

161. *bA, adjectival pc. forming analytical (→ derived) names of quality bearers, nomina posessoris, and animal names (*N* + *bA 'which is *N*'), FN *kôL ∇ bA 'dog\wolf, whelp' and N *yoR ∇ (-b ∇) 'firm, strong, hard') > HS: S *-b-, sx. of animal names, e.g. (1) S *θaflab- 'fox' (Ar θaflab-, Ak šeblebum id.), cp. without the sx. *-b-: CS *θūsal- 'fox' > BHb נְבָשׁ šū'sāl id., (2) S *parhab- 'hare', (3) S *faqrab- 'scorpion', (4) S *'kalab- 'dog' (< N *kôL ∇ bA '↑') || B *-gūləb- (or *gūləH-) > Ah aḡūləh 'male wolf' (< N [??] *gūlīE bA with N *gūlīE '≈ canine animal') ¶ Fc. 429, Pr. H #95 || IE: NaIE *-b^ho-, [1] sx. of animal names, e.g., Gk ἔλαφος 'deer' < IE *el^h-b^ho- < N *-rē1 ∇ nu bA (*rē1 ∇ 'deer' + *nu 'of' + *bA) (IS I 272 [#135], Ch. 333-4, FI 483-4), OI śalabhas 'grasshopper' (cf. śala- 'go, hurry' [?], see MK III 312-3), Gk ἔριφος 'chevreau, chevrette' (Ch. 372, FI 560), [2] sx. of adjectives: OI vṛṣa- 'bha- 'male' (of a man, of a bull) (cf. OI vṛṣan- 'male'), Lt {BD} ankstýbas 'early' (e.g. of vegetables) (cf. anksti 'early') ¶ BD II/1 386-90, Brdg. KVG 331, ≈ Hirt IG III 224, IS I 193 [#27], MK III 251, M E II 575-6 || K *-b- in *z̥yarb- 'hedgehog' < N *z̥aΓ ∇ R ∇ 'hedgehog' (q.v. ffd.) + N *bA || U *-pa-/*-pä- (< *#pa-?), sx. of nomina possessoris, names (nouns and adjectives) 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.} *črēv > Lp: N {N} oar're - rr-, Pa {TI} vūā'r·rev, T {TI} ītərrev, Kld {SaR} vyuəppəv, {TI} īuərrev id. || Sm: Sayan Samoyed ("stirpis monticolis sajanensis") {Pl.} orop 'squirrel' (Pl. Z I 187), cp. U *ura- 'squirrel' > Mr, Chr, Z, Vt ur id. || [2] Os K {PD} kərap 'woodpecker' || [3] Vg -p(ä) '-ig', e.g. ...sam(pä) '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 kōl awtəw 'mit dichtem Haar' ('dicht-haar-ig'), Os Ty qoχ^w optəp ko, Os D χōw uptəp ika 'langhaariger Mann' || [5] Y {IN} -ba is a sx. of animal names: Y K poŋžubə 'capercaillie' (← pY **poŋ- < N *P_iŋū - *P_üŋE 'in a game bird of medium size', q.v.) ¶ Lh. PUAS 241-9, Gy. WBU 19ff., Coll. CG 263, UEW 343, TI 773, Sauer NBO 57-62, IN 243 || A *-ba/*-bä > Tg: WrMc -ba / -bə, sx. of quality adjectives used for persons: sere-be 'umsichtig, behutsam' (from sere- 'fühlen, empfinden'), kice-be 'fleißig, emsig' (from kice- 'sich anstrengen, erstreben'), olχo-ba 'aufmerksam, vorsichtig, behutsam' (from olχo- 'scheuen'), ongo-ba 'forgetful' (from ongo- v. 'forget'), xaxi-ba 'agile, prompt (der

schnell arbeitet)' (of a person) (from *χαχί* 'quick'), as well as the final element of some Tg animal names, e.g. **kōrbe* 'male reindeer' (F N ***korē** '≈ deer, antelope', q.v. ffd.) §§ Rm. EAS II 240-1 (unc. hyp.: the Mc sx. ← Ko *paŋ* ← Chn), Hr. 585, 733, 738, 784, Z 382-3 ◇ It is possible that N ***bA** is a grammaticalized and contracted var. of N ***be?yN** '≈ body, self' (q.v. ffd.); this original meaning may be responsible for structures with internal genitive ***nu**, e.g. IE **elŋ-bʰo-s* 'deer' < N ****o?ē1N nu bA**, lit. 'deer's ***bN**' (← 'deer's body'??) ◇ IS I 192-3 [#27]: IE, HS (? ***bA**, sx. in the names of wild animals).

162. ₂ ***bN**, pc. forming analytical (→ derived) nomina abstracta > IE: NaIE *-**bʰo-s**, *-**bʰā**, sx. of abstract nouns (× N ***baXyN** ~ ***baXi** 'abundant' [q.v.] × N ***b'igē** 'much') > Lt *tikýba* 'faith' (↔ *tikéti* 'believe'), *senybé* ~ † *senóbé* 'antiquity' (↔ *senas* 'old'), Pru *pagonbe* 'heathenism', OCS **татъба** *tatъba* 'theft' (↔ **татъ** *tatъ* 'thief'), Δρούжьба *družьba* 'friendship', сѣтъба *sětъba* 'sowing' (n. act.), Gk φλῆναφος 'idle talk' (cp. φλῆνος id. and φληνύω v. 'chatter, babble'), κόλαφος 'a buffet' (derived from an unattested v.?) § BD II/1 386-9, En. 218 || K: [1] GZ *-eba- ~ *^o-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): *rÿv-apa* 'pouring' (n. act.), 'to pour', *ckv-apa* 'praising' (n.), 'to praise'; [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 azov-eb-da 'while he was pasturing'), 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 O93, K 78, K² 48, Dn. DSM 43-66.

