE *(s)*k_ued-* ‘to shoot, impel’ ⇒ *LIV*: 560 | Pok.: 955 f., 636

•IE COGNATES: OE *scēotan* ‘to sling, to thrust’, NHG *schießen*, Engl. *to shoot*, etc., (without s-) OCS *kydati* ‘to throw’

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 316; Werba 1997: 347; *ESIIa* II: 248

***čjaH¹** ‘to be calm, glad, rest’

•AVESTAN: *š(ii)ā-* ‘to be calm, glad, rest’ ⇒ Liste: 70

Pres. athem.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *šiiēiti* (Yt 14.48), ? YAv. *šāiiēnti/e* (Y 16.7), 3pl. YAv. *šiiēnti*, ? YAv. *šāiiēnti/e* (Y 16.7), SUBJ. 1pl. YAv. *šiiāmā* (Y 58.3); Partic.: perf. pass. OAv. *šiiāta-* (Y 51.8). ◇ YAv. *šāiiēnti/e* and *šāiiēnti/e* are "Gathicized" forms, cf. De Vaan 2003: 148.

•OLD PERSIAN: *š(i)yāta-* ‘peaceful, happy (on earth)’ <š-i-y-a-t>, *š(i)yāti-* ‘welfare, peace (on earth), happiness (after death)’ <š-i-y-a-t-i-^o>

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *š’d*, BMP *š’t* /*šād*/ ‘glad, happy’. ◇ MMP *š’yh-* means ‘to be king, rule’ rather than ‘to make happy, glad’, v. *DMMPP*: l.c. ⇒ *DMMPP*: 315a, 313a

- PARTHIAN: š'd 'glad, happy' ⇨ Ghilain: 99 |
- KHOTANESE: tsāta- 'rich, happy'
- SOGDIAN: SSogd. š'tyxw, SSogd. štxw, CSogd. š'twx- 'happy, joyful' || (+ *pati-) CSogd. pš'dty' (f.) 'rest, gratification', CSogd. pš'dy 'at rest' || (+ *ham-) SSogd. 'nc'(y), BSogd. 'nc'(y), CSogd. 'nc'y 'to rest, dwell, cease'
(+ *ham-) Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. 'nc'yt, CSogd. 'ncyt, 3pl. BSogd. 'nc'y'nt, SUBJ. 1sg. MSogd. 'nc'yn etc.
- CHORESMIAN: (+ *ham-) hncy- 'to rest, relax', (caus.) hnc'wy- 'to let (it) rest'. ◇ MacKenzie's derivation of Chor. hncy- from *han-čjāja- (III: 318) is questioned by Samadi, as *hančjāja- would rather yield hns'y- in Chor. Perhaps this is solved by assuming dissimilatory loss of the first *j (cf. Sims-Williams 1989: 261). The apparent shortening of the long vowel *ā may be due to its position in front of *j (a well-known, though irregular, development attested in many EIr. languages). The presence of the long stem vowel *ā in the Oss. and (especially) BSogd. reflexes may then be explained as analogically restored from the past participle. The Sogd. forms derive from the same preform *han-čjāja-: "Benveniste was probably wrong to assume that *čy gives Sogd. š internally as well as initially" (Sims-Williams, l.c.). Note that initial *čy (i.e. *čj) would give š, cf. šw- 'to go' < *čjau-. The labial -w- found in the Chor. caus. formation hnc'wy- 'to let (it) rest' is peculiar: analogous to pcr'y- 'to become warm', caus. pcr'wy- (Samadi, l.c.). ⇨ Samadi: 91
- NWIR: NP šād 'cheerful, exulting, glad, happy; much, full'
- NEIR: Oss. cadæg 'quiet, slow' (rather from *čam ?) || (+ *ham-) Oss. I. æncajyn/æncad, D. æncajun/æncad 'to rest, repose'
- MISC: Toch. (LW) A sāt, B sāte 'rich' (< Khot.), Arm. (LW) šat 'many' (< WIr.)
- PIE *k^wjeH₁- 'to rest, be quiet, tranquil' ⇨ LIV: 393 | Pok.: 638
- IE COGNATES: Lat. quiēscō 'I rest', Lat. quiēvī, Arm. han-geaw 'rested', OCS po-čijō 'I rest', po-kojō (caus.) 'I calm (someone)'
- REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*' I: 285 f., 151; DKS: 146a f.; *ESlJa* II: 268 ff.

*čjaH² 'to move, throw, [euphem.] relieve oneself'

- AVESTAN: YAv. šāma 'defecation, excrement' (F 201, Klingenschmitt 1968: 73 f.) || (+ *fra-) YAv. fra ... šā- 'to defecate' ⇨ Liste: 70
Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. ? YAv. išaiti (V 5.2); Partic.: pres. med. YAv. fra ... šāimna- (N 37). ◇ YAv. išaiti is corrupt, cf. Kellens 1984: 209, fn. 1.
- SOGDIAN: (+ *apa-) ? CSogd. pš'y 'to throw, cast (down)', MSogd. pš'y 'to throw'
Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. pš'yt, SUBJ. 1sg. CSogd. pš'yn, IMPV. 2sg. CSogd. pš'y, MSogd. pš'y (BBB: 68, ad 544), etc.
- NWIR: NP šāš 'urine, pee', Qohr. šāšīd/šāš- 'to urinate' || (+ *ā-) Tt. (Esh.) āši/āšīnd-, (Tak.) āšin/āšīnd 'to throw'

- NEIR: ? Yi. *čái-/čaid-* ‘to sprinkle’, (Zarubin) *čōy-/čēy-* ‘to sow, scatter’, ? Khf. *šawδ-/xa^wd* ‘to defecate’, ? Wa. *čaš-/čašt* ‘to take away, remove’
- PIE **kī(e)H₂-* ‘to set in motion, move [especially of bodily functions]’ ⇒ LIV: 346 | Pok.: 538 f.
- IE COGNATES: Lat. *ciēre* ‘to set in motion, stir up; to move (the bowels), cause the discharge of (secretions, etc.)’
- REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 200a; Yarshater 1969: 182 f.; *EVS*: 116b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 139 (“unclear”); Lecoq 2002: 320, 654b

*čjaH³/čiH ‘to freeze’

- CHORESMIAN: *m/cy-* ‘to freeze’ ⇒ Samadi: 55
- NWIR: NP *čā(h)īdan/čay-*, *Zaz.* *čī-* ‘to become cold’, *Sang.* *čey-* ‘to freeze’, *Maz.* *čā* ‘cold’, *Abyan.* *čoyemūn* ‘a cold’
- NEIR: *Yghn.* *ši-*, *Yi.* *čīy-/čūy-* (Zarubin) ‘to freeze’ || (+ **us-* ?) *Sh.* (Baj.) *šici(y)-/šicōd*, *Rosh.* *šicay-/šicūd*, *Bart.* *šicī-/šicōd*, *Orosh.* *šisay-/šicōd*, *Sariq.* *šicey-/šicud*, *Yzgh.* *šiy-/šed* ‘to freeze’ || (+ **pati-*) *Yi.* *pčō* ‘frostbitten’
- MISC: *Orm.* *cāk* ‘cold’
- ◇ On **čjaH³/čiH* < (?) PIE **kī-*, cf. **j̥jauH* ‘to chew’ < PIE **ǵjeuH-*, see Rasmussen 1989: 114, no. 5. The variant **saiH/siH* may derive from the variant **k(e)iH-*. The *Skt.* connection *śyā-*, cited in *EWAia* II: 660 f. is poorly attested. The usual meaning given for this root is ‘to congeal, coagulate, freeze, sim.’, but this is only true of a few passages with the present *śyāyati* (A.L.). A different interpretation (‘to fall down [of rain, etc.]’) seems preferable for the present *śīyāte*, see Kulikov, *Vedic -ya-presents*, s.v. chapt. III, *śī* ‘fall’ (forthc.).
- PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 331 f. | Pok.: –
- REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 204, 235b; Andreev – Peščereva: 326b; *EVS*: 100b; Lecoq 2002: 574b

*čjam ‘to swallow’

- AVESTAN: *YAv.* (^x)*šam-* ‘to swallow’ ⇒ Liste: 69
YAv. (^x)*šamāt* (P 8)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ā-*) *MMP* ‘*sm-* ‘to swallow’ ⇒ *DMMPP*: 54b
Partic.: pres. pl. *MMP* ‘*sm’g’n*, pass. perf. ‘*smyhyst*
- PARTHIAN: (+ **upa-*) ‘*bs’m-* ‘to swallow, consume’ ⇒ *DMMPP*: 14b
Partic.: pres. ‘*bs’mg*, perf. pass. ‘*bs’m’d*; *Inf.*: ‘*bs’m’dn*
- KHOTANESE: *LKh.* *tsām-* ‘to swallow’ ⇒ *SGS*: 41
- SOGDIAN: *BSogd.* *š’m* ‘to swallow’ || (+ **ā-*) *BSogd.* ‘*š’m* ‘to drink; swallow’
Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. *BSogd.* *š’m’th*; *Partic.*: pres. ? *SSogd.* *š’mn’y* ‘devouring ?’ || (+ **ā-*) *Pres.*: IND. 3sg. *BSogd.* ‘*š’mth*
- CHORESMIAN: (+ **upa-*) *bs’m-* ‘to drink’ ⇒ Samadi: 24

- NWIR: ? NP *čamīdan* ‘to drink wine’, NP *čam* ‘eating and drinking’ (LW ?), Zaz. *šimītiš/šimen-* ‘to drink’ || (+ *ā-) NP *āšāmīdan* ‘to drink’
- NEIR: Oss. I. *cymyn/cymd*, D. *cumun/cund* ‘to sip [tea, coffee, soup], gulp’, Pash. *šum-* ‘to drink, gulp’, Yi. *šam-/šamd*, M. *šom-/šamd* ‘to drink’
- MISC: Orm. *šām-* ‘to sip’
- SANSKRIT: *camī* ‘to sip, rinse’ (Br.+) ⇒ EWAia I: 530
 ◇ The root must be reconstructed with initial *čĭ-, on the basis of the Khotanese and Avestan evidence. This outcome, however, cannot be formally reconciled with Skt. *camī-* (or other IE cognates). Ir. *čĭam- has probably been influenced onomatopoeically (cf. EWAia, l.c.).
- PIE *k^wem- ‘to gulp, sip’ ⇒ LIV: 389 f. | Pok.: 530
- IE COGNATES: Arm. *k’amem* ‘I squeeze out, sieve’, Gr. ἔτεμεν ‘milked, squeezed out, ἦμελεγεν’ (Hes.), Nlcel. *hvóma* ‘to gulp, swill down’
- REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 407b; *IIFL* II: 252a; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 321 f.; *DKS*: 146; Werba 1997: 286; Paul 1998: 314a; Cheung 2002: 126, 176; *ESlJa* II: 260 f.; *NEVP*: 79

*čĭau ‘to move, go’

- AVESTAN: *š(ii)auu-* (*šāuu-*, *šū-*) ‘to move, go’ || (+ *abi-) ‘to come to’ || (+ *fra-) ‘to set, go forth’ || (+ *ui-) caus. ‘to set apart’ ⇒ Liste: 70
 Pres. {1} (a)them.: IND. (med.?) 3sg./pl. OAv. *šauuaitē* (Y 29.3), SUBJ. med. 1sg. OAv. *šĭauuāi* (Y 33.8), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. ^s*frašauua* (V 2.10, V 2.18); Pres. {2} s-: IND. 3sg. YAv. *frašusaiti* (V 5.2, VdPZ 18.14), 3pl. YAv. *frašūsənti* (Yt 13.65), med. 3pl. YAv. *frašūsənte* (Yt 13.42), INJ. 3sg. (°)*šūsəṣ*, SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *frašusāni* (Yt 17.57 f.), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *frašusa* (Yt 17.60); Perf.: OPT. 1sg. YAv. *frāšusuiiam* (Yt 8.11), 3sg. YAv. ^s*frāšusuiiāt* (Yt 11.5); Partic.: pres. YAv. *šauuaṇt-*, caus. YAv. *frāšauuāiṇt-* (N 103), med. YAv. *frāšauuāiīamna-* (Vr 12.2), perf. pass. YAv. ^s*frāšūta-* (Vr 12.2); Inf.: YAv. ^s*aīšūiiti* (N 4); Caus.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *frāšauuāiēiti* (Yt 10.36, N 103), 3pl. YAv. *višāuūaiēipti* (V 2.31 f.), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *višāuūaiiāt* (V 2.11), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. ^s*frāšāuūaiiāt* (V 16.7), OPT. 2sg. YAv. ^s*frāšāuūaiiōiš* (Yt 1.24), 3sg. YAv. *vī šāuūaiiōiṭ* (V 8.75 f.). ◇ OAv. *šauuaitē* is rather infinitive?: "The form *šavaitē* cannot be 3pl. pres. because of the subj. form in the following *yahmāi jimā*. Ind. and subj. cannot stand in parallel in relative clauses of such future value, only modal forms or inf.", Insler, *Gāthās*: 149
- OLD PERSIAN: *š(i)yav-* ‘to set, go forth’ ⇒ Kent: 211a
 Pres. them.: impf. IND. 1sg. *aš(i)yavam* <a-š-i-y-v-m> (DB 1.84, DB 1.91, DB 2.3, etc.), 3sg. *ašiyava* <a-š-i-y-v> (DB 1.80, DB 2.17, DB 2.22, etc.), <a-š-i-y-v> (XPf 33 f.), 3pl. *ašiyava*ⁿ <a-š-i-y-v> (DB 1.76)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *šw-*, BMP *šwb-* (‘ZLWN-’) /šaw-/ ‘to go’ ⇒ DMMP: 319b f.
 Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *šwyd*, 2pl. MMP *šwyd*, 3pl. MMP *šwynd*, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *šw’d*, 3pl. MMP *šw’nd*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *šw*, 2pl. MMP *šwyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *šwd*; Inf.: MMP *šwdn*
- PARTHIAN: *šw-* ‘to go’ || (+ *fra-) *frš’w-* (old caus.) ‘to send (off/forth)’ ⇒ Ghilain: 67, 77, 49 | DMMP: 319b f., 156b f.

Pres.: IND. 2sg. *šwy*, *šwyh*, *šwy*, 3sg. *šwyd*, 3pl. *šwynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *šw'h*, 1pl. *šw'm*, OPT. 3sg. *hyb* ^š*šwyd*, IMPV. 2sg. *šw*, 2pl. *šwyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *šwd*; Inf.: *šwdn* || (+ **fra*-) Pres.: IND. 3pl. *fršwynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *frš'w'n*, 2sg. *frš'w'h*, *frš'w'*, 3sg. *frš'w'h*, IMPV. 2sg. *frš'w*; Partic.: perf. pass. *fršwd*

•KHOTANESE: *tsu-* (*tsī-*), Tumsh. *ccha-* 'to go' || (+ **ati*-) OKh. **ttātsu-* (*ttātsa-*) 'to cross' || (+ **aṭa-*) OKh. *vatsēi-* (*vatsu-*) 'to go down', Tumsh. *vatsy-* || (+ **pati-*) *patāts-* 'to give up, abandon' || (+ **fra*-) ? *hats-* 'to come out' || (+ **niš-*) OKh. *naltsu-* (*naltseī-*) 'to go out' ⇒ SGS: 42, 38, 118, 67, 49

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *šw-*, BSogd. *šw-*, CSogd. *šw-*, MSogd. *šw-* 'to go, walk, move' *Widely attested*: Pres.: IND. 1sg. BSogd. *šw'm*, 2sg. dur. CSogd. *šwysq*, dur. BSogd. *šw'm štn*, 2sg. BSogd. *šw'y*, dur. BSogd. *šw'y' škwn*, BSogd. *šw'y' škwn*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **abi-*) *m/fsw-* 'to become reddish (of cheeks), blush' || (+ **ūi-ā-*) *y'sw-* 'to go away to; to pass; to defect to; to flow'. ◇ According to MacKenzie 1990: 104, the initial *y-* of Chor. *y'sw-* is spontaneous, which is, in my opinion, rather a gratuitous explanation. ⇒ Samadi: 71, 255 f.

•BACTRIAN: *ḫao-* 'to go', ? *ḫaoi-* (caus.) 'to use, spend' ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 234b

•NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *šudan/šav-* 'to become; [obs.] go', Bal. *šut-* (supplet. *raw-*) 'to go', Kurd. (Kurm.) *čūn*, *čūyīn* (*či-*), (Sor.) *čūn* (*či-*) 'to go, leave', Zaz. *šyāyīš/šīn-*, Abyan. *šō/š-*, Anar. *ši/š-*, Ard. *šo/š-*, Awrom. *šīáy* (only pret.), Fariz. *-št/-š-*, Yar. *-šō-/šī-*, Gz. *š-/šō(i)*, Gil. (Rsht.) *šoán/š-* 'to go', Mah. *š-/š(i)t-*, Khuns. *č-*, (supplet. *ēi-ūm*) 'to (be)come', (LW ?) *š-/št* 'to go, walk', Ham. *šiyān/š-*, Isfah. *š(ev)-/šezān*, Jow. *-fo*, *-fu/a-f-*, Khr. *be-ši/da-š-*, Meim. *be-šoj/a-f-*, Nn. *ši/š-*, Natan. *-ši/-š-*, Qohr. *šō/š-*, Semn. *-šī(č-)*, *-šā/-š-*, Sang. *-šūj-/šun-*, Shamerr. *-šī(n)/šúm-*, Siv. *š-/šī*, Soi *št-/š-*, Sorkh. *-šo/* (1sg.) *šīn*, Lasg. *-šo/* (1sg.) *šīn* 'to go', Ham. *bār-šīayān/bār-e-š-* 'to flee, run', (sec. caus.) Abyan. *šūa/šūn-*, Abz. *šūta/šūn-* 'to lead', Fariz. *-uni-* / *-(š)uni-*, Yar. *-šūn/-š-unī-* 'to bring (someone)', Lasg. *ō-vī-n/* (supplet. *-ord-* < **ā-* + **bar*¹), Yar. *-ši-* 'to bring, carry (someone)' || (+ **upa-* ?) Tal. *peše* 'to go in, on, up'

•NEIR: Oss. I. *cæwyn/cyd*, D. *cæwun/cud*, Yghn. *šau-/šáuta*, (supplet. *éta*) 'to go', Sh. *sāw-/sūd*, Rosh. *sāw-/sāwd*, Bart. *sāw-/sud*, Sariq. *so-/sīt*, *sūt* 'to go, become', Yi. (supplet. pres. *oy-*) *šūi*, M. (supplet. pres. *áy-*) *šəy*, Yzgh. (supplet. pres. *bad-*) *šod-*, Pash. *šwəl* 'to happen, occur', Wa. *čaw-* (supplet. *taŷd-*) 'to leave, depart' || (+ **pati-*) Oss. D. *fēcawun/fecud* 'to pass, drive by'

•MISC: Par. *čh-/čhī* 'to go, become', Par. *čhō* 'going, walking', Orm. *caw-/cawōk*, *caw-/c'ēk* 'to go' = *c(aw)-/c(aw)ók*, Orm. *caw-/caw'ēk* (caus.) 'to cause to go'

•SANSKRIT: *cyav* '(to start) to move, to set out' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 552 f.

◇ An Ir. proto-form **ṣ̌jau-* (vel sim.) is often found in (older) handbooks, but the Ossetic and Khotanese evidence clearly points to an reconstruction **č̣jau*, with initial affricate.

•PIE **k₁ieu-* ‘to move, go’. ◊ Rather with initial labiovelar **k^wieu-* on account of notably Arm. č‘*ogan* with palatal č‘ (cf. *lowc‘e-* < **lōuk₁ie-* ‘to set fire’), according to Lipp, as cited by Kümmel. The Armenian reflexes, however, are not compelling, as it is conceivable that the different treatment depends on the position of the consonant group, not unlike the treatment in Khotanese. Besides, the "proof" of Arm. *lowc‘e-* from **lōuk₁ie-* is rather circumstantial. The Albanian form *syen* ‘looks into; attacks’, also cited in favour of a reconstruction with a labio-velar, may not be included considering the differences in meaning. ⇒ LIV: 394⁴ f. | Pok.: 538 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *σεύομαι* ‘I am in violent motion, walk, rush (to)’, Arm. č‘*ogan* ‘they went’

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 81b, 207a, 246a f.; Ivanow 1926: 422, 427; *IIFL* I: 244b f., 391a; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 66, 154, 163, 259 f.; *IIFL* II: 195, 250a; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 56 f., 115, 159; Abrahamian 1936: 121, 109, 135; Lambton 1938: 40b, 76b; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 307, 469; Andreev – Peščereva: 326a; MacKenzie 1966: 109; *EVS*: 76b; Lecoq 1974: 60; *WIM* I: 66, 72; *WIM* II/1: 82 f.; *DKS*: 147a f., 449b; *WIM* III: 116; Werba 1997: 184 f.; Paul 1998: 314b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 139; Cabolov 2001: 246 f.; Lecoq 2002: 185 f., 196 f., 200, 204 (passim); *ESIIa* II: 262 ff.; Kiefer 2003: 194; Korn 2005: 128, 386 (passim)

D

***dab** ‘to deceive’

•AVESTAN: *dab-* ‘to deceive’ ⇒ Liste: 27

Pres. *nu-*: INJ. 2pl. OAv. *dəbənaotā* (Y 325); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. OAv. *dābaieitī* (Y 43.6), INJ. 3sg. OAv. *aipī.dəbāuuaiiat* (Y 31.17); Inf.: desid. OAv. *dīβZdiiāi* (Y 45.4)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **fra-*) BMP *pldp-* /*frēb-*/ ‘to deceive’ || (+ **ui-*) MMP *wy**y**b-*, MMP *wyd(y)b-* ‘to deceive, delude’, MMP *wyps-* (inch.) ‘to be deceived’, (denomin., sec. caus.) BMP *wyd’p’nyn-* /*wiyābēn-*/, *wyd’p’n’n-* /*wiyābān-*/ ‘to deceive, seduce’ ⇒ DMMPP: 351a f.

(+ **fra-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *pldpyt* /*frēbēd*/, 3pl. BMP *pldpynd* /*frēbēnd*/; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *pldptk* /*frēftag*/ || (+ **ui-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *wybyd*, 3pl. MMP *wybynd*, MMP **wybynd*, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *wyb’d*, 3pl. ? MMP **wyb’nd*; Partic.: pres. MMP *wy**y**b’g*, perf. pass. MMP *wyptg*, MMP *wyftg*, MMP *wyptg*, MMP *wypt*, *wypt*, *wyft*, *wyft*, caus. BMP *wyd’p’nynyt* /*wiyābēnīd*/; Inf.: caus. BMP *wyd’p’n’nytn* /*wiyābānīdan*/; Inch./Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. *wy**y**syd*, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP **wy**y**ps’nd*

•PARTHIAN: *db* ‘trick, deception’ || (+ **ui-*) *w**y**fs-* (orig. inch.) ‘to be deceived’ ⇒ Ghilain: 81 | DMMPP: 136b, 339b f.

(+ **ui-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. **w**y**fsynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *w**y**ftg*, (pl.) *w**y**ftg’n*, *w**y**ft*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ui-*) LKh. *bev-* ‘to deceive, injure’ ⇒ SGS: –

•SOGDIAN: (+ **pari-*) CSogd. *prdbn* ‘deceit’ || (+ **ui-*) CSogd. *wyd’b* ‘harm’, CSogd. *wyd’bqyn* ‘harmed’

- CHORESMIAN: (+ **pari-*) *prδβs-* ‘to be deceived’, *prδβy-* (caus.) ‘to deceive’
⇒ Samadi: 151
- NWIR: (+ **fra-*) NP *fārēftan/fārēb-* ‘to deceive’
- NEIR: Oss. I. *davyn/davd*, D. *davun/davd* ‘to steal’, Wa. *δβν(β)ν-/δovoyd*, *δβν(β)ν-/δowoyd* ‘to steal’, also *βνw-/bowd* ‘to deceive’
- SANSKRIT: *dabh* ‘to deceive’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 694 f.
- PIE **d^heb^h-* ‘to deceive, harm (someone), belittle, lessen’ ⇒ LIV: 132 f. | Pok.: 240
- IE COGNATES: Hitt. */teḫnu-/* ‘to decrease, to humble’
- REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 521; *Abaev, Slovar’* I: 348; *DKS*: 304b; *Werba* 1997: 193 f.; *Steblin-Kamenskij* 1999: 112, 168; *ESJa* II: 274 ff.

*daH¹ ‘to give’

- AVESTAN: *dā-* (*δā-*) ‘to bestow, place upon’ || (+ **abi-*) ‘*beigeben, beilegen*’ || (+ **ā-*) *ādā-* ‘to give, pay back, return the favour (sim.), [med.] to receive [Panaino, *Tišt.*: 109]’ (occasional, late shortening of initial *ā-*, De Vaan 2003: 135) || (+ **para-*) ‘to give away’ || (+ **pari-*) ‘to pass, hand over’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to bestow’ || (+ **ui-*) ‘to divide, share to’¹ || Liste: 29

Pres. {1} athem. red.: IND. 1sg. YAv. *dadāmi*, med. OAv. *dadē* (Y 28.4), YAv. *daiθē* (Y 11.17), 2sg. YAv. *dadāhi* (Yt 10.30), 3sg. OAv. *dadāitī* (Y 33.14), YAv. *dadāiti* (N 84), med. OAv. *dastē* (Y 34.1), YAv. *daste*, YAv. *adaste* (Yt 8.14), 1pl. OAv. *dadəmahī^o* (Y 35.5, Y 39.4), OAv. *dadəmahī* (Y 41.1), YAv. *dadəmahī^(o)* (Vr 8.2, Vr 11.21, A 3.6), YAv. *daṇmahī* (Y 68.1), 1pl. med. *dadəmaidē* (Y 35.9, Y 41.3, etc.), 3pl. OAv. *pairī dadaitī* (Y 46.1), ? YAv. *^sdadāiti* (Yt 10.3), INJ. 1sg. YAv. *dadāṃ*, 2sg. OAv. *dadā* (Y 31.9, Y 31.11, Y 44.15, Y 46.7), 3sg. OAv. *dadāt* (Y 30.7, Y 30.11, Y 31.21, etc., YAv. *dadāt*, 3pl. OAv. *nī dadat* (Y 32.14), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *daθāni*, 2sg. YAv. *para.daθō* (V 18.28), 3sg. OAv. *dadat* (Y 27.13, Y 29.9), YAv. *daθat*, YAv. *para.daθat* (V 18.28), 1pl. YAv. *^sdaθāma*, 3pl. OAv. *dadən* (Y 30.8), YAv. *daθən*, med. 3pl. OAv. *dadəntē* (Y 31.14), OPT. 1sg. med. (?) YAv. *daiḏe* (Yt 5.130, Yt 10.80), YAv. *fradaiθiiā* (V 18.52), med. YAv. *^odaiθiša* (V), 3sg. OAv. *daiḏī* (Y 28.2, Y 43.14, Y 43.16, Y 46.2), YAv. *daiḏiiāt*, YAv. *para.daiḏiiāt* (A 3.7 ff.), YAv. *para.daiḏiiāt* (V 19.27), med. OAv. *daiḏitā* (43.12, 46.18), YAv. *^odaiḏitā*, 3du. YAv. *daiḏitəm*, 3pl. YAv. *daiḏiirəš*, YAv. *^odaiḏiian*, IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *dazdi*, med. 2sg. OAv. *dasuuā* (Y 33.12), 3sg. OAv. *dadātū* (Y 53.8), 2pl. YAv. *dasta* (Y 68.21), med. 2pl. OAv. *-dazdūm* (Y 53.5); Pres. {2} them. red.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *^odaθaiti* (V 4.3 f.), med. 3sg. YAv. *daθaite* (Yt 19.11, Yt 19.89, Vyt 50), med. 3pl. YAv. *^odaθante* (V 8.100 ff.), INJ. 1sg. YAv. *daθəm*, 3sg. YAv. *daθat*, 3pl. YAv. *daθən*, SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *^odaθaiti*, OPT. 3pl. YAv. *^sdaθaiien* (V 7.74); Aor. {1} athem.: INJ. 2sg. OAv. *dā* (Y 28.6 f., Y 31.3, Y 34.15, etc.), med. 2sg. OAv. *dāḡhā* (Y 44.18), 3sg. OAv. *dāt* (Y 37.1, Y 44.3, Y 45.4, etc.), med. 3sg. ? OAv. *dātā* (Y 44.20), med. 1pl. OAv. *duuidī* (Y 29.5), 2pl. OAv. *dātā* (29.2, ? Y 31.5, Y 33.1), 3pl. OAv. *daṇ* (Y 45.10, ? Y 47.1, Y 49.4), SUBJ. med. 1sg. OAv. *-dānē* (Y 44.9), 2sg. OAv. *dāhī* (Y 53.9), med. 2sg. OAv. *dāḡhē* (Y 36.1), 3sg. OAv. *dāitī* (Y 44.19), OAv. *dāt*, med. 3sg. OAv. *dāitē* (Y 44.19, VdPZ 8.10), YAv. *dāite* (Yt 17.15), 1pl. OAv. *dāmā* (Y 34.3), med. 2pl. OAv. *daduiiē* (Y 46.15), 3pl. OAv. *daiḡtī* (Y 32.15), (Inj.?) OAv. *daṇ* (Y 47.1), med. 3pl. OAv. *dāḡtē* (Y 48.11), OPT. 1sg. OAv. *diiḡm* (Y 44.14), med. 1sg. OAv. *ā dīiā* (Y 43.8), 2sg. YAv. *dāiīā*, med. 2sg. OAv. *dīšā* (Y 43.7), 3sg. OAv. *d(ā)iiāt* (Y 43.10, Y 45.9), med. 2pl. YAv. *dāiīata*, IMPV. 2sg. OAv. *dāidī* (Y 28.6 f., Y 40.3, Y 51.2, etc.), med. 2sg. OAv. *dāhuuā* (Y 50.2), 3sg. OAv. *dātū* (Y 51.17), 2pl. OAv. *dātā* (Y 29.10, Y 34.6, Y 43.13); Aor. {2} s-: IMPV. med. 2pl. OAv. *-dāḡhō.dūm* (Y 45.1);

Perf.: IND. 2sg. OAv. *fradadāθā* (Y 40.1), YAv. *dadāθā* (Y 71.10), 3sg. YAv. *dadā* (Y 12.7), YAv. *daða*, med. 3sg. YAv. *daiðe*, YAv. *daiθe* (Y 0.4, Y 11.17), 3pl. YAv. *dāðarə* (Yt 19.6), OPT. 1sg. YAv. *daiðiiqm* (Yt 8.52), 3pl. YAv. **daiðm* (Yt 13.12); Partic.: pres. {1} YAv. *daðant-*, YAv. **daθant-*, med. pres. {1} YAv. *daθānāi*, fut. YAv. *uzdāhiiamna-* (Vr 9.1, Vr 9.3), pres. desid. ? OAv. *vīdīšəmna-* (Y 51.1), aor. {1} OAv. *dant-* (Y 32.4), pf. OAv. *daduuāh-* (Y 58.6), YAv. *daðuuāh-*, YAv. *dabuš-*, med. perf. YAv. *daθāna-* (Y 9.31), perf. pass. *dāta-* (V13.1), YAv. *vīðāta-* (Y 57.21, Yt 10.44); Inf.: pres. OAv. *dazdiāi* (Y 35.4, Y 44.1), ? YAv. *daste* (Vr 15.1), aor. {1} OAv. *dāidiāi* (Y 31.5, Y 44.8, Y 51.20), OAv. *dāuuōi* (Y 44.14, ? Y 51.9); Pass.: pres. SUBJ. 3sg. *daiiāf*, aor. IMPV. 3sg. OAv. *dqm* (Y 44.16), ? OAv. *vī dqm* (Y 32.6); Caus.: pres. IND. med. 3sg. OAv. *dāiētē* (Y 31.11)

•OLD PERSIAN: *dā-* ‘to give’ ⇒ Kent: 188b

Pres. athem. red.: IMPV. 2sg. *dadātuv* ‘may he give’ <d-d-a-tu-u-[v]> (DP23), <d-d-a-tu-u-v> (DNa 55, XPh 60)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *dy-*, BMP *dh-* (*YHBWN-*) /*dah-*/ ‘to give’ ⇒ DMMPP: 148a f.

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *dyyd*, MMP *dt*, 1pl. MMP *dyy*, 3pl. MMP *dyynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. MMP **dyy’n*, MMP *dyy’n*, 2sg. MMP *dyy’h*, 3sg. MMP *dyy’d*, MMP *dy’d*, 1pl. MMP *dy’m*, etc.

•PARTHIAN: *dh-* ‘to give’ ⇒ Ghilain: 78 | DMMPP: 137a f.

Well attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. *swgnd dh’m* ‘I let (thee) swear, *saugand midiham’*, 2sg. *dhyh*, 3sg. *dhyd*, 1pl. *dh’m* (‘st’wysn) ‘we (will ?) give (praise)’, 3pl. *dhynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *dh’n*, etc.

•KHOTANESE: (+ **para-*) *parāth-* (*pirāth-*) ‘sell’ ⇒ SGS: 72 f.

•SOGDIAN: (+ **para-*) SSogd. *pr’yδ*, BSogd. *pr’yδ*, CSogd. *pr’yθ* ‘to sell’, BSogd. *pr’yδ* (caus.) ‘to make (it) sell’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *pr’yδy*, OPT. 3sg. CSogd. *pr’yθy*; Fut.: SUBJ. 1sg. SSogd. *L’ pr’yδ’nk’m* ‘I won’t sell’; Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. *pr’yδt*, BSogd. *pr’yδt*; Caus.: pres. IMPV. 2sg. BSogd. *pr’yδ*; Pass.: pret. intr. OPT. 3sg. SSogd. *pr’yδt βw’y*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **para-*) *p’rδ-* ‘to sell’ ⇒ Samadi: 137

•BACTRIAN: *λα-* ‘to give, assign, grant, allot, assign’ || (+ **para-*) *παρολα-* ‘to sell’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 200b f., 216b

•NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *dādan/dih-* ‘to give’, Bal. *dāt/dey-*, Kurd. *dā(n)*, *dāyin/di-*, *da-*, Zaz. *dāyiš/dān-*, Anar. *ham’-do/(impv.) ha-di*, Abyan. *doya/d-*, Abz. *dowa/d-*, Ard. *dāhe/d-*, Awrom. *dāy/-da-*, Natan. *hā-dā/hā-d-*, Tal. *doye*, Gil. *daan* ‘to give’, (Rsht.) *fā-dcən/fā-d-* ‘to give back (the freedom)’, Fariz. *-dāa/-d(ā)-*, Yar. *-dā/-d(ā)-*, Gur. (Kand.) *dān-* (subj.) *dāū*, Ham. *he-dayān/he-i-d-*, Isfah. *dadān/* (? supplet. *tu-*), Jow. *bam-da/di-*, Meim. *hā:m dā:/hā: a-d-*, Khuns. *d-/dā*, Mah. *d-/dā*, Nn. *dā/* (? supplet. *tī-*), Qohr. *dāda/d-*, Semn. *dāi/-dāi*, Sang. *hā-detūn/din-*, Shamerz. *hā-dán/dcən-*, Soi *-dā/hōad-*, Sorkh. *há-dahân/há-dān-*, Lasg. (1sg. pret.) *â-déjn*, (3sg.) *dāš/* (1sg.) *â-din* ‘to give’, (pass.) Kurd. (Sul.) *dirān*, Awrom. *dirīáy/diria-* ‘to be given’

•NEIR: Oss. *dæddyn/* (supplet. *læværd*), D. *dæddun/* (*lævard*) ‘to give’, Wa. *ðæt-* ‘to give’ (pret. supplet. of *rand-*, ***HraH**) || (+ **para-*) Pash. *proləl*, Sh. *parōād-/parōōd*,

Rosh. *parḏād-/parḏūd*, Khf. *parḏād-/parḏūd*, Bart. *par(a)ḏād-/parḏōd*, Yi. *plār-/prīst*, M. *pəlōr-/pərist*-, Yghn. *pīrōnt-/pīrōnta*- ‘to sell’

•MISC: Par. *dah-/dā* ‘to give’ || (+ *para-) Orm. *prāy-/prāk*/, *prā-/prawak* ‘to sell’ = *prāy-/prāk* || (+ *fra-) Orm. *šīr-/šūk*, *šīyōk* ‘to give’ = -š-, -šér-/šuk

•SANSKRIT: *dā* ‘to give, present, offer’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 713 f.

◇ In many cases, it is difficult to distinguish the verbal forms of *daH¹ ‘to give’ and *daH² ‘to place, put’. In the case of Av. the context often allows both meanings, i.e. ‘to place something on someone’ equates ‘to give something to someone’ (hence Kellens – Pirart II: 256, s.v. ¹dā “placer, donner”). Only in a few instances, it is possible to assign one of the roots with some certainty, notably OAv. *dazdē* (Y 30.4) and *dazdā* (Y 27.13) must be from *daH², as -zd- in these forms can only be the result of Bartholomae’s Law: IE *-d^hH-t- > Ir. *-zd- > Av. -zd-. It does not, however, necessarily follow that the corresponding (YAv.) forms with -st- contain the root *daH¹ though, as this can reflect the result of analogical replacement.

•PIE *deH₃- ‘to give’ ⇒ LIV: 105 ff. | Pok.: 223 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. /dā-/ ‘to take’, Gr. δίδωμι ‘I give, grant’, Lat. *dare*, OCS *dati*, Lith. *dúoti* ‘to give’, etc.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 80b, 138a f., 206a f., 245a; Ivanow 1926: 420; *IIFL* I: 248a, 404b f., 408a f.; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 64, 160, 258; *KPF* II: 194 f.; *IIFL* II: 237b; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 54, 113 f., 158; Abrahamian 1936: 114, 128; Lambton 1938: 42a, 77b; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 350 f.; Andreev – Peščereva: 307a; MacKenzie 1966: 94, 93; *EVS*: 57b; Lecoq 1974: 60; *WIM* I: 67; *DKS*: 215b f.; Werba 1997: 292 f; Paul 1998: 294b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 166; Cabolov 2001: 295; Lecoq 2002: 121, 124, 126 (passim); Kiefer 2003: 204, 206; *ESUJ*a II: 433 ff.; Korn 2005: 245, 270, 320

*daH² ‘to place, put’

•AVESTAN: see *daH¹ || (+ *ā-) ‘to put, place in, on’ || (+ *uz-) ‘to erect’ || (+ *ni-) ‘to put down, lay’ ⇒ Liste: 29

See *daH¹ || Pres. {1} athem. red.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *nidaθaite* (Yt 17.6), med. OAv. *dazdē* (Y 30.4), impf. 3pl. YAv. *ādadaṭ* (Y 19.12), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *nidaḏāṭ* (H 2.15), INJ. 3sg. med. OAv. *dazdā* (Y 27.13), YAv. *uzdasta* (Yt 10.90, V 3.2, V 15.21, etc.), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *nidaiθīš* (V 19.23); Partic.: aor. athem. YAv. *adās* (Y 46.5), fut. YAv. *uzdāhiiamna-* (Vr 9.1, Vr 9.3); Pass.: pres. IND. 3pl. ? YAv. *niḏaiieṇti* (V 3.9), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *niḏaiiaṭ* (Yt 12.17), OPT. 3sg. med. YAv. *niḏaiiaēta* (V 16.2)

•OLD PERSIAN: *dā-* ‘to put, make, create’ ⇒ Kent: 188b

Pres. athem. red.: impf. IND. 3sg. *adadā* <a-d-d-a> (DPd 3, DNb 1 f., DSe 3 f.); Aor. athem.: IND. 3sg. *adā* <a-d-a> (DNa 2 ff., De 3 ff., XPa 1 ff., etc.)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *dh-* (usually *YḤBWN-*) /*dah-*/ ‘to put, place, deposit; create; to prepare’, BMP *dhšn* /*dahišn*/ ‘creation’, MMP *d’d* ‘law, justice; scriptures with legal content’ || (+ *ni-) MMP *nyh-* (BMP *HNHTWN-*) ‘to lay, put down’ || (+ *yi-) BMP *wyd’n* /*wiyān*/ ‘tent’, MMP *wy’nm’n* ‘nomad, چادرنشین’. ◇ On the meanings of BMP *dh-* (*YḤBWN-*) /*dah-*/, see Nyberg II: 60. The spelling *dh-* is very

rare, the Aramaic representation is by far the most frequent, which is also the case with the formation in *ni-. ⇒ DMMPP: 133b, 252b, 351a

(+ *ni-) Partic.: pres. MMP *nyh'dg*

•PARTHIAN: *d'd* 'law, justice; scriptures with legal content', ? *xdhyšn* 'giving ?, creation ?' {hapax, reading uncertain} || (+ *ui-) *xwd'n* 'tent', *wd'n-xm'n'n* 'tent-dwellers, nomads' ⇒ DMMPP: 133b, 138a, 339a

•SOGDIAN: (+ *pati-) CSogd. *pd'ty* 'iniquity' || (+ *ui-) CSogd. *wy'n* (f.) 'tent' (< MP)

•CHORESMIAN: *δ'dk* 'justice', *δ'm* 'world', *δ'nc* (f.) 'nest, lair, den (vel sim.)'

•NWIR: Zaz. *dāyiš/dān-* '[+ -rā] to put on (clothes)', Meim. *vɔf dɔj-/vɔf a-d-* 'to stay, halt' || (+ *ni-) NP *nihādan/nih-*, Kurd. (Sor.) *dā-nān/dā-nē-* 'to lay, put down', Zaz. *nāyiš/nān-*, Awrom. *niāy/nia-*, Abz. *nowa/n-*, Abyan. *noya/n-*, Gz. *n-/nā, enā*, Gil. *noe(h)an-/noeh-*, Gur. (Kand.) *niyā-/niyā-*, Isfah. *nanān/n-*, Jow. *bam-na/a-n-*, Khuns. *n-/nā*, Mah. *nāhā*, Nn. *nāy-/n-*, Natan. *nā/n-*, Qohr. *nāda/n-*, Semn. *nāndā-*, Siv. *n(ē)-/nē* 'to place, put (down)' (*-h- < *-θ- !*) || (+ *ui-) Bal. *gidān*, NP *kiyān* (misread for **giyān*), Bakht. *bahūn* 'black goat's hair tent'. ◇ The MP verb */dah-/* 'to put; create, etc.' has disappeared in NP. || Bakht. *bahūn* has intervocalic *-h- < Ir. *-d-* (probably via **-δ- > *-θ-*), a relatively frequent development, which is shared with Kurdish and other Iranian languages. See further Vahman – Asatrian 1987: *ibid*.

•NEIR: (+ *ā-) ? Wa. *yod-*, *yoδ-/yoθt-* 'to put, place', Pash. *aláng* (m.), *alánga* (f.) 'wall' || (+ *pati-) ? Wa. *pətun* 'repair' (Lorimer) || (+ *ui-) Oss. I. *°dajyn/°dad*, D. *idajun/idad* 'to begin' || (+ *ham-) Pash. *dalai* 'heap, corn-stack'

•MISC: (+ *ni-) Orm. *nīw-/nyōk* 'to put down, place' || (+ *ui-) Arm. (LW) *vran* 'tent' (< Pth.)

•SANSKRIT: *dhā* 'to put, to place' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 783

◇ The 'hit, beat' forms, Chor. *dh-* (Samadi: 60 f.), Sh. *di(y)-/dōd* (etc., EVS: 30 f.), Wa. *di-/dəyt* (Steblyn-Kamenskij 1999: 145 f.), etc. point to a different root: ***daH**⁶ ?

•PIE ***d^heH₁-** 'to put, place' ⇒ LIV: 136 ff. | Pok.: 235 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */dai-/* 'to put, to direct, to give (a name)', Gr. *τίθημι* 'I put down, place, ground, create', Lat. *fē-cī* 'I have made', OCS *děti*, OLith. *demi*, Arm. *dnem* 'I put', OHG *tuon*, Engl. *to do*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 84a, 147a f., 209b; *IIFL* I: 403a; *KPF* II: 225; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 72; *IIFL* II: 533b, 535b; Abrahamian 1936: 131; Lambton 1938: 40a, 78b; Morgenstierne 1942: 263; Abaev, *Slovar'* I: 539; MacKenzie 1966: 104; *WIM* I: 71; *WIM* II/1: 80; Benzing 1983: 247 ff.; Vahman – Asatrian 1987: 69 f.; *WIM* III: 113; Werba 1997: 298 f.; Paul 1998: 294b; Steblyn-Kamenskij 1999: 429, 459; Cabolov 2001: 296; Lecoq 2002: 121, 124, 128, 130 (passim); *ESIIa* II: 420 ff.; *NEVP*: 8; Korn 2005: 98, 395

***daH**³ 'to divide, distribute'

•AVESTAN: OAv. *d(a)ii-* 'to divide, distribute' ⇒ Liste: 30

Pres. them.: SUBJ. med. 1sg. OAv. *d(a)iiāi* (Y 29.8)

•SANSKRIT: *dā*, *day* ‘to divide, distribute’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 717, 700

◇ Further Ir. cognate forms are unknown.

•PIE ? **deH₂*- ‘to divide’ ⇒ LIV: 103 f. | Pok.: 175 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *δατέομαι* ‘I distribute’, Alb. *dava* ‘I divided’

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 297; *ESIJ*a II: 438 f.

*daH⁴ ‘to bind’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *dā*- ‘to bind’ ⇒ Liste: 30

Pres. *īa*-: IMPV. med. 3sg. OAv. *nī diiātam* (Y 48.7)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *d’mg*, BMP *d’m /dām/* ‘trap’ ⇒ DMMPP: 134b

•PARTHIAN: *d’mg* ‘trap’ ⇒ DMMPP: 134b

•KHOTANESE: *dāma*- ‘bond’, *dīma*- ‘tie, knot’

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *δ’m*’, CSogd. *d’m*, MSogd. *δ’m*’ ‘net’

•CHORESMIAN: *δ’m*’ *myk* ‘trap, snare’ || (+ **ham*-) *’nd’ny* ‘bonds, shackles’ (Cheung 2002: 161, s.v. *ændon*)

•NWIR: NP *dām* ‘net’

•NEIR: Pash. *lúma* (f.) ‘snare, noose’ || (+ **ui*-) M. *wil*- ‘to open’ (Zarubin), Yi. *wulái*, M. *wulói* ‘open’

•SANSKRIT: *dā* ‘to bind’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 716

•PIE **deH₁*- ‘to bind’ ⇒ LIV: 102 | Pok.: 183

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *δέω* ‘I bind’, Gr. (Myc.) *de-de-me-no* (partic. med.) ‘bound’, Arm. *tic* ‘diadem’

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 117; *IIFL*: 261b; *GMS*: §973, 1265; MacKenzie, *Pahlavi*: 24; *DKS*: 156b, 159a; Benzing 1983: 248; Gharib: 134a; Werba 1997: 294; *NEVP*: 43; *ESIJ*a II: 444 f.

*daH⁵ ‘to suck, suckle’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *d’yg*, BMP *d’yk /dāyag/* ‘(wet-)nurse’ ⇒ DMMPP: 136a

•KHOTANESE: *dīnu*- ‘cow’

•NWIR: NP *dāyah* ‘(wet-)nurse’, Awrom. *dāyāna* (f.) ‘wet-nurse, foster-mother’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *dā(yk)*, (Sor.) *dāyk*, Gur. *dā(ya)*, Lor. *dā(ya)*, Siv. *douā*, Tal. *dāya* ‘mother’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *dæjyn/dad*, D. *dæjun/dad*, Yghn. *diy-/dīta* ‘to suck, suckle’

•SANSKRIT: *dhā*-, *dhay^l* ‘to suck, suckle’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 775

•PIE **d^heH₁-i*- ‘to suck, suckle’ ⇒ LIV: 138 f. | Pok.: 241 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *θη-λή* (f.) ‘mother’s breast’, Arm. *diem*, OCS *dojō*, Latv. *dēju* ‘I suck, suckle’, etc.

•REFERENCES: Andreev – Peščereva: 247b; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 351; MacKenzie 1966: 94; *DKS*: 159a; *WIM* III: 310; Werba 1997: 299; Cabolov 2001: 291; *ESIJ*a II: 445 f.

***daH⁶ ?** ‘to beat, hit, strike’

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ui-*) ? BSogd. *wyδ's*, CSogd. *wyδ's*, MSogd. *wyδ's* ‘to be amazed, marvel’ (< *‘to be struck’ ?) || (+**ham-*) ? CSogd. *md's*, MSogd. *'nδ's* ‘to marvel, be amazed’. ◇ The Gr. forms, *θαῦμα* ‘miracle, marvel’, *θέα* ‘show, look, sight’, *θάμβος* ‘surprise, marvel, fright’, *τάφων* are quoted by Sims-Williams 1985: 60 ad 17 as possible (IE) cognates.

(+ **ui-*) Pres.: IND. 2pl. BSogd. *wyδs'yδ*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. *wyδ's*, 3pl. BSogd. *wyδ's'nt*, CSogd. *wyδ'snt*, CSogd. *˘wyδ's'nt*, MSogd. *˘wyδ(s)'nt* || (+**ham-*) Impf.: IND. 3pl. CSogd. *md'snt*; Partic.: perf. pass. (dir. pl.) CSogd. *'d'tyt*, MSogd. *'nδ's't'k*

•CHORESMIAN: *dh-* ‘to hit, strike’ ⇒ Samadi: 60

•NWIR: Kurd. *dān/di-*, (Sor.) *dān/da-* ‘to beat, hit; to play (an instrument)’, ? Bal. *dih/dih-* ‘to strike, beat’, *daiθ*, *dahīθ/dah-* ‘to get, touch’, Zaz. *dāyis/dān-* ‘[+ -ro] ‘to beat, hit’. ◇ The Bal. verbs are mentioned in Shahbakhsh (s.vv.), who envisages a connection with Bal. *dhakk(a)* ‘blow, stroke, big bang’ < Lah. *dhakkā* ‘push’. It cannot be excluded though the Bal. verbs are inherited.

•NEIR: Sh. *di(y)-/dōd*, Khf. *day-dūd* (m.), *dod* (f.), Rosh. *day-dūd* (m.), *dod* (f.), Bart. *day-/dōd*, Sarii. *dey-/dewg* ‘to strike, hit [intr.]; to fall down [of precipitation, sediments]; to come, find oneself (in)’, Yzgh. *diy-/ded* ‘to rain’, (caus./tr.) Sh. *di(y)-/dōd*, Khf. *di(y)-*, Rosh. *dē(y)-/dēt*, Bart. *dē(y)-/dēt* ‘to beat, strike, chase, let loose’, Sarii. *dē-/det* ‘to drive’, Yzgh. *day-/ded*, Wa. *di-/dāyt*, Yghn. *dēh-/dēhta* ‘to beat, strike’ || (+ **ham-*) (LW ?) Yi. *dahā-/* (supplet. *žī-* < **jata-*, ***jan**), M. *dō-* (supplet. *žī-* < **jata-*, ***jan**) ‘to beat, strike, place’

•MISC: Par. *deh-*, Orm. *de(h)-* ‘to beat, hit’ = ? *-d/-dók*, *ald-/aldók* ‘to close (the door, book)’

•SANSKRIT: ◇ Note also Dard. *dadhāti* (CDIAL: 6145).

◇ The forms above seem to suggest a separate root **daH⁶* ‘to beat, hit, strike’ in Ir., which is perhaps expressive in origin, cf. Engl. *thud*, *tick*, *tap*, etc.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 249

•REFERENCES: Morgenstierne 1932: 125; *IIFL*: II: 205a f.; Andreev – Peščereva: 245b f.; *EVS*: 32b f., 30b f., 32b f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 145 f.; Cabolov 2001: 296; Kiefer 2003: 194; *ESJa* II: 441 ff.

***daiH¹** ‘to look, see’

•AVESTAN: *d(a)i-* (*dai-*) ‘to look, see’ || (+ **aua-*) ‘to see off’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘to look, see to’ || (+ **upa-*) ‘to look on’ || (+ **pai-*) ‘to meet (with one’s eye)’ || (+ **ui-*) ‘to let one’s eyes wander’ ⇒ Liste: 30

Pres. {1} athem. red.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *diđāiti* (Y 33.14), YAv. *ādiđāiti* (Yt Yt 10.15), INJ. 1sg. YAv. *auua diđāem* (Vyt 43), 3pl. OAv. *daiđiat* (Y 44.10), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *diđāt* (Yt 19.94); Pres. {2} them. red.: INJ. YAv. *daiđiama* (Vyt 43), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *paiti.daiđiāt* (V 16.2), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *paiti daiđiōiš* (Vyt 50), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *˘upa.daiđiia* (Yt 17.15); Perf.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *ādiđaiia* (Y 62.8); Partic.: pres. {1} YAv. *daiđiant-* (Yt 10.45), perf. YAv. *vīdiđuūāh-* (Yt 14.13)

•OLD PERSIAN: *dī-* ‘to see’ ⇒ Kent: 191a

Pres. athem.: IMPV. 2sg. *dīdiy* <di-i-di-i-y> (DNa 41, DNb 57)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *dyd*, BMP *dyt* (*ḤZYTWN-*) /*dīd*/ (pret. stem) ‘to see’ || (+ **(ā-)abi-*) MMP ‘*ywyn*, BMP ‘*dwyn* /*ēwēn*/ ‘manner, custom, form’ || (+ **ā-*) ? MMP ‘*ywyng* ‘mirror?’ (contaminated with MMP ‘*ywyng* ‘manner, kind, fashion’?) || (+ **pati-*) IMP *pyt*’*k*, *pty*’*k*, MMP *pyd*’*g*, BMP *pyt*’*k* /*paydāg*/ ‘visible, obvious, revealed’ (< Pth.). ◇ The etymology of MP /*paydāg*/, NP *padīd*, *paydā* has been controversial. Horn 1893: 78 compared it with Av. *paitiiaṅk-* ‘turned towards’, which was doubted by Hübschmann 1895: 360 f., but accepted by Nyberg II: 149. It can hardly come from **pāti-kāθa-* or **pati-y-ā-kas-*, which were reconstructed by Back 1978: 252 and resolutely rejected by MacKenzie 1982: 290. This enigmatic form can be resolved if we assume that it was originally a Parthian form: we may now envisage a connection with the root **daiH¹*. The Parthian form would go back to **pati-diHā-ka-*, which became subsequently **paddyāg* > **padyāg*. The inscriptional Middle Persian form *pty*’*k* bears witness to this stage. The form *pyd*’*g* in Pth. appears to be the result of epenthesis, /*paydāg*/, which in turn could have been borrowed again in MP. The NP form *padīd* no doubt derives from Parthian: ppp. **pati-dīHta-* ‘appeared, seen against’. ⇒ DMMPP: 149a, 82a, 289a

Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *dyd*, BMP *dyt* /*dīd*/

•PARTHIAN: *dyd* (pret. stem) ‘to see’ || (+ **(ā-)abi-*) ‘*bdyn*, ‘*bdyn* ‘custom(ary), habit; manner, way’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘*dyng*, ‘*dyng* ‘mirror’ || (+ **pati-*) *pyd*’*g* ‘visible, obvious, revealed’² ⇒ Ghilain: 84, 96 | DMMPP: 149a, 9b, 26a, 289a

Partic.: perf. pass. *dyd*; Inf.: *dydn* ‘to see; [subst.] appearance’

•KHOTANESE: *dai-* ‘to see, look’, (mid.) ‘to appear’, *dyāñ-* (caus.) ‘to make appear, reveal’ || (+ *bāys-?*) *bāysdai-* ‘to look at, observe’ || (+ **apa-*, **pati*) *pūy-* ‘to look’ || (+ **aṃa-*) *ūy-* (*vūy-*) ‘to survey’ || (+ **ā-*) OKh. *āyā-*, LKh. *āvī-*, *āyī-* ‘to be reflected, seen, appear’ || (+ **uz-*) OKh. *uysdai-* ‘to look up (at)’ ⇒ SGS: 45, 47, 95, 85, 19, 9, 16

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ā-*) BSogd. ‘*dyn*’*k*, BSogd. ‘*dyn*’*k* ‘mirror’ || (+ **ūi-*) BSogd. *wyδ*’*y-* ‘to disappear, be distinguished’ || (+ **ham-*) BSogd. ‘*nδ*’*yk*, CSogd. ‘*dyq*’ ‘custom, habit, manner’, MSogd. ‘*nδ*’*yk*, MSogd. ‘*nδ*’*ykh* ‘appearance’

(+ **ūi-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *wyδ*’*yt*, 3pl. BSogd. *wyδy*’*nt*, OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *wyδy*’*y*; Inf.: BSogd. *wyδy*’*y*, pret. BSogd. *wyδy*’*t*

•CHORESMIAN: *δy-* (pret. stem) ‘to see’ ⇒ Samadi: 224

•BACTRIAN: *λi-* (supplet. pres. *otv-*) ‘to see’ || (+ **(a-)abi-*) *αβδδiυo* ‘custom’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 201b, 173a

•NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *dīdan* / (supplet. *bīn-*), Bal. *dīṭ*, *δī(θ)* / (supplet. *gind-* < **uaid²*, Korn, l.c.: 79, fn. 26), Kurd. *dītīn*, (also Sor.) *dīn* (supplet. *bīn-*), Zaz. *dītīs* / (supplet. *vīnen-*), Abyan. *dia* / (supplet. *vīn-*), Abz. *dīda* / (supplet. *vīn-*), Awrom.

diáy/ (supplet. *win-*) ‘to see’, (also) *diáy/diá-* ‘to look [intr.]’, Gil. (Rshet.) *decen/din-* (with analog. *d-*), Gur. (Kand.) *dī-* (supplet. *-īn-*, (subj.) *vīn-*), Ham. *diyān/* (supplet. *vīn-*), Jow. *bam-dī/* (supplet. *ai:n-*), Meim. *dian/* (supplet. *a-vīn-*), Mah. *-dī/* (supplet. *-vīn*) ‘to see’, Nn. *dī-* (supplet. *vīn-*), Natan. *-dī-* (supplet. *vīn-*), Qohr. *dīda/* (supplet. *vīn-*, *yīn-*), Semn. *-dī(č)-/* (supplet. *m-ējn-*), Sang. *-diá/* (supplet. *vīn-*), Shamerz. *bā-dimán/* (supplet. *vīn-*), Siv. *dīen*, Soi *dī(d)-/* (supplet. *ā-ūn-*, *ā-ūn-*), Sorkh. *bā-dīān/* (supplet. *vīn-*), Lasg. *bā-dī-* (supplet. *vīn-*) ‘to see’, (ppp.) Bal. *dista* ‘seen’ || (+ **(a-)abi-*) NP *āyīn* ‘rite, custom; common law; mode, form, manner’ (initial long *ā-* points to **ā-abi-daiH¹* ?) || (+ **ā-*) NP *āyīnah*, Bal. *ādēn(k)* ‘mirror’ || (+ **pati-*) NP *padīd* ‘visible’, *paydā* ‘visible, apparent, evident’ (old LW)

•NEIR: Pash. *līd/* (supplet. pres. st. *wīn-*) ‘to see’ || (+ **ā-*) Oss. I. *ajdæn*, D. *ajdænæ*, M. *āina*, Yi. *āino* ‘mirror’

•MISC: (+ **(a-)abi-*) Arm. (LW) *awrēn-k* ‘institution, the Law’, Syr. (LW) *b-avdēn* ‘similar to’ (< Pth.)

•SANSKRIT: *dhay¹* ‘to look (at), to perceive’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 777

◇ As with many Iranian roots containing **d(-)*, a variant with the voiceless correspondence is attested as well: Bakht. *tē* (pl. *tīā*), Bal. *teləg* (> Brah. *tela*) ‘eye’. Most Middle and New Iranian forms have a suppletive paradigm: the pret. stem contains **daiH¹*, whereas the pres. stem is formed with the root **yui(H)n*. An IE etymology for this Ir. root is uncertain, in the absence of any credible cognates. Only Alb. *di* ‘knows’ can be cited in LIV: l.c., which is hardly encouraging. Gr. *σημα* / *σῶμα* ‘sign, mark’ is unrelated.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 141 f. | Pok.: 243

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 81a, 139b f., 206b f., 245b f.; *EVP*: 36; *KPF* II: 199; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 65, 259; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 55 f., 114 f., 159; Abrahamian 1936: 111; Lambton 1938: 42a, 77b; Abaev, *Slovar* I: 41; MacKenzie 1966: 94; Lecoq 1974: 60; *DKS*: 19a f.; Rossi 1979: 54; Vahman – Asatrian 1987: 140; Werba 1997: 299 f.; Paul 1998: 296a; Cabolov 2001: 321 f.; Cheung 2002: 150; Lecoq 2002: 121, 123, 125 (passim); *NEVP*: 88; *ESIJ*a II: 291 ff.; Korn 2005: 79, 314, 375 (passim)

***daiH²** ‘to shine, radiate; to light a fire’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: ? BMP *dyk/dēg/* ‘pot, vessel’ (etym. uncertain) || (+ **pati-*) MMP *pydy* (ppp.) ‘kindled’ (< Pth.) ⇒ DMMPP: 272b

•PARTHIAN: (+ **pati-*) *pdyn-* ‘to kindle’. ◇ Probably not from the root ***Haid**, as assumed by Ghilain, l.c. ⇒ Ghilain: 84 | DMMPP: 272b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *pdynydy*; Partic.: perf. pass. *pydy*, *pydyg*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **uz-*) *uysdīs-* ‘to set alight, make burn’ (cf. Canevascini: §172.2.)

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **pati-*) *pzn-* ‘to light a fire, kindle’. ◇ Samadi derives the Chor. formation *pzn-* from **pa-dīna-*, with prev. **pa-*, whose existence in Ir. was already doubted by Henning 1965: 246, fn. 29. The preverb may be **pati-*. ⇒ Samadi: 166f.

•NWIR: ? NP *dēg*, *dīg* ‘pot, kettle’ (etym. uncertain)

•NEIR: (+ *pati-) Sh. *piðis-/piðid*, Rosh. *paðays-/paðid*, Bart. *paðīs-/paðēd*, Yzgh. *paðəys-/paðad* ‘to catch fire’, (tr.) Sh. *piðīn-/piðid*, Rosh. *paðin-/paðid*, Bart. *paðin-/paðid*, Sariq. *paðin-/paðid*, Yzgh. *paðay-/paðayd* ‘to light a fire’, Yzgh. *paðu/ús* ‘fire-brand’. ◇ Wa. *pīðis-/pīðən-* ‘to burn, flame up’, cited by Morgenstierne (EVS: 55a) is wrong, see *daĵ.

•SANSKRIT: *day¹* ‘to shine, to radiate’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 701

•PIE *deiH₂- ‘to shine, light up’ ⇒ LIV: 108 | Pok.: 183 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. δέατο ‘shone’, δῖθάω ‘I flash, shine’, ON *teitr* ‘cheerful’. ◇ The nasal (present) formation, as attested in several Iranian languages, may have an exact Greek (Pindar) correspondence δινάω, whence the formation may be already of IE date: *di-n-eH₂-.

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 132; Hübschmann 1895: 65; MacKenzie IV: 529; EVS: 55a; Nyberg II: 61; DKS: 208a; Narten 1987: 149 ff.; Werba 1997: 295; SVK III: 29; ESIIa II: 288 ff.

*dais¹ ‘to show’

•AVESTAN: *daēs-* ‘to show’ || (+ *fra-) ‘to show’ || (+ *ham-) ‘to be told, be shown, (?) contemplate’ ⇒ Liste: 30

Pass.: pres. SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *disiīāt*; Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. YAv. *daēsaiieṇti* (Yt 13.53, Yt 13.55), INJ. 1sg. YAv. *fradaēsaiēm* (V 2.2), 2sg. YAv. *daēsaiiō* (V 5.14), 3sg. YAv. *daēsaiiāt* (Yt 11.14), 3pl. YAv. *daēsaiien* (Yt 13.57), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *daēsaiieni* (P 37), 3sg. YAv. *daēsaiiāt* (Vyt 32), 1pl. YAv. *daēsaiiama* (Vyt 32), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *fradaēsaiiōiš* (Yt 14.46), IMPV. med. 2sg. YAv. *handaēsaiian¹ha* (Yt 19.48, Yt 19.50), 2pl. YAv. ^x*daēsaiiata* (Y 8.3); Aor. s-: INJ. 2sg. OAv. *dāiš* (Y 43.10), SUBJ. 1sg. OAv. *dōišā* (Y 51.2), IMPV. 2sg. OAv. *dōišī* (Y 33.13); Intens.: pres. INJ. 3sg. OAv. *daēdōiš* (Y 51.17)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *uz-) BMP *’wzdys /uzdēs/* ‘idol’, MMP (pl.) *’wzdys’n* ‘images, icons; idols’ (LW) || (+ *ham-) MMP *hndyš-*, BMP *hndyš-* /*handēš-* ‘to think, contemplate’ ⇒ DMMPP: 77a, 180b

(+ *ham-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP ^x*hyndyšyd*, BMP *hndyšyt /handēšēd/*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *hndyšyt /handēšīd/*; Inf.: BMP *hndyšyt /handēšīdan/*

•PARTHIAN: (+ *apa- or ? *abi-) *’bdys-* ‘to show’, IPth. *’wpdys-* ‘to issue (order), order, command’ || (+ *ā-) *’dyšg* ‘sign’ || (+ *uz-) *’wzdys’n* ‘images, icons; idols’ || (+ *ham-) *’ndyš-* ‘to think, contemplate, commemorate’ ⇒ Ghilain: 90, 61 | DMMPP: 152a, 77a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *dysyd* || (+ *apa- or ? *abi-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *’bdysyd*, 1pl. IPth. *’wpdysywm*, 3pl. MMP ^x*’bdysyd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *’bdys’n*, 2sg. *’bdys’*, *’bdys’h*, IMPV. 2sg. *’bdys*; Partic.: perf. pass. IPth. *’wpdst* || (+ *ham-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *’ndyšyd*, 3pl. *’ndyšynd*, SUBJ. 3sg. ^x*’ndyš’h*, IMPV. 2sg. *’ndyš*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *’ndyš’d*

•KHOTANESE: *dīs-* ‘to confess’ ⇒ SGS: 46

•SOGDIAN: (+ *apa-) BSogd. *pδ’ys* ‘to show’ || (+ *uz-) MSogd. *’yzt’ys-kt’k* ‘idol-house’ (LW) || (+ *fra-) CSogd. *ḥys* ‘vision’ (C2, Sims-Williams 1983: 50) || (+ *ham-) CSogd. *’ndyš-* (pass./intr.) ‘to seem’, CSogd. *’ndyš* (caus./tr.) ‘to show’

(+ *apa-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *pδ'yšt* (Vim. 1, Vim. 3, Vim. 5 f.); Caus.: pres. OPT. 3sg. MSogd. *pδ'yš'y* (MKG 526) || (+ *ham-) Partic.: pres. CSogd. *'ndyšyq* 'appearing' (C5 8V.8); Caus.: pret. IND. 3sg. CSogd. *'ndyšd'rt* (C5 16V.18)

•CHORESMIAN: *m/δys-* 'to give a sign' (+ *ni- ?) || (+ *apa-) *b'δys* 'command, order' || (+ *pati-) *pcys(y)-* 'to make similar; interpret' ⇒ Samadi: 68, 149

•BACTRIAN: (+ *ui-) ? οιλιστο 'disappeared ?' ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 213a

•NWIR: (+ *apa-) NP (dial.) بد یس 'instruction' (cited by Ivanow 1923: 367)

•NEIR: Oss. *dis*, D. *des* 'amazement' || (+ *apa-, not *upa-) Oss. I. *ævdysin/ævdyst*, D. *ævdusun/ævdist* 'to show' || (+ *abi-, not *apa- ?) Sh. (Baj.) *divēs-*, Rosh. *divis-/divišt* 'to show' (*d-v-* < *δv- < *β-δ, hence: *abi-dais ?) || (+ *fra-) Oss. D. *rædesun/rædist* 'to show the signs of premature births [of animals]' || (+ *ham-) Wa. *diš-/dišt* 'to know, understand, to be able'

•SANSKRIT: *deś* 'to show, to point out' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 744

◇ This root has an impeccable IE etymology.

•PIE **deik-* 'to show, point out; to announce' ⇒ LIV: 108 f. | Pok.: 188 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *δείκνυμι* 'I show', NHG *zeigen*, Lat. *dīcere* 'to utter, say, proclaim', Goth. *ga-teihan* 'to announce, proclaim', ON *téa* 'to show, present', OE *tēon* 'to proclaim, announce', see also ***dais**²

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar* I: 363, 198 f.; Abaev, *Slovar* II: 361; EVS: 30a; DKS: 160a; Werba 1997: 194 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 147; Cheung 2002: 165; *ESIJ*a II: 301 ff.

***dais**² ? 'to throw'

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *dīs-* 'to throw' || (+ *uz-) *uysdīs-* 'to cast' ⇒ SGS: 46

◇ Clear evidence for this root is confined to a single language. For Khot. *dīsś-* a new etymology, different from Bailey's (apud SGS: l.c.), was suggested by Tichy 1979: l.c. She compared the Khot. form to Gr. *ἔδικον* 'I threw', yielding an IE root **deik-* 'to throw', homonymous with IE **deik-* 'to show, point out'. The equation is semantically difficult to prove though, not in the least, as this putative root **deik-* 'to throw' leaves so little or no unambiguous traces in (I)Ir. / IE. Perhaps, this may be inferred from the semantic range exhibited by Lat. *dīcere* 'to say', Goth. *gateihan* 'to announce, proclaim', and especially Gr. *δίκη* 'law, custom, justice', Lat. *indicāre*, OE *tēon*, *tīon* 'to accuse' (Ernout – Meillet: 255). These rather judicial meanings might be specialisations of 'to throw', cf. Engl. *to throw in, out of court*.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 109 | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Henning 1935: 121; WIM I: 71; Tichy 1979: 217 ff.; DKS: 159b f., 39a; SVK I: 56; WIM II/1: 81; WIM III: 113; *ESIJ*a II: 306

daiz** (dais**) 'to build, form'

•AVESTAN: (+ *uz-) YAv. *uzdaēz-* (*uzdiš-*) 'to heap (up)' || (+ *pari-) YAv. *pairi.daēz-* 'to build, fence (around)' ⇒ Liste: 30 f.

Pres. athem.: INJ. med. 3sg. YAv. *uzdišta* (V 15.36); Caus.: pres. SUBJ. 3pl. YAv. *pairi.daēzaiian* (V 3.18, V 5.49); Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. *uzdišta-* (V 7.54)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *dys-*, BMP *dys-* / *dēs-* ‘to build, create’ ⇒ DMMPP: 152a
Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *dysyd*, BMP *dysyt* / *dēsēd* /, 3pl. MMP *dysynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. MMP *dys’n*, 3sg. MMP *dys’d*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *dysyd*, BMP *dysyt* / *dēsēd* /, II MMP *dys’d*; Inf.: MMP *dysydn*, BMP *dysytn* / *dēsīdan* /

•PARTHIAN: *dys-* (IPth. BNY-) ‘to shape, form, build’ || (+ **ham-*) ? ‘*ndyš-* ‘to heap together’ ⇒ Ghilain: 94 | DMMPP: 152a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *dysyd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *dys’h*; Partic.: perf. pass. *dyšt*, *dyšt*; Inf.: *dyštn* || (+ **ham-*) Partic.: perf. pass. ‘*ndyšt*

•KHOTANESE: *dās-* ‘to heap up’ ⇒ SGS: –

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *δš-*, CSogd. *dys* ‘to build’ || (+ **pari-*) MSogd. *prδys* ‘to build’
Partic.: pres. CSogd. *dysnyt* (pl.), perf. pass. BSogd. *δšt’y*; Pass.: pperf. intr. IND. 3sg. BSogd. *δšt’y x’y* || (+ **pari-*) Inf.: MSogd. *prδys* (BBB: 33)

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **pari-*) *prdys-* ‘to repair (wall)’, *prδyzk* ‘garden’ ⇒ Samadi: 152

•NWIR: (+ **pari-*) NP *pālēz* ‘garden’

•NEIR: (+ **pari-*) Oss. I. *fældisyn* / *fældyst*, D. *fældesun* / *fældist* ‘to make; to dedicate to the deceased’ || (+ **ham-*) I. *ændizyn*, D. *ændezun* ‘to weld (metal); to recover (from an illness)’, Yi. *dīz-* / *dīzd-*, M. *dīz-* / *dīzd-* ‘to bury’, Sariq. *indist* (ppp.) ‘stack’

•MISC: *Widely borrowed*: (+ **pari-*) Gr. *παράδεισος* ‘garden, paradise’ (< OIr.), Arm. (LW) *partēz* ‘garden’ (< WIr.), Arab. (LW) *fālīz* (< NP), etc.

•SANSKRIT: *deh* ‘to anoint, smear, plaster; to accumulate’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 746

◊ Rather than postulating a separate root **dais* ‘to build’ it is better to assign the Chor., Sogd. and Oss. forms to the well-established root **daiz*. As it is the case in many roots, the aberrant final root consonant is the result of internal sandhi (e.g. via assimilation of voice to the past partic. **-ta-*, or 3sg. **-ta*, **-tai*).

•PIE **d^heig^h-* ‘to knead, plaster’ ⇒ LIV: 140 f. | Pok.: 244 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *fingō* ‘I form’, Arm. *dizanem* ‘I heap’, Lith. *žiedžiù* (*žičēsti*) ‘I form, clay’ (with assim.), Goth. *digand-* (pres.) ‘kneading’, Gr. *τεῖχος* (n.) ‘wall’, Goth. *daigs*, Engl. *dough*, etc.

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 63; *IIFL* II: 207b; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 156; *EVS*: 14b; *DKS*: 39, 160a; Benzing 1983: 527; Werba 1997: 195; Cheung 2002: 184; *ESIIa* II: 311 ff.

*daǰ ‘to burn’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *daž-* ‘to burn’ (on *daž-* < **daǰj-* see Martínez 1999: 130) || (+ **apa-*) ‘to damage by burning’ || (+ **ham-*) ‘to burn’. ◊ Av. *daž-*, with *-ž-*, derives from a *ja*-formation **daǰ-ja-*, on which see Martínez op.cit. ⇒ Liste: 27

Pres. *ja*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *dažaiti* (Y 71.8), YAv. *haṇdažaiti* (V 5.9), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *dažaṭ* (F 548), YAv. *apa.dažaṭ* (V 15.4), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *apa.dažāṭ* (FrK 22)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *dc-* / *daz-* ‘to burn’ ⇒ DMMPP: 146

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *dcyt* / *dazēd* /, 3pl. BMP *dcynd* / *dazēnd* /

- PARTHIAN: (+ *a_ua-) ? 'wdjn 'rigor, harshness' ⇒ Ghilain: 51 | DMMPP: 66b
- KHOTANESE: *dajs-* (*days-*) 'burn', *dīs-* 'to make it burn' (SVK I: 56) || (+ *pati-) *padaś-* (*padajs-*) 'to burn [tr.]', OKh. *padīs-* (*pandīs-*) 'to catch fire', *dag-* (*daś-*) 'to ripen' || (+ *ham-) *handaj-* (*handīs-*) 'to be ripened', (caus.) Khot. *hamdaj-* (*handaj-*) 'to ripen' ⇒ SGS: 43, 68, 70, 140
- SOGLDIAN: BSogd. *δxs-* (inch.) 'to ripen', SSogd. *δγ'n* PN, SSogd. *δγ'n* 'ardent, fierce'. ◇ MSogd. *δxš-* 'to give pain, hurt', which is often cited (e.g. Gharib 1995: 147, no. 3719), does not exist. The sole attestation in Henning, *Sogdica*: 48, line 2, is based on the educated guess of Henning himself: a partially restored (*δxš*)ny ([M2608 R.2]) would translate (postulated) MMP [*dxšg*] = 'sign, mark'.
Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *δxsty*
- NWIR: Zaz. *dežāyīš/dežen-* 'to hurt', Bal. *dajīt/daj-* 'to bite, sting', NP *dāğ* 'hot; brand, mark(ing)', NP *dižan* 'violent' (< Pth.), Bal. *daxt/ *diž-* 'to brand', Bakht. *dāy bīdan* 'to be fried, broiled'. ◇ The attestation of Bal. **diž-* is uncertain, on which see Korn 2005: 194, 374.
- NEIR: Sariq. *δizd/δiz-* 'to be ill', Yghn. (impers.) *daxš(-)/dāxšta* 'it hurts' || (+ *pati-) Wa. *pidic-*, *pidic-/pidn-*, *pidn-*, *pidiŷn-* 'to catch fire, be ignited'
- MISC: Arm. (LW) *dažan* 'violent, wild'
- SANSKRIT: *dah* 'to burn' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 712
- PIE **d^heg^{wh}-* 'to burn' ⇒ LIV: 133 f. | Pok.: 240 f.
- IE COGNATES: OCS *žegō*, Lith. *degù* 'I burn', Toch. *tsäk-* 'to burn', Lat. *foveō* (iter.-caus.) 'I make warm'
- REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 533b; *EVS*: 33a; *DKS*: 150b; Vahman – Asatrian 1987: 80; Gharib: 139b, 140a; Werba 1997: 194; Paul 1998: 295a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 261; *ESIJ*a II: 279 ff.; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *daj-*

*damb 'to strike'

- CHORESMIAN: *δnby-* 'to strike' || (+ *fra-) *hδβy-* 'to become weak, to flag' ⇒ Samadi: 66 f., 89
- NEIR: ? Sangl. *damb-*, Yi. *lib-/libāi-* 'to card wool' || (+ *upa-) ? Pash. *blōšēdəl* 'to afflict, touch, graze, abrade', (Waz.) *blavsēdəl* 'to catch, trip, stumble', Yghn. *bedap-/bedapta* 'to cover', Sh. *bidafc-/bidūvd* 'to be closed', Sh. *bidēmb-/bidēmt* (caus.) 'to close, cover the eyes' || (+ *pati-) Sh. (Baj.) *pidafc-/pidūvd*, Rosh. *padāfs-/padāvd*, Yzgh. *pidafs-/pidovd* 'to stick, adhere, begin, etc.', Sariq. *pidēfc-/pidēvd* 'to rise, ascend', Sh. *pidēmb-/pidēmt*, Yzgh. *pitafān-/pitafant* 'to make stick', Sariq. *padafson-* (caus.) 'to raise' || (+ *ni-) Sh. *nidafc-/niūvd*, Rosh. *nidafs-/nidāvd*, Sariq. *nađēfc-/nađēvd* 'to stick, adhere, clasp', Sh. *niđēmb-/niđēmt*, Sariq. *nađim-* 'to make stick', Sariq. *na(r)đambon-* 'to fasten', Wa. *nəđəfs-/nəđəfst-*, *nəđəfs-/nəđəfst-* 'to stick to' || (+ *ham-) Yi. *dəf-/dəft*, M. *dvf-/dvft* 'to clasp, seize'.
◇ Many Pamir forms seem to be influenced by the root ***daub** 'to strike, hit, pick?'

•SANSKRIT: *dambh* ‘to slay, destroy’ ⇒ EWAia I: 699 f.

◇ Connections outside Itr. are uncertain. ⇒ LIV: 144 | Pok.: 233, 240

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 15; *IIFL* II: 390a, 222a, 205a; Andreev – Peščereva: 230b; *EVS*: 47a f., 54b; Werba 1997: 463; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 24; *ESIJ*a II: 398 ff.

*damH¹ ‘to build’

•KHOTANESE: LKh. **dīm-* (*did-*) ‘to create’ || (+ **aua-*) LKh. *vadiṃ-* ‘to make’ || (+ **pati-*) *padīm-* ‘to make’ ⇒ SGS: 46, 69, 118

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **ui-*) *wz’m* (f.) ‘building’ || (+ **ham-*) *m/ndm(y)-* ‘to be solid, solidly built’, *m/nd’m(y)-* (caus.) ‘to make solid, steady’ ⇒ Samadi: 122

•NEIR: (+ **ui-*) Sh. *wiḏūm*, Khf. *wiḏōm*, Orosh. *wiḏōm*, Sariq. *wādem*, Yzgh. *wādem* ‘ceiling’

•SANSKRIT: *dām-* ‘house’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia I: 697

•PIE **demH₂-* ‘to build, construct’ ⇒ LIV: 114 f. | Pok.: 198 f.

•IE COGNATES: Luw. (pret.) */tamata/* ‘built’ (also pres. */tamiha/* ?), Gr. δέμω ‘I build’, Gr. δέμας ‘build, stature’, (Dor.) νεό-δμᾶτος ‘newly built’, (perf.) δέδμᾶται, Toch. *tsām-* ‘to grow; [caus.] to cause to grow, promote’, Goth. *ga-timan*, NHG *geziemen* ‘to be suitable’ (etc.)

•REFERENCES: *EVS*: 88b; *DKS*: 152a; Werba 1997: 292; *ESIJ*a II: 322 f.

*damH² ‘to tame’

•KHOTANESE: **dīm-* (*ḍan-*, *dan-*) ‘to tame’ ⇒ SGS: 45

•CHORESMIAN: *ḍmy-* ‘to tame’, *ḍms-* (pass./sec. inch.) ‘to be tamed’ ⇒ Samadi: 66

•NEIR: Oss. I. *domyn/domd*, D. *dæmun/dænd* ‘to tame’ || (+ **āya-*) Oss. I. *udæssyn/udæst*, D. *odæsun/odænst* (inch./intr.) ‘to suffer, bear, forego, let go’

•SANSKRIT: *dam¹* ‘to control, restrain (oneself), overpower, tame, subdue’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 698

•PIE **demH₂-* ‘to tame’ ⇒ LIV: 116 f. | Pok.: 199 f.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. *da-ma-aš-zi* ‘presses, oppresses’, Gr. δάμνημι ‘I tame, subdue’, Lat. *domāre* ‘to tame, overpower’, OIrish *damnaim* ‘I bind, overpower’, NHG *zähmen*, Engl. *to tame*, etc.

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 365; *Slovar*’ IV: 8; *DKS*: 151b f.; Werba 1997: 292; *ESIJ*a II: 321 f.

*damH³ ‘to blow, breathe; to swell’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *dāḍmainiia-* ‘blowing up (intr.)’ (V 14.5, V 18.73)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *dm-* {no attested forms ?}, BMP *dm-* /*dam-*/ ‘to breathe’ ⇒ DMMPP: 138a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *dmydy/damē*/, 3pl. BMP *dmynd/damēnd*/; Inf.: BMP *dptn/daftan*/

- PARTHIAN: *dm-* ‘to blow, breathe’ || (+ *ā-) ‘*dm*’s- ‘to swell up’ || (+ *ham-) ‘*ndm-* ‘to sigh; to bleat (of sheep)’ ⇒ Ghilain: 56 | DMMPP: 138a, 24b, 44b f.
Pres.: IND. 3pl. ^s*dmynd*, IMPV. 2pl. *dmyyd* || (+ *ā-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. ^s*dm*’syd, 3pl. ^s*dm*’synd || (+ *ham-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. ^s*ndmyd*, 1pl. *ndm*’m ‘we sigh’, 3pl. *ndmynd* ‘they bleat’
- KHOTANESE: *dam-* ‘to blow’ || (+ *uz-) *uysdem-* (*uysdaim-*) ‘to cool; extinguish’ || (+ *pati-) LKh. **padem-* (*padām-*) ‘to blow’, *padama-* ‘wind’ || (+ *niš-) LKh. *našdem-* (*našda*’m-) ‘to blow out, extinguish’ ⇒ SGS: 43 f., 16, 69, 51
- SOGDIAN: BSogd. *dm*’s ‘to swell’, BSogd. *dm*’k, BSogd. *dm*’kh ‘breath’ || (+ *fra-) CSogd. *fθm*’ty ‘insufflated’ (cf. Schwartz 1967: 57)
Pres.: SUBJ. BSogd. *dm*’s’t (P7.61)
- CHORESMIAN: *m/δm*’s- ‘to become fat, strong’ ⇒ Samadi: 65
- NWIR: NP *damīdan/dam-* ‘to blow; to breathe; to blossom; to appear (as the dawn)’, Khuns. *dum-* ‘to pump in, give (air)’, Kurd. (Sor.) *māsān/māsē-* ‘to swell up, inflate [intr.]’, Zaz. *māsāyīš* ‘to swell up, become fat’, Awrom. *māsāy/mās-* ‘to swell’, Gil. (Rsht.) *dāmcestæn* ‘to breathe’ || (+ *ā-) NP *āmās-*, Kurd. (Sor.) *āmāsān/āmāsē-*, *āwsān/āwsē-* (inch.) ‘to swell up’ (LW ?)
- NEIR: ? Oss. I. *dymyn/dymd*, *dymst*, D. *dumun/dund* ‘to blow (up); to smoke’, Oss. I. *dymyn/dymst*, D. *dunsun/dunst* (inch.) ‘to swell (up)’, Yghn. *dam-/dámta* ‘to dawn; to bud [of flowers]; to rise [of boiling water]’ (< NP ?), M. *lámóiya* (ppp.) ‘swollen’ || (+ *ham-) Pash. *dūmai* ‘a cold, catarrh’. ◇ The Oss. forms, which have *u as stem vowel, may either derive or show influence from nominal **duma-* (Skt. *dhūmá-*) ‘smoke’, v. Cheung 2002: 24 f.
- SANSKRIT: *dham*’ ‘to blow, play a windinstrument, fan the fire’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 775
- PIE **d^hmeH-* ‘to blow’ ⇒ LIV: 153 | Pok.: 247 f.
- IE COGNATES: OCS *dъmъ*, ORuss. *дѣму* ‘I blow’, SCr. *dūti* ‘to blow’, Lith. *dūmti* ‘to blow (also of wind)’
- REFERENCES: Christensen, *Contributions* I: 65; *IIFL* II: 223b; Morgenstierne 1942: 263; Andreev – Peščereva: 243a f.; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 382 f.; MacKenzie 1966: 102; *WIM* I: 68; *DKS*: 152a; Werba 1997: 297; Cabolov 2001: 77; *ESIIa* II: 316 ff.

***danh** ‘to teach, instruct’

- AVESTAN: OAv. *daǰh-* ‘to teach, instruct’ ⇒ Liste: 30
Pres. athem. red.: IND. med. 1sg. OAv. *dīdaijḥē* (Y 43.11), INJ. 3sg. OAv. *didas* (Y 49.9)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *dstn* ‘powerful, able’. ◇ Semantic extension from *dast* ‘hand’ ? ⇒ DMMPP: 142b
- PARTHIAN: *dst* ‘able, capable’ ⇒ DMMPP: 142b
- NWIR: NP *dast* ‘powerful, strength’, NP *dastūr* ‘rule; priest, religious authority (of the Zoroastrians)’

•SANSKRIT: *damś* ‘to show or teach wonderful skills, perform wise, wondrous deeds’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia I: 688

•PIE **dens-* ‘to become skilful; to instruct, teach’ ⇒ LIV: 118 f. | Pok.: 201 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. διδάσκω ‘I learn’, Hitt. /*dassu-* ‘strong’

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 193; *ESlJa* II: 327 f.

***dans** ‘to bite’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *tiži.dąstra-* ‘with a sharp set of teeth’ (Yt 10.127)

•NWIR: ? Bal. *dajit/daj-* ‘to bite, sting’. ◇ With *-j-* from *jāθ-/jā-* ‘to chew’, s. ***jiauH** ? The derivation from the root ***daj** ‘to burn’, mentioned by Shabakhsh: s.v., is semantically unsatisfactory, especially since there is a genuine Bal. continuation.

•NEIR: Wa. *δus* ‘wasp’

•SANSKRIT: *damś* ‘to bite’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 688

◇ Further Ir. cognates are unknown.

•PIE **denk-* ‘to bite’ ⇒ LIV: 117 f. | Pok.: 201

•IE COGNATES: Gr. δάκνω ‘I bite’, NHG *Zange*, Engl. *tongs*

•REFERENCES: *DKS*: 163b; Werba 1997: 193; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 165; *ESlJa* II: 328 f.

***dar¹** ‘to hold, keep; [intr.] to dwell’

•AVESTAN: *dār-* ‘to hold, keep’ || (+ **aya-*) caus. ‘to hold to, apply to’ || (+ **ui-*) ‘to support’ ⇒ Liste: 27f.

Aor. athem.: INJ. med. 3sg. OAv. *dərətā* (Y 44.4), OPT. med. 3sg. OAv. *drītā* (Y 46.5); Aor. {2} s-: INJ. 3sg. OAv. *dārəšt* (Y 43.13), ? *dōrəšt* (Y 49.2); Perf.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *daḍāra* (Yt 13.67), med. 3sg. OAv. *dādrē* (Y 51.8); Partic.: pres. caus. YAv. **vīḍāraiiamna-* (H 2.7), perf. med. YAv. *daḍrāna-* (Vr 2.5), pass. YAv. *dərətā-* (Y 10.17); Inf.: aor. OAv. *dərəidiīai* (Y 43.1); Caus.: pres. IND. 2sg. YAv. *dāraiiēhi* (Y 11.3), 3sg. YAv. *vīḍāraiiēiti* (Yt 10.28, Yt 10.48, Yt 14.36, etc.), med. 3sg. YAv. **paiti dāraiiēte* (FrW 4.3), 3pl. YAv. *dāraiiēnti* (Yt 7.3, Ny 3.5), INJ. 1sg. *vīḍāraēm* (Yt 13.2, etc.), 2sg. OAv. *dāraiiō* (Y 32.1), 3sg. *dāraiiat* (Y 31.7, etc.), 3pl. YAv. *vīḍāraiiən* (Y 23.1, Y 67.1, Yt 13.22), SUBJ. med. 3sg. YAv. **dāraiiāite* (FrW 4.3), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *vīḍāraiiōiš* (Yt 14.44), 3sg. YAv. **fra.dāraiiōiṭ* (N 67), IMPV. med. 2pl. YAv. *auua ... dāraiiāḍβəm* (Vr 15.1, Vr 15.4 f.); Desid.: pres. INJ. med. 3sg. OAv. *dīdaraṣatā* (Y 46.7)

•OLD PERSIAN: *dar-* ‘to dwell’, *dār-* ‘to hold’ || (+ **ui-*) ? *vidarna-* PN <vi-i-d-r-n> (DB 2.19, DB 2.21, DB 4.84) || (+ **ham-*) *hamādār-* ‘to get hold of, obtain’ ⇒ Kent: 189a f.

Aor. s-: IND. med. 1sg. *adaršiy* <a-d-r-š-i-y> (DPe 8); Pass.: impf. IND. 3sg. *adāriya* <a-d-a-r-i-y> (DB 2.75, DB 2.90); Caus.: pres. IND. *dārayāmiy* <d-a-r-y-a-mi-i-y> (DB 1.26, DNb 14, AsH 11, etc.), <d-a-r-y-a-mi-i-y> (DPH 4), <d-a-r-y-a-mi-i-y> (AmH 5), 3sg. *dārayatiy* <d-a-r-y-t-i-y> (DNd 2), 3pl. *dārayaⁿtiy* <d-a-r-y-t-i-y> (XPh 23), <d-a-r-y-t-i-y> (XPh 24), impf. med. 1sg. *hamadārayaiy* <h-[m]-d-a-r-y-i-[y]> (DB 1.26), 3sg. *adāraya*, *adāriya* <a-d-a-r-i-y> (DNa 22)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *d'r-*, BMP *d'l-* (*YHŠNN-*) /*dār-*/ 'to hold, keep' || (+ **ham-*) ? MMP *hn'r-* 'to keep one's eye on' (-*m/n-d-* > MMP -*n-n-* <-*n->*)
⇒ DMMP: 135b f.

Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP *d'rym*, 3sg. MMP *d'ryd*, BMP *d'lyt* /*dārēd*/, 3pl. MMP *d'rynd*, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *d'r'd*, 3pl. MMP *d'r'nd*, OPT. 3sg. ? MMP *d'ryh*; Inf.: BMP *d'stn* /*dāštan*/; Part.: perf. pass. MMP *d'st*, BMP *d'st* /*dāšt*/ || (+ **ham-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 1pl. MMP *hn'rwm*, OPT. 3sg. MMP **hn'ryh*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *hn'r*, 2pl. MMP *hn'ryd*; Part.: perf. pass. MMP *hn'rd*

•PARTHIAN: *d'r-* 'to hold, keep' ⇒ Ghilain: 74 | DMMP: 135a f.

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *d'ryd*, 3pl. *d'rynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *d'r'h*, 1pl. *d'r'm*, 3pl. *d'r'nd*, IMPV. 2sg. *d'r*, Partic.: perf. pass. *dyrd*; Inf.: *dyrdn*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **pati-*) OKh. *pader-* 'to maintain' || (+ **ham-*) *haṃdār-* 'to care for'
⇒ SGS: 69, 141

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *δ'r*, BSogd. *δ'r*, CSogd. *d'r*, MSogd. *δ'r* 'to have, hold, keep' (also aux.) || (+ **pati-*) CSogd. *pd'r* 'to support, sustain', MSogd. *pδδ'r* 'to keep' || (+ **pari-* or **para-*, **fira-*) ? SSogd. *prδr-* 'to endeavour' || (+ **ui-*) BSogd. *wyδ'yr*, MSogd. *wōyr* 'to arrange, adjust'

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. SSogd., BSogd. *δ'r'm*, SSogd., BSogd. *δ'rm*, SSogd. **δ'r'm*, dur. CSogd. *d'rmsq*, 3sg. SSogd. *δ'rt*, BSogd., CSogd., SSogd. *δ'rt*, dur. CSogd. *d'rtq*, 1pl. SSogd. *δ'r'ymn*, CSogd. *d'rym*, dur. SSogd. *d'rymsq*, etc. || (+ **pati-*) Partic.: pres. CSogd. *pd'ry* ° (m.) 'sustaining, bishop', MSogd. *pδδ'my*, perf. pass. CSogd. *pd'rty* || (+ **pari-* or **para-*, **fira-*) Pres.: OPT. 2sg. SSogd. *prδry*, 2pl. SSogd. *prδryδ* || (+ **ui-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *wyδ'yr't*, IMPV. 2pl. BSogd. *wō'yrδ*; Partic.: perf. pass. MSogd. *wōrtyy*, MSogd. *wōrtyy*; Pass.: pres. SUBJ. 3sg. MSogd. *wōrtyy wβ't*, dur. MSogd. *wōrtyy 'skw'ṭ* 'should be arranged' (cf. *GMS*: §857)

•CHORESMIAN: *δ'ry-* 'to hold, have' || (+ **ui-*) *wōry-* 'to lean on' ⇒ Samadi: 62, 212

•BACTRIAN: *ληη-* 'to have, hold, keep, etc.' ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 201a

•NWIR: Widely attested: NP *dāštan/dār-*, Bal. *dārag*, Tt. (Cha., Esh., Xia.) *dīr/dard*, Abz. *darda/dār-*, Abyan. *dārda/dār-*, Anar. *dārte/dār-*, Gil. (Rsht.) *daštæn/dār-*, Fariz. *dard-/dar-*, Yar. *dard-/dar-*, Ham. *dartän/dar-*, Isfah. *dartän/dar-*, Khuns. *dār-/dārt*, Mah. *dār-/dārd-*, Meim. *dā:rd-/dā:r-*, Nn. *dārte/dār-*, Natan. *dārd-/dar-*, Qohr. *darda/dār-*, Semn. *dārd-/dār-*, Sang. -*dārt-/dān-*, Lasg. -*dārt-/dān-*, Shamerz. *dāšt-/dām-*, (impv.) -*dār*, Soi *dā/dār-*, -*dār*, Sorkh. *dārd-/* (impv. 2sg.) *dār*, (pres.) *dān-*, Lasg. *dārd-/* (impv. 2sg.) *dār*, (pres.) *dān-* 'to have, hold', Isfah. *ve-dartän/vedar-* 'to hold back, constraint' || (+ **ham-*) ? Kurd. (North.) *hinārtin/hinēr-*, (Central) (*ha*)*nārdin/nēr-* 'to send' (connected to **Hnar* ?), Gur. (Kand.) *nimdir-/āmdür-* 'to stay, remain, wait'

•NEIR: Oss. I. *daryn/dard*, D. *darun/dard*, Pash. *larəl*, Sh. *δār-/δū(y)d*, Rosh. *δēr-/δērt*, Bart. *δōr-/δūg*, Sariq. *δor-/δewg*, Yi. *lār-/lāt*, M. *lōr-/lēt*, Sangl. *dīr-/duļ*, Yghn. *dor-/dórta*, Wa. *дыр-/δord*, (LW ?) *дыр-/dord* 'to have, keep' || (+ **apa-*) Oss. I. *ævdælyn/ævdæld*, D. *ævdælyn/ævdald* 'to be indolent, unemployed, free (of work)' || (+ **aua-* ?) Sariq. *wador-/wadord* 'to grasp, seize', Wa. *wyd(ы)р-/wodort-*, *wodord-* 'to keep, take' || (+ **pati-*) Yzgh. *padir-/padug* 'to hold back, restrain one-

self', Oss. I. *fidar*, D. *fedar* 'strong, strength; guarantor', Sarg. *paḍor* 'apparatus for churning butter' || (+ **pari-*) Yzgh. *parḍar-/parḍard*, *pərḍar-/pərḍard* 'to hold (the head of a child)', Rosh. *parḍēr* (m.) 'small stone-wall built on a slope, forming a flat platform or terrace' || (+ **fra-*) Oss. D. *lædærun/lædærd* 'to understand, acknowledge'

•MISC: Orm. *dar-* = *dar-/do`rnók, dórnök, dornok*, Par. *dēr-* 'to have, own'

•SANSKRIT: *dhar* 'to hold, keep, preserve' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 778

◇ In many Ir. languages the suppletive past stem has been imported from ***darz**.

•PIE **dʰer-* 'to hold' ⇒ LIV: 145 f. | Pok.: 252 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. /*dar-*/ 'to hold, to say (?)', Lat. *firmus* 'firm, steady', Lith. *derù* 'I am good for'

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 80b f., 138b f., 206b, 245b; *KPF* II: 182; Ivanow 1926: 420; *EVP*: 38; *IIFL* I: 250b, 393a; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 64, 160 f., 258; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 54 f., 114, 158; *IIFL* II: 223b f., 548; Abrahamian 1936: 112, 129, 133; Lambton 1938: 42a; Andreev – Peščereva: 248b; Abaev, *Slovar*' I: 345 f., 195 f., 470; Abaev, *Slovar*' II: 18; Yarshater 1969: 183; *EVS*: 31b, 58a, 89a, 55a; Lecoq 1974: 62; *WIM* I: 67; Werba 1997: 200; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 167, 402; Cheung 2002: 165; Lecoq 2002: 121, 123, 125 (passim); Kiefer 2003: 195; *ESJJa* II: 332 ff.; Korn 2005: 320, 372

***dar**² 'to tear, split'

•AVESTAN: YAv. *dar-* 'to tear' || (+ **aua-*) 'to tear down' || (+ **pari-*) 'to tear off by twisting' (or rather 'to let (the ears) burst', Praust 2000: 438, fn. 40) || (+ **niš-*) 'to tear, take out' ⇒ Liste: 28

Pres. *nā-*: IND. 3pl. YAv. *dərənənti* (V 19.28); Partic.: pres. YAv. *auua.dərənənt-* (V 18.19, V 18.22), perf. pass. YAv. *dərəta-* (Yt 10.125, V 7.35); Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. YAv. *pairi.dāraieciṅti* (Yt 14.56); Intens.: pres. OPT. 3sg. YAv. *niždarə.dairiāṭ* (V 18.38, rep.). ◇ According to Praust, l.c.: 438, the nasal pres. formation may have analogically arisen after the (unattested) Ir. correspondence of Skt. *śṅāti* 'breaks, shatters' (Ir. ***sarH**³). This nasal formation must be of PIr. origin as it is widely attested in many Ir. languages. Moreover, it is most likely to be PIr. already, cf. opt. 3sg. *dṛṇyāt* (ŠB).

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *dl-* (*SDKWN-*) /*darr-*/ 'to tear, cut', BMP *dlyn-* /*darrēn-*/ 'to tear'

Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *dltk/dardag*, caus. BMP *dlynyt/darrēnīd*

•KHOTANESE: *dar(r)a-* 'split', ? *dar-* 'to rub, scrape' || (+ **ui-*) ? LKh. *bīr-* 'to be broken' ⇒ SGS: 100

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **apa-*) *b'ḍr-* 'to pluck out (of hair, feathers), shake out (leaves)' || (+ **ati-*) (?) *č'ḍry-* 'to stitch, sew with large stitches' ⇒ Samadi: 16 f., 57

•NWIR: NP *darrīdan*, Bal. *dirt/din-*, *dir(r)-* 'to tear up', Kurd. *dīrīn/dīr-* 'to be torn', *dīrāndin/dīrīn-* (caus.), Zaz. *dīrā* 'to tear off, cut off', Awrom. *dīrīáy/dır-* 'to tear', Gur. (Kand.) *dīrīān* (ppp.) 'carved up, in pieces', -*dārr-* 'to tear off, smash, carve up', Jow. *bam-dēr-a-dēr-* 'to tear off', Khuns. *dir-/dirā*, Siv. *deriā* 'to be torn', (caus.) Khuns. *dīrn-/dīrnā*, Siv. *der-/dārānd*, Tal. *dərniye* 'to tear [tr.]', NP *dar*

‘ravine’ (also borrowed in Kurd. *dar(a)*), Bal. *dar*, Siv. *dārri* ‘gorge’ (LW ?), Zaz. *dara* ‘river’, Khuns. *dirre*, *derre* ‘mountain-brook’

•NEIR: Sariq. *der*, Yzgh. *đūr*, Wa. *dur* ‘ravine’ || (+ *ham-) ? Pash. *dāra* (f.) ‘split, crack, etc.’ (“very doubtful”, NEVP: 23)

•MISC: Par. *durr-/durrī* ‘to cut grain’, Orm. *dir-/dilak* ‘to reap’

•SANSKRIT: *dar* ‘to tear, split’ (RV+). ◇ The *seṭ*-variants are secondary, on which see Praust, l.c.: 427. ⇒ EWAia I: 701

•PIE **der-* ‘to tear, split’ ⇒ LIV: 119 f. | Pok.: 206 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *δέρω* ‘I skin’, OCS *đrati*, Lith. *dirti* (*diriu*) ‘to tear’, Goth. *dis-tairan* ‘to tear up’, Engl. *to tear*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 251a, 393a; *KPF* II: 198; *IIFL* II: 521b; Lambton 1938: 77b; MacKenzie 1966: 93; *EVS*: 31b; *WIM* I: 67, 350; *DKS*: 152b, 287a; *SVK* I: 54 f.; *WIM* III: 104, 309; Werba 1997: 351 f.; Paul 1998: 295b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 165; Praust 2000: 425 ff.; Cabolov 2001: 314 f., 273; Shabbakhsh: s.v. *dirr-:dirrt/dirrit*; Korn 2005: 133, 145, 319, 373 f.

***darb (*darf)** ‘to join, tie, sew (together)’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *drəβδa-* ‘bundle of muscles’ (Yt 13.11)

•KHOTANESE: ? LKh. *paha-drauvī* ‘embroidered’ (KT2 18,11a)

•NWIR: Kurd. (Kurm.) *dirūn*, *dirūtīn/dirū-*, (Sor.) *dirun/dirū-* ‘to sew’, ? Khr. *dur-/duruft* ‘to sew’, NP *dirafš*, *darafš*, (?) Zaz. *dirawtī*, Semn. *deret*, Sorkh. *deret*, Lasg. *deret*, Sangl. *darat* ‘awl’, Siv. *derōu* ‘sewing’. ◇ Kurd. (Kurm.) *dirūn*, etc. are different from (Kurm.) *dirūn*, *dirūtīn/dirū-*, (Sor.) *dirūnawa/dirū-* ‘to reap, mow’:

***drauH.**

•NEIR: Wa. *drəv-/drəvd*, *drav-/dravd*, *d(ə)rəvd* ‘to sew’, Sh. *đif*, Sariq. *def*, Yzgh. *đūf* ‘needle-hole’, Sariq. *đafs* ‘hemming’ (< **darfθra-* ?) || (+ *ham-) Ishk. *andərv-/andərvd*, Sh. *ancāv-/ancūvd*, Rosh. *incāv-/incivd*, Bart. *incāv-/incēvd*, Sariq. *inciv-/incivd*, Yzgh. *əncav-/əncuvd* ‘to sew’, Yzgh. *əncavn* ‘needle’

•MISC: Par. *durf* ‘awl’ || (+ *ham-) Orm. *undərwəw-* = *undraw-/undrawók*, Par. *andarf-* ‘to sew’

•SANSKRIT: *darbh* ‘to tie together, join, tie in a bundle’ (ŚB) ⇒ EWAia I: 703 f.

◇ A separate root **drab-*, *drap-*, with the meanings ‘to sew, join, cut’ < IE **dreḗp-* ‘to cut off’, Gr. *δρέπω*, etc.) is postulated in *ESIJ*a: 345 ff., on which see ***drap**. The nominal formation YAv. *drafša-* ‘banner’, etc. would contain this root according to the authors, but perhaps, it rather contains ***drap**.

•PIE **derb^h-* ‘to bind together, braid’ ⇒ LIV: 121 | Pok.: 211 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lith. *dirbti* ‘to work’, BIRuss. *dórob* ‘basket, box’, OE *tearflian* ‘to roll’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 250b, 234a, 387; *IIFL* II: 520; *EVS*: 30b, 14a; *DKS*: 226; *WIM* 1988: 309; Werba 1997: 197; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 150 f.; Cabolov 2001: 313; Kiefer 2003: 192

***darH** ‘to have pain’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *drd*, BMP *dlt* /*dard*/ ‘pain, illness’ || (+ *ā-) MMP ‘y’rd-, BMP ‘d’lt- /*ayārd*-/ (iter.) ‘to suffer; to be distressed, tormented’, MMP ‘y’rdyšn ‘distress, torment’ (with -d- from /*dard*/ ?) || (+ *ui-) ? MMP *w(y)d’r*- ‘to suffer, endure’ (with restored -d- from /*dard*/ ?). ◇ Rastorgueva – Edel’man, *ESIIa* I: 215 f. connect MMP ‘y’rd-, BMP ‘d’lt- /*ayārd*-/ to Skt. *ard* ‘to scatter’, which is semantically difficult. ⇒ DMMPP: 138a, 80a, 339a

(+ *ā-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP ‘d’ltyt /*ayārdēd*/, 3pl. MMP *‘y’rdynd, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP ‘y’rd’nd; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP ‘y’rdyd || (+ *ui-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *wyd’ryd*, 3pl. MMP *wyd’rynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *wd’št*

•PARTHIAN: *drd* ‘pain’ || (+ *ui-) *w(y)d’r*- ‘to suffer, endure’ ⇒ DMMPP: 139a, 339a Pres.: IND. 2sg. *wyd’ryh*, 3pl. *wd’rynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *wyd’r’d*

•CHORESMIAN: *δrd* ‘pain’

•NWIR: NP *dard* ‘pain, affliction’, widely borrowed, e.g. Abyan. *dārd*, Abz. *dard*, Nn. *dard*, Qohr. *dard*, Zaz. *derd* ‘pain’

◇ The Ir. forms above are probably etymologically related to the forms of ***dar²**: ***darH** would go back to an old *eH₁*-formation of ***dar²**.

•PIE **dl-eH₁*- ‘to suffer, be in pain’ (< ‘to be in a state of tearing, breaking’). ◇ The suffix **(e)H₁* is a well-known IE suffix indicating the state or mood in which the subject finds itself, cf. Gr. ἐμόνη ‘was in a state of fury’ (***man**), OCS *bъdě* ‘was awake’ (***baud¹**), Lat. *albeō* ‘I am white’ (*albus* ‘white’), etc. ⇒ LIV: 114 f. | Pok.: 194 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *dolēo* ‘I suffer pain, be in pain’ (with restored *do^o* from *dolōr* ‘pain’), Latv. *dēlīt* ‘to torment’, Gr. δάλλει ‘is malicious, κακουργεῖ’ (Hes.), Gr. φρενο-δᾶλής (Aesch.) ‘ruining, afflicting the mind ?; with ruined, afflicted mind, παράφορος ?’. ◇ Formations in **(e)H₁* are frequently attested beside **ī^o* pres. stems, hence Latv. *dēlīt* and Gr. δάλλει.

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 122; Benzing 1983: 258; Paul 1998: 295a; Lecoq 2002: 575a, 592a, 628a, 644b (passim); *ESIIa* II: 342 f.

***dars** ‘to see’

•AVESTAN: *darəs-* ‘to see’ || (+ *ui-) ‘to see, erschauen’ || (+ *fra-(ā-)-) YAv. *frādarəsa-* ‘transparent’ (cf. Gershevitch 1967: 218) ⇒ Liste: 28

Aor. athem.: IND. 1sg. OAv. *viādarəsəm* (Y 45.8), INJ. 1sg. OAv. *darəsəm* (Y 43.5), SUBJ. 1sg. OAv. *darəsānī* (Y 28.5), 3sg. YAv. *darəsāt* (F 14), 1pl. YAv. *darəsāma* (Y 60.12, rep.); Perf.: IND. 1sg. YAv. *dādarəsa* (Y 9.1, Vyt 57, H 2.10). ◇ On the lengthening of (aug.) -ā- (after -ii-) see De Vaan 2003: 34 f.

•KHOTANESE: *diršjīnsina-* ‘wishing to see’

•NWIR: (+ *ham-) Tt. (Cha.) *andās/andār-*, (Tak.) *āndāst/āndār-*, (Esh.) *undārd/undārd* ‘to see’

•NEIR: M. *lišk^y*-, Yi. *lišč-* ‘saw’ (pret. supplet. of *wīn-*)

•MISC: Par. *dhōr̄, dhur̄* ‘saw’

•SANSKRIT: *darś* ‘to look’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 706

•PIE **derk-* ‘to look at’ ⇒ LIV: 122 | Pok.: 213

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *δέρομαι* ‘I see, look’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 249a; *IIFL* II: 262a; Yarshater 1969: 187 f. (passim); *DKS*: 159b; Werba 1997: 197; *ESIJ*a II: 352 f.

*darš¹ ‘to dare’

•AVESTAN: (+ **upa-*) YAv. *upadarəš-* ‘to dare’ ⇒ Liste: 28

Pres. *nu-*: IND. 3pl. YAv. *upadarəšnuuaiti* (Yt 8.44)

•OLD PERSIAN: *darš-* ‘to dare’ ⇒ Kent: 190b

Pres. *nu-*: impf. IND. 3sg. *adaršnauš* <a-d-r-š-n-u-š> (DB 1.53)

•KHOTANESE: *darv-* ‘to dare’ ⇒ SGS: 44

•NWIR: Bal. *durrit/durr-* ‘to take courage’

•SANSKRIT: *dharṣ* ‘to venture, be bold, audacious’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 780

•PIE **d^hers-* ‘to attack, venture, dare, be bold, audacious’ ⇒ LIV: 147 | Pok.: 259

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *θρασύς* ‘bold’, Gr. *θάρσος* (n.) ‘boldness, courage’, Lith. *drįsti* ‘to venture’, Goth. *ga-daursan* ‘to venture’, OE *dear(r)*, Engl. *to dare*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *DKS*: 153a f.; Werba 1997: 353; *ESIJ*a II: 355 f.; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *durr-*

*darš² ? ‘to crush’

•NEIR: Wa. *δῆλ̄-/δοῖ̄t-* ‘to grind’, *δῆ̄šn, δῆ̄šnək* ‘grindstone’, Sarii. *δῆ̄x-t* ‘to crumble, be scattered’, Sarii. *δῆ̄xn, δῆ̄xn* ‘stone mortar’

•SANSKRIT: *dṛṣád-* (f.) ‘stone, mortar’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia I: 741 f.

◇ *Prima facie*, the root appears to be Iir. On the other hand, considering the very limited geographical distribution, it is more likely though that we are dealing with a regional borrowing or substrate word. There are no good IE cognate forms. Cf. *EWAia* I: 742: "Die Verbindung mit gr. *δερῶς* ... ‘Anhöhe, Bergrücken’ ist wohl aufzugeben". A connection with **dar²* ‘to split, tear’, suggested in *ESIJ*a II: 354 f., is semantically implausible. Even the Iir. status of **darš²* may be doubted. Insler 1999: 163 f. connects Skt. *dṛṣád-* to Av. *zaršuu-* ‘stone’ (Yt 10.39, V).

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *EVS*: 32b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 168 f., 166

*darz ‘to attach, fasten; to load; to sew’

•AVESTAN: *darəz-* ‘to attach’ || (+ **ni-*) ‘to fasten’ || (+ **ham-*) ‘to bind together’. ◇ According to Pirart, Kellens – Pirart I: 232, OAv. *dōrəšt* (Y 49.2) might belong to **darz*, being INJ. 3sg. of an athem. aor. ⇒ Liste: 28

Pres. *-aja-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. (*ā-*)*darəzaieiti* (Yt 10.48, Yt 14.63, N 99, Yt 8.55), 3pl. YAv. *haṇ.darəzaṇti* (? *^hhaṇ.darəzaieinti*) (N 101), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *-dərəziiaiti* (*^h-dərəzaieiti*) (N 94), 3pl. ? YAv.

^h*nidarəzaiiānti* (V 6.47), med. YAv. *nidarəzaiiānte* (V 6.47), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *ādarəzaiiōiṭ* (Yt 8.55), 3pl. YAv. *nidarəzaiiən* (V 6.46), YAv. *haṇdarəzaiiən* (V 9.49), med. YAv. *nidarəzaiiānta* (V 6.47), IMPV. 2pl. med. YAv. *nidarəzaiiāδβəm* (Yt 1.27); Desid.: pres. INJ. 2sg. OAv. *dīdərəžō* (Y 44.15)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ham-*) BMP *hndlcyn-* /*handarzēn-* ‘to advise’, *’ndrz* ‘order, command’ (LW) ⇒ DMMPP: 46b

Pass.: pres. IND. 2sg. BMP *hndlcynyt* (*HWH*)*wyh* /*handarzēnīd hē*/

•PARTHIAN: *drz-* ‘to fasten; to pitch (a tent); to load’ || (+ **apa-*) *’bdrz-* ‘to untie, unload’ || (+ **ham-*) *’ndyš-* (pret. stem) ‘to tie (up)’, *’ndrz* ‘order, command’. ◇ Cf. Boyce 1952: 446, fn. 3: “*’ndyšt* is here to be taken as ‘tie’ < **handr̥šta-*”. ⇒ Ghilain: 52 | DMMPP: 142a, 9b, 46, 47a

Pres.: IND. 3pl. *drznd*, *drzynd* (M2 II Ri,14); Partic.: perf. pass. II *drz’d* || (+ **apa-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *’bdrzyd*, 3pl. *’bdrzynd*; Inf.: *’bdyštn* || (+ **ham-*) Partic.: perf. pass. *’ndyšt*

•KHOTANESE: *dals-* (*dārṣ-*) ‘to make firm, fasten; load’ || (+ **ui-*)? *byā(l)š-* ‘to stride’ (denomin. ?) ⇒ SGS: 44, 105

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *δry-* (pret. stem) ‘to hold’ || (+ **abi-*) BSogd. *βδ’yz-* ‘to cover, wrap’ || (+ **aya-*) BSogd. *’wδ’yz*, CSogd. *’wdyž* ‘to strangle’ (Schwartz 1971: 412b) Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. *δryt*; Inf.: pret. BSogd. *δryty* || (+ **abi-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *βδ’yzt*, SUBJ. 2sg. BSogd. *βδ’yz*; Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. *βδ’yšt*k

•CHORESMIAN: *δžy-* ‘to (up)load’ || (+ **aya-*) *wōžy-* ‘to strangle’, (sec. pass.) *wōrs(y)-* ‘to be strangled’ || (+ **ham-*) *ndžy-* ‘to bind, chain’, *’ndž* ‘foot chain’ ⇒ Samadi: 68, 213, 212, 124 f.

•BACTRIAN: *λαρζο* ‘subject to restrictions’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 200b

•NWIR: Zaz. *derzāyiš*, *derzen-* ‘to sew’, Khuns. *derz-* ‘to mend’, Abz. *dašta/derz-*, Abyan. *dāšta/dārz-*, Anar. *wer-mi-dešt* (impv.) *wer-ders*, Isfah. *dašdān/dārz-*, Delij. *ba-darzi*, Gz. *daštmūn/daržōn-*, Kafr. *deštemūn/deržōn-*, Qohr. *dašta/darz-*, Sede *daštén/dazān-*, Siv. *derz-*, *dirz-/dīšt*, Tr. *dašta/darz-* ‘to sew’, NP *darzan* ‘needle’ (LW), Tal. *darz* ‘sheaf’ || (+ **pari-*) NP *padarzah* ‘a wrapper in which clothes are folded up’ (LW) || (+ **ham-*) NP *andarz* ‘testament, admonition, counsel; relation’

•NEIR: Yi. *lárzē*, M. *lórzəy*, Wa. *dyrz-/dežd* ‘to take, seize’, ? Pash. *leğ-* ‘to send, dispatch’, Sariq. *derz-/daxt* ‘to load’, Yi. *lárzē*, M. *lórziy* ‘sheaf of corn’, Wa. *dyrzg*, *δərzg*, *δəzrn* ‘sheaf’, *darč* ‘cord, thread’ || (+ **apa-*) ? Oss. I. *ævdærzyn/ævdærzt*, D. *ævdirzun/ævdirzt* ‘to rub in; to irritate the skin’ || (+ **abi-*) Yghn. *bēdēž-*, *bīdīž-* /*bēdēžta* ‘to wrap (in), cover’ || (+ **upa-*) Pash. *blēždəl* ‘to swaddle’ || (+ **pati-*) Sh. *pidūyǰ* (m.), Khf. *pidūwj* ‘cords or thick threads of goat’s wool’ || (+ **pari-*) Yi. *pəlárz-/pəlīšč-*, M. *pəlórz-* ‘to wrap up (a bundle)’ || (+ **ni-*) Sh. *nīduyǰ* ‘woollen yarn prepared for weaving’

•MISC: Par. *derz-/derzi* ‘to take on one’s back’, Orm. *daž-^vēk* ‘to load’ || (+ **pari-*) ? Orm. *palašt* ‘to wring, fold’

•SANSKRIT: *darh* ‘to fix, make firm, make strong’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 706 f.

•PIE **d^herǵh-* (**d^hreg^h-*) ‘to hold, fasten’ ? ⇒ LIV: 126 | Pok.: 213, 254

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *δράσσομαι* ‘I grasp’, OCS *držati* ‘hold, possess’, Russ. *deržát’*, SCR. *dṛžati* ‘hold, keep’, etc.

•REFERENCES: Zhukovskij II: 219; Ivanow 1926: 420; *EVP*: 42, 15; *IIFL* I: 251a, 393b; *IIFL* II: 237b, 224b; Abrahamian 1936: 129; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 197; Andreev – Peščereva: 230b; *EVS*: 32a, 47b, 54b; *WIM* I: 67; *WIM* III: 104; Werba 1997: 198; Gharib: 100b; Paul 1998: 295a; Safari 1373: 98; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 143, 168; Cheung 2002: 165; Lecoq 2002: 121, 123, 125, 128 (passim); *NEVP*: 42 f.; *ESIJ*a II: 365 ff.

***das¹ ?** ‘to honour’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *dasəma-* (m.) ‘honouring, worship’ (Y 28.9), YAv. *parō.dasma-* PN (lit. ‘whose worship is superior’ ?) (Yt 13.125), YAv. *dāšta-* (ppp.) ‘worshipped, praised’ (Yt 13.125)

•KHOTANESE: ? LKh. *dās-* ‘to receive with honour’ (< BSkt. ?). ◇ The etymology quoted here is from *DKS*: l.c. The Khot. forms show a suspiciously close semantical and formal agreement with the Skt root: borrowing from a Sanskrit source should certainly not be excluded, cf. *ESIJ*a II: 374 f. ⇒ SGS: 45

•SANSKRIT: *dās* ‘to present, express worship, offer for worship, sacrifice’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 722

◇ The evidence for **das¹* is rather meagre, being largely confined to Av.

•PIE **dek-* ‘to take, accept (with decorum)’ ? ⇒ LIV: 109 ff. | Pok.: 189 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */dākki/* ‘equals’, Gr. *δέχθαι* ‘to take in the hand’, Gr. *δέκομαι*, *δέχομαι* ‘to take up, accept’, Lat. *decet* ‘it is proper, fitting’, Lat. *dignus* ‘worthy, deserving, meriting’, Olrish *dech* ‘the best’

•REFERENCES: *DKS*: 157; Werba 1997: 194; De Vaan 2003: 92

***das² ?** ‘to heap, amass ?; arrange ?’

•AVESTAN: ? YAv. *dāštō.ratu-* ‘enduring ?; bestowing ?’ (P 34), YAv. *spārō.dāšta-* (Yt 13.35), YAv. *spāra.dāšta-* ‘heaped up with good things ?’. ◇ See Bailey 1967: 373; Hintze 1994: 278 f. The interpretation of the Avestan forms is troublesome: rather related to ***das¹ ?**

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ham-*) MMP *hnds-* ‘to cease, stop’ ⇒ DMMPP: 180b
Pres.: SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *hnds’nd*

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ham-*) *’nd’s-* ‘to leave, abandon’ ⇒ Ghilain: 68 | DMMPP: 44b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *’nd’syd*, 1sg. *’nd’s’n*, 1pl. *’nd’s’m*, IMPV. 2sg. *’nd’s*, 2pl. *’nd’s*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *’nd’s’d*; Inf.: *’nd’s’d*

•KHOTANESE: *dāśś-* ‘to complete, finish’ ⇒ SGS: 45

•NWIR: (+ **ham-*) NP *handasī* ‘mathematics, geometry’

•NEIR: ? Oss. D. *dasun/dast* ‘to heap up, lay the foundation; to build’ (or rather inch. **das(s)-* < IE **dm̥H₂-sk-* ?, v. ***damH¹**)

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *dasel* ‘to arrange (a crowd, people)’, *das* ‘order, arrangement’

◇ The meanings of the forms, brought together here, are somewhat difficult to reconcile: it is conceivable that not all of them are cognate. In any case, an IE origin cannot be shown for the postulated Ir. root **das*².

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 347; *DKS*: 157b f.; De Vaan 2003: 92

*dau¹ ‘to speak, chat’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *dāuu-* (*dao-*) ‘to mumble’ ⇒ Liste: 31

MED.; Pres. them: IND. impf. 3sg. YAv. *adauuata* (Yt 3.14, V 19.6, V 19.8), 3pl. YAv. *adāuṇta* (V 19.45, V 19.47), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *dauuata* (Y 9.24, Yt 17.19, V 19.1, etc.), 3pl. YAv. *dāuṇta* (V 19.45, V 19.47); Partic.: pres. YAv. *daomna-* (Yt 19.47, Yt 19.57, Yt 19.60 f., Yt 19.63)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *dw-* /*daw-* ‘to speak [dāēvic]’ (< Av. ?)

Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *dwyt* /*dawīd*/

•NWIR: Kurd. (Sor.) *duwān/dū-*, *diwān/diwē-* ‘to speak, talk’, Awrom. *duáy/du-* ‘to talk (nonsense, too much) [intr.]’, *donáy/don-* ‘to talk to [tr.]’

•NEIR: Khf. *war-ḍaw-/war-ḍawt*, Sariq. *war-ḍew-/war-ḍewd* ‘to mumble, babble, mutter, rave’, Sh. (Baj.) *war-ḍawax̄* ‘babbling, prattle’ (*war-* < ?) || (+ **para-* ?) Sh. *parḍāw-/parḍūd*, Rosh. *parḍew-/parḍewd*, Bart. *parḍāw-/parḍūd*, *parḍāwd*, Sariq. *parḍew-/parḍid* ‘to imitate, mimic’ || (+ **ui-*) Oss. D. *idæwun* ‘to question’, Oss. I. *dæwccag*, D. *idæwccag* ‘questionable’. ◇ Probably unconnected is Pash. *l-/l-*, *lod-*, *low-* ‘to utter, give (evidence)’, quoted in *ESlJa* II: 386 f., cf. *NEVP*: 42: "The derivation from Av *^ldu* ‘to speak (daevic)’ ... is misplaced. MK]".

•MISC: ? Par. *dhēw-/dhēwi* ‘to call together, seek, search’

◇ The origin of this root is unknown.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 249a; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 540; MacKenzie 1966: 93 f.; *EVS*: 91a, 58a; Cabolov 2001: 333

*dau² ‘to run’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *dw-*, BMP *dw(b)-* (*LHTWN-*) /*daw-* ‘to run’ ⇒ DMMPP: 143b

Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *dwyynd*, MMP *dwynd*; Partic.: pres. MMP *dww’n*, BMP *dwb’n* /*dawān*/

•NWIR: NP *davīdan/dav-*, Kurd. *dawīn/daw-*, Gil. (Rsht.) *dovæstæn/dov-*, Siv. *douī-/douiīyā* ‘to run’, (sec. caus.) Gil. (Rsht.) *dəvāncæn/dəvān-* ‘to cause to run’, Kurd. (Sor.) *daw* ‘run’ (LW ?), NP *dōk*, Khuns. *dēk*, *dīk* ‘spindle’ || (+ **ham-*) Anar. *hendefte/hendewn-*, Nn. *endefte/endewn-* (sec. caus.) ‘to send’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *dawyn/dawd*, D. *dawun/dawd* ‘to spawn’, Yghn. *dau-/dāuta* ‘to run’, (caus.) ? Yi. *loū-/lowái* ‘to graze’ || (+ **abi-*) Wa. *viḍāw-* ‘to ride’ || (+ **upa-* ?) Wa. *piḍówg* (in *piḍowg woc-* ‘to become apparent, noticeable, to appear’) || (+ **ni-*) Wa. *niḍó(w)g* ‘branch of a river’

•MISC: Par. *daw-* (?), *dhāw-/dah-* ‘to run’ (LW ?), ? Par. *daw-* ‘to be straight’

•SANSKRIT: *dhāv* ‘to walk, to hurry, to flow’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 789

◇ This IIIr. root has a cognate in Gr. only ?

•PIE **d^heu-* ‘to move, go’ ⇒ LIV: 147 f. | Pok.: 260, 262

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *θέω* ‘I walk’, *θοός* ‘quick’

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 143a; *IIFL* I: 249a, 251b; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 65; *IIFL* II: 547, 222a; Andreev – Peščereva: 245a f.; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 349; *WIM* I: 349; *WIM* III: 104; Werba 1997: 200; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 244, 459; Cabolov 2001: 284; Lecoq 2002: 131, 133; *ESIIa* II: 384 ff.

*dau³ ? ‘to be skilful’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *dauu-* ‘to be skilful’ ⇒ Liste: 31

Partic.: pres. OAv. *dauuant-* (Y 31.10)

◇ The existence of **dau* ‘to be skilful’ is doubtful, the Avestan evidence is questionable, on which see further Kellens – Pirart 1991: 67; Humbach 1992 (2): 67.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

*daub ‘to strike, hit, pick ?’

•SOGDIAN: (+ **a-*) MSogd. *’δwβ* ‘joining’ || (+ **upa-*) SSogd. *pδwβs*, BSogd. *pδ’wβs*, MSogd. *pδwβs*, MSogd. *pδwfs* ‘to be attached, adhered, stick to [intr.]’

(+ **upa-*) Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *pδwβs*; Fut.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *pδ’wβsty k’m*; Partic.: pres. SSogd. *pδwβsyn* °, MSogd. *pδwfsyyny*; Inf.: pres. BSogd. *pδwβsy*

•NEIR: Sh. (Baj.) *δūv-/δūvd* ‘to pick, gather, collect’ || (+ **ā-*) Bart. *adūv-/adūvd*, Rosh. *adiv-/adivd* ‘to pick, gather, collect’ || (+ **upa-*) Yghn. *būdūfs-*, *bādūfs-/būdūfta* ‘to stick to’ || (+ **fra-*) ? Oss. I. *rædyvsyn/rædyvst*, D. *ræduvsun/ræduvst* ‘to be torn off (of skin), get grazed’, Oss. I. *ræduvyn/rædyvd*, D. *rædovun/ræduvd* (caus.) ‘to tear off, graze (the skin)’

◇ Only in East Iranian languages is there evidence for a root **daub*: regional borrowing ? There are no (certain) IE cognate forms. A connection with ***damb**, hinted at in *ESIIa* II: l.c., is formally impossible.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Andreev – Peščereva: 233b; *ELO*: 41; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 361 f.; *EVS*: 32b; *ESIIa* II: 398ff.

*dauč¹ (*dauǰ ?) ‘to milk, *traire* (< *‘to draw’ ?)’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: ? BMP *dws-/dōs-* (inch.) ‘to milk’ (Nyberg II: 65a)

•CHORESMIAN: *δws-* (inch.) ‘to milk’ ⇒ Samadi: 67

•NWIR: NP *dōǰ* ‘butter-milk, whey; a dairy drink of diluted yoghurt and water’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *daw* (m.), (Sor.) *dō*, Tal. *dū*, Kash. *dū* ‘butter-milk’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *ducyn/dyǰd*, D. *docun/doǰd*, Sh. *δūj-*, (Baj.) *δūz-/δūyd*, Rosh. *δūz-/δawd*, *δūzd*, Sariq. *δewz-/δewd*, Yi. *lūž-/lūyd-*, Wa. *δic-/δəǰn-* ‘to milk’, Sh. *δūy* (f.), Bart. *δōy*, Yzgh. *δəy* ‘buttermilk’ (< **dauga-*, *EVS*: 30b), Pash. *lwayza*

‘cow in milk’ (< **dauga-zā-*, *EVP*: 40 f.) ? Pash. *salwāya* ‘bucket for drawing water from a well’ (< **usa-daugā-*, *EVS*: 31a) || (+ **pari-*) Yzgh. *pərδis-* (inch.) ‘to give milk’ || (+ **ui-*) Sh. *wiδūj-/wiδūyd* ‘to peel, strip, skin, pluck, cleanse (nuts, peas) from husk and pods’ (< archaic **‘to draw’* ?)

•MISC: Par. *dūč-* ‘to milk’

•SANSKRIT: *dogh* ‘to milk’ (RV+) ⇒ *EWAia* I: 747 f.

◇ Both **dauč* and **daušš* are problematic: they may have either a different origin or show (mutual) influence of another root: **dauč* may have acquired the specialized meaning ‘to milk’ from ‘to draw’, as hinted by *Morgenstierne* (*EVS*, *ibid.*), whence from IE **deuk-* ‘to draw’. Or is **dauč* merely contaminated with this IE root ? Nominal variants with voiced velar **-g* are also attested in Iranian. As for **daušš-*, *-šš* has not been accounted for so far. The Skt. correspondence *dogh-* is usually connected with Gr. *τυγχάνω* ‘to reach the goal’, Goth. *daug* ‘it was good for, *es taugte*’, NHG *taugen*, etc., despite the apparent semantic difficulties (cf. *EWAia*, l.c.). Perhaps the Skt. stative *duhé* ‘(cow) gives milk’ may be the starting point: > ‘is useful’, i.e. ‘*sie taugt*’ ? (Lubotsky)

•PIE ? **d^heug^h-* ‘to prepare’ ⇒ *LIV*: 153 | *Pok.*: 271

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *τεύχω* ‘I prepare’, Goth. (pret.) *daug* ‘was useful’, NHG *taugen*.

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: l.c.; *IIFL* I: 247b; *IIFL* II: 225b; Abaev, *Slovar* I: 371 f.; *EVS*: 30b f., 40 f., 88b; Werba 1997: 196 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 163; Cabolov 2001: 284; *ESJa* II: 405 ff.

***dauč²** ‘to sew’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *dwc-* /*dōz-* ‘to sew’

•KHOTANESE: ? *dušta-* ‘stung’ (rather **dans*)

•NWIR: NP *dōxtan/dōz-*, Bal. *dōtk/dōč-*, Tt. (Cha., Esh., etc.) *dut/duj-* ‘to sew’

◇ The root is exclusively (West) Iranian, it is probably a borrowing from a substrate language. The Ossetic forms I. *ævduzyn*, D. *ævdozun* ‘to fasten with a noose, bolt; to squeeze’, cited by Abaev (*Slovar* I: 200) do not belong here, on account of the meaning and form.

•PIE – ⇒ *LIV*: – | *Pok.*: –

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 129; Yarshater 1969: 184, 186; MacKenzie, *Pahlavi*: 27; *DKS*: 163b; *ESJa* II: 409 f.; Korn 2005: 79, 313, 375 (passim)

***dauH¹** ‘to burn’

•OLD PERSIAN: ? *θav-* ‘to burn’ (Steve 1975: 8 ff.)

Impf.: 3sg. *aθavā’* <a-θ-v-a> (A²Sa)

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *thūs-* ‘to kindle’ || (+ **pati-*) *padv-* (*padū-*) ‘to dim, smoke; perfume; burn’ || (+ **pari-* ?) OKh. *paṭhai-* (*paṭhu-*) ‘to burn up’ || (+ **ni-*) *nādo* ‘fire’ (*Z* 24.500) || (+ **ham-*) OKh. *hamṭhuta-* (past stem) ‘burnt’. ◇ The retroflex *ṭ* in

Khot. *paṭhu-* is odd: it may point to the presence of the preverb **pari-*. ⇒ SGS: 43, 66, 68

•SOGDIAN: (+ **pati-*) MSogd. *prδwty* ‘entflammt’, MSogd. *prδ’w* ‘flame’ || (+ **para-* or **pari-*) CSogd. *prθw-* ‘to burn, singe’

(+ **para-* or **pari-*) Partic.: perf. pass. CSogd. *prθwty* ‘burned, singed’

•CHORESMIAN: *θw-* (intr.) ‘to burn’, *θ’wy-* (tr./caus.) ‘to burn’ || (+ **upa-*) *bθw-* ‘to burn (in anxiety)’, *θ’w* ‘fire, Brand’ ⇒ Samadi: 208, 207, 28

•NEIR: (?) Pash. *tēyəl* ‘to roast’ (rather ***tap** ?), Sh. *θāw-/θud* (f. *θad*), *θāw-/θud* (caus.), Rosh. *θīw-/θud* (f. *θad*), *θēw-t* (caus.), Bart. *θīw-/θud* (f. *θad*), Sariq. *θew-/θīd*, *θawon-d* (caus.), Yzgh. *tax^w-t*, *təx^wan-* (caus.) ‘to burn’, Wa. *θaw-/θət-* ‘to burn [intr.]’, Wa. *θin* ‘warm, hot’ || (+ **ā-*) Pash. *alwoy-*, *alwey-* ‘to scorch, singe, parch, roast’ (Cheung 2004: 128) || (+ **(u)pari-* ?) Sh. *pirθāwak xīr* ‘light cloud, the sun now appearing, now being hidden’ ||

•MISC: Par. *thī-* ‘to burn’, (ppp.) Par. *thōī* ‘burnt’, (caus.) Par. *thēw* ‘to light, burn [tr.]’

•SANSKRIT: *dav* ‘to kindle, to burn’ (AV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 707

◇ The initial *θ-* found in many forms is puzzling. The appearance of this *θ-* is mainly (?) confined to EIr. languages. The interpretation of OP ⁽⁺⁾*aθavā* by Steve, *ibid.*, is disputed by Werba 2006: l.c. who would rather emend it to ⁺*aθauca* (i.e. from the root ***sauc**¹). Other cases of this "dental alternation" *θ/d* can be found within the paradigm of ***daH**¹ ‘to give’ and in the substantives YAv. *θanuuarə*, *θanuuan-* ‘bow’, OP *u-θanuvan-iya-* ‘a good marksman’ (*θ-* from ***θanj** ?) vs. Skt. *dhānuṣ-* ‘bow’ (RV+), Ir. **θaiyā* (i.e. Oss. I. *tiw*, D. *tew*, Sangl. *tēw*, Ishk. *sew*, Pash. *lēwər*) vs. Skt. *devár-* ‘husband’s brother’ (RV+), cf. *EVS*, l.c. NP *dūd*, Bal. *dūt*, Kurd. *dū(d)*, Wa. *ḍīt*, Sh. *ḍūd*, Ishk. *did* ‘smoke’ (etc.) belong to a different root: (nominal only ?) **du(H)-*, Khot. *dumā* ‘smoke’, IE **d^heuH₂-*, Skt. *dhūmá-* (m.), Lat. *fūmus* ‘smoke’, Hitt. */tuhhui/* ‘fumes, smoke’, etc.

•PIE **deH₂u-* ‘to burn, be(come) on fire?’ ⇒ LIV: 104 | Pok.: 179 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *δαίω* ‘I kindle’, (perf.) *δέδῆα* ‘blazed, burnt’, Gr. *δίτος* ‘*burning’, OIrish *dóid* ‘sings, burns’, OIrish *condud* ‘firewood’, OHG *zuscen* ‘to burn’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 293a f.; *EVP*: 84; *IIFL* II: 451, 546; *GMS*: §573; *EVS*: 82a, 83a, 59b; *DKS*: 202 f., 452b; Werba 1997: 350 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 374; *ESLJa* II: 387 ff.; Werba 2006: 265 ff.

***dauH²** ‘to smear, rub (on)’

•AVESTAN: (+ **fra-*) YAv. *fraḍauu-* ‘to be rubbed off with’ ⇒ Liste: 31

MED.; Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. ^x*frādauuaitē* (V 5.24), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *fraḍauuata* (V 9.29)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ā-*) MMP ^x*rdwg* ‘pollution, dirt’ ⇒ DMMPP: 53a

•KHOTANESE: (?) LKh. *du-* ‘to strike, beat; clean’ (also from ***daub** ?) || (+ **uz-*) LKh. *uysdu-* ‘to remove’ ⇒ SGS: 44 f., 15

•SOGLIAN: BSogd. *δ’w* ‘to smear, plaster’ || (+ **ham-*) BSogd. *’nd’w*, MSogd. *’ndw* ‘to smear, anoint’

Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *δ’w’t*; Inf.: BSogd. *δ’w’y* || (+ **ham-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *’nd’wt*; Inf.: BSogd. *’nd’w’y*, pret. MSogd. *’ndwt*

•CHORESMIAN: *m/δ’w-* ‘to rub in, smear’ || (+ **apa-*) *bδ’w-* ‘to polish’ ⇒ Samadi: 63 f., 16

•NWIR: ? Gil. (Rsht.) *vasēēn/vasin-* (sec. inch.-caus. ?) ‘to rub’ || (+ **ā-*) NP *ālūdan/ālāy-* ‘to soil, pollute, stain’, Khuns. *ālī* (ppp.) ‘stained, soiled’ || (+ **uz-*) NP *zadūdan/zadāy-* ‘to polish, clean’ || (+ **ham-*) NP *andūdan/andāy-* ‘to smear, (re)cover, attach’, Tt. (Xia.) *m-andevmun* ‘we plaster’, *b-andev(n)* ‘plaster!’. ◇ The original meaning of NP *ālūdan/ālāy-* appears to be ‘to smear’, v. Horn 1893: 10. The formation is influenced by the antonym (M)MP *p’rw-*, NP *pālūdan* ‘to filter’, on which see ***harz**.

•NEIR: Oss. I. *dawyn/dawd*, D. *dawun/dawd* ‘to smooth, polish’, Yghn. *dou-/dōuta* ‘to plaster’, Wa. *δyw-/dowd* ‘to rub, smear’ || (+ **uz-*) Pash. *zdōyəl* ‘to rub, grind, polish’ (< Pers. ?) || (+ **fra-*) Oss. I. *rædyjyn/rædyd*, D. *rædujun/rædud* ‘to err, to sin against’ || (+ **ham-*) Yi. *dā-/dāvd-* ‘to smear’

•SANSKRIT: ? *dhav’* ‘to shake, stir’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 782 f.

◇ It is difficult to reconcile the Ir. root and Skt. *dhav’* ‘to shake, stir’ (as assigned in EWAia, l.c.) semantically. They may rather suggest a different etymology. Skt. does have a good IE etymology (ON *dýja* ‘to shake’, Gr. *θυνέω* ‘to storm, to move fast’), whereas IE cognates cannot be cited in support of Ir. **dauH¹* ‘to smear, rub (on)’. It is more likely a "Reimbildung", cf. ***sauH¹**. A.L. points out though that in Vedic there are, from the same root, some (synchronically separate) present forms that are much closer in meaning to the Ir. ones: pres. 3sg. *á dhāvati* (RV+), pass. 3du. *sam-dhāvvyete* (KS), pass. partic. *ā-dhūyāmāna-* (TS^m) ‘to rinse, clean, rub, polish’. These forms are rather unrelated to *dhav’* and may therefore be the genuine Skt. correspondences of Ir. **dauH¹*.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: 149 f. | Pok.: 261

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 101; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 74 f.; *IIFL* II: 204b; Andreev – Peščereva: 248b f.; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 349; Yarshater 1969: 211, 216; Abaev, *Slovar’* II: 362 f.; *WIM* I: 342; *DKS*: 171a, 6b; Werba 1997: 352 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 168; *NEVP*: 101; *ESIJ* II: 380 ff.

***daušš** ‘to suck, suckle, milk’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *dwš-/dōš-* ‘to milk’

Pres.: IND. 3pl. BMP *dwšynd/dōšēnd/*; Partic.: pass. perf. BMP *dwh/dōxt/*, BMP *dwšyt/dōšīd/*

•SOGLIAN: ? BSogd. *δwš-* ‘to peck, nibble’ (š needs an explanation)

BPres.: IND. 3pl. BSogd. *δwš’nt* (SCE 400)

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *ati-) čx- ‘to suck (milk)’, (caus.) čw’xy- ‘to breastfeed (baby)’
⇒ Samadi: 59

•NWIR: NP *dōxtan/dōš-*, Bal. *došag*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *dōtin/dōš-*, (Sor.) *dōšim/dōš-*, Zaz. *dotiš*, *dosnāyiš*, Abyan., Abz. *dōta/dūš-*, Ard. *dotte/doš-*, Anar., Nn. *dote/doš-*, Gil. *dūštan*, Tal. *dūše*, Khuns. *dūš-/dūšā*, Varz. *dote/doš-*, Qohr. *dōta/dūš-*, Tr. *dōta/dōš-*, Shamerz. *bedoštan*, Lasg. *bedūšāōn*, Sorkh. *bedūšton*, Semn. *bedūšiyon*, Sang. *bedūš diyetan* ‘to milk’, Bakht. *dūn* ‘milking, process of milking’ (**dauxšna-*?)

•NEIR: Pash. *lwaš-/lwašəl* ‘to milk’, Sangl. *dēš-/dəyd*, Ishk. *dēš-/dēšt* ‘to milk’ || (+ *ati-) ? Yzgh. *cəx-/coxt* ‘to milk’

◇ This root is a so-formation of IE **d^heug^h*- ‘to prepare’. See **dauc¹*.

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 41; *IIFL* II: 391b; *WIM* I: 68; Vahman – Asatrian 1991: 92 f.; Paul 1998: 296a; Cabolov 2001: 329; Lecoq 2002: 121, 123, 125 (passim)

***daxš** ‘to show, teach, reveal, mark’

•AVESTAN: *daxš-* ‘to instruct, show’, *daxšta-* (orig. ppp., n.) ‘sign, revelation [BMP /*daxšag*/]; menstruation [= BMP /*daštān*/]’ (Y 34.6, Y 51.9, V, etc.), ? OAv. *daxšāra-* (m.) ‘mark, sign’ (Y 43.7) || (+ **fra-*) ‘to instruct, teach’, also YAv. *fradaxštar-* ‘teacher’ ⇒ Liste: 27

Pres. {1} them.: INJ. 3sg. OAv. *daxšat* (Y 43.15); Pres. {2} *aṣa-*: OPT. med. 3sg. YAv. *aḍaxšaiiāta* (Y 12.5), IMPV. 2sg. OAv. <*fra*>*daxšaiiā* (Y 33.13)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *dxšg*, BMP *dhšk /daxšag/* ‘sign, mark, characteristic; memory’ (Nyberg II: 61b), BMP *dšt’n /daštān/* ‘menstruation; menstruous’ (Cantera 2004: 307) ⇒ DMMPP: 148a

•NEIR: NP *daštān* ‘a menstruating woman’, ? NP *daxš* ‘start, commencement of work; dark and gloomy’. ◇ The meaning, ‘Geschäft, Mühe’ assigned to NP *daxš* by Horn 1893: 120 (and subsequently adopted in e.g. *EWAia* I: 690 s.v. *dakš*) does not exist. The two main meanings generally found in lexicographical works are (cit. Dehkhoda, s.v.): 1. "It is the commencement of work. One says, the *daxš* is to you, it means the first business is with you (*Dictionary of Asadi*). It is the start and commencement (*Jahāngiri*)..." and 2. "dark and gloomy (*Jahāngiri*)..." (... (جهانگیری). 1. ابتدا کردن کار باشد. گویند دخش بتو است یعنی نخسین معامله با تست (فرهنگ اسدی). آغاز و ابتدا بود. and ... (جهانگیری). 2. تیره و تاریک). *Daxš* with the meaning ‘start, commencement of work’ may be connected to MP /*daxšag*/, the meaning deriving from ‘start-sign’, whereas *daxš* ‘dark and gloomy’ is perhaps related to **daj*, from *‘burnt, charred’?

◇ The evidence for and the meaning assigned to Ir. **daxš* largely rest on the interpretation of the Avestan *daxš-* forms. Although there is general agreement on the broad meaning, the Avestan forms have been interpreted in several ways with the etymology assigned accordingly. According to Insler 1962: 55 the Avestan root *daxš-* has secondarily developed from the past participle of the root *daēs-* ‘to show’

(**dais**¹), with **dixšta-* > *daxšta-*. However, Schlerath 1962: 514 points out that this development (which does not appear to be regular, cf. YAv. *frapixšta-*) should have taken place very early, as this supposedly abstracted root is already found in the Gāthās: *daxšaṭ*. Humbach 1959 II: 52 (repeated Humbach 1990 II: 144) equates OAv. *daxšaṭ* with Skt. *dakṣ* ‘to make right, be able [vel sim.]’: “macht es ... recht”. This equation can be doubted though, since the Pahlavi translation does mention /*daxšag*/, which does not agree semantically well with Skt. *dakṣ*.

•PIE **dek*^{ws-} ‘to show’. ◇ The generally accepted comparison of Hitt. /*tekkussi*^{o/a-}/ to Av. *daxš-* is disputed by Rieken 1999: 210 f., who rather relates Hitt. /*tekkuss-*/ to /*tekri-*/ ‘defilement’, Gr. τέκμαρ ‘sign’. As kindly pointed out by A. Kloekhorst (personal communication), this is unlikely and unnecessary. Hitt. /*tekri-*/ may rather mean ‘deposition’ and for the interpretation of Hitt. /*tekkuss-*/ as a secondary enlarged -*u-s*-formation from the root **tek-* one has to postulate some arbitrary developments. If we do uphold the Av.-Hitt. comparison, the Hitt. forms provide proof that the velar of the IE root **dek*^{ws-} must have been labialized. ⇒ LIV: 112 | Pok.: 189

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. /*tekkussiy*^{a/c-}/ ‘to show, present oneself’

•REFERENCES: Andreev – Peščereva: 245b; *ESIJ*a II: 283 f.

***(d)banz**¹ ‘to be(come) thick, dense’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *bəzuuant-* ‘thick, dense’ (Y 40.3), YAv. *bəzah-* ‘thickness, denseness’

•KHOTANESE: *baysga-* ‘thick, deep; many, large’

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *δβ’nz*, BSogd. *δβ’nz* ‘wide, coarse’, MSogd. *δβ’nzq’wyy* ‘thickness, density’ (*GMS*: §999)

•NWIR: NP *dabz* ‘thick, coarse (as cloth)’, Bal. *baz* ‘thick, coarse’, Zaz. *vezdin* ‘oily, greasy’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *bæzgin*, D. *bæzgin* ‘thick, dense’, Sariq. *divez*, Yzgh. *dəvuz* (LW ? : *wūzd*) ‘thick, fat’, Sh. *divask* (Lentz), Orosh. *dəvaskak* ‘calf of the leg’ (Zarubin), Yi. *livzín* ‘felt’ || (+ **pati-*) Sh. (Baj.) *pidvāxt* ‘pressed (a gift) on’

•SANSKRIT: *baṃh* ‘to thicken, become thick, dense’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 204 f.

◇ In some Ir. languages an initial dental can be noticed. It is unclear whether this should also be reconstructed for PIr.: secondary ? There is no evidence for this dental in IE. See also the next lemma.

•PIE **b*^h*eng*^{h-} ‘to become/make dense, thick’ ⇒ LIV: 76 | Pok.: 127 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. πάχος (n.) ‘thickness, density’, ON *bingr* ‘heap’, Latv. *biezs* ‘thick’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 225b; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 258, 257; *EVS*: 30a, 53b, 96a; *DKS*: 270; *Verba* 1997: 208; Paul 1998: 317a; *ESIJ*a II: 83 f., 496 ff.; De Vaan 2003: 458; Korn 2005: 210, 355

***(d)banz²** ‘to be helpful, supportive, fit’

•AVESTAN: *dəbāz-* (*bāz-*) ‘to support’, OAv. *dəbāzah-* ‘support’ (Y 47.6). ◇ The BMP translation of *dəbāz-* (*bāz-*) is *ayārōmandīh kardan* ‘to help’. The meaning ‘to solidify, consolidate’ (‘*festigen*’), assigned in Humbach 1959 I: 55, *EWAia* II: l.c., *LIV*, l.c. and other works, is conjectured solely in order to “facilitate” the connection with Skt. *bamh*. ⇒ Liste: 38

Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. OAv. *dəbāzaiti* (Y 44.6), YAv. *bāzaiti* (V 13.9), 3du. YAv. **bāzatō* (V 13.9)

•PARTHIAN: *bz-* ‘to receive help’ ⇒ Ghilain: 52 | DMMPP: 123a

Pres.: IND. 3pl. *bzynd*

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *baś-* ‘to be suitable’ ⇒ SGS: 94

•NEIR: Oss. I. *bəzzyn/bəzt*, *bəzzyd*, D. *bəzzun/bəzt* ‘to suit, fit, be fit for, *taugen*’

◇ On semantic grounds the Avestan root *dəbāz-* (*bāz-*) should be separated from Skt. *bamh* ‘to thicken, become thick, dense’, according to Benveniste, *ELO*: 21. Skt. *bamh* would have other, semantically more precise Ir. correspondences, on which see ***(d)banz¹**. Av. *dəbāz-* (*bāz-*), on the other hand, is cognate with the forms above. An IE origin would not be found for these forms though. ***(d)banz²** might still be originally etymologically identical to ***(d)banz¹**, if we assume that ***(d)banz²** has undergone the following semantic development: ***(d)banz¹** ‘to make thick’ > ‘to make strong, sturdy’ > pass. ‘to be made strong, sturdy’ > ***(d)banz²** ‘to be made suitable, fit’ (cf. Oss., Khot.) > ‘to be helpful, supportive’ ? (A.L.)

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 258; *DKS*: 270; Werba 1997: 208; Kellens – Pirart III: 262; *ESJJa* II: 83 f., 496 ff.

***diHp** ‘to shine, light up’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *dyb* ‘(good) fortune, luck’, ? BMP *dyp’hl /dēbahr/* ‘anger; arrest, custody’ (< Pth.) || (+ **ā-*) MMP *’yb* ‘conflagration, fire’ ⇒ DMMPP: 148b, 6b

•PARTHIAN: *dyb* ‘(good) fortune, luck’, ? *dybhr* ‘anger’ (cf. Engl. *incense*) ⇒ DMMPP: 148b

•SOGDIAN: (+ **abi-*) ? BSogd. *’βδ’yp*, *’βδyp* ‘radiance, brilliance’ (*’β°* < **abi-* ?) || (+ **fra-*) CSogd. *frθyp-* ‘to flash, lighten’, CSogd. *ftyp-* ‘to shine’ || (+ **ui-*) BSogd. *wyδ’ynp’h*, CSogd. *wydyp’* (f.) ‘lightning’ (with sec. *-m-* ?)

(+ **fra-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *frθypt* {hapax}

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **abi-*) *m|βzǰ-* ‘to shine, light up’, *m|βzpy-* (caus.) ‘to make light’ ⇒ Samadi: 46

•NEIR: Oss. I. *ært-tivyn/ært-tyvd*, D. *ært-tevun/ært-tivd* ‘to shine, sparkle, glow’ (with *ært-* ‘fire’), Yi. *lívden*, M. *lívden* ‘fire-place’ (**dīp(a)-dāna-*, not **daiga-dāna-* ?) || (+ **abi-*) Yi. *véliwo* ‘lightning’ (not **ui-*) || (+ **ham-*) ? M. *dif-/dif-* ‘to catch fire’ (or < **ham-* + **tap* ?)

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *dipah* ‘arrest; guard-room’

•SANSKRIT: *dīp* ‘to shine, light up, flame’ (AV+), *dīpay^o* (caus.) ‘to set fire, kindle’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia I: 728

◇ Ir. **diHpa* is of IIr. origin. The Skt. correspondence *dīp* is usually interpreted as a secondary root, abstracted from the causative *p*-formation *dīpay^o*, cf. Jamison 1983: 164. However, this explanation can hardly apply to the corresponding Iranian “root”, since such causatives formed with a suff. **-p-* do not exist in Ir. It rather suggests that *dīp-* is older than the “causative” *dīpay^o*, which should therefore be taken as a denominative-factitive formation, cf. Thumb I: 403 f. This “root” would go back to an old IIr. noun **diHpa-* ‘light, shining, incandescence’, which is continued by MMP, Pth. *dyb* and possibly (late) Skt. *dīpa-* ‘lamp’.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 225a, 205a, 258a; *GMS*: §972; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 181 f.; Schwartz 1967: 56 f.; Gharib: 18, 420; *ESJa* II: 299 f.

***diHu** ‘to endeavour’

•AVESTAN: (+ **ā-*) OAv. *ādīuu-* ‘to endeavour’ ⇒ Liste: 30

Pres. *ja-*: IND. 3pl. OAv. *ādīuuieiptī* (Y 44.13)

•NEIR: (+ **ham-*) ? Oss. D. *ændewun/ændiwd* ‘to dare, be bold’

•SANSKRIT: *dīv* ‘to play dice, gamble’. ◇ With laryngeal metathesis, from IIr. **dīauH-*, according to Werba 1997: 350. ⇒ EWAia I: 729 f.

◇ Further Ir. correspondences are unknown. This IIr. root has no certain IE cognates. According to Rassmussen 1989: 110 ff., 116 ff. the IE preform of the IIr. root is **dīeuH₁-* ‘to play dice’, from which Gr. κίνδυνός ‘danger’ (< **kuno-djūno-* ‘dog-throw’, i.e. the worst throw in a game of dice ?) would also derive. This is a rather fanciful conjecture.

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 156; Beekes 1988: 206; Cheung 2002: 160 f.

***(d)mān** ‘to remain, dwell’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *mān-* (*maṇ-*) ‘to remain, dwell’ ⇒ Liste: 42f.

Caus.(/Iter.): pres. SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *maṇaiīāt* (Dk 113), OPT. 3pl. YAv. *upa.maṇaiīon*, IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *auui² mānaiia* (Yt 16.2). ◇ On a possible OAv. *mānaii^o* see Humbach 1991 II: 206.

•OLD PERSIAN: *mān-* ‘to remain, dwell’ ⇒ Kent: 202

Caus.(/Iter.): impf. IND. 3sg. *amānaya* <a-m-a-n-y> (DB 2.48, 2.63), *amānaiya* <a-m-a-n-i-y> (DB 2.28)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: 1. MMP *m’n-*, also BMP *KTLWN-* /*mān-*/ ‘to stay, remain’ || 2. MMP *m’n-*, *m’n-*, BMP *m’n-* /*mān-*/ ‘to live, dwell’. ◇ Apparently, in BMP a graphic-semantic distinction is kept between ²*mān-* ‘to live, dwell in’ (written as *m’n-*), whereas ¹*mān-* ‘stay, remain’ is represented by *KTLWN-*, cf. MacKenzie, *Pahl.*: 53 f. (adopted in *DMMP*: l.c.). This distinction is not necessarily old though,

as the noun *mān* (written as *m'n*) is also attested in BMP. This *mān* could thus have given rise to a new denominative ²*mān*- in MP.

1. Pres.: IND. 2sg. MMP *m'nyh*, MMP *m'nyd*, SUBJ. 2sg. MMP *m'n'y*, 3pl. MMP *m'n'nd* { MacKenzie 1980: 46}; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *m'nd* || 2. Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *ʰm'nyd*, BMP *m'nyt/mānēd/*, 3pl. MMP *m'nynd*; Partic.: pres. MMP *m'n'g*, *ʰm'nynd*, perf. pass. BMP *m'nd/mānd/*, MMP *m'nd*

•PARTHIAN: 1. *m'n*- 'to stay, remain' || 2. *m'n*-, *m'n*'- 'to live, dwell' ⇨ Ghilain: 60, 71 | DMMPP: 225

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *m'nyd*, *m'nyyd*, 3pl. *m'nynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *m'n'h*, *m'n'h*, 1pl. *m'n'm*; Partic.: pres. *m'nynd* || 2. Pres.: IND. 2sg. *m'nyyh*, 3sg. *m'nyd*, *m'nyyd*, 3pl. *m'nynd*, *m'nyynd*; Partic.: pres. II *m'nyndg*, (pl.) *m'nynd'n*

•KHOTANESE: *māñ*- 'to remain' ⇨ SGS: 109

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *myn*, BSogd. *m(ʹ)yn*, CSogd. *myn*, MSogd. *myn* 'to stay, remain, dwell, be'

Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *m'ynt*, BSogd. *mynt*, 1pl. dur. CSogd. *mynym-sqwn*, 3pl. BSogd. *myn'nt*, CSogd. *mynnt*, SUBJ. 1sg. SSogd. *myn'nw*, BSogd., MSogd. *myn'n*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: *m'ny*- 'to live, dwell' ⇨ Samadi: 109

•NWIR: NP *māndan/mān*- 'to remain, await; to stay, dwell', (orig. ppp.) *māndah* 'tired', Bal. *mānay* 'to become tired', Kurd. *mān*, *māyīn/mīn*-, (Sor.) *mān/mēn*- 'to remain, dwell', Zaz. *mendiš/mānen*-, Awrom. *manáy/man*-, Fariz. *mundā*, *-mand/-mand*-, Gz. *mūn-/mūnā*, Gil. (Rsht.) *māncæstæn/man*-, Gur. (Kand.) *mān/-mān*-, Ham. *mondān/mon*-, Isfah. *mundān/ve-mun*-, Jow. *ba-mēnd/a-mun*-, *a-mōn*-, Khuns. *mūn-/mūnd*, Natan. *-mūnd*, Qohr. *bá-mūnd*, Semn. *-mund*, Siv. *mān-/mānd*, Soi *bá-mūn* 'to remain'

•NEIR: Sh. *mēn-/mēnt*, Rosh. *mēn-/mēnt*- 'to remain', Yghn. *mon*-, *moñ-/mónta*, *mun-/múnta* 'to send (?); to remain'

•SANSKRIT: ? *man*- 'to wait for; to remain' (RV; cf. Renou, *ÉVP* 14: 126) ⇨ EWAia II: 306 f.

◇ Two formally and semantically very similar forms have coalesced to this root: the nominal root **dmāna*- 'house, dwelling' has blended with the verb **man* 'to remain, wait'. Theoretically it is possible to derive most (if not all) forms above from a corresponding caus.-iter. formation **mānaja*- of **man* 'to remain, wait', as attested in Av. and OP. However, this formation cannot be found in Skt. or IE. Hence, this formation in Ir. may in fact represent the denominative formation of **dmāna*:- **dmānaja*-. **dmānaja*- has subsequently lost the initial **d*- regularly or, in the case of Av., analogically.

•PIE **men*- 'to remain, dwell' ⇨ LIV: 437 | Pok.: 729

•IE COGNATES: Gr. μένω, Lat. *maneo*, Arm. *mnam* 'I remain'

•REFERENCES: Zhukovskij I: 22, 192; *KPF* I: 209b, 249b; *KPF* II: 223; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 75, 173, 263; Abrahamian 1936: 117, 131; Lambton 1938: 77a; Andreev – Peščereva: 287a f.; MacKenzie

1966: 102; *EVS*: 44b; *WIM* I: 71; *DKS*: 327b; *WIM* II/1: 80; *WIM* III: 112; Paul 1998: 305b; Cabolov 2001: 639

***drafš** ? ‘to "behave" like a banner, fly up, shine, tremble ?’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *drafša-* ‘banner’ (Y 10.14, Y 57.25, Yt 1.11, etc.)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP /*drafš-*/ ‘to shine, tremble’, MMP *drfš*, BMP *dlfš* /*drafš*/ ‘banner’

•PARTHIAN: *drfš-* ‘to shine’, *drfš* ‘banner’. ◇ Cf. Ghilain, l.c.: "est sans doute aussi un dénominatif". ⇒ Ghilain: 91 | DMMPP: 139a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *drfšyd*

•KHOTANESE: *dr(r)āh-* ‘to fly (up)’. ◇ The etymology of Bailey (cited in *SGS*: l.c., *DKS*: 168a; *EWAia* I: 703) is difficult: Skt. *darp* (*dṛāpayati*) ‘to be confused, mad’. The meaning ‘to stumble’ previously assigned to *darp* is no longer justified, on which see Hoffmann 1965: 14, fn. 8. ⇒ *SGS*: 48

•NWIR: NP *dirafš* ‘flag, banner; lightning; splendour’ (widely borrowed in e.g.) Bal. *drapšit/drapš-* ‘to shine, tremble’, Kurd. (Sor.) *dirawš* ‘flag’

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *drawš* ‘flag, banner’

•SANSKRIT: 139a ⇒ *EWAia* I: 754, 758

◇ The postulation of a verbal PIr. **drap* on the basis of Khotanese evidence (cf. Emmerick 1966: 613 ff.) may be doubted: the Khot. forms perhaps derive from nominal **drafš/sa-* ‘flag, banner’ ?, cf. MP *drafš*, NP *dirafš* (> *dirafšīdan* ‘to shine; tremble’), BSogd. *’rδ’(y)šp*, Pth. *drfš* ‘banner’ (> Pth. *drfš-* ‘to shine’), Skt. *drapsá-* (m.) ‘flag, banner’. But note also the (Gallo-)Romance forms, Ital. *drappo*, French *drapeau*, *draper* (< Gall. *drappus* ‘(piece of) cloth’), and Lith. *drāpana* ‘dress’ (*KEWA*, II: 77). Nevertheless, these nominal forms may still go back to an IE verbal root: **drep-* ‘to cut, tear off (a piece)’, Gr. *δρέπω* ‘I cut off’, SCr. *dīpnuti*, Slov. *drpljem (dīpati)* ‘to tear’.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 128 f. | Pok.: 211

•REFERENCES: Bailey 1954: 147; MacKenzie, *Pahlavi*: 27; *DKS*: 168a; Cabolov 2001: 309; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *drapš-*

***dram** ‘to run’

•AVESTAN: (+ **ham-*) YAv. *haṇdramana-* ‘(place of) convergence’ (Yt 11.6, N 53)

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *drem-* ‘to drive away’ || (+ **ham-*) LKh. *haṇdrama-* ‘ranging place, wilderness’ ⇒ *SGS*: 48

•SOGDIAN: ? CSogd. *ž’f-* (pret. stem) ‘to discuss’ (diff. origin ?)

Pass.: pret.. IND. 3sg. dur. CSogd. *ž’tyf byq m’ntf* ‘were being discussed’

•NWIR: ? Pash. *drūmēdāl* ‘to go’ = *drum-* ‘to go (away), depart, set out’. ◇ "Most likely < **ati-ram-*, with early syncope", *NEVP*: 23.

•SANSKRIT: *dram* ‘to walk, to roam about’ (Up.+) ⇒ *EWAia* I: 755

- PIE **drem-* ‘to run’ ⇒ LIV: 128 | Pok.: 204 f.
- IE COGNATES: Gr. δρέμω ‘I run’
- REFERENCES: DKS: 166; Werba 1997: 352; *ESJa* II: 470 f.

***dra(n)ǰ** ‘to fix, fasten, hold’

- AVESTAN: *drənj-* (*draž-*) ‘to fix, fasten, hold’ || (+ **ham-*) ‘to encompass’ ⇒ Liste: 32

MED. (exc. Caus./Intens.); Pres. *ja-*: IND. 2sg. YAv. *dražahe* (V 19.4), 3sg. YAv. *dražete* (Yt 5.11), Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *drənjaiieiti* (N 11), 3pl. YAv. *drənjaiieinti* (V), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *drənjaiiāt* (Y 19.6), 3pl. YAv. *drənjaiiān* (V 4.45), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *drənjaiiōiš* (Yt 13.20, V 9.12, V 9.27 f., etc.); Partic.: pres. YAv. *dražimna-*, YAv. *dražəmna-* (Yt 10.96), pres. caus. YAv. *drənjaiiant-*, perf. pass. YAv. *handraxta-* (Yt 13.2); Desid.: pres. IND. 2pl. OAv. *dādrayžō.duiiē* (Y 48.7); Intens.: pres. IND. 3sg. ? YAv. *dādraxti*, OPT. 2sg. YAv. *dādrājōiš* (N 12). ◇ YAv. *dādraxti* is cited in the MP translation of V 4.10.

- MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **aya-*) MMP *’wdrnz-* ‘to condemn’ ⇒ DMMPP: 66b
Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *’wdrnz’d*; Partic.: perf. pass. II MMP *’wdrnzzyd-*

•PARTHIAN: *drxs-* (inch.) ‘to endure’ || (+ **abi-*) *’bdrynj-* ‘to be sure, secure; to assure, make certain’ || (+ **ni-*) *nydrynj-* ‘to keep down, subdue’ || (+ **ham-*) *’ndrynj-* ‘to condemn, defeat’. ◇ *’ndrynj-* is semantically comparable to *’ndrz* ‘order, command’ (**ham-* + **darz*). ⇒ Ghilain: 51 | DMMPP: 141a, 9b, 252b, 46a f.

Pres.: SUBJ. 2sg. *drxs’b* || (+ **abi-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *’bdrynjyd*, IMPV. 2pl. *’bdrynjyd* || (+ **ni-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. *’nydrynjynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *nydrxt* || (+ **ham-*) Partic.: perf. pass. *’ndrxt* ‘condemned’, *’ndrxtg’n* (pl.) ‘the condemned (persons)’, II *’ndrynj’d*

- KHOTANESE: *dr̥ys-* (*dārys-*) ‘to hold’ || (+ **ham-*) *hamdrrī(s)-* ‘to hold together’, LKh. *hamdra(m)j-* (caus./intens.) ‘to keep’ ⇒ SGS: 46, 141

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *dr̥y-* (pret. stem) ‘to hold’, MSogd. *jxs-* (inch./intr.) ‘to be kept’ || (+ **pati-*) CSogd. *ptžnq* ‘pledge’ (**pati-dranga-*, Schwartz 1967: 112) || (+ **ui-*) MSogd. *wjxs-* ‘to be separated’

Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. MSogd. *jxs’t*; Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. *dr̥yt*; Inf.: pret. BSogd. *dr̥yty* || (+ **ui-*) Inch.: pres. IND. 3sg. MSogd. *wjxstyh* (*BBB*: 50)

- CHORESMIAN: (+ **aya-*) *wr̥ōncy-* ‘to bequeath’ ⇒ Samadi: 217

•NWIR: Bal. *draht*, *dratk*, *dranjit*, *tranjīt/dranj-*, *tranj-* ‘to hang up’

•NEIR: (+ **aya-*) Wa. *wərdənz-/wərdəyn-*, *vərdənz-/vərdəyn-* (etc.) ‘to press down’ || (+ **ui-*) Yzgh. *wərciθ-/wərcūst* ‘to be untied’, Yzgh. *wərcand-* (caus.) ‘to untie’

•SANSKRIT: (+ **aya*) ? BSkt. *avadranga-* ‘earnest money’ (cited by Schwartz 1967: 112) ⇒ EWAia: –

- PIE **dreg^h-* ‘to hold, fasten’ ⇒ LIV: 126 | Pok.: 254

•IE COGNATES: Gr. δράσομαι ‘I hold (with the hand)’, OCS *dr̥žq* ‘I hold’, OIrish *dringid* ‘he climbs, mounts’, MWelsh *dringo* ‘to climb’

•REFERENCES: *EVS*: 117b; *DKS*: 164a; Gharib: 141b f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 396; *ESJa* II: 454 ff.; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *dranj-*

***drap** ‘to wear, put on clothes’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: ? BMP *drp-* /*drab-*/ ‘to wear’ (cf. *DKS*: 119b, s.v. *dausvera* ‘covering (?)’)

Pres.: IND. 3pl. BMP *drpynd* /*drabēnd*/

•PARTHIAN: *drb-* ‘to put (clothes)’ ⇒ DMMPP: 139a

Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. *drb’ḥ*

•SANSKRIT: *drāpī-* (m.) ‘mantle, garment’ (RV, AV) ⇒ EWAia I: 758

◇ Further connections within (I)Ir. are uncertain. The meaning of the Ir. verbal forms above suggests a denominative origin, going back to a noun **drapa-* ‘a piece of cut cloth’ ~ Skt. *drāpī-*. The well-attested ‘flag’ forms, YAv. *drafša-* ‘banner’, etc. may also be related to this noun. The nouns **drapa-* / Skt. *drāpī-* are nominal derivatives of IE **drepe-* ‘to cut off’, cf. Gr. *δρέπω* ‘I cut off’.

•PIE **drepo-* (alternating with **dropo-* ?) ‘piece of cut cloth’ ⇒ LIV: 128 f. | Pok.: 211, s.v.

•IE COGNATES: Lith. *drāpana* (f.) ‘clothing, cloth, underwear’, *drābanas* ‘rags’, Latv. *drēbe* ‘frock’, Cz. *zdraby* ‘rags’, "Illyr." **drap(p)-* (> Gallo-Romance *drappus* ‘(piece of) cloth’ > Ital. *drappo*, Fr. *drapeau*, *draper*)

•REFERENCES: *ESIIa* II: 347 f.

***drau¹** ‘to call on’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: ? MMP *dr’y-* ‘to shriek, call, cry out’, BMP *dl’(d)y-* /*drāyī-*/ ‘to howl, talk (*daēvic*)’ (Schwartz, l.c.). ◇ The Persian forms can also derive from ***zrād** (= Skt. *hrād* ‘to sound’), cf. EWAia II: 823. ⇒ DMMPP: 138b f.

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *dr’yd*, BMP *dl’yt* /*drāyēd*/, 3pl. MMP **dr’ynd*, BMP /*drāyēd*/, MMP *dr’ydyd*; Partic.: pres. BMP *dl’d’n* /*drāyān*/, perf. pass. MMP *dr’yst*, BMP *dl’yt* /*drāyīd*/; Inf.: BMP *dl’dytn* /*drāyīdan*/

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *δr’w* ‘rumour, report’, CSogd. *žw* (m.) ‘news, rumour’

•NWIR: ? NP *darāyīdan* ‘to speak aloud, call’ (alternatively < ***zrād**)

•NEIR: Oss. I. *ardawyn/ardydyd*, D. *ardawun/ardud* ‘to file complaint (against someone)’. ◇ No less than three roots have coalesced in this Ossetic verb, which has preserved all three meanings, on which see also ***drau²**, ***drau³**.

•PIE **d^hreu-* ‘to call, proclaim’ ⇒ LIV: 155 | Pok.: 255

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *θρέομαι* ‘I call out, announce’

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 62; *ELO*: 59 f.; Schwartz, *Gs Henning*: 385 fn.2; Nyberg II: 66a f.; Gharib: 141a; *ESIIa* II: 463 f.

***drau²** ‘to run’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *drauu-* ‘to run (?) [*daēvic*]; lead astray’ ⇒ Liste: 32

Partic.: pres. med. ? YAv. *dramne* (V 13.8), perf. pass. YAv. *aēšmō.drūta-* ‘infuriated’ (Yt 1.18); Caus.: pres. SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *drāuuaiiāt* (Y 57.25). ◇ YAv. *dramne* < **draomna-*?, Kellens 1984: 103, 106, fn. 13. || YAv. *aēšmō.drūta-* has lengthened *-ū-*, De Vaan 2003: 285.

- KHOTANESE: *dr̄rāve* ‘swift’
- CHORESMIAN: (+ **abi-*) *m/βzrw-* ‘to flood, flow’, *m/βzr’wy-* (caus.) ‘to cause to flood’ ⇒ Samadi: 47
- NEIR: Oss. I. *ardawyn/ardyd*, D. *ardawun/ardud* ‘to drive, instigate, impel, incite’
- SANSKRIT: *drav* ‘to run’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia I: 755 f.
- PIE **dreu-* ‘to run’ ⇒ LIV: 129 | Pok.: 205
- REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 62; DKs: 168a; *ESIIa* II: 462 f.

***drau³** ‘to lead astray, delude’

- AVESTAN: ? YAv. *drauu-* ‘to run (?) [daēvic]; lead astray?’ ⇒ Liste: 32
Partic.: pres. med. ? YAv. *dramne* (< **draomna-*?) (V 13.8); Caus.: pres. SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *drāuuaiāt* (Y 57.25)
- PARTHIAN: *dr’w-* ‘to seduce, delude’. ◇ The meaning ‘to cry, lament’, given by Henning (Andreas – Henning 1934: 42, line 22) and accepted by Ghilain, is to be discarded, on which see Henning *apud* Boyce 1954: 186b. ⇒ Ghilain: 77 | DMMPP: 138b
Pres.: IND. 3sg. *dr’wyd*, 3pl. *dr’wynd*
- KHOTANESE: *dr̄rau-* ‘deception’
- SOGDIAN: CSogd. *’rdyw-* ‘to seduce, lead astray’
Pres.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *’rdywt*
- CHORESMIAN: *’rD’wn* (pl.) ‘demons’
- NEIR: (+ **ā-*) Oss. I. *ardawyn/ardyd*, D. *ardawun/ardud* ‘to snatch’
- SANSKRIT: *varuṇa-dhrūt-* ‘deceiving Varuna’ (RV 10.61.4), *dhrūti-* ‘deception’. ◇ The forms, including Vedic and Middle/Modern Indo-Aryan, cited by Mayrhofer, l.c., are semantically difficult to reconcile: they rather point to two different roots *dhvar* ‘to injure’, *dhūrā* ‘with violence’, etc. (= Hitt. /*duṣarne-*/ ‘to break’) and *dhra* (= Ir. **drau³*), Pkt. *dhutta-* (m.) ‘villain, rogue’. ⇒ EWAia I: 802, s.v. *dhvar*
◇ This root should be separated from **drau²* ‘to run’ (?), on which see Schwartz 1966: 118 ff. (with an etymology provided).
- PIE **d^hreu-* ‘to deceive’ ⇒ LIV: 156 | Pok.: 277
- IE COGNATES: Lat. *fraus* ‘deception’, Umb. *frosetum* ‘*fraudatum*’
- REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 62; Hoffmann, *Aufsätze*: 757; Benzing 1983: 78; SVK I: 57 f.; *ESIIa* II: 465

***draub ?** ‘to scratch, peel off?’

- SOGDIAN: SSogd. *zwb’k*, BSogd. *zwb’kh*, CSogd. *žwb* ‘shell, husk, outer layer’ || (+ **fra-*) BSogd. *’βš’wnp-* ‘to skin, decorticate’ (Gershevitch 1970: 304; Schwartz 1971: 412)
Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *’βš’wnpt* (SCE 235), 3pl. BSogd. *βš’wnp’nt* (SCE 219)

- CHORESMIAN: ? *m/rðβs-* (pass./inch.) ‘to be skinned’, *m/rðnb-* (tr./caus.) ‘to skin, decorticate’ ⇒ Samadi: 169
- NEIR: ? Oss. I. *ræduvyn/rædyvd*, D. *rædovun/ræduvd* ‘to tear (off)’, ? Wa. *дрып-/dropt* ‘to tear, scratch; to comb’. ◇ If Oss. *ræduvyn*, etc. does contain **draub*, we will need to assume some sort of phonological loss of the *-r-: **fra-draub-* > pre-Oss. **ra-rðauβ-* > POss. *rædov-* (*r...* *r* dissimilation). An alternative etymology is perhaps a connection to **daub* ‘to strike, pick’, which is semantically less attractive though. || Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 151 derives the Wa. form from IE **drōp-* ‘to cut off’, Russ. *дрáпат’* (obs.) ‘to scratch’ Gr. *δρέπω* ‘to cut off’, etc. See **drap*.
◇ The Chor. and Sogd. cognate forms are similar in meaning, whereas the Oss. and Wa. verbs are set with semantic and phonological problems.
- PIE ? **d^hreub^h-* ‘to scratch (off)’ ⇒ LIV: 156 | Pok.: 275
- IE COGNATES: Gr. *δρύπτω* ‘I scratch the cheeks (as a sign of mourning)’, *θρύπτω* ‘I rub off, soften’
- REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar’* II: 361 f.; Sims-Williams 1983: 50; Gharib: 467b, 20b

*drauH ‘to cut (down), mow, reap’

- MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *dwr-* (BMP *HšDLWN-*) ‘to reap, mow’ ⇒ DMMPP: 139a, 145b
Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *dwrynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *dr’wd*
- KHOTANESE: LKh. *drv-* ‘to bite, cut’ ⇒ SGS: –
- CHORESMIAN: *dry-* ‘to mow’ ⇒ Samadi: 67
- NWIR: NP *durūdan/dirav-* ‘to cut, mow, reap’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *dirūn*, *dirūtin/dirū-*, (Sor.) *dirūnawa/dirū-* ‘to reap, mow’, Kurd. (Sina) *dirawān*, (LW) Awrom. *dirawān* ‘hired reaper’, Tal. *dave* ‘to reap, mow’, Abyan. *dōrūn*, Abz. *dorō*, Ard. *durō*, Nn. *durow*, Gz. *dūrūn*, Qohr. *derūn*, Semn. *derow*, Shamerz. *deru*, Tr. *deran*, Varz. *deron* ‘harvest’
- NEIR: Pash. *Iwawəl* ‘to reap’, Yi. *lārī-/lārēī-*, M. *lārī-/luriy-*, Ishk. *дърай-/дъргд*, Sangl. *deräy-* ‘to reap’, Wa. *draw-/drət-* ‘to reap; to mow, cut’, Pash. *lau*, *law* (LW ?, < IAr.), Wa. *d(ə)rwīw(n)*, Yghn. *dirówa*, M. *láráwa*, Yi. *láróvo*, Sh. *cōw*, Bart. *caw* ‘harvesting, reaping’
- MISC: Orm. *dir-*, Par. *durr-* ‘to reap; to mow’, Orm. *drau* ‘harvest, reaping’ (< Pers.)
- SANSKRIT: *drav’* ‘to cut down’ (RV), ‘to harm, damage’ (JB) ⇒ EWAia I: 756
◇ This root is attested in Ilr. only, it might be an enlarged root of IE **der-* ‘to tear, split’ (**dar²*), or at least contaminated with it.
- PIE – ⇒ LIV: 129 | Pok.: 208 f.
- REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 224a, 520; MacKenzie 1966: 93; *DKS*: 171a; *WIM* II/2: 659; Werba 1997: 297; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 149, 156; Cabolov 2001: 313 f.; Lecoq 2002: 575, 593, 616 (passim); *ESIJ*a II: 457 ff.

***drau(H)š ?** ‘to make a mark, brand’

- AVESTAN: ? YAv. *draoša-* ‘a certain punishment for a sinful deed’ (V 3.41), YAv. *društa-* (ppp.) ‘physically hurt, damaged ?’ (but ‘branded, stigmatized’, Humbach – Ichaporria: 74)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *dlwš-* /*drōš-* ‘to brand’, ? MMP *drwšg* ‘something cut off’ or ‘desolation’ ? ⇒ DMMPP: 140b
- NWIR: NP *dirōš* ‘it is called the mark and sign, a synonym of mark’, Bal. *drōš* ‘earmark’ (< Pers. ?) ◇ Dekhkoda: 9390 assigns a multitude of meanings to NP *dirōš* (دِرُوش) among which the following are relevant: ‘داغ و نشان را خوانند ... مرادف داغ’.
- NEIR: Pash. *darwağ* (m.) ‘earmark, distinguishing mark in the ears of cattle’ (NEVP: 23) ? Oss. I. *ærduzyn/ærdyst*, D. *ærdozun/ærdust* ‘to neuter, castrate’. ◇ The Oss. forms may actually be borrowed from a Balto-Slavic language (e.g. Lith. *dróžti* ‘to cut, carve’), cf. Cheung 2002: 162.
- MISC: Arm. (LW) *drošm* ‘a mark cut or burnt in’
 ◇ The evidence for the root **drauš* is somewhat ambiguous, particularly, establishing the meaning of YAv. *draoša-* proves to be difficult, being fraught with problems, on which see Bartholomae, *WZKM* 27: 352 f. On the other hand, Bailey, l.c., compares it to the Arm. LW *drošm* ‘a mark cut or burnt in’, to which he also adds the Persian forms. If we accept his analysis, the root may go back to an ingressive *s*-formation of a root **dreuH-*, which is attested in Ilr. only (***drauH**): **dreuH-so-* ?
- PIE ? ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –
- REFERENCES: *AiW*: 770, 782; Bailey 1931: 594 f.; MacKenzie, *Pahlavi*: 28; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 402 f.; Nyberg II: 67a

***drauj** ‘to lie, deceive’

- AVESTAN: *druj-* (*druž-*) ‘to lie, deceive’ (on *ž-* < **j̥-* see Martínez 1999: 127 f.) || (+ **abi-*) ‘to deceive, lie to someone’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘id.’ ⇒ Liste: 32
 Pres. *ja-*: IND. med. 3sg. YAv. *družaitē* (N 84), 3pl. YAv. *družīnti* (Yt 10.45), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *družānt* (Yt 10.108), 3pl. YAv. **aiβi.družānti* (Yt 5.90); Partic.: pres. OAv. **ādrujiiaṅt-* (31.15), YAv. *družīnt-* (Yt 8.5, Yt 10.107), perf. pass. YAv. *anādruxta-* ‘not-cheated, indeceivable’ (Yt 10.23, Yt 10.26, FrW 9.1)
- OLD PERSIAN: *d(u)ruj-* ‘to lie, deceive’ ⇒ Kent: 191b
 Pres. *ja-*: impf. IND. 3sg. *ad(u)rujiya* <[a]-du-u-ru-u-ji-i-y> (DB 1.39), <a-du-u-ru-u-ji-i-y> (DB 1.78, DB 3.80, DB 4.13, 4.18, etc.), <[a]-[du]-u-ru-u-ji-i-y> (DB 4.8), <a-du-u-ru-u-ji-i-y> (DB 4.10), <[a]-du-[u]-[ru]-[u]-[ji]-i-y> (DB 4.16), <a-du-[u]-ru-u-ji-i-y> (4.21, DB 4.21) (etc.), 3pl. *ad(u)rujiyaša^a* <a-du-u-ru-u-ji-i-y-š> (DB 4.34); Partic.: perf. pass. *d(u)ruxta-* <du-u-ru-u-x-t-m> (DB 4.44), <du-u-ru-u-x-t-m> (DB 4.49), <[du]-[u]-[ru]-[u]-[x]-t-m> DNb 52, 55), (adv.) *d(u)ruxtam* ‘falsely’ <[du]-[u]-[ru]-[u]-[x]-t-m> (DB 3.89)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *drwz-*, BMP *dlwc-* /*drōz-* ‘to deceive, break (contract)’
 ⇒ DMMPP: 141a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. (?) MMP *drwzyd*, BMP *dlwcyt / drōzēd/*, 3pl. BMP *dlwcynd / drōzēnd/*, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *drwz'nd*, IMPV. 2pl. BMP *dlwcyt / drōzēd/*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *dlht / druxt/*

•PARTHIAN: *drwj-* ‘to lie’ ⇒ Ghilain: 95 | DMMPP: 140b

Pres.: IND. 3pl. *drwjynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *drwxt-myhr* ‘who breaches a contract’

•KHOTANESE: *drūja-* ‘falsehood’

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *δrymh* (f.), CSogd. *žym-* (f.), MSogd. *jym* ‘lie, falsehood’, BSogd. *δrym's'k*, CSogd. *žym'syt* (pl.) ‘liars’

•BACTRIAN: *δρωγο*, *δδρωγο* ‘falsehood, deceit’, *δρωγομιγο* ‘false’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 190a, b

•NWIR: NP *durōš*, Bal. *d(a)rōg*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *daraw* (f.), (Sor.) *dirō*, Abyan. *dorū*, Abz. *durū*, Ard. *duru*, Khuns. *dūrū*, Nn. *duru*, Qohr. *derū*, Tal. *dū*, Kash. *dūrū* ‘lie’

•MISC: Orm. *drišī*, *darēšī* ‘lie(s)’, Arm. (LW) *držem* ‘I lie’

•SANSKRIT: *drogh* ‘to deceive, deceit’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 760

•PIE **d^hreugh^h-* ‘to deceive, deceit’ ⇒ LIV: 157 | Pok.: 276

•IE COGNATES: OHG *triugan*, OE *driogan* ‘to deceit’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 393a; *WIM* I: 351; Nyberg II: 66b; *DKS*: 168b; Werba 1997: 199; Cabolov 2001: 274; Lecoq 2002: 575b, 593a, 616a (passim); *ESIJ*a II: 466 ff.; Korn 2005: 205, 373

*drauš ? ‘to grind’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *dlwšt / društ/* ‘harsh, rough, severe’, ? MMP *drwšg* ‘something cut off’ or ‘desolation’ ? ⇒ DMMPP: 140b

•NWIR: Bal. *druš(i)t/druš-* ‘to grind, mill’, NP *durušt* ‘raw, rough, huge’, borrowed into Kurd. *dirišt* ‘rough’, Qohr. *dürüšt* ‘big, huge’, etc. || (+ **uī-*) Bal. *gadrušit/gadruš-* ‘to snarl, gnash, grind the teeth’

◇ In *ESIJ*a II: l.c., a root **drauš* is reconstructed, with the meanings ‘to break in pieces’ (‘раздроблять’) and ‘to mutilate, to inflict physical injury’ (‘увечить; наносить физическую травму’). The differences in meaning displayed by Av., MP, on one side and notably, Bal., on the other side, are difficult to reconcile though; they may rather suggest a different origin, on which see also ***drau(H)š**. The cited connection with Gr. *θράω* ‘I break in pieces, ground’. *θραυστός* ‘brittle, broken’, Goth. *drau(h)snos* ‘κλάσματα, ψίχια’, Lith. *drūzgas* ‘crumb, piece’ (Pokorny: 275 f.) is morphologically difficult.

•PIE ?

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 122 f.; Morgenstierne 1973: 154; Lecoq 2002: 645b; *ESIJ*a II: 468 ff.; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *druš-*, *gadruš-*

*d̥uai ? ‘to fall down’

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **fra-*) *hδβy-* ‘to become faint, feeble’. ◇ The etymologies mentioned in Benzing 1983: 308, **fra-dabīa-* ‘to be struck’ (***damb**), and suggested

by Samadi, l.c., **fra-dʷbja-* (***darb**) ‘to be relaxed, untied’, are less likely.
⇒ Samadi: 89

•NEIR: Yghn. *dēwí, dīví, dēwé-/dēwíta* ‘to fall, roll off’, Pash. *lwēdəl/lwēž-* ‘to fall’
◇ The evidence for an Ir. root **dʷai* ‘to fall, faint’ is limited to a few EIr. languages.

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 40; Andreev – Peščereva: 246b; *NEVP*: 46

***dʷaiš** ‘to hate’

•AVESTAN: *daibiš-* (*tbiš-*) ‘to hate’. ◇ On OAv. *daibišiant-*, YAv. *tbišiant-* see Kellens 1987: 9 ff.; Lubotsky 1989: 112, fn. 6. ⇒ Liste: 31f.

Pres. athem.: IND. 3pl. OAv. *daibišantī* (Y 32.1), IMPV. med. 2sg. YAv. (them.!) *tbišaṇʰha*; Perf.: IND. 1sg. YAv. *diduuaēša* (Y 1.21 f.), 1pl. YAv. *diduūšma* (Y 68.1); Caus.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *tbaēšaiieiti* (V 18.61), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *tbaēšaiiāt* (Yt 3.14 ff.). ◇ *tbišaṇʰha* is cited in the MP translation of V 7.52.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *byš-*, BMP *byš-* /*bēš-*/ ‘to hurt, torment’, BMP *byšyn-* (sec. caus.) ‘to hurt’ || (+ **para-*, **pari-*) MMP *prbys-* ‘to be harmed, afflicted’. ◇ The semantic shift from ‘to hate’ to ‘hurt, torment’ is not entirely evident: perhaps the verbs are contaminated with the ***raiš** forms ?

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *byšyd*, BMP *byšyt* /*bēšēd*/, 2pl. MMP *byšyd*, 3pl. MMP *byšynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *byšyt* /*bēšēd*/, caus. 3sg. BMP *byšynt* /*bēšēnēd*/; Inf.: BMP *byšyt* /*bēšēdan*/; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. BMP *byšyt* (*YHWWN*)*yt* /*bēšēd* *bawēd*/, 3pl. BMP *byšyhynd* /*bēšēhēnd*/ || (+ **para-*, **pari-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *prbysʰnd*

•KHOTANESE: *duiš-* ‘to hate’ ⇒ SGS: –

•SOGLIAN: MSogd. *δβyš* ‘to hurt’, BSogd. *δβʹyš* ‘hostility’

Pres.: IND. 1sg. MSogd. *δβyšm* (*BBB*: 32); Partic.: pres. MSogd. *δβyšnyy* (*BBB*: 32)

•CHORESMIAN: *m/δβšy-* ‘to envy’ ⇒ Samadi: 64 f.

•SANSKRIT: *dveṣ* ‘to hate’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 770

◇ The verbal root appears to be exclusively Ilr.: it is perhaps nominal in origin, being derived from **dʷeǵ-* ‘two’, cf. MHG *zwist*, NHG *Zwist*, Du. *twist* ‘quarrel’, Engl. *twist* (< **dʷis* ‘in two?’).

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 131 | Pok.: 227 f.

•REFERENCES: *DKS*: 160b; Werba 1997: 199; *NEVP*: 94; *ESlJa* II: 492 ff.

***dʷaj** ‘to flutter, flap (like banners)’

•AVESTAN: (+ **fra-*) YAv. *fraδβōž-* ‘to flutter away, forth’ || (+ **uī-*) YAv. *vīδβōž-* ‘to flutter to and fro’ ⇒ Liste: 31

Pres. them.: INJ. 3pl. YAv. *aδβōžən ... vīδβōžən ... fraδβōžən* (Yt 14.45). ◇ YAv. *aδβōžən* can probably be emended to **aδβōžən* without too many difficulties, thus making the chain of verbs symmetrical to the parallel chain: *āmarəžən ... vīmarəžən ... framarəžən* (***Hmarz**).

•SOGLIAN: (+ **uī-*) BSogd. *wyδβxs-* (intr./inch.) ‘unfold’, BSogd. *wyδβʹy* ‘explanation; chapter’, BSogd. *wyδβʹy* ‘eloquent’, MSogd. *wyδβʹy* ‘sermon, homily’, MSogd. *wyδβʹycty* (pl.) ‘preachers’

(+ **ui-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *wyδβxsty*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. SSogd. *wyδβ'ys* (in Karabalgasun 22, Weber 1970: 214)

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **upa-*) *bδβxs-* ‘to be spread, scattered’, *bδβ'zy-* (caus.) ‘to spread, scatter’ ⇒ Samadi: 16

•NEIR: ? Sh. *divūs* (f.), (Baj.) *divāsk* (f.), Yzgh. *dəyūfc* ‘snake’

•SANSKRIT: ? *dhvajá-* (m.) ‘banner, flag, standard’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 800

◇ An IE origin for this apparently IIr. root cannot be ascertained: only the Germanic forms, OHG *tuoh*, MHG *tuoch*, NHG *Tuch*, OSax. *dōk*, MLG *dōk*, OFr. *-dok* ‘cloth’, might be considered, as suggested by Mayrhofer, *EWAia*, l.c. It is quite striking that initial **du*^o is shared with the semantically similar roots ***duanH** and ***duar**: these “roots” are perhaps extended formations of ***dau**² (Skt. *dhāv*) ‘to run’, which may have risen in IIr. (differently ***duar** ?).

•REFERENCES: *EVS*: 30a, 113b f.; *DKS*: 165a; *ESJa* II: 490 f.; De Vaan 2003: 442; Boutkan – Siebinga: 74

***duanH** ‘to fume, fly up; throw’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *duuan-* ‘to fume, fly up’ || (+ **apa-*) ‘to fly away’ || (+ **upa-*) ‘to fly up to’ || (+ **uz-*) ‘to fly up (in the air)’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to fly to’ ⇒ Liste: 31

Pres. inch.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *apa.duuṣaiti* (V 8.16 ff.), YAv. *upa.duuṣaiti* (V 3.14, V 7.1 ff., V 7.24, etc.), YAv. *frā^o duuṣaiti* (V 5.28 ff.); Caus.: pres. INJ. 3sg. YAv. *uzduuṣaiiat* (Yt 5.61)

•SOGDIAN: ? BSogd. *δβ'n*, BSogd. *δβ'ny*, CSogd. *db'n-* (f. ?) ‘flame’

•CHORESMIAN: *m/δβ'ny-* ‘to twirl, whirl’ ⇒ Samadi: 64

•NEIR: Pash. *l(a)wan-/lust*, (Wan.) *lun-* ‘to winnow’, Yghn. *dēváyyn-*, *dīwáyyn-/dēváynta*, Yi. *ləbān-/ləbad-*, M. *ləvón-/ləvəd-*, Sh. *divēn-/divēnt*, Rosh. *devīn-*, Yzgh. *δəvan-/δəvud* ‘to winnow, swing’, Wa. *byn-/bond-*, *bot-* ‘to throw, winnow’

•MISC: Orm. *ban-/banōk*, *ban'ēk* ‘to throw, put’ = *ban-/banók*

•SANSKRIT: *dhvaní* ‘to smoke’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia I: 801

◇ The root is IIr., further IE cognate forms are not known. ⇒ LIV: 159 | Pok.: 266

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 389b; *EVP*: 41; *IIFL* II: 222a; Andreev – Peščereva: 246a f.; *EVS*: 29b; Skjærvø 1985: 66 ff.; Gharib: 136b f.; Werba 1997: 300; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 112; *NEVP*: 46; Kiefer 2003: 193; *ESJa* II: 494 ff.

***duar** ‘to run’

•AVESTAN: *duuāř-* ‘to run’ || (+ **apa-*) ‘to run off, away’ || (+ **upa-*) ‘to run into, on’ || (+ **pari-*) ‘to run around’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to approach, engage’ || (+ **ni-*) ‘to hasten’ (Kellens 1984: 114, 118, fn. 2) || (+ **niš-*) ‘to run down on’ || (+ **ham-*) ‘*concurrere*’ ⇒ Liste: 31

Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *duuaraiti* (Yt 8.54, V 18.16, V 18.24), YAv. *nižduuaraiti* (Yt 8.21), 3pl. YAv. *duuarənti* (Y 57.18, Yt 11.10), YAv. *handuuarənti* (V 3.7), impf. med. 3pl. YAv. *aduuarənta* (V

19.45, V 19.47), INJ. 3sg. ? YAv. ^s*niduuāraṭ* (Yt 19.34), YAv. *pairi.duuarāṭ* (V 19.1), med. 3pl. OAv. *hōṇduuārəntā* (Y 30.6), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *duuarāṭ* (Yt 3.17), 3pl. YAv. *duuarānti* (Yt 17.25), YAv. *fraduuarāṇ* (Yt 11.6), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *upa.duuāra* (V 19.1), YAv. *apa duuāra* (V 8.21, SrB 3), 2pl. YAv. *apa.duuarata* (Yt 3.7 ff.); Partic.: pres. YAv. *duuarant-* (Yt 8.54)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *dw'r-*, BMP *dwb'l-* /*dwār-* 'to run, move (daevic)'
⇒ DMMPP: 144a

Pres.: IND. 2sg. MMP ^s*dw'ryh*, 3sg. BMP *dwb'lyt* /*dwārēd*/, 2pl. MMP ^s*dw'ryd*, 3pl. MMP *dw'rynd*, BMP *dwb'lynd* /*dwārēnd*/; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *dwb'lst* /*dwārist*/; Inf.: BMP *dwb'lstn* /*dwāristan*/

•PARTHIAN: (+ *ni-) *nydf'r-* 'to hasten, hurry' ⇒ Ghilain: 74 | DMMPP: 252b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *nydf'ryd*, *nydf'ryyd*, 1pl. *nydf'r'm*, 3pl. *nydf'rynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *nydf'r'*, IMPV. 2pl. *nydf'ryd*; Partic.: pres. ^s*nydf'wrdg* 'hastening', perf. pass. *nydf'wrd* 'quick', (comp.) ^s*nydf'wrdystr* 'quicker'

•SANSKRIT: ? *vṛka-dvaras-* 'running like a wolf?' (RV 2.30.4). ◇ The interpretation is uncertain. ⇒ EWAia I: 763 f.

◇ Metathesized from Ilr. **drau* (> Ir. **drau²*)?, cf. Kellens 1984: 108, n. 11. It is also conceivable that it has been contaminated with **θuar/tur*, cf. *ESIJ*a II: 499. But see also Schwartz 1992: 408 ff.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: 131 | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Griepentrog: 149 f.; Werba 1997: 429

F

***fan** 'to move, pass (time?)'

•AVESTAN: (+ *ā-) YAv. *āfənta-* 'time, period' (Yt 13.9)

•KHOTANESE: (+ *aṃa-) ? Khot. *vahan-* (*vahīn-*) 'to disappear', OKh. *vahāñ-* (caus.) 'to make disappear' || (+ *us-*) OKh. *usphan-* 'to be happy' || (+ *pati-) OKh. *paphan-* (*paphīn-*) 'to rejoice', *paphāñ-* (caus.) 'to make happy' || (+ *fra-) LKh. *haphan-* 'to move, quiver' || (+ *ni-) LKh. **niphan-* (*naphan-*) 'to rejoice' || (+ *niš-) OKh. *našphan-* 'to come out' || (+ *ui-) LKh. *gvahan-* 'to hustle' (Emmerick, *SVK* I: 41 f.)
⇒ SGS: 122, 18, 70 f., 147, 54, 52

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *aṃa-) *'wfny* 'then'

•NEIR: Yzgh. *fīn-/fūd* 'to descend, come down', (caus.) Yzgh. *fəndan-* 'to bring down' || (+ *ā-) Oss. I. *afon*, D. *afonæ* 'time, period' || (+ *us-) Sh. (Baj.) *sifān-/sifīd*, Rosh. *sifan-/sifod*, Bart. *sifān-/siföd* 'to rise', Sh. *sifēn-/sifēnt*, Rosh. *sifēn-/sifēnt* 'to ascend' || (+ *niš-) Sh. *naḫfīθ-/naḫfīd*, Rosh. *nawfēn-*, Sariq. *nalfon-* 'to pull out' (etc.)

•SANSKRIT: ? *phaṇ* 'to jump' (RV) || Pkt. *phanda* (m.) 'a small movement' (*ph* < **sp*, **ph*). ◇ *phaṇ* has a "spontaneous" retroflex *ṇ*. ⇒ EWAia II: 199 f.

◇ The evidence for the root **fan* appears to be confined mainly to East Iranian. The root is perhaps a borrowing from a "substrate" source, comparable to similar verbs of motion: **san* and **šan*. The connection with Skt. *phaṇ* is unclear and needs to be clarified.

•REFERENCES: Christensen, *Contributions* II: 57 f.; Abaev, *Slovar* I: 31; Gershevitch, *Mithra*: 172, 322; *ELO*: 75, fn. 5; *EVS*: 33a, 72b, 51b f.; *DKS*: 259b; Benzing 1983: 106 f.; Kellens, *Anusantatyai*: 127 ff.; Werba 1997: 358 f.; Cheung 2002: 149

***far¹** ? 'to eat'

•KHOTANESE: (?) *phūde* 'food'

•NWIR: Siv. *fār-*, Khr. *fōr-* 'to eat', NP (Tadj.) *furt*, *fər* 'gulp', Gz. *fūrt* 'sip, gulp [of drinking]'. ◇ These forms may not necessarily derive from **huar-* (with "Median" **hu-* > *f-*), pace *WIM* III: 58 ff., as we have similar forms with initial *f-* in EIr. languages as well.

•NEIR: Sh. *fur-/furt*, Khf. *fur-/furt*, Rosh. *fur-/furt*, Orosh. *fur-/furd*, Sariq. *fīr-/fīrd*, *fūr-/fūrd*, Ishk. *fār-*, Wa. *fār-/fārd-*, *fūr-/fūrd* 'to eat with a spoon' || (+ **pati-*) Wa. *pātār-/pātārd-* 'to swallow'

◇ The root appears to be exclusively Iranian.

•REFERENCES: *EVS*: 63a; *DKS*: 262b; *WIM* II/2: 664; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 174, 281

***far²** ? 'to speak'

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *pher-* (denomin.) 'to speak', *pharā-* 'speech, language' (*SVK* II: 100) ⇒ *SGS*: 91

•NEIR: (+ **pati-*) Sh. *patfār*, (Baj.) *pidfār* 'cursed, damned', Rosh. *patfār* 'mourning feast (of co-villagers and kinsmen)' (hardly **pati-ati-bar-*, pace Morgenstierne, *EVS*: l.c.), Wa. *patfār*, *pātfār* 'funeral repast'

◇ The evidence for an Ir. root **far* 'to speak' (only EIr.) is limited, with may suggest a regional origin. The IE etymology, cited by Bailey, *DKS*: l.c. for Khot. *pharā*, Gr. ἄπειλή 'threat, boast', Goth. *spill*, Engl. *spell*, Toch. AB *pällā-* (pres.) 'to praise', Latv. *pēlt* 'to slander, calumniate', etc. (Pokorny: 985) is without merit.

•REFERENCES: *EVS*: 63a; *DKS*: 260a f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 259

***fast** ? 'to flutter, move ?'

•KHOTANESE: *phast-* 'to flutter', OKh. *phašt-* (caus.) 'to make flutter' || (+ **fra-*) OKh. *haphast-* 'to flutter' ⇒ *SGS*: 90, 147

•SOGDIAN: ? CSogd. *fšt-* 'to thrust away'

Pres.: IMPV. 2sg. CSogd. *fšt'* {hapax}

◇ The Khotanese / Sogdian forms are isolated and are perhaps denominative in origin, on which see Sims-Williams 1983: 49. The underlying nominal stem may be

found in BSogd. *βst-ywnp-*, CSogd. *fst-xwmp-* ‘to propel, repel’, also Yghn. *čumf-* ‘to push’ ?

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: DKS: 261a; Sims-Williams 1985: 98; SVK II: 100

*f̥āhu ‘to hail’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *fīaṅhu-* ‘to hail’, YAv. *fīaṅhu-* ‘hail’ (Yt 5.120, 8.33) ⇒ Liste: 35
Pres. them.: IND. med. 3pl. YAv. *fīaṅhūptaē*° (Yt 5.120); Partic.: pres. YAv. *fīaṅhūant-* (Yt 16.10). ◇
Perhaps the pres. stem is a thematic denominative formation (rather than a stem in **ya-*, Kellens, l.c.).
More on the interpretation of this stem see Martínez 2000: 339 ff.

◇ The Avestan verb is an isolated formation. No further (I)Ir. cognates are known. It goes possibly back to the substantive YAv. *fīaṅhu-*. It could be related to **paiš* (Kuiper 1934: 236), but **f̥āh* would exhibit an unusual ablaut grade though, similar to **h̥yah*. The genuine Ir. continuation of ‘hail’ is attested in Skt. and several Ir. languages: Skt. *hrādūni-* (f.), BSogd. *zyδn*, Yi. *žīlo*, Bashk. *dārāyén* (Gershevitch 1962: 81).

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: AIW: 973; Kellens 1984: 162 fn. 2.

*fraHd ‘to increase’

•AVESTAN: *frāḏ-* (*frāḏ-*) ‘to increase’ ⇒ Liste: 35f.

Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *frāḏati-* (Yt 6.1, A 4.6, Ny 1.11, Vyt 15), med. 3pl. OAv. *frāḏantī* (Y 43.6),
INJ. 3sg. OAv. *frāḏat* (Y 46.13), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *frāḏāiti* (Y 65.7, Yt 10.142, P 23), YAv. *frāḏāt* (Yt 13.95),
med. 3sg. YAv. *frāḏātaē* ° (Yt 13.68), OPT. med. 2sg. YAv. *frāḏaēša* (Y 10.4), 3sg. OAv. *frāḏōit*
(Y 44.10); Partic.: pres. YAv. *frāḏant-* (V 21.1), med. YAv. *frāḏamna-* (V 4.2), caus. YAv. *frāḏaiimna-*
(Yt 15.52); Inf.: OAv. *frāḏajhē* (Y 44.20); Caus.: pres. IND. med. 3pl. YAv. *frāḏaiiente* (Yt 10.14), INJ.
3sg. YAv. *frāḏaiiat* (Yt 8.7), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *frāḏaiieni* (V 2.5), 3sg. YAv. *frāḏaiiāt* (Y 62.5, Y 68.5),
IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *frāḏaiia* (V 2.4)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ūi-*) MMP *wypr’y-*, *wyfr’y-* ‘to be furthered, promoted’
⇒ DMMPP: 352b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *wypr’y-d*, 2sg. ? MMP *wypr’y’h*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *wpr’yhyšt*; Pass.: pres.
SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *wypr’y’h’d*, MMP *ˆwypr’y’d*

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ūi-*) *wypr’y-* ‘to further, promote’, *wyfr’yšn* ‘promotion’ ⇒ Ghilain:
60 | DMMPP: 352b

Pres.: IND. 3pl. *wyfr’ynd*

•CHORESMIAN: *š’zy-* ‘to increase’ ⇒ Samadi: 189

◇ This root, an apparently old *da*-stem of **parH*¹, has an exact Gr. correspondence, which was already recognized by Johansson 1917: 73 n. 1.

•PIE pres. stem **pleH₁-d^he/o-* ‘to fill’ ⇒ LIV: 482 f. | Pok.: 798 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *πλήθω* ‘I fill up’

***fraiH** ‘to rejoice, ? to atone, [med.] please’

•AVESTAN: *frī-* (*frīi-*) ‘to rejoice, please’ || (+ *ā-) ‘to bless’ ⇒ Liste: 36

Pres. {1} *nā-*: IND. 1sg. YAv. *āfrīnāmi* (Y 11.15, Y 52.1, Y 52.8, etc.), 1pl. OAv. *frīānmahi* (Y 38.4), 3pl. YAv. *āfrīnānti* (Yt 13.51), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *āfrīnāni* (V 22.5), med. 1sg. OAv. *frīnāi* (Y 49.12), 3sg. YAv. *frīnāt* (Yt 13.50), IMPV. 3pl. YAv. *āfrīnāntu* (Yt 13.157); Pres. {2} them. *nā-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *āfrīnaiti* (Y 62.9), 1pl. YAv. *frīnāmahi* (Yt 12.3, Yt 12.5, V 20.5); Partic.: pres. {2} med. OAv. *frīnāmna-* (Y 29.5)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *ā-) MMP *’fryn-*, BMP *’p̄lyn-* /*āfrīn-*/, MMP *’fwr-*, *’pwr-*, BMP *’p̄wl-* /*āfur-* ‘to create; bless’ || (+ *ni-) BMP *nplytk* /*nifrīdag*/ (ppp.) ‘cursed’, BMP *nplyn* /*nifrīn*/ ‘curse’. ◇ MMP *’fwr-*, *’pwr-*, BMP *’p̄wl-* /*āfur-* are later forms, deriving from the past participle /*āfrīd*/, Henning 1933: 200. ⇒ DMMPP: 27a f.

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP *’fryn*’m, MMP *’p̄wrym*, 1pl. MMP *’p̄wrym*, MMP *’p̄wrym*, 3pl. MMP *’p̄wrynd*, etc.

•PARTHIAN: *fryh* ‘dear, beloved’ || (+ *ā-) *’fryn-* ‘to bless’ || (+ *ni-) *nfrīd-* (pret. stem) ‘to curse’ ⇒ Ghilain: 84 | DMMPP: 158b f., 27a f., 240a

Pres.: IND. 1pl. *’fryn*’m, 3pl. *’frynynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *’fryn*’m, 2sg. *’fryn*’b, 1pl. *’fryn*’m, IMPV. 2pl. *’frynyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *’fryd*, *’frydg*

•KHOTANESE: *briya-* ‘beloved, dear, treasured’ || (+ *ā-) *āvun-* ‘to approve’. ◇ *brīyanda* ‘beloved’, in *DKS*: 315b, should be interpreted as two transparent words: acc. sg. m. *brī* ‘dear’ and inj. 3sg. *yanda* ‘makes’, *SVK* I: 100 f. Another entry, the hapax form *phrrīnā* ‘love, friendliness’, *DKS*: 263b, is unconnected as well: it rather means ‘message’ and “is clearly a loanword from Tibetan (*h*)*phrin* ‘message’.”, *SVK* I: 81. || SGS: 11 f.

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *pry-*, CSogd. *fry-*, MSogd. *fry-* ‘dear’, SSogd. *brywk* (m.) ‘praise (?), joy (?)’ || (+ *ā-) BSogd. *’pryn*, CSogd. *’fryn*, MSogd. *’fryn*, MSogd. *’βryn* ‘to praise’ || (+ *us-) CSogd. *sfryn*, SSogd. *sβryt-*, MSogd. *sfryt-* ‘to create’ || (+ *pati-) BSogd. *ptβr’yn* ‘to bless back’, MSogd. *ptfryn* ‘to send greetings’ || (+ *ni-) BSogd. *nβryc* (f.), MSogd., CSogd. *nfrīty* (ppp.) ‘accursed’

(+ *ā-) Impf.: IND. 3sg. SSogd. *’βryn*; Partic.: perf. pass. SSogd. *’βryt’k*, (comp.) CSogd. *’frytystr* ‘more blessed’ || (+ *us-) Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *syfryn*, MSogd. *syfryn* (*Cosmog.*: 307); Partic.: pres. CSogd. *sfrynn* ° (m.) ‘creator’, perf. pass. CSogd. *sfryt-* ‘created’; Pass.: pres. SUBJ. 3pl. MSogd. *sfrytyt wβ’nd* ‘will be created’, pret. IND. 3sg. SSogd. *sβryty L’kty* ‘was not created’ || (+ *pati-) Pres.: IND. 2pl. dur. MSogd. *ptfrynd’sk*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *pt’yβr’yn*, (med. ?) dur. MSogd. *’ptfryd’sk*

•CHORESMIAN: ? *fn-* ‘to sing’ (< *to praise, please with a song ?), *βry’k* ‘honoured, esteemed’ || (+ *upa-) *bfīn-* ‘to create’, *bfy-* (denomin. ?) ‘to please’ ⇒ Samadi: 69

•NWIR: (+ *ā-) NP *āfarīdan/āfarīn-* ‘to create’ || (+ *ni-) NP *nifrīn*, Nn. *nifrīn* ‘curse’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *lymæn*, D. *limæn*, *nimæl* ‘friend, lover’, Pash. *wrin* ‘open, happy, sincere’ || (+ *ā-) Oss. *arfæ* ‘blessings’

•SANSKRIT: *pray*’ ‘to please, be pleased, enjoy, satisfy’ ⇒ EWAia II: 181

•PIE **preiH-* ‘to please, be pleased, enjoy’ ⇒ LIV: 490 | Pok.: 844

•IE COGNATES: OCS *prějō* ‘I take care’, OHG *frīten* ‘to look after’, NHG *Friede* ‘peace’, *frei*, Engl. *free*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *GMS*: §1253, 1259; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 63 f.; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 54 f.; Nyberg II: 138a; *DKS*: 314b f., 26a; Benzing 1983: 202; Sims-Williams 1985: Gharib: 157b, 295a; Werba 1997: 305; Cheung 2002: 64, 152, 201 f.; Lecoq 2002: 634; *NEVP*: 90

***frait/θ** ‘to decompose, rot’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *frīθ-* ‘to decompose’ ⇒ Liste: 36

Pres. *ja-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *frīθiiciti-ca* (V 6.28); Partic.: pres. YAv. *a-frīθiiant-* ‘imperishable’ (Yt 19.11, Yt 19.19, Yt 19.23, Yt 19.89)

•NEIR: ◇ Pash. *wrōst* (m.), *wrastá* (f.) ‘rotten, decayed (of wood, matting, etc.)’ is unconnected (cf. *NEVP*: 91), rather from ***Hraud** (Cheung 2004: 129).

•MISC: Orm. *šrī-būk* ‘rotten, stinking’

•SANSKRIT: *mret* ‘to decay, decompose’ (ŚB) ⇒ EWAia II: 387 f.

◇ The root ***frait/θ** is probably related to Skt. *mret*. The Iranian form with *f-* may then be the result of contamination with the semantically close root ***pauH**, cf. Av. *puīeitica frīθiicitica* ‘(the body) rots and decays’ (V 6.28) and ŚB 9.5.2.14. *pūyēt ... mṛityēt* (Kellens 1984: 14, n. 8; EWAia, l.c.). An IE provenance for this IIr. root cannot be established, perhaps it is another “Reimbildung”, viz. with ***raiθ**¹.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 409b; *EVP*: 90; Werba 1997: 220

***fras/prs** ‘to ask, inquire’

•AVESTAN: *fras-* (*pərəs-*) ‘to ask, inquire’, YAv. *frašna-* ‘question’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘to be advised [med.]’ || (+ **pati-*) ‘to ask, interrogate (someone)’ || (+ **ham-*) ‘to consult; to be consulted, contemplate [med.]’. ◇ On the analysis of YAv. *°frasāne* see Klingenschmitt 1982: 62; Humbach 1956: 68. ⇒ Liste: 35

Pres. inch: IND. 1sg. OAv. *pərəsā* (Y 31.14 ff., Y 43.10, Y 44.1 ff., etc.), med. 1sg. YAv. *pərəse* (Yt 12.1), 2sg. YAv. *pərəsahi* (H 2.17, H 2.35, Vyt 63), med. 3sg. *pərəsaitē* (Y 31.12, X3 Yt 14.47), med. 3sg. OAv. *pərəsāitē* (Y 31.13), 3pl. YAv. *frā pərəsanti* (N 61 f.), med. 3pl. YAv. *ham.pərəsante* (V 19.3), impf. (med. ?) 1sg. ? YAv. *°apərəsam* (or *°apərəse*) (V 2.2), (med. ?) 2sg. ? YAv. *°apərəsō* (or *°apərəsaṅha*) (V 2.1), 3sg. YAv. *apərəsaṅ* (V), INJ. 2sg. *pərəsō*, 3sg. *pərəsaṅ*, med. 3sg. YAv. *paiti pərəsata* (V 9.43, V 9.45), SUBJ. med. 1sg. *pərəsāi* (Y 44.12), med. 2sg. YAv. *pərəsāṅhe* (Yt 10.2), 3sg. YAv. *pərəsāt* (V 18.6), med. 3sg. YAv. *°pərəsāite* (V 15.14), med. 3pl. YAv. *pərəsānte* (P 44), OPT. med. 3du. YAv. *apərəsaiiatam* (Y 12.5 f.), IMPV. 2sg. OAv. *pərəsā* (Y 43.10), med. 2sg. YAv. *pərəsaṅha* (V); Pres. {2} *anja-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *pərəsaniieiti* (Yt 8.15, Yt 8.17, Yt 8.19); Aor. *s-*: INJ. med. 1sg. OAv. *fraš* (Y 44.8, Y 45.6), med. 3sg. OAv. *fraštā* (Y 49.2, Y 47.3), ? OAv. *āfraštā* (Y 51.11), SUBJ. med. 1sg. ? YAv. *āfrasāne* (V 3.27), IMPV. med. 2sg. OAv. (*°*)*fərašuuā* (Y 53.3); Partic.: pres. {1} OAv. *pərəsaṅ-* (Y 51.5), med. OAv. *pərəsamna-* (Y 30.6)

•OLD PERSIAN: *prs-* ‘to ask; punish’ || (+ **pati-*) ‘to read, recite’ ⇒ Kent: 198a

Pres. inch.: IND. 1sg. *prsāmīy* <p-r-s-a-mi-y> (DNb 19), impf. 1sg. *aprsam* <a-p-r-s-m> (DB 1.22, DB 4.67), SUBJ. 2sg. *patiprsāhy* <p-t-i-p-r-s-a-h-y> (DB 4.42), 3sg. *patiprsātīy* <p-t-i-p-r-s-a-t-i-y> (DB

4.48>), IMPV. 2sg. *pršā* <p-r-s-a> (DB 4.38, DB 4.69); Partic.: perf. pass. (+ **hu-* ‘good, well’) **frašta-* <°-f-r-š-t-°> (DB 1.22, DB 4.66, DB 4.38, DB 4.69); Pass.: pres. OPT. 3sg. *fraθiyaiš* <f-r-θ-i-y-i-š> (DNb 21), aor. IND. 3sg. *patiyafrašiya* <p-t-i-y-f-r-θ-i-y> (DB 4.91)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *pwrs-*, BMP *pwrs-* /*purs-*/ ‘to ask’ || (+ **ā-*) MMP **fr’h*, MMP **pr’h*, BMP **pl’s* /*āfrāh*/ ‘teaching(s), instruction, doctrine’ || (+ **pati-*) MMP *phypwrs-*, *phybwrs-*, IMP *ptpwrs-*, *ptpwls-* ‘to read (aloud), recite’, ? MMP *p’dypr’h*, BMP *p’tpl’s* /*pādifrāh*/ ‘punishment, retribution’ || (+ **ham-*) BMP *hmpwrs-* /*hampurs-*/ ‘to consult, take counsel’ ⇒ DMMPP: 287a, 26b, 275b258b

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. BMP *pwrsym* /*pursēm*/, 2sg. BMP *pwrsyh* /*pursē*/, 3sg. MMP *pwrsyd*, BMP *pwrsyt* /*pursēd*/, 3pl. MMP *pwrsynd*, 3pl. BMP *pwrsynd* /*pursēnd*/, etc. || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP **phypwrsym*, 3sg. IMP *ptpwrsyt*, SUBJ. 3sg. IMP *ptpwls’t*, IMP **ptpwrsyt*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *phypwrs*, 2pl. MMP *phypwrsyd*, MMP *phybwrsyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *phypwrsyd* || (+ **ham-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *hmpwrsyt* /*hampursēd*/

•PARTHIAN: *pwrs-* ‘to ask’ || (+ **ā-*) ? **fr’s* ‘teachings, instruction’ {hapax} || (+ **pati-*) *pdwrs-* ‘to read, recite’ || (+ **ui-*) *wyfr’s-* ‘to teach, show’ ⇒ Ghilain: 69, 79 | DMMPP: 287a, 26b, 269a, 352a f.

Pres.: IND. 2sg. *pwrsyh*, 3sg. *pwrsyd*, 3pl. *pwrsynd*, SUBJ. *pwrs’h*, 2pl. *pwrs’d*, IMPV. 2pl. *pwrsyd*, OPT. *pwrsyndyh*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *pwrs’d*, ? **pwrsyd*; Inf.: *pwrs’dn* || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 2sg. **pdwrs’h*, IMPV. 2pl. *pdwrsyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *pdwrs’d*; Inf.: **pdwrs’dn* || (+ **ui-*) Pres.: IND. 1sg. *wfr’sm*, 3sg. **wyfr’syd*, 3pl. *wyfr’synd*, IMPV. 2pl. *wfr’syd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *wyfr’sšt*; Inf.: *wyfr’stn*

•KHOTANESE: *puls-* ‘to ask’ || (+ **ā-*) (caus.) *aurāšš* (*oraš-*, *auraš-*) ‘to inform’ || (+ **pati-*) Khot. *pūs-* (*pūs-*) ‘to read’ ⇒ SGS: 85, 20

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *p’rs-*, SSogd. **ps-*, BSogd. **prs-*, CSogd. *ps-*, MSogd. *ps-* ‘to ask’ || (+ **ā-*) BSogd. **p’rs* ‘to ask for, take leave’ || (+ **pati-*) BSogd. *ptβs-*, CSogd. *ptfs-*, MSogd. *ptfs-* ‘to read’ || (+ **ui-*) BSogd. *wp’rs*, CSogd. *wprs*, **wprs*, MSogd. *wprs* ‘question’

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 2sg. BSogd. **prs’y*, BSogd. **ps’y*, 3sg. BSogd. **prsty*, INJ. 1sg. BSogd. **prs’w*, SUBJ. 3sg. CSogd. *ps’t*, OPT. 2/3sg. BSogd. **prsy*, BSogd. **prs’y*, 2pl. SSogd. *prsydy*, 3pl. CSogd. *psynt*, etc. || (+ **ā-*) Pret.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. **prs* || (+ **pati-*) *Widely attested:* Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *ptβsty*, 1pl. dur. CSogd. **ptfšymsq*, 2pl. CSogd. *ptfšθ’sq*, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *ptβs’t*, 3pl. BSogd. *ptβs’nt*, BSogd. *ptβs’n*, OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *ptps’y*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: *m/bš-* ‘to ask’ || (+ **ham-*) **nbš-* ‘to ask’ ⇒ Samadi: 162, 117

•NWIR: *Widely attested:* NP *pursīdan/purs-*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *pirsin/pirs-*, (Sor.) *pirsīn/pirs-* (< Kurm. ?), Zaz. *persāyīš/persen-*, Abyan. *pārsoya/pārs-*, Awrom. *parsāy/pars-*, Gz. *pārs-/pārsā*, Gur. (Kand.) *pārs-/pārs-*, Ham. *va-pārsayān/va-pārs-*, Isfah. *pārsān/pārš-*, Meim. *va:m parsā/va: a-pers-*, (LW) Khuns. *purs-/pursā*, Nn. *parsāye/pars-*, Qohr. *parsāda/pars-*, Semn. *pārs-*, Siv. *purs-/pursī*, Soi *pars-*, Tr. *parsāya/pars-* ‘to ask’

•NEIR: Ishk. *f(ɔ)ras-/f(ɔ)rūt-*, Sh. (Baj.) *pēḫc-/pēḫst-*, Rosh. *paws-/pawst*, Sariq. *pars-/parst*, Yzgh. *pis-/pist*, Yi. *p(ə)rs-/pist-*, M. *purs-/pist-*, Pash. *pušt(ēd)əl*, Wa. *pərs-/pərst-* ‘to ask’

•MISC: (+ **pati-*) Arm. (LW) *patuhas* ‘punishment’

•SANSKRIT: *pras* ‘to ask’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 183

◇ This root has an impeccable etymology.

•PIE **prek-* ‘to ask’ ⇒ LIV: 490 f. | Pok.: 821 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *poscō* ‘I demand, to ask’, Toch. A *prak-*, B *prek-*, Goth. *fraithnan*, OCS *prositī*, Lith. *prašyti* ‘to ask’, etc.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 135b f., 205b, 244a; Ivanow 1926: 421; *KPF* II: 188; *IIFL* II: 239b, 534b; Abrahamian 1936: 123, 131; Lambton 1938: 41a; MacKenzie 1966: 104; *EVS*: 64b; *WIM* I: 71; *WIM* II/1: 81; *WIM* III: 114; Werba 1997: 391 f.; Cabolov 1997: 74; Paul 1998: 308a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 277; Lecoq 2002: 121, 126, 129 (passim)

***frau**¹ ‘to fly’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *frāuu-* ‘to fly off’ || (+ **us-*) ‘to ascend, fly up’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to fly hither and thither’. ◇ It is certainly not inconceivable that in some passages the meaning ‘to flow (to, up to, etc.), vel sim.’ (i.e. ***frau**²) is more suitable. ⇒ Liste: 36 Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *frafruuuaiti* (Y 9.32), SUBJ. med. 3pl. YAv. *us.frauuānte* (Yt 8.40), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *frāuuōit* (Y 19.80); Caus.: pres. IND. 1sg. YAv. *frafrāuuaiāmi* (V 5.18), 3sg. YAv. *frāuuaiēiti* (V 5.37), med. 3pl. YAv. *frāuuaiēnte* (Yt 13.70), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *frafrāuuaiāhi* (V 5.16)

•SANSKRIT: *prav* ‘to jump, leap’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 195

◇ Further Ir. connections are uncertain. Sogd. *ptfi*’w and Chor. *pcr*’wy ‘to remember’ are probably unrelated. As for the IE provenance, the old Slavo-Germanic connections cited in Pokorny: 845 f. (OSax. *frā*, OHG *frao*, *frō* ‘strenuus, alacer’, NHG *froh* ‘cheerful’, OE *frogga*, Engl. *frog*, Russ. *pryt*’ ‘run’, *pryt*kij ‘quick, hasty’, etc.), are difficult to assess. Mayrhofer, *EWAia* II: 195 f., considers Skt. *prav* ‘to jump, leap’ and *plav* ‘to float (in air or water), swim, glide’ perhaps originally identical.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 493 | Pok.: 845 f.

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 208

***frau**² ‘to flow’

•NEIR: Sh. *fīrāw-*, (Baj.) *fīrāw-/fīrūd*, Rosh. *fīrēw-/fīrēwt*, Yzgh. *fəraw-/fərawd* ‘to wash, rinse’ || (+ **pati-* ?) Oss. I. *fæjlawyn/fæjlyd*, D. *fəlawun/felud* ‘to move, go in waves’ || (+ **pari-*) Wa. *пыр(ы)w-/porowd-* (> ? Sariq. *parəw-/parud* ‘to wash, rinse’), (?) Ishk. *parafur-* ‘to rinse’

•MISC: (+ **yi-*) Orm. *yuṣaw-/yuṣawōk*, *yuṣaw-/yuṣawēk* ‘to wash’ = *ḡuṣaw-/ḡuṣawók*

•SANSKRIT: *plav* ‘to float (in air or water), swim, glide’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 194

◇ The root **frau²* is attested (most clearly) in some modern East Ir. languages only. See also **frau¹*.

•PIE **pleu-* ‘to flow, float, wash, swim’ ⇒ LIV: 487 f. | Pok.: 835 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *πλέω* ‘I sail, swim’, Lat. *pluit* ‘it is raining’, OCS *pluti* ‘to flow, to sail’, Lith. *pláuti* ‘to rinse, to wash off’, OHG *flouwen* ‘to rinse, to wash’, Engl. *to flow*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 396b; *IIFL* II: 534a; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 432; *EVS*: 34a, 57a; Werba 1997: 208; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 285; Kiefer 2003: 198

***frau³ ?** ‘to remember’

•SOGDIAN: (+ **pati-*) ? BSogd. *ptβr’w-* ‘to think’, CSogd. *ptfr’w-*, MSogd. *ptfr’w-* ‘to remind, remember’

Pres.: OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *ptβr’w’y*, POT.-SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *ptβr’w’t wn’t*, IMPV. 2pl. MSogd. *ptfr’wō* (*BBB*: 51); Partic.: pres. BSogd. *ptβr’wyn’y*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **pati-*) *pcr’wy-* ‘to remember’ ⇒ Samadi: 144 f.

◇ This root is reconstructed on the basis of Sogdian and Choresmian. Henning 1950: 433 compares the Chor. forms with the Sogdian ones, deriving both of them from **pati-frāyaja-* (***frau¹**). The assumed common shift in meaning of ‘to fly against’ to ‘to remember’ is difficult though, as signalled by Samadi, i.e. Her own, alternative reconstruction, **pati-srāyaja-* (***srau**), would not explain the Sogd. forms, which are surely related to *pcr’wy-*, though.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

***frauθ** ‘to snore, snort’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *fraoθ-* ‘to snore, snort’, YAv. *rauuō.fraoθman-* ‘rapidly snorting’ (Yt 8.2, Yt 17.12). ◇ See most recently Panaino, *Tišt.* I: 90. The variant *rauuō.fraoθəman-*, with anaptyctic *-ə-*, is due to a "lapsus of the transmission" (De Vaan 2003: 535). ⇒ Liste: 36

Partic.: pres. them. *fraoθat-* (Yt 5.130)

•NWIR: Nn. *forošna* ‘sneeze’

•SANSKRIT: *proth* ‘to pant, snort’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 192

◇ No other Ir. cognate forms, except for Nn. *forošna*, of YAv. *fraoθ-* are known. An IE provenance for this II. root cannot be ascertained. The comparison to ON *frauð* (n.), *froða* (f.) ‘foam, saliva’, OE *ā-frēoðan*, Engl. *to froth* (Pokorny: 810; LIV: 494) is semantically not very attractive.

•PIE ?

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 305; Lecoq 2002: 629b

***fšan** ‘to drag, tear, split ?’

•AVESTAN: (+ **ui-*) YAv. *vī fšān-* ‘to dislocate (?)’ ⇒ Liste: 36

Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. YAv. *vī fšānaieīnti* (Yt 14.56)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *š'nk /šānag/* 'comb; pitchfork; shoulder-blade'

•KHOTANESE: ? OKh. *kšāna-* 'shoulder' || (+ **ui-*) LKh. *beṇ'-* 'to split, tear' ⇒ SGS: 103

•SOGDIAN: (+ **upa-*) ? MSogd. *pšyn* 'to trap' (Sims-Williams 1984: 51, fn. 5) || (+ **pati-*) BSogd. *'pš'nkty* (pl.) 'instruments of torture', CSogd. *ptcng, pcng*, CSogd. *ʰptsntq* 'cross'

(+ **upa-*) Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *p'šyyn*, MSogd. *p'šyn*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **fra-*) *sfs'ny-* 'to whet, polish' ⇒ Samadi: 191

•NWIR: Zaz. *ā-šānāyīš* 'to scrape (with the feet)', Bashk. *šen-* 'to separate, tear asunder' (Gershevitch, *apud* SGS: 1.c.), NP *šānah* 'comb'

•NEIR: ? Pash. *šanəl* 'to ransack, explore, search, sound, peer, pry into' (< *'to grope for' ?), ? Oss. I. *æfsonz*, D. *æfsoj* 'yoke' (diff. Abaev, *Slovar'* I: 484 f.: < **span-ti*, OE *spannan*, Engl. *to span*, etc.)

•SANSKRIT: (*vi*)*kṣan* 'to card [of wool]' (AVP) ⇒ EWAia II: 423

◇ The initial **f-* of the Iranian root is peculiar, if it is connected to Skt. (*vi*)*kṣan* and Gr. ξαίvw: does it point to an IE root **pksen-* (or **pksen-*) ? If this is indeed the case, then we may consider an etymological relation with the IE 'shear, comb' forms, **pek-* (cf. **paš*).

•PIE **ksen-* (**pksen-*, **pksen-* ?) 'to card wool' ⇒ LIV: 371 f. | Pok.: 585 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ξαίvw 'I card wool, comb'

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 75; *DKS*: 67a; Werba 1997: 426; Paul 1998: 291b; *NEVP*: 79

***fšar¹** 'to shame, be ashamed'

•AVESTAN: YAv. *fšarəma-* 'shame' (V 15.9 ff.)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *š'rs-*, BMP *š'ls-* /*šārs-* (origin. inch.) 'to be ashamed' ⇒ DMMPP: 315a

Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *š'rsynd*, SUBJ. 3pl. BMP *š'ls'ndy /šārsānd/*

•PARTHIAN: *šfr-* (origin. inch.) 'to be ashamed' ⇒ Ghilain: 80 | DMMPP: 315b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *šfrsyd*, IMPV. 2pl. 'šfrsyd

•KHOTANESE: *kšār-* (*kšer-*) 'to be ashamed' ⇒ SGS: 24 f.

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *'šβ'rs*, CSogd. *šfrs* (inch.) 'to be ashamed, feel shame'

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *'šβ'rst*, OPT. 3pl. CSogd. *šfrsynt*, Fut.: IND. 1sg. CSogd. *šfrsmq'*, 3pl. CSogd. *ʰšfrsntq'*

•NWIR: NP *šarm* 'shame'

•NEIR: Oss. I. *æfsærm*, *æfsarm*, D. *æfsar(m)* 'shame'

•MISC: Slav. (LW), OCS *sramъ* 'shame', Russ. *sram* 'disgrace', etc.

◇ The root (with its nominal derivative **fšarma-*) is exclusively Iranian.

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar'* I: 482 f.; *DKS*: 67a, 68a

***fšar² ?** ‘to prepare and press an intoxicating drink ?’

•AVESTAN: ? OAv. *fšəratū-* ‘joy, enjoyment’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **apa-*) BMP *’pš’l-* /*apšār-*/ ‘to press (out)’

Inf.: BMP *’pš’ltn* /*afšārdan*/

•KHOTANESE: ? OKh. *ššarr-* ‘to exhilarate’ || (+ **ā-*) OKh. **āšarr-* ‘to exhilarate’
⇒ SGS: 129 f.

•NWIR: NP *fīšurdan/fīšār-*, *afšurdan/afšār-*, Kurd. *šelān*, Awrom. *šelāy/šel-* ‘to press, squash, knead, massage’ (< Kurd. ?), *fīšārāy/fīšār-* ‘to press’ (< NP ?), Gur. (Kand.) *šūārd-* ‘to press’, Soi *fāšār-* ‘to press, push’, NP *afšurah* ‘pressed (fruit) juice’, Gz. *afšurre* ‘liquid essences’

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *ōšarak*, Arab. (LW) *afšaraj* ‘juice’

•SANSKRIT: *psāras-* (n.) ‘enjoyment, joy’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 198

◇ An IE origin is unknown: the root appears to be exclusively IIr.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 247a; *KPF* II: 207; *DKS*: 407b f.; *WIM* II/2: 634

G

***gah** ‘to gorge’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *gah-* ‘to gorge’ || (+ **ni-*) ‘to digest’ || (+ **niš-*) ‘to devour’

⇒ Liste: 20

Pres. them.: IND. 3pl. YAv. *gaṇhənti* (V 7.55), YAv. *nižgaṇhənti* (V 17.3); Partic.: pres. YAv. *nigāṇhənt-* (Y 10.15), perf. YAv. *jaxšuuāh-* (F 15). ◇ *LIV*: 198 fn. 4 also includes OAv. *a-γzaonuuamna-* ‘indigestible?’ (Y 28.3), which is phonologically difficult.

•CHORESMIAN: *γš* ‘tooth’ || (+ **apa-*) *by’h-* ‘to bite’ (MacKenzie 1975: 392)
⇒ Samadi: 17 f.

•NEIR: Pash. *γāš* ‘tooth’, Wa. *γāš*, Yzgh. *γax* ‘mouth, muzzle’

•MISC: Orm. *gas* ‘tooth’, (pl.) *gišt* ‘teeth’

•SANSKRIT: *ghas* ‘to eat, devour’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 514

◇ Plausible IE cognate forms are wanting.

