

## CLEAN

\****h<sub>1</sub>erh<sub>x</sub>*** ‘wash’. [Puhvel 1:116]. Hit *ārr(a)*- ~ *arriya*- ‘wash’, TochA *yār*- ‘wash’. The agreement of Anatolian and Tocharian would seem good evidence for PIE status for this word.

\****k<sub>1</sub>leu-*** ‘clean’. [IEW 607 (\**k<sub>1</sub>leu-*); Wat 31 (\**k<sub>1</sub>leu-*)]. OLat *cloāca* ‘gutter, sewer’ (although the Latin grammarians cited a verbal form *cluō* ‘clean’ as the basis of this form, the verbal form is not elsewhere attested), OE *hlūt(t)or* ‘pure’, OHG *hlūt(t)ar* ‘pure’, Goth (acc. pl.) *hlūtrans* ‘pure, clean’, Lith *šlúoju* ‘sweep’, Grk *κλύζω* ‘wash’. Although sometimes cited here, Wels *clir* ‘clean, bright’ is almost certainly an English loan. The distribution of cognates suggests that this word was at least known in the west and center of the IE world.

\****leuh<sub>3</sub>***- ‘wash, bathe’. [IEW 692 (\**lou-*); Wat 37 (\**leu(ə)-*); Gl 147 (\**loH<sup>o</sup>-*); Buck 9.36; BK 581 (\**law-añ-/ləw-añ-*)]. Lat *lavō* ‘wash, bathe’, Myc *re-wo-te-re-jo* ‘for bathing’, Grk *λούω* ‘wash’, Arm *loganam* ‘bathe, wash myself’. Although these forms correspond semantically, there are some phonological problems. Both the Mycenaean and Armenian forms point to *h<sub>3</sub>*; the nasal present exhibited in the Armenian word is purely an Armenian development.

\****m(e)uh<sub>x</sub>*** ‘wash (in urine?)’. [IEW 741 (\**meu-*)]. Mlr *mūn* ‘urine’, OPrus *aumūsnan* ‘wash’, Lith *māudyti* ‘bathe’, Latv *maudāt* ‘bathe’, *maūt* ‘submerge’, OCS *myjo* ‘wash’, Rus *myti* ‘wash’, Grk (Cypriot) *μυλάσασθαι* ‘wash oneself’, Av *mūθra*- ‘dirt’, Olnd *mūtra*- ‘urine’. Old Indic, Baltic and Slavic all point to \**muh<sub>x</sub>*. The Greek form is rather unclear (*u/ū?*; *λ* for *δ*, not < *δλ?*). The semantics is also difficult and may suggest an underlying meaning ‘wash’ developing into some stocks as ‘dirt’ rather than ‘wet’. Alternatively, the semantic development may possibly be related to the ritual practice of washing in cow’s urine which is attested in India. It might be noted that human urine was also employed by the Romans as a mouthwash (the ammonia brightened teeth) and urine was a regular component of mouthwashes and toothpastes up to the eighteenth century.

\****neig<sup>w</sup>***- ‘wash’. [IEW 761 (\**neig<sup>u</sup>-*); Wat 44 (\**neig<sup>w</sup>-*); Buck 9.36]. OIr *nigid* ‘washes’, ON *nykr* ‘water spirit’, OE *nicor* ‘water spirit’, NE *nix* ~ *nixie* ‘water sprite’, OHG *nihhus* ‘water spirit’, Grk *νίζω* ‘wash’, Av *naēnižaiti* ‘washes’, Olnd *nénekti* ‘washes’. Cf. also the derivative \**nig<sup>w</sup>tos* ‘washed, clean’: OIr *necht* ‘clean, pure’, Grk *ἄνιπτος* ‘un-washed’, Olnd *niktá*- ‘washed’. The Old Irish form points to a root in the shape

\**neig-* rather than \**neig*<sup>W</sup>-, and thus may not belong with this cognate set. Aside from this uncertainty, the root is reasonably well attested for PIE.

