

## WORD-FINAL RESONANTS IN SINO-CAUCASIAN

It is always pleasant for a comparative linguist to discover some new, non-trivial rule of correspondence. In the case of macrofamilies like Nostratic or Sino-Caucasian, this is still more exciting, because non-trivial correspondences are actually the main subjective proof of relationship (while general correspondences and statistic considerations supply the objective evidence). In this paper I would like to demonstrate one case of this kind of correspondences. What makes it significant is that it was discovered already after the general set of correspondences between the North Caucasian and Sino-Tibetan languages was formulated, but basically on the same corpus of evidence — which, to my opinion, is in itself a proof that the bulk of Sino-Caucasian etymologies is not just a set of randomly picked words tied together by artificially established phonetic rules.

While reconstructing the Proto-North-Caucasian (PNC) system, we (the author of this paper and S. L. Nikolayev) proposed a rather complicated set of clusters of laryngeals and resonants, in order to explain various patterns of word-medial and word-final resonant correspondences in North Caucasian languages. The basic idea was that in root structures like *CVRHV* or *CVHRV* resonants could have become weakly articulated and dropped (sometimes leaving behind nasalisation), while in the pure structure *CVRV* resonants were normally preserved (except in the West Caucasian languages, where they were usually lost in all contexts). In this respect root structures like *CVRHV* behaved just like the general *CVRCV*-roots, where medial resonants also reveal a strong tendency to fall out. On the other hand, in some North Caucasian languages (notably in Proto-Lezghian) some medial *-RH*-clusters resulted in "tense" (or geminated) resonants (*-RH- > -R:-*). Here I will not go into the details of the PNC reconstruction

[NCED: 38–199]. It will suffice to say that for PNC the following types of medial clusters of laryngeals and resonants can be postulated:

<b>Rʔ</b>	<b>Rʔ</b>	<b>ʔR</b>	<b>ʔR</b>
<b>Rh</b>	<b>Rh</b>	<b>hR</b>	<b>hR</b>
<b>Rɦ</b>	<b>Rɦ</b>	<b>ɦR</b>	<b>ɦR</b>

Below I will try to show that Proto-Sino-Tibetan (PST) always has resonants corresponding to PNC plain resonants and the clusters *Rʔ*, *Rʔ*, *ʔR*, but has a  $\emptyset$ -reflex (sometimes a *-j* or *-w*-glide) corresponding to all other PNC clusters. The only exceptions are clusters with *\*-m-* (in PNC), where the resonant is normally preserved in all combinations (see note I). Note that *\*ʔR* behaves in a different way from *\*Rʔ* — probably because of an early merger of *\*ʔR* and *\*hR* (or *\*ɦR*) in the prehistory of Sino-Tibetan (see note II).

The behaviour of *\*-j-* and *\*-w-* is not studied in this paper because no clusters of these resonants and laryngeals can be reconstructed for PNC.

Consider the following examples (see note III):

**A. PNC *\*r* : PST *\*r***

1. PNC *\*pirV* : PST *\*phǃr* ‘to fly’
2. PNC *\*hiḡVrV* : OC *\*g(h)arʔ* ‘near’
3. PNC *\*kírV* (~ *-ē-*) ‘belly, chest’ : PST *\*k[ā]r* ‘inside, interval’
4. PNC *\*swǃrā* (~ *-ǃ-*, *-ā*) ‘a k. of (sour) milk product’ : PST *\*sūr* ‘sour’
5. PNC *\*kara* (~ *-ə*) ‘stick, log’ : PST *\*Kār* ‘stick, stake’
6. PNC *\*kHwǃrV* ‘hole, pit’ : PST *\*ghuar* ‘hole’
7. PNC *\*kírV* ‘knife, axe’ : PST *\*gǃr* ‘axe’
8. PNC *\*šǃrī* (~ *-ū*) ‘worm’ : PST *\*šar* ‘louse’

**PNC *\*rʔ*, *\*rʔ* : PST *\*r***

9. PNC *\*tǃwǃrʔi* ‘nipple, pimple’ : PST *\*dhǃr* ‘smallpox, blister’
10. PNC *\*Gǃwǃrʔe* ‘hare’ : PST *\*Gǃr* ‘badger’

**but PNC *\*rɦ*, *\*ɦr*, *\*ʔr* : PST  $\emptyset$  (*-j*, *-w*)**

11. PNC *\*χwǃrɦV* ‘village, farmstead’ : PST *\*(r)-q(h)wa* ‘village’
12. PNC *\*kirɦē* ‘luck, virtue’ : PST *\*Kā* ‘blessing’ (or *\*Kǃ* ‘happiness’)
13. PNC *\*LǃɦrV* ‘snake’ : PST *\*lǃj* ‘snake’
14. PNC *\*qǃwǃrǃrV* ‘field, arable land’ : PST *\*(r)Qa* ‘earth’
15. PNC *\*χwǃrǃrV* ‘vein’ : PST *\*(r)Kiw* ‘sinew’
16. PNC *\*ǃwǃɦrī* ‘star’ : PST *\*chǃj* ‘shine, star’

**B. PNC \*l : PST \*r (/l)**

17. PNC \**mšhw*VlV̄ ‘nose’: PST \**mūr* ‘point, tip; mouth’  
 18. PNC \**muhal*V ‘mountain’: ST > PKC \**mual* ‘mountain’  
 19. PNC \**tül*V (~ -r-) ‘dirt’: PST \**dhät* ‘dust, soil’  
 20. PNC \**žil*V (~ -ē-, -ā-, -l-) ‘sheep-fold, fence’: PST \**žiar* ‘small barn, granary’  
 21. PNC \**täl*V ‘kennel, spring’: PST \**dhial* ‘pond’  
 22. PNC \**łöli* ‘colour’: PST \**rol* (~ -u-) ‘bright, sparkling, shining’

**PNC \*lʔ, \*lʔ : ST \*r (/l)**

23. PNC \**twēlʔe* (~ -ʔ-) ‘beam, log’: PST \**Tu(a)r* ‘pole, stick’  
 24. PNC \**kVIʔV* (~ -l-, -ʔ-) ‘white’: PST \**Kār* ‘white’  
 25. PNC \**ʔwilʔä* (~ -ʔ-, -ä-, -ī) ‘wheel’: PST \**qʷäl*, \**qʷät*, \**qʷiat* ‘to wind, rotate’  
 26. PNC \**kwilʔi* ‘hand’: PST \**Khʷ(i)ar* ‘fist, hollow of hand’

**but PNC \*lh, \*hl : PST \*Ø (j)**

27. PNC \**qēhl*V (~ -l-) ‘bitter’: PST \**ghā* ‘bitter’  
 28. PNC \**rölfi* (~ -l-, -ʔ-) ‘dirt, mire, pus’: PST \**rej* ‘pus, gleet’  
 29. PNC \**čōjwīlh*V ‘autumn, winter’: OC \**čhiw* ‘autumn’

**C. PNC \*l : PST \*l**

30. PNC \**hkwēl*V̄ ‘neck, throat, palate’: PST \**Kal* (~ -l) ‘jaw, cheek’  
 31. PNC \**ʔäl*V ‘branch’: PST \**jäl* ‘branch’  
 32. PNC \**Hāχut*V ‘long’: PST \**qʷäl* ‘far’  
 33. PNC \**bat*V (~ -ə-, -l-) ‘wool’: PST \**Päl* ‘wool, hair’  
 34. PNC \**gat*V (~ -l-) ‘stick, pole’: PST \**kāt* (~ g-) ‘pole, club’  
 35. PNC \**Gw[ü]lō* (~ -ä) ‘side’: PST \**qāl* ‘back’  
 36. PNC \**pḥit*V (~ -ʔ-, -ī-, -l-) ‘a k. of tree’: PST \**bhūl* ‘root, stalk, tree’  
 37. PNC \**Hilχiw*VlV̄ ‘seed, root; kin, clan’: PST \**t(h)-ruat* ‘soil belonging to one family’  
 38. PNC \**bHōrχw*VlV̄ ‘snake’: PST \**Prūl* ‘snake’  
 39. PNC \**Lwēl*V ‘enclosure, fence’: PST \**räl* ‘hedge, fence’  
 40. PNC \**łēl*V̄ ‘war, fight’: PST \**rāt* ‘war, enemy’  
 41. PNC \**kitū* ‘hut, farmstead’: PST \**gual* ‘village, district’  
 42. PNC \**dwālī* ‘stick’: PST \**tual* ‘awl’  
 43. PNC \**čäl*V (~ -ö-) ‘branch, tree’: PST \**Cäl* ‘wood, grove’

PNC \***ɫ** : PST \***ɫ**

44. PNC \**ɣalʔV* ‘step’: PST \**khāl* (~ *qh-*, *Gh-*) ‘to step over; to ford’  
 45. PNC \**tʃʔV* ‘finger’: OC \**tijʔ* (< \**til*) ‘finger’  
 46. PNC \**swVʔV* ‘odorous grass, ramson’: PST \**sōl* (~ *-n*) ‘garlic’

but PNC \***ɫh**, \***ɫh** : PST \***∅** (**j**, **w**)

47. PNC \**cɪʔhV* ‘tooth’: PST \**Coj* ‘fang, canine tooth’  
 48. PNC \**lɛʔhV* ‘foot, track’: PST \**la* ‘foot’  
 49. PNC \**Gwāʔho* ‘gossip, offence’: PST \**G(h)ōw* ‘revile, offend’

**D.** PNC \***n** : PST \***n/m**

50. PNC \**ʔwēni* (~ *-u*) ‘sound, movement of air’: OC \**ʔəm* ‘sound’  
 51. PNC \**χōnV* ‘obstacle, trap’: PST \**χān* ‘net’  
 52. PNC \**hčwinV* ‘night, sleep’: PST \**chěn* ‘night, darkness’  
 53. PNC \**ʔwirqVnV* ‘shirt’: PST \**kwān* ‘clothing’  
 54. PNC \**mhānV-* ‘warm; weak, loose’: PST \**nām* ‘soft, weak, fluffy’  
 55. PNC \**fānV* ‘mountain’: PST \**ḡām* ‘height, precipitous’ (/ \**ḡān*)  
 56. PNC \**sīnō* (~ *-ǎ*) ‘long bone; edge, wedge’: PST \**sin* ‘nail’  
 57. PNC \**GHwīnĀ* ‘shoulder, arm; armpit’: OC \**kēn* ‘shoulder’

PNC \***nʔ**, \***nʔ**, \***ʔn** : PST \***n/m**

58. PNC \**dwōnʔV* ‘musical instrument, drum’: PST \**tūm* ‘musical instrument’  
 59. PNC \**tʔwōnʔe* ‘manger, feeding-trough’: PST \**tōm* (~ *-ua-*) ‘jar, bottle’  
 60. PNC \**qānʔV* ‘louse, nit’: PST \**kin* (~ *-e-*) ‘ant’  
 61. PNC \**ʔwīnʔV* ‘season’: PST \**Gūn* (~ *χ-*) ‘season, time’  
 62. PNC \**mfiāʔnē* ‘door, door frame’: OC \**mān* ‘gate, door’  
 63. PNC \**qōnʔV* ‘enclosure, building’: PST \**kwān* ‘compartment, residence’  
 64. PNC \**GwinʔV* ‘house, farmstead’: PST \**Q[i]m* ‘house’

but PNC \***nḡ**, \***ḡn**, \***nḡ**, \***nḡ**, \***ʔn** : ST \***∅** (**w**, **j**)

65. PNC \**χānḡ* ‘water’: PST \**χū* ‘wet, moisture’  
 66. PNC \**māḡnī* (~ \**nāḡmī*, *-ū*) ‘brain’: PST \**nū*, \**nū-k* ‘brain’  
 67. PNC \**ḡwīnḡV* ‘smoke’: PST \**gh(i)w* ‘smoke’  
 68. PNC \**ḡwīnḡV* ‘malt, young sprouts’: PST \**λ[ǎ]j* ‘sprout, shoot’  
 69. PNC \**čwīnḡV* ‘flea’: PST \**čū* ‘flea’  
 70. PNC \**čwēnḡV* ‘salt’: PST \**Cāj* (/ \**Cuāj*) ‘salt’  
 71. PNC \**ḡwēʔnV* ‘blood’: PST \**s-ʔwīj* ‘blood’

72. PNC \**l̥əʔwni* (~ -ʔ-) ‘skin (of an animal)’: Tib. *lwa-ba* ‘skin of a wild animal’

E. PNC \***n** / \***m** : PST \***ŋ**

73. PNC \**Hl̥ünV* ‘hem (of a garment)’: PST \**lVŋ* (~ *λ-*) ‘skirt; coat’

74. PNC \**farnē* ‘horse, mare’: PST \**mrā(ŋ)* ‘horse’

75. PNC \**kwārnV* ‘young (of an animal)’: PST \**kruŋ* ‘to be born; fresh sprouts’

76. PNC \**s̥inV* ‘blue, green’: PST \**r-chiaŋ* ‘green; fresh, alive’

77. PNC \**kēmV* ‘armful, handful’: PST \**kōŋ* (~ *g-*) ‘to hold with both hands’

78. PNC \**Gwānmē* ‘stack, heap’: PST \**q(h)wV̄ŋ* (~ *ɣw-*) ‘heap’

79. PNC \**čwāj̥mē* ‘gall; anger’: PST \**ch̥ŋ* (*/-n*) ‘liver; bitter’

80. PNC \**Hλw̥imā* (~ -*ə*) ‘wind; smell’: PST \**λuaŋ* ‘air, wind’

81. PNC \**Hλōnū* ‘bottom’: PST \**λaŋ* ‘bottom, below’

PNC \***nʔ**, \***nʔ** : PST \***ŋ**

82. PNC \**čānʔV* ‘new’: PST \**s̥ŋ* (*/ \*s̥in*) ‘new’

83. PNC \**dānʔī* (~ -*ū*) ‘cheek; gum’: PST \**tāŋ* ‘flat part of body’

84. PNC \**q̥wānʔū* ‘flat surface’: PST \**Kwaŋ* ‘cheek’

[Here there is no *θ*-correspondence for clusters of the \**nh*-type because all such cases fall into type D, see above].

