

TWO NOSTRATIC ETYMOLOGIES

1. \*qam<sup>^</sup> "dry, warm"

In my earlier paper<sup>1</sup> I reconstructed the Nostratic word \*qam<sup>^</sup> "dry, warm"; this etymological nest can be enlarged with some new examples:

AA: Sem. \*ḥmm "to be warm": Hebr. ḥām "warm", Ugar. ḥm, Syr. ḥammīmā, Akkad. emmu, Arab. ḥāmm; Eg. ḥmm "to be warm, to be hot"<sup>2</sup>, Kopt. (Saïd.) hmom "to become warm"<sup>3, 4</sup>;

Kart. \*qam- "to dry, to dry up", \*qmel- "dry": Georg. xm-; xmel-; Megrel. xum-, xom-; xumla-, xomula-, xomila-; Chan xom(b)-; xom(b)ula-<sup>5</sup>;

Urat. \*ama "fire" in amaaštubi 1 sg. aor. "I lighted, I fired"<sup>6</sup>;

? ND: Tsez "spring": Tsez im, Khvarshi ime, Hunzib emed, Bezhitin emeda, emedas, Hinukh ix (7);

IE \*Ham- and \*Hem-/Hom- "warm"; \*Hom-e-sHo- (or \*Ham-e-sHo-?): Hitt. hamešha- "spring"; Germ. \*ameza-: OHG amaro, amari, German Emmer "triticum dicoccum"; \*Hom-el-jo-: Toch. A oməl, B emalye, emalle<sup>8</sup>; \*Ham- in \*am-er (\*āmōr, \*ām̄r) "day": Gr. Hom. ēmar, -atos, Att. hēmērā, améra, Arm. aur<sup>9</sup>;

? Etr. ampile "may"<sup>10</sup>, probably from \*am "warm?" + \*pile<  
Nostr. \*pal<sup>^</sup> "to burn"<sup>11</sup> x \*piḡw<sup>^</sup> "fire"<sup>12</sup>;

Ural.: Finn. aurinko "sun"; Saami K avr "flame, fire"; Udm. om̄ir "warm air coming out from a stove", om̄iri- "to begin to burn"; Komi im̄ravnī, im̄irtnī "to blow (about warm wind)"; Mari um̄ir "warm, quiet (about weather)"<sup>13</sup>;

? Tung. āp- "to get sunburnt": Evenki āp- "to get sunburnt", Neghidal ām- "to smoulder"<sup>14</sup>;

ChK "warm": Koryak om, Alyutor um, Itelmen om<sup>15</sup>; "warmth": Chukchi, Koryak, Itelmen omom, Kerek umum<sup>16</sup>;

2. \*bagE or \*PakA "cold"

IE \*paG- "cold": Gr. *pēgylis* adj. f. "frosty, icy", *pagós* m. "ice, hoarfrost", *pákhmē* (\*paksnā) "(hoar)frost"<sup>17</sup>, *pagerós* "cold, icy", *Pagreús*, the name of north wind in Cilycia<sup>18</sup>;

Ural. \*pɜkšɜ "hoarfrost": Komi *puž* "(hoar)frost", Komi-Permyak (manuscr. vocabularies from the XIXth century) *pužim* id.; Udm. *pužmer* "hoarfrost"; Mari *pokšim* "morning frost; hoarfrost"<sup>19</sup>;

Alt.: Mong.: WMong. *begere-* "to be chilled, to feel the cold"; Khalkha *bārä-* id.; in Inner Mongolia *bāräg* "chilly"<sup>20</sup>; Tung. *bäyī-* "to get frost-bitten": Evenki *bäyī-*, Even *bäi-/bäji-*, Neghidal *bäyī-*, Ulch *bäi-/bäji-*, Manchu *bäjä-*, Jurchen *péi* ("cold")<sup>21,22</sup>.

If Uralic and Altaic words belong together, then the reconstruction \*bagE is possible; if, however, Uralic and Indo-European words belong together, then the Nostratic form would be \*PakA.

- 1 Gluhak 1977:53, Kart. +IE+Ural. +ChK+?ND.
- 2 D'jakonov 1965:49.
- 3 Till 1978:48.
- 4 That the Afroasiatic data belongs to this nest, was suggested to me by Václav Blažek. He emphasized that AA *ḥ* of the word stays (instead of expected *ḥ* < Nostr. *q*) under the influence of AA \**ḥm* "to be sour, to be salty" (Hebr. *ḥāmēš* id.; Eg. *ḥmṣ* "salt"; Greenberg 1970:62), which word was compared with IE \*om- (and \*am-) "raw, bitter" (OI *amlá-* "sour"; Gr. *ōmós* "raw"; Lat. *amārus* "bitter"; Dutch *amper* "sharf, bitter"; Pokorny 1959:777-8; Sem. +IE f.e. in Bomhard 1981:439).
- 5 Klimov 1964:263, 266.
- 6 Meščaninov 1978:37-8.
- 7 Bokarev 1959:231, Hajdakov 1973:96.
- 8 Čop 1971:62-3. - L. G. Greenberg (1981:81-2) is of the opinion that IE \*e/om- cannot give Hitt. *ḥam-*. -- P. Poucha (1955:47-8) has Toch. A *oməl* < \**āmel-*; Toch. A (o)*məlsuneyā* instr. "calor, ardor, fervor", A *omlyi* id., B *emalya* id.
- 9 Pokorny 1959:35, with Tocharian examples (added to \**ām-er-* by A. J. Van Windekens).
- 10 Pfiffig 1969:289, TLE No. 805.
- 11 Illič-Svityč 1967:337 s. v. *goret' l*, IE+Ural.+Dr.
- 12 Illič-Svityč 1967:352 s. v. *ogoñ l*, IE+Alt.+Kart.+AA. Yenisei \**p<sup>h</sup>al* "hot", Verner 1977:8, Yen.+Nostr.

- 13 Čop 1971:22-3, Ural.+IE.
- 14 SSTMJa 1.47; Nostr. q gave regularly Alt. Ø-:
- 15 JaNSS 5.277, 338, 346.
- 16 Skorik 1958:22.
- 17 Pokorny 1959:787, under \*pǎk'-, \*pǎg'- "to fasten, to make firm".
- 18 Toporov 1972:44-5; he argued the connection between pag-"cold" and \*pǎg'- "to fasten, to make firm".
- 19 Lytkin-Guljaev 1970:231.
- 20 Todaeva 1981:130.
- 21 SSTMJa 1.119.
- 22 J. Rahder (1963:90-2) has, apart from Greek and Tunguz examples, these words: Karen (Kawnsawng) pye "cold", Karen byu-tu "ice", Tibetan (Lhasa) p'e "hoarfrost"; Kawitsin pei-wi "cold", Zapotec pi "to be cold", Popoluca payik "cold", Crow bî, biä "snow". It is possible that some of them are connected with \*bagE or "Pakλ.

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#### DVIJE NOSTRATIČKE ETIMOLOGIJE

U članku je proširena već ranije predložena etimologija nostr. \*qam<sup>^</sup> "suh, topao" i predložena je mogućnost rekonstrukcije nostr. \*baq<sup>E</sup> ili \*Pak<sup>^</sup> "hladan".