\****peuh*<sub>x</sub>** ‘clean (by straining or sieving)’. [IEW 827 (\**peu-*); Wat 51 (\**peuə-*)]. OHG *fowen* ‘sieve, clean grain’, OInd *paváyati* ‘cleanses, purifies’. Cf. also the various derivatives \**puh*<sub>x</sub>-*to-s* ‘cleaned’: Lat *putus* (with short -u- perhaps influenced by *putāre* ‘to prune, clean’) ‘clean’, Av *pūtika-* ‘serving as purification’, OInd *pūtá-* ‘clean’; \**puh*<sub>x</sub>-*ro-s* ‘clean’: Mlr *ūr* ‘new, fresh’, Wels *ir* ~ *iraid* ‘fresh, green’, Lat *pūrus* ‘pure, spotless’. The distribution of the root \**peuh*<sub>x</sub>- and its derivatives suggests solid reconstruction to PIE. Attempts to connect this root with \**puh*<sub>x</sub>- ‘fire’ (± ‘the purifier’) are highly speculative.

See also **PURE**. [M.N.; R.S.P.B.; D.Q.A.]

## EARTH

\***dhéǵhōm** ‘earth’. [IEW 414–415 (\*ǵhǵem-); Wat 14 (\*dhghem-); GI 720–721 (\*d<sup>h</sup>(e)ǵ<sup>h</sup>om-); Buck 1.21; BK 608 (\*dag-/\*dǵg-)]. OIr *dū* (gen. *don*) ‘place, spot’, Lat *humus* ‘earth’, OPrus *semme* ‘earth’, Lith *žėmė* ‘earth’, Latv *zeme* ‘earth’, OCS *zemlja* ‘earth’, Alb *dhe* (< \*dhghem-) ‘earth’, Grk *χθών* ‘earth’, Phryg *ζεμελω* ‘man’ or ‘earthly’, Hit *tēkan*, *taknas* ‘earth’, Av *zā*, *zəm-* ‘earth’, OInd *kṣā*, *kṣam-* (gen. *jimāḥ*) ‘earth’, TochA *tkam* ‘earth’, TochB *kem*. The PIE word for ‘earth’. The extension of this root to denote human beings, seen in the Phrygian example above, has many other parallels, e.g., OIr *duine* ‘person’, Wels *dyn* ‘person’, Lat *homō* ‘man’, Lith *žmuo* ‘person’. The derivation has been variously explained as ‘human’ < \*‘being who lives on the earth’ or the belief that humans were created from the earth although here one might have expected a derivation from one of the words for ‘dirt’, ‘clay’ or, finally, the concept of ‘man’ as a microcosm of the earth, cf. creation myths involving the carving up of a giant to form the various parts of the landscape.

\***h<sub>1</sub>er-** ‘earth’. [IEW 332 (\*er-); Wat 17 (\*er-); Buck 1.21; BK 419 (\*ar-/\*ǵr-)]. ON *jǫrð* ‘earth’, OE *eorðe* ‘ground’ (> NE *earth*), OHG *erda* ‘earth’, *ero* (< \*erā) ‘earth’, Goth *airþa* (Gmc < \*ertā) ‘earth’, Grk *ἐρᾶ* ‘earth’. Perhaps also Wels *erw* ‘field’ although it may derive from the root for ‘plow’ (< \*h<sub>2</sub>erh<sub>3</sub>-u-ī). Uncertain is Lith *ėrdvė* ‘place’, cf. *árdvas*, *aĩrdvas*, *eĩrdvas*, *eĩrtas* ‘wide’. Possibly a late dialectal term of the west and center of the IE world.

See also COSMOLOGY; EARTH GODDESS; GROUND; MAN.

[R.S.P.B.]

## FOAM

**\*spoh<sub>x</sub>i-no/eh<sub>a</sub>-** ‘foam’. [IEW 1001 (*\*(s)poimno-*); Wat 64 (*\*(s)poi-mo-*)]. Lat *spūma* ‘foam’, *pūmex* ‘pumice-stone’, OE *fām* ‘foam’ (> NE *foam*), OHG *feim* ‘foam’, OPrus *spoayno* (< *\*spainā*) ‘foam (of beer)’, Lith *spáinė* ‘foam (of beer)’, OCS *pěna* ‘foam’, SC *(s)pjěna* ‘foam’, Sogd *pym’kh* ‘foam’, Oss *fink* ~ *finkæ* (< *\*fina-kā-*) ‘foam’, OInd *phéna-* (*sphéna-*) ‘foam’. The reconstruction is uncertain in many details. The alteration between *\*-m-* and *\*-n-* in the cognate forms is due to assimilation rather than an original *\*-mn-*. If Av *spāma-* ‘spittle, slime’ belongs here, then the underlying form would be *\*spoh<sub>x</sub>mos*. The Baltic and Slavic forms with acute accent require a laryngeal. The word may originally derive from a root *\*speh<sub>x</sub>i-* ‘to spit’. The Indo-Iranian *\*ph* was generalized from *\*ph<sub>x</sub>i-* in other forms. Despite problems of detail, this does appear to be the PIE word for ‘foam’.