163. ₂ ***bə?N** 'to go' > HS ***ba?**- (Blz.: ***bay?**-) v. 'go' > S *-**bā?**- v. 'come' > BHb ip. -**בָּאַת**(-)(-) **בָּאֵת**: 3m יְבָאֵת *yā-'bā-* 'he will come, comes', 3p *yā-'bā?* 'they (will) come', imv. **בָּאֵת** *bā?*, pf. **בָּאַת** *bā* 'he came', Ph, Pun **b?** v. 'come', Ug {OLS} ✓ **b?** 'enter, come, arrive', Ar pf. *bā?a* / ip. *yā-bū?*-u (with ū on the analogy of CūC-verbs) 'come back, return', {Nld.} *bā?a* 'he\it entered' ([Hudh.] *bā?a bi-kaffī* 'es kam in meine Hand'), Sb ip. **yb?** v. 'trespass over', pf. **bh?** v. 'enter' (with secondary h), Gz (prm.) -**bā?**- (js. *yə-bā?*) v. 'enter' (pf. *bō?a* on the analogy of CūC-verbs), Ak p. -**bā(?)**- (3s i-*bā*), inf. **bā?u** v. 'come in, walk along'

¶ KB 1O8-11O, HJ 146, Nld. rDelP 726, OLS 98-9, LG 114-5, BGMR 27, 33, Sd. 117, CAD II 178-182 || C {AD} *baʔ- v. 'go (away)' > Bj {R} ✓ by pcv. 'go' (1s: p. a'bāy ~ a'bē, ppf. 'ībē, prs. 'ēbī), Bj Am {AD} p. - bī(y)- v. 'go', prs. -ēbī, imv. 'bayā || EC: Or {Grg.} baʔa 'go away, go out', Brj {Ss.} ba- v. 'go out, go up' (< EC *baʔ- × EC *baħ- [> Af baħ-it- 'lose all the animals', SmI baħ-, 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} əbe v. 'go down' || Dhl {To.} bayóni 'let us go!', {EEN} əhay- or bay- 'go home' ¶ Grg. 23, PH 177, Hw. A 347, ≠ AD SF 318-9, Ss. B 3O-1 (both reconstruct *baħ-), To. D 151, EEN 33 || Om *b- v. 'go' > SOM: Dm {Fl.} b̄ / b̄d v. 'go' || NrOm: WI {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} bā v. 'return, go away', ? Ang {Flk.} bē v. 'return' | Dr bī v. 'go away' | NrBc {Sk.}: Kry, My, Mbr, Jmb ba- v. 'go', Cg b̄- as well as probably Cg, Kry, My bō- v. 'go out', Sir bē-, Mbr bā- v. 'go out' (Stl. ZCh 157 [#1O8] reconstructs here WCh *m|H-baw v. 'return' and equates it with Ar ✓ bw?, interpreted by her as v. 'return') || CCh: Tr {Nw.}, Pdl {ChL} əa 'come' | BM {ChL}: Klb b̄iyá, Hld b̄iȳr/b̄iȳri v. 'go', Mrg ba v. 'go out' | McMtk: Gzg D {Lk.} be v. 'go out', MfG {Brr.} -b- id. | McMs: LamP pa, Zm {J} pā, ZmD {KNC} pā v. 'go out' || ECh: Mu {J} əow / əā v. 'go, go away', Skr {Lk.} bā, bē, {Sx.} əey v. 'go' ¶ JI II 162-5, ChC, ChL, J S 58, Lk. ZSS 3O-1, KNC 2O || D *pō- ({θGS} *p-) v. 'go' > Tm pō, MI pōka, Tu pōpini v. 'go, go away', Td p̄ix-/p̄i-, Kdg pō-, Tl pōvū / pō- / pōy- v. 'go', Kn pō 'going, departing', Knd, Png pōk-, Mnd pūk- v. 'send' ¶ D #4572, Zv. 64, 86, ≠ Km. 443 [#892] (pSD *pō-, *pō-k-a < *poku).

164. o, u *būfN 'blow, inflate', (→ ?) 'swell' > IE: NaIE *°bʰōuy-/bʰəuy- v. 'blow' > Gk φῦσα 'a wind, blast, wind in the stomach' ('Hauch, Blase'), pl. 'a pair of bellows', Gk I φωτόδες, Gk A φῶδες 'blister from burning', Gk φαῦσις, φαῦστις id. ¶ P 98-9, F II 1O55, 1O57, ≠ Ch. 1183, 1236, F II 998, 1O55-7 || HS: CS *✓b̄wūy (or *✓b̄wūy?) v. 'swell' > BHb בְּנָה ✓b̄wūy G (ip. 3f תַּבְּנָה ti-ħ̄b̄nā) 'bring (water) to the boil' (of fire), JA [Trg.] בְּנִי bə'nī 'Aufschwellung' (in metaphorical usage: rmwt ְעֻמָּעַ w b̄nūy lb? 'Hochmut und Aufschwellung des Herzens') ¶ KB 136 (the Hb ✓ is equated with Ar ✓b̄wūy, which is translated as 'anschwellen [Wunde]', while its real meaning is {BK} 'dépasser\excéder les limites, sortir des bornes'), KBR 141, Lv. T I 1O6, BK I 147 || K *°bu(w)- > G Kx bu(v)- 'aufschütteln (z. B. Kissen)', (ps.) 'aufgeschüttelt werden' (Kissen), 'an-, aufschwellen, sich aufblähen, sich aufplustern' ¶

Chx. 115 ◇ The supposed connection between 'blow' and 'swell' suggests an underlying ancient meaning 'inflate', 'use bellows', or the like.

165. ₁ *biç ∇ ~ *biç̄ ∇ 'small, little' > HS: S: [1] S * $\sqrt{bçç}$ ~ * $\sqrt{bçw}$ > Ar \sqrt{bss} 'donner fort peu de qch. à qu.', basw-at- 'parcelle' (mā fī-l-mādi baswa 'il n'y a pas une étincelle, un brin de feu dans les cendres'), and [2] S * \sqrt{bss} > Ar bağ \hat{o} - 'petite quantité'; there is also a CS root * $\sqrt{bçr}$ v. 'be(come) small', but it either goes back to or is contaminated with S * $\sqrt{bçr}$ v. 'cut off' (< N *b ∇ ç ∇ , R ∇ 'to cut', q.v. ffd.) ¶ BK I 131, 133, Lv. I 252, Br. 86, DM 68, KB 122 || ₂ U: FP *pićć ∇ 'small, tiny' > Krl pićuk·ajni 'tiny', Vp S piču 'small', Es pisikene, pisune id., with a sufix -k-: F pisku, Vp pisk 'small' | Vt πιчи pići 'small, little' ¶ SK 578, LG 226 || ₃ A *biç ∇ > NaT biçä 'small, little' > OT biçä id., Tv биچе piče 'small, smaller', Tf pićće 'small', ET pišä 'a little, ein wenig' ¶ DTS 98, Ra. 162, TvR 105 || M *biçi-qan > WrM bici-qan 'small, tiny, little', HlM бяцхан id., Brt bišixan, Kl bičkŋ id. ¶ MED 102, KW 47, Vld. 127 || ₄ D *pić-/pićć-/piñć- ({§GS} *p-) 'small' > Ml pićca, pićcan 'what is small', Kn piću 'shortness, smallness', pićce 'shortness or deficiency in measure and weight', Tu pińcile 'thin, slender', Tl pićc 'low; short, deficient' ¶ D #4214a || ?σ K *biç- > Lz biç-i 'boy, son' → G biç-i 'boy, young man' (Marr 131, Chx. 88, ≠ K 52 [G biç-i 'boy' *↔ K *biç- v. 'break in pieces, crumple']), unless the word is a loan from Arm phā bič 'illegitimate child' (Ach. I 475) or from Osm bič id. (Bu. I 324), cp. OG biç-i 'illegitimate child'. Coalescence of K *biç- and the loanword cannot be ruled out ◇ IS I 178-9 [#11] (*biča: FU, A, D). This N stem may be connected with *b ∇ ç ∇ , R ∇ 'to cut' (q.c. ffd.) ◇ K *biç- (if it belongs here) points to N *biç ∇ , while the Ar words suggest coexistence of two variants of the pN etymon.

