

161. *bA, adjectival pc. forming compound (> derived) names of quality bearers, nomina possessoris, animal names, ꝑ N ***k.ULV bA** 'dog\wolf, whelp' and ***yoarV(-bA)** 'firm, strong, hard' > **HS**: S ***-b-**, sx. of animal names, e.g. (1) S ***θaflab-** 'fox' (Ar **θaflab-**, Ak **s'e'lebum id.**), cp. without the sx. CS ***θu'fal-** 'fox' > BHB **loluS s'u'fa' id.**, (2) S ***ʔarnab-** 'hare', (3) S ***ʔak.rab-** 'scorpion', (4) S ***'kalab-og'** (< N ***K.ULV bA** '↑') || B ***-gu'ləβ-** (or ***gu'ləH-**) > Ah **ag'u'ləh** 'male wolf' [< N ***gUhLE bA** with ***gUhLE** 'small carnivorous animal (jackal, [young] wolf, whelp)'] ¶ Fc. 429, Pr. H #95 || **IE**: NaIE ***-bʰo-**, [1] sx. of animal names, e. g., Gk **ῥελαφοῖ** 'deer' < IE ***eln_o-bʰo-** < N ***ʔEl̥i nu bA** (IS I 272 [#135], Ch. 333-4, F I 483-4), OI **s'alabhas** 'grasshopper' (cf. **s'ala-** 'go, hurry' [?], see M K III 312-3); Gk **ῥεριφοῖ** 'chevreau, chevette' (Ch. 372, F I 560), [2] sx. of adjectives: OI **vr_os.a-bha-** 'männlich [v. Mann, Stier]' (cf. OI **vr_os.an-** 'male'), Lt {BD} **anksty'bas** 'early (e.g. of vegetables)' (cf. **anksti** 'early') ¶ BD II/1 386-90, Brg. KVG 331, ▢ Hirt IG III 224, IS I 193, M K III 251, M E II 575-6 || **K** ***-b-** in ***ʔ₃₅'yarb-** 'hedgehog' < N ***ʔaIVRV** 'hedgehog' (q.v. ffd.) + ***bA II U** ***-pa-** (< ***#pa-**?), sx. of nomina possessoris, names (nouns and djectives) of quality bearers, incl. animal names, e.g. [1] U ***ora-pa-** (< ***ora pa-**) 'squirrel' > F **orava**, Es **orav**, **oravas** (gen. **orava**) **id.**, pLp {Lr.} ***ṣ're-v** > Lp: N {N} **oar're-rr-**, Pa {TI} **vu'a'ṣ'rrev**, T {TI} **v'ia,rrrev**, Kld {SaR} **bypppeb**, {TI} **v'uaṛrev id.** || Sm: Sayan Samoyed ("stirpis monticulis sajanensibus") {Pl.} **orop** 'squirrel' (Pl. Z I 187), cp. U ***ura-** 'squirrel' > Mr, Chr, Z, Vt **ur id.** || Y {IN} **-bə** is a sx. of animal names: Y **K poŋ'u-bə** 'capercaillie' (< d **pY **poŋ-** < N ***P_iigu - *P_u"ḡE** '∈ bird', q.v.) || [2] Os **K {PD}** **kəṛəp** 'woodpecker' || [3] Vg **-p(a'')** **-ig'**, e. g. ...**samp(a'')** 'having such and such eyes' (**sam'eye'**) || [4] Os ***-əp'-ig'** (> Os **V/Vy -əw**, Os **Ty/D/I/Nz/Sh/Kz/O -əp**), e. g. Os **V/Vy ko'ṣ'lawtəw** 'mit dichtem Haar' ('dicht-haar-ig'), Os **Ty qoṣ'w optəp ko**, Os **D xo'w uptəp ikə** 'langhaariger Mann' ¶¶ Lh. PUAS 241-9, Gy. WBU 19ff., Coll. CG 263, UEW 343, TI 773, Sauer NBO 57-62, IN 243 || **A** ***-ba/*-ba'** > Tg: **WrMc -ba / -be**, sx. of quality adjectives used for persons: **sere-be** 'umsichtig, behutsam' (from **sere-** 'fühlen, empfinden'), **kice-be** 'fleißig, emsig' (from **kice-** 'sich anstrengen, erstreben'), **olxo-ba** 'aufmerksam, vorsichtig, behutsam' (from **olxo-** 'scheuen'), **ongo-ba** 'forgetful' (from **ongo-v.** 'forget'), **xaḫi-ba** 'agile, prompt (der schnell arbeitet)' [of a person] (from **xaḫi** 'quick'), as well as the final element of some Tg animal names, e.g. ***ko'rbe** 'male reindeer' (ꝑ N ***korE** ▢ '∈ deer, antelope') ¶¶ Rm. EAS II 240-1 (*unc.* hyp.: the **Mc** sx. < **b** **Ko paŋ < b** **Chn**), Hr. 585, 733, 738, 784, Z 382-3 ♦ It is possible that N ***bA** is a grammaticalized and contracted var. of N ***beʔyV** ▢ 'body, self' (q.v. ffd.); this original meaning may be responsible for structures with internal genitive ***nu**, e.g. IE ***eln_o-bʰo-s** 'deer' < N ***ʔili nu bA**, lit. 'deer's ***bV**' < 'deer's body'??) ♦ IS I 192-3 [#27]: IE, HS (? ***bA**, sx. in the names of wild animals).

162. ₂ *bV pc. forming compound (→ derived) nomina abstracta > **IE**: NaIE ***-bʰo-s**, ***-bʰa'** sx. of abstract nouns (× N ***baXyV - *baXi** 'abundant' [q.v.] × [?] N ***begV** 'much') > Lt **tiky'ba** 'faith' (< **tike'ti** 'believe'), **senybe'** ~ **† seno'be'** 'antiquity' (< **senas** 'old'), Pru **pagonbe** 'heathenism', OCS **тѣтъба** **tat'ba** 'theft' (< **тѣтъ** **tat'ba** 'thief'), **дружѣба** **druz'ba** 'friendship', **сѣтъба** **se'tba** 'sowing' (n. act.), Gk **φλη'ναφοῖ** 'idle talk' (cp. **φλη'νοῖ id.** and **φλη'νω v.** 'chatter, babble'), **κο'λαφοῖ** 'a buffet' (derived from an unattested v.?) ¶ BD II/1 386-9, En. 218 || **K**: [1] GZ ***-eba ~ *-oba**, sx. of abstract nouns > OG **-eb-a ~ -ob-a id.**: **orgul-eba-y** 'falsity', **ymrt-eba-y** 'divinity', **sam-eba-y** 'trinity', **ert-oba-y** 'Einheit', etc., Mg **-apa**, sx. of nomina actionis (masdar): **ryv-apa** 'pouring' (n. act.), 'to pour', **ckv-apa** 'praise' (n.), 'to raise'; [2] GZ ***-eb-**, sx. of plural (< n. coll.) > OG, G **-eb-**, Mg **-ep-**, Lz **-(e)pe**; [3] GZ ***-eb-**, sx. of the presentic (imperfective) tenses > OG **-eb-** (**odes igi a3ov-eb-da** 'while he was grazing'), G **-eb-**, Mg **-ap-**, Lz **-ap-**; the latter sx. is likely to go back to that of nomina actionis, because the presentic tenses must go back to paraphrastic constructions with deverbal abstract nouns ¶ Fn. GAS 50-1, Q 093, K 78, K² 48, Dn. DSM 43-66.

163. ₂ *baʔo - *boʔa 'to go' > **HS** ***baʔ-** (Blz.: ***bayʔ-**) v. 'go' > S ***-baʔ-** v. 'come' > BHB **ip. -a&b- -boʔ-**: 3m **a&bi!** **ya'-'b_o'** 'he will come, comes', 3p **ya'-'b_o'ʔ-u'** 'they [will] come', inv. **a&B boʔ**, pf. **aB1 ba'** 'he came', Ph, Pun **bʔ v.** 'come', Ug {OLS} **ʔbʔ** 'enter, come, arrive', Ar pf. **baʔa / ip. ya-buʔ-u** (with **u'** on the analogy of Cu'C-verbs) 'come back, return', {Nld.} **baʔa** 'he\it entered' ([Hudh.] **baʔa bi-kaffi** 'es kam in meine Hand'), Sb **ip. ybʔ v.** 'trespass over', pf. **bhʔ v.** 'enter' (with secondary **h**), Gz (prm.) **-baʔ-** (js. **yə-baʔ**) v. 'enter' (pf. **boʔa** on the analogy of Cu'C-verbs), Ak p. **-baʔ(-)** (3s **i-baʔ**), inf. **baʔu v.** 'come in, walk along' ¶ KB 108-110, HJ 146, Nld. rDelP 726, OLS 98-9, L G 114-5, BGMR 27, 33, Sd.

117, CAD II 178-182 || C {AD} *ba?- v. 'go (away)' > Bj {R} √by pcv. 'go' (1s: p. a'ba-y ~ a'be-, pqp̄f. ībe-, prs. 'e-bī), Bj Am {AD} p. -bi(y)- v. 'go', prs. -e'bi, imv. 'baya || EC: Or {Grg.} baʔa 'go away, go out', Brj {Ss.} ba- v. 'go out, go up' (< EC *baʔ- × EC *bah- [> Af bah-it- 'lose all the animals', Sml bah-, Arr {Hw.} beh- 'go out']), Sd {C} ba- v. 'go away', Hd Lb {Bnd.} baʔe v. 'go', √ Af {R} ba- v. 'go away', ? Af {PH} o'be v. 'go down' || DhI {To.} bayo'ni 'let us go!', {EEN} b,ay- or bay- 'go home' ¶ Grg. 23, PH 177, Hw. A 347, ≠ AD SF 318-9, Ss. B 30-1 (both reconstruct *bah-), To. D 151, EEN 33 || Om *b- v. 'go' > SOM: Dm {Fl.} bi / bīd, v. 'go' || NrOm: Wl {LmS} b-, Zl {C} ba- v. 'go', Bsk {C} ba- 'go out' ¶ Fl. OO 318, LmS 311, C SE III 114 || Ch: WCh: Su {J} ba- v. 'return, go away', ? Ang {Flk.} be- v. 'return' || Dr bi v. 'go away' || NrBc {Sk.}: Kry, My, Mbr, Jmb ba- v. 'go', Cg bə-, as well as probably Cg, Kry, My bo- v. 'go out', Sir be-, Mbr ba- v. 'go out' (Stl. (ZCh 157 [#108]) reconstructs here WCh *mH-baw v. 'return' and equates it with Ar √bwʔ, which she prefers to interpret as v. 'return') || CCh: Tr {Nw.}, Pdl {ChL} b,a 'come' || BM {ChL}: Kl̄b bi'ya', Hld bi'yə'r/bi'yə'rī v. 'go', Mrg ba v. 'go out' || McMtk: Gzg D {Lk.} be v. 'go out', MfG {Brr.} -b- || McMs: LamP pa, Zm {J} pa', ZmD {KNC} pa- v. 'go out' || ECh: Mu {J} b,o'w / b,a- v. 'go, go away', Skr {Lk.} ba-, be-, {Sx.} b,e'y v. 'go' ¶ JI II 162-5, ChC, ChL, J S 58, Lk. ZSS 30-1, KNC 20 || D *po- ({{GS} *p-) v. 'go' > Tm po-, Ml po-ka, Tu po-pini v. 'go, go away', Td prx-/pr-, Kdg po-, Tl po-vu / po- / po-y- v. 'go', Kn po- 'going, departing', Knd, Png po-k-, Mnd pu-k- v. 'send' ¶ D #4572, Zv. 64, 86, ≠ Km. 443 [#892] (pSD *po-, *po-k-a < *poku).

164. ?? √ *buʔv 'to swell, blow' > HS: CS √bʔwʔy (≠ √bywʔy?) v. 'swell' > BHb eob √bʔwʔy G (ip. 3f eo3b6T5 ti-b.'ʔe-) 'bring to the boil (water)' (of fire), JA [Trg.] io4B6 bə'ʔe- 'Aufschwellung' (in metaphorical usage: rmwt 'yyny wb'y lb? 'Hochmut [elevation of heart] und Aufschwellung des Herzens) ¶ KB 136 [the Hb √ is equated with Ar √byw, which is translated as 'anschwellen (Wunde)', while its real meaning is {BK} 'dépasser/excéder les limites, sortir des bornes'], KBR 141, Lv. T I 106, BK I 147 || K *bu(w)- > G Kx bu(v)- 'aufschütteln (z. B. Kissen)', (ps.) 'aufgeschüttelt w. (Kissen), an-, aufschwellen, sich aufblähen, aufplustern' ¶ Chx. 115 || IE: NaIE *bʰo-u- / bʰəu- v. 'blow' > Gk I φω δεῖ, Gk A φῶδεῖ 'blister from burning', Gk φαν̄σινγξ, φαν̄σινγξ id., Gk φῶσα 'a wind, blast, wind in the stomach' ('Hauch, Blase'), pl. 'a pair of bellows' ¶ P 98-9, F II 1055, 1057, ≠ Ch. 1183, 1236, F II 998, 1055-7.

165. √ *bicv ~ *bicv 'small, little' > HS: S: either: [1] S *√bc.c. ~ *bc.w > Ar √bs.s 'donner fort peu de qch. à qu.', bas-w-at- 'parcelle' (ma- fī-l-ma-di bas, wa'il n'y a pas une étincelle, un brin de feu dans les cendres) or [2] S *√bs.s^ > Ar baḍḍ.s^ 'petite quantité'; there is also a CS root √bc.r v. 'be(come) small', but it either goes back to or is contaminated with S *√bc.r v. 'cut off' (< N *bVc. √VJRV 'to cut', q.v. ffd.) ¶ BK I 131, 133, Lv. I 252, Br. 86, DM 68, KB 122 || U: FP *pic'c'v 'small, tiny' > Krl pic'uk'ai-ni 'tiny', Vp S pic'u 'small', Es pisikene, pisune id., with a suffix -k-: F pisku, Vp pisk 'small' || Vt пичи pic'i 'small, little' ¶ SK 578, LG 226 || A *bicv > NaT biḡa- 'small, little' > OT bic'a- id., Tv биче pīc'e 'small, smaller', Tf pīc'c'e 'small', ET pis'a- 'a little, ein wenig' ¶ DTS 98, Ra. 162, TvR 105 || M *bici-qan > WrM bici-qan 'small, tiny, little', HIM бичан id., Brt bis'ixan, Kl bic'kn. id. ¶ MED 102, KW 47, Vld. 127 || D *pic-/picc-/pin'- ({{GS} *p-) 'small' > Ml picca, piccan 'what is small', Kn picu 'shortness, smallness', picce 'shortness or deficiency in measure and weight', Tu pin'cilā 'thin, slender', Tl picc 'low; short, deficient' ¶ D #4214a || ??? K *bic'- > Lz bic'-i 'boy, son' > G bic'-i 'boy, young man' [Marr 131, Chx. 88, ≠ K 52 (G bic'-i 'boy' i < K *bic'- v. 'break to pieces, crumple')], unless the word is a loan from Arm bi4 bic' 'illegitimate child' (Ach. I 475) or Osm bic' id. (Bu. I 324), cp. OG bic'-i 'illegitimate child'. Coalescence of K *bic'- and the loanword cannot be ruled out ♦ IS I 178-9 (*bic'a: FU, A, D). This N stem may be connected with *bVc. √VJRV 'to cut' (q.c. ffd.).

166. √ *bVc. √VJRV 'to cut' > HS: S *√bc.r > BHb √bc.r G 'gather grapes, cut off grape-clusters'; (× N *bicv ~ *bicv 'small, little'): JA √bc.r G 'be cut, diminished', JEA √bc.r G 'be diminished, diminish', SmA √bs.r D 'diminish', JA, Sr bə's.īr, bə's.īr-a- 'klein, parvus, minutus', MHb √bc.r G 'wenig haben'; SmA bs.yr 'vintage' (≠ BHb ric5B1 ba'c.īr id.?) ¶ KB 142, KBR 148, GB 109-10, Js. 185, Sl. 229-30, Tal 110-1 || K: G basr- 'zerschneiden' ¶ Chx. 68.

167. *boc'a (young) deer' > K *boc- > G boc'-ik-i 'one-year old deer', boc'-ola 'one-year-old calf' ({DCh.} 'зимовальный телянок') ¶ Chx. 100, DCh. 115 || U *poc'a 'reindeer; reindeer fawn' > FP: pLp {Lr.} *pō-co-j 'reindeer' > Lp: N {N} boazo, bo'c-cu- ~ bo'wcu- '(tame) reindeer', S {Hs.} buvdje, L {LLO} pa'co-y,

K {Gn.} poaʒ, T {Gn.} poaʒaj id. : Chr L пуечое пу'с'о'', H пучыпус'ъ, U пу'с'о'' 'deer' : Vt Sr пуʒey id. || ? Sm: Kms poʒdu 'goat, Capra sibirica', Koyb {Klp.} podo 'Ziege', {Pl.} pooto 'Cervus capreolus' || Y: K {IN} peʒ'ə, {Krn.} pi_ēd'e, {Jc.} pieze 'elk', {Jc.} pezul 'Schutzgeist der Elentiere' ¶¶ Coll. 6, It. #130, UEW 387-8, Sm. 553 (FP *poc'a 'reindeer'), LG 218, Lr. #967, Lgc. #5115, Hs. 393-4, ■ IN 274 (*unc.* : Y peʒ'ə ÷ F peura 'deer'), Ang. 208-9, Krn. JJ 283, ■ Rd. UJ 42 [#46] (Y <- U) || A: Tg ʒ*buʒan '(ε) deer' > Neg boʒan 'Cervus elaphus xanthopygos', Orc buc'a(n-), Ul boc'a(n-)-buc'a(n-) id., Nn boc'a~^d boca(n-)^d buc'a~ id. (unless <- Mc *bugu-c'an <-d- bugu 'deer', as suggested in S CNM 10); ? Mc [Hr.] bucin 'hirschartiges Fabeltier mit langem Schwanze' (reinterpreted by folk et. as abbreviation from buhu 'deer' + tucin 'beginning'), ? Lm buʒɛn 'musk deer, Moschus moschiferus' (a stem belonging to the closed-vowel harmonic type of stems, which still requires investigation) > Yk bu'c'a~n-bic'a~n id. (earlier also 'Capreolus?') → ? Ewk M/Tk biʒɛn 'roe, Capreolus'; the route of borrowing may have been different as well: from an unknown Tg source to Yk and then to Lm and Ewk ¶ STM I 86, 101-2, Pek. 481, JkR 90; Pek. (after Böhtlingk) tried to explain the Yk word as a loan from M bicin ~ becin, but the latter word means 'ape, monkey' and hence the hyp. is untenable || ?? HS: S *^o/bδχ > Ar baδaχ-, buδχ- 'lamb' (if *-δχ- < *-θχ-) ¶ BK I 100 || ?? ECh: Ll {Grgs.} bi'si' 'duiker' ¶ JI II 113 ◆ Cf. Coll. 143 (U-Tg) and UEW 387-8 (U, incl. Y, connected with Tg and Yk). Some of the cognates may be loans from neighboring lgs. (Jk. 304 on Sm and Vt; RT HUA 243 on forms of the A lgs.; LCm. NLP 17) ◆ AD NM #38, S CNM 10.

168. *bic'. ▽ 'to cut, crumble, crush' > HS: Ch *mte* : Hs b.a'~sa'~^d b.ya~sa 'break off' || CCh: Mrg {Hf.} b.a'c'~ 'break into small pieces' or b.u's'~^v. 'crumble', Gude {Hsk.} b.acɜ vi/vt. 'vreak off part (of sth. soft)', ? b.aɜɜ 'break off (edge\rim of sh.)', MfG {Brr.} -b.a's'~ 'percutor, casser (un os\noyau)' ¶ Sk. HCD 30, Hf. M 140, 148, 164, Hsk. 166, Brr. MG II 90 || K {FS, K²} *bec'~/*bic'~^v. 'crumble, break' > OG *d* na-bic'~ / na-bic'~ev- 'crumb', Sv bic'~k.w-/bec'~k.w- [UB ipf. bic'~k.wa, msd. li-bc'~k.w-e, prs. bic'~l.we / -buc'~k.w, Ln prs. bic'~k.we, a'~bc'~k.w, Ls prs. buc'~k.we / -bc'~k.we] {GP, TK} 'split', {K} 'break (bread, apple, etc.)' ¶ K 56, K² 14, FS K 53, FS E 54-5, TK 155, GP 91-2, 148 || D {Km.} *pic- ({GS} *p-) v. 'crush, knead, squeeze' > Tm picai v. 'work with the thumb and fingers in mixing, knead, squeeze, crush and separate the kernels of grain from the ear', Ml pis'itu 'husks of fruits', Kt pick- v. 'squeeze, pinch', Knd hisi v. 'squeeze (a ripe fruit)', pisuku v. 'squeeze, press', Tu piskuni, pīsuni, Tl pisuku, Gnd pisk- id., Nkr piɜg- v. 'knead', Prj pīc- v. 'grind', Gdb, Mnd pīc- v. 'milk', Png, Kui pīc- v. 'squeeze, milk', Ku pīc- id., v. 'press out', Krx picka'a~na~ v. 'press & bruise, flatten by crushing' ¶¶ D #4135, Km. 431 [#826] || A: M *bical- > WrM bical-, HIM бiл-ax 'smash, crush, squash into a pulp', Brt бисал- 'smash, crush' ¶ MED 101, Chr. 95 || T *biç- ~ *biç- v. 'cut; cut out a garment' (× N *muɸ'c'~.1V1 ▽ 'to cut, tear off' [q.v.]) > OT bic'~ ~ bic'~ id., MQP XIII bic'~, Tk bic'~, Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Uz bic'~, Bsh bɜs- ~ bis-, VTt pɜc'~, Qq piɜc'~, Qzq piɜc'~, Alt b_ɜc'(i-), Yk bis-, Tv p_ɜs'~, Tf p_ɜs'~, SY piɜc'~ id., Chv Δ παῖ- p_ɜs'/z'- 'cut' ¶ Cl. 292-3, ET B 158-61 ◆ ?? One could possibly adduce here NaIE *pei_s-/*pis- v. 'crush, pound and explain the IE *p- for the expected *b^h- by one of the IE incomparability laws, but there is a better et. for the IE √, namely N *p.'a'y's'i' or *p.is'i' 'to crush, break to pieces, burst' (q.v. ffd.) ◆ IS I #12.

169. ??₂ *bVgfc'. ▽ 'bad, wicked' > HS: S *^o/bɜs'~ > Ar bayīδ'~^v- quelqu'un', √bɜδ'~ (pf. bayuδ'~a ~ bayiδ'~a || K *^obɜ'e'z'~z- > G Gr {Shar.} byzi 'злой' ('wicked, vicious'), {Ghl.} byzi, G Gr/Aj {Ghl.} byezi id., 'vicious dog' ¶ Shar. GL 11, Ghl. 99; the K parallel is acceptable if *bɜez'~ < *bVɜz'~ < pre-K *bVɜc'~. ◆ AD SShS 307 (suggests connections with C, Ch, IE and A, better explainable as going back to *buɪ2JVs ▽ 'bad', q.v.).

170. *buc'. ▽ 'to tear to pieces' > HS: CS *^o/bs'~f 'cut, tear to pieces' > Ar √bδ'~f G 'cut, split', Ug {A} √bs'~f 'zerreißen' (absent in OLS), BHB √bc'~f G 'cut off' ¶ A #562, Hv. 36, KB 141 || K: G I buc'~ 'zerzausen' ¶ Chx. 125 || U: Sm *pucV-~^d pocV- v. 'unrip (a seam)' > Ne T пудаḂ- id. ({Jn.} < *put'~s-), Slq Tz {Cs.} 1s aor. pota'lnam, Slq Ke {Cs.} 1s aor. poccau id., Kms {Cs.} 1s prs. phud(u)im id. ¶ Jn. 130 || ?? U *pozV- 'split, divide' (× N *P.ol' ▽ 'to split' [q.v. ffd.], if U *-z'~ < *-z'~ < as *-c'~f-).

||+ **170a.** ? ₂ *bAd ▽ 'many, multitude' > HS: EC: Sa {R} bad- 'be rich', Or {Grg., Sr.} bad.a'd- id., {Grg.} bada 'very', Sml badi- 'increase', badan 'most; very, quite', ? Sml J baza'η, Bn ba'də 'many', ? Sml bayddi, ? Sd bata 'wealth'; C > Tgr {R} bəda'da' ba'la' 'abundavit' ¶ R S II 71, ■ R WB 90, Lm. Sh 281,

Hn. S 53 (pSam *bat-an 'many'), ZMO 26-7, 35, Grg. 30-1, Sr. 269, Gs. 34 || Om: NrOm: Shn {Lm.} bod- 'be enough', Kf {Mas.} bedo 'sufficienza' (unless ← bedo 'arrivo') || SOM: Bk {Fl.} bedi-mi, Ari G/U {Fl.} bedi 'many' ¶ Lm. Sh 281, Mas. 214, Fl. OWL || ECh: ? Mkl b.a'ḏa' (η) 'beaucoup, abundant' (the glottalized b. still defies explanation), Bar {AF} bata' 'viele' ¶ J LM 72, Lk. ZSS 51 ¶¶ ■ Tk. LAA-1 107 [#23] || D: [1] D *pat_u- 'multitude, crowd' > Tm pat.ai_u 'crowd, army, battle', Ml pat.a 'army, battle', Td par' 'crowd', Kn pad.e 'multitude, host, army', Tu pad.æ 'multitude, mob, army', Tl pad.ava 'battle' || [1] ?σ D *pa_u.i 'extent, size' > Kn pa_u.i id., Tl pa_u.i id., 'madnitude', Kt pa_u.y 'size, strength equal to what must be done' ¶¶ D ##3860, 4067 ◇ ≠ Blz. KM 129-30, (equates the C, SOM and Mkl words with the C, IE, K and T reflexes of N *b'a'tV ± 'luck, good', q.v.), ≠σ Blz. LNA #3 (equates HS with the K and IE reflexes of N *b'a'tV 'luck' 'good' and with the A reflexes of N *bu'd_uV_u 'be thick').]

171. *bed'e 'to pierce, to prick' > HS: EC */bd/ > Af {R} bod- vt. 'split, open', Sa {R} boḏ- vt. 'open', Sd {Mrn.} bad-, {L} badi- v. 'separate, divide' ¶ AD SF 238, R A II 33, R S II 71, 450 || NrOm: Kf {C} bad-, Mch {L} badda- v. 'split wood' ¶ C SE IV 410, L M 21 || ?? Ch: CCh: Mrg {Hf.} bda' v. 'sting (bee), kick (donkey) || WCh: Bg {Sh. in ChC} bwat v. 'pierce' ¶ Hf. M 28, 118, ChC s.v. 'pierce' || K: G bedek.i 'cleft, rift' ('*расцелина*'), bedena 'difference' ¶ Chx. 74-5, DCh. 102 || IE *b^hed^h- v. 'pierce, prick, dig', {El} 'dig, burrow' > L fodio_u, -e're / pfc. fo_u-dī / sup. fossum 'dig' (← 'pierce, prick'), fodica_u 'prick, dig' || Gl BEDVM 'canal, fossé', W bedd 'grave', Crn {ECCE} be_uth, MBr, Br bez 'grave, tomb' || Lt be_usti (prs. bedu_u) 'to stick, dig (potatoes), butt', int. bady_uti 'to prick, poke, stick', Ltv Δ {ME} best (prs. be_udu) 'to dig', Ltv int. bad_ur_ut 'to butt, gore, poke' || Sl *bod- (inf. *bos'ti / 1s prs. *bo_u'd-o.) v. 'stab, prick' ('stechen') > OCS бост_uти bosti / бод_uж bod-o_u, Blg бода, SCr bo_usti / bo_ude_um, Slv bo_u'sti / bo_u'dem, OCz bo_u'sti / bodu id., P bo_u's'c' / bode_u v. 'push with horns, goad', Uk бос'ти / боду, R Δ бос'ти v. 'push with horns', R (← int.) бод_uдат 'to gore' || Tc A pa_u-t v. 'plough' || Ht padda v. 'dig', pattessar 'excavation, hole, pit' ¶¶ Ts. W 62, CHD P 235-7, EI 159 (*b^hed^h- 'dig, burrow'), P 113-4, WH I 521-2, Billy 24, LP § 43, YGM-1 42, Ern. 65-6, Hm. 80, ECCE 214, Frn. 41, ME I 280-1, ESSJ II 222-3, SPS I 339-40, Glh. 142, Wn. 354 || U: FU *pede- v. 'prick, pierce' (× N *P_ued_uV_ugV 'to break, tear, wound' [q.v.]) > Lp N {N} bæððā_u- / -ð-, L {LLO} pa_u-tat v. 'prick, make a hole in' || ObU {Ht.} *pE_u-ð- (actually *pE_uð_u-) 'stechen' > pVg *pīl- id. > Vg LK/MK pīl_u- / pīl_u-, UK pīl_u-, P/LL pe_u-l / pel-, NV/ML/UL/Ss pe_u-l; pOs *pel- ({HL.} *pa_u-l-) id. > Os V/Vy/O pel-, Ty/Y pa_u-t_u, D/Nz pet-, Kz pe_u-l ¶ Coll. 74, Coll. CG 410 (*peðā_u-), Sm. 547 (FU, Ugr *peda_u-, FP *pedV- 'prick'), LLO 807, Ht. 174 [#488], Hl. rHt 71, ≠ UEW 371 (equates ObU with Er pel_u-e, Mk pa_u-l'e- [i.e. pa_u-l'ə-] 'bohren' and reconstructs FP *pelV- 'stechen', leaving Lp bæððā_u-^d pa_u-tat unexplained) ¶ ObU < FU *pede- × FU *pelV- II?? D (in SD) *pet_u.t_u- ({GS} *p-) v. 'prick, insert' (× N *P_ued_uV_ugV 'it?') > Kn pet_u.t_u v. 'push penis into vagina', Krg het_u.t_u v. 'prick' ¶ D #4390, Km. 435 [#845]; on stem-final gemination in SD cf. Km. 137, 173. FU and D < N *bed'e × N *P_ued_uV_ugV 'it' (q.v.) due to the loss of glottalic opposition in the U and D initial stops.

172. *b^hedV 'back of sth.' > U {UEW} *peðpa_u 'shoulder-blade' > Lp: N {N} bæð'be / -ðb-, L {LLO} pier'pe_u- / pa_u-r'pe_u id. || Sm: Ne: T O {Lh.} pīr'b_ue, F P {Lh.} pīl'm'e 'withers, a hump between the reindeer's shoulder-blades' ¶¶ UEW 369 ¶¶ U *peðpa_u is likely to go back to a *d* or *cd* || D *pet_u.a ({GS} *p-) 'back side of sth.' > Tm pit.ar, pit.ari, Ml pit.ari, Kt per'tal 'nape of the neck', Tm pit.aṅku 'back of a blade\weapon', Kn ped.a 'state of being behind or after, the back', Kdg pad.a mand.e 'back of the head', pad.anet_u.i 'nape of the neck', Tu ped.angr 'behind the back', Tl ped.a 'hinder, back', Prj pid.tel 'behind, after' ¶¶ D #4146 || It is not yet clear if D {GS} pid_u- 'back side, the back' (GS 47 [#112], D #4205) belongs here, because the N origin of D {GS} *-d_u- ({GS} *-d_u-) has not yet been investigated || HS *b^hu'd- 'shoulder, back' > ES *bu_u-d- > OAK, Ak fOB bu_u-d-um, Eb {Krb.} bu_u-tum 'shoulder' ¶ Sd. 136, Krb. EG 36 || EC: Or M {LLC} boḏa adv. 'back', Or {Brl.} boda 'back (dos), hind quarters; hinder back', {Grg.} boḏa 'after(wards)' || SC {E} *bi_u'du 'buttocks' > Kz bulituko 'woman's garment covering the hips', SC b_u-Mb_u -bu_u'ru 'goat's tail' ¶ Brl. 59, Grg. 55, E SC 140 (SC i ÷ Dhl b_u.ud_u- v. 'run away' and Kz bulum- v. 'bend over') || SOM: Ari J {Blz. ← Bnd.} bud 'upper back', Hm {Bnd.} bud-i 'back' ¶ Bnd. AL 144, Blz. OLBP #6 || Ch: WCh: Cp {ChC} b_uḏer 'Hinterteil', Ang {ChC} bi_u'dir_u 'anus' || less plausible: ?? ECh: Tmk {Cp.} be_u'd, NdD {J} ba_u'd 'arm' (if ← 'shoulder') ¶ Cp. 48, ChC ◇ Blz. DA [+ 155 [#26]-#26] (D, HS), Blz. OLBP #6.

173. *bodV 'body, belly' > **HS:** WS *badan- 'body' > Ar badan- 'corps, tronc', Mh b3de-n 'body', Hrs be'dan, Jb C 'be'den (df. e⁻'den) id., Gz badn 'corpse, dead body' ¶ BK I 98, Jo. M 43, Jo. H 15, L G 87, MiK I #1.31 [⊕ || AdS of Ch (Stl.) *b.u't.ṽ 'belly, womb' (× N *bu_lw_jt.ṽ 'lower part of the body', q.v. ffd.)] ¶ **IE:** NaIE *b^hud^h-men 'lower part, bottom' [× N *bu_lw_jt.ṽ 'lower part of the body' (q.v. ffd.); N *bodV accounts for IE *-d^h-] ¶ **A** {SDM97} *bo^hda 'body; intestines, belly' > T *boð 'body', 'stature > OT boð 'stature (height of a person)', Tkm, Az boy, Tk boy, SY poz 'stature, body', Chv pu^h, Δ pβv 'body, stature (height)'; (× N *mUtV 'man, person', q.v. ffd.): NaT *boð 'self' ¶ Cl. 296-7, 306 (does not distinguish this word from OT Og [MhK] ivB bo^hy 'clan, tribe' and OT [MhK] boðun 'people'; *unj.* rec. of a long vw. o⁻ on the only basis of the plene spelling in ArSc), DTS 107-11, ET B 176-9, Rl. IV 1282-3, Ra. 164, BT 32, MKD 75, Rs. W 77, Dr. TM II #812, S AJ 196 (#247), Jeg. 170-1, Fed. I 416 || M *boda 'a head of cattle (cow, ox, horse, camel)' > MM [S] bodo 'Stück Vieh', WrM boda ~ bodu, HIM bod, Ord b_od_o 'large cattle (horses, cows, camels, etc.)', Kl бод bod_o id.; M *boda 'object, body' > MM [S] bodo 'Objekt', WrM boda, HIM bod 'substance, matter, body', Kl бод bod_o 'the true essence, reality, substance', WrM bodas (pl. of boda) 'body' ¶ S AJ 241 (#166), MED 108, H 16, KW 48, KRS 103, Ms. O 72 || pJ *ba^hta^h 'intestines, belly' > OJ wata 'intestines', J: T/Kg wata^h, K wa^hta^h id., Ns wa^hta^h, Sh wa^hta^h, Ht ba^hta^h, Y ba^hta^h 'belly' ¶ S AJ 269 (#121), S QJ #121, Mr. 569 ¶ KW 48, Rs. W 77 (T, M), S AJ 279 [#113], SDM97 s.v. *bo^hda ¶ **D** {tr.} *pot_l.t.ṽ, {GS} *pot_l- 'belly, stomach' > Kn pot_l.t.e id., 'womb', pod_l.e, put_l.i 'belly', Tl pot_l.t.a, Klm, Nkr, Prj pot_l.t.a id., Nk pot_l(t_l).a, Gnd po(t_l).t_l, pat_l.t.a 'belly, stomach', Knd pot_l.a 'stomach', Png po^ht_l.o, Mlt pur^h-a--put_l.t.a- 'belly', Krx pot_l.t.a^h 'bowels, entrails' ¶¶ D #4494, GS 71 [#230].

174. *bXd^hh^hE 'to plait' (← 'net') > **HS:** CS *badd- 'woof' > BHb dB2 bad_l (pl. MiD5B2 bad^hd-īm) 'linen', JA aD1B2 bad^hd-a- 'fine linen woof', ? Ar batt- (< *badd-at-?) 'a coarse garment' ¶ KB 105, Js. 138, Hv. 20 ¶ **K** *bade- 'net, cobweb' > OG bade-y, G bade 'net', Lz boda- 'netting for picking fruits', Sv UB/L/Ln ba^hd, Sv L bad {TK, Dn., GP} 'net', {K²} 'netting, cobweb' ¶ K² 6, TK 14, GP 90, Dn. s.v. bad ¶ **A** *bu^ht^he 'wind, bind' > M *bu^h-ci 'band, ribbon' > MM [HI] bu^h-ci 'ribbon', WrM bu^h-ci ~ bu^h-ce, HIM б^h*ч, Brt б^h*ч, Kl б^h*ч bu^h-ci 'tie, ribbon, band; lace', WrO bu^h-ci 'ribbon; cord, band', Ord b_u-c^h-i 'bande, ruban', b_u-c^h-e 'e ribbon' ¶ MED 143, Ms. H 44, Ms. O 108, Krg. 376, KRS 132, KW 70, Chr. 128 || NrTg *bot- > Ewk boto^h- 'tie together with a knot', Lm b3t3b/p- 'be bound together' ¶ STM I 97 || T d^h *bu^h-tu^h-r- 'wind, twist' > Chv пeÄreÄp- pβd_l-r, Δ pβ^h-d_l-r- id., 'spin (threads)', ?σVTt б^h тер- б^h*ter- 'turn, twist, roll up' ¶ Jeg. 158, TatR 94, ¶ SDM97 || pKo {S} *pi^hth- 'be attached' > MKo pi^hth-, NKo put^h-put- ¶ S QK #1100, Nam 275, MLC 846 ¶¶ SDM9, ¶ DQA #215 (A *bo^h-t^he^h- 'bind'; incl. M, Tg, Ko) ♢ S NSShS #1 (K, A).

[⊕ **174a. *bu^h-d_lV_jØV** 'be thick' > **HS:** S: Ar √bdf G 'be(come) fat \ corpulent', bidf- 'full' (of body), {DRS} bidf-, badi^h-, badi^h- 'dodu, gros', ?? bid^h- 'corpulent, fat' ¶ DRS 46, Ln. 160, Hv. 24 ¶ **A**: M *bu^h-du^h-yu^h-n 'thick' > MM [MA] bidu^h-n 'thick', [IM] √dyB {Pp.} bidu^h-n 'coarse (гpyбый)', [ISV] √vduyB {Lg.} bidu^h-n 'thick (épais, gros)', [L] {Pp.} √vduy0B bidu^h-n or bei_u-du^h-n 'dick, grob', WrM bu^h-du^h-gu^h-n, HIM б^h*д**H {Kow., Luv.} 'thick, coarse' ('gros, grossier, épais'), {MED} 'large, huge, big', Kl б^h*д**H, {Rm.} bu^h-du^h-n, Ord b_u-d_u-n 'thick, coarse', Brt б^h*д**H, MMgl bei_u-du^h-n 'thick', Mgl {R} bei_u-du^h-n 'dick, grob', Mnr Nr {SM} b_u-d_u-in 'thick' (of body parts), Mnr H {T} bidun 'thick', Dx bi_u-edun, Dg budu^h-n 'thick, coarse'; M б^h*Yk bo^h-do^h-n 'big, large, coarse' ¶ Pp. MA 119, 434, Pp. L II 1267, Lg. VMI 20, Kow. 1232, MED 144, KRS 126, KW 66, Chr. 121, Ms. O 101, SM 31, T 317, T DnJ 112, T DgJ 128, Rm. M 23, Iw. 90, Pek. 517-8 || T *bu^h-du^h- (× *bi^h3^hU(l-qV_j) - *bi^h3^hlV_jqV 'big, high') > T d^h *bu^h-du^h-k 'big, large' > Osm bu^h-yu^h-k 'big, large, high', Tk bu^h-yu^h-k, Az bo^h-yu^h-k 'large' ¶ S AJ 175 [#5], ET B 288-90, Cl. 299, 302-3]

175. *bu^h-d_lV_jXqV 'be awake; feel, pay attention; be excited, cheerful' > **HS:** CS *^o√bdh_l v. 'amuse oneself' > JA, MHb √bdh v. 'be cheerful', Sr bud^h-a^h- {Br.} 'recreatio', {Sl.} 'cheerfulness' ¶ Br. 58, Js. 139, Sl. 185-6 ¶ **IE:** NaIE *b^heu_l-d^h- {P} 'wach sein, geweckt, geistig, rege sein' ({EI} 'pay attention, be observant') > {EI} *b^hou_l-d^heye/o- 'waken, point out' > OI 'bo^h-dha-ti 'wakes, is awake, notices', Av baoðiti 'nimmt wahr', baoðah-, MPrs bo^h-ð 'awareness', KhS bu^h-id., 'feeling' ¶ Gk Hm, π ε^hυ^hομαι, Gk A π ο^hν^h α^hνομαι v. 'learn\hear (a th.)' ('erfahren') ¶ Clt: Crn {LP} both, {ECCE} bo^h-th 'will, consent', W boddid., 'pleasure', OIr buide 'satisfaction, reconnaissance, faveur', Nlr buidhe 'graciousness,

kindness, thanks' || Gmc **biu_ðan* > Gt *ana-biudan* 'to bid, order', ON *bjoða* '(an)bieten', OHG *biotān* 'to offer, mark, object (offerre, opponere, præbere)', NHG *bieten*, OSx *biodan*, AS *beoðan* 'to offer', NE *bid* || Lt *bu'sti* / prs. *bundu*, Ltv Δ {ME} *bust* / *bu'du* 'wake up, awake', Lt *bu'dinti*, Ltv Δ *budina*ˆt, *budr*ˆt vt. 'wake', Lt *bude*ˆti 'be awake', *budru*s 'vigilant, watchful' || SI **bude*ˆ-ti 'be awake, alert' > OCS *бѣдѣти* *bēde*ˆ-ti / prs. *бѣждѣ* *bъz*ˆdo, Blg *бди*, SCr *бде*ˆти^d *bdje*ˆti, Slv *b(e)dē*ˆti, Cz *bdi*ˆti / *bdi*ˆm id., Slk *bdiet*ˆ id., 'observe', R † *бдет*□ 'be awake, observe, care for' || SI *caus. *budi*ˆ-ti vt. 'wake' > ChS *бодити* *budi*-ti / prs. *бождаж* *buz*ˆdo, R *будит*□ / *бу'жу*, Uk *буди*ти, SCr *bu*ˆditi, Slv *budi*ˆti, Cz *buditi*, Slv *budit*ˆ, P *budzić*ˆ 'to wake' Blg *ббуди* vt. 'wake' || SI **bьdrъ* 'promptus, munter' > OCS *бѣдръ* *bьdrъ* id. ('проу̑моу̑, willing') [e.g. Mc. 14.38], R 'бодрый', Uk *бодрий*, SCr *ba*ˆdar id., 'lebhaft' || SI **bl'usti* 'cavere, observare' > OCS *блюсти* *bljusti* id., 'see, take care of, guard', SCr † *blju*ˆsti (prs. *blju*ˆdeˆm) 'observe, guard', R *бл-ѣсти* (prs. † *бл-ѣду*) 'guard, keep (laws, customs, etc.)' ¶ P 150-2, EI 516, 636, M K II 449-50, M E II 233-5, Bai. 294, F II 625-6, LP § 43, Vn. B 113-4, Dnn. 97, YGM-1 49, ECCE 215, Fs. 41, Vr. 40, OsS 66, Ho. 19-20, Ho. S 7, EWA II 90-2, Kb. 83, Frn. 62, ME I 345, 356, ESSJ II 136-7 & III 76-7, 109, 111-2, Bern. I 96-7, 105-7, StSS 102-3, SPS I 459-61, Glh. 127, 155 II ?σ D *putˆv ({}GS} *p-, *dˆ-) > Tm *putˆai* v. 'utter a loude noise', Klm *podˆ-* (potˆtˆ-) '(dog) barks', ĩsa *podˆ-* v. 'whistle', Nkr *porˆ-* v. 'bark', Gdb *porp*-id. ¶¶ D #4254.

176. *ba.gu (= **bahgu*?) 'forearm' > HS: ?? S: Ak *buka*ˆn- {Sd.} 'Knöppel, Mörserkeule', {CAD} 'pestle' ¶ Sd. 136, CAD II 308 || WCh {Stl.} **ba-baka* 'wing, arm' > pBT **ba*ˆkˆiˆa 'arm', **b*ˆakˆiˆ- 'wing' > Tng {J} *paka* 'hand, arm', Krkr {Lk.} *ba*ˆkaˆlˆiˆ 'arm', Glm {Sch.} (kaˆ)baˆgaˆ 'shoulder, wing', Krf {Sch.} *ka*ˆbaˆʒaˆ 'shoulder', NrBc: Kry {Sk.} *pa*ˆkzˆ 'arm', AG: Kfr {Nt.} *b,a*ˆgaˆn 'shoulder' ¶ Stl. ZCh 146 [#15], Stl. VZCh B ##17 & 22, ChC, JI II 178, Sch. BTL 55, 81, Nt. 46, Nw. #147 II IE: NaIE **b*ˆaˆgˆhˆu-s 'elbow, forearm' [{EI} **b*ˆhˆaˆgˆhˆus or **b*ˆhˆehˆAGˆhˆus '(fore)arm, foreleg'] > OI *ba*ˆhu-h. 'arm, forearm; fore-foot (of quadrupeds)', Av *ba*ˆzaˆu-sˆ 'arm' || Gk *πῆχυς*, Gk Ae/D *παῖχυς* 'forearm' || ON *bo*ˆgr (pl. *bo*ˆgu) 'arm, shoulder', OSx *bo*ˆg 'Bug', OHG *buog* 'shoulder, rib; armus, suffrago', NHG *Bug* 'shoulder-joint', AS *bo*ˆz 'shoulder, arm, branch', NE *bough* || pTc {Ad.} **pokai*ˆ- > Tc: A *poke* 'arm', B *poko* {Ad.} 'arm, [any] limb', (in *cds*) *-pokai* id. ¶ P 108, Dv. #267, EI 26, M K II 429, M E II 223-4, F II 531, Vr. 47, OsS 90, Ho. 29, Ho. S 8, Kb. 131, EWA II 443-5, Wn. 381-2, Ad. 403, Ad. H 20, 22 II R: WrM {MED} *bagu*(y), *bugu*(y), HIM *бугый* 'forearm, wrist, bracelet', WrM {Ms.} *buguu*, Ord *b_u*guˆ 'bracelet', MM [IM] v9B *ba*ḡyū id., ?σ [S] *buqa*vū 'Schandkragen'; AD LRC #85 adduced here WrM *bagal-cag* 'wrist' and Turkic words: ET *paqal-cʼaq shin*, Uz *baqalaq* id., Qrg *baʒalek* - *baʒalaq* 'the lower part of the leg of trouser' ¶ MED 71, KW 28, Ms. O 91, Pp. MA 433, H 21, Rl. IV 1438-9, Jud. 91 II D (in NED) **pak(k)*- v. 'take into one's arms' > Krx *pa*ˆk-naˆ / *pakkyas* v. 'take up into one's arms, on one's lap', Mlt *pake* v. 'take in the lap' ¶ D #4050 ♦ Gr. II #225 (**bogu* 'joint') [IE, A, J, Ai].

177. ? 2 *boLygE (more plausible than **boHgE*) 'stinging insect' > IE: NaIE **b*ˆugˆlˆhˆj- 'insect' > Lt *buz*ˆyˆs 'id., Ltv *ch bu*ˆza - *buza*, *buzis* 'louse' || ? eNE XVII *bugge*, *bug* 'insect, bug', NE *bug* ¶ □ WP II 117, □ Mn. 119, Frn. 29, OED I 1159-60 II R **bo*ˆge 'e (stinging?) insect' > T **bo*ˆg 'e insect' > OT {Cl.} *bo*ˆg 'poisonous spider, tarantula', Az *bo*ˆv 'phalange (poisonous spider)', ? Tkm *mo*ˆy id., Qrg *bo*ˆyuˆ 'tarantula', Chv *pъvan*, Δ *pъ*ˆvan 'gadfly (Tabanus)' ¶ Rs. W 82-3, S AJ 198 (#271), AzRL I 313, Ash. X 99, Fed. I 394 || M **bo*ˆxe-suˆn 'louse' > MM [S, HI, MA] *bo*ˆvesuˆn, [IsV, L] *bo*ˆsuˆn, WrM *bo*ˆgesuˆn, HIM *б*ˆc('н), Kl *bo*ˆsnˆ, Dx *bosun*, Ba *bosun*, Dg *bu*ˆs, Mnr H {SM} *b_o*ˆsə, ShY *bu*ˆsən, MMgl *bo*ˆsuˆn id. ¶ KW 53, MED 125, SM 29, H 16, Ms. H 43, Pp. MA 123, Lg. VMI 21, Iw. 92 || Tg **bugu-tuna* > Lm *bugutuna* 'gnat' ¶ SDM I 102 || pJ {S} **pi*ˆwzˆ-musi 'e insect (dayfly, ephemera)' > ItOJ *φῖwo*ˆmuˆsiˆ (*cd* with pJ **mu*ˆsiˆ 'worm, insect' < N **mu*ˆsˆV 'insect, fly, ant', q.v.) ¶ S QJ #1580, Mr. 408 ¶¶ S AJ 286 (#54), DQA #173 [A **bi*ˆuˆgi 'e insect'], Rs. W 82-3.

178. ??? *begV 'much' > HS: ? S **bo*ˆbyw > amb Ar *byy* - *byw* (pf. '9aaBa *baʒa*ˆ, ip. -*byi*) 'dépasser, excéder les limites' (unless a *sd* of *byw*-*byy* 'dévier') ¶ BK I 147 || AdS of Eg fOK *bhy* vi. 'be inundated, have abundance, be well-supplied' (< N **b*ˆeˆrˆhˆyV 'to pour' [q.v. ffd.]) || ?? Ch: ? WCh: Wrj {Sk.} *b,a*ˆkˆw, P {MSk.} *b,a*ˆkuˆ 'many' || CCCh: FIM {ChL} *bz*ˆw, Nz {ChL} *b*ˆwəḡ, {Mch.} *bwo*ˆḡ id. || Ech: Kbl {Cp.} *bz*ˆyaˆ id. ¶ ChC, ChL ¶¶ Eg, CCh and Ech may have contaminated with N **ba*XyV - **ba*Xi 'abundant' II ? K **bo*ˆey- > Mg *ba*yū(n), Lz *ba*yūn 'enough'; G *ba*y- 'share' should be kept apart, because it is a loan from Iranian (cp. Av *baga*, *baʒa* 'share'), as indicated in Andk. Z 21. Nevertheless

the Mg and Lz words are semantically rather far from the Iranian word in question and hence should not necessarily be considered Iranisms [1] ± *^ob^he_{oi}- > Av bae⁻-var, bae⁻-van 'ten thousand, myriad', Phl be⁻-var, NPrs rvyB biva⁻r id., Oss: I bīra⁻, D bera⁻, bewra⁻ 'many, much, very' ¶ Brtl. 913, Ab. I 262 [2] one of possible sources of *-b^heH, sx. of abstract nouns preserved in Sl *-ba and Lt -be⁻ but the N √ in question is only one of many possible sources of this abstract building (× N ***by** '↑' [q.v.] and N ***baXyV** – ***baXi** 'abundant' [q.v.]) II √ D *pe₁ ({}GS} *p-) 'big' > Kt, Td pe- 'big' (D #4411), unless this is not a contraction of D *per- 'great, big'. ♦ Since the Ar, the K and the Kt-Td alleged reflexes may be explained otherwise, the comparison is qu. [±♦ ≠φ (↔ Blz.)] Lp N {N} boaw⁻je 'gathering of near relations; company, clique' (see N ***baXyV** 'abundant'); ≠σ (↔ Blz.) Os V pa⁻y 'hillock, heap, crowd of people' (the primary meaning is obviously 'hillock, heap') [see Coll. 74] ¶ ♦ IS I 193 (#28), ▢ Blz. LB #107a (added Irn and erroneously U).

179. *beha (or ***ba⁻ha?**) 'to shine, be bright' > HS: S *^o-bha_u- (*_u/bhw) > Ar √bhw (pf. 'eaBa baha⁻, ip. -bha⁻-bhu⁻) v. 'be fine, shine' ¶ Ln. 269, Fr. I 168-9 || Eg G bx' ({}EG bh.) v. 'shine (sun, moon)', 'light up' ('leuchten, erleuchten') ¶ EG I 472, Tk. II 291 || C: Dhl {}EEN} b.aβa⁻-v. 'shine', {}To.} b.uvad- 'shine' (sun) || SC {}E} √ *^oba⁻ v. 'glow' → Mb -'bayu 'red' ¶ E SC 135, EEN 33, To. D 129 II IE *b^heh₁x- / *b^hoh₁x- / *b^hh₁x_o- ({}EI} *b^heh₂- 'shine' → *^ob^heh₁(e)s- n. 'light') > NaIE *b^he⁻ / *b^ho⁻ / *b^hə⁻ 'shine (glänzen, leuchten, scheinen)' > OI 'bha⁻-ti 'shines', bha⁻ (in cds) n. 'shine, light, brightness', Av ba⁻ 'scheinen' (used with pxs.: fra⁻-vaiti 'leichtet hervor', vi-ba⁻ 'leuchten'), ba⁻mya- 'licht, glänzend', ba⁻nu- 'Licht, Strahl' || Arm banam ba-na-m (*b^ha⁻-n-) 'I open, discover, disclose', aor. baçi bac^{hi} || Gk περιφάσεται 'wird erscheinen', *b^hə-n- in the present form φαίνω (< *φαίνω) 'bring to light, make appear', φαίνομαι (ipf. εἰσφάινω, aor. ἔφηνα) 'come to light, am seen, appear; shine brightly', Gk [Hs.] φαίντα - prs. prtc. acc. sg. m. from *φα- v. 'shine' || OIr ba⁻n 'white' || Gt bandwa 'a sign', Gmc *bandwjan > Gt bandwjan 'to give signs', ON benda 'anzeigen, vorbedeuten' || Sl: HLs bac⁻ so (prs. baju) vr. 'to burn imperceptibly, glimmer', LLs bajas⁻ se (prs. bajom) vr. 'to glimmer, flare' ¶ P 104, EI 352, 513, Me. EAC 111, 154, M K II 493-4, M E II 259-60, F II 982-4, Vn B 13, Fs. 79-80, Vr. 32, ESSJ I 130-40 II U: FU *peja⁻ (▢ Rd.'s *pa⁻jV) v. 'shine white, white' > Lp: N {N} bæggjot, -æj- v. 'shine white', L {}LLO} pa⁻j_u 'white' : OHg feer [fee⁻r] ~ feher~ fejer [feye⁻r], Hg fehe⁻r 'white', Hg Δ fee⁻r, fei⁻r, feje⁻r id. (-h- is an epenthesis in a hiatus, -e⁻r goes back to two nominal sxs.: a deverbal *-jV- and a denominative *-rV-) ¶ MF 188, UEW 360 ¶ Lp N {N} æ suggests FU *-e-, but Rd. (UEW) reconstructs *-a⁻; if he is right, there is *a⁻ rather than *e at both the FU and the pN levels of rec.

180. ??₂ *ba.V 'to tie, bind' > K *_u/b- v. 'tie, bind, attach; hang' > OG b- 'attach', G b- 'tie, bind, attach; hang', Mg, Lz, Sv b- id. (Sv L {}Dn.} ma⁻-b stt. 'it is attached to me', xa⁻-b 'it is attached to him', msd. li-bem 'to tie, attach', msd. plrlt. li-b-a⁻l, Sv UB msd. li-b-em, LSv {}TK} liben id.) ¶ K 47-8, K² 6, Chik. 250, FS E 39-40, Dn. s.v. b¹, GP 147, TK 425 II A *ba⁻- v. 'bind' ({}SDM97} *ba⁻) > NaT *ba⁻ 'bind, fasten (sth. to sth.)' > OT ba⁻ id., Yk bīa⁻ 'rope' ¶ Cl. 292, Rs. W 53, Pek. 598-9 || ? Tg *ba- > Ewk ba- v. 'propose for marriage', WrMc ba-cixi 'proposed for marriage since childhood' ¶ STM I 60 || pKo *pa 'rope, string' > Nko pa 'rope' ¶ Rm. SKE 179, SDM97 22, S QK #188 || pJ {}S} *b³ 'rope' > OJ wo, [RJ] wo', J: T/Kg wo', J K wo' ¶ St. AJ 68, S QJ #239, Mr. 228 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 57, S VL, DQA #102 [A *ba⁻ 'bind'] ♦ IS I 172-3 (#2).