See also SMOKE; WET. [R.S.P.B.]



## GROUND

**\*bhudhnó-** 'bottom' > 'ground, depth, foot, root'. [IEW 174 (\*bhudh-m(e)n); Wat 10 (\*bhudh-); Buck 12.34]. Mlr *bonn* 'sole of foot', Lat *fundus* 'bottom, piece of land', ON *botn* 'bottom', OE *botm* 'bottom' (> NE *bottom*), OHG *bodam* 'bottom', Grk *πυθμήν* 'bottom, depth, root', *πύνδαξ* 'bottom, depth', Av *būna-* (< \*bundna-?) 'bottom, ground, depth', OInd *budhná-* 'bottom, foot, root'. Arm *bun* is a loanword from Iranian, as is Mari *pundaš*, which points to \*bund(n)a-. Later Indian languages also have -nd(h)-, e.g., Prakrit *bundha-*. The relation between the two Greek forms must be first established as they clearly have the same base and exactly the same meaning. Grk -vδ- cannot be from \*-ndh-. (The argument that the place-name Πύδνα proves Macedonian origin for δ < \*dh is incorrect as the name Ιεράπυτιδνα = -πετρᾶ on Crete indicates that the word was not Macedonian but a pre-Greek word probably meaning 'rock'). The old explanation that -no- < -mno- seems both unnecessary and improbable as all languages would have reduced -mno- independently (as Greek still retains the original form). The development \*-dhn- > \*ndh(n)- is quite understandable. The Germanic alternation of dentals is due to Kluge's Law (Cn > pp, tt, kk); the Germanic m is secondary. The original meaning in PIE seems to be 'bottom', i.e., 'the (flat) base of a hollow object or space'; the meaning 'ground', which is not found in Greek, is secondary.

**\*telh<sub>x</sub>-om ~ \*t<sub>l</sub>h<sub>x</sub>-om?** 'floor (of planks)?' [IEW 1061 (\*tel-); Wat 69 (\*tel-); Buck 1.21]. OIr *talam* (gen. *talman*) (< \*telh<sub>x</sub>-mon-?) 'earth, ground', Lat *tellūs* (gen.) *tellūris* 'earth', *meditullium* (< \*-toll-i-) 'inland, middle', ON *pel* 'ground', *pil(i)* 'plank, wall of planks', OE *pel* 'floor', *pille* 'plank of a floor', OHG *dil(o)* 'plank', OPrus *talus* 'floor of room', Lith *tilės* (< \*t<sub>l</sub>h<sub>x</sub>-) (pl.) 'planks at the bottom of a ship', Latv *tilandi* 'planks at the bottom of a ship', ORus *tīlo* (< \*t<sub>l</sub>h<sub>x</sub>-o-) 'bottom', Rus *tlo* 'bottom', OInd *tala-* 'surface, bottom'. The Germanic, Baltic and Slavic forms appear to belong together; PIE status depends largely on the validity of the Old Indic cognate. The relation between 'planks' and 'floor' remains uncertain as well as other possible cognates, e.g., OCS *steljo* 'spread out (bed, roof)'; Grk *τηλία* 'playing table' should be rejected since a lengthened grade is most improbable and the underlying meaning may derive from 'sieve'. Connection with the PIE root \*(s)telh<sub>x</sub>- 'flat' is likewise uncertain.