166. ₁ *b ∇ ç ∇ , R ∇ 'to cut' > HS: S * $\sqrt{bçr}$ > BHb $\sqrt{bçr}$ G 'gather grapes, cut off grape-clusters'; (× N *biç ∇ ~ *biç̄ ∇ 'small, little'): JA $\sqrt{bçr}$ G 'be cut, diminished', JEA $\sqrt{bçr}$ G 'be diminished, diminish', SmA $\sqrt{bşr}$ D 'diminish', JA, Sr bə's̄ir, bəş̄i'r-ā 'klein, parvus, minutus', MHb $\sqrt{bçr}$ G 'wenig haben'; SmA bşyr 'vintage' (↔ BHb בָּצֵיר bā'ç̄ir id.?) ¶ KB 142, KBR 148, GB 109-10, Js. 185, Sl. 229-30, Tal 110-1 || ₂ K: G basr- 'zerschneiden' ¶ Chx. 68 ¶ Desaffrication *ç̄ > s in a cns. cluster?

167. *boča '(young) deer' > **K** *°boč- > G boč-iķ-i 'one-year old deer', boč-ola 'one-year-old calf' ({DCh.} 'зимовалый теленок') ¶ Chx. 100, DCh. 115 || **U** *poča 'deer' > FP: pLp {Lr.} *pōcōj 'reindeer' > Lp: N {N} boazō, bōc'cu- ~ bōwcu- '(tame) reindeer', S {Hs.} buvdje, L {LLO} pācōy, K {Gn.} poaz, T {Gn.} poazaj id. | Chr L пүчө рүчө, H пүчы риčъ, U рүчө 'deer' | Vt Sr pužey id. || ? Sm: Kms po?du 'goat, Capra sibirica', Koyb {Klp.} podo 'Ziege', {Pl.} pooto 'Cervus capreolus' || Y: K {IN} pežə, {Krn.} pjeđe, {Jc.} pieze 'elk', {Jc.} pezul 'Schutzgeist der Elentiere' ¶ Coll. 6, It. #130, UEW 387-8, Sm. 553 (FP *poča 'reindeer'), LG 218, Lr. #967, Lgc. #5115, Hs. 393-4, ≈ IN 274 (unc.: Y pežə ÷ F pe ura 'deer'), Ang. 208-9, Krn. JJ 283, ≈ Rd. UJ 42 [#46] (Y ← U) || **A:** Tg *bojuçan '(ε) deer' > Neg boçan 'Manchurian deer (изюбр, Cervus elaphus xanthopygus)', Orc buča(n-), Ul boča(n-) ~ buča(n-) id., Nn bočā ~ boca(n-) ~ bučā id. (unless ← Mc *bugu-čan ← buqū 'deer', as suggested in S CNM 10); ? WrMc {Hr.} bucin 'hirschartiges Fabeltier mit langem Schwanz' (reinterpreted by folk et. as abbreviation from buhū 'deer' + tucin 'beginning'), ? Lm būçän 'musk deer, Moschus moschiferus' (a stem belonging to the closed-vowel harmonic type of stems, which still requires investigation) → Yk būčän ~ bīčän id. (earlier also 'Capreolus'?) → ? Ewk M/Tk bīčän '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:** ?σS *°✓bδχ > Ar baðax-, buðχ- 'lamb' (if *-δχ- < *-θχ-) ¶ BK I 100 || ECh: Ll {Grgs.} bisi '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. *bič∇ 'cut, crumble, crush' > **HS:** Ch mte.: Hs bāsā ~ býasa 'break off' || CCh: Mrg {Hf.} bāc'b 'break into small pieces' or bùš'b v. 'crumble', Gude {Hsk.} bācʒ vi./vt. 'break off part (of sth. soft)', ? bāzʒ 'break off (edge\rim of sh.)', MfG {Brr.} -báš- 'percuter, casser (un os\noyau)' ¶ Sk. HCD 30, Hf. M 140, 148, 164, Hsk. 166, Brr. MG II 90 || **K** {FS, K²} *beč-/*bič- v. 'crumble, break' > OG d. na-bič- / na-bič-ev- 'crumb', Sv bičkw-/bečkw- (UB ipf. bičkwā, msd. 1i-bčkw-e, prs. bičkwē / -bučkw, Ln prs. bičkwē, ä-bčkw, Ls prs. bučkwē / -bčkwē)

{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.} *pič- ({§GS} *p-) v. 'crush, knead, squeeze' > Tm pičai v. 'work with the thumb and fingers in mixing, knead, squeeze, or mash between the palms, crush and separate as kernels of grain from the ear', Ml pišitū 'husks of fruits', Kt pičk- v. 'squeeze, pinch', Knd hisi v. 'squeeze (a ripe fruit)', pišuku v. 'squeeze, press', Tu piškuni, pišuni, Tl pišuku, Gnd pišk- id., Nkr pižg- v. 'knead', Prj pič- v. 'grind', Gdb, Mnd pič- v. 'milk', Png, Kui pič- v. 'squeeze, milk', Ku pič- id., v. 'press out', Krx pička'ānā v. 'press and bruise, flatten by crushing' || D #4135, Km. 431 [#826] || A: M *bičal- > WrM bical-, HlM бяцл-ах 'smash, crush, squash into a pulp', Brt бисал- 'smash, crush' || MED 101, Chr. 95 || T *bič- ~ *bič- v. 'cut; cut out a garment' (< N *mō[č]s̥, N *mō[č]s̥ 'cut, cut into pieces, tear off' [q.v.]?) > OT bič- ~ bič- id., MQp XIII bič-, Tk bič-, Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Uz bič-, Bsh b̥s̥- ~ bis-, VTt p̥č-, Qq piš-, Qzq piš-, Alt b_ič(i)-, Yk bis-, Tv piš-, Tf piš-, SY piš- id., Chv Δ πάç- πύσ/ζ- 'cut' || Cl. 292-3, ET B 158-61 || AdS of NaIE *pejs-/*pis- v. 'crush, pound' (IE *p- for the expected *b^h- may be explained by one of the IE incompatibility laws) < N *p[ä]y's'i' (¬ *piš'i')? 'crush, break to pieces' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS I #12.