•PIE ? ⇒ *LIV*: 198 | Pok.: 452

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 28 f.; *EVS*: 37b, s.v. *γāv*; Werba 1997: 179 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 187

***gaH¹** ‘to go, move’

•AVESTAN: (?) OAv. *gā-* ‘to go to, move (?)’ ⇒ Liste: 20

Aor. athem.: INJ./SUBJ. 3sg. OAv. *gāṭ* (Y 46.6)

•KHOTANESE: *jsā-* ‘to go’ || (+ **ui-*) LKh. *bijsā-* ‘to depart’. ◇ The palatal *js^o* in these forms is probably from *’jsem*, ***gam¹**. ⇒ SGS: 37, 95

•SANSKRIT: *gā* ‘to step, stride’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 482

- PIE *g^weH₂- ‘to go, stride’ ⇒ LIV: 205 | Pok.: 463 f.
- IE COGNATES: Gr. ἔβην (aor.) ‘was ready to go’, Gr. βῆμα (n.) ‘step, rostrum’, Arm. *eki* ‘went’ (sec. i), Lith. (dial.) *góti* ‘to go’, *at-góti* ‘to arrive’, Latv. *gāju* ‘I go’
- REFERENCES: DKS: 114b f.; Werba 1997: 282 f.

*gaH² ‘to have sexual intercourse, coire’

- MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP (*SLYT(W)N-*) /gāy-/ , inf. *g’tn /gādan/* ‘to copulate, unite with’
- CHORESMIAN: *m/yy-* ‘to have sexual intercourse’ ⇒ Samadi: 83
- NWIR: NP *gādan* (obs.), *gāyidan/gāy-*, Bal. *gāt/gā(y)-*, Kurd. *gayin*, Awrom. *gāy/-ga-*, Gz. *gāin-/gāinā*, Khuns. *g-/gā* ‘to have sexual intercourse’
- NEIR: Pash. *yāy-/yōwəl*, Oss. I. *qæjyn*, D. *qæjun*, Wa. *ŷby-/ŷoyd*, Sh. *yāv-/yēvd*, Rosh. *yāv-/yēvd*, Bart. *yāv-/yīvd*, Sariq. *yeγv-/yevd*, Yzgh. *yay-/yēd*, *yīd* ‘to have sexual intercourse’. ◇ The Pash. and Pamir forms appear to show a partial contamination with the root *H₁ab.
- MISC: Par. *geh-* ‘coire’

◇ The root *gaH² is probably etymologically related to *gaH¹, cf. YAv. *upaētəm* ‘(having) sexual intercourse’ (*Hai): it has largely replaced the old IE ‘*futuere*’ root *H₁ab.

- REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 197; *IIFL* I: 253a; *IIFL* II: 524a; *EVS*: 37b; MacKenzie 1966: 96; MacKenzie, *Pahlavī*: 34; *WIM* I: 68; *WIM* II/1: 76; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 191; Bielmeyer 1993: 13; Cheung 2002: 213; Korn 2005: 318, 395

*gaH³ ‘to sing, call’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *pairi.gā.vacah-* ‘who sings the words around’ (Y 57.20), YAv. *bərəzi.gāθra-* ‘singing high’ (Yt 10.89), YAv. *fragāθra-* (n.) ‘Absingen’, YAv. *gāθā-* ‘song, gāthā’
- KHOTANESE: *gāha-* ‘verse’
- SOGDIAN: CSogd. *ž’y*, MSogd. *j’y* ‘to speak, talk’ (Schwartz, l.c.)
Pres.: IND. 2sg. dur. CSogd. *žysq*, 3pl. MSogd. *j’ynd*, dur. CSogd. *ž’yntqn*, SUBJ./OPT. 3sg. CSogd. *ž’ynt*, 3pl. (dur. ?) CSogd. **ž’ynt*, Fut.: SUBJ. 1sg. CSogd. *ž’yntq*; Partic.: pres. CSogd. *ž’yq* ‘talking’
- NWIR: (+ *apa-) ? NP *afgān* ‘lamentation, groaning, cries for help’
- NEIR: Yghn. *žoy-/žóyta* ‘to read, sing; to study’, Yzgh. *yay-/yayd* ‘to call’, Yi. *žāy-/išť-*, M. *žāy-/šť-* ‘to say, speak’
- SANSKRIT: *gā* ‘to sing’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 482
◇ The MĪr. (verbal) forms, Pth. *ng’y-*, etc. are rather from *jad.
- PIE *g^(w)eH-(i-) ‘to sing’ ⇒ LIV: 183 | Pok.: 355
- IE COGNATES: ORuss. *gajati* ‘to croak [ravens]’, Lith. *giedóti* ‘to sing’
- REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 277a; Morgenstierne 1942: 263; Andreev – Peščereva: 370b; Schwartz, *Gs Henning*: 387, fn. 10; *EVS*: 38b; DKS: 82b; Werba 1997: 283

***gaHu** ‘to need, be faulty, wanting; to want, desire’

•AVESTAN: ? OAv. *gau-* ‘to commit a sin; to promote (?)’ (cf. Humbach 1974: 199)

⇒ Liste: –

Aor. -s- Inj. 3sg. ? OAv. *gāuš* (Y 32.8)

•PARTHIAN: *gw’nyg* ‘needed, desired (?)’ || (+ **fra-*) *prg’w-* ‘to lack, owe’

⇒ Ghilain: 76 | DMMPP: 166b, 278b

Pres.: IND. 2pl. *prγ’wyd*, 3pl. *prγ’wynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. ^s*prgwdg*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ham-*) LKh. *hagav-* ‘to long’ ⇒ SGS: 144

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *γw-*, BSogd. *γw-* ‘to be wanting, at fault’, CSogd. *γw-* ‘to be necessary’

Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. SSogd. *ywt* ‘needs, is necessary’, BSogd. *γwt*, BSogd. *γ’wty*, dur. CSogd. *γwtsq*, 3pl. dur. CSogd. *γwntq*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: *γw-* ‘to need, be necessary, wanting; to fail, to commit a fault; to miss, err’ ⇒ Samadi: 81

•BACTRIAN: *γαoo-* ‘to be necessary, ought’, *γαooαvo*, *γαooαvo* ‘fault, misdeed; need, obligation’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 188b

•NWIR: Fariz. *-gi-*, *-(j)i-/gā*, Yar. *-gi-/gā* ‘must’, Gur. (Kand.) *-oū*, (1sg.) *-āīm*, Khuns. *gū-/gūā* ‘must; [also] to want’, Tt. (Cha.) *gav/gavas*, (Tak.) *go/gost*, (Ebr.) *gow/gast*, Abz. *gā/-ye*, Abyan. *gā/-ge*, Fariz. *-gā/-gi-*, Jow. *ma-gā/ma-gí*, Meim. *am-gā/amgí*, Qohr. *gā/-ī*, Semn. *mā-gīāī-/mā-g-*, Siv. *(-)gā-/(-)gās-* ‘to want’, Varz. *gu*, *gā/-gu*, Yar. *-gā/-gī*, Isfah. (supplet. *xastān*, *xah-* < ***xγaz**)/*gu-* ‘to want, wish’, Soi *agā/āi* (3sg./impers.) ‘it is fitting, wanting (?)’, one must, *il faut*, *gī-*, *-gā/m-āī* ‘to want, desire’, (?) Mah. *-gū* (in *ām-gū* ‘I want, wish’, etc.)

•NEIR: Oss. I. *qæwyn/qo,yd*, D. *ǰæwun/ǰud* ‘to be in need of something, lack’, Sh. *ǰīwǰ*, Rosh. *ǰīwǰ*, Khf. *ǰū(w)ǰ*, Bart. *ǰōwǰ*, Orosh. *ǰūwǰ*, Yzgh. *γu* ‘willing, agreeable to’, Yghn. *γau-/γáuta* ‘to be necessary, obligatory’ || (+ **apa-*) Oss. *ævǰaw* ‘that which is a pity to spend on, waste, destroy’ || (+ **abi-*) Oss. I. *ivǰo,yjyn*, D. *evǰujun/evǰud* ‘to pass, go by; to miss (the target)’ || (+ **ā-*) Oss. I. *aǰo,yjyn/aǰo,yd*, D. *aǰujun/aǰud* ‘to have the bad habit, esp. to come constantly as uninvited guest [= Russ. *повадиться*], have certain quirks; to become angry’ || (+ **ui-*) Oss. I. *qawyn/qo,yd*, D. *iǰawun/iǰud* ‘to consume, spend; to cause damage, losses’

◇ On the IE & Lat. etymology see Eichner 1995: 67, fn. 8. (Ir. connection: Xavier Tremblay, *Symposium Graz* 2002).

•PIE **g^heH₂u-* ‘to be faulty, at fault, lacking, insufficient’ (?) ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•IE COGNATES: OLat. *hauelod* ‘insufficient, false’, Lat. *hau(d)* ‘not’, OIrish *gáu*, *gó* ‘something not true, lie’, Welsh *gau* ‘lie’, ? Gr. *χάφος* ‘chaos, primordial space’ (< **‘void’*)

•REFERENCES: *KPF* II: 192 f.; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 152, 158; Abrahamian 1936: 134; Abaev, *Slovar* I: 555, 202, 144, 38; Andreev – Peščereva: 257a f.; Abaev, *Slovar* II: 271 f.; Yarshater 1969: 182; *EVS*: 111b; *WIMI*: 69; *DKS*: 439a, 155; Lecoq 2002: 189 (passim); Cheung 2002: 194, 161

***gaHz** ‘to run, start’

•SOGDIAN: (+ *ā-) SSogd. ’y’z, BSogd. ’y’z, CSogd. ’y’z, MSogd. ’y’z ‘to begin’ || (+ *fīra-) BSogd. βr’y’z, BSogd. βry’z, BSogd. fr’y’z, BSogd. pry’z ‘to begin’ (+ *ā-) Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. ’y’zt, CSogd. ’y’zt, BSogd. ’y’zty, 3pl. BSogd. ’y’z’nt, CSogd. ’y’znt, INJ. 1sg. BSogd. ’y’zw, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. ’y’z’t, etc. || (+ *fīra-) Pres.: IND. 3pl. BSogd. βr’y’z’nt, BSogd. βry’z’nt, 3pl. BSogd. pry’z’nt; Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. fr’y’z, BSogd. pr’y’z, BSogd. pr’y’z, 3pl. BSogd. pr’y’z’nt, BSogd. pr’y’z’nt; Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. pr’y’zt

•CHORESMIAN: y’z- ‘to go, run’, ? m/y’zy- (caus.) ‘to rush to, lash out at (someone)’ || (+ *ā-) m/y’z- ‘to begin’ || (+ *ui-) wyr- ‘to flee’ ⇒ Samadi: 75 f., 214

•NWIR: (+ *ā-) NP āgāz ‘beginning’ (< Sogd., cf. Henning 1939: 98)

•NEIR: Sh. žōz-/žāxt, Rosh. žōz-/žēxt, Bart. žōz-/žēxt, Sariq. žuz-/žuxt, Yzgh. yaz-/yext-, Sangl. yuz-/yuzd, Ishk. yəz-/yəzd, M. yaz-, Yi. yaz- ‘to run’, ? Oss. I. qazyn/qazt, D. gāzun/gāzt ‘to play, joke, enjoy (a game)’

•SANSKRIT: gāh ‘to enter (into the water), wade’ ⇒ EWAia I: 486

◇ The semantic divergences may be explained from original *‘to enter into the water’. In the Sogdo-Persian form the initial action is emphasised, whereas in the Pamir languages the meaning has shifted to the movement itself. The Ossetic forms have acquired a more frivolous sense.

•PIE *g^(wh)eH₂g^h- ‘to wade’ ⇒ LIV: 183 | Pok.: 465

•IE COGNATES: Slov. gáziti ‘to wade’, SCr. gáziti ‘to step, wade’

•REFERENCES: IIFL II: 214a, 395; EVS: 111b; Abaev, *Slovar* II: 276 f.; Werba 1997: 459

***gaip/b** ? ‘to spin (thread)’

•KHOTANESE: ? gai’h- ‘to twist, spin’ (in hapax gai’he ‘he twists, spins [transl. BSkt. karatti]’, Bailey, *KT* III: 123 f., ad 72) ⇒ SGS: –

•NWIR: NP gēvah ‘shoe made of cotton’, borrowed in Abyan. gēva, Abz. gēva ‘sandal’, Ard. gēe, Bakht. gēva, Gz. gūwe, etc.

•NEIR: Sh. (Baj.) žēb-/žīvd, Rosh. žīb-/žīvd, Bart. žīb-/žīpt, Sariq. žeyb-/ževd, Yzgh. yib-/yibt, Yi. yī(w)-, M. yīw-/yīvd- ‘to spin’, ? Pash. yaibá ‘cotton (thread)’ (-ai- < ?), ? Oss. I. qiw, D. gēw ‘tendon’ (-w < ?) || (+ *uz-) Yi. ziyé-/ziyīvd-, M. ziyīv-/ziyīvd- ‘to twist’, ? Yi. zəyū(v)-/zəyūvd- ‘to walk about, fly’ || (+ *ui- ?) Sh. wižāfc-/wižīvd, (Baj.) wižīfc-, Rosh. wižāfs-, Sariq. wažēfs-/waževd, Yzgh. y^wafs-, Yi. čə-yū-/čə-yuvd ‘to return’

◇ Evidence for this root is solely found in modern Pamir languages (possibly also in Khot.) as verb and in West Ir. as noun. According to Morgenstierne, *EVS*: 96 the Pamir forms go back to IE *gei-b^h-, for which Pokorny 354 gives as continuations: Lat. gibber ‘humpbacked’, gibbus ‘bulging’, Norw. (dial.) keiv ‘wrong, twisted’, keiva ‘left hand’, keiv(a) ‘gauche person’, Latv. ģibstu (ģibt) ‘I sink, bend; I become dizzy’, Lith. geĩbti ‘to become weak, decrepit’. The Ir. forms refer exclusively to the

spinning process, which does not agree semantically with the other IE forms. These IE forms may rather mean originally ‘something bent, curved’ (diff. origin Lith. *geĩbti*, cf. Fraenkel II: 143). Bailey, *DKS*: 90b, 84 also relates Khot. *gai’he* to *ggĩsai* ‘grass’ (Av. *gaēsa*- ‘hair’, BMP /*gēs*/ ‘curls, locks’, etc.), which would have a different “increment”. All these incremented forms cannot be traced back to IE nor to a “simplex” root **gai*-. Rather, the impression is that we are dealing with borrowings from a non-IE substrate language.

•PIE – ⇨ LIV: – | Pok.: 354

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 211b, 201b, 275a; Morgenstierne 1942: 263; Fraenkel II: 143; Abaev, *Slovar’* II: 305 f.; *EVS*: 110a, 96a f.; *WIM* II: 671; *DKS*: 90b; Vahman – Asatrian 1987: 89; Lecoq 2002: 576b, 594a, 616b

***gaiz ?** ‘to disturb, stir, incite, excite ?’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ni*-) BMP *nkyc-* /*nigēz-*/ ‘to expound’ || (+ **ham*-) BMP *hngyc-* /*hangēz-*/ ‘to arouse, stimulate, stir up’, BMP *hngycyn-* /*hangēzēn-*/ (sec. caus.) ‘to resuscitate’

(+ **ni*-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *nkycyt/nigēzēd*/; Inf.: BMP *nkyhtn/nigēxtan*/ || (+ **ham*-) Pres.: IND. 3pl. BMP *hngycynd/hangēzēnd*/; Caus.: IND. 3sg. BMP *hngycynyt/hangēzēnēd*/

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ham*-) ? BSogd. *’nyzzykh* ‘emetic, *un (remède) excitant*’ (Benveniste, *TPS*: 232 ad 5). ◇ This technical term is found in a medical Buddhist text twice (P 19.5, P 19.11).

•NWIR: NP *gēj*, Kurd. *gēž* ‘confused, astonished’ (with suff.) Bakht. *gēz* ‘mad’, ? Meim. *darem ġianā/dar a-ġizn-* ‘to clear, explain, elucidate’ || (+ **ham*-) NP *angēxtan/angēz-* ‘to stir up, incite’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *qyzyn/qyzt*, D. *ġizun/ġizt* ‘to threaten; to behave hostile, be malevolent; to start to rain’ || (+ **ham*-) Oss. I. *ænzizyn/ænzqyt*, D. *ængēzun/ængēzizt* ‘to be in a state of fermentation; to ferment’ (sec. prefixation). ◇ Oss. I. *ænzizyn*, D. *ængēzun* has a secondarily attached *æn-* (< **ham*-): if the prefixation was old, it would have become I. ***ænzizyn*, D. ***ængēzun*. Formally this secondary formation would derive from the “simplex” I. *qyzyn*, D. *ġizun*, whose meanings are difficult to reconcile with I. *ænzizyn*, D. *ængēzun*. The only way to do so would be if we start from an older meaning such as *‘to disturb, be stirring’, which could have developed into either *‘to cause disturbance, stir up trouble, strife’ (whence ‘to act in a hostile, malevolent way’) or it could have referred to the weather, cf. Engl. *storm* (cognate with *to stir*).

•PIE ? ◇ Apparently quoting from Lidén *KZ* 61: 1ff., Pokorny, l.c. only mentions the Oss. verbs as Ir. cognates, which would go back to an IE root **geig-* ‘*stechen, beißen*’. Not only is the reconstruction **geig-*, with two unaspirated voiced stops, phonologically impossible for PIE, also the inclusion of the Oss. forms can be

doubted, if their meanings have risen only secondarily. Considering the other Iranian cognates of the Oss. forms, we have to rule out any relationship with the IE forms cited by Pokorny as cognates: Arm. *kcanem* ‘to bite, sting’, *kc-u* ‘bitter, rancid’, OIrish *gér* ‘sharp, sour’, Lith. *gižti* ‘to become sour [of milk, soup]’, Lith. *gaižti* ‘to become rancid’, Alb. *gjizë* ‘cheese’. ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 356

•REFERENCES: Lambton 1938: 42a; Abaev, *Slovar* I: 165; *Slovar* II: 336; Vahman – Asatrian 1991: 95

*gam¹ ‘to come’

•AVESTAN: *gam-* ‘to come’ || (+ **apa-*) ‘to go away, leave’ || (+ **abi-*) ‘to come at’ || (+ **aua-*) ‘to go, come down to’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘to come’ || (+ **upa-*) ‘to come to, attain’ || (+ **uz-*) ‘to rise; to mature, become an adult (of children)’ || (+ **pati-*) ‘to go/come to, approach; to return, go/come back’ || (+ **para-(ā-)*) ‘to depart, leave’ || (+ **pari-*) ‘to go around, into, reach, approach’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to come to, reach’ || (+ **ni-*) ‘to come off, down’ || (+ **ham-*) ‘to come together, assemble, convene’ ⇒ Liste: 18f.

Pres. inch.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *jasaiti* (Y 8.4, Yt 10.24, Yt 10.46, etc.), *ājasaiti* (Aog. 51), YAv. *us.jasaiti* (Yt 10.50), YAv. *paiti.jasaiti* (V 13.1, Yt 10.69), YAv. *para.jasaiti* (Yt 10.101), YAv. *frajasaiti* (Vd 5.8 f.), YAv. *fra.jasaiti* (N 46 ff., N 104), YAv. *nijasaiti* (V 5.8 f.), YAv. *haṇ.jasaiti* (N 42), 1pl. med. OAv. *pairī.jasāmaidē* (Y 36.1, Y 36.3 ff., Y 39.5), 3pl. act. YAv. *uzjasənti* (V 1.14), YAv. *haṇ.jasənti* (V 2.12 ff., V 2.16, V 19.27), med. YAv. YAv. *haṇ.jasənte* (N 62), INJ. 2sg. OAv. *jasō* (Y 43.6, Y 43.12), YAv. *apa.-jasō* (H 2.16), 3sg. OAv. *jasəṭ* (Y 30.7, Y 51.15), YAv. *apa.jasəṭ* (V 2.23), OAv. *upā.jasəṭ* (Y 30.6), OAv. *pairī.jasəṭ* (Y 43.7, Y 43.9, Y 43.11, etc.), YAv. *apa.jasəṭ* (V 2.23), 3du. YAv. *jasəṭəm* (Yt 19.82), med. OAv. *jasəṭəm* (Y 30.4), 3pl. YAv. *jasən* (Yt 13.1, Yt 13.19, V 1.14), 3pl. med. YAv. *^xhaṇjasənta* (Y 2.8x, V 2.8), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *jasāni* (Yt 12.4), YAv. *nijasāni* (Yt 15.28), med. OAv. *jasāi* (Y 28.2, Y 51.22), OAv. *pairijasāi* (Y 50.8), 2sg. YAv. *auua.jasāhi* (V 19.18), med. YAv. *jasāi* (Vyt 22), 3sg. YAv. *jasāiti* (Yt 4.1, Yt 12.6, Yt 13.20), YAv. *jasāit* (Yt 19.11, Yt 19.89, V 5.45, etc.), YAv. *apa ... jasāit* (V 7.39), YAv. *^xā.jasāit* (N 19), YAv. *ājasāit* (Yt 14.2, Yt 14.7, Yt 14.9, etc.), YAv. *uzjasāit* (V 15.15), YAv. *frajasāit* (Vd 15.23), YAv. *nijasāiti* (ViD 19), YAv. *nijasāit* (V 5.45), YAv. *vījasāiti* (Yt 13.44, Yt 13.94), YAv. *vījasāit* (Yt 10.89), med. ? YAv. *haṇ.jasāite* (N 42.43C), 3du. YAv. *paiti.jasātō* (V 9.54 f., V 9.57, V 13.53 ff.), 3pl. YAv. *jasānti* (Yt 8.29, Yt 8.61, Yt 13.70, Yt 14.53), YAv. *jasəṇ* (V.44 f.), YAv. *uz-jasəṇ* (V 15.21), YAv. *frajasəṇ* (V 6.26, V 6.46, V 8.73), YAv. *haṇ.jasānti* (N 65), med. YAv. *haṇjasānte* (Yt 14.43, V 7.44, VdPZ 7.44), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *jasōit* (Y 46.8), YAv. *upa.jasōit* (V 6.27), YAv. *frajasōit* (ViD 17), 1pl. YAv. *jasāēma* (Yt 10.69, Yt 10.98, Yt 10.135), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *jasa* (Y 72.9, Yt 1.33, Yt 3.19, etc.), 2pl. OAv. *ā.jasatā* (Y 28.3), 3pl. YAv. *jasəntu* (Y 10.14, Y 65.6); Aor. {1} athem.: INJ. 3sg. OAv. *^xā.jōn* (Y 48.10), OAv. *uz.jōn* (Y 46.12), 3pl. OAv. *aibī.gəməṇ* (Y 46.11), SUBJ. 1sg. OAv. *jimā* (Y 29.3), 3sg. OAv. *jamaitī/jimaitī* (Y 30.8, Y 48.2), OAv. *jimaṭ* (Y 43.4, Y 46.3, Y 48.11), OAv. *ā.jimaṭ* (Y 43.12, Y 44.1, Y 48.11), 3du. med. OAv. *jamaētē* (Y 44.15), 1pl. YAv. *jimāma* (Vyt 32), 3pl. OAv. *upā.jiməṇ* (Y 45.5), OPT. 2sg. OAv. *paiti.jamiiā* (Y 36.11), 3sg. OAv. *aibī.jamiiāit* (Y 43.3), OAv. *vījōmiiāit* (Y 44.11), YAv. *jamiiāit* (Y 7.24, Y 8.1, Y 57.3, etc.), 1pl. OAv. *jamiiāmā* (Y 40.3), YAv. *jamiiāma* (Y 60.12, Y 71.30, Hb 5), OAv. *upā.jamiiāmā* (Y 40.2), 3pl. YAv. *jamiiārəš* (Y 60.2, X3 A 1.2), YAv. *jamiiāṇ* (Y 60.4), IMPV. 2sg. OAv. *gaidī* (Y 49.1), 3sg. OAv. *janṭū* (Y 44.16, Y 54.1); Aor. {2} s-: SUBJ. 3sg. OAv. *jōṅghaiṭ* (Y 31.14), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *paiti.jaṅhōit* (N 81), IMPV. 3pl. YAv. *janhəntu* (V 2.22); Aor. {3} them.: INJ. 3sg. ? YAv. *frāymaṭ* (Yt 5.62); Perf.: SUBJ. 3sg. ? YAv. *aibi.jaymaṭ* (Yt 19.12), OPT. 1sg. YAv. *jaymiiāṇ* (Yt 8.11); Partic.: pres. YAv. *jasənt-* (Y 55.4, Y 60.11, Y

71.29, etc.), YAv. *auua.jasant-* (Yt 10.8), YAv. *uzjasənt-* (Yt 8.36), perf. YAv. *jaymuš-* (Y 22.22 f., Y 24.8, Y 25.3, etc.), perf. pass. YAv. *gata-* (Y 11.3, Y 52.6, Y 8.6, Yt 19.42); Inf.: (?) aor. {1} OAv. *gaṭ.tōi/gaṭ.tē* (Y 43.1, Y 51.10), YAv. *apagatōe* (Yt 13.55); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *jāmaiieiti* (Yt 17.20), 3pl. YAv. *nijāmaiieipti* (Yt 17.59), OPT. 3sg. **uzjāmaiioit* (V 14.16). ◊ Kellens' interpretation of YAv. *aibi jaymat* (perf. subj., adopted here) differs from Jackson 1892: nr. 619; Bartholomae (*GIPh* I, i: 89, 198) and Hintze 1994: 122 (pperf. ind.) and Hoffmann – Forssman 1996: 237 (perf. inj.).

•OLD PERSIAN: **gam-* 'to go' (not attestated as simplex) || (+ **aua-*) 'to go down, fall down' || (+ *ā-*) 'to come' || (+ **para-ā-*) 'to go forth' || (+ **ham-*) 'to come together, assemble' ⇒ Kent: 183a

Pres. athem.: OPT. 3sg. *ājamiyā* < a-j-mi-i-y-a > (DPd 19); Partic.: perf. pass. ? *avagmata-* <[a]-[v]-[g]-[m]-[t]-[a] > (DSe 46), *parāgmatā* <p-r-a-g-m-t-a > (DNa 44), *ha'gmatā* <h-g-m-t-a > (DB 2.32, DB 2.38, DB 2.43, etc.)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *md*, BMP *mt-* /*mad-*/ (pret. stem) 'to come', MMP *z'm-* 'to lead', MMP *z'myn-* 'to send', BMP *z'myn-* /*zāmēn-*/ (caus.) 'to lead, send' || (+ **ā-*) MMP 'md- (pret. stem) 'to come' || (+ **pati-*) MMP *pyg'm*, BMP *pyt'm*, *pgt'm* /*pay(g)ām*/ (?) 'message' || (+ **pati-uz-*) ? BMP *pz'm-* /*pazzām-*/ 'to mature, ripen [intr.]', BMP *pz'myn-* /*pazzāmēn-*/ (sec. caus.) 'to cause to mature, ripen' || (+ **fra-*) BMP *plc'm-* /*frazām-*/ 'to finish, be perfected', MMP *prz'm* 'end, conclusion' || (+ **ham-*) MMP *hnz'm-*, BMP *hnc'm-* /*hanjām-*/ 'to finish, fulfil' ⇒ DMMP: 227b, 379b, 289b, 283a, 182a

Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *md*; Inf.: MMP *mdn*, BMP *mtn* /*madan*/; Caus.: pres. SUBJ. 3pl. MMP **z'm'nd*, partic. MMP *z'm'g*; Caus. II: pres. IND. 2sg. MMP **z'mynyh*, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP **z'myn'd*, 3pl. MMP *z'myn'nd*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *z'myn*; Partic.: perf. pass. caus. MMP *z'pt*; Pass.: pret. IND. 3sg. MMP *z'pt*, 3pl. MMP *z'pt hynd* || (+ **ā-*) Pret.: IND. 1sg. MMP 'mdym, 2sg. MMP 'mdyy; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP 'md || (+ **pati-uz-*) Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. BMP *pz'mynyt* /*pazzāmēnēd*/, SUBJ. 3pl. BMP *pz'm'nd* /*pazzāmānd*/; Inf.: caus. BMP *pz'ptn*, sec. caus. BMP *pz'mynytn* /*pazzāmēnīdan*/ || (+ **fra-*) Pret.: IND. 3sg. BMP *plpt* /*frazaft*/ || (+ **ham-*) Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. MMP *hnz'mynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. MMP *hnz'm'y*, 1pl. MMP **hnz'm'm*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *hnz'pt*

•PARTHIAN: *gd* (pret. stem) 'to go, come', *j'm-* (caus.) 'to lead' || (+ **ā-*) 'gd 'to come' || (+ **upa-*) 'bg'm- (caus.) 'to grant' || (+ **uz-*) 'zgd (pret. stem) 'to gone away, departed; gone forth, emanated', 'zg'm 'way out, exit (of the soul from the body at death), escape' || (+ **pati-*) *pdg'm* 'message' || (+ **ham-*) *hnj'm-* (caus.) 'to complete, fulfil', 'ngd 'complete; happy' ⇒ Ghilain: 47 f., 10, 72, 48 | DMMP: 162a f., 197b, 10a, 101b, 269a, 182a

Partic.: perf. pass. *gd*, caus. II *j'm'd*; Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. *j'myd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *j'm'*, IMPV. 2sg. *j'm*, *j'm-*, 2pl. MMP *j'myd* || (+ **ā-*) Pret.: IND. 2sg. 'gdyy, 3sg. 'gd || (+ **upa-*) Caus.: pres. IMPV. 2sg. ? 'bg'm || (+ **uz-*) Partic.: perf. pass. 'zgd; Inf.: 'zgdn || (+ **ham-*) Partic.: perf. pass. 'ngd, caus. *hnj'm'd*, *hnj'm'd*; Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. **nj'mynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *hnj'm'm*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ā-*) OKh. *ā-* (suppletive perf. of OKh. *hīs-*) || (+ **pari-*) *paljsem-* 'to go about, be engaged in' || (+ **niž-*) OKh. *naljson-* (caus.) 'to finish' || (+ **ham-*) LKh. *hajsīm-* (*hajsēm-*) 'to send', *hamjśim-* (*hamjśām-*) 'to go (together)', (caus.) *hamjsem-* 'to gather' ⇒ SGS: 153, 76, 144, 49, 139

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ati-*) BSogd. *tyt-* (supplet. stem of BSogd. *tys-*, MSogd. *tys-* ‘to enter’, s.v. ***Hai**) || (+ **ā-*) (supplet.) SSogd. *’yt-*, BSogd. *’yt-*, MSogd. *’yt-* ‘to come’, BSogd. *’yt’k* ‘came’ || (+ **uz-*) BSogd. *wzy’m* ‘absolutely, certainly’ || (+ **pati-*) SSogd. *pty’m* (m.), BSogd. *pty’m*, CSogd. *pty’m* ‘message’, CSogd. *pty’mbry-* (m.) ‘apostle’ || (+ **para-(ā-)*) BSogd. *pr’yt-* (supplet. of *pr’ys-*, s.v. ***Hai**) || (+ **fra-*) SSogd. *’βš’m*, CSogd. *fš’m* (caus.) ‘to send’ || (+ **ni-*) CSogd. *ny’m* ‘time, moment, hour’ || (+ **ui-*) CSogd. *xyw’myt* (pl. m.), *xyw’myty* ‘strangers’, *wy’m-n’fc* (m.) ‘foreigner’, ‘foreign’, *xyw’m-n’fcy* (f.) ‘foreignness’ || (+ **ham-*) BSogd. *nytk*, *nyty*, CSogd. (Asg.) *xytw*, CSogd. *y’c* (f.), MSogd. *nytk^o*, MSogd. *nytch* (f.) ‘entire, whole’, CSogd. *ncmn*, (obl.) CSogd. *ncmny* ‘church’, MSogd. *njmn*, *ncmn*. ◇ On /fš^o/ of SSogd. *’βš’m*, CSogd. *fš’m*, cf. Sims-Williams 1983: 50: "The importance of the derivation of Sogd. *fš’m-* from **fra-jāma-* is that it removes the principal witness to the O. Iran. base **šam-* ‘to send’ postulated by Henning, *Sogdica*, 23-4. ... O. Iran. **šam-* ‘to send’ should therefore be discarded from the etymologist’s vocabulary."

(+ **ati-*) Well attested: Pres.: POT. intr. CSogd. *tyt’ bntsq*; Pret.: 2sg. BSogd. *tyt’yš* CSogd. *tytyš* (Weber 1970: 206), 3pl. MSogd. *tyt’nd*; Perf.: IND. 1sg. BSogd. *tytk ym* (cf. *GMS*: §847), etc. || (+ **ā-*) Well attested: Pres.: POT. 2sg. dur. SSogd. *L’ x’yt βyskwn* ‘you cannot come’; Pret.: intr. IND. 1sg. SSogd. *’yym*, 3sg. SSogd. *’yt* ‘came’, SSogd. *L’ ’yt* ‘he didn’t come’, etc. || (+ **para-(ā-)*) Well attested: Pret.: intr. IND. 3sg. SSogd., BSogd. *pr’yt*, CSogd., MSogd. *pr’yt*, etc. || (+ **fra-*) Well attested: Caus.: pres. IMPV. 2sg. SSogd. *’βš’m*, impf. IND. 1sg. CSogd. *fš’mw*, 3sg. SSogd. *β’š’m*, CSogd. *fš’m*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: *z’m-y-* (caus.) ‘to bring, present’ || (+ **ati-*) *cyd-* (supplet. forms of *cy-*) || (+ **ā-*) *m/z’m-y-* (caus.) ‘to bring’ || (+ **fra-*) *fr’y’mk* ‘adult’ || (+ **ni-*) *m/nys-* ‘to arrive’, *m/ny’sy-* (new caus.) ‘to bring, present’ ⇒ Samadi: 261, 55, 10, 124 f.

•BACTRIAN: ζαμνο ‘time’ || (+ **ā-*) αγγα- (orig. caus.) ‘to bring’ || (+ **uz-*) ^xυζγαμο ‘produce’ || (+ **pati-*) πιδογαμο-βαργο ‘ambassador’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 176b f., 178a

•NWIR: NP *zamān* ‘time’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *gāv* (f.) ‘time, moment’, NP *gām* ‘step, pace’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *gāv* ‘step’ (< NP ?) || (+ **ā-*) Widely attested: NP *āmādan/* (supplet. *āy-*) ‘to come’, Kurd. *hātīn/* (supplet. *ē-*) ‘to arrive’, Bal. *ātk/* (supplet. *āy-*), Zaz. *āmiyāyiš/* (supplet. *yen-*), Abyan. *ammayan*, Anar. *yumy-/* (supplet. *ei, ey-*), Awrom. *āmāy/* (supplet. *a-*), Fariz. *-ma-/* (supplet. *-t-*), Yar. *-mi-, ma, -me-/* (supplet. *-j-*), Gz. *ūmē, ūmā/* (supplet. *īy-*), Gil. (Rsht.) *amon-/* (supplet. *aj-*), Ham. *omiān/* (supplet. *y-*), Isfah. *undān/* (supplet. *y-*), Bakht. *avēdan, avaidan, awaidan /* (supplet. *aiy-*), Meim. *be-mej-/* (supplet. *a-ij-*), Nn. *omiye-/* (supplet. *y-*, impv. *yūr-*), Natan. *b-am-/* (supplet. *j-*), Qohr. *mōda/tt-*, Semn. *bī-ām-/* (supplet. *-ī-*), Shamerz. *-āmī-/ām-/* (supplet. (impv.) *biá* ‘come’), Sist. *om(a)dā/* (supplet. *ā*), Siv. *āmē(y)/* (supplet. *ē(y)-*), Soi *-mād-, -med-, -mūd-/* (supplet. *at-*), Sorkh. *-ām-/* (supplet. *æ-*), Lasg. *-am-/* (supplet. *æj-*) ‘to come’ || (+ **pati-*) NP *pay(ğ)ām* ‘message’, NP *pay(ğ)āambar* ‘Apostle, Prophete (esp. Mohammad)’ || (+ **ham-*) NP *anjuman* ‘company,

assembly, club'. ◇ The variant NP *payġām* is probably a borrowing from Parthian (or "North-Western" Ir.), cf. Nyberg 1974 II: 149b f.

•NEIR: Wa. *ŷat-/ŷat-* 'to reach, arrive', Oss. I. *qæd*, D. *ġædæ* 'kind, sort', Rosh. *ŷamōnd*, *ŷamund*, Orosh. *ŷūmōn* 'spring festival at the beginning of field-work in spring', Khf. *ŷamundinc* '10th month (in spring)' || (+ **apa-*) Oss. *ævġæd* 'childbirth and the post-natal period' || (+ **ati-*) Sh. (Baj.) (supplet. *dēd-*)/*dēd*, Rosh. (supplet. *indīd-*)/*indayd*, Bart. (supplet. *indīd-*)/*indīd*, Sariq. (supplet. *diδ-*)/*deyd*, (supplet. *dis-*)/*dayd*, Yghn. (supplet. *tīs-*, *teš-*)/*táxta* 'to enter', Yghn. *dīŷáta* / (supplet. *dīvár-*, *dēvár-*/*dēwár-* < **ati-bar^l-*) 'to insert, introduce' || (+ **ā-*) Sangl. *oyod*, Ishk. *óŷad* 'came' (pret. supplet. of *is-*, **ā-Hai^l-*), (old caus.) Yzgh. *ažam-/ažomt* 'to send', (?) Wa. *wyz(ы)m-*, *wəz(ə)m-/wozomd-* 'to bring, carry, deliver' || (+ **uz-*) Pash. *zyūmai* 'waterwheel' || (+ **fra-*) Yghn. *fšom-*, *fišóm-/f(ī)šómta* 'to send', Oss. *ræġæd* 'ripe, mature', Sh. (Baj.) *faryēmc*, Rosh. *faryēmc* 'heifer', Pash. *waryūmai* 'a male kid', Yi. *feryámə*, M. *fráyomíy* 'he-goat (1 yr)', Yghn. *faryūmč* 'female calf, heifer', (?) Wa. *r(ε)ŷum* 'heifer', *roŷd* 'young she-goat (of about 2 yrs)' || (+ **niž-*) Yghn. *žŷáta* / (supplet. *žívar-*, *žēvár-*, *žīwár-* < **niž-bar^l-*) 'to bring, lead, drag, pull out', (inch.) Sh. (Baj.) *naŷjīs-/naŷjīd*, Rosh. *nawjīs-/nawžod*, Bart. *nawžīs-/nawžōd*, Sariq. *narjīs-/narjed* 'to pass through, by, return' || (+ **ham-*) Oss. I. *æġġæd*, D. *ængæd* 'sufficient, complete' (with influence from simplex)

•MISC: ? Par. *zah-*, Orm. *zāy-/zāk*, *jaw-/jōk* 'to arrive' = *zey-/zāk* || (+ **ā-*) Par. *āya* 'he came' (supplet. of *žē-*) || (+ **pati-*) Arm. (LW) *patgam* 'message' || (+ **fra-*) Par. *rhayam* 'spring'

•SANSKRIT: *gam* 'to move, to go, to come' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 465 f.

◇ In many Ir. languages, the root **gam^l* is part of a suppletive paradigm with ***Hai**. On the relationship between **gam^l* and ***gaH^l** see also Klingenschmitt 1989: 81.

•PIE **g^wem-* 'to go; come' ⇒ LIV: 209 f. | Pok.: 464 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. βάλω 'I go', Arm. *ekn* 'came', Lat. *venīre*, Goth. *qiman*, Engl. *to come*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 132b, 204a f., 242a f.; Ivanow 1926: 419; *EVP*: 89; *IIFL* I: 302a f., 414b, 232a, 303b f., 284a; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 57, 151, 255; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 49, 154; *IIFL* II: 208b, 537, 381b f.; Abrahamian 1936: 118, 132; Lambton 1938: 40a; Morgenstierne 1942: 264; Abaev, *Slovar* I: 123, 203; Andreev – Peščereva: 253b, 247b, 370a f.; MacKenzie 1966: 88; Abaev, *Slovar* II: 282, 370; *EVS*: 33b, 38b, 29a, 17b, 48b; Lazard 1974: 84; Lecoq 1974: 60; *WIM* III: 104; *DKS*: 16, 444b f.; Vahman – Asatrian 1987: 67; Werba 1997: 176 f.; Paul 1998: 291a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 187 f., 294, 297, 404; Cabolov 2001: 378, 432; Cheung 2002: 167; Lecoq 2002: 122 (passim); Kiefer 2003: 210; Korn 2005: 312, 344 (passim)

***gam² ?** 'to press, extort'

•PARTHIAN: (+ **abi-*) *'bj'm-* 'to torment, torture', *'bg'm* 'agony; torment' ⇒ DMMP: 11a, 10a

Caus.: pres. 3sg. 'bj'myd, 2pl. 'bj'myd, 3pl. *'bj'mynd

•NEIR: (+ *uz- ?) Pash. *zyam-* 'to bear, tolerate'

•MISC: Orm. *zyam-* 'to bear, tolerate' (LW)

◇ The existence of a PIr. root **gam*² is uncertain, as the reconstruction is based on limited material.

•PIE **gem-* 'to press (on), hold' ⇒ LIV: 186 | Pok.: 368 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. γέμω 'I am full of, loaded/burdened', (Hom.) γέντο (aor.) 'held', Gr. γόμος 'burden, load', Lat. *gemō* 'I moan, complain', OCS *žseti* (žьтѣ) 'to press', SCr. *žē* 'pressed', Latv. *gūm* (*gūmstu*) 'I seize, hold'

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 101

*gamp/b¹ ? 'to move to ?'

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: ? MMP *z'p-* (caus.) 'to lead, send' (supplet. of *z'm-* < **gam*¹ ?) || (+ **fra-*) MMP *frz'p-* 'to finish', ? MMP *frzws-* (inch.) 'to become perfect, perfect oneself' || (+ **ham-*) ? MMP *hnzps-* (inch.) 'to come to an end, be finished, become perfect', MMP *hnz'p-* (caus.) 'to finish, fulfil' (supplet. stem of *hnz'm-*) ⇒ DMMPP: 379b, 161a, 182a

Partic.: perf. pass. caus. MMP *z'pt* || (+ **fra-*) Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *frz'pt*, *prz'pt*; Inch.: pres. SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *frzws'nd* || (+ **ham-*) Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *hnzpt*, MMP *hnzpt*, MMP *hnzft*, caus. MMP *hnz'pt*, ? MMP *hng'pt*; Inch.: pres. SUBJ. 1sg. MMP *hnzps'n*, 3sg. MMP *hnzps'd*, MMP *hnzfs'd*

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ā-*) MSogd. *'γmp 'walking'

•NEIR: (+ *uz- ?) Yi. *žib-/žibī-* 'to rise', 'to stand', *žib-* 'to awake' (+ **ham-*) Wa. *gəfs-/gəfst-* 'to run'

◇ A convincing IE etymology for **gamp/b*¹- is wanting: a connection with MHG *gampen*, *gumpen*. 'to leap, jump', etc., ? Gr. (Hes.) ἄθεμβοῦσα 'exhilarated, ἀκολασταίνουσα' is semantically difficult. Is this root a blend of **gam*¹ and **ja(m)b/p* ?

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 490

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 277b, 522b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 179

*gamp/b² ? 'to labour, exert'

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *γβs-*, BSogd. *γβs-* (intr./inch.) 'to tire, be weary', CSogd. *γfs-* 'to exert oneself, labour', CSogd. *γmp-* (tr./caus.) 'to take trouble, exercise'

Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. SSogd. *γβsty*, dur. CSogd. *γfstysq*, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *γβs't*, IMPV. 2sg. CSogd. *γfs'*, 2pl. CSogd. *γfst'*, etc.

•BACTRIAN: γαμβ- (orig. caus.) 'to cause damage', γαμβο 'damage' ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 188a

◇ The origin is unknown.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

***gan** ‘to strike to, befall, occur to, become’

•AVESTAN: -*yna-* ‘slaying, strike’ (in e.g. YAv. *satayna-* n. pl. ‘hundred strikes’ V 7.53)

•KHOTANESE: (+ **uz-*) *uysgana-* ‘vulture’

•NWIR: Awrom. *gin-* ‘to fall’, Zaz. *gināyiš*, *gunāyiš/gunen* ‘to befall’, (Siwer.) *gn-/gun-* ‘to fall, strike, draw to’, (Kor.) *gin-* ‘to strike, hit (the target)’, (pass.) *gin-/ginān-* ‘to be struck’, Abyan. *gennyoyan* ‘to become, arrive’ (from older **geln^o*, **gern^o*, see ***gart**), Khuns. *gen-/genā*, Semn. -*gānā-*, Sang. -*gæneé* ‘to become’, Mah. *gin-*, Siv. *gen-*, *gin-/genā*, *ginā*, *gyānā*, *gyenā* ‘to become, occur’, Qohr. *gīnā/gīn-*, Soi *gīn-ú* ‘to become (into something)’, Delij. *genī/genā* ‘to become; to shake’, (denominin.) ? Sorkh. *gānd-* *‘befalling, striking to ?’ (e.g. in *gāndéj béšo* ‘one must go’, *gānn-*, *gānd-* ‘to want’), Lasg. *gāndæ* (in *gāndæ béšo* ‘one must go’, *gānd-* ‘to want’)

•NEIR: Oss. I. *qæn*, D. *ǵænæ* ‘wound, fracture; shortcoming; [also D.] guilt, transgression’

•SANSKRIT: *ghaná-* (m.) ‘slaying’ (RV 6.26.8), *han* ‘to kill, slay’ ⇒ EWAia II: 800

◇ In several modern languages and dialects, a stem *gen-*, *gin-*, etc. is found. This verbal stem has hitherto no known etymology, cf. Eilers, *WIM* I: 68 and *WIM* III: 107, fn. 22. It is perhaps a denominative form of **gana-*, the nominal derivative of ***jan**. This derivative is often used in impersonal constructions. In the Zazaki dialects of Siwerek and Kor, the original meaning may be found. For the semantics compare the usages of Engl. *to strike* (as in *struck with terror*, *to strike upon an idea*, vel sim.).

•PIE **g^{wh}ono-* ‘slaying’ ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 491 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *φόνος* ‘murder’, Arm. *gan* ‘strike’, Russ. *gon* ‘hunt’

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 82a, 207a, 247a f.; *KPF* IV: 116, 255; MacKenzie 1966: 114; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 290 f.; *WIM* I: 68; *WIM* II/1: 87; *DKS*: 38b; Safari 1373: 68, 229; Lecoq 2002: 162

***gant** ‘to smell badly, stink’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *gaṅti-* (f) ‘bad smell’ (V 7.56), YAv. *duž-gaiṅti-* ‘smelling badly’ (H 2.25)

•OLD PERSIAN: *gasta-* <g-s-t-a> (ppp.) ‘evil, repugnant’ ⇒ Kent: 183b

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *gngyy* ‘stench’, BMP *gndk(-)/gandag(-)* ‘stench, stinking’ ⇒ DMMPP: 163a

•PARTHIAN: *gnd’g* ‘stinking, smelling’, *gst* (old ppp.) ‘loathsome, disgusting’ ⇒ DMMPP: 163a

•SOGDIAN: CSogd. *ynt* ‘stench’, SSogd. *ynt’kw*, BSogd. *ynt’k*, *ynt’k*, CSogd. *ynt’q* ‘bad, evil’ || (+ **ā-*) BSogd. *’y’ynt-* (caus.) ‘to defile’

(+ **ā-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *’y’ynt* (Dhu. 127(N), SCE 180(N))

•NWIR: Kurd. *ganīm/gan-* ‘to rot’, NP *gand* ‘stench’, NP *gandah* ‘fetid, stinking, rotten; filthy, dirty’, Bal. *gandag* ‘bad’, Kurd. *ganī* ‘rotting; stinking’, (orig. ppp.) Siv. *gās(s)* ‘bad’

•NEIR: Pash. *γandəl* ‘to dislike’ (+ **pari-*) Oss. D. *fælǵændun/fælǵæst* ‘to smear; paint’ (+ **ui-*) Oss. D. *iǵændun/iǵæst* ‘to smell; defile, desacrate’, Oss. I. *qæst*, D. *iǵæstæ* ‘desacration by something contagious or poisonous; desacrated’

•MISC: ? Par. *geš* ‘bad, sinful’, Orm. *yanj* ‘bad’ (< Pash. or other Ir. language ?)

•SANSKRIT: *gandh* ‘to smell’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 461

◇ The Ir. root **gant-* (and Skt. *gandh-*) can hardly be of IE origin. The IE correspondences, notably Gr. δέννος (m.) ‘blame, reproach’ and φθόνος (m.) ‘envy’, are not compelling. The strange dental "alternation" in the Skt. and Ir. roots points to borrowing.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 466 f.

•IE COGNATES: –

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 208; *EVP*: 26; *IIFL* I: 254b, 396a; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 542; Nyberg II: 81; Abaev, *Slovar’* II: 297 f.; *DKS*: 79a; *WIM* III: 313 f.; Cabolov 2001: 368 f.

*gar¹ ‘to rejoice’

•KHOTANESE: (+ **fra-*) *hayār-* ‘to rejoice, be happy’. ◇ The reconstructions and inherent etymology cited in *SGS*, l.c., are all unconvincing. ⇒ *SGS*: 148

•CHORESMIAN: *m/γry-* ‘to rejoice’, *m/γw’ry-* (caus.) ‘to let rejoice’ ⇒ Samadi: 80

•NWIR: ? NP *zār* ‘wish’ (nonce ?)

•SANSKRIT: *har* ‘to be glad, enjoy, like’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 804

◇ On the basis of (hapax) OAv. *zarəm* (Y 44.17) an IE root **g^her-*, with palatal *g^h-*, is usually reconstructed (e.g. *LIV*: 176), despite the fact that the meaning of OAv. *zarəm* is uncertain, cf. Kellens – Pirart III: 182. On the other hand, the meaning of the Chor. forms, with initial *γ-*, strongly favours a connection with Skt. *har-*. We should therefore reconstruct an IE **g^her-* with non-palatal velar (Skjærvø *apud* Samadi 1986: l.c.). To this root we may add Khot. *hayār-*.

•PIE **g^her-* ‘to like’ ⇒ LIV: 176 | Pok.: 440 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. χαίρω ‘I rejoice, enjoy’, Lat. *horior* ‘I cheer up’, OHG *gerno*, OE *georne* ‘eager, readily’, Engl. *yearn*, etc.

•REFERENCES: Chantraine IV: 1241a f.; Werba 1997: 271

*gar² ‘to turn, wind’

•SOGDIAN: (+ **uz-*) SSogd. *’zy’rt’k* ‘flourishing’ (cf. Sims-Williams 1983: 46) || (+ **ham-*) BSogd. *’ny’rtk-* ‘flourishing, fertile’ (*BSTBL*: 121)

•CHORESMIAN: ? *γyr-* ‘to (re)turn’, *γyr(y)-* (caus.) ‘to (let it) turn; to wrap’ || (+ **ati-*) ? *m/cγyr-* ‘to turn intr.], be(come) curved’ ⇒ Samadi: 83 f.; 85; 50

•NWIR: Kurd. (Kurm.) *gaṯin/gaṯ-*, (Sor.) *gaṯān/gaṯē-* ‘to wander, go (round), roam’, Zaz. *geyrāyış/geyr-* ‘to go round; to seek’, Gur. (Kand.) *gīr* ‘curve’. ◇ The Kurdish forms are from pres. **g(a)rna-* (cf. Chor. *γrnyk*), not from **uart-* as assumed by Cabolov, l.c., cf. **uarta-* > Kurd. (Sor.) *bard* ‘stone’, v. **uart*.

•NEIR: Ishk. *γars-*, Sariq. *γirs-/yerd* ‘to revolve, go round, cross a pass’, Sariq. *γeyron* (caus.) ‘to let it turn, revolve’, Wa. *γīr-γīrd* ‘to turn (into) [intr.]’

◇ IE cognate forms of this apparently "unenlarged" Ir. root are uncertain. The nominal forms quoted by Pok. (l.c.) are set with problems. The enlarged variants are **gart* and **garš*².

•PIE – ⇨ LIV: – | Pok.: 385

•REFERENCES: *KPF* II: 187; *EVS*: 37a; Paul 1998: 298a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 188; Cabolov 2001: 371 f.

***gar³** ‘to heat, cook, kindle fire’

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ham-*) BSogd. *’nk’yr* ‘hearth’

•NWIR: Awrom. *giriáy/giria-* ‘to boil [intr.]’, Awrom. *grináy/grin-* (caus.) ‘to boil [tr.]’, Gur. (Kand.) *gīriān* ‘to cook’, Siv. *gār-, gēr-/gēri* ‘to cook, bake’, Nn. *ginnāye/ginn-*, Siv. *gārān-/gārān-*, Tr. *gürnā/gürn-*, Varz. *digirnāye/digirn-* (caus.) ‘to kindle (fire), make fire’, *gārān-/gārānd* ‘to let it cook’

•NEIR: (+ *ni-*) Pash. *nyaráy* (m.) ‘fireplace, hearth’, Sh. *nižōr*, Khf., Rosh. *nižūr*, Bart. *lažōr* ‘live coal, charcoal’ || (+ **ham-*) Oss. I. *ænzaryn/ænzærst*, D. *æzaru/ænzarst* (caus.) ‘to kindle, light a fire’, Yghn. *īnkir* ‘hearth’. ◇ The connection with Oss. *cæryn* ‘to live’ (**čarH*), suggested by Abaev I: 158 f., for *ænzaryn* (etc.) is semantically untenable, cf. *ESlJa* II: 228: "однако это скорее продолжение основы **ĵara-* от корня **gar-* ‘гореть, жечь’".

•SANSKRIT: *ghar-* ‘to burn’ (Dhā.) ⇨ *EWAia* I: 514

◇ The verbal forms of **gar³* are only found in some modern Iranian dialects. The old IE nominal derivative IE **g^{wh}ormo-* > Ir. **garma-* ‘warm’, Av. *garəma-*, OP *garma-*, etc., is attested everywhere in Ir.

•PIE **g^{wh}er-* ‘to warm, be warm’ ⇨ LIV: 219 f. | Pok.: 493 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *θερμου* ‘I become warm’, OCS *grĕjati* ‘to warm’, OCS *gorĕti*, Lith. *garĕti* ‘to burn’, Goth. *brinnan*, Engl. *to burn*, Alb. *zien* ‘cooks’, etc.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* II: 187; MacKenzie 1966: 95; *EVS*: 52b; *WIM* III: 106; Lecoq 2002: 132, 135 (etc.), 663a; *NEVP*: 56

***gar⁴ ?** ‘to coagulate, stiffen’

•NWIR: Kurd. (Sul.) *gīrsān*, (Sina) *gīrsiān*, Awrom. *gīrsáy/gīrs-* (inch.) ‘to coagulate, stiffen’, ? Gur. (Kand.) *gīriš* (in *gīriš wārdān* ‘to be stuck’) || (+ **ni-*) ? Bal. *nigērit/nigēr-* ‘to stay’

◇ In view of the very limited evidence, the existence of an Ir. root **gar-* ‘to coagulate’ remains uncertain.

•PIE ? **gel-* ‘to freeze’ ⇒ LIV: 185 | Pok.: 365 f.

•IE COGNATES: ON *kala* ‘to become cold, freeze’, Lat. *gelū* ‘freezing’, (denomin.) Lat. *gelāre* ‘to freeze’, OE *cealer, calwer* (m.) ‘fatty milk’, NHG (Alem.) *challen* ‘to stiffen [of fat]’

•REFERENCES: *KPF* II: 194; MacKenzie 1966: 95; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *nigēr-*

*gard¹ ‘to call’

•CHORESMIAN: *m/rynd-* ‘to call, name’ || (+ **upa-*) ? *B’TRA-* ‘to bellow’ ⇒ Samadi: 170

•BACTRIAN: γιρλ- ‘to call, name’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 189a

•NWIR: Kurd. (Kurm.) *gāzīn* ‘to complain’, *gilī* (m.) ‘word, speech, tale’, *gāz(ī)* (f.), (Sor.) *gāz(ī)* ‘call (for), cry, appeal’, Zaz. *gāzī* (f.) ‘call for help’ (< Kurd. ?). ◇ Kurd. (Kurm.) *gāzīn* may derive from an old *sk-pres.*, which shows the following development: (pre-)Ilr. **gard^h-sk-* > (Bartholomae’s Law) **gardzj-* > (with simplified cons. cluster) *gaz-* (cf. Osthoff 1884: 33; Lubotsky 2001: 39). || Kurd. (Kurm.) *gilī* is perhaps not from **garH¹* ‘to greet’, as assumed by Cabolov, l.c., but rather from **grd(V)-ja-*.

•NEIR: (?) Pash. *žār-/žarəl* ‘to cry, weep’, Sariq. *jīrd* ‘groan’

•MISC: (?) Par. *jaṛ-/jaṛī* (*jōṛ* ?) ‘to say’. ◇ Perhaps not from **garH¹* ‘to greet’ (as assumed by Morgenstierne, *IIFL* I: l.c.), on account of the retroflex *r*.

•PIE **g^werd^h-* ‘to raise the voice, call, sing’ ⇒ LIV: 210 f. | Pok.: 478, 428

•IE COGNATES: Arm. *kardam* ‘to raise the voice’, OPr. *gerdaut* ‘to say’, Lith. *girdėti*, Latv. *dzirdēt* ‘to hear’, Lith. *geĩdas* ‘shout, message’, Gall.-Lat. *bardus*, OIrish *bard*, Welsh *bardd* ‘poet, singer’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 262b; *EVP*: 105; *EVS*: 39b; Paul 1998: 298a; Cabolov 2001: 379, 383

*gard² ‘to wish, desire’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *gərəda-* ‘greedy’ (Yt 15.47)

•NEIR: Pash. *yoxt-/ywwār-* ‘to wish, desire’, ? Yi. *oyereno* ‘eagle’

•SANSKRIT: *gardh* ‘to be greedy, desire, strive’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia I: 474

◇ Evidence for this root in Iranian is limited. The ‘rat’ forms attested in some languages may be connected (?): Chor. *’rđyyk* (Schwartz, *Gs Henning*: 387), Orm. *gilak, gəlak* (*IIFL* I: 395), with -z- Bakht. *gerza*, also ‘mouse’ in Gil. *garze, garza*, NP *garzah* (Rudaki). The -z- variants are derived from an unsupported base **garz* ‘to bite, sting, prick’ according to Schwartz, *Gs Henning*: l.c., but -z- perhaps rather points to addition of the diminutive suff. *-*čī* (cf. NP *mōrcāh* ‘ant’): **ođč^o* > *o^z*?

•PIE **g^(w)eld^h-* ‘to wish, desire, be hungry for’ ⇒ LIV: 185 | Pok.: 434

•IE COGNATES: RussCS *žlǫdǫti* ‘to be hungry for, desire’, OCS *gladъ*, Russ. *gólod* ‘hunger’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL II*: 221a; *DKS*: 38b; *NEVP*: 33

***garH¹** ‘to greet, call’

•AVESTAN: (+ *abi-) YAv. *auui gār-* ‘to praise’ || (+ *ā-) YAv. *āyar-* ‘to greet’
⇒ *Liste*: 19

Pres. *n-*: IND. med. 3sg./pl. YAv. *auui gərənte* (Vr.1), 1pl. YAv. *auui gərədmahi* (Vr 21.1); Pass.: pres. SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *āyairiāt* (Yt 13.50)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *gl’myn-* (denomin.) ‘to endear’, MMP *gr’myg*, BMP *gl’myk/grāmīg/* ‘treasured, dear’ ⇒ *DMMPP*: 163a

Partic.: perf. pass. caus. BMP *gl’mynyt/grāmēnīd*

•PARTHIAN: *gr’mg* ‘wealth, possessions’ ⇒ *DMMPP*: 163a

•KHOTANESE: (+ *pati-) *pajarūnai* ‘abuse’, *pajarūna* ‘abusive’

•SOGDIAN: CSogd. *yr’ty* (f.) ‘exaltation’ || (+ *uz-) BSogd. *zy’yr-*, MSogd. *zyyr-*, MSogd. *’zy’yr-*, MSogd. *jyyr-* ‘to call, summon’ || (+ *ni-) BSogd. *nyr’y* ‘to praise, honour’

(+ *uz-) *Well attested*: Pres.: SUBJ. 1sg. BSogd. *zy’yr’n*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. SSogd. *zyyr*; Fut.: IND. 3pl. MSogd. *’zy’yr’nt k’m*, etc.

•NWIR: NP *girāmīdan/girām-* (denomin.) ‘to honour, respect’, NP *girāmī* ‘treasured, dear, revered’, NP (dial.) *jerr* ‘discussion’ (borrowed into Bakht. *jer*), Kurd. *ĉēr* ‘curse, abuse’ || (+ *ā-) NP *āžīr (āžēr)* ‘cry, call’ (dial. borr.) || (+ *uz-) NP *žağar* ‘out-cry’ (Sogd. LW, Hasandoust, l.c.) || (+ *pati-) NP *payğārah* ‘abuse’ (borrowed in Pash. *peyór*). ◇ NP *āžīr (āžēr)* reflects أَجْر and is probably from (full grade) *ā-jarīā-, rather than from pass. (zero grade) *ā-jrja- (more likely outcome *ā-grja-), as assumed by Hasandoust, l.c. || NP *žağar* ‘out-cry’ is probably a borrowing from Sogdian, Hasandoust, l.c.

•NEIR: Oss. I. *qaryn/qard*, D. *ğarun/ğard* ‘to appeal to; shout; to implore, demand’, I. *qær*, D. *ğær* ‘noise, shout’, Pash. *yarēdəl* ‘to chatter’ || (+ *uz- ?) ? Sh. *žār-/žārt* ‘to crackle, crack’, ? Sh. *ǰal-/ǰalt*, Bart. *ǰar-/ǰard*, Orosh. *žār-/žārt* ‘to sound, ring’ || (+ *ā-) Oss. *arğaw* ‘story’, I. *arğawyn/arğud*, D. *arğawun/arğud* (denomin.) ‘to perform a church service’ || (+ *upa-) Pash. *bayāra* ‘scream’

•MISC: Par. *jar-* ‘to say’

•SANSKRIT: *garī* ‘to praise, honour, welcome’ ⇒ *EWAia I*: 468

•PIE *g^werH- ‘to praise, say’ ⇒ *LIV*: 210 f. | *Pok.*: 478

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *grātus* ‘welcome, wished for’, Osc. *brateis* ‘gratiae’, Lith. *girtī*, OPr. *girtwei* ‘to praise’

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 26; *Abaev, Slovar’ I*: 65 f.; *Abaev, Slovar’ II*: 268, 293 f.; *EVS*: 110b, 38b; *DKS*: 198b f.; *Asatrian – Livshits*: 87; *Vahman – Asatrian 1991*: 107; *Werba 1997*: 284; *Hasandoust 2001-2002*: 33; *NEVP*: 61

***garH²** ‘to throw’

- AVESTAN: (+ *ni-) YAv. *niȳr-* ‘to throw down’. ◇ For a discussion of this hapax form see Kellens 1984: 164, nr. 4. Insler 1967: 259 proposes the emendation ^x*oȳnāire*, on which see *jan. ⇒ Liste: 19
- MED.; Pres. ā-?: IND. 3pl. YAv. *niȳrāire* (Yt 10.40)
- KHOTANESE: (+ *abi-, *ui-) *bīr-* ‘to throw, sow’. ◇ The connection with Lith. *beĩti*, Latv. *bēĩt* ‘to strew’, cited in SGS: l.c. and DKS: 237a, is less convincing, since the meaning of the Baltic forms is considered to be secondary, on which see Fraenkel I: 40. In addition, within Iranian, the Khot. verb has no further (certain) correspondences. || On the interpretation of OKh. *bīrāte* (Z 2.142, Z 5.106) see Maggi, SVK III: 116 ff. ⇒ SGS: 100 f.
- SOGDIAN: (+ *pati-) CSogd. *pcȳry-* ‘to bear, carry’
- Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. CSogd. *pcȳryt* {hapax}
- NWIR: ? NP *garzīn* ‘arrow’, ? Tt. (Sag.) *u-jīr* ‘lift !’ (*u-* prev. ‘up’). ◇ Schwartz, *Gs Henning*: 387 f. cites NP *garzīn* from the lexicographical source *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* in support of a rather obscure base **garz* ‘to bite, sting, prick’. Alternatively, *garzīn* can also be interpreted as *gar-zēn* *‘throwing weapon’?
- NEIR: ? Pash. (Afr.) *ȳārawul* ‘to throw’ (sec. *r*), ? Pash. *ȳər* (m.) ‘leap, jump’ || (+ *ā-) Pash. *āyar* ‘strings fitted to a bow’ = *āyār* (m.) ‘fitting an arrow to the bow-string ready to shoot’
- SANSKRIT: *gar¹* ‘to raise a weapon, lift the arm to hit’ ⇒ EWAia I: 470
- PIE **g^welH₁-* ‘to throw’ ⇒ LIV: 208 | Pok.: 471 f.
- IE COGNATES: Gr. βάλλω ‘I throw, hit’, βλήμα (n.) ‘throw, projectile’
- REFERENCES: *EVP*: 26 f.; Morgenstierne 1942: 262; Aslanov 1966: 61a; Yarshater 1969: 191; *NEVP*: 8

***garH³** ‘to steep, soak, moisten’

- SOGDIAN: (+ *aȳa-) BSogd. *wȳ’yr* (old caus.) ‘to soak, steep’, BSogd. *wȳ’yr* ‘soaking’ || (+ *uz-) CSogd. *zy’r* ‘moisture’
- (+ *aȳa-) Pres.: (?) INJ. 3sg. BSogd. *wȳ’yr’*
- CHORESMIAN: (+ *aȳa-) *wȳrY-* ‘to dive, sink in, seep’, *wȳ’ry-* (caus.) ‘to drown’ || (+ *uz-) *m/zyr-* ‘to leak, seep through’ || (+ *fra-) *šȳr-* ‘to become wet, moist, šȳ’ry- (caus.) ‘to make wet, moist’ (cf. Schwartz 1970: 292) ⇒ Samadi: 213, 263, 192, 191
- NWIR: (+ *ā-) NP *āǰištan/āǰār-* ‘to steep in blood’ (< Sogd. ?) || (+ *fra-) NP *farǰardan*, NP *farǰārīdan* ‘to moisten’, *farǰar* ‘river-bed’ (< Sogd.)
- NEIR: Oss. I. *qaryn/qard*, D. *ǰarun/ǰard* ‘to permeate, seep through (of liquid)’ || (+ *ā-) (old caus.) Sh. *ažār-* ‘to soak, wet (skin, clothes, etc.)’ || (+ *niž-) Sh. *nižār-/nižārd*, Rosh. *nižēr-/nižērd* ‘to soak, wet’, Wa. *nəž(y)ər-/nəž(y)ərd-*, *nəž(y)ər-/nəž(y)ərd* ‘to steep [of land, plants]’
- SANSKRIT: ? *gal* ‘to drip’ (class.) ⇒ EWAia I: 476 f.

•PIE *g^(w)eIH- ‘to drip, well’. ◇ The geminate *-ll-* found in the Germanic forms points to the presence of a laryngeal, on which see Lühr 1976: 92. ⇒ LIV: 207 | Pok.: 471f.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. /ku(ua)liya-/ ‘to flow; to run smoothly, be calmed’, OHG *quellan*, Engl. *to well*

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 51; *IIFL* II: 533a; Morgenstierne 1942: 266; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 268 f.; Abaev, *Slovar*’ III: 205 f.; *EVS*: 17b, 52a; Werba 1997: 282; Puhvel IV: 303 ff.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 251

*garH⁴ ‘to swallow’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *garō* (f. pl.) ‘throats’ (Yt 17.56), YAv. *aspō.garəm nərə.garəm* ‘who swallows horses (and) who swallows men’ (Y 9.11).. ◇ YAv. ^x*jar-* ‘to swallow’ (YAv. ^x*jarōiš* P22), as cited by Bartholomae, *AIW*: 512, does not exist, on which see Jamaspa – Humbach 1971: 45, fn. a.

•NWIR: Gz. *žārā/žār-*, Tr. *žārta/žār-* ‘to chew’, NP *žard* ‘gluttony’ (LW) || (+ *a_u-) ? Bal. *ugārit/ugār-* ‘to chew the cud, swallow, devour, devastate, misspend’. ◇ The etymology of Bal. *ugārit/ugār-* is unclear: Sims-Williams *apud* Shabakhsh suggests a connection with MP *ōgār-* (BMP *’wk’l-/ōgār-*) ‘to remove, expel’, but contamination with Si. *ugāraṇu* ‘to chew the cud’ seems quite likely, as observed by Shabakhsh. The older Bal. form might have been **ōgār-*?

•NEIR: Pash. *yārāy* ‘greedy, gluttonous’, ? Pash. *yur* (m.) ‘goitre’ || (+ *ā-) Pash. *ayér* (m.) ‘indigestion’ || (+ *uz-) M. *zəyāriy* ‘thirsty’ || (+ *ni-) Pash. *nɣar(d)-/nɣar-* ‘to swallow’ (with sec. *-r-*) || (+ *niž-) Oss. I. *nyqq_oyrn/nyqq_oyrd*, D. *niq(q)wærun /niq(q)ward²* ‘to swallow’ (contaminated with *q_oyr/qur* ‘throat’), Wa. *nəž(γ)ər-/nəž(γ)ərd-*, *nəž(γ)ər-/nəž(γ)ərd* ‘to swallow’

•SANSKRIT: *garí* ‘to devour, swallow’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 469

•PIE *g^werH₃- ‘to devour, consume (wholly)’ ⇒ LIV: 211 f. | Pok.: 474 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. βιβρώσκω ‘I eat, digest’, Lat. *vorāre* ‘to devour, to eat greedily’, OCS *po-žrěti* ‘to eat (of animals), to devour’, Lith. *gérti* ‘to drink’, etc.

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 26, 51; *IIFL* II: 533a, 275a; Morgenstierne 1942: 266; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 268 f., 205 f.; Abaev, *Slovar*’ III: 205 f.; *EVS*: 52a; *WIM II/1*: 87; Werba 1997: 180; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 251; Lecoq 2002: 128; *NEVP*: 8, 32, 56; Shabakhsh: s.v. *ugār-*

*garǰ¹ ? ‘to thunder, roar’

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *ggalj-* ‘to thunder’ ⇒ SGS: 28

•NEIR: Sh. *yurǰ-/yurǰd*, Orosh. *yurǰ-/yurǰd* ‘to grumble, scold’, ? Rosh. *ǰirǰd*, *ǰirēǰd*, Khf. *ǰirǰd*, *ǰirēǰd* ‘to squeak, scream, hiss, whine, etc’, ? Sangl. *ǰēž-/ǰēžəδ*, Ishk. *ǰeiž-/ǰeižəδ* ‘to say, speak’

•SANSKRIT: ? *garj* ‘to roar’ (Ep.+) ⇒ EWAia III: 154

◇ The root is onomatopoeic.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 395b; *EVS*: 37a, 39b; Werba 1997: 458; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 185

***garj² ?** ‘to assemble, gather’

•KHOTANESE: (+ *ham-) OKh. *hamgrīs-* ‘to assemble’, *hamga’j-*, *hamggalj-* (caus.) ‘to gather, assemble’ ⇒ SGS: 138, 136

◇ The postulation of this root is based solely on Khot. The Khot. forms may be connected with Gr. γέρρα (Hes.) ‘πολλά’, Lat. *grex*, *gregis* ‘group’, etc. (Pokorny: 382; LIV: 276). This is uncertain, as the precise meaning of the stem of the Khot. *ham-*formations is unknown.

•PIE ?

•REFERENCES: DKS: 440b f.

***garš¹** ‘to wind, turn (?)’

•SOGDIAN: (+ *uz-) BSogd. *zy’rš-* ‘to arise, happen’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *zy’ršt* {hapax}

•NWIR: Bal. *gāšīt*, *gašt/gāš-* ‘to be reversed’

•NEIR: (+ *apa- ?) ? Pash. *byarž* ‘return, coming back’

◇ The root seems to be an "enlarged" root, i.e. *so-formation, of ***gar²** ‘to turn, wind’. An IE origin cannot be ascertained.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 385 ff., 388

•REFERENCES: EVP: 14; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *gāš-/gaš-*

***garš² ?** ‘to knead, rub (?)’

•NWIR: NP *gāštah* ‘kneaded, mixed’ (< EIr., perhaps Sogd. ?) || (+ *ā-) ? NP *āgīštan/āgār-* ‘to impregnate; to mix; to soil’ (< EIr., perhaps Sogd. ?)

•NEIR: ? Pash. *yeṇ*, *yeṇ* (m.), Yi. *yīk^y* ‘penis’ || (+ *ā-) ? Pash. *āyažəl* ‘to mix, knead’ = *ayğ-/axx-* ‘to knead (dough), mix’ || (+ *fra-) Pash. *waryāṇay* ‘rubbing of a new-born child’ || (+ *ham-) M. *gūy-* ‘to knead’, ? M. *āgūng^y* ‘dough’. ◇ The inclusion of Pash. *yōšt* ‘millet, particles of rice ground and made into bread’ is rejected in NEVP: 8.

•SANSKRIT: *gharṣ* ‘to rub’ (Kauś.+) ⇒ EWAia I: 513

◇ This root is mainly confined to EIr. languages. The IE origin of the root, which has a Skt. correspondence, cannot be ascertained. ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 439 f.

•REFERENCES: EVP: 10; IIFL II: 211a, 212a, 189a; Werba 1997: 181; NEVP: 31, 8

***gart** ‘to turn’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *grd-*, BMP *glt-* /*gard-*/ ‘to revolve, turn; to become’ ⇒ DMMPP: 163b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *gltyt* /*gardēd*, 3pl. MMP *grdynd*; Partic.: pres. MMP *grd’g*; Inf.: caus. MMP *grdynydn*

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *ggal-* ‘to lie about’, *ggei(’l)s-* ‘to revolve, return’ || (+ *pati-) ? LKh. *pajsiṭh-* ‘to store away’ || (+ *ham-) **hamggaḍ-* (*hamggal-*, *hage-*) ‘to result;

develop', LKh. **hamgeils-* (*hamge'*-) 'to turn'. ◇ The LKh. forms, *gai'sāttā*, etc. 'he returned' appears to show contamination (< ? **ggei'sātā* + *ātā*), according to Bailey (apud SGS: 31). The reconstruction and etymology cited by Emmerick (SGS: 66) for LKh. *pa-jīsth-* (< **pa-ǰarθja-*), MMP *gyš-/gyšt-*, Pash. *yarəl* 'to twist, spin' is dubious. ⇒ SGS: 31, 66, 136, 138

•CHORESMIAN: *yr̥cy-* 'to roll; to get rid of; to smear with clay' || (+ **ati-*) *cyrcy-* (tr.) 'to roll down (a stone)', *cyrd* (intr.) 'to roll down'; ? *m/ncyr̥cy-* 'to gin (cotton) (with *n-* < **ni-* ?)' ⇒ Samadi: 79, 49, 119

•NWIR: Widely attested: NP *gaštan/gard-*, Tt. (Esh.) *gard/gahašt*, Anar. *getāye/gert-*, Meim. *be-ǰardaj-/a-ǰerd-*, Tr. *gelā(ya)/gel-*, Varz. *gartāye/gart-* 'to become, turn', NP *gardīdan* (< **ǰart-* ?), (Tadj.) *ǰelīdan* 'to roll' (LW, cf. Yghn. *ǰīl-*), Abyan. *va gelloyan*, Gil. (Rsht.) *va-gārd-* 'to re-turn', Awrom. *gelāy/gel-*, Gur. (Kand.) *gīl-/-(g)īl-* 'to go about, wander', Fariz. *-gālā-/gāl-*, Ham. *gārdayān/gārd-* 'to turn', *bār-ǰardayān/bār-e-ǰārd-*, Isfah. *ve-gārtān/ve-gārt-*, Natan. *vā gola* 'to re-turn', Mah. *gird-* 'to walk (around)', Nn. *girtā-/girt-* 'to become, be; to go round', Siv. *gīr(ī)/gīriā* (+ *vā*) 'to return', NP *gardānīdan/gardān-* (sec. caus.), Jow. *bam-ǰerna/a-ǰern-*, Meim. *bem-ǰarn-/a-ǰern-* 'to turn (a)round, change, alter, etc.', Awrom. *gehnāy/gehn-* 'to turn over; relate', Abyan. *gelloya/gell-*, Abz. *gelowa/gel-*, Qohr. *gelāda/gel-* 'to turn [tr.]' Yzd. (Zor.) *gīsūdīvūn, gīsōdīvūn* 'to turn'

•NEIR: Pash. *yaḫt-/yar-* 'to twist, spin, turn', Yghn. *ǰīl-/ǰīlta* 'to roll; to flow quietly', Ishk. *ǰurs-* (inch.) 'to turn', Sariq. *ǰirs-/ǰerd* 'to revolve, go round, cross a pass' (LW ?), ? Sangl. *ǰart-*, *ǰort-/ǰošt* 'to walk about' (< early NP ?), ? Wa. *ǰyrt-/ǰort-* 'to gather; to roll; to heap'

•MISC: Orm. *gal-/galōk* 'to weave' = *gal-/galók, galaw-/galawók*

◇ The Ir. root with no exact IE correspondences seems to be an enlarged root of **garz*². It has probably been influenced by **ǰart*.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 385

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 83b, 142a, 145a; *EVP*: 27 f.; *IIFL* I: 394b; *KPF* II: 219; Christensen, *Contributions*: I: 60, 166, 256; *IIFL* II: 524, 395a; Abrahamian 1936: 108, 133; Lambton 1938: 41b f., 78b; Andreev – Peščereva: 258a; MacKenzie 1966: 95; Yarshater 1969: 182; *EVS*: 37a, 60b; Lecoq 1974: 60; *WIM* III: 108; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 191; Lecoq 2002: 122, 125, 127 (etc., passim); Vahman – Asatrian 2002: 25; *NEVP*: 32; Kiefer 2003: 196

**garz* 'to lament, weep'

•AVESTAN: *gərəz-* 'to lament, weep' ⇒ Liste: 19f.

Pres. {1} athem.: IND. med. 1sg. OAv. *gərəzōi/gərəzē* (Y 32.9, Y 46.2), INJ. med. 3sg. OAv. *gərəždā* (Y 29.1); Pres. {2} athem. red.: INJ. 3pl. OAv. (tr.!) *jīgərəzaṭ* (Y 32.13); Pres. {3} them.: IND. med. 3sg. YAv. *gərəzaite* (Yt 10.53), OPT. med. 3sg. YAv. *gərəzaēta* (Yt 17.57 ff.); Partic.: pres. {1} YAv. **gərəzāna-*

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *gry-*, BMP *gl(y)dy-* /*griy-*/ ‘to weep’ (< OP **grad-ya-*) || BMP *glc-* /*garz-*/ ‘to weep, lament’ (LW) || (+ **upa-*) MMP ‘*bgryšn* ‘moaning, crying’ ⇒ DMMPP: 164a, 10b

Well attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP *gryym*, 3sg. MMP *gryyd*, 1pl. MMP *gryy'm*, 3pl. MMP *gryynd*, BMP *glydynd*, *gldynd* /*griyēnd*/, BMP *gcynd* /*garzēnd*/, SUBJ. 1sg. MMP *gryy'n*, etc.

•PARTHIAN: *grzyšn* ‘complaint’ ⇒ DMMPP: 165b

•BACTRIAN: γιρζ- ‘to complain’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 189a

•NWIR: NP *girīstan/girīy-* ‘to weep’, NP *gilah* ‘complaint; lamentation’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *girižīn/giriž-* ‘to be grumpy, grumble, growl’, Awrom. *girawāy/giraw-* (LW), Bakht. *girēvistan* ‘to weep, cry’, Gz. *grīye* ‘weeping, lamenting’, Siv. *ger-*, *gir-/gērd*, *gird* ‘to lament’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *qærzyn/qærzt*, D. *ǰærzun/ǰærzt* ‘to groan’, Oss. I. *qast*, D. *ǰast* (orig. ppp. ?) ‘complaint, grief’

•SANSKRIT: *garh* ‘to complain’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 475, 495

◇ An IE origin of this common IIr. root is uncertain. The Germanic and Irish forms cited by Pokorny (l.c.), OHG *chlagā* ‘complaint’, *chlagōn* ‘to complain’ (etc.) and OIrish *glám* ‘cry, curse’, are probably from a substrate source, on which see Boutkan – Siebinga: 216.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 187 | Pok.: 350 f.

•IE COGNATES: –

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 208, 204; MacKenzie 1966: 95; Abaev, *Slovar'* II: 296 f., 269 f.; *WIM* II/2: 668; Vahman – Asatrian 1987: 90; *WIM* III: 108; Werba 1997: 179; Cabolov 2001: 386

*gau (*jau) ‘to increase’

•AVESTAN: *gu-* (? *gāu-*) ‘to increase’ ⇒ Liste: 20

Pres. *nu-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *gūnaoti* (Yt 10.16); Aor. *s-*: INJ. 3sg. ? OAv. *gāuš* (Y 32.8). ◇ The vowel *-ū-* of *gūnaoti* is long in position, cf. De Vaan 2003: 285 f. || On the interpretation of OAv. *gāuš* see Kellens 1984a: 277, fn. 20.

•OLD PERSIAN: (+ **abi-*) *abiyajāv-* ‘to promote, increase, add to’ ⇒ Kent: 185a

Caus.: impf. IND. 1sg. *abiyajāvayam* <a-b-i-j-a-v-y-m> (XPf 40), <a-b-i-y-j-a-v-y-m> (XPg 9)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **abi-*) MMP ‘*bzw-*, BMP ‘*pzw-* /*abzū-*/ ‘to increase [intr.]’, MMP ‘*bz'y-* (caus.) ‘to increase, add [tr.]’ ⇒ DMMPP: 18

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP ‘*bzwyd*, MMP ‘*bzwyd*, SUBJ. 1sg. MMP ‘*bzw'n*, 3sg. MMP ‘*bzw'd*, 3pl. MMP ‘*bzw'nd*, etc.

•PARTHIAN: (+ **abi-*) ‘*bg()*w- ‘to increase’ || (+ **fra-*) *frg'w* ‘wealth, treasure’ || (+ **ui-*) *wzw-* ‘to die (of plant); go out, be extinguished (of lamp)’, *wz'w-* (caus.) ‘to extinguish’ || (+ **ham-*) ‘*ngw-* ‘to find rest, remain’, ‘*ng'w-* (caus.) ‘to end, make an end’ ⇒ Ghilain: 76, 66, 48a | DMMPP: 10a, 154b, 362b, 47b

(+ **abi-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. ‘*bywyd*, ‘*bgwyd*, 3pl. ‘*bgwynd*; Caus.: pres. SUBJ. 2sg. ‘*bg'w'h*, 3sg. ‘*bg'w'h*, IMPV. 2pl. ‘*bg'wyd* || (+ **ui-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *wzwyd* ‘wilts’, *wzwynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *wzwd*; Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. ‘*wyz'wyd*, 1pl. *wyz'w'm*, *wyz'wynd* || (+ **ham-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. ‘*ngwyd*, 3pl. ‘*ngwynd*,

SUBJ. 1sg. ? ^x'ngw'n, 'ngw'n; Partic.: perf. pass. 'ngwd; Caus.: pres. SUBJ. 1sg. 'ng'w'n, IMPV. 2pl. 'ng'wyd, partic. II 'ng'w'd

•KHOTANESE: *gvāna-* 'growth; at all', *guāna* 'at all'

•SOGDIAN: CSogd. *γwn-* 'to increase' || (+ **abi-*) BSogd. *βz'w*, BSogd. *'βz''w*, CSogd. *bž'w*, MSogd. *βj'w* 'to increase' || (+ **fra-* or **pari-*) SSogd. *pry'w* (m.), BSogd. *pry'w* 'wealth, riches'

Partic.: pres. CSogd. *γwnnc* (f.) 'increasing' || (+ **abi-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *βz'wt*, BSogd. *'βz''wt*, OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *'βz'w'y*, IMPV. 2sg. CSogd. *bž'w*, MSogd. *βj'w*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **fra-*) *šy'wcyk* (m.) 'profit'

•BACTRIAN: (+ **abi-*) *αβζαο-* 'to increase, prosper' || (+ **fra-*) *φρογαοαμο*, *φρογαυο*, *φρογαοο* 'profit' ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 173b, 230b

•NWIR: (+ **abi-*) NP *afzūdan/afzāy-* 'to increase'

•NEIR: (+ **fra-*) Oss. I. *ræḡaw*, D. *æḡaw* 'herd, cattle'

•MISC: (+ **fra-*) Toch. (LW) A *pārko*, B *pārkaū* 'benefit, advantage, profit'

◇ An IE provenance for this root cannot be established convincingly.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: 188 | Pok.: 403 f.

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar'* II: 368 f.; Nyberg II: 26b; *DKS*: 96a

*gaub 'to say (positively/negatively)'

•OLD PERSIAN: *gaub-* (med.) 'to call oneself' ⇒ Kent: 182b

MED.; Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. *gaubataiy* <g-u-b-t-i-y> (DB 2.21 |, DB 2.31, DB 2.51, etc.), impf. 3sg. *agaubatā* <a-g-[u]-[b]-[t]-a> (DB 1.84), <a-g-u-b-t-a> (DB 1.93, DB 3.35, DB 3.55), <a-g-u-b-t-a> (DB 2.66), <a-g-u-b-t-[a]> (DB 3.89), 3pl. *agauba'tā* <[a]-[g]-u-[b]-t-a> (DB 2.93), SUBJ. 3sg. *gaubataiy* <g-u-b-a-t-i-y> (DB 2.84), <[g]-u-b-a-t-i-y> DB 3.86)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *gw-*, BMP *gwb-* /*gō(w)-* 'to say, speak' ⇒ DMMPP: 166af.

Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP *gwym*, 3sg. MMP *gwyd*, BMP *gwby* /*gōwēd*/, 3pl. MMP *gwynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. MMP *gw'n*, *gww'n*, 3sg. MMP *gw'd*, 1pl. MMP ^x*gw'm*, 3pl. MMP *gw'nd*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *gw-'m* 'say to me', MMP *gw*; Partic.: pres. MMP *gw'g'n* pl., MMP *gw'n*, perf. pass. MMP *gwpt*, *gwpt̄*, *gwft*, *gwft̄*, sec. MMP ^x*gwp̄yhyst*; Inf.: MMP *gwptn*, MMP *gwftn*

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *gguph-* 'to dispraise, abuse' ⇒ SGS: 29

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *γwβ-*, CSogd. *γwb-*, MSogd. *γwβ-* 'to praise' || (+ **pati-*) MSogd. *pcγwβ-* 'to praise'

Pres.: OPT. 3pl. BSogd. *γwβ'ynt*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *γwb*; Partic.: pres. MSogd. *γwβnyt*, perf. pass. CSogd. *γwbt̄*, CSogd. *γwbc* (f.); Inf.: BSogd. *γwβ'y*, pret. BSogd. *γwβ't̄*; Pass.: perf. intr. IND. 3sg. MSogd. *γwβtyy xcy* || (+ **pati-*) Pass.: pres. SUBJ. 3sg. MSogd. *pcγwβtyh β't̄*

•CHORESMIAN: *γwβ(y)-* 'to praise oneself, boast, be proud' ⇒ Samadi: 82

•BACTRIAN: *γoβ-* 'to make a (legal) statement, invoke (the law)' ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 189a

•NWIR: NP *guftan/gōy-*, Kurd. (Kur.) *gōtin*, *guhtin* (supplet.) *bēž-*, (Sor.) *gutin*, *kutin* (supplet.) *fē-*, Shamerz. *-gōt-/gún-* 'to speak'

•NEIR: (+ *uz-) Wa. *zgiv-/zgivd* ‘to howl (of dogs)’, Sariq. *zbigiw-* ‘to bark’ (< Wa.?)

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *govem* ‘I praise’

◇ No IE etymology.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 206; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 162; Nyberg II: 85; DKS: 86b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 436; Cabolov 2001: 396

*gaud ‘to cover’

•PARTHIAN: (+ *apa-) *’bgwnd* ‘to uncover, reveal’ || (+ *fra-) *’xfr’gwnd-* ‘to cover, muffle’ || (+ *ni-) *ngwnd-* ‘to cover, veil, cothe, hide’ ⇒ Ghilain: 83 | DMMPP: 10a, 153b, 241a

(+ *apa-) Pres.: IND. 2sg. *’bgwndyy*, 3sg. *’bgwndyd*, *’bgwndyyd*, 3pl. *’bgwndynd*, IMPV. 2sg. *’bgwnd*, *’bywnd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *’bgwst*, *’x’bgwstg* || (+ *fra-) Pres.: IND. 3pl. *’xfr’gwndynd* || (+ *ni-) Pres.: SUBJ. 1sg. *ngwnd’n*, IMPV. 2sg. *ngwnd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *nywst*, *ngwst*, *ngwstg*

•KHOTANESE: (+ *uz-) *uysgun-* (*uysg(a)us-*) ‘to uncover, open’ || (+ *pati-) OKh. *pajud-* (*pajut-*) || (+ *ham-) LKh. *hamgun-* ‘to cover up’ ⇒ SGS: 15, 65, 137

•SOGDIAN: MSogd. *ryt-γwwδ* ‘face cover’ (*Sogdica*: 25, 39) || (+ *apa-) BSogd. *py’wnt* ‘to discover’, MSogd. *p’γwyδ* ‘to be revealed’ || (+ *ā-) BSogd. *’γwnt*, CSogd. *’γwnt*, MSogd. *’γwnd/’γwst* ‘to cover, dress’ || (+ *pati-) BSogd. *ptyws-* ‘to cover’, CSogd. *ptywnt* ‘to cover, hide’, MSogd. *ptywδ* ‘to conceal’ || (+ *ni-) BSogd. *ny’wnt*, (caus.) CSogd. *nywynt* ‘to dress, put on (clothes)’

(+ *apa-) Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *p’γwyδ* || (+ *ā-) Pres.: PREC. 1sg. MSogd. *’γwndytww* ‘may I cover/anoint’, IMPV. 2sg. BSogd. *’γwnt*, Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *m’γwnt* || (+ *pati-) Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *ptywnt*, Perf.: tr. IND. 3sg. BSogd. *ptywstk δ’rt*; Partic.: pres. MSogd. *ptywδyy* (BBB: 36), (pl.) MSogd. *ptywδyʿ* ‘concealing’, perf. pass. BSogd. *ptywstk*, CSogd. *ptywst-*, CSogd. *ptywc* (f.) ‘hidden’; Pass.: perf. intr. IND. 3sg. MSogd. *ptywstyxy xcy* ‘is hidden’ || (+ *ni-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *ny’wnt*, 3pl. BSogd. *ny’wnt’nt*, Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *nyγwntw*; Caus.: impf. IND. 3pl. CSogd. *nyγwynt*

•CHORESMIAN: ? *mxy-* ‘[according to Arab. transl.] to crawl, creep ?; [according to NP transl.] to disappear ?’ || (+ *apa-) *bxy-* (inch./intr.) ‘to appear, become clear; [hapax, euphemism ?, different pref. ?] to defecate’, *bywnd-* (caus.) ‘to uncover, reveal, make clear; to acknowledge’ || (+ *ā-) *’γwδ* ‘cover(ing)’ || (+ *pati-) *pjyd-* ‘to be constipated, blocked’ || (+ *pari-) *prxy-* ‘to be concealed, unclear’ || (+ *ni-) *m/nxy-* ‘to be hidden’, *m/nywnd-* (caus.) ‘to cover, disguise; to dress’ ⇒ Samadi: 242, 18, 31, 140, 158, 126

•NWIR: Bal. *gud* ‘clothes, cloth’, Sang. *gut* ‘tent’ || (+ *apa-) NP *waγust-/wağund-*, (Herat) *vağust-/vağund-* ‘to reveal’ (< Elr., Taffazoli *apud* Gharib 1975: 256.)

•NEIR: (+ *ā-) Oss. I. *ağyndyn/ağyst* ‘to cover a building’, Pash. *āyustəl/āyund-* ‘to dress’ = *ayund/ayust-* ‘to put on, don’, M. *āyud-/āyust-*, Yi. *āyud-/āyust-* ‘to be dressed’ || (+ *pari-) Sh. (Baj.) *paryand-/paryust* ‘to put on a dress, be covered (with

a blanket)’ || (+ *ni-) Yghn. *nuḡunt-/nuḡust*, Yzgh. *nəγ^wand-/nəγ^wost* ‘to put on clothes’

•MISC: (+ *ā-) Par. *āḡun-/āḡust-* ‘to dress, put on’ || (+ *pari-) Orm. *paryán-/paryánōk* ‘to dress oneself’ = *porḡon-/porḡonók*

◇ The genuine verbal stem from the root **gaud* is **gunda-* (with nasal infix), whereas **gauda-* is the corresponding full grade nominal formation, on which see Gharib 1975: 254 f.

•PIE **g^heud^h-* ‘to hide’ ⇒ LIV: 199, 542 f. | Pok.: 450, 952

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *κεύθω* ‘I hide’

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 9; *IIFL* I: 232a, 404b; *IIFL* II: 189a; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 38 f.; Andreev – Peščereva: 296a f.; Azami – Windfuhr: 511; *EVS*: 47b, 58a; Gharib 1975: 247 ff.; *DKS*: 38b, 442a; Kiefer 2003: 203; *NEVP*: 8.

***gauH** ‘to call on, upon, invoke’

•PARTHIAN: (+ *ham-) *’ng’w-* ‘to end, make an end’. ◇ The Parthian formation derives its meaning ‘to end’ from the completion of the (ceremonial) invocation. Diff. Ghilain, l.c.: ***jau** ‘to increase’. ⇒ Ghilain: 76 | DMMP: 47b

Pres.: SUBJ. 1sg. *’ng’w’n*, IMPV. 2pl. *’ng’wyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *’ng’w’d*

•CHORESMIAN: *ḡwy-* ‘to praise’ ⇒ Samadi: 82 f.

•NEIR: (+ *ā-fra- ?) ? Oss. I. *arḡawyn/arḡōyd*, D. *arḡawun/arḡud* ‘to perform a church service; [D.] to read’ || (+ *ham-) Oss. I. *æmḡōyd*, D. *æḡud* ‘term, date’. ◇ The meaning of Oss. I. *æmḡōyd*, D. *æḡud* may have developed from ‘appointment’, i.e. ‘fixed date of a call, invocation’. The prefixation is not old, cf. Cheung 2002: 161 f. Also the East Iranian forms, Chor. *γd* ‘term’ and Sogd. *’ny’w* ‘hurry’, cited by Abaev, l.c., have a different origin: < ***gam** ‘to come’.

•SANSKRIT: *gav⁽ⁱ⁾* ‘to call upon, invoke (ritually, at a sacrifice)’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 478

•PIE **geuH₂-* ‘to call upon’ ⇒ LIV: 189 | Pok.: 403

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *γοῶω* ‘I lament, complain’, OHG *gi-kewen* ‘to call’

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 80a f.; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 65 f., 144; Werba 1997: 346

***gauš** ‘to hear, listen to’

•AVESTAN: *gūš-* ‘to hear, listen to’ ⇒ Liste: 20

MED.; Pres. athem.: INJ. 3sg. OAv. *gūštā* (cf. Kellens – Pirart 1990: 239; Y 31.18 f.); Aor. them.: INJ. 3sg. OAv. *gūšatā* (Y 29.8), IMPV. 2sg. OAv. *gūšahuā* (Y 49.7), 2pl. OAv. *gūšō.dūm* (Y 45.1); Partic.: pres. caus. YAv. *gūšaiiat^o* (<< **gaoš^o*, Yt 13.16)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *gwš* ‘ear’ || (+ *ni-) MMP *nywš-*, BMP *n(y)dw(h)š-/niyōš-* ‘to hear’ ⇒ DMMP: 168a, 255b

(+ *ni-) Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *nywšynd*, BMP *ndwhšynd /niyōšēnd/*, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *nywš'nd*, IMPV. 2sg. BMP *ndwš /niyōš/*, 2pl. MMP *nywšyd-yš* 'hear it/him'; Inf.: BMP *nywhšyt /niyōšīdan/*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *ndwhšyt*, BMP *nydwhšyt /niyōšīd/*

•PARTHIAN: *gwš* 'ear' || (+ *apa-) 'bgwš 'silent' (Henning 1958: 110) || (+ *uz-) (LW) 'zgwł-' 'to listen' || (+ *ni-) *ngwš-* 'to hear'. ◇ The change Ir. *š > l in 'zgwł-' seems to point to borrowing from an Elr. source, cf. Henning, *BSOAS* 10: 100; Morgenstierne *apud* Mayhofer 1966: 164. ⇒ Ghilain: 66 | DMMPP: 168a, 10b, 101b, 241a

(+ *ni-) Pres.: IND. 2sg. *ngwš'*, SUBJ. 2sg. *ngwš'h*, 3sg. *ngwš'*, IMPV. 2sg. *ngwš-*, 2pl. *ngwšyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *ngwš'd*

•KHOTANESE: (+ *pati-) OKh. *pyūš-* (*pyūš'*) 'to hear' (+ *ham-) LKh. *hamggūš-* 'to heed' ⇒ SGS: 87, 138

•SOGDIAN: (+ *pati-) SSogd. *ptywš*, BSogd. *pty'wš*, CSogd. *ptywš*, MSogd. *ptywš* 'to hear' || (+ *ni-) SSogd. *nywš*, BSogd. *ny'wš*, CSogd. *nywš*, MSogd. *nywš* 'to hear, listen'

(+ *pati-) *Widely attested*: Pres.: IND. 1sg. SSogd. *ptywš'm*, SSogd. (^š)*pt.γwšm*, dur. CSogd. ^š*ptywšmsq*, 2sg. SSogd. *ptywšy*, 3sg. BSogd. *pty'wšt*, BSogd., CSogd. *ptywšt*, etc. || (+ *ni-) *Widely attested*: Pres.: IND. 3pl. BSogd. *ny'wš'nt*, OPT. 2sg. MSogd. *nywšyy*, 3sg. CSogd. *nywšy*, 1pl. CSogd. *nywšym*, 2pl. BSogd. *ny'wš'yδ*, IMPV. 2sg. SSogd. *ny'wš*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: -*ywsy-* (+ *hrd-*, s.v. **har-*) 'to warn' || (+ *apa-) *byws-* 'to be quiet' || (+ *ni-) *m/nywš-* 'to hear', *m/nywsy-* (caus.) 'to cause to hear' ⇒ Samadi: 91 f., 19, 126

•NWIR: NP *gōšīdan/gōš-* 'to hear, listen', Bal. *gōšit/gōš-* 'to listen', NP *gōš*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *gu(h)* (m.), (Sor.) *gwē*, Zaz. *gōš* 'ear'

•NEIR: Oss. I. *qus*, D. *gos*, Pash. *ywaž*, Sh. *γūž*, (Baj.) *γūw*, Rosh. *γōw*, Bart. *γū^w*, Sariq. *yewl*, Yzgh. *yəvon* 'ear', Rosh. *yawōj* (f.) 'ear, handle of a vessel' || (+ *pati-) Yghn. *dūyūš-/dūyūšta* 'to hear' || (+ *ni-) Pash. *nyāž-/nyutəl*, *nywatəl* 'to obey, listen', Sh. *niyūž-/niyužt*, (Baj.) *niyaw-/niyužt*, Rosh. *niyūy-/niyužt*, Bart. *niyū(w)-/niyūžt*, Orosh. *niyū(w)-/niyūyd*, Yzgh. *nəyu^w-/nəyužt*, Yi. *nəyūy-/nəyūšč-*, M. *nəyūy-/nəyūšk^y* 'to listen' || (+ *ui-) Oss. I. *q_oysyn/q_oyšt*, D. *iğusun/iğust* 'to be heard', Oss. I. *q_usyn/q_uyšt*, D. *iğosun/iğust* (caus.) 'to hear, listen'

•SANSKRIT: *ghoṣ* 'to sound' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 518

◇ Cognate forms outside IIr. are not attested.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: 200 | Pok.: 454

•IE COGNATES: –

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 210; *EVP*: 51; *IIFL*: 231b; Andreev – Peščereva: 249; *EVS*: 35b, 48a; Abaev, *Slovar*' II: 334, 316 ff.; Nyberg II: 84; Werba 1997: 180; Cabolov 2001: 397 f.; *NEVP*: 56; Korn 2005: 290, 399; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *gōš-*

***gauz** ‘to hide, conceal’

•AVESTAN: YAV. *guz-* ‘to hide, conceal’ ⇒ Liste: 20

MED.; Pres. them.: IND. impf. 1sg. YAV. *aguze* (Yt 17.55 f.), OPT. 3sg. YAV. *guzaēta* (Yt 4.4), ? 3pl. YAV. *fraguzaiianta* (Yt 17.55 f.). ◇ Hoffmann – Forssman 1996: 186f. analyse YAV. *fraguzaiianta* differently: pres. *aja-* (with the zero grade root).

•OLD PERSIAN: (+ **apa-*) *apagaud-* ‘to conceal, hide away’ ⇒ Kent: 182b

Caus.: INJ. 2sg. *apagaudaya* < a-p-g-u-d-y-> (DB 4.54), SUBJ. 2sg. *apagaudayāhy* < a-p-g-[u]-d-[y]-[a]-h-y> (DB 4.55), < a-p-g-u-d-y-a-h-y> (4.57)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *gwc* /*gōz*/ ‘walnut’

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ni-*) *ngwz-* ‘to hide, disappear’ ⇒ Ghilain: 64 | DMMPP: 241b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *ngwzyd*, 3pl. *ngwzynd*, IMPV. 2sg. *ngwz*; Inf.: *ngwz’dn*

•SOGDIAN: (+ **apa-*) BSogd. *’pyw’yz*, CSogd. *pywš-* (pret. stem) ‘to conceal’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *’pyw’yzt*; Pret.: tr. 3sg. f. CSogd. *pywšt’*; Partic.: perf. pass. CSogd. *pywšty* (m.) ‘concealed’

•NWIR: NP *gōz* ‘(wal)nut; fart’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *gōz*, *gūz* (f.), (Sor.) *gwēz* ‘walnut’ (also *aqūza*, *anqūza*). ◇ In modern Persian parlance, the "arabicized" form *jōz* for ‘(wal)nut’ has replaced *gōz*, which now exclusively means ‘fart’, but note Sh. *jāy* ‘a dumb fart’ (EVS: 39a).

•NEIR: Oss. I. *q_oyzyn/q_oyzt* (*q_oyzyd*), D. *ǰuzun/ǰuzt* ‘to crouch’, Pash. *ūȳz* (m.), Sh. *yūz*, (Baj.), Bart., Rosh. *yūz* (f.), Sariq. *yewz*, Yzgh. *yəz* ‘walnut’ || (+ **apa-*) Yghn. *būyūnč-*, *būyūnj-*/*būyūšta* ‘to steal’ || (+ **ā-*) Yi. *oyūzo* ‘walnut’ || (+ **pari-*) ? Wa. *pərgəš-/pərgəšt* ‘fall (into a trap), be stuck (into), entangled; to attain’ || (+ **ham-*) Oss. I. *ænguz*, D. *ængoæ* ‘walnut’

•MISC: (+ **ni-* ?) Georg. *nigoz-* ‘walnut’ (< Ir.)

•SANSKRIT: *goh* ‘to hide’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 502

◇ The root appears to be of IIr. origin: IE connections are uncertain. The following forms are mentioned as possible cognates: Lith. *gūžti* ‘to shelter, cover’, ON *gýgr* (f.) ‘female monster, giant’. According to Gippert 1993: 155 ff., the Ir. ‘walnut’ forms also contain the root ***gauz**. On the other hand, the different formations attested for ‘walnut’ perhaps indicate the adoption of a non-native word.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 199 | Pok.: 450

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 10; *IIFL* II: 534b, 189b; Andreev – Peščereva: 234a; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 160 f.; *EVS*: 38a; Abaev, *Slovar’* II: 336 f.; Werba 1997: 178; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 276; Cabolov 2001: 409 f.; *NEVP*: 8

***gaz ?** ‘to bite, sting’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *gc-* /*gaz-* ‘to sting’ (LW)

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *gcyt/gazēd*, SUBJ. 3sg. BMP *gc’t/gazād*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *gcyt/gazīd*

•PARTHIAN: ^x*gšṭ* (pret. stem) ‘to bite’ ⇒ Ghilain: 96 | DMMPP: 170b

•NWIR: NP *gazīdan*, Kurd. *gastin*, *gazīn/gaz-*, Nn. *gisā/giz-*, Siv. *gāz-/gāze* ‘to bite; sting’, Bal. *gassit*, *gast/gass-* (inch.) ‘to bite, sting, wear out’, NP *-gaz* ‘biting, pungent’, *gazā* ‘a biting serpent’, Zaz. *gāz* (f.), Abz. *gōz*, Varz. *gize* ‘bite, sting’

•NEIR: (+ *ā-) ? Pash. *āyzi* ‘thorn’ = *ayzáy*, *azyáy* (m.) || (+ *ham-, *abi- ?) ? Oss. I. *æŋqævzyn/æŋqævzt*, D. *ævġæzun/ævġazt* ‘to gurgle, run out [of water]’ (with irreg. metathesis ?, sec. pref. ?)

◇ The root is exclusively Iranian. The suggestions of Korn 2005: 80, fn. 27 (derivation from IE **geġ^h*- ‘to enter, seep in’, Skt. *gāh-*) and Bailey, *DKS*: 349a (IE **geġ^h*- ‘prick, sting’) are either semantically (Korn) or formally (Bailey) unconvincing.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 146a; *EVP*: 10; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 164; *WIM* III: 106; Paul 1998: 298a; Cabolov 2001: 372; Lecoq 2002: 594a, 678b; *NEVP*: 8; Shabbakhsh: s.v. *gass-*; Korn 2005: 80, 316, 397

*gāz ‘to accept, receive’

•KHOTANESE: (+ *pati-) *pajāys-* ‘to enjoy; accept’. ◇ On the Khot. form *pajāys-* see Emmerick, *Fs Humbach*: 77. ⇒ SGS: 64

•SOGDIAN: (+ *pati-) 1. SSogd. *pcy’z* ‘to promise ?’, BSogd. *pcy’z*, CSogd. *pcy’z* ‘to receive, take, accept’, || 2. secondary ? CSogd. *pcxš-* ‘to take, hold, receive’ (cf. Sims-Williams 1984: 54, no. 29), MSogd. *ptcxš-* ‘to take, hold, receive’ || (+ *para-) SSogd. *pry’š-*, BSogd. *pry’š-*, CSogd. *pryyž* ‘to deprive’ || (+ *fra-) MSogd. *βry’z* ‘grasping, extending (of hands), [Tk. transl.] *sunup*’ (*Sogdica*: 64 ad 11)

Widely attested: 1. Pres.: IND. 3sg. dur. CSogd. *pcy’zntq*, OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *pcy’z’y*, 3pl. SSogd. *pcy’zy’nt*, IMPV. 2sg. BSogd. *pcy’z* CSogd. *pcy’z*, 2pl. BSogd. *pcy’zδ*, CSogd. *pcy’zθ*, etc. || *Widely attested*: 2. Pres.: IND. 1sg. MSogd. *pcxšm-skwn* (*BBB*: 41), 3pl. CSogd. *pcxšnt*, OPT. 1sg. MSogd. *pcxšym*, IMPV. 2sg. SSogd. *ptcxš*, SSogd. *pcxš’*, 2pl. SSogd. *pcxšδt*, MSogd. *ptcxšδ* (*BBB*: 50), etc. || (+ *para-) Pres.: IRR. 3sg. CSogd. *pryyžty*, IMPV. 2pl. CSogd. *pryyžt*; Partic.: perf. pass. SSogd. *pry’štw*, BSogd. *pry’štk*, CSogd. *pry’šty*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *pati-) *pcy’z-* ‘to accept, enjoy’. ◇ The Chor. form *pcy’z-* does not mean ‘*werben, anhalten (um die Hand)*’, as assigned by Samadi, but rather ‘to accept’. As for the etymology see Henning 1936: 34. ⇒ Samadi: 139

•BACTRIAN: (+ *ni-) ? *ναγατ-* (pret. stem) ‘to receive’ ? || (+ *ham-) ? *αγγιτ-* (pret. stem) ‘to receive’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact*: 207b, 177a

•NEIR: (+ *pati-) Wa. *пыч(ы)z-/počost-*, *počozd-* ‘to ask, wish; to give back’ || (+ *ui-) ? Oss. I. *qæst*, D. *iġæstæ* ‘receiving something minuscule, hardly attempting something, hardly touched something’

◇ The root is exclusively East Iranian.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 297 f.; *DKS*: 199a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 282 f.

***gnaič** ? ‘to gnaw, chew’

•AVESTAN: (+ *abi-) YAv. *aīβi.ynixta-* (ppp.) ‘gnawed, chewed on’ (V)

◇ The Av. form is isolated. It might be connected, notably, to the Germanic *gnawing* forms (ON *gnaga*, OSax. *gnagan*, *knagan*, OE *gnagan*, etc.), despite the obvious phonological difficulties.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 436

•REFERENCES: AIW: 89

***gnauH** ‘to sleep, slumber’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *aua- ?) BMP *ʾwnʾd /ōnāy-* ‘to slumber’. ◇ The MP form is attested in a Psalter text, cf. Henning 1971: 20b.

•SOGDIAN: CSogd. *ynʾw* ‘to slumber’ {hapax}

Pres.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *ynʾwt* ‘slumbers’

•CHORESMIAN: *m/ynʾs-* ‘to slumber’ (see Sims-Williams 1989: 261) ⇒ Samadi: 78

•NWIR: NP *ḡunav-/ḡunūdan* ‘to slumber’ (LW)

◇ The root appears to be regional, i.e. East Iranian. The Persian form is probably of eastern origin.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

***grabH** ‘to grab, seize, take’

•AVESTAN: *grab-* (*gərəb-*) ‘to grab, seize, take’ || (+ *ā-) ‘to grab (to)’ || (+ *uz-) ‘to lift, raise; to stretch out; to take out’ || (+ *fra-) ‘to seize; to accept, receive’ || (+ *ham-) ‘to seize (with the hands)’. ◇ YAv. *gərəpta-* forms are very late, being transposed from BMP /*griftan*/. ⇒ Liste: 20f.

Pres. {1} *nā-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *gərəβnāiti* (Yt 10.13), 3pl. YAv. **fragraβnənti* (Yt 10.104), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. **gərəβnāt* (F 21), 3pl. YAv. *gərəβnañ* (Y 57.25); Pres. {2} *aja-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *haṅgəuruuāiieiti* (Y 10.2), 3pl. med. YAv. *uzgəuruuāiieinte* (Yt 13.147), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *gəuruuāiīāt* (He 5.65), med. YAv. *haṅgəuruuāiīata* (Yt 19.35 ff.), 3pl. YAv. *fəṛā gəuruuāin* (Y 28.0), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *gəuruuāiīāt* (Yt 8.60, Yt 14.52), YAv. *uzgəuruuāiīāt* (V 19.23, V 19.25), 3pl. YAv. *auua.gəuruuāiñ* (Yt 11.6), YAv. *haṅgəuruuāiñ* (V 6.29), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *gəuruuāiīōit*, IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *gəuruuāia* (Y 9.28); Pres. {3} *ta-*: IND. 3pl. *gərəptaiieinti* (Vn 80), SUBJ. 3sg. *uzgərəptaiīāt* (FrK 16), YAv. *pərəgərəptaiīāt* (Nik 18), 3pl. YAv. *gərəptaiīanti* (Vn 80); Aor. {1} athem.: INJ. 1sg. OAv. *hōngrabəm* (Y 31.8); Aor. {2} *s-* (or pres. inch.): SUBJ. med. 1sg. YAv. *haṅgrəβsānē* (Yt 19.49, Yt 19.51); Perf.: IND. 1sg. YAv. **jayauruua* (H 2.8), 3sg. YAv. *ā.jayauruua* (N 54); Partic.: pres. {1} YAv. **ogərəβnañt-* (Fr.), aor. {2} med. YAv. *haṅgrəβsəmna-* (Yt 10.105), perf. ? YAv. *jāgərəβuš^o* (V 4.48)

•OLD PERSIAN: *grab-* ‘to seize (as possession), seize (as prisoner)’ ⇒ Kent: 183b

Pres. *āja-*: impf. IND. 1sg. *agr̥bāyam* <a-g-r-b-a-y-m> (DB 2.4, DB 4.7, DB 4.32), <a-g-r-b-a-y-[m]> (DNa 17), <[a]-g-r-b-a-y-[m]> (DSe 16), <a-g-r-b-a-[y]-m> (DZc 8), 3sg. *agr̥bāya* <a-g-r-b-a-y> (DB 2.88, DB 3.74, DB 5.12), <[a]-[g]-[r]-[b]-[a]-[y]> (DB 3.90), med. 3sg. *agr̥bāyatā* <a-g-r-b-a-y-t-a> (DB 1.42 f., DB 1.81), <a-g-r-b-a-y-t-a> (DB 3.82), 3pl. *agr̥bāyaⁿ* <a-g-r-b-a-y> (DB 2.13, DB 3.48 f.), <a-g-r-b-a-[y]> (DB 5.27); Pass.: impf. IND. 3sg. **agr̥biya* <a-g-r-b-i-y> (DB 2.73, v. Hoffmann 1956: 18)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *gyr-*, BMP *gyl-* (*OHDWN-*) /*gīr-*/ ‘to take, seize’ || (+ **pati-*) MMP *pdyr-* ‘to take, receive, accept’, BMP *ptgyl-* (*MKBLWN-*) /*padīr-*/ ‘to accept, receive’ ⇒ DMMPP: 170a, 272b

Pres.: SUBJ. 2sg. MMP *gyr’y*, 3sg. MMP *gyr’d*, 3pl. MMP *^xgyr’nd*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *gyr*, MMP *gyyr*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *^xgryptg*, MMP *grypt*, *grypt*, *gryft*, *gryft* || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP *pdyr’m*, MMP *pdyrym*, 3sg. MMP *pdryrđ*, BMP *ptglyt /padīrēd/*, 3pl. MMP *pdryynd*, MMP *pdrynd*, BMP *ptglynd /padīrēnd/*, SUBJ. 2sg. MMP *pdyr’y*, 3sg. MMP *pdyr’d*, 1pl. MMP *pdyr’m*, 3pl. MMP *pdyr’nd*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *pdyr*, 2pl. MMP *pdryrd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *pdryrft*, *pdryrpt*; Inf.: MMP *pdyrptn*, BMP *ptglptn /padīriftn/*

•PARTHIAN: *gyrw-* ‘to take, seize’, *grysp-* (pass./inch.) ‘to be taken, be held’ || (+ **uz-*) ‘*zgyrw-* ‘to take out’, ‘*zgrysp-* (pass./inch.) ‘to be removed, taken away, out’ || (+ **pati-*) *pdgyrw-* ‘to receive; take’ ⇒ Ghilain: 79, 89 | DMMPP: 170a f., 102a, 101b, 269a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *^xgyrwyd*, 3pl. *^xgyrwynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *gryft*; Pass.(/Inch.): pres. IND. 3pl. *gryspynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *gryysp’*, *grysp’h*; Inf.: *gryftn* || (+ **uz-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. ‘*zgyrwyd*, 3pl. ‘*zgyrwynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *^xzgyrw’n*, IMPV. 2sg. *^xzgyrw*, 2pl. ‘*zgyrwyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. ‘*zgyrft*, ‘*zgyrftg*, II inch. ‘*zgrysp’d* || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *^xpdgyrwyd*, 3pl. *pdgyrwynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *^xpdgyrw*, *pdgyrw’h*, *pdgyrw’h*, 3sg. *pdgyrw’*, IMPV. 2sg. *pdgyrw*; Partic.: perf. pass. *pdgryft*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ham-*) *hamgrīh-* ‘to raise; uphold’ ⇒ SGS: 138

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. (‘)γrβ-, BSogd. γrβ-, CSogd. yrb-, MSogd. γrβ- ‘to take, understand, know, be acquainted with’ || (+ **uz-*) BSogd. zyrb- ‘to exalt’, BSogd. zγrwβs- (pass./inch.) ‘to be raised (?)’ || (+ **pati-*) SSogd. ptyr(y)β-, BSogd. ptyrβ-, BSogd. pcyrβ- ‘to accept, receive; understand’ || (+ **fra-*) BSogd. frγrβ- ‘to offer’

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. SSogd. ‘γrβ’m, SSogd. γrβ’m, BSogd., MSogd. γrβ’m, dur. CSogd. yrb’msq, CSogd. γrb’msqn, 2sg. MSogd. γrbyy, dur. SSogd. γrβy skwn, CSogd. γrbysq, 3sg. BSogd. γrβty, etc. || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. ptyrβty, SUBJ. 1sg. pcyrβ’n, 3sg. BSogd. ptyrβ’t, OPT. 2pl. BSogd. pty’yšd, BSogd. pcyrβty, POT. 3sg. BSogd. pcyrβ’t wnty (SCE: 369); Impf.: IND. 3pl. BSogd. ptyrβ’nt; Partic.: pres. MSogd. (pl.) ‘ptyrβynynt (Sogdica: 25), perf. pass. SSogd. ptyrβft; Inf.: BSogd. ptyrβ’y || (+ **fra-*) Pres.: OPT. 3sg. BSogd. βrγrβ’y; Impf.: IND. 3pl. BSogd. fr’γrβ’nt

•CHORESMIAN: *xf-* ‘to take, grasp; to befall (of illnesses)’ (**grfša-*), *γβy-* ‘to consider, take (for), regard as; to grab’ (**grbaja-*), *γfs-* (intr./inch.) ‘to be silent, keep quiet’, *xFs-* ‘to be covered’ || (+ **api-* or **upa-*) *byβy-* ‘to sense, find’. ◇ On the different continuations of **grabH* in Chor., see Humbach 1973: 95. ⇒ Samadi: 234 f., 76 f., 236, 18

•BACTRIAN: (+ **pati-*) πιδροβ- ‘to receive’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 218 f.

•NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *giriftn/gīr-*, Bal. *gipt/gir-*, Kurd. *girtin/gir-*, Zaz. *girewt*, *girotiš/gēn-*, (subj.) *gīr-*, Abyan. *geratan*, Anar. *ha’m-igirif/* (impv.) *ha-gir*, Awrom. *girtáy/ger-*, Abz. *grata/gēr-*, Abyan. *gerata/ger-*, Anar. *girefte/gir-*, Ard. *girette/gir-*, Fariz. *-girāt-/gir-*, Yar. *-girit-/gir-*, Gil. (Rsht.) *giftæn/gir-*, Gur. (Kand.) *gīrd-/-(g)īr-*, Isfah. *giftān/gir-*, Jow. *bam-ğat/ha a-ğir-*, Meim. *bem-ğa/a-ğir-*, Ham. *geftān/gir-*, Mah. *gir-/git*, Nn. *girefte/gir-*, Natan. *-geret-/gir-*, Qohr. *gerata/yr-*, *ger-*,

Tal. *gate*, Tr. *gata/ger-* ‘to take, seize’, Mah. *he-geftān/he-i-gir-*, Sorkh. *-git/-gin-* ‘to buy; to take’, Semn. *-git/-gir-*, Sang. *-gird/gin-*, Shamerz. *-gít-/girám-*, Lasg. *-git-/gin-*, Soi *gīr-/a-īr-* ‘to take, seize’ || (+ **pati-*) NP *pađīruftan/pađīr-* ‘to receive, accept’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *ærgævyn/ærgævd*, D. *ærguvun/arguvd* ‘to lift up, settle at, with; to pull the trigger’, D. *ærgævun/ærgævd* ‘to hit the target; to grab, seize’, Yghn. *yirīw-* ‘to know, understand’, (inch.) Ishk. *γərɪfs-* ‘to seize’, Yzgh. *γərafs-/γərovd* ‘to stick to’, Yi. *γurv-/γurd-*, M. *γúrv-/γəruvd-*, *γuruvd* ‘to buy’, Wa. *ǰərv-*, *ǰərv̄-/ǰ(ə)rəǰn-*, *žərv-/žərv̄n-* ‘to stick to’ || (+ **abi-*) Oss. I. *irǰævyn/irǰævd*, D. *erǰævun/erǰævd* ‘to separate’ || (+ **ā-*) Oss. D. *arǰævnæ* ‘pincers’

•MISC: Par. *gurí/ghīt* ‘to seize, buy’

•SANSKRIT: *gra(b)hⁱ* ‘to seize, to take’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 505

•PIE **g^hrebH₂-* ‘to grab, seize’. ◇ This is the most often cited reconstruction. It is assumed that laryngeal **-H₂-* causes aspiration of the preceding voiced stop in Ilr., cf. notably **d^hugH₂ter-* ‘daughter’ (Gr. θυγάτηρ vs. Skt. *duhitár-*) and **meǵH₂-* ‘big, large’ (Gr. μέγα- vs. Skt. *máhi-*), on which see Rasmussen 1987: 84 f. ⇒ LIV: 201 | Pok.: 455

•IE COGNATES: OCS *grabiti* ‘to rob’, Lith. *grėbti, gróbtī* ‘to rob’, Latv. *grebt* ‘to seize’. ◇ The Balto-Slavic forms perhaps reflect contamination of two roots, viz. **g^hreb^h-* ‘dig, rake’ and **g^hreb-* ‘seize, grab’, on which see Kortlandt 1988: 393; Derksen 1991: 321-322. || Goth. *greipan*, ON *grípa*, etc. apparently derive from (PIE ?) **g^hreib^h-* (cf. LIV: 203).

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 202; *KPF* I: 83, 145b, 209a, 248b f.; Ivanow 1926: 420; *KPF* II: 220; *IIFL* I: 254a; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 74, 171, 262; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 52, 62, 117 f., 162; Abrahamian 1936: 114 f., 130; *IIFL* II: 213a; Lambton 1938: 42a, 78b; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 66, 548; Andreev – Peščereva: 258a; MacKenzie 1966: 95; Abaev, *Slovar’* II: 407 f.; *EVS*: 37a; Lecoq 1974: 60; Nyberg II: 84b; Werba 1997: 402 f.; Paul 1998: 298b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 201; Cabolov 2001: 386 f.; Cheung 2002: 80 f., 152 f., 162 f.; Lecoq 2002: 121, 123, 125, 128, 177 (passim); Korn 2005: 149 f., 396 (passim)

**graH* ? ‘to smell’

•NEIR: ? Pash. *γər* (m.) ‘fart’, *γara* ‘podex’

•SANSKRIT: *ghrā* ‘to smell’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 520

◇ The existence of an Ir. cognate root of Skt. *ghrā* is uncertain: only the Pash. form is related ?

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 26; Werba 1997: 285 f.

**grait/graiθ* ? ‘to roar, scold’

•CHORESMIAN: ? *Grd-* ‘to bray’ || (+ **upa-*) *b’Grd-* ‘to roar’ ⇒ Samadi: 80, 18

•NEIR: ? Oss. *ælg̃ityn/ælg̃yst*, D. *ælg̃etun/ælg̃ist* ‘to curse, scold’ (with sec. *-t-?*). ◇ Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 42a f. connects the Oss. forms to MMP *gry-*, BMP *gl(y)dy-* (BKYWN-)/*griy-* ‘to weep’, NP *girīstan/girīy-* ‘to weep’, deriving both from a root **gr(a)id*. The Persian meaning hardly allows separation from ***garz** ‘to lament, weep’.

◇ The evidence for this root is limited. An IE provenance is uncertain.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 384

***gram** ‘to thunder, roar; to anger’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *gram-* ‘to anger, *ergrimmen*’ ⇒ Liste: 21

Partic.: pres. YAv. *gramant-* (Y 9.28), perf. pass. YAv. *graṇta-* (Yt 10.18 f., Yt 10.23, Yt 10.39 ff., etc.)

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *grañ-* ‘to growl’ {hapax} ⇒ SGS: 31

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *’yr’n-*, BSogd. *yr’ns* (inch./intr.) ‘to get angry’, CSogd. *yr̄yn* (**ja*-pres. ?) ‘to roar’ || (+ **ham-*) BSogd. *’nyr’m*, CSogd. *’yr’m* ‘to slander’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. dur. CSogd. *yr̄yntq*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *yr’ns*; Pret.: IND. 3pl. SSogd. *’yr’nt’nt*; Partic.: pres. BSogd. *yr’nsn’y*; Pass.: pret. SUBJ. 3sg. MSogd. *yr’ndyy* *’kt’ṭ* ‘should have been irritated’ (BBB: 37) || (+ **ham-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *’nyr’mt*; Impf.: IND. 3pl. CSogd. *myr’mnt*; Partic.: pres. BSogd. *’nyr’mn’y*, MSogd. *’ngr’mnyy* (*Sogdica*: 52)

•CHORESMIAN: *m/ym-* ‘to coo, sing (of birds)’ ⇒ Samadi: 77 f.

•NWIR: NP *ğurunbīdan*, Gz. *qurumb-/qurumbā* ‘to thunder, roar’, NP *ğarmīdan* ‘to thunder, roar, fly in a passion’, Bal. *grandit/grand-* (denomin.) ‘to thunder’, Bal. *grand* ‘thunder’ (Sims-Williams *apud* Shahbakhsh)

•NEIR: Pash. *yar-éğ/yar-ed-* ‘to roar, thunder’, ? Wa. *yər-/yərd* ‘to bark, growl’ (< Pash. ?), Ishk. *yərənd-/yərəst* ‘to scold’, ? Oss. I. *qyr̄nyn/qyr̄nd*, D. *ğir̄nun/ğir̄nd* ‘to sing (along) in a diphonic song; to howl [of dogs]’

◇ The variant **gran-* with final *-n*, attested in several Elr. languages, is no doubt abstracted from the past participle, with final *m > n / – T*. Consequently, the postulation of a separate (IE) root **gr-en-* (cf. SGS: 31) is therefore unnecessary.

•PIE **g^hrem-* ‘to roar; to be angry’ ⇒ LIV: 204 | Pok.: 458 f.

•IE COGNATES: Goth. *gramjan*, OHG *gremmen* ‘to become angry’, OE *gremman* ‘to scorn’, etc., NHG *grimm*, Engl. *grim*, Lith. *gramù*, etc.

•REFERENCES: Paxalina 1959: 203; Sims-Williams 1976: 18, 60; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 333; WIM II/1: 81; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 185; NEVP: 32; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *grand-*; Korn 2005: 317, fn. 200

***graθH** ‘to tie (a knot)’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *glyh /grih/* ‘knot’

•PARTHIAN: *gryh* ‘knot’ ⇒ DMMPP: 164a

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *grantha-*, *gramtha-*, LKh. *gratha-* ‘knot’ || (+ **ham-*) OKh. *hamgramtha-*, LKh. *hamgratha-* ‘attachment’

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *yr’nš* ‘knot, bond, joining’

•NWIR: Bal. *grančít/granč-* (denomin.) ‘to tie, knot’, NP *giriḥ*, Bal. *garanč*, Kurd. *girē* (f.), Zaz. *girē-* (in *girē-dāyiš* ‘to fetter, tie, bind’), Abyan. *gerah* (f.), Abz. *gere*, Anar. *gireḥ*, Ard. *gire*, Gz. *gire*, Jow. *gere*, Siv. *gire* ‘knot’

•NEIR: Yi. *γurēx̄*, Yzgh. *γərawθ*, ? Oss. I. *ælxync*, D. *ælxij* (formally puzzling), (from early NP) Bart. *zirīx̄*, Rosh. *žirēx̄*, Sariq. *ž(i)rex*, Wa. *žirəx* ‘knot’. ◇ Pash. *yaṛəl* ‘to twist, spin’ (EVP: 27) may not belong here: s.v. ***gart**.

•SANSKRIT: *granthī* ‘to tie a knot’ ⇒ EWAia I: 504

◇ A convincing IE etymology for this (I)Ir. root is wanting. The Germanic nominal forms, ? OHG *kratto* ‘basket’, OE *cradol*, Engl. *cradle*, NHG *Kranz* (m.) ‘wreath, garland’ often cited as cognates are unattractive: are they rather loanwords from a "substrate" source ?

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 191 | Pok.: 386

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 213a; Lambton 1938: 73a; *EVS*: 111a; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 51 f.; *DKS*: 91b, 442b; *WIM* II/2: 667; Asatrian – Livshits: 85; Werba 1997: 285; Paul 1998: 298b; Cabolov 2001: 385 f.; Lecoq 2002: 576b, 594a, 608a (passim); Shahbakhsh: s.v. *granč-*

***gžrā(H)d ?** ‘to flow’

•AVESTAN: (+ *ā-) YAv. *āyžrāδ-* ‘to flow to’ || (+ *ui-) YAv. *vīyžrāδ-* ‘to flow away’
⇒ Liste: 21

Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *āyžrāδaiieiti* (Yt 8.31), YAv. *vīyžrāδaiieiti* (Yt 8.31)

◇ The etymology of YAv. *-yžrāδ-* is uncertain. Gershevitch (*apud* Panaino, *Tišt.*: I, 118) hypothesized that the curious initial consonant cluster *-yžr-* (with surprising dental *-z-*) is the result of contamination of the verb **zγar-* (i.e. ***zgar**¹ ?) and its metathesized variant **yžar-* (> Av. *yžar-*, s.v. ***gžar**). A different outcome would be **žγar-* > Sogd. /žγar-/ , s.v. ***zgar**¹.

•PIE – ◇ A secondary fientive formation **g^wg^hr-eH₁-d^he-* is postulated by Lippe, *LIV*, *ibid.*: morphologically hardly acceptable. ⇒ LIV: 213 f., esp. n. 9 | Pok.: 487 f.

***gžar ? (*gzar ?)** ‘to flow (fast ?)’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *yžāδ-* ‘to flow’ || (+ *ā-) ‘to let flow to’ || (+ *ui-) ‘to let overflow, flood’ ⇒ Liste: 21

Pres. them.: SUBJ. 3pl. ? YAv. *γyžarān* (Panaino, *Tišt.*: 131; Yt 8.42); Partic.: pres. caus. YAv. *yžāraiiant-* (Yt 15.2), YAv. *vīyžāraiiant-* (Yt 5.139, Yt 12.5, V 19.40), intens. YAv. *yžarə.yžarant-* (V 5.19); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *āyžāraieiti* (Yt 8.31), YAv. *vīyžāraieiti* (Yt 8.31), SUBJ. 3pl. ? YAv. *γyžāraiiān*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *abi-) *mβžry-* ‘to flood’ ⇒ Samadi: 48

•NWIR: ? NP *šārīdan/šār-* ‘to flow as rivers, with a great noise; to pour, trickle, urine’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *æğzælyn* (*yzğælyn*)/*æğzæld*, D. *æğzælun/æğzald* ‘to pour down, drip’, ? Pash. *zyāstəl/zyal-* ‘to swim, fly away’, (caus.) Oss. I. *æğzalyln* (*yzğalyln*)/*æğzæld*,

D. *æǵzalun/æǵzald* 'to pour down, drop', ? Wa. *žarž* 'milk' || (+ **fra-*) Oss. *læǵzær, læzǵær* 'scree'

•MISC: ? Orm. *šar-^yēk* 'to turn, revolve'

•SANSKRIT: *kṣar* 'to flow' ⇒ EWAia I: 428

•PIE **d^hg^{wh}er-* 'to flow away' ?. ◇ The reconstruction is **g^wg^her-* according to Lipp, *LIV*, l.c., n. 1. Note also Mayrhofer, *CLI*: 9 f., who considers the derivation of the Ilr. forms from **d^hg^{wh}er-*, Gr. *φθείρω*, not fully certain, because of semantic difficulties. But see now Puhvel 2005: 232 ff. ⇒ *LIV*: 213 | *Pok.*: 487 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *φθείρω* 'I destroy', *φθείρομαι* (med.) 'I perish; to be shipwrecked', ? Toch. *kwār-* 'to age, grow old'. ◇ On Toch. *kwār-* see Hilmarsson 1986: 254 ff. The connection is declined by Adams 1999: 236.

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 101; *IIFL* I: 409b; *IIFL* II: 557b; Abaev, *Slovar*' I: 536 f.; Abaev, *Slovar*' II: 26 f.; Werba 1997: 343; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 445; Jamison, *Fs Rix*: 237 ff.

h

***hač** 'to follow'

•AVESTAN: *hac-* 'to follow' || (+ **ā-*) 'to stick to' || (+ **upa-*) 'to accompany, join' || (+ **para-*) 'to follow forth' ⇒ *Liste*: 70f.

Pres. {1} them.: IND. 2sg. YAv. *hacahi*, 3sg. YAv. *haxaiti* (Yt 19.68, ViD 9), med. 3sg. *hacaitē* (Y 34.2, Y 46.16, Y 48.4, etc.), 3pl. OAv. *hac(a)iptē* (Y 33.9, Y 45.2), YAv. *hacinte* (Y 10.8, Y 19.15, Yt 17.5), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *upaṇhacaṭ* (Yt 15.4, Yt 19.26, Yt 19.28, etc.), SUBJ. 1sg. OAv. *hōcā* (Y 46.1), med. 1sg. YAv. *hacāne* (Yt 5.69, Yt 14.60), 3sg. YAv. *paraṇhacāiti* (N 6 f., N 9, N 11), YAv. *hacāt* (Yt 18.4, Yt 19.54), 3pl. med. YAv. *hacāntē* (Y 48.12, Yt 8.1), IMPV. med. 2sg. YAv. *hacaṇ'ha* (N 9), 3sg. YAv. *hacatu* (Vyt 8); Pres. {2} athem. red.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *ā.hišhaxti* (V 5.34), SUBJ. med. 1pl. OAv. *hišcamaidē* (Y 40.4); Aor. {1} them. red.: IND. 2pl. ? YAv. *haxšaθa* (Vyt 47), INJ. 3sg. ? YAv. *haxšaṭ* (F 24), SUBJ. med. 1sg. OAv. *haxšāi* (Y 46.10), med. 1sg. ? YAv. *haxšāne* (V 19.26), OPT. 1sg. YAv. *haxšāiia* (Y 8.7, Y 11.14, Y 52.7), med. 2sg. ? YAv. *haxšāēša* (V 7.50, V 19.26), 3sg. YAv. *haxšōit* (Y 62.10, V 18.27, Vyt 38); Aor. {2} athem.: IMPV. 3pl. OAv. *scaṇtū* (Y 53.2); Partic.: pres. {1} med. *hacimna-* (Y 43.10, Y 43.12, etc.), OAv. *hacōmna-* (Y 44.10), perf. pass. YAv. *-haxta-* (N 6); Caus.: SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *upaṇhacaiieni* (Yt 5.8, Yt 5.124), med. 1sg. YAv. *hācāiene* (Yt 5.18, Yt 5.105, Yt 9.26), 3sg. YAv. *hācāiāt* (Yt 47); Desid.: IND. 2pl. ? YAv. *hixšaθa* (Vyt 47), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *hixšaṭ* (F 24), med. 1sg. YAv. *hixšāne* (V 19.26), OPT. med. 2sg. YAv. *hixšāēša* (Vyt 45)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *h'c-* /*hāz-* 'to lead, guide, persuade, convert', BMP *h'cšn* /*hāzišn* 'conversion'

Pres.: IND. 1sg. BMP *h'cym* /*hāzēm*/, 2sg. BMP *h'cydy* /*hāzē*/; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *h't* /*hāxt*/

•PARTHIAN: *hxs-* (orig. inch.) 'to follow, pursue' ⇒ Ghilain: 81 | DMMPP: 195b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *hxsyd*, 3pl. *hxsynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *hxs'h*, 1pl. *hxs'm*, OPT. *hxsyndyh*; Partic.: perf. pass. *hxt*, II *hxs'd*

•KHOTANESE: ◇ LKh. *pahājīdā* (iter.) ‘they flee’ (Or. 11252.4b3, *KT* 2.16, hapax) connected to the root **hač* by Bailey, apud *SGS*: 79 (however < IE **b^heg^w*-, *DKS*: 227a), should be read as *prahājīdā* ‘they open’, Emmerick, *SVK* II: 83. The “corresponding” inch. *pahīs*- ‘to flee’ (*SGS*: 80) is rather related to *hīs*- ‘to come’ (***Hai**).

•NWIR: Anar. *čānāye/čān*- (sec. tr./caus. *-ān*-suff.) ‘to follow’ || (+ **anu*-) ? Soi *ī-nāšūd*- ‘to bring, lead along (someone)’

•SANSKRIT: *sac* ‘to follow, accompany’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 686

•PIE **sek^w*- ‘to follow’ ⇒ LIV: 525 f. | Pok.: 896 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ἔπειται, Lat. *sequitur*, Irish *sechithir* ‘follows’, Lith. *sėkti* ‘to follow, go after’, Latv. *sekt* ‘to follow, to go after’

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 243b; *Werba* 1997: 249; *Lecoq* 2002: 134

***had** ‘to sit, be seated’

•AVESTAN: *hiδ*- ‘to sit, be seated’ || (+ **abi*-) ‘to be seated on (a horse)’ || (+ **ni*-) ‘to sit down’ ⇒ *Liste*: 71

Pres. them. red.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *nišhiđaiti* (Y 10.15), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *nišhiđāt* (V 16.1), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *nišhiđōiš* (H 2.13, Vyt 59), 3sg. YAv. *nišhiđōit* (V 9.29), med. 3sg. YAv. *nišhiđaēta* (V 8.11, V 9.33 ff., V 16.8 ff.); Perf.: OPT. 3sg. YAv. *nī hazdiīāt* (Yt 13.13); Inf.: YAv. *aiβi.šasta*; Caus.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *^hnišāđaiieiti* (FrA 24), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *nišāđaiiat* (Y 9.24), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *nišāđaiiōiš* (H 2.14); Desid.: INJ. 3sg. OAv. *hišasať* (Y 32.13)

•OLD PERSIAN: (+ **ni*-) *ni-šād*- (caus.) ‘to establish’ ⇒ *Kent*: 212

Caus.: impf. IND. 1sg. *niyašādayam* <n-i-y-š-a-d-y-m> (DNa 36), *nīšādayam* <n-i-š-a-d-y-m> (XPh 34)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ni*-) MMP *nšyy*- ‘to sit down, settle oneself’, MMP *nš’y*-, BMP *nš’n*- (caus.) ‘to place, settle, ground, establish’ ⇒ *DMMPP*: 245b f.

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *nšyyd*, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *^hnšyy’nd*, IMPV. 2sg. *nšyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *nšst*, etc.

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ni*-) *nšyd*- ‘to sit (down), settle oneself’, also *nšyl*- (< Bact./Sogd. ?). ⇒ *Ghilain*: 50 | *DMMPP*: 245b f.

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *nšydyd*, 3pl. *nšylynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *nšst*; Inf.: *^hnšstn*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ati*-) *tvā’y*- (*ttuvā’*-) ‘to bring across’ || (+ **abi*-) *bvai*(’)- ‘to mount; ride’ || (+ **ni*-) *nāt*- ‘to sit down’, *nāta’ś*- (*na’ś*-) (inch.) ‘to end’ ⇒ *SGS*: 39, 102, 53 f., 57

•SOGDIAN: (+ **pati*-) BSogd. *’pc’t* ‘time, instant’ || (+ **pari*-) SSogd. *pršyδ* (old caus.) ‘to sit through, out’ || (+ **ni*-) BSogd. *nyδ*, CSogd. *nyd*, MSogd. *nyδ* ‘to sit down’, BSogd. *n(y)š’yδ*, BSogd. *nyšyδ*, CSogd. *nšyd* (caus.) ‘to plant; establish’

(+ **pari*-) Impf.: IND. 2sg. SSogd. *pršyδy* || (+ **ni*-) *Well attested*: Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *nyδt*, 3pl. BSogd. *nyδ’nt*, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *nyδ’t*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **ni*-) *nyθ*- ‘to sit; to be, become’, *m/nh’zy*- (caus.) ‘to place’ ⇒ *Samadi*: 127

•BACTRIAN: (+ *ni-) $\nu\beta\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha$, $\nu\beta\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha$ 'seat (of the gods), throne, dwelling'. \diamond Cf. Pth. *nšdm*, MMP *nšym*, BMP *nšdm* 'seat'. \Rightarrow S-W, *Bact.*: 208b

•NWIR: (+ *ā-) Abz. *avad/av-*, Abyan. *ayā(y)/ay-*, Qohr. *āhā(d)/āh-*, Ard. *āxo/ax-*, Tr. *axā(y)/ax-*, Nn. *āšis-/āš-* 'to become seated' (influenced by ***HaHh** 'to be seated, sit' ?) || (+ *ni-) *Widely attested*: NP *nišastan/nišīn-*, Bal. *ništ/nind-*, Kurd. *nīštin*, Zaz. *ro-ništiš/ro-šen-*, Awrom. *ništáy/-niš-*, Tt. (Esh.) *anšin/anšešt*, Gz. *nī(y)/-ništ*, Gil. (Rsht.) *ništæn/nišīn-*, Gur. (Kand.) *nīšt/-nīšān-*, Ham. *he-nistān/ he-i-ni-*, Semn. *nīā-* 'to sit', Sang. *-nést-/ neæræn-*, Shamerz. *-ništ-am/-nāšin-ām-*, Sorkh. *-niāst-* (supplet. ?) *nin-*, Lasg. *-nest-/nieræn-*, Isfah. *nišdān* (supplet. ?) *niy-*, Sist. *ršīn-*, Siv. *ršīn/-ništ* 'to sit down' (with dissim. *n- > r-*), Gz. *nān/-nāšt* (caus.) 'to make to sit down'. \diamond The intervocalic *-r-* attested in some modern dialects is perhaps the result of a "Parthian-like" development: **-d- > *-δ- > -r-* ?, cf. Sorkh. *-šust-/šur-* 'to wash', s.v. ***xšaud**.

•NEIR: (+ *ā-) Sh. *yāθ* (m.), Bart. *yōθ*, Sariq. *yoθ*, Yzgh. *yaθ* 'nest' || (+ *upa-) Oss. I. *badyn/badt*, D. *badun/badt* 'to sit' || (+ *ni-) Pash. *nāst* 'seated, sitting', Sh. *niθ-/nūst*, Rosh. *niθ-/nōst*, Bart. *niθ-/nōst*, Yzgh. *niθ-/nəyūst*, Sangl. *nīδ-*, Yi. *niḫ-/niāst-*, M. *niḫ-/niōst-*, Yghn. *nīd-*, Wa. *nyzd-*, *nəzd-/nəyn-* 'to sit down', (caus.) Sh. *nāδ-/nāδd*, Rosh. *nēδ-/nēδd*, Rosh. *nēδ-/nūst*, Bart. *nōδ-/nōst*, Sariq. *nalaδon/-nalaδond*, Yzgh. *niδon/-niδont* 'to make to sit down', Wa. *nid(ы)v-/nidovd-*, *niδ(ы)v-/niδovd* 'to place, give a seat'

•MISC: (+ *ni-) Orm. *n-/nustuk*, *nastak* 'to sit down' = *ney-/nóstók*, *nóstok*, *nostok*, Orm. *naw-* (orig. caus.) 'to cause to sit down' = *naw-/nawók*

•SANSKRIT: *sad* 'to sit' (RV+) \Rightarrow EWAia II: 692

\diamond The apparent loss of the expected ruki *š (after *ni-), cf. YAv. *nišhiða-*, Pth. *nšyd-*, Skt. *ni-šída-*, in several (esp. East) Iranian languages is strange: replaced by (simplex) **hida-* ? Also the appearance of voiceless *-θ-* in some languages needs an explanation.

•PIE **sed-* 'to sit' \Rightarrow LIV: 513 f. | Pok.: 884 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha$, $\iota\zeta\omega$, Lat. *sīdō*, OCS *sěděti*, Lith. *sėdėti*, Latv. *sēdēt*, Goth. *sitan*, Engl. *to sit*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 147a, 209b; *EVP*: 53; *IIFL* I: 275b f., 401b, 403a; *KPF* II: 224; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 76; *IIFL* II: 234b f.; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 64, 119, 162; Abrahamian 1936: 115, 131; Abaev, *Slovar*' I: 230 f.; Andreev – Peščereva: 293a f.; MacKenzie 1966: 103; Yarshater 1969: 182; *EVS*: 106b, 50b, 47a; *DKS*: 186a f.; *WIM* II/1: 80; *WIM* III: 115; Werba 1997: 250 f.; Paul 1998: 312a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 244, 253; Lecoq 2002: 194 (passim); *NEVP*: 59; Kiefer 2003: 202; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *nind-*; Korn 2005: 96, 127, 409 (passim)

***hah** 'to sleep'

•AVESTAN: OAv. *hah-* 'to sleep' \Rightarrow Liste: 72
Pres. athem.: IND. 1sg. OAv. *hahmī* (Y 34.5)

•SANSKRIT: *sas* ‘to sleep’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 716

◇ Further Ir. cognates are unknown.

•PIE **ses-* ‘to sleep’ ⇒ LIV: 536 f. | Pok.: –

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. *še-eš-zi* ‘sleeps’, Luw. /*sassa-ⁱ*/ ‘to sleep’

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 252

***haič** ‘to pour (out), moisten’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *haēc-* ‘to pour (out); to irrigate’ || (+ **pati-*) ‘to besprinkle, pour on (ritually with water or cow’s urine)’ || (+ **para-*) ‘to pour, flow out, away’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to sprinkle, pour out’ ⇒ Liste: 72

Pres. *n-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *hiñcaiti* (V 5.5), med. YAv. ^s*fra.hiñcaite* (N 68 = Kotwal – Kreyenbroek: N 50.7), 3pl. YAv. *frašiciñti* (Yt 14.54), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *hiñcaṭ* (F 673), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *hiñcāiti* (N 83), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *paiti.hiñcōiš* (V 8.40, V 8.58, V 8.70 f., etc.), 3sg. YAv. *paiti.hiñcōit* (V 9.47), 3pl. YAv. *para.hiñcaiiñ* (V 6.32); Perf.: IND. 3sg. ? YAv. ^s*frahišaēca* (Yt 10.138); Partic.: pres. them. ? OAv. *haēcaṭ.aspa-* (Y 46.15, Y 53.3); Inf.: YAv. *hixtaiiāē(-cā)* ‘to moisten, [BMP transl.] /*namb kardan*/’ (V 6.6); Caus.: SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *haēcāiiāt* (V 5.12 f., V 8.10 f.), perf. pass. perf. pass. YAv. *frāhixta-* (Yt 10.96). ◇ On the name OAv. *haēcaṭ.aspa-* see Mayrhofer 1979: no. 164.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *wyšync-* /*wiš-šinj-*/ ‘venom-spurting’ (cf. Nyberg II: 216a) || (+ **pati-*) BMP *pšnc-* /*paššinj-*/ ‘to sprinkle’ || (+ **pari-*) MMP *pršynz-* ‘to flow through’ ⇒ DMMPP: 280a

(+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *pšncyt* /*paššinjēd*/; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *pšhtk* /*paššixtag*/ || (+ **pari-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *pršynzyd*

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ā-*) ^s*šyxt* (pret. stem) ‘to pour, flow, overflow; sprinkle’ ⇒ DMMPP: 58a

Partic.: perf. pass. ^s*šyxt*, ^s*šyxt*

•KHOTANESE: *hās-* ‘to wet, besprinkle’ ⇒ SGS: –

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ā-*) MSogd. ^s*šync* ‘to pour’ (-š- from **pati-* formation) || (+ **pati-*) CSogd. *pšync-* ‘to pour’

(+ **ā-*) Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *m’šync*; Partic.: perf. pass. (f.) BSogd. ^s*šych* || (+ **pati-*) ^s*z*-Impf.: IND. 1sg. CSogd. *pšync’zw*; Partic.: pres. CSogd. *pšyncn* ‘oh spiller!’

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **apa-*) *bync-* ‘to pour out, scoop (water)’ ⇒ Samadi: 33a f.

•NWIR: NP *xēsāndan/xēsān-* (inch.-caus. ?) ‘to soak, moisten’, Gz. *enjūe* ‘he pours’, Gz. *χūsñ-* (inch. ?) ‘to soak’, NP *hēs, xēs*, Gz. *χūs* ‘wet, moist’ || (+ **pati-*) NP *pišanjīdan* ‘to sprinkle’, Khor. *pšing* ‘spraying, explosion’

•NEIR: ? Wa. *ǰənz-*, *ǰənz-/ǰəñ-* ‘to pour over, into’ || (+ **abi-*) (inch. ?) Sh. *biǰis-/biǰīd*, (Baj.) *biwis-/biwēd*, Rosh. *buways-/buwayd*, Sariq. *bīlis-/bīleyd*, *būlis-/būleyd* ‘to swell, inflate’, Sariq. *balīs-/baleid* ‘to ferment, rise (dough); to foam (water in a torrent)’ || (+ **ūi-*) Sariq. *waluys-/walud*, (perf.) *walušč* ‘to spread, expand, swell, inflate, spill’, (Shaw) *walīs-/walūyd* ‘to flood, spread out’. ◇ As for the initial ǰ- of Wa. *ǰənz-*, *ǰənz-/ǰəñ-*, it is from **h-* before *-(*a*)i (?), cf. Oss. I. *xid*, D. *xed* ‘bridge’ (< **haitu-*, Av. *haētu-*).

•SANSKRIT: *sec* ‘to pour (out)’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 744

•PIE **seik*^w- ‘to pour’ ⇒ LIV: 523 | Pok.: 893 f.

•IE COGNATES: OHG *sīhan* ‘to sift’, OE *sēon* ‘to flow away, to sift’, OCS *sъcati* ‘to urinate’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 553; *EVS*: 19a, 89b; *DKS*: 488b; *WIM* II/1: 79; *WIM* II/2: 698; Monchi-Zadeh 1990: 146; Werba 1997: 254; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 418

***haiš ?** ‘to see, watch ?’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *hiš-* ‘to see, watch ?’ ⇒ Liste: 73

Partic.: pres. OAv. *vīspā.hišas* (Y 45.4). ◇ On the basis of the Pahlavi translation: *hlwsp nkylyd’l/harwisp nigerīdār* ‘all-watching’.

◇ No further Ir./IE cognates are known.

•PIE –

•REFERENCES: Kellens 1984: 102, fn. 8

***haiz** ‘to look, search for pastures ?’

•AVESTAN: (+ **pari-*) YAv. *haēz-* ‘to search, scrutinize’ ? ⇒ Liste: 73

MED.; Pres. them.: IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *pāiri.haēzay’a* (V 21.4, V 21.12, Z 21.16)

•KHOTANESE: (+ **pati-*) ? *pachīys-* (mid./pass.) ‘to be called, considered’, *pachīś-* (caus.) ‘to regard, consider’ ⇒ SGS: 63

•NWIR: (+ pref. ?) ? Gur. (Kand.) *vizīn/-īz-* ‘seek, (re)search’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *xizyn/xyzt*, D. *xezun/xizt* ‘to pasture, graze’

•PIE An IE provenance for this Ir. root cannot be established.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* II: 210 f.; *DKS*: 198a; Abaev, *Slovar’* IV: 206 f.

***hanH** ‘to conquer’

•AVESTAN: *han-* ‘to conquer’ ⇒ Liste: 71

Aor. them.: SUBJ. 1sg. OAv. *hanānī* (Y 44.18), 3sg. OAv. *hanāt* (Y 54.1), OPT. med. 2sg. YAv. *hanaēša* (Y 59.30), 1pl. OAv. *hanaēmā* ° (Y 41.4); Partic.: pres. (caus.?) med. YAv. *hanaiiamna-* (Y 59.30), aor. OAv. *hanant-* (Y 44.19, Y 46.19), perf. YAv. *haṇhanuš-* (Yt 13.88), med. YAv. *haṇhanāna-* (Yt 13.88); Desid.: OPT. med. 3sg. YAv. *išāṇhaēta* (Yt 19.53)

•SANSKRIT: *sanī* ‘to win, gain’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 696

◇ Further Ir. cognates are unknown.

•PIE **senH*₂- ‘to obtain’ ⇒ LIV: 532 f. | Pok.: 906

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */sanh-* ‘to mean, to want, to search’, Gr. ἀνύω, ἄνύω, ἄνυμι ‘I complete, bring to an end’, OHG *sinnan* ‘to strive after something’

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 322

***ha(n)j** ‘to hang (on), cling on’

•OLD PERSIAN: (+ **fra-*) *fraha*ⁿ*-j-* ‘to hang out’ ⇒ Kent: 212b

Pres. (a)them.: impf. IND. 1sg. *frāha*ⁿ*jam* <f-r-a-h-j-m> (DB 2.78)

- MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *abi-) MMP 'šynzyh- 'to draw up'. ◇ Not from the root *θanǰ, as assumed by Henning 1933: 198 and others. ⇒ DMMPP: 58a
Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP 'šynzyd; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP 'šyxt; Pass.: pres. SUBJ. 3sg. MMP 'šynzh'd; Inf.: MMP 'šyxtm
- KHOTANESE: LKh. *ajs-* 'pursue' || (+ *pati- ?) *pahej-* 'to stop, check [intr.]'. ◇ Bailey, *DKS*: l.c. derives *pahej-* from **pari-hag-*, on which he comments: "(consonant [sc. -h-] kept after *pari-*)". It is hardly possible that, in Khotanese, liquid *-r- would be lost (in intervocalic position). The appearance of -h- is probably not old, being merely a "space filler" of lost ("ruki") *-š- (> Khot. -'-). LKh. *vahaj-* (*vah-*) 'to accompany' (*SGS*: 121; *DKS*: 381) may not exist at all, on which see further Emmerick, *SVK* II: 127. ⇒ *SGS*: 5, 121
- CHORESMIAN: (+ *abi-) *m/fšnc-* 'to sit on (horse), ride', *m/fš'ny-* (caus.) 'to place (someone) on (horse), let (someone) ride' ⇒ Samadi: 72
- NWIR: (+ *ā-*aūa-*) NP *āvang(ān)* 'hanging (etc.)'
- NEIR: (+ *(ā-)*aūa-*) (?) Yi. *awáž-/awáyǰd-* 'to hang up'
- SANSKRIT: *sa(ñ)j* 'to adhere, hang (on)' (RV+) ⇒ *EWAIa* II: 688
- PIE **seg-* 'to adhere' ⇒ *LIV*: 516 | *Pok.*: 887 f.
- IE COGNATES: Lith. *segù* 'I adhere', ? OIrish *sén* 'safety net (for catching birds)'
- REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 195a; *DKS*: 227a f.; *Werba* 1997: 249 f.

*hap 'to keep, observe'

- AVESTAN: OAv. *haf-* (*hap-*) 'to keep, observe' ⇒ *Liste*: 71
Pres. athem.: IND. 2sg. OAv. *hafšī* (Y 43.4), 3sg. OAv. *haptī* (Y 31.22)
- SOGDIAN: ? CSogd. *pw'd-* (m.) 'monument, altar' (cf. Schwartz 1967: 137) || (+ *ni-) BSogd. 'nš'yp- (old caus.) 'to envelop, cover', CSogd. 'šyp- 'to bury' (+ *ni-) Pres.: IND. dur. 2sg. CSogd. 'šypysq, 3sg. BSogd. 'nš'ypt; Impf.: IND. 3pl. CSogd. *mšypnt*, POT. 3sg. BSogd. 'nš'ypt *wn*'; Partic.: perf. pass. CSogd. 'šyby, CSogd. 'šybyty; Pass.: perf. intr. IND. CSogd. 'šybydy *stysq*
- SANSKRIT: Skt. *sap* 'to take care, honour, observe' (RV) ⇒ *EWAIa* II: 698
- PIE **sep-* 'to take care of, observe' ⇒ *LIV*: 534 | *Pok.*: 909
- IE COGNATES: Gr. *ἔπιω* 'I take care of, commit, do', Lat. *sepelīre* 'to bury'
- REFERENCES: *Werba* 1997: 251 f.

*har¹ 'to guard, observe'

- AVESTAN: YAv. *har-* 'to guard, observe' || (+ *pari-) 'to mind, be aware of' || (+ *ni-) 'to mind, be aware of' ⇒ *Liste*: 72
Pres. {1} them.: IND. med. 3sg. YAv. *pairi ... haraite* (Y 19.10), IMPV. 3sg. YAv. *nišaṅharatū* (Y 58.4); Pres. {2} *ūa-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *nišauruaiti* (Y 57.16, Y 57.30, Yt 10.103)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *aūa- ?) MMP *whwr-* 'to confuse, disturb' (< **aūa-hrja-* 'to let one's guard down' ?) ⇒ DMMPP: 341a

(+ **aya-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 1sg. MMP *whwr'n*; Partic.: pres. MMP *whwr'g'n* pl., perf. pass. MMP *whwryd*; Inf.: MMP *whwrydn*

- PARTHIAN: (+ **aya-*) *whyrd* (pret. stem) ‘to disturb’ ⇒ Ghilain: 97 | DMMPP: 341b
Partic.: perf. pass. *whyrd*
- CHORESMIAN: *hrd^o*- (in comp. + ^o*ywsy-* ‘to hear’: *hrdyws-* ‘to warn’). ◇ From pres. IMPV. 2pl. **harata* ‘attention, *gebt acht*’. ⇒ Samadi: 91
- BACTRIAN: (+ neg.) ? *αρδδιγανο* ‘fallow, uncultivated (land)’. ◇ According to Sims-Williams, l.c., the Bact. form *αρδδιγανο* goes back to **an-arta-* ‘unploughed’, the neg. ppp. of IE **H₂erH₃₋* ‘to plough’ (Gr. ἀρόω, Lat. *arō*, OIrish *airim*, Pokorny: 62 f.; LIV: 272). This is not very attractive as the Bact. form would be totally isolated, having no other (I)Ir. correspondences. Perhaps *αρδδιγανο* is rather related to **har¹*: *‘unkept, neglected’ ? ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 208a
- NWIR: NP *zīnhār* ‘beware!, mind!’ (orig. IMPV. 2sg. *z-īn hār* ‘beware of this’), ? NP *na-hār* ‘fasting; breakfast, lunch’, Siv. *nāhār* ‘lunch, *Mittagbrot*’ (cf. Engl. *break-fast*) || (+ **ni-*) Kurd. (Kurm.) *nihēr(t)īn/nihēr-*, (Sor.) *niwāīn* ‘to look, have a look’
- NEIR: Pash. *arwēdəl* ‘to hear’ = *arw-*, *awr-* / *-ed-*, (Wan.) *awr-*
- MISC: Par. *harw-/hōt*, *harwī* ‘to hear’ || (+ **aya-*) Arm. (LW) *veher* ‘vacillating; unsteady; fearing’
- PIE **ser-* ‘to look after, protect’ ⇒ LIV: 534 | Pok.: 910
- IE COGNATES: Gr. ὀρονται ‘they respect’ (Hom.), ? Lyd. *katared-* ‘stands guard’, *sarēta-* ‘protector’
- REFERENCES: *EVP*: 11; *IIFL* I: 260a f.; *WIM* III: 334; *NEVP*: 10

**har²* ‘to stretch, extend’

- SOGDIAN: (+ **fra-*) BSogd. *f(‘)yr-*, CSogd. *fyr-* ‘to extend, stretch’
Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *f’yr*, BSogd. *fyr*, 3pl. BSogd. *f’yr’nt*, BSogd. *fyr’nt*; ’z-Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *fyr’z*; Partic.: perf. pass. CSogd. *fyrty*
- NWIR: (+ **ūi-*) ? Tt. (Tak.) *ušār/ušārd* ‘to open’
- NEIR: (+ **ūi-*) Yzgh. *wəšar-d* ‘to stretch out (the feet)’ (probably not *EVS*: 93b: < **ūi-xšar-*)
- SANSKRIT: *sar* ‘to stretch, extend’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 705
◇ The Iir. root is usually connected to the IE ‘leap, jump’ forms, although this is semantically not quite evident: the meaning of the Iir. root rather refers to a horizontal motion.
- PIE ? **s(e)l-* ‘to leap’ ⇒ LIV: 527 f. | Pok.: 899
- IE COGNATES: Gr. ἀλλομαι, Lat. *salīre* ‘to leap, jump’, Toch. B *sāl-* ‘to throw off, down; to let fall’, *sāl-* ‘to arise, fly’ (Adams 1999: 686, 688)
- REFERENCES: Yarshater 1969: 183; Werba 1997: 256

***harč** ‘to cast, tear (off) ?; to send ?’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *harəc-* ‘emittere, cast, tear (off)’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to send’ ⇒ Liste: 72
Caus.: INJ. 3sg. YAv. *fraṇharəcaiaīat* (Yt 19.46), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *harəcaiaīāt* (V 5.60 f.)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: ? MMP *hr̥g* ‘refuse?’ (cf. Henning 1940: 57 ad 28)

◇ Further (I)Ir. cognates are unknown.

•PIE ? **selk-* ‘to pull, draw (out, away); to tear (off)’ ⇒ LIV: 530 f. | Pok.: 901

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ἔλκω ‘I pull, draw’, ἐλκέω ‘I tear off’ (Hom. Il. P558), Lat. *sulcō* ‘I plough’, Toch. B *sālk-* ‘to pull, draw (out, away), tear (out)’, OE *sulh* ‘furrow, plough’, Alb. *he(l)q* ‘to draw, tear off’

***harH** ‘to pay tribute; to barter, trade, exchange ?’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: ? MMP *hr̥g*, BMP *hl̥g* /*harg*/ ‘duty, tribute; work, effort’, BMP *whylyh* /*wihīrīh*/ ‘change’

•KHOTANESE: *hāra-* ‘thing; possession’

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *’rkh* ‘work, business’

•CHORESMIAN: *’rk* (f.) ‘work, labour’

•BACTRIAN: *uōr̥go* ‘rent (for land), hire (of a workman)’ (LW), *uēro*, *uēro*, *ēro* ‘matter, business’ (< **h(a)r̥jā-* ‘pertaining to business’) ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 228a, 195b

•NWIR: (+ **ui-*) NP *gauharīdan*, NP *gahūlīdan* (denomin.) ‘to exchange, barter’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *guhēṯin/guhēṯ-*, *guhartin/guhēr-*, *gōrāndin/gōrīn-*, (Sor.) *gōṯān/gōṯ-* ‘to exchange’, Gur. (Kand.) *guryān* ‘to be changed, change [intr.]’ (perh. < Pers.). ◇ The Kurd. forms do not go back to **ui-uart-* (***uart**) as reconstructed by Cabolov 2001, l.c.

•NEIR: Wa. (*y*)*ark* ‘work, matter, business’, Yghn. *ark* ‘work, matter, business’, Yi. *hory*, M. *hōr(g)* ‘work’

•MISC: Arm. *hark* (LW) ‘duty, tribute’, Arab. (LW) *xarj* ‘tax; expenses’ (< Mlr. **harg*, BMP *hl̥g*), Arab. (LW) *xarāj* ‘land, property tax’ (< Mlr. **harāg*, MMP *hr̥g*, not from Gr. *χωρηγία*). ◇ According to Henning 1935: 291 ff., the Persian forms are actually an old borrowing from Imperial Aramaic, cf. biblical Aram. (LW) *h^alāχ* a kind of tax (Ezra 4:13; 4:20; 7:24).

◇ The Ir. forms perhaps continue the IE root **selH₁-* ‘to take into possession, possess, earn’. A different root is reconstructed (for most of these forms) by Rastorgueva – Edel’man, *ESlJa* 1: 198: **ar-* ‘to do, make’. This root **ar-* would continue IE **H₂erH₃-* ‘to plough’ (Gr. ἀρόω, Lat. *arō*, Lith. *árti*, etc.), which would also be lurking in Sogd. *wn-* (next to *kwn-*, s.v. **kar-*), Khot. *yan-* (s.v. **kar-*) ‘to do, make’.

•PIE **selH₁-* ‘to take into possession, possess, earn’ ? ⇒ LIV: 529 | Pok.: 899

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ἐλαίην ‘to take (by force)’, ἔλωπ ‘loot, booty, catch’, Goth. *saljan* ‘to bring, sacrifice’, ON *selja*, OE *sellan* ‘to hand over, sell’, Engl. *to sell*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* II: 205; *IIFL*: 215a; Andreev – Peščereva: 226a; MacKenzie 1966: 94; Perikhanian 1997: 362 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 421; Cabolov 2001: 399

***harn** ‘to saw’

•KHOTANESE: *harraa-* ‘saw’. ◇ On Khot. *harraa-* see Emmerick, *SVK III*: 165 f. Khot. *ārā*, to which Bailey, *DKS*: 22b assigns ‘saw’, actually means ‘awl’ and is a technical loanword from Skt. *āra-*. || Khot. *bīr-* ‘to saw’, first suggested by Henning 1955: 436 and accepted in *SGS*: 100, may not exist, on which see Maggi, *SVK III*: 116 ff.

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ui-*) BSogd. *wyr’kh* ‘saw’

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **ui-*) *wyry-* ‘to saw’. ◇ The verb is perhaps a denomin. formation.
⇒ Samadi: 225

•NWIR: NP *arrah*, Bal. *harra*y, Kurd. *aṛā*, Semn. *ara*, Gz. *ērē* ‘saw’

•NEIR: Pash. (Waz.) *āra*, Yi. *arrá* ‘saw’ (LW)

•MISC: Orm. *árō* ‘saw’ (< Pash. Waz. *āra*)

•SANSKRIT: *सर्पि-* (f.) ‘sickle’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 743

◇ There is little evidence for a verbal Ir. root **har* ‘to saw’, except in Chor. This root may rather be denominative. As for the provenance, the only plausible IE cognate forms can be found in Latin.

•PIE **smeH₂-*, **sernH₂-* f. ‘saw’ ? ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 911 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *sar(r)īre* ‘to hoe, weed’, *serra* (f.) ‘saw’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 191b; Morgenstierne 1932: 122; *WIM* II/2: 661; Cabolov 2001: 30 f.

***harz** ‘to let go, release’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *harəz-* ‘to release (esp. water, liquid)’ || (+ **aya-*) ‘to decline, reject’ || (+ **upa-*) ‘to drop on, let (it) lie’ || (+ **pari-*) ‘to filter’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to ejaculate’ ⇒ Liste: 72

Pres. them.: IND. 1sg. YAv. *auaṇhərəzāmi* (Y 10.15), 3sg. YAv. *upaṇhərəzaiti* (V 6.10, V 6.12 ff.), YAv. *fraṇhərəzaiti* (V 8.32, V 15.7 f., V 16.17, etc.), YAv. *fraṇhərəzaiti* (V 8.32, V 15.7 f., V 16.17), 3pl. YAv. *hərəzənti* (Yt 13.43), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *fraṇhərəzaṭ* (VdPZ 2.5), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *pairi.harəzāṭ* (N 75), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *fraṇhərəzōit* (N 11), med. 3sg. YAv. *upaṇhərəzaēta* (V 5.51), 3pl. YAv. *hərəzaiēn* (V 6.2 ff., V 8.2 f.); Fut.: IND. med. 3pl. YAv. *harəšiiēnte* (Vr 12.1), YAv. *pairi.harəšiiēnte* (Y 27.6); Partic.: pres. YAv. **fraṇhərəzənt-* (Yt 14.12), fut. med. YAv. *harəšiiamna-* (Vr 12.1), perf. pass. YAv. *pairi.aṇharšta-* (Yt 5.8, Yt 5.63, V 14.4)

•OLD PERSIAN: (+ **aya-*) ? *avahard-* ‘to let go, abandon’?. ◇ On its interpretation see Klein 1988: 412, fn. 53. The hapax form **avaharda* is very similar to *avarada* (***rHaz**) in meaning and form. ⇒ Kent: 214a

Pres. them.: IND./INJ. 3sg. ? **avaharda* <a-v-h-r-[d]> (DB 2.94)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *hyl-* ‘to leave, abandon; remit (of sins); establish, appoint; let, allow’ || (+ **pari-*) MMP *p’r’y-* ‘to purify’ ⇒ DMMPP: 196, 259b

Well attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP *hylym*, 3sg. MMP *hylyd*, 3pl. MMP *hylynd*, etc. || (+ **pari*-) Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *p'r'ynd*, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *p'r'y'd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *p'rw'd*, **p'rw'dq*

•PARTHIAN: *hyrz-* ‘to leave, abandon; remit (of sins); establish, appoint’ || (+ **apa-*) **bhyrz-* ‘to abandon, desert; forgive’ ⇒ Ghilain: 48, 49 | DMMP: 197a, 11a

Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. *hyrzyd*, 2pl. *hyrzyd*, 3pl. *hyrzynd*, etc. || (+ **apa-*) Pres.: IMPV. 2pl. **bhyrzyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. **bhyšt*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **pari*-) *pžy-* ‘to purify, cleanse’ ⇒ Samadi: 167

•BACTRIAN: *υρϕ-* ‘to leave, let, set (free), allow’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 228b

•NWIR: *Widely attested and borrowed* (from Pers., especially forms with *-l-*): NP *hištan/hil-*, Jow. *bam-hašt/a-hal-*, Meim. *bem-hašt/a-hal-* ‘to leave, let go’, Bal. (h)*išt*/(h)*ill-* ‘to let go, allow, leave (behind)’ (< MP/NP), Kurd. (Kurm.) *hištin/hēl-*, (Sor.) *hēštin/hēl-* ‘to permit, allow’, Zaz. *eštiš/erzen-* ‘to throw’, Abz. *hašta/harz-*, Abyan. *hāšta/hārz-*, Tt. (Cha.) *harz/hašt*, Awrom. *āštáy/-āz-* ‘to let, allow’, Fariz. *-hašt/-hal-*, Yar. *-hašt/-hal-*, Gil. (Rsht.) *aštócn/-al-*, Ham. *hāštān/hāl-*, Sorkh. *hínd/hín-* ‘to put’, Ard. *helāhe/hel-*, Anar. *hašte/hal-*, Gur. (Kand.) *hāštin/-āz-*, Khuns. *el-*, *tel-/ešt*, *elā* ‘to put, lay; to let, permit’, Nn. *ešte/vāl-*, Qohr. *hašta/hel-* ‘to let, allow, permit’, Siv. *el-*, *āl-(h)išt*, Tr. *hašta/hal-*, Varz. *hešte/hel-* ‘to allow, let’, Tal. *hašte* ‘to leave (behind), abandon’ || (+ **aṣa-*) NP (dial.) *vel*, *vil kardan* ‘to set free’, Gz. *vel*, Bakht. *wil* ‘free, loose’ || (+ **pari*-) NP *pālūdan*, *pālīdan/pālāy-*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *pālāvīn/pālēv-*, (Sor.) *pālāwīn/pālēw-*, Gz. *pāl-/pālā* ‘to filter, purify’, Gur. *čāy-parzēn* ‘tea-strainer’. ◇ As for NP *pālūdan*, *pālīdan/pālāy-* and the corresponding forms, they may be contaminated with **para-dāṣaia-* ‘to clean’, on which see Sims-Williams 1989: 262. Note also the rhyming antonym NP *āludan* ‘to stain, soil’, s.v. **dauH*².

•NEIR: Pash. (i)*ğd*-/*išo*(d) ‘to put, place, leave’

•MISC: (+ **aṣa-*) Par. *γurzēw-* ‘to pour out’ || (+ **pari*-) Arm. (LW) *parzel* ‘to filter, purify’

•SANSKRIT: *sarj* ‘to let loose, to throw out, to send forth’ (RV+) || (+ **aṣa-*) Skt. *āvāsjah ... apāḥ* ‘release waters’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 709

•PIE **selǵ-* ‘to let it loose, release, flow (?)’ ⇒ LIV: 528 f. | Pok.: 900 f.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. /*salk-* ‘to knead, to mingle’, OIrish *selg* (f.) ‘hunting’, MHG *selken* ‘to fall down drippingly, to go down (of clouds)’, (ppp.) OE *solcen* ‘lazy, slow’, Engl. *sulky*

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 147b; *KPF* II: 218; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 72, 170; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 62; *IIFL* I: 257b; Abrahamian 1936: 114; Lambton 1938: 43b, 78b; MacKenzie 1966: 88; Yarshater 1969: 183; *WIM* I: 68; *WIM* II/1: 81; *WIM* II/2: 750; *WIM* III: 104; Vahman – Asatrian 1991: 133; Werba 1997: 257; Paul 1998: 297a; Cabolov 1997: 73; Cabolov 2001: 443; Lecoq 2002: 121, 123, 126 (passim); Shahbakhsh: s.v. *hill-*; *NEVP*: 29; Korn 2005: 274, 320, 350

***hau¹** ‘to extract, (ex)press, squeeze out (juice)’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *hau-* ‘to press, squeeze out ?, to braise ?’ || (+ **abi-*) ‘to press out, prepare by pressing’. ◇ The traditional interpretation of YAv. *hau-* is ‘to braise, stew’ (“schmoren”, Bartholomae, *AIW*: 1781). However, Kellens 1984: 151, n. 15: “Le sens de “réduire en cendres” ... peut être issu de celui de “pressurer”. En brûlant, le bois et la chair n’émettent-ils pas un liquide et celui que le bois secrète sous l’action du feu rituel n’a-t-il pas une valeur mystique?”. The postulation of such a development is ingenious, but difficult to prove though. ⇒ Liste: 73

Pres. *nu-*: IND. 3du. YAv. *hunutō* (N 108), INJ. med. 3sg. YAv. *hunūta* (Y 9.3 f., Y 9.6 f., Y 9.9 ff.), SUBJ. YAv. **hunuuat* (N 72), OPT. 3sg. YAv. **hunuiāt* (N 68), 3pl. YAv. **hunuiāraš* (V 7.55), IMPV. med. 2sg. them. YAv. *hunuuajha* (Y 9.2); Partic.: pres. ? YAv. *hunuuant-* (Vr 12.2), med. YAv. *hunuuana-* (Vr 9.3), fut. YAv. *haošiiant-* (Vr 9.3), perf. pass. YAv. *huta-* (V 18.12, Vr 12.3, H 1.9), YAv. *aiβišhuta-* (Y 11.3); Caus.: IND. 3sg. ? YAv. *hāuuaiieiti* (Y 71.8¹), SUBJ. 3pl. ? YAv. *hāuuaiian* (V 8.73)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *hwn-* /*hun-* ‘to extract, express (*hōm*)’ || (+ **ni-*) ? MMP *nh’y-* (caus.) ‘to harry, cut to pieces?’ ⇒ DMMPP: 241b

Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *hwnyt* /*hunīd*/; Inf: BMP *hwnytn* /*hunīdan*/ || (+ **ni-*) Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. MMP *nh’y*d, *nh’y*yd, 3pl. MMP *nh’y*nd

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **fra-*) *m/šw-* ‘to dispute, insist on’ ⇒ Samadi: 200

•NWIR: NP *hāvan* ‘mortar’

•SANSKRIT: *sav* ‘to press, press out (Soma)’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 713

◇ This IIr. root has no certain IE *verbal* correspondences.

•PIE **seu-* ‘to extract, press out (a certain liquid)’ ⇒ LIV: 537 | Pok.: 912

•IE COGNATES: OHG *sou*, OE *sēaw* ‘juice’, Irish *suth* ‘juice, milk’. ◇ In Kluge 2002: 787b, s.v. *saugen*, the Germanic *suck* forms (OHG *sūgan*, ON *súga*, OE *sūgan*, etc.) are considered to derive from an "enlarged" Germanic root related to IE **seu-*.

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 255

***hau² ?** ‘to scorch, burn’

•AVESTAN: See ***hau¹**.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *h’w-* ‘to scorch, burn’ ⇒ DMMPP: 176b

Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *h’wynd*

•PARTHIAN: *h’w-* ‘to scorch, burn’ ⇒ Ghilain: 78 | DMMPP: 176b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *h’wyd*, SUBJ. 3sg. *h’w’h*; Partic.: pres. *h’wyndg*

•NEIR: ◇ The Pash. verb *alwoy-*, *al(w)ey-* ‘to scorch, singe, parch, roast’ is from **adi-hauaja-* according to *NEVP*: 8. The reconstruction is improbable though: there is little or no evidence for a preverb **adi-* and we would rather expect the "ruki"-var. **-šauaja-*. In the absence of the simplex stem, the possibility of analogical levelling cannot be invoked. It is rather from ***dauH¹**, Cheung 2004: 128.

◇ This sparsely attested root has no certain IE etymology. The existence of this root might even be doubted if we adhere to the interpretation of Kellens1984: 151, n. 15 of YAv. *hau-*, which is traditionally translated as ‘to braise, roast, vel sim.’. The WIr. forms could, alternatively, derive from older (augmented ?) **(a)-θāua-* (***dauH¹**).

•PIE – ⇨ LIV: 537 | Pok.: 914

•REFERENCES: Kellens 1984: 151, fn. 15.

***hauH¹** ‘to incite, drive’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *hu-* ‘to incite, drive’ ⇨ Liste: 73

Pres. *nā-*: IND. 3sg. OAv. *hunāitī* (Y 31.15), 1pl. OAv. *huanmahī* (Y 35.5)

•NEIR: ? Oss. I. *aw, jaw*, D. *aw(æ)* ‘force, action’

•SANSKRIT: *sav¹* ‘to impel, set in motion’ ⇨ EWAia II: 715

◇ Further Ir. cognates are uncertain.

•PIE **seuH₁-* ‘to press, push (forth)’ ⇨ LIV: 538 f. | Pok.: 914

•IE COGNATES: OHitt. *šu-ú-iz-zi* ‘casts off’, OIrish *soid* ‘turns’

•REFERENCES: Abaev I: 85; Werba 1997: 324

***hauH²** ‘to give birth, beget’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *hu-* ‘to give birth, beget’, *hunu-* (m.) ‘(daēvic) son, offspring’ (Y 51.10, Yt 10.113, Yt 19.41, etc.) ⇨ Liste: 73

Pres. *nā-*: IND. 1sg. YAv. *hunāmi* (V 18.31), 2sg. YAv. **hunāhi* (V 18.30)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ūi-*) BMP *wšwd-* /*wišūd-*/ (pret. stem) ‘to bear daevic offspring’

Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *wšwt* /*wišūd*/

•KHOTANESE: (+ neg. **a-*) *a-hvyāñna-* ‘not produced, eternal’ (Bailey, *KT* III: 57, 3)

•NWIR: (+ **fra-*) NP (class.) *rōd*, Kurd. *rō-la*, Lor. *rū(d)*, Kumz. *rōr* ‘son, child’

•SANSKRIT: *sav¹* ‘to give birth’ (RV+), *sūnú-* (m.) ‘son, offspring’ ⇨ EWAia II: 714, 741

•PIE **s(e)uH-* ‘to give birth, beget’ ⇨ LIV: 538 | Pok.: 913

•IE COGNATES: (?) Hitt. *šu-un-na^o* ‘to be full’, OCS *synъ*, Lith. *sūnùs*, Goth. *sunus*, Engl. *son*, etc.

•REFERENCES: Nyberg II: 216b; *DKS*: 15a, 509b; Werba 1997: 325; Asatrian – Livshits: 83

***hHai** ‘to chain, bind’

•AVESTAN: *hi-* ‘to chain, bind’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘to chain, bind to’ ⇨ Liste: 72

Pres. *ja-*: SUBJ. 3pl. YAv. *hiīān* (Yt 8.55); Perf.: IND. 3sg. OAv. *ā hišāiīā* (Y 29.1); Partic.: perf. pass.

YAv. *hita-* (Y 57.26, Yt 13.100, Yt 15.28, etc.)

•OLD PERSIAN: (+ *ui-) OP *vištāspa*- PN <vi-š-t-a-s-p> (DB 1.4, DB 2.93 f., DB 3.4, etc.). ◇ Lit. ‘with unbound horses’ ?, on which see also Szemerényi, *Beiträge II*: 166-17. Cf. YAv. *hitāspa*- PN (Yt 15.28, Yt 19.41).

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *ui-) MMP *wyš*-, BMP *wyš*- /*wišā*- ‘to release, open’, also MMP *wyš*’*h*- ‘id.’ ⇒ DMMPP: 359a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *wyšyd*, *wyš’hyd*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *wyš*; Partic.: pres, MMP *wyš*’*h*’*g*, *wyš*’*h*’*n*, perf. pass. MMP *wyš*’*d*, *wš*’*d*, BMP *wš*’*t* /*wišād*/, II MMP *wšyhyst*; Pass.: IND. 3sg. MMP *wšyhyd*, SUBJ. *wšyh*’*nd*

•PARTHIAN: (+ *ui-) *wyš*’*h*- ‘to let go, release, open’ ⇒ Ghilain: 88 | DMMPP: 359a
Pres.: IND. 3sg. *wyš’hyd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *wyš’h*’*n*, 3sg. *wyš’h*’*h*, ? *wyš’h*’, 1pl. *wyš’h*’*m*, IMPV. 2pl. *wyš’hyd*; Partic.: pres. *wyš’hg*, *wyš’hg*, perf. pass. *wyš*’*d*, *wyš*’’*d*; Inf.: *wyš*’*dn*

•KHOTANESE: *hīya*- ‘bound’

•SOGDIAN: (+ **apa*-) CSogd. *pyn*- ‘to open’ || (+ *ui-) MSogd. *wš*’*t*-*k*’*m* ‘ardent, impetuous’

(+ **apa*-) Pres.: IMPV. 2pl. CSogd. *pyntt*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **fra*-*ham*- ?) ? *šmy*- ‘to untie, loosened’, (intr./inch.) *šmsy*- ‘to become loose, untied’ ⇒ Samadi: 197, 196

•NWIR: (+ **pati*-) ? Zaz. *pēšiyen*- ‘to embrace’ || (+ *ui-) NP *gušādan*/*gušāy*- ‘to release’

•NEIR: (+ **apa*-) Yghn. *peñ*-, *peñ*-, *peyn*-/*péta* ‘to open, uncover, unroll, unravel’ || (+ **abi*- ?) (ppp.) ? Sh. *biŷīn*, (Baj.) *biwīn* ‘covered, closed (from above)’ || (+ *ui-) ? Sh. (Baj.) *wixi*(*y*)/*wixid*, Rosh. *wixay*-/*wixīd*, Bart. *wixī*-/*wixīd*, Yzgh. *wix*^w*ay*-/*wix*^w*ad* ‘to open, unlock’ (diff. EVS, l.c., s.v. **srai*), Wa. *wyš*(*ly*)/*wyš*(*ə*)*n*- ‘to let go, release, untie’, ? Pash. *wīt* ‘wide, open, ajar’, Sh. (Baj.) *wixīj*, Khf. *wixæj*, Bart. *wixēj* (f.), Rosh. *xēj*, Wa. *wəšik* ‘key’

•MISC: (+ *ui-) Par. *xē* ‘open’

•SANSKRIT: *sā*/*say* ‘to bind, fasten, fetter’ (RV+) || (+ *ui-) *viṣā* ‘to let loose, release; unharness, unbridle’ ⇒ EWAia II: 720

◇ The final **i* of **hHai* was originally not part of the root as it was rather an old IE pres. suffix: 3sg. **sH₂-ei-ti*, pl. **sH₂-i-enti* (A.L.). This can also be inferred from OP *vištāspa*-, which contains the past participle *višta*^o from **ui-šHta*- (**H* in this position disappears in Ir.), and the Skt. (Vedic) verbal attestations, cf. Kümmel 2000: 548ff.

•PIE **sH₂(e)i-* ‘to bind’ ⇒ LIV: 544 | Pok.: 891 f.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. *iš-ḫi-an-zi* ‘they bind’, Lith. *siėti*, Latv. *siet* ‘to bind’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 298b; *IIFL* II: 550a; Morgenstierne 1942: 264; Andreev – Peščereva: 305a; *EVS*: 19a, 94b f.; *DKS*: 276; Werba 1997: 323; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 400; *NEVP*: 93

*h₁auH ‘to sew’

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *hīya* ‘sewn stuffs’ (Bailey, *KT V*: 668b,2)

•SOGDIAN: CSogd., MSogd. *šwm* (denomin.) ‘to sew’, CSogd. *šwmqy* ‘sewing’ (cf. Sundermann 1984: 305 ad 8-10; 1988: 177 ad 14 f.)

Pres.: IND. 3pl. MSogd. *šwm’nd*; Pret.: tr. 3sg. CSogd. **šwmd’rt*, MSogd. *(w)šwmd’rt*

•NWIR: (+ **ui-*) Bal. *gušādīt/gušād-* (denomin.) ‘to sew, mend’. ◊ Not connected to ***hHai** ‘to chain, bind’, as assumed by Shahbakhsh.

•NEIR: Oss. I. *x_oyjyn/x_oyd*, D. *xujun/xud* ‘to sew’, Wa. *švən* ‘string, rope’ || (+ **uz-*) Yi. *žūy-*, M. *žīy-* ‘to sew’

•SANSKRIT: *syu* ‘to sew’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 734

◊ The initial *š-* found in several Iranian forms is because of *ruki* (after prev. **ni-*, **abi-*, etc.).

•PIE **sjeuH₁-* ‘to sew’ ⇒ LIV: 545 | Pok.: 915 f.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */sum(m)anza(n)-* ‘string, rope’, Lat. *suere*, Russ. *šit’*, SCr. *šiti*, Lith. *siúti*, Latv. *šūt*, Goth. *siujan* ‘to sew’, Engl. *to sew*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 279a; *DKS*: 483a f.; *Abaev, Slovar’* IV: 258; *Werba* 1997: 382; *Steblin-Kamenskij* 1999: 335; *Shahbakhsh*: s.v. *gušād-*

***hmar** ‘to remember, recall; to count’

•AVESTAN: (*š*)*mar-* ‘to remember, recall’ || (+ **abi-*) ‘to curse (in thought)’ || (+ **upa-*) ‘to recite; to have an oral agreement’ || (+ **pati-*) ‘to recall; long for’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to recite’ ⇒ Liste: 43

Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *fra.maraiti* (N 23, N 38, N 42), 3pl. OAv. *marəntī* (Y 43.14), YAv. *fra.marənti* (N 52), YAv. *paitišmarənti* (Y 23.3, Y 67.3), med. YAv. *paitišmarənte* (Yt 8.5, Yt 8.41, Yt 8.48), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *marāt* (Y 19.6), med. 3sg. ? YAv. *framarāite* (A 4.5, A 4.7), 3pl. YAv. **marānti* (FrW 4.1), OPT. med. 3sg. YAv. *upa maraēta* (V 4.45); Aor. athem.: OPT. 3sg. YAv. *mairiāt* (V 3.33); Partic.: pres. *marənt-* (Y 31.1, P 12), med. YAv. *marəmma-* (Y 55.6, Yt 5.86, Yt 16.17), med. YAv. *paitišmarəmma-* (Y 55.6, Yt 5.11, Yt 5.123, Yt 10.86), red. YAv. *aipi hišmarənt-* (Yt 10.45), perf. pass. YAv. *aīfi.šmarəta-* (Yt 14.34), YAv. *upa.məṛəta-* (V 4.48); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. (*ʕ*)*māraieiti* (Yt 14.29, Yt 16.7)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *šmyr-* ‘to be reckoned, accounted’, MMP *šm’r-* ‘to count, reckon’, BMP *ml/mar/* ‘calculation, number, account’, BMP *mlk/marag/* || (+ **abi-*) BMP *’wšm’l-/’ōšmār-/*, BMP *’wšmwł-/’ōšmur-/* (caus.) ‘to (ac)count, reckon’ || (+ **ā-*) BMP *’m’l’-/’āmār-/* ‘to reckon, calculate’ || (+ **pari-*) MMP *pryšm’r* ‘account’ ⇒ DMMPP: 93b, 57b, 283a

Partic.: pres. MMP *šmyr’n* ‘being counted, calculated [of autumn, spring]’ || (+ **abi-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. BMP *’wšmwlynd/’ōšmurənd/*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *’wšmwłtk/’ōšmurdag/*, BMP *’wšmwłt/’ōšmurd/*, BMP *’wšm’lt/’ōšmārd/*; Inf.: BMP *’wšm’lynyt/’ōšmārənīdan/* || (+ **ā-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. BMP *āmārənd/*

•PARTHIAN: *šm’r* ‘number, counting’ || (+ **ā-*) IPth. *hmr-kr* ‘accountant, économe’ ⇒ DMMPP: 93a

•KHOTANESE: *šumār-* (*ša’mār-*) ‘to count’ || (+ **pati-*) *patāmar-* (*paṃmar-*) ‘to report’ ⇒ SGS: 128, 67

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *ʾšmʾr*, BSogd. *šmʾr*, CSogd. *šmʾr* ‘to think, consider’ || (+ **pati-*) SSogd. *ptšmr-* ‘to count’, CSogd. *pcmr-* ‘to reckon, consider’, MSogd. *ptšmr-* ‘to think, count’, BSogd. *ptšmyr-*, MSogd. *ptšmyr-* (pass.) ‘to be counted, reckoned’

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. BSogd. *ʾšmʾrʾm*, dur. CSogd. *ʾšmʾrmsq*, 3sg. BSogd. *šmʾrt*, CSogd. *šmʾrt*, BSogd. *šmʾʾrt*, etc. || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: OPT. 3sg. CSogd. *pcmry*, 2pl. SSogd. *ptšmyrōy*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. BSogd. *ptšmyrt*, BSogd. *ptšmyrty*, SSogd. *ptšmyrty*, MSogd. *ʾptšmyrty*; Partic.: perf. pass. (pl.) SSogd. *ptšmrtʾyt*; Inf.: pret. MSogd. *ptšmrt*

•CHORESMIAN: *ʾlmr-* ‘to count; consider’ (**hišmara-*) ⇒ Samadi: 111

•BACTRIAN: (+ **ā-*) αυμαρο ‘account, settlement’ || (+ **ham-*) υαμαρο ‘account, total’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 183b f., 228a

•NWIR: (with pref. ?) NP *šumurdan/šumār-*, Kurd. *žmārtin*, *žmārdin/žmēr-* ‘to count, account for’ || (+ **abi-* or diff./without pref. ?) Aryan. *özwardan*, Anar. *-išumort/* (impv.) *wer-ušmor*, Gz. *öšmār-/öšmārt*, *išmārt*, Khuns. *(t)išmār-*, *šmār-/išmurt*, Mah. *-išmārd* ‘to count, reckon’ || (+ **ā-*) Zaz. *āmordiš/āmoren-*, (Kor.) *āmārt-/āmār-* ‘to count’, NP *āmār* ‘numeration, calculation’, Kurd. *ažmār* (f.) ‘number; account’ (*a-*: “prothetic” ?) || (+ **ham-*) NP *hamār* ‘number, quantity; measure’

•NEIR: Yi. *imār-/imuř*, M. *yumar-*, Pash. *šmērəl* ‘to count’ (LW ?), Oss. I. *mært* ‘measure of dry substances, chiefly of grain’, Pash. *dō-mra* ‘so much’, *cō-mra* ‘how much’ || (+ **pati-*) Oss. D. *fæsmærun/fæsmard* ‘to know, be known; to find out; to recall’, Yzgh. *pəmar-* ‘to wait for’ || (+ **ni-*) Oss. I. *nymær*, D. *(med)nimær* ‘on account of’

•MISC: (+ **ā-*) Orm. *amar-ōk*, *amar-ʿēk* ‘to hear’ = *amar-/amarók*, *mar-/marók* || (+ **ham-*?) Arm. (LW) *hamar* ‘number, account’

•SANSKRIT: *smar* ‘to remember, to become aware, to be mindful of’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 780

◇ The wide range of meanings which can be assigned to this root is odd: it may indicate the convergence of two IE roots ? Cf. *LIV*: l.c.

•PIE **(s)mer-* ‘to observe, consider, think of’ || **smer-* ‘to earn, get a share’ ⇒ *LIV*: 569 f. | Pok.: 969

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *ἰμείρω* ‘I desire, long’, Goth. **maurman*, OHG *mornēn*, OE *murnan*, Engl. *to mourn* || Gr. *μείρομαι* ‘I get a share’, (perf.) *ἔμμορε* ‘has a share’, Lat. *mereō* ‘I earn, merit’

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 82b, 207b; Ivanow 1926: 422; *EVP*: 74; *IIFL* I: 387a; *KPF* IV: 245 f.; *IIFL* II: 190b; Abaev, *Slovarʾ* II: 99 f., 201 f.; *EVS*: 56b; Lecoq 1974: 60; *WIM* I: 69; *WIM* II/1: 80; *DKS*: 411b; *Werba* 1997: 265; Paul 1998: 291a; Cabolov 1997: 76; Cabolov 2001: 41; Cheung 2002: 204, 209; Kiefer 2003: 191, 200

•*(h)mauč ? ‘to dress, clothe’

•AVESTAN: (+ **pati-*) YAv. *ʾpaitišmaoc-* ‘to shoe’ || (+ **fra-*) YAv. *framaoc-* ‘to undress ?’, YAv. *framuxti-* ‘the undressing’ (V 6.27) ⇒ *Liste*: 45

MED.; Pres. them.: INJ. 3sg. ? YAv. ⁺*framaocata* {vavcata} (F 484); Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. *paitišmuxta*- (Yt 5.64, Yt 5.78, Yt 10.125). ◇ For the emendation of YAv. ⁺*framaocata* see Klingenschmitt 1968: 484.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *mwg*, BMP *mwk* /*mōg*/ ‘shoe, boot’ || (+ **pati*-) MMP *pymwc*-, BMP *ptmwc*- /*paymōz*-/ ‘to don, wear’ || (+ **fra*-) MMP *fr’mw*c- ‘to put, take off (clothes), remove’. ◇ The spelling of MMP *fr’mw*c- with middle [ʔ] points to prev. **-ā*- ? ⇒ DMMPP: 233a, 289b f., 154a

(+ **pati*-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *pymwcyd*, BMP *ptmwcyt* /*paymōzēd*/, 3pl. MMP *pymwcynd*, BMP *ptmwcynd* /*paymōzēnd*/, IMPV. 2sg. BMP *ptmwc*- /*paymōz*-/; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *pymwxt*, *pymwwxt*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. BMP *ptmwcyhyt* /*paymōzihēd*/ || (+ **fra*-) Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *pr’mwcynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *pr’mwxt*, MMP *fr’mwxt*; Inf.: MMP ^x*pr’mwxt*n

•PARTHIAN: (+ **pati*-) *pdmwc*- ‘to dress in, put on (clothes, and figuratively)’ || (+ **fra*-) *fr’mw*c- ‘to take off’ ⇒ Ghilain: 62 f. | DMMPP: 270a, 154a

(+ **pati*-) Pres.: IND. 2sg. *pdmwcyyh*, 3sg. *pdmwcyd*, 3pl. *pdmwcynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. ^x*pdmwj’h*, 3sg. ^x*pdmwc’h*, IMPV. 2pl. *pdmwcyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. ^x*pdmwxtg*, *pdmwxt*, II *pdmwc’d*; Inf.: *pdmwxt*n || (+ **fra*-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *fr’mwcyd*, 1pl. *fr’mwcm*, 3pl. *fr’mwcynd*, SUBJ. 3sg. ^x*fr’mw’h*, IMPV. 2pl. *fr’mwcyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *fr’mwxt*, II ^x*fr’mw’d*; Inf.: *fr’mwxt*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **pati*-) *pamjs*- ‘to put on (clothing)’ ⇒ SGS: 66

•SOGLDIAN: (+ **pati*-) BSogd. *ptm’ync*, CSogd. *ptmync* ‘to clothe’ || (+ **fra*-) BSogd. *βr’mcn*- ‘to undress’, CSogd. *fr’mnc*- ‘to divest oneself of, take off’. ◇ CSogd. *fr’mnc*- may have lost the nasal: the stem vowel is possibly nasalized.

(+ **pati*-) Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *ptmynct* (Weber 1970: 193); Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *pt’ym’ync*, BSogd. *pt’ym’yncw*, CSogd. *ptymync*, MSogd. ^x*pt’ymync*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **pati*-) *pcmc*- ‘to put on (clothes), don’, (intr./inch.) ‘to dress oneself’ || (+ **fra*-) *šmc*- ‘to undress’ ⇒ Samadi: 141, 195

•NWIR: NP *mūq* ‘large boot’ (< Arab. < MP) || (+ **pati*-) NP *paymōz*-/*paymōxtan* ‘to dress’

•NEIR: (+ **upa*-) Sariq. *baŷmej*-/*baŷmi*/ūg ‘to close’ (? -ŷ- from *naŷmej*-) || (+ **ni(š)*-) Sariq. *naŷmej*-/*naŷmi*/ūg ‘to hide, conceal; conserve’ || (+ **pati*-) Ishk. *рьтѣс*-/*рьтѣуд*, Sh. (Baj.) *pinij*-/*pinūyd* (with lab. dissim., EVS: 56b), Sangl. *pamej*-/*patewg*, Wa. *pumuc*- (*pum(ы)c*-)/*pumaŷd*- (*pumaŷn*-) ‘to put on clothing, dress’ || (+ **fra*-) Oss. I. *ræmuzyn*/*ræmyğd*, D. *ræmozun*/*ræmuğd* ‘to tear apart, rip out’ || (+ **ni(š)*-) Sariq. *naŷmej*-/*naŷmi*/ūg ‘to hide, conceal; conserve’

•MISC: Arab. (LW) *mūq*, Syr. (LW) *mōqā*, Arm. (LW) *moyk* ‘shoe’ || (+ **pati*-) Arm. (LW) *patmučan*

◇ The root may have initial **h*- (< IE **s*-), which depends on YAv. *paitišmux*-, with a strange (“ruki”) -š-. This root **(h)mauč* is identical with ***mauč**¹ ?

•PIE ? ◇ No exact IE cognates are known, except for a corresponding “unenlarged” root in Lith. *máuti* ‘to put on, don’, which is to be separated from *máuti* ‘to rush, tear along’. ⇒ LIV: 445 | Pok.: 743

•REFERENCES: *GMS*: §848, 858; *Abaev, Slovar'* II: 373 f.; *EVS*: 48b, 56b; *DKS*: 201b; *Skjærvø, MP Impf.*: 163 ff.; *Steblin-Kamenskij* 1999: 270; *Cheung* 2002: 218

***hrab** ‘to sip, suck (in)’

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *uz-) ? *mžβ-* ‘to absorb, sip, suck in/out’, *m/rBY-* (sec. tr. ?) ‘to squeeze, press out’, *m/žβs-* (pass.) ‘to be squeezed, pressed out’, *m/žnb-* (sec. caus.) ‘to squeeze, press out’ (cf. *Yüce – Benzing* 1985: 93) ⇒ *Samadi*: 268 f.

•NEIR: Pash. *raw-/rawd-*, Sh. *rāv-/rīvd*, Sariq. *rov-/rivd*, (?) *Yzgh. rak^w* ‘to suck’, *Ishk. rūv-* ‘to give milk (about cows)’, ? *Yi. šuv-* ‘to suck’, Sariq. *ruvj* ‘feeding tube for babies’, *Wa. rowj* ‘teat, comforter made of horn’ || (+ *apa-) Sh. *birēw-/birēwd*, *birud* ‘to wean a child’ || (+ *?) ? *Yi. fšūv-/fšuvd* ‘to suck’ (“*upa-šāp-”, *IIFL*, l.c.)

◇ On the IE origin of Ir. *hrab see *EVP*: 65.

•PIE *sreb^h- ‘to sip, gulp, suck (in)’ ⇒ *LIV*: 588 | *Pok.*: 1001

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */sarāpi/* ‘sips’, Gr. *ρόπέω*, Lat. *sorbeō*, Lith. *srebiù (srēbti)* ‘I slurp, gulp down’, Arm. *arbi* ‘I drank’, etc.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 253a, 209b; *EVS*: 69b, 116a, 20b; *Steblin-Kamenskij* 1999: 297; *NEVP*: 71

***(h)rah** ? ‘to fall off, leave, let go, escape, reject ?’

•AVESTAN: *rəš-* (*rāṅh-*) ‘to be disloyal, (?) apostatize’, *YAv. raṅha-* ‘epileptic’ (*Yt* 5.93) ⇒ *Liste*: 57

Pres. them. red. *ja-*: IND. 3pl. *OAv. rārəšiičīntī* (*Y* 47.3), SUBJ. 3pl. *OAv. rārəšiiṅ* (*Y* 32.11); Partic.: pres. *YAv. rārəšiiṅt-* (*Yt* 11.6), intens. *OAv. rārəša-* (*Y* 49.2); Caus.: INJ. 3pl. *OAv. rāṅhaiṅ* (*Y* 32.12)

•NWIR: ? *Kurd. (Kurm.) rehandin/rehīn-* ‘to reproach, decline, reject’, (*Sor.*) *ret* ‘rejection’

•SANSKRIT: *sraṃs* ‘to fall off, asunder, to pieces; to get loose from, loosen’ (*KS, MS+*) ⇒ *EWAia* II: 783

◇ The evidence for this root consists of Av. attestations, whose meaning is not entirely certain.. The Pers. forms that *Nyberg* II: 167b cites in support, *MMP rh-*, *BMP lh- /rah-* ‘to escape’, *NP rastaṅ/rah-* ‘to be delivered, saved, escape’, may rather go back to *rHaz. On the other hand, the *Kurd. forms* may be included (?). No IE etymology can be cited for this *IIr. root*.

•PIE – ⇒ *LIV*: – | *Pok.*: 680

***hrau** ‘to flow’

•AVESTAN: *YAv. (Gpl.) raonam* ‘rivers’ (*Y* 10.17, *Yt* 14.21)

•OLD PERSIAN: *rauta(h)-* <r-u-t> ‘river’ (*DZc.9*)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: *MMP rwd*, *BMP lwt /rōd/* ‘river, canal’ ⇒ *DMMPP*: 299a

•PARTHIAN: *r’w-* ‘to pour off’, also *rwd* ‘rivers’ ⇒ *Ghilain*: – | *DMMPP*: 293b, 299a
Pres.: IND. 3pl. *r’wynd*

•SOGDIAN: BSogd., CSogd. *rwš* ‘to flow, stream’, CSogd. *rwt* (m.) ‘river’. ◇ The sibilant *š* is from the aor. ?, cf. sigm. aor. Skt. *asrauṣīt* (ŚB) ‘flowed’.

Pres.: OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *rwš’y*, CSogd. **rwšy*; ‘z-Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *rwš’z*; Inf.: BSogd. *rwš’t*

•CHORESMIAN: *rw-* ‘to flow’, *r’wy-* (caus.) ‘to let (it) flow’ || (+ **ab₁-uz-*) ? *m/βzrw-* ‘to flow, flood’, *m/βzr’wy-* (caus.) ‘to let it flood, to inundate’ || (+ **fra-*) *hlw-* ‘to drip; flow (of urine)’, *hl’wy-* (caus.) ‘to let it drip, drop’ ⇒ Samadi: 173, 168, 47, 89f.

•NWIR: NP *rōd* ‘river’

•NEIR: Yghn. *ruš-/rúšta* ‘to flow, stream; to fall [of stars]’ (-š- < old. aor. ?), Yi. *lūr-/rust-*, M. *lur-/rust-* ‘to flee’

•SANSKRIT: *srav* ‘to flow’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 784

•PIE **sreu-* ‘to stream, flow’ ⇒ LIV: 588 | Pok.: 1003

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *ῥεῖν* ‘to flow, stream’, Arm. *aroganel* ‘to irrigate’, Lith. *sravėti* ‘to seep, flow slowly’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 224a; Andreev – Peščereva: 316b; *DKS*: 330a; Werba 1997: 266 f.

***h₂ad** ‘to become, make savoury, pleasant’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *x^vāsta-* (ppp.) ‘cooked, well done’ (Y 11.1, V 5.52, V 19.40, etc.), OAv. *hudāma-* ‘sweetness’ (Y 29.8)

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **pati-*) *pcxw’z-* ‘to be fragrant’ ⇒ Samadi: 147 f.

•NWIR: NP *x^vā(y)* ‘taste, flavour’, Bal. *wād*, Kurd. *xwey* ‘salt’

•NEIR: Pash. *xwand* (m.) ‘taste, pleasure’ (Cheung 2004: 129), Sariq. *xuδ(in)* ‘rich, buttered dough or bread’ || (+ **ā-*) Oss. I. *axodyn/axost*, D. *axwadun/axwast*, *axust* ‘to taste’

•SANSKRIT: *svad* ‘to make, become savoury, taste’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 788

◇ The laryngeal disappeared in Ilr., on which see further Lubotsky 1981: 137 f.

•PIE **sueH₂d-* ‘to make, become savoury’ ⇒ LIV: 606 f. | Pok.: 1039 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *εὔαδε, ἄδε* (aor.) ‘liked’, Lith. *sūdėti* ‘to salt’, Toch. A *swār*, OE *swēte*, Engl. *sweet* (etc.)

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 98; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 90 f.; *EVS*: 96b; Werba 1997: 401; *NEVP*: 97; Korn 2005: 226, 228, 410

***h₂ah** ‘to strike, thresh; [inch., intr.] to become tired’

•AVESTAN: (+ **pati-*) YAv. *paiti x^vajh-* ‘to thresh’ ⇒ Liste: 18

Pres. *aja-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *paiti x^vajhaiieiti* (Y 57.10); Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. *x^vasta-* (V 7.35)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *hws-* /*xwas-*/ (pret. stem) ‘to trample’ || (+ **fra-*) MMP *frxw’h-* ‘to tread, trample’ ⇒ DMMPP: 158b

Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *hwst/xwast* || (+ **fra-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *frxw’hynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *prxwst*

- PARTHIAN: wx's-, xw's- (inch.) 'to become weak, enfeebled' ⇒ DMMP: 348a, 366a
- KHOTANESE: OKh. *hvai-* (*hvas-*) 'to strike' || (+ **ati-*) OKh. *ttāhvai-* 'to thresh, strike' || (+ **pati-*) *pvah-* 'to strike' || (+ **fra-*) LKh. *hahvā-* 'to hash' || (+ **niš-*) *ne'hve-* (*nei'hvas-*) 'to cross; conquer' ⇒ SGS: 156, 39, 60
- SOGDIAN: BSogd. *y(w)'w(-)*, BSogd. *xw'w(-)*, MSogd. *x'w(-)* 'to hit, beat' (+ pres. **ua-*suff.), ? SSogd. *xw'yk* PN (UppInd.257) || (+ **apa-*) BSogd. *'pxw'y*, CSogd. *pxw'y*, MSogd. *pxw'y* 'to cut off' || (+ **a₂u-*) BSogd. *'wx'y* 'pestle' (SCE: 249) || (+ **us-*) BSogd. (*'*)*sxw'y* 'to lift; to take', CSogd. *swx'y* 'to lift, raise', MSogd. *sxwst-* (pret. stem) 'to take away' || (+ **pati-*) SSogd. *ptxws*, BSogd. *ptxw'y*, CSogd. *ptwx'y*, MSogd. *ptxw'y* 'to kill, put to death' || (+ **pati-us-*) ? BSogd. *pcxw'y-*, CSogd. *pcwx'y-* 'to hinder, withstand' || (+ **para-* or **pari-*) CSogd. *prxw'y* 'to tread' || (+ **fra-*) BSogd. *βrxw'y* 'to chop, cut up' || (+ **niš-*) BSogd. *nšx(')*ws (pass.) 'to be torn' || (+ **ui-*) CSogd. *ywx'y* 'to severe, separate, divide' (with dissim. **ui ... *u > y ... w*) || (+ **ham-*) BSogd. *'nxw'y*, MSogd. *'nxw'y* 'to break, infringe, goad', (rather prev. **ni-* ?) MSogd. *nxwy* 'to crush'
- Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *y'wt*, 3pl. BSogd. *yw'w'nt*, OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *yw'w'y* || (+ **apa-*) Pres.: OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *'pxw'y'y*, CSogd. *'pxw'y*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *pxw'y*; Inf.: pret. BSogd. *'pxwsty*, BSogd. *pxw'sty*, CSogd. *'pxwsty*, CSogd. *pxwsty* || (+ **us-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *sxwyt*, OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *sxw'y'y*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. SSogd. *'sxw'y*, etc. || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *ptxw'yt*, INJ. 1sg. CSogd. *ptwx'yw*, MSogd. *ptxw'yn*, etc. || (+ **pati-us-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 1sg. CSogd. *pcx'yn*, OPT. 1pl. CSogd. *pcx'ym*; 'z-Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *pcx'y'z*, etc. || (+ **para-* or **pari-*) Pres.: OPT. 3sg. CSogd. *prxwy'* || (+ **fra-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. BSogd. *βrxw'y'ntw* || (+ **niš-*) Pass.: pret. intr. IND. 3sg. BSogd. *nšxwsty*, 3pl. BSogd. *nšx'wst'nt*, OPT. 3pl. BSogd. *nšxwst'ynt* || (+ **ui-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 3pl. CSogd. *'ywx'ynt*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *ywx'y*; Fut.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *ywxytq*; Partic.: perf. pass. CSogd. *ywxsty*, CSogd. (pl.) *ywxstyt* || (+ **ham-*) Pres.: IMPV. 2pl. MSogd. *nxwyδδ*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *m₂xwy*; Pass.: pret. intr. IND. 1sg. MSogd. *'nxstyy* *'ktym* 'I have been goaded'
- CHORESMIAN: *xw'h-* 'to thresh', *m₂x's-* (inch.) 'to become tired, weak', *m/ḫ(w)'sy-* (inch.-caus.) 'to free, release' || (+ **apa-*) *m/pxs(y)-* (intr./pass.) 'to be cut off' (or 'struck off' ?), *m/pxy-* (caus.) 'to cut off' ('to strike off' ?) || (+ **pati-*) *pcx'w-* 'to hit on, into; claw' (+ pres. **ua-*suff.). ◇ The appearance of *-h-* in Chor. *xw'h-* is peculiar, since old Ir. **-h-* regularly disappeared in Choresmian (and, indeed, in most, if not all, East Iranian languages). Perhaps, Chor. *-h-* continues the restored ruki **š*. ⇒ Samadi: 244, 232, 245, 165, 146
- BACTRIAN: (+ **ui-*) οιχ₂οα₂οσ₂ 'loss, deprivation' ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 214a
- NWIR: *Widely attested*: Kurd. (Kurm.) *xistin/xi-*, *xīn-*, (Sor.) *xa-* 'to strike, beat; to place', (orig. ppp.) NP *x'ast* 'beaten road; rubbed', Tt. *xwah-* 'to thresh', Abyan. *xössan* (inch. ?) 'to strike', Ard. *xoste/xoss-* (inch. ?), Qohr. *xosta/xos-* (inch. ?) 'to throw', Awrom. *wistáy/wiz-* 'to put, throw' (*-z < ?*), (inch. ?) Fariz. *-χos/-χos-*, Yar. *-χūs/-χos-*, Gz. *χūs-/χus(s)-*, *χos(s)-*, Natan. *-χūs(t)/-χūs-* 'to throw, strike', Ham.

xostān/xus-, Isfah. *xosān/xuš-* ‘to throw’, Khuns. *χūs-/χūs(s)-* ‘to throw, strike’, Jow. *βem-xōst/a-xus-*, Meim. *bi:m-xōst/a-xus-* ‘to strike, beat’, Nn. *xus/xus-* ‘to throw, shoot’ || (+ *ā-) Kurd. (Sor.) *āxinīn/āxin-* ‘place, put in, plug (in something); to put, lock up in jail’, Bakht. *āxūn* ‘threshing’, Gz. *āxun* ‘threshed grain heap; threshing-field’, Siv. *āxā* ‘Dreschschlitten, čarx-i-xirmankōbī’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *xojyn/xost*, D. *xwajun/xwast* ‘to strike, knock, pound’, ? Oss. I. *xawyn/xawd*, D. *xawun/xawd* ‘to fall; to befall’ (with dissim. of first **u*, + pres. *ua*-suff.), Sh. *xay-/xūst*, (Baj.) *xi-/xust*, Khf. *xay-/xost*, Rosh. *xōy-/xost*, Bart. *xīy-/xōst* ‘to thresh’, Yghn. *x^way-*, *xoy-/xásta*, *x^wastá*, Ishk. *xəy-*, Yi. *xá-/xást-* ‘to thresh’, Yzgh. *x^wayn* ‘threshing’, Sh. *xōj* ‘sheaves ready for threshing’ || (+ **apa-*) Yghn. *p(u)xoy-/puxásta* ‘to cut out; to tear (a fabric)’ || (+ **us-*) Oss. I. *ysxojyn/ysxwyst*, D. *(æ)sxwajun/(æ)sxust* ‘to push, thrust; to leave quickly, rush, drive away’, Yghn. *sūxóy-/sūxásta*, *sūxóyta* ‘to lift’ || (+ **pati-*) Yghn. *t^(u)xoy-*, *tūxóy-/t^(u)xásta* ‘to kill, slay’, Yi. *paixó* ‘unthreshed grain, straw with the corn’ || (+ **fra-*) Oss. I. *ræxojyn/ræx_oy_{st}*, D. *ræxwajun/ræxust* ‘to penetrate, pierce; to split’ || (+ **ham-*) Yghn. *ūnxóy-*, *ūnxoy-/ūnxásta*, *ūnxasta* ‘to break [(in)tr.], strike (to pieces)’

◇ A plausible IE provenance cannot be given for this apparently exclusively Ir. root.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 133a f.; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 164 f., 260; *KPF* I: 133a f.; Abrahamian 1936: 125, 134; *IIFL* II: 242a, 265a; Lambton 1938: 42a, 78a; Andreev – Peščereva: 361b, 324b, 310b, 339b f., 341a f.; MacKenzie 1966: 112; Abaev, *Slovar’* II: 393 f.; *EVS*: 99b, 97b; Lecoq 1974: 63; *WIM* I: 70; *DKS*: 476b, 508a f., 256b f.; *WIM* II/1: 79; *WIM* II/2: 634 f.; *WIM* III: 301; Vahman – Asatrian 1991: 78; Abaev, *Slovar’* IV: 211 f., 148; Cabolov 1997: 75; Cabolov 2001: 101; Lecoq 2002: 121, 126, 128 (pass.)

*h₂uid ‘to sweat’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *x^vīs-* ‘to sweat’ ⇒ Liste: 18

Pres. inch.: INJ. 3sg. YAv. *x^vīsaṭ* (Y 9.11, rep.), 3pl. YAv. *x^vīsan* (V 3.32)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *hwyd/xwēy/* ‘sweat’

•PARTHIAN: *xwstbyd* ‘wet place’ ⇒ DMMPP: 369b

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *hvī* ‘sweat’ || (+ *ā-) LKh. *āhus-* ‘to sweat’ ⇒ SGS: 13

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *xwys* (inch.) ‘to sweat’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *xwyst*

•CHORESMIAN: *m/xs-* ‘to sweat’ ⇒ Samadi: 242

•NWIR: NP *xēsīdan/xēs-*, Khuns. *χīs-/χīsā* ‘to become wet, soak’, *χīsn-/χīsnā* (caus.) ‘to make wet, moisten’, NP (obs.) *x^vay*, Bal. *hēd*, Kurd. *xwih* (f.) ‘sweat’

•NEIR: Khf. *šawδ-/xa^wd*, Yzgh. *xūδ-* ‘to defecate’, (old ppp.) Yzgh. *xist* ‘wet, moist, soaked’, Oss. I. *xid*, D. *xed*, Pash. *xwala*, M. *xala*, Yzgh. *x^wiδ* ‘sweat’, Sh. *xēδ*, Bart. *xīδ* ‘dirt’, Sariq. *xeyδ* ‘dirt; sweat’ || (+ **pati-*) Pash. *parxél*, *paxél* (m.) ‘causing (an invalid) to sweat’

•SANSKRIT: *sved* ‘to sweat’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 798

◇ This root has an impeccable IE etymology.

•PIE **sueid-* ‘to sweat’ ⇒ LIV: 607 f. | Pok.: 1043

•IE COGNATES: Latv. *svīst* ‘to sweat’, Gr. ἰδρώς (m.), Lat. *sūdor* (m.), Toch. B *syelme*, Latv. *sviēdri*, OHG *sweiz*, Engl. *sweat*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 98; *EVS*: 96b, 116b, 119a; *WIM* I: 70; *DKS*: 507b; Abaev, *Slovar* IV: 199 f.; *Werba* 1997: 267; *NEVP*: 65

*huanH ‘to call’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *x^van-* ‘to sound’ ⇒ Liste: 18

Pres. *nu-*: IND. 3pl. YAv. *apa.x^vanuuaīnti* (Yt 14.46); Partic.: (pres.?, aor.?) YAv. *x^vanat^o* (Yt 17.1, Yt 9.2). ◇ On the interpretation of YAv. *apa.x^vanuuaīnti* see Narten 1970: 173ff.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *xw’n-* ‘to call’, MMP *xw’nyh-* (pass.) ‘to resound’ || (+ **ā-*) MMP *’xw’n-* ‘to call’ || (+ **upa-*) MMP *’bxw’n-* ‘to call, cry’, *’bxwn* ‘cries, shouting’ (Henning 1937: 80) ⇒ DMMPP: 365b, 6a

Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP *xw’nym*, 3sg. MMP *xw’nyd*, 1pl. MMP *xw’nwm*, 3pl. MMP *xw’nynd*, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *’xw’n’nd*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *xw’n*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *xw’nd*, *xwnd*, *xw’nyhyst*; Inf.: MMP *xwndn*; Pass.: IND. 3sg. MMP *xwnyhyd*, SUBJ. 2sg. MMP *xw’nyh’d* || (+ **ā-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *’xw’nyd* || (+ **upa-*) Pres.: MMP *’bxw’n*

•PARTHIAN: *xwn-* ‘to be heard, sound’ || (+ **pati-*) *pdxwn-* ‘to play, sound (a musical instrument)’ ⇒ Ghilain: 48 | DMMPP: 368a, 15b, 272a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *xwnyd*, SUBJ. 3sg. *’xwn’d* || (+ **pati-*) Partic: perf. pass. II *pdxwn’d*

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *hvañ-* (med./pass.) ‘to be called’, Khot. *hvāñ-* (caus.) ‘to speak’ ⇒ SGS: 156

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *xw’n-*, BSogd. *xwn-*, CSogd. *xwn-* ‘to call, cry’, BSogd. *xwyn-* ‘to be called’ || (+ **abi-*) BSogd. *’βx’n* ‘cry, lamentation’ || (+ **upa-*) BSogd. *’px’wn* ‘to call out, inform’ (less likely: < **apa-*) || (+ **pati-*) (pass.) SSogd. *pcxwny* ‘to be insulted’, BSogd. *pcxwny*, MSogd. *pcxwn* ‘scorn, abuse’ || (+ **pari-*) BSogd. *prywn* ‘censure, condemnation’ || (+ **ui-*) SSogd. *wxw’n* ‘*Aussage*’ (AL 4.8)

Pres.: IND. 1sg. SSogd. *’xw’n’m*, 3sg. CSogd. *’xwnty*, 3pl. BSogd. *xwn’nt*, IMPV. 2pl. BSogd. *xwnd’*, etc. || (+ **upa-*) Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *p’x’wn* || (+ **pati-*) Pass.: pres. SUBJ. 3sg. *pcxwny’t*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **abi-*) *m/’fxw’ny-* ‘to incite, encourage’ ⇒ Samadi: 3

•BACTRIAN: *χοαv-, χοιv-, χοηv-* ‘to state, declare, claim’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 233a, 231b

•NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *x^vāndan/x^vān-*, Bal. *wānt/wān-* ‘to read, sing’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *xwandin/xwīn-*, (Sor.) *xōndin(ewe)/xōn-*, Zaz. *wendiš/wānen-* ‘to read, learn’, Tt. (Tak.) *xen/xend*, Fariz. *χūndān-/χūn-* ‘to read, call’, Gil. (Rsht.) *du-χadæn/du-χan-* (orig. ?) ‘to call’, (LW ?) *χand-/χan-* ‘to read, recite, sing’, Abz. *xanda/xōn-*, Abyan. *xōnda/xūn-*, Gz. *χūn-/χūn(t)*, Ham. *xondān/xun-*, Isfah. *xuntān/xun-*, Jow. *bam-xōn-/a-xun-*, Khuns. *χūn-/χūnt* (+ *vār*), Natan. *χond*, Semn. *-xundā-*, Shamerz. *-χund-/χām-* ‘to read’, Gur. (Kand.) *-uwān-* ‘to call upon; to bless,

conclude a marriage', Kurd. *xundin*, Awrom. *wānāy/-wān-* 'to read, study', Nn. *xont/xon-* 'to read, call', Sang. *-χúnd-/χun-*, Siv. *χān-/χānd*, Sorkh. *-χānd-/χān-* 'to call; to read' || (+ *ā-) NP *āx^vānd* 'teacher' || (+ *abi-) NP *afğān, fiğān* 'tears, crying' (< Sogd., cf. Benveniste 1946: 97, n. 1060)

•NEIR: Oss. I. *xwinyun/xwynd*, D. *xunnun/xund* (pass./intr.) 'to be called', I. *xonyn/xwynd*, D. *xonun/xund* (caus./tr.) 'to call; to invite; to lead, take as a wife', Wa. *ǰān-/ǰāt-* 'to speak, say; to sing', Yzgh. *ǰ^wān-/ǰ^want-* 'to read (prayers, spells)', Sariq. *xey-/xed* 'to sound, play an instrument' || (+ *abi-) ? Sh. (Baj.) *viwān-/viwīd* 'to renounce, abstain from (food); to be capricious', Bart. *viwīn-/viwōd*, (f.) *viwād* 'to be offended', Bart. *viwōn-/viwōnt* (caus.) 'to offend' || (+ *ui-) ? Yi. *ušún-/ušināi* 'to neigh'

•SANSKRIT: *svanⁱ* 'to sound' (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 790

•PIE **suenH₂-* 'to sound' ⇒ LIV: 611 | Pok.: 1046 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *sonere, sonāre* 'to sound, to ring', *sonus* (m.) 'noise, sound', OE *swinn* 'music'

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 3; *KPF* I: 137b, 206a; *KPF* II: 193; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 69 f., 63, 159, 258; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 53, 113, 157; *IIFL* II: 552b, 193b; Abrahamian 1936: 125, 134; Lambton 1938: 77b; MacKenzie 1966: 111; Yarshater 1969: 183; *EVS*: 86b, 99b; *WIMI*: 70; *DKS*: 502a f.; *WIM* II/1: 79; Blau 1980: 269b; *WIM* III: 112; Omar 1992: 690a; Werba 1997: 330 f.; Paul 1998: 318b; Cabolov 1997: 76; Abaev, *Slovar* IV: 253, 214; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 415; Lecoq 2002: 124, 126 (passim); Korn 2005: 122, 411 (passim)

*huap/f 'to sleep'

•AVESTAN: YAv. *x^vab-* (*x^vaf-*) 'to sleep' || (+ *aua-) 'to go to sleep, fall asleep' || (+ *ni-) caus. 'to put to sleep' ⇒ Liste: 17f.

Pres. {1} *da-*: IND. med. 3pl. YAv. *auuāḡhabdāṇte* (N 52, N 53), OPT. med. 3sg. YAv. *auuāḡhabdāēta* (V 4.45); Pres. {2} *inch.*: IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *x^vafsa* (V 18.16, V 18.24), 2pl. *x^vafsata* (H 2.42, rep.); Perf.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *hušx^vafā* (Y 57.17); Partic.: pres. med. YAv. *auuāḡhabdāṇna-* (H 1.11), perf. pass. YAv. *x^vapta-* (V 18.46); Caus. *da-*: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *nix^vabdaieiti* (V 18.16, V 18.24)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *xwpt* (pret. stem), BMP *hwps-* /*xufs-* (*HLMWN-*) 'to sleep' ⇒ DMMPP: 368b

Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *xwpt'n* (pl.), BMP *hwptk /xuftag/*

•PARTHIAN: *xwsp-* (*inch.*) 'to fall asleep, sleep'. ◇ The WIr. (notably Pth.) *initial* segment *h(a)sp-* seems to reflect **ham-su-*, whereas the rear segment points to influence of **saiH¹* 'to lie down, go to sleep', cf. ppp. **si(H)ta-*, nomin. **sai(H)ana-*. ⇒ Ghilain: 95 | DMMPP: 369b

Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. *xwsp*; Partic.: perf. pass. *xwft, xwft*, (pl.) *xwftg'n*

•KHOTANESE: (*h*)*ūs-* 'to sleep' || (+ *aua-) *ūm-* (denomin.) 'to fall asleep' (< **aua-huaf-na-*) || (+ *ui-) ? *vau's-* (*vo'-*) 'to faint'. ◇ The origin of Khot. *vau's-/vo'-* 'to faint' needs more further clarification. According to Sims-Williams 1983: 49f.,

the Khot. forms derive from *aʷa-šʷafsa-/*aʷa-šʷafta-* with secondary *š. Emmerick (SVK II: 134) remarks that the reconstruction remains a theoretical construct with no close parallel elsewhere. Perhaps, one may need one assumption less if the Khot. forms are rather prefixed with *ʷi- (which would perfectly explain *š, due to *ruki*). The *ʷi*-formation does have a Skt. correspondence (albeit a late one): *viṣṣṭa-*. ⇒ SGS: 154, 19, 125

•SOGDIAN: CSogd. *ʷšpn-* (denomin.) ‘to rest’ || (+ **aʷa-*) BSogd. *wʷβs-*, CSogd. *ʷwfs-* ‘to sleep, fall asleep’

Pres.: OPT. 3sg. CSogd. *ʷšpny*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *mšpn* || (+ **aʷa-*) Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *wʷβs*, CSogd. *wʷfs*; Perf.: intr. SUBJ. 3sg. dur. MSogd. *ʷwβtyy* ^x *ʷskwʷt* ‘should be asleep’; Partic.: perf. pass. CSogd. *ʷwbc* (f. ‘asleep’, CSogd. *ʷwβtyt* pl., MSogd. *ʷwβtyy*; Inf.: pret. SSogd. *ʷwβt*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **fra-*?) *hsf-* ‘to rest, be resigned’. ◇ MacKenzie 1969: 398 derives the Chor. forms from **ha-spā-*, comparing them to MMP *hsp-* in *hspyn* ‘rest, repose’, *hspyd* ‘rested’. The problem, however, is the appearance of *-f-* in the Chor. forms (instead of *-p-*). Samadi cautiously suggests dissimilation: < **hasfsa-*. Actually, the irregular Ir. continuations of **hʷap/f-* may point to interference. Influence of the root ***čjaH¹** ‘to be calm, rest’ would explain the Chor. formations in *-ʷ* (e.g. *ppp. hsfʷdk*, s.v. **fra-hʷap/f-*), which may be imported from **čjāta-*. The fricative *-f-* originates in the past partic. **hufta-*. The initial (ʷ)š- of the denomin. CSogd. *ʷšpn-* may derive from **čj-* of the same interfering root. ⇒ Samadi: 92

•NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *xuftan/xusb-* ‘to fall asleep’, Bal. *wapt/waps-* ‘to go to sleep’, Kurd. *xeftin*, (Sul.) *xawtīn*, (Sina) *xaftīn*, Zaz. *witiš*, Anar. *hauft-/haus-*, Abyan. *hōtta/hōs-*, Awrom. *wtáy-/us-*, Bakht. *xausīdan*, Fariz. *-hot-/hos-*, Qohr. *hōta/hōs-*, (v)ōs-, Tr. *hota/hos-*, Yar. *hot-/hos-* ‘to sleep’, Gz. *yōs-/yuft*, *yōsā* ‘to go to sleep’, Gil. (Rsht.) *bu-χuft-/bu-χus-*, Gur. (Kand.) *witān-/ūs-*, Khuns. *χus-/χuft* ‘to sleep, go to sleep’, Jow. *-os-*, Qohr. *bō-xūt-*, Meim. *be-vot-/a-vos-*, Nn. *ufte/us-*, Soi *bū-hūt-* ‘to go to sleep’, Semn. (impv.) *báxus* ‘go to sleep!’, Siv. *(f)ās-/fet*, Natan. *-χoa/χow-*, Varz. *xofte/us-* ‘to sleep’, Fariz. *-hossinā*, Yar. *-hosna*, Khuns. *χusn-/χusnā*, Siv. *āsān-/fesānd* (caus.) ‘to put to sleep’, Mah. *hōwos-/hōwot-* ‘to fall asleep’, Sang. *-χott-/χos-æn-*, Shamerz. *-χót-/χosám-*, Sorkh. *-χut-/χos-*, Lasg. *-χot-/χos-*, Tal. *xəs-* ‘to sleep’, NP *sipanj* ‘inn, shelter’ (LW)

•NEIR: Oss. I. *xoyssyn/xoyst*, D. *xussun/xust* ‘to sleep; to lie down’, Sh. (Baj.) *šōfc-/šōvd*, Khf. *šōfc-/šōvd*, Rosh. *šōfs-šōvd*, Sariq. *šufs-šuvd* ‘to (go to) sleep’, Yzgh. *xʷab-* (*xʷēb-*) ‘to swing, shake (a cradle), rock to sleep’, (caus.) *xʷəban-* ‘to put (a baby) to bed, to lull to sleep’, (nomin./ppp.) Pash. *ūdə* ‘sleeping’ = *udə*, (Waz.) *wewd* (etc.) ‘asleep’, ? Wa. *xəlxəfs-/xəlxəfst-* ‘to doze’, Yi. *xōv-*, M. *xūb-* ‘sleep, dream’ || (+ **aʷa-*) Yghn. *ufs-* ‘to fall asleep’ || (+ **ā-*?) Bart. *axāfs-/axōvd* ‘to (go to) sleep’ || (+ **pati-*) Yzgh. *pəxas-/pəxovd* ‘to fall asleep’ || (+ **fra-*) Rosh. *rašēp-/rašēpt* ‘to lullaby, rock’, Wa. *гы́х(ы)р-/гохорт-* ‘to sleep, fall asleep’, (caus.)

гьӕ(ы)р(ы)в-/гоӕ(р)овд- ‘to put to sleep’ || (+ *ni-) Sh. *niḫāb-*, (Baj.) *niḫ(ḫ)āb-/niḫ(ḫ)ābt*, Rosh. *niḫēb-*, Orosh. *niḫōb-* ‘to rock to sleep’

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *aspnjakan* ‘landlord, innkeeper’ (also LW: Aram. (Talmudic) ‘wšpyz’, Syr. ‘ešpezzā ‘inn’)

•SANSKRIT: *svap* ‘to sleep’ (RV+) || (+ *ui-) *viṣupta-* (class.) ‘fallen asleep, sleeping’
⇒ EWAia I: 791

•PIE **suep-* ‘to sleep’ ⇒ LIV: 612 f. | Pok.: 1048 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *sōpīre* ‘to fall asleep’, OCS *spati*, Russ. *spat*’, OE *swefan* ‘to sleep’, etc.

•REFERENCES: Zhukovskij I: 114; *KPF* I: 80a, 137a f., 206a, 244a; Ivanow 1926: 421; *EVP*: 9; *KPF* II: 191; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 63, 157 f., 257; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 53, 113, 157; Lambton 1938: 40b, 76a; *IIFL* II: 538b, 270a; MacKenzie 1966: 39, 112; *EVS*: 51b, 70b, 99a, 101a, 119a, 64a; *WIMI*: 70; *WIM* II/1: 84; *DKS*: 495a f., 37b f., 392b; Vahman – Asatrian 1987: 148; *WIM* III: 100, 105; Abaev, *Slovar* IV: 272; Werba 1997: 422; Paul 1998: 319a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 305, 411; Lecoq 2002: 122, 127 (passim); *NEVP*: 7; Korn 2005: 87, 411 (passim)

***h₂uar¹** ‘to consume, eat’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *x^var-* ‘to consume, eat’ || (+ *fra-) ‘to consume, eat’ ⇒ Liste: 18
Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *x^varaiti*, 3pl. YAv. *x^varənti*, med. 3pl. YAv. *x^varənte* (Y 9.16), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *x^varāḫ*, OPT. YAv. ? *x^varōiš* (P 28), 3sg. YAv. *x^varōit* (N 45), YAv. *fra.ṅharōit* (N 71), IMPV. 3sg. YAv. *x^varatu* (V 3.19), 2pl. YAv. *x^varata*, 3pl. YAv. *frax^varəntu* (Yt 5.92, Yt 5.93); Partic.: pres. *x^varənt-*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *x^vairiēite* (V 2.26, V 2.34); Caus.: pres. INJ. 3sg. YAv. *fraṅ’hāraiaḫ* (A 3.4)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *xwr-*, BMP *hwl-/xwar-/* (**ŠTHN-*) ‘to drink, eat, enjoy (food), consume’ ⇒ DMMPP: 368b f.

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *xwryd*, MMP *xwryyd*, 1pl. MMP *xwr’m*, BMP *hwlym/xwarēm*, etc.

•PARTHIAN: *wxr-* ‘to eat’ || (+ *ā-) ‘*xwr-* ‘to eat, consume, devour (of fire)’
⇒ Ghilain: 57 | DMMPP: 349a, 79b

Pres.: SUBJ. 1sg. *wxr’n*, 3sg. *wxr’h*; Partic.: perf. pass. *wxrd*; Inf.: *wxrd*, *wxrdn* || (+ *ā-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. ‘*xwryd*, ‘*xwrynd*

•KHOTANESE: Khot. *hvar-* ‘to consume’ ⇒ SGS: 156

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *xwr-*, BSogd. *xwr-*, CSogd. *xwr-*, MSogd. *xwr-* ‘to eat, consume’, BSogd. *xwyr*, CSogd. *xwyr* (caus.) ‘to cause to eat’ || (+ *ā-) MSogd. ‘*xwyr* ‘to feed’ || (+ *pati-) BSogd. *ptxwrk*’ ‘devouring, devourment’

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *xwrt*, 3pl. BSogd. *xwr’nt*, CSogd. *xwmt*, MSogd. *xwr’nt*, etc. || (+ *ā-) Caus.: pres. IMPV. 2pl. MSogd. ‘*xwyrō*

•CHORESMIAN: *x(w)r-* ‘to consume, eat, drink’, *xw’ry-* (caus.) ‘to feed, give to drink’ || (+ *pati-) *pcxr-* ‘to taste’, *bcxw’ry-* (caus.) ‘to give (something to someone) to taste’ ⇒ Samadi: 238, 146 f., 244

•NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *xurdan/x^vār-*, Bal. *wārt/war-*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *xwārin/xu-*, (Sor.) *xwārdin/xō-*, Abz. *xarda/xor-*, Abyan. *xarda/xar-*, Anar. *-ixo(r)/* (impv.) *ixur*,

Awrom. *wārdāy/(-)war-*, Fariz. *-χārd-*, *-χα/-χār-*, Yar. *-χα/-χor-*, Gz. *χer-/χort*, *χū-*, Gil. (Rsht.) *χūrdæn/χūr-*, Gur. (Kand.) *wārd-/uwār-*, Ham. *xortān/xār-*, Isfah. *xortān/xer-*, Jow. *bam-xard/a-xor-*, Meim. *bem-xā:/a-xor-*, Nn. *xārte/xur-*, Natan. *-χārd/χor-*, Qohr. *xarda/xor-*, Semn. *-xurd-*, *-xurt/-xur-*, Tt. *xārda/xr-*, *xer-* ‘to eat, drink’, Soi *xa/á-xor-*, Zaz. *werdiš/wen-* ‘to eat’, Khuns. *χur-*, *χor-/χurt*, Mah. *hur-*, Sang. *-χórt-*, *-χord/χun-*, Shamerz. *-χórd-/χorán-*, ? Khr. *fōr-*, ? Siv. *űer-*, (f)er-/fārd ‘to eat’ || (+ *niš-) Anar., Nn. *nišxār* ‘rumination’. ◇ The “Median” development of *h_u > f might explain Siv. *fār-*, Khr. *fōr-* ‘to eat’ (and some other Central Iranian dialects of Iran) from *h_uar-. However, the assumption of this development cannot be applied to Khot. *phuḍe* ‘food’ and the Pamir forms, Sh. *fur-/furt*, Khf. *fur-/furt*, Sariq. *fir-/fird*, *fūr-/fūrd*, Ishk. *fār-*, etc. ‘to eat (with a spoon)’. These forms rather point to yet another (different) root for ‘to eat’: *f_{ar}².