**\*dhgh(e)men ~ \*dhghmeh<sub>a</sub>(-i)?** 'on(to) the ground'. [IEW 414 (\*ghōem-); BK 81 (\*diq<sup>[h]</sup>-/\*deq<sup>[h]</sup>-)]. Lat *humī* (<

\**g<sup>h</sup>om-*) ‘on the ground’, OPrus *semmai* ‘down’, Lith *žemai* ‘low, below, underneath’, Grk *χαμαί* (< \**dhgh<sub>m</sub>meh<sub>a</sub>i*?) ‘on the ground’, OInd *jmán* ‘on the ground’, *kṣamā* ‘on the ground’. Adverbs derived from \**dh̑ghem-* ‘earth’ are much debated. The form in *-en* is supposed to be \**h<sub>1</sub>en* ‘in’; the word for ‘man’, \**dh̑ghemōn* (Lat *homō* < *hemō*, etc.), is supposed to be derived from this adverb. The Latin form is a normal locative from *humus*, the Baltic is a normal adverb in \**-ai̯* < \**-oi*. Grk *χαμαί* is now suggested to contain a locative suffix \**-eh<sub>2</sub>(-i)* from a Lindeman variant \**dhgh<sub>m</sub>-*. OInd *kṣamā* might be a similar formation.

The wide semantic field of \**bhudhnó-* which ranges from ‘ground’ to ‘wooden stand’, etc., was pressed by W. Porzig to suggest that the various meanings could be best explained by presuming an original IE environment that involved marshy land and settlement raised on timber supports, in short, the so-called Swiss “lake-dwellings”, actually lake-side dwellings, where houses were raised above the wet ground on wooden piles. Even Porzig saw that this was hardly evidence to erect a new homeland solution which archaeologically would be regarded as fantastic and linguistically without compelling evidence.

See also **EARTH**; **HOUSE**. [R.S.P.B.]

### Further Readings

- Hajnal, I. (1992) Griechisch *χαμαί* – ein Problem der Rekonstruktion? *Rekonstruktion und relative Chronologie, Akten d. VIII Fachtagung der Idg. Gesellschaft*, ed. R. S. P. Beekes, Innsbruck, 207–220.
- Porzig, W. (1933) Boden. *Wörter und Sachen* 15, 112–133.

## HILL

**\*bherġh-** ~ **\*bhṛġh-** 'high; hill, mountain'. [*IEW* 140–141 (*\*bhereġh-*); *Wat* 8 (*\*bhergh-*); *Gl* 576–577 (*\*b<sup>h</sup>(e)rġh<sup>h</sup>-*); *Buck* 1.22; *BK* 19 (*\*bur-g<sup>y</sup>-*/*\*bor-g<sup>y</sup>-*)]. *MLr* *brī* (gen. *brega*) (< *\*bhṛġh-*) 'hill', *Wels* *bre* 'hill', *Gaul* *-briga* (*\*bhṛġh-ā*) 'hill', *ON* *bjarg* ~ *berg* 'mountain', *OE* *beorg* 'mountain', *OHG* *berg* 'mountain', *Goth* *baírgahei* (< *\*berga-*) 'mountainous region', *OCS* *brěgŭ* 'riverbank', *Rus* *béreg* 'riverbank' (Slavic with problematic *-g*), *Arm* *erkna-berj* 'sky-high', *Av* *bərəz-* (nom. *barš* < *\*bh(e)rġh-*) 'high; hill, mountain', *Oss* *bærzond* 'high, mountain'. The PIE word for 'high', 'hill' or 'mountain'.

**\*kolh<sub>x</sub>-ōn ~ \*k<sub>l</sub>h<sub>x</sub>-n-ós** 'hill'. [IEW 544 (\*kel-); Wat 28 (\*kel-); Gl 577 (\*k<sup>h</sup>el-); Buck 1.22]. Lat *collis* (with early loss of laryngeal) 'hill', OE *hyll* (< \*huln-i- < \*k<sub>l</sub>h<sub>x</sub>ni-) 'hill', MDutch *hil(le)*, *hulle* 'hill' (ON *holmr*, *holmi* 'island', OE *holm* 'wave, sea, island', OS *holm* 'hill'), Lith *kálnas* 'mountain', *kalvą* 'hill', Latv *kalns* 'mountain', *kalva* 'hill, river island', Grk *κολώνη*, *κολωνός* 'hill'. Uncertain is ON *hallr*, OE *heall* (> NE *hall*), Goth *hallus* (< \*kolh<sub>x</sub>n-u-) 'rock'. Lat *columen* 'top' is from \*kelamen < \*kelh<sub>x</sub>-m̥ (with syncope *culmen*). Very doubtful is Hit *kalmara-* 'mountain'. From \*kelh<sub>x</sub>- 'project, tower up'. With Baltic, Germanic and Greek from one paradigm, this is certainly the PIE word for 'hill'.