169. 2 *b[ä]y's'i' '≈ bad, wicked' > HS: S *°✓b[ä]y's̥ > Ar bayiñ- 'haï, détesté, devenu odieux à quelqu'un', ✓b[ä]yñ (pf. bayuñña ~ bayiñña) 'être haï, détesté' || K *°✓b[ä]y'e[ž]z- > G Gr {Shar.} b[ä]yzi 'злой' ('wicked, vicious'), {Ghl.} b[ä]yizi, G Gr/Aj {Ghl.} b[ä]yazi id., 'vicious dog' || Shar. GL 11, Ghl. 99; the K parallel is acceptable if *b[ä]yež|z- < *b[ä]y[ä]z- goes back to pre-K *b[ä]y[ä]z- (as. *-y[ä]z- > *-y[ä]z-) ◇ AD SShS 307 (suggests connections with C, Ch, IE, and A, better explainable as going back to N *bu, N *b[ä]y's'i' 'bad', q.v.).

170. *b[ä]u[č]s̥ '≈ to tear to pieces' > HS: CS *✓b[ä]s̥ 'cut, tear to pieces' > Ar ✓b[ä]yñ G 'cut, split', Ug {A} ✓b[ä]s̥ 'zerreißen' (absent in OLS), BHb ✓b[ä]s̥ G 'cut off' || A #562, Hv. 36, KB 141 || K: G I buç- 'zerzausen' || Chx. 125 || u: Sm *pučv- & *počv- v. 'unrip (a seam)' > Ne T пуда́-цъ id. ({Jn.}: < *putъ-s-), Slq Tz {Cs.} 1s aor. potälnam, Slq Ke {Cs.} 1s aor. poccaū id., Kms {Cs.} 1s prs. phud(u)lim id. || Jn. 130 || ? U *počv- 'split, divide' (< N *polisE or *polivE 'to split' [q.v. ffd.], if U *-č- < **-č- < as. N *-č-).

170a. ² *bAd^Δ 'many, multitude' > HS: EC: Sa {R} bād- 'be rich', Or {Grg., Sr.} bād-ād- id., {Grg.} bāda 'very', Sml bādi- 'increase', bādan 'most; very, quite', ? Sml J bāzāŋ, Bn bādə 'many', ? Sml bayddi, ? Sd bāta 'wealth'; C → Tgr {R} bādədə bələ 'abundavit' ¶ R S II 71, ≈ R WB 9O, Lm. Sh 281, Hn. S 53 (pSam *bat-an 'many'), ZMO 26-7, 35, Grg. 3O-1, Sr. 269, Gs. 34 || Om: NrOm: Shn {Lm.} bōd- 'be enough', Kf {Mas.} bēdo 'sufficienza' (unless ← bēdo 'arrivo') || SOM: Bk {Fl.} bēdi-mi, Ari G/U {Fl.} bēdi 'many' ¶ Lm. Sh 281, Mas. 214, Fl. OWL || ECh: Bar {AF} batá 'viele', ?φ Mkl bādā(ŋ) 'beaucoup, abundant' (the glottalized b still defies explanation) ¶ J LM 72, Lk. ZSS 51 ¶ ≈ Tk. LAA-1 1O7 [#23] || D: [1] D *paṭ- 'multitude, crowd' > Tm paṭai 'crowd, army, battle', Ml paṭa 'army, battle', Td paṛ 'crowd', Kn paḍe 'multitude, host, army', Tu paḍæ 'multitude, mob, army', Tl paḍava 'battle' || [2] ?σ D *pāṭi 'extent, size' > Kn pāṭi id., Tl pāṭi id., 'madnitude', Kt paṭy 'size, strength equal to what must be done' ¶ D #386O, 4O67 ◇ ≠ Blz. KM 129-3O, (equates the C, SOM, and Mkl words with the C, IE, K, and T reflexes of N *b'a't^Δ '≈ luck, good', q.v.), ≠σ Blz. LNA #3 (equates HS with the K and IE reflexes of N *b'a't^Δ '↑' and with the A reflexes of N *būd₁Δ, būd₂Δ 'be thick').

171. *bed^{r̩} 'to pierce, to prick' > HS: Ch: CCh: Mrg {Hf.} bādā v. 'sting' (bee), 'kick' (donkey) || WCh: Bg {Sh. in ChC} bāwat v. 'pierce' ¶ Hf. M 28, 118, ChC s.v. 'pierce' || EC *✓bd > Af {R} bōd- vt. 'split, open', Sa {R} bād- vt. 'open', Sd {Mrn.} bād-, {L} bādi- v. 'separate, divide' ¶ AD SF 238, R A II 33, R S II 71, 45O || NrOm: Kf {C} bād-, Mch {L} bāddā- v. 'split wood' ¶ C SE IV 41O, L M 21 || K: G bedeki 'cleft, rift ('расселина'), bedena 'difference' ¶ Chx. 74-5, DCh. 1O2 || IE *b^hedh- v. 'pierce, prick, dig', {E} 'dig, burrow' > L fōdīō, -ērē / pfc. fōdī / sup. fōssum 'dig' (< 'pierce, prick'), fōdicā- 'prick, dig' || Gl BEDVM 'canal, fossé', W bēdd 'grave', Crn {ECCE} bēth, MBr, Br bēz 'grave, tomb' || Lt bēsti (prs. bēdu) 'to stick, to dig (potatoes), to butt', int. bādūti 'to prick, to poke, to stick', Ltv Δ {ME} best (prs. bēdu) 'to dig', Ltv int. bādīt 'to butt, to gore, to poke' || Sl *bōd- (inf. *bos'ti / 1s prs. *bōd-q) v. 'stab, prick' ('stechen') > OCS бoсти bōsti / бoдж bōd-q, Blg бoда, SCr bōsti / bōdēm, Slv bōsti / bōdēm, OCz bōsti / bodu id., P бość / bōdē v. 'push with horns, goad', Uk бoс'tи / 'бoду, R Δ бoс'tи v. 'push with horns', R (< int.)