181. *buHi 'to grow, appear' > HS: NrOm: Kf {}C} be⁻ 'esserci', Shn {}C} bi- 'be', {}Lm.} be⁻y- 'sit, sit down, dwell, live', Anf {}C} be⁻ 'be', {}MYTY} beyyo 'live', ? Ym {}Lm.} -wa, -(m)ba/-(m)be (focalizing particles) ¶ C SE IV 247, 409, MYTY 116, Lm. Sh 289, Lm. Y 278-80 || EC: Sml ba⁻ (focalizer) (Lm.: ← 'is'), Rn (-)ba⁻ ~ ba⁻ (a kind of focalizing pc.: am-ba⁻ irda 'I'll be the one to go') ¶ Lm. FP ∇, PG 71 II IE *b^heu₁H- v. 'grow, be' ({}EI} *b^heu₁H₁ 'come into being, be; grow') > OI 'bhavati 'becomes, is', Av bavahti id., OPrs bavatiy 'is' || Gk φύω v. 'bring forth, produce, beget', φύομαι v. 'grow, rise' || L fui 'I was, have been', Osc fufans 'erant' || Clt d⁻ *bu-ta⁻ > OIr buith, buid, W bod, OBr bot, MBr, Br V bout v. 'be' || Gt bauan 'to dwell', AS be⁻o 'I am', NE be || Lt bu⁻-ti, Ltv bu⁻-t, Pru bu⁻ton 'to be' : Sl *bi- (inf. *bi⁻-ti, past prtc. *bi⁻-t) > OCS бѣти bi-ti, Scr bi⁻-ti, Slv bi-ti, R бѣти, Uk бѣти, P by-c', Cz by'ti, Slk byt⁻ to be' ¶ P 146-50, EI 53, M K II 485-7, M E II 255-7, F II 1052-4, WH I 557-8, Bc. G 317, Pln. II 684, Vn B 117, Frn. 68, En. 154-5, Tp. P A-D 271-4, SPS I 482, Vs. I 260, Glh. 131-2 II A {}S AJ, SDM95} *bui- v. 'be, sit' > M *bu⁻yi ~ *buyi- > MM W [IsV] bu⁻i₁ ~ bei₁ ~ bi₁, [MA, LM] bi⁻ 'is', MM E bui [S]

'is', [HI] 'is, exists', LM bui 'being; is\am\are', HIM буй, бий id., Dg b_ei_, {T} bei_, Dx {T} bi, Ord b_i '(there) is', Kl {Rm.} bi 'is' ¶ H 21, Pp. L II 1267, Pp. MA 86, Lg. VMI 19-22, MED 132, Iw. 89, Ms. H 43, Ms. O 67, T DgJ 125, T DsJ 112, KW 44, □ S AJ 233 [#1] || Tg *bi_- v. 'be' > Ewk bi-, Neg, Nn, Ul, Ork bi-, WrMc bi-, Jrc {Md.} bie-i id. ¶ STM I 79-80, S AJ 221 [#225], SDM95 s.v. *bui, Md. ChF 135 || pJ *bu'(i_-) v. 'be, sit' > OJ wi- id., J: T i'-ru v. 'be', Ht bi'- v. {Mr.} 'sit' ¶ S AJ 270 [#139], S QJ #139, Mr. 698 ¶¶ S AJ 68, 111, 280 [#129], SDM95 (A *bui), SDM97 (A *biyu), DQA #127 [A *bi'yu 'be, sit'] ♦ IS 184 [#19] adduces here Eg b3.t 'shrub', Cb fwa' 'tree' and U *puwe- v. 'grow' (not more than a possibility) ♦ □ Gr. II #27 (*biu 'be').

182. *bUka 'to put out, throw out' (> 'to sweep out') > **HS**: S *°-bu-k-: Ar √bwk (ip. ya-bu-k-u, pf. ba'ka) 'remuer le bâton dans l'ouverture de la source pour en faire sortir plus d'eau' ¶ BK I 180 || ?? Eg G bk v. 'kill (with a sword)' ¶ EG I 480, Tk. II 332-5 || **IE**: NaIE *b^heu_g-~b^heu_g^h- 'remove' (→ v. 'clean, set free' → 'save') > Gt us-baugjan 'sweep out', NHD Δ Bucht 'sweepings' || Av baog- / bunj'a- 'loosen, set free, save', baxtar 'saviour, liberator', Sgd B βwy 'deliverance' ||? Vnt p.n. vhuḫia (lit. 'savior, liberator' ÷ Av baxtar) ¶ P 152, EI 621 [*b^heu_g^(h)- 'purify, free'], Fs. 529, Brtl. 916-7, Bai. 319-20 || **A**: M *bog > WrM bog, HIM, Brt, Kl бор, Ord b_og_ 'sweepings, filth, garbage' ¶ MED 110, KRS 102, Chr. 96, Ms. O 73 || Tg *bo_gi- v. 'put out, throw out' > Ewk boxi-, Neg boxin- v. 'give birth to a child (out of wedlock)', Ewk boxin- v. 'show oneself (out of an aperture)', 'be born', Ul boyal-, boyalc'-, Nn Nh boyago-, Nn B boygao- v. 'have a miscarriage', WrMc boyxolo~ biyo'xala- v. 'break loose, run away' (of a fish\bird\beast that escape from a hook\net\snare) ¶ STM I 87 || **D** (in GnD) *pok- ({GS} *p-) v. 'throw' [× N *bUraK_E (or *bUra K_E...) 'to fall, fell, throw?'] > Knd pok- v. 'throw', Gnd poha'na- v. 'throw', po?-~pon- v. 'throw away' ¶ D #4457.

183. *buk'U 'run, run away' > **HS**: Eg fP bc 'run', Eg NK bc 'durchlaufen'; [?? Cpt {Ws.} vOk bo'k -FOk fo'k 'go'] ¶ EG I 485, Fk. 86, Tk. II 352-3 [; Ws. 22] || C {AD} *√bk^v v. 'flee' > Ag: Aw {Hz.} buk- id. || EC: Sa I {CR} buka- 'flight', Af {PH} bu'ka id., 'escape', buk- v. 'flee, escape'; EC {Ss.} *bak_- v. 'run away, be afraid' > Arr {Hw.}, Brj {Ss.} bak_-ad-, Dbs paq-ad- 'run away', Or bak_-ad-, {Grg.} bak_-ad.- v. 'flee, escape', bak_-a n. 'escape, running', Sml baq-ad- [md.] v. 'be afraid', baž'-i [caus.] v. 'frighten', Rn bah-s-ada caus. md. 'rush, run away, escape' ¶ AD SF 270-1, Ss. B 32, Hw. A 346, Th. 32, Grg. 36, PG 74 || NrOm: Wl {C} bik_ic'- v. 'flee', Gm {Hw.} bak_a'to- 'flee from' and possibly Cha {C} boka- 'way' and (?) Kf boc'c'o- id. ¶ C SO 28, C SE III 164, C SE IV 410, Hw. EG || SES (+ext.) *√bk_s^ v. 'run' > Mh √bk_s^ (pf. b3'k_aws^, sbjn. y3-bk_aws^), Hrs √bk_s^ (pf. b3k_o's^), Jb E √bk_s^ (pf. bk_3s^.) id. ¶ Jo. M 48 ¶ The SES root √bk_s^ goes back probably to a derived or compound word (including an ext *s^, which caused an ass. glottalization *k > *k.). The origin of glottalization in the EC √ still needs explanation [¶¶ ≠ Tk. LAA-1 112 [#59] (HS *√bk 'to abandon'), □ Tk. LAA-1 57 [#59] (HS *√bk 'road') ¶¶ Connected\identical wuth HS *√bk 'go'] || **IE**: NaIE *b^hec(:)g^w-~*b^heu_g- ({EI} *b^heu_g-) v. 'flee': (1) *b^heg^w-/*b^hog^w-/*b^he_g^w- > Gk φε'βομαι v. 'flee, be afraid', φο'βοϋ 'Fluch, Furcht' || Lt be'g-ti (1s prs. be'g-u) v. 'run, flee', Ltv be'g-t (prs. be'g-u) v. 'flee' || Sl *be'g- (inf. *be'g-i, 1s prs. *be'g-o_ ~ *be'z'-o_) v. 'run, flee' > prs.: OCS бѣжж be'z'-o_, R бе'г-у, inf.: P бiec, R Δ беч□, OUK бѣчи, Uk Δ бѣ'чи, μ Uk бѣ'гти, μ Blg бегчид., SCr и'збе'и id. i'z-bjec'i 'to avoid, evade', по'бе'и id. po'-bjec'i 'to run away, flee'; Sl μ (*be'ge'ti? >) *be'z'a'ti 'to run, flee' > OCS бѣжати be'z'ati id., R бе'жати, SCr бе'жати id. bje'z'ati, Slv be'z'ati, Cz be'z'eti, Slk bez'at', P biez'ec' 'to run'; Sl n. act. *be'gъ 'running' > ChS бѣгъ be'gъ, Blg блг, SCr, Slv be'g, R бег, Cz be'h, Slk beh, P bieg; Sl *be'gati iter. 'to run, flee' > OCS бѣгати be'gati, SCr бе'гати, Δ bje'gati id., Slv be'gati, Cz be'hati, Slk behat', P biegac', R бегати, Uk бѣ'гати iter. 'to run' || pIA stem *bha_g-/*bha_3'- v. 'flee', attested in OI [Bhatt.] (dis'o-) bha_jayat 'drove out', (dis'o-) bhyabhajata-m 'fled', [Pañc.] dis'o-bha_ga- 'fleeing' and reconstructible from Prkr bhagga 'fled', Hindi, Ass etc. bha_g- v. 'flee', etc. ¶ P 116, Mn. 69, WP II 248, EI 206, M K II 491, M E II 241-2, F II 998-9, 1005-7, Frn. 38, ESSJ II 58-62, 92, Glh. 133, Tls. 162, 382, Drd. 181, 498, StSS 105-6, Vs. I 143, [† Kzn. B 159-66 (tries to prove that Sl *be'g- meant 'flee, avoid' only, while the meaning 'run' is late)], Tu. #532, ≠ Bloch MIA 62 (*bha_g-/*bha_3'- v. 'break' → 'run'), SPS I 224-7, 245-6 || (2) *b^heu_g-/*b^hou_g-/*b^hug- v. 'flee' > Gk φε'υγω (aor. φε'φυγον) v. 'flee', φυγη 'Flucht' || L fugi-o- (pfc. fu_gi, inf. fuge're) v. 'flee', fuga 'Flucht' ||? Lt bu'g-ti (prs. bu'g-stu) 'to fear, be frightened', baugin-ti 'to frighten', baugu's 'fearful', Ltv bu_gns id. ¶ P 152, Mn. 75-6, F II 1005-7, WH I 556-7, □ Frn. 37-8, ESSJ

II 58-60, 92 || **U**: FU *^opukV- v. 'flee' > Es {W} po~ge- 'flee' ||? U *^opukta- 'hop, run' (× N *^op.u'K.V'dV 'to run' [q.v. ffd.]). The origin of BF *pako 'Flucht' (> F pako, Krl, Vo pako, Es pagu id.) and of the corresponding verb (F pae-ta) remains enigmatic. It belongs to the √ in question only if there is explanation of the vw. a ¶¶ W EDW 858, Coll. 12, Coll. CG 406 (*pokta-), UEW 402 (*puktV), MF 223, IS I 181 (*pok-tV) ◆ IS I 181 s.v. **убежат** *bok'a' (IE, U, C + Tg *pu.kti- v. 'flee, run' [in fact from N *^op.u'K.V'dV 'run']), AD GDS #1.32 (C, IE, U) ◆ □ Gr. II #317 (*pok 'run') [IE, U + non-existent M ï bo''g-si- + *err.* Tg, J + *qu.* CK, EA].

184. *b'oŋ'ka 'to heat, roast, burn' > **HS** *^o√bŋk > S *^o√bŋk > Ar buŋku-k-at- 'heat' ('calor') ¶ Fr. I 137 || Ch {JS} *^o√bk v. 'roast', *^o√bk(n) 'hot', {Nw.} *bVkiu v. 'roast, burn' > WCh {Stl.} *bakikj- vt. 'burn' > Hs ba'bba'ka' id., 'scorch' : AG: Tal {IL} p'h'ya'k, {Sh.} p'yak vt. 'burn' : Bl bokk-, Ngm beke, Maha boko id. : Sbc {Sh.} : Zem mbay, Brw bak, Zar va'ki, vɜ'k, Gj bu'ki, Dw bɜ'k id., Tule {ChC} ba'k, Plc {ChL} baya~, Gj {ChC} bu'kka' vt. 'burn' : Ngz {Sch.} ba'ki id., Bd {ChL} bɜ'kɜ'n id. : CCh: McMtk: Mkt {Ro.} bɜ'ka'i' id., ?? Gzg {Lk.} fok v. 'roast' : Ech: Jg {J} bik, Mu {J} ba'ge', EDng {Ebob.} bi'ke' v. 'roast' ¶ JI II 274-5, JS 214, Stl. ZCh 152 [#69], Nw. #106, Ro. 218, Ebob. VDE 78, ChL, ChC || EC: Brj buk.k- vi. 'burn, lighten' (the meaning 'lighten' may have been influenced by C *√brk, 'lightning') ¶ Ss. B 42 || ? B *√Hqk > Gd a-βəɣ (3m pf. yu-βəɣ) v. 'be lit' ('être allumé'), Izd aɣ id. ¶ Lf. I 253 & II #0085, Mrc. 10, NZ 81-2 ¶¶ □ Sk. HCD 13, □ Tk. LAA-1 115 [#83] (HS *√b.q 'burn') (B, Ch, EC + *unc.* Eg bɣɣ 'glühen, brennen') || **IE**: NaIE *b'o-g- vt. 'roast (rösten, braten), burn', {EI} 'bake, roast' > Gk φω'γω v. 'roast, broil' : AS bacan, bo'c (> NE bake) 'to bake', OHG backan ~ bachan id., 'to roast, dry', MHG bachen 'to bake', ON baka 'backen, braten, Hände uns Füße wärmen', NHG backen 'to bake' : Sl {Trub.} *bagatje 'fire, embers': Uk багати ba'fiat'í'a 'smothered fire, embers', R Dn багаті ba'fiat'je 'smouldering fire', Blr багаче ba'fiac'c'e 'fire' ¶ P 113, Mn. 88, F II 1057, ESSJ I 124, Bern. I 38, SPS I 176-7, Vr. 23, OsS 36, EWA I 419-22, Kb. 53, Lx. 8, KM 43, Ho. 14 || Cf. also the *qu.* NaIE stem {P} *b'o' k'~ 'flammen, brennen' > L focus 'Feuerstätte, Herd', ? Arm boç boc'h 'flame' (< *b'ok'~so-?) and Arm bosor bosor adj. 'red, blood-colour' (< 'feurig?'), which contradicts the IE incompatibility law ruling out the coexistence of mediae aspiratae and tenues in the same √, but acc. to Mn. AIE 164, Arm bosor is akin to OL fusvos, L furvus 'dark' and to AS basu (gen. sg. baswes) 'purple' ¶ P 162, EI 125, WH I 521, Jah. OSK 9, 55 (on Arm boc'h) || **K** *^obug- > G {Chx.} bug- 'aus-, verbrennen, einäschern', ? bgol- 'kochen, bereiten (Essen)', ? G I {Chx.} bgal- 'anbrennen, sengen' ¶ Chx. 72, 115-6 || **A**: NrTg *bu.gar 'site of a burned forest' > Ewk buɣar, Lm bo'rin id. ('rapç') ¶ STM I 101 || ??σ M *boyursug ~ *boyurcug > WrM bogursug ~ bogurcug, HlM боорсуг ~ боорпуг 'bread, pastry', Ord b_o'rsoq 'galette, gâteau, pain', Brt боорсуг 'small pastry', Mnr H {T} bo'r3og '∈ pastry', {SM} b_o'r3og, Kl боорпуг, Δ боорсуг 'pieces of dough fried in oil', M -b> Chg bayursaq ~ boyursaq, Qrg bo'rsoq, Qzq bawırsaq id. (× OT bayırsaq-bayırsuq 'entrails' <d- OT bayır 'liver', cf. Cl. 319?) ¶ MED 112, KRS 109, Chr. 105, Ms. O 81, SM 28, T 318, Dr. TM II #797 || ? pJ {S} *ba'k- v. 'boil, seethe' > OJ wa'k-, J: T wa'k-, K/Kg wa'k- ¶ S QJ #778, Mr. 783 ¶¶ □ DQA #217 [A *bu'ga' n. 'heat, steam' > Tg, J].

185. *bukEØV 'billy goat, ram' > **HS**: S: ? Gz B'ko bəhk'w 'ram, billy goat' (d- Gz b'ko baħak'w id.) (acc. to L: <b- C) ¶ L G 91 || B *√bgg > Ah {Fc.} a-bag'ug' 'jeune mouton', Ty/ETwl {GhA} abɣgog 'jeune mouton de 2 à 3 ans', Gh abaz'uɣ' 'mouton châtré' ¶ Fc. 34, GhA 4, NZ 32 || C *√bkŋ (> *√bgŋ by *as*) 'sheep, goat' > Bj {R} bo'k, Bj A {AD} bok 'billy goat' : Ag *bægVɟ- 'sheep' > Xm {R} beg-a (pl. big), Q {R} bag-a (pl. bagan), Km {CR} бага, -b> Gz bG) baggəf 'sheep, ram', Tgy bægfi, Tgr bəgguf id., Kf {C} bage~, Mch {L} ba'go, Shn {C} baggo- 'sheep'; Tgy -b> Bln {R} bagg-a (pl. bagg) : SC {E} *be'ŋ- 'sheep, livestock' > Irq {Wh.} be'ŋi, {E} be'ŋi, Alg {Wh.} be'ŋi, {E} be'ŋi, Grw {Wh.} be'ŋi 'sheep', Brn {Wh.} be'ŋ-imo, pl. be'ŋ-a, {Fl.} be'ŋ-, {E} be'ŋi id., Kz {E} ba'amuko 'ewe lamb' : DhI {EEN, To.} b.e'ŋa 'buffalo' ¶ L G 88, AD SF 39, 315, R WB 71, E SC 137, EEN 33, To. D 130, Wh. IC 25, C SE IV 411, L M 21 || Ch *(m)bakg 'ram, sheep' > WCh: Sbc: Kir mbak 'male' (of rams in: mbak parim 'ram'), Zul bɜ'ga'la', Gj ba'gɜ'lla' 'ram' : CCh: Gude ba'ga', FlJ bɜ'ga', FIM bɜ'gɜ', FIB bɜ'gɜ'n, BtG {Mch.} mba'ge, BtD {Srp.} ba'ge' 'sheep', Mln m'ba'ga' 'ram', m'ba'ga'ti 'sheep', Bcm m'ba'ga' 'ram', mba'ga-to- 'sheep', Gudu mbæ'ksu- 'sheep' : Glv {ChL} m'ba'kula'ka', {Rp.} mba'kɜ'laka, Gv mba'ku'lɜ'ka' 'ram' ¶ JI II 291, ChC, ChL, RpB 64, Hsk. 161 ¶ in HS there are many variants of the √ which may be accounted for by *mt* of the velar and the lr. cnss. and by *as* within cns. clusters. For instance, the EthS forms (Gz bəhk'w, etc.) are accounted for by earlier *mt* and *as* (something like *bVky- > *bVyk- > *bVχk- with subsequent reg. change of pre-

HS *χ to *h) || IE [*b^hu(:)g^hHo- >] *b^hu(:)g^ho-s, {EI} *b^hug^hos 'buck, he-goat' ~ NaIE ({P}; end) *b^hukko-s 'he-goat, ram', f. *b^hu(:)g^h-a⁻ ~ *b^hukk-a⁻ 'she-goat, ewe' (Dv.: 'capra prisca') > Av bu⁻za 'goat, he-goat', NPrs zBu boz 'goat; she-goat', KhS buysa- 'goat', Psh wuz 'he-goat' || Arm buc buc '[sucking] lamb' || Clt: OIr boc, bocc, pocc, W bwch, Crn boch, MBr bouch, Br bouc^h 'buck', OCrn [VC] boch 'caper vel hyrcus' || pGmc *bukka- (← Clt, acc. to Ped.) > ON bukk, bokkr, bokki, Nr bokk, bukk, Dn buj, Sw bock, OHG boc^d boch, NHG Bock, OSx bukk, AS bucca 'buck', NE buck ¶ WP II 189, P 174 (misquotes Arm buc as buz), EI 229, Dv. #929, Mn. 120, Vl. I 233, Brtl. 969-70, Sg. 182, Horn 49, Bai. 297, Mrg. 94, Vn. B 62-3, Hü. 430, Sl. 292, Vr. 48, 64, EWA II 216-8, OsS 79, KM 87, Ho. 38, Ho. S 11 ¶ The expected Ir. is in a prevoc. position and hence leaves no trace || ?σ R: M *bugu 'deer' > WrM bugu, HIM буга, Kl buya 'male deer', Mnr H b⁻ug⁻u 'deer', MM [MA] *bu⁻yu- 'deer': gen. ñyv(vB buyuyin 'of a deer', [S] {H} buh⁻u, [HI] {Ms.} buqu [buyu] 'deer'; M → WrMc bugu 'deer', Ewk buyu, Sln boyo 'Cervus elaphus xanthopygos' ¶ MED 131, H 21, H SMG I #144, SM 32, Lew. II 22, Ms. H 43, Pp. MA 124, Z 527, STM I 101-2 || ??? AdS of Tg *buka 'male horned ungulate' (< N *buK⁻a 'bovines') > WrMc buxo ~ buxu 'deer' (← M?), ? buxa 'wild animal', Sln buxa, Ewk buka 'sire bull'. Ewk Vtm buka 'buffalo', WrMc buqa 'billy-goat, ram' ¶ Z 528, STM I 103-4 || NaT *bugu 'deer' > (or M →) MU XIII buyu 'deer', Tk Δ, Uz, Qrg buyu, Nog buyı 'male deer', Chg [BL] {Brv.} v(vB buyu 'kind of antelope or wild goat', Qzq bu⁻yı 'deer' ¶ KW 58, ET B 237-8, Brv. BL 139, STM I 101-2, Dr. TM II #752, Cl. 312, Rs. W 86 ¶¶ S CNM 10 (reconstructs A *pUk⁻ and adduces Ewk h3gl3n ~ h3wl3n 'young of elk') ♦ AD NM #45.

186. ? *baK⁻a (or *bag^ha?) 'sprout, stick, (?) sprout' > IE: NaIE *bak- 'stick, staff used for support', {EI} 'club' > L baculum 'a staff, walking-stick' (< *bak-tlom), dem. bacillum || OIr bacc 'courbure, creux, objet courbé', Nlr bac 'pin, peg, crook; prop', W bach, Crn bagh 'hook, hinge', OBr {Flr.} bach - bah 'ligo = boyau, houe', Br bac^h 'croc, gros hameçon' || Gk βακτρον 'staff, stick, cudgel', βακτηρία 'staff, cane' || MDt pegge 'pin, peg', Dt Δ pegge 'block (Klotz)', ε peg (in manufacturing wooden shoes)', ME pegge > NE peg; ?σ Sw pigg, Dn pig 'thorn' || Blt d⁻ verbs: Ltv bakstr⁻t 'to poke, pick', Lt ba⁻kstele⁻ti 'give a nudge/prick' ¶ Pokorny considers the Insular Celtic word as a *bf* from a Latinism; this hyp. (too complicated to be plausible) is not shared by Vn. ¶ WP II 104-5, P 93, EI 110-2, WH I 92, F I 211-12, Vn. B 2-3, YGM-1 38, Flr. 77-8, Hm. 61, Frn. 30, Ho. N 512-3, Skeat 439, AHD 967, 1507, Hlq. 760 || ? R {SDM97} *bak⁻v 'pole, pillar' > NaT *bakan 'pole' > Uz Δ ('Chg.') {Rl.}, Qzq {Bu., Rl.} baqan 'tent-pole' ('Stange, mit der man die Filzdecken der Jurte aufhebt und stützt'), Tt Δ bayān, payān 'post, pole', QK {B} paqan 'post for tethering horses' ¶ Bu. I 234, ET B 42-3, B DLT 184, Rs. W 53 || M *bagana ~ *bagana 'pillar, column, post, pole, tent-pole' > WrM bagana, HIM, Brt багана, Kl бахн id.; M → Qzq, Qrg baqan, Yk bayana, Tlt paqqan id., WrMc baḡana 'tent-pole, prop' ¶ MED 68, KRS 86, Chr. 73, KW 29, Pp. IM 135-7 (on M *-q-) || Tg *baksa 'prop, pole' > Ewk baksa id., Ul baqsa, Nn baqsa ~ baḡsa 'central pole of a tent' ¶ STM I 67-8 || pKo *po⁻ > MKo po⁻ 'beam, cross-beam' > MKo po⁻, NKO po, tıl-bo ¶ S QK #375, Nam 259, MLC 786 ¶¶ DQA #93 [A *ba⁻kūa 'pole, pillar'] || ? K *biga- 'stick, cudgel' > G Δ biga- 'wooden cross-beam', Mg biga-, Lz biga, Lz At bik⁻a, Sv {K} bi3⁻ 'stick' ¶ K DE 361, K² 15, BU 12 || ??? HS: S *bak⁻l⁻v⁻l⁻ 'sprout' (← *√bk⁻l v. 'sprout') > Ak {Sd.} bak⁻lu 'Sproß', Sr \oæw⁻ju buk⁻l⁻a⁻ 'germen', Ar -^oq0Ba baql⁻ 'vegetable, herbage, green', √bql G 'appear, come out (plant, tooth)', Ak √bk⁻l (acc. to Sd., this is a denom. verb meaning 'mälzen', while CAD translates it as v. 'sprout' and considers Ak bak⁻lu to be derived from it) ¶ Br. 87, Sd. 104-5 || || LEC: Af {PH} bu⁻kka 'woody type of grass used for fence/roof making' ¶ PH 74 || CCh: Msg {Krs.} efe⁻k ~ yefe⁻k 'Rohr, Stroh' || ZmD {KNC} vo⁻k 'foin' ¶ Lk. DQM 52, KNC 29 ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 112 [#62] || ♦ If K *biga- belongs here (in spite of the irreg, *i), the medial cns. must go back to *-g⁻?, otherwise it is *-K⁻. ♦ The pA lenis *-k- (for the expected fortis *-k⁻-) is still to be explained. If we adduce here Eg fOK f⁻g 'finger-nail, claw' [¶ EG I 576, Tk. II 566] instead of S *√bk⁻l, which is rather doubtful, we shall have to rec. N *pa⁻l⁻g⁻v⁻ ~ *pa⁻l⁻K⁻v⁻.

187. ? *baK⁻v⁻ 'to look' > HS: CS *bk⁻y⁻w v. 'look, observe' > JA, Sr √bk⁻y⁻w G (pf. aq!B6 'ko⁻ bə⁻k⁻a⁻) 'schauen, beobachten, ausforschen', JEA {Sl.} √bk⁻y G 'inquire into, search for, examine', MHb ba⁻k⁻ī (iq%B1 ~ aiq%B1) 'erfahren, kundig', Ar √bqy (ip. -bqay, pf. baqa⁻ iqaba) 'observavit, respexit', [Qam.] {Fr.} √bqw (pf. baqa⁻ qaBa) 'spectavit, respexit, observavit' ¶ Lv. I 253, Sl. 230, Fr. I 144; IS I 172 adduces also S *√bk⁻r v. 'examine' and *√bk⁻θ v. 'seek' || EC *be⁻k⁻ > Or be⁻k⁻ v. 'know', Brj be⁻k⁻ id.

(a loan from Or?), ?? amb Sml {R} be⁻q - be⁻g 'sorgfältige Ausschau wie etwas ins Werk zu setzen sein' (unless <b- Ar baqy-, masd. from √bqy v. 'observe') ¶ AD SF 264-5, Grg. 43, Brl. 50-1, Hd. 87, R SS II 80 || NrOm *bṽk⁻ v. 'see' > Bnc {Wdk.} be⁻k v. 'see', Bsk {C} bik⁻, {Bnd.} bek⁻a, Wl {C, LmS} be⁻z- 'see, look', Zl/Bdt/Cha {C} be⁻z-, Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} be⁻z-, Ym {Wdk.} biya v. 'see', Shn {Lm, Fl.} bek⁻-, Anf {MYTY} bek⁻k⁻, {C, Fl.} bek⁻-, Mch {L} ba⁻k⁻k⁻i(ye⁻) v. 'see', Kf {C} beg/begg-, caus. bek⁻k⁻-, {Fl.} be⁻z/bek⁻ id. ¶ AD SF 264-5, Wdk. BY 99, 119, 172, Fl. OWL s.v. 'see', L M 22, MYTY 120, LmS 312, Lm. Sh 282 || Ch: WCh: Hs {Ba.} bī⁻k⁻i 'looking after, tending carefully, taking pains about in order to get sth. back into its original good condition' || CCh: MfG ba⁻k 'regarder' ¶ Ba. 106, Brr. MG II 82 || A *bak⁻a > T *bak(a)- v. 'look at' > OT baq-, aor. baqa⁻r, Chg baq-, Tk bak-, Tkm Qrg, Qzq, Nog, VTt baq-, Tf p⁻a⁻q-, Uz bak-, Chv p⁻ṽx- id. ¶ Cl. EW 311, ET B 38-40, Rs. W 58, Fed. I 407 || Tg {ADb.} *baka- v. 'find' > Ewk baka-, Sln, Neg baxa-, Lm baq-, Orc ba⁻-, Ud {STM} b⁻a-, {Krm.} ba⁻z-, Ork ba⁻-, baqqa-, Ul ba⁻-, baqa-, Nn Nh/B ba⁻-, Nn KU baqa-, WrMc baḡa- id. ¶ STM I 66-7, Krm. 210 || pKo {S} *po⁻ 'see' > MKo po⁻-, NKO po- ¶ S QK #73, Nam 259, MLC 788 || pJ {S} *ba⁻ka⁻r 'understand' > OJ, J Kg wa⁻ka⁻r-, J: T waka⁻r-, K wa⁻ka⁻r- ¶ S QJ #774, Mr. 782 ¶¶ DQA #90 [A *ba⁻ka 'look, watch (regarder)'] ¶ IS I 172-3 (HS [S, B, Cu., O], A [T, Tg]); IS (l.c.) adduces B: Kb ṽb⁻yū ({Dl.} b⁻yū, aor. -b⁻yā) v. 'wish', but it is better explained as a loan from Ar √byy. IE *spek⁻/g⁻ v. 'look, see, observe, spy' does not belong here, but rather to N *p.⁻E⁻K⁻y⁻V 'to follow (game) by the tracks', look' (q.v.).

188. *buK⁻a 'bovines' > HS: +ext. : S *ba⁻k⁻a⁻r 'cattle' > BHB rqlB1 ba⁻k⁻a⁻r 'cattle, herd', Ph bk⁻r 'cattle', Ug {OLS} bk⁻r 'herd (of cattle, sheep)' ('rebaño de vacuno, cabaña'), JA arlq⁻B2 bak⁻r-a⁻, Sr æroq⁻a bak⁻r-a⁻ 'cattle', JEA bak⁻r-a⁻ {Sl.} 'herd', Ar baqar- '(wild\domesticated) bovines, ox\bull\cow', Sb bk⁻r 'bovines, head of cattle', Eb {Krb.} bak⁻arum 'cattle'; S d⁻ *buk⁻a⁻r > Ar buqa⁻r 'head of (large) cattle', Ak buk⁻a⁻r 'cattle' ¶ KB 144-5, KBR 151, HJ 187, OLS 114-5, Lv. I 256, Sl. 231, Br. 88, Ln. I 234, BGMR 30, BK I 148-9, CAD II 323, Krb. EG 39 || Ch: ECh: Brg {J, ChC} bo⁻go⁻ro⁻ 'male antelope', bo⁻go⁻re⁻y 'female antelope', EDng {Fd.} bo⁻go⁻r 'antelope', ? Mkl {J} b⁻o⁻rgu⁻ 'horse antelope (kudu)', ? Mgm {JA} b⁻a⁻rgu⁻ 'oryx antelope'; Nd D {J} pa⁻g⁻z⁻r 'antelope' (p- due to the inf. of the reflex of N *p.⁻oK⁻u⁻ 'pack, herds of ruminant animals') ¶ ChC, J LM 73, JA LM 73 || IE: NaIE p⁻bu⁻(:)k⁻/bou⁻k⁻ 'bull' > Sl *bi⁻k⁻ / gen. *bi⁻ka (< *bu⁻ko-) 'bull' > Blg бик, SCR bi⁻k, Slv bi⁻k, Cz, Slk by⁻k 'bull', P byk id. ({ESSJ}: 'sire bull'), OR бѣкъ bik⁻, R бѣк 'bull'; Sl *b⁻ṽk⁻ (< *buk-) > SCR ba⁻k 'bull' || ? pClf f. {SB, Vn.} *bou⁻kk-a⁻ 'cow' (unless <d- Clt *bow- < IE *g⁻ou⁻ 'cattle', as supposed by SB, LP and Vn.) > OW buch 'iuvenca', W buwch (pl. buchod), MBr, OCrn buch, MCrn bugh, Br buoc⁻h-buc⁻h 'cow' ¶ Bern. I 112, ESSJ III 147-8, Glh. 156, 128, SPS I 473-4, Ern. 86-7, SB 178, LP § 298, Vn. B 61-2, YGM-1 61, ECCE 217, Hm. 119 ¶ IE *b⁻ < *b⁻ due to the IE law of incompatibility of voiced aspirates and voiceless cnss. || A: NaT *buka ({SDM97, ADb.} *bu⁻ka) 'bull, sire bull' (× A *muk⁻u 'male' < N *mak⁻U 'baby, son, be pregnant' [q.v.]?) > OT 'qvB buqa (Cl.: buqa⁻), Chg buya, Tk bog⁻a, Tkm buya, SbTt buya⁻ poya, MQp buya, Qzq, Uz, ET, Tb buqa, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Nog, Qq, Bsh, Yk buya, Xk puya, Tv p⁻uya, Tf p⁻u⁻fa 'bull' ¶ ET B 237-8, Cl. 312, Brv. BL 139, Tum. 46, 175 || M (< T?) *buqa 'bull' > MM [S] buqa {H} 'Rind, starkes Rind (Stier)', WrM buqa 'bull', HIM бyx, Brt бyx, Kl бyx bux⁻u 'sire-bull', MMgl {Iw.} buqa, Mgl {Rm.} buqa, Ord b⁻uxa 'bull'; but M *bugu 'deer' is easier to explain as belonging to N *bukEØV 'billy goat, ram' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ H 21, MED 31, 142, Chr. 119, Luv. 91, KRS 124-5, KW 58, Rm. M 24, Iw. 93, Ms. O 91, H SMG I 44, Ms. H 43, SM 32, Lew. II 22 || ? amb Tg *buka > Ewk buka, Sln buxa 'bull, male reindeer', WrMc buqa 'ram, male goat'; × N *bukEØV ¶ STM I 103-4 ¶¶ ADb. KL 5.

189. *buk⁻V 'cheek' > HS {Blz.} *buk⁻V or *buk⁻V⁻V 'cheek(s), face' > EC *buk⁻ (-*buk(k)ṽ-) > Or {Bl.} 'bok⁻-o? 'jaw, the whole cheek', Or Gj/B {LLC} bok⁻o 'jaw, cheek', Kns pa⁻k⁻-o⁻-t⁻a 'jaw', Brj, Sd bok⁻o 'head', Kmb bok⁻o 'head', Sa I {CR} buka 'higher location', Gln, Gwd pukka⁻-te 'head' ¶ Bl. 134, LLC 33, 108, Ss. B 38, Lm. SKE 533 || B *b⁻Vqqa⁻ > Rf abəqqa 'face', Mz abəqqa 'cheek', Wrg abəqqa id., 'côté de la figure', Kb abəqqa 'gifle', Nf abəqqa id., 'sifflet' ¶ Dl. 34, Dlh. M 9, Wlf. EAW 43, NZ 85-6 || CCh: Tr {Nw.} b⁻oxom 'beard', Lgn {Lk.} mbagam 'cheek', {ChL.} Bcm b⁻o⁻k⁻zy 'cheeks', ? Bu puku⁻m, Ngx p⁻ʒhə⁻m, HgF puki id., Bnn fo⁻ku⁻-na⁻ 'face', Lmn {SSAAJ} pagam 'temple' ('Schläfe') || ? Hs ba⁻ki⁻, Gw ba⁻k⁻i⁻ 'mouth' ¶ ChL, ChC, Ba. 64, Lk. L 108 ¶¶ SSAAJ I #19 || K: OG {Abul., Fn.} bak⁻o 'lip, border', [+G] {Chx.} bak⁻o 'Rand (eines Trinkgefäßes)'; the development of vowels in K is obscure ¶ Abul. 28, Chx. 60 || IE: NaIE *buk⁻(k⁻)V or *buk(k)V 'cheek' > L bucca id. || (L b⁻?) W boch, OBr boch, Br boc⁻h id.,

OCrn [VC] en voch 'facies' (en is an article) ¶ ≠ WH I 120 (*unc.* : from *bu- 'aufblasen, schwellen'), My. 57 (adduces Al buze- 'lip, edge', that does not belong here, ≠ O 43), Flr. 87, Hm. 89, Loth ML 138 ¶ *b-...-k|k- for *b^h-...-k|k- due to the known incompatibility law II D *pukk- 'cheek', {GS} *buk- id., 'swollen' > Kn buggi 'cheek', Tl bugga 'cheek, inside of the cheek', bukka 'inside or hollow of the mouth', pikkili 'inside of the cheek', Prj bukka, Gdb buggal, Gnd buka-^d p^huka-^d b^huka-^d bukka^d bugga 'cheek', Knd buku 'mouthful', bugli 'cheek', Ku bu-ga^d bugga id., Krx pok'o 'chubby-cheeked' ¶¶ D #4242, GS 110 [#285], 113 [298], 55 [#147] ♦ Blz. DA [⊕ 153] [#8] (HS, K, IE, D), Blz. KM 113 [#1] (K, HS, D).

190. *bu^hk.a '∈ a stinging insect (¶ 'gadfly', 'gnat')' > HS: S *bak.k- > Ak bak.k.um '(small) gnat', Ar baqq- 'bug, gnat', {BK} 'punaise', JA aq!B2 bak.'k.-a-, Sr 'qofo ba-'k.-a- 'gnat' ¶ Sl. 230, Br. 87, JPS 52, Sd. 105, BK I 148, Lv. I 253 || EC: Or {Grg., Hd.} bo^hke- 'gnat, mosquito', {Brl.} boke- 'moscerino della Fam. Phlebotomus' ¶ Hd. 71, 102, Brl. 59, Grg. 56 II K: G P buk.uk.a 'gnat' ¶ Chx. 117 II IE: NaIE *b^hou^hk-/b^huk- 'bee' > L fu^hcus 'drone bee' (< *b^hou^hkos) || Clt: Gl {ML} *bekos 'bee' (↳ Port Mr, It Mdn bega, Occ Cr beko, bīeko 'bee'), OIr bech 'bee', W begegyr 'hornet' || Sl *бучъль > R Δ 'бучен' 'wild bee; (∈) a green fly with a sting' ^d 'бучин' 'bumble-bee'; Sl *бъсъла (< *b^hukela-) ~ *бъсъла 'bee' > OCS, OR БЪЧЕЛА бѣчела ~ БЪЧЕЛА бѣчела, R, Blg, McdS пчела, Blr пча'ла, Uk бджо'ла, SCr с'е'ла, р'е'ла, Slv bc'ēla ~ bec'ēla, Cz, Slk vc'ela, P pszczoła ¶ P 116, Dv. #868, EI 57 (*b^hi-k^{wo}- 'bee, stinging insect'), ESSJ III 76, 104-5, ML #1014, Vn. B 24-5 II A *bo^hu^hk'e ¶ 'botfly, gadfly, mosquito' ({ADb.} *bu^hk'v 'fly') > NaT *bu^ho^hke-lik {ADb.} 'blue fly, botfly' > Tkm bo^hkelek, Tk Δ bo^hkelek^d bu^hkelek 'botfly, gadfly', Az bu^hya^hla^hk, Δ bo^hga^hla^hx, Uz Δ bokalak, Bsh бь^hga^hla^hk, Yk bu^hgu^hla^hχ 'botfly', Qzq б^hгелек, {Rl.} bu^hgo^hlu^hk 'Pferdebremse, botfly'; with other sxs.: Qzq bu^hgo^hz^ho^hk, VTt бь^hga^hls^ha^hn, {Rl.} бь^hгь^hls^ho^hk, Nog bu^hklesin id.; ?? Tk Δ bu^hven, Chv ръван 'gadfly' ¶ ET B 212-3, MM 109, Rl. IV 1718, 1881-2 || M *bo^hku^hvene 'horse-fly, gadfly' > MM [HI] {Ms.} bo^hko^hv^hu^hne 'cousin, moustique', WrM {MED} bo^hku^hne, bu^hku^hgene, HIM б^hхн id., WrM {SM} bo^hku^hgene '∈ cousin jaune', {Ms.} bo^hko^hgu^hne 'cousin, moustique', WrO {Krg.} bo^hku^hu^hne 'mosquito', Kl б^hк^hнbo^hku^hne, {Rm.} bo^hku^hnə 'gnat', Ord b^ho^hхo^hη 'cousin, moucheron, ∈ petites mouches qu'on voit sur le bétail', Mgr H p^hug^hunog^h 'taon' ¶ Ms. H 43, MED 127, 145, Krg. 359, KRS 114, KW 55, Ms. O 86, SM 307.

191. *bu^hK.a 'to bend; bent' > HS: Om {Blz.} *buk-/b^huk.n- 'knee' > SOm: Dm bo^hq, Gll buqa, Ub buk.a ~ buq'a ~ buq'a, Baka boya, Hm buk, Hm B bu^hko || NrOm: Kcm, Gdc bo^hʔe, Gnj bo^hʔaut, Malo, Oyda {Fl.} bunk.e, Bdt {C} bohe, {Fl.} bo^hhe, Bsk buk.a, Dk buki 'knee' ¶ Blz. OLBP #70 || ? CCh: ? Bnn {ChL} fwo^hki^hva^h 'knee' II IE: NaIE *b^heu^hg-~*b^heu^hg^h-, {EI} *b^heu^hg- vt. 'bend' > [1] NaIE *b^heu^hg-/b^hug- > OI bhu^hjati 'bends, curves', bhug^h-na- 'bent', Blc bo^hg.n. 'bend, knot, joint', KhS ham^h-bujs- 'bow down', ham^h-bus^hda^h 'bows down' || [2] NaIE *b^heu^hg^h- > Gt biugan, OSx bu^hgan, OHG biogan, NHG biegen vi., vt. 'to bend, turn', ON bogenn pp. 'bent', 3p p. bugu 'they bent'; ↳ Gmc *bau^hgian vt. 'bend' > OSx bo^hgian, OHG bougen, NHG beugen, AS bīeȝ'an, ON beygia || [1 or 2] NaIE *b^heu^hg^hl^h- > pAl {O} *buta > Al bute^h 'soft, smooth' (< *b^hug^hl^h-to- pp. 'bent, flexible') || ?? Arm bu^h but^h 'blunt, dull' (< *b^hug^hl^h-to- 'bent') (unless akin to Nr Δ butt 'blunt') || OIr boc, Nlr bog 'soft' ({Vn.}: ← 'pliable'), OIr fid-bocc 'wooden shaft-bow' (< Clt *-buggo-) || Ltv Δ (ME) bau^hgurs 'Anhöhe, Hügel' || Sl *bugъръ ~ *bugorъ 'hillock, knoll, mound' > R, Uk буг'роп (gen. буг'ра) id. ¶ WP II 145-6, P 152-3, EI 62, IS I 191, M K II 504-6, M E I 267 & II 274-5, Bai. 463, Fs. 96, Vr. 34, 40-1, OsS 65-6, EWA II 78-80, 263, KM 71, 74, Ho. 22, Ho. S 8, 10, O 43, Vn. B 62, Ped. AA 341, Kar. II 26-7, ESSJ III 79, Vs. I 228, Slr. 348 II A: T *bu^hk-v. 'bend' > OT {Cl.} bu^hk- id., Tk bu^hk-, Tkm, Az, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Qq. Nog bu^hk-, Alt b^hu^hk-, Xk pu^hk- ~ pɣx-, VTt, Bsh бь^hk-, Uz buk-, Chv пѣк- рьг-; T *bu^hk.n. 'a bend' (× N *muK.E, *muK.E-rV 'a bend' [q.v.]) ¶ Cl. 324, Rs. W 91-2, ET B 290-3 || M: (1) *bo^hke-yi- > MM [MA] bo^hkei^h- vi. 'bend down' (of humans), vt. 'bend down', [HI] d^h bo^hkeyilge- 'soumettre', WrM {MED} bo^hku^hi- ~ bo^hkei-, HIM б^hхий- v. 'sich vorwärts biegen', 'bend down, bow one's head' (г^hн^hт^hс^hϕ), Brt б^hхь-, Kl б^hки- 'bend down, bow', Kl {Rm.} bo^hki^h- 'sich vorwärts biegen, buckelig werden', Ord b^ho^hхi^h- 'se courber', Mnr H {SM} p^hug^hi- id., 'être incliné', {T} pugi- 'bend down, bow (one's head)'; (2) *bo^hg^hkti-yi- > WrM {MED} bo^hgtu^hi- v. 'bend, step over, bow', Brt б^hгды- 'bend down, bow low', HIM б^hгтий- 'stoop, bow (нагибат^hс^hϕ)', Kl {Rm.} bo^hkc^hi- 'buckelig sein, sich bücken, sich vorwärts biegen' ¶ Pp. MA 123, MED 126-7, Luvs. 79, 82, Chr. 120, 127, KRS 113, KW 55, Ms. O 85, Ms. H 43, SM 306, T 355 || Tg *bu^hk^hle- ({Bz.}

*boˈkɪaːj) 'hump' > Ewk Urm/Ucr/Chlm buku, Lm boˈkɔːkɜn, Neg boxon, Ud boxo 'humpbacked', Ul boqo(n-) ~ buqu(n-), Ork bo(q)qo ~ buqqo ~ buquq id., 'hump', Ewk Ucr bɜkɜ, Nn Nh bukuː 'hump', WrMc boxoto, boqto 'camel's hump' ¶ STM I 104, Krm. 214 || ? pJ {S} *piˈnkaːm- 'be twisted/warped' > OJ piˌiː gaːm-, J: T/Kg higaːm-, K hiː gaːm- ¶ S QJ #1659, Mr. 688 ¶¶ DQA #185 [A *biˌuː kˈiː 'to bend, bow'] ♦ IS I 911 [#25] ♦ ■ Gr. II #39 (*buk 'bend') [IE, A + qu. Ai, Gil].

192. *bʰuːˈhɪk U 'to be white\bright\light (hell), shine white' > HS: WS *√bhk. (G and Sh) > MHB [BT] √bhk., act. prtc. boˈheːk. 'albino' or 'man with white patches on the skin' (BT, Bekh. 45b), Sh hibˈhik. {Js.} v. 'shine, be bright', {Lv.} 'glänzen, leuchten', Sr √bhk.: Sh ʔabˈhek. {Br.} 'luxit, splenduit', {JPS} v. 'shine white, glitter', {PS} 'splenduit, fulsit', JA [Trg.] ʔabˈheːk. v. 'shine'; WS *buhɪak.--*bahak.- 'white patch', (?) 'ray of light' > BHB 'bohak. 'vitiligo alba', MHB 'bohak. 'weißer, blasser Glanzfleck', JA [Trg.] aqlɛ9&B bohˈak.-aː, bhk.yt 'white spot on the skin due to leprosy', Ar bahaq- 'vitiligo alba, alphas (a mild species of leprosy)', Tgr bhQ bəhak. 'blisters', Hrs bəhoːk. 'having uncoloured (white) blotches on the skin', Jb bhək. 'white patches on the skin' ¶ KB 108, KBR 112, LH 267, Br. 61, JPS 36, PS 458, Ln. 267, Lv. I 196, Jo. J 24, Jo. H 16, ■ MiK I #1.33 [S *bahak. '(kind of) skin disease'] || Ch {JS, JI} *√b.g 'white' > CCh: Gdf {ChC} b.ɜːgɜː, Gv {ChL} b.uːgaː 'white', ? HgNk {ChL} b.ya, ? HgB {ChL} b.iya id. [†, Mada b.ək b.ək 'brūlant (soleil, feu)'] || ? WCh: Dir {IL} b.áwá, {Sk.} b.eːˈ id. (Ch *b. < *bh) ¶ JI I 178 & II 345, ChC, ChL [†, BrrB 73] [†|| Om: NrOm: Kf {Cc.} bako 'luce', {HWHM} bekko b□ (i.e. bekko) 'light' || ?φ Som: Hmr {Ldl.} pək. 'bright' (of light) ¶ R K (book) 272, HWHM 144, Nnd. AL 146] ¶¶ ≠ MiK I #1.33 (HS *bʰhak. k- 'a skin disease') [†, ■ Tk. LAA-1 113 [#68] (unʃ. k. in Kf bako)] || IE: NaIE *bʰeiˌgʷ-/ *bʰoiˌgʷ-/ *bʰigʷ- 'shine (glänzen)' > Gk φοιːβοϋ 'bright, radiant', [Hs.] αˈφικτοϋ, αˈφικτροϋ (*-bʰigʷ-) 'impure' || OPrs *bigna- 'Glanz' (in proper names: Bagaˉ-bigna, Ἀρια-βιγνη) ¶ WP II 138, P 118, F II 1031-2, otherwise EI 514 (Gk < ?? *gˆwoiˌgʷos) || D (in SD) *puk- ({GS} *p-, *-g-) 'tawny (color), bright' > Tm pukar 'tawny color, bright, brightness', light (color)', Ml pukar 'dun color', Kn pogar 'shine, brightness, lustre, color' ¶ D #4234.

193. ? *bUK.c.E 'to tie', 'rope, tie' > K *bac.c.(k.)- 'rope' > G bac.k.i 'dünner Faden', ?? bac.ari 'Bindfaden, Schnur, Seil, Strick' ¶ Chx. 71 || IE: NaIE *bʰaskˈoː- 'bundle' > L fascis 'bundle', fascia 'bandage, bund' || OIr basc 'collar', {Vn.} 'assemblage tressé (?), collier', OBrth bascauda 'eherner Spülkessel' (< 'plaited vessel?'); Brtt b̥ NE basket || Gk [Diosc.] φασκιοῦ v. 'bind with bandages', [Hs.] φασκιῶ (gen. -ιδοῖ) · διαφυσσοῖ, {By.} 'un paquet lié par une corde' || Mcd [Hs.] βαˈσκιω · δεσμοί φρυγάνων ('a bundle of dry sticks'), βασκευταιː · φασκιδέει, ἀγκάλαι ('paquets liés par des cordes') || pAl {O} *bakskaˉ > Al T bashkeˉ 'together, jointly' (< {BFU} 'bündelweise, in Verbindung') ¶ WP II 135-6, Ch. 1181, By. 2056, WH I 459-60, Vn. B 21-2, LP § 25.2, O 19, BFU 52, Kf. 48, Ç I 59 & II 351 (reconstructs IE *baksk- on the alleged ev. of Lt ĭbakske 'paquet, fasceau' without indicating the lexicographical source; this Lt word has not been detected so far in any source known to me) || U *puˈkse ~ *pikse 'rope' ('Seil, Strick') > Mk/Er piks 'rope' || pOs *puˈxət ~ *piyət > Os: V puˈxət, D piyət, Nz piˈxət 'Tragband, -schnur', Kz piˈwəttə- 'die Tragbänder über die Brust zusammenheften' || ? OHg fiu [fiuː] 'funiculus, Seil' (→ 'modus agri, mensura terrae') || Sm: Ne O pˈud 'rope (of bark)', F N pˈut 'rope' ¶ Coll. 49, Coll. CG 408 (*puˈksV), UEW 380 (*pikse), Sm. 539 (U, FU, FP *piksi, Ugr *pr̥kθr̥, Sm *puˈto- 'cord'), Ker. II 112 || A: M *buˈci 'ribbon, belt' > MM [HI] {Lew.} buˈcːi 'ceinture, ruban d'un vêtement, ceinture qu'on porte sur la hanche', {H} buˈzːi 'belt, loin-cloth', {Ms.} buˈcːi 'ruban à un habit', WrM buˈci ~ buˈce, HLM б*ч, Brt б*ч 'tie, ribbon, band, lace', ? Brt б*ч ~ б*ч 'belt, sash, girdle', WrO buˈci 'ribbon, ccord, band, Kl б*ч buˈcːi 'ribon, lace', 'kurze und breite Schnur, Band', Ord b_uˈhːcːi ~ b_uˈhːcːe 'bande, ruban' ¶ Lew. II 23, H SMG I 18, Ms. H 44, MED 143, Chr. 128, 135, Krg. 376, KRS 132, KW 70, Ms. O 108 || D *pocc- ({GS} *p-) (partially × N *p.ocˈV 'to plait', q.v.) > Kui poza v. 'pack, make a bundle', Ku poˉzali v. 'tie up in a cloth', Kn pose v. 'twist, make rope', Krx po3znaˉ / puz3yas v. 'wrap (paper, cloth) round some object', Mlt poze v. 'wrap' ¶¶ D #4479 ♦ AD SShS 306-7.

194. ?? *beLu 'bad, harm' > HS: S *√blwly > Ar √bly (pf. baliya, ip. -blay-) v. 'be worn out' (of clothes), balw~ baly- 'brisé, cassé, usé par les fatigues, les malheurs', baly- 'usé, râpé' ¶ BK I 165 || IE: NaIE *bʰalw- 'evil, wicked' > Gt balwa-weˉsei 'κακία = Bosheit', balwjan 'βασανίζειν = martern', balweins 'κόλασις, βασανισμός = Strafe, Folter', AS bealu n. 'evil, calamity', adj. 'evil, dire, wicked', ON

bo.l 'Unglück, Schade', bo.lva 'to curse', OHG balo (gen. balawes) 'harm' ('Verderben') 'bad, evil' (n.), OSx balu id. || Gk φαυλός (< *b^halwo-?) 'bad, mean, unfit' ¶¶ WP II 189, F II 998, Fs. 79, Ho. 17, Ho. S 5, Vr. 70, OsS 38, EWA I 444-5, Kb. 55, O 31 (Al bolbe- 'mishap, accident; disorder, trouble' is a Sl loan and does not belong here), Vs. SAW 8 [#6] ¶¶ R: Tg *bele- v. 'harm' > WrMc bele- v. 'harm, ruin, slander', Lm Ol b3l3g3- v. 'harm' ¶ STM I 125 || ?? M: HIM {Luv.} балаг 'guilt, cause' (an obscure word without clear connections within M) [derived from WrM {Kow.} bala Ol bala 'power, strength, vigour, validity?'] ¶ Luv. 59, Kow. 1074, MW 722 || ?? pKo *o-i- 'bad, wrong' > MKo o-i- 'bad, wrong', NKO o-i- id., 'left' ¶ S QK #587, Nam 386, MLC 1221 || ?? pJ {S} *ba'r3- 'bad' > OJ wa'r3-, J: T/Kg waru'-, K wa'ru'- ¶ S QJ 540, Mr. 844 ¶¶ ≠ SDM95 s.v. *beT'a 'bad, harm' (equates Tg *bele-, Ko *o-i-, pJ *ba'r3- with T *biaT'c 'wound' (hardly convincing) ♦ This N √ may be identical with *baHl'V 'pain, wound' (q.v.).