•NEIR: Oss. I. *xæryn/xord* (*xærd*), D. *xwærun/xward*, Pash. *xwarəl/xūr-*, Yghn. *x^war-/x^(w)órta*, Sh. *xar-xūd*, Rosh. *xar-xūg*, Bart. *xar-xūg*, Sariq. *xor-xīg*, *xūg*, Yzgh. *xār-*, *x^war-xūg* ‘to eat’, (caus.) Sariq. *xaron-xarond* ‘to feed’, Yi. *xóar/xūr-*, M. *xūr-xur-* ‘to eat’, Oss. I. *xærd*, D. *xwærdæ* ‘food’, I. *xor*, D. *xwar* ‘grain’, Rosh. *xarūč* ‘glutton’, Yzgh. *x^warag* ‘hungry’ || (+ *pati-) Sariq. *paǰig* ‘luncheon’, *paǰik* ‘morning meal’

•MISC: Par. *xar-xūr* ‘to eat’, Orm. *x(u)r-/xuluk*, *xwalak* ‘to eat, drink’ = *xr-/xólók*, *xr-/xolok*, *xollok*

◇ This root is probably identical to *h_uar³. The meaning ‘to eat, consume’ is therefore secondary and perhaps originally used in a more informal way in Plr., replacing the IE ‘eat’ root: *H₁ed-, Hitt. *e-ed-mi*, Gr. *ἔδμενοι*, Lat. *edō* ‘I eat’, Skt. *ad*, OCS *jasti* ‘to eat’, Lith. *ėsti* ‘to eat (of animals)’, Goth. *itan*, Engl. *to eat*, etc. (LIV:230; Pokorny: 287 ff.). The Ir. continuation *Had appears to have been preserved in several nominal formations: NP *aspast* ‘lucerne (*Medicago sativa*)’, Oss. I. *ad*, D. *adæ* ‘taste’, I. *læǰz-ad* ‘unpleasant taste of spoiled, rotting products’, D. *ræft-ad* ‘lunch’, ? Pash. *špéšta* (f.) ‘lucerne’ (*ESIIa* I: 77f). On the Iranian expression for ‘to swear, take an oath’, as in Sogd. *swk’nt xwr-*, MMP *swgnd xwrđn*, NP *saugand xurđan*, Kurd. *sont xarin*, etc., see Schwartz 1989: 293 ff.

•PIE – ◇ There is probably no need to reconstruct an IE root *s_{uel-} ‘*verschlucken* (vel sim.)’, as done in *IEW*, l.c., and *LIV*, l.c., on which see above. ⇨ LIV: 609 | Pok.: 1045

•IE COGNATES: –

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 80b, 137b f., 206a, 244b f.; Ivanow 1926: 421; *EVP*: 99; *IIFL* I: 299b, 412b; *KPF* II: 193 f.; *IIFL* II: 267a; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 63, 159, 258; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 113, 158; Abrahamian 1936: 125, 134; Lambton 1938: 42a, 77b; Andreev – Peščereva: 364a f.; MacKenzie 1966: 111; *EVS*: 98a, 119a, 33a, 54b; *WIM* I: 70; *WIM* II/1: 79; *DKS*: 503b f.; *WIM* III: 105, 117; Abaev, *Slovar* IV: 183, 178, 215 f.; Cabolov 1997: 71; Paul 1998: 318b; Lecoq 2002: 121, 124, 610a, 634a (passim); *NEVP*: 96; Kiefer 2003: 209; Korn 2005: 97, 411 (passim)

***h₂uar²** ‘to sound, swear’

•AVESTAN: ? OAv. *x^vār-* ‘to swear’, ? OAv. *x^varaiθiia-* (Y 28.10) ‘sounding’. ◇ On the interpretation of OAv. *x^varaiθiia-* see Humbach 1959 I: 78. Differently Humbach 1991 II: 28; Kellens – Pirart II: 235.

Partic.: pres. med. ? OAv. *x^vārəmna-* (Y 32.8). ◇ Cf. Humbach 1991 II: 82; but “d’une racine verbale inconnue”, Kellens – Pirart II: 236.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *swgnd xwr-*, BMP *swknd hwl-* (*‘ŠTHN-*) /*sōgand xwar-* ‘to swear, take an oath’. ◇ Also in BMP *hw’r’st’n*, *hw’ryst’n* /*xwārestān* ‘ordeal-court’ (lit. ‘place of oath-taking’), Perikhanian 1997: 400 f.; Macuch 1993: 108 f. ⇒ DMMPP: 369a

Pres.: IND. 1pl. BMP *swknd hwlym* (*‘ŠTHN-*) /*sōgand xwarēm*/, 3pl. MMP *swgnd xwrynd*, IMPV. 2sg. BMP *swknd ... hwl* (*‘ŠTHN-*) /*sōgand ... xwar*/, 2pl. MMP *swgnd xwryd*, BMP *swknd hwlyt* (*‘ŠTHN-*) /*sōgand xwarēd*/; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *swgnd xwrđ*

•PARTHIAN: *swgnd xwrđ* (pret. stem) ‘to speak, swear’ ⇒ DMMPP: 369a

Partic.: perf. pass. *swgnd xwrđ*

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *swk’nt xwr-* ‘to swear, take an oath’ || (+ **us-*) CSogd. *swrđ-* (denomin. ?) ‘to shout’. ◇ *swrđ-* is perhaps a denominative formation, rather than from an otherwise unattested enlarged Iir. **suar-d^(h)-*, as assumed by Schwartz, *Gs Henning*: 390 f. ? Alternatively, it may reflect a pres. stem in **-d-* (as found in Av.).

Pass.: perf. IND. 3sg. BSogd. *swk’nt xwrk* {hapax} || (+ **us-*) Impf.: IND. 3pl. CSogd. *syxwrđnt* {hapax}

•CHORESMIAN: *sknt xr-* ‘to swear, take an oath’ ⇒ Samadi: 238

•NWIR: NP *saugand xurdan*, Bal. *sauyan*, *sogin waray*, Kurd. *sont xarin*, Bakht. *qasum xārdan*, *xerdan* ‘to swear, take an oath’ (*qasum* < Arab.)

•NEIR: Oss. I. *ard xæryn*, D. *ard xwærun* ‘to swear, take an oath’ || (+ **apa-*) Oss. I. *æfxæryn/æfxærd*, D. *æfxwærun/æfxward* ‘to insult, offend, call out, reprimand’

•SANSKRIT: *svaṛ* ‘to sound, make a sound, snort, resound, sing’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 792 f.

◇ As pointed out by Schwartz 1989: 293 ff., there is evidence for an original root **h₂uar* ‘to swear’ etymologically separate from **h₂uar¹* ‘to eat, consume’.

•PIE **suer-* ‘to sound, proclaim, call on (in a solemn context)’ ⇒ LIV: 613 | Pok.: 1049 f.

•IE COGNATES: ON *svara* ‘to answer, justify’, OE *swerian*, OHG *swerien*, Engl. *to swear*, ? Lat. *susurrus* (m.) ‘whispering, humming’, OCS *svaṛь* ‘quarrel’, Slov. *svâr* ‘rebuke’

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 117 f.; Vahman – Asatrian 1987: 147; Werba 1997: 385 f.

***h₂uar³** ‘to take’

•KHOTANESE: *hvarāka-* ‘taker’, ‘robber’ || (+ **ni-*) *nāhvarr-* ‘to long for; grasp at’ ⇒ SGS: 58

•BACTRIAN: χοαρ- ‘to take’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 232

•NWIR: NP *xurđan/x^var-* ‘to take’ || (+ *uz-) ? Bal. *zūrt, zōrt/zūr-, zōr-* ‘to take (up), pick up, left, remove’. ◇ Geiger 1890: 153 (accepted by Korn 2005: 146, 381) compared Bal. *zūr-* to Skt. *har* ‘to take, carry, bring’, which is phonologically hardly acceptable.

•NEIR: (+ *ham-) ? Oss. I. *æxxwyr̄syn/æxxwyr̄st, D. ænxwær̄sun/ænxwar̄st* ‘to rent, push, move’

◇ This root is probably identical to *h₂uar¹. Further IE connections are uncertain. The Gr. verb(s) κῦρεῖν ‘to hit, meet; happen’ to which Bailey, *DKS*: l.c. compares the Khot. forms and Oss. I. *k^oyryn, D. k^wær̄un* ‘to push, strike’ (etc.) are implausible, for both phonological and formal reasons: the meaning Bailey assigns to Pind. Gr. ἐγκῦρσῆ ‘finds’ is merely secondary.

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 225; *DKS*: 188a f.

***h₂uar⁴** ‘to have a sore, scratch, itch’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *x^vara-* (n.) ‘wound, sore’ (Y 57.10, V 4.30, V 4.33, etc.)

•NWIR: Kurd. (Kurm.) *xūrīn/xūrē-* ‘to itch’, (Sor.) *xūrāndīn/xūrēn-*, (Sul.) *xurīn*, (Sina) *xurīān, Zaz. vurnāyīš/vurnen-* ‘to scratch’, Awrom. *wurīāy/wurīa-* ‘to itch’, (caus.) NP *xārāndan/xārān-*, Awrom. *wurnāy/wurn-*, Abyan. *xūrnoya/xūrñ-*, Ard. *xānāhe/xān-*, Gz. *χām-/χārñā*, Nn. *xārñāye/xārñ-*, Tr. *xornāya/xorn-* ‘to scratch’ (contaminated with *xrau ‘to tear, break, scratch’ ?) || (+ *ā-) ? Bal. (EHB) *āwaliθ/āwal-* ‘to blister (of hand and feet)’ (with unexpl. -I-)

•NEIR: Oss. I. *xær̄yn/xord, D. xwær̄un/xward, Sh. xīr-/xird, Rosh. xīrt* ‘to itch, scratch (oneself)’, Yzgh. *x^wer* (in *x^wer k.* ‘to be scratched), (caus.) *xērūn-* ‘to cause to itch, scratch’, Sangl. *xūr-/xərīd* ‘to scratch (oneself)’, ? Pash. *xriyəl/xriy-* ‘to shave’, ? M. *xréd-/xrést-*, Yi. *xird-/xirst* ‘to shave, scratch’ (diff. root ?, contamin. ?), also Pash. *xwar* (m.) ‘skin, bark, peel, scurf’, Sangl. *xurūš, M. xurī* ‘itching’

◇ This root appears to have solely Germanic cognates.

•PIE *s₂uer- ‘to have a sore’ ⇒ LIV: 613 | Pok.: 1050

•IE COGNATES: OHG *sweran* ‘to have a sore, hurt’, OHG *swero*, Engl. *sore*

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 97 f.; *IIFL* II: 422a f., 267a f.; *EVS*: 98a; MacKenzie 1966: 112, 111; Abaev, *Slovar*’ IV: 183 f.; Paul 1998: 318a; Lecoq 2002: 126, 129 f., 132 (passim); *NEVP*: 97; Shakhbakhsh: s.v. *āwal-*

***h₂uar⁵** ‘to paint, colour; to stain’

•AVESTAN: ? YAv. *ka-x^varōda-* ‘sorcerer’. ◇ Cf. *AIW*: 462: "Eig. vll. ‘was für ein (abscheulicher) schwarzer (Kerl)’, ital. ‘negraccio’, eine Bezeichnung für fremdländisches fahrendes Volk, das sich mit Zauberkünsten ... befasste." Schwartz, *Gs Henning*: 389 ff. rather prefers a connection with CSogd. *sxwrđ-* ‘to shout’ (*h₂uar²), whence YAv. *ka-x^varōda-* *‘what a (terrible) howler’ ?

- KHOTANESE: ? *hvāraka* (pl.) ‘painters, colourers’ (Bailey, *KT V*: 278b, 5)
 - SOGDIAN: (+ **pati-*) ? MSogd. *ptxwrk* ‘stained ?’, ? BSogd. *ptxwrk* ‘stained, dirty ?’. ◇ MSogd. *ptxwrk* is part of the compound *xwrn-ptxwrk-δndyt* ‘blood-stained-teeth’ (= MMP ’*swd-dnd*’*n*), v. Henning 1940: 23, ad no. 19. || Alternatively, BSogd. *ptxwrk*’ can also mean *‘devourment’ > ‘attractive, seductive (eyed)’ (MacKenzie, *SCE*: 2, 67), ‘tender-(eyed)’ (Gershevitch 1970: 305 f.).
 - NWIR: NP *x^vāl* ‘soot, lamp-black’ (**h_uar-da-*?). ◇ Cf. Morgenstierne 1932: 167.
 - NEIR: Oss. D. *xwarun/xurst* ‘to paint, colour; to stain’ || (+ **ā-*) ? Oss. I. *axoryn/ax_oyrst* ‘to paint, colour’, I. *axwyrsyn/axwyrst* ‘to be coloured, be under paint’
 - MISC: Arm. (LW) *kaxard* ‘φάρμακός, γόης’, BSkt. (LW) *kākhorda* ‘wizard, evil, spirit’ (Bailey 1955: 14)
- ◇ The verbal forms are attested in EIr., but the IE verbal correspondences all show a (different) increment.
- PIE **suer-* (**suor-*) ‘to darken, make dark, stain’ ? ⇔ LIV: 613 | Pok.: 1945
 - IE COGNATES: (with increments) Lat. *sordeō* ‘to be dirty, sordid’, Goth. *swarts*, ON *svart*, OE *sweart*, Engl. *swart*, OSax. *swerkan* ‘to become dark, cloudy’, OE *sweorkan* ‘to become dark, sad’, OIrish *sorb* ‘stain’
 - REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 91; DKS: 506b; Abaev, *Slovar*’ IV: 252 f.

H

*Hahl¹ ‘to be’

- AVESTAN: *ah-* ‘to be’ ⇔ Liste: 10f.

Pres. athem.: IND. 1sg. OAv. *ahmī* (Y 32.8, Y 43.6, Y 46.2, Y 51.12), YAv. *ahmi* (Y 2.1 ff., Y 26.7, Y 60.6, etc.), 2sg. OAv. *ahī* (Y 32.7, Y 34.11, Y 36.3, etc.), YAv. *ahi* (Y 9.25 f., Y 10.4, Y 10.9, etc.), 3sg. OAv. *astī* (Y 35.6), YAv. *astī* (Y 0.6, Y 0.9, Y 7.1, etc.), 3du. YAv. *stō* (Yt 1.25), 1pl. OAv. *mahī* (Y 35.2, Y 41.7), YAv. *mahi* (Y 68.20, Vr 11.13, A 1.12 f., etc.), 3pl. OAv. *həntī* (Y 33.10, Y 44.16, Y 45.6, Y 51.10), OAv. *hənti(-ca)* (Y 51.22), YAv. *hənti* (Y 1.10, Y 1.17, Y 1.19, etc.) impf. 3sg. OAv. *ās* (Y 31.9, Y 34.8), YAv. *ās* (Y 19.1, Y 19.3, Yt 14.46, etc.), SUBJ. 1sg. OAv. *aṇhā(-cā)* (Y 50.11), 2sg. YAv. *aṇhō* (Y 71.16, VdPZ 5.9), 3sg. OAv. *aṇhaitī* (Y 31.5, Y 31.22, Y 50.3, etc.), YAv. *aṇhaitī*, OAv. *aṇhaṭ* (Y 29.4, Y 29.9, Y 30.4, etc.), YAv. *aṇhaṭ* (Y 10.16, Y 18.5, Y 62.6, etc.), 1pl. OAv. *āṇhāmā* (Y 32.1, Y 49.8), YAv. *āṇhāma* (Vr 12.4), 3pl. OAv. *aṇhən* (Y 31.1, Y 31.4, Y 31.14, etc.), YAv. *aṇhən* (Yt 3.2, Yt 5.7, Yt 5.127, etc.), OPT. 1sg. OAv. *xiiōm* (Y 43.8, Y 50.9), 2sg. OAv. *xiiā* (Y 41.3), 3sg. OAv. *xiiāt* (Y 35.3, Y 40.4, Y 43.15 ff.), YAv. *hiiāt* (Y 8.6, Y 11.13, Y 52.6, etc.), 1pl. OAv. *xiiāmā* (Y 30.9, Y 40.4), 2pl. OAv. *xiiātā* (Y 50.7, Y 64.3), 3pl. YAv. *hiiārə* (V 17.9), IMPV. 2sg. OAv. *zdī* (Y 31.17), 3sg. OAv. *astū* (Y 53.8), 3pl. OAv. *həntū* (Y 33.7, Y 53.8); Perf.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *āṇha* (Y 9.5, Y 59.30, Yt 15.16, Yt 19.33, etc.), 3pl. OAv. *āṇharə* (Y 33.10, Y 44.10), OAv. *āṇharə(-cā)* (Y 45.7, Y 51.22), YAv. *āṇharə* (Y 23.1, Y 67.1, Yt 13.150, etc.), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *āṇhāt* (Yt 13.12), 3du. YAv. *āṇhāt.təm* (Yt 13.12); Partic.: pres. OAv. *haṇt-* (Y 29.3, Y 32.9, Y 44.10, etc.), YAv. *haṇt-* (Y 10.19, Y 18.5, Y 21.4, etc.), perf. YAv. *āṇhuš-* (Yt 13.21); Infin.: pres. OAv. *stōi* (Y 31.8, Y 34.4, Y 45.10, etc.), YAv. *stē* (Yt 10.106 f.,

Ny 3.10) (+ *abi-) ? Pres. athem.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *aīβīāsti* (N 15), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *aīβīānhaṭ* (N 16); Partic.: pres. YAv. *aīβīšant-* (N 52)

•OLD PERSIAN: *ah-* ‘to be’ ⇒ Kent: 174a

Pres. athem.: IND. 1sg. *amiy* <a-mi-i-y> (DB 1.12, DB 1.39, DB 1.53, etc.), <[a]-mi-i-y> (DB 2.15), <a-[mi]-[i]-[y]> (DB 4.25), 3sg. *astiy* <a-s-t-i-y> (DB 4.46, DB 4.51, DSe 37), <[a]-[s]-t-i-y> (DNb 54), <[a]-[s]-t-i-y> (DNb 56), 1pl. *a^bmahy* <a-m-h-y> (DB 1.7), <a-.m-h-y> (DBa 12), <a-m-h-y> (DBa 18), 3pl. *haⁿtiy* <h-t-i-y> (DB 4.61), impf. 1sg. *āham* <a-h-m> (DB 1.14, DB 2.12, DB 2.12, etc.), <a-h-[m]> (DB 2.6), 3sg. *āha* <a-h> (DB 1.21 f., DB 1.29 f., DB 1.36, etc.), 3pl. *āhaⁿ* <[a]-h> (DB 1.8), <a-h> (DB 1.10, DB 1.38, DB 1.42, etc.), mid. 3pl. *āhaⁿtā* <a-h-t-a> (DB 1.19, DB 1.58, DB 2.77, etc.), SUBJ. 1sg. *ahaniy* <a-h-n-i-y> (XPh 47 f.), 2sg. *āhy* <a-h-y> (DB 4.37, DB 4.68, DB 4.72, DB 4.87), 3sg. *ahatiy* <a-h-t-i-y> (DB 4.38, DB 4.68, DB 5.19, DPe 22), <a-h-t-i-y> (DB 4.39), DB 4.68), <a-h-t-i-[y]> (DB 4.78)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *h-* ‘to be’ (BMP *HWH-* ‘to be’) ⇒ DMMPP: 170b f.

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP *’hym, hwm*, 2sg. MMP *hy, hy’, hyy*, MMP *’st, ’st, etc.*

•PARTHIAN: *’h-* ‘to be’ ⇒ Ghilain: 46 | DMMPP: 31a

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. *’hym, hym*, 2sg. *’yy, 3sg. ’st, etc.*

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *ah-* ‘to be’ ⇒ SGS: 7

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *’y-* (’s-), BSogd. *’y-* (’s-), CSogd. *x-*, MSogd. *x-* ‘to be’ (supplet. *wm’t*, s.v. *maH²)

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. SSogd. *’ym*, BSogd., CSogd. *’ym*, 2sg. BSogd., CSogd., SSogd. *’yš, 3sg. SSogd. ’st, BSogd. ’sty, CSogd. sty, BSogd. ycy, etc.*

•CHORESMIAN: *y-* ‘to be’ ⇒ Samadi: 250 ff.

•BACTRIAN: ασ- ‘to be, be present’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 183a

•NWIR: NP *ast* ‘is’, Gur. (Kand.) *hīn-/hān-*, Abz. *h-*, Qohr. *h-*, Tr. *h-*, Siv. *h-*, Soi *h-* ‘to be, exist’, etc. (widely attested)

•NEIR: Oss. I. *is*, D. *es*, Yghn. *ast*, Sh. *yast*, Rosh. *yast*, Bart. *yast*, Sariq. *yast* ‘is’

•SANSKRIT: *as* ‘to be’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 144

◇ This root has an impeccable IE etymology.

•PIE *H₁es- ‘to be’ ⇒ LIV: 241 | Pok.: 340 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. *e-eš-zi*, Gr. ἔστυ, ἔστί, Lat. *est*, Goth. *ist*, Engl. *is*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 250b; *KPF* II: 226; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 550; *DKS*: 11, 13; *WIM* III: 109; Abaev, *Slovar’* IV: 115 f.; *Werba* 1997: 159 f.; *ESLJa* I: 87 f.; *Lecoq* 2002: 195, 198 (passim)

*Hah² ‘to throw’

•AVESTAN: *ah-* ‘to throw’ || (+ *abi-) ‘to throw to’ || (+ *uz-) ‘to throw out on’ || (+ *para-) ‘to throw around’ ⇒ Liste: 11

Pres. *īa-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *añhiieiti* (Yt 10.20), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *añhaṭ* (Yt 8.6), 3pl. YAv. *añhən*, SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *añhāṭ*; Aor. athem.: INJ. 2sg. (?) OAv. *as* (Y 34.8), SUBJ. 3sg. OAv. *añhaṭ* (Y 44.19); Perf.: SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *uzānhaṭ* (Yt 8.39), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *parāñhāt* (Y 9.11); Partic.: pres. med. YAv. *añhimna-* (Y 57.28), perf. pass. YAv. *huu-aīβīāsta-* ‘thrown well’ (Yt 13.72)

•OLD PERSIAN: *ah-* ‘to throw’ ⇒ Kent: 174a

MED.; Pres. *īa-*: impf. IND. 3sg. **āhyatā* <[a]-h-[y]-[t]-a> (DB 1.95)

- PARTHIAN: ? *'st'y* 'to throw, scatter' (Sundermann *apud* Klimkeit 1989: 171, fn. 16)
⇒ DMMPP: 55b
- CHORESMIAN: *m/s-* 'to throw, shoot' || (+ **apa-*) ? *b'h-* 'to shake off (leaves)' (Mackenzie I: 546) || (+ **upa-*) ? *b'h-* 'to kick'. ◇ The *-s-* in the Chor. forms perhaps points to an *inch.* formation. Alternatively, it may derive from older **-st-*.
⇒ Samadi: 177, 11 f.
- NWIR: ? Fariz. *âr-has-*, *âr-âs-*, Natan. *âr-as-* 'to rise, stand up'
- MISC: (+ **abi-*) ? Orm. *awōk*, *haw-* (supplet.) *hīštak* 'to read' = *aw-/awók* 'to read, sing'
- SANSKRIT: *as* 'to throw, shoot' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia: 144
◇ This apparent *IIr.* root has no certain IE correspondences. The often cited Hitt. cognate */sije-/* 'to throw, release', may have a different etymology: **seH₁i-* 'to release', cf. *LIV*: l.c.
- PIE ? ⇒ *LIV*: 242 | Pok.: –
- REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 388a; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 152 f., 255; Oettinger 1979: 473 f.; Werba 1997: 335 f.; *ESIJ*a I: 94 f.; Kiefer 2003: 192

*HaH(a)d 'to speak, say'

- AVESTAN: *ād-* 'to speak, say' || (+ **pati-*) 'to reply' ⇒ Liste: 11
Pres. *ajā-*: SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *paiti.ā.δaiiāṭ* (N 72 f.), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *paiti ... āδaiiōṭ* (V 9.12); Perf.: IND. 1sg. OAv. *ādā* (Y 35.8), 3sg. YAv. *ādā* (Fr.), med. 3sg. YAv. *adaē*^o (V 4.47, N 37, cf. Kellens 1974: 42), ? YAv. **āiḏe* (Yt 8.48), 3pl. OAv. *ādarō* (Y 43.5), YAv. *ādarō* (FrD 3)
- KHOTANESE: (+ **uz-*) *uysās-* 'to speak of' || (+ **pati-*) *pātāy-* 'to speak, say' || (+ **niž-*) OKh. *nātā'y-* 'to command' ⇒ SGS: 82
- SOGDIAN: (+ **pati-*) ? SSogd. *pt'ys-*, BSogd. *pt'yδ-* 'to beg, cajole', BSogd. *pt'yδ* 'begging'
Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *pt'yδ't* (SCE 202); Pass.: pret. IND. 3sg. SSogd. *pt'yst* 'was asked' (UppInd.254)
- NWIR: ? Semn. *b-ât-/m-ā(y)-* 'to say'
- SANSKRIT: *ah* 'to say, speak' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 153
◇ The long stem vowel in all the *Ir.* forms points to a perfect (tantum) formation **HaH(a)d*, on which see further Kümmel 2000: 614 ff. An IE provenance for this *IIr.* root cannot be ascertained.
- PIE ? ⇒ *LIV*: 222 | Pok.: 291
- REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 209a; *DKS*: 38b, 183a, 236b f.; Werba 1997: 423; *ESIJ*a I: 79

*HaHh 'to be seated, sit'

- AVESTAN: YAv. *āh-* 'to be seated, sit'. ◇ On YAv. *āṅhāna-* see Kellens 1974: 323, fn. 1. ⇒ Liste: 12

MED.; Pres. athem.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *āste* (V 4.45, V 5.53 ff., V 7.5 ff., F 337), 3pl. YAv. *āghaire* (Y 9.23), ? YAv. *āghante* (Y 9.22, Yt 17.11), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *āhiša* (Y 68.9); Partic.: pres. YAv. *āghāna-* (V 3.29, V 19.11, N 37, etc.)

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *āh-* ‘to sit; remain’ ⇒ SGS: 13

•BACTRIAN: $\alpha\mu\text{-}\alpha\nu\text{-}$ (denomin.) ‘to be present, be (temporarily) resident, stay’. ◇ From **arma-* ‘still’ + **āh-/āsta-* ‘to sit, remain’, Av. *armaē-šad-* ‘sitting still’, Sogd. *’rmyh nyδ* ‘to sit still’. ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 181a

•NWIR: (?) Qohr. *āh-/āhā(d)-* ‘to be seated, remain’ (rather from ***had** ?)

•SANSKRIT: *ās* ‘to sit, live, dwell, abide’ ⇒ EWAia I: 181

◇ This root goes back to an old IE redupl. pres. stem.

•PIE **H₁eH₁s-* ‘to sit’ ⇒ LIV: 232 | Pok.: 342 f.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */ēs-*, HLuw. */is-* ‘to sit’, Gr. $\hat{\eta}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ ‘he sits’

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 449 f.; *ESlJa* I: 303; Lecoq 2002: 194 (637), 292 (66), 641

*Hai ‘to go’

•AVESTAN: *aē-* (*āii-*) ‘to go’ || (+ **apa-*) ‘to go astray’ || (+ **abi-*) ‘to tread’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘to come to’ || (+ **upa-*) ‘to go to, arrive at; [euph.] to have sexual intercourse with’ || (+ **uz-*) ‘to go out’ || (+ **pati-*) ‘to face, go to meet; return’ || (+ **para-*) ‘to go forth, proceed’ || (+ **para-ā-*) ‘to go away’ || (+ **pari-*) YAv. *pairiθna-* ‘the (normal) course of life’ (Yt 8.54, Panaino, *Tišt.*: 141) || (+ **fra-*) ‘to proceed’ || (+ **ham-*) ‘to close the ranks’ ⇒ Liste: 12

Pres. athem.: IND. 1sg. med. ? OAv. *yōi* (Y 34.14), OAv. *āiiōi* (Y 31.2), 3sg. act. OAv. *aētī* (Y 31.14), YAv. *aēti* (N 67, N 80, V 3.24), OAv. *āitī* (Y 31.14), LAv. *upāiti* (V 15.9), med. OAv. *āitē* (Y 31.9), 3pl. YAv. *yeinti* (Y 57.14, Yt 13.16), YAv. *apaiieinti* (Yt 10.20), OAv. *paitieinti* (Y 49.11), impf. 3sg. YAv. *upāit* (Y 9.1), impf. 3du. YAv. *auuāitəm* (Yt 13.77), impf. 3pl. YAv. *auuāin* (Y 57.23), SUBJ. 1sg. OAv. *aiienī* (Y 46.1, Y 50.9), YAv. *aiienī* (Y 64.5, H 2.20, Vyt 65), YAv. *uzaiienī* (Yt 15.32, V 22.1, V 22.8), OAv. *paitī ... aiienī* (Y 50.9), OAv. *aiienī paitī* (Y 34.6, 3sg. OAv. *āiiaṭ* (Y 31.20), YAv. *upaiiaṭ* (N 12), ? YAv. *us aiiāṭ* (V 7.4), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *fraiiā* (V 7.52), 3sg. ? OAv. *ā iiāṭ* (Y 46.6), YAv. *fraiiōiṭ* (V 6.27, FrA 18 f.), 3pl. YAv. *fraiiān* (V 3.15), IMPV. 2sg. OAv. *idī* (46.16), YAv. *āiḍi* (Yt 5.85), YAv. *para.āiḍi* (V 22.13, V 22.7), 2pl. med. OAv. *āidūm* (Y 33.7); Partic.: pres. YAv. *aiiant-* (<**āiiant-*, Yt 5.68, Yt 13.156), YAv. *hāmiiant-* (Yt 10.8, Yt 15.49), perf. pass. YAv. *aiβita-* (H 2.17), YAv. *paitita-* (V 3.21, V 7.51), (in abs. constr.) LAv. *upaētəm* ‘(having) intercourse’ (V 7.12); Inf.: (?) YAv. *upāiti* (V 12.2, V 13.28, V 15.11, etc.) ◇ Inslar, *Gāthās*: 181 f. points out that OAv. *āiiōi* and OAv. *āidūm* cannot be connected to *yā-* as this root does not appear with the preverb *ā*.

•OLD PERSIAN: *ay-* ‘to go’ || (+ **ati-*) ‘to go along, beyond’ || (+ **ā*) ‘to come’ || (+ **upa-*) ‘to go to, arrive at’ || (+ **upari-*) ‘to behave, conduct one’self’ || (+ **niž-*) ‘to go forth’ || (+ **pati-*) ‘to come to’, come into the possession of’ || (+ **para-*) ‘to go forth, proceed’ || (+ **pari-*) ‘to go around before, respect’ ⇒ Kent: 169a f.

Pres. athem.: IND. 3sg. *aitiy* <a-i-t-i-y> (DZc 10), *pariyaitiy* <p-r-i-y-i-t-i-y> (XPh 52), impf. 1sg. *upāyam* <u-p-a-y-m> (DB 1.91), *upariyāyam* <u-p-r-i-y-a-[y]-m> (DB 4.64), *nijāyam* <n-i-j-a-y-m> (DB 2.64), 3sg. *āiš* <a-i-š> (DB 1.93, DB 2.67, DB 3.35, DB 3.43), *atiyāiš* <a-t-i-y-a-i-š> (DB 3.73), 3pl. *apariyāya*^a <a-p-r-i-y-a-y> (DB 1.23), *āiša*^a <[a]-i-š> (DB 5.23), *patiyāiša*^a <[p]-[i]-y-a-i-š> (DB 1.13),

<p-t-i-[y]-[a]-[i]-[š]> (DB 1.18), *apariyāya*^a <a-p-r-i-y-a-y> (DB 1.23), med. 3pl. *āya^atā* <a-y-t-a> (DZc 11), IMPV. 2sg. *paraidiy* <p-r-i-di-i-y> (DB 2.30, DB 2.50, DB 3.14), *paridiy* <p-r-i-di-i-y> (XPh 49), 2pl. *paraitā* <p-r-i-t-a> (DB 2.20, DB 2.83, DB 3.58) <p-r-[i]-[t]-[a]> (DB 3.85); Partic.: perf. pass. *paraitā* <p-r-i-t-a> (DB 2.32), <p-r-i-t-a> (DB 2.38), <p-r-i-t-a> (DB 2.43, DB 2.52, DB 2.58, DB 3.65)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **apa-*) ? BMP *'pytk /abēdag/* 'stray (animal)' || (+ **ati-*) MMP *'dyh-* 'to arrive, enter', MMP *'dyn-* 'to cause to enter, bring before' || (+ **ā-*) MMP *'y-* (BMP Y'TWN-) 'to come' || (+ **upa-*) MMP *'b'y-* (impers.) 'to be necessary', BMP *'p'd-, 'p'y-* /*abāy-* 'to please [+ /*pad/*]; to be proper, necessary, fitting; to desire, want' || (+ **uz-*) MMP *'wzyh-*, BMP *'wcy-* /*uzī-* 'to go, come out, leave, depart' (LW), BMP *'wz(')y-* /*uzē-* 'to rise, get, jump up' ⇒ DMMPP: 26a, 6, 8b, 77b f.

(+ **ā-*) Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *'yd*, 3pl. MMP *'ynd*, MMP *'yynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. MMP *'y'n*, 3sg. MMP *'y'd*, etc. || (+ **upa-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *'b'yd*, BMP *'p'yt*, *'p'dyt*, (YBLWN)*yt /abāyēd/*, 3pl. BMP *'p'dynd /abāyēnd/*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP */abayist/ 'p'dst*; Inf.: BMP */abāyistan/* || (+ **uz-*) Well attested: Pres. {1}: IND. 3sg. BMP *wcyt /uzēd/*, MMP *'wzyhyd*, 3pl. BMP *'wzyhynd*, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *'wzyh'd*, 1pl. MMP *'wzyh'm*, IMPV. 2pl. MMP *'wzyhyd*; Pres. {2}: IND. 3sg. BMP *'wzyt /uzēd/*, 3pl. BMP *'wzynd /uzēnd/*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *'wzyd*, BMP *'wcyt /uzīd/*, etc.

•PARTHIAN: (+ **apa-*) *'pyd* (pret. stem) 'to leave, go to; vanish' (MacKenzie 1974: 273 ff.) || (+ **ati-*) *'dyh-* 'to arrive, enter' || (+ **ā-*) *'s-* 'to come', *hwr-'s'n* 'sunrise, East' || (+ **upa-*) *'b'yšn* 'it is necessary, *нужно*' || (+ **uz-*) *'(w)zyh-* 'to go out, leave' ⇒ Ghilain: 48, 47, 49, 46 f. | DMMPP: 51a, 26a, 6, 8b, 77b f.

(+ **apa-*) Partic.: perf. pass. *'pyd*, *'pydg* 'lost, strayed' || (+ **ati-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. (')*dyhyd*, 3pl. *'dyhynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *'dyh*, 3pl. *'dyh'nd*; Partic.: pres. (pl.) *'dyhynd'n* || (+ **ā-*) Pres.: IND. 2sg. *'syh*, 3sg. *'syd*, *'syd*, 3pl. *'synd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *'s'n*, 2sg. *'s'h*, 3sg. *'s'h*, OPT. 3sg. *'syndyh* || (+ **upa-*) Pres.: IND. 1pl. *'byd hym'd* 'we need' || (+ **uz-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *'zyhyd*, 3pl. *'zyhynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. ? *'zyh'm*, 2sg. *'wzyh*, *'wzyh'h*, IMPV. 2pl. *'zyhyyd*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ā-*) OKh. *hīs-* 'to come' (with sec. *h-*) ⇒ SGS: 153

•SOGDIAN: (+ **apa-*) CSogd. *pytc* (ppp., f.) 'perished, wretched, lost' || (+ **ati-*) SSogd. *tys*, BSogd. *tys*, CSogd. *tys*, MSogd. *tys* 'to enter' || (+ **ā-*) SSogd. *'ys*, BSogd. *'ys*, CSogd. *'ys* 'to come, arrive' || (+ **pati-*) BSogd. *pc(y)'y-*, MSogd. *'pc'y-* 'to be right, fit, necessary' || (+ **para-ā-*) SSogd. *pr'ys*, BSogd. *pr'ys*, CSogd. *prys* 'to reach, arrive, come' || (+ **niž-*) SSogd. *nyz-*, CSogd. *nyž-*, MSogd. *nyjy-*, MSogd. *nyj-* 'to go out, emerge', BSogd. *nyz'y*, BSogd. *nyž('y)*, MSogd. *nyz('y)* 'to go out'

(+ **ati-*) Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd., MSogd. *tyst*, dur. CSogd. *tystq*, MSogd. *tystskwn*, 1pl. CSogd. *'tysym*, etc. || (+ **ā-*) Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. SSogd., BSogd. *'yst*, CSogd. *'yst*, SSogd. *ystw*, dur. CSogd. *ystsq*, 1pl. SSogd. *'ysym*, etc. || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *pc'yt*, BSogd. *pcy'yt*; Fut.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *'pc'ytq'm* (BBB: 47), OPT. 2sg. (or 3sg.) MSogd. *pcy'yyq'm* (Sogd.Tales: 473) || (+ **para-ā-*) Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *pr'yst*, CSogd. *pryst*, MSogd. *pryst*, 2pl. SSogd. *prysδ* (Sogd.Tales: 469), MSogd. *prysδ* (BBB: 50), 3pl. SSogd. *'pr'ys'nt* (Sogd.Tales: 486), MSogd. *prysnd* (Weber 1970: 179), etc. || (+ **niž-*) Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *nyz'yt*, BSogd. *nz'yt*, dur. CSogd. *nyžtysq*, 3pl. BSogd. *nyzy'nt*, CSogd. *nyžnt*, SUBJ. 1sg. CSogd. *nyž'n*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: *mýj-* ‘to go (in)’ || (+ **apa-*) *byd-* ‘to loose’ || (+ **ati-*) *cy-* ‘to enter, go, come in’ || (+ **ā-*) *m/s-* ‘to come’ || (+ **uz-*) *wz(y)-* ‘to go out, come out; to rise (of sun, stars, sim.)’ ⇒ Samadi: 227, 54 f., 6, 226

•BACTRIAN: (+ **apa-*) αβηδο (ppp.) ‘the departed’ || (+ **upa-*) αβιυ- (denomin. ?) ‘to oblige, compel’ || (+ **uz-*) ? εζ- ‘to amount to’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 173b, 175a, 191a

•NWIR: (+ **ati-* ?) Abz. *t-*/(supplet. *-ma-*), Ard. *t-*/(supplet. *emo*), Fariz. *-t-*/(supplet. *-ma-*), Khr. *ti(ā)-*/(supplet. *bi-owad-* < **ā-uaz-* !), Qohr. *-tt-*/(supplet. *mō*) ‘to come’ || (+ **ā-*) *Widely attested*: NP *āy-*/(supplet. *āmādan* < **ā-gam-*) ‘to come’, Kurd. *ē-*/(supplet. *hātin*) ‘to arrive’, Zaz. *yen-*/(supplet. *āmiyāyiš*), Anar. *ei, ey-*/(supplet. *yumy-*), Awrom. *a-*/(supplet. *āmāy*), Yar. *-j-*/(supplet. *-mi-, ma, -me-*), Gz. *īy-*/(supplet. *ūmē, ūmā*), Gil. (Rsht.) *aj-*/(supplet. *amon-*), Ham. *y-*/(supplet. *omiān*), Isfah. *y-*/(supplet. *undān*), Meim. *a-ij-*/(supplet. *be-mej-*), Natan. *j-*/(supplet. *b-am-*), Semn. *-ī-*/(supplet. *bī-ām-*) ‘to come’, Shamerz. (impv.) *biá* ‘come’ (other tenses/moods: supplet. *-āmí-/ām-*), Sist. *ā*/(supplet. *om(a)d*), Siv. *ē(y)-*/(supplet. *āmē(y)*) ‘to come’ || (+ **upa-*) NP *bāyad*, Gil. (Rsht.) *va* ‘must [mod. aux.]’, Ard. *piyā/piye-*, Nn. *pāyā*/(supplet. *vā* < **xūaz-*) ‘to want, wish’, Natan. *pia* ‘must [mod. aux.]; to want, desire, require’ || (+ **uz-*) Awrom. *ziāy/-zia-* ‘to go out’, NP *hazīnah* ‘expenditure, disbursement’ (LW). ◇ Lecoq, l.c., interprets the initial *t-* of the present stem in several Iranian dialect forms as an infix, "qui peut manquer, ne semble avoir aucune valeur sémantique, se ce n'est un renforcement de l'aspect duratif".

•NEIR: M. *āy-*, Yi. *oy-* ‘to go’ || (+ **ā-*) M. *as-*/(supplet.) *āyōi*, Yi. *as-*/(supplet.) *āyōi* ‘to come’ || (+ **apa-*) Sh. (Baj.) *bēs-/bēd*, Sariq. *bis-* (3sg. *bast*) /*beyd*, Yzgh. *bay-/bid* ‘to be lost, disappear’, Ishk. *apiy-* ‘to disappear’ || (+ **ati-*) Sh. (Baj.) *dēδ-*/(supplet. *dēd*), Sariq. *diδ-*/(supplet. *deyd*), Yzgh. *dis-*/(supplet.) *dayd*, Ishk. *dēd-*/(supplet. *dett-*), Sangl. *dēδ-*, Yi. *tī-*, M. *tāy-*, Yghn. *tīs-*, *teš-*/(supplet. *táxta*) ‘to enter’ || (+ **aqa-*) Yghn. *wēs-*, *wes-*/(supplet. *úxta-*, *úxta* < **aqa-gam-*) ‘to go down, descend’ || (+ **niž-*) M. *nī-*/(supplet. *nəyar-*), Yi. *nī-*/(supplet.) *noyór-* ‘to come out, emerge, appear’, Yghn. *niž-*, *nīž-*, *než-/níšta* ‘gone, went out’, ? Ishk. *nēz-/nəst, nušt* ‘to go out, emerge’ (mutual contamination with **ni-uaz* ?). ◇ Rastorgueva – Edelman, *ESIJ*a I: 117 hesitantly derive Pash. *mína* (f.) ‘love’ from **ham-i-ana-*. The earlier, cautious hint of Morgenstierne (*EVP*: 44) to connect *mína* to Av. *maiih-* (notably Yt 19.80) proves to be correct with the new interpretation of *maiih-* by Kellens, *MSS* 32: 87 ff.: ‘la joie des démons’, also *NEVP*: 50. For the Skt. correspondence *māyas-* ‘enjoyment’ (RV+) and the IE correspondences, Lith. *mie-las*, Russ. *milyj* ‘dear, lovable, kind’, etc. see *EWAia* II: 315. The translation of Hintze 1994: 341 f., viz. ‘(Liebes-)Freuden’, for *maiih-* is even closer to the meaning of the Pash. form. See also Maciuszak 2005: 223.

•MISC: (**abi-*) ? Orm. *wīs-* ‘to go in, enter’ (rather < **uais* ?) = *alis-/alísók* ‘to enter’ (older **al-wis-*), (caus.) *alésaw-/alésawók* ‘to cause to enter’ || (+ **ā-*) ? Par. *žē-*/ (supplet.) *āya* ‘to come’ || (+ **upa-*) Orm. *bōy* ‘near’ || (+ **niž-*) Par. *nī-*/ (supplet. *naṛyō*), Orm. *nīs-*/ (supplet.) *naṛyōk* ‘to go out’

•SANSKRIT: *ay* ‘to go’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 102

◇ Many Iranian languages have a suppletive paradigm with present stem **Hai* and past ***gam**¹.

•PIE **H₁ei-* ‘to go’ ⇒ LIV: 236 | Pok.: 293 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. *i-it* ‘go!’, /*iḫatta*/, Luw. *i-ti* ‘he goes’, Gr. εἶμι ‘I go’, Lat. *īre*, OCS *iti*, Lith. *eīti* ‘to go’, etc.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 137b, 204a f.; Ivanow 1926: 419, 427; *EVP*: 16, 44; *IIFL* I: 275a, 390a, 303b f., 403a, 411; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 57, 59, 151, 255, 258; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 154; *IIFL* II: 195b, 192a, 231a, 253b f., 389a, 406a; Abrahamian 1936: 118, 132; Farahvaši: 76 f.; Andreev – Peščereva: 294b f., 336b, 352a; MacKenzie 1966: 88, 114; *EVS*: 21a, 29a, 58b f.; Lazard 1974: 84a; *WIM* II/2: 77; *WIM* III: 104; Werba 1997: 160 f.; *ESIJ*a I: 109 ff.; Lecoq 2002: 173 ff. (passim); Kiefer 2003: 191

***Haid** ‘to burn, set fire’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *aēsma-* (m.) ‘firewood’ (Y 3.2, Y 3.21, Y 4.1, etc.). ◇ This nominal derivative goes back to **Haid-sma-*.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *’ysm* (*CYBA*) /*ēsm/* or /*ēzm/*, MMP *’ymg* ‘firewood’ ⇒ DMMPP: 98a

•PARTHIAN: ◇ *pdyn-* ‘to kindle’ is probably not from the root ***Haid**, as assumed by Ghilain, l.c., but rather from ***daiH**², cf. Morgenstierne, *EVS*: 55a.

•NWIR: (?) Siv. *ī(y)-/yā*, *yē* ‘to burn [intr.]’, *īān-*, *yān-/yēyānd* (caus.) ‘to burn, set fire’, *yā* ‘fever’, *yāni* ‘fire’, NP *hēmah*, *hēzum*, Qohr. *hēzam* ‘firewood’, Bakht. *hīva* ‘firewood, fuel, timber’

•NEIR: (+ **ui-* ?) ? Oss. *ird* ‘bright, clear’, I. *irdg*, D. *irdgæ*, *ærdkæ* ‘cold (wind)’, Yi. *lāróyo* ‘clear sky’. ◇ These apparently archaic formations are exact correspondences of Skt. *vīdhṛá-* (AV) ‘bright, clear (of sky)’, Gr. ἰθαρός ‘bright, clear, pure’, EWAia II: 568 f. Are they merely distantly related to the *kindling* forms ?

•MISC: Par. *íra* ‘brightness’ (see also above)

•SANSKRIT: *edh* ‘to set alight, kindle; to shine’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 267

◇ The Ir. verbal forms cognate with Skt. *edh* are probably attested in the modern languages.

•PIE **H₂eid^h-* ‘to kindle’ ⇒ LIV: 259 | Pok.: 11 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. αἶθω ‘I kindle’, Gr. αἶθος (n.) ‘fire’, OHG *eit* (m.) ‘stake, glow’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 235a; *IIFL* II: 224; Abaev, *Slovar* I: 547 f.; MacKenzie, *Pahlavi*: 31; *WIM* II/1: 681; Vahman – Asatrian 1987: 97; *WIM* III: 109 f., 120; Werba 1997: 161 f.; Cheung 2002: 193; Lecoq 2002: 647b

***Hais** ‘to be able, rule’

•AVESTAN: *is-* ‘to be able, rule’ ⇒ Liste: 12

MED.; Pres. athem.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *ište* (P 11 (12)), OAv. (stat.) *išē* ‘has power’ (Y 50.1), SUBJ. 1sg. OAv. *isāi* (Y 43.9, Y 50.11), 1pl. OAv. *isāmaidē* (Y 35.7), OPT. 3sg. (?) YAv. (cit.) *isaēta* (P 22); Partic.: pres. YAv. *isāna-* (Y 65.14, Yt 8.49); Inf.: YAv. *ištōē* (Y 60.4)

•SANSKRIT: *īś* ‘to be master, lord of, rule’ ⇒ EWAia I: 207

◇ Further Ir. cognates are unknown.

•PIE **H₂eik-* ‘to own’ ⇒ LIV: 223 | Pok.: 298 f.

•IE COGNATES: Toch. B *aik-* ‘to recognize, know [i.e. to possess knowledge]’, Goth. *aih* ‘I have, I own’, *aigun* ‘they have’, OE *āgen*, Engl. *to own*, etc.

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 424; Adams 1999: 101 f.; *ESIIa* I: 123

***Haiš** ‘to desire, look for’

•AVESTAN: *aēš-* ‘to desire’ || (+ **upa-*) ‘to seek, look for’ || (+ **pari-*) ‘to seek, look around’ ⇒ Liste: 13

Pres. inch.: IND. med. 1sg. YAv. *ise* (Yt 12.1), 3sg. YAv. *isaiti* (V 13.19), YAv. *upō.isaiti* (N 109), med. YAv. *isaite* (V 13.19), 3du. med. YAv. *išōiθe* (V 8.10), 3pl. YAv. *isənti* (Yt 10.45), med. YAv. *isənte* (Aog 41), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *isaṭ* (Yt 19.56), 3pl. YAv. *isən* (Yt 13.92), SUBJ. 3sg. *upa.isāṭ* (N 109), OPT. 1sg. OAv. *išōiā* (Y 43.8), 3sg. YAv. *upa.išōiṭ* (N 109), med. YAv. *isaēta* (Yt 19.53), 3pl. YAv. *isaiien* (V 13.35); Aor. s-: IND. 2sg. OAv. *āiš* (Y 33.1), INJ. 2sg. OAv. *pairī āiš* (Y 50.10), OPT. 3pl. YAv. *āēšiiān* (V 8.2); Perf.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *yaēša* (Yt 13.99), YAv. *upa.yaēša* (N 109); Partic.: pres. YAv. *isənt-* (Yt 19.56), med. YAv. *isəmma-* (V 13.36, Yt 15.53, Yt 16.17), YAv. *upa.isəmma-* (N 52), fut. (or aor.?) med. YAv. *aēšəmma-* (Yt 13.66), perf. pass. YAv. *išta-* (Y 40.3). ◇ On YAv. *aēšəmma-* see Kellens 1974: 160f., fn. 1, and for the interpretation of OAv. *āiš* (in Y 33.1) see Kellens – Pirart III: 97.

•CHORESMIAN: *m/h-* ‘to intend, have in mind’. ◇ Henning’s (1971: 21b) explanation of the origin of Chor. *m/h-*, viz. a differentiated use of the root ***ah** ‘to be’ (= Chor. *y-*, q.v.), is implausible, cf. Samadi (*ibid.*). The alternative solution of Samadi, *m/h-* being from the aor. stem **maha-*, OAv. *māngh-/māh-* (s.v. ***man**¹ ‘to think’), is both morphologically and also phonologically difficult though: old intervocalic **h* usually disappears in Chor. A more straightforward etymology is to derive Chor. *mh-* from the root **Haiš*¹ (with secondary *m-*). For Ir. **-š-* > Chor. *-h(-)* cf. *’nh* ‘daughter-in-law’ (< **snušā-*), *’mh* ‘ewe’ (< **maišī-*). ⇒ Samadi: 110

•SANSKRIT: *eṣ* ‘to wish, strive’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 270

◇ Further Ir. cognates are unknown.

•PIE **H₂eis-* ‘to want, seek’ ⇒ LIV: 260 | Pok.: 16

•IE COGNATES: OCS *iskati*, Lith. (*j*)*ieškóti* ‘to seek’, OHG *eiscōn* ‘to desire, to demand’, Engl. *to ask*, etc.

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 162; *ESIIa* I: 124

***HaišH** ‘to set in motion’

•AVESTAN: *aēš-* ‘to set in motion’ || (+ **pati-*) ‘to restore, (?) permit’ || (+ **pari-*) ‘to clean, gather?’ (Kellens 1976: 91f.; Kellens 1984: 21 n. 1, 101 n. 1) || (+ **fra-*) ‘to speed forward’ || Liste: 13

Pres. {1} them.: IND. 3pl. OAv. *išəntī* (Y 46.9), med. YAv. *pairišənte* (V 14.7), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *išaṭ* (Vd 2.32), SUBJ. 3sg. *paitišāṭ* (Y 44.2, Yt 13.137), 3pl. OAv. *išāntī* (Y 45.7), YAv. *paitišaṇ* (Y 60.6), med. YAv. *pairišānte* (V 6.8), OPT. 3pl. YAv. *pairišaianta* (V 6.7), IMPV. 2pl. YAv. *paitišata* (Y 57.13); Pres. {2} *ja-*: IND. 1sg. OAv. *fraēšiiā* (Y 49.6), 1pl. *fraēšiiāmahī* (Y 35.4, Y 61.1, Y 71.25, etc.), YAv. *fraēšiiāmahī* (Vr 22.1, P 3(34)); Partic.: pres. {1} YAv. *paitišant-* (P 12 (13), Vyt 52), med. (ad hoc?) YAv. *paitišāna* (Y 55.6; Kellens 1974: 323), med. caus. YAv. *parā. ^saēšaiamna-* (N 68)

•OLD PERSIAN: (+ **fra-*) *frāiš-* ‘to send forth’ ⇒ Kent: 164b

Caus.: impf. IND. 1sg. *frāišayam* <f-r-a-i-š-y-m> (DB 1.82, DB 2.30, DB 2.82, DB 3.2, DB 3.13, DB 3.30, DB 3.84), <f-r-a-i-š-[y]-[m]> (DB 2.19), <f-r-a-i-š-y-m> (DB 2.72), <[f]-[r]-[a]-[i]-[š]-[y]-m> (DB 5.7), 3sg. *frāišaya* <f-r-a-i-š-y> (DB 3.55, DB 3.60, DB 3.71)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: ◇ The formally and semantically similar BMP forms, MMP *frystg*, BMP *plystk /frēstag/* ‘angel, apostle’ and BMP *plystʿtn /frēstādan/* ‘to send’, sim., go back to **fra-* + **staH*.

•PARTHIAN: *fryštg* ‘messenger, apostle’ ⇒ DMMPP: 160b f.

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ā-*) *īśś-* (*īs-*) ‘to return’ (< inch. **ā-iš-s-*) || (+ **pati-*) OKh. *patīs-* ‘to withdraw’ || (+ **fra-*) *hei-*’ (etc.) ‘to send’ ⇒ SGS: 13, 14, 68, 154 f.

•SOGDIAN: (+ **apa-*) SSogd. *pyš-* ‘to send off, away’ (*SDMG* II: 128) || (+ **fra-*) SSogd. *pryš*, BSogd. *pr’šy*, CSogd. *fryš*, SSogd. *pryšy* (old caus.) ‘to send’ (+ **apa-*) Pass.: pret. IND. 3sg. (?) SSogd. *pyšt* ‘(the letter) was sent away’; Partic.: perf. pass. (?) SSogd. *pyšt* || (+ **fra-*) Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. SSogd. *pr’yšm*, OPT. 2sg. SSogd. *pryššy*, etc. ||

•CHORESMIAN: ◇ On Chor. *pry-* ‘to leave, let go; to repudiate (wife); to take out (+ c)’ see ***HraH¹**.

•NWIR: (+ **fra-*) Zaz. *rištiš/rišen-* ‘to send’, (old caus. ppp.) NP *firīštah/firēštah* ‘angel; messenger’ || (+ **ui-*) ? Bal. *gīšit/gīš-* ‘to separate, untangle, divorce, straighten out, release’. ◇ According to Shabbakhsh, Bal. *gīš-* is probably a variant of *gēč-* (***(H)uāič**): the outcome *-š-* is typical for the eastern dialects of Bal. (cf. Korn 2005: 229).

•SANSKRIT: *eṣ* ‘to set in motion’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 271

•PIE **H₁eisH₂-* ‘to rush, impel, unleash, release’ ⇒ LIV: 234 | Pok.: 299 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ἰνώω ‘I empty’, Gr. οἰμα (n.) ‘stormy attack, instigation’, Lat. *īra* ‘anger, rage’, ON *eisa* ‘to rush in’

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 336 f.; Paul 1998: 311b; *ESIJ*a I: 124 ff.; Shabbakhsh: s.v. *gīš-*

***Haiz** ‘to long for, desire’

•AVESTAN: *iz-* ‘to long for, desire’ ⇒ Liste: 13

Pres. *ja-*: IND. 1sg. OAv. *iziīā* (Y 33.6, Y 49.3), 3sg. YAv. *iziieiti* (Yt 19.51, cf. Kellens 1974: 209 fn. 1.), YAv. *iziīati* (Vyt 30, FrA 11)

•SANSKRIT: *eh* ‘to strive for, desire’ (AV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 273

◊ Further Ir. cognates are uncertain.

•PIE **Heiǵʰ-* ‘to desire, strive’ ⇒ LIV: 222 | Pok.: 14 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ἰχθαίνω, ἰχθονόω ‘I desire, strive’

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 163; *ESJa* I: 326

*Haižd (?) ‘to implore’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *iš-* ‘to implore’ (< **ižd-sa-*, Kellens 1984: 19) ⇒ Liste: 13f.

Pres. inch.: SUBJ. 1sg. OAv. *išasā* (Y 31.4), OPT. 3sg. OAv. *išasōiŋ* (Y 50.2); Partic.: pres. OAv. *išasant-* (Y 51.19)

•SANSKRIT: *īd* ‘to invoke’ ⇒ EWAia I: 204

◊ Further Ir. cognates are unknown.

•PIE **H₂eisd-* ‘to honour, respect’ ⇒ LIV: 260 f. | Pok.: 16

•IE COGNATES: Goth. *aistan* ‘to stand in awe, respect’, Osc. *aiso-* ‘god’, ? Toch. *yase* ‘shame, awe’ (cf. Normier 1980: 259)

•REFERENCES: Humbach 1956: 66 ff.; Werba 1997: 452; Adams 1999: 487

*HamH ‘to be forceful’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *āma-*, YAv. *ama-* (m.) ‘power, force’ (Y 9.17, Y 9.27, Y 13.3, etc.), OAv. *āmauuant-*, YAv. *amauuant-* ‘tremendous, powerful, strong’ (Y 33.12, Y 34.4, Y 43.10, etc.)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *’m’wnd/amāwand/* ‘strong, powerful’ (Av. LW ?)

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *amatau* ‘forceful, with force’ (KT5 79r,3), Lsg. *amatauya* (KT5 81v,3), Lpl. *amauvuā* (KT3 47,4v 4, KT5 530, 783). ◊ The meaning ‘distress, distressful’ is given as the main meaning of the entry in *DKS*, l.c., but in the quoted passages this meaning is often not appropriate though.

•SANSKRIT: *amⁱ* ‘to seize; to swear’ (RV+) || *āma-* (m.) ‘attacking power’, *āmavant-* (adj.) ‘having attacking power, powerful’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia I: 96

◊ Verbal forms of **HamH* are absent in Iranian. The Iranian forms are usually connected to the Skt. root *amⁱ*, to which many forms and formations with often very divergent meanings are connected. For a discussion of these meanings see Hoffmann, *Aufsätze* 1: 304 f.

•PIE **H₃emH₃₋* ‘to seize, grab; to swear’ ⇒ LIV: 270 f. | Pok.: 778

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ὀμνῶμι ‘I swear’. ◊ It is doubtful whether Lat. *amō* ‘I love’ and the gloss in Hesychius ἄμιοις ‘bad’ can be included, as in *LIV*: l.c. The presumed shift in meaning for *amō* (< **to hold one’s hand*’) is charming, but fanciful. Also, it is methodologically not very sound to rely on obscure forms (the Hes. gloss and Marrucinian *amatens* ‘*uoluerent*’) to arrive at an IE reconstruction **H₂emH₃₋*, with laryngeal **h₂₋* !

•REFERENCES: DKS: 5b; Werba 1997: 273; ESJJa I: 151

***Hanč ?** ‘to unsheathe, draw ?’

•AVESTAN: ? YAv. *axnah-* ‘rein’ (Yt 5.11, Yt 13.122). ◇ Rather related to Skt. *añc* ‘to bend’ (EWAia I: 52) ?

•NWIR: (+ *ā-) NP *āxtan/āz-* ‘to unsheathe, draw a sword’ || (+ *apa- ?) ? Awrom. *pātáy/pāč-* ‘to chop’ (hardly from ***pač** ‘to cook’)

•NEIR: (+ *ā-) ? Oss. I. *axsyn/axst* ‘to coagulate (of milk)’. ◇ Perhaps from inch. **āxxa-* ‘to be drawn, draw [intr.]’ ?, cf. Engl. *to draw* (of tea, etc.).

•SANSKRIT: *añc* ‘to draw (water)’ ⇒ EWAia I: 53

◇ An IE provenance for this Ir. root cannot be ascertained. The connection to OHitt. *ḥi-in-ga(-ri) /henk-/* ‘to bestow, consign’, suggested by Oettinger 1979: 176 f., is semantically difficult and therefore rejected by Puhvel III: 289 ff.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 92 f.; MacKenzie 1966: 105; Werba 1997: 155 f.

***HanH** ‘to breathe’

•AVESTAN: (+ *ui-) OAv. *viīānayā* (Lsg. n.) ‘spirit(ness)’ (Y 29.6, Y 44.7). ◇ Cf., for instance, Humbach 1991 I: 39; already Bailey 1971: l.c.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *ui-) MMP *gy’n*, BMP (*ḤY*) *y’n /gyān/* ‘(breathing) soul, πνεῦμα’ ⇒ DMMPP: 168b f.

•PARTHIAN: (+ *ui-) MMP *gy’n* ‘soul’ ⇒ DMMPP: 168b f.

•KHOTANESE: (+ *uz-) LKh. **uysan-* ‘to breath out’. ◇ On OKh. *uysanā-* see SVK III: 28. ⇒ SGS: 14 f.

•NWIR: (+ *ui-) NP *jān*, Kurd. (Sor.) *giyān*, *Zaz. gān* (m.) ‘life, soul, body’, Khuns. *giyūn*, Siv. *gān* ‘soul’

•MISC: (+ *ui-) Syr. (LW) *gyn-’bspr* ‘life-devoting’ (i.e. BMP */gyān-abespār/* ‘desperate; devoted’)

•SANSKRIT: *anī* ‘to breathe’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 72

•PIE **H₂enH₁-* ‘to breathe’ ⇒ LIV: 267 | Pok.: 38 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ἄνεμος ‘wind’, Lat. *animus* ‘soul, spirit’, *anima* (f.) ‘breeze, breath, soul’, Toch. B *anāsk-* ‘to breathe in’, Goth. *uz-anan* ‘to breathe out’, Osc. *anamúm* ‘animam’, MWelsh *anadl* ‘breath’

•REFERENCES: Bailey 1971: 106, fn. 4 f.; WIM I: 354; WIM III: 316; Werba 1997: 273; Paul 1998: 298a; Cabolov 2001: 389

***Hap/f** ‘to reach, attain’

•AVESTAN: *ap-* ‘to reach, attain’ || (+ *abi-) ‘to obtain, find’ || (+ *pati-) ‘to reach to’ || (+ *pari-) ‘to reach, attain’ ⇒ Liste: 11

Pres. *ajā-*: IND. 1sg. YAv. *apāiēmi* (Yt 5.42, Yt 15.43), 3sg. YAv. *apāiēiti* (Yt 10.21, Yt 14.20, Yt 14.57, Yt 17.19), 3pl. YAv. *apāiēinti* (Y 57.29, Yt 10.20), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *paiti.apāiāt* (Yt 8.38), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *auui apāiā* (Yt 16.2); Aor. them.: OPT. 1pl. OAv. *apāēmā* (Y 41.2); Perf.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *āpa*; Partic.: pres. YAv. *apāiānt-* (Y 9.31), perf. med. OAv. *apāna-* (Y 33.5); Inf.: pass. YAv. *āfiēiḍiāi* (Y 71.13); Pass.: pres. 3pl. YAv. *āfānte* (Y 57.29); Caus.: pres. SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *apāiāt* (Yt 10.86). ◇ According to Sims-Williams 1989: 257 YAv. *apāiānt-* rather derives from **ā-pā-* ‘to observe’.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **abi-*) MMP *’y’b-* ‘to obtain, acquire, attain; to achieve success’, BMP *’y’p-* /*āyāb-* ‘to attain’ ⇒ DMMP: 80a

Pres.: SUBJ. 1pl. MMP *’y’b’m*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *’y’pt*, BMP *’y’pt* /*āyāft*; Inf.: BMP *’y’p̄tn* /*ayāftan*/

•PARTHIAN: (+ **pari-*) *pry’b-* ‘to attain, reach; to overtake, come upon’. ◇ On Pth. *’b’myh*, BMP *’p’m* /*ābām*/, NP *āḅām* ‘debt’ see ***Hmai**². ⇒ Ghilain: 60 | DMMP: 282a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *pry’byd*, 3pl. *pry’bynd*, SUBJ. 3sg. *pry’b’h*

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *eh-* ‘to reach’ || (+ **abi-*) *byev-* (*byeh-*) ‘to obtain, attain’ || (+ **pati-*) ? OKh. *peh-* ‘to obtain’ || (+ **pari-*) OKh. *prev-* ‘to obtain’ ⇒ SGS: 20, 106, 86, 89

•SOGDIAN: (+ **pati-*) CSogd. *ptyfs-* *‘happen’, MSogd. *pty’p* ‘to reach’ || (+ **pari-*) CSogd. *pryp*, MSogd. *pryp* ‘to take, lead, fetch, bring’, BSogd. *pr’yyp* (caus.) ‘to lead, take’

(+ **pati-*) Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *ptyy’p* || (+ **pari-*) Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *prpt*, INJ. 1sg. CSogd. *prypw*, CSogd. *prpw*, OPT. 3pl. CSogd. *prypynt*, IMPV. 2pl. CSogd. *prppt*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **api-*) ? *byfs-* ‘to become occupied’ || (+ **abi-*) *yf-* ‘to reach, catch up, find’, (caus. ?) *Y’FY-* ‘to encounter, hit’ (from dissimilated **āβjāfīa-* < **abi-*(*H*)*āf-īa-*) || (+ **fra-*) ? *h’fs-* ‘to strike each other’. ◇ The etymologies proposed for Chor. *h’fsd* ‘they struck each other’ are unconvincing. MacKenzie’s derivation (V: 71), from **fra-bīsa-* (~ *hβr-* ‘to give’, “with a different development from *’nbš-* ‘to ask’”), is both semantically and formally difficult, whereas Samadi’s suggestion, viz. intr. of **bar-*, Skt. *bhurá-* ‘to move fast’, is formally difficult. Skt. (stem) *bhurá-* clearly betrays the presence of a laryngeal, whence the corresponding inch. *s*-stem in Ir. should be **bars(s)a-* (cf. OAv. *darāga-*, OP *darga-* ‘long’ < PIIr. **drHg^ha-*, Skt. *dīrghá-*). The Chor. reflex of **bars(s)a-* should have preserved the liquid *r*. **(*h-*)*βrs-*. Deriving *h’fsd* from a stem **fra(H)āfs(s)-* may account for the reciprocal, intransitive meaning of the Chor. form, cf. Skt. *pra-āp-* ‘to reach at, meet with’. ⇒ Samadi: 33, 256, 255, 89

•BACTRIAN: (+ **pari-*) ? *παροαβιγο* ‘disposable, at (one’s) disposal’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 217a

•NWIR: (+ **abi-*) NP *yāftan/yāb-* ‘to find’ || (+ **ni-*) ? Yzd. (Zor.) *nēftvūn*, *niftvūn/nīv-*, Parsi *neftmūn* ‘to send’

•NEIR: Oss. D. *afun/afī* ‘to reach a necessary level, be on the required level’ || (+ **api-/afī-* ?) (?) Oss. I. *æjjafyn/æjjæft*, D. *æjjafun/æjjaft* ‘to reach, attain; to experience’, (?) Yghn. *bīyóp-*, *bīyób-/bīyópta* ‘to attain, reach’ || (+ **pari-*) Yi. *pura-/pīveí-*, M. *puróv-/purví-* ‘to find, obtain’ || (+ **fra-*) Sh. (Baj.) *fīrāp-/fīrīpt*, Rosh. *fīrāp-/fīrēpt-*, Bart. *fīrāp-/fīrēpt-*, Sariq. *frops-/fīrbt*, Yzgh. *fārip-/fārap* ‘to arrive at, reach’, (caus.) Sh. *fīrāp-/fīrāpt*, Rosh. *fīrēpt*, Bart. *fīrōpt*, Yzgh. *fārap-* ‘to bring, convey’ || (+ **ni-*) Sariq. *niyup-/niyopt* ‘to overtake, reach’, ? Sangl. *nīv-/nīvō* ‘to bring (someone)’

•MISC: (+ **abi-*) Orm. *waw-/wōk* ‘to obtain, find’ = *wa-wók* ‘to find’

•SANSKRIT: *āp* ‘to reach, attain’ ⇒ EWAia I: 167

◇ The long vowel in many Ir. forms points to an old perf. formation.

•PIE **H₁ep-* ‘to take, seize, grab’ ⇒ LIV: 237 | Pok.: 50 f.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. *e-ep-zi /ēpzi/* ‘he grabs’, *ap-pa-an-zi /appanzi/* ‘they catch’, Lat. *apīscor* ‘to reach, to receive, to grab, to get’, *co-ēpī* ‘I have undertaken’

•REFERENCES: Lorimer 1916: 454; *IIFL* I: 412a; *IIFL* II: 238b, 405b; Abaev, *Slovar* I: 33, f, 124 f.; Andreev – Peščereva: 232a; *EVS*: 33b f., 52a; *EVS*: 33b f., 52a; Werba 1997: 157 f.; Vahman – Asatrian 2002: 25; *ESIIa* I: 178 ff.; Kiefer 2003: 209

*Harč ‘to sing’

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *āljs-* ‘to sing’ ⇒ SGS: 11

•SANSKRIT: *arc* ‘to sing, praise’ (RV, AV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 114

•PIE **H₁erk^w*- ‘to sing, praise’ ⇒ LIV: 240 | Pok.: 340

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */arkuānzi/* ‘they sing’, Toch. A *yārksāt* ‘worshipped’, *yārĕk*, B *yarke* ‘worship’

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 166 f.; *ESIIa* I: 224

*Hard ‘to prosper’

•AVESTAN: *ard-* ‘to prosper’ ⇒ Liste: 10

Aor. athem.: SUBJ. 3sg. OAv. *arədaŋ* (Y 50.11)

•KHOTANESE: (+ **pati-*) *pātā(°)l-* (*pyāl-*) ‘to prosper’, LKh. *pyālya-* (P 3513.62v1 KT 1.248, Vajr. 12b4 KT 3.22) ‘welfare’ ⇒ SGS: 82

•SANSKRIT: *ardh* ‘to prosper, promote growth, success, etc.’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 118

◇ Further cognates are uncertain.

•PIE ? **H₂eld^h*- ‘to promote’ ⇒ LIV: 262 | Pok.: 27

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *ἄλθαίω* ‘I heal’

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 167 f.; *ESIIa* I: 216

*Har¹ ‘to go to(wards), reach’

•AVESTAN: *ar-* ‘to start to move’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘to come, arrive’ || (+ **uz-*) ‘to rise, go up’ || (+ **ni-*) ‘to go, fall down’ || (+ **ui-*) caus. ‘to drive off’. ◇ Assuming a separate

origin for OAv. *ar-* ‘détourner’, as postulated in *Liste*, l.c. is unnecessary. || On the interpretation of the aor. forms and their assignment to *Har¹ or *Har² see Kümmel, *Ilr. & Idg.*: 262 ff. ⇒ *Liste*: 9, 10

Pres. {1} them. red.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *uziōraiti* (V 19.28); SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *uziārāt* (Yt 8.5), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *uziāra* (V 21.5), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *nira* (Yt 8.38), 3pl. (?) YAv. *˚nirən* (Y 10.17), SUBJ. 3pl. YAv. *˚irānti* (FrW 4.1), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *uzīra* (V 21.5, V 21.17), 3sg. OAv. *īratū* (Y 53.8); Pres. {2} athem.: IND. med. 3sg. OAv. *paitī.ərətē* (Y 44.12); Aor. {1} athem.: IND. 1sg. OAv. *ārəm* (Y 43.10), SUBJ. med. 3pl. OAv. *frāraṇtē* (Y 46.3); Aor. {2} them.: SUBJ. 3pl. YAv. *˚arānti* (V 15.4; Kümmel, l.c.: 264); Partic.: pres. YAv. *uziōraṇt-* (Yt 8.36); Inf.: pres. OAv. *˚uzirəidiāi* (Y 43.12, Y 43.14), aor. ? OAv. *uruuānē* (Y 31.2); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *˚viiāraieiti* (V 18.26)

•OLD PERSIAN: *rs(s)a-* (inch.) ‘to move, go or come toward’ || (+ **aya-*) *avars(s)a-* ‘to go down to, arrive at’ || (+ **para-*) *parars(s)a-* ‘to come to, arrive at’ || (+ **ni-*) *nirs(s)a-* ‘to come down, descend’. ◇ The transcription /*rasa-*/ is the generally accepted one, no doubt on the basis of modern Persian. ⇒ Kent: 169b

Pres. inch.: impf. IND. 1sg. *ars(s)am* <a-r-s-m> (DB 1.54, DB 2.28, DB 2.48, DB 2.63), *avārs(s)am* <a-v-a-[r]-[s]-[m]> (DB 5.23), <a-v-a-r-s-m> (DSf 24), 3sg. *parārs(s)am* <p-r-a-r-s-m> (DB 2.22, DB 2.32, DB 2.52, etc.), SUBJ. 3sg. *nirs(s)ātiy* <n-i-r-s-a-t-i-y> (DPe 24)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (old inch.) MMP *rs-*, BMP *ls-* (*YHMTWN-*) /*ras-*/ ‘to come, arrive’ ⇒ DMMPP: 296b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *rsyd*, MMP *rsyyd*, 3pl. MMP *rsynd*, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *rs’d*, OPT. 3sg. MMP *˚rsy*

•SOGDIAN: (+ **abi-*) BSogd. *βyr-* ‘to obtain, acquire, receive, find’, CSogd. *byr-* ‘to find, receive’, MSogd. *βyr-* ‘to obtain’

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. SSogd. *βyr’m*, 3sg. SSogd., BSogd. *βyrt*, 1pl. SSogd. *βyrym*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **api-*) *byry-* ‘to desire’ (< intens. **api-īraja-*) || (+ **abi-*) *βyr-* ‘to find, obtain’, (sec. inch./pass.) *m/βyrs-* ‘to be created, to become into existence’, (caus. inch.) *m/βyrsy-* ‘to create’ || (+ **uz-*) *m/wz’ry-* ‘to establish’ (cf. MacKenzie IV: 533), ‘to make firm, elevate, perform (prayer), lead (a war)’ ⇒ Samadi: 34, 44, 227

•BACTRIAN: (+ **abi-*) *αβιρ-* ‘to obtain, find’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 175a

•NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *rasīdan/ras-*, Zaz. *resāyiš/resen-*, Abz. *rasā/ras-*, Anar. *ireso/eres-*, Gz. *rās-/rāsā*, Gil. (Rsh.) *fa-rāscen/fa-rāse-*, Ham. *resayān/res-*, Isfah. *resān/res-*, Meim. *be-rēsaj/a-rēs-*, Khuns. *res-/resā*, Mah. *ris-*, *rās-*, Nn. *rassā/ras-* (*res-*), Natan. *-rāsāj-/rās-*, Qohr. *rasā/res-*, Semn. *-rāsā*, Shamerz. *-rāsīm-/rāsām-*, Siv. *rās-/rāsā*, *rāsē*, Soi *-rās-/rās-* ‘to arrive, attain’, (caus.) NP *rasān(ī)dan/rasān-* ‘to cause to arrive; to bring to bear; to convey’, Abyan. *rasnoyan*, Gz. *rāsn-/rāsnā*, Ham. *resenayān/resen-*, Jow. *bam-rasnā/a-rasn-*, Meim. *bem-rēsā/a-rēs-*, Siv. *rāsān-* ‘to send’, Nn. *rāsnā/rāsn-* ‘to cause to arrive, send’ || (+ **ni-*) Kurd. (North.) *hinārtin/hinēr-*, (Central) *(ha)nārdin/nēr-* ‘to send’ (with sec. *hin-*, *han-* ?)

•NEIR: Oss. I. *aryn*, *waryn/ard*, (+ **abi-* ?) D. *erun/ird* ‘to arrive; to be born’, ? Sariq. *yur* (in *xū dūst mūr yur* ‘reach me your hand’) || (+ **abi-* ?) Sh. (Baj.) *virī-virūd*,

Rosh. *viray-*, Bart. *viriy-*, Sariq. *v(ī)rēy-/vrēyd*, Yghn. *vir-/vīyórta-* ‘to find, obtain’ || (+ **fra-*) Bart. *arōr-/arōrd* ‘to extend, hand over, give away’ (with unexplained *a-*), Sariq. *rur-/rord* ‘to stretch out (the hand towards something)’, Wa. *гьr-/rord-* ‘to stretch out, extend; to pour, flow out’ || (+ **ni-*) ? Wa. *nəṛəš* (in *nəṛəš di-*, *rəč-* ‘to run away, boil down’)

•SANSKRIT: *ar* ‘to reach, to come towards, to meet with’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 106

•PIE **H₁er-* ‘to go to, reach’ ⇒ LIV: 238 | Pok.: 326 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */āri/* ‘arrives, reaches’, Gr. *ἔρχομαι* ‘I go’

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 81a f., 140a, 207a, 246a; Ivanow 1926: 421; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 66, 259; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 159; Abrahamian 1936: 119, 132; Lambton 1938: 40b, 42b, 78a; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 73 f.; Andreev – Peščereva: 345a f.; *EVS*: 15b, 84b f., 106a; Lecoq 1974: 62; *WIMI* I: 72; *WIM* II/1: 81; *WIM* III: 115; Werba 1997: 165; Paul 1998: 311a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 249; *ESIIA* I: 188 ff.; Lecoq 2002: 122, 125 (passim)

*Har² ‘to set in motion’

•AVESTAN: *ar-* ‘to set in motion’ || (+ **uz-*) ‘to rise, move up’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to come to’ ⇒ Liste: 9 f.

Pres. *n-*: IND. 3pl. YAv. *fr̥ərənuuāipti* (Yt 13.46), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *fr̥ərənaot* (Y 11.4, Yt 13.146), SUBJ. med. 3sg. *ərənauuataē°* (Y 65.17, Y 56.3 f.), 3pl. YAv. *ərənauuāpte* (Y 52.3); Aor. athem.: IMPV. med. 2sg. OAv. *uzārəšuuā* (Y 33.12; Kümmel, *Ilr. & Idg.*: 262 f.); Perf.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *fr̥āra* (N 10), med. 3sg. *ārōi*; Pass.: pres. INJ. 3sg. YAv. *ərənāuuī*. ◇ YAv. *ərənāuuī* seems to be formed on the basis of the present stem, on which see further Kellens 1974: 231 f.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *l’n-* /*rān-*/ ‘to drive (away), expel; to pursue’, (sec. caus.) *l’nyn-* /*rānēn-*/ ‘to cause to flee’

Pres.: IND. 2sg. BMP *l’nyh /rānēh/*; Partic.: perf. pass. caus. BMP *l’nynyt /rānēnīd/*

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *’m-* ‘to drive, urge on’

Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *’m’t* (Dhy. 23(N)), OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *’m’y* (Dhu. 167)

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **fra-*) *h’ny-* ‘to shake’ ⇒ Samadi: 86

•NWIR: NP *rāndan/rān-* ‘to drive (away), expel; to pursue’, Gil. (Rsht.) *fu-radæn/fu-ran-* ‘to lead, drive, chase’, Anar. *rond/-ron-*, Gur. (Kand.) *-rān-*, Khuns. *rūnd* ‘to drive’, Siv. *rān-*/ (supplet. *quúrd* < **ā-bar*) ‘to bring’

•NEIR: ? Yzgh. *rad-/rost*, Wa. *rəd-*, *rəḍ-/rən-* ‘to flee, run away’, Oss. D. *randæ* (in *randæ un* ‘to go out; to walk; to depart, leave’, *randæ kænun* ‘to remove, distance from’) || (+ **abi-* ?) ? Yghn. *von-*, *voñ-*, *vun-/vónta*, *vónita* ‘to complete’ (not to Sogd. *wn-* ‘to do, make’ ?, Andreev – Peščereva, l.c.) || (+ **ham-*) ? Pash. *anaw-* ‘to pick, gather, collect’ (Cheung 2004: 128) ⇒ EWAia I: 105

•PIE **H₃er-* ‘to move, set in motion’, pres. stem **H₃meu-* ⇒ LIV: 299 | Pok.: 326 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */arnuzzi/* ‘brings forth, delivers, sends’, Gr. *ἔρνωμι* ‘I move’, Arm. *y-ainem* ‘I stand up’, OCS *iz-roniti* ‘effundere’, Russ. *ronját’*, *uronít’* ‘to drop’, Goth. *rinnan*, OHG *rennen*, Engl. *to run*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* II: 199; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 66; *IIFL* II: 538a; Andreev – Peščereva: 346a; *EVS*: 66b; Abaev, *Slovar'* II: 350; *WIM* I: 72; *WIM* III: 114; Werba 1997: 165; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 301, 305

*HarH 'to grind (grain)'

•AVESTAN: YAv. *ar- 'to grind'

Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. aša- 'ground' (V 5.52, V 7.35)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP 'l- (*THNN*-) /ār-/ 'to grind, mill', BMP 'It /ārd/ 'flour'

•PARTHIAN: ? yw-'rd'w 'corn' (rather the 'righteous barley' ?) ⇒ DMMPP: 374b

•KHOTANESE: LKh. ārr- 'to grind' ⇒ SGS: 10

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. 'rδ 'millstone' (SCE 231), BSogd. 'rδ'm'k 'mill' (SCE 161)

•CHORESMIAN: m/n- 'to grind', 'rd 'flour', 'rθ (f.) 'mill-stone' ⇒ Samadi: 115

•BACTRIAN: αρδο 'flour' ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 181a

•NWIR: (+ *ā- ?) Kurd. (Kurm.) hērān/hēr-, Awrom. hārāy/hār-, Bakht. ardan, Gz. ar-, Yzd. ār- 'to grind', Abz. har/har- 'id.; to thresh', NP ārd, (? borrowed into) Bal. ārt, Kurd. (Kurm.) ār(d), (Sor.) ārd, Zaz. ār(dī), Abyan. ārd (f.), Anar. ārt, Tal. orda, Khuns. ārt, Gz. ārt, Gur. ārd(ī), Siv. ārde 'flour', Abyan. ār (f.), Khuns. ār 'mill', Gz. ārūn 'miller'

•NEIR: Sh. (Baj.) yān-/yīy'd, yūd, Sariq. yon-/yūy'j, yūg, Yzgh. yaw'n-/yūg 'to grind', Yi. yān-/yāg'y'i- 'to grind', Pash. aneyəl 'to grind', Pash. őró (m. pl.), Sh. (Baj.) yōy'j (m.), Bart. yōw'j, Rosh. yāw'j, Sariq. yo'y'j, yow'j, Yi. yārē, M. yōrī 'flour', ? Oss. I. aryng 'trough in which flour is mixed'

•MISC: Orm. hīnl-'ēk 'ground, pulverized', Par. wārun 'flour'

•SANSKRIT: ? ātā 'flour' (Hi.), Pkt. aṭa 'flour' (Niya) ⇒ EWAia I: 108

•PIE *H₂eIH₁- 'to grind' ⇒ LIV: 277 | Pok.: 28 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ἀλέω, Arm. aṭam 'I grind', etc.

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 12; *IIFL* I: 397a, 297b; Bailey 1933: 60; Bailey 1936: 338; *IIFL* II: 272b, 273b; Abaev, *Slovar'* I: 74 f.; MacKenzie 1966: 96; *EVS*: 106a, 119b; *WIM* I: 342 f.; *DKS*: 22a; *WIM* II/2: 637 f.; *WIM* III: 303; *ESJa* I: 200 f.; Cabolov 2001: 82 f., 436; Lecoq 2002: 572b, 594b, 606a (passim); *NEVP*: 10; Korn 2005: 189, 270

*Harj 'to be worth'

•AVESTAN: arj- 'to be worth' ⇒ Liste: 10

Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. arājaiti (H 1.5 f., H 1.8, H 1.10, etc.), INJ. 3sg. arajāṭ (Y 50.10, Y 64.6, Yt 5.109, etc.)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP 'lc- /arz-/ 'to be worth', MMP 'rz'n, MMP 'rz''n 'worthy'

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP 'lcyt /arzēd/

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. 'yrz'nw, MSogd. 'yjn 'worthy', SSogd. 'ry, BSogd. 'ry, MSogd. 'ry 'value, price'

- CHORESMIAN: 'ž- 'to be worth', (denomin.) *m|ž'ny-* 'to estimate, value, negotiate about the price' ⇒ Samadi: 267 f.
- NWIR: NP *arzīdan/arz-*, Gz. *až-/ažā-*, Khuns. *erz-*, Meim. *a-h-arzɔ/a-h-arz-*, Qohr. *harzā/harz-* 'to be worth', Isfah. *arzān/ārz-* 'to cost' (LW), ? Sorkh. *b-əršind-/əršincən-* 'to buy', NP *arz* 'price, value'
- SANSKRIT: *arh* 'to earn, be worth' (RV+), *arghá-* (m.) 'worth, value, price' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 114, 124
- PIE **H₂elg^{wh}-* 'to be worth, value, earn' ⇒ LIV: 263 | Pok.: 32 f.
- IE COGNATES: Hitt. */halkuessar/* '(ritual) performance', Gr. *ἀλφάνειν* 'to bring in as profit', (aor.) Gr. *ἀλφεῖν* 'to earn, to obtain', Lith. *algà* (f.) 'salary, pay'
- REFERENCES: Christensen, *Contributions* II: 113; Lambton 1938: 40a; WIM I: 68; Werba 1997: 334 f.; *ESJJa* I: 218 f.; Lecoq 2002: 647a

*Harš 'to be envious'

- AVESTAN: YAv. *arš-* 'to be envious', YAv. *araska-* (m.) 'envy' (Y 9.5, Yt 15.16, Yt 19.33) ⇒ Liste: 10
Partic.: pres. *ja-* YAv. *arəšiiant-* (Y 52.2)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *'ryšk, 'ryšq, ryšk*, MMP *ryšq*, BMP *'lyšk /arešk/* 'envy' ⇒ DMMPP: 53b, 304a
- PARTHIAN: *rsk* 'envy' ⇒ DMMPP: 296b
- KHOTANESE: OKh. (instr. sg.) *arete, are (jsa)* 'envy'
- SOGDIAN: BSogd. *'rsk*', CSogd. *'rsqy*, MSogd. *'rsk* 'envy'
- CHORESMIAN: *'rx* (n. pl. ?) 'envy, jealousy'
- NWIR: NP *rašk* 'envy, jealousy'
- NEIR: (+ **abi-* ?) ? Pash. *wiyār* 'envy'. ◇ "Etym. unknown", *EVP*: 94. According to *NEVP*: 94, the meanings are 'vanity, pride, conceit': "Phonetically **wardi/yā-* fits ... but the semantics are unclear."
- SANSKRIT: *īrṣ* 'to be envious, envy' ⇒ EWAia: 206
- PIE **H₁rH₁-(e)s-* 'to be envious' ? ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 337
- IE COGNATES: Hitt. */arsanija-/* 'to be envious', Arm. *her* 'anger, quarrel', OE *eorsian* 'to be malicious'
- REFERENCES: *DKS*: 7b f.; *ESJJa* I: 212 f.

*HasH 'to eat'

- AVESTAN: ◇ YAv. *āsītō* (Y 10.14), previously connected to **HasH*, rather means 'lying, resting', whence **saiH*.
- PARTHIAN: ''s- 'to eat?' ⇒ DMMPP: 5a
- NWIR: NP *āš* 'thick brew, soup' (< OP **āšyā-* < **āθiā-* < Ir. **HāsHīā-*)

•NEIR: ? Oss. I. *min-as*, D. *mijn-asæ* ‘feast, reception’ (**maiθna-* ‘(guest)dwelling’), Yzgh. *pəry-ûs* ‘breakfast after sunrise (in winter)’ (< **prHu(i)ja-HāsHā-*) || (+ **apa-*) ? Yzgh. *bəs* (in *bəs da-* ‘to wean off (a kid)’) || (+ **upa-*) Oss. I. *bas*, D. *basæ* ‘soup’ (< Ir. **upa-HāsHā-*)

•SANSKRIT: *aś* ‘to eat’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 136

◇ The Iranian ‘vulture, bird of prey’ forms (YAv. *kahrkāsa-*, Oss. *cærgæs*, etc.) are unrelated to this root: they are rather ancient borrowings, on which see Cheung 2002: 176.

•PIE **H₂ekH₃-* ‘to eat up’ ?. ◇ The existence of this root in IE is somewhat uncertain. ⇒ LIV: 261 | Pok.: 18

•IE COGNATES: ? ON *æja* ‘to graze, pasture’, ? ON *agn* (n.) ‘fish bait’, ? Gr. ἄκολος ‘bite, piece of food’

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 239; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 119 f.; EVS: 116a; Werba 1997: 274 f.; ESJa I: 235 f.

***Hauč** ‘to dwell, live at home’

•AVESTAN: (+ priv.) OAv. *an-aocah-* ‘hostile, nomadic?’ (Y 44.15)

•KHOTANESE: (+ **abi-*?) *byūka-* ‘chamber’ (Z 3.39, Bailey, *KT* III: 41,32) || (+ **ui-*) *ggūch-* (*ggūś-*) ‘to deliver, set free; [intr.] to escape’ ⇒ SGS: 30

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **ham-*)? **mc-* ‘to have room’ ⇒ Samadi: 110

•SANSKRIT: *ókas-* (n.) ‘dwelling, residence’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 276 f.

◇ The forms appear to be nominal (Khot. *gūch-* can be explained as a denomin. formation). They probably go back to a nominal derivative of **H₁(e)uk-* ‘to get used to’ (***jauč**), compare semantically NHG *wohnen* ‘to live, dwell’ and *sich gewöhnen* ‘to get accustomed to’.

•PIE **H₁eukos-* ‘living, dwelling’ ? ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 347

•IE COGNATES: (?) Lith. *úkis* (m.) ‘farm(stead), housekeeping’. ◇ The accent and length of the stem vocalism of the Lith. form have not been explained satisfactorily.

•REFERENCES: DKS: 85b, 309a; ESJa I: 261 f.

***HauH** ‘to help, aid’

•AVESTAN: *auu-* ‘to help’, YAv. *aomna* (instr. sg.) ‘help, support’ (Yt 13.146) || (+ **uz-*) ‘to protect’ ⇒ Liste: 14

Pres. them.: IND. 1sg. OAv. *auuāmī* (Y 44.7), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *auuāt* (N 3), 3pl. YAv. *auuān* (Yt 8.7, Yt 8.38, N 9), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *auuōit* (N 2 f.); Partic.: pres. med. YAv. *aomna-* (Yt 13.146); Inf.: pres. OAv. *auuō* (Y 32.14), ? OAv. *uzūiθiioi* (Y 46.5). ◇ OAv. *uzūiθiioi* is not cited by Kellens, *Liste* and 1984.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *wd’y-* ‘to help, save’. ◇ Henning, *BBB*: 108a compares **wd’y-* to OAv. *uzūiθiioi*, which is phonologically not without difficulties. If the MP form (presumably borrowed into Pth.) would indeed reflect a prefixed formation OP **ud-āvaya-*, the dental ought to have disappeared, becoming either *-y-* or *-h-*.

Perhaps, *wd'y-* is rather an old denominative-factitive formation **ūtāya-*, from **ūti-* = Skt. *ūtí-* f. 'favour, help, aid'. Since it is not attested in BMP, it may have been borrowed from Pth. (rather than the other way round). ⇒ DMMPP: 66

Pres.: IMPV. 2sg. MMP 'wd'y, 'wd'y; Partic.: pres. MMP 'wd'y'g

•PARTHIAN: *wd'y-* 'to help, save'. ◇ 'z'w- is also cited by Henning, l.c. ⇒ Ghilain: 106 | DMMPP: 66

Pres.: SUBJ. 2sg. 'wd'y, IMPV. 2sg. 'wd'y; Partic.: perf. pass. II 'wd'y'd; Inf.: II 'wd'y'dn

•KHOTANESE: (+ **abi-*) *byūma-* 'favour, support'

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **abi-*) *mβyiw-* 'to help' ⇒ Samadi: 45

•NWIR: ? Bal. *ōmān* 'desire'. ◇ The equation to YAv. *aomna*, Skt. *omān-* 'help, support' is suggested by Korn 2005: 151. The comparison is semantically not quite satisfactory. The Bal. form is perhaps rather a compound consisting of *ō-* and *-mān* 'mind'. The *ō-* part may go back to the IE root **H₂eu-* 'to desire, long for food (cf. LIV: 274), Skt. *āvayat* 'ate', Lat. *avēre* 'to desire', Alb. *ha* 'eats'. The Bal. form may be connected to this root as well, whence **Haua(h)-* + **mānah-* 'having a desirous mind' ?

•SANSKRIT: *av^j* 'to help, protect' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 134

•PIE **HeuH-* 'to help, protect' ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 77 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *iuvāre* 'to help, to support', OIrish *con-ói* 'to protect'. ◇ Blanc 2005: 132 ff. also adds Gr. *ἐπιητηατός* as cognate, positing a meaning 'that helps, useful'.

•REFERENCES: DKS: 309b; Werba 1997: 274; ESIJa I: 253 f.

***Hauǰ** 'to say (solemnly), praise'

•AVESTAN: *aoj-* 'to speak', (sec. ?) YAv. *aoc-* 'to speak', *uxda-* (n.) 'word' (= Skt. *ukthá-*) || (+ **pati-*) 'to reply, answer' || (+ **pari-*) 'to order'. ◇ The YAv. attested root is *aoc-*, which may have been influenced by the past participle *aoxta-*. For the analysis of the YAv. attestations of **uc-* see Kellens 1984: 124, 247. ⇒ Liste: 9, 14 MED.; Pres. {1} athem.: IND. 1sg. OAv. *aojōi* (Y 32.7), 3sg. YAv. *aoxte* (F 238), 1pl. OAv. *aogamadaē(-cā)* (Y 41.5), 3pl. YAv. *aojaite* (Yt 8.51 f., V 13.2 ff. V 17.3, etc.), INJ. 1sg. OAv. *aojī* (Y 43.6), 2sg. OAv. *pairiiaoyzā* (Y 43.12), 3sg. OAv. *aogādā* (Y 32.10), YAv. *aoxta*, SUBJ. 1sg. OAv. *aojāi* (Y 50.11), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *aojīta* (Vyt 11); Pres. {2} *īa-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *aošete* (V 18.26, V 18.51), 3pl. YAv. *aošante* (FrW 8.1), INJ. 3sg. YAv. **aošata* (V 22.6), 3pl. YAv. *aošanta* (Vyt 40); Partic.: pres. YAv. *aojana-* (Y 8.3, Yt 5.76, Yt 10.53, etc.), YAv. *aojəmna-* (FrW 10.42), perf. pass. YAv. *aoxta-* (V 7.71, V 5.26, N 7); Caus.: pres. {2} INJ. 3sg. YAv. *aocaiiata* 'he [i.e. Ahura Mazda] called' (V 22.7). ◇ The form *uxda-* (Y 32.9, Y 33.14, Y 45.8, etc.) is not a past participle, but rather a verbal adjective in **-tHa-* (> Ir. **θa-*), which may also belong to the root **uač*.

•KHOTANESE: (+ **pati-*) ? OKh. *patūcau*, LKh. *pātūkyo* 'speech'. ◇ The intervocalic affricate *-c-*, *-ky-* cannot go back to old **-j-* regularly.

•NEIR: (+ **uz-*) ? Sh. *zūy*, Rosh. *zūy*, Sariq. (Shaw) *zaug* 'curse, malediction'

•SANSKRIT: *oh* ‘to proclaim, speak solemnly, praise’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia I: 283

◇ Further Ir. cognates are uncertain. The IIr. root perhaps reflects a reduplicated pres. stem **H₁eH₁ug^{(w)h}*-, which is also continued in Gr., cf. Lindeman 1972: 67. The postulation of a redupl. pres. for the IIr./Gr. verbs thus allows us to incorporate the Italic forms, which would go back to the simple stem **H₁ueg^{wh}*-.

•PIE redupl. stem **H₁eH₁ug^{(w)h}*- ‘to proclaim, praise’ ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 348

•IE COGNATES: Gr. εὖχομαι ‘I praise, entreat, wish’, Arm. *gog* ‘say !’, Lat. *voveō* ‘to vow solemnly’, Umb. *vufru* ‘consecrated, vowed’

•REFERENCES: EVS: 107b; DKS: 237; Werba 1997: 164 f.; ESJa I: 260 f.

*Hauš ‘to burn’

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ui*) OKh. *byūv*- ‘to burn’ (or with prev. **abi*- ?) ⇒ SGS: 105

•NWIR: Zaz. *vešāyiš/vešen-* (intr.), *vešnāyiš/vešnen-* (tr.), Tt. (Xia.) *vašt/vast* ‘to burn’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *usong*, D. *osongæ* ‘hut, tent, shack’

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *atrušan* ‘fire-temple’ (< WIr. **ātar*- ‘fire’ + **ausāna*- ‘fire-place’), Brah. (LW) *hušing* ‘to burn’ (< Bal.)

•SANSKRIT: *oṣ* ‘to burn’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 281

•PIE **H₁eus-* ‘to burn, scorch’ ⇒ LIV: 245 | Pok.: 347 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. εἶω ‘I scorch’, Lat. *ūrō* ‘I burn, scorch’, (ppp.) Lat. *ustus* ‘burnt’, etc.

•REFERENCES: Yarshater 1969: 182; DKS: 310a; Abaev, *Slovar* IV: 21 f.; Werba 1997: 338; Paul 1998: 317a; ESJa I: 266; Cheung 2002: 234

*Haxš¹ ‘to aim, shoot; mark’

•OLD PERSIAN: ? *uvaxštra*- PN (lit. ‘with Good Arrow/Target’ ?) <u-v-x-š-t-r-> (DB 4.19, DB 4.22, DB e.7), <u-v-x-š-t-r-> (DB g.9)

•NWIR: (+ **apa-*) Bal. *buxt^ha/bušk-* ‘to let go, go off (shoot)’. ◇ The etymology of Geiger 1891: 436, accepted by Korn 2005: l.c., viz. from **buxš-*, ***bauj²** ‘to release, free, open’ needs to be explained further, as there is actually no evidence for an enlarged root **buxš-* of ***bauj²** in Iranian. Citing from Shahbakhsh, we apparently have two semantically and also formally similar verbs in Balochi: *butk/busk-* ‘to be released (from jail), be fired (a gun), be emptied’ and *buškt^h, buxθ/bušk-* ‘to discharge a gun, be let go, go off (of a gun)’. This seems to point to two different origins. The former clearly derives from an inchoative formation **buxsa-* of ***bauj²**, whereas the latter may go back to (zero grade) **apa-Hxša-*. Obviously, the two verbs show signs of convergence.

•NEIR: Oss. I. *æxsyn/æxst*, D. *æxsun/æxst* ‘to aim, shoot at’ || (+ *ā-) ? Oss. I. *axsyn/axst*, D. *axæssun/axæsst* ‘to catch; to conquer, occupy; to arrest’ || (+ *fra-) ? Oss. I. *raxsyn* ‘to throw out; to shoot at’

•SANSKRIT: *akṣ* ‘to mark, to make earmarks, [+ *niṣ*] to castrate’ ⇒ EWAia I: 41

◇ This Ir. root has no certain IE correspondences. ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 21

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 221 f., 92 f.; Werba 1997: 449; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *busk-*; Korn 2005: 177, 312, 356¹

*Haxš² ‘to guard, supervise’

•AVESTAN: (+ *abi-) *aiβiiāxš-* ‘to guard, supervise’ ⇒ Liste: 11

Pres. *aja-*: IND. 3pl. YAv. *aiβiiāxšaiieinti* (Yt 13.59 ff.), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *aiβiiāxšaiiāt* (N 77), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *aiβiiāxšaiiōiṭ* (Yt 1.19), IMPV. 3sg. YAv. *aiβiiāxšaiiatū* (Y 58.4)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *ā-) MMP *’xšyn-* ‘to hear’, *’xšy-* (pass.) ‘to be heard’

Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. MMP *’xšynyyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *’xšyd*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. MMP *’xšy’d*

•PARTHIAN: *’xšy-* (pass.) ‘to be heard’ ⇒ Ghilain: 87 | DMMPP: 79a

Partic.: perf. pass. II *’xšy’d*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. *’xšyd*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *abi-) ? *m/βyxy-* ‘to learn from, apprehend, retain’ || (+ *ni-) *m/ny’xy-* ‘to grant’ ⇒ Samadi: 45 f., 135

•NWIR: ? Gz. *b-āš* ‘look !’

•NEIR: (+ *abi-, *ui- ?) Yghn. *yaxš-/yáxšta* ‘to be seen, visible’

•SANSKRIT: *ákṣi-* ‘eye’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 42

◇ The Ir. word **Haš-* ‘eye’, from which the apparently ancient denomin. **Haxš* derives, has lost *x by analogy with **uš-* ‘ear’.

•PIE **H₃ek^w-s-* ‘eye’ ⇒ LIV: 297 | Pok.: 775 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ὄσσε, OCS *oči* (du. tantum) ‘eyes’, Lat. *oculus* (m.), Lith. *akis* ‘eye’, etc.

•REFERENCES: WIM II/2: 642; Werba 1999: 615; Rastorgueva -Edel’man 2000: 281 f.

*Haz ‘to drive, lead’

•AVESTAN: *az-* ‘to lead’ || (+ *a_ua-) ‘to lead down, chase away’ || (+ *para-) ‘to carry, take away’ || (+ *ni-) caus. ‘to straiten’ (cf. De Vaan 2003: 34) ⇒ Liste: 10

Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *azaiti*, med. 3sg. YAv. *azaitē* (Yt 10.38, V 5.37), med. 3d. YAv. **azōiθe* (V 3.11), 3pl. YAv. *parāzənti* (Yt 13.68), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *auuazaṭ* ‘chased away’ (Yt 19.81, Hoffmann 1968: 283, fn. 4), 3pl. YAv. *azən* (Yt 13.37), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *azāni* (Yt 5.34, Yt 9.14, Yt 9.30, etc.), 3sg. YAv. **azāiti* (Fr.), med. 3sg. YAv. *azāite* (V 18.76), 3pl. ? OAv. *azāθā* (Y 50.7, Y 64.3), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *para ... azōiṭ* (V 18.12), med. 3sg. *azaēta* (V 18.68); Partic.: pres. med. YAv. *azəmna-* (Yt 10.86); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *āzaiiāiti* (Vn 13, Vn 15; De Vaan 2003, l.c.), INJ. med. 3sg. YAv. *niūzata* (Yt 5.127), 3pl. YAv. *niūzaiiən* (V 13.30)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *ni-) BMP *nyd’c /niyāz/*, MMP *ny’z* ‘want, need, misery’ (LW) ⇒ DMMPP: 48b

- PARTHIAN: (+ *ni-) *ny'z* 'want, need, misery' ⇒ DMMPP: 48b
- KHOTANESE: *hays-* 'to drive, send' (with sec. *h-*?) ⇒ SGS: 148
- SOGDIAN: (+ *ni-) CSogd. *ny'z'wt* 'needing, needy', MSogd. *ny'z* 'need' (*GMS*: §1060)
- NWIR: ? NP *ǰāvāzah*, Gz. *yāne* 'mortar' || (+ *ni-) NP *niyāz* 'need' || (+ *ui-) Khuns. *vis(s)/vīz-* (inch. ?) 'to seek; [+ *vā*] 'to find', Abyan., Abz. *yōšta/yūz-*, Anar. *usse/(y)uz-*, Ard. *vīyoste/vīyoz-*, Fariz. *-juz-*, Gz. *yūz-/yus(s)-*, Nn. *yusse/yuz-*, Tr. *vōšta/vōz-*, Varz. *ose/oz-*, Yar. *-jušt-/juz-* 'to find', Qohr. *vūšta/vūz-* 'to find, obtain', Natan. *-jušt-/juz-*, Meim. *bem-vi:št/a-vi:z-* 'to discover; to find'. ◇ NP *ǰāvāzah* is from **ǰāua-a(n)za-ka-*, on which see Tafazzoli ("do *vāzah-i pārtī* az *diraxt-i asūrī*" [= *Two Parthian words from the "Draxt-i-Asuri"*], unpubl.). Differently, Hasandoust 2001-2002: 36: **ǰāua-bāǰa-* 'barley breaker' (see ***baǰ**). The reconstruction would be less suitable for Gz. *yāne* though. || The forms with pref. **ui-* may be contaminated with ***uaid**².
- NEIR: (+ *apa-) Pash. (aor.) *bōz-* (inf.) *bōtləl* 'to lead away', Sh. *bōz-/bōx̄t*, Rosh. *abōz-/abūx̄t*, Bart. *abōz-/abōx̄t* 'to send' || (+ *upa- ?) Yi. *avāz-/avāzd*, M. *avāz-/avézd* 'to bring (someone), fetch' || (+ *para-) Pash. *pryez-, prez-* 'to take out' || (+ *pari-) Yghn. *piráyž-, paréž-* 'to run away'
- SANSKRIT: *aj* 'to drive' ⇒ EWAia I: 50
- ◇ According to Schmeja 1976: 101ff., the substantive Av. *āzi-* (m.) 'greed', MP /*āz/* (MMP 'z, BMP 'c, Pth. 'z, etc. can be equated with Skt. *ājī-* 'race, battle', which is the nominal derivative of *aj*. This is semantically difficult to explain though, perhaps via *'drive' ?
- PIE **H₂eǵ-* 'to drive' ⇒ LIV: 255 | Pok.: 4 ff.
- IE COGNATES: Gr. *ἄγω* 'I drive, lead, go', Lat. *agō* 'I drive, to lead, to commit', Toch. *āk-*, Arm. *acem* 'to lead', OIrish *agid* 'to drive', ON *aka* 'to ride', etc.
- REFERENCES: *EVP*: 16; *IIFL* II: 194; *EVS*: 22a; Werba 1997: 333; *ESJa* I: 288 ff.; Lecoq 2002: 121, 124, 126 (passim); *NEVP*: 65

*Hgar 'to be awake'

- AVESTAN: YAv. *yār-* 'to guard, watch' || (+ *ā-) caus. 'to wake up [tr.]' || (+ *fra-) inch. 'to awake', caus. 'to wake up [tr.]' ⇒ Liste: 19
- Perf.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *ǰayāra* 'is watching' (N 19); Partic.: pres. inch. med. ? YAv. *frayrisəmna-* (H 1.13), pres. caus. YAv. **fra.yāraiiant-* (N 19), perf. YAv. *ǰayāuruuāh-* (Yt 10.7, etc.); Caus.: pres. IND. 1sg. YAv. *ā ... gāraiiemi* (Any 2), 3sg. YAv. **fra.yāraiiēiti* (V 18.22, N 19), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *frā gāraiiōiš* (N 19)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *ui-) MMP *wygr's-*, BMP *wgl's-/wigrās-* 'to wake, awaken' ⇒ DMMPP: 353b
- (+ *ui-) Pres.: IND. 3pl. BMP *wgl'synd /wigrāsēnd/*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *wygr'd*; Caus.: pres. 3sg. MMP **wygr'synyd*, partic. MMP *wygr'syn'g*

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ui-*) *wygr's-* 'to wake, awaken' || (+ **ham-*) '*ngryšn* 'meditation'
⇒ Ghilain: 82, 92 | DMMPP: 353b, 48a

(+ **ui-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 2sg. *wygr's*', IMPV. 2sg. *wygr's*, 2pl. *wygr'syd*, 2pl. *wygr'syd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *wygr'd(g)*; Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. *wygr'nyd*

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *γ'r* 'to watch, guard' || (+ **ui-*) SSogd. *wyr's*, BSogd. *wyγ'r's*, CSogd. *wyr's* (intr./inch.) 'to wake', CSogd. *wyryš*, Sogd. *wyr'yš* (caus.-inch.) 'to wake up, arouse'

Pres.: IND. 3pl. BSogd. *γ'r'nt* || (+ **ui-*) Well attested: Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *wyγ'r's*', IMPV. 2sg. SSogd. *wyr's* (*Sogd.Tales*: 478), 2pl. CSogd. *wyr'stt*; Pret.: IND. 3pl. intr. MSogd. *wyγ'r'nd*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: *γ'r-* 'to protect, guard', *m/γr's-* (inch.) 'to be awake, awake'
⇒ Samadi: 75, 78 f.

•NWIR: Bal. *gurit/gur-* 'to wake up with a start' (with sec. *-r-*) || (+ **ui-*) NP *bīdār*, Abyan. *biyār*, Gz. *bīyār*, Jow. *vi:dā:r* 'awake' (with metath. & loss of *-γ-* < **uiγrād*)

•NEIR: Yzgh. *žir-/žird* 'to think', Yghn. *γōr-* 'to see' (**Hgarūa-* ?) || (+ **uz-*) Pash. *zyōr-*, *žyōr-* 'to guard, protect' || (+ **ui-*) Yghn. *yūrós-/yūróta* (inch.) 'to awake', *yūráyš-/yūráyšta* (caus.-inch.) 'to wake up', Oss. I. *qal*, D. *iǰal* 'awake' || (+ **ham-*) Oss. I. *ænqəlyn/ænqæld*, D. *ængəln/ængəld* 'to suppose, think; to hope for' (orig. **ja*-pass.) || (+ **ham-* ?) Pash. *gorəl* 'to see'

•SANSKRIT: *jar* 'to wake up' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 574

◇ According to Klingenschmitt 1982: 77, fn. 18, Iranian also continues a variant **H₁greH-* (i.e. Plr. **HgraH-*), on account of Av. *frayrātu-* 'awakening'. This "variant", notably attested in inchoative formations, may actually reflect a formation with the IE suffix *-*eH₁-* or *-*eH₂-*. Av. *frayrātu-* possibly goes back to (quasi-)IE **pro-H₁grotu-* ?

•PIE **H₁ger-* 'to wake up' ⇒ LIV: 245 | Pok.: 390

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *ἐγείρω* 'I watch, to wake', Alb. *ngrē* 'to lift, to wake'

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 147b; *EVP*: 23, 101, 11; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 157, 257; Lambton 1938: 75b, 41b, 77b; Morgenstierne 1942: 98; Abaev, *Slovar'* I: 162 ff.; Andreev – Peščereva: 258b, 259b f.; Abaev, *Slovar'* II: 258; *EVS*: 110b; *WIM* I: 68; *WIM* II/2: 644; Werba 1997: 187 f.; Cheung 2002: 57 f., 99, 212; Lecoq 2002: 573b; *NEVP*: 101; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *gur-*

***Hhauš** 'to become dry, dry out, wither'

•AVESTAN: YAv. *haoš-* 'to dry out, wither' ⇒ Liste: 73

MED.; Pres. them.: SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *haošātaē°* (Yt 13.66); Partic.: pres. YAv. *aṇhaošəmna-* (Y 9.4, Yt 19.32)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *hwš-* /*hōš-* 'to dry, wither', MMP *hwš'g* 'hot, parching wind' ⇒ DMMPP: 194b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *hwšyt/hōšēd*

•PARTHIAN: *hwš-*, *xwš-* 'to become dry, dry out' ⇒ DMMPP: 194b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *hwšyd*, 3pl. *hwšynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *xwš'd*

- KHOTANESE: *hūš-* (etc.) ‘to become dry’, LKh. *hvā’ñ-* (*hvai-*) ‘to make dry’ || (+ **pati-*) ? LKh. *pasuš-* ‘to become soundless’ ⇒ SGS: 153, 78
- SOGLIAN: (+ **pati-*) CSogd. *pšwš-* ‘to dry up’
Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *p’šwš*
- NWIR: NP *xušīdan/xuš-*, Bal. *hušīt/huš-* ‘to dry out’ || (+ **uz-*) Kurd. *zihā, zuhā* ‘dry’. ◇ Kurd. *zihā, zuhā* is not from **zu-ta-* (i.e. **zau*, e.g. Pth. *wyz’w-* ‘to exude, extinguish’), as stated in Asatrian – Livshits: 84, but perhaps from **uz-h(a)ušā-kā-*. For intervocalic **-š-* > Kurd. *-h(-)* cf. Kurd. (Kurm.) *guh*, (Sor.) *gwē* ‘ear’ (< **gauša-*), *mī, mēh* ‘ewe’ (< **maiš^o*), on which see for instance, Cabolov 1997: 51.
- NEIR: Oss. I. *xus* ‘dry’ || (+ **pati-*) Wa. *poč-/počt* ‘to dry up, out’, ? Oss. I. *fæsus* ‘hoarse’ || (+ **ūi-*) Oss. I. *sysyn/syst*, D. *isusun/isust* ‘to evaporate, dry’
- SANSKRIT: *śoś* ‘to dry, dry up’ (RV, AV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 658
- PIE **H₂seus-* ‘to dry (up)’ (cf. Lubotsky 1985: 1 ff.) ⇒ LIV: 285 | Pok.: 880 f.
- IE COGNATES: Gr. *αῦω*, OCS *sušiti*, Lith. *saūsti*, Latv. *sust* ‘to become dry’, OEngl. *sēar* ‘dried up, withered’, Engl. *to sear*, etc.
- REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar* I: 464; Nyberg II: 101b; Abaev, *Slovar* III: 211 f.; DKS: 494a; Abaev, *Slovar* IV: 250 f.; Werba 1997: 244; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 265; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *huš-*; Korn 2005: 94, 413

*HiH ‘to grieve, offend, injure’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *i-* ‘to grieve, offend, harm’, YAv. *ainiti-* (+ priv.) ‘clemency’ (58.4, P 25). ◇ The meaning given to YAv. *i-* by Kellens, l.c. is rather ‘nuire’. || On YAv. ^(x)*mazištaiia itī* ‘with the greatest grievance’ (V 18.61) and also Skt. *īti-*, etc., see Kuiper 1959: 137 ff. ⇒ Liste: 12
Pres. *nu-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *inaoiti* (V 18.61); Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. *ainita-* (Yt 13.34)
- KHOTANESE: (?) LKh. *īm-* ‘to act violently’
- SOGLIAN: (+ **pati-*) ? CSogd. *ptyθy*’ (f.) ‘contempt, disgrace’, MSogd. *ptyδy*’ ‘abuse’ (rather from **Hād* ?)
- SANSKRIT: *ay* ‘to drive, press’ (RV) || ? *īti-* (f.) ‘plague, calamity’ (AdbhutaBr +). ◇ It is uncertain whether the often cited Skt. *ay, īti-* and IE cognates (Gr. *δίζημαι* ‘to seek’, Arm. *janam* ‘to exert oneself’, Gr. *ζήλος*, (Dor.) *ζᾶλος* (m.) ‘envy, jealousy’) are (all ?) related to the Iranian forms. This is semantically not quite evident. ⇒ EWAia I: 102, 204
◇ The present formation of the Avestan and Khotanese forms is strange: **Hi-* ? The etymology is uncertain. One may cite Hitt. */inas-* ‘illness’, which is connected to Skt. *éna-*, Av. *aēnah-* ‘crime, wrong, mischief’ (cf. Puhvel II: 366).
- PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 310 | Pok.: 10, 501
- REFERENCES: DKS: 32b; Werba 1997: 407 f.; *ESlJa* I: 121 f.; De Vaan 2003: 250

***Hjab** ‘to have sexual intercourse’

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **upa-*) *by’βy-* ‘to make pregnant’ ⇒ Samadi: 32

•NWIR: (+ **fra-*) Bal. *šabt/šāf-* ‘to cover (an ewe), mate’. ◇ The Bal. verb was first cited by Gershevitch 1977: 65 ff., who compared it to Oss. I. *sæfyn*, D. *isæfun* ‘to perish’ and Av. *višāpa-* (the name of a dragon). He deduced from these forms a root **šap* ‘sweeping’ or ‘wiping’ (with no further Ilr./IE cognates), recalling the semantic developments of the root ***Hmarz** ‘to rub, wipe’ (e.g. BMP *mlc-* /*marz-* ‘to copulate’). His analysis of *višāpa-* is not compelling though, at least no more compelling than the conventional, transparent interpretation ‘Whose water is venomous’. As for Oss. I. *sæfyn*, D. *isæfun* it would not be too farfetched to connect the forms to ***sap** ‘to curse, swear’. Considering the meaning of the Bal. verb, it is much more natural to compare with Chor. *by’βy-* and Skt. *yabh*. The voiceless *-f-* is perhaps due to the presence of *-i-*, which can inhibit the voicing (on which see Emmerick – Pulleyblank: 33) of older Bal. **-β-* < Ir. **-b-* (on which see Korn 2005: 323 ff.). The initial *ša^o* goes back to pref. **fra-* (Korn, l.c.: 116).

•NEIR: Pash. *γāy-/γōwəl* (borr. into ?), Sh. *γāv-/γēvd*, Rosh. *γāv-/γēvd*, Bart. *γāv-/γīvd*, Sariq. *γeyv-/yevd*, Yi. *γay-/γēd*, *γīd* ‘to have sexual intercourse, copulate with’, Pash. *γo* (f.) ‘copulation’. ◇ These forms show a partial contamination with the root ***gaH²**.

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *yawsel* ‘to violate’

•SANSKRIT: *yabh* ‘to have sexual intercourse’ (RVKh, AV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 398

◇ This old root with its obviously tabooistic meaning has been largely replaced by an euphemism in most Ir. languages, notably ***gaH²**.

•PIE **H₃iēb^h-* ‘to have sexual intercourse’. ◇ The postulation of an initial **H₃-* in IE is based on the Gr. reflex (zero grade **H₃ib^h-* or, more likely, redupl. **H₃eH₃ib^h-*), on which see Peters 1980: 96 ff.; Beekes 1969: 131. The presence of the laryngeal may also explain the long *-ī-* in the Skt. desid. forms *yīyapsyata* (ĀŚS. 10,8,11), *yīyapsyate* (ĀŚS. 8,3,24), *yīyapsyamānā* (SSS. 12,23,5), which Hoffmann, *Aufs. 2*: 572 f. merely regarded as “irregular”. See also ***ja(m)b/p**. ⇒ LIV: 309 | Pok.: 298

•IE COGNATES: Russ. *ebát’*, Ukr. *jebáty*, Gr. *οἶφω* ‘to have sexual intercourse’

•REFERENCES: EVS: 37b; Werba 1997: 221; NEVP: 30

***HjaH** ‘to remember’

•OLD PERSIAN: (+ **abi-*) **abiyātaka-* ‘remembering’ (in Hes. *αβιατακα*)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **abi-*) MMP *’y’s-*, BMP *’byd’s-* /*ayyās-* (old inch.) ‘to remember [intr.]’, BMP *’dyb’tyn-* /*ayādēn-* (sec. caus.) ‘to remember’ ⇒ DMMP: 80a f.

Pres.: IND. 1pl. MMP *’y’s’m*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *’y’s’t*, BMP *’byd’syt* /*ayāsīd*/, caus. IND. 3sg. BMP *’dyb’tynyt* /*ayādēnīd*/

- PARTHIAN: (+ *abi-) 'by's-' 'to remember [intr.]' ⇨ Ghilain: 83 | DMMPP: 16a
Pres.: IND. 3sg. 'by'syd
 - KHOTANESE: (+ *abi-) *byāta*- 'remembered, memory'
 - SOGDIAN: (+ *abi-) SSogd. 'βy'tw (Asg. m.) 'memory, remembrance'
 - NWIR: (+ *abi-) NP *yād* 'memory, remembrance', widely borrowed (e.g. in Bal. *yāt*, Kurd., Qohr. *yād*)
 - MISC: (+ *abi-) Par. *awé* 'remembering', also Toch. A *opyāc*, B *ep(i)yac* 'in remembrance' (< Ir., possibly Bact.)
 - SANSKRIT: *yā* 'to drive, speed' (RV+) ⇨ EWAia II: 407
- ◇ This root with the meaning 'to remember' is solely attested with the preverb *abi-. It is probably originally identical to *H₁jaH 'to go, drive to' (Skt. *yā*, etc.) that has acquired a specialized meaning with *abi-: > *'to come to mind' > 'to remember'. The peculiar form OAv. ⁽⁺⁾*yāməng* gen. sg. 'course' (Y 48.2) may actually contain *H₁jaH 'to go, drive to', on which see, for instance, Insler, *Gāthās*: 286.
- PIE *H₁jeH₂- 'to go, drive to' ⇨ LIV: 319 f. | Pok.: 293 ff.
 - IE COGNATES: Toch. A *yā*- 'to go, to travel', Lith. *jóti* 'to drive, to go', Latv. *jāt* 'to drive, go', Lat. *iānus* (m.) 'passage, gateway'
 - REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 237a f.; *DKS*: 308a; Adams 1999: 89; Lecoq 2002: 657; Witczak 2005: 282; Korn 2005: 105, 416

*H₂aud 'to fight, struggle (for something), strive, seek'

- AVESTAN: YAv. *yūd*- 'fight, struggle' ⇨ Liste: 47
Pres. *ja*-: IND. 3sg. YAv. *yūdiieiti* (Y 57.17), 3du. YAv. *yūdiiaθō* (Yt 8.22, Yt 8.26, Yt 8.28), 3pl. YAv. *yūdiieinti* (Yt 13.63, Yt 13.67)
- PARTHIAN: *ywdy*- 'to look after; to strive for', *yws*- (inch.) 'to battle' ⇨ Ghilain: 65, 87 | DMMPP: 375b
Pres.: SUBJ. 1sg. *ywdy'm*, 3pl. *ywdynd*, 2sg. *ywdy'h*, IMPV. 2pl. *ywdyd*; Inch.: pres. IND. 3sg. ^s*ywysyd*
- KHOTANESE: *juv*- (*jv*-) 'to fight' ⇨ SGS: 36
- CHORESMIAN: (+ *abi-) ? *m'*bywzy- 'to make angry, anxious, to upset'. ◇ Samadi cautiously suggests a possible reconstruction *abi-*jauj*- for Chor. *m'*bywzy-, which is semantically not compelling, cf. simplex Chor. *ywzy*- 'to prepare, make ready, carry out'. ⇨ Samadi: 2¹
- BACTRIAN: *ωλ*- 'to fight' ⇨ S-W, *Bact.*: 196b
- NWIR: NP *justan/jōy*-, Delij. *ba-jeunī*, Abz. *žūva/žūv*-, Qohr. *jūgāda/jūg*- 'to search' (< NP) 'to strive for, seek', ? Bal. *jōd* 'man' (< Urdu ?). ◇ Qohr. *jūgāda/jūg*- contains a secondary -g-, which appears to be a hiatus filler, cf. Qohr. *pīgāz* 'onion' < Pers. *pīyāz* < **pidāz* (Horn 1893: 77).
- NEIR: Oss. I. *udyn*, D. *odun/odt* 'to exert; be industrious; put effort into'
- SANSKRIT: *yodh* 'to fight' (RV+) ⇨ EWAia II: 418
- PIE *H₂jeud¹- 'to fight, to set out, move (to fight)' ⇨ LIV: 225 f. | Pok.: 511 f.

•IE COGNATES: OLat. *ioube-*, Lat. *iubēre* ‘to order, command’, Lith. *judėti* ‘to move [intr.]’, Lith. *judūs* ‘belligerent’, Gr. ὁσίμην (f.) ‘battle, fight’

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 94; *KPF* I: 136b; *DKS*: 111b; Safari 1373: 97; Abaev, *Slovar* IV: 11; Werba 1997: 222 f.; Lecoq 2002: 121, 124; Korn 2005: 104, 368

***Hmai¹** ‘to fix(ate), build, fashion’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *mi-* ‘to build, fashion’

Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. *-mita-* (Yt 10.28, Yt 10.30)

•OLD PERSIAN: *uz-mayā-patīy* (+ *kr-* ‘to do, make’) ‘to support, to prop (up)’ <u-z-m-y-a-p-t-i-y>, ? *vahu-misa-* PN lit. ‘Good Creator/Builder’, “Med.” ? <v-u-mi-i-s>, (Asg.) <v-u-mi-i-s-m>. ◇ *uz-mayā-patīy* can be analysed as loc. sg. + postp. *patīy*. || In Elamite a personal name is attested: El-OP *Ma-u-mi-iš-ša* = *vahu-misa-* ? ⇒ Kent: 178a

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ūi-*) MMP *w(y)myh-* ‘to create, fashion, shape’. ◇ Perhaps from desid. **ūi-Hmiθsa-* (cf. Skt. *mitsa-*) > OP **vi-miθ(θ)a-* > MP *w(y)myh-*, cf. MMP *m’hyg* ‘fish; Pisces’ (Skt. *mātsya-* ‘fish’, *mātsyá-* ‘fish-, belonging to a fish’), v. See Cheung 2002, l.c. ⇒ DMMPP: 343a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *wmyhyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *wymyhyd*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **fra-*) OKh. *hamān-* ‘to make’. ◇ OKh. *nārmān-* ‘to create magically’ is similar to BSkt. *nirminoti*, *nirminati* in the same technical sense, which may have modified an original Khot. **našmān-* to *nārmān-* (*SGS*: 233). ⇒ *SGS*: 147

•NWIR: ? Tt. (Cha.) *demās*, (Ebr.) *mās/mas* ‘to stick’ (or from ***mad²**)

•NEIR: (+ **ūi-*) Oss. I. *mysyn/myst*, D. *imisu/imist* (inch.) ‘to consider; conceive, invent; to long for’. ◇ On the Oss. verbs cf. Gershevitch 1952a: 486. It cannot be excluded that the Oss. forms are old desid. (Skt. *-ts-* ~ Oss. *-s-*, cf. *vatsá-* ~ Oss. D. *wæs* ‘calf’).

•MISC: Aram. (LW) *whwms*, Gr. Ὠμίσης, Babyl. *Ú-mi-is-si* (< OP/“Med.” *vahu-misa-*)

•SANSKRIT: *may* ‘to fix, found, build’, *sūmāya-* ‘well-made’ || (+ **ūi-*) *vimay* ‘to build, erect’ ⇒ EWAia II: 314

•PIE **H₂mei-* ‘to fix’ ⇒ LIV: 426 | Pok.: 709

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */suhmili-/* ‘well-fixed’, Latv. *miet* ‘to impale’, Lith. *miėtas* ‘pole’

•REFERENCES: Yarshater 1969: 182; Abaev, *Slovar* II: 144 f.; *DKS*: 460a; Werba 1997: 216; Cheung 2002: 206 f.

***Hmai²** ‘to change’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *mai-* ‘to change’ ⇒ Liste: 44

Aor. athem.: SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *maiať* (F 6)

- MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *apa-) BMP *p'm /ābām/* 'debt'. ◇ The etymology and reconstruction given by Nyberg 1974: 22a (notably for the Pahlavi form), from partic. med. *(ā-)apamna-, is less convincing.
- PARTHIAN: (+ *apa-) *'b'myḥ* 'loan' ⇒ DMMP: 8
- SOGDIAN: (+ *apa-) BSogd. *p'myt'y*, BSogd. *p'mytk*, BSogd. *p'm'ytk* 'loan'
- BACTRIAN: (+ *apa-) βομδιγο 'loan' ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 185a
- NWIR: (+ *ā-apa-) NP *āvām* 'debt'
- SANSKRIT: *may* 'to exchange, change' || (+ *apa) *apamīya-* (AV +), *apāmīya-* (n.) 'something borrowed, debt' (Kāth. +) ⇒ EWAia II: 314
- PIE **H₂mei-* 'to (ex)change' ⇒ LIV: 426 | Pok.: 710
- IE COGNATES: Toch. B *māsk-*, Latv. *miju* (*mît*) 'I exchange', Lith. *maĩnas* 'change', OCS *měna* 'change', OHG *mein* 'deceptive', (with enlarged root-element) Gr. ὀμείβω 'to (ex)change'
- REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 216 f.; Adams 1999: 459

*Hmaj¹ ? 'to exchange'

- BACTRIAN: μγ- 'to exchange' ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 204a
- ◇ The evidence for this root in Iranian is limited to Bactrian.
- PIE **H₂meig^w* 'to exchange, change for' ⇒ LIV: 279 | Pok.: 713
- IE COGNATES: Gr. ὀμείβω 'I (ex)change'

*Hmaj² ? 'to pour, flow, rain'

- CHORESMIAN: (+ *pati-) *pcmyz-* 'to flow abundantly', *pcmyzy-* 'to let (it) rain' ⇒ Samadi: 142
- NWIR: Bal. *mīssit/mīss-* (inch.) 'to wet, soak, drench, moisten', Awrom. *mitáy/mij-* 'to pour out (abundantly)' ⇒ EWAia II: 381, s.v. *meh* 'harnen'
- ◇ According to Mayrhofer, *EWAia*, l.c., IE **H₃meig^h* 'to urinate' (> Ir. ***Hmaiz**) shows mutual influence with IE **H₃meig^h* 'to pour, flow' (in the 'cloud, nebula' formations) in the separate IE languages. This is a rather tenuous approach, on which see Cheung, *Fs Klingenschmitt*. There is no clear evidence that in Skt. a separate root **MEH* 'to pour, flow' has existed: the formation Skt. *ni-méghamāna-* from which this root has been abstracted may be interpreted differently: cf. ***maj²** 'to move'. The Iranian forms might reflect the denominative usage of the well-attested PIE 'cloud' form: **H₃mig^h* 'cloud' ? Alternatively, the forms might point to the existence of an old PIE verbal root **H₃meig^h* 'to pour out, nebulize' (?), cf. Gershevitch 1974: 89 ff. No further support in IE for such a root can be cited though.
- PIE **H₃mig^h* 'cloud' ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 712
- IE COGNATES: Gr. ὀμίχλη (f.) 'nebula', etc.
- REFERENCES: MacKenzie 1966: 102; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *mīss-*

***Hmaiz** ‘to urinate’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *maēz-* ‘to urinate’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to pee forward, forth’ ⇒ Liste: 45
Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *framaēzaiti* (V 18.40), 3pl. YAv. *maēzənti* (V 3.6), OPT. med. 3pl. YAv. *maēzaiianta* (V 8.13); Partic.: pres. YAv. *maēzañt-* (N 37)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *myc-* /*mēz-*/ ‘to urinate’ || (+ **ni-*) MMP *nmyzyšn* ‘incitement, provocation, urging’ ⇒ DMMPP: 244a
Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *mycyt/mēzēd/*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *myst/mist/*
- PARTHIAN: (+ **ni-*) *nmyzyšn* ‘incitement, provocation, urging’ ⇒ DMMPP: 244a
- KHOTANESE: *mīysai* ‘urine’
- CHORESMIAN: *myz-* ‘to urinate, piss’ ⇒ Samadi: 113 f.
- NWIR: NP *mēxtan/mēz-*, Bal. *mēst*, *mēzit/mēž-*, *mēz-*, Kurd. *mīstin/mīz-*, Gil. *dimištan/dimiz-* ‘to urinate’, Ard. *mis/mes-*, Gz. *mēz-/mēs*, *miss* (tr.), Khuns. *mīz-/mīzā*, *mis(s)-*, Lasg. *demešton/demīz-*, Nn. *mēs/mēz-*, Semn. *demeštīyon/damīz-*, Sorkh. *demeštan/demīz-* ‘to defecate’, Zaz. *mīzī* (f.) ‘urine’ || (+ **ūi-*) NP *gimīzīdan/gimīz-* ‘to make water’, NP *gimīz*, (LW ?) Awrom. *guméz* (m.) ‘urine’
- NEIR: Oss. I. *mizyn/myzt*, D. *mezun/mizt* ‘to flow; to urinate’, Pash. *mitəl/mež-*, Sh. *mēz-/mižt*, Rosh. *mīz-/mižt*, Sariq. *meyz/mažt*, Yzgh. *miz-/mažt*, M. *mēz-/mīzd*, Yi. *mīz-/mīzd-* ‘to urinate’, Oss. I. *mizgæ*, D. *mezgæ* ‘urethra’, Sariq. *meyz*, Wa. *mizg* ‘urine’. ◇ The meanings assigned by Abaev, l.c. ("течь, протекать, fluere") to Oss. I. *mizyn*, etc., are perhaps a bit inaccurate. The standard Ossetic-Russian Dictionary cites, next to ‘to urinate’ ("мочиться"), the second meaning ‘to seep through, percolate’ ("просачиваться").
- MISC: Par. *mīz*, Orm. *mizī* ‘urine’
- SANSKRIT: *meh* ‘to urinate’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 381
- PIE **H₃meig^h*- ‘to urinate’ ⇒ LIV: 301 f. | Pok.: 713
- IE COGNATES: Gr. *ὀμείχω*, Lat. *meiō/mingō* ‘I urinate’, OE *mīgan*, Lith. *mỹžti*, SCr. *mižati* ‘to urinate’
- REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 140b f.; *EVP*: 48; *IIFL* I: 274b, 401b; *IIFL* II: 230a; MacKenzie 1966: 95; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 126 f., 125; *EVS*: 46b; *WIM* I: 71; *WIM* II/1: 80; *DKS*: 332; Werba 1997: 217; Paul 1998: 306a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 234; Cabolov 2001: 678 f.; Lecoq 2002: 130; *NEVP*: 54; Korn 2005: 88 fn. 66, 314, 407; Cheung, *Fs Klingenschmitt*

***Hmard** ‘to crush’

- AVESTAN: OAv. *mōrənd-* ‘to crush’ ⇒ Liste: 44
Pres. *n-*: INJ. 3sg. OAv. *mōrəndaŋ* (Y 32.9 f.), 3pl. OAv. *mōrəndən* (Y 32.11 f.)
- OLD PERSIAN: (+ **ūi-*) *vīmard-* ‘to crush’ ⇒ Kent: 203a
Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. *vīmardatīy* <vi-i-m-r-d-t-i-y> (DSe 40 f.), impf. 3sg. *viyamarda* <vi-i-y-m-r-d> (DB 5.11). ◇ Different transcription in Brandenstein – Mayrhofer 1964: 132, viz. *vi-mradatīy* and *vīy-amrada* respectively.

- MIDDLE PERSIAN: ◇ The interpretation of BMP *'mwšt* 'crushed' /*āmušt*/, made by Nyberg 1974: 16a is no longer accepted: /*hamwašt*/ 'collected, gathered': **ham-uz-*.
- SANSKRIT: *mṛdītá-* 'crushed' (AV+), *ni-mṛdya-* 'pressed down' (ŚB). ◇ This root 'to weaken, soften' has converged with the 'crush' root *mard*. ⇒ EWAia II: 386 f., s.v. *mrād*
- PIE **H₂merd-* 'to hurt, injure (someone)' ⇒ LIV: 280 | Pok.: 736 f.
- IE COGNATES: Gr. ἀμέρω 'I rob, deprive', Lat. *mordeō* 'I bite, chew', ? OE *smeortan* 'to inflict pain, smart', Engl. *to smart*, etc. (with mobile *s-*?)
- REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 273b, 401a; *Werba* 1997: 366

*Hmars 'to wipe, rub; touch'

- KHOTANESE: (+ **ui-*) ? *ggumāls-* (*gūmaly-*) 'to besmear' ⇒ SGS: 29
- SOGLDIAN: (+ **pati-*) CSogd. *pcmrws-* 'to feel, touch'
Pres.: IMPV. 2sg. CSogd. *pcmrws*; MSogd. **pcmrwsy* (*BBB*: 38)
- CHORESMIAN: (+ **pari-*) *prmsy-* 'to rub (the ear)' || (+ **fra-*) *šmšy-* 'to rub off'
⇒ *Samadi*: 154, 196
- NWIR: ? Bal. *muš-/mušta* 'to smear, rub' (< WIr. ?, cf. Pth./MP *mwšt*, ***Hmarz**) || (+ **pari-*) NP *parmāsīdan* 'to touch, feel' || (+ **ui-*) Kurd. (Kurm.) *guvāštin/guvēš-*, *givāštin/givēš-*, (Sor.) *gušīn/guš-* 'to (com)press; to knead'
- NEIR: ? Pash. *muž-/mužəl* 'to rub' (also possible: ***Hmarz**), Wa. *мырс-/morst* 'to feel; touch'
- MISC: Orm. *mušaw-* 'to rub' = *muḡaw-/muḡawók*
- SANSKRIT: *marś* 'to touch, to handle' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 331
◇ Evidently, this root is both formally and semantically similar to ***Hmarz**, which no doubt resulted in mutual contamination. The root is IE, having a clear cognate in Lat.
- PIE **Hmelk-* 'to touch, brush'. ◇ The initial laryngeal is reconstructed on account of the Skt. perf. *pari-māṃṣúr* (RV 8.9.3), cf. *LIV*: l.c., fn. 1. ⇒ *LIV*: 226 f. | Pok.: 724
- IE COGNATES: Lat. *mulceō* 'I brush, to stroke, to caress'
- REFERENCES: *EVP*: 48; *IIFL* I: 401a; *DKS*: 86b f.; *Polomé* 1989: 213; *Werba* 1997: 220; *Steblin-Kamenskij* 1999: 241; *Cabolov* 2001: 408; *Kiefer* 2003: 201; *Shahbakhsh* s.v. *muš-*; *Korn* 2005: 92, 132, 146 f., 405

*Hmarz 'to wipe, rub'

- AVESTAN: *marəz-* 'to wipe, rub' || (+ **anu-*) 'to sweep' || (+ **ā-*) 'to sweep to' || (+ **pari-*) 'to brush, wipe around' || (+ **fra-*) 'to wipe forth, away' || (+ **ni-*) 'to sweep off' || (+ **ui-*) 'to sweep to and fro' ⇒ *Liste*: 44
Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *marəzaiti* (Yt 10.95), YAv. *framarəzaiti* (V 4.3 f.), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *marəzaŋ* (Yt 14.21, V 2.38), YAv. *pairi.marəzaŋ* (Yt 17.22), 3du. YAv. *anumarəzaŋəm* (Yt 8.38), 3pl. YAv.

āmarəzən ... vīmarəzən ... framəzən (Yt 14.45), OPT. 3sg. YAv. framəzəōit (V 3.42), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. marəza (V 2.30); Inf.: pres. n- OAv. nī ... mərəzdiāi (Y 44.14)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *mwšt* /*mušt*/ (pret. stem), *m'l-* /*māl-*/ 'to rub, sweep', BMP *m'lyh-* /*mālīh-*/ (pass.) 'to be touched' || *LW*: MMP *mrz-* 'to mate, have sexual intercourse', MMP ^x*mrzyn-* (caus.) 'to cause to mate' ⇒ DMMP: 232a f., 234b, 354a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *m'lyt* /*mālēd*/, 3pl. BMP *m'lynd* /*mālēnd*/, IMPV. 2sg. BMP *m'l* /*māl*/; Inf.: BMP *m'lytn* /*mālīdan*/; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *m'lyhst* /*mālīhist*/ || *LW*: Pres.: SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *mrz'nd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *mrzys̄t*, caus. MMP ^x*mrzynyd*

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ni-*) *nmrz-* 'to clean, cleanse; make smooth' ⇒ Ghilain: 53 | DMMP: 243b

Pres.: SUBJ. 1sg. *nmrz'n*; Partic.: perf. pass. *nmwšt*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ati-*) *ttumals-* (*ttremvaš-*) 'to devour, consume' || (+ **aua-*) LKh. *vameys-* 'to rub down' || (+ **ni-*) *nimalš-* 'to rub down' || (+ **ui-*) *ggumāls-* (*gūmaly-*) 'to besmear'. ◇ Khot. *malys-* 'rub, crush, groom', in *DKS*: 325a, does not exist. The attested form *malstā* can be interpreted differently, from ***marč**, on which see Sims-Williams, *SVK* III: 122 f. || On LKh. *vameys-* see Emmerick, *SVK* I: 110f. ⇒ *SGS*: 39, 119, 54 f., 29 f.

•SOGDIAN: (+ **fra-*) MSogd. *fr'mrz-* 'to spoil' || (+ **ni-*) BSogd. *nm'rz-* 'to touch' || (+ **ui-*) BSogd. *wm(')rz* 'to do violence, destroy', SSogd. *wmršt-*, MSogd. *wmšt-* (pret. stem) 'to destroy; spoil', SSogd. *wmrzw* 'corruption, Verderben' (AL2.56) (+ **fra-*) Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *fr'mrz*; Partic.: perf. pass. MSogd. *fmšty* || (+ **ui-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *wm'rtz*, SUBJ. 3sg. MSogd. *wmrz't* (*BBB*: 48); Pret.: tr. IND. 3sg. SSogd. *wmrštδ'r* (*BBB*: 100, ad e7); Pass.: pret. IND. 3sg. MSogd. *wmštyy* 'ktyy

•CHORESMIAN: *mžy-* 'to polish (the mill-stone)' || (+ **upa-*) *bmž-* 'to tuck up, roll up (of sleeves, sim.)' || (+ **pari-*) *prmž-* 'to touch, rub' ⇒ Samadi: 114, 21, 154

•NWIR: NP *mālīdan*/*māl-* 'to rub, polish; to chafe, box the ears', Bal. *marzit*/*marz-* (denomin.) 'to stroke, harrow, plough', Kurd. (Sor.) *mālīn*/*māl-* 'to rub; to wipe (off)', borrowed into: Bal. *mālīt*/*māl-* 'to rub in', Gz. *māl-*/*mālā* 'to stroke, rub', Gur. (Kand.) *mālā-*, Khuns. *māl-*/*mālā* 'to smear, stroke', Meim. *bem-mā:la/a-mā:l-*, Qohr. *mālāda*/*māl-*, Siv. *māl-*/*mālī* 'to rub', Tal. *mole* 'to wipe', Gur. *māl-* 'to smear' || (+ **ni-*) Anar. *nimārzī*, Gz. *nemārzūn*, *nimārzūn*, Varz. *nemārzīn* 'broom' || (+ **ui-ā*) ? Bal. *gwāmēlit*/*gwāmēl-* 'to besmear, soak, submerge'. ◇ This Bal. word is not from **ui-mard-* (***Hmard** 'to crush'), as suggested by Shahbakhsh. Although it is possible that the Bal. verb is related to Khot. *ggumāls-* 'to besmear' (***Hmars-**), the *-l-* has nothing to do with the Khot. *-l-* in *ggumāls-*. Bal. *-l-* rather points to borrowing, i.c. from Kurd./Pers., or, more likely, to contamination with Bal. *māl-*, which itself has been borrowed from Kurd./Pers. On Bal. *-l-*, see also Korn 2005: 159 ff.

•NEIR: Oss. I. *mærzyn*/*marzt*, D. *mærzun*/*marzt* 'to wipe, brush', ? Pash. *muž-/mužəl* 'to rub' (***Hmars** is also possible), ? Sh. *mōȳj*, (Baj.) *maȳz*, Rosh. *māwz*, Bart.

mōwzi, Sariq. *morz* ‘hunger’, Wa. *mərz* ‘hungry’ || (+ *uz-) ? Pash. *zmoğəlay* ‘weakened (by a wound)’ (*NEVP*: 102) || (+ *ni-) Sariq. *nīmizg*, *nūmūzg* ‘harrow, rake’, Wa. *nəmúrzg*, *nəmérzg* ‘harrow’, (?) Wa. *lɪmərz* ‘sloping down of a field’ (Lorimer)

•MISC: ? Arm. (LW) *meržem* ‘I dismiss, expel’

•SANSKRIT: *marj* ‘to wipe, clean, rub, polish’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 324

◇ See also *Hmars.

•PIE *H₂merǵ- ‘to pluck, wipe’ ⇒ LIV: 280 f. | Pok.: 722 f., 738

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ἄμέργω ‘I pick, pluck’, Lat. *mergae* (pl. tant.) ‘reaping-board [used in pairs for stripping the ears of standing corn]’, *merges* (f.) ‘a sheaf of corn’

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 48; *KPF* II: 223; *IIFL* II: 530a, 528a; Lambton 1938: 42b; Abaev, *Slovar* II: 100 f.; *EVS*: 44a, 49b; *WIM* I: 71; *WIM* II/1: 79; *WIM* II/2: 711; *WIM* III: 112; Werba 1997: 363 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 239, 248, 458; Cabolov 2001: 638; Lecoq 2002: 121, 681b; Shahbakhsh: svv. *gwāmēl-*, *māl-*, *marz-*; Korn 2005: 97, 317, 404

***Hnaid** ‘to insult, scorn’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *n(ā)id- ‘to insult, scorn’ ⇒ Liste: 42

Pres. athem.: IND. 1sg. YAv. *nāismī* (Y 12.1, V 22.21 ff., Vr 24.3), (aor. athem. ?) INJ. 3sg. YAv. *nāist* (Yt 13.89), (aor. athem. ?) IMPV. 2pl. YAv. *nīsta* (V 18.16, V 18.24). ◇ YAv. *nīsta* shows lengthening of *-i- in closed syllable, cf. De Vaan 2003: 223.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: ? IMP *nydplm’n* ‘disobedient’. ◇ From **naiḍa-framāna-*: “It seems preferable to think of a survival of the root *naid*, Skt. *nindati* ‘reviles’, i.e. **naiḍat-*, on which see MacKenzie 1982: 289.

•SANSKRIT: *ned* ‘to revile, blame, scold’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 54

◇ No further Ir. cognate forms are known.

•PIE *H₃neid- ‘to abuse, scold’ ⇒ LIV: 301 | Pok.: 760 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ὀνειδος (n.) ‘reprimand, abuse’, Arm. *anicanem* ‘I curse’, Goth. *ga-naitjan* ‘to taunt, to abuse’, Lith. *niedėti* ‘to despise’, Latv. *nīdēt* ‘to hate’

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 204

***Hnar** ‘to be able, skilled?’

•AVESTAN: *hunara-* (m.) ‘ability, skill’ (Y 43.5, V 13.19, P 36)

•OLD PERSIAN: *hūnarā* (n. pl.) ‘abilities, skills’ <u-v-n-r-a> (DNb 45, DNb 51), (instr. pl.) *hūnaraibiš* <u-v-n-r-i-b-i-š> (DNb 48) ⇒ Kent: 177b

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *hwnr* {hapax}, BMP *hwnl/hūnar/* ‘virtue, ability, skill’

•PARTHIAN: *hwnr* ‘virtue, ability, skill’ ⇒ DMMPP: 193b

•KHOTANESE: ◇ A Khotanese verbal base *nar-* ‘be able, skilled’, listed in *DKS*: 174 does not exist, on which see further Skjærvø, *SVK* II: 62 f.

- NWIR: NP *hunar* ‘skill, art’ (with short -*ū*- !) || (+ **apa-*, **abi-* or **upa-* ?) ? Gab. *afnūrdan*, Yzd. *pe-nart* ‘to take’ || (+ **ūi-*) Bal. *gīnāšt/gīnār-* ‘to hold, take possession of, pull (a bridle)’
- NEIR: ? Oss. I. *nærsyn/nærst*, D. *nærsun/nærst* ‘to swell up; to become fat’, (ppp.) ? Oss. *nard*, *narst* ‘fat, well-fed’ || (+ **abi-*) ? Oss. I. *ævnalyn/ævnæld*, D. *ævnalun/ævnald* ‘to touch’. ◇ The Pamir forms, Sh. *winīr* ‘stall, pen, manger’, Yzgh. *wanūr* ‘long plank’, Wa. *wənór* ‘stable’, mentioned in *EVS*: 90b and compared to MMP *wyn’r-*, may rather be a compound with **uan(ā)-* ‘tree’, YAv. *vanā-*, BMP /*wan/*, Pth. *wn*, etc.
- MISC: Par. *nar-/narí* ‘to be able’
- SANSKRIT: *sūnāra-* ‘powerful, potent’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 740
◇ According to Mayrhofer, *EWAia* II: 20, the IE ‘man’ form **H₂ner-* (Skt. *nár-*, Av. *nar-*, Gr. ἄνθρωπος ‘man’, etc.) goes back to a verbal root **H₂ner-* ‘to be strong, have vitality’. The problem is that the postulation of such a verbal root is unsubstantiated, as there is no (clear) evidence for the existence of this verbal root in IE. The modern Ir. forms, Par. *nar-/narí* et al. can easily be interpreted as denominative, which is the case with Lith. *norėti*, Irish *neraim*, etc. The IE reflexes that can be gleaned from Pokorny: l.c. rather suggest an originally adjectival/nominal root **H₂ner-*, from which we can derive the IE ‘man’ forms and the denominative verbs in Celtic, Baltic and Iranian.
- PIE **H₂ner-* ‘strong/strength, potent/potency’ ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 765
- IE COGNATES: Gr. ἡνροπέη ‘manliness’, Lat. *neriōsus* ‘strong’, Irish *neraim* ‘I strengthen’, Lith. *norėti* ‘to want’ < *nóras* ‘wish, desire’
- REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 276b; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 204 f.; Abaev, *Slovar’* II: 170, 157 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 395; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *gīnār-*

*Hnas (Has) ‘to reach, attain, take’

- AVESTAN: *nās-* (*aš-*) ‘to reach, attain’ || (+ **abi-*) ‘to attain’ || (+ **aṃa-*) ‘id.’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘id.’ || (+ **para-*) ‘to fail to reach’ (Kellens – Pirart III: 272, but ‘to disappear’ < ***nas**, Insler, *Gāthās*: 326) || (+ **fra-*) ‘to attain, reach’ ⇒ Liste: 40f.
- Pres. *nu-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *auua.ašnaoiti* (Yt 10.24), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *auua ašnaot* (Yt 10.89), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. (them.!) *auua.ašnauuāt* (P 20), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *frāšnuiiāt* (Yt 11.5); Aor. {1} athem.: INJ. med. 3sg. OAv. *fraštā* (Y 43.14), OPT. 3sg. OAv. *frōsiiāt* (Y 46.8); Aor. {2} s-: SUBJ. med. 3sg. YAv. (them.!) *nāšāite* (Yt 19.12), 1pl. OAv. *nāšāmā* (Y 44.13), OPT. 1pl. YAv. *nāšīma* (Y 70.4); Aor. {3} them. red.: impf. IND. 3sg. OAv. *anaṣaṭ parā* (Y 53.7), INJ. 3sg. OAv. *naṣaṭ* (Y 51.16, Y 53.6); Aor. {4} them.: IND. 3pl. ? YAv. *aiβināšənti* (Y 23.3, Y 67.3); Partic.: aor. {2} med. YAv. (them.!) *nāšəmna-* (Yt 13.58, 9.30 ff.), aor. {4} ? (superl.) YAv. *aiβinasəstəməm* (Y 71.3); Inf.: aor. {1} ? OAv. *āždiāi* (Y 51.17), aor. {2} OAv. *ā nāšē* (Y 44.14); Caus.: IMPV. 2pl. ? YAv. *nāšāiata* (A 3.5). ◇ For an analysis of OAv. *āždiā* see Humbach 1959 II: 92.

- MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **pati-*) MMP *pn'h*, BMP *pn'h* /*panāh*/ 'protector; refuge' ⇒ DMMPP: 275b
- KHOTANESE: *nās-* 'to take', *nasa-* 'share' ⇒ SGS: 52 f.
- NWIR: (+ **pati-*) NP *panāh* 'refuge, asylum'
- NEIR: Pash. *nas-*, *nīs-/nīwul* 'to take, seize, catch', Ishk., Sangl. *nas-/nōδ-*, Yghn. *nos-/nōta-* 'to take (away); to buy; to seize, catch'
- MISC: Orm. *nas-/nōk*, *nīs-/nōk* 'to seize, catch' = *nas-/nók*
- SANSKRIT: *naś* 'to reach, attain' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 27
- PIE **H₂nek-* 'to reach, attain' ⇒ LIV: 282 f. | Pok.: 316 ff.
- IE COGNATES: Gr. *ποδ-ηνεκής* 'reaching down to the feet', Gr. *διηνεκής*, (Att.) *διᾱνεκής* 'continuous', OIrish *-ánaic* 'reached', Goth. *ga-nah* 'is enough, suffices', OE *genōg*, Engl. *enough*, etc.
- REFERENCES: *EVP*: 54; *IIFL* I: 402b f., *IIFL* II: 405a; Andreev – Peščereva: 295b; *DKS*: 180b f.; *Werba* 1997: 390; *NEVP*: 58; *Kiefer* 2003: 202

*Hrab/f¹ 'to go'

- MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *rw-*, BMP *rwb-*, *lwb-* /*raw-*/ 'to go, proceed' || (+ **ni-*) MMP *nyrw-* 'to go down' ?, MMP *nyrwyšn* 'movement downwards' ⇒ DMMPP: 296b f., 253b
 - Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP *rwym*, 3sg. MMP *rwyd*, *rwydyd*, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *rw'nd*; Partic.: pres. MMP **rw'n*, perf. pass. MMP *rpt*, MMP **rft* || (+ **ni-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *nyrw'd* {uncert. reading}
 - KHOTANESE: (+ **ā-*) OKh. *ārūh-* 'to move, shake' || (+ **ui-*) OKh. *bārāh-* (*brāh-*) 'to soar up' ⇒ SGS: 11, 98
 - NWIR: NP *raftan/rav-*, Bal. *rapt* (supplet. *šut*) / *ra(w)-* 'to go', Kurd. (Kurm.) *roy-* 'to go, walk', (Sor.) *rō-* 'to leave' || (+ **ui-*) Judeo-Ham. *vorows-* Ham. 'to get up, برخواستن'
 - NEIR: (+ **ui-*) Sh. *wirāfc-/wirūvd*, Rosh. *wirāfs-/wirūvd*, Bart. *wirāfs-/wirūvd*, Sariq. *warofs-/warūvd*, Yzgh. (*w*)*urufs-/*(*w*)*uruvd* 'to rise, stand up', (caus.) Sh. *wirēmb-/wirēmt*, Bart. *wirēmb-/wirēmt*, Sariq. *warambān-* 'to stop' (contaminated with ***Hram** ?), Ishk. *u(ə)rofs-/u(ə)rovd* 'to stand', Yi. *vrōf-/vrōft*, M. *wurafs-/wurafs-* 'to fly', Wa. *wərə(f)s-/wərə(f)st-*, *vərə(f)-/vərə(f)st-* (caus.) 'to stand (up)', ? Pash. *riyawdəl* 'to raise'
- ◇ An IE origin of this Ir. root is uncertain. The WIr. forms, Pth. *rf-* 'to attack' and NP *rav-* 'to go', have been connected to MHG *reben* 'to move', Lat. *rabiō* 'I rage' in *LIV*: l.c. This can be doubted. Pth. *rf-* may point to a different root. MHG *reben* 'to move' has probably a different etymology (it is compared to OIrish *reb* 'play', Russ. *rebēnok* 'child' by Häusler 2000: 144). The Latin connection is declined by Schrijver 1991: 305. According to Häusler (p. 148 f.), the Ir. roots ***Hrab/f¹** 'to go' and ***Hrab/f²** 'to attack, fight' are related to Skt. *rabh* 'to seize, grasp' (***Hrab/f²**).

Perhaps, **Hrab/f¹* is rather a blend of similar roots of motion (notably **Hap/f* and **Har¹*), similar to **ram*, whose IE credentials cannot be established either.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 496 | Pok.: 853

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 259a, 420a, 549a; Abrahamian 1936: 124, no. 63; *EVS*: 91a; Cabolov 1997: 72; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 398; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *ra(w)*-; Korn 2005: 68 f., 320, 377 (passim)

***Hrab/f²** ‘to attack, fight’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *rp’g’n* (pl.) ‘attackers’, MMP *rfydygh* ‘attacking, attacks’
⇒ DMMPP: 296b, 295a

•PARTHIAN: *rf-* ‘to attack, fight’ ⇒ Ghilain: 56 | DMMPP: 295a

Pres.: IND. 3pl. *rfynd*; Partic.: pres. *rfg’n*, perf. pass. *rfi*

•KHOTANESE: *rapphai* (loc. sg.) ‘attack, fight, *yuddhe*’ || (+ **pati-*) OKh. *pareh-* ‘to restrain oneself’ ⇒ SGS: 74

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *mβ-*, *mnp-* ‘to fight, attack’. ◇ The nasal "infix" points to contamination with ***ran(H)** ?

Pres.: IND. 3pl. BSogd. *mnp’nt*, POT. 3sg. BSogd. *mβ’y*

•NEIR: Yzgh. *rəf-/rəft* ‘to fight, struggle, torn’, Sh. *rafə* ‘abuse, invective, reproach’, M. *ruftugā* ‘fighting’

•SANSKRIT: (?) *rāpas-* ‘injury, illness, affliction’. ◇ Skt. *rāpas-* can be compared more closely to the following Ir. nominal forms: Khot. *rrāha-* ‘pain, ache, disease’, BSogd. *r’β* ‘illness’, Oss. I. *ryn*, D. *run* ‘illness’, Yzgh. *rūvn* ‘pain’. ⇒ EWAia II: 433 f.

◇ The evidence from the Iranian languages suggests two different roots of **Hrab/f*. See also the previous entry.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 496 | Pok.: 853, 865

•REFERENCES: *EVS*: 66b, 53b; *DKS*: 358, 362b; Gharib: 342b; Werba 1997: 445 f.; Häusler 2000: 143 ff.

***Hrab/f³ (*ra(m)b?)** ‘to touch, affect, grab ?’

•CHORESMIAN: *rmf-* ‘to mate with’ || (+ **yi-* or **aūa-*) *wrfk*, *wrfyk* ‘in love, love-sick’ || (+ **upa-*) *prftk’wk* ‘desire’ || (+ **pati-*) ? *bcrf/β-* ‘to have sexual intercourse’. ◇ The meanings of these Chor. forms need an explanation, although it is obvious that the outcome of any semantic shifts is due to euphemistic usage. ⇒ Samadi: 171, 144

•NEIR: Sh. *raf-/raft* ‘to touch, mix, stir, stick, affect, etc.’, Sariq. *rof-/rift* ‘to smear’ || (+ **upa-*) Rosh. *biraf-/birift*, Khf. *biraf-/birift*, Orosh. *b(ə)raf-* ‘to touch’, Yzgh. *bərəf-/bəreft* ‘to touch, affect, stick, etc.’ || (+ **upa-*) Rosh. *biraf-/birift*, Khf. *biraf-/birift*, Orosh. *b(ə)raf-* ‘to touch’, Yzgh. *bərəf-/bəreft* ‘to touch, affect, stick, etc.’

•SANSKRIT: (?) *rabh* ‘to grab, seize’ (RV). ◇ According to Häusler 2000: 148 f. the Ir. roots ***Hrab/f¹** ‘to go’ and ***Hrab/f²** ‘to attack, fight’ are also related to *rabh*. ⇒ EWAia II: 434

◇ The inclusion of some of the Ir. forms cited here is rather uncertain. Although this apparently (I)Ir. root is probably of IE origin, the exact provenance remains unclear.

⇒ LIV: 507, 411 f. | Pok.: 865, 652

•REFERENCES: EVS: 66b, 20b; Benzing 1983: 527, 652; Werba 1997: 226 f.

*Hrad ‘to dig, pave’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *rād-* ‘to pave (a way)’, ? YAv. ⁺*paiθīm rād-* ‘road-paver’ (Yt 9.23).

◇ The long vowel of this hapax form is perhaps from the nominal derivative, on which see Kellens 1984: 116, 118 fn. 7f. ⇒ Liste: 56

Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *rādaiti* (Yt 10.68)

•NWIR: Bal. *rast^h/rad-* ‘to tear up the ground, be beaten’

•NEIR: (+ **fra-*) Sh. (Baj.) *rarδ-/ruxt* ‘to dig, excavate, hollow out’, ? Rosh. *rarδ-/ruxt* ‘to demolish, destroy, scatter’

•SANSKRIT: *rad* ‘to dig, gnaw; to pave’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 430

◇ The laryngeal disappeared in IIr., on which see further Lubotsky 1981: 134 ff.

•PIE **HreH₃d-* ‘to gnaw, furrow’ (A.L.) ⇒ LIV: 497 | Pok.: 854

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *rōdere* ‘to gnaw (at)’

•REFERENCES: EVS: 68b; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *rad-*

*HraH ‘to offer, give’

•AVESTAN: *rā-* ‘to offer, give’ ⇒ Liste: 57

MED. ?; Aor. s-: IND. 2sg. YAv. *fārā rājhē* (Y 12.3), INJ. 1sg. YAv. *fārā rāhī* (Y 0.5, Y 11.18), SUBJ. 2sg. OAv. *rāṅhaghōi* (Y 28.8); Perf.: IND. 3pl. YAv. *raire* (F 17); Partic.: pres. inch. act. YAv. *rāsant-* (Y 52.1, Y 52.3, et al. ?, v. Hoffmann, *Aufs. I*: 266, fn. 1)

•SOGLIAN: BSogd. *r’t* (pret. stem) ‘to give’ || (+ **pati-*) CSogd. *p’cr’t* (m.) ‘reward’
Inf.: BSogd. *r’t*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **para-*) *pry-* ‘to leave, let go; to repudiate (wife); to take out [+c]’. ◇ Although Samadi foremost maintains the reconstruction **para-iša-* (***HaišH** ‘to set in motion’) for Chor. *pry-*, she also remarks that the past participle *pr’dyk* suggests **para-rā-ta-ka-* (**raH*). The latter proposal is preferable, especially since the reconstruction **para-iša-* would rather yield Chor. ***pryš-* or ***pryh-*. The postulated pres. stem **para-rā(H)^l-ja-* would have undergone, subsequently, haplology and shortening of **ā* in front of **j* (attested in Av. and EIr.). ⇒ Samadi: 159 f.

•NEIR: Wa. *rand-/rat-* (*rət*) ‘to give’, (?) Oss. I. *raddyn/rard*, D. *raddun/rard* (non-pres./perfective) ‘to give, *дать*’ || (+ **upa-*) ? Yzgh. *biray-/bired* ‘to bear (a child); to build’ || (+ **para-*) Yghn. *piront-*, Wa. *pyḡynd-/porot-* ‘to sell’. ◇ The precise phonological details of the Oss. forms are unclear.

•SANSKRIT: *rā* ‘to give, grant, bestow’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 442

•PIE **HreH₁-* ‘to give’. ◇ Only IIr. appears to have preserved the verbal root. || An initial laryngeal is reconstructed on the premise that forms in IE cannot have initial **r*. ⇒ LIV: 499 | Pok.: 860

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *rēs* ‘case, thing, possession’, Umb. *re-per* ‘*pro rē*’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 534b, 537b; *EVS*: 21a; Werba 1997: 313 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 292, 284 f.

***(H)raHd** ‘to succeed, accomplish’

•AVESTAN: *rād-* ‘to succeed, accomplish’ ⇒ Liste: 57

Aor. athem.: INJ. 1sg. ? OAv. *rādəm* (Y 29.9), SUBJ. 3sg. OAv. *rādaŋ* (Y 51.6, 3pl. OAv. *rādəntī* (Y 33.2); Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. *rāsta-*. ◇ On the interpretation of OAv. *rādəm* see Kellens – Pirart III: 30.

•PARTHIAN: *ryst* ‘correctly, duly, truly’ ⇒ Ghilain: 60 | DMMPP: 304a

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ati-*) *trāy-* (*t(t)rās-*) ‘to rescue, deliver’ ⇒ SGS: 41

•SANSKRIT: *rādh* ‘to succeed, be successful’ ⇒ EWAia II: 448

•PIE **(H)reH₁d^h-* ‘to succeed in doing something, achieve, accomplish’. ◇ The reconstruction of an initial laryngeal is based on the premise that IE roots cannot begin with an initial **r-*. ⇒ LIV: 499 f. | Pok.: 59 f.

•IE COGNATES: OIrish *-ráidi* ‘deliberates, says’, Goth. *ga-redan* ‘to take precautions’, Goth. *rodjan*, NHG *reden* ‘to talk, speak’ (< **to deliberate, premeditate*), ORuss. *raditi* ‘to care for’, OCS *ne-raditi* ‘to neglect’

•REFERENCES: *DKS*: 143b f.; Werba 1997: 396 f.

***Hraič** ‘to pour, flow’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *ryc-* (sic), BMP *lyc-* /*rēz-*/ ‘to flow; pour’ || (+ **pati-*) MMP *phryz-* ‘to flow’ ⇒ DMMPP: 304a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *lycyt* /*rēzēd-*/, 3pl. MMP *rycynd*, BMP *lycynd* /*rēzēnd-*/; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP **ryxt* ‘cast (of gold)’, BMP *lyht* /*rēxt-*/; Inf.: BMP *lyhtn* /*rēxtan-*/ || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *phryzyd*, 3pl. MMP **phryzynd*

•PARTHIAN: *ryz-* ‘to pour’. ◇ On *ryz-* ‘to fall (of leaves)’ see **raiz³*. ⇒ Ghilain: 94 | DMMPP: 304a, 274b

Partic.: perf. pass. *ryxt*

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *ryz* ‘to flow’ || (+ **apa-*) SSogd. *p’ryc* (caus.) ‘to pour (out)’ (*SDGM* III: 34) || (+ **ui-*) CSogd. *wyrxs-* (inch./pass.) ‘to be poured’

Pres.: OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *ryz’y* (+ **apa-*) Caus.: impf. IND. 3sg. SSogd. *p’ryc* (+ **ui-*) Pret.: tr. IND. 3pl. CSogd. *wry’rnt*; Partic.: perf. pass. CSogd. *wyrxc’* (f.) ‘poured’

•NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *rēxtan/rēz-* ‘to flow, pour’, Bal. *rētk/rēc-* ‘to pour’, Kurd. *rēž-* ‘to flow, pour (out)’, Zaz. *rižiyāyiš/rižnen-* ‘to collapse, disintegrate; to flow’, Anar. *-irit/* (impv.) *iriž* ‘to spill’, Awrom. *rēzna* ‘to pour (tears)’, Fariz. *riž-/rež-* ‘to pour; to be thrown on’, Gz. *rēž-/rēžā* ‘to flow out, fall off’, (tr.) *rēž-/ret, rīt*, Abz. *rēta/rēž-*, Abyan. *retta/rež-*, Ard. *rēte/riž-*, Anar. *rišāye/riš-*, Ham. *rijayān (ret-)/rij-*, Delij. *barijī, berrijī*, Nn. *rite/riž-*, Qohr. *rīta/rīj-*, Tr. *rita/rēž-*, Varz. *rite/riž-* ‘to

pour (out)', (caus.) Zaz. *rižnāyiš/rižnen-* 'to pour (out), shake out', Gz. *rēžn-/rēžnā* 'to let flow, pour, fall off', Gur. (Kand.) (ppp.) *rīziāṛā/-rīz-* 'to pour, strew', Khuns. *rīž-/rīt* 'to scatter, spread', Jow. *bam-ri:t/a-ri:dž-*, Meim. *bem-ret/a-ri:dž-*, Semn. *rītā-*, Shamerz. *-rītam-/rizām-*, Siv. *riš-*, *rēš-/ret* 'to pour, strew', *riš-/rešā* 'to be poured, fall over' (LW ?), Sorkh. *dú-rāt-/dú-riž-* 'to pour'. ◇ In many dialects the verb has been contaminated with ***raiz**³.

•NEIR: Pash. *rīnjəl* 'to have liquid stool', (inch.-intr.) Yghn. *rixs-*, *rexs-* 'to flow', ? Oss. D. *lixsun/lixst* 'to spit', ? Wa. *rəx(n)* 'excrements; defecating' || (+ **aua-*) Sariq. *wareyz-/warezd* 'to melt [intr.]' || (+ **pari-*) Sh. *pirēš-/pirēšt*, Rosh. *pirīš-/pirīšt* 'to strew' || (+ **fra-*) Yi. *fərx-/fərxī-* 'to stool'

◇ Exact IE correspondences of this root cannot be found. The root is no doubt etymologically connected to ***HraiH** and it is tempting to regard it as an enlarged variant of ***HraiH**. This enlargement must be a purely Ir. development: *ōc* is perhaps from ***tač**¹.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 140b f., 207a; Ivanow 1926: 421; *KPF* II: 202; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 164; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 57, 159; Abrahamian 1936: 120; *IIFL* II: 209a; Lambton 1938: 42a, 77b; Morgenstierne 1942: 264; Andreev – Peščereva: 314b; Abaev, *Slovar* II: 46 f.; *EVS*: 61a, 92b; *WIM* I: 72; *WIM* II/1: 82; *WIM* III: 115; Safari 1373: 101; Cabolov 1997: 72; Paul 1998: 311b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 304; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *rēc-*; Korn 2005: 151, 199, 378 (passim)

***HraiH** 'to defecate'

•AVESTAN: (+ **abi-*) YAv. *auui ... irita* (ppp.) 'defecated' (V 5.1) ⇒ Liste: 58

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *ld-/riy/-* 'to defecate, void'

Pass.: IND. 3sg. BMP *lyt/rīd*

•KHOTANESE: *rīma* 'faeces', *rīyai* 'anus'

•SOGDIAN: CSogd. *rym* (m.) 'dirt, impurity'

•CHORESMIAN: *rymyc* (pl.) 'dirty (spots)'

•NWIR: NP *rīdan/rī-*, Bal. *rīt/rī(y)-*, Kurd. *rītin/rī-*, Siv. *rīn-/rīd* 'to defecate', NP *rīm* 'pus, matter, humour; dregs, dross (vel sim.)', Anar. *rīx* 'diarrhoea'

•NEIR: Oss. I. *lyjyn/lyd*, D. *lijun/lud* 'to defecate', Pash. *rəma*, *rīma* 'mucus, dysentery'

•SANSKRIT: *ray* 'to flow, drip, run, bubble up' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 437

◇ The Ir. cognate root of Skt. *ray* has become an euphemism for 'to defecate', replacing forms of a root that was no doubt considered uncouth, possibly **zad* (YAv. *zadaṇha* (pl.) 'backside, anus', cf. Skt. *had*, EWAia III: 532).

•PIE **H₃reiH-* 'to flow, stream' ⇒ LIV: 305 | Pok.: 330 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ὀρίνω 'I bring in commotion, confuse' (influenced by ὄρνυμι ?), Lat. *rīvus* (m.) 'brook', OIrish *rían* 'river, sea', Russ. *réjat* 'to stream fast, flow', *rínut* 'to stream, to flow', Cz. *řinouti se* 'to stream, to flow'

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 63; Abaev, *Slovar'* II: 54; *DKS*: 363b f., 364a; *WIM* 1988: 115; *Werba* 1997: 371; *Lecoq* 2002: 611a; *Shahbakhsh*: s.v. *rī(h/y)-*; *Korn* 2005: 233, 316, 378

***Hrais** ‘to be torn, tear, cut, split’

•KHOTANESE: (+ **fra-*) *harāt’-* (*harṣ-*) ‘to burst’ || (+ **ūi-*) *birāt’* ‘to split, burst’
⇒ *SGS*: 149, 98

•SOGDIAN: (+ **uz-*) BSogd. *zr’yš-* (intr./pass.) ‘to be severed, interrupted’, BSogd. *zr’yš-* (tr./caus.) ‘to sever, interrupt, destroy’, MSogd. *zryš-* ‘to hurt’, CSogd. *zryš-* ‘sy’ ‘coming to an end, about to perish’ (*Sims-Williams* 1985: 99, fn. 28) || (+ **pati-*) MSogd. *ptryš* ‘to tear away’, BSogd. *ptr’yšky* ‘tearing away’
(+ **uz-*) Pres.: OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *zr’yš’y*; Impf.: IND. 1sg. MSogd. *zryšw* (*BBB*: 33); Partic.: perf. pass. MSogd. *zryštyy* (*BBB*: 33); Inf.: **zryš* (*BBB*: 33); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. BSogd. *zr’yšt* || (+ **pati-*) Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *ptryryš* (*BBB*: 45); Partic.: perf. pass. MSogd. *ptryštyy* (*BBB*: 33); Inf.: MSogd. *ptryš* (*BBB*: 33)

•CHORESMIAN: *rŸs-* ‘to scold at’ ⇒ *Samadi*: 176

•NEIR: Oss. I. *lyst(æg)*, D. *list(æg)* ‘fine, in pieces’, I. *lystæn*, D. *listæn* ‘litter’, ? *Sariq. rīzd* ‘pain’ (rather ***raiš** ?) || (+ **pati-*) Yghn. *d’rīš-/d’rīšta* ‘to tear, to be torn (off)’ || (+ **ūi-*) Sh. *wirāḫ-t*, Rosh. *wirāḫ-t*, Bart. *wirāḫ-t* ‘to cut a piece’, Yzgh. *wriḫ-t* ‘to slit up, slaughter’

•SANSKRIT: *reś/leś* ‘to tear off, pluck’ (RV+) ⇒ *EWAia* II: 461

•PIE **H₁rei-k-* ‘to cut, split, tear’ ? ⇒ *LIV*: 504 | *Pok.*: 858

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ἐρείκω ‘I break, tear off’, MWelsh *rwyg-*, MBret. *roeg-* ‘to tear’

•REFERENCES: *Andreev – Peščereva*: 247a f.; *EVS*: 71b, 92b; *Abaev, Slovar'* II: 57 f.; *Werba* 1997: 228

***Hraiz** ‘to shake’

•PARTHIAN: ◇ On *ryzynd* see ***raiz**³.

•KHOTANESE: *rrīys-* ‘to tremble’ || (+ **abi-/ūi-*) *bār(r)īys-* (*bīrīys-*) ‘to shake’ || (+ **fra-*) OKh. *harīys-* ‘to tremble’ ⇒ *SGS*: 116, 99, 149 f.

•NEIR: Oss. I. *rīzyn/ryzt*, D. *rezun/rizt* ‘to shake’, Pash. *rēždedəl* ‘to shake, tremble’ || (+ **a_ua-* or **ūi-*) ? Yi. *uríz-/urízd* ‘to spread manure’ || (+ **pati-* ?) *Sariq. pīraḫt*, *pūraḫt* ‘cradle’. ◇ Yi. *uríz-/urízd* is assigned a different etymology by *Morgenstierne, IIFL* II: l.c.

•SANSKRIT: *rej* ‘to shake, to tremble’ (RV+) ⇒ *EWAia* II: 458 f.

◇ See also ***rarz**.

•PIE **H₁leiǵ-* ‘to shake’ ⇒ *LIV*: 246 f. | *Pok.*: 667 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ἐλέλιζω, (aor.) ἐλέλιξα ‘I cause to tremble’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 192a; *GMS*: §308; *Abaev, Slovar'* II: 417 f.; *EVS*: 61a; *DKS*: 364a, 288b; *Werba* 1997: 437

***Hrak** ‘to shelter, take refuge?’

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *rx*’*n* PN (UppInd.68) || (+ *ā-) BSogd. ’*r*’*xs* ‘to rely on, take refuge with’, SSogd. ’*r*’*yt* (pret. stem) ‘to support, trust?’ || (+ *uz-) MSogd. *zrx-* ‘to save’, BSogd. *zr(’)xs-*, CSogd. *zrxs-*, MSogd. *zrxs-* (pass./intr./inch.) ‘to be saved’, CSogd. *zrync* ‘to save, deliver’ (caus., ? supplet. **ranj-*)

(+ *ā-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. ’*r*’*xst*, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. ’*r*’*ys*’*t*, 3pl. BSogd. ’*r*’*xs*’*nt*, etc. || (+ *uz-) Widely attested: Inch.: pres. IND. 1pl. MSogd. *zrxsym*, 3sg. BSogd. *zr’xsty*, SUBJ. 1sg. BSogd. *zrxs’n*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *ā-) ? *m*’*rxs-* ‘to cling on; to seek refuge’ ⇒ Samadi: 6

•NEIR: Yzgh. *rayd* ‘(house)wall’, ? Sangl. *rēž* ‘platform (for sleeping)’, Wa. *rāž* ‘platform, seat of honour’, Yi. *ražá* ‘sleeping platform near the fireplace’ || (+ *a_{ya}-) ? Yzgh. *wəraxs-/wərayd* ‘to pass’, ? *wəraxs-/wəraxt* ‘to crumble, fall (about ripe fruit)’

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *łakiš* ‘fortress; fortifications’

◇ See also Périkhanian 1988: 139 ff.

•PIE **H₂elk-* (**H₂lek-*) ‘to defend, protect’ ⇒ LIV: 264 | Pok.: 32

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ἄλαλκε (aor.) ‘warded off’, ἀλακή ‘defence, aid’, Lat. *ulcīscor* ‘I take revenge, avenge’, OE *ealgian* ‘to guard, protect’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 410b, 245a, 538b; *EVS*: 66b, 118a

***Hram** ‘to rest, be calm’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *l’m-* /*rām-* ‘to rest’, (caus.) MMP *r’myn-*, BMP *l’myn-* ‘to give peace, pleasure’ || (**fra-*) MMP *frmyn-* (denomin. ?) ‘to be glad, cheerful’. ◇ Henning 1933: 205 derives *frmyn-* from **fra-man-*, cf. SSogd. *prm’n* ‘to think’ (**fra-* + ***man**). The assumed semantic shift from ‘to think, consider’ to ‘to be cheerful’ is not evident though. ⇒ DMMPP: 292b, 156

Pres.: IND./OPT. 2pl. BMP *l’myt* /*rāmēd* /; Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. BMP *l’mynynd* /*rāmēnēnd* /, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *r’myn’d*, 3pl. MMP *r’myn’nd*, BMP *l’myn’nd* /*rāmēnānd* /, IMPV. 2pl. ? MMP *r’mynynd* || (**fra-*) Pres.: IND. 1pl. MMP *frmyn’m*, 3pl. MMP *prmynynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. MMP *prmyn’y*, 1pl. MMP *prmyn’m*, 2pl. MMP *prmyn’d*, 3pl. MMP *frmyn’nd*

•PARTHIAN: *r’m*, *r’myšn* ‘peace’ || (+ *ā-) ’*r*’*m* ‘abode’ ⇒ Ghilain: 73 | DMMPP: 292, 51a

•KHOTANESE: ? OKh. *ram-* ‘to enjoy oneself’ (< BSkt. ?) ⇒ SGS: 114

•SOGDIAN: (+ *a_{ya}-) BSogd. ’*wr*’*ms* ‘to become quiet’, CSogd. ’*wrms*, MSogd. ’*wrms* (intr./inch.) ‘to become still’ || (+ **pati-*) SSogd. *ptr’m(-)* ‘to calm down [tr.]’, BSogd. *ptr’m(-)* ‘to stop, extinguish’, BSogd. *ptr’ms(-)* (inch./intr.) ‘to calm down [intr.]’ || (**ui-*) BSogd. *wyr’m-* ‘to calm, set at rest’, BSogd. *wyr’ms* ‘to find peace’

(+ *a_{ya}-) Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. SSogd. ’*wr*’*mst*, BSogd. ’*wrmst*, SUBJ. 3pl. BSogd. ’*wr*’*ms*’*nt*, etc. || (+ **pati-*) Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *ptr’m*, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *ptr’m’t*, OPT. 3sg. SSogd. *ptr’m’y*, PREC. 3sg. BSogd. *ptr’ms’yt* ‘should calm’, etc. || (**ui-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd.

wyr'm't; Inch.: pres. IND. 3sg. BSogd. *wyr'msty* 'finds peace'; Partic.: pres. BSogd. *wyrmny*, perf. pass. BSogd. *wyr'mtk*, *wyrmty*

•CHORESMIAN: *rm-* 'to abstain from' || (+ **ati-*) (*'*)*čm-* 'to dwell, rest, linger, to be slow', *č'm-* 'to let (someone) rest, restrain (someone)' || (+ **pati-*) *pcrm-* 'to become calm, to come to a standstill', *pcr'my-* (caus.) 'to bring to a standstill' || (+ **ui-*) (*m*)/*wr'my-* 'to wait (for), await, expect'. ◊ The triple formation of (*m*)/*wr'my-* in the impf., viz. *w-*, *mw-* and *w'-*, may point to merger of the forms with **ui-* and **aya-*, which are still formally distinctive in Sogd., but effectively synonymous, cf. 'wr'm *wyr'my* 'in peace and quietness', Sims-Williams 1989: 263. ⇒ Samadi: 171, 56, 143, 215 f.

•BACTRIAN: *ρiμ-* 'to be convenient, suit, please' ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 221

•NWIR: NP *rāmiš* 'rest, tranquillity' || (+ **ā-*) NP *ārāmīdan/ārām-* 'to become calm, calmed, rest'

•NEIR: Yi. *rīm-/rīmd* 'to please', Oss. D. *ræmun/ræd* 'to stand, stay in place', D. *ræmon* 'prudent, calm', Yghn. *ram-/rámta* 'to recede [of animals]' || (+ **aya-*) Oss. I. *uromyn/uræd*, D. *oramun/oræd* 'to restrain, detain; to leave behind; to bear, tolerate'; to keep, put on some work' || (+ **pati-*) Sariq. *padromb-/padrom(b)d* 'to scare away, arrest', Yi. *ptræmd-o* (ppp.) 'seized, imprisoned', Wa. *pytr(ы)m(b)/potrom(b)d-* 'to lock up, (?) scare away; block, hinder' (< *to cause to come to a standstill' ?)

•SANSKRIT: *ram* 'to rest, become appeased, appease' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 435

•PIE **H₁rem-* 'to rest, become quiet, calm' ⇒ LIV: 252 f. | Pok.: 864

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ἡρέμω 'quietly, softly', Lith. *rimti* 'to become quiet, be at rest', Goth. *rimis* (n.) 'rest'

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 243b f., 536a, 242a; Andreev – Peščereva: 311a f.; Abaev, *Slovar'* II: 374 f., 371 f.; *EVS*: 53b; *DKS*: 358a f.; Abaev, *Slovar'* IV: 17 f.; Werba 1997: 225 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 285; Cheung 2002: 218, 233

***Hranj** 'to take action, spur, urge (often with negative consequences) ?'

•AVESTAN: YAv. *rənj-* 'to spur (?)' ⇒ Liste: 56, 58

Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *rənjaiti* (Y 10.8); Partic.: fut. YAv. (*ʕ*)*raḫšiiant-* 'defiant' (Y 12.4); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. (*fra*) *rənjaiieiti* (Vr 7.2). ◊ On the connection of YAv. (*ʕ*)*raḫšiiant-* to *rənj-* see also Kellens 1984: 160 f., n. 4; De Vaan 2003: 387.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *Incyn-/ranj-* (sec. caus./denomin.) 'to trouble', MMP *rnz* 'toil, labour, trouble' || (+ **abi-*) MMP 'yrnz- 'to fight, dispute [MacKenzie 1971: 31], to conquer, defeat [Boyce 1977: 21]', BMP 'yInc- /ēranj-/ 1. 'to blame, condemn, damn [in court]', 2. 'to fight, dispute' ⇒ DMMPP: 296a

(+ **abi-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. BMP 'yIncynd /ēranjēnd/, SUBJ. 1sg. MMP 'yrnz''n; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP 'ylhtk /ēraxtag/, BMP 'ylhtk /ēraxtag/

- PARTHIAN: *mj* ‘toil, labour, trouble’ {hapax} || (+ **abi*-) ‘*brng*, ‘*brnng* ‘zeal’
⇒ Ghilain: 296a | DMMPP: 14a
- KHOTANESE: (+ **ā*-) LKh. *ārramj-* (*ārraj-*) ‘to contract, diminish, shrink’ || (+ **pati*-) *pārīs-* ‘to diminish [intr.]’, *pāramj-* (caus.) ‘to diminish [tr.]’ ⇒ SGS: 10, 82, 81
- SOGDIAN: SSogd. *rxn-*, BSogd. *ryn-*, CSogd. *rxn-* ‘to dare’ (with metathesis)
Pres.: IND. 1sg. SSogd. *L’ rxn’ m* ‘I don’t dare’, 3sg. dur. CSogd. *rxntysqwn*, SUBJ. 3sg. CSogd. *rxn’ t*;
Impf.: IND. 1sg. BSogd. *ryn’ w*; ‘z-Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *rxn’ z*, 3pl. CSogd. *rxn’ nt*
- CHORESMIAN: *mj’ wy-* ‘to exert effort’, *mj* ‘effort’ (LW ?) ⇒ Samadi: 172
- NWIR: NP *ranjīdan* ‘to exert effort’, (old ppp.) *raxtah* ‘wounded, ill’, *ranj* ‘effort, labour’, Yar. *-rānj-*, Natan. *-rānjūnā*, Sang. *-rānjen-*, Sorkh. *-rānjān-*, Lasg. *-rānjān-* ‘to afflict, torment, cause to suffer’, Ham. *rānjayān/rānj-* ‘to be offended’
- NEIR: Yghn. *raxn-/ráxnta* ‘to dare, be bold’, Sariq. *rinj*, *rinc* ‘light [of weight], fast’
- SANSKRIT: *ramh* ‘to hasten’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 421 f., 473
- PIE **H₁leng^{wh}*- ‘to spur, impel, incite (to act, work, run, etc.)’ ⇒ LIV: 247 | Pok.: 660 f.
- IE COGNATES: OIrish *lingim* ‘I jump’, OHG *gi-lingan* ‘to take place, succeed, have success’, NHG *gelingen*
- REFERENCES: Christensen, *Contributions* I: 163, 260; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 57, 115; Abrahamian 1936: 119; Andreev – Peščereva: 313a; Gershevitch, *Mithra*: 181 f.; EVS: 68a; Nyberg II: 71b f.; Werba 1997: 223

*Hrau ‘to warm’

- CHORESMIAN: (+ **pati*-) *pcry-* ‘to become warm’, *pcr’w-* (caus.) ‘to make warm’
⇒ Samadi: 143
- NEIR: (+ **ā*-) Oss. I. *arawyn/aryd*, D. *arawun/arud* ‘to scorch in the fire’
- SANSKRIT: *ravi-* (m.) ‘sun(god)’ (Up.+) ⇒ EWAia II: 440
- PIE **H₂reu-* ‘to shine’ ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 873
- IE COGNATES: Hitt. */haruṽanai-* ‘to become bright, dawn’, Arm. *arew* ‘sun’
- REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 57 f.

*(H)raud ‘to tear, break’

- NEIR: (+ **us-*) Yzgh. *səriθ-/sərust* ‘to break, tear [intr.]’, *sərand-* (caus.) ‘to break, tear [tr.]’ || (+ **pati*- ?) Yzgh. *pərciθ-/pərcust* ‘to be torn’, *pərcand-/pərcust* (caus.) ‘to tear [tr.]’ (with metathesis: *-cr-* > *-rc-* ?) || (+ **para-*, **pari-*) Sh. (Baj.) *pirīθ-/pirūst*, Rosh. *parēθ-*, *parēd-/parōst*, Bart. *parēθ-/parūst*, Orosh. *pirāθ-/pirūst*, Sariq. *piraθ-/pirūst* ‘to burst, tear [intr.]’, Sh. *pirēnd-/pirēnt*, Rosh. *parēnd-/parēnt*, Bart. *parend-/parēnd*, *parent*, Sariq. *parin-/parind* (caus.) ‘to tear, burst [tr.]’. ◇ Not from **rad-* (i.e. *(H)ra(n)d), pace Morgenstierne, EVS: l.c. Most, if not all, intransitive Pamir forms, especially with a front vowel, may derive from the pres. (or pass. ?) formation *(H)r(a)ud-*ja-* (> *(H)r(a)uθ-*ja-* ?).

◇ The evidence for an Ir. root **(H)raud*, which would derive from IE **(H)reud-*, is limited to modern Pamir forms.

•PIE **(H)reud-* ‘to tear, break up’. ◇ The reconstruction of an initial laryngeal is based on the premise that IE roots cannot begin with an initial **r-*. ⇨ LIV: – | Pok.: 869

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *rūdus* ‘(broken) rocks, gravel’, OIrish *riúd* ‘ruins’, Welsh (pl.) *rhuddion* ‘rubbish’, ON *reyta* ‘to tear, pluck off’ (Germanic **rautjan*), MHG *rüten* ‘to rob’

•REFERENCES: Edel’man 1971: 240; EVS: 75b, 57a, 59a f.

*Hraud ‘to grow (bigger)’

•AVESTAN: YAV. *raoδ-* (*ruδ-*) ‘to grow’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to grow to(wards)’ || (+ **ni-*) ‘to suffer from dystrophy, wear out, von Kräften kommen (vel sim.)’ || (+ **ui-*) ‘to outgrow’ ⇨ Liste: 59

Pres. them. {1}: IND. 2sg. med. YAV. *raoδahe* (Y 10.4), YAV. *vīraoδahe* (Y 10.12), 3pl. YAV. *raoδənti* (V 5.19), impf. 3sg. YAV. *araoδaṭ* (Y 9.11), INJ. 3sg. YAV. *raoδaṭ* (Yt 19.40, F 587); Pres. *ia-* {2}: SUBJ. 3sg. YAV. **nī.uruiiḍiāṭ* (V 16.7); Perf.: ? YAV. *urūruduṣ(a)* (Y 10.3); Inf.: pres. ?? YAV. *raose* (Y 10.4); Caus.: IND. (med. ?) 3sg. YAV. *frāraoδaiieiti/e* (V 18.46); Partic.: perf. pass. YAV. *urusta-* (V 19.18), YAV. *frāurusta-* (Yt 18.6), YAV. *niuruzda-* (N 17). ◇ On the interpretation of YAV. **nī.uruiiḍiāṭ* and *niuruzda-* see ***uraid**. The past participle **uruzda-* is the regular outcome of Ilr. **Hrud^h-ta-* > **Hrud^hḍ^ha-* (Bartholomae’s Law) > Ir. **Hruzda-*, Skt. *rūḍha-*. The form **Hrusta-* is the result of a frequent analogical development in Ir.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *rwy-*, BMP *lwd-* /*rōy-*/ ‘to grow’ ⇨ DMMPP: 303a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *rwdyt* /*rōyēd*/, 3pl. MMP *rwyynd*, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *rwy’nd*, *rwy’nd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *rwst*, BMP *lwst* /*rust*/; Caus.: pres. IND. 2sg. MMP *rwyny*

•PARTHIAN: *rwd-* ‘to grow’ || (+ **abi-*) ‘brwd’ ‘plants’ ⇨ Ghilain: 65 | DMMPP: 299a, 14b

Pres.: IND. 3pl. *rwdynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *rwst*, *rwst*

•KHOTANESE: OKh. **rrūd-* (*rrvī-*) ‘to grow’ || (+ **fra-*) *hār(u)v-* (*hārs-*) ‘to grow’ || (+ **ham-*) *hambruḷ-* (*hambrṛḷ-*), LKh. *hambrāñ-* (caus.) ‘to heal’ ⇨ SGS: 116, 144

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *rwδ-*, MSogd. *rwst* (pret. stem) ‘to grow’ || (+ **pati-*) SSogd. *ptrwδ-*, CSogd. *ptryst-*, MSogd. *ptrwδ-* ‘to grow up’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *rwδt*, BSogd. *rwδt*, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *rwδ’t*, 3pl. MSogd. *rwδ’nd* (*Sogdica*: 46); Inf.: BSogd. *rwδ’y* || (+ **pati-*) Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *ptyrwδ* (*BBB*: 35); Pret.: intr. IND. 3sg. SSogd. *ptrwsty*; Partic.: perf. pass. SSogd. *ptryst* (lit. ‘grown’) PN; Inf.: pret. CSogd. *ptrysty* ||

•NWIR: NP *rustan* /*rōy-*, Zaz. *ruwāyiš/ruwen-* ‘to bud, blossom’, Gz. *rōn-/ruft* ‘to grow’, Bal. *rust*, *rudit/rud-*, *rōḍēnθ/rōḍēn-* (caus.) ‘to bring up, educate’ || (+ **ham-*) ? Bal. *amrust/amrud-* ‘to arch, stretch the body’

•NEIR: Yghn. *rut-/rūsta* ‘to grow’ || (+ **ui-*) Pash. *wrost* m., *wrastá* ‘rotten, decayed (of wood, matting)’ (Cheung 2004: 129)

•MISC: Par. *rust* ‘high, elevated’

- SANSKRIT: *rodh* ‘to grow’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 467
- PIE **H₁leud^h-* ‘to grow, rise’ ⇒ LIV: 248 f. | Pok.: 306 f., 684 f.
- IE COGNATES: Gr. ἐλεύθερος (m.) ‘free man, non-slave’, OIrish *luss* ‘plant’, Goth. *liudan*, OE *lēodan* ‘to grow’
- REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 285a; Andreev – Peščereva: 316b; *DKS*: 367a; *WIM* II/1: 82; Werba 1997: 229 f.; Paul 1998: 312a; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *rud-*, *amrud-*; Korn 2005: 313, 377

***(H)raudH** ‘to moan, (be)wail’

- AVESTAN: *raod-* ‘to moan, (be)wail’ ⇒ Liste: 59
Pres. athem.: INJ. 3sg. them. YAv. *uruθaṭ* (F 9), med. 3sg. ? *raostā* (Y 29.9, Y 9.24), 3pl. YAv. *uruθan* (V 3.32), med. 3pl. YAv. *uruθanta* (V 19.45); Aor. athem.: med. INJ. 3sg. ? *raostā* (see above); Partic.: pres. caus. YAv. *urūḍaiiaṅt-* (Yt 13.151); Caus.: INJ. med. 3sg. ? OAv. *urūḍōiātā* (Y 44.20). ◇ On the interpretation of Av. *raostā* see Kellens 1984: 88, fn. 6.
- NWIR: ? NP *lundīdan/lund-*, Gz. *lund-/lundā* ‘to snarl, snort’, Awrom. *lawna* ‘to bewail’, Gz. *luve* ‘howling, wailing’, *rūd* ‘cry of mourning (from women)’. ◇ The frequent appearance of *l-* in these forms needs to be explained.
- MISC: Par. *ruh-/rhīnt* ‘to weep’, (partic. pres.) *rhīntō* ‘weeping’ || (+ **fra-*) Orm. *šū-*, *š’aw-/šustuk*, *šustak* ‘to weep’ = *šaw-/šo stók*, *šóstok*
- SANSKRIT: *rod* ‘to weep, bewail’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 465
- PIE **(H)reudH-* ‘to weep, cry’. ◇ The reconstruction of an initial laryngeal is based on the premise that IE roots cannot begin with an initial **r-*. ⇒ LIV: 508 | Pok.: 867
- IE COGNATES: Lat. *rudō* ‘to cry, roar’, OCz. *ruditi* ‘to sadden’, Lith. *raudā*, Latv. *raūda* ‘lament’, ON *rauta* ‘to roar’, OE *rēotan* ‘to complain, weep’
- REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 284a f., 409a; *IIFL* II: 409a; Fraenkel II: 704; *WIM* II/1: 79; *WIM* II/2: 702, 729; Werba 1997: 314 f.; Kiefer 2003: 207

HrauH** (HrabH** ?) ‘to crackle; growl’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *uru-* ‘to crackle’ ⇒ Liste: 59
Partic.: pres. (Gsg.) YAv. *uruuatō* (Yt 14.11, Yt 14.19, V 22.3)
- SOGDIAN: SSogd. *rβž-*, BSogd. *rβz-* (inch. ?) ‘to bark’
Pres.: SUBJ. 3pl. BSogd. *rβz’nt*; Inf.: SSogd. *rβž’t*
- CHORESMIAN: *rw-* ‘to growl’ ⇒ Samadi: 173
- NEIR: ? M. *ræv-*, *rav-/rivd*, Yi. *rov-/rivd-* (why *-v-* ?), Yghn. *rauž-/ráužta* (inch. ?) ‘to bark’ (*-u-* < **β* !) || (+ **abi-*) ? Sariq. *v(i)rēw-/v(i)rēwd* ‘to howl, bay’, ? Wa. *varīy-/varoyd* ‘to howl, bay’ (Lorimer) || (+ **ā-*) Oss. I. *arawyn/aryd*, D. *arawun/arud* ‘to echo enormously’
- SANSKRIT: *raV* ‘to roar’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 439
◇ In some East Iranian languages an unexpected labial fricative **β* (< **-b-*) is found, which perhaps points to contamination with **uab/f^l*.
- PIE **H₃reuH-* ‘to roar’ ⇒ LIV: 306 | Pok.: 867

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ὠρόομαι ‘I howl, roar’, Lat. *rūmor* (m.) ‘muffled noise, mumbling(?)’, OCS *revŏ* (*rjuti*) ‘I roar’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 244b; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 57; Andreev – Peščereva: 312b; *EVS*: 86b; Gharib: 341a; Werba 1997: 371 f.

*Hrauj ‘to belch’

•KHOTANESE: *rūjai* ‘bursting, ejecting, belch’

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *uz-) *m/wzrzy-* ‘to belch’ ⇒ Samadi: 229

•NWIR: NP *rūǰ* (*rōǰ* ?) ‘eructation’ || (+ *ā-) NP *ārōǰdan/ārōǰ-* ‘to belch’, NP *ārōǰ*, Gz. *ārōq* ‘belch’

•NEIR: Sarii. *re(w)y* ‘hiccup’, *rēy* ‘belch’ || (+ *ā-) Pash. *aržai* (m.) ‘eructation’ (< *ā-*ruX-s*^o) = *arǰay* (m.) ‘belch, sour eructation’, *arǰamōy* (f.) ‘yawning’, (Wan.) *irža* ‘fart’, Yi. *ararōy*, M. *yōruya*, Sangl. *arək* ‘eructation’

•PIE **H₁reug-* ‘to belch, vomit’ ⇒ LIV: 509 | Pok.: 871

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ἐρεύγομαι ‘I vomit’, Lat. *e-rūgō* ‘I burp’, OCS *rygajŏ se*, OLith. *raugmi*, Lith. *riáugiu* (*riáugėti*) ‘I belch’, OHG *ita-rucken* ‘to ruminate’

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 5; *EVP*: 12; *IIFL* II: 191b, 381b; *EVS*: 66b; *DKS*: 365b; *NEVP*: 10

*Hraup ‘to tear, break; to suffer from pain’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *rūp-* ‘to have/cause physical pain’ ⇒ Liste: 60

Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. OAv. *urūpaiieintī* (Y 48.10)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *ywb-* ‘to suffer, complaint, lament’. ◇ The initial *y-* may point to contamination with a semantically related form, e.g. MMP *yask* ‘sickness’ {hapax}, Pth. *ywz-* ‘to agitate’. ⇒ DMMPP: 374b

Pres.: IMPV. 2pl. MMP *ywbyd*

•PARTHIAN: *ywb-* ‘to suffer, complaint, lament’ ⇒ Ghilain: 65 | DMMPP: 374b

Pres.: IND. 1sg. *ywb’im*, 3sg. *ywbyd*, 3pl. *ywbynd*; Partic.: pres. II *ywbyndg’n* (pl.), perf. pass. *ywb’d*

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *rrūh-* ‘to harm, injure’ {hapax}. ◇ Perhaps not ‘to attack’, as translated by Emmerick. ⇒ SGS: 117

•SANSKRIT: *rop* ‘to suffer (from abdominal, stomach pain)’ (AV+ ?) || *lop* ‘to break up, injure’. ◇ The Skt. is compared to the Ir. ‘to take away, rob’ forms (NP *rubōdan/rubāy-*, etc.) in *EAWaia*, l.c., which is semantically improbable, on which see **raup*. ⇒ *EWAia* II: 469 f., 482

◇ To the root **raup* a number of forms with a wide range of meanings has been assigned, not all of which can be linked so easily or naturally. Although it is generally assumed that Skt. *rop* ‘to suffer from pain’ and *lop* ‘to break up, injure’ go back to the same root originally (IE *(H)*reup-*), which would consequently also apply to the Ir. forms, this is semantically not further explained. The meaning apparently depends on the stem formation (LIV: l.c.). The **īa*-formation *rupyati* expresses the state of the subject (cf. Kellens 1984: 125), whilst the nasal formation

(*lumpatī*) expresses the external harm caused by the subject. This semantic distribution is comparable to ***darH**.

•PIE **Hreup-* ‘to break, tear’, *i^c/o-* formation **Hrup-i^c/o-* ‘to suffer pain’. ◇ The reconstruction of an initial laryngeal is based on the premise that IE roots cannot begin with an initial **r-*. ⇒ LIV: 510 f. | Pok.: 868 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *rumpere/ruptum* ‘to break’, ON *reyfa*, OE *rēofan* ‘to break, tear’ and Lith. *rūpėti (rūpiū)* ‘to worry’, Pol. *rupić* ‘to torment, irritate, tease’, Russ. *rūpit* ‘to worry, make anxious’

•REFERENCES: Fraenkel II: 750; DKS: 368a; Werba 1997: 231

***Hraxš** ‘to protect, defend’

•KHOTANESE: (+ **pati-*) *pārṣṣa-* ‘antidote’

•SOGLIAN: (+ **ā-*) BSogd. *’r’xs* ‘to rely on, trust, take refuge with’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *’r’xst*, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *’r’xs’t*, 3pl. BSogd. *’r’xs’nt*, SUBJ. 3pl. BSogd. *’r’xs’nt*; Perf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *’r’xs’t δ’rt*; Inf.: BSogd. *’r’xs’y*, pret. BSogd. *’r’xs’t*

•NWIR: NP *laškar* ‘army’ (dissim. loss of *-x-*, from **Hraxša-kara-*)

•NEIR: (+ **ā-*) Oss. I. *aræxsyn/aræxst*, D. *aræxsun/aræxst* ‘to fit, match; to deal, cope with; to be able’

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *erašxi-k* ‘warrant, security’ (Benveniste 1945: 71)

•SANSKRIT: *rakṣ^(f)* ‘to protect, guard’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 422

◇ This root goes back to an apparently old ingress. stem, which has a cognate in Gr.

•PIE ingress. **H₂lek-s^c/o-* ‘to defend, protect’ ⇒ LIV: 278 | Pok.: 32

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *ἀλέξω* ‘I ward off, defend’

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 59; DKS: 233b f.; Werba 1997: 468

***Hraz** ‘to draw a line; to direct, *richten*’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *rāz-* ‘to draw a line; to direct, *richten*’ || (+ **ham-*) ‘[med.] to rise, become erect; to comb’ ⇒ Liste: 56f.

Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. **rāzaiieiti* (Yt 4.9), med. 3sg. YAv. *ḥam.rāzaiiete* (V 17.2), 3pl. YAv. *rāzaiieinti* (Yt 14.56), med. 3pl. YAv. *rāzaiieṇte* (Yt 10.14), INJ. med. 2sg. YAv. *ḥam.rāzaiiaṇha* (V 17.4), med. 3sg. YAv. *ḥam.rāzaiiata* (Yt 19.47); Partic.: pres. caus. *rāzaiiaṇt-* (V 8.100 ff.)

•OLD PERSIAN: *rāsta-* < r-a-s-t-^o> (ppp.) ‘right, straight, true’ ⇒ Kent: 206a

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *r’yyn-*, BMP *l’dyn-* /*rāyēn-* ‘to arrange’, MMP *r’yyhy-* (pass.) ‘to be prepared’ || (+ **api-* ?) MMP *’pyr’st-* (pret. stem), BMP *pyl’d-*, *pdl’d-* /*pērāy-* ‘to adorn’ || (+ **abi-*) MMP *’br’sṭ-* (pret. stem) ‘to raise up, exalt’ || (+ **ā-*) BMP *l’d-* /*ārāy-* ‘to prepare, arrange, adorn’ || (+ **pati-*) MMP *pdr’y-* ‘to prepare; to rise’ || (+ **fra-*) MMP *pr’r’z-* ‘to stretch out’ (LW) || (+ **ūi-*) 2. MMP *wnyr-*, BMP *wynl-* /*wīn(n)ir-* ‘to be arranged, put in order, be prepared’, MMP *wyn’r-*, BMP *wyn’l-* /*wīnār-* (sec. caus.) ‘to put in order, arrange’, MMP *wyr’y-*, BMP *wyl’d-* /*wirāy-* ‘to arrange, adorn, prepare’, BMP *wl’c-* /*wirāž-* (caus.) ‘to arrange,

prepare' (LW), BMP *wyl'dyh- /wirāyīh-/* (pass.) 'to be arranged, etc.' || (+ **ham-*) MMP *hr's-* (pret. stem) 'to arrange, prepare'. ◇ MMP *hr's-* with **-mr-* > MMP *-rr-* <-r->, also in MMP *hrwb-* 'to collect, gather; receive' (< **ham-raup*). Incorrect Henning 1933: 187: < **uhrāstan* < **uzrāštanai*. || Klingenschmitt (*Congress Graz 2002*) compares the WIr. forms *wnyr-*, etc. to Lat. *norma* 'ruler'. It is more preferable though to look for a provenance within (I)Ir. rather than to rely on an obscure and isolated form that is Lat. *norma* (e.g. no Italic cognates). Perhaps, *wnyr-*, etc. derive from a nasal pres. stem **ui-H̄nza-* (cf. Skt. RV *rñjā-*) > OP **vi-H̄nda-*, which subsequently shows metathesis and simplification/assimilation of the apparently awkward consonant cluster: > *wīn(n)ir-* ? ⇨ DMMP: 294a, 290a, 270b, 277b, 344a, 354b f. 356

Partic.: pres. caus. MMP *r'yn'g* 'leader, guide', perf. pass., MMP *r'st* 'correct, true', caus. BMP *l'dynyt /rāyēnīd/*; Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. BMP *l'dynyt /rāyēnēd/*, BMP *l'dynnd /rāyēnēnd/*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *r'yn-*; Inf.: caus. BMP *l'dynyt /rāyēnīdan/*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3pl. MMP *r'yyhynd* || (+ **api-* ?) Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *pdl'stk /payrāstag/*, MMP **pyr'st*; Inf.: caus. BMP *pyl'dynyt /payrāyēnīdan/* || (+ **abi-*) Partic.: perf. pass. MMP **br'st* || (+ **ā-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. BMP *r'dynd /ārāyēnd/*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *'l'st /ārāst/*, BMP *'l'stk /ārāstag/*; Inf.: BMP *'l'stn /ārāstan/* || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 1pl. MMP *pd'r'ywm*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *pd'r'st* || (+ **fra-*) Pres.: IND. 1pl. MMP *fr'r'zwm*, SUBJ. 1pl. MMP *pr'r'z'm*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *pr'r'st* || (+ **ui-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *wnyryd*, SUBJ. 1sg. MMP *wnyr'n*, 3sg. MMP *wnyr'd*, etc. Caus.: pres. IND. 1sg. BMP *wyl'dym /wirāyēm/*, 3sg. MMP *wyr'y'd*, BMP *wyl'dyt /wirāyēd/*, 3pl. BMP *wyl'dynd /wirāyēnd/*, etc. || (+ **ham-*) Inf.: MMP *hr'stn*

•PARTHIAN: *r'st* 'true' || (+ **pati-*) *pd'rz-* 'to rise up', (caus.) *pd'r'z-* 'to raise up', ? *pd'r'y-* 'to prepare, make ready; to achieve' (< MP ?) || (+ **ui-*) *wyr'z-* 'to complete, arrange', *wyn'r-* 'to put in order, arrange, array', *wyn'r'g* 'arranger' (< MP) ⇨ Ghilain: 69 f., 52, 70, 75 | DMMP: 293a, 270b, 356b, 344a, 354b f.

(+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *pd'rzyd*, 3pl. *pd'rzynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *pd'r'st*, caus. II *pd'r'z'd*; Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. *pd'r'zyd*, 3pl. *pd'r'zynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *pd'r'z'h* || (MP LW ?) Pres.: IND. 3pl. *pd'r'ynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *pd'r'st*, II *pd'r'y'd* || (+ **ui-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. **wyr'zyd*, 3pl. **wyr'zynd*, SUBJ. **wyr'z'*, IMPV. 2pl. *wyr'zyd*; Partic.: pres. *wyr'z'n*, perf. pass. *wyr'st*; Inf.: **wyr'stn* || Pres.: IND. 3pl. *wyn'rynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *wyn'r'h*, 3pl. *wnyr'nd*; Partic.: perf. pass. **wyn'r'd*

•KHOTANESE: Khot. *rrās-* (denomin. ?) 'to rule' || (+ **āya-*) *varās-* (*varas-*) 'to experience' || (+ **fra-*) *harays-*, (caus.) *harās-* 'to extend' || (+ **ui-*) *birays-* (*biraṣ-*) 'to extend, spread' ⇨ SGS: 115, 119 f., 149 f., 98

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *r'sth*, CSogd. *r'st'* (f.) 'truth' || (+ **uz-*) CSogd. *zryš(-)* 'raise, lift up' || (+ **pati-*) BSogd. *ptryz-* 'to rise', CSogd. *ptrz-* 'to become exalted, be proud', (caus.) BSogd. *ptr'yz-* 'to raise, erect' || (+ **fra-*) SSogd. *br'š-* 'to conclude a treaty (?)', BSogd. *fr'yž-*, CSogd. *fryž-* 'to straighten, make straight'

(+ **uz-*) 'z-Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *zryš'z* || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *ptryz't*, OPT. 3sg. CSogd. *ptrzy*; Fut.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *ptrztyq'*; Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. BSogd. *ptr'yzt*, POT. 3sg. BSogd. *ptr'yztwnty* || (+ **fra-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *fr'yž't*; Pret.: tr. IND. 3sg. SSogd. *br'stw δ'rt* 'he concluded a treaty (?)'; Partic.: perf. pass. CSogd. *fr'st-* 'straight, upright'

- CHORESMIAN: 'rz- (rz-) 'to be straight, just, in order; 'to be extended', (caus.) r'zy- 'to make straight; to demand (justice from)'; to arrange' || (+ *abi-) m/'brzy- 'to feel, sense, observe' || (+ *fra-) hr'zy- 'to grab, stretch out to', hr'zyk 'extended (string)' (74.1) || (+ *ui- or ? *aŋa-) wr'ry- 'to sweep' (diff. MacKenzie I: 546) ⇒ Samadi: 177, 2, 168, 91, 216
- NWIR: Awrom. (awa-)rāznāy/(war-)rāzn- 'to adorn' || (+ *api- ?) NP pērāstan/pērāy- 'to adorn, decorate, ornament' || (+ *abi-) NP afīxtan, afīštan/afīz- 'to raise' (LW ?), NP afīz 'exalted' (LW ?) || (+ *ā-) NP ārāstan/ārāy- 'to adorn' || (+ *ui-) Zaz. vīrāštiš/vīrāzen- 'to prepare, restore, build', Awrom. wīrāstāy/wīrāz- 'to sew', Gur. (Kand.) -ūrāz-, (impv.) vīrāz- 'to sew, attach'
- NEIR: (+ *aŋa- or *ui-) ? Yi. urīz-/urīzd 'to spread manure' (Morgenstierne, *IIFL* II:l.c. Rather *Hraiz ?) || (+ *ā-) Oss. I. arəzyn/arəzt, D. arəzun/arəzt 'to be arranged, done', I. arəzyn/arəzt, D. arəzun/arəzt (caus./tr.) 'to direct to; to construct, build, make; to adorn', ? Pash. ar(a)t 'wide, expanded' || (+ *uz-) Sh. x̄āz-/x̄āzd 'to darn, mend (shoes, etc.)', Wa. šaz-/šazd- 'to darn' || (+ *pati-) Sariq. padrāz-/padrāzd, Wa. пытрыз-/potrozd- 'to lean on, against, support on' || (+ *ui-) Oss. I. rəzyn/rəzt, D. irəzun/irəzt 'to grow, gain in length; to be arranged', Rosh. wīrēz-/wīrōxt, Bart. wīrōz-/wīrōxt 'to make, build'
- MISC: Par. rēz-/rāst 'to make, build, prepare' || (+ *pati-) Arm. (LW) patrast 'ready', Arab. (LW) fihrist 'index, table of contents, catalogue' (Bailey 1935: 762 f.) || (+ *fra-) Par. rhīz- 'to lie down' || (+ *ui-) Arm. (LW) varsa-vīray 'hair-dresser'
- SANSKRIT: raj 'to stretch, direct' (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 425
- PIE *H₃reǵ- 'to stretch, direct' ⇒ LIV: 304 f. | Pok.: 854 f.
- IE COGNATES: Gr. ὀρέγω 'I stretch', Lat. regō 'I direct, drive', OIrish rigim 'I stretch', OHG re(c)chan 'to stretch', etc.
- REFERENCES: *EVP*: 11; *IIFL* I: 285b f.; *KPF* II: 198; *IIFL* II: 536a, 284b; Abaev, *Slovar'* I: 60, 59 f.; MacKenzie 1966: 107, 111; Abaev, *Slovar'* II: 399 f.; *EVS*: 53b, 92b, 105a; Werba 1997: 395 f.; Paul 1998: 317b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 286, 343

***(H)spar(H)j** 'to break, burst open [of plants], ? release [sound], bloom, blossom, sprout'

- AVESTAN: YAv. sparəya- (m.) 'sprout (at the point of an arrow)' (Yt 10.129) || (+ *fra-) YAv. frasparəya- (m.) 'twig, offshoot' (Y 10.5)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP 'sprhmg 'flower' ⇒ DMMPP: 86b
- PARTHIAN: 'sprhmg 'flower' || (+ *ui-) wysprz- 'to sprout, spring' ⇒ Ghilain: 96 | DMMPP: 86b, 358a
(+ *ui-) Partic.: perf. pass. wyspryxt, II wysprz'd
- KHOTANESE: (+ *aŋa-) LKh. vašprīś- 'to burst [intr.]' || (+ *fra-) hašprīś- (hašprī-) 'to bloom', (caus.) OKh. hašpalgy- 'to make bloom' || (+ *ui-) LKh. gušprīś- 'to

shine out, radiate' (< *'to blossom out'). ◇ The hapax formation OKh. *spārgga-* 'noise, twang of bows' (Z 24.410) is rather connected to Skt. *sphūrj* 'to roar, thunder'. ⇒ SGS: 121, 150, 30

•SOGLIAN: SSogd. *'spr'ync* 'to emit (sound)' (Ragoza, *SF.*: 58, 93), BSogd. *'spryk* 'brilliant, clever', SSogd. *'sprymk*, BSogd. *'sprym'k*, *'sprym'kw*, *'sprym'w* 'flower' Pres.: IND. dur. 3pl. SSogd. *'spr'ync'ynt skwn*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **fra-*) (*m*)*špxš-* 'to bloom; to become bright (of face)', ? *šbnc-* 'to become glad' ⇒ Samadi: 199, 198

•NWIR: NP *sipar(h)am* 'sweet basil'

•NEIR: Pash. *sparýý* (f.) 'spark', Wa. *spərž-/spəržd-* 'to open up, dissolve; to break [intr.]; to bloom', *sprəý* 'flower'

•SANSKRIT: *sphūrj* 'to rumble, roar, thunder, crash; to burst forth' || *sphūrjaka-* 'a plant, *Diospyros embryopteris*?' (Br+) ⇒ EWAia II: 778

•PIE **sperH₂g-* 'to crack, burst open, sprout' ? ⇒ LIV: 586 | Pok.: 996 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lith. *sprógti* 'to burst; to open, blossom out', Lith. *spùrgas* 'sprout, offshoot, bud', Lat. *spargō* 'I scatter, sow, spread', OE *spranca* 'twig', ? Engl. *sprig*

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 68; *IIFL* II: 540; *DKS*: 473b; Gharib: 64b f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 315; *NEVP*: 75

*Hubj 'to keep down, *retenir*'

•AVESTAN: YA v. *ubj-* '*retenir*' ⇒ Liste: 14

PASS.; Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. YA v. *ubjiūite* (cit. in V 7.52)

•SOGLIAN: ? BSogd. *wyżp-*, *wzp-*, CSogd. *wyžp'-*, MSogd. *wjp* 'terror' (Gershevitch *apud* Schwartz 1970: 299)

•CHORESMIAN: ? *m/wzβh-* 'to be bored, fed up with', *m/wzβ'hÿ-* (caus.) 'to bore, annoy' (cf. Schwartz, *ibid.*). ◇ The alternative etymology cited by Samadi, who compares the Chor. forms to Skt. *bhas* 'to chew', is less likely. ⇒ Samadi: 228

•SANSKRIT: *ubj* 'to keep, press down' (RV), *ubh* 'to bind, fetter' (RV, AV) ⇒ EWAia I: 223; II: 506

◇ The "root" (Av., Skt.) *ubj-* is actually an old *-*sk-* formation of a root that is continued by Skt. *ubh-*, as suggested long ago by Osthoff 1884: 33, on which see Lubotsky 2001: 39. An IE etymology is wanting.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 1103

*(H)uāč 'to let go, release'

•SOGLIAN: SSogd. *w'c* 'to let go, send (off)', BSogd. *w'c*, CSogd. *w'c*, MSogd. *w'c* 'to send, emit', CSogd. *wxs-* (inch./intr.) 'to be left, allowed, release'

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. SSogd. *w'c'm*, 3sg. BSogd. *w'cty*, BSogd. *w'št*, CSogd. **w'št*, MSogd. *w'št*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: ? wzy- ‘to leave behind, remain’, ? w’zy- (caus.) ‘to lead to, let go; to chase away ?’. ◇ The alternative reconstruction for wzy- is **aua-zija-* (s.v. **zaH¹**), as adopted by Samadi, is conceivable. || The (possible) causative correspondence w’zy- also permits a derivation from **uādaja-* (s.v. ***uad**), which is proposed by MacKenzie I: 553 and accepted by Samadi, or even **uāzaja-* (***uaz**). It entirely depends on the meaning(s) assigned: convergence of these three roots ? ⇒ Samadi: 229 f., 210

•NWIR: NP *vāxīdan/vāx-* ‘to beat or tease (cotton), separate and clean it’ (LW)

•NEIR: Oss. I. *wāzyn/wağd*, D. *wāzun/wağd* ‘to leave behind, abandon; throw’

◇ The forms above probably go back to a causative formation. The forms are etymologically related to ***H₂uH²**.

•PIE **H₁uok-eje-* ‘to let go, cease, be empty, absent, lacking ?’ ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 345

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. /*uaksijemi/* ‘I lack, miss’, OLat. *vacāre*, Lat. *vacāre* ‘to be empty, abandoned, free’; to be absent’, Umb. *uaçetum* ‘*uitiatum*’

•REFERENCES: Oettinger 1979: 344; DKS: 383b f.; Abaev, *Slovar* IV: 37 ff.

***H₂ud** ‘to carry, lead (away); to marry (a wife)’

•AVESTAN: *vad-* (*vāδ-*) ‘to lead’ || (+ **upa-*) ‘to lead up (and on)’ || (+ **uz-*) ‘to abduct’ || (+ **ui-*) ‘to lead to and fro’ ⇒ Liste: 49

Partic.: pres. them. med. ? OAv. *vadəmna-* (Y 53.5), caus. med. YAv. *vādaīamna-* (Yt 15.52); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *vādaīeiti* (V 19.29), 3pl. YAv. *uzuādaīeiti* (Yt 17.59), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *vādaīeni* (Yt 9.18), OPT. med. 3sg. YAv. *upa.vādaīaēta* (V 14.15), IMPV. 3pl. YAv. *vīuuādaīaṇtu* (V 8.17 f.). ◇ According to Kellens – Pirart 1990: 296, OAv. *vadəmna-* is to be interpreted as ‘(en) paranymphe’.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *^xwywdg’n*, BMP *wydwtk’n* /*wayōdagān/* ‘nuptials, marriage’ ⇒ DMMPP: 360a

(+ **uz-*) Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *^{wzw}hst/uzwāhist/*

•PARTHIAN: 1. *w’d-* ‘to lead’ {hapax}, *w’d’g* ‘leader, pilot’ || 2. *w’y-* (old caus.) ‘to lead’ (< MP) || (+ **ati-*) ‘*ydw’y-* ‘to lead’ (influenced by *w’y-*) || (+ **ā-*) ‘(*’*)*w’y-* ‘to lead to, bring’ (influenced by *w’y-*) || (+ **uz-*) ‘*zw’y-* ‘to lead out, away, beyond; set free’ (influenced by *w’y-*) ⇒ Ghilain: 71 | DMMPP: 337a

1. Partic.: perf. pass. *^xw’d’d* || 2. Pres.: IND. 3sg. *w’yd*, ? *^xw’y’yd*, 3pl. *^xw’y’nd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *w’y’n*; Partic.: perf. pass. *w’s’t* || (+ **ati-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *dw’y’d*, 3pl. *^xdw’y’nd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *ydw’y’n*, OPT. *ydw’y’ndy*; Partic.: perf. pass. *ydw’s’t* || (+ **uz-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 1sg. *zw’y’m*, *zw’y’n*, 3sg. *zw’y’h*, IMPV. 2sg. *zw’y-*; Partic.: *zw’s’t*; Inf.: *zw’s’t*

•KHOTANESE: LKh. **bad-* (*byā-*) ‘to produce’, *bāy-* (caus.) ‘to lead’ || (+ **ati-*) OKh. *ttuvāy-* (*tvāy-*) ‘to convey across’ || (+ *ā-*) OKh. **āvad-* (*āva-*) ‘to obtain’ || (+ **uz-*) *uysbā(y)-* ‘to lead out’ || (+ **para-ā-*) LKh. **pravāy-* (*prāvās-*, *prāvās-*) ‘to lead over, convert’ || (+ **ni-*) *nvā(y)-* ‘to grasp’ ⇒ SGS: 93 f., 39, 11, 62

•SOGDIAN: (+ **pati-*) MSogd. *ptwyδ* (caus.) ‘to hand over’

Caus.: pres. IMPV. 2pl. MSogd. *ptwyδt* (M139 R.4(54) = *BBB*: 50)

•CHORESMIAN: *w'zy-* (caus.) ‘to lead to, to let go; chase away?’ || (+ **ati-*) *cw'zy-* ‘to lead into [+ w]; to lead out from [+ d]’ || (+ **para-*) *p'rw'zy-* ‘to lead, carry away’ || (+ **para-ā-*) *pr'w'zy-* ‘to lead, take away’ || (+ **pari-*) *prwz-* ‘to become’, *prw'z-* (sec. caus.) ‘to let (it) become into’. ◇ Depending on the meaning(s) assigned, a derivation from ***(H)uāč** ‘to leave behind, let’ or ***uaz** ‘to drive (a chariot)’ for *w'zy-* cannot be excluded. ⇒ Samadi: 210, 52, 155 f., 150, 155 f.

•BACTRIAN: *oηλ-* ‘to lead, take, bring; exert’ || (+ **pari-*) *ποροοατο* ‘fared’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 212b

•NWIR: NP *bayō* ‘bride’, Kurd. *būk* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’, Zaz. *veyv* (f.) ‘bride’, Bakht. *bahig* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’

•NEIR: Pash. *-wal/-wastəl* ‘to bring, lead along (someone)’, Yzgh. *waδ-/west* ‘to marry a woman’, Pash. *xūla* ‘a woman remarrying her former husband’, *wal-war* ‘bride-price’ || (+ **ati-*) Sariq. *dīwoδ-*, *dūwoδ-/diwust*, *dūwust* (old caus.) ‘to cause to enter, bring in, fold sheep’ || (+ **uz-*) Sh. *ziwāδ-/ziwōst* ‘to take out, bring out, expel, extract’, Rosh. *ziwēδ-/ziwōst* ‘to take out, bring out, expel, extract’, Sariq. *ziwoδ-*, *zūwoδ-/ziwust*, *zūwust* ‘to take out, bring out, expell, extract’ || (+ **para-*) Sariq. *purweḍdi-čuz* ‘ferry-man’

•SANSKRIT: *vadhū-* (f.) ‘bride, young woman’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 497

•PIE **H₂ed^h*- ‘to lead, marry (a woman)’. ◇ The exact nature of the initial laryngeal is uncertain: the Hitt. evidence suggests **H₂* or **H₃*, whereas the Gr. form rather indicates **H₁*. ⇒ LIV: 659 f. | Pok.: 1115 f.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */huet-/* ‘to lead, bring’, Gr. *ἔεδνα* ‘wedding-present’, OIrish *fedid* ‘takes’, MWelsh *dy-weddïo* ‘to marry’, ORuss. *vesti ženu* ‘to marry a woman’, Lith. *vedù* (*vèsti*) ‘I lead, bring, marry’, OHG *widamo* (m.) ‘wedding-present’, Engl. *wedding*, *to wed*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 93; *EVS*: 88a, 30a, 109b, 60a; *DKS*: 277a; Vahman – Asatrian 1991: 79; Paul 1998: 317a; Cabolov 2001: 211 f.

***H₂adH** ‘to raise one’s voice, speak’

•AVESTAN: ? OAv. *vad-* ‘to raise one’s voice, speak’

MED.; Partic.: pres. OAv. *vadəmnō* ‘conversing?’ (Y 53.5)

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ni-*) OKh. **nuvad-* (*nuvai-*) ‘to make a noise’ (differently *DKS*: l.c.) ⇒ *SGS*: 58 f.

•NEIR: Pash. *Iwast-/Iwal-* ‘to read’ || (+ **ni-*) Yghn. *novva* ‘noise, sound’. ◇ Morgenstierne, *EVP*: l.c., derives Pash. *Iwast-/Iwal-* from **ati-uada-*, Av. *vad-* ‘to lead’, which is semantically unsatisfactory, as commented on in *NEVP*: 46. Perhaps the Pashto verb is rather cognate with Av., Skt. *vad^h* ‘to raise one’s voice’, whence **ati-H₂adHa-*?

- SANSKRIT: *vad¹* ‘to raise one’s voice, speak, talk’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 496
- PIE *H₂uedH- ‘to talk, to speak’ ? ◇ The IE reconstruction is somewhat uncertain: the Gr. evidence, especially αὐῶ, is difficult to interpret. ⇒ LIV: 286 | Pok.: 76 f.
- IE COGNATES: ? Gr. αὐῶ ‘I speak, utter, proclaim’
- REFERENCES: *EVP*: 41; Andreev – Peščereva: 353a f.; *DKS*: 190a; Werba 1997: 409 f.; *NEVP*: 46

*H₂uahl¹ ‘to shine’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *us-* ‘to shine’ || (+ **ui-*) ‘id.’ ⇒ Liste: 53
Partic.: pres. inch. YAv. *usait̄-* f. (Yt 14.20), YAv. *vīusait̄-* (f.) (V 19.28), YAv. *vīusā* (Nsg. m.) (H 2.25, H 2.7)
- KHOTANESE: (+ **ui-*) OKh. *byūs-* ‘to dawn’ ⇒ SGS: 105
- SOGDIAN: (+ **ui-*) CSogd. *wyws-* ‘to dawn’
Pret.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *wywsd’rt*
- NWIR: (+ **upa-*) Bal. *pō(n)šī* ‘the day after tomorrow’ (**upa-aušah-* + suff. *-ī*, Gershevitch 1964: 185, fn. 19)
- NEIR: (+ **ā-*) ? Sangl. *āluzd* ‘the day before yesterday ?; tomorrow’
- SANSKRIT: *vas* ‘to shine, light up, brighten’ (RV+), *uśās-* (f.) ‘dawn’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 530; I: 236
- PIE *H₂ues- ‘to light up, shine (in the morning)’ ⇒ LIV: 292 f. | Pok.: 86 f.
- IE COGNATES: Lith. *aūšti* ‘to break [of day]’, Gr. αὖωσ, ἠώσ ‘dawn’
- REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 380a f.; *DKS*: 310a; Werba 1997: 419; Korn 2005: 139

*H₂uahl² ‘to dwell, remain’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *vañh-* ‘to dwell, remain’ ⇒ Liste: 53
Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *vañhaiti* (Yt 10.126, Vyt 53 f.), med. 3sg. YAv. *vañhaite* (H 2.1 ff., H 2.19)
- OLD PERSIAN: (+ **ā-*) *āvahanam* (NAsg. n.) ‘village’ <a-v-h-n-m> (DB 2.33, DSf 46)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ui-*) MMP *gy’g*, BMP *gyw’k* /*giyāg*/ ‘place’ ⇒ DMMPP: 168b
- PARTHIAN: (+ **ui-*) *wy’g* ‘place’ ⇒ DMMPP: 350b
- SOGDIAN: (+ **ui-*) BSogd. *wy’k* ‘place’
- CHORESMIAN: (+ **ui-*) *wy’k* (m.) ‘house, residence’
- NWIR: (+ **ui-*) NP *jā(y)* ‘place’, Abyan., Abz., Anar., Khuns., Gz. *yā* ‘place’, Gz. *i yā* ‘here’
- NEIR: Oss. *wat* ‘room; bed; place’ || (+ **ui-*) Yghn. *óka* ‘place’. ◇ Yghn. *óka* is included here on the basis of BSogd. *wy’k*. Alternatively, it may be connected to Khot. *byūka-* ‘chamber’ (***Hauč**) ?
- SANSKRIT: *vas* ‘to dwell, to live, to stay’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 531
- PIE *H₂ues- ‘to dwell, stay, spend the night’ ⇒ LIV: 293 f. | Pok.: 72, 1170 f.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. /*hues-*/ ‘to live, to be on, to survive’, Gr. ἄεσα (νόκτα) ‘he spent (the night)’, Arm. *go-* ‘to exist, to be on hand’, Goth. *wisan* ‘to be, to stay’, Toch. B *wās-* ‘to dwell, abide, remain, lie (on)’, OIrish *fo(a)id* ‘spends the night’

•REFERENCES: *ELO*: 110 ff; Andreev – Peščereva: 298a; *DKS*: 95b; *WIM* I: 361, 389; *WIM* II/2: 752; Abaev, *Slovar*’ IV: 58 f.; Werba 1997: 420 f.; Adams 1999: 597 f.; Cheung 2002: 237; Lecoq 2002: 588b, 605a, 613b (passim)

*H₂ueH₁¹ ‘to blow’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *vā-* ‘to blow’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘to blow to’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to blow to’ || (+ **ui-*) ‘to blow away’ || (+ **upa-*) ‘to blow on’ ⇒ Liste: 53

Pres. athem.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *vāiti* (H 2.8, H 2.26), YAv. *frauuāiti* (Yt 13.46), 3pl. YAv. *vānti* (Yt 8.8, Yt 13.14); Partic.: pres. YAv. *vīuuāt-* (Yt 13.40), ? YAv. **upa.uuāiiant-* (H 2.7), perf. pass. YAv. *ā ... vāta-* (H 2.7, H 2.25). ◇ The YAv. forms (caus. ?) pres. IND. 1sg. *v(a)iiemi*, 3sg. YAv. **v(a)iiēiti* may not belong here, v. **uaiH* ‘to hunt’.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *w’d-* /*wāy-*/ ‘to blow’ || (+ **pati-*) MMP **pyw’sg* (inch., pres. partic.) ‘drying’ ⇒ DMMPP: 291a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *w’dyt* /*wāyēd*/; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *w’dyt* /*wāyēd*/

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *w’s* (inch.) ‘to start to blow’ || (+ **pati-*) MSogd. *ptw’t* (pret. stem), BSogd. *ptw’s* ‘to dry out’

Pres.: OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *w’s’y* || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *ptw’st*; Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. *ptw’tch* (f.) ‘dried out’, MSogd. *ptw’tyy* (BBB: 33), MSogd. *ptw’c* (f.) ‘dry’ (BBB: 32)

•CHORESMIAN: *w’s-* ‘to blow’ || (+ **pati-*) *pcw-* ‘to blow into’ || (+ **pari-*) *prw’s-* ‘to come into one’s head, *inspirare*’ || (+ **ui-*) *yw’s-* ‘to dry out’, *yw’sy-* (sec. caus.) ‘to make dry’. ◇ According to Samadi, Chor. *pcw-* derives from **pati-čaua-*, containing an unknown root. The preform should rather be: **pati-* + **H₂ueH₁¹*. ⇒ Samadi: 145, 155, 209 f., 258

•NEIR: Oss. I. *wasyn/wast*, D. *wasun/wast* (inch.) ‘to whistle; to blow on a flute; to sing [of birds], chirrup, crow (vel sim.)’ || (+ **fra-*) Oss. I. *rwajyn/rwad* ‘to dry out’ || (+ **ni-*) Wa. *ni(y)-*, *nəy-/nəyət* ‘to be blown out, go out (of fire, light)’, *ni(ы)v-*, *niw(ы)v-/niovd-*, *niwovd-*, *ni(y)ыv-/niyovd* (caus.) ‘to blow out, extinguish’ || (+ **ham-* ?) Oss. I. *æwwajyn/æwwad* ‘to compress, shrink [of matter]’ (> D. *æwwajun/æwwad* ?)

•SANSKRIT: *vā* ‘to blow (of wind)’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 537

•PIE **H₂ueH₁-* ‘to blow [of wind]’ ⇒ LIV: 287 | Pok.: 82 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ἄησι ‘blows [of wind]’, OCS *vějati*, Goth. *waijan*, OHG *wāen*, NHG *wehen* ‘to blow [of wind]’, etc.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 532; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 215; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 439 f.; Abaev, *Slovar*’ IV: 57 f.; Werba 1997: 318; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 245

***H₂uaH²** ‘to be incomplete, empty, lack’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *u-* ‘to be incomplete, lack, extinguish’, YAv. *ūna-* ‘deficient, empty’ ⇒ Liste: 53

Pres.: OPT. 3sg. YAv. *frāuuaiōiṭ* (V 8.75 f.) Partic.: pres. YAv. *uiiamna-* (Vr 15.1). ◇ YAv. *frāuuaiōiṭ* also in Yt 19.80: ⁺*frāuuaiōiṭ*?, De Vaan 2003: 70.

•KHOTANESE: *vāra-* ‘deficient’

•SOGDIAN: CSogd. *w’ry*, *w’rc* (f.), *w’ryt* (pl.) ‘empty, devoid, bereft’ || (+ *ā-) BSogd. *’w’* ‘to empty’

(+ *ā-) Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. *’w’rk* ‘emptied’

•SANSKRIT: *vā* ‘to disappear, diminish, lack, extinguish’ (RV+) || *ūnā-* ‘wanting, deficient, not sufficient, less, too small’ (AV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 538; I: 241

•PIE **H₁ueH₂-* ‘to be empty, absent, lacking’ ⇒ LIV: 254 | Pok.: 345

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *ἐῶω* ‘I let’, Lat. *vānus* ‘empty, vain’, Goth. *wans*, OHG *wan* ‘deficient’, Latv. *vājēt* ‘to weaken, become sickly’

•REFERENCES: Hoffmann 1967: 26, fn. 3; DKS: 383b f.; Humbach 1993: 41; Werba 1997: 410; De Vaan 2003: 70, 298

***H₂uid(H)** ‘to be devoted to’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *vīd-* ‘to be devoted to’ ⇒ Liste: 55

Aor. them.: SUBJ. 3sg. OAv. *vīdāit* (Y 51.6), OAv. *vīdāt* (Y 53.4); Partic.: aor. OAv. *vīdant-* (Y 33.3)

•SANSKRIT: *vidh* ‘to grant, satisfy, make content’ (RV, YV) ⇒ EWAia II: 555 f.

◇ There are no Ir. cognate forms of Skt. *vidh* known other than OAv. *vīd-*. On the etymology of this apparently Ir. pseudo-root see Hoffmann 1969a: 1 ff.