F. PNC \***m** : PST \***m**

85. PNC \**h̥q̥wēmV* ‘summit, top, protruding edge’: PST \**khām* or \**ghjām* ‘bank, edge’

86. PNC \**t̥ā̄mV* ‘wing, shoulder’: PST \**Tōm* ‘carry on the shoulder’

87. PNC \**čfwēme* (~ -*ä*-, -*i*) ‘eyebrow’: PST \**chām* ‘hair of head’

88. PNC \**kōnmo* ‘hide, bark; dandruff’: PST \**kuam* ‘leather, skin’

89. PNC \**žfū̄mV* ‘bushes’: PST \**Čū̄m* (~ -*ua-*) ‘thicket’

90. PNC \**LēmV* ‘bridge’: PST \**lām* ‘road, path’

91. PNC \**čū̄mV* (~ *ʒ-*) ‘tip, point’: PST \**žhVm* ‘edge’

92. PNC \**lāmV* ‘lick’: PST \**lVm* ‘tongue; to lick’

93. PNC \**q̥wəmV* ‘fruit stone’: PST \**kuam* ‘a k. of fruit, nut’

94. PNC \**čw[ē]mV* ‘how much’: PST \**cV̄m* ‘as much/good as’

PNC \***mʔ**, \***m̥h**, \***m̥f**, \***m̥h** : PST \***m** / **n**

95. PNC \**čwāmʔV̄* ‘eagle’: PLB \**zwan* ‘hawk, kite’

96. PNC \**gimʔī* (~ -*ū*) ‘place of the popular assembly’: PST \**Kjam* ‘yard’

97. PNC \*šwimʔV ‘three’: PST \*sūm ‘three’  
 98. PNC \*ŋwamhV ‘hyena, wolf’: PST \*ʔwām (~ -ǎ-) ‘bear’  
 99. PNC \*qəm̄ō ‘trough, cradle’: PST \*q(h)əm ‘box’  
 100. PNC \*č(w)ŋmhV ‘span’: PST \*[č]ūm ‘span, measure’  
 101. PNC \*kəmhV ‘arc; an arched, curved body part’: PST \*kōm ‘curved, bent’  
 102. PNC \*tūmhV (~ tŋwī-, -h-) ‘kernel, stone of fruit’: PST \*tūm (~ -o-, -ua-) id.

In verbal roots no clusters of the type \*RH or \*HR can be reconstructed for PNC (aside from semantics, verbal roots are formally characterized as roots allowing changing agreement prefixes). Resonants can also disappear in such roots in daughter languages, but this is due to morphological reasons: reinterpretation of root-final \*-r, \*-l or \*-n (\*-m is very rare, and \*-l can not be distinguished from \*-l in verbal roots) as suffixes, due to confusion with real participial morphemes, and the following loss of resonant conjugation.

Absence of \*RH / \*HR-clusters in verbal roots seems to be a common Sino-Caucasian feature: in these roots ST languages always preserve resonants. Cf.:

103. PNC \*iGwǎr ‘dry, to dry’: PST \*kār (~ q-) ‘dry’  
 104. PNC \*ačōr ‘to freeze, turn to ice’: PST \*sēr ‘sleet, hail’  
 105. PNC \*iḡ(w)Vr ‘to wrap, fold, bend’: PST \*kuar ‘crooked, bent’  
 106. PNC \*iʔwVl ‘to feed, eat’: PST \*q(h)wīr (~ ʔw-) ‘bring supply of food to’  
 107. PNC \*imžĚr ‘to bake, roast’: PST \*čiar ‘to fry, cook’  
 108. PNC \*iʔVr ‘to run’: PST \*t(h)ūr ‘to hasten, run’  
 109. PNC \*irχwVr ‘to rejoice’: ST \*xwār ‘to rejoice’  
 110. PNC \*ʔiʒur- ‘to milk, strain, filter’: ST \*[ch]ōr ‘to strain, filter’  
 111. PNC \*i(r)ŁwVr ‘to deceive’: PST \*λōl ‘to miss; not do a thing’  
 112. PNC \*=[a]rkVr (< -l?) ‘to fall’: PST \*Krīl ‘to fall, drop’  
 113. PNC \*=HožĀl ‘to milk; to filter’: PST \*čer (~ -ǎ-) ‘to strain, filter, press’  
 114. PNC \*=ičwĒl ‘to count’: PST \*šōr (~ -ū-) ‘to count, measure’  
 115. PNC \*=ēχwV(l) ‘to burst, tear’: PST \*rūt (~ -ua-) ‘to demolish, ruin’  
 116. PNC \*=iχilV ‘thin’: PST \*rial ‘thin, watery’  
 117. PNC \*=aḡVl ‘to dangle, shake’: PST \*Gōl (~ γ-, -ua-) ‘to shake, swing’

118. PNC \*=*igwVl* ‘to lose, hide’: PST \**kol* (~ -j) ‘to hide, conceal’  
 119. PNC \*=*?ikwVn* ‘to eat’: PST \**kuam* (~ g-) ‘to hold in mouth’  
 120. PNC \*=*HārġVn* ‘to see, to find’: PST \**qēn* ‘to see, to know’  
 121. PNC \*=*HēwχVn* ‘warm, to boil, kindle’: PST \**kāŋ* ‘to roast’  
 122. PNC \*=*HäGwVn* ‘to tremble, be afraid’: PST \**K(u)am* ‘to fear’  
 123. PNC \*=*aswVn* ‘to glue, paste’: PST \**siāŋ* ‘grease, oil’  
 124. PNC \*=*ilqVn* ‘to work’: OC \**kōŋ* ‘work, to work’  
 125. PNC \*=*hākwan* ‘to kindle; light’: OC \**k<sup>w</sup>āŋ* ‘light’  
 126. PNC \*=*ācĒ(n)* ‘to take, catch’: PST \**chēŋ* ‘to gather up’  
 127. PNC \*=*[i]šwV(n)* ‘to gather, take’: PST \**šūm* ‘to hold, catch, embrace’  
 128. PNC \*=*HaxwAn* ‘to quarrel, fight’: PST \**K<sup>(w)</sup>V̄m* ‘to quarrel, fight’  
 129. PNC \*=*āġwVn* ‘be enough, sufficient’: PST \**q(h)ōm* ‘fitting, sufficient’  
 130. PNC \*=*ēfwVn* ‘to get lost, to steal’: PST \**γān* ‘to hide, conceal’  
 131. PNC \*=*āčĀn* ‘to lead / led, go’: PST \**čāŋ* ‘to lead, arrange’  
 132. PNC \*=*ičwĒn* ‘to cleave, cut, chop’: PST \**čām* ‘to cut off, chop’  
 133. PNC \*=*irχwVn* ‘to spin, plait’: PST \**γ<sup>w</sup>ēŋ* ‘to wind, coil’  
 134. PNC \*=*āχwVn* ‘similar’: OC \**Lōŋ* ‘same, equal’  
 135. PNC \**HārčwVn* ‘to become cloudy’: PST \**žāŋ* ‘to rain continuously’  
 136. PNC \*=*VwṣVn* ‘to sleep’: PST \**chīm* ‘fall asleep’  
 137. PNC \**HāžĒm-* ‘clean, pure’: PST \**chianŋ* ‘clear, pure’  
 138. PNC \*=*ēčVm-* ‘to chew’: PST \**žhīm* (~ -ia-, -ē-) ‘to chew’  
 139. PNC \*=*ālcŪm* ‘to measure’: PST \**chUn* ‘to measure, calculate’

## Exceptions:

140. PNC \*=*ātVr* ‘to leave, let’: PST \**dhā* / \**thā* ‘to place, put’  
 141. PNC \**HužVn* ‘to clear up’: PST \**čāj* ‘to clear up’  
 142. PNC \**λwəlʔV* ‘wind’: PST \**lij* ‘wind’  
 143. PNC \**ṭīmhV* ‘a big bird (pigeon, owl)’: PST \**tīw* ‘bird’

Below I list the data:

1. PNC \**pirV* ‘to fly, flight’: cf. Av. *pár-χ*:- ‘to fly, fly up’, Ud. *purpesun* ‘to fly’, Ub. *pər-* id. etc. [NCED: 874–875].

ST \**phVr* ‘to fly’: cf. OC 飛 \**pəj*, MC *pwiŋ* (variants: 翺 \**pər-s*, MC *pùn* ‘spread the wings, fly up’, 翻 \**phar*, MC *phwən* ‘to fly’); ib. *āphur* ‘to fly’, *āphar* ‘to fly up’, Kham *bur* ‘to fly’ etc. [IST: 49]; STC № 398 \**pur* ~ \**pir* ~ \**byer*. See [HGC: 19].

2. PNC \**hīgVrV* ‘near’: Chech. *gerga* (reduplicated), Av. *ʒagára-*, Tsez. *igo*, Abaz. *arg<sup>wa</sup>-nə* etc. [NCED: 518].

OC 近 \**g(h)ər?*, MC *gín* ‘near’.

3. PNC \**kīrV* ‘belly, chest’: Chech. *kīra* ‘belly’, Av. *keré-n* ‘chest’, Akhv. (with metathesis) *reka* ‘belly’ etc. [NCED: 693].

ST \**k[ā]r* (also with suffixed \*-n: \**krVn*) ‘inside, interval’: OC 間 \**krēn*, MC *kān* ‘interval’, Lush. *kār* ‘distance between, space between’, Brm. *khjan* ‘through’, Kach. *khron*<sup>31</sup> ‘be through’, *kren*<sup>33</sup> ‘pass through’. There also exists a variant \**krV(j)*, reflected in Brm. *khja* ‘middle, centre’, Kach. *kri*<sup>33</sup> ‘heart-wood’.

4. PNC \**swīrā* (~ -ř-, -ə) ‘a k. of (sour) milk product’: Chech. *šura* ‘milk’, Av. *surá* ‘alum; leavened dough’, Tsez. *zeru* ‘beer’ etc. [NCED: 970].

PST \**sūr* ‘sour’: OC 酸 \**sōr*, MC *swân*; Lush. *thūr* ‘be acid, sour’, Kanauri *sūr* etc. (see [IST: 52, 181]; STC № 42 \**sūr*; forms with initial \**sK-*, like Tib. *skjur* ‘sour’ should rather be kept apart).

5. PNC \**ķara* (~ -ə) ‘stick, log’: Akhv. *ķaru*, Kar. *ķaru* ‘log’, Lezg. *ķar* ‘rolling pin’, Rut. *ķar* ‘stick’, etc. [NCED: 719].

PST \**Kār*: OC 杆 \**kār-s*, MC *kân* ‘stem, stake’, Tib. *mkhar-ba* ‘staff, stick’.

Cf. also Yugh *kəʔl* ‘stump’ ([HGC: 29]; the PST and PY data is compared there with the PNC root now reconstructed as \**gōrV* ‘pole, piece of log’ [NCED: 440], which seems somewhat less plausible).

6. PNC \**kHwārV* ‘hole, pit, ravine’: Chech. *kor* (*kōra-*) ‘window’, Tsez. *keru* ‘ravine’, Lak *kuľru* ‘nest’, Darg. *kur* ‘pit’, Ud. *kur* id. etc. [NCED: 691–692].

PST \**ghuar*: OC 窠 \**khwār?*, MC *khwán* ‘hole, opening’, Lush. *khur*, *khuar* ‘hole, pit, cavity’, Kach. *n-khun*<sup>33</sup> ‘hole, opening’ etc. (see [IST: 427, 442]; STC № 349, 350 \**kor* ~ \**kuar*).

Cf. also PY \**g[alr]* ‘cunnus’ [PYR: 207; HGC: 30].

7. PNC \**ķirV* ‘knife, axe’: Av. *ķerelo*, Akhv. *ķeru* ‘big knife’, Tsakh. *ķera*, Arch. *ķiri* ‘hatchet, small axe’ etc. [NCED: 725–726].

PST \**gēr*: OC 斤 \**ķar*, MC *ķin* ‘axe’, Lush. *ķher* ‘to chop, hack’.

8. PNC (PEC) \**šārī* ‘worm’: Chech. *šēra* ‘earwig’, Lak *šira* ‘ascarid’, Darg. *širi*, Lezg. *šar* ‘worm’ etc. [NCED: 982–983].

PST \**šar* ‘louse’: Brm. *sanh*, Kham *sâr*, Rgyarung *sar*, Kiranti \**sēr*.

9. PNC \**ťwār?i* ‘nipple; pimple’: Chech. *ťāra* ‘nipple’, Darg. *ťe* ‘nipple (of udder)’, Lezg. *ťur* ‘pimple’, Ag. *ťur* ‘birth-mark; tree-knot’ etc. [NCED: 1007].

PST \**dhūr* ‘smallpox, blister’: Tib. *thor* ‘smallpox, blister’, Lush. *dur?* ‘to blister’.



10. PNC \**Gwōrʒe* ‘hare’: Tsez. *qlaj*, Darg. *ʒalra* (dial. *ʒlʒari*), Lezg. *qür* etc. [NCED: 472].

PST \**Qwār* ‘a k. of rodent’: OC 獾 \**w(h)ār* (*/\*s-w(h)ār*), MC *ɣwân*, *xwân* ‘badger’; Kach. *māgan* ‘a sp. of ground-rat’.