бодать 'to gore' || Tc A pāt- 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. 8O, ECCE 214, Frn. 41, ME I 28O-1, ESSJ II 222-3, SPS I 339-4O, Glh. 142, Wn. 354 || U: FU *reδe- v. 'prick, pierce' (× N *P_{ed}, V_g) 'to break, to tear, to wound' [q.v.]?) > Lp: N {N} bæððā- / -ð-, L {LLO} pātat v. 'prick, make a hole in' || ObU {Ht.} *pēδ- (actually *pēδl-) 'stechen' > pVg *pīl- id. > Vg LK/MK pīl- / pīl-, UK pīl-, P/LL pēl- / pel-, NV/ML/UL/Ss pēl-; pOs *pel- ({ʃHl.} *pāl-) id. > Os V/Vy/O pel-, Ty/Y pāt-, D/Nz pet-, Kz peð- ¶ Coll. 74, Coll. CG 41O (*peðä-), Sm. 547 (FU, Ugr *pedä-, FP *pedV- 'prick'), LLO 8O7, Ht. 174 [#488], Hl. rHt 71, ≠ UEW 371 (equates ObU with Er peðe-, Mk pāle-[sc. pālə-] 'bohren' and reconstructs FP *pelV- 'stechen', leaving Lp bæððā- & pātat unexplained) ¶ ObU < FU *reδe- × FU *pelV- || D (in SD) *petł- ({ʃGS} *p-) v. 'prick, insert' (× N *P_{ed}, V_g '↑')? > Kn petłu v. 'push penis into vagina', Krg hełtu v. 'prick' ¶ D #439O, Km. 435 [#845]; on stem-final gemination in SD see Km. 137, 173 ◇ FU and D go back to the merger of N *bed'ē' and N *P_{ed}, V_g '↑' (q.v.) due to the loss of glottalic opposition in the U and D initial stops.

172. *'b'edV 'back of sth.' > U {UEW} *peðrā 'shoulder-blade' > Lp: N {N} bæðibe / -ðb-, L {LLO} pier'pē ~ pär'pē id. || Sm: Ne: T O {Lh.} pirbē, F P {Lh.} piñme 'withers, a hump between the reindeer's shoulder-blades' §§ UEW 369 §§ U *peðrā is likely to go back to a d. or cd. || D *peṭa ({ʃGS} *p-) 'back side of sth.' > Tm piṭar, piṭari, Ml piṭari, Kt peṛtal 'nape of the neck', Tm piṭanķu 'back of a blade\weapon', Kn peḍa 'state of being behind or after, the back', Kdg paḍa mande 'back of the head', paḍaneṭti 'nape the of neck', Tu peḍanġb 'behind the back', Tl peḍa 'hinder, back', Prj piḍtel 'behind, after' §§ D #4146 || It is not yet clear if D {GS} piḍ- 'back side, the back' (GS 47 [#112], D #42O5) belongs here, because the N origin of D {GS} *-d- ({ʃGS} *-d-) has not yet been investigated || HS *b'u'd- 'back' > EC: Or M {LLC} bōda adv. 'back', Or {Brl.} bōda 'back (dos), hind quarters; hinder back', {Grg.} bōda 'after(wards)' || SC {E} *bídu 'buttocks' > Kz bulituko 'woman's garment covering the hips', SC → Mb ~búru 'goat's tail' ¶ Brl. 59, Grg. 55, E SC 14O (SC *÷ Dhl būduw- 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} bōðer

'Hinterteil', Ang {ChC} *b̥d̥t̥r̥* 'anus' || less plausible: ?? ECh: Tmk {Cp.} *b̥d̥*, NdD {J} *b̥d̥* 'arm' (if ← 'shoulder') ¶ Cp. 48, ChC || ?σ ES **būd-* > OAk, Ak fOB *būd-um*, Eb {Krb.} *bū-tum* 'shoulder' ¶ Sd. 136, Krb. EG 36 ◇ Blz. DA 155 [#26] (D, HS), Blz. OLBP #6.

173. *bod ∇ 'body, belly' > **HS**: WS **bādan-* 'body' > Ar *bādan-* 'corps, tronc', Mh *bādēn* 'body', Hrs *bε'dan*, Jb C 'bε'den (df. ē'dεn) id., Gz *bādn* 'corpse, dead body' ¶ BK I 98, Jo. M 43, Jo. H 15, LG 87, MiK I #1.31 || AdS of Ch {Stl.} **bū't̥* ∇ 'belly, womb' (× N **būwāt̥* ∇ 'lower part of the body', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ IE: NaIE **bhudh-*men 'lower part, bottom' (× N **būwāt̥* ∇ '↑' [q.v. ffd.] × N * **bod** ∇ accounts for IE *-d^h-) || A {SDM97} **bōda* 'body; entrails, belly' > T **bōd* 'body', 'stature' > OT *bōd* 'stature (height of a person)', Tkm, Az *bōy*, Tk *bōy*, SY *pōz* 'stature, body', Chv *pü*, Δ *pōv* 'body, stature (height)'; (× N **mūt̥* ∇ or **mūt̥* ∇ 'man, person', q.v. ffd.): NaT **bōd* 'self' ¶ Cl. 296-7, 306 (does not distinguish this word from OT Og [MhK] بُوْيَ *bōy* 'clan, tribe' and OT [MhK] *bōdun* 'people'; unj. rec. of a long vw. ő on the only basis of the plene spelling in Arabic script), DTS 107-11, ET B 176-9, RI. 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* ~ *bodū*, HlM *bod*, Ord *b_ōd_o* 'large cattle (horses, cows, camels, etc.)', Kl бод *bodo* id.; M **boda* 'object, body' > MM [S] *bodo* 'Objekt', WrM *boda*, HlM *bod* 'substance, matter, body', Kl бод *bodo* '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 **bātā* 'entrails, belly' > OJ *wata* 'entrails', J: T/Kg *watá*, K *wátá* id., Ns *wàtá*, Sh *wátá*, Ht *bātá*, Y *bātā* 'belly' ¶ S AJ 269 (#121), S QJ #121, Mr. 569 ¶ KW 48, Rs. W 77 (T, M), S AJ 279 (#113), SDM97 s.v. **bōda* || D {tr.} **poṭṭā* ∇ , {GS} **poṭ-* 'belly, stomach' > Kn *poṭṭe* id., 'womb', *pođe*, *putti* 'belly', Tl *poṭṭā*, Klm, Nkr, Prj *poṭṭā* id., Nk *poṭ(t)a*, Gnd *po(t)t̥*, *paṭṭa* 'belly, stomach', Knd *poṭa* 'stomach', Png *pōṭo*, Mlt *puṛa-*~*putṭa-* 'belly', Krx *poṭṭā* 'bowels, entrails' ¶ D #4494, GS 71 [#230] ◇ On IE **bhud-* from N **bō-* see Introduction, § 2.4.