195. *bil'V 'to be warm, burn; warm' > **HS:** C (× N *bael'X' 'to boil, cook', q.v. ffd.): EC: Or BI {Sr.} bullu-sa vt. 'warm', bullu.k.a 'luke warm', Or {Grg.} buluk- 'become warm', buluk.a- adj. 'warm', {Brl.} bulluqa 'caldo, fervido', Rn {PG} bolxa 'be alight, burn', Arr {Hw.} bol(o)k- 'catch fire, shine', Dsn {To.} bol- vi., Sa {R} bolol- 'burn', Sml belel- vi. 'burn', belbel, Sml N be'be'l, be'le'n. 'flame' || Ag {Ap.} *b3l-/*b3r- v. 'cook, be hot' > Bln, Aw b3r-, Xm b3l-, Km b3lu y- || Bj {R} balo-l- vi. 'burn' ¶ Grg. 67, Brl. 66, Sr. 277, PG 79, To. DL 347, 387, ZMO 38, Abr. S 30, Hw. A 348, Ap. AV 7, R WBd 48, Blz. DL s.v. 'burn', Blz. CL 177 || Ch: MfG {Brr.} -b3l- 'allumer (le feu en faisant tourner deux bâtons)', Gzg {Lk.} -b3l-/bl- 'anblasen (Feuer)' ¶ Brr. MG II 82, Lk. G 118 ¶ **U:** FU (in Ugr only) *piil'V 'warm; to burn' > Hg fu'l- v. 'be warm, be heated' :Vg: Vg T pilawt- v. 'light sth.', LK p3- 'brennen', P pe'lamt- 'anzünden', N pe'l- v. 'catch fire', T pa'lt- 'anzünden', P palt-, Ss pa'lt- 'verbrennen' ¶ UEW 879 ¶ **R:** M *bu'li- < *bu'li-ye 'warm' > MM [HI] bu'li/ven, [S] bule/ven, WrM bu'ligen ~ bu'liyen, HIM булүүн, Brt б*леүн, Kl б*л'н bu'la'n, Ord b_u'le'n, Mnr H {SM} bielia'n id., WrM bu'li-s-, bu'li-d-, Brt б*леүд-, Kl б*л'д- bu'la'-d- v. 'warm up, become warm' ¶ H 20, MED 146, KRS 126, KW 66, Chr. 122, Ms. O 102, Ms. H 44, SM 24.

196. *bul'V 'to stir up (liquid), turbid' > **HS:** S *√bll, *-bull- 'mix, moisten' (× *ba'ln'V 'to wash, immerse') > BHb √bll, -b3l (pf. l2B1, pf. cons. lbll!<v@ way'ya-b3l) 'moisten (with oil); mix up' (→ 'mix up, confuse [languages]', Sr √bll G {Br.} 'confudit, miscuit; madefecit', Md √bll v. 'mix (together), confuse', Ar √bll G, ip. ya-bull-u 'humecter, mouiller', Jb √bll Sh (pf. eb'lel) v. 'give (animals) their fill of water', Gz √bll G v. 'moisten; to spoil, mix', Tgy √bll (pret. b3l3l3 v. 'spoil', Ak √bll (inf. bala'lu) v. 'mix, brew beer, make an alloy', (in the stative) v. 'mix up, confuse'; WS *√bbl v. 'confuse' > Ar √bbl (pf. balbala) v. 'mix, confuse', MHb √bbl (pf. bil'bel) v. 'confuse', Tgr ?ab3l3la v. 'be confused' ¶ KB 128, KBR 133-4, Br. 74, DM 66, BK 155-6, Jo. J 25, L G 96, CAD II 39-44 || Eg Md b3y (< *bVly-) 'be damp (with perspiration)', b3yw 'damp' ¶ EG I 417, Fk. 77, Tk. II 44-8 || B: Ah b3lulu 'être très liquide (un mélange d'un liquide et d'une substance en poudre ou en petits fragments)', Tw Ng b3l3w3l3w 'être très liquide (mélange d'un liquide et d'une substance en poudre)' ¶ Fc. 65-6, NZ 68 ¶¶ Cal. 60, Tk. II 44-6 ¶ **IE:** NaIE *b^hl-end- v. 'be(come) turbid, mix', (× IE *b^hlend^h- v. 'be blind' < N bal'li'V 'blind') > Gt blandan sik 'συναναμιγνυσαι, be mixed up with, be associated with', ON blanda, OHG (gi)blantan, OSx, AS blandan 'to mix', NE blend || Lt ble~sti (prs. blendz'iu) 'to add flour to sth. and mix', blendynis 'light\thin mixture (.g. flour and water)', blandu's 'dim, dull, cloudy; misty, foggy', {Frn.} 'not clean, turbid', bli~sti, Δ ble~stis, bla~stis 'grow\become dark\dim', 'become turbid' (of water), sublin~do 'it got dark, night was falling' ¶ P 157-8, EI 147 (*b^hlend^h- 'be\make cloudy'), Fs. 98-9, Vr. 42, OsS 73-4, EWA II 159-60, Kb. 94, Ho. 26, Ho. S 8, Frn. 47-8 ¶ **R:** NaT *bulga-, ? *bulka-, *bula- v. 'mix, stir' > OT bulya-, bulqa- (Cl.: bulya-) v. 'stir, confuse', Chg, Nog, StAlt bulya- v. 'stir, mix', Qmq bulya- v. 'stir, stir up', Qrg bulya- v. 'stir, soil', Uz bulya-, bula- v. 'stir up, muddy', Tv p3l3ya- v. 'mix, soil', Tf p3ulha- v. 'mix, knead', Xk pulya- v. 'mix', ET bulyi-, Tk bula-, Tkm, Az bula- v. 'stir, mix' ¶ Cl. 337, Ra. 165, ET B 253-7 || M: [1] M *bu'lel- 'stir, churn' > WrM bule- ~ buli, HIM булү- 'beat\churn kumiss with a beater', Ord b_u'li-, Brt б*лү- 'churn', WrO {Krg.} bu'li- 'stir', Kl б*л- 'churn (butter)', {Rm.} bu'l3-, bu'l'- id., 'stir', Dg {Mr.} d bulure 'e stirrer' || [2] M *bulangir > MM [HI] bulungir, [MA] bulanqir [bulangir] 'turbid', WrM bulangir, HIM булингар 'disturbed lees or sediment in liquids', Brt булангир 'dirt', Ord b_ulingir d b_ulangir 'dirt in water', 'dirty, turbid' (of liquid), WrO bulangir 'murky,

cloudy', Kl {Rm.} bulŋ_ogir ~ bul'ŋ_ogr. 'dirty, turbid; dirt, lees', M б→ Ewk bolajir 'mud (in a swamp)', bolajint'i 'turbid'; ?σ M *bulayi > MMgl [Z] bula 'polluted', WrM bulai, HIM булай 'loathsome, filthy', Kl {Rm.} bula[~] ~ bula⁻ 'dirty', {KRS} бузр-була 'sewage, dirt' ¶ MED 133, 146, Ms. O 10, Krg. 375, KRS 12, KW 59, 66, Chr. 123, Mr. D 127, Z 93 || ? Tg *bu.lei₁ 'swamp, mud' (× N *pal,yV 'mud, swamp, lake', q.v. ffd.) || pJ {S} *pu'r- 'shake up, wave' > OJ pu'r-, J: T ɸu'r-, K/Kg ɸu'r- ¶ S QJ #779, Mr. 694 ¶¶ □ DQA #206 [A *bu'li 'to stir, shake, smear' > T, M *bu'le₁, J] ◇ IS I 185-6.

197. ?? ***bu'li** 'a shoot' > **K:** GZ {K, K²} *bibil-, {FS} *bil- 'shoots, sprouts; edge' > G bibilo- 'comb, crest, tuft (of birds)', Mg birbil- 'catkin, amentum (of tree, tambourine)', Lz bibil- 'comb (of cock); penis' ¶ K 51, K² 15, FS K 54, FS E 55, Chx. 84 || **D** (tr., "GS) *pul₁- 'small stick, twig' [× N *P₁ul₁l₁v₁?v₁ '∈ tree (poplar or sim.)?'] > Tl pulla 'a small stick or twig', Kn pul₁le, pul₁i 'a small bit of very dry wood', Kdg pul₁i 'fuel', Tu pullæ 'a split, splint' ¶¶ D #4328.

[[+ **197a.** ??? ±± ***bVLV** 'dove' > **IE:** NaIE: Ltv. balo'dis, Lt balan'dis id. || Oss: I ba'lon, D ba'la'w 'domesticated pigeon', [× *P₁el₁l₁v₁ (= *pel₁l₁v₁?) 'dove, pigeon'] OI ba'la-gra 'dove-cot' ¶ □ Frn. 31, □ Kar. 101 (both: *unc.* : in Blt 'dove' ← 'white'), Ab. I 249 || **HS:** EC: Or bululla 'colombo, piccione', {Brl.} bulalle' id., 'tortora', ??σ Sd {Gs.} bulo '∈ bird' ¶ Brl. 65, Th. 51, Gs. 49 || Ch *(mV-)bUl- > WCh: Hs bo'lo' 'dove' : AG: Gmy bel, Cp bul, Su {J}, Ang ^mbul; Krkr {ChL} b.e'iz'wi' : BT: Bl {ChC} ^mbole 'dove', Tng {J} ^mbole 'turtle-dove' || CCh: Tr {Nw.} mbo'la' 'dove' || ECh: Gabri {AF} be'lu, Kwn M {J} bu'lo-go' 'dove' ¶ ChC, ChL, Ba. 118. J T 75, Stl. ZCh 156 [#104], Nw. WLT 42, Lk. ZSS 88 ¶¶ OS # #330 [Or, Ch + *unc.* Eg bn '∈ bird', bnw 'phoenix' + *err.* Kwn bə'lo'ki' (in fact 'dawn' rather than 'dove'!)] || **D** *pel- ('GS) *b-) 'dove, pigeon' (× N *P₁el₁l₁v₁ '†', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Blz. 160 [#] (D, HS) ◇ *Qu.* because of possible infl. of the onomatopoeia and names of colours.]

198. ?? ***bVLV?a** 'to blow, inflate' > **HS:** CCh: Gzg D {Lk.} bəl 'anblasen (Feuer)' : Db {Lnh.} mbu'l v. 'blow' ¶ Lk. G 119, ChC || ? Eg fOK b 'soul' (transcribed in Gk [Horapollon] as βαί) (× N *be?yV 'body, self' → 'soul', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Cf. also Ch: Ke {Eb.} fu'li 'blasen, wehen', Kir {ChL} f'wale v. 'blow' (Eb. 46, ChC), but they may be better equated with HEC {Hd.} *fo'le 'breath' || **K** *be'l- > Sv UB/L {GP, Dn.} li-be'l-e v. 'cause sth. to swell up; to swell up', Sv {Ni.} -ba'l-/bel- v. 'swell' (× N *bVl₁l₁v₁ 'to swell', q.v. ffd.) [K 50, K² 11 and IS I connect the Sv word with G ber- v. 'inflate' (aor. -ber-e < *be-r-e, ƒ GM S 250, GM SAKS 70-1), Lz bar-, Mg (m)bar- v. 'blow, inflate' ({K} *be₂-, {K²} *ber-)], but this is highly doubtful] (see N ?? ***bV'h'RV** 'to blow, inflate, swell' ¶¶ Ni. s.v. пухнут & пухлый, GP 1, 147, Dn. s.v. be'l-, IS I 193, K 50, K² 11, Schm. 97, Chik. 252 || **IE:** NaIE *b^hla⁻ (/b^hel₁ə₁?) v. 'blow, inflate' ({EI} *b^hl-eh_A- <d *b^hel- 'blow, blow up, swell') > L fla⁻ (1s prs flo⁻) v. 'blow', fla⁻tus (gen. -u⁻s) 'a blowing, blast, breathing' || Gmc *ble⁻ > WGmc *bla⁻ > OHG bla⁻en 'to blow, blow out' ('conflare, inflare, spirare'), MHG blæje, blæwen, NHG bla⁻hen 'to inflate', OFrs ble⁻ p. 'blew', AS bla⁻wan 'to blow, breathe', NE blow; ON blæ'r 'gust of wind, Windstoß' || ? Clt: W ffroen-foll 'with wide nostrils', {P} 'with puffed out nostrils' (ffroen is 'nostril') ¶ The puzzling Gmc *e⁻ (> WGmc *a⁻) for the expected Gmc *o⁻ (< NaIE *a⁻) may be due to positional factors ¶ P 120-2, EI 71, WH I 517, Ho. 26, OsS 73, Kb. 94, EWA II 151-2, Lx. 22-3, KM 81, Vr. 46, YGM-1 227 || **R:** Tg *bo₁- > Ewk bol₁- v. 'blow' (of wind) ¶ STM I 92 ◇ IS I 193-4 (K, IE).

199. ?? ***bal₁l₁v₁** 'blind' > **HS:** EC {Ss.} *bal₁f-/b₁alla₁f- 'blind, one-eyed' > Or {Grg.} balla⁻ d bal?a⁻ 'one-eyed', Or H {Ow} ba'l?a⁻ m., ba'l?o⁻ f., Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} balla⁻ m., ball-o⁻ f. 'blind', Or Wl {Brl.} ball-a 'squint-eyed, short-sighted, one-eyed', Arr {Hw.} balla⁻k. 'blind person', Sd bal?-ic⁻c'a ~ ball-ic⁻c'a, Ged balla?-a, Hr palla⁻f-akko, Brj {Hd.} bal'fa, {Ss.} bal'?-a 'blind', pHEC {Hd.} *ball- v. 'be blind' > Sd ball-, Ged ball-e?- , Brj bal?-a⁻w- || SC: Kz {E} balangayo 'blind person' ¶ Ss. B 33, Hd. 28, AD SF 195, AD GDS #1.70, Hw. A 346, Grg. 35, Sr. 27, Ow. 255, E SC 320 || Eg: DEg bl, Cpt: Sd бале balle ~ B бале belle id. ¶ Er. 120, Vc. 27 [unless it goes back to a *cd* with Eg bl (spelled br) 'eye'] ¶¶ Tk. SCC 71 [#1,7], AD GDS #1.70, OS #204 || ?? **IE:** NaIE *b^hl-end- v. 'be(come) blind, not to see' [× *b^hlend^h- v. 'be(come) turbid, mix' < N *bul⁻v. 'stir up (liquid), turbid'] > Gt blinds, ON blindr, OHG blint, NHG, Sw, Dn, Nr, OSx, AS blind 'blind', NE blind || Ltv Δ (<b-Cur) blē⁻nst⁻ d blē⁻st (prs. blendu) {ME} 'schwach sehen', Ltv blenzt 'to stare vacantly' : Sl *ble₁sti / prs.*ble₁d-o₁ v. 'err, lose one's way' > OCS блѣсти ble₁sti / prs. блѣдѣ ble₁do₁ 'πορνεύειν, to be lecherous, fornicate; to talk rubbish', RChS, OR блѣсти ble₁sti 'to stray,

lose one's way', SCr blesti, Slv ble'sti, OCz ble'sti 'talk rubbish\nonsense'; Sl *blo_oditi > OCS БАЛДИТИ blo_oditi (prs. БАЖДАЖ blo_oz'do.) 'to go astray; πορνεῦν, to be lecherous', R блудит_o id., SCr blu_oditi / blu_odīm 'to prostitute oneself', Slv blo_odit, Cz blouditi, Slk blu_odit 'lose one's way, roam, err'; Sl *blo_odъ > OCS БАЛДЪ blo_odъ, R, Blg блуд 'πορνεία, lechery', P błąd, Slv blo_od 'mistake', SCr blu_od 'unchastity, lechery' ¶ P 157-8, EI 147 (*b^hlend^h 'be\make cloudy' without distinguishing the root for 'blind' from that for 'turbid'), Fs. 100, Vr. 44, OsS 76, EWA II 187, KM 84, Ho. 27, Ho. S 8, Kar. I 134-5, ME I 313-4, ESSJ II 114-5, 125-8, SPS I 270f., Glh. 136 ¶ **II** **II**: M *balay 'blind, dark' > MM [IsV] balay in balay soqor 'blind' (soqor also means 'blind'), WrM balay 'blind', HIM балай 'dark, intellectually or morally blind', Brt балай, Kl бала, {Rm.} bala^o 'dark, blind', Ord b_oala^o 'stupid' ¶ Lg. VMI 18, MED 78, Kow. 1074, KRS 78, KW 30, Ms. O 47 || Tg *ba_ol_o 'blind' > Ewk, Ud bali, Lm, Neg, Ork, Nn bali, Orc ba_oli, Ul ba_oli 'blind', WrMc balu 'blind man', Ewk bali-, Lm, Neg, Ork, Nn bali- v. 'become blind' ¶ STM I 70 ♦ IS I 178, Blz. LN I 201.

200. *bal_oi_oy^oU^o 'to swallow; throat' > **HS**: WS *√b_ol_o 'swallow' > Hb, Ug, Ar, Gz √b_ol_o Gid., JA √b_ol_o Gid., 'absorb'; *d* nouns for 'throat', 'uvula', etc: Sr ba_ola^ot-a^o 'guttur', Md ba_oluma^o 'gullet', Ar bu_olsum 'oesophagus', ? Mh/Hrs {Jo.} t_ob_olo^ot 'uvula, tonsil(s)', Jb C {Jo.} t_ob_oz^oo^ot, Sq {L} 'balham 'viveur' ¶ KB 129, KBR 134-5, OLS 108, Sl. 221-2, Js. 174-5, Ln. 249, L G 94-5, L LS 88, Br. 77, DM 48, Jo. M 399, Jo. H 126, Jo. J 269, MiK I #1.36 || C *bal_ol_o- 'throat' > Bj A {AD} bala_oza, Bj {R} bala id. ¶ EC: Af {Bls.} bili_ofa 'necklace' ¶ AD SF 198 || Eg G b_ol_o 'drink blood', Eg fP b_ol_on.t 'Hals'; ?? (*rdp* ?): Eg fP b_ol_o 'drink' (⇔ Tk. II 159: Eg-S comparison is improbable with respect to Eg b_ol_o) ¶ EG I 446-7, Fk. 81, Tk. II 157-9 || NrOm: Bdt {C} bala^o 'neck' ¶ C SO 60 || Ch: WCh: Bks {J} bu_ole^o 'Kropf', as well as possibly words for 'uvula': Hs be_ol_o - be_olu^o, Su {J} be_olbe_ol, Bd {Lk.} ba_ol_o-z_on_o ¶ CCh: MfG -ba_ol_o 'donner à manger (à un enfant)' ¶ Ech: Bdy {AlJ} be_ole 'gorge, voix' ¶ Brr. MG II 82, J R 140, Abr. H 95, AlJ 58, Lk. NB 224 ¶¶ Tk. I 96 ¶ **U** *pa_ola- v. 'swallow' or 'bite' > FU *pa_ola 'mouthful, piece' > F pala 'Bissen, Brocke', Es pala 'piece, bit', pLp {Lr.} *po_ole^o '(small) stick' > Lp: N {Fri.} buola 'frustulum', T {TI} pill_oε 'Bissen, Bißchen' : Er pal 'piece (of food)' : ? Chr Y/U pult_oz_o 'bit (of bread, meet)' : pObU *pu_ol_o (-) v. 'swallow', n. 'mouthful, bit' > Vg *pu_ol_o 'bit, piece' > Vg T po_ol, LK/MK/UL/Ss pu_ol, NV pula id., pOs *pul_oV- v. 'swallow' > Os: V pul_oi- 'schlürfen, kosten', D pu_ol_o v. 'swallow', O pul_ot- 'gierig, schnell hintereinander essen, erschnappen'; pOs *pul_o 'mouthful, bit' > Os: V pul_o, O pu_ol_o 'mouthful, bit, Vorgekautes', D pu_ol_o 'Bissen, Vorgekautes' || Sm {Jn.} *pala^o- 'schlucken' > Ne T O pa_ol_oe- 'verschlingen, verschlucken', StNe палес_o 'swallow', Slq Tz {KKIH} po_oli- id., Koyb {Sp.} поолдола 'a gulp' ('глоток') ¶ UEW 350, Sm. 540 (U, FU *pa_ola^o-, FP *pala^o-, Ugr *pola^o-, Sm *pa_ola^o- 'bite'), Lr. #995, Ht. 176 [#512], TI 377, Jn. 116, KKI 152, Ptp. 37 ¶ **II** **II**: M *balgu- > WrM balgu-, HIM балга-, Kl балг- v. 'swallow; hold water in the mouth', Kl {Rm.} balga^o 'swallow, gulp', Brt балга- v. 'swallow' ¶ MED 80, KRS 79, Chr. 85, Rm. KEW 31 || Tg *bi_olga 'throat' > Ewk bilga, Lm bilgъ, Neg bilga, Orc bigga, Ul bilg_oa, Ork bulda, Nn bilga, WrMc bilga id. ¶ STM I 82 ¶¶ DQA #132 [A *bi_olge 'throat; to swallow'] ♦ The origin of the Tg vw. *i_o (*) is obscure. It may be explained by *as* if we reconstruct pN *bal_oi_oy^oU^o ♦ See IS I 173-4 (*bal_oi_oU^o: HS [S, Eg, C], A [M, Tg]), AD GD 12 [♦ ♦ For M *-lg- and Tg *-lg- from N *-ly- cp. Tg *xurge- 'heavy' < N *k_o'o_oRy_oV (see N k_o'o_oRØV -> *k_o'o_oRØV 'be heavy, stout, thick')].

201. *ba_ol_oh_oV 'leaf, leaves, green plants' > **HS**: S *bul_o- > Ar ?ubl_o- 'restes du fourrage vert fauché ou mangé par les bestiaux' ¶ BK 5, GB 5 (i ÷ Sr and Hb) || C *b_oVI- 'leaves' > Ag: Xm {R} balbala 'branch' : Bj {R} baya 'leaf, leaves' : EC {Bl.} *ba_ol_o- 'leaf, feather' > Af bal 'feather worn by one who has killed a man', Or Wl ba_ol_oe?, ba_ol_o-a, {Brl.} bal-a (nom. balli), Or M/Gj {LLC} ba_ola, Arr {Hw.} ba_ol_o 'leaf', Dsn {HL} bal-li (pl. bal-a_om) 'feather', Or B 'ba_ol_o-a (nom. ba_ol_o-i), Kns pa_ol_o-a, Gdl E pa_ol, Sml ba_ol_o, Bs {HL} ba_ol, {Si.} bal 'feather, leaf', Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS} pa_ol_o-ho^o 'ostrich feather', HEC {Hd.} *ba_olle 'feather' > Brj {Ss.} ba_ole^o, Kmb ba_oll_o-ita, Sd {Hd.} balle, ball_o-ic_oo, Hd {Ss.} balla_oze id. ¶ Bl. 99, HL 82-3, Brl. 39, Sr. 268, LLC 114, Si. ACh 14, 17, Hw. A 345, PH 67, Ss. B 31 (EC *ba_ol_o- 'feather'), Hd. 62, 179, 309, 352, AMS 178, 216, 272, To. DL 486 || NrOm *bal_o- 'leaf, feather' ({Blz.} *bal_o- 'grass, leaf') > Gdc {Blz.} ba_olle 'leaf', Wl {LmS} ba_olliya^o, Dwr {LmS} balle, Gn_oj {Si.} 'ba_olo, Kcm {Si.} 'ba_oli 'feather' ¶ LmS 320, Si. ACh 14 || Ch: CCh: Dgh {ChL} b_oule 'leaf' : Ech: Nd D {J} pa_ol_on_o id., ?? Smr {J} ba_oz_oe^o id. ¶ ChC, ChL ¶ **II** **II** **K** *bal_o- > Sv: UB {TK, GP}, L {TK, Dn.}, LB {TK} bale (< *bala-i), Sv Ln/Lx {TK} ba_ole 'leaf' ¶ TK 141, GP 90, Dn. s.v. bale ¶ **IE** *b_oleH-, *b_ol(o)H-t-, {EI} *b_oholom 'leaf' > Gk φυ_oλλον id. : L folium 'leaf' : OIr bileo_oc ~ bileo_og 'small

leaf' 𐌿𐌿 (+*t-ext.) IE *b^hh₂d- ({EI} *b^hh₂d-) 'leaf' > ON blað, NNr, Sw, Dn, OSx blad, OHG blat ^d plat, NHG Blatt 'leaf', AS blæd 'leaf, blade of a sword', NE blade || Tc: A pa^ˈlt, B piltā 'leaf' ({Wn.}: < NaIE *b₂l₂ə-t-) ¶ WP II 114-5, P 122, EI 348, F II 1051, Ch. 1232-3, WH I 523-4, Vn. B 50-1, Vr. 41, OsS 74, EWA II 167-8, KM 82, Ho. 25, Ho. S 8, Wn. 158 || A {SDM95} *bolV 'leaf' > pJ *pa^ˈ > OJ pa^ˈ, ItOJ [RJ] ɸa^ˈ, J: T ha^ˈ, K ha^ˈ, Kg/Ns ha^ˈ, Sh ɸa^ˈ, Ht pa^ˈ, Y ha^ˈ ¶ S QJ #41, Mr. 394 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. *bolV 'leaf', S AJ 266 [#44] 𐌿 ÷ D: Kn pa^ˈliyu 'ear-lobe' (< pa^ˈliyu 'part; edge') ¶ ADM 418.

202. *bilwE 'cloud' > **HS:** Eg fOK by₃ - denomination of the celestial body of water (Gewässer) in which the Sun-god swims and which is crossed by dead people, (Eg N/G) 'heaven, firmament' ¶ EG I 439, Fk. 80, Tk. II 128-9 || C: Bj {R, Rop.} ba^ˈl 'cloud', ??? {R} bire ~ bile f. 'sky', m. 'rain' || [+ EC: Rn {PG} ba^ˈl 'white cumulus cloud(s)', Arr {Hw.} bo^ˈlan, Cm {Blz.} ← ? SLLE} po^ˈlo 'cloud' || ¶ Rop. 161, R WBd 46-7, 50, PG 72, Hw. A 349, Blz. CL 177, Blz. RL 257 || NrOm: Dwr bola, Gf bolla 'sky' ¶ Blz. OL, Mrn. O || Ch *b^hIV > WCh: Kir {ChL} pi^ˈlat 'sky' || CCh: pMM *nbulum 'sky' > {Ro.}: Mlk cd hu^ˈmbu^ˈlo^ˈm, Zlg cd g^ˈza^ˈmbu^ˈlo^ˈm, Gzg cd bu^ˈmbu^ˈlvu^ˈn : Lgn {Lk.} b^ˈlu^ˈk^ˈi 'cloud' || ECh: Nd D {J} b^ˈla^ˈn 'sky' ¶ ChC, ChL, Ro. 327 [#651]; ¶ IS I 180 (+ *unc.* Ch words for 'rain') || ? K: Lz p^ˈula, Lz A p^ˈulera 'cloud', Mg p^ˈula 'steam' ¶ Q 299, Rosen L 34, 37 || U: FU *pilwe 'cloud' > F pilvi, Es pilv id. : pLp *p^ˈlvz > Lp: N {N} ba^ˈl^ˈva {LLO} pal^ˈva, Kld p^ˈlv id., S {Hs.} balve 'trübes Wetter' : pMr *pi^ˈə 'cloud' > Er пел^ˈ p^ˈel^ˈ, Δ p^ˈeyel^ˈ, Mk Δ peyel^ˈ : Chr: KB p^ˈal, U/B p^ˈal : Vt pi^ˈem-, OPrm pil, Z LV/Ud piv, Z I/Vm piy id. || Os: V pe^ˈlən, D pe^ˈtən, O pa^ˈlən id. : Hg fe^ˈlho^ˈ, fe^ˈlleg id. ¶ UEW 381, Coll. 49, Sm. 547 (FU *pilwi 'cloud' > FP *pilvi, Ugr *pi^ˈlg^ˈ), MF 148, It. #379, Ker. II 107-8, Lr. #858, Lgc. #4657, Hs. 285-6, LG 221, SZ 186 || A {DQA} *bu^ˈlu^ˈə 'cloud' > T *bulu^ˈit (ppT {Md.} bu^ˈlit~*pilut) > OT bulut, Tk bulut, Az, Tkm, Uz, Qrg bulut, Qq, Qzq bult, Nog bult, VTt болыт б^ˈл^ˈт, Bsh болот б^ˈл^ˈт, Tv p^ˈulut, Yk bilit id., Chv пылт^ˈ п^ˈл^ˈт, Δ пылт 'sky, cloud' ¶ S AJ 176 [#15], Rs. W 88, Rs. LTS 156, Jeg. 156, Fed. I 420, Md. 67-8; acc. to IS, *-t goes back to the ending of pl. ¶¶ A DQA #209 (T, Tg) || D (in SD) *pu^ˈil^ˈV 'mist on mountains \ in valleys' > Kdg pu^ˈl^ˈ 'mist on mountains', Td p^ˈl^ˈmo^ˈzm 'mist in valleys \ on hills' ¶ D #4375 𐌿 IS I 180, DQA #209 (A, IE, D, U, ?K).

203. ? *bel^ˈE^ˈg^ˈV 'belly, waist' > **HS:** S *^o/blg > Ar éjal0Bu bulg^ˈ-at- 'région anale' ¶ DRS 66 || IE: ? NaIE *b^helg^ˈg^ˈh- 'belly' (× *b^helg^ˈh- 'leather bag, sack' and possibly *b^helg^ˈh- v. 'swell') > OIr bolg, MW boly, bola, W bol, bola, boly 'belly, sack' || Gmc: ON belgr 'belly, leather bag', AS be^ˈl^ˈz^ˈ byl^ˈi^ˈz 'leather bag', NE belly ¶ Valid unless the primary meaning is 'swell' or 'bag, sack' ¶ P 125-6, Vn. B 66-7, Vr. 32, Sw. 81, AHDE 121, *qu.* : EI 45 ['belly' ← *b^holg^ˈh^ˈs 'skin bag, bolster (made from stuffed animal skin)'] || A *be^ˈ-like 'waist, slope' [× N *pel^ˈ?^ˈe^ˈ – *pe^ˈl^ˈ?^ˈe^ˈ 'side of body' × ? N *we^ˈh^ˈyl^ˈV or *wel^ˈHV 𐌿 'hip'] > pT {TL} *be^ˈ-lk 'waist' > NaT *be^ˈl > OT {CL} be^ˈl 'waist', Tkm bil id. ('по^ˈсн^ˈца, тал^ˈл'), Yk bil, Tk bel, Az, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Uz, Ln, Qmn, Tb bel, ET {Nj.} ba^ˈl, ET Δ {ML.} bel, bei^ˈl, bii^ˈl, Alt b^ˈel, SY pel, VTt, Bsh, Slr bil 'waist', Tv p^ˈel id., 'bottom part of a mountain slope'; NaT 𐌿 M: WrM bel, HIM б^ˈул 'waist; declivity, slope', Brt б^ˈул 'declivity, clope', Kl б^ˈел 'foot of a mountain' || Ch pi^ˈlk 'waist' ¶ pT -k > NaT -Ø acc. to Mudrak's rule: pT *-lk > NaT *-l, Chv -l^ˈkk or -l^ˈkk (Md. DKCh 220-1) ¶ Cl. 332, DTS 93, ET B 135-7, Nj. 204, Md. 91, Rm. EAS II 212, MED 96-8, Chr. 131, KRS 93 || M *belke^ˈxe-su^ˈn 'waist' > WrM belkegesu^ˈ(n), HIM б^ˈулх**с 'middle part of the body, waist; middle of the slope of a mountain', Ord b^ˈel^ˈxu^ˈs, Brt б^ˈулх**hy(н) 'waist', Kl белк*сн belku^ˈsn^ˈ id., {Rm.} belku^ˈsn^ˈ 'Mitte des menschlichen Körpers, Leib' ¶ MED 98, Ms. O 65, KRS 95, KW 42. Chr. 131 || Tg *belge 'lap' > Ewk, Neg, Nn b^ˈlgz, Ud b^ˈgz, Ul b^ˈlgz, Ork b^ˈl^ˈd^ˈ 'lap', Lm b^ˈlgə 'lap, slope' ¶ STM I 123 ¶¶ The length of *e in pA may be accounted for by the merger with N *pel^ˈ?^ˈe^ˈ – *pe^ˈl^ˈ?^ˈe^ˈ ¶¶ TL 268-9 (T, M, Tg) 𐌿 *Qu.* because the IE and the A supposed cognates have alt. etl. ties 𐌿 ADb. SR 306 (IE, A + *unc.* D *par^ˈka 'rib, side').

204. *bal^ˈl^ˈika 'to shine' > **IE:** NaIE *b^helg^ˈ/*b^hlg^ˈ/*b^hleg^ˈ id., {EI} *b^hleg^ˈ 'burn, shine' > OI 'bharg-as-ntr. 'splendour, radiance', ?? bhra^ˈjate^ˈ 'shines, beams, glitters' || Gk φλε^ˈγω 'I am burning, lighting', φλε^ˈγμα 'flame, fire' || L fulg^ˈ-o^ˈ ~ fulge^ˈ-o^ˈ (< *b^hlg^ˈ) 'flash, lighten', fulgor 'lightning', flagra^ˈ-vi. 'blaze, burn, glow, flame' || Ltv Δ {ME} bal^ˈgans 'whitish', Olt xvi [Brtk.] bli^ˈnginti (with an infix *-n-) 'to shine (leuchten, glänzen)' || OHG blecken ~ blecchen (< *blakjan) 'become visible, flash', MHG blecken 'become visible', OSx bli^ˈkan 'glänzen', AS bli^ˈcan 'to shine (glänzen, scheinen, leuchten)', blæcern ~ blacern 'lantern', ON blakkr 'pale, yellowish brown' || pTc {Ad.} *pa^ˈlk- > Tc A/B pa^ˈlk- v. 'shine, illuminate',

'luire, briller'] NaIE *b^hlei_g-/*b^hlig- > AS bla_c, OHG bleih 'white, pale, fallow', NHG bleich, OSx ble_k, ON bleikr 'pale'; OHG blic 'Glanz' || Lt Δ blaiks^{ty}'tis 'to shine, clear up' (of weather), bly^{ks}'ti 'turn\grow pale\white' || ??φ SI *bliskati ~ *blistati, *bl̥s^c'ati 'to shine, sparkle', *bl̥ste^{ti} 'to shine, glänzen' (no traces of IE *g, which had to fall in preconson. position, see ESSJ II 116-8, 130-2) ¶ P 124-5, EI 513, IS I 174, MK II 479-80, 529-30, ME II 252, 279-80, F II 1022-4, WH I 50-1, ME I 253, Frn. 48, Vr. 42-3, Ho. 25, 27, Ho. S 8, OsS 75-6, EWA II 171-3, 177-8, Kb. 96-7, KM 83-4, Frn. 46, Wn. 354, Ad. 377, Ad. H 64 || U: FU *^opa^ll_k'V- > Os N {Páp.} p̥ayəl 'lightning', Os O {KrT} p̥ayəl 'thunderstorm, thunder', p̥ayəl tut 'lightning' ¶ Stn. D 1124-5, KrT 666 || R: NaT *balki- v. 'shine, lighten' > Cmn balq- (balki-) 'fulgere', OOg [Qis.], Chg [QB] balq- v. 'shine' ('сѣѣтъ, свѣѣтъ'), OOsM balq-, Tk Δ balki-, Qzq, Qq balq(i)-, VTt balq(ъ)- v. 'shine' ('сѣѣтъ') ¶ ET B 56-7, Grøn. 48 || pKo *p̥l_rrk-, MKO {S} p̥l_rrk-, {Rm.} p̥l_g-, NKO palk-, Ko Ph pak- 'be light, bright, clear' ¶ Rm. SKE 186, S QK #1152, Nam 247, MLC 732 || ? HS *_vblg > CS *_vblg v. 'shine, flash' > Ar {BK, Fr.} Δlb _vblg^u G (ip. -blug^u-) 'nituit, fulsit luxitque (aurora)', éjl0Ba balg^{at}- 'clarté (surtout de la fin de la nuit, à l'approche de l'aurore)', BHb gil5b6e5 hib_llīg_{Sh} 'cause to flash; become cheerful, brighten up'; Cn b→Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} br^{la}-ga 'to light up' ¶ KB 126, KBR 132, GB 99, Fr. I 149, BK I 157, Hlk. #63, SivCR 79 || EC *_vblg (~ *_vblk.) v. 'flash, shimmer' > Sml {DSI} bilig^ddeh 'scintillare, brillare in lontananza', biligbilig 'scintillio', bilig^{lee} 'luccicare', Sml N {Abr.} ba^{ddu}wa^{bi}līg^{bi}līg^{le}dah^y 'the sea is shimmering', ?φ Rn {PG} bild_īx_a v. 'shine', Or {Tut.} balag 'flashing, shimmering' (n. act.), balagi 'shimmering, flashing, shining' (n. act.), Or {Grg.} balak^{isa} v. 'flash' (of lightning), Sd {Gs.} bele^k.o 'lightning' ¶ AD SF 254, Grg. 4, PG 78, Gs. 37 ¶ The velar cns. may be reconstructed as *k on the ev. of IE and T; the voiced *g in S and C (as well the glottalized *k in Cushitic) are still to be explained || NrOm: Dm {Fl.} b_{el}x_{zn} - p_{el}x_{zn} 'bright, shiny' ¶ Fl. OO 317 ♦ IS (MS 331) convincingly equated CS *_vblg, the A _v (T and Ko) and IE *b^helg- and reconstructed the N source as *balgV. Later (IS I 174) he added the U _v **_vpalkV and untenably adduced S *_vbrk v. 'flash, lighten' and K *berc_q-/*br_c.q- 'glänzen, funkeln' (unacceptable on phonetic grounds, just as the resulting N rec. *bal_qa). Cf. N *bVR_lV_k.E 'to flash, shine'. NaIE *b^hlei_g-/*b^hlig- seems to point to a root-medial vw. *i. NaIE *-g- suggests a final N *-a ♦ Cf. Gr. II #50 (*belk 'bright' > IE, U, A, Gil *p̥ila-yu 'be brilliant').

205. *b^hVR_lV_k.E 'to beat, strike' > K: G blik^{vn}- 'einen Faustschlag vermuten' ¶ Chx. 89 || IE *b^hliHg^(w)-, {EI} *b^hliHg^(w)- 'strike' > NaIE *b^hliġ^(w)-/*b^hle^{yg}- v. 'strike, press' ('schlagen, schmeißen') > Gk A/I φλῖβω 'squeeze, press' || W † blif 'catapult' || L flīg-o⁻ (inf. -e^{re}) v. 'beat, dash down' || Ltv Δ {ME} blaizr^t 'to squeeze, strike, smash', blie^{zt} (prs. blie^zu) 'to strike, chop', Lt blyz^e- 'a torn place in cloth' || SI *blizna, *blizno 'scar, bruise' (← 'a beaten place in the body'), 'Fadenbruch' (← 'a beaten place in the cloth') > P blizna 'scar', Cz blizna 'bruise', SCr bli^{zna}, OR or RChS бѣлѣзна blizna 'scar', Blg близ^{на}, R Δ 'близна 'Fadenbruch' ¶ WP II 217, P 160-1, EI 549, ESSJ II 118-20, EM 369, WH I 517, F II 1027, YGM-1 47, ¶ Frn. 46-7, ME I 308, 317, SPS I 264-5, ESSJ II 118-20.

206. *ba^ln^v 'to wash, immerse' > K: GZ *ban- v. 'wash, wash oneself' > OG ban- id., G ban- id., 'bathe', Mg bon-, Lz (m)bon- id. ¶ K 48, K² 7, Chik. 254-5, FS K 43, FS E 42 || HS *_vbln v. 'wash, wet' > S *_vbl 'moisten, mix' (× *bul^v 'to stir up (liquid), turbid') > Ar _vbl (pf. balla, ip. -blul/-bull-) 'humecter, mouiller', _vbl (pf. balila, ip. -blal-) 'être humecté, mouillé', BHb _vbl, -bəl (pf. ll2B1, pf. cons. lb1l!<v@ way^{ya}-bəl) 'moisten (with oil); mix up', Sr _vbl G {Br.} 'confudit, miscuit; madefecit', Jb _vbl Sh (pf. eb^{lel}) v. 'give (animals) their fill of water', Gz _vbl G 'moisten; to spoil, mix' ¶ BK I 155, Ln. 242-3 || Ch [1] CCh: Mada {BrrB} a^{ba}la^a v. 'wash (oneself\sth.)' [+ , Md {Rs.} ba^{la} v. 'wash'] || [2] Ch *_vbn ({Nw.} *bāna id., {JS} *_vbn v. 'wash') > WCh: Bl {Lk.} bin- v. 'wash oneself' !? SBc (with obscure devoicing of *b-): Bg {Sh., ChC} paⁿ v. 'wash (sth.\so.)', Kir {ChL} pu^{na} v. 'wash (things)' !? pAG {Hf.} *vwaŋ, {Stl. VZCh} *vw₁aŋ v. 'wash (things)' (with obscure *v- for the expected *p-) > Su {J}, Ang {ChL, Hf.} vwaŋ, {Flk.} vaŋ, Gmy {Hf.} vwaŋ, {ChL} vwiyaŋ, Cp vyaŋ, Kfr {Nt.} vaŋ || CCh: Nz {Mch.} bān, BtG {Mch.} bo_n || Mdr {ChL} ba^{ra}ba^{re}, Glv {Rp.} bar- v. 'wash (sth.)', Dgh (ChL) pa^{ra} v. 'wash' || Gzg {Lk.} bon, {ChL} bun v. 'wash oneself', buna, {Ro.} bāna v. 'wash (sth.)', Mada ba^{la}, Myn ba^{ra}, Mkt pa^{la}y, Hrz bune, Mlk ba^{la}y, Mofu pā^{re}y id. !? McDb: Db {Lnh.} paⁿ id., Kola {Sb.} ...pa^ŋ..., Msy {Mch.} pa^ŋ v. 'wash', || Tr {Hf.} vān v. 'wash oneself' || Ktk: Bdm {Cfr.} beⁿⁱ id. ¶ BrrB 68, Nw. #140, JI I 174-5 & II 338-9, JS 382, ChC, ChL, Hf. AG 18 [#40], J S 86, Nt. 41, Stl. VZCh A #259, Ro. 356 [#789] (pMM *ban v. 'wash') & || ?φ Eg BD bnⁿ 'baigner, plonger' (is puzzling) ¶ Hng. 253, Tk. II

205 || C: SC: Kz {E} bal- 'wash' ¶ E K 1 ('wash'), E SC 134 (interpreted as 'wash, clean' due to alleged cognates of other SC lgs.) ¶¶ Tk. l.c. (incl.: E-Ch or E-SC) || A: NaT *ba_lːjn- (*ma_lːjn-) v. 'dip' > OT ban-, Tk ban-, Cmn, Chg, ET, VTt man- id. ¶ Cl. 384, Rs. W 325 || ?? D (in McTm) *vanːnːa- 'washerman' > Tm vanːnːa_n-, vanːnːa_{ttā}ːn-, vanːnːattaːn-, Ml vanːnːataːn-, vanːnːa_n id., Tm, Ml fem. vanːnːa_{tti}, as well as possibly D (in McTm) *manːnː- v. 'bathe' > Tm manːnːu v. 'bathe, perform ablutions, immerse oneself in water', vt. 'wash', Ml manːnːa_n 'washerman' ¶ D ##4684, 5241 ¶ the initial *v- and *m- for the expected *p- are obscure; if *m- is due to ass. nasalisation, this is the only case known so far || Gk βαλανει̃ον 'a bath, bathing-room' and βαλανευ̃ 'bath-man' is probably a loan from some pre-Gk ("Aegean" or "Pelagian") lge. (words borrowed together with the previously unknown custom of bathing in hot water) [Pls. {Fur.} βαλανον 'Bad'], but eventually the stem may be related with the N √ *ba_lːnːV; this Gk word may be the source of Middle Gk. {Kö.} *βανει̃ον or *βανει̃ον 'a bath', whence VL *baneo (> *bani_o) [> Fr baigner, Port, Prv, Ctl banhar, Sp banːar, It bagnare, Rm baia v. 'bathe' and further Blg бани м 'I wash'] and VL {ML} *baneum 'bath' (> It bagno, Srd L banzu, Fr bain, Prv banh, Ctl bany, Sp banːo, Port banho, b̃ Bsq mainu; EpL balnea > VL *bani_a b̃ Sl *ban'a 'bath house, bath (room)' > OCS, OR банѣ банѣ, Blg, R, Uk 'банѣ, SCR baːnja id., Slv baːnja 'bath, wash-tub' ¶ F I 212-3, ML #916, ML G I 477, Kö. 135, ESSJ I 151-2, F I 212-3, Ch. I159-60, Fur. VK 37 ♦ IS MS 349 (K, Ch, D *manːnː-) ¶ The cluster *-ln- (or *-lːnː-) contracted into *ll in S and to *-n- (or *-nːnː-) in other lgs., but remained as *-lːVjn- in the unknown "Aegean" (Hittite-Luwian?) source of the Gk words βαλανει̃ον and βαλανευ̃.

207. ₂ *bælːrːXː 'to boil, cook' > HS: C √bll v. 'boil' > Ag *bəl-/bəlː- {Ap.} *bər-/bəl- v. 'cook, be hot' (× N *bilːV 'to be warm; warm') > Bln {Ap.} bər-, {R} bir-, Xm {Ap.} bəl- (= Xm {R} bil-) id., Q {R} bel- id., {Ap.} bəlu y-, Km {CR} bulu y-, Aw {Ap.} bər- id. ¶ AD SF 198, Ap. AV 7]??? S S √nblː? 'flame' [× N *nːabːrːV 'warm, heat' (q.v. ffd.), possibly a cd *nːabːrːV *bælːrːXː] || i ÷ Eg N/G brbr 'bouillir, sourdre (eau), flamber (feu)' [EG I 466, Coh. #403, Vc. 30, Tk. II 262-3], because Cpt (Sd вѣр вѣрбар, B вѣрбер berber) points to an Eg *r rather than *l (F N *burːu 'to boil, seethe') || A *be_lːV > T *bilː- ~ *bilː- (- *pilː-?) v. 'ripen, be cooked' > OT {Cl.} bisː d bisː v. 'come to maturity, ripen', Tk pisː-, VTt b̃sː- ~ p̃sː-, Bsh b̃sː-, Qmq bisː-, Qzq piːsː-, StAlt b̃isː- v. 'ripen, be cooked, be baked', Yk bus- id., 'be ready', CrTt, ET pisː-, Qq pisː-, QrB bisː-, Qrg bisː-, Tf p̃iːsː- v. 'ripen, be cooked', Tv p̃isː- id., vi. 'finish cooking (up to readiness), gar gekocht werden' ('довариватсѣ'), Tkm, Az bisː- v. 'be cooked \ baked', Xk pisː-/z- v. 'ripen, be cooked' ¶ Cl. 376-7, ET B 161-4, BIG 171 || M *beled- v. 'prepare' > MM [S] belet- 'bereitstellen', WrM beled-, HIM, Brt бѣлѣ-, Kl белд-, Mnr H {SM} b̃iēlēsga-, {T} beledga- 'prepare, make ready'; M *belen 'prepared, ready' > MM [S] belen, WrM belen, HIM, Brt бѣлѣн, Kl белн, Mnr H {SM} b̃iēlāːn id. ¶ H 14, MED 97, Chr. 131-2, KRS 94-5, SM 24, T 317 || Tg (ϕ- M??) *bele- 'ready; to prepare' > Ewk bəlinz-, bəlxzi- v. 'prepare oneself to', Sln bəlxz- v. 'prepare, bəlxzː 'ready', Neg bəlixī 'ready', bəlixī- v. 'prepare', Orc bəli-, Ud bəxiz- id., Ul, Nn bəli- id., bəli 'ready', WrMc belxe- v. 'prepare' ¶ STM I 125.

208. *bihlːV 'to shout, call, speak' > IE: NaIE *b^helːj- v. 'sound, speak' > OI bhaːsːateː (if < *b^hal-s-) 'speaks, says, tells' || L feli-oː / inf. felire 'to roar' (of panthers) || ON belja, Nnr belje 'to roar, bellow', AS bellan, OHG beːllan 'to bark, resound', MHG bellēn 'to cry' (of quadrupeds), 'to bark', NHG bellēn 'to bark' (of canines), NE bell v. 'bellow, bay' || Pru billit 'to say, speak', Lt (pra-)biːlti (3s prs. bilsta) 'to (begin to) speak', bylaː 'speech' (→ 'case'), biloːti 'to say, tell', Ltv bilːst 'to say, speak'; ? Lt balːsas, Ltv baːlss 'voice' || Tc A/B paːl-, paːl- v. 'praise' ¶ P 123-4, Mn. 71, otherwise EI 51 (*b^hels- 'yelp, how' > Gmc, OI) and M K II 497-8, doubts: M E II 261-2; Vr. 32, OsS 49, Kb. 63, EWA I 533-5, Lx. 14, KM 64, Ho. 19, Frn. 32, ■ Kar. I 102, 127, En. 151, Tp. P A-D 223-7, Wn. 356, ■ WH I 474 ¶ Lack of traces of *h in IE is puzzling (mt *b^helH- < *b^helH-??) || D {Km.} *p̃ilː-/p̃ilː-V- ({GS} *p-) > Tm p̃ilrū 'great noise', p̃ilrū v. 'trumpet, roar (as an elephant)', Tl pilucu v. 'call, invite, shout', Gdb pil-up-/ut- v. 'thunder', Kui pr̃i 'cry of agony, scream' ¶¶ D #4195, Km. 431 [#825] || HS: S √bhl p̃ say, call' > Gz √bhl G (pf. bəhla, js. yəbal) 'say, speak, call', Tgy bəbē, Tgr bēla pf. 'say', OSA bhlk (*bahal-ku) {Rb., Slw.} 'I spoke', OYmn (= Hmr?) {Slw.} √bhl G 'say, order', Ar ʔibtahala 'implore, beseech', Mh behlīt (pl. beheːl), Jb C behːlet 'word', Hrs {Jo.} beheleːt, Sq {Jo.} 'bilzh 'thing', Ak inf. baːaːlu ~ baːlu 'to beseech, pray' ¶ L G 89, Slw. 46-7, Rb. AWA 51, Jo. M 4, Jo. H 16, Jo. J 24 ♦ IS I 180-1 adduces here K *bir- = {K, FS} *br-

'sing' [> Lz, Mg bir-, ? Sv br- v. 'sing' [Sv L msd. li-br-yal-i], see K 53, K² 17-8, Chik. 254, FS K 54-5, FS E 56, Dn. s.v. bria-l-]. The K √ belongs here only if N *l' yields K *r.

209. *bʷl' l'v 'to swell' > IE: NaIE *b^hel- v. 'swell' > Gmc: OSw bulin, bolin 'aufgeschwollen', bulde, bolde, byld 'swelling, tumour', OHG bolla, polla 'blister, mug, bowl; bulla in aqua, folliculus, cotula', MHG bolle 'bud, globular vessel', OSx bollo 'Schale, Napf', AS bolla 'bowl, vessel, pot', NE bowl ∥ L follis 'pair of bellows, puffed-out cheeks; purse, leather bag' ¶ ≠ P 120-1, *qu.* EI 71 (*b^hel- 'blow' → 'swell'), OsS 79, Kb. 103, EWA II 23?O-1, Lx. 24, Ho. 30, Ho. S 9, WH I 524-5 ∥ K *be^h- > Sv -be^h-. 'cause sth. to swell up; to swell up' [× *bʷlʷ?a 'to blow, inflate' 'to blow, inflate', q.v. ffd. (the K vowel length representing the lost lr.)] ¶ Ni. s.v. пухнут & пухлы, GP 1, 147, Dn. s.v. be^h- ∥ R: M *bilci-yi- > WrM {Rm.} bilcii-, Kl билчи- v. 'swell heavily', {Rm.} bilc'i- 'stark aufschwellen, überaus dick werden', Brt бульсь 'be bulging' (eyes); WrM bilcud- ~ bilcad- {Gl.} 'cicatrizate with a bulging scar' (of a wound, bone fracture), {Kow.} 's'éléver, être un peu enflé (cela se dit des chairs qui sont encore un peu enflées après la guérison d'un ulcère)'; M *bilcaṣu > WrM bilcuu, HlM билуу 'bump, blister, boil', WrM {Gl.} bilcuu \small knobs on branches of willows and on stalks of wormwood'; Ord b_{ilc}'iru': 'petite tumeur sur la peau, bouton' ¶ Gl. II 282, KRS 100, KW 45, Kow. 1146, Chr. 131, Ms. O 70 ∥ D (in McTm) *pol_l- v. 'swell' > Tm pol_lu v. 'blister, swell', pol_lal 'blister, swelling', Ml pol_la 'blister, bubble'; D b> Hindi p^hola 'blister' ¶ D #4563, Tu. #8398(6).

210. ? *baHl'v 'pain, wound' > HS: WCh: Ang {Flk.} pal v. 'feel pain' ¶ Flk. s.v. ∥ IE *b^heh^h-l- id. > NaIE *b^he^h-l-/*b^ho^h-l- > Tc: A pa^hl, B pīle 'wound' ∥ Sl *bo^hь 'pain' > OCS болъ bolъ, R бол□, Uk б°л□, SCr, Slv bo^hl, Cz bol, Slk bo^hl, P bo^hl 'pain'; SI *bole^hti (1s prs. *bo^hl-o_h) v. 'ache, be sick' > OCS болѣти bole^hti (prs. болѣ boljo_h) v. 'be sick, feel pain', R бо^hлит, P boli, Blg бо^hли, SCr Δ boli 'it aches', R бо^hлет□ (/1s prs. бо^hле□), P boleč' (/ boleje_h), SCr бо^hлети^h bo^hljeti, Slv bole^hti 'to be sick', Cz boleti, Slk boliet' 'to ache' ¶¶ Mn. 65 (*bhalyo^h 'hit, hurt' > Tc, Sl, as well as ON bella 'stoßen'), Wn. 356, ESSJ II 187-92, Bern. I 71, SPS I 302-6, 315-6, Glh. 140 ∥ R *ba^hl'a > T *ba^hl' 'a wound' > NaT *ba^hs^h > OT bas^h, Tkm ba^hs^h, MQp bas^h, Yk ba^hs 'wound', Tf p_{as}^h 'wound, ulcer', Tv паш p_{as}^h 'syphilis' (the initial p^h- suggests that the Tv word is a loan); NaT *ba^hl-iy 'wounded' (< *ba^hlg < **ba^hlg with loss of palatality in preconsonic position?) > OT {Cl.} ba^hly id., Tv, Tf p_{al}ly id., 'wound', Alt balu 'wound', Tlt {Rl.} palu^h id., 'score', Xk palry id., 'ulcer' ∥ Chv pu^hz'ek 'scar, trace of a sore' ¶ Cl. 335, 376, Ra. 158-9, Ash. X 95, Rl. IV 1168, BT 26, Md. 113, Md. OJ 90 ∥ ? M: Brt бала 'bruise' ¶ Chr. 83 ♦ See IS I 172 (IE ~ T). This N √ may be identical with *beLu 'bad, harm' (q.v.) ♦ ≠ Bm. TPN 29: i ÷ S *°√bly v. 'be old, worn out', Sml be^hl (actually meaning 'loss') and Or be^hlaw- v. 'hunger' (no plausible semantic ties). ♦ □ Gr. II #290 (*bal 'pain') [IE, A + *unc.* JJ].