11. PNC \**χwōrhV* ‘village, farmstead’: Av. (with metathesis) *roχé-n* ‘village block’, God. *riχ<sup>w</sup>a-l* ‘farmstead’, Lezg. *χür*, Arch. *χlor* ‘village’, etc. [NCED: 1082–1083].

PST \*(*r-*)*qhwa*: OC 街 \**g(h)wa*, MC *gü* ‘street’, Brm. *rwa* ‘village’, Kach. *wā*<sup>33</sup> ‘a hut in a paddy field’, Mutwang *rəwa* ‘village, town’ [STC: 444].

12. PNC \**kirhē* ‘luck; virtue’: Chech. *ka* ‘luck (indecl.)’, Lak *čiri* ‘blessing, praise’, Darg. *kiri* ‘virtue’ [NCED: 692–693].

PST \**Kā*: OC 祐 \**g(h)ā?*, MC *yó* ‘blessing’; Tib. *dga* ‘to rejoice; joy; glad’. A similar, but distinct, root is PST \**Kǎ*: OC 祺 \**g(h)ǎ*, MC *gi* ‘prosperity; fortunate’; Tib. *dge-ba* ‘happiness, virtue; charity’. Both roots can correspond to PEC \**kirhē*.

13. PNC \**ǎhrV* ‘snake’: Chech. *läha*, Rut. *ɣar*, Khin. *qaz*, Ad. *bLa* ‘snake’ etc. [NCED: 787].

PST \**lāj* ‘snake’: OC 蛇 \**liaj*, MC *zá* ‘snake’, Lush. *hlai-ba* ‘a sp. of snake’, Kach. *pālai*<sup>33</sup> ‘a sp. of iguana’.

14. PNC \**qwǎrV* ‘field, arable land’: Chech. *qa*, Btsb. *qaw*, Av. *χur*, Akhv. *quri*, Lak *qu*, Rut. *χuj*, Abkh. *á-rχa*, Abaz. *rqa* ‘field’, Urart. *qəwr-ā*, *qǎr-ā* ‘earth’ etc. [NCED: 904–905].

PST \*(*r*)*Qa* ‘earth’: Kach. *ga*<sup>55</sup>, Dimasa *ha*, Rawang *rəga*, Kiranti \**qhä* ‘earth’ etc. [IST: 428]; STC № 97 (\**r-ka*).

15. PNC \**χwǎrV* ‘vein’: Chech. *pχa* (*pχā-ni-*), Av. (with metathesis) *rix*, Lak *x<sup>w</sup>a*, Ub. *xa* etc. [NCED: 1064–1065].

PST \*(*r*)*Kiw*: Tib. *rgju-s* ‘fibres’, *rgju-ŋ* ‘the nerves, sinews’, Brm. *krau-h* ‘vein, sinew’.

16. PNC \**zǎhrī* (*/\*zwhǎrī*) ‘star’: Bacb. *ʃejrǐ*, Av. *č<sup>w</sup>a*, Akhv. *č<sup>w</sup>ari*, Tsez. *ca*, Darg. *urʔi* (dial. *zuri*), Abkh. *-č<sup>w</sup>a* etc. ([NCED: 1098–1099].

PST \**chāj*: OC 瑤 \**shājʔ*, MC *chá* ‘white and brilliant’, Brm. *sa* ‘to shine (of sun, moon)’, Tib. *g-zi* ‘shine, brightness’. Derived (with a \*-ŋ-suffix) is PST \**chāi-ŋ* ‘star’, reflected in OC 星 \**shēŋ*, MC *sieŋ* (for \**sh-* cf. Min forms: Xiamen *chī<sup>l</sup>*, Chaozhou *chē<sup>l</sup>*) ‘star’, Kiranti \**saŋ* ‘star, ray’.

See [HGC: 22].

17. PNC \**mǎfwVǎ* ‘nose’: Av. *meʃér*, Tsez. *malli*, Darg. *maʃul* ‘nose’, Ag. *muʔul* ‘beak’ etc. [NCED: 825–826].

PST \**mūr*: Tib. *mur-goŋ* ‘the temples’, *mur-āgram* ‘jaw’, Lush. *hmūr* ‘point, tip, end’ etc. ([IST: 161]; STC № 366 \**mūr*).

18. PNC \**muhalV* ‘mountain’: Av. *mešér*, Tsez. *malli*, Arch. *mul*, Chech. (with metathesis) *lam* (*lāma-na-*) etc. [NCED: 83].

PST > PKC \**mual* ‘mountain’ (Lush. *mual* etc.).

19. PNC \**tülV* (~ -r-): Av. (reduplicated) *terét* ‘sleet’, Akhv. *tereti* ‘ashes, dust’, Tind. *tira* ‘dung’, Bezht. *tär* id. [NCED: 993].

PST \**dhāł*: Tib. *rdul* ‘dust’; Lush. *dōl* ‘soil, refuse etc., banked up against a fence’. The relationship of OC 塵 \**drən* ‘dust’ (MC *ḍin*; for unaspirated \**d-* cf. Min forms: Xiamen *tin*<sup>2</sup>, Chaozhou, Fuzhou *tiŋ*<sup>2</sup>, Jianou *teiŋ*<sup>2</sup>) is somewhat dubious (the unaspirated \**d-* and the short vowel are irregular).

Cf. PY \**dVr-* (> Kott *tar-an* etc.) ‘dirt’ [PYR: 219; HGC: 30].

20. PNC \**žilV* (~ -ē-, -ā-, -ł-): Chech. *žōla* ‘sheep-fold’, Tsez. *želi*, Lezg. *žala-n* ‘wattle-fence’ etc. [NCED: 1108–1109].

PST \**žiar* ‘small barn, granary’: Brm. *cań?*, Lush. *čhiar*.

21. PNC \**tālV*: Tind. *łen-tar* ‘ditch’ (*łen-* ‘water’), Tsez. *tara* ‘kennel, gutter’, (with metathesis) Lezg. *lat* ‘stone trough’, Tab. *lat* ‘spring’ etc. [NCED: 743–744].

PST \**dhial* ‘pond’: Tib. *ādal* ‘still water’, Lush. *dīl* ‘a lake, pond’.

22. PNC \**Łōli* ‘colour; to paint’: Av. *Łer*, Akhv. *Łeri* ‘colour’, Ad., Ub. *La-* ‘to paint’ (in some languages \*‘colour’ > ‘surface’ > ‘skin’, cf. Darg. *guli* ‘skin’, Tab. *yal* ‘bark’ etc.). See [NCED: 789].

PST \**rol* (~ -u-) ‘bright, shining’: Tib. *kh-rol*, Brm. *hrwanh*.

23. PNC \**ʔwēłʔe* (~ -ʔ-): Chech. *ʔaj* (*ʔē-*) ‘crossbeam; bridge’, Khvarsh. *ʔero* ‘bridge’, Darg. *ʔal* ‘stem’, Lezg. *ʔwal* ‘rod’ etc. [NCED: 1006].

PST \**Tu(a)r* ‘pole, stick’: Tib. *thur* ‘pole; chopsticks’; Brm. *tu* ‘chopsticks’.

24. PNC \**ʔVlʔV* (~ -ł-, -ʔ-): Chech. *ʔaj-n*, Btsb. *ʔujĩ*, Lak *ʔalla-* ‘white’ etc. [NCED: 730].

ST \**Kār*: OC 翰 \**g(h)ār-s*, MC *γàn* ‘white (of a horse)’; Tib. *gar*, *dkar*, *bkar* ‘white, whitish, grey’ (see [IST: 125]).

See [HGC: 23].

25. PNC \**ʔwilʔä* (~ -ʔ-, -ä-, -ī-): Av. *ber*, Bezht. *ör-ra*, Lak *ja*, Darg. *hula* ‘wheel’ [NCED: 249–250].

ST \**q<sup>w</sup>ial* ‘to wind, rotate’: OC 徇 \**whin-s*, MC *zjwìn* ‘all round’, Tib. *āk<sup>w</sup>hil* ‘to wind, roll’, Lush. *vial* ‘to wriggle, curl up’. Sino-Tibetan has also a number of similar roots: \**q<sup>w</sup>āl* ‘turn round’ (whence OC 員 \**wran*, MC *wen* et al.), \**q<sup>w</sup>āl* ‘to revolve; surround’ (whence OC 回 \**wāj*, MC *γoj*). Their relationship to each other is not quite clear yet.

Cf. PY: Ket *il-tap* ‘wheel’. See [HGC: 31].

26. PEC \**kwilʔi* ‘hand’: Btsb. *ko*, Av. *k<sup>w</sup>er*, Gunz. *koro*, Lak *k<sup>w</sup>a*, Arch. *kul* etc. [NCED: 706–707].

PST \**Kh<sup>w</sup>(i)ār* ‘fist, handful’: OC 拳 \**gh<sup>w</sup>ran*, MC *gwen* ‘fist’ (containing a \**-n*-suffix), Tib. *skjor*, *khjor* ‘hollow of hand’.

27. PNC \**qěhlV* (~ *-l-*): Chech. *qāha*, Bezht. *-iqaro* ‘bitter’, Lezg. *qel* ‘salt’, *tü-qül* ‘bitter’, Arch. *qala* ‘bitter’, Ub. *qa-qá* ‘sweet’ etc. [NCED: 912–913].

PST \**ghā*: OC 苦 \**khā?*, MC *khó*, Tib. *kha*, Brm. *khah*, Lush. *kha*, Kach. *kha*<sup>55</sup> ‘bitter’ etc. [IST: 44, 133, 428]; STC № 8 (\**ka*).

Cf. PY (reduplicated, as in some NC forms) \**qV-qVr* ‘gall, bitter’, [PYR: 211; HGC: 39].

28. PNC \**rōlhi* (~ *-l-*, *-ʔ-*) ‘dirt, mire, pus’: Chech. *do* ‘ear-wax’; Lak *lal* ‘pus’, Darg. *dule* id., Rut. *lar* ‘slush, mire (after rain)’ [NCED: 955].

PST \**rej* (~ *-i*, *-e*) ‘pus, gleet’: Brm. *rih* ‘to suppurate’; Kach. *ri?* ‘gleet, gonorrhoea’; Miri *tari* ‘ulcer, sore’; Vayu *ri* ‘decay’; STC № 263 (\**ri*).

29. PNC \**cōjwēlhV*: Akhv. *cibero* ‘winter’, And. *sibiru* ‘autumn’, Tsez. *sebi*, Tab. *cuwul*, Arch. *sot:-* id. etc. [NCED: 327].

OC 秋 \**chiw*, MC *chjəw* ‘autumn’.

Cf. PY \**siri-* ‘summer’ [PYR: 222; HGC: 35].

30. PNC \**hkwěłV*: Chech. *lag* ‘front part of neck’, Av. *kal* ‘mouth’, Akhv. *koli* ‘neck, throat’, Darg. *kaw* ‘palate’ etc. [NCED: 502].

PST \**Kal* (~ *-l*) ‘jaw, cheek’: Tib. *mgal* ‘jaw’, Magari *gal* ‘cheek’ [IST: 143].

Cf. PY \**χol-* ‘cheek’ (Ket *qól-et*, Yugh *χól-at*, Kott *hol*, Ar. *bi-qól-on*). In [HGC: 20] PNC \**hkwěłV* (erroneously reconstructed as *kwěłV*) is compared with PST \**Khō(w)*, PY \**χowe* ‘mouth’ — which has other connections in NC (\**fiōmGwV* ‘throat’).

31. PNC \**ʔǎłV*: Akhv. *hala*, Tsez. *ara*, Gunz. *ale* ‘branch’ etc. [NCED: 242].

PST \**jāl*: OC 莢 \**lhāj*, MC *diej* ‘sprout, shoot’ (for \**lh-* cf. Fuzhou *thä*<sup>2</sup>), Tib. *jal-ga* ‘branch, bough’, Lush. *zār* id. (with \**-l* / *-r*-variation).

Cf. also Ket *ul-an* ‘branch, twig’. See [HGC: 30].

32. PNC \**HāχutV* ‘long’: Chech. *-ēχa*, Ing. *-fēχa*, Av. *χalá-ta-*, And. *-exula*, Tsez. *-exora*, Bezht. *-iχalo* ‘long’, Darg. *χ<sup>w</sup>ala-* ‘big’, Rut. *χulā-χ-* ‘long’, Abkh. *-wə*, Ad. *-ha* id. etc. [NCED: 550–551].

PST \**q<sup>w</sup>əl* ‘far’: OC 遠 \**waj*, MC *wij* (\*‘become far >’) ‘to part, leave, deviate’, Tib. *āgol* id., Brm. *wijh* ‘far’.

33. PNC \**batV* (~ *-ə-*, *-l-*): Lak *pal*, Darg. *bala* ‘sheep’s wool’ [NCED: 287].

PST \**Pāl* ‘wool, hair’: Tib. *bal* ‘wool’, Kanauri *pul* ‘hair’, Midzhu *bul* ‘wool, feather’ [IST: 188].

34. PNC \**gatV* (~ *-l-*): Chech. *gala* ‘wooden skittles’, Tsez. *gilu* ‘pole’, Lak *čala* ‘sharp stick, bayonet’ etc. [NCED: 429].

PST \**kāl* (~ *-g-*) ‘pole, club’: OC 干 \**kān*, MC *kân* ‘pole’, Tib. *mgal*, *āgal* ‘a billet of wood’, Kach. *khon*<sup>31</sup> ‘club, cudgel’.

35. PNC \**Gw[ũ]łō* (~ -ǎ): Av. *ɞ<sup>w</sup>el* ‘side, slope’, Lezg. *q<sup>w</sup>al*, Tab. *q<sup>w</sup>al*, Ad. *b-ɞ<sup>w</sup>ə*, Ub. *ɞa-* ‘side’.