174. 2 *būd ∇ , ∇ 'be thick' > **HS**: S: Ar \checkmark *bđi* G 'be(come) fat \ corpulent', *bđi*- 'full' (of body), {DRS} *bđi*-, *badi*-, *badiñ*- 'dodu, gros', ?? *bidy*- 'corpulent, fat' ¶ DRS 46, Ln. 160, Hv. 24 || A: M **būdūyün* 'thick' > MM [MA] *bidūn* 'thick', [IM] بِدَنْ {Pp.} *bidūn* 'coarse

(грубый)', [IsV] بِدْوَنْ {Lg.} bidūn 'thick (épais, gros)', [L] {Pp.} بِدْوَنْ {Pp.} bidūn or bejdūn 'dick, grob', WrM büdügür, HlM бүдүүн {Kow., Luv.} 'thick, coarse' ('gros, grossier, épais'), {MED} 'large, huge, big', Kl бүдүүн, {Rm.} büdūn, Ord b_úd_ú:n 'thick, coarse', Brt бүдүүн(H), MMgl bejdū:n 'thick', Mgl {R} bejdū:n 'dick, grob', MnR Nr {SM} b_ud_in 'thick' (of body parts), MnR H {T} bidun 'thick', Dx bijedun, Dg budūn 'thick, coarse'; M → Yk bödöŋ 'big, large, coarse' ¶ Pp. MA 119, 434, Pp. L II 1267, Lg. VMI 2O, Kow. 1232, MED 144, KRS 126, KW 66, Chr. 121, Ms. O 1O1, SM 31, T 317, T DnJ 112, T DgJ 128, Rm. M 23, Iw. 9O, Pek. 517-8 || T *büdü- (x N *bēžU(-qN) - *bēž,N,qN 'big, high') > T d. *büdü-k 'big, large' > Osm büyük 'big, large, high', Tk büyük, Az böyük 'large' ¶ S AJ 175 [#5], ET B 288-9O, Cl. 299, 3O2-3.

174a. *bNd^h? E 'to plait' (→ 'net') > HS: CS *badd- 'woof' > BHb בָּדְדָה bad (pl. בָּדִים bad'd-īm) 'linen', JA בָּדָה bad'd-ā 'fine linen woof', ? Ar batt- (< *badd-at-?) 'a coarse garment' ¶ KB 1O5, Js. 138, Hv. 2O || K *bade- 'net, cobweb' > OG bade-y, G bade 'net', Lz boda- 'netting for picking fruits', Sv UB/L/Ln bäd, Sv L bad {TK, Dn., GP} 'net', {K²} 'netting, cobweb' ¶ K² 6, TK 14, GP 9O, Dn. s.v. bad || A *bUt^he 'bind, wind' > M *büči 'band, ribbon' > MM [HI] büči 'ribbon', WrM büči ~ büče, HlM бүч, Brt бүшэ, Kl бүч Büči n. 'tie, ribbon, band; lace', WrO büči 'ribbon; cord, band', Ord b_úč'i 'bande, ruban', b_úč'e 'in ribbon' ¶ MED 143, Ms. H 44, Ms. O 1O8, Krg. 376, KRS 132, KW 7O, Chr. 128 || NrTg *bot- > Ewk botō- 'tie together with a knot', Lm bztzb/p- 'be bound together' ¶ STM I 97 || T d. *bütür- v. 'wind, twist' > Chv пётр- pəd_ər, Δ pəd_ər- id., 'spin (threads)', ?σ VTt бөтөр- bəter- 'turn, twist, roll up' ¶ Jeg. 158, TatR 94, ≈ SDM97 || pKo {S} *pith- 'be attached' > MKo p̥it^h-, NKo p̥ut^h- put- ¶ S QK #11OO, Nam 275, MLC 846 ¶ SDM9, ≈ DQA #215 (A *bōt^he- 'bind'; incl. M, Tg, Ko) ◇ Here Altaic *-t^h- may be explained as going back to N *-tH-; the N lr. involved was lost in S, suggesting that it was *h or *? (both of them are liable to be lost in S) ◇ S NSShS #1 (K, A).

174b. ₂ *bad₁N₂X₃ 'be open' > HS: S *°✓bdh > Ar badah- 'ouvert, patent', ꙗabdah- 'vaste, spacieux, ouvert de tous côtés' ¶ BK I 95 || WCh *✓bd (≈ {Stl.} *bHd-) v. 'open' > Hs būdē id. | Ang {ChC} bēt id. | Bl bida, Krkr bādā, Ngm bida id. | Sy budē v. 'open' ¶ Brg. 121, ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh 144 || A: M *badar- (contamination with A *padar- [> Tg *padar- 'stretch']); x N *paṭh₁N 'to be open, to open' x N *mAt₁N₂d₃ -

*mAd⁷t⁷ 'to stretch') > WrM *badara-*, HlM бадра-, Brt бадар- (xa) 'spread, expand', 'open' (of flowers), Ord *b_ad_ara-* 'se répandre au loin, se propager', Kl {Rm.} *badr̥-* 'sich ausbreiten' ¶ MED 66-7, Chr. 76, Ms. O 42, ≈ KW 27 (tries to equate the Kl word with VTt and Qzq *baytaq* 'weit, ausgedehnt', which is probably a derivative from *ba:⁷у 'much, rich' [cp. ET B 30 s.v. байтак]).