211. *bol' XV 'tail, penis' > HS *b^hu^h-l- ({Blz.} *bul^hh^h-) > B *bʷlʷ- 'penis' > Tmz abəllu, pl. ibəlla, Izd, BSn abəllu, pl. ibəlwān, Sll {Ds.} a-bəllu, abəllul, Si aba^hla^hl, SrSn {Rn.} a-ba^hla^hl id., t_a^h-ba^hz^ha^h-t_a-ba^hla^hl 'petite verge d'enfant', Rf {Rn.} a-brur 'penis', ? Izn {Rn.} a-bez^hla^hl id., Izd {Mrc.} a-bəllu, pl. i-bəlla-i-bəlwān, Sll {Ds.} a-bəllu, a-bəllul, a-b^halu^hl, Mz {Dlh.} ta-bəllal-t (pl. ti-bəllal-in) 'penis' ¶ MT 18, Ds. 291, Dlh. M 7, Rn. 294, Mrc. 261, Wlf. EAW 47, NZ 55 ∥ C: ? EC: Arr {Hw.} balla^h id., ? Brj {Ss.} bolo^hkko ~ bulu^hkko 'testicle'; cf. EthS: Grg So (< C?) billit 'penis' ¶ Hw. A 34, Ss. B 38 ∥ Om: NrOm {Blz.} *bull- 'penis' > Bsk {Fl.} bu^hlli, Doka bulli id. ¶ Blz. OLBP #88 ∥ Ch: WCh: Hs bu^h-ra^h, Bl bola 'penis', Bks {J} b_{we}^h id. (glottalization is obscure), Klr {J} bye^hl, {IL} bel 'tail' ∥ CCh: Bt G {Srp.} bo^hlle^h 'penis' ∥ Ktk: Glf {Röd. [in Lk. ZSS]} belewe, Shoe {Lk.} belesoe id. ∥ Ech: EDng {Fd.} pē^h-lē^h id. ¶ ChC, JI II 316-7, Lk. ZSS 148, 154, ≠ Sk. HCD 26 ∥ Eg Md/RT b^hh 'phallus' ([bi^hh^h] < *bil^hh^h) > Cpt Sd ба^h bah 'penis', where Cpt a is a reg. reflex of *i in a closed syll. ¶ EG I 419, Fk. 77, Vc. 33, Tk. II 76-80 ¶¶ Cf. Blz. OLBP #88 (i bul^hh^h- > Om, C, B, Eg b^hh 'penis'; i ÷ Ak baltu [misinterpreted as 'penis' {after Holma NK 99}], while in fact the word is a name of some thorny plant [≠ Sd. 100]); ≠ also EG I 419, 460, Rn. 294, Mrc. 261, Dlh. M 7, Abr. H 120, Ba. 132 ∥ IE: NaIE *b^hl_o- (= *b^hl_ono-, *b^hl_oho-?) 'penis' > Gk φαλλο^h ∥ NGr Hs bille 'penis', AS bealluc 'testicles' > NE ballock ∥ Phr βαλλί^hα 'generative organ(s)' ([Hdt.]: βαλλί^hα · αι^hδοι^hα) ¶ Not here OIr ball ferda 'membrum virile', ball fe^hili 'pudenda', because the basic meaning of ball seems to be {Vn.} 'membre' (cp. ocht mbullu 'huit parties') ¶ The identity of the cns. after *l_o remains obscure ¶ F II 987-8, Hofm. 390-1, P 120-1, Ho. 17, Vn. B 12, *unc.* EI 71 (φαλλο^h and OIr ball ferda < *b^hel- 'blow, swell') ∥ U: FU *pol^ha 'tail' > pMr {Ker.} *pu^hlā > Er пуло pulo,

Mk пула pulā^d pula[~] 'tail' : ? pLp {Lr.} *pe⁻c⁻z- '(short) tail' > Lp N {N} biež'a[^], {Fri.} bieč'a (gen. bieč's'am), Kld {SaR} пѣжъ pīz' 'short tail (of a reindeer, hair, sheep, etc.)', S {Hs.} ȝ beetj'eh 'tail of a fish' :: pObU {Ht.} *pa^lṽk 'tail' > pVg *pa^lək > Vg: LK/UK po^ləx, MK po^lək 'tail (of elk and reindeer)'; pOs *pa^lək > Os K pat'a^hx 'tail (of reindeer and elk)', Os Kz pə^lx 'Stuttschwanz (des Bären, Elentiuers, Rentiers, Hasen)', Os Nz pəs'nat 'tail', Os Pym pa^ləq 'hind leg of a bear' ¶ Coll. 109, UEW 393-4, Ps. B 175, Lr. #931, Lgc. #3982, Hs. 308, SaR 255-6, Ker. II 121, Ht. 177 [#517] ¶ D *pul^l- or *pull^l- ({GS} *b-) 'penis' > Kn bulla, bulli 'male generative organ', Tl bulla, bulli 'a child's penis', cp. Mrt bulī, bullī id. and cognate words in other NInA lgs. ¶¶ D #4309, Tu. #9292 (1) ◇ ▢ Blz. [⊕ DA-AD155 [#31]-#30] [D, IE, [⊕E]C, Ch, B, Eg].

212. ?σ *benⁿṽ 'younger relative' > HS: S *bin- / (stem of pl.) *ban- 'son' > BHb NB4 ben (pl. Min%B1 baⁿ-n-īm), Ph, M'b, Ed, Ug bn, Ar ʔibn- (pl. nom. ban-uⁿna, acc.-gen. ban-īna), Sb bn, OAk, Ak OA/LB {Sd.} binu, {CAD} bīnu id.; *bin-at- (pl. *baⁿ-n-a^t-) 'daughter' > BHb tB2 bat^l (pl. t&nB1 baⁿ-n-o^t-), Ph, Amn bt, Ug bt (pl. bnt), Sr ʔr^fa ba<ɾ>t ([bat^l]) cs., pl. æ4ono^l= bəna⁻t^a-, Ar bint- (pl. ban-a^t-), Sb bnt, Ak {Sd.}: MB bintu, OA buntu id., Gz bənt in bənta fayn 'pupil of the eye' (lit. 'daughter of the eye') ¶ KB 131-3, 158-9, HJ 168-72, Br. 93, Sd. 127, 136, CAD II 238-9, 242-3, 319 || Ch: CCh {OS} *bin- > LamP {ChL} bin 'brother', ? Ms {Cait.} baⁿ 'friend', ? Azm {Pc.} banad^a '(male) friend', baⁿ 'friend' (greeting, calling) :: ?? WCh {OS} *mVbVn- > Buli {ChL} mbzn, {Sh.} mban 'person' [unless akin to Grn mbaliṅ and Jm mbar id.] ¶ ChL, ChC, Cait. 48, Pc. 83 ¶¶ OS #28 ¶ A: Tg *bene- 'wife's sibling' (× N *waⁿṽ – *XV^lwaⁿṽ 'relative [of a younger\the same generation] of the opposite moiety, q.v. ffd.) ¶ ? D *pen^lt^lṽ^l ({GS} *p-) 'girl, woman' (if ← 'young female relative' ← 'younger relative') > Tm pen. 'woman, daughter, girl', Ml pen. 'a female' (esp. 'girl, maidservant, bride'), Kt pen^l 'female', Kn pen., pen.n.u 'female, woman', Kdg ponⁿṽ 'wife, female', Tu pon.n.u 'girl, female, maid', Tl pen.t.i 'female (of animals)', Klm pen^tṽ 'female', Gdb pen^tṽ 'female sheep'; D b> Ol pan.d.a- 'eunuch, effeminate man' ¶¶ D #4395 (a), Tu. #7717.

213. ? *bVheNyV 'bone (esp. of a limb)' > HS: S *bu^hih^lṽn- 'thumb, (big) toe' > BHb Ne37B 'bohen 'thumb, big toe', Ar ʔibha^m- 'thumb, toe', Δ biha^m-, ba^him- id., Hrs ha⁻beⁿ (pl. ha⁻boⁿ3t) 'thumb, big toe' (ha⁻ is a former article), Mh Δ {SSL} ha⁻beⁿ id., Ak ubaⁿ- 'finger, toe' ¶ KBR 112, KB 108, Jo. H 55, Sd. 1398, SSL LNPM 219, MiK I #1.34 [† || NrOm: She {CR} bon 'foot, leg' || WCh: Bgm {J} mbaⁿ, {JI} baⁿ 'leg, foot' ¶ JI II 220, J ChMGB 220 ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 120 [#120] (Om, Ch) ¶ IE: NaIE *b^hoi^l-no- > Gmc *bai^l-na- 'bone, leg' (← *bone of the leg?) > ON bein 'leg, bone; upper thigh (Oberschenkel)', Sw, Dn ben beⁿ 'bone, leg', OSx beⁿ, AS baⁿ, OHG, MHG bein 'leg, bone', NHG Bein 'leg', Yid NjB beyn 'bone', NE bone ¶ Vr. 30, Ho. 16, Ho. S 6, EWA I 515-6, Lx. 12, KM 63 ¶ A *p'en^lṽ or *p'eni^lṽ 'bone, bone of a leg' > Tg *pen^l-ṅen 'knee' > Ewk h3nṅ3n, Sln 3ṅ3~, Lm h3nṅ3n, Neg x3nṅ3n, Orc x3nṅ3-33ṅ3n, Ud x3ṅ3, Ul p3nṽ3(n-), Ork p3n3-3ṅ33(n-), Nn Nh p3ṅ3ṽ 'knee' ¶ STM II 366, Krm. 308 || pKo {S} *s-pi^lə^l 'bone' > MKo spi^lə^l, NKo p^li^lə^l, Ko: Ph p^li^lə^l, Sl/Chs p^li^lə^l, Hm p^li^lə^l, Ks p^li^lə^l ¶ Ko *s- is a px. (cf. *s-ko^lri^l 'tail', *s-pi^lr^l 'horn') ¶ S AJ 251 [#10], S QK #10, Nam 258, MLC 774 || pJ {S} *p3^lni^la^l 'bone' > OJ po^lne^l, J: T/Kg hone^l, K ho^lne^l, Ns qu^lni^l, Ht pu^lni^l, Sh/Y qu^lni^l ¶ S QJ #10, Mr. 414 ¶¶ S AJ 39, 271 [#9], ▢ DQA #1735 [A *p'e^li^ln'e^l 'bone' > Tg, Ko, J] ◇ A *p^l- may be explained as going back to a cluster *bh- < N *bVh- ◇ ▢ Gr. II #47 (*pon 'bone') [cp. N *P^lon^ld^lṽ ▢ 'foot, leg'].

214. *bEnt^lṽ (or *bEnd^lṽ?) 'to tie' > HS *√bnt. > Eg N/G bnd 'einwickeln, bekleiden' d> *bVnVt. (a k. of garment) [b> Gk βυ^lντη^l (a kind of Egyptian garment) and BHb yn4b6a2 ʔab^lne^lt. 'sash of an official or a priest'; this loan in Hb suggests that Eg d was pronounced as t.] ¶ EG I 465, KB 8, KBR 8-9, Lmd. 146, Tk. II 237-41 || ? Ch: CCh: Lgn {Lk.} b.3^ln v. 'tie', Ngl {Dsb.} bani id. :: WCh: ? pAG ▢ *b.wayāt (Stl. VZCh} *b.wa^lgad) > Su {J} b.wayāt, Ang {ChL} b.at, Gmy {ChC} b.o^lt, Mnt {Fp.} badni v. 'tie' (Stl.: 'привѣзват^l' = 'tie, attach') (glottalized *b^l- in Ch is due to transfer of glottalization from *t^l of HS *√bnt.) ¶ Lk. L 76, Sö. 57, Dsb., ChL, ChC, J S 60, Ba. 114, 1169 ¶ Not here Ar dn0Ba band- 'lien, lacs, lacet' (b> CINPrs band n. 'band, tie, bandage') ¶ IE: NaIE {P, EI} *b^hend^h- v. 'bind' > OI badh^lna^lti, Av bahdayaiti 'he binds', OI ban^ldah. n. 'binding, bond, tie, fetter', Av banda- 'Bande, Fessel', MPrs band 'Schlinge, Band', CINPrs dn0Ba band 'ṽ' > G band-i 'Band, Riemen, Bind' d> band- 'knüpfen, heften, schnüren; auf-, zurück-, hinhalten, verzögern' (Chx. 63) :: Gk περι^lσμα (< *πεν^lσμα) 'rope, a ship's cable' :: Thr βενδ^l- v. 'bind' :: L offendix 'chin-band on priest's cap' :: OIr buinne 'band, ring, bracelet' ¶¶

P 127, EI 64, M K II 406-7, M E II 208, VI. I 255-6, Sg. 201, F II 492, WH II 205, Vn. B 115 **II U**: FU {UEW} *pa^hentV- v. 'cover, close', {Sm.} *pinta^h- v. 'fasten' > pPrm *po^hd- v. 'close' > Z pɔdlav-ni vt. 'close', pɔdan 'oven-door', Yz po^hdna^h- vt. 'close', Vt podini vt. 'pinch' | (acc. to Sm.) F pinne (< *pinte) 'tension' || pObU *pe^hnt- > pVg *pa^hnt- v. 'close' > Vg T/LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV/ML pa^hnt-, UL/Ss pant-id.; pOs *pent- ({HL.} *pa^hnt-) v. 'cover' > Os V/Vy/D/Kz/O pent-, Ty pa^hnt- id. | Hg fe^hd-, fo^hd- 'decken, be-zu-decken' ¶ Coll. 78, UEW 371, 879, Sm. 547 (FU, FP *pinta^h-, Ugr *pr̥nta^h- 'fasten'), SK 568-9, Ht. 178 [#525], MF 187, LG 227 ♦ IS I 194 [#30] (HS [Eg, Ch], IE) ¶¶ The emphatic *t. is reconstructed on the HS ev.

215. ?? *ba^hn^hØE n^h'head' > HS: ? S *^o/bn^h > Ak MB bibe^h-u {CAD} 'head' ({Sd.} 'temple, Schläfe'), bibe^hn (appis^h-u) {Sd.} '(Nasen-)Spitze' ¶ CAD II 219, Sd. 124 || If Ak bibe^h- means 'temple', it may be equated with Ke pɔna^hy 'temple' ('Schläfe') ¶ Eb. 88 **II U *pa^hne 'head' (× N ***p.a^hne** 'forehead' [q.v. ffd.]) **II A**: T *ma^hni [= *ma^hni?] ({Md.} *be^h.n^hji) 'brain' > OT me^hni ~ meyi id., Chg xv ma^hyin, miya^h, MQP XIII ba^hyin, XIV [CC] ma^hni, Tk beyin, Δ meyni, Az beyin, Tkm beyni, Uz miya, ET miḡa^h, Δ miḡ, miḡi, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Qq miy, Qzq, Nog miy, Bsh mьyь, VTt mi, Qrg, Alt, Tv me^h, Tf m'e^h, Xk ми mi, Ln mega^h, Yk ma^hyī, Chv мимэ mime, Δ mimə^h mine ¶ Cl. 348-9, Rs. LTS 201, Rs. W 70 (*ba^hni), ET B 106-7, Md. 91, 131, 135, 173, Rl. IV 2085, Nj. 726, BT 109, Ra. 207, Jeg. 134 ♦ Highly doubtful because of rather loose semantic connections and because U *pa^hne 'head' has an alt. et.**

216. *boṇE 'bosom, breast (front of the body)' > HS: S *bam- 'chest' or 'back (Rücken)' > Ak bam-t-u 'chest, front of the chest', BHb em1B1 ba^hma^h 'back (Rücken)' (Dt. 32.29), Ug bmt 'back (of an animal, human)'; → S *bam-at- 'hill' > Ak bamtu 'slope of a mountain', BHb em1B1 ba^hma^h 'mountain ridge, hill; high ground, high place of worship', Ug bmt 'alto, monte'; ??? Ar bannu^h-at- 'dos, derrière' ¶ KB 130-1, KBR 136-7, OLS 109, CAD II 78, BK I 167, MiK I #1.216 (*p/ban/md(-at)- 'back, podex') **II U**: FU *poṇe-(sV) 'bosom' > F povi (gen. poven) 'bosom, breast', Es po^h-u (gen. po^h-ue), Δ po^h 'Busen, Schoß', pLp {Lr.} *po^hṇz 'bosom, breast' > Lp: S {Hs.} buoṇe id., N {N} buogṇa^h ~ vuogṇa^h -ṇ- 'breast of a bird', L {LLO} puokṇa 'der bauschige Teil des Lappenrockes oder Lappenpelzes', T {TI} pi^hṇ(a^h), Kld {TI} pu^hṇ(a^h) 'Busen (des Kittels, des Rentierpelzes)'; pMr {Ker.} *poṇṇ ~ *poṇṇ > Er поṇго poṇgo, Mk пов pov, Δ pova^h 'bosom'; Chr Н поṇгышpoṇṇṇṇ, L помыш U/B poṇṇṇṇ 'bosom'; Prm *pi, *piy 'bosom' > Z Ss pi, Z US/LL piy, Prmk pi, Vt pi, Vt G pij id. || pObU *pu^hw^hxəθ 'Busen (im Kleide)' > pVg *pu^ht > Vg: T po^ht, LK/MK/UK pu^ht, P/NV/SV pu^h-t, LL po^h-t, UL pu^ht^hi-puw^ht^hi, Ss pu^ht^hi id.; pOs *puṇəṭ > Os: V/Vy/Ty puṇəṭ, Y puwəṭ, Nz puṇəṭ, Kz po^hṇəṭ id. ¶ UEW 395, LG 222-3, Lr. #1000, Lgc. #5320, Hs. 384, TI 406, Ker. II 118, ERV 498, Ht. 175 [#498] **II ? A**: Tg: Ewk boṇko 'belly, stomach' (influenced by Tg *bok^han^h > Neg bo^hxan-boxon 'stomach', Nn baqa id., Ork boqqa 'belly') ¶ STM I 94 **II D**: (1) *poamm- ({GS} *b-) 'breast' > Klm, Nkr pamme, Nk pomme id., Gnd bomi^h boma^h boma^h bomo^h bommu id., bom 'udder' ¶¶ D #3935 | (2) *pom- ({GS} *p-) v. 'embrace' > Png pom-, Ku pom-, pom-/pomb- id., Mlt pamge v. 'take between the legs (as the trunk of a tree while climbing)' ¶¶ D #4523 ♦ S *-m- and D *-m(m)- suggest N *-ṇ- (rather than *-ṇg-).

217. *bunga^h (or ***buṇa^h**) 'thick; to swell' > IE *b^heng^h-/*b^hṇ^hg^h- 'lump, thick' ({IS} **пи́рка, ком, толстый**), d {EI} *b^heng^h-u-s (gen. *b^hṇ^hg^hou^h-s) 'thick, abundant' > OI ba^hhu- (< *b^hṇ^hg^h-u-) 'much, abundant, large', cmpr. 'bam^hbhiya^hn 'very strong\thick', Blc baz 'tight' || Gk παχυ^h 'thick, tight' || ON bingr 'part of room, bed', Ic bingur 'heap, store', NNr binge 'Düngerraum', ON bunga 'Klumpen', Dn, Sw, Nr bunke 'heap', MHG bunge 'clod, lump', Dt bonk 'piece, clod' || Ltv biēzs 'thick, dense' || Ht panku- 'entire, complete; every', n. 'multitude, the people; assembly', pangarit adv. 'in large numbers, en masse' ¶¶ P 127-8, EI 3, M K II 424-5, M E II 220-1, F II 484-5, Vr. 37, 65, Vr. N 76, Lx. 28, Kar. I 125, CHD P 87-92, Ts. W 59 **II U** *puṇka > FU *puṇka 'swelling, bump, lump' > F punka 'korpulenter oder dicker Mensch', Es pung (gen. punga) 'Hervorragendes und Rundliches: Knolle, Knospe, Knauf, Beule, etc.' | Lp N {N} bug^hge -gg- 'bump, lump', L {LLO} pugge^h 'weiter\dichter\zottiger Pelz; kleiner & dicker Mensch\Rentier' | pMr {Ker.} *puka^h-lā > Er pokol^h 'Klumpen, Stück', Mk pokol^h 'Knäuel, Geschwulst, Stück' | Prm: Z bugil^h 'eye apple, eye', ? Vt pog 'Klumpen' || pObU *pu^hṇkəl > pVg *pu^hkləp > Vg Ss pɔxlip 'Knopf'; pOs *puṇkəl > Os: Ty puṇləl, D/K poṇṇəṭ, Nz puṇṇəṭ, Kz po^hṇəṭ 'Knollen am Baume', as well as pOs *puṇkət > Os: Ty/Y puṇqət, D/K poṇṇəṭ, Kz poṇəṭ 'Geschwür' || pY {IN} *po^hṇkə 'hill; excrement' > Y: K/T {IN} puṇkə 'hill', T {IN} po^hṇkəta^h {Ku.} n^hṇkṭaa 'excrement, cone (of a

tree)', {Ku.} п' нкүтүү 'cone', ? п' нгигүй- vi. 'swell up a little' ¶¶ UEW 404, Coll. 109, MF 107-8, LLO 748-9, Ker. II 117, LG 41, Ht. #529, IN 234, Ku. 231-2 ¶¶ A: Tg *bu_ḡa 'lump, small ball (парик), swelled' > Nn BK bongā, Nn Nh bongh 'lump (of snow, etc.)', Ewk buḡn'vka, buḡn'vhl 'small ball, lump', Ud {STM} buḡi, {Krm.} bu_ḡi 'testicles' ¶ STM I 110-1, Krm. 215 ◇ Cf. otherwise IS I 182-3 [#17] (IE, U, ? Tg *boḡV 'thick, large', D *poḡk- 'вздуватсѣ, выкипат'). In the first syll. of the N stem it is better to reconstruct *u (on U and Tg ev.) rather than *o (as in IS on the basis of semantically doubtful adduction of D and inexact data of Tg available to IS in the 1960's).

¶ 217a. *bePt.V 'lip(s), mouth' > HS: NrOm: Gdc baḡdde, Zs {Bnd.} bad_e, {C} baḡde 'mouth', GnJ {Fl.} pod_oro, Hrr {CR} pod_uro, Gcm {Si.} pət_o'ro~, Krt {Si.} qəddəɾə, Bdt {C} poduro 'lip' ¶ Fl. OWL, C SE III 201, CR H 656, C SO 62, Si. ACh 17 || ? B *-buḡd_ > Kb a-buḡd_ 'goulot (d'un pot), bec de cafetière' ¶ Dl. 12, NZ 28 ¶ U *-pEptV (or *-pEpsV) > Sm {Jn.} *pepta_n ~ *pipta_n, {Hl.} *pepten ~ *pipten 'lip' > Ne T пибтлѣ, Ne F {Lh.} pīb_t 'iḡ pīpt' 'in 'lower lip', En X {Cs.} fiteʔ~, En B {Ter.} pite, {Cs.} piteʔ~, Ng {Prk.} feḡ_tin, {Cs.} feaḡben, {Mik.} 'heptin, Mt M {Hl.} hoḡḡben - hibten, Mt K hoḡḡbet 'lip'; d: Slq: Tz {KKIH} pepta'I', Ke {Cs.} peptei, UO {Cs.} peapta'i, NP pepti 'chin' ¶ Jn. 122, Ter. 261, KKI 148, Cs. 71, 95, 165, Hl. M 247 [#307] ¶ D *-pet- 'lip' > Tl pedavi id., Klm, Nkr pedave, Nk peddave, Gdb pedaveḡ pedive, Gnd piliviḡ pilivḡ, Knd bedve id., Klm peddeḡ 'lips' ¶¶ D #4400 ¶ A: ?φ Tg *pej'uḡ-n 'lip' > Ewk hɜjun 'upper lip', Lm hujin, Neg xɜjun 'lip (of a reindeer, elk, etc.)', Orc xuɜʔ 'soft internal side of cheeks and lips' ¶ STM II 360 || ? T *bīḡk (*m_īḡk) 'moustache' (× N *p'uḡtV 'feather, hair', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ??σ,μ: A very dubious cognate: Eg G bb.t 'Kehle, Kehlkopf' (metanalysis from *bbt < *bbt.ʔ) (see EG I 455) ◇ B and T suggest N *-b-, the cs. p- (< *p.-ʔ) in some NOm lgs. may be due to as *b...t. > *p...t. Tg *pej'uḡ-n (if it belongs here in spite of the unexplained palatal voiced *-j-) points to N *-p- or *p.-. Sm provides evidence for a N cluster *-PT-, which may account for the long *uḡ in B (*-buḡd_ < *-buwd_ < *-bubd_). The rounded vw. in NrOm, B and Orc may be due to the infl. of the adjacent labial consonant(s) ◇ Blz. LB #112g & Blz. DA 153 [#10] (NrOm, D).]

218. ? *bo.qX 'side of body, side' > K *-po.q- (× *p.oqEɜV ~ *p.oɜVqV 'thigh, haunch'?) > Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} po.q 'thigh, side of body, crupper of a horse' ¶ TK 766, Ni. s.v. бедро, GP 264, Dn. s.v. po.q, Wrđ. 629 (p'hoq 'thigh') ¶ HS: EC *bak- ~ *bok- 'side of body, side' > Af bagu 'belly, stomach', Sml bog, Sml N {Abr.} boḡ 'flank of body', Or {Grg.} bukke 'beside', Or W {Brl.} bukke 'side (fianco, lato)' ¶ AD SF (*bakk-), ZMO 43, Abr. S 34, Grg. 64, Brl. 65, PH 66 ¶ IE: NaIE *b_l^hok_l^w_ > Sl *bo_kъ 'side of body' > SCr boḡk, gen. boḡka, Slv boḡk, gen. boḡka, Blg Δ бок, R бок, gen. 'бока, Uk бик, gen. 'боку, P, Cz, Slk bok ¶ ESSJ II 170, SPS I 300-1, Glh. 139-40, Vs. I 185 ¶ A *bVḡV (SDM95) *biḡV, {SDM97} *buḡka 'side of body, hip' > NaT *bikm id. (delabialization *i < *u due to neutralization near a labial cns.) > OT biqm 'hip, flank', Chg biqm 'joint, articulation', Tkm biqm 'side of body', XwT biqm, Tv быḡын p_ḡyn 'flank (lower part)', Xk pıḡı 'groin' (acc. to Rs. W, ← 'his flank', i.e. *pıḡın + ppa. 3s), Tlt {Rl.} pikin, MQP XIV biqm, XV biqm-biqm, Qzq, Qrg mıqm (m- < *b- due to neutralization of nasality in the word-initial position) id., Kü {Rl.} pıkt 'part of the body below the arm-hole'; a form *biq without sxs. has been possibly preserved in SbTt Kk pıq 'waist' (unless it has resulted from phonetic reduction: pıq < *biqm < *biqm) ¶ Cl. 316, ET B 304-5, Rs. W 73, TvR 128, Rl. IV 1304, 1307, BIG 171, Tm. 180 || Tg *boḡk(-an) 'hip, thigh' > Ewk boḡkan, Lm boḡqam, Lm O/Sk bokaḡn id., Ud {Krm.} boḡ 'front muscles of the thigh', ? WrMc buḡi {Z} 'front side of the thigh', 'lap', {Hr.} 'Oberschenkel' | ?σ Tg *bok_ıan_ > Neg boḡxan ~ boxon 'stomach', Nn baqa id., Ork boqqo 'belly' ¶ STM I 90, 94, Krm. 213, Hr. 119 || M *baḡqaḡur (> *baḡqayur) ḡanus, hip, loins' > MM [L] {Pp.} baḡawur 'After', [MA] {Pp.} baḡaḡuḡr 'nates', [IM] {Ms.} baḡuḡr, [S] bokorai_ ~ bokore ~ boḡere 'Lenden, Hüften', WrM {MED} buqur, HIM быxyyp, {Ms.} buḡar 'buttock, rump', Kl {Rm.} bokuḡr 'Schurke, Schelm, Schlingel', Ord {Ms.} b_uḡuḡr 'derrière, cul, anus', Mgl buḡaḡr 'After, der hintere Teil' ¶ Pp. MA 111, H 17, MED 143, KW 50, Rm. M 24, Ms. O 92, SDM97 41 (M *bokaur) || pJ {S} *baḡki 'side of body' > OJ waḡki_i, [RJ] waḡki, J: T waki, K waḡki, Kg waḡki ¶ S QJ #271, Mr. 567 ¶¶ DQA #174 [A *bi_uḡk_a 'side (of body), thigh' > T, M], Tg].

219. *barE 'earth, land; (?) dust' > HS: [1] S *barr- '(uncultivated) land' > BHB rB2* bar* (paus. form r"B1 baḡr) 'open field', JA ar1B1 baḡr-a- {Lv.} 'Aussenseite, freies Feld', JA [Trg.} aa1r1B1 baḡra-ʔ-a- {Js.} 'external, nor belonging to', JEA {Sl.} ar1B2 barḡr-a- 'external, outer', Sr {Br.} Δoroḡa barraḡya 'agrestis, exterior, externus', Ar barr- 'Festland', Ar Hdr {Lnb.} barr- 'country' (barru-l-farb 'pays des Arabes'),

Mh {Jo.} a-'barr 'outside', Sq {L} bar 'côté, éloignement', ba-barr 'dehors', Tgr ber 'continent, country', Ak {Sd.} barru 'uncultivated country', {CAD} ba-ru 'open country']?? [2] S *^obaray- > Ar ÈrABa bara(n) 'terra' (Fr.: ← 'pars superior et pulvis') ¶ KB 146, Sl. 240, Js. 189, Br. 88, Jo. M 51, L LS 98, LH 274, CAD II 120, Sd. 107 || C {AD} *bUr- 'sand, dust' (× N ***burif**'y'U 'loose earth, dust', q.v. ffd.) [*, ? Brj {Hds.} ba-r-iy- 'become muddy' (unless to HS {Tk.} *bVr- 'dirty')] ¶ Hw. A 349, PH 74, [*, Rop. 163, Blz. CL 177, Tk. LAA-124 [#150]] || Ch *^obrbr 'dust' (× HS *^oburf- 'dust' < ***burif**'y'U '†' [q.v.]): WCh: Krkr {Lk.} b3rb3r 'dust' : Ngz {Sch.} bi'r...bi'r..., Bd {ChL} b3r...b3r...3 n id. :: CCh: BM {ChL}: Bu bu'r...bu'r..., Cb bi'r...i'bi'r..., WMrg bur...bur...-birbir, Klb bi'rbir, Hld buburu, Wmd bu'bu'r_, Mrg {Hf.} b3rb3r id. : McHg {ChL}: HgNk bi'r...i'bi'r...i', HgB bi'ru'bi'ru, Flk bur_bu'r_, FIM bu'r...bu'r...(v) id. : BB {ChL}: Gude bir...bira, Nz bu'rbire, Bcm bu'rburep, Mln bu'bu'ru : McMdr: Mdr bu'rbu're' : Gdr {Cfr.} b3rb3r id. : Lgn {Lk.} 'bu-ra 'sand, dust' ¶ Stl. ZCh 157-8 [#117], ChC s.v. 'dust' and 'sand', JI II 280-1, ChL, JA LM 72, J R 140, 213, Gr. LC 91, Lk. LS 87]?? K: MG, G bre 'dust' (**мѣмѣ, мѣмѣ**), G Ing bre 'chaff' ¶ Chx. 104, DCh. 117] D (in SD) *par_V ({GS} *p-) 'plateau, tableland' > Tm par_ampu 'hill', par_antali_ 'desert', Ml par_ampu 'higher or dry ground laid out in terraces, fields (too high for rice cultivation), orchard, garden', Kn Δ padavu 'a hill top', Kdg parambr 'large flat pasture land', Tu padavu 'plateau, tableland' ¶ D #4026] R: ?φ T *bo-r'ε (barren) soil\ground' (× N ***mar**V 'sand, dust, earth', q.v. ffd.) ♦ IS I 187 [#22] includes the S and Ch stems and G bre into his N √ *bur(H)Λ/*bor(H)Λ 'loose earth, dust' (together with what belongs to N ***burif**'y'U).

[* 219a.??? ***be**Rv 'mud, swamp' > HS: S *bir- > Ak biera-tu 'swamps (?)' ¶ The vw. a^ proves that in the var. reading bera^tu there is no infl. of S *?h (causing the change of S *a into Ak e) ¶ CAD II 206-7] U: FU *perV 'mud, swampy place' (× N ***p.era**' 'ground, earth'. q.v.) > Prm: Vt {Wc.} ber-gop 'swamp, quagmire; Moorpfütze', Vt Sr pera 'soft black morass (used to dye cloth)', {Mu.} 'damp place with black-soil'; Z Le pereb 'moss-covered river-bank in a forest' [infl. of R øeper 'bank (Ufer)'] :: OHG xii 'Hain', xviii 'Moor', Hg bere^k 'swampy meadow; grove, bushes (Hain, Gebüsch)' ¶ UEW 374, LG 220, MF 106, EWU 98]?? IE: NaIE *^ob^hro-r- > Sl *bara 'small river, stagnant water' (× N ***b'u**'Xr'a 'watercourse, river', q.v. ffd.).]

[* 219b.??? ***bor**V 'mountain, hill' > HS: EC *bUr- > Sml bu-r 'mountain, bare-topped hill, summit of mountain (cumulo, mucchio)', Rn bu'r (pl. burra'r) 'hill', ?σ Or O {Sr.} bu-ra 'forest' ¶ DSI 71, ZMO 48, PG 81, Sr. 278] R: Tg *bor 'hill' > Ewk Ald/Z/Uc borī 'rocky hill', Ewk Skh/Urm borī 'a height (with burnt forest)', Ewk Skh bor 'small mountain (covered with dwarf-shrubs and dwarf-trees)', borikta 'hill', Ork bo-ri 'a height (without trees or shrubs)'; Tg b> Brt bo-ri 'a height' ¶ STM I 95] D {tr.} *por_r-, {GS} pod_- 'mountain, top', (in SD) *po-r- ({GS} *b-) '[top of a] hill' (× ***p.ori**fU 'summit, tip', q.v. ffd. × ***poar**TV 'rock, hill') ♦ □ Blz. LB #111b, □ Blz. DA 160-1 [#87] [EC, D + *unc.* : Tg *bur- 'island'].]

220. ***bu**Ru 'break' > IE: NaIE *^hreu_- 'break, tear', {EI} *^hreu_- 'cut, break up', (+ext.) *^hreu_s- 'break' > ON bro'ma 'splinter, piece', brjo'ta 'to break, destroy', OHG bro-di 'easily broken (fragilis), weak, thin' (< *^hrou_-tyo-), AS bre'að id., breoðan 'to destroy', bre'otan 'to break', bry-san 'crush', NE bruse :: ? Al: T breshe^r, G breshe^n 'hail' :: Ltv Δ {ME} brau~na, brau~na 'Schorf, Schuppe, die beim Häuten oder Aukriechen aus Hüllen nachgelassene Haut, Eingeweide' : Sl: Cz brn-ka (< *^hrun-) 'placenta' :: OIr bruid 'breaks, crashes', MW breu 'brittle' :: L frustum 'piece' :: ? OI bhru-'n_a-m 'embryo' ({P}: ← 'that has broken the egg-skin') ¶ P 169-70, EI 81, Vr. 58-9, OsS 85, EWA II 355-6, Kb. 120-1, Ho. 33-4, ME I 327, Ma. CS 44; M K II 533-4 & M E II 284-5 (no definite et. of the OI word)] R ***bu**rV 'to break, crush' > M *burci > WrM burci- 'break, crush; raise, destroy', WrO {Krg.} burcaq 'fraction' ¶ MED 137, Krg. 372 || Tg *^obur- > Lm bur- v. 'strip (a film, the inner side of hide)' ¶ STM I 111 || pJ {S} *b3r- 'break; bend' > OJ wo-r-, J: T o-r-, K/Kg o-r- ¶ S QJ #1494, Mr. 742 ¶¶ DQA #212 (A ***bu**o'ro)] HS: WS *^obrw 'cut, trim' > Ar √brw G (ip. -bru-) 'dégrossir avec une hache'; rogner', OSA {DRS} √brw Sh (pf. hbrw) 'tailler en pièces' (× N ***bu**Rv 'flint') ¶ BK I 119, DRS 82-3 ♦ May be originally connected with ***bu**Rv 'flint' (→ 'to cut\carve with a flint').

221. ***bU**rV 'to turn round, rotate' > HS: S (+ext.) *^obrm, *-brum- > Ar √brm (ip. -brum-) 'tordre, tresser (une corde) en tordant les fils\tortis' ¶ BK I 117-8 [|| B: Ty {PAM} bəru-ray 'rouler (objet sur une surface)' ¶ PGG 16 || EC: Sml bu-r- 'make round' ({Abr.} 'make into a ball') ¶ Abr. S 36 ¶¶ Tk.

LAA-1 125 [#154]|| **K**: GZ *br- v. 'twirl, whirl, rotate' > G bru- 'spinning, turbulence', bru- 'schwindlich machen', (tav)-bru- 'giddiness, vertigo', brun- (< *br(w)-in-, caus.) 'sich drehen, kreisen, rotieren', borbal- 'wheel, potter's wheel, whirlwind'; ⚡ GZ *brun- v. 'spin, whirl' > OG brun- 'rotate', G brun- id., v. 'spin', Mg burin- 'throw with spinning; whirl' ¶ K² 17, 19, Chx. 107-8, Schm. 98, GM S 314, FS K 58, FS E 60 || **U** *pXrw₈V 'turn, revolve' (× N *P_oRwV 'to turn, revolve' [q.v. ffd.]) || **A**: NaT (× N *muri a 'to twist, roll, turn round'): (1) *bur(a)- v. 'turn round' > OOSm bur-, Tk bur- 'twist', Tkm, Ggz, Az, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Uz, ET bur-, Qzq бap- bu_r-, VTt, Bsh бop- бъ_r-, StAlt pur-, Chv L паAp- pъr-, Chv H pъ_r- id. ('крутило, закручиваю'), Qrg, Kr/Qzq {RL} bur- '(ver-)zusammen-(um-)drehen', Alt/QK/Tlt/Shor/Brb {RL} pur- id., 'schrauben'; (2) *bu_r- v. 'twist, wind round' > OT bu_r- id., 'screw together', MQp XIII, XwT XIV bu_r- 'twist', Tk bu_rru_r- 'wrap, cover', Tlt {RL} pu_r- 'aufrollen, zusammenlegen' ¶ Cl. 355, ET B 264-7, 294-6, RL IV 1365, 1397, 1816, 1887 ¶ The variants with -u- ~ -u_r- are due to contamination with different N roots, e.g. *bu_rryi 'to cover' [q.v.] (whence Tk bu_rru_r- 'wrap, cover') and *bur'a 'to pierce, bore' [q.v.] (whence Alt pur- 'drill', etc.) || Tg: Ewk Ucr buruk, Ewk Tk buruku_n 'whirlpool' ¶ STM I 114 ⚡ Cf. IS I 186-7 s. v. *bur₁ 'to bore, drill' (to which IS ascribes some of the reflexes of the √ in question).

222. ? *buRV 'flint' (→ 'to cut/carve with a flint') > **HS**: C: Bj {R ← Stz.} ber'rawe 'flint' (R: i < d berr- 'steppe') ¶ R WBd 52 || WS *√bry 'cut, carve' > Ar √bry G (pf. îraBa ba_rā-, ip. -briy-) 'tailler, couper (un roseau à écrire, une plume)', É_rraBa bara_t- 'plane/couteau pour dégrossir/adoucir le bois, une flèche, etc.', OSA {DRS} bry 'monument sculpté' (× N *buRu 'break') ¶ BK I 119-20, DRS 82-3 || ??? **IE**: NaIE *b^her- 'work with a sharp instrument, cut' (× NaIE *b^her- v. 'bore, pierce' < N *bur'a 'to pierce, bore', q.v. ffd.) || **A**: Tg *bu_rV 'flint' > Ewk buru, Sol boro, Lm bur, Orc bu, burakta, Ud bu_r, Ul, Ork buraqta, Nn boraqta 'flint', Neg burokta 'amber' ¶ STM I 114, Krm. 214 ⚡ N *buRV 'flint' is not necessarily identical with N *bur'a 'pierce, bore' (≠ S CNM 4).

223. *buRV, *buR'K₁V 'storm, stormy wind' (→ 'snowstorm') > **HS**: B *bVru_r- 'hail' > Sll {Ds.} ibru_ri_r-ib_ri_ri_r-, Shl {La.} iburun, Kb ab_ruri 'hail', Dmn ab_ri_ro 'small hailstones', Zmr, Iz t_rbru_ri 'hail', Nf tab_ruri 'snow', Izd tibruri, Gd tab_ruri ¶ La. MChB 186, Mrc. 131, Lf. II #O101, Dl. 396, Ds. 446, NZ 124 || C {AD} *bVr-, {E} *bar-/bur- > Bj {R} ba_r (pl. bar) 'Geruch', bar-am- ps. 'Geruch zugetragen werden durch die Luft', bara_m 'Geruch (der zugetragen wird), Luft, Wind' || SC {E} *bu_r- v. 'blow' (of wind) (× N *bV'h₁RV 'to blow, inflate, swell', q.v. ffd.) ¶ E PC #5, E SC 140, R WBd 49, 51 || Ch: CCh: ? Dgh {Frk., ChL} ma_rbu_ra 'storm', Db {Lnh.} bu_rto_rto_ry id. || ECh: Mu {J} bu_ru_rndu_r 'storm', Kwn {J} ka_r-ba_r- 'wind' ¶ ChC, ChL [⊕] HS {Tk.} rdp *bVbVr- (= *bubir-?) '(whirl)wind' > HEC {Hd.} *bobire 'wind, storm' > Kmb bobira 'wind', Brj bubbe 'storm', Sd bubbe 'strong wind' ¶ Hd. 168, 406 || Ch: [⊕] WCh: AG {Tk.} *vivir 'whirlwind' (*v < *b) > Su {J} fi_rvi_r, Mpn {Frz.} v_rvi_r id. || CCh: Msg {Mch.} be_rbe_r, {Rlf.} be_rbere, {Brt. in Lk. DQM} bebe_r 'wind', [⊕] Bld {Trn.} vu_rvu_r 'tornado' or 'tourbillon', Mlw {Trn.} a_r-vu_rvu_ri_r 'tourbillon' || ¶ ChC, ChL, Lk. DQM 120 [⊕, J S 65, Frz. M 199, Trn. B 56, Trn. MVM 207] ¶¶ Not here (⇔ IS I 188) Ar ba_ri_rh- 'vent chaud, particulièrement qui vient du côté du Yémen' (BK I 107), which is an act. prtc. of √br_h v. 'come from the right side' (in Ar 'south, Yemen' literally means 'the right side') [⊕ ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 103 [#2] (C, Ch)] || ? **K** *bu_ror- > eNG {SSO} bor-i 'haze of dust', G bur-i ~ bor-i {NCh.} id., {DCh.} 'haze, mist (мгла, туман)', {Chx.} 'leichter Nebel, Mist, Dunst', {NCh. RKL} bur-i 'буран' ('storm?') ¶ SSO I 110, Chx. 97, 121, DCh. 124, NCh. 153, NCh. RKL I 87 || **IE**: NaIE {AD} *b^her-/b^heu_r- v. 'be stormy', 'storm' (× *b^heu_r- v. 'move rapidly' > OI bhu_rati id., Gk φυ_rω v. 'mix') > YAv bar- vi. 'rage, storm' (of wind), 'be stormy' (day), 'stream quickly' (of water) (barənti ... aya_n 'an einem stürmenden Tage') || ON byrr 'fair wind', NE Shetl bir(r), borr 'wind', ME bu_r, bir 'strong wind', Frs E bur 'wind', MDt bo_r-lo_s 'without wind' || Sl *bu_r'a ~ *bu_r'a 'storm' > OCS бoуpъ-a burja 'procella, tempestas', Blg 'буря' 'storm, thunderstorm', McdS бoуpa 'storm', SCr bu_ra 'storm, strong wind', Slv bu_ra 'north-eastern wind', OCz bu_r'e 'storm', P burza 'storm, thunderstorm', R 'буря' 'storm' ¶ i ÷ L fur-o_r / fur-e_r vi. 'rage, rave', furor 'madness, raving', furio_s 'raging, raving, furious' (< IE *d^huse/o- < d^hwes- 'breathe'?) ¶ Brtl. 943, WH I 260, Vr. 68, ESSJ III 97-8, SPS I 453-4, Glh. 157, ≠ P 132-3, M K II 508-9 (they do not distinguish between the stem in question and some homonymous stems), EI 82 (L fur-o_r < *d^huse/o-) ¶ Two variants of the IE stem (IE *b^her-/b^heu_r-) are reconstructed because *b^her- alone does not explain Sl

*bur'a-/*bura, while *b^heu_r- fails to explain Av bar-; this alternation of two "états" (like *b^heg^w-/*b^heu_r-g- v. 'run, flee') is an expected reg. reflex of a two-fold diphthongization of N *u (N ***buRV** > *b^hwer-/*b^hewr- > *b^her-/*b^hewr-, ɸ AD NGIE) || U *purka 'snowstorm' > F purku 'snowfall', purkusa^a 'snowstorm (Schneegestüß)', pLp {Lr.} *porkz id. > Lp: Kld {SaR} по_rркк, {TI} por_rк:(a_r) id., N bo_r'ga^a-rg- 'cloud, spray of snow (either falling or whirled up from the ground by a strong wind)' || Mk по_rф porf 'snowstorm' || Chr B/U pur_r'ыз 'Schneegestöber', StChr L pur_r'ыз 'snow-drift (Schneehaufen, Schneewehe, **сургоб, занос**)', pur_r'ыз^z- vi. 'drift' (of snow), 'cover with snow' (of snowfall\wind) (**места, заносит снег**), U pur_r'a- 'stöbern, wirbeln (Schnee, Staub)' || Prm (1) *pu_r'- > Vt pur_r'-ini 'rise' (of dust), Z Vm/I/Lz/Le/Sk/Ud pir_r'ini v. 'powder with snow\dust' (of wind) [**порошит, заносит (снегом, песком)**], Z LL pira 'snow-drift (heap of snow)', Prmk pir_r'et- v. 'drift on sth. (by the wind)' (of snow, etc.); (2) ? *pur- > Z purkz- 'rise' (of snow, dust), 'be a snowstorm' || ObU *po_r'rkV > pVg *po_r'rki^y 'Schneegestöber' > Vg: T porkz^z, LK pa_r'rx, MK pa_r'rk, P pork, Ss porxay, N {Mu.} porxey id.; pOs *po_r'rkay ({**пHл.**} *pu_r'rkay) 'smoke' > Os V/Vy/Y po_r'qi, Kz po_r'rxa, O pa_r'rxa id. || Sm: (1) Ne T O pa_r'ronta^y 'snowdrift', Slq LTz purqa^{lc}'e- 'verschneien, verwehen', Slq Ch pura^yinpa^t 'es stöbert, es ist Schneegestöber, es weht heftig', Slq Tm purqa^t 'Schneegestöber'; (2) pSm *pur_r'k_r- 'smoke' > Ne T нур^r pur^r 'Feuer gegen die Mücken', Slq Tz {KKIH} pur_r'qi 'smoke', ? Kms ber, б_rг, bor id. || Coll. 52, UEW 406, It. #198, Lr. #956, Lgc. #5076, SaR 265, TI 396, Ker. II 124, PI 216, 219, LG 233, 236, SZ 312-3, 370, Ht. 179 [#539], Jn. 131, KKI 153 || A *bur^r'k^v, *bur^r'a 'snowstorm, wind' > M: [1] M *borayan 'snowstorm' > MM boro^{van}, boro^{on}, boro^{xon} id., WrM borugan 'rain, rainy weather', cagan borugan, qatagu borugan 'hail', HIM бороон 'rain, rainy weather', Ord b_{oro}'n, Brt b, Brt Ag бороон 'rain', Brt бордоно(н) 'snowstorm, blizzard', Kl boraⁿ 'snowstorm, bad weather'; M б_r T lgs. (Yk burxaⁿ, Tkm borayan, bo^{ra}'n, etc.) || H 19, MED 121, Ms. O 81, KRS 110, KW 51, Chr. 105-6 [??σ [2] M *burgi- v. 'rise in clouds, whirl (as dust, water, or storm)', Ord b_{urgi}- 'jaillir, bouillonner' [x N *bur^u(K,U) 'to spurt, gush forth, boil', q.v. ffd. x N *buri^y'U 'loose earth, dust'] || NrTg *bu_r'ki > Ewk burki, Lm borqo^w 'first snow, fine snow (**пороша, мелкий снег**)' (x Tg *bu_r'e-ki 'dust' < N *buri^y'U '↑', q.v.) || STM I 113, ≠ S AJ 224 [#281] (does not distinguish this root from Tg *bureki 'dust' (< N *buri^y'U) || pKo {S} *p_r'a^l'a^m 'wind' > MKo p_r'a^l'a^m, NKo param id. || S QK #111, Nam 241, MLC 704 || **Q** DQA #194 *bo^r'ru (≠ -a, -o) 'dust, smoke, whirlwind'; incl. M, Tg, Ko], Lee CSMK || IS I 189 adduces OT bor 'storm' (suggested by V. Thomsen in *Turcica* 94, note 2), but Cl. 357 (s.v. borç'a) denies the existence of this word; other words of Turkic lgs. adduced there by IS [Yk buray- vt. 'disperse, scatter (**рассеиват, разметат**)', Qrg boro- **булсават**, rage [of wind]] are not valid genetic cognates either: Qrg boro- (actually meaning 'be a snow-storm, **булсават**') cannot be separated from Qrg boroⁿ 'snowstorm' and is obviously a Mongolism, and the Yk word is semantically too distant ♦ Cf. IS I 188-90 (HS, IE, U, A). The meaning 'snowstorm' seems to be a Uralo-Altaic innovation (partially parallel to the B semantic development: 'storm'→'hail').

224. *ba^r'?ri 'to hold, take' > HS: S *^o√b^r'?r > Ak ba^{ra}'ru (inf.) 'to catch (fish, birds), hunt' (prs. i-bar, p. i-ba^r ~ i-ba^{ra}), ba^{ra}'iru 'fisherman, hunter' || CAD II 2-4, 31-3, Sd. 108 || B *^o√Hbr > Ah abər (pf. yubər) 'saisir à pleine main', ETwl/Ty {GhA} abər (3m pf.: ETwl oləm, Ty yoləm) id., 'saisir à pleine bouche (animal)' || Fc. 80-1, GhA 9, 246-7, **Q** NZ 92-3 || C *^o√br (E: *ber- v. 'grasp') > Bj {R} √bry pcv. 'auf- \ zusammen-bringen, besitzen, haben'; prs. 'a-bari 'I possess', ta-ba^{riya} 'du besitzt' has the form of past, suggesting a semantic development: 'to have taken\seized' → 'to possess' || Ag: Bln {R} barbar- v. 'take honey out of a hive', Q {R} barabar-, Xm {R} birbir- v. 'pillage, plunder'; Ag б_r Gz √brbr (pf. barbara) id. || (j) EC: Sa I {PW} bar- v. 'grasp, hold', Af Tjr {MLuc.} be_{ra} 'il emporte' || SC {E} *^ober- v. 'touch' > Kz belet- id. || ?σ DhI {EEN} b_{er}- id. || E SC 137, E PC #8, R WB 84, R QW 43, R WBd 49-50, L G 102, PW SSI 381, MLuc. 198, EEN 33 || K *^obar- > G bar-: gada-bar- 'etw. übernehmen, auf sich nehmen', mi-bar- 'etw. entgegennehmen, übernehmen', c'a-bar- 'an sich nehmen, entgegennehmen, übernehmen' || Chx. 64-5 || IE: NaIE *b^her- v. 'take, bring, carry' (x N *ba^r'r?V 'to give' x N *berE^{ra} 'to give birth to' [q.v.]) > OI 'bharati, Av baraiti 'carries, bears', OPrs bar- 'carry', NPrs -rB ba^r- prs. (inf. ^{dr}B bor-daⁿ) 'carry, bear, bring', KhS bar- id. || Arm beren ber-em 'I carry' || Gk φε^r-o id. || L fer-o id., fer-t 'carries', Um FER- 'carry' || Phr αβ-βερετ 'at-tulit' || OIr ber- 'carry' || pAl {O} *berya > Al bie 'bring' || Gt ba^r'an, ON, Nr bera, Sw ba^r'ra, Dn bære, OFrs, OHG, OSx, AS beran, NE bear 'to

carry' || Sl *bъra-ti 'to take' / *bero_ 'I take' > OCS inf. бѣрати бѣрати (1s prs. берѣ bero_), Cz brati (1s prs. беру), Slk brat', P brac' (1s pres. biore_), R братъ (1s prs. бѣру) id., SCr bra'ti (1s prs. be''re-m), Slv bra'ti (be'rem) 'to gather in, pluck', Blg бѣра 'gather (fruit), pluck, take' || pTc {Ad.} *pa'r- > Tc A, B pa'r- v. 'bear (away), carry (off)' ¶ P 128-32, EI 90 (*b'her- 'carry'), ¶ EI 56 [no distinction between *b'her- 'bear (a child)' and *b'her- 'carry'], M K II 473-6, M E II 246-9, Hinz 72, Sg. 173, Horn 45-6, Bai. 270-1, F II 1003-5, WH I 483-5, Bc. G 335, Vn. B 38-40, Pln. II 735-6, Fs. 75, Vr. 33, OsS 50, EWA I 546-8, Ho. 21, Ho. S 6, Slr. 78-9, ESSJ III 162-3, Wn. 361-2, Ad. 371 || ¶ *ba'ri- v. 'hold, take, possess' → v. 'earn', 'property' (¶ {SDM97} *ba'rV 'goods, possess, earn') > NaT *ba'r 'there is', *bari-m 'property' > OT ba'r 'there is', Tk var, Az var, Tkm, Yk ba'r id., OT barim 'property' ¶ S AJ 191 [#159], Rs. W 62, Cl. 353, 356 || M *bari- v. 'hold' > MM [S, MA] bari- '(er)greifen, (fest)nehmen', v. 'hold', WrM bari- v. 'hold, grasp, take, seize', HIM бари- id., Kl ba'r-б'p- 'hold, take into one's hands', Dx bari- v. 'hold, catch', Mnr H {SM} b_ari- ~ wari-, Dg bari-, ? Ba wa'r- v. 'hold, take', Mgl {Rm.} bari- '(in die Hand) nehmen, greifen' ¶ KW 38, Rm. M 23, H 13, SM 22, KRS 92-3, T DgJ 125, T DnJ 112, T BJ 135, T 316, Pp. MA 433 || pKo {S} *pə'r > NKo pə'l- v. 'earn' ¶ S AJ 257 [#159], S QK #159, MLC 765 ¶¶ S AJ 287 [#268], ¶ DQA #108 [A *ba'ra 'goods; to possess, earn' > T, M, Ko] ¶¶ The pA high-tone long vw. is that represented by length in pT and shortness in pTg || D *per_- ({}GS} *p-) v. 'get, obtain' > Tm per_u 'get, obtain, lay eggs', Kn per_- id., Tu perga 'winnings made in a game', Tl perayu v. 'obtain' ¶¶ D #4422, Km. 435 [#844]; in some D lgs. there is homonymy and probably a merger with D *per_- v. 'give birth' < N *berE?a id. ◆ IS I 176-7 [#8] (*bari > HS, IE, ?D, A), AD GD #100 (IE, A) ¶¶ Ak -r- and pT length of the vw. *a suggest a pN lr., while lack of vowel lengthening in pIE *b'her- and the zero reflex in K suggest the "lightest" lr. *?; D *-r_- suggests pre-D loss of this lr.: *-r- > pre-D *-r- > D *-r_- ◆ Gr. II #382 (*per 'take') [IE & A (mixing of reflexes of *ba'ri and *ba'rV 'to give') + err. J, Ai, Gil, CK]

225. *bo'r'E' 'to dig; a pit; well' > HS *b'u'riVJr- > S *bu'r- 'pit, well' > BHb r&B bo'r 'costern, pitfall; separate grave', Ar bu'r-at- 'fosse', Har bu'ur, bu'r 'deep' (ϕ- Ar?), Grg Ch/Sl/Wl/Go/Z bur, Grg M b'zr 'pit, well', Ak bu'ru 'pit, hole; well, pond, pool', bu'rtu 'well, cistern; fish pond; waterhole; hole, pit' [ϕ, ? Gz maba-ro 'means of digging']; delabialized variant WS *bi'ir- > Ar bi'ir- 'puits', BHb ra4B6 bə'e'r 'well of underground water, watering place', Ug b'zr and Ph (AkSc) bi'ru 'well' (in place-names), Pun, IA, Nbt b'zr 'well, cistern', OA, IA arib byr? id. (em.), JA ar1a4B6 bə'e'r-a-, Sr be'ra-, bira-, Md bira, Mh bayr (pl. bə'yawrət) 'well'; ambiguous case (unk. voc.): M'b br 'cistern' or 'well', OSA b'zr 'well, cistern', Cn b- > Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} ba-i-r 'well'; WS verb *√b'zr > Ar √b'zr (ip. -b'zur-) 'creuser (un puits, une fosse)', Sb √b'zr v. 'dig a well or a cistern' [ϕ, ? Ar √brw G 'dégrossir avec une hache', Tgy √brw 'hendre le sol'] ¶ KB 102, 111-2, KBR 106, 116, JH 32, HJ 141-2, 155, DR KAI III 5, A #488, OLS 99, Hrs. G 85, BK I 78-9, [ϕ+119,] BGMR 25, Av. G II 123-4, Jo. M 40, L ESAC 12, L EDH 39, L EDG III 150-1, [ϕ+L G 328,] CAD II 335-9, 342-3, Hlk. #55, SivCR 79 [ϕ+ || B: ETwl b'zrwwt 'fosse' ¶ PGG 16] || LEC *bo'r- > Sml {R} bo'r- 'dig', bo'r (df. bo'r-ti) 'Loch, Grube', Sml C bo'ra-n {ZMO} 'deep\large hole', {DSI} 'buca profunda, fossa; grande tana', Sml N {Abr.} bo'ra-n 'hole in the ground'; Or {C, R} bor- (bo'r-) v. 'dig', ? Or Wl {Brl.} bor-ac'c-u 'to dig earth with horns' (of infuriated bulls) ¶ DSI 64, Abr. S 34, R SS II 87, C SE II 194, Brl. 63, ≠ AD SF 45 || Ch: WCh: Ron: Fy {J} b.ur 'bury, dug in', Bks {J} b.or v. 'dig', DfB {J} b,u,r, Sha {J} bur v. 'bury' : SBC: Tala ya b'o'ri v. 'dig' : ? BT: Krf {ChC} burre', Pr {Frz.} pu're 'grave' || CCh: Bdm {Cfr. in ChC} bə'ra'm 'a well' || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} bi'r (bi'ir) v. 'dig' ¶ J R 84, 140, 213, 283, JI II 104-5, ChC s.v. 'dig', ChL, Frz. P 48 ¶ Glottalized b_- in WCh corroborates the presence of a lr. in the HS √ [¶¶ TkC. LAA-1 132 [#203]] || IE: NaIE *b'her- v. 'dig' (× N *bur'a 'to pierce, bore') > Arm -bir-bir 'aufgrabend' (in cds: getnabir getn-a-bir 'that burrows in the earth', ho-abir ho-a-bir 'digging the earth'), brem br-em 'I dig, I hoe, I hollow' || L fora- v. 'bore' || Gk φα'ροϕ 'plough', φαρο'ωσι 3p prs. 'they plough' ¶ ¶ WP II 159-61, P 133-5, WH I 481-2, F II 994, Ch. 1179, Hü. 429-30, Slr. 137 (derives Arm -bir, brem from Arm bir bir 'large stick, club, cudgel'), ≠ EI 549 (unc. : φαρο'ωσι, L fora- and Arm brem < IE *b'her- 'strike') I ?? NaIE *b'he-u_-r_ / b'he-u_-n- / b'ru-n- 'spring (fons)' [× N *bur'u(-K,U) 'to spurt, gush forth, boil, seethe?'] > Arm a-biyr albiw- a-beyr albew- (gen. alber) 'source, spring' (< *b'he-wr-) || Gk φρε'α'ρ / gen. φρε'α'τοϕ 'a well' (< *φρη'α'ρ) || Olr tipra 'spring' (possibly < *to-ek'-s-b'he-wr_) || pGmc *bruno- / brun(e)n- 'well, spring' > Gt brunna 'πηγη', source', Gt Cr brunna 'fons', OHG brunno, NHG Brunnen, ON brunnr 'well, spring', AS brunna (× burna) id., 'creek'; AS

burno, NHG Born 'spring, well', MLG borne 'creek', NE bourn ¶ P 144, Dv. #330, M K II 509-10, M E II 250-1, F II 1040-1, Hü. 415, Slt. 280-1, Me. EAC 147, Vn. T 74, Fs. 108, Vr. 61, EWA II 381-3, KM 10, Ho. 39, Ho. S 11 ¶ K: G {DCh.} bar- 'dig', {NCh.} bar- id. ('копатель заступом'), {Chx.} ga-bar-, gada-bar- 'dig (throughout the field)', '(das ganze Feld) umgraben'; G bar-i {NCh.} 'spade (заступ)', {Chx.} 'Spaten, Schaufel' ¶ DCh. 97, NCh. 149, Chx. 64-5, 67 ¶ ÷ Sv -bərɜ̃---barɜ̃^d-ba'rɜ̃- v. 'dig, hoe' (< N ***p̥b̥i'R̥k̥g̥** 'to dig', q.v. ffd.) ¶ ?? D *po_r_- ({GS} *b-) 'hole, hollow in the tree' [× N ***P̥UgUr̥** 'hollow; to gap, be open (a hollow)', q.v. ffd.] ¶ A *b̥u'r̥ 'spring, well' > M *bu'rdu̇ 'spring of water, small lake' > WrM bu'rdu̇ {MED} 'small lake, pool', {Cev.} 'spring (of water)', HIM {Luv.} б̥рд id. ('криница'), Kl Ö {Rm.} bu'rdü 'Sumpf, Sumpfsee mit Quelle' ¶ MED 1200, Luv. 95, Cev. 117, KW 35 (WrM bu'ru̇du̇ - spelling at variance with other sources) ¶ pKo {S} *u̇- 'well' > cds: MKo u̇-mi'r, NKO umul (mir 'water') ¶ S QK #884, Nam 389, MLC 1239 ¶ pJ {S} *bi̇- (→ bu̇i̇- → b̥ɜ̃i̇- 'well' > OJ wi̇, J T i ¶ S QJ #780, Mr. 420 ¶¶ a DQA #162 [incl. M *bu'ru̇du̇ (i.e. *bu'rdu̇), Ko, J] ♦ Cf. IS I 186-7 s.v. *bur̥ 'to bore, drill' (to which IS ascribes some of the reflexes of the √ in question).