PST \**qāl* ‘back’: OC 荷 \**g(h)āj?*, MC *γá* ‘carry on the back’, Tib. *sgal* ‘small of the back; load’; Lush. *ēl* ‘part of the back behind the abdomen’, etc. [STC: 18] (\**s-gāl*).

Cf. also PY \**χol-ap-* ‘waist; middle, half’. See [HGC: 26] (with some confusion of this root with № 30 above).

36. PNC \**pñiV* (~ -ɣ-, -ɣ-, -l-) ‘a k. of tree’: Chech. *bōl-ak* ‘grove’, Tsez. *belli* ‘poplar, ash-tree’, Darg. *pall-pall-ag* ‘asp’ etc. [NCED: 870].

ST \**bñul* ‘root, stalk, tree’: OC 本 \**pār?*, MC *pón* ‘root’ (with \**-l/\*-r* variation), Lush. *bul* ‘root’, Kach. *phun<sup>55</sup>* ‘tree’, etc. [IST: 393, 428; STC: 166].

Cf. also PY \*(*h*)*ipVl-* ‘ash-tree’.

37. PNC \**HĩłiV*: Chech. *evla* (\*‘root’ >) ‘village’, Ing. *ovla* ‘root’; Av. *łibíl* ‘root’; Abkh. *á-ž<sup>w</sup>la* ‘seed; kin, clan’, Kab. *žəLa* ‘seed; village, society’, Ad. *čəLa* ‘village, society’; Urart. *zilib-* ‘seed; descendants, kin’ [NCED: 571–572].

ST \**t-ruat*: OC 塵 \**d(h)-ran*, MC *den* ‘soil belonging to one family’; Tib. *zol* ‘village belonging to the community’; Lush. *tual* ‘street; a villager’; Kach. *u-thon* ‘village’; Kiranti \**dəl* id. [STC: 52].

38. PNC \**bHōrłwV* (~ *w-*): Chech. *bōχalla*, Ing. *bɣexal*, Av. *boróx*, Tsez. *bikori*, Bezht. *bekela* ‘snake’, Lak *baIrcalu* ‘snail’ etc. [NCED: 1048–1049].

PST \**Prūl* (/ \**m-*): Tib. *s-brul*, Brm. *mruj*, Lush. *rūl*, Mikir *phurul* ‘snake’ etc.

Cf. also PY \*(*h*)*urol* ‘leech’ [HGC: 28].

39. PNC \**LwěV*: Av. *lol* ‘an open enclosure (for sheep)’, Cham. *k<sup>w</sup>el* id., Tsez. *kuro*, Khvarsh. *k<sup>w</sup>ere*, Bezht. *kalo* ‘fence’, Arch. *łoli* ‘yard’ etc. [NCED: 791–792].

ST \**rāl* ‘hedge, fence’: OC 籬 \**raj*, MC *le* ‘hedge’ (for \**r-* cf. Xiamen, Chaozhou *li<sup>2</sup>*, Fuzhou *lie<sup>2</sup>*), Lush. *rel* ‘to put up the framework (of a house)’, Tib. *ra*, *d-ra* ‘enclosure, fence’ (with secondary \**-l > \*-j > -Ø*).

Cf. also PY: Ket *kəlij* ‘enclosure, hut’. See [HGC: 32].

40. PNC \**ŁěV*: Av. *łal* ‘war’, Tsez. *łori*, Bezht. *łalo* ‘war, fight’, Lak *čal* ‘argument, contest’ [NCED: 788].

PST \**rāl* ‘war, enemy’: Tib. *ral-gri* ‘sword’, *s-g-ral* ‘to cut in small pieces (the picture of an enemy whom one wishes to destroy)’, Brm. *ran* ‘enemy, danger’, Lush. *rāl* ‘enemy, foe’, Kach. *phjen<sup>33</sup>* ‘war, battle’, etc. [IST: 443; STC: 71] (\**(g)-rāl*).

PY \**kārie* ‘war’ [PYR: 204; HGC: 34].

41. PNC \**kiŭ*: Av. *kulī*, Akhv. *kila* ‘farmstead’, Abkh. *a-kála* ‘hut’, etc. [NCED: 692].

PST \**gual* ‘village, district’: OC 郡 \**gur-s*, MC *gùn* (with variation \*-l > -r; for \*g- cf. Min forms: Xiamen *kun*<sup>6</sup>, Chaozhou *kun*<sup>4</sup>, Fuzhou *kon*<sup>6</sup>, Jianou *kön*<sup>8</sup>) ‘province, district’, Tib. *khul* id., Lush. *khual* ‘a village other than one’s own’ etc. [IST: 44].

Here we would rather expect \**gh-* in PST (for PNC \**k-*); perhaps the Chinese form with \*-r should be, after all, kept distinct from other ST forms (that can as well go back to \**ghual*).

42. PNC \**dwāf̄*: Ing. *tāl-g* ‘chock’, Av. *dal* ‘stick’, Lak *t:ala* ‘log, club’, Arch. *dali* ‘long stick, pole’ etc. [NCED: 405].

PST \**tual*: OC 錐 \**tuj*, MC *ćwi* ‘awl’, Lush. *tūl* ‘skewer’.

43. PNC \**čǎV* (~ -ǎ-): Av. *čal*, Tind. *čela* ‘rod’, Kryz. *čili* ‘branch’, Abkh. *á-čla* ‘tree’, Hurr. *čarr-* ‘wood’, etc. [NCED: 362–363].

PST \**Cəl*: Tib. *chal* ‘wood, grove’, Brm. *ćijh* ‘thicket’ (archaic *ćin* ‘wood’).

44. PNC \**yalʔV̄*: Chech., Ing. *va*, Av. *gáli* ‘step’ [NCED: 474].

PST \**khāl* (~ *qh-*, *Gh-*) ‘to step over; to ford’: OC 河 \**ghāj*, MC *γâ* ‘river’ (< \*‘ford’; for \**gh-* cf. Fuzhou *ɣ²*); Tib. *r-gal* ‘to step over; to ford; a ford’; Kach. *u-khan*<sup>31</sup> ‘a ford’.

45. PNC \**tʃʃʔV*: Chech. *tel-g*, Khvarsh. *tu* (*tula-*), Darg. *tul*, Rut. *ṭili* etc. ‘finger’ [NCED: 1002].

OC 指 \**tij?* (< \**til*), MC *ći* ‘finger’. *Xie-sheng* here seems to point to OC \**k-*, but words with dentals in this series regularly correspond to words with dentals in other ST languages (cf. 旨 \**tij?*, MC *ći* ‘fine-tasting’: Lush. *tui* id., Kach. *dui*, Miri *ti* ‘sweet’; 指 \**tij?*, MC *ći* ‘to point, indicate’: Tib. *s-di* id.), thus the series is probably a mixed one (with \**T-* and \**K-*).

46. PNC \**swVʔV*: Ing. *šū* ‘a k. of ramson’, Akhv. *šole*, Tind. *sola* ‘ramson’, Lezg. *serg* ‘garlic’ (< PL \**sāl-k* with a diminutive suffix) etc. [NCED: 972].

PST \**sōl* (~ -n): OC 蒜 \**sōn-s*, MC *swàn* ‘garlic’, Brm. *swan* ‘onion’ [IST: 54].

Cf. also PY \**saʔr* ‘odorous grass (> tobacco)’. See [HGC: 29].

47. PNC \**čʃhV̄*: Ing. *ca*, Av. *ca*, Akhv. *čilo*, Khvarsh. *sel*, Darg. *cula*, Tsakh. *sili*, Arch. *sot*, Abkh. *-cə* etc. ‘tooth’ [NCED: 326–327].

PST \**Coj* ‘fang, canine tooth’: Tib. *m-čhe-ba*, Brm. *ǎ-čwaj*, KC \**m-čhi* / \**m-si* [IST: 54].

48. PNC \**lǎhV*: Chech. *lar* ‘track, footprint’, Av. *la-k* id., And. *lol*, Tind. *lali* ‘track; hoof’, Tsez. *rori*, Khvarsh. *lola* ‘foot’, Lak *ša* ‘track, footprint’, Lezg. *gel*, Tab. *šil* id., Ad., Ub. *la-*, Abkh. *ša-* ‘foot’ etc. [NCED: 759–760].

PST \**la* ‘foot’: Miri *ale*, Chepang *la*, Garo *ža* ‘foot’, Tib. *b-r-la* ‘thigh’ etc. [IST: 183; STC: 34] (\**g-la*).

See [HGC: 19].

49. PNC \**Gwālho* (~ -ə): Chech. *qel* (*qēla-*) ‘sentence, fate’, Av. *ʷel* ‘gossip; offence’, Lak *qal* ‘gossip’, Darg. *ʷaj* id., Lezg. *qel* ‘offence, anger’ etc. [NCED: 465–466].

PST \**G(h)ōw* ‘revile, offend’: OC 詬 \**kō?* / \**khō?*-s, MC *káw*, *kháw* ‘to revile, disgrace’, Tib. *ākhu-ba* ‘to offend, insult’, Brm. *khu?* ‘to be angry’, Lush. *hau* ‘to scold, abuse’.

Cf. PY: Yugh *χar-ín* ‘angry’ (a different comparison see in [HGC: 34]).

50. PNC \**?wēni* (~ -u): Lezg. *wan*, Tsakh. *on* ‘sound’ etc. [NCED: 230].

OC 音 \**?əm*, MC *?im* ‘sound’.

51. PNC \**χōnV* ‘obstacle, trap’: Av. *hin* ‘snare, sweep-net’; Lak *χunu* ‘diaphragm’, Tab. *ʷun* ‘dam, dike’, Arch. *χon* ‘trap’ [NCED: 1077].

ST \**χān* ‘net’: OC 罕 \**xān?*, MC *xán* ‘net’, Kach. *khan*<sup>33</sup> ‘to fish with a casting net’.

52. PNC \**hčwinV* (/ \**fničwV* with metathesis): Lak *šanu* ‘sleep (n.)’, Bezht. *niše* ‘night’, Arch. *iš* id., Ad. *pčə-*, Kab. *pśə-* ‘evening’ etc. [NCED: 524–525].

PST \**chěn* ‘night, darkness’: Tib. *m-chan* ‘night’, Kach. *sin*<sup>33</sup> ‘be or become dark’, *a-sin*<sup>33</sup> ‘darkness’, Kiranti \**sèn* ‘night’.

Cf. PY \**si-G* ‘night’ (with \*-G being a suffix denoting time, lit. ‘night-time’ < \**sin-G*) [PYR: 203; HGC: 21].

PST and PY reflect rather \**Hcwin-* (probably under the influence of \*-*VwsVn* ‘sleep’ q. v.)

53. PNC \**?wirqVnV*: Tind. *eχan*, Tsez. *iχin* ‘sack’, Rut. *uχun* ‘shirt’, Lak *huqa(n)* id. [NCED: 233].

PST \**k<sup>w</sup>ān* ‘clothing’: OC 冠 \**k<sup>w</sup>ān*, MC *kwān* ‘cap’, \**k<sup>w</sup>ān-s*, MC *kwān* ‘to put on a cap’, Tib. *gon* ‘to put on (clothes)’, *s-kon-pa* ‘to dress’, Kach. *khon*<sup>55</sup> ‘to wear (as bracelets)’, etc.

54. PNC \**mhǎnV-*: Chech. *mela*, dial. *mɣalī* (with dissimilation < \**mɣani-n*) ‘warm; weak, loose’; Darg. *wana-* ‘warm’, Tab. *mani* id. [NCED: 807].

PST \**nām* ‘soft, weak, fluffy’: OC 染 \**nam?*, MC *ńém* ‘soft, flexible’, Brm. *nu-ńam?* ‘be tender, soft’, Lush. *nēm* ‘soft; weak (as beer)’, Kach. *nam* ‘be soft, fluffy or downy’ [IST: 411].

55. PNC \**fǎnV*: Chech. *hun* (*hüna-*) ‘forest’, Av. *xon-lí* ‘shady slope’, Tsez. *hon* ‘mountain’, Lak *han* ‘shady slope of a mountain’, Darg. dial. *χana* ‘shady slope’, Arch. *χ<sup>w</sup>an* id., Abkh. *a-χ<sup>w</sup>á* ‘hill’, Ub. *-xa* ‘mountain’, Hurr. (with reduplication) *fāwanə* ‘mountain’ etc. [NCED: 425].

PST \**ńǎm* ‘height, precipitous’: OC 巖 \**ńrām* (< \**r-ńām*), MC *ńam* ‘rocky, precipitous’ (for \**ń-* cf. Xiamen *giam*<sup>2</sup>, Chaozhou *ńan*<sup>2</sup>, Fuzhou, Jianou *ńan*<sup>2</sup>), Tib. *ńams* ‘height’. A variant with \*-*n* (\**ńān*) is perhaps

reflected in OC 岸 \**ŋhān-s*, MC 𪔵 *ŋān* ‘high riverbank’ (for \**ŋh-* cf. Xiamen *huā̃*<sup>6</sup>, Jianou *ŋaiŋ*<sup>6</sup>).

56. PNC \**s̄inǝ* (~ -ǝ) ‘long bone; edge, wedge’: Chech. *sā* (*sōna-*) ‘border, edge’, Bezht. *sino* ‘pitchfork, fork’, Lak dial. *šana* ‘wedge’, Lezg. *sin* ‘edge’, Kryz. *sini* ‘spine’ etc. [NCED: 963–964].

PST \**s[i]n* ‘nail’: Tib. *sen*, Brm. *sañh*, Lush. *tin* etc. ([IST: 448], STC № 74 \**m-tsyen*).

57. PNC \**ḠHwñĀ*: Lezg. *q̄in*, Tab. *ɪlun*, Arch. *q̄lun* ‘shoulder’; a metathesized form is reflected in Darg. *nalq* ‘arm’, Ub. *nəql* ‘armpit’ etc. [NCED: 853].