175. (2?) *būd⁷X|q⁷ 'be awake; feel, pay attention; be excited, be cheerful' > HS: CS *^o✓bd⁷X v. 'amuse oneself' > JA, MHb ✓bd⁷ v. 'be cheerful', Sr *budā'h-ā* {Br.} 'recreatio', {Sl.} 'cheerfulness' ¶ Br. 58, Js. 139, Sl. 185-6 || IE: NaIE *b^heud^h- {P} 'wach sein, geweckt\geistig\rege sein' {EI} IE *b^heud^h- 'pay attention, be observant' (and the derived [caus.] NaIE stem {EI} *b^hou⁷d^heye/o- 'waken, point out') > OI 'bōdha-ti 'wakes, is awake, notices', Av *baobiti* 'nimmt wahr', *baobah-*, MPrs *bōb* 'awareness', KhS *bū* id., 'feeling' || Gk Hm, πένθομαι, Gk A πυνθάνομαι v. 'learn\hear (a th.)' ('erfahren') || Clt: Crn {LP} both, {ECCE} *bōth* n. 'will, consent', W *bodd* id., 'pleasure', OIr *buidē* 'satisfaction, reconnaissance, faveur', NIr *buidhē* 'graciousness, kindness, thanks' || Gmc *biudan > Gt ana-biudan 'to bid, to order', ON *bjóða* '(an)bieten', OHG *biotan* 'offerre, opponere, præbere', NHG *bieten*, OSx *biordan*, AS *béodan* 'to offer', NE *bid* || Lt *būsti* / prs. *bundū*, Ltv Δ {ME} *bust* / *būdu* 'wake up, awake', Lt *būdinti*, Ltv Δ *budināt*, *budīt* vt. 'to wake', Lt *budēti* 'to be awake', *budru⁷s* 'vigilant, watchful' | Sl *būdě-ti 'to be awake\alert' > OCS **БУДЕТИ** *būdě-ti* / prs. **БУЖДЖ** *būždq*, Blg бдя, SCr бдёти & *bđēti*, Slv *b(e)děti*, Cz *bđíti* / *bđím* id., Slk *bđiet'* id., 'to observe', R † бдеть 'to be awake, to care for' | Sl caus. *budī-ti vt. 'to wake' > ChS **БОУДИТИ** *budi-ti* / prs. **БОУЖДЖ** *bujdq*, R бу'дить / бу'жу, Uk бу́дити, SCr *būditi*, Slv *budíti*, Cz *buditi*, Slv *budit'*, P *budzić* 'to wake', Blg будя vt. 'wake' | Sl *būdrъ 'promptus, munter' > OCS **БЪДРЪ** *būdrъ* id. ('πρόθυμος, willing') [e.g. Mc. 14.38], R 'бодрый', Uk бодрий, SCr *bàdar* 'full of energy, lively, alert', 'munter' | Sl *būstī 'cavere, observare' > OCS **БЛЮСТИ** *bljousti* id., 'to see, to take care of, to guard', SCr † *būñstī* (prs. *būñdēm*) 'to observe, to guard', R блюсти (prs. † блюдц) 'to guard, to keep (laws, customs, etc.)' ¶ P 15O-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. 4O, OsS 66, Ho. 19-2O, Ho. S 7, EWA II

9O-2, Kb. 83, Frn. 62, ME I 345, 356, ESSJ II 136-7, III 76-7, 1O9, 111-2, Bern. I 96-7, 1O5-7, StSS 1O2-3, SPS I 459-61, Glh. 127, 155 || ?σ Δ *pu^tΔ ({θGS} *p-, *-d-) > Tm pu^taⁱ v. 'utter a loude noise', Klm pod- (po^tt-) '(dog) barks', īsa pod- v. 'whistle', Nkr poṛ- v. 'bark', Gdb porp-id. ¶ D #4254.

176. *baHgū (= *baħ|hgū?) 'forearm' > HS: WCh {Stl.} *ba-₁baka 'wing, arm' > pBT *ba^rk₁a 'arm', *b^rak₁- 'wing' > Tng {J} paka 'hand, arm', Krkr {Lk.} bākā₁; 'arm', Glm {Sch.} (kā)bāgá 'shoulder, wing', Krf {Sch.} kābārā 'shoulder', NrBc: Kry {Sk.} pākā 'arm', AG: Kfr {Nt.} bāgān 'shoulder' ¶ Stl. ZCh 146 [#15], Stl. VZCh B ##17 and 22, ChC, JI II 178, Sch. BTL 55, 81, Nt. 46, Nw. #147 || ?σ S: Ak bukān- {Sd.} 'Klöppel, Mörserkeule', {CAD} 'pestle' ¶ Sd. 136, CAD II 308 || IE: NaIE *bhā¹ghu-s 'elbow, forearm' ({EI} IE *bhā¹ghus or *bhēhā¹ghus '[fore]arm, foreleg') > OI bā¹hu-ḥi 'arm, forearm; fore-foot (of quadrupeds)', Av bāzāu-š 'arm' || Gk πῆχυς, Gk Ae/D πᾶχυς 'forearm' || ON bógr (pl. bógu) 'arm, shoulder', OSx bōg 'Bug', OHG buog 'shoulder, rib; armus, suffrago', NHG Bug 'shoulder-joint', AS bōȝ 'shoulder, arm, branch', NE bough || pTc {Ad.} *pokai- > Tc: A pokē 'arm', B pokō {Ad.} 'arm, (any) limb', (in cds.) -pokai id. ¶ P 1O8, Dv. #267, EI 26, M K II 429, M E II 223-4, F II 531, Vr. 47, OsS 9O, Ho. 29, Ho. S 8, Kb. 131, EWA II 443-5, Wn. 381-2, Ad. 403, Ad. H 2O, 22 || A: WrM {MED} bagu(y), buqun(y), HlM бүгүй 'forerm, wrist, bracelet', WrM {Ms.} buquu, Ord bugū 'bracelet', MM [IM] بُغَّوَّ bāluȝū id., ?σ [S] buqāu 'Schandkragen'; AD LRC #85 adduced here WrM bagal-cag 'wrist' and Turkic words: ET paqal-čaq 'shin', Uz baqalaq id., Qrg bayalek ~ bayalaq '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 || Δ (in NED) *pak(k)- v. 'take into one's arms' > Krx pāk-nā / pakkyas v. 'take up into one's arms, on one's lap', Mlt pake v. 'take in the lap' ¶ D #4O5O ◇ If Ak bukān- belongs here, the N Ir. *H is to be interpreted as *ħ or *h (causing devoicing *g > *k in WCh and Ak) ◇ Gr. II #225 (*bogu 'joint') (IE, A, J, Ai).