•PIE **H₁ui-d^hH₁-* ‘to distribute, lay out an offering’ ? ◇ The presence of an initial laryngeal can be deduced from Skt. *ávidhat* (RV): the augment is always scanned long, on which see further Lubotsky 1994b: 201 ff. ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 1127 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *dī-vidō* ‘I divide’, Toch. *wātk-* ‘to separate, distinguish, decide’

•REFERENCES: Humbach 1959 II: 40; Adams 1999: 590 f.

***H₂uj** ‘to put out’

•OLD PERSIAN: *vaj-* ‘to gouge, put out (eyes)’ ⇒ Kent: 206a

Pres. (a)them.: impf. IND. 1sg. *avajam* <a-v-j-m> (DB 2.75, DB 2.89)

•KHOTANESE: ? OKh. *vāj-* ‘to hold’ (semantically unclear) || (+ *pati-) *pyūj-* ‘to remove, draw out’ ⇒ SGS: 122

•NWIR: Bal. *gwaht*, *gwaht/gwaḥ-* ‘to root out, pull out, dig, take off’, Zaz. *vetiš/vežen-* ‘to take, bring out’, Jow. *bam-və:t/a-vəɖɖɜ-*, Meim. *bem-vat* (supplet. *bem-kast/a-ken-* < *kan¹), Mah. *wōtán*, *vōtán/vōj-* ‘to dig out, up’, Delij. *bar-vajī* ‘to dig; to separate’, Abz. *vata/vāj-*, Gz. *věž-/vēt*, Natan. *-vet/voj-*, Sorkh. *bé-vāt/váz-* ‘to take, tear out, uproot’, (pass. ?/intr.) *vižiyāyiš/viž(iy)ēn-* ‘to come out, appear’,

Natan. *vojon, vojom bevet* ‘I drag off’, Gil. (Rsht.) *vājæ* ‘sprouted, budded, poussé [of flowers and fruits]’

◇ This root is compared to Hitt. */huek-/*, which is semantically not quite satisfactory, despite the German parallel *abstechen* ‘to cut an animal’s throat, slaughter’ (from *stechen* ‘to stab’). The Ir. root refers to the *removal* of something (in OP, eyesight) by digging it out.

•PIE **H₂ueg-* ‘to dig, stab’ ? ⇒ LIV: 286 f. | Pok.: –

•IE COGNATES: ? Hitt. */huek-/* ‘to slaughter, butcher, slay’ (< *‘to stab, stick’)

•REFERENCES: Zhukovskij I: 179; *KPF* I: 83a, 248b; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 123b, 262; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 61; Lambton 1938: 42b, 78a; *DKS*: 252a; *WIM* II/1: 85 f.; Safari 1373: 101; Paul 1998: 317a; Puhvel III: 327-330; Lecoq 2002: 124; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *gwaj-*

***(H)uandH** ‘to cherish, praise’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *vaṇd-* ‘to cherish, praise’, YAv. *aš.vandra-* ‘well-praised’ (Yt 19.9, Yt 19.45) ⇒ Liste: 50

MED.; Pres. them.: OPT. 3sg. YAv. *vaṇdaēta* (Y 10.8)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *w(y)nd-* ‘to cherish, praise’ ⇒ DMMPP: 355b f.

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *wynd’y*d, *wyndyd*, SUBJ. 1pl. MMP *wynd’m*, *wnd’m*

•PARTHIAN: *wynd-* ‘to praise; implore’ || (+ **pari-*) *prwnd-* ‘to pray (strongly), implore’ ⇒ Ghilain: 55 | DMMPP: 355b f.

Pres.: IND. 1sg. *wynd’m*, 3sg. *wyndyd*, 1pl. *wynd’m*, SUBJ. 1pl. *w(y)nd’m*, *wynd’m*, IMPV. 2pl. *w(y)ndyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *wynd’d* || (+ **pari-*) Pres.: IND. 1sg. *prwnd’m*

•KHOTANESE: *vaṇ-* ‘to honour’ ⇒ SGS: 118

•CHORESMIAN: *wnd-* ‘to invite’ || (+ **apa-*) *bwndst* ‘uninvited guest’ (< **apa-uand-asti-*, Henning 1962: 342; 132.1) ⇒ Samadi: 215

•NWIR: Bal. *gwandit/gwand-* ‘to swear, administer an oath to’

•NEIR: (+ **pari-*) Wa. *pərvəndán, pərvəndán* ‘lament(ation) for the deceased’ || (+ **ui-*) Pash. *wand-* ‘to abuse, scold’ (< *‘to dispraise’)

•SANSKRIT: *vand’* ‘to praise, to honour, to commend’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 502 f.

◇ The root appears to be exclusively Ir., perhaps it is cognate with ***HuadH**, Skt. *vad’* ‘to raise one’s voice’, cf. EWAia II: 503.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: 681 | Pok.: 76

•REFERENCES: *DKS*: 374a f.; Werba 1997: 470; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 278; *NEVP*: 88; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *gwand-*

***HuanH** ‘to throw (out), spread’

•OLD PERSIAN: *van-* ‘to spread out, scatter’. ◇ The etymology for OP *van-* was proposed by Benveniste 1951: 25 f., who connected it with ***uanH** and was, subsequently, accepted by Brandenstein – Mayrhofer 1964: 151. Kent’s etymology (cf. ***uan**) was rejected. ⇒ Kent: 206b, 219b

Pass.: impf. IND. 3sg. *avaniya* <a-v-n-i-y> (DSf 29), ? <a-[v]-[n]-i-y> (DSf 25)

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *vāñ-* ‘to scatter’ || (+ *uz-) OKh. *uysvāñ-* ‘to throw up’ ⇒ SGS: 122 f., 16

•NWIR: Zaz. *vistiš, fīnen-* ‘to throw away, off’, Abz. *vānda/vān-*, Mah. *vōn-*, Bakht. *vandan, wandan*, Gil. (Rsht.) *ta-vādoen/ta-vād-*, Semn. *bā-vandan*, Sang. *vund*, Sorkh. *vānd-*, Yzd. (Zor.) *venōdvūn* ‘to throw’, Tt. (Cha.) *buanden/van-* ‘to pour, throw out’ || (+ *uz-) ? Kurd. *zīwān* ‘chaff, brushwood; a weed (with bitter seeds)’

•NEIR: (+ *uz-) Sh. *ziban-/zibud*, Sariq. *zūban-/zūbed, ziban-/zībed*, Yzgh. *ziban-/zībod* ‘to jump up, leap up, fly up’, (caus.) Sh. *zibēn-/zībēnt*, Rosh. *zibēn-/zībēnt*, Bart. *zibōn-/zibōnt* ‘to cause to jump up, etc.’

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *vanem* ‘I expel’

◇ The root *H₂uarH perhaps goes back to an IE nasal stem of *H₂ueH₁- (*H₂uarH¹), which has a transitive meaning. It may be continued in several IE languages.

•PIE ? *H₂uenH₁- ‘to throw, blow off, winnow’ ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 82

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *αἴνω, ἄνέω* ‘I winnow’ (*H₂unH₁- ?), also Germanic OHG *winton* ‘to throw’, OE *windwian*, Engl. *to winnow* (influenced by the *wind* forms ?), ? Lat. *vannus* ‘feeding trough’

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 78b f.; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 58; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 49, 111; Benveniste 1951: 26; Yarshater 1969: 186EVS: 107a; *DKS*: 382b, 39b f.; Vahman – Asatrian 1987: 142 f.; Vahman – Asatrian 1991: 131; Paul 1998: 317b; Vahman – Asatrian 2002: 25; Lecoq 2002: 123

*Huar¹ ‘to cover’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *vār-* ‘to cover’ || (+ *abi-) ‘to cover, conceal’ || (+ *ā-) ‘to cover ?’ || (+ *ni-) ‘to encompass’ || (+ *ham-) ‘to cover’ ⇒ Liste: 50

Pres. {1} *nu-*: IND. med. 3sg. YAv. *vərənūite* (V 18.35, V 18.41, V 18.47), 3pl. YAv. *vərənuuaiti* (Yt 13.15), SUBJ. med. 3sg. OAv. *vərənuuaitē* (Y 31.17), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *vərənūidi* (Y 9.28); Pres. {2} them. *nu-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *aīfi.vərənuuaiti*, med. 3pl. YAv. *vərənante* (V 18.32), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *vərənuuait* (F 420), SUBJ. med. 3pl. YAv. *ham.vərənānte* (V 5.59, V 7.5 ff.); Aor. athem.: SUBJ. 1sg. OAv. *nī uarānī* (Y 53.4), IMPV. med. 2sg. ? OAv. *həmvarəšuā* (Y 53.3); Partic.: pres. desid. OAv. *āvūuarəša-* (Y 45.8); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *vāraieiti* (V 19.29); Intens.: pres. SUBJ. med. 3sg. OAv. *vāurāite* (Y 47.6), OPT. med. 1sg. OAv. *vāuraiiā* (Y 31.3), med. 1pl. OAv. *vāurōimaidī* (Y 28.5). ◇ The meaning of OAv. *āvūuarəša-* is uncertain. It has been translated as ‘to invite’ (Humbach 1991 II: 171), ‘to turn hither’ (Insler, *Gāthās*: 259), ‘entourer’ (Kellens – Pirart I: 157). Humbach, l.c. also cites a RV parallel *yajñēbhīr āvrtaḥ* ‘covered with worship, praises’. || OAv. *nī uarānī* is interpreted in different ways: ‘to encompass’ (Humbach 1991 II: 242), ‘to join (in marriage)’, i.e. from *uar(H)² ‘to mix, mingle’, Insler, *Gāthās*: 324) and ‘rivaliser’ (Kellens – Pirart I: 189).

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *uz-) MMP ‘zw’r- ‘to apprehend, understand; show’ ⇒ DMMPP: 102b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP ‘zw’ryd, 3pl. MMP ‘zw’rynd, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP ‘zw’r’d, 2pl. MMP ‘zw’r’d, 3pl. MMP ‘zw’r’nd; Partic.: pres. ‘zw’r’g; Inf.: MMP ‘zw’rdn

- PARTHIAN: (+ *uz-) 'zw'r- 'to uncover, show; to understand, grasp, apprehend'
⇒ Ghilain: 75 | DMMP: 102
Pres.: IND. 3pl. *'zw'rynd, SUBJ. 2sg. 'zw'r', 3sg. 'zw'r'h, IMPV. 2pl. 'zw'ryd; Partic.: perf. pass. II 'zw'r'd
- KHOTANESE: (+ *ui-) gvīr- (gvīd-) 'to be revealed', (pass.) 'to be revealed' || (+ *apa-) LKh. pver- 'to remove', pūda- 'removed' ⇒ SGS: 61, 33, 90
- CHORESMIAN: (+ *apa-) bw'ry- 'to uncover (one's head)' || (+ *ā-) m/'w'ny- 'to cover; look after' || (+ *upa-) b'wn- 'to hide' ⇒ Samadi: 29, 12
- NWIR: NP šal-vār 'trousers', Kurd. (Sor.) barg 'clothes; cover'
- NEIR: ? Rosh. wērθ, Khf. wirθ 'combin' || (+ *upa-) Oss. I. bwar, D. bawær 'body' || (+ *ni-) Pash. nwaráy (m.) 'garment'
- MISC: ? Arab. warā 'to hide, conceal' (< Ir. or "accidental" ?)
- SANSKRIT: var 'to cover' (RV+). ◇ There are clear indications that Skt. var- 'to cover' has an initial laryngeal (Lubotsky 2000: 317). This may also apply to Ir. ⇒ EWAia II: 512
◇ The Skt. correspondence of the Ir. root *Huar¹ has a wide range of meanings, which may derive from originally 'to cover, conceal' (see also the next entry). There are no certain IE correspondences.
- PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 227 f. | Pok.: 1138
- REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*: I: 275; *EVS*: 92a, 51a; *DKS*: 194b; Werba 1997: 235 f.; Cabolov 2001: 123; Cheung 2002: 173 f.; *NEVP*: 59

*Huar² 'to ward off, defend, protect (from)'

- AVESTAN: (+ *ni-) ? OAv. niuuar- 'to defend', YAv. niuuōr- (pass.) 'to be held back ?'. ◇ The interpretation is uncertain, the verb may correspond to Vedic nívr̥ta- 'held back, withheld'.
Pres.: SUBJ. 1sg. OAv. niuuarānī (Y 53.4); Pass.: pres. IND. med. 3sg. YAv. niuuōriiete (V), YAv. niuuōriiete (V 9.26)
- KHOTANESE: OKh. baṭha- 'cuirass', be'sa- 'shield' || (+ *ni-) OKh. nyūr- 'to harness' ⇒ SGS: 61
- NWIR: Gz. vāre 'water dam', ? NP varǵ 'dam, mould, ditch' ("arabicized" form ?)
- NEIR: Oss. wart 'shield'
- SANSKRIT: var 'to restrain, ward off' (RV+), || nominal derivatives: vártra- (n.) 'dam, dike' (AV+), vṛtrá- (n.) 'defence, resistance' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 512, 573
◇ It is very difficult to distinguish this root clearly from the previous one (*Huar¹): *Huar² may have developed a more specialised meaning of 'to defend, ward off' from *'to cover, protect with a gear' ? Pokorny: 1160 ff. and *LIV*: 684 f. rather derive Skt. var 'to restrain, ward off' from IE *uer- 'to ward off' (Gr. ἔρυμαι 'I defend, protect', Goth. warjan, NHG wehren, etc.), but a great degree of interference from var 'to cover' has to be admitted (cf. *LIV*: l.c., n. 2, 3, 5, 5a).

•REFERENCES: *EVS*: 51a; *DKS*: 194b; *WIM* II/2: 748 f.; *Abaev, Slovar'* IV: 50 f.; *Werba* 1997: 235 f.

***(H)uard** 'to grow, increase'

•AVESTAN: *varəd-* (*varəδ-*) 'to grow, enlarge' ⇒ *Liste*: 51

Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. OAv. *varədaitī* (Y 28.3), YAv. *varədati* ° (A 4.6), INJ. 3pl. OAv. *varədan* (Y 49.4), SUBJ. med. 3sg. YAv. *varədatāē*° (Yt 13.68); Partic.: pres. YAv. *varədaṇt-* (V 21.1), med. YAv. *varədamna-* (V 4.2), perf. pass. *vərzda-* (Y 46.3, Yt 13.81); Caus.: pres. IND. med. 3sg. YAv. *varədaīiete* (V 9.48), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *varədaīieni* (V 2.5), OPT. med. 3sg. OAv. *varədaīiētā* (Y 50.3), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *varədaīia* (V 2.4), med. 2sg. YAv. *varədaīiaṇha* (Y 10.5). ◇ According to Kellens – Pirart 1991: 21, OAv. *varədaitī*, OAv. *varədan* are probably aor. subj. forms, as they are in opposition to OAv. *varədaīia-*.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *w'r-*, BMP *w'l-* /*wāl-*/ 'to grow, prosper' ⇒ *DMMPP*: 336a

Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *w'rynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *w'lynyt* /*wālēnīd*/; Inf.: BMP *w'lytn* /*wālīdan*/

•NWIR: NP *bālīdan*/*bāl-* 'to grow, prosper'

•NEIR: Pash. *wəṛ* 'successful, winning', *waṛāna* 'winning, gaining, success' || (+ *ā-) Oss. I. *awərdyn*/*awərst*, D. *awərdun*/*aurst* 'to spare, save (money)'

•MISC: Udm. (LW) *vord-* 'to grow; spare' (< pre-Oss. ?)

•SANSKRIT: *vardh* 'to let grow, promote, increase [act.]; to grow, become big [med.]' (RV+) ⇒ *EWAia* II: 520

◇ This IIr. root is according to Schindler *apud* *Krisch*: 24 f. from (metathesized) IE **H₁l(e)ud^h-* (> Ir. ***Hraud**) that has given rise to a new ablaut series: > IIr. **Hurd^h/Huard^h*. No explanation has been provided for the assumed metathesis of **ru* > **r*. Perhaps, this root has been contaminated with semantically similar roots, notably ***Hard¹**. The Manichaean (West) Iranian forms MMP *w'r-*, BMP *w'l-* /*wāl-*/ 'to grow, prosper' are to be separated from *w'r-* 'to be glad, happy' (***uarH_z**).

•PIE – ⇒ *LIV*: 228 | *Pok.*: 1167

•IE COGNATES: –

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 93; *Abaev, Slovar'* I: 86 f.; *Werba* 1997: 237 f.; *NEVP*: 92

***HuarH ?** 'to pluck, tear out; rob, plunder'

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *'yw'ryḥ* 'robbery, plundering', IMP *'d'ly*, BMP *'dw'l* /*'ēwār'* 'booty, plunder' ⇒ *DMMPP*: 101a

•PARTHIAN: (+ *ā-) IPth. *'w'r* 'booty, plunder'

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *var-* 'to tear away (hay)' ⇒ *SGS*: 119

•NWIR: ? Tr. *vāreš* 'collapse' || (+ *ā-) NP *āvār* 'oppression', Bal. *āvār* 'spoil, plunder'

•MISC: (+ *ā-) Arm. (LW) *awar* 'booty', Mand. (LW) *'w'r* 'plundering'

◇ The postulation of an Ir. root **HuarH* 'to pluck, tear out' follows the etymology of *Emmerick* (*SGS*: l.c.), who derives the Khot. forms from an IE root **uel-*, Lat. *uellō*.

For the meaning, cf. colloquial Engl. *to fleece someone*. The WIr. ‘robbery, plunder’ forms may be cognate with the Khot. forms as well.

•PIE **H_{2,3}uelH₁-* ‘to pluck’ ?. ◇ The reconstruction with laryngeals follows from the presumed connection with the ‘wool’ forms. ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 1139

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *vello* ‘I pluck (hair)’, Goth. *wilwan* ‘to rob’, ? related to IE “wool”-forms: Hitt. */hulana-/*, Lat. *lāna*, Lith. *vilna*, Skt. *úrṇā-* (f.) (RV+), YAv. *varəṇā-*, etc.. ◇ For Lat. *uello*, Goth. *wilwan* different etymologies have been suggested in LIV: 679, **uelH₃-* ‘schlagen’, Hitt. */ualahzi/*, etc. and, LIV: 675, **uel-* ‘drehen, rollen’, Gr. *εἰλέω*, Lat. *voluō*, etc. respectively.

•REFERENCES: Gignoux 1972: 15 fn. 6, 48; Lecoq 2002: 673b

*Huarj̥ ? ‘to turn, lay around ?’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *varōž-* ‘to lay around ?’ ⇒ Liste: 51

Partic.: pres. YAv. *varōžint-* (H 2.13, ? Vyt 59)

•OLD PERSIAN: *hauma-varga-* <h-u-m-v-r-g-> name of a Scythian tribe. ◇ Lit. ‘laying Haoma-plants around the fire’ ? ⇒ Kent: 211b f.

•CHORESMIAN: ? wẓ̣̣̌ (m.) ‘yarn, thread’

•NEIR: ? Sh. *wūrj̣*, Rosh., Bart. *wīrj̣*, Sariq. *vīry*, *vury*, Yzgh. *wūj̣* ‘woollen yarn, thread’, Yi. *wirž*, *wīrž* ‘woollen thread’ (suffixed with **-čṛ?*)

•MISC: Akkad. (LW) *ú-mu-ur-ga-*, Gr. (LW) *Ἀμύγιοι*, El-OP *u-mu-mar-qa* ‘*hauma-varga-*’

•SANSKRIT: *varj* ‘to turn (around), lay around’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 516

◇ The interpretation of the YAv. *varōž-* is unclear, hence the postulated connection with Skt. *varj* (Hoffmann, l.c) is uncertain. Also whether OP *hauma-varga-* is related to Av. *varōž-* is conjectural. On the other hand, the Elr. ‘yarn’ forms are possibly related to Skt. *varj*, although Morgenstierne (*EVS*, l.c.) derives them from **urgḥ^h-so-* (cf. *IEW*: 1154 f.). The Skt. root *varj* goes back to IE **H₂uerg-* ‘to turn (around)’, Hitt. */hurki-/* ‘wheel’, Lat. *vergere* ‘to bow’, Toch. A (partic.) *wārksantāñ* ‘letting it turn’, OE *wrencan* ‘to wring, turn’, Engl. *to wrinkle*. (Pokorny: 1145; LIV: 290 f.)

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 263a; *EVS*: 91b; Hoffmann, *Aufs.* 2: 611, fn. 6; Benzing 1983: 661; Werba 1997: 236

I

*jah ‘to boil, bubble’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *yaēš-* ‘to boil’ ⇒ Liste: 47

Partic.: pres. redupl. + *ja-* YAv. *yaēšiiant-* (Y 9.11, F 4, P 20)

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *jīš-* ‘to boil’ ⇒ SGS: 35 f.

- SOGDIAN: (+ *abi-) BSogd. *βy'yš'ntk*, *βws'nty* 'boiling'
- NWIR: NP *jōšīdan/jōš-* (denomin.) 'to boil [intr.]; to bubble', *jōš* 'boiling', Bal. *juš(i)t/juš-*, Nn. *yošāye/yoš-* 'to boil', Abyan., Abz. *yūš*, Qohr. *yūš*, Varz. *yoš* 'boiling' || (+ *ui-) Asht. *vīs-/vīšā*, Gz. *yūš-/yūšā* 'to seethe', Asht. *vīšen-/vīšenā*, Gz. *yušn-/yušnā* (caus./tr.) 'to boil', Khuns. *vīš-/vīšā* 'to boil [intr.], seethe', Khuns. *vīšn-/vīšnā*, *vūš-/vūšā* (caus.) 'to boil [tr.]'
- NEIR: Pash. *yaš-*, Yghn. *eš-*, *ęš-/ęšta*, ? Wa. *yakš-/yakšt-* 'to boil' ("phonet. impossible", *IIFL II*: l.c.), Pash. *yašnā* (f.) 'boiling, ebullition, coction'
- MISC: Orm. *yas-^yēk* 'to boil' (< Pash.)
- SANSKRIT: *yas* 'to boil' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 406
- ◇ The Ir. forms derive from a redupl. pres. stem **ja-iš-a-* (= Skt. *yéša-*), cf. EWAia, l.c. This redupl. formation has no IE parallels.
- PIE **jes-* 'to boil, seethe' ⇒ LIV: 312 f. | Pok.: 506
- IE COGNATES: Gr. ζέει 'bubbles, boils, cooks', Gr. ζεστός 'cooked, boiling, hot', Toch. AB *yās-* 'to boil, to be turned on', OHG *jesan* 'to ferment, to foam', OE *giest*, Engl. *yeast*
- REFERENCES: *EVP*: 100; *IIFL I*: 413b; *IIFL II*: 553b; Andreev – Peščereva: 251a; *WIM I*: 73; *WIM II/1*: 86; *DKS*: 110b f.; *Werba 1997*: 395; *Steblin-Kamenskij 1999*: 420; *Lecoq 2002*: 133, 588b, 605b, 657b, 686a; *NEVP*: 100; *Shahbakhsh*: s.v. *juš-*

*jaH 'to demand, request'

- AVESTAN: *yā-* 'to demand' ⇒ Liste: 47
- Pres. {1} inch.: IND. 1sg. OAv. *yāsā* (Y 28.1, Y 28.8, Y 49.8, Y 51.21), YAv. *yāsāmi* (Y 65.11, Yt 5.130 f.), 3sg. YAv. *yāsaiti* (Y 11.5, Y 65.11), 1pl. YAv. *yāsāmahī* (Yt 10.33), INJ. 3sg. OAv. *yasaṭ* (Y 32.1); Partic.: pres. {1} OAv. *yāsant-* (Y 49.12)
- OLD PERSIAN: *yānam* (ANsg. n.) <y-a-n-m> 'boon, favour' (DB 5.19, DPd 21, DPd 23) ⇒ Kent: 205a
- SOGDIAN: BSogd., CSogd., MSogd. *y'n* 'wish', CSogd. *y'n-θb'rqy'* (f.) 'Grace'
- SANSKRIT: *yā* 'to request, implore' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 408 f.
- PIE **jeH₂-* 'to beg, request' ⇒ LIV: 310 f. | Pok.: 501, 503
- IE COGNATES: Toch. B *yāsk-* 'to beg', Gr. ζήλος, (Dor.) ζῆλος (m.) 'zeal, ardour', OIrish *á(i)lid* 'wishes strongly, implores'
- REFERENCES: *García Ramón 1993*: 71 ff.; *Werba 1997*: 408; *Gharib*: 443b f.

*jaHh 'to girdle, gird'

- AVESTAN: (+ *abi-) YAv. *aiβiiāṅh-* 'to girdle', YAv. *aiβiiāṅhana-* 'girdle, garment' ⇒ Liste: 47
- MED.: Pres. *aja-*: SUBJ. 3pl. YAv. **aiβiiāṅhaiiāṅte* (N 85, N 87, N 91 ff.), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *aiβiiāṅhaiiaēta* (V 9.32), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *aiβi ... iāṅhaiiaṅ'ha* (V 18.19, V 18.21); Partic.: pres. YAv. *aiβiiāṅhaiiamna-* (Yt 1.17), perf. pass. YAv. *aiβiiāsta-* 'girded' (N 37)

•PARTHIAN: 'zy'h- 'to gird on' ⇒ DMMPP: 103a

Pres.: SUBJ. 2sg. 'zy'h'

•KHOTANESE: (+ *abi-) *yāna* 'belt, girdle' (= YAv. *aiβiāṅhana-*) ⇒ SGS: 97

•NWIR: (+ *pari-) NP *pērāhan* (cf. Schwartz 1970: 721), Zaz. *pirēn*, Gz. *pěran*, Gil. (Rsht.) *pirhān*, Nn. *pěrnā* 'shirt' || (+ *ham-) NP *hamyān* 'girdle, belt'

•PIE **jeH₃s-* 'to gird' ⇒ LIV: 311 | Pok.: 513

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ζώννυμι, OCS *po-jašq* (*po-jasati*) 'I gird', OLith. *juosti* (3sg.), Alb. *n-gjesh* 'girds'

•REFERENCES: *KPF*: 155a; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 122; *DKS*: 342b; *WIM* II/2: 721; Paul 1998: 308b

***jam** 'to hold; to stretch, reach out'

•AVESTAN: *yam-* (*yās-*) 'to hold, keep' || (+ **apa-*) 'to take away' || (+ **ā-*) 'to bring along, to' || (+ **ni-*) 'to keep, hold down' || (+ **ham-*) 'to attend to' ⇒ Liste: 46

Pres. inch.: IND. 1sg. med. OAv. *āiiesē* (Y 53.6), YAv. *āiiese* (Y 2.1 f.), 3sg. YAv. *apaiiasaiti* (V 18.63 f.), 3sg. med. OAv. *hōmōmīāsaitē* (Y 33.1), YAv. *apaiiasaite* (V 18.63 f.), INJ. 3sg. med. YAv. *āiiasata* (V 20.3), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. **apa.yāsani* (V 19.9, V 19.12), 2sg. med. YAv. *niīāsāṅhe* (Yt 19.48, Yt 19.50), 3sg. YAv. *yāsāiti* (Y 11.5, Y 65.11), 3sg. med. YAv. *niīāsāite* (Yt 13.95, FrW 8.1), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *yasōiš* (Yt 1.24), YAv. **āiiasōiš* (V 9.14, V 19.21), 2sg. med. YAv. **āiiasāēša* (Yt 14.35, Yt 15.55), IMPV. 2sg. med. YAv. *yāsaṅha* (Y 9.2, V 18.19, V 18.21); Aor. athem.: INJ. med. 3sg. OAv. *apaiiantā* (Y 32.9), SUBJ. 3sg. med. OAv. **āiiamaitē* (Y 31.13), IMPV. 3sg. OAv. *hōmīiantū* (Y 51.3); Partic.: pres. YAv. *niīasōmna-* (V 19.19), perf. pass. YAv. *apaiiata-* (Yt 10.84)

•OLD PERSIAN: *yas-* 'to stretch, reach out' || (+ **ā-*) 'to reach out for', (med.) 'to take as one's own' || (+ **ni-*) 'to set down' ⇒ Kent: 205a

Pres. inch.: impf. IND. med. 3sg. *āyasatā* <a-y-s-t-a> (DB 1.47, DB 3.4), <a-y-s-[t]-a> (DB 3.42); Caus.: impf. IND. 3sg. ? *nīyasaya* <n-i-y-s-y> (DNb 5, DNb 46, DNb 49, but see also Benveniste 1959: 24 f.)

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ā-*) *ājum-* 'to bring' ⇒ SGS: 8

•SOGDIAN: (+ **apa-*) ? MSogd. *py'm-* 'to heal' || (+ **ā-*) BSogd. *'y'm* 'to end, finish', BSogd. *'s*, CSogd. *'s* (inch.) 'to take, receive', BSogd. **'y'ms*, CSogd. *'yms* (sec. inch./intr.) 'to come to an end, be finished' || (+ **upa-*) CSogd. *by'm-* 'to rear, foster' || (+ **uz-*) BSogd. *zy'm*, CSogd. *zy'm* 'to consume, spend', BSogd. *zy'ms* (pass./inch.) 'to be spent, exhausted' || (+ **pati-*) SSogd. *ptym-*, BSogd. *pty'm-*, MSogd. *pty'm-* 'to complete', BSogd. *pty'ms-*, MSogd. *ptyms-* (pass./inch.) 'to be finished, completed' || (+ **fra-*) MSogd. *fry'm* 'to end, break the fasting' || (+ **ni-*) SSogd. *ny's*, BSogd. *ny's*, CSogd. *ny's*, MSogd. *ny's* 'to take (prison), capture', BSogd. *nyms* 'to be taken, captured' || (+ **ham-*) SSogd. *'ny'ms*, BSogd. *'ny'ms* 'to come to an end, be ended'

(+ **apa-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 1sg. MSogd. *py'm'n*, IMPV. 2pl. MSogd. *py'mō*; Pret.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *py'mtw* *δ'rt*; Partic.: perf. pass. MSogd. *py'mtw*, MSogd. *py'mt'* (f.) || (+ **ā-*) Widely attested: Pres.: POT. 3sg. BSogd. *'y'mt* *βwt*; Impf.: IND. 3pl. CSogd. *my'mnt*; Fut.: IND. 1sg. CSogd. *'ymmq*; Inch. {1}: pres. IND. 3sg. BSogd. *'st*, 3pl. dur. CSogd. *'sntq*, etc. || (+ **upa-*) Impf.: IND. 3pl. CSogd. *b'y'mnt* || (+ **uz-*)

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *zy'mt*; Inch.: pres. IND. 3sg. BSogd. *'zy'mst*, BSogd. *zy'msty*, OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *zy'ms'y* || (+ **pati-*) Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *pty'mt*, 1pl. MSogd. *'pty'mym*, OPT. 1sg. MSogd. *'pt'yym*, 2sg. MSogd. *pty'myy*, IMPV. 2sg. MSogd. *pty'm*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. SSogd. *ptty'm*, etc. || (+ **fra-*) Fut.: IND. (SUBJ. ?) 2pl. MSogd. *fry'mδ'k'm* || (+ **ni-*) Widely attested: Inch. {1}: pres. IND. 3sg. BSogd. *ny'st*, BSogd. *'ny'st*, 2pl. CSogd. *ny'st'*, 3pl. BSogd. *ny's'nt*, OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *ny's'y*, etc. || (+ **ham-*) Pres.: IND. 1pl. SSogd. *'ny'msym*, OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *'ny'ms'y*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **apa-*) *by'my-* 'to break a promise' || (+ **uz-*) *z'my-* (caus.) 'to spend' || (+ **fra-*) *šy'm(y)-* 'to break, end the fasting' ⇒ Samadi: 32, 7 f., 261, 202

•BACTRIAN: (+ **ā-*) ? *ιεσ-* 'to take' ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 195b

•NWIR: (+ **ā-*) ? Semn. *h-āī-č-āī-*, *b-āī(-)šš-* 'to buy, take'

•NEIR: Sh. *yōs-/yōd*, Rosh. *yōs-/yūd*, Pash. *yos-*, Yi. *is-/yāi*, M. *yīs-/yāy* 'to carry, take away', ? Oss. I. *isyn/ist*, D. *esun/ist* 'to take (away, out)' (contamin. with ***HaišH** or ***Hais** ?) || (+ **apa-* ?) Pash. *yastəl* 'to take off, out' || (+ ? **ā-*) Bart. *ayōs-/ayōd-* 'to take away' || (+ **ni-*) Pash. *nīs-/niw-*, Yi. *nīs-* 'to take out', Yghn. *nos-/nóta* 'to take (in marriage), seize', Yzgh. *n(ə)yas-/nəyūd* 'to seize, catch, take (in marriage), buy; to bite [of dogs]'

•SANSKRIT: *yam* 'to hold, restrain, drive (horses), stretch out' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 399

•PIE **ǵem-* 'to hold' ⇒ LIV: 312 f. | Pok.: 505

•IE COGNATES: ?

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 209b; *EVP*: 100; *IIFL* II: 192b, 233a; Abaev, *Slovar'* I: 552; *EVS*: 106a, 52a; Werba 1997: 221; *NEVP*: 100, 58

***ja(m)b/p** ? 'to move, wander, rove, crawl' ?

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *jwmb-*, BMP *ywmb-* /*jumb-*/ 'to move', BMP *ywmbyn-* /*jumbēn-*/ (caus.) 'to cause to move, move [tr.]' ⇒ DMMP: 199b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *ywmbyt* /*jumbēd*/; Partic.: perf. pass. II MMP *jwmyst*, caus. BMP *ywmbynynt* /*jumbēnēd*/; Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. BMP *ywmbynynt* /*jumbēnēd*/, IMPV. 2pl. BMP *ywmbynynt* /*jumbēnēd*/; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. MMP *'jwmbhyd*; Inf.: BMP *ywmbstn* /*jumbistan*/

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *y'β*, CSogd. *y'b*, MSogd. *y'β* 'to wander, travel, rove', CSogd. *y'b'qcy* (obl.) 'wandering' || (+ **ā-*) BSogd. *'y'βs-* (intr./inch.) 'to be deceived, perverted', BSogd. *'y'np-*, CSogd. *'ymp-* (caus. ?) 'to pervert, seduce'. ◇ BSogd. *'y'np-* does not mean 'to commit adultery', as translated initially by Henning 1939: 103 (whence connected to Skt. *yabh*, etc. by Mayrhofer, EWAia II: 398 f.; Kümmel, LIV: 309 et al.). The verb is well attested in Sogd. generally and clearly has the meaning 'to pervert, deceive, lead astray, sim.', cf. e.g. MacKenzie, *BSTBL*: 75; *GMS*: §653, 827; Sims-Williams 1984: 206b.

Pres.: IND. 1sg. dur. CSogd. *y'bmsq*, 3sg. BSogd. *y'βt*; Partic.: pres. BSogd. *y'β'k*, BSogd. *y'β'y*, MSogd. *y'βyy* (*Sogd. Tales*: 473) || (+ **ā-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *'y'βst*, MSogd. *'y'fstt*, 3pl. MSogd. *'y'fšnd*; Partic.: pres. CSogd. *'ympnyt*, perf. pass. BSogd. *'y'βt-k*, MSogd. *'y'βtyy* 'perverted, false,

wrong, heretical', (f.) BSogd. 'y'βtch, CSogd. 'yby 'astray'; Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. BSogd. 'y'npt, fut. IND. 3sg. CSogd. 'ymptq'

•CHORESMIAN: y'β- 'to go slowly, crouch' ⇒ Samadi: 254

•NWIR: NP *junbīdan/junb-* 'to move, stir, shake [intr.]', Awrom. *ǰmāy-/ǰm-* 'to move [intr.]', Gur. *-ǰim-* 'to move, stir [intr.]', Awrom. *ǰmnāy-/ǰmn-* (caus.) 'to rock (a cradle)', NP *junbān* (ptc.) 'moving, shaking' || (+ *ā-) NP *ēfudah* 'silly' (< Sogd., Henning 1939: l.c.)

•NEIR: M. *yōb-/yēby-* (denomin. ?) 'to dance' (Zarubin), M. *yōba* 'dance'

◇ A root different from the IE '*futuere*' forms has to be postulated on account of the Iranian evidence. According to Schmidt 1992: 113, Toch. A *yāw-*, B *yāp-* is connected to these IE *futuere* forms (***Hjāb**), preserving the more archaic meaning 'to enter'. Winter 1998: 185 expresses some reservations, as only one subfamily, the Tocharian languages, would not show the semantic shift to *futuere*. Schmidt ascribes this absence to the early Tocharian split from the IE proto-language, well before this semantic development occurred. This argument is *a priori* difficult to accept in my opinion, as it would imply that Tocharian is now a "sister" language of the Indo-European language family (for which there are, lexically speaking, only meagre indications). It is even more problematic if we include the Ir. continuations in our considerations. The best solution is if we postulate two different, albeit formally rather similar, roots instead, which can be most clearly deduced from the Iranian data, **ieb*^(h)- and **H₃ieb*^h- respectively. As pointed out by Winter, it is unthinkable that the meaning of 'enter' has developed from 'sexual intercourse'.

•PIE **ieb*^(h)- 'to go, move (slowly) inside' ⇒ LIV: 309 | Pok.: 298

•IE COGNATES: Luw. /*iba-*/ 'west [i.e. where the sun sets]', Toch. A *yāw-*, B *yāp-* 'to enter', ? Gr. ζόφος 'evening shade, west'

•REFERENCES: *KPF* II: 190; *IIFL* II: 271b; *GMS*: §602; MacKenzie 1966: 98

***jaš ?** 'to show, appear ?'

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *ni-) MMP *nyyš-* 'gaze, stare at, look into; (?) to mark', *nyš'n*, *nyyš'n*, BMP *nyš'n /nišān/* 'sign, mark'. ◇ The consistent spelling of the verb MMP *nyyš-* with double *yy* may point to disyllabic pronunciation: *ǰj(a)*, *ǰj(i)* vel sim. ⇒ DMMPP: 256b, 254b

Pres.: IND. 3pl. *nyyšynd*, SUBJ. 3sg. *nyyš'd*, 3pl. *nyyš'nd*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *nyyš*; Partic.: perf. pass. *nyyšyd*

•SOGDIAN: ? SSogd., BSogd. *nyš* 'now, just, *voici*' (Benveniste, *TSP*: 281 (Add.) ad 2,1203)

•NWIR: (+ *ni-) NP *nišān* 'sign, mark, spot'. ◇ The Nn. verb *dinišāyi/diniši* and Anar. *dinišāi/di(ya)niši* 'to be seen, appear' are unconnected: they contain the root ***daiH¹**, to which a passive suffix *-nišā-/niš-* has been added (Lecoq 2002: 224). || NP *ēš*

‘spy, جاسوس’ is spurious, it is found exclusively in Indian and other late lexicographical works (Borhān-i Qat’i, Haft Qulzum, Andrāj, etc.). ||

•NEIR: (+ *ui-) ? Yghn. yaxš- ‘to be visible’. ◇ Cited by Bailey 1958: 152 f., but different etymology Andreev – Peščereva: l.c.: from *Haxš.

•MISC: (+ *ni-) Arm. (LW) niš ‘sign, mark, spot, speckle’, nšan ‘(miraculous) sign, mark’, Syr. nyš’ (LW) ‘sign, standard, target, etc.’

•SANSKRIT: yakṣ ‘to appear, present oneself’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 391

◇ Several suggestions have been made with regard to the origin of the WIr. forms, MMP *nyyš-* and the assumed, nominal derivative *ny(y)š’n* (sim.). Tedesco 1921: 237 f.; Henning, *Verbum*: 168 connected the MMP *nyyš-* to Skt. *īkṣ* ‘to see, to look, behold, notice’, which appears to be an old (reduplicative) desiderative formation of PIE *H₃ek^ws-: *H₃iH₃k^ws-. However, this formation would have yielded **H₃(H)xš in Iranian. As for *ny(y)š’n*, etc., Gershevitch 1971: 272 ff., who finally suggested an original meaning ‘target’, deriving from a base *šu- ‘to shoot, mittere’. As support for this root he cites two forms, which have either a different origin or are actually non-existent: Oss. I. *æssonyn*, D. *ænsounun* ‘to push through; to stick in’ are rather from *san and Khot. *ṣun-/ṣva-* is “fictitious”, on which see Emmerick, SVK II: 147. In addition, the initial š- of this putative root would almost certainly rule out an IE etymology. It is quite attractive to connect these WIr. forms to Skt. *yakṣ*, which has no further IE correspondences though. This equation can be further supported by the semantically quite close resemblance between the nominal derivatives, Skt. *yakṣá-* ‘miraculous apparition, sign’ (RV) and WIr. *nyš’n* (etc.), Arm. (LW) *nšan*.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: 312 | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 136a; Henning, *Verbum*: 168; Andreev – Peščereva: 365b; *DKS*: 251b; Werba 1997: 435

***jat** ‘to go, reach, approach, take position ?’

•AVESTAN: *yat-* ‘to take a ritual place?, to take one’s place ?, to cleanse, purify ?’ || (+ *fra-) ‘to rejoin its natural place ?’ (cf. Benveniste, *Fs Morgenstierne*: 21 ff.)

⇒ Liste: 46

Pres. them.: SUBJ. 3sg. ? YAv. *frāiitāt* (Yt 1.24); Perf.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *yaiiata*, 3du. YAv. *yaētatarə* (F 268), 1pl. OAv. *yōiθamā* (Y 28.9); Partic.: perf. YAv. *yōiθβāh-* (Y 27.6), YAv. *yaētus-*; Caus.: IND. 3sg. ? YAv. *yātaieiti* (Yt 10.78), 3pl. YAv. *frāiitaiieinti* (Y 57.29), YAv. *yātaieinti* (N 97), ? YAv. *yātaiianti* (N 88, N 97), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *frāiitaiiat* (Yt 5.65, V 22.19)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *y’d-* ‘to reach (a goal), come to, attain’ || (+ *fra-) MMP *pry’d-*, BMP *plyd’t-/frayād-* ‘to help, assist’ ⇒ DMMPP: 372a, 282a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *y’dyd* || (+ *fra-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *fr’y’dyd*, *pry’dyd*, BMP *plyd’tyt* /*frayādēd*/, 3pl. MMP *pry’dynd*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *pry’d-*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *fr’y’dg*, *pry’d’g’n*, *pry’d’g’n*

•PARTHIAN: *y’d-* ‘to reach (a goal), come to, attain’ ⇒ Ghilain: 70 | DMMPP: 372a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *y'dyd*, 3pl. *y'dynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *ʰy'd'n*, 3sg. *y'd'*, *y'd'h*, *y'd'm*, IMPV. 2sg. *y'd*, OPT. *y'dyndyh*, *ʰy'dyndy*

•KHOTANESE: ? *jah-* 'to be cleansed', *jeh-* (caus.) 'to cleanse' ⇒ SGS: 35, 37

•SOGDIAN: CSogd. *yty'* (f.) 'chance' || (+ **upa-*) BSogd. *py(')t*, CSogd. **py't*, MSogd. *py't* 'to adorn', BSogd. *py'ty'*, *py'ty'kh* (f.) 'adornment' (cf. Toch. *yāt-* 'to adorn', Gershevitch, *Advice*: 93, fn. 42) || (+ **pati-*) CSogd. *ptyt-* 'to happen, befall' || (+ **fra-*) Sogd. *βr'y-* 'to help'

(+ **upa-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *py't*, SUBJ. 1sg. BSogd. *py'tn*; Pret.: tr. IND. 3sg. BSogd. *py'stw δ'rt*; Partic.: perf. pass. CSogd.(pl.) *ʰpystyt* 'adorned' || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. CSogd. *ptyt't*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *ptyθ* || (+ **fra-*) Pres.: IMPV. 2pl. *βr'yt* 'help!'

•CHORESMIAN: *y'cy-* 'to approach (a certain age)' || (+ **fra-*) *fy'cy-* 'to help' ⇒ Samadi: 254, 74

•NWIR: NP *yāzīdan* 'to stretch (the hand)' (< Pth. ?), ? Gur. (Kand.) *yāwā-/yāw-* 'to reach, catch up; to ripen; to desire', Gur. (Kand.) *yāwānān-/yāwān-* (caus.) 'to let reach, promote; to provide, deliver'

•NEIR: Sh. *yad-* 'to come', Rosh. *yad-* 'to come', ? Yghn. *yat-/yātta* 'to find a place, settle', (?) Wa. *yund-/yut-* 'to carry, bring; to marry (wife)'

•SANSKRIT: *yat* 'to line up, take up a position, place in order' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 394

◇ On the meaning of the root **jat* see Benveniste, *Fs Morgenstierne*: l.c. and Thieme, *Gs Nyberg*: 325 ff.

•PIE **jet-* 'to bring, conform, support ?' ⇒ LIV: 313 f. | Pok.: 506 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *nītor* 'I support one self, brace one self', Toch. *yāt-* 'to adorn', *yāt-* 'to be able', Gr. ὄσιος 'pleasing to, just, fair'

•REFERENCES: *KPF* II: 200, 199; *IIFL* II: 554a; Andreev – Peščereva: 365b f.; *EVS*: 105a f.; Werba 1997: 366 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 432

***iau¹** 'to (re)bind, hold'

•AVESTAN: (+ **ni-*) YAv. *nīiu-* 'to (re)bind, hold' ⇒ Liste: 47
Partic.: pres. them. ? YAv. *ʰnīiuuant-* (Y 57.8)

•NEIR: (+ **abi-*) Sariq. *viyuy-/viyoyd* 'to mount (a horse), saddle', Sariq. *viyayon-/viyayond* (caus.) 'to cause to come' (less likely from ***hHai** ?) || (+ **ui-* ?) Yi. *yūyŷāmo* 'four days hence'

•SANSKRIT: *yav* 'to join, connect' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 402

◇ See next entry.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 314 | Pok.: 507

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 272a; *EVS*: 86b; Werba 1997: 367

***iau²** 'to separate'

•AVESTAN: YAv. *yū-* 'to bind ?, separate ?' || (+ **ui-*) YAv. *viuu-* 'to remove'

Partic.: perf. pass. ? YAv. *yūta-* (V 5.55), **vīūta-*

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *jwdy*, BMP *ywdt /jwd/* ‘separated, divided’ ⇒ DMMP: 199b

•PARTHIAN: *ywd* ‘separate (from), without’ ⇒ DMMP: 374b

•NWIR: NP *judā*, Bal. *jitā*, Zaz. *ǰiyā*, Anar. *ǰiyā*, Qohr. *yadā*, Nn. *ǰiyā* ‘separate’ || (+ **ǰi-* ?) Ard. *viyu*, Gz. *vīyā*, Tr. *veyā* ‘separate’

•NEIR: (**apa-*) Pash. *byal*, *bel* ‘separate, different, apart’ (Cheung 2004: 128)

•SANSKRIT: *yav*² ‘to keep away, off, chase away’ ⇒ EWAia II: 403 f.

◇ According to Mayrhofer, *EWAia* II: l.c. it is necessary to postulate a second, homonymous root *yav*² in Skt./Iir. He objects to the suggestion that the meaning ‘to keep away, off, chase away’ is secondarily derived from that of **ǰau* ‘to (re)bind, hold’ through its prefigated formations, cf. Renou *apud* Pokorny: 511; Jamison 1983: 174, fn. 148 et al. Moreover, "auch ist davor zu warnen, aus dem bisherigen Fehlen eines glaubhaften idg. Etymons für iir. **ǰau* ‘trennen’ [...] "e silentio" auf sekundären, erst iir. Ursprung dieser Verbalsippe zu schließen." (p. 404). This explanation would not be very insightful ("wenig Erkenntniswert"). The problem with his assumption is that there is no evidence for such a root in IE, which, however, ought not to warrant the conclusion of a sole Iir. origin, cf. Humbach 1990: 60 f. Many of the derivative formations of *yav*² seem to be (relatively) late, hapax or nonce, cf. *LIV*: l.c.

•PIE – ⇒ *LIV*: 314 f. | Pok.: –

•IE COGNATES: –

•REFERENCES: *WIM* II/2: 752; Paul 1998: 302b; Lecoq 2002: 609a, 623b, 631a, 674a (passim); Korn 2005: 104, 196, 367

**ǰauč* ‘to learn, teach’

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ni-*) *nyūs-* ‘learn’, (caus.) ‘teach’ ⇒ SGS: 61

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *yxs-* (intr./inch.) ‘to acquire, contract a habit’, BSogd. *ywx-*, CSogd. *ywx-* ‘to learn, study, be taught’, BSogd. *ywc*, CSogd. *ywc*, MSogd. *ywc* (tr./caus.) ‘to teach’

Pres.: IND. 1sg. dur. BSogd. *ywxsm* ‘skwn, 3sg. BSogd. *ywxsty*, SUBJ. 3sg. SSogd. *yxs’t*, CSogd. *ywxst*, etc.

•NEIR: Yi. *yūxs-/yūxt-*, M. *yūxs-/yuxt-* (inch.) ‘to learn’, Yghn. *yūxs-/yūxta-* ‘to get used, accustomed to, to contract an (annoying) habit’, Wa. *yəǰk* (ppp.) ‘learned’ || (+ **us-* ?) Yzgh. *šoxs-/šoxt* ‘to get accustomed to, get spoiled, learn’

•SANSKRIT: *oc* ‘to be accustomed, get used to, be(come) at ease with’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 277

◇ The evidence for a root **iauč* is confined to East Ir. The initial **i-* of Ir. **iauč* is secondarily introduced from the prefixed forms (**abi-*, **ni-*, etc.), cf. Klingenschmitt 1982: 186, fn. 29 f. This also applies to ***mauč**². Cf. denomin. ***Hauč**.

•PIE **H₁(e)uk-* ‘to get used to, learn’ ⇒ LIV: 244 | Pok.: 347

•IE COGNATES: Arm. *usanim* ‘I learn, am adapted to’, OCS *vyknōti* ‘to become accustomed to’, OCS *učiti* ‘to learn’, Lith. *jūnkti* ‘to become accustomed to’, Goth. *bi-uhts* (ppp.) ‘accustomed’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 274, 555b; Andreev – Peščereva: 366b; *EVS*: 79; *DKS*: 194b f.; Werba 1997: 337; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 434

***iauj** ‘to harness, yoke, employ’

•AVESTAN: *yūj-* ‘to harness’ || (+ **apa-*) ‘to yoke off, lay down’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to harness’ ⇒ Liste: 47

Pres. {1} *n-*: IND. 3pl. **yunjiṅti* (F 252, cf. Kellens 1984: 165f.); Pres. {2} *ja-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *yujiiēiti* (Yt 10.52); Aor. athem.: INJ. 3sg. OAv. *yaogəṭ* (Y 44.4), 1pl. med. YAv. *fra(-ca) yaoxmaide* (Yt 4.1), 3pl. OAv. *yūjān* (Y 46.11, Y 49.9), SUBJ. 1sg. OAv. *yaojā* (Y 50.7), med. 3pl. OAv. *yaojantē* (Y 30.10); Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. *yuxta-* (Y 49.9, Yt 5.50, Yt 9.2), YAv. *apaiiūxta-* (V 18.30), YAv. *frā.yuxta-* (Yt 10.125); Inf.: YAv. *yūxta* (Y 11.2)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ā-*) BMP **ywc-* /*āyōz-* ‘to join; yoke; drive’ || (+ **upa-*) BMP **pywc-* /*abyōz-* ‘to join, mix’ || (+ **pari-*) MMP *pyrwz*, BMP *pylwc* /*pērōz-* ‘victorious, victor’. ◇ The Persian forms of ‘victory’ were thought to derive from **pari-aujāh-* (YAv. *pairi.aojastara-* ‘stronger’), cf. *AIW*: 862; Nyberg II: 160b. However, the Parthian cognate forms clearly point to a deverbal origin, e.g. ppp. *prywx*. ⇒ DMMPP: 290a

(+ **ā-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. BMP **ywc’t* /*āyōzād-*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP **ywht* /*āyuxt-* || (+ **upa-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. BMP **pywcynd* /*abyōzēnd-*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP **pywht* /*abyuxt-*

•PARTHIAN: (+ **pari-*) *prywx-* (pret. stem) ‘to conquer, overcome’, *prywg*, **prywj* ‘victory’ ⇒ Ghilain: 63 | DMMPP: 283a

Partic.: perf. pass. *prywx*; Inf.: *prywx*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **abi-*) *byūnga-* ‘bond’

•SOGDIAN: CSogd. *ywxty* (numv. n.) ‘yoke, pair, team’

•CHORESMIAN: *yxs-* (intr./inch.) ‘to be(come) in order; to prepare (oneself)’, *ywzy-* (caus.) ‘to prepare, make ready, carry out’ ⇒ Samadi: 259

•NWIR: Kurd. (Kurm.) *jōt* (m.), (Sor.) *jūt* ‘pair; plough’, Semn. *jua*, Sang. *jot* ‘plough’ || (+ **pari-*) NP *pīrōz* ‘victorious’

•NEIR: (+ **aua-*, **ui-*) Sariq. *wayewy* ‘spine’ || (+ **pati-*) ? Sh. *pidyûc* (m.), (Baj.) *pedyôc*, Sariq. *padec* ‘thread’ || (+ **fra-*) Sh. *fīrûyn* ‘willow band fastening yoke to plough-beam’, Ishk. *fărûž* ‘collar of yoke’, Rosh. *rayāy* ‘willow band fastening yoke to plough-beam’, Yi. *fīrūyo*, M. *fērīya* ‘yoke-rope’

•MISC: Georg. (LW) *jog-* ‘pair, group’

•SANSKRIT: *yoj* ‘to yoke, to harness’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 417

◇ The well-known nominal derivative IE *ǰugó- ‘yoke’, Skt. *yugá-*, Hitt. /*ǰuga-*/, Gr. ζυγόν, Lat. *iugum*, OHG *joh*, Engl. *yoke*, etc. is also attested in Ir.: BMP *ywg /ǰuy/*, Pth. *ywg*, NP *ǰuǰ*, Bal. *ǰug*, Sh. *yuy*, Rosh. *yūy*, etc.

•PIE *ǰeug- ‘to yoke’ ⇒ LIV: 316 | Pok.: 508 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ζεύγνῶμι ‘I harness, join’, Lat. *iungere* ‘to harness, to join, to build a pile-bridge’, Toch. B *yaukk-* ‘to employ, serve’, Lith. *ǰungti* ‘to yoke, to unite’, Goth. *jukuzi* (f.) ‘yoke’, ON *eykr* ‘draught animal’, Engl. *to yoke*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 208b; *EVS*: 95b, 54a, 33b, 71a; *DKS*: 309a; Werba 1997: 222 f.; Cabolov 2001: 502 f.; Korn 2005: 104

*ǰaup ? ‘to change’

•KHOTANESE: (+ **abi-* ?) *byū(h)-* ‘to change; translate’ ⇒ SGS: 106

•SOGDIAN: (+ **pāti-*) CSogd. *pcywfs-* ‘to be changed, transformed’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *pcywfsty*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *pcywps*, CSogd. **pcywfs*; Fut.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *pcywfstyq*’

•SANSKRIT: ? *yop* ‘to make unrecognizable, confuse’ (MS) ⇒ EWAia II: 420

◇ The evidence for this root is limited to Sogdian and Khotanese: the formally similar Skt. connection is semantically implausible (**raup*³). The root *ǰaup may be a pseudo-root that has developed from *ǰab/f^d (A.L.) ?

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Weber 1970: 175; *DKS*: 310a f.; Sims-Williams 1984: 219b; Gharib: 270b; Werba 1997: 368

*ǰauz ‘to undulate, wave; to be in commotion’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *yaoz-* ‘to set in motion; undulate, wave’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘to well up’
⇒ Liste: 48

Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *yaozaiti* (Y 65.4, Yt 5.4, Yt 8.31, Yt 18.5), 3pl. YAv. *yaozanti* (Y 65.4, Yt 5.4, Yt 8.31, Yt 10.36); Partic.: pres. YAv. *yaozant-* (Yt 5.38, Yt 13.95); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *yaozaiieiti* (Yt 8.8, Yt 10.111, Yt 14.62) || (+ **ā-*) Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *ā ... yaozaiti* (Y 65.4); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *āyaozaiieiti* (Yt 8.31)

•OLD PERSIAN: *yaud-* ‘to be in commotion’ ⇒ Kent: 204a

Pres. them.: impf. IND. 3sg. *ayauda* <a-y-u-d> (XPh 31), 3pl. **ayauda*ⁿ <[a]-[y]-[u]-[d]> (IDSe 33 |); Partic.: pres. (Asg. f.) **yauda*ⁿ*tim* <y-u-[d]-[t]-[m]> (DNa 32)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *ywd-* /*yōy-*/ ‘to blow [of the wind]’ || (+ **ā-*) BMP **ywc-* ‘to trouble, disturb’ ⇒ DMMPP: 290a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *ywdty /yōyet/*

•PARTHIAN: *ywz-* ‘to agitate, set in motion, convulse; be agitated’ || (+ **ā-*) **ywz-* ‘to agitate’ ⇒ Ghilain: 64 | DMMPP: 375b, 6b

Pres.: IND. 2sg. *ywzyy, ywzyh*, 3pl. *ywzynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *ywšt* || (+ **ā-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. **ywzynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. **ywšt, ywšt, ywšt*

•KHOTANESE: (+ *ā-) *āyaus-* ‘to be disturbed’ || (+ *ni-) *nyaus-* ‘to be defeated, overcome’ ⇒ SGS: 9, 61

•SOGDIAN: (+ *ā-) BSogd. *’ywwz-*, MSogd. *’ywsš* (intr./pass.) ‘to be troubled’, BSogd. *’y’wz-* (caus.) ‘to trouble, torment’ || (+ *pati-) MSogd. *ptywš* ‘[+ *’ywsš*] become excited’

(+ *ā-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *’ywwzt*, OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *’ywwzy*; Pret.: IND. intr./pass. 3sg. BSogd. *’y’wz’t*; Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. *’y’wšt*, BSogd. *’y’wšt’k*; Inf.: pret. MSogd. *’y’wšt*; Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. BSogd. *’y’wzt* || (+ *pati-) Inf.: pret. MSogd. *ptywšt*. ◇ The forms *ptywšt*, *’y’wšt* are originally a participle, on which see Henning apud GMS: §929, fn.

•NWIR: Bal. *ǰuziθ/ǰuz-* ‘to move, go, walk, leave’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *uzyn/wyzt*, D. *ozun/uzt* ‘to shake, rock (a baby) to sleep’ || (+ *ni-) Pash. *niz*, *nyuz* (m.) ‘flood, torrent’

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *yuzem* ‘I disturb’

◇ The root has no Skt. correspondence. An IE etymology is uncertain. With the exclusion of the ‘victory, battle’ forms (Toch. *yuk-*, etc., v. **ǰauǰ*²), we are left with some rather unattractive Germanic forms: Goth. *ǰiuka* ‘rage, tantrum’, MHG *ǰouchen* ‘to drive, hunt’ (Pokorny: 512; LIV: 315 f.).

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 315 f. | Pok.: 512

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 80a; Nyberg II: 227; *WIM* I: 73 f.; *WIM* II/1: 86; *DKS*: 20a; Abaev, *Slovar* IV: 24; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *ǰuz-*; *NEVP*: 60

**ǰaz* ‘to sacrifice, worship, venerate’

•AVESTAN: *yaz-* ‘to sacrifice, worship, venerate’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to sacrifice to’ ⇒ Liste: 46f.

Pres. them.: IND. med. 1sg. YAv. *yaze* (Yt 8.25), YAv. *frāiieze* (Y 15.1, Vr 6.1), 3sg. YAv. *yazaiti* (V 18.9), YAv. *frā.yazaiti* (N 81), med. 1pl. *yazamaide* (Y 35.1, YH 35.10, YH 36.6, etc.), *yazamaidē* (YH 37.1 ff., Y 38.1 ff., Y 39.1, etc.), YAv. *yazənti* (Yt 8.23 f., Yt 10.54 f., Yt 10.74), med. 3pl. YAv. *yazəntē* (Yt 8.23, Yt 10.8, Yt 10.11, Yt 10.54), INJ. med. 3sg. YAv. *yazata*, med. 3pl. YAv. *yazənta*, SUBJ. med. YAv. *yazāi*, YAv. *yazāne*, 3sg. YAv. *yazāiti* (N 22, N 70), med. 3sg. YAv. *yazāite*, med. 3pl. YAv. *yazānte* (Yt 5.85, Yt 10.120), OPT. med. 2sg. YAv. *yazaēša*, 3sg. YAv. *fra.yazōit* (N 40), med. 3sg. YAv. *frāiiazaēta* (V 19.2), med. 3pl. YAv. *yazaiiaṇta* (Yt 8.11, Yt 8.24, Yt 10.74, Yt 10.119), pres. YAv. *yazənt-*, med. *yazəmna-* (Y 34.6, Y 51.20, etc.), pass. YAv. *yezimna-* (Yt 19.52), aor. med. YAv. *yazāna-* (Yt 10.138, Yt 13.24); Pass.: pres. IND. 3pl. YAv. *yaziṇti* (Yt 8.11), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *frāiieziiait* (Yt 13.50)

•OLD PERSIAN: *yad-* ‘to worship’ ⇒ Kent: 204b

MED.; Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. *yadataiy* <y-d-t-i-y> (XPh 53), impf. IND. 1sg. *ayadaiy* <a-y-d-i-y> (DSK 5), <a-y-di-i-y> (XPh 40), <[a]-[y]-di-[i]-y> (DB 5.16), <[a]-[y]-di-i-y> (DB 5.32), SUBJ. 3sg. *yadātaiy* <y-d-a-t-i-y> (DB 5.34), <y-d-[a]-[t]-[i]-y> (DB 5.19), OPT. 2sg. *yadaišā* <y-d-i-š-a> (XPh 50); Pass.: impf. IND. 3sg. *ayadiya* <[a]-[y]-di-[i]-y> (DB 5.16), <[a]-[y]-di-i-y> (DB 5.32), 3pl. *ayadiya*^a <a-y-di-i-y> (XPh 36, XPh 40), OPT. 3pl. *yadiyaišā*^b <y-d-i-y-i-š> (XPh 39)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *yz-*, BMP *yc-*, *yz-* /*yaz-* ‘to worship, celebrate, recite’ (< Av.) ⇒ DMMP: 376b

Pres.: IND. 1sg. BMP *yzm /yazam/*, IMPV. 2pl. MMP *zyzyd*, IMPV. 2pl. MMP *zyzyyd*

•PARTHIAN: *yš-* (pret. stem) ‘to venerate’ ⇒ Ghilain: 99 | DMMPP: 376b

Partic.: perf. pass. *yštġ*

•KHOTANESE: *gyaš-* (*jays-*) ‘to offer (sacrifice)’ ⇒ SGS: 34

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *’yz-* ‘to worship, sacrifice to’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *’yzy*

•NWIR: NP *jašn* ‘feast, festive day’, NP *īzid*, *īzad* ‘God; angel’ (LW)

•NEIR: Oss. I. *zæd*, D. *izæd* ‘deity; angel’ (< NP ?)

•MISC: Sarm. (Olbia) *ιαζαδαγος*, *ιεζδαγος* PN

•SANSKRIT: *yaj* ‘to honour, worship, sacrifice’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 392

◇ The laryngeal appears to have disappeared in front of IE **ġ*, on which see Lubotsky 1981: 135 ff.

•PIE **īeH₂ǵ-* ‘to honour’ ⇒ LIV: 224 f. | Pok.: 501

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *ἄζομαι* ‘I honour’, Gr. *ἅγιος* ‘sacred, holy’, Lat. *īaiūnus* ‘fasting’, Lat. *īaiētāre* ‘to have breakfast’

•REFERENCES: DKS: 108b; Abaev, *Slovar’* IV: 290 f.; Werba 1997: 394; Cheung 2002: 93, 253

***īās** ‘to yawn, open the mouth’

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ūi-*) *biyāšš-* ‘to open’ ⇒ SGS: 97

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ūi-*) Sogd. *wy’s/š* ‘to open (the mouth)’ (L37.5)

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **ūi-*) ? *m/wy’s-* ‘to yawn’ ⇒ Samadi: 224

•NWIR: (+ **ūi-*) Bal. *g(iy)āsit/g(iy)ās-*, *gihāsit/gihās-* (etc.) ‘to yawn’, ? Kurd. (Kurm.) *bāwīšk*, *bāhūšk* (f.), (Sor.) *bāwēšk* ‘yawn(ing)’. ◇ The Kurd. forms are hardly from the root ***uamH** ‘to vomit’, as stated by Cabolov, l.c.

•NEIR: (+ **ni-*) Yi. *niáskē*, M. *niezŷe* ‘yawn’

◇ A reconstruction **kās-īa-* (**xā-* ‘to open’) is cautiously cited for the Khot. forms by Emmerick (SGS: 97). The comparison with Sogd. *wy’s* and Chor. *m/wy’s-* rather suggests **ūi-īāsa-īa-* (Sims-Williams 1989: 286), to which the Yi./M. and Bal. forms may be added. The root **īās* is exclusively Iranian.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 233a f.; Cabolov 2001: 160; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *gi(h)ās-*

ǰ

***jad** ‘to ask (urgently), demand’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *jad-* ‘to ask (urgently), demand’ || (+ **pati-*) ‘to ask (someone) for (something)’ ⇒ Liste: 23

Pres. *ja-*: IND. 1sg. YAv. *jaiðieimi* (Y 9.19 ff., Y 65.12), YAv. *jaiðiiāmi* (Y 65.11), 2sg. YAv. *jaiðiechi* (Y 11.2), 3sg. YAv. **frajaiðieiti* (F 248), 3pl. YAv. *paiti.jaiðieipti* (V 19.29), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *jaiðiiat*, 3pl. YAv. *jaiðiiān* (Yt 5.58), SUBJ. 3pl. YAv. **jaiðiiānti* (Yt 5.86 f.), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *jaiðiiōiš* (Y 65.10); Partic.: pres. YAv. *jaiðiiānt-* (Yt 5.19, Yt 5.53, Yt 10.11, etc.), med. YAv. *jaiðiiamna-* (Y 9.23, Y 68.21); YAv. *auua.jastī-* (f.) ‘request’ (Y 65.10). ◇ Kellens 1984: 258 apparently emends YAv. SUBJ. med. 3pl. *jaiðiiānte* to **jaiðiiānti*, which receives a justification on p. 43.

•OLD PERSIAN: *jad-* ‘to pray, ask’ ⇒ Kent: 184b

Pres. *ja-*: IND. 1sg. *jadyāmiy* <j-di-i-y-a-mi-i-y> (DPd 21, DNa 54), <j-di-i-y-a-mi-i-y> (XPh 59), <[j]-[di]-[i]-[y]-[a]-[mi]-[i]-y> (XSc 4)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *zd-* /*zay-*/ ‘to ask, demand, implore’ || (+ **ni-*) MMP *nyz’y-* ‘to entreat; honour’, BMP *nyd’dšn* /*niyāyišn*/ ‘prayer, praise, worship’. ◇ The loss of the velar **-g-* in BMP *nyd’dšn* /*niyāyišn*/, which may appear to be irregular, is due to the presence of the front vowel / glide *-iy-*, cf. MMP *nywš-*, BMP *n(y)dwšš-* /*niyō(x)šš-*/, NP *niyōš-* ‘to listen’ (< **ni-* + **gauš*), MMP *pyg’m*, NP *payām* ‘message’ (< **pati* + **gam¹*). ⇒ DMMP: 256b f.

Pres.: IND. 2sg. BMP *zdyh* /*zayē*/, 1pl. BMP *zdym* /*zayēm*/; Inf.: BMP *zstn*; Pass.: pret. IND. 3sg. BMP *zst/zast* || (+ **ni-*) Pres.: IND. 2pl. MMP *nyz’ynd*, 3pl. MMP *nyz’ynd*, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP **nyz’y’nd*

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ā-*) *’g’dg*, *’y’dg* ‘wish’ || (+ **ni-*) *ng’y-* ‘to pray, supplicate’, *ng’d* ‘prayer, obeisance’, *nyz’y-* ‘to entreat; honour’. ◇ On *nyz’y-* and MMP *nyz’y-* (etc.) cf. Gershevitch 1965: l.c. The Pth. verb *nyz’y-* is perhaps a borrowing from MP. ⇒ Ghilain: 60, 99, 86 | DMMP: 29a, 256b f., 240

(+ **ni-*) Pres.: IND. 1pl. *ng’y’m*, 1pl. *ng’y’m*, 1pl. *ng’y’m*, 2pl. *ng’y’d*, 3pl. *nyg’ynd*, SUBJ. 1pl. *ng’y’m*, *ng’y’m*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *nyz’y’nd*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **pati-*) *pajād-* ‘to ask for’ ⇒ SGS: 64 f.

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ā-*) BSogd. *’y’yδ*, MSogd. *’y’yδ* ‘to wish, desire’ || (+ **upa-*) BSogd. *’py’δw* ‘praise, fame’ || (+ **ni-*) CSogd. *ny’d’* (f.), MSogd. *ny’δ’* ‘request, entreaty’ (+ **ā-*) Pres.: IND. 1sg. BSogd. *’y’yδ’m*, 1pl. MSogd. *’y’yδym* (BBB: 42)

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **ā-*) *m/y’zy-* ‘to wish, desire’ ⇒ Samadi: 3

•BACTRIAN: ζιβ- (pret. stem) ‘to request (as a bride)’ || (+ **ā-*) αγαλγο ‘wish’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 192b f., 177a

•NWIR: ? Abz. *ĵay* ‘quarrel, dispute’

•NEIR: (+ **pati-*) ? Wa. *pyč(ы)z-/počost-*, *počozd-* ‘to ask, wish; to give back’

•MISC: Orm. *zay-ēk*, *zay-ōk* ‘to ask for’ = *žey-/žeyók*, *žay-/žayók*, *ĵay-/ĵayók* ‘to ask, want’ || (+ **ā-*) Toch. (LW) A *ākāl*, B *akāl* ‘wish’ (< Bact., Schwartz 1974: 406 f.)

•PIE **g^{wh}ed^h-* ‘to ask, wish’ ⇒ LIV: 217 | Pok.: 488

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ποθέω ‘I long for, miss (someone)’, (aor.) θέσσασθαι, OIrish *guidiu* ‘I ask’, Lith. *gedū*, Lith. *gedāju* ‘I desire, long for’, Goth. *bidjan*, Engl. *to bid*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 414b; Gershevitch 1965: 27, fn. 1; Nyberg 1974: 142; *DKS*: 198b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 282 f.; Lecoq 2002: 360 (104), 595b; Kiefer 2003: 210.

***jai** ‘to win, conquer’

•AVESTAN: *ji-* (*jaii-*) ‘to win, conquer’ ⇒ Liste: 23f.

Pres. them.: SUBJ. med. 1sg. YAv. *jaiīi* (V 18.5); Partic.: pres. YAv. *jaiiant-* (Az 7), fut. med. ? YAv. **jaēšamna-* (Yt 19.93); Intens.: IND. 3pl. OAv. *jījīšəntī* (Y 39.1), SUBJ. med. 3sg. YAv. *jījīšāiti* (V 15.14), IMPV. med. 2sg. YAv. *jījīšaṅha* (V 15.13). ◇ On YAv. **jaēšamna-* see Hintze 1994: 377 f. || On YAv. intens. *jījīša-* see Narten 1986: 120 f. In his *Liste*: 23, Kellens retracts his earlier postulation of a root *ji-* ‘*nourrir*’ for *jījīša-*: “La racine est en fait illusoire, *jījīša-* dérivant de *ji* ‘vaincre’”.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: ? BMP *y’dšn /jāyišn/, y’hšn /jāhišn/* ‘chance, fortune, omen’. ◇ Nyberg II: 107b f.: “The etymology is obscure.”.

•NWIR: (+ **ui-*) ? Awrom. *gižāy/gižia-* ‘to fight’

•SANSKRIT: *jay* ‘to win, conquer’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 573

◇ This common Iir. root has no further IE connections, except perhaps Gr. βία ‘force, violence’.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 206 | Pok.: 469 f.

•REFERENCES: MacKenzie 1966: 96; Werba 1997: 187

***jaiH¹** ‘to live’

•AVESTAN: *juua-* ‘to live’ ⇒ Liste: 24

Pres. {1} *ua-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *juuaiti* (V), 1pl. OAv. *juuāmahī* (Y 31.2), 3pl. YAv. *juuaitī* (V 2.41, V 3.33), SUBJ. 2sg. YAv. *juuāhi* (V 18.27), med. 1du. YAv. *juuāua* (Yt 15.40), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *juua* (Yt 13.18, A 1.12); Pres. {2} them. red.: OPT. med. 2sg. YAv. *jīyaēša* (Y 62.10); Partic.: pres. *juuant-* (Y 31.3, Y 24.5, Y 26.6, etc.), caus. YAv. *juuaitant-* (Yt 19.11)

•OLD PERSIAN: *jīv-* ‘to live’ ⇒ Kent: 185a

Pres. them.: impf. IND. 3du. *ajīvatam* <a-ji-i-v-t-m> (DSf 14, XPf 21), IMPV. 2sg. *jīvā* <ji-i-v-a> (DB 4.56, DB 4.75)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *zyw-*, BMP *zyw-* /zī(wi)y-/ ‘to live’, MMP *zywyn-* (caus.) ‘to resuscitate’ || (+ **fra-*) MMP *przyw-* ‘to live on, survive, propagate oneself’ ⇒ DMMPP: 388a f., 283b

Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *zywyd*, BMP *zywyt /zī(wi)yēd/*, 3pl. BMP *zywynd /zī(wi)yēnd/*, SUBJ. 2sg. MMP *zyw’*, MMP *zyw’y*, MMP *zyw’yy*, etc. || (+ **fra-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *przywynd*

•PARTHIAN: *jyw-* ‘to live’ ⇒ Ghilain: 66, 76 | DMMPP: 200a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. **jywyd*, 3pl. *jywynd*, SUBJ. 1pl. *jyw’m*, IMPV. 2sg. *jyw*; Partic.: pres. *jywndg*, *jyw’ng* ‘living, alive’; Inf.: *jyw’dn*, *jy’dn*

•KHOTANESE: *juv-* (*jū-, jvī-*) ‘to live’ ⇒ SGS: 36

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *’zw-*, BSogd. (*’*)*zw-*, CSogd. *žw-*, MSogd. *jw-* ‘to live’ || (+ **abi-*) BSogd. *’βz’y*, MSogd. *βjy* ‘to grow, add’ || (+ **ā-*) BSogd. *’z’y-* ‘to be born’, CSogd. *ž’w-* (caus.) ‘to cause to live, give life to’ || (+ **ham-*) MSogd. *’nz’w* ‘to wake up, resuscitate’

Pres.: IND. 1sg. SSogd. *’zw’m*, 3sg. BSogd. *zwt*, 3pl. BSogd. *’zw’nt*, SUBJ. 1sg. SSogd. *’zw’n*, OPT. 2sg. CSogd. *žwy*, IMPV. 2pl. CSogd. *žwt*; *’z-*Impf.: IND. 1sg. CSogd. *žw’zw*; Pret.: tr. 3sg. CSogd. *žw’d’rt*; Fut.: IND. 1sg. CSogd. *žwnq’*, 2pl. CSogd. *žw’q’* || (+ **abi-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *’βz’yt*, BSogd. *’βz’yt*, dur. MSogd. *βjytskwn*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *β’zy* || (+ **ā-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd.

ʾzʾyt, SUBJ. 3sg. MSogd. ʾʾjyʾt ‘will be born’; Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. ʾʾzʾy; Pret.: intr. IND. 3pl. BSogd. ʾʾzytʾnt; Partic.: pres. CSogd. ʾʾwʾny ‘life-giving’; Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. CSogd. ʾʾwt, impf. IND. 3sg. CSogd. mʾʾw, pret. tr. 3sg. CSogd. ʾʾwdʾrt || (+ *ham-) Caus.: pret./perf. IND. 3sg. MSogd. ʾnzʾwt δʾrt (MKG: 524)

•CHORESMIAN: zyw- ‘to live, become alive’, zywy- (caus.) ‘to make alive, resuscitate’ ⇒ Samadi: 267

•BACTRIAN: ζoo- ‘to live’, ζονδδιου ‘living’ || (+ *abi-) αβζι- ‘to continue’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 193a, 173b

•NWIR: NP *zīstan/zīy-* ‘to live’, Kurd. *žiyān/žī-*, Ard. *zo/zā-*, Awrom. *žiwāy/-žiw-*, Gur. (Kand.) *žīā/-žīā-* ‘to live, be alive’, NP *zindah*, Jow. *džande*, Tr. *žān(da)*, Varz. *ḷenda* ‘alive, living’, Kurd. *žīn* ‘life’, Tr. *zāyāya/zāy-* ‘to give birth’

•NEIR: Yzgh. *žaw-/žod* ‘to revive after an illness’, Yghn. *žu-* ‘to live’, Pash. *žwāk, žwand* ‘life’

•MISC: Par. *janō* ‘alive’

•SANSKRIT: *jīv* ‘to live’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 594

•PIE *g^weiH₃-, *g^wieH₃-/*g^wH₃i- ‘to live’ ⇒ LIV: 215 f. | Pok.: 467 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *vīvō*, OCS *živŏ*, Lith. *gyjũ*, Latv. *dzīvu* ‘I live’, Toch. *sāw-* ‘to live’

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 151; *KPF* II: 203; *EVP*: 106; *IIFL* I: 262a; *KPF* II: 203; Lambton 1938: 72b; Andreev – Peščereva: 270b; Fraenkel I: 154a f.; MacKenzie 1966: 114; *EVS*: 119b; Nyberg II: 231b; *DKS*: 111a f.; Cabolov 1997: 74; Werba 1997: 460 f.; Adams 1999: 627; Lecoq 2002: 129, 131 (passim)

*jaiH² ‘to perish, be corrupted; to destroy’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *ji(i)-* ‘to decrease, destroy’ || (+ *fra-) ‘id.’ ⇒ Liste: 24

Pres. *nā-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *jināiti* ([BMP transl.] *abesihēnēd*, F553); Partic.: pres. pass. YAv. *ajiamna-* ‘not ageing’ (Yt 13.50, Yt 15.16, V 2.26, etc.), YAv. *afrajiama-* ‘not decreasing’ (Yt 13.14). ◇ On YAv. *jināiti* see Klingenschmitt 1968: 167.

•OLD PERSIAN: *ji-* ‘to grow old’ ⇒ Kent: 185a

Partic.: pres. pass. *jiyamna-* ‘the end (<*growing old>’ <ji-i-y-m-n-> (DB 2.62)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *zyh-* ‘to disappear, be removed’ ⇒ DMMPP: 386b

Pres.: SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *zyhʾnd*

•KHOTANESE: *jān-* (*jin-*) ‘to destroy’, (pass.) ‘to disappear, be removed’ || (+ *pati-) LKh. *pajy-* ‘to decay (of teeth)’ ⇒ SGS: 35, 65

•NWIR: ? NP (dial.) *jindah* ‘whore, prostitute’, borrowed into Abyan. *ḷende*, Ard. *ḷende*, Bakht. *ḷinda*, etc. ◇ NP *jindah* is evidently a dialectal borrowing.

•SANSKRIT: *jiyā* ‘to take away, deprive from’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 602

◇ The Iranian root *jaiH² resembles the root *zaiH in meaning and form. Note for instance both paradigms in Avestan. The different initial consonant could be explained in terms of interference (notably from *jan ‘to kill, slay, strike’).

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 167 | Pok.: 469

•REFERENCES: *DKS*: 110b; Werba 1997: 404 f.; Vahman – Asatrian 1991: 107; Lecoq 2002: 617

***jan** ‘to kill, slay, strike’

•AVESTAN: *jan-* (*yn-*) ‘to kill, slay’ || (+ **auā-*) ‘to kill’ || (+ **upa-*) ‘to nudge, touch upon’ || (+ **pati-*) ‘to strike, hit (with a weapon) against’ || (+ **ni-*) ‘to strike down’

⇒ Liste: 23

Pres. {1} athem.: IND. 1sg. med. YAv. *niyne* (Yt 4.5), 3sg. YAv. *jaiṇti* (V 13.8, Yt 17.20, Yt 3.10 ff., etc.), med. YAv. *niyne* (Y 10.2, Y 57.29, Yt 10.104), 3pl. YAv. *^sniyṇti* (Yt 10.133), 3pl. med. *^sniyṇāire* (Yt 10.40), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *janāni* (V 19.5, Yt 4.5, Yt 15.28), 3sg. YAv. *janaṭ* (Yt 19.26, Yt 19.41 ff.), 1pl. YAv. *janāma* (Y 61.5), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *janiṇā* (Yt 10.2), 3sg. YAv. *janiṇāṭ* (V 18.12), YAv. *auua.janiṇāṭ* (V 14.5 f., V 16.12, V 18.73, V 19.41), YAv. *upa.janiṇāṭ* (V 5.11), med. YAv. *paiti.ṇnāta* (Yt 13.67), 3pl. med. ? YAv. *^sjan(a)iiṇta* (Vn 112), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *jaiḍi* (Y 9.30 ff.), 3sg. YAv. *jaṇtu* (V); Pres. {2} them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *janaiti* (V 5.2, V 5.34, V 15.5), INJ. 3pl. YAv. *janəṇ* (Yt 14.56), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *janāiti* (Yt 2.11), YAv. *janāṭ* (Y 9.24, Yt 3.14 ff., 9.18, etc.), 3sg. med. YAv. *nijanāite* (V 9.56), OPT. 3sg. med. YAv. *auua.janaēta* (V 16.12), 3pl. YAv. *auua.janaiṇ* (V 8.74); Partic.: pres. YAv. *ṇant-* (Yt 10.71), med. YAv. *ṇāna-* (V 15.14), YAv. *auuaṇāna-* (V 13.51), perf. YAv. *jaynuūāh-* (Y 57.10, Yt 10.71), fut. pass. YAv. *jaḥuua-* (V 13.40 f., V 18.65), perf. pass. YAv. *-jata-* (Yt 10.110), YAv. *nijata-* (Yt 5.77); Inf. pres. OAv. *jaidiāi* (Y 32.14); Pass.: pres. SUBJ. 3pl. YAv. *janiṇānti* (Yt 8.61, ? Yt 14.43); Intens.: pres. IND. 3pl. med. YAv. *nijayṇənte* (Yt 13.48), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *auua.jayṇaṭ* (Yt 13.105), SUBJ. 3sg. ? YAv. *^sauuajayṇāṭ* (V 13.32 ff.)

•OLD PERSIAN: *ja(n)-* ‘to strike; smite, defeat (enemy in battle); mould (brick)’ || (+ **aua-*) ‘to smite down, slay’ || (+ **pati-*) ‘to fight against’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to cut off’
⇒ Kent: 184b f.

Pres. athem.: IND. 3sg. *jaⁿtiy* <j-t-i-y> (DSe 36, DSe 40), impf. 1sg. *ajanam* <a-j-n-m> (DB 1.89, DB 1.95, DB 2.69, DB 5.25, XPh 34), <a-j-n-m> (DB 4.6), 3sg. *ajaⁿ* <a-j> (DB 2.26, DB 2.36, DB 2.41, DB 2.55, 2.61, DB 2.87, etc.), <[a]-j> (DB 2.46), 3sg. med. *patiyajatā* <p-t-i-y-j-t-a> (DNa 47), 3pl. *avājanaⁿ* <[a]-[v]-a-j-n> (DB 2.13), OPT. 3sg. *avājaniyā* <a-v-a-j-n-i-y-a> (DB 1.51), IMPV. 2sg. *jadyi* <[j]-[di]-i-y> (DB 2.31), <j-di-i-y> DB 2.51, DB 3.15), 2pl. *jatā* <j-t-a> (DB 2.21, DB 2.84, DB 3.58, DB 3.86); Partic.: perf. pass. *avajata-* <a-v-j-t> (DB 1.32)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *zn-*, BMP *zn-* /*zan-*/ ‘to beat, strike, smite; to play an instrument’ || (+ **aua-*) MMP *’wzn-*, BMP *’wc-* /*ōz-*/ ‘to kill’ || (+ **ui-*) IMP *wz’d-* (denomin.) ‘to destroy’ ⇒ DMMP: 383b f., 77b.

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *jnyd*, BMP *znyt* /*zanēd*/, 2pl. MMP *znyd*, SUBJ. 1sg. MMP *zn’n*, 3pl. MMP *zn’nd*; Partic.: pres. MMP *zn’n*, perf. pass. MMP *zd* || (+ **aua-*) Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP *’wznym*, 3sg. MMP *’wznyd*, 3pl. MMP *’wznynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. MMP *’wzn’n*, 3pl. MMP *’wzn’nd*; Partic.: pres. MMP *’wzn’g*, perf. pass. MMP *’wzd*; Inf.: MMP *’wzdn* || (+ **ui-*) Inf.: IMP *wz’dtny*

•PARTHIAN: *jn-* ‘to beat, strike, smite; to make with a die; to play an instrument’ || (+ **aua-*) *’wjn-* ‘to kill’ || (+ **ui-*) IPth. *wyz’d-* (denomin.) ‘to harm’ ⇒ Ghilain: 55 | DMMP: 199a, 68b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *jnyd*, 3pl. *jnynd*, SUBJ. 3sg. *jn’h*; Partic.: perf. pass. *jd*; Inf.: *jdn* || (+ **aua-*) Pres.: IND. 2sg. *^swjnyh*, *’wjnyy*, 3sg. *’wjnyd*, 3pl. *^swjnynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *’wjn’n*, 2sg. *’wjn*, *’wjn’h*; Partic.: perf. pass. *’wjđ* || (+ **ui-*) Inf.: IPth. *wyz’dytn*

•KHOTANESE: *jsan-* ‘to strike; slay’, *jsañ-* (pass.) ‘to be struck, slain’ || (+ **pati-*) OKh. *pajs(añ-*) ‘to be struck, beaten’ || (+ **ni-*) *nijās-* ‘to befall, be struck with’
⇒ SGS: 37, 65

•SOGDIAN: MSogd. *jn-* ‘to strike’ || (+ **aṭa-*) BSogd. ‘wzy’n ‘killing, slaughter’ || (+ **pati-*) CSogd. *ptyny* (loc. sg. f.) ‘in the manner of’ (Schwartz 1967: 151) || (+ **fra-*) MSogd. *frjn-* ‘to cut off’. ◇ On MSogd. *frjn-* cf. Henning 1965: 32, fn. 4: "The close agreement in meaning with Old Persian *frajan-* is noteworthy." OP *nāham utā gaušā utā hazānam frājanam* ‘I cut off his nose and ears and tongue’ vs. MSogd. *b’d b’d gwš frjnynd* ‘time and again they cut off his ears’.

Inf.: pres. MSogd. *jnyy* (Sogd. *Tales*: 467), pret. MSogd. *jtyy* (Sogd. *Tales*: 467) || (+ **fra-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. MSogd. *frjnynd*

•CHORESMIAN: *γ-* (< **γn-* ?) ‘to hit, strike’ ⇒ Samadi: 74 f.

•BACTRIAN: *ζι-* ‘to strike’ || (+ **ui-*) οιζωνδα-γαρο ‘injurious, able to cause injury’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 192a f., 212b

•NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *zadan/zan-*, *Zaz.* *jināyīš/jīnen-*, *Gz.* *žen-/žēnt* ‘to beat, hit; to play (music)’, *Bal.* *jat/jan-* ‘to strike, hit’, *Awrom.* *žanāy/(-)žan-* ‘to shut (the door, etc.); to churn’, *Fariz.* *-jāj/-jan-*, *Yar.* *-žā/-žan-*, *Natan.* *jāj/jān-* ‘to play (a string instrument)’, *Fariz.* *-gan/-gan-* (denomin. ?), *Yar.* *gon-/gon-* (denomin. ?), *Ard.* *jiye/jin-*, *Gil.* (Rsht.) *zæen/zæen-*, *Ham.* *jīyān/jēn-*, *Khuns.* *zin-*, *Anar.*, *Lasg.* *-jāš/-jæen-*, *Nn.* *zeye/zin-*, *Qohr.* *jīda/jin-*, *Sang.* *-žē/žæen-*, *Shamerz.* *-zi(n)/-zānām-*, *Soi zat,* *Sorkh.* *-jahān/-jān-*, *Varz.* *jīnde/jin-* ‘to hit, strike’, *Gur.* (Kand.) *-žinyān-* (pass.) */-žān-* ‘to close the door’ || (+ **ā-*) *Delij.* *ājenī* ‘to strike, beat (on the ground)’ (*Safari* 1373: 68, 229) || (+ **ui-*) NP *gazand* ‘damage, injury’

•NEIR: *Pash.* *-žan/-žəl* ‘to chop, mince’, *Oss.* I. *qæen*, *D.* *ğænæ* ‘wound, fracture; shortcoming; [also D.] guilt, transgression’, (NP >) *Sh.* *zīn-/zīd*, *Khf.* *zæen-/zöd*, *Rosh.* *zān-/zod*, *Sariq.* *zon-/zed*, *Yzgh.* *žan-/žūd* ‘to beat, kill’ || (+ **abi-*) *Yzgh.* *vəjan-/vəjad* ‘to throw down, overcome, vanquish, conquer’ || (+ **upa-*) *Sh.* *bizīn-/bizīd*, *Khf.* *bizæen-/bizod*, *Rosh.* *bizin-/bizod*, *Bart.* *bizān-/bizöd* ‘to drive into, enclose cattle in cowhouse/pen’, *Sariq.* *bīzis-/bīzeyd*, *bīzis-/bīzeyd* (inch.) ‘to touch, brush against, attack, attain’ || (+ **ni-* ?) *Pash.* *nāyand* (m.) ‘harm, damage, injury’

•MISC: *Par.* *jan-/jō*, *Orm.* *zan-/zōk* ‘to beat, strike’ = *zan-/jók*, *zók*, *jan-/jók*, *zók* || (+ **aṭa-*) *Orm.* *užnaw-/užnawōk*, *wazn-/wazyōk* ‘to kill’

•SANSKRIT: *han* ‘to strike, to slay, to kill’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 800

◇ This root has impeccable IE credentials.

•PIE **g^{wh}en-* ‘to slay, kill’ ⇒ LIV: 218 f. | Pok.: 491 ff.

•IE COGNATES: *Hitt.* *ku-(e)-en-zi* ‘he kills’, *Gr.* *θείω* ‘I kill’, *Gr.* *φόνος* (m.) ‘murder’, *Olrish gonim* ‘I hurt, kill’, etc.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 82a, 246b; *IIFL* I: 262a, 414a, 388b; *EVP*: 105; *KPF* II: 184; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 67, 165, 159, 260; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 50, 52 f., 115, 118, 159 f.; Abrahamian 1936: 116; MacKenzie 1966: 114; Gignoux 1972: 36b, 67b; *EVS*: 108a, 117a, 22b; Lecoq 1974: 63; Nyberg II: 230a f., 146b f.; *WIM* I: 68, 74; *WIM* II/1: 87; *DKS*: 114a f., 115a; Abaev, *Slovar* II: 290 f.; Werba 1997: 268 f.; Paul 1998: 299a, 302b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 329, s.v. *šay-/šit-*; Jusupova 2000: 84; Lecoq 2002: 121, 130; 132 (passim); *NEVP*: 56; Kiefer 2003: 210; Korn 2005: 313, 368 (passim)

***j̥iauH** ‘to chew’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *jw-* ‘to chew’, BMP *ywd-/jōy-/* ‘to chew; devour (daevic)’

⇒ DMMPP: 199

Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *jwynd*, BMP *ywdynd/jōyēnd/*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *jwwd*, BMP *ywt/jūd/*

•PARTHIAN: *j’w-* ‘to chew (?)’ ⇒ DMMPP: 197b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *j’wyd*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ham-*) LKh. *hamjvāme* ⇒ SGS: 138 f.

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *zyβ*, MSogd. *jβ* ‘to bite’, CSogd. (*zb’qy*) ^x*žyb’mnty* ‘the biting (of their tongues)’. ◇ Sogd. *-β-* (CSogd. *-b-*) is perhaps due to the influence of *zβ’k* (CSogd. *zb’q*) ‘tongue, language’.

Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *žyβ’*; Pass.: pret. IND. 1sg. MSogd. *jβ’ty’kty* ‘I have been bitten’ (BBB: 43)

•NWIR: NP *javīdan/jav-*, Bal. *jāθ-/jā-*, Kurd. (Kurmanji) *jūn*, *jūtin/jū-*, (Sorani) *jūn/jū-*, *jāwīn/jāw-*, Zaz. *jāwitiš/jāwen-*, (LW) Siv. *ğav-/ğavī*, Tal. *jūye* ‘to chew’, Abz. *jovīda/jov-* ‘to gnaw’

•NEIR: Pash. *žōwul*, *žōyəl/žōy-* ‘to chew’, (LW ?) Yghn. *žav-/žafṭa* ‘to eat (liquid food), drink, slurp’ (why *-v/-f-* ?), Rosh. *yiṣṣāw-/yiṣṣud*, Bart. *yiṣṣāw-/yiṣṣud*, Khf. *yiṣṣāw-/yiṣṣud*, Orosh. *yiṣṣāw-/yiṣṣud* ‘to gnaw, nibble’, Sariq. *ž(i)ṣṣew-/žṣṣod* ‘to masticate, munch, to fight together [of dogs, etc.]’, ? Ishk. *šāw-/šāwod* ‘to chew’ (š- < ?), ? Yi. *žaf-/žaft-* ‘to chew, masticate; to light a fire’ (why *-f-* ?)

•MISC: Orm. *zay-ēk* ‘to chew, masticate’ = *zay/zayók*

◇ On the development of initial **ǵj-* > Ir. **j̥j-* see Rasmussen 1989: 114, no. 5. This development suggested by Rasmussen may also account for the doublet roots ***j̥jaH** ~ ***zaiH** ‘to perish; to destroy’ and ***č̥jaH³/č̥iH** ~ ***saiH/siH** ‘to freeze’, but both cases have no clear IE etymology.

•PIE **ǵj̥euH-* ‘to chew, bite’ ⇒ LIV: 168 | Pok.: 400

•IE COGNATES: Toch. *śu-* ‘to eat; consume, devour’, OCS *žuju*, Russ. *žujú* ‘I chew’, OHG *kewa*, OE *cēowan*, Engl. *to chew*, Lith. (f. pl.) *žiaunos* ‘jaws’, etc.

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: *EVP*: 106, 110a; *IIFL* I: 414b; *IIFL* II: 414a, 277b; Andreev – Peščereva: 369a f.; *EVS*: 36a; Nyberg II: 108b; *WIM* III: 108; Paul 1998: 302a; Adams 1999: 631 f.; Cabolov 2001: 504; Lecoq 2002: 123; Kiefer 2003: 210; Korn 2005: 315, 367 (passim)

***j̥uar ?** ‘to speak, say’

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *śver-* ‘to tell’ ⇒ SGS: 126 f.

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ā-*) CSogd. *’žwyrnyt* (m. pl.) ‘ill-wishers, maligners’

•NWIR: (+ **ui-ā-*) ? Bal. *gwājārēnt/gwājārēn-* (sec. caus.) ‘to use bad language, accuse of adultery, cause to anger’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *zuryñ/zuryd*, D. *zorun/zurd* ‘to speak; to call’

◇ The root has a limited distribution and may be expressive.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 400; *DKS*: 405b f.; Sims-Williams 1985: 61; Cheung 2002: 181; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *gwājārēn*-

K

***kaH** ‘to take pleasure, desire’

•AVESTAN: *kā-* ‘to take pleasure, desire’ ⇒ Liste: 15f.

Pres. *ja-*: IND. 1sg. ? OAv. *kaiiā* (Y 33.6); Aor. *s-*: SUBJ. med. 1pl. ? YAv. *upa ... kāṅhāmaide* (Vyt 22); Partic.: pf. YAv. *cakuš-* (Yt 13.24). ◇ The interpretation of OAv. *kaiiā* as pres. (Humbach 1950: 541), being related to Skt. *kāyamāna-*, meets scepticism from Kellens-Pirart 1990: 229, s.v. *kan*.

•NEIR: ? Sh. *čūn* (adv.) ‘please; I swear’

•SANSKRIT: *kā* ‘to desire, wish’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia I: 334

◇ The ‘game, play’ forms can be included: BMP *k’tk /kādag/* ‘game, joke’ (Dk. 7), BSogd. *k’t’k* ‘game, play’, Chor. *k’t* ‘game’, Kurd. (Sor.) *kāya*, Zaz. *kāy* (f.), Gz. *kāa*, Gur. (Kand.) *kāī*, Jow. *kōi* ‘game, playing’, Abyan. *kāye*, Anar. *kāye*, Kesh. *kōya*, Nn. *kāye*, Qohr. *kāda*, Shamerz. *ke*, Varz. *kāhā*, Zef. *kē* ‘play’, Meim. *kōija* ‘playing, devilment’, Vel. *kō*: ‘playing’

•PIE **keH₂-* ‘to love, desire’ ⇒ LIV: 343 | Pok.: 515

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *cā-rus* ‘dear, beloved’, Goth. *ho-rs* (m.) ‘adulterer’, Engl. *whore*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 206a, 243a, 244b; *KPF* II: 257; Benveniste 1937: 514; Lambton 1938: 43b, 78b; *EVS*: 26b; Lecoq 1974: 63; *WIM* II/1: 76 f.; *WIM* III: 106; Werba 1997: 189, 197, 275 (passim); Cabolov 2001: 547; Lecoq 2002: 579a, 609a, 631b, 648a, 679b (passim)

***kaHm** ‘to desire, love’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *k’m-*, BMP *k’m-* (*YšBHN-*) ‘to wish, want’, MMP *k’m*, BMP *k’m /kām/* ‘wish, desire’ || (+ **fra-*) MMP *frg’m-* ‘to desire’. ◇ *k’m-* is also used as aux. verb.

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *k’myd*, *q’myd*, *q’myyd*, 2pl. MMP *q’myyd*, 3pl. MMP *q’mynd*, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *k’m’nd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *q’myst*, BMP *k’myst /kāmist/* || (+ **fra-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *prg’myd*, SUBJ. 1pl. MMP *frg’m’m*, OPT. 3sg. MMP *prg’myyh*

•PARTHIAN: *k’m-* ‘to wish, want’, *k’m* ‘wish, will’. ◇ *k’m-* is also used as an aux. verb. ⇒ Ghilain: 60 | DMMPP: 202a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *k’myd*, *q’myd*, 1pl. *k’m’m*, *q’m’m*, 2pl. *k’myd*, *q’myd*, 3pl. *k’mynd*, *q’mynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. **k’m’*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *k’m’d*, *q’m’d*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ā-*) OKh. *ātīm-* ‘to desire’, *ātama-* ‘desire’ (with hiatus filler *-t-*). ◇ Emmerick derives the Khot. form from **kāmaja-*, for which a secondary shortening or weakening of the stem vowel is assumed (also, Emmerick, *CLI*: 211). ⇒ SGS: 8

•SOGDIAN: SSogd., BSogd. *k’m*, CSogd., MSogd. *q’m* ‘to want, wish’

Well attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. SSogd. *L' k'm* 'I don't want', 2sg. BSogd. *k'm'y*, dur. CSogd. *q'mysq*, 3sg. BSogd. *k'mt*, BSogd. *k'mtt*, CSogd. *q'mt*, dur. CSogd. *q'mtq*, etc.

- CHORESMIAN: *k'my-* 'to desire, wish' ⇒ Samadi: 99
- BACTRIAN: *χοα-καμο, χογαμο* 'acting willingly' ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 231b
- NWIR: Fariz. *kām-* (e.g. *kāmon dā* 'I shall give'), Soi *kām-* aux. fut. (e.g. *kāmūn šū* 'I shall go'), NP *kām* 'desire, wish; pursuit'
- NEIR: Oss. I. *komynd/k_oymd*, D. *komun/kund* 'to consent, yield', Oss. *kom* 'consent', Sh. *čēmb-/čēmt*, Rosh. *čēmb-/čēmt*, Khf. *čāmb-*, Sariq. *čomb-/čimd*, Yzgh. *kam-*, Sangl. *kəmay-*, Wa. *kəm(ə)y-/kəmət-* 'to wish, want; to consent'
- MISC: Arm. (LW) *kamem* 'I want', *kamk'* 'wish'
- SANSKRIT: *kāma-* 'desire, wish', *kamī* (denomin.) 'to desire' ⇒ EWAia I: 338, 306
 ◇ The Ir. denominative formations derive from a noun **kaHma-*, which itself is an IE nominal derivative of **keh₂-* (***kaH**).
- PIE **keH₂-mo-* 'desire'
- REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 246a; Christensen, *Contributions*: 140, 160; Abaev, *Slovar'* I: 601, 599; *EVS*: 26a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 216

*ka(H)ud 'to pound, crush'

- CHORESMIAN: *m/kwnd-* 'to pound, crush' || (+ **ati-*) ? *ckwnd* 'to knock, hammer', *ckwndyk* 'hammer' ⇒ Samadi: 107
- NWIR: Bal. *kudit/kud-* 'to scratch, wound, injure', Tt. (Tak.) *ākun/ākund*, (Cha.) *kun/kund* 'to beat, thresh', Qohr. *kosta/kod-* 'to pound, crush'
- PIE **k(e)H₂u-d^(h)-* (**kH₂(e)u-d^(h)-*) 'to beat, pound' ⇒ LIV: 345 | Pok.: 535
- IE COGNATES: Toch. A *kot-*, B *kaut-* 'to split off, break; chop up, down; to crush' (Adams 1999: 210), Lat. *cūdō* 'I beat, pound, thresh; to forge, strike'
- REFERENCES: Yarshater 1969: 183; Lecoq 2002: 121, 338 (427); Shabbakhsh: s.v. *kud-*

*ka(H)us 'to pound'

- MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *kws-/kōs-* 'to beat, pound'
 Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *kwst/kōst*; Inf.: BMP *kwstn/kōstan*
- KHOTANESE: *kūsa-* 'vessel; drum'
- SOGDIAN: BSogd. *kws* 'drum'
- CHORESMIAN: (+ **ni-*) *m/ks-* 'to be pounded, trampled down' ⇒ Samadi: 104
- NWIR: NP *kustan, kōstan* 'to beat, pound', *kōs* 'drum'
- NEIR: (+ **ham-*) ? Oss. I. *ænk'ysyn/ænk'yst*, D. *ænk'usun/ænk'ust* 'to shake, swing, vacillate'
- ◇ An IE origin for this root cannot be ascertained. The root may have been split off from ***ka(H)ud**, being abstracted from the past stem.
- PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 345 | Pok.: 535
- REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar'* I: 163; *DKS*: 64a; Nyberg II: 119a

***kaiH (*čaiH³) ?** ‘to move, to set in motion ?’

•NWIR: Awrom. *kīāstáy/kīān-*, Gur. (Bajal.) *kīāst-/kīān-*, (Gahv.) *kīān-*, (Kand.) *kīāst-/kīān-*, Abz. *kīnowa/kīn-*, Qohr. *kīnāda/kīn-*, Siv. *kīn-/kinē* ‘to send’ || (+ *ā-) Abyan. *ājyā/ājey-* ‘to approach’

◇ Hitherto there was no known etymology for these modern, yet relatively archaic forms. They are perhaps connected to the IE root **keiH₂-* ‘to set in motion, go’. The forms with initial *k-* reflect a caus. formation **koiH₂-eje-*.

•PIE **keiH₂-* ‘to set in motion, go’ ⇒ LIV: 346 | Pok.: 538

•IE COGNATES: Gr. κίω ‘I set in motion, go’, κῑνέω, Lat. *cieō* ‘I set in motion’

•REFERENCES: *KPF* II: 388, 206, 415, 443; MacKenzie 1966: 100; *WIM* III: 111; Jusupova 2000: 85; Lecoq 2002: 121, 124, 127, 572 (passim)

***kamp** ‘to bend’

•PARTHIAN: (+ *ni-) *nkmb-* ‘to bend’ ⇒ DMMPP: 242b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *^xnkmyd*, 3pl. *nkmynd*

•SOGDIAN: CSogd. *qmp-* (f.) ‘strategem, ruse’ || (+ *apa-) BSogd. *pk’np-* ‘to turn away, deflect’ || (+ *ā-) ? MSogd. *’kmb* ‘to suppress, curb, restrain’ (v. *Sogdica*: 43.9 f.) || (+ *ni-) BSogd. *nk’np-* ‘to bend; subdue’

(+ *apa-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *pk’npt* || (+ *ā-) Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. *’k’βt’k* ‘crooked, not straight’ f. BSogd. *’k’βtc-(h)*, BSogd. *’k’βtcy-h* ‘crooked’ || (+ *ni-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *nk’npt*; Inf.: BSogd. *nk’np’y*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *ā-) *m’kfs-* ‘to be(come) bend, curved; to be lowered’, (caus.) *m’knby-* ‘to bend, curve’ || (+ *us-) *m/sknb-* ‘to trip, stumble’ || (+ *ni-) *m/nknby-* ‘to sink down’ ⇒ Samadi: 4, 181, 129

•NWIR: (?) NP *čamīdan* ‘to twist, bend’, NP *čaftah* ‘curved, bent, a vaulted roof’

•NEIR: ? Pash. (Waz.) *cāvda* ‘nook under overhanging rocks, cave’ (< NP ?) || (+ *ni-) Rosh. *nijūm* ‘fall’ (in *nijūm čūg* ‘they fell’)

◇ There is little evidence for a (separate) root **kamp* with the meaning ‘to shake, tremble’, matching Skt. *kamp*. The Avestan form *^xkafsān* (Yt 10.113), cited in *Liste*: 14 as evidence, is unclear. These forms are often connected to Gr. κόμπτω ‘I bend’, Lith. *kuṃpti* ‘to be crooked, bent’, *kaṃpas* ‘corner’, etc. (albeit with queries in *LIV*, l.c.), which are assigned an IE provenance accordingly. However, the unusual structure of the forms is not typical for IE: they may rather point to borrowing from a substratum language, cf. Beekes 1969: 134 (also Beekes, *A Greek etymological Dictionary*, www.ieed.nl: s.v. κόμπτω).

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 342 | Pok.: 525

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 18; *GMS*: par. 676; *EVS*: 48b; *ESlJa* II: 226 f.; *NEVP*: 18

***kan¹** ‘to throw, place, put; to destroy’

•AVESTAN: (+ *ni-) ? YAv. *ni kan-* ‘to bury’ || (+ *ui-) YAv. *vīkān-* ‘to destroy, ruin’

Pres. athem. {1}: IND. 3sg. (^h)*vīka(i)ṅti* (V 3.13), ^h*vīkaṅti* (V 3.22); Caus.: pres. SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *vīkānaiiāt* (V 7.51); Pres. them. {2}: OPT. 3pl. ? YAv. *ni kanaiiēn* (V 17.12)

•OLD PERSIAN: (+ **aya-*) ? *avakan-* ‘to throw, place on’ || (+ **ni-*) *nika(n)-* ‘to tear down’ || (+ **ui-*) *vika^(h)-* ‘to destroy’ ⇒ Kent: 178b

Pres. (a)them.: impf. IND. 1sg. *avākanam* <a-v-a-k-n-m> (DB 1.86), *viyakanam* <vi-i-y-k-n-m> (XPH 38), 3sg. *viyaka* <vi-i-y-k> (DB 1.64), SUBJ. 2sg. *vikanāhy* <vi-i-k-n-a-h-y> (DB 4.71, DB 4.73), *vikanāh^o* <vi-i-k-n-a-h-^o> (DB 4.77), IMPV. 3sg. *nikaⁿtu* <n-i-k-tu-u-v> (DB 4.80)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *qn-*, BMP *kn-* /*kan-* ‘to dig (up); to raze, destroy’ || (+ **apa-*) MMP *’bgn-* (BMP *LMYTWN-*) ‘to throw away’ || (+ **pari-*) MMP *prgn-*, BMP *plkn-* /*pargan-* ‘to scatter, sow’ || (+ **fra-*) BMP *plkn-* /*fragan-* ‘to throw, lay (the foundations)’ || (+ **ui-*) MMP *gwg’n-*, BMP *gwk’n-* /*gugān-* ‘to destroy’ ⇒ DMMP: 206a, 10b, 278b, 166b

Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *qnd*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3pl. MMP *qnyhynd* || (+ **apa-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP ^h*’bgnyd*, 3pl. MMP *’bgnynd*, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *’bgn’d*, 3pl. MMP ^h*’bgn’nd*, IMPV. 2pl. MMP *’bgnyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *’bgnd* || (+ **pari-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *plknyt* /*parganēd*/, 3pl. BMP *plknynd* /*parganēnd*/, SUBJ. 3sg. ? MMP *prgn’d*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *plgndk* /*pargandag*/, BMP *plknd* /*pargand*/ || (+ **fra-*) Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *plknd* /*fragand*/ || (+ **ui-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *gwg’nyd*, SUBJ. 3sg. BMP *gwk’n’t* /*gugānād*/; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *gwgndg*

•PARTHIAN: *kn-* ‘to dig (up); to raze, destroy’ || (+ **apa-*) *’bgn-* ‘to throw’ || (+ **para-ā-*) *pr’gn-* ‘to scatter, sow’ || (+ **pari-*) *prgn-* ‘to scatter’ || (+ **ui-*) *wygn-* ‘to be destroyed, perish’, (caus.) *wyg’n-* ‘to destroy’, *wyg’n* ‘destruction’, *wyg’ng* ‘destroyer, destroying’, *w(y)g’nyšn* ‘destruction’ ⇒ Ghilain: 55, 89, 71 | DMMP: 206a, 10b, 277a, 278b, 352b f.

(+ **apa-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *’bgnyd*, 3pl. *’bgnynd*, OPT. 3pl. *’bgnyndy*; Partic.: perf. pass. *’bgnd* || (+ **para-ā-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. ^h*pr’gnyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *pr’gnd*, ^h*prgnd* || (+ **pari-*) Partic.: perf. pass. ^h*prgnd* || (+ **ui-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *wygnyd*, *wygnynd*, 3pl. *wygnynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *wygn dg*, *wygn d*; Caus.: pres. IND. 2sg. MMP *wyg’nyh*, 3sg. *wyg’nyd*, 2pl. *wyg’nyd*, 3pl. *wyg’nynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. ^h*wyg’n’n*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **abi-*) OKh. *byāñ-* ‘to cover’ || (+ **pati-*) LKh. *pyaṅ-* ‘to cover’, (?) LKh. *pacan-* ‘to give, present; to cover’ || (+ **pari-*) **paljsan-*, *pijsan-* ‘to put around, surround; to apply’, ? LKh. *parkām-* (*parkūñ-*) ‘to sprinkle, scatter’ || (+ **ui-*) OKh. *buvan-* ‘to be harmed, ruined’, (caus.) OKh. *buvāñ-* ‘to destroy’. ◇ According to Emmerick (SGS: 75), the spelling variants of **paljsan-*, *pijsan-* can hardly be reconciled with derivation **pari-kan²-* ‘to fill’. A different meaning and, consequently, different etymology is given by Bailey (DKS: 218b): ‘to spread, bestrew’ (**pari-kau-*). Alternatively, it may indicate a loan word or a living connection with unprefix forms (S-W). ⇒ SGS: 105, 82, 62, 76, 75, 102

•SOGDIAN: (+ **us-*) BSogd. *sknt’k*, CSogd. *sqnty* (ppp.) ‘destroyed’, also in compounds, SSogd. *ktsknt’k* ‘ruined, waste’, MSogd. *qtsndy* ‘destruction’ (GMS: §365, fn. 1, 472) || (+ **para-ā-*) BSogd. *pr’kn-* ‘to sow, scatter’ || (+ **ui-*) MSogd. *yk-n-* ‘to destroy’, MSogd. *wyyn-* (pass.) ‘to be destroyed’ (< Pth.)

(+ **para-ā-*) Pres.: OPT. 2sg. BSogd. *pr'kny*; Inf.: pret. MSogd. **pr'gndy*, MSogd. *pr'qndyy*, MSogd. *pr'kndyyh* || (+ **ūi-*) Inf.: ? MSogd. *qnyy ykynyy* {*BBB*: 33}; Pass.: IND. pres. 3sg. MSogd. *wyryndyy*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **ati-*) *m/ckn-* 'to pick up' || (+ **us-*) *m/sk(y)n-* 'to take out (sword, ink)', 'to take (revenge)' || (+ **pati-*) *pckn-* 'to fulfil/perform (prayer), settle a debt; to take in (medicine)' || (+ **para-ā-*) *pr'kn-* 'to sow, scatter, apply (medicine) on' || (+ **ni-*) *nkn-* 'to bury' || (+ **ūi-*) *wkny-* 'to wear out, become old; be ruined', (tr./caus.) *wk'ny-* 'to wear out; ruin, tear down'. ◇ Samadi (l.c.) assigns *m/sk(y)n-* to the root **kan-* 'to dig', which is semantically troublesome. || According to MacKenzie 1990: 119, Chor. *pckn-* in the sense of 'to (ful)fill, settle (a debt)' has a different root, **kan²-* 'to fill'? ⇒ Samadi: 51, 181, 140, 149, 129, 215

•BACTRIAN: (+ **para-ā-*) *πααααο* 'sowing' (J11, L12, V21, V21') ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 216

•NWIR: NP *kandan/kan-*, Meim. *bem-kast* (also supplet. *bem-vat* < ***Huaǰ**)/ *a-ken-* 'to take out, uproot, pluck', Gz. *békānāēnd* 'they jump up', Gil. (Rsht.) *dær-gadæn/dær-gan-* 'to throw', (LW) *kāndœn/kān-* 'to take out, uproot, pluck' || (+ **apa-*) NP *afgandan* 'to throw, cast away' || (+ **upa-* ?) Gil. (Rsht.) *bāgāncæstæ* 'struck against' || (+ **para-ā-*) NP *parāgandan/parāgan-*, *parākandan/parākan-* 'to disperse; sow; diffuse', (ppp.) NP *parāgandah* 'dispersed, scattered, disbanded; dissipated' || (+ **pati-*) (?) NP *paykandan/paykan-* 'to join; to collect; to draw out' || (+ **pari-*) NP *pargandah* 'dispersed, scattered' || (+ **ni-*) Kurd. (Kurm.) *nikāndin* 'to bury'

•NEIR: (+ **aŋa-*) Oss. D. (*w*)*ogæn* 'secret hiding place' || (+ **fra-*) Oss. D. *rægænun/rægæd* 'to shake, spread (salt, pepper for seasoning)' || (+ **ni-*) Oss. I. *nygænyn/nygæd*, D. *nigænun/nigæd* 'to bury', Pash. *njat-/njan-* 'to implant, imbed, thrust', ? Khf. *nijan* 'willow-rope, fastened in groves made in the shaft of a spade', ? Yi. *ləyán-/ləyád-*, M. *ləyōn-/ləyēnd* 'to throw away, pour out', (intr.) Yi. *ləyn-/loyód-*, M. *nayon-/loyód-* 'to lie down, fall asleep' (why -y- ?) || (+ **niš-*) ? Oss. I. *nykkænd* 'cellar, underground accommodation'. ◇ The past stem Pash. *njat-* "is inexplicable", according to *NEVP*: l.c., but it can be solved if we assume suppletion, viz. from ***karš/*xrah**.

•MISC: (+ **apa-*) Arm. (LW) *apakanel* 'to destroy'

◇ In many Iranian languages the roots ***kan¹** 'to throw', ***kanH¹** 'to dig' and ***kan²** 'to fill' forms are homonymous and therefore often show mutual interference. For instance, the prefixed forms in **ni-* 'to bury' may, alternatively, derive from ***kan²**.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Christensen, *Contributions* I: 58 f., 72; *IIFL* II: 222b f.; Lambton 1938: 42b; Abaev, *Slovar*' II: 225, 366 f., 198, 196 f.; *EVS*: 48b; Nyberg II: 111b; *DKS*: 251a, 307b; *WIM* II/1: 78; Asatrian – Livshits: 86; Cheung 2002: 78, 243; Lecoq 2002: 121 ff., 618, 665 (passim); *NEVP*: 56

***kan²** ‘to fill’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **pati-*) MMP *phykn-* ‘to fill, enter, penetrate’ || (+ **ham-*) MMP *hngn-* ‘to fill in’ ⇒ DMMPP: 275a, 181a

Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *phykn’d*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *phyqnd*, *phyknd* || (+ **ham-*) Partic.: pres. MMP *hngn’n*, perf. pass. MMP *hngnd*

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ā-*) *’gn-*, *’gn-* ‘to fill’ ⇒ Ghilain: 55 | DMMPP: 29b f.

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *’gnd* (M2 II Vii,21(132)); Partic.: perf. pass. *’gnd*, *’gnd*

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ā-*) MSogd. *’kn* ‘to fill’

Impf.: IND. 3pl. MSogd. *m’k’nd* (M118iV.5)

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **upa-*) *bkn-* ‘to fill, load’, *bkny-* (intr./pass.) ‘to become full’ ⇒ Samadi: 20

•NWIR: (+ **ā-*) NP *āgandan/āgīn-* ‘to fill, stuff’, (caus.) NP *āganīdan/āgan-* ‘to stuff, fill, cram’

•NEIR: (+ **abi-*) Oss. I. *ævgæyn/ævgæd*, D. *ævgænun/ævgæd* ‘to pour in, fill, out; to draw’

◇ Several Iranian languages point to the existence of a separate root **kan-* ‘to fill’.

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’I: 201; Cheung 2002: 166

***kanH¹** ‘to dig’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *kan-* ‘to dig’ || (+ **api-*) ‘to fill out by digging, fill (a pit)’ || (+ **aṃa-*) ‘to establish by digging, excavate’ || (+ **us-*) ‘to dig out’ || (+ **para-*) ‘to dig around’ || (+ **ni-*) ‘to dig in’ ⇒ Liste: 14

Pres. {1} athem.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *uskənti* (V 3.12), INJ. med. 3sg. YAv. *auuakanta* (V 15.39), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *aipi.kaniīāt* (V 14.6); Pres. {2} them.: OPT. 2sg. YAv. *auua.kanōiš* (V 17.5, V 17.7); Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. *nikanta-* (V 7.43, V.3.12)

•OLD PERSIAN: *ka(n)-* ‘to dig’ ⇒ Kent: 178b

Partic.: perf. pass. *ka(ʰ)tam* <k-t-m> (DSf 25); Inf.: *kaʰtanaiy* <k-t-n-i-y> (DZc 9, XV 21); Pass.: impf. IND. 3sg. *kaniya* <a-k-n-i-y> (DSf 24, DSf 28, (?) DZc 10)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *qn-* ‘to dig (up); to raze, destroy’ (partially from ***kan¹**), BMP *kn-* (*HPLWN-*) /*kan-*/ ‘to dig (out); engrave’ || (+ **fra-*) MMP *prgnd’n* (ppp., pl.) ‘built’ ⇒ DMMPP: 206a, 278b

Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *qnd*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3pl. MMP *qnyyhnd*

•PARTHIAN: *kn-* ‘to dig (up); to raze, destroy’ (partially from ***kan¹**) ⇒ Ghilain: 206a | DMMPP: 206a

Partic.: perf. pass. *knd*

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *kaṃggan-* ‘to dig’ (< old intens.) ⇒ SGS: 20

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *kn-* ‘to put out (eye)’, BSogd. *kn-*, CSogd. *qn-*, MSogd. *kn-* ‘to dig’, SSogd. *knδh*, BSogd. *knδyh*, CSogd. *qθ(-)* ‘town’ || (+ **us-*) BSogd. *skn-* ‘to incise, engrave’, BSogd. *’sk’n* ‘line’ (Benveniste, *TSP*: 197 ad 191-2) || (+ **yi-*) ? MSogd. *ykyn* ‘to dig out’ or rather ‘to destroy’ (whence ***kan¹**)

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *knt*’, IMPV. 2sg. CSogd. *qn*’; Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *kn’skwn* ‘he was digging’; Inf.: pret. BSogd. *knt* || (+ *us-) Inf.: BSogd. *skn’t* || (+ *ui-) Inf.: ? MSogd. *qnyy ykyny* (BBB: 33)

•CHORESMIAN: *kn-* ‘to dig; to break out (of teeth)’ || (+ *us-) *m/’sk’ny-* ‘to carve’
⇒ Samadi: 102, 8

•BACTRIAN: (+ *ni-) *νακκν-* ‘to dig’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 207b

•NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *kandan/kan-*, Kurd. (Sor.) *kandin/kan-*, *Zaz. kendiš/kenen-*, Awrom. *kannáy/kan-*, Gz. *kän-/kánt*, Gur. (Kand.) *kän-/kän-*, Abyan. *kanda/kan-*, Abz. *kānda/-ken-* (-kon-) Ham. *kendän/ken-*, Isfah. *kānān/kān-*, Khuns. *ken-/kend*, *kenā*, Nn. *kēnt/ī-kīn-*, Qohr. *kanda/kin-*, Siv. *kēn-*, *k(y)en-/kānd*, *kend-*, Tal. *kande*, Tr. *kanda/ken-* ‘to dig (out)’, also Tr. *kānda* ‘sheep shelter’ (Lecoq 2002: 466) || (+ *us-) NP *sikinah, iskinah* ‘(wood-)chisel’

•NEIR: Pash. *kan-/kandəl*, (Waz.) (pret.) *wu-kīnd*, Wa. *кым-/kot*, Yghn. *kan-/kánta*, Sh. *čān-/čīnt*, Rosh. *čān-/čīnt*, Bart. *čān-/čānt*, Yzgh. *kan-/kont* ‘to dig’, Oss. I. *kænd* ‘building’ || (+ *ni-) Oss. D. *nik’æd* ‘carve, cut’

•SANSKRIT: *khaní* ‘to dig’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 445

◇ See also ***kan¹**. The IE reconstruction with **-H₁-* is based on the Skt. and Phrygian evidence. The initial *kh-* of Skt. *khaní* is odd: contamination with *kha-* (n.) ‘canal, opening, hole’, *khá-* (f.) ‘source, spring’ is usually assumed (cf. EWAia I: 446, fn.). In Iranian there is no evidence of a initial laryngeal.

•PIE ? **kenH₁-* ‘to dig’ ⇒ LIV: 344 | Pok.: 534

•IE COGNATES: ? OPhr. *keneman* ‘a monument or a part of it’ (Lubotsky 1988: 15)

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 145a; *EVP*: 32 f.; *KPF* II: 218; *IIFL* II: 526a; Abrahamian 1936: 117, 130; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 579; Andreev – Peščereva: 270; MacKenzie 1966: 99; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 196 f., 183 f.; *EVS*: 26b, 48b; *WIM* I: 69; *WIM* II/1: 78; *WIM* III: 111; *Werba* 1997: 281 f.; Paul 1998: 303a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 221; Cabolov 2001: 533, 507; Lecoq 2002: 121, 123, 126, 444 (passim)

***kanH²** ‘to love, take pleasure in’

•AVESTAN: *kan-* ‘to love, take pleasure in’, *-cinah-* (in cmpds.) ‘desire, love for’
⇒ Liste: 14

Pres. *ja-*: IND. 1sg. ? OAv. *kaiiā* (Y 33.6); Perf.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *cakana* (H 2.11), 3pl. OAv. *cāxnarō* (Y 44.13). ◇ The interpretation of OAv. *kaiiā* as pres. (Humbach 1950: 541), being related to Skt. *kāyamāna-*, is rejected by Kellens – Pirart 1990: 229, s.v. *kan*.

•OLD PERSIAN: *aspa-canā* <a-s-p-c-n-a> nom. sg. PN lit. ‘loving horses’ (DNd.1)
⇒ Kent: 173b

•PARTHIAN: *š’d-cn* ‘happy, glad’ ⇒ DMMPP: 313b

•SOGDIAN: MSogd. *p’š-cn* ‘the Reverend’ (*GMS*: §1020)

•NEIR: Sh. *čūn* ‘please’, Oss. I. *-zinad*, D. *-zjnadæ* abstr. suff., Oss. I. *-zyn*, D. *-zin* fut. tense marker

•SANSKRIT: *kan'* 'to be pleased with, enjoy' (RV+) || *cānas-* (n.) 'delight, satisfaction' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 296, 528

◇ The nominal derivative **čānah-* has become a suffix of "wish" in several languages, semantically comparable to Gr. -φιλος '-phile'. This apparent Ir. "root" is perhaps a (infixed) nasal pres. stem of IE **keH₂-* (***kaH**), although any connection between Ir. **kanH²* / Skt. *kan'* is denied in EWAia, l.c. (with references).

•PIE (infixed) nasal stem **ke-n-H₂-* 'to be pleased, enjoy'? ⇒ LIV: 352 | Pok.: 515

•REFERENCES: *EVS*: 26b; Benveniste 1959: 77 f.; Werba 1997: 275; Cheung 2002: 134, 142; *ESJa* II: 217 f.

***kap/f¹** 'to (be)fall, strike (down)'

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *kf-*, MMP *kp-*, MMP *qf-* 'to fall' || (+ **pati-*) BMP *ptkf-* / *pahikaf-* 'to fall on, touch, hit, attack', BMP *ptk'p-* / *pahikāf-* (caus.) 'to let fall, loose; to shoot off (an arrow); to make fight' ⇒ DMMPP: 204b f.

Pres.: SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *qp'nd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *kpt*, *qft*, *qpt*; Inf.: MMP *qftn* || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *ptkpyt* / *pahikaftēd*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *ptkft* / *pahikaftū*, *ptkptk* / *pahikaftag*, caus. BMP *ptk'pt* / *pahikaftū*

•PARTHIAN: *kf-* 'to (be)fall' ⇒ Ghilain: 56 | DMMPP: 204b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *kfyd*, 3pl. *kfynd*, *qfynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. **kf'n*, 2sg. *kf'*, 3sg. *kf'h*; Partic.: perf. pass. *kft*, *qft*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **pati-*) *pck'b-* 'to aim at (spear)' || (+ **ham-*) *mkf-* 'to strike to, befall (of misfortune)', ? *m/k'f-* (caus.) 'to face someone belligerently' ⇒ Samadi: 140, 101 f., 98

•NWIR: *Widely attested, but not in NP*: Bal. *kapt/kap-*, *kab-*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *katin* / *kāv-*, (Sor.) *kawtin/kaw-*, Zaz. *kewtiš/kew(n)-*, Awrom. *kawtáy* / (supplet. *gīn-*, v. ***jan**), Aryan. *katan/e-k-*, Anar. *ikeft/ek-*, Ard. *kat/ k-*, Fariz. *kāt/-k-*, Yar. *kat/-k-*, Gil. (Rsh.) *kœftæn/kœf-*, Gz. *k-/kâft*, Gur. *kaf-*, Ham. *kâftân/der-e-k-*, Isfah. *dâr-kâftân/dâr-k-*, Jow. *dar kat-/dar a-k-*, Lasg. *-kat/-k-*, Meim. *dar kat-/dar a-k-*, Khuns. *k-/kift*, Mah. *kä-*, Nn. *kaft/-k-*, Natan. *kœt-/k-*, Qohr. *kat/k-*, Semn. *kât/-k-*, Shamerz. *kat-/katam-*, Siv. *k-/k(y)ät*, *ket*, Soi *kât-/därä-k-*, Sorkh. *-kât/-ku-*, Tr. *kat/k-* 'to fall', Gur. (Kand.) *kâftân/-kâf-* 'to fall, sink in; to shine [of the sun]' || (+ **pati-*) Anar. *pakâft/pak-* 'to strike'

•NEIR: (+ **fra-*) Oss. D. *rægafæn* (+ *kænun* 'to quarrel; to offend; to look for a fight')

◇ The 'old' forms, MMP *qhwn*, BMP *khwbn* / *kahwan* /, Pth. *kfwn*, NP *kuhan*, Bal. *kwahn* (*kwān*), Khot. *kuhana-*, Bact. *κᾰβογγο* also contain this root, cf. Henning 1937: 84; Nyberg II: 109b; *DKS*: 64b; S-W, *Bact.*: 197a; Korn 2005: 120. It is difficult to separate this root **kap/f* from the following. They may originally refer to the (PIE) stages of carpentering, first the felling of the tree (IE **kop-* 'to chop, fell') and subsequently the cleaning and carving of the *fallen* tree into logs and planks (IE **skob^h-* 'to pick clean, get rid of leaves; to split, shave'). These stages appear to be faithfully preserved in Lithuanian. The formal and semantic similarity of the two

roots in many IE languages is no doubt the result of (mutual) interference. This may explain the disappearance of initial *s- in ***kap/f²**. As for the semantic aspect, compare Engl. *fall out*, *hack*.

•PIE **kop-* ‘to fell, chop’ ⇒ LIV: 555 | Pok.: 930 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. κόπτω ‘I strike, cut (off)’, Lith. *kapiù* (*kàpti*) ‘I chop, fell’, Lith. *kapóti*, Latv. *kapât* ‘to hack, strike, cut’, Alb. *kep-* ‘to hew, chisel, stitch’

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 78a, 132a, 204a, 242a; *KPF* II: 180; Ivanow 1926: 422; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 57, 150, 255; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 48, 154; Abrahamian 1936: 116, 129; Lambton 1938: 40a, 76a; Fraenkel I: 217b f.; MacKenzie 1966: 100; Lecoq 1974: 58 f.; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 366; *WIM* I: 69; *WIM* II/1: 78; *WIM* III: 110; Paul 1998: 303b; Cabolov 2001: 539 f.; Lecoq 2002: 120, 122, 124, 133, 154 ff. (passim); Korn 2005: 314, 390

***kap/f²** ‘to split, cut, scrape, dig’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ui-*) MMP *gwg’pt* (pret. stem) ‘to split, tear into pieces’ ⇒ DMMPP: 166b

•PARTHIAN: *q’f-* ‘to split, cleave’ (+ **ham-*) *’ng’f-* ‘to tear apart, lacerate’ ⇒ Ghilain: 72 | DMMPP: 201b, 47a

Partic.: perf. pass. II *q’f’d* || (+ **ham-*) Partic.: perf. pass. II *’ng’f’d*

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *kβ-* ‘to split’ || (+ **pati-*) CSogd. *pcq’f* ‘to strike, pierce, wound’ (rather from ***kap/f¹** ?)

Pret.: intr. SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *kβt’t* ‘may have split’ (P1 32V.1104) || (+ **pati-*) Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *ptyšq’f* (C2 54V.18)

•CHORESMIAN: *kf-* ‘to split [intr.], be split’, (caus.) *k’fy-* ‘to split, cut up’ ⇒ Samadi: 98 f., 101

•NWIR: NP *kāftan/kāv-* ‘to split; to dig’

•NEIR: ? Oss. I. *xafyn/xaft*, D. *xafun/xaft* ‘to rub (off), scrape (off), tear (off); to steal’ (initial x-: fricative assimilation ?), Ishk. *kaf-* (*kif-* ?)/*kūft* ‘to burst, split’, Sariq. *čov-/čift* ‘to split, break [intr.]’, (caus.) *čafan-* ‘to split, break [tr.]’, Rosh. *kīb-/kivd*, *kuvd*, Khf. *kīb-/kīvd*, Bart. *kīb-/kīpt*, Yzgh. *kīb-/kavd* ‘to cut (open)’, ? Pash. *kūtəl* ‘to cut apiece’, ? Yi. *k’of-/k’y’of-* ‘to groan’

◇ The root ***kap/f²** shows interference with ***kap/f¹** (q.v.).

•PIE **skob^h-* ‘to rub, shave off, scrape [wood]’ ⇒ LIV: 555, 549 | Pok.: 931 f.

•IE COGNATES: always with initial *s-: Gr. σκόπτω ‘to dig’, Lat. *scabō* ‘I scratch, rub’, Lith. *skabaũ* (*skabýti*) ‘to pick off flowers, leaves, defoliate; to tear’, *skobiũ*, *skabiũ* (*skōbti*) ‘to cut, carve, hollow out (wood)’, Goth. *skaban* ‘to shear’, OE *scafan*, Engl. *to shave*

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 35; *IIFL* II: 397b, 220b; *EVS*: 40a, 25b; Abaev, *Slovar*’ IV: 132; Demiraj 1997: 216; Lecoq 2002: 133 (464), 610

***kar** ‘to do, make’

•AVESTAN: *kar-* ‘to do, make’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘*perficere*’ || (+ **ham-*) ‘to perform a *Yasna* for someone’ ⇒ Liste: 14f.

Pres. *nu-*: IND. 1sg. YAv. *kərənaomi* (V 21.6, V 21.10, V 21.14, Vyt 49), 2sg. (?) YAv. *kərənūši* (Y 10.13), 3sg. YAv. *kərənaoiti* (V 13.41, V 13.51, V 19.43, etc.), 3pl. YAv. **kərənūuaiti* (Yt 13.26), impf. 1sg. YAv. *ākərənəm* (V 22.1, V 22.8, V 22.14), impf. 2sg. YAv. *ākərən(a)uuō* (Y 9.15), impf. 3sg. (?) YAv. *frākərənaoŋ* (X3 V 22.2), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *kərənaoŋ* (V 2.32 f., V 2.36, V 2.38, etc.), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *kərənauūāni* (Yt 15.16, Yt 15.20, Yt 17.57, etc.), 3pl. OAv. *kərənaon* (Y 30.9), 3pl. YAv. *kərənauuān* (Yt 19.11), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *kərənūiāt* (V 14.17, V 18.10, VdPZ 18.51 f., ViD 14), YAv. *kərənōit* (FrK 73), YAv. *frakərənōit* (ViD 15), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *kərənūiōi* (Y 9.28), YAv. *kərənauua* (V 2.25, V 2.28, V 2.30), impf. IND. 3sg. (?) YAv. *frākərənaoŋ* (V 22.2); Aor. athem.: INJ. 3sg. OAv. *cōrəŋ* (Y 44.7, ? Y 45.9), SUBJ. 1sg. OAv. *carāni* (Y 44.17), 3sg. OAv. *caraiti* (Y 51.1), OAv. *carəŋ* (Y 46.4), OPT. 3sg. ? OAv. *cōiriŋ* (Y 45.9, Kellens – Pirart 1991: 193), IMPV. med. 2sg. OAv. *kərəšuuā* (Y 40.1); Perf.: IND. 3pl. YAv. **cāxrarə* (V 4.46); Partic.: pres. YAv. *kərənūuānt-* (Fr.), perf. pass. YAv. ^(o)*kərəta-* (Y 26.9, Yt 10.128, V13.23, V 19.30), etc.; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *kiriieiti* (Yt 10.111), 3pl. YAv. *kiriieipti* (V 3.9). ◇ The form YAv. *kərənūši* can also interpreted as (emend.) med. 2sg. **kərənūše*, Hoffmann – Forssman 1996: 215.

•OLD PERSIAN: *kar-* ‘to do, make, build’ ⇒ Kent: 179a

Pres. *nu-*: IND. 3sg. *kunautiy* <ku-u-n-u-t-i-y> (DNb 24), <ku-u-n-u-[t]-[i]-[y]> (DSs 3), <[ku]-[u]-[n]-u-t-i-y> (DSs 4), impf. 1sg. *akunavam* <a-ku-u-n-v-m> (A²Sd 3), *akunām* <[a]-[ku]-[n]-a-m> (XSc 3, ? A²Ha 5), ? *akuvanašāsa* <a-ku-v-n-š-a-š> (A²Sdc 3), 3sg. *akunauš* <a-ku-u-n-u-š> (D²Sb 3), *akunaš* <a-[ku]-u-n-š> (A²Sa 3 f.), 3pl. *akunava^a*, med. 3pl. *akunava^atā* <a-ku-u-n-v-t-a> (DB 3.12, DSf 48), <a-[ku]-[u]-[n]-[v]-t-a> (DB 5.6), SUBJ. 1sg. *kunavānaiy* <ku-u-n-v-a-n-i-y> (DS1 4), 2sg. *kunavāhy* <ku-u-n-v-a-h-y> (DB 4.75, DB 4.79), med. 3sg. *kunavātaiy* <ku-u-n-...-v-a-t-i-y> (DNb 56), IMPV. 3sg. *kunautuv* <ku-u-n-u-tu-u-v> (DB 4.76); Aor. athem.: IND. med. 3sg. *akutā* <a-ku-u-t-a> (DB 1.47, Cmb 4), 1pl. *akumā* <a-ku-u-m-a> (DB 1.90), IMPV. med. 2sg. *kušuvā* <ku-u-š-u-v-a> (DNb 50); Perf.: OPT. 3sg. *caxriyā* <c-x-r-i-y-a> (DB 1.50); Partic.: perf. pass. *karta-*; Inf.: *cartanaiy* <c-r-t-n-i-y> (DB 1.94, DB 2.33, DB 2.44, etc.), <c-r-t-n-i-y> (2.38), <c-r-t-n-i-y> (DB 3.43, DB 3.65); Pass.: impf. IND. 3sg. *akunavayatā* <a-ku-u-n-v-y-t-a> (DB 1.20, DB 1.24, *akariya* <a-k-r-i-y> (DSf 37, XPh 42), 3pl. *akariya^atā* <a-k-r-i-y-t-a> (DB 3.92), OPT. 3sg. *kariyaiš* <k-r-i-y-i-š> (DNb 9, DNb 11)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *kwn-*, *qwn-*, BMP *kwn-* (**BYDWN-*) /*kun-* ‘to make, do’ || (+ **us-*) BMP **wsk’l-* /*uskār-* (caus.) ‘to think, consider, discuss’ || (+ **pati-*) BMP *ptk’l* /*pahikār-* (caus.) ‘to request, claim, consult’, MMP *phykr*, BMP *ptkl* /*pahikar* ‘picture, image’, MMP *phyk’r*, BMP *ptk’l* /*pahikār* ‘battle, struggle’ || (+ **ni-*) MMP *ng’r-* (caus.) ‘to paint, draw’, MMP *ng’r* ‘picture’ || (+ **ui-*) MMP *w(y)c’r-* (caus.) ‘to separate, divide, spread, interpret, decide...; perform, accomplish’ || (+ **ham-*) MMP *hng’r-* (orig. caus.) ‘to (ac)count, reckon’, BMP *hng’l-* /*hangār-* ‘to perform, offer (thanks); calculate, determine; consider’ ⇒ DMMPP: 213b f., 275a, 240b, 351b, 181a

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP *qwnym*, **kwnym*, 3sg. MMP *kwnyd*, etc.; Partic.: pres. MMP *kwn’n*, perf. pass. MMP *qyrdg*, MMP *kyrd*, *qyrd*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. MMP *kyryhyd*, 3pl. MMP *qyryhynd*, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *qyryh’d* || (+ **us-*) Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. BMP **wsk’lynd* /*uskārēnd*,

sk'lynynd /skārēnēnd/; Partic.: perf. pass. caus. BMP *ʷskʷlt /uskārd/* || (+ *pati-) Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. BMP *ptkʷlynd /pahikārēnd/* || (+ *ni-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *ngʷryd*, 3pl. MMP *ngʷrynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *ngʷrd* || (+ *ui-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *wcʷryd*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *wcʷr*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *wycʷrd* || (+ *ham-) Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. BMP *hngʷlyt /hangārēd/*, 3pl. MMP *hngʷrynd*, BMP *hngʷlynd /hangārēnd/*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3pl. MMP *hngʷryhynd* (M7983 I Vii,11); Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *hngʷlt /hangārd/*

•PARTHIAN: *kr-* ‘to do, make’ || (+ *pati-) *pdkʷr-* ‘to contend, strive’, *pdkr* ‘picture’ || (+ *fra-) ? *ʷfgʷr-* ‘to be dejected’ || (+ *ni-) *ngʷr-* ‘to paint, draw’, *ngʷrgr* ‘painter’ || (+ *ui-) *wycʷr-* ‘fulfil, perform’ ⇒ Ghilain: 57, 73 f. | DMMPP: 207 f., 269b, 85b, 351b

Pres.: IND. 1sg. *krʷm*, 2sg. *qryh*, 3sg. *kryd*, *qryd*, 1pl. *ʷkrʷm*, 2pl. *kryd*, 3pl. *krynd*, *qrynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *krʷn*, 2sg. *krʷh*, 3sg. *krʷh*, OPT. 2sg. *qryndyh*, IMPV. 2sg. *kr*, 2pl. *kryd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *kyrd*; Inf.: *kyrdn*, *qyrdn* || (+ *pati-) Pres.: IND. 3pl. *pdkʷrynd* || (+ *fra-) Pres.: IND. 1pl. *ʷfgʷrʷm* || (+ *ni-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *ngʷryd* || (+ *ui-) Pres.: IND. 2sg. *wycʷryy*, 3sg. *wcʷryd*, *wycʷryd*

•KHOTANESE: *yan-* ‘to do, make’ || (+ ui-) LKh. *gūjsar-* ‘to harm, injure’ ⇒ SGS: 110 f., 29

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. (*k*)*wn-*, BSogd. (*k*)*wn-*, CSogd. *wn-* ‘to do, make, perform, cause’, SSogd. (*ʷ*)*krt-* (pass.) ‘to happen, occur; to become, be situated’ || (+ *pati-) BSogd. *ptkrʷk*, *ptkrʷkw*, *ptkrʷy*, CSogd. *ptqʷry* (m.) ‘image’ || (+ *ui-) ? CSogd. *wycyrʷmnty* (m.) ‘explanation’ (< WIr. ?), Sogd. *w(y)c(ʷ)rt* ‘exactly’

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. MSogd. *kwnʷm*, 2sg. BSogd. *wnʷy*, CSogd. *ʷwny*, 3sg. SSogd. *kwnty*, BSogd. *kwnty*, MSogd. *kwndyy*, MSogd. *qwndyy*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: *m/ḱ-* ‘to make, do’, (+ *dʷ*) to say’ || (+ *abi-) ? *m/ʷbkʷry-* ‘to look up’ || (+ *pati-) *pckr-* (denomin. ?) ‘to set, put up (spear)’ || (+ *fra-) *škʷry-* (caus.) ‘to colour, paint’ || (+ *ham-, *ni-) *m/nkʷry-* ‘to settle (a score) with someone; to say goodbye ?’. ◇ The forms of *m/ḱ-* with frequent diacritic *tašdid* [ˀ] in Arabic script apparently point to assimilation of the consonant group *kn- (without *-r- !): > -kk-. || Although it is not entirely clear whether *m/ʷbkʷry-* does contain the root *kar, the relation to Yi. *užér-/užur*, M. *užar-/užir* is surely undeniable, in view of the meaning. ⇒ Samadi: 94, 1, 141, 192, 128

•BACTRIAN: *κῑp-* ‘to do, act, make, etc.’ || (+ *pati-ham-) *πῑδαγγηp-* ‘to agree, settle’ || (+ *ui-) *οῖσηp-* ‘to argue, quibble’ || (+ *ham-) ? *αγγαpγο*, *ιαγγαpγο*, *αγγαpαγο* ‘property (in land), estate’. ◇ Sims-Williams compares *οῖσηp-* with MMP *w(y)cʷr-*, Sogd. *w(y)c(ʷ)rt*. ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 199a, 177a, 217b, 213, 218a

•NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *kardan/kun-*, Bal. *kan-/ku(r)t-*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *kirin/ki-*, (Sor.) *kirdin/ka-*, Zaz. *kerdiš/ken-*, Awrom. *kardáy/kar-*, Abyan. *kardan/e-kar-*, Anar. *-ike/eker-*, Ard. *kād/ker-*, Fariz. *kārdān/-kār-*, Yar. *kārdān/-kor-*, *-kār-*, Gz. *ker-/ke-*, *kārt*, Gil. (Rsh.) *kudœn/kun-*, Gur. (Kand.) *kārd/-kār-*, Ham. *kārtān/ker-*, Isfah. *kārtān/ker-*, Jow. *bam-ka/a-ker-*, Meim. *bem-ka/a-ker-*, Khuns. *kir-/kirt*, Khr. *hi-kerd/hi-ker-*, Mah. *kir-/kār-d*, Nn. *kārtin/kir-*, Natan. *-kārd-/kor-* (1sg.), *kār-*,

Qohr. *ka(rda)/ker-*, Semn. *-kārd-*, *-kārč-/kār-*, Sang. *hā-kārt-/hā-kān-*, (subj.) *hā-kār-*, Shamerz. *hā-kordán/hā-kón-*, Siv. *k(y)ār-*, *k(y)er-*, *kir-/k(y)erd*, *kird*, Soi *kārd-/kír-*, Sorkh. *há-kārdán/há-kæen-*, Lasg. *hā-kārd-/hā-kān-* ‘to do, make’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *kārin/kār-*, *kānin/kān-* (caus.) ‘to be able’, Awrom. *kiriáy/kiria-* (pass.) ‘to be done’ || (+ *us-) NP *sigālīdan/sigāl-* ‘to think, meditate (mischief)’ || (+ *pati-) NP *paykār* ‘picture, statue’ || (+ *ni-) NP *nigāštan/nigār-* ‘to paint’ || (+ *ham-) NP *ingāštan/ingār-* ‘to suppose; consider, believe’, *angāridan/angār-* ‘to think, imagine, estimate; to paint, figure’, Yar. *-hāngāšt/-hāngar-*, Jow. *angər-* (supplet. *bam-vət < *uač*), Meim. *bem-hēnga:ft/a-heđer-*, Khuns. *ēngār-/ēngāšt*, Nn. *-ēngāšt/ēngār-*, Natan. *-hāngāšt* ‘to talk, speak’, NP *angārah* ‘revenue-book, cash-account’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *kæynyn/kond*, *kýnd*, D. *kænun/kond*, *kind*, Pash. *kawəl*, *kṛəl*, Sh. (Baj.) *kin-/čūd*, Rosh. *kin-/čüg*, Sariq. *kan-/čewg*, Yzgh. *k^wən-/keg*, Ishk. *кьп-/кұл-*, Yi. *ken-/kəɾ-*, M. *kən/ker-* ‘to do’, Yghn. *kün-/íkta*, Wa. *car-/kərt* ‘to do, make’, (redupl.) Wa. *kərc(ə)r-*, *kəc(ə)r-/kə(r)kaŷn-*, *kə(r)cərt-* ‘can, to be able’ || (+ *abi, *aqa- or *qi-) ? Yi. *užér-/užur*, M. *užar-/užir* ‘to perceive, look’ || (+ *ham-) ? Oss. I. *ænk’aryn/ænk’ard* (pref. sec. ?), D. *ænk’arun/ænk’ard* ‘to feel, comprehend’ (< NP ?), Pash. *angūr* ‘agreement’

•MISC: Par. *kan-*, *kuɾ-*, *kōɾ*, Orm. *k-/dāk* ‘to do, make’ (< Pash. ?) = *k-/dāk*, Orm. *kīn-/kīnōk*, *kīn-/kwulak* ‘to copulate’ (euphem.) = *kan-/kanók*

•SANSKRIT: *kar* ‘to do, to make, to act’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 307

◇ The rather generic ‘to do, make’ has apparently developed into more specific activities, ranging from ‘painting, depicting’ to ‘arguing, fighting’.

•PIE *k^wer- ‘to do, make, construct’ ⇒ LIV: 391 | Pok.: 641

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */kuer-/* ‘to cut’, Welsh *paraf* ‘to process’, OIrish *cruth* ‘form’, Lith. *kuriù (kùrti)* ‘I found, build’, etc.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 82b, 143b f., 207b f., 247b f.; Ivanow 1926: 420, 426; *EVP*: 34; *KPF* II: 207 f.; *IIFL* I: 266a f., 398a f.; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 71, 168 f., 261; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 60 f., 116 f., 161; Abrahamian 1936: 116, 130; *IIFL* II: 196, 217b; Lambton 1938: 42b, 78a; Abaev, *Slovar* I: 579; Andreev – Peščereva: 275b ff.; MacKenzie 1966: 100; *EVS*: 40b; Lecoq 1974: 58; *WIM* I: 70; *WIM* II/1: 78; *WIM* III: 110 f.; Werba 1997: 168 f.; Paul 1998: 303; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 112, 218; Cabolov 2001: 518, 514 f.; Lecoq 2002: 108 f., 138 ff. (passim); Kiefer 2003: 199; Korn 2005: 314, 393 (passim)

***karč ?** ‘to strike’

•PARTHIAN: (+ *ni-) ? *ngwrc-* ‘[pejorative] to baptize’ (-c- < ?). ◇ According to Sundermann 1981: 90, n. 1 the meaning is from ‘*niederschlagen*’ [‘to strike down’], i.e. ‘*gewaltsam niederbeugen und untertauchen (?)*’ [‘to push under by force’]. ⇒ DMMPP: 241a

•KHOTANESE: *kalj-* ‘to strike’ || (+ **us-*) OKh. *uskaljāka-* ‘opener’ || (+ **niš-*) *naškalj-* ‘to drive away’. ◇ The suggestion of Bailey (*DKS*: 55b) to connect the Khot. verbs to Av. *kahrkāsa-* ‘eagle’, etc. can be discarded. ⇒ *SGS*: 17, 21

◇ An Ir. origin for these relatively isolated forms is doubtful.

•PIE – ⇒ *LIV*: – | *Pok.*: –

***kard** ? ‘to stick, keep down ?’

•CHORESMIAN: ? *krδ-* ‘to sink (in the dust), subside’ (i.e. ‘to get stuck (in the dust)’) || (+ **upa-*) ? *bkrzy-* (i.e. /*bkrzy-*/ ?) ‘to attack, grab, seize violently’ (*MacKenzie*, *V*: 67) ⇒ *Samadi*: 103 f., 20 f.

•BACTRIAN: ? *καρ(α)λ-* ‘to detain, arrest’ || (+ **pati-*) *πιδοκαρλ-* ‘to withhold, retain, detain’ ⇒ *S-W*, *Bact.*: 198a, 218a

•NWIR: ? NP *kāl* ‘ditch, valley’ (different etym. ?, from ***karH²** ?)

•NEIR: ? Wa. *kərδbir* ‘layer of duckweed or mud on the water’

◇ This root seems to be exclusively Ir. An IE provenance cannot be established.

•PIE – ⇒ *LIV*: – | *Pok.*: –

•REFERENCES: *Steblin-Kamenskij* 1999: 218

***karH¹** ‘to celebrate, praise’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *kar-* ‘to celebrate, praise’ ⇒ *Liste*: 15

Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *kāraieiti* (Y 19.13, Y 20.1, Yt 4.4, etc.), impf. 3sg. (?) YAv. **hamakāraiaat* (Y 19.15); Intens.: pres. IND. 1pl. YAv. *carəkərəmahī* (Y 58.4)

•NEIR: ? Sariq. *čīr-* ‘to sing, twitter, chirp’ (onomatopoetic ?) || (+ **ham-*) ? Oss. I. *æppælyn/æppælyn* ‘to praise’ (> D. *æppælun/æppæld*). ◇ Oss. I. *æppælyn/æppælyn* shows a secondary prefixation with *æm-* and, subsequently, assimilation of *-mk-* > I. *-pp-*.

•SANSKRIT: *karí* ‘to celebrate, praise’ (RV+) ⇒ *EWAia* I: 310

•PIE **kerH₂-* ‘to praise’ ⇒ *LIV*: 353 | *Pok.*: 530 f.

•IE COGNATES: ON *herma* ‘report’, Goth. *hropeigans* (acc. pl.) ‘triumphant’, OPr. *kirdīt* ‘to hear’

•REFERENCES: *Abaev*, *Slovar*’ I: 170; *EVS*: 27a; *DKS*: 465a; *Lehmann* 1986: 192a; *Werba* 1997: 277

***karH²** ‘to spread out, scatter (esp. seed), sow; to make furrows, plough’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *kar-* (caus.) ‘to spread out’ || (+ **pari-*) ‘to plough around’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to do by furrowing, ploughing’. ◇ YAv. *kar-* (etc.) is root *kar^d*- in *AiW*: 449. According to *Kellens* 1974: 136, the causative appearance of this root is analogically built after the type *išaiia-*. It seems easier, however, to assume a suppletive system **kāraja-* ~ **kršta-* (i.e. root **karš-/xrah-*) in *PIr.*, cf. *Emmerick* 1966: 612; *Sims-Williams* 1985: 99, ad 52R.9-10. ⇒ *Liste*: 15

Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *kāraieiti*, YAv. *frakāraieiti* (N 101, Yt 4.6), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *frakāraiaṭ* (V 22.20), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *frakāraioiš* (V 9.10 f.), *pairi.kāraioiš* (V 17.6), 3pl. YAv. *kāraieṇ* (V 6.2)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *q'r-*, BMP *k'l-* /*kār-* 'to make furrows; sow', MMP *'gyrd* (with neg. *a-*) 'unploughed, untilled' ⇒ DMMPP: 202b, 31a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *q'ryd*, IMPV. 2pl. MMP *q'ryd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *kyšt*

•PARTHIAN: *k'r-* 'to sow, plant' ⇒ Ghilain: 98 | DMMPP: 202b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. ^x*k'ryd*, ^x*q'ryd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *kyšt*, *qyšt*

•KHOTANESE: *kār-*, OKh. *ker-* (caus.) 'to plant' || (+ **niš-*) LKh. *naškār-* 'to drag away' || (+ **ham-*) Khot. *ham(g)ār-* 'to draw together'. ◇ The exact meaning of (hapax) LKh. *naškirdā* in passage P 2893.199 KT 3.90 is uncertain. Emmerick (SGS: 50) derives LKh. *naškirr-* from a root **kar-* 'to cut', PIE **(s)ker-*, which is not clearly attested in other Iranian languages (perhaps Chor. *krwy-* 'to trim, cut', no etym. given by Samadi 1984: 104). The quoted Av. form *frākərənaoṭ* (V 22.2) may rather belong to root **kar¹-* 'to do, make' (cf. Kellens 1984: 171, fn. 5). The connection suggested by Bailey (DKS: 177), viz. with **kar³-*, is solely based on his interpretation of the passage concerned. ⇒ SGS: 22, 23, 50, 137

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *kyr* 'to plant, sow', SSogd. *kš(-)*, CSogd. *qš(-)* 'to sow' (cf. Sims-Williams 1984: 99, s.v. 52R.9-10, fn. 29)

Pres.: SUBJ. 2sg. BSogd. *kyr'* (Vim. 30), OPT. 3sg. CSogd. *qšy* (C2 52R.9); Pret.: tr. IND. 3sg. CSogd. *qšt'rt* (C2 54R.26); Partic.: perf. pass. SSogd. *kšt* 'spread' (AL 3.22), BSogd. *kšt'k* 'sown; seed' (Vim. 11(N))

•CHORESMIAN: *k'ry-* 'to till; sow, plant' || (+ **fra-*) *m/'šk'ry-* 'to impregnate' ⇒ Samadi: 99, 9

•NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *kištan/kār-* 'to plant, sow', Kurd. (Sor.) *kēlān/kēt-*, Awrom. *keṭāy/keṭ-* 'to plough', Zaz. *kāritiš/kāren-*, Abz. *kašta/kār-*, Qohr. *kašta/kār-* 'to sow', Gz. *kār-/kāšt*, Khuns. *kār-/kārā*, *kāšt*, Siv. *kār-/kišt* 'to plant', Nn. *kāšt/kār-* 'to sow, plant', Abyan. *kāšt/kār-* 'to plant, sow, cultivate', Abz. *kaš/kār-* 'to plant, sow'

•NEIR: Oss. I. *kælyn/kald*, D. *kælun/kald* (pass./intr.) 'to flow; to be pulled down; to stumble', I. *kaly/kald*, D. *kalun/kald* (caus./tr.) 'to pour, spill; to throw on the ground', Sh. *čār-t*, Rosh. *čēr-t*, Bart. *čōr-t*, Sariq. *čor-t*, Yzgh. *kār-d* 'to plough, sow, cultivate', Sangl. *kīr-/kurt* 'to plough', M. *kor-/kəšk-*, Yi. *kār-/kišč-* 'to sow, plant', Pash. *karəl* 'to till, cultivate', Wa. *кыр-/kord-*, *kəšt* 'to cultivate the land (by plowing and sowing)', Wa. *чырг* 'line, furrow', Yghn. *kišta* 'field' || (+ **ui-*) Sh. *wijār-/wijārt* 'to scatter (manure)', ? Oss. I. *xælyn/xæld*, D. *ixælun/ixald* 'to be spoilt, ruined, destroyed', Oss. I. *xaly/xæld*, D. *ixalun/ixald* 'to spoil, ruin, destroy' || (+ with sec. *æm-*) ? Oss. I. *æpparyn/æppærst* 'to throw'. ◇ Oss. *xælyn*, etc. are rather connected to Skt. *skhal* 'to trip, stumble, halt, go astray'? This suggestion can be found on the margin of H.W. Bailey's copy of *IEW*, p. 929.

•SANSKRIT: *karī* ‘to strew, scatter’ (RV+) || *carī* ‘to move, roam, go’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia I: 311 (534 ff.)

◇ The meanings all refer to the planting process, cf. *LIV*: 354, fn. 5. The situation has been further complicated by the old causative formation **k^wolH₁-eje-* of IE **kelH₁-* ‘to move, turn’ (cf. ***čarH**), which would have yielded the same result as the causative of IE **kerH-* ‘to scatter (seed), sow’ in Iranian. It is impossible to separate the two formations in most Ir. languages.

•PIE 1. **k^werH-* ‘to spread, scatter (seed), sow’, **k^worH-eje-* (caus.) || 2. **k^wolH₁-eje-* (caus.) ‘to make furrows, plough’ ⇒ *LIV*: 353, 386 | Pok.: (933 f.) 639

•IE COGNATES: 1. OIrish *fó-ceird* ‘throws, puts’ || 2. Gr. *πολεύω γῆν* ‘I plough the earth’, Lat. *colō* ‘I cultivate’

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 33; *IIFL* II: 218a, 399a; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 578, 569 f., 169 f.; MacKenzie 1966: 99; *EVS*: 26b, 89b; *WIM* I: 69; *WIM* II/1: 78; *WIM* III: 111; Abaev, *Slovar*’ IV: 170 f., 138 f.; Werba 1997: 277; Paul 1998: 303a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 221, 138; Cabolov 2001: 548; Cheung 2002: 196; Lecoq 2002: 121 ff. (passim)

***karp** ? ‘to lament, moan, mumble’

•AVESTAN: ? Av. *karapan-* ‘anti-Zoroastrian priest, teacher’ (Y 32.12, Y 44.20, Y 48.10, etc.)

•CHORESMIAN: *krb-* ‘to moan, mumble, babble’ ⇒ Samadi: 103

•MISC: Further Ir. cognates are unknown.

•SANSKRIT: *krapī* ‘to wail, plea’ (RV, AV). ◇ The *seṭ* character of the Skt. root is secondary. ⇒ EWAia I: 409, 389

•PIE ? **k^(w)rep-* ‘be grumpy, moan?’ ⇒ *LIV*: 370 | Pok.: 569

•IE COGNATES: ? Lat. *crepāre* ‘to crack, creak’, ? Russ. *kropotát* ‘to be grumpy’

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 415

***karš/*xrah** ‘to draw, plough’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *karš-* ‘to draw (furrows), plough’ || (+ **apa-*) ‘to drag away’ || (+ **aṇa-*) ‘to draw down’ || (+ **pari-*) ‘to draw around’ ⇒ Liste: 15

Pres. them.: IND. 3pl. YAv. *auua.karəšənti* (V 5.5), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *apa.karšōit* (N 48), YAv. *pairi.karšōit* (V 19.21), 3pl. YAv. *karšaiien* (Yt 19.80)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *krš-*, *qrš-* ‘to pull, draw’ || *kyšt* (pret. stem) ‘to sow, plant’ (supplet. stem of *k’r-*, ***karH**) ⇒ DMMPP: 208b

Pres.: IND. 1pl. MMP *kršym*: Partic.: perf. pass. II MMP *qršyd* || Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *kyšt*

•PARTHIAN: *kyšt* (pret. stem) ‘to sow, plant’ (supplet. stem of *k’r-*, ***karH²**)

⇒ Ghilain: 96 | DMMPP: 202b

Partic.: perf. pass. *kyšt*, *qyšt*

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *xrš* ‘to pull, attract’, CSogd. *xš* ‘to drag’ || (+ **apa-*) BSogd. *’px’r/nš*, CSogd. *pxšn* ‘to remove, eliminate’ || (+ **ā-*) BSogd. *’k’yš(-)* ‘to pull out’

|| (+ **ui*-) BSogd. *wx'rs*, CSogd. *wxš*, MSogd. *wxnš* 'to deliver, save' || (+ **ham*-) BSogd. 'nx'š-, CSogd. *nxš*- 'to withdraw, retire', (caus.) SSogd. 'nxrš(-) 'to subjugate, overtake [i.e. to cause to withdraw]' (on **r* see *GMS*: §147)

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *xršt*, SUBJ. 3sg. dur. BSogd. *xnš'y* 'štn; Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *xš*; Inf.: pret. CSogd. *xšt*, MSogd. 'kštyy (*Sogd.Tales*: 469), MSogd. *kšty* (*BBB*: 35), MSogd. *kštyy* (*BBB*: 42) || Pres.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *qrwšt*, SUBJ. 1sg. CSogd. *qrwšn*; Partic.: pres. CSogd. *qrwšny* || (+ **apa*-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. 'px'ršt, BSogd. 'px'nšt, BSogd. *px'nšt*, SUBJ. 1sg. BSogd. *px'rs'n*, 3sg. BSogd. *px'nš't*, IMPV. BSogd. *px'rs'* (*GMS*: §698: subj.); Inf.: BSogd. 'px'rs'y, BSogd. 'px'nš'y, BSogd. *px'nš'y* || (+ **ā*-) Pres.: IND. 3pl. BSogd. ''k'yš'ntw || (+ **ui*-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *wx'rs*, SUBJ. 1sg. BSogd. *wx'rs'n*, 3sg. CSogd. *wxšt*, PREC. 3sg. MSogd. *wnxštyy*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *wyxš*; Fut.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *wxštq*; Partic.: pres. CSogd. *wxšnw*; Inf.: BSogd. *cnn wx'rs'y* || (+ **ham*-) Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. 'nx'š't; Caus.: fut. IND. 1sg. SSogd. SSogd. 'nxš'm k'm

•CHORESMIAN: *xšy*- 'to draw, drag', *xšs*- (sec. pass./inch.) 'to be dragged', *m/xry*- (caus. ?) 'to draw' || (+ **apa*-) *pxry*- 'to draw out' || (+ **upa*-) *bks*- 'to feed' (< *'to look after') || (+ **pati*-) *pcxrs*- (intr./inch.) 'to pull oneself back; to stop, become quiet/still', *p'cxr*- (caus. ?) 'to restrain, pull back'. ◇ The Chor. formation *m/xry*- reflects an old caus. **xrāhaja*-, after which the intervoc. *-h-* disappeared. Subsequently, the long **ā* was shortened in front of **ǰ*, which is in line with other EIr. languages. ⇒ Samadi: 242, 240, 21, 164 f., 147

•BACTRIAN: κῑρᾶγο 'plough-(ox)' (U8) ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 199b

•NWIR: Widely attested: NP *kašīdan/kaš*- 'to pull, draw', Bal. *kašt*, *kaš(š)it/kaš(š)*-, Kurd. (Kurm.) *kišān/kiš*-, *kešān/kēš*-, (Sor.) *kišān/kišē*- 'to drag [intr.], crawl, be drawn, slip, flow', *Zaz. kirištiš/kirēšen*- 'to drag', *Abz. kešā/keš*-, *Anar. -ikešo*/ (impv.) *ikiš*, *Awrom. kešāy/keš*- 'to draw, pull', *Fariz. -kišā/-kiš*-, *Yar. -kišā/-kiš*-, *Gz. kāš*-, *keš-/kāšā*, *Gil. (Rsht.) -kāš*-, *Gur. (Kand.) kīšā/-kiš*-, *Ham. kāšayān/keš*-, *Isfah. kešān/keš*-, *Khuns. keš-/kešā*, *Mah. kiš*-, *Nn. kīšā/kīš*-, *Natan. -kiš/-kiš*-, *Siv. kīš*-, *keš*-, *kāš/kišā*, *kešā*, *Soi bā-nkišā* (sic!), *Tal. kaše*, *Varz. kašā/kaš*- 'to draw, pull'

•NEIR: Oss. I. *xæssyn/xast*, D. *xæssun/xast* (< I. ?), *xærsum/xarst* 'to carry; to breed, raise; to cultivate, plant; to last, endure', *Wa. xaš-/xašt*- 'to draw, pull, drag; to carry', *Yghn. kiš*-, *kiš-/kīšta* 'to sow', *xaš-/xāšta* 'to draw', *Yi. xóš-/xíšč*-, *M. xaš*- 'to pull, drag', ? *Sh. kirāx(t)*, *Rosh. kirēx-t*, *Yzgh. xarax*-, *Bart. čirōxt*, *Orosh. kirōxt* 'to remove, haul, drag', *Khf. xašč* 'ploughing', *M. kúgo* 'plough' (**kṛšakā*-) || (+ **abi*-) Oss. I. *ivxæršyn/ivxærst*, D. *evxæršun/evxa(r)st* 'to put across across a river, dangerous place; to lead someone; to help someone who is in trouble, danger; to rescue, save' || (+ **ham*-) Oss. I. *æxxæssyn/æxxæst* 'to reach, attain', D. *ænxæssun/ænxast* 'to seize, grab'

•MISC: Par. *kāš* 'eyebrow' (*kaš kan*- 'to pull, stretch, contract' < NP)

•SANSKRIT: *karṣ* 'to pull, drag, plow' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 319

◇ The root **karš-* appears to have a rare variant **xrah-*, with a different kind of ablaut (i.e. *Schwebeablaut*), similar to **fras-/pars-*. This may therefore account for the initial *x-* in some Iranian forms. The frequent loss of the liquid **r* is quite striking as well. The root **karš-/xrah-* specifically refers to the ploughing process, after which the field can be sown in, i.e. **karH²-*. As a consequence, the roots **karš-/xrah-* and **karH²-* either show mutual influence, cf. Sh. *kirāx(t)*, etc., or are part of a suppletive paradigm.

•PIE **k^wels-* ‘to plough’ ⇒ LIV: 388 f. | Pok.: 639

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */gulsanzi/* ‘they scratch into’, Gr. τέλσον (n.) ‘last furrow of the field’

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 82b, 144b f., 248b; Ivanow 1926: 420; *IIFL* I: 267b; *KPF* II: 217; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 71, 169 f., 262; *IIFL* II: 216a, 269a; Abrahamian 1936: 116, 130; Lambton 1938: 41a, 77b; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 556, 223 f.; Andreev – Peščereva 273a, 357a f.; MacKenzie 1966: 100; *EVS*: 41b, 99b; *WIM* I: 69; *WIM* II/1: 78; *WIM* III: 111; Abaev, *Slovar’* IV: 188 ff.; Werba 1997: 171; Paul 1998: 303b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 406; Cabolov 2001: 555; Cheung 2002: 247 f., 108 ff.; Lecoq 2002: 147 ff., 153 (passim); Korn 2005: 318, 392

***kart¹** ‘to cut’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *kart-* ‘to cut’ || (+ **aṇa-*) ‘to cut down to’ || (+ **upa-*) ‘to cut on’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to cut up’ ⇒ Liste: 15

Pres. {1} *n-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *apa ... kərəntaiti* (V 13.10 f.), YAv. *aipi.kərəntaiti* (Y 71.8, Yt 10.72), 3pl. YAv. *aipi.kərəntānti* (Y 71.8), YAv. *frakərəntānti* (ViD 10), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *frākərəntāt* (V 1.2, V 1.4 ff.), YAv. *fra kərəntāt* (Y 9.8), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. (^o)*kərəntāt* (V 7.37x, V 7.39), 3pl. ? YAv. ^x*kərəntānti* or ^x*kərəntān* (V 7.38), OPT. 3sg. YAv. ^x*pairi.kərəntōiš* (V 19.19), 3pl. YAv. *upa.kərəntaiian* (V 13.33), IMPV. 3pl. (?) YAv. *kərəntu* (with hapl. from **kərəntantu* ?, V 7.38, V 7.40); Pres. {2} *aṇa-*: IND. 3sg. ?? YAv. (nonce) *kərəntaiieiti* (X3 Yt 14.62); Pass.: pres. SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *auua.kərəθiiā* (V 4.50)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *klyn-* /*kirrēn-*/ ‘to cut, create [daevic]’ || (+ **fra-*) BMP *plgt /fragard/* ‘chapter, section, *Abschnitt*’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *klynnt /kirrēnd/*, 3pl. BMP *klynnd /kirrēnēnd/*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *klynnt /kirrēnd/*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. BMP *klyhyt /kirrēd/*, 3pl. BMP *klyhynd /kirrēnd/*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **pati-*) *patālt-* (*pa’s-*) ‘to cut off’ ⇒ SGS: 67

•SOGDIAN: (+ **us-*) BSogd. ^s*skr’nt(-)* ‘to cut up’ || (+ **pati-*) BSogd. *ptkr’nt-* ‘to cut through, off’ || (+ **fra-*) CSogd. *frqrnt-* ‘to destroy’, MSogd. *firknd* ‘to cut up’ || (+ **ham-*) BSogd. ⁿ*nr’nt-*, MSogd. ⁿ*ngrnd-* ‘to cut up’

(+ **us-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. BSogd. ^s*skr’nt’nt* || (+ **pati-*) BPres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *ptkr’nt*, 3pl. BSogd. *ptkmt’nt*, Partic.: pres. BSogd. *ptkmt’k*, BSogd. *ptkmt’y*, BSogd. *ptkmt’y* || (+ **fra-*) Impf.: IND. 3pl. CSogd. *fr’qrntnt*, Inf.: MSogd. ^s*firknd* (BBB: 33) || (+ **ham-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. ⁿ*nr’nt*, 3pl. BSogd. ⁿ*nr’nt’nt*

•CHORESMIAN: ? *kcy-* ‘to throw (away), put on, to; to dictate’, *knd-* ‘to measure, measure off (before cutting off the leather)’ || (+ **upa-*) *bkrzy-* ‘to attack’. ◇ It is difficult to account for the meanings of Chor. *kcy-* (Henning 1950-55: 428), if it

indeed derives from **kart-*. The comparison with Wakhi *kart-* ‘to throw; to put; to shoot at’, cited by Henning, can be discarded: the Wakhi form (pres.: *kaṭ-*) may have an (unspecified) Indian origin, which Samadi, l.c., infers from *IIFL* II: 457, 41. This is the stance of Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 206 f., who mentions the following (IA) forms: Pashai *kaṭ-*, Si. *kaṭaṇu-*, Panj. *kaṭṭnā*, Hi. *kāṭnā*, etc. ‘to cut’, Pashai *kuṭ-* ‘to strike, rub’. As for the semantics, Steblin-Kamenskij also quotes (dialectal) Russ. *ložit’*, *klast’* which means ‘to cut’, cf. standard Russ. *klast’*, (perfective) *po-ložit’* ‘to put, lay (down)’. ⇒ Samadi: 100 f., 103, 20

•NWIR: NP *kārd*, Bal. *kārč*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *kēr* (f.), (Sor.) *kērd*, Abyan. *kārd* (f.), Anar. *kārt*, Qohr. *kārt*, Sang. *kārt*, Nn. *kārt* ‘knife’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *kar(ī)* (m.) ‘part, shart, piece’, *kuṭ* ‘cut off; shaven; shortened’, (Sor.) *kuṭ* ‘short; stumpy, chopped off [of tail]’ || (+ **niš-*) NP *nišgardah* ‘cobbler’s knife’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *kærdyn/karst*, D. *kærdun/karst* ‘to cut (to pieces)’, Sh. *xičand-/xičīyd*, Sariq. *xičand-/xičaxt* ‘to cut (off), carve, chop’ (contamin. with ***skand** ‘to break, cleave’, *EVS*: *ibid.*) || (+ **abi-* or **apa-*) Oss. I. *ærgævdyn/ærgævst* (with metathesis), D. *ævgærdun/ævgærst* ‘to slaughter, *stechen* (animal, person)’ || (+ **aya-*) Oss. I. *ugard* ‘carve, incision’ (not from pref. **ui-* as assumed by Abaev, *Slovar’* IV, l.c.) || (+ **ā-*) ? Pash. *ācaṇ-* ‘to level, smooth; arrange, regulate’ || (+ **us-*) Pash. *skaštəl/skaṇ-* ‘to cut out, clip out’ || (+ **fra-*) Oss. I. *lægærdyn/lægærst*, D. *lægærdun/lægærst* ‘to pave [cut] a path (in the water, snow, on the land) with difficulty’

•SANSKRIT: *kart* ‘to cut (off)’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 315

•PIE **(s)ker-t-* ‘to cut’ ⇒ LIV: 559 f. | Pok.: 941 f.

•IE COGNATES: Arm. *k’ert’em* ‘I skin’, Lith. *kertù* (*kiṛsti*) ‘I hew, hit’, Latv. *cērtu* (*cīrst*) ‘I hew, hack’, Alb. *qeth* ‘to shave’

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 67; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 584, 175; Abaev, *Slovar’* II: 21; *EVS*: 100b; Abaev, *Slovar’* IV: 12; Werba 1997: 170; Cabolov 2001: 508, 525, 549; Lecoq 2002: 631 *passim*, *NEVP*: 7; Korn 2005: 189, 389

***kart²** ‘to twist, turn’

•CHORESMIAN: *kncy-* ‘to turn (one’s head)’ || (+ **ham-*) ? *m/nkn-* ‘to sow’, *’nknc* (f.) ‘needle’. ◇ Different etymologies have been cautiously proposed for Chor. *nkn-* ‘to sow’. MacKenzie (I: 545) quotes Pash. *ganḍəl* ‘to sew’ < **han-kan^o*- with a query, whereas Samadi suggests a “Gegenbildung” of **ui-kan-* ‘to destroy, undermine’ (s.v. **kan²*). Perhaps, the Chor. form derives from the present stem **ham-kṛnta-* of **ham-kart²*- ‘to twist, braid together’. ⇒ Samadi: 102 f., 128 f.

•SANSKRIT: *kart* ‘to spin, twist threads’ ⇒ EWAia I: 316

◇ Evidence for the Iranian cognate root of Skt. *kart* is confined to Choresmian. Eilers, *WIM* I: 361 f., s.v. Khuns. *kārdōun* ‘weaver; spider’ suggests for the Persian

‘spider’ word *kārtana(k)* two possible etymologies, either from compounded *kār* ‘work’ + *tanīdan* ‘to spin’ or a connection to Skt. *kart*. NP *kārtana(k)* have similar correspondences in several Iranian dialects, e.g. Aryan. *kārtana*, Abz. *kārtana*, Anar. *karetine*, Nn. *kāratine*, Qohr. *kārtene*, Varz. *kārdowne* (Lecoq 2002: 578b, 596a, 609a, 648b, 631b, 679b). In Qohr. *kāre* ‘spider web’ is also attested, which perhaps makes the Skt. connection less plausible.

•PIE **kert-* ‘to plait’ ⇒ LIV: 356 | Pok.: 584 f.

•IE COGNATES: ? Hitt. *kar-za*, *kar-za-na-aš* ‘weaver’s tool to make yarn’, ? Lat. *crātis* ‘something plaited, plait work’

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 170 f.

***karz** ? ‘to cheat, deceive’

•CHORESMIAN: *k’žy-* ‘to deceive’, *k’ž* ‘deceit’ ⇒ Samadi: 99 f.

•NEIR: ? Pash. *kažəl/kaž-* ‘to dislike’

◇ The postulation of this root is based on two Ir. reflexes. An IE provenance is therefore difficult to prove.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 554

•REFERENCES: EVP: 35

***kas**¹ ‘to look, appear’

•AVESTAN: (+ **ā-*) YAV. *ākas-* ‘to look’ ⇒ Liste: 15

Pres. them.: INJ. YAV. *ākasat* (V 22.2)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ā-*) BMP **k’syn-* /*āgāhēn-* (denomin.) ‘to inform (someone)’ || (+ **pari-*) ? BMP *plgst* /*pargast* ‘let it not happen! Heaven forbid!’ (< *Attention!) || (+ **ni-*) BMP *nk’s* /*nigāh* ‘look, attention’

(+ **ā-*) Partic.: perf. pass. BMP **k’synynt* /*āgāhēnīd*; Inf.: BMP **k’synyntn* /*āgāhēnīdan*

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ā-*) **gs* ‘visible, apparent’ || (+ **pati-*) *pdgs-* ‘to look after’ || (+ **pari-*) *prgs-* ‘to observe, take care’, (?) Pth. *prgst* ‘God forbid!’ || (+ **ni-*) *ng’h* ‘heed, attention’ || (+ **ui-*) *wyg’s* ‘apparent, open’. ◇ A nominal derivative *pdgs* ‘look, countenance, face’ was also cited by Henning 1937: 86; Boyce 1977: 68. However, this form may be a ghostword. The form **pdgs* in the referred passage M42 II Rii,16(42) (i.e. Andreas – Henning 1934: 879, line 22) appears to be *p’dgws* ‘realm, land’. ⇒ Ghilain: 51 | DMMPP: 30b, 269a, 240a, 353a

(+ **pati-*) Pres.: IMPV. 2sg. *pdgs* {unpubl.} || (+ **pari-*) Pres.: SUBJ./OPT./IMPV. (?) 2sg. *prgysyh* (M622), IMPV. 2pl. *prgysyd* (M 251)

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *kaś-* (or *kas-*) ‘to appear’ || (+ **ni-*) OKh. *nyas-* ‘to despise’ ⇒ SGS: 22, 128, 60

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ā-*) CSogd. **qsy* ‘overseer’ || (+ **pati-*) SSogd. *pcks-* ‘to expect’, CSogd. *pcqs-* ‘to wait, await’

(+ *pati-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. dur. CSogd. *pcqstysq* (C2 48V.19, C2 77R.15); Impf.: IND. 2sg. SSogd. *pcks'* (AL 1.8); 'z-Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *pcqs'z* (C2 60R.28)

•CHORESMIAN: *č'rk-* 'to watch closely, scrutinize' (< ? *č'r-* 'device, trick, list' = NP *čār(ah)* 'means, device, trick, list') || (+ *ā-) *m/'ks-* 'to observe' || (+ *upa-) *bks-* 'to feed' (< *'to look after') || (+ *fra-) *škš-* 'to look to' || (+ *ni-) *nk's(y)-* 'to (take a) look at' ⇒ Samadi: 56, 4, 21, 192 f., 128

•NWIR: Khuns. *kis-/kis(s)-* 'to look to' || (+ *ā-) NP *āgāh* 'knowing, aware' || (+ *ni-) Meim. *be-ñgāft-, a-ñgāft-/a-ñgēs-* 'to look to, gaze at', NP *nigāh* 'look, attention' || (+ *ham-) Fariz. *-āngāšt-/āngās-,* Yar. *-āngāšt-/īngās-* 'to look', Qohr. *t-āngīs-/angaš,* Soi *at-āngis-* 'look to, perceive', ? Jow. *bam-gāft/añgēs-* 'to paint'

•NEIR: Oss. I. *kæsyn/kast,* D. *kæsun/kast* 'to look; to read; to wait; to appear', Pash. *katəl,* Sh. *čis-/čūxt,* Rosh. *čas-/čōxt,* Bart. *čās-/čōxt,* Sariq. *čos-/čixt,* Yzgh. *k'as-/k'ūxt* 'to see', ? Yi. *kós-/kist* 'to search for' (rather ***kauš**² ?) || (+ *pari-) Oss. I. *fælgæsyn/fælgæst,* D. *fælgæsun/fælgast* 'to look; survey' || (+ *niš-) Oss. I. *nykkæsyn,* D. *nikkæsun* 'to look (down)' || (+ *ham-) Oss. I. *ængas,* D. *ængast* 'look, appearance'

•MISC: (+ *ā-) Arm. (LW) *akah* 'knowing, aware' || (+ *pari-) Arm. (LW) *p'argast* 'absit omen' || (+ *ni-) Arm. (LW) *nkat-em* 'to see, consider' || (+ *niš-) Arm. (LW) *nškah-em* 'to reject, condemn'

•SANSKRIT: *kāś* 'to become visible, appear' ⇒ EWAia I: 344

◇ See also ***čas**¹. No IE verbal correspondences are known.

•PIE ***k^wek-** 'to appear, show' ⇒ LIV: 383 ff. | Pok.: 638 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *τέκμωρ, τέκμωρ* 'sign, mark'

•REFERENCES: Zhukovskij I: 17, 202; *KPF* I: 250a; *EVP*: 35; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 174; *IIFL* II: 219; Lambton 1938: 41b, 78b; Abaev, *Slovar'* I: 589 f., 436 f.; *EVS*: 27b; *WIM* I: 70; Werba 1997: 339; Cheung 2002: 589 f., 161; Lecoq 2002: 641b (passim)

*kas² 'to attach'

•KHOTANESE: *kas-* (*kaš-/kaś-*) 'to attach'. ◇ According to Bailey 1951: 31, cited by Emmerick (*SGS*: l.c.), three verbs may be hidden behind Khot. *kaśś-* (or *kas-*): ***kas**¹- 'to look, appear', ***kas**²- 'to attach' and ***kas**³- 'to fall'. As for the latter root, Emmerick could not give an etymology. The existence of ***kas**³- 'to fall' is now supported by the Chor. evidence, on which see ***kas**³. ⇒ *SGS*: 21 f.

•CHORESMIAN: *ksy-* 'to get stuck' ⇒ Samadi: 104 f.

•NEIR: (+ *ni-) Oss. I. *nyxæsyn/nyxæst,* D. *nixæsun/nixast* 'to be attached, glued, stuck', (caus.) I. *nyxasyn/nyxæst,* D. *nixasun/nixast* 'to attach, adhere, glue, stick'. ◇ The initial -x- of the Oss. forms is inexplicable; an assimilation of fricatives (*k ... s > x ... s*) may be invoked.

◇ Further connections are unknown.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 220 f.; DKS: 57a

***kas³** ‘to fall’

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *kaś-* (*kas-*) ‘to fall’ || (+ *ā-) OKh. *ātas-* ‘to fall down’ (-*t-* is a hiatus "filler") ⇒ SGS: 21, 8

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *apa-) ? *bk’s-* ‘to be stupefied’ || (+ *us-) *m/sks-* (intr./inch.) ‘to become high, ascend’, *m/sk’sy-* (caus.) ‘to lift, take up’ ⇒ Samadi: 19, 181 f., 180

•NWIR: (+ *ham-) Bal. *ankis(i)t/ankis-* ‘to lie down, go to sleep’

◇ A root *kas³ is reconstructed on the basis of Khotanese and Choresmian evidence, to which a Bal. continuation can be added. The root is exclusively Ir. with no apparent IE origin.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: DKS: 56b f.; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *ankis-*

***kas⁴** ‘to be small, diminish, lessen’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *kasu-* ‘small, little’ (Yt 8.29), Yt 14.17, V 7.59, etc.), YAv. *kasiiah-* ‘young’ (V 5.24, V 14.5, V 15.2, etc)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *qh-*, BMP *k’h-/kāh-/* ‘to diminish, decrease, lessen’, MMP *k’hyšn, q’hyšn* ‘diminution’ ⇒ DMMPP: 205a, 201b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *qhyd*, BMP *k’hyt /kāhēd/*; Inf.: BMP *k’hynyt /kāhēnīdan/* (from *MX*)

•KHOTANESE: (+ *ni-) *nyaśša-* ‘deficient, bad’

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *us-) *sks-* ‘to become short’ ⇒ Samadi: 182

•NWIR: NP *kāstan/kāh-* ‘to lessen, diminish’, Nn. *kās*, Tr. *kas* ‘little; young’, Varz. *kas* ‘little’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *kæstær* ‘young(er), little’ || ? I. *æ-gas*, D. *æ-gas* (+ neg. *a-) ‘whole, integer’ || (+ *ui-) D. *igas* ‘whole(some), healthy, alive’, Wa. *kaš* ‘young man, lad, youth’

•SANSKRIT: *kaśú-* (m.) PN ‘the Small One’ (RV 8.5.37) ⇒ EWAia I: 330

◇ This apparently Ir. root has no certain IE provenance. It may even be an exclusively Ir. root, if the Skt. name *kaśú-* is some sort of a borrowing, cf. EWAia, l.c.: "als „iranisch-westindoarische Dialekt-Isoglosse" aufzufassen?".

•PIE ◇ Pokorny, l.c. cites NHG *hager* ‘gaunt, haggard’, Lith. *kašėti* ‘to lessen, become thin, dry’ as possible cognates. The origin of NHG *hager* (incl. Engl. *haggard* < Fr. *hagard* < Germanic ?) is obscure though, Seebold (Kluge 2002: 383b) considers Skt. *kṛśá-* ‘id.’ as a semantically more satisfactory connection to NHG *hager*. As for the Lith. form, it appears to have a variant *katėti*, both forms have a popular flavour according to Fraenkel I: 227b f. ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 521 f.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 152b; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 589, 119; *DKS*: 57a f., 193b; Cheung 2002: 158; Lecoq 2002: 605b, 631b, 680a.

*kaš ‘to imprison’

•AVESTAN: (?) YAv. *kāš-* ‘to hold, grasp?’ ⇒ Liste: 16

Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *kāšaiieiti* (V 18.4), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *kāšaiiaṭ* ‘[Pahl. transl.] *gylyt*’ (P 36)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: ? MMP *gyš-* ‘to bind, tie’ || (+ **ham-*) ? MMP *hngyš-* ‘to fasten to’. ◇ MMP *gyš-* has been abstracted from *hngyšt*? ⇒ DMMPP: 170b, 181a f.

Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *gyšt*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. MMP *gyšyhyd* || (+ **ham-*) Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *hngyšt*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. MMP *hngyšyd*, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *hngšyh’d*

•PARTHIAN: (+ **pari-*) *prg’c-* ‘to imprison; incarcerate’ ⇒ Ghilain: 99 | DMMPP: 278a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *prg’cyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *prgšt*, *prgštg*, II ? *prg’c’d*

•SOGDIAN: (+ **pāti-*) CSogd. *ptqyš-* ‘to imprison, confine’ || (+ **pari-*) MSogd. *prqyš* ‘to imprison’. ◇ A hapax nominal derivative CSogd. *ptq’s* is attested in C2 94V.26 (Sims-Williams 1984: 169). The form has an unexpected final -s, as observed by Sims-Williams 1979: 133 f. This may simply be a spelling mistake, cf. BSogd. *prk’š* ‘imprisonment’ (SCE 133).

(+ **pāti-*) Fut.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *ptqštq’* (C2 51V.4 f.); Partic.: perf. pass. CSogd. *ᵛptqšty* (|C2 25V.18), CSogd. *ptqšc* (f.) (C2 94R.16), CSogd. *ᵛptqštyt* (pl.) ‘imprisoned, confined’ (|C2 64R.28) || (+ **pari-*) Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *pryqyš* (M129R.13), MSogd. *prykyyš* (M133 Ri.15); Pass.: pret. IND. 3pl. SSogd. (*’krt’nt*) *prkyšt’kt* ‘were imprisoned’ (X1 iiR.1)

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **pari-*) *p’rk’sy-* ‘to imprison’ ⇒ Samadi: 153

•NEIR: Sarii. *kašan* ‘chains’

◇ A root **kaš* was first established, on the basis of the Mir., by Henning (*BBB*: 96 ad b74 and *apud* Boyce 1952: 448, fn. 4.). This was further elucidated by Sims-Williams 1979, l.c. There is no etymology for **kaš*.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *EVS*: 41b; Sims-Williams 1979: 133 f.; Sundermann 1992: 92, ad 21

*kauč ‘to bend, draw into, contract’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: ? MMP *qxs’ n* ‘bending?’ {hapax} || (+ **ā-*) MMP *’gws-*, BMP *’kws-*, *’kwh-* ‘to hang up, fasten’ || (+ **ni-*) MMP *ngwc-* ‘to bow, prostrate, bend (the knees)’. ◇ The -s- in MMP *’gwst*, BMP *’kwstn* is secondary, v. Sims-Williams 1979: 135. ⇒ DMMPP: 215b, 30b, 240b

(+ **ā-*) Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *’gwst*, BMP *’kwst /āgust/*, *’kwht /āguxt/*; Inf.: BMP *’kwhtn /āguxtan/* || (+ **ni-*) Pres.: IND. 1pl. MMP *ngwcyw*, 3pl. MMP *ngwcynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *ngwcyd*

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ā-*) *’gwxt* (ppp) ‘hung up’ ⇒ DMMPP: 30b

•KHOTANESE: (+ **us-*) *uskuj-* ‘to rise up (against)’ || (+ **pāti-*) ? *paškūj-* ‘to strike’ || (+ **ham-*) *hamggūj-* ‘to meet’, OKh. *hamggūjsu* ‘fear’ ⇒ SGS: 17, 77, 137

- SOGDIAN: (+ *ā-) BSogd. 'k'wc, BSogd. 'kwyc, CSogd. 'qwc, MSogd. 'qwc 'to suspend, hang' (v. *GMS*: §634) || (+ *pati-) BSogd. *ptkwc* 'to angle, fish' (+ *ā-) *Well attested*: Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. 'k'wct, Impf.: IND. 3pl. CSogd. 'qwcnt, MSogd. *m'qwc'nd*; Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. 'kwyt (*SDMG II*: 191, also *GMS* §858), etc. || (+ *pati-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *ptkwct*; Partic.: pres. pass. MSogd. *ptkwyt*-
- CHORESMIAN: (+ *ā-) *m/'kwcy-* 'to submerge' || (+ *ni-) *m/nkwcy-* 'to slumber' ⇒ Samadi: 5, 129
- NWIR: ? Abyan. *kōta/kuj-* 'to gnaw' || (+ *ā-) Khor. *ayoš* 'an armful' || (+ *ham-) ? NP *anjōğ* 'wrinkle'
- NEIR: Oros. *kaxs-/kaxt* 'to curl up, turn' || (+ *pati-) ? Sh. (Baj.) *bidgaxc-/bidgixt* 'to entangle, embroil' || (+ *ham-) Sh. *angaxs-/angixt, angaxt*, (Baj.) *ingixc-* 'to get stuck (in the throat), be caught in, strike against, hang from', Sariq. *ingaxt* (inf.) 'to get stuck (in the throat), be caught in, strike against, hang from', *ingauy-ân* (caus.) 'to stick into, fix', ? Oss. I. *ænzyg*, D. *ænzug* 'shrinking, contraction'
- SANSKRIT: *kuc* 'to bend, contract' (Kauś+) ⇒ EWAia I: 361
- ◇ On the semantic shifts of *kauč see Sims-Williams 1979: 135. The IE origin of this apparent IIr. root cannot be ascertained.
- PIE ? ◇ OIrish *cúar* 'crooked', SCr. *kūka*, Bulg. *kúka* 'hook' are cited as possible cognates. ⇒ LIV: 359 | Pok.: 589
- REFERENCES: *EVS*: 42a; Monchi-Zadeh 1990: 5; Werba 1997: 340; Lecoq 2002: 126

*kaup¹ 'to pound, beat'

- MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *kwp- /kōb-/* 'to beat, pound, crush' || (+ *pati-) BMP *ptkwp- /pahikōb-/* 'to strike'
Pres.: IND. 3pl. BMP *kwṗnd /kōbēnd/*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *kwṗt /kōft/* || (+ *pati-) Pres.: IND. 3pl. BMP *ptkwṗynd /pahikōbēnd/*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *ptkwṗt /pahikōft/*
- PARTHIAN: *kwbg, qwbg* 'vexation' ⇒ DMMPP: 213a
- CHORESMIAN: *m/kwby-* 'to churn (milk)', *kwbyk* 'dasher' || (+ *ni-) *m/kwby-* 'to punish', *'kwbyc* 'punishments' ⇒ Samadi: 106
- NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *kōftan/kōb-* 'to break, bruise, knock, strike...', *kōbidan/kōb-* 'to beat, hit (etc.)', *kubān(i)dan* (iter.) 'to beat repeatedly', Kurd. (Kurm.) *Kutān/kut-*, (Sor.) *kutān/kutē-* 'to beat, strike, knock; to thresh', Zaz. *kutiš/kuw-* 'to pound', Anar. *-ikut/* (impv.) *ikuy* 'to knock, grind', Awrom. *kuáy/ku-* 'to beat, knock', Gz. *kū(w)/kūft* 'to knock, thrust', Gur. (Kand.) *mā-kū-ān* 'they beat', Ard. *kōfte/kōf-*, Anar. *kufte/kūy-*, Khuns. *kū-*, Mah. *kāft*, Meim. *bem-kost/a-ku-*, Tr. *kövā/köv-*, Varz. *kufte/kuv-* 'to beat', Nn. *kuf/ku* 'to beat, thrust, throw', Semn. *-bu-kutanīyon, kū-/kū-* 'to beat; to throw, shoot', Sang. *-æktond/kutæncæn-*, Siv. *kū-/kūft* 'to strike, knock', Sorkh. *-kut-* 'to beat with a stick, club', Bal. *wad-kutta* '(salt-)pestle' || (+ *ham-) Kurd. (Sor.) *angūtin* 'to stumble, be stuck'

◇ The root appears to be exclusively Iranian. The similarity to Hitt. /*kupti-*/ (c.) ‘cultic object of individual deities, struck or pounded (in[to the ground ?])’ is coincidental. The Hitt. form is likely to be a borrowing from Hurrian, on which see Puhvel IV: 259 f.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 535

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 82a f., 145a, 208b; Ivanow 1926: 421; *KPF* II: 218; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 58, 117; Lambton 1938: 42b; MacKenzie 1966: 100; *WIM* I: 70; *WIM* II/1: 78; *WIM* III: 112; Paul 1998: 304a; Cabolov 2001: 570 f., 26; Lecoq 2002: 128, 130 f., 133, 135 (passim)

***kaup² ?** ‘to want something strongly’

•KHOTANESE: ? *jūh-* (*juīh-*) ‘to long, yearn’. ◇ Emmerick connects the Khot. forms to the Pth. verb *ywb-* ‘to suffer, complaint, lament’ (***raup¹**), which is semantically not evident. According to Bailey *DKS*: l.c. the Khot. forms rather derive from a root ***jauš** ‘to be agitated, passionate; love’, which is unknown in Ir. and, in addition, formally difficult: *-h-* hardly goes back to ***š** (the *-h-* of the pron. *uhu* ‘you’ has a different origin: < ***ž**, Sims-Williams 1983: 48). The cited cognate forms, Zef. *yōš* ‘to seethe’, NP *jōš* ‘boiling’, etc. go back to the redupl. formation of ***jah** ‘to boil, bubble’, which is continued by Khot. *jīš-*. Perhaps Khot. *jūh-* goes back to ***kufja-**, which is subsequently contaminated with *jīš-*? ⇒ SGS: 36

•CHORESMIAN: (denomin. ?, with lost neg. ***a-**?) *kwby-* ‘to abstain from (injustice)’ ⇒ Samadi: 106

•NEIR: Oss. I. *kuvyn/k_oyvd*, D. *kovun/kuvd* ‘to pray’, *k_oyvd/kuvd* ‘prayer; ritual feast’, Pash. *cwab* (m.) ‘longing, eagerness, mania, passion’ || (+ ***ham-**) ? Yi. *guv-/guvd*, M. *guv-/guvd-* ‘to burn’

•MISC: The evidence for this root is limited.

•SANSKRIT: ? *kop* ‘to be angry, seethe with rage’ (< ***‘to be passionate, emotional (about something)’**) ⇒ EWAia I: 402

•PIE ***ke(H)up-** ‘to boil, seethe (with rage, passion, desire, etc.); premeditate’ ⇒ LIV: 359 | Pok.: 596 f.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. /*kup-*/ ‘to plan, premeditate, scheme, plot’, Lat. *cupiō* ‘I desire violently, wish’

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 18; *IIFL* II: 211a; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 603 f.; *DKS*: 112a f.; Werba 1997: 340; Puhvel IV: 255 f.; *NEVP*: 18

***k(a)ur ?** ‘to be born, related’

•SOGDIAN: MSogd. *kwrt*’ (pl.) ‘children’ || (+ ***ui-**) SSogd. ^x*wkw*, SSogd. *wk’wr*, BSogd. *wk’wr* ‘(blood)relative, kinsfolk, family’

•NWIR: Kurd. *kuṛ* (m.), Bakht. *kur(r)*, Gz. *kur*, Gur. *kur* ‘son, boy’, Tal. *kəra* foal’, ? NP *kīr* (***kurja-**?), Khuns. *kur* ‘penis’ (***kura-**?)

- NEIR: (+ **ui-*) Oss. I. *g_oyryn/g_oyrd*, D. *igurun/igurd* ‘to be born; exist’
- SANSKRIT: ? *kúla-* ‘household, whose members include slaves, servants, etc., (blood)relatives and guests’ (RVh, AVh, Br+) ⇨ EWAia I: 372 f.
- ◇ The root **kur-* is probably nominal in origin. The Oss. verbal formation appears to be denominative: the absence of an ablaut alternation in the pres./partic. is an indication. Note also Oss. I. *ag_oyryn/ag_oyrd*, D. *agurun/agurd* ‘to seek, demand’ (< Caucasian ?), I. *kuryn/k_oyrd*, D. *korun/kurd* ‘to ask’. Similar forms for a small animal, young are also found in geographically close languages: Hitt. /*kurka-*/ (c.) ‘foal, colt’, Gr. κῦρνος ‘bastard son’ (Hes.), Arm. *k’uīak* ‘foal’ (< Hitt., Ir. ?). The Skt. form does not fit in this category very well: different origin ? The Lith. cognate *kùrtas* ‘greyhound’ quoted by Mayrhofer, EWAia I: l.c. appears to be an old Slavic borrowing **хьртъ* ‘id.’, which can hardly be traced back to IE.
- PIE – ⇨ LIV: – | Pok.: –
- REFERENCES: *KPF* II: 262 f.; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 532, 36, 602; *WIMI*: 366; Szemerényi 1977: 12 ff.; *WIM* II/2: 693; Vahman – Asatrian 1991: 112 f.; Cabolov 2001: 525; Cheung 2002: 192, 198

*kauš¹ ‘to fight, struggle; to kill’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *kuš-* ‘to fight, struggle’ ⇨ Liste: 16
Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *fra(-ca) kušaiti* (V 5.34)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *kwš-*, *qwš-* ‘to struggle; kill’, BMP *kwhš-* /*kōxš-*/ ‘to strive, struggle, endeavour’, BMP *kwš-* (NKSWN-) /*kuš-*/ ‘to kill’, BMP *kwhššn* /*kōxšišn*/ ‘strife, combat’ ⇨ DMMPP: 215a f.
Well attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP *qwšym*, 3sg. BMP *kwhšyt* /*kōxšēd*/, BMP *kwšyt* /*kušēd*/, BMP *kwšynd* /*kōšēnd*/, etc.
- PARTHIAN: ? *kwš-* ‘to struggle’ ⇨ Ghilain: 66 | DMMPP: 215a
Partic.: perf. pass. II ? *kwš’d* {not found in DMMPP}
- CHORESMIAN: *m/kš-* ‘to butt (with the horns)’ ⇨ Samadi: 105
- NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *kuštan/kuš-* ‘to kill, slay; to beat, bruise’, Bal. *kušt/kuš-*, Kurd. *kuštīn/kuš-*, Zaz. *kištīš/kišen-*, Anar. *-ikušt/* (impv.) *ikiš* (or *ikuš* ?), Awrom. *kuštáy/k^wš-*, Abyan., Abz. *kōšta/kōš-*, Gz. *keš-/kušt*, Gil. (Rsh.) *kuštæn/kuš-*, Gur. (Kand.) *kušt-/kuš-*, Ham. *koštān/koš-*, Isfah. *košdān/k(e)š-*, Khuns. *kuš-/kušt*, Mah. *kuš-*, Qohr. *kūšta/kūš-*, Semn. *kuštā/* (impv.) *-kuš*, Sang. *-kōšt-/košæn-*, Siv. *kušten* /*kuš-*, Shamerz. *-kūšt-/košām-*, Soi *kūšt-/kūš*, Sorkh. *-kušt-/kuš-*, Lasg. *-košt* ‘to kill’, NP *kuštī* ‘fighting, wrestling’
- ◇ This well attested Ir. root goes back to has an ingress. *so-*formation of IE **keH₂u-*, cf. OCS *kovati* ‘to forge’, Lith. *káuti* ‘to murder, beat, hew’, OHG *houwan*, OE *hēawan*, Engl. *to hew*, etc. This formation has an exact correspondence in Toch.
- PIE ingress. **keH₂u-s^e/o-* ⇨ LIV: 345 f. | Pok.: 535
- IE COGNATES: Toch. A *koṣ-*, B *kauṣ-* (pres.) ‘to kill, strike down, destroy’

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 83a, 208b, 248a f.; Ivanow 1926: 421; *KPF* II: 216 f.; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 71; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 61, 117, 161; Abrahamian 1936: 117, 130; Abaev, *Slovar'* I: 603; MacKenzie 1966: 100; *EVS*: 40a; *WIM* I: 70; *WIM* II/1: 78; *WIM* III: 112; Adams 1999: 208, 210; Paul 1998: 303b; Steblin-Kamenskij 40a; Cabolov 2001: 525 f.; Lecoq 2002: 121, 123, 126 (passim); Korn 2005: 318, 392

***kauš²** ‘to look, see’

•KHOTANESE: (+ *us-) ? OKh. *uskūš-* ‘to act frivolously’ ⇒ SGS: 17

•SOGDIAN: (+ *ati-) SSogd. *tkwš* ‘to look after, nurse’, BSogd. *tk'wš* ‘to examine, look’, CSogd. *tkwš*, MSogd. *tkwš* ‘to look, observe’

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 2sg. BSogd. *tk'wš*, 3sg. BSogd. *tk'wšt*, BSogd. *tk'wyšt*, CSogd. *tkwšt*, MSogd. *tkwšt* (*BBB*: 35), etc.

•NEIR: ? Yi. *kōs-/kist* ‘to search for’ (rather *kas¹ ?)

◇ The Iranian evidence for a root *kauš² is confined to Sogd. and possibly Khot. / Yidgha. This "root" may be a so-formation of a root cognate with Skt. *kavⁱ* ‘to intend to’ (*EWAia* I: 328).

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 219b; *DKS*: 63

***kauz¹** ‘to search, seek’

•KHOTANESE: *kūš-* ‘to search, seek’ ⇒ SGS: 23

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *γwyz-* (*γw(y)z-*), MSogd. *xwj-* ‘to wish, demand’ (initial fricative < ?)

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *γwyzt*, 3pl. BSogd. *γwyz'nt*, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *γwyz't*, OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *γwyz'y*, BSogd. *γwz'y*; Inf.: BSogd. *γwyz'y*, BSogd. *γwz'y*, POT.-SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *'γwšt' wn't*, BSogd. *'γwštwn wn't*; Inf.: pret. BSogd. *'γwšt'*, BSogd. *'γwštwn*

•CHORESMIAN: *kwzy-* ‘to ask for, plea, beg?’; ? *kwcy-* ‘to seek, search; ask for’ (with unexplained -c-) ⇒ Samadi: 106 f.

•NEIR: (+ *us-) ? M. *wuškuj-/wuškujəy-* ‘to seek’ (Zarubin)

◇ No IE etymology.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 264a; *DKS*: 62a

***kauz²** ‘to throw (esp. of water/liquid)’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *qwz* ‘jug?’ ⇒ DMMPP: 215b

•KHOTANESE: (+ *us-) OKh. *uskoš-* ‘to throw out, [Skjærvø *apud* Samadi: 182] ? pile up’ || (+ *niš-) OKh. *naškoš-* ‘to bale out (water)’ ⇒ SGS: 17, 50

•CHORESMIAN: ? *kwzy-* (*kwry-*) ‘to let (water) flow’ || (+ *us-) *m/skwry-* ‘to poke, stoke’, (')*skwryk* ‘poker’ (164.4) || (+ *ni-) *m/nkwzy-* ‘to dunk’. ◇ MacKenzie IV: 522 derives *m/nkwzy-* from **ham-gaudaja-* (rather **ham-gauzaja-* ?), for which we

rather expect the meaning ‘to cover (together) with a piece of textile, leather, sim.’.

⇒ Samadi: 107, 182, 130

•NWIR: Abyan. *kūza* ‘jug, pot’, Abz. *kūza* ‘pot, can’, Qohr. *kūza*, Tr. *kūi* ‘jug’, Soi *kūzā* ‘mug’

•NEIR: Pash. *kūz* ‘low’

•MISC: (+ *niš-*) Orm. *nikiz-* ‘to sow’

◇ An IE origin for this apparently exclusively Ir. root cannot be ascertained. ⇒ LIV:

– | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 253b; *IIFL* I: 24; Lecoq 2002: 579b, 596b, 649a, 666

M

***mad¹** ‘to become intoxicated, joyous’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *maδ-* ‘to become intoxicated, joyous’ ⇒ Liste: 42

MED.; Pres. them.: INJ. 3sg. YAv. *maḍaite* (N 30); Aor. *s-*: INJ. 3sg. ? OAv. *masatā* (Y 54.1); Caus.: pres. IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *maḍaiiaḡha* (Vr 8.1)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *mst* ‘drunk, bemused; in rut (of animals)’ ⇒ DMMPP: 232b

•PARTHIAN: *mst* ‘drunk, bemused; in rut (of animals)’ ⇒ DMMPP: 232b

•KHOTANESE: **mad-* ‘to be intoxicated’ ⇒ SGS: 108

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *mst’wny* ‘drunkenness’, BSogd. *mst-k’r’k* ‘intoxicating’, MSogd. *mst-k’ryy* ‘intoxicating’ || (+ **us-*) ? BSogd. *sm’’ḍn* ‘scent, perfume’

•NWIR: NP *mast*, Kurd. *mast*, Sang. *mast*, Nn. *mas*, Siv. *mass* (ppp.) ‘drunk’

•SANSKRIT: *mad* ‘to become exhilarated, intoxicated’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 299

•PIE **med-* ‘to be intoxicated, exhilarated’ (cf. Harðarson 1995: 225 ff.) ⇒ LIV: 423 f. | Pok.: 694 f., 706

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *μεστός* ‘saturated, full’, Lat. *mado* ‘I am intoxicated’

•REFERENCES: *DKS*: 329, 339b; Werba 1997: 361; Cabolov 2001: 622

***mad²** ‘to curdle, coagulate’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *m’s-* ‘to coagulate, become hard’ ⇒ DMMPP: 227a

Pass.: pres. SUBJ. 1sg. MMP *m’syh’n*

•PARTHIAN: *m’s-* ‘to coagulate, become hard’. ◇ A different meaning is also possible: ‘to swell up’?, cf. Kurd. (Sor.) *māsān/māsē-* ‘to swell up, inflate [intr.]’, Zaz. *māsāyış* ‘to swell up, become fat’ (***damH³**). ⇒ DMMPP: 227a

Perf.: SUBJ. 3sg. *m’s’d*

•CHORESMIAN: ◇ The Chor. form. *’nb’zy-* ‘to cause to curdle’ (cf. Henning 1971: 28b) is probably unrelated (s.v. ***bād**).

•NWIR: NP *māsīdan/mās-* ‘to coagulate’, Bal. *mast/mad-*, (?) Kurd. *mayīn* ‘to curdle’, (LW) Gz. *mās-/māsā* ‘to coagulate’, Khuns. *mās-/māsīdan* ‘to become solid’, *māsn-/māsnā* (caus.) ‘to solidify, harden’, NP *māst* ‘yoghurt’, Ard. *maske* ‘butter’, Anar. *maske*, Soi *māsgá* ‘fresh butter’, ? Tt. (Xoz.) *mās-* ‘to stick [intr.]’, (Esh.) *mās-* ‘to stick [tr.]’

•NEIR: Yghn. *mayd-* ‘to curdle’, Wa. *mod-*, *mod-/moθt-* ‘to turn sour, curdle’, Oss. *mast* ‘bitter(ness)’, I. *mæstæg* ‘thick’, Pash. *māstó* (pl. f.) ‘curds’, ? *matar* (m.) ‘coagulated milk’ (-t- < ?), *war-moláy* ‘fermentation’, Ishk. *mid* ‘cream’, Sariq. *moθ* ‘buttermilk’ || (+ *ni-) Sh. (Baj.) *nimāδ-/nimost* ‘to prepare cream and sour milk’, Sariq. *namuθ-/namuθt* ‘to turn sour’, Khf. *nimōδ* ‘cream coagulated in a trough’, Yghn. *nimodin* ‘freshly fermented, boiling milk’

•SANSKRIT: Skt. *māstu-* (n.) ‘sour cream’ (< **mad-stu-*) ⇒ EWAia II: 336

◇ The root is apparently Ir. It may be cognate with Arm. *mac-* ‘to coagulate’, except that -c- would need an explanation.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 694 f.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 253b; *EVP*: 48; *IIFL* II: 529a; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 103; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 76 f., 103; Yarshater 1969: 191; *EVS*: 43a, 49a; *WIM* I: 71; *WIM* II/1: 79; *DKS*: 329; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 235; Lecoq 2002: 609b, 619a; *NEVP*: 52; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *mad-*

***mag ?** ‘to offer, worship, glorify (vel sim.)’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *mag-* ‘to offer, worship (vel sim.)’ ⇒ Liste: 43

Partic.: desid. OAv. *mimayžō* (Y 45.10)

•KHOTANESE: ? *māja-* ‘delightful’, *mājime* ‘payment (for service)’. ◇ Bailey, *DKS*: l.c., connects the Khot. form with Oss. *mond* ‘desire’, which is formally difficult.

•SANSKRIT: ? *mah* ‘to bring about, accomplish ?’ (RV) || *maghá-* (n.) ‘gift, reward, wealth, wellbeing’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 336

◇ Further Ir. cognates are unknown.

•PIE ? **m(e)H₂g^h-* (**mH₂(e)g^h-*) ‘to be able (to accomplish something)’ ⇒ LIV: 422 | Pok.: 695

•IE COGNATES: OCS *mogo* (*mošti*), Lith. *magù* (*magėti*) ‘I want, like’, Goth. *mag* ‘is able to, can’, Engl. *may*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *DKS*: 327a; Werba 1997: 434.

***maH¹** ‘to measure’

•AVESTAN: *mā-* (*mī-*) ‘to measure’ || (+ *ā-) ‘to be ready’ || (+ *fra-) ‘to allow, permit’ ⇒ Liste: 44

Pres. athem. red.: IND./SUBJ. 2pl. OAv. *framīmaθā* (Y 32.4); Caus.: pres. SUBJ. med. 3pl. YAv. *āmāiiaṇte* (V 7.36), OPT. med. 3pl. YAv. *āmāiiaṇta* (V 7.37); Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. *āmāta-* (Yt 10.122, V 7.39)

•OLD PERSIAN: (+ *fra-) *framā-* ‘to order, direct’. ◇ The old etymology of OP *āmāta-* ‘noble’ <a-m-a-t-a> (DB 1.7), <a-m-a-ta> (DBa 11), i.e. an old past participle of *ā-maH¹ (cf. Kent: 201b), is best to be discarded, on which see also EWAia I: 95. Incidentally, the OP form may be continued in MMP *sr-’m’dg’n* (pl.) ‘distinguished, prominent’ (*sr* ‘head’), cf. DMMPP: 308b. ⇒ Kent: 201b

MED.; Pres. *ja-*: impf. IND. 3sg. *frāmāyatā* <f-r-a-m-a-y-t-a> (XPg 5); Partic.: perf. pass. (NAsg. n.) *framātam* <[f]-[r]-[m]-a-t-m> (DSf 56)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *ā-) MMP ^x*m’dg* ‘prepared, ready’ || (+ *(ā-)uz-) BMP *’(w)zm’d- /uzmāy-/ , /āzmāy-/* (?) ‘to prove, test, try’ || (+ *pati-) MMP *pym’d* (pret. stem), BMP *ptm’d- /paymāy-/* ‘to measure’ || (+ *pari-) ? MMP *prm’y-* ‘to contemplate, consider’ || (+ *fra-) MMP *prm’y-*, BMP *plm’(d)y-* ‘to order, command’ || (+ *ni-) MMP *nm’y-* ‘to show’ || (+ *ui-) ? MMP *gwm’y-* ‘to suffer, endure’ (diff. root ?, cf. Skt. *āmīvā-* (f.) ‘suffering, illness’) ⇒ DMMPP: 36b, 289b, 279a, 156a, 243a f., 167a

(+ *(ā-)uz-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *’wzm’(d)t /uzmāyēd/*; Inf.: BMP *’wzmwtn /uzmūdan/*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *’wzwmwt /uzmūd/* || (+ *pati-) Pres.: IND. 3pl. BMP *ptm’dynd /paymāyēnd/*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *pym’d* || (+ *pari-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *prm’y’d*; Perf. pass.: perf. pass. MMP *prm’d* || (+ *fra-) Pres.: IND. 1sg. BMP *plm’ym /framāyēm/*, 3sg. MMP *prm’y’d*, etc. || (+ *ni-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *nm’y’d, nm’yyd*, SUBJ. 1sg. MMP *nm’y’n*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *nm’y*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *nmwd*

•PARTHIAN: (+ *pati-) *pdm’d-* (pret. stem) ‘to measure (against)’ || (+ *pari-) *prm’y-* ‘to contemplate, consider, believe’ || (+ *fra-) *fm’y-* ‘to order’ || (+ *ni-) *nm’y-* ‘to show’ || (+ *ui-) *wm’y-* ‘to experience, endure’ (diff. root ?, cf. Skt. *āmīvā-* (f.) ‘suffering, illness’) ⇒ Ghilain: 86 f. | DMMPP: 269b, 279a, 156a, 243a, 342b

(+ *pati-) Partic.: perf. pass. *pdm’d, pdm’dg*; Inf.: *pdm’dn* || (+ *pari-) Pres.: IND. 1sg. *prm’y’m*, 2sg. *’prm’y’h*, 3sg. *prm’y’d*, 3pl. *’prm’ynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *prm’y’y’h*, 3sg. *prm’y’y’h*; Partic.: perf. pass. *prm’d* || (+ *fra-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *prm’y’d*, SUBJ. 3sg. *fm’y’y’h*, IMPV. 2sg. *fm’y*; Partic.: perf. pass. *fm’d*; Inf.: *prm’dn* || (+ *ni-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *nm’y’d*, 3pl. *’nm’ynd, nm’yynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *nm’y’n*, IMPV. 2pl. *nm’y’d*; Partic.: perf. pass. *nm’d*; Inf.: *nm’d* || (+ *ui-) Pres.: IND. 3pl. *wm’yynd* {unpubl.}; Partic.: perf. pass. *wm’d*

•KHOTANESE: (+ *apa-?) LKh. *pīm-* ‘to measure’ (SVK I: 72 f.) ⇒ SGS: 83 f.

•SOGDIAN: (+ *apī-ā-) ? SSogd. *py’m-*, CSogd. *py’m-* ‘to heal, cure’, CSogd. *pym-* (pass./inch.) ‘to be healed’ || (+ *ā-) BSogd. *’m’-*, CSogd. *’m’-* ‘to prepare’ || (+ *uz-) SSogd. *zm’*, CSogd. *zm’y* ‘to tempt’ || (+ *pati-) BSogd. *ptm’k, ptm’k, ptm’ky*, CSogd. *ptm’q* ‘measure’, BSogd. *ptm’t’y* ‘measured, frugal’ || (+ *pari-) CSogd. *prm’qycq* ‘experience’, BSogd. *m’ny-prm’t’y* ‘thought, intention’ || (+ *fra-) SSogd. *prm’y*, BSogd. *prm’(’)y*, CSogd. *fm’y*, MSogd. *fm’y* ‘to command, say’, || (+ *ni-) SSogd. *nm’y*, CSogd. *nm’y*, MSogd. *nm’y* ‘to judge’. ◇ Also attested is the nominal deverbative, BSogd. *’m’n* ‘power, authority’ (Vim 140), which is perhaps secondary: it does not agree with the assumed verbal forms in meaning, BSogd. *’m’-*, CSogd. *’m’-*). It seems to be formed after the noun, CSogd., MSogd. *fm’n* (corresponding to SSogd. *prm’y*, etc.).

(+ **api-ā-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 1sg. SSogd. *py'm'n*, POT.-SUBJ. 1sg. tr. SSogd. *py'mtw kwn'n*, IMPV. 2pl. SSogd. *py'mō*; Fut.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *py'mtq*; Pret.: tr. IND. 3sg. SSogd. *py'mtw δ'rt*, Inch.: pres. OPT. 3sg. CSogd. *pymsy*; Partic.: pres. MSogd. *py'mnyy*, perf. pass. SSogd. *py'mt'°*, CSogd. *ʰpy'm'tyt* (pl.), CSogd. (f.) *ʰpy'm'c* 'cured' || (+ **ā-*) Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. *'m't'y*, CSogd. *'m'ty*, CSogd. *'m'c* (f.) 'ready, prepared' || (+ **uz-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. CSogd. *zm'ynt*; Perf.: tr. IND. 3sg. SSogd. *zm't δ'rt*, Partic.: perf. pass. CSogd. *zm'yty* 'tempted' || (+ **fra-*) Well attested: Pres.: IND. 2sg. SSogd. *prm'y*, CSogd. *frmy*, 3sg. BSogd. *prm'y't*, dur. 3sg. SSogd. *prm'ytskwn*, CSogd. *frmytq*, etc. || (+ **ni-*) Pres.: IND. 1sg. dur. CSogd. *nm'ymsqr*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *nym'y*; Fut.: IND. 1sg. CSogd. *nm'yngq*; Inf.: SSogd. *pr nm'y*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **pati-*) *pcmy-* 'to weigh, measure' || (+ **fra-*) *šm'-* 'to order, turn (into)'. \diamond Samadi apparently reconstructs on the basis of the subj. forms a stem *šm'h-*, which she derives from **fra-mā-h(a)-*. This can be discarded, not only because an intervocalic **h* has regularly disappeared in Chor., but also because the appearance of *-h-* in the subj. seems to be intrusive in origin, viz. probably from the subj. (3sg.) *y'h'c* of *y-* 'to be' (s.v. ***Hah**). \Rightarrow Samadi: 142, 153, 195

•BACTRIAN: (+ **fra-*) $\varphi\rho\mu\alpha-$ 'to order, command' \Rightarrow S-W, *Bact.*: 230b

•NWIR: (+ **ā-*) NP *āmādan/āmāy-* 'to prepare' || (+ **ā-* + **uz-*) NP *āzmūdan/āzmāy-* 'to try, test, prove, tempt', NP *āzmūdan/āzmāy-*, Gz. *uzn-/uznā* 'to try, test, prove, tempt' || (+ **pati-*) NP *paymūdan/paymāy-*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *pīvīn/pīv-*, *payvīn*, *pīvān*, (Sor.) *pēw-*, Awrom. *pimāy/pim-*, Gz. *pāām-/pāāmā*, Khuns. *pēim-* 'to measure, traverse' || (+ **pari-*) NP *parmāsīdan* 'to know' || (+ **fra-*) NP *farmūdan/farmāy-* 'to order, command; [in polite address] to say', Awrom. *farmāwāy/farmāw-* 'to order, deign', Fariz. *bāfārmā* 'order !', Gil. (Rsht.) *fārmæstœn/fārmaj-*, Ham. *fārmayān/fārmən-*, Jow. *ba-fārmā:niya*, Sang. *-fārmīj-/fārmœn-*, Shamers. *-fārmīm-/fārmām-*, Sorkh. *-farm-/farma-* 'to order', NP *farmān* 'order, command, decree', Tal. *hamue* 'to order, command' || (+ **ni-*) NP *nimāy-/nimūdan* 'to appear, show', Kurd. (Sor.) *nīwēn-*, Awrom. *nimana*, (sec. caus.) Gz. *numn-/numnā* 'to show'

•NEIR: (+ **ā-*) Oss. I. *amajyn/amad*, D. *amajun/amad* 'to build up (a wall, logs, etc.)' || (+ **pati-*) Pash. *pyaməl* 'to measure (as liquids, grain, etc.)' = *pem-/pem(d)* (cf. Sims-Williams, *apud NEVP*: 63), Wa. *pətm(ə)y-/pətmət-* 'to measure' || (+ **fra-*) Yghn. *fārmóy-/fārmóyta* 'to order, command, wish', Ishk. *fərma(y)-*, Sangl. *fərmē-*, Sh. (Baj.) *rimi(y)-/rimōd*, Rosh. *rimay-/rimūd*, Bart. *rimiy-*, *rimay-/rimōd*, Sariq. *rimey-/rimud*, Yzgh. *šamay-*, Wa. *rəm(ə)y-/rəmət-* 'to command, order; to send' || (+ **ni-*) Oss. I. *nymajyn/nymad*, D. *nimajun/nimad* 'to count, value, esteem; to read', Sh. (Baj.) *rimi(y)-/rimōd*, Rosh. *rimay-/rimūd*, Bart. *rimiy-*, *rimay-/rimōd*, Sariq. *rimey-/rimud*, Yzgh. *šamay-*, Wa. *rəm(ə)y-/rəmət-* 'to command, order; to send'

•MISC: (+ **uz-*) Orm. *izmaw-*, *wuzmaw-^yēk* 'to try, test' = *āzmaw-/āzmawók* (etc.) || (+ **pari-*) Arm. (LW) *parmayel* 'to test'

•SANSKRIT: *mā* 'to measure' (RV+) \Rightarrow EWAia II: 341

•PIE **meH₁-* 'to measure' \Rightarrow LIV: 424 f. | Pok.: 703 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *mētiōr* ‘I measure (out)’, Toch. A *me-*, B *mai-* ‘to measure’, Goth. *mel* ‘time, hour’, OHG *māl* ‘moment’, Russ. *méra* ‘measure’, etc.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 388b; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 70, 168; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 59, 116, 160; *IIFL* II: 537a; Abrahamian 1936: 113; Lambton 1938: 78a; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 49; Andreev – Peščereva: 251b; MacKenzie 1966: 104, 94; Abaev, *Slovar’* II: 199 f.; *EVS*: 62, 67b; *WIM* I: 71; *WIM* II/1: 80 f., 85; Asatrian – Livshits: 82; Cabolov 1997: 72; Werba 1997: 310 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 281, 301; Cheung 2002: 209; Lecoq 2002; Kiefer 2003: 192

***maH²** ‘to be, become’

•KHOTANESE: (+ **fra-*) *hāmā-* ‘to be, become’ ⇨ SGS: 152

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *m’t*, CSogd. *m’t* (pret. stem) ‘to be’ || (+ **ā-*) SSogd. *’m-* ‘to come to’ || (+ **ūi-*) SSogd. *wm’-*, BSogd. *wm’-* ‘to be(come)’ (supplet. past stem of BSogd. *’y-/’s-* ‘to be’, s.v. ***Hah¹**)

Pret.: intr. IND. 1sg. SSogd. *L’ m’t’y m* ‘I was not’, CSogd. *’m’tym*, 3sg. SSogd. *m’t*, CSogd. *m’t*, 2sg. SSogd. *m’tyš*, 2pl. CSogd. *m’tt*, 3pl. SSogd. *m’t’nt*, CSogd. *m’tnt* || (+ **ā-*) Perf.: IND. intr. 1sg. SSogd. *’mtk ’ym*; PPerf.: IND. 3sg. SSogd. *’mtk wm’t* || (+ **ūi-*) Pret.: IND. 3sg. SSogd., BSogd. *wm’t*, SSogd. *wm’tw*, 3pl. SSogd. *wm’t’nt*, BSogd. *wm’t’nt*, INJ./IRR2 1sg. SSogd. *wm’t’w* ‘I would rather be’, 3sg. SSogd. *wm’t’y*

•NEIR: Yzgh. *mi-/mad* ‘to be’, Wa. *ымыу-* (*һым(ә)у-*, *уым(ы)у-*) ‘to be’ (*ы- < ?*), Yi. *fārmē* ‘it may be, باشد’

◇ Sokolova 1973: 23, postulates the existence of an Iranian root **mai/mi* ‘to be’ (the past partic. would then be **mita-*). Szemerényi, *Iranica* IV: 515 ff., on the other hand, connects the forms above to the root ***(d)mān** ‘to remain’ (q.v.), which is morphologically difficult. The corresponding participles would then have been **mata-* or (secondarily formed) **mānta-*. It is uncertain whether ***maH²** can be traced back to IE, despite the fact that it is remarkably similar to Toch. *māsk-* ‘to be’, which is thought to derive from IE **mṇ-ske/o-* ‘to remain’ (IE **men-*, ***(d)mān**). See, for instance, Adams 1999: 458 f.

•PIE ? ⇨ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 208b f.; *EVS*: 43a; *DKS*: 482b f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 455

***maič (*mač) ?** ‘to suck’

•AVESTAN: ◇ The inclusion of the rather isolated formation YAv. *maēkant-* ‘oozing?’ (Y 38.3) is problematic: not only is this formation morphologically obscure (denominative?, cf. Kellens 1984: 132, n. 8), it is also semantically not satisfactory. Perhaps, only YAv. *maēkant-* can be connected to the Slavic ‘moisten’ forms (see below).

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *myc-* / *mēz-* ‘to suck’

•NWIR: NP *mazīdan/maz-*, (LW ?) NP *makīdan/mak-*, Bal. *miht*, *mitk/mic-* ‘to suck’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *mētīn*, *mižtīn*, *mižīn/miž-*, (Sor.) *mižīn/miž-* ‘to suck; to kiss’,

Awrom. *mištáy/miž-* ‘to suck’, Gz. *meġ-/meġā, mek-/mekā*, (Lor. LW ?) *mež-/mežā* ‘to suckle, suck (out)’, Nn. *ī-miġ-*, Qohr. *mij-*, Lor. *mež-*, Khuns. *mek-/mekā*, Siv. *mek-* ‘to suck’, NP *māč*, Gil. (Rsht.) *mačči* (etc.) ‘kiss’ (+ suff. **-čī* ?). ◇ The vocalism *-ē-* of Kurd. *mētin* is from (caus.) pres. **māčaja-*, Asatrian – Livshits: 101, n. 18.

•NEIR: (+ **uz-*) Yghn. *zīmák-/zīmákta* ‘to suck’. ◇ The previously cited Pash. *zmōx(t)* ‘adstringent, dry to the taste’ is no longer mentioned in *NEVP*.

◇ The root is largely confined to WIr. The peculiar (stem) vowel variants may be due to the expressive character of the root. An IE origin cannot be ascertained. The comparison to OCS *močiti*, Cz. *mákati* ‘to moisten’, Russ. *makát* ‘to dip’ (Pokorny, *IEW*: 698) made by notably Bailey, *DKS*, l.c. can be discarded for semantic reasons.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 146; *EVP*: 102; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 122a; Andreev – Peščereva: 367b; MacKenzie 1966: 102; MacKenzie, *Pahlavi*: 56; *WIM* I: 71; *WIM* II/1: 79 f.; *DKS*: 322b, s.v. *maṇde*; Asatrian – Livshits: 88, 101; Cabolov 2001: 650; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *mič-*; Korn 2005: 95, 314, 403

***maiH** ‘to harm, damage, fade, decrease (?)’

•AVESTAN: (+ **ui-*) YAv. *vīmīō.dan̄tānō* ‘with lost teeth’ (V 2.29 f.), YAv. *vīmīti-* ‘destruction, loss’ (N 65). ◇ Cf. Insler 1971: 577; De Vaan 2003: 245.

•OLD PERSIAN: *mīθa^h* <mi-i-θ> ‘damage, harm’ (DNb.7, DNb.9, DNb.11, etc.). ◇ Not ‘evil’, as given by Kent, l.c. ⇒ Kent: 203b

•PARTHIAN: *myh-g’r* ‘damage, harm’ || (+ **ui-*) *wmys-* (orig. inch.) ‘to fade, wither’ ⇒ Ghilain: 82 | DMMPP: 235a, 343a

(+ **ui-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. **wmysyd* {hapax}

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ā-*) BSogd. **m’yk* ‘dirt, mixture’, CSogd. **myq* ‘taint, infection’, MSogd. **my* ‘dirt’, MSogd. **myty* ‘harmful’ (cf. *BBB*: b30). ◇ On the connection of the Sogd. forms with Skt. *may^j* cf. Henning, *BBB*: 92, b30.

•BACTRIAN: *μν-γαρο, μη-γαρο* ‘damage, loss’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 205a

•NWIR: (+ **ui-*) ? NP *gum* ‘lost’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *mynæg*, D. *minæg* ‘weak [of light, sound], dim, fading’

•SANSKRIT: *may^j* ‘to damage, to lessen, to harm, to frustrate’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 316

•PIE **meiH-* ‘to lessen, diminish’ ⇒ LIV: 427 | Pok.: 711

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *μινύθω* ‘I disappear, lessen’, Gr. *μείων* ‘smaller’, Lat. *minuō* ‘I diminish, lessen’, Lat. *minor* ‘smaller, less’, Goth. *mins* ‘less’

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 140; Werba 1997: 311 f.

***maj¹** ‘to blink, wink’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *mycšn /mēzišn/* ‘blinking, winking’, *myc(k) /mij(ag)/* ‘eyelid, eyelash’

- KHOTANESE: (+ *ni-) OKh. *nāmās-* ‘to wink’ ⇒ SGS: 55
- SOGDIAN: (+ *ni-) BSogd. *nymz-* ‘to blink’, ? CSogd. *nmzy* ‘wink, blink’
Partic.: pres. *nymz’y* ‘blinking’ (Vim. 201)
- NWIR: NP *muže, meže* ‘eyelash’
- NEIR: (+ *ni-) Yi. *nəmíž* ‘winking’, *ņemig-/ņemāšk* (Zarubin), Ishk. *nu-muļ-* ‘to shut one’s eye’ (Zarubin)
- SANSKRIT: ? *meṣ* ‘to open the eyes’ (RV+), *mīl* ‘to close the eyes’ (contaminated ?)
⇒ EWAia II: 379
- ◇ The Ir. formation **maig^há-* ‘(dark) cloud’ (< *‘which covers (the eyes)’), Skt. *meghá-*, YAv. *maēya-*, etc., may also contain this root, on which see Cheung, *Fs Klingenschmitt*.
- PIE **mei-g^(wh)-* ‘to blink, cover (the eyes)’ ⇒ LIV: 427 | Pok.: 712 f., 714
- IE COGNATES: OCS *po-měžiti (očī)* ‘to close (the eyes)’, Lith. *miegù (miegóti)* ‘I sleep’, Lith. *miėgas* ‘sleep’
- REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 232b, 404b; *DKS*: 184a f.; Werba 1997: 361 f.

*maj² (Hmajī) ‘to move (to places)’

- CHORESMIAN: *’m’xy-* (caus.) ‘to move, shake (something)’ ⇒ Samadi: 110
- NWIR: ? Gil. (Rsht.) *va-mæχtæn/va-mæj-* ‘to seek’
- NEIR: Yzgh. *mex^w-/max^wt* ‘to move, shake’, *mæx^wan-* (caus.), Yi. *mūž-/muyd-* ‘to move [intr.], to be swung’ || (+ *ni-) Yzgh. *nəmoxs-/nəmoxt* ‘to go out’, Yzgh. *nəmāč-/nəmāšt* (caus.) ‘to take out, drive away’
- MISC: ? Par. *muž-, muš-* ‘to go’ (LW ?)
- SANSKRIT: Skt. *niméghamāna-* ‘moving down’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 381
- ◇ An Ir. root **maj* ‘to move to (places)’, which corresponds to Skt. *niméghamāna-*, may be postulated on the basis of the evidence above. On the possible IE etymology, see further Cheung, *Fs Klingenschmitt*.
- PIE **meig^h-* ‘to move, go (to places)’ ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –
- IE COGNATES: Lat. *migrāre* ‘to move (from place to place), change residence or position’
- REFERENCES: Christensen, *Contributions* I: 61; *IIFL* I: 274b; *IIFL* II: 230a; Cheung, *Fs Klingenschmitt*

*maiθH¹ ‘to dwell’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *miθ-* ‘to rest, dwell’ ⇒ Liste: 45
- Pres. *nā-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *miθnāiti* (Yt 10.39 ff., V3.20), ? YAv. *paiti miθnāiti* (< ***maiθH³** ?, V 3.20);
SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *miθnāt* (Y 16.10, V 3.32), IMPV. 3sg. YAv. *miθnatu* (Y 10.1), ? YAv. *mitaiiatu* (Y 10.1). ◇ The inclusion of YAv. *mitaiiatu* is uncertain, it may go back to (pre)Ir. **mit_hHja* ° > Ir. **mitāja* ° > Av. *mitaiia* ° (shortening of ā in front of *j).
- KHOTANESE: (+ *pari-) *parmīhā-* (f.) ‘village’
- SOGDIAN: *myθ* PN

•NWIR: NP *mēhan* ‘homeland’

•NEIR: Pash. *məl-* ‘to stay, dwell’, ? Oss. I. *min-as*, D. *mijn-asæ* ‘feast, reception’ (**maiθna-* ‘(host-) dwelling’), ? Pash. *mēšt* ‘settled, residing’

◇ This Ir. root is probably of IE origin, having cognates in Balto-Slavic.

•PIE **meitH-* ‘to dwell’ ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 715

•IE COGNATES: OCS *město* ‘place’, Lith. *mintù (mistì)* ‘to feed’, Latv. *mitu (mist)* ‘I dwell, live; make a living’

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 48; *Morgenstierne* 1942: 264; *Abaev, Slovar*’ II: 119 f.; *DKS*: 219a; *NEVP*: 49, 53

***maiθH²** ‘to change (position), deviate, *tauschen, täuschen* (?)’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *maēθā-* (f.) ‘deviating, changeable’ (Y 30.9), YAv. *miθō* ‘wrongly, falsely’ (Y 33.1), YAv. *miθah-uuacah-* ‘speaking falsely’ (Y 31.12) || (+ **ā-*) ? OAv. *ā.mōiiastrā* (pl.) ‘changes of events’ (cf. Humbach 1991 II: 55). ◇ On the interpretation of the Avestan forms see also Insler, *mith*: 163 ff., *EWAia II*: 375 f. ⇒ Liste: 45

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ui-*) ? MMP *wymys* (M2 I Vii,1), MMP *wmys* ‘mirage, *Täuschung*’ ⇒ DMMPP: 343a

•KHOTANESE: (+ **fra-*) *hamäh-* (*hämā-*) ‘to change [intr.]’, (caus.) OKh. *hamih-* ‘to change [tr.]’ ⇒ SGS: 147

•NEIR: (+ **ā-* or **ham-*) Pash. *amleyəl* ‘to conceal’

•SANSKRIT: *meth* ‘to be opposite’ (RV+), (adv.) *mithás* ‘opposite, in opposition’ ⇒ *EWAia II*: 375

◇ On the range of meanings see Insler, l.c.

•PIE **meitH₂-* ‘to change position, deviate [esp. in negative sense]’. ◇ To be separated from the similar (homonymous ?) root for ‘to throw’, which is on the basis of the semantics certainly justified (contra *LIV*: l.c.). ⇒ LIV: 431 | Pok.: 715

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *mūtō* ‘I exchange’, Goth. *inmaidjan* ‘to change, turn into’, OHG *mīdan* ‘to evade, hide’, OE *mīðan* ‘to conceal, avoid, evade’, (pref.) Engl. *mis-* (e.g. *mis-use*), etc.