OC 肩 \**kēn*, MC *kien* ‘shoulder’.

PY \**ken-* ‘shoulder’ [PYR: 206; HGC: 26].

58. PNC \**dwǎnʔV*: Kar. *dane*, Bagv. *dwāj*, Darg. *dam*, Ag. *damdam* (with reduplication) ‘drum’, Ub. *twaná* ‘any musical instrument’ [NCED: 406].

PST \**t̄im* ‘musical instrument’: OC 鐘 \**toŋ*, MC *cōuŋ* ‘bell’, Lush. *tum*, Kach. *dum*<sup>31</sup> ‘to play a musical instrument’, etc. [IST: 48, 194].

59. PNC \**t̄wǝnʔe* ‘manger, feeding-trough; spring’: Akhv. *t̄āji* ‘spring’, Lak *tunu*, Darg. *teni*, Lezg. *tuŋ*, Arch. *tono* ‘feeding-trough, manger’ [NCED: 1008].

PST \**tōm* (~ -ua-) ‘jar, bottle’: 甌 OC \**tām*, MC *tām* ‘jar’, Kach. *dum*<sup>31</sup>, *n-dum*<sup>55</sup> ‘a bottle, jar’.

60. PNC \**q̄ǎnʔV*: Chech. *ɓēn-ig* ‘louse’, Lak (reduplicated) *q̄lunuq̄li* ‘worm’, Darg. *q̄i* ‘nit’ etc. [NCED: 911].

PST \**kin* (~ -e-) ‘ant’: Brm. *kjañ* ‘a big ant’, Kach. *ukjin*, *kākjin* ‘ants’.

61. PNC \**ɓwǎnʔV*: Chech. *ɣa* (*ɣāna-*) ‘winter’, Lak *ɓwi* (*ɓwin-*) ‘summer’, Darg. *ha* (*hane-*) id., Ad. *-ɓwa* ‘time, season’, Ub. *wa-*, Abaz. *ɣa-* ‘spring’ [NCED: 482].

PST \**Ḡǎn* (~ ɣ-) ‘season, time’: Tib. *d-gun* ‘winter’, Lush. *hun* ‘time, season’.

62. PNC \**m̄f̄ǎʔnē*: Chech. *neɟ*, Btsb. *nɟajʔ* ‘door’, Av. *mahi* ‘threshold’, Bezht. *maha* ‘door frame’, etc. [NCED: 813].

OC 門 \**mān*, MC *mon* ‘gate, door’.

63. PNC \**q̄ǎnʔV*: Chech. *q̄i* ‘pen, enclosure’, Av. *hin* ‘palace’, Lak *qul* (*qulni-*) ‘yard’, Arch. *ɣlan* ‘enclosure, yard’, etc. [NCED: 896].

PST \**k̄wān* ‘compartment, residence’: OC 官 \**k̄wān*, MC *k̄wān* ‘official's residence’, Brm. *kwanh* ‘a temporary building for the king; temple’; Kach. *kun*<sup>31</sup> ‘the side of a Kachin house, assigned for family compartments’.

64. PNC \**ḠwinʔV* (~ -h-, -ɣ-): Chech. *p̄hā* (*p̄hāna-*) ‘village’, Tsez. *qun*, Khvarsh. *q̄wan* ‘farmstead’, Abkh. *a-ɣwñá*, Ad. *wəna* ‘house’, etc. [NCED: 471].

PST \**Q[i]m* ‘house’: OC 宮 \**kuŋ*, MC *kün* ‘palace’, Tib. *khjim* ‘house’, Brm. *im*, Lush. *in*, Kiranti \**qhìm* ‘house’, etc. [IST: 42, 125, 428]; STC № 53 \**kim*).

65. PNC \**ǰänñi*: Chech. *χi*, And. *λen*, Kar. *λēji*, Tsez. *li*, Gunz. *lĩ*, Lak *šin*, Darg. *šin*, Ag. *xed*, Arch. *λan*, Hurr. *šijə* ‘water’, etc. [NCED: 1060–1061].

PST \**Qhu* (/ \**χu*) ‘wet, moisture’: Tib. *khu-ba* ‘fluid, liquid’, *hu-s* ‘moisture, humidity’, Lush. *hu?* ‘wet’, Kach. *khau*<sup>55</sup> ‘to spill’, Kiranti \**kù* ‘water’ [IST: 41]; STC № 2, 17.

Cf. PY \**xur*<sub>1</sub> ‘water’ [PYR: 208] (with different, and probably incorrect, ST data); [HGC: 23].

66. PNC \**mǎñmē* (~ \**nǎñmē*, -*ū*) ‘brain, head’: Chech. *min-dǎŋaχk* ‘cervical vertebra’ (*dǎŋaχk* ‘bone’), And. *mija-r*, Akhv. *mina* ‘head’, Lak *naI*, Darg. *mehe*, Tab. *ma?*, Tsakh. *mahI*, Arch. *maj* ‘brain’ etc. [NCED: 797–798].

PST \**nū* (also with suffixed \*-*k*: \**nū-k*) ‘brain’: OC 腦 \**nū?*, MC *nǎw*, Brm. *uh-hnauk*, Kach. *nu?*<sup>55</sup> ‘brain’, etc., see STC № 483 \**nuk*.

Cf. PY \**do?*<sub>η</sub> ‘brain’. See [HGC: 24].

67. PNC \**kwǐnhV*: Av. *kuj*, Kar. *kuji*, Bezht. *qo*, Darg. *gaw*, Ud. *kuin* ‘smoke’, Lak *kuw* ‘soot’, Arch. *gun* ‘dust’, Ub. *ɸ<sup>wa</sup>* ‘smoke’, etc. [NCED: 738].

PST \**gh(i)w* ‘smoke’: OC 臭 \**khiw-s*, MC *chàw* ‘smell’, Tib. *d-ku* ‘sweet scent’, Brm. *khəwh* ‘smoke’, Lush. *khu* ‘to smoke’, *mei-khu* ‘smoke’, Kach. *khu*<sup>55</sup>, etc. [IST: 44, 427]; STC № 256 \**kuw*.

68. PNC \**λwǐnhV*: Av. *ti*, Akhv. *λini*, Kar. *λĩ*, Tsez. *λe*, Inkh. *λē*, Darg. *ki?a* ‘malt, young sprouts’, Arch. *kun* ‘flour’, etc. [NCED: 784].

PST \**λ[ǎ]j* ‘sprout, shoot’: OC 稊 \**Łhāj*, MC *diej* ‘a shoot, sprout’ (for \**Łh-* cf. Fuzhou *thǎ?*); Lush. *hli* ‘self-sown, springing up from the old root permanently’. The OC word is usually considered to be = 莢 (\**lhāj*, see above), but *xie-sheng* and external parallels are rather in favour of two different OC reconstructions.

69. PNC \**čwǐnhV*: And. *čonni*, Tind. *čan-di* ‘flea’, Bezht. *çima* ‘nit’, Ag. *čid*, Ud. *in* ‘flea’ etc. [NCED: 394–395].

PST \**čū* ‘flea’: OC 蚤 \**čū?*, MC *cáu*, Tib. *āžu-ba*.

70. PNC \**čwǐnhV*: Av. *çam*, Akhv. *çani*, Kar. *çāji*, Gunz. *cǎ*, Lak *ç<sup>wu</sup>* ‘salt’, Abkh. *a-çá* ‘salty’ etc. [NCED: 371–372].

PST \**Cāj* (/ \**Cuāj*): OC 𪗇 \**z(h)āj*, MC *zâ*, Tib. *chwa* ‘salt’, Brm. *chah* id., Kanauri *cha* etc. [IST: 124, 504]; STC № 214 (\**tsa*).

Cf. PY: Kott *šin-* in *šin-čēt* ‘salt’.

71. PNC \**hwǐ?nV* ‘blood’: Av. *han* ‘meat’, And. *hin*, Akhv. *hini* ‘blood’, Gunz. *hāj*, Gin. *ijo*, Lak *ul*, Darg. *hi*, Ag. *i?* id. etc. [NCED: 496–497].



PST \*s-ʔwǝj: OC 血 OC *swhīt* (< \**swhī-k*), MC *xwiet*, Brm. *swijh*, Lush. *thi*, Kach. *sai*<sup>31</sup> etc. Without the prefix \*s- (common for several ST body part names) the root is reflected, e. g., in Tsangla *yi*, Miri *iyi*, Vayu *vi*, Kiranti \**hì* (possibly also Tib. *yi* ‘spirit’). See [IST 52, 135, 442]; STC № 222 (\**s-hyway*).

See [HGC: 18].

72. PNC \**lǝʔwǝni* (~ -ʔ-) ‘skin (of an animal)’: Chech. *neʃ* (*neʃa-ra-*) ‘skin; skin (for making soles)’, Av. *lab* ‘sole’, Lak *lu* ‘skin, sheepskin’, Lezg. *li*, Ag. *leʔ* id. etc. [NCED: 755–756].

Tib. *lwa-ba* ‘skin of a wild animal’.

73. PNC \**HĹünV*: Tsez. *aɮu*, Inkh. *aɮnna* ‘hem (of a garment)’, Lak *lan-tu* ‘hem of a kerchief’, Lezg. *gin* ‘front hem of a garment’ [NCED: 592].

PST \**IVŋ* (~ *ʌ-*) ‘skirt; coat’: Brm. *khjaŋh* ‘men's skirt’, Kach. *loŋ*<sup>31</sup>, *pǎloŋ*<sup>33</sup> ‘coat’.

Cf. PY \*(*h*)*alVŋ* ‘trousers’. See [HGC: 33].

74. PNC \**farnē*: Av. *xʷáni* ‘horses (collect.)’, Lezg. *χʷar* ‘mare’, Ad. *fāra* ‘thoroughbred horse’ etc. [NCED: 425–426].

PST \**mrā(ŋ)* ‘horse’: OC 馬 \**mrāʔ*, MC *má*, Brm. *mraŋh*, Kach. *gu-mra*<sup>31</sup>, *ku-mraŋ* ‘horse’ etc. [IST: 121, 135, 143, 410]; STC № 145 \**s-raŋ* ~ \**m-raŋ*; \*s- in forms like Chepang *saraŋ* is obviously secondary — the “animal” prefix).

75. PNC \**kwǎrnV* ‘young (of an animal)’: Chech. *ʁorni* ‘young (of an animal), nestling’, Akhv. *ḳʷani* ‘foal (less than 3 years old)’, Khvarsh. *ǧʷenu* ‘lamb (2 years old)’, Lezg. *ǧere-χ*, Kryz. *ḳʷarä* ‘young of domestic animals’ etc. [NCED: 731–732].

PST \**kruŋ*: Tib. *ākhruŋ* ‘to be born; shoot, sprout, growth’; Kach. *mǎkruŋ*<sup>33</sup> ‘fresh sprouts, new twigs’ (see STC № 382 \**kruŋ*).

76. PNC \**šinV* ‘blue, green’: Chech. *sīna* ‘blue’, Darg. *šiniša* ‘green’, etc. [NCED: 973].

PST \**r-siaŋ* > \**sriaŋ* (~ *ch-*) ‘green; fresh, alive’: OC 生 \**shreŋ*, MC *šäiŋ* ‘live; fresh (as greens)’ (for \**sh-* cf. Min forms: Xiamen *chī*<sup>1</sup>, Chaozhou *chē*<sup>1</sup>, Fuzhou *chiaŋ*<sup>1</sup>), Lush. *hriŋ* ‘be green (in color), fresh’, Kach. *kāciŋ* ‘be fresh, green’ etc. [IST: 135, 410, 436]; STC № 404 (\**śraŋ*). The same root without \**-r-* is reflected in OC 青 \**shēŋ*, MC *chien* ‘blue, green’.

Cf. PY: Kott *šon* ‘blue’. See [HGC: 19].

77. PNC \**kēmV* ‘armful, handful’: Gunz. (with metathesis) *miḳa-r* ‘bundle’, Lak *ḳama* ‘handful; handle’, Lezg. *ḳem* ‘armful’ etc. [NCED: 722–723].

PST \**k(j)ǝŋ* (~ *g-*) ‘to hold with both hands’: OC 拱 \**koŋʔ*, MC *kóuŋ* ‘to join the hands, present with both hands’, Tib. *ākhoŋ-ba* ‘to bring’, Brm. *kauŋ* ‘to hold in hands’.

In Yeniseian cf. perhaps Kott *ham-al* ‘armful’ (although *h-* is not quite clear: *k-* would be normally expected) [PYR: 203; HGC: 26].

78. PNC \**Gwānmē*: Chech. *vāma* ‘haystack’, Av. *vuní*, Kar. *v<sup>w</sup>ane* ‘stack, heap’, Bezht. *veme* ‘small stack’, Arch. *q<sup>l</sup>weni* ‘a convex heap’, etc. [NCED: 467].

PST \**q(h)<sup>w</sup>V̄η* (~ *γ<sup>w-</sup>*) ‘heap’: OC 𐰇𐰣 \**g(h)onη*, MC *gōuη* ‘mound’, Tib. *goy-po* ‘lump, heap’, Lush. *vūη* ‘a mound (of loose earth)’.

79. PNC \**c<sup>w</sup>āj<sup>m</sup>ě* ‘gall; anger’: Chech. *stim* ‘gall’, Av. *cin*, Kar. *šime*, Tsez. *semi*, Darg. *himi*, Arch. *šam* ‘gall, anger’, Ad. *-g<sup>w</sup>ə-ž* ‘anger’ (a compound with *g<sup>w</sup>ə* ‘heart’), Ub. *ǵə-ž<sup>w</sup>* ‘revenge’ (same compound), etc. [NCED: 329–330].