177. ₂*bū₁y₂gE (more plausible than *būHgE) 'stinging insect' > IE: NaIE *b^hug₁h- 'insect' > Lt buž̄ys id., Ltv ch būza ~ buza, buzis 'louse' || ?eNE XVII bugge, bug 'insect, bug', NE bug ¶ ~ WP II 117, ~ Mn. 119, Frn. 29, OED I 1159-6O || A *bōge 'ε (stinging?) insect' > T *bōg 'ε insect' > OT {Cl.} bōg 'poisonous spider, tarantula', Az böv

'phalangid (a poisonous spider)', ? Tkm mōy id., Qrg böyü 'tarantula', Chv p̄vən, Δ p̄vən 'gadfly (Tabanus)' ¶ Rs. W 82-3, S AJ 198 (#271), AzRL I 313, Ash. X 99, Fed. I 394 || M *böye-sün 'louse' > MM [S, HI, MA] bȫesün, [IsV, L] bōsün, WrM bögesün, HIM ნების(ები), Kl bōsŋ, Dx bosun, Ba bosuŋ, Dg būs, MnR H {SM} bōsə, ShY būsən, MMgl bōsün 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 1O2 || pJ {S} *p̄i w̄z̄ -musi 'insect (dayfly, ephemera)' > ltOJ ψ̄i w̄omúsì (cd. with pJ *músí 'worm, insect' < N *mūš̄N 'insect, fly, ant', q.v.) ¶ S QJ #158O, Mr. 4O8 ¶ S AJ 286 (#54), DQA #173 [A *bjūgi 'insect'], Rs. W 82-3 ◇ N *y is tentatively suggested by the long vw. in T. It is more probable than N *H, because a preconsonantal *-ūH- would have produced a long vw. *ū in IE.

177a. *bAga (or *bAx̄a?) 'be(come) visible, appear' > K *me-px-e 'clear sky, fine weather > Lz mapxa-, Sv U/L mēpxe, LB/Ln mepxe 'cleared up (sky), clear space' ¶ K *-px- < early K **-bꝝ- (devoicing due to the infl. of K *px- 'be warm') ¶ K 133, K² 12O, ~ Chik. 188-9, TK 57O, GP 218, Dn. s.v. māpxe || HS: S *°bꝝw̄ly > Ar ✓bꝝw (pf. لَعَ بَغَّا) 'sortir d'une embuscade et fondre sur sa proie' (hardly etymologically identical with ✓bꝝw 'dépasser, excéder les limites' < N *b̄i'ḡe 'much') ¶ BK I 147 || D *pakal- ({§GS} *b-, *-ꝝ-) 'visible' > Kt baga·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 (parade ground)', bayalu 'field' ¶ D #394O || IE: NaIE *b̄hā- 'appear, become visible' (×NaIE *b̄hē- / *b̄hō- / *b̄hə- 'glänzen, leuchten, scheinen' < N *behə [or *bäha?] 'shine, be bright') > Gk πεφῆσται 'will appear', φαίνω (aor. ἔφηνα, Gk D ἔφάνα) 'make appear' || Arm բանամ bana-m v. 'open, discover, disclose' (< *'make visible') || ? Tc A pākär, Tc B pākri {Ad.} 'clear, obvious', {Wn.} 'ouvertement, publiquement', Tc B {Ad.} pākre '≈ in the open' ¶ WP II 122-3, P 1O4-5, see EI 352-3, 513 (*b̄heh₂- 'shine'), F II 982-4, Wn. 35O-1 (all of them do not distinguish this ✓ from *b̄hē- 'shine, be bright'), Ad. 364 ◇ D *-k- = D {§GS} *-ꝝ- as a reflex of N *-g- still needs elucidation ◇ An alt. rec.: N *bAx̄a > K *me-px-e, D *pakal-, IE: NaIE *b̄hā- (without HS: S *°bꝝw̄ly) ◇ Qu. (the K, IE, and Ar roots may be explained otherwise).

178. **b'igē* 'much' > **HS:** Ch: CCh: FIM {ChL} *b̄ʒw*, Nz {ChL} *b̄wʒŋ*, {Mch.} *b̄wɔŋ* 'many' || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} *b̄ʒyà* id. || ?ϕ WCh: Wrj {Sk.} *bákω*, P' {MSk.} *bákù* id. ¶ ChC, ChL || ? S *^o✓*b̄yŋw* > amb Ar ✓*b̄yŋy* ~ ✓*b̄yw* (pf. *بَعْ* *baŋā*, ip. -*b̄yŋi*) 'dépasser, excéder les limites' (unless a sd. of ✓*b̄yw* ~ ✓*b̄yŋy* 'dévier') ¶ BK I 147 || *AdS* of Eg fOK *b̄t̄hy* vi. 'be inundated, have abundance, be well-supplied' (< N **b̄e'ŋv̄t̄hy* 'to pour' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶¶ Eg, CCh, and ECh may have contaminated with N **baXy* ∇ - **baXi* '≈ abundant' || **K** *^o*beŋy* > Mg *baŋu(n)*, Lz *baŋun* 'enough'; G *baŋ-* 'share' should be kept apart, because it is a loan from Iranian (cp. Av *baga*, *baŋa* 'share'), as indicated in Andk. Z 21. But the Mg and Lz words are semantically rather far from the Iranian word in question and hence should not necessarily be considered Iranisms ||| **IE:** [1] ≈ *^o*b̄hə|oj-* > Av *baē-var*, *baē-van* 'ten thousand, myriad', Phl *bēvar*, NPrs بیور *bivär* id., Oss: I *bīrā*, D *berä*, *bewrä* 'many, much, very' ¶ Brtl. 913, Ab. I 262 ¶¶ [2] one of the sources of *-*b̄həH*, sx. of abstract nouns preserved in Sl *-*ba* and Lt -*bé*, but the N etymon in question is only one of many possible sources of this abstract building (< N **b̄v* [particle of nomina abstracta] [q.v.] and N **baXy* ∇ - **baXi* '≈ abundant' [q.v.]) || **D** **pēl̄* ({^oGS} **p̄-*) '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 relatives; company, clique' (see N **baXy* ∇ - **baXi* '≈ abundant'; ≠σ (↔ Blz.) Os V *päy* 'hillock, heap, crowd of people' (the primary meaning is obviously 'hillock, heap') (see Coll. 74) ◇ IS I 193 (#28), ≈ Blz. LB #1O7a (added Irn and erroneously U).

179. **beha* (or **bāha*?) 'shine, be bright' > **HS:** S *^o-*bhā|ū* (*✓*bh̄w*) > Ar ✓*bh̄w* (pf. *بَهَّ* *bahā*, ip. -*bhā* ~ -*bhū*) v. 'be fine, shine' ¶ Ln. 