**\*g<sup>w</sup>orh<sub>x</sub>- ~ \*g<sup>w</sup>ṛh<sub>x</sub>-** 'mountain; mountain forest'. [IEW 477-478 (\*g<sup>u</sup>er-); Wat 25 (\*g<sup>w</sup>erə-); Gl 574 (\*Hk<sup>o</sup>r-i-); Buck 1.22; BK 363 (\*q<sup>w</sup>ur-/q<sup>w</sup>or-)]. OPrus *garian* (< \*g<sup>w</sup>orh<sub>x</sub>-) 'tree', Lith *girià* (fem. *girė*) (< \*g<sup>w</sup>ṛh<sub>x</sub>-) 'forest', Latv *dziņa* ~ *dzirē* 'forest', OCS *gora* 'mountain', Rus *gorá* 'mountain', Alb *gur* (< \*g<sup>w</sup>ṛh<sub>x</sub>-) 'rock, stone', Av *gairi-* 'mountain', OInd *giri-* 'mountain' (Indo-Iran \*g<sup>w</sup>ṛh<sub>x</sub>-i-?). PIE had a root noun, probably \*g<sup>w</sup>órh<sub>x</sub>-s (gen. \*g<sup>w</sup>ṛh<sub>x</sub>-ós). Perhaps the Indo-Iran *i*-stem originated in the nom. \*gāris (< \*g<sup>w</sup>orh<sub>x</sub>s). Grk *βορέας* 'northwind' is uncertain here as well as Grk (Hesychius) *δεῖρος* 'hill' which is secondarily derived from a compound. The semantic shift to 'forest' in Baltic is not uncommon as forests tend to be associated with mountainous regions and parallel developments have been observed in other languages and language families.

**?\*men-** 'mountain'. [IEW 726 (\*m̥n-t-); Wat 41 (\*men-); Gl 574 (\*m(e)n-t<sup>h</sup>-); Buck 1.22; BK 533 (\*mun-/mon-)]. Wels *mynydd* (< \*monjo-) 'mountain', Lat *mōns* (gen. *montis*) (< \*mon-ti-) 'mountain', Av *mati* (< \*m̥n-ti-) '(mountain) height'. These are all probably independent derivatives from a word for 'neck' which itself derives from \*men- 'project, stick out'.

The existence of multiple words for mountains has been employed by Gl to demonstrate that the earliest Indo-Europeans lived in a mountainous region (cf. also words for 'cloud', 'thunderstorm', etc.), specifically the highlands of the south Caucasus and Armenia. Such conclusions are ingenuous in the extreme as possession of a virtually universal conceptual category can hardly have any bearing on the specific location of a population and there is nowhere in Eurasia where one could set the Proto-Indo-Europeans where they could be expected to have never encountered a mountain or hill.

See also **HIGH**; **HIGH-ONE**; **PEAK**. [R.S.P.B.]

## RIVER

**\*h<sub>2</sub>eb(h)-** ‘river’. [IEW 1 (\*ab-); Gl 578 (\*Hap<sup>h</sup>-); Buck 1.36]. OIr *ab* (gen.) *abae* (< \*abā) ‘river’, Wels *afon* ‘river’, OBrit *Αβος* name of Humber in Ptolemy’s *Geography*, Lat *amnis* ‘river’, Hit *hapa-* ‘river’, Palaic *hāpnas* ‘river’, Luv *hāpa/i-* ‘river’. That the Anatolian words belong here cannot be regarded as certain. Germanic river names in *-apa* (e.g., OHG *-affa*) are too uncertain as evidence for PIE and may rather be non-IE; similarly Latv *Abava* (river name). Nor does this set include OInd *āp-* ‘water’ which is formally and semantically different. The word may be little more than an Italic-Celtic isogloss with some possibility of greater antiquity.