PST \**chīη* (*l-n*): OC 辛 \**s(h)in*, MC *sjin* ‘bitter, pungent’, Tib. *mčhin* ‘liver’, Brm. *sañh* (< PLB \**siηH*) id., Lush. *thin* ‘liver, heart’, Kach. *mās<sup>in</sup>31* id., etc. [IST: 52]; STC № 234 \**m-sin*.

Cf. PY \**seη* ‘liver’ [PYR: 210; HGC: 20].

80. PNC \**Hλwīmā* (~ *-ē*): Chech. (with metathesis) *moχ* (*meχa-*) ‘wind’, Akhv. *š<sup>w</sup>ani* ‘smell’, Kar. *xun-* ‘to smell’, Lezg. *gum*, Rut. *xum*, Tsakh. *kuma* ‘smoke’ etc. [NCED: 590].

PST \**λuaη* ‘air, wind’: OC 融 \**Luη*, MC *jūη* ‘hot air, steam’, Tib. *r-luη* ‘breeze, wind’, Brm. *lwan?* ‘to be blown by the wind’.

81. PNC \**Hλōnǔ* ‘bottom’: Av. *řinu*, And. (with metathesis) *hinλu*, Lak *čan*, Rut. *qan*, Arch. *kan*, Ad. *ča*, Abkh. *-ca* etc. [NCED: 590–591].

PST \**λaη* ‘bottom, below’: Tib. *zōη* ‘lower, nether’, *g-zaη* ‘anus’; Lush. *thlaη* ‘lower, down’.

PY \**kan-* / \**kam-* ‘below’ [PYR: 204] (with different, and probably faulty, ST data).

82. PNC \**čǎn?V* ‘new’: Chech. *čina*, Av. *čija-*, Tind. *čīhu-*, Rut. *čin-* etc. [NCED: 357–358].

PST \**sīη* (/ \**sīn*) ‘new’: OC 新 \**sin*, MC *sjin*, Brm. *sac* ‘new’, Tib. *g-šin* ‘good, fine’, Limbu *ku-sōη* ‘new’.

Cf. PY \**tur-* (> Yugh *tul-im*) ‘new’ [PYR: 216; HGC: 21] (although an alternative comparison with PST \**chār* ‘fresh, new’ is perhaps more probable).

83. PNC \**dān?ī* (~ *-ū*) ‘cheek; gum’: Chech. *dō-la*, Av. *da* ‘gum’, Rut. *dan*, Tsakh. *dan* ‘cheek’ [NCED: 398].

PST \**tāη* ‘flat part of body’: OC 掌 \**taη?*, MC *ćán* ‘palm of the hand’; Brm. *taη*, Kach. *daη* ‘buttocks’, Tib. *mthaη* ‘the lower part of body’.

84. PNC \**q<sup>w</sup>ān?ū* ‘flat surface’: Av. *řonó* ‘cheek’, Tsez. *q<sup>l</sup>ijju* ‘palm of the hand’, Lak *qan* ‘plain, meadow’, Lezg. *q<sup>w</sup>an*, Arch. *q<sup>w</sup>an* ‘palm of the hand’ [NCED: 932].

PST \**Kwaŋ* ‘cheek’: Chepang *kwaŋ*, Hayu *glo-ɡoŋ*.

Cf. PY \**KVn-* ‘mouth, face’. See [HGC: 25].

85. PNC \**h̄qwěmV*: And. *Gʷon* ‘horn’, Tind. *ʔwani* ‘head’, Tsez. *q̄lim*, Bezht. *q̄am* ‘head’, Lezg. *q̄am* ‘back of the head’, Tsakh. *q̄om* ‘summit, top’, etc. [NCED: 494].

PST \**khām*: cf. OC 嶽 \**kh(r)əm*, MC *khim* ‘precipitous’, Tib. *āgram* ‘shore, bank’, Brm. *kamh* ‘shore’, Kach. *kha-nin-gam* ‘bank of a river’. A very similar root (also comparable with PNC \**h̄qwěmV*) is PST \**gh(j)ām*: cf. OC 巖 \**khām*, \**khṛām*, MC *khām*, *khām* ‘rocky’, 巖 \**khām?*, MC *khām* ‘precipitous’, Tib. *khjom-khjom* ‘oblique, awry’, Lush. *khām* ‘a precipice, cliff’, Kach. *n-gam*<sup>31</sup> ‘precipitous, precipice’, *kham*<sup>33</sup>-*wam*<sup>33</sup> id. See [IST: 44]; STC № 71 \**r-ka[:]m*.

86. PNC \**ʔḡāmV*: Chech. *ʔam* (*ʔōma-*), Ing. *ʔqam* ‘wing’, Lak *ʔimu* ‘feather’, Ad. *tāma*, Kab. *dāma* ‘wing; shoulder’, etc. [NCED: 995].

PST \**Tōm* ‘carry on the shoulder’: OC 擔 \**tām*, MC *tām* ‘carry on the shoulder’, Tib. *stem* ‘to hold, support’, Lush. *dōm* ~ *dom* id., Brm. *thamh* ‘to carry on the shoulder’.

87. PNC \**çhwěme* (~ -ä-, -i): Chech. *ço-çqam*, Lak *çani*, Lezg. *r-çam*, Tab. *ul-çwim* etc. ‘eyebrow’ [NCED: 364].

PST \**chām* ‘hair of head’: OC 𠂔 \**s(h)rām*, MC *şam* ‘long hair’; Tib. *ʔag-chom* ‘beard’, Brm. *cham* ‘hair’, Lush. *sam* ‘hair of head’, Kach. *sam* id., etc. [IST: 72, 411]; STC № 73 (\**tsām* ~ \**sām*). The OC word is attested only in the Shuowen, but it is the reading of a primitive graph and thus probably archaic.

Cf. PY \**cəŋ[el]* ‘hair’ [PYR: 210; HGC: 19].

88. PNC \**kōnmo*: Lak *çannu* ‘dandruff’, Darg. *kam* ‘skin, hide, bark’, Lezg. *kan* ‘dandruff’, Ag. *kan* ‘napless carpet’, Bezht. (with metathesis) *maku* ‘sheepskin, fur-coat’, etc. [NCED: 699–700].

PST \**kuam* ‘leather, skin’: Tib. *khom* ‘leather trunk’, Brm. *khwam* ‘shell; skull’, Lush. *kōm* ‘pod, shell; cover (of a book)’; Kach. *puŋ-kum*<sup>33</sup> ‘skull’ [IST: 411].

89. PNC \**ʒfūmV*: Chech. *ʒolam* (< *ʒomal*) ‘bushes, shrubs’, Tind. *ʒimi* ‘grass’, Gunz. *šumal* ‘bushes, shrubs’, Lezg. *çumal* ‘cornel’, etc. [NCED: 1107–1108].

PST \**Ćūm* (~ -ua-): OC 叢 \**ʒ(h)ōŋ*, MC *ʒuŋ* ‘thicket’, Brm. *ćum* ‘jungle’.

90. PNC \**LēmV* ‘bridge’: Chech. *lāmi* ‘stairs, ladder’, Gin. *ləmo* ‘bridge, stairs’, Lak *lamu*, Darg. *gumi* (dial. *çime*) ‘bridge’, etc. [NCED: 788–789].

PST \**lām* ‘road’: Tib. *lam*, Brm. *lamh*, Lush. *lam*, Kach. *lam*<sup>33</sup> etc. [IST: 141, 434]; STC № 37 \**lam*.

91. PNC \**çūmV* (~ ʒ-) ‘tip, point’: Chech. *çom* (*çōma-*) ‘trunk, spout’, Kar. *çumo-* ‘pointed’, Tsez. *cemi* ‘corner’, Lak *çun* ‘spout (of a vessel)’, etc. [NCED: 367].

PST \**ʒhVm* ‘edge’: OC 崇 \**ʒ(h)ruŋ* (< \**r-ʒ(h)um*), MC *ʒüŋ* ‘peak; high pile’, Tib. *zom* ‘peak, summit’, perhaps also Lush. *fēm* ‘fringe, edge’.

92. PNC \**lamV*: And. *lam-*, Arch. *lam-*, Darg. *lim-çi-kes*, Lak *lan-ça ʒun* ‘to lick’, etc. [NCED: 754].

PST \**IVm* ‘tongue; to lick’: Bahing *liam* ‘tongue’, Thebor *lem* ‘to lick’, etc. [STC: 48].

93. PNC \**q̇wəmV* ‘grain, fruit stone’: Bezht. *qāmā*, Lak *qama* ‘grain, corn’, Darg. *qum* ‘fruit stone’ [NCED: 937].

PST \**kuam*: Tib. *kham-dar* ‘walnut’, *kham-bu* ‘apricot, peach’, Brm. *kwamh* ‘betel’, Lush. *kuam* ‘a sp. of fig tree’, Kach. *lä-gum*<sup>55</sup>, *lä-kum* id.

Cf. PY \*(*x*)*im* ‘nut’ [HGC: 29].

94. PNC \**čw[ě]mV* ‘how much’: Av. *čan*, Tind. *čwami-*, Tsez. *šomo*, Lak *cimi*, Darg. *čum*, Lezg. *šumu-*, Arch. *šume-* etc. [NCED: 350–351]. The original form may have been \**cwēmV* (cf. the hissing reflex in Lak), but was influenced by the PNC interrogative pronoun \**čwi*.

PST \**cVm*: Tib. *cam* ‘as much as’, Lush. *thūm* ‘as good as’.

Cf. PY \**sum* ‘as good as’. See [HGC: 36].

95. PNC \**čwäm?V* ‘eagle’: Av. *čum* ~ *čun*, Kar. *čūji*, Tsez. *cej*, Inkh. *cē* ‘eagle’, Khin. *čimi-r* ‘bird’ etc. [NCED: 370–371].

PST: PLB \**ʒwan* ‘hawk, kite’.

96. PNC \**gimʔi* (~ -*ū*) ‘place of the popular assembly’: Lak *da-ka<sup>wu</sup>*, Darg. *guma-j*, Lezg. *kim*, Ag. *gim* etc. [NCED: 437–438].

PST \**Kjam*: Tib. *khjam-s* ‘yard’ (cf. also *kham-s* ‘realm, territory’), Brm. *khamh* ‘suburbs, environs’.

97. PNC \**šwim?V*: Lak *šama* ‘three’, Tab. *simi-čur* ‘thirty’ (-*čur* ‘-ty’), Khin. *pšwa* ‘three’, [NCED: 978 (\**šwimHV* is reconstructed there, but the available forms are enough to make it more precise: with \**-ʔ-* or \**-ʔ-*).

PST \**sūm* ‘three’: OC 三 \**sām*, MC *sām*, Tib. *sum*, *g-sum*, Brm. *sumh*, Lush. *thum*, Kach. *māsum*<sup>33</sup> ‘three’, etc. [IST: 52, 125, 436; STC: 94].

See [HGC: 35].

98. PNC \**ʕwamhV*: Av. *ʕan-gúr* ‘hyena’, Kryz. *eb*, Tsakh. *um-ul*, Arch. *jam* ‘wolf’, etc. [NCED: 239].

PST \**ʔwām* (~ -*ǎ-*) ‘bear’: OC 熊 \**wəm*, MC *füŋ*, Tib. *d-om*, Brm. *wam*, Lush. *vom*, etc. [IST: 22, 141]; STC № 461 \**d-wam*.

99. PNC \**qəmδō*: And. *qom* ‘trough’, Lak *almu* ‘wooden tub, trough’, Darg. *qal<sup>m</sup>* ‘dish, basin’, Lezg. *qeb* ‘cradle’, Ag. *q<sup>l</sup>ab* ‘cradle; trough’, etc. [NCED: 914].

PST \**q(h)ām* ‘box’: OC 函 \**g(h)ām*, MC *ɣam* ‘box’; Tib. *s-gam* ‘chest, box, trunk’, Brm. *am* ‘box’, Lush. *ēm* ‘a generic name for several kinds of baskets’.

100. PNC \*č(w)ǃmhV: Chech. *ša* ‘span’, Cham. *čibil* ‘span (between the thumb and the fore-finger)’, Darg. *čim* ‘span’, Lezg. *čib*, Arch. *čwim*, Abkh. -*ža*, Ub. *ža* ‘span’ etc. [NCED: 391–392].

PST \*č]ūm: Lush. *sūm* ‘a measure equal to twice the length of the closed fist’; Kach. *žum*<sup>33</sup> ‘the length of two hand-breadths, with thumb extended between’.

101. PNC \*kǃmhV ‘arc; an arched, curved body part’: Av. *kaṃú-ri* ‘arc’, Tind. *kaṃa* ‘horn’, Arch. *kaṃmur* ‘arc’, Darg. dial. *čime* ‘tail’, Ad. *ča* (\*ka) ‘tail’ etc. [NCED: 722].

PST \*kōm: Tib. *khum-s* ‘crooked’, *ā-gum* ‘to bend, curve’, Brm. *khum-h* ‘be convex, arc’, Lush. *kom* ‘to bend, flex’, Kach. *gum* ‘to bow, bend’, etc. [STC: 78].

102. PNC \*tǃmhV (~ tǃwǃ-, -h-): Chech., Btsb. *tuṃ* ‘kernel (of a fruit, nut); marrow’, Arch. *tuṃmul* ‘grape’, Abkh. *a-tamá*, Ub. *taṃlá* ‘peach’, etc. [NCED: 1004-1005].

PST \*tūm (~ -ō-, -ua-): OC 種 \*toŋ? ‘seed’, Kach. *tum*<sup>33</sup> ‘seed, kernel (of fruit)’.

103. PNC \*=iGwǃr: Av. -*aq̄wara-*, Darg. -*eru-* (dial. -*erbu-*), Lezg. *qura-j*, Abkh. -*ṣwa-*, Ad. *ḅwə-* etc. ‘dry, to dry’ [NCED: 631–632].