•REFERENCES: *Morgenstierne* 1942: 262; *DKS*: 460a f.; *Werba* 1997: 311; *NEVP*: 8

***maiθH³** ‘to throw, discard, *mittere*’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *miθ-* (*mōiθ-*) ‘to rob, discard, (*e*)*mittere*?’ || (+ **ham-abi-*) ‘to connect, join, admit (entrance), *admittere*?’ || (+ **ham-*) ‘to throw down’ ⇒ Liste: 45
Aor. athem.: INJ. 3sg. OAv. *hōm.aibī.mōist* (Y 46.12), SUBJ. 3sg. OAv. *mōiθat* (Y 46.4), OPT. 3sg. OAv. *hōmiθiāt* (Y 53.9); Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. *hamista-* (Y 8.6); Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. *hamista-* (Y 8.6)

•NWIR: ? NP *mīhan* (*mēhan* ?) ‘fresh butter; sheep’s milk’

•NEIR: ? Oss. I. *misyn*, D. *mesin*, Yghn. *mešin* ‘buttermilk’ (contam. with **maiša*- ‘sheep’)

◇ Further (I)Ir. correspondences are unknown. See also ***maiz**¹.

•PIE **m(e)itH-* ‘to throw, let go’. ◇ See ***maiθ**². ⇒ LIV: 430 | Pok.: 968

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *mittere* ‘to throw, release’, Toch. B *mit-* ‘to go; set out’

•REFERENCES: Adams 1999: 461

***maiz**¹ ‘to mix, mingle’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ā-*) MMP ‘(‘)myz-, BMP ‘myc- /*āmēz-* ‘to mix’, MMP ‘(‘)myxs- (inch.) ‘to be mixed’ || (+ **ūi-*) BMP *gwmyc-* /*gumēz-* ‘to mix, mingle’, MMP *gwmypxs-* (inch.) ‘to be mixed, mingled’ ⇒ DMMP: 41b f.

(+ **ā-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP ‘myčyt /*āmēzēd*/, 3pl. MMP ‘myzynd, IMPV. 2sg. MMP ‘myc /*āmēz*/; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP ‘myxtg, MMP ‘(‘)myxt; Inf.: BMP ‘myhtn /*āmēxtan*/; Inch./Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. MMP ‘myxsyd, 3pl. MMP ‘myxsynd, MMP ‘myxsynd || (+ **ūi-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *gwmycyt* /*gumēzēd*/, 3pl. BMP *gwmycynd* /*gumēzēnd*/; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *gwmypxtg*, (pl.) MMP *gwmypxtg*’n, MMP ‘*gwmypxtg*’n; Inf.: BMP *gwmyphtn* /*gumēxtan*/; Inch.: pres. SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *gwmypxs*’nd

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ā-*) ‘myj- ‘to mix’, ‘myxs- (inch.) ‘to be mixed with’ || (+ **ūi-*) *wmyxs-* (inch.) ‘to be mixed’ ⇒ Ghilain: 81, 80 | DMMP: 41b

(+ **ā-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. ‘myjyd; Partic.: perf. pass. ‘myxt, ‘myxtg; Inch.: pres. IND. 3sg. ‘myxsyd, 3pl. ‘myxsynd; Inf.: ‘myxtn || (+ **ūi-*) Inch.: pres. IND. 3sg. *wmyxsyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *wmyxt*, *wmyxtg*

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ūi-*) SSogd. *wmxsk* PN

•NWIR: (+ **ā-*) NP *āmēxtan* /*āmēz-* ‘to mix’, Kurd. (Sor.) *āmēžān* ‘addition; ligature’

•NEIR: (+ **uz-*) ? Oss. I. *yzmis*, D. (æ)*zme(n)sæ* ‘sand’ (semantically difficult)

•MISC: Most Iranian forms apparently derive from the (IE) root variant **meig-*. NP *mīhan* (*mēhan* ?) ‘fresh butter; sheep’s milk’, Oss. I. *misyn*, D. *mesin*, Yghn. *mešin* ‘buttermilk’, which are assumed to contain this root, are probably unrelated. NP *mīhan* might contain the root ***maiθH**³ ‘to throw, discard’, to which, considering the very close meaning, we have to add the Ossetic and Yghn. forms. The latter form probably show contamination with the ‘sheep’ **maiša-* formation(s), cf. Av. *maēšī-* (f.) ‘ewe’, *maēšīna-* ‘sheep-, ovine’.

•SANSKRIT: *mekṣ* ‘to mix, to mingle’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 373

•PIE **meik(-s)-*, **meig(-s)-* ‘to mix, to mingle’ ⇒ LIV: 429 | Pok.: 714

•IE COGNATES: Gr. μ(ε)ίγνυμι, μίσγω, Lat. *misceō*, OIrish *mescaim*, Lith. *miešiu* (*mičšti*) ‘I mix’, etc.

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 123 f.; Abaev, *Slovar*’ IV: 281 f.; Werba 1997: 393; Cabolov 2001: 77

***maiz**² ? ‘to take care, foster’ ?

•AVESTAN: OAv. *miz-* ‘to take care, foster’ ⇒ Liste: 45

Pres. *n-*: INJ. 2sg. OAv. *minaš* (Y 46.14), 3pl. OAv. *mizōn* (Y 44.20)

◇ On the basis of the passage with OAv. *mizēn* Bartholomae, *AIW*: 1108 f., postulated an Av. root ²*maēz* ‘to foster’ (“hegen”), to which, Humbach 1959 II: l.c. cautiously added OAv. *mināš* as another attestation. The existence of an Ir. **maiz²* ‘hegen’ is very doubtful. It has no further Ir. reflexes and there is no IE support at all: the comparison of the Av. root to MHG *schmeichen* ‘schön tun’ (cf. OE *smācian*, Norw. *smeikja* ‘to flatter, stroke’, Du. *smeken* ‘to beg, implore’) is flawed. The original meaning of the Germanic root is ‘to make smooth, stroke’, cf. Norw. *smika* ‘id.’, on which see Pokorny: 966 f. Insler, *Gāthās*: l.c. emended OAv. *mizēn* to ⁺*izēn* ‘they are eager’ (with *m-* wrongly added under the influence from preceding *hīm*), following Geldner 1926: 3, fn. 11., whilst he apparently ignored Humbach’s interpretation of *mināš*.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Humbach 1959 II: 72; Klingenschmitt 1972: 91, Insler, *Gāthās*: 253; n. 3; Kellens 1984: 165 f.

*man ‘to think, consider’

•AVESTAN: *mān-* (*māñ-*) ‘to think’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to contemplate, deliberate, [lit.] to think hither’ || (+ **ui-*) ‘to contemplate, deliberate, [lit.] to think thither’ ⇒ Liste: 42 MED. ? (exc. Caus.); Pres. {1} *ja-*: IND. 1sg. ? YAv. ^s*manie* (Yt 10.106), 3sg. OAv. *maniiētē* (Y 44.12), YAv. *mainiiete* (Yt 10.71, Yt 10.106, Yt 10.139), 1pl. YAv. *mainiiāmaide* (Vr 12.4), 3pl. OAv. *mainiiēntē* (Y 44.12), YAv. *mainiieṇte* (V 2.41), YAv. *maniiēnte* (Yt 13.147), INJ. 3sg. OAv. *mainiiātā* (Y 45.11), YAv. *framaniīata* (V 19.43), YAv. *vīmaniīata* (V 19.43), 3pl. OAv. *mainiiāptā* (Y 34.8, Y 45.11), SUBJ. 1sg. ? OAv. *mainiiāi* (Y 43.9), 3sg. ? YAv. ^s*mainiiāte* (GS 163 f.), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *maniiāēta* (V 18.28), IMPV. 2sg. ? YAv. (act.!) *mainiia* (Aog 25); Pres. {2} *inch-*: INJ. 3sg. ? OAv. *masatā* (Y 54.1); Aor. {1} *athem-*: INJ. 2sg. OAv. *mōnghā* ° (Y 39.4), 3sg. OAv. *maṇtā* (Y 31.7, Y 31.19, Y 33.6, Y 51.6), SUBJ. *mōnāi*° (Y 45.3), 1pl. OAv. *mainimaidi* ° (Y 35.3); Aor. {2} *s-*: IND. 1pl. OAv. *amēhmaidī* (35.7), INJ. 1sg. OAv. *mōjhi* (Y 29.11, Y 31.8, Y 43.5, etc.), 3sg. OAv. *maṣtā* (Y 45.11), YAv. *maṣta* (V 2.31), 1pl. OAv. *mēhmaidī* (Y 46.13), SUBJ. 1sg. OAv. *mōnghāi* (Y 43.4); Perf.: 3sg. YAv. *mamne* (P 17, P 24), 3du. YAv. ^s*maimnāitē* (Y 13.4); Partic.: pres. YAv. *mainimna-* (Y 70.4, Yt 5.7, Yt 5.11, etc.), caus. YAv. *maṇaiiaṇt-* (cf. Dresden, *Gs Henning*: 137, fn. 28; Humbach II: 87), aor. {1} YAv. *maḡhāna-* (Yt 19.47, Yt 19.49), perf. ? YAv. *mamnūš-* (Yt 8.39), YAv. *mamnāna-* (Yt 13.88); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. OAv. *mānaiieitī* (Y 49.2), OPT. 3pl. YAv. *maṇaiiēn* (Y 71.8, Yt 1.19, Yt 13.2, etc.). ◇ Ad OAv. *mainiiātā*: the lengthening of (middle) vowel *-a-* > OAv. *-ā-* is due to assimilation to the following long vowel *-ā-*, cf. De Vaan 2003: 71 f. || Ad YAv. (act.!) *mamnūš-*: the expected form would be (med.) **mamnanō*. The attested *mamnūš* is influenced by *mainiiu-* in the previous line (?), cf. Panaino, *Tišt.*: 128 f. Or, it rather points to root ***man²** ‘to remain’ ? || On OAv. *mainiiāi* see Pirart 1986: 163 f.

•OLD PERSIAN: *man-* ‘to think’ ⇒ Kent: 202a

MED.; Pres. *ja-*: IND. 1sg. *maniyaiy* <m-n-i-y-i-y> (DNb 38), impf. 1sg. *amaniyaiy* <a-m-n-i-y-i-y> (DSI 3), SUBJ. 2sg. *maniyāhay* <m-n-i-y-a-h-y> (DB 4.43, DPe 20), *maniyāiy* <m-n-i-y-a-i-y> (XPh 47), ^s*maniyāhaiy* <m-n-[i]-[y]-a-[h]-[y]> (DB 4.39), 3sg. ^s*maniyātaiy* <m-n-i-y-a-[t]-[i]-[y]> (DB 4.50)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *m(y)n-*, BMP *m(y)n-* /*men-*/ ‘to think, reflect’ || (+ **ui-*) MMP *gwm’n* ‘doubt’ ⇒ DMMPP: 229a, 167a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *mnyyd*, BMP *mynyt* /*menēd*/; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *mnyyd*, BMP *mynyt* /*menīd*/

•PARTHIAN: (+ **pati-*) *pdms-* ‘to understand’ ⇨ Ghilain: 80 | DMMPP: 269b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *pdmsyd*

•KHOTANESE: *mañ-* ‘to consider as’ || (+ **aua-*) *vamas-* (inch.) ‘to apply oneself (to)’ (cf. Skjærvø, *SVK* III: 135 f.) || (+ **ni-*) Khot. *nimāna-* ‘to regret’ ⇨ SGS: 108, 119

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *myn-*, BSogd. *myn-*, CSogd. *myn-* ‘to think’ || (+ **para-*) CSogd. *prm’nty* (f.) ‘pity, forgiveness, absolution’ || (+ **fra-*) SSogd. *prm’n* ‘to think’ || (+ **ni-*) CSogd. *nm’n* ‘penitence’, CSogd. *nm’ny’* (obl. f.) ‘judgement’ || (+ **ui-*) CSogd. *’wm’ncn* ‘doubtful’

Pres.: IND. 1sg. SSogd. *myn’m*, 3sg. BSogd. *mynt*, 3pl. CSogd. *mynnt*, OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *myn’y*; ’z-Impf.: IND. 3pl. CSogd. *myn’znt*

•CHORESMIAN: *m’ny-* ‘to suspect, regard’ || (+ **ā-*) *m’/m’nsy-* (pass.) ‘to be led’, *m’/m’ny-* (caus.) ‘to lead’ || (+ **uz-*) ? *’z’mny-* ‘to care for someone ?, grant someone’s wish ?’ || (+ **fra-*) *šmny-* ‘to be arrogant, (?) opinionated’ ⇨ Samadi: 111, 5, 263 f., 196

•NWIR: Qohr. *mūnoya/mūn-* ‘to believe’, *mān* ‘mind, character’ || (+ **ui-*) NP *gumān* ‘doubt; belief, opinion’, Qohr. *gemūn* ‘opinion, belief’ (< NP ?)

•NEIR: Oss. I. *mæt*, D. *mætæ* ‘anxiety, restlessness’ || (+ **ā-*) Oss. I. *amonym/amynd*, D. *amonun/amund* ‘to admonish’

•SANSKRIT: *man* ‘to think, believe, consider’ (RV+) ⇨ EWAia II: 305

◇ This root has an impeccable IE etymology.

•PIE **men-* ‘to think, consider, contemplate’ ⇨ LIV: 435 f. | Pok.: 726 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. μέμνονα (pf.) ‘I intend to’, Lat. *meminī* ‘I remembered’, OIrish *do-moin-* ‘to think, believe’, Lith. *miñti* ‘to remember, recall’, Goth. *man* ‘to think, believe’, Engl. *to mean, mind*, etc.

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 52 f.; Abaev, *Slovar’* II: 107 f.; DKS: 322a, 375, 184a; Werba 1997: 215 f.; Lecoq 2002: 126, 646b, 649b

***manH ?** ‘to press on ?’

•AVESTAN: (+ **ā-*) ? YAv. *āman-* ‘to pierce, bore ?’ || (+ **ui-*) YAv. *vaēman-* ‘to press to and fro, [hence ?] to stir’ ?

Pres. them.: SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *vaēmanāṭ* (N 72); Aor. s-: INJ. med. 3sg. YAv. *³āmašta* ‘pierced [= Pahl. *PWN swpt*]’ (F 116). ◇ Ad YAv. *vaēmanāṭ*: cf. Waag 1941: 83: ‘Er soll ... durcheinanderrühren’. But the apparent unique full grade *vaē* ° needs an explanation. || Ad YAv. *³āmašta*: different etymology Klingenschmitt 1968: 47: ***manṠH** ‘to agitate, stir’, cf. fn. 1.

•KHOTANESE: *man-* (*mīn-*) ‘to harm, injure’ ⇨ SGS: 108

◇ The existence of this root in Iranian is uncertain. The etymology given for Khot. *mīndā*, etc. by Leumann (and accepted by Emmerick, Bailey) is semantically difficult: the connection with the root ***mar(H)** is unlikely, particularly because the

root ***mar(H)** is continued by Khot. *murr-* (q.v.). The inclusion of YAv. **man-* is suggested by Sims-Williams 1989: 258. If the root does exist, it would have a good IE etymology: **menH-* ‘to press, trample’, OCS *тъно (męti)*, Russ. *mnu (mjat)* ‘I knead’, Lith. *minù (minti)* ‘I tread, trample down; to brake (flax)’, OIrish *men* (f.) ‘flour, dust’ (Pokorny: 726; LIV: 438).

•REFERENCES: DKS: 323a

***manθH** ‘to agitate, stir, churn’

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *mamth-* ‘to churn, stir’ ⇔ SGS: 108

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *mnδ-* ‘to agitate, stir’

Pres.: SUBJ. 2sg. BSogd. *mnδ*; Inf.: BSogd. (pl.) *mnδt*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **ni-*) *δmn-* ‘to tan (hide, leather)’ (< Pamiri ?) ⇔ Samadi: 65 f.

•NWIR: Bal. *mant-* ‘to churn, shake (a churn)’, (EHB) *matθ/mat^h-* ‘to shake of churn’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *mæcyn*, D. *mæcun* ‘to wallow in something watery’, (?) Pash. (*kšē-*) *mandəl* ‘to shampoo, knead’ (Indian influence ?) || (+ **ā-*) Oss. I. *amæntyn/amæst*, D. *amæntun/amæst* ‘to knead the dough; to soil, stain’ || (+ **uz-*) Oss. I. *yzmæntyn/yzmæst*, D. *æzmæntun/æzmæst* ‘to minx, stir (up)’ || (+ **ni-*) Rosh. (Orosh. ?) *demān-* ‘to rub’, Sariq. *δimon-/δimond*, *δūmon-/δūmond* ‘to grease, oil with a paste (a hide to be tanned)’, Yzgh. *dəman-/dəmūd* ‘to rumple, knead (a skin, hide)’, Yi. *ləmōn-/ləmí-* ‘to rub’ (all with *n*-dissim.)

•SANSKRIT: *manthí* ‘to shake, wallow, rub, whirl around’ (RV+) ⇔ EWAia II: 311

•PIE **mentH₂-* ‘to stir, whirl’ ⇔ LIV: 438 f. | Pok.: 732

•IE COGNATES: Toch. *mānt-* ‘to eradicate, destroy; to pour out; [med.] to disturb, meddle with’, OCS *męto (męsti)* ‘I confuse’, Lith. *menčiù (męsti)* ‘I throw, hurl, fling’, Lith. *mentė* ‘trowel; blade’

•REFERENCES: EVP: 45; IIFL II: 223b; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 51; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 90; EVS: 31b; DKS: 323a f.; Weber 1993: 105 f.; Abaev, *Slovar*’ IV: 281 f.; Werba 1997: 310; Adams 1999: 453 f.; Cheung 2002: 203; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *mant-*

***mar¹** ‘to die’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *mar-* ‘to die’ || (+ **a_{ua}-*) ‘to die (off)’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to die, wither, wilt (to death)’ ⇔ Liste: 43

MED.; Pres. *-ja-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *framiriieite* (V 3.33), INJ. 2sg. YAv. *a_{ua}.miriiaṅha* (H 2.34), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *a_{ua} miriiaite* (V 7.37); Partic.: fut. pass. ? YAv. *framərəθβa-* (Yt 2.13), perf. pass. YAv. *mərəta-* (V 5.36, V 5.38, V 8.33), YAv. *a_{ua}.mərəta-* (H 2.34)

•OLD PERSIAN: *mar-* ‘to die’ ⇔ Kent: 202b

MED.; Pres. *ja-*: impf. IND. 3sg. *am(a)riyatā* <a-m-r-i-y-t-a> (DB 1.43); Partic.: perf. pass. *m(a)rtā* <m-r-t-^o> ‘dead’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *myr-*, BMP *myr-* (YMYTWN-)/*mīr-* ‘to die’ ⇔ DMMPP: 236a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *myryd*, SUBJ. 1sg. MMP *myr'm*, 3sg. MMP **myr'd*, OPT. 3sg. MMP *myryh*;
Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *mwrđg*, BMP *mwltk /murdag/* 'dead', MMP *mwrđ*

•PARTHIAN: *myr-* 'to die' ⇒ Ghilain: 90 | DMMPP: 236a

Pres.: IND. 3pl. *myrynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *mwrđ* 'dead'

•KHOTANESE: *mār-* 'to die' ⇒ SGS: 109

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *myr-*, CSogd. *myr-*, MSogd. *myr-* 'to die'

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *myrty*, SUBJ. 2pl. SSogd. *myr'δ*, 3pl. BSogd. *myr'nt*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: 'my- 'to die; be extinguished' || (+ **pari-*) *prmy-* 'to wither, fade (of plants, fire)' ⇒ Samadi: 113

•BACTRIAN: *μip-* 'to die' ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 204b

•NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *mīr-/murdan*, Bal. *murt-/mīr-*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *mirin/mīr-*, (Sor.) *mirdin/mīr-*, Zaz. *merdiš/miren-*, Abyan. *mardan*, Abz. *marda/mēr-*, Anar. *marte/mīr-*, Awrom. *marđáy-/mīr-*, Fariz. *-mard-/mār-*, Yar. *-mard-/mer-*, Gz. *mēr-/mārt*, Gil. (Rsht.) *mārdæn/mīr-*, Gur. (Kand.) *mārd-/mr-*, Ham. *mārtān/mer-*, Khuns. *mīr-/mert*, Mah. *mārd*, Nn. *marte/mīr-*, Natan. *mardān/mor-*, Qohr. *marda/mīr-*, Semn. *-mārd-/mār-*, Sang. *-mārt-/mārcæn-*, Shamerz. *-mōrd-am-/mīr-ām-*, Siv. *mer-/mērd*, *mīrd*, Soi *bā-mārd-/ā-mīr-*, Sorkh. *-mord-/mæc-*, Lasg. *-mard-/mæc-*, Tal. *marde* 'to die' || (+ **pari-*) NP *pažmurdan/pažmīr-* 'to wither, fade' || (+ **ūi-*) Bal. *gīmurt/gīmur-* 'to die, wilt'

•NEIR: Oss. I. *mælyn/mard*, D. *mælun/mard*, Sh. *mar-/mūd*, Rosh. *mīr-/mūg* (etc.), M. *mər-/mər-*, Yi. *mər-/muṛ-*, Pash. *mṛəl/mr-*, Yghn. *mīr-/murta-*, Wa. *mər(ə)y-/mārt* 'to die', Oss. I. *maryn/mard*, D. *marun/mard* (caus.) 'to kill, murder' || (+ **pari-*) Sh. (Baj.) *parmīr-/parmūd*, Wa. *pərmər-/pərmərd-* 'to wither', Yi. *parmərya* 'withering'

•MISC: Par. *mer-/muṛ-*, Orm. *mr-/mulluk* 'to die' = *mr-/mo'l(l)ók*, *mólok*, Par. *mēr-/māt* (caus.) 'to kill'

•SANSKRIT: *mar* 'to die' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 318

◇ This root has an impeccable IE etymology.

•PIE **mer-* 'to die' ⇒ LIV: 439 f. | Pok.: 735

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */merzi/* 'disappears', */merta/* 'he died', Gr. ἔμωρτεν 'ἀπέθανεν, died' (Hes.), Lat. *morior*, Arm. *meṛanim*, OCS *mrěti*, Lith. *miṛti* 'to die', etc.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 84b, 146b f., 209b, 249b; Ivanow 1926: 421; *IIFL* I: 273a, 400b; *KPF* II: 223; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 75, 173, 263; *IIFL* II: 228a, 529; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 64, 118, 162; Abrahamian 1936: 117; Lambton 1938: 77b; MacKenzie 1966: 102; Abaev, *Slovar*' II: 75, 89, 70 f., 86 f., 96; *EVS*: 45a, 58b; Lecoq 1974: 63; *WIM* I: 71; *WIM* II/1: 79 f.; *WIM* III: 112; Werba 1997: 218 f.; Paul 1998: 305b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 239; Cabolov 2001: 663; Lecoq 2002: 122, 125, 127 (passim); *NEVP*: 51; Kiefer 2003: 200; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *mīr-*, *gīmur-*; Korn 2005: 314, 404 (passim)

***marč (*mark)** 'to destroy, damage'

•AVESTAN: Av. *mərənc-* (*marəxš-*) 'to destroy' || (+ **para-*) 'to damage, injure' || (+ **ūi-*) 'to ruin, spoil' ⇒ Liste: 43f.

Pres. *n-*: IND. 3sg. med. YAv. (them!) *mərəṇcaite* (Yt 10.2, V 21.1, V 21.3), YAv. *para.mərəṇcaite* (V 13.3), YAv. *mərəγənte* (Yt 8.44), 2pl. med. OAv. *mərəṅgəduiīē* (Y 53.6), 3pl. YAv. *mərəṇciṇti* (Yt 6.3, Ny 1.13), 3pl.med. OAv. *vīmərəṇcaitē* (Y 31.1), OPT. 2sg. med. ? YAv. **mərəṇciša* (SrB 3), 3sg. OAv. *mərəšiiāt* (Y 45.1), 3sg. med. YAv. *mərəṇcīta* (V 18.55), IMPV. 2sg. med. YAv. (them!) (**)mərəṇcaṇha* (V 19.1, V 19.6); Aor. *s-*: SUBJ. 3sg. med. OAv. *marəxšaitē* (Y 51.10); Partic.: pres. *ajā-* YAv. *mərəṇcaiias* ° (V 7.58), pass. (+ priv.) YAv. *amaršant-* (Y 9.4, Yt 19.12), fut. YAv. *amərəxšiiant-* (Yt 19.94), aor. med. YAv. *marəxšāna-* (Yt 19.41); Inf.: pres. OAv. *mərəṅgəidiīai* (Y 46.11); Desid.: SUBJ. 3sg. med. *mimarəxšāite* (V 15.14), IMPV. 2sg. med. YAv. *mimarəxšāṇha* (V 15.14)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *mwlncyn-* /*murnjēn-*/ (caus.) ‘to destroy’, MMP *mwrz(hy)-* (sec. pass.) ‘to be harmed; to be persecuted’ || (+ **ui-*) MMP *wymrz-* ‘to destroy’, BMP *gwmlc’k* /*gumarzāg*/ ‘the pernicious’ (Gershevitch 1977: 66) ⇒ DMMP: 234b, 354a

Caus.: pres. IND. 1sg. BMP *mwlncynym* /*murnjēnēm*/, 3pl. BMP *mwlncynynd* /*murnjēnēnd*/; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. MMP *mwrzyhyd*, 3pl. MMP *mwrzyynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. II MMP *mwrzyd*, *mwrzydg*, caus. BMP *mwlncynyt* /*murnjēnīd*/ || (+ **ui-*) Partic.: pres. MMP *wymrz’g*

•KHOTANESE: OKh. **maljs-* ‘to destroy, injure’, LKh. *maich-* (pass.) ‘to miscarry’, Khot. *mulch-/mīch-* (sec. caus.) ‘to cause to miscarry’. ◇ The etymology of LKh. *maich-* etc. is deduced by Maggi, SVK III: 127, on the basis of OKh. *mulchānāte* (KV 1.5), which clearly derives from the stem **mrč-ja-*. On OKh. *malstā* see Sims-Williams, SVK III: 122 f. ⇒ SGS: –

•SOGDIAN: MSogd. *mrync* ‘to destroy’

•CHORESMIAN: ? *mwrnyk* (ppp.) ‘slaughtered’ (302.1) ⇒ Samadi: 112

•NWIR: NP *marg* ‘death’

•NEIR: Oss. *marg* ‘poison’

•MISC: Par. *māt* (supplet. of *mēr-*, **mar¹*) ‘killed’, Orm. *māk* (ppp.) ‘withered, faded’

•SANSKRIT: *marc* ‘to damage, hurt, injure’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 323

•PIE **melk^h*- ‘to damage’ ⇒ LIV: 434 f. | Pok.: 737

•IE COGNATES: Gr. βλάπτω ‘I hurt, damage’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 273a, 400a; *GMS*: §153, 600; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 72 f.; Werba 1997: 219

***mard** ‘to despise, disparage (?); to neglect, abandon (?)’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *marəd*² ‘to despise, disparage’ {hapax} ⇒ Liste: 44

Aor. athem.: SUBJ. 3sg. OAv. *marədaitī* (Y 51.13)

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **pari-*) *pmrcy-* ‘to blame’ ⇒ Samadi: 153 f.

•SANSKRIT: (**)mardh* ‘to despise, disdain’ ⇒ EWAia II: 328, s.v. *mardh*

◇ Rejecting the interpretation of Bartholomae, *AIW*: 1150 (‘to ruin’, **Hmard*), Humbach, Kellens, Narten (et al.) assign the meaning ‘to neglect, abandon’ to the Avestan verb *marəd*², on the basis of the Skt. cognate root *mardh* ‘to neglect, abandon’ (accepted by Mayrhofer, *EWAia*: l.c.). This interpretation appears rather bland and stylistically weak to me, especially as the Av. form is embedded in a quite pronounced context. Insler, *Gāthās*: 107, 317 translates *marədaitī* as ‘misses’, on

which no further (etymological) comment is provided though. Under the same entry *MARDH*, Mayrhofer also cites the forms *mīdh-* (f.) ‘disdain’, *vi-mīdhá-* ‘chasing the despiser away’, etc., which are semantically hardly compatible with the root *MARDH* with the presumably basic meanings ‘to neglect, be negligent, abandon’ (“vernächlässigen, nachlässig sein, im Stich lassen”). Rather, we are probably dealing with two separate, (near-) homonymous roots *mardh*¹ ‘to neglect, abandon’ (Goth. *un-mildjai* nom. pl. ‘loveless’, OE *milde*, Engl. *mild*, ? Gr. μαλθακός ‘weak’) and *mardh*² ‘to despise, disdain’ (Gr. βλάσ-φημος = Skt. *mīdhṛá-vāc-*). Envisaging the latter root, we may interpret Av. *marədaīti* as ‘despises, disparages’. If this meaning is accepted, we can now also include Chor. *pr̥mrey-*, which was connected to the ‘crush’ root ***Hmard** by MacKenzie I: 547 f. (“spoil, destroy”).

•PIE **meld*^h ‘to despise, disdain’ ? ⇒ LIV: 431 | Pok.: 719

•IE COGNATES: Gr. βλάσ-φημος ‘slandering, calumniating’

•REFERENCES: Humbach 1958 II: 90; Narten 1964: 199; Werba 1997: 219; Humbach 1991: I 189, II 229; Kellens – Pirart III: 259 f.

***marH**¹ ‘to rub; crush’

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *mur(r)-* ‘to rub; crush’ || (+ **au-*) LKh. *vamurr-* ‘to vanquish, crush’ || (+ **fra-*) OKh. *hamur-* ‘to crush’ || (+ **ui-*) OKh. *ggumerāñ-* (caus.) ‘to remove’ ⇒ SGS: 110, 119, 148, 30

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **ui-*) ? *ym’r-* ‘to break into pieces, shatter’. ◇ This formation may contain **marH*¹, rather than ***maz** ‘to break’: all the attested forms have , /r/ without the diacritic dot (; /z/). ⇒ Samadi: 257

•NWIR: Awrom. *māṛāy/mār-* ‘to break [tr.]’, *māṛiāy/māṛia-* (pass.) ‘to break [intr.], be broken’, Ard. *māde*, *menāde/mār-*, Gur. (Kand.) *māṛiān/-mār-* ‘to break, break up [tr.]’, Mah. *mir-/mār-d*, Yzd. *mart/mar-* ‘to break’, (nomin./inch. ?) Kurd. *māša* (f.) ‘pincers; poker’ || (+ **fra-* ?) Anar. *hmarte/ hmar*, Fariz. *-hamard/-hmar-*, Yar. *-hmard/-hmar-*, Gz. *emartmūn/emarōn-* (tr.), Ham. *hā-mārtān/hā-mār-* (intr.), Kafr. *hamartemūn/hamerōn-*, Kesh. *ehmardēmūn/a-hmar-*, Khuns. *hāmer-/hāmirt*, *hemer-/hemirt* ((in)tr.), Meim. *bem-hama/a-hmer-* (tr.), Nn. *ēmā/ēmār-* ((in)tr.), Natan. *-h(a)mard/-h(a)mar-* (tr.), Qohr. *hamardén/a-hmer-* (tr.), Sede *a-matán*, *a-marīdén/a-marān-* (tr.), Soi *bā-xmārd/ā-xmār-* (intr.), Tr. *hemardaya/hmar-* (tr.), Varz. *hemarte/hemar-* (tr.), Von. *xemertán/ét-xemer-* (tr.), Zef. *bi-hemért/hemer-* (tr.) ‘to break’

•NEIR: Yzgh. *mərn-/marnt* ‘to roll, rub, grind’ || (+ **fra-*) Oss. I. *læmaryn/læmærst*, D. *læmarun/læmarst* ‘to press out [e.g. wet linen], squeeze out [e.g., juice from a fruit]’

•MISC: ? Par. *maṛ-* ‘to smear’, Orm. *maṛ-* ‘to knead, grind’ = *maṛ-/maṛók*

•SANSKRIT: *mar*ⁱ ‘to crush; to grab’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 230

•PIE **merH₂*- ‘to crush; to grab’ ⇒ LIV: 440 | Pok.: 735

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *μαράω* ‘I rub, destroy’, Gr. *μάραμαι* ‘I battle’, ON *merja* ‘to strike’

•REFERENCES: Zhukovskij I: 154a f.; Zhukovskij II: 269b; *KPF* I: 82a f., 142a f., 247a; Ivanow 1926: 421; *KPF* II: 204; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 166 f., 261; Abrahamian 1936: 115; Bailey 1936: 341; Lambton 1938: 72a, 78a, 42a; MacKenzie 1966: 102; *EVS*: 45a; Abaev, *Slovar* II: 27 f.; *DKS*: 335b f., 375b, 460b, 87a; *WIM* I: 69; Werba 1997: 312 f.; Cabolov 2001: 644; Lecoq 2002: 128, 130, 133, 135 (passim); Kiefer 2003: 201

***marH²** ‘to block, hinder’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ui-*) MMP *gwm’r-* ‘to appoint’, BMP *gwm’l-* /*gumār-* ‘to appoint, entrust, commission’ ⇒ DMMPP: 167a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP **gwm’ryd*, IMPV. 2sg. BMP *gwm’l /gumār/*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *gwm’rd*, BMP *gwm’ltk /gumārdag/*; Inf.: BMP *gwm’ltm /gumārdan/*

•NWIR: (+ **ui-*) NP *gumāštan/gumār-* ‘to put someone to work, appoint; to send; to send back; to employ; to let alone; to give permission, authorize; to deliver, set free; to entrust, rely on’.

◇ Cf. Dekhoda: 16995b f.:

||... کسی را بر کاری گذاشتن. نصب کردن..... || فرستادن ||... حواله کردن ||... مصروف کردن ||... ||
 ||... آنها گذاشتن... || اجازه و رخصت دادن... || رهانیدن و آزاد کردن... || سپردن. تفویض نمودن... ||
 As for the semantics, cf. Pth. *hyrız-* ‘to let, leave, abandon; to establish, appoint’. The meaning of the Pers. verb was probably originally **‘unblock’* (with negative/reversive **ui-*):
 > **‘to let go, allow’*, etc.

•NEIR: (+ **ni-* ?) Yzgh. *nēmar-/nēmard* ‘to stop’ || (+ **niš-*) Sh. (Baj.) *nišmār-/nišmārt* ‘to be obstinate’

•SANSKRIT: *mar’* ‘to hinder’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 321

•PIE **merH-* ‘to hinder, block’ ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 970

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *mora* (f.) ‘delay, obstacle’, OIrish *mar(a)im* ‘I stay’, Bret. *mar* ‘doubt’

•REFERENCES: *EVS*: 49b, 48b; Werba 1997: 313

***marš** ‘to forget’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **fra-ā-*) MMP *fr’mwš-*, BMP *pl’mwš-* /*frāmōš-* ‘to forget’. ◇ Henning 1933: 185 is sceptical about the connection of the Persian forms with **marš* (on account of the Pahlavi and Manichaean forms), for which he quotes Hübschmann 1895: 84. ⇒ DMMPP: 154a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *pl’mwšyt /frāmōšēd/*, IMPV. 2pl. MMP *m’ pr’mwšyyd*, BMP *m’ plmwšyt /ma framōšēd/* ‘don’t forget!; Partic.: pres. BMP *pl’mwš’n /frāmōšān/*, perf. pass. MMP *fr’mwšt*

•PARTHIAN: *fr’mwš-* ‘to forget’ ⇒ DMMPP: 154a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *fr’mwšyd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *fr’mwš’*; Partic.: perf. pass. *fr’mwšt*

- KHOTANESE: ? *maršyārā* (impv. 2pl.) ‘forget’ {hapax} || (+ **fra-ā-*) *hāmura-* ‘forgetfulness, forgetting’ ⇒ SGS: –
- SOGDIAN: (+ **fra-ā-*) ? BSogd. *fr*’*wyšcy*, BSogd. *br*’*wcy*, MSogd. *fr*’*wycyh* ‘forgetfulness’
- NWIR: (+ **fra-ā-*) NP *firāmūštan*, Bal. *šamušt/šamūš-* (intr.), *šamōšt/šamōš-* (tr.) ‘to forget’
- NEIR: (+ **fra-(ā-)*) Yghn. *firōmič/š-* ‘to forget’ (< NP ?), Yi. *farmo-/fərmíšč-*, M. *fərmiy-/fərmíšk-*, Wa. *rəm(ɫ)š-/romošt* ‘to forget’
- MISC: (+ **fra-*) Orm. *š’amōt* ‘forgetfulness’, Par. *nhamuř* ‘forgetful’
- SANSKRIT: *marṣ* ‘to forget’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 332
- PIE **mers-* ‘to forget’ ⇒ LIV: 440 f. | Pok.: 737 f.
- IE COGNATES: Lith. *už-miřšti*, Toch. *mārs-*, Arm. *mořana-* ‘to forget’
- REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 209a, 537a; *DKS*: 324b f., 477b f.; Werba 1997: 366; Adams 1999: 455 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 302; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *šamuš-*; Korn 2005: 117, 132, 146 f., 316, 387

**maržd* ‘to have pity, forgive’

- AVESTAN: OAv. *mərəžd-* ‘to have pity’ ⇒ Liste: 44
Pres. them.: IMPV. 2pl. OAv. *mərəždātā* (Y 33.11)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ā-*) MMP ’(*)mwrz-*, BMP *’mwlc-* /*āmurz-*/ ‘to forgive, absolve’ ⇒ DMMPP: 41a
Pres.: IND. 1sg. BMP /*āmurzēm*/, 1pl. BMP /*āmurzēm*/, 3pl. MMP ’*mwrzyynd* ‘they show mercy [= Sogd. *prn’ndy’ kwn’nd*’]; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *’mwlycyt/āmurzīd*/, MMP *’mwrzyd*
- PARTHIAN: (+ **ā-*) *’mwjd* ‘compassion’ ⇒ DMMPP: 40b
- KHOTANESE: *mulysdī-* (f.) ‘compassion’
- NWIR: Bal. *marzit/marz-* ‘to absolve, forgive, bless, encourage, support’ || (+ **ā-*) NP *āmurzīdan/āmurz-* ‘to forgive, absolve’, borrowed into Bal. *āmurzīt/āmurz-* ‘id.’, Qohr. *āmerz-*, Yzd. *amōrz-* ‘to forgive’
- SANSKRIT: *marḍ* ‘to take pity, pardon’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 326 f.
◇ The Ilr. root **maržd* has no IE correspondences. On the possible interpretations of the peculiar structure of this root see *EWAia*, l.c.
- PIE – ⇒ LIV: 444 f. | Pok.: 737 f.
- REFERENCES: Bailey 1936: 338; *DKS*: 338a f.; Werba 1997: 365; Kümmel 2000: 375; Lecoq 2002: 641b; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *marz^l-*, *āmurz-*

**mauč¹* ‘to release, let loose/free’

- CHORESMIAN: (+ **uz-*) *m/zmxs-* (intr./inch.) ‘to (go to) sleep’, *m/zmx’sy-* (sec. caus.) ‘to let (someone) sleep’ || (+ **pati-*) *pcmxs-* (*pcmxš-*) ‘to become numb’. ◇ Cf. MacKenzie I: 554; 141 f. ⇒ Samadi: 264
- MISC: Orm. *mōž-/mōk* ‘to loosen, untie’ = *móž-/mók* ‘to open’

•SANSKRIT: *moc* ‘to release, be(come) free; to liberate, free’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 382

◇ Further Ir. cognates are unknown.

•PIE **meuk-* ‘to take, untie, etc.’ ⇒ LIV: 443 f. | Pok.: 744 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *μύσσομαι* ‘I blow my nose’, Lat. *e-mungō* ‘I blow out, snuff’, Lith. *maūkti* ‘to take off’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 401b; Werba 1997: 217 f.; Kiefer 2003: 201

***mauč²** ‘to learn, teach’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ham-*) MMP *hmwc-* ‘to teach’, (pass./inch.) MMP *hmwx-* ‘to learn [i.e. to be taught, instructed]’ ⇒ DMMPP: 179a

(+ **ham-*) Well attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP *hmwcy*, BMP *hmwcy* /*hammōzēm*/, 3sg. BMP /*hammōzēd*/, 3pl. BMP *hmwcynd* /*hammōzēnd*/, etc.

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ham-*) ‘*mwc-* ‘to teach’ ⇒ Ghilain: 63 | DMMPP: 40a

Pres.: IND. 3pl. ^x*mwcynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. ‘*mwc*’; Partic.: perf. pass. ‘*mwxtg* ‘learned’, ‘*mwxt*, II ‘*mwc*’; Inch./Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. ‘*mwxsyd*, SUBJ. 3pl. *hmwx*’*nd*; Inf.: ^x*mwxtn*

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *mwck*, BSogd. *mwck*’, SSogd. *mwz*’*k*’ ‘teacher’, (pl.) SSogd. ^x*mwz*’*ky*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **ā-* ?) ‘*mxc-* ‘to learn’, *mwcy-* (caus.) ‘to teach, instruct’ ⇒ Samadi: 113, 112

•NWIR: Zaz. *misāyiš/misen-* (inch. ?) ‘to learn, experience’, *misnāyiš/misnen-* (caus.) ‘to teach, show’, Awrom. *misāy*’**mis-* ‘to learn, understand’ || (+ **ā-*) NP *āmōxtan/āmōz-*, Ham. *āmotān/āmuz-* ‘to learn; teach’ || (+ **fra-* or **ham-* ?) Anar. *ihmut* ‘he learnt’ || (+ **ham-* ?) Kafr. *hāmūtemūn/hāmūs-* ‘to learn’

•NEIR: (+ **ni-*) Oss. I. *nymuzyn/nymyğd*, D. *nimožun/nimuğd* ‘to point out; to carry to, out; to recommend’

◇ The root is exclusively Iranian. It is perhaps no coincidence that it is formally similar to ***jauč** ‘to teach, learn’: *mauč²* may have been abstracted from **ham-Hauč* (cf. Skt. *oc* ‘to be accustomed, to get used to’), comparable to ***jauč**, which has been abstracted from prefixed formations in **abi-*, **ni-*, etc. (q.v.).

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Zhukovskij II: 96; Ivanow 1926: 419; Abrahamian 1936: 107; MacKenzie 1966: 102; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 205; Paul 1998: 306a

***maud ?** ‘to mourn’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *mwcy-* ‘to mourn’, BMP *mwst* /*must*/ ‘mourning’ ⇒ DMMPP: 234b f.

Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *mwcynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. MMP *mwcy*’*n*; Partic.: pres. pl. MMP *mwcy*’*g*’*n*, perf. pass. BMP *mwst* /*must*/

•NWIR: NP *mōyīdan* ‘to mourn; weep and cry aloud’, NP *must* ‘trouble, distress of mind, complaint, lamentation’

•MISC: ? Arm. (LW) *moyr* ‘begging’ (semantically not evident, Benveniste 1964: 5)

◇ The Persian forms are isolated within Ir.: they might be connected to the IE correspondences cited by Pokorny: 743: Lith. *maudžiù* (*maūsti*) ‘I long for’, Gr. *μῦθος* (m.) ‘word; tale’, OCS *myslь* ‘thought’, etc. However, if the Persian forms were from older **maud* as assumed generally, they would be identical with the semantically antonymous root **maud* ‘to rejoice’ (Skt. *mod*), which is attested in Iranian: not only in Avestan (*maoðanō.kara-* ‘providing joy’), but apparently also in OP (**maudabaga-* ‘who pleases God’, Mayrhofer 1973: 208, ad 8.1185). The co-existence of two formally identical roots with opposite meanings within one language is inconceivable. More likely, we are dealing with the root ***nau(H)** ‘to mourn’ (q.v.), which became contaminated with the antonymous root **maud* ‘to rejoice’ at a certain stage. Cf. NP *nōyīdan* ‘to cry aloud, lament’, *navistan* ‘to groan’, NP *nōyah* ‘plaint, moan’, *nōstah*, *navastah* ‘noise in the throat by one’s crying’.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 743

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 223 f.

***maug (*mauz) ?** ‘to err, be foolish’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *ašəmaoya-* (m.) ‘teacher of false doctrines’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *’hlmwg’n* (pl.) ‘heretics’ (LW) ⇒ DMMP: 34b

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *mūys-* ‘to be foolish’ ⇒ SGS: 110

•SANSKRIT: *moh* ‘to become confused’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 384 f.

◇ This Ir. root appears to have two variants: **maug^h* and **mauj^h*. The strange palatal "alternation" that can be observed in the root conveys the impression that it is not of IE origin. Alternatively, they could point to influence from or contamination with semantically similar roots, e.g. **draug^h* (Ir. ***drauj** ‘to lie, deceive’), **gauj^h* ‘to hide, conceal’ (> Skt. *goh*, Ir. ***gauz**), cf. EWAia: l.c.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: DKS: 335b; Werba 1997: 218

***mauš(H) ?** ‘to conceal, steal ?’

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *muśsa* (pl.) ‘robbers’ (Z 22.136)

•NEIR: Wa. *мыś-/mošt* ‘to conceal’, ? Oss. D. *mos* (in *mos esun* ‘to take revenge’)

•SANSKRIT: *moṣ(í)* ‘to steal, to take away, to rob’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 383

◇ The evidence for an Ir. root **mauš(H)*, which would correspond to Skt. *moṣ(í)*, is limited, being confined to East Iranian. An IE provenance cannot be ascertained. Two IE forms are generally cited as cognate with notably Skt. *moṣ(í)*. OFr. *chrēo-mōsido* ‘robbing the dead bodies’ (from the *Lex Salica*) is isolated within Germanic,

whilst the comparison to Toch. B *mus-* ‘to lift, move aside’ is semantically not quite satisfactory, but cf. semantically Engl. *shoplifting*. One might have to consider the meaning of the Skt./Ir. root secondary.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 445 | Pok.: 743, 753

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 530; *Abaev, Slovar*’ II: 131; *DKS*: 338b f.; *Werba* 1997: 335; *Steblin-Kamenskij* 1999: 241

***maz** ‘to break’

•PARTHIAN: (+ *ā-) *’mz-* ‘to destroy, break’ ⇒ Ghilain: 99 | DMMPP: 42a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *’mzyyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *’mšt*, *’mštg*, II ? *’mz’d*; Inf.: *’mštn*. ◇ On *’mzyyd* cf. Henning 1965: 32, fn.3: “*mz-* at last supplies the present of the common Parthian verb *’mštn* ‘to break’.”.

•SOGDIAN: MSogd. (*’*)*ms* (inch.) ‘to plough’ (or < ***Hmarz** ?, cf. Bal. *marz-* ‘to plough’)

Impf.: IND. 1sg. MSogd. *m’msw* (M 109 R.10)

•CHORESMIAN: *mz-* ‘to break [tr.]’, *mzy-* (pass./intr.) ‘to break’ || (+ **ui-*) ? *ym’r-* ‘to break into pieces, shatter’. ◇ Alternatively, *ym’r-* may contain the ‘crush’ root ***marH**¹, which is preferable: all the attested forms have *ɟ* /*r*/ without the diacritic dot (*ɟ* /*z*/). ⇒ Samadi: 114, 257

•BACTRIAN: (+ *ā-) αμᾱ- ‘to break up, dispose of (property); break off, give up (a claim or dispute)’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 179a

•NWIR: NP *māz* ‘wrinkle’ (old LW)

•NEIR: Yi. *mōz-/mašč*, M. *maz-/mōšk^y*- ‘to kill’, Pash. *māt* (ppp.) ‘broken’, ? Sh. (Baj.) *mōz-/mīzd* ‘to make, form, build, prepare’

•MISC: Orm. *mēz-*, *maz-/maštak* ‘to break’ = *mézaw-/mézawók*, *me-*, *mi-* ‘to break [tr.]’, *miz-/móxtok*, *muxtuk*, *mizók* ‘to break [intr.]’

•PIE ? **mag-* (**mH₂eg-*) ‘to knead, smear’ ⇒ LIV: 421 | Pok.: 696

•IE COGNATES: Gr. μᾰσσᾰω ‘I knead’, Arm. *macaw* ‘attached, curdled’, OCS *mažq* (*mazati*) ‘I smear, anoint’, OHG *mahhōn*, OE *macian*, Engl. *to make* (etc.)

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 401b; *EVP*: 48; *IIFL*: II: 230a; *GMS*; par. 973, 1265; *EVS*: 46b; *Hasandoust* 2001-2002: 38; *NEVP*: 53; *Kiefer* 2003: 201

***mān** ‘to resemble’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *mānaiiēn ahe yaθa* ‘resembling, just like’ (Y 71.8, Yt 17.20, etc.)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *m’n’g*, BMP *m’n’k* /*mānāg*/ ‘resembling, like’

•PARTHIAN: *m’n-* ‘to agree, be similar, resemble’ ⇒ DMMPP: 225 f.

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *m’nyd*, 3pl. *m’nynd*; Partic.: pres. *m’nh’g*, perf. pass. *m’n’d*

•KHOTANESE: *māñ-* (*mūñ-*) ‘to resemble’ ⇒ SGS: 109

•SOGDIAN: CSogd. *myn-* ‘to resemble’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *mynt*, MSogd. *myndk* ‘is similar’; Impf.: IND. 3sg. med. CSogd. *mynt*, 3pl. CSogd. *myntt*

- CHORESMIAN: *m'ny-* 'to resemble' || (+ **fra-*) *šm'ny-* 'to resemble, to look like'
⇒ Samadi: 108 f., 195
- NWIR: NP *mānistān/mān-*, Gz. *mūn-/mūnā*, Gil. (Rsht.) *manēn*, *manæstæn/man-*, Khuns. *mūn-/mūnā* 'to resemble'
- NEIR: Yzgh. *manek* 'like, resembling'
- MISC: Arm. (LW) *nman* 'like, equal', Toch. *menāk* (LW) 'comparison, example' (< Sogd. ?)
- ◇ Derived from ***maH¹** 'to measure'.
- REFERENCES: Christensen, *Contributions* I: 75; *EVS*: 44b; *WIM*I: 71; *WIM*II/1: 80; *DKS*: 327b f.

***mār (*mar²)** 'to moan, complain'

- SOGDIAN: BSogd. *m'r'nt'y* 'lamenting, sorry', CSogd. *m'r'wt(y)* 'sorry, mourning', *mr'wt* 'crying'
- CHORESMIAN: *m'ry-* 'to complain, moan'. ◇ Samadi's connection of Chor. *m'ry-* to the root ***hmar** 'to remember, recall, sim.' (q.v.) is semantically difficult and not compelling, especially if the Sogd. forms are also taken into consideration.
⇒ Samadi: 109
- NWIR: (+ **aṣa-*) Bal. *ōmārit/ōmār-* 'to wail, moan, complain'
- NEIR: ? Rosh. *marǰ-/marǰd*, Bart. *marǰ-/marǰd* 'to growl, bark, snarl, roar'
- ◇ The root appears to be exclusively Iranian. ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –
- REFERENCES: *EVS*: 45a; Gharib: 208a; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *ōmār-*

***miHu** 'to move'

- AVESTAN: (+ **aṣa-*) YAv. *auua.miuu-* 'to eliminate, remove?' ⇒ Liste: 45
Pres. them.: IND. 1pl. YAv. *auua.miuuāmahi* (V 18.55, V 18.59); Partic.: pres. pass. *a-muiiamna-* (Yt 13.35)
- PARTHIAN: (+ **aṣa-*) ? 'wmws-' 'to cause, incite evil?' [Henning 1934: 883]; to be terrified [i.e. emotionally moved, cf. Ghilain, l.c.; Weber 1970: 91] ? || (+ **para-*, **pari-*) *prm'w-* 'to terrify'. ◇ On 'sp'w- (caus.-iter. ?) 'to terrify, affright' see ***pau**.
⇒ Ghilain: 82 | DMMPP: 279a
Partic.: perf. pass. II 'wmws'd || (+ **para-*, **pari-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *prm'wyd*, 3pl. *prm'wynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *prm'w'd*
- KHOTANESE: *mvīr-* (denomin.) 'to move'. ◇ From the nominal formation **mūra-* = Skt. *mūrā-* 'swift'. ⇒ SGS: 110
- CHORESMIAN: ? 'mm'w(y)- 'to lick, smack with the lips' || (+ **fra-*) *šmwy-* 'to loosen' ⇒ Samadi: 110, 197
- NEIR: Oss. I. *mi*, D. *miwæ* 'thing, matter; work, affair'
- MISC: Hung. (LW) *mú* 'work' (< pre-Oss./Alanic)
- SANSKRIT: *mīv* 'to move' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 359
- PIE **mīeuH₁-* 'to set into motion' ⇒ LIV: 445 f. | Pok.: 743

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. *mu-ú-ta-iz-zi* ‘stirs up’, Lat. *moveō* ‘I move’, Lith. *máuju* (*máuti*) ‘I rush, tear along’

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 112 f.; DKS: 341b; Werba 1997: 362

*mraH ‘to soften’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *mrāta-* (ppp.) ‘softened (by water)’ (Yt 17.12)

•NEIR: (+ **pari-*) Oss. I. *fællajyn/fællad*, D. *fællajun/fællad* ‘to get tired’

•SANSKRIT: *mlā* ‘to wilt’ ⇒ EWAia II: 388 f.

◇ Although limited, the evidence for an Ir. root **mraH* cognate with Skt. *mlā* is quite clear. Less clear though is whether this Skt./Ir. verbal root has any IE correspondences: only two nominal formations, Gr. *μαλακός* ‘soft, tender’, OIrish *mláith* ‘soft, weak’, are usually cited.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 438 f.; Beekes 1969: 198

*mrau ? ‘to mistreat, slaughter ?’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *mrao-* ‘to mistreat ?’ ⇒ Liste: 46

Pass.: aor. INJ. 3sg. OAv. *mraoī* (Y 32.14)

◇ The existence of an Ir. root **mrau* ‘to mistreat, vel sim’, which would have no IE origin, may prove to be illusory. The interpretation of OAv. *mraoī* is disputed, it may be an injunctive form of *mrao-* (*mrū-*) ‘to say, speak’ (**mrauH*), on which see most recently De Vaan 2003: l.c.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Humbach II: 37; Kellens 1974: 48, 325; Hoffmann – Forssman: 371; De Vaan 2003: 371 f.

*mrauč ‘to float, submerge ?’

•AVESTAN: (+ **para-*) OAv. *mraoc-* ‘to float, submerge’ || (+ **ni-*) YAv. *nimraoka-* (m.) ‘junction (of a river), tributary’ (Yt 8.46) ⇒ Liste: 46

Partic.: pres. OAv. *para(cā) mraocant-* (Y 53.7)

•SANSKRIT: *mroc/mloc* ‘to set (of the sun), to disappear; to crawl (in, away); to withdraw, hide’ (AV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 388

◇ This apparently Ir. root has no further known continuations in Ir. No certain IE cognate forms can be mentioned.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 220

*mrauH ‘to say’

•AVESTAN: *mrao-* (*mrū-*) ‘to say, speak’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘to call on (to come closer)’ || (+ **upa-*) ‘to call upon’ || (+ **pati-*) ‘to answer, reply’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to proclaim’ || (+ **ni-*) ‘to utter (softly ?)’ || (+ **ui-*) ‘to argue, dispute [med.]’ ⇒ Liste: 45f.

Pres. athem.: IND. 1sg. *mraomī* (Y 53.5, etc.), med. OAv. *mruiīē* (Y 49.6), YAv. *upa.mruiīē* (Y 9.27), 3sg. YAv. *mraoti* (Yt 10.106), med. YAv. *fra mruiīē* (Y 19.10), YAv. *nimrūite* (Yt 8.23), them. YAv. *nimrauuaitē* (Yt 8.29), 3du. YAv. *ā.mrūtō* (N 24), 1pl. med. YAv. *ni mrūmaide* (Y 68.21), 3pl. med. YAv. *framra(a)uuāire* (Yt 13.64), impf. 3sg. (+ *ā- ?) YAv. *paitiāmraoṭ* (Y 21.4), YAv. *fr(ā)āmraoṭ* (Y 19.12, Y 19.15, Y 21.4), med. YAv. *āmṛūta* (Y 19.15), INJ. 1sg. YAv. *mraom* (V 2.3 f.), 2sg. OAv. *mraoš* (Y 34.13, Y 43.12), *mraoṭ* (Y 32.12, Y 45.5, Y 46.9, etc.), YAv. *āmraoṭ* (Y 19.12), OAv. *paitī.mraoṭ* (Y 32.2), YAv. *frāmraoṭ* (Y 19.15, Y 19.20, Y 20.1, etc.), YAv. *vīmraoṭ* (Yt 2.13), 2pl. OAv. *mraotā* (Y 43.11), 3pl. them. med. YAv. *nimrauuānta* (Yt 13.93), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *framrauuā* (Yt 13.1), YAv. *framrauuāni* (Yt 12.2, Yt 15.56), med. YAv. *paiti.mrauuāne* (Yt 5.82), YAv. *framrauuāi* (Y 71.15), 3sg. OAv. *mrauuaitī* (Y 51.8), *mrauuat* (Y 45.2, F 152), them. YAv. *mr(a)uuāt* (GS 163 f.), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *mruiīā* (V 18.1, V 18.2 ff.), YAv. *paiti.mruiīā* (Vyt 25), YAv. *framruiīā* (Yt 11.6, Yt 13.20, V 17.5, etc.), med. YAv. *framruiīša* (Yt 10.119), 3sg. OAv. *mruiīāt* (Y 51.8, Y 46.5), 3sg. med. YAv. *viāmruuītā* (Y 12.6), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *mrūiḍi* (Yt 3.2, Yt 12.1, V 19.34, etc.), them. YAv. *mrauuā* (Yt 4.4), 3sg. *mraotū* (Y 31.17, etc.); Partic.: pres. YAv. *framrū* (Y 65.10), med. YAv. *framruuāna-* (FrW 9.1), them. YAv. *nimraomna-* (Y 71.16, H 2.2, Vyt 54), perf. pass. YAv. *-mrūta-* (V 10.3, V 10.7, V 10.9, etc.); Inf.: pres. OAv. *mrūtē* (Y 49.6), YAv. *framrūite* (Y 8.4, ? N 71). ◇ On the attested forms with *ni- cf. *ni-*uač* ‘to utter kindly’ (**uač*). *AIW*: 1196 gives as meaning: ‘*sich (hoffend oder fürchtend) etwas einreden, verheissen*’. The passage Yt 8.23 *nimrūite* is translated by Panaino, *Tišt.*: 115 as ‘wails’, which is perhaps too freely interpreted. This meaning is not appropriate in e.g. Y 68.21 or Y 71.16. || *framrū* is from Nsg. **fra-mruanh* < **fra-mruHan(t)s*. On the subsequent phonetic developments to *ū* see De Vaan 2003: 313 f.

•KHOTANESE: (+ **pari-*) ? *parī-* ‘to order; to deign’. ◇ The exact preform of *parī-* is uncertain, on which see also *SGS*: l.c. ⇒ *SGS*: 73

•SANSKRIT: *bravī* ‘to say, speak’ (RV+) ⇒ *EWAia* II: 235

◇ The root **mrauH* is clearly attested only in Avestan: it has apparently been ousted by the other roots for ‘to speak’, **uač* and **gaub* respectively, in the other Iranian languages, cf. Hoffmann, *Aufs.*: l.c.

•PIE **mleuH-* ‘to speak’ ⇒ *LIV*: 445 f. | *Pok.*: –

•IE COGNATES: Toch. B *pälw-* ‘to complain, bewail one’s fate’, Cz. *mluviti* ‘to speak’, ORuss. *mlva* ‘chatter, rumour’, Russ. *molvá* ‘chatter, rumour’

•REFERENCES: Hoffmann, *Aufs.*: 75; *Werba* 1997: 305 f.; *Adams* 1999: 379 f.

*mu(n)θ ? ‘to flee’

•OLD PERSIAN: *mu⁽ⁿ⁾θ-* ‘to flee’ ⇒ *Kent*: 201b

Pres. ? *n-*: impf. IND. 3sg. *amu⁽ⁿ⁾θa* <a-mu-u-θa> (DB)

◇ The root, whose meaning is clarified on the basis of the Babylonian and Elamite versions of DB, is attested exclusively in OP. It has no certain IE correspondences. The connection with Skt. *muñt* ‘to go away, flee ?; to protect ?’ is useless (“Unverwertbar”, *EWAia*, III: 408), whereas the Baltic forms, Lith. *munkù* ‘I run away’, Latv. *mūku* ‘I free, flee’, appear to point to a root with a non-palatal velar (**meuk^(w)*-). This of course cannot be reconciled with the OP form in -θ. Brandenstein – Mayrhofer: 133 therefore assume a parallel root with a palatal **-k*.

•PIE – ⇒ *LIV*: – | *Pok.*: 744

N

***nab** ‘to make wet, moisten’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *napta-* (ppp.) ‘moist, wet’ || (+ **abi-*) YAv. *aiβi.naptīm* ‘moistening’ (V 7.12 f.)
 - MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *nmb* ‘moisture’, MMP *npt* ‘moist, damp, naphtha’, BMP *npt /napt/* ‘moist, damp; naphtha’ ◇ Also Akkad. *naptu* ‘naphtha’! ⇒ DMMPP: 244a
 - PARTHIAN: *^xnft* ‘moist, damp; naphtha’ ⇒ DMMPP: 244a
 - KHOTANESE: (+ **ā-*)? *ānahā* ‘moistened’
 - SOGDIAN: BSogd. *nβt’k*, *nβtk*, MSogd. *nβtyy*, *nβtyy*, SSogd. *^xnβtc* (f.) ‘moist’
 - CHORESMIAN: *nβdk*, *nβc*, *nβdc* (f.) ‘moist, humid’
 - NWIR: NP *namīdan/nam-* (denomin.) ‘to grow moist’, Kurd. *nīm* ‘dampness’ (**nambV-*), Awrom. *nīm* ‘damp’ (< Kurd. ?), Gz. *nām-o-nā* ‘wet’
 - NEIR: Sangl. *nav-*, Yi. *nov-/nīvd*, M. *nav-*, *nīv-/nīvd-* ‘to rain’, Wa. *нвн-/novd* ‘to moisten, make wet’, Pash. *nūnd*, *nūmd* ‘wet’, Pash. *naw* (m.), Sh. *nāmb* ‘moisture, humidity’, Sariq. *nom* ‘wet, moist’
 - SANSKRIT: *abhrā-* ‘cloud’ (RV+), *nābhas-* (n.) ‘moisture, cloud, mass of clouds, mist’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 94, II: 13
- ◇ The verbal forms of **nab* are attested in some Pamiri languages.
- PIE **neb^h-* ‘to moisten, be wet’ ⇒ LIV: 448 | Pok.: 315 f.
 - IE COGNATES: Gr. *συννέφει*, *ἐπινέφει* ‘is cloudy, clouded; [Zeus] makes cloudy, clouded’, Hitt. */nepis-/* (n.) ‘sky’, Gr. *véφος* (n.) ‘cloud, mass of clouds’, OCS *nebo*, *nebes-e* (n.) ‘heaven’, OHG *nebul* (m.), NHG *Nebel*, etc.
 - REFERENCES: *EVP*: 52 f.; *IIFL* II: 233b, 532a, 405b; MacKenzie 1966: 103; MacKenzie, *Pahlavi*: 57; *EVS*: 49a; *WIM* II/2: 709 f.; *DKS*: 18b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 252; *NEVP*: 59

***nad** ‘to sound, make noise’

- AVESTAN: OAv. *nad-* ‘to grumble, voice opposition?’ ⇒ Liste: 40
Partic.: pres. OAv. *nadaṅt-* (Y 33.4)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *n’y*, BMP *n’d /nāy/* ‘reed, cane; tube, pipe, flute, clarion’ 238b
- PARTHIAN: *nd* ‘pipe, flute; cane, rod’ ⇒ DMMPP: 240a
- KHOTANESE: **nāy-* ‘to sound’, *nāyai* ‘sound’ || (+ **pati-*) LKh. *panāy-* ‘to make a noise’ ⇒ SGS: 70
- NWIR: NP *nāy* ‘reed, cane; flute, pipe’
- NEIR: ? Oss. I. *nætyn*, D. *nætun/nætt* ‘to moan, sigh, pant, groan’ (why *-t-* ?), Pash. *nūl* ‘sorrow, grief’, ? *nal* (m.) ‘reed, pipe’ (< IA ?)
- SANSKRIT: *nad* ‘to thunder, roar, howl, rustle’ (AV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 8

◇ On the interpretation of OAv. *nad-* see Hoffmann, *Aufs.*: 270. Although the ‘flute, reed’ forms are already IE (cf. *EWAia II*: 7; *IEW*: l.c.), the verbal forms attested in (I)Ir. cannot be traced back to IE. Hence, these verbal forms may be originally denominative.

•PIE **nedo-* ‘reed’ ⇒ LIV: 448 f. | Pok.: 759

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */nata-/*, */nati-/*, Skt. *nada-*, *naḍa-* ‘reed’, Arm. *net* ‘arrow’

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 52; *DKS*: 179b f., 210b; Abaev, *Slovar* II: 172; Werba 1997: 354

***nǎd** ‘to be in distress’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *naδ-* ‘to be in distress’, *nāidiiah-* ‘poorer, weaker’ ⇒ Liste: 41
MED.; Pres. them.: SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *naḍātaē(-ca)* (Yt 13.66)

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ūi-*) ? Okh. *binās-* (inch. ?) ‘to be hungry, starving’. ◇ Bailey, *DKS*: l.c. denies a connection to **nas²* ‘to disappear; to perish’, but his own derivation from **abi-nā-s-* ‘to grasp, be hungry for’ (***Hnas**) is semantically difficult though. Perhaps Khot. *binās-* is an inchoative formation of **nǎ(H)d*? ⇒ SGS: 96

•SANSKRIT: *nādh* ‘to be in trouble, oppressed’ (RV+) ⇒ *EWAia II*: 34

◇ No Ir. evidence for **nǎd* other than YAv. *naδ-* and perhaps Khot. *binās-* is known. The comparison to Gr. *ωθρός* ‘flat, slow’ is semantically difficult. It can be noticed that this root rhymes with ***bād**.

•REFERENCES: *DKS*: 284b; Werba 1997: 416

***naič** ? ‘to fight, attack’

•AVESTAN: ? YAv. *darši-nika-* ‘boldly attacking’ (Yt 9.30)

•KHOTANESE: Okh. *nājs-* ‘to fight’ ⇒ SGS: 53

◇ Further (I)Ir. cognate forms are unknown.

•PIE **neik-* ‘to fight, attack’. ◇ This root is probably unrelated (or only distantly related ?) to **neik-* ‘*sich erheben*’, Hitt. */ninikzi/* ‘lifts’, OCS *vъz-nikъ* (3pl.pret.) ‘stood up’ (LIV: 451 f.). Although a semantic shift from ‘to stand up’ to ‘to fight’ is certainly conceivable, the meaning ‘to fight (vel sim.)’ is not only attested in Ir., but also in two other IE languages, Gr. and Lith. Hence, this points to a different, perhaps homonymous PIE **neik-* ‘to fight’. A single root **neik-* ‘*anfallen, losstürzen, heftig beginnen*’ is reconstructed by Pokorny: 761, which is semantically not very attractive.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *νεῖκος* ‘strife’, Lith. *apnikti* ‘to attack’

•REFERENCES: *DKS*: 181b f.

***naid** ‘to flow’

•KHOTANESE: (+ **aya-*) *ggañh-* ‘to moisten’ (on *gga-* see SGS: 230) ⇒ SGS: 28

•NWIR: Bal. *nidit/nid-* ‘to cause to overflow, make brimful’

•SANSKRIT: *ned* ‘overflow’ (YV+) ⇒ *EWAia II*: 55

◇ Although the evidence for an Ir. root **naid* is sparse, it can be established quite firmly, being attested in an East and a West Ir. language. No verbal forms other than in Ilr., are attested, whence the Ilr. root may actually be denominative.

•PIE **neido-* ‘flowing’ ⇨ LIV: 449 | Pok.: 761

•IE COGNATES: Gall. *Nida* river name, Lith. *Niedà* river name

•REFERENCES: DKS: 79; Werba 1997: 430; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *nid-*

***naiH¹** ‘to lead’

•AVESTAN: *naii-* (*naē-*) ‘to lead’ || (+ **a_ua-*) ‘to take, lead, bring down; to flow rapidly [of water]’ || (+ **upa-*) ‘to lead on, upon’ || (+ **para-(ā-)*) ‘to lead, carry forth’ || (+ **fra-*) ? ‘to bring to’ (cf. Waag 1941: 81). ◇ On the translation of YAv. *naiieinte* (Yt 10.42), YAv. *frānaiiata* (N 70), together with possible OP parallels, see Hoffmann, *Aufs.*: 314, fn 2. ⇨ Liste: 41

Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *naiieiti* (V 5.8 f.), med. 3sg. ? YAv. *^snaiiete* (? P 59), med.(-pass.) 3pl. YAv. *naiieinte* (Yt 10.42), INJ. med.(-pass.) 3sg. ? YAv. *frānaiiata* (N 70), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *upanaiieni* (Yt 9.18); Aor. s-: SUBJ. 3sg. OAv. *naēšaṭ* (Y 31.20); Fut.: 3sg. YAv. *naēšieiti* (Vn 6, rep.)

•OLD PERSIAN: *nay-* ‘to lead’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to lead forth, provide’ ⇨ Kent: 193

Pres. them.: impf. IND. 1sg. *frānayam* <f-r-a-n-y-m> (DB 1.87), 3sg. *anaya* <a-n-y> (DB 2.88, DB 5.12), 3pl. *^sanaya^a* <a-n-y> (DB 5.28), med.(/pass.) 3sg. *anayatā* <a-n-y-t-a> (DB 1.82, DB 2.73)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *n’y-* (BMP *DB(Y)LWN-*) ‘to lead’ || (+ **ā-*) MMP *’ny-* (BMP *HYTYWN-*) ‘to bring, lead’ ⇨ DMMPP: 239a, 49b f.

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *n’y_d*, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *nyy’nd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *n’y_d*, MMP *ny_d*, MMP *nyy_d*; Inf.: MMP *nyydn* || (+ **ā-*) Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP *’nym*, 2sg. MMP *’nyy*, 2pl. MMP *’ny_d*, SUBJ. 2sg. MMP *n’y_h*, IMPV. 2pl. MMP *’ny_d*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *’ny_d*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ā-*) *ānāñā* (gdv.) ‘to be brought’ ⇨ SGS: –

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *n’y-* ‘to lead’ || (+ **ati-*) BSogd. *tyny-*, CSogd. *tny-* ‘to bring in, lead in, introduce’ || (+ **ā-*) BSogd. *’n(’)_y*, CSogd. *’ny*, MSogd. *’ny* ‘to lead, fetch, bring’ || (+ **para-ā-*) SSogd. *pr’ny*, BSogd. *pr’n’y*, CSogd. *pr’ny* ‘to lead, bring’ || (+ **niž-*) SSogd. *nyzn’y* ‘to lead from’

Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. SSogd. *n’y’y_{ty}* || (+ **ati-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. CSogd. *tny’t*, 3pl. CSogd. *tny’nt*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *tyny*, 3pl. CSogd. *^stynynt*, Pret.: tr. IND. 2sg. CSogd. *tny’d’ry*; Inf.: pret. BSogd. *tyny’ty* || (+ **ā-*) Well attested: Pres.: IND. 2pl. MSogd. *^snyδ*, SUBJ. 2pl. BSogd. *’n’y_δ*, OPT. 1pl. CSogd. *’nym*, 3pl. CSogd. *^snynt*, POT. 3sg. MSogd. *nyy’ny_t qw_{ndy}h* ‘he cannot bring’, etc. || (+ **para-ā-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *pr’n’y_t*, BSogd. *pr’n’y_t*, BSogd. *pr’ny_t*, BSogd. *pr’n’y_t*, SUBJ. 1sg. CSogd. *pr’nyn*; Fut.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *pr’ny_{tq}*; Partic.: pres. SSogd. *pr’nyny* || (+ **niž-*) Inf.: pret. SSogd. *nyznyt*; Pass.: pret. IND. 3sg. SSogd. *nyznyt’y*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **apa-*) *bny-* ‘to remove’, *byny-* (pass./intr.) ‘to remove oneself’ ⇨ Samadi: 23, 33

•NWIR: Anar. *niye/yon-*, Sorkh. *bé-n-*, *bé-nn-* -*ford-* (supplet. -*ford-* < **bar¹*), Lasg. *bī-n* (supplet. -*bard-*) ‘to bring, carry (away, along)’, Tr. *nīya/neg-* ‘to lead’ || (+ **ā-*) Kurd. (Kurm.) *ānīn*, *īnān/īn-*, (Sor.) *hānīn/hān-*, *hēnān/hēn-*, *īnān/īn-*, Zaz. *ān-*

(supplet. *ārdiš* < *ā- + *bar¹) ‘to bring, lead to’, Abyan. *ūnia/t-ūn-*, Nn. *yonte/t-on-*, Qohr. *hunda/hun-*, Sorkh. *a-vi-n-*, *a-ve-n-* (supplet. -*ærd-* < *ā- + *bar¹) ‘to bring, lead’ || (+ *ham-) ? Isfah. *āmnān/āmn-* ‘to bind, tie’

•NEIR: (+ *ati-) Wa. *tən(ə)y-/tənət-* ‘to drive, chase (cattle) into the stable; to hunt, catch (birds, animals)’ || (+ *upa-) Yi. *vən-/vəd-*, M. *vín-/vəd-* ‘to carry, bring, carry off (animate beings)’

•MISC: (+ *a_{ya}-) Par. *ūn-* ‘to lead’ || (+ *ā-) Par. *ēn-/ant-* ‘to lead to’

•SANSKRIT: *nay*¹ ‘to lead’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 17

•PIE *neiH_{1,3-} ‘to lead’ ⇒ LIV: 450 f. | Pok.: 760

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. /*nai-*/ ‘to lead’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 234a; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 151 f.; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 50, 49; *IIFL* II: 545, 258b; Abrahamian 1936: 126; *DKS*: 18b; Werba 1997: 300 f.; Paul 1998: 291; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 363; Cabolov 2001: 79 f.; Lecoq 2002: 121, 123 (passim)

*naiH² ‘to churn (butter)’

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *ñye, ñe* ‘buttermilk’, LKh. *nīyaka-* ‘fresh butter’

•NWIR: Kurd. *nivīšk*, Bal. *nēmag* ‘butter’, Abyan. *nīmešk* ‘fresh butter’, Tr. *nīmešk* ‘churned butter’, Tal. *niyə* ‘churn’ || (+ *pati-) NP *panīr* ‘cheese’

•NEIR: Rosh. *nay-/nid*, Sariq. *ney-/nūd*, *nīd* ‘to churn’, Sh. *nīm-δōrg* ‘churnstaff’, Sangl. *nīdūk*, Ishk. *nuduk* ‘buttermilk’, M. *nīyo*, Yi. *nīya* ‘sour milk’ || (+ *pari-) Wa. *pərnác* ‘churn’

•SANSKRIT: *nīta-* ‘fresh butter’ (ĀpŚS), *návanīta-* ‘fresh butter’ (Kāth+), et al. ⇒ EWAia II: 25 f.

◇ The verbal forms appear to be attested in a few Pamiri languages. This Iir. root may have an IE provenance, as it has a correspondence in Baltic. This can hardly be regarded as mere "convergence", considering the very specific nature of the meaning.

•PIE *neiH- ‘to make butter, churn’ ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•IE COGNATES: Latv. *sviestu nīt* ‘to make butter’, *pa-nījas*, *pa-nīnas* ‘buttermilk’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 235a, 404a; *EVS*: 52a, 49b; *DKS*: 184b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 277; Lecoq 2002: 581, 668a; Korn 2005: 232 f.

*naiǰ ‘to wash (out)’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *niž-* ‘to wash (out)’ ⇒ Liste: 41f.

Intens.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *naēnižaiti* (Yt 8.43)

•SANSKRIT: *nej* ‘to wash, clean’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 54

◇ No further Ir. cognate forms are known.

•PIE *neig^w- ‘to wash (out)’ ⇒ LIV: 450 | Pok.: 761

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *víζω* ‘I wash, clean’, (ppp.) Gr. *ἀνίπτος* ‘unwashed’, OIrish *nigim* ‘I wash’, OIrish *necht* ‘clean’

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 204

***nam** ‘to bend, bow’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *nəm-* (*nām-*) ‘to bend’ || (+ **apa-*) ‘to yield, cede, depart, leave’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to flee from’, caus. ‘to bend down’ || (+ **ui-*) ‘to put, spread apart’
⇒ Liste: 40

MED. (exc. Caus.); Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. (̂)*frānəmaite* (Yt 19.95 f.), 3pl. YAv. *frānəmən̄te* (Y 57.18), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *apanəmata* (Yt 19.35 ff.), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *frā.nmāne* (Yt 9.4, Yt 17.25), 3sg. YAv. *frānāmāite*¹ (Y 57.18, Yt 19.95), 3pl. YAv. *frā nəmānte* (Yt 9.4), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *fra(-ca) nəmaŋ’ha* (V 2.10, V 2.18), YAv. *vī nəmaŋha* (V 2.10); Caus.: pres. 3pl. YAv. (*frā*) *nāmaieičiti* (Yt 13.39, Yt 14.56), YAv. *vī nāmaieičiti* (Yt 13.39). ◇ On the long stem vowel *-ā-* in YAv. *‘nāmāite* see Kuiper 1939: 41, Kellens 1984: 115, fn. 6.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **apa-*) MMP *’bn’m-* ‘to cause to go out, depart’ || (+ **abi-*) BMP *’dynpt /ayinaft/* (pret. stem) ‘to reach, get at, touch’ || (+ **ā-*) MMP *’n’m-* ‘to remove, drive away; to remove oneself, go away’ || (+ **fra-*) MMP *frnm-*, *prnm-* ‘to go, proceed’ ⇒ DMMPP: 11b, 43b, 156b

(+ **apa-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *’bn’m’nd*, 3pl. MMP *’bn’m’nd* || (+ **abi-*) Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *’dynpt /ayinaft/* || (+ **ā-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *’n’m’nd*, IMPV. 2pl. MMP *’n’myd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *’n’pft*, *’n’pt* || (+ **fra-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *prnm’nd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *prnpt*, BMP *plnpt /franaft/*; Inf.: MMP *prnptn*

•PARTHIAN: (+ **apa-*) *’bnf-* ‘to withdraw, depart’ || (+ **abi-*) *’bnft* (pret. stem) ‘to approach, draw near to’ || (+ **fra-*) *frnm-* ‘to go forth, depart, proceed’, *frn’m-* (caus.) ‘to cause to depart, send away’ ⇒ Ghilain: 73 | DMMPP: 156b, 12a, 156b

(+ **apa-*) Partic.: perf. pass. *’bnft*, *’bnft* || (+ **abi-*) Partic.: perf. pass. *’bnft* || (+ **fra-*) Partic.: perf. pass. *frnft*, *frnpt*; Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. *frn’mynd*

•KHOTANESE: *nonda-*, LKh. *nauda-* ‘obeisance, worship’ || (+ **pati-*) OKh. *panam-* ‘to bend’ || (+ **fra-*) OKh. *hanam-*, Khot. *hanem-* (*hanaim-*, *hana-*) ‘to bend down’ || (+ **ui-*) Khot. *bīnam-* ‘to split apart’, LKh. *binem-* (caus.) ‘to split’ ⇒ SGS: 69, 146, 96 f.

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *nm-*, BSogd. *nm-*, CSogd. *nm-* ‘to consent, agree, accept’ || (+ **pati-*) BSogd. *ptn’yim-* ‘to imitate’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. dur. CSogd. *nm̄tysq*, INJ. 1sg. SSogd. *nm’w*, OPT. 2sg. BSogd. *nm’y* || (+ neg.) BSogd. *L’ nm’y*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *nm’*; ’z-impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *nm’z* || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *ptn’yimt*

•NWIR: Kurd. *dā nawin*, Awrom. (*ara-*)*nāmiāy/ (ara-)nāmia-* ‘to bend down’ || (+ **abi-*) NP *īnaft* ‘petition, demand, need’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *nymd*, D. *nindæ* ‘bashfulness, customary submissive attitude [of the bride]’ || (+ **uz-*) Oss. D. *æznæmun/æznæ(m)t* ‘to move back [of animals]’

•MISC: (+ **ni-*) Orm. *nim-/nim’yēk* ‘to descend’

•SANSKRIT: *nam* ‘to bend (oneself), bow’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 14

•PIE **nem-* ‘to bend, bow’ ⇒ LIV: 453 f. | Pok.: 764

•IE COGNATES: Toch. *nām-* ‘to bow’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 402a f.; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 228; MacKenzie 1966: 103; Abaev, *Slovar’* II: 204 f.; *DKS*: 173a, 210a; Werba 1997: 201 ff.; Cheung 2002: 13, 210

***namH** ‘to strike, beat’

•KHOTANESE: (+ **patí-* ?) *panam-* ‘to touch, feel’ || (+ **pari-*) OKh. *panam-* ‘to touch, feel’ ⇒ *SGS*: 75

•NEIR: Oss. I. *næmyn/nad*, D. *næmun/nad* ‘to hit, strike’, ? Sh. *nimũ*, (Baj.) *nimaw*, Khf. *nimaw*, Rosh. *nimōw*, Bart. *nimāw*, Orosh. *nēmāw* ‘reproach, abuse; regret?’

◇ The existence of an Ir. root **namH-* ‘to strike, beat’ was first postulated by Schmidt 1959: 113 ff., and accepted by Bielmeier 1979: 201; Abaev II: 169 f. The laryngeal presence for this root is most clearly indicated by the Ossetic past participle *nad* (< **nm̥Hto-*). The Oss. present stem is not an “enlargement” of a root **nā-*, as assumed by Bielmeier 1979: 201, 327, n. 123. The so-called “root **nā-*” actually reflects the (IE) zero grade **nm̥H-*. The IE cognate forms that are quoted here, Gr. *véμεσις*, etc. can hardly contain the IE root **nem-* ‘to take, assign, etc. (Gr. *véμω* ‘to apportion, pasture’, Goth. *niman* ‘to take’, etc.), as assumed by Pokorny (*IEW*: 763). Ir. **namH-* would then derive from IE **nemH₁-* ‘to strike, beat’, as reconstructed on the basis of the Gr. evidence. Further IE verbal correspondences are unknown.

•PIE **nemH₁-* ‘to strike, hit’ ⇒ *LIV*: – | Pok.: 763

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *véμεσις* ‘divine retribution’, *νεμέτωρ* ‘avenger’, OIrish *námæ* ‘foe’, (?) Alb. (Tosk) *nēmë*, (Gh.) *namë* ‘curse’

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar’* II: 169; *EVS*: 49a; *DKS*: 210a, 218b

***nar** ‘to roar, bray, thunder?’

•PARTHIAN: ? *n’r-* ‘moan, groan’ (rather ***nard** ?) ⇒ Ghilain: – | *DMMPP*: 238a
Pres.: IND. 3pl. **n’rynd*

•KHOTANESE: ? *nar-* ‘to roar’. ◇ The existence of this root, postulated in *DKS*: 174b is doubted by Skjærvø, *SVK* II: 64 f., 73 f., especially since one of the two forms in support of its existence, *nārā*, must be read as *ttārā*.

•CHORESMIAN: *m/n̄r-* ‘to roar, moan, bray’ (or *m/n̄r’-* ?, cf. MacKenzie I: 544)
⇒ Samadi: 132

•NEIR: Oss. I. *næryn/nærst*, D. *nærun/nærst* ‘to thunder’

◇ An IE provenance for **nar* cannot be established. This Ir. root is perhaps expressive, similar to Du. *sneren*, Engl. *to sneer*.

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar’* II: 171 f.; *DKS*: 174b

***nard** ‘to lament, moan’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *n'l-* /*nāl-*/ ‘to lament, moan’, MMP *n'ryšn* ‘moaning’ {unpublished} ⇒ DMMPP: 238b

Partic.: pres. BMP *n'l'n* /*nālān*/

•PARTHIAN: ? *n'r-* ‘moan, groan’ (rather ***nar** ?) ⇒ DMMPP: 238a

Pres.: IND. 3pl. **n'rynd*

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *nrδ-* ‘to lament’ (Benveniste, *TSP*: 25 f., 175 ad 507)

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *nrδtt* {hapax}

•CHORESMIAN: *nrδ-* ‘to lament’ ⇒ Samadi: 132

•NWIR: NP *nālīdan/nāl-* ‘to lament’, Bal. *narit/nār-* ‘to groan’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *nālīn/nāl-*, Zaz. *nālāyış/nālen-* ‘to moan’, Anar. *nolo/enol-* ‘to groan’, Gz. *nāl-/nālā*, Khuns. *nāl-/nālā* ‘to lament’

•NEIR: Pash. *narəl/nār-* ‘to screech (of birds, etc.); to Bray, bellow, low’

•SANSKRIT: *nard* ‘to hum (while singing *sāmans*), to roar, to bellow (of animal, human, cloud)’ (Br.+) ⇒ EWAia II: 22

◇ This apparently Ir. root is probably expressive in nature, similar to ME *snurtin* ‘to snore’, MHG *snarz* ‘rattle; landrail’.

•REFERENCES: Ivanow 1926: 421; *EVP*: 53; *WIM* I: 71; *WIM* II/1: 80; Omar 1992: 423a; Gharib: 242, no. 6054; *Verba* 1997: 464; Paul 1998: 306b; *NEVP*: 58; Korn 2005: 220, 319, 408

***narp** ? ‘to decrease, wane (of moon)’

•AVESTAN: *nərəf-* ‘to decrease, wane (of moon)’, OAv. *narəpiš-* (n.) ‘decrease, waning’ ⇒ Liste: 40

Pres. inch.: IND. 3sg. OAv. *nərəfsaitī* (Y 44.3), YAv. *nərəfsaiti* (Yt 7.2, Ny 3.4); Partic.: pres. YAv. *nərəfsaš* ° (Yt 7.2, Ny 3.4)

◇ With no further correspondences, the Av. forms are hardly of Ir./IE origin.

•REFERENCES: Kellens 1984: 157 ad 15.

***nas** ‘to disappear; to perish’

•AVESTAN: *nās-* ‘to disappear’ || (+ **apa-*) ‘to vanish’ || (+ **ui-*) ‘to vanish’. ◇ YAv. *nāθaiiēn* (V 3.20) cannot belong to this root at all (*pace* Kellens 1984: 297). ⇒ Liste: 41

Pres. *īa-*: IND. 2sg. YAv. *apanasiiechi* (SrB 3.3), 3sg. YAv. *nasiieiti* (Y 10.7, Y 10.15), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *nasiiaēt* (Yt 3.17), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *nase* (V 8.21, SrB 3), 2pl. YAv. *apa.nasiiaata* (Yt 3.9, Yt 3.12); Perf.: IND. 3sg. OAv. *vī.nānāsā* (Y 32.15); Partic.: pres. OAv. *nasiiaēt-* (32.4), perf. OAv. *našuuāh-* (Y 51.13)

•OLD PERSIAN: (+ **ui-*) *vināθ-* ‘to injure, harm’ ⇒ Kent: 192b f.

Partic.: perf. pass. *vinasta-* <vi-i-n-s-t> (DNb 18); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. *vināθayatīy* <vi-i-n-a-θ-y-t-i-y> (DNb 17), impf. 3sg. *viyanāθaya* <vi-i-y-n-a-θ-y> (DB 4.66), OPT. 3sg. *vināθayaiš* <vi-i-n-a-θ-y-i-š> (DNb 20)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ui-*) MMP *wn'h-* ‘to sin; damage’, BMP *wn's-* /*wināh-*/ ‘to injure, harm, corrupt’ ⇒ DMMPP: 343a

Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *wn'syt* /*wināhēd*/, 2pl. MMP *wn'hyd*, 3pl. BMP *wn'synd* /*wināhēnd*/, etc.

•PARTHIAN: *n's-* (caus.) 'to destroy' || (+ **apa-*) '*bns-* 'to perish', '*bn's-* (caus.) 'to destroy' || (+ **fra-*) *frnštg* 'destroyed, ruined' || (+ **ui-*) *wnšt* (pret. stem) 'to destroy, injure' ⇒ Ghilain: 69 | DMMPP: 238b, 12a, 156b, 343b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *n'syd* || (+ **apa-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. **bnsyd*, '*bnsyyd*, 3pl. '*bnsynd*; Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. '*bn'syd*; Pass.: IND. 3sg. '*bnsyd* || (+ **fra-*) Partic.: perf. pass. *frnštg*, pl. *frnštg'n* || (+ **ui-*) Partic.: perf. pass. *wnšt*, *wnštg*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **apa-*) *panās(ś)* (*panaš-*) 'to perish', LKh. *panāš-* (caus.) 'to lose' || (+ **aua-*) LKh. *vanās-* (*vanāš-*) 'to quiver, shake' || (+ **fra-*) *hanaš-* 'to perish', *hanāšš-* (caus.) 'to destroy' ⇒ SGS: 70, 118

•SOGDIAN: MSogd. *nyš* (intr./pass.) 'to perish, be destroyed', CSogd. *nyš-* (caus.) 'to destroy' || (+ **apa-*) BSogd. *pn'yš*, CSogd. *pnyš* 'to lose' || (+ **fra-*) CSogd. *fnyš* 'to be deceived, err', CSogd. *fnyš-* 'to deceive, lead astray, seduce, entice'

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *nyštyy* (BBB: 41); Fut.: IND. 1sg. CSogd. *nyšnq*; Partic.: pres. CSogd. *nyšnyt* (pl.) 'destroying, destructive', perf. pass. BSogd. *n'stk* 'spoil, destroyed'; Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. CSogd. *nyšt*, fut. IND. 3pl. CSogd. *nyšntq*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. BSogd. *n'stk* *βwt* 'is spoiled, destroyed', dur. MSogd. *nštyy* **βwtskwn* (BBB: 38) || (+ **apa-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *pn'yšt* || (+ **fra-*) Pres.: IND. 2sg. dur. CSogd. *fnyšysq*; Partic.: perf. pass. CSogd. *fnyšty* 'seduced'; Pass.: pres. SUBJ. 3pl. CSogd. *fnyštyt ny šw'nt* 'should not be deceived', IMPV. 2sg. CSogd. *fn'yš*; impf. IND. 3pl. CSogd. *fnyšnt*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **apa-*) *bn'sy-* 'to lose' || (+ **fra-*) *sNsY-* 'to err; to forget', *šn'sy-* (caus.) 'to cause to err; (to cause) to forget' ⇒ Samadi: 22, 198, 197

•BACTRIAN: *vəp-* 'to destroy' ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 208b

•NWIR: Bal. *nasit/nas-* 'to grind up, destroy, ruin, defeat', Kurd. *našt* (orig. ppp.) 'withered', Khor. *našt(t)* 'something burnt' || (+ **ui-*) NP *gunāh* 'sin, fault', ? Zaz. *vinī* 'disappeared'

•NEIR: Pash. *nat-/natəl* (caus.) 'to sack, spoil, ravish', Wa. *naš-/našt* 'to perish, be lost; to disappear', *nbyš-/nost* (caus.) 'to lose, ruin, destroy', Sh. *nīxš*, *nūxš* 'wound', *nuxtj* 'galled horse' || (+ **apa-*) Rosh. *binis-*, Bart. *binis-*, Yzgh. *penas-*, Yghn. *peṇāš-*, *pīnās-/peṇāšta*, *pīnāšta* 'to be lost', (orig. caus.) Sh. *būnos-*, Ishk. *apanis-*, Yghn. *peṇáyš-*, *pīnáyš-/peṇáyšta*, *pīnáyšta* 'to lose' || (+ **ā-*) Yzgh. *anūxt/anəs-* 'to forget' || (+ **fra-*) Ishk. *fərnis-*, Sh. (Baj.) *rinās-/rinūxt*, Rosh. *rinēs-/rinoxt*, Bart. *ranīs-/ranōxt*, Orosh. *ranīs-/ranūxt*, Sariq. *ranos-/ranixt*, Sangl. *fərnis-/fərnit* 'to forget'

•MISC: (+ **ui-*) Arm. (LW) *vnas* (< Pth.), Arab. (LW) *junāh* 'sin' (< NP)

•SANSKRIT: *naś* 'to die, perish, disappear' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 28

•PIE **nek-* 'to perish, die; to kill, destroy, ruin' ⇒ LIV: 451 f. | Pok.: 762

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *necāre* 'to kill, destroy', *nocēre* (caus.) 'to damage, hurt', Toch. *nāk-* 'to ruin', Gr. *νεκρός* (m.) 'body, dead person', etc.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 532, 392b; *EVP*: 53; Andreev – Peščereva: 305b; *EVS*: 51b, 20a, 51b, 68a; *DKS*: 210a, 284b, 451b; Monchi-Zadeh 1990: 129; Werba 1997: 203; Paul 1998: 317b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 243, 252; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *nas*–; *NEVP*: 59

*nau ‘to move’

•PARTHIAN: *nwy-* ‘to go, walk’ || (+ *ā-) ’n’w- (caus.) ‘to set into motion, move’ || (+ *ui-) *wnw-*, *wynw-* ‘to tremble, shake; to shake down, cast out’, ? *wnwhg* ‘trembling, shaking’ ◇ The pres. stem is probably *nwy-*, rather than *nw-*, on which see Sundermann 1973: 129b. ⇒ Ghilain: 67, 77 | DMMPP: 246a, 248b, 44a, 343b

Pres.: IND. 3pl. ⁽⁶⁾*nwynd*, 2pl. *nwyyd*, 3pl. *nwynd* || (+ *ā-) Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. ’n’wynd; Partic.: perf. pass. ’n’w’d || (+ *ui-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *wnwyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *wnw’d*, *wynw’d*

•KHOTANESE: (+ *aua-) OKh. *van(a)u-* ‘to become inactive’, LKh. *vanvāñ-* (caus.) ‘to make inactive’ ⇒ SGS: 118

•SOGDIAN: MSogd. *nw-* ‘to go slowly’, (caus.) MSogd. *n’w* ‘to shake’ || (+ *abi-) BSogd. *βn’w* ‘to shake [intr.]’, MSogd. *βnw* ‘to tremble’

Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. dur. MSogd. ^x*n’wyndskwn*; Inf.: MSogd. ^x*nw’y* || (+ *abi-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *βnwtyy*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *β’n’w*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *upa-) *bnw-* ‘to win, triumph’, *bn’wy-* (caus.) ‘to let someone win, bestow someone the victory’ || (+ *pati-) *pcnw-* ‘to thread’, *pcnwsy-* (intr./pass.) ‘to be threaded’ || (+ *ham-) *m/nw-* ‘to collide’ ⇒ Samadi: 23, 142 f., 133

•NWIR: NP *navīdan/nav-* ‘to shake, tremble; to move (esp. when rising from a place)’

•SANSKRIT: *nav* ‘to move into [intr.]’ (TS+) ⇒ EWAia II: 23

◇ This Ir. root may have meant originally ‘to nod, give a nod’ (as can be inferred from the IE evidence), which would have evolved into ‘to move in a shaking way’ ?

•PIE *neu- ‘to nod (the head)’ ? ⇒ LIV: 455 f. | Pok.: 767

•IE COGNATES: Gr. νεύω ‘I nod’, Lat. *ad-nūit* ‘nodded’, Lith. *niaūsti* ‘to nod’

•REFERENCES: *DKS*: 374b f.; Gharib: 233a f.; Werba 1997: 204

*nau(H) ‘to cry, wail’

•KHOTANESE: ? OKh. *nuva-* ‘to make a noise (i.e. howl ?)’ ⇒ SGS: 58

•SOGDIAN: ◇ Sogd. *nwβ* ‘noise’, cited in *DKS*: 190a, does not exist, Sims-Williams 1983: 43.

•NWIR: NP *nōyīdan* ‘to cry aloud, lament’, *nāvīdan* ‘to complain, lament’, *navīdan* ‘to complain’, *navistan* ‘to groan’, NP *nōyah* ‘plaint, moan’, NP *navā* ‘sound, song; grief, pain (etc.)’, *nōstah*, *navastah* ‘noise in the throat by one’s crying’, Kurd. *new-new* ‘mew’ || (+ *uz-) NP *zinūdan/zinav-*, *zunūdan/zunav-*, *zunōyīdan* ‘to wail’ (LW)

•NEIR: Oss. I. *niwyn/niwd*, D. *newun/niwd* ‘to cry’, (with long *-ā-) Sariq. *niuw*, *nēw-/niwd* ‘to weep’, Wa. *nyw-/nowd* ‘to weep, wail’, Sh. *nāw-/nūd*, Rosh. *nāw-/*

nāwd ‘to weep’, Yghn. *nuyok* ‘crying, howling’, *novva* ‘sound’ || (+ *ā-) Yi. *anuv-* ‘to bellow’ || (+ *fra-) Sh. (Baj.) *rināw-/rinewd* (orig. caus.) ‘to tease, mock, make weep’

•SANSKRIT: *nav⁽ⁱ⁾* ‘to roar, cry’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 23

•PIE **neu(H)-* ‘to cry out, shout’ ⇒ LIV: 456 f. | Pok.: 767

•IE COGNATES: Toch. *nu-* ‘to cry out; threaten’, Lat. *nūntius* ‘(official) message’, OIrish *núall* ‘cry, alarm, proclamation’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 191a; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 184 f.; *EVS*: 50b, 68a; *DKS*: 190b; Gharib: 245a; Werba 1997: 355; Adams 1999: 339 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 253; Cheung 2002: 102, 208

***nāj ?** ‘to turn, roll’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: ◇ Bailey, *DKS*: 180a, s.v. *nāys-* ‘be proud, delicate’ cites BMP *nāzēnd ut gartēnd* (Dd 36.22), the first verb would contain the base *nāz-*, *nāž-* ‘to roll, turn’. In fact it should rather be read as the very common verbal form /*wāzēnd*/ ‘they fly, move’ (cf. Jaafari-Dehaghi: 118 ad 36.22).

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *n’z*, MSogd. *n’j* ‘to roll, twist, turn around’ || (+ **pari-*) BSogd. *prn’z* ‘to roll, turn’

Pres.: IND. 2sg. MSogd. **n’jyh*, 3sg. BSogd. *n’zt*; Partic.: pres. BSogd. *n’ž’ntk* turning’

•NEIR: Sh. *noŷ-/nāŷd*, Rosh. *noŷ-/nēŷd* ‘to turn, whirl [intr.], wander about’, (caus.) Sh. *nāŷ-/nāŷd*, Rosh. *nīŷ-/nīŷd*, *nayēn-/nayēnt* ‘to turn round’, Sh. *nāŷŷjak*, Khf. *neŷŷōjak* ‘handle of the axis of a spinning wheel’ || (+ **aṃa-*, **ui-* ?) Sangl. *wəniž-/wəništ* ‘to go round, walk about’ || (+ **upari-*) Sh. *birnāŷ-/birnāŷd* ‘to wave, brandish, raise one’s hand (against)’, (Baj.) *barnāŷ-/barnāŷd* ‘to turn, twist around somebody/something’ || (*gil-* < ?) Sh. *gilnāŷ-/gilnāŷd* ‘to turn, wind’

◇ The evidence for a root **nāj* appears to be restricted to East Ir. languages: regional borrowing ?

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 419b; *GMS*: §266; *EVS*: 48a f., 20b, 35a; *DKS*: 180a; Sims-Williams 1983: 43; Gharib: 230b, 288b

***nāz** ‘to take pleasure in, coquet; to be glorious, proud, delicate (< *‘to be soft, mild, tender’ ?)’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *n’z-* ‘to take pleasure, delight; exult, triumph’, BMP *n’cšn* /*nāzišn*/ ‘boasting; kindness’

Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *n’zynd*, *n’zyynd*, SUBJ. MMP 1pl. *n’z’m*; Partic.: pres. MMP *n’z’g*, pl. *n’z’g’n*

•PARTHIAN: *n’z-* ‘to take pleasure, delight; exult, triumph’, *n’z* ‘pleasure, delight’ ⇒ Ghilain: 59 | DMMPP: 238b f.

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *n’zyd*, 3pl. *n’zynd*, SUBJ. 3sg. *n’z’ḥ*

- KHOTANESE: (+ **fra-*) ? LKh. *hanāys-* ‘to be proud, delicate’. ◇ The Khot. entry *nāša-* ‘tender, caressing’ in *DKS*: 180b is unconnected, on which see Emmerick, *Fs Gignoux*: 64; *SVK* III: 175. ⇒ *SGS*: –
- SOGDIAN: BSogd. *n’zwk’*, MSogd. *n’zwk* ‘dear, beloved’
- NWIR: NP *nāzīdan* ‘to dissemble (as lovers); counterfeit, feign, coquet, etc.’, Gz. *nāz-/nāzā* ‘to caress’, NP *nāz* ‘glory, glorification; pride; coquetry, playfulness; delicacy’, NP *nāzān* ‘sporting, toying (as lovers)’
- MISC: Arm. (LW) *nazim* ‘I act proudly, coquettishly, caress’, *nazeli* ‘lordly, worthy’, Georg. (LW) *nazi* ‘delicate beauty’
- ◇ The root seems to be denominal: no IE etymology can be cited.
- PIE – ⇒ *LIV*: – | *Pok.*: –
- REFERENCES: *DKS*: 180a, 451b; *WIM* II/1: 80; Gharib: 234

P

***pač** ‘to cook’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *pac-* ‘to cook’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to boil away’ || (+ **ham-*) ‘to cook’
⇒ *Liste*: 32
Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *ham.pacaiti* (Y 62.7), INJ. med. 3sg. YAv. *pacata* (Y 9.11. rep.), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *pacāṭ* (V 16.17), 3pl. YAv. *pacan* (V 8.73), OPT. 3pl. YAv. *pacaiiən* (Yt 8.58, rep.)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *pwX-* (pret. stem) ‘to cook’ ⇒ *DMMPP*: 288a
Inf.: MMP *pwxtn*
- PARTHIAN: *pc-* ‘to cook’ ⇒ *Ghilain*: – | *DMMPP*: 260b, 288a
Partic.: pres. **peg* ‘cook’, perf. pass. *pwxt*
- KHOTANESE: *pajs-* (*paś-*) ‘to cook’, *pach-* (*paś-*) ‘to be cooked, digested’ || (+ **pari-*) LKh. *parvach-* (*parvaś-*) ‘to ripen’ || (+ **ui-*) *gvaś-* ‘to be digested’ ⇒ *SGS*: 65, 63, 75, 32
- SOGDIAN: BSogd. (‘) *pc-*, CSogd. *pc-* ‘to cook, boil’
Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *’pcty*, 3pl. BSogd. *pc’nt*, Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *pc’*; Inf.: pret. BSogd. *pwyt’*
- CHORESMIAN: *pc-* ‘to cook’, *ps-* (pass./intr.) ‘to be cooked, become ripe’
⇒ *Samadi*: 138 f.
- NWIR: NP *puxtān/paz-* ‘to cook; to ripen; (dial.) ‘to digest, defecate’, Bal. *patk/pač-* ‘to boil, cook’, *pašt*, *pašit/pašš-* ‘to ripen (of dates)’, Zaz. *pewtiš/pewžen-*, Abz. *powa/peč-*, *poč-*, Abyan. *pāya/paj-*, Anar. *-ipex/* (impv.) *ipez*, Ham. *petān/pej-*, Nn. *paxte/pez-*, Qohr. *pāda/pīč-*, *pač-* ‘to cook’, Khuns. *pez-/pet* ‘to ripen; to cook’, Sang. (ppp.) *be-pizé*, Shamerz. *bā-petá*, Sorkh. (ppp.) *pât*, Lasg. *bæ’-pizæ* ‘cooked’
- NEIR: Oss. I. *fycyn/fyx(t)*, D. *ficun/funxt* ‘to boil, be boiled; to bake, be baked’, Yghn. *pač-/pášta* ‘to cook, bake’, Sh. *pis-/pāxt*, Yghn. *pūxs-/pūxta* (inch.) ‘to be

boiled, ripen, etc.’, Wa. *pəč-/pəšt* ‘to ripen, be cooked’, Rosh. *pēj-/poxt*, Bart. *pēj-/püxt*, Ishk. *pac-/pəx(t)-*, Wa. *pac-/pact* (caus.) ‘to boil, cook’, Yghn. *pūxsón-/pūxsónṭa* (sec. caus.-inch.) ‘to cook, bake’, Pash. *pox* (m.), *paxá* (f.) ‘ripe, cooked’ (**paxa-*), *paxláy* ‘cooking’ || (+ **pati-* ?) Sariq. *padbis-/padbext* (inch.) ‘to pine, waste (from heat); to be purged, defecate’

•MISC: Par. *pēč-/phōk*, Orm. *biž-/puxōk* ‘to cook’ = *biž-/bižók*, *puxók*

•SANSKRIT: *pac* ‘to cook, bake’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 64

•PIE **pek^w*- ‘to cook, bake’ ⇒ LIV: 468 | Pok.: 798

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *πέσσω*, *πέττω* ‘I bake, cook, ripen’, Lat. *coquō* ‘I cook’, OCS *pekō* ‘I bake’, Lith. *kepù* ‘I bake, roast’, etc.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 135b; Ivanow 1926: 421; *IIFL* I: 278a f., 390b; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 51, 112, 156; *IIFL* II: 533a, 535b; Abrahamian 1936: 118; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 487; Andreev – Peščereva: 301a, 310b f.; *EVS*: 61b, 53b; *WIM* I: 71; *DKS*: 199b f.; Werba 1997: 205; Paul 1998: 308a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 256, 273; Cheung 2002: 128, 190; Lecoq 2002: 121, 124, 126 (passim); Kiefer 2003: 193; *NEVP*: 67; Shahbakhsh: s.vv. *pač-*, *pašš-*; Korn 2005: 224, 313, 359 (passim)

***pad** ‘to fall, be stuck in’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *pad/θ-* ‘to fall, be stuck in’ || (+ **ni-*) ‘to lie, lay down (esp. to have sexual intercourse)’ (cf. Henning 1937: 85). ◇ The YAv. *ni-*formation corresponds exactly to Skt. *ni-pad* ‘id.’. ⇒ Liste: 33

MED.; Pres. *ja-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *ham.paiθiieite* (Vyt 35), 3pl. YAv. *nipaiðiieṭe* (V 5.27), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *paiðiiaite* (V 4.52, V 13.37, V 15.6), 3pl. YAv. *paiðiiaṅte* (Yt 10.113, Vyt 28), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *nipaiðiiaṅha* (Yt 17.57); Partic.: pres. YAv. *nī paiðiiamna-* (Yt 1.17)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ni-*) MMP *nb’st-* (pret. stem) ‘to throw down’ ⇒ DMMPP: 239a

Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *nb’st*

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ni-*) ? *nb’y-* ‘to lay down’ ⇒ Ghilain: 70 | DMMPP: 239a

Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. *nb’y’d*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ni-*) *nuvad-* ‘to lie down’ ⇒ SGS: 58

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ni-*) BSogd. *nypδ-* ‘to lie down’, BSogd. *np’yδ* (caus.) ‘to lay’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *nypδty*, 3pl. BSogd. *nypδ’nt*, POT. 3sg. BSogd. *np’st’ βwt*; Caus.: pres. SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *np’yδ’t*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **ni-*) *’nb’zy-* ‘to lie down’ {hapax} ⇒ Samadi: 116

•NWIR: (+ **ni-*) Kurd. (Kurm.) *nivīn*, *nivīstin/niv-*, (Sor.) *nūstin/nū-* ‘to lie down, sleep’, (Kurm.) *nivīn* ‘literie’

•NEIR: ? Pash. *pōst*, (pl.) *pāstə* ‘soft, yielding’ || (+ **ni-*) M. *nəliv-/nūvōst-* ‘to lie down’, Yi. *nuwōstiy* ‘lying down’, Yghn. *nəpíd-*, *nəpēd-*, *nīpíd-/nəpīsta*, *nīpīsta* ‘to lie down (to sleep)’. ◇ A different etymology is given in *NEVP*: 66: Chor. *pōm*, Sariq. *pođm* ‘soft, smooth’.

•SANSKRIT: *pad* ‘to move, go, fall’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 76

◇ The formally and semantically similar roots **pad* and **pat* probably show mutual interference: the original meaning of **pad* may have been preserved in **pazd*².

•PIE **ped-* ‘to move at a walking pace, be on one’s feet’ ⇒ LIV: 458 | Pok.: 791

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *pessum* ‘to the bottom, to the ground, downward’, OCS *pasti* ‘to fall’, Lith. *pẽdinti* ‘to go slowly’, ON *fata* ‘to find one’s way’, Engl. *to fetch*

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 60; *IIFL* II: 232a; Andreev – Peščereva: 293a; Asatrian – Livshits: 82; Werba 1997: 205 f.; Cabolov 1997: 75

***paH¹** ‘to protect, guard (esp. of sheep, cattle), pasture’

•AVESTAN: *pā-* ‘to protect’ || (+ **pati-*) ‘to guard against; to guess’ || (+ **ni-*) ‘to protect; to pledge’ ⇒ Liste: 34

Pres. {1} athem.: IND. 2sg. YAv. *nipāhi* (Yt 10.78), 3sg. med. OAv. *nipāñhē* (Y 28.11, Y 49.10), ? YAv. *pāñhe*, 3sg. YAv. *pāiti*, med. YAv. *paiti*, *pāite* (Yt 10.19), INJ. 3sg. OAv. *pāt* (Y 46.4), SUBJ. (or Inj.?) 3sg. OAv. *pāt* (Y 32.13), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *nipāiīā* (Y 57.25), 3sg. OAv. *pāiīāt* (Y 46.8), IMPV. 3sg. YAv. *nipātu* (Y 58.2), 2pl. YAv. *pāta* (Yt 1.13, Yt 10.80, F 460); Pres. {2} (*a*)*ja-*: IND. 1sg. YAv. *nipaiemi* (Yt 5.89), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *nipāiīōiš* (Yt 1.24); Partic.: pres. {1} YAv. *pānt-* (Yt 10.45), pres. {2} ? YAv. **paiiant-* (Yt 10.46), med. ? YAv. **paiti*, *paiamna-* (P 20); Inf.: OAv. *pōi* (Y 44.15 f.)

•OLD PERSIAN: *pā-* ‘to protect’ || (+ **pati-*) ‘to guard, be on guard against’ ⇒ Kent: 194a

Pres. {1} athem.: IMPV. 2sg. *pādiy* <p-a-di-y> (DPe 21), 3sg. *pātuv*, 3pl. *pā²tuv* <p-a-tu-u-v> (A²Sd 4, A³Pa 25); Pres. {2} *aia-*: impf. IND. med. 1sg. *apayaiy* <a-p-y-i-y> (XPf 39), IMPV. 2sg. med. *patipayauvā* <p-t-i-p-y-u-v-a> (DB 4.38); Partic.: perf. pass. *pāta-* <p-a-t-> (DPe 22)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *p’y-*, BMP *p’d* /*pāy-*/ (N^{TLWN-}) ‘to protect, guard’ || (+ **aqa-*) MMP *’wb’y-* ‘to protect, defend, guard, (?) permit’, MMP *’wb’yn-* (caus.) ‘to make to protect’ || (+ **ā-*) BMP *’p’t* /*ābād’*, BMP *’p’t’n* /*ābādān’* ‘thriving, prosperous, cultivated’, BMP *’p’tyh* /*ābādīh’* ‘prosperity; village’ || (+ **ni-*) BMP *np’k* /*nibāg’* ‘pledge’ ⇒ DMMPP: 260a, 65b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *p’yd*, BMP *p’yt* /*pāyēd’*, 3pl. MMP *p’ynd*, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *p’y’d*, 3pl. MMP *p’y’nd*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *p’y*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *p’tk* /*pādag’*, MMP *p’d*, MMP *p’yyhyst*; Pass.: pres. SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *p’yh’nd* || (+ **aqa-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *’wb’yyd*, MMP *’wb’y’d*; Partic.: perf. pass. caus. MMP *’wb’ynd*; Caus.: pres. SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *’wb’yn’nd*

•PARTHIAN: *p’y-* ‘to protect, guard’ || (+ **ā-*) *’b’d* ‘prosperous, cared for’ ⇒ Ghilain: 86 | DMMPP: 260a, 7b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *p’yd*, 3pl. *p’ynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *p’y’*, 3sg. *p’y’h*, *p’y’*, IMPV. 2sg. *p’y*, 2pl. *p’y’d*; Partic.: perf. pass. *p’d*, *p’dg*

•KHOTANESE: *pā-* (*pai-*) ‘to protect’ || (+ **ni-*) ? *nvī* ‘pledge’ ⇒ SGS: 86

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *p’y*, BSogd. *p’y*, CSogd. *p’y*, MSogd. *p’y* ‘to protect, observe, watch over, guard’ || (+ **aqa-*) BSogd. *’wp’y* ‘permit, consent’ || (+ **ā-*) SSogd. *’p’y* ‘to think’, BSogd. *’p’y*, CSogd. *’py*, MSogd. *’p’y* ‘to watch, consider, perceive’ || (+ **pati-*) SSogd. *pcp’y* ‘to expect, be ready for’ || (+ **ni-*) SSogd. *np’k*, SSogd. *np’kh* ‘pawn’

Well attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. ? SSogd. *p'y'm*, 3sg. BSogd. *p'yt*, 3pl. BSogd. *p'y'nt*, CSogd. *p'ynt*, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *p'y't*, CSogd. *p'yt*, POT. 3sg. BSogd. *p't wnty*, etc. || (+ *ā-) Well attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. MSogd. *'p'ym* (BBB: 42), 2sg. BSogd. *'p'y'y*, BSogd. *'p'y<y>*, 3sg. BSogd. *'p'yt*, SUBJ. 2sg. BSogd. *'p'y'*, etc. || (+ *pati-) Pres.: IND. 1pl. SSogd. *pcp'ymn*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *ni-) *nb'k* 'pawn, pledge'

•BACTRIAN: (+ *ā-) *αβαδο* 'cultivated' || (+ *ni-) *ναβαγο* 'pawn, pledge, hostage'
⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 172, 206b

•NWIR: NP *pāyīdan/pāy-* 'to watch, guard', Tt. (Cha.) *pā/pās*, (Tak., Xia.) *pā/pāst*, Gz. *pā-/pāft* (analog. -ft-), Siv. *pā-*, *pō-/pāi*, *pōi* 'to watch, mind' || (+ *ā-) NP *ābād* 'inhabited, cultivated (place, settlement); prosperous', Bakht. *ābōdī* 'village, inhabited place' (LW), Gz. *-ēvā* in PN, Kurd. (Kurm.) *āvā*, (Sor.) *āvā* 'inhabited; cultivated; founded; prosperous, beautiful' (genuine or LW ?) || (+ *ni-) NP *navā* 'pledge, "protection" money (in order to save the country from plunder)'. ◇ NP *pāyīdan/pāy-* with the meanings 'to wait, expect, remain' may have a different origin, on which see *pād.

•NEIR: Pash. *pāy-/pōwul* 'to graze', Yghn. *poy-/poyta/póyna/póyak*, Sh. *pōy-/pāyd*, Rosh. *pōy-/pēyd*, Sariq. *puy-/puyd*, Yzgh. *pay-/payd*, Wa. *pyy-/poyd* 'to herd, look after the cattle' || (+ *pati-) Oss. I. *fīppajyn/fīppajd*, D. *feppajun/feppajd* 'to remark, guess'

•MISC: (+ *ā-) Arm. (LW) *apat* 'inhabited' || (+ *ni-) Toch. (LW) B *ñaiipa* 'pledge'

•SANSKRIT: *pā* 'to protect, to keep' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 112

•PIE *peH₂- 'to pasture, graze; to guard, protect, watch over (the cattle)' ⇒ LIV: 460 | Pok.: 787

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. /*pah-s-*/, Toch. A *pās-*, B *pāsk-* 'to guard, protect', Lat. *pāscō*, OCS *pasq* 'I pasture, graze', etc.

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 62; *IIFL* II: 536a; Abaev, *Slovar'* I: 475; Andreev – Peščereva: 309a; Yarshater 1969: 182; *EVS*: 65a; Nyberg 1974: 16; *DKS*: 228a, 196a; *WIM* II/1: 91; *WIM* II/2: 662; *WIM* III: 114; Benzing 1983: 466; Adams 1999: 338; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 286; Cabolov 2001: 94 f.; Cheung 2002: 110 f., 189

***paH²** 'to drink'

•AVESTAN: ? OAv. *vīspō.paitīš* (Apl.) 'having drinks for all, having all sorts of drinks' (Y 38.5). ◇ Rather from ^x*vīspō.pitīš* (cf. Av. *pitu-*, Skt. *pitú-* 'juice, food'), on which see De Vaan 2003: 241.

•NWIR: NP *nabīd* 'wine, date-wine' || (+ *fra-) Kurd. (Kurm.) *rāvīn* 'to dine, taste'

•NEIR: Wa. *puv-*, *pōv-/pit-*, Ishk. *p̄v-/p̄vd-*, Sangl. *pōv-/pōvδ* 'to drink'

•SANSKRIT: *pā* 'to drink' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 113

•PIE *peH₃(-i)- 'to drink' ⇒ LIV: 462 f. | Pok.: 839 f.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. /*pās-*/ 'to take a sip', Gr. *πίνω* 'I drink', Lat. *bibere*, OCS *pitī*, Arm. *əmpel*, Alb. *pī-* 'to drink', etc.

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 230; *IIFL* II: 409b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 272; Asatryan – Livshits: 83

*paič ? ‘to pinch ?’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *pic-* ‘to pinch ?’ ⇒ Liste: 35

Pres. *ja-*: IND. 3pl. OAv. *pišīieinti* (Y 44.20); Partic.: pres. OAv. *pišīiant-* (Y 50.2)

•SANSKRIT: ? *pec* ‘to arch, to contract’ ⇒ EWAia II: 166

◇ On the interpretation of the Avestan forms see De Vaan 2000: 71 ff. Further correspondences are unknown.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 206

*paiH ‘to lactate, (breast-)feed’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *pi-* ‘to lactate, (breast-)feed’, YAv. *paiiah-* (n.) ‘milk’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to flow forth to’ ⇒ Liste: 34

Pres. *nu-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *frapinaoiti* (V 3.31), INJ. med. 3sg. ? YAv. *frapinuata* (Yt 19.51); Partic.: perf. YAv. *pipiiuš-* (V 15.8)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *pym* /*pēm*/ ‘milk’

•KHOTANESE: ? *pyau* ‘swelling, overflowing’

•NWIR: NP *pīnū* ‘cream-cheese; butter-milk’

•NEIR: Sh. *pai*, Sangl. *pōy*, Yi. *pōya*, M. *pōya* ‘sour milk’ (LW ?), Pash. *pəy* (f. sg./pl.) ‘milk (esp. in or from the breast or udder)’

•MISC: Par. *pē*, *pī*, Orm. *pāk* ‘milk’, ? Par. *phyō* ‘wet’

•SANSKRIT: *pay*^j ‘to swell, overflow’ (RV+), *pāyas-* (n.) ‘milk’ ⇒ EWAia II: 83

◇ Further verbal forms are unknown in Ir.

•PIE **peiH-* ‘to swell (with milk)’ ⇒ LIV: 464 f. | Pok.: 793 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lith. *pyjù* (*pyti*) ‘I give milk’, Gr. *πίμελή* (f.) ‘fat, lard’

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 55; *IIFL* I: 278a, 279a, 403b; *EVS*: 65; *DKS*: 252b; Werba 1997: 303; *NEVP*: 68

*pair ‘to believe’

•KHOTANESE: *pīr-* ‘to believe’, *pīrāttāti-* ‘belief’ ⇒ SGS: 84

•SOGLDIAN: BSogd. *pyr-*, CSogd. *pyr-* ‘to believe, trust’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *pyrt*, IMPV. 2pl. CSogd. *pyr*

•BACTRIAN: *πηρο* ‘belief, trust, faith’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 217b

•NEIR: ? Oss. D. *ævellon* ‘extraordinary, astonishing’ (< **unbelievable*’, Cheung 2002: 166)

•MISC: Toch. (LW) *perāk* ‘believing’ (= BSogd. *pyr*^k ‘believer’, Isebaert 1980: 160, 155; Sims-Williams 1983: 44)

◇ This root is limited to East Ir.: a regional borrowing ? The attested verbal forms are probably denominative and derive from a noun **paira-* ‘belief’: the peculiar structure of this noun does not warrant an IE origin. Bailey, *DKS*: 239 wrongly

assumed that the forms above derived from the passive stem of a root **par-* ‘to convince’, which is non-existent. The meaning implicitly assigned to an Av. root *par-* is illusory, on which see **par*¹ ‘to equalize, vel sim.’ The IE **per-* root envisaged by Bailey, l.c., i.e. Pokorny: 817: ‘to sell, assign’ is semantically impossible.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 201

***pais** ‘to adorn, paint; to write’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *paēs-* ‘to adorn’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to embellish’ ⇒ Liste: 34f.

Partic.: pres. them. YAv. *anku.paēsamna-* (Yt 17.10), perf. pass. YAv. *frapixšta-* (Yt 14.27)

•OLD PERSIAN: *pi*⁽ⁿ⁾*θ-* ‘to cut, engrave, adorn’ || (+ **ni-*) ‘to engrave, inscribe’ ⇒ Kent: 194

Pres. them. / *n-*: impf. IND. 3pl. *api*^(l)*θa*^a <a-p-i-θ> (DSf 54); Aor. *s-*: IND. 1sg. *niyapaišam* <n-i-y-p-i-θ-m> (DB 4.71); Partic.: perf. pass. *nipišta-* <n-i-p-i-š-t> (DB 4.47), <[n]-[i]-p-i-š-t> (DSE 52, XV 22, XPh 31); Inf.: *nipištanaī* <n-i-p-i-š-t-n-i-y> (XV 24); Pass.: impf. IND. 3sg. **niyapiθiya* <n-i-y-p-i-[θ]-i-[y]> (IDB 4.91 |)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *pyys-*, BMP *pys-* /*pēs-*/ ‘to adorn, colour’ || (+ **ni-*) MMP *nbys-*, BMP *npš-* /*nibiš-*/ ‘to write, copy a book’ ⇒ DMMPP: 291b, 239b

Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *pyys*’*d*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *pysyt* /*pēsīd*/ ‘(-)coloured’ || (+ **ni-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *nbysyd*; Partic.: pres. MMP *nbys*’*g*’*n* (pl.), perf. pass. BMP *npšt* /*nibišt*ag/; Inf.: BMP *npštn* /*nibištan*/; Pass.: IND. 3sg. MMP *nbyšt*, BMP *npšt* /*nibišt*/, 3pl. MMP *nbyštynd*

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ni-*) *nbys-* ‘to write’ ⇒ Ghilain: 61 | DMMPP: 239b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *nbysyd*, SUBJ. 1sg. **nbys*’*n*, 1pl. *nbys*’*m*, IMPV. 2pl. *nbysyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *nbyšt*, *nbyšt*g; Inf.: *nbyštn*

•KHOTANESE: *pīśaa-* ‘painter’, *pīśa-* ‘artistic work, painting’

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ni-*) SSogd. *np*(’)*ys*, BSogd. *np*’*ys*, CSogd. *npys*, MSogd. *npys* ‘to write (down)’

Well attested: Pres.: OPT. 2sg. SSogd. **np*’*ysy*, SSogd. *npysy*, SSogd. *np*’*y*’*sy*, IMPV. 2sg. SSogd. *npy*’*s*, SSogd. **np*’*ys*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **ni-*) *m*/*nps-* ‘to write’ ⇒ Samadi: 131

•BACTRIAN: (+ **ni-*) *voβiσ-* ‘to write, describe, state (in writing)’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 207a

•NWIR: (+ **ā-*) Kurd. (Kurm.) *āvītin*, *āvētīn*/*āvē(ž)-*, (Sor.) *hāvīštin*/*hāvēž-*, *hāvītin*/*hāv-* ‘to compose (a song); to change (colour); to cultivate (a garden)’ || Widely attested: (+ **ni-*) NP *nivištan*/*nivēs-*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *nivīs*-/*nivīsīn*, (Sor.) *nūs*-/*nūsīn*, Zaz. *nuštiš*/*nusen-*, Awrom. *nīwistáy*-/*nīwis-*, Abz. *nevešta*/*nevēs-*, Abyan. *nömüšta*/*nömüs-* (-*m* < ?), Anar. *nivište*/ *nvīs*, Fariz. *nevišt-*, Gz. *nevis*-/*nevišt*, Gil. (Rsht.) *nivištæn*/*nivīs-*, Gur. (Kand.) *nūwīs-*, Khuns. *nevīs*-/*nevišt*, Meim. *bem-nevešt/a-nevi:s-*, Qohr. *nūšta*/*nūs-*, Semn. -*nāvištā-*, Siv. *nīvīs*-/*nivišt*, Tr. *nevešta*/*nves-* ‘to write’. ◇ On account of the wide-ranging meanings Kurd.

(Kurm.) *āvītin*, etc., may have two different origins, viz. ***paiš** and ***pais**, but not from ***(H)ṽaij**, YAv. *vij-* ‘to shake, swing?’ (pace Cabolov 2001, *ibid.*).

•NEIR: Oss. I. *fysyn/fyst*, D. *finsun/finst*, Orosh. *pis-* ‘to write’, (?) Pash. *pez-/pez-* ‘to darn’ (with unexplained *-z-*) || (+ **ni-*) Yi. *nuvīš-/nuūxt*, M. *nuvūš-/nuvūxt-*, *nuvīšk^y-*, Yghn. *nīpīš-*, *nēpīš-/nīpīšta* ‘to write’

•MISC: Orm. *pis-/pištak* ‘to write’

•SANSKRIT: *peś* ‘to adorn, hew out, carve (out), form, decorate’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 168

•PIE **peik-* ‘to paint, adorn’ ⇒ LIV: 465 f. | Pok.: 794 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *pingō* ‘I paint’, Toch. A *pik-*, B *piñk-* ‘to write, paint’, OCS *pъsati* ‘to write’, Lith. *piēšti* ‘to draw lines, draw, adorn’, Gr. ποικίλος ‘multicoloured, coloured, stitched with many colours’, OHG *fēh* ‘multicoloured’

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 209b; Ivanow 1926: 421; *IIFL* I: 405a; *KPF* II: 224; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 76, 174; *IIFL* II: 234a; Lambton 1938: 43a; Abaev, *Slovar* I: 501 f.; Andreev – Peščereva: 294a; MacKenzie 1966: 103; *WIM* I: 71; *WIM* II/1: 80; *DKS*: 241b; *WIM* III: 113; Cabolov 1997: 72; Werba 1997: 357; Paul 1998: 307b; Cabolov 2001: 96 f.; Lecoq 2002: 121, 123, 126 (passim); *NEVP*: 68.

***paiš** ‘to crush, grind’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *piš-* ‘to grind’ ⇒ Liste: 35

Partic.: pres. *pišant-* (Yt 14.19)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *pst /pist/* ‘browned flour’

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *pyz* ‘to beat, hit, tap; throw’, CSogd. *pyz* ‘to strike’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *pyzt*, 2pl. BSogd. *pyzδ*, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *pyz’t*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *pyz*, CSogd. *pyz*, 3pl. BSogd. *pyz’nt*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **fra-*) *sPY-* ‘to grind’ ⇒ Samadi: 199

•NWIR: NP *pist* ‘bruised corn, a meal (of wheat, barley, vetches)’, NP *pistah* ‘the pistachio-nut’ || (+ **ā-*) Kurd. (Kurm.) *āvītin*, *āvētin/āvē(ž)-*, (Sor.) *hāvīštin/hāvēž-*, *hāvītin/hāv-* ‘to throw, wipe’. ◇ Because of the wide-ranging meanings this Kurdish verb may have two different origins, viz. ***paiš** and ***pais**, but not from ***(H)ṽaij**, YAv. *vij-* ‘to shake, swing?’ (pace Cabolov 2001, *ibid.*).

•NEIR: Yghn. *pīz-/pīsta* ‘to beat’, Sh. *pixt*, Bart. *pixt*, Rosh. *pixt*, Sariq. *paxt* ‘mulberry flour’, Yzgh. *paxt* ‘broken’, Yi. *pūšč* ‘flour made from dried apples’, ? Wa. *pitūk* ‘flour’ (borrowed into Bart. *petūk*, Rosh. *petūk* ‘ceremonial scattering of flour, as a sign of honouring somebody on entering or leaving’), ? M. *púma* ‘avalanche’ || (+ **ham-*) ? Yi. *ābūya*, M. *ābīy* ‘moraine’, (Zarubin) *ābāy* (m.) ‘rock’, ? Ishk. *ambol* (Grierson) ‘a place covered with stones, like a moraine’

•SANSKRIT: *peś* ‘to crush, grind, destroy’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 169

•PIE **peis-* ‘to ground, grind’ ⇒ LIV: 466 f. | Pok.: 796

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *πίσσω* ‘I ground, husk’, Lat. *pīnsere* ‘to crush, grind (finely)’, Lith. *paisýti* ‘to cut off the beards of chaff, peel’, Lith. *pisti* ‘to mate’, RussCS *рѣхати* ‘to thrust, to sprout’, OCS *рѣшено* ‘millet’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 188a, 237b, 241a, 380; *EVS*: 64b, 63a, 64b; *DKS*: 24b, s.v. *ārgāvēmšīmē*; *Werba* 1997: 206 f.; *Cabolov* 2001: 96 f.

***par¹** ‘to get even, equalize, commit oneself (to a legal obligation, contract)’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *pər-* (*pār-*, *pīr-*) ‘to get even, equalize’ or ‘to condemn, confiscate?’ (Kellens 1984: 114 ad 3.2.5), YAv. *pāra-* (m.) ‘debt’ || (+ **api-*) ‘to settle a debt; [intr.] to do penance’ ⇒ *Liste*: 33

Pres. *nu-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *frapərənaoiti* (A 3.10 ff.); Partic.: pres. them. med. YAv. *aipi.pārəmna-* (V 8.107); Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *pīriete* (V 4.17), SUBJ. 3pl. YAv. *pīriānte* (Vyt 40); Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. *pəṣō.tanū-*. ◇ On YAv. *pəṣō.tanū-* cf. *SVK* III: 100: “one who has committed his body, who has promised to pay his dues for/with his body.” and Gershevitch, *Mithra*: 245 ff.: “one whose body is engaged, due, who owes his body.” On the formal aspect of *pəṣō* see Hoffmann 1986: 170; De Vaan 2003: 586.

•PARTHIAN: *p’r* ‘debts’, *p’r bwrđ* ‘debtor’ ⇒ *DMMPP*: 259a

•KHOTANESE: **par-* (*puḍ-*) ‘to promise, commit oneself’ (*SVK* III: 96ff.), *pāra-* ‘debt, to be paid’. ◇ The form *pāḍa-* ‘paid as debt’, cited by Bailey, *DKS*: l.c., s.v. *pāra-* ‘debt, to be paid’, can be interpreted differently: ‘raised’ (***parH⁴**), on which see *SVK* III: 90. ⇒ *SGS*: 72

•SOGDIAN: *SSogd.* *p’r* ‘loan’

•BACTRIAN: *ποζζο* ‘debt’, *πορδο* ‘proper’ ⇒ *S-W, Bact.*: 219 f.

•NEIR: Pash. *por* (m.) ‘loan, debt’

•MISC: Toch. (LW) A *pare*, B *peri* ‘debt’, Arm. (LW) *partk* ‘debt’

◇ Further verbal IE cognates are unknown. Only one nominal formation in Lat. can be cited as related.

•PIE **per-* ‘to equalize, make equal, get even’ ⇒ *LIV*: 473 | *Pok.*: 817

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *pār* ‘equal’ (with unclear vocalism)

•REFERENCES: Hübschmann 1897: 228; *EVP*: 59; *GMS*: par. 487; *DKS*: 231a; Gharib: 258b; *SVK* III: 90, 96-100; *NEVP*: 64

***par²** ‘to go over, cross over’

•AVESTAN: *pār-* (*fr-*) ‘to go over, cross over’ || (+ **ni-*) caus. ‘to bring, lead down to’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to go forward’ ⇒ *Liste*: 33

Aor. them.: SUBJ. 1sg. OAv. *frafrā* (Y 46.10), 2sg. YAv. *frafrā* (V 7.52); Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. YAv. *nipāraiiēnti* (Yt 6.1, Yt 17.54), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *frapāraiiēni* (Y 19.6, rep.), med. 2sg. YAv. *frapāraiiēṅhe* (Y 71.16), OPT. med. 3pl. YAv. *nipāraiiēanta* (V 19.26)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *xwtrp’r’n* ‘west’ || (+ **aya-*) BMP *hwl-*(*’*)*wpl’n* /*xwar-ōfrān*/ ‘sunset, the West’ || (+ **ham-*) BMP *hnb’ršn* /*hampārišn*/ ‘confluence’ ⇒ *DMMPP*: 369

- PARTHIAN: (+ *ni-) *nwrđ* (pret. stem) ‘to set (of the sun)’, *hwr-nyfr’n* ‘sunset, West’
⇒ Ghilain: 49 | DMMPP: 248a
Partic.: perf. pass. *nwrđ*
- KHOTANESE: (+ *pari-) *parbīra-* ‘round, circumference’
- NWIR: (+ *fra- ?) ? Kurd. (Kurm.) *lavaryān/lavaryē-*, (Sor.) *lawāfān, lawāfīn/lawāfī(ē)-* ‘to graze’
- MISC: Arm. (LW) *par(a)berem* ‘to encircle’
- SANSKRIT: *par* ‘to bring across, over’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 85
◇ The nominal formation **pāra-* ‘across, further’ is well attested in (I)Ir.: Av. *pāra-* ‘farthest, *extrēmus*’, OKh. *pāra-* ‘boundary’, Sogd. *-p’r* ‘to, towards’, Oss. *fār-, fāl-* ‘across’, Pash. *póre* ‘across, beyond’, etc.
- PIE **per-* ‘to transfer, come, bring across’ ⇒ LIV: 472 f. | Pok.: 816 f.
- IE COGNATES: Gr. *πείρω* ‘I pierce, penetrate’, Gr. *πόρος* (m.) ‘way through, ford’, Lat. *portō* ‘I carry’, Lat. *portus* (m.) ‘entrance, port, refuge’, ORuss. *poromъ* ‘ferry’, Goth., OE *faran*, ON *fara*, Engl. *to fare*, etc.
- REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 207; DKS: 230b f., 218b f.; Cabolov 2001: 580 f.

*par³ ‘to fight, struggle’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *pər-* ‘to fight, struggle’. ◇ Strunk 1986: 445 ff. compares the Av. forms to Gr. *πίλναται* (intr.) ‘approaches’, on account of its formal similarity. Semantically this not quite evident, despite his ingenious explanation: "sich nähern" > "(sich {feindlich bzw. im Kampf}) nähern" > "angehen gegen", "losgehen auf", "(be)drohen", "überkommen", i.e. ‘to approach’ > ‘to approach (in battle, with hostile intent)’ > ‘to engage’ > ‘to threaten’. ⇒ Liste: 33
MED.; Pres. *nā-*: IND. 1sg. YAv. *pərəne* (V 2.8 f., V 2.12 ff., V 2.16 f., etc.), 3pl. ? YAv. **pərənte* (N 13), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *pərənāi* (F 10), YAv. *pərənāne* (V 9.45, rep.), 3sg. YAv. (them.!) *pərənāite* (V 9.47); Partic.: pres. them. YAv. **pərənəmna-* (F 234)
- KHOTANESE: *pur(r)-* ‘to overcome, win’ (cf. SVK III: 84) ⇒ SGS: 84
- MISC: (+ *mi-) ? Arm. (LW) *gupar* ‘fight’
- PIE **per-* ‘to hit, fight’ ⇒ LIV: 473 | Pok.: 818 f.
- IE COGNATES: Arm. (aor.) *ehar* ‘struck’, OCS *pytjo* (*pyřeti*) ‘I argue, quarrel’, Russ. *pru* (*perét*) ‘I push, drag’, Lith. *periù* (*peřti*) ‘I beat, lash with a besom (in a bath)’
- REFERENCES: DKS: 244

*parč ? ‘to fill’

- CHORESMIAN: (+ *ham-)’*nbrs-/m/nbrs-* ‘to be satisfied’. ◇ Henning 1971: 29a derives the Chor. form *nbrs-/m/nbrs-* from the (new) inch. of **ham-par-* ‘to fill’ (accepted by MacKenzie 1975: 393 and Samadi, l.c.), which is hardly acceptable both phonologically and morphologically. If the inchoative formation indeed arose only recently, we would expect the formation being based on the stems *nbf-* ‘to

become saturated, (caus.) 'nb'fy- 'to saturate' (***parH¹**). If it was (relatively) old, the outcome should have been similar to 'nbš- 'to ask' (**ham-fras-/prs*). Besides, the already established presence of an intransitive/transitive pair 'nbf-/ 'nb'fy- does not favour a new intransitive stem. The Chor. form may derive from a root etymologically related to ***parH¹**, viz. **parč* (with increment **-č*), cognate with Skt. *parc-*. The cluster **čj* regularly becomes Chor. *s*. ⇒ Samadi: 117

•SANSKRIT: *parc* 'to mix; [sec.] to fill, saturate' (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 96

◇ The evidence for the Ir. correspondences of Skt. is confined to Chor. only. Although Skt. *parc* (and Ir. **parč*) may indeed have an IE origin, the exact etymology and reconstruction are uncertain: two PIE preforms are possible.

•PIE 1. **perk-* 'to fill up' || 2. with increment **-k-*, **pel-k-* 'to fill' ⇒ LIV: 476 | Pok.: 820

•IE COGNATES: 1. OIrish *ercaim* 'I fill', Lat. *com-pecō* 'I restrain, refrain', Slov. *prkati se* 'to have sex' || 2. cf. **pelH₁-/pleH₁-*, Ir. ***parH¹**.

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 208

***pard** 'to break wind, fart'

•AVESTAN: YAv. *pəṛəδ-* 'to break wind, fart' ⇒ Liste: 34

Pres. them.: INJ. 3pl. YAv. *pəṛəδən* (V 3.32)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *pwwlyt*, *pwwlyt/pulīd/* (pret. stem) 'to break wind'

•KHOTANESE: (+ **niš-*) LKh. *našpul-* 'to hiss' or 'to spit' {hapax}. ◇ Khot. *pulāñi* (DKS: 245b, s.v. *pul-* 'efflate') is probably not connected with **pard-*, on which see Maggi (SVK III: 47). ⇒ SGS: 51

•NEIR: M. *pišk^vem*, Yi. *pil-/pišč-im* 'to break wind', M. *pilyiyä*, Yi. *pilyo* 'flatus'

•SANSKRIT: *pard* 'to break wind, fart' ⇒ EWAia II: 98

•PIE **perd-* 'to fart (loudly)' ⇒ LIV: 473 f. | Pok.: 819

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *πέρομαι*, Lith. *pérsti*, Russ. *perdet'*, Alb. *pjerdh*, OHG *ferzan*, NHG *furzen*, Engl. *to fart*, etc.

•REFERENCES: IIFL II: 236b f.; DKS: 177b f.

***parH¹** 'to fill; to nourish'

•AVESTAN: *pər-* (*fr-*) 'to fill' || (+ **ham-*) 'to fill, stuff with' ⇒ Liste: 33

Pres. *nā-*: IMPV. 2sg. OAv. *pəṛənā* (Y 28.10); Perf.: IND. med. 3sg. *pafrē* (Y 49.1, V 11.4), SUBJ. med. 3sg. YAv. *ham.pāfrāite* (V 4.48)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **us-*) MMP *spwr*, BMP *spwlyk*, BMP *wsṗwlyk* 'complete, entire, perfect' || (+ **ham-*) MMP *hmb'r-*, BMP *hnb'l-* /*hambār-* 'to fill' ⇒ DMMPP: 65a f., 87a

(+ **ham-*) Pres.: IND. 1pl. MMP *^shmb'rym*, 3pl. MMP *^shmb'rynd*, BMP *hnb'lynd* /*hambārēnd/*, SUBJ. 1pl. MMP *hmb'rwmx*; Partic.: pres. MMP *hmb'r'g'n*

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ham-*)? *'mb'r-* 'to fill' ⇒ Ghilain: 75 | DMMPP: 39a

Pres.: IND. 1sg. 'mb'r'm

•KHOTANESE: *pār-* (orig. caus.) 'to nourish', OKh. *pār-* (intr./pass.) 'to be filled' || (+ *us-) LKh. *uspurra-* 'full, completed' || (+ *ham-) OKh. *hambār-* (etc.) 'to be filled [intr./pass.]', OKh. *hamber-* (caus.) 'to fill' ⇒ SGS: 81, 84, 143

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *p'r*, CSogd. *p'r* 'to fill, nourish' || (+ *us-) BSogd. 'spwrn, MSogd. 'spwrn 'perfect, compete', BSogd. 'spt'k, 'sptk, 'spty, CSogd. *spt-* 'complete, perfect' || (+ *ham-) 'mbyr- 'to fill'

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *p'rt*, Impf.: IND. 1sg. BSogd. *p'r'w*; Partic.: pres. CSogd. *p'my* 'nurturing', MSogd. 'p'rynyy

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *ham-) 'nbf- 'to become saturated', 'nb'fy- (caus.) 'to saturate'. ◇ For Chor. 'nbrs-/m/brs- 'to be satisfied' see s.v. *parč. ⇒ Samadi: 116

•NWIR: (+ *us-) NP *siparī* 'complete' (+ *šudan*: 'to end, pass, be finished') || (+ *ham-) NP *anbāstan/anbār-* 'to fill', NP *anbār* 'full to the brim, replete; filth, manure, dung'. ◇ Differently NP *anbār* 'ricks, stacks of corn', Arm. (LW) (*h*)*ambar* 'store', Arab. (LW) *anbār* 'ricks, stacks; storehouse', on which see *bar¹.

•NEIR: (+ *api-us- ?) Pash. *bāšpəṛ* 'complete, full, perfect' || (+ *us-) Sh. (Baj.) *sipēn-*, Rosh. *sipōn-* 'to strew, scatter, pour into, fill into (excess), place, Sariq. *spon-*, Yzgh. *s(ə)pan-* 'to fill, replenish', Wa. *spym-/spət-* (*spat-*) 'to fill (up); swell' || (+ *ham-) Yi. *bāṛ-/baṛy*, *bār-/baṛy* 'to be satisfied'

•MISC: (+ *us-) Arm. (LW) *əspaṛ* 'entirely'

•SANSKRIT: *parī* 'to fill' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 89

◇ The meaning 'to nourish, feed' attested in Sogd. and, notably, Khot. can easily derive from 'to fill' and does not necessarily point to a different origin, as hinted by Bailey, DKS: 230. Almost all of the IIr. / IE forms cited by Bailey, l.c. in support of a root *pār- / IE *per 'to rear' prove to be wrong or irrelevant: Skt. *pālayati* does not mean 'nourishes', but rather 'protects, guards' (EWAia II: 124), whereas *pāraṇā-* 'breaking fast' is a quite obscure form; although the origin of Khot. *pāra-* 'cake', MP /*pēšpārag/* 'an appetizer' (*pēš-* 'before', *pārah* 1. 'portion, piece', 2. 'gift, offering'), is not wholly clear (Khot. *pāra-* 'cake' < *'sacrificial offering', *parH² 'to give, present' ?), these forms do not unequivocally point to a (separate) root *par- 'to feed' though. Also, the IE forms quoted by Bailey, l.c. from Pokorny: 818, are unconnected: the meaning of Lat. *pariō* (*peperi*, *partus*) 'I give birth', *parēns* 'parent' is secondary and has developed from older 'to procure' (Ernout – Meillet: 699), cf. *parH²; Lith. *perėti* 'to brood', whose meaning is probably also secondary, is related to OCS *pariti* 'to steam up', Slov. *perėti* 'to glow' (Fraenkel I: 573), ? Gr. πῖμπρημι 'I kindle'.

•PIE *pelH₁-/pleH₁- 'to fill' ⇒ LIV: 482 f. | Pok.: 798 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. πῖμπρημι, Lat. *plēo*, OIrish *línaim* 'I fill', Arm. *lnu-*, Engl. *to fill*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 199a; Morgenstierne 1942: 263; §GMS: 890; *EVS*: 74b; Werba 1997: 406; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 316

***parH²** ‘to give, present’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *p’rg*, BMP *p’lk /pārag/* ‘gift, offering, bribe’ ⇒ DMMPP: 259b

•KHOTANESE: ? *pāra-* ‘cake’ (from ‘sacrificial offering’ ?, ***parH²**). ◇ The form *puḍa-* ‘presented’ (*DKS*: l.c.) can be interpreted differently, v. ***par¹**.

•NWIR: NP *pārah* ‘gift; bribe’

•NEIR: ? Pash. *pīrawdəl* ‘to buy’. ◇ The verb is no longer quoted in *NEVP*.

•SANSKRIT: *parí* ‘to give, grant’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 90

◇ No verbal formations of ***parH²** seem to be attested in Ir.

•PIE ***perH₃₋** ‘to give, grant’ ⇒ LIV: 474 f. | Pok.: 816 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *πορεῖν* (aor.) ‘to provide, to give, grant’, (med. perf.) *πέπρωται* ‘is determined (by fate)’, Lat. *parō* ‘I provide, appoint; I produce’, Old Irish *ernaim* ‘I grant’

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 59; Morgenstierne 1942: 264; *DKS*: 242b f.

***parn** ‘to fly off, take wing’

•AVESTAN: *parəna-* ‘wing’ (Yt 10.39, Yt 10.101, etc.)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *pr*, BMP *pl /part/* ‘feather, wing’

•PARTHIAN: *png* ‘foliage, leaves’ ⇒ DMMPP: 276a

•KHOTANESE: *pārra-* ‘feather, wing; leaf, petal’

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *prn’y’n* (partic.) ‘flying’ (*SCE*: p. 35 f.), BSogd. *prn’k* ‘leaf, petal’, BSogd. *prn* ‘feather’

•CHORESMIAN: *pn* (m.) ‘feather’

•NWIR: NP *parrīdan/parr-*, Aryan. *parroya/parr-*, Abz. *parowa/par-* ‘to fly’, Qohr. *pārādā/pār-* ‘to fly away’, Tr. *parā/par-* ‘to fly, jump’, Varz. *parrā/parr-* ‘to fly; to jump; to flee’, Bal. *pan(n)* ‘leaf’

•NEIR: Pash. *pāna* (f.), Sh. *pūn*, Bart. *pōnt*, Yi. *púnä*, M. *pūngy* ‘feather’, Yi. *pāñək* ‘leaf’

•SANSKRIT: *parṇá-* (n.) ‘wing’ ⇒ EWAia II: 97

◇ The denominatives above derive from the noun ***parna-**, which has impeccable IE credentials.

•PIE ***por-no-** ‘wing, feather’ ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 850 (*Nachtrag*)

•IE COGNATES: OCS *pero*, Lith. *spašnas*, Latv. *spāšns* (m.) ‘wing’ (with sec. *s-*), OHG *farn*, OE *fearn* (m.), Engl. *fern*, etc.

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 65 f.; *IIFL* II: 238a; *DKS*: 231a f.; *EVS*: 56b; Benzing 1983: 521; Lecoq 2002: 122, 125, 127 (passim); *NEVP*: 63; Korn 2005: 133, 361

***parš** ‘to sprinkle, strew’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *paršaṭ.gauu-* PN ‘having a speckled cow’ (Yt 13.96, Yt 13.127)
- KHOTANESE: ? OKh. *pruha-*, *praha*, *praha-* ‘hoar-frost, dew’. ◇ The connection of these Khot. forms to this root, as made in *DKS*: l.c., is both semantically and formally difficult. It may rather have a different (substrate ?) origin.
- NWIR: NP *pāšdan/pāš-*, (LW) Bal. *pāšit/pāš-*, Gz. *pāš-/pāšā*, Siv. *pāš-* ‘to sprinkle, strew’, Gz. *pāšn-/pāšnā* (caus.) ‘to scatter, spread’, ? Lor. *perxa* ‘sprinkling’
- NEIR: ? Sh. *purx-/purxt*, Rosh. *parx-* ‘to sprinkle, splash water’, Sariq. *pīrx-/pīrxt* ‘to vomit’ (why -x- ?), Pash. *pōna* ‘sprinkling water, irrigating’, *pūž* ‘sprinkling’, M. *pərx* (f.) ‘hoarfrost, hail’ (Zarubin), ? Oss. I. *pyrx*, D. *purx(æ)*, *purf* ‘sprinkled, scattered’ (LW ?, with dissimilation *f... x > p ... x* ?)
- MISC: Par. *phīš-* ‘to strew, scatter, sow’, (?) Orm. *prusnaw-* ‘to sprinkle’
- SANSKRIT: *pīṣant-* ‘dappled, with white spots’ (RV, AV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 164
- PIE **pers-* ‘to spray, sprinkle’ ⇒ LIV: 788 f. | Pok.: 823
- IE COGNATES: Hitt. */papparš-/* ‘to spray’, Toch. *pārs-* ‘to sprinkle’, OCS *ras-prašo* (*ras-prašiti*) ‘I scatter’, Lith. *purškiù* (*puřkšti*) ‘I spray, (be)sprinkle’
- REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 279a, 404b, 375, 240a f.; *EVP*: 63; Morgenstierne 1942: 264; Abaev, *Slovar’* II: 245 f.; *EVS*: 60b; *WIM* II/1: 81; *DKS*: 256a; *WIM* III: 114; Werba 1997: 357; *NEVP*: 63; Shakhbakhsh: s.v. *pāš-*

***part** ‘to fight, struggle’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *pərat-* ‘to fight, struggle’ ⇒ Liste: 34
- MED.; Pres. them.: IND. 3pl. YAv. *pəratənte* (Yt 13.27, Yt 13.45), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *pəratata* (Yt 5.50), SUBJ. 3du. YAv. **pəratāiθe* (Yt 19.46); Partic.: pres. YAv. *pəratəmna-* (Yt 17.13), perf. YAv. *pāpəratāna-* (Yt 10.8)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ni-*) ? MMP *nbrd*, BMP *nplt /nibard/* ‘fight, struggle, battle’, BMP *npltk /nibardag/* ‘tried, experienced’ ⇒ DMMPP: 239a
- PARTHIAN: (+ **ni-*) *nbrd-* (pret. stem.) ‘to fight’, *nbrd* ‘fight, struggle, battle’ ⇒ Ghilain: 53 | DMMPP: 239a
Partic.: perf. pass. II *nbrd’d*
- SOGDIAN: SSogd. *’prtk* ‘indebted’, BSogd. *’prtk*, BSogd. *’prt’yt* (pl.) ‘guilty’
- CHORESMIAN: ? *prey-* ‘to blame, rebuke’ (cf. MacKenzie I: 547 f.) ⇒ Samadi: 151
- NWIR: (+ **ni-*) NP *nabard*, *naburd* ‘battle; war’, NP *nabardah* ‘warlike, brave’
- SANSKRIT: *přt-* (f.) ‘battle, strife, fight’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 160
- ◇ This IIr. root appears to be an incremented root of IE **per-* ‘to hit, fight’ (***par³**), but it has no further IE cognates.
- PIE – ⇒ LIV: 477 | Pok.: 818
- REFERENCES: Strunk 1986: 445 ff.; Kümmel 2000: 648

***pas** ‘to bind, tie’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *pas-* (*paš-*) ‘to bind, tie’. ◇ According to Kellens 1984: 109 (also De Vaan 2003: 432), the formation derives from **auua.pasiiāt*, with shortening of the first long **-ā-*, cf. Hoffmann – Forssman: 58 f.; De Vaan 2003: 136f. ⇒ Liste: 34 Pres. them.: SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *auua.pasāit* (V 4.51)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *pšt* /*pašt*/, BMP *pštk* /*paštak*/ ‘a binding promise, pact’
- PARTHIAN: *pštg* ‘bound, fettered’ ⇒ Ghilain: 96 | DMMPP: 285a
- KHOTANESE: (?) *pāsa-* 1. ‘load’, 2. ‘leash, fastening’, 3. ‘company, band’. ◇ Khot. *pāsa-* may also be a borrowing from IA, cf. Pkt. *pāsa-* ‘snare, bond’ (?).
- NWIR: ? *Zaz. pēšiyen-* ‘to embrace’ (from ***hHai** ?), Siv. *paš* ‘thread, string’, *pašin* ‘rope’
- MISC: Russ. *pásmo*, Ukr. *pásmo*, Bulg. *pasmó* ‘part of a ball of yarn’, etc. (ultimately from Ir. *via* Chuv., Tatar *basma* ‘skein’)
- SANSKRIT: *pāśa-* ‘snare, bond, chain, noose’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 125
- PIE (?) **peHK-* ‘to tie, fasten’ ⇒ LIV: 461 f. | Pok.: 787
- IE COGNATES: Hitt. /*paske-*/ ‘to plant, fasten’, Lat. *pacīscō* ‘I make a treaty’, Lat. *pāx* (f.) ‘peace’, Goth. *fāhan*, OHG *fāhan* ‘to catch’, OE *fangan* ‘to catch, snare’, OHG *fuogen*, OE *fōgian* ‘to join’
- REFERENCES: DKS: 234b f.; WIM III: 337; Rasmussen 1989: 147; Paul 1998: 308b

***paš** ‘to shave, shear’

- NEIR: Oss. I. *fāsyn*/*fāst*, D. *fāsun*/*fāst* ‘to comb’ || (+ **ni-*) Pash. (Waz.) *lmēžəl*, Yghn. *nīpōš-/nīpōšta*, Yi. *nuvāš-/nuvīšč-*, M. *nuvōš-/nuvašt* ‘to comb’, ? Wa. *nəbāsn*, *nəbāst* ‘comb’
- SANSKRIT: *pākṣman-* ‘eyelashes’ (YV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 62
- ◇ For the verb **paš* there are only modern Iranian continuations, the corresponding nominal formation YAv. *pašna-* (n.) ‘eyelash, eyelid’, BMP *pšm* /*pašm*/, Khot. *pe’ma-* ‘wool’, etc. is well attested. The Ilr. root perhaps goes to an IE ingressive formation **pek-se/o-* ‘to shave, shear’, with no exact correspondences in IE.
- PIE – ⇒ LIV: 467 | Pok.: 797
- IE COGNATES: cf. Gr. *πέκω* ‘I comb, shear’, Lat. *pectō* ‘I comb’, Lith. *pešù* (*pėšti*) ‘I pluck’
- REFERENCES: EVP: 37; IIFL II: 234a, 238a; Morgenstierne 1942: 265; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 424; Andreev-Peščereva: 294a; DKS: 249a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 247

***pat** ‘to fly, rise; (?) fall’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *pat-* ‘to fly’ || (+ **aqa-*) ‘to fall down, off’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘to come, rush to [daēvic]’ || (+ **us-*) ‘to come, go out [daēvic]’ || (+ **fīra-*) ‘to fly up; to enter [daēvic]’ || (+ **ham-*) ‘to fall, crash’ ⇒ Liste: 32f.

Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *frapataiti* (Yt 8.61, V 18.54, V 18.65), YAv. *ḥam.pataiti* (V 19.41), 3pl. YAv. *patənti* (Yt 10.128 ff., V 13.42 f.), impf. 3sg. YAv. *ā ... apataṭ* (Yt 19.41, Yt 19.82), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *patat* (Yt 3.13, F 475), YAv. *auua.pataṭ* (Yt 19.58), YAv. *us.pataṭ* (Yt 19.57, Yt 19.60, Yt 19.63), SUBJ. 2sg. ? YAv. **frapatāi* (Yt 19.50), 3pl. YAv. *frapatānti* (Yt 14.53, Yt 8.61), YAv. *frā patan* (V 5.12), OPT. 3pl. YAv. *pataiēn* (Yt 19.80), YAv. *apataiēn* (Y 9.15), IMPV. 3pl. YAv. *patəntu* (Y 10.1); Partic.: pres. YAv. *patənt-* (Yt 15.50); Caus.: pres. SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *uspataiēni* (Yt 19.44)

•OLD PERSIAN: (+ *uz-) *udpat-* ‘to rise up, rebel’ ⇒ Kent: 194

MED.; Pres. them.: impf. IND. 3sg. *udapataṭ* <u-d-p-t-t-a> (DB 1.36, DB 1.38, DB 2.10, etc.), <u-d-p-t-t-a> (DB 2.14), <u-d-p-t-[t]-[a]> (DB 1.78)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *pt-* /*pad-*/ ‘to fall’ || (+ *aṷa-) MMP **wbys-* ‘to fall off’, BMP **wpt-* (NPLWN-) /*ōft-*/ ‘to fall’ || (+ *ā-) MMP **bd’g* ‘assailant (a kind of demon)’ || (+ *ni-) BMP *npd-* (ŠKBHWN-) /*nibay-*/ ‘to lie down, sleep’, MMP *nb’st-* (pret. stem), BMP *np’s-* /*nibās-*/ (caus.) ‘to lay, throw down’ || (+ *ham-) MMP *hmbh-* ‘to collapse, fall down’, MMP *hmb’st-* (pret. stem) ‘to fell, cast down, demolish’. ◇ The *-h-* in MMP *hmbh-* is perhaps from the past participle: *-h-* < OP **-θ-* < Ir. *-s-*. ⇒ DMMPP: 65b, 9a, 239a, 178a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *ptyt* /*padēd*/ ‘falls’; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *ptyt* /*padēd*/ || (+ *aṷa-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP **wptyt* /*ōftēd*/, 3pl. BMP **wptynd* /*ōftēnd*/; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP **wbyst*, BMP **wpstk* /*ōbastag*/ || (+ *ni-) Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *npst* /*nibast*/, caus. MMP *nb’st*, BMP *np’st* /*nibāst*/ || (+ *ham-) Pres.: SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *hmbh’nd*; Partic.: perf. pass. caus. MMP **hmb’st*

•PARTHIAN: (+ *aṷa-) IPth. (Nisa) **wpst* ‘fell down; poured out’ || (+ *fra-) *frbd-* ‘to fall down’, *frb’d-* (caus.) ‘to hurl down’ || (+ *ham-) **mbd-* ‘to collapse, fall down’ ⇒ Ghilain: 53 | DMMPP: 154b, 39a

(+ *fra-) Pres.: IND. 3pl. *frbdynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *frbd’n*; Partic.: perf. pass. *frbst*; Caus.: pres. SUBJ. 1sg. *frb’d’n* || (+ *ham-) Pres.: IND. 3pl. **mbdynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. **mbst* ‘it collapsed’

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *pat-* (*pīt-*) ‘to fall’ || (+ *aṷa-) OKh. *vavat-* (*vapat-*) ‘to fall’ ⇒ SGS: 66, 120

•SOGDIAN: (+ *aṷa-) BSogd. **wpt*, CSogd. **wpt*, MSogd. **wpt* ‘to fall’ || (+ *ni-) BSogd. **npt* ‘to fall’ || (+ *ham-) CSogd. **mpt* ‘to fall’

(+ *aṷa-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. **mptt*, 3pl. CSogd. **mptnt*, IMPV. 2sg. CSogd. **mpt*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *mnpt*, MSogd. **m’pt* (GMS: §633); Fut.: IND./OPT. 3sg. CSogd. **mpt* || (+ *ni-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. **npt*, BSogd. **nptt*, 3pl. BSogd. **npt’nt*; Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. **np’st*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *aṷa-) *wbd* ‘to plunge into’, ? (LW) *hwβ-* ‘to fall down; collapse’ || (+ *para-) *prpd-* ‘to fall off’ || (+ *ni-) *m/npd-* ‘to fall down’, (caus.) *m/np’cy-* ‘to tear down (of houses)’. ◇ The etymology of *hwβ-* is uncertain. Samadi remarks that the forms are similar to Skt. *subh-* ‘to suffocate; to strike’ in appearance, whereas MacKenzie 1990: 112 cautiously suggests a connection with Oss. *xawyn* ‘to fall’. Both etymologies meet unsurmountable difficulties and are best to be discarded. Borrowing from (dial.) Persian seems to me the best solution to account for the Chor. forms: the initial *h-* may be considered "prothetic" or it may be identified as the (productive) preverb **fra-*. For the Middle and New Persian development of

postvocalic PIr. **p* > *b*, *v* (= β]) compare BMP *npštn*, MMP *nbyšt-/nbyš-*, NP *nibištan* (rare), *nivištan*, *nivēs-* (< **ni-p(a)is-*). || Samadi: 211, 155, 130

•NWIR: (+ **aya-*) NP *ōftādan/uft-*, (Judeo-Pers.) *’wβst-* ‘to fall (down); to happen, *vorfällen*’, Bakht. *vastan* ‘to fall’, Sist. *aft*, *aftid* ‘to fall’, Isfah. *oftān/ouš-*, Ham. *dor-oftan/dor-ows-* (inch.) ‘to sleep’, *vor-osayān/vor-aws-*, Isfah. *ver-ošān/ver-oš-* ‘to stand up’

•NEIR: (+ **uz-*) Wa. *z(ə)bət-*, *z(ə)bəθ-/z(ə)bən-* ‘to snap (of boots)’ (= *zübüt-* ‘to burst’, *IIFL* II: 556) || (+ **ham-*) Sh. *ambiθ-*, Rosh. *ambēθ-/imbost*, Sariq. *imbis-/imbīst*, Yzgh. *əmbīs-/əmbust* ‘to fall down, roll down, crumble’, Ishk. *ambid-* ‘to fall down, be destroyed’, Wa. *bəθ-/bəθt*, *bət-/bən-* ‘to fall; to throw off, down; to collapse (of wall)’

•MISC: (+ **ni-*) Orm. *nwastak* ‘to lie down, go to sleep’

•SANSKRIT: *pat* ‘to fly, fall (down)’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 71

◇ In some instances it is rather difficult to distinguish this root from the formally and semantically similar root ***pad**.

•PIE **pet(H₁)-* ‘to fall down, collapse; to fly?’. ◇ On the possible presence of a laryngeal see Oettinger 1979: 473 (et al.). ⇒ LIV: 477 f. | Pok.: 825 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. *pīt-ti-ja-an-zi* ‘they run’, Gr. *πέτομαι* ‘I fly’, Gr. *ποτή* (f.) ‘flying’, Lat. *petō* ‘I hurry, go somewhere (?)’, OWelsh *hedant* ‘volant’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 403a; Abrahamian 1936: 131, 112, 124, 134; *EVS*: 13b; Lazard 1974: 84a; *DKS*: 203b f.; Vahman – Asatrian 1987: 143; Werba 1997: 301; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 439, 111

*pau ‘to be afraid?’

•PARTHIAN: (+ **us-*) ‘*sp’w-* (caus.-iter. ?) ‘to terrify, affright’, ‘*spwh-* (pass.) ‘to be terrified’, ‘*sp’w* ‘terror’ ⇒ DMMPP: 86 f.

Pres.: IND. 3sg. ^x*sp’wyd*, 3pl. *sp’wynd*, IMPV. 2pl. ^x*sp’wyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *spwd*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3pl. *spwhynd*, IMPV. 2pl. *spwhyd*

◇ According to Szmerényi, *Iranica*: 206 f., these Parthian forms represent OIr. **us-pāua-* from an IE root **peu-* ‘to run’ (presumably the unenlarged root of *(*s*)*peud-* > Ir. ***paud**). From this root also Lat. *pavēre* and Gr. *πτοία* would have derived. There are several problems with this postulation. The Parthian forms are isolated within Ir. and they look very similar to *prm’w-* ‘to terrify’ (***miuH** ‘to move’), perhaps ‘*sp’w-*, etc. actually reflects **us-mjāHa-*, which has been contaminated with ***paud** (?). Lat. *pavēre* may have a different origin. This Latin verb (implicitly, also Gr. *πτοία* ?), has been connected to an IE root **piēH²-* ‘to strike’, cf. *LIV*: l.c. 481 f.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

***paud** ‘to run’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *pwd-* /*pōy-* ‘to run, flow’

Inf.: BMP *pwytn* /*pōyīdan*/

•PARTHIAN: ^x*pwd-* ‘to speed, move quickly, run’ ⇒ Ghilain: 65 | DMMPP: 286a

Pres.: IND. 3pl. ^x*pwdynd* {unpublished}

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *pūsta-* (ppp.) ‘driven’ || (+ ^x*niš-*) *našpūšta-* ‘driven, thrown out’

⇒ SGS: –

•SOGDIAN: MSogd. *pwṭ* ‘woof’

•CHORESMIAN: (+ ^x*a-*) *’bwd* ‘woof’ (14.7)

•NWIR: NP *pōyīdan/pōy-* ‘to wander; to run; to trot’, NP *pūd*, Nn. *puy* ‘woof, weft’, Tr. *pōyetōn*, Varz. *pu* ‘carpet weft’

•NEIR: ? Wa. *bit* ‘woof’

◇ This root is connected to Gr. *σπεύδω* ‘I hurry’, Lith. *spūdinti* ‘to hasten’, etc. by Pokorny, l.c. (but the Ir. forms are omitted in *LIV*, l.c.). Both forms have an initial *s-*: hence they cannot be treated as mere “mobile” *s*-variants of Ir. **paud*, which is perhaps rather a “Reimbildung” (with e.g. ***čaud**) ? Some etymological references, notably Arm. (LW) *hrapoyr*, *hrapurem* ‘allure’, Skt. *pota-* ‘boat’, cited by Bailey are hardly tenable, cf. *EWAla* III: 338. Also Pth. *pwwd* ‘small vessel, skiff’ and MSogd. *pwṭyk’ḥ* (misspelled as *pwṭy’kh*) ‘ferry, skiff’ are not genuinely Iranian, being rather old borrowings from an Indo-Aryan source (Szemerényi 1957: 628b).

•PIE – ⇒ *LIV*: 581 | Pok.: 998

•REFERENCES: Szemerényi, *Iranica*: 205 ff.; MacKenzie, *Pahlavi*: 69; *DKS*: 247b, 178a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 97; Lecoq 2002: 635a, 669b, 682a

***pauH** ‘to stink, smell, rot’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *pu-* ‘to stink, smell, rot’ ⇒ Liste: 35

Pres. *ja-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *puiieti^o* (V 6.28); Partic.: pres. YAv. *apuiiaṅt-* ‘not stinking, rotting’ (Yt 19.11, Yt 19.19, Yt 19.23, Yt 19.89)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *pwtk* /*pūdag/* ‘foul, rotten’

•PARTHIAN: *pwd* ‘decay’ ⇒ DMMPP: 286a

•KHOTANESE: (+ ^x*ham-*) OKh. *haṃbūta-*, *haṃbūva-* ‘rotted, festering’

•SOGDIAN: MSogd. *pws* (inch.) ‘to rot’ {hapax}

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *pwst*

•CHORESMIAN: *pwn-* ‘to rot, stink’ ⇒ Samadi: 164

•NWIR: NP *pūsīdan/pūs-*, Abyan. *pūsōya/pūs-*, Gz. *pūs-/pūsā*, Khuns. *pīs-/pīsā* (inch.) ‘to rot’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *pūč* ‘rotten; useless’ || (+ ^x*ham-*) NP *anbūsīdan/ anbūs-* ‘to rot’

•NEIR: Sh. *pi(y)-/pud*, Rosh. *pay-*, Sariq. *pēy-/pūd*, Yzgh. *piw-/pod*, Yi. *pīy-/pīo*, Yghn. *pus-* ‘to rot’, Ishk. *puduk*, Pash. *pudá*, Wa. *pitk* ‘rotten, foul’, Sh. *pōw*, Rosh.

pūw, Bart. *paw* ‘rotten core of a tree’ || (+ **ham-*) Oss. I. *æmbyjyn/æmbyd*, D. *æmbujun/æmbud* ‘to rot’

•SANSKRIT: *pū* ‘to become foul, putrid, to stink’ (YV, Br+) ⇒ EWAia II: 155

•PIE **p(e)uH-* ‘to rot, decay, stink’ ⇒ LIV: 480 f. | Pok.: 848 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *πύθομαι* ‘I rot, decay’, Gr. *πύος* (n.), Lat. *pūs* (f.) ‘pus’, ON *feýja* ‘to let it rot’, (ppp.) *fúinn* ‘rotten’, Lith. *pūti* ‘to rot, decay, decompose’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 235b, 535b; Abaev, *Slovar* I: 141; *EVS*: 65a, 116a, 64a; *WIM* I: 71; *WIM* II/1: 81; *DKS*: 463a; Werba 1997: 444; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 263; Lecoq 2002: 127

***pauš** ‘to dress, clothe, cover’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *pusā-* ‘head dress’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *pwš-* /*pōš-* ‘to cover, put on, wear’, MMP *pwsg* ‘garland’ (LW) ⇒ DMMPP: 287b

•PARTHIAN: *pwsg* ‘garland’ ⇒ DMMPP: 287b

•KHOTANESE: (+ **niš-*) **našpūs-* (*našpuš-*) ‘to dress, arrange’ ? *pvīys-* (*pūls-*) ‘to cover’ ⇒ SGS: 90

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *’ps’kh*, MSogd. *’ps’k*, *ps’k* ‘garland, crown’ (*GMS*: §171)

•NWIR: NP *pōšīdan/pōš-* ‘to wear, put on, cover’, borrowed into Abz. *pešta-/pūš-*, Abyan. *pūšta/pūš-*, Gz. *pūšt/pūš-*, Khuns. *pūšā/pūš-*, Tr. *pōšta/pōš-*, Ard. *pošte/pūš-*, Nn. *pušte/puš-*, Varz. *pušte/puš-*, etc. ◇ The Pers. denominative goes back to "quasi" PIr. **pusja-* > OP **puθja-* >> **paušja-* >(>) MP **pōš-*. The stem vowel is no doubt secondary, being imported from semantically related forms, e.g. MMP *pymwc-*, BMP *ptmwc-* /*paymōz-* ‘to don, wear’ or MMP *pwst*, BMP /*pōst-* ‘skin, hide; bark, shell’.

•NEIR: ◇ Wa. *bəṭ* ‘clothes, garment, robe’, cited in *DKS*: l.c., is rather a borrowing from Indo-Aryan, cf. late Skt. *paṭa-* ‘woven cloth, robe, covering (vel sim.)’, Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 111.

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *psak* ‘garland, crown’

◇ The denominative verbal formations derive from a noun **pusa-*, which does not appear to have an IE provenance. It is probably a cultural borrowing, perhaps from the same unknown "substrate" source that passed on the strikingly similar item OP *pavastā-*, Skt. (RV) *pavāsta-* ‘cover(ing)’, cf. Lubotsky, *Early Contacts*: 307.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *WIM* I: 71; *WIM* II/1: 81; *DKS*: 178a; Lecoq 2002: 122 f., 126, 128 (passim)

***paxš** ‘to cook’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *pxš-* ‘to grow ripe; wither, fade’ ⇒ DMMPP: 288a

Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *pxšynd*; Partic.: pres. ? MMP *’pxš’n*

•CHORESMIAN: *px-* ‘to cook [intr.]’ ⇒ Samadi: 164

•NWIR: NP *paxšīdan/paxš-* ‘to burn; to waste away with grief’, Zaz. *peyšāyīš/peyšēn* ‘to roast, cook’, Gz. *pāxt/pēš-*, Nn. *pešāye/peš-* ‘to cook’, Siv. *pat/paš-* ‘to bake (bread)’

◇ The evidence for this root is confined to mainly WIr. (Chor. can theoretically go back to a denominative **paxya-*). This "root" may reflect an IE ingress. **so-*formation, which would also be continued in Toch., of **pek^w-* (***pač**).

•PIE ingress. **pek^w-s^e/o-* ⇒ LIV: 468 | Pok.: 798

•IE COGNATES: Toch. B *pakš-* ‘to cook; [med.] to ripen’ (Hackstein: 89)

•REFERENCES: WIM II/1: 81; WIM III: 114; Paul 1998: 308b; Lecoq 2002: 133

***pazd¹** ‘to blow, smoke’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *pzd-* /*pazd-*/ ‘to blow (the flute)’, MMP *n’y pzd’n* (pl.) ‘flute-players’ ⇒ DMMP: 238b

Pres.: IND. 3pl. BMP *pzdynd* /*pazdēnd*/

•PARTHIAN: *pzd-* ‘to blow, play (flute), play a tune’ ⇒ Ghilain: 53 | DMMP: 291b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *pzdyd* (Sundermann 1992: §14)

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *pzt-* ‘smoke’

•NWIR: Abz. *pözowa/pöz-* ‘to sneeze’

•NEIR: Oss. *fæzdæg*, Yghn. *payst* ‘smoke’

◇ On account of the semantic differences, it is advisable to postulate two separate roots of **pazd*, cf. Nyberg II: 160a. The often cited preform given for **pazd* from **pa-zd* ‘absitzen’, with prefix **pa-*, by Fischer 1979: 224, is unlikely, on which see Cheung 2002: 109 f. and Henning, BSOAS 28: 246, fn. 29. This apparently exclusively Ir. root may in fact reflect a causative *da-*present stem (cf. Kellens 1984: 155 ad 6.2.) of IE **pes-* ‘to blow’ (Pokorny: 823 f.), similar to MMP *rwzd-* ‘to desire’ (***rau²**), CSogd. *sxwrd-* ‘to shout’ (***h²uar²**). See also ***pazd²**.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar* I: 467; Andreev – Peščereva: 304b; DKS: 43a f., 145a, 177b; Cheung 2002: 109, fn. 56; Lecoq 2002: 125

***pazd²** ‘to cause to thread, go’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *pazd-* ‘to chase, pursue’ ⇒ Liste: 34

Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *pazdaiieiti* (V 15.5), INJ. med. 3pl. YAv. *pazdaiianta* (Yt 17.55 f.)

•PARTHIAN: *pzd-* ‘to scare, frighten’, *pzdgr* ‘chaser, hunter’ ⇒ Ghilain: 53 | DMMP: 291b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *pzdyd*, 3pl. **pzdynd*, IMPV. 2pl. *pzdyd*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ati-*) LKh. *tvašd-* ‘to transfer’ || (+ *us-*) LKh. *uspašd-* ‘to produce, cause’ || (+ **niš-*) LKh. *našpašd-* ‘to remove’ ⇒ SGS: 41, 18, 51

◇ All previous attempts to find an etymology for notably Av. *pazd-* and Pth. *pzd-* are set with problems: the reconstruction posited by Fischer (1979: 224) is

morphologically impossible (**pa-zd-* ‘*absitzen*’, from **had*), on which see **pazd*¹. The connection with IE **pesd-* ‘to break wind (softly)’ (Pokorny: 829; *LIV*: 477), recently suggested in Cheung 2002: 109, fn. 56 is actually not compelling semantically. A new suggestion may be made, if we regard these Ir. forms secondarily, viz. reflecting a causative *da*-stem (cf. Kellens 1984: 155 ad 6.2.) of a root **pa^s/z* or **pa^l/d*. The best fitting root is **pad* with the (original) meaning ‘to thread, go’ (Skt. *pad*, IE *ped-*): **pad-da-* > **pad^čda-* > **pazda-*. Hence, the meanings, ‘to scare’ and ‘to chase’ would derive from **‘to cause to thread, go’*. This causative meaning could also be the starting-point of the wide semantic range exhibited in the Khotanese forms that have been brought into the equation by Bailey, *KT* IV: 123.

•PIE – ⇨ *LIV*: – | Pok.: –

**pād* ‘to stand’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *p’y-*, BMP *p’d/pāy-* (*NLWN-*) ‘to stand, wait; remain’
Pres.: IMPV. 2sg. MMP *p’y*

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *p’δ’y* ‘on foot, standing’

•NWIR: NP *pāyistan/pāy-* ‘to stand, wait; remain’. ◇ Contrary to the assertion of Horn 1893: l.c., the semantic differences between *pāyistan/pāy-* ‘to stand, wait; remain’ and *pāyistan/pāy-* ‘to watch, guard’ (**paH*¹) are such that we have to assume two different origins, too.

•NEIR: Oss. I. *fady*/*fast*, D. *fadun/fast* ‘to split, separate’. ◇ The verbs may derive from I. *fady*, D. *fadug* ‘piece of cloth, stripe; trouser-leg’, which are suffixed formations of *fād* ‘foot’.

•SANSKRIT: *pád-* (m.) ‘foot’ (RV+) ⇨ *EWAia* II: 77 f.

◇ The denominative forms derive from the noun **pāda-* ‘foot’ (the vocalism is from *Asg. *pādam*, cf. Skt. *pādām*). The Oss. and MP formations appear to have arisen independently of each other. The noun **pāda-* is of course widely attested in Ir.: OP **pāda-*, MP, NP *pāy*, Pth. *p’d*, Khot. *pāa-*, Sogd. *p’δ*, Oss. *fad*, Sh. *pōδ*, etc.

•PIE **pod-/ped-* ‘foot’ ⇨ *LIV*: – | Pok.: 790 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. (Dor.) *πός* (Gsg. *ποδός*), Lat. *pēs* (Gsg. *pedis*), Arm. *ot-*, Goth. *fōtus*, OHG *fūoz*, OE *fōt*, Engl. *foot*, etc.

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 63; Abaev I: 414 ff.; *DKS*: 228a; Gharib: 257a

R

**rag ?* ‘to attach, cling to?’

•KHOTANESE: (+ **pari-*?) *pārajs-* ‘to be supported’ ⇨ *SGS*: 81

- CHORESMIAN: (+ *ā-) ? *m'rxs-* 'to cling on; to seek refuge' (rather from inch. of *Hraxš ?) || (+ *pari-) 'pry-' 'to mend (clothes)' ⇒ Samadi: 6, 152
- MISC: Par. (LW) *lag-* 'to stick to, strike' (< Indo-Aryan)
- SANSKRIT: Skt. *lag* 'to attach to, stick to' (Ep.+, ? ŚB) ⇒ EWAia II: 473
- ◇ The evidence for the root is confined to East Ir.: regional borrowing ? the Skt. root is (relatively) late.
- PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –
- REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 269a; *KPF* II: 198; Werba 1997: 374

*raH 'to howl, cry'

- AVESTAN: YAv. *ra-* 'to howl, cry' ⇒ Liste: 57
Partic.: pres. (ā)īia- YAv. *raiiant-* (Yt 13.105)
- KHOTANESE: ? OKh. *^xrai-* 'to cry aloud' {hapax}
- SOGDIAN: BSogd. *r'y*, CSogd. *r'y* 'to weep, cry'
Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 2sg. dur. BSogd. *r'y'y* 'skwn, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *r'y't*, etc.; Partic.: pres. BSogd. *r'y'nt*, intens. BSogd. *r'yr'y'n*. ◇ The reduplicative formation BSogd. *r'yr'y'n* may have an exact match in Germ., according to Gershevitch, *GMS*: §249, §1033A: OHG *rērēn* 'to bleat, roar, shout'. Perhaps, it is sheer coincidence.
- NWIR: Kurd. (Kurm.) *reyīn/rey-* 'to bark', ? (Sul.) *lāfān*, (Sina) *lāfiān-*, Awrom. *lāfiāy/lāfiā-*, Gur. (Kand.) *lāliyā* 'to beg, implore' (< ppp. prefixed *frārita- or express. ?), ? Zaz. *lāwāyīš/lāwen* 'to bark' || (+ *uz-) Zaz. *zīrāyīš/zīfēn-* 'to bray'
- NEIR: Pash. *rayəl/rāy-* 'to bray', Oss. I. *ræjyn/ræjd*, D. *ræjun/ræjd* 'to bark', (caus.-iter.) ? Oss. I. *rajyn/rad*, D. *rajun/rad* 'to enjoy, be satisfied; [D.] to boil', Yghn. *rōy-/rōyta-* 'to weep', Wa. *ryy-/royd-* 'to bark' || (+ *abi-) Wa. *vr̥yy-/vroyd-* 'to howl [of dogs]', (with tr. *n*-suff. ?) ? Wa. *varand-/varat-*, *vr̥and-* (perf. stem), Ishk. *vr̥ōn-*, (with lost *-v-* ?) Sariq. *ron-/rond-* 'to scold, abuse' (Paxalina 1975: 282a) || (+ *uz-) Wa. *zryy-/zroyd* 'to howl (of wolves, dogs)'
- MISC: ? Par. *ruh-/roita-* 'to bray'
- SANSKRIT: *rā* 'to bark' (RV, Br) ⇒ EWAia II: 443
- PIE *leH₂- 'to bark' ⇒ LIV: 400 f. | Pok.: 650
- IE COGNATES: Gr. *λαίειν* 'to sound, φθέγγεσθαι' (Hes.), OCS *lajati*, Russ. *lajat'*, Lith. *lótī*, Alb. *leh-*, Lat. *lātrāre* 'to bark'
- REFERENCES: *EVP*: 65; *KPF* II: 208; *IIFL* II: 538b, 547; Andreev – Peščereva: 315a; MacKenzie 1966: 101; *EVS*: 67b; Abaev, *Slovar'* II: 371, 347; *DKS*: 369a; Werba 1997: 446; Paul 1998: 304b, 320b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 305, 377 f., 383, 439; Cheung 2002: 215 f.; *NEVP*: 71

*raHz 'to shout, call'

- AVESTAN: YAv. *rāz-* 'to call out' || (+ *ui-) 'to boast, brag' ⇒ Liste: 57
Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *vīrāzaitī* (Yt 14.47); Partic.: pres. caus. YAv. *rāzaiian* (V 8.100)

- KHOTANESE: *rrāys-* ‘to cry out (of birds)’. ◇ Different etymology in *SGS*: 115: cautiously from **rā-* ‘to howl’ + *z*-enlargement. The *z*-enlargement from *ysār-* ‘to sing’ ⇒ *SGS*: 115
- BACTRIAN: *ραζ-* ‘to call, name’, (pass.) *ριζ-* ‘to be called, be named’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 220b
- NEIR: ? M. *rāžōn* ‘language’ (Gauthiot)
 ◇ The Ir. root may be connected to Gr. *λάσκω*. The **-z* of the Ir. root **raHz* would have to be explained though: contamination with semantically similar roots ?, cf. *SGS*: l.c.
- PIE ? **leH₂k-* ‘to call’ ⇒ *LIV*: 402 | *Pok.*: 650
- IE COGNATES: Gr. *λάσκω* ‘I call’, *ἔλακον* (aor.) ‘I called’
- REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 245a; Chantraine: 622; *DKS*: 361b

*raič ‘to leave, let, abandon’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *raēc-* ‘to leave, let’ || (+ **pati-*) ‘to desert’ ⇒ *Liste*: 58
 Pres. *n-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *irinaxti* (Yt 10.68); Aor. *s-*: OPT. med. 2sg. YAv. *paiti raēxšiša* (P 40); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *paiti raēcaieiti* (V 5.8, Yt 10.41), 3pl. YAv. *raēcaieipti* (Yt 10.41), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *raēcaiait* (Yt 5.78), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. **paiti. raēcaiait* (ViD 2), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *raēcaia* (Yt 5.77); Intens.: pres. IND. med. 3sg. ? YAv. *irīrixšāite* (Y 65.7)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **pati-*) MMP *phryz-* ‘to keep away from, abstain, avoid’ || (+ **ui-*) MMP *wryxt-* (pret. stem), BMP *wlyc-* (‘LYKWN-’) / *wirēz-* ‘to flee, run away’.
 ◇ On the interpretation of MMP *phryz-* see Humbach – Skjærvø 1983 II: 86 ff.
 ⇒ *DMMPP*: 346a, 274b
 (+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *phryzyd*, 3pl. MMP **phryzind* || (+ **ui-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. BMP *wlycynd* / *wirēzēnd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *wryxt*
- PARTHIAN: (+ **ui-*) *wryxs-* (orig. inch.) ‘to flee’ ⇒ *Ghilain*: 94 | *DMMPP*: 346a
 Pres.: IMPV. 2pl. **wryxsyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *wryxt*
- KHOTANESE: (+ **pari-*) OKh. *pars-* (*parś-*) ‘to escape’, OKh. *parrīj-* (caus./tr.) ‘to deliver, rescue’ || (+ **fra-*) *hars-* ‘to be left, remain’ ⇒ *SGS*: 76, 74, 150
- SOGDIAN: BSogd. *rxm’k*, MSogd. *rxmyh* ‘remains’ (*BBB*: 34) || (+ **apa-*) BSogd. *prys-*, CSogd. *prxs-* (intr./inch.) ‘to remain, be left’ || (+ **pari-*) BSogd. *pr’yc*, CSogd. *pryc*, MSogd. *pryc* (caus.) ‘to leave behind, desert’
 (+ **apa-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *prxsty*, MSogd. *prxst*, MSogd. *prxstyy*, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *prxs’t*, etc.
 || (+ **pari-*) *Widely attested*: Pres.: IND. 2sg. SSogd. *prycy*, BSogd. *pr’yc’y*, 3sg. BSogd. *pr’yct*, etc.
- CHORESMIAN: *rycy-* ‘to spread out’ || (+ **apa-*) *pryč-* ‘to leave behind’ ⇒ *Samadi*: 160
- BACTRIAN: *ρηγο* ‘remains, what is left’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 221a
- NWIR: NP *rīštan* ‘to set at liberty, absolve’ || (+ **ui-*) NP *gurēxtan/gurēz-*, *Fariz.* *-wret-/wrej-*, *Yar.* *-wret-/wrej-*, *Jow.* *ba-urut-/a-urudž-*, *Meim.* *ba-rvēst-/a-iru:dž-*,

Nn. *virite/viriss-* ‘to run away from, flee’, Sang. *-urít/-urizæn-*, Sorkh. *-owrut/-owriž-* ‘to flee’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *ližyn/lyğd*, D. *lezun/liğd* ‘to run away; to abandon a settlement; to move to another place, resettle’, Pash. *ražēdəl* ‘to cast off, shed, to fall (as leaves)’, Sh. (Baj.) *ris-/rēd*, Rosh. *rays-/rayd*, Bart. *ra(y)s-/rīd*, Sariq. *ris-/rēyd*, Yzgh. *raxs-/rayd* ‘to remain, be left’, Rosh. *raysēn-*, Sariq. *rayzon-* ‘to leave behind’, Wa. *rəç-/rəyđ-* (caus.) ‘to leave’ || (+ **apa-*) Pash. *pātá, pāté* ‘remaining, left over’ (Cheung 2004: 129), Yghn. *piraxs-* (inch.) ‘to stay behind, remain’, Sariq. *barēzj* ‘leavings’ (< **apa-raičaka-*, EVS, l.c.) || (+ **aμa-* ?) ? Sariq. (Shaw) *wareiz-* ‘to be tired’, Wa. *wəwəç-/wəwəyñ-* (*wəwəyđ-*) ‘to remain, be left behind, leave behind’, Yzgh. *wəraxs-/wərayd* (inch.) ‘to pass (a place, time), outmarch, fall down [of fruit]’, *wərxan-* (caus.) ‘to shake down’ || (+ **fra-*) ? Sh. *f(i)r(i)xdū* ‘remaining, left over’ (LW ?)

•SANSKRIT: *rec* ‘to leave, let, release, set free’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 457 f.

•PIE **leik^w* ‘to leave, let’ ⇒ LIV: 406 f. | Pok.: 669 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *λείπω, λιμπάω* ‘I let, leave’, Lat. *linquō* ‘I leave’, Arm. *lk‘anel* ‘to leave’, Lith. *liekmi*, OPr. *po-līnka* ‘to stay’, Goth. *leihvan* ‘to lend’

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 145b; *EVP*: 65; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 171 f.; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 62, 118; Lambton 1938: 41a, 76b; Abaev, *Slovar’* II: 44 f.; *EVS*: 68a f., 92b, 21a, 34a; *DKS*: 216b f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 300, 397; Lecoq 2002: 133

*raip ? ‘to smear’

•NEIR: (+ **μi-*) Oss. D. *ilivd* (old ppp.) ‘pitiful, wretched’

•SANSKRIT: *rep, lep* ‘to smear, attach’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 460

◇ Except for the fossilised Oss. past participle, no certain Ir. cognate forms of Skt. *rep, lep* can be cited: even the Oss. form is semantically not evident. Several Iranian forms frequently cited as cognate are probably unconnected: BMP *pldp-/frēb-*, NP *fīrēb-* (*fāreb-*) ‘to deceive’ (< **fra-dab*, ***dab**), Oss. I. *fælivyn*, D. *fælevun* ‘to deceive; to be unfaithful’ (< Oss. *fæl-* + I. *ivyn*, D. *evun* ‘to (ex)change’ < ***μaip**, Cheung 2002: 185). The NP form *rēv* ‘deceit, ruse’ is difficult to assess: Ir. **p* can hardly yield NP *-v* in final position, cf. *tab* ‘fever’, *tāb* ‘glow’ (***tap**), *x^vāb* ‘sleep’ (**hūāp-an-*, ***hūap/f**). It cannot be excluded that the NP form is a rhyming word. In Persian script *rēv* (رَو) is almost identical with *dēv* (دِو) ‘devil’.

•PIE **leip-* ‘to stick, be sticky’ ⇒ LIV: 405 f. | Pok.: 670 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *λιπαίνω* ‘I oil’, *λιπαρός* ‘fat, oily’ Lith. *limpù* (*lipti*) ‘I stick’, Russ. *līpkij* ‘sticky’

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 543; Werba 1997: 228

*raiš ‘to suffer (damage, illness)’

•AVESTAN: YAV. *raēš-* ‘to get hurt, suffer damage’ ⇒ Liste: 59

Pres. *ja*-: IND. 3sg. YAv. *irišiiēiti* (V 13.38, V 15.4, V 15.6, V 15.8, etc.), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *irišiiāt* (V 7.38, V 13.37, V 15.4, etc.), 3pl. YAv. *irišiiān* (V 15.22, V 15.40); Partic.: pres. YAv. *irišipt-* (V 15.12, V 15.22, V 15.40, Vyt 44); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. **raēšaiieiti* (V 5.12), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *raēšaiiāt* (V 15.11, Vyt 44)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *lyš-* /*rēš-* ‘to wound, hurt’

•NWIR: NP *rēš* ‘wound’, also borrowed into Kurd. *rīš*, Bal. *rēš* ‘id.’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *rissyn/ryst*, D. *resun/rist*, Wa. *riž-/rižd-* ‘to be ill’, (caus.) *riž(ы)v-/rižovd-* ‘to cause illness’ (pres. -ž- from pret.), Oss. I. *ris* ‘illness’, Wa. *rižg* ‘illness, disease’, ? Sariq. *rīzd* ‘pain’ (rather ***rais** ?) || (+ **upa-*) Pash. *brēx* (m.) ‘twitch of pain, cramp, spasm’, ? Sh. *birēj* ‘a worm dangerous for sheep’ (< **upa-raiša-čī-* ?)

•SANSKRIT: *reṣ* ‘to get harmed, hurt’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 462

◇ The root appears to be exclusively Ir.

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 142; EVP: 15; MacKenzie, *Pahlavi*: 72; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 411 f.; EVS: 20b, 71b; Nyberg II: 169b; Werba 1997: 229; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 296 f.; NEVP: 15

***raiθ¹** ‘to lead, go forth; [euphem.] die, pass away’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *iriθ-* ‘to die, pass away’ || (+ **para-*) ‘id.’ ◇ Kellens 1984: 320 also assigns *iriθəntəm* (Yt 5.130) to this root, but the passage is rather obscure. ⇒ Liste: 58

Pres. *ja*-: IND. 3sg. YAv. *iriθieiti* (V 6.10, V 6.12, V 6.14, etc.), 3pl. YAv. *para.iriθinti* (V 6.1 ff.), INJ. 2sg. YAv. *para.iriθiō* (H 2.16), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *iriθiāt* (V 5.27, V 5.39, V 8.1, etc.); Perf.: OPT. 3sg. *irīraiθiāt* (ViD 17); Partic.: pres. YAv. *para.iriθiant-* (H 2.16), perf. YAv. *irīriθuš-* (Y 24.5, Y 26.6, Y 59.21 ff., Vr 11.7), med. YAv. *irīriθāna-* (P 23, P 34), perf. pass. YAv. *irista-* (Yt 13.9, Yt 19.11, Yt 19.89, etc.)

•NEIR: (+ **apa-* or **abi-*) Oss. I. *ævrityn/ærvyst*, D. *ærvetun/ærvist* ‘to send, lead’

◇ Further Ir. cognates are unknown.

•PIE **leitH-* ‘to go (forth), pass (away)’ ⇒ LIV: 410 | Pok.: 672

•IE COGNATES: Toch. *lit-* ‘to pass on, move’, Goth. *ga-leiþan* ‘to go’, ON *líða* ‘to go (away), to pass away’ (< MLG ?), OE *lædan*, Engl. *to lead*, etc.

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 183 f.; Adams 1999: 554

***raiθ²** ‘to mix, mingle, pervade’

•AVESTAN: *raēθ-* ‘to mingle, mix, pervade’ || (+ **aṇa-*) ‘to attach, mingle (down below)’ || (+ **pati-*) ‘to affect’ || (+ **ham-*) ‘to mix together’ ⇒ Liste: 58

Pres. {1} *ja*-: IND. 3sg. YAv. *iriθieiti* (V 6.10, V 6.12, V 6.14, etc.), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *iriθiāt* (V 16.14); Pres. {2} *ṇa*-: IND. 3sg. YAv. *raēθbaiti* (N 61 f.), YAv. *upa.raēθbaiti* (V 10.1), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *raēθbāt* (V 3.14, V 7.50); Perf.: IND. 3pl. YAv. *irīriθarə* (V 5.4, V 5.7, ? V 8.34); Partic.: pres. {1} YAv. *auuairoiriθipt-* (Yt 16.9 = Yt 16.10), pres. {2} OAv. *rōiθbānt-* (31.7), YAv. *rōiθbānt-* (Y 12.1); Caus./Denomin.?: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *raēθbāieiti* (Yt 8.13, Yt 13.81, N 80), YAv. *paiti.raēθbāieiti* (V 5.33, V 5.28), YAv. *ḥam.raēθbāieiti* (Yt 10.72, V 18.62, V 19.20, V 5.33), 3pl. YAv. *ḥam.raēθbāieinti* (N 61 f.), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *ḥam.raēθbāieni* (Yt 19.58), 3sg. YAv. *raēθbāiāt* (N 76)

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ui-*) *wryh-* ‘to throw into confusion, overthrow’ ⇒ Ghilain: 90 | DMMP: 345b

Pres.: SUBJ. 1sg. *wryh’n*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *wryh’d*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ā-*) OKh. *ārīh-* ‘to share’ ⇒ SGS: 11

•SOGDIAN: (+ **aua-* or **ui-*) MSogd. *wryδ-* ‘to mix’, CSogd. *wryθ’mnt* ‘mixing. union’ || (+ **ā-*) BSogd. ’*r’yδ* ‘to mix’ || (+ **pati-*) BSogd. *ptr’yδ-*, CSogd. *ptrys-* ‘to mix, mingle’

(+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. MSogd. *ptr’yδ’nd* (BBB: 50), OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *ptr’yδ’y*; Inf.: pret. CSogd. *ptryst*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **aua-* or **ui-*) *m/wrYs-* ‘to knead (dough)’. ◇ Chor. *m/wrYs-* and also Sogd. *wryδ* may have a different preverb than the one suggested by Samadi. ⇒ Samadi: 218

•BACTRIAN: (+ **ā-*) *αριστο* ‘joined, acting collectively’ {hapax} ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 181a

•NEIR: Rosh. *rīθ-/rīθt*, Yzgh. *rīθ-/rast* ‘to rub’ || (+ **upa-*, **api-* ?) Sh. *xušgōw-birēθ* ‘certain bovine (a cross between a yak and cow)’ || (+ **pati-*) ? Yi. *padréško* ‘small wooden milk-bowl’

◇ An IE provenance for this root cannot be ascertained. Toch. A *ritw-*, B *ritt-* was suggested as cognate by Bailey 1967: 406 f., which has been incorporated in *DKS*, l.c. and subsequently accepted by Adams 1999: 534 f.. This is very uncertain, in view of the multitude of meanings assigned by Adams to the Tocharian forms: ‘to be attached / hitched / connected / linked to, persist in ..., be suitable for ...’. The comparison is therefore meaningless.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 236a; *EVS*: 20b, 69b; *DKS*: 23b f.

*raiz¹ ‘to lick’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *riz-* ‘to lick’ ⇒ Liste: 58

MED.; Intens.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. (^{*})*raērizaitē* (N 68)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *ls-/lis-* ‘to lick’

Pret.: IND. 3sg. BMP *lst/list*

•KHOTANESE: *rrīś-* ‘to lick’ ⇒ SGS: 116

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *rys-* (inch.) ‘to lick’

Inf.: BSogd. *rys’ty*

•NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *lištan/lēs-*, Kurd. (Sor.) *lēsīn*, *listin/lēs-*, Abz., Abyan. *lešta/les-*, Anar. *lesse/les-*, Bakht. *listan/lēs-*, Gz. *lēs-/lesā* (intr.), *les-/les(ā)* (tr.), Khuns. *līs-/līsā*, *lišt*, Nn. *lešte/les-*, Qohr. *līsāda/līs-*, Siv. *līs-/līsē*, Varz. *lese/les-* ‘to lick’ || (+ **ā-*) Kurd. (Kurm.) *ālāstin*, *ālēstin/ālēs-* ‘to lick’

•NEIR: Sangl. *lēs-/let*, Ishk. *lēs-/lišt*, Wa. *liḫ-/liḫt*, Yzgh. *γiz-* ‘to lick’ (with sec. *g-* ?) || (+ **ni-*) M. *nāríz-/nārīzd*, Yi. *nāríz-/nārīzd-* ‘to lick’, ? Wa. *nārīzm* ‘stuffed calf’

•MISC: Par. *līs-/lušt*, Orm. *las-* ‘to lick’

•SANSKRIT: *reh, leh* ‘to lick’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 463

◇ The unexpected *l-* found in many Iranian cognate forms is a notorious problem, cf. Asatrian 1988: 172 f.

•PIE **leiǵ^h*- ‘to lick’ ⇒ LIV: 404 | Pok.: 668

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *λαίχω*, Lat. *lingō*, OCS *ližŕ*, Lith. *liežù*, Arm. *liz(an)em*, Goth. *bi-laigon*, OE *liccian*, Engl. *to lick*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 269b, 400a; *IIFL* II: 401a, 233a; *EVS*: 38a; *WIM* I: 71; *DKS*: 364a; *WIM* II/1: 79; *WIM* III: 112; Vahman – Asatrian 1991: 112; Werba 1997: 229; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 226, 249; Cabolov 2001: 72; Lecoq 2002: 121, 123, 126, 133 (passim)

*raiz² ? ‘to jump’

•NWIR: Kurd. (Kurm.) *līstin, laystin/līz-* ‘to play; to dance’, (caus.) *līstandin/līstīn-* ‘to let play, dance’ || (+ **ā-*) NP *ālēxtan/ālēz-* ‘to jump, kick out’, Khor. *alīj, ālīz* ‘jumping up of animals’ || (+ **yi-* ? or sec. ?) Zaz. *werištiš/werzen-*, Gil. (Rsht.) *virīštæn/viriz-* ‘to stand up’

◇ The evidence for this root is limited to some modern WIr. languages. The initial *l-* is rather atypical for an Ir. word: it could suggest borrowing, but perhaps in this case it is due to the influence of Pers. *larzīdan* ‘to shake, tremble’ (***rarz**) ? An IE provenance for this root, which is solely continued in a few modern Ir. languages, is conceivable, but difficult to establish. A connection with Goth. *laikan* ‘to jump, hop’, OE *lācan* ‘to jump’, Lith. *lāigyti* ‘to walk, run around wildly’, is mentioned by Lehmann 1986: 225a; Fraenkel I: 330b f. (and also cited in EWAia II: 459 s.v. *rej* ‘zittern, beben’).

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 405 | Pok.: 667 f.

•REFERENCES: Christensen, *Contributions* I: 59; *DKS*: 364a; Monchi-Zadeh 1990: 8; Paul 1998: 318b; Cabolov 2001: 593

*raiz³ ‘to fall (out), drop’

•PARTHIAN: *ryz-* ‘to fall (of leaves)’ ⇒ Ghilain: 94 | DMMPP: 304a

Pres.: IND. 3pl. *ryzynd*. ◇ On the interpretation of this form see Henning, l.c.

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *ryz* ‘to drop’ (*GMS*: §900A) || (+ **aya-*) MSogd. *’wryz* ‘to drop’ Inf.: BSogd. *ryz’y* || (+ **aya-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *’wryzt* (*Cosmog.*: 307); Partic.: pres. Iter. MSogd. *’wryzyh* ‘dropping’ (*Sogdica*: 31)

•CHORESMIAN: *ryz-* ‘to fall out’ ⇒ Samadi: 176

•NWIR: NP *rēxtan/rēz-* ‘to drop’, Bal. *rēzit/rēz-* ‘to atrophy, become thin, decay’

•NEIR: Pash. *raž-/ražed-, rež-/režed-* ‘to fall (leaves)’. ◇ The Pash. verb has also the meaning ‘to pour’, which is perhaps a calque on Pers. *rēxtan/rēz-* ‘1. to be shed; 2. to pour’, *NEVP*: l.c.

◇ An IE provenance for this root cannot be established.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•IE COGNATES: –

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 65; Henning, *Cosmog.*: 309, ad 32; *NEVP*: 71; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *rēz-*

***ram** ‘to go, move’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ati-* or **fra-*) MMP *’hr’m-*, BMP *’hl’m-/ahrām-/* (orig. caus.) ‘to lift up, raise’ || (+ **ni-*) MMP *nyr’m-* ‘to cast, throw down’. ◇ MMP *’hr’m-*, BMP *’hl’m-/ahrām-/* are from Pth. or just from an unspecified WIr. dialect? On the initial *’h-* cf. Sundermann, *CLL*: 106 f. Differently Ghilain: < **ati-*^o. However the form BMP *’hl’mydyt/ahrāmīyēd/*, connected by Nyberg 1974: 11b to MMP *’hr’m-*, can also be interpreted differently: */āxrāmēd/* ‘he strides’, s.v. ***xrāmH**. ⇒ DMMPP: 34b f., 253a

(+ **ati-* or **fra-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *’hr’myd*, *’hr’m<y>d*, MMP (in Sogd.) *’xr’myδ*, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *’hr’m’d*, 3pl. MMP *’hr’m’nd*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *’hr’m*; Partic.: perf. pass. supplet. MMP *’hr’pt*, *’hr’pt*, *’hr’ft*; Inf.: MMP *’hr’ptn*, *’hr’ptn* || (+ **ni-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *nyr’myy*, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *nyr’m’d*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *nyr’m*; Partic.: pres. MMP *nyr’m’g*, perf. pass. MMP *nyr’pt*, *nyr’pt*

•PARTHIAN: (+ **fra-*) *’hr’m-* (orig. caus.) ‘to lift up, raise’ || (+ **ni-*) *n(y)r’m-* ‘to hold back, restrain, suppress’ ⇒ Ghilain: 73 | DMMPP: 35a, 253a

(+ **fra-*) Partic.: perf. pass. II *’hr’m’d* || (+ **ni-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *nyr’myd*, 3pl. *’nr’mynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *nyr’m’*, IMPV. 2pl. *nyr’myd*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ati-*) *t(t)rām-* ‘to cross over; enter’ || (+ **ni-*) *narām-* ‘to go out’ || (+ **pati-*) LKh. *parām-* ‘to grasp, understand’ ⇒ SGS: 40, 49, 73

•NWIR: NP *ramīdan/ram-* ‘to be afraid, terrified; to flee in terror’ (or Pth. LW **hram-* < ***θram** ?), Bal. *ranbit/ranb-*, *ram(b)it/ram(b)-* ‘to shy, become startled, run, rush, uproot’ (-*b-* < ***Hrab/f**), Kurd. (Kurm.) *ḫav-/ravīn*, (Sor.) *ḫaw-* ‘to run away, flee; [Sul.] to be scared’, Gur. (Kand.) *rāmā-/rām-* ‘to run (away), flee’, Abz. *ram kar-* ‘to flee, save oneself’ (< ***θram** ?)

•NEIR: (+ **ati-*) ? Pash. *drūmēdāl* ‘to go’ (alternatively from ***dram**) || (+ **upa-*) M. *vərēm-/vərēmd* ‘to stand’ (Zarubin)

•MISC: Par. *ram-/ramí* ‘to go round’, (caus.) Par. *rēm-* (supplet.?) *rhānt* ‘to turn’

◇ No IE etymology can be suggested, it may be a blend of similar roots of motion, e.g. ***Har**¹ or ***Hran** and ***gam**.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 22; *IIFL* I: 284b; *IIFL* II: 259b; *KPF* II: 201 f.; Cabolov 1997: 71; Lecoq 2002: 601a; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *ram(b)-*

***rand** ‘to scrape, smoothen’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *Ind-/rand-/* ‘to scratch, grate, abrade, rake’

Pass.: IND. 3sg. BMP *Indyt/randīd/*

- KHOTANESE: LKh. *raṇ-* ‘to scrape’ || (+ **aua-*) OKh. *varras-* (*varrī-*) ‘to scratch’ || (+ **fra-*) *haraṇ-* ‘to throw’ ⇒ SGS: 115, 119, 149
- NWIR: NP *randīdan* ‘to scrape’, NP *razdah* ‘tired, exhausted, hindered’ (= Skt. *raddhá-*), Bal. *rast*, *randit/rand-* ‘to comb; to draw (a sword)’, ? Bashk. (North.) *ron-/rōnd-* ‘to cover (an ewe), mate’ (Gershevitch 1977: 64 f.), Bashk. (North.) *ārān-/ārand*, *ārār-*, (South.) *yīrān-/irānt-*, *yīrānst* ‘to comb’ || (+ *?) ? Sh. (Baj.) *pirīθ-/pirūst*, Rosh. *parēθ-/parōst*, Orosh. *parāθ-/parūst*, Sariq. *paraθ-/parūst* ‘to burst, tear [intr.]’, (caus.) Sh. *pirēnd-/pirēnt*, Rosh. *parēnd-/parēnt*, Sariq. *parin-/parind* ‘to tear, burst [tr.]’
- NEIR: Oss. D. *rændun* ‘to smooth, iron’, Yghn. *rant-/ránta-* ‘to wipe (out)’ (-*t*- < **θ*- < Ir. **-d-* ?) || (+ **uz-*) Wa. *zrænd-/z(ə)rəst-*, *z(ə)rənd-* ‘to scratch, scrape’
- SANSKRIT: *randh* ‘unterliegen’ (RV+), *randháya-* (caus.) ‘unterwerfen’ ⇒ EWAia II: 431

◇ The semantic range of meanings displayed by the Ir. forms is difficult to reconcile: the meanings may go back to originally ‘to depress (soil, hair, clothes, etc.)’

- PIE **lend^h*- ‘to lower, go down’ ⇒ LIV: 412 | Pok.: 865
- IE COGNATES: Lith. *lendù* (*līstī*) ‘I crawl, crouch’, OPr. *lindan* ‘valley’
- REFERENCES: Andreev – Peščereva: 312a; Sokolova 1967: 48; Abaev, *Slovar* II: 375; EVS: 117b, 59a; DKS: 357b, 467a; Werba 1997: 369; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 438; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *rand-*

*ran(H) ? ‘to fight, enjoy (to fight)’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *rēna-* (n.) ‘battle, fight’ (Yt 14.25, V 7.52), OAv. *rāniiō.skərəiti-* ‘dispensing joy’ (Y 44.6, Y 47.3, Y 50.2, Y 18.4)
 - MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *m* ‘refreshment’ ⇒ DMMP: 296a
 - KHOTANESE: ? Khot. *rānām* (Gpl.) ‘fighters’
 - CHORESMIAN: *rns-* ‘to be in heat’ ⇒ Samadi: 172
 - SANSKRIT: *raṇ⁽ⁱ⁾* ‘to rejoice, be pleased’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 427
- ◇ This apparently Ir. root has no certain IE provenance.
- PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 327
 - REFERENCES: DKS: 361a; Werba 1997: 369

*ra(n)j ‘to colour, dye’

- OLD PERSIAN: (+ **ā-*) ? El-OP /*āranjanam*/ <ha-ra-an-za-na-um> ‘decoration’ (cf. Hinz 1971: 23)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *rng*, BMP *rng* /*rang*/ ‘colour’ || (+ **abi-*) BMP *’brng* /*abrang*/ ‘splendour’ ⇒ DMMP: 296a
- KHOTANESE: *rrāṣa-* ‘dark coloured’
- SOGLDIAN: ? BSogd. *rxš-* ‘Rakhsh [= Rustam’s horse]’ || (+ **fra-*) CSogd. (*f*)š(*m*)y šw ‘lamp-black, soot’ (Sims-Williams 1983: 50)

•CHORESMIAN: *rxtyk*, *rxtk* ‘red’

•NWIR: NP *razīdan*/ ‘to colour, dye, taint, tinge’, NP *rang* ‘colour’, NP *raxš* ‘a mixture of red and white, Rakhsh [= Rustam’s horse]’ (LW, < Sogd. ?), Bal. *raġit*, *ratk/raġ-* ‘to tan (skin)’, (EHB) *raxt/raġ* ‘to dye’, Kurd. *raš* ‘black’ (LW ?) || (+ *abi-) NP *abranġan* ‘a bracelet or anklet (of gold or silver)’ (also *auranġan*), NP *aurang* ‘throne, beauty, glory, honour’ (*au-*: "Eastern" pronunciation ?)

•NEIR: Rosh. *rēz-*, Yzgh. *rəž-* ‘to colour the eyes’, Ishk. *rež-/rūyd* ‘to colour brows/eyelashes’, Yzgh. *cām-rəžək* ‘stick for applying collyrium’ || (+ *fra- ?) Sh. *arīzm*, Sariq. *rizm*, Wa. *rizm* ‘lamp-black, soot’ (Sims-Williams, l.c.)

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *erašx* ‘reddish’, ? Arm. *erang* ‘colour’

•SANSKRIT: *raj* ‘to colour, to become red’ (AV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 424

•PIE *(s)reg- ‘to colour (dark)’ ? ⇒ LIV: 587 | Pok.: 854

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *ῥέζω* ‘I dye, paint’, Gr. *ῥῆγος* (n.) ‘carpet, rug’, Gr. (inscr.) *ῥογέυς* (m.) ‘dyer’

•REFERENCES: Morgenstierne 1942: 265; *EVS*: 16a, 71a, 23b; *DKS*: 362a f.; Benzing 1983: 564; Polomé 1989: 220; Werba 1997: 224; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 296; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *raġ-*

***rap/f** ‘to help, assist, support’

•AVESTAN: *rap-* ‘to help, assist’ ⇒ Liste: 56

Pres. them.: OPT. 2sg. OAv. *rapōiš* (Y 41.4), IMPV. 2sg. OAv. *ārapā* (Y 49.1); Partic.: pres. *rapant-*

•KHOTANESE: Khot. *tcārampha-* ‘staff, stick’ || (+ *pati-) *pārah-* (*pārih-*) ‘to be established’, LKh. *pārīph-* (caus./tr.) ‘to establish’, *pārahā-* ‘support’ ⇒ SGS: 81 f.

◇ Further Ir. cognates are unknown.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 65; *IIFL* II: 259a, 420a, 549a; Abrahamian 1936: 124, no. 63; *EVS*: 91a; Puhvel III: 176 ff.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 398

***rarz** ‘to shake, tremble’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *llc-* /*larz-*/ ‘to shake, tremble’, MMP *rrz* ‘(fever’s) shivering, ague’ ⇒ DMMPP: 296b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *llcyt* /*larzēd*/, 3pl. BMP *llcynd* /*larzēnd*/

•PARTHIAN: *lrz-* ‘to tremble’ || (+ *ui-) *wlrz-* ‘to tremble’ ⇒ Ghilain: 52 | DMMPP: 222b, 342b

Pres.: IND. 1sg. *lrz’m*, 1pl. *lrz’m*, 3pl. **lrzynd* || (+ *ui-) Partic.: perf. pass. II *wlrz’d*

•SOGDIAN: (+ *ui-) BSogd. *wyr’rz*, CSogd. *wlrz*, CSogd. *wdrz* ‘to tremble, shake’ (cf. *GMS*: §60, fn.)

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *wyr’rzt* (P2 9 R.411), CSogd. *wlrzt*, 2pl. CSogd. *wdrzt’sqn*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *abi-) *βržyk* ‘shaking fever, ague’

•NWIR: NP *larzīdan*, Kurd. *larzīn/larz-*, (also Sor.) *larzān/larze-*, Zaz. *lerzāyiš/lerzen-*, Gz. *lārz-/lārzā*, Gur. (Kand.) *-lārūā-*, Khuns. *lerz-/lerzā*, Tal. *larze* ‘to shake, tremble’

•NEIR: Pash. *rēždēdal* ‘to tremble, quiver’, Sh. *rēŷj-/rīŷzd* ‘to tremble, shiver’, (Baj.) *raŷjā* ‘trembling, fever, ague’, Yzgh. *riwz-/rawzd* ‘to tremble, shiver’, Yzgh. *riwza*, Rosh. *rawza* ‘trembling, fever, ague’, Pash. *larŷe* ‘trembling’

•SANSKRIT: – ⇒ EWAia II: 458

◇ This Ir. root may be related to ***Hraiz**. The initial *l-* found in the WIr. forms is probably the result of dissimilation of two homosyllabic *r ... rʃ*: *l ... rʃ*.

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 65; *KPF* II: 222; Henning 1971: 11a; *EVS*: 67a; *WIM* I: 70; *WIM* II/1: 79; Paul 1998: 304b; Cabolov 2001: 578 f.

***raš** ‘to harm, damage, shed?’

•AVESTAN: *rāš-* ‘to harm, damage’ ⇒ Liste: 57

MED.; Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. YAv. *rāšaiieṇte* (Yt 10.21); Inf.: pres. caus. OAv. *rāšaiieṇhē* (Y 49.3, Y 51.9)

•NWIR: NP *rašīdan/raš-* ‘to pour out, spill, shed’

•NEIR: Pash. *raš* (m.) ‘dirt, filth, ordure, sim. from a wound’ (LW ?) || (+ **fra-*) ? Yghn. *ṛrūš-/ṛrūšta* ‘to be torn’ (why *-ū-* ?)

•SANSKRIT: *rākṣas-* (n.) ‘damage; harmful demon’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 423

◇ On the basis of Av. (and Skt.) an Ir. root **raš* is reconstructed, the Ir. cognates cited above are uncertain though. Further IE connections are also unreliable. A Gr. cognate, ἐπέχθω ‘I tear’, is cited by Pokorny, l.c. (and accepted in *LIV*: l.c.).

•PIE ? ⇒ *LIV*: 505 | Pok.: 864

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 64; Andreev – Peščereva: 253b

***raub** ‘to become confused, afflicted (with love)’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *pdrwb-* ‘to throw into confusion, rout’ (< Pth.) ⇒ DMMPP: 271a

Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *pdrwbynd*

•PARTHIAN: (+ **pati-*) *pdrwb-* ‘to throw into confusion, rout’ ⇒ Ghilain: 65 | DMMPP: 271a

Pres.: IND. 3pl. *pdrwbynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *pdrwft*

•NEIR: NP *āluftan* ‘to rage, grow mad (with love); to be confounded, afflicted, enamoured’ (*-l- < ?*)

•SANSKRIT: *lobh* ‘to be/make confused, insane’ (AV, AitB) ⇒ EWAia II: 483

◇ Further Ir. cognates are unknown.

•PIE **leub^h-* ‘to fall in love, love, desire’ ⇒ *LIV*: 414 f. | Pok.: 683 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *lubet* ‘it pleases’, *lubīdō* ‘desire’, OCS *ljubiti* ‘to love’, OHG *liob*, ‘dear, sweet’, Engl. *love*, etc.

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 376; Jamison 1983: 144 f.

***rauč** ‘to shine, radiate’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *raoc-* ‘to shine, radiate’, caus.(-iter.) ‘to make light’, *raocah-* (n.) ‘light’ || (+ **abi-*) caus. ‘to set on fire’ || (+ **uz-*) caus. ‘to light up’ || (+ **pati-*) caus. ‘to let (the woods) reburn’ ⇒ Liste: 59

Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *raocaiieiti* (Yt 10.142), YAv. *aiβi.raocaiieiti* (V 5.2), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *uzraocaiieni* (Yt 19.50), 2sg. YAv. *uzraocaiiāi* (Yt 19.48), 3pl. ? YAv. *aiβi^(x)raocaiiānti* (V 19.23), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *paiti raocaiia* (V 18.19); Partic.: pres. YAv. *raocint-* (A 4.5, A 4.7)

•OLD PERSIAN: *raucah-* <r-u-c> ‘day’ ⇒ Kent: 205

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *rwç-* ‘to shine’, MMP *rwçyn-* (caus.) ‘to make bright, make light’, MMP *rwç* ‘day’ || (+ **abi-*) MMP **brwç-* ‘to illuminate, kindle (esp. of candles)’ || (+ **pati-*) BMP *plwkyh-/frōgīh-* (denomin.) ‘to shine’ || (+ **fra-*) BMP *plwkyh-/frōgīh-* ‘to shine’ ⇒ DMMPP: 298, 14b

Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *rwçynd*, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP **rwç’nd*; Partic.: pres. MMP *rwç’g*, caus. MMP *rwçyn’g*, perf. pass. MMP *rwçyst*, *rwçyst*; Caus.: pres. IND. 2sg. MMP *rwçynyh*, 3sg. *rwçynyd*, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *rwçyn:d*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *rwçyn* || (+ **abi-*) Pres.: IMPV. 2pl. MMP **brwçyd-*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP **brwxt*, **brwxt* || (+ **pati-*) Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *plwkyhst/frōgīhist*

•PARTHIAN: *rwç* ‘day’ || (+ **abi-*) **brwç-* ‘to kindle’ || (+ **ui-*) *wrwç* ‘lightning’ ⇒ Ghilain: 91 | DMMPP: 297b, 14b, 345b

(+ **abi-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. **brwçynd* {hapax}

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *rrus-* ‘to shine’ || (+ **pati-*) OKh. *parrus-* ‘to shine’ ⇒ SGS: 116, 74

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *rwç*, MSogd. *rwç* ‘day’ (+ **ui-*) CSogd. *wyrw[x]š-* ‘to shine’ (GMS: §216)

•NWIR: NP *rōz*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *roj*, Abz. *rūj* ‘day’, Bal. *rōč* ‘day; sun’, Anar. *rūš* ‘lit’ || (+ **abi-*) NP *afrōxtan/afrōz-* ‘to set alight, kindle’ || (+ **fra-*) NP *furōxtan/furōz-* ‘to inflame, kindle, set on fire’ (with haplological loss of **-ra-* ?), NP *furōğ* ‘splendour, light, brightness’ || (+ **ui-*) Kurd. (Kurm.) *birūsīn/birūs-*, (Sor.) *birīskānawa/birīske-* ‘to flash, sparkle’ (not from ***braHz** as suggested by Cabolov, l.c.)

•NEIR: ? Yzgh. *rəz-/royd* ‘to rub and paint the eyes with a specially cut stone-pin’ || (+ **upa-*) Pash. *brēšnā* ‘brightness, brilliancy’ || (+ **ui-*) Sh. (Baj.) *warz-/warzd* ‘to shine, flash’

•SANSKRIT: *roc* ‘to shine, to be bright, to be radiant’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 463

◇ The root has an impeccable IE etymology.

•PIE **leuk-* ‘to shine, be bright’ ⇒ LIV: 418 f. | Pok.: 687 f.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */lukkizzi/* ‘lights’, Toch. *luk-* ‘to shine’, also Gr. *λευκός* ‘light, white, bright’, Lat. *lūx* (f.), Goth. *liuhap*, Engl. *light*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 15; *EVS*: 116a, 92b; Werba 1997: 372 f.; Cabolov 2001: 188; Lecoq 2002: 601b, 611a; Korn 2005: 137, 377, 378 (passim)

***raud** ‘to hinder, block, ward off’

•AVESTAN: *raoδ-* ‘to hinder, block, ward off’ || (+ **apa-*) ‘to exclude (from service), lock out’ || (+ **aṃa-*) ‘to exclude (from service), neglect, ignore’ || (+ **upa-*) ‘to ignore, neglect’ || (+ **ui-*) ‘to leave out’ ⇒ Liste: 59f.

Pres. them.: IND. 3pl. YAv. *auua.raoδənti* (N 42); Perf.: IND. 1sg. YAv. *auuā.urūraoḍa* (Y 1.21 f.), pperf. 3sg. OAv. *urūraost* (Y 51.12); Partic.: pres. caus. med. ? YAv. **apa.raoḍaiiamna-* (N 54); Pass.: pres. SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. **nī.uruuīḍiīāṭ* (V 16.7); Caus.: pres. 3sg. YAv. *vīraoḍaiieiti* (N 11), med. 3sg. YAv. *aparaoḍaiiete* (Y 19.7), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *auua.raoḍaiīāṭ* (N 85), OPT. med. 3sg. YAv. *apa.raoḍaiiāeta* (V 13.49)

•PARTHIAN: ? *dwj-’rws* ‘difficult to avert/ward off (?)’. ◇ *’rws-* can be interpreted differently, on which see ***urais**. ⇒ DMMPP: 144b

Pres.: IMPV. 2sg. *’rws*

•KHOTANESE: ? *rūy-* ‘to lose’. ◇ Different etymology Bailey, *DKS*: l.c.: Goth. *fra-liusan*, OHG *fār-liosan*, OE *forlēosan*, Engl. *forlorn, to lose*, etc. (***rauH**). ⇒ SGS: 116

•SANSKRIT: *rodh* ‘to restrain’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 467

◇ Iranian cognates, other than Av. *raoδ-*, are uncertain. This Iir. root has no verbal correspondences in IE. Some relatively late (and isolated?) nominal forms in Celtic are cited by Hamp 1978: 65 ff.: MWelsh *arlludd* ‘obstacle’.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 415 f. | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *DKS*: 366b; Werba 1997: 230 f.

***rauH** ‘to pluck, pull out, shear off (hair)’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *lwn- /rūn-* ‘to pluck, pull out’

Inf.: BMP *lwn /rūdan/*

•NWIR: Judeo-NP *rēš rūdan* ‘to tear out beards’, (partic.) *rūnā-ān* (pl.) ‘pulling out their hair’, NP *rūd* ‘a plucked bird; a sheep stripped of its wool’, *rūdah-kardah* ‘stripped of its feathers (a bird), or its wool (a lamb)’, Kurd. *we-rūtīn* ‘to pluck, strip off’, Bal. *runit, rutk/run-* ‘to reap, harvest, pluck’

•NEIR: Wa. *rut* (+ *car-* ‘to do, make’), Sariq. *rūt* ‘pulling out, plucking’ (< Pers.) || (+ **us-*) ? Sh. (Baj.) *sirāw-/sirud*, Rosh. *sirēw-*, Bart. *sirāw-/sirāwd*, Sariq. *s(i)rēw-/s(i)rīd, s(i)rūd* ‘to sort out, select, separate’, ? Wa. *šraw-/šrawd-* ‘to peel off (bark); to wipe off’ || (+ **ni(š)-*) Sariq. *našīroδ-/našīrod* ‘to cleanse a vessel (with the fingers)’ || (+ **ui-*) ? Sh. *wirōw*, Khf. *wuruw* ‘parting of the hair (on the crown of the head)’, Sariq. *warēw* ‘parting of the hair (on the crown of the head); furrow, boundary’ (less likely from ***hrau** ‘to flow’). ◇ Oss. I. *lyg*, D. *lux* ‘cut, cutting (off)’, is perhaps a borrowing from a Germanic language.

•SANSKRIT: *lav’* ‘to shave, cut (off)’ (Br +) ⇒ EWAia II: 476

◇ The Iir. root is often connected to the ‘loosen’ forms, Gr. *λύω* ‘I release, loosen’, Engl. *to lose, loosen*, etc., which is questioned by notably Mayrhofer, l.c., especially

if there is a possible Ir. cognate, on which see ***raud**. On the etymology see also Geiger 1962: 70 ff.

•PIE **leuH-* ‘to shear (off)?’ ⇒ LIV: 417 | Pok.: 681 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lith. *liáutis* ‘to be cut off, mutilated’, ON *lé* (m.) ‘sickle’, *lá* (f.) ‘hair’, ? OHG, MHG *lō*, Engl. *lye*

•REFERENCES: De Vries, *Altnord.*: 343a, 349a; *EVS*: 50a, 69b, 75b, 92a; Werba 1997: 316; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 299

***rauǵ¹** ‘to break, burst’

•AVESTAN: (+ **aua-*) YAv. *an-auua-uruxti-* (+ neg.) ‘the non-breaking of the oath, upholding of the oath’ (Y 70.3) || (+ **fra-*) YAv. *fra.uruxti-* ‘destruction’ (N 84)

•KHOTANESE: LKh. **rrus-* (intr./inch.) ‘to burst, break’ || (+ **ni-*) LKh. **nirus-* ‘to burst, disappear’, *nirūj-* (caus.) ‘to break open’ || (+ **ūi-*) LKh. *gūrva-* (ppp.) ‘broken’ ⇒ SGS: 116, 55, 230

•NWIR: Bal. *ruǵit*, *rutk/ruǵ-* ‘to break, dig’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *va-rōž-* ‘to scrape’, (Sor.) *rūšē-* ‘to be wiped off through rubbing’ || (+ **?*) Bal. *karuht*, *karutk*, *karuǵit/karuǵ-*, *haruht/haruǵ-* ‘to break and fall down’ (orig. of *ka-*, *ha-* unknown)

•NEIR: Bart. *ruj-/ruǵt*, Orosh. *ruj-/ruǵt* ‘to dig’, Wa. *riz-*, *rəz-/rəzd-* ‘to tear apart, rip up a seam’, Yghn. *ruč-/rúčta*, *rúšta* ‘to shave off the skin, skin off’ || (+ **pati-*) Yi. *póruy*, (Zarubin) *péruy* ‘bolt of a door’ || (+ **ūi-*) Sh. (Baj.) *wirūj-/wirūyd*, Rosh. *wirūj-/wirāwd*, Bart. *wirūj-/wirāwd*, Yzgh. *wəṛəǵ-/wiroyd* ‘to tear, rip up, undo, rop up’, (inch.) Sh. (Baj.) *wirāws-/wirūyd*, Bart. *wirīw-/wirūyd*, Yzgh. *wəṛəxs-/wəroǵ(d)* ‘to be torn apart, etc.’, (ppp.) Oss. I. *ryǵd*, D. *iruǵd* ‘confused (person), awkward’

•SANSKRIT: *roj* ‘to break, break open’ ⇒ EWAia II: 465

•PIE **leug-* or **leuǵ-* ‘to break’. ◇ A variant **leuǵ-*, deduced from the Baltic evidence, is usually postulated beside **leug-*, on account of the Ir. (and Arm.) forms. No reason is given for this peculiar distribution, which would be PIE. The variation probably suggests contamination with semantically similar forms. The velar of the Ir. forms for instance is shared with notably ***baǵ** and ***braǵ**. ⇒ LIV: 415 f. | Pok.: 686

•IE COGNATES: Pal. */luki-/* ‘part’, Gr. *ἄ-λυκτο-πέδη* (f.) ‘unbreakable chain’, Lat. *lūgeō* ‘I mourn’ (semantics ?), Arm. *lucanem* ‘I break up’, Lith. *láužti*, Latv. *laūzt* ‘to break’, OE *tō-lūcan* ‘to interrupt, break’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 239a, 538b; Andreev – Peščereva: 315b; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 444; *EVS*: 68b, 118a, 91b; *DKS*: 175a, 88a; Werba 1997: 373; Cabolov 1997: 72; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 296; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *ruǵ-*, *karuǵ-*

***rauǵ² (*rauč²) ?** ‘to please, desire’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *rwzd-* (denomin. ?) ‘to desire, covet’, MMP *rwzd* ‘greedy’ || (+ **ā-*) MMP *’wrzwg*, *’wrzwwg*, *’wrzwwg*, BMP *’lcwk/ārzōg/* ‘desire, lust’. ◇ The

additional *-d-* of MMP *rwzd-* may point to denominative origin or reflect a pres. stem in **-d-*, cf. CSogd. *sxwrd-* ‘to shout’ (***h_uar²**). || According to Henning 1945: 487, fn. 2, the Persian and Parthian ‘desire, lust’ forms derive from ***barj**, which is semantically implausible. A more suitable root is ***rauj²**. The Manichaean and Pahlavi forms perhaps reflect the different outcomes of syncope of the zero grade stem vowel: ***ā-ruj^o** > ***ār^wz^o** > MMP /āwrzʷ/, BMP /ārzʷ/. Alternatively, MMP /āwrzʷ/ reflects a Pth. development (or pronunciation). ⇒ DMMPP: 303b, 70b

Partic.: pres. MMP *rwzd'n*, perf. pass. MMP *rwzdyšt*, *rwzdyšt*

•PARTHIAN: (+ ***ā-**) *'wrjwg*, *'wrjwq* ‘desire, lust’ (see above) || (+ ***ui-**) *wrws-* ‘to desire, sigh’ ⇒ Ghilain: 70a, 49 f. | DMMPP: 345b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *wrwsyd*, IMPV. 2sg. *wrws*

•KHOTANESE: *rrauṭa-* (f.), (with palatalisation) LKh. *r(r)īś'a-* ‘desire’, LKh. *a-rīśai'* (+ neg. *a-*) ‘stinking’, LKh. *rais'a-* ‘appetite’ || (+ ***ā-**) ? *ārauś-* ‘to please’ (Bailey, *KT* III: 58,26)

•SOGDIAN: CSogd. *rwž* ‘to desire’, CSogd. *rwžty'* (f.) ‘desire’, also with palatalisation (*GMS*: §187), SSogd. *ryz*, BSogd. *ryz*, CSogd. *ryž* (denomin., impers., only 3rd pers.) ‘to be pleasing, be desirable’, BSogd. *ryz*, *ryžh*, CSogd. *ryž* (m.) ‘will, wish, desire’ || (+ ***ā-**) MSogd. *'rwytky'* ‘greed’, MSogd. *'rwxst* (Apl.) ‘greeds, desires’

Pres.: IND. 2sg. dur. CSogd. *rwžysq*, 3sg. CSogd. *rwžt*; Partic.: pres. CSogd. *rwžnyt* (pl.) ‘desiring’ || *denomin.*: Pres.: IND. 3sg. SSogd. **ryzt skwn*, BSogd. *ryzt*, CSogd. *ryžt*, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *ryz't*, SSogd. *ryz't*, CSogd. *ryžt*, etc.

•NWIR: NP *rēž* ‘desire’ (< Sogd., Henning 1939: 99) || (+ ***ā-**) NP *ārzō* ‘desire, wish’

◇ An IE provenance for this root cannot be established.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *BBB*: 566; *DKS*: 369

***raup¹** ‘to take away, up, rob, *cueillir*’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *lwpk* /*rōbag*/, BMP *lwp* /*rōb*/ ‘pillage, plundering’ || (+ ***ham-**) MMP *hrwb-* ‘to collect, gather; receive’. ◇ The cluster ***-mr-** in MMP *hrwb-* has been assimilated: MMP *-rr-* <-r->. ⇒ DMMPP: 185a

(+ ***ham-**) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *hrwbyd*, SUBJ. 1sg. MMP *hrwb'n*, 2pl. MMP *hrwb'd-*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *hrwb*; Partic.: perf. pass. I MMP *hrwpt*, *hrwpt*, II MMP **hrwbyhyst*

•KHOTANESE: *rrv-* ‘to remove, peel off’ || (+ ***ui-**) LKh. *būr(r)v-* (*burūvāñ-*) ‘to destroy’ ⇒ *SGS*: 117, 101

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *rwp* ‘to gather’, CSogd. *rwp* ‘*θεπίζω*’, MSogd. *rwp* ‘to harvest’

Pres.: IND. dur. 1sg. CSogd. *rwpmsq*, 2sg. CSogd. *rwpv* ‘*θεπίζεις*’, SUBJ. 3pl. MSogd. **rwp'ndt*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *rwp'*

•CHORESMIAN: *rwby-* ‘to rob; take away [of horse]’, ? *m/rwBY-* ‘to take with one’s fingertips’ ⇒ *Samadi*: 173 f.

•NWIR: NP *rubōdan/rubāy-* ‘to rob, seize, carry off; to withdraw from sight’, (ppp.) *rubōdah* ‘seized, plundered, robbed’, Bal. *rupt/rōp-* ‘to collect’, Gz. *rūbā-/rūbā*, ? Kurd. *rīfānin*, *fīrānin*, Awrom. *ārfāy/-rīfān-* ‘to snatch’, Gur. (Kand.) *rīfānīn* ‘to rob’ || (+ **ui-*) Kurd. (Kurm.) *gurān/gurē-*, *gurō-*, (Sor.) *gurūn/gurū-* ‘to skin, remove (skin)’

•NEIR: Yghn. *rup-*, *rub-/rúpta*, *rúbda* ‘to harvest’

•SANSKRIT: ? *yop* ‘to wipe out, efface, remove, erase’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 420

◇ In view of the semantic similarity, the root **raup*² is perhaps connected with Skt. *yop*. The initial *r-* of **raup*² should therefore be regarded secondary and may have been imported from (for instance) **rauH*. As for an IE provenance, Skt. *yop* is connected to Gr. γῶψ ‘vulture’, which is analysed as a compound **g^wu-īup-* ‘taking away cows’ by Thieme 1954: 569, n. 2, but this analysis remains rather conjectural.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* II: 199; Andreev – Peščereva: 316a; MacKenzie 1966: 88; *DKS*: 367a; 298a f.; *WIM* II/1: 82; Kümmel 2000: 410 f.; Cabolov 2001: 405

**raup*² ‘to sweep’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP **rwb-*, BMP *lwp-* /*rōb-*/ ‘to rub, sweep’ || (+ **ui-*) MMP *wrwb-* ‘to sweep down, away’ ⇒ DMMPP: 297b, 345b

Inf.: MMP **rwptn* || (+ **ui-*) Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. *wyrwbyhyd*; Inf.: MMP *wrwptn*

•PARTHIAN: *rwb-* ‘to sweep’ (Sundermann 1997: 62, line 40k). ◇ On *rwbyšn* ‘change, Wandel’ (*Mir. Man. III*: 875) see **īaup*². ⇒ Ghilain: 65 f. | DMMPP: 297b Pres.: IND. 3sg. **rwbyd* {hapax}

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ā-*) OKh. *ārūh-* (*ārau-*) ‘to move, shake’ ⇒ SGS: 11

•SOGLIAN: (+ **upa-/apa-/pari-*) BSogd. *pr’wp-* ‘to sweep’

Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. *pr’wp’t* (Dhy. 1); Inf.: BSogd. *pr’wp’y* (Dhy. 68)

•CHORESMIAN: *rfš* (f.) ‘broom’

•NWIR: NP *rōb-/ruftan* ‘to sweep, dust’, Bal. *rupt/rōp-* ‘to sweep up’, Kurd. (Abd.) *tī-rūf-* (supplet. inf. *meštén* < **Hmarz*), Anar. *ha-../-ruft/* (impv.) *ha-ru*, Gz. *rōn-/ruft*, *rōnā*, Kesh. *rutmūn/a-rov-*, Khuns. *rū-/ruft*, Qohr. *rūtén* (supplet. *a-reg-*, impv. *bá-rūg* < **rau*¹), Sang. *hō-rūndén/hō-rūn-*, Shamerz. *be-rūtén/rūm-*, Von. *ruftén/ér-rū-*, Zef. *bo-rúft/rov-* ‘to sweep, wipe’ || (+ **ui-ā-*) NP *járū* ‘broom’ (dial. ?)