**\*deh<sub>a</sub>nu-** ‘river’. [IEW 175 (\*dānu-); BK 83 (\*dan-/ \*dən-)]. Wels *Donwy* (< \*Dāne/oujos) (river name), Celt (in Lat) *Dānuvius* ‘Danube’, Av *dānu-* ‘river’, Oss *don* ‘river’ (whence the name of the river Don and element in Dnieper, Dniester, Donets), OInd *dānu* ‘drops’ or ‘gift’. Another possibility is that we have *\*dhōnu-* (with difficult lengthened grade) ‘river’ represented by the Celtic and Iranian words and that this is a derivative of *\*dhen-* ‘flow’ otherwise seen in OPers *danuvatiy* ‘flows’, OInd *dhānvati* ‘moves fast, rushes’, TochAB *tsān-* ‘flow’ with other derivatives in Lat *fōns* ‘spring’ and TochB *tseñe* ‘stream’. The latter proposal’s distribution of forms more strongly suggests PIE status.

**\*dreu<sub>entih</sub>₂** (river name) [IEW 205 (\*dru<sub>ent-</sub>-)]. Gaul *Druentia* (river name), WRus *Drywiaty* (lake name), OInd *Dravantī* (river name). From *\*dreu-* ‘run’ suggesting the ‘running’, apparently an epithet applied to river names.

**\*sreu-men- ~ \*srou-mos** ‘flowing, streaming (in river names)’. [IEW 1003 (\*sreu-men-); Wat 64 (\*sreu-); Buck 1.36]. OIr *sruaim* ‘river’, ON *straumr* ‘stream’, OE *strēam* ‘stream’ (> NE *stream*), OHG *stroum* ‘stream’ (< Gmc *\*strauma-*), Lith *sr(i)aumuō* ‘rapid flowing’, Latv *strāume* ‘rapid flowing’, Rus *strúmenī* ‘brook’, Thracian *Στρυμῶν* (river name), Grk *ῥεῦμα* ‘flow, river’. These words are derived from *\*sreu-* ‘flow’ and indicate ‘(the act of) flowing, streaming’ which has only secondarily been taken up in several languages to indicate ‘stream, river’.

**?\*adu-** ‘river’. [IEW 4 (\*ad(u)-)]. Venetic *Adua* (river

name), Germ *Attel* (river name), Latv *Adula* (river name), Thracian *Atlas* (river name), Av *aδu* 'canal', OPers *Adukanaiša*- (? name of a month). This entire set is constructed from river names whose mutual connection is much too uncertain to demand a common IE root; it should be rejected.

?\**ak<sup>w</sup>elieh<sub>a</sub>* 'river'. [Del 178]. Lat *Aquilō* (river name), Lith *Akėlė* (river name), Thracian *Ἀχελον* (river name). To be rejected for the reasons set out above.

?\**alontoseh<sub>a</sub>* 'river'. [Del 178]. Italian *Alento* (river name), Germ *Elz* (river name), Lith *Alantà* (river name), Dacian *Ἀλούτας* (river name), Iran *Alanta* (river name). To be rejected for the reasons set out above.

?\**nedih<sub>a</sub>*- 'river?' [IEW 759 (\**ned*-); BK 556 (\**nat*'-/ \**nət*-)]. OInd *nadī*- 'river'. Other river names such as Grk *Νέδα* in Arcadia, *Νέδων* in Messenia are probably non-IE rather than Illyrian while connections with names such as Thracian *Νέστος* (river name) and NHG *Nette* is no more than a guess. The posited underlying root \**ned*- 'roar', thus the 'roaring (one)', is limited to OInd *nādati* 'it roars', hence this word may have been an epithet for naming a river but such a conclusion is hardly required.