¶ 225a. ?? ***b̥A'ØVr̥** '∈ bovine' > HS: S *bu̇i̇Vr̥-, (d ?) *ba'fir̥- > Ak bu'ru 'young calf; foal, young of quadrupeds' : Sb b̥r 'cattle, head of cattle; camel', Mn {MA} b̥r 'camel', Gz b̥əf̥ər 'ox, bull, horned cattle', Tgr, Tgy b̥əf̥əray 'ox, bull' [→ Sa {R} be'ē-r̥, Bj {R} be'z̥-r̥ 'ox (Ackerstier)'], Mh {Jo.} b̥ɜ̃'ayr 'camel', coll. {Jo.} Mh h̥ɜ̃-bėr̥, Hrs h̥ɜ̃-byȧr̥, Bth h̥ɜ̃bėz̥r̥ 'camels' : BHb ba'fir̥- (att. +ppa.: 3m e7rio5B6 b̥əfi̇r̥-ȯ, 3p Mrl̥io5B6 b̥əfi̇r̥-ȧm) 'cattle (as property)', JA [Tg.], JEA, Sr b̥əfi̇r̥-ȧ 'grazing animal, cattle', Ar ba'fir̥- 'camel; (any) beast of burden' (→ Sq/Hrs {Jo.} ba'fir̥ id.) ¶ CAD II 340-2, L G 84-5, a KB 136, Js. 182, BK I BGMR 26, Jo. M 41 ¶ C: Ag {Ap.} *bir̥-a > Bln, Xm {R}, Km {CR} bir̥- 'ox, bull' (→ EthS?) : HEC {Hd.} ± *bȯ-r̥ 'bull, ox' > Kmb bȯ-r̥ id., Sd bȯ-r̥-to 'cow', Hd bȧ-r̥ 'young bull' ¶ Ap. IV 6, Hd. 109, AD SF 204 ¶ B: Zng ta-barar-t 'female camel' ¶; ??? Ah {Fc.} ə-here 'menu bétail (chèvres et moutons)', Tmz {NZ} ta-burr-it 'troupeau' ¶ ¶ NZ 94, [125, Fc. 639, Tk. LAA-1 124 [#145]] ¶ Ch: WCh {Stl.} *bara 'antelope' ({AD} and 'buffalo?') > Gera bara 'buffalo', Hs {Ba.} bȧ'rė-wȧ 'red-fronted or dorcas gazelle (Gazella rufifrons)', Ngz {Sch.} b̥ɜ̃'ri̇ 'herd of animals' ¶ P {MSk.} bȧ'bȧr̥ 'roan antelope', Sir {Sk.} babari 'gazella dama', Cg {Sk.} burȧm̥n 'gazelle' : Jm {Csp.} bu̇rȧ, ? Grn {Csp.} mbȯrȯ 'sheep' : CCh: Bdm {Nc.} bȧ'riė 'bull' : ?σ: Ms {Sk.} bȯʔora, Bnn {ChC} bȧ'ra 'antelope' : ECh: Mkl {J} bu̇ru̇ 'bœuf' ¶ ChC, Stl. ZCh 154 [#90], Ba. 86, MSk. 166, Sk. NB 10-1, Lk. B, J LM 70, Csp. 32 ¶, Sch. DN 16 ¶¶ a Tc. LAA-1 124 [#145] ¶ D *par_r_- ({GS} *b-) 'buffalo' > Tl bar_r̥e 'female buffalo', Klm barre 'buffalo' ¶¶ DED #3321 ¶ ???µ K: G barak̥euli 'heifer, young cow' (unless a loan, which seems likely) ¶ Chx. 65 ¶ A *bir̥'a(gu) or *bur̥'a(gu) 'young herbivore (calf, lamb, etc.)' [× N ***w̥i'R̥ɜ̃** 'young herbivore (calf, lamb, etc.)', q.v. ffd.]; if it is a valid cognate, the unexpected palatalized *-r̥- may be due to derivation (*b̥iur̥-a- < *b̥iur̥-ya-?) ♦ a Blz. DA 157 [#53] [S, C, WCh, D *par_r_- + *unc.* D *po_r̥ 'bull' (see N ***p̥.ʔor̥w̥J̥** '(female, young?) ruminant artiodactyl (esp. bovine)')].

226. 2 ***b̥Uhr̥** 'to be light' (of colour) > HS *√bhr̥ v. 'be light' (of colour) > CS *√bhr̥ 'be light' (of colour), 'stand up as white against a darker background' > Ar √bhr̥ G (ip. -bhur-) v. 'shine, shine brightly', BHb rie5b6m2 mab̥'h̥ir̥ 'shining, bright', BHb rie5B1 bȧ'h̥ir̥ '(?) brilliant, bright' (h. l. Job 37.21: 'ʔȯr̥ bȧ'h̥ir̥ hu̇ b̥as̥s̥əh̥ȧk̥im̥ '[KJB] 'light which is bright in the skies', [LXX] το̇ φω̇ τ̥ηλαυγε̇ ὅ̇ ε̇στιν... 'the light which is far-shining ...'), MHb {Js.} rie5B1 bȧ'h̥ir̥, r̥eB1 bȧ'hȯr̥ {Js.} 'white, white spot' (cloud), {Lv.} 'glanzfleckig', JA ar̥lie5B6 b̥əhi̇'r̥ȧ 'glänzend, leuchtend', Md √bhr̥ G v. 'illuminate'; BHb tr̥e3B2 bȧ'heret̥ 'white patch in the skin', JA [Trg.] bah̥'rȧ, bahar̥'tȧ id., b̥əhi̇'r̥ȧ 'light' (colour), 'clear' (sky) ¶ KBR 111-2, L G 103-4, Fr. I 115, Ln. 196, 265, Lv. I 197 ¶ NrOm: Ym (Fl.) borȯ, ? {Wdk.} pȯrȯ ~ fȯrȯ, {Lm.} forȯ 'white' ¶ Wdk. BY 122, 182, Lm. Y 342 ¶ Ch *√br̥ 'white' > CCh: MfG {Brr.} mȧ'-bȧ'rȧ 'white, clean', Gzg D {Lk.} babarȧ, Db {Lnh.} mȧ'bȧ'ri̇n̥, Gdr (Mch.) bȧ'barȧ 'white' : ECh: Kbl (Cp.) bu̇ru̇wȧ, Ll {Grgs.} bȯ'rė, Kwn {J} b̥ɜ̃'rėti̇n̥, Smr (J) bu̇rȧ'gė 'white', Ke {Eb.} gi̇-bi̇r̥wi̇ (f. b̥ɜ̃r̥wȧ) 'white, light (colour)' ¶ JI II 345, ChC, Eb. 50, Brr. MG II 162 (connects MfG mȧ'-bȧ'rȧ 'white, clean' with -p̥ər̥- v. 'wash') ¶, Blz. LECh #97 ¶ A *buRE > Tg *bu̇r̥... > Ewk burbi 'wall-eye', Nn burix̥ id. ¶ STM I 111 ¶ Ko {Rm.} puru 'white' in puru-mal 'white horse' (mal is horse) ¶ Rm. SKE 211, Rm. EAS I 57 ♦ The Om and Ch words may also belong to HS *√brh̥ v. 'shine' [whence S *√brh̥ v. 'be light' (of colour), 'shine' > Ar √brh̥ (pf. bariha) v. 'be light in complexion', Gz √brh̥ v. 'shine', 'be light' (of

colour), bəru'h 'light' (colour), 'bright' (KB 108, BK I 118-9, 170-1, L G 103-4); EthS > Sa {R} √brh v. 'be light' (of colour), birih 'light' (colour)] < N ***bArh'E** 'to shine' (q.v.).

227. ??? *bV'hRV 'to blow, inflate, swell' > **HS**: C: **HS**: C: SC {E} *bu'r- v. 'blow' (of wind) (× N ***buRV**, ***buR'K'V** 'storm, stormy wind') > Kz {E} bul- id., Alg {E} bur- v. 'fan' ∥ Dhl {EEN} b.u'ri 'fart', [+ ∥ EC: Sm barar-, Boni {Hn.} bar?e-r- '(an)schwellen'] ¶ E SC 140, EEN 34 [+ , Hn. SL 75] ∥ Ch: ECh: Ke {Eb.} bo're', [+ Kwang {J} bo're', EDng {Fdr.} a'bi're' 'blow' (wind)] v. 'blow (blasen)' ∥ CCh: Msg {Dec.} barawe 'wind', Msg P {Trn.} baraway 'tornado sèche', Mbara {TrnSL} ba'ra'wa'y biri 'orage'] ¶ [+ ∥ B: Wrg bbərbər 'monter, se gonflet en fermentant (pâte)' ¶ NZ I 94] ∥ S *√bhr > Ar √bhr G ps. (pf. buhira) 'be out of breath', buhr- 'breathlessness, short-breathing' ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 129 [#180] ∥ **K**: GZ *be-r- 'blow, inflate, distend' > G ber- v. id. (aor. -ber-e < *-be-r-e, Ƒ GM S 250, GM SAKS 70-1), Lz bar-, Mg (m)bar- v. 'blow, inflate' ¶¶ IS I 193, K 50, K² 11, Schm. 97, Chik. 252 ∥ **A**: M: WrM bartaira 'swell, distend (as eyes, face, etc.)' ¶ MED 89.

228. ?? *b'uXrV 'back, rear' > **U** *purV- 'rear part, behind' > pOs *pir > Os: V pir, D pir, Kz pi'r 'hinter etw. befindlich, Raum hinter etw.' ∥ Hg far 'Arschbacken, Hinterteil, Gesäß', farol- 'rückwärts gehen' ∥ ? Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} purda- 'sich nach hinten, gegen den Stich wenden (z. B. die Strömung, die Haare bei einem gereizten Tier)', purda-ri? 'zurück', Slq Tm {KD} pa-ran- 'um-, zurückkehren', -gehen, sich wenden' ¶ UEW 407, MF 182-3, EWU 356, Lh. 366 ∥ **D** (in SD) *pur_- ({GS} *p-) 'buttocks, anus' > Tm pu'r_u 'anus', Ml pu'ru, pu'r_am 'buttocks, vulva', Kdg pu'ri 'vulva' ¶ D #4379 (i ÷ Tu pu't_i 'vulva' and Tl pud_a 'anus' [that in my opinion belong to N ***P_uIwI.E** 'hole' (→ 'vulva, anus')]) and the etymologically obscure Brh pund_u 'bottom of a receptacle, buttocks, anus') ∥ ? **HS** **√bXr 'back, back part of the body': B *√bXr (or *√bZr) > Ah a-ba-har (pl. ibu'ha-r) 'dos nu d'un animal portant une charge', əbhər '(se) mettre à cru sur le dos (d'un animal)' ¶ Fc. 40, Pr. H 34 (#23), NZ 40 ∥ ? CCh: Db {Lnh.} mbu'r, mbu'r 'buttocks', Gv {ChL} mbu'r...ta', mbu'r...te', Dgh {Frk.} kfi'mbr_ 'te' id. ¶ ChC, ChL.

229. *ba'r?V 'to give' > **HS**: S *√br? > Ar {Dz.} √br? G 'hand over' ('livrer, remettre, céder') ¶ Dz. I 62 ∥ Ch *√br ({Nw.} *barə, {JS} *√br) v. 'give' > WCh {Stl.} *bar- > BT: Krkr {Lk., J} bar-, Krf (imv.) ba'ri 'give!'; after Stl. ZCh: Bl, Ngm bar, Gln ba'r, Gera ba'r ∥ pSBc {Stl.} *bər > Grn {Sh.} bu'r, Grn Mb {Sh.}, Tule {Sh.} bər, Sy Zk/B/Z {Sh.}, Zar K/GL/L {Sh.} vər, Zar {IL} vər ∥ Ngz {Sch.} ba'ru ∥ CCh: Tr {Nw.} vəri ∥ McMDr: Gdf {Sh.} bar-, Gv {ChL} bə'ra'na', Dgh {Frk.} bi're', bi'rbge', Nkc {ChL} ba'rbi'ga' ∥ ECh: Mu {Lk.} ba'ra', {J, Lk.} ba'r, [+ Kjr buruno, ? Kjk fa-ro, Bdy be'r, JJg {J} bir, Brg {J} bi'ri', EDng {Fd.} be're', Mgm {J} bi'r-a'w ¶ Stl. ZCh 154 [#88], Nw. #57, JI I 76 & II 158-9, JS 116, JA LM 70, Sh. SB 35, Sch. DN 22, Blz. LECh #34 ∥ **K** □ *bar- > G (da-)bar- 'hinterlassen (z. B. Auftrag), {DCh.} 'entrust, commission so. (to do sth.), charge (with a task)', Sv UB {GP} li-bra'y-e v. 'to hand over', Sv {Ni.} -bra'e 'give' ¶ Chx. 64, DCh. 97, Ni. s.v. 'dar', GP 148 ∥ **A** *ba'rV (or *be-rV?) v. 'give' > T *ba'r- ({ADb., DQA} *be-r-) v. 'give' > OT be'r (= {DCl.} be'r), Tkm ber- (acc. to IS, secondary shortening due to the infl. of r), Az ver-, Afsh ve-r, Tk SW ve-r, Yk biā'r-, Chv par- (acc. to ADb. SR-D and Pp. J 54, Yk -iā- and Chv -a- suggest pT *-e-) ¶ Rs. W 70, Cl. 354-5, S AJ 178 [#34], ADb. SR-D 57-8, Jeg. 143, Fed. I 384-5 ∥ ?φ pJ *pa'ra-p- v. 'pay' > OJ pa'ra'p-, J: T hara'-, K ha'ra'-, Kg ha'ra'- id. ¶ S QJ #187, ≠ S AJ 282 (treats this J word as going back to pA *ba'rV 'property; to possess, earn'), Mr. 684 ∥ ??φ Tg *bu'- 'give' > Ewk, Sln, Neg, Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn bu- (high series of vw. harmony), Lm bo'-, WrMc bu- ¶ STM 99 ¶¶ □ DQA #154 [A *bi_o'r'e' 'give, take, collect'; incl. T, Tg] ∥ **D** (in McTm) *paric- 'gift' > Tm paricu, paricil 'gift, donation, present', pariyam - paricam 'brideprice, hire of a prostitute', Ml pariyam 'token given by bridegroom to bride' ¶ D #3970 ◆ IS I #10 (*ber_IH_{JA}: HS, T -?K) ◆ ≠ Gr. II #382 (*per 'take') [A (mixing of reflexes of ***ba'r?V** and ***ba'?ri** 'to hold, take') + *err.* IE, J, Ai, Gil, CK].

230. *berE2a 'to give birth to; child' > **HS**: S: [1] WS *bar- 'son' > Aram bar, Mh cs. bər, abs. h3-bre-, Jb C ber id.; for pS we may reconstruct a suppletion system: sg. *bar--*bin- 'son', pl. *ban- + pl. ending; the suppletion pair *bar-/*ban- is preserved in Aram and SS (OSA/Mh/Jb/Sq) ∥ [2] ? WS *√br? v. 'give birth to, create' > Sb brw 'child, son, offspring', Mh {Jo.} √brw (pf. bəro-), Jb C √brw (pf. 'biri), Sq {L} √br?w (pf. bere) v. 'give birth', Hb, Aram, Ar √br? v. 'create', OSA √br? v. 'build, create' (in Hb, Aram, Ar and OSA a coalescence with different roots is almost certain) ¶ Jo. J 28, Jo. M 54, KB

146-7, KBR 153-4, BGMR 30, 32, Bll. 57, Av. G II 176-7, 184 || EC: Rn ba^ˆr 'brother-in-law, wife's brother' (← *'brother' ← *'born one'; σ= below NaIE *b^hra^ˆter-) ¶ PG 72 [F+ || WCh: Fy {J} b,ara^ˆ 'Kind, Kleines' ¶ J R 84] || +ext : B *√brd^ˆ > Ah a-barad^ˆ 'boy', ta-barat^ˆ 'girl', ETwl/Ty a-barad^ˆ 'boy, young man', Gh abarad^ˆ 'boy' ¶ Fc. 86-7, GhA 9, NZ 103 || K *b^he^ˆr- 'child' > Lz bere 'child, son', Mg ber- 'son' in family names (beria, gigi-beria, etc.); ??φ G I byari 'child' ¶ Chik. 21-2, Chx. 126 || IE: NaIE *b^her-/ *b^her- v. 'give birth', 'child', {EI} *b^her- 'bear a child' > Gt ba^ˆran, OHG, AS beran, OHG, OSx gi-beran, NHG geba^ˆren, NE bear 'give birth to', Gt be^ˆrusjo^ˆs 'parents'; -d> Gmc *burθiz 'birth' > ON byrd (b> ME birthe, NE birth), Dn byrd, Gt ga-bau^ˆrps, AS ȝe-byrd, OHG burt, giburt, NHG Geburt; Gt bau^ˆr m. 'γεννητο^ˆ (a born one)', ON burr 'son', AS byre 'son, child' || pAl {O} *bira > Al bir 'son' || -d> (prtc.) *b^her-no- 'fetus, child' > Gmc {Zlz.} *barnan 'child' > Gt, ON, OHG, OSx barn, AS bearn 'child' || Ltv be^ˆrns 'child', Lt be^ˆrnas 'fellow, lad, chap; farm labourer' || pAl {O} *barna^ˆ > Al barre^ˆ 'fetus' || -d> IE b^hreh^ˆ-te^ˆr ({EI} *'breh^ˆte^ˆr) > NaIE *b^hra^ˆ-ter- (*b^hra^ˆte^ˆr nom. / *b^hra^ˆt(e)r-) 'kinsman of ego's generation and of the same moiety' → 'brother' (← *'born one', σ= above Rn ba^ˆr) > OI *bhra^ˆtar- (nom. *bhra^ˆta^ˆ), Av, OPrs, KhS bra^ˆtar-, CINPrs rd^ˆrB bira^ˆdar, NPrs berada^ˆr, Psh wro^ˆr 'brother', Oss (mt): D a^ˆr^ˆvada^ˆ id., I a^ˆr^ˆvad 'kinsman, brother' || Gk I [Hs.] φρη^ˆτηρ 'brother', Gk A φρα^ˆτηρ, φρα^ˆτωρ 'kinsman of the same phratría' || Arm e^ˆ-bajr e^ˆbayr 'brother' || Phr βρα^ˆτερε dat. 'to (the) brother' || Vn vhrateri dat. id. || L fra^ˆter, Um FRATER 'brother', Osc fratu^ˆm gen. pl. 'of brothers' || OIr bra^ˆthair, W brawd (pl. brodyr), MCrn braud, Crn broder (bf from pl. breder), MBr breuzr, Hm breur (pl. breudeur) 'brother' || Gt bro^ˆþar, ON bro^ˆðir, Nr, Sw, Dn broder, OHG bruoder, NHG Bruder, OSx bro^ˆthar, AS bro^ˆðor id., NE brother || Pru bra^ˆti (voc. brote), Lt (← dim.) brotere^ˆlis 'brother', Ltv Δ {ME} bra^ˆtar^ˆtis 'Brüderchen' ({P}: 'lieber Bruder!'); shortened form: Lt bro^ˆlis, Ltv bra^ˆlis 'brother' || Sl *bra^ˆtrъ id. > OCS брaтъ^ˆ bratrъ, Slv bra^ˆter, OCz, Cz, Hls bratr, Slk brat(e)r, Lls brats^ˆ; Sl *bra^ˆtrъ > ChS брaтъ^ˆ bratrъ, Blg, R, Uk брaт^ˆ, SCr bra^ˆt, Slv bra^ˆt, Cz б, Δ, Slk, P brat || Tc: A pracar (du. pratri), B procer || Possibly also L forda 'pregnant (of animals)', OIr birit 'sow' (acc. to Vn., ← 'pregnant'), combrit 'féconde, prolifique', Sl *berdja^ˆ 'pregnant' > ChS брѣжа^ˆ bre^ˆz^ˆdъ, RChS брѣжи^ˆ bre^ˆzii, SCr bre^ˆdja 'pregnant', Slv bre^ˆja, Cz br^ˆezí 'pregnant' (of animals), R Δ бе^ˆрежа, Uk бе^ˆрежа 'pregnant' (of a mare), Blr бе^ˆрѣжа 'pregnant mare' (× sds from *b^her- 'carry' < N *ba^ˆ?ri 'to hold, take' [q.v.]) ¶ IS I 32 ¶ P 128-31, 163-4, EI 56 [no distinction between *b^her- 'bear (a child)' and *b^her- 'carry'], EI 84, 333, M K II 530-1, ME I 328-9 & II 280-1, Mrg. 90, Bai. 313, Ab. II 437-8, F II 1039-40, WH I 527, 541-2, Pln. II 683, 736, Vn. B 52-3, 80-1 & C 168, YGM-1 53, Hm. 108, Zlz. M I #4.5, Fs. 75, 82, 84-5, 106-7, 175, Vr. 27, 65, 67-8, Ho. 18, 21, 36, 40, Ho. S 5-6, 10, OsS 41, 50, 86, 240, EWA I 346-8, 481-2 & II 385-8, 472, Kb. 58, 65, 125, 137, 337, KM 103-4, 237-8, Frn. 40, 59-60, O 19, 26, ESSJ I 188-9, II 238 & III 7-11, Glh. 146-7, Slr. 37, Wn. 387, Ad. 421-2 || ? U: pBF *pereh- 'family' (← 'children [of...]' > F perhe, Es pere, Krl pereh, Vo pere ¶ SK 523, SSA II 339 || D *per^ˆ- ({GS} *p-) v. 'beget, bear (a young)' > Tm per^ˆu id., Ml per^ˆuka v. 'bear, bring forth', pir^ˆappu, pir^ˆavi 'birth', Kt perv^ˆ- v. 'be born', Td per^ˆp, per^ˆ 'act of birth', Kdg per^ˆ-, Tu pedpini, pedduni, Tl pet^ˆ.t.u, Nkr pet^ˆ.t^ˆ- v. 'give birth', Klm pet^ˆ- v. 'bear young' ¶¶ D #4422 ¶¶ × D *per^ˆ- v. 'get' (< N *ba^ˆ?ri) [F+ ¶¶ i ÷ (⇔ Blz.) SD *pa^ˆr- 'child, young of an animal', because of the vw. *a^ˆ- and *-r- [regularly from a N *-r-cluster] (see N *P^ˆAr^ˆ?iV 'to bring forth, give birth', 'young of animal', q.v.) || A ?σ *berE 'girl' > M *beri 'daughter-in-law; bride' > WrM beri, HIM быр id., MM beri [HI] id., 'younger brother's wife', [S] 'daughter-in-law', [MA] 'bride', Dg {Mr.} beri 'bride; man's daughter-in-law', Dg {T}, Brt бґри, Kl бер 'son's \ younger brother's wife, young married woman', Kl {Rm.} бер 'bride, son's wife', WrO {Krg.} beri 'bride, wife', ShY {Ktw.} be^ˆri 'belle-fille', Mnr H {SM} b^ˆi^ˆeri 'wife, woman', Mgl (ArSc) {Wr.} bai^ˆri 'bride'; -d> M *beri-gen 'elder brother's wife' > MM [HI] bergen id., [S] ber(i)gen 'sister-in-law (Schwägerin)', [IM] berigen 'bride', [MA] berigen beri 'younger daughter-in-law and elder brother's wife', Brt бґригґн 'elder brother's wife', Kl бергн id., 'son's wife', {Rm.} bergn. 'Frau des älteren Bruders oder Schwagers; Schwägerin', WrO {Krg.} berge(n) 'sister\daughter-in-law, brother's wife, young married woman', Dg {Mr.} beregen 'sister-in-law', Dg {T} bзrigrз, Dx {T} bзgrз 'elder brother's wife'; sx. *-gen like in *eme-gen 'old woman, old wife', *ku^ˆ-r-gen 'son-\brother-in-law', *ebu^ˆ-gen 'old man', {Rm.} *eli-gen 'relatives-in-law'; M -b> Yk ba^ˆrga^ˆn - ma^ˆrga^ˆn 'husband's brother's wife', Ewk Brg bзrigrзы 'brother's wife', WrMc berxu 'husband's younger brother's wife, husband's younger sister' ¶ MED 99, Ms. H 40, H 14-5, Pp. MA 118, 433, SM 25, Krg. 342-3, KRS 95, KW 4, Chr. 132, Mr. D 12, Ktw. OuJ 444, T DsJ 113, T DgJ

126, Wr. B 122, STM I 126 || ? pJ {S} *b₃t₃'- 'girl' > OK wo'to'-mi_e', J: oto'me - o'tome, K o'to'me', Kg otome' (unless akin to OJ wo'to'-ku_o' 'man') ¶ S QJ #1489, Mr. 513 ¶¶ DQA #122 [A *be~re' 'daughter-in-law, younger relative-in-law'; incl. M, J] ♦ IS I #32 (*b_{ara} 'child': HS [S, B, doubtful C cognates]- K, IE) ¶, ▢ Blz. DA 156 [#44] (added WCh and unconvincingly D *pa~r- ¶ ♦ S *√br? points to a lr. *? within the N root. The NaIE vowel lengthening in *b^hra~ter and the interconsonantic zero reflex in *b^her-no- point to N *?. D *-r_- suggests that N *-r- was between vowels. The solution is N *berV?V.

231. *bur₁?J₁V 'lock of hair, down' > K: GZ *burt₁.ql_- 'down and plumage' > G burt₁.ql-id., Mg but₁.qu- 'soft'; K *burt₁.ql_- is likely to go back to a N *cd* *bur₁?J₁V dV₁.qab (lit. 'hair feather', ≠ N *dV₁.qab 'feather') with *as* *d.q > *t.q ¶ K 55, K² 21, FS K 65, FS E 68 ¶ D *pu~r- ({GS} *b-) 'down, body hair' > Klm bur 'fur', Nkr bu~r 'down, fine feather', Gnd bu~ra~ d bura 'down' d bura~ 'feather', Knd bur'us d bulus 'pubic hair, feathers, hair on legs and chest', Png bu~ra 'small feathers, down, wool, pubic hair', Mnd bu~ri~ 'pubic hair', Kui bu~ri, bu~ru 'hair, fur, feather, wool', Ku bu~rka (pl.) 'down', Mlt purgu 'hair on the body' ¶¶ Png and Mnd point to D *-r- (hence to N *bur₁?J₁V), while Knd -r'- suggests pD -r'- (× N *P_or'fV 'hair, locks') ¶¶ D #4358 (does not distinguish it from D *pu~t_- > Ml pu~t_a 'down of birds', Brh put_ 'hair' etc.), GS 159, 173-6, 181-3 (on D *-r'- and *-r-), Berger BZ 42 [fn. 85] ¶ HS: ? S: Ar bura~il- 'plumes fines formant le collier de certains oiseaux (p. ex., le coq, le pigeon)' ¶ BK I 117 || Eg N br {Hng.} 'hair tuft' (in br n sd 'tuft of the tail' [n sd 'of the tail']), {AnC} 'touffe (de la queue d'animal)' ¶ Hng. 256, AnC-1 #1277, Tk. II 249-51 || C: Bj {Rop.} ba~r 'camel-hair', bera~ri 'mane', {R} be~ra~re 'mane (of lions, horses, pavians)' ¶ EC: Sml {ZMO} ba~r 'eyelashes; hairs of the camel's hump' ¶ SC: Irq {E} bori 'body hair, facial hair', {+{MQK} bo~ri 'beard on the chin', ¶ Brn {Kk.} bo~ra 'goat's beard', b_ Mb {E} b~u~ru 'goat's tail' ¶ Blz. EDB 6, {+Blz. SCL s.v. 'hair', ¶ Rop. 162, R WBd 51, ZMO 24, Siy. 290, E SC 140 {+ || ECh: Smr {J} ba~ra 'tresse de femme, cheveux tressés' ¶ J ms.} ¶¶ Tk. SCC 72 [#1.4] (C, Eg + *unc.* √bhrr ~ √bhrr - √brr 'tail' in the B lgs.) {+ Tk. LAA-1 127-8 [#171] ¶ R: ? NaT *bu~rca~k (originally a *d*) 'curly hair, forelock' > OT [MhK] bu~rc'a~k 'forelock', Osm bu~rc'ek-bu~rc'u~k 'curly hair', {Rl.} pu~rc'u~k id., 'nap (of loth)', Tk pu~rc'ek 'curly hair, fringe hair\fibres (бѣлѣ)', Az birc'a~k, Tki {Vmb.} *8rvB (Rl.) bu~rc'a~k 'curly hair, curl, lock (of hair)', Qzq 6~pu~k 'nap (of velvet, etc.)' ¶ Cl. 357, MM 111, Rl. IV 1400, 1892 ♦ The long vw. and the quality of r in D seem to suggest the presence of a lr. The ev. of K (glottalization *d > *t.) and S suggests that the lr. was *?.]

232. *ba~rOx 'bud, leaf' > HS: S *bi~r- > Ar burf- 'bud' || ?? ECh: Mu {Lk., J} b.e~ri~yo' (pl. b.e~re'), Mjl {Blz.} berri~o 'leaf' ¶ Lk. ZSS 180, ChC, Blz. ChWL [+ Blz. LECh s.v. 'leaf'] ¶¶ Hardly here B: Kb bbærþær - þærþær 'former rideaum être feillu' ¶ Dl. 36 ¶ IE: Ht parsdu {Frd.} 'bud, sprout', {Ts.} 'sprout', {CHD} 'leaf, foliage' ¶ Frd. HW 164, Ts. W 61, CHD P 190-1 ¶ U: FU *pa~rV 'bud' (× N *p.erE 'fruit', whence U *e > pVg *e~a~, Hg e~) > Chr par'ða id., Chr H {Rm.} pa~r'tn'a~ 'catkin (on birch-trees)', {Ep.} pa~rtn'a~ 'bud', {Rm.} pa~rca~ 'catkin (on birch-trees\willows), bud', {Ep.} pa~rca~ 'the part of tree branches that carries buds' ¶ pVg *pe~r- or *pa~r- > Vg T {Kn.} per 'cone (of a birch-tree, of an aspen)', {MK} pe~r 'bud' : Hg be~rke 'Knospe, Kätzlein an den Bäumen' : Hg be~rke 'bud, catkin on trees' ¶ MF 106-7, Coll. CG 123-4, Rm. BT 99, Ep. 89, Ü 153, MK 431 [hyp.: Vg < Tatar, cp. VTt 6' pe b~r~ and Tlt pu~r 'bud' (Rl. IV 1397)] ¶ R: NaT *bpu~r '(small) leaf, bud, needle(s) of a conifer' and M *borcuguyi 'cone of trees' (× N *pou~rV 'leaf', q.v. ffd.).

233. *boruøV 'trunk' (→ 'log') > HS: S *burf--*bura~f- 'reed' > Gz bær~f 'reed', Ak buru~ 'reed mat' (> Sr bu~ra~ id.) ¶ Sd. 141-2, L G O11-2, Br. 95 || B *-bu~ray 'stick' > Gd ta-børi-t (pl. tæ-børay), Ah ta~bu~ri-t, Gh ta-buray-t id., WTwl, Ty æ-bora~y 'bâton attaché au piège par une corde pour empêcher l'animal de s'enfuir' ¶ Lf. II #O135, Fc. 81, GhA 11, NZ 125 || ? Eg N bry ∈ 'stick', {Hoch} 'a type of wood used in chariots', {DLE} 'chariot' ¶ EG I 465, DLE I 158, ▢ Hoch 100-1 (Eg ← *Sh*, Tk. II 258-9; the loss of the expected final *f is still obscure ¶¶ SSAJ I 87 [#107], OS #228, Tk. AANM 2 ¶ IE: NaIE *b^hruH- ~ b^hreHw- > NaIE *b^hru~ - ~ *b^hre~u~ - 'log' > ON bru~ 'bridge', ON bryggja, Sw brygga 'bridge; landing-place, embankment (Hafendamm)', NNr bryggja, Dn brygge 'landing-stage', OHG brugga, brucka, Δ prucca, MHG brucke, bru~cke, NHG Bru~cke, OSx bruggia, AS bryc'z' 'bridge', NE bridge; NGr B Bruck 'Bretterbank am Ofen', NGr Sw bru~gi 'Holzgerüst' ¶ Gl Briua brīva 'bridge' (< *b^hre~wa),

preserved in Latin place names (Wb. I 542), such as Briua 'Brive-la-Gaillarde', Briua Sugnutia 'Brèves', etc. || Sl *brъvъ, {Sls.} *brъvъ 'trunk, log' > Blg Δ brъv ~ brъф 'tree used as a bridge across a river\stream; small bridge, cross-beam', SCr brъv 'small bridge, cross-beam', Δ brv 'small bridge; log as a bridge across a river', Slv brъv 'foot-bridge, gangway, gangplank', OR, RChS бръвъ brъvъ, бръвъ brъvъ 'log', бръвъ bervъ 'raft, embankment dam', OCz brъv 'small bridge', Uk бер 'small wooden bridge'; > Sl *brъvъno ~ *brъvъnъ ~ *brъvъna (= {Sls.} *brъvъno) 'log' > OCS бръвъно brъvno, Blg бръв'но, 'бръвен, R брев'но id., SCr brvno 'log; wooden foot-bridge, plank-bridge' ¶ P 173, Vr. 59, 60-1, OsS 86, Kb. 122, Ho. 37, Ho. S 10, Billy 35, LP § 18, ESSJ III 71-3, Bern. I 92, SPS I 400-1, Glh. 153, Drd. 44, Kmc. 525 || U: FU *pora 'logs used as a raft\bridge, a board' > pLp {Lr.} *pōre-ve- > Lp: N {N} boar're 'logs placed together to form a primitive bridge over a river\lake; a board used as a floating raft', L {LLO} parre- 'raft', T {Gn.} poarrew 'Brett' ; Prm {LG} *pur 'raft, ferry' > Vt pur id., Z pur 'raft', Z LL pur 'raft, ferry' || ObU *po-ra- 'raft' > pVg *pa-ra- > Vg: T para-, P/NV/SV/LL/ML/UL po-ra, Ss pō-ra id.; pOs *pa-ra ({}HL.} *pi-ra) > Os: V/Ty/Y pa-rə, Vy pa-ra, K/O pa-r, Kz po-r id. ¶ Es parv 'ferry' may go back to the merger of this stem with U *parwa 'Haufen, Gruppe' ¶ Coll. 46, UEW 395-6, 356-7, Lr. #974, Lgc. #5148, LG 232-3, Ht. 179 [#534], Db. OS xi, It. #35 || ??σ D *paruinc- ({}GS} *p-) 'hilt of a sword' > Tm parin'cu, Ml prin'n'u, Tl paru-zu id. ¶¶ D #3969 ♦ AD GD 12 (IE, U), IS MS 332 (IE, U), AD NM 67 [#84].

234. *buri'yU 'loose earth, dust' > K *buṛiyw- 'dust' > Sv: UB {TK, GP), LB {TK}, L {TK, Dn} biryw, LB/Ln {TK} biyw, UB/L {TK, Dn.} burywīr, Ln {TK} buṛwīr 'dust', Sv UB {IS ← ?} buryw- 'raise dust' ¶ TK 154, GP 91, Ni. s.v. **𐌸𐌹𐌸𐌹**, Dn. s.v. miryv and buryvīr || **HS**: C {AD} *bUrī- 'sand, dust' (× N *barE 'earth, land; (?) dust?') > Bj {Rop.} bu-r 'earth, land', {R} bu-r 'earth', Bj A {AD} f. to- 'bu-r 'earth', m. ?o- 'bu-r 'sands, sandy country, semi-desert' (with articles to- f. and ?o- m.) || EC: Sml {ZMO} burfo 'sand hill, dune', Sml N {Abr.} bu-rfo 'sand dune', {R} burfo 'sand', Sa {R} bure-, {CR} bu-re- 'sand', ? Sd Hb {C} berrino- 'dust'; (× N *barE 'earth, land'): Af {PH} bu-rta 'soil', Arr bo-re 'earth' ¶ AD SF 315, ZMO 47, PH 74, Hw. A 349, PH 74, [⊕ Rop. 163, Blz. CL 177] || Ch *b.urV > WCh {Stl.} *b.urV 'sand, dust' > Su b.ur id., 'ash', Ang {Gr.} b.ur 'dust' ; Ron {JJ}: Bks, Dfb b.urā id. || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} 'bu-ra 'sand, dust' ; McMs: Zm b.ir, Lame bu-rī-mi- 'dust' || ECh: Mgm {JJ} bu-rūntu'le', EDng {Fd.} bu-rīnta'l pl. (sg. r bu-rīnti'lo) 'dust' (possibly a N phrase *buri'yU nu duHl'V with *duHl'V 'dust')] Cf. also Ch *√brbr 'dust' [< N *barE 'ḡ', q.v. ffd.] ¶ Stl. ZCh 157-8 [#117], ChC, JI II 280-1, ChL, JA LM 72, J R 140, 213, Fd. 101, Gr. LC 299 || U *porV 'dust, sand' > F poro, Krl, Vo poro 'dregs, dust, ashes', ?σ Es pori, Δ po-rī 'mud, mire', {W} 'dünnere Kot, Dreck' ; ? Chr L puraka'ḡas 'be(come) covered with dust' || Vg: LK pa-rs, N pors 'rubbish' (d with a sx.) || Sm: Kms pu-re 'sand' ¶ SK 604-5, SSA II 399, W ESS 847, LG 233, Coll. 50, MRS 469, Hal. USz III 443-4 || **A** {SDM95} *b'o-rV (or *boru?) > NaT *bur 'dust, soot' ({SDM95} *bur(u-)) > Qrg bir, Xk pir 'fine dust (in corn, on clothes)', Alt/Tlt {RL} pur 'Asche, die vom Feuer aufgewirbelt wird und wie Spinnweb am Dache hängen bleibt', Tv {Rs. ← ?} p-uru 'smoke, dust', Tf {Ra.} p-ir 'soot (suie, noir de fumée)', SbTt Bkl pir, SbTt Tö por 'soot' (× pT *bo-r 'dust, sand?'), ? SbTt EuCh pirim 'soot', SbTt Tm burim 'smoke, soot', ? Yk burūo 'smoke (дым, чад)', as well as possibly NaT *bo-r 'dust, sand, clay' (× > Tv p-or 'clay', Yk būor 'earth, clay, dust' (acc. to St AJ 288 [#298], T *bo-r < A *mo-ṛ-rV 'sand, dust', cp. pKo *mo-r(ḡ)a-i 'sand') ¶ Rs. W 89, Jud. 171, Rl. IV 1364, Ra. 167, BIG 170, Tum. 47, 175, 181, Pek. 570 ¶ Tv p-or seems to be a loan from another T lge. (because of the irreg. p- for p-) || ?? M {S} *burgi- v. 'rise' (of dust, smoke) [× N *bur'u(-K.U) 'to spurt, gush forth, boil', q.v. ffd.] || Tg *bu-re-ki 'dust' > Orc, Ul burxi, Nn burxi id., WrMc buraki 'dust' ('**𐌸𐌹𐌸𐌹**, **𐌸𐌹𐌸𐌹**') ¶ STM I 113 ¶¶ **A** DQA #194 (incl. T, M, Tg; does not distinguish this root from the reflexes of N *buRV, *buR'K'V 'storm, stormy wind', q.v.), Rs. W 89, S AJ 193 [#188], 255 [#111], 224 [#281], STM I 113 || **D** *pu-r'-/pur'- ({}GS} *b-) 'dust, earth' > Tm pu-rī 'powder, dust, sacred ashes', pu-rīti 'dust', pu-rīti dust, powder, dry eardh', Ml pu-rī, pu-rīti 'dust, earth put to the roots of trees', Tl bu-rīda 'ashes', Klm bu-rīdi 'ash', ? Prj por'mil 'rubbish', Mlt porsī 'sweepings' ¶¶ D #4316 ♦ D *r'V < *-ryV < *-riHV ♦ IS I 187-8 (*bur(H)Λ/*bor(H)Λ 'loose earth, dust', corresponding to our two etymons: *buri'yU and *barE 'earth' [q.v.]), Rs. W 89 (F, T).

235. *bArh'E 'to shine' > **HS** *√brh > WS *√brh > Ar √brh G (pf. bariha, ip. -brah-) v. 'be(come) white', barahrah-at- 'a white girl\female\woman', Gz √brh G (pf. barha, js. -brah) v. 'shine, be bright', Tgr, Tgy √brh id. (whence Bln {R} barh- 'licht werden'), Gz bārha-n 'light, brightness'] cp. CS *√bhr 'be light' (of

colour), 'stand up as white against a darker background' < N ***bUhrV** 'to be light' (of colour) [q.v. ffd.] ¶ KBR 111-2, L G 103-4, Fr. I 115, Ln. 196, 265, Lv. I 197 || ?ϕ Eg L b3x' {EG} 'aufgehen (Sonne), hell glänzen (Milch)' ¶ Eg x' is irreg. ¶ EG I 423, Tk. II 83-4 || EC *√br? (~*√brθ) > Or {Grg.} bari?-v. 'become morning', bari 'morning', Or B {Sr.} bari id., 'dawn', bari- 'become dawn\morning', Kmb {L} birre? v. 'clear up (weather)', Sa {R} bera 'morning, tomorrow', Af {PH} 'be-ra 'tomorrow', Sml {DSI} beri- v. 'dawn', {DSI, ZMO} beri 'day', berri 'tomorrow', Sml N {Abr.} wa-gu wa-beriyayya 'the day is dawning', Rn {PG} ba'ryo 'early dawn', Arr {Hw.} barri 'dawn, tomorrow', [⊕ Bs ge-bar-i, Dsn be'r-i-ka', Elm b.a'r-ri 'tomorrow', Sml be'r-i 'east', Or bar-i, Kns, Gdl par- v. 'dawn', Elm b.u'r-re 'morning'] ¶ EC *?/θ is a reg. reflex of HS *h (i.e. it corresponds to S *h), ≠ AD WIL 630-1 ¶ AD SF 40, [⊕ Bl. 151.] Grg. 41, Sr. 271, Hw. A 346, ZMO 38, DSI 55, Abr. S 31, PG 75 ¶¶ Dk. p.c. → AD SF 40 (C, S *√bhr), L G 104 (C, S √brh) **II IE** *b^her₁H₁- > NaIE *b^her₁ə- 'shine (glänzen)' (× IE *b^her- 'brown' < N ***bor₁i?u** 'brown, yellow') > OSx, MLG, AS bru-n 'shining (glänzend)', ON brunn id., 'polished' ¶¶ IE *b^her₁H₁- +ext: NaIE *b^hre-g⁻ ({EI} IE *b^herHg⁻ 'shine') > OI 'bhra-jate' 'shines, beams, glitters', bhra-j- 'Glanz', Av bra-zahti 'beams, glitters', NPrs z'rBa ba-ra-z 'ornament, decoration; beauty', {VI.} 'ornatio, pulchritudo, bonitas', ^daYz'rBa ba-razi-da-n 'to decorate, render beautiful\good' ¶ Lt bre'ks'ti, prs. bre'ks't- 'to dawn', 'to break (the day)' ¶ Sl *bre'sk^h 'dawn' > Slv bre'sk, Slk bresk, P brzask id.; *bre'skati se_u ~ *bre'sc'iti se_u > Slv Δ bre'ckati se 'to dawn', P † brzeszczy się 'it dawns'; *bre'zg^h ~ *bre'zga > ChS, OR брѣзгѣ bre'zg^h, OCz br'ezk, R Δ брезг, брезга 'dawn'; Sl *bre'z'z'iti ~ *bre'z'z'ati > Slv Δ brez'dz'iti, bre'z'ati, brez(d)e'ti, Cz Δ br'iz'iti se, Slk briez'dit' sa, P brzez'dz'yc' się 'to dawn', Plb brez'doje 'it begins to dawn', R брезжит^h, OCz br'e'z'diti se 'to begin to dawn' ¶ P 136-7, EI 513-4, M K II 529-32, M E II 279-80, Horn 45, VI. I 209-10, Sg. 167-8, OsS 87, EWA II 375, Ho, 36, Vr. 61, Wn. 34, Frn. 55-6, ESSJ III 16-20 **II D** *par- ({GS} *p-) v. 'dawn, shine' > Kt par par in- (/id-) '(country {nar'}) becomes a little light before dawn', Kn pare v. 'dawn', OTI {Km.} para-gu v. 'shine', Kui pari inba v. 'dawn, break (dawn)', Mlt parce v. 'shine brightly, be seen clearly' ¶¶ D #3980, Km. 426 [#797].

[⊕ **235a.** ? ***bAr'h^hV** 'be hungry, want' (→ 'love') > HS: S *√br'h^h G ± 'be hungry' (→ 'love') > OA, Ak √ inf. baru 'be hungry, starve', Ar √br G 'be good\pious; love (one's parents)' ¶ BK I 103-4, CAD II 118-20 || ? B *√brH 'love, want' > Gd √br (imv. əbr, 3m pf. ya-br) 'vouloir, désirer, aimer, avoir l'intention de', Ah ər, Tnsl ərh, Ty {ABs.} ər ~ əru, Kb ər, Shl, Tmz iri 'love, want', Twl {ABs.} əru ~ əru, {PGG} ir_u v. 'love, want, wish, need'; ? √br' > Tw Ng {NZ} ihar^d əwər 'être nécessaire dem avoit le devoir de' ¶ Lf. II #0096, Fc. 154-51, Pr. H 86 [#588] (B *√rh₂h₁), NZ 90-1, PGG 264 **II D** *pari 'love' > Tm pari v. 'be affectionate, love', pari n. 'love, affection', Ml parivu 'love', Kn paral.iga 'paramour', Tl perima 'love, affection' ¶¶ D #3964].

236. ??? ***borHu n** 'belly' > HS: EC: pSam {Hn.} *be-r 'stomach, liver' > Sml be-r, Sml N be-r 'liver', pBn {Hn.} *be-r 'stomach, liver' > Bn {Hn.}: Bi/J/Ba be-r id., 'liver', K be-r 'entrails', be-r 'liver' ? Brj {Ss.} ba-ra 'chest' ¶ SC: ?σ Brn {E} baro?o 'spleen' ¶ Hn. S 54, Hn. BD 116, 130, Abr. S 30, Ss. B 33, E SC 320, 338 [⊕ || ?? (+ext.?) WS *bar₁V₁k- > Sq {L} 'berak 'poitrine', {SSL} 'be(:)rak 'chair sur poitrine des animaux', Ar bark- 'poitrine (chez l'homme); poitrail dont le chameau agenouillé touche la terre' ¶ L LS 95, SSL CLS 100-1, BK I 116, MiK I 1.35-6 [#38]] **II IE**: ? NaIE *b^hru-n- > OI bhru-n, a-m 'embryo' ¶ MHG briune, bru-ne 'pudenda muliebria' ¶ ??σ Cz brnka 'placenta', {M} Kindsfell ' (unless akin to Ltv brau-na 'scub, slough, cast skin of a serpent)' ¶ ¶ P 169, M K II 533-4, ¶ M E II 283-4, Lx. 26, Ma. CS 44 **II D** *po-r-, {GS} bo-r- 'chest, breast' > Tl bo-ra id., Knd bo-ra 'chest', Ka bo-r(a)la, bo-r(a)lu 'upside down' ¶¶ D #4592 ♦ D *-r- (reflex of N *-r-clusters) and the long vw. in D suggest the presence of a Ir. ♦ Blz. DA [⊕ 154 [#21]-#20] (HS, D, IE; tacitly includes the IE reflexes of N ***bVRθuc^hV n** 'belly', q.v.).

237. ***buruHV** 'eyebrow, eyelash' > IE {EI} *b^hruH-s > NaIE *b^hru- 'eyebrow' > OI bhru- (nom. bhru-h, gen. bruvah.), Av brvat-, NPrs vrB" a-bru, vrB ba-ru ¶ Gk ο'φρυ (gen. -υ'οϕ) id. ¶ Mcd [Hs.] α'βρου'τε 'eyebrows' ¶ OIr bra', nom. du. broi', acc. du. bru, gen. du. bru-ad id., forbru' (acc. pl., gen. pl.) 'supercilia' ¶ ON bru'n, pl. brynn, Dn øjenbryn, Sw o'gonbryn, OHG bra-wa, NHG Braue, AS bru, ofarbru 'eyebrow', ME browes pl. 'eyebrows', NE brow, eyebrow ¶ Lt † bruvis, Lt bru-ve 'eyebrow' ¶ Sl *bri (gen. *briv-e) > OCS бръвъ бръвъ 'eyelash, eyebrow', P brew, OCz brev 'eyebrow', SCr † br'v, Blg Δ μ οβρβα 'eyelid', Cz μ brva 'eyelash', Slk pl. μ brvy 'eyelashes, eyebrows', OR бръвъ бръвъ, R бров

'eyebrow' ¶ WP II 206-7 (and 169), EI 188, Bc. 219, M K II 534-6, M E II 282-3, Horn 16, F II 454, Vn. B 75, Thr. §§ 310, 314, Ho. 36, Vr. 60, OsS 82, EWA II 302-5, KM 96, Frn. 57, ESSJ III 63-4, Vs. I 215 II D *pur_rV ({}GS{} *b-) > Klm bur 'eyelash, eyebrow', Gdb burgul 'eyebrows', Ku kanu bu_ru 'eyebrow' (kanu is 'eye') ¶¶ D #4358 [does not distinguish it from D *pu_rt_r- 'down, hair' and D *pu_r- 'down, hair on the body'].

238. *barχqV 'go, go away, step' > K *b'a_rq- (or *berq-?) n'step, walk' > Sv: {Ni.} ba_rq, U {TK} ba_rq (pl. ba_rqa_r), UB {TK, GP} ba_rq (pl. ba_rqa_r), LB/Ln {TK} ba_rq (pl. baqa_r), L {TK, Dn.} ba_rq (pl. ba_rqar) 'step', Sv {Ni.} χwi-ba_rqi v. 'I step' (**mar**□), Sv LB {GP} na-barq, UB {GP} na-ba_rqw 'foot-mark; overstepped (by so.)', Mg d_r la-baχ-u 'passage in wattle-fence', ?? OG perq 'foot', G peχ- 'leg' ¶ The irreg. vowel corrs. and the vowel lengthening in Sv UB/L may be due to the cns. r and its loss ¶ TK 149, GP 90, Dn. s.v. ma_rq, Ni. s.v. **mar** & **mar**□, K 50 and K² 12 (*berq- 'leg, step'), FS 47 (+ *err.* G baq-baq-i 'unschönes Laufen', baq-baq- 'sinnlos herumlaufen'; *err.* rec. of K *baq-) II **HS**: WS *√brh v. 'flee, run away' > BHb, Ph, JA √brh G id., Ug {OLS} brh adj. 'running, fleeing; fugitive' ('huidizo, escurridizo; fugitivo'), Ar √brh G 'leave (a place), cease', Gz √brh D 'flee, escape, run' (× barrāha 'enter the wilderness, take to the woods' <d Gz barāha_r 'wilderness' ÷ Ar barā_rh 'bare stretch of land') ¶ KB 149, KBR 156-7, OLS 115, Sl. 243, ¶ L G 104-5 || C *bVr- > Bj {R} ber- scv. 'auswandern', ? √sbr (1s: p. a-s'ba_r, prs. asta'bīr) pcv. md. 'sich flüchten, davon laufen' (if it goes back to a causative stem sV-bVr) || √ Dhl b_rari₃- {E} 'go out, depart' [unless the right interpretation is {To.} 'depart on dawn' or {EEN} bari_j- 'rise (sun), stay till dawn', connected with Dhl {To.} b_rari_t 'dawn'] || ??? SC: Ehret (E PC #4) adduces a pSC stem *bari_j- v. 'travel' > Mb -ba_ri v. 'travel' & the above Dhl verb ¶ R WBd 50, 52, 195, E SC 135, E PC #4, EEN 33, To. D 130 II **A**: T *bar- v. 'walk, go, go away' (× **ma_rr_ru** 'trace, path; to follow, trace?') > OT bar- v. 'go, go away', Tkm, VTt, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, ET, Yk bar-, ET Δ ba_r-r, Uz bar-, Tk var-, Δ va_r-r, Az var-, StAlt b_r-ar v. 'walk, go', Chv pīr-, Δ pur- v. 'gehen, fahren' ¶ Shch. SF 195 (*ba_r-r with *unj.* long *a_r on supposed ev. of some ds. of ET, Tk and Qzl); in view of the reflexes in Tkm and Chv, the vw. was short ¶ Cl. 354, ET B 64-65, Rs. W 62 (*unc.* : ÷ M *bara- 'ein Ende machen, zu Ende bringen', cf. KW 34), Jeg. 173, Fed. I 465-6, Md. 105, 173; ET B 64-5 (*unc.* : *a_r), S AJ 194 [#206], DHST 294 [*be_r-r (= *b₃r) on supposed ev. of Xlj b₃r) II D *par- ({}GS{} *p-) v. 'run, go away, flow' [× N *p_rari_jV 'to run, flee', q.v. ffd.] II ? E par- 'gehen, reisen': AchEl par-u 'gehend, reisend', pa-ri-is_r- 'sie gingen, zogen, reisten', pa-ir-is_r-da 'er ist gegangen, gereist' ¶ HK 123, 149-50, 161 ◇ i ÷ Ht pars- v. 'flee, escape' (Frd. HW 163, Ts. W 61, CHD P 179-80), better explainable as going back to N *P_rVRCV 'flee, run (from, after smbd.)' [q.v.]. The K √ points to N *q, while S *h is likely to go back to N *χ; the problem needs further investigation (a positional change?).