•NEIR: Sh. *rūb-/rūvd*, Rosh. *rūb-/rūbt* ‘to sweep up, shovel’, Pash. *rəbəj*, Bart. *rafč* (f.) ‘broom’, Yzgh. *rafč* ‘broom; name of a plant’, Yzgh. *rəbag* ‘wooden shovel’, Sangl. *rēf* ‘broom’, Yi. *rufó* ‘small, soft broom’, M. *rəfiko* ‘mill-broom’, Wa. *rəpk* ‘trash, garbage’ || (+ **fra-*) Yi. *fāru* ‘mill-broom’

•MISC: Par. *rūy-/rūt* ‘to sweep’

◇ This root is probably originally identical to **raup*¹, which has developed a more specialised meaning ‘to sweep’.

•REFERENCES: Zhukovskij I: 134a f.; Zhukovskij II: 234b f.; Ivanow 1926: 421; *IIFL* I: 285b; *IIFL* II: 520, 243a, 208b; Fraenkel II: 743; *EVS*: 65b f., 66b; *WIM* I: 72; *WIM* II/1: 82; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 150; Lecoq 2002: s.v. *rōp-*; Korn 2005: 97, 111 (passim)

*rauxš ? ‘to break’

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ui-*) *bu(r)š-* ‘to break up’ ⇒ *SGS*: 101 f.

•SOGDIAN: CSogd. *’rwxš* ‘bandage, gag’ || (+ **pati-*) BSogd. *ptrwxš-* ‘to obstruct’, CSogd. *ptrwxš-* ‘to shut up, cease speaking’. ◇ CSogd. *’rwxš* has a prothetic vowel, on which see *GMS*: §158. The comparison to BSogd. *ptrwxš* (etc.) is suggested by Schwartz, *Gs Henning*: 391.

Pres.: IMPV. 2sg. CSogd. *’ptrwxš* ‘shut up!’; Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. *ptrwšty*, BSogd. *’ptr’ywštk*

◇ The evidence for this root is confined to Khot. and Sogd. The root itself appears to be an ingress. s- pres. formation of **rauj*¹.

•PIE – ⇒ *LIV*: – | *Pok.*: –

•REFERENCES: *DKS*: 298b; Gharib: 60

*rauxšn ‘to shine’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *raoxšna-* ‘light, shining’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *rwšn*, BMP *lwšn /rōš(a)n/* ‘light, bright’

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ui-*) *wrwšn-* ‘to shine’ ⇒ Ghilain: 90 |

•KHOTANESE: *rrūdāta-* ‘light’ || (+ **fra-*) LKh. *har(r)ūñ-* || (+ **ui-* or **abi-* ?) *b(ā)rūñ-* ‘to shine’ ⇒ *SGS*: 150, 99

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *rywšn-*, CSogd. *’rwxšn-*, M. *rwšn-* ‘light, bright’, CSogd. *rwšnšny’q-* (f.) ‘light’ || (+ **ui-*) BSogd. *wyrwxš*, CSogd. *wyrw(x)š-* ‘to shine’

•CHORESMIAN: *rxn-* ‘to shine, become clear’, *rxny-* (sec. caus.) ‘to make clear’, *rxn* ‘beginning of daylight’ ⇒ Samadi: 174 f.

•NWIR: NP *rōšan (raušan)* ‘light’, *raxšān* (LW) ‘shining, splendid’, *raxšīdan* (LW) ‘to shine’

•NEIR: Pash. *rūñ* ‘bright’, Oss. I. *ruxs*, D. *roxš* ‘light’, Sh. *rux*, Rosh. *rux*, Bart. *ruxn*, Orosh. *rōxm* ‘dawn’, Yzgh. *roxn* ‘white’, Ishk. *rəšnāī*, Sangl. *šəñāī* ‘light; fire’, Sariq. *rīx-sīpeyd* ‘very white’, *rux-rəšt* ‘bright red’ (LW or diff. formation ?) || (+ **ā-*) Yi. *ārúnyo* ‘light, brightness’

•MISC: Par. *rhīnē* ‘daylight, light, fire’, Orm. *rūñ* ‘fire’

◇ The attested denominative formations derive from the adjective **rauxšna-* ‘light’, which itself is a nominal derivative of **rauč*.

•PIE **louk-sno-* ‘light’ ⇒ *LIV*: – | *Pok.*: 687 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *lūna* (f.), Praeneste *losna* ‘moon’, OIrish *lúan* ‘light, moon’, OHG *liehsen* ‘shining’, OCS *luna*, OPr. *lauxnos* ‘moon’

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 63; *IIFL* I: 284a, 405b; *IIFL* II: 191b, 414b; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 435 f.; *EVS*: 70b; *DKS*: 366a f.

***raxš** ‘to aim, shoot; mark’

•SOGDIAN: (+ **abi-*) CSogd. *brxš-* ‘to loosen, release, shoot’, BSogd. *βr’xš* ‘to shoot’
 Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *βr’xšt*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *b’rxš*; Inf.: *βrxš’y*

•NEIR: ? Oss. I. *raxsyn* ‘to throw out; to shoot at’

◇ The Sogdian forms can only derive from a prefixed formation **abi-raxš-*, as pointed by Gershevitch 1970: 305; also Sims-Williams 1985: 176 ad 94V.14. Oss. I. *raxsyn* may be included, although it may alternatively derive from **fra-* + ***Haxš**. As for a possible IE etymology, Gershevitch (l.c.) cites Lat. *laxsus* ‘slack, wide, loose’ as cognate. Since both the Sogd. and Lat. forms are relatively isolated with their respective branch, this remains uncertain. It cannot be excluded that Lat. *laxsus* is a secondary/recent formation. It is similar to *lassus* ‘tired’, which appears to have a (more) certain IE origin (**leH₁d-* ‘to let (go)’, LIV: 400).

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 959

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 221 f.

***raz** ‘to leave, escape (one’s notice)’

•AVESTAN: ◇ The often cited YAv. *razah-* is unconnected, as it should rather mean ‘clime, expanse’ (V 8.97), on which see Gonda 1956: 164.

•OLD PERSIAN: (+ **aṇa-*) *avarad-* ‘to leave, abandon’. ◇ See most recently R. Schmitt 2000: 32. ⇒ Kent: 205b

Pres. them.: INJ. 2sg. *avarada* <a-v-r-d> (DNa 60)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *rh-*, BMP *l(‘)h-* /*rah-* ‘to escape, become free, let go’
 MMP *r’z*, BMP *l’c /rāz/* ‘mystery, secret’ (LW) ⇒ DMMPP: 294b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *lsyt /rasēd/*, 3pl. MMP *rhynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *lst-y /rast-ē/* ‘set free’ (Psalter); Inf.: BMP *lstin /rastan/*

•KHOTANESE: *r-raysaa-* ‘empty’

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *r’zh*, BSogd. *r’z’y*, CSogd. *r’z*, MSogd. *r’z* ‘secret, mystery’ || (+ **apa-*) SSogd. *’pr’št* (pret. stem) ‘to flee’, CSogd. *pryž* ‘to flee’

Pres.: OPT. 3sg. CSogd. *pryžy*, IMPV. 2sg. CSogd. *pryž*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *p’ryž*; Pret.: intr. IND. 3pl. SSogd. *pršt’nt* ‘they ran away’

•CHORESMIAN: *r’z* (f.) ‘secret’ (genuine ?)

•NWIR: NP *rastan/rah-* ‘to be liberated, escape; to let go’, NP *rāz* ‘secret’ (LW), Abyan. *rahoya/rah-* ‘to be saved’

•NEIR: ? Sh. (Baj.) *raz-/rixt* ‘to fall (leaves, fruit); to crumble, scatter’, Ishk. *rəž-* ‘to crumble, fall (leaves, etc.)’, Sh. *razēn-/razēnt* (caus.) ‘to cause to fall etc.’, ? Rosh. *rēxt* ‘snowfall’ (contaminated with ***raic**¹) || (+ **apa-*) Yghn. *pīrāyž-* ‘to run away’ || (+ **abi-*) Oss. I. *irvæzyn/irvæzt*, D. *ervæzun/ervæzt* ‘to be saved, delivered; to slip away, escape’ || (+ **ā-*) Pash. *aratól* ‘to let loose; break wind, fart’, Pash. *ár(ə)t*, (Waz.) ‘open, wide, loose’

•SANSKRIT: *rah* ‘to be lost, be lonely’ (Gr̥Sū.+), || *rahas-* (n.) ‘secrecy, loneliness’ (Ep.+)
⇒ EWAia II: 442

◇ Henning, l.c. derived SSogd. *’pr’št* and Yghn. *pīráyž-* from **apa-raz-*, to which he added as cognates, Skt. *rah*, OP *rad-*, MP *rastan* [wrongly cited: *raštan*], NP *rastan*. Mayrhofer, l.c., has apparently overlooked this footnote and only acknowledges the Ir. ‘secret’ forms as related to Skt. *rah*: MP, NP *rāz*, etc. The meanings ‘secret’ and ‘to flee, escape’ are not necessarily incompatible, if we assume an older meaning ‘to escape (one’s notice)’.

•PIE ◇ The IE etymology cited in his previous work KEWA III: 49 (IE **leg^h-* ‘to lay’, Gr. λέχος ‘bedstead’, etc.) is doubted by Mayrhofer in EWAia, l.c. ⇒ LIV: 401 f. | Pok.: 651

•REFERENCES: Henning, *Anc. Lett.*: 612, fn. 5; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 549; Andreev – Peščereva: 306b f.; EVS: 71a; DKS: 359a f.; Werba 1997: 370 f.; Lecoq 2002: 127; NEVP: 10

S

***sač¹** ‘to fit, be suitable, be able, be in command of; to prepare’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *sz-*, BMP *sc-* /*saz-*/ ‘to be fitting, becoming, necessary, due’, BMP *s’c-* /*sāz-*/ (caus.) ‘to make, prepare; [+ *zyn* /*zēn*/] to saddle’, BMP *scyn-* /*sazēn-*/ (sec. caus.) ‘to put into practice’ || (+ **pati-*) MMP *ps’c-* (caus.) ‘to prepare, arrange’ || (+ **ham-*) MMP *hs’c-* ‘to make ready’ or ‘to fix, dispose’, MMP *hs’cyh-* (pass.) ‘to be fixed, built, constructed’ ⇒ DMMPP: 306, 284a, 185b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *szyd* ‘it should’, BMP *scyt* /*sazēd*/; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *scyt* /*sazīd*/; Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. BMP *scynyt* /*sazēnēd*/, 3pl. BMP *s’cynd* /*sāzēnd*/, IMPV. 2pl. BMP *s’cyt* /*sāzēd*/; Inf.: BMP *scstn* /*sazistan*/ || (+ **pati-*) Pres. IND. 1sg. BMP *ps’cm* /*passāzum*/, 3sg. BMP *ps’cyt* /*passāzēd*/, 3pl. MMP *ps’cynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *ps’htk* /*passāxtag*/, MMP *ps’xt*, *ps’xt*; Inf.: BMP *ps’htn* /*passāxtan*/ || (+ **ham-*) Pass.: pres. SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *hs’cyh’d*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *hs’xt*, *hs’xt*

•PARTHIAN: *sc-* ‘to be prepared, fitting, ready’, *s’c-* (caus./tr.) ‘to prepare, form’ || (+ **abi-*) *hw-’bs’gyft* ‘docility, gentleness’ (+ *hw-* ‘well-, eu-’) || (+ **pati-*) *ps’c-* ‘to make, prepare, fashion, arrange’ || (+ **ni-*) *nys’ž-* (caus.) ‘to prepare, make ready’ ⇒ Ghilain: 50, 68 | DMMPP: 306a, 305a, 191b, 283b f., 254a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *scytd*; Partic.: perf. pass. caus. *s’c’d*; Caus.: pres. IMPV. 2pl. *s’cyd* || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *ps’cyd*, *ps’cynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *psxt*, II *ps’c’d* || (+ **ni-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 2pl. *nys’c’d*, IMPV. 2pl. *nys’žyd*

•KHOTANESE: *sāj-* ‘to learn’ ⇒ SGS: 132

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *s’c*, CSogd. *s’c* ‘to be proper, behave’, BSogd. *s’c*, MSogd. *s’c* ‘to be necessary’ || (+ **abi-*) BSogd. *’βs’xs-* ‘to be trained, accustomed, tamed’, BSogd. *’βs’c-* ‘to tame, train’ || (+ **ā-*) CSogd. *’s’qy* ‘suitable’ || (+ **pati-*) BSogd.

pts'y, CSogd. *pts'c* 'to arrange, order' || (+ **ham-*) BSogd. *'ns'xs-*, CSogd. *'sxs-* 'to be arranged, reconciled', BSogd. *'ns''c* 'to fix, erect, dispose'

Well attested: Pres.: IND. 2sg. SSogd. *L' s'cy* 'it does not fit you', 3sg. SSogd. *s'ct*, BSogd. *s'ct*, etc. || (+ **abi-*) *well attested*: Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *'βs'xsty*, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *'βs'xs't*, OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *'βs'xs'y*, etc. || (+ **ā-*) Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. *'s'ytk* 'compatible' || (+ **pati-*) *well-attested*: Pres.: IND. 2sg. CSogd. **pts'cy*, SUBJ. 1pl. MSogd. *pts'cym*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **ā-*) *m/ws'cy-* 'to make peace with' || (+ **ni-*) *nscy'k* 'mean, vile' || (+ **ui-*) *m/wsxs-* 'to separate' || (+ **ham-*) *m/sxs-* 'to be united, familiar with each other', *mš'cy-* 'to make straight, in order; to behave like, pretend' ⇒ Samadi: 219, 221, 188, 178

•BACTRIAN: *σαχσ-* 'to be assessed' ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 223a

•NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *sazad* 'it is fitting', *sāxtan/sāz-* 'to build, construct, prepare', Bal. *sāčit/sāč-* 'to adjust, be suitable, agree', Gz. *sāz-/sāt* (intr.) 'to be reconciled with', Abyan., Abz., Nn., Tr. *sāta/sāj-*, Anar., Varz. *sāte/sāj-*, Ard. *sūtte/sūj-*, Ham. *satān/saj-*, Isfah. *satān/šaz-*, Jow. *bam-sa:t/a-sa:dž-* 'to do, build', Khuns. *sāz-/sāt*, Mah. *sāt/sāj-* 'to prepare, do' || (+ **ā-*) NP *āsağdah* 'prepared, disposed' (< Sogd., cf. Henning 1939: 103 f.) || (+ **pati-*) NP *pāsāxt*, NP *pasāğdah* 'disposed, prepared, experienced' (< Sogd., cf. Henning 1939: 104)

•NEIR: Oss. I. *səzɣn/sağd*, D. *səzɣn/sağd* 'to get stuck in', I. *səzɣn/sağd*, D. *səzɣn/sağd* 'to place (in), dig in; [also D.] to build, construct', Pash. *sātəl/sāt-* 'to keep, protect', Yzgh. *saj-/saxt* 'to prepare (a bed, etc.)' || (+ **fra-*) Oss. D. *rəsəzɣn/rəsəğd* 'to drive, strike, stick in'. ◇ Yzgh. *saj-/saxt* is probably a loan word, on account of *-xt-*, instead of regular *-yd-* (*EVS*: l.c.) ||

•SANSKRIT: *śak* 'to be able, capable' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 600

◇ Although this IIr. root has a good IE etymology, it has no further IE verbal correspondences.

•PIE **kek*^(w)- 'to achieve, accomplish, be able, capable' ⇒ LIV: 322 | Pok.: 522

•IE COGNATES: OIrish *cécht* 'might, power', (?) MWelsh *pybyr* 'strong, solid', ON *hagar* 'it is fitting, suitable'

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 82a, 141b; *EVP*: 70; Abrahamian 1936: 120, 132; Lambton 1938: 78a; *EVS*: 73a; *DKS*: 423b f.; Abaev, *Slovar'* II: 376; *WIM* I: 72; *WIM* II/1: 82; Abaev, *Slovar'* III: 55, 7 ff.; *Werba* 1997: 240; *Lecoq* 2002: 123, 126, 128 (passim); *Shahbakhsh*: s.v. *sāč-*

***sač²** 'to pass'

•AVESTAN: YAv. *sac-* 'to pass' ⇒ Liste: 61

Pres. them.: IND. med. 3sg. YAv. *sacāite* (V 18.16, V 18.24), med. 3pl. YAv. *fra saciṇte* (V 5.10), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *pairi.sacāiti* (N 46 ff.), med. 3sg. YAv. *sacāite* (V 6.43), med. 3pl. YAv. *sacāṇte* (V)

•OLD PERSIAN: *θak-* 'to pass, complete' ⇒ Kent: 187

Partic.: perf. pass. *θakata*- <θ-k-t-°> (DB 1.38, DB 1.42, DB 1.56, etc.)

- MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *sc-*/*saz-*/ ‘to pass’, MMP *sxt* ‘passed’ (in dating) || (+ **fra-*) BMP *plsng*/*frasang*/ ‘Persian league, parasang’ ⇒ DMMPP: 311a
Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *scyt/sazēd*
- PARTHIAN: *sxt* ‘passed’ (in dating) || (+ **aṃa-*) ‘*wsxt* (pret. stem) ‘to descend’ || (+ **fra-*) *frsng* ‘Persian league, parasang’ ⇒ Ghilain: 96 | DMMPP: 311a, 71a, 156b
Partic.: perf. pass. *sxt* || (+ **aṃa-*) Partic.: perf. pass. ‘*wsxt*; Inf.: ‘*wsxtn*
- KHOTANESE: *skyāta-*, LKh. *scāta-* ‘(passing) time’
- SOGDIAN: SSogd. *sy-* ‘to pass’, CSogd. *syt-* (f.) ‘day (of the month)’ || (+ **fra-*) BSogd. ‘*βs’ny* ‘parasang’
Partic.: perf. pass. SSogd. *syth*, SSogd. *sxth* ‘past’
- CHORESMIAN: (+ **aṃa-*) *wsNc-* ‘to descend, appear’ ⇒ Samadi: 220 f.
- NWIR: (+ **fra-*) NP *firsang* ‘Persian league’ (old LW)
- NEIR: Ishk. *š̌xs-/š̌xt-*, Sangl. *š̌xs-*, Wa. *š̌xs-*, *š̌ixs-/š̌x(a)st-*, *š̌ix(ə)st-* ‘to pass’, *š̌xs(ɫ)v-/š̌xsovd-* (caus.) ‘to cross, transfer’ (with sec. *š-*), Pash. *sağ(kāl)* ‘this current year’
- MISC: (+ **fra-*) Gr. *παροσάγγης* ‘Persian league’ (< OP LW **fra-sanga-*), Arm. (LW) *hrasax*, Syr. (LW) *prsȟ*, Arab. (LW) *farsax* (< NW Ir.)
- PIE **(s)kek-* ‘to pass, happen’. ◇ To be separated from **skek-* ‘to jump’, OCS *skačō* (*skakati*), (?) MWelsh *kesgyc* shakes, stirs’ ? ⇒ LIV: 551 f. | Pok.: 922 f.
- IE COGNATES: OHG *scehan*, MHG *schehen* ‘to run’, OHG *gi-skehan*, MHG *geschehen*, NHG *geschehen* ‘to happen, take place’, (?) OIrish *scuichid* ‘moves; passes’ (contaminated with **skek-* ?)
- REFERENCES: *EVP*: 72; *IIFL* II: 414; *DKS*: 430b f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 338; *NEVP*: 73

*saH ‘to whet, cut’

- AVESTAN: OAv. *si-* (*sā-*) ‘to sharpen, cut’ ?. ◇ The verbal root may be non-existent. The attested forms can be interpreted differently: *siiōdūm* (< **šjazd*), *sāzdūm* (< **saHh*), v. Lubotsky 2001: 34. ⇒ Liste: 62
Pres. *ja-*: IMPV. 2pl. OAv. *paitī siiōdūm* (Y 48.7); Aor. *s-*: INJ./IMPV. 2pl. OAv. *sāzdūm* (Y 31.18)
- KHOTANESE: OKh. *sāta-* ‘smooth’ (Z 23.44)
- NWIR: Bal. *sāt/sāy-*, *sāh-* ‘to shave’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *hasūn/has-* (*ha-* < **ham-* or sec. ?), (Sor.) *sūn/sū-* ‘to whet, sharpen’, Gz. *sūn-/sūnt* ‘to rub, shave off’, NP *sād* ‘smooth, plain; rubbed, worn out’ || (+ *kardan* ‘to do, make’) ‘to castrate, cut all clean away’ || (+ **ham-* ?) Kurd. *hasān*, *ḥasān* (m.) ‘whetstone’
- NEIR: ? Pash. *sūlēdəl* ‘to become ground, grated’, Oss. I. *sart* ‘chisel’, ? Sh. *sād* (f.) ‘flat stone, flagstone’, Sariq. *sād* ‘slate, baking pan’, Yi. *sū* ‘slate’ (< **sāHtī-* ‘whetstone’ ?), Sariq. *suḍy* ‘flat, smooth (surface)’ (**sāH-ta-ka-*, with fric. assimil. ?: *-dy-* > *-ḍy-* ?), (*av-* < **ā-apa-* ?) D. *avinsun/avinst* ‘to whet; to incite, direct’ || (+ **abi-* ?) Yi. *áfseño*, *yúfseuno* ‘whetstone’ || (+ **pati-*) Sh. *pisēn* (f.), Rosh. *pisēn* (f.),

Orosh. *pisōn* (f.), Sariq. *pisan* (f.), Yzgh. *pəsan* ‘whetstone, hone’ || (+ *ham-) Oss. I. *yssyn/yssad*, D. *insun/insad* ‘to whet, sharpen’

•SANSKRIT: *śā* ‘to sharpen, whet’ ⇒ EWAia II: 627

◇ There are no IE verbal correspondences of Ir. *saH / Skt. *śā*. A possible variant of *saH is *sauH¹ (q.v.).

•PIE *KeH₃- ‘to sharpen, whet’ ⇒ LIV: 319 f. | Pok.: 541 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *cōs* ‘whetstone’, *catus* ‘sharp(-minded)’, OIrish *cath* ‘wise’, Arm. *sur* ‘sharp’, ON *hein* (f.) ‘whetstone’

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 67; *IIFL* II: 245b, 188b; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 85; *EVS*: 72a, 61b f.; Abaev, *Slovar*’ III: 36; *DKS*: 424a, 290a; *WIM* II/1: 82; Abaev, *Slovar*’ IV: 278; Werba 1997: 320; Cabolov 2001: 426, 424; Korn 2005: 110, 313, 381

***saHh** ‘to teach, instruct’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *sāh-* ‘to teach, instruct’ || (+ *frā-) ‘id.’ ⇒ Liste: 62

Pres. athem.: IND. 3sg. OAv. *sāstī* (Y 48.3), OPT. 3sg. OAv. *sāhī* (Y 50.6), IMPV. 3sg. OAv. *frō ... sāsī* (Y 45.6); Aor. redupl.: OPT. 3sg. OAv. *sīsōī* (Y 43.3), IMPV. 2sg. OAv. *sīsā* (Y 34.12), *frō ... sīsā* (Y 28.11)

•OLD PERSIAN: ◇ OP *θātiy* is derived from this root by Kuiper 1960: 159 ff., but see also Hoffmann *apud* Goto 1987: 303, fn. 721.

•SANSKRIT: *śās* ‘to teach, instruct, command’ ⇒ EWAia II: 632

◇ Further Ir. cognates are unknown.

•PIE *KeHs ‘to proclaim, point out, instruct’ ? ⇒ LIV: 318 f. | Pok.: 533

•IE COGNATES: Toch. A *kāṣ-* ‘to call names’, Alb. *thom* ‘I say’

***said¹** ‘to break, split, destroy’

•AVESTAN: (+ *aqa-) YAv. *auua.siδ-* ‘to split’ ⇒ Liste: 62

Perf.: OPT. 3sg. YAv. *auua.hisiḍiīāt* (Yt 8.54)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *apa-) BMP *’p(y)shyn- /ab(e)sīhēn-* (caus.) ‘to destroy’, MMP *’bysyh-* (pass.), BMP *’p̄s(y)h-* ‘to be destroyed, perish’ || (+ *fra-) MMP *prysyt* (pret. stem), BMP *plsn- /frasinn-* ‘to break’ || (+ *ui-) BMP *wsyn- /wisin(n)-* ‘to break, split’ ⇒ DMMPP: 17b, 156b

(+ *apa-) Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. BMP */abesīhēnēd/*; Inf.: BMP *’p̄s(y)hytn /abesīhīdan/*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. BMP */abesīhēd/*, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *’bysyh’d*, BMP *’bysyh’t /abesīhād/* || (+ *fra-) Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. BMP *plsn’t /frasinnād/*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *prysyt* || (+ *ui-) Pres.: IND. 3pl. BMP *wsynynd /wisinēnd/*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *wsyt /wisist/*

•PARTHIAN: *systg* (ppp.) ‘broken’ || (+ *apa-) *’bsyst-* (pret. stem) ‘to stop, cut off, end (?)’ || (+ *fra-) *frsyst-* (pret. stem) ‘to break [tr.]’ ⇒ Ghilain: 83 | DMMPP: 312b, 14b, 156b

Partic.: perf. pass. *systg* || (+ *apa-) Partic.: perf. pass. *’bsyst* || (+ *fra-) Inf.: *frsystn*

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *syδ-*, CSogd. *syδ-* ‘to destroy’ || (+ **apa-*) ? CSogd. *psyd-* ‘to fail’, *’ps’yδ* ‘failing, stint’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *syδt* || (+ **apa-*) Fut.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *psydyq’*

•BACTRIAN: (+ **apa-*) *αβσισ-* (pret. stem) ‘to finish, conclude, bring to an end’
⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 176b

•NWIR: Bal. *sist/sid-*, *sind-* ‘to break, split (cords, sim.)’ || (+ **apa-*) Gz. *fīsisse* ‘torn out, spread out’, Tr. *fēsēs-* (pret. stem) ‘to break’ || (+ **ui-*) NP *gusistan* (supplet. *gusil-*) ‘to shatter, break’. ◇ The initial *fī-* of Gz. *fīsisse* is hardly from **ui-*, cf. NP *gusistan/gusil-* (!) ‘to break off’, *pace* Eilers, *WIM* II/2, l.c.

•NEIR: Pash. *šlēdāl* ‘to break’ || (+ **fra-*) Ishk. *ḫrsynd-/ḫrsyst-* ‘to be torn apart’, Wa. *rəsəd-*, *rəsəδ-/rəsn-* ‘to break [intr.]; to get sour [of milk]’

•MISC: Orm. *syōk* ‘to break’

•SANSKRIT: *ched* ‘to split, to cut off, to hew off, to destroy, to divide’ (RV, AV+)
⇒ EWAia I: 561

◇ Contamination with other roots for ‘to split, break’, especially **sčand*, can be observed in several languages.

•PIE **skeid-* ‘to split’ ⇒ LIV: 547 f. | Pok.: 920 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *σχίζω* ‘I split, cut through’, Lat. *scindō* ‘I cut open, tear up’, Lith. *skiedžiu (skiesti)* ‘I split, separate’, etc.

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 74; *IIFL* I: 407b; *IIFL* II: 538a; *WIM* II/2: 663; *Verba* 1997: 186; *Steblin-Kamenskij* 1999: 302; *Lecoq* 2002: 128; *Shahbakhsh* s.v. *sid-*; *Korn* 2005: 79 (fn. 25), 87 (passim)

**said²* ‘to call’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ui-*) BMP *wsydy/wisē* ‘despatch’

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ui-*) *wsyst* (ppp.) ‘sent out’, *wsyyd*, *wsyd* ‘leave, despatch’
⇒ Ghilain: 83 | DMMPP: 347a

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ham-*) BSogd. *’ns’yδ* ‘to exhort’

Pres.: IMPV. 2sg. BSogd. *’ns’yδ* (*SCE*: 546)

•NWIR: (+ **ui-*) NP *gusī* (*gusē*?) ‘dismissal; sending away’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *sidyn/sidt*, D. *sedun/sidt* ‘to call (for), invite’ || (+ **ham-*) Oss. D. *ænsedun/ænsidt* ‘to incite (against)’

•PIE **keid-* ‘to call’ ⇒ LIV: 321 | Pok.: 538

•IE COGNATES: OIrish *as-cesar* ‘exseri’, Goth. *haitan*, OHG *heizan*, ON *heita* (etc.) ‘to call’

•REFERENCES: *Abaev, Slovar’* III: 105 f.; *Abaev, Slovar’* I: 165 f.

**saif* ‘to flog, cane, rake?’

•AVESTAN: (+ **abi-*) YAv. *aiβi-sif-* ‘to flog, cane’ ⇒ *Liste*: 62

Pres. them.: INJ. 3sg. YAv. *aiβisifaṭ* (V 2.10), YAv. *auui sifaṭ* (V 2.18), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *aiβi.sifōiš* (Yt 14.35)

•SOGDIAN: ◇ Gershevitch 1977: 69 connects BSogd. *ʾβsʾypt* ‘to sweep’ to Av. *sif-* rather from ***sap**?

•NEIR: (+ **ham-*) Oss. I. *æssivyn/æssyvđ* ‘to rake up, together [grain, vel sim.]; to make folds in textile’

◇ Further Ir. cognates are unknown. An IE provenance for this postulated root cannot be established.

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 189

***saiH** ‘to lie down, go to sleep’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *saē-* (*saii-*) ‘to lie down, go to sleep’ || (+ **ā-*) YAv. *āsītō* ‘lying, resting’ (Y 10.14). ◇ On *āsītō* ‘lying, resting’ (Y 10.14) see Humbach 1960: 27f.; Oberlies 1990: 159 and 166, fn. 55. ⇒ Liste: 62

MED.; Pres. athem.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *saēte* (V 18.5), 3pl. YAv. *sōire* (Yt 10.80), YAv. *ʾsaēre* (V 7.45 ff., et al.), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *saēta* (V 3.24); Partic.: pres. YAv. *saiiana-* (Yt 14.31, FrA 9), them. YAv. *saiiamna-* (V 3.25, V 18.26), perf. pass. YAv. *āsītō.gātu-* (Y 62.5, Yt 19.39). ◇ The compound YAv. *āsītō.gātu-* is interpreted as ‘who never sees his bed’, with *ā-* from negative **a-* ‘un-’, by Lubotsky 1998: 91 ff.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *sy-* ‘to lie (down)’ || (+ **ā-*) BMP *ʾsʾd-* ‘to rest, repose’, BMP *ʾsʾn /āsān/* (ptc. pres.) ‘calm, quiet’ || (+ **ūi-*) MMP *wysʾy-* ‘to (come) to rest; come in peace’, ? MMP *wysʾyn-* (caus.) ‘to let (it) rest’ ⇒ DMMPP: 356b f.356b f. Pres.: IND. 2sg. MMP *syy* ? || (+ **ā-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *ʾsʾdyt /āsāyēd/*, 3pl. BMP *ʾsʾdynd /āsāyēnd/* || (+ **ūi-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *wysʾyʾd*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *wysʾy*; Partic.: pres. MMP *wysʾn*, perf. pass. II caus. MMP *wysʾynʾd*

•PARTHIAN: *sy-* ‘to lie (down), sleep; be exist’ ⇒ Ghilain: 55 | DMMPP: 311b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *sʾyd*, 3pl. *synd, syynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *syʾh*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *sʾyʾd*

•KHOTANESE: *śśā-* ‘to lie down’ ⇒ SGS: 127

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *ʾsy-* ‘to lie’ || (+ **ūi-*) CSogd. *wysʾq* ‘peace’

Pres.: IND. 3pl. BSogd. *ʾsyʾnt* (SCE: 175)

•NWIR: (+ **ā-*) NP *āsūdan/āsāy-*, Kurd. (Sor.) *ḥasānawa/ḥasē-* ‘to rest’ (with sec. *ḥ* ?), Ham. *he-sayān/he-s-* ‘to be put’, Bakht. *asīda* ‘content, happy, quiet’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *sæjyn/sad*, D. *sæjun/sad* ‘to be ill; to lie down’

•SANSKRIT: *śay*’ ‘to lay, lie’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 613

•PIE **keiH₁-* ‘to lay, lie’ ⇒ LIV: 320 | Pok.: 539 f.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */kitta(ri)/* <*ki-it-ta(-ri)*>, Pal. */kītar/*, Lyc. *sitēni* ‘lays’, Gr. *κεῖμαι* ‘I lay, lie down, am somewhere’

•REFERENCES: Abrahamian 1936: 115; Abaev, *Slovar*’ III: 60; DKS: 398b; Vahman – Asatrian 1991: 77; Werba 1997: 380; Cabolov 2001: 454

***saiH/siH** ‘to freeze’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *syjyn/syd*, D. *sujun/sud* ‘to freeze’, ? Yghn. *ši-* (rather ***čjaH³** ?), Yzgh. *šed/šiy-* ‘to freeze’, Sh. *šitō*, Sariq. *š(i)tu* ‘cold, ice’. ◇ The initial š- of Yzgh. *šed/šiy-* is from (palatalised) **sj-* or, less likely, from **xš-* ?, v. EVS: 100b, s.v. *šici(y)-*.

•SANSKRIT: *śyā* ‘to freeze, coagulate, become rigid’ (Kāth+), *śītá-* (ppp.) ‘cold’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 660 f.

◇ See also ***čjaH³/čiH**.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 331 f. | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Andreev – Peščereva: 326b; EVS: 100b, 79a; Werba 1997: 412

***saij̯ ?** ‘to run, send’

•AVESTAN: (+ **fra-*) ? YAv. *frasiiazj-* ‘to hunt, chase after’ ⇒ Liste: 62

Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *frasiiazjaiti* (F 695), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *fra(-ca) siiazjaiiōit̄* (A 3.13). ◇ YAv. *frasiiazjaiti* is emended to *^xfrasiiazjaiieiti* by Kellens 1984: 147.

•NWIR: ? Soi *a-sig-* ‘to walk, run (off)’

•MISC: (+ **abi-*) ? Par. *wesej-* ‘to send, despatch, order’. ◇ Cf. *IIFL I*: *ibid.*: “Scarcely < **abi-sāčaja-* [v. ***sac¹**]... Apart from other considerations, *j* < *č* would be irregular (Gr. 50)’.

•SANSKRIT: *śīghra-* ‘fast, rapid’ ⇒ EWAia II: 642 f.

◇ An Iranian root **sij̯* (as inferred from YAv. *frasiiazj-*), may be non-existent, on which see Lubotsky 2001: 40 and 2004: 326: the very late form *frasiiazjaiti* is perhaps a corruption of *^xfrasiiazdaiieiti*, a caus. of ***siazd**, also *fra(-ca) siiazjaiiōit̄* (> *fra(-ca) ^xsiiazdaiiōit̄*). Still, the modern languages, Soi *a-sig-* and Par. *wesej-*, possibly point the existence of a root **saij̯*, which would correspond to Skt. *śīghrá-* (cf. Kuiper 1937: 40). Skt. *śīghrá-* does not have a good IE etymology though, cf. *EWAia*, l.c.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 542 f.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL I*: 297b; *KPF*: 245b; Kellens 1984: 147, fn. 36.

***sam** ‘to agree, conclude an agreement’

•KHOTANESE: *sam-* ‘to agree, accord’. ◇ Bailey, *DKS*: 420a also relates *sama-* ‘suitable’, *samu* ‘fittingly, just, only’ to *sam-*: rather from Skt. *sama-* ‘same, equal’ ? ⇒ SGS: 131

•NEIR: Oss. I. *somy*, D. *somi* ‘oath’ (< **sāmīja-* ‘pertaining to an agreement’), ? Pash. *sam(a)* ‘even, plain, straight’ (< IA ?). ◇ Bailey, l.c.: 61 also connects Oss. D. *somun/sund* ‘to winnow (grain)’ to Oss. *somy*, *somi*, which is semantically inadmissible. This D. verb *somun*, which specifically refers to the handling of grain, bears an uncanny resemblance to Germanic forms such as OHG *samo*, OSax. *sāmo*,

NHG *Same(n)* ‘seed’ (nominal derivatives of ‘to sow’) and ON *samna*, OE *samnian*, OHG *samanōn*, NHG *sammeln* ‘to collect’. *Somun* is perhaps an ancient borrowing from Germanic.

•MISC: NP *sāmah* (obs.) ‘covenant, oath’

•SANSKRIT: ? Skt. *śám* (indecl.) ‘hail !, blessing !’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 609 f.

◇ The Ir. root has no certain IE origin. Bailey 1957: 62 ff. postulates a Skt. root *śam* ‘to fit’ (in order to suit Khot. *sam-*, Oss. I. *somy*, D. *somi*), deriving notably Skt. *śám* (indecl.) ‘hail!, blessing!’ from ‘fitness’ (of things) and a late formation *ni-śamⁱ* ‘to observe, notice’ from ‘to be applied’, see further EWAia II: 609 f., 611. The Gr. cognates cited by Bailey, l.c.: 64 f., Gr. κόμνω, etc. may be rather connected to *samH. According to Wüst 1960: 598, Skt. *śám* goes back to an IE ritualistic interjection **kem* (related to **kens-*?, **sanh*).

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Bailey 1957: 59 ff.; Abaev, *Slovar*’ III: 133 f.

***samH** ‘to become quiet, tired (?), rub, wipe (out)’

•SOGDIAN: (+ **pari-*) BSogd. *prsm* ‘to rub, wipe’, BSogd. *prśym* ‘oppression, enquiry, punishment’, CSogd. *prsym* ‘punishment, enquiry, judgment’

Pres.: ? BSogd. *prsm skwn*; Inf.: BSogd. *prsm y* ‘massage (?)’

•CHORESMIAN: *sm-* ‘to wipe out, let (it) disappear’, *sms-* (intr./inch.) ‘to disappear, become invisible’ || (+ **ham-*) *m/sm-* ‘to wipe off, clean (the hands)’ (MacKenzie IV: 527) ⇒ Samadi: 183, 182

•NEIR: ? Yzgh. *θamt/θam-* ‘to sweep’ (Edel’man 1971: 82). ◇ The initial *θ-* is from **θanj* ?

•SANSKRIT: *śamⁱ* ‘to become extinguished, become appeased, become quiet, stop’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 610

•PIE **kemH₂₋* ‘to become exhausted, appeased, calm, extinguished’ ⇒ LIV: 323 f. | Pok.: 557

•IE COGNATES: Gr. κόμνω ‘I tire, labour, toil; expire, pass away’, ἄ-κόμνωτ- (partic. aor.) ‘un-tiring’, οἱ κομόντες ‘the expired ones, those who have passed away’. ◇ Gr. κομέω ‘I take care of, look after’; Gr. ἵππο-κόμος (m.) ‘horse-watcher’, Irish *cumal* ‘female slave’ can hardly belong to the root **kemH₂₋*, on which see **θam*.

•REFERENCES: DKS: 420a; Werba 1997: 319 f.

***san** ‘to mount, ascend’

•AVESTAN: YA. *san-* (*sən-*) ‘to mount, ascend’ || (+ **ā-*) YA. *āsən-* ‘to ascend’ ⇒ Liste: 61

Pres. *nu-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *āsənaoiti* (V 19.28, V 19.30), YAv. **āsənaoiti* (Yt 10.13); Aor. them.: INJ. 3sg. ? YAv. *sanaṭ* (14.7, Yt 14.9, G 5.5). ◇ On YAv. **āsənaoiti*, see Klingenschmitt 1970: 72; also De Vaan 2003: 472 f.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **aya-*) MMP *'ws'n-* 'to push (someone or something) off, throw down', BMP *'ws'n- /ōsān-* (caus.) 'to throw down' || (+ **ā-*) MMP *xwr's'n* 'east', BMP *hwl's'n /xwarāsān/* 'sunrise, the East' ⇒ DMMPP: 71a, 369a

(+ **aya-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *'ws'nyd*, BMP *'ws'nyt /ōsānēd/*, 3pl. MMP *'ws'nynd*

•PARTHIAN: *sn-* 'to rise, come up', *s'n-* (caus.) 'to lead up, take up', *syn-* 'to raise up' || (+ **aya-*) *'wsn-* 'to descend' || (+ **ā-*) *xwr's'n* 'east' || (+ **fra-*) *frsd-* (pret. stem) 'to rise up'. ◇ On *syn-* Ghilain, l.c.: 90 comments: "un thème causatif à la manière sogdienne", in other words, *syn-* is a Sogd. borrowing? ⇒ Ghilain: 55 f., 71, 90 | DMMPP: 307b, 305a, 312a, 71a, 369a, 156b

Pres.: IND. 2sg. *snyh*, 3sg. *snyd*, 3pl. *snynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *sn'*, 3sg. *sn'h*, IMPV. 2pl. *snyd*; Caus.: pres. IND. 2sg. *s'nyh*, SUBJ. 1sg. *s'n'n*, 2sg. *s'n'h*, IMPV. 2sg. *syn*, *syn-*; Partic.: perf. pass. *sd*, II *sn'd* || (+ **aya-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *'wsnyd*, 3pl. *'wsnynd*

•KHOTANESE: *sat-* (pret. stem) 'to rise', *sāñ-* (caus.) 'to raise'. ◇ Khot. *sat-* is part of a suppletive paradigm with (pres.) *sarb-*, whose origin is unknown. The pres. stem *san-*, mentioned in *DKS*: 419, is not attested at all, on which see *SVK* II: 148. ⇒ *SGS*: 132

•SOGDIAN: BSogd., CSogd., MSogd. *sn-* 'to rise, ascend, come up', SSogd. *sn-*, CSogd. *syn-* (caus.) 'to make to go up, lift up, bring up'

Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *snty*, MSogd. *sndyy*, 3pl. BSogd. *sn'nt*, OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *sn'y*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: *m/s'ny-* (caus.) 'to pass (time), fulfil, carry out' || (+ **aya-*) *ws'ny-* 'to cause to descend, let (it) go down; to let someone to stay' || (+ **ni-*) *m/sn/y-* 'to pass (away), go down, perish'. ◇ According to MacKenzie (IV: 533), the specialization of the formation *m/s'ny-* may perhaps suggest prefixation with **ham-*. ⇒ *Samadi*: 178, 220, 183

•NWIR: (+ **ā-*) NP *x^varāsān* 'Khorasan'

•NEIR: M. *san-/sanoy-*, Wa. *san-/sat-*, Yghn. *san-/sāta-* 'to mount', Yzgh. *sān-/sūd* 'to rise, grow up', (orig. caus.) Sh. *sēn-/sēnt*, Rosh. *sēn-/sēnt*, Bart. *sōn-/sōnt*, Yghn. *sayn-* 'to raise, lift', Yzgh. *sān-/sānt* 'to let grow' || (+ **ham-*) Oss. I. *æssonyn/æssyud*, D. *ænonun/ænsud* 'to push through; to stick in'

•MISC: ? Arm. verb (med.) *snanim* 'I grow up' (< Ir. ?)

•SANSKRIT: ? *śānaiḥ* 'gradually, little by little' (RV+) ⇒ *EWAia* II: 607

◇ An IE provenance for this Ir. root cannot be established. The IE etymology suggested by Tremblay 1996: 16 (Lat. *cōnārī* 'to attempt', Welsh *di-gawn* 'works, is able', etc., Pokorny: 564; *LIV*: 353), is semantically not compelling, as there is no hint of a vertical movement in these forms. It cannot be ruled out that the Arm. verb *snanim*, which is usually cited as cognate with the Ir. root, is actually an Iranian LW.

Lubotsky, *Early Contacts*: 314 considers the root a borrowing from a "substrate" language.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: 324 | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 540a; *GMS*: §543, 577; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 189; Andreev – Peščereva: 318a, 320b; *EVS*: 74a, 116b; *EVS*: 419a; Klingenschmitt 1982: 226; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 307

***sand** ‘to appear, seem (good)’

•AVESTAN: Av. *sənd-* ‘to appear, seem (good)’ ⇒ Liste: 61

Pres. *aja-*: IND. 1sg. YAv. *sadaiiemi* (H 2.12), 2sg. YAv. *sađaiiehi* (H 2.11, AZ 1), 3sg. YAv. *sađaiieiti* (H, Vyt), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *sadaiiat* (F 522), 3pl. YAv. *saiđin* (Yt 14.56), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *sadaiiat* (V 2.24); Aor. *s-*: INJ. 2sg. OAv. *saš* (Y 46.19), 3sg. OAv. *saš* (Y 43.11), IMPV. 2pl. OAv. *saštā* (Y 29.1); Caus.: IMPV. med. 2sg. YAv. *səndaiaaŋ’ha* (Vr 8.1)

•OLD PERSIAN: *θad-* ‘to seem’ ⇒ Kent: 187b

Pres. *aja-*: INJ. 3sg. *θadaya* <θ-d-y> (DNa 58, DNb 53), SUBJ. med. 3sg. *θadayātaiy* <θ-d-y-a-[t]-[i]-[y]> (DB 4.49, DSj 6), <θ-d-y-a-t-i-y> (DSa 5)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *shyn* ‘apparent; prominent, splendid’ || (+ **pati-*) MMP *psyn-*, *psn-*, BMP *psnd-* /*passand-* ‘to approve’ ⇒ DMMPP: 307a, 284a

(+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *psndyt* /*passandēd* /; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *psndyt* /*passandīd* /

•PARTHIAN: ? *swnd-* ‘to slander’, *swnd’g* ‘slanderer’, *swnd’dyft* ‘deceptive talk’ (< Sogd., see below) || (+ **pati-*) *psynd-* (old caus.) ‘to take a liking to’ ⇒ Ghilain: – | DMMPP: 310b, 284b

Pres.: IND. 3pl. *swndynd* {hapax} || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. *psyndynd* {hapax}

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *sad-* (*sai-*, *sei-*, *sas-*) ‘to appear, seem’ || (+ **pati-*) *pasad-* (*pasai-*, *pasas-*) ‘to seem good’ ⇒ SGS: 130 f., 78

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *sy-*, BSogd. *sy-*, CSogd. *sy-*, MSogd. *syy-* ‘to seem, appear, show’, CSogd. *syd* ‘to appear, seem’, BSogd. *swntk*, *swnt’y*, CSogd. *swnty* ‘liar, deceitful’, MSogd. *swndyh* ‘liar’ (*GMS*: §966) || (+ **pati-*) SSogd. *ptsynt*, BSogd. *pts’ynt* ‘to approve’, CSogd. *ptsynt* ‘to consent’, MSogd. *ptsynd* ‘to agree, be pleased’. ◇ It is difficult to separate BSogd. *sy-* from the root **sand-* (zero grade: **sad-*), especially when the corresponding caus. formation **sandaia-* is well attested in Sogd. The apparent absence or loss of the dental needs an explanation though. Perhaps, this is the result of a simplification which occurred after the development of a secondary cluster **sδ-*. This cluster would have arisen after the shift of the accent (due to the workings of the Rhythmic Law): zero grade Plr. **sadja-* > **sδjā-* (simplification of initial *sδ-* > *s(s)-*, with possible prothesis *əss-* {‘s-} ?), or (monophth.) **sδé-* > *sé* written in MSogd. as *syy-* (*GMS*: §494). Note that Sogd. forms with initial cluster *sδ-* or *zδ-* (vel sim.) are not found, with the possible exception of the borrowing *zδxh* ‘serpent, dragon’ (cf. MMP *’zdh’g*, BMP *’cydh’k*). The coexisting form CSogd. *syd* (heavy stem) may have been abstracted from prefigated formations, cf. notably (caus.) BSogd. *pts’ynt* ‘to approve’, CSogd. *ptsynt*

‘to consent’: *^h-sadaia- or *^h-sādaia- > (epenthesis) *saiḍa- > sēḍ(a)-. || A different solution has been advocated by Yakubovich 2002: 547 f., who suggests a connection with Germanic (Engl. *to shine*, NHG *scheinen*), Slav. **sbjati*. This is a formally attractive suggestion, but the Sogdian forms would not be supported by other (I)Ir. cognate forms though. || The Sogd. forms of *swnd*^o are probably connected, the meaning is due to specialisation: ‘having the appearance of good(ness)’ > ‘feigning goodness’ > ‘duplicitous, deceitful’. On the stem vowel /-u-/ < *-a-, cf. BSogd. *šwnk* ‘mussel’ < Skt. *śaṅkhā-*, GMS: §113. Parthian *swnd-* is probably a borrowing from Sogd.

Pres. {1}: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *syṭ*, BSogd. *sy’ty*, SUBJ. 2sg. BSogd. *’sy’y*, OPT. 3sg. SSogd. *sy’y*, SSogd. *syy*, 1pl. BSogd. *sy’ym*, IMPV. 2sg. BSogd. *’sy’*, BSogd. *sy’*, CSogd. *sy’*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *’sy’*, CSogd. *-sy’*, BSogd. *syṭ*, 3pl. BSogd. *sy’nt*; Partic.: pres. BSogd. *sy’yn’y*; Inf.: BSogd. *’sy’y*, pret. CSogd. *sy’ṭ*. Pres. {2}: IND. 3sg. dur. CSogd. *sydtq* || (+ **pati-*) Partic.: pres. caus. MSogd. (pl.) *’ptsyndnyṭ*; Caus.: pres. IND. 2sg. BSogd. *pts’ynt’y*, 3sg. SSogd. *ptsynt*, 2pl. MSogd. *ptsynd’skwn*, impf. IND. 3sg. BSogd. *pt’y’s’ynt*, fut. IND. 2sg. CSogd. *’ptsyntq’*

•CHORESMIAN: *m/scy-* ‘to appear’, ? *’snCY-* (denomin. ?) ‘to praise’, *’snd* ‘praise’ (= Skt. *chāndas-* ‘song of praise’) || (+ **abi-*) *m/fsncy-* ‘to give, make enough’ || (+ **pati-*) *psnd-* (caus.-iter.) ‘to be content, please’. ◇ The voiceless *-cy-* instead of the expected voiced *-zy-* is due to assimilation to *s-*. ⇒ Samadi: 161 f., 70 f., 184

•BACTRIAN: *σινδο* ‘wish’, *’αγι-σινδο* ‘dissatisfied’ || (+ **hu-*) *υο-σινδαμο*, *υο-σινδητο* ‘pleased’ || (+ **hu-ni-*) *υο-νασινδημο*, *υο-υοσινδο* ‘content, satisfied’ || (+ **hūa-*) *χοα-σινδο*, *χο-σινδο* ‘acting willingly, acting freely in accordance with one’s own wishes’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 223b, 177b, 229a

•NWIR: Zaz. *ā-sāyiš/ā-sen-* ‘to appear’ || (+ **pati-*) NP *pasandīdan/passand-* ‘to approve; cherish’, Abz. *pesāndowa/pesānd-* ‘to agree’, Gz. *pisānd/pisāndā*, Ham. *pesāndayān/pesānd-*, Khuns. *pisend-/pisendā* ‘to approve’

•NEIR: Wa. *сэдгы-*, *сыд(ы)у-/сэдойд-*, *sodoyd*, *sodoyd* ‘to appear, seem’ || (+ **pati-*) Sariq. *pūsan-d* ‘to approach, match, suit, correspond to, be equal, come up to’

•SANSKRIT: *chand* ‘to appear, please’ (RV+), *chāndas-* (n.) ‘hymn of praising’, *chāndu-* ‘pleasant, agreeable’ ⇒ EWAia I: 528

◇ This root is widely attested in Ir.

•PIE ? *(*s*)*kend-* ‘to agree, approve; to appear, seem (to agree)’. ◇ Cf. Hoffmann 1965: 165 ff. Note that the meaning ‘to shine’ is absent in Iranian **sand*. The Khot. form *cadana-* ‘shining’, with atypical *c-* (rather than regular *tc-* < Ir. **č-*), is most likely a borrowing from BSkt. ⇒ LIV: 546 | Pok.: –

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *cēnseō* ‘I approve, judge, am of the opinion’, Gr. *κέκασμαι*, *κεκοδμένοσ* ‘to excel’, ? OCS *setь* ‘inquit’. ◇ Lat. *cēnseō* has *-s-* from ppp. (?), cf. *scandō/scānsus* ‘to climb, rise’, or rather from **Kens-* (s.v. **sanh*) ?

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 539; Abrahamian 1936: 118; *EVS*: 61b; *WIM* I: 71; *WIM* II/1: 81; *DKS*: 418b f., 224b; *Werba* 1997: 185; *Paul* 1998: 291b; *Stebliin-Kamenskij* 1999: 320; *Kümmel* 2000: 181 ff.; *Lecoq* 2002: 124

•***sanh** ‘to declare, explain’

•AVESTAN: *səŋgh-* (*saŋh-*) ‘to declare, explain’ || (+ **abi-*) ‘to call names, curse’ || (+ **pati-*) ‘to call up, invoke’ ⇒ *Liste*: 62

Pres. them.: IND. 1sg. YAv. *paiti.saphāmi* (V 20.7), 3sg. OAv. *səŋghaitī* (Y 43.6), med. 3sg. OAv. *səŋghaitē* (Y 32.7), YAv. *saŋhaite* (V 18.1), 1pl. OAv. *səŋghāmahī* (Y 31.1), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *saŋhaṭ* (V 22.8, V 22.13 ff.), SUBJ. 1sg. OAv. *səŋghānī* (Y 46.17), YAv. *saŋhāni* (Vyt 13), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *saŋhōiš* (V 22.7), med. 2sg. YAv. *paiti.saŋhāčša* (Yt 14.35); Aor. athem.: OPT. 3sg. OAv. *saxīiāt* (Y 44.1, Y 44.9); Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. *aīfi.sasta-* (Yt 14.34); Inf.: aor. OAv. *sastē* (Y 30.8, Y 46.12), ? OAv. *sazdiāi* (Y 30.2, Y 51.16); Intens.: impf. IND. 3sg. ? YAv. *asaṣat* (V 19.15, V 19.35), SUBJ. 3pl. ? YAv. *saṣaŋhaŋ* (V 2.16). ◇ OAv. *sazdiāi* may have a different etymology, viz. from ***sand**.

•OLD PERSIAN: *θaⁿh-* ‘to declare, say’. ◇ According to *Kuiper* 1960: 159 ff., OP *θātiy* is derived from a separate root, but see also *Hoffmann* (*apud Goto* 1987: 303, fn. 721). ⇒ *Kent*: 188a

Pres. them. {1}: impf. IND. 1sg. *aθaⁿham* <a-θ-h-m> (DB 2.30, DB 2.50, DB 2.83, etc.), <[a]-[θ]-h-m> (DB 2.20), 3sg. *aθaⁿha* <a-θ-h> (DB 1.75, DB 2.15, DB 2.80, etc.); Pres. athem. {2}: IND. 2sg. *θāhy* <θ-a-h-y> (DB 4.55, DB 4.58), 3sg. *θātiy* <θ-a-t-i-y> (DB 1.6, DB 1.8, DB 1.11, etc.), IMPV. 2sg. ? **θādiy* (DB 4.54); Pass.: pres. IND. 1pl. *θahyāmahy* <θ-h-y-a-m-h-y> (DB 1.7), <θ-[h]-y-a-m-h-y> (DBa 10), impf. 3sg. *aθahya* <a-θ-h-y> (DB 1.20, DNa 20), <a-θ-h-y> (DB 1.23); Inf.: *θastanaiy* <θ-s-t-n-i-y> (DB 1.53)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *sxwn*, BMP *shwn* (*MRY*) /*saxwan*/ ‘word, speech’ || (+ **pati-*) MMP *pswx*, BMP *pshw* /*passox*/, *p’shw* /*pāsox*/ ‘answer’ ⇒ *DMMPP*: 311, 284a

•PARTHIAN: *sxwn* ‘word, saying, utterance’ || (+ **pati-*) *pswx* ‘answer’ ⇒ *DMMPP*: 311, 284a

•KHOTANESE: *saŋja-* ‘document’

•SOGLDIAN: BSogd. *sywn-* ‘to utter, recite’, SSogd. *sxwn*, BSogd. *sywnw* ‘word, speech’

Inf.: BSogd. *sywn’y*

•NWIR: NP *suxan*, *saxun* ‘word, speech’ || (+ **pati-*) NP *pāsux*, Bal. *pas(s)aw* ‘answer’

•MISC: (+ **pati-*) Arm. (LW) *patasxani* ‘answer’ (cf. *Bailey* 1930: 19)

•SANSKRIT: *śams* ‘to praise, recite’ (RV+) ⇒ *EWAia* II: 599

•PIE **kens-* ‘to announce, proclaim’. ◇ Perhaps, **kens-* (or **kems-*) is an old ingressive *s*-formation of **kem-* (***sam**), which would be continued by Ilr. only. ⇒ *LIV*: 326 | *Pok*: 566

•IE COGNATES: OLat. *censuere* ‘to consent’, Lat. *cēnsēō* ‘I vote for something, decide, value’, Gr. κῶμος (m.) ‘dionysic festival procession’

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 62; Nyberg II: 153; DKS: 417b f.; Werba 1997: 239 f.; Korn 2005: 122, 139, 360

***sap** ? ‘to curse, swear’

•SOGDIAN: (+ **apa-*, **api-* or **pati-*) SSogd. *ʾpsypw wʾβ* ‘to preach wrong’, CSogd. *psyp* (m.) ‘slander’, MSogd. *psyp-wʾβky* ‘slandering’ || (+ **abi-*) BSogd. *ʾβsʾypt* ‘to curse’ {hapax}. ◇ Gershevitch 1977: 69 connects BSogd. *ʾβsʾypt* to Av. *sif-* (***saif**) and translates ‘sweeps’: *ʾkrty ywn ʾyδ ʾškʾrty rtyšw ZKwyh tmyh cʾδrsʾr ʾβsʾypt* ‘and his action forthwith chases (him) and sweeps (?) him down into hell’. The translation is not quite convincing as *sweeping* is a rather odd activity to do in hell. A connection with **sap* is preferable (cf. Gharib: 20a, 300a), especially since the formation is similar to SSogd. *ʾpsypw*, etc.

(+ **abi-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *ʾβsʾypt* (Benveniste, *TSP*: 184)

•NEIR: (+ **ūi-*) ? Oss. I. *sæfyn/sæft*, D. *isæfun/isavd* (*isaft*) ‘to get lost, perish’, I. *safyn/sæft*, D. *isafun/isavd* (caus.) ‘to loose; to ruin, destroy, nullify’. ◇ see also ***Hġab**, s.v. Bal. *šabt/šāf-*.

•SANSKRIT: *śap* ‘to scold, curse’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 608

◇ There are no (certain) Ir. cognates of Skt. *śap* other than CSogd. *psyp*, etc., which is suggested by Sims-Williams *apud* EWAia III: 566, and possibly also Oss. I. *sæfyn*, etc.

•PIE **kep-* ‘to curse’ ⇒ LIV: 327 | Pok.: –

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */kappilalli-/* ‘to be cursed, hated’

•REFERENCES: Henning 1944: 140, fn. 3; Gershevitch 1946: 141; Gershevitch 1977: 62 ff.; Abaev, *Slovarʾ* III: 56 f., 10 f.; Eichner 1981: 65 f.; Werba 1997: 241; Kümmel 2000: 514 f.; Cheung 2002: 222

***sar**¹ ‘to conceal, hide’

•AVESTAN: ? OAv. *sar-* ‘shelter’ (Y 41.6)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *sʾrwʾr* ‘helmet’ (< **sāra-bāra-*) ⇒ DMMPP: 306a

•PARTHIAN: *sʾrwʾr* ‘helmet’ ⇒ DMMPP: 306a

•KHOTANESE: ◇ Khot. *śaraima* ‘covering’ (KT2 47,5), cited by Bailey (DKS: 395b), does not exist: *śaraima* is to be interpreted as *śarai ma*.

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *srʾkh* ‘head covering’ (Livšic 1962: 183)

•NWIR: (+ prev. **?*) ? Kurd. (Sor.) *šārdinawa*, Awrom. *šārāy/šār-* ‘to hide [tr.]’ || (+ **ham-*) ? Kurd. (Sor.) *hašār* ‘ambush, refuge’ (MacKenzie 1979: 526)

•NEIR: Sh. *sār-/sārd*, Rosh. *sōr-/sērt*, *sōrt*, Sariq. *sur-/sord*, Yzgh. *sar-/sard* ‘to creep, steal, sneak up to, lie in ambush, spy upon’, Ishk. *sur-/surd* ‘to creep, slink, sneak’ || (+ **ni-*) Wa. *nistr(ɪ)v-/nisrovd* ‘to look closely, spy upon’

•SANSKRIT: *śārman-* (n.) ‘cover, protection, shelter, refuge’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 620

•PIE **kel-* ‘to conceal, hide, cover’ ⇒ LIV: 322 f. | Pok.: 553

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *cēlāre* ‘to conceal from view, by disguise’, OIrish *celim* ‘I conceal’, Goth. *huljan* ‘to cover, conceal’, OHG *helan* ‘to hide’, OHG *helm*, Engl. *helmet*

•REFERENCES: MacKenzie 1966: 109; *EVS*: 75a; Asatrian – Livshits: 92; Werba 1997: 241 f.

***sar²** ‘to stir, incite, impel’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *sy-* ‘to become angry’, BMP *s’ly-*/*sārēn-* (sec. caus.) ‘to provoke, instigate’ ⇒ DMMPP: 312a

Partic.: perf. pass. II MMP *syryd*; Inf.: caus. BMP *s’lynytn* /*sārēnīdan*/

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **upa-*) *bs’ry-* ‘to stir’ ⇒ Samadi: 24 f.

◇ Further Ir. cognates are unknown.

•PIE **kél-* ‘to drive, impel’ ⇒ LIV: 348 | Pok.: 548

•IE COGNATES: Gr. κέλωμαι ‘I drive’, ἐκέλωμεν (aor.) ‘we landed (of ship)’ (Hom.), Lat. *celer* ‘quick, rapid’. ◇ The connection with Germanic (Goth. *haldan* ‘to feed, graze’, ON *halda*, Engl. *to hold*, etc.) is declined by Seebold 1970: 249.

***sard** ‘to smear, rub’

•PARTHIAN: (+ **āa-*) ? *wsrcd* ‘poured ?’, *Ausgeburd* ? (Andreas – Henning 1934: 880 f.) ⇒ DMMPP: 347

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ā-*) *e-saly-* ‘to besmear’ || (+ **āa-*) ? *avasalaka-* ‘mark by smearing’ (LW ?) || (+ **pati-*) **pasal-*, LKh. *pisal-* ‘to besmear [tr.]’ ⇒ SGS: 12, 78

•NWIR: Kurd. *siřin*, Awrom. *asařīáy/-sař-* ‘to wipe’

•NEIR: (+ **ūi-*) Oss. I. *særdyn/særst*, D. *isærdun/isarst* ‘to smear, grease’

•SANSKRIT: (?) *chard* ‘to pour out, spit out, vomit’ (VS, TA+), also *śardh²* ‘to fart, blow to’ (AVP) ⇒ EWAia I: 557; II: 620

◇ An IE provenance for this apparently Ilr. root cannot be established.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: 547 | Pok.: 947 ff.

•REFERENCES: MacKenzie 1966: 88; Abaev, *Slovar*’ III: 81 f.; *DKS*: 45b, 380a; Werba 1997: 186; Cheung 2002: 223

***sarH¹** ‘to cool, become cold’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *sarəta-* ‘cold’ (V 1.3)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *srd’g* ‘cold(ness)’, BMP *slt* /*sard*/ ‘cold’ || (+ **apa-*) BMP *’psl-* /*afsar-* ‘to cool down’, BMP *’ps’l-* /*afsār-* (caus.), BMP /*afsārēn-* (sec. caus.) ‘to cool off, extinguish (fire)’, MMP *’ps’ryšn* ‘cooling’ ⇒ DMMPP: 308b f., 50b

(+ **apa-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. BMP *’pslynd* /*afsārēnd*/; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *’pslt*, caus. BMP *’ps’lt*; Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. BMP /*afsārēnēd*/; Inf.: BMP *’psltn* /*afsardan*/

•PARTHIAN: *srd* ‘cold’ || (+ **ūi-*) *wys’r-* ‘to cool off’ (Sundermann 1997: 76, 169)

⇒ Ghilain: 74 | DMMPP: 308b, 356b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *wys’ryd*

- KHOTANESE: *sāḍa-* ‘cold’
- SOGDIAN: BSogd. *srt, srty* ‘cold’ || (+ **apa-*) MSogd. *ˀpsyrˀmndyy* ‘cooling, freezing’ || (+ **ham-*) BSogd. *ˀnsˀrty* ‘cold, cooled’
- CHORESMIAN: *srY-* ‘to become cold, freeze’, *sˀry-* (caus.) || (+ **apa-*) *psˀry-* ‘to cool off [tr.]’ ⇒ Samadi: 186, 178, 161
- NWIR: NP *sard*, Bal. *sārt*, Kurd. *sar* ‘cold’ || (+ **apa-*) NP *afsurdan/afsār-* ‘to congeal’
- NEIR: Oss. I. *sælyn/sald*, D. *sælun/sald* ‘to freeze’, Pash. *sōr̄, saṛá*, Sariq. *soṛj* ‘frozen, stiff from cold’, Wa. *syr* ‘cold’ || (+ **ā-* ?) Yghn. *ósīr-/ósēr-/ósīrta* ‘to freeze, chill’ || (+ **pati-*) Sariq. *pacōr-, paci-/pacug, pacüg* ‘to cool, become cold’ || (+ **ui-*) ? Oss. I. *sær(d)yn/særst*, D. *isærdun/isard (isarst)* ‘to harden, steel; to weld’, Yghn. *oser-* ‘to cool’, Wa. *wəsər-/wəsərt-* ‘to fade, wither [of apricot blossoms]’
- SANSKRIT: ? *śísīra-* (m.) ‘the cool season’ (AV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 641
- PIE **kelH-* ‘to freeze’. ◇ The accent in the Baltic forms indicates the presence of a laryngeal. ⇒ LIV: 323 | Pok.: 551f.
- IE COGNATES: Lith. *šálti* ‘to freeze, cool (off), become cool’, Latv. *saĭt* ‘to freeze’
- REFERENCES: *EVP*: 70; *IIFL* II: 540b, 549b; Andreev – Peščereva: 299b f.; Fraenkel II: 960b f.; *EVS*: 75b, 52b; Abaev, *Slovar* III: 64; *DKS*: 424a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 325, 399; *NEVP*: 76; Kom 2005: 189, 381 (passim)

*sarH² ‘to mix, unite with’

- AVESTAN: OAv. *sār-* ‘to mix, unite with’ ⇒ Liste: 61
MED.; Pres. them.: IND. 3pl. OAv. *sārəntē* (Y 51.3); Aor. *s-*: INJ. 3sg. OAv. *sārəštā* (Y 49.5); Partic.: pres. OAv. *sārəmna-* (Y 32.2)
- PARTHIAN: *sr* ‘communion’ ⇒ DMMPP: 308b
- KHOTANESE: ? *hīśśāḍai* ‘kinsman’ (*hī* < **hūai-*)
- SOGDIAN: (+ **ui-*) ? CSogd. *wsyr-* ‘to mix (?)’, [Syrian] *mzgˀ*. ◇ Cf. Sims-Williams 1989: 260. The passage is unclear though. In the Greek original text a finite verb is missing, being merely implied: ὠσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δεῖπῆσαι ‘thus also the cup after having eaten’. Perhaps the added Sogd. form *wsyrdˀr̄t* may mean ‘he brought (nearer)’, with *w-* reflecting pref. **aua-* ?
Pret.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *wsyrdˀr̄t*
- NEIR: Pash. *sarā* (adv.) ‘together’, ? Sh. *sār*, Rosh. *sēr*, Bart. *sōr*, Sariq. *sor*, Yzgh. *sarāg* ‘heap of (threshed and winnowed) grain’, Sh. *sīr* ‘heap of snow’, Wa. *sor* ‘yield of harvest’
- SANSKRIT: *ā-śīrta-* ‘mixed (with milk)’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia I: 178
- PIE **KerH₂-* ‘to mix’ ⇒ LIV: 328 | Pok.: 582
- IE COGNATES: Gr. κέραυνμι (aor. ἐκέρασα) ‘I mix (together)’
- REFERENCES: *EVS*: 75a; *DKS*: 487a; Werba 1997: 321; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 313; *NEVP*: 75

***sarH³** ‘to break’

- AVESTAN: (+ neg. *a-*) YAv. *asarəta-* (ppp.) ‘unbroken’ (V 19.4), YAv. *sari-* (m.) ‘piece, fragment’ (V 8.85)
- NWIR: (+ **aya-*) NP *gusil-* ‘to shatter, break’. ◇ The pres. stem NP *gusil-* is from ** μ i-srHd-*, with **-d-* either from ***said¹** or, perhaps preferably, it reflects a *d*-stem formation. The suppletive past stem *gusist-* also goes back to the same root.
- SANSKRIT: *śarⁱ* ‘to shatter, break’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 617 f.
- ◇ Further Ir. cognates are unknown.
- PIE **KerH₂-* ‘to break’ ⇒ LIV: 327 f. | Pok.: 578
- IE COGNATES: Gr. κερᾶίζω ‘I tear, destroy’, Toch. *kārnau* ‘disabled’
- REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 205

***sarū ?** ‘to hunt’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *sauruu-* (m.) name of a *daēuuu* (V 19.43)
- KHOTANESE: (+ **fra-*) *hasura-*, *hasūra-* ‘quarry, hunted beast’
- NEIR: Oss. I. *surun/syrd*, D. *sorun/surd*, Yzgh. *sard/sar-* ‘to track, hunt’
- MISC: Toch. (LW) A *śaru*, B *śerwe* ‘hunter’
- SANSKRIT: *śarvā-* (m.) name of Rudra (= Śiva) ⇒ EWAia II: 621
- ◇ Pinault 2006 is shedding more light on the connection of the Tocharian form with the (Indo-)Ir. forms, as made by Bailey, *DKS*, l.c. Pinault further notes that Śarva is called *ástar-* ‘archer’ in some Vedic texts. The evidence for this root is limited. The root is exclusively Ir.
- PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –
- REFERENCES: Edel’man 1971: 232 f.; Abaev, *Slovar’* III: 171 f.; *DKS*: 474a

***sauč¹** ‘to burn, emit flames’

- AVESTAN: *saoc-* ‘to burn’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to extinguish, put out’ ⇒ Liste: 63
Partic.: pres. them. YAv. *saocīnt-* (V); Caus.: pres. INJ. 3sg. OAv. *saocaiiaṭ* (Y 32.14), SUBJ. 2sg. YAv. *frasaocaiiāhi* (V 8.75)
- OLD PERSIAN: ? ⁺*θauc-* ‘to burn’ (Werba 2006: 276 ff.) ⇒ Kent: –
Impf.: IND. 3sg. ⁺*aθauca¹* (A²Sa)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *swc-*, BMP *swc-* /*sōz-*/ ‘to burn’, (caus.) MMP *swcyn-*, BMP *swcyn-* /*sōzēn-*/ ‘to cause to burn, set ablaze’ ⇒ DMMPP: 310a
Pres.: IND. 1pl. BMP *swcym* /*sōzēm*/, 3sg. BMP *swcyt* /*sōzēd*/, 3pl. MMP *swcynd*, BMP *swcynd* /*sōzēnd*/, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP ^s*swcⁿd*; Partic.: pres. MMP ^s*swcⁿ*, MMP *swcyndg*, BMP *swc^k* /*sōzāg*/, perf. pass. BMP *swht* /*sōxt*/, caus. BMP *swcynyt* /*sōzēnīd*/; Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. MMP *swcynynd*, BMP *swcynyt* /*sōzēnēd*/; Inf.: BMP *swhtn* /*sōxtan*/
- PARTHIAN: *swc-* ‘to burn, emit flames’ ⇒ Ghilain: 63 | DMMPP: 309b f.
Pres.: IND. 3sg. ^s*swcyd* {hapax}

- KHOTANESE: *sūjs-* (*sūs-*, *sū-*) ‘to burn [intr.]’ || (+ **apa-*) *pasūs-* ‘to burn’, LKh. *pasūj-* (caus.) ‘to light (lamp)’ || (+ **aṃa-*) *vasus-* (*vasus-*) ‘to become pure’, OKh. *vasūj-* (caus.) ‘to purify’ ⇒ SGS: 133, 78, 121
- SOGDIAN: SSogd. *swy-* (intr.), BSogd. *swc*, CSogd. *swc* ‘to burn, kindle’, BSogd. *swxs-* (intr./inch.) ‘to burn [intr.]’ || (+ **apa-*) BSogd. *’ps’wc*, MSogd. *pswc* ‘to purify, cleanse’, BSogd. (*’*)*pswxs-*, MSogd. *’ps’wxs-* (intr./inch.) ‘to be purified, cleared’ || (+ **aṃa-*) BSogd. *’swwxs-*, SSogd. *’ws’wxs-* ‘to be cleansed, become pure’ || (+ **ā-*) BSogd. *’s’wys-* ‘to burn, be consumed by fire’ || (+ **pati-*) BSogd. *pts’wc* ‘to set light, kindle’, CSogd. *ptswy-* (pret. stem) ‘to burn’, BSogd. *ptswxs-* (intr./inch.) ‘to be lit, kindled’ || (+ **fra-*) CSogd. *fswc-* ‘to sacrifice’ (rather ***sauč²**)
Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *swct*, dur. CSogd. *swctsqwn*, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *swc’tw*, etc. || (+ **apa-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 1sg. BSogd. 1sg. *’ps’wcn*, IMPV. 2sg. MSogd. *pswc*, etc. || (+ **aṃa-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *’ws’wxst*, Impf.: IND. 3sg. SSogd. *w’s’wc*; Fut.: IND. 3pl. SSogd. *’ws’wxs’nt k’m*; Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. *’swxwk*, *’ws’xwk*, etc. || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *pts’wct*, OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *pts’wc’y*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *ptyswc*, etc. || (+ **fra-*) Partic.: perf. pass. CSogd. *fswytyw* (pl.) ‘sacrificed’
- CHORESMIAN: (+ **abi-*) *m/fsxs-* (inch./intr.) ‘to become pure, clean’, *m/fswcy-* (caus.) ‘to purify, cleanse’ ⇒ Samadi: 71 f.
- NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *soxtan/sōz-*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *sotin/sož-*, (Sor.) *sūtān/sūtē-*, Bal. *sutk/suč-* (intr.), *sōtk/sōč-* (tr.), Anar. *sote/sūj-*, Abz. *sōta/sūj-*, Abyan. *sōtta/sūj-*, Ard. *sūziyā/sūziy-*, Awrom. *sotáy/soč-* (intr.), Fariz. *-sut/-suj-* (intr.), *-sujin-* (tr.), Gz. *sūz-/sūt(ā)*, *sōt*, Gil. (Rsht.) *soxtæn/suj-* (intr.), Gur. (Kand.) *sūčīān* ((in)tr.), Ham. *sujayān (sot-)/suj-*, Jow. *bam-sot/-sydž-*, *-sudž-* (intr.), Meim. *be-m-so:d/be-sot-* (intr.), *a-sudž-* (tr.), Khuns. *sīz-/sūt* ((in)tr.), Nn. *sote/suj-* (intr.), *sōt*, *sūin-* (tr.), Qohr. *sōta/sūj-*, Sang. *-sūt/-suzæ-* (intr.), Shamerz. *-sūt-am/-suz-ām-*, Soi *sūht-/a-suj-*, Sorkh. *-sut-/sūz-* (intr.), Tr. *sōta/sōj-*, Varz. *sote/sij-* ‘to burn’, (caus.) Ard. *sūnnahe/sūnn-*, Awrom. *sočnāy/sočn-*, Gz. *sūzn-/sūznā*, Khuns. *sīzn-/sīznā* ‘to burn [tr.], heat’, Sang. *-suzenī/-suzæncæn-*, Shamerz. *suzānām-*, Sorkh. *-suzān-/suzān-* ‘to burn [tr.]’ || (+ **ā-*) NP *āsuğdah* ‘half-burnt firewood’. ◇ NP *āsuğdah* is from Sogd., cf. Henning 1939: 103.
- NEIR: Oss. I. *suzy/syğd*, D. *sozun/suğd* ‘to burn; to kindle’, Yghn. *suč-*, *soč-/súčta* ‘to burn [tr.]’, Pash. *sw-/swaj-*, Yghn. *sūxs-*, *suxs-/súxta* ‘to burn [intr.]’, Yzgh. *soyd (vraxti)* ‘white (flour)’ || (+ **fra-*) Oss. D. *ræsuğd* ‘beautiful, beauty’
- MISC: Par. *sīt(u)* ‘sour’, Arm. (LW) *sug* ‘lament’
- SANSKRIT: *śoc* ‘to light, glow, burn’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 655
- ◇ The IE origin of **sauč¹* cannot be ascertained, perhaps it is a "Reimbildung" with ***rauč[?]**
- PIE – ⇒ LIV: 331 f. | Pok.: 597
- REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 141b, 246b; Ivanow 1926: 422; *IIFL* I: 289a; *EVP*: 71; *KPF* II: 204; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 68, 165; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 58, 115 f., 160; Abrahamian 1936: 120; Lambton

1938: 42a, 78a; Andreev – Peščereva: 323b f., 324b; MacKenzie 1966: 108, 107; *EVS*: 72b; *WIM* I: 72; Abaev, *Slovar'* II: 380; *WIM* II/1: 82; *DKS*: 426b f.; Abaev, *Slovar'* III: 165 ff.; Cabolov 1997: 72; Werba 1997: 243 f.; Lecoq 2002: 122, 125, 127 (passim); Shahbakhsh: s.v. *sōč'*–; Korn 2005: 87, 382, 384 (passim)

*sauč² ‘to call’

YAv. *saocaiia(-ca)* ‘mockery, [BMP] ‘*ṗsws*’ (Vyt 37, Vyt 59, H 2.13)

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *sūch-* ‘to call, name’ ⇒ SGS: 133

•NEIR: Sh. *sūg* (f.), Rosh. *sūg* (f.), Bart. *sūg* (f.), Sariq. *sewg*, M. *sūgō*, Yi. *sūyiko* ‘tale’

•MISC: Par. *sūy* ‘word, affair’

•SANSKRIT: *sūka-* ‘parrot’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 644

◇ On the Iranian expression for ‘to swear, take an oath’, as in Sogd. *swk'nt xwr-*, MMP *swgnd xwrđn*, NP *saugand xurdan*, Kurd. *sont xarin*, etc., see Schwartz 1989: 293 ff.

•PIE **keuk-* ‘to call, cry’ ? ⇒ LIV: 332 | Pok.: 536

•IE COGNATES: Lith. *šaukti*, Latv. *saukt* ‘to call’, Toch. B *šausām* ‘calls’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 287a; *IIFL* II: 246a; *EVS*: 72b; *DKS*: 426b.

*sauH¹ ‘to rub, wear, whet’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *s'd-* /*sāy-* ‘to rub, wear, tire, tear’ || (+ **ham-*) MMP *hswd* (ppp.) ‘whetted’ (Henning 1947: 45) ⇒ DMMPP: 186a

Inf.: BMP *swtn* /*sūdan*/

•PARTHIAN: *s'w-* ‘to crush’ ⇒ DMMPP: 306a

Pres.: SUBJ. 1sg. *s'w'n* {hapax}

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *sauy-* ‘to rub’ ⇒ SGS: 134

•SOGDIAN: (+ **apa-*) BSogd. *ps'w-* ‘to touch’ {hapax}

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *ps'wt*

•CHORESMIAN: *sw(y)-* ‘to clean (the nose)’ || (+ **apa-*) *Bs'w-* ‘to rub off, polish’ || (+ **pati-*) *ps'w-* to grind’ || (+ **fra-*) *m/rs'w-* ‘to rub, smooth’. ◇ With regard to Chor. *sw(y)-* ‘to clean (the nose), Samadi (ibid.) cites Skt. *śvas-* ‘to pant, wheeze’, which is semantically not compelling. The Chor. form may rather derive from a med. stem **suHja-* of the root **sauH*. ⇒ Samadi: 187, 25, 161, 172

•NWIR: NP *sūdan/sāy-* ‘to rub, wear, tear’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *sō-*, *sū-/sūtin*, (Sor.) *sū-*, Awrom. *sawa* ‘to rub’, *Zaz. sāvitiš/sāwen-* ‘to smear, rub’, Nn. *sawnāye/sawn-* ‘to grind’

•NEIR: Pash. *sūlēdəl* ‘to be ground, grated’ (+ **-d-*), Sh. (Baj.) *sāw-/sāwd*, Rosh. *sēw-/sēwt*, Bart. *sīw-/sīwd*, Yzgh. *saw-/sed*, (with redupl.) Sariq. *sasew-/sasewd*, (?) Yi. *sā-/sovd-*, M. *sōw-* ‘to rub, smear, grind’, ? Wa. *sıx-/soxt-* ‘to smear, rub’ (with sec. -*ǰ*-?)

•MISC: Orm. *say-* ‘to rub’ = *say-/sayók*

•SANSKRIT: *śā* ‘to sharpen, whet’ ⇒ EWAia II: 627

◇ The root **sauH¹* either reflects a rare *ua*-stem of **saH* (similar to **jiHu*, Kellens 1984: 162) or, more likely, may have been the result of contamination with semantically similar roots: **dauH²* and **skauH*.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 245, 541b; *EVS*: 75b ff.; *DKS*: 429a f.; Paul 1998: 312b; Cabolov 1997: 72; Lecoq 2002: 132; Kiefer 2003: 206

***sauH²** ‘to bulge, swell up, increase’

•AVESTAN: *sū-* (*sāuu-*) ‘to bulge, swell up, increase’ ⇒ Liste: 63

Fut.: IND. 3sg. YAv. **saošiiat^o* (A 4.6); Partic.: pres. pass. YAv. *suiamna-* (Y 55.3, Y 70.4, V 4.2, intens. YAv. *sāsəuišta-* (Aog 19), fut. *saošiiant-*; Inf.: OAv. *sūidiiāi* (Y 44.2, Y 49.3); Caus.: pres. INJ. 2sg. OAv. *sauuiiō* (Y 51.9), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *sāuuaiiāt* (Yt 13.129)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *swd*, *swwd*, BMP *swt* /*sūd*/ ‘profit, use, advantage’ ⇒ DMMPP: 310a

•KHOTANESE: (+ **fra-*) LKh. *hasv-* ‘to swell’ ⇒ SGS: 151

•BACTRIAN: *σодо* ‘plenty’ {hapax} ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 224

•NWIR: Bal. *sī^h*, *sīθ/sī-* ‘to swell’, NP *sūd* ‘gain, profit’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *sy-vær*, D. *su-vær* ‘uterus’ || (+ **fra-*) Oss. I. *ræsyjyn/ræsyd*, D. *ræsujun/ræsud* ‘to swell’

•MISC: (+ **fra-*) Orm. *šusuk*, *šras-^yēk* ‘to swell’

•SANSKRIT: *śav^j* ‘to swell, to become strong, to increase, to prosper’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 623

•PIE **KeuH₁-* ‘to bulge, swell up’ ⇒ LIV: 339 f. | Pok.: 592 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *κυέω* ‘I am pregnant’, Gr. *κῦμα* (n.) ‘wave’, Lat. *cavus* ‘hollow’, *in-ciēns* ‘pregnant’, MWelsh *cyw* (m.) ‘young animal’, OE *hūn* (m.) ‘young one’.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 409b; Abaev, *Slovar’* II: 380 f.; Abaev, *Slovar’* III: 213 f.; *DKS*: 476; Werba 1997: 320; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *sī-*; Korn 2005: 91, 314, 385

***sād** ‘to cover, protect, shield’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *sādaiaiantī-* (f. ?) ‘long trousers?’ (N 95)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *c’twl /čādur/* ‘sheet, veil’ (< late Skt.) || (+ **ā-*) BMP *’s’dk /āsāyag/* ‘shelter’

•SOGLDIAN: (+ **ā-*) CSogd. *’s’dty* ‘shielded, protected’ || (+ **pati-*) SSogd. *pts’δ(°)* ‘shield’, CSogd. *pts’δ* ‘shield’ (Schwartz 1967: 141 f.)

•NWIR: NP *čādur* ‘veil’ (< late Skt.)

•NEIR: (+ **ā-*) Oss. I. *asadyn/asæst*, D. *asadun/asast* ‘to become clouded; to cover the seeds of the land before sowing; to plant (beans, peas)’ || (+ **upa-*) ? Pash. *psūnai* ‘ambush’ || (+ **pati-*) ? Pash. *psōl* (m.), *psālól* (obl.) ‘ornament, gold or silver jewelry’

•SANSKRIT: *chad* ‘to cover, to conceal’ (RV+), *chattra* (n.) ‘parasol’ (Br.+)
⇒ EWAia I: 554

◇ The root is exclusively IIr. with no certain IE cognates. The often cited comparison to the isolated form OE *hæteru* ‘clothes’ can hardly be used for etymological purposes.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: 546 | Pok.: 919

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 60; *Abaev, Slovar*’ I: 76; *Werba* 1997: 185; *Lubotsky* 2001: 40; *NEVP*: 66

*sčand (*skand) ‘to break, cleave’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *sciṇd-* (*scaṇd-*) ‘to break, cleave’ || (+ **upa-*) ‘to break up’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to break off’ ⇒ *Liste*: 63

Partic.: pres. caus. YAv. *frasciṇdaiiaṅt-* (Yt 13.33); Caus.: pres. IND. 2sg. YAv. *sciṇdaiiehi* (Yt 10.76), 3sg. YAv. *sciṇdaiieiti* (Yt 10.28, Yt 14.62), YAv. *scaṇdaiieiti* (Yt 10.36), 3pl. YAv. *sciṇdaiieinti* (Yt 10.42, Yt 13.39), YAv. *scaṇdaiieinti* (Yt 13.31), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *sciṇdaiiaṅ* (F 508), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *upasciṇdaiiōiṭ* (FrA 8), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *sciṇdaiia* (Yt 10.76), med. 2pl. YAv. *sciṇdaiiaōβəm* (Yt 1.27)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *škn-*, BMP *škyn-* (*TBLWN-*) /*šken-*/ ‘to break’ || (+ **fra-*) BMP *plsn-* /*frasinn-*/ ‘to break’ || (+ **ui-*) BMP *wsyn-* /*wisin(n)-*/ ‘to break, split’ ⇒ *DMMPP*: 92a

Pres.: IND. 2sg. BMP *škyny* /*škennē*/, 3sg. MMP *šknyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *škt* /*škast*/, *šstsk* /*škastag*/; Inf.: MMP *škstn*, BMP *škstn* /*škastan*/

•KHOTANESE: (+ **aṃa-*) *gatcas-* (*vaccas-*) ‘to break’ || (+ **fra-*) *hatcañ-* ‘to break’, (intr./pass.) LKh. *hatcy-* ‘to be broken’ || (+ **ni-*) OKh. *nitcas-* ‘to break up’ || (+ **ui-*) LKh. *bītañ-* ‘to break up’ ⇒ *SGS*: 28, 145, 53, 96

•SOGDIAN: (+ **apa-*) CSogd. *pšy:ntyṭ* (m. pl. obl.) ‘pieces, parts’ (*Sims-Williams* 1985: 59) || (+ **fra-*) ? BSogd. *’bskstw*, *’bškstw*

•NWIR: NP *šikastan/šikan-*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *škastin/škē-* (intr.), *škēnāndin/škēn-* (tr.), (Sor.) *šikān/šikē* (intr.), *šikāndin/šikēn-* (tr.), Zaz. *šikiyāyiš/šiken-* (intr.), *šiknāyiš/šiknen-* (tr.), Gil. (Rsht.) *iskānēn/iškān-* (tr.), Tt. (Ram.) *-škenj/škast* (*-j < ?*), Semn. *āškātā* ‘to break’, Siv. (*e*)*šken-/eškend* ‘to destroy, break up’, Sang. *-škat-*, Shamerz. *-āškāst-*, *-aškæd-*, Sorkh. *æškāt-*, *-škat-*, Lasg. *b-æškāt-* ‘to break up’, (intr.) *iškīā* ‘broke’, Siv. *eškān* ‘water distribution-place’. ◇ On Bal. *sist/sind-* see ***said**¹.

•NEIR: Oss. I. *sæddyn/sast*, D. *sæddun/sast* (with unexpl. *-dd-*), ? Ishk. *skənd-/skəšt*, ? Sh. *šičənd-/šičīyḏ* ‘to cut (off)’, Yi. *skəd-/skəst*, M. *skád-/skíst-*, ‘to cut with an axe or a knife’, Wa. *škəd-*. *škəḏ-/škən-* ‘to break (into pieces); to cleave, cut’, *škənd(ɪ)v-/škətovd-*, *škəndovd-* (caus.) ‘to break (into pieces)’, Oss. *sændæg* ‘crumb’ || (+ **apa-*) ? Sh. *bixčūnd* ‘splitter, chip, potsherd’ || (+ **fra-*) Ishk. *ḫrsənd-/ḫrsəst-* ‘to be torn apart’ || (+ **ham-*) Oss. I. *æssəndyn/æssəst*, D. *ænsəndun/ænsast* ‘to break (into pieces); to trample, oppress’

•SANSKRIT: ? *skandhá-* (m.) ‘shoulderbone’ (AV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 750

◇ Although the (I)Ir. root is probably of IE origin, the precise provenance is difficult to determine. ◇ Perhaps, the (I)Ir. root is a "blend" of *(s)ke(n)dH₂- 'to shatter, scatter' (Gr. σκίδνῃμι, aor. ἐσκέδασ(σ)α 'I scatter, strew', etc., *IEW*: 929 f.; *LIV*: 550) and *(s)keid- 'to split, tear' (Ir. ***said**¹)? Also within some IE forms?

•PIE ? ⇒ *LIV*: 547 | Pok.: 920

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *scindō/scidī* 'I tear, rip (off), split', Lith. *skindù (skisti)* 'I pluck, pick; to cut, fell'

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 207b; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 69; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 59, 116, 160; *IIFL* II: 246b, 538a; Abaev, *Slovar*' I: 188 f.; Yarshater 1969: 182; *EVS*: 21b, 100b; Abaev, *Slovar*' III: 53 ff., 69; *DKS*: 78b, 449a f.; Blau 1980: 231; *WIM* III: 104, 312; Omar 1992: 607b; Cabolov 1997: 75; Werba 1997: 258; Paul 1998: 314a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 346; Korn 2005: 79 fn. 25, 383

***sinj** ? 'to make a certain noise'

•KHOTANESE: (+ **abi-*, **ui-*) LKh. **bisimj-* (*bīsaij-*) 'to make a noise' ⇒ *SGS*: 99

•SANSKRIT: *śiñj* 'to twang, to tingle (by string), to wirr' (RV+) ⇒ *EWAia* II: 635

◇ The origin of both Khot. LKh. **bisimj-* and Skt. *śiñj* is unknown: onomatopoeic ?

•REFERENCES: *DKS*: 293a; Werba 1997: 472

***sjazd** 'to distance from, repel, oppress'

•AVESTAN: *siiazd-* 'to distance from, chase away' ⇒ *Liste*: 63

Aor. athem.: INJ. 2/3sg. ? OAv. *siias* (Y 32.16), SUBJ. 3sg. OAv. *siiazdat* (Y 34.9), 2pl. IMPV. OAv. (^(?)*siiōzdūm* (Y 48.7); Partic.: pres. *ja-* YAv. *siždant-* (Yt 19.84), med. OAv. *siždiamna-* (Y 32.4). ◇ The paradigm is according to Lubotsky 2004: 327. On YAv. *frasiiazj-* etc. see s.v. ***saij**.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: ? BMP *szd /sizd/* or */sēzd/* 'might, tyranny', MMP ^x*syzdyn*, BMP *szdyn /sizdēn/* or */sēzdēn/* 'mighty' (Nyberg II: 176b) ⇒ *DMMPP*: 312b f.

•PARTHIAN: ? *syzd* 'might, powerful; might, tyranny', *syzdyft*, *syzdyft* 'might, power', *syzdyn*, *syzdyyn* 'mighty, tyrannous' ⇒ *DMMPP*: 312b f.

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **apa-*) *bšžy-* 'to avoid, dislike' (Schwartz *apud* Henning – MacKenzie: 33) ⇒ *Samadi*: 28

•SANSKRIT: *sedh* 'to chase, keep, drive away'. ◇ The equation of Av. *siiazd* with *sedh* was made by Humbach II: 111. The phonological underpinning of this comparison is given by Lubotsky, l.c.: 328: IIr. **ćiazd^h* > IA **šyazdh* > **sjazdh* (sibilant assimilation) > **syedh* (loss of *-z- with compensatory lengthening) > *sedh* (loss of -y-, cf. *sūtra-* 'thread' < **syūtra-*). ⇒ *EWAia* II: 745

◇ A new IE etymology for (notably) Av. *siiazd-* is proposed by Lubotsky, l.c. 329 f., who connects Av. *siiazd-* / Skt. *sedh* to Lat. *cēdō*.

•PIE **k̑iesd-* 'to yield, avoid' ? ⇒ *LIV*: – | Pok.: 887

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *cēdō* 'I yield, give ground, concede'

•REFERENCES: Kellens 1984: 123, n. 18; Lubotsky 2004: 323 ff.

***skamb** ‘to support, use as support’

•AVESTAN: (+ *fra-) YAv. *frasciṇb-* ‘to support’ ⇒ Liste: 63

Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. *frascimbana-* (V 18.74); Caus.: pres. OPT. 3sg. YAv. *frasciṇbahiōiṭ* (V 18.74)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *pati-) MMP *^xpdyškmb’n* ‘rooms’ ⇒ DMMPP: 273b

•KHOTANESE: *škīm-* ‘to create’ || (+ *pari-) LKh. *paltcīmph-* ‘to check’ || (+ *fra-) *haškīm-* (*haškau-*) ‘to make’ || (+ *niš-) LKh. **naltcīmph-* (*nītcīph-*) ‘to remove’ ⇒ SGS: 128, 76, 150, 49

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *šk’np*, BSogd. *’šk’np* ‘world’ || (+ *pati-) BSogd. *ptšknpy* ‘porch, eaves’

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *para-ā-) *pr’škm-* to rob; to deceive’ ⇒ Samadi: 150

•NWIR: (+ *pati-) NP *paškam* ‘court, vestibule’, Yzd. (Zor.) *paskam* ‘portico’ || (+ *ui-) Kurd. (Kurm.) *biškāvtin/biškēv-*, (Sor.) *piškiwīn/piškiw-* ‘to take out, loosen [thread]; open [of flowerbuds]’

•NEIR: Pash. *skām* ‘tent-pole’, ? Yi. *škōb-/škabəy* ‘to lift up, raise’ (Zarubin) || (+ *ā-) Pash. *āčawul* ‘to throw’ = *áčaw-*, (Wan.) *āč-*, (Waz.) *wočaw-* ‘to throw, fasten, put, build’ || (+ *pati-) Pash. *pēčūmai* ‘acclivity’ || (+ *ui-) Sh. *wiškamb-/wiškūvd*, Rosh. *xiškamb-/xiškāvd*, Ishk. *uškəmb-/uškəvd* ‘to sort, tease wool with the hands’, Sh. *wiškīm* ‘working the wool for preparing a warp of threads’, Rosh. *xišim* ‘a handful of teased wool or cotton’. ◇ The ‘tease’ forms have been connected by Morgenstierne (*EVS*, l.c.) to OCS *skubati* ‘to pluck, tear, pull out’, OCz. *vlasý skústi* ‘to tear out the hair’.

•MISC: (+ *pati-) Arm. (LW) *patšgam* ‘portico’

•SANSKRIT: *skambh* ‘to support, prop’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 750

◇ This Iir. root has no certain IE (verbal) correspondences. Only the rather isolated noun, Lat. *scamnum* ‘stool, bench [for the feet]’, is cited as cognate in *LIV*: l.c.

•PIE ? ⇒ *LIV*: 549 f. | Pok.: 916

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 9; *IIFL* II: 251a; *EVS*: 94b f.; *DKS*: 413b; Werba 1997: 325 f.; Cabolov 2001: 192 f.; Vahman – Asatrian 2002: 25; *NEVP*: 73, 7

***skap/f** ‘to split, make a crack, crack’

•AVESTAN: ? YAv. *skapta-* ‘[BMP] *šcpt*’ (F 521)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *šks-* (inch.) ‘to split up [intr.]’, MMP *šk’f-*, BMP *šk’p-/škāf-* (pret. stem) ‘to split, cleave’, BMP *šcpt /škaft/* ‘violent, terrible’ || (+ *ui-) ? BMP *wškpt-/wiškaft-* (pret. stem) ‘to crook, pervert, corrupt’ ⇒ DMMPP: 92a
Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *škšynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. caus. MMP *šk’ft*, BMP *šk’pt /škāft/* || (+ *ui-) Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *wškpt /wiškaft/*

•SOGDIAN: (+ *pati-) MSogd. *pšks* (inch./inch.) ‘to be split, split off’, CSogd. *pcq’f* (caus. ?) ‘to strike, pierce, wound’ (Sims-Williams 1985: 106 ad 54V.18)
Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *ptyšq’f* Inch.: pres. IND. 3sg. MSogd. *pšksfštyy* (*BBB*: 50)

•CHORESMIAN: ? *m/škf-* ‘to despise, humiliate’ ⇒ Samadi: 180

•NWIR: NP *šikaftan/šikaf-* ‘to be cleft’, *šikaft* (old ppp.) ‘cave, grotto; crooked’, *šikāf* ‘crack, split, fissure’, NP *šikāftan/šikāf-* (caus.), Gz. *ōškō-, ošgō-, eškō-/ōškufi*, Gil. (Rsht.) *va-škaftē/va-škafē*, Jow. *bam-ε|kɔft/a-|kɔf-*, Khuns. *iškāf-/iškāft* ‘to split, break, tear’, Qohr. *šekāf* ‘crack, split’ (< NP)

•NEIR: Pash. *čāwul* ‘to split, break up’, Yghn. *šikúfta/šikúf-* ‘to split, cut (ice)’, Sh. *xičift/xičāf-*, Rosh. *xičeft/xičāf-*, Orosh. *xičōft/xičāf-* ‘to burst, crack, break’, Sh. *xičāft, xčōfč/xičāf-* (caus.) ‘to slit, crack’, Pash. *čāwd* (m.) ‘split, crack, fissure’, Yzgh. *xəkaftá* ‘a slap’, Wa. *škop* ‘neutered, castrated, emasculated (of cattle)’

◊ The nominal forms, NP *šikam*, Bal. *šikam* (< NP), *uškumag* (< NP ?) ‘belly’, Chor. *šknbyk* ‘entrails’, etc. may derive from this root too, cf. NP *šikaft*.

•PIE **skēp-* ‘to cut, split (with a sharp tool), make a crack’ ⇒ LIV: 555 | Pok.: 930ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *σκόπτω* ‘I dig, hack’, OCS *skopiti* ‘to cut up’, Lith. *skopiù* (*skōpti*) ‘I hollow (with a knife)’, *skāpsnė* ‘piece of cloth’

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 20; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 69; *IIFL* II: 542a; Lambton 1938: 78a; Andreev – Peščereva: 326b; Klingenschmitt 1968: 158 f.; *EVS*: 100b; *WIMI*: 69; *WIM* II/1: 80; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 331; Lecoq 2002: 654b

***skar** ‘to pursue, drive, look for (the cattle)’

•AVESTAN: ? YAv. *skār-* ‘to pursue (?)’. ◊ The meaning of the Av. compound YAv. *skāraiaṭ.raṭahe* (Yt 13.108), which seems to be a personal name, is unclear. Szemerényi 1970: 513 translates it as ‘he who speeds his chariot’. Alternatively, it can also be translated as ‘qui fait rouler son char’ (Kellens 1984: 144), which would have no further (D)Ir. correspondences. ⇒ Liste: 63

Partic.: pres. caus. YAv. *skāraiaṭ-* ‘pursuing?’ (Yt 13.108)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *šklk /škarag/* ‘(bird of) prey’ || (+ **ui-*) BMP *wškl /wiškar/* ‘hunting-ground, wilderness’

•PARTHIAN: ‘*škr-* ‘to hunt, chase’ ⇒ Ghilain: 58 | DMMPP: 92a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. **škryd*, 3pl. *škrynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. ‘*šqrd*

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. (‘)škr-, BSogd. ‘škr’r-, BSogd. škr’r-, CSogd. šqr-, MSogd. škr- ‘to lead, take; pursue, persecute’ || (+ **apa-* or **upa-* or **pati-*) BSogd. ‘pškr- ‘to chase’, (pass.) MSogd. pškyr- ‘to be chased’, CSogd. pškr’r (m.) ‘persecution’ (C2 68V.13) || (+ **fira-*) BSogd. ‘βškr-, CSogd. fšqr-, MSogd. fškr- ‘to expel, drive out’ || (+ **ham-*) BSogd. ‘nškr- ‘to collect, gather’

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. dur. BSogd. ‘škr’m ‘skwn, 2sg. BSogd. ‘škr’y, 3sg. SSogd. ‘škr’t, etc. || (+ **apa-* or **upa-* or **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. BSogd. ‘pškr’nt, OPT. 3sg. CSogd. pšqry; Partic.: perf. pass. CSogd. pšqryt (pl.) ‘persecuted’; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. MSogd. *pškyrtyy || (+ **fira-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. ‘βškr; Impf.: IND. 3pl. CSogd. fšqrm || (+ **ham-*) Pret.: intr. IND. 3sg. BSogd. ‘nškr’rt; Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. ‘nškrtk, BSogd. ‘nškrty, BSogd. ‘nškr; Inf.: BSogd. *pr ... ‘nškr’y*; Pass.: pperf. intr. IND. 3sg. BSogd. ‘nškrty *wm’t* ‘had been collected’

•BACTRIAN: αβ(α)καρ-, εβκαρ- ‘to pursue, chase (off)’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 184b

•NWIR: NP *šikār* ‘hunt’ (LW ?, < Sogd. ?) || (+ **ui-*) NP *bišgar(d)* ‘hunter, fowler; place for hunting; chase; game’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *sk’æryn/sk’ærd*, D. (*æ*)*sk’ærun/(æ)sk’ard* ‘to chase (animals)’, (caus.) I. *skaryn/skærst*, D. *skarun/skarst* ‘to explore, look around, seek; to grope one’s way’, Sh. (Baj.) *šikar-/šikūd*, Rosh. *šikar-/šikūg*, Sariq. *šiker-/šikawg*, Yzgh. *šəkər-/šəkərd* ‘to seek, search for’ (< LW ?, cf. *EVS*: 102a), Ishk. *škarr-/škūl* ‘to seek’, Wa. *škar-/škard-* ‘to mate [of animals]’, Wa. *škur(g)-/škurd* ‘to seek’, Yi. *škōr-/škār-*, M. *škōr-/škar-* ‘to send (a thing)’, ? Pash. *škārəl* ‘to incite (against)’ || (+ **upa-*) ? Sh. *biššār-/biščūd* ‘to ladle, scoop up (grain, fluid)’ || (+ **pati-*) (?) Sariq. *paščor-/paščig, paščug* ‘to fill with water, grain (into receptacles from a store)’

◇ This root is exclusively Ir.; no reliable IE cognates can be cited.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 251, 413; *CDIAL*, no. 13645; MacKenzie, *Pahlavi*: 80, 92; *EVS*: 21b, 64b, 102a; Abaev, *Slovar*’ III: 117 f., 122; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 344 f.

***skard** ‘to pierce (through)’

•KHOTANESE: (+ **aua-*) *vaškala-* ‘section, chapter’ || (+ **pati-*) LKh. *pāškal-* (*pāškal-*) ‘to analyse’ || (+ **fra-*) *haškala-* ‘section, part’ || (+ **ni-*) LKh. *niškal-* ‘to expound’ ⇒ *SGS*: 83, 57

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *-škrδ’k* ‘piercer’ (in *synkt-škrδ’k* ‘mynah bird’, *SCE*: 70, 18 ad 321) || (+ **pati-*) ? BSogd. *ptškrδ* (*TSP*: 153 ad 21.II.14, context unclear) || (+ **ui-*) BSogd. *wyškyrδ*, CSogd. *wyšqyst/wyšqyrd* ‘to strike, beat; to nail, knock in, set up, pitch (a tent)’ (Sims-Williams 1985: 74 ad 22), BSogd. *wšk’rd* ‘nail’ (*SCE*: 74, 14 ad 247)

(+ **ui-*) Pres.: OPT. 3sg. CSogd. *’wšqyrdy*; Impf.: IND. 3pl. CSogd. *wyšqyrdnt*; Partic.: perf. pass. CSogd. *wyšqysty*, CSogd. *wyšqysc* (f.) ‘fixed, set up’; Inf.: BSogd. *ZKw xrwy wyškyrδ* ‘to break up live coals’

•NWIR: (+ **ni-*) ? NP *nišgirdah* ‘cobbler’s knife’ (*-rd-* < ?) || (+ **ui-*) ? NP *biškalīd* ‘he made a fissure with his fingertips or (finger-) nails’, *biškal(ah)* ‘a wooden key’ (Schwartz 1971: 414b)

◇ The evidence for Ir. **skard* is (mainly) confined to Khot. and Sogd.

•PIE **skerd^h-* ‘to pierce, cut’ ⇒ LIV: 558 | Pok.: 545, 923 f., 940 f.

•IE COGNATES: OIrish *scéirtid* ‘shaves, scratches off’, Lith. *skerdžiù* (*skėřsti*) ‘I slaughter (pigs), *abstechen*’, Latv. *šķēržu* (*šķėřst*) ‘to split, hack, cut up’, Russ. *oskórd* ‘large axe’

•REFERENCES: Fraenkel II: 803; *DKS*: 379, 414a, 472b, 187a

***skarff** ‘to stumble’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *škrw-*, BMP *šklw-* /*škarw-* ‘to stumble, to stagger’ ⇒ *DMMPP*: 92a

Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP *škrwym*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *škrwst*, II MMP *škrwyst*, *šqrwyst*, BMP *škrwyst/škarwist*; Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. MMP *škrwynynd*

•PARTHIAN: *škrfyšn* ‘stumbling’ ⇒ DMMPP: 86a

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *škrwβ* ‘stumbling (?), trouble (?)’ {hapax}

•NWIR: NP *šikarfīdan* ‘to stumble’

•SANSKRIT: *skhal* ‘to stumble, stammer’ (Br.+) ⇒ EWAia II: 751

◇ The Ir. cognates of Skt. *skhal* have a labial increment, which may have been imported from ***kap/f^l**.

•PIE **(s)g^{wh}H₂el-* ‘to stumble’ ⇒ LIV: 543 f. | Pok.: 929

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *σφάλλομαι* ‘I fall, to stumble, be mistaken’, Arm. *sxalel* ‘to stumble, fail, become crippled’

•REFERENCES: MacKenzie, *Pahlavi*: 80; Werba 1997: 383

***skauH** ‘to poke, touch; to earmark, ? to cover’

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *skau-* (*sko-*, *sku-*), Khot. *skauy-* (*sku-*), Khot. **škav-* (*škü-/škv-*) ‘to touch, play an instrument’ || (+ **abi-* ?) *buškuta-* ‘burst’ ⇒ SGS: 134, 128

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ni-*) ? BSogd. *nšk’w*, CSogd. *nyšq’w*, MSogd. *nyšk’w* ‘to remove, bring out, take out’

Pres.: IND. 3pl. BSogd. *nšk’wnt*, OPT. 1pl. CSogd. *nyšq’wym*, CSogd. *nyšqwym*, IMPV. 2sg. CSogd. *nyšq’w*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *nyšq’w*, 3pl. CSogd. *nyšq’wnt*; Pret.: tr. 2sg. CSogd. *nyšqwɣd’ry*, 3sg. CSogd. *nyšqwɣd’rt*; Fut.: IND. 1sg. CSogd. *nyšq’wmq’*, CSogd. *nyšqwmq’*

•CHORESMIAN: *k’w-* ‘to scratch, rub’; *m/kw-* ‘to pluck’ || (+ **pari-*) *prk’w-* ‘to curry’ || *m/sksy-* (pass./intr.) ‘to be split, slit’ || (+ **fra-*) *m/škwnd-* (tr.) ‘to earmark’. ◇ The Chor. forms were considered to have an unclear etymology, cf. Samadi, l.c.: 99, despite the apparently precise Pamir correspondences. In view of the meanings displayed by these forms, a connection with **skauH* can hardly be doubted: **kauH* would then be the *s*-less variant. The sibilant may have been re-interpreted as prefix **us-* and removed accordingly ? || Chor. *m/škwnd-* ‘to earmark’ has a peculiar, probably secondarily arisen, *-d-*, cf. Sh. *sikūnd* (“with secondary *-nd*”, *EVS*: 73b). ⇒ Samadi: 99, 105, 153, 192, 194

•NEIR: Oss. I. *sk’_oyryn/sk’_oyd*, D. (*æ*)*sk’unun/(æ)sk’ud* ‘to vomit; to tear up; to destroy’, (old pass.) I. *sk’_oyjyn/sk’_oyd*, D. (*æ*)*sk’ujun/(æ)sk’ud* ‘to vomit; to be torn up, to be transferred, in transition, wither away, disappear’, I. *sk’awyn/sk’awd*, D. (*æ*)*skawun/(æ)sk’awd* ‘to pluck; to comb’, I. *sqawyn/sqawd*, D. (*æ*)*sqawun/(æ)sqawd* (old caus.) ‘to peck; to chip; to pull at; to wipe (eyes)’, Pash. *skōy-* ‘to scrape, scratch, rub; [lex.] to shear’, ? Pash. *skastəl/skal-*, *skustəl/skul-* ‘to shear, clip’, Sh. *sikūnd* ‘pitch-fork’, || Yi. *čū-/čūvd-*, M. *jūv-/jūvd*, *jūv-/jūvd-* ‘to pick’, Sh. *čāw-t*, Rosh. *čēw-t*, Bart. *čāw-t/čūd*, Sariq. *čēw-/čid* ‘to comb, scratch’, Ishk. *kow-* ‘to pick, cleanse’, Sh. *kōwun-t* ‘to pick’, Yzgh. *kaw* (in *yuk waδok mūn kaw kya* ‘I

have sewn this doll') (with analogically removed *s- ?, see above) || (+ *ui- ?) *wiskūnd* 'wooden hay-fork', Rosh. (f.) *sikūn* 'pitch-fork'

•SANSKRIT: *skav^(f)* 'to poke, tear up; to earmark; to cover' (AV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 751

•PIE **skeu*(H₂)- 'to poke, mark' ⇒ LIV: 561 | Pok.: 954

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. /*iskuna*(*hh*)-/ 'to mark, designate'

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 67; *Abaev, Slovar'* III: 126 f., 120 f.; *EVS*: 73b; *DKS*: 430a f.; *Werba* 1997: 258; *NEVP*: 74

***snaH** 'to wash, swim'

•AVESTAN: YAv. *snā-* 'to wash, rinse' || (+ *ā-) 'to wash' || (+ *fra-) 'to wash off' || (+ *us-) 'to wash out, off' ⇒ Liste: 65

Caus.: pres. SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *frasnaieni* (Vyt 49, V 21.6 f., V 21.10 f., etc.), 3sg. YAv. *ā.snaiiāt* (N 75), med. 3sg. YAv. *frasnaiiāte* (Vd 4), med. 3pl. YAv. *frasnaiiāntē* (V 8.11 ff.), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *frasnaiiōit* (V 19.22), med. 3sg. YAv. *us snaiiāēta* (V 5.54 ff.), 3pl. ?? YAv. *frasnādaian* (V 7.13 ff., V 7.74 ff., 8.40, etc.), med. 3pl. YAv. *frasnaiiānta* (Yt 10.122), IMPV. med. 2sg. YAv. *frā snaiiāḥa* (V 18.19); Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. *snāta-* (F 524), YAv. *frasnāta-* (V 8.40)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP 'šn'z- 'to wash, ? to swim', BMP šn'c- /šnāz- 'to swim' || (+ *ā-) MMP 'sn'y- 'to bathe, wash; to cleanse, purify' ⇒ DMMP: 93b, 5a

Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. MMP 'šn'z'd; Partic.: pres. MMP 'šn'z'g || (+ *ā-) Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. MMP 'sn'y'd

•KHOTANESE: *ysānāh-* 'to wash', *ysānāj-* (caus.) 'to bathe' || (+ *fra-) Khot. *haysn-* 'to bathe' ⇒ SGS: 113, 148

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *sn'y* 'to wash, bathe', CSogd. *sn'y* 'to wash, cleanse'

Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. *sn'yt*, BSogd. *sn'yt*, 3pl. CSogd. *sn'ynt*, SUBJ. 2sg. BSogd. *sn'y*, 3sg. BSogd. *sn'y't*, OPT. 3pl. CSogd. *sn'y.nt*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: 'sn' - *'to wash (ritually)', (')*sn'd* 'the washing' ⇒ Samadi: 184

•NWIR: NP *šinā* 'swimming' || (+ *ā-) Zaz. *āzne* 'swimming' || (+ *us-) NP *ušnān* 'washing herb', Bal. *užnāg*, (*h*)*ūžnāg* 'bathing'

•NEIR: Oss. I. *najyn/nad* 'to bathe', D. *najun/nad* 'to cross over in a raft, sail on a boat', Yi. *zənáy-/zənáí-*, M. *zənáí-* 'to wash, bathe', Sangl. *zəné-*, Sh. (Baj.) *zini(y)/zinōd*, Rosh. *zinay-/zinūd*, Sariq. *z(i)ney-/z(i)nud*, Yzgh. *zənay-/zəned* 'to wash', Yghn. *sínóy-/šínóyta* 'to wash', ? Oss. I. *æxsyn/æxsad*, D. *æfšnyn/æfšnad* 'to wash (off)' (contamination ?) || (+ *apa-, *abi- ?) Oss. I. *æfšnajyn/æfšnad*, D. *æfšnajun/æfšnad* 'to clean up' || (+ *aūa-, *ā- ?) Wa. *wyzd(ly)-wozdoyt-*, *wozdoyd-* 'to wash (off)', Yi. *wūzd-/wūzd-*, M. *ūzd-/ūzd-* 'to wash (hands and clothes)' || (+ *ui-) Oss. I. *naj*, D. *inajæ* 'threshing'

•MISC: Par. *suní-/suná* 'to wash'

•SANSKRIT: *snā* 'to bathe, to wash' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 769

•PIE *(s)*neH*₂- 'to wash, swim' ⇒ LIV: 572 f. | Pok.: 971 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *nāre* 'to swim', Lat. *natāre* 'to swim, to drip', OIrish *snaid*, *-sná* 'swims', Toch. B *nāsk-* 'to bathe', OIrish *snám* 'the swimming'

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 288a; *IIFL* II: 276a, 551a, 264b f.; Andreev – Peščereva: 321b f.; *EVS*: 108b; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 152, 150; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 111 f.; *DKS*: 351a, 466b; Werba 1997: 328 f.; Abaev, *Slovar*’ IV: 239 f.; Paul 1998: 291b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 404; Cheung 2002: 157; Korn 2005: 178, 348

*snaǰ ‘to snow’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *snaēž-* ‘to snow’. ◇ On *ǰj > Av. ž see Martínez 1999: 127 ff., who is unwilling though to consider *snaēž-* as a *ǰa*-pres. stem (p. 130) on account of the full grade *-aē-*. Perhaps, the Av. *snaēž-* is a blend of a them. stem **snaēǰa-* and *ǰa*-stem **sniža-* (= Skt. *snihya-*)? ⇒ Liste: 65

Pres. them.: IND. med. 3pl. YAv. *snaēžintaē*^o (Yt 5.120), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *snaēžāt* (V 2.22); Partic.: pres. YAv. *snaēžint-* (Yt 16.9, V 6.36, V 8.4)

•SOGDIAN: MSogd. *šnyš* ‘to snow’

Pres.: PREC. 1sg. MSogd. *šnyštw* ‘may I snow’

•NEIR: Sh. (Baj.) *žinj* (m.), Rosh. *žinj*, Bart. *žinj* ‘snow’ (with sib. assimilation)

•SANSKRIT: *sneh* ‘to stick, remain [? RV, Kāth.]; to (overwhelm with) snow [? RV]’

|| Pkt. *siṇeha* (m.), *siṇhā* (f.) ‘snow, fog’. ◇ The Skt. meaning ‘to stick, remain’ can hardly reflect the IE original meaning, as proposed in Hoffmann 1965: 24 and assigned accordingly in *LIV*: l.c. All IE cognates point to ‘to snow’. The Skt. meaning ‘to stick, remain’ of *sneh* should therefore be considered secondarily: Hoffmann’s alternative explanation that this meaning may have coexisted with ‘to snow’ is not convincing. The Skt. ‘snow’ forms have probably acquired the (slang ?) meaning(s) ‘to stick, remain; sticky fluid, sim.’ perhaps from whiteish bodily fluids which are compared to snow, notably *snot* and *spit*? Another argument for the older meaning ‘to snow’ is perhaps found in RV 9.97.54 *sneháyati* (caus. pres. 3sg.), which Jamison 1983: 91 translates as ‘overwhelms with snow, destroys’. ⇒ EWAia II: 772

•PIE **sneig*^{wh}- ‘to snow’ ⇒ *LIV*: 573 | Pok.: 974

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *veíφei* ‘it is snowing’, Gr. *víφa* (Asg. f.) ‘falling snow’, Lat. *ninguít*, Lith. *sniēga* ‘it is snowing’, Lat. *nix* (f.), OCS *sněgъ*, Latv. *sniegs*, Goth. *snaíws*, Engl. (*to*) *snow*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *EVS*: 110b; Werba 1997: 261

*snaθH ‘to strike’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *snaθ-* ‘to strike’ ⇒ Liste: 65

Pres. them.: IND. 3pl. (partic. pres. f. ?) YAv. *snaθənti* (FrW 8.2), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *snaθat* (V 7.52C)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *sn’h / snāh/* ‘blow, strike, violence’

•SANSKRIT: *śnathí* ‘to push (down), strike (down), pierce’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 659

◇ The evidence for an Ir. root **snaθH* is limited. An IE provenance for this Ir. root cannot be established.

•PIE – ⇒ *LIV*: 337 | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 447

***snaud ?** ‘to weep; be moist’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *snaoδ-* ‘to weep’, ? YAv. *snaoδa-* ‘cloud(s)’ (V 2.22, Vyt 31)

⇒ Liste: 66

Partic.: pres. them. YAv. *snaoδant-* (Yt 19.80)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *snwd /snōy/* ‘cloud’

•PARTHIAN: *snwhn* ‘atmosphere’ (< Pers. ?) ⇒ DMMPP: 308a

•NWIR: Bal. *nōd* ‘(rain) cloud’

•SANSKRIT: ? *snuh* ‘to be moist’ (Dhā.). ◇ The root is late and thus unreliable.

⇒ EWAia III: 527

◇ Further Ir. cognates are unknown. An IE origin cannot be ascertained.

•REFERENCES: Kellens 1984: 109, fn. 21; Werba 1997: 261; Korn 2005: 128, 409

***spaH** ‘to satisfy, eat one’s fill’

•KHOTANESE: *spai-* (*spyä-*, *spa-*) ‘to satisfy; be satisfied’ ⇒ SGS: 136

•NEIR: Oss. I. *æfsadyn/æfsad*, D. *æfsadun/æfsad* ‘to nourish’, Sariq. *spōn-/spōnd* ‘to fill, replenish’, Yzgh. *s(ə)pāñ-/s(ə)pānt* ‘to saturate’

•SANSKRIT: *sphā* ‘to become fat, increase’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 776

•PIE **speH₁-* ‘to satisfy, eat one’s fill; flourish’ ⇒ LIV: 584 | Pok.: 983

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. *iš-pa-a-i* ‘eats his/her fill’, Hitt. *iš-pa-a-an* ‘saturation’, OCS *spěti* ‘to flourish’, Latv. *spēt* ‘to be able’

•REFERENCES: DKS: 437a f.; EVS: 74b, 116b; Werba 1997: 329

***spaič (*spaiḡ)** ‘to shine; to bloom’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP ‘*spyz-*, BMP *spyc-* /*spīz-*’ ‘to shine; sprout’ ⇒ DMMPP: 88a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP ‘*spyzyd(-)*, 3pl. MMP ‘*spyzynd*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP ‘*spyz*; Partic.: pres. MMP ‘*spyz’n* ‘blooming’, perf. pass. MMP ‘*spyxt*

•PARTHIAN: ? ‘*spyxt* (ppp.) ‘radiant’. ◇ Differently Sundermann 1981: 154b: ‘Vorsicht’. “Wohl kaum „Licht, Leuchten”. Besteht Verwandtschaft mit aw. *spaxšti-*, ‘Spähen’ (AiW 1610) ?” ⇒ DMMPP: 88a

•KHOTANESE: Khot. *spātaa-* ‘flower’. ◇ The suggestion of Bailey 1956: 103 f. to derive OKh. *haspās-* ‘to strive’, Khot. *haspīj-* from **spaič* is semantically implausible. The Khotanese forms may rather go back to ***spauč**.

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. ‘*spyxsk* PN (UppInd.173)

•NEIR: ? Pash. *spec*, *spej* ‘clean, pure’, *spec-*, *spej-* ‘to clean, pure’

◇ The root appears to be Iranian, with no further IE cognate forms. It may have ended in a originally *voiced* velar consonant, on which see Sims-Williams 1992: 43, s.v. ‘*spyxsk*’.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: DKS: 437a, 475a f.; NEVP: 74

***span(d)/sfan(d) (?)** ‘to become agitated’

- KHOTANESE: OKh. *sphan-* ‘to agitate’ ⇒ SGS: 136
 - CHORESMIAN: (+ **fra-*)? *špn-* ‘to cough, groan, sigh’ ⇒ Samadi: 198
 - SANSKRIT: ? *spand* ‘to twitch, lash out (of animals)’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 773
- ◇ The existence of this root is uncertain, as the evidence is rather limited and ambiguous.
- REFERENCES: DKS: 437b; Werba 1997: 384 f.

***spar** ‘to hand over, entrust’

- MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *spwlt /spurd/* (ppp.) ‘conducted (away)’ || (+ **upa-*) BMP *’psp’l- /abespār-/* ‘to hand over, entrust [+ ’w ‘to’], give up one’s honour, life; to commit suicide, extradite someone (to be executed, tormented)’ ⇒ DMMPP: 17a (+ **upa-*) Pres.: IND. 2sg. BMP *’psp’lyh /abespārēh/*, 3sg. BMP *’psp’lyt /abespārēd/*, 1pl. BMP *’bsp’l(y)m /abespārēm/*, 3pl. BMP *’psp’lynd /abespārēnd/*; Partic.: pres. BMP *’psp’lk /abespārag/*, perf. pass. BMP *’bsp’lt /abespārd/*, BMP *’pswlt /abespurd/*; Inf.: BMP *’psp’ltm /abespārdan/*
 - PARTHIAN: (+ **upa-*) *’bysp’r-* ‘to hand over’ ⇒ Ghilain: 75 | DMMPP: 17a Pres.: IND. 3pl. *’bysp’rynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *’byspwrđ*
 - SOGDIAN: (+ **pati-*)? SSogd. *pšpr-* ‘to fix, compose, level’, CSogd. *pcpr-* ‘to alight, rest’, MSogd. *ptšpr(t)-* (pass.) ‘to be arranged’, ? SSogd. *ptšpr* PN (UppInd.4, UppInd.71, UppInd.227, etc.) Pres.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *pcprty*; Impf.: IND. 3pl. CSogd. *ptyšprmt*; Partic.: perf. pass. SSogd. *ptšprtyy*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. MSogd. *ptšprtyy* ‘is arranged’
 - CHORESMIAN: (+ **upa-*) *bsp’ry-* ‘to hand over, entrust to’ ⇒ Samadi: 26
 - NWIR: NP *sipār-/sipurdan*, Bal. *sipārit/sipār-* (< NP), Fariz. *-spård/-spâr-*, Yar. *-spård*, Gz. *ispār-/ispärt*, Gil. (Rsht.) *ispurdæn/ispur-*, Ham. *espartan/espar-*, Isfah. *espartän/šepar-*, Khuns. *ispār-/ispärt*, Soi *bé-spār* ‘to hand over, entrust to’, Siv. *isperd* ‘to hand over; to say’, ? Gur. (Kand.) *-spār-* ‘to bury’ (rather ***sparH** ?)
 - NEIR: Sh. *sipōr-/sipōrt* ‘to charge, commission’ (< Pers. ?), Yzgh. *s(ə)pard/s(ə)par-*, Wa. *s(ə)por-/s(ə)porđ/t-* ‘to hand over’, Pash. *spār-* ‘to entrust, commission’ (< Pers. ?)
 - MISC: Arm. (LW) *apsparem* ‘I hand over’
 - SANSKRIT: ? *spar* ‘to save, secure; deliver; gain’ ⇒ EWAia II: 773 f.
- ◇ This amply attested root may have an IE provenance, being connected to the Germanic *sparē* forms.
- PIE **sper-* ‘to deliver, secure’ ⇒ LIV: 579 | Pok.: 992
 - IE COGNATES: ON *spara*, OHG *sparōn*, OSax. *sparōn*, OE *sparian*, Engl. *to spare*
 - REFERENCES: KPF I: 246b; KPF II: 203; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 67 f., 165; Abrahamian 1936: 112, 129; Edel’man 1971: 239; EVS: 74; Nyberg II: 27b f.; DKS: 69; WIM II/1: 77; WIM III: 110; Werba 1997: 262 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 323; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *sipār-*

***spard** ‘to twitch, quiver’

- AVESTAN: ? OAv. *spərədā* ‘diligence, zeal?’ (Y 53.4). ◇ The interpretation of this formation is extremely problematic, on which see Kellens – Pirart III: 269. Even its existence can be doubted, as it depends on the analysis of the word boundary.
- KHOTANESE: LKh. *spal-* (*spa’-*) ‘to twitch’ ⇒ SGS: 135
- SOGLIAN: BSogd. *cšmy* ‘*sp’rōt* ‘quivering, twitching eyes’. ◇ Cf. Gershevitch *apud* Bailey 1951: 36 ad *spalada-jsai* ‘with quivering eye’.
- NEIR: Wa. *spərdənj* ‘flea’ (< **spardanačī-*)
- SANSKRIT: ? *spardh* ‘to contend, to fight for something’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 774
◇ The connection with Skt. *spardh* is semantically not evident.
- PIE **sperd^h*- ‘to move quickly or suddenly, run away?’ ⇒ LIV: 580 | Pok.: 995 f.
- IE COGNATES: Hitt. */ispartmi/*, Arm. *sprdem* ‘I escape’, OE *spyrd* ‘race, running-match’
- REFERENCES: DKS: 436a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 315 f.; Werba 1997: 263

***sparH** ‘to tread, kick’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *spar-* ‘to tread, kick’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to tread forward’ || (+ **ūi-*) ‘to tread apart’ ⇒ Liste: 64f.
Pres. them.: INJ. 3sg. YAv. *frasparat* (Y 9.11), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *spārōit* (Vyt 35), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *vīspara* ‘kick out, away’ (V 2.31)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *spl-* /*spar-*/ ‘to trample, tread’, BMP *splyh-* /*sparīh-*/ (pass.) ‘to be trampled (to death)’ || (+ **pari-*) MMP *pryspr-* ‘to tread, trample’ || (+ **ni-*) MMP *nyspwrđ* (ppp.) ‘tread underfoot’ ⇒ DMMPP: 282b, 254a
Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. BMP *splyhyt/sparīhēd/* || (+ **pari-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *pryspnynd*
- KHOTANESE: (+ **aua-*) LKh. **vaspar-* (*vaspuđ-*) ‘to trample on’ || (+ **ā-*) OKh. **āspar-* (*āspīđ-*, *āspuđ-*) ‘to tread’ || (+ **upa-*) LKh. **paspar-* (*paspuđ-*) ‘to trample on’ ⇒ SGS: 121, 13, 79
- SOGLIAN: (+ **abi-*) BSogd. *βšp’ry* ‘sole (of foot)’ (GMS §370) || (+ **upa-*) CSogd. *pšpr-* ‘to trample on’, MSogd. *p’špr-* ‘fix, compose, level’ (< redupl. pres. **upa-hišpar-*), MSogd. *pšpr’mndyy* ‘fixing’ (GMS: §1100) || (+ **ni-*) BSogd. *nšpr-* ‘to walk’
(+ **upa-*) Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *p’špr*; Pret.: tr. IND. 3sg. CSogd. *pšprđ’rt*; Partic.: perf. pass. CSogd. *pšprty* ‘trampled’ || (+ **ni-*) Pres.: OPT. 3sg. dur. BSogd. *nšpr’y* ‘skwn, 3pl. BSogd. *nšpr’ynt*, dur. BSogd. *nšpr’ynt* ‘skwn
- CHORESMIAN: *m/sPr-* ‘to tread’ || (+ **ā-*) ?? ‘*br-* ‘to trod’. ◇ Perhaps ‘*br-* = ‘*pr-* (MacKenzie 1975: 394; MacKenzie I: 553), with unexplained loss of -s-, Samadi, l.c. ⇒ Samadi: 185, 23
- NWIR: NP *sipardan/sipar-* ‘to trample; to be trampled’
- NEIR: Oss. I. *æfsæryn/æfsærst* ‘to press on; to push (something in something)’, D. *æfsærun/æfsærst*, *æfsard* ‘to kick with the feet’ || (+ **upa-*) Sh. *bispār*, Khf. *bispār*,

Rosh. *bispār*, Yzgh. *bəspur* ‘a kick’ || (+ *ni-) Sh. *niḫpār-/niḫpūd*, Sariq. *naḫpe(j)-/naḫīg*, (Shaw) *naxpōr-/naḫpug* ‘to tread down, trample with the foot’, Wa. *nəsp(ə)r-/nəspərd-* ‘to kick (with the feet)’. ◇ The existence of Wa. *bispeṛ* ‘to kick’ as cited by Lorimer has not been confirmed by Wa. informants, v. Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 250, s.v. *nəsp(ə)r-*.

•SANSKRIT: *spharī* ‘to push away with the foot’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 776

•PIE **sperH-* ‘to kick with the feet’ ⇒ LIV: 585 f. | Pok.: 992 f.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */ispar-/* ‘to trample with the feet’, Lat. *spernere* ‘to push away, despise, reject’, ON *sperna* ‘to kick out with the feet’, Lith. *spirti* ‘to kick out (of horses), to defy, to sting’, etc.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 532; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 483; *EVS*: 21a, 52; *DKS*: 436; Werba 1997: 329 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 250, 457

**sparz* ? ‘to aspire to, strive’

•AVESTAN: OAv. (^α*ā*)*spəraz-* ‘to aspire to, strive’ ⇒ Liste: 65

MED.; Pres. them.: INJ. 3sg. OAv. ^α*spərazatā* (Y 31.16). ◇ Differently Humbach, Lommel (“inf.”), Insler 1975: 188 (“subst. Isg. ‘eagerness’”).

•SANSKRIT: *sparh* ‘to be eager, strive, desire’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 775

◇ Further Ir. cognates are unknown.

•PIE **sperǵ^h-* ‘to rush, be eager’ ⇒ LIV: 581 | Pok.: 998

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *σπερρομαι* ‘I rush’

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 264

**spas* ‘to attend to; to serve’

•AVESTAN: *spas-* (*spaš-*, *spōs-*) ‘to attend to; to serve’ || (+ *abi-) ‘to set one’s sight on, *aufs Korn nehmen*’ || (+ *aua-) ‘to catch the sight of, *erspähen*’ ⇒ Liste: 65

Pres. {1} *ja-*: IND. 1sg. OAv. *spasiā* (Y 44.11), 3sg. YAv. *spasiēiti* (Yt 10.82); Pres. {2} *nu-*: IND. 2pl. OAv. ^α*spašnuθā* (Y 53.6), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *auua.spašnaoṭ* (Yt 11.5); Partic.: pres. {1} YAv. *spasiant-* (Yt 11.14), pres. (a)them. red. ? YAv. *hispōsaṅt-* (Yt 8.36), med. YAv. *hispōsəmna-* (Yt 10.45), perf. pass. YAv. *auui.spašta-* (Yt 13.69). ◇ For YAv. *hispōsaṅt-* cf. Kellens 1974: 115f.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP ‘*sps-* ‘to serve’, MMP ‘*sp*’s, BMP *sp*’s /*spās*/ ‘service, gratitude, thanks’ (LW) ⇒ DMMPP: 86

Pres.: IND. 3sg. ‘*spsyd*

•PARTHIAN: ‘*sps-* ‘to serve’, ‘*sp*’s, *sp*’s ‘service’ || (+ *pati-) ? *pdysp*’s- ‘to pay attention’ ⇒ Ghilain: 51 f., 69 | DMMPP: 86

Pres.: IND. 3pl. ‘*spsynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. ‘*spyšt*

•KHOTANESE: *spās(ś)-* (*sās-*, *s(p)āš-*) ‘to see; appear’ ⇒ SGS: 135

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. ‘*sp*’*yš*, BSogd. ‘*spyš*, CSogd. *spyš/spxš*, MSogd. ‘*spyš* ‘to serve, honour, pay respect’, BSogd. ‘*sp*’s, *sp*’s ‘service, honour’ || (+ *ham-) MSogd. ‘*nspstqy*’, MSogd. ‘*spstky*’, SSogd. ‘*nsp*’*st*’*ky*’*kh*, SSogd. ‘*nspst*’*kyh* ‘zeal,

willingness to serve'. ◇ The pret. stem (')*spxšt-* has given rise to a secondary pres. stem (CSogd.) *sp(')xš-* (*GMS*: par. 599).

Well attested Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. 'sp'yšty, 'spyšty, 3pl. dur. SSogd. 'spyš'nt 'skwn, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. 'spyš't, etc.

•BACTRIAN: *σπισ-*, *ασπισ-*, *σαπισ-* 'to serve, worship', *ασπασο*, *σπασο* 'service'
⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 224b

•NWIR: NP *sipās* 'kindness, favour, thanksgiving', NP *sipāsīdan/sipās-* (denomin.) 'to praise (God) for benefits received; to implore assistance, grace, favour'

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *spasem* 'to serve' (< WIr.), Toch. (LW) *spaktām* 'service', A *spaktānik*, B *spaktanike* 'servant' (< Bactr., cf. Schwartz 1974: 411).

•SANSKRIT: *spaś* 'to observe, watch, spy' (RV) || ("s-less" var.) *paś* 'to see' (RV+)
⇒ EWAia II: 107

•PIE **spek-* 'to look around, take notice' ⇒ LIV: 575 f. | Pok.: 984

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *σκέπτομαι* 'I look around, look at', Lat. *speciō* 'to see', OHG *spehōn*, NHG *spāhen* 'to spy'

•REFERENCES: *DKS*: 436b f.; *Werba* 1997: 430 f., 233

*spauč ? 'to thrust; verstoßen'

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *'spwx-* (pret. stem), BMP *spwc-* /*spōz-*/ 'to reject, thrust, throw out'; to overstep (the boundaries); to disobey, evade (a command)
⇒ DMMPP: 87b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *spwcyt/spōzēd*/, SUBJ. 3sg. BMP *spwc't/spōzād*/; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *spwhkt/spōxtag*/, MMP *'spwxt*, Inf.: BMP *spwhnt/spōxtan*/

•KHOTANESE: (+ **fra-*) OKh. *haspās-* 'to strive', Khot. *haspīj-* (caus.) 'to urge'. ◇ See also **spaič*. ⇒ SGS: 151

•NWIR: NP *sipōxtan/sipōz-* 'to prick, pierce, transfix, thrust, poke; to draw forth one thing from another'

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *spuž-el* 'to postpone, delay, procrastinate'

◇ Further (I)Ir. cognates are unknown. An IE origin cannot be ascertained.

*srai 'to lean'

•AVESTAN: YAv. *sri-* 'to lean' || (+ **apa-*) 'to turn away from, averse from' || (+ **upa-*) 'to lean upon [intr.]' || (+ **ni-*) 'to bring to, assign' ⇒ Liste: 66

Pres. {1} *nu-*: IND. 1sg. YAv. *nirinaomi* (V 18.51), 3sg. YAv. *nirinaoitī* (Yt 10.27), INJ./IMPV. 2pl. YAv. *nirinaota* (Yt 13.34), SUBJ. 2sg. them. YAv. *nirinauuāhi* (Yt 5.87), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *nisirinuiiāt* (V 3.20, ViD 2); Pres. {2} them.: INJ. med. 3sg. YAv. *upa ... sraiiata* (Yt 17.21), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *upa ... sraiiān'ha* (Yt 17.21); Fut.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *sraēšiiēiti* (V 8.34); Aor. athem.: INJ. med. 3sg. YAv. *nisrīta* (Y 65.11); Perf.: IND. 3sg. ? YAv. *sīsrāiia* (Vyt 51); Partic.: pres. {2} med. YAv. *apa.sraiiamna-* (Yt 13.26), fut. YAv. *sraēšiiānt-* (V 8.34), aor. med. YAv. *sraiiāna-* (V 3.29, Vyt 36), perf. pass. YAv. *srita-* (F 531), YAv. *apa.srita-* (N 78), YAv. *nisrita-* (N 10); Caus.: SUBJ. 2sg. YAv. *nisrāriiā* (V 18.51)

- OLD PERSIAN: (+ *ni-*) *niyačār-* ‘to restore’ ⇒ Kent: 188b
Caus.: impf. IND. 1sg. *niyačārayam* <n-i-č-a-r-y-m> (DB 1.64)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ni-*) BMP *ns’y/nisāy/* ‘conveying, dispatch’
- KHOTANESE: ◇ LKh. *ššaidā*, assigned by Bailey (DKS: 412a f.) to **srai*, has a different etymology, on which see ***sraiš**.
- CHORESMIAN: (+ **apa-*) *bs’ry-* ‘to reject, decline’ ⇒ Samadi: 25
- NWIR: Gz. *sārt*, Siv. *sid* ‘staircase, ladder’ (<"OP" **ç(a)itā-* < Ir. **sr(a)itā-*)
- NEIR: Pash. *šəl* (m.) ‘stair (built of stone or earth)’, Yzgh. *šad* ‘ladder [pieced together]’ || (+ **us-* ?) Pash. *šayəl/šayəm* ‘to reject, repudiate’, ? Sh. *səxis-* ‘to slip’ (formally difficult), ? Sh. *šōy*, Rosh. *šūy*, Bart. *šūy* ‘moraine of large boulders’ || (+ **ui-* ?) Pash. *wəxedəl* ‘to slip (from the hand)’, Sh. (Baj.) *wixi(y)-/wixid*, Rosh. *wixay-/wixid*, Bart. *wixī-/wixid*, Yzgh. *x^way-/x^wad* ‘to open, unlock’, Wa. *wyš(ly)-/wyš(ə)n-* ‘to untie, loose, release’. ◇ As for Wa. *wyš(ly)-/wyš(ə)n-* cf. Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 403: "We note that Wa. *wyš(ly)-* can go back phonetically impeccably to Old Ir. **ui-*, **a_{ua}-srai(a)-*".
- SANSKRIT: *śray* ‘to lean against’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 665
◇ This root has an impeccable IE etymology.
- PIE **klei-* ‘to lean’ ⇒ LIV: 332 f. | Pok.: 601 f.
- IE COGNATES: Gr. κλίω ‘I lean’, Lat. *clīnāre* ‘to bow, to bend’, Lith. *šliėti*, OHG *hlinēn* ‘to lean’, Engl. *to lean*, etc.
- REFERENCES: *EVP*: 78, 79; *EVS*: 101a, 77a, 95, 104b; *DKS*: 412a f.; *WIM* II/2: 732; *WIM* III: 342; *Werba* 1997: 245 f.; *Stebliin-Kamenskij* 1999: 334, 403

***sraiš** ‘to put together, attach’

- AVESTAN: (+ **ham-*) YAv. *ham.sriš-* ‘to put together’ ⇒ Liste: 66
Aor. them. (*s-* ?): SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *ham.srišāiti* (N 99)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *slš-/sriš-* ‘to mix, knead’
- PARTHIAN: *sryšyšn* ‘mixture’ {hapax} ⇒ DMMPP: 309b
- KHOTANESE: LKh. *šiš-* (*šaiš-*) ‘to take hold of’ || (+ **ni-*) OKh. *nāšāš-* ‘to attach, adhere’ ⇒ SGS: 130
- CHORESMIAN: (+ **pati-*) ? *pš-* ‘to put together, lean towards’ ⇒ Samadi: 163
- NWIR: NP *sirištan/sirēš-* ‘to mix, mingle; knead’, Gz. *siriš-/sirišt* ‘to knead the dough’, NP *sirišm* ‘glue’
- NEIR: Oss. I. *sasm*, D. *sans* ‘glue’, ? I. *sis*, D. *ses* ‘wall’ || (+ **ni-*) Pash. *nšat-/nšəl-* ‘to cling, stick’
- SANSKRIT: *śreṣ* ‘to cling, stick, be attached, hold’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 670
◇ This Ir. root has no certain IE cognates.
- REFERENCES: *EVP*: 53; *DKS*: 410a, 187a; *Abaev, Slovar’* III: 37 f., 113 f.; *WIM* II/1: 82; *Werba* 1997: 246; *Cheung* 2002: 222; *NEVP*: 60

***srasč** ‘to drip’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *srasc-* ‘to drip’ ⇒ Liste: 66

Pres. them.: IND. med. 3pl. YAv. *srasciṭaē* ° (Yt 5.120); Partic.: pres. YAv. *srasciṭ-* (Yt 16.9, V 3.29, V 6.36); Caus.: OPT. 3pl. YAv. *vīsrasciān* (V 7.29 ff.)

•CHORESMIAN: (?) *cš-* ‘to drip’ (<< *šasča- < *srasča-) ⇒ Samadi: 52

•NEIR: Wa. *šac-/šact-* ‘to seep, drip, leak (away)’, (caus.) *šac(ɫ)v-/šacovd-* ‘to aim; to filter’, Pash. *cacədəl* ‘to leak, drop, fall in drops’ (with affric. assimil.) || (+ *ni-) Yī. *nəxč-/nəxčai*, M. *nič-* ‘to drip, drop from the eaves’

•MISC: Arm. (LW ?) *srskel* ‘to sprinkle’

◇ An IE origin for this root is difficult to ascertain: it may be expressive or onomatopoeic. Similar forms are well attested in Balto-Slavic: Lith. *šlakėti* ‘to drip’, *šlėkti* ‘to sprinkle’, Latv. *slacīt* ‘to make wet’, Russ. *sljākot* ‘sleet’, Lith. *šlākas* ‘drop’

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 16 f.; *IIFL* II: 349, 234b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 349; Lubotsky 2001: 40

***sraθH** ‘to loosen’

•NEIR: Sh. (Baj.) *šāθ-* ‘to be lazy, slacken’

•SANSKRIT: *śrathī* ‘to become loose, to give way’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 662

◇ The existence of the Ir. cognate root of Skt. *śrathī* is uncertain, in the absence of other Ir. continuations. It is impossible to draw any conclusions from a form attested in a single Pamiri language.

•REFERENCES: *EVS*: 104a; *Werba* 1997: 412 f.

***srau** ‘to hear, listen’

•AVESTAN: *srao-* ‘to hear, listen’ || (+ *abi-) ‘to hear, understand’ || (+ *upa-) ‘to hear upon, understand’ || (+ *fra-) ‘to be heard, known [pass., impers.]’ || (+ *ui-) ‘to learn, hear from’ ⇒ Liste: 66f.

Pres. *nu-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *surunaoiti* (Yt 10.107, FrW 10.41), 3sg. them. YAv. (*auuī*) *surunuaiti* (N 24, N 60), 3pl. YAv. (*upa*) *surunuaiṭi* (N 21), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *surunuiā* (Y 68.9); Aor. {1} athem.: IND. med. 3pl. OAv. *asruuātəm* (Y 30.3), med. 2pl. OAv. *asrūdūm* (Y 32.3), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *srauuat* (F 12), OPT. 1pl. OAv. *srauuimā* (28.7), IMPV. 3sg. OAv. *sraotū* (Y 45.6, Y 49.7, Y 49.9), 2pl. OAv. *sraotā* (Y 30.2, Y 33.11, Y 45.1); Aor. {2} *s-*: SUBJ. med. 1sg. OAv. *səraošānē* (Y 50.4); Perf.: IND. med. 1sg. YAv. *susruiē* (Yt 17.17), 1pl. *sūsrūma* (Yt 13.148); Partic.: pres. *surunuuat-* (Y 35.4, Yt 8.3, cf. Panaino, *Tišt.* II: 91), caus. YAv. *srauuaiiant-*, med. YAv. *srauuaiiamna-*, desid. YAv. *susrūšəmna-* (Yt 14.21), aor. {1} YAv. *aīβisr(a)uuana-* (V 3.40), aor. {2} them. YAv. *sraošəmna-* (V 13.17 f.), perf. pass. YAv. *srūta-* (N 37, Y 22.25, Y 25.6, etc.), OAv. *frasrūta-* (Y Y 50.8), YAv. *frasrūta-* (Y 27.7, Y 65.3, Yt 8.2); Inf.: pres. caus. OAv. *srauuaiieḡhē* (Y 29.8), YAv. *srauuaiieḡhāi* (Vyt 46), aor. OAv. *srūidiāi* (Y 34.12, Y 45.5); Pass.: pres. IND. med. 1sg. OAv. *sruuiē* (Y 33.7), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *vīsruiata* (Yt 13.91), aor. INJ. 3sg. OAv. *srauuī* (Y 32.7 f., Y 49.7, Y 49.9); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *srauuaiieiti* (V 18.9, N 26, VdPZ 18.51-52, etc.), 3du. YAv. *srauuaiiatō* (N 23), 3pl. YAv. *srauuaiieṭi* (N 29, N 31), INJ. 2sg. YAv. *frasrauuaiiō* (Y 9.14), 3sg. YAv. *frasrauuaiiaṭ* (Y 57.8, V 19.2, V 19.10), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *srauuaiieni* (Ny 4.8), 3sg. YAv. *fra.srauuaiiāiti* (N 33, N 72), 3sg. YAv. *frā.vā srauuaiiāṭ* (Y 19.6), 3pl. YAv.

srāuuaiiān (N 85), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *srāuuaiiōiš* (V 11.2, P 15), 3sg. YAv. *srāuuaiiōit* (N, FrW 7.2), 1pl. OAv. *srāuuaiiāēmā* (Y 49.6)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *sr'y-*, BMP *sl'd-* /*srāy-*/ 'to sing' || (+ **fra-*) MMP *frsy-* 'to praise, laud', *frsr'y-* 'to sing' ⇒ DMMPP: 308b, 156b

Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. MMP *sr'ynd*', *sr'yynd*, BMP *sl'dynd* /*srāyēnd*/; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *slwt* /*srūd*/; Inf.: BMP *slwtn* /*srūdan*/ || (+ **fra-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *frsr'ydyd*, 3pl. MMP *frsr'ynd*, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *prsr'y'nd*, IMPV. 2pl. *frsryyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *prsrwd* 'song'

•PARTHIAN: *sr'w-* (caus.) 'to sing' ⇒ Ghilain: 76 | DMMPP: 308b

Pres.: IMPV. 2pl. *sr'wydyd* {hapax}

•SOGDIAN: CSogd. *sr'w-* 'to sing' (< *to let it hear'), CSogd. *sr'wtyty* (obl. pl. f.) 'songs' (C2 102R.30) || (+ **pati-*) BSogd. *ptsr'w* 'to consecrate (with a mantra)'

Pres.: IND. 3pl. CSogd. *sr'wnt*; 'z-Impf.: IND. 3pl. CSogd. *sr'w'znt* || (+ **pati-*) Caus.: pres. OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *ptsr'w'y*

•CHORESMIAN: *šw-* 'to be heard'. ◇ According to Samadi (l.c.) Chor. *š'wt* means 'entschlüpfte' (of words), for which she reconstructs: **fra-ūata-*, cf. Khot. *hot-* 'to be able', Pth. *frwd* 'to understand, know'. The meaning may rather be 'was heard', as added by MacKenzie V: 73. Accordingly, the Chor. form is to be connected to **sru-* 'to hear'. Since intervocalic *-j-* has usually been retained, *š'wt* cannot go back to pass. **sruia-*, suggested by MacKenzie (l.c., also accepted by Sims-Williams 1989: 263). The voiceless *-t-* may derive from **-št-* (cf. *mtyk* 'broken' < **maštaka-*, *CLI*: 195), whence *š'wt* < aor. stem (med.) **srauš-(ta-)*? ⇒ Samadi: 200

•NWIR: NP *surūdan/sarāy-*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *stirīn/strīn-*, *stir-* 'to sing', ? Bal. (EHB) *sunīθ-/sun-* 'to hear'

•NEIR: Sh. *šin-/xūd*, (Baj.) *šan-*, Rosh. *šan-*, Orosh. *šan-/xūd*, Sariaq. *šan-/xid*, *xūd*, Yzgh. *šan-/xod* 'to hear', Pash. *šayəl/šayəm* (caus.) 'to show, teach, instruct', Sh. (Baj.) *šanen-*, *šinawen-*, Sariaq. *šandon-* 'to cause to hear' || (+ **us-*) Yi. *ušā-/ušāvd*, M. *ušāv-/ušāvd* 'to call, shout', ? Sh. *xōy-/xēyd*, Rosh. *xēyt*, Bart. *xōyd*, Sariaq. *xuy-/xoyd* 'to read'

•SANSKRIT: *śrav* 'to hear' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 666

◇ This root has an impeccable IE etymology.

•PIE **kleu-* 'to hear' ⇒ LIV: 334 f. | Pok.: 605 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *ἔκλυον* 'heard', *κλυτός* 'famous', Lat. *cluēre* 'to be called, to be mentioned', Toch. *kāln-* 'to sound', Latv. *sludināt* 'to declare', etc.

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 79; *IIFL* II: 193b; *EVS*: 102b, 104b; Cabolov 1997: 73; Werba 1997: 246 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 334; *NEVP*: 99; Korn 2005: 130, 147, 321, 383

**srāg* ? 'to esteem, be boasting'

•KHOTANESE: *ššahāna-* 'quality, virtue'

•NEIR: Pash. *xāy-* 'to like, prefer, esteem'

•SANSKRIT: *ślāgh* 'to be boasting, praise, commend, trust in' ⇒ EWAia II: 673

◇ Further Ir. correspondences are not found. The structure of this possibly IIr. root is atypical of IE: regional borrowing ?

•PIE – ⇨ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 77; *DKS*: 408a; *NEVP*: 98

***staH** ‘to place, set; [intr.] stand’

•AVESTAN: *stā-* ‘to place, set; (intr.) stand’ || (+ **aṃa-*) ‘to enter; to settle (down)’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘to take place’ || (+ **upa-*) ‘to tread on’ || (+ **us-*) ‘to get up, rise’ || (+ **pati-*) ‘to stay put, remain’ || (+ **pari-*) ‘to refrain from’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to precede, go before’ || (+ **ni-*) ‘to order’ || (+ **ham-*) ‘to come into existence’ ⇨ Liste: 64

Pres. them. red.: IND. med. 2sg. YAv. *hištahe* (V 3.29), 3sg. YAv. *hištaiti* (Yt 8.9, Yt 8.32), YAv. *paiti hištaiti* (Yt 10.36), med. YAv. *hištaitē* (Y 42.4, etc.), YAv. *fraxštāite* (Yt 10.107, Yt 19.92, V 15.45), 3pl. YAv. *hištānti* (Yt 6.1, Yt 7.3, V 5.19, etc.), YAv. *ḥam.hištānti* (Yt 8.32), med. YAv. *hištānte*, INJ. 3sg. YAv. *upa.hištaṭ* (Yt 17.21), ? OAv. *āxštaṭ* (Y 51.4), med. 3sg. YAv. *fraxštata* (Yt 13.97), med. 3pl. YAv. *hištānta* (Yt), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *xštā* (Y 12.3), med. 1sg. YAv. *fraxštāne* (Y 9.20), 3sg. YAv. *paiti.hištānti* (N 22), YAv. *hištāt* (Yt 8.32), YAv. *auua.hištāt* (V 4.33, V 8.33, V 16.5), YAv. *xštāt* (F 304), med. 3sg. YAv. *fraxštāite* (Yt 10.107, Yt 19.92, V 15.45), 3pl. YAv. *usəhištaṇ* (Yt 19.11), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *auua.hištōiš* (V 9.12), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *auua.hišta* (Yt 17.57), YAv. *upa.hišta* (Yt 17.21), *usəhišta* (V 18.19, V 18.21, V 18.26, V 21.4), 2pl. YAv. *usəhištata* (V 18.16, V 18.24); Aor. s-: SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *stāṇhaiti* (N 42), OAv. *stāṇhaṭ* (Y 50.4); Perf.: IND. 1sg. YAv. *auua.hišta* (V 8.97, V 8.100, V 8.103), 3pl. YAv. *višastarə* (Yt 19.8); Partic.: pres. YAv. *hištānt-*, med. YAv. *hištəmna-* (Yt 15.52, Yt 17.61, N 37), YAv. *paiti hištəmna-* (Yt 10.36), perf. pass. YAv. *stāta-*, YAv. *auuastāta-* (F 149); Caus.: pres. IND. 1sg. YAv. *āstāiīā* (Y 13.3), 3sg. YAv. *ā.staiieiti* (N 82), med. 1pl. YAv. *āstāiīamaide* (Vr 3.5), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *staiiāṭ* (Yt 13.78), med. 3sg. YAv. *staiiata* (Yt 10.89), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *āstaiia* (Vr 3.1 ff.), 3sg. YAv. *staiiāṭ* (N 63), OPT. med. 3pl. YAv. *āstaiiānta* (V 3.18, V 5.49), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *auuastaiia* (V 2.26)

•OLD PERSIAN: *stā-* ‘to set, [med.] to stand’ || (+ **aṃa-*) ‘to set down, place, restore’ || (+ *ni-*) ‘to enjoin, command’ ⇨ Kent: 210a

Pres. red.: impf. IND. med. 3sg. *aištata* <a-i-š-t-t-a> (DB 1.85); Caus.: impf. IND. 1sg. *avāstāyam* <a-v-a-s-t-a-y-m> (DB 1.63, DB 1.66, DB 1.69), *niyaštāyam* <[n]-[i]-[š]-t-a-y-m> (DB 3.91), <n-i-[y]-[š]-t-a-y-m> (DZc 8), <n-i-y-š-t-a-y-m> (XV 23), *frāstāyam* ‘I send forth’ <f-[r]-a-s-t-a-y-m> (DB 4.92), 3sg. *niyaštāya* <n-i-š-[t]-[a]-[y]> (DSn 1), <n-i-y-š-t-a-y> (XPh 50, XV 21), *nīštāya* <n-i-š-t-a-y> (XPh 52)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **abi-*) MMP *’yst-*, BMP *’yst-*, *’(y)st-* (YK‘YMWN-) /*ēst-*/ ‘to stay, stand, be’ (also aux.), MMP *’ystyn-*, BMP *’styn-* (YK‘YMWN-) /*ēstēn-*/ (sec. caus.) ‘to place, put, set’, MMP *’ystyh-* (caus. pass. ?) ‘to be placed’ || (+ **aṃa-*) BMP *’wst’-* /*ōstā-*/ ‘to set out’ || (+ **upa-*) MMP *’byst* ‘place of refuge’, BMP *’ṗst’n* /*abestān*/, (?) BMP *’ṗst’m*¹ /*abestām*/ ‘reliance, refuge, support, trust’ || (+ **pari-*) MMP *’pryst-*, BMP *’plst-* /*parist-*/ ‘to serve (through worship); to worship’ || (+ **fra-*) MMP *’pryst-*, *’fryst-*, BMP *’plyst-* (ŠDRWN-) ‘to send’ ⇨ DMMPP: 99b f., 17a, 282b, 159b

(+ **abi-*) *Widely attested*: Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *’ystyd*, *’styd*, 1pl. MMP *’yst’m*, 2pl. MMP *’ystyd*, 3pl. MMP *’ystynd*, etc. || (+ **aṃa-*) Pres.: IND. 1pl. BMP *’wstym* /*ōstēm*/; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *’wst’t*

/ōstād/ || (+ *pari-) Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *prystynd*, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *pryst'nd* || (+ *fra-) Pres.: IND. 2sg. BMP *plystyh /frēstēh/*, 1sg. MMP *pryst'n*, 3sg. MMP *pryst'd*, 3pl. MMP *pryst'nd*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP **pryst*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *fryst'd*, *pryst'd*, II *prystyd*, *prystyhyst*; Inf.: MMP *pryst'dn*

•PARTHIAN: 'št-, 'yšt- 'to stay, be situated' || (+ *abi-) 'wyst- 'to be situated', (caus. ?) 'wyst- 'to place, put' ⇒ Ghilain: 78, 90 | DMMPP: 94, 76

Pres.: IND. 1sg. 'št'm, 'štyh, 3sg. 'štyd, 'štyyd, 1pl. 'št'm, 2pl. 'štyd, 3pl. ^x'štynd, 'yštyynd, SUBJ. 2sg., 3sg. 'št'h, 3sg. 'yšt'h, OPT. ^x'štyndyh; Partic.: perf. pass. II 'št'd, 'yšt'd || (+ *abi-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. 'wystyd, 3pl. 'wystynd, 'wystynd, SUBJ. 2sg. 'wyst'h, ? ^x'wyst'; Partic.: perf. pass. 'wyst'd, 'wst'd; Inf.: 'wyst'dn; Caus. (?): pres. 1sg. 'wyst'm, 3pl. 'wystynd, SUBJ. 1sg. 'wyst'n, 'wst'n, 2sg. ^x'wyst', IMPV. 2sg. 'wst, 2pl. 'wystyd

•KHOTANESE: *štā-* (*štā-*) 'to stand; be', *stās-* (inch.) 'to come to a standstill; to become weary' || (+ *aṃa-) *vašt-* (*vīst-*) 'to remain', (perf.) also 'to approach', *vīštā-* (*vīštī-*) 'to place, establish' || (+ *ā-) ? *ešt-* (**ā-hišta-* ?) 'to endure, be firm' || (+ *patī-) OKh. *pašt-* 'to arise, set out', OKh. *paštāñ-* (caus.) 'to satisfy; to promote' ⇒ SGS: 128 f., 120 f., 20, 77

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. 'sty- 'to stay, wait for' || (+ *apa-) BSogd. 'pšty 'to entrust' (diff. prev. ?), BSogd. 'pstnh 'delay', BSogd. *pstnh*, CSogd. *pstn* (f.) 'respite' || (+ *abi-) ? SSogd. 'βšt't'k 'settled' || (+ *aṃa-) BSogd. 'wšt- 'to stand, become', BSogd. 'wst-, CSogd. 'wst-, MSogd. 'wst- 'to stand, fix, put, place, set, lay (up, down)', BSogd. (caus.) 'wst'y 'to put, fix' || (+ *ā-) BSogd. 'stnyh 'permanence', SSogd. 'st'nyk, CSogd. *st'nyq* 'messenger' || (+ *upa-) SSogd. (')*pšty-* 'to instruct', BSogd. 'pšty- 'to entrust', CSogd. *pšty-* 'to admonish, instruct' (Sims-Williams 1985: 62), MSogd. 'pšty- 'to command, order' || (+ *patī-) BSogd. *pštšy-* 'to lean on, rest' || (+ *pari-) BSogd. *pršt'y*, CSogd. *pšt'y* 'to prepare, make ready' || (+ *fra-) SSogd. *prsty* 'to send' || (+ *ni-) SSogd. *nyšty* 'to order', BSogd. *nyšty* 'to establish, fix', CSogd. *nyšty* 'to send word, announce' || (+ *ham-) ? BSogd. 'nšt'y-, CSogd. 'št'y- 'to show'. ◇ For a survey of the (esp. Manichaean) Sogdian forms see *GMS*: §552-559.

Pres.: SUBJ. 1sg. SSogd. 'sty'n {hapax} || (+ *apa-) Pres.: IND. 1sg. dur. BSogd. 'pšty'm 'skwn {hapax} || (+ *aṃa-) Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. 'wšt, MSogd. 'wštyyt, 3pl. BSogd. 'wšt'nt, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. 'wšt't, OPT. 3sg. CSogd. 'wšty'. etc. || (+ *upa-) Pres.: IND. 1pl. dur. BSogd. 'pšty'm 'skwn, 3pl. CSogd. *pštynt*; Impf.: IND. 1sg. dur. SSogd. ^x'pšty'm 'skwn, 3sg. CSogd. *p'šty*; Pret.: tr. IND. 1sg. SSogd. *pšt'tw δ'rm*, SSogd. ^x'pšt'tw δ'r'm, 3sg. SSogd. ^x'pšt't δ'rt || (+ *patī-) Inf.: BSogd. *pštšy'y* || (+ *pari-) Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *pršt'y*; Pret.: tr. IND. 3sg. CSogd. *pšt'd'rt*, 2pl. MSogd. *pršt'id'rōδ*; Partic.: pres. MSogd. *pršt'yyny*, perf. pass. CSogd. *pšt'ty* t (pl.) 'prepared'; Inf.: pret. BSogd. *pršt'ty*, CSogd. *pšt'yt*; Pass.: pret. IND. 3sg. MSogd. *pršt'ty 'ktyy* 'was prepared', pperf. intr. IND. 3sg. MSogd. *pršt'tyh wm'ṭ* (*Kaw.G*: 68) || (+ *fra-) Pres.: IND. 1sg. SSogd. *prsty'm*, SUBJ. 3sg. SSogd. *prsty't*, OPT. 2sg. SSogd. *prsty*, 3sg. SSogd. *prsty*; Partic.: perf. pass. SSogd. *prst't* || (+ *ni-) Well attested: Pres.: IND. 1pl. pres. MSogd. *nyštymskwn*, IMPV. 2sg. SSogd. *nšty* 'announce'; Impf.: IND. 1sg. MSogd. *mnšt'yw*, 3sg. SSogd. *nyšty*, CSogd. *nyšty*, 3pl. CSogd. *nyštynt*, INJ. 1sg. SSogd. *nšty'w*; Pret.: tr. IND. 1sg. SSogd. *nšt'tw δ'rm*, 3sg. BSogd. *nyšt't δ'rt*, etc. || (+ *ham-) Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg.

BSogd. 'nšt'y^m, 2sg. BSogd. 'nšt'y'y, 3sg. BSogd. 'nšt'yt, CSogd. 'štyt, MSogd. 'nšt'yt, dur. CSogd. 'štytq, CSogd. 'štytqn, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *apa-) 'bst'- 'to stand apart' || (+ *a_ua-) wš(y)- 'to put, place on(to)' ⇒ Samadi: 26, 221 f.

•BACTRIAN: (+ *apa-) αβιστανο 'waste of time, inconvenience' || (+ *abi-) ? αβιρταδο 'landlord, (estate) owner, دهقان', αβιρταοανο 'estate' || (+ *a_ua-) ωστα- 'to place, put, impose' || (+ *pari-) παροιρταοο 'surrounding area' || (+ *fra-) φορρτι- 'to send' ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 175a, 175b, 234b, 217a, 230a

•NWIR: Delij. ešdan 'to stand; to go', Gz. iss-/issā, Siv. isak-, isēk-, esak-/esakiā 'to stand, stay' (-k- < ?, cf. Sogd. dur. pcl. -'skw-), Qohr. ištāda/išt- 'to be (situated)' || (+ *abi-) NP ištādan/išt-, ? Bal. gwāšt/gwāš- 'to stop, arrest, rob, stand against' (LW ?), Anar. we-yusso/ (impv.) we-yus, Fariz. išt-/va-hēšt-, Yar. cēšt-, Gil. (Rsht.) iṣṣān/iṣṣ-, Ham. va-īsayān/va-īs-, Mah. is- 'to stand, stop, stay', Nn. -ossāye/t-oss-, Tr. (v)ossā(ya)/(v)oss-, Natan. vā-istāj-/vā-ist-, Varz. hissāye/iss- 'to rise, stand up', Abz. eštowa/ešt-, Abyan. veštoya/vešt-, Ard. issā/t-es-, Qohr. (v)ūštāda/t-ūšt-, Soi vūštad-/vā-tūšt- 'to stay there', Sorkh. -cēšt-/išt- 'to be upright', Lasg. bcēstæ (impv.) 'be upright !' || (+ *a_ua-) Bal. oštāt/ošt- 'to stand', Kurd. westa 'tired' || (+ *pari-) NP parastīdan/parast- 'to worship, adore; to serve', NP parast 'worshipper' || (+ *fra-) NP firistādan/firist-, Bal. šastit, šaštīt, šastāθ-/šast-, šašt- 'to send', Ard. eresnāhe/eresn-, ? Fariz. -hārāsīn-hrāsīn-, Bakht. fišnādan, Yar. -rasnā-/rasn-, Natan. -hæræscæna/hæræscæn-, Tr. farasnāya/herasn- 'to send' (with dental dissim.) || (+ *ui- ?) Nn. vīr usāy-/vīr t-os- 'to get up'

•NEIR: (+ *a_ua-) Yghn. ušt-/ūšta 'to stand; to stay, dwell', Yi. wāst-/ustā(y)-, M. wəst-/wustōy- (orig. caus.) 'to place, leave behind' || (+ *ā-) Pash. āstaw- 'to send, dispatch', Sangl. āstay-/āstuθ- 'to send (a person)' || (+ *upa-) Oss. bæstæ 'place', Yzgh. bəstēθ, bəstīθ 'store-room' || (+ *us-) M. wušk-/wuškōy 'to rise' (Zarubin) || (+ *ni-) Oss. I. nystwan, D. nistawæn 'mission, order, testament, will' || (+ *ui- ?) Oss. I. styn/stad 'to stand up', I. stajyn/stad, D. (æ)stajun/(æ)stad 'to become tired, exhausted', D. istun/istad 'to stand', Wa. stɪ-/stət- 'to send', (ppp.) ? Wa. stot 'rock, stony summit'

•MISC: Orm. t-^yēk 'to be standing, stand still' || (+ *ā- ?) Orm. ašt-^yēk 'to stand' || (+ *upa-) Arm. (LW) apastan 'refuge, resort' || (+ *us-) Par. ušt-, Orm. (w)ušt- 'to rise' = wóst-/wóstók, wust-/wustók, wóst-, wust-/wostok || (+ *pari-) Arm. (LW) am-barišt 'im-pious'

•SANSKRIT: sthā 'to stand, to stand still' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 764

◇ The causative stem *a_ua-stāja- shows shortening of *ā in front of *-j in East Iranian languages.

•PIE *steH₂- 'to stand, place' ⇒ LIV: 590 ff. | Pok.: 1004 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ἵστανμι, Lat. *sistere* ‘to place’, OCS *stati* ‘to place oneself, to tread’, Lith. *stóti* ‘to go standing, tread’, OHG *stān* ‘to stand’, Engl. to *stay*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 79b, 134a, 243a; Ivanow 1926: 420; *EVP*: 12; *IIFL* I: 411a, 412a, 388; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 59, 152, 167, 255, 261; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 49; *IIFL* II: 263b, 264a, 382b; Abrahamian 1936: 122; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 254 f.; Andreev – Peščereva: 342a f.; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 210; *EVS*: 21a; Abaev, *Slovar*’ III: 144, 156 f.; *DKS*: 431b f.; *WIM* II/1: 77; Sims-Williams 1985: 156; Safari 1373: 79; Vahman – Asatrian 1987: 88; *WIM* III: 110; Werba 1997: 327 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 317 f.; Cheung 2002: 63 f., 88, 173; Lecoq 2002: 122, 125, 127 (passim); Kiefer 2003: 208; Shakhbakhsh: s.v. *gwāš-*; *NEVP*: 11; Korn 2005: 117, 351, 386

*staHn ? ‘to take’

•AVESTAN: (+ **fra-*) ? YAv. *frastan-* ‘to take, convey forward’ (Gershevitch, *Mithra*: 177 ad 20) ⇒ Liste: –

Pres. *ya-*: IND. 3pl. ? YAv. *frastanuuantī* (Yt 10.20)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP ‘*st’n-* (BMP *YNSBWN-*) ‘to take (away)’ ⇒ DMMP: 88b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP ^x*st’nyd*, 3pl. MMP *st’nynd*, *s’t’nynd*, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *st’n’d*, *s’t’n’d*, 1pl. MMP ^x*st’n’m*, 3pl. MMP *st’n’nd*, *s’t’n’nd*, IMPV. 2pl. MMP *s’t’nyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP ^x*std*, *s’td*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. MMP *st’nyhyd*, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *st’nyh’d*

•PARTHIAN: ‘*st’n-* ‘to take (away)’ ⇒ Ghilain: 71 | DMMP: 88b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *st’nyd*, *s’t’nyd*, 3pl. *st’nynd*, *s’t’nynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *st’n’n*, 2sg. *st’n’h*, 3sg. ^x*st’n’h*, 3pl. ^x*st’n’nd*, IMPV. 2pl. *st’nyd*, OPT. *st’ndy*, *st’nydyh*; Partic.: perf. pass. *std*; Inf.: ^x*stdn*

•NWIR: NP *sītādan/sītān-* ‘to take, carry away; stand, stay’, Awrom. *asāy/-sān-*, Gur. (Kand.) *-sān-* ‘to take, buy’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *stāndin/stēn-*, *stīn-*, (Sor.) *s(t)āndin/s(t)ēn-*, Gil. (Rsht.) *usadæen/usan-* ‘to take (up), gather’, Siv. *sān-*, *sen-* (supplet. *es(s)ä*, *es(s)ě*, *isä* < ?) ‘to take (away)’

◇ This root is perhaps originally a pres. *n*-stem of **staH* (?).

•PIE pres. *n*-stem **st(e)H₂n-* ‘to (want to) buy; fix (a price, one’s mind on something)’ ? ⇒ LIV: 590 f. | Pok.: 1004 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *prae-stināre* ‘to buy, fix (a price)’, *de-stināre* ‘to fix (in position, one’s mind on something); to destine for one’s own by settling terms, arrange the purchase of’, *ob-stināre* ‘to set one’s mind on’, ? Arm. *stanam* ‘I receive, acquire’ (< Ir. ?)

•REFERENCES: *KPF* II: 203; Christensen, *Contributions*: I: 60; MacKenzie 1966: 89; *WIM* III:116; Cabolov 1997: 73

*stajj ? ‘to stab; to be contentious ?’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *stij-* (f.) ‘fight, struggle’ (Yt 10.71)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP ‘*styz-* ‘to quarrel’, BMP *styc /stēzag/* ‘quarrel, strife’ ⇒ DMMP: 91b

Pres.: SUBJ. 1sg. MMP *styz’n*

- PARTHIAN: ‘*styh*’g, ‘*styyh*’g ‘contentious’, ^x‘*styh*’gyft ‘contention’ ⇒ Ghilain: 92 | DMMPP: 91b
 - NWIR: NP *sitehīdan* (denomin.) ‘to quarrel, brawl’, NP *sitēzīdan* ‘to fight’, NP *sitēz* ‘battle, combat, conflict’
 - NEIR: Oss. I. *stiğyn/styğd*, D. (*æ*)*st’ēğun*/*(æ)st’iğd* ‘to skin; to clean the skin [of fruits and vegetables]; to plunder, loot’, ? Yzgh. *s(ə)tizd/s(ə)tiz-* ‘to take offence’ (< NP ?), ? Sarii. *s(i)kit*, Wa. *štik* ‘game; entertainment; joke’ (LW ?)
 - SANSKRIT: – ⇒ EWAia II: 761
- ◇ The root is probably to be separated from Skt. *stegh-* ‘to march, mount’ (MS). The Oss. forms may be closer to the original meaning.
- PIE **steig-* ‘to sting, stab’ ⇒ LIV: 592 | Pok.: 1016 f.
 - IE COGNATES: Gr. *στίζω, ἔστειγμα* ‘I sting, mark’, NHG *stechen* ‘to sting, stab’
 - REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 543; Edel’man 1971: 240; *EVS*: 73b; Abaev, *Slovar* III: 151 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 347

***stamb(H)** ‘to withstand, be stiff, stern, unmoving’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *aša.stəmbana-* ‘having the support/firmness of *aša*’ (Yt 19.5), ? YAv. *stəpbiia* ‘strife, [BMP transl.] *stēz*’ (F 519)
- OLD PERSIAN: *stā^mb-* ‘to revolt, rebel’ ⇒ Kent: 210
Pres. them. *aua-*: INJ. 2sg. *stā^mbava* <s-t-b-v> (DNa 60)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *stpl /stabr/*, MMP ‘*stbr* ‘strong, firm’, MMP ^x*stmbg*, ‘*stmbg*’n (pl.), BMP *stmbk /stambag/* ‘oppressive; obstinate’, MMP ‘*sift*, BMP *spt /staf/* ‘hard; firm, strong, cruel; savage, fierce’. ◇ Although influenced by **stambH*, the Persian forms BMP *sthm /stahm/*, NP *sitam* ‘tyranny, oppression’, NP *sitamīdan* (denomin.) ‘to oppress; to be headstrong’ have a different origin, cf. *DKS*: 415a, *NEVP*: 76, s.v. *stam*). They may go back to **stak* ‘to resist, oppose’, Av. *staxra-* ‘firm’, etc. ⇒ DMMPP: 90
- PARTHIAN: ^x*stfyt* ‘harshness, tyranny’ || (+ **ui-*) ^x*wystmbg*, ^x*wystmbg*’n (pl.) ‘rebellious’, ^x*wystmbgyft* ‘rebelliousness’ ⇒ Ghilain: 72 | DMMPP: 90, 358b
- KHOTANESE: *staura-* ‘severe, cruel’
- SOGDIAN: BSogd. ‘*st’np* ‘coarse, rough’ (Dhy. 169, *BSTBL*: 62), MSogd. *stmb* ‘stern’ (*Sogdica*: 18), MSogd. *stfity* ‘cruel’ (*GMS*: par. 157)
- CHORESMIAN: ‘*stnb* ‘grand, majestic’ (< *‘bold, audacious’)
- BACTRIAN: *σταμβο* ‘injury, ill-treatment, oppression’ (Y23 f.) ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 224b
- NWIR: NP *sitanbah* ‘strong, robust, powerful, bold; contumacious, litigious, unwilling to listen’
- NEIR: Oss. I. *stavd*, D. (*æ*)*stavd* ‘thick, coarse’, Yzgh. *stūvd* ‘thick (fat), dense (clouds); many, much’, *stəvdag* ‘grounds, dregs (in soup)’, ? Pash. *stam* ‘exertion,

travail, parturition’ (< Pers. *s(i)tam*, *NEVP*, l.c.), ? *āstōway* ‘single, lonely, without relations’ (**a-staba-ka-* ‘without support’, Morgenstierne 1942: 262).

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *stambak* ‘refractory, rebellious’

•SANSKRIT: *stambhⁱ* ‘to support, prop up’; *stabhamāna-* ‘stiff, conceited’, *viṣṭabdha-* ‘stiff’ (Br.+). ◇ On *stabhamāna-* see Gotō 1987: 331. ⇒ EWAia II: 754

◇ The root **stamb(H)* shows a wide range of meanings, which may suggests convergence of two or even more similar IE/IIr. roots.

•PIE **stemb^h(H)-* ‘to be firm, unmoving’, vel sim. ⇒ LIV: 595 f., 588 f. | Pok.: 1012f.

•IE COGNATES: Lith. *steĩbti*, *stėmbti* ‘to oppose’, Gr. ἄστυμῶς ‘unshakable’, Toch. A *štām-*, B *stām-* ‘to stand’, A *sānm-* (caus.) ‘to attach, bind’

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 70; *DKS*: 434b; K.T. Schmidt 1992: 106 ff.; Werba 1997: 383; *NEVP*: 11

***stap** ‘to hasten, (op)press’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **abi-*) MMP *’wyšt’b-*, BMP *’wšt’p-* /*awištāb-* ‘to (op)press; hasten [tr.]’, MMP *’wyšt’byšn* ‘oppression’ || (+ **ni-*) MMP *’nyšt’pt* (ppp.) ‘fallen headlong, away’ {hapax} ⇒ DMMPP: 76b, 254b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *’wyšt’byd*: Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *’wšt’ft*, *’wyšt’pt*, *’wyštptg*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. MMP *’wšt’byhyd*

•PARTHIAN: (+ **abi-*) *’wyšt’byšn* ‘oppression’ || (+ **ni-*) *’nšt’ft* (ppp.) ‘fallen headlong, away’ {hapax} ⇒ Ghilain: 72 | DMMPP: 76b, 254b

•NWIR: NP *šitāftan/šitāb-* ‘to hurry’

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *štapem* ‘I oppress’, *štap* ‘haste, trouble’

◇ The root may be a "variant" of ***stambH** (?). The Armenian borrowings *štapem* and *štap* rather favour original **-p-*. No doubt, **stap* is influenced by ***stambH**.

•PIE **step-* ‘to press, step’ ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 1013

•IE COGNATES: OCS *stopiti* ‘to tread’, OCS *stopa* ‘foot-step’, OFr. *steppa*, *stapa*, OE *stæppan*, Du. *stappen*, Engl. *to step*

•REFERENCES: *EVS*: 76b; Abaev, *Slovar*’ III: 145

***star** ‘to sweep, throw down; to sin’

•AVESTAN: *stər-* (*stri-*, *stār-*) ‘to throw (to earth)’ || (+ **aya-*) ‘to throw down’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘to commit a sin, sin’ || (+ **us-*) ‘?’. ◇ The assumed semantic shift to ‘to commit a sin’ needs an explanation. Perhaps, it has developed from ‘to fall, *zu Grunde gericht sein*’ < pass. ‘to be thrown down’ (A.L.)? ⇒ Liste: 64

Pres. *nu-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. **stərənaoiti* (P 22); Partic.: pres. pass. ? YAv. *ustriiamna-* (H 1.11), caus. YAv. **āstāraiiant-* (V 5.4, V 5.7), perf. pass. YAv. *stərəta-* (Yt 19.34); Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *āstriieiti* (V 5.3, V 5.6, V 13.20, etc.), YAv. *āstriiāēte* (P 58), 3pl. YAv. *(^(x)ā.striieinti* (N 95 f.), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *auuāstriiata* (Yt 1.29), SUBJ. 3pl. YAv. *āstriiānte* (V 6.3, V 6.29); Caus.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *āstāraiiēiti* (N

12, P 11), OPT. med. 3sg. YAv. ^sāstāraiaēta (Vyt 37) ◇ On YAv. *stərata-*, see De Vaan 2003: 505; Hoffmann – Forssman: 90 f.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *ā-) BMP *'st'lyn-* /*āstārēn-*/ (denomin.) 'to cause to sin', MMP *'st'r*, BMP *'st'l* /*āstār*/ 'sin', ? MMP ^x*'st'rd* 'sin, sinned' (< Av., Nyberg II: 32b) ⇒ DMMPP: 55b f.

•PARTHIAN: ? *'strb-* 'to close with a snap, snap shut' || (+ *āya-) ? *'wysr-* 'to keep clean' (Henning 1937: 80) || (+ *ā-) *'st'r* 'sin' (< Av.) ⇒ DMMPP: 91a, 76a, 55b
Pres.: IND. 3sg. *'strbyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *'strb'd* || (+ *āya-) Pres.: IMPV. 2sg. *'wysr* {unpubl.}

•SOGDIAN: ? BSogd. *'st'rs* 'plough share' (P4.245 = MacKenzie, SCE: 14)

•CHORESMIAN: *m/strY-* 'to lay down' ⇒ Samadi: 187

•NWIR: NP *siturdan*, *suturdan* 'to shave, scrape; to erase', Tt. (Dan.) *de-star* (impv.) 'clean, sweep !'

•NEIR: ? Wa. *stōrs* 'plough-share' (Lorimer) || (+ *ā- ?) Sangl. *astar-/astōl*, Ishk. *sitar-/sutuld*, Yi. *istōr-/istār*, M. *stōr-/stōr-* 'to sweep'

•MISC: (+ *ā-) Par. *astar-/astarī* 'to rub, wipe away'

•SANSKRIT: *star* 'to throw down, subjugate' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 755

◇ The meanings of especially the prefigated formations can be similar to those of *starH. See also Narten 1964: 278.

•PIE *ster- 'to throw down'. ◇ According to Eichner 1974: 37 the meaning 'to throw down' derives from 'to make/become stiff' (*starH²). The Iranian evidence clearly points to two separate roots though.. ⇒ LIV: 597 f. | Pok.: 1029 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *prosternō/prostrātum* 'to cause to fall over, defeat utterly', Alb. *shtie* 'to throw, put in, on'

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 236b; *IIFL* II: 541a, 248b f., 382b; Yarshater 1969: 191; Gershevitch 1970: 305; Abaev, *Slovar*' III: 163 f.; Werba 1997: 260 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 459

*starH¹ 'to spread'

•AVESTAN: YAv. *stər-* (*star-*) 'to spread' || (+ *upa-) YAv. *upastərəna-* 'cover' (Yt 15.2, Yt 15.39) || (+ *us-) '?' || (+ *fra-) 'to spread out' || (+ *ni-) 'to stretch, spread down' ⇒ Liste: 63f.

Pres. {1} *nā-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *stərənāiti* (N 102), med. 3pl. ? YAv. ^s*stərən̄te*, OPT. 2sg. YAv. ^s*frastərənīiā* (Yt 12.3); Pres. {2} them. *nā-*: INJ. med. 3sg. YAv. *stərənata* (Y 57.6), OPT. med. 3sg. them. YAv. *stərənaēta* (V 12.2), 3pl. YAv. *stərənaiion* (Yt 8.58, Yt 14.50); Aor. athem.: OPT. 3sg. YAv. *frastairīiāt* (V 3.17); Partic.: aor. med. YAv. *starāna-* (Yt 10.138), Partic.: pres. pass. ? YAv. *ustriamna-* (H 1.11), YAv. *starata-* (Yt 13.27), *ništarətō.spaiia-* 'with spread, laid down pillow' (Yt 10.30). ◇ On YAv. *starata-*, see De Vaan 2003: 505; Hoffmann – Forssman: 90 f.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *ui-) BMP *wstl-* /*wistar-*/ 'to spread [intr.]', BMP *wst'lyh-* /*wistārīh-*/ (pass. caus.) 'to be dispersed, spread'

(+ *ui-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *wstlyt* /*wistarēd*/, 3pl. BMP *wstlynd* /*wistarēnd*/; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *wstlt* /*wistard*/, caus. BMP *wst'lt* /*wistārd*/; Pass.: pres. caus. 3sg. BMP *wst'lyhyt* /*wistārīhēd*/

- KHOTANESE: LKh. *star-* ‘to spread’ || (+ **upa-*) OKh. *baštarr-* ‘to bestrew’ || (+ **pati-*) LKh. *paštār-* ‘to strew’ ⇒ SGS: 134, 94, 77
- SOGDIAN: (+ **pari-*) BSogd. *prštr-* ‘to spread’, BSogd. *prštm* ‘rug’
Inf.: pret. BSogd. *prštrty*
- CHORESMIAN: (+ **upa-*) *bstn-* ‘to make flat, spread (evenly)’ ⇒ Samadi: 27
- NWIR: (+ **abi-* ?) NP *bistar*, Khuns. *bištār* ‘bed, mattress’ || (+ **upa-* or **pari-* ?) Bal. *pastark* ‘saddle’ || (+ **yi-*) NP *gustardan/gustar-* ‘to spread’
- NEIR: Oss. I. *stæryn/stærd*, D. (*æ*)*stær(n)un/(æ)stard* ‘to spread out; to cover; to pave; to adorn’ || (+ **ā-*) Oss. I. *astæryn/astærd*, D. *astærun/astard* ‘to adorn (clothes, weapon); to pave (road, way); to cover (the roof)’ || (+ **upa-*) Pash. *bṛastən* (f.) ‘coverlet, quilt’ (**upa-staranī-*, *EVP*: 16)
- MISC: (+ **abi-* ?) Par. *wīṛanō* ‘bedding’
- SANSKRIT: *star* ‘to spread out, extend, strew’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 756
- PIE **sterH₃-* ‘to spread, extend’ ⇒ LIV: 597 f. | Pok.: 1029 f.
- IE COGNATES: Gr. *στόρνυμι* ‘I extend, strew out’, Lat. *sternere/strātus*, OIrish *sernim*, Alb. *shtrinj* ‘to spread’, etc.
- REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 297b; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 78; Narten 1967: 57 ff.; Abaev, *Slovar*’ III: 150 f.; Werba 1997: 327

*starH² ‘to make/become stiff, rigid’

- AVESTAN: (+ **ham-*) YAv. *ham.stərət-* ‘stiffening’ (Yt 18.2, rather ⁽⁺⁾*ham.starət-* ?)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *st’l /stār/* ‘torpor, unconsciousness’, BMP *stlt /stard/* ‘knocked down, stunned’
- KHOTANESE: *stīrū* ‘rigid, hard’
- NEIR: Oss. I. *st’ælyn/st’æld* ‘to die, starve’, Pash. *stāray* ‘tired, weary’. ◇ The Oss. verb is *not* from ***star** as assumed in Cheung 2002: 226. As for the semantics, cf. Lith. *stipti* ‘to become stiff; to die, starve’.
- MISC: Orm. *stīr(āy)*, *stōr* ‘tired’ (< Pash.)
◇ See also ***star**¹.
- PIE **sterH₁-* ‘to make/become stiff’. ◇ On the reconstruction with **H₁* (on account of the Gr. evidence) see Sihler 1995: 556. The presence of the laryngeal can also be deduced from the Lith. (with acute accent) and Germanic forms (*-rr-*, Lühr 1976: 74). ⇒ LIV: 597 f. | Pok.: 1022
- IE COGNATES: Gr. *στερεός* ‘rigid, hard, stiff, solid’, Toch. B *ścire* ‘hard, stiff, rigid’, Lith. *stėrti* ‘to be petrified, stiff’, Goth. *and-staurran* ‘to be obstinate’, OHG *starēn*, OE *starian*, Engl. *to stare*, NHG *starren* ‘to become stiff’, *starr* ‘stiff, rigid’, etc.
- REFERENCES: *EVP*: 71; Fraenkel II: 902 f.; Nyberg II: 180; *DKS*: 433; *NEVP*: 77; Kluge 2002: 876

***stau** ‘to praise’

•AVESTAN: *stau-*, *stū-* ‘to praise’ || (+ **apa-*) ‘to renounce, disparage’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘to profess/pledge oneself to’ || (+ **upa-*) ‘to praise’ || (+ **us-*) ‘to swear off, renounce’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to promise (solemnly), oblige oneself to’ ⇒ Liste: 64

Pres. {1} them.: IND. 1sg. OAv. *stāumī* (Y 43.8), YAv. *staomi* (Y 10.3 f., Y 17.18, Y 26.1, etc.), YAv. *staomī* (Y 0.6, Y 1.0, Y 11.19, Ny 1.3, etc.), YAv. *upa.staomi* (Y 10.17), med. YAv. *āstuiiē* (Y 12.8 f.), YAv. *us ... stuiiē* (Y 12.2), YAv. *fra° stuiiē* (Y 1.21 f., Y 12.2), 3sg. YAv. *staoiti* (H, Y 10.6), YAv. *upa.staoiti* (Y 10.7, Vyt 39), med. 3sg. YAv. *āstaoite* (Y 10.19), med. 1pl. YAv. *frā staomaide* (FrW 7.2), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *staoṭ* (Yt 13.89), med. 3sg. YAv. *āstaota* (Yt 19.84), SUBJ. med. 1sg. YAv. *apa.stauuāne* (V 19.7), 2sg. YAv. *upa.stuiiā* (P 29), 3sg. YAv. *upa.stuiiāt* (V 18.43, V 18.49), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *aoi stūiōi* (Y 9.2), 2pl. YAv. *staota* (V 18.16, V 18.24); Pres. {2} them.: SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *stauuāt* (Yt), 3pl. YAv. *stauuān* (Y 9.2), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *upastauuōiš* (V 19.22), med. YAv. *apa.stauuān’ha* (V 19.6), 3sg. YAv. *’apastauuōiṭ* (N 41); Partic.: pres. {1} OAv. *stauuat-* (Y 34.6, Y 45.6, Y 50.4, Y 50.9), med. YAv. *stauuana-* (Y 10.6, VdPZ 7.43), YAv. *āstauuana-* (V 3.41), perf. pass. YAv. *āstūta-* ‘professed’ (Y 12.8, V 3.40)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *’st’y-*, BMP *st’d-*, *st’y-* /*stāy-* ‘to praise’ || (+ **ā-*) MMP *’stw’n*, *’stw’n* ‘professing’ ⇒ DMMPP: 89b, 56a

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP *’st’ym*, BMP *st’dym* /*stāyēm*/, 2sg. BMP *st’yd* /*stāyē*/, 3sg. BMP *st’yt* /*stāyēd*/, 1pl. MMP *’st’ym*, etc.

•PARTHIAN: *’st’w-* ‘to praise’ || (+ **apa-*) *’byst’w-* ‘to deny, apostate’ || (+ **pati-*) *pdyst’w-* ‘to promise’ ⇒ Ghilain: 77 | DMMPP: 88b f., 17a, 273a

Pres.: IND. 1sg. *’st’w’m*, 3sg. *’st’wyd*, 1pl. *’st’w’m*, *’st’*, 2pl. *’st’wyd*, 3pl. *’st’wynd*, SUBJ. 1pl. *’st’w’m*, IMPV. 2pl. *’st’wydyd*, *’st’wyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *’stwd*, II *’st’w’d*; Inf.: *’st’w’dn* || (+ **apa-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. *’byst’wynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *’byst’w’d* || (+ **pati-*) Partic.: perf. pass. *pdystwd*, II *pdyst’w’d*

•KHOTANESE: *stav-* ‘to praise’ || (+ **pati-*) OKh. *paṣṭu-* ‘to promise’ ⇒ SGS: 134, 78

•SOGDIAN: (+ **apa-*) MSogd. *’pstw* ‘to disown, renounce’ || (+ **ui-*) CSogd. *wystw* ‘to promise’, BSogd. *wyst’w*, CSogd. *wystw* (m.) ‘promise, oath’

(+ **apa-*) Pres.: OPT. 3sg. MSogd. *’pstwy*; Inf.: caus. ? MSogd. *’psṭ’wyy* ‘to cause to defect’ (+ **ui-*) Pret.: tr. 3pl. CSogd. *w’d’d’mt*; Partic.: perf. pass. CSogd. *wystw’ty*

•CHORESMIAN: *m/stw-* ‘to promise’ (rather with **ni-*?, cf. MacKenzie IV: 534) || (+ **apa-*) *bstw-* ‘to deny, disavow’ ⇒ Samadi: 187, 27

•BACTRIAN: (+ **apa-*) αβισταοοοαγο ‘denunciation’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 175a

•NWIR: NP *sitūdan/sitāy-* ‘to praise’, *sitāyīdan/sitāy-* ‘to praise; call’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *stawyn/styd*, D. (*æ*)*stawun*/(*æ*)*stud*, Wa. *stow-/stowd*, Sariq. *s(i)taw-d/s(i)tūd* (LW ?), Pash. *stāyəl* ‘to praise’ (< NP), (?) M. *staw-/stiy-*, *stōy-* ‘to scold, abuse’

•SANSKRIT: *stav* ‘to honour, praise, invoke’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 757

•PIE **steu-* ‘to praise, to announce solemnly’ ⇒ LIV: 600 f. | Pok.: 1035

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */istuua-* ‘to become public’, Gr. *στεύτα* ‘announces solemnly, brags, boasts’

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 71; *IIFL* II: 541a; *EVS*: 76b; Abaev, *Slovar*’ III: 145 f.; *DKS*: 431b; *Werba* 1997: 259 f.; *Stebliin-Kamenskij* 1999: 317

***staub/f** ‘to sound, utter’

•NEIR: Oss. D. *æstuf* ‘sound, noise’

•SANSKRIT: *stobh* ‘to cheer, exult, utter a sound’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 761

◇ The Oss. form is isolated within Ir. It is very much doubtful whether this apparently IIr. root has IE cognates: it is perhaps a blend of the ‘praise’ (***stau**) and ‘utter’ (***uab/f**) roots.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ III: 155; Werba 1997: 260

***staup** ‘to overcome, defeat’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP ‘*stwy-* ‘to defeat’, BMP *stwbyn-* /*stōwēn-* (sec. caus.) ‘to destroy’, BMP *stwb* /*stōb*/ ‘powerless’ ⇒ DMMPP: 91b

Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. MMP ‘*stwy*’; Inf.: BMP *stwbyntn* /*stōwēnīdan*/

•PARTHIAN: ‘*stwb-* ‘to conquer, defeat’, ‘*stwb* ‘defeated’ ⇒ Ghilain: 67 | DMMPP: 91a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. ‘*stwyd*, SUBJ. 3sg. ‘*stwb*’; Partic.: perf. pass. II ‘*stwb*’

•NWIR: NP *sutōh* ‘struck by emotions like fear, distress, stupefaction, astonishment, sadness, sense of helplessness, etc.’

◇ The root **tav-* (i.e. ***tauH** ‘to be able, strong’) suggested by Ghilain (accepted in Nyberg II: 180b) as the origin of these WIr. forms meets phonological (and semantic) difficulties, as it leaves *-b-* unexplained. A development *w > b* (cf. BMP *lwbsn* [rawišn]), which Ghilain postulates, is implausible: even the assumption that *-wb-* is purely graphic for *-w-* cannot be invoked here, on which see Nyberg 1974: 180b, s.v. *stōb* ‘powerless’. The Pth. example *rwbyšn* ‘change’, which Ghilain cites, may be explained differently, v. ***raup**, ***iaup**².

•PIE **steup-* ‘to strike, be struck’ ⇒ LIV: 602 f. | Pok.: 1034

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *stupēre* ‘to be numbed, stunned’, Gr. *στυπάζει* ‘strikes’ (Hes.)

***stranj̥ ?** ‘to become stiff, stiffen’

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *strīs-* (inch.) ‘to become stiff’, LKh. *straj-/strī-* (caus.) ‘to stiffen’ || (+ **pati-*) ? LKh. *pastrī-* ‘to become stiff’; to revolt’, ? LKh. *pastranj-* (caus.) ‘to repress’ || (+ **fra-*) ? LKh. *hastrīs-* ‘to press, insist’ ⇒ SGS: 79, 135, 151

•NEIR: ◇ Pash. *ṣax*, *xaṣ* ‘hard, stiff’, cited in *EVP*: 79, has a different etymology, v. *NEVP*: 99.

◇ The Khotanese forms are isolated within (I)Ir. Although it is possible that they are of IE origin, as suggested by Bailey, *DKS*, l.c., from **strengh-* ‘to constrict, string, twist (tightly)’, it is more likely to have arisen secondarily, being a blend of, for instance, ***staH** ‘to place, set, stand’ and ***θra(n)č** ‘to (op)press’.

•REFERENCES: *DKS*: 435a, 226a, 475a

***su(m)p/b¹** ‘to pierce, bore’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *swmb-* /*sumb-* ‘to pierce, bore’

Inf.: BMP *swptn* /*suftan*/; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *swpt* /*suft*/

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *swnp-*, CSogd. *swb-*, MSogd. *swmb-* ‘to pierce, bore’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *swnpt*, OPT. 3sg. MSogd. *swmbyy*; Fut.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *swmbtk* ‘m’; Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. *swft*, CSogd. ‘*swbty* ‘pierced’; Inf.: pret. MSogd. *swft*y

•CHORESMIAN: *snb-* ‘to pierce’ ⇒ Samadi: 184

•NWIR: NP *suftan/sumb-* ‘to pierce, bore’, Bal. *supt*, *sumbit/sumb-*, (EHB) *subt^h-/sub-* ‘to pierce’ (< NP ?)

•NEIR: Pash. *suráy*, Wa. *sərv* ‘hole, cavity’ (< **subra-*), ? Sh. *sūrv*, Rosh. *survak* (f.) ‘tick infesting cattle’, M. *sūrv*, Yi. *surv* ‘hole’

•SANSKRIT: ? Skt. *śvábhra-* (n.) ‘gap, vault’ ⇒ EWAia II: 675

◇ The root appears to be Ir. The connection to Skt. *śvábhra-* is doubted in EWAia, l.c. An IE etymology for Ir. **su(m)p/b¹* cannot be found.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 163; EVP: 69 f.; IIFL II: 248a, 540; EVS: 75b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 324; NEVP: 76; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *sumb-*; Korn 2005: 318, 382 f.

***su(m)p/b² ?** ‘to make up, "beautify"’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ni-*) MMP *nhwmb-*, BMP *nhwmb-* /*nihumb-* ‘to hide, conceal, cover up, guard’. ◇ Cf. Henning 1933: 200: "Viell. *sub*, ap. **θub* = ai. *śumbhati* ?" ⇒ DMMPP: 242a

Pres.: SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *nhwmb* ‘nd, *nhwmb* ‘nd, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *nhwmb*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *nhwptg*, *nhwpt*, BMP *nhwpt*, caus. BMP *nhwmbyt* /*nihumbīd*/; Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. BMP *nhwmbyt* /*nihumbēd*/

•KHOTANESE: Khot. *suraa-* ‘pure’

•NWIR: ? NP *sufrah* ‘anything on or in which victuals are placed’, table-cloth’ || (+ **ni-*) NP *nihuftan* ‘to hide, conceal, cover; to conceal oneself ...; to be beautiful (!)’

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *surb* ‘holy’

•SANSKRIT: *śobh* ‘to be/make beautiful, make up, adorn’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 657

◇ The root is Ir. only. Arm. *sourb* is probably a LW from (unattested) Mir. **subr*, for which an EIr. cognate, Khot. *suraa-*, can now be cited, on which see Emmerick, EVS III: 155.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: 330 | Pok.: 594

•REFERENCES: DKS 1979: 427b f.; Werba 1997: 381

***sʰah** ‘to pant, wheeze’

•CHORESMIAN: ? *s*’*s-* ‘to pant’ ⇒ Samadi: 178 f.

•NEIR: Pash. *sūñ* ‘sniff, snort’, Sh. *sāy*’(d), Bart. *sāwn* name of a demon (**sušna-* = Skt. *śuṣṇa-*)

•SANSKRIT: *śvas* ‘to bluster, hiss, snort’ (RV, AV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 677

◊ It is uncertain whether the Chor. form *s’s-* has other cognates: it may well have an (internal) expressive/onomatopoeic origin. The initial consonant group **sū* appears to yield *sp* in Chor., rather than *s* (hence: *s’s-* is the result of assimilation?). The Iranian ‘lung(s)’ words may also derive from the root **suaH*: YAv. *suši* (du.), BMP *swš*, Khot. *suv’ā* (orig. du. ?), NP *šuš*, Sh. *šūš*, etc.

•PIE **kues-* ‘to snort, hiss’ ⇒ LIV: 341 | Pok.: 631 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *queror* ‘I complain’, Toch. B *kwās-* ‘to lament, mourn’, ON *hvōsa* ‘to hiss, snort’, OE *hwōsan* ‘to cough, gasp’

•REFERENCES: *EVS*: 72; *DKS*: 428a f.; Werba 1997: 421 f.; Adams 1999: 237; *NEVP*: 74

***suaH** ‘to move, throw, erect’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *spā-* ‘to throw’ || (+ **apa-*) ‘to throw away, let go’ || (+ **api-*) ‘to throw back’ || (+ **upari-*) ‘to throw upon’ || (+ **para-*) ‘to throw forth’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to throw to, knock down’ ⇒ Liste: 65

Pres. {1} (*ajā-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *api.spaiieiti* (Yt 14.13), YAv. *para ... spaiieiti* (Yt 10.37), YAv. *fraspaiieiti* (Yt 10.43), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *spaiiāt* (V 3.35), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *apa.spaiiāt* (Yt 19.56, Yt 19.59, Yt 19.62), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *fraspaiiōiš* (Aog 28); Pres. {2} them. red.: INJ. 3sg. med. YAv. *fra sispata* (Yt 5.7); Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. *fraspāta-* (V 15.14), YAv. *upairispāta-* (Yt 10.125)

•OLD PERSIAN: ^x*spāya*⁽ⁿ⁾*tiyāyā* (loc. sg.) <s-p-a-y-t-i-y-[y]-a> ‘encampment’ (< Med.) || (+ **fra-*) *frasa-* ‘to build, erect’. ◊ The reading ^x*spāya*⁽ⁿ⁾*tiyāyā* of Gershevitch 1979: 291 f. (also Schmitt 1997: 272 f.) replaces the old and awkward interpretation of Herzfeld’s, on which Kent’s edition was based: *spāθmaidayā*. The initial consonant cluster *sp-* suggests the formation is most likely a LW. ⇒ Kent: 210a, 209a Pass.: aor. IND. 3sg. (?) *frāsaḥya* < f-r-a-s-h-[y]> (DSf27)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **fra-*?, **pari-*) MMP *prsp-* ‘to wall around?’ (LW) || (+ **ni-*) *nyspy-* ‘to bend the knee, bow’ (LW) ⇒ DMMPP: 279b, 254a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *prspyd* {hapax} || (+ **ni-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *nyyspynd* {hapax}

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ni-*) *nyspy-* ‘to bend the knee, bow’ ⇒ Ghilain: 87 | DMMPP: 254a Pres.: IND. 1pl. *nyspy’m* (M39 II Vi,16(59)); Partic.: perf. pass. *nysp’d* (M5262 I R,6, M1 II 3,320)

•KHOTANESE: (+ **apa-*) OKh. *paśś-* ‘to let go, release’ || (+ **ni-*) *niś(ś)-* ‘to throw away’ ⇒ SGS: 76, 56

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *spy-* ‘to throw away, reject’ || (+ **apa-*) BSogd. (‘)*psp*’ ‘to reject, relinquish’

Impf.: IND. 1pl. SSogd. *sy’ym* (B14b.2) || (+ **apa-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 2sg. BSogd. *pspy*’ (Dhu. 94), 3sg. BSogd. *’pspy’t* (Dhy. 399)

•CHORESMIAN: ? *m/sfs-* (intr./inch.) ‘to throw oneself down, prostrate’, *msh-* (caus.) ‘to throw down; to cut off’ ⇒ Samadi: 179, 185

•NWIR: (+ **upa-*) ? NP *bisūdan/bisāv-* ‘to handle, feel, touch, rub etc.’ (rather from ***sauH** ?)

•NEIR: (+ *ā-) ? Pash. *āsp-* ‘to collect, amass’, ? Sariq. *yusp* ‘short towel, neckcloth’ || (+ *upa-, *pati-) Sh. (Baj.) *pišāw-/pišud*, Bart. *pīšīw-/pišud* ‘to busy oneself with, entertain, comfort oneself’, Wa. *pšad-/pšad-*, *pšat-/pšat-* ‘to touch; to be restless, busy (with something)’ (less likely from **pati-šyata-*, Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 268f.)

◊ Both the Av. and Khot. forms show shortening of *ā- before *i, according to Emmerick (SGS: 56). This Ir. root has no IE etymology.

•REFERENCES: EVS: 106b, 62b; DKS: 185a f.; NEVP: 11

***suan** ‘to benefit, bless’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *spōñ-čā* (Apl. n.) ‘beneficial’, Av. *spōnta-* ‘beneficial, blissful’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *spndrmt /spandarmad/* ‘goddess of the earth, *Spōntā Ārmaitī*’ (LW)

•KHOTANESE: ? *śśandā-*, LKh. *śādā* ‘earth, ground’. ◊ On LKh. *śādāva* see Emmerick, *SVK II*: 136.

•SOGDIAN: (+ *pati-) CSogd. *ptspyn-* ‘to be useful, beneficial’

Fut.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *ptspyntyq*’

•NWIR: NP *esfānd* name of the 12th month (of the Zoroastrian calendar)

•NEIR: ? Wa. *šət* ‘earth, ground’. ◊ Phonetically possible from **suanta-*, Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 337; “< IA ?”, EVS: 76), ? Sh. *sīt* (m.), Rosh. *sīt*, Bart. *sīt*, Yzgh. *šat*, Sangl. *šət* ‘dust, earth’ (EVS: *ibid.*).

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *spandaramet* ‘[Chr.] St. Dionysos’ (< Pth. ?), *sandaramet* ‘abyss, Hell’ (< Pers., OP **santā aramati*, Av. *spōntā ārmaitī-*)

•SANSKRIT: *śunā-* ‘success, luck, prosperity’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 646

◊ A denominative derivative verb of **suana-* is only attested in Sogdian.

•PIE **k̑eno-* ‘blessed, beneficial’ ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 630

•IE COGNATES: OCS *svęťь*, Russ. *svjatój* ‘holy’, Lith. *šveñtas* ‘holy’ (< Ir. ?), ? Latv. *svinēt* ‘to celebrate’

•REFERENCES: DKS: 394b f.

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***šai** ‘to live, dwell’

•AVESTAN: *šaii-* ‘to live, dwell’ || (+ *abi-) ‘to inhabit’ || (+ *ā-) ‘to inhabit’ || (+ *upa-) ‘to reside’ ⇒ Liste: 69f.

Pres. athem.: IND. 3sg. OAv. *šāētī* (Y 33.5, Y 46.16), OAv. *ā.šāētī* (Y 43.3, etc.), YAv. *upašāētī* (Y 23.3, Y 67.3), 3pl. OAv. *šīieinti* (Y 37.2, Y 39.2), YAv. *šīieinti* (Y 4.4, Y 24.9, Vr 9.4, Vr 11.12), SUBJ. 1pl.

YAv. ^saiβišaiiama (Yt 10.77), IMPV. 2pl. YAv. *upa.šācēta* (Yt 13.147); Partic.: pres. OAv. *šiiant-* (Y 44.9, Y 47.5, Y 53.8), perf. pass. YAv. *anašita-* ‘uninhabitable’ (Yt 10.38)

•KHOTANESE: ◇ Khot. *kšīra-* ‘country, kingdom’, derived from the root *šaj by Bailey, *DKS*: 68a, rather goes back to a preform *xšaiθra- (a blend of *xšaθra-, Av. *xšaθra-*, and *šaiθra-, Av. *šōiθra-* ?), Emmerick, *SVK* III: 45 f.

•NWIR: ◇ NP *nišēm* ‘nest’ is rather from the root *had, cf. Pth. *nšdm* ‘seat’.

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *šēn* ‘village’

•SANSKRIT: *kṣay* ‘to live, stay’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 427 f.

◇ Further Ir. cognates are uncertain.

•PIE *tkei- ‘to dwell, live; build (a house ?)’ ⇒ LIV: 643 f. | Pok.: 626

•IE COGNATES: Gr. κτίζειν, κτίσσαι ‘to found, to build’, (Myc.) *ki-ti-je-si* ‘they live’, Lat. *situs* ‘situated; site’

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 172 f.

*šam ? ‘to shine’

•AVESTAN: (+ *fra-) Av. *hū frāšmō.dāti-* ‘sunset’ (Y 57.10, Y 57.16, Yt 5.91, etc.)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *fra-) BMP *pl’šm / frāšm/* ‘dawn’

•PARTHIAN: (+ *ni-) Pth. *nyš’m* ‘darkness’ ⇒ DMMPP: 254b

•SOGDIAN: ? CSogd. *šm-*, *šym-* ‘to blush, be ashamed’ || (+ *ni-) BSogd. *nšm(y)* ‘west’. ◇ No convincing etymology for Sogd. *šym* can be mentioned. Benveniste 1936: 230 f. derives it from a root *šam- ‘to shine’, which is deduced from Av. *frāšma-*, BMP *frāšm*, BSogd. *nšm(y)*, Pth. *nyš’m*. However, CSogd. *šm-*, *šym-* is semantically difficult to reconcile with the other forms. It is tempting to connect CSogd. *šm-*, *šym-* with Germ. *skamā- ‘to shame, be ashamed’, Goth. *skaman*, ON *skamma*, *skemma*, OE *sceomian*, Engl. *to shame*, etc.: IE *skem- ?

Pres.: CSogd. *šmym*, OPT. 3pl. CSogd. *šmynt*

◇ The existence of this root in PIr. is uncertain: it is not even clear whether the forms above are cognate with each other at all.

•REFERENCES: Gershevitch, *Mithra*: 233; Nyberg II: 77a; Sims-Williams 1985: 180 ad 111V; Gharib: 373, 379

*šan ‘to shake (down ?)’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *apa-) BMP *’pš’n-* (*PZKWN-*) /*afšān-*/ ‘to spread, scatter, sow’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP /*afšānēd*/

•PARTHIAN: (+ *aqa-) *wyš’n-* ‘to shake off, down’ ⇒ DMMPP: 359b

Pres.: IND. 2sg. *wyš’nyh*, 3pl. *wš’nynd*, ^s*wyš’nynd*, IMPV. 2pl. *wš’nyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *wyš’n’d*

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *šāñ-* ‘to shake down’ ⇒ SGS: 127

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *šn-*, CSogd. *šn-* ‘to shake, tremble, shiver’ || (+ *pati-) BSogd. *ptš’nkh* ‘cross, scaffold (?)’ || (+ *fra-) CSogd. *fšn-* ‘to tremble, cower’

Pres.: IMPV. 2sg. CSogd. ^sšn'; Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. šn' || (+ *fra-) Pres.: IMPV. 2sg. CSogd. fšn'; Fut.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. fšntyq'

•CHORESMIAN: šny- 'to tremble' ⇒ Samadi: 198

•NWIR: Zaz. šānāyiš/šānen- 'to shake, scatter', Bal. šānt/šān- 'to throw, throw up, shake off', Awrom. šānāy/šān- 'to scatter, sow', Gur. (Kand.) šān-ā/-šān- 'to throw, strike, swing', Maz. šanne 'he shakes' || (+ *apa-) NP afšāndan/afšān-, Gil. (Rsht.) fīšan- 'to disperse' || (+ *aqa-) Vafsi ho-wšīn-/wašenā 'to shake down' || (+ *ati- ?) Tt. (Owr.) do-šān- 'to shake down' || (+ *fra-) Kurd. (Kurm.) rāšāndīn 'to spread'

•NEIR: Pash. šan- 'to ransack, search, stir', šanaw- (caus.) 'to shake, jolt, stir' || (+ *apa-) Sh. biyēn/biyēnt, (Baj.) biwēn-/biwēnt 'to shake (fruit, nuts) down from a tree' || (+ *aqa-) Ishk. wuīn- 'to shake down', M. wuṣon- 'to churn' || (+ *fra-) Yi. fīršōn-/fīršoy 'to shake trees' (Zarubin)

•MISC: Rom. (LW) ušan- 'to shake down'

•SANSKRIT: ? Pkt. chāṇana 'sifting', Khow. ḥonik 'to shake down', Hi. channā 'to be strained'

◇ An IE etymology for *šan is lacking. The root may be related to *san (which is a "substrate" borrowing).

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 75; *KPF* II: 181; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 57; Bailey 1935: 777; *IIFL* II: 209a; MacKenzie 1966: 109; *EVS*: 19a; *DKS*: 408b f.; Asatryan – Livshits: 83; Paul 1998: 313b; *NEVP*: 79; Shahbakhsh: s.v. šānt

T

***tač¹** 'to flow, run, walk'

•AVESTAN: YAv. tac- 'to flow; walk' || (+ *apa-) 'to flow away' || (+ *abi-) 'to flow towards' || (+ *pari-) 'to run around, encircle' || (+ *fra-) 'to flow to'. ◇ On the Av. desid. formation *tixšənti* see Hoffmann (*apud* Mayrhofer, *Fs Morgenstierne*: 142f.).

⇒ Liste: 24

Pres. {1} them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *fratacāiti* (Y 65.3 f., Yt 5.3 f., Yt 5.15, etc.), 3pl. YAv. *frataciṇti* (Y 65.3, Yt 5.3, Yt 5.15, etc.), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *tacaṭ* (Y 16.8), YAv. *apatacaṭ* (Y 9.11, Yt 19.56), YAv. *pairi.tacaṭ* (Yt 17.26), 3pl. YAv. *apatacin* (V 5.12), YAv. *fratacin* (Yt 13.78), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *ātacāni* (Yt 5.38), 3pl. YAv. *tacānti* (Yt 8.5), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *tacōiṭ* (V 8.100 ff.), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *taca* (F 18); Pres. {2} athem.: IND. 2sg. med. YAv. *taxše* (Y 10.17), SUBJ. 3pl. YAv. *apa.tacin* (V 5.12); Partic.: pres. {1} YAv. *taciṇt-* (Yt 6.2, Yt 10.20, V 6.26, etc.), YAv. (Gpl.) *aiβi tacaiṇtaṃ* (ViD 4), YAv. *ātaciṇt-* (Yt 8.42), perf. YAv. *-firaṭ.kuš-* (Yt 13.53); Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. YAv. *tācaiciṇti* (Yt 14.54), INJ. 3sg. YAv. ^s*frātācaiaṭ* (V 2.34), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. ^s*frātācaia* (V 2.26); Desid.: pres. IND. 3pl. YAv. ^s*tixšənti* (Y 9.22)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *tz-*, BMP *tc-*/*taz-*/ ‘to run, flow’, BMP *t’c-*/*tāz-*/ (caus.) ‘to pour; to ride [an horse]’, BMP *tcyn-*/*tazēn-*/ (sec. caus.) ‘to cause to run, flow; to chase, pour’ || (+ **apa-*) MMP *’bdx-* (pret. stem) ‘to flee, escape’, MMP *’bd’c-* (caus.) ‘to free, remove, rescue, liberate (from)’ ⇒ DMMP: 333a, 9

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *tcyt*/*tazēd*/, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *’tz’nd*, 3pl. BMP *tcynd*/*tazēnd*/; Partic.: pres. MMP *’tz’n* ‘running’, caus. BMP *t’c’n*/*tāzān*/, perf. pass. BMP *tcyt*/*tazīd*/, caus. BMP *tcynyt*/*tazēnīd*/; Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. BMP *t’cynd*/*tāzēnd*/; Inf.: BMP *tcytn*/*tazīdan*/, BMP *thtn*/*taxtan*/, caus. BMP *t’htn*/*tāxtan*/ || (+ **apa-*) Partic.: pres. caus. MMP *’bd’cg* ‘rescuer’, perf. pass. MMP *’bdxt* ‘escaped’, caus. MMP *’bd’xt* ‘liberated’; Caus.: pres. SUBJ. MMP *’bd’c’h*, 3sg. IMPV. 2sg. MMP *’bd’c* ‘liberate!’; Inf.: MMP *’bdxtm*

•PARTHIAN: *tc-* ‘to walk, flow’, *t’c-* (caus.) ‘to pour’ || (+ **apa-*) *’bd’c-* (caus.) ‘to remove, free, rescue’ ⇒ Ghilain: 50, 47 | DMMP: 323a, 321b, 9a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *tcyd*, 3pl. *tcynd*; Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. *t’cynd* || (+ **apa-*) Caus.: pres. IND. 1pl. *’bd’c’m*, SUBJ. 1sg. *’bd’c’n*, 2sg. *’bd’c*; OPT. 3sg. *’bd’cynddy*, IMPV. 2sg. *’bd’c*; Partic.: perf. pass. caus. II *’bd’c’d*, *’bd’c’d*

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *ttajs-* (*ttas-*) ‘to run, flow’ || (+ **apa-*) **patāj-* (caus.) ‘to defeat’ (cf. SVK III: 84 f.) || (+ **aṭa-*) OKh. **vatajs-* (*vatays-*) ‘to flow down’ || (+ **ham-*) OKh. *hamdajs-* ‘to gallop’ ⇒ SGS: 38, 117, 140

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ham-*) SSogd. *nt’xs-*, CSogd. *’ntxs-* ‘to flee’

(+ **ham-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *’ntxt* (Weber 1970: 150); Impf.: IND. 1pl. SSogd. *mnt’xs’yymn*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **ham-*) *m/ndxs-* ‘to advance forward’ ⇒ Samadi: 123

•BACTRIAN: *ταγo* ‘river-valley’, *τασoπο* ‘stream, watercourse’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 225a, 226b

•NWIR: NP *tāxtan/tāz-*, Meim. *bēm-tadzna/a-tā:džn-* ‘to rush, raid, put to gallop’, Bal. *tačit*, *tatk/tač-* ‘to run’, Tt. (Cha.) *bettat/bettajas* ‘he ran’, Delij. *ba-tajī* ‘to rush; to attempt to bring in control’, (caus.) Abyan. *tāznoya/tāzn-*, Ard. *tāšā/tāš-* (influenced by *šāš*, **čjaH²*), Nn. *tāt/tāt-* ‘to urinate, piss’, Varz. *tāte/tāj-* ‘to urinate’, Fariz. *-tājīn-* ‘to let (a horse) run; to raid’, Gz. *tājin-/tājinā* ‘to chase, drive’, (LW ?) *tāžn-/tāžnā* ‘to drive, hunt’, Natan. *-tāžānā/tāž-* || (+ **para-*) NP *pardāxtan/pardāz-* ‘to to be freed, redeem oneself from’ || (+ **pari-*) NP *pardāxtan/pardāz-* ‘to run after, strive for; to let go’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *təzyn/tağd*, D. *təzun/tağd* ‘to flow; to leak, drip’, Oss. *tağd* (orig. ppp.) ‘quick’, I. *tazyn/tağd*, D. *tazun/tağd* (caus.) ‘to pour in drops, drop’, I. *təxyn/taxt*, D. *təxun/taxt* (denomin.) ‘to fly, rush’, *təx* ‘fast flowing stream, rapid’, Wa. *təč-/təčt-* ‘to draw, be drawn; to move’, Wa. *tağd-* (supplet. *čaw-*), Pash. *tləl/təy-* ‘to leave, depart’, *tej-* (caus.) ‘to cause to run, hasten’, Yzgh. *tež-* ‘to go away’, Yzgh. *təžān-/təžānt* ‘to turn, whirl’, Sh. (Baj.) *tāz-/tāzd*, Rosh. *tēz-/tēzd*, Bart. *tōz-/tōzd* ‘to filter’ (not Pash. *təjəl* ‘to hasten’, v. **tauj*¹) || (+ **apa-*) Yzgh. *bəxtoxs-/bəxtoyd* ‘to flow down’ (-č- < ?) || (+ **abi-*) Sh. *vidāj-/vidūyd* ‘to irrigate’, Sh. (Baj.) *vidōj*, Rosh. *vidūj* ‘irrigation’ || (+ **fra-*) Oss. D. *rædæzun/rædağd* ‘to flow in drops,

leak', D. *rædazun/rædağd* (old caus.) 'to pour (tears), weep' || (+ *niš-) ? Pash. *naḫtej-/naḫtej-* 'to wring, squeeze (clothes, etc.)' (-ḫ- < ?) || (+ *ham-) Sh. *andij-, andiz-/andūyd*, Rosh. *andiz-/andawd*, Bart. *andiz-/andawd*, Sariq. *andiz-/andewd*, Yzgh. *andəž-/andoyd* 'to rise, stand up', (caus.) Sh. *andūj-, andūz-/andūzd* 'to raise, wake'. ◊ Oss. I. *tæxyn*, D. *tæxun* are unlikely to be related to Oss. D. *taxun/taxt* 'to equip, dress (up)', Abaev, *Slovar'* III: 242 f. (see *tač²). The meaning 'to weave', assigned by Miller, *IF* 21: 331 to the latter verb and subsequently quoted by others (Pokorny, *IEW*: 1058; Kluge 2002: 207, s.v. *Docht*; etc.), is not attested, as remarked by Abaev, l.c. || The meanings of Sh. *andij-*, etc. are somewhat surprising: have the forms been contaminated with *staij ? On the other hand, the Lith. verb *tekėti* has also the secondary meaning 'to rise (of the sun)'.

•MISC: Orm. *tiš-ōk, tišt-^yēk* 'to run away' = *tiḫ-/tiḫók* || (+ *aua-) Arm. (LW) *vtak* 'torrent'

•SANSKRIT: *tak* 'to rush, hurry' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 610

•PIE *tek^w- 'to hurry, rush, walk, flow' ⇒ LIV: 620 f. | Pok.: 1059 f.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */uatk^w-* 'to jump (from)', OIrish *tech-* 'to flow', OCS *tešti*, Lith. *tekėti* 'to run, flow', etc.

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 80, 22a; *IIFL* I: 410b f.; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 161, 259; *IIFL* II: 519; Lambton 1938: 41b; Abaev, *Slovar'* I: 153 f.; Yarshater 1969: 182; *EVS*: 22a, 82b, 83b, 116b, 14a f.; *DKS*: 121b f.; Abaev, *Slovar'* III: 245 f., 220 f., 284, 286 f.; Safari 1373: 96; Werba 1997: 188 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 362, 353, 349, s.v. ḫac-; Lecoq 2002: 126, 136; *NEVP*: 81, 60; Kiefer 2003: 208; Korn 2005: 313, 364 (passim)

***tač²** 'to reach for, attain, receive'

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *para-) MMP *prdx-* (pret. stem) 'to be done with, freed of, deal with, be exhausted', BMP *pldc-/pardaz-/* '[+ 'c-/az-/] to be free from', (caus.) BMP *pld'c-/pardāz-/* 'to accomplish' || (+ *ham-) MMP *hnd'c-*, BMP *hnd'c-/handāz-/* 'to plan, allot, reckon, measure', MMP *hnd'c-* 'to throw (?)' (Sundermann 1978: 488, n. 25) ⇒ DMMPP: 278a, 180a

(+ *para-) Pres.: IMPV. 2sg. BMP *pldc/pardaz/*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *prdx*t, caus. BMP *pld'ht/pardāxt/*; Inf.: BMP *pldhtn/pardaxtan/*, caus. BMP *pld'htn/pardāxtan/* || (+ *ham-) Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. BMP *hnd'cyt/handāzēd/*, 3pl. MMP *hnd'cynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *hnd'xt*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. MMP *hnd'cyhyd*

•KHOTANESE: (+ *apa-) *patājāmatā-* 'defeat, overthrow' (Skjærvø, *SVK* III: 84 f.)

•NWIR: (+ *para-, *pari-) NP *pardāxtan/pardāz-* 'pay, settle, finish, accomplish', Gz. *pārdāz-/pārdāzā*, Khuns. *pirdāz-* 'to get ready to do something' || (+ *ham-) NP *andāxtan/andāz-* 'to throw; to afflict, exhaust', (?) Siv. *nāš-/nāt* 'to throw'

•NEIR: Oss. D. *taxun/taxt* (old denomin.) 'to equip, dress (up)' || (+ *fra-) Oss. D. *rædæxsun/rædæxst* 'to climb (a mountain)' (< *to reach for the top') || (+ *ham-)

Oss. I. *ændæzyn/ændagđ*, D. *ændæzun/ændagđ* ‘to stick, be stuck to’, I. *ændazyn/ændagđ*, D. *ændazun/ændagđ* (old caus.) ‘to attach, stick to’

◇ The meanings of the forms above are often difficult to reconcile with that of ***tac**¹ ‘to run, flow’ or ***taHč** ‘to melt’. They may point to another, homophonous root. The IE root **tek-* ‘to stretch the hand, receive, reach’ is perhaps the best candidate. The meaning of NP *pardāxtan/pardāz-* ‘to pay, settle’ may derive caus. ‘to cause to attain, receive’. As for MP */handāz-/* (NP *andāz-*), it is worth citing the example, given by Nyberg II, l.c. (in revised transcription): *u-m ... čiyōn ul ō ān hōm nē handāzēd* ‘and as I [standing on the ground] do not reach up to that haoma [placed at the top of the tree]’. If the formation with the prev. **ham-* originally meant ‘to stretch, reach together’, we may easily arrive at the meaning of the Oss. reflexes: ‘to stick; [caus.] to attach’.

•PIE **tek-* ‘to stretch the hand, receive, reach’ ⇒ LIV: 618 f. | Pok.: 1057 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lith. *tėkti* ‘to reach (out), suffice, receive’, OE *þicgan* ‘to receive, take’, Ukr. *tjáknuty* ‘to touch’

•REFERENCES: Fraenkel II: 1077; Nyberg II: 94b; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 360 f.; DKS: 204a; WIM II/1: 83 f.; Abaev, *Slovar*’ III: 242 f.

***taH** ‘to flow, stream; to melt’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *taṭ.āp-* ‘with flowing waters’, ? YAv. *tāta-* ‘falling, dripping, rising?’. ◇ The interpretation of YAv. *taṭ* ‘flowing’ (in the comp. YAv. *taṭ.āp-*) was given by Benveniste (*ELO*: 45). More recently, Panaino, *Tišt.*: I, 135 f. revived the possibility that YAv. *taṭ* and YAv. *tāta-* derived from the root ***pat** (cf. Bartholomae, *AIW*: 631, 646). This may be supported by the Homeric concept of *διῦπετης ποταμός* ‘river fed by rain (fallen from the sky)’. ⇒ Liste: 25f.

•KHOTANESE: ? *attāyā* ‘unpolluted’

•CHORESMIAN: *t’sy-* (intr./inch.) ‘to melt’, *t’sy-* (tr./sec. caus.) ‘to melt’ || (+ **apa-*) *bd’s-* ‘to walk fast’. ◇ *bd’s-* is from **apa-tāsa-*, MacKenzie IV: 535. ⇒ Samadi: 204, 15

•NWIR: Kurd. (Sor.) *tuwandinewe/tuwēn-*, (Sul.) *tuān*, (Sina) *tāwiān* ‘to dissolve, melt’, Awrom. *tāwiāy/tāwia-*, Gur. (Kand.) *-tāwin-* ‘to melt’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *tajyn/tad*, D. *tajun/tad* ‘to melt; to thaw’, (also with prev. *ær-*) D. *ær-tajun/ær-tad* ‘to bathe’, ? Sh. *tiy-/tīzd*, *tūyd*, Rosh. *tē(y)-/tēzd*, *tūyd* ‘to go away, remove’ (certainly influenced by ***tač**), Pash. *toy*, *tōe* (ppp.) ‘spilt, overflowed’ || (+ **aṃa-*) Oss. I. *udajyn/udad* (*udæst*), D. *odajun/odad* ‘to wet, soak’. (intr.) I. *udæsyn/udæst*, D. *odæsun/odæst* ‘to be soaked, wet’ || (+ **us-*) Khf. *wustey-* ‘to shed, spill (blood)’ || (+ **niš-*) Sh. *naṣṣiy-/naṣṣīzd*, *naṣṣtūyd*, Rosh. *niṣṣtēy-/niṣṣtīzd*, *niṣṣtūyd*, Bart. *niṣṣtēy-/niṣṣtūyd* ‘to go, come out, flow out’ (certainly influenced by ***tač**)

•PIE **teH₂-* ‘to melt, thaw’ ⇒ LIV: 616 | Pok.: 1053

•IE COGNATES: Arm. *t’anam* ‘I dive’, OCS *tajeti* ‘to melt’, ? Welsh *tawdd* ‘melts’

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 142a; *EVP*: 79; *KPF* II: 189; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 180; MacKenzie 1966: 110; *EVS*: 52a, 93b’ *DKS*: 2b; Abaev, *Slovar*’ III: 222 f.; Abaev, *Slovar*’ IV: 7 f.; Cabolov 1997: 74; *NEVP*: 84

***taHč** ‘to melt’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ui-*) MMP *wdc-* ‘to melt [intr.]’, BMP *wt’c-* /*widāz-*/ (caus.) ‘to melt [tr.]’, BMP *wt’cyn-* /*widāzēn-*/ (sec. caus.) ‘to cause to melt’ ⇒ DMMPP: 339b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *wdcyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *wt’htk* /*widāxtag*/, BMP *wt’ht* /*widāxt*/; Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. BMP *wt’cyt* /*widāzēd*/, BMP *wt’cynyt* /*widāzēnēd*/; Inf.: caus. BMP *wt’htn* /*widāxtan*/

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ui-*) *wdc-* ‘to melt’, *w(y)d’c-* (caus.) ‘to dissolve’ ⇒ Ghilain: 50, 47 | DMMPP: 338b f.

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *wdcyd*; Caus.: IND. 3sg. *wd’cyd*, *wyd’cyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. ^s*wdxtg*; Inf.: ^s*wdxtn*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ui-*) LKh. *byāj-* (*byaš-*) ‘to dissolve’ ⇒ SGS: 104

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ui-*) BSogd. *wyt’wxs* ‘to disappear, melt away’, BSogd. *wyt’yc* ‘to melt’

(+ **ui-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *wyt’wxsty*, BSogd. *wyt’wxst’y*, CSogd. ^s*wytwxsty*; Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. *wytwytk* ‘molten’; Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. BSogd. *wyt’yct*

•NWIR: (+ **ui-*) NP *gudāxtan/gudāz-* ‘to smelt, melt’, ? Kurd. (Kurm.) *bihōštīn/bihōš-* ‘to melt’ (why *-ō-*?)

◇ The close match in meaning between the Ir. and Gr. forms suggests a common IE origin. Hence, the formally identical forms with the meaning ‘to run, walk, sim.’ should be excluded (***tač¹**). **taHč* appears to be an enlarged root of ***taH**.

•PIE "enlarged" **teH₂k-* ‘to melt’ ⇒ LIV: 617 | Pok.: 1053

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *τήκω*, (Dor.) *τόκω* ‘I melt [tr.]’, (Hom.) *ἐτόκη* ‘melted [intr.]’

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 199; Nyberg II: 217a; *DKS*: 307b; Gharib: 427b; Cabolov 2001: 175

***tamH** ‘to faint, be tired’

•PARTHIAN: *t’m-*, *t’m-* (intr.) ‘to choke’ ⇒ DMMPP: 321b

Partic.: perf. pass. II *t’m’dg*, *t’m’d*

•KHOTANESE: *ttāmā* ‘fatigue’ || (+ **pati-*) *pātem-* (*pātaunda-*, *pyau-*) ‘to confound’ || (+ **ui-*) OKh. *bitam-* (*bitan-*) ‘to doubt, be perplexed’. ◇ *pātem-* does not derive from a caus. form **pati-tāmaja-* (SGS: 83), but must derive from a *ja*-pres. stem: **pati-tām-ja-*. The expected caus. form should be **tamaja-*, cf. Skt. *tamaya-*, which clearly points to the presence of a laryngeal after *m* (i.e. Brugmann’s Law). ⇒ SGS: 83, 95

•SOGDIAN: MSogd. *t’s’δ* (ppp., inch.) ‘tired’, MSogd. *tns* ‘longing, regret’ (cf. *GMS*: §525) || (+ **a_u-*) CSogd. *wts(-)* ‘to complain’ || (+ **pati-*) MSogd. *pt’m* ‘unconscious’

(+ **aua-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. **wtst* (cf. Sims-Williams 1985: 131); Impf.: IND. 3sg. *w'ts*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **pari-*) *prc's-* 'to become tired', *prc'sy-* (sec. caus.) 'to tire, torment'. ◇ Why *-c-*?, perhaps from *hncy-* 'to rest, relax'? See also *čjaH¹.

⇒ Samadi: 151

•NWIR: NP *tāsīdan/tās-* (inch.) 'to be sad or afflicted', NP *tāsīdah* 'tired; emaciated', Bal. *ta(n)sit/ta(n)s-* (sec. inch.) 'to be out of breath, pant'. ◇ The Bal. form is a secondary inchoative formation, which does have an exact correspondence in Sogd. *ṭns*: the regular inch. stem **tās(s)a-*, as continued by Persian, Sogdian and Choresmian, goes back to the zero grade **tm̥H-sk^o/o-*.

•MISC: (+ **pari-*) Arm. (LW) *partasim* 'to become tired'

•SANSKRIT: *tamⁱ* 'to become exhausted, be suffocated' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 626

•PIE **temH-* 'to faint, be exhausted' ⇒ LIV: 624 | Pok.: 1063

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *tēmulentus* 'drunk', OCS *tomljō (tomiti)* 'I torment'

•REFERENCES: Weber 1970: 159; DKS: 282a; Werba 1997: 290; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *ta(n)s-*

***tan** 'to extend, stretch'

•AVESTAN: (+ **pari-*) YAv. *pairi.tan-* 'to extend, stretch' ⇒ Liste: 24

MED.; Pres. *nu-*: OPT. 1sg. YAv. *pairi.tanuiia* (Y 19.7 = Y 71.15)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *tn-/tan-*, (pret. stem) *tt-/tad-* 'to spin (thread)', BMP *tnnd /tanand/* 'spider'

•NWIR: NP *tanīdan/tan-* 'to turn, spin', Kurd. (Sor.) *tan-* 'to braid, weave', Gz. *tēn-/tēnā* 'to spread [intr.]', *tēn-/tēnā* 'to spin', Khuns. *ten-/tenā* 'to string'

•NEIR: Oss. I. *tonyn/tynd*, D. *tonun/tund* 'to tear (off); to reap (berries, fruits, corn); to scratch; to pull (strongly)', Sh. *tān-/tānt*, Rosh. *tān-/tānt*, Bart. *tān-/tānt* 'to stretch, tighten, wind', Yzgh. *tant/tan-* 'to spin' (< Pers. ?), Wa. *ṭm-/tond-* 'to form (from dough, clay, dung)' || (+ **us-*) Wa. *istīnd-* 'to yawn' || (+ **ui-*) Yi. *wiēn-/wiēt-*, M. *wiēn-/wiēt-* 'to untie, loosen'

•SANSKRIT: *tan* 'to stretch, to extend' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 618

•PIE **ten-* 'to draw, stretch' ⇒ LIV: 626 f. | Pok.: 1065 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *τείνω* 'I draw, pull tight', OHG *den(n)en* 'to stretch', NHG *dehnen* 'to stretch', etc.

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 89; *IIFL* II: 545b, 262a; Edel'man 1971: 263; MacKenzie, *Pahlavi*: 81; *EVS*: 80b; *WIM* I: 73; *WIM* II/1: 84; *Abaev, Slovar'* III: 301 ff.; Werba 1997: 348; Cabolov 1997: 73; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 367 f., 457

***tanč** 'to twist (together), become narrow, dense, constrict'

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *tnz-* 'to strain, press', BMP *tng /tang/* 'narrow'

⇒ DMMPP: 325b

Partic.: pres. MMP *tnz'g'n* (pl.)