PST \*kār (~ q-) ‘dry’: OC 乾 \*kār, MC *kân* ‘dry’, Brm. *kanh* ‘to dry up’, *khanh* ‘be dry’, Kach. *kan* ‘to be dried up’.

Cf. PY \*-qVr- ‘dry, to dry’ (Ket *qōlen*, Kott *šī-gal*); there is also a not quite clear variant \*qVj- [PYR: 212; HGC: 18].

104. PNC \*=ačōr ‘to freeze, turn to ice’: Av. *čer* ‘ice’, *čoró-ra-* ‘cold’, Tsakh. *aj-čar-* ‘to turn to ice’, Abkh. -*čā* ‘ice’ etc. [NCED: 419].

PST \*sēr: OC 霰 \*sēn-s, MC *sien* ‘sleet’; Tib. *ser-ba* ‘hail’, Kach. *sin*<sup>33</sup> ‘hail’ [IST: 52].

Cf. PY \*tV?Vr- ‘to freeze’. See [HGC: 30].

105. PNC \*=ig(w)Vr: Av. *gur-* ‘to wrap, fold’, Darg. -*argw-* id., Ud. *kor-i* ‘curved, bent’, Ad. *žə-* (< \*gə-) ‘to twist’, etc. [NCED: 631].

PST \*kuar ‘crooked, bent’: Tib. *d-gur*, *r-gur*, *s-gur* ‘crooked’, Brm. *kunh* ‘to bend’, Lush. *kūr* ‘to bend down’, etc. [IST: 409].

Cf. PY \*kār- (~ -l-) ‘crooked, bent’. See [HGC: 39].

106. PNC \*=ižwVl: Av. *r-ehin-* ‘to feed on (smth.)’, Gin. *hil-* ‘to bite’, Kryz. *žül-*, Bud. -*ožul-* ‘to eat’, etc. [NCED: 625–626].

PST \*q(h)wǃr (~ ?w-): OC 餽 \*wər-s, MC *fiūn* ‘to bring supply of food to smb.’, Tib. *s-kor* ‘food presented to Lamas’, Lush. *vir* ‘to have an intense longing for animal food’.

107. PNC \*=imžǃr: Chech. -*att-*, Av. -*ež-*, Darg. -*erz-*, Lezg. *čra-*, Kryz. *žir-*, Arch. *čar-*, Abkh. *a-ž-rá*, Ub. *žwa-* ‘to bake, roast’ [NCED: 643].

PST \*čiar ‘to fry, cook’: OC 煎 \*c<sub>en</sub>, MC cjen ‘to fry, boil’, Lush. čiar ‘be thoroughly cooked’.

Cf. PY \*žā- ‘to fry, roast, boil’ (a reduced form, used as a first part of compounds, which explains the loss of \*-r-). See [HGC: 37].

108. PNC \*=iṭVr: Btsb. -aṭ- ‘to run’, Av. ṭur- ‘to run away’, God. ṭar- ‘to run’, Ad. (reduplicated) dāda- id. [NCED: 659].

PST \*t(h)ūr ‘to hasten, run’: OC 遄 \*d(h)or, MC žwen ‘to hasten, quickly’, Tib. dur ‘to run’, ā-dur ‘to trot’, Lush. tur ‘to hurry, urge’.

109. PNC \*=irχwVr: Av. -oχ- ‘to rejoice’, Lak χ<sup>w</sup>ari- ‘merry’, Darg. (dial.) χ<sup>w</sup>are ‘joy’, etc. [NCED: 655].

PST \*x<sup>w</sup>ār ‘to rejoice’: OC 歡 \*x<sup>w</sup>ār, MC xwân, Brm. kwan?

110. PNC \*?iṣur-: Chech. ôz-, Btsb. oç- ‘to milk’, And. çur-d-, God. çur- ‘to strain, filter’, Darg. (dial.) -erz- ‘to sift’, Arch. çur- ‘to suck’, Ud. çoro ‘to strain, filter’, etc. [NCED: 213–214].

PST \*[ch]ōr ‘to strain, filter’: Tib. bzur ‘to strain, filter’ (z probably instead of the expected \*z under the influence of bcer ‘to squeeze, press’ — which is a different root), Lush. sōr ‘to wring, squeeze’, Kanauri cur ‘to milk’, etc. [IST: 54]; STC № 188 \*tsyur.

111. PNC \*=i(r)ŁwVr: Chech. lē-, Darg. -irg- (dial. -arg<sup>w</sup>Vr-), Abkh. ža-, Ub. La- ‘to deceive’, etc. [NCED: 651].

PST \*λōl ‘to miss; not do a thing’: Brm. lwajh ‘to miss, to be mistaken’, Lush. tlol? ‘to miss; to not do a thing’. This is the only ST root known to me with final \*-l following an initial lateral: it seems therefore probable that \*λōl is a secondary assimilation < \*λōr.

112. PNC \*[a]rkVr (probably < -l by assimilation): Bezht. -ek-, Darg. -irk-, Ag. -ark-, Tsakh. -akar- etc. ‘to fall’ [NCED: 266].

PST \*Krīl ‘to fall, drop’: Tib. ā-gril ‘to fall, drop’, Lush. ṭīl id.

113. PNC \*=HožĀl: Av. -eç-, Tind. çal- ‘to milk’, Lak hača- ‘to drink’, Ag. žülčan- ‘to wash’, Abkh. -ža- ‘to get filtered’, Ub. zā- ‘to filter’ etc. [NCED: 600].

PST \*čer (~ -ā-): Tib. b-c<sub>er</sub>, b-c<sub>ir</sub>, g-c<sub>ar</sub> ‘to squeeze’, Kach. žen<sup>31</sup> ‘to strain, filter’.

114. PNC \*=içwĒl: Tind. -için- ‘to count’, çal- ‘to read’, Darg. -uç-, (dial.) -ilçVn- ‘to read’, Ad. p-čā-, Kab. b-žā- ‘to count’ etc. [NCED: 628–629].

PST \*šōr (~ -ū-) ‘to count, measure’: OC 算 \*sōr? (~ -n?), MC swân ‘to count, counting tally’, Tib. sor ‘to measure’, g-sor ‘to count, to measure’.

115. PNC \*=ēλwVl: Bezht. -üλ- ‘to burst, tear’, Ag. ṭ-ullkan-, Kryz. ṭ-oql- ‘to burst, split’, etc. [NCED: 413].

PST \**rūt* (~ -ua-) ‘to demolish, ruin’: OC 亂 \**rōn-s*, MC *lwàn* ‘disorder, confusion’, Tib. *hrul* ‘ragged, tattered; ruins’, Brm. *rwij* ‘to chop into pieces’, Kach. *run*<sup>31</sup> ‘to pull down, to demolish’.

116. PNC \*=*iχīV* ‘thin’: Av. *teré-na-*, And. *-elora-*, Akhv. *-aχara-*, Lak *kulla-*, Darg. *-uχula-*, Ag. *χille-*, Kryz. *qīl-*, Abkh. *-pa*, Abaz. *ça*, Ub. *p-ça* (PWC \**χ<sup>w</sup>a*) [NCED: 639–640].

PST \**rial* ‘thin, watery’: OC \**raj* ‘thin wine’, Brm. *k-rajh* ‘be thin’, Lush. *ril* ‘watery, thin’.

117. PNC \*=*aqVl*: Akhv. *qul-* ‘to slide’, Darg. dial. *d-alq-* ‘to dangle, shake’, Ag. *d-alqan-* id., Bud. *ɣ-aqal-* ‘to tremble; fall’ etc. [NCED: 264–265].

PST \**Gōl* (~ *γ-*, -ua-) ‘to shake, swing’: Tib. *ā-gul* ‘to move, shake, be agitated’, *s-gul* ‘to move’, Lush. *hōl* ‘to flourish or wave about’, Kach. *goi*<sup>31</sup> ‘be swinging’.

118. PNC \*=*igwVl*: Tind. *gala* ‘thief’, Ag. *gul-* ‘to lose, get lost’, Bud. *ɣ-ägül-* id., Arch. *guli-* ‘hidden, secret’, etc. [NCED: 630].

PST \**kol* (~ -j) ‘to hide, conceal’: Brm. *kwaj* ‘to hide, get lost’, Kach. *mākoi*<sup>33</sup> ‘to hide, conceal’. STC № 303 \**kway*.

119. PNC \*?*ikwVn*: Av. *k<sup>w</sup>an-*, And. *ik<sup>w</sup>on-*, Darg. dial. *-irk<sup>w</sup>Vn-*, Arch. *k<sup>w</sup>an-* ‘to eat’, etc. [NCED: 207].

PST \**kuam* (~ *g-*) ‘to hold in mouth’: OC 含 \**gām*, MC *γam* ‘to hold in mouth’ (cf. also 銜 \**grām* < \**r-gām*, MC *γam* id.: for unaspirated \**g-* cf. Xiamen *kam*<sup>2</sup>, Fuzhou *kaŋ*<sup>2</sup>), Tib. *āgam* id., *ākham* ‘to take into mouth’, Brm. *khwam?* ‘to feed (e. g. a child)’, etc. STC № 491 \**gam*.

120. PNC \*=*HārqVn* ‘to see, to find’: Bezht. *-īq-*, Gunz. *-īq-* ‘to find’, Darg. dial. *-alhIVn-* ‘to see’, Tab. *raqI-*, Kryz. *-irq-* ‘to see’, Hurr. *tiyan-* (< \**r-*) ‘to show’, etc. Here Lezghian languages have for some reason lost the final resonant (a morphological reinterpretation?), but other languages clearly reflect it [NCED: 547].

PST \**qēn* ‘to see, to know’: OC 見 \**kēn-s*, MC *kien* ‘to see’ (also \**gēn-s*, MC *γien* ‘to appear’), Tib. *mkhjen* ‘to know, understand’, Lush. *en* ‘to look’.

121. PNC \*=*HēwχVn*: Av. *χina-* ‘warm’, Akhv. *-iχun-* ‘to kindle’, *āχun-* ‘to boil, seethe’, Arch. *eχin-* ‘to catch fire’, etc. [NCED: 563].

PST \**kāŋ*: Brm. *kaŋ* ‘to roast, fry’, Lush. *kaŋ* ‘to fry; to dry up, evaporate’, Kach. *kaŋ*<sup>31</sup> ‘be hot; dry up’, *kakaŋ* ‘to roast, bake’, etc. STC № 330 (\**kāŋ*: length to account for a Lush. variant *kāŋ* ‘to burn’), № 331 (\**kaŋ*).

Cf. PY \*?*əqan-* ‘to boil, cook’. See [HGC: 36].

122. PNC \*=*HäGwVn*: Av. *-iḅVn-* ‘to be nervous, capricious’, Tind. *viḅan-* ‘to shake, tremble’, Arch. *eqI<sup>w</sup>in-* ‘to tremble, be afraid’, etc. [NCED: 553–554].

PST \*K(u)am ‘to fear’: OC 恐 \*khorŋ?, MC khóuŋ ‘to fear’, Tib. *ã-gam* ‘to threaten, menace’, Kach. *kom*<sup>31</sup> ‘to fear’.

123. PNC \*=aswVn ‘to glue, paste’: Akhv. *šin-*, Kar. *sin-* ‘to paste, glue’, Darg. dial. *-asVn-* ‘to paste, glue, smear’, Tab. *as-* ‘to smear; to glue’, Tsakh. *-asan-* etc. Cf. also the derivate \*swinV (/ \*-aswinV) ‘glue’: Av. *sínu*, Lak *sina*, Darg. *d-asni* [NCED: 270].

PST \*siāŋ ‘grease, oil’: OC 腥 \*sēŋ, MC *sien* ‘grease’, Lush. *than* ‘be greasy, oily’.

124. PNC \*=ilqVn: Darg. dial. *luqVn-* ‘to work’, Ag. *liχan-*, Arch. *irχwin* id. etc. [NCED: 634].

OC 工 \*kōŋ, MC *kuŋ* ‘work, to work’. Not quite clear is the relationship of Brm. *kjan?* (Old Brm. *kjan?*) id.

125. PNC \*=hākwan: Av. *-ak-*, Cham. *-ik<sup>w</sup>Vn-*, Darg. dial. *-alk<sup>w</sup>Vn-* ‘to set / catch fire’. Much wider spread is the derived noun \*hākwanV (/ \*kwāñfiV) ‘light’: Av. *kan*, Akhv. *k<sup>w</sup>ani* ‘torch, light’, Ag. *ŋak<sup>w</sup>*, Arch. *aķon* etc. [NCED: 703].

OC 光 \*k<sup>w</sup>āŋ, MC *kwāŋ* ‘light’.

PY \*gəʔn- ‘light’ [PYR: 207].

126. PNC \*=ācĒ(n): And. *-ison-*, Tind. *-isin-* ‘to find’, Darg. *-uc-* ‘to take, catch’, Ag. *-acan-* ‘to catch’, Ub. *-ć(ə)-* ‘to steal’, etc. [NCED: 252–253].

ST \*chěŋ ‘to gather up’: Lush. *seŋ*, Kach. *ciŋ*.

127. PNC \*=[i]šwV(n): Akhv. *-ušun-* ‘to gather, to choose’, Tind. *šun-* ‘to gather’, Tsakh. *-iše-* ‘to take, to buy’, Arch. *šu-* id. (with secondary loss of the nasal conjugation) [NCED: 657].

PST \*šūm ‘to hold, catch’: Lush. *sūm* ‘to catch hold, withhold’; Kach. *šum*<sup>33</sup> ‘to take hold of’.