239. *bu_rryi 'to cover' > **HS**: B *√brbr ~ *√brr v. 'cover, be covered' > Ah bārūbārət 'couvrir, être couvert, se couvrir', Gh (caus.) sbārbār 'couvrir, boucher', Gd bārbār 'être couvert, être enveloppé', Kb sb_rerb_rer 'se voiler', sburr 'se couvrir, s'envelopper', Shw ssbārbār id., Mz bbārbār 'couvrir entièrement'; ?? B *√qHr v. 'close' > Ah āhār 'fermer, boucher', Gd ēβār (3m pf. īβer) 'fermer au verrou bloqué ou à clef (une porte)' (B *√qHr may be alternatively or even better equated with Ak apa_rru v. 'put a covering on so.'s head') ¶, Mz {Dlh..} bbārbār 'couvrir entièrement', Kb {Dl.} s-burr 'se couvrir', Gdm {Lnf.} bārbār 'être couvert', ¶ ¶ Fc. 84, 633, Nh. 146, Lf. I 238 & II ##0093, 0108, Dl. 36-7, Pr. H #355, NZ 90-2, ¶ Dlh. M 10 || Ch: CCh: Mlw {Trn.} bi_ri_r 'érendre (un tissu), couvrir (avec un tissu)', Mbara {TrnSL} ba_r ba_r 'se couvrir' || ECh: Dng {Fd.} bō_rē_r d. 92 ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 126

[#163]] II K *bur- v. 'cover, muffle up, wrap up; darken' > G bur- 'muffle up, darken', {Chx.} bur- (ft. gada-bur-) 'in Nebel\ Dunkel hüllen, be-\über-decken, bur- (ft. da-bur-) 'in Nebel\ Dunkel hüllen, verhüllen, verschleiern, be-\ver-decken', Lz bur- v. 'patch up', Mg bur- id., v. 'darn', Sv bur-/bwr- 'darken' [UB/KB/Lx/L msd. libwr-e 'to darken sth., get dark', L prs. i-bruvi 'it is darkening', aor. ed-bura_n(da) 'night fell', ft. ed-bur 'it will get dark'], Sv UB {GP} rāhi-y-bur-i 'life' (lit. 'light and dark'); ds : OG da-h-bur-es tavsā '(they) blindfolded him' (Lk. 22.64), G da-bur-uli t_rq_e 'dense forest', Sv {TK}: USv mubwir ~ mubir, L mubur 'dark', {Ni.} nambwr 'darkness' ¶ K 55, K² 20, Chx. 119-20, FS K 64-5, FS E 67, TK 427, 573-4, GP 147, 221, 256, Dn. s.v. bur-, Ni. s.v. **темный** & **темнѣтъ** II **A** *bu_rre- 'cover' > T *bu_rre-~*bu_rru_r- v. 'cover, wrap' > Tkm bu_rre-, Chg bu_rru_r- v. 'cover', Tk bu_rru_r- v. 'cover, envelop,

wrap', *d* *bu^hrke- > Qmq bu^hrke- v. 'cover, wrap', Qzq, Nog, Qq, ET Δ bu^hrke-, StAlt b_u^hrke- v. 'cover', Tv ɖ*prɣɣp p_u^hrɣ'e- 'wrap, become cloudy, Uz burka^h- v. 'wrap', Qrg bu^hrko^h- vt. 'cover, close', VTt ɖ pke- ɖ^hrke- (ɖ> Chv pu^hrke- vt. 'cover'), Xk pu^hrge- v. 'wrap, envelop, cover', Chv ɣrke- v. 'cover, wrap (the whole body, including the head)' ¶ ET B 296-8, Jeg. 172, Fed. I 422-3, TvR 128 || M *bu^hri- v. 'cover' > MM [S] buri- 'bedecken, beziehen', WrM bu^hri-, HlM ɖ*py- v. 'cover, envelop', Kl bu^hr- v. 'cover'; *bu^hrku^h-id. > MM [HI] bu^hrku^h-id., WrM bu^hrku^h- v. 'grow\become cloudy, cover, cover up, envelop', HlM ɖ*pxy- 'cover, be covered, cloud over', MMgl bu^hrk 'clothed', Mgl bu^hrku^hna 'he covers', Dg bu^hrku^h- v. 'cover' ¶ H 23, Ms. H 45, MED 150, Iw. 94, Pp. IM 50-1, KW 68-9 || Tg [1] Tg *bu^hri- v. 'cover' > WrMc buri-id., Nn, Ul buri- v. 'cover, wrap' ('покрыл, обт^hнут, оклеит') ¶ STM I 114, Pt. 27 || [2] ?? Ewk bu^h- v. 'shade (light)' ¶ STM I 99 ¶ Pp. VG 111, KW 68-9, DQA #220 [A *bu^hru (-i_u^h-, -e) 'to cover, shade' > T, M, Tg *bu^h-] || D {Pf.} *pu^hr^h-/*pur^h-v- ({GS} *p-) v. 'cover, bury' > Kn hu^hru id., pu^hr(u) v. 'inwrap, insert, cover, bury', Ml pu^hr^huk v. 'be buried', Kdg pu^hl- v. 'bury', Tl pu^hd_u v. 'be filled and closed up (as a pit)', pu^hd_(u)cu v. 'bury', Nkr purp- id., Krx putt- v. 'set' (of the sun) ¶ D #4376, Pf. 88 [#585], ≠ Km. 434 [#839] ♦ IS I 191-2 (*bu^hri in K, HS, D, A; i ÷ IE *wer-).

240. *2* *bVR0uc^hV ▯'belly' > HS: S *^o/brfθ > Ar burfuθ- 'derrière, cul' ¶ BK I 113 || IE: NaIE {Vn.} *b^hreu_s-/*b^hrus- ▯'chest, belly' > Clt (< *d* *bruso^h / gen. *brus-n-os) > OIr bru^h (gen. bronn) 'sein, ventre, matrice', W bru 'womb, belly', W, MCrn bron (Clt < *brusna^h-) 'breast', Br bronn 'sein, mamelle' || Gmc: Gt brusts pl. 'σπλάγχνα, στήτοϛ', {Fs.} 'pluck' (actually 'heart'), 'breast', OFrs Brust, burst, MDt, Dt borst, OHG Brust, NHG Brust 'breast'; with different vowels ({Uhl. → Fs.}: due to the infl. of different words like the pGmc source of AE be^host, OHG biost 'beastings'): ON brjo^hst, OSx briost, AS bre^host 'breast', NE breast || Sl *br^huxo ~ *br^hux^h 'belly, paunch' > OR брѹхо brjuxo, брѹхъ brjux 'venter', OCz br^huch 'stomach (venter), belly', Cz br^hicho, Slk brucho, OP brzuch, P brzuch, R ɖbr^hxo 'belly, paunch' ¶ P 170-1, ≠ EI 561 (words for 'breast' and 'belly' < *d* *b^hreu_s- 'swell'), Vn. B 99-100, Hm. 114, Fs. 108-9, Vr. 57-8, Vr. N 79-80, EWA II 399-402, KM 105, Ho. 34, Ho. S 10, ESSJ III 33-4, Vs. I 225, Bern. I 25 ♦ May be connected with (derived from) N *borHu ▯'belly'.

241. *bARlVjdV 'to pass; way, road' > K: GZ *bo(r)d- v. 'wander, roam' (→ v. 'rave') > G bod- v. 'wander, roam', 'be delirious, rave', G I bodial- 'kopflos, ziellos hin- und herlaufen, umhertreiben', 'faseln', Mg bordis^h- v. 'rave', bond- id., Lz bod- v. 'rave', 'dart in trouble' (of a brood-hen) ¶ ▯ K 52 & ▯ K² 17 (*bod-), Chx. 93-4, DCh. 111 || HS: B *^h/brd 'road' > Izn abrid^h 'road', Rf AU, AT abrid^h, pl. ibrid^han 'chemin, route', Kb ab^hrid^h, pl. ib^hard^han 'chemin, route, rue, passage', Ah a.barid, Gd abrid^h, pl. berdan ~ bridawen 'chemin', Nf brid 'route, sentier' ¶ Fc. 86, Rn. 293, Lf. II #O110, Dl. 41-2, NZ 100 || ?? S: Sr {Br.} pl. æ4oΔor=fo be^hry-a^ht^h-a^h 'via' (sg. be^hri^ht^h-a^h), Sr {JPS} æ4oΔrije be^hri^ht^h-a^h 'street, broad place' (unless < N *barE 'earth, land; (?) dust') ¶ Br. 88, JPS 55 || ? Ch: WCh: Bd bzdum, budm {IL} 'path' || CCh: Mdr {Eg.} ba^hra^hma^h id., Glv {RpB} ba^hram(a), bara^hma^h 'road (in town), street, way' || Ech: Smr {J} bzd^hrmz 'road', Nd D {J} ba^hlm 'road', Tmk {Cp.} bwo^hm 'path', ?? Mu {Lk.} bzd^hl, {J} bodo^hl 'road' ¶ ChC, RpB 14 || IE: NaIE *b^hre(c)d^h- v. 'pass, leap over, wade' > pAl {O} *breda > Al bredh (aor. brodha), Al G/T {Kf.} breth (aor. brodha) {AIED} v. 'roam, wander; run, go fast; frolic, leap about' || i W {Mn. ← ?} bridd (*b^hre^hd^h-) v. 'leap forward' (absent in YGM and SB) || Lt bri^hsti (prs. brendu^h, p. bridau^h), Ltv brist (prs. briedu) 'to ford, wade', Lt bry^hdis n. 'wading', brude^h 'track, trace, trail', ?σ bra^hdas 'fishing' || Sl *bred-/*br^hd- (*bred-o^h ~ *br^hd-o^h, inf. *bresti) > OCS врестн bresti / prs. вредж bredo^h v. 'wade, ford', Slv bresti / bre^hdem, OCz br^hi^hsti / br(e)du ~ br^hdu, Slk brst^h / brdu^h id., R брестн / бреду 'plog on one's way, drag oneself along'; Sl *brod^h 'ford' > ChS вродъ brod^h, Blg, R брод, SCr, Slv bro^hd, Cz, Slk brod, P bro^hd id. ¶ WP II 201, P 164, Mn. 100-1, Glh. 152, O 34, BFU 66, Kf. 55, C I 75-6 & II 357, Frn. 58-9, ESSJ III 14-5, 36-7, SPS I 368-9 || D *pat^hi ({GS} *b^h-, *-d^h-) 'way, manner' > Tm pat^hi 'manner, mode', Kn pad^hi 'manner, method, way', Tl bad^hi, vad^hi 'manner' ¶ D #3851 ♦ The meaning 'to rave, be delirious' (attested in GZ, Ltv [brist 'Albernes sprechen'] and Sl [R 'бредит' 'rave']) is likely to have derived from 'roam' ♦ IS MS 332 s.v. брод^h 1 (IE, K), IS SS #12.20, K 52 (IE, K).

242. *bur_lu_jdV'g'V (- *bar_lu_jdV'g'V?) 'facial hair, animal's body hair, down' > K: GZ *burdya- 'down, plumage' > G burdya-, Lz bundya- ~ burdya- id., Mg burdya- 'down, shaggy'; < GZ *br^hd^hywn- v. 'pluck (bird)' > G brdyu-, brdyvn-a (- bdyvn-a) v. 'pluck (fowl), OG na-bdryu-en-i 'bumbuli' ('Flaum, Daunen'), Mg

burdy- v. 'pluck', Lz o-burdy-ol-u ~ o-bundy-ol-u v. 'pluck (fowl)'; acc. to FS, G burdya 'plumage, down' is a loan from Zan; K *^obardy- (?) > G P bardyl-i '(Tier-, Fell-)Haar' ¶ K 55, K² 18, 20-1, FS K 59, FS E 61, Chx. 66, 72 (s.v. bdGvn / bdGven) and 104, Abul. 317, Ghl. 60 ¶ IE: NaIE *b^hard^ha- 'beard' > L barba ¶ Gmc: OHG bart, NHG Bart, Dt baard, AS, NE beard, ON barð ¶ Lt barzda, Ltv ba[~]rda, ba[~]rzda, Pru bordus ¶ Sl *bor'da (acc. *bo[~]rdo.) > OCS брада brada, Blg брада, R, Uk борода, SCr bra'da (acc. bra[~]du), Slv bra'da, Cz, Slk brada, P broda ¶ WP II 135, P I 110, EI 251 (*b^hard^h-eh_A-), Mn. 65-6, Dv. #327, SPS I 317-9, Vr. 26, Vr. N 24, Ho. 17, EWA I 488-90, KM 54, Frn. 36, En. 153, Tp. P A-D 240-2, ESSJ I 197-8, SPS I 317-9, Ghl. 144-5 ¶ The variant with *-sd- > -zd- in Lt and Ltv is obscure (infl. of *b^hars- 'ear of barley?') ¶ A: [1] *bur₁u₁T₁g₁V 'beard' > NaT *murut 'moustache' > Chg {RL} ṽrvB burut, ET burut, Brb {RL} → Tm} murut, SbTt {Tm.} m̃^ort^o d murt, Tkm murt, Qzq m̃pr mu[~]rt, Qq, Uz Δ murt id., Nog murt 'tips of moustache' ¶ Rs. W 90, Rl. IV 1825, 2193-4, Nj. 219, TkR 459, MM 248, Tm. 153, 155, KrkR 467, NogR 228. UzR 272 || ?φ Tg *bu[~]r'ga-hta ~ *gurga-hta 'beard, moustache' ¶ Nn Nh bogaqta ~ bo[~]z'aqta ~ gogaqta, Ul bu[~]z'aqta, Orc ba[~]z'akta ~ guggaqta, Ud guakta, Ewk gurgakta, Sln guggakta ~ gurgakta, Lm gurgat, Neg goygakta id. ¶ The internal *-g- may go back to N *g (*burga < **burdga < N *bur₁u₁dV'g'V). The initial *-g- may be due to as ¶ STM I 173 ¶¶ A DQA #213 [A A *bu[~]rda 'beard'; incl. T, Tg] ¶ [2] ??? M *barba-yi- 'be broad and thick' (of a beard) (× N *bar'V'V 'big, much, thick', q.v. ffd.); M *barbagar > WrM barba-gar, HIM барбагар 'hairy, shaggy', 'broad and thick' (of a beard), 'coarse' (of textiles), Kl барблр barwəxər, Brt барбарар 'hairy, shaggy' ¶ MED 84, KRS 81, KW 35, Chr. 87 ¶ HS: S: Ar {BK} burd-at- 'pièce en étoffe de laine et qui sert pour s'envelopper et coucher dessus', burd- '∈ textile' ¶ BK I 107-8 ¶ The loss of the expected *y may be due to the infl. of the Semitic triconsonantic pattern of root structure ♦ The variation *u ~ *a in the first syll. is may be due to as *-aru- > *-uru- in daughter-lgs. Alternatively, *a in IE, in G bardyl-i and in M barbayi-, *barbayar may be due to the infl. of a different N root or to internal vw. changes in lgs. (such as IE **Vu_~r > *Vr before a syllable boundary).

243. *berVgE 'high, tall' > K {FS} *br_o-g- 'tall and strong' > G brge 'tall, broad-shouldered' (Chx.: 'hochgewachsen, breitschultrig'), Sv {Ni.} bæg-i 'thick rope (канат)', Sv UB {GP} bæg-i 'firm; bold', Sv -bg- (msd. {Ni.} li-bg-i, UB/LB {TK, GP} li-bge) 'strengthen', na-bg-i {GP} 'firmness', {Ni.} id., 'strengthening' ('укреплен'е, твердост') ¶ FS K 58-9, FS E 60-1, GM S 99, Chx. 104, TK 425, GP 92, 147, Ni. s.v. ¶ HS: B: Ah burg'ət (aor. pret. -bburg'ət < *-w-brg) 'être soulevé, se soulever', ETwl, Ty b̃rg̃t 'être soulevé', Gh b̃r̃z'əd v. 'stand up suddenly' ¶ Fc. 88-9, GhA 10, Nh. G 173, NZ 105 ¶ C: Bj {Alm., R} 'birga 'high' ¶ EC: Or {Tut.} borgi 'eminence, hill (Anhöhe, Hügel)', adj. borgi 'rising, eminent; erhaben, ansteigend', ? pSam {Hn.} *bu[~]r- 'big' (of things), {AD} 'high, big' > Rn {PG} bu[~]r 'big', Sml {ZMO} bu[~]r 'mountain, bare-topped hill', Sml bu[~]ran {Hn.} 'stout', {ZMO} 'fat, plump, corpulent, obese', {DSI} 'essere grasso \ robusto \ grosso', Sml {ZMO} bu[~]ra[~]n 'stoutness' ¶ R WBd. 52, Hn. S 55, PG 82, 147, DSI 71, ZMO 48, Tut. 439, IS I 177 [] var. *√bgr (< *√brg) > S: Gz √bgr G v. 'grow, become physically developed', MHb √bgr G v. 'mature' ¶ Ls. G 89, Sl. 185 || ? Eg fBD b̃z̃ 'Mastspitze' ¶ EG I 488 ¶ Ch: WCh: Kir p̃z̃go're, Kir Mn bago'ra 'big' ¶ Bd {Lk.} ̃vgor 'long' ¶ Bdy {AlJ} bege[~]r 'dépasser, surpasser' ¶ Csp. 42, Lk. Bd 71, AlJ 58 ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 111-2 [#55] ¶ IE *b^herg[~]h- 'high' (-d̃ *b^herg[~]h-o-s 'mountain', *b^hrg[~]h-u-s 'high', etc.), {EI} *b^hr_o-g[~]h-u-s, *b^hr_o-g[~]h-ent- 'high' > OI br_oha[~]nt- 'groß, hoch', Av b̃r̃əzant- 'high', b̃r̃əz- 'high; height, mountain', CINPrs zrBa barz ~ zrBu burz, NPrs zrBu borz 'height, tallness; tall', KhS balysga- 'high' ¶ Arm -ber₃ -ber₃ *'height' (in: erkna-ber₃ erina-ber₃ 'himmelhoch', le@na-ber₃ ler-na-ber₃ 'berghoch') (< *b^herg[~]h-o-s), bar₃r bar₃r (gen. bar₃u) 'high' (< *b^herg[~]h-u-s) ¶ ? OL [Fest.] forctus, L fortis 'strong' (< *forg-tos < *b^horg[~]h-to-s), Osc FORTIS adv. cmpr. {Bc.} 'potius', {Pln.} 'fortius' (÷ L fortius) ¶ Clt: Gl brig- 'high' (in n. pr., ̃ Evn. 316), briga- 'height' (in n. l., ̃ Wb. I 525), OIr brí 'hill' (acc. go brigh 'towards the hill'), W bry / fry 'en haut', W brig 'top, summit', W, MBr {Ern.} bre 'hill, highland', Crn bre[~] 'hill', Br bre 'hill, mountain'; W bera 'rick, stack', Crn bern id., 'heap', Br bern 'tas, meule', MBr bernou 'monceaux', berniaff 'élever' ¶ Gt bai'rgahei 'highland', ON bjarg, berg, Dn bjerg, NNr, Sw, OHG, OSx berg, NHG Berg 'mountain', AS beorh ~ beor₃ 'hill, mountain; heap of stones', NE barrow; ON borg 'a height; fortress, city', Gt baurgs 'city, tower', Dt borg, borch, OSx, OHG burg 'castle, town; stronghold', NHG Burg 'fortress, stronghold, castle', AS bur₃ id., 'city', NE borough, burrow ¶ Sl *berg₃ 'bank, coast' > OCS брѣгъ br̃eg[~], Blg брѣг, SCr

бpeгъ ^d brijēg, Slv breġ, P brzeg, Cz bręh, Slv breh, R, Uk 'берєр || pTc {Ad.} *pa'rk- > Tc A/B pa'rk-, A park- v. 'arise', 'rise' (of celestial bodies), A pa'rka'r, B pa'rkare 'long' || Ht parku- 'high', park-, parkiya- v. 'raise, rise' ¶ P 140-1, EI 269, Bc. 296, M K II 445-7, M E II 232, Bai. 272, Vl. I 218, WH I 535-7, □ EM 382-3 & □ Pln. I 384 (both: L fortis and Osc FORTIS < *dʰr_gʰ-to- < d *dʰergʰ- 'hold') & II 39, 600-1, 683, Bc. G 316, Vn. B 87, LP § 37.2, YGM-1 44, 53, 55, ECCE 214-6, Ern. 58, 80, Hm. 76, Billy 34, Fs. 75-6, 85-6, Vr. 39, 50, Vr. N 96, OsS 51, 92, EWA I 553-4 & II 457-60, KM 66, 111-2, Ho. 20, 38, Ho. S 6, 11, ESSJ I 191-3, SPS I 203-4, Glh. 150-1, Hü. 428, Sl. 68-9, Wn. 362-3, 390, Ad. 372-3, Ad. H 124, 138, Ts. W 60-1, CHD P 155-61 || D (in SD) *pe_r_ ({{GS}} *p-) > Kdg per 'steep slope', Td po'r_ 'cliff'; IS adduces here also Kn pe_r_h- v. 'lift up' (i.e. Kn {BE} pe_r_u v. 'lift up and put upon, load, pile up'), which goes back to D {GS} *pe_d_- > Ml pe_r_u 'a load', Tm per_r_u 'a pile', pir_aku v. 'heap' (as in D #4446, GS 64 [#195]) ¶ D #4448 ¶ D *_r_- (regularly from N intervoc. *_r-) suggest a N vw. between *_r and *_g || A: Tg *bir...- > Sln {Iv.} б'раха́н 'mountain', ??фWrMc biyoran (= [b'oran] or [bi_oran]) {Z} 'ravine with red ground, cliff' ('красный ѱрь, обрывистый утесъ берега'), {Hr.} 'hohes Ufer aus kahler Erde' ¶ STM I 84, Z 545, Hr. 102 || ? U *pirδka'' 'high' > Sm {Hl.} *pirke, {Jn.} *pirka'' 'high' [× U *piδe(ka'') 'high, long' < N *bi3'U(ι-qVj) - *bi3'ιVj,qV 'big, high', q.v. ffd.] ¶ UEW 377-8, Jn. 125, Jn. UK 225, Hl. M 246 ◇ IS I 177 [#9] (HS [B, C, Ch: Jg bu'lgit 'high' (qu.)], ? K, IE, ?D; IS adduces Sm *pir- (and ds) 'high', i.e. *pirə 'height' and *pirka'' 'high' [qu. because of the vw.: Sm *i is not cognate with D *e-]; Blz. LN I 202 derives the Sm stems from U *piδe(ka'') ◇ □ Gr. II #204 (*pirka 'high') (IE, U + err. A + qu. CK].

244. ² *bERVKV 'knee' > HS: S *birak- 'knee' > BHb K6r3B3 'berek_id., Mi%2r^B5 bir'kayim 'knees' (pl. ← du.), Me3ik4r^B5 birk_e-'hem (< *birak_e-'hem) 'their knees' (a form of the original pl. **bāra-'k'im; the fricative k_ of birk_e-'hem points to a preceding vw. in the pl. form, which provides ev. for a vw. in the second syll. of S *birak-), Ug brk, (AkSc) {Hnr.} birku, BA, JPA af1r^B5, Sr bur'ka-, Md burka, Mh/Hrs {Jo.} bark, Jb {Jo.} berk, Sq {Jo.} b3rk, Gz b3rk, Ak birku ~ burku 'knee'; d- [1] WS *√brk v. G 'kneel' > BHb √brk G 'kneel down', Ar √brk 'kneel' (of camels), Mh √brk (pf. b3'ro-k) id.; [2] CS *√brk v. D & L 'bless' (← *'make kneel') > Hb, Ph, Ug √brk D id., Ar √brk D & L id.; pp. G means 'blessed', e.g. in BHb K6urB1 ba'ru_k_ 'blessed', (of God) 'praised', Amn, Ug brk, IA bryk (= *bā'rik_), JA [Trg.], JEA K6ir%B6 bā'rik_, Sr bā'rik_-a- 'blessed', Cn b- Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} br'-ra-ku' 'to bless, serve (as an acolyte)' and (?) br'-r-ku' 'gift' ¶ KB 153-4, KBR 159-61, OLS 116, Hnr. 115, Sl. 245, Br. 96, Jo. M 52, Sd. 129, 140, CAD II 255ff., L G 105, DRS 84-5, HJ 198-202, Hlk. ##60-1, SivCR 57, 79, MiK I #1.39 || Ch: CCh: Gzg Mj {Lk.} poporok 'knee' || possibly WCh *burum (loss of *k): BT: Grm {Sch.} bu'rmu_η, Dr {J} bo'-b3'r3'm, Tng {J} purum, Bl {IL} burum; AG: Su {J} fu'ru'm, Ywm {J} furum; NrBc: My {Sk.} wu'ru'm, P' {MSk.} bu'rmi', Jmb vu'rmu'; SBC: Tala va-rā'm, Kir ka'-fu'rum ¶ JI II 214-5, Sch. BTL 134, Lk. G 134 || K: pZn *br_g-Vl- 'knee' > Mg Z birgul-, Mg Sn, Lz A/VAr burgul-, Lz X burgil- id., ? Lz A birgi3'i 'elbow' ¶ Q 203-4, Marr 131-2, Chik. 64 ◇ IS I 31 (*bArKΛ).

245. ² *buRi_u,kqV 'to run, jump' > U: FU *porkV > pObU *po'rk- > pVg *p3'rk- 'hop, jump (hüpfen)' > Vg T pork-, Vg LK parx-, Vg P porr-, Vg Ss porx- id. ¶ UEW 414 (adduces Ne T O partam 'plötzlich aufspringen', which may be better explained is going back to N *p.arV 'to fly, jump') || A: M *buruyud- > MM [HI] {Ms.} buruyud- 'se retirer, éviter, fuir', WrM burugud-, HIM бypyyуд- v. 'flee' ¶ Ms. H 44, MED 139.

246. ?? *bUraK_E (or *bUra K_E...) 'to fall, fell, throw' > IE: NaIE *bʰrek- v. 'fall, fell' > Vd bhra-s'-/bhras'-/bhr_s'-: ni-bhra-s'ai 'fällen, stürzen, niederschlagen', 'bhra-s'(i)ya- 'was zum Fallen gebracht werden kann', ('adhi)- bhras'at 'soll entfallen', with a nasal infix: OI bhram's'ate 'falls, falls out\down, drops', pp. bhras.'t.ah. 'ausgefallen, entfallen', KhS bras's'- v. 'fall', Oss a'lva's3n 'être projeté (de sa place)' || ? Sl *br3si-ti, iter. *br3sati > OR XVII бросит□, R 'бросит□, бро'сат□ 'to throw', Uk ѱбросити 'to throw, throw away' ¶ P 168, M K II 525-6, M E II 276-7, MW 769, Ab. I 132, Bai. 313, Vs. I 218, ESSJ III 55-6, SPS I 398-9 || A: T *burak- ~ *birak- v. 'throw' > OOSm (QB, IM) biraq-, Tk birak-, Δ burak-, Az burax- 'leave, release, let out', CrTt biraq- v. 'throw, leave', Yk buray-, Chv паᄁрах- рᄁрах- v. 'throw, abandon'; the variant *birqa- is represented in SbTt Tö birqa-, Bsh Δ бᄁᄁа- v. 'throw', Shor purka- v. 'cast' ¶ ESTS II 307-8, Rs. W 74, Jeg. 148, Fed. I 399-400, Hü. 60 ¶ Chv ᄁ suggests pT *u || ?? D (in GnD) *po'k(k)- ({{GS}} *p-) v. 'throw away' [× N *bUka 'put out, throw out' (→ 'sweep out'), q.v. ffd.]; the pre-history of the D stem may be reconstructed as *po'k(k)- < *pork- < *borak- || ?

HS: S *burk.idt. - 'on one's back', *√brk.t.d vt., vi. 'knock down on one's back, turn back' > Ak purk.idam 'auf dem Rücken (liegen), auf den Rücken (fallen)', Ar √brq.t: tabarqat.a '(il) tomba à la renverse', barqat.a '(il) se retourna pour regarder derrière soi' ¶ BK I 115, Sd. 881 II ? **R:** Tg *bu.rgi- > Ewk PT burgi- vt. 'drop, let fall, lose, sink' ¶ STM I 113 III A variant stem without *K.E may be reconstructed as ***bur'A** > **U:** FP *pXra '(nieder)fallen' > pMr {Ker.} *pəura- > Er, Mk pra- v. 'fall, fall down, fall out' ({UEW} 'fallen, stürzen') : pPrm *pə'r- > Z pər- vi. 'fall, overturn', Yz 'pu'r-(nə.) 'fall down' ¶ UEW 742, LG 229, Ker. II 122 II **R:** Tg *bu.ri > Ewk burī- vt. 'drop, let fall, lose, sink', Ewk buruwkən ~ burupkən- 'drop, let fall, knock down, knock down from so.'s feet', Sln burī--bəri- 'untie, untether, let go', Lm bəri- v. 'lose', Orc bui- id., Mc burubu- (ps.) 'disappear, get lost' ¶ STM I 113 || ? pKo *pə'ri- 'throw aside\away, abandon' > MKO pə'ri- ~ pə'ri-, NKO pəri- id. ¶ Rm. SKE 192, S QK #605, Nam 241, MLC 759-60 II ? **HS:** WCh: Bl {Lk.} bur- v. 'niederwerfen, fallen lassen' ¶ Lk. PVB II 134.

247. *bVR.Vjk.E 'to flash, shine' > **K** *brk.- > OG, G brk.ial- 'glitter, shine (glitzern, glänzen)' ¶ Abul. 35, Chx. 106, DCh. 118 II **HS:** S *√brk. v. 'flash, lighten' > BHb, Ug, Aram, Sb, Gz, Ak √brk., Ar √brq id., Mh {Jo.} bər'k.əwt, Hrs {Jo.} bər'k.ə't, Jb C {J} 'bər's'k.ə't 'to lighten, flash', Mn {MA} √brk. vi. 'briller, éclat'; S *ba'ra'k.- 'lightning' > BHb qrlB1 ba'ra'k., Ug brk., IA brk.?, Sr bar'k.-a-, Ar ʕr0Ba barq- (< *barak.-, a metatonic variant of *ba'ra'k.-), Mh {Jo.} bər'rk., Hrs {Jo.} həbe'rk., Jb C {Jo.} berk., Ak birk.- id., Sb brk. 'rainy season, monsoonal storm'; S b̄ Cpt Sd (e)βp̄h6e (e)bre'ce 'lightning' ¶ KB 155, KBR 162, HJ 203, OLS 116, Sd. 122, Jo. M 53, BGMR 31, MA 23, L G 106, CAD II 258ff., Ws. 23, Crn. ED 33, Vc. 39, SivCR 79 || Eg fP b:k. '(be) bright, white'; Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} bu-r-k.a 'glitter' = Eg N brk v. 'glitter, reflect (about water) [glitzern]' ¶ EG I 424-5, 466, Fk. 78, Vc. 39 & Hlk. #59 [they suppose that brk. is a loan from S, but borrowing of a verb (not through derived nouns) in highly inflected lgs. is possible only if the verbal morphology of the borrowing lge. and the source lge. are similar, which is not the case for Eg and S; on the other hand, the EgSSc for the word suggests that it is a loan; we may see here a merger of the inherited Eg word with a Semitism], Tk. II 91-3 || C *√brk. > EC {Ss.} *bark.-/birk.- 'lightning', v. 'lighten' > Elm i-birg...-a, ? Sd bank.-o, ? Hd ba'nk.-o id., ? Brj buk.k.- v. 'lighten', Dsn birgac' 'flashing', ʔi'r birgamu 'lightning' (ʔi'r 'rain') || Ag *bark.- > Xm {R} berqa- ~ barqa, Bln {R} barq 'lightning', Xm √brq v. 'flash'; *m-bVrk.- 'lightning' > Xm {R} mirqa-, Bln {R} mirka-, Q merka- id. || Dh1 {EEN} b.i'rik.k.i'na, {To.} b.irikinna id. ¶ R WB 86, 274, AD PmbC, Ss. PEC 49, Ss. B 42, E SC 32, EEN 34, To. D 130, To. DL 487 || NrOm: Mch {L} p.ari'k.k.i(ye') v. 'lighten' ¶ L M 45, Fl. OO 317 || ? Ch: DfB {J} ba'ra 'lightning and thunder' || CCh: Bdm {Lk.} barme'l, {Nc.} 'barmil 'lightning' ¶ J R 212, Lk. B 91 II **IE** {EI} ? *b'herk- 'shine' > NaIE *b'herk- / *b'rek- v. 'shine, glitter' > Gk [Hs.] φορκο'v 'white, gray-haired' || MHG brehen 'plötzlich & stark aufleuchten, glänzen, funkeln', ON brja-, bra- (< *breho'n) 'to shine (glänzen), sparkle', AS breahm ~ beahm 'glance', 'Glänz, Augenblick' || OIr brecc, W brych 'speckled' || Vd 'bhra's'ate- 'shines, glitters' (a- due to the infl. of 'bhra'jate- 'shines, beams, glitters' < NaIE *b're-g- < N ***bArh'E** 'shine' + ext.) || Ht parkuis 'clean' ¶ P 141-2, EI 514, M K II 532, ≠ M E II 280 (claims that Vd bhra's- is a var. of bhra'j-), F II 1036, Vr. 57, Ho. 17, Lx. 26 ♦ IS I #5 equates HS *√brk. with T *balq- v. 'shine', U **palkV (> Os N paya'l 'lightning') and IE *b'elg- v. 'shine', which is not plausible because of the liquid (HS *r for the expected *l) and because HS has better parallels in IE and K with reflexes of N*r. On these roots of T, U and IE see N ***bal.Vjka** 'to shine'. Neither is plausible the comparison with K *berc.q-/*br.c.q- v. 'flash' (with an unexplicable *c, while there is a better K cognate **brk.-).

248. *baRmV 'stinging insect' > **IE:** o NaIE amb *b'hem- 'a buzzing insect' (× o NaIE *b'hem- v. 'buzz') > OI bhrama'r-ah. 'bee' || Gk φο'ρμυγξ,-γγοξ 'phormynx (∈ lyre\harp)' || OSx bre'mmia, OHG brema 'gad-\horse-fly', brema 'horse-fly', eNHG [Luther], NGr Δ Breme '∈ stinging insect', d MLG bromese b̄ NHG Bremse 'horsefly, gadfly' || Sl *bro.kъ 'beetle' > Cz brouk, LLs, HLs bruk id., R Nvg бр-к 'dung-beetle' ¶ The supposed connection with the NaIE onomatopœic verb *b'hem- v. ▯ 'buzz, growl' (> L fremo-, OHG breman, Sl *br̃me'ti) is too uncertain and may belong to the field of folk-etymology ¶ P 142-3, ▯ EI 24 (OI bhrama'r-ah. 'bee' < d b'hem- 'make a noise'), ≠ M K II 528-9 (denies any genetic connections of OI bhrama'r-ah. because of its onomatopœic associations), M E II 279, F II 1036-7, WH I 544-5, Ho. 33-4, Ho. S 10, OsS 83, EWA II 315-6, KM 98-9, ESSJ III 22, 44 (Sl *bro.kъ < d *bre.kati), 68-9, Sls. I 46, YGM-1 54 II **U:** FV *parma ▯ 'gadfly' > F parma, Δ parma 'gad-\horse-\deer-fly', Es

parm 'Tabanus' : Er промо promo, Δ puomo 'horsefly (Tabanus, **слепень**)', Mk пупом 'purəm 'botfly (**овод**)' : Chr KB parmъ, U pormo 'Pferdefliege, Bremse', B pormo 'Bremse' ¶ UEW 724-5, Coll. 107, It. #31, ERV 519, PI 226 ¶ HS: WCh: Zar {IL} b₃r₃'m n. 'fly' ¶ ChC.

249. *baR₃V 'to be uneven, rough; bristle' > K: GZ *bar₃g-/br₃g-, {FS} *bar₃g- 'thorn' > G {FS} bar₃g-i ~ ba₃g-i 'thorny plant', Mg bu₃ga- 'needles of a chestnut fruit'; Zn б> G bur₃g-al- {DCh} '**ворсѣнка**' (teasel?), G I bur₃g-i {DCh} 'bristle, **сѣтина**', {FS} 'Stachel, Dorn', bur₃galai 'needles of a chestnut fruit', G bu₃g-i 'small hedgehog'; d : G bur₃g-n-, Mg bu₃g- ~ bi₃g-, Lz bu₃g-in- vi. 'bristle up, ruffle' ¶ K DE 361 & K² 21 (GZ *bur₃ga- 'bristle', *bur₃f- v. 'bristle (up), ruffle'), FS K 66, FS E 46, Chik. 256, DCh. 125 ¶ IE: NaIE {P} *bʰars-, bʰr₃sti-, *bʰr₃sti- **п** 'bristle, point, spike' > OI bhr₃'s.t.i-h. 'point, spike, edge, corner' ¶ pGmc *bursti- > ON burst 'bristle, ridge of a roof', NNR bust, Sw borst 'bristle', Dn bōrst id., 'brush', AS byrst, OHG burst 'bristle, prickle', NHG Borste id., Buʳste 'brush', NE brush; Gmc *barza- (< *bʰors-) > ON barr 'conifer' (< *'needles of a conifer'), Ic, Sw barr, NNR bar 'needles of a conifer' ¶ OIr barr 'summit, tip (of tongue, finger)', MBr barr 'summit', MW bar, OBr, Br barr id., 'branch', Crn bar 'summit, branching bough' ¶ L festu'ca 'stalk, straw' (< *fers-tu'ka), fastigium 'point\spike (Spitze), the gable end, pediment of a roof', fastiga'tus 'pointed' ¶ P, Bern. and ESSJ adduce here Sl *bъrsъ (P's Sl *bъrstjo-) 'Heracleum sphondylium' ('Bärenklau, **борсевич**') > Slv br'sč, Slk brs't, HSrb bars'c id., OR боръ, P barszcz id., whence the name of heracleus soup and later that of soup of beet and cabbage (R, Uk боръ, P barszcz); the reason of this designation of the plant is not clear ({Bern.}: "die Benennung erfolgte nach der Gestalt der Blätter") : Ltv {ME} pl. burks'k, burs'ki, burks'i, burs'i {Bern.} 'Aegopodium podagraria', {ME} 'Hundspetersilie', i.e. 'Aethusa' ¶ Acc. to WH, the stem has a variant *bʰorz-dʰo-/bʰrez-dʰo- > OIr brot 'pointe, aiguillon', Crn bros, Br brous 'thorn', OCrn [VC] bros 'aculeus', broud 'aiguillon (+ err. Al bredh 'fir-tree', cf. O 34) ¶ P 109, EI 439 (*br₃'sti-s 'point'), M K II 523-4, M E II 273, Vn. B 19-20, 98, Flr. 80, Hm. 68, ECCE 213, WH I 461-2, 489, Vr. 27, 65, Bv. 65, Ho. 41, OsS 93, EWA II 471-2, Kb. 137, KM 93, 113, Bern. I 109, ESSJ III 131-2, SPS I 422, ME I 353-4, Kf. 55 ¶ A: M *barza-yi- > WrM barzai-, HIM барзай- v. 'become uneven \ rough', Brt барзай- 'be rough (**был шероховатым, корфвым**)', Kl барза- barza' - 'be uneven\rough', Ord b_ar₃_a' - 'présenter un aspect rugueux, avoir des aspérités'; M *barzagar > WrM barzagar, HIM барзгар, Brt барзагар 'uneven, rough', Kl барзһр barzъуr id. ('**неровный, шероховатый, бугристый**'), Ord b_ar₃_agar 'couvert d'aspérités, raboteux'; WrM barzigir, HIM баржгар, Brt баржагар 'uneven, rough' ¶ MED 90, Kow. 1111, Chr. 87, KRS 82, Ms. O 52.

250. *b'a'rV 'old, ? grown-up' > HS: S: The S adj. (< pp.) *ba'rī- 'fat, stout' (of animals and humans), 'healthy' (> BHb air%B1 ba'rī 'fat', f. bārī?-a- id., MHb air%B1 ba'rī 'healthy, strong, fat', JA {Js.} bārī, JEA {SL} ir%B1 ba'rī id., Ar bari'a 'was\became fat') is likely to go back to a merger of several N etymons (becoming homonymous in S), among them the etymon in question ¶ KBR 156, Sl. 244, Js. 192-3 ¶ C: EC: Sa {Morin} 'ba'rra, {R} 'bara' 'old man', {Morin} ba'r'ra, {R} ba'ra' 'old woman', Af {PH} barra 'wife, woman', ? Rn {Oo.} o'borri, {PG} o'bo'rri 'women, wives' (< *'old women') ¶ SC: Irq {Wh.} barise' 'old men', SC б> Mb {Fl.} m-bora 'woman' ¶ Oo. 73, PG 238, R S II 84-5, Morin p.c., PH 69 ¶ K *ber- > OG, G ber-i 'old man', ber- v. 'make old' ¶ Chx. 78, DCh. 104, Abul. 31 ¶ U: FP *porV 'old (aged)' > pLp {Lr.} *pō're's id. > Lp: N {N} boares / -rras- 'old', S {Hs.} boar'ies, L {LLO} pa're's 'old', Pa {TI} pō'a're's, Kld {TI} puāres' 'old' (of persons, animals, things) : Vt peres' 'old', 'Ahn', Z pāris', Prmk pāris' 'alt, altersschwach, hinfällig' ¶ UEW 737, Coll. 74, LG 229, Lr. #975, Lgc. #5149, Hs. 352-3, TI 385 ¶ D {tr., GS} *par'a- 'old' > Tm parā 'old' (of things), Ml parā 'old', parāma 'oldness, old age', Kt pay-/pa- 'old', Td pa'w/pa- 'old', Kn parā, parē, Kdg pal'e 'old', Tu para 'old, worn out', Tl pra- 'old' (in cds), Png pr'a'n 'old' (of things), Mnd pr'an(ca) 'old', Kui pr'a'd.i, Ku pra'ʔi id. ¶ D #3999, GS 226 [#555], 165 [#413].

¶ **250a. *borV** 'sun, day' > HS: EC *barr- 'day, year' > Elm parr-ac 'daytime', Sml ber-i 'time', Gwd, Hr per-ko 'year', par-a 'when', HEC *barr- 'day' > Sd barr-a 'day, time', Ged barra, Kmb bar(r)a, bari 'day', Hd ball-a 'day, date'; Brj {Ss.} berr-i 'year'; (× N *b'a'rV 'old, ? grown-up'. q.v.): Or bar-a 'year, time, age', Kns par-a 'year, age' ¶ Ss. PEC 14 [pEC *bar-r- 'time'], Ss. B 35 [pEC *bar(r)- 'time', age, year'], Hd. 47 [pHEC *barra 'day'] ¶ Ech: Kwn {Mch.} bur 'day (journée)' ¶ ChC ¶¶ Not here Ak be'ru 'double hour, one twelfth of a full day' (which is obviously a metaphor based on be'ru 'a «mile», measure

of length'; the pS etymon must be *ba^hru (CAD II 208-11) || D *por^u- 'sun, day' > Tm por^utu, po^rtu, Kt por^t, Kn por^u, portu 'sun, time', Ml por^utu 'sun, day, auspicious time', Td p^rs^t ^d pos^t 'time, luck', Tu portu 'sun, daylight, time', Tl p(r)oddu 'day, morning, time', Klm pod 'sun', appud^u, apud^u 'then', e^upud^u 'when?', Nkr podd 'sun', Nk pod 'sun, day', Prj apot^u 'that time', ipot^u 'this time', Gnd por^d 'sun, time, hour' ^d por^d(u) 'sun, day', Knd podu id., Png padna ~ podna 'time' ¶¶ D #4559 || U {UEW} *purkV 'time (Zeit, Mal)' > Prm *pu^r > Z, Vt p^r 'always; immediately' || ObU: Vg: T pa^r, LK/MK/P/SV po^r, NV po^r, LL p^or 'time (Zeit, Mal), opportunity'; pOs {Ht.} pi^xar > Os: V/Vy ki-pi^xar, Ty kit-pi^xar 'double' (kit 'two') || Sm: Slq LTz {KD} pa^o:r 'time (Mal)', Slq Tz {KKIH} p^or id., ukkir p^or 'once' (ukkir 'one') ¶¶ UEW 407, Coll. 53, LG 236, Lt. 195, Ht. #802, KKI 152 ♦ The semantic filiation: 'sun' → 'day' → 'year, time' ♦ ■ Blz. DA 164 [#115] (D, EC, U + *err.*: L -ber in names of months and S).]

251. *bur^a 'to pierce, bore' > **HS:** WS *^ubrr, *^ubry ~ *^ubrw v. 'pierce, sharpen' > Gz ^ubrr (js. yā-brār) v. 'pierce', BHb rurB1 çh4 'hec. ba^rru^r 'sharpened arrow', urib5el ha^biru^r v. *Sh* 2p inv. 'sharpen (the arrow)!', Ar ^ubry (pf. iraBa bara^r) 'tailler, couper (un roseau à écrire, une plume), exténuer, amaigrir (une bête de somme)', ^ubrw (pf. "raBaa) 'dégrossir avec une hache, adoucir avec une plane' ¶ L G 107, KB 156, KBR 163, BK I 119 || Eg fOK wb³ v. 'drill' (w- is a px.), Eg fP b³b³ 'hole' ('Loch, Höhlung') > Cpt Sd/B **внк** be^b 'caverne, nid' ¶ EG I 290-1, 419, Fk. 58, 7, Tk. II 56-63, Vc. 25; IS I 186 misquotes Eg wb³ as wbr || **IE:** NaIE *b^her- v. 'bore, pierce' (× N ***bo^rr^hE¹** 'to dig' [q.v.]) > L for^a- v. 'bore', for^a-men 'hole' || ON bora 'hole', bora, OSx, OHG boroⁿ, NHG bohren, AS borian 'to bore', NE bore || ? Irn: NPrs ^udYrwBu borri^r-daⁿ ~ ^udYrBu bori^r-daⁿ 'to cut', Av tizⁱ-ba^r-ra- 'mit scharfer Schneide' || pAl {O} *bira^r > Al T/G bire^r 'hole' || Arm bah bah 'spade, hoe', gen. -i-i (< *b^hr^u-ti) || OIr bern, berna 'crack, cleft, gap', {Vn.} 'fente, brèche, trouée' || Possibly words for ploughing (← 'piercing the soil'): Gk φα^rροϋ 'plough, ploughing', φα^rρα^oω ~ φα^rρο^oω v. 'plough' || Sl *borna 'harrow' > Blg бра^aна, McdS брана, SCr bra^aна, Δ bra^aна 'harrow', Slv bra^aна, Cz, Slk pl. bra^any, LLs brona, HLs bro^aна, OR **борона**, R, Uk боро^aна, Blr бара^aна ¶ P 133-5, WH I 481-2, M K II 533, F II 994, Ch. 1179, Vr. 49-50, EWA II 246-7, KM 89, Ho. 31, Ho. S 9, Vl. I 232, Horn 49, O 2, ■ Vn. B 41 (OIr bern < IE *b^her- 'strike, cut'), ■ ESSJ II 204-6, Vs. I 196-7, Drd. 39 || U *pura 'borer (tool)', *pura- v. 'bore, drill, pick a hole' > F pura 'crowbar, drill', puraa- v. 'pick holes (Löcher stemmen)', Es pura 'Instrument der Schmiede zum Durchschlagen von Löchern in Eisen' || Lp: N {N} bo^rre / -r- 'edge', L {LLO} pa^rre^r 'borer (tool)' || Prm {LG} *pu^r- vt. 'drill, gauge, peck', *pu^r 'through', *pu^ric^r 'ice-pick' > Vt Sr p^r, Kz p^r, Prmk p^r 'durch, hindurch', Vt прич^u 'ice-pick, ice-spike', {W} p^ri^rz^r 'Hohleisen', Z p^ri^r-n^uz^v 'gimlet' ({TmK} п^rи^rи^hв 'буравчик'), p^ri^rz^r 'crowbar, ice-pick' (= 'lange Brechstange, Eishaue'), Z {TmK} p^ri^rz^d 'drill a hole, perforate, durchbohren' || ObU *po^r 'awl, borer' > pVg *po^ri^r > Vg T por^z 'Ahle, Pfriemen'; pOs *po^r ({Hl.} *pu^r) 'borer' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/Nz/Kz po^r, K/O pa^r id. || Hg fu^r- v. 'bore, drill', fu^ro^r 'Bohrer; bohrend' || Sm *pVr-, {Jn.} *p^rg^uz^u 'Bohrer' > Ne T па^rр^uѣ, T O par^z, Ne F L parⁱ id., Ne T па^rу^oи^u 'perforate, durchbohren', F parrⁱo^s id., Slq Tz {KKIH}, Slq Tm pur 'a borer', Slq Tz {KKIH} para^u 'ice-pick', Slq UKt pari^u 'Eishaue', Kms p^riyān, p^rā^u 'borer', par^a 'Brenneisen zum Anbringen der Löcher in den Schneeschuhen, Bohrer' ¶ UEW 405, Coll. 52, Sm. 539 (U, FU *pura^o, FP pura, Ugr *pu^ra, Sm *po-ro^o 'to bore'), MF 221-2, LG 236-7, TmK 587-8, It. #197, Ht. 178 [#531], Jn. 114, KKI 147 || **A:** T *burga 'borer' > ET bur^a, Uz burgi, Qrg bur^u, buro^u, Qq bur^u, burau, Qzq bur^u, Tk bur^u, Az bur^u, Tkm, Nog buraw, Bsh, VTt б^urau^u, Chv p^ra id.; as to Qzq {Rl.} bur^a 'schrauben, bohren' and Alt Δ pur- v. 'drill', they may be semantic derivatives of T *bura- v. 'turn round' or result from a merger of both roots ¶ Jeg. 147-8, Fed. I 398, Rl. IV 1817, ≠ ET B 264-7 (considers this stem to be a variant of and a d from *bur- v. 'turn round, rotate'); the loss of palatality in *r^u is due to the precon. position (acc. to Hl.'s hyp.) || ? D *po^r- ({GS} *p-) v. 'split, hole, opening, cleft' > Tm po^ru 'hole, opening, cleft', Kt bo^r 'hollow in tree trunk, hole that goes through', Kn po^r 'hollow in a tree', Tu pot^u 'hollow of a stalk or tree'; the D √ results from the merger of two ancient roots: the √ in question and another one meaning 'to cleave, split': D *po^ra ({GS} *p-) v. 'split, cleave' > Tm po^rv. 'be cleft, split; to split, cleave open, Kn po^rv. 'cleave, split', Prj po^r- v. 'split, cleave' ¶¶ D #4599; the length of the vw. and the meaning are connected with the infl. of D *po^r- 'hole' (< N ***bo^rr^hE¹** 'to dig, a pit') ♦ IS I 186-7 s.v. *bur^a 'to bore, drill', to which he ascribes together the reflexes of N ***bur^a** 'to bore', those of ***bUrV** 'to turn round, rotate' and those of ***bo^rr^hE¹** '↑'.

252. *bur'u(-K,U) 'to spurt, gush forth, boil, seethe' > **HS:** Eg N/G brbr **ᵐ**'kochen' > Cpt: Sd **ᵐ**ᵐᵐᵐ bərbər, B **ᵐ**ᵐᵐᵐᵐ berber 'bouillir, soudre' ¶ EG I 466, Vc. 30, Tk. II 262-3 || B ***ᵐ**ᵐᵐ v. 'boil' > Mz, Wrg abər (pf. yubər), Gd aḥər (pf. yuḥər) 'bouillir', Awj 3s pf. yuḥṭira, Nf 'awer (pf. yoḥwer-yōuḥwer) id., Gh abər v. 'boil' ¶ Dlh. M 10, Dlh. Ou 27, Beg. 220, Lf. I 253 & II #0095, Prd. 161, La. S 205, NZ 90 || ?? S ***ᵐ**-puḥ-r- > Ar **ᵐ**fwr (ip. ya-fuḥ-ru) 'bouillonner, être en ébullition (une marmite)' ¶ BK II 645 || EC {Ss.} *burk- 'spring; to spring' > Or: {Ss.} burk- v. 'spring', burk-a, B {LLC} burk.a n. 'spring', M {LLC} burk.a id., burk- v. 'spring up', Kmb buḥ-uta 'spring', Hd buḥ-, bubuk- v. 'spring', Sml buq- v. 'leak' ¶ Ss. B 42-3, LLC 194 || **IE:** NaIE *b^hreu_ḡ/*b^herw- 'boil', {EI} *b^hreu_ḡ- 'brew' > L ferve_ḡ-re, ferve_ḡ-e v. 'boil, seethe' || OIr berb-aid (3s prs.) 'boil, cook', W berw-, Br birvi- ~ birvi-vi. 'boil', MBr {Ern.} beru 'du bouillon', bero 'bouilli' || ON, NNr brugga 'to brew', OHG {OSs} briuwen ~ bruwen ~ brouwen vt. 'to brew, boil' (not mentioned in EWA, mentioned as briuwan and gibriuwan without translation in Kb., but reconstructible from *ds* and *cds*: OHG brower 'Brauer, caupo', briumeistar id., briuwino 'Bierbrauer, caupo' and briu-hu_s 'brewery'), NHG brauen, OSx gi-breuwan, AS bre'owan 'to brew', NE brew; OHG brower 'Brauer, caupo', OSx brou-hu_s, OHG briu-hu_s, NHG Brauhaus 'brewery' || R Δ бры́д 'Strömung', бры́т 'stark reißend strömen' || ?? OI bhur_ḡvan.i- 'restless, excited' ¶ P 143-5, Mn. 75, EI 199, WH I 487, Vn. B 40-1, Ern. 59, Vr. 60, OsS 85, EWA II 367, 350-1, Kb. 120, KM 96-7, Ho. 34, Ho. S 10 ¶ The variant *b^hrew- is original, while *b^herw- (in L and Clt) is a secondary SA variation I (here??) NaIE *b^hre_ḡu_ḡ- / b^hre_ḡu_ḡ-n- / b^hru_ḡ-n- 'spring (fons)' (× N ***ᵐ**ᵐᵐᵐ 'to dig; a pit, well', q.v. ffd.) || **U:** FU *purV- > Es S {W} pura- vi. 'bubble, seethe (клякотат, бурлит)', Es {W} purise- 'sprudeln, hervorsprudeln, mit Geräusch fließen', F (Δ?) {MF} pura-ta, puraan 'sprudeln' : Er purams 'strudeln', puramo 'Strudel, Wasserwirbel' : Prm ***ᵐ**buḥ-r- > Vt birekt- 'boil', 'sieden, aufsieden, aufkochen' ? Z birkᵐs 'buttermilk' || Hg forr- v. 'boil, seethe' ¶ F poris- v. 'murmur' (of water), журчат, porina n. act. 'murmur of water, журчание' and Es porise- {W} 'brodeln, verworren und undeutlich schallen' are either onomatopœic and do not belong here or have their irreg. -o- due to onomatopœic connections (e.g. with F pore n. 'bubble'); F pore 'bubble' and Sm ***ᵐ**ᵐᵐᵐ id. (> Ng {Cs.} faḥ-r, far id., Kms {Adl.} phor 'vesica', Koyb {Sp.} ᵐᵐᵐᵐ 'пузырь') seem to belong to a different √ ¶ MF 215-6, W EDW 896-7, Jn. 114, ≠ LG 45, UEW 414, SK 502-3 || **A:** T ***ᵐ**buḥ_ḡrkū_ḡ-, ***ᵐ**buḥ_ḡrkū_ḡ-r- v. 'spurt, gush' (× N ***ᵐ**ᵐᵐᵐ 'moist, liquid; to moisten?') > OT buḥ_ḡrkir- ~ buḥ_ḡrkū_ḡ-r- v. 'spurt, gush', buḥ_ḡrkek- in koḥ_ḡk buḥ_ḡrkek boldi 'the sky poured down rain', MT XIII burkū_ḡk 'spray', Tkm puḥ_ḡrk- v. 'sprinkle, splash', Uz purka-, VTt б_ḡрк- б_ḡрк-, CrTt buḥ_ḡruḥ_ḡ-, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Qq, Nog buḥ_ḡrk- id., 'spray', Alt/Tlt {Rl.} puḥ_ḡrkū_ḡ---puḥ_ḡrkū_ḡ-r- v. 'splutter', Xk puḥ_ḡrguḥ_ḡ-r-, ET puḥ_ḡrk(uḥ_ḡ)-, Chv пеḥḡpeḥḡ- ры́гх- 'sprinkle' ¶ Cl. 363-4, DTS 133, Rl. IV 1399, Rs. W 93, Jeg. 156, Tkr 538, Sht. 63, KumRS 89, RKB 51, Md. 64, 175 (***ᵐ**ᵐᵐᵐ-) || M ***ᵐ**burgi- (× N ***ᵐ**buḥ_ḡRᵐ, ***ᵐ**buḥ_ḡRᵐKᵐ 'storm, stormy wind' × N ***ᵐ**burī_ḡᵐ 'loose earth, dust') > WrM burgi-, burgi-ra-, HlM бурги- v. 'rise in clouds', 'whirl' (as dust, water, or storm), Ord b_ḡurgi- 'jaillir, bouillonner, s'élever en tourbillonnant (p. ex. poussière)', Mnr H {SM} p_ḡuḥ_ḡi-ra- 'jaillir, sortir avec violence (eau, fumée, etc.); the M verb < the A (and N) √ in question × N ***ᵐ**burī_ḡᵐ 'ḡ' (q.v.) ¶ H 19, MED 121, 138, SM 306, S AJ 243 [#215], Chr. 105, Ms. O 81, 98 || **D** {Pf.} *pur_ḡ-V-k- / *pur_ḡ-Vḡk- ('GS' *p-) v. 'boil' > Tm puḥ_ḡun_ḡku v. 'be steamed, parboiled', puḥ_ḡukku v. 'boil (paddy) before husking', Ml puḥ_ḡun_ḡn_ḡuka v. 'be boiling, stewed, steamed', puḥ_ḡukkuka vt. 'boil', Td pus_ḡk- v. 'boil (potatoes)', Kn purḡi 'rice boiled with pulse', Tu purguni v. 'be well-boiled (as rice)', Krx puḥ_ḡx- vt. 'to boil' ¶¶ D #4315, Pf. 42 ♦ IS I 190-1 (*bur'a).