- PARTHIAN: *tncyšn* ‘prohibition’, *tng* ‘1. suffering, distress; 2. narrow; distressing’
⇒ DMMPP: 324b f.
- KHOTANESE: (+ **ui-*) *byamjisa-*, *bätamjisa-* ‘astringent’
- NWIR: NP *tanjīdan/tanj-* ‘to squeeze; to twist, roll together; to draw tight; to be distressed, sad’, Bal. *tančit/tanč-* ‘to fasten strongly, roll strongly, squeeze’, ? *tajēn-* ‘to stretch’, NP *tang*, Bal. *tank* ‘narrow’
- NEIR: Wa. *tan3-/tan3d-*, *tanz-/tanzd-* ‘to fortify the warp [of textiles]; to draw a web [of spiders]’, Sh. *tāž-/tīžd*, Sariq. *tož-/tīžd* ‘to pull, draw, haul, drag, stretch’, Pash. *tat* ‘close, thick’, ? Sh. (Baj.) *taxc-/tixt*, Rosh. *taxs-/taxst* ‘to puff, smoke’. ◇ Wa. *tan3-/tan3d-*, *tanz-/tanzd-* are unconnected with YAv. *θanj-* ‘to pull, draw’, etc. (**θanj*).
- SANSKRIT: *tañc* ‘to pull together, coagulate, solidify’ (YV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 614
- PIE **tenk-* (**temk-* ?) ‘to twist together, pull oneself together, condense’ ⇒ LIV: 625 | Pok.: 1068
- IE COGNATES: Lith. *tenkù* (*tèkti*) ‘I stretch, reach, attain’, OIrish *-téici* ‘solidifies, coagulates’, (ppp.) OIrish *técht* ‘solidified’, ON *þétrr* ‘close, thick’, Lith. *tánkus* ‘dense, thick; frequent’
- REFERENCES: Horn1893: 88 f.; Fraenkel II: 1077; EVS: 82a; DKS: 282a; Abaev, *Slovar* III: 285; Werba 1997: 189 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 354; Shabbakhsh: s.v. *tanč-*; Korn 2005: 168 f., 365

*tand ‘to languish, faint’

- PARTHIAN: *tnd* ‘faint, languishing’. ◇ The Parthian form cannot be analysed as the past participle of **tamH*, which would rather be **taHta-* > **tāta-*. ⇒ DMMPP: 324b
- SANSKRIT: *tand* ‘to become tired, paralysed’ ⇒ EWAia I: 623
- ◇ The evidence for the corresponding Ir. root **tand* of Skt. *tand* is confined to Parthian.
- PIE **ten-d-* ‘to tire’ ⇒ LIV: 627 f. | Pok.: (1066)
- IE COGNATES: Lith. (dial.) *tandùs* ‘lazy, sloppy’, Lat. *tendō* ‘I stretch’

*tap ‘to warm up, heat’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *tap-* ‘to be(come) hot’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘to warm’ || (+ **ham-*) ‘to be(come) hot’ ⇒ Liste: 24
Pres. inch.: INJ. 3sg. YAv. *tafsa-* (Y 9.11, rep.), SUBJ. 3pl. YAv. *tafsan* (V 3.32); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *tāpaiieiti* (Yt 6.1, Yt 7.4, Yt 17.20, etc.), ? YAv. **ā.tāpaiieiti* (V 9.41); Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. *ham.tapta-* (V 4.46)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *t’b-* ‘to shine’ ?, BMP *t’p-* /*tāb-*/ ‘to heat, burn (up); shine’.
◇ No certain attestations in MMP, DMMPP: *ibid.* ⇒ DMMPP: 321a
Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *t’pyt* /*tābēd* /, SUBJ. 3sg. ? MMP *t’b’d* {rather Pth. ?}, OPT. 3sg. ? MMP ^(s)*t’byy*, IMPV. 2sg. BMP *t’p* /*tāb*/; Inf.: BMP *t’ptn* /*tāftan*/; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *t’pt* /*tāft*/; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. BMP *t’pyhyt* /*tābīhēd*/

- PARTHIAN: *t'b-* 'to shine, burn' || (+ **abi-*) *'bd'b* 'sunshine' || (+ **pati-*) *pt'b-* 'to burn into' || (+ **ui-*) *wyt'b-* 'to shine' (young formation) ⇒ Ghilain: 72 | DMMPP: 321a f., 9, 360a
 Pres.: IND. 2sg. *t'byh*, 3sg. *t'byd*, *t'byd*, 3pl. *t'bynd*, SUBJ. 3sg. *t'b'h*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *t'b'd*, *t'b'd* || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *pt'byd*, IMPV. 2pl. *pt'byd* || (+ **ui-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *wyt'byd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *wyt'b'h*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *wyt'b'd*
- KHOTANESE: *ttav-* (*ttau(s)-*) 'to be(come) hot' || (+ **ā-*) LKh. *āyv-* 'to heat' || (+ **niš-*) *naštav-/ništav-*, (inch.) OKh. *naštos-* 'to be consumed' || (+ **pati-*) *pattav-/pattav-* 'to burn up; illuminate' || (+ **ui-*) LKh. *byav-* 'to be hot' || (+ **ham-*) OKh. *haṇdau-* 'to become hot', LKh. *hamdev-* (caus.) 'to ripen' ⇒ SGS: 38, 9, 67, 50 f., 104, 140 f.
- SOGDIAN: SSogd. *t'p* (denomin.) 'to seal' || (+ **ā-*) CSogd. *'tpn* 'furnace' || (+ **pati-*) MSogd. *ptβ-* 'to burn' (perhaps *p-* < **upa-* ?) || (+ **ui-*) BSogd. *wyt''p-* 'to shine, radiate', CSogd. *wyt'p* 'to shine forth' || (+ *ham-*) BSogd. *'ntph* 'fever'
 Pres.: OPT. 2sg. SSogd. *t'py*; Pass.: pret. intr. IND. 3sg. SSogd. *tβty*; Partic.: perf. pass. SSogd. *tβt* || (+ **pati-*) Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *ptyt'p*; Partic.: perf. pass. *ptβtyy* 'hot' (BBB: 43); Pass.: perf. intr. IND. 1pl. MSogd. *ptβtyt 'ym* 'we are burned' || (+ **ui-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *wyt''pt*, BSogd. *wyt'pt*, 3pl. BSogd. *wyt'p'nt*, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *wyt'p't*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *wyt'p*
- CHORESMIAN: *t'BY-* 'to heat', (denomin.) 'to punctuate, put a diacritic; to hit the target' || (+ **upa-*) *bdfs-* 'to become hot' ⇒ Samadi: 203 f., 15
- BACTRIAN: *τᾰβ-* 'to impress (a seal); to seal' ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 225a
- NWIR: NP *tāftan/tāb-* 'to shine, burn', NP *tafsīdan/tafs-* (inch.) 'to become hot', Bal. *tāpt/tāp-* 'to heat', Gz. *tō(u)-/tō(w)ā* 'to shine, light up', NP *tab* 'fever', *tāb* 'heat, burning; heated iron; affliction, pain, torment', *tābah*, *tāvah* 'frying-pan; burnt brick, tile', Kurd. *taw* 'sun' || (+ **abi-*) NP *āftāb* 'sun(shine)' || (+ **ui-*) Gur. (Kand.) *yāw* 'fever'
- NEIR: Oss. I. *tæfsyn/tæfst*, D. *tæfsun/tæfst* (inch.) 'to become hot', I. *tavyn/tavd*, D. *tavun/tavd* (caus.) 'to warm up', also Oss. I. *tæxsyn/tæxst* 'to itch; to be feverishly ill' (contaminated with inch. **daxsa-* < **daj* ?), Yzgh. *tifs-/tūvd* 'to be (over)heated', Oss. *tæf* 'steam, spirit, scent', I. *tævd*, D. *tævdæ* 'heat, hot', Pash. *tōd* 'hot', Sh. *tofč* 'pox', Ishk. *tofč* 'burnt, scorched', Sariq. *tufč* 'faded away; stain', Wa. *tofč* 'scar (as result of wound, pox, etc.)' || (+ **us-*) Sh. (Baj.) *sitafc-/sitūvd*, Bart. *sitaft-/sitūvd* 'to be fried', Sh. (Baj.) *sitāb-/sitāpt*, Rosh. *sitēb-/sitōb-*, Bart. *sitōb-/sitōbt*, Sariq. *stob-/stipt* (caus.) 'to fry, stir (during roasting)' || (+ **fra-*) Sariq. *radabon-/radabond* 'to be roasted' || (+ **ui-*) Sh. *widōb*, (Baj.) *xūr-widōb*, Sariq. *wadub* 'the time after sunrise, early forenoon' || (+ **ham-*) Oss. I. *ændavyn/ændævd*, D. *ændavun/ændavd*, M. *dif-/diŋt-* 'to catch fire' (or < **ham-* + **diHp*?), Wa. *дыр-/допт* 'to warm (up), become warm', Pash. *dōbay*, (Wan.) *dōba* 'summer', Yi. *īdou*, Wa. *andáv* 'fever'
- SANSKRIT: *tap* 'to burn, be hot, to make hot; to hurt, torment' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 623

◇ CSogd. *fiṭyp-* ‘to shine’, cited by Gershevitch (*GMS*: §49, §318) and Morgenstierne (*GMS*: l.c.), does not belong here: s.v. ***diHp**.

•PIE **tep-* ‘to be warm, hot’ ⇒ LIV: 629 f. | Pok.: 109

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *tepēre* ‘to be warm’, OIrish *té* ‘hot’, OCS *teplostь* (f.) ‘warmth’

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 83; *EVP*: 80; *IIFL* II: 205a; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 153 f.; *EVS*: 80a, 76a, 87b, 66b; Nyberg II: 189a; Abaev, *Slovar*’ III: 249 f., 236 f., 246 f., 283, 285; *DKS*: 20a; *WIM* II/1: 84; Werba 1997: 190; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 83, 158, 357; Korn 2005: 313, 363

***tarč (*tark) ?** ‘to turn, to move to and fro ?’

•KHOTANESE: (+ **fra-*) OKh. *hatäljs-* ‘to flutter’ ⇒ SGS: 145

•NWIR: ? NP *tarkand(ah)* ‘ruse’

•SANSKRIT: ? *tark* ‘to turn, move to and fro’ (KS+) ⇒ EWAia I: 633

◇ It is doubtful whether there are any reliable Iranian reflexes of IE **terk^w-*. By coincidence, Arabo-Persian *tark* ‘abandoning, forsaking, leaving (aside)’ bears a striking similarity to Toch. AB *tärkā-* ‘to let’ (< **TerKH₂-*, see LIV: 635). ArPers. *tark* has been borrowed in several modern Iranian languages.

•PIE **terk^w-* ‘to turn, spin’ ⇒ LIV: 635 | Pok.: 1077

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */tarku-* ‘to dance’, Lat. *torquēre* ‘to turn’

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 86, fn. 2; *DKS*: 448b; Werba 1997: 427

***tard** ‘to pierce, split’

•KHOTANESE: (+ **us-*) ? LKh. *ustairš-* ‘to tear’ ⇒ SGS: –

•NWIR: (+ **abi-*) NP *iftālīdan/iftāl-* ‘to disperse; to tear; to cleave, break’. ◇ The simplex form NP *tāl-* ‘to split’ is not attested.

•NEIR: Sh. (Baj.) *tarδ-/tuḫt* ‘to fight, come to blows’, Sariq. *tarδ* ‘conflict’ || (+ **ati-*?) Sh. (Baj.) *tidarδ-/tiduḫt* ‘to tear, pluck, strip, pull out of, peel’ || (+ **us-*) Sh. *zidarδ-/ziduḫt* ‘to tear, break, snap’ || (+ **pati-*) Wa. *pətərδ-*, *pətərδ-/pətərñ-* ‘to break, be broken, burst’, Yi. *pətišč(ě)* ‘broke, was torn’

•MISC: Par. *tār-tāri* ‘to split, burst’

•SANSKRIT: *tard* ‘to split, to pierce’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 634

•PIE **terd-* ‘to pierce’ ⇒ LIV: 631 | Pok.: 1076

•IE COGNATES: Lith. *trandėti* ‘to be eaten by moths or worms’, OCS *trqđь* ‘tree fungus’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 295b; *IIFL* II: 242a; *EVS*: 80a, 81a, 107a; *DKS*: 43a; Werba 1997: 192; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 281 f.

***tarH¹** ‘to cross over’

•AVESTAN: *tar-* ‘to cross over’ || (+ **ui-*) ‘to bring away ?’. ◇ Forms such as YAv. *tauruuaētōiš* (Yt 13.115), YAv. *tauru* (V 10.10), YAv. *tauruuan-* (Y 10.9), YAv.

-*tauruuairī-* (Yt 13.14), etc. derive from another pres. stem (***taru**): YAv. **tauruua-* (Skt. RV *tūrvati*), cf. Kellens 1984: 163; Insler 1975: 127. ⇒ Liste: 24f.

Pres. them. red.: INJ. 3sg. YAv. *titarat* (Yt 13.77); Partic.: pres. YAv. *titarant-* (G 1.6), caus. med. ? YAv. **vītātāraiiamna-* (H 2.7); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *tītāraieiti* (Yt 8.8, Yt 8.39)

•OLD PERSIAN: (+ **ui-*) *vitar-* (caus.) ‘to put across’ ⇒ Kent: 186a

Caus.: impf. IND. 1sg. *viyatarayam* <vi-i-y-t-r-y-m> (DB 5.24 f.), 1pl. *viyatarayāmā* <vi-i-y-t-r-y-a-m-a> (DB 1.88)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ui-*) MMP *wdyr-*, BMP *wtyl-* /*wider-*/, *wtl-* /*widar-*/ ‘to pass by’, *wt(w)l-* /*widur-*/ (or /*widōr-*/ ?) ‘to pass away, die’, MMP *wyd’r-*, BMP *wt’l-* /*widār-*/ (caus.) ‘to let pass (by), lead’, BMP *wt’lyn-* /*widārēn-*/ (sec. caus.) ‘to cause to take away’ ⇒ DMMPP: 340a, 339a

Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *wdyryd*, *wydyryd*, BMP *wtylyt* /*widerēd*/, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *wdyr’nd*; Partic.: pres. caus. MMP *wyd’r’g*, perf. pass. MMP **wdrd*, BMP *wtwlt* /*widurd*/, etc.

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ui-*) *w(y)dr-* ‘to pass (beyond, over)’, *w(y)d’r-* ‘to cause to cross over, pass over’ ⇒ Ghilain: 57, 74, 92 | DMMPP: 352a, 339a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *wydryd*, 3pl. *wydrynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *wydr’*, *wydr’h*, IMPV. 2sg. *wydr*, Partic.: pres. caus. *wyd’r’n*, perf. pass. *wydrd*, caus. *wd’r’d*, *wyd’r’d*, *wyd’r’d*; Caus.: pres. IND. 2sg. *wyd’ryh*, 3sg. **wyd’ryd*, 2pl. *wyd’ryd*, 3pl. *wyd’rynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *wyd’r’n*, 2sg. *wydd’r’h*, 3sg. *wyd’r’*, *wyd’r’h*, OPT. *wyd’ryndy*

•KHOTANESE: *tīdī* ‘crossing place’ || (+ **ui-*) OKh. *bitar-* ‘to develop’ ⇒ SGS: 96

•SOGDIAN: CSogd. *tr-* ‘to go’ || (+ **pati-*) CSogd. *ptymc* (f.) ‘transitory’ || (+ **fra-*) BSogd. *ft’yr-* ‘to come, proceed’, CSogd. *ftyr-* ‘to pass over, pass away, depart’, CSogd. *ftyr-* ‘to cause to pass over (away), take over, remove, set aside’ || (+ **ui-*) SSogd. *wytr-*, BSogd. *wytr-*, MSogd. *wyt’r-* ‘to go on, pass (away)’, CSogd. *wytr-*, MSogd. *wytr-* ‘to go’

Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. CSogd. *tr’t*, OPT. 2sg. CSogd. *try*, 3sg. CSogd. *try*, 1pl. CSogd. *trym*, IMPV. 2sg. CSogd. *tr’*; Fut.: IND. 3pl. CSogd. **trntq’* || (+ **fra-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. dur. CSogd. *ftyrtyseq*, SUBJ. 3sg. CSogd. *ftyr’t*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *f’t’yr*, CSogd. *f’tyr*; Fut.: OPT. 3sg. CSogd. *ftyrq’*; Partic.: pres. ITER. MSogd. *ftyrh* ‘on foot, walking, runner’ (*Sogdica*: 25); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. CSogd. *ftyr*, IRR. 2sg. CSogd. *ftyr’t*, IMPV. 2sg. CSogd. *ftyr*, impf. IND. 3sg. CSogd. *f’tyr* || (+ **ui-*) Pres.: IND. 1sg. SSogd. *wytr’m*, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *wytr’t*, BSogd. *wytr’t*, OPT. 3sg. CSogd. *wytry*, PREC. 3sg. SSogd. *L’ wytrt*, POT. 3sg. BSogd. *wytr’bwt*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. SSogd. *wytr*, CSogd. **wytr*, 3pl. SSogd. *wytr’nt*; Pret.: intr. IND. 3sg. SSogd. *wyt’rt*, 1pl. SSogd. *wyt’rt’ym*, 3pl. SSogd. *wyt’rt’nt*; Fut.: 1sg. CSogd. *wytr’mq’*, 3pl. CSogd. *wytrntq’*; Inf.: pret. BSogd. *wyt’rt*

•NWIR: Gur. (Kand.) *fārin-* (orig. caus.) ‘to drive forth’, ? Bal. *tar(r)it/tar(r)-* ‘to walk, search, turn’ || (+ **ui-*) widely attested: NP *guḏāstan/guḏar-*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *bihurīn/bihur-*, *buhurīn/buhur-*, (Sor.) *būrdin/būr-*, *bwārdin/bwēr-*, Zaz. *vēreṭiṣ* (v[y]ērḏiṣ) / *vēren-*, *rā-vērdiṣ/rā-vēren-* ‘to pass, proceed, go on, over’, Awrom. *wiardi/ywiar-*, Ard. *viyešt/viyer-* ‘to pass’, Fariz. *-(i)vašt/-ivār-*, Yar. *-viašt/-viār-* ‘to pass; to rise [of sun]’, Gz. *ver-/vāšt*, *verā*, Gil. (Rsht.) *dā-varæstæn/dā-vār-*, (LW) *guzæstæn/guzār-*, Ham. *beideštān/véider-*, (subj.) *béider-*, Isfah. *vežāštān/vežer-*, Khuns. *veder-/ve(de)št*, Mah. *bōdāšt-*, Meim. *b-ædašt-* (impv.) *b-æder*, Nn. *vēdrā-/vēdr-*,

Natan. *viāšt-*, Semn. *bā-viār-*, Siv. *(y)ār-/viārd* ‘to pass, proceed’, Qohr. *awdašta/awder-*, Soi *bā-ūdašt-/á-udir-* ‘to pass, exceed’, Sorkh. *-viārd-/viar-* ‘to pass’, NP *guḏāštan/guḏār-* (caus./tr.) ‘to place, put; to let, allow’, Abz. *vadašta/vadēr-* ‘to pass par; to let, abandon’, Anar. *gidār* ‘ford’ || (+ *ham-) Varz. *hendārte/hendār-* (orig. caus.) ‘to send’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *tærȳn/tard*, D. *tærȳn/tard* ‘to chase, drive (away, forth, out)’, Yghn. *tír-*, *tēr-/tórta* ‘to go, leave, depart’ || (+ *us-) Wa. *zətrun-* ‘to disperse’ (Lorimer) || (+ *pati-) Wa. *patari* ‘rafter’, Yi. *patarē* ‘roof-beam [i.e. *cross-beam ?]’ || (+ *fra-) ? Oss. I. *lædaryn/lædærst*, D. *lædarun/lædarst* ‘to let liquid flow out from a vessel; to shed tears, weep’, I. *lædærsȳn/lædærst*, D. *lædærsȳn/lædarst* (inch.) ‘to flow out with a squirt or in drops’ || (+ *ui-) Oss. I. *dard*, D. *idard* ‘far’. ◇ Oss. I. *lædaryn*, D. *lædarun* are connected by Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 17 f. to Arm. *tełam* ‘to rain, irrigate’, *teł* ‘(heavy) rain’ (*IEW*: 196, s.v. *del-* ‘tröpfeln’).

•SANSKRIT: *tar*’ ‘to pass across, pass through, get across, overcome’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 629, 87

•PIE *terH₂- (*treH₂-) ‘to go through, cross, overcome’ ⇒ LIV: 633 f. | Pok.: 1074 f.

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. /*tarh(u)-* ‘to overcome, be able’, Lat. *intrāre* ‘to go through’, Alb. *sh-tír* ‘crosses’, etc.

•REFERENCES: Zhukovskij I: 179; KPF I: 83b, 145a, 209a, 248b; KPF II: 210; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 73, 170, 262; *IIFL* II: 242a, 535b; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 62; Abrahamian 1936: 108, 134; Lambton 1938: 41a; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 344; Andreev – Peščereva: 335b; MacKenzie 1966: 112; *DKS*: 128a, 282b; *WIM* I: 73; Abaev, *Slovar*’ III: 278; *WIM* II/1: 85; *WIM* III: 120; Werba 1997: 291; Paul 1998: 311a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 458, 460; Cabolov 2001: 175; Lecoq 2002: 122, 125, 131, 608a, 135 (passim); Shahbakhsh: s.v. *tarr-*; Korn 2005: 321, 364 (passim)

***tarH²** ‘to rub, wipe (?)’

•KHOTANESE: (+ *us-) *ustar-* ‘to remove’ || (+ *ham-) LKh. *hamtrāñ-* ‘to diminish, remove’ ⇒ SGS: 18, 139

•SOGDIAN: (+ *apa-) BSogd. *’pt’r-* ‘to pluck, pull out (hair)’ {hapax} || (+ *pari-) BSogd. *prtr-* ‘to dry up, wipe off’

(+ *apa-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *’pt’rt* (SCE: 88) || (+ *pari-) Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *pr’ytr*

•NWIR: ? Bal. *tir(r)* ‘fart’ (uncert. etym., Korn 2005: 133, fn. 303) || (+ *us-) NP *suturdan* ‘to shave, erase, scrape’, *usture* ‘razor’

•NEIR: Sh. *tār-/tārt*, Rosh. *tār-/tārt* ‘to cleanse, remove dirt’ || (+ *apa-) ? Oss. I. *æft’æryȳn/æft’ærd*, D. *æft’irȳn/æft’ird* ‘to devour’ (slang word ?) || (+ *us-) Oss. I. *stæryȳn/stærd*, D. *(æ)stærun/(æ)stard* ‘to lick (up)’, Sh. (Baj.) *zidār-/zidūd*, *zidār-/zidūg*, Sariq. *zidor-/zidug*, Ishk. *zdār-*, M. *stor-/stōr-*, Yi. *’stōr-/’stāṛ-* ‘to sweep’

•MISC: (+ *us-) Par. *astar-* ‘to rub, wipe away’

•PIE *terH₁- ‘to rub’ ⇒ LIV: 632 f. | Pok.: 1071 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *τείρω* ‘I rub, wipe’, Lat. *terō* ‘I rub’, Lith. *tiriù (tirti)* ‘I examine, ask’, OCS *tırq (trěti)* ‘I rub’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 236; *IIFL* II: 248 b f., 424b; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 117; *EVS*: 81a, 107a; *DKS*: 42b, 452a; Abaev, *Slovar*’ III: 149 f.

*tarp ‘to steal’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *trəp-* ‘to steal’ ⇒ Liste: 25

Pres. inch.: SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *trəfiūāt* (Y 11.5)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *tlwptk /truftag/* ‘stolen’ (MacKenzie, *Pahlavi*: 84)

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *čβ-*, MSogd. *cf-* ‘to steal’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *čβty*, SUBJ. 1sg. BSogd. *čβ’n*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *cf*, med. BSogd. *čβt*’

•CHORESMIAN: *m/čfy-* ‘to steal’ ⇒ Samadi: 57

•NWIR: NP *tarfand(ah)*, *tarvand(ah)* ‘lie, falsehood, deceit, fraud’, Zaz. *tiritiš/tiren-* ‘to steal’

•NEIR: M. *tərif-/təraft*, Sh. *cif-/cift*, Rosh. *cif-/cift*, Bart. *cif-/cift*, Sariq. *caf-/caft* ‘to steal’

•SANSKRIT: *tarp* ‘to steal, rob; to enjoy’ (RV) || *paśutīp-* ‘stealing sheep’ (RV), *asutīp-* ‘robbing the life (of an other)’ ⇒ EWAia I: 634 f.

◇ The meaning of the root **tarp* ‘to steal’ is possibly an euphemism, from originally ‘to enjoy’? Similar to Skt. *tarp-*.

•PIE **terp-* ‘to enjoy, satisfy’ ⇒ LIV: 636 | Pok.: 1077 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *τέρω* ‘I satisfy’, Lith. *tarpstù* ‘I promote, increase’

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 86; *IIFL* I: 255b f.; *EVS*: 22; *Werba* 1997: 192, 427; Paul 1998: 316a.

*tarš ‘to be thirsty’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *taršna-* (m.) ‘thirst’ (V 7.70, Yt 19.69, Yt 19.96, etc.)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *tyšn* ‘thirst’, MMP *tyšng*, BMP *tyšnk /tišnag/* ‘thirsty’ ⇒ DMMPP: 333a

•PARTHIAN: *tyšng* ‘drink’ ⇒ DMMPP: 333a

•KHOTANESE: ^x*ttarāyāta-*, LKh. *ttarāye* (ppp.), *ttar(r)a-* ‘thirst’

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *cš’y-* ‘to be thirsty’, BSogd. *cšn*’, CSogd. *cšn*’ (m.), CSogd. *cn*’ ‘thirst’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *cš’y*t (SCE 29)

•CHORESMIAN: *m/čy-* ‘to be(come) thirsty’. ◇ From **třšja-*, cf. MacKenzie, *Supplet.*: 32. ⇒ Samadi: 60

•NWIR: NP *tišnah*, Kurd. (Sul.) *tinu*, (Sina) *tinīg* ‘thirsty, parched with thirst’, Bal. *tu(n)n*, Zaz. *teyš* (m.), *teyšāney* (f.), Awrom. *tažná* (m.), Jow. *tainagi* ‘thirst’, Ard. *tešne*, Nn. *tešne*, Qohr. *teše*, Varz. *tešna* ‘who is thirsty’

•NEIR: Pash. *təğay*, Yi. *trušnë*, Sariq. *tūr*, *tīr* ‘thirsty’, *tīreyj* ‘thirst’, ? Wa. *taš* ‘thirsty’ || (+ **us-*) Sh. *sitūš* ‘thirst’, Yzgh. *stəš* ‘feeling thirsty’

- MISC: (?) Par. *tēr-/thōr*; Orm. *tr-/tatak* ‘to drink’ = *tr-/to`rnók*, *trin-/trinók*, Par. *thān*, Orm. *trúnuk*, *tranak* ‘thirsty’
- SANSKRIT: *tarṣ* ‘to be thirsty’ (RV+), *tṛṣṇā* (f.) ‘thirst’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 635 F.
- PIE *ters- ‘to be/make thirsty, dry, parch’ ⇒ LIV: 637 | Pok.: 1078 f.
- IE COGNATES: Gr. *τέρομαι* ‘I become dry’, Hitt. */tars-/* ‘to dry’, Lat. *torrēre* ‘to dry, roast’, OHG *derren* ‘to make dry’, OHG *durst*, Engl. *thirst*, etc.
- REFERENCES: *EVP*: 85; *IIFL* I: 295a, 410b, 293a; *IIFL* II: 256a; Lambton 1938: 75a; MacKenzie 1966: 110; *EVS*: 80a, 76b; *DKS*: 123b; Werba 1997: 349; Paul 1998: 315b; Lecoq 2002: 622b, 638a, 655b, 684a (passim); *NEVP*: 81; Kiefer 2003: 207; Korn 2005: 132 f., 146, 365 (passim)

*taru ‘to overcome’

- AVESTAN: *tauruu-* ‘to overcome’ ⇒ Liste: 24f.
Pres. *-aja-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *tauruuajieiti*, INJ. 3du. YAv. *tauruuajiatəm* (Yt 13.78), med. 2pl. YAv. *tauruuajiaata* (Yt 13.38), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *tauruuajieni* (Y 9.18), 3sg. YAv. *tauruuajiaṭ*, 1pl. OAv. *tauruuajiamā* (Y 28.6), YAv. *tauruuajiamā* (Yt 10.34); Partic.: pres. *tauruuajiant-* (Y 52.2, Yt 1.2, Yt 8.49, etc.)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *trw-* ‘to overcome’, (sec. caus.) BMP *tlwyn-* /*tarwēn-* ‘to overcome, conquer’ ⇒ DMMPP: 326a
Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *trwyd*; Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. BMP *tlwynyt* /*tarwēnēd*/, 3pl. BMP *tlwynynd* /*tarwēnēnd*/
- PARTHIAN: *trw-* ‘to overcome’ ⇒ Ghilain: 56 | DMMPP: 326a
Pres.: IND. 3sg. *trwyd*
- CHORESMIAN: *trw-* ‘to overcome, be able’ ⇒ Samadi: 205 f.
- NWIR: Bakht. *teristan/ter-* ‘to be able’
- SANSKRIT: *tīrv* ‘to overcome, prevail’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 662
- PIE pres. stem *trH₂-u- ‘to overcome’ ⇒ LIV: 633 f. | Pok.: 1074 f.
- IE COGNATES: Hitt. */tarhuzzi/* ‘overcomes, is able’
- REFERENCES: Vahman – Asatrian 1987: 141; Vahman – Asatrian 1991: 130

*taš ‘to make, construct; to cut’

- AVESTAN: *tāš-* ‘to make, construct; to cut’ ⇒ Liste: 25
Pres. athem.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *auui tāštī* (V 5.2), INJ. 3sg. OAv. *tāšt* (Y 44.7); Aor. them.: INJ. 2sg. OAv. *tašō* (Y 31.11, Y 44.6, Y 51.7), 3sg. OAv. *tašaṭ* (Y 29.1, Y 29.7, Y 47.3); Perf.: IND. 3sg. *tatašā*, SUBJ. 3sg. ? YAv. *tatašaṭ* (Y 10.10); Partic.: perf. YAv. *taršuuāh-* (Y 70.1), pass. OAv. *tašta-* (Y 49.9), YAv. (^h)*tāšta-* (V)
- OLD PERSIAN: (+ *ham-) *ha^mtaxš-* ‘to work with, effect’ ⇒ Kent: 185b
MED.; Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. *ha^mtaxšataiy* <h-t-x-š-t-i-y> (DNb 16), impf. 1sg. *hamataxšaiy* <h-m-t-x-š-[i]-[y]> (DB 1.68), <h-m-t-x-š-i-y> (DB 1.70), 3sg. *hamataxšatā* <h-m-t-[x]-š-t-a> (DB 4.65), <h-m-a-[t]-x-š-t-a> (DB 4.92), 3pl. *hamataxšāⁿtā* <h-m-t-x-š-t-a> (DB 4.82)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *t’š-* /*tāš-* ‘to cut, cleave; create’
Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *t’šyt* /*tāšidag*/, BMP *t’šyt* /*tāšid*/
- KHOTANESE: OKh. *ttāš-* ‘to cut [tr.]’ ⇒ SGS: 38

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *t'š*, MSogd. *t'š* 'to cut'

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *t'št*, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *t'š't*, 3pl. BSogd. *t'š'nt*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *t'š* (L37.3(23)), 3pl. MSogd. **t'šndskwn*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **upa-*) *b'd-* 'to build; cut' ⇒ Samadi: 14

•NWIR: NP *tirāšīdan/tirāš-* 'to shave', Bal. *trāšt, trāšīt/trāš-* 'to mend, chip, cut, shave' (< Pers.), Kurd. (Sor.) *tāšīn/tāš-* 'to hew; to shave', Awrom. *tāšāy/tāš-*, Qohr. *tāšāda/tāš-*, Tr. *tāšāya/tāš-* 'to shave', NP *taš* 'hatchet, adze', Bal. *taš* 'adze' (< NP?).

◇ The intrusion of *-r-* in NP *tirāšīdan/tirāš-* points to contamination with NP *xirāšīdan/xirāš-* 'to scratch (a wound)', v. **xrāš*. || The *-r-* in Bal. *trāšt, trāšīt/trāš-* suggests borrowing from Persian (rather than a parallel development). The borrowing must have occurred quite early, considering the absence of anaptyxis in the initial consonant cluster, which is a typical feature of New Persian.

•NEIR: (?) Oss. I. *dasyn/dast*, D. *dasun/dast* 'to shave', Yghn. *toš-/tāšta* 'to hew, to shave (off); to scratch, scrape (off); to shear', Sh. *tāš-*, Rosh. *tōw-/tūxt*, Bart. *tōš-*, Sariq. *tux*, Yzgh. *taw-/text* 'to cut, whittle, shave, prepare', Yghn. *toš-*, M. *tīž-/təyð*, Yi. *tīž-* 'to shear', Wa. *tyš-/tošt* 'to cleave; to shave, shear', Pash. *toğ-* 'to shave, plane', Pash. *tiyāšə* (f.) 'plough-share' || (+ **ham-*) ? Oss. I. *æntysyn/æntyst*, D. *æntæsun/æntæst* 'to succeed in' (sec. prefixation). ◇ The initial *d-* of Oss. I. *dasyn*, D. *dasun* is from compounds, e.g. *særdasæn* 'razor', v. *EVP*: 83, no. 378.

•MISC: Par. *thā-* 'to cut, shave', Arm. (LW) *tašem* 'to cut'

•SANSKRIT: *takṣ* 'to form (by cutting), to prepare, build, carpenter' (RV+), *tákṣan-* 'carpenter' ⇒ EWAia I: 612

◇ The root of the OP forms shows contamination with **θuxš* (*tuxš*), which is attested in Av. in the middle voice only.

•PIE **tetk-* 'to construct, build by cutting' ⇒ LIV: 638 f. | Pok.: 1058 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. τέκτων 'carpenter', OCS *tešq* (*tesati*) 'I cut, hack', Lith. *tášau* (*tašyti*) 'I cut, carve'

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 83, 85; *IIFL* I: 293a; Abaev, *Slovar'* I: 167; Andreev – Peščereva: 338a f.; MacKenzie 1966: 110; *EVS*: 82; Nyberg II: 192b; *DKS*: 129b f.; Werba 1997: 189; Cabolov 1997: 72; Steblin-kamenskij 1999: 368 f.; Lecoq 2002: 122, 129 (passim); *NEVP*: 81; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *trāš-*; Korn 2005: 92, 216, 365

***tau ?** 'to throw, spread, sow'

•KHOTANESE: (+ **niš-*) ? LKh. *našt-* 'to pour out' ⇒ SGS: 51

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **apa-*) ? *m/ftw-* 'to be destroyed, disturbed', *m/ft'w-* (caus.) 'to destroy, disturb' ⇒ Samadi: 73 f.

•NWIR: (+ **para-*, **pari-*) NP (Tadj.) *partofton/parto-* 'to throw' (LW)

•NEIR: Sh. *tēw-d*, Rosh. *tīw-/tīwd*, Ishk. *tēw-*, M. *tēw-/tēvd* 'to stir (soup)', M. *tīwanīy* 'stirring-stick' || (+ **apa-*) Oss. I. *æftawyn/æftyd*, D. *æftawun/æftud* 'to throw on; to increase; to take out, away, to pull out', I. *æftyn/æftyd*, D. *æftun/æftud*

(intr./pass.) ‘to fall; to set [of sun]; to increase’ || (+ *us- ?) Oss. I. *stawyn/styd* ‘to mix, mingle’, D. (*æ*)*stawun/(æ)stud* ‘to rake, row [i.e. Russ. *gresti*]’ || (+ *pati-) Sh. *pīt(t)āw-/pīt(t)āwd*, (Baj.) *patāw-/patāwd*, Rosh. *patēw-/patēwd*, Bart. *patāw-/patāwd*, Sariq. *patēw-/patēwd* ‘to throw away, fling, make fall’ || (+ *para-, *pari-) Yghn. *pártou-, partóu-/pártouta* ‘to throw (out, on, off)’ || (+ *ui-) ? Oss. I. *tawyn/tyd*, D. *itawun/ítud* ‘to sow, strew, scatter; spread’ || (+ *ham-) Oss. I. *æntawyn/æntyd*, D. *æntawun/æntud* ‘to ferment the froth (of arrack, beer)’ (sec. prefixation), Oss. D. *æntojnæ* ‘mixture, chaos, disorder’ (sec. prefixation ?)

◇ It is necessary to postulate a root *tau- ‘to sow, throw (vel sim.)’ that would be confined to EIr. on the basis of especially the Oss., Chor. and Pamir forms. In view of the rather limited geographical distribution this "root" *tau- is some kind of regional borrowing. The permanently voiceless nature of the dental *t (which should become voiced in intervocalic position) is another indication of a relatively recent borrowing.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 257a; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 114 ff., 166; Andreev – Peščereva: 303b; *EVS*: 82a, 63a; Abaev, *Slovar*’ III: 239 ff.

*tauH ‘to be able, strong’

•AVESTAN: *tauu-* (*tū-*) ‘to be able, strong’ ⇒ Liste: 26

Pres. athem.: IND. med. 3sg. YAv. *tūite* (V 13.8), SUBJ. 1sg. OAv. *tauuā* (Y 28.4, Y 50.11), 3sg. YAv. *frātauuat* (Vyt 51), 3pl. ? YAv. (them.!) *tauuān* (V 6.51), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *fratuiiā* (Y 9.29); Perf.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *tūtauuā* (V 6.32); Partic.: pres. YAv. *tuuañt-* (V 3.33)

•OLD PERSIAN: *tav-* ‘to be strong’ ⇒ Kent: 186a

Partic.: pres. *nu-* (?) *tunvant-* <tu-u-nu-v-t-> (DB 4.65), <tu-u-nu-v-t-> (DNb 9); Caus.: IND. 3sg. *tāvayatiy* <t-a-v-y-t-[i]-y> (DNb 33), impf. 1sg. *atāvayam* <a-t-a-v-y-m> (DNb 47)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *twb’n-* /*tuwān-*/ ‘to be able’, MMP *tw’n*, BMP *twb’n* /*tuwān-*/ ‘might, power’ || (+ *pati-) MMP *pt’y-*, BMP *pt’y-* /*pattāy-*/, BMP *pt’dst-* /*pattāyist-*/ ‘to remain, continue; endure’. ◇ MMP *tw’n*, BMP *twb’n* /*tuwān-*/ are also frequently employed as (impers.) verbal aux. ‘to be able’, construed with an infinitive. || DMMPP: 330a, 285a

Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *twb’nst* /*tuwānist*/ || (+ *pati-) Pres.: IND. 2sg. MMP *pt’yy*, 3sg. ? MMP *pt’y*, BMP *pt’y* /*pattāy*/, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *pt’y’d*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *pt’y*, BMP *pt’y* /*pattāy*/; Partic.: MMP *ptwd*

•PARTHIAN: *t’wg* ‘strong’ || (+ *pati-) *pt’w-* ‘to bear, tolerate; (?) to remain, insist on’. ◇ On *pt’w-* cf. Sundermann 1981: 169a: "Die Bedeutung „bleiben“ ist für mp. *pattūdan* wohl bezeugt ..., für parth. *pattūdan*, *pattāw-* ist m.W. jedoch ... nur „erdulden, ertragen“ belegt". ⇒ Ghilain: 76 f. | DMMPP: 322b, 285a

(+ *pati-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *pt’wyd*, SUBJ. 3sg. *pt’w’h*; Inf.: *ptwd*

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *tvāñ-* (*tvāñ-*) ‘to strengthen’ ⇒ SGS: 41

- SOGDIAN: BSogd. *t'w'nty* (SCE 10), MSogd. *t'wndyy* 'strong, powerful' || (+ **pati-*) BSogd. *pt'w*, MSogd. *pt'w* 'to endure'
(+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *pt'wt*, OPT. 3pl. dur. CSogd. *pt'wyntqn*; 'z-Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *pt'w'z* 'he endured', dur. CSogd. *pt'w'sq* (GMS: §644); Partic.: pres. BSogd. *pt''wyn'k* 'patient'
- CHORESMIAN: *t'w'n* 'compensation, fine' (< NP)
- BACTRIAN: *ταοι*, *ταοο* 'means, assets', *ταοοανο*, *ταοανο* 'fine, compensation'
⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 226a
- NWIR: NP *tavānistan/tavān-*, Kurd. *tiwānīn*, Awrom. *tāwāy/tāw-*, Gil. (Rsht.) *tan-*, Gur. (Kand.) *-tauw-/-tāū*, Isfah. *tunān* (supplet. *ša-* < **xšaH*), Khuns. *tūnis*, Natan. *-ton-est/ton-*, Shamerz. *-tūn-* (*-tōn-*), Siv. *tān-*, *ten-/tānis* 'to be able'
- NEIR: Oss. I. *tyx*, D. *tuxæ* 'power, might'
- SANSKRIT: *tav'* 'to be strong' (RV) ⇒ EWAia I: 638
- PIE **teuH*₍₂₎- 'to swell, be strong' ⇒ LIV: 639 f. | Pok.: 1080 ff.
- IE COGNATES: RussCS *tyti* 'to become fat', ? Gr. *σάος* 'healthy' (Peters 1980: 290)
- REFERENCES: *KPF* II: 190; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 61, 257; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 156; Abrahamian 1936: 132; MacKenzie 1966: 110; *WIM* I: 73; Abaev, *Slovar'* III: 344 f.; *WIM* III: 117; Benzing 1983: 609; Werba 1997: 290 f.

*tauj¹ 'to impel, hasten'

- MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **pari-*) MMP *prdwz* 'impulse, thrust, energy' ⇒ DMMPP: 278a
- NEIR: Oss. I. *tynzyn*, D. *tunzun/tunst* 'to hasten, hurry, press on'. ◇ The stem of the Oss. forms matches the Skt. pres. stem *tuñjā-*. The connection with Chor. *tnc-* 'to hasten, hurry', cited by Abaev, *Slovar'* III: 338 f., is incorrect: the impf. stem *t'ncy-* clearly points to an original stemvowel *-a-.
- SANSKRIT: *toj* 'to impel, drive, set in motion' (RV) ⇒ EWAia I: 670
- PIE *(s)*teug-* 'to set in motion, impel' ⇒ LIV: 602 | Pok.: 1032 f.
- IE COGNATES: MWelsh *estwng* 'to yield, budge', NHG *stauchen* 'to thrust', ? Gr. *στυγέω* 'I hate, loathe'
- REFERENCES: MacKenzie 1979: 531; Werba 1997: 191; Plath 2000: 409 ff.

*tauj² 'to acquire, gather, gain'

- MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ham-*) MMP *'ndwc-*, MMP *hndwxt* (pret. stem), BMP *'/hndwc-/ (h)andōz-/* 'to gain, acquire, amass' ⇒ DMMPP: 180b
Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *'/hndwcyt / (h)andōzēd/*; Inf.: BMP *'/hndwhn / (h)andōxtan/*; Part.: perf. pass. MMP *hndwxt*, BMP *'/hndwhn / (h)andōxt/*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3pl. MMP *hndwcyhyynd*
- KHOTANESE: (+ **ham-*) *hadaj-* 'to accumulate, assemble'
- NWIR: NP *tōxtan/tōz-* 'to acquire, gain, collect' || (+ **ham-*) NP *andōxtan/andōz-* 'to acquire, collect'

•SANSKRIT: ? *túj-* ‘offspring’ (RV 4.1.3, 5.41.9), *tujáye* (inf.) ‘to procreate’
⇒ EWAia I: 652, fn.

◇ The precise origin of **tauj²* is unclear. The root postulated here may be related to BSogd. *twδ’k*, CSogd. *twdy*, MSogd. *twδyh* ‘heap, mass’, NP *tōdah* ‘mass(es)’ (without an “enlargement” **-j-*). See also **θua(n)j*.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 1080 ff.

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 89 f.; Nyberg II: 95a; DKS: 450a; Cabolov 2001: 330

***tauj³** ‘to (re)pay, pay back (a debt, fine, vel sim.), expiate’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *twz-* ‘to expiate, pay for’, BMP *twc-* /*tōz-* ‘to pay a debt, a fine; to give back, return anything (borrowed)’ ⇒ DMMPP: 331a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *twcyt* /*tōzēd*/, 3pl. MMP *twzynd*

•PARTHIAN: *twj-*, *twc-* ‘to pay, expiate’ ⇒ Ghilain: 63 | DMMPP: 330b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *twcyyd*, SUBJ. 1sg. **twj’n*, IMPV. 2pl. *twjyd*

•SOGDIAN: CSogd. *twž*, MSogd. *twj*, SSogd. *tw(y)ʼz-* ‘to pay (off)’. ◇ On the Sogd. *i*-umlaut and subsequent “Brechung”, cf. GMS: §191.

Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. CSogd. *twžt*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *twj*; Fut.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *twžtqʼ*; Caus.: pres. SUBJ. 1sg. SSogd. *twyʼz’n*, SUBJ. 3sg. SSogd. *twyʼz’t*, SSogd. *twyʼz’ty*, impf. IND. 3sg. SSogd. *twʼz*, fut. IND. 1sg. SSogd. *twyʼz’m k’m*

•CHORESMIAN: *twy* ‘poll-tax’ (Benzing 1983: 617)

•BACTRIAN: *τωζ-* ‘to pay’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 227a

•NWIR: NP *tōxtan/tōz-* ‘to pay a debt, return anything borrowed’ || (+ **ham-*) NP *andōxtan/andōz-* ‘to collect a debt’

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *tužem* ‘to expiate’, Arm. (LW) *toyž* ‘expiation, penalty’

◇ The origin of the root **tauj³* is unknown: it could be identical to **tauj²*.

***tauš** ‘to (be) empty’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *tuš-* ‘to (be) empty’ ⇒ Liste: 26

Pres. inch.: INJ. 3pl. YAv. *tusən* (V 3.32); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. (*apa*) *taošaiieiti* (Yt 10.48, Yt 14.63, etc.)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *twhyg*, BMP *twhyk* /*tuhīg*/ ‘empty’ ⇒ DMMPP: 330b

•PARTHIAN: *twsyg* ‘empty’ ⇒ DMMPP: 331a

•KHOTANESE: *tušśaa-* ‘empty’

•NWIR: NP *tuhī* ‘empty’, Bal. *tust/tus-* ‘to suffocate’, *tost/tos-* ‘to extinguish’

•NEIR: ? Sh. (Baj.) *tūỹ-/tūỹd* ‘to ache, hurt’, Rosh. *tūỹ-/tūỹd*, Yzgh. *təỹ-/təỹd* ‘to suffer’, Sariq. *təỹ-*, *tawg̃-* ‘to suffer, worry, be tormented’, Oss. I. *tyssæg*, Sh. *tis*, Rosh. *tis*, Sariq. *tīs*, Pash. *təš*, (Wan.) *təs*, Wa. *təš* ‘empty’

•MISC: Orm. *tusk* ‘empty’

•SANSKRIT: *tucchyá-* ‘empty’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia I: 652

◇ For the most recent treatment of the consonant cluster *-s-sk- > Ir. -s-, -h- see Lubotsky 2001: 49 and Cheung 2000: 71 f.

•PIE *teus- ‘to be empty’ ⇒ LIV: 642 | Pok.: 1085

•IE COGNATES: OCS *тъшь* ‘empty, vain’, Lith. *tùščias* ‘empty, poor’, etc.

•REFERENCES: Geiger 1891: 150; EVP: 84; IIFL II: 416; EVS: 80b, 81b, 116b; DKS: 132b f.; Abaev, *Slovar’* III: 343; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 365; Cheung 2002: 232 f.; NEVP: 84; Korn 2005: 315, 365 f.

***tāp** ‘to twist, wind’

•KHOTANESE: Khot. *thauna-* ‘cloth, silk’. ◇ Initial *th-* is the result of the transfer of friction from internal to initial position, Sims-Williams 1983: 48.

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *upa-) *bd’by-* ‘to twist’ || (+ *us-) ? *m/(w)stnb-* ‘to throw up, vomit’, *m/stnby-* (caus.) ‘to cause to throw up’. ◇ As for *m/(w)stnb-*, *m/stnby-* cf. Samadi: “doch schwerlich zur stamb ‘stützen’.”. ⇒ Samadi: 14

•NWIR: NP *tāftan/tāb-* ‘to turn, twist, spin’, NP *tāb* ‘twisting, curling lock’, Nn. *tovnā/tov-*, Varz. *townā/town-* ‘to twist’

•NEIR: Yghn. *tob-/tóbta*, *top-/tópta*, Wa. *to-/tovd*, Sh. *tāb-/tāpt*, Rosh. *tēb-/tēpt*, Bart. *tōb-/tōpt*, Sariq. *top-/tipt-*, Yzgh. *tab-/tabt* ‘to wind, spin’, ? Oss. I. *tyn*, D. *tunæ* ‘sheet’, ? Oss. I. *tæbyn* ‘prepared wool’ (LW), Pash. *tāw* ‘twist, contortion, winding’ (prob. genuine)

◇ The consistently long stem vowel of these Iranian (verbal) forms is puzzling (the inclusion of Chor. *m/(w)stnb-* is uncertain): it cannot be explained from a zero grade **tmp-* (> Ir. **tap-*), cf. LIV, *ibid*. Explaining the forms as a secondarily arisen causative is difficult in the absence of the corresponding regular formation. Perhaps, the long vowel has been imported from the semantically and formally similar Ir. causative continuations of **uab/f²* ‘to weave’.

•PIE (?) **temp-* ‘to draw, twist’ ⇒ LIV: 626 | Pok.: 1064 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lith. *tem̃pti* ‘to stretch; to draw, drag’, Russ. (dial.) *tepstí* ‘to tighten, straiten’, Lat. *tempus* ‘time (span)’

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 83; EVP: 84; Andreev – Peščereva: 337b; EVS: 80a; Abaev, *Slovar’* III: 336 f., 244; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 358 f.; Lecoq 2002: 638b, 684b

***ti(n)ǰ¹** ‘to sharpen’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *tyj*, MMP *tyz*, *tyz*, BMP *tyc* /*tēz*/ ‘sharp’ ⇒ DMMP: 332a, 333a

•KHOTANESE: (+ *fra-) OKh. *hatīys-* ‘to shine’ ⇒ SGS: 145

•CHORESMIAN: *cxy-* (inch. ?) ‘to sharpen, whet’ || (+ *us-) *m/stncy-* ‘to lift (the ears)’ ⇒ Samadi: 53, 187

•NWIR: NP *tēz* ‘sharp, cutting’, pointed’

•NEIR: ? Sh. (Baj.) *tūŷ-/tūŷd* ‘to ache, hurt’, Rosh. *tūŷ-/tūŷd* ‘to suffer’, Sariq. *tawŷ-* ‘to suffer, worry, be tormented’, M. *tīž-/táyđ-* ‘to cut, split’, (denomin. ?) M. *tuyđ-/tuyđáy-* ‘to shave’, (ppp.) Wa. *təŷđ* ‘tense; sharp’, Sariq. *tēid*, Yzgh. *tayđ* ‘sharp’ || (+ **upa-*, **pati-*) ? Wa. *pitic-/pitict* ‘to string beads’, Wa. *ptiŷ* ‘(needle and) thread’, ? Sh. *pidyúć* (m.), (Baj.) *pedyōć*, Sariq. *padec* ‘thread’

•SANSKRIT: *tej* ‘to sharpen, to make pointed’ (RV+), *tigmá-* ‘sharp, pointed’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 645, 668

◇ The root **ti(n)j^l* is etymologically related to **stajŷ*. For **ti(n)j^l* see **θjaŷ*.

•PIE **(s)teig-* ‘to sting, stab, to be pointed’ ⇒ LIV: 592 | Pok.: 1016 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *στίζω* ‘I sting, mark’, Lat. *īn-stīgāre* ‘to urge on, impel’, NHG *stechen* ‘to sting’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 257, 254b; *EVS*: 80, 54a; *DKS*: 448b; *Werba* 1997: 190; *Steblin-Kamenskij* 1999: 362, 269

***tund** ‘to act violently’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *twnd*, BMP *twnd/tund/* ‘sharp, violent’ ⇒ DMMPP: 330b

•KHOTANESE: *ttunda-*, *ttūda-* (ppp.) ‘plundered’ (< ? denom. **tunda-ja-* ‘to act violently’). ◇ The etymology of Khot. **tund-* which was proposed by Bailey (*DKS*: 131b), an enlarged root of **tau-/tu* ‘to thrust, remove, plunder’ (Pokorny: 1032 ff.) is untenable. Sims-Williams, *SVK* III: 68, s.v. *ttunda-*, considers a connection with CSogd. *twmd’rt* ‘he knocked’, translating Syr. *nqš* ‘id.’. No further Ir. cognates can be cited though. I would rather interpret the Khot. forms as denominative. ⇒ SGS: 39

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *twnt* ‘violent’

•NWIR: NP *tund* ‘violent, sharp (of taste)’

•SANSKRIT: *tud* ‘to thrust, push, crush’ (RV(+)) ⇒ EWAia I: 671

◇ The Khot. forms (the corresponding present stem is not attested), may be the sole denominative formation of **tund*. This nominal form (derived from an attested Ir. root **taud*) is perhaps cognate with Skt. *tud*, cf. Sundermann *apud* EWAia I: 671.

•PIE **(s)teud-* ‘to thrust’ ⇒ LIV: 601 | Pok.: 1033 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *tundō* (perf. *tutudī*) ‘I thrust, hit’, Goth. *stautan*, NHG *stoßen*

•REFERENCES: *Werba* 1997: 191



***θam** ‘to tend, be(come) attentive, caring, comforting’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *θamnahuuant-* ‘comforting, solicitous, caring’ (Yt 19.9, Yt 19.14, Yt 19.45, etc.)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *ui-) MMP *wyh'd'n* (pass. perf., pl.) '?'. ◇ Cf. Henning's notebook, with an etymological clue: > Arm. *vhat* 'disconsolate, discouraged, fainthearted, desperate'. ⇒ DMMPP: 353b

•SOGDIAN: CSogd. *θty'q* (f.) 'comfort' {hapax}

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *fra-) *m/rθm-* 'to wake up', *mrθ'my-* (caus.) 'to wake' ⇒ Samadi: 173

◇ The root *θam appears to be exclusively Iranian. On the other hand, it bears a striking formal and semantic similarity to Gr. κομέω 'I take care of, look after' (ἵππο-κόμος (m.) 'horse-watcher', OIrish *cumal* 'female slave'), which is usually connected to κάμνω 'I am tired', etc. (*samH) despite the obvious semantic difference, cf. Pokorny: 557; (hesitantly) LIV: 324. The initial θ- of the root points to contamination with semantically similar roots (e.g. *θuaxš, *θraH) ?

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Schwartz 1970: 292; Sims-Williams, 1985: 131

*θanǰ 'to pull, draw'

•AVESTAN: YAv. *θanǰ-* 'to pull, draw' || (+ *fra-) 'to drive to' ⇒ Liste: 26

Pres. *aǰa-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *fraθanǰaiēiti* (Yt 17.2), med. 3pl. YAv. *θanǰaiēnte* (Yt 17.12), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *θanǰaiēni* (Yt 5.50), 3pl. YAv. *θanǰaiēānte* (Yt 19.44)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *hnc-* /*hanǰ-* 'to draw (water)' (*h-* is from *haič or the prefigated forms?) || (+ *ā-) MMP 'hynz- 'to pull, draw up, tow', BMP 'hnc- 'to draw up (water)' || (+ *fra-) BMP *pl'hnc-* /*frahanǰ-* 'to educate, instruct, teach' || (+ *ni-) MMP *nhynz-*, BMP *nhh-* /*nihax-* (pret. stem) 'to hold back' ⇒ DMMPP: 36a, 242b
Pres.: IND. 1sg. BMP *hncm* /*hanǰam*/, 3sg. BMP *hncyt* /*hanǰēd*/; Inf.: BMP *hyhtn* /*hixtan*/; Partic.: BMP *hyxt* /*hixt*/ || (+ *ā-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP ^x*hynzyd*, 3pl. MMP 'hynzynd (MacKenzie 1980: 291), BMP /*āhanǰēnd*/, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP 'hynz'd, 3pl. MMP 'hynz'nd, IMPV. 2pl. BMP 'hncyt /*āhanǰēd*/; Partic.: pres. MMP 'hynz'g, perf. pass. MMP 'hxt, BMP 'hht /*āhixt*/ || (+ *fra-) Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *plhhtk(-)* /*frahixtag(-)* 'educated, trained', BMP *plhht* /*frahixt*/ || (+ *ni-) Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *nhynzynd*, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *nhynz'd*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP ^x*nyhynj*; Pass.: perf. pass. BMP *nh'ht* (*HWH*)*nd* /*nihāxt*/, *nhht* /*nihaxt*/

•PARTHIAN: (+ *ā-) 'hynj- 'to draw up' || (+ *pati-) *pdhynj-* 'to weigh' || (+ *fra-) *frhynj-* 'to instruct, educate' || (+ *ni-) *nhynj-* 'to retain, hold back', *nhng* 'oppression' ⇒ Ghilain: 51 | DMMPP: 36a, 269b, 155, 242a f.

(+ *ā-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. 'hynjyyd, ^x'hynjyd, 3pl. 'hynjynd || (+ *pati-) Pres.: SUBJ. 2sg. *pdhynj'h* 'weigh [i.e. judge]' || (+ *fra-) Pres.: SUBJ. 2sg. *frhynj'h* || (+ *ni-) Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. *nhynj'*, IMPV. 2pl. ^x*nhynjyd* 'protect!'; Partic.: perf. pass. *nhxt* || (+ *ui-) Pres.: IND. 2sg. *whynj'h*; Partic.: perf. pass. *whxt*

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *thīs-* (*thīs-*) 'to pull at', OKh. *thamj-* (caus.) 'to pull' || (+ *apa-) OKh. *pathīs-* (*pathīs-*) 'to refrain', OKh. *pathamj-* 'to restrain' || (+ *upa-ā-) LKh. *bāthamj-* 'to pluck out' || (+ *us-) OKh. *usthamj-* 'to draw, pull out' || (+ *ni-) OKh. *nuhamj-* 'to hold back; open' ⇒ SGS: 42, 94, 68, 18, 59

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *δync* ‘to pull out’ || (+ **pati-*) BSogd. *pδ’yinc*, MSogd. *pδδync* ‘to pull out’ || (+ **pari-*) BSogd. *prδ’y*, CSogd. *prθync* ‘to stretch’

Partic.: pres. BSogd. *δync’k* || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *pδ’yinc’t*, Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. MSogd. *pδδ’ytyy βwt* ‘is pulled out’ || (+ **pari-*) Impf.: IND. 3pl. CSogd. *prθyncnt*, Pret.: intr. IND. 3sg. BSogd. *prδ’y’t’kw y’y*, (f.) BSogd. *prδ’y’tch y’y*; Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. *prδ’y’t’kw*, BSogd. *prδ’y’tch* (f.); Pass.: pperf. IND. 3sg. intr. BSogd. *prδ’y’t’kw x’y*, BSogd. *prδ’y’tch ’y*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **pati-*) ? *pθxs-* ‘to take refuge in (God)’ ⇨ Samadi: 163 f.

•BACTRIAN: *υαγγο* ‘load’ || (+ **apa-*) *αβαυαγ-* ‘to charge’ ? || (+ **ā-*) *αυ-αυαγδο* ‘without deduction’, *αυαγγο* ‘neighbourhood’ || (+ **ni-*) *ναυαγγο*, *ναυαγγυνδο* ⇨ S-W, *Bact.*: 227b, 174a, 173a, 179b, 208a

•NWIR: NP *sanjīdan* ‘to measure; reflect; compare, put in balance’, (LW) NP *linj-* ‘to pull’ (< Sogd./Bactr.), Gz. *sāng- / sāngā* ‘to rock’, Semn. (impv.) *bī-hānj* ‘stab !’, *-tā- / -ānj-* ‘to draw’ || (+ **ā-*) NP *āhixtan / āhīz-* ‘to draw (a sword)’, NP *āhanjīdan / āhanj-* (caus.) ‘to drink; to drag; to fling’, *Zaz.* *āntiš / ānjen-* ‘to pull’ || (+ **fra-*) NP *farhang* ‘culture, education; dictionary’ || (+ **ni-*) NP *nihang* ‘a kind of sea-monster, crocodile; sword’

•NEIR: Pash. *lānga* (f.) ‘lace or rope for tightening the web of a charpoy’ || (+ **abi-*) Oss. I. *ivtyznyn / ivtygd*, D. *evtinzun / evtigd* ‘to yoke a horse; to load a gun; to wind up a watch, vel sim.’, I. *ivtong*, D. *evtong* ‘equipped, ready for action, under way, sim.’ || (+ **ā-*) Pash. *anang*, *alang* ‘span from thumb to forefinger’ || (+ **ui-*) Oss. I. *tyznyn / tygd*, D. *itinzun / itigd* ‘to spread, stretch out; to crucify’

•MISC: (+ **ni-*) Arm. (LW) *nhang* ‘a kind of water beast’

◇ The initial *θ- of the root is puzzling: does it point to the presence of a following laryngeal ? The assumption of an older IE *t^h-, as found in *LIV*, l.c. is unacceptable. One may also think of influence from the antonym *θra(n)č ‘to press’.

•PIE **teng^h-* ‘to draw, pull back’. ◇ A slightly different preform is reconstructed by Kümmel in *LIV*, l.c.: *t^heng^h-. His objections against the postulation of *tH- (on account of the Iranian evidence) and his explanation (invoking the loss of an s-mobile variant) are incomprehensible to me. **teng^h-* is clearly an enlarged root of **ten-* (**tan*). ⇨ *LIV*: 657 | *Pok.*: 1067

•IE COGNATES: Toch. *tānk-* ‘to check, stop, restrain’, OCS *rastešti* ‘distract’, *pri-težati* ‘to acquire, work’, Russ. *túžit’sja* ‘to exert oneself’, Russ. *tjaželyj* ‘heavy’ (etc.), Lith. *tingėti* ‘to be slow, lazy’, *tingus* ‘slow, lazy’

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 206a, 208b; Morgenstierne 1942: 262; Abaev, *Slovar* I: 555; *DKS*: 148a, 207a f., 43a, 190b; Abaev, *Slovar* III: 337 f.; *WIM* II/1: 82; Sims-Williams 1989: 329; Paul 1998: 291a; Cheung 2002: 108 ff., 194 f.; *NEVP*: 44

*θ_iaj̥ (*ti(n)j̥²) ‘to come to a halt, want to leave (from an awkward situation ?), *embarrasser*’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *iθiiejah-* [n] ‘abandonment (?)’ (Y 34,8), YAv. *iθiijah-*, *iθiiejah-* (n.) ‘abandonment (?)’ (Yt 10.22), ? YAv. *tiŋja* ‘to stop, lo!’ (Yt 19.50). ◇ On YAv. *tiŋja* cf. Sims-Williams 1989: 263, but the precise meaning of this interjection is uncertain.

•CHORESMIAN: *tynk-* ‘to come to a standstill, stop’, (intr./inch.) *tx-* ‘to stammer, speak haltingly’ ⇒ Samadi: 206

•NEIR: ? Oss. I. (rarely) *tiğyn*, D. *teğun/tiğd* ‘to sieve (flour through a sieve)’, ? Wa. *тыс-/тоct-* ‘to stop, stick into (?)’

•SANSKRIT: *tyaj* ‘to leave, dismiss, abandon’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 673 f.

◇ It is uncertain whether all these Ir. forms cited here are related to each other. Some of them may be indeed related to *tyaj* ‘to leave, dismiss, abandon’ (RV+), EWAia I: 673 f.

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ III: 292 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 367

*θrah (*trs) ‘to shake, tremble; to fear; to flee’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *θrāñh-* (*tərəs-*) ‘to fear’ || (+ **abi-*) caus. ‘to scare hither’ || (+ **pati-*) caus. ‘to scare thither’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to be(come) afraid (of)’ ⇒ Liste: 25

Pres. inch.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *fratərəsaiti* (Yt 10.97, Yt 10.134, Vyt 27, Aog 19), 3pl. YAv. *tərəsənti* (Yt 14.38), SUBJ. 3pl. YAv. *fratərəsañ* (Yt 11.6), IMPV. 3pl. YAv. *tərəsəntu* (Yt 14.38); Caus.: pres. IND. med. 3sg. YAv. *θrāñhaiiete* (Yt 10.101), YAv. *auui.θrāñhaiiete* (Yt 10.41), YAv. *paiti.θrāñhaiiete* (Yt 10.41)

•OLD PERSIAN: *t(a)rs-* ‘to fear’ ⇒ Kent: 186a

Pres. inch.: IND. 3sg. *t(a)rsatiy* <t-r-s-t-i-y> (DPd 11), 3pl. *t(a)rsaⁿtiy* <t-r-[s]-[t]-[i]-y> (DSe 38), impf. 3sg. *at(a)rsa* <a-t-r-s-> (DB 1.50), 3pl. *at(a)rsaⁿ* (DPe 9), INJ. 1sg *t(a)r. sam* <[t]-r-s-m> (DPe 21)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *tyrs-*, BMP *tls-* (*DĤLLWN-*) /*tars-* ‘to fear’ ⇒ DMMP: 332b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *tlsyt /tarsēd/*, 2pl. MMP *tyrsyd*, 3pl. MMP *tyrsynd*, MMP *tyrsynd*, SUBJ. 2pl. MMP **tyrs’d*, IMPV. 2sg. BMP *tls /tars/*, 2pl. BMP *tlsyt /tarsēd/*; Partic.: perf. pass. II MMP *tyrs’d*, BMP *tlsyt /tarsēd/*

•PARTHIAN: *tyrs-* ‘to be afraid’, *’hr’s-* (caus.) ‘to fear, frighten’ ⇒ Ghilain: 75 | DMMP: 332b

Pres.: IND. 3pl. *tyrsynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *tyrs’l*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *tyrs’d*

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *trš*, CSogd. *tš* ‘to flee’ (Sims-Williams 1976: 58)

Pres.: IND. 2pl. CSogd. *tšt’*, 3pl. SSogd. *trš’nt*, IMPV. 2sg. SSogd. *trš*; Pret.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. **tšty* (Schwartz 1967: 46)

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **ni-*) *m/nč-* ‘to fear’ ⇒ Samadi: 121 f.

•NWIR: NP *tarsīdan/tars-* ‘to fear’, NP *sahistan/sah-* (< OP **čah-* < Ir. **θrah-*), *hirāsīdan/hirās-* ‘to fear, dread’ (< Pth.), NP *sah(i)m* ‘terror, dread’, Bal. *tursit/turs-*, Kurd. *tirsīn/tirs-*, Zaz. *tersāyiš/tersen-*, Awrom. *tarsāy/tars-* ‘to be afraid’, Abyan. *tārsoya/tārs-*, Abz. *tarsowa/tars-*, Gz. *tārs-/tārsā*, Gil. *tārsœn/tārs-*, Gur. (Kand.) *tārs-/tārs-*, Ham. *tarsayān/tārs-*, Khuns. *ters-/tersā*, Mah. *tirs-*, Nn. *tarsāy-/tars-*, Natan.

-tārs-, Qohr. *tarsāda/tars-*, Shamerz. -tārsí-/tarsam-, Siv. *ters-/tersē*, Semn. -tārsāī-/tārs-, Sorkh. -tars-/tars- ‘to fear, be afraid’, Gz. *tārsn-/tārsnā* ‘to scare’, Siv. *tarsenayān/tārsen-*, Sorkh. -tārs-/tārs-, Lasg. -tars- ‘to fear’. ◇ To Bal. *tursit/turs-* is perhaps also connected Bal. *drah-/drahit* ‘to shiver’, with old *θ being replaced (early) by *d-* of *drapš-* ‘to tremble’ (***drafš**).

•NEIR: Oss. I. *tārsyn/tarst*, D. *tārs-/tarst* ‘to be afraid’, Pash. *tāxtedəl* ‘to flee’ = *text-eğ-/ed-*, (Waz.) *tašt-/taš-*, *təšt-*, (Wan.) *tešt-/terš-*, ? *tarhēdəl* ‘to take alarm, be terrified, wince (about animals)’ = *tarh-eğ*, Yi. *xūróx-/xūróxt*, M. *xīrēx-* (denomin.?) ‘to shy’ || (+ *us- ?) Wa. *wəš(ə)y-/wəšt-* ‘to be afraid’, (caus.) *wəš(ɪ)v-/wəšovd-* ‘to fear’, *wəšbik* ‘fear’. ◇ The Pash. form *tarh-eğ* is rather a borrowing from Indo-Aryan, cf. Lah. *tarahan* ‘to be timid’, Si. *trahanu* ‘to shy’, according to Elfenbein, *apud NEVP*: 1.c.

•MISC: (+ *ui-) Orm. *yuš-/yušōk*, *ɣwaš^f-/ɣwaš^fēk* ‘to fear’ = *go š-/go šók*

•SANSKRIT: *tras* ‘to tremble, quiver, shrink from, be afraid’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 678

•PIE *tres- ‘to tremble, be afraid’ ⇒ LIV: 650 f. | Pok.: 1095

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *τρέω* ‘to be scared, tremble, flee’, Lith. *trišėti* ‘to tremble, shiver’, etc.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 80a, 136a, 205b; *EVP*: 82 f.; *KPF* II: 189; *IIFL* I: 396b; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 61, 256; *IIFL* II: 550a, 271a; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 52, 112, 156; Abrahamian 1936: 121; MacKenzie 1966: 110; *EVS*: 101b; *WIM* I: 73; Abaev, *Slovar* III: 273 f.; *WIM* II/1: 84; *WIM* III: 117; Werba 1997: 349; Cabolov 1997: 74; Paul 1998: 315b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 400 f.; Kiefer 2003: 198; Lecoq 2002: 122, 125, 127 (passim); *NEVP*: 83 f.; Korn 2005: 316, 364

*θraH ‘to protect’

•AVESTAN: *θrā-* ‘to protect’ ⇒ Liste: 27

MED.; Pres. *aīa-*: IND. 3pl. YAv. *θrāiēnte* (Yt 13.146, ? Yt 19.94); Aor. *s-*: INJ./IMPV. 2pl. OAv. *θrāzdūm* (Y 34.7); Inf.: pres. *θrāiīdīdīāi* (Y 34.5)

•SOGDIAN: (**pati-* ?) ? SSogd. *’pdr’y* ‘to protect’, ‘to throw away’. ◇ The interpretation of the Sogd. form is uncertain.

Pres.: OPT. 2pl. SSogd. *’pdr’ydy*

•SANSKRIT: *trā* ‘to protect, save’ ⇒ EWAia I: 679

◇ IE correspondences of the IIr. root are uncertain (Gr. *τρανής* ‘clear’ ?). The Av. forms are isolated in Iranian. ⇒ LIV: 646 f. | Pok.: 1075

•REFERENCES: Reichelt 1931: 17, fn 13; *BBB*: 72, no. 572; Werba 1997: 292

*θraHu ? ‘to nourish’

•AVESTAN: *θrao-* ‘to nourish, [BMP tr.] /parwardan/’ ⇒ Liste: 27

Aor. *s-*: INJ. 2pl. OAv. *θraoštā* (Y 46.7); Perf.: IND. med. 3sg. YAv. *tuθruīē* (Y 1.1)

•KHOTANESE: (+ **pati-*) ? *patrūša* ‘edible medicine’

◇ Further (I)Ir. correspondences of the Avestan forms, which appear to have Germanic cognates, are unknown. The Khot. form, cited by Bailey, *DKS*, l.c., is difficult to assess.

•PIE ? *treH₁u- ‘to nourish, thrive’ ⇒ LIV: 647 | Pok.: 1095

•IE COGNATES: OHG *trouuen* ‘to grow’, OHG *triuuit* ‘thrives’, ON *þrúðr* (f.) ‘power’, Engl. *to thrive*

•REFERENCES: *DKS*: 207a

*θram ‘to fear’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *sm-* /*sam-*/ ‘to fear, be afraid’, BMP *smyn-* /*samēn-*/ caus. ‘to frighten’, BMP *smynšn* /*samēnišn*/ ‘fear’ (Kotwal 1969: 169, s.v. *sam-*)

Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. BMP *sm’t/samād*/; Inf.: caus. BMP *smynytn/samēnīdan*/

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *ni-) *m/nč’my-* (caus.) ‘to scare, cause to fear’. ◇ The Chor. form *m/nč’my-* behaves like the caus. of *m/nč-* (*θrah). ⇒ Samadi: 122

◇ The evidence for a root *θram is limited to two languages, which is perhaps due to the fact that this root has been largely replaced by (near) synonymous *θrah.

•PIE *trem- ‘to shiver, tremble’. ◇ On the IE doublets *tres-/trem- see Walde – Hofmann II: 675; Frisk II: 929 f., s.v. τρέω. ⇒ LIV: 648 | Pok.: 1092 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. τρέμω, Lat. *tremō* ‘I tremble’, Lith. *trimti* ‘to tremble’, etc.

*θra(n)č ‘to oppress’

•AVESTAN: (?) YAv. *θrənc- ‘to press together, compress’

Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. *θraxta*- (Yt 14.63)

•PARTHIAN: *tryxs-* (orig. inch.) ‘to be oppressed’ || (+ *ham-) *ndrxs-* (pret. stem) ‘to be compressed, be constructed’, *ndrynj-* ‘to defeat, condemn’ ⇒ Ghilain: 79 | DMMP: 326a, 46a f.

Pres.: IND. 3sg. **tryxsyd*, 3pl. *tryxsynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. pl. *tryxtg’n* || (+ *ham-) Partic.: perf. pass. *ndrxt*, II *ndrxs’d*, caus. *ndrynj’d*; Inf.: *ndrxtn*; Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. *ndrynjynd*

•KHOTANESE: *thargga-* ‘oppression, harm’ || (+ *apa-) LKh. *pihisāme* ‘stoppage, blockade’ || (+ *ā-) LKh. *āhalj-* (*aihai’j-*) ‘to control’ || (+ *para-ā-) *prrahīs-* (*prrahīs-*) ‘to open’, (caus.) Khot. *prahā(l)j-* (*prrahāj-*) ‘to open’ || (+ *fra-) LKh. **hahalj-* (*haha’j-*, *hahrī-*) ‘to direct upon’ || (+ *ni-) *nihalj-* (*nihej-*) ‘to destroy (?)’, restrain, suppress (?)’, OKh. *nṛhīs(ś)-* ‘to restrain’ || (+ *niš-) OKh. *naštḥrī-* ‘to be pushed out’ || (+ *ham-) LKh. *hamthrrīs-* (*hamthrrīs-*) ‘to be oppressed’, *hamthraj-* ‘to oppress’ ⇒ SGS: 13, 89, 88, 151, 57 f., 140

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *trytyh* (ppp.) ‘depressed’ || (+ *abi-) BSogd. *βtr’ync* ‘subjagate’, CSogd. *ftrync* ‘to oppress, suppress, control’, MSogd. *βtrync* ‘to oppress’ || (+ *ui-) CSogd. *xytrxyt* ‘constraint’ || (+ *ham-) BSogd. (?) *ntr’ys* ‘to be oppressed, become oppressive’

(+ *abi-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *βtr'yinct*, BSogd. *βtr'yinctt*, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *βtr'yinc't*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. **β'trync* (*Sogdica*: 43); Inf.: BSogd. *βtr'yinc'y* || (+ *ham-) Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *mnr'ys*
 •CHORESMIAN: (+ *pati-) ? *bšx-* 'to stick (it) to, on', *pšxš-* (inch./intr.) 'to be stuck' || (+ *ham-) *mšcy-* 'to press together', *mšxš-* 'to be joined together, united'
 ⇒ Samadi: 162 f., 190 f., 202

•NWIR: NP *taranjīdan/taranj-* 'to press' (< Sogd.)

•NEIR: Ishk. *ṭranj-/ṭrayd-* 'to compress', M. *tro(n)jv-/təráyd-* 'to stretch', Yi. *trāž-/trayd-* 'to tie', Wa. *tranj-/tranjd*, *tranž-/tranžd-*, *trayd-*, *trajñ-* 'to press, compress'

•PIE **trenk*^(w)- 'to press' ⇒ LIV: 649 | Pok.: 1093

•IE COGNATES: Lith. *treñkti* (*trenkiù*) 'to thrust, throw, scatter', Goth. *preihan* 'to press', NHG *drängen*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 256; *Fraenkel* II: 1118; *DKS*: 148b; *SVK I*: 25 f.; *Steblin-Kamenskij* 1999: 359

*θrap/tarp 'to be unsteady, move unsteadily'

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *spwk /sabuk/* 'light, unsteady, shallow' (*θrap^o)

•PARTHIAN: *sbwk* 'light, easy' (< MP) ⇒ DMMPP: 306a

•NWIR: Kurd. *terpîn* 'to stumble', NP *sabuk* 'light(footed); unsteady; haste, despatch', widely borrowed into: Abz. *söböök*, Nn. *suvoök*, Qohr. *sövök*, Tr. *sobok* 'light', etc.

•NEIR: Oss. I. *tælfyn/tælfıt* (*tælfyd*), D. *tælfun/tælfıt* 'to move to a place, to move [intr]; to fidget; to twitch [intr.], shake, be in trepidation' (**trf-ja-*), Sariq. *turf-/turft* 'to stumble, slip', Pash. *drabəl* 'to shake, press down' (LW ?), *trap* 'leap, jump' (< Indo-Aryan)

•SANSKRIT: ? *trap* (med.) 'to be ashamed, become shy' (Ep.+). ◇ Also in modern Indo-Aryan: Lah. *trapp* 'leap, jump', Khetr. *ṭrap*, Hi. *tarap* 'jump, throb'. ⇒ EWAia II: 674f.

•PIE **trep-* 'to be in trepidation' ? ⇒ LIV: 650 | Pok.: 1094

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *τραπέω* 'I press grapes', Lat. *trepidō* (denomin.) 'I act in haste, scurry, trepidation; I feel anxious, apprehensive', Lat. *trepidus* 'apprehensive, anxious, behaving in an excited or agitated manner', OCS *trepetъ* 'trembling', Lith. *trapūs* 'fragile, delicate'

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 83, 22; *EVS*: 81a; *Abaev, Slovar'* III: 255 f.; *Hoffmann, Aufsätze* II: 397; *Werba* 1997: 415; *Lecoq* 2002: 602a, 637a, 654a (passim)

*θrauH ? 'to oppress'

•KHOTANESE: *thurs-* 'to be oppressed' || (+ *abi- or **ui-*) ? LKh. *buhurs-* 'to be afflicted, oppressed' (*SVK* II: 54 ff.) ⇒ SGS: 43

•CHORESMIAN: šwǃ- ‘to tyrannize, oppress’. ◇ A different etymology was proposed for Chor. šwǃ- by Henning 1958: 111, who derived it from a denom. *srauša-, YAv. sraoša- (m.) ‘obedience; a kind of guardian angel’ (implicitly accepted by Samadi). If we accept this etymology we need to explain the big semantic differences, which are not easily resolved. ⇒ Samadi: 201

•NEIR: (+ *fra-) ? Oss. I. *rætawyn/rætyd*, D. *rætawun/rætud* ‘to quilt, stitch, sew’. ◇ Semantically difficult is the etymology originally proposed by Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 381 f., for Oss. I. *rætawyn/rætyd*, D. *rætawun/rætud*, which refers to a common domestic activity. It hardly admits a connection with the Khot. forms, despite the assertions made by Schwartz 1982: 336 ff.

◇ This root is largely constructed on the basis of the Khot. forms. No IE etymology can be cited or even considered.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

***θrāš** ‘to scatter, spread, strew’

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. š’š, CSogd. š’š, MSogd. š’š ‘to scatter, disperse’, (pass.) BSogd. šyš-, MSogd. šyš- ‘to be scattered’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. dur. CSogd. š’šysq, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. š’š’t, OPT. 3sg. BSogd. š’š’y; Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. š’š, 3pl. BSogd. š’š’nt; Inf.: BSogd. šr’š’y; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. (?) MSogd. šyštyy, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. šyš’t; Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. šyšt

•CHORESMIAN: šš- ‘to be scattered, dispersed’, š’y- (caus. ?) ‘to spread (out), scatter’ ⇒ Samadi: 189

•NEIR: Yghn. *tǃrāš-*, *tǃrāš-*, *tǃrāyš-/tǃrāšta* ‘to fall (down, off); to become ill; to drop’ || (+ *ǃi- ?) Oss. I. *irtasyn/irtæst*, D. *ærtasun/ærtast* ‘to separate, distinguish; to take away; to choose’, Yghn. *čōš-* ‘to spread, scatter, sow’

◇ The existence of this root is uncertain: the structure does not warrant an IE origin.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Geiger 1891: 150; Andreev – Peščereva: 335b f.; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 548 f.; Cheung 2002: 193 f.

***θuai** ? ‘to spread, disperse ?’

•AVESTAN: ? *θβ(a)ii-* (*θβōi-*) ‘to spread, disperse ?’ || (+ *upa-) ‘id.’

Pres. them.: IND. 2sg. ? OAv. *θβōi.ahī* (Y 34.11), YAv. *upā θβ(a)iiēiti* (Vyt 27); Partic.: pres. YAv. *θβiiq-* (V 2.23)

•PARTHIAN: (+ *ǃi-) ? *wydyb’y* ‘extensive’ (< Sogd.) ⇒ DMMPP: 352a

•SOGDIAN: (+ *pari-) MSogd. *prδβ’y* ‘to spread’ || (+ *fra-) MSogd. *βrδβ’y* ‘to spread, extend’ || (+ *ǃi-) BSogd. *wyδβ’y-* ‘to extend’

(+ *pari-) Pret.: tr. IND. 3sg. MSogd. *ˤprδβ’y’t ˤδ’t* (MKG: 394) || (+ *fra-) Fut.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *βrδβ’ytk’m* (MKG: 333) || (+ *ǃi-) Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *wyδβ’y’t*

◇ The reconstruction of an Iranian root **θuai* is fraught with problems. To Av. *θβ(a)ii-* (*θβōi-*) the meaning ‘to scare, frighten, tremble (vel sim.)’ is assigned, e.g. Kellens, *Liste*: l.c.; *LIV*: 653; *IEW*: 1099. This would make the Avestan forms totally isolated, although it is considered to be the unenlarged continuation of IE **tueis-* ‘to shake’ (Skt. *tveṣ-*, Gr. *σειώ* ‘I shake, tremble’). On the other hand, it is also quite tempting to connect the Avestan forms to the isolated Sogdian formations *prδβ’y* ‘to spread’, etc., which seem to contain an Iranian root **θuai* as well. The Avestan would then also mean ‘to spread (vel sim.)’. This meaning is suitable for all three attested Avestan passages with *θβ(a)ii-* (*θβōi-*), whereas the hitherto assigned meaning(s) ‘to scarce, frighten, tremble (vel sim.)’ only fits Y 34.11 well. In the absence of further Ir. or IE evidence the meaning or existence of this Ir. root remains uncertain.

•PIE – ⇒ *LIV*: 653 | *Pok.*: 1099

***θua(n)j̄** ‘to get, acquire’

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *δβ’y*z, CSogd. *tfyž*, MSogd. *δβj* ‘to gain, get, acquire’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *δβ’y*ztt, CSogd. *θfyžt*, 3pl. CSogd. *θfyžnt*, IMPV. 2sg. CSogd. *θfyš*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *θfyfyz*; Pret.: tr. IND. 2sg. CSogd. **θfxšt’ry*; Partic.: pres. MSogd. *δβjnyh* (*Sogdica*: 31), perf. pass. BSogd. *δβ’xšt*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. MSogd. *δβxštyy βwʔ* ‘is collected’

•CHORESMIAN: *m/θfinc-* ‘to acquire’ ⇒ *Samadi*: 207

•BACTRIAN: *αλφανζ-* ‘to acquire’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 179a.

•NWIR: NP *alfanj-/alfağdan* ‘to acquire, get’ (< *Bactr.*, cf. *Sims-Williams*, l.c.)

◇ The root seems to show contamination with ***tau²** (?). A similar semantic development can be noticed in OCS *pri-težq* (*pri-težati*) ‘I acquire, work’, s.v. ***θanj̄**.

•PIE – ⇒ *LIV*: – | *Pok.*: –

***θuanz** ‘to press on?’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *θβaz-* ‘to be excited, pressed (?)’, YAv. *ašəθβō.zgatəma-* ‘the foremost zealous, pushy one’ (Y 13.2). ◇ For the meaning of YAv. *θβaz-* and etymology of the root see Gershevitch 1964: 17, and recently, Hintze 1994: 295 ff. ⇒ *Liste*: 26

Pres. inch.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *θβazjaiti* (Yt 19.58, Yt 19.61)

•SOGDIAN: (+ **fra-*) CSogd. *ftpyž-* ‘to compel’. ◇ On initial *ftp^o* see *Sims-Williams* 1985: 177.

Pres.: IND. 3sg. dur. CSogd. *ftpyžtiq* {hapax}

•SANSKRIT: Skt. *tvañc* ‘to contract’, often cited as a correspondence of Av. *θβaz-* (and others) is probably an artificial root and therefore cannot be used for historical-comparative research, cf. *EWAIa* III: 258. Further Ir. cognate forms are unknown, except for (hapax) CSogd. *ftpyž-*.

•PIE **tueŋǵʰ-* ‘to press on’. ◇ Or **tuenk-*?, cf. Kümmel, *LIV*, l.c., no doubt on account of the Greek and Lith. forms, which may show contamination with **trenk^(w)-* ‘id.’. ⇒ *LIV*: 655 | *Pok.*: 1099 f.

•IE COGNATES: OHG *dwingan*, NHG *zwingen* ‘to press, force to’, ? Gr. *σάπτω* ‘I load, fill’, Lith. *tvenkiù* (*tveŋkti*) ‘I block’

*θuar/tur ‘to hurry, hasten’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *θbāša-* ‘hurried, quick’ (Y 11.7, Yt 10.52, Yt 13.39). ◇ On the stem vowel see De Vaan 2003: 55 f.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ni-*) BMP *nswb’l-* /*nihār-*? ‘to hurry’

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ni-*) *nydf’r-* ‘to hurry’ ⇒ Ghilain: 74 | DMMPP: 252b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *nydf’ryd*, *nydf’ryyd*, 1pl. *nydf’r’m*, 3pl. *nydf’r’nd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *nydf’r’*, IMPV. 2pl. *nydf’ryd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *nydfwrđ*

•SOGDIAN: (+ **pati-*) MSogd. *pδβ’yr* ‘to hasten’

Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. MSogd. *pδβ’yr* {hapax}

•NWIR: ? NP *turīdan/tur-* ‘to be greatly afraid; to run away for fear’, Anar. *turr-*, Gz. *tur-/turā* ‘to start to roll’, (tr.) *turn-/turnā* ‘to roll’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *tyrnyn*, D. *turnun* ‘to strive for something; to be torn (off)’, ? Oss. *tæltæg* ‘ardent, fiery’ (*-lt- < ?*)

•SANSKRIT: *tvar* ‘to hurry, hasten’ (KS, Br.+) ⇒ EWAia I: 684 f.

•PIE **tuer-* ‘to drive, urge, impel’ ⇒ *LIV*: 655 | *Pok.*: 1100

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *ὀτρύνω* ‘I urge on’, Gr. *ὀτραλέως* ‘hurried, quick’ (*ὀ- < ?*), OE *þweran* ‘to stir’, OHG *dweran* ‘to stir up’, ON *þyrja* ‘to speed’

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ III: 342, 259; WIM II/1: 84; Werba 1997: 462 f.

*θuars ‘to cut, form’

•AVESTAN: *θβərəs-* (*θβarōž-*) ‘to cut, form’ || (+ **upa-*) ‘to cut off (nails)’ || (+ **pati-*) ‘to adorn, cover, line with’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to cut into’ || (+ **ni-*) ‘to cut out from’

⇒ Liste: 26

Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *θβərəsaiti* (V 3.42, V 5.2, V 8.28 ff., etc.), 3du. YAv. *θβərəsatō* (Y 57.2), med. 3pl. YAv. **upa.θβərəsənte* (V 17.2), INJ. 1sg. YAv. *frāθβərəsəm* (V 1.2 ff.), 2sg. YAv. *frāθβərəsō* (Y 11.7), med. 2sg. YAv. *upa.θβərəsəŋha* (V 17.4), 3sg. YAv. *frāθβərəsaṭ* (Yt 10.50, Yt 13.87), SUBJ. 1pl. YAv. **fraθβərəsāma* (Yt 5.50, rep.), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *niθβərəsōiš* (V 9.6), 3sg. YAv. *upa.θβərəsōit* (cit. in N 105), med. 3sg. YAv. *frāθβərəsaēta* (V 7.71), 3pl. YAv. *upa.θβərəsaiien* (V 13.32, V 13.34); Aor. athem.: INJ. med. 2pl. OAv. *θβarōždūm* (Y 29.1); Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. *paiti.θβaršta-* (Y 57.27). ◇ On OAv. *θβarōždūm* cf. Lubotsky 1994a: 96: < **θβərəždūm*, but De Vaan 2003: 530 f. argues that the form shows YAv. influence. OAv. **θβərəždūm* would be adapted to YAv. phonology by replacing **-ərəž-* with **-arž-*. Subsequently, YAv. **θβərəždūm* developed an anaptyctic shwa, which was then coloured to *-ō-*: **θβərəždūm* > **θβarəždūm* > *θβarōždūm*.

•SANSKRIT: *tvāṣṭar-* PN (god of creation, Creator) ⇒ EWAia I: 685 f.

◇ Av. *θβərəs-* is isolated in Iranian: no other correspondences are attested. The etymology, proposed by Bailey, *DKS*: 149b, for Khot. *thurs-*, viz. from root **θuars*, is untenable, on which see *SVK* II: 54 ff. As for an IE origin, no verbal correspondences can be cited. The nominal forms frequently cited as cognate, Gr. *σάρξ*, (Aeol.) *σύρκεξ* (pl.) ‘(pieces of) meat’, ? OIrish *turc* (m.) ‘boar’, are semantically possible, but not very informative with regard to morphology and derivation.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 656 | Pok.: 1102

*θuaxš (tuxš) ‘to be busy, working on’

•AVESTAN: Av. *θβaxš-* ‘to take care of’, OAv. *θβaxšah-* (n.) ‘effort, work’ (Y 33.3, Y 46.12) ⇒ Liste: 26

Pres. them.: IND. 3pl. med. YAv. *θβaxšənte* (Yt 10.14), INJ. 2sg. OAv. *θβaxšō* (Y 29.2); Partic.: pres. med. YAv. *θβaxšəmna-* (Yt 5.65)

•OLD PERSIAN: (+ **ham-*) *ha^mtaxš-* ‘to work with, effect’. ◇ Cf. Kent, l.c.: “contamination of **taš-* ‘to cut, form’, Skt. *takṣ-* ‘form by cutting’ ... and pAr. **tuakš-*, Av. *θwaxš-* (mid.) be busy’ ...”. ⇒ Kent: 185b f.

MED.; Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. *ha^mtaxšataiy* <h-t-x-š-t-i-y > (DNb 16), impf. 1sg. *hamataxšatā* <h-m-t-x-š-t-a> (DB 4.65), <h-m-a-[t]-x-š-t-a > (DB 4.92), 3du. *hamataxšā^mtā* <h-m-t-x-š-t-a> (DB 4.82)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *twxš-* ‘to strive, be busy with, diligent’, BMP *twhš-/tuxš-/* ‘to strive, struggle with’, (sec. caus.) MMP *twxšyn-* ‘to make diligent, industrious’ || (+ **ham-*) BMP *’ndwh /andōh/* ‘sorrow’, MMP *’ndwxyn* ‘sad, sorrowful’ ⇒ DMMPP: 331b, 47a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *twhšyt /tuxšēd/*, 3pl. MMP *twxšynd*, MMP *’ndwxšynd*, IMPV. 2sg. BMP *twhš /tuxš/*; Partic.: pres. MMP *twxš’g*, (pl.) MMP *twxš’g’n* ‘striving’, perf. pass. BMP *twhšyt /tuxšīd/*; Inf.: BMP *twhšytn /tuxšīdan/*, caus. MMP *twxšynydn*

•PARTHIAN: *twxš-* ‘to strive, be busy with’ ⇒ Ghilain: 48 | DMMPP: 331b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *’xtwxšyd*, 3pl. *’xtwxšynd*

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ham-*) BSogd. *’nt(’)wxš*, CSogd. *’ntwxš*, MSogd. *’ndwxš* ‘to strive, endeavour’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *’nt’wxst*, 3pl. (subj. ?) BSogd. *’nt’wxš’nt*, SUBJ. 1sg. BSogd. *’nt’wxš’n*, OPT. 1sg. CSogd. *’ntwxšsym* ’zw (Weber 1970: 152), 3sg. MSogd. *’ndwxšyy*, IMPV. 2pl. BSogd. *’ntwxst’*, MSogd. *’ndwxšō’*; Partic.: pres. BSogd. *’nt’wxš’k*, BSogd. *’ntwxš’k*, MSogd. *’x’ndwxšy* (BBB: 39); Inf.: BSogd. *’ntwxš’y*, BSogd. *’ntwxš’k*, pret. BSogd. *’nt’wxš’t*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **ham-*) *’ndyx* (m.), *’ndx* (m.) ‘sorrow, sadness’

•NWIR: NP *tuxšīdan* ‘to strive’, *taxšā* ‘diligent’ || (+ **ham-*) NP *andōh* ‘anxious’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *tyxšyn/tyxst*, D. *tuxsun/tuxst* ‘to be restless, confused, concerned; to be burdened; to be in a difficult situation; to succeed in’

•MISC: (+ **ham-*) Arm. (LW) *andohakan* ‘dreadful’

•SANSKRIT: *tvakṣ* ‘to be working, active, strong’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia I: 683 f.

◇ This Ir. root has no certain IE correspondences. It is interpreted as a desiderative stem **tuek-s-* ‘to want to be strong, fat’ in *LIV*: l.c.: < IE **teuk-* ‘to be(come) fat, strong’, Lith. *tunkù* (*tùkti*), Latv. *tùku* (*tukt*) ‘I become fat’, OCS *tukъ* ‘fat’.

•PIE ? ⇒ *LIV*: 641 | Pok.: 1081

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar* III: 347 f.; Werba 1997: 428

U

***uab/f¹** ‘to call, utter (sing, speak, sim.)’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *uf-* ‘to sing’ ⇒ *Liste*: 49

Pres. *ja-*: IND. 1sg. OAv. *ufiiā°* (Y 43.8), YAv. *ufiemi* (Yt 13.21, Y 17.18, Y 26.1, etc.), SUBJ. 1sg. OAv. *ufiiāni* (Y 28.3), YAv. 3sg. *ufiiāt* (Yt 13.50)

•PARTHIAN: ? *wf-* ‘to spit’. ◇ Differently Ghilain (l.c.), who connects the Pth. form with ***uamH** ‘to vomit’. An analogical development *m* > *f* is quoted from Bartholomae, *ZAiW*: 218. ⇒ Ghilain: 56 | DMMPP: 340b

Pres.: IND. 3pl. ^s*wfynd* {hapax}

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *w’β*, BSogd. *w’β*, CSogd. *w’b*, MSogd. *w’β* ‘to say, speak’ (supplet. BSogd. *wyt-* < partic. perf. pass. **uxta-*, s.v. ***uač**)

Well-attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. BSogd. *w’β’m*, dur. CSogd. *w’bmsq*, CSogd. *w’bmsqn*, 2sg. BSogd. *w’β’y*, dur. CSogd. *w’bysq*, 3sg. SSogd. *w’βt*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **pati-*) *pcw’βy-* ‘to answer’ || (+ **ni-*) *m/nwβ-* ‘to roar (of thunder)’ ⇒ Samadi: 145 f., 133

•NWIR: Bal. *gwāpt/gwāp-* ‘to summon, call together’, NP *gap*, *gab* ‘word, chit-chat’ (orig. dial.), NP *zand-bāf* ‘nightingale’, *būf* ‘owl’ || (+ **ni-*) ? NP *nūf(e)* ‘sound, noise’ (LW ?)

•NEIR: ? Oss. D. *ufsun/ufst* ‘to show attention to someone, take care of someone, entertain someone’, (?) Pash. *wāy-/wayəl* ‘to speak’, Yghn. *wov-/wóvta* ‘to speak, call’ ◇ The alternating **-b/f* of the root is due to assimilation to the perf. pass. participle ending in **-ta*: **ft* regularly becomes EIr. **βd*. The often assumed relationship between OAv. *ufia-* ‘to sing’ and **uab/f* ‘to weave’ (as quoted in for instance *EWA II*: 506; Porzig, *Gliederung*: 186), should be given up, in view of the evidence from the other Ir. languages, which clearly point to two separate roots. Ir. **uab/f¹* is probably expressive or onomatopoeic in origin, of the type *woof*. The root has been connected to OCS *vabiti* ‘to summon’, Goth. *wopjan* ‘to call loudly, call out’, Engl. *to weep* (etc.) by H.W. Bailey (his notes can be found on his copy of Pokorny, *IEW*: 1109). This proves to be phonologically difficult as the Slavo-Germanic forms point to a structure that is not typical for an IE form, having long **ā* followed by **-b-*.

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 94; Abaev, *Slovar* IV: 11; Lehmann 1986: 409a; Shakhbakhsh: s.v. *gwāp-*

***uab/f²** ‘to weave’

- AVESTAN: YAV. *ubdaēna-* ‘made from woven material’ (V 8.23 ff.)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *wp-* /*waf-* ‘to weave’
- PARTHIAN: *wf-* ‘to weave’ ⇒ Ghilain: 56 | DMMPP: 340b
Pres.: IND. 3sg. *wfyd* {hapax}
- SOGDIAN: CSogd. *w’f*, MSogd. *w’f/wft* ‘to weave’. ◇ The form *ptyw’fnd* (M178 IIV.124), given by Henning, *Cosmog.*: 307, is a nonce formation, Sims-Williams (apud *NEVP*: *ibid.*)
Impf.: IND. 3pl. MSogd. *w’fnd* (*Cosmog.*: 307)
- CHORESMIAN: *w’f-* ‘to weave’ ⇒ Samadi: 208
- NWIR: NP *bāftan/bāf-*, Bal. *gwapit*, *gwapt/gwap-*, Kurd. *ūnīn*, Khuns. *bāf-/bāft*, Abyan. *vota/vah-*, Qohr. *vāta/awh-*, Yzd. *vōpt/vōp-* ‘to weave’
- NEIR: Oss. I. *wafyn/wæft*, D. *wafun/uft*, *uvd*, Sh. *wāf-/wīft*, *wāf-/wēft*, Sariq. *wof-/wift*, Yzgh. *waf-/waf* ‘to weave’, Wa. *ыf-*, (*h*)*ыf-*, *ыыf-/oft-* ‘to weave, braid’, Pash. *od-*, *obd-/ow-*, *ob-*, (Waz.) *wavd/web-*, Yi. *wāf-/waf-*, M. *wāf-/wēft-*, Yghn. *wof-/wófta* ‘to weave’ || (+ **pati-*) ? Pash. *pewd-*, *pey-* ‘to pierce, transfix; string, thread’ || (+ **pari-*) Wa. *рыг(w)ыf-/poroft* ‘to dam, braid’, Sariq. *parwāf-/parwift* ‘to plait, net’, *pərwóf* ‘braid; hair (of female)’
- MISC: Par. *yaḥ-/yaḥf*, Orm. *yaḥ-/yaḥfēk* ‘to weave’ = *ḡaf-/ḡafók* || (+ **pati-*) ? Orm. *piyēk* ‘to string beads’
- SANSKRIT: *ūrṇāvābhi-* (m.) ‘spider’ ⇒ EWAia I: 243p; II: 506
◇ It is doubtful that OAV. *ufiia-* ‘to sing’ belongs to **uab/f-* ‘to weave’ (as stated in for instance *EWA II*: 506; Porzig, *Gliederung*: 186), especially when the Ir. evidence suggests two different roots. The alternating **-b/f* is due to assimilation to the perf. past participle ending **-ta*: **ft* regularly becomes Elr. **βd*. See also ***uab/f¹**.
- PIE **uebh-* ‘to weave’ ⇒ LIV: 658 | Pok.: 1114
- IE COGNATES: Hitt. */wep-/* {? hapax}, Gr. *ὀφαίνω* ‘to weave’, Gr. *ὀφή* (f.) ‘tissue, texture’, Toch. A *wāp-*, B *wāp-*, OHG *weban*, Engl. *to weave*, etc. ◇ As to Hitt., cf. Neu 1998: 59, fn. 17. The passage (Bo 96/98 V 9’), *ú-e-pu-uš ú-e-ep-ta* ‘Webstücke webte er/sie’, from which Hitt. */wep-/* is inferred, has not been published yet and as such: "Die hier gegebene Interpretation von hethitisch *wep-* möge vorerst noch unter Vorbehalt stehen."
- REFERENCES: *EVP*: 9; *IIFL* I: 255a, 395b, 405a; *IIFL* II: 261a, 535a; Bailey 1936: 344; Andreev – Peščereva: 352; *EVS*: 89a, 60a; *WIM* I: 66; Abaev, *Slovar*’ IV: 40; Werba 1997: 418 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 284 f., 455; Lecoq 2002: 121, 126; Kiefer 2003: 197; *NEVP*: 12, 67; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *gwap-*; Korn 2005: 99, 398 (passim)

***uač** ‘to say, speak’

- AVESTAN: *vaoc-* (*vāc-*) ‘to say’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘to say to’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to proclaim’
⇒ Liste: 48f.

Fut.: IND. 1sg. OAv. *vaxšiiā* (Y 30.1, Y 46.15, Y 51.8), med. 3sg. YAv. *frauuaxšiiēite* (Vr 15.3); Aor. them. red.: IND. 1sg. them. YAv. *frauuaočāmi* (Vyt 46, Vyt 52), 1pl. ? OAv. (^č)*auuaočāmi* (Y 38.5), INJ. 1sg. YAv. *frāuuaočəm* (Y 19.3), 2sg. YAv. *frāuuaočō* (Y 19.1), 3sg. OAv. *vaocač* (Y 29.6, Y 34.10, Y 45.3), 1pl. OAv. *frauuaočāma* (Y 35.9), YAv. *frauuaočāma* (Y 70.2, Vyt 13, Vyt 20, etc.), ? OAv. *auuaočāma* (Y 38.5), SUBJ. 1sg. OAv. *vaoca*^o (Y 45.3), 3sg. *vaocāč* (Y 31.6, V 8.11, V 15.13), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *vaocōič* (V 4.46), 1pl. OAv. *ā vaocōimā*^o (Y 35.3), IMPV. 2sg. OAv. *vaocā*, 2pl. YAv. *vaocata* (P 16, P 38); Perf.: IND. 2sg. YAv. *vauuaxđā* (F 8), 3sg. YAv. *vauuaca* (Y 19.9, Yt 13.90), med. 3sg. YAv. *vaocē*, 3du. YAv. *vaocātarō* (Y 13.4), 1pl. OAv. *vaoxēmā* (Y 34.5); Partic.: perf. YAv. *vaokuš-* (Yt 13.88), perf. pass. *uxđa-* (Y 32.9, Y 33.14, Y 45.8, etc.); Inf.: aor. OAv. *vaocačhē* (Y 28.11); Pass.: aor. IND. 3sg. OAv. *auuāci* (Y 36.6), INJ. 3sg. OAv. *vāci* (Y 43.13), IMPV. 3sg. OAv. *ūcam* (Y 48.9). ◇ The past participle *uxđa-* can also belong to the root ***Hauj**.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *w'c*, *w'z*, BMP *w'c / wāz/* 'word, speech' || (+ **abi-*) BMP *'yw'c*, *'dw'c / ēwāz/* 'word, utterance' || (+ **ā-*) MMP *'w'c-* 'to call', MMP *'w'g* 'voice, speech', BMP *'p'c / āwāz/* 'sound, voice, language' || (+ **pati-*) MMP *pyw'c-*, BMP *ptw'c-* /*paywāz-* 'to answer' || (+ **ni-*) MMP *nw'cyšn* 'kind utterance; honouring; hospitality ?', MMP *nw'g* 'melody, tune' ⇒ DMMPP: 333b, 64b, 291a, 5b, 246a f.

(+ **ā-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *'w'cynd* || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *pyw'cyd-*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *pyw'c*

•PARTHIAN: *w'c-* 'to say, talk' || (+ **ā-*) *'w'c-* 'to call' || (+ **pati-*) *pdw'c-* 'to answer' || (+ **ni-*) *nw'c-* 'to speak kindly to, treat kindly, honour', *nw'g* 'melody' ⇒ Ghilain: 68 | DMMPP: 333b f., 5, 271a, 246a

Pres.: IND. 1sg. *w'c'm*, 2sg. *w'cyh*, 3sg. *w'cyd*, 2pl. *w'cyd*, 3pl. *w'cynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *w'c'n*, 2sg. *w'c'h*, IMPV. 2pl. *w'cyd*, OPT. *^xw'cyndyh*; Partic.: perf. pass. *w'xt*, II *w'c'd*; Inf.: *w'xtn*, *w'xt* || (+ **ā-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. *^x'w'cynd* || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *^xpdw'cyd*, 2pl. *pdw'cyd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *pdw'c'h*, IMPV. 2sg. *pdw'c*, 2pl. *pdw'cyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *pdw'c'd* || (+ **ni-*) Pres.: IMPV. 2pl. *nw'cyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *nw'cyd*

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *vamjāmayyau* 'dispute' {hapax} || (+ **pati-*) *pyūmj-* 'to deny' || (+ **ui-*) OKh. *byūj-* 'to abuse' ⇒ SGS: 87, 105

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *wxs-*, MSogd. *wxs-* (pass./inch.) 'to be said, mentioned' || (+ **us-fra-ā-*) CSogd. *sfr'cy* (m.) 'speech, word' (cf. Schwartz 1967: 126) || (+ **pari-*) BSogd. *prw''c-* 'to slander'

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *wxsty*, MSogd. *^xwxsty* (Kaw.: 74); Pret.: tr. IND. 3sg. SSogd. *wytw δ'rt*, 3pl. SSogd. *wytw δ'r'nt*; Partic.: perf. pass. SSogd. *wyt*, MSogd. *wyt'k*; Inf.: pret. MSogd. *wytyy* || (+ **pari-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *prw''ct*

•CHORESMIAN: *ws-* 'to say, speak'. ◇ The seemingly endless impf. *wš* is perhaps a generalized allegroform (Skjærvø *apud* Samadi, l.c.). ⇒ Samadi: 219

•BACTRIAN: (+ **pati-*) *πιδοοα-* (orig. caus.) 'to declare, make a declaration or contract' ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 218b

•NWIR: *Widely attested*: Bal. *gwašt/gwaš-*, Zaz. *vātiš/vān-*, Abyan. *vātan*, Anar. *-iwat/ewoj-*, Awrom. *wātáy/wāč-*, Fariz. *-vāt/-vāj-*, Yar. *-vāt/-vāj-*, Gz. *vā-/vāt*, Gur. (Kand.) *vāt-/-(v)āč-*, Ham. *vātān/va-*, Isfah. *vātān/va-*, Jow. *bam-vot/ a-vodz-*

(also supplet. *aŋgər-* < **ham-Hgar-*), Meim. *bem-va/a-vɔdʒ-*, Khuns. *vāž-/vāt*, Mah. *vātán/vāj-*, Nn. *vāte/vāj-*, Natan. *-vāt-/vāj-*, Qohr. *vāta/vāj-*, Sang. *-vāt-/vān-*, Siv. *vāš-/vāt*, Soi *vāt-/a-voʃ-*, Sorkh. *-vāt-* (subj.) *-važ-* (ind. supplet. (de)nomin. *ván-* ?), Lasg. *-vāt-* (ind. supplet. (de)nomin. *vān-*) ‘to speak’, Zaz. *vāžiyāyiš/vāžīn-* (caus. -iter. ?) ‘to scold at’, Bal. *gwānʃat/gwānʃan-* (denom.) ‘to cause to sound’, NP *bāng*, Kurd. *bāng* (m.), Zaz. *veng* (m.) ‘voice’, Siv. *vāŋg* ‘scream’, Bal. *gwānk* ‘voice’ (LW ?) || (+ **anu-* ?) NP (Tadj.) *nawoxtan* ‘to curse’ || (+ **ā-*) NP *āvāzīdan* ‘to cry out, make a noise, vociferate’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *āxāftin*, *āxāvīn/āxēv-*, *āxāftin*, *āxāftin/āxiv-*, (Sor.) *āxāftin*, *āxāwtin/āxēw-* ‘to announce, speak, tell, converse’ (with meta-thesis: **u* ... *x* > *x* ... *f/v/w*), NP *āvāzah* ‘voice, sound, loud talk’ || (+ **ni-*) NP *navāxtan/navāz-* ‘to caress; treat with kindness’; to play (an instrument)’

•NEIR: Sh. *wāy-/wāyđ*, Sariq. *woy-/woyđ*, Yzgh. *way-/wūyđ*, Wa. *way-/wayđ-* ‘to cry, roar, scream’ (early LW), Wa. *woy-/woyđ-*, Ishk. *bay-*, *voɣ-*, M. *bey-* ‘to roar’ (LW), Oss. I. *wac*, D. *wacə* ‘message, news; deity, divine, holy’ || (+ **anu-* ?) Yzgh. *nəwaz-/nəwəxt* ‘to swear, curse’ (< NP Tadj.) || (+ **ā-*) Sariq. *awuʃ* ‘voice, sound’ (< early Pers. ?), ? Wa. *awōɣ* ‘voice, sound’ (< Sariq. ?)

•MISC: Orm. *yuš-/yōk*, *ywac-/ywēk* ‘to say, speak’ = *-gōš-/gók*, Par. *yax* ‘voice, sound’

•SANSKRIT: *vac* ‘to speak, tell, say, call’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 489

•PIE **uek^w*- ‘to speak, to say’ ⇒ LIV: 673 f. | Pok.: 1135 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *εἶπεῖν* (aor.) ‘to speak, to say’, Irish *foccul* ‘word’, MHG *gewahenen* ‘to mention, tell’, ON *vátrr* ‘witness’, etc.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 84a, 146a f., 249a f.; Ivanow 1926: 420; *IIFL* I: 258a, 396a; *KPF* II: 221 f.; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 172 f., 263; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 63, 118; Abrahamian 1936: 123, 133; Lambton 1938: 42b, 77b, 78b; MacKenzie 1966: 112; Gershevitch 1971: 279 ff.; *EVS*: 16b, 89; Lecoq 1974: 60; *WIM* I: 73; Lecoq 1979: 348; *WIM* II/1; *WIM* III: 118, 348; Abaev, *Slovar* IV: 26 ff.; Werba 1997: 397; Paul 1998: 316b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 386, 390; Cabolov 2001: 99 f., 149; Cheung 2002: 235 f.; Lecoq 2002: 176, 179 (passim); Kiefer 2003: 198; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *gwaš-*, *gwānʃan-*; Kom 2005: 137, 317, 398

*uadH ‘to slay’

•AVESTAN: ? OAv. *vād-* ‘to break through, hunt’, YAv. *vada-* (m.) ‘wedge’ (V 14.7), *vadar-* (n.) ‘murder weapon’ (Y 32.10, Y 9.30). ◇ The (hapax) verbal form seems to be a denomin. (or caus. ?) form, which corresponds to Skt. *vadhá-*, Gr. *ὠθέω*.

⇒ Liste: 53

Pres. *aja-*: OPT. 3sg. OAv. *vādāiīōit* (29.2)

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *bādāra-* ‘a weapon’ (Z 4.60, Z 24.280, Z 24.417)

•NWIR: NP *guvah*, *gavah*, Gz. *guve* ‘wedge’

•NEIR: Sariq. *weð*, Wa. *wəð* ‘handle (of axe, etc.)’

•SANSKRIT: *vadh⁽ⁱ⁾* ‘to slay, to kill’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 496

- PIE **ued^hH₁-* ‘to strike’ ⇒ LIV: 660 | Pok.: 1115 f.
- IE COGNATES: Hitt. /*uizzai/* ‘hits, strikes, pushes’, Gr. ὠθέω ‘I push’, OIrish *fo**db*** ‘booty consisting of weapons’, Lith. *vedegà* ‘a kind of carpenter’s axe’
- REFERENCES: *EVS*: 88a; *WIM* II/2: 671; *DKS*: 276b; Werba 1997: 469 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 386

*uah¹ ‘to be dressed’

- AVESTAN: *vaṅh-* (*vas-*) ‘to be dressed’ ⇒ Liste: 53
Pres. {1} them.: IND. 3pl. YAv. (*ʕ*)*vaṅhənti* (N 91 f.), INJ. med. 3sg. YAv. *vaṅhata* (Yt 5.129), IMPV. 3sg. YAv. *vaṅhatu* (V 3.19); Pres. {2} athem.: IND. med. 3sg. *vastē* (Y 30.5, Yt 13.3, V 4.49); Partic.: pres. {2} YAv. *vaṅhāna-*
- SOGDIAN: (+ **uī-* ?) BSogd. *w’y-* ‘to take off (clothes)’
Impf.: IND. 3pl. BSogd. *w’y’nt*
- CHORESMIAN: (+ **ni-*) *m/nwšy-* (denomin.) ‘to cloak, fit in’. ◇ The reconstruction cited by MacKenzie V: 68, **ni-u(a)rθja-* (pass. of *m/nwrcy-*, s.v. **ni-wart-*), is problematic, with regard to the alleged development **-rθja-* > *-šy-* as remarked by Samadi. Perhaps, the Chor. form rather contains **uah¹* (Lubotsky). ⇒ Samadi: 134
- NWIR: NP *bahānah* ‘excuse, pretence, pretext, *Vorwand*’
- NEIR: Sh. *-wūn* (m.), Rosh. *-wēn* ‘wearing ...’, Ishk. *wanjī* ‘cloak, coat’ || (+ **fra-*)
Oss. D. *ræwagæ*, D. *ræwonæ* ‘excuse, pretence, pretext’ (cf. Gershevitch 1952a: 483f.)
- SANSKRIT: *vas* ‘to wear, be dressed in’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 529
- PIE **ues-* ‘to wear, be/get dressed’ ⇒ LIV: 692 f. | Pok.: 1172 f.
- IE COGNATES: Hitt. *ú-e-eš-ta* ‘wears’, *ua-aš-še-iz-zi* ‘clothes, puts on’, Gr. ἔννυμι ‘I wear’, εἶμι ‘I am putting on’, Lat. *vestis* ‘cloth, garment’, Toch. *wäs-* ‘to be dressed in, wear; get dressed (in), put on’, Goth. *wasjan*, OE *werian*, Engl. *to wear*
- REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 389, 391 f.; *EVS*: 90a; Adams 1999: 597; Cheung 2002: 219 f.

*uah² ‘to venerate, implore, pray’

- AVESTAN: *vahma-* ‘pray, veneration; laudation’ (Y 34.2, Y 45.6, Y 45.8, etc.)
- OLD PERSIAN: (+ **pati-ā-*) *patiyāvah-* ‘to pray to’. ◇ Kent’s connection with Av. *auuah-* ‘aid’, Skt. *ávas-* ‘id.’ is to be discarded, on which see Szemerényi 1966: l.c. The interpretation of Schmitt 1991: 52 as a form of *pati* + *ā* + *van* ‘to pray’, which goes back to Wackernagel 1956: 447 ff., is difficult, since a root **uan* ‘to pray (praise, sim.)’ is not attested in Ir., only ***(H)uandH**. ⇒ Kent: 173a
Pres. (a)them.: impf. IND. 1sg. med. *patiyāvahyai* <p-t-i-y-a-v-h-i-y> (DB 1.55)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *whm* ‘supplication, prayer’ || (+ **pati-*) IMP *ptwhy-* ‘to pray’, MMP *pywh-* ‘to pray, implore’. ◇ *whm* is also part of the expression *ysn* ‘wd *whm*, corresponding to YAv. *yasnəmca vahməmca* ‘Anbetung und Preis’ (Y 35.7).
⇒ DMMPP: 340b f., 291a

(+ *pati-) Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP *pywh'm*, 3sg. MMP *pywhyd*, 1pl. MMP *pywhym*, 3pl. MMP *pywhyyd*, IMPV. 2pl. MMP *pywhyd*, **pywhyd*; Partic.: pres. MMP *pywh'n*, perf. pass. IMP *ptw̄hyt*, MMP *pywhyd*

•PARTHIAN: (+ *pati-) *pdwh-* ‘to implore, entreat, pray to’ ⇨ Ghilain: 58 | DMMP: 271b

(+ *pati-) Pres.: IND. 1sg. *pdwh'm*, *pdwh'm*, 3sg. *pdwhyd*, 1pl. *pdwh'm*, 3pl. *pdwhynd*, SUBJ. 1pl. *pdwh'm*, IMPV. 2pl. *pdwhyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *pdwh'd*

•BACTRIAN: (+ *pati-) *πιδοοαυ-* ‘to request, entreat’ ⇨ S-W, *Bact.*: 218b

◇ On the etymology see Szemerényi 1966: 208 f.

•PIE *(H₁)*ues*(H₁)- ‘to venerate’? ⇨ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•IE COGNATES: HLuw. *was(a)-* ‘to elevate; to honour, pay respect’, HLuw. *wasami-* ‘honoured, elevated’, HLuw. *wasara-* ‘favour, honour’, Luw. (NAsg.) *uassar* <*ua-aš-ša-ar*> ‘favor’

*uaHr- ‘to rain’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *vār-* ‘to rain’ || (+ **ui-*) ‘to rain from all sides’ ⇨ Liste: 53

Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *vārait* (F 407), 3pl. YAv. *vī.vāranti* (V 21.3), med. 3pl. YAv. med. 3pl. *vārantaē* (Yt 5.120); Partic.: pres. YAv. *vārant-* (Yt 16.9); Caus.: IND. 1sg. YAv. *vīuuāraiiemi* (V 5.20)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *w'r-*, BMP *w'l-* /*wār-* ‘to rain’, MMP *w'r'n*, BMP *w'l'n* /*wārān-* ‘rain’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *w'ryd*, BMP *w'lyt/wārēd-*; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *w'lyt/wārēd-*

•PARTHIAN: *w'r-* ‘to rain, drip’, *w'r'n* (coll. pl.) ‘rain (drops)’ ⇨ Ghilain: 60 | DMMP: 336a

Pres.: IND. OPT. 3pl. *w'ryndy*

•KHOTANESE: *bār-*, OKh. *ber-* (denomin. ?) ‘to rain’, OKh. *berāñ-* (iter.) ‘to rain’ || (+ **aua-*) OKh. **vabār-* (*vabed-*, *vabād-*) ‘to rain down’, OKh. *bāra-* ‘rain’. ◇ The prev. *va-* of OKh. *vabed-*, *vabād-* is secondary, as the Khot. development *b* < Ir. **u* is found in initial position only. ⇨ SGS: 95, 103 f., 118

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *w'r-*, MSogd. *w'r-* ‘to rain’, BSogd., CSogd., MSogd. *w'r* ‘rain’ || (+ **para-*) BSogd. *prw'r* ‘discharge, outflow’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *w'rt*, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *w'rt*, MSogd. *w'rytw* 1sg. ‘may I rain’

•CHORESMIAN: *w'ry-* ‘to rain’ || (+ **para-* or **pari-*) *prw'r-* ‘to drip’, ? *m/cyw'ry-* (*cγ-<?*) ‘to spray’, *w'r* ‘rain’ ⇨ Samadi: 209, 155, 50

•NWIR: NP *bāridan/bār-*, Bal. *gwārit*, *gwart/gwār-* ‘to rain’, Kurd. *bārīn/bār-* ‘to rain, snow, etc.’, Zaz. *vārāyiš/vārēn-* ‘to rain’, Anar. *woreye* ‘it is raining’, Awrom. *wārāy/wāro*, Gz. *vār-/vārā*, Khuns. *vār-/vārā*, Tal. *voye* ‘to rain’, also NP *bārān*, Kurd. *bārān* (f.), Siv. *vōrō(n)*, *vārān*, Lor. *bāron*, Tal. *voš* ‘rain’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *waryn/ward*, D. *warun/ward* ‘to rain, snow, etc.’, I. *waryn*, D. *warun* ‘rain’, Pash. *wor-eğ-/w)or-ed-* ‘to rain’, Yzgh. *war-* ‘to let water flow’, (caus.) Wa. *wyr(ы)v-/wyrovd-*, *wər(ы)v-/wərovd-* ‘to sprinkle’, Wa. *wyr* ‘rain’

- MISC: Par. *yār-*, Orm. *yōr-* ‘to rain’ = *gór-/górók*, Par. *yār* ‘rain’
- SANSKRIT: *vār-* ‘water’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 544
- PIE **ueH₁r-* ‘water’ ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 80 f.
- IE COGNATES: Luw. *ua-a-ar* ‘water’, Lat. *ūrīnārī*, ON *vari* (m.) ‘liquid, water’, ON *ūr* ‘drizzle’
- REFERENCES: Ivanow 1926: 419; *EVP*: 88; *IIFL* I: 256b, 396a; *IIFL* II: 549a; MacKenzie 1966: 112; *EVS*: 90b; *WIMI*: 73; *DKS*: 278a; *WIM* II/1: 85; *WIM* III: 349; Abaev, *Slovar*’ IV: 52; Paul 1998: 316b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 402 f.; Cabolov 2001: 152 f.; *NEVP*: 89; Kiefer 2003: 197; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *gwār-/gwar-*

*uai ? ‘to cut off, sacrifice?’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *vī-* ‘to sacrifice, slaughter ritually’. ◇ In the most evident passage (V 18.70) the meaning ‘to cut (off)’ is admissible. ⇒ Liste: 54
Pres. *nu-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. **auuavīnaoiti* (cit. in BMP transl. of N 57, ?), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *frāuuinuiiāt* (V 18.70)
- NWIR: Anar. *vonte/von-*, Gz. *ūn-/ūnt*, Gil. (Rsht.) *vavēn/vavin-* (also supplet. pret. *vavēj- < *uāj*), Kafr. *vōndmūn/vūnōn-*, Nn. *vunte/von-*, Tr. *vunda/vōn-* ‘to cut (off)’
- MISC: Arm. (LW) *vēt* ‘incision’
◇ The exact meaning of the root **uai* is uncertain, especially the interpretation of the Av. forms is beset with problems. If we do admit the meaning ‘to cut off’, this will allow us to connect the Avestan forms to several NWIr. verbs and the Arm. borrowing *vēt*. Bailey, l.c. also deduces from Sogd. *wyr* a denominative root **uair* ‘to saw’, which can be interpreted differently (**har*²). The Oss. forms I. *xyrx*, D. *xirx* ‘saw’, which Bailey cites in support of this postulated root, is probably onomatopoeitic, as stated by Abaev, *Slovar*’ IV: 267.
- PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –
- REFERENCES: Zhukovskij II: 130a; *KPF* I: 134b f.; Ivanow 1926: 419; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 60; Bailey 1975: 33; *WIM* II/1: 84; Lecoq 2002: 128, 132, 134

*uaič ‘to sift, select, elect, sort out, separate’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *vaēc-* ‘to select, sort out, sift’ ⇒ Liste: 54
Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. **vaēcaieiti* (N 100)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *wyc-* /*wēz-*/ ‘to sift, select, elect, choose (etc.); separate’ (especially in Dk.)
Pres.: IND. 3pl. BMP *wycynd* /*wēzēnd*/; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *wyht* /*wēxt*/; Pass.: pres. IND. 1pl. BMP *wycyhym* /*wēzīhēm*/
- PARTHIAN: *wyx-* ‘to elect’ ⇒ Ghilain: 94 | DMMPP: 360
Partic.: perf. pass. *wyxt*, **hwyxtg*, (pl.) *wyxtg’n* ‘chosen’
- SOGDIAN: (+ **uz-*) CSogd. *žwyž* ‘to sift, winnow’
Pres.: OPT. 3sg. CSogd. *žw.žy*
- CHORESMIAN: (+ **pari-*) *P’rwYCY-* ‘to sift (flour)’ ⇒ Samadi: 157

•NWIR: NP *bēxtan/bēz-*, Bal. *giht, gitk, gētk/gēč-*, Kurd. (Sor.) *bēžān/bēž(ē)-*, Zaz. *vitiš*, Awrom. *wetáy/weč-*, Abyan. *veta/vej-*, Gz. *vēž-/vēt*, Khuns. *vīz-/vīzā* ‘to sift’, Gur. (Kand.) *víčā* ‘sift !’, Bal. *gēčīn*, Kurd. *bēžing* (f.) ‘sieve’, Khor. *bojā, vījīn* ‘weeding’ || (+ **pari-*) NP *parwēz* ‘sieve’, Zaz. *pirožin* (f.) ‘(big) sieve’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *wizyn/wygd*, D. *wezun/wiġd* ‘to reap, pick (grain, berries)’, Pash. *winj-* ‘to wash, cleanse’ || (+ **pari-*) Sh. *parwēj-/parwēzd*, Rosh. *parwij-/parwīzd*, Sariq. *parwey-/parwid*, Yzgh. *pərwiĵ-/pərwoyđ* ‘to sow, to sift’, Wa. *pərwic-/pərwəyđ* (*pərwicŭ*) ‘to sift’, M. *pərwiž-/pərwōyđ* (Zarubin) ‘to sift’

•MISC: (+ **pari-*) Par. *parič-* ‘to shake a sieve’, Par. *paričōn, paričūn* ‘sieve’

•SANSKRIT: *vec* ‘to sever, separate, winnow, sift’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 576

◇ This Iir. root has no certain IE cognates. The comparison to the ‘consecration’ forms, Hitt. *ḫu-e-ek-mi* ‘I slaughter’, Goth. *weihan*, OHG *wīhen* ‘to dedicate’, Lat. *victima* ‘sacrificial animal’ is semantically not compelling. The Iir. root has no particular religious significance and it is highly unlikely that only Iir. would have retained the presumably older (more profane) meaning of ‘to separate (from the rest), single out, etc.’.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: 670 | Pok.: 1128

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 87; *IIFL* I: 280b f.; *KPF* II: 187; *IIFL* II: 240a; MacKenzie 1966: 112; *EVS*: 60a; *WIM* I: 74; *WIM* II/1: 85; Monchi-Zadeh 1990: 24; Abaev, *Slovar*’ IV: 108; Werba 1997: 233; Paul 1998: 317b, 309a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 278; Cabolov 2001: 170; Lecoq 2002: 126; *NEVP*: 88 f.; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *gēč-*

*uaidl¹ ‘to know’

•AVESTAN: *vid-* (*viδ-*, *vaēd-*, *vaēδ-*) ‘to know’ || (+ **abi-*) ‘to proffer’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘to announce’ || (+ **uz-*) ‘threaten; [MP transl.] to promise’ || (+ **patí-*) ‘to make known’ || (+ **ni-*) ‘to invite a deity to the sacrifice, dedicate’ || (+ **ui-*) ‘to announce’. ◇ The formation with **uz-* has acquired a more specific meaning ‘to threaten’, which is attested in several Ir. languages, on which see Henning 1958: 112; Benveniste 1959: 136; Gershevitch 1977: 63. || Also the formation with **ni-* shows a specialised meaning, which is mirrored in other languages. ⇒ Liste: 54

Aor. s-: INJ./IMPV. med. 2pl. OAv. *frauuōizdūm* (Y 33.8); Perf.: IND. 1sg. OAv. *vaēdā* (Y 28.10, Y 34.7, Y 45.4, etc.), YAv. *vaēθa* ° (Yt 1.26), 2sg. OAv. *vōistā* (Y 28.10, Y 32.6, Y 46.10), 3sg. OAv. *vaēdā* (Y 31.2, Y 35.6), YAv. *vaēda*, ? YAv. *vaēθā*, 3pl. YAv. *vīdarə* (N 39), SUBJ. 3pl. YAv. *vaēθənti* (V 4.50 ff.), 3sg. YAv. *vaēθənt* (N 11), OPT. 3sg. OAv. *vīdiiāt* (Y 48.9); Partic.: pres. caus. YAv. *aiβi.vaēdaiiant-* (Vr 9.3), med. YAv. *aiβi.vaēdaiiamna-* (Vr 9.3), perf. OAv. *vīduuāh-*, YAv. *viđuuāh-*, perf. pass. YAv. *vīsta-* (Y 29.6); Inf.: aor. OAv. *vōizdiiāi* (Y 43.13), perf. OAv. *vīdiiiē* (29.3, Y 31.5, Y 44.3), OAv. *vīdiiiē* (Y 43.9), OAv. *vīduuanōi* (Y 31.3); Caus.: pres. IND. 1sg. YAv. *vaēdaiiemi* (Y 1.21 f., V 17.9), YAv. *niuuāēdaiiemi* (Y 1.1 ff., Vr 1.1 ff.), YAv. *niuuāēdāiemi* (Vr 1.7), 3sg. YAv. *aiβi.vaēdaiieiti* (N 81), 1pl. OAv. *āuuāēdaiiamahī* (Y 36.6, Y 41.1), YAv. *vaēdaiiamahī*, med. 1pl. YAv. *āuuāēdaiiamaide* (Y 58.2 f.), 3pl. YAv. *paiti.vaēdaiieinti* (V 17.10), INJ. 1sg. YAv. *paiti.vaēdāēm* (V 2.17, V 2.9), 3sg. YAv.

uzuuāēdāiiaṭ (V 19.5), YAv. niuuāēdāiiaṭ (Yt 5.85), SUBJ. 1pl. YAv. vaēdāiīama (F 410), med. 3pl. YAv. aiβi vaēdāiīānte (Yt 10.120)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: ? MMP *whyh* ‘wisdom’ || (+ *ni-) BMP *nwyd-* /*niwēy-*/ ‘to announce, consecrate’ ⇒ DMMPP: 341b

Pass.: perfp. IND. 3sg. BMP *nwydyt* (YK‘YMWN)t /*niwēyīd ēštād*/ (Dk. 7)

•PARTHIAN: (+ *uz-) ‘*nwyd-* *to threaten’ || (+ *ni-) *nwydg* ‘invitation’ ⇒ Ghilain: 95 | DMMPP: 103a, 248b

Partic.: perf. pass. II ‘*nwyd*’d

•SOGDIAN: (+ *uz-) CSogd. *zwyd* ‘to threaten’, CSogd. *zwydm*’ (f.) ‘threat’ || (+ *pati-) SSogd. *ptwyd* ‘to know’, MSogd. *ptwyd* ‘to offer, show’ || (+ *ni-) BSogd. *nw’yδ-*, MSogd. *nwyd-* ‘to invite, request, inform’, BSogd. *nwyδmh*, CSogd. *nwydm*’ (f.) ‘invitation’

(+ *pati-) Pres.: IND. 1sg. SSogd. *ptwyd’m*; Impf.: IND. 1sg. MSogd. *ptywydōw* || (+ *ni-) Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *nw’yδ’t*, POT.-SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *nw’yst’ wn’t*, Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *nyw’yδ*; Inf.: BSogd. *nw’yδ’y*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *uz-) *m/zwyzy-* (caus.) ‘to threaten, fill with fear’ ⇒ Samadi: 266

•NWIR: (+ *ui-) Kurd. (Kurm.) *bihīstin/bihīs-*, *bihīz-*, *bihē-*, (Sor.) *bīstīn/bīya-* ‘to hear, listen, get to know’

•NEIR: (+ *uz-) Oss. I. *ævzidyn/ævzyst*, D. *ævzedun/ævzist* ‘to threaten; to shake with one’s arm or weapon’

•MISC: (+ *ni-) Arm. (LW) *nuēr* ‘oblation, sacrifice’ (*uaid(H) ‘to be devoted to’ ?)

•SANSKRIT: *ved* ‘to (get to) know’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 579

◇ The root is originally identical with *uaid².

•PIE (perf. stem) *uoid- ‘to know’ ⇒ LIV: 686 ff. | Pok.: 1125 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. οἶδα ‘I know’, Arm. *gitel*, OIrish *ro-fetar*, MWelsh *gwyr*, OCS *vědě*, Goth. *wait*, *witum*, ON *vita*, OE *witan* ‘to know’, Engl. *wit*, etc.

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 212; Werba 1997: 377 f.; Cabolov 2001: 174

*uaid² ‘to find’

•AVESTAN: *vaēd-* (*vaēd-*, *vīd-*, *vīd-*) ‘to find’ || (+ *fra-) ‘to receive, be presented ?’, caus. ‘to present’. ◇ On the formation with *fra- cf. Skt. RV 8.24.6b *prá ... vevidāma* ‘let us receive’, see Insler, *Gāthās*: 247. ⇒ Liste: 54f.

Pres. {1} *n-*: IND. 3sg. OAv. *vīmastī* (Y 31.15, V 7.78 f.), YAv. *vinasti* (N 109), med. 3sg. YAv. *viste* (F 377, Aog 82), 3pl. YAv. *viṇdānti* (V 2.17, V 2.9), INJ. 3pl. YAv. *viṇdān* (V 2.16, V 2.8), OPT. med. 3sg. YAv. *viṇdīta* (Yt 17.54); Pres. {2} them. *n-*: INJ. 3sg. YAv. *viṇdaṭ* (F 382), SUBJ. med. 2sg. YAv. *viṇdāi* (V 19.6), 1pl. YAv. *viṇdāma* (Yt 15.40, V 19.46), med. 3pl. ? YAv. *viṇdānte* (? V 18.36); Pres. {3} them.: IMPV. med. 2pl. OAv. *vaēdō.dūm* (Y 53.5); Aor. them.: IND. 3pl. ? YAv. *vīdānti* (Yt 6.3, Ny 1.13), INJ. 2sg. OAv. *vīdō* (Y 51.18), 3sg. OAv. *vīdaṭ* (Y 51.5), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *vīdāiti* (P 14), IMPV. 2sg. OAv. *vīdā* (Y 49.1); Perf.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *vīuaēda* (Yt 13.99); Partic.: pres. {1} YAv. *viṇdāna-* (N 16), pres. {2} med. YAv. *viṇdāmma-* (V 19.4), pres. {3} med. OAv. *vaēdāmma-*, YAv. *frauuāēdāmma-* (Yt

5.126), perf. pass. YAv. *vista-*; Intens.: pres. IND. med. 1sg. OAv. *frauuōiuūidē* (Y 44.11), SUBJ. (med. ?) 3sg. OAv. *vōiuūidaitē*/ī (Y 30.8)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *w(y)nd-*, BMP *wnd-* /*wind-*/ ‘to find, obtain, gain’ || (+ **ni-*) ? MMP *nwn-*, BMP *nwn(yh)-* /*niwinn(īh)-*/ ‘to begin’ ⇒ DMMPP: 355, 248a
Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *wyndynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. MMP *wynd’n* ‘I should find’, [transl. Sogd.] *βyr’n*, 3sg. MMP *^xwynd’d*, 2pl. MMP *wynd’d*, 3pl. MMP *wynd’nd*, OPT. 3sg. MMP *wyndyh*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *wnd’d*, *^xwynd’d*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. MMP *^xwyndyh’d* || (+ **ni-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *nwnyḏ*, *nwnyḏd*, BMP *nwnynt/niwinnēd*/, BMP *nwnyhyt/niwinnīhēd*/; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *nwst*

•PARTHIAN: *w(y)nd-* ‘to find’ ⇒ Ghilain: 83 | DMMPP: 355

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. *wynd’m*, 3sg. *wyndyd*, 1pl. *wynd’m*, etc.

•SOGDIAN: (+ **pati-*) SSogd. *ptwyδ*, CSogd. *ptwyd* ‘to render, offer, deliver up’, MSogd. *ptwyδ* ‘to offer’ || (+ **pari-*) SSogd. *prwyδ*, BSogd. *prwyδ-*, CSogd. *prwyd-* ‘to seek, look for’

(+ **pati-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 1sg. SSogd. *ptwyδ’n*; Impf.: IND. 1sg. SSogd. *ptywyδw*, SSogd. *’ptywyδw*, MSogd. *ptywyδw*; ’z-Impf.: IND. 3pl. CSogd. *^xptwyd’znt*, PROSP. 3sg. CSogd. *ptwyd’zq*; Fut.: IND. 1sg. CSogd. *ptwydmq*’, CSogd. *ptwydnq*’, SUBJ. 1sg. SSogd. *ptwyδ’nk’m*; Partic.: perf. pass. (f.) CSogd. *ptwysc*’; Inf.: pres. CSogd. <cn> *ptwyd* || (+ **pari-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *prw’yδt*, BSogd. *prwyδtw*, 3pl. BSogd. *prw’yδ’nt*, CSogd. *prwydnt*, SUBJ. 3sg. SSogd. *prwyδ’t*, OPT. 1pl. CSogd. *prwydm*; Impf.: IND. 1sg. CSogd. *prwyδw*, 3pl. CSogd. *prwydnt*; Inf.: pret. CSogd. *prwyst*

•NEIR: (+ **pari-*) Yghn. *parwēd-*, *parwīd-/parwēdta* ‘to ask, request; to demand, urge’

•MISC: Par. *yun-/yunt* ‘to find’

•SANSKRIT: *ved* ‘to find, discover’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 579

◇ The root is originally identical to *aid¹.

•PIE (pres. stem) **uind-* ‘to find’ ⇒ LIV: 686 ff. | Pok.: 1125 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Arm. *gtanem* ‘to find’, OIrish *ro-finnadar* ‘finds out, discovers’

•REFERENCES: Christensen, *Contributions* I: 155; *IIFL* I: 256a; Lambton 1938: 43b; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 212; Andreev – Peščereva: 303b; *WIMI*: 74; *WIM* II/1: 86; Werba 1997: 233 f.

*aid³ ‘to throw, shoot (down)’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *^xni-uuiθ-* ‘to shoot (down, in)’ ⇒ Liste: 55

Pres. *ja-*: SUBJ. 3pl. YAv. *^xni-uuiθiiān* (Yt 10.113)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *wh-*, BMP *ws-* /*wih-*/ ‘to shoot, throw’ ⇒ DMMPP: 340b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *whynd*, *whyynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *wyst*

•KHOTANESE: *bid-* (*bī-*, *bi(’)s-*) ‘to pierce’ || (+ **ham-*) OKh. *hambit-* ‘to pierce’. ◇ Probably not from ***baid**, as assumed in *SGS*: l.c. See also *DKS*: l.c. ⇒ *SGS*: 96, 142

•NWIR: ? Lor. (Feili) *bistin* ‘to throw’, *Zaz.* *wist* ‘he threw’. ◇ These forms are cited in *IIFL* II: 261a. Perhaps, they are rather from ***uanH** ‘to throw (out), spread’ ?

•NEIR: Pash. *wišt/wəl-* ‘to throw, shoot, strike, hurl’, Yi. *wul-/wust-* ‘to throw’, Sh. *wēδ-*, Rosh. *wuδ-*, Bart. *wīδ-*, Sariq. *weyδ-/weδd*, Yzgh. *wiδ-d* ‘to throw (down);

sow, aim at, shoot, etc.’, Ishk. *wed-* ‘to put’, Yghn. *wid-*, *wəd-*, *wət-*, *vid-*, *ved-*, *vit-/wista* ‘to throw, release’ || (+ **pati-*) ? Sh. *pidwiδ-/pidwiδd*, Sariaq. *padawēz-/padawūxt* ‘to tuck up one’s sleeves’ || (+ **pari-*) Sh. *parwiδ-/parwiδd* ‘to hammer in, block up, suppress, choke, drown’

•MISC: Par. *yuh-/yušt* ‘to throw, place’

•SANSKRIT: *vyadh* ‘to damage, wound, pierce, hit, shoot down’ ⇒ EWAia II: 591

•PIE **ujed^h-/*uid^h-* ‘to shoot, take aim, hit, wound’. ◇ A connection with the IE *widow* forms (Skt. *vidhāvā-*, YAv. *vidauua*, Gr. *ἡίθεος*, *ἄίθεος*, Lat. *vidua*, etc.) was postulated by Tichy 1993: 15, whence **H₂ujed^h-* ? But see also Beekes 1992: 171 ff. ⇒ LIV: 294 f. | Pok.: 1127 f.

•IE COGNATES: OHG *wīzzan*, OE *wītan*, OSax. *wītan* ‘to blame, reproach’, (+ **-so-*) ? OHG *wīsan* ‘to avoid’, MHG *entwisen* ‘abandoned, void’, NHG *entwischt* ‘escaped, fled’. ◇ OHG *wīzzan*, etc. are probably *not* from **ueid-* ‘[pres.] to find; [perf.] to know’, Ir. **uaid¹*, **uaid²*, as often assumed.

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 93; *IIFL* I: 255a f.; *IIFL* II: 261a, 418b; Andreev – Peščereva: 352a f.; *EVS*: 88a, 60a, 53b; *DKS*: 283b; Werba 1997: 399 f.; *NEVP*: 87

***uaiH** ‘to hunt, chase; to run’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *vaii-* (*vaē-*, *vi-*) ‘to hunt, chase’ || (+ **apa-*) ‘to chase away’ ⇒ Liste: 54

Pres. {1} them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. **vaē(i)ti* (F 691), 3pl. YAv. *viieinti* (Y 57.29); Pres. {2} them.: IND. 1sg. ? YAv. *vaiiemi* (Yt 15.43), 3sg. YAv. *apa ... viieiti* (Yt 8.23), 3pl. ? YAv. *vaiieiti* (V 15.5); Partic.: pres. {1} YAv. *viiānt-* (Yt 13.35), med. YAv. *viiāna-* (Yt 13.35). ◇ On YAv. *apa ... viieiti* cf. Panaino, *Tišt.*: 114; Kellens 1984: 89.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (?) MMP *w’y-*, BMP *w’d-* /*wāy-*/ ‘to fly, soar’, BMP *w’dyn-* /*wāyēn-*/ (sec. caus.) ‘to cause to fly, guide’ (rather < ***H₂uad** ?), MMP *w’ywg* ‘hunter’ ⇒ DMMPP: 337a

Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. ? MMP **w’y’d*, 3pl. MMP *w’y’nd*; Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. BMP *w’dynynd* /*wāyēnēnd*/, pass. IND. 3sg. BMP *w’dynynt* /*wāyēnēnd*/

•PARTHIAN: *w’ywg* ‘hunter’ ⇒ DMMPP: 337a

•SOGDIAN: MSogd. *w’ywq* ‘hunter’ (*GMS*: §978)

•NEIR: Oss. I. *wajyn/wad*, D. *wajun/wad* ‘to hurry, walk, jump’, I. *wæjyg*, D. *wæjug* a mythic giant

•SANSKRIT: *vay¹* ‘to pursue, to seek, to strive after’ ⇒ EWAia II: 509

•PIE **ueiH₁-* ‘to strive, pursue’. ◇ Diff. Puhvel III: 423, on account of Hitt. /*huuai-*/ ‘to run, hasten’: **H₂uei(H)-* ? His reconstruction would not account for the fact that the postulated initial laryngeal has not left any traces in all derivatives of and compounds with *vay¹*, viz. lengthening of the preceding vowel, etc. ⇒ LIV: 668 | Pok.: 1123

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ἵεμαι ‘I speed, strive for, try for’, Lith. *vejù* (*výti*) ‘I drive, chase (away)’

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ IV: 44 f., 68 ff.; Werba 1997: 318

*uai(H)n ‘to see’

•AVESTAN: *vaēn-* ‘to see’ || (+ **abi-*) ‘to look, notice’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘to look to’ || (+ **pati-*) ‘to envisage, focus on’ || (+ **pari-*) ‘to observe, perceive’, || (+ **ham-*) ‘to appear, become visible’ ⇨ Liste: 48

Pres. them.: IND. 1sg. YAv. *pairi.vaēnāmi* (V 19.3), 2sg. OAv. *aibī vaēnāhī* (Y 31.13), 3sg. YAv. *vaēnaiti*, med. 3sg. YAv. *vaēnaite* (Y 10.14, Y 11.10, V 2.40), med. 3du. YAv. *pairi.vaēnōiθe* (Yt 13.3), impf. 3sg. YAv. *pairi.auuaēnaṭ* (Yt 5.68), INJ. 1sg. YAv. *paiti.vaēnəm* (Yt 7.3, Ny 3.5), 3sg. YAv. *vaēnaṭ* (F 411), 3pl. YAv. *vaēnən* (Yt 10.92), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *vaēnāṭ* (Yt 19.94, N 16), med. 3sg. YAv. *vaēnāite* (V 2.24), med. 3pl. YAv. *ḥam.vaēnānte* (V 9.1), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *auuaēnōiš* (H 2.13), 3sg. YAv. *vaēnōiṭ* (Y 9.29), med. 1pl. YAv. *ḥam.vaēnōimaidi* (Y 58.6), IMPV. 2sg. OAv. *auuaēnā* (Y 46.2), 2pl. OAv. *auuaēnāṭā* (Y 30.2); Partic.: pres. YAv. *vaēnaṭ-* (Yt 5.129), med. YAv. *vaēnəmna-* (Yt 19.34, Yt 19.80); Inf.: pres. OAv. *vaēnaḥhē* (Y 32.10). ◇ The initial *a*° of OAv. *auuaēnā* is the result of shortening in front of **u*, cf. De Vaan 2003: 123 ff.

•OLD PERSIAN: *vain-* ‘to see’ ⇨ Kent: 206a

Pres. them.: IND. 1sg. *vaināmi* <va-[i]-n-a-mi-y> (DNb 36, <va-i-n-a-mi-y> (DNb 39 f.), med.(= pass.) 3sg. *vainataiy* <v-i-n-t-i-[y]> (DNb 2), <v-i-n-t-i-y> (XPa 16), impf. 3sg. *avaina* <a-v-i-[n]> (DB 2.76), <a-v-i-n> (DB 2.90, DNa 32), SUBJ. 2sg. *vaināhy* <v-i-n-a-h-y> (DB 4.70, DB 4.77), <v-i-n-a-h-[y]> (DB 4.73), 3sg. *vainātiy* <v-i-n-a-t-i-y> (DSj. 5), med. (= pass.) 3sg. *vainātaiy* <v-i-n-a-t-i-y> (DNb 35)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *wyn-*, BMP *wyn-* (*ḤZYTWN-*) ‘to see’ (pret. supplet. stem *dyd*, v. ***daiH¹**). ◇ Also the ‘nose’ word, MMP *wynyg*, BMP *wynyk* /*wēnīg*/, probably contains **uai(H)n*.

Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP *^xwynwm*, 3sg. MMP *wynynd*, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *wyn’d*, 2pl. MMP *wyn’d*, 3pl. MMP *^xwyn’nd*, IMPV. 2pl. MMP *wynynd*, *wynynd*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. MMP *wynyhyd*, OPT. 3sg. MMP *wynyhyy*

•PARTHIAN: *wyn-* ‘to see’ (pres. supplet. of *dy-*, ***daiH¹**) || (+ **apa-*) *’bwyn-* ‘to dislike, disapprove’ || (+ **fra-*) *frwyn-* ‘to forecast, foresee’ ⇨ Ghilain: 84 | DMMP: 354, 15a, 158a

Pres.: IND. 1sg. *wyn’m*, 3sg. *wynynd*, 2pl. *wynynd*, *wynynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *wyn’n*, 2sg. *wyn’h*, 3sg. *wyn’h*, IMPV. 2sg. *wyn*, *wyn*, 2pl. *wynynd*, OPT. *wynyndyh* || (+ **apa-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 2sg. *’bwyn’h* || (+ **fra-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *^xfrwynyyd*, 3pl. *^xfrwynynd*, 2sg. *frwyn*; Partic.: pres. *frwyng*, *frwyng’n* (pl.), perf. pass. II *frwyn’d*

•KHOTANESE: ◇ *āvīda* ‘he sees, he is seen’ is not from **ā-uai(H)n-*, as assumed by Bailey (*DKS*: 25b f., but rather from **ā-* + ***daiH¹**), on which see Emmerick, *SVK* I: 72 f.

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *wyn*, BSogd. *wyn*, CSogd. *wyn*, MSogd. *wyn* ‘to see’ || (+ **abi-*) BSogd. *βwyn* ‘to foresee’, CSogd. *bywny*^o (m.) ‘prophet’

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. BSogd. *wyn'm*, dur. CSogd. *wynmsq*, 2sg. SSogd. *wyny*, 3sg. SSogd., BSogd., CSogd. *wynt*, med. CSogd. *wynty*, dur. CSogd. *wyntq*, etc. || (+ *abi-) Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *β'ywn* (GMS: §434, fn. 2.)

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *abi-) 'βwYN- 'to withhold strength' || (+ *upa-) *bwyn-* 'to advise, admonish' ⇒ Samadi: 42, 30 f.

•NWIR: NP *bīn-* (supplet. st. *dīd-* < ***daiH**¹), Kurd. *bīn-* (supplet. st. *dīd-*), Gur. *vīn-*, Zaz. *wīnēn-*, Bal. *gīnd-*, Tal. *vīnd-* 'to look, observe', Anar. *ewīn-*, Awrom. *wīn-* (supplet. *diáy*), Fariz. *-vīn-* (supplet. *dī-*), Yar. *-vīn-* (supplet. *di-*), Gz. *vēn-* (supplet. *dī-*), Gur. *-īn-*, (subj.) *vīn-* (supplet. *dī-*), Isfah. *venān/ven-*, Khuns. *vīn-* (supplet. *dī-*), Jow. *ai:n-* (supplet. *bam-dī*), Meim. *a-vīn-* (supplet. *dian*), Nn. *vīn-* (supplet. *dī-*), Natan. *vīn-* (supplet. *-dī-*), Semn. *m-ējīn-* (supplet. *-dī(č)-*), Sang. *vīn-* (supplet. *-dīa*), Shamerz. *vīn-* (supplet. *bā-dimán*), Siv. *vīn-* (supplet. *dī-*), Soi *ā-ūn-*, *ā-ūn-* (supplet. *dī(d)-*), Sorkh. *vīn-* (supplet. *bóe-dián*), Lasg. *vīn-* (supplet. *bóe-di-*) 'to see'

•NEIR: Oss. I. *wynyn/wynd*, D. *winun/wind*, *jīnun/jīnd*, Pash. *wīn-*, Sh. *wīn-/wīnt*, Khf. *wīn-/wīnt*, Rosh. *wun-/wunt*, Sariq. *weyn-/wand*, Ishk. *wen-/wend-*, Sangl. *wīn-/wīnd-*, Wa. *wīn-/wind-*, *vīn-/vīnd-*, Yi. *wīn-* (supplet. *lišč-*), M. *wīn-* (supplet. *lišk^y-*) Yghn. *wēn-/wéta* 'to see'

•SANSKRIT: *ven-* 'to look for' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 582

◇ This Ir. root is nominal in origin, from the noun **uai(H)na-* 'watch, survey(or)', cf. Skt. *vená-* 'watch', YAv. *vaēnā-* 'nose', cf. Gotō 1987: 298 for references. In many WIr. forms **uai(H)n* is part of a suppletive system with ***daiH**¹.

•PIE **uei(H)₁-no-* 'survey' ⇒ LIV: 668 f, fn. 5 | Pok.: 1123

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *vēnārī* 'to chase, hunt'

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 139b f., 206b f., 245b f.; Ivanow 1926: 420; *EVP*: 87; *KPF* II: 199; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 162, 259; *IIFL* II: 262a, 548; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 55 f., 114 f., 159; Abrahamian 1936: 133; Lambton 1938: 42a, 77b; Andreev – Peščereva: 351b; MacKenzie 1966: 94; *EVS*: 90a; *WIM* I: 73; *WIM* II/1: 85; *WIM* III: 118 f.; Abaev, *Slovar'* IV: 117 ff.; Paul 1998: 319a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 389; Cabolov 2001: 199

***uaj̥** 'to shake, swing'

•AVESTAN: YAv. *vij-* 'to shake, swing ?' || (+ *fra-) YAv. *frauuāēya-* 'swinging forward' (Yt 10.96, Yt 10.132) || (+ *ni-) 'to swing down(wards)' ⇒ Liste: 54

Partic.: pres. YAv. *vaējant-* (? Yt 19.92, ? F 431), perf. pass. YAv. *-niuuxta-* (Yt 6.5)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *wyc-* /*wēz-* 'to swing, fling, sprinkle' || (+ *ui-) MMP *whyz-*, BMP *wyhyc-* /*wihēz-* 'to move, progress, set out'. ◇ On the etymology of MMP *whyz-*, BMP *wyhyc-* see Nyberg 1974 II: 211b. The older etymology of Henning 1933: 178 has been rejected by Nyberg. ⇒ DMMPP: 342b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *wycyt* /*wēzēd*/, 3pl. BMP *wycynd* /*wēzēnd*/; Inf.: BMP *wyhtn* /*wēxtan*/ || (+ *ui-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *whyzyd*, 3pl. BMP *wyhycynd* /*wihēzēnd*/

•PARTHIAN: (+ *ati-) 'dwyxs-' 'to shake (the head)' ⇒ DMMPP: 25b

(+ **ati-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. *'dwyxsynd* {hapax}

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *wyc*, CSogd. *wyc* 'to move, shake [intr.]' || (+ **apa-*) BSogd. *pw'yc-* 'to shake, be agitated' || (+ **ā-*) ? BSogd. ''*wyš* 'to confuse, disorder', CSogd. '*wyž* 'to become agitated, angry' || (+ **pati-*) *ptw'yc* 'to shake, be agitated'.
 ◇ On CSogd. '*wyž*: "The etymological possibilities are numerous", Sims-Williams 1984: 149.

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *wyct*, 3pl. BSogd. *wycnt*, CSogd. *wycnt*, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *wyc't*; Partic.: pres. BSogd. *wyc'y* || (+ **apa-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *pw'yc't* || (+ **ā-*) Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. '*wyž*; Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. ''*wyštk* '*kšubdha*'

•CHORESMIAN: ? *wc-* 'to shake' (rather from ***ua(n)č** ?) ⇒ Samadi: 211

•NWIR: NP *bēxtan/bēz-* 'to shake', Bal. *gē(h)t*, *gētk/gēj-* 'to put, swing, turn towards; pour into; miscarry, abort', Zaz. *vižiyāyiš/viž(iy)en-* 'to come out, appear', Yar. *vāšt*, Isfah. *vār-vežān/vār-vež-*, Meim. *a:-vašt/a:-re-vež-*, Mah. *wōštān*, Natan. *ār-vāšt* 'to jump, leap', ? Qohr. *vūt* (pret. stem) 'to hang, be suspended' || (+ **ā-*) NP *āvēxtan/āvēz-*, Meim. *dar evidž-/dar a-vi:tai-* 'to hang, suspend [intr.]', Khuns. *āvīz-/āvīzā* 'to hang on [tr.]', (inch. ?) ? Kurd. (Kurm.) *āvasīn/āwās-*, (Sor.) *haḷ-āwasīn/āwēs-* 'to hang on' (formally difficult) ||

•NEIR: Oss. I. *wiğyn/wyğd*, D. *wēğun/wiğd* 'to shake; wave', Sh. (Baj.) *wuc-t* 'to move, stir, go (slowly), rock, swing, shake', ? (Baj.) *wuz-/wuzd* 'to move, stir' || (+ **ā-*) Oss. I. *awynžyn/awyğd*, D. *awinžun/awiğd* 'to hang', ? Sh. *avezun* 'to hang'

•MISC: ? Arm. (LW) *vižem* 'I flow, miscarry'

•SANSKRIT: *vej* 'to dart up or back, to move up (of a wave), flee, twitch, move quickly' (RV, AV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 577

◇ The root is a blend of ***uaič** and ***uaij̥**¹ according to Nyberg 1974: 210; Sims-Williams 1989: 263. It should be noted though that we can distinguish two, sharply defined, meanings for an (apparently) single root, viz. 'to move' and 'to shake, swing'. This is also found in Germanic: 'to move' and 'to yield, give ground, *weichen*' respectively. Although, obviously, it is possible that we may still deal with one and the same root, it is probably better to reconstruct two different (homonymous ?) roots.

•PIE **ueig-* 'to (start to) swing, shake [vel sim.]' ⇒ LIV: 667 f. | Pok.: 1130 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *εἴκω* 'I yield, give ground' (with sec. -κ-), OE *wīcan* 'to yield, give ground', ON *víkja* 'to move, turn; respond, take action', OHG *wīhhōn* 'to jump, leap', NHG *weichen*

•REFERENCES: Christensen, *Contributions* I: 156, 255; Abrahamian 1936: 133; Lambton 1938: 40a f.; Abaev, *Slovar*' I: 87 f.; WIMI: 66; EVS: 87b, 96a; Abaev, *Slovar*' IV: 108 f.; Werba 1997: 376 f.; Paul 1998: 317b; Cabolov 2001: 98; Lecoq 2002: 656b; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *gēj-*

***uaip** ‘to swing, shake’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *vaēp-* (*vif-*) ‘to engage in homosexual activities, be a passive’ || (+ **apa-*) ‘to throw off (?)’ ⇒ Liste: 54

Pres. them.: IND. 3pl. YAv. *apā(-ca) vaēpənti* (V 7.55); Partic.: pres. caus. YAv. *vaēpaiiant-* (V 8.32), perf. pass. YAv. *vipta-* (V 8.32); Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. ? YAv. **vaēpaiieiti* (V 8.26 f.), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *vaēpaiia* (Y 10.12); Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *vifiieiti* ° (V 8.26 f.)

- MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *wftk / wiftag/* ‘catamite, passive’ (< Av. ?)

•NEIR: ? Oss. I. *ivyn/ivd*, D. (*æjj*)*evun/(æjj)ivd* ‘to change (colour)’, Yzgh. *wib-/wipt* ‘to turn round a team bullocks while threshing’, Khf. *wib* ‘cry to bullock’

- SANSKRIT: *vep* ‘to tremble, shake, vibrate’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 583

◇ The (historico-)semantic aspects of **uaip*, which would correspond to Skt. *vep*, need further elucidation, especially the apparently specialised meaning of Av. *vaēp* (and BMP *wftk*) is peculiar. According to Skjærvø, *EI* 12: 440 f., the meaning originally refers to the shaking and trembling of the body during sexual ecstasy, but why specifically in a homosexual sense? The inclusion of the modern Ir. forms is uncertain.

- PIE **ueip-* ‘to swing, shake, turn around’ ⇒ LIV: 671 | Pok.: 1131 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *vibrāre* ‘to vibrate’, Lith. *vipti* ‘to gape’, ON *veifa* ‘to rock, to be in a swinging movement’, MHG *wīfen* ‘to swing’, NHG *Weife*

- REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 557; *EVS*: 87b, 99a, 117b; *Werba* 1997: 234

***uais** ‘to enter’

- AVESTAN: *vīs-* ‘to enter; to accept ?’. ◇ Several meanings have been given to Av. *vīs-*: ‘to prepare, position, vel sim.’ (v. *EWAia*, l.c.). ⇒ Liste: 55f.

MED. ?; Pres. them.: IND. 1sg. YAv. *vīse*, 3sg. YAv. (*°*)*vīsaite* (N 71, ? P 57), 3du. YAv. **vīsaēte* (P 58), 1pl. OAv. *vīsāmadaē* ° (Y 41.5), YAv. *vīsāmaidē* (Y 58.3), 3pl. OAv. *vīsəntē* (Y 48.10), YAv. *vīsənte* (Yt 1.18 f., Yt 5.95, Yt 13.71), INJ. 1sg. (act. ?) YAv. *paiti.vīsəm* (Yt 7.3, v. Kellens 1984: 22, fn. 13), (act. ?) 3sg. ? YAv. *vīsət* (FrA 1, see prev.), 3sg. YAv. *vīsata* (Yt 13.99, P 39), 3pl. OAv. *vīsəntā* (Y 32.14), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *vīsāi*, YAv. *vīsāne* (V 2.5), (act. ?) 2sg. ? YAv. *vīsāi*, 3sg. YAv. *frā vīsāite* (Y 10.8), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. (*paiti*) *vīsənt’ha* (Yt 10.32); Perf.: IND. 2sg. ? YAv. *vīuīse* (V 2.4); Partic.: pres. YAv. *auvīsəmna-* (P 57)

- MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *wys-* ‘to repose’, MMP *wys’y-* (denomin. ?) ‘to enter, come in’ ⇒ DMMPP: 357a

Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *wys’y’d*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *wys’y*; Partic.: pres. MMP *wys’n*, perf. pass. caus. II ? MMP *wys’yn’d*

- SOGDIAN: (+ **ham-*) ? MSogd. *’nwysn’t* ‘to introduce to, initiate’

Pres.: POT. tr. dur. 3sg. ? CSogd. *’wysn’twntq*; Pret.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *’nwysn’t δ’rt*

•NEIR: ? Wa. *wiš-/wišt*, *viš-/višt-* ‘to set [of sun]’, M. *vīs-* ‘to set (of sun)’, Yghn. *wes-*, *ves-* ‘to go down’. ◇ Perhaps not from **upa-isa-*, **abi-isa-*, as cited in *IIFL I*, l.c. and adopted by Steblin-Kamenkij (l.c.) for Wa. *wiš-/wišt*, *viš-/višt-*.

- MISC: Orm. *wīs-*, *wēs-/wayyōk* ‘to enter’

•SANSKRIT: *veś* ‘to sit down, to settle down, to enter, to go in’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 584

◇ The nominal derivative **uis-* f. ‘dwelling, settlement’ is well attested in Ir.: YAv. *vīs-* ‘homestead, community’, OP *viθ-* ‘residence’, MMP *wys*, BMP */wis/* ‘village’, Khot. *bāsā-* ‘house’, Bal. *gis* ‘house(hold)’, Par. *γus-*, *γos* ‘house’.

•PIE **ueik-* ‘to settle (down)’ ⇒ LIV: 669 f. | Pok.: 1131

•IE COGNATES: Gr. (denomin.) *οἰκέω* ‘I inhabit’, Gr. *οἶκος* ‘house’, Lat. *vīcus* ‘neighbourhood, quarter, village’, OCS *vъsbь* (f.) ‘village’, Lith. *váišinti* ‘to host’, Alb. *vis* ‘place’, Goth. *weihs* ‘village’, Engl. *-wich*, *-wick* (e.g. *Nor-wich*), etc.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 257b, 411b; *IIFL* II: 260a; *GMS*: par. 547; *DKS*: 291b f.; Werba 1997: 234 f.; Korn 2005: 87 f., 98, 396 (passim)

***uaiš ?** ‘to be concerned, occupied; to work for ?’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: ? BMP *^xwšy(y)k* */wišēg/* or ? */wišīg/* ‘distressed, troubled, fear(ed) ?’

•KHOTANESE: ? LKh. *bāš-* ‘to be concerned, occupied with’ || (+ **ā-*) ? *āvišta-* ‘troubled ?, burdened with ?, *durchdrungen* ?’. ◇ On both Khot. forms cf. Emmerick, *SVK* II: 109 ff., s.vv. *bišta-*, *bāštūm*, *bāšte*. ⇒ SGS: –

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ā-*) ? BSogd. *’wštk* ‘confused’. ◇ Cf. MacKenzie, *BSTBL*: 24, who connects the BSogd. form to Khot. *āvišta-*, but see also Sims-Williams 1985: 149, ad 68V.21.

•SANSKRIT: *veś* ‘to work, accomplish, execute’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 585 f.

◇ The Ir. forms can be connected to Skt. *veś*, if we assume that they have acquired a more metaphorical meaning of ‘to be occupied, busy’ (> ‘to be bothered, troubled’). An IE origin for both the Ir. and Skt. forms cannot be postulated.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: 672 | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *DKS*: 291a f.; Werba 1997: 235

***uaižd** ‘to raise’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *vōižd-* ‘to raise (the weapon) ?’ || (+ **abi-*) YAv. *aiβi.vōižd-* ‘to raise (the head)’ ⇒ Liste: 56

Pres. them.: INJ. 3sg. OAv. *vōiždaṭ* (Y 32.10); Partic.: pres. caus. YAv. *aiβi.vōiždaiiant-* (Y 9.31)

•SANSKRIT: ? *vīḍ* ‘to be(come) firm; to make firm’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 568

◇ The connection with Skt. *vīḍ*, as cited in *EWAia*: l.c. (et al.) is semantically difficult. It is striking that the root *vīḍ* never shows full grade ablaut, as opposed to the two attested Av. forms. Perhaps, *vōižd-* is somehow etymologically related to ***uid³**, being a *da*-formation of the latter ? It is also possible that it was originally a compounded verb with YAv. *vaiiah-* ‘air space’: **uaiš-* + ***daH²** ‘to put, hold in the air’. No Ir. cognates of Av. *vōižd-* are known.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 1128

•REFERENCES: Humbach 1957: 43; Werba 1997: 654

***uamH** ‘to vomit’

•AVESTAN: (+ **abi-*) YAv. *auui ... vam-* ‘to vomit (out)’, YAv. (Asg.) *aiβi.vantīm* ‘vomit’ (V 7.12) ⇒ Liste: 50

Pres. athem.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *auui ...^sva(i)ṇti* (Kellens 1984: 14, fn. 12; V 5.1)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *w’m-* /*wām-* ‘to vomit’

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *bam-* ‘to vomit’ ⇒ SGS: 93

•NWIR: Tal. *vonī* ‘nausea’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *wæmyn* (*omyṇ*)/*wæmd* (*omd*), D. *wæmun/wænd* (*ond*) ‘to vomit’

•SANSKRIT: *vamī* ‘to vomit, spit out’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 506

•PIE **uemH₁-* ‘to vomit, to spit out’ ⇒ LIV: 680 | Pok.: 1146

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *ἐμέω*, Lat. *vomere*, Lith. *vémti* ‘to vomit’

•REFERENCES: DKS: 269; Abaev, *Slovar*’ IV: 85; Werba 1997: 317; Cabolov 2001: 160

***uan** ‘to triumph, win’

•AVESTAN: *van-* (*vaṇ-*) ‘to triumph, win’ || (+ **ni-*) ‘to win, get hold of’ ⇒ Liste: 49f.

Pres. them.: IND. 1sg. YAv. *vanāmi* (Yt 15.44), 3sg. YAv. *vanaiti* (Yt 19.96, N 84, ? P 42), 3pl. OAv. *vanaiṇti* (Y 39.2), YAv. *niuuanēṇti* (Yt 14.41), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *vanat* (Yt 1.28, Yt 2.11, VdPZ 7.52), SUBJ. YAv. *vanāni* (Yt 14.58, Yt 14.60, V 19.9), YAv. *niuuanāni* (Yt 5.130), 1pl. YAv. *vanāma* (Yt 10.34), OPT. 1pl. OAv. *vanaēmā* (Y 31.4); Aor. {1} *s-*: INJ. 3sg. OAv. *vaṣ* (Y 49.4), SUBJ. 3sg. OAv. *vāṇghaitī* (Y 48.1), 3sg. OAv. *vāṇghat* (Y 48.2), 3pl. OAv. *vāṇghān* (Y 39.2); Aor. {2} athem.: OPT. 3sg. YAv. *vainī* (Y 60.5); Perf.: IND. 3pl. OAv. *vaonarē* (Y 39.2), YAv. *vaonarē* (Y 26.4 ff., Yt 13.149, Yt 13.154 f.), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *vaoniiāt* (Yt 13.13); Partic.: pres. YAv. *vanant-*, med. (+ priv.) YAv. *auuanəmma-* (Yt 1.8, Yt 8.55, Yt 13.133, etc.), fut./aor. {1} ? YAv. *vañghant-* (Yt 13.155), perf. YAv. *vauuanuuāh-* (Y 57.12), ? YAv. *^svaonuš-* (Yt 13.155); Desid.: pres. IMPV. 3sg. OAv. *vīuuəṇghatū* (Y 53.5)

•OLD PERSIAN: ◇ On OP *avaniya* see ***HuanH**.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *w’n-*, BMP *w’n-* /*wān-* ‘to conquer; attack’ ⇒ DMMPP: 335b

Pres.: IND. 1sg. BMP *w’nwm* /*wānum*/, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *w’n’nd*, IMPV. 2sg. MMP *w’n*; Partic.: pres. MMP *w’n’g* ‘conqueror’, perf. pass. BMP *w’nyt* /*wānīd*/, MMP *w’nyst*; Inf.: BMP *w’nytn* /*wānīdan*/; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. BMP *w’nyht* /*wānīhēd*/, 3pl. MMP *w’nyhynd*

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *wnw-* ‘victorious’ PN, CSogd. *wnwnqy’* (f.), SSogd. *wn’wn’ky’kh* ‘victory’, CSogd. *wnyqcyq* ‘captive’, MSogd. *wnwnyy* ‘victorious’

•BACTRIAN: *oavtvδ-* in place and personal names ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 209b

•NWIR: Siv. *vin(ī)-* ‘beating’ (in *vin(ī)-d-*/*vin(ī)-dā* ‘to beat’)

•NEIR: Oss. I. *wændyn* ‘to dare, be bold, decide’ (< **wænd(æ) wyn* ‘to be triumphant’) || (+ **ham-*) Oss. I. *æwwændyn*, D. *æwwændun* ‘to (en)trust, believe’

- SANSKRIT: *van* ‘to win, conquer’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 499
- PIE **uen-* ‘to win, conquer’ ⇒ LIV: 680 f. | Pok.: 1146 f.
- IE COGNATES: OHG *gi-winnan* ‘to win, to get’, OE *winnan*, Engl. *to win*, etc.
- REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 215 f.; WIM 1988: 119, 350; Sims-Williams – Hamilton: 75, 87; Abaev, *Slovar*’ IV: 85; Werba 1997: 232 f.

***ua(n)č** ‘to stagger, shake?’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *vaš-* ‘to erupt, well up?’. ◇ The interpretation of this hapax form is uncertain. Humbach 1956: 75 (recently repeated in Humbach 1991 II: 155) translates it as ‘to well (up)’ (“wogen”) comparing it to Skt. RV *vacyáte* ‘issues forth’ (< *vañc*), whereas Insler, *Gāthās*: 247 ad 44.11 considers it a passive formation of *vac* corresponding to Skt. *ucyate* ‘is taught’ (< *oc*). Insler’s interpretation is formally difficult, especially because the Ir. cognate root of Skt. *oc* has acquired a secondary **i-* (***iauč**), not to mention the fact that the expected Av. correspondence would be **ušiiatē*. On the other hand, Humbach’s translation is semantically unsatisfactory: how can *daēnā*, the subject of *vašiietē*, “stagger” on, if we keep the Skt. connection (which is semantically compatible with the other Ir. forms)? Obviously ‘to well up, vel. sim.’ is just a stylistically more acceptable interpretation of ‘to stagger’. ⇒ Liste: 50

MED.; Pres. *ja-*: IND. 3sg. OAv. *vašiietē* (Y 44.11)

•CHORESMIAN: *wc-* ‘to swing, shake’ (rather from ***uaij**?) || (+ **uz-*) *m/zwx-* ‘to be curved, be twisted’ || (+ **pari-*) *prwx-* ‘to embrace’ ⇒ Samadi: 211, 265, 156

•NEIR: (+ **fra-*) Oss. D. *ræwæxsun/ræwæxst* ‘to shake, shiver; to have a seizure’ || (+ **ui-*) Oss. D. *iwæxsun/iwæxst* (inch.?) ‘to sprain, wrench’

•SANSKRIT: *vañc* ‘to totter, to go staggering (of a horse)’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 492

◇ An IE origin for this apparently Ir. root cannot be ascertained. The Germanic nominal forms, OE *wōh* ‘crooked, wrong’, OSax. *wāh* (n.) ‘evil’, are frequently cited.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: 687 | Pok.: 1134

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 559; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 391; Werba 1997: 232

***uap¹** ‘to disperse, scatter’

•AVESTAN: (+ **ui-*) OAv. *vīuuāp-* ‘to cut down [Insler, *Gāthās*: 47.], plunder [Humbach 1991 II: 84], devastate [Kellens – Pirart I: 120]?’. ◇ The interpretation of OAv. *vīuuāp-* is uncertain. The YAv. nominal form *vīuuāpa-* (Y 12.2 f., P 21), which is connected to OAv. verbal form, appears to mean ‘destruction, plundering vel sim.’. ⇒ Liste: 49

Pres. them.: INJ. 3sg. OAv. *vīuuāpaŋ* (Y 32.10)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: ? BMP *w’py* ‘sheaf’ (Ps.)

- NWIR: Nn. *vāve*, Yzd. *vova* ‘sheaf’
- NEIR: Sh. *wāb*, Rosh. *wēb* (f.), Orosh. *wōb*, Yzgh. *wāb*, Wanji *web* ‘sheaf’, Sh. *wābak* ‘bundle, truss’, Yghn. *wop* ‘sheaf’, Yzgh. *web* ‘box for flour’
- SANSKRIT: *vap*¹ ‘to scatter, strew (out), spread (out)’ (RV+) ⇨ EWAia II: 503
- ◇ The root is apparently Ir.: an IE provenance cannot be ascertained.
- PIE – ⇨ LIV: 684 | Pok.: 1149
- REFERENCES: EVS: 87b; Werba 1997: 418; Lecoq 2002: 639a

**uap*² ‘to shave’

- KHOTANESE: (+ **pati-*) OKh. *patāvutta-* ‘shaven’ (Z 2.12)
- SANSKRIT: *vap*² ‘to shave’ ⇨ EWAia II: 504
- ◇ The root **uap*², which appears to be continued in a single Ir. language, is likely to be originally identical to **uap*¹ ‘to disperse, scatter’.
- PIE – ⇨ LIV: 684 | Pok.: –
- IE COGNATES: –
- REFERENCES: DKS: 206b

**uar* ‘to turn’

- AVESTAN: *var-* ‘to turn’ || (+ **pari-*) ‘to turn around, pervert’ ⇨ Liste: 60
- Pres. {1} *nu-*: IND. med. 3sg. YAv. *vərənūite* (V 18.35, V 18.41, V 18.47), 3pl. YAv. *vərənuuaiti* (Yt 13.15), SUBJ. med. 3sg. OAv. *vərənauuaitē* (Y 31.17), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *vərənūidi* (Y 9.28); Pres. {2} them. *nu-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *pairi.vərənauuaiti* (Yt 14.41), med. 3pl. YAv. *vərənante* (V 18.32), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *vərənauuā* (F 420), SUBJ. med. 3pl. YAv. *ham.vərənānte* (V 5.59, V 7.5 ff.); Aor. athem.: SUBJ., IMPV. med. 2sg. ? OAv. *hēm^xvarəšuūā* (Y 53.3); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *vāraieiti* (V 19.29), 3pl. YAv. *^xvāraieinti* (Yt 14.5), IMPV. med. 2pl. YAv. *pairi vāraiaδβəm* (Yt 1.27); Intens.: pres. SUBJ. med. 3sg. OAv. *vāurāite* (Y 47.6), OPT. med. 1sg. OAv. *vāuraiiā* (Y 31.3), med. 1pl. OAv. *vāurōimaidī* (Y 28.5)
- PARTHIAN: (+ **ni-*) *nwrđ* (pret. stem) ‘to sink, set in (of sun)’ ⇨ Ghilain: – | DMMPP: 248a
- Partic.: perf. pass. *nwrđ*
- CHORESMIAN: (+ **ni-*) *m/nwry-* ‘to turn (away, down) [intr.]’, (caus.) *m/nw’ry-* ‘to turn (away, down)’ ⇨ Samadi: 133 f.
- NWIR: (+ **uz-*) Zaz. *zivirnāyiš/zivirnen-* (sec. caus.) ‘to turn around, let circle’
- NEIR: Yghn. *węř-/węřta*, M. *war-/wušk* (Zarubin) ‘to stretch the warp on the loom’, Yi. *woř-/wušč-* ‘to knit’, *woř-/wišč-* ‘to weave (?)’ || (+ **ni-*) Yzgh. *nəwir-/nəwũg* ‘to set [of sun]’
- SANSKRIT: ?*val* ‘to turn’ (late). ◇ It remains uncertain whether the late Skt. root *val* is a continuation of IE **uel-* ‘to turn’ or a popular development of Skt. *vart*, cf. EWAia, l.c. ⇨ EWAia III: 460
- PIE **uel-* ‘to roll, turn’ ⇨ LIV: 675 | Pok.: 1140 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. εἰλέω, Arm. *gelum* ‘I turn’, Lat. *uoluō* ‘I roll’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 263a; Andreev – Peščereva: 352a; Edel’man 1971: 172 f.; Paul 1998: 320b

***uarč** ‘to drag, to put in pieces?’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *vərəc-* ‘to drag, put in pieces’ || (+ **api-*)? ‘to put on’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to draw away’ ⇒ Liste: 51

Pres. them.: IND. 3pl. ? YAv. *aipi.vərəcaṅti* (N 95), INJ. med. 3pl. YAv. *fraorəciṅta* (Yt 17.19)

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *valj-* ‘to go astray; be deceived’ ⇒ SGS: 120

•NEIR: (+ **ā-*)? Oss. I. *awəz*, D. *awəzæ* ‘furrow, mark of the field’ (loss of **-r-*?)

◇ The interpretation of this root is unclear. Despite its uncertain meaning, YAv. *aipi.vərəcaṅti* is compared to OCS *vlačiti*, Lith. *vilkti* ‘to drag, draw’, Gr. αῶλαξ ‘furrow’ in notably *LIV*: 289 f.

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 86; *DKS*: 378b f.

***uar(H)¹** ‘to choose; convince; (med.) to believe’

•AVESTAN: *var-* ‘to choose; to convince’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to choose’ ⇒ Liste: 50

MED.; Pres. *n-*: IND. 1sg. OAv. *vərənē* (Y 46.3), YAv. *vərəne* (Y 12.2, Vr 5.3), 3sg. OAv. *vərəntē* (Y 43.16, Y 51.18), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *vərənta* (Yt 10.92), 3pl. OAv. *vərənātā* (Y 30.6), OPT. 3sg. them. YAv. *fraorənaēta* (V 19.2); Aor. athem.: INJ. 3sg. OAv. *varatā* (Y 30.5, Y 32.12), OAv. *frauarətā* (Y 31.10), 1pl. OAv. *varəmaidf* (Y 32.2, Y 35.3), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *frauarānē* (Y 12.1, Y 12.8, VdPZ 9.32), 3sg. YAv. **frauaraitē* (FrA 5); Inf.: pres. YAv. *vərəndiāi* (Vr 4.2)

•OLD PERSIAN: *v(a)r-* ‘to choose, convince’ ⇒ Kent: 206b

MED.; Pres. them. *nu-*: IND. 3sg. *v(a)rnāvataiy* <*v-r-n-v-t-i-y*> (DNb 23), impf. 3sg. *av(a)rnāvātā* <*a-v-r-[n]-[v]-[t]-[a]*> (DSf 17), SUBJ. 3sg. *v(a)rnāvātāiy* <*v-r-n-v-a-t-i-y*> (DB 4.49), IMPV. 3sg. *v(a)rnāvātām* <*v-r-n-v-t-a-m*> (DB 4.42, DB 4.53)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *wrw-* (BMP *H̄YMNWN-*) ‘to believe’ ⇒ DMMPP: 345

Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *wrw’d*, OPT. 2pl. MMP *wrwwyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *wrwyd*, II MMP *wrwyst-*; Inf.: MMP *wrwystn*

•PARTHIAN: *wrw-* ‘to believe’ ⇒ Ghilain: 79, 85 | DMMPP: 345a

Pres.: IND. 3pl. *wrwynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. **wrw’d*

•SOGDIAN: CSogd. *wrn-*, MSogd. *wrn-* ‘to have faith, believe’ || (+ **ūi-*) SSogd. *yw’r* ‘separation’, SSogd. *yw’r*, BSogd. *yw’r*, CSogd. *yw’r*, MSogd. *yw’r* ‘but, nevertheless, except’

Well attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. CSogd. *wrn’m*, dur. CSogd. *wrn’msqn*, CSogd. *wrn’msq*, 2sg. dur. CSogd. *wrnysqn*, 1pl. CSogd. *wrnysqn*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: *m/wrw-* ‘to believe’ || (+ **apa-*) *bw’r-* ‘to separate oneself, diverge’, *bw’ry-* (caus.) ‘to separate’ || (+ **upa-*)? *bw’ry-* ‘to select’ || (+ **ūi-*) *yw’ry-* ‘to know, experience, understand’. ◇ Rather than putting Chor. *bw’ry-* ‘to select’ and *bw’ry-* ‘to separate’ together under a single entry (as done by Samadi), we may

distinguish two differently prefixed formations, viz. with the pref. **upa-* and **apa-* respectively. ⇒ Samadi: 217, 29, 258, 208 f.

•BACTRIAN: (o)αοαρο, οαοοαρο, οαοαρο (etc.) ‘valid’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 209b

•NWIR: NP *giravīdan* ‘to believe, confide in; to obey’, NP *bāvarīdan* (denomin. ?) ‘to believe; credit’, NP *bāvar* ‘belief; credit’ (< old intensive), Kurd. (Kurm.) *barīyā* (f.) ‘wish’, *bāvar*, *bāwar* (m.), (Sor.) *bāwār*, *bīrwā* ‘belief; hope’ (Pers. LW ?) || (+ **uz-*) ? Bal. *zūrag*, *zīrag*, *zorag* ‘to take (out ?)’ || (+ **ūi-*) ? Bal. *gīwārt/gīwār-* ‘to make equal’ (but in dial. also ‘to choose, select’, ‘to part, separate’)

•NEIR: Oss. I. *wyrnyn* ‘to believe’, Yi. *wár/wat-*, M. *wet/wetta* ‘to separate’ || (+ **apa-*) Yzgh. *bawurn* ‘canal’ || (+ **uz-*) Oss. I. *ævzærȳn/ævzærst*, *ævzærd*, D. *ævzærȳn/ævzærst* ‘to get separated; to sprout (of plants); to occur, appear’, (orig. caus.) Oss. I. *ævzarȳn/ævzærst*, D. *ævzarȳn/ævzærst* ‘to pick out, choose; to separate; to make out (of), understand; to experience’, Wa. *zvor*, *z(ə)wor*, Sh. *zīwōr* (f.) ‘offset, offshoot; the head part of an irrigation channel branching off from a main canal or river’, Sariq. *zīwur* ‘mouth of a river’ || (+ **ūi-*) Oss. I. *waryn/wærst*, D. *iwarȳn/iurst* ‘to divide, distribute; to be divided, divide up possessions’, Wa. *yə(r)wər-/yə(r)wərd-* ‘to divide, disperse (cattle)’

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *vawer* ‘true’

•SANSKRIT: *var⁽ⁱ⁾* ‘to choose, pick’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 511

•PIE **uelH₁-* ‘to want, wish’ ⇒ LIV: 677 f. | Pok.: 1137 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *volō* ‘I want’, OCS *velitъ* ‘wants, orders’, Lith. *vėlti* ‘to wish, to prefer’, Goth. *wiljan* ‘to want’, Engl. *will*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 262b, 555b; Henning, *Cosmog.*: 310; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 209 ff.; *EVS*: 21b, 109b; Abaev, *Slovar’* IV: 123 f., 51 f.; *Werba* 1997: 378 f.; *Steblin-Kamenskij* 1999: 434, 439; *Cabolov* 2001: 124, 158 f.; *Shahbakhsh*: s.v. *gīwār-*

***uar(H)²** ‘to mix, mingle’

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **ham-*) *m/w’r-* ‘to be mixed, confused’, (caus.) *m/w’ry-* ‘to mix, confuse’ ⇒ Samadi: 208 f.

•NEIR: (+ **ni-*) Wa. *ni(y)ər-/ni(y)ərd-*, *nəyər-/nəyərd* ‘to mix, mingle’. ◇ *Steblin-Kamenskij* 1999: 245 derives the Wa. verb from **ni-uar* (***uar** ‘to turn’), but we may now assign it to **uar(H)²*.

◇ According to Samadi (ibid.) Chor. *m/w’r-*, *m/w’ry-* are counter-formations of *bw’r-* ‘to be separated’, *bw’ry-* ‘to separate’ (< **upa-^o*). It remains unclear though how this procedure would have taken place, especially if we consider the simplex verb, which means ‘to choose; to convince; (med.) to believe’. Perhaps, *m/w’r-*, *m/w’ry-* has a different origin, being related to the well-attested Germanic forms for ‘to confuse’. No further Ir. cognates can be cited though, with the exception of the Wa. forms.

•PIE ? **uer(H)-* ‘to confuse, mix’. ◇ The geminated *-rr-* in the Germanic forms possibly points to the presence of **H*, on which see Lühr 1976: 92. ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 1169

•IE COGNATES: OSax., OHG *werran*, Du. (*ver*)*warren*, NHG *verwirren* ‘to confuse’

***uarHz** ‘to (make) grow, nourish, be brimming with’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *varəz-* ‘strength(ening)’ (Y 45.9), OAv. *varəzaiiant-* ‘giving strength, strengthening’ (Y 45.4, ? V 14.11). ◇ On the connection between these forms and Skt. *ūrj-* see Humbach 1958: 47 ff. This supersedes the previous interpretation by Bartholomae, *AIW*: 1378 f. (accepted by Insler, *Gāthās*: 260, 257): ‘wirkend, werktätig’ and ‘zu wirken, Wirksamkeit zu entfalten’ respectively from ***uarz**. || Although referring to Humbach, l.c., Kellens – Pirart II: 299 rather translate the OAv. forms as ‘plaisir’ and ‘qui donne du plaisir’ without giving any explicit reason. See also below. || On the phonetic outcome involving **rH-* in Av., cf. Cantera 2001: 7 ff.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *w’r-* ‘to rejoice’, MMP *w’ryn-* (caus.) ‘to make happy, gladden’ || (+ **pari-*) 1. MMP *prwr-*, BMP *plwl-* /*parwar-*/ ‘to foster, nurture, educate’, 2. MMP *prwrđ-* (denomin. ?) ‘to foster, nourish’. ◇ The meaning of MMP *w’r-* ‘to rejoice’ needs an explanation: perhaps < *‘to be satisfied’ < *‘to be filled, nourished’ ? || MMP *prwr-*, BMP *plwl-* /*parwar-*/ has an unexpected *-r-* in the root. Its appearance is the result of assimilation: **r ... l^o* < OP **r ... rd^o* ? ⇒ DMMPP: 335b f., 280b, 281a

Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *w’rynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. MMP *w’r’y*, 3sg. MMP *w’r’d*, IMPV. 2sg. *w’r*, 2pl. MMP *w’ryyd*; Caus.: pres. IND. 1sg. MMP *w’rynm*, 3sg. MMP *w’rynyd*, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *w’ryn’d* || (+ **pari-*) Well attested: 1. Pres.: IND. 1sg. BMP *plwlwm* /*parwarum*/, 2sg. MMP *prwryh*, 3sg. MMP *prwryd*, MMP *prwryyd*, BMP *plwlyt* /*parwarēd*/, 3pl. BMP *plwlynd* /*parwarēnd*/, etc. || 2. Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. MMP **prwrđ* {hapax}

•PARTHIAN: *w’r-* ‘to be glad’ (< MMP ?) || (+ **pari-*) *prwrz-* ‘to nurture, care for’. ◇ The form *ww’r* is unconnected, it means ‘separation’ (rather than ‘sorrow’). ⇒ Ghilain: 54, 52 | DMMPP: 335b, 281a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. **w’ryd*, 1pl. *w’r’m*, 3pl. *w’rynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *w’r’h*, 1pl. *w’r’m*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *w’r’d* || (+ **pari-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *prwrzyd*, SUBJ. 2sg. **prwrz’h*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *prwrz’d*

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *wrz’yw*, CSogd. *wrzyw* ‘haughty, arrogant’, SSogd. *wrt*, CSogd. *wr’* (f.) ‘profit, interest’ (Gershevitch 1985: 49, fn. 43) || (+ **pari-*) MSogd. *prwyj-* (pass./intr.) ‘to be fed, raised’, MSogd. *prwyj* (caus.) ‘to feed, raise’, BSogd. *prw’rz* ‘care’, MSogd. *prwyj’mndy* ‘alimentation’. ◇ BSogd. *wrz’yw*, CSogd. *wrzyw* has an exact correspondence in Skt. RV *ūrjavyā-* ‘abounding in strength’, Gershevitch *apud* Sims-Williams 1985: 100; Schwartz *apud* MacKenzie 1983: 535, fn. 8.

Partic.: pres. MSogd. *prwyjnyy* (BBB: 37), MSogd. **prwyjnyy* (BBB: 45)

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **pari-*) *prwr-* ‘to rear, nourish, feed’ (LW). ◇ Not from the root **bar* ‘to carry, bring’, **pari-bar*, as suggested by Samadi. || The Chor. forms cannot derive directly from **pari-uarza-*, which would have yielded ***prwž-* in Chor., cf. MacKenzie 1983, l.c. They may well be borrowed from Persian instead. ⇒ Samadi: 156

•NWIR: Abz. *varz* ‘fertiliser, dung’ || (+ **pari-*) NP *parvardan/parvar-* ‘to nourish, feed’, *parvardegār* ‘Creator, Provider’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *warzyn/warzt*, D. *warzun/warzt* ‘to love’ (< *‘to take care of, foster’)

•SANSKRIT: *ūrj-* (f.) ‘nourishment, refreshment, strength’ ⇒ EWAia I: 242 f.

•PIE **uerH₁ǵ-* ‘to be filled, nourished, brimming with life (energy)’. ◇ A laryngeal is reconstructed on account of the long vowel in Skt. *ūrj-*. ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 1169

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. /*uarkant-*/ ‘fat, fattened’, Gr. ὀργάω ‘I am getting ready to bear, growing ripe; I swell with lust’, ὀργή ‘natural impulse, temperament, disposition’

•REFERENCES: Henning 1965: 176, fn. 38; Abaev, *Slovar* IV: 53 f.; Lecoq 2002: 604a; NEVP: 92

**uarš* ‘to be hungry’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: ? MMP *gwrsgyḥ* ‘hunger’ ⇒ DMMPP: 167b

•PARTHIAN: *wšynd*, *wšyynd* ‘hungry; hunger’ ⇒ DMMPP: 348a

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *wš’y-*, CSogd. *wš-* ‘to be hungry’

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *wš’yt* (SCE 29)

•CHORESMIAN: *m/wšy-* ‘to be(come) hungry’, *’wšyk* ‘hunger’ (477.5), *’wšynd* ‘hungry’ (412.7) ⇒ Samadi: 222 f.

•NWIR: NP *gušnah*, Bal. *gušnag* (< NP), Gz. *vāšše*, *věšše*, *višše*, Jow. *vəfa* ‘hungry’, Abyan. *vāša*, Abz. *veša*, Anar. *vaše*, Ard. *veše*, Nn. *vašša*, Qohr. *veša* ‘who is hungry’

•NEIR: M. *(w)ušəy-/(w)ušəyâd-* ‘to become hungry’ (Zarubin), Pash. *wəğay*, Yi. *wušī(y)adaγ* ‘hungry’, Yi. *wušīyo* ‘hunger, hungry’

•MISC: Par. *γurčá* ‘hungry’

◇ The root **uars/š-* appears to be a kind of "Reimbildung" after **tarš* ‘to be thirsty’ (q.v.), cf. Hübschmann 1895: 92; Samadi, l.c.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 256b f.; *IIFL* II: 264a; *EVP*: 95; Lambton 1938: 75b; *WIM* II/2: 749; Lecoq 2002: 604a, 587a, 612b, 623b (passim); NEVP: 86; Korn 2005: 100, 127, 397 (passim)

**uart* ‘to turn’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *varət-* ‘to turn’ ⇒ Liste: 51

MED. (exc. Caus.); Pres. them.: INJ. 3sg. YAv. *varətata* (F 8); Caus.: IND. 3pl. ? YAv. *ḥqm.varəntaiiənti* (N 97)

•OLD PERSIAN: ? *vart-* ‘to turn’. ◇ According to Gershevitch 1959: 184, OP <.-r-t-i-y-i-y-> (DB 4.44) rather reads ^x*vratīyaiy* ‘I swear, take an oath’. ⇒ Kent: 207

Pres.: IND. 1sg. med. ^x*vartaiyaiy* OP <[v]-r-t-i-y-i-y-> (DB 4.44)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP (intr.) *wrd-*, BMP *wlt-/ward-/* ‘to turn; twist; writhe [intr.], be tormented’, (caus.) BMP *wlt’n-/wardān-/*, BMP *wltyñ-/wardēn-/* ‘to cause to change, turn, convert’ || (+ *uz-) ? MMP ‘*zwrđ-* ‘to return to the body, be reborn; to turn back, revert, renege’ || (+ *ham-) MMP ‘*mwrđ-* ‘to turn to’ ⇒ DMMPP: 344b, 102b, 40b

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. BMP *wlym/wardēm/*, 2sg. BMP *wlyh/wardē/*, 3sg. MMP *wrđyd* etc. || (+ *uz-) Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP ‘*wrđynd*’; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP ‘*zwštġn* (pl.) || (+ *ham-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP ‘*mwrđyd*, IMPV. 2sg. ‘*mwrđ*’; Partic.: perf. pass. ‘*mwšt*

•PARTHIAN: *wrt-*, *wrd-* ‘to turn, twist, writhe’ || (+ *ā-) ‘(’) *whr-* ‘to turn to, be converted’ || (+ *uz-) ‘*zwrt-* ‘to turn back, return’ || (+ *ham-) ‘*mwrđ-* ‘to gather, collect, heap’ ⇒ Ghilain: 53 f. | DMMPP: 345a, 5b, 102b, 40b

Pres.: IND. 2sg. *wrđyh*, 3sg. *wrtyd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *wrt’n*, 2sg. *wrt’h*, OPT. *wrđyndyh*; Partic.: perf. pass. *wšt* || (+ *ā-) Pres.: SUBJ. 3pl. ‘*whr’nd*, IMPV. 2pl. ‘*whryd* || (+ *uz-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. ‘*zwrtyd*, 3pl. ‘*zwrtynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. ‘*zwrt’n*, 2sg. ‘*zwrt*’, ‘*zwrt’h*’; Partic.: perf. pass. ‘*zwšt*’; Inf.: ‘*zwštn* || (+ *ham-) Pres.: IND. 2sg. ‘*mwrđyh*, 3sg. ‘*mwrđyd*, 3pl. ‘*mwrtynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. ‘*mwrđ*’, ‘*mwrđ’h*’, IMPV. 2sg. ‘*mwrđ*, 2pl. ‘*mwrđyd*, ‘*mwrtyd*’; Partic.: perf. pass. ‘*mwšt*, II ‘*mwrđ* (short for ‘*mwrđ’d*, Sundermann 1981: 151); Inf.: ‘*mwrđn*

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *bal-* (*baḏ-*) ‘to move; writhe’, LKh. *bīth-* ‘to writhe; twist’, LKh. **bei’śś-* (*baiś-*) ‘to make turn’ (**uart-s-aja-*) || (+ *ā-) OKh. *ābeis-* ‘to turn’ || (+ *ham-) LKh. *hambīth-* ‘to retain’ ⇒ SGS: 92, 104, 100, 9, 142 f.

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *wrtñ*, MSogd. ^x*wrtñ* ‘carriage’ || (+ *apa-) BSogd. ‘*pw’rt*, MSogd. *pw’rt* ‘to turn away’, CSogd. *pwyrť-* (caus.) ‘to turn away, estrange’ || (+ *ā-) BSogd. ‘*w’rt*, MSogd. ‘*wrt* ‘to (re)turn’ || (+ *uz-) BSogd. ‘*zw’rt*, BSogd. *zw’rt*, CSogd. *zwrt*, MSogd. *zw(’)rt* ‘to (re)turn’, CSogd. *zwyrť*, MSogd. *zw’yrt* ‘to cause to return, turn away, return’ || (+ *pati-) BSogd. *ptw’rt* ‘divergence, turning (?)’ || (+ *pari-) BSogd. *prw’rt*, CSogd. *prwrt*, MSogd. *prwrt* ‘to turn, change, become’, (caus.) MSogd. *prw(’)yrt* ‘to turn, transform’, BSogd. *prw’yrt* ‘to turn, transform, covert, translate’ || (+ *ni-) MSogd. *nwrť-* ‘to turn’

(+ *apa-) Pres.: IND. 2sg. MSogd. *pw’rtyy*, 3sg. BSogd. ‘*pw’rt* || (+ *ā-) Partic.: pres. MSogd. ‘*wrt*’ (*Sogd.Tales*: 473); Inf.: BSogd. ‘*w’rty* || (+ *uz-) *widely attested:* Pres.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *zwrt*, SUBJ. 1sg. CSogd. *zwrtñ*, 3sg. CSogd. *zwrtñ*, 3pl. MSogd. ^x*zwrt’nd*, OPT. 3sg. MSogd. *zwrtyy* (*BBB*: 49), IMPV. 2sg. SSogd. ‘*zw’rt*, etc. || (+ *pari-) *well attested:* Pres.: IND. 3pl. dur. CSogd. *prwrtñtq*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *prwrt* (cf. *GMS*: §624); āz-Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *prwrt’z*; Fut.: IND. 3pl. CSogd. *prwrtñtq’im*; Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. *prw’s-*, MSogd. *prwst-*; Caus.: IND. impf. MSogd. *prwryt*, etc. || (+ *ni-) Partic.: pres. MSogd. *nwrtyy* (*Sogd.Tales*: 473)

•CHORESMIAN: ? *wcy-* ‘to braid’, *wrd-* (intr.) ‘to become’ || (+ *ā-) *m’wrđ-* ‘to turn back, return’, *m’wrcy-* (caus.) ‘to lead back’ || (+ *upa-) *bwcy-* ‘to propel’ || (+ *uz-)

m/zwrcy- ‘to turn around; to destroy; to turn into, change into’, (intr./med.) ‘to turn to someone; to climb, ascend’ || (+ **pari-*) *prwċ-* ‘to turn around’ || (+ **ni-*) *m/nwrcy-* ‘to wrap in; to ruminate (of camels)’ || (+ **ham-*) *m/wrd-* (intr.) ‘to gather’, *m/wrcy-* (tr.) ‘to gather, amass’. ◇ Samadi hesitantly proposes **aua-čaja/aua-čina-(*čai¹)* for *wcy-*. The form may be connected to the root **uart*. ⇒ Samadi: 212, 217, 9 f., 30, 264 f., 156, 132, 216 f.

•NWIR: NP *gardūn* ‘wheel; chariot’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *bar* (m.), (Sor.) *bard*, Bakht. *bard*, *berd*, Siv. *vārd(e)*, Yzd. (Zor.) *bard* ‘stone’, ? NP *lāj-ward* ‘lapis lazuli’ || (+ **uz-*) Kurd. (Kurm.) *zivirīn* ‘to turn, be spinning’ || (+ **ni-*) NP *nawardīdan/naward-* ‘to fold, cease; to twist; to stroll’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *wærdyn/wærst*, D. *wærdun/wærst* ‘to felt’, Bart. *warwarθ-/warwūxt* ‘to turn round [intr.]’, *warwax-/warwext* ‘to turn round [tr.]’ (with redupl. ?), Yi. *woř-/wušč-* ‘to knit’, M. *war-/wušk-* ‘to stretch the warp on the loom’ (Zarubin) || (+ **ā-*) Pash. *āwuštəl/āwarəm* ‘to turn, change, revolve’ || (+ **uz-*) Yghn. *zīwórt-*, *zūwórt-/zīwórtā* ‘to turn around, return [intr.]’, *zīwírt-/zīwírta* ‘to turn back, around [tr.]’ || (+ **para-*) Sh. (Baj.) *parwarθ-/parwūxt* ‘to slide down, fall into water with an inflated skin for swimming’, *parwāx-/parwāxt* (caus.) ‘to push, force into water for swimming on an inflated skin’, Bart. *parwarθ-/parwext* ‘to turn upside down’ (less likely from **pari-*) || (+ **fra-*) Oss. D. *læwærdun/læwarst* ‘to go through a certain mass [snow, earth], sweeping with the feet’ || (+ **ni-*) Oss. I. *nywærdyn/nywærst*, *nordyn/norst*, D. *niwærdun/niwarst* ‘to wrap up’, Pash. *nwāřay* (m.) ‘a doubled-over hem; draw-string’ || (+ **ham-*) Oss. I. *æwwærdyn/æwwærst*, D. *æwwærdun/æwwarst* ‘to knead, smear, rub in’

•MISC: Orm. *ğer-/ğerók* ‘to roll’, (caus.) Orm. *ğ(e)řaw-/ğ(e)řawók* ‘to cause to roll’

•SANSKRIT: *vart* ‘to turn (around), to roll’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 518

•PIE **uert-* ‘to turn’ ⇒ LIV: 691 f. | Pok.: 1156 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *vertō* ‘I turn’, OLat. *vortī* ‘turned’, OCS *vrĕtĕti* ‘to turn (around)’, Lith. *vīřti* ‘to turn (around), to fall over, to become into’, Goth. *warþ* ‘became’, OHG *werdan*, NHG *werden* ‘to become’ (etc.)

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 13; *IIFL* II: 263a; Abaev, *Slovar* I: 216; Andreev – Peščereva: 368a ff.; Abaev, *Slovar* II: 37, 216 f.; *EVS*: 92b, 60a f.; *DKS*: 267a; Vahman – Asatrian 1987: 71; *WIM* III: 349; Vahman – Asatrian 1991: 80 f.; Asatrian – Livshits: 84, 93; Abaev, *Slovar* IV: 92 f.; Werba 1997: 237; Cabolov 2001: 118; Vahman – Asatrian 2002: 25; *NEVP*: 59 f.; Kiefer 2003: 197

***uarz** ‘to do, work, till the land’

•AVESTAN: *vərəz-* ‘to do, work’ || (+ **abi-*) ‘to cultivate’ || (+ **us-*) ‘to work away, get rid off, repay’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to commit’ || (+ **ni-*) ‘to commit against’ ⇒ Liste: 51f.

Pres. *ja-*: IND. 1sg. YAv. *vərəziīāmi* (Yt 15.44), 2sg. YAv. *aiβi.vərəziīehi* (V 3.26, V 3.28), 3sg. YAv. *vərəziīciti*, 1pl. OAv. *vərəziīāmahī* (Y 35.7), 3pl. YAv. *vərəziīnti*, INJ. 3sg. OAv. *vərəziīat* (Y 47.2),

SUBJ. *vərəziīāt*, 3pl. *vərəziīān* (Y 35.6, etc.), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *vərəziīōt* (V 19.41, N 16, FrK 73), 3pl. YAv. **niuuərəziīaiēn* (Yt 19.80), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *vərəze* (Aog 25), 3sg. OAv. *vərəziīōtū* ° (Y 35.6), *vərəziīātəm* (Y 48.5, etc.); Aor. {1} s-: SUBJ. 1sg. OAv. *varəšā* (Y 50.10), med. 1sg. OAv. *varəšanē* (Y 51.1), 3sg. OAv. *varəšaitī* (Y 33.2, Y 46.19), med. 3sg. OAv. *varəšaitē* (Y 29.4, Y 33.1), 3pl. OAv. *varəšəntī* (Y 45.3), IMPV. med. 3sg. OAv. *varəšuuā* (Y 53.3), med. 3sg. OAv. *varəštəm* (Y 50.11); Aor. {2} athem.: INJ. 2sg. OAv. *varəš°* (Y 39.4), OPT. 1pl. OAv. *varəzīmā*°, Perf.: IND. 3sg. YAv. **vāuuaraza* (P 17), med. 3sg. OAv. *vāuuərəzōi* (Y 29.4), 3du. YAv. *vāuuərəzātārē* (Y 13.4); Partic.: pres. YAv. (*°*)*vərəziīānt-* (Y 70.4, N 52), YAv. **vərəziīnt-* (P 13, Vyt 12), med. OAv. *vərəziīamna-* (Y 35.2), YAv. *vərəzimna-*, fut. YAv. *varəšīiamna-*, perf. YAv. *vāuuərəzuš-* (Yt 13.88), med. OAv. *vāuuərəzāna-* (Y 35.2), perf. pass. YAv. *uzvaršta-* (V 7.51); Inf.: pres. ? OAv. *vərəziīēidiīai* (Y 30.5)

•OLD PERSIAN: (?) *vrd-* ‘to take’ (differently Kent, l.c.; *vart-* ‘to turn’) ⇒ Kent: 207a Pres. *ia-*: SUBJ. med. 1sg. *vrdiyaiy* <v-r-di-i-y-i-y> (DB 4.44). ◇ On the reading and interpretation of OP *vrdiyaiy* <v-r-di-i-y-i-y> (DB 4.44) see R. Schmitt 1991: 69.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *wlc-* /*warz-*/ ‘to work, do, practise’ (LW), MMP *wrc*, *wrz*, BMP *wlc* /*warz-*/ ‘miracle, miraculous power’ (LW ?, with suff. **-čī* ?) ⇒ DMMPP: 344b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *wlcyt* /*warzēd-*/, 2pl. BMP *wlcyt* /*warzēd-*/, 3pl. BMP *wlcynd* /*warzēnd-*/, IMPV. 2sg. BMP *wlc* /*warz-*/, 2pl. BMP *wlcyt* /*warzēd-*/; Inf.: BMP *wlcytn* /*warzīdan-*/; Pass.: perf. IND. 3sg. BMP *wlcyt* (YK ‘YMWN’)yt /*warzid* ēštēd/

•PARTHIAN: *wrc* ‘miracle, miraculous power’ || (+ **fra-*) *frwrz-* ‘to further, cultivate, let grow’ ⇒ Ghilain: 52 | DMMPP: 344b, 157b (+ **fra-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *frwrzyd*

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *jsaṇā-ulysa-* ‘causing death’ (Z 24.452)

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *wrz* ‘miracle, magic’ (< MP ?)

•CHORESMIAN: *mwžy-* ‘to employ, use; to exert oneself’ ⇒ Samadi: 230

•BACTRIAN: *οαρζιτοο, οαρζιτοο* ‘farming’

•NWIR: NP *varzīdan*/*varz-* ‘to sow a field’ (LW), *barz* ‘a sown field; agriculture’ (LW), Tr. *vašt*/*varz-* ‘to happen; to be produced’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *bilīn*/*bil-* ‘to exert (oneself); to carry out’

•NEIR: Yghn. *warzón-*/*warzónta* ‘to cultivate the land’

•SANSKRIT: *svāvṛṣṭi-* ‘doing his own work’, epithet of Indra (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 795f.

◇ Apparently, Schindler has argued in his lectures that the (I)Ir. root **uarz* may have acquired an initial laryngeal, which can be inferred from the frequent lengthening of the preceding vowel in Av. compounds with **uarz* and in reduplicative formations: *ayāuuarəz-* ‘who does evil’, *gauuāstriīāuuarəz-* ‘who does pastoral work’, *haiθiīāuuarəz-* ‘making real’, etc. and *vāuuarəz-* (De Vaan 2003: 81 fn. 45, 170 f.).

•PIE **uerg-* ‘to work, do’ ⇒ LIV: 686 f. | Pok.: 1168 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *ῥέξω* ‘I do, carry out’, (Myc.) *wo-ze* ‘carries out’, *ἔργον, φέργον* ‘work, labour’, Goth. *waurkjan*, OE *wirkian*, Engl. *to work*, etc.

•REFERENCES: Andreev – Peščereva: 350b; DKS: 379a; Werba 1997: 438; Cabolov 2001: 178; Lecoq 2002:

***uas** ‘to want, wish’

•AVESTAN: *vas-* (*us-*) ‘to want, wish’, OAv. *vasnā*, YAv. *vasna* (Instr. sg. m.) ‘wish, favour’ ⇒ Liste: 52

Pres. athem.: IND. 1sg. OAv. *vasəmī* (Y 29.9, Y 43.1, Y 44.3), 2sg. *vašī*, 3sg. OAv. *vaštī* (Y 29.8, Y 46.14), 1du. OAv. *usvahī* (Y 46.10), 1pl. *usəmahi* (Y 34.4, Y 58.3, Ny 5.18), OAv. *usmahi*^o (Y 41.5), 2pl. OAv. *uštā* (Y 29.2), SUBJ. 3sg. OAv. *vasaṭ* (Y 29.4), 3pl. YAv. *vasən* (V 6.6, V 15.46), VdPZ 5.7), OPT. 3sg. OAv. *usiāt* (Y 50.2); Partic.: pres. YAv. *usant-* (V)

•OLD PERSIAN: *vašnā* (instr. sg. m.) <v-š-n-a> ‘wish, favour’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **pati-*) MMP *pyws-* ‘to hope for, desire’ ⇒ DMMPP: 291b

Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *pywstynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *pywst* {unpubl.}

•PARTHIAN: ^x*ws-* ‘to wish’, *wsn’d* (prep.) ‘on account of, concerning, for, about’ ⇒ DMMPP: 346b f.

Pres.: SUBJ. 1sg. ^x*ws’n* {hapax}

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *wsn*, BSogd. *wsn*, MSogd. *wsn* (prep.) ‘on account of, for’

•CHORESMIAN: *wsn* (prep.) ‘on account of, for’ (Benzing 1983: 653 f.)

•NWIR: (+ **pati-*) NP *payūsīdan* ‘to expect, hope’

•SANSKRIT: *vaś* ‘to wish, want, desire’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 527

•PIE **uek-* ‘to wish, want, desire’ ⇒ LIV: 672 f. | Pok.: 1135

•IE COGNATES: Hitt. */uekzi/* ‘wishes, desires’, Gr. ἐκόν ‘voluntary, willing’

•REFERENCES: DKS: 380b f.; 397 f.

***uat** ‘to inspire, be informed, acquainted’

•AVESTAN: *vāt-* ‘to inspire ?, be informed, acquainted’ || (+ **api-*) ‘to be acquainted with’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to show to’ ⇒ Liste: 49

Pres. them.: IND. med. 2sg. YAv. *apiuatahe* (Y 9.25), SUBJ. med. 3sg. YAv. *apiuataite* (V 9.2, V 9.47, V 9.52); Aor. them. red.: SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *api vaotāt* (Yt 9.26); Caus.: IND. 1pl. OAv. *fra vātōiāmahi* (Y 35.7), IMPV. 3sg. OAv. *frā vātōiō.tū* (Y 35.7)

•PARTHIAN: (+ **fra-*) *frwd-* ‘to be informed; to know, understand’ || (+ **ui-*) *wywd-* ‘to distinguish, separate’ || (+ **ham-*) *hmwd-* ‘to believe’ ⇒ Ghilain: 53, 96 | DMMPP: 157b, 360a, 179a f., 41a

(+ **fra-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. ^x*frwdyd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *frwd’h*; Partic.: perf. pass. *frwd’d* || (+ **ui-*) Pres.: PRES. 3sg. *wywdyd*, 3pl. *wywdynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *wywd’h*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *wywd’d*; Inf.: *wywd’d*, *wywd’d* || (+ **ham-*) Pres.: IND. 1sg. *hmwd’m*, 3sg. *hmwdyd*, 1pl. ^x*hmwd’m*, 3pl. *hmwdynd*, SUBJ. 1pl. *hmwd’m*; Partic.: perf. pass. *mwst*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **fra-*) OKh. *hot-* (*hvī-*) ‘to be able’ ⇒ SGS: 155

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ham-*) CSogd. *’wt-* ‘to hope for’, SSogd. *’nwth* (Sims-Williams), CSogd. *’wt* ‘hope, faith’

Pres.: IMPV. 2sg. CSogd. *’wt*

- NEIR: (+ *ā-) Pash. (Afr.) *awla* ‘wish, desire’, ? Oss. I. *ud*, D. *od* ‘ghost, soul, spirit’
- MISC: (+ *fra- or *ham- ?) Arm. (LW) *hawat* ‘belief’
- SANSKRIT: *vat* ‘to appropriate spiritually’ (RV+) ⇨ EWAia II: 494
- PIE *uet- ‘to be informed, acquainted’ ⇨ LIV: 694 | Pok.: 346
- IE COGNATES: OIrish *fethid* ‘notices, expects’
- REFERENCES: DKS: 498a f.; Sims-Williams 1985: 96 ad 26; Abaev, *Slovar* IV: 6 f.; Werba 1997: 232; Cheung 2002: 233; NEVP: 12

*uaxš ‘to grow; increase’

- AVESTAN: *vaxš-* ‘to grow’ || (+ *abi-) ‘to let grow, spoke (the fire)’ || (+ *uz-) ‘to grow up(wards)’ || (+ *fra-) ‘to grow forth’ ⇨ Liste: 48
 Pres. them. *ja-*: IND. 3sg. OAv. *uxšieiti* (Y 44.3), YAv. *uxšieiti* (Y 10.6, Yt 7.2, Yt 8.43, etc.), YAv. *uzuxšieiti* (Yt 6.2 f., Yt 7.4, Ny 1.12, etc.), 3pl. YAv. *uzuxšieiti* (Yt 13.10, Yt 13.14), INJ. 2sg. OAv. *uxšiiō* (Y 31.7), 3pl. YAv. *uxšin* (Yt 13.93, Yt 17.18), SUBJ. 3pl. YAv. *fra uxšiiān* (V 5.12 f., V 8.9 f.); Fut.: med. 3pl. ? YAv. *vaxšiepte* (Yt 8.42); Aor. athem.: INJ. 3sg. *vaxšt* (Y 34.11, Vr 12.4), SUBJ. 3sg. OAv. *vaxšaŋ* (Y 31.6, Y 48.1, Y 48.6), med. 3pl. OAv. *vaxšaŋtē* (Y 32.4), OPT. med. 1sg. OAv. *uxšiiā* (Y 33.10); Partic.: pres. YAv. *uzuxšiiānt-* (V 18.63), med. YAv. *uzuxšiiamna-* (Yt 4.8); Caus.: IND. 3du. YAv. *vaxšaiiatō* (Y 10.3), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *aiβi.uuaxšaiiāt* (N 73), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *aiβi.vaxšaiiōit* (N 81).
 ◇ Kellens – Pirart 1991: 106 interpret OAv. *uxšiiā* differently: pres. IND. 1sg.
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *whš-* / *waxš-* ‘to grow; to blaze’, BMP *whšyn-* / *waxšēn-* (caus.) ‘to light a fire’ || (+ *fra-) ? MMP *frwxš-* ‘to sell’. ◇ The verb BMP *whš-* is always used in connection with **twr*/**dwr* ‘fire’. Several semantic shifts need to be assumed for MMP *frwxš-*, not all of which are evident: *‘to grow’ > *‘to prosper’ > *‘to prosper through trade’ > *‘to sell’. ⇨ DMMPP: 158a
 Pres.: IND. 1sg. BMP *whšym* / *waxšēm*/, 3sg. BMP *whšyt* / *waxšēd*/, 3pl. BMP *whšynd* / *waxšēnd*/ ‘(the fires of *plwb*’g and *gwsnsp*) are blazing’; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *whšyt* / *waxšēd*/, BMP *whšytk* / *waxšēdag*/; Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. BMP *whšnynt* / *waxšēnēd*/; Inf.: BMP *whšytn* / *waxšēdan*/ ‘to grow’, caus. BMP *whšynytn* / *waxšēnēdan*/ || (+ *fra-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *frwxšyd*
- PARTHIAN: 1. *wxš-* ‘to grow’ || 2. *wxš-* ‘to be kindled, blaze; to kindle’ ⇨ Ghilain: 59 | DMMPP: 349b
 1. Partic.: pres. *wxšg* || 2. Pres.: IND. 3sg. *wxšyd*, 1pl. *wxš’m*, 3pl. *wxšynd*, SUBJ. 3sg. *wxš’*; Partic.: pres. *wxšyndg*
- KHOTANESE: *huš(š)-* ‘to grow’ ⇨ SGS: 154
- SOGDIAN: CSogd. *xwš-* ‘to grow, grow up, become full-grown’
 Partic.: perf. pass. CSogd. *xwš’ty* ‘grown up, full-grown’ (C2 54R.27, C2 87V.16); Inf.: pres. MSogd. *xwšyy* ‘to increase’ (with metath., M756dR.9)
- CHORESMIAN: *wx-* ‘to grow’, *wxy-* (caus.) ‘to cause to grow, nourish, rear’ ⇨ Samadi: 223
- BACTRIAN: *oax-* ‘to frow, increase [intr.]’ ⇨ S-W, *Bact.*: 210b
- NWIR: (+ *fra-) *Widely attested*: NP *firōxtan*, *firōšīdan*/*firōš-*, Kurd. *firōtin*/*firōš-*, (also Sor.) *firōštin*/*firōš-*, Zaz. *rotiš/rošen-*, Anar. *-ihrot/* (impv.) *ihroš*, Awrom.

wuratáy/wuraš-, Fariz. hērutān-/hruš-, Yar. -horut-/hruš-, Gil. (Rsht.) fūroxtān/furuš-, Gur. (Kand.) virāt-/urāš-, Khuns. ūrš-, uruš-, rūš-, turš-/rūt, (LW) frōš-/frōxt-, Ham. fəratān/fəraš-, Isfah. fəratān/fəraš-, Lasg. berūton/berūš-, Meim. bəm-hōru:t/a-ru:f-, Nn. -rāt/ōrāš-, Natan. -horut-/horuš-, Semn. beyrūtīyon/beyrūš-, Siv. rūš-/rūt, Sorkh. -rūt-/rūš-, Tal. havate ‘to sell’ (ultimately all borrowings from Pers. ?)

•NEIR: Yi. waxš- ‘to grow (about plants)’, ? Yzgh. wəsūd ‘to grow’

•MISC: (+ *para-) ? Par. pharāt-/pharātī ‘to sell’, Orm. prawak ‘sold’ (supplet. stem)

•SANSKRIT: vakṣ ‘to grow, become big’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 485

◇ Nyberg 1931: 232, together with Henning 1937: 89 (and generally accepted by others), assumes the existence of a separate Ir. root *uaxš ‘to kindle, be kindled’ on account of Pth. wxš- and MP whš- ‘to blaze’ (also Andreas – Henning II: 53a: MMP wxšn ‘Zutaten (zum Feuer)’), which may be superfluous, as there is no objection at all to incorporate these Middle Iranian forms (incl. NP furōxtan ‘to inflame, kindle, set on fire’) under *uaxš ‘to grow; increase’. Compare Skt. (Apl.) vakṣyās ‘growing flames’ (RV 5.19.5), probably from vakṣ ‘to grow’ (EWAia II: 488). The specific idiomatic usage with fire has parallels in both Avestan and Sanskrit and may therefore reflect an ancient Indo-Iranian concept, viz. YAv. ātra.vaxša- (N 73, N 78, N 81) and Skt. (the growing of Agni-, in notably RV 5.8.7). More details can be found in Kiehnle 1979: 26 f., 125 f.

•PIE ingress. *H₂ueg-s^o/- ‘to grow’. ◇ The simple root *H₂ueg- is also attested in IIr., e.g. BMP ’wc /ōz/ ‘strength, force’, OKh. oṇa- ‘powerful’, Skt. ojas- (n.) ‘strength, vitality, power’ (RV+). ⇒ LIV: 288 f. | Pok.: 84 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. αὔξω, ἄ(φ)έξω ‘I increase, make progress, grow’, Toch. A oksis ‘grows’, Goth. wahsjan, ON vaxa, vaxa ‘to grow’, Engl. to wax (of moon), etc.

•REFERENCES: KPF I: 143a f.; IIFL I: 279a, 404b f.; KPF II: 206; IIFL II: 264a f.; Christensen, Contributions I: 70, 168, 261; Christensen, Contributions II: 59; Abrahamian 1936: 113, 129; Lambton 1938: 42b; MacKenzie 1966: 111; EVS: 118; WIM I: 73, 68; WIM III: 116; Werba 1997: 417 f.; Cabolov 2001: 358 f.

***uaz** ‘to carry, drive (chariot, vel sim.)’

•AVESTAN: YAv. vaz- ‘to move, carry, drive (a chariot)’ || (+ *ā-) ‘to drive to’ || (+ *uz-) ‘to carry, transport up’ || (+ *pati-) ‘to drag back’ || (+ *para-) ‘to fly away (from)’ || (+ *fra-) ‘ride, drive to, fly’ || (+ *ham-) ‘to be ended up, hurry to join ?’

⇒ Liste: 52

Pres. them.: IND. 1sg. YAv. vazāmi (V 5.18), 3sg. YAv. vazaiti (Y 10.19, Yt 8.33), YAv. uzuuazaiti (V 5.8), YAv. frā ... vazaiti (Yt 8.33), med. YAv. vazaitē, YAv. ^xāuuazāite (Y 57.31), YAv. para ... vazaitē (Yt 10.37), YAv. frauuazaitē (Yt 10.48, Yt 10.99, Yt 10.124, etc.), YAv. auui ... ḥam.vazaitē (Yt 19.67), 3pl. YAv. vazənti (Y 57.27, Yt 5.95, Yt 10.128, etc.), YAv. frauuazənti (Yt 13.58), YAv. frauuazəntē (Yt 13.39), INJ. 3sg. med. YAv. vazata (Yt 5.62, Yt 10.127), SUBJ. 2sg. YAv. vazāhi (V 5.16), 3g. med.

YAv. *vazāite* (Yt 5.11, Yt 8.6), YAv. *frauuzāite* (Yt 8.35), 3pl. med. YAv. *vazānte* (Yt 10.125), IMPV. med. 2sg. YAv. *upa.vazaŋ'ha* (22.7); Aor. them. s-: INJ. 3sg. ? YAv. *uzuuažat* (Yt 13.100); Perf.: IND. 3sg. med. YAv. *vaoze* (P 48), OPT. 3pl. med. YAv. *vaozirəm* (Yt 19.69); Partic.: pres. YAv. *vazant-* (Yt 10.20, Yt 13.26), med. YAv. *vazəmna-*, YAv. *frauuzəmna-* (Yt 13.26), perf. YAv. *vauuzāna-* (Yt 10.124), perf. pass. ? YAv. *vašta-* (Yt 12.8); Inf.: pres. YAv. *vazaiđiiāi* 'to flow' (Yt 15.28, V 2.24), YAv. *paiti.vazaiđiiāi* (Yt 15.28); Pass.: pres. SUBJ. 3pl. YAv. *vaziiānte* (Yt 14.43). ◊ The interpretation of YAv. **uuažat* as a sigmatic aor., corresponding to Skt. (RV) *vakṣat*, is from Narten 1964: 140. This is declined by Kellens 1984: 368, fn. 1. || Final **əm* of the YAv. ending *vaozirəm* is the result of sandhi (Leumann 1952: 91), which must be Pir. Further evidence is provided by Khot. *-iru* (SGS: 203) and possibly Ossetic (Cheung 2002: 139).

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: 1. MMP *wy-* 'to move along' || 2. BMP *wc-* /*waz-* 'to move [intr.], blow [of wind]' (LW) || (+ **para-*) MMP *prwz-* 'to fly', BMP *plw'c-* /*parwāz-* (caus.) 'to fly off' (LW) || (+ **ham-*) ? BMP *'mwš-* /*amwaš-* (pret. stem) 'to collect, gather ?' (< Pth. ?, cf. MacKenzie, *Pahlavi*: 8) ⇒ DMMPP: 350b, 281b

1. Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *wy'nd*, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *wy'nd*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *wy'd* {in Pth. writing} || 2. Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *wcyt* /*wazēd*/; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *wcyt* /*wazīd*/ || (+ **para-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *plw'cyt* /*parwāzēd*/, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *'prwz'nd*; Partic.: pres. MMP *prwz'g* || (+ **ham-*) Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *'mwšt* /*amwašt*/

•PARTHIAN: *wz-* 'to blow (of the wind); to move, go, fly' || (+ **pati-*) *pdw'z* 'adherence, following; retinue (?)' || (+ **para-ā-*) *pr'w'z* 'flooded land, water meadow' || (+ **fra-*) *frwz-* 'to fly' ⇒ Ghilain: 52, 70 | DMMPP: 360b, 271b, 277b, 158b

Pres.: IND. 2sg. *wzyh*, 3sg. *wzyd*, 3pl. *wzynd* || (+ **fra-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 1sg. *frwz'n*; Partic.: perf. pass. *frwšt*

•KHOTANESE: *bays-* (*baš-*) 'to go quickly' || (+ **ā-*) OKh. *oys-* 'to be angry, [caus.] anger' || (+ **para-ā-*) OKh. *paroyš-* (*parauyš-*, *parauš-*) 'to drown' || (+ **fra-*) *haus-* (*hoš-*) 'to carry off' || (+ **ni-*) OKh. *nuvalys-* 'to flow down' (conflation of **ni-šarz* and **ni-uaz*) || (+ **ui-*) *gvays-* (*gvaš-*) 'to be separated' ⇒ SGS: 93, 20, 74, 155 f., 59, 32

•SOGDIAN: CSogd. *w'zt* (pl.) 'wings' || (+ **apa-*) CSogd. *pw'zy* (loc. sg.) 'separate, isolated', CSogd. *pw'zwny* (indecl.) 'isolation, retreat' || (+ **uz-*) BSogd. *zywz-* (intr./pass.) 'to be carried up, rise', CSogd. *zwz-* 'to fly up' || (+ **pati-*) SSogd. *pcwz-* 'to receive', BSogd. *pcwz-*, MSogd. *pcwz-* 'to meet' || (+ **para-ā-*) BSogd. *pr'wyz* 'to water, flow' || (+ **fra-*) CSogd. *frwz-*, MSogd. *frwz-* 'to fly' || (+ **ham-*) BSogd. *'nwz-* 'to assemble, foregather', CSogd. *'wyž-* (caus.) 'to bring together, collect, amass'

(**uz-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *zywzty*, Opt. 3sg. CSogd. *zwzy* || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 2sg. SSogd. *pcwzy*, 3sg. BSogd. *pcwzt*, BSogd. *pcwzty*, 3pl. BSogd. *pcwz'nt*, 2pl. SSogd. *pcwzδ* IMPV. 2pl. MSogd. *'pcwzδ*; Impf.: IND. 3pl. BSogd. *pc'ywz'nt*, MSogd. *pcywznd* || (+ **para-ā-*) Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. *pr'wšt* || (+ **fra-*) Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. *'fr'wz*, 3pl. CSogd. *frwz'nt*; Pres.: CSogd. *brwz'n'k* (Schwartz 1971: 412b) || (+ **ham-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *'nwzt*, 3pl. BSogd. *'nwz'nt*; Impf.: IND. 3pl. MSogd. *'mnw'znd*; Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. *'nw'st-k*, BSogd. *'nw'st'kw*, BSogd. *'nw'st'w*, BSogd.

'nwšt'w; Caus.: pres. OPT. 3sg. CSogd. 'wyžy, impf. IND. 3sg. CSogd. mwyž, pret. tr. 1sg. CSogd. 'wyžd'rm; Inf.: caus. pres. CSogd. pr 'wyž)

•CHORESMIAN: wz- 'to swim, fly', ? w'zy-² (caus.) 'to lead to, cause to run; to chase (away)' || (+ *apa-) bwz- 'to dissolve', bw'zy- (caus.) 'to chase away; hold back, restrain' || (+ *fra-) šwž- 'to jump on, mount', šw'ry- 'to throw away' || (+ *ham-) m/wž- 'to meet (together), encounter' || (+ *ham- or *ni-) ? m/w'zy- 'to bring, deliver; to cause to meet ?'. ◇ As to w'zy-, depending on the meaning(s) assigned, a derivation from *uac² 'to leave behind, let' or *uad 'to carry, lead (away); to marry (a wife)' cannot be excluded. || Samadi (l.c.) derives Chor. m/wž- from a formation with *ham-, rather than *aua- (Frejman 1951: 97). MacKenzie 1990: 105 prefers to reconstruct *awi-waza- and quotes YAv. awi-waza- 'to lead to'. The comparison is flawed though, since YAv. awi- (i.e. auui-) goes back to the preverb *abi-, which may not account for the apparently geminated -w- in Chor., cf. 'βw'k 'character, nature' (< *abi-*u*ahāka-), 'βwYN- 'to withhold strength' (< *abi-*u*ain). || Samadi: 225, 30, 200, 210, 225

•BACTRIAN: oāz- 'to use, employ' ⇔ S-W, *Bact.*: 209a

•NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *bazīdan/baz-*, *vazīdan/vaz-* 'to blow (as the wind)' (LW), Bal. *gwast/gwaz-* 'cross over, pass (by), swing', Kurd. *bazīn/baz-* (Kurm.) 'to run, quickly pass (by)', (Sor.) 'to be conquered', Abyan. *vāšta/vaz-*, Fariz. *-vašt/-vāz-*, Yar. *-vašt/-vāz-*, Gz. *vēz-*, *viz-/vās(se)*, *vēzā*, Jow. *ba-vašt/-a-vōz-*, Meim. *be-vejt/-a-vez-*, Natan. *-vāšt/-voz-*, Qohr. *vašta/vūz-*, Tr. *vašta/vōz-* 'to run', Gz. *vez-/vezā*, Khuns. *vīz-/vīzā* 'to blow [of the wind]', *vuz-/vuzā* 'to run', Gur. (Kand.) *vistīn/vīz-*, *-uz-* 'to spread; to lead (water); throw; to put in (the key)', (sec. caus.) Yar. *-vāzn-* 'to let (a horse run; to raid', Nn. *ī-vās/vīz-* 'to jump; to run, walk', Kurd. (Kurm.) *bānz* (f.), (Sor.) *bāz* 'jump, leap' || (+ *para-) NP *parvāz* 'flight'

•NEIR: Pash. *watəl* 'to fly', *prē-watəl* 'to fall', Sh. *wāz-/wīxt*, Bart. *wāz-/wīxt*, Yzgh. *waz-* 'to swim', Sh. *wōx-/wāxt*, Rosh. *wēxt*, Sariq. *wuḫ-/wuḫt*, Yzgh. *wōx-/wēxt* 'to fall', (caus.) Sh. *wāz-/wāzd*, Rosh. *wēz-/wīzd*, Bart. *wōz-/wōzd* 'to make swim, carry across (a stream)', Yzgh. *wazān-/wazānt* 'to bathe someone', Wa. *waz-/wašt-* 'to fall down', Yzgh. *wīz*, *wāz* 'burden' || (+ *ā-) Oss. I. *awazyn/azwæzt*, D. *awazun/auzt* 'to dam a river' || (+ *upa-) ? Wa. *pəwaz* 'driftwood' (Lorimer) || (+ *fra-) Sh. (Baj.) *riwāz-/riwuḫt*, Rosh. *rawāz-/rawuḫt*, Bart. *rawāz-/rawō/ūxt*, Sariq. *rawoz-/rawi/ūxt* 'to fly up, hop, start running', Yzgh. *ḫawez-/ḫawuḫt* 'to fly', (caus.) Sh. *riwāz-d*, Sariq. *rawazon-* 'to cause to fly, etc.', Wa. *rəw(ə)z-*, *гыw(ы)z-/rəwəzd-* 'to jump, hop, fly, fall' || (+ *ni-) Oss. I. *n(y)wazyn/nywæzt*, *nozt*, *nyzt-*, D. *niwazun/niwazt* 'to drink', Wa. *nyw(ы)z-*, *nəw(ə)z-/nyəšt* 'to leave', Pash. *niyūz* 'flood; inondation; torrent', ? Ishk. *nēz-/nəst*, *nušt* 'to go out, emerge' (mutual contamination with *niž-i- ?)

•MISC: Orm. *ywaz-/ywaštak*, *yūz-/yūštuk* ‘to fall’ || (+ **apa-*) Par. *aūz-aūzī* ‘to run away, flee’ || (+ **fra-*) Par. *rhāz-/rhāzī* ‘to fly’

•SANSKRIT: *vah* ‘to ride, drive, transport’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 535

◇ This root has an impeccable IE etymology.

•PIE **ueg^h*- ‘to ride, drive, transport, fly’ ⇒ LIV: 661 f. | Pok.: 1118 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. (Pamphylian) *φεχέτω* ‘he must bring’, Gr. *ὄχος* (m.) ‘car’, Lat. *vehō/vēxī* ‘I ride, bring’, OCS *vezō* ‘I ride’, Lith. *vežū* ‘I ride, procure’, OHG *wegan* ‘to move’, etc.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 136b, 139b; *KPF* II: 181; *EVP*: 94, 55; *IIFL* I: 396b f., 238a, 284b; Christensen, *Contributions*: 161 f., 259; Lambton 1938: 40b, 76a; *IIFL* II: 532b, 536a, 538a, 406a; *EVS*: 94a, 95b, 70a, 118b; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 85 f.; Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 216; Abaev, *Slovar*’ III: 216; *WIM* I: 74; *WIM* II/1: 85; *DKS*: 270a, 94b; Sims-Williams 1984: 74; Werba 1997: 398 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 253, 303, 388, 459, 253; Cabolov 2001: 136, 150; Lecoq 2002: 122, 127, 129 (passim); Shahbakhsh: s.v. *gwaz-*; Korn 2005: 99, 399 (passim)

***uās** ‘to make a noise (roar, shout, vel sim.)’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *vās-* ‘to low, roar’

Partic.: pres. (caus.) YAv. ^(s)*vāsaiiant-* (Waag 1941: 51; N 26)

•KHOTANESE: *bāsa-* ‘noise’ || (+ **ni-*) *nvās(ś)-* ‘to make a noise’, *nvāsa-* ‘noise’ ⇒ SGS: 62

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *w’s* ‘to roar’. ◇ BSogd. *w’s* (i.e. BSogd. *w’s’y* in P3 IV R.226) may not belong here: it is an inchoative formation of ***ḤuaH¹** ‘to blow’, cf. Henning 1945: 481, fn. f.

Pres.: impf. 3sg. SSogd. *wy’s* (Ragoza, *SF*: 30)

•NEIR: Oss. I. *wasyn/wast*, D. *wasun/wast* ‘to whistle, to play the pipes (vel sim.); to make a noise [of animals, like birds, cats, horses and other livestock, but *not* of canines and deer]’, I. *wasæg*, D. *wasængæ* ‘rooster, cock’ || (+ **niš-*) ? Oss. I. *nywwasyn*, D. *niwwasun* ‘to (start to) make a (animal) noise (neigh, mew, vel sim.)’. ◇ In view of the reduplication of Oss. I. *nyww^o*, D. *niww^o*, the (productive !) prev. *ny-*, *ni-* of the Ossetic forms rather derive from **niš-*.

•SANSKRIT: *vās* ‘to roar, low, bleat’ (RV, AV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 547

◇ This Ir. root is probably onomatopoeic with no certain IE connections (cf. EWAia II: 548).

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *DKS*: 279a, 194b f.; Abaev, *Slovar*’ IV: 57 f., 54 f.; Werba 1997: 471 f.

***uāz¹** ‘to respect’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *vāz-* ‘to respect’, YAv. *aša.vāzah-* ‘respecting Aša’, *vāzišta-* ‘most respected’ ⇒ Liste: –

Pres. athem.: IND. 1pl. YAv. *uzəməhī* (Y 65.1). ◇ On the analysis of this (hapax) form see Kümmel, l.c. 490.

•SOGDIAN: (+ **api-*) MSogd. 'ywp'zky' 'guesthood' (< metathesis. **api-ūāzaka*)

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **api-*) *bw'z'k*, *bw'zyk* (m.) 'guest' (Benzing 1983: 181 f.)

•NEIR: (+ **ui-*) Oss. I. *wazæg*, D. *iwazæg* 'guest' (not from **uaz*)

•SANSKRIT: *vāh* 'to respect; [med.] to acknowledge' || (+ **api-*) 'to respect, honour'
⇒ EWAia: –

◇ On Ir. **ūāz*¹, Skt. *vāh* see Insler 1996: 169 ff. and Kümmel 2000: 488 ff. On the Ir. (Sogd., Chor. and Oss.) continuations of **ūāz*¹ see Schwartz 1990: 200 ff.

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*' IV: 60 f.

**ūāz*² 'to play, contend; [pass. ?] to lose (in games)'

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *w'c-*/*wāz-* 'to play', BMP *w'cyk*/*wāzīg* 'game, play'

Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *w'cyt*/*wāzīd*; Inf.: BMP *w'cytn*/*wāzīdan*

•NWIR: NP *bāzīdan*/*bāz-*, Khuns. *bāz-*/*bāt* (LW) 'to play', NP *bāxtan*/*bāz-*, Tt. (Cha.) *vāz*/*vāšt*, Gz. *vāz*/*vāzā*, *vāž*/*vāžā* 'to lose (in game)', Varz. *vāzā*/*vāz-* 'to lose', NP *bāzī* 'play', Kurd. (Kurm.) *bāz* (f.), (Sor.) *bāzī* (LW), Gz. *vāzī*, Khuns. *vāzī* 'play', ? Bal. *bā(y) da-* 'to give up, lose' (< Pash. ?)