128. PNC \*=HəχwAn: Cham. *jiχan-* ‘to hate’, Lezg. *-eχün-* ‘to quarrel’, Kryz. *-äχn-* ‘to fight’, Arch. (deverb.) *anχ* ‘war’, Abkh. *-ħa-*, Ad. *χ<sup>w</sup>ā-na-* ‘to curse, offend’, etc. [NCED: 565–566].

PST \*K(h)Ūm ‘to quarrel, fight’: OC 鬩 \*g(h)ōŋ-s, MC *γùŋ* ‘to quarrel, fight’, Kach. *dăgam*<sup>55</sup> ‘to curse, to imprecate evil against’.

129. PNC \*=əq<sup>w</sup>Vn: Akhv. *-iḡun-*, Kar. *-eḡwan-* ‘to be sufficient, enough’; Lezg. *aḡ<sup>w</sup>an* ‘as much as’, Ad. *ḡ<sup>w</sup>a-* ‘to be too much, excessive’, etc. [NCED: 421].

PST \*q(h)ōm ‘fitting, sufficient’: Lush. *ōm* ‘fitting, fit’; Kach. *gum* ‘be sufficient, adequate’.

130. PNC \*=ēf<sup>w</sup>Vn: Btsb. *-aw-* ‘to get lost, be lost’, Av. *-aŋn-* ‘to get lost, disappear’, Darg. dial. *-iŋ<sup>w</sup>Vn-* ‘to steal’, etc. [NCED: 409].

PST \*ḡān ‘to hide, conceal’: OC 隱 \*ḡan?, MC *ḡin* ‘to conceal’, Kach. *lă-kan*<sup>51</sup> ‘to hide, as a theft’.



131. PNC *\*=āčĀn*: Av. *-ačn-*, Cham. *-ačin-* ‘to lead’, Lak *-ači-* ‘to go, be heading (somewhere)’, Abkh. *-ča-* ‘to go’, etc. [NCED: 253].

PST *\*čāŋ* ‘to lead, arrange’: OC 將 *\*čaŋ*, MC *cjaŋ* ‘bring, lead, arrange’, Tib. *āčhaŋ* ‘to hold, keep; carry’; Brm. *čaŋ* ‘to arrange, put in order’; Lush. *čaŋ* ‘receive or get’; Kach. *kāžan*, *lāžan*<sup>31</sup> ‘to arrange’.

Cf. perhaps PY *\*čāŋ* ‘to drag, pull’ [HGC: 37].

132. PNC *\*=ičwĒn*: Cham. *čun-al-* ‘to cleave’, Tsez. *-ečw-* ‘to cut, chop’, Ad. *-p-ča-*, Ub. *-č(ə)-* ‘to cut, incise’, etc. [NCED: 629].

PST *\*čām* ‘to cut off, chop’: OC 斬 *\*črām?* (< *\*r-cām?*), MC *čām* ‘to cut off, cut down’, Lush. *čem* ‘chopper used for woodcutting’.

133. PNC *\*-irχwVn*: Cham. *χin-* ‘to spin’, Darg. dial. *-imχVr-* (< *\*-irχVm-*) ‘to plait, weave’, Arch. *χem-* ‘to knit’ etc. [NCED: 655].

PST *\*y<sup>w</sup>čēŋ*: OC 縈 *\*?wēŋ*, MC *?jwēŋ* ‘to wind, entwine’, Lush. *veŋ* ‘to gird around the waist’, Kach. *khōŋ* ‘to be coiled’.

134. PNC *\*=āχwVn*: Av. *r-éχin-*, Cham. *-aχun-*, Bezht. *-ēle-*, Arch. *λ<sup>w</sup>āna-* ‘similar’, etc. [NCED: 261–262].

OC 同 *\*Łōŋ*, MC *duŋ* ‘same, equal’ (for *\*Ł-* cf. Xiamen, Chaozhou *taŋ*<sup>2</sup>, Fuzhou *töüŋ*<sup>2</sup>).

135. PNC *\*HārčwVn*: Av. *ročin-* ‘to become cloudy (of weather)’, Lak *-aša-*, Arch. *dalšin-* id., etc. [NCED: 565].

PST *\*žāŋ*: Lush. *čhēŋ* ‘to rain continuously’; Kach. *caŋ*<sup>31</sup> ‘to fall (as a light, cooling shower)’.

136. PNC *\*=VwšVn*: Av. dial. *sen-χé-* ‘to doze, slumber’, Darg. dial. *-isVn-* ‘to sleep’, Tsakh. *-asan-* id., Ub. *-sa-* ‘to dream, slumber’, etc. [NCED: 1037–1038].

PST *\*chīm*: OC 寢 *\*shim?*, MC *chjīm* ‘lie down to sleep’, Tib. *g-zim* ‘to fall asleep, to sleep’ [IST: 136, 143].

Cf. Kott *šame* ‘sleep’ (with an erroneous etymology in [PYR: 203]); the PY verbal root *\*x-us-* ‘to sleep’ also probably belongs here (if we assume that *\*x-* is a historical prefix; see [HGC: 22]).

137. PNC *\*HāžĒm-*: Chech. *čen-a* ‘clean, pure’, Av. *-ačn-* ‘to clean’, Gunz. *-āčə-* ‘clean’, Darg. dial. *umzu-* id., Ub. *p-ča* id., etc. [NCED: 552].

PST *\*chian* ‘clear, pure’: OC 清 *\*shen*, MC *chjen* ‘clear, pure’, Tib. *saŋ-s* ‘to clean’, *g-caŋ* ‘be clean’, *čaŋ-s* ‘clean, purified’, Brm. *čan* ‘be clean, pure’, Lush. *thian* ‘be clear’, Kach. *seŋ*<sup>33</sup>, *ceŋ* ‘be clean, clear; to clear’. See [IST: 54, 185, 410; STC: 53] (*\*syan*). In Chinese cf. also OC 淨 *\*zeŋ?*, MC *zjén* ‘pure’.

If we compare PY *\*tur-* (> Yugh *tul-en*) ‘clean’ [PYR: 217; HGC: 40], we should perhaps reconstruct *\*sdiŋH-* (to account for the development *\*-ŋh-* > *\*-nh-* > *-r-* in PY; see similar cases above under ‘water’ and ‘new’).

138. PNC *\*=čçVm-*: Av. *čam-*, Cham. (reduplicated) *čačan-* ‘to chew’, Darg. *čalmi-* id. etc. [NCED: 410].

ST \*ʒhēm (~ -ia-, -ī-) ‘to chew’: OC 嚼 \*chāmʔ, MC *chám* ‘to have in mouth’, Tib. *ā-chem-s* ‘to chew’.

139. PNC \*=ālcŭm: Av. -orcŋ-, Cham. -asVn- ‘to measure’, Gunz. -ās- ‘to measure, weigh’, Darg. dial. *uncVn-* id., Lezg. *alcum-*, Arch. *asin-* id., Abkh. -š<sup>w</sup>a-, Ub. *s<sup>w</sup>a-* ‘to measure’, etc. [NCED: 260].

PST \*chŭn ‘to measure, calculate’: OC 忖 \*shŭnʔ, MC *chón* ‘to measure, consider’, 寸 \*shŭnʔ-s, MC *chòn* ‘inch’, Brm. *chunh* ‘to measure distance’, Kach. *son*<sup>33</sup> ‘to calculate’ (cf. also *cen* ‘inch’).

Cf. PY \*si?(V)ń- ‘to weigh’ (see [HGC: 36]).

140. PNC \*=ātVr: Av. *te-* ‘to leave, let’, -*at-* ‘to stay, be there’, Darg. -*at-*, Ag. *at-*, Kryz. *jatir-*, Arch. *ati-* ‘to leave, let’, Abkh. -*ta-/t(ə)-* ‘to be inside’, Ub. *t(ə)-* ‘to be’ etc. [NCED: 270–271]. The \*-r-conjugation here is actually attested only in Kryz, and may well be secondary (in which case one has to reconstruct PNC \*-ātV).

PST \*dhā / \*thā ‘to place, put’: OC 處 \*thaʔ, MC *chó* ‘to dwell, stay; to place’, 署 \*d(h)a-s, MC ʒò ‘to place, position’, Tib. *g-da* ‘to be, to be there’, Brm. *thah* ‘to put, place’, Lush. *daʔ* ‘to put, place, set’, Kach. *da*<sup>55</sup> ‘to put, place’, *ta* ‘to be left, placed’, etc. See [IST: 58]; STC № 19 \*ta.

Cf. PY: Ket *di-j* ‘to place, put’. See [HGC: 37].

141. PNC \*HuǰVn: Av. *r-oçn-* ‘to clear up (of weather)’, Arch. *olçin-* id., Hurr. *çezm-ə* ‘clear, bright’ [NCED: 611]. The -n-conjugation here may be secondary, under the influence of the antonymous \*HārçwVn ‘to become cloudy (of weather)’ (see above, № 135).

PST \*čāj ‘to clear up’: OC 霽 \*čāj-s, MC *ciěj* ‘clearing sky’, Brm. *čajh* ‘to stop (of rain), clear up (of weather)’.

Cf. Yugh *ē<sup>n</sup>í* ‘clear (of weather)’. See [HGC: 39].

142. PNC \*λwāl?V: Chech. *hō*, Ing. *fo* ‘fresh wind, breeze’, Akhv. *λwē*, dial. *λwēl* ‘wind, breeze’, Lak *haw* ‘cold wind’, Lezg. *ful* ‘chill’, Abkh. -*p-ša*, Ub. -*p-sa* ‘wind’ (< \*pə-λ<sup>w</sup>a), etc. [NCED: 762–763].

PST \*lij ‘wind’: Brm. *lij* ‘wind’, *hlijʔ* ‘to winnow’, Lush. *thli* ‘wind; to strain’, Kach. *buŋ-li*<sup>55</sup> ‘breeze’, etc. [IST: 195]; STC № 454 \*g-liy.

Here we would expect \*lil (or \*lal) in PST; since such a structure is apparently impossible, it was dissimilated to \*lij. Cf. also PY \*?ul- ‘whirlwind’; see [HGC: 30].

143. PNC \*t̃imhV: Tsez. *ṭumi*, Bezht. *ṭimo* ‘pigeon’, Darg. *ṭuma*, Lezg. *ṭib*, Abkh. *a-t̃á* ‘owl’ etc. [NCED: 1002–1003].

PST \*t̃iw: OC 鳥 \*t̃iwʔ, MC *tiew* ‘bird’, Kach. *du* ‘a sp. of owl’, Dimasa *dau*, Garo *do* ‘bird’, etc. [STC № 149].

Cf. also PY \*duma ‘bird’ [PYR: 202; HGC: 18].

**Notes.**

I. Clusters of laryngeals with *\*-m-* differ from other types of clusters in PNC in that there are no secure cases of *\*-Hm-* combinations (only *\*-mH-*). It is not to be excluded that in reality such clusters had existed, and behaved in PST just like other clusters with resonants (namely, *\*-hm-* and *\*-hm-* > PST  $\emptyset$ ). This could explain the exceptional example № 143 (PNC *\*t̥hmV* – if the form was actually *\*t̥hmV*, undistinguishable within NC from *\*t̥mhV*: PST *\*t̥w*). Cf. perhaps also the following comparison:

144. PNC *\*s̥ehmV* (also metathesized *\*hēm̥sV*) ‘muscle, vein; intestine’ > Chech. *sam-g* ‘sausage made of a large intestine’; Akhv. *se*, Cham. *sē* ‘sinew, muscle’, Darg. *ɣems* ‘muscle’, Urart. *u/o-šm-ašə* ‘force, strength’ [NCED: 959–960].

PST *\*cha* ‘sinew, vein’: OC 絲 *\*s(h)ə*, MC *sjī* ‘silk, thread’, Tib. *r-ca* ‘vein, root’, Lush. *tha* ‘sinew, tendon’, Kach. *la-sa*<sup>55</sup> id., etc.; [IST: 52]; STC № 442 (*\*r-sa*).

II. There are no reliable examples for the rare PNC clusters *\*Rɣ*, *\*ɣR* (emphatic correlates of *\*Rɦ*, *\*ɦR*). One would expect a  $\emptyset$ -reflex in PST. Cf. perhaps the following roots:

145. PNC *\*ɣw̥i[ɣr]V* ‘leaf’: Av. *ta* ‘leaves (for tanning)’, And. *ɣoli*, Kar. *ɣale* ‘leaf’, Darg. *ka* id., Ad. *ṗča-*, Ub. *ṗča-* (PWC *\*p-ɣa*) ‘leaf’, etc. In [NCED: 784-785] the root is reconstructed as *\*ɣw̥iɣV*, but the crucial Proto-Lezghian evidence here is not informative, because the root is either metathesized (Lezg. dial. *riq̄l-āj* ‘leaf’ < PL *\*riɣw̥-*), or reduplicated (Rut. *q̄uruq̄*, Bud. *q̄uruq̄* ‘leaf, bud’ < PL *\*ɣw̥iriɣw̥*).

PST *\*la* ‘leaf’ > Tib. *lo-ma*, Mikir *lo*, Magari *hla*, etc. IST № 486 (*\*la*).

146. PNC *\*ɣəɣrV* ‘colostrum, beestings; colostrum cheese’: Av. *co*, And. *çiru*, God. *çira*, Tsez. *co*, Bezht. *cã*, Darg. *a* (dial. *za*), Lezg. *ta-n*, Ag. *taɣ*, Tab. *caw*, Rut. *da?* etc. [NCED: 1092].

PST *\*cha* ‘to brew, ferment’: OC 漚 *\*s(h)a?*, MC *sjó* ‘to strain (spirits)’, Lush. *sa* ‘to brew (as beer), to set to ferment (as malt)’, Kach. *ca?*<sup>55</sup> ‘malted or fermented rice’.

III. On the reconstructions used in this paper see [Starostin 1995].