253. *b^hu_ḡḡXr'a 'watercourse, river' > **HS:** WS ***ᵐ**bah_ḡV_ḡr- 'a watercourse, river' (→ 'sea') > Ak beḥ_ḡrtu 'stream of water, watercourse', Ar baḥ_ḡr- 'sea, large river', Sr (ḥ- Ar) baḥ_ḡr-a 'sea', Sb bḥ_ḡr 'sea, coast', Gz ḡR baḥ_ḡḡ [baḥ_ḡ] 'large river, lake, sea', Tgr baḥ_ḡr, Tgy baḥ_ḡri 'sea' ¶ Sd. 122, BGMR 27, L G 91 || C: Bj {R} beḥ_ḡaḥ_ḡ-r ~ beḥ_ḡar 'river, sea' (ḥ- Ar, EthS?) ¶ R WBd 45-6 || Ch: WCh: pAG {Stl. VZCh} ***ᵐ**vwo_ḡḡor 'river, brook' > Ang {Flk.} fwoḥ_ḡ-r 'river, stream', Ywm {Fp.} ver id., Su {J} voḥ_ḡḡr 'Bach, Wasserlauf' : ? Ngz {Sch.} wuḥ_ḡri_ḡya 'open pit where water can collect' || Ech: Mu {Lk.} buḥ_ḡḡr_ḡ 'river', Ke {Eb.} voḥ_ḡ-r 'river, lake' ¶ ChC, Lk. ZSS 181, J S 86, Stl. VZCh A #257, Sch. DN 173, Eb. 101 || **IE:** NaIE **ḡ** ***ᵐ**b^hre_ḡḡr_ḡu_ḡ-/***ᵐ**b^hro_ḡ-r- > OI Δ **ḡ** bha_ḡru_ḡ-h. 'sea' || pSl *bara 'small river, stagnant water' (× N ***ᵐ**beḥ_ḡRᵐ 'mud, swamp', q.v.) > Blg ḡḡapa 'small river\stream, stagnant water, puddle', Mcds {IS} ḡapa 'puddle', SCR baḥ_ḡra id., 'meadow', Slv baḥ_ḡra, Cz Δ bara 'swamp' || ??? AS brim, brymm 'sea, flood'; much less plausible is the adduction of Gmc *broḥ_ḡka- > OHG 'marsh, swamp', NHG Δ Bruch 'feuchte Wiese'. NLG broḥ_ḡk, Dt

broek 'Morastgrund', AS broc 'brook, stream, river', NE brook 𐌱𐌹 Ho. 35; M K II 479 (OI bha'ru-h.: "möglichlicherweise eine ganz künstliche, schwerlich nachzuzeichnende Genesis hat"), MW 748, Bt. IV 252, Ho. 33-5, 37, ESSJ I 153-4 𐌱𐌹, KM 103, Ho. 35 𐌱𐌹: BF *pur- > F puro 'brook, creek', Krl puro id., 'small ditch', Krl N purakko 'brook', ? F Δ purakko 'damp country' 𐌱𐌹 SK 655, SSA II 437 𐌱𐌹: Tg *bi_{ra} > Ewk, Sln bira, Lm bira, WrMc bira, Jrc {Kiy., Md.} bira 'river', Neg biya 'small river, spring', Orc bia-ka ~ biya-ka 'brook, spring', Ud {STM} b^{ea}sa, {Shn.} biyasa, Ud Sm {Krm.} ba^{sa} 'river, small river', Ul bira 'brook, gulf', Nn Nh bira[~], Nn B/KU bira 'brook, small river' 𐌱𐌹 Ci. 297, STM I 84, Krm. 212, Kiy. SJL 99 [#040], Md. ChF 135 𐌱𐌹 i ÷ Ewk Ucr buruk, Ewk Tk burukuⁿ 'whirlpool' (< N *bUrV 'to turn round, rotate', q.v.) 𐌱𐌹 D (in SD) *pUr'a ({GS} *p-) 'river' > Ml purā, Kt pey, Td pa^w, Kn po^{re}, Kdg po^{le} id. (with *U for the expected *i due to the labializing infl. of *p-?), as well as probably SD *pīr 'flow' > Tm pīr 'abundant flow, milk flowing from a woman's breast', Ml pīra 'milk of grated coconuts', Tu pīruni v. 'exude, percolate' 𐌱𐌹 D ##4222 and 4318 ♦ Is it possible to reconstruct a *cd* (or *d*?) N *b^uu[~]Xr'a-K.V ± 'small watercourse, marsh' on the basis of Gmc *broka- and BF *purakko?? ♦ IS MS 369 (*birā > Tg, D *pīr-) 𐌱𐌹, 𐌱 Blz. LB #96c (suggested to add Sl *bara and Gmc *broka), 𐌱 Blz. LNA #5 (N *buhrV ~ burhV; suggested to add BF and Ewk buruk). 𐌹

254. *bar[?]V 'big, much, thick' > HS: ? EC: Sml bir- 'augmentare', bir-s- 'crescere' 𐌱𐌹; pSam {Hn.} *bu^r 'big' (of things) > Rn bu^r id., 'large; plenty', Sml bu^r-an 'be stout'; Dsn bu^{mab} 'be many' 𐌱𐌹 DSI 57 𐌱𐌹, 71, PG 82, Hn. S 55, To. DL 488, Blz DL s.v. 'many' 𐌹 𐌹 NrOm: Hrr {Abb.} be^{ra}, {Fl.} bera 'big', Bsk {Fl.} barinc 'long' 𐌱𐌹 CR H 641, Fl. OWL, Blz. OL #183 𐌹 𐌹 Ch: WCh: Zul ba^{ri}, Buli bā^{ri}, ? Sy {Sh.} v^wā^{ri} 'large' 𐌹 CCh: Gudu bu^{ro}m id., Lm b^zrā^m 'many' 𐌹 ECh: EDng {Fd.} be^{re}l 'big', ? bu^rbu^r 'many' 𐌱𐌹 ChL, ChC 𐌹 𐌹 The CS adj. (< pp.) *ba^{ri}?- 'fat, stout' (of animals and humans), 'healthy' (> BHb air%B1 ba^{ri} 'fat', f. bā^{ri}?-a id., MHb air%B1 ba^{ri} 'healthy, strong, fat', JA bā^{ri} ba^{ri} id., Ar bari[?]a 'was\became fat') is likely to go back to a merger of several N etymons (becoming homonymous in S), among them the etymon in question 𐌱𐌹 KBR 156 𐌹 IE: NaIE *b^{er}- 'good, big' > Gk Hm φε^ρ-ιστο^ς sprl. {P} 'best', Gk φε^ρ-τατο^ς 'bravest, best' 𐌹 Arm bari bari (gen. baryoj barwoy) 'good' 𐌹 L fere[~] 'almost, nearly', 'as a rule, generally' (< 'mostly'), ferme[~] (< *ferime[~] sprl.) 'almost, nearly' 𐌹 OHG bora- (or < *r_o.) px. 'very' (bora-lang 'very long'), OSx bar- px. 'very' (bar-wirhig 'sehr würdig') 𐌱𐌹 IS I 175, Mul. 177, ≠ WP I 858, 𐌱 WH I 480-1, 𐌱 F II 1002, OsS 80, EWA II 242-3, Hlt. S 5 𐌹 IE: *bara > T *bar^{ik} 'thick' > MT XIV [AH] bazuq 'stout person', MQp XIV [CC] baziq 'dick, grob', Qmq, Blq baziq, Kr baziq ~ bazik ~ bazi^χ 'thick (dick)', VTt baziq 'thickset (коренастый)', Bsh ba^{diq} 'hefty, firm' 𐌱𐌹 Rs. W 66, KumRS 59, TatR 52, KRPS 97-8, BR 69-70, RKB 628 𐌹 𐌹 Tg *bara(n) 'much' > Ewk baran, baradin id., barama 'many', Sln bara[~], Lm baran 'much', Neg baya id., bayan 'many', Ork bara 'much, many', WrMc baran 'a lot, multitude' 𐌱𐌹 STM I 73 𐌹 𐌹 M: [1] *barda-, *barda-yan > WrM bardagan 'abundance, abundant; efficiency', HIM бардаа(н) id., Kl барда- barda[~] 'be stout' (as well as possibly M *barda- 'be sure about one's success, boast' > WrM barda- id., Brt d бардаастай 'self-confident', d бардам, Kl d бардам 'swagger, boasting', Mnr H {SM} b^{ard}o[~]η 'fanfaron, présomptueux') 𐌱𐌹 MED 85, Chr. 87, KRS 82, SM 21 𐌹 [2] M *barbayi- 'be thick' > WrM barbair-, HIM барвай- 'be broad and thick' (of a beard), 'be coarse' (of textiles), 'be thick' (of lips), Kl барва- id., 'be hairy\shaggy', {Rm.} barwa[~] 'kompakt und haarig sein', Brt барбай- 'be hairy\shaggy' [x N *bur^udV^gV 'facial hair, animal's body hair, down', (q.v.)?] 𐌱𐌹 MED 84, KRS 81, KW 35, Chr. 87 𐌹 𐌹 pKo *pā^r 'fathom' > MKo pā^r id., as well as NKo pa^l id. (x < MKo pa^r 'armful') 𐌱𐌹 S QK #668, Nam 246, MLC 723 𐌹 𐌹 pJ *pi^rā[~] 'wide; fathom' > OJ piⁱrā[~] 'wide', J: T/Kg hiro[~], K hi^{ro} id., OJ piⁱā[~]rā[~], J T hiro 'fathom' 𐌱𐌹 S QJ #601, Mr. 408, 828 𐌱𐌹 DQA #96 [A *ba[~]r^{ri} 'wide (actually 'broad?'), thick'] 𐌹 D *par- ({GS} *p-) v. 'become large', adj./n. 'large' > Tm paru id., Ml paru 'gross, big', Kn hari, hariba 'a mass, multitude', Tu pariya 'plenty, much', OTl prabbu v. 'increase', Krx pard- 'grow in number, grow in size or age' 𐌱𐌹 D #3972, Km. 444 [#894] (reconstructs pSD *par-ump-/amp-) ♦ Cf. also FP *para 'good' [semantically nearer to N *paR^aiXi 𐌱happy, dear', q.v.] ♦ IS I 175 [#7] (IE, U, D, A). The presence of *? in the original form is suggested both by S *? and by the reflex *-r- in D (going back to *r^l+ cns., while N *-r^l- yields D *-r^l-). An alt. solution: N *bar[?]V 'thick' and *bar[?]V 'big, much' (the reg. D reflex of N *-r^l- is *-r-) ♦ 𐌱 Gr. II #235 (*pare 'large') [IE, U, Ai + qu. CK, Gil].

255. *bor₁ʔ₁u₁ 'brown, yellow' > **HS:** EC (Ss.) *boʔr-id., 'red, gray dark-coloured' > Rn {PG} bo⁻raⁿ 'brown', Sml {Ss.} bor-a 'gray, dirty', {ZMO} bo⁻re 'gray, ash-colour' (of cloth)' (× <4- bo⁻r 'dust'), Or bo⁻r-u⁻ 'ash-coloured, dim, dull', {Th.} bo⁻ra 'pale (bianco sbiadito), gray (cenerino, grigio)', {Grg.} bo⁻ra 'brown' (colour of cow), mud-colour', Kns po⁻r, pl. puʔʔur-, Gdl po⁻r- 'black', Arr {Hw.} burri¹, {Ss.} bur-iy-d.a, Dsn bu¹r, Elm burr-i-d.a 'red', Arr {Hw.} burrahad- 'become red', burras- vt. 'reddden', Brj 'bo⁻r-e⁻ 'yellow colour', Sd bo⁻ra 'ash-coloured', Kmb {L} bora 'gray, brown, dirty colour' ¶ Ss. B 39, PG 80, DSI 64, ZMO 44, Gs. 45, Th. 47, Grg. 56-7, Hw. A 350, L EDH 44, To. DL 488 || B {Pr.} *√brh₁m (< *√brʔ₁hm) > Ah bərumət, ETwl, Ty ibram/bəram 'être de couleur jaune paille', Ah ebərim 'chateau jaune paille' ¶ Fc. 95, GhA 10, NZ 113-4 || **IE** {EI} *b^her- 'brown' > NaIE *b^her-id. (→ 'a bear'), *brewH- id., *b^he-b^hru- 'brown' (→ 'beaver'): [1] *b^her- > Lt be⁻ras, Ltv be⁻rs 'bay (horse)' (with *e in the L-grade of apophony) || ON bjo⁻rn, NNr, Dn bjørn, Sw bjo⁻rn, OHG be⁻ro, NHG Ba⁻r, AS bera n. 'bear' > NE bear || [2] *b^hreu⁻H- > pGmc *bru⁻na- 'brown' > OHG, OSx, AS bru⁻n, NHG braun, NE brown || [3] *b^heb^hru- 'brown' (→ 'beaver') ({EI} *b^heb^hru-s 'beaver') (rdp) > OI ba⁻bhruh 'reddish-brown, brown', Av bawra- 'beaver', plrn *bawra- 'brown, yellow' > Ygn, Shgn vur id., Oss I bu⁻r, Oss D bor 'yellow', CINPrs {Vl., Sg.} rvB bo⁻r, NPrs rvB bu⁻r 'red, colour of the pistachio nut'; Irn b- Sl: R 'бурый, P bury 'brown'; Ary b- Ak Nz babrunnu 'bay' || L fiber - feber 'beaver' || Gl bebru-, Crn (4- OCrn) befer, Br {WH} bieu⁻z id. || Gmc *beβ(u)raz 'beaver' > ON bjo⁻r-r, OHG bibar, NHG Biber, OSx bivar, AS be(o)for, NE beaver || Pru bebrus id., Lt be⁻bras, Lt Δ bebru⁻s, Ltv be⁻brs || Sl *bebrъ ~ *bo⁻brъ id. > ChS, OR вєвръ bebrъ ~ вєвръ bobrъ, Blg бобѣр, Δ бѣбер, SCR da⁻bar, Δ bo⁻bar, Slv bo⁻ber, Cz bobr, Slk bobor, P bo⁻br, R бо⁻бр, бобр, Uk б° бр ¶ P 136, EI 57, 85, M K II 409, M E II 210, Vl. I 274, Sg. 206, Horn 49, Ab. I 271-2, WH I 490-1, ECCE 213, OsS 52, 59, 87, EWA I 563-5 & II 6-8, 374-7, Kb. 68, 71, 123, KM 50-1, 73-4, 97, Ho. 20-1, 36, Ho. S 8, 10, Vr. 40-1, SPS I 453, Frn. 38-9, En. 150, Tp. P A-D 203-5, Vs. I 180-1, 249, ESSJ I 174-5 & II 145-6, Glh. 186-7 || **II**: T *bor⁻ 'gray' > OT boz id. ({Cl., Dr.} OT bo⁻z with *unj.* long o⁻), Tkm boð, Tk boz 'brown, gray', Az boz 'gray', Ggz bo⁻z (with obscure length of the vw.); Tkm provides ev. for a short vw. in this stem; Chv рѣвр(ъ), Δ purlъ 'roan' (that was often adduced as a proof of a long vw. within the stem reconstructed as i bo⁻r') has been convincingly interpreted by IS as a loan from M *bu⁻yural ~ *bu⁻yurul 'roan' ¶ Cl. 388-9, Rs. W 82, IS I 183, ET B 171-73, Jeg. 146, Fed. I 394 || M *bora⁻u 'gray' > MM [MA] bora, [S] boro id., [HI] boro 'cendré', WrM boru, HIM бор, Brt боро, Kl бор bor_o, Mnr H {SM} b₋oro, {T} boro, Dx boron 'gray', Mgl boro⁻ 'dunkelgelb, gelbbraun' ¶ Pp. MA 121, H 19, Ms. H 42, Lew. II 21, MED 121, KRS 110, KW 51, Chr. 106, SM 28, T 318, T DnJ 112, Rm. M 24 ¶¶ DQA #191 [A *bor⁻v 'gray'] || ? **E:** NEI pu-ur-na 'brown' ¶ HK 242 ♦ Cf. IS I 183-4.

256. ? *b^hir⁻ʔ₁v₁d₁v 'hail' (and 'snow?') > **K** *°bard-(a)n- '(fresh) snow' > G bardni 'Schneepolster (z. B. auf Ästen)', bardn- 'schneien (in dichten Flocken)' ¶ Chx. 66 || **HS:** WS *ba⁻rad- 'hail' > BHb dr1B1 ba⁻ra⁻d⁻ 'hail', JA, Sr bar⁻d-a⁻ id., JEA {Sl.} bar⁻d-a⁻ 'ice', Md barda 'hail, ice', Ar draBa barad- 'hail', Sb brd 'cold weather, hailstorm', Gz barad 'hail, snow, hoar-frost'; WS *√brd G 'be cold, hail' > Ar √brd (pf. barada) v. 'be cold, hail', √brd (pf. baruda) v. 'be cold', BHb √brd G v. 'hail', Gz √brd G 'be cold, be covered with hail' ¶ KB 147, KBR 154, Sl. 242, Br. 95, MD 50, L G 103, Fr. I 105 || **II**: T *bu⁻r⁻ 'ice, hail' > OT buz, Tk buz, Tkm bu⁻ð, Az, Ggz buz, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Nog buz, Uz, ET, Qq, Qrg, Slr, Ln muz, Qzq mu⁻z, VTt b⁻z, Bsh b⁻ð, Alt mus, SY piz, Xk pus, Yk bu⁻s 'ice', Chv рѣр 'ice, hail' ¶ Cl. 389, ET B 238-9, Jeg. 147, Fed. I 398 ♦ *Qu.*, because we cannot rule out a S origin of the G stem, while the T cognate is problematic due to the absence of reflexes of N *d. The latter may be explained (ad hoc) as contraction *-r⁻d- > *-r⁻-, causing a compensatory lengthening of the vw.

257. ?? *b^hir⁻ʔ₁uw⁻qa 'edible fruit' > **K** {K} *br⁻qen, {K} *ber⁻qen, {FS} *ber⁻qwen 'wild pear, wild plum' > G Δ b(e)r⁻qena 'wild pear Pyrus clicifolia', Sv: UB bar⁻qwend, Ch ba⁻r⁻qwen, Lx ba⁻r⁻qen, L/Ls bar⁻qwen 'wild plum' ¶ K 54, K² 12, Chx. 80, FS K 50, FS E 51, TK 144, GP 91, Dn. s.v. bar⁻qwen || **IE:** NaIE *b^hru⁻g- 'fruit', v. 'use (as fruit)' (P: 'genießen, gebrauchen' ← 'sich Früchte zum Genusse abrechnen oder abstreifen', Mn.: 'use, benefit, product, profit') > L fru⁻g- (nom. fru⁻x, gen. -gis) 'fruit', Um acc. pl. FRIF, FRI 'fruges', L fru⁻gī (dat.: *'zum Gebrauche' =) 'useful', fruor (inf frui, pfc. fru⁻ctus sum) 'enjoy', fru⁻mentum 'corn', fructus (gen. -u⁻s) 'enjoyment; produce, fruit', Osc fruktatiuf (*fru⁻geta⁻tio⁻nis) 'fructus' || Gt bru⁻kjan (p. bru⁻hta) 'to make use of', OHG bru⁻chan, bru⁻chen, NHG brauchen, OSx bru⁻kan 'to need, use', AS bru⁻can 'make use of, enjoy', NE brook; Gt bru⁻ks, OHG

bru^hhi 'useful (brauchbar)', AS bryc̃'e 'useful' ? ? amb Gk φρυκτοῦ 'lottery bean' (unless derived from φρυγῶν v. 'roast' and originally meaning 'roasted [bean]') ¶ P 173, WP II 208, Mn. 106, WH I 552-3, EWA II 365-7, Bc. G 317, 336, F II 1046, Ch. 123, Fs. 107, OsS 86, KM 96, Ho. 36 II ?? HS: S: amb Ar birqu^q- ~ burqu^q- 'prunum, malum Armeniacum \ Persicum' (unless <b- Gk περκοκκτιον ~ προκοκκτιον id. <b- L praecox [Plinius: "Post autumnum maturescunt Persica, aestate praecocia"]') ¶ Fr. I 112, Steph. VII 157 II ? D *pir^ri^lka (~ *pir^ri^lla) ({GS} *p-) 'green mango fruit' > Kn pirika, prika, pirka, Png, Mnd prila id., Kui pr'ia, Ku pr'ila 'unripe mango fruit' (unless akin to S *piriy- 'fruit') ¶¶ D #4184 ♦ Cf. N *p.erE 'fruit'.

258. ??? 2 *bUs|c^v 'to rub, grind' > IE {P, EI} *b^hes- 'rub (off\away)' > OI bhas-: prs. 'babhasti 'chews, masticates, devours' (3p 'bapsati), bhas'ma 'ashes' || Gk βαίω, ῥαίω 'I rub away, grind down' || ? Al fshij- 'sweep, wipe, brush' ({EI}: < *b^hs-in-ye/o-) (but O 104 proposes a different et.) || ? amb Ht pes(s)- 'rub, scrub (with soap, etc.)' (unless somehow connected with IE *pei^s- 'zerstampfen, zermalmen', Ɔ P 796) ¶¶ P 145-6, EI 490, M K II 409, M E II 57, F II 1127, Frd. HW 108, Ts. W 62-3, CHD P 315 II U: FU *pus^cv-nv or *pusⁿv 'flour', v. 'strew' ('schütten') (× N *P.ogs^v 'dust') > Prm *puz^r / *puzⁿ- > Vt, Z piz^r 'flour', Vt piz^rna-ni, Z piz^rnav-ni- 'pour (schütten)' || pVg *pa^sən (or *po^sən) 'flour' > Vg: T {Mu.} pa^sən, {Kn.} P posən, ML pasən id. ¶ UEW 408-9, Coll. 110, LG 235; Rd. supposes that this √ refers to flour made of wild cereals ♦ Qu. , because FU *pus^cv^r has an alt. etymology. IS MS 358 (s.v. 'размелчат' *ba^s'v) equates the IE √ with U {Coll.} *pas^v [less plausible, because here the semantic distance is greater: acc. to UEW 357-8, U *pas^v means 'Loch, Öffnung, Spalt, Riß'].

259. *bu^l2^lvs^v 'bad' > HS: S *b^h2s^v 'be bad' > Ak bi^his^vu, bi^su 'bad', ba^ha^su v. 'be of bad quality, smell bad', Ar bi^hsa 'wie wiederlich!', b^h2s (pf. ba^hisa) v. 'be wretched, be unfortunate', BHb b^h2s^v G (pf. Sa2B1 ba^h?as^v) v. 'stink', N (pf. Sa2b6n5 nib^h?as^v) 'be hated', IA b^h2ys^v 'bad, evil', BA f. aT1S6ia5B6 ba^his^v-t-a^v 'böse', IA b^h2s^v {HJ} adj. 'bad, evil', JA b^h2s^v (pf. ba^h?es^v) v. 'be bad, unpleasant, wicked', JEA {Sl.} b^h2s^v d^v b^hys^v 'be sick, displeased', SmA b^h2s^v G 'displease', b^h2s^v n. 'disease', Sr G b^h2s^v 'be bad', '3ojlo ba^hys^va^v 'poor', Md b^hys^v 'be bad, evil', bis^v, bis^va 'bad, evil, wicked', OSA b^h2s^v v. 'be bad', Gz b^h2s (pf. ba^hasa, subj. ya^h-b^has) id., 'become worse' (→ Q {R} bis- 'schlecht\elend sein') ¶ HJ 142, L G 82-3, R QW 44, Vinn. SAN IV 201, KB 103, KBR 107, Sl. 183, Br. 56-7, Tal 78-9, DM 63 || ? EC *bus- 'be bad' > Sd {Hd.} bus^a 'bad', bus^v- 'be worse\bad', Hd/Kmb {C} bus^v- 'be cheap', Hd {Hd.} bus^v- 'become cheap', Or {Brl.} bosa 'lazy', bos^v-awu 'become lazy' ¶ AD SF 53, Hd. 23, 38, 273, 355, Brl. 63 || Ch: WCh: Ang b^h2s, Cp bi^s, Su bi^s 'bad' : Fy {J} ~bus^v id. || CCh: Dgh {Frk.} b^h2a^v ¶ ChC, ChL, J S 59 II IE: NaIE *b^hou^s- > Gmc *bau^{si}, *bau^{su}- > OSx bo^{sa} 'Posse', gi-bo^{si} 'Possen', OHG bo^{si} 'useles, cowardly, weak', bo^{sa} 'hardness, nothingness; Possen, lappisches Treiben', NHG bo^{se} 'bad, wicked, angry', OFrs ba^s-feng 'unzüchtiger Griff', Sw Δ bo^s 'wild' ¶ Ho. S 9, OsS 80, EWA II 252-5, Kb. 106, KM 93 II A: M *bus^la^j- > WrM busaki, HLM busxi 'bad, wicked'; Kl бусрм 'bad, evil, mean' ('дурной, скверный, недостойный') ¶ MED 140, KRS 122 [♦ ♦ Blz. LB #7b [incl. C, S, IE, M].]

260. *b^os^v 'to uncover, to peel', 'bare' > HS: C: Ag: Q {R} bes^v- v. 'be naked, deprived of sth.' || SC {E} *bas^v- v. 'be stripped bare or clean' > Irq bas^a 'field cleaned and dug up for cultivation, Kz bal- v. 'wash, clean' || Dh1 b,as^e-δ- v. 'strip bark away' ¶ AD GDS #1.29, E SC 134, EEN 32 || NrOm: Kf {C} bes^v- 'except' ('eccetto, fuori di...') ¶ C SE IV 416 || Ch: WCh *bus^v- (= {Stl.} *buc^v-) v. 'untie' > Bl b^h2d^v-, Krkr b^h2d^vu id. : NrBc *bu^c- > Wrj b^h2c^v-, Sir buz^vu, Jmb mbuz^v id. : SBc: Sy {ChL} b,2z^vtu id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 151 [#66], ChL; on my interpretation of S's WCh *c^v as *s^v cf. AD LOHS & LOHsa || S [*^v√nbs^v > Ar √nbs^v 'deterrer, tirer au clair'; S] (+ext.) *b^hs^r v. 'peel, skin' > Ar {BK} √bs^r 'peler en enlevant l'écorce, dépouiller d'écorce \ de peau extérieure', Jb √bs^r (pf. 'b^hs^rar) v. 'remove the old roof of a hut to put on a new one; skin (as an orange)'; S d^v *ba^s'ar- 'skin' (→ 'flesh' → 'one's child') > Ar bas^var- 'peau extérieure (chez l'homme), épiderme', 'homme, genre humain, l'humanité', bas^varat- 'épiderme', Mh b^h2s^vre^v 'skin, complexion', BHb r^h1B1 ba^s'a^r 'skin' (¶ 102.6, 119.120, Hiob 4.15), 'flesh, meat', Pun bs^r 'flesh; child, descendant', Ug bs^r {A} 'flesh, body', {OLS} 'flesh', IA bs^r 'flesh', BA r^h2B6 b^hs^var 'flesh, people, animals', JA r^h2B6 b^hs^var, ar!x6B5- ar!β6iB5 bis^r-a^v 'body, flesh, meat', JEA ar!x6B5 ~ ar!β6iB5 bis^r-a^v 'flesh, meat', Sr b^hs^var, bes^vra^v 'flesh, body', Sb bs^r 'flesh', Har, Grg Ch/Ez/Ed/En/Mh/Ms/Go/Gt ba^s'sa^r 'meat, flesh', Ak bis^ru 'little child' ¶ BK I 128-9, II 1184, Hv.

740, JJo. J 29-30, Jo. M 56, KB 156-7, KBR 164, JH 45, HJ 204, A #598, OLS 119, GB 120, 899, SL 207, Js. 199-200, BGMR 33, L G 110, L EDG III 159, CAD II 270, MiK I #1.41 ¶ ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 169 [#41] ¶ II IE: NaIE *b^hoso-, {EI} *b^ho'so-s 'naked, bare' > pGmc *baza- > OHG bar 'bare, naked, alone', NHG, Sw, Dn bar 'naked, bare', AS bær id. (> NE bare), ON berr 'naked; visible, clear' ¶ Ltv bass 'bare', Lt ba[~]sas id., 'bare-foot' ! Sl *bo[~]śъ (f. *bo'sa, dadj. *bosъjъ) 'bare-foot' > OCS, OR босъ bosъ, Blg бос, SCr bo[~]s (f. bo'sa), Slv bo[~]s, Cz bosy', P bosy, R бос, бо'сой id. ¶ Arm bok bok (< *b^hoso-go- or {EI} *b^hos-ko-?) id. ¶ P 163, EI 45, OsS 40, EWA I 465-6, Kb. 56, Ho. 15, Vr. 34, Sl. 347, Frn. 36, SPS I 340, ESSJ II 223-4, Vs. I 199, Glh. 142 II U: FU *pus[~]ś[~]v- v. 'peel, pluck, be worn out' > Vt Sr pos[~]t- 'abgetragen werden, sich zerfetzen' ¶ Hg foszt- v. 'pluck (a fowl), peel', fozsl- v. fray, get threadbare' ('sich fasern, schleifen, sich auftrennen') ! ObU: Vg: N {MK} pa[~]sli-~pa[~]sli- 'sich abwetzen', Ss {Kálm.} posl- 'sich zu einem Loch benutzen'; Os V pus in l'opī pus 'abgenutztes (Ober-)Kleid' ¶ UEW 409, MK 466, MF I 960.

261. *bos[~]ʕv (or ***bos[~]ʕv?**) 'breath' (> 'odour, steam, smoke') > **HS:** S *^o√bs[~]ʕ > Ar √bs[~]ʕ 'avoir l'haleine fétide' ¶ BK I 130, Ln. 209 II U: FU *pos[~]e 'breath, smoke' > pPrm *pos[~] 'breath, vapor' (acc. to LG) > Z pos[~]-ikti/-ki- v. 'puff, pant' ¶ pObU *po[~]s[~](-əm, -əŋ) 'smoke' > pVg *pa[~]s[~]əm id. > Vg: LK pa[~]s[~]əm, P pos[~]əm; pOS *posəŋ id. > Os: Nz pusəŋ, Kz pō[~]səŋ, O posəŋ ! Hg fu[~]st 'smoke, steam' ¶ LG 226, Ht. #544, MF 226, KrT 742, Stn. D 1231 II R: T *b[~]p[~]u[~]ś[~] 'mist, fog, steam' > OT {Cl.} bu[~]s, pu[~]s 'mist, fog', {MKD} bu[~]s 'mist, vapour', Tk pus, Δ bus 'light fog', Bsh bo[~] бъ[~]θ, Tv б[~]yc p[~]us 'steam', Tf p[~]us 'fog over an unfrozen patch of water in winter', Shor pus, ET bus, Chv па[~]ĕ p[~]ъs 'steam' ¶ Cl. 370, MKD 82, ET B 277, Rs. W 90, Jeg. 149, Fed. I 403-4, Md. 57, 175, Ra. 82 ¶ Cl. and Dankoff (MKD) reconstruct OT long u[~] on the only shaky basis of the Arabic plene spelling.

262. ? *b[~]a[~]t[~]v ± 'luck', 'good' > K: GZ {Fn.} *bed- 'luck' > G bed- 'fate, luck', Mg u-bad-o 'unlucky, unhappy', Lz bad- 'wrath' ¶ Fn. SK 92 [#25] II IE: NaIE *b[~]re'd-, {P} *b[~]had- 'good, fortunate' ({EI} ?? *b[~]eh[~]ad- 'good') > OI bhad'ra- 'fortunate, blessed, delightful', Av hu-baδra 'fortunate' ¶ Gmc *batiz ~ *bataz 'better' adv. > ON betr, OHG, MHG baō, NHG baß, OSx bat, bet, OFrs, AS be[~]t id., Gmc *batizan 'better' > Gt batiza, ON betri, AS be[~]tera, OHG be[~]ō ōiro, NHG besser 'better', NE better; Gmc *batistaz 'best' > ON beztr, OSx, AS be[~]tst, OHG be[~]ō ōist, NHG, NE best ¶ Sl {ESSJ} *^obedrъnъ > OCS бѣдрънъ bedrъnъ 'πλουσιος = plentiful, abundant' ¶ P 106, EI 236, M K II 467-8 (rejects the relation between OI and Gmc for phonetic reasons [without explicitly mentioning them]), M E II 244, Lunt B 128-33, Fs. 83, Vr. 34-5, OsS 43, EWA I 503-5, 577-8, KM 55, 70, Ho. 21-2, Ho. S 5-6, ESSJ I 182-3, SadA IV 261, ESJS 58 II R: Tg *badi 'yet, more, better' > Neg badi, badiġda 'still (more, stronger, better)', Orc ba[~]dæ, ba[~]dī id., Ud badi 'still more\stronger', Ul badi-ba[~]dī 'more (noch), again; too (zu); {PSchm.} 'more (болше)', badal-badala 'more and more (increasingly more)' ¶ STM I 63, Krm. 211 II ?? **HS:** √ S *^o√btt > amb Ar √btt 'omnino perfecit, perfectum reddidit', unless a secondary development from √btt 'to cut' ¶ Fr. I 81, BK I 81 ¶ C: Ag: Bln {R} bit-, Q {R} bet- 'satt \ reich \ wohlhabend sein' ¶ R WB 90 ¶ Cf. Blz. KM 113 [#2] (K, IE, A) ¶, ¶ Blz. 129-30 [add. to #2] (added Ag + *unc.* C and Ch reflexes of N *bAdv 'many', q.v.) The IE reflex of the medial cns. suggests a *-t-, the Tg reflex is ambiguous, while the K *-d- may be explained by *as*.

¶ **262a. ? *bot[~]v** 'dust' or 'ashes' > **HS:** Ch ± *but 'ashes': WCh: Bl {IL} bu[~]to', Krkr {IL} butaw, Grm {Sh.} bu[~]ta', Krf {Sch.} bu[~]to' ! Dir {Sk.} bu[~]tu' ! Ngz be[~]be'd. ¶ CCh: Ms {Mch.} bu[~]du, ZmB {J} bu[~]t, LmP {ChL} b[~]ut, Bdm {Nc.} bude'n, {Cfr.} p[~]a[~]d[~]a[~]n ¶ ECh: EDng {Fd.} bu[~]tu', Mgm {J} bi[~]tti', Brg bu[~]ti', Bdy bu[~]to' 'ashes', Jg {J} bu[~]t 'flour', bu[~]t k[~]o[~]ʔ[~]k 'ashes' ¶ JI II 4-5, ChC, ChL, AlJ 61 ¶ Om: NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} be[~]dna', Wl {LmS} bidinta, Dwr {LmS} bittenta, Malo budo', Dk {Fl.} buda, Bsk buda, Oyda {Bnd.} bu[~]dō, Drz {Bnd.} buddu 'ashes' ! SOm: Hm {Fl.} bidin-, Ari {Bnd., Fl.} bind-, Dm {Bnd., Fl.} bund- id. ¶ AD SF 241, Wdk. BY 119, LmS 315, Bnd. AL 144, Fl. OWL ¶ ¶ HSVA #75 (HS *bāt 'ashes' > Ch + *unc.* : Eg wbd 'burn; soot', Ah a-bat[~]ul 'roasting, baking in ashes'), ¶ OS #353 (HS *buwut- > Ch + *unc.* Eg wbd 'burn') II D *pot[~]i 'powder, dust' > Tm pot[~]i id., 'ash', Ml pot[~]i, Kt poyr', Kn pud[~]i 'dust, powder', Kdg pod[~]i 'powder, flour', Tu, Tl pod[~]i id., 'dust' ¶ D #4481, Zv. 102 (suggests an alternation *-t[~]-/*-t[~]-, finding *-t[~]- in Td pir'y 'dust', Prj por, podil, poyl 'flour, husk dust', Gdb poddu[~]l 'flour') ¶ Blz. LB #4d (Ch, D), ¶ Blz. LNA #4 (N *budi 'ashes'; hesitantly suggested to add M *buzar 'dirt(y)' to the HS-D equation). ¶

¶ 262b. *b'a''igUtV 'thigh, (calf of) leg' > HS *baɣʃVt- > S: Gz baʃaʔt, Amh, Gft bat 'calf of leg', ? Amh {R} ʃʔT baht 'Hüfte, Oberschenkel' ¶ L G 85, L GD 149 ¶ Gz a- may be due to a S derivational pattern || C: Dhl {To.} b.oʔti 'thigh' || EC: Sml {ZMO, DSI} bowdo f. 'thigh', {R} baʔudo f. 'Hüfte, Oberschenkel', Sml N {Abr.} boʔwdo 'thigh' ¶ To. D 130, ZMO 45, R SS II 69, Abr. S 34 || NrOm: Kf {C} baʔo- 'gamba, arto inferiore' ¶ C SE IV 417 || baʔt ▢ Tk. LAA-1 106 [#15] (HS *ʃbt 'leg') || A: NaT *buʔt 'thigh' > OT buʔt 'thigh, leg' (OT U but 'leg', OT QU [MhK] ÊvBu 'thigh'), Tk but, bud- 'rump, the buttocks', Tkm buʔt 'thigh' (бедро, лѣжа), Az bud 'Schenkel', Chg but 'leg', Xlj buʔt 'Schenkel, Oberschenkel', Yk buʔt 'thigh, leg', etc. ¶ ET B 280-2, Cl. 297, DTS 129, Rs. W 90, TrR 136, Rh. 391, DT 96; Dr. adduces here Chv pəzʔ- 'thigh' (allegedly from i buʔt-si 'his thigh'), which is doubtful (because *-si does not appear after cnss.); ET B 25-6 equates Chv pəzʔ- with Tk bacak and Ggz, CrTt, Kr baʔaq 'leg'; Jeg. 158 believes that Chv pəzʔ- is from NPRs áʔP paʔcʔe 'feet (of sheep, calves or other animals, esp. when boiled)' [Sg. 229], cf. Qrg Δ paʔycʔaʔ 'animal's leg' ¶ T *-tʔ < *-tt < *-gt? || Tg: [1] *begdi 'leg, foot' (S's *begdi- *bugdi) > Ewk, Orc, Ud begdi, Sln bəldir, Lm boʔdɪl, Ork bəzgi, Nn bəzgi 'leg, foot' || [2] *bVti-ke 'leg, thighs' > Jrc {Md.} bodixe, {Kiy.} bodihe, {S} budixe 'leg' (), WrMc betxe 'leg, foot, leg (of a bird)', Mc Sb {Y} /betəxə/ [bətɪx] ~ /betəkə/ [bətɪk] 'leg, foot, foreleg, hind leg, limb', Neg bətiɪx (flying boots which covers the thighs)', Nn bəɪɪx 'the part of shorts which covers the thighs' ¶ STM 118-9, 127, Y ##137, 2285, Hr. 89, Kiy. 125 [#505], Md. ChF 135, S AJ 209-10 [#45] ¶ S AJ 289 [#303] equates T *buʔt 'thigh, leg' with the Tg ʃ || D (in GnD) *pʔoʔtta > Png, Kui pota, Mnd pata 'calf of leg' ¶ D #4513.]

263. ?σ *bʔu''igʔXtA 'hunt, try to catch' > HS: WCh: pAG {Hf.} *b.wəyət v. 'tie, hobble' (if < *'catch by a lasso') > Gmy b.oʔt, Su b.wəyət, Ang {Hf.} b.aʔt id., Ang {Flk.} baʔt 'tie, bind', Su {J} b.wəyət 'binden', Kfr {Hf.} b.wəyət, {Nt.} b.wogət to tie' ¶ Hf. AG 18, Flk. s.v. baʔt, Nt. 46, J S 60 || S *ʔbyʔ > Ar ʔbyʔ '(suddenly) come upon sb., take sb. by surprise' (< *'catch') ¶ Ln. 228-9, BK I 144-5 || U {UEW} *puʔwtaʔ or {AD} *piwtaʔ v. 'hunt; try and catch (game/fish); follow the trail (of an animal)' > F pytaʔ- v. 'to hunt, to fish, to tray and catch (game/fish)' (→ 'ask, request, invite'), Vp puʔtaʔ 'to hunt, to catch (game/fish)', Es pʔuuʔd- / puʔuʔa- 'catch, try' || Sm: Slq: Nr {Cs.} puʔdap, Tz {Cs.} puʔtalʔam 'follow the trail (of an animal)', Kms {KD} pʔiderə- id. ('verfolgen, auf der Spur folgen') ¶ Not here (⇒ UEW) Ne: T пиде- pʔid-e v. 'chase away', T O {Lh.} pʔid-e, F Ny {Lh.} pʔicʔi- 'chase away (e.g. beasts of prey)' ({Lh.} 'verscheuchten, wegjagen', {Cs.} 'treiben, jagen'); this word belongs together with Slq Tz {Prk.} piti- 'frighten' < pSm {Jn.} *piytaʔ- id. < d pSm {Jn.} *piy- 'be afraid' ¶ Coll. 54, UEW 387 (U *piwtaʔ 'die Spuren eines Wildes folgen'), SK 676-7, ZM 446, Jn. 124-5, Ter. 462, Cs. 222, 170, KD 52 || ? A: AmTg *bogatu- v. 'hunt' > Orc baʔtu-, Ul baʔti- ~ buati- v. 'hunt', Neg boatv- ~ boyatu-, Nn Nh boato-, Nn B baʔtu- v. 'hunt (esp. for sable)', Ud baʔtu- 'spend the hunting season in the forest' (of hunters) ¶ STM I 87, Krm. 211 ¶ N *-g- preserved in Tg as *-g- (a rare case)? Cf. the cases of preservation of lrs. in U. The back vw. *-o- of the first syll. (< N *-ʔuʔ-) may be due to vowel harmony (infl. of *-a- of the next syll.).

264. *bitʔVʔʔV 'to hold' > HS: EC: Af {PH} i-bbid.e v. 'grasp, hold, keep', Sa {R} -bid-, p. 3s i-bid.aʔ (R: bal, p. i-bil.a) 'nehmen, erhalten', 'rauben, nehmen, ergreifen' ¶ R S II 82-3, PH 132 ¶ Sa, Af -d- is still obscure || ? S *ʔbtʔ > Ar ʔbtʔ G (pf. bataʔa) ~ ʔbtw G (pf. taBa bataʔ, ip. -btuʔ) 's'arrêter, faire halte' ¶ BK I 82, 84 || Ch: Mu {Lk.} boʔda 'ergreifen', {J} buʔdiʔ v. 'hold', boʔt / buʔwaʔt id. ¶ Lk. ZSS 181, ChC || U: FV *pitaʔ- v. 'hold' > F pitaʔ-, Es pida (prs. pean) id. || Er pēdʔa- vi. 'stick to, cling close to, press to' ¶ But not here (⇒ UEW) ObU *paʔtʔ/*pit- v. 'fall'; cf. N *p.aʔtV 'to fall' ¶ Coll. 108, UEW 386, Ht. 180 [#551] || D *pitV v. 'grasp, hold' > Tm pit.i v. 'catch, grasp, carry, keep back', pit.i n. 'hold, clutch, seizure by hand', Ml pit.i 'grasp, hold, closed hand', Kt pirʔc- v. 'clench (hand), pirʔy 'handful', Kn pid.i v. 'seize, hold', Kdg pud.i v. 'catch, hold', Tu hid.i n. 'hold, grasp', Tl pid.i 'handle, hilt, handful', Prj pid.k- v. 'embrace', Gnd pʔid.anaʔ v. 'snatch, catch' ¶ D #4148 ♦ Sa, Af -d- points to the presence of a lr. (-d- < *tH-), which is *ʔ (on the ev. of S *ʔbtʔ, if it belongs here) ♦ IS MS 339 s.v. 'депжа' *pʔitʔ (U, D).

264a. ? *butʔʔV 'to grow' [intr.], 'to sprout' > HS: S *ʔbtʔ > Ar bitʔ- 'big, tall' (of a person), ʔbtʔ G (pf. batiʔa) 'avoir une belle encolure, longue et robuste' (se dit d'un cheval), 'être robuste et ferme' ¶ BK I 83 || D *pot- ~ *put- 'to grow, sprout' > [1] Tm pot.i- 'spring up, shoot', Ml pot.iyuka v. 'spring

up, ooze out', pot.ikka id., sprout', Krb pod.e 'sprout of grain', Kn pod.e 'a pregnant ear of corn, an ear of corn just before shooting forth', Tu pot.t.æ 'tender ear of corn', Tl pot.t.akar_(r.)a 'unopened ear of corn, tender ear of corn just formed', Prj pot. 'grain in embryonic stage'; [2] (× *put. 'be born'): Td put. vi. 'grow (of grass, tree, hair)', Kdg put.t. 'be born, (seed) sprouts' ¶¶ D ##4264, 4482 || **A** *but- > NaT *buta- 'sprout, bough, twig' > Nog butaq id., Qzq bu˘tanaq 'small bough, branch, snag', ? bu˘ta 'bush, shrub', Qrg butaq 'twig'; (× T but- 'cut' < N ***but**, ∇ 'to cut, cut off, cut into pieces'): Qzq bu˘tala- 'to cut shoots\twigs', Qrg buta- 'cut twigs, clean the tree from twigs\branches' ¶ Rs. W 8, NogR 91, MM 116, Sht. 66, Jud. 163 || M *buta **■**tuft (touffe) of plants, thicket (Gebüsch), bush' > MM [S] {H} buta 'Dickicht, Grasbusch, Gestrüpp', WrM buta, HlM бѹт 'bush, brushwood, thicket', Ord {Ms.} b_u˘t'a 'buissons, broussailles, touffe', Kl бѹт but_U 'bush, shrub; bunch of flowers', {Rm.} 'Gebüsch, Strauch', Mgr H {SM} b_ud_a˘ 'herbes\plantes croissant en touffe', Mgr H {T} buta˘, Mgr M {T} buta 'bunch (пучок)' ¶ H 24, MED 141, KRS 122, KW 63, Ms. O 100, SM 31, T 320 ♦ A *-t- < N *t-. We reconstruct *ʕ rather than *ɣ because *-tɣ- is likely to yield *-d- rather than A *-t-.

265. ? ₂ ***bat**, ∇ **■**cold; to feel cold, freeze' > **U**: FU (att. in Ugr) *pXttV~*pXtV 'snow-ice-crust', v. 'freeze, feel cold' > pObU *pu˘t- 'ice-crust' > pVg *pu˘t- id. > Vg: Yk нѹт, Ss put id., Sg put-wit 'Wasser über dem Eis (am Moor, Fluß); pOs *put > Os: D/O pot, Nz put, Kz pōt 'Schneerinde, Eisschicht', pOs *pat- > Os: V pat- 'frieren, ge-zu-er-frieren', D pot- id., 'kalt werden', O pat- id., 'sich abkühlen', Vy pat-, Ty/Y pa˘t-, K pot-, Nz/Kz pōt- 'frieren' : OHG fa˘z-, Hg fa˘zik 'freeze, feel\be cold' ¶ Ht. #549, MF 185-6, ≠ UEW 414-5 (Ugr ÷ [with a query] Sm *p̄ra˘ - vi. 'burn' [Jn. 114]; pU *pXrV), ≠ Rd. UJ 43 [#50] (U б>Y K [IN] pe˘dз 'burn') || **A**: Tg *batun 'frozen ground' > Ewk batun, Ul ba˘tu(n-), Nn bato˘, batv˘ id., Lm batъn id., 'hard, hardened' (of fround, ice, snow), batъn- 'get frozen' (of ground, ice)', WrMc batun 'frozen ground, lower layers of ice' ¶ STM I 77 ♦ Not here the D stem, represented by Tm pad.iseṃu 'a cold, catarrh, Prj pad.com id., Gnd par'sa id., Δ por'sa 'rheum of nose', Δ parsa˘, parsum 'a cold', which, to D App. #48, goes back to OI pratis'ya˘ya- (> Marathi pad.se) 'cold in the head' (Tu. #8604).

¶ **265a.** ***bit**, ∇ 'louse' > **HS**: C: Ag {Ap.} *bāt- 'louse' > Bln {R} bi˘ta˘ ~ be˘ta˘, Q {R} be˘ta˘, Xm {R} bet˘ta˘, Km {CR} bi˘ta˘ (pl. bi˘t) 'louse' ¶ R WB 90, CR K 181, Ap. AV 8 || ? φ B √fVd̄j̄d̄ > Ah afu˘d̄j̄d̄ 'petit pou gris de chameau', Izn.Rf/SrSn {Rn.} afδ̄j̄δ̄ 'tique (acarieu femelle gros et gris)', Shl afd̄ud̄ 'tique des moutons\chameaux\bovins', Fgg afd̄j̄d̄ 'parasite des chameaux', BSn afd̄j̄d̄ 'pou des chiens' ¶ Fc. 305, Rn. 297, NZ 532 || Ch:WCh: Ngz {Sch.} b.a˘b.ə˘t 'flea' || Ech: Smr {J} ba˘d̄.a˘da˘r 'flea', as well as (?) words for 'mosquito': Smr {J} be˘de˘ 'mosquito', Nd D {J} bi˘de˘, Tmk {Cp.} betz, bə˘˘d̄ ¶ ChC, Sch. DN 28 || **A**: T *bit ~ *bit̄, {Md.} bi˘t˘V 'louse' > OT, Cmn XIV, MOg XIV bit 'louse', MQp bit 'bug', Tk bit, Tkm, Az, Ggz, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qq, Qzq, Qrg, Uz bit, Nog biyt, VTt, Bsh бет быт, Xk pit, Yk bit, Tv, Tf b_ı˘t, SY pis˘t, Chv пѣѣга˘ piyd˘ 'louse' ¶ Cl. 296, ET B 151-2, Rs. W 76, Md. 75, Jeg. 172 || ? **D** (in NED): Krx put_Ungi˘ ~ put_Ungi˘ 'midge', Mlt putgi˘ 'sand-fly'; D б> OI puttika˘- 'gnat' ¶ D #4203 || ? φ **K**: Mg bic˘.a 'tick' ♦ D *u (from N *i) may be due to the labializing infl. of *b-. An alt. rec. (N *bu˘tV) implies a hyp. of T delabialization and hence less plausible ♦ AD GDRV 61 (C, T), Blz. LB #105a & Blz. LNA #6 (suggested to add D).]

266. ***but**, ∇ 'to cut, cut off, cut into pieces' > **HS** *√bt. > WS *√bt.t. > Ar √bt.t. (pf. bat.t.a) 'percer un ulcère, un clou', Amh {DRS} bēt.t.a 'entailler', as well as possibly CS *√bdd v. 'separate' (< **√bt.t. by as ?) > Ar √bdd id., BHb ddIBI ba˘˘d̄.a˘˘d̄ 'alone', (act. prtc. G) bo˘˘d̄.e˘˘d̄ 'alone, solitary' ¶ BK I 134, KB 105, KBR 109-10, DRS 59-60 || B *√bd̄H > Kb əb̄δ̄.u (pf. 3s yəb̄δ̄.a) 'partager, séparer', Tdq {Fc.} əbd̄.u 'être séparé, se séparer', Izd bd̄.u (pf. 3s i-bd̄.a, hab. bāt.t.a) 'partager, séparer', BSn əbd̄.a id., CM bdu 'partager, être partagé', Sll {Ds.} ə˘bd̄.v (pf. ibd̄.a) 'partager' ¶ Mrc. 233, Dl. 11, Fc. 32, NZ 27-8 || C {AD} *bVt. > LEC *bVd. > Sa {R} -bal. (= -bad̄.), p. 'i-bid̄.a˘' 'abtrennen, wegreißen', aba˘l.a˘, a˘bl.a˘ 'part, half', Af {PH} abd̄.a 'half, part', Sml {ZMO}, Sml N {Abr.} bad̄. 'half' ¶ R S II 82-3, ZMO 26, PH 28, AD SF 248 || NrOm: Kf {C} boto˘ 'share, part' ¶ C SE IV 417 || Ch: WCh: Bl {Lk.} b.ot-, Gera {ChL} b.e˘di˘-mi˘, Grm {ChL} b.a˘t v. 'cut' (mte *b...t. > *b...t) ¶ JI II 96, ChL || **A**: NaT *buta- ~ {Cl.} *butr- v. 'cut off branches, prune a tree' > OT {Cl. after MhK} buta-, butr- v. 'prune', {MKD} butr- 'cut branches of a tree', OOsM, MQp buda- v. 'prune', Tk buda- 'die Zweige beschneiden', VTt б̄ та- б̄ ˘ta-, StAlt b_uda-, Xlj pu˘ta- id. ¶ Rs. VW 91, Cl. 300, DTS 129, MKA II 141 & III 317, MKD 82, DHST 296 ||

M *buta- > MM [MA] buta- 'cut off, hit'; M *buta adv. 'in fragments\pieces', 'into pieces' [× N *ba^ogut. V 'to kick, push?'] > WrM buta, HIM, Kl бут, Brt бута adv. 'in fragments\pieces, into pieces'; M butara- > MM butara- vi. [MA] 'desintegrate, break into pieces (распасться, развалиться, рассыпаться)', [S] 'auseinanderstieben', WrM butara-, HIM бутра- v. 'break to pieces, smash', Brt, Kl бутар- vi. 'break, be smashed', Kl бутр-, {Rm.} butr- 'be dispersed, zerstreut werden', Ord b_uht'ara- 's'échapper sous forme d'étincelles (feu)', Mnr H {SM} p'ud_3ra- 's'élever dans l'air (comme la poussière), se disperser', caus. MM [HI] butara√ul- 'laisser se disperser', WrM butaragul-, HIM бутруула- 'let desintegrate' ¶ H 24, Ms. H 44, Lew. II 22, Pp. MA 126, Pp. VG 121, MED 141, Chr. 116-7, KRS 122, KW 63, Ms. O 100, SM 304 || ?σ Tg *bute, *butekte- 'break into pieces', *butekte 'piece' (× N *ba^ogut. V 'to kick, push?') > Lm bu-t- 'break, beat, split', Ewk butukt3 'piece', Neg boktaxa-n, Nn Nh boqta- 'splinter'; Ewk but3kt3-, Ud bukta- 'split', Lm bu-t3q- 'break off', Orc buktaga- 'break', Ul buqta-, Nn boqta- 'crack' ¶ STM I 116 II D {Pf.} *putt-/ *put-V-, *put-V-k- ({GS} *p-) v. 'cut off, cut in pieces' > Klm put- v. 'cut in pieces, pluck (flower), break (rope)', Nkr put- v. 'cut, pluck', Nk put- vi. 'be cut, break', Krx pud^ug-na- v. 'pluck out (hair, etc.), strip (fowl) by plucking' ¶¶ D #4277, Pf. 75.