?\**h<sub>3</sub>eust-(i)o-* 'estuary, river mouth'. [IEW 785 (\**ōus*-); Wat 46 (\**ōs*-); Gl 714 (\**ois*-/\**oHs*-/\**ous*-*t<sup>h</sup>*-)]. Lat *ōstium* 'mouth of river', Lith *uostas* ~ *uostà* 'river mouth, harbor', Latv *uosts* ~ *uosta* 'harbor', Rus *ústīje* ~ *ustī* 'river mouth'. The analysis here is quite problematic. The Baltic and Slavic words cannot be derived from the word for 'mouth' found in OInd *ās*- 'mouth' but they can be cognate with OInd *ōṣṭha*- 'lip' through a nominative plural (e.g., OCS *usta* 'mouth' < 'lips'), which gives a root \**ous*-. Baltic *uo*- is unclear as is the acute accent in Lithuanian. The Latin word may continue \**ous*- or be derived from *ōs* 'mouth' although in the latter case it would not be cognate with the words in Baltic and Slavic. A late dialectal term in some European stocks.

See also FLOW; RIVER GODDESS; RUN. [R.S.P.B.]

## SMOKE

**\**dhuh<sub>2</sub>mós*** ‘smoke’. [IEW 261 (*\*dhū-mo-*); Wat 14 (*\*dheu-*); GI 388 (*\*d<sup>h</sup>eu-H/s-*); Buck 1.83]. Lat *fūmus* ‘smoke’, OPrus *dumis* ‘smoke’, Lith (pl.) *dūmai* ‘smoke’, Latv (pl.) *dūmi* ‘smoke’, OCS *dymŭ* ‘smoke’, Grk *θυμός* ‘spirit’, OInd *dhūmá-* ‘smoke’. OHG *toum* (< *\*dhouh<sub>2</sub>mo-*) ‘steam’ may be cognate but not Mlr *dumach* ‘sandbank, heap, mass, clouds, mist’. The word is clearly PIE and derives from *\*dheuh<sub>2</sub>-* with a meaning difficult to establish, perhaps something like ‘be in (com)motion, smoke’. The same root lies behind Hit *tuhhā(i)-* ‘cough’.

**\**k<sup>w</sup>h<sub>a</sub>uēp-*** or **\**k<sup>(w)</sup>uh<sub>a</sub>p-*** ‘smoke, seethe’. [IEW 596 (*\*kūēp-*); Wat 34 (*\*k<sup>w</sup>ēp-*); Buck 1.83; Schrijver 260]. Lat *vapor* ‘steam’, Lith *kūpu* ‘boil, seethe’, *kvēpti* (with *ē*) ‘breathe, cough’, *kvāpas* ‘breath’, Latv *kūpēt* ‘smoke, steam’, OCS *kypěti* ‘seethe’, Alb *kapitem* ‘am tired, exhausted’, Grk *καπνός* (< *\*kuh<sub>a</sub>ep-*) ‘smoke’. The second root form *\*k<sup>(w)</sup>uh<sub>a</sub>p-* assumes metathesis, secondary *\*k<sup>(w)</sup>h<sub>a</sub>ep-* > *kūap-* hence: Lat *vap-* and Grk *\*kh<sub>a</sub>uēp-* or *\*kuh<sub>a</sub>ep-* > *\*kh<sub>a</sub>ep-*; with b-variant, or rather *-bn-* > *-pn-*: Goth *af-hvapjan* ~ *af-hvapnan* ‘choke’. To be rejected here are: OIr *ad-cobra* ‘want’, Lat *cupiō* ‘wish, desire’, OInd *kopāyati* ‘makes tremble, shake’. Perhaps a late IE term in Europe.

**\**(s)m(e)ug(h)-*** ‘smoke’. [IEW 971 (*\*(s)meukh-*); Wat 62 (*\*smeug-*); Buck 1.83]. OIr *mūch* (with *ū*) ‘smoke’, Wels *mwg* (with *ŭ*) ‘smoke’, OE *smoca* (< *\*smug-on-*), *smēocan* (< *\*smeug-*) ‘smoke’ (> NE *smoke*), Grk *σμύχω* ‘burn in

moldering fire', Arm *mux* (< *\*(s)mukho-*) 'smoke'. The root vowel was *\*eu/u* with the long *ū* unexplained; the Arm *x* is also unclear. At least a word of the west and center of the IE world.

*See also* **BURN**; **FIRE**. [R.S.P.B.]

### *Further Readings*

Roider, U. (1981) Griech *θυμός* 'Mut'—ai *dhūmāḥ* 'Rauch'. *KZ* 95, 98–109.

Schrijver, P. (1991) *The Reflexes of the PIE Laryngeals in Latin*. Leiden, Rodopi.