•NEIR: ? Pash. *bāy* 'loss (at play)', *bāyləl* 'to lose (in game)' (-y- < ?)

•SANSKRIT: *vā́ja-* (m.) 'contest, decisive battle, war, prize, booty, gain, reward' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 540

◇ Skt. *vā́ja-* does seem to have exact Ir. correspondences, which have not been recognised by Mayrhofer, *EWAia*, l.c. et al. The generally assumed connection between Skt. *vā́ja-* and *vā́jāyati* 'incites' (Lat. *uegēre* 'to incite', Goth. *uswakjan* 'to arouse, awaken', etc., Pokorny, l.c.; *LIV*: 660 f.) can now be doubted with the equation of the Ir. forms with *vā́ja-*: the Ir. forms are semantically irreconcilable with the *strong, awake* root **ueg-*. The noun **ūāza-* / Skt. *vā́ja-* may be a blend of **uan* / Skt. *van* 'to win' and **Haz* / *aj* 'to drive' (cf. Skt. *ājī-* m. 'contest, race').

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 35; Yarshater 1969: 183; *WIM* I: 66, 387; *WIM* II/1: 85; *WIM* II/2: 750; Vahman-Asatrian 1991: 81; Cabolov 2001: 161; Lecoq 2002: 135; *NEVP*: 16

**ui(H)z* ? 'to venerate ?'

•AVESTAN: (+ **ni-*) YAv. *niuuīz-* 'to venerate ?' ⇒ Liste: 56

Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *niuuīzaiti* (Yt 14.57)

◇ Further connections are uncertain: the existence of an Ir. root **ui(H)z*, which is postulated on the basis of one Av. hapax form, is rather doubtful, Kellens 1984: 101, fn. 6. The Av. form may be related to **uaid(H)*, reflecting an ingressive *sa-*formation. Cf. **urād* vs **urāz*, on which see Kümmel 2000: 623.

•PIE – ⇒ *LIV*: – | Pok.: –

•IE COGNATES: –

***uindar (*uṛndar ?)** ‘to stand; (caus.) to establish’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *wndlšny /windarišn/* ‘establishment’

IPth. *wyndršn* ‘establishment’ (Gignoux 1972: 36a)

•NWIR: Zaz. *vinderdiš/* (ind.) *vinden-*, (subj.) *vinder-* ‘to stay, remain, stand; wait’, (caus.) *vindārnen-* ‘to place, put’, Vafsi *vender-* ‘to stand’

•SANSKRIT: ? *vṇdāraka-* ‘who is the best, standing at the top’ (ŚB+) ⇨ EWAia II: 575

◇ The formation is probably unrelated to ***Hnar** ‘to be able, skilled’, although it is morphologically unclear. ⇨ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Henning 1954: 174 f.; Paul 1998: 316a f.

***uiač** ‘to contain’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *wnc-* /*winj-*/, (pass.) *wncyh-* /*winjīh-*/ ‘to be contained’

⇨ DMMPP: 95

Pres.: IND. 3pl. BMP *wncnd /winjand/*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. BMP *wncyhyt /winjīhēd/*

•KHOTANESE: ? LKh. *bījs-* ‘to assemble, gather [intr.]’ (cited in DKS: 280 f.)

⇨ SGS: –

•NWIR: NP *gunjīdan/gunj-* ‘to be contained’, NP *gunj* ‘volume’, Khuns. *buydä* ‘closet’

•NEIR: Sh. *wīz-/wīzd*, Rosh. *wīz-/wīzd*, Sariq. *wez-/wezd*, Yzgh. *waž-/wayd*, M. *wūj-/wūyd-*, Wa. *wic-/wict* ‘to be contained in, find room in, go into’

•SANSKRIT: *vyac* ‘to contain, embrace, encompass’ (RV+) ⇨ EWAia II: 590

◇ This IIr. root has no certain IE correspondences. The comparison to Lat. *vincīre* ‘to bind, to wrap up’ has been declined by Ernout – Meillet: 1066 on semantic grounds: "les sens des deux groupes n'ont rien de commun".

•PIE – ⇨ LIV: 696 | Pok.: 1130

•REFERENCES: Zarubin 1927: 176; Henning 1945: 469, fn. 3; EVS: 95b f.; WIM I: 345; DKS 280b f., 392b. f.; Werba 1997: 399; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 388

***uiaH** ‘to cover, wrap’

•PARTHIAN: (+ **pari-*) *prwy-* ‘to encompass’ ⇨ Ghilain: – | DMMPP: 281b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *prwyyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *prwyd*

•SOGDIAN: (+ **pati-*) BSogd. *ptw’y* (caus. ?) ‘to wind, roll’ || (+ **pari-*) BSogd. *prw’y* ‘to wrap up’. ◇ On semantic grounds, these Sogd. forms cannot be connected to Skt. *o-* ‘to weave’ (related to Sh. *pidyūc* (m.), (Baj.) *pedyōc*, Sariq. *padec* ‘thread’ ?), as suggested by Bailey (*Gs Henning*: 29 f.) and cautiously accepted by Mayrhofer (*EWAia I*: 275).

(+ **pati-*) Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *pt’yw’y*; Inf.: pret. BSogd. *ptwy’t*, BSogd. *ptwy’ty* || (+ **pari-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *prw’y*

•NEIR: Yzgh. *wəyeg* ‘blanket, counterpane’ || (+ *upa-) Sariq. *bawey-/bawīd*, Yzgh. *baway-/bawad* ‘to cover, veil’, Rosh. *bawīn* ‘covering, closing’, Sariq. *bawēin* ‘blanket, body covering’ || (+ *uz-) Sh. *zarwīn-t*, Rosh. *zarwīn-/zarwīd*, Bart. *zarwī(y)-/zarwīd*, Orosh. *zarway-/zarwīd*, Sariq. *zarwey(n)-/zarwid*, Yzgh. *zərway-/zərwayd* ‘to roll, wind, reel, wrap up’ (with -r- from the *pari-formations ?), Wa. *z(ə)wəy-* (*zəw(ə)y-*) / *z(ə)wət-* (*zway-*) ‘to wind, wrap, roll up’ || (+ *pati-) ? Sh. (Baj.) *pidwīn*, Rosh. *padwīn* ‘guard(ing), keeping, custody’ || (+ *pari-) Sariq. *parwey-/parwid* ‘to cover, veil’, Sh. *parwīn* ‘cover, wrapping’, Sariq. *parwein* ‘horse-clothing’. ◇ Oss. I. *byjyn/byd*, D. *bijun/bid* ‘to wind, braid (hair)’ is *not* of Iranian origin, *pace* Abaev 1958: 277 (and Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 441), on account of initial *b-*, which can only reflect older *β < Pir. *b or *up-. The Oss. forms are rather borrowings from Slavic, cf. OCS *po-viti* (NB: Sl. *v* = [β]). The Slavic forms are close to the Oss. forms, not only formally, but especially semantically. It is striking that Oss. *byjyn* is translated as Russ. *vit’* ‘to wind, braid; [also] to build a nest’ by Abaev.

•SANSKRIT: *vyā* ‘to wrap, to veil, to envelop’ (RV+) || (+ *upa-) *upavyā* ‘to enclose, enfold, wrap’ ⇒ EWAia II: 592

◇ It remains doubtful whether the Iranian and Skt. forms above are connected to IE **u̯ieH₁*. ‘to braid, wind’ (Lat. *viēre* ‘to bind, to plait’; Lith. *výti* ‘to twist’; OCS *po-viti* ‘to wrap, to bind’), on account of the meaning. Cf. EWAia, l.c.: “Die Verknüpfung ist semantisch nicht ganz befriedigend.”. On the other hand, BSogd. *wyt(’k)* ‘cord’, Yghn. *wíta* (or *víta*) ‘cord’ and especially Kurd. *bā* ‘braiding, twisting, rolling up’ (*bā dān* ‘to braid, twist, roll up’), Zaz. *vīyā* (f.) ‘a piece of thread, string, etc.’ do certainly continue IE **u̯ieH₁*- (**ueiH₁*-).

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 695 f. | Pok.: 1120 f.

•REFERENCES: EVS: 21b, 60, 109a, 117b; Werba 1997: 411 f.; Paul 1998: 317b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 441

***urad** ‘to soften (> to boil)’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *varəduua-* ‘weak’ (V 5.1)

•KHOTANESE: ◇ Khot. *bile* ‘intestines’, cited by Bailey, *DKS*: 289a, should rather mean ‘entrails’ and be connected to YAv. *d(ə)rəβδā-* ‘id.’ (Yt 13.11), on which see Emmerick, *SVK* II: 89, fn. 3.

•NWIR: (+ **u̯i-* ?) Bal. *grast*, *gradit/grad-* (intr.) ‘to cook (in oil or water), be fried’, (EHB) *grāst^h*, *grāsθ/grāδ-* (orig. caus., tr.) ‘to boil food’. ◇ The etymologies suggested by Geiger 1891: 116 (Skt. *vrādh*) and Elfenbein, *EAL*: 53 (**u̯i-rād-*, Av. *rād-* ‘to prepare oneself’) are unconvincing, as observed by Shahbakhsh: s.v. *grad-*. Perhaps, the Bal. forms rather derive from **urad*.

•SANSKRIT: *vrad* ‘to become tender, soft, weak’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 595

◇ Further Ir. connections are uncertain. Skt. *vrad* and its corresponding Ir. forms have no certain IE etymology. They are cautiously compared to Gr. βράδιος (Sappho), ῥαδινός ‘tendrils, slender, flexible’ by Mayrhofer, *EWAia*, l.c. The apparent, morphological peculiarities need to be explained though.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 697 | Pok.: 1163

****uraid* ?** ‘to blame, condemn’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *uruuaēd-* ‘to blame, condemn ?’, ⁽⁺⁾*uruuaēdāṃ* (Asg f.) ‘blame, condemnation’ (F 450) ⇒ Liste: 60

Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. ⁽⁺⁾*uruuidīieiti* (P 56, F 451)

◇ The Avestan forms have no known cognates. Taking his cue from Bartholomae, *AiW*: 1533, Kellens 1984: 127, fn. 12 *Liste*: 60) accepts the existence of an Av. root *uruuid* with the meaning ‘to perish’ (“*aller à sa perte*”). The evidence would be confined to two forms: YAv. ⁽⁺⁾*uruuidīieiti* (P56) and YAv. ⁺*nī.uruuidīiāt* (V 16.7). Several objections can be raised though. In the first place, YAv. ⁽⁺⁾*uruuidīieiti* (P56) translates Pahl. /*ēraxtēd*/ ‘is condemned’, cf. Jamaspa – Humbach: 78 f. Similar forms are also attested in the Frahang-i-Oīm (already quoted by Bartholomae, s.v. *urvaēd-* ‘stürzen’), viz. F 450 f. ⁽⁺⁾*uruuaēdāṃ* and ⁺*uruuidīieiti*. These forms are glossed by Pahl. *’dlng* /*ēring*/ ‘condemnation’ and *’dlht* /*ērixt*/ ‘condemned’ respectively, cf. Klingenschmitt 1968: 141. All three glosses are consistent and should therefore not be ignored in favour of an ad hoc translation ‘to perish’. Also the Av. form that Kellens interprets as “serait conduite à sa perte”, ⁺*nī.uruuidīiāt* (V 16.7), is probably unfounded. The translation is rather too strong-worded. Bartholomae’s analysis, from ²*road-* ‘to grow’ (1492 f.), which Kellens declined on account of its problematic pres. formation in *-īia-*, is more compelling and appears to be supported by an Av. past participle *nīuruzdō* quoted in the Herbedestan, cf. Kotwal ī Kreyenbroek I: 80 f.; Hintze 2000: 218, 333. Deriving an *īia*-formation from the intransitive ²*road-* is not necessarily an obstacle, as such *īia*-derivatives became productive at a later stage, which Kellens, l.c.: 125 himself points out. Alternatively, the reason for its rise is that it denotes the physical state (Kellens, l.c.), cf. ****raiš***. Since both ⁺*nī.uruuidīiāt* and *nīuruzdō* refer to food that ought to be given or acquired, the sense ‘to suffer from dystrophy, wear out, *von Kräften kommen* (vel sim.)’ is all the more likely (Almut Hintze, personal communication). ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

****uraiH*** ‘to crush, push down’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *uruuiai-* ‘to crush, push down’, YAv. *pairi.uruuaēšta-* (superl.) ‘who pushes down the best’ ⇒ Liste: 60

Partic.: pres. *nā-* YAv. *uruuīmaṇt-* (Yt 13.33)

•SANSKRIT: *vlay*¹ (*vray*¹) ‘to crush, collapse’ (RV+) ⇒ *EWAia* II: 598

◊ The evidence for an Ir. root *uraiH is limited to Av. An IE provenance cannot be ascertained.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: 699 | Pok.: –

•IE COGNATES: –

•REFERENCES: Hoffmann 1968: 39 ff.; Werba 1997: 319

*urais ‘to turn, spin’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *uruuāēs-* ‘to twist, turn’ || (+ **abi-*) ‘to turn to’ || (+ **aua-*) ‘to turn down’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to turn to’ || (+ **ni-*) ‘to turn to’ || (+ **ui-*) ‘to separate’ ⇒ Liste: 60f.

Pres. *ja-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *fraorisieiti* (Yt 10.9), ? YAv. *fraorisaiti* (H 1.17), YAv. *fraoirisaite* (V 9.40), 3pl. *uruuisānti* (Yt 12.25), YAv. *fraoirisānti* (Yt 13.46), INJ. 3du. YAv. *uruuisiatəm* (Yt 19.82), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *ni.uruuisiāni* (Yt 17.57 f.), 3sg. YAv. *avōirisiiāt* (Yt 5.62), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *fraoirisiiōit* (V 14.16), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *ni.uruuisse* (Yt 17.60); Partic.: pres. med. YAv. *fraoirsimna-* (Vr 12.5); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *auuauruuāēsaite* (V 4.22, V 4.25), 3pl. YAv. *pairi.uruuāēsaiieipti* (Yt 14.56), INJ. med. 3sg. YAv. *uruuāēsaiiata* (Yt 13.89), SUBJ. 1sg. YAv. *fraouruuāēsaiieni* (Yt 9.31), 3sg. YAv. *auuauruuāēsaiite* (V 4.22, V 4.25), YAv. *vī uruuāēsaiiāt* (P 20), IMPV. med. 2sg. YAv. *aiβi.uruuāēsaiiaŋ’ha* (Yt 17.15)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *l(y)štk /rištag/* ‘rope, string, thread’, ? MMP **rwys*, BMP **lwys /arwēs/* ‘rope’ || (+ **abi-*) MMP **bryšwm* ‘silk’ ⇒ DMMPP: 53b, 14b

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ā-*) **rws-*, **rws-* ‘to turn to, towards [intr.], face’. ◊ "Despite Ghilain 1939: 49 and 81, **rws-* and **rws-* belong together", DMMPP: l.c. This implies that **rws-* does not derive from ***raud**. ⇒ Ghilain: 49, 81 | DMMPP: 53

Pres.: IND. 3sg. **rwsyd*, 3pl. **rwsynd*, SUBJ. 1pl. **rws’m*, IMPV. 2sg. **rws*; Partic.: perf. pass. **rwst*, II **rws’d*, **rws’d*; Inf.: II **rws’d*

•SOGDIAN: ? CSogd. **rwyšt* ‘spun’ || (+ **ā-* ?) ? BSogd. **rw’štk*, **rw’štkw*, **rw’št’k* ‘bound, fixed’, CSogd. **rwxš* ‘bandage’ (GMS: §116, 157)

•CHORESMIAN: rYsY- ‘to spin’, **rys* ‘thread’ ⇒ Samadi: 176

•NWIR: NP *rēštan*, *rištan/ris-*, *rēsīdan/rēs-*, *rīsīdan/rīs-*, Kurd. *rēs-/rēstin*, Abz. *rēšta/rēs-*, Abyan. *rešta/res-*, Awrom. *rēstáy/rēs-*, (LW ?) Gz. *rēs-/rēsā*, Gur. (Kand.) *-ris-*, *-rās-*, Khuns. *rīs-/rišt*, *rīšā*, Meim. *bēm-rēšt/a-ri:s-*, Nn. *ressaye/ress-*, Qohr. *rīš(t)a/rīs-*, Siv. *res-/res*, *ris*, *resē*, Varz. *resse/res-* ‘to spin’, Bal. *rist*, *rēst/rēs-* ‘to twist (threads)’, (EHB) *rēst^h*, *rēsθ/rēs-* ‘to spin’, NP *rištah* ‘fiber, filament, etc., Yzd. (Zor.) *rēšta* ‘handmade noodles, macaroni; dough rolled thin then rolled up and cut thin into strings’, NP *arvīš*, *arvīs* ‘a hair rope’ (LW) || (+ **abi-*) Bal. *(b)resag* ‘to spin’, NP *abrēšum* ‘silk’ || (+ **ui-*) Kurd. (Sor.) *gurīs* ‘rope, string’

•NEIR: Pash. *rēšəl* ‘to spin’, Yghn. *rīwēš-/rīwēšta* ‘to twine, spin’ || (+ **abi-*) Oss. I. *ælvisyn/ælvæst*, D. *ælvesun/ælvist* ‘to spin’, Pash. *wrēšəl* ‘to spin’, (LW) Pash. *wrēšam*, Sh. *vīrēxum*, Sariq. *varaxīm*, Yi. *fərsəmē* ‘silk’

•MISC: Orm. *ras-/rasōk* ‘to spin’ = *ris-/risók*

- SANSKRIT: *vréśī-* name of waters (VS) ⇒ EWAia II: 598
- PIE **ureik-* ‘to turn around, wind’ ⇒ LIV: 699 | Pok.: 1158 f.
- IE COGNATES: OE *wriġian* ‘to tend, incline’, Engl. *wry* (etc.), Lith. *rišti* ‘to bind, tie up’
- REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 141a; *EVP*: 64, 90; *IIFL* I: 405b f.; *KPF* II: 202; *IIFL* II: 209a; Lambton 1938: 42a; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 132; Andreev – Peščereva: 314a f.; MacKenzie 1966: 106; *EVS*: 86a; *WIM* I: 72; *WIM* II/1: 81; *WIM* III: 115; Werba 1997: 238 f.; Cabolov 1997: 72; Cabolov 2001: 406; Cheung 2002: 159; Lecoq 2002: 121, 123, 126 (passim); Vahman – Asatrian 2002: 79; Kiefer 2003: 205; Shahbakhsh: *rēs-*; Korn 2005: 134 f., 151, 313, 379

*uraǰ ‘to go forth’

- AVESTAN: *uruuaj-* ‘to go forth’ ⇒ Liste: 60
Aor. *s-*: IND. 3pl. OAv. *uruuāxsat* (Y 34.13), SUBJ. 3sg. OAv. *uruuāxsat* (Y 44.8), ? YAv. *uruuašaiti* (Yt 4.4)
- SANSKRIT: *vraj*⁽ⁱ⁾ ‘to stride’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 594
◇ No further Ir. cognates are known.
- PIE **ureg-* ‘to pursue, trace’ ⇒ LIV: 697 | Pok.: 1181
- IE COGNATES: Hitt. */urki-/* ‘trace, trail’, Lat. *urgēre* ‘to urge’, Goth. *wrikan* ‘pursue, persecute’, OE *wrecan* ‘to drive, avenge’, Engl. *to wreak*, etc.
- REFERENCES: Humbach 1957: 43; Lehmann 1986: 410; Werba 1997: 379

*urād ‘to become enthusiastic, joyous?’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *uruuāθ-* ‘to become enthusiastic’, OAv. *uruuādah-* (n.) ‘joy, bliss’ (Y 43.2) ⇒ Liste: 60
Pres. them.: INJ. 3pl. YAv. *uruuāθan* (Yt 13.93)
- SANSKRIT: *vrādh* ‘to be proud, boast’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 597
◇ This apparently IIr. root has no further Ir. cognate forms. See also ***urāz**.
- REFERENCES: De Vries, *Altnord*: 457b; Fraenkel II: 741; Hoffmann, *Inj*: 122 fn. 33; Werba 1997: 400 f.

*urāz ‘to be proud, haughty / to entertain, regale?’

- AVESTAN: *uruuāz-* ‘to be proud, haughty / to entertain, regale’ || Kellens – Pirart II: 299, 313) connect the verb to *varəzī* (Y 45.9), to which a meaning ‘*plaisir*’ is assigned. This is both semantically and morpho-phonologically unacceptable.
⇒ Liste: 60
Pres. them.: IND. 1sg. ? OAv. *uruuāzā* (Y 30.1), med. 3pl. YAv. *uruuāzənte* (FrD 7); Perf.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *vaorāza* (N 84), SUBJ. 2pl. OAv. *vaorāzaθā* (Y 50.5); Partic.: pres. med. YAv. *uruuāzəmna-* (Yt 10.34, Yt 10.73)
◇ The evidence for an Ir. root **urāz* is limited to Av. No (possible) IE cognates can be cited. According to Kümmel 2000: 623, Av. *uruuāz-* may be connected to ***urād**, reflecting an ingressive *s-* formation. A similar case may be ***rHaz**.
- PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

X

***xač** ? ‘to rise, protrude ?’

•KHOTANESE: (+us-) LKh. *uskhajs-* ‘to rise up’ ⇒ SGS: 17

•SANSKRIT: *khac* ‘to protrude [of teeth], come out’ (class.) ⇒ EWAia III: 134

◇ The existence of an Iranian root *xač- is uncertain. The evidence is meagre and late. The Khotanese forms may well be borrowed from BSkt. The IE connections, cited by Pokorny (l.c.), are rather unsatisfactory.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 922 f.

•REFERENCES: DKS: 41b f.

***xad** ‘to beat, strike, inflict a wound, hurt’

•AVESTAN: (+ *ui-) ? YAv. *vīxad-* ‘to beat (the earth) apart’ (not ‘auseinander quetschen’ ?), *AIW*: 531 ⇒ Liste: 16

Pres. them.: INJ. 3sg. YAv. *vīxadat* (V 2.32), IMPV. 2sg. YAv. *vīxada* (V 2.31)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *xst* (ppp.) ‘wounded’ ⇒ DMMPP: 365a

Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *xst*

•PARTHIAN: *xd-* ‘to injure’, *xdm* ‘wound’ || (+ *ui-) *w(y)xs-* (inch.) ‘to be wounded’, *wxs’g*, *wyxs’g* ‘thrust, stab’ ⇒ Ghilain: 81 | DMMPP: 363b

Pres.: IND. 3pl. **xdynd* (Sundermann 1981: 175b), SUBJ. 2sg. *xd’h*; Partic.: pres. *xdyndg* || (+ *ui-) Inch.: pres. IND. 3pl. *wyxsynd*, *wxsynd*

•KHOTANESE: *khad-* ‘to wound, hurt’ || (+ *aya-) OKh. *vahas-* ‘to smite’ || (+ *pati-) *pāha-* (*pihei-*) ‘to strike’ || (+ *ui-) *gguhad-* ‘to harm, wound’ ⇒ SGS:25,121, 83, 30

•SOGDIAN: CSogd. *yd-* (f.) ‘wound, wounding, beating’, BSogd. *γδk’yn* ‘wounded’ || (+ *ham-) BSogd. *’nyδ-* ‘to prick, pierce’

(+ *ham-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *’nyδtt*, OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *’nyδ’y*; Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. *’ny’stk*, MSogd. *’nxst-* ‘stuck, having pierced’

•CHORESMIAN: *xδ-* ‘to stab, hurt’ ⇒ Samadi: 234

•NWIR: NP *xastan* (obs.) ‘to wound’, *xastah* ‘[obs.] wounded, sad; tired, bored’, borrowed into: Kurd. *xistin/xe-* ‘to strike, hit’, Gz., Nn., Varz. *xasse*, Qohr. *xasta* ‘tired’

•NEIR: ? Wa. *kas-/kast* (old inch. ?) ‘to thresh’, Sh. (Baj.) *šūδ* (m.), Rosh. *šūδ*, Sariq. *šīδ*, *šūδ*, Yzgh. *xəδnag* ‘thorn, spine, bramble’ (**xad-na-(ka-)*) || (+ *apa-) ? Oss. I. *æfxalyn/æfxæld*, D. *æfxalun/æfxæld* ‘to be damaged [of skin, body]’ (with sec. -l-)

•SANSKRIT: ? *kadana-* ‘destruction, killing’ (Ep. +) ⇒ EWAia III: 53

◇ This root should be separated from Skt. *khād* ‘to eat, chew’, which rather corresponds to an Ir. root ***xād** (q.v.). On the other hand, we may consider the late Skt. formation *kadana-*, which is obscure though and the initial velar would need to be explained as well. Ir. **xad* has no certain IE cognate forms, the comparison to Gr.

κεκοδών ‘robbing’, cited by Pokorny, *ibid.*, is fraught with difficulties, on which see Chantraine II: 522b f.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: 359 f. | Pok.: 516

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 498; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 117; *EVS*: 77b; *DKS*: 73; *WIM* II/2: 695; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 206

*xaf ‘to cough’

•CHORESMIAN: *xf-* ‘to cough’ || (+ **pati-*) *pcxf-* ‘to hem’ ⇒ Samadi: 234, 146

•NWIR: NP *xafīdan/xaf-*, *xufīdan/xuf-*, Bakht. *xufa-*, Gur. (Kand.) *kifānīn*, *kufānīn* ‘to cough’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *x_oyfyn/x_oyft*, D. *xufun/xuft*, Sangl. *xof-*, Yghn. *xūf-/xūfta*, Yi. *xóf-/xíft-*, M. *xaf-/xīft-* ‘to cough’

•MISC: Par. *khuf-* ‘to cough’

◇ The root is clearly onomatopoeic.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 264a f.; *KPF* II: 214; *IIFL* II: 265b; Abaev, *Slovar’* IV: 257; Andreev – Peščereva: 362a f.

*xaH ? ‘to open, dig (a well)’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *xā-* ‘spring, well’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *x’nyg*, BMP *h’n/xān/*, *h’nyk/xānīg/* ‘source, spring’

•PARTHIAN: *x’nyg* ‘source, spring’ ⇒ DMMPP: 363a f.

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *khā-* ‘to open’ ⇒ SGS: 26

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *x’xh*, MSogd. *x’x^o* ‘source’

•NEIR: Wa. *ǰūw* ‘well’ || (+ **fra-*) Pash. *warx* (m.) ‘a small irrigation channel’

•MISC: (+ **apa-* or **aṣa-*?) ? Orm. *waxay-ēk* ‘to dig’

•SANSKRIT: *khā́* ‘source, well’ ⇒ EWAia I: 451

◇ The sole verbal form attested in Late Khotanese is probably a denominative formation. It remains highly uncertain whether **xaH* is related to **kanH¹* ‘to dig’: **kanH¹* would be a present formation (IE **kenH¹-*) of **xaH*, as assumed in *LIV*: 344 n. 1. The initial *x-* would derive from the zero grade **kH-*, which would have been generalised. It is more likely an ancient cultural borrowing, cf. Lubotsky, *Early Contacts*: 311.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: 344 | Pok.: 634

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 412a; *IIFL* II: 553; *DKS*: 73b; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 460; *NEVP*: 92

*xaiz ‘to rise, ascend; increase’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **aṣa-*) MMP *’wxyz-* ‘to descend’ || (+ **ā-*) MMP *’xyz-*, BMP *’hyc-* (*KDMWN-*) */āxēz-* ‘to rise (up)’, MMP *’xyzyn-* (caus.) ‘to raise’ || (+ **pari-*)

MMP *prxyz-* 'to stand around, attend, serve; be, exist; dwell in, occupy' (LW)

⇒ DMMPP: 79b, 71b, 281b

(+ **āa-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP 'wxyzyd; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP 'wxyt || (+ **ā-*) Pres.: IND. 2sg. MMP 'xyzyh, BMP 'hycyh /āxēzēh/, 3sg. MMP 'xyzyd, BMP 'xycyt /āxēzēd/, IMPV. 2sg. MMP 'xyz, 2pl. MMP 'xyzyd; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP 'xyt, caus. MMP 'xyzn'd || (+ **pari-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *prxyzd*

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ā-*) 'xyz- 'to rise' || (+ **pari-*) *prxyz-* 'to stand around, attend, serve; be, exist; dwell in, occupy' ⇒ Ghilain: 61 f. | DMMPP: 79b, 281b

(+ **ā-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. 'xyzyd, 3pl. 'xyzynd, SUBJ. 1sg. 'xyz'n, 2sg. 'xyzy'h, IMPV. 2pl. 'xyzyd; Partic.: perf. pass. 'x'st || (+ **pari-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *prxyzd*, 3pl. *prxyzynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *prxyz'n*, 3sg. 'prxyz'h; Partic.: perf. pass. *prx'st*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **ati-*) ? *tihīysde* 'moves up' || (+ **abi-/ūi-*) *bihīys-* 'to expand', LKh. *bihīs-* (caus.) 'to raise' || (+ **āa-*) *vahīys-* (*vahaiys-*) 'to descend', LKh. *vahīs-* (caus.) 'to make descend' || (+ **ham-*) OKh. *hamkhīs-* 'to count'. ◇ On *tihīysde* cf. MacKenzie 1969: 399; differently *DKS*: 130b "rather *tī hīysde* with resumptive pronoun". || *bihīys-* with the meaning 'to mount', quoted by Bailey, *DKS*: 294, does not exist, on which see Emmerick, *SVK* I: 90 f. ⇒ *SGS*: 100, 122, 136

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ati-*) CSogd. *txyz*, MSogd. *txyz* 'to set, go down (of sun, moon)' || (+ **āa-*) SSogd. 'wxz, BSogd. 'wxz, CSogd. 'wxz 'to descend', SSogd. 'wxyz, BSogd. 'wx'yz (caus.) 'to bring (down)' || (+ **ā-*) SSogd. 'xšt- (past stem) 'to rise' || (+ **pai-*) BSogd. *pcx'yz*, MSogd. *pcxyz-* 'to kneel' || (+ **ham-*) BSogd. 'nxz-, CSogd. 'xz- 'to rise', BSogd. 'nγ'yz, BSogd. 'nx'yz, CSogd. 'xyž (caus.) 'to raise' (+ **ati-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. CSogd. *txyzt* || (+ **āa-*) *Widely attested*: Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. 'wxzt, 3pl. BSogd. 'wxz'nt, SUBJ. 1sg. SSogd. 'wxz'n, OPT. 2sg. SSogd. 'wxzy', etc. || (+ **ā-*) Pret.: intr. IND. 3sg. SSogd. 'xšt || (+ **pai-*) Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *pc'yx'yz*, MSogd. *pcyxyz* || (+ **ham-*) *Widely attested*: Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. 'nxzt, SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. 'nxz't, 1pl. BSogd. 'nxz'ym, 3pl. BSogd. 'nxz'nt, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: *m/xyz-* 'to rise, get up', *m/xyz(y)-* (caus.) 'to cause to rise, elevate, lift; to cause to grow' || (+ **ati-*) *m/cxyz-* 'to arise and proceed; to be stirred up', *m/cxyzy-* (caus.) 'to stir up (dust, wind, a certain case)' || (+ **āa-*) ? *wxs-* (intr.) 'to hang down' || (+ **fra-*) *rxyz-* 'to happen, occur (to), come into being' ⇒ Samadi: 248, 53, 223, 175

•NWIR: NP *xastan/xēz-*, Awrom. *hur (e)stáy/ hur (e)z-*, Gur. (Kand.) *hur -īz-/hur zā* 'to rise, get up', Awrom. *hur eznāy/ hur ezn-* (caus.) 'to make stand up', Mah. *xīziš* 'jump' || (+ **ā-*) Kurd. (Sor.) *āxēz* 'climbing, leaving, moving' (in *āxēz kirdin* 'to climb, leave, move [of multitude, herd]')

•NEIR: Oss. I. *xizyn/xyzt*, D. *xezun/xizt* 'to climb', Pash. *xež-/xatəl* 'to rise', Sangl. *xāž-/xōt* 'to rise', Yghn. *jax-/jāxta* 'to rise, ascend, get ready', Sh. (Baj.) *xēz*, Rosh. *xīz*, Bart. *xīz*, Sariq. *xeyz* 'straight, right, front' || (+ **pai-*) Wa. *pətxəz-/pətxəzd-* 'to become tired' || (+ **ham-*) Wa. *gīz-/gəzd* 'to rise' (< **han-gaīza-* < **han-yaīza-* < **han-xaīza-* ?)

•MISC: Par. *xīst kan-* ‘to rise, jump’

◇ The "xiz-"forms have been exhaustively treated by Gershevitch 1952a: 488 ff., who argued for the existence of three different roots: **haiz-* ‘to rise’, **h/xaiz-* ‘to creep’, **xaiz-* ‘to wait for, look for; to protect, pasture’. For ‘to creep’ I would rather reconstruct the root as **xaz-*, with root vowel **a* (on account of NP pres. *xaz-*). The etymology which ties Khot. *ham-khīś-* ‘to count’ to YAv. *ahaḡšta-* ‘unnumerable’ (Leumann, *Zur nordar. Spr.*: 31; *ELO*: 85f.) is formally difficult.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 80a; *EVP*: 98; *KPF* II: 190 f.; Andreev – Peščereva: 266b; MacKenzie 1966: 97; *EVS*: 100a; Abaev, *Slovar’* IV: 207 f; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 177, 281; Cabolov 2001: 100

***xa(m)p/b** ‘to dismount, descend, move away, leave behind?’

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ni-*) ? *nx’b* ‘drowning’ ⇒ DMMP: 248b f.

•SOGDIAN: CSogd. *fstxwmp-* ‘to ward off, repel’ (*fst* ° < ?)

Pres.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *fstxwmp*; Fut.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *fstxwmp*q’

•CHORESMIAN: ? *xwfs-* ‘[+ prep. *d, c*] to distance, move away; [+ *θ*] to be left behind’, *xwnb-* ‘[+ *d*] to put off, postpone; [+ *f*] to add; [+ *θ*] to leave behind’
⇒ Samadi: 246

•NWIR: ? NP *xamānīdan* ‘to bend’, (Tadj.) *xambīdan* ‘to descend’

•NEIR: Sh. *xāfs-/xāvd*, Rosh. *xāfs-/xāvd*, Bart. *xāfs-/xāvd*, Sariq. *xofs-/xovd* ‘to descend, dismount, alight’, Yi. *xafs-/xāvd*, M. *xāfs-/xōvd-* ‘to descend’, Sh. *xambēn-t* (caus.) ‘to take down, away; to shut (a door)’, ? Oss. I. *xawyn/xawd*, D. *xawun/xawd* ‘to (be)fall’ (with unexpl. *-w-*, LW ?), Bart. *xambīnak* ‘precipice’, Wa. *xam(b)-/xam(b)d-* ‘to descend, go down’, *xam(ɪ)v-/xamovd-* (caus.) ‘to take down, lower’

◇ The reconstruction of a common root for all the forms above is fraught with difficulties: contamination with other semantically similar forms may account for the phonological anomalies (?).

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 265 f.; *EVS*: 97a; Abaev, *Slovar’* IV: 148; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 405

***xand** ‘to laugh’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *xn-*, BMP *hnd-* (*GĤBĤWN-*) /*xand-*/ ‘to laugh’
⇒ DMMP: 363b

Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *xnynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. II BMP *hndyt/xandīd*, MMP *xnyst*; Inf.: BMP *hndyt* /*xandīdan*/

•PARTHIAN: *xnd-* ‘to laugh’ || (+ **us-*) ‘*sxnd-* ‘to mock’ ⇒ Ghilain: 54 | DMMP: 363b, 91b f.

Pres.: IMPV. 2pl. MMP *xndyd*; Partic.: pres. *xndynd* ‘laughing’ || (+ **us-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. ‘*sxndynd*

•KHOTANESE: *khan-* (*khaṃ-*, *khī-*) ‘to laugh’ || (+ **niš-*) OKh. *naḡkhaṃ-* ‘to laugh out, mock’ || (+ **ui-*) Khot. *bihan-* ‘to smile’ ⇒ SGS: 25 f.

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *xnt-* ‘to laugh’ || (+ **us-*) MSogd. ‘*xnd-* ‘to mock’, BSogd. *sx’ntcyk* ‘ridiculous’ (Intox. 10(N)), CSogd. *sxnt* ‘mockery’

Impf.: IND. 3pl. BSogd. *xnt’nt* (P1 37V.1355) || (+ **us-*)

•CHORESMIAN: *xnd-* ‘to laugh; play’, *xndk* ‘laughter, play’ (360.2) ⇒ Samadi: 237

•NWIR: NP *xandan/xand-*, Bal. *kandit/kand-*, Kurd. *kanīn/kan-*, (Sor.) (*rē-*)*kanīn/(rē-)kan-*, Abyan. *xandoya/xand-*, Anar. *xando/-xind-*, Gz. *χānd-/χāndā*, Gur. (Kand.) *xūāim/-xū-*, Khuns. *χind-/χindā*, Lasg. *xandāon*, Natan. *-χandāj-*, Qohr. *xandāda/xand-*, Sang. *bexuyetan*, Semn. *bexandiyon*, Siv. *χān-/χānd*, Soi *ba-xand-*, Yar. *-χand-* ‘to laugh’

•NEIR: Pash. *xānd-/xandəl*, Sh. *šānd-/šīnt*, Ishk. *xond-*, Sangl. *xānd-*, Sariq. *šon-/šind*, Yzgh. *xand-/xant-*, M. *xad-/xadiy*, Yi. *xoud-/xod-*, Yghn. *xant-/xānta*, Wa. *kand-/kand-*, ? Oss. I. *xudyn/xudt*, D. *xodun/xudt* ‘to laugh’ (with unexpl. vocalism, contamin. with **xraud*)

•MISC: Par. *khan-/khanī*, Orm. *xan-ōk*, *xan-ak* ‘to laugh’ = *xani k-/xandók*

•SANSKRIT: ? *kakh* ‘to laugh’ (Gramm.) ⇒ EWAia III: 42

◇ This root is most likely expressive/onomatopoeic in origin, cf. Gr. *καχάζω* ‘I laugh’, Lat. *cachinnō* ‘laugh loudly’, OCS *xoxotati* ‘to laugh loudly’, Lith. *kikénti* ‘to giggle’, etc. (Pokorny: 634).

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 244a; Ivanow 1926: 420; *EVP*: 96; *IIFL* I: 264b, 412b; *KPF* II: 192; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 157, 257; *IIFL* II: 265b, 526; Andreev – Peščereva: 355b; *EVS*: 78a; *WIM* I: 70; *WIM* II/1: 78; *DKS*: 71a f.; *WIM* III: 112; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 205; Cabolov 2001: 534; Kiefer 2003: 209; Lecoq 2002: 122, 127 (passim); Korn 2005: 319, 393

*xar ‘to go, pass’

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *xr-*, BSogd. *x(’)yr*, CSogd. *xyr* ‘to go, pass’, BSogd. *γyr* (caus.) ‘to transfer, take across’ || (+ **aua-*) BSogd. *’wxr*, CSogd. *’wxr-* ‘abandon’ || (+ **ā-*) BSogd. *’x’yr* ‘to walk’

Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *x’yr’t* (Dhy. 238, Dhy. 243), 3pl. BSogd. *xyr’nt* (SCE 540), POT. 1sg. SSogd. *L’ xrtw β’im* ‘I cannot go’ (A14.12); Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *xyr* (C2 60R.25, C2 60V.25, C2 BV.30), MSogd. *xyr* (M760R.1); Pret.: intr. IND. 3sg. BSogd. *xrt’y* (P1 785), SSogd. *xrt* (MKG 454, |MKG 590 |), 3pl. SSogd. *xrt’nt* (A14.22, A14.25, B7.4), BSogd. *xrt’nt* (P1 104, P1 446, P1 451, etc.), BSogd. *xrtnt* (P1 16R.539); Perf.: intr. IND. 3sg. MSogd. *xrtyy’ styy* ‘has passed’ (M767iR.1), 3pl. SSogd. *xrtkt’ sty* (B13.3); Fut.: POT. 3sg. SSogd. *L’ xrtw βwtk’ m* ‘he shall not be able to go’ (B11 1.9); Partic.: perf. pass. BSogd. *xrtk* (Dhy. 358), CSogd. *xrty* ‘gone, gone out’ (C2 60R.27); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. BSogd. *xyr’t* (Vim. 4), SUBJ. 2sg. BSogd. *xyr’* (Dhu. 49); Inf.: pret. CSogd. *xrt* (C2 13R.16) || (+ **aua-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *’wxr* (Dhu. 42), IMPV. 2sg. CSogd. *’wxr* (C2 83V.11); Impf.: IND. 2sg. CSogd. *w’xry* (C2 5R.30), 3pl. BSogd. *w’xr’nt* (SCE 562); Fut.: IND. 1sg. CSogd. *’wxrmq’* (C2 aV.3); Pret.: tr. 3pl. CSogd. *’wxr’d’rnt* (C2 105V.2); Partic.: perf. pass. (pl.) CSogd. *’wxr’tyt* (C2 111V.6) || (+ **ā-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *’x’yr’t* (SCE 197, SCE 383), 3pl. BSogd. *’x’yr’nt* (Dhy. 247, Dhy. 283 f., Dhy. 286, Dhy. 309, etc.), SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. *’x’yr’t* (Dhy. 95); Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *’xyr* (C2 51V.12, C2 57V.21); Pret.: IND. 3sg. intr. SSogd. *xrt* ‘he left’ (Nov2 R.12), 2pl. tr. CSogd. *’xyrd’rtt* (C2 68V.25); Partic.: pres.

BSogd. *x'ym'k (Dhy. 100, Dhy. 246), BSogd. *x'ym'y (Dhy. 288, Dhy. 297, Dhy. 311), BSogd. *xym'y (Dhy. 245); Inf.: BSogd. *cnn* *x'yr (P1 24V.882)

•CHORESMIAN: *x'r-* 'to pass, go past', *x'ry-* (caus.) 'to let (it) go past, pass'
⇒ Samadi: 231

•NWIR: Kurd. *her-* 'to go'

•NEIR: Oss. I. *xærd*, D. *xærdæ* '(upward) slope' (+ **ni-*) ? Sh. *nixarθ-/nixuǰt* 'to fall into ruins, sink', *nixārθ-/nixǰǰt* (caus.) 'to destroy' (why -θ-?)

•MISC: Par. *har-/harí* 'to be lost'

◇ This root appears to be exclusively Iranian, possibly abstracted or secondarily arisen from ***xrāmH**.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 260a; *EVS*: 51b; Asatrian – Livshits: 94; Abaev, *Slovar*' IV: 178 f.

***xard** 'to defecate'

•KHOTANESE: *saṃkhal-* 'to be tainted, smeared; to taint, smear'. ◇ The unusual preverb *saṃ-* is perhaps a Skt. contamination/loan (*SGS*: 242) or a (sandhi ?) variant of *tsam-* (*DKS*, l.c.). ⇒ *SGS*: 130

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **pati-*) *pCXrd* (*PCXRd*) 'dung, excrements'

•NWIR: NP *xard* 'muddy place' (LW) || (+ **pati-*) NP *payxāl* (obs.) 'excrement'

•NEIR: Pash. *xarəl*, Sh. *šarδ-/šuxǰt*, Rosh. *širδ-/šuxǰt*, Bart. *širδ-/šuxǰt*, Sariq. *šarδ-*, Yzgh. *xawδ-/xaǰt*, Yghn. *xǰrd-/xǰrdta* 'to defecate', Pash. *xar* 'muddy, turbid, dirty brown', Wa. *xərdǰx*, *xərδǰx* 'content of the intestines of slaughtered animal; bowels (and stool)', ? Sh. *šarθk* 'building clay, plaster, putty', Rosh. *šarθōb* 'yellowish green', Yi. *xəlarǰo* 'wet clay, mud, bog'

•SANSKRIT: *kard* 'to defecate' (in AVP, cf. Griffiths 2004) ⇒ EWAia: –

◇ The root may be of IE origin, but obviously it may have undergone tabooistic change, compare for instance ***sard**.

•PIE ? **ker-d-/kre-d-* (or **kerd-/kred-* ?) 'to defecate'. ◇ Liable to tabooistic change and semantic contamination. ⇒ LIV: 328 | Pok.: 573

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *-cerda* 'excrements (of mice, pig, cow and sheep)', (with mobile *s-*, without *d-*enlarg.) ON *skarn*, OE *scearn*, OFris. *skern* 'dung'

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 97; *IIFL* II: 266b; Andreev – Peščereva: 359a; *EVS*: 78b, 79a; *DKS*: 417a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 412; *NEVP*: 96

***xaz** ? 'to creep, crawl'

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *xyz-* 'to creep' ⇒ DMMPP: 371b

Partic.: pres. MMP **xyzyndg*, MMP *xyz'n*

•PARTHIAN: *xz-* 'to creep' ⇒ Ghilain: – | DMMPP: 371b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *xzyd* {hapax}

•SOGDIAN: ◇ There is no firm evidence for a verb *xyz-* ‘to crawl’ in Sogd., “nor need the compound MSogd. *z’yxyzyy* [attested in *BBB*: 61 ad 512] imply its existence”, Sims-Williams 1983: 47. In other words, *z’yxyzyy* can be translated not only as ‘crawling on earth’, but also as ‘setting on earth’ (***xaiz**), also MSogd. *txyz* ‘setting (of sun and moon)’.

•CHORESMIAN: *m/xsȳ-* ‘to creep’ ⇨ Samadi: 242

•NWIR: NP *xazīdan* ‘to crawl, creep’, Kurd. (Sul.) *xizān*, (Sina) *xiziān*, Awrom. *xizāy/-xiz-* ‘to slip, slide’

•NEIR: ? Pash. *cxēdal* ‘to creep’

◇ The IE origin of this root cannot be ascertained: exclusively Iranian ? The root may have been influenced by the (near-)synonym ***xaiz** ‘to rise’.

•PIE – ⇨ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 19; Gershevitch 1952a: 488 ff.; MacKenzie 1966: 113

***xād** ‘to devour, eat, gorge’

•PARTHIAN: *x’z-* ‘to devour’ ⇨ Ghilain: 39 | DMMPP: 363b

Pres.: IND. 3pl. *x’zynd*; Partic.: pres. *x’zyndg* ‘devouring’, *x’zyndg’n* (pl.) ‘devouring (monsters)’, perf. pass. II *x’z’d*

•KHOTANESE: *khās-* (denomin. ?) ‘to eat, drink’ || (+ **pari-*) OKh. *parchās-* ‘to make consume’ ⇨ SGS: 26, 75

•NWIR: NP *xāyīdan/xāy-* ‘to chew, gnaw, eat’, Bal. *k^hādiθ-/k^hād-* ‘to chew’, Kurd. (Kurm.) *kāyīn/kāy(ē)-* ‘to chew the cud, ruminant’ (< PKurd. **xāda-*)

•SANSKRIT: *khād* ‘to chew, to bite, to eat’ (RV+). ◇ I find the separation of Skt. *khād*, which has been assigned to the semantically unlikely root **k^(w)eH₂d-* ‘to squeeze out’ in *LIV*: 359, from the Ir. forms incomprehensible. ⇨ EWAia I: 451

◇ In view of the differences in meaning, **xād* (or **xādz* ?) should be separated from ***xad** ‘to injure’. The reconstruction of the final consonant(s) is uncertain: **xād* or with ingressive **s-*suffix **xād-z*, cf. ***urād** vs ***urāz** (Kümmel 2000: 623) ? An IE provenance for this Ir. root is uncertain: the IE preform **k^(w)H₂eǵ-* (cf. Arm. *xacanel* ‘to bite’) reconstructed by Klingenschmitt 1982: 210 and Kümmel, *LIV*: 360 has little to recommend.

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 104; WP I: 341; Klingenschmitt 1982: 210; Werba 1997: 457; Cabolov 2001: 547; Korn 2005: 82, 321, 389

***xāz** ‘to fight, struggle’

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ā-*) *x’z-* ‘to fight, do battle’ (Schwartz 1969: 446) ⇨ DMMPP: 78a
Pres.: IND. 3pl. *x’zynd*

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ā-*) BSogd. *’γ’ns*, SSogd. *ˆ’x’s* ‘fight, dispute’, CSogd. *’xs* ‘struggle, conflict, battle’ || (+ **para-*) ? BSogd. *prγ’yz-* ‘to deprive, plunder’,

CSogd. *pryz-* ‘to deprive’ || (+ **ui-*) ? CSogd. *^xyxs’mntw* (Asg. m.) ‘reproach’ || (+ **ham-*) BSogd. *’ny’s* ‘struggle, battle’

•CHORESMIAN: *x’zy-* (denomin. ?) ‘to fight, deal (a blow, slap in the face, sim.)’
⇒ Samadi: 233

•BACTRIAN: (+ **ā-*) *αχ(α)σ-* ‘to dispute, quarrel’, *αχασο, ιαχασο* ‘fight, quarrel, dispute’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 184a

•NWIR: NP *xāš* ‘battle, fight’ || (+ **pari-* or **para-*) NP *parxāš* ‘quarrel’

•NEIR: (+ **ni-*) Oss. I. *nyxas*, D. *nixas* ‘conversation, debate; *forum*, ἄγορά; word, language’

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *xazm* ‘battle’ (influenced by Mİr. **razm* ‘battle’ ?)

◇ On the etymology see Cheung 2001: 211

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar*’ II: 219 f.

*xraiH ‘to buy’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *xryn-* (BMP *ZBNN-*) ‘to buy’, MMP *xyr-* ‘to buy; trust’
⇒ DMMPP: 365a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *xrynyd*, 2pl. MMP *xryyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *xryd*

•KHOTANESE: *ggān-* (*gīn-*) ‘to buy’ || (+ **us-*) *uysgār(n)-* (*iysge-*) ‘to redeem’
⇒ SGS: 28, 15

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *xryn*, BSogd. *xr’yn* ‘to buy’ || (+ **upa-*) MSogd. *prxyy* ‘payment, wages’ (*Sogd.Tales*: 466) || (+ **us-*) BSogd. *sxr’n* ‘to rebuy’ || (+ **pati-*) CSogd. *ptxryn* ‘to hire’

Pres.: OPT. 2sg. SSogd. *xryny*, IMPV. 2sg. BSogd. *xr’yn*; Impf.: IND. 1sg. SSogd. *xr’ynw*, 3sg. SSogd. *xr’yn*; Pret.: tr. IND. 3sg. BSogd. *xr’yt δ’rt*; Inf.: SSogd. *xryt* || (+ **us-*) Inf.: BSogd. *sxr’yn’y* || (+ **pati-*) Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *ptyxryn*

•CHORESMIAN: *m/xn-* ‘to buy’ || (+ **us-*) *m/sxn-* ‘to buy (oneself) off, redeem (oneself)’ || (+ **pari-*) *prxn-* ‘to hire’ ⇒ Samadi: 236, 188, 158

•BACTRIAN: *χιρ-* ‘to buy, acquire’ || (+ **ā-*) *αχρινο* ‘purchase’ || (+ **ui-*) *οιχρινο, οιχηρηνο, οιχαρηηνο* ‘hire, rent’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 231b, 184a, 214a

•NWIR: *Widely attested*: NP *xarīdan/xar-*, Kurd. *kīrīn/kīr-*, Zaz. *herīnāyīs/herīnen-*, Abyan. *heria/ -hrin-*, Abz. *rīda/rēn-*, Anar. *-hrit/ (impv.) ihrin*, Fariz. *-hæri-/hrin-*, Gz. *(īrin)/(ī)rīnt*, Gil. (Rsht.) *hecæn/hin-*, Isfah. *irintān/irin-*, Jow. *bam-ehri/a-hriñ-*, Meim. *bem-heri/a-hrin-*, Khuns. *īrn-/rīt*, (LW) *xer-*, Nn. *rīr-rīn-*, Natan. *-χāri-/χār-*, Qohr. *hirīda/hrin-*, Semn. *-īrūt-*, Sang. *be-ršīndan*, Yar. *-hāri-/hrin-*, Soi *ba-xrīd-* ‘to buy’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *ælxæyn/ælxæd*, D. *ælxænun/ælxæd*, Yghn. *xīrīn/xīrīta-*, Yzgh. *xarn-/xamt* ‘to buy’ || (+ **ā-*) ? Oss. I. *arxajyn/arxajd* ‘to function; to attempt, exert’.

◇ The stem vowel *-æ-* of Oss. I. *ælxæyn*, etc. is inserted through paradigmatic

remodelling. || The meaning of Oss. I. *arxajyn* may have originally been *‘to cause to purchase something’.

•MISC: Orm. *šen-*, *šun-/šunōk*, *šīn-/šīyēk* ‘to buy’ = *šèn-/šènok*

•SANSKRIT: *kraj^j* ‘to buy’ (RV, AV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 410

•PIE **k^wreiH₂*- ‘to buy, purchase’ ⇒ LIV: 395 f. | Pok.: 648

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *πρίασθαι* ‘to strike a bargain’, (Myc.) *qi-ri-ja-to* ‘he bought’, OIrish *crenaid*, Toch. B *kāry-*, *kār-nā-sk-*, ORuss. *kr̄nuti*, *krenuti* ‘to buy’, OLith. *krienas* (m.) ‘purchase price’

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 106 f.; *KPF* I: 137, 207b, 244a; Ivanow 1926: 420; *IIFL* I: 409b; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 63, 157, 257; Abrahamian 1936: 130; Lambton 1938: 41b, 77b; Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 73; Andreev – Peščereva: 359a; Abaev, *Slovar’* II: 49 f.; *EVS*: 98b; Lecoq 1974: 62; *WIM* I: 69 f.; *WIM* II/1: 77, 82; *DKS*: 38b; Werba 1997: 278 f.; Paul 1998: 300a; Lecoq 2002: 121, 123, 126; Kiefer 2003: 207

***xrap¹ (?)** ‘to be proportionate to, appropriate to ?; to achieve, acquire ?’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *xrap-* ‘to be proportionate to, appropriate to ?; ‘to achieve, acquire [see below]’ ⇒ Liste: 16

Aor. athem.: SUBJ. 3sg. ? OAv. *xrapaitī* (Y 40.1)

•MISC: ? Par. *kherēw-* ‘to pick up’. ◇ Cf. *IIFL* I: 265a: "< **xrāpaia-* (Gr. κρόπιον ‘sickle’, Lat. *carpō* etc.) ?", whence also applicable to Av. *xrapaitī* ? : **xrap-/karp-* ‘to pick’ < PIE *(s)*kerp-* (cf. *IEW*: 944 f., *LIV*: 559). This is highly conjectural.

•SANSKRIT: ? *kalp* ‘to be proportionate to, appropriate to’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia I: 323

◇ The etymological and philological interpretation of OAv. *xrapaitī*, on which the postulation of an Ir. root **xrap¹* rests, is difficult. See Baunack 1888: 390; Narten 1986: 271, fn. 11; Kellens – Pirart 1991: 149.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

***xrap² (?)** ‘to enter (the water), wade ?’

•CHORESMIAN: ? *xrB-* ‘to enter (water)’, *xrby-* (caus.) ‘to lead (to the water)’ ⇒ Samadi: 240 f.

•NEIR: Sh. *kiriws-/kirūyd* ‘to stream out’, Bart. *kiriws-/kirīwd* ‘to wash away’

◇ The existence of this root in Ir. is uncertain, as the evidence is very limited. The similarity to OCS *kropiti* ‘to sprinkle (with holy water)’, Russ. *kropít*, etc. is perhaps just coincidental.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

***xrau** ‘to tear, break, scratch’

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ā-*) **xr’w-* ‘to scratch oneself, graze’, **xr’w* ‘scab, sore ?, bloody sore/wound ?’ ⇒ Ghilain: 76 | DMMPP: 78a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. **xr’wyd* {hapax}

•KHOTANESE: *gru-* ‘to break (open), scratch’ || (+ *uz-) OKh. *uysgru-* ‘to tear off’
⇒ SGS: 15

•NWIR: Abz. *xāvīda/xāv-* (orig. caus.) ‘to dig’ (see also ***h**u⁴ar⁴)

•NEIR: Pash. *xriy-/xriyəl* ‘to shave’ (LW ?), also *gəraw-* ‘to scratch’ (regular ?, Cheung 2004: 129), ? Yi. *xird-*, M. *xrid-* ‘to shave, scratch’, Oss. I. *ærxæw*, D. *ærxaw* ‘open wound, ulcer’ || (+ *apa-) ? Yzgh. *bərxand-/bərxast* ‘to scrape, file’ (influence from *(H)ra(n)d ?)

◇ Further IE correspondences are uncertain: this root can formally go back **kreu-* ‘to hit, break (into pieces)’, cf. Gr. κρούω ‘I hit’, Lith. *krušū* (*krūšti*) ‘I pound, strike’, ? OHG (*h*)*riuwan*, OE *hrēowan* ‘to mourn’, etc. But perhaps it is rather a blend of/with some (other) ‘scratch’ roots, notably ***x**šau and ***x**rāš.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 371 | Pok.: 622 f.

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 97; *Abaev, Slovar*’ II: 442; *EVS*: 20b f.; *DKS*: 92b f., 38b f.; *WIM* II/1: 78; *Blau* 1980: 222a; *Omar* 1992: 686a; *Paul* 1998: 318a; *Lecoq* 2002: 124; *NEVP*: 28

***xraud** ‘to become/make angry ?, afraid ?, confused ?’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *xraod-* ‘to become/make angry (?), become/make afraid (?)’. ◇ *Humbach* 1959 I: 56, fn. 65, assigns the meaning ‘to become/make angry’ to OAv. *xraod-*. ⇒ *Liste*: 16

Aor. athem.: SUBJ. 3sg. OAv. *xraodaiti* (Y 51.13), OAv. *xraodaŋ* (Y 46.11)

•PARTHIAN: (+ *para-, *pari-) ? *prxwdn* ‘scorn, abuse’ || (+ *fra-) ? *frxwdn* ‘contempt’. ◇ With *r...r* dissimilation. ⇒ *DMMPP*: 281b, 158b

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *pari-/*para-) *prxwθ-* ‘to become confused’, *prxwsy-* (caus.) ‘to confuse, distract’. ◇ Dissimilated from **pari/a-xrauda-* < **pari/a-xrauda-* < **pari/a-xrauda(ja)-*. ⇒ *Samadi*: 158 f.

•SANSKRIT: *krodh* ‘to be/become angry’ (RV+) ⇒ *EWAia* I: 415

◇ The precise meaning of this root needs to be elucidated.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *Werba* 1997: 172

***xraus** ‘to call’

•AVESTAN: *xraos-* ‘to cry’ (better: ‘to call’ ?) ⇒ *Liste*: 16

Pres. {1} them.: OPT. 3sg. YAv. *fra(-ca) xraosōit* (A 3.13), IMPV. 3pl. med. OAv. *xraosəntəm upā* (Y 53.8); Pres. {2} *ja-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *xraosīieiti* (V 15.5)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *hlws-* /*xrōh-*/ or /*xrōs-*/ ‘to call, cry’, MMP *xrwḥ* ‘call’ (with *xw’n-* ‘to call’) || (+ *ni-) MMP *nrxrwḥ-* ‘to reproach’ ⇒ *DMMPP*: 364a f., 249a f.

Partic: perf. pass. BMP *hlwst* /*xrōst/* || (+ *ni-) Pres.: IMPV. 2sg. MMP *nrxrwḥ*; Partic.: perf. pass. II MMP *nrxrwḥyd*

•PARTHIAN: *xrws-* ‘to call, evoke’, *xrws* ‘call’ ⇒ *Ghilain*: 64 | *DMMPP*: 364b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *xrwsyd*, 1pl. *xrws'm*, 3pl. *xrwsynd*, SUBJ. 1sg. *xrws'n*, 1pl. *xrws'm*, IMPV. 2pl. *xrwsyd*, ³*xrwsyyd*; Partic.: pres. *xrwsg*, perf. pass. *xrwšt*, ³*xrwšt*g

•KHOTANESE: *grūs-* ‘to call’ ⇒ SGS: 32

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ni-*) CSogd. *nxyrs-* ‘to rebuke’

Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *nyxrs* {hapax}

•NWIR: NP *xurōšīdan* ‘to cry, shout’, NP *xurōs*, Anar. *hīros*, Jow. *ru:s*, Nn. *huros* ‘rooster, cock’. ◇ The intervocalic *-š-* of NP *xurōšīdan* is the result of the following developments: < OP **-šj-* < **-θj-* < PIr. **-sj-*.

•SANSKRIT: *kroś* ‘to call aloud, call to’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 416

◇ An IE provenance for this common IIr. root cannot be established. Pokorny: l.c. cites the isolated formation, OE *hrēam* ‘emergency call’ (< Germ. **hrauhma* ?), as a possible cognate.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 571

•REFERENCES: Lambton 1938: 74b; Nyberg II: 219b; DKS: 93a; Werba 1997: 172; Lecoq 2002: 608b, 630b

***xrāmH** ‘to tread, stride, go’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ā-*) BMP *'hl'm-* /*āxrām-* ‘to stride to’. ◇ The MMP form, *'xr'm-* cited in Nyberg II:, l.c., MacKenzie, *Pahlavi*: 14, et al., is not mentioned in *DMMP*.

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *'hl'mydyt* /*āxrāmēd*/ (MX ii,145)

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *xr'm* ‘to come’

Pres.: IMPV. 2sg. BSogd. *xr'm*

•NWIR: NP *xirāmīdan* ‘to stride’

•NEIR: Wa. *čər(ə)m-/čərn-* ‘to go in, enter’

•SANSKRIT: *kramī* ‘to stride, go’ (RV+)

◇ The IE origin of the common IIr. root **kramH-* cannot be ascertained, lacking convincing IE cognate forms.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 369 f. | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 104; Nyberg II: 39b; DKS: 308b; Werba 1997: 278; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 136

***xrāš** ‘to scratch’

•SOGDIAN: MSogd. *xryš* (caus.) ‘to irritate’

Partic.: pres. BSogd. *yr'nsn'y* ‘irritable, annoyed’ (SCE 407)

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **upa-*) *bxr'h-* ‘to be abraded’ ⇒ Samadi: 31

•NEIR: Pash. *gərg-* ‘to scratch, scrape’ (Cheung 2004: 129)

•MISC: NP *xirāšīdan/xirāš-* ‘to scratch (a wound)’

◇ The forms may be expressive, similar to Engl. *scratch*, NHG *kratzen*, etc.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

***xsaH** ‘to explore, research’

•AVESTAN: *xšā-* ‘to explore, research’ ⇒ Liste: 16f.

Aor. them.: INJ. 2sg. OAv. *āxsō* (Y 46.2), SUBJ. med. 1sg. OAv. *xšāi* (Y 28.4); Perf.: IND. med. 3sg. YAv. *caxse* (Y 65.9)

•KHOTANESE: (+ **pati-*) *pacas-* ‘to confess’ ⇒ SGS: 63

•NWIR: (+ **fra-*) ? Bal. *šaksā(h)t/šaksā(h)-* ‘to send (a letter)’. ◇ Although formally similar, this Bal. formation can hardly be connected to *šastit/šast-* ‘to send’, since one would have to explain the cluster *-sk-*, which normally goes back to **-xs-*. Admittedly, it could have been contaminated with *šastit/šast-*.

•NEIR: (+ **pati-*) Oss. I. *fæzæxsyn/fæzæxst*, D. *fæzæxsun/fæzæxst* ‘to order; to admonish’. ◇ The inclusion of MSogd. *ptcxš* ‘to receive’ (Cheung 2002: 183) is wrong: see ***gāz²**.

•SANSKRIT: *kṣā* ‘to look, glance’ (MS) ⇒ EWAia I: 420

◇ The common IIr. root may be originally a thematic aor. stem of IIr. **kać* (***kas¹**). This stem was then re-interpreted as a root (Lubotsky). ⇒ LIV: 383 f., fn. 17 | Pok.: 638 ff.

•REFERENCES: *ELO*: 32 f.; *DKS*: 197b; *Werba* 1997: 280; *Shahbakhsh*: s.v. *šaksā(h)-*

***xšad** ‘to have mercy, grace, forgive (< to cleanse, clear of?)’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **apa-*) MMP *’bxš’y-*, BMP *’phš’d- / abaxšāy-/* ‘to forgive, have pity, mercy’ ⇒ DMMPP: 15b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. (?) MMP *’bxš’yd-* (S9 I Ra=Ri,32)

•PARTHIAN: *’xšd* ‘pity, mercy’ || (+ **apa-*) *’bxš’h-* ‘to have pity, mercy’, *’bxš’hyšn* ‘mercy, pity’ ⇒ Ghilain: 70 | DMMPP: 78b, 15a f.

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *’b’xš’hyd*, SUBJ. 2sg. *’b’xš’h’*, 3sg. *’bxš’h’*, IMPV. 2sg. *’bxš’h*, 2pl. *’b’xš’hyd*

•BACTRIAN: *αβχαλ-* (denomin.) ‘to vouchsafe, deign to grant’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 184b

•NWIR: (+ **apa-*) NP *baxšūdan*, *baxšīdan/baxš-*, borrowed into: Bal. *baškāt/bašk-* ‘to forgive’, Anar. *-ibaxso/ibaxš-*, Khuns. *biχš-* ‘to pardon, excuse’. ◇ NP *baxšūdan*, *baxšīdan/baxš-*, etc. is contaminated with the root ***baHxš**, cf. *WIM* I: 66; *Horn* 1893: 43 f.; *Henning* 1933: 188 f. Therefore, Bal. *baškāt/bašk-* cannot directly go back to ***baHxš** ‘to bestow, divide, apportion’, as assumed in *Korn* 2005: 113, 177 (passim).

•NEIR: Oss. I. *æxsædyn/æxsæst*, D. *æxsædun/æxsast* ‘to clear, get rid of something useless [e.g. field from stones]; to peel off’

•MISC: (+ **apa-*) Arm. (LW) *apašxarem* ‘I regret’

◇ The root appears to be exclusively Iranian.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•IE COGNATES: ?

•REFERENCES: *Ivanow* 1926: 419; *Abaev*, *Slovar*’ IV: 226

***xšaH** ‘to rule, be lord of’

•AVESTAN: xšā- ‘to be able; rule, be lord of’ ⇒ Liste: 17

Pres. *aīa-*: IND. 2sg. OAv. *xšaiiehī* (Y 44.15), med. 2sg. YAv. *xšaiiche* (Yt 10.29), med. 3sg. YAv. *xšaiiete*, 2pl. OAv. *xšaiiaθā* (Y 48.9), med. 3pl. YAv. *xšaiiente* (Yt 17.7, ms. F1), INJ. med. 3sg. YAv. *xšaiiata*. SUBJ. 1sg. (?) OAv. *xšaiiā* (Y 50.9), YAv. *xšaiieni* (FrW 4.2), 3sg. YAv. *xšaiiāt* (FrW 4.2), OPT. 3sg. YAv. *xšaiiōit* (Y 9.5), IMPV. 2sg. (?) OAv. *xšaiiā* (Y 28.7); Aor. them.: INJ. med. 3pl. OAv. *xšōntā* (Y 48.5), OPT. med. 2sg. YAv. *xšāēša* (Y 8.5, rep.), med. 3sg. OAv. *xšāētā* (Y 41.2), IMPV. med. 3pl. OAv. *xšōntam* (Y 48.5); Partic.: pres. *xšaiiant-*, pres. med. *xšaiiamna-* ‘being able to’ (Yt 10.23, Yt 10.37, Yt 10.110). ◇ YAv. *xšaiiōit* is discussed by Hoffmann 1976: 607f.; Kellens 1984: 311, fn. 1; Kellens 1984a: 270 f.; Paul 1998: 314a f. || With regard to *xšaiiamna-*, cf. Gershevitch 1959: 178, ad 23: “It seems that the middle ptc. *xšayamna-* with a finite verb always indicates that the subject can, or may, perform the action expressed by the finite verb”.

•OLD PERSIAN: (+ **upari-*) *upari-xšā-* ‘to rule over’ || (+ **pati-*) *pati-xšā-* ‘to have lordship over’ ⇒ Kent: 181a

MED.: Pres. *aīa-*: impf. IND. med. 1sg. **upariyaxšayaīy* <u-p-r-i-y-a-[y]-m> (DB 4.64), *patiyaxšayaīy* <p-t-i-y-x-š-y-i-y> (DNa 19, XPh 17), <[p]-[t]-i-y-[x]-[š]-[y]-[i]-[y]> (DSe 17); Partic.: pres. med. *xšayamna-* (DNb 15)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *š’y-* ‘to rule, have power; be able/worth/worthy [+ inf.]’, MMP *š’yh-* ‘to be king’, rule, come into a position of authority’, BMP *š’d-*, *š’y-/šāy-/* ‘to be able, possible; to be worthy’ || (+ **pati-*) BMP *p’thš’d*, *p’thš’dy* (BMP *ŠLYT*) /*pādixšā(y)*/ ‘ruler, sovereign, over-lord; authorised’ ⇒ DMMPP: 315a
Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *š’yhyd*, BMP *š’dt*, *š’dyt* /*šāyēd*/, 1pl. BMP *š’yym* /*šāyēm*/, 3pl. BMP *š’dynd* /*šāyēnd*/, etc.

•PARTHIAN: *šh-* ‘to be able [+ inf.]’ || (+ **pati-*) *pd(y)xš’-* ‘to rule, be lord of’ ⇒ Ghilain: 88 | DMMPP: 315b

Pres.: IND. 1sg. *šh’m*, 2sg. *šyhḥ*, 3sg. *šhyd*, *šhyyd*, 3pl. *šhynd*, SUBJ. 2sg. **šh’h*, 1pl. *šh’m*, 2pl. *šh’d*, OPT. *šhyndy(y)ḥ*; Partic.: pres. **šynd* ‘prince’, perf. pass. *šh’d* || (+ **pati-*) Pres.: IND. 3pl. *pdyxš’hynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. II *pdyxš’h’d* ‘rule’

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. **xš’y-*, CSogd. *xšy-* ‘to rule’

Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *xšy’*, 3pl. BSogd. **xš’y’nt*

•CHORESMIAN: *m/xh-* ‘to rule, govern’ ⇒ Samadi: 236

•BACTRIAN: *ḥu-* ‘to be able; can’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 235

•NWIR: NP *šāyistan/šāy-* ‘to be appropriate’, Aryan. *ešō/š-*, Abz. *ašō/š-*, Nn. *šā/šī*, Qohr. *ašā/š-* ‘to be able’, (impers.) NP *šāyad* ‘perhaps’ (< ‘it is fitting’), Kurd. (Sor.) *šiyān/šē-* ‘to be appropriate’, Zaz. *šīnāyīš* (*šāyīš*)/*šen-* ‘to be able (to do something)’, Anar. (impers.) *mi-šum*, *mi-šowume*, Fariz. *-š-*, Yar. *ši-*, Gz. *šā-/šā*, Isfah. (supplet. *tunān*) *ša-* ‘to be able’

•SANSKRIT: *kṣay*, *kṣā* ‘to rule, have power, own’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia I: 426

◇ The Indo-Iranian formations (Skt.) *kṣā-*, (Ir.) **xšā-* are connected to the ‘guard, supervise’ forms (***Haxš²**, Av. *aiβiiāxš-*, etc.) by Lipp (*LIV*: l.c.), who therefore adopts the earlier suggestion of Wüst 1966: 80 f., 83 f. A convincing explanation of the semantical aspects is lacking though. Since the political and cultural context of

kšā- and **xšā-* respectively is still not clear to us, the postulation of further IE connections remains elusive. Gr. κτώμαι ‘I obtain’, κτέατα, κτήματα (pl. tant.) ‘property, goods’ are most often cited as possible cognates.

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 618 f. | Pok.: 626

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 136a f.; Ivanow 1926: 422; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 156; Abrahamian 1936: 132; *WIM* II/1: 83; Werba 1997: 281; Cabolov 1997: 72; Lecoq 2002: 187 f. (passim)

***xšai** ‘to be anxious, worried, weep, lament’

•AVESTAN: OAv. *xšiiō* ‘lament’ (Y 31.30), YAv. *xšaiias-ca* ‘lament, [BMP transl.] šywn’ (Y 71.17)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *šywn /šēwan/* ‘lament’ || (+ **ā-*) MMP *’xš’d* ‘trouble(d), distress(ed)’ ⇒ DMMPP: 78a f.

•PARTHIAN: *šywn* ‘lament’ || (+ **ā-*) ^x*’xš’dyft* ‘suffering’ {hapax} ⇒ DMMPP: 321a, 78b

•KHOTANESE: ? *kšäv-* ‘to cry (of birds)’ ⇒ SGS: 25

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *’xš’ywn*, CSogd. *xšywn* (m.) ‘lamentation, weeping’ || (+ **para-* or **para-*) *prxšyw* ‘weeping’

•CHORESMIAN: *m/šy-* ‘to cry, lament’, *m/šywy-* (caus.) ‘to cause to cry’ ⇒ Samadi: 247 f.

•NWIR: Kurd. (Sor.) *šēwān/šēwē-* ‘to be confused, chaotic, anxious’, Awrom. *šewiāy/šewia-* ‘to be confused’, NP *šēvan*, Kurd. *šīn*, Awrom. *šiwān* ‘lamentation’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *æxsajyn/æxsajd*, D. *æxsajun/æxsajd* (only in 3sg. + *zærdæ* ‘heart’) ‘to worry, be anxious’, M. *xšīy-*, Yi. *xšt-m*, Sangl. *šid*, Ishk. *šīn-/šīd* ‘to weep’

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *šīwan-k* ‘lament’

•SANSKRIT: ? *kšā* ‘to burn’

◇ Connections outside (Indo- ?)Iranian are uncertain. Several Iranian forms appear to show a *ua*-extension, which may point to denominative origin (cf. Sundermann 1983: 642 f.). The comparison to the Skt. form is dubious, if it is to derive from IE **d^heg^{wh}-* ‘to burn’, *LIV*, 133 f., fn. 6. We would then expect a voiced consonant cluster in Ir.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 269a, 414b; MacKenzie 1966: 109; *DKS*: 68; Abaev, *Slovar*’ IV: 223 f.; Cabolov 1997: 74

***xšaip/b** ‘to throw, hurl’

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *kšäv-* ‘to throw’ || (+ **ā-*) OKh. *ākšū-* ‘to begin’ || (+ **para-ā-*) *prrakšīv-* (*pr(r)akšautta-*) ‘to reject’ || (+ **ni-*) *nikšū-* (*nikšvī-*) ‘to urge, promote’ ⇒ SGS: 25, 7, 53, 87

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ham-*) SSogd. *’nš’yp*, CSogd. *’šyp* ‘to bury’. ◇ On the semantical aspect of these Sogd. forms and the (Iir.) root see Yakubovich 2002: 544 f.

•NEIR: Sh. *xēb-/xīvd*, Rosh. *xīv-/xīvd*, Bart. *xīv-/xīpt*, Sariq. *xeyb-/xevd* ‘to thrash, pound, mince’, Wa. *šyp-/šyvd-* ‘to hit, pound, thrash’ || (+ **abi-*) ? Wa. *viš(ɫ)v-/višovd*, *wiš(ɫ)v-/wišovd* ‘to wipe’ (rather ***xšaub** ?)

•SANSKRIT: *kṣep* ‘to throw, hurl’ (Kellens 1977: 197 ff., Panaino, *Tišt.*: 96) ⇒ EWAia I: 437

◇ See also ***xšaip/b**.

•PIE ? **kseip/b-* ‘to throw’ ⇒ LIV: 373 | Pok.: 625

•IE COGNATES: OCS *o-šibati* ‘to turn away’, Russ. *šibat’* ‘to throw’

•REFERENCES: *KPF* II: 206; *IIFL* II: 552; Andreev – Peščereva: 369b f.; MacKenzie 1966: 109; *EVS*: 100a; *DKS*: 70a; Werba 1997: 173; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 350, 303, 379

***xšamH** ‘to be content with, bear, suffer, tolerate, resign oneself to’

•AVESTAN: OAv. **xšam-* (*xšam-*) ‘to be content with, resign oneself to’ ⇒ Liste: 17
Inf.: pres. OAv. *xšammānē* (Y 29.9)

•KHOTANESE: ? *kšam-* ‘to endure; to please [intr.]; to forgive’ ⇒ SGS: 24

•NEIR: (+ **uz-* ?) Pash. *zyam-* ‘to bear, tolerate’

•MISC: Orm. *zyam-* ‘to bear, tolerate’ (LW)

•SANSKRIT: *kṣamī* ‘to tolerate, be patient, gracious’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 426

◇ The reconstruction of an Iranian root ***xšamH** is far from certain. The interpretation of the Avestan hapax form can be disputed, whereas the Khotanese forms might well be borrowed from Skt./Pkt. The Pashto form may go back to a different root altogether, perhaps ***gam²** ‘to press, extort’ ?

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 101; *DKS*: 66b f., 186b; Werba 1986: 348; Werba 1997: 280

***xšan** ‘to harm, hurt, wound’

•AVESTAN: ◇ OAv. *γžāon-* with disputable meaning and aberrant initial consonant cluster may not be included, on which see ***gah**. ⇒ Liste: 21

•OLD PERSIAN: *a-xšātā-* <a-x-š-t-a> (ppp.) ‘unhurt, unperished, unconsumated ?’ (Wüst 1966: 5 ff.) ⇒ Kent: 165

•NWIR: Gur. (Kand.) *-šy-* subj. ‘to collapse, be destroyed’ (in *yānāt béšyāū* ‘Möge dein Haus verfallen !’) || (+ **ā-*) ? Bal. *āšēšt/āšēš-* ‘to rot’ (“Et. unknown.”, Shahbakhsh: s.v. *āšēš-*)

•NEIR: Wa. *šit-/šay-* ‘to kill’, ? Yzgh. *šad* (f.), (pl.) *šadežg* ‘collapse(s) of a wall, etc.’ || (+ **upa-*) Yi. *fšū* ‘very soft, ripe fruit’, *fšī* ‘rotten’ (< **perished*). ◇ Yzgh. *šad* is connected by Morgenstierne (*EVS*, l.c.) to OP *axšātā*.

•SANSKRIT: *kṣan* ‘to wound, hurt’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 423, 514

•PIE **tken-* ‘to harm’ ⇒ LIV: 645 f., 198 | Pok.: 452

•IE COGNATES: Gr. κτείω (aor. κτανεῖν, κτάσθαι) ‘I kill, slay’

•REFERENCES: *KPF* II: 205; *IIFL* II: 543b, 209b; *EVS*: 77b; Werba 1997: 343 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 329

***xšau** ‘to gnaw, chew, devour; to shear, shave, cut’

•SOGDIAN: ? BSogd. ’xšy- ‘to chew, gnaw’ (= [axšujā-] ?)

Inf.: BSogd. ’xšy’k

•CHORESMIAN: *m/x’w-* ‘to gnaw, chew off’, ’X’wc (obl.) ‘shaved’ ⇒ Samadi: 232 f.

•NWIR: NP *xišāy-* ‘to bite’ (LW ?), ? Bal. *šīay* ‘to shear, devour, rub away’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *æxsynyn/æxsyd*, D. *æxsinun/æxsid* ‘to gnaw; to comb hair’ (D. form < I. ?), Yghn. *xišóy-/xišásta* ‘to chew, gnaw, bite’, Yzgh. *šaw-/šed* ‘to eat, devour’, Wa. *šɫw-/šowd-* ‘to gnaw’, Ishk. *šāw-* (Zarubin), Sangl. *šāw-*, (?) Sh. *xāw-/xāwd*, Rosh. *xēw-/xēwt*, Bart. *xāw-/xōd* (caus.) ‘to scratch the eyes’, Sh. *šēm*, Khf. *šewn*, Rosh. *šawm*, Ishk. *xawn* ‘shears’, Yzgh. *šawāg* ‘weeding’, Wa. *xōwn* ‘scissors (for shearing sheep)’ || (+ *?) Sh. (Baj.) *xūj*, Rosh. *xāwj*, Sariq. *xāwj* ‘weeding’ (not from **us-rauda-ka-*) || (+ *ā- ?) M. *axšōw-/axšēvd-*, Yi. *axšōw-* ‘to chew, gnaw’ || (+ *upa-) ? Yi. *fxa-*, M. *fxaw-/fxevd* ‘to shear sheep’ || (+ *ui- ?) (pass./intr.) Oss. I. *ixsyjyn/ixsyd* || (+ *pati- ? or Oss. *fæ-* + *ui- ?) D. *fexsujun/fexsud* ‘to fade, wither, exhaust’ || (+ *pati-) ? Sh. *pišāw-/pišāwd*, *pišud*, Rosh. *pišēw/pišēwt*, Bart. *pišāw-/pišāwd*, Sariq. *pūšew-*, *pišew-*, Yzgh. *p(ə)šaw-/p(ə)šed* ‘to shear (sheep)’ || (+ *fra-) ? Sh. *rišāw-/rišāwd* ‘to cut, lop off (branches), prune’ || (+ *ui-) ? Sh. *wiḫāy-/wiḫūxt*, Bart. *wiḫaw-/wiḫūxt*, Orosh. *wuḫōd* ‘to comb’, Sh. *wiḫūj*, Rosh. *wiḫūj*, Sariq. *waxerj*, Yzgh. *x^wik* ‘comb’

•SANSKRIT: *kṣurá-* ‘razor, sharp knife’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 435

•PIE **kseu-* ‘to shave’ ⇒ LIV: 372 | Pok.: 586

•IE COGNATES: Gr. ζύω ‘I shave, scrape; I polish’, Gr. ζυπόv (n.) ‘razor’, Lith. *skūsti* ‘to shave, scrape’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 543, 414a, 195b, 209b; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 560 f.; Andreev-Peščereva: 359a f.; *EVS*: 101b, 77b, 79b, 104a, 65a, 71a, 116b, 94b; Abaev, *Slovar*’ IV: 240 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 339, 416

***xšaub** ‘to rustle, tremble’

•AVESTAN: YAv. **xšaub-* (*xšuf-*) ‘to rustle, tremble’ ⇒ Liste: 17

Pres. inch.: SUBJ. 3pl. YAv. *xšufsān* (Yt 10.113)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *ā-) MMP ’šwb, BMP ’šwp /āšōb/ ‘turmoil, disturbance’ || (+ *ui-) MMP *w(y)šwb-*, BMP *wšwp-* /wišōb-/ ‘to destroy, disturb’ ⇒ DMMPP: 57b, 347b

(+ *ui-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *wšwbyd*, BMP *wšwpyt* /wišōbēd/, 3pl. BMP *wšwpynd* /wišōbēnd/; Partic.: pres. MMP *wšwb’g*, (pl.) MMP *wšwb’g’n*, perf. pass. (sec.) MMP *wyšwbyhyd*, MMP *ʷyšwbyh’d*; Inf.: BMP *wšwptn* /wišuftan/

•PARTHIAN: ’šwb, ’šwb ‘turmoil’ || (+ *ui-) *w(y)šwpt-* (past stem) ‘to disturb, destroy’ ⇒ Ghilain: 95 | DMMPP: 57a, 347b

- SOGDIAN: ? CSogd. *m-xwb-* ‘to rush out, move forth’. ◇ This hapax form cannot regularly derive from **ā-xš(a)ub-*, v. MacKenzie 1970: 124; Schwartz 1970: 293; Sims-Williams 1985: 56. Perhaps, it is a borrowing from Choresmian (cf. *xwβy-*) ? Impf.: IND. 3pl. CSogd. *mxwbynt* (C2 12V.9)
- CHORESMIAN: *xwβy-* ‘to press’ ⇒ Samadi: 246
- NWIR: (+ **ā-*) NP *āšuftan/āšūb-* ‘to agitate, disturb’, Kurd. (Kurm.) (*h*)*āžōtin/(h)āžō-*, (Sor.) *āžūtin/āžū-* ‘to chase, rush; to jump’ || (+ **ūi-*) NP **gušuftan* (lit., lex.) ‘to scatter, fade’ (attested in dictionaries as *کُشُفْتَن*)
- NEIR: (+ **abi-*) ? Wa. *viš(ы)v-/višovd-*, *wiš(ы)v-/wišovd-* ‘to wipe (off)’ (rather **xšaip/b* ?)
- SANSKRIT: *kṣobh* ‘to rock, start to swing, tremble’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 440
- PIE **k^(w)seub^h* ‘to rock, tremble’ ⇒ LIV: 372 | Pok.: 625
- IE COGNATES: Pol. *chybać* ‘to rock, to move to and fro’, Lith. *skūbti* ‘to start to hurry’, Goth. *af-skiuban*, OE *scūfan*, Engl. *to shift*.
- REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 8, 206; *IIFL* II: 548; Nyberg II: 216a f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 379; Werba 1997: 344 f.; Cabolov 2001: 106

*xšaud ‘to wash’

- AVESTAN: OAv. **xšaoδ-* ‘to become liquid’, YAv. *xšaoδah-* (n.) ‘gush, flush of water’ (Yt 10.14), YAv. *xšūδra-* (Yt 19.58), YAv. *xšudra-* ‘liquid, fluid’ (Yt 13.62, V 15.7 f., V 16.17, etc.)
Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. *xšusta-* ‘melted, liquid (of metals)’ (Y 31.3)
- MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *šwy-*, BMP *šws-* (*HLLWN-*) /*šus-* (past stem) ‘to wash’ ⇒ DMMP: 320b
Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. MMP *šwy’y’d*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *šwst*; Inf.: BMP *šwstn /šustan/*
- PARTHIAN: *šw(w)d-* ‘to wash’ ⇒ Ghilain: 64 | DMMP: 320a
Pres.: IND. 3pl. *šwwdynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *šwst*; Inf.: *šwstn*
- KHOTANESE: (+ **apa-*, **pati-*) ? LKh. *pašoj-* (inch. ?) ‘to be washed’ ⇒ SGS: 77
- CHORESMIAN: *xs-* ‘to wallow’ (cf. MacKenzie IV: 533) ⇒ Samadi: 242
- NWIR: NP *šustan/šōy-*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *šustin/šō-*, (Sor.) *šitin/šō-*, Bal. *šust, šušt/šōd-*, Awrom. *šitáy/šor-*, Abyan. *šōšta/šūr-*, Abz. *šōšta/šūr-*, Anar. *šuste/ šur-*, Ard. *šōšte/šor-*, Fariz. *-šust*, Yar. *-šust*, Gz. *šūr-/šus(s)-*, Gil. (Rsht.) *šostæn/šor-*, Ham. *šōštān/šur-*, Gur. (Kand.) *šūrin/-šūr-*, Jow. *bam-fɔʃt/a-fur-*, Meim. *bem-fɔʃt/a-fu:r-*, Khuns. *šūr-/šut, šuss*, Nn. *šuste/šur-*, Qohr. *šūšta/šūr-*, Sang. *-šost-/šurcæn-*, Siv. *šūr-/sēt*, Shamerz. *-šúst-/šurám-*, Sorkh. *-šust-/šur-* ‘to wash’. ◇ The *-r-* frequently found in the pres. stems of modern dialects is probably analogical. It can be ascribed to the influence of the paradigms of (notably) *dāštan/dār-* ‘to have, hold’, *kištan/kār-* ‘to plant, sow’ (rather than possibly from a denomin. of *šuhr* ‘sperm’, as suggested by Nyberg II, *ibid.*).
- NEIR: Sariq. *šōxtuj* ‘watering place’ (< **xšudra-štāHka-*)

•SANSKRIT: *kṣod* ‘to dissolve, disintegrate’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia I: 439

•PIE ◇ The IE correspondences of the common Iir. root are unclear. The comparison to Slavic (OCS *xudъ* ‘small, bad’, etc.), by Pokorny is semantically difficult. W.P. Schmidt (*Gs Henning*: 377 f.) suggests a connection with Lith. *skudrūs* ‘quick’, *skaudrūs* ‘flowing quickly’ and several names of rivers in Lithuania, *Skáudinis*, *Skaudupelis*, etc. ⇒ LIV: 372 | Pok.: 625

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 172 f.; *KPF* I: 142a; Ivanow 1926: 422; *KPF* II: 204; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 68, 166; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 59, 116, 160; Abrahamian 1936: 122; Lambton 1938: 42a, 78a; Fraenkel II: 798b; MacKenzie 1966: 109; *EVS*: 104b; Nyberg II: 187b f.; *WIM* I: 72; *WIM* II/1: 83; *DKS*: 70a, 223a f.; Blau 1980: 231b; *WIM* III: 117; Omar 1992: 608b; Cabolov 1997: 72; Werba 1997: 173 f.; Lecoq 2002: 121, 123, 126, 130 (passim); Korn 2005: 314, 387

***xšij ?** ‘to desire, long for’

•KHOTANESE: *kšimj-* ‘to desire, long for’ ⇒ SGS: 24

•BACTRIAN: *ḫiçyo* ‘good’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 235a

•NEIR: Oss. I. *æxsyzgon*, D. *æxsižgæ* ‘pleasant; urgently needed’

◇ Considering the limited distribution, **xšij* may be a regional borrowing.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

***xšnau¹** ‘to hear (< ‘to sharpen (the ears)’)’

•AVESTAN: ? YAv. *hu-xšnuta-* (+ **hu-* ‘well’) ‘well-sharpened’ (Yt 10.24, Yt 10.39).

◇ On Av. *xšnu-* see also Kellens – Pirart 1990: 233f.

•OLD PERSIAN: (+ **ā-*) *ā-xšn(a)u-* ‘to hear’ (cf. Benveniste 1946: 47 ff.) ⇒ Kent: 182 Pres. athem.: IND. 1sg. *āxšnūmij* <a-x-š-nu-u-mi-i-y> (XPI 26), med. **āxšnauvaij* <a-x-š-n-u-[v]-i-y> (|DNb 24 |, Hinz 1965: 229), SUBJ. 2sg. *āxšnāvāhy* <a-x-š-n-v-a-h-y> (DNb 29), IMPV. 2sg. *āxšnudiij* <a-x-š-nu-u-di-i-y> (DNb 54). ◇ On *āxšnūmij* see Hinz 1969: 46. It is no doubt a late formation, on which see Mayrhofer 1991: 201.

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **ā-*) MMP **šnw-*, BMP **šnw-* /*ā-šnū-* ‘to hear, understand’ ⇒ DMMPP: 57b

Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP **šnwynd* (M49 II R,13, M382 II A,6(1769)), SUBJ. 2sg. MMP **šnw’y* (M219 II R,9), IMPV. 2sg. MMP **šnw* (M219 II R,14); Partic.: perf. pass. MMP **šnwd* (M176 I V,14)

•PARTHIAN: **šnw-* ‘to hear, hearken’ ⇒ DMMPP: 93b f.

Pres.: IND. 3sg. **šnwīd*, **šnwīyd*, 3pl. **šnwīnd* (SS 53), SUBJ. 1sg. **šnw’n*, 3sg. **šnw’h*, 1pl. **šnw’m*, IMPV. 2sg. **šnw-*, 2pl. **šnwīd*, **šnwīyd*; Partic.: pres. **šnw’g* (SS 7 |), perf. pass. **šnwd*; Inf.: **šnwdn* (M4572 II Ri,9(1024)), **šnwdn*

•NWIR: (simplex or with **ā-*) NP *šinūdan*, *šunūdan*, *šanīdan*/*šanav-* ‘to listen, hear’, Kurd. (Sina) *žinaftin*/*žinaw-*, Awrom. *ažn(aw)jáy/-žnaw-* ‘to hear’, Fariz. *bāšno* ‘hear !’, Abz. *ašnīda/ō-šnōnov-*, Anar. *-ašnofte/ašnov-*, Bakht. *ašnīdan*, Gil. (Rsht.) *išnaveštæn/išnav-*, Ham. *ešnoftan/ešnov-*, Jow. *ma-fnoft/a-fno-* ‘to hear, listen’, Gur. (Kand.) *šināft/-šnāw-*, Meim. *beṃ-εfnoft/a-fnoʔ-*, Khuns. *ešnev-/ešniift*, *ešnevā*, Nn. *ašnuft/ašnov-*, Natan. *-šnovā/šānāv-*, Qohr. *ašnöfta/ašnö-* ‘to hear’,

Semn. -šnūá, Sang. -əšnúnd-/əšnəvæn-, Shamerz. -āšní-/šánám-, Siv. ešn-/ešnī, Soi bá-šn-, Sorkh. b-ášnu-/æšnu-, Lasg. b-ášnav- ‘to hear’ || (+ *ā-) Zaz. āšnāwitiš/āšnāwēn- ‘to hear’. ◇ It is almost impossible to distinguish between an initial prothetic vowel and the old preverb *ā-, which can disappear or be assimilated after a tense marker.

•NEIR: ? Wa. kšly-/kšən- ‘to hear’, (caus.) kšly(ly)-/kšoyovd ‘to rebuke’ (rather *Haxš ?). ◇ The Wa. forms are "phonetically difficult to explain", Steblin-Kamenskij, *ibid.*

•SANSKRIT: *kṣṇav* ‘to whet, sharpen’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 441

•PIE *ksneu- ‘to sharpen’ ⇒ LIV: 373 | Pok.: 585

•REFERENCES: Horn 1893: 177; Zhukovskij I: 20, 156; *KPF* I: 81a f., 140a f., 207b, 247a; Ivanow 1926: 422; *KPF* II: 205; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 69, 167, 261; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 59, 116, 160; Abrahamian 1936: 113; Lambton 1938: 42b, 78a; MacKenzie 1966: 89; Nyberg II: 34b; *WIM* I: 68; *WIM* III: 104; Vahman – Asatrian 1991: 77; Werba 1997: 174; Paul 1998: 291; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 212; Lecoq 2002: 120, 122, 131, 133 (*passim*)

***xšnu² ?** ‘to exchange gifts (between host and guest) (whence: ‘to entertain, welcome (a guest), to thank, praise, etc.’)’

•AVESTAN: *xšnu-* ‘to entertain, welcome, take care of (a guest)’, OAv. *xšanmanai* ‘instead’ (Y 29.9) ⇒ Liste: 17

Pres. {1} athem.: OPT. 2sg. YAv. *xšnuuiā* (Y 68.9), med. OAv. *xšnuuišā* (Y 28.1); Pres. {2} athem. red.: OPT. 2sg. med. YAv. **kuxšnuuiša* (FrW 7.2); Aor. *s-*: 3sg. INJ. OAv. *xšnāuš* (Y 46.13, Y 51.12), med. 3sg. YAv. *xšnaošta* (P 49), SUBJ. 1sg. med. OAv. *xšnaošāi* (Y 46.1), 3pl. OAv. *xšnaošən* (Y 30.5); Partic.: pres. {2} *kuxšnuuąna-* (Yt 8.49, H 2.13), aor. OAv. *xšnaošəmna-* (Y 46.18), perf. pass. *xšnūta-* (Y 31.3, Y 51.9, Y 60.2); Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. YAv. *xšnāuuaiieiti*; Desid.: pres. IND. 1sg. OAv. *cixšnušā* (49.1)

•OLD PERSIAN: *xšnu-* ‘to be satisfied, glad’ ⇒ Kent: 182

Partic.: perf. pass. *xšnuta-* <x-š-nu-u-t> (DNb 26)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP **šnw-* (denomin.) ‘to propitiate’ || BMP *šn’dyn-* /*šnāyēn-* / (sec. caus.) ‘to praise, propitiate’, BMP *hwšnwtk* /*hōšnūd* /*hušnūd* /, BMP *hwšnwtk* /*hōšnūdag* /*hušnūdag* /? ‘satisfied, content’ ⇒ DMMPP: 94

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP **šnwmyd* {hapax} || Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. BMP *šn’dynyt* /*šnāyēnēd* /; Inf.: caus. BMP *šn’dynyt* /*šnāyēnīdan* /; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *šn’dynyt* /*šnāyēnīd* /

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. **xšnyβnt* ‘hospitable, *dienerfreundlich*’

•CHORESMIAN: *m/XNwry-* (denomin.) ‘to thank’, *bxnwr’wc* (+ neg.) ‘ingratitude’ ⇒ Samadi: 138

•NWIR: NP *xušnūd* ‘content, pleased, happy’

•NEIR: Oss. *æxsæn* (postp.) ‘in the middle of, between’, *æxsæny* ‘public, general’, *æxsæny læg* ‘mediator, go-between’ (with archaic meaning ?)

◇ On the etymology see Schwartz, *Fs H.P. Schmidt*: 213 f.; Schwartz 1990: 203. This root and its IE provenance postulated by Schwartz, l.c. is problematic, as one

needs to make several assumptions about their semantic development: it is a rather tall order to reconcile notably the meanings of Av. and Oss. through an unproven series of semantic shifts.

- PIE *ksenu- ‘to exchange gifts (between guest and host)’ ? ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –
- IE COGNATES: Gr. ξένοσ, (Ion.) ξένοσ ‘strange(r); guest, host’, OIrish *son* ‘in exchange’
- REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar* IV: 227

*xšnauš ‘to sneeze’

- MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *šnwšk* /*šnōšag*/ ‘sneeze’
- CHORESMIAN: *xnwy-* ‘to sneeze’ ⇒ Samadi: 238
- NWIR: Kurd. (Kurm.) *hēnižīn/hēniž-* ‘to sneeze, yawn; to snooze’, Siv. *ešniš*, Sang. *ašniš* ‘to sneeze’, NP *šunōšah*, *išnōšah*, Khuns. *ešnižā*, *išnižā*, Tr. *hošnija* ‘sneeze’
- NEIR: Pash. *nžəl*, Yzgh. *šəniḫ^wtšniḫ^w-*, Yghn. *xūnūš-/xūnūšta* ‘to sneeze’, Pash. *nžai* ‘sneeze’, M. *yanīgo* ‘sneezing’, Sh. *šini(y)zgak*, *šunizgak*, Rosh. *šinivzak* ‘cold in the head, phlegm’, ? Oss. I. *æxsnyrsyn/æxsnyrst*, D. *æxsniṛsun/æxsniṛst* ‘to sneeze’. ◇ As for the Oss. forms, they are hardly connected to Engl. *sneer*, *snore*, *snarl*, NHG *schnurren* ‘to purr, buzz’, *schnarchen* ‘to snore’, etc., as assumed by Abaev, l.c. All these forms, including the Ossetic ones, are rather expressive or onomatopoeic.
- SANSKRIT: *kṣav* ‘to sneeze’ (Br.+) ⇒ EWAia I: 430
- ◇ The root is no doubt susceptible to onomatopoeic deformations.
- PIE (?) *ks(n)eus- ‘to sneeze’ (expressive) ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 953
- IE COGNATES: Lith. *čiáudėti*, *skiáudėti*, ON *hnjósa* ‘to sneeze’, OE *fnēosan*, Engl. *to sneeze*, etc.
- REFERENCES: Andreev – Peščereva: 362b f.; Edel’man 1971: 253; MacKenzie, *Pahlavi*: 80; Abaev, *Slovar* IV: 239; Werba 1997: 173; Lecoq 2002: 664a

*xšṣuid ‘to whistle, squeak’

- CHORESMIAN: ? *m/XYδ-* ‘to whistle’ ⇒ Samadi: 248
- NEIR: Oss. I. *æxsidynd/æxsyst*, D. *æxsedun/æxsist* ‘to boil’ (“contamination”), Yzgh. *x^wižd/x^wiž-* (inch. ?) ‘to whistle’, ? Wa. *yakš-/yakšt-* ‘to boil’, ? Pash. *špēlai* ‘whistle, hiss’, Wa. *šiwás(t)* ‘whistle’, ? Yzgh. *xiž-/xižd* ‘to whistle’. ◇ Yzgh. *x^wiž-* from **ksuid-sk-* > Ir. **xšṣuid-zj-* (Bartholomae’s Law). || As for Wa. *yakš-/yakšt-*: “Phonet. impossible” from **ṣah*, *IIFL II*: l.c.
- SANSKRIT: ? *kṣved* ‘to squeak (of wheels)’ ⇒ EWAia I: 441
- ◇ The root is onomatopoeic.
- PIE ? ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 1040 f.
- IE COGNATES: OCS *svistati* ‘to whistle’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 553b; *EVS*: 104b, 119b; Abaev, *Slovar'* IV: 235; Werba 1997: 174; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 344, 421

***xšʁaip/b** ‘to vibrate, tremble, shake’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *xšuuāēβ-* ‘to vibrate (?), shake (quickly) ?’, YAv. *xšuuāēba-* ‘vibrant, sparkling’ (Yt 8.3) ⇒ Liste: 17

Partic.: caus. pres. YAv. *xšuuāēβaiiatʰ* (Yt 5.130)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *šyb-* ‘to move quickly, be confused, [water] to be stirred up’, BMP *šyp-* /šēb-/ ‘to be mixed, stirred up’ || (+ **fra-*) MMP *špdšybyšn* ‘turbulence’ || (+ **ham-*) MMP *hšyft-* (past stem) ‘to be confused’, MMP *hšybyyn-* (caus.) ‘to shake’ ⇒ DMMPP: 320b, 271a, 186b

Pres.: IND. 3pl. BMP *špyynd* /šēbēnd/, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *šybʰnd*; Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. MMP *šybynyd* || (+ **ham-*) Partic.: perf. pass. ? MMP *hšyftg* ‘confused’ {unpubl.}; Caus.: pres. IND. 3pl. MMP *šybyynynd*

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ā-*) *šyft*, *šyft* (past stem) ‘to trouble, vex’ || (+ **pati-*) *pšyft* (past stem) ‘to trouble, toss about’ ⇒ Ghilain: 95 | DMMPP: 57b, 285a

(+ **ā-*) Partic.: perf. pass. *šyft*, *šyft* || (+ **pati-*) Partic.: perf. pass. *pšyft*

•SOGDIAN: MSogd. *xwšyp* ‘whip’, ? BSogd. *xwšʰyp* ‘squinting’ (SCE: 23, 409)

•NWIR: NP *šēbīdan/šēb-*, *šīwīdan/šīw-* ‘to be mixed; to mix; to tremble, shake’, (LW ?) Kurd. (Mukri) *šēwā-/šēw-* ‘to be excited’, Awrom. *šewiāy/šewia-* ‘to be confused’, Gur. (Kand.) *šīwāījn/šīā* ‘to be mixed, shaken’, Qohr. *šefta* ‘mortar’

•NEIR: Yghn. *živ-/živta* ‘to whip’ (influenced by ‘to bite’, cf. Sogd. *jβ-* ?) || (+ **fra-*) Wa. *rəšīp*, *rəšīp* ‘whip’

◇ Despite the obvious, formal similarities, the semantic differences displayed by the Iranian forms favour the postulation of two different (Ir.) roots, ***xšaip/b** ‘to throw, hurl’ and ***xšʁaip/b** respectively, cf. Panaino, *Tišt.* I: 96; *EWAia* I: 437. The root ***xšaip/b** can be connected to Skt. *kṣep*, whereas ***xšʁaip/b** may be related to the IE ‘swing, whip’ forms.

•PIE ? **(k)sueip-* ‘to swing, shake, whip’ ⇒ LIV: 377 | Pok.: 1042

•IE COGNATES: Latv. *svāipīt* ‘to whip’, ON *svífa* ‘to swing, turn’, OHG *sweifēn*, OE *swīfan* ‘to turn, wipe’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 538; Andreev – Peščereva: 369b; Nyberg II: 186a; Kluge: 2002: 832b; Lecoq 2002: 654

***xʁaz** ‘to want, desire, wish’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *xwʰh-*, BMP *hwʰd-* (*BʰYHWN-*) /*xwāh-* ‘to want, desire’, MMP *xwyh-* (caus. ?) ‘to chase, pursue’. ◇ Interv. *-h-* < OP **-θ-* < Ir. **-s-* (in ppp.)? ⇒ DMMPP: 365, 370b

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP *xwʰhym*, 2sg. MMP *xwʰhyh*, 3sg. MMP *xwʰhyd*, etc.

•PARTHIAN: *wxʰz-* ‘to wish, need’ ⇒ Ghilain: 69 | DMMPP: 348a

Widely attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. *wx'z'm*, 2sg. *wx'zyh*, 3sg. ? ^s*wx'zyd*, 1pl. *wx'z'm*, 2pl. *wx'zyd*, 3pl. *wx'zynd*, SUBJ. 1pl. *wx'z'm*, IMPV. 2pl. *wx'zyd*; Partic.: pres. *wx'zg*, perf. pass. *wx'št*

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. *xw(°)yz*, CSogd. *xwž* 'to ask, request, beg, wish' || (+ *ā-) BSogd. 'xwš- 'to ask'

Pres.: IND. 1sg. dur. CSogd. *xwžmsq*, 3sg. CSogd. *xwžt*, 1pl. SSogd. ^s*xwy'zym*, SUBJ. 3sg. SSogd. *xwyz. 't*, etc. || (+ *ā-) Pret.: tr. IND. 3sg. BSogd. 'xwštw δ'rt

•BACTRIAN: *χωζ-* 'to ask, request, demand, claim' ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 233b

•NWIR: *Widely attested:* NP *x^vāstan/x^vāh-*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *xwastin/xwāz-*, (Sor.) *xwāstin/xwāz-*, *Zaz. wāštiš/wāzen-*, *Anar. -vā* (supplet. pret. *-piyā*) 'to want, wish', *Awrom. wāstáy/wāz-* 'to request', *Isfah. xastān* (supplet. *gu-*, ***gaHu**) 'to want, wish', *Fariz. -χāst/-χāz-*, *Yar. -χāšta/-χāz-* 'to marry (a woman)', (LW) *Gz. χās-/χās(s)-*, *Gil. (Rsh.) bā-χast-/χaj-*, *Gur. (Kand.) wāst/-uwāz-* 'to want; to ask for the hand of', (impers.) ? Nn. *vā* (supplet. *piyā* < **upa-* + ***Hai**) 'to want, wish', *Natan. -χast*, *Shamerz. -χāst-/χām-*, *Soi bā-xā*, *Sorkh. -χāhí-* 'to want, desire', *Khuns. χās-/χās(s)-* 'to want; to ask for the hand of', (ppp.) *Gz. χāsse* 'guest' (< **invite*)

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *xuzem* 'I seek', Arm. (LW) *xoyz* 'search'

◇ An ablaut variant of ***kauz** 'to seek' ?

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 134b, 137b, 244b; Ivanow 1926: 421; *KPF* II: 193; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 63, 165, 257; Abrahamian 1936: 134; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 113, 157; MacKenzie 1966: 112; *WIM* I: 70; *WIM* II/1: 78; *WIM* II/2: 695; Blau 1980: 222b; Omar 1992: 690b; Paul 1998: 318a; Lecoq 2002: 189, 192 f.

Z

***zag** ? 'to sound (utter, say, etc.)'

•AVESTAN: YAv. *zaxšaθra-* 'libel, slander' (Yt 19.47)

•PARTHIAN: *zxs-* (orig. inch. ?) 'to sound' ⇒ Ghilain: 81 | DMMPP: 386b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *zxsyd*, IMPV. 2pl. *zxsyd*

•NWIR: NP *zāğ* 'crow, raven, rook', *zāğ giriftan* 'to revile, abuse', (?) *zajah*, *Gz. zağe* 'howling, lamenting'

•NEIR: Oss. I. *zæğyn/zağd*, D. *zæğun/zağd*, *zæğun/zağd* 'to say, talk', Sh. *zũy*, Yzgh. *zey* 'curse, malediction'. ◇ As for Yzgh. *zey*, *EVS*: 107b has a different etymology: **uz-auga-*, YAv. *aog-* 'to speak', which is to be discarded. Note the additional comment: "But no parallel, pejorative use of *us-* is known".

◇ The root is perhaps expressive, similar to Lith. *žagsėti*, *žegsėti* 'to hiccup', Lith. *žagatà* 'magpie', Arm. *jag* 'bird'.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *WIM* II/2: 753; Abaev, *Slovar* IV: 292 f.

***zaH** ‘to leave (behind)’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *zā-* (zə-) ‘to leave (behind)’ || (+ **a_ua-*) ‘to leave behind, abandon’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to abandon’ ⇒ Liste: 68

Pres. athem. red.: IND. 1sg. YAv. *zazāmi* (V 5.17), 3sg. YAv. *zazāiti* (Yt 5.130), INJ. 3pl. OAv. *auuazazat* (Y 34.9), SUBJ. 2sg. YAv. *zazāhi* (V 5.15), 3pl. OAv. *zazānti* (Y 30.10), OPT. 3pl. YAv. *frā ...³zaziiqn* (V 8.37 f.); Aor. {1} athem.: OPT. 1pl. OAv. *zaēmā* (Y 41.4); Aor. {2} s-: OPT. 3sg. YAv. *frazahī* (Y 60.7); Partic.: perf. YAv. *zazuš-* (Yt 13.18, P 26). ◇ YAv. *us.zīzānti* (V 3.5) was corrected to ³*us.zazānti* by Bartholomae, *AIW*: 1658 and interpreted as 3pl. SUBJ. ‘they breed’ (***zanH¹**), but Kellens 1984: 214 derived it from **zaH*. A further emendation was made by De Vaan 2003: 213: ³*us.zīzanānti* 3pl. IND. (***zanH¹**).

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ūi-*) *wzyh-* ‘to depart, abandon’ ⇒ Ghilain: 89 | DMMPP: 362b

Pres.: *wzyh*; Partic.: perf. pass. *wz’d, wyz’d*

•KHOTANESE: (+ **a_ua-*) OKh. *vaś-* ‘to shun, avoid’ ⇒ SGS: 120

•SOGDIAN: (+ **a_ua-* or **ūi-*) CSogd. *pyš-wz’y* ‘heirloom’

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **a_ua-*) (?) *wzy-* ‘to leave behind, remain’ ⇒ Samadi: 229 f.

•NEIR: (+ **a_ua-*) Yi. *wuzā-* ‘to be tired’, M. *uzāy-/uzāyī-* ‘to be left behind’ || (+ **ūi-*) Oss. I. *zajyn/zad*, D. *izajun/izad* ‘to remain’

•MISC: (+ **a_ua-* or **ūi-*) Orm. *ōzuk* ‘left, remaining’, Par. *ūzeh-/ūzā* ‘to remain, be left behind’

•SANSKRIT: *hā* ‘to leave (behind), abandon’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 813

◇ This root has a good IE etymology.

•PIE **g^heH₁-* ‘to leave (behind)’ ⇒ LIV: 173 | Pok.: 418 f.

•IE COGNATES: ? Gr. *κίχημι* ‘I overtake, reach, arrive, meet’ (ἐκίχην, κικήμενος), Gr. *χήρος* ‘empty, bereft’, Lat. *hērēs* ‘heritage’

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 238a f., 388b; *IIFL* II: 264b; *DKS*: 379a; Abaev, *Slovar* IV: 285; Werba 1997: 331

***zai¹** ‘to set in motion, impel’

•AVESTAN: *zaii-* ‘to set in motion’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to permeate, penetrate’ || (+ **ūi-*) ‘to let go, separate oneself from’ ⇒ Liste: 68 f.

Pres. athem. red.: IND. med. 3sg. ? YAv. ³*zazāitōe* (Yt 5.34, Yt 15.24); Aor. athem.: SUBJ. 2pl. OAv. *iuuizaiiāθā* (Y 53.7); Caus.: IND. 1sg. YAv. *frazaiiāmi* (V 5.18), SUBJ. 2sg. YAv. *frazaiiāhi* (V 5.16; Narten 1984: 275 f.)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *zyn*, BMP *zyn/zēn/* ‘armour, weapon, sword’ ⇒ DMMPP: 386b f.

•PARTHIAN: *zyn* ‘armour, weapon, sword’ || (+ **upa-*) *’bz’y-* ‘to begin’ ⇒ Ghilain: 86 | DMMPP: 386b f., 18a

(+ **upa-*) Pres.: IND. 3sg. ³*’bz’yd*, OPT. ³*’bz’yndyh*; Partic.: perf. pass. *’bz’d*

•NWIR: ? Siv. *z-* (supplet. *eš*) **’to impel*. ◇ The verb is used in *dílem mízē* ‘my heart wishes’, hardly from ***x_uaz**, *pace* Eilers, *WIM* III, l.c.

•NEIR: ? Pash. *zanəl* ‘to insert, plant, stab’, Sh. (Baj.) *zāz-/zōxt*, Rosh. *zēz-/zūxt*, Bart. *zōz-/zōxt*, Orosh. *zōz-/zōxt*, Sariq. *zoz-/zuxt*, Yzgh. *zaz-/zext* ‘to take, obtain,

adopt' || (+ *ā- ?) Yzgh. *zay-* 'to come' || (+ *āua-, *ā- ?) Wa. *wəz(ə)y-/wəzd-* 'to arrive, come' || (+ *pari-) ? Pash. *parz-, parj-* 'to fall, be thrown down, be prostrated' || (+ *ui-) Oss. D. *izazun/izazt* 'to lift up [with a handle]', Oss. D. *izaznæ* 'lever, crow-bar'

•SANSKRIT: *hay* 'to impel, drive, hurl' (RV+) || *háya-* (m.) 'horse' (RV+), *aśva-hayá-* 'spurring horses' (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 802 f.

◇ This Ir. root has no verbal correspondences in IE.

•PIE **ǵʰei-* 'to impel, to drive' ? ⇒ LIV: 174 | Pok.: 424 f.

•IE COGNATES: Arm. *ji*, (Gsg.) *jiōy* 'horse', ? OE *gād* (f.) 'point, spine, sting', Langob. *gaida* (f.) 'spear', Goth. *gain-*, OE *gān-* 'weapon, zyn' (in PN)

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 59, 102; *IIFL* II: 550b; Abaev, *Slovar*' I: 561; *EVS*: 109b; *WIM* III: 120; *Verba* 1997: 269; *Steblin-Kamenskij* 1999: 402; *Cheung* 2002: 195 f.; *NEVP*: 64

***zai²** 'to equip, adorn'

•KHOTANESE: (+ *ā-) *āysän-* (*āysä-*) 'to equip; adorn' ⇒ SGS: 10

•SOGLDIAN: BSogd., CSogd., MSogd. *zywr* 'ornament, necklace'

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *abi-ā-) *βy'zy'd-* 'to decorate, adorn' (cf *MacKenzie* III: 323)

⇒ *Samadi*: 44

•NWIR: NP *zē-var* 'ornament', *zē-bā* 'beautiful', Bal. *zayō* 'ornament' || (+ *ā-) Bal. *āzīt/āz-* 'to clean, embellish, adorn, care for'

◇ This root is apparently exclusively Ir. with no IE cognates.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *DKS*: 21a f.; *Gharib*: 473b; *Shahbakhsh* s.v. *āz-*; *Korn* 2005: 278, 381

***zaiH** 'to destroy; to take away, deprive of'

•AVESTAN: YAv. *zī-* 'to destroy' || (+ *fra-) 'id.' ⇒ *Liste*: 69

Pres. *nā-*: SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *zināt* (Y 11.5); Partic.: perf. YAv. *ziziiuš-* (Yt 13.71); Pass.: IND. 3pl. YAv. *fraziṇte* (Yt 10.38), INJ. 3pl. YAv. *fraziṇta* (Yt 13.38)

•OLD PERSIAN: *dī-* 'to rob, take away' ⇒ *Kent*: 191a

Pres. *nā-*: impf. IND. 1sg. *adīnam* <a-di-i-n-m> (DB 1.59), 3sg. *adīnā* <a-di-i-n-a> (DB 1.44), <a-di-i-n-a> (DB 1.46, DB 1.66); Partic.: perf. pass. *dītam* <di-i-t-m> (DB1.50)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: ? BMP *zyn-* /*zīn-*/ 'to damage', MMP *zy'n*, BMP *zyd'n /zyān/* 'damage, injury' (LW) || (+ *ham-) MMP *hnzyn-* 'to hack, cut to pieces, murder'. ◇ On MMP *hnzyn-* (and Pth. *^xhnjyn-*), cf. *Henning* 1965: 32, fn. 5, accepted by *Boyce*, *Word-List*: 47: 'hack, cut to pieces, murder'. ⇒ *DMMPP*: 386b, 182a

(+ *ham-) Pres.: IND. 3pl. MMP *hnzynynd*

•PARTHIAN: (+ *ham-) *^xhnjyn-* 'to hack, cut to pieces' ⇒ *DMMPP*: 181b

Pres.: IND. 3pl. *^xhnjynynd*

•KHOTANESE: *ysän-* 'to take by force' ⇒ *SGS*: 112 f.

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. 'zy 'to grab, seize', MSogd. *zyn* 'to ruin' || (+ *pati-) CSogd. *ptžy-* 'to quarrel'

Pret.: tr. IND. 1sg. SSogd. 'zytw δ'rm; Pass.: pres. SUBJ. 3sg. MSogd. *zytyy β't* 'will be deprived' (BBB: 51) || (+ *pati-) Pret.: tr. IND. 3sg. CSogd. *ptžy'd'rt*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *para-) ? 'pžy- 'to break up, deflower' ⇒ Samadi: 167

•BACTRIAN: ζτ- 'to exact, seize, take by force' ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 192b, 174a

•NWIR: Bal. *zin-/zīt* 'to take, seize', NP *ziyān* 'damage, injury' (LW)

•NEIR: Yghn. *zin-/zīta-*, Sariq. *zin-/zid* 'to take away, bereave', Wa. *zənd-/zət* 'to take away, bereave', ? Oss. I. *zyn*, D. *zin* 'difficult'

•SANSKRIT: *jiyā* 'to take away, deprive from' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 602

◇ See also *jaiH².

•PIE ? ⇒ LIV: 167 | Pok.: 469 f.

•REFERENCES: Andreev – Peščereva: 367b; *EVS*: 108; *DKS*: 350b f.; Abaev, *Slovar'* IV: 321 f.; Werba 1997: 404 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 440; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *zin-*; Korn 2005: 380

***zamb¹** 'to open the mouth, yawn'

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *apa-, *abi-) MMP 'bhwm- 'to disclose, reveal' ⇒ DMMPP: 11a

Pres.: IMPV. 2sg. MMP 'bhwm; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. MMP 'bhwmhyhd

•PARTHIAN: (+ *apa-, *abi-) 'bhwm- 'disclosure' (< MP) ⇒ DMMPP: 11a

•NEIR: Oss. I. *zæmbyn/zæmyd* 'to yawn', Wa. *zymb(ы)y-/zombod-* 'to yawn, open the mouth', Wa. *zim* 'yawn' || (+ *abi-) Sariq. *vyzom(b)-, vyjom(b)-* 'to yawn, gape'

•SANSKRIT: *jambh* 'to open the jaws wide, snap' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 572 f.

◇ The nominal derivative *zamba- 'tooth' (= Skt. *jāmbha-*) is also attested in Ir., notably Khot. *ysīma-* 'tooth', Pash. *zāma* (f.) 'molar tooth'

•PIE ? *ǵemb^h- 'to show one's teeth', *ǵomb^ho- 'tooth, (set of) teeth' ⇒ LIV: 162 | Pok.: 369

•IE COGNATES: Arm. *camem* 'I chew', (?) OCS *pro-zębnŏti*, Lith. *žėmbėti* 'to sprout' (with unexpl. acute accent), Gr. γόμφος 'nail, peg', Lat. *gemma* (f.) 'bud, precious stone', OCS *zqbъ*, Russ. *zub* (etc.), Latv. *zūobs*, Toch. A *kam*, B *keme* 'tooth', OHG *kamb*, Engl. *comb*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 556; *EVS*: 87a; *DKS*: 351b; Abaev, *Slovar'* IV: 296; Werba 1997: 347 f.; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 441 f., 460; *NEVP*: 102

***zamb²** 'to crush'

•AVESTAN: (+ *ham-) YAv. *ham zənb-* 'to crush' ⇒ Liste: 67

MED.; Caus.: IMPV. 2pl. YAv. *ham zənbaiiaδβəm* (Yt 1.27)

•PARTHIAN: *zmbg* 'struggle, fight' ⇒ DMMPP: 382b

- NEIR: (+ *abi-) M. *vzəb-/vzəbd-*, Yi. *vəzb-* ‘to compress’, Sariq. *vizāmb-/vīzāmd* ‘to grind, rub to powder’, Ishk. *avžinj-* ‘to express’ || (+ *aṃa-) Wa. *vzəm-/vzəmd-*, *wzəm-/wzəmd-* ‘to express, squeeze, grind’
- SANSKRIT: *jambh* ‘to crush, to destroy’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 572
- PIE *ǵemb^h- ‘to tear’ ⇒ LIV: 162 f. | Pok.: 369
- IE COGNATES: Lith. *žembiù (žėmbti)* ‘I cut (to pieces)’, OCS *zębq* ‘I tear, pull up’, Alb. (pres. 3sg.) *dhemb* ‘it hurts’
- REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 260a, 551a; *EVS*: 87a; *DKS*: 223a; *Werba* 1997: 186 f.; *Steblin-Kamenskij* 1999: 384

***zamH** ‘to repay, reward, compensate’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *zəmanā-* (f.) ‘reward, payment, wages’ (N 17, F 626)
- KHOTANESE: *ysamtha* ‘payment for use’
- SOGDIAN: SSogd. *z’mn’k* ‘wage, payment’ || (+ *aṃa-) CSogd. *’wz’m-*, MSogd. *’wz’m-* ‘to repay, requite, condemn’, CSogd. *’wzms-* (inch.) ‘to be repayed’ (+ *aṃa-) Pres.: IND. 3pl. CSogd. *’wz’mnt*, OPT. 1pl. CSogd. *’wz’mym*; Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. *w’z’m*, MSogd. *w’z’m* (*Sogdica*: 43); Inch.: impf. IND. 3sg. CSogd. *’wzms*; Pass.: pres. OPT. 2sg. MSogd. *’wzty nyy wḃyy* ‘(so that) you should not be condemned’
- CHORESMIAN: (+ *aṃa-) *wz’cyk*, *’wz’cyk* (f.) ‘accusation’ (< *aṃa-zmH- + *-čī + *-ka)
- BACTRIAN: (+ *aṃa-) ωζ- ‘to be liable, to be responsible, to be a liability’ ⇒ S-W, *Bact.*: 234a
- NWIR: ◇ Bal. *zāmīn* ‘bail, security’ is unconnected, being a borrowing from Urdu *žām(i)nī* ‘mistake, misapprehension’ (< Arab.), *Korn* 2005: 282.
- NEIR: Pash. *zəmán* (m.), *zámna* (f.) ‘stipend’ (*NEVP*: 102)
- ◇ On the etymology see Schwartz 1975: 202 ff. However, I cannot agree with his ideas on the IE meaning (for which he gives ‘to match, (be in a) pair’) and possible influence from *ǵem-, as they involve many, often arbitrary, assumptions. Despite the objections raised by Schwartz, there is no compelling reason to consider the meaning of Greek γαμέω ‘I marry (a woman)’ secondary, rather than old. The Gr. meaning is no doubt related to the bridal payment given to the parents of the prospective bride, cf. *Mayrhofer*, *EWAia*, l.c.; *DKS*: 345b.
- PIE *ǵemH₁- ‘to compensate’ ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: 369
- IE COGNATES: Gr. γαμέω ‘I marry (a woman)’, γαμέτης (m.) ‘husband’

***zanH¹** ‘to give birth; (pass.) to be born’

- AVESTAN: YAv. *za(n)-* ‘to give birth; (pass.) to be born’ || (+ *us-) ‘to breed, produce; be produced, bred’ || (+ *ni-) YAv. *nizənta-* ‘born (in one’s own house)’ (F730) ⇒ *Liste*: 67

Pres. them. red.: IND. 3pl. YAv. *zīzanānti* (Yt 13.15), ? YAv. ^s*us.zīzanānti* (V 3.5; De Vaan 2003: 213), INJ. 3pl. YAv. *zīzanān* (Vr 1.3, Vr 2.3), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *zīzanānt* (Yt 13.142); Partic.: pres. YAv. *zīzanānti* (Yt 5.129), fut. med. YAv. *zāhiiamna-* (Y 4.5, 24.10, Vr 11.13), perf. pass. YAv. *zāta-* (Y 9.5, Y 65.6, Yt 19.56, etc.); Pass.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *zaiiciti* (Yt 13.16), 3du. YAv. *us.zaiiōiθe* (Y 9.10), 3pl. YAv. ^s*us.zaiieṅti* (V 2.41), INJ. 2sg. YAv. *us.zaiiaṅha* (Y 9.13), 3sg. YAv. *zaiiata* (V 1.17), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *zaiiāte* (V 19.5), 3pl. YAv. *zaiiānte* (Y 11.6, Vyt 1, Vyt 3, etc.)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *z'y(h)-*, BMP *z'-* (YLYDWN-) /zā-/ 'to be born; to give birth, bear', MMP *z'yn-* (sec. caus.) 'to bear, give birth to, bring forth' || (+ *ā-) MMP *'z'd*, BMP *'c't /āzād/* 'noble, free' || (+ *fra-) MMP *frzynd*, BMP *prznd /frazand/* 'child, son, offspring' (LW) ⇒ DMMPP: 380b f., 84b, 161a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *z'yyd*, *z''yyd*, *z'yd*, 3pl. MMP *z'ynd*, *z'yynd*, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP *z'y'nd*; Pret.: IND. 1sg. MMP *z'dm*; Partic.: perf. pass. MMP *z'd*, (pl.) BMP *z't'n /zādān/*, caus. II MMP *z'yn'd*, *z'ynyyd*; Caus.: pres. IND. 2sg. MMP *z'yyny*, 3sg. MMP *z'yn'y'd*; Inf.: BMP *z'tn /zādān/*; Pass.: pres. IND. 3sg. MMP *z'yhyd*, 3pl. MMP *z'yhynd*

•PARTHIAN: *z'y-* 'to give birth to; be born', *z'dg* 'son' || (+ *ā-) '(?)*jy-* 'to be reborn', *'z'd* 'noble' || (+ *fra-) *frzynd* 'child, son' ⇒ Ghilain: 87 f. | DMMPP: 380b f., 84b, 161a

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *z'yyd*, *z'yd* 'is born', 1pl. *z'y'm*, 3pl. *z'ynd* 'they bear', SUBJ. 3sg. ^s*z'y'h*, OPT. *z'yndyy*; Partic.: perf. pass. *z'd* || (+ *ā-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. *'jyd*, 3pl. *'jynd*, *'jynd*

•KHOTANESE: *ysan-* 'to give birth to', *ysai-* (pass.) 'to be born', *ysyāñ-* (caus.) 'to cause to be born' ⇒ SGS: 112, 114

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *zn-*, CSogd. *zn-*, MSogd. *zn-* 'to bring forth' || (+ *abi-) BSogd. *βz'yn* 'offspring, son' || (+ *ā-) BSogd. *'z'y*, BSogd. *'z'y* 'to be born, be produced, grow; [tr.] to beget, produce', MSogd. *'jy* 'to be born' || (+ *upa-) MSogd. *pz't* 'birth place', MSogd. *pz'tyk* 'homeland-' || (+ *fra-) BSogd. *βs'nt'k*, *βs'ntk* 'child' (Sims-Williams 1983: 50; MacKenzie, SCE: 39) || (+ *ni-) *nyz'tcw* (f.) 'born (in one's own house)' (Yoshida – Moriyasu 1989: 23)

Pres.: IND. 3sg. (intr., med. ?) *nnty* (v. Gharib 1965: 99), SUBJ. 3sg. CSogd. *zn't* 'she wants to give birth', IMPV. 2pl. MSogd. *znδ'* 'bring forth'; Pret.: tr. IND. 3sg. CSogd. *znd'rt*; Partic.: pres. CSogd. *zn'mnty* 'giving birth' || (+ *ā-) Well attested: Pres.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. *'z'yt*, BSogd. *'zyt*, OPT. BSogd. *'zy'y*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: *z'd* (ppp.) 'born', *z'dk* 'son'

•BACTRIAN: ζαδο, ζαδγο, ζαδαγο 'born, native' || (+ *abi-) ^sαβζανανο (pl) 'descendants' || (+ *ā-) αζι- 'to be born, be produced' || (+ *fra-) φροζιυδο, φορζιυδο 'descendant' || (+ *ni-) υιζαδαγο 'born (in one's own house)' ⇒ S-W, Bact.: 177b, 173, 230a, 208b

•NWIR: NP *zāyad* 'is born', Bal. *zā(y)-zāt*, *zāh-/zāhit*, Kurd. *zāyīn/zē-* (also pass./intr.), Zaz. *zāyiš/zēn-*, Abz. *zowa/zōn-*, Anar. (pres. 3sg.) *ezoya*, Awrom. *zāy/-z-*, Tt. (Cha.) *zā/zās*, (Ram.) *zā/zāst* 'to give birth', Gz. *zēn-/zīnt*, *zēnt*, Gil. (Rsht.) *zaan/zāj-*, Gur. (Kand.) *zā/-zī*, Khuns. *zā-/zā*, Mah. *zō-/zā* 'to bear, bring

forth' || (+ *ā-) NP *āzād*, Kurd. *āzā* 'free', (Sor.) 'free; hero', Gz. *āzzā* 'free' || (+ *fra-) NP *farzand* 'child, son' (< Pth.)

•NEIR: Oss. I. *zajyn/zad*, D. *zajun/zad* 'to bear, bring forth [usually of animals]; to be born, grow', Pash. *zōwul*, *zēžēdəl* 'to be born', Yghn. *zan-/zánta* 'bear, give birth; to be born', (orig. caus.) Sh. (Baj.) *zī(y)-/zōd*, Rosh. *zay-/zōd*, Sariq. *zey-/zūd*, *zīd* 'to bear', Yi. *zīy-/zūy-* 'to bear a child', Yghn. *žūta* 'child, son' || (+ *ā-) ? Wa. *yož-/yožd-*, *žit-* 'to bear [of animals]' || (+ fra-) Sh. *rizīn*, Khf. *rizæen*, Rosh. *rizēn*, Bart. *razen*, Orosh. *rizīn*, Sariq. *rajen* 'daughter'

•MISC: Par. *zā-*, Orm. *zay-* 'to be born' = *zay-/zayók* || (+ *ā-) Arm. (LW) *azat* 'free'

•SANSKRIT: *janⁱ* 'to produce, cause to be born, create' (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 567 f.

◇ This root has an impeccable IE etymology.

•PIE **ǵenH₁-* 'to beget, bear, produce' ⇒ LIV: 163 f. | Pok.: 373 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *γίγνομαι* 'I become, come into being', OLat. *genunt* 'they produce', (ppp.) Lat. *nātus* 'born', OIrish *gainethar* 'to descend from, to be produced', Arm. *cnanim* 'I am born, bear', Goth. *airþa-kunds* 'of earthly origin'

•REFERENCES: KPF I: 81b f.; Ivanow 1926: 422; EVP: 103 f.; IIFL I: 302a, 414b; EVP: 103; KPF II: 202; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 67; IIFL II: 277a, 555b; Andreev – Peščereva: 367a; MacKenzie 1966: 114; EVS: 109b, 71b; WIM I: 74; WIM II/1: 86; WIM II/2: 639; Abaev, *Slovar* IV: 284 f.; Cabolov 1997: 73; Werba 1997: 288 f.; Paul 1998: 320a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 431; Cabolov 2001: 105; Kiefer 2003: 210; Lecoq 2002: 125; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *zā(h)*-Korn 2005: 109 f., 379 (passim)

*zanH² 'to know'

•AVESTAN: *zān-* 'to know' || (+ *a_ua-) 'to perceive, recognize' || (+ *pati-) 'to recognize' || (+ *fra-) 'to learn, get to know' ⇒ Liste: 67

Pres. {1} *nā-*: IND. 3pl. YAv. *paiti.zānənti* (Yt 13.46), IMPV. 2pl. OAv. *paitī.zānatā* (Y 29.11); Pres. {2} them. *nā-*: IND. 3sg. YAv. *frazānaiti* (F 278, FrK 18 ff.), SUBJ. 3sg. YAv. *paiti.zanāt* (Yt 13.50), 3pl. YAv. *auuazanān* (V 6.45); Partic.: pres. desid. YAv. *zixšnāñghəmna-* (Yt 13.49, Yt 13.73), perf. pass. YAv. *paiti.zanta-* (Y 57.14, Y 57.34, Yt 8.34, etc.)

•OLD PERSIAN: *xšnā-* (inch.) 'to know' ⇒ Kent: 182

Pres. {1} inch.: SUBJ. 2sg. *xšnāsāhy* <x-š-n-a-s-a-h-y> (DNa 42), 3sg. *xšnāsātiy* <x-š-n-a-s-a-t-i-y> (DB 1.52); Pres. {2} *nā-*: impf. IND. 3sg. *adānā* <a-d-a-n-a> (DB 1.51), <[a]-d-a-n-a> DSq 3)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP 'šn's-, BMP šn's- /šnās-/ (inch.) 'to recognize, get to know, (re)connaître', MMP *d'n-*, BMP *d'n-* (YD'YTN-) /dān-/ 'to know, savoir' || (+ *ā-) MMP 'zynd, 'znd 'story' (LW) ⇒ DMMP: 93b, 134b f., 85b

Well attested: Inch.: pres. IND. 1sg. BMP *šn'sm* /šnāsam/, *šn'sym* /šnāsēm/, 3sg. MMP 'šn'syd, BMP *šn'syt* /šnāsēd/, 3pl. MMP 'šn'synd, BMP *šn'synd* /šnāsēnd/, SUBJ. 3pl. MMP 'šn's'nd, etc.; Pres.: IND. 1sg. MMP *d'nym*, 2sg. BMP *d'nyh* /dānēh/, 3sg. MMP *d'nyd*, 3pl. MMP *d'nynd*, etc.

•PARTHIAN: 'šn's- (inch.) 'to recognize, get to know, (re)connaître', *z'n-* 'to know, savoir' || (+ *ā-) 'zynd, 'znd 'story' || (+ *fra-) *fiž'ng* 'wise' ⇒ Ghilain: 82, 84 | DMMP: 93b, 379b f., 85b, 161a

Well attested: Incl.: pres. IND. 3sg. 'šn'syd, 3pl. 'šn'synd, SUBJ. 3sg. 'šn's'h, IMPV. 2pl. 'šn'syd; Pres.: IND. 1sg. z'n'm, 2sg. z'nyh, 3sg. z'nyd, etc.

•KHOTANESE: *ysān-* 'to shine' || (+ *a_{ya}-) OKh. *vaysān-* 'to recognize' || (+ *pati-) *paysān-* 'to recognize' || (+ *fra-) OKh. *haysān-* 'to be aware' || (+ *ui-) OKh. *biysen-* (*biyān-*) 'to wake up', OKh. *biysān-* (caus.) 'to waken' ⇔ SGS: 112, 119, 71, 148

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *zn'kh* 'knowledge, *jñāna*' || (+ *ā-) SSogd. 'z'n 'to know, recognize', SSogd. 'z'nt, BSogd. 'z'nt, CSogd. 'zynt, MSogd. '(')z(y)nd, MSogd. 'z'nt 'tale, parable' || (+ *pati-) SSogd. *ptz'n*, BSogd. *ptz'()*n, CSogd. *ptz'n*, MSogd. *ptz'n* 'to recognize' || (+ *fra-) MSogd. (⁶)fšn's 'to recognize' || (+ *ham-) SSogd. *nz'n* 'to declare', BSogd. 'nz'n, CSogd. 'z'n 'to acknowledge, confess, give thanks', CSogd. 'z'n 'confession, acknowledgement, thanksgiving'

(+ *ā-) Pres.: IMPV. 2sg. SSogd. 'z'n || (+ *pati-) Pres.: IND. 2sg. MSogd. *ptz'n'y*, 3sg. BSogd. *ptz'nt*; Impf.: IND. 1sg. CSogd. *ptyz'nw*, MSogd. *ptyz'nww*, 3sg. BSogd. *pt'yz'n*, 3pl. BSogd. *pt'yz'n'nt*, BSogd. *pt'yzn'nt*; Fut.: IND. 3pl. BSogd. *ptz'nt k'm*, SUBJ. 3pl. SSogd. *ptz'nt k'm*² || (+ *fra-) Impf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. ³fšn's || (+ *ham-) Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. 'nz'n't, POT.-SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. 'nz'n't wn't; Impf.: IND. 1sg. SSogd. *mz'nw*, MSogd. *mz'nw* (BBB: 36), 3sg. CSogd. *mz'n*; Fut.: IND. 1sg. CSogd. 'z'nnq', 3sg. CSogd. 'z'ntq'; Partic.: pres. CSogd. 'zn'nyt (pl.) 'confessors'; Inf.: BSogd. 'nz'n'y, BSogd. 'nz'n'y

•CHORESMIAN: *mñ's-* 'to become acquainted, accustomed', (caus.) *mñ'sy-* 'to acquaint' (*ñ* = [nn] < *zn- ?, rather than *xšn-, MacKenzie IV: 532) || (+ *apa-) *bn'sy-* 'to wean' (< *to disaccustom', MacKenzie I: 532) || (+ *ham-) *m/nc'n-* 'to acknowledge, admit' ⇔ Samadi: 115, 22, 35, 119

•BACTRIAN: ζαv- 'to acknowledge, (bear) witness' ⇔ S-W, *Bact.*: 191b

•NWIR: *Widely attested:* NP *šināxtan/šinās-* 'to recognize, distinguish', Kurd. *nāsīn/nās-*, *Zaz. nas-*, Awrom. *ažnāsāy/ažnās-* 'to know, recognize', Gil. (Rsht.) -šnast-/šenās-, Khuns. *išnās-*, *ešnās-išnāxt*, *išnāsā*, Mah. -išnās-, Qohr. *ešnāsāda/ešnās-*, Siv. *šnās-* (inch.) 'to get to know, recognize', NP *dānistān/dān-*, Bal. *zān/zānt*, Kurd. *zānīn/zān-*, *Zaz. zānāyiš/zān-*, Tt. (Esh.) *zun/zund*, Anar. -izonozon-, Awrom. *zānāy/-zān-*, Fariz. *zonāšt/-zon-*, Yar. *zōnāj/-zōn-*, Gz. *zūn/-zūnāšt*, (LW) Gil. (Rsht.) *dānestān/dān-*, Gur. (Kand.) *zānā/-zān-*, Ham. *zunayān/zun-*, Isfah. *zūnān/zun-*, Khuns. *zūn/-zūnā*, Mah. *zōn-*, Meim. *zu:nāj/-a-zun-*, Nn. *zunā/zōn/-zun-*, Natan. *zonaj/-zon-*, Qohr. *zūnādā/zūn-*, Semn. -zūn- 'to know', Sang. -zunāj/-zun-, Soi *zūnā/-zūn-*, Sorkh. (1sg.) *mōc-zon-æm*, (neg.) *nā-zæm*, Lasg. (1sg.) *zæjn* 'to know; to be able'

•NEIR: Oss. I. *zonym/zynd*, D. *zonun/zund* 'to know, be able', (intr./pass. *-ja-) I. *zynyn/zynd*, D. *zinnun/zind* 'to be seen, appear' || (+ *abi- ?) Yi. *vəzān/vəzad-*, M. *vəzān/vəzēd-* 'to know' || (+ *a_{ya}-) Sh. *wizūn-wizēnt*, Rosh. *wizōn-wizīnt*, Sariq. *wazon-wazond*, Yzgh. *vəzan-* 'to know, recognize' || (+ *pati-) Pash.

pēžan-/pēžand-, (?) Yghn. *bīzón-*, *bēžón-*, *bīzōñ-/bīzōñta* (diff. prev. ?), Sariq. *pajân-/pajând*, Wa. *pazdan-* ‘to recognize’

•MISC: (+ **pati-*) Orm. *pazán-*, *pazen-* ‘to know, recognize’ = *pazan-/pazanók* ‘to understand’, *pazan-* ‘to know’

•SANSKRIT: *jñā* ‘to know, recognize, understand’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 601

◇ This root has an impeccable IE etymology.

•PIE **ǵneH₃-* ‘to recognize, know’ ⇒ LIV: 168 ff. | Pok.: 376 ff.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *γινώσκω* ‘I recognize’, Lat. *nōscere*, OCS *znati*, Lith. *žinóti* ‘to know’, Arm. *canea-* / *cani-* ‘to recognize’, Goth. *kunnan*, OHG *kunnan* ‘to know, to be able’, Engl. *to know*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *KPF* I: 82b, 81a, 139a f., 206b, 245b; Ivanow 1926: 420; *EVP*: 63, 105; *IIFL* I: 405b; Christensen, *Contributions* I: 69, 64, 161, 259; Christensen, *Contributions* II: 52, 55, 114; *KPF* II: 197 f.; *IIFL* II: 260b; Abrahamian 1936: 125, 135; Lambton 1938: 42a; Andreev – Peščereva: 232a; MacKenzie 1966: 89, 114; Yarshater 1969: 183; *EVS*: 96a, 55b; *WIM* I: 69, 74; *DKS*: 214; *WIM* II/1: 86; Blau 1980: 281; *WIM* III: 117; Omar 1992: 702a; Abaev, *Slovar*’ IV: 315, 323; Cabolov 1997: 73; Werba 1997: 403 f.; Paul 1998: 306b, 320a; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 458; Cheung 2002: 255; Lecoq 2002: 121, etc.; *NEVP*: 68; Kiefer 2003: 205; Shabbakhsh: s.v. *zān-*; Korn 2005: 37, 88, 379 (passim)

***zanj** ‘to seize’

•KHOTANESE: (+ *ui-*) LKh. *biysamj-* ‘to take hold of’ ⇒ SGS: 97

•NEIR: Sangl. *zenz-*, *zenj-/zuyd*, Ishk. *zānz-/zōyđ* ‘to seize, catch, lift up, take on one’s back’

◇ The root may not be PIr., considering its limited distribution.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 425a; *DKS*: 285b f.

***zap/f?** ‘to become quiet, still’

•KHOTANESE: *ysah-* ‘to become still, quiet’, OKh. *yseh-* (caus.) ‘to make quiet’ ⇒ SGS: 112

◇ The etymology of Khot. *ysah-* is unknown. The previously assigned meaning ‘to cease’ and the suggested connection with the postulated Av. root *zah-* ‘to abandon’, cited in SGS: (and *DKS*: 348a) are to be discarded, in light of the recently discovered form *ysotta* (Suv. 2.66). The hapax form *ysotta* translates Skt. *tuṣṇībhūto* ‘became still’, Skjærvø, l.c. On account of *-h-* in the present forms and *-ott/-autt* in the past the Khot. forms would go back to a root **zap/f*, which cannot be supported by any cognates though: expressive? The Avestan forms quoted in *DKS*: l.c. can be interpreted differently: for YAv. *frazahī* (Y 60.7) see ***zaH**, and OAv. *zaxīia-* (Y 53.8), cf. Insler, *Gāthās*: 326.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Skjærvø, *SVK* III: 129 f.

***zarH¹** ‘to hurt, wound, anger’

•AVESTAN: *zār-* ‘to hurt, wound’ || (+ *ā-) ‘to hurt, wound, offend’ ⇒ Liste: 67 f.

Pres. them. *nā-*: OPT. 1pl. OAv. *zaranaēmā* (Y 28.9); Caus.: med. 3pl. YAv. *āzāraiiēnte* (Yt 13.30), OPT. 2sg. YAv. *āzāraiiōiš* (FrD 4); Partic.: pres. *anja-* med. YAv. *zaranimna-* (Yt 10.47), perf. med. YAv. *zazarāna-* (Y 9.30, Yt 11.5), perf. pass. *zarəta-* (Yt 11.5)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ *ā-) MMP ’z’r-, BMP ’c’l- /āzār-/ (orig. caus.) ‘to torment, offend; hurt’ ⇒ DMMPP: 85a

Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. MMP ’z’ryd, ’z’ryd, BMP ’c’lyt /āzārēd/, SUBJ. 3sg. MMP ’z’r’d, IMPV. 2sg. BMP ’c’l /āzār/; Inf.: BMP ’c’ltn /āzārdan/; Partic.: pres. MMP ’z’r’g, perf. pass. BMP ’clt /āzard/, BMP ’cwl /āzurd/

•PARTHIAN: *zr-* ‘to become angry’ || (+ *ā-) ’z’r-, ’z’r- ‘to injure’ ⇒ DMMPP: 384a, 85a

Partic.: perf. pass. II *zr’d* || (+ *ā-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. ’z’ryd, 2pl. ’z’ryd, SUBJ. 2sg. ’z’r’h; Partic.: perf. pass. ’z’ryrd

•KHOTANESE: *ysurra-* ‘wrath’

•SOGDIAN: (+ *ā-) BSogd. ’z’yr, ’z’rt ‘to hurt, trouble’, MSogd. ’zyr ‘to offend, hurt’ || (+ *upa-) BSogd. ’pz’m ‘to disturb, afflict (?)’ || (+ *pati-) CSogd. *ptzyr-* ‘to afflict, torment’, MSogd. *ptzrn* ‘anger’

(+ *ā-) Caus.: pres. IND. 1sg. MSogd. ’zym (BBB: 32), 3sg. BSogd. ’z’yrt, impf. 1sg. MSogd. *m’zyrw* (BBB: 34); Pass.: pres. SUBJ. 3sg. MSogd. ’zyry (Sogd.Tales: 469) || (+ *upa-) Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. BSogd. ’pz’m’t || (+ *pati-) Pres.: IND. 3sg. dur. CSogd. *ptzyrtq*, CSogd. **ptzrtq*; Impf.: OPT. 3pl. CSogd. *ptzyr.nt*

•CHORESMIAN: (+ *ā-) *m’zry-* ‘to be offended, feel offended’, (caus.) *m’z’ry-* ‘to offend’, ’z’ryk ‘harm’ || (+ *upa-) *pz’r-* ‘to blame, rebuke’. ◇ Samadi derives the Chor. formation *pz’r-* from **pa-zāra(ia)-*, with prev. **pa-*, whose existence in Ir. was already doubted by Henning 1965: 246, fn. 29. The preverb may be rather **pati-*, in view of CSogd. *ptzyr* (Sims-Williams 1989: 262). ⇒ Samadi: 11, 166

•NWIR: Bal. *zār* ‘anger’ (but Bal. *zār* ‘lament’ < NP *zār*, *zaHr) || (+ *ā-) NP *āzurdan/āzār-* ‘to torment, injure’, NP *āzār* ‘affliction, disease, grieve, vexation, injury; [in compounds] tormenting, reproaching’ (LW), Bal. *āzurt/āzār-* ‘to hurt, annoy, vex, molest’ (< NP ?)

•NEIR: Pash. *zōr-* ‘to vez, distress; blame’

•SANSKRIT: *harí* ‘to be angry’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 805

◇ No precise IE cognates of this IIr. root are attested.

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 103; *DKS*: 354a; *Werba* 1997: 448; *NEVP*: 102; *Shahbakhsh*: s.v. *āzār-*

***zarH²** ‘to age, grow old’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *zar-* ‘to age, grow old’ ⇒ Liste: 68

Partic.: pres. s- (+ priv.) YAv. *azarəšaṅt-* (Yt 19.11, Yt 19.19, Yt 19.23), YAv. *azaršaṅt-* (Yt 19.89); Partic.: perf. pass. *zarəta-* ‘old’ (V 3.13, P 22)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *zrd* ‘infirm (from old age)’ ⇒ DMMPP: 384a

- KHOTANESE: *ysār-* (*ysāḏ-*) ‘to become old’ ⇒ SGS: 113
- NWIR: NP *zāl* PN (in Shahn.), also ‘old (wo)man’
- NEIR: Oss. *zæronḏ* ‘old’, Pash. *zoṛ* (m.), *zará* (f.), Yi. *zōr* ‘old (of people)’
- MISC: Orm. *zāl* ‘old’ (LW ?)
- SANSKRIT: *jarí* ‘to age, grow old’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 577
- ◊ This root has an impeccable IE etymology.
- PIE **ǵerH₂-* ‘to age, grow old’ ⇒ LIV: 165 f. | Pok.: 390 f.
- IE COGNATES: Gr. ἐγήρα ‘became old’, Gr. γήρως ‘old age’, Gr. γέρον (m.) ‘old man’, Arm. *cer* ‘old; old man’, OCS *sb-zbrěti* ‘to ripen’
- REFERENCES: *IIFL* I: 413b; *DKS*: 346b; Abaev, *Slovar’* IV: 304 f.; Werba 1997: 289 f.; *NEVP*: 103

***zarH³** ‘to bewail the deceased, مراسم ختم کردن’

- MIDDLE PERSIAN: MMP *zryg*, BMP *zlyk* /*zarīg*/ ‘sorrow, suffering’ (LW) ⇒ DMMPP: 380a
- PARTHIAN: *z’r*, *zryg* ‘sorrow, suffering’ ⇒ DMMPP: 380a
- KHOTANESE: LKh. *ysār-* ‘to sing’, *ysera-* ‘wretched’. ◊ On *ysirūm* ‘wretched’ (not ‘loud’, *DKS*: 353a) see Skjærvø, *SVK* I: 107. ⇒ SGS: 112
- SOGDIAN: BSogd. *z’ry*, *z’r’k*, *z’r’y* ‘compassionate; pitiful’, CSogd. *z’ry* (indecl.) ‘pitiful, pitiable, sympathetic’
- CHORESMIAN: *zrÿ-* ‘to announce, reveal, speak about (sorrow)’ ⇒ Samadi: 264
- NWIR: NP *zārīdan* ‘to weep, moan’ (LW), Bal. *zarit/zar-* ‘to be uneasy, pine for’, *zār* ‘lament’ (< NP) || (+ **ā-*) Kurd. *āzār* (f.) (Kurm.) ‘weeping, crying’, (Sor.) ‘suffering’
- NEIR: Oss. I. *zælyn/zæld* ‘to sound’, I. *zaryn/zard*, D. *zarun/zard* (caus.-iter.) ‘to sing’ || (+ **aṷa-*) Oss. I. *uzælyn/uzæld* ‘to nurse, tend; to coax; to show attention; to do something nice; to regale’ || (+ **ā-*) Oss. I. *azælyn/azæld*, D. *azælnun/azæld* ‘to give sound, echo’
- MISC: Georg. (LW) *zar-i* ‘horror’, Abkh. (LW) *a-zar* ‘songs at memorial feast’
- ◊ The Ir. forms appear to refer to the bewailing ceremony performed in memory/honour of the deceased: this usually involves singing, comforting, calling and ritual lamentation (etc.). Ir. **zarH* (connected to Skt. *jarí* ‘to sing’ ?) should therefore be separated from ***garH¹**, Skt. *garí* ‘to greet, praise’, which rather refers to the welcoming ceremony given to a guest.
- PIE **ǵ(e)rH₂-* ‘to bewail the deceased (i.e. through lamenting, calling, singing (etc.) in honour/memory of the deceased)’ ⇒ LIV: 161 | Pok.: 352
- IE COGNATES: Gr. γήρως ‘voice’, OIrish *-gair* ‘to call’, OE *cearu* ‘sorrow, care’, Engl. *care*
- REFERENCES: Abaev, *Slovar’* I: 96 f.; *DKS*: 349a f., 355a; Abaev, *Slovar’* IV: 295 f., 23 f., 288 f.; Cabolov 2001: 105; Shahbakhsh: s.v. *zar-*; Korn 2005: 206, 379

***zarš¹** ‘to be excited, delighted, rejoice’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *zarš-* ‘to be excited’ ⇒ Liste: 68

MED.; Partic.: pres. (*a*)*ja-* YAv. *zaršaiiamna-* (Yt 14.20)

•PARTHIAN: *gš-* ‘to rejoice’, *gšyft* ‘pride’ (from *‘complacency, satisfaction’) ⇒ Ghilain: 58 | DMMPP: 165b

Pres.: IND. 1pl. *gš^sm*, 3pl. *gšynd*, 2pl. *gšyyd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *gš^sd* ‘glad, joyous’

•SOGDIAN: (+ **ui-*) SSogd. *wyš-*, BSogd. *wyš-*, CSogd. *wyš-*, MSogd. *wyš-* ‘to rejoice’

Well attested: Pres.: IND. 1sg. SSogd. *wyš^sm*, 2sg. dur. CSogd. *wyšysq*, 3sg. BSogd. *wyšty*, 3pl. BSogd. *wyš^snt*, CSogd. *wyšty*, SUBJ. 1sg. MSogd. *wyšn*, etc.

•CHORESMIAN: *yšy-* ‘to rejoice’ ⇒ Samadi: 80 f.

•NWIR: NP *gaš* ‘happy’, Kurd. *gašān-awa* ‘to rejoice’

•NEIR: ? Pash. *ziž* ‘rough, stiff, rigid’ (in *yūne mi zīžēzī* ‘the hairs of my body become stiff’)

•MISC: Arm. (LW) *garšim* ‘to loathe’

•SANSKRIT: *harš* ‘to be delighted, excited’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 807

◇ According to Mayrhofer, *EWAia*, l.c. Skt. *harš* is the result of a convergence of two Ir. roots **ḡarš* (continued by YAv. *zarš-*) and **g^harš* (continued by Pth. *gš-*, Sogd. *wyš-*, etc.). On the contrary, these "two" roots actually go back to the same IE root **g^hers-* (Lubotsky, *per litteras*). The variant **g^harš* with initial velar stop arose after the depalatalisation of the palatovelar in the zero grade **g^hrs-* (Weise’s Law).

•PIE **g^hers-* ‘to be delighted’ ⇒ LIV: 178, 198 | Pok.: 445 f.

•IE COGNATES: Lat. *horrēre* ‘to be stiff, ruffle up’

•REFERENCES: Gotō 1987: 347; Morgenstierne 1942: 264; Werba 1997: 387; NEVP: 101

***zarš² ?** ‘to draw, drag’

•AVESTAN: (+ **fra-*) YAv. *frazarš-* ‘to drag forth’ || (+ **ni-*) YAv. *nizarš-* ‘to draw, drag forth’ ⇒ Liste: 68

Pres. them.: IND. act./med. 3sg. YAv. *nizaršaiti/e* (V 19.30); Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. *frazaršta* (f.) ‘(cow that) is dragged, driven forth’ (Yt 10.38)

•SANSKRIT: cf. *har^l* ‘to take, bring’ ⇒ EWAia II: 803 f.

◇ The existence of this root in Ir. is dubious, as it is solely based on two Avestan forms (and transposed BMP /*nizaršēd*/ ad V 19.30). It is perhaps the result of a blend of **zar* ‘to take, bring’ (= Skt. *har*) root and **karš*/**xrah*.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: Bailey 1953: 36 f.; Kellens 1984: 109

***zau** ‘to pour (libation)’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *zaoθra-* ‘libation’ (Y 22.1, Y 66.1, Y 68.1, etc.) || (+ **ā-*) YAv. *ā-zuiti-* ‘clarified butter, sacrificial fat’ (Yt 10.65)

•PARTHIAN: (+ **ui-*) *wzw-* ‘to fade, wither’, *wyz’w-* (caus.) ‘to exude, extinguish’
⇒ Ghilain: 76 | DMMPP: 362b, 360b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. *wzwyd*, 3pl. *wzwynd*; Partic.: perf. pass. *wzwd*; Caus.: pres. IND. 3sg. ^ʰ*wyz’wyd*, 1pl. *wyz’w’m*, 3pl. *wyz’wynd*

•KHOTANESE: LKh. *ysun-* ‘to pour, strain’ || (+ **niš-*) LKh. **nalysv-* (*na’yysv-*) ‘to issue’ || (+ **ui-*) *buysai-* ‘to extinguish’ ⇒ SGS: 113, 49, 101

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *zwt’k* ‘beer, liquor’, CSogd. *žwšy* (Asg. m.) ‘libation’ || (+ **ui-*) MSogd. *wyz’w* ‘extinction’

•NEIR: (+ **apa-*) Oss. I. *ævzyjyn/ævzyd*, D. *ævzujun/ævzud* ‘to fall out (of hair)’, Yzgh. *zaw-/zod* ‘to tread down, compress, squeeze’ || (+ **upa-*) ? Yi. *avzáno*, M. *yívzano* ‘wooden ladle’ || (+ **ui-*) Sh. *wizāw-/wizud*, Ishk. (*w*)*uzin-*/*(w)uzit*, Sariq. *wazew-/wazīd*, *wazūd*, Yzgh. *wəziw-/wəzōd* ‘to be extinguished’, Yzgh. *wəzaw-/wəzawd* ‘to extinguish’, Yi. *wuzā-/wuziēvd-* (caus.) ‘to extinguish, blow out a fire’, Yi. *wúzyo* ‘extinguished’

•SANSKRIT: *hav* ‘to sacrifice, to offer, to pour (an oblation, ghee etc.)’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 808

•PIE **g^heu-* ‘to pour, libate’ ⇒ LIV: 179 | Pok.: 447 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *χέω* ‘I pour, to spill’, (ppp) Gr. *χυτός* ‘spilled’, Toch. B *ku-* ‘to pour’, Goth. *gub* (n.), Engl. *god*, etc.

•REFERENCES: *IIFL* II: 264b f.; *Abaev, Slovar’* I: 214 f.; *EVS*: 109b, 96a, 118b; *Werba* 1997: 270; *Cheung* 2002: 168; *Kiefer* 2003: 194b

*zauH ‘to call’

•AVESTAN: *zu-* ‘to call’ || (+ **abi-*) ‘to call upon’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘to call to’ || (+ **upa-*) ‘to call upon, invoke’ || (+ **uz-*) ‘to call out’ || (+ **ni-*) ‘to call off, *herabrufen*’ ⇒ Liste: 69

Pres. {1} (*a*)*ja-*: IND. 1sg. YAv. *āzbaiia* (Y 15.1, Vr 6.1), YAv. *nizbaiia* (Vd 20), YAv. *zbaiiemi* (Y 17.18, Y 26.1, Y 59.18, etc.), 2sg. YAv. *zbaiiehi* (Yt 17.17), 3sg. YAv. *zbaiieiti* (Yt 10.83 f., Yt 10.86, Yt 13.24, Yt 13.35), YAv. *upa.zbaiieiti* (Yt 13.69), 3du. YAv. *zbaiiatō* (Yt 13.35), 1pl. YAv. *zbaiiamahi* (Yt 12.3, Yt 12.10, Yt 12.11 ff., etc.), INJ. 3sg. YAv. *zbaiiaṭ* (Yt 13.28), SUBJ.(/IND.) 1sg. OAv. *zbaiiā* (Y 35.5, Y 46.14, Y 51.10), YAv. *ā zbaiiāi* (Yt 10.77 f.), OPT. med. 2sg. YAv. *zbaiiāēša* (Yt 15.49 ff.), 3sg. YAv. *zbaiiōiṭ* (Yt 4.2), IMPV. med. 2sg. YAv. *nizbaiiaṅ’ha* (V 19.13 f., V 19.34); Pres. {2} them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *zauuaiti* (Y 11.1 ff.), 3pl. YAv. *zauuaiti* (Y 11.1); Partic.: pres. {1} YAv. *zbaiiant-*, perf. med. YAv. *aiβi.zūzuiiana-* (Y 8.4, N 71), perf. pass. YAv. *uzbāta-* (Yt 13.42); Intens.: IND. 1sg. OAv. *zaozaomī* (Y 43.10), med. 1sg. YAv. ^ʰ*zaozuiē* (G 1.6)

•OLD PERSIAN: (+ *pati-*) *zu-* ‘to proclaim’ (LW) ⇒ Kent: 211a f.

Pres. (*a*)*ja-*: impf. IND. 1sg. *patiyazbayam* <p-t-i-y-z-b-y-m> (XPh 38)

•PARTHIAN: (+ **apa-*) ‘*bwzysn* ‘malediction, curse’ ⇒ DMMPP: 18b

•SOGDIAN: SSogd. ‘*zw-* ‘to call’, ? MSogd. *zβnd* ‘quarrel’

Pres.: IND. 1sg. SSogd. ‘*zw’m*, 3sg. SSogd. ‘*zwt*

•CHORESMIAN: *zβ-* ‘to curse’ ⇒ Samadi: 262

•NEIR: Pash. *zwəǵ* (m.) ‘noise, clamour, din’. ◇ But *zwəǵ* (m.) ‘bitterness, distress; gall’ < **a-zauša-* ‘dis-pleasure’, ***zauš**.

•SANSKRIT: *hav* ‘to call upon, invoke (ritually, at a sacrifice)’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia II: 809

◇ This root has a good IE etymology.

•PIE **ǵ^heuH-* ‘to call upon’ ⇒ LIV: 180 f. | Pok.: 413 f.

•IE COGNATES: OCS *zъvati*, Slov. *zváti*, Toch. B *kwā-* ‘to call out to, invite’

•REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 332; Adams 1999: 235; NEVP: 103

***zauš** ‘to take pleasure, rejoice in’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *zuš-* ‘to take pleasure, rejoice in’ || (+ **ā-*) ‘to be joyful about something’ ⇒ Liste: 69

MED.; Pres. athem. red.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *āzūzušte* (P 43); Partic.: perf. pass. YAv. *zušta-* (F 620, F 764, VdPZ 17.8)

•OLD PERSIAN: *dauštā* (Nsg.) ‘friend’ <d-u-š-t-a> (DB 4.56, DB 4.69, DB 4.74, etc.)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: BMP *dwš-* /*dōš-*/ ‘to love, like, choose ?’, MMP *dwst*, BMP *dwst* /*dōst*/ ‘loving; friend’ ⇒ DMMPP: 145b

Pres.: IND. 3pl. BMP *dwšynd* /*dōšēnd*/; Pass.: pret. IND. 3sg. BMP *dwšyt* /*dōšīd*/; Inf.: BMP *dwšytn* /*dōšīdan*/

•PARTHIAN: *zwš* ‘love’ ⇒ DMMPP: 386a

•KHOTANESE: OKh. *ysūš-* (ysv-) ‘to value; approve’ ⇒ SGS: 113

•NWIR: NP *dōst* ‘friend’ (also *dōst dāštan* ‘to love’),

•NEIR: Pash. *zōxā* (f.) ‘a kind of syrup’, *zwəǵ* ‘bitterness, distress; gall’ (< **a-zauša-*)

•SANSKRIT: *joṣ* ‘to like, be pleased, to enjoy’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia I: 599

◇ This root has an impeccable IE etymology.

•PIE **ǵeus-* ‘to taste, like, choose, be pleased’ ⇒ LIV: 166 | Pok.: 399 f.

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *γεύομαι*, Lat. *gustō* ‘I taste’, *gustus* ‘taste, enjoyment’, OIrish *do-goā* (3sg.) ‘chooses’, Goth. *ga-kiusan* ‘to test’, NHG *kosten* ‘to taste’

•REFERENCES: EVP: 103; DKS: 354b; Werba 1997: 187; NEVP: 104

***zɡad** ‘to go on, gallop, mount’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *zgaδ(θ)-* ‘to go on horseback, gallop’ || (+ **fra-*) ‘to go forth’ ⇒ Liste: 69

Pres. them.: IND. med. 3sg. YAv. *zgaðaite* (V 9.46), YAv. *frazgaðaite* (Yt 5.97), INJ. 3sg. ? YAv. *zgaθat* (F 20), med. 3sg. YAv. *frazgaḍata* (Yt 19.56, Yt 19.82)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: ? BMP *yh-* /*jah-*/ ‘to jump; arise, happen, occur’ (see below)

Pres.: IND. 3sg. BMP *yhyt* /*jahēd*/; Partic.: perf. pass. BMP *yst* /*jast*/

•KHOTANESE: (+ **aṃa-*) LKh. *va’ysged-* ‘to dismount’ || (+ **fra-*) OKh. *haysgas-* (pret. stem) ‘to walk’ ⇒ SGS: –

•SOGDIAN: (+ *abi-) BSogd. βzyδ, CSogd. bžyd, MSogd. βjyst- ‘to mount’ || (+ *aṃa-) BSogd. ’wzyδ ‘to dismount from a horse’ || (+ *ham-) ? CSogd. ’zgd ‘to leap up’

(+ *abi-) Impf.: IND. 3sg. SSogd. β’zyδ, 3pl. BSogd. β’zyδ’nt, CSogd. b’žydn̄t, Pass.: pperf. intr. IND. 3sg. MSogd. βjystyy w̄m’t ‘was mounted’ || (+ *aṃa-) Impf.: IND. 3sg. BSogd. w’zyδ, 3pl. BSogd. w’zyδ’nt, Perf.: IND. 3sg. MSogd. ’wjystyy x’s̄tyy ‘is descended’ (BBB: 34) || (+ *ham-) Impf.: IND. 3sg. CSogd. ’zgd

•NWIR: ? NP *ǰastan/ǰah-*, Khuns. *ǰis(s)-* (inch. ?) ‘to jump’, Bal. *ǰist/ǰih-* ‘to flee’ (< NP ?), Qohr. *ǰūgāda/ǰūg-* (with a hiatus filler *-g-*), Tr. *ǰvā(ya)/ǰv-* ‘to walk’. ◇ The old connection cited by Horn 1893: 94 for NP *ǰastan/ǰah-* is semantically implausible, cf. Hübschmann 1895: 50. Bailey suggested a connection with Av. *zgd-* (scribbled on his copy of Horn 1893: 94 ad *ǰesten*). The initial *ǰ-* of the verb would go back to the palatalised variant **dǰ-* < PIr. **ǰǰ-* ?

•NEIR: Pash. *zyāstəl/zyal-* ‘to run’, Yi. *zəyal-/zəyast-* ‘to run away [from a wild animal]’, Sangl. *zīd-/zūst* ‘to flow, run’

•MISC: (+ *aṃa-) Par. *uzg-/uzgī* ‘to descend’

◇ The root is exclusively Ir.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 101; *IIFL* I: 238a; *IIFL* II: 275a, 424b; *DKS*: 355b, 466b; Lecoq 2002: 122, 129; *NEVP*: 101; Korn 2005: 94, 318, 369.

*zgar (*žgar ?) ‘to flow, drop’

•AVESTAN: (+ *fra-) YAv. *fražgar-* ‘to flow into’ ⇒ Liste: 70

Pres. them.: IND. 3sg. YAv. *fražgaraiti* (Y 65.4, Yt 5.4)

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *zy’rt* ‘quick’, BSogd. *zy’rtr* ‘quicker’, CSogd. *žyrt* ‘quickly’, CSogd. *zy’r* ‘moisture, trickle’

•NWIR: (+ *fra-*) NP *farǰar* ‘river-bed’

•NEIR: Oss. I. *æǰzælyn/æǰzæld*, D. *æǰzælnun/æǰzald* ‘to flow into/out; to drip’, Oss. I. *æǰzalyn/æǰzæld*, D. *æǰzalun/æǰzald* (caus.) ‘to cause to flow’, Wa. *zgar-/zgard-* ‘to wade; to walk; to return’, Pash. *zǰāšt-* ‘to swim’, Pash. *zyard* ‘quick, fleet’ || (+ *fra-*) Oss. *læǰzær*, *læzǰær* ‘scree’

•SANSKRIT: *kṣar* ‘to flow’ (RV+) || (+ *pra-*) *prakṣar* ‘to stream forth, ooze’ (RV+) ⇒ EWAia: 428

◇ Probably identical to **gžar*.

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 101; Abaev, *Slovar*’ I: 536 f.; Werba 1997: 343; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 436

*zrād ? ‘to talk, speak’

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: ? MMP *dr’y-* ‘to shriek, call, cry out’, BMP *dl’(d)y-/drāyī’-* ‘to howl, talk (*daevic*)’. ◇ Skt. *hrād-* ‘to sound’ is compared to these Persian forms in

EWAia II: 823. Alternatively, the Persian forms can also derive from *drau¹.
 ⇒ DMMPP: 138b f.

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *dr'yd*, BMP *dl'yt /drāyēd/*, 3pl. MMP **dr'ynd*, BMP */drāyēd/*, IMPV. 2pl. MMP *dr'yyd*; Partic.: pres. BMP *dl'd'n /drāyān/*, perf. pass. MMP *dr'yst*, BMP *dl'yt /drāyīd/*; Inf.: BMP *dl'dytn /drāyīdan/*

•NWIR: ? NP *darāyīdan* ‘to speak aloud, call’, NP *darāy* ‘bell’

•NEIR: ? Pash. *žay* ‘sound, noise, voice’ || (+ **upa-*) Pash. *bžalga* ‘scream’

•SANSKRIT: *hrād* ‘to sound’ (KS+) ⇒ EWAia II: 823

◇ An IE provenance for the Iir. root cannot be established.

•PIE – ⇒ LIV: – | Pok.: –

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 106

***zuar** ‘to go (in a particular manner: crookedly, limp, sim.)’

•AVESTAN: YAv. *zbar-* ‘to go crooked, limp’ ⇒ Liste: 69

Partic.: pres. YAv. *zbaraṅt-* (Yt 15.50 f.), med. YAv. *zbarəmna-* (Yt 19.42)

•MIDDLE PERSIAN: (+ **para-*, **pari-*) MMP *przryr-* ‘to keep away [’w from]’

⇒ DMMPP: 283b

Pres.: IND. 3sg. MMP *przryrd*

•KHOTANESE: (?) LKh. *šīr-* ‘to go ill, turn bad’ ⇒ SGS: 126

•SOGDIAN: BSogd. *zβ'yr* (caus.) ‘to cause to arrive, reach ?’ || (+ **ni-* or **ham-*)

SSogd. *'nzβr-* ‘to go’

Caus.: pres. OPT. 3sg. BSogd. *zβ'yry* (Dhu. 145) || (+ **ni-* or **ham-*) Pres.: SUBJ. 3sg. SSogd. *'nzβr't* (AL 2.45)

•CHORESMIAN: (+ **upa-*) ? *b'ž'w-* ‘he writhed with hunger [= Arab. *تضور من الجوع* ?],

‘he cried out of hunger [= Pers. *زاری کرد از گشنگی* ?]’. ◇ Samadi compares the Chor.

verb to Skt. *á-hruta-* ‘un-bent, not crooked, straight’. The Skt. ppp. *á-hruta-* is usually considered a peculiar form of the root *hvar*. This may also apply to Chor.

⇒ Samadi: 35

•NEIR: Oss. I. *zyryn/zyrd*, D. *zurun/zurd* ‘to circle (around), turn’, I. *ævxær* ‘bad, evil’, Yghn. *zwār-*, *zwēr-* ‘to turn’, ? Pash. *zwər*, *zawar* (m.) ‘slope, descent’

•SANSKRIT: *hvar* ‘to go in curves, staggering’ (RV) ⇒ EWAia II: 824

•PIE **g^huer-* or **g^huel-* ? ‘to go crooked, staggering vel sim.’. ◇ On the reconstruction **g^huer-* see Schindler 1972: 37 f. ⇒ LIV: 182 f. | Pok.: 489

•IE COGNATES: Gr. *θήρ*, Lith. *žvėris* ‘wild animal’ or Lith. *pa-žvilti* ‘to bend’, Latv. *zveļu* ‘to roll (over)’

•REFERENCES: *EVP*: 104; Abaev, *Slovar'* I: 210 f.; *DKS*: 400b; Abaev, *Slovar'* IV: 324 f.; *Verba* 1997: 272; *NEVP*: 104

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ZVS: see KZ

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compiled by Jasper May

As a rule, the forms are arranged in the order of the Latin alphabet, the “modified” letters following their “simple” counterparts, e.g. *ā* after *a*, *θ* after *t*, etc. The vowels are ordered first by quality and then by quantity, e.g. *a*, *ā*, *ā̄*. However, the traditional order of the Devanāgarī script is observed for Sanskrit and Khotanese. As to the Bactrian and Greek forms, they are given in the order of the Greek alphabet (with Bactrian *β* after *ω*).

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ENGLISH – IRANIAN INDEX

The English meanings have been extracted mainly from the translations of the head words in the *Etymological Dictionary* part. Several specific meanings found within the entries have been added (indicated by “s.v.”), but no attempt has been made to be comprehensive.

to abandon	*č̣i <u>au</u> (s.v.), * <u>das</u> ² (s.v.), * <u>harz</u> (s.v.), *(H) <u>uac̣</u> (s.v.), * <u>mard</u> , * <u>raič</u> , * <u>raz</u> (s.v.), * <u>tarH</u> ¹ (s.v.), * <u>xar</u> (s.v.), * <u>zaH</u> (s.v.)	to aim	* <u>Haxš</u> ¹ , * <u>kap/f</u> ¹ (s.v.), * <u>raxš</u> , * <u>uaid</u> ² (s.v.)
abandonment	*θ <u>iaj</u> (s.v.)	to amass, heap	* <u>bar</u> (s.v.), * <u>čai</u> ¹ , * <u>daiz</u> (s.v.), * <u>das</u> ² , * <u>gart</u> (s.v.), * <u>suah</u> (s.v.), * <u>tauj</u> ² (s.v.), * <u>u^{ar}</u> (s.v.), * <u>uaz</u> (s.v.)
to accept	* <u>gāz</u> , * <u>grabH</u> (s.v.), * <u>nam</u> (s.v.), * <u>uais</u> (s.v.)	to anger	* <u>gram</u> , * <u>j^uar</u> (s.v.), * <u>uaz</u> (s.v.), * <u>zarH</u> ¹
to accomplish	*č <u>arH</u> (s.v.), *(H) <u>rād</u> , * <u>kar</u> (s.v.), * <u>tač</u> ² (s.v.)	anger	* <u>čai</u> ¹ (s.v.), * <u>diHp</u> (s.v.), * <u>zarH</u> ¹ (s.v.)
to achieve	* <u>bauH</u> (s.v.), * <u>Hap/f</u> (s.v.), * <u>Hraz</u> (s.v.), * <u>xrap</u> ¹	to appear	* <u>daiH</u> ¹ (s.v.), * <u>damH</u> ³ (s.v.), * <u>Hai</u> (s.v.), * <u>H^uaj</u> (s.v.), * <u>jaš</u> , * <u>kas</u> ¹ , * <u>maH</u> ¹ (s.v.), * <u>sač</u> ² (s.v.), * <u>sand</u> , * <u>spas</u> (s.v.), * <u>uai(H)n</u> (s.v.), * <u>u^{ar}(H)</u> ¹ (s.v.)
to acquire	* <u>Hap/f</u> (s.v.), * <u>Har</u> ¹ (s.v.), * <u>iauč</u> (s.v.), * <u>tauj</u> ² , *θ <u>ua(n)j</u> , * <u>xraiH</u> (s.v.), * <u>xrap</u> ¹	to apportion	* <u>baj</u> , * <u>baxš</u>
to act violently	* <u>HiH</u> (s.v.), * <u>Hmarz</u> (s.v.), * <u>kard</u> (s.v.), * <u>tund</u>	to approach	* <u>iat</u>
to adorn	* <u>Hraz</u> (s.v.), * <u>iat</u> (s.v.), * <u>pais</u> , * <u>su(m)p/b</u> ² , * <u>zai</u> ²	to arrange	* <u>dar</u> ¹ (s.v.), * <u>das</u> ² , * <u>Hraz</u> (s.v.), * <u>paus</u> (s.v.), * <u>sač</u> ¹ (s.v.)
to affect	* <u>Hrab/f</u> ³ , * <u>raič</u> ² (s.v.)	to ascend, rise	* <u>damb</u> (s.v.), * <u>fan</u> (s.v.), * <u>f^uau</u> ¹ (s.v.), * <u>gam</u> ¹ (s.v.), * <u>gamp/b</u> ¹ (s.v.), * <u>Hah</u> ² (s.v.), * <u>Hai</u> (s.v.), * <u>Har</u> ¹ (s.v.), * <u>Hraz</u> (s.v.), * <u>kas</u> ³ (s.v.), * <u>pat</u> , * <u>san</u> , * <u>u^{ar}t</u> (s.v.), * <u>xač</u> , * <u>xaiz</u>
to afflict	* <u>ban</u> , * <u>tač</u> ² (s.v.), * <u>tamH</u> (s.v.), * <u>zarH</u> ¹ (s.v.)	to ask	* <u>jad</u> , * <u>fras/prs</u> , * <u>ka(H)r</u> (s.v.), * <u>kauz</u> ¹ (s.v.), * <u>uaid</u> ² (s.v.), * <u>xuaz</u> (s.v.)
affliction	* <u>tap</u> (s.v.), * <u>zarH</u> ¹ (s.v.)	to aspire to	* <u>sparz</u>
to age, grow old	* <u>iat</u> (s.v.), * <u>jaiH</u> ² (s.v.), * <u>zarH</u> ²	to assemble	* <u>gam</u> ¹ (s.v.), * <u>garj</u> ² , * <u>tauj</u> ² (s.v.), * <u>uaz</u> (s.v.), * <u>u^{ia}č</u> (s.v.)
to agitate	* <u>iauz</u> (s.v.), * <u>manθH</u> , * <u>nam</u> (s.v.), * <u>span(d)/fan(d)</u> , * <u>xšaub</u> (s.v.)	to assign	* <u>čaiš</u> , * <u>daH</u> ¹ (s.v.)
to agree, approve	* <u>bau</u> ¹ (s.v.), * <u>fraiH</u> (s.v.), * <u>gaHu</u> (s.v.), * <u>kar</u> (s.v.), * <u>mān</u> (s.v.), * <u>sač</u> ¹ (s.v.), * <u>sam</u> , * <u>sand</u> (s.v.), * <u>zauš</u> (s.v.)	to assist	* <u>iat</u> (s.v.), * <u>rap/f</u>
agreement, pact	* <u>kar</u> (s.v.), * <u>pas</u> (s.v.), * <u>sam</u> (s.v.)	to atone	* <u>čai</u> ² , * <u>fraiH</u>
to aid, help	*(d) <u>banz</u> ² (s.v.), * <u>HauH</u> , * <u>iat</u> (s.v.), * <u>karš/xrah</u> (s.v.), * <u>rap/f</u>		

to attach	<i>*band</i> (s.v.), <i>*čap</i> , <i>*darz</i> , <i>*kas²</i> , <i>*rag</i> , <i>*sraiš</i> , <i>*tač²</i> (s.v.)	to be destroyed, perish	<i>*Hai</i> (s.v.), <i>*Hrais</i> (s.v.), <i>*jaiH²</i> , <i>*kan¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*nas</i> , <i>*saič¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*san</i> (s.v.), <i>*sap</i> (s.v.), <i>*yraid</i> (s.v.), <i>xšan</i> (s.v.)
to attack	<i>*Hrab/f²</i> , <i>*kap/f¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*kard</i> (s.v.), <i>*naič</i> , <i>*uan</i> (s.v.)	to be devoted to	<i>*Huaid(H)</i>
to attain	<i>*Hap/f</i> , <i>*Hnas</i> , <i>*tač²</i>	to be empty	<i>*HuāH²</i> , <i>*tauš</i>
to attend to	<i>*iam</i> (s.v.), <i>*spas</i> , <i>*xaiz</i> (s.v.)	to be envious	<i>*Harš</i>
to bake	<i>*bra(i)</i> , <i>*gar³</i> (s.v.), <i>*pač</i> (s.v.)	to be excited	<i>*iauz</i> (s.v.), <i>*θuanz</i> (s.v.), <i>*xšuaip/b</i> (s.v.), <i>*zarš¹</i>
to barter	<i>*harH</i>	to be faulty	<i>*gaHu</i>
to be	<i>*bauH</i> , <i>*Hah¹</i> , <i>*maH²</i>	to be foolish	<i>*maug</i>
to be able	<i>*daiš¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*Hais</i> , <i>*Hnar</i> , <i>*kar</i> (s.v.), <i>*sač¹</i> , <i>*taru</i> (s.v.), <i>*tauH</i>	to be forceful	<i>*HamH</i>
to be acquainted	<i>*grabH</i> (s.v.), <i>*uat</i> , <i>*zanH²</i> (s.v.)	to be glad, happy	<i>*čjaH¹</i> , <i>*xšnau²</i> (s.v.)
to be afflicted	<i>*baid</i> (s.v.), <i>*ban</i> , <i>*raub</i> , <i>*θrauH</i> (s.v.)	to be glorious	<i>*nāz</i>
to be anxious	<i>*xšai</i>	to be haughty, proud	<i>*gaub</i> (s.v.), <i>*Hraz</i> (s.v.), <i>*nāz</i> , <i>*urāz</i>
to be appropriate to	<i>*xrap¹</i>	to be helpful	<i>*(d)banz²</i>
to be ashamed	<i>*jšar¹</i> , <i>*šam</i> (s.v.)	to be hungry	<i>*nād</i> (s.v.), <i>*uvarš</i>
to be awake, wake up	<i>*Hgar</i> , <i>*jaiH¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*tač¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*θam</i> (s.v.), <i>*zanH²</i> (s.v.)	to be ill	<i>*daj</i> (s.v.), <i>*darH</i> (s.v.), <i>*raiš</i> (s.v.), <i>*saiH</i> (s.v.), <i>*tap</i> (s.v.), <i>*±rāš</i> (s.v.)
to be boasting, boast	<i>*gaub</i> (s.v.), <i>*nāz</i> (s.v.), <i>*raHz</i> (s.v.), <i>*srāg</i>	to be in command	<i>*sač¹</i>
to be born	<i>*Har¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*jaiH¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*k(a)ur</i> , <i>*zanH¹</i>	to be in commotion	<i>*iauz</i>
to be brimming	<i>*uarHz</i>	to be incomplete	<i>*HuāH²</i>
to be busy, occupied	<i>*Hap/f</i> (s.v.), <i>suaH</i> (s.v.), <i>*θuaxš</i> , <i>*uaiš</i>	to be informed	<i>*uat</i>
to be calm	<i>*čjaH¹</i> , <i>*Hram</i>	to be like, resemble	<i>*baH</i> (s.v.), <i>*mān</i>
to be concerned	<i>*θuaxš</i> (s.v.), <i>*uaiš</i>	to be lord of, rule	<i>*Hais</i> , <i>*Hraz</i> (s.v.), <i>*xšaH</i>
to be content	<i>*saiH</i> (s.v.), <i>*sand</i> (s.v.), <i>*xšamH</i> , <i>*xšnau²</i> (s.v.)	to be moist, wet	<i>*garH³</i> (s.v.), <i>*haič</i> , <i>*nab</i> (s.v.), <i>*snaud</i>
to be contentious	<i>*staij</i>	to be occupied, busy	<i>*Hap/f</i> (s.v.), <i>suaH</i> (s.v.), <i>*θuaxš</i> , <i>*uaiš</i>
to be corrupted	<i>*jaiH²</i>	to be proportionate	<i>*xrap¹</i>
to be deceived	<i>*dab</i> (s.v.), <i>*ja(m)b/p</i> (s.v.), <i>*nas</i> (s.v.), <i>*uarč</i> (s.v.)	to be proud	<i>*gaub</i> (s.v.), <i>*Hraz</i> (s.v.), <i>*nāz</i> , <i>*urāz</i>
to be delicate	<i>*nāz</i>	to be related	<i>*k(a)ur</i>
to be delighted, enjoy, rejoice	<i>*bauj³</i> , <i>*fraiH</i> , <i>*gaHz</i> (s.v.), <i>*gar¹</i> , <i>*gāz</i> (s.v.), <i>*Hram</i> (s.v.), <i>*raH</i> (s.v.), <i>*ran(H)</i> , <i>*uarHz</i> (s.v.), <i>*zarš¹</i> , <i>*zauš</i>	to be seated	<i>*had</i> , <i>*HaHh</i>
to be distressed, in distress	<i>*darH</i> (s.v.), <i>*nād</i>	to be skilful, skilled	<i>*dau²</i> , <i>*Hnar</i>
		to be small	<i>*kas⁴</i>
		to be soft, soften	<i>*mraH</i> , <i>*nāz</i> (s.v.), <i>*urad</i>
		to be stern	<i>*stamb(H)</i>
		to be stuck	<i>*gar⁴</i> (s.v.), <i>*gauz</i> (s.v.), <i>*pad</i> , <i>*tač²</i> (s.v.), <i>*θra(n)č</i> (s.v.)
		to be suitable, fit	<i>*(d)banz²</i> , <i>*sač¹</i>
		to be supportive	<i>*(d)banz²</i>

to be thirsty	<i>*tarš</i>	to be(come) stiff,	<i>*gar⁴</i> , <i>*starH²</i> , <i>*stamb(H)</i> ,
to be torn	<i>*dar²</i> (s.v.), <i>*h_uah</i> (s.v.), <i>*Hrais</i> , <i>*said¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*skauH</i> (s.v.), <i>*tard</i> (s.v.), <i>*θ_uar/tur</i> (s.v.)	stiffen	<i>*stranĵ</i>
		to become still	<i>*zap/f</i>
to be unmoving	<i>*stamb(H)</i>	to be(come) strong	<i>*damH³</i> (s.v.), <i>*tauH</i>
to be unsteady	<i>*θrap/tarp</i>	to be(come) thick,	<i>*damH³</i> (s.v.), <i>*(d)banz¹</i> ,
to be wanting	<i>*gaHu</i>	fat	<i>*Hnar</i> (s.v.)
to be worried	<i>*xšai</i>	to be(come) tired,	<i>*(d)mān</i> (s.v.), <i>*h_uah</i> , <i>*Hubĵ</i>
to be worth	<i>*Harĵ</i> , <i>*xšaH</i> (s.v.)	bored	(s.v.), <i>*mraH</i> (s.v.), <i>*raič</i> (s.v.), <i>*rand</i> (s.v.), <i>*samH</i> ,
to bear	<i>*bar</i> , <i>*tauH</i> (s.v.), <i>*xšamH</i>		<i>*tamH</i>
to bear, be pregnant	<i>*zanH¹</i> (s.v.)	to befall	<i>*gan</i> , <i>*h_uah</i> , <i>*kap/f¹</i>
to beat	<i>*daH⁶</i> , <i>*ĵan</i> (s.v.), <i>*ka(H)ud</i> (s.v.), <i>*kaup¹</i> , <i>*kauš¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*namH</i> , <i>*paiš</i> (s.v.), <i>*skard</i> (s.v.), <i>*xad</i>	to beget, give birth	<i>*hauH²</i> , <i>*zanH¹</i>
		to behave like a	<i>*drafš</i>
		banner	
to become	<i>*bauH</i> , <i>*gan</i> , <i>*maH²</i>	to belch	<i>*Hrauĵ</i>
to be(come) afraid	<i>*baiH</i> , <i>*pau</i> , <i>*ram</i> (s.v.),	to believe	<i>*pair</i> , <i>*uar(H)¹</i>
(of), fear	<i>*θrah</i> , <i>*θram</i> , <i>*xraud</i>	to bend	<i>*bauĵ</i> , <i>*kamp</i> , <i>*kauč</i> , <i>*nam</i>
to become agitated	<i>*ĵauz</i> (s.v.), <i>*span(d)/sfan(d)</i> ,	to benefit	<i>*s_uan</i>
	<i>*uaiĵ</i> (s.v.)	to bestow	<i>*baĵ</i> , <i>*baxš</i> , <i>*nau</i> (s.v.)
to be(come) angry	<i>*uaiĵ</i> (s.v.), <i>*uaz</i> (s.v.),	to bewail	<i>*(H)raudH</i> , <i>*zarH³</i>
	<i>*xraud</i> , <i>*zarH¹</i> (s.v.)	to bind	<i>*band</i> , <i>*daH¹</i> , <i>*hHai</i> , <i>*ĵau¹</i> ,
to be(come)	<i>*θam</i>		<i>*pas</i>
attentive		to bite	<i>*dans</i> , <i>*gaz</i> , <i>*xšau</i> (s.v.)
to be(come) caring,	<i>*θam</i>	to blame	<i>*Hranĵ</i> (s.v.), <i>*mard</i> (s.v.),
comfort			<i>*part</i> (s.v.), <i>*uraid</i> , <i>*zarH¹</i> (s.v.)
to become cold,	<i>*bād</i> (s.v.), <i>*čĵaH/čĵiH</i> ,	to bless	<i>*fraiH</i> (s.v.), <i>*h_uanH</i> (s.v.),
freeze	<i>*saiH/siH</i> , <i>*sarH¹</i>		<i>*marčd</i> (s.v.), <i>*s_uan</i>
to become	<i>*gaiz</i> (s.v.), <i>*raub</i> , <i>*θ_uaxš</i>	to blink	<i>*maiĵ</i>
confused	(s.v.), <i>*uaiš</i> (s.v.), <i>*uar(H)²</i> (s.v.), <i>*xraud</i> , <i>*xšai</i> (s.v.),	to block	<i>*Hram</i> (s.v.), <i>*marH²</i> , <i>*raud</i> ,
	<i>*xš_uaip/b</i> (s.v.)		<i>*uaid³</i> (s.v.)
to be(come) dense	<i>*(d)banz¹</i> , <i>*tanč</i>	to bloom	<i>*(H)spar(H)ĵ</i> , <i>*spaič</i>
to become drunk,	<i>*mad¹</i>	to blossom	<i>*(H)spar(H)ĵ</i>
intoxicated		to blow	<i>*damH³</i> , <i>*H_uaH¹</i> , <i>*pazd¹</i>
to become dry,	<i>*Hhauš</i> , <i>*H_uaH¹</i> (s.v.),	to boil	<i>*baru¹</i> , <i>*ĵah</i> , <i>*urad</i> (s.v.)
dry out	<i>*tarH²</i> (s.v.)	to bore	<i>*su(m)p/b¹</i>
to become	<i>*urād</i>	to bow	<i>*bauĵ</i> (s.v.), <i>*kauč</i> (s.v.),
enthusiastic			<i>*nam</i> , <i>*s_uaH</i> (s.v.)
to become joyous	<i>*mad¹</i> , <i>*urād</i>	to brand	<i>*daj</i> (s.v.), <i>*drau(H)š</i>
to become narrow	<i>*tanč</i>	to bray	<i>*grait/graiθ</i> (s.v.), <i>*nar</i> ,
to become pleasant	<i>*h_uad</i>		<i>*nard</i> (s.v.), <i>*raH</i> (s.v.)
to become quiet	<i>*grabH</i> (s.v.), <i>*Hram</i> (s.v.),	to break	<i>*baid</i> (s.v.), <i>*baĵ</i> ,
	<i>*saiH</i> (s.v.), <i>*samH</i> , <i>*zap/f</i>		<i>*braĵ</i> , <i>*(H)raud</i> , <i>*Hraup</i> ,
to become savoury	<i>*h_uad</i>		<i>*(H)spar(H)ĵ</i> , <i>*maz</i> , <i>*rauĵ¹</i> ,
			<i>*rauxš</i> , <i>*said¹</i> , <i>*sarH³</i> , <i>*sčand</i> , <i>*xrau</i>

to break wind	<i>*pard</i>	to change	<i>*gart</i> (s.v.), <i>*Hmai²</i> , <i>*harH</i> (s.v.), <i>*iaup</i> , <i>*maiθH²</i> , <i>*u²art</i> (s.v.)
to breathe	<i>*damH³</i> , <i>*HanH</i>	to change colour	<i>*baH</i> (s.v.), <i>*pais</i> (s.v.), <i>*u²aip</i> (s.v.)
to brew	<i>*baru¹</i>	to chase	<i>*daH⁰</i> (s.v.), <i>*Har²</i> (s.v.), <i>*naiH¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*pazd</i> (s.v.), <i>*saij</i> (s.v.), <i>*sarū</i> , <i>*skar</i> (s.v.), <i>*tač¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*tarH¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*u²aiH</i>
to bring	<i>*bar</i> , <i>*Haz</i> (s.v.), <i>*Hu²ad</i> (s.v.), <i>*iam</i> (s.v.), <i>*naiH¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*par²</i> (s.v.), <i>*srai</i> (s.v.), <i>*u²az</i> (s.v.)	to chase away	<i>*Haz</i> (s.v.), <i>*(H)u²ač</i> (s.v.), <i>*šjazd</i> (s.v.), <i>*u²az</i> (s.v.)
to bring up	<i>*Hraud</i> (s.v.), <i>*san</i> (s.v.)	to chat, talk	<i>*dau</i> , <i>*zrād</i>
to bubble	<i>*ia^h</i>	to cheat, deceive	<i>*dab</i> , <i>*drau¹</i> , <i>*karz</i>
to build	<i>*čai¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*daiz</i> , <i>*damH¹</i> , <i>*Hmai¹</i> , <i>*skamb</i> (s.v.), <i>*su²aH</i> (s.v.), <i>*taš</i> (s.v.)	to cherish	<i>*(H)u²andH</i> , <i>*sand</i> (s.v.)
to bulge	<i>*sauH²</i>	to chew	<i>*baru²</i> , <i>*gnaič</i> , <i>*jūauH</i> , <i>*xād</i> (s.v.), <i>*šsau</i>
to burn	<i>*da¹</i> , <i>*dauH¹</i> , <i>*hau²</i> , <i>*Haid</i> , <i>*Hauš</i> , <i>*kau²</i> (s.v.), <i>*paxš</i> (s.v.), <i>*sauč¹</i> , <i>*tab</i> (s.v.)	to choose	<i>*čai¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*θrās</i> (s.v.), <i>*u²aic</i> (s.v.), <i>*u²ar(H)¹</i> , <i>*zauš</i> (s.v.)
to burst	<i>*Hrais</i> (s.v.), <i>*(H)raud</i> (s.v.), <i>*(H)spar(H)j</i> , <i>*kap/f²</i> (s.v.), <i>*rand</i> (s.v.), <i>*rau¹</i> , <i>*skap/f</i> (s.v.), <i>*skauH</i> (s.v.), <i>*tard</i> (s.v.)	to churn	<i>*manθH</i> , <i>*jan</i> (s.v.), <i>*kau¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*naiH²</i> , <i>*šan</i> (s.v.)
to buy	<i>*grabH</i> (s.v.), <i>*Harj</i> (s.v.), <i>*Hnas</i> (s.v.), <i>*iam</i> (s.v.), <i>*parH²</i> (s.v.), <i>*staHn</i> (s.v.), <i>*xraiH</i>	to clean, cleanse	<i>*čai¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*tarH²</i> (s.v.), <i>*u²aic</i> (s.v.), <i>*xšad</i> , <i>*zai²</i> (s.v.)
to call, claim	<i>*drau¹</i> , <i>*gaH³</i> , <i>*gard¹</i> , <i>*garH¹</i> , <i>*gauH</i> , <i>*hu²anH</i> , <i>*raHz</i> , <i>*said²</i> , <i>*sauč²</i> , <i>*u²ab/f¹</i> , <i>*xraus</i> , <i>*zauH</i>	to claim, call	<i>*drau¹</i> , <i>*gaH³</i> , <i>*gard¹</i> , <i>*garH¹</i> , <i>*gauH</i> , <i>*hu²anH</i> , <i>*raHz</i> , <i>*said²</i> , <i>*sauč²</i> , <i>*u²ab/f¹</i> , <i>*xraus</i> , <i>*zauH</i>
to cane	<i>*saif</i>	to cleave	<i>*kap/f²</i> (s.v.), <i>*ščand</i> , <i>*skap/f</i> (s.v.), <i>*tard</i> (s.v.), <i>*taš</i> (s.v.)
cane	<i>*nad</i> (s.v.)	to cling	<i>*ha(n)j</i> , <i>*rag</i> , <i>*sraiš</i> (s.v.)
to carry	<i>*bar</i> , <i>*čap</i> (s.v.), <i>*gam¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*garH²</i> (s.v.), <i>*Haz</i> (s.v.), <i>*Hu²ad</i> , <i>*iat</i> (s.v.), <i>*karš/xrah</i> (s.v.), <i>*naiH¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*u²az</i>	to clothe	<i>*drap</i> (s.v.), <i>*gaud</i> (s.v.), <i>*(h)mauč</i> , <i>*paus</i>
to carry out	<i>*bar</i> (s.v.), <i>*iau¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*san</i> (s.v.), <i>*u²arz</i> (s.v.)	to coagulate	<i>*gar⁴</i> , <i>*Hanč</i> (s.v.), <i>*mad²</i> , <i>*saiH/siH</i> (s.v.)
to cast	<i>*dais²</i> (s.v.), <i>*harč</i> , <i>*ram</i> (s.v.)	to collapse	<i>*brans</i> , <i>*pat</i> (s.v.), <i>*xšan</i> (s.v.)
to castrate	<i>*drau(H)š</i> (s.v.), <i>*saH</i> (s.v.), <i>*skap/f</i> (s.v.), <i>*pazd²</i>	to collect	<i>*bar</i> (s.v.), <i>*čai¹</i> , <i>*daub</i> (s.v.), <i>*Har²</i> (s.v.), <i>*kan²</i> (s.v.), <i>*rau¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*skar</i> (s.v.), <i>*su²aH</i> (s.v.), <i>*tau¹</i> ² (s.v.), <i>*θua(n)j</i> (s.v.), <i>*u²art</i> (s.v.), <i>*u²az</i> (s.v.)
to cause to go, thread	<i>*iaz</i> (s.v.), <i>*karH¹</i>	to colour	<i>*hu²ar²</i> , <i>*kar</i> (s.v.), <i>*pais</i> (s.v.), <i>*ra(n)j</i>
to celebrate	<i>*darz</i> (s.v.), <i>*hHai</i>		

colour	<i>*baH</i> (s.v.), <i>supra</i>	to cut off	<i>*uai</i>
to come	<i>*čarH</i> , <i>*čīau</i> (s.v.), <i>*gam¹</i> , <i>*Hai</i> (s.v.), <i>*Har¹</i> (s.v.)	to damage	<i>*maiH</i> , <i>*marč</i> , <i>*raš</i>
to come to a halt	<i>*θīaĵ</i>	to dare	<i>*darš¹</i>
to commit oneself	<i>*par¹</i>	dawn, day	<i>*baH</i> (s.v.)
to compensate	<i>*zamH</i>	to deceive, cheat	<i>*dab</i> , <i>*drauĵ</i> , <i>*karz</i>
to complain	<i>*mār</i>	to declare	<i>*sanh</i>
to conceal	<i>*gauz</i> , <i>*mauš(H)</i> , <i>*sar¹</i>	to decompose	<i>*frait/θ</i>
to conclude an agreement	<i>*hmar</i> (s.v.), <i>*sam</i>	to decrease	<i>*maiH</i> , <i>*narp</i>
to condemn	<i>*ūraid</i>	to defeat	<i>*staup</i>
to conquer	<i>*hanH</i> , <i>*ĵai</i>	to defecate	<i>*čīaH²</i> (s.v.), <i>*HraiH</i> , <i>*xard</i>
to consider	<i>*man</i>	to defend	<i>*Hraxš</i> , <i>*Huār²</i>
to constrict	<i>*tanč</i>	to deliver	<i>*bauĵ²</i>
to construct	<i>*taš</i>	to delude	<i>*drau³</i>
to consume	<i>*huār¹</i>	to demand	<i>*īaH</i> , <i>*ĵad</i>
to contain	<i>*ūiač</i>	to deprive	<i>*zaiH</i>
to contend	<i>*ūāz²</i>	to descend	<i>*xa(m)p/b</i>
to contract	<i>*kauč</i>	to desire	<i>*gaHu</i> , <i>*gard²</i> , <i>*Haiš</i> , <i>*Haiz</i> , <i>*kaH¹</i> , <i>*kaHm</i> , <i>*rauĵ²</i> , <i>*xšij</i> , <i>*xuaz</i>
to convince	<i>*ūar(H)¹</i>	to despise	<i>*mard</i>
to cook	<i>*gar³</i> , <i>*pač</i> , <i>*paxš</i>	to destroy	<i>*ĵaiH²</i> , <i>*kan¹</i> , <i>*Hmarz</i> (s.v.), <i>*kan¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*marč</i> , <i>*Hrais</i> (s.v.), <i>*said¹</i> , <i>*zaiH</i>
to cool	<i>*sarH¹</i>	to deviate	<i>*maiθH²</i>
to coquet	<i>*nāz</i>	to devour	<i>*xšau</i> , <i>*xād</i>
to cough	<i>*xaf</i>	to die	<i>*mar¹</i> , <i>*frait/θ</i> (s.v.), <i>*raiθ¹</i>
to count	<i>*hmar</i>	to dig	<i>*kanH¹</i> , <i>*kap/f²</i> , <i>*Hrad</i> , <i>*xaH</i>
to cover	<i>*barz²</i> , <i>*gaud</i> , <i>*Huār¹</i> , <i>*paus</i> , <i>*sād</i> , <i>*ūiaH</i>	to diminish	<i>*kas⁴</i>
to cover	<i>*skauH</i>	to direct	<i>*Hraz</i>
to crack	<i>*skap/f</i>	disagreement, discord	<i>*baĵ</i> (s.v.)
to crackle	<i>*HrauH</i>	to disappear	<i>*daiH¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*Hai</i> (s.v.), <i>*fan</i> (s.v.), <i>*gauz</i> (s.v.), <i>*HuāH²</i> (s.v.), <i>*ĵaiH²</i> (s.v.), <i>*nas</i>
to crawl	<i>*īa(m)b/p</i> , <i>*xaz</i>	to discard	<i>*maiθH³</i>
to creep	<i>*xaz</i>	to dismount	<i>*xa(m)p/b</i>
to cross over	<i>*par²</i> , <i>*tarH¹</i>	to disparage	<i>*mard</i>
to crush	<i>*darš²</i> , <i>*Hmard</i> , <i>*ka(H)ud</i> , <i>*marH¹</i> , <i>*paiš</i> , <i>*ūraiH</i> , <i>*zamb²</i>	to disperse	<i>*θūai</i> , <i>*ūap¹</i>
to cry	<i>*ban</i> (s.v.), <i>*bram</i> , <i>*nau(H)</i> , <i>*raH</i>	to distance from	<i>*šīazd</i>
to curdle	<i>*mad²</i>	distress	<i>*darH</i> (s.v.), <i>*maud</i> (s.v.), <i>*staup</i> (s.v.), <i>*tanč</i> (s.v.), <i>*xšai</i> (s.v.), <i>*zauH</i> (s.v.)
to cure	<i>*bišaz</i>	to distribute	<i>*daH³</i>
to curse	<i>*sap</i>	to disturb	<i>*gaiz</i>
to cushion	<i>*barz²</i>	to divide	<i>*baĵ</i> , <i>*baxš</i> , <i>*daH³</i>
to cut	<i>*braiH</i> , <i>*Hrais</i> , <i>*kap/f²</i> , <i>*kar¹</i> , <i>*saH</i> , <i>*taš</i> , <i>*θūars</i> , <i>*xšau</i>	to do	<i>*kar</i> , <i>*ūarz</i>
to cut down	<i>*drauH</i>		

to drag	<i>*šan</i> , <i>*ȳarč</i> , <i>*zarš²</i>	to extort	<i>*gam²</i>
to draw	<i>*Hanč</i> , <i>*karš/*xrah</i> , <i>*kauč</i> , <i>*šanj</i> , <i>*zarš²</i>	to extract	<i>*hau¹</i>
to draw a line	<i>*Hraz</i>	to fade	<i>*maiH</i>
to draw (picture)	<i>*kar</i> (s.v.)	to faint	<i>*tamH</i> , <i>*tand</i>
to dress, wear clothes	<i>*drap</i> (s.v.), <i>*gaud</i> (s.v.), <i>*(h)mauč</i> , <i>*paus</i>	to fall	<i>*brans</i> , <i>*duai</i> , <i>*(h)rah</i> , <i>*kap/f¹</i> , <i>*kas³</i> , <i>*pad</i> , <i>*pat</i> , <i>*raiz³</i>
to drink	<i>*čas²</i> , <i>*hȳar¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*jiauH</i> (s.v.), <i>*šanj</i> (s.v.), <i>*paH²</i> , <i>*ȳaz</i> (s.v.)	to fart	<i>*pard</i>
to drip	<i>*čas²</i> , <i>*srasč</i>	to fashion	<i>*Hmai¹</i>
to drive	<i>*hauH¹</i> , <i>*Haz</i> , <i>*skar</i> , <i>*ȳaz</i>	to fasten	<i>*darz</i> , <i>*dra(n)j</i>
to drop	<i>*raiz³</i> , <i>*zgar</i>	to fear, be(come) afraid (of)	<i>*baiH</i> , <i>*pau</i> , <i>*ram</i> (s.v.), <i>*šrah</i> , <i>*šram</i> , <i>*šraud</i>
to dwell	<i>*dar¹</i> , <i>*(d)mān</i> , <i>*Hauč</i> , <i>*Hȳah²</i> , <i>*maišH¹</i> , <i>*šai</i>	to feed	<i>*čarH</i> (s.v.), <i>*karš/xrah</i> (s.v.), <i>*paiH</i> , <i>*ȳarHz</i> (s.v.)
to dye	<i>*ra(n)j</i>	to feel	<i>*baud¹</i>
to earmark	<i>*skauH</i>	to fight	<i>*Hīaud</i> , <i>*Hrab/f²</i> , <i>*kauš¹</i> , <i>*naič</i> , <i>*par³</i> , <i>*part</i> , <i>*ran(H)</i> , <i>*xāz</i>
to eat	<i>*čas²</i> , <i>*far¹</i> , <i>*HasH</i> , <i>*hȳar¹</i> , <i>*spaH</i> , <i>*xād</i>	to fill	<i>*kan²</i> , <i>*parč</i> , <i>*parH¹</i>
to elect	<i>*ȳaič</i>	to find	<i>*ȳaid²</i>
to emit flames	<i>*sauč¹</i>	to fit, be suitable	<i>*(d)banz²</i> , <i>*sač¹</i>
to employ	<i>*īauj</i>	to fix	<i>*dra(n)j</i> , <i>*Hmai¹</i>
to empty	<i>*tauš</i>	to fixate	<i>*Hmai¹</i>
to endeavour	<i>*buHš</i> , <i>*diHu</i>	to flap	<i>*duaj</i>
to enjoy, be delighted, rejoice	<i>*bauj³</i> , <i>*fraiH</i> , <i>*gaHz</i> (s.v.), <i>*gar¹</i> , <i>*gāz</i> (s.v.), <i>*Hram</i> (s.v.), <i>*raH</i> (s.v.), <i>*ran(H)</i> , <i>*ȳarHz</i> (s.v.), <i>*zarš¹</i> , <i>*zauš</i>	to flee	<i>*mu(n)š</i> , <i>*šrah</i>
to enter	<i>*ȳais</i> , <i>*xrap²</i>	to float	<i>*mrauč</i>
to entertain	<i>*ȳrāz</i> , <i>*xšnau²</i>	to flog	<i>*saij²</i>
to entrust	<i>*spar</i>	to flow	<i>*frau²</i> , <i>*gžrā(H)d</i> , <i>*gžar</i> , <i>*hrau</i> , <i>*Hmai¹</i> , <i>*Hraič</i> , <i>*naid</i> , <i>*tač¹</i> , <i>*taH</i> , <i>*ȳaz</i> (s.v.), <i>*zgar</i>
to equalize	<i>*par¹</i>	to flutter	<i>*duaj</i> , <i>*fast</i>
to equip	<i>*zai²</i>	to fly	<i>*dȳanH</i> , <i>*frau¹</i> , <i>*parn</i> , <i>*pat</i> , <i>*ȳaz</i> (s.v.)
to erect	<i>*šȳaH</i>	to fly up	<i>*drafš</i>
to err	<i>*maug</i>	to follow	<i>*hač</i>
to escape	<i>*(h)rah</i> , <i>*raz</i>	to forget	<i>*marš</i>
to establish	<i>*ȳindar</i>	to forgive	<i>*maržd</i> , <i>*xšad</i>
to esteem	<i>*srāg</i>	to form	<i>*daiz</i> , <i>*šȳars</i>
to exchange	<i>*harH</i> , <i>*Hmai¹</i> , <i>*xšnau²</i>	fortune	<i>*baj</i> (s.v.)
to excite	<i>*gaiz</i>	to foster	<i>*maiz²</i>
to exert	<i>*gamp/b²</i>	to free	<i>*bauj³</i> , <i>*mauč¹</i>
to experience	<i>*bauj³</i>	to freeze, become cold	<i>*čjaH/čiH</i> , <i>*saiH/siH</i>
to expiate	<i>*tauj³</i>	to fume	<i>*dȳanH</i>
to explain	<i>*sanh</i>	to gain	<i>*tauj²</i>
to explore	<i>*xsaH</i>		
to extend	<i>*har²</i> , <i>*tan</i>		

to gallop	<i>*zɡad</i>	to have sexual intercourse	<i>*ɡaH², *Hjāb</i>
to gather	<i>*čai¹, *garj², *tauj²</i>	to heal	<i>*bišaz</i>
to get	<i>*θu(a)nj</i>	to heap, amass	<i>*bar</i> (s.v.), <i>*čai¹, *daiz</i> (s.v.), <i>*das², *gart</i> (s.v.), <i>*suāH</i> (s.v.), <i>*tauj²</i> (s.v.), <i>*uārt</i> (s.v.), <i>*uaz</i> (s.v.)
to get even	<i>*par¹</i>	to hear	<i>*ɡauš, *srau, *xšnau¹</i>
to gird, girdle	<i>*iāHh</i>	to heat	<i>*gar³, *tap</i>
to give	<i>*baĵ, *daH¹, *HraH, *parH²</i>	to help, aid	<i>*(d)banz²</i> (s.v.), <i>*HauH, *jat</i> (s.v.), <i>*karš/xrah</i> (s.v.), <i>*rap/f</i>
to give birth	<i>*hauH², *zanH¹</i>	to hide	<i>*ɡauz, *sar¹</i>
to glorify	<i>*mag</i>	to hinder	<i>*marH², *raud</i>
to glue	<i>*sraiš</i> (s.v.)	to hit	<i>*čak/g, *daH⁶, *daub, *xad</i>
to gnaw	<i>*ɡnaič, *xšau</i>	to hold	<i>*baĵ</i> (s.v.), <i>*dar¹, *dra(n)j</i> , <i>*ĵam, *ĵau¹</i>
to go	<i>*čĵau, *gaH¹, *Hai, *Hrab/f¹, *ĵat, *ram, *uāraj, *xar, *xrāmH, *zuāar</i>	to honour	<i>*barĵ, *das¹, *zarH³</i> (s.v.)
to go forth	<i>*raiθ¹, *uāraj, *zɡad</i>	honour	<i>*baH</i> (s.v.), <i>*baiH</i> (s.v.)
to go over	<i>*par²</i>	to howl	<i>*raH</i>
to go to sleep	<i>*saiH</i>	to hunt	<i>*sarū, *uāiH</i>
to go towards	<i>*Har¹</i>	to hurl	<i>*xšaip/b</i>
to gorge	<i>*ɡah, *xād</i>	to hurry	<i>*θuāar/tur</i>
to grab	<i>*grabH, *Hrab/f³</i>	to hurt	<i>*xad, *xšān, *zarH¹</i>
greed, greedy	<i>*garH⁴</i> (s.v.), <i>*Haz</i> (s.v.), <i>*rauĵ²</i> (s.v.)	to impel	<i>*čaud, *sar², *tauĵ¹, *zai¹</i>
to greet	<i>*garH¹</i>	to implore	<i>*Haižd, *uāh²</i>
to grieve	<i>*HiH</i>	to imprison	<i>*kaš</i>
to grind	<i>*drauš, *HarH, *paiš</i>	to incite	<i>*ɡaiž, *hauH¹, *sar²</i>
to grow	<i>*Hraud, *(H)uāard, *uāarHz, *uaxš</i>	to increase	<i>*fraHd, *gau, *(H)uāard, *sauH², *uaxš, *xaiž</i>
to grow old, age	<i>*ĵat</i> (s.v.), <i>*ĵaiH²</i> (s.v.), <i>*zarH²</i>	to inflict a wound	<i>*xad</i>
to growl	<i>*HrauH</i>	to injure	<i>*HiH</i>
to guard	<i>*har¹, *Haxš², *paH¹</i>	to inquire	<i>*fras/prs</i>
to hail [weather]	<i>*ĵahu</i>	to inspire	<i>*uāt</i>
to hand over	<i>*spar</i>	to instruct	<i>*danh, *saHh</i>
to hang on	<i>*ha(n)j</i>	to insult, offend	<i>*HiH, *Hnaid</i>
to happen, occur	<i>*čĵau</i> (s.v.), <i>*gan, *garš¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*ĵat</i> (s.v.), <i>*kar</i> (s.v.), <i>*zɡad</i> (s.v.), <i>*xaiž</i> (s.v.)	to invoke	<i>*gauH</i>
to harm	<i>*maiH, *raš, *xšān</i>	to itch	<i>*huāar⁴</i>
to harness	<i>*ĵauĵ</i>	to join	<i>*band</i> (s.v.), <i>*darb</i>
to hasten	<i>*stap, *tauĵ¹, *θuāar/tur</i>	to jump	<i>*raiž²</i>
to hate	<i>*duāiš</i>	to keep	<i>*dar¹, *hap</i>
to have a share	<i>*baĵ, *baxš</i>	to keep down	<i>*Hubĵ, *kard</i>
to have a sore	<i>*huāar⁴</i>	to kick	<i>*sparH</i>
to have grace	<i>*xšād</i>	to kill	<i>*ĵan, *kauš¹</i>
to have mercy, pity	<i>*xšād, *maržd</i>	to kindle	<i>*gar³</i>
to have pain	<i>*darH</i>	to kiss	<i>*baud¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*maič</i> (s.v.)

to knead	<i>*garš²</i>	to make high	<i>*barz¹</i>
to know	<i>*uaid¹, *zanH²</i>	to make ill	<i>*ban</i> (s.v.), <i>*raiš</i> (s.v.)
to labour	<i>*gamp/b²</i>	to make known	<i>*čaiš</i> (<i>*kaiš</i>)
to lack	<i>*HyaH²</i>	to make noise	<i>*nad</i>
to lactate	<i>*paiH</i>	to make pregnant	<i>*Hīab</i> (s.v.)
to lament	<i>*ban</i> (s.v.), <i>*garz</i> , <i>*karp</i> , <i>*nard</i> , <i>*xšai</i> , <i>*zarH³</i> (s.v.)	to make pleasant	<i>*hūd</i>
to languish	<i>*tand</i>	to make savoury	<i>*hūd</i>
to laugh	<i>*xand</i>	to make up	<i>*su(m)p/b²</i>
to lay around	<i>*Huarj</i>	to make wet	<i>*nab</i>
to lead	<i>*Haz</i> , <i>*Hūd</i> , <i>*naiH¹</i> , <i>*raiš¹</i>	to mark	<i>*daxš</i> , <i>*drau(H)š</i> , <i>*Haxš¹</i> , <i>*raxš</i>
to lead astray	<i>*drau³</i>	to marry	<i>*Hūd</i>
to lean	<i>*srai</i>	to measure	<i>*maH¹</i>
to learn	<i>*īauč</i> , <i>*mauč²</i>	to melt	<i>*taH</i> , <i>*taHč</i>
to leave	<i>*(h)rah</i> , <i>*raič</i> , <i>*raz</i> , <i>*zaH</i>	to milk	<i>*dauč¹</i> , <i>*daušš</i>
to leave behind	<i>*raič</i> , <i>*xa(m)p/b</i> , <i>*zaH</i>	to mingle	<i>*maiz¹</i> , <i>*raiš²</i> , <i>*uar(H)²</i>
to lessen	<i>*kas⁴</i>	to mistreat	<i>*mrau</i>
to let (go)	<i>*(h)rah</i> , <i>*harz</i> , <i>*(H)uāč</i> , <i>*mauč¹</i> , <i>*raič</i>	to mix	<i>*maiz¹</i> , <i>*raiš²</i> , <i>*sarH²</i> , <i>*uar(H)²</i>
to lick	<i>*raiz¹</i>	to moan	<i>*(H)raudH</i> , <i>*karp</i> , <i>*mār</i> , <i>*nard</i>
to lie	<i>*drauj</i>	to moisten, make wet	<i>*garH³</i> , <i>*haič</i> , <i>*nab</i>
to lie down	<i>*saiH</i>	mortar	<i>*baĵ</i> (s.v.), <i>*darš²</i> (s.v.), <i>*hau</i> (s.v.)
light	<i>*baH</i> (s.v.)	to mount	<i>*san</i> , <i>*zɡad</i>
to light a fire	<i>*braHz</i> , <i>*daiH²</i>	to mourn	<i>*maud</i> , <i>*zarH³</i> (s.v.)
to light up	<i>*diHp</i>	to move	<i>*čjaH²</i> , <i>*čĵau</i> , <i>*fan</i> , <i>*fast</i> , <i>*gaH¹</i> , <i>*ĵa(m)b/p</i> , <i>*kaiH</i> , <i>*miHu</i> , <i>*nau</i> , <i>*ram</i> , <i>*suaH</i> , <i>*uaz</i>
to listen	<i>*gauš</i> , <i>*srau</i> , <i>*xšnau¹</i>	to move away	<i>*xa(m)p/b</i>
to live	<i>*jaiH</i> , <i>*šai</i>	to move rapidly	<i>*barH</i>
to live at home	<i>*Hauč</i>	to move to	<i>*gamp/b¹</i> , <i>*maij²</i>
to load	<i>*darz</i>	to move to and fro	<i>*tarč</i>
to long for	<i>*Haiz</i> , <i>*xšĵ</i>	to move unsteadily	<i>*θrap/tarp</i> , <i>*zuar</i>
to look	<i>*daiH¹</i> , <i>*haiz</i> , <i>*kas¹</i> , <i>*kaus²</i>	to mow	<i>*čai¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*drauH</i>
to look for	<i>*Haiš</i>	to mumble	<i>*karp</i>
to look for	<i>*skar</i>	to need	<i>*gaHu</i>
to loosen	<i>*sraθH</i>	to neglect	<i>*mard</i>
to lose	<i>*uāz²</i>	to nourish	<i>*θraHu</i> , <i>*parH¹</i> , <i>*uarHz</i>
to love	<i>*kaHm</i> , <i>*kanH²</i> , <i>*uarHz</i> (s.v.), <i>*raub</i> (s.v.), <i>*zauš</i> (s.v.)	to observe	<i>*čai³</i> , <i>*čait/θ</i> , <i>*hap</i> , <i>*har¹</i>
luck	<i>*hāj</i> (s.v.)	to occur, happen	<i>*čĵau</i> (s.v.), <i>*gan</i> , <i>*garš¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*ĵat</i> (s.v.), <i>*kar</i> (s.v.), <i>*zɡad</i> (s.v.), <i>*xaiz</i> (s.v.)
to make	<i>*kar</i> , <i>*taš</i>	to offend, insult	<i>*HiH</i> , <i>*Hnaid</i>
to make a crack	<i>*skap/f</i>		
to make a noise	<i>*sinĵ</i> , <i>*uās</i>		
to make angry	<i>*xraud</i>		
to make anxious	<i>*Hīaud</i> (s.v.)		
to make furrows	<i>*karH²</i>		
to make grow	<i>*uarHz</i>		

to offer	<i>*HraH, *mag</i>	to proclaim	<i>*mrauH</i> (s.v.), <i>*uac̣</i> (s.v.), <i>*zauH</i> (s.v.)
to open	<i>*bauj², *xaH</i>	to prosper	<i>*Hard</i>
to oppress	<i>*sjazd, *stap, *θra(n)č,</i> <i>*θrauH</i>	to protect	<i>*Hraxš, *Huār², *paH¹,</i> <i>*θraH, *sād</i>
to overcome	<i>*staup, *taru</i>	to protrude	<i>*xāč</i>
to paint	<i>*huār³, *pais</i>	to pull	<i>*θanj</i>
to pale	<i>*baH</i> (s.v.)	to pull out	<i>*rauH</i>
to pant	<i>*suah</i>	to pursue	<i>*skar</i>
to pass	<i>*fan, *sac̣², *xar</i>	to push down	<i>*uraiH</i>
to pasture	<i>*čarH</i> (s.v.), <i>*paH¹</i>	to put	<i>*dah², *kan¹</i>
to pave	<i>*Hrad</i>	to put in pieces	<i>*uārč</i>
to pay	<i>*čai², *tauj³</i>	to put on clothes	<i>*drap</i>
to pay back	<i>*tauj³</i>	to put out	<i>*Huaj</i>
to pay tribute	<i>*harH</i>	to put together	<i>*sraiš</i>
to peel off	<i>*draub</i>	to quiver	<i>*spard</i>
to perceive	<i>*čai³</i>	to radiate	<i>*baH</i> (s.v.), <i>*daiH², *rauč</i>
to perish	<i>*Hai</i> (s.v.), <i>*Hrais</i> (s.v.), <i>*jaiH², *kan¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*nas,</i> <i>*said¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*san</i> (s.v.), <i>*sap</i> (s.v.), <i>*uraid</i> (s.v.), <i>*xšan</i> (s.v.)	to rain	<i>*Hmai², *uāHr</i>
to pervade	<i>*raiθ²</i>	to raise	<i>*uaižd</i>
to pervert	<i>*ja(m)b/p</i> (s.v.)	to rake	<i>*saij</i>
to pick	<i>*dauB</i>	to reach	<i>*Hapf, *Har¹, *Hnas, *iat,</i> <i>*tač²</i>
picture, image	<i>*kar</i> (s.v.)	to reach out	<i>*jam</i>
to pierce	<i>*skard, *su(m)p/b¹, *tard</i>	to reap	<i>*drauH</i>
to pinch	<i>*paič</i>	to recall	<i>*hmar</i>
to place	<i>*dah², *kan¹, *staH</i>	to receive	<i>*gāz, *tač²</i>
to play	<i>*uāz²</i>	to regale	<i>*urāz, *xšnau²</i>
to please	<i>*fraiH, *rau²</i>	to reject	<i>*(h)rah</i>
to plough	<i>*karH², *karš/*xrah</i>	to rejoice, be delighted, enjoy	<i>*bauj³, *fraiH, *gaHz</i> (s.v.), <i>*gar¹, *gāz</i> (s.v.), <i>*Hram</i> (s.v.), <i>*raH</i> (s.v.), <i>*ran(H),</i> <i>*uarHz</i> (s.v.), <i>*zarš¹, *zauš</i>
to pluck	<i>*rauH, *HuārH</i>	to release	<i>*bauj², *harz, *(H)uāč,</i> <i>*mauč¹, *raič</i>
to plunder	<i>*HuārH</i>	to release [sound]	<i>*(H)spar(H)j</i>
to poke	<i>*skauH</i>	to relieve oneself	<i>*čjaH²</i>
to pound	<i>*ka(H)ud, *ka(H)us, *kaup¹</i>	to remain	<i>*(d)mān, *Huah²</i>
to pour	<i>*haič, *Hraič, *Hmai², *zau</i>	to remark	<i>*čait/θ</i>
to praise	<i>*barj, *Hauj, *(H)uandH,</i> <i>*karH¹, *stau</i>	to remember	<i>*frai³, *HjaH, *hmar</i>
to pray	<i>*uah²</i>	to remove, erase	<i>*bar</i> (s.v.), <i>*star</i> (s.v.), <i>*tač¹</i> (s.v.), <i>*uar(H)¹</i> (s.v.)
to prepare	<i>*sac̣¹</i>	to repay	<i>*tauj³, *zamH</i>
to prepare a drink	<i>*fšar²</i>	to repel	<i>*sjazd</i>
to present	<i>*parH²</i>	to request	<i>*jaH</i>
to press	<i>*bād, *fšar², *gam², *hau¹,</i> <i>*stap</i>	to research	<i>*xsaH</i>
to press on	<i>*θanz, *manH</i>	to resemble, be like	<i>*baH</i> (s.v.), <i>*mān</i>

to resign oneself	*xšamH	to search for	*haiz
to respect	*uāz ¹	pastures	
to rest	*čaiH ² , *čīaH ¹	to see	*čai ³ , *daiH ¹ , *dars, *haiš, *kauš ² , *uai(H)n
to reveal	*daxš	to seek	*Hīaud, *kauz ¹
to reward	*zamH	to seem	*sand
to ride	*bar (s.v.)	to seize	*čap, *grabH, *zanj
to rise, ascend	*damb (s.v.), *fan (s.v.), *frau ¹ (s.v.), *gam ¹ (s.v.), *gamp/b ¹ (s.v.), *Hah ² (s.v.), *Hai (s.v.), *Har ¹ (s.v.), *Hraz (s.v.), *kaš ³ (s.v.), *pat, *san, *u ² art (s.v.), *xač, *xaiz	to select	*uaič
to roam	*bramH	to sell	*baxš (s.v.), *daH ¹ (s.v.), *HraH (s.v.), *uaxš (s.v.)
to roar	*garj ¹ , *grait/graiθ, *gram, *nar, *uās	to send	*harč, *saij
to roast	*bra(i)j	to sense	*baud ¹
to rob	*HuarH, *raup ¹	to separate	*īau ² , *uaič
to roll	*nāj	to serve	*spas
to rot	*frait/θ, *pauH	to set	*staH
to rove	*īa(m)b/p	to set fire	*Haid
to rub	*dauH ² , *garš ² , *marH ¹ , *Hmars, *Hmarz, *samH, *sard, *sauH ¹ , *tarH ²	to set in motion	*HaišH, *Har ² , *kaiH, *zai ¹
to rule, be lord of	*Hais, *Hraz (s.v.), *xšaH	to set on fire, alight	*braHz, *daiH ²
to run	*dau ¹ , *dram, *drau ² , *duar, *gaHz, *pau ² , *saij, *tač ¹ , *uaiH	to sew	*čaiH ¹ , *darb, *darz, *dauč ² , *hīauH
to rustle, tremble	*xšaub	to shake	*čat, *Hraiz, *rarz, *šan, *θrah, *uaij, *uai ² p, *ua(n)č, *xšūaip/b
sacrifice	*band (s.v.)	to shame	*šar ¹
to sacrifice	*īaz, *uai	to sharpen	*ti(n)j ¹ , *xšnau ¹
to satisfy	*spaH	to shave	*braiH, *paš, *uap ² , *xšau
to save	*bauj ²	to shear	*braiH, *paš, *xšau
to saw	*harn	to shear off	*rauH
to say	*gaub, *HaH(a)d, *Hauj, *jūar, *mrauH, *uac, *zag	to shed	*raš
to scatter	*karH ² , *θrāš, *uap ¹	to shelter	*Hrak
to scold	*grait/graiθ, *Hrais (s.v.), *(H)uandH (s.v.), *raH (s.v.), *stau (s.v.)	to shield	*sād
to scorch	*hau ²	to shine	*baH, *braHz, *daiH ² , *diHp, *drajš, *Hūah ¹ , *rauč, *rauxšn, *spaič, *šam
to scorn	*Hnaid	to shoot	*Haxš ¹ , *raxš, *uaid ³
to scrape	*kap/j ² , *rand	to shout	*raHz, *uās
to scratch	*draub, *hūar ⁴ , *xrāš, *xrau	to show	*čaš ¹ , *dais ¹ , *daxš, *iaš
to search	*kauz ¹	to sift	*uaič
		to sin	*star
		to sing	*gaH ² , *Harč, *uab/j ¹ (s.v.), *zarH ³ (s.v.)
		to sip	*hrab
		to sit	*had, *HaHh
		to sit down	*čaiH ²
		to slaughter	*mrau
		to slay	*jan, *uadH

to sleep	<i>*gnauH, *hah, *h_uap/f, *saiH</i>	to stride	<i>*xrāmH</i>
to slumber	<i>*gnauH</i>	to strike	<i>*čak/g, *čap, *daH⁶, *damb, *daub, *gan, *h_uah, *jan, *karč, *namH, *snaθH, *xad</i>
to smear	<i>*dauH², *raip, *sard</i>	to strike down	<i>*kap/f¹</i>
to smell	<i>*bau², *gant, *graH, *pauH</i>	to strive	<i>*H_iaud, *sparz</i>
to smoke	<i>*pazd¹</i>	to struggle	<i>*H_iaud, *kauš¹, *par³, *part, *xāz</i>
to smoothen	<i>*rand</i>	to stumble	<i>*skarf</i>
to sneeze	<i>*frauθ (s.v.), *pazd¹ (s.v.), *xšnauš</i>	to submerge	<i>*mrauč</i>
to snore, snort	<i>*frauθ</i>	to succeed	<i>*(H)rād</i>
to snow	<i>*snaij</i>	to suck	<i>*daH⁵, *dauš, *hrab, *maič</i>
to soak	<i>*garH³</i>	to suckle	<i>*daH⁵, *dauš</i>
to soften, be soft	<i>*mraH, *nāz (s.v.), *urad</i>	to suffer	<i>*baid (s.v.), *Hraup, *raiš, *xšamH</i>
to sort out	<i>*uaič</i>	to supervise	<i>*Haxš²</i>
to sound	<i>*h_uar², *nad, *staub/f, *zag</i>	to support	<i>*rap/f, *skamb</i>
to sow	<i>*karH², *tau</i>	to swallow	<i>*baru², *č_iam, *garH⁴</i>
to speak	<i>*dau, *far², *HaH(a)d, *H_uadH, *j_uar, *uab/f¹ (s.v.), *uač, *zrād</i>	to swear	<i>*h_uar², *sap</i>
to spin	<i>*gaip/b, *urais</i>	to sweat	<i>*h_uaid</i>
splendour	<i>*baH (s.v.)</i>	to sweep	<i>*raup², *star</i>
to split	<i>*baid, *dar², *fšan, *Hrais, *kap/f², *said¹, *skap/f, *tard</i>	to swell	<i>*damH³, *sauH²</i>
to spread	<i>*H_uanH, *karH², *starH¹, *tau, *θrāš, *θ_uai</i>	to swim	<i>*snaH</i>
to sprinkle	<i>*parš</i>	to swing	<i>*uaij, *uaiip</i>
to sprout	<i>*(H)spar(H)j</i>	to take	<i>*grabH, *h_uar³, *Hnas, *staHn</i>
to spur	<i>*Hranj</i>	to take away	<i>*raup¹, *zaiH</i>
to squeak	<i>*xš_uaid</i>	to take care	<i>*maiž²</i>
to squeeze	<i>*hau¹</i>	to take pleasure in	<i>*kaH¹, *kanH², *nāz, *zauš</i>
to stab	<i>*staij</i>	to take position	<i>*jat</i>
to stagger	<i>*ua(n)č</i>	to take refuge	<i>*Hrak</i>
to stain	<i>*h_uar⁵</i>	to take wing	<i>*parn</i>
to stand	<i>*pād, *staH, *uindar</i>	to talk, chat	<i>*dau, *zrād</i>
to start	<i>*gaHz</i>	to tame	<i>*damH²</i>
to steal	<i>*mauš(H), *tarp</i>	to teach	<i>*čaiš, *čas¹, *danh, *daxš, *jauč, *mauč², *saHh</i>
to steep	<i>*garH³</i>	to tear	<i>*ba_j (s.v.), *dar², *fšan, *harč, *Hrais, *(H)raud, *Hraup, *xrau</i>
to stick	<i>*čap, *kard</i>	to tear out	<i>*H_uarH</i>
to stiffen, be(come) stiff	<i>*gar⁴, *starH², *stamb(H), *stranj</i>	to tend	<i>*θam</i>
to sting	<i>*gaz</i>	to think	<i>*čaš¹ (s.v.), *dais¹ (s.v.), *frau³ (s.v.), *hmar (s.v.), *Hgar (s.v.), *Hram (s.v.), *kar (s.v.), *man, *paH¹ (s.v.)</i>
to stink	<i>*gant, *pauH</i>		
to stir	<i>*gaiž, *manθH, *sar²</i>		
to stream	<i>*taH</i>		
to stretch	<i>*har², *jam, *tan</i>		
to strew	<i>*parš, *θrāš</i>		

to thresh	<i>*h_uah</i>	to wade	<i>*xrap²</i>
to throw	<i>*čjaH², *dais², *d_uanH, *garH², *Hah², *H_uanH, *kan¹, *kauz², *maiθH³, *s_uaH, *tau, *uaid³, *xšaip/b</i>	to wail	<i>*(H)raudH, *nau(H)</i>
to throw down	<i>*star</i>	to wake up, be awake	<i>*Hgar, *jaiH¹ (s.v.), *tač¹ (s.v.), *θam (s.v.), *zanH² (s.v.)</i>
to thrust	<i>*spauč</i>	to walk	<i>*čam, *tač¹</i>
to thunder	<i>*garj¹, *gram, *nar</i>	walnut	<i>*gauz (s.v.)</i>
to tie	<i>*darb, *graθH, *pas</i>	to wander	<i>*bramH, *čarH, *ja(m)b/p</i>
to till the land	<i>*uaz</i>	to wane	<i>*narp</i>
time	<i>*baj (s.v.), *fan (s.v.), *gam¹ (s.v.), *had (s.v.), *sač² (s.v.)</i>	to want	<i>*gaHu, *kaup², *u_as, *xuaz</i>
to tolerate	<i>*xšamH</i>	to want to leave	<i>*θiaj</i>
to touch	<i>*Hmars, *Hrab/f³, *skauH</i>	to ward off	<i>*H_uar², *raud</i>
to trade	<i>*harH</i>	to wash	<i>*Hrau, *naij, *snaH, *tap, *xšaud</i>
to transport	<i>*uaz</i>	to watch	<i>*haiš</i>
to tread	<i>*sparH, *xrāmH</i>	to wave	<i>*iauz</i>
to tremble	<i>*čat, *drafš, *rarz, *θrah, *xš_uaip/b</i>	to wear clothes, be dressed	<i>*drap (s.v.), *gaud (s.v.), *(h)mauč, *pauš</i>
to triumph	<i>*yan</i>	to wear (off)	<i>*sauH¹</i>
to turn	<i>*gar², *gars¹, *gart, *H_uarj, *kar¹, *nāj, *tarč, *u_ar, *u_art, *u_rais</i>	to weave	<i>*uab/f²</i>
to twist	<i>*kar², *tanč, *tāp</i>	to weep	<i>*bram, *garz, *snaud, *xšai, *zarH³ (s.v.)</i>
to twitch	<i>*spard</i>	to welcome	<i>*xš_nau²</i>
to understand	<i>*bar (s.v.), *baud¹ (s.v.), *dais¹ (s.v.), *dar¹ (s.v.), *grabH (s.v.), *H_uar¹ (s.v.), *man (s.v.), *ram (s.v.), *srau (s.v.)</i>	to wheeze	<i>*s_uah</i>
to undulate	<i>*iauz</i>	to whet	<i>*saH, *sauH¹</i>
to unite with	<i>*sarH²</i>	to whistle	<i>*xš_uaid</i>
to unsheathe	<i>*Hanč</i>	to win	<i>*jai, *u_an</i>
to urge	<i>*čaud, *Hranj</i>	to wind	<i>*gar², *gars¹, *tāp</i>
to urinate	<i>*čjaH² (s.v.), *Hmaiz</i>	to wink	<i>*maij¹</i>
to use as support	<i>*skamb</i>	to wipe	<i>*Hmars, *Hmarz, *samH, *tarH²</i>
to utter	<i>*staub/f, *uab/f¹, *zag</i>	to wish	<i>*gard³, *u_as, *xuaz</i>
to venerate	<i>*iaz, *u_ah², *ui(H)z</i>	to wither	<i>*Hhauš</i>
to vibrate	<i>*xš_uaip/b</i>	to withstand	<i>*stamb(H)</i>
violent, violence	<i>*daj (s.v.), *skap/f (s.v.), *snaθH (s.v.)</i>	to work	<i>*gamp/b², *θuaxš, *u_aiš, *u_arz</i>
to vomit	<i>*uamH</i>	to worship	<i>*jaz, *mag</i>
		to wound	<i>*xšan, *zarH¹</i>
		to wrap	<i>*u_uiaH</i>
		to write	<i>*pais</i>
		to yawn	<i>*iās, *zamb¹</i>
		to yoke	<i>*θanj (s.v.), *iauj</i>