267. 2 *but. V 'pistachio tree\nut' > HS: S *but_{1u,n}id. > BHb pl. Min%y6B1 bot.nim 'nuts of Pistacia terebinthus L.', JA but.m-a-, JEA {Sl.} amly5uB but.m-a-, Sr bet.m-a't-a- id., Ar but.m- 'térébinthe (arbre), térébinthine', Gz (<b Ar?) bat.m~bu.t.m 'terebinth tree', Ak but.n-u 'terebinth tree\wood', bu.tn-atu, but.um-t-u, but.t.utu 'pistachio tree\wood\nut' ¶ KB 117, KBR 121, Sl. 190, Js. 147, L G 114, CAD II 358-9, Löw I 192 II A: NaT *buturga-k > OT (Cl.) buturya-q 'a thorn tree shaped like a pistachio tree, which has thorns which catch the clothing' (MKA I 502), {MKD} 'burr', SbTt Tr {Rl.} buturyaq 'a tree which has split and is bound round to save it from collapse'; NaT *bitrik 'pistachio nut' > OT [MhK] bitrik id. ¶ Cl. 307, 309, MKD 74, 82, Rl. IV 1857, DTS 104, 130 ♦ AD NM #58, S CNM 14, ≠ Vv. AEN 9 (rejects the T etl. doublets on the false presumption denying the very existence of doublets, though they do exist in lgs. if a √ is found in different phonetic conditions [incl. phonetic infl. of affixes], undergoes lexical attraction, analogy, etc. - cf. NE off and of, life [lai_f] and live [liv], Fr homme and on, BHb 'leb_heart' and le'b_a_b id. - both from *libab-um).

268. *ba^ogut. V 'to kick, push' > HS: CS *b^ogt. > BHb yob √bft. G v. 'kick', {KB} 'ausschlagen', MHb, JA √bft. G {Js.} v. 'trample, strike, kick', JEA {Sl.}, Sr √bft. G v. 'kick' ¶ KB 136, KBR 142, Js. 180-1, Sl. 224, Br. 83, JPS 50, DRS 74 || EC: Af {PH} bofto 'bang, clang, knock, tap', Sa {R} bot.'o- 'Schlag, Hieb, Stoss', bot.'o-~einen Schlag, Hieb bekommen', bot.'is- 'einen Schlag, Hieb, Stoss geben' ¶ PH 72, R S II 92 || Ch: WCh: pAG {Stl.} *bet v. 'push' > Su {J} be't 'niederschlagen, stoßen', Ang {Flk.} be't/ba't v. 'push, butt', Cp {Kr.} bet v. 'push' ¶ Stl. ZCh 240 [#1], J S 59, Flk. s.v., ChL II IE: NaE {Mn.} *b^hau_d- (= {P} *b^ha~wd-) / {P} *b^hud- v. 'beat, chastise', {EI} *b^heu_d- (prs. *b^hou.dei_) 'strike, beat' > Gmc {Wt.} *bau_t- v. 'strike' > ON bauta 'to beat', AS be'atan / p. beo(f)t id., NE beat; MLG bo'ten, OHG bo'ô an or bo'ô en ^dpauô en / p. bieô 'push, strike (contundere)', {EWA} '(zer)stoßen, (zer)schlagen', MHG bo'ôen 'to strike, beat', bo'ô 'Schlag' || OIr {Vn.} buailid 'il frappe, bat, attaque'; ?σ MBr {Flr.} bevez 'guilty', OIr {Vn.} bibdu id., 'enemy' (< *b^he-b^hud-wots) || Lt bauda 'fine, penalty', bau~sti (prs. bau~dz'iu) 'to punish' ('strafen, züchtigen') ¶ P 112, EI 549, Mn. 67-8, Vr. 29, Ho. 18, OsS 81, EWA II 270-2, Kb. 109, Lx. 25, Vn. B 49, 109, Flr. 82, AHDI 6, ≠ Frn. 62 (bauda ÷ Lt bude'ti 'to be awake') II A *but' V 'beat, hit, break' > pKo {S} *putric- 'hit, bump, collide' > MKo putric-, NKo putic- pudit- ¶ S QK #928, Nam 265, MLC 812 || pJ {S} *pu't- 'beat, hit' > J: T bu't-, K/Kg bu't- ¶ {S}: an expressive voicing *p- > *b- ¶ S QJ #1397, Mr. 680 || M *buta- > MM [MA] buta- 'cut off, hit', M *buta adv. 'in fragments\pieces', 'into pieces' (× N *but. V 'to cut, cut off, cut into pieces', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ Tg *bute- 'break into pieces' (< 'beat?'), *butekte 'piece', *butekte- 'break into pieces' (× N *but. V, q.v. ffd.) II ? D [1] D *pot_- ({GS} *p-) v. 'winnow, strike, beat' > Tm put.ai v. 'winnow, thresh, beat, strike', pot.i v. 'be broken to pieces', Kt por'c- v. 'winnow', Td pur'f- id., v. 'flap (a branch in cleaning house)', pur' 'beating', Kn pod.e v. 'strike, beat', Tu pud.epuni, pod.epuni v. 'winnow, fan', bot.t.uni v. 'beat (as a drum), hammer (as metal), knock (as a door)', Tl pod.ucu v. 'fight', Gdb po'd.u 'fight', Png pod_- v. 'hit (not to miss)' || [2] D (in SD) *po't_- ({GS} *p-) v. 'strike, cast' > Tm po't.u v. 'cast down, strike, beat, stump', Ml po't.uka v. 'strike (as a wedge into timber), put', Tu pa'd.uni v. 'throw, cast,

fling' ¶¶ D ##4252, 4581, Km. 439-40 [#871] ¶¶ D *-t_l- points to a de-emphatized *-t- < *-øgt_l- < *-øgut_l-.

268a. *bagi_lt_l∇ 'be quick, sudden' > **HS:** S *^oby_t > Ar √by_t G 'arriver \ survenir soudain et à l'improviste', bayt-at- 'événement inattendu', éAta90Ba bayt-at-an 'soudain, subitement, à l'improviste' ¶ BK I 144-5 [† || Ch: WCh: Ang {Flk.} vwo't, Anf H {Flk.} bwo't 'quickly, at once', Dr {Nw.} bu't 'suddenly, on the run' ¶ Flk. 154, Nw. KL 122, ▢ Tk, LAA-1 107 [#22] ¶¶ **II A:** M *bacim (< *bat_l-) 'hasty, urgent, quick' > WrM, WrO bacim, HIM бачим id., Brt башам 'urgent, pressing (спешный)', Kl бачм бас'ым id., {Rm.} bac'm_o, bac'im 'schnell, hurtig', Ord b_{ac}'im 3'oc'im 'à l'improviste', b_{ac}'im_da- 'être très pressé' ¶ MED 65, Chr. 92, KRS 86, Krg. 329, KW 36, Ms. O 58 || T **I** *ba_t ~ *pa_t 'quickly, extremely' > OT bat 'quickly', Chg bat 'quick(ly)', Tk pat, Uz bat, ET {Nj.}, ET Tr {Rl.} pat, Qrg bat 'quickly, soon', Tkm ba'dna 'immediately, right away', Tv p'at 'extremely, completely' ¶ Cl. 296, Rs. W 65, TkR 65, TvR 345, Nj. 238, Rl. IV 1173, 1508 ¶¶ Pp. VG 134 (M, T), Rm. SKE 146-7 (Ko, M, T), ▢ SDM97 (A *pa_t't'e 'quick, swift', incl. T, M) **II D** (in SD) *pat_l(t_l)- ({GS} *p-) 'hasty, sudden' > Tu pat.t.a 'suddenly', Kt pat.akn 'suddenly, with a jerk', Tm o₂ pat.apat.t.appu 'precipitancy', pat.apat.a 'be overhasty' ¶ D #3842 ¶ D *-t_l- < pre-D *-d- < (as) *-yt_l- ♦ T *p- (for *b-) may be due to the ideophonic factor. In view of S and M a rec. of N *p- is less plausible.

269. *bu_lw_lt_l∇ 'lower part of the body' > **HS:** S *bu_t- > Md but.a 'bottom, anus', NMd bo_t.a 'Hintern, Anus', Sr *^ow_lu bu_t.a_l 'anus, podex', NNEA {Mcl.} 't-wē] bu_t.a_l 'penis'] WS (or CS?) *bat_l∇jn- 'belly' > BHb Ny3B3 'bet.en 'belly, internal organs', OCn [EA] ba-at-nu-ma 'belly', IA nyb bt.n id., JA [TrgOJ] an!y6B2 bat.'n-a_l, JA {Js.} an!y6B5 bit.'n-a_l 'belly', JEA anyb bt.n? (unk. voc.) 'womb', Sr bat.n-a_l 'conceptio', Ar bat_n- 'ventre', Tgr bet_n, Har bet_{ni} id. ¶ KB 116-7, KBR 121, JH 34, HJ 151, Sl. 198, Js. 158, DM 54-5, 58-9, Mc. NM 205, PS 464, 513-4, Mcl. 27, BK I 138, DRS 51, 60, MiK I #1.42 ¶ If the Tgr & Har words are Arabisms, the stem is CS || B *bu_d- > BSn bo_d 'fond', Mz bud 'fond, cul' (pl. ibud_{aw}ən ~ ibat_tən), Izd {Mrc.} abud (pl. ibat_tən) 'fond, extrémité, orifice anal', CM abud ~ bud 'fond, partie basse', Fgg bud 'fesse; anus', Shw bud 'fond, pied de végétaux', Ah {Fc.} buyəd 'avoir des fesses décharnées', Ntf abud 'bottom of a vessel', Nf {Bgn.} bu_t 'base, pied'] ?? B *^oq^od_n > Ah a.had_{un} '15^{me} nuit du mois lunaire' (< **'middle') (× N ***P_{ant}∇** 'belly', q.v.) ¶ Fc. 518, ≠ Pr. H 29, NZ 28-9 [† Bgn 278] || C: EC: Rn be'yd_o 'buttocks', be'd_ey 'buttock', Sml {ZMO} bad_i 'buttocks, tail of sheep', Sml N {Abr.} ba'd_i 'buttocks; buttocks of sheep' [† , ? Dsn {Fl.} bedi 'foot', Sd bad_e 'back, behind', {Mrn.} 'dorsom dietro' ¶ PG 76, ZMO 26 [† , Blz. DL s.v. 'foot', Hd. 351, Mrn. S 207] || ?? NrOm: Kf {C} ba_to_l 'leg, hind leg' ¶ ▢ AD SF 240-1, C SE IV 417 || Ch: WCh: Hs b_u't_iya_l 'anus' ¶ Ech: Brg {J} [† ba_j.a_l 'anus', EDng {DjM} ba'd_{ya} 'fesse'] (× N ***bod∇** 'body, belly?'):] (Stl.} *b_ut_l∇ 'belly, womb' > Su {J} b_ut 'Bauch, Inneres', Ang {Flk.} b_ut 'belly, pregnancy', {Brq.} b_{wu}t 'stomach', Mnt b₃t 'belly', Kfr {Nt.} b_ut 'belly, side', Gmy {Hf.} b_{et}, Tal {Sh.} b_ut^h 'belly', Chip {ChC} yi'm-b_ut 'intestines' : GJ {Kr.} b_ot_i id. : Fy {J} b_ut_o 'belly' ¶ Ech: Brg {J} bu_tu_{ri} 'belly'] ¶ Stl. ZCh 157 [#113], [† Abr. H 127, DjM 32] J S 60, Nt. 4, Hf. AG 17, Brq. AP, ChC s.v. 'belly, 'anus' ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 104 [#7] (*_lbt. 'bottom. back') & ▢ 104 [#4] [HS *_lbd 'bottom, lower part' (B, CCh.)] **II IE:** NaIE *b_hud^h-men 'lower part, bottom' (in some lgs. transformed into *b_hud^h-mo-, *b_hud^h-no > *b_hund^ho-), {EI} *b_hud^h-no- 'bottom' (× N ***bod∇** 'body, belly' [q.v.]) > OI budh'nah. 'bottom, ground, base', Av bu_no_l id. : Gk π^oμ^oν 'hollow bottom or stand of a cup, bottom of the sea, bottom\stock\root of a tree' : L fundus 'bottom of sth., ground, soil' : OIr bond, bonn 'plante de pied, base, sol' : Gmc: OSx bothom, OHG bodam, NHG Boden, ON, Ic, NNR botn, Sw botten, Dn bund, AS botm ~ bodan 'bottom, ground', NE bottom ¶ WP II 190, P 174, EI 247, Dv. #443, M K II 438, ME II 228-9, F II 620-1, WH I 564-5, EWA II 222-5, Vn. B 69, Ho 31, Ho. S 9, Vr. 51, KM 88 ¶ IE *-d^h- for *-t- is due to the IE incompatibility law (no mediae aspiratae + tenues in the same √) and to contamination with N ***bod∇** '¶' **II U:** FU *put_l∇ 'rectum, large intestine' (× N ***P_ul_wt_l∇** 'hole') > Lp S {Lgc.} pu_ht_lε-k_ε 'rectum' : pObU *pu_t∇ > Vg N {MK} puti 'large intestine', Os Nz pu_tə, Os Kz pu_ti_l id., 'rectum', ¶ UEW 410 (< ?), Lgc. #687, MK 487 **II A:** NaT *bu_t 'thigh' > OT bu_t 'thigh, leg' (OT U but 'leg', OT QU [MhK] ÊvBu 'thigh'), Tk but, bud- 'rump, the buttocks', Tkm bu_t 'thigh (бедро, л_oжа)', Az bud 'Schenkel', Chg but 'leg', Xlj bu_l 'Schenkel, Oberschenkel', Yk bu_t 'thigh, leg', etc. ¶ ET B 280-2, Cl. 297, DTS 129, Rs. W 90, TrR 136, Rh. 391, DT 96; Dr. adduces here Chv pz_z'_l 'thigh' (allegedly

from ĭbu't-sr 'his thigh'), which is doubtful (because *-sr does not appear after cnss.); ET B 25-6 equates Chv рыз'ъ with Tk bacak and Ggz, CrTt, Kr баз'ақ 'leg'; Jeg. 158 believes that Chv паз'а is from NPrs а*P рә'с'е 'feet (of sheep, calves or other animals, esp. when boiled)' [Sg. 229], cf. Qrg Δ pa'yc'a' 'animal's leg' || ?? Tg *bvti-ke 'leg, thighs' > Jrc {Md.} bodixe, {Kiy.} bodihe, {S} budixe 'leg' (Kiy. 125 [#505], Md. ChF 135, S AJ 209-10 [#45]), WrMc betxe 'leg, foot, leg (of a bird)', Mc Sb {Y} /betəxə/ [bətɪx] ~ /betəkə/ [bətɪk] 'leg, foot, foreleg, hind leg, limb', Neg bətxəz (flying boots which covers the thighs)', Nn bəz'xəz 'the part of shorts which covers the thighs' ¶ STM 118-9, 127, Y ##137, 2285, Hr. 89 ¶¶ S AJ 289 [#303] equates T *bu't 'thigh, leg' with the Tg √ *begdi 'leg, foot' (S's *begdi- *bugdi) (> Ewk, Orc, Ud begdi, Sln bəldir, Lm bo'ḏɪl, Ork bəgzɪ, Nn bəgz'i 'leg, foot', Ƒ S AJ 209-10 [#45], I acceptable only if we assume a *mt*. It is possible that Tg *begdi represents a quite different √, that has influenced the meaning of Mc betxe and the cognate Jrc word II ?σ,φ D (in SD) *put,a- ({GS} *p-, *-d-) 'side, place' (< *'bottom') > Tm put.ai, put.am 'side, place', Ml put,a, Kn hod.e 'side', Tu pud.æ 'border, edge, side' ¶ D #4254 ¶ D {GS} *-d- (for the expected *-t-) is still to be explained ◆ IS II 102-3: N *p'oz'qa/p'odqa 'thigh', i.e. ***p.oqE3'V- *p.o3'VqV** 'thigh, haunch' [q.v.] ĭ ÷ T *bu't (reconstructed as *pu't).

270. ? *bAxa 'be(come) visible, appear' > **K** *me-px-e 'clear sky, fine weather' > Lz mapxa-, Sv U/L me'pxe, LB/Ln mepxe 'cleared up (sky), clear space' ¶¶ Hardly connected (⇔ K 133) with K *px- 'be warm' ¶¶ K 133, K² 120, □ Chik. 188-9, TK 570, GP 218, Dn. s.v. ma'pxe II D *pakal- ({GS} *b-, *-y-) 'visible' > Kt бага'l 'conspicuous' (of a view from a high place), Kn bayal, bayil, baylu 'conspicuousness, celebrity', Tu bayilə, bailə adj. 'public', Tl bayalu 'outside, exterior', 'clear, evident', Gnd bayul 'open space of ground', Knd baylu 'open space', Ku baylu 'maidan', bayalu 'field' ¶¶ D #3940 II ? **IE**: NaIE *b^ha- 'appear, become visible' [x NaIE *b^he- / *b^ho- / *b^hə- 'glänzen, leuchte, scheinen' < ***beha- *ba''ha** 'to shine, be bright'] > Gk πεφν'σεται 'will appear', φαι'νω (aor. ἔφηνα, Gk D ἔφα'να) 'make appear' :: Arm banam bana-m v. 'open, discover, disclose' (< *'make visible') :: ? Tc A pa'ka'r, Tc B pa'kri {Ad.} 'clear, obvious', {Wn.} 'ouvertement, publiquement', Tc B {Ad.} pa'kre □ 'in the open' ¶ WP II 122-3, P 104-5, cf. EI 352-3, 513 (*b^heh₂- 'shine'), F II 982-4, Wn. 350-1 (all of them do not distinguish this √ from *b^he- 'shine, be bright'), Ad. 364 II ?? **HS**: S *byw/y > Ar √byw (pf. '9aBa bayā-) 'sortir d'une embuscade et fondre sur sa proie' (hardly etymologically identical with √byw 'dépasser, excéder les limites' < ??? N ***begV** 'much') ¶ BK I 147 ◆ *Qu.* (the K, IE and Ar roots may be explained otherwise).

271. *b'u''qaxa (or ***b'u''qqa**, ***bu''yχqqa**?) 'to beat, strike' > **IE** *b^hei_H-/b^hiH- ({EI} *b^hei_HA-) 'strike' > NaIE *b^heyə-/b^hi- v. 'beat' > Av {P} byente 'sie bekämpfen, schlagen' :: ? Arm bir bir (gen. bri bri) 'large stick, club, cudgel' :: ? L [Fest.] perfine's · 'perfringa's' (2s conj. 'break [through, in pieces]') [{EM]: *na- present of *b^hei_H-] :: OIr ben- 'strike, beat', ro-br'th 'was beaten', br'the 'beaten', 1s ft. br'u '(whom) shall I beat?', {P} be'imm 'Schlag' (< *b^hey-smn_o), OW etbinam [γ] 'lanio', W {YGM} bid 'lopped hedge', {Vn.} bidio 'tailler une haie', OBr [γ] bedioc 'caedes' ({Flr.} 'action de trancher\tailler'), MBr benaff, Br benan' v. 'cut' :: Sl inf. *bi''-ti v. 'beat' > OCS бити biti / prs. бѣжъ бѣжѣ ~ бѣжъ biy-o-, SCr bi''ti / bi''je'm, R бити / бѣти, Uk бити, Slv, Cz biti, Slk bit', P bic' ¶¶ NIE d {Mn.} *b^hiyə-lo-s-li-s 'striker, axe' > OIr biail, OW bahell, W bwyell, bwyall, Br bouc'hal-bouhal 'axe' :: OHG bihal 'axe', MHG bihel, bi(e)l, NHG Beil, Dt bijl 'axe, hatchet' (< IE *b^hiyə-lo) ¶ WP II 137-8, P 117-8, EI 549, Mn. 78-9, EM 498, WH I 503, EWA II 35-8, Vn. B 32-4, 48, Flr. 80-1, YGM-1 45, Hü. 429, ≠ Sl. 137 (unlike Hü., connects Arm bir with the verb brem), ESSJ II 99-103, Db. SA 204, 212-3, SPS I 251-2, Glh. 132, StSS 84-5, OsS 62, KM 6, Vr. N 58 II **K**: GZ (att. in Zn) *beχq- v. 'beat, strike' > Mg baχ- 'beat so., give a beating' [{Chik.} 'Cema, поколотит', {Q} 'бити'], Lz baχ- 'beat so., thresh' [{Marr} 'бит (человека), молотит', {Chik.} 'Cema, mobegva, поколотит') ¶ Q 202, Marr 130, Chik. 253 II **HS**: C: EC: Sa {R} buw- scv. 'hauen, schlagen' :: ? SC {E} *bañ- v. 'kill (animal)' > ? Asa bahat 'trap', ʘ Mb b.añ- v. 'kill' ¶ R S II 94, E SC 136 || Ch: CCh: Bcm {Sk.} bi'yo- v. 'break' :: WCh: pNrBc *b.a {Stl.} id., {AD} 'beat, break' > Wrj b.əb.ə, Kry b.a'- v. 'break', My b.a'- v. 'beat, break', Cg b.a'--b.o'-, Mbr, Jmb b.a'- v. 'break' :: Ech: Kbl {Cp.} bə'yi', Kwn {J} ba'yi', Ll {Grgs.} bo'y, Smr {J} bi' id. ¶ In WCh and CCh b.- < *bH ¶ Stl. ZCh 249 [#23], ChC, ChL II **A**: Tg *bu.ya- 'be broken' > Orc buya- 'broken', buya- v. 'be broken\torn apart', Ul buya 'broken',

Ork buya id., 'fragments' (осколки), buya- 'be broken, destroyed', Nn boyā-id., boyā 'broken', Lm buyak- 'spoil' ¶ STM I 103.

272. *bayV 'place', 'to be (somewhere) = estar' > **HS:** S *bi- 'in', 'with' (instr.) > BHb bā-, bā- id., Ph, Pun, OA, IA b, Ug b, by, (AkSc) bi-, JA, Sr bā-, Ar bi-, Gz bā- (with pronouns: bā-ka 'in you'), bā- (with nouns) id., Tgy ʔəb- id., bā- (in bā-yə 'I have', lit. 'in me'), Ak in bas'u v. 'be' (< *ba-s_u 'in him?') ¶ Br. G II 363-77 [§§ 237-41], KB 100-2, HJ 137-41, OLS 97-8, Hnr. 112, L G 82, Sd. 112, DRS 39-40 || Eg fOK bw ~ by.t 'place' ¶ EG I 433, 450-2, Fk. 81-2, Tk. II 172-5 || C {AD} *bay- 'place' > EC: HEC {Hd.} *bay-(c̣c̣o) 'place' > Sd bay-c̣c̣o, Hd be_yyo, Kmb *be_c̣c̣u : [⊕ Or O/Wt {Sr.} biyya 'place; sand', Or H {Ow.} biyya 'land, country', Dsn {To.} bī 'soil, ground; world', Arr {Hw.} biyy 'land, earth, field' : [⊕ DL: Gln {AMS} pi_ye 'earth, land', Dbs {AMS} piye 'land, world', Cm {Hab.} bī_ye 'earth'] || Bj -b, locative case sx. || Ag: Q {R} -wa-, directive case sx. ¶ AD SF 38-9, Hd. 113, Hw. A 348, [⊕ Sr. 274, Ow. 256, To. DL 487, Blz. CL 177, Blz. DL s.v. 'earth', AMS 180, 239] || NrOm: Kf {C} bic̣ 'towards' ¶ C SE IV 410 || Ch {AD} *bVyV (⊕ {Nw.} *ba) 'place' > WCh: pHAB {Stl.} *beyi id. > BT: Bl {Lk.} beyi, Krkr {Lk.} biyi, Dr {Nw.} bo'i, {Kr.} b'o'yi, Ngm {ChL} be'ri, Gera {ChL} bi' id. : pAG {Hf.} *pe-, {Stl.} *be- > Su {J} pe-id., Ang {Flk.} pe 'place, spot', {Hf.} pī, {Brq.} pi 'place', Mnt {Fp., Gr.} bi, Gm {Hf.} pe-, {Fp.} be, Kfr {Hf.} pe-, {Nt.} pe, Mpn {Frz.} pe-, Cp {ChL} pe 'place' : ECh: ? Skr {ChC} ba 'place' or 'where' ¶ Hf. AG 17, Stl. VZCh, Nw. 30 [#97], Nw. KL 121, J S 78-9, Nt. 32, Brq. PA, Frz. DM 91, Gr. LA 60 ¶¶ Tk. I 103 || **IE:** NaIE *b^hei₂/-b^hi, locative pc.: Gk Hm -φι, case pc. with the meaning of instr., loc., dat., abl.; marker of instr., dat. and abl. in several lgs.: Ilr *b^his instr. pl. (> OI -bhih., Av -bis̄, OPrs -bis̄), *b^hayas dat.-abl. pl. (> OI -bhayah., Av byō), L -bus abl. pl., -bis in nobis, vobis, etc. (≠ Shl. IENI 50-2); IE *k^wo-b^hey 'where?' > L ubi, Ht kuwapi ¶ Ts. W 43-4, Pv. IV 229-31, Brg. KVG 398-9 (incl. a table), 406 (incl. a table), Ch. GH I 234-41 || **U:** Y: K {Krn.} -nubo, -nube, -be, T {Krn.} -nube, sx. od nomina loci: K pida₁-be 'place under a rocky bank, under a rock' (< pie 'stone' + a₁ 'under'), íie-nube 'place of residence' (< íie- 'be, stay'), T a-wa-nube 'sleeping place' (< a-wa- 'sleep') ¶ Krn. JJ 26 || **Æ:** M *bayi- 'stand, stay, be' > MM [PP] bayi- 'be', [IM] bay- 'remain, stop (s'arrêter)', [HI] bayi- 'stand, stand up', [MA] bayi- 'stand', [S] {H} bayi- 'daliegen', bayidal 'Stellung, Stand, Posten', [ISV] bay ipv. 'be quiet!', WrM bai-, HIM бай- 'be' (copula), 'stay, exist, live, reside', Brt бай-, Kl бүү- 'stand, remain, be (ci essere)', бүүнү 'there is', Kl {Rm.} ba-- 'stand, remain, be (sein, sich befinden)', Mnr H {SM} b_e-- 'stand, stand up, stop (s'arrêter)', Dg {Mrm.} bai_- - ba'i_- 'stand', {Pp.} b_ei_ 'is', Dx {T} bai_- id., 'stop (s'arrêter)', Mgl {Rm.} beina 'is, stands, remains standing', Mgl (ArSc) {Wr.} ba'i ipv. 'stand!' ¶ Ms. H 39, Pp. PP 120, Pp. MA 115, 433, Lg. VMI 18, H 11, 14, MED 72-3, Chr. 80-2, KRS 88-90, KW 30-1, SM 23, Klz. D I 112-3, Rm. M 24, Wr. B 122, Iw. 89 || Tg *bi_a- 'lying-place (within the house\hut), bed' > Ud {Shn.} bea-, {Krm.} ba-, Ork be- 'parts of the house on both sides of the hearth near the side walls where people sleep, eat and work in the daytime', Ewk be-id., Δ 'bed, plank bed (постелъ, нары)', Lm ba- 'animal's bed (лежбище)' ¶ STM I 78, Krm. 211 ¶¶ DQA #131 [A *b₁i_aya 'place; to be located'] ♦ The semantic and grammatical change from a noun ('place') to a pre-\post-position (→ case ending) can be easily seen in HEC: Hd manc̣o be_yyo (lit. man's place) actually means 'towards the man, chez l'homme', just as in NE: my place = R y мѣш, Fr chez moi ♦ Gr. I 144-7 ('locative BH' in IE, Y, Tg, Gil, qu. Ko & J).

273. *beʔyV 'body, self' (→ 'soul') > **HS:** Eg ∇ bā, Eg (GrSc) βαι 'soul' (× N *bVLVʔa 'to blow, inflate?') > DEg by 'soul' > OCpt βαι bai 'spirit, soul' in nebbai 'lord of the soul' and in βαι нхвх bai nk^hbk^h - name of a demon (lit. {Vc.} 'soul of darkness') ¶ EG I 410-4, Fk. 77, Vc. 25, Tk. II 6-9 || C: Bj {Rop.} bi_ye 'self' ('ane i-bi_ye 'adʔe 'I myself did it') [but Reinisch interpreted i-bi_ye as 'meine Glieder' → 'ich selbst'; if the meaning 'Glieder' is indeed primary, the Bj word does not belong here] ¶ Rop. 166, R WBd 54 || **Æ:** DQA *be_ye 'body, man, self' > M *beye 'body, person, (one)self' > MM [MA, IM, PP, HI] beye, [S] beye(n-) 'body', [LM] 'yayB {Pp.} biye 'Körperbau', WrM beye(n), HIM бие 'body, person', Mnr H {SM} b_i_ye, {T} biy, Dg beye 'body, (one)self', Kl бий, {Rm.} bī, bi_ye id., 'one's personality' ¶ Pp. L II 1267, Pp. MA 118, 433, Ms. H 40, H 15, Pp. KP 146, MED 94-5, SM 26, T DgJ 125, KRS 98, KW 47 || Tg *beye 'body, person, oneself' > Neg bāy id., Sln bāi - bāy 'person, oneself', Ewk bāy, Lm bāy 'person, man, male', Orc, U, Nn bāy, Ul bāy(n-) 'body, (one)self', Ork bāy 'body', WrMc beye 'body, life, personality, (one)self', Jrc beye 'body' ¶ STM I 122-3, Z 485-6, Kiy. 124 [#490] || pJ {S} *bā 'man' > OJ wo(noku_o), J (ds, cds): T/Kg otoko', K o'toko, Ns siŋga', Sh

zi'ki'ga', Ht bi'du'mu', Y bi'nga' ¶ S QJ #46, Mr. 507, 513 ¶¶ DQA #115 ¶¶ A less probable cognate is A {DQA} *be'yo 'an ungulate animal' > T *bEye, M *bayita-sun, Tg *beyu-, pJ {S} *bi' - *b3'i., ffd. cf. DQA #116 ¶ D *pe-y 'soul' (→ 'ghost, demon, god') > Tm pe-y 'devil, goblin, fiend', Ml pe-, peyi 'demon', pena 'ghost, spirit', Kt pe-y 'demon', Kn pe-, he- 'madness, rage', pe-tu, he-de 'demon', Tu pe-yi id., Gnd pe-n 'idol, god', Kui pe-nu, ve-nu 'god, spirit', Ku pe-nu 'god, devil' ¶¶ D #4438.

274. ? *baXyV - *baXi 'abundant' > HS: S: Ar {Ln.} √bhbh v. 'take a wide, an ample, a large range', √bhbh: ʔibtiha-h- 'opulence' ¶ Ln. 154-5, DRS 55-6 || amb Eg fOK bʰy 'have abundance, be inundated', bʰh 'abundance, inundation' (× N *begV 'much' and *b'e'ʔʰhyV v. 'pour?') ¶ EG I 448-50, Fk. 81, Tk. II 170-2 || EC: Sam {Hn.} *bu'-h-i/*bu'-h-ic'a v. 'fill' > Rn {Hn.} bu'hi, {PG} bu'hi-, Sml bu'hi, Bn bu'hi/bu'hi'a; Sam {Hn.} *bu'h 'be full' > Rn {Hn.} buh, {PG} bu'h-, Sml bu'h-so, buh ¶ Hn. R 215, Hn. S 54-5, PG 82 [+, □ Tk. SCC 73 [#1.8]] || ?? possibly K: GZ *-eb-, sx. of pl. (< collectivity sx.), which is more probably connected with N *bV [pc. forming compound (> derived) nomina abstracta, q.v. ffd.] ¶ K 78 || ?? IE: one may try to adduce here NaIE *-bʰo-s, *-bʰa-, sx. of abstract nouns preserved in Sl *-ba and Lt -be-, but the N √ in question is only one of many possible sources of this abstract building (cp. N *bV '↑' [q.v.] [+, and N *begV 'much' [q.v.]] || ¶ *ba-ya ({SDM94} *ba-ja) 'rich' > T *ba-y 'rich' > OT {Cl.} ba-y 'rich, a rich man', MQp, Chg bay 'rich', Tkm ba-y id., 'rich man', Yk ba-y 'rich', CrTt, QrV, Nog, Qzq, Qrq, Qrg, VTt, Bah, ET bay, Uz bay id., 'rich man', Chv puy-^d poy- 'become rich', puyan^d poyan- 'rich, rich man' ¶ Cl. 384, ET B 27-9 || M *bayan 'richness, rich' > MM bayan, WrM bayan, HLM bayi-, Dx, ShY bayan, Ba bayan, Mnr H {SM} b_aya-n, {T} bayan id., Brt байн 'rich man, richness', Kl байн bayn id. ¶ Pp. MA 114, 433, MED 76-7, SM 23, T 316, T DsJ 111, T BJ 134, Mr. D 8, Chr. 93, KRS 77, KW 29 || Tg *baya(n)-v. 'be rich', bayan 'rich' > Ewk bay, bayan 'rich, rich man', Sln baiji-bayaji, Neg bayan- v. 'get rich', Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork baya(n-), Nn baya-, WrMc bayan, Jrc {Md.} bay-yan 'rich', WrMc baya- v. 'get rich' ¶ STM 65, Md. ChF 135 ¶¶ SDM94 s.v. *ba-ja ¶¶ Part of the forms may be borrowings (M ↔ some Tg lgs., etc.) || D *-va₁y - sx. of pl. (↔ *-t of sg.): Tm av-ava₁ 'those things' (pl. of atu), uv-uvai₁ 'those things' (pl. of utu), Ml ava 'those things', Kn avu, Prj av (pl. of ad), Gdb O au (pl. of ad), etc. ¶¶ D ##1, 557 [±|| ?σ U: FU ± *po₁y₁ > Lp N {N} boaw'je 'gathering of near relations; company, clique' (supposedly Lp N oa < FU *o- < *aH) ¶ Coll. 74] ♦ If GZ *-eb- belongs here, the N rec. must be *baʰyV - *baʰi.

275. ??? *beyXV 'to tear, cut into pieces' > HS: S: Ar √byh D (pf. bayyaha) 'couper en petits morceaux [la viande]' ¶ DRS 62 || ?? Ch: WCh: Kry {Sk.} b_u- v. 'cut' ¶ ChC || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *peyV 'undo (auftrennen)' > Hg fejt- id., 'unstitch, separate' ! ObU: Vg LK (xul) pa-₁y-, P pa-₁y- 'dress a fish' ('Kopf wird weggeworfen, der Fisch wird vom Rücken bis zum Schwanz gespalten'); ? Os N 'payit-, 'pa-yit- 'abnehmen, herunternehmen, abwerfen', sam 'payit- 'beat off the scales (of a fish)' ¶ UEW 878, MF 190-1 || ?? D: Tm piy- (< v. 'be tattered, torn off, torn into bits' (unless this is from D {GS} *pis- < pD *picc-/pin'-c- v. 'tear to pieces') ¶ D #4171.

276. ??₂ *bVyV 'bee' > HS: Eg fOK by.t 'bee', fMK by.t-y 'apiculteur' > Cpt Sd eβert ebeit id., Eg fOK by.t ({Vc.} byy.t) 'honey' > DEg iby id. > Cpt Sd/B eβiw ebio- id. ¶ EG I 434, Fk. 79, Er. 26, Vc. 38, Tk. II 107-10 || ? IE *bʰei₁H₁-/*bʰoi₁H₁-/*bʰiH- (× ? *bʰu-ʔʰV '∈ insect' [q.v.]), {EI} *bʰi-kʷo- and *bʰi- + other xs. 'bee' > NaIE *bʰey-/*bʰoy-/*bʰi- 'bee' > ON by-, Sw, Dn bi, NGr Al bi, NGr B beij, Dt bij, Gmc *bī-on- > OHG bīa, AS bīo, NE bee; +ext *n (reinterpretation of the obl. cases with *-n- of the "weak declension?"): OHG bini, bīna, NHG Biene, NGr Ö Bein || +ext *-t-: Lt bi'te, biti's, Ltv bite, Pru bitte || W bydaf 'swarm of wild bees, bee-hive' ¶ P 116, EI 57, Dv. #868, Vr. 66, Ho. 24, EWA II 3-6, KM 75, Frn. 45, En. 152, Tp. P A-D 233, YGM-1 63.

277. *b'e'ʔʰhyV 'to pour' > HS: Eg fOK bʰy vi. 'be inundated, have abundance, be well-supplied, vt. 'flood, inundate', bʰh 'inundation, abundance', as well as possibly Eg G bʰy- a word used to denote inundation ¶ EG I 448-50, Fk. 81, Tk. II 170-2 [× N *baXyV-/*baXi 'abundant' (q.v. ffd.) and *begV 'much'?] || B *-ba-y- > Ah tabayo-t 'fine and penetrating rain without wind' ¶ Fc. 41, NZ 143 || C: SC *bu?- v. 'pour' > Alg bu?-, SC b- Mb -butu || Dh1 b_u?- id. ¶ E SC 142 || Ch: CCh: Mf {BLB} mb3'ha?a, mb3'h-mb3'hha?a 'en giclant (comme le lait quand on presse un sein ou le jus quand on presse un fruit)' || ECh: Mkl {J} b_o-^ 'full' ¶ BLB 245, J LM 73, JI II 157 [±|| possibly also WCh: Mbr {Sk.} vay--vow-, Cg {Sk.} vo--vu-, Grn {Jgr.} vʷa- 'pour' ¶ Sk. NB 35, Jgr. 187, □ Tk. NB 185] || ? S: Ar SL √bhbh 'donner largement, rendre abondant' ¶ DRS 55 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 73 [#1.8] || K *-b-v. 'pour' > Mg, Lz,

Sv b- id. [Sv L li-b-em 'to pour in, **налил**□, L stt.: maba 'it has been poured on me', **χaba** 'it has been poured on him'] ¶ K 47, K² 6, FS K 40-1, Chik. 250-1, Dn. s.v. b-² II D *pey--*poy- ({GS} *p-) v. 'pour, rain' (× N ***p.Ega** 'to pour; rain?') > Tm pey v. 'rain, pour down', Ml peyyuka v. 'pour, rain', Kn poy, puy v. 'pour, cast', poyy- v. 'rain', Kdg poyy '(rain) rains, (wind) blows', Krg pī-, Tl po-yu, Klm pai_yeñ v. 'pour', Nk pī-, poy '(water) pours, flows', Gnd poy- vi. 'pour, be spilled', Ku boi_yali v. 'overflow', bo- v. 'be spilled', Krx po~yy- v. 'fall' (of rain), pui~d- v. 'pour some water on rice', Mlt poye v. 'rain' ¶¶ D #4407, ≠ Pf. 62 [#385] (does not distinguish the √ *pey-/poy- from *pec- v. 'drizzle'), Km. 443 [#889].

278. ?o ***b'u**~**'z'V** '∈ insect' > **HS**: B *bVziz- 'cicada', *bu~ziz- 'beetle' or sim. > Tmz {MT} a-bəzziz (pl. i-bəzziz-n), Kb a-b_ziz_ (pl. i-b_ziz_ən ~ i-b_z_az_) 'cigale', Rf W/B a-bziz (pl. ibzizən) 'bousier, cafard', SrSn abuz'iz' (pl. ibuz'iz'ən) 'bousier', CM abəzzi, BSn abziz 'cigale', CA abziz 'sauterelle'; B → Ar Mgr bəziz (in normalized spelling of BK zyziBa baziz-un) 'grillon' or sim. → Mz bu-bziz_ 'cigale' (← Ar Mgr *bu-bziz zyziBa vbuà ?abu-bazizin) ¶ Dl. 62, MT 41, Dlh. M 17, Rn. 292, NZ 148 ¶ The emphatization of *z in some B lgs. is due to the onomatopœic associations and/or to re-borrowing from Ar Mgr II K o *buz(w)- 'a fly' > OG buzu-, G buz-i 'a fly', Lz d ma-buz-al-e- ~ ma-p.uz-al-e- 'wagtail', Sv UB/L buzu1 {GP} 'a fly', {TK} id., 'bee', Ln {TK} buzul id., 'bee', Sv {Ni.} buzul 'fly, wasp' ¶ FS K 64, K 51 (refers the G and Sv word to the K o √ *bzu- 'to hum, buzz'), K² 20, Chx. 117, Abul. 37, TK 157, GP 92, Dn. s.v. buzu1, Ni. s.v. **мыха** & **оца** II D (in SD) *pucci 'insect, worm' (× N ***p'u**~**c'iVjn** 'worm, snake', q.v. ffd.) II ? **IE**: NaIE *b^hey₁H₁-/*b^hoy₁H₁-/*b^hiH- > NaIE *b^hey-/*b^hoy-/*b^hi- 'bee' (× N ***bVyV** 'bee' [q.v. ffd.]) ♦ If the IE √ does not belong here, the N rec. must be ***buz**~**'z'V** (or ***būu**~**'z'V**).

279. ***b'a**~**hz'V** 'to strike, thump' > **HS**: WS *√bhaz > Ar √bhaz 'frapper de la main, du pied ou de deux mains (p. ex., en se frappant la poitrine)', Tgr {DRS} ?abhazi 's'abbatre sur, éprouver' ¶ BK I 172, DRS 47 II K *bez- v. 'beat so. soundly, belabour' ({K} **СИЛНО КОЛОТИТ**□, {Schm.} 'gründlich verprügeln') > G I/R bez- id., Mg, Lz baz- id. ¶ Schm. 97, K 49-50, K² 10, FS K 48 II ? **U**: [1] FU (att. in Prm) *°pasV > pPrm {LG} *paz- > Z paz3d- v. 'break to pieces, scatter', Prmk pazdini v. 'break, crush', ? Vt paz'a- v. 'scatter' ¶ [2] FU (att. in Z) *°pas'V > Z pas'mun v. 'break in pieces' ('in Trümmer zerbrechen') ¶ LG 214, ≠ UEW 357 (ascribes Z pas' to U *pas'V 'hole, split').

280. ***baz'e** 'to ripen, be cooked (gar werden)', 'to cook' > K *°baz~' v. 'ripen' > G I/G baz- v. 'ripen' (of beans, maize, etc.) ¶ Chx. 59 II **HS**: S *√bs1 v. 'ripen', D v. 'cook' > BHb, JA √bs1 G vi. 'grow ripe; boil, get cooked', JEA {Sl.} JA √bs1 G pp. 'cooked, roasted, baked', SmA √bs1 G 'ripen', D vt. 'cook', BHb ba's'e1 'ripe, boiled, cooked', BHb √bs1 D vt. 'boil, cook, fry', MHb ba's'e1 'ripe', BHb, JA √bs1 D vt. 'cook, boil, roast', {Sl.} 'cook, boil, suppurate', Ug √bs1 vt. (G or D) 'cook', Sr √bs1 (G : pf. ba's'el, ip. ne-b_s'al) v. 'to ripen, boil, melt' (intr.), Md √bs1 G vi. 'boil, cook', Ar √bs1 Sh (pf. ?absala) 'cuire des dattes non mûres et les sécher ensuite', Mh √bhl, Hrs √bhl (pf. b3he1, sbjn. y3bho1) v. 'be cooked, ready', Jb E/C √bs1 (pf. 'bes'3l, sbjn. Jb C y3-b's'3l) id., Sq {L} √bhl (pf. behel), Sb mbs1 'cooking place', Gz √bs1 (js. y3bs3l) v. 'be cooked, ripe', Ak √bs1 G v. 'boil, roast, become roasted, ripen' ¶ KB 157, KBR 164, OLS 118, Lv. I 273, JPS 56, Tal 120, DM 71, CAD II 135-7, BK I 127, Jo. M 45, Jo. H 16, Jo. J 30, L G 109, BGMR 32, DRS 89 II **IE**: NaIE *b^heH-/*b^hoH- > *b^he-/*b^ho- v. 'warm, ? roast' > OHG ba(h)en 'to warm, foment', {OsS} 'bähen, gelind rösten' (> NHG ba'h'en 'durch Umschläge wärmen, Brot rösten') ¶ ? *+ext* *-g-: *b^ho-g- > Gk φω'γω 'roast, toast, parch' ¶ P 113, KM 44, EWA I 425, Kb. 52, F II 1057 II **U**: FP *pas'e- v. 'fry, bake, roast' > F paahta-, dial. pahta- id. : pPrm *po'z'- v. 'bake, get cooked' ('gar werden') > Z по^жав- p3z'aw- 'bake', по^ж p3z'- 'bähen, brühen; schmoren; gar werden (Speisen)', Yz 'pu'z'- v. 'steam (milk in an oven, twigs before twisting, etc.)', Vt piz'i- v. 'bake, fry' ¶ Db. OS x, LG 227-8, UEW 725, Lt. J 172 II **A**: M *baza'y'a- > WrM bazaga- v. 'prepare, get\have ready', HIM, Brt базаа-, Ord b_a3'_a- id.; M → Sln baja- 'prepare' ¶ MED 93, Chr. 77, Ms. O 43, STM I 63-4.

281. ***bUyz**~**'V** 'fur-bearing animal' > **IE**: NaIE *b^hel- □ 'marten', {EI} 'wildcat; any small carnivore' > L fe'le's 'wild cat, marten, polecat' :: W bele (< *b^helego-) 'marten' :: OI Λ bharuja- 'jackal', ? Mld balu 'dog' ¶ i ÷ OHG bilih^d pilih, MHG bilch, NHG Bilch 'dormouse', likely to be a loan from Sl *рыльх id. (> ChS плъхъ plъхъ, SCr pu'h, Slv po'lh, Cz plch, Blr поуАх, R Δ полчок id., P pilch 'gopher', Blg плъх 'rat']) ¶ WP II 177, EI 91, WH I 474, Mul. 175 (adduces OHG bilih), YGM-1 43, EWA II 54-6, Lx. 21, KM 76,

Vs. III 319-20, Glh. 511 **II U** {Coll.} *poyz'V 'ermine' > pLp {Lr.} *po'ytzk id. > Lp: N {N} buoida ~ buoi'da'ga, L {LLO} puoita, T {TI} pñi_t/eg, Kld {TI} pui_tey || Sm: Ne T пм, T O {Lh.} pīy'e, Ne F p'iy:ea_d pīy:ea., (originally dim.) Ne T пм ко, T O pīyək:o, En B {Cs.} fie'da, Ng {Cs.} fīd'u, pīd'u, Mt {HL.} *hu'yV 'ermine' (Mt M {M} hu'je, {Pl.} hudja 'ermine') [unless identical with Mt {HL.} *hu'n'e id. (Mt K/T {Mll.} hu'ne, K {Pl.} chuuni)] ¶ Coll. 6, Coll. CG 405, Lr. #990, Lgc. #5298, Lh. VJS 40, 105, Ter. 472, Cs. 36, 72, 95, 234 ¶ Ne пм ко and originally Lp *po'ytzk are dim. forms (≠ Cs. 36) **II A:** M *bul'u'gan 'sable' > MM [MA] bulyan, [HI] buluqan (= bulugan), [S] {H} buluh.an (= bulugan), WrM bulagan, HIM, Brt булга(н), Kl булһн bulyan, Ord b_ulaga id. ¶ MED 133, Chr. 111, KW 60, Pp. MA 125, Ms. H 43, H 22, Ms. O 93 **II ?σ D** {GS} *pul-i (≠GS} *p-) 'tiger' > Tm puli, pul, Ml, Kn, Tl puli, Kt пуз, Td pu's_y, Tu pili, Krg hili, Klm, Nkr pul, Nk pul(a), Gdb pullu_d pulu_d berpul, Gnd pulli_d puli_d pul; D → Prkr pulli- 'tiger' ¶¶ D #4307, GS 179 [#455], 53 [#136] ♦ AD NM #38, Vv. AEN 12 (doubts because "semantic is too broad" and the M cognate is isolated within N).

282. *bi3'U(-qV) – *bi3'U,qV 'big, high' > **HS:** S *°/bδχ > Ar √bδχ 'être grand, haut' ¶ BK I 100-1, ≠ DRS 47 || B *°/bdly 'be high' > Kb b_əd_d 'être debout', əb_dəd 'se tenir debout', Ah əbdəd, Gd əbdəd (3m pf. iβdəd) id., Izn, Rf abəddi, SrSn ibəddi 'hauteur', Shl {NZ} bədd/biddn, Si {NZ} bdəd 'rise, stand' ¶ Rn. 291, Dl. 7, Fc. 19-20, Lf. I 240 & II #0017, NZ 15-7 **II U** *piδe(-ka) 'high, long' > FU *piδe(-ka) > F pitka (cmpr. pitempi ~ pidempi) 'long', Δ piteva 'long and narrow', Es pikk, Δ pitk 'long' || ObU *pe'l- (= {Ht.} *pa~l/*pe'l-) 'high, long' > pVg *pa~l(V)- 'Länge' > Vg: P pa~lt 'Länge, so lange wie', LK/MK/LL pa~lt 'so lange wie', Vg N palit 'Länge, Entfernung'; pOs *pe'l({HL.} *pi'l) 'high' > Os: D/K pe't, Kz pa't, O pa'l 'high', pOs *pe'lVt({HL.} *pi'lVt) 'height' > Os: V/Vy pe'la't, Ty pe'lit, Nz pa'tat, Kz pa'lat, O pa'la't || Hg fe'l, fo'l 'up (aufwärts, hinauf)', Δ 'surface, upper part' || pSm *pir' 'height' > Ng fira 'hoch, gewachsen', En: T {Pl.} 'пырро 'high (высоко)' (adv.?), En X fir'uddio, En B firuddio 'erhöhen', Ne T пир, Ne T O pir 'Höhe', Slq Tz {KKIH} pīri, Slq NP pīrV 'height'; pSm {Jn.} *pirka, {HL.} *pirke 'high' (× N *berVgE 'high, tall') > Ne T пирш, Ne T O {Lh.} pirc'e, Ne F {Lh.} p'it's's'əa, En X {Cs.} fid'e, En B {Cs.} fise, {Ter.} pize id., Slq Tz {KKIH} pirqi 'high, deep', Slq MTm {KD} pu'rg 'high', Kms {KD} p'u'r'z'e, {Cs.} phirz'e, Koyb {Sp.} прищ, Mt {HL.} *hirge (> Mt M {Mll.} 'hyrgi, Mt M {Mll.} 'hu'rgu, Mt K {Pls.} chirge) 'high' || pY {IN} *puδ- 'top' > Y: K pude, T pure 'above, outside', Y K {IN} pudenme, OY Ch {Mat.} пуданмей 'high' ¶¶ UEW 377-8, Ht. 176 [#506], KKI 150, Hl. M #305, IN 244, 318, Ku. 241 **II A:** T {Rs.} *beδu-, {SDM} *ba~δu-, {S} *bu~δu- v. 'be(come) big, high' > OT beδu-; T d *bu~δu-k (or *ba~δu-k) 'big, large' > OT beδu~k 'big, great', Osm bu~yu~k 'big, large, high', Tk bu~yu~k, Az bo~yu~k 'large', Tkm beyik, VTt биек bijək 'big, high', Tv p_edik 'high', Yk bo~do~η 'big, large, coarse'; VTt/Bsh *i suggests pT *e rather than *a [+: but Yk bo~do~η 'big, large, coarse' is a loan from M (cp. HIM б*д*н 'large, huge, big', see N *bu~d_lVJØV 'be thick\large') ¶ S AJ 175 [#5], ET B 288-90, Cl. 299, 302-3, Pek. 517-8 || Tg *b'e'jVn > Lm bəzən 'ten reindeer', WrMc buzu baza 'very much', buzun 'multitude', 'very (much)' (× WrMc buzun 'hundred thousand' < Chn bo-qian) ¶ STM I 103, 120 || pJ {S} *piyi(n)ta- ~ *pui(n)ta- 'surpass' > OJ pi_i_jida-, J: T/Kg hiide-, K hi'i'de- ¶ S QJ #1150, Mr. 688 || ?? M *buzagay_i > WrM buzagai, HIM бузгай 'strong, sturdy; hard, firm, durable', ? Kl Ö buzga 'very, strong' (× buzga 'schrecklich, abscheulich' < buzr < *buzar 'dirty') ¶ MED 143, KW 64 ¶ Valid unless the meaning 'strong, hard' is a μφ from 'awful, abominable' < 'dirty') ¶¶ DQA #124 [A *be~3'u 'numerous, great'; incl. M, Tg].

283. *bEΓ_lVJ3'V 'ungulate animal (deer and sim.)' > **HS:** EC *bEfiz- 'oryx' > Sa {R} bə'i'd-a 'antelope', Af {HP} bi'fid, bi'fid- 'oryxes', singulative m. bi'fid-da 'oryx', Sml bi'fi'd 'oryx', EC → EthS: Gz {L} ← Ludolf} bə'əz-a 'kind of antelope', Amh bəzəz, bəzəza id.; pEC *-z-, lost in the modern LEC lgs., has been preserved in EthS loanwords of EC origin; the EC stem may be derived rather than primary, i.e. its vocalism may be not original ¶ L G 85, AD SF 40, PH 70, Abr. S 32, DSI 56 **II U:** FU *°pa~xc'V or *°pa~c'VxV (in ObU only?) > pObU *pe~c'əy 'reindeer fawn' > pVg *pa~s'əy id. > Vg UL/Ss pa~səy id.; pOs *pec'əy ({HL.} *pa~c'əy) id. > Os V/Vy pec'əy, K pec'ə, Nz pes'ə, Kz pes'ə id. || Prm: ?amb Z *pez' 'new-born reindeer' found in the cd pez'-ku 'fur of new-born reindeer, ~~мышь~~' (unless it is a loan from Os) ¶ Ht. #483, LG 218; Rédei (UEW 387) tries to explain the ObU word as belonging to U *poc'a [≠ N *boc'a '(young) deer'], which is not accurate from the phonetic point of view **II ? A** *beyV 'an ungulate animal' > T *biya, {DQA} *bEye 'mare' (< N *mA'?'a(-yV) 'mother'?) >

OT, MQp XIV be⁻, [CC] bey, Chg ≥ xv, CrTt, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq biye, VTt biya⁻, Bsh b̆ya⁻, Qrg be⁻, Alt b_e⁻, Tlt/QK {Rl.} pe⁻, Qmn/Tb {B} pe⁻, SY pie^d pi, Qb pī, Tv, Tf b_e, Xk pey ~ pī, Yk biā⁻ ¶ Cl. 291, ET B 133-4, B DK 241, B DChT 144, Rs. W 175, Rl. IV 1743, 1790, Ra. 73, 160, ▢ Shch. SF 194 (*pa⁻ 'mare') || Tg *beyu⁻n 'wild ungulate animal' > Ewk b̆yu⁻n 'elk, reindeer', Δ b̆yu⁻n 'wild reindeer', Lm buyu⁻n id., 'wild animal', Neg b̆yu⁻n, Orc b̆yu(n-) 'elk', Ud bu(y)i 'wild animal', Ul boyo(n-) ~ buyu(n-) id., 'elk; bear', Ork biy(n-) ~ buyu(n-) 'wild reindeer; bear', Nn Nh/KI buyu⁻ ~ b̆yu⁻, Nn B buyu(n-) 'elk, red deer, wild game (ungulate)'; Tg *beyu⁻ 'hunt ungulate animals' > Ewk b̆yu⁻, Lm buyu⁻, Nn b̆yuntu- id., Neg b̆yu⁻, Orc b̆yum3- 'hunt elks' ¶ STM I 122-3 || ???σ pJ {S} *bi⁻ ~ *b̆i⁻ 'pig' > OJ wi⁻, J T i(nos'is'i) ¶ S QJ #794 ¶¶ i ÷ (⇔ DQA) M *bayita-sun ~ bayida-sun 'a 3- to 4-year old animal (esp. mare) which has not yet born young', which is akin to T *baytal 'mare' (ET B 36-7) ¶¶ ▢ DQA #116 (T, Tg,) ¶¶ The A cognate is valid if under some (still unknown) conditions N *-3⁻ yields A *-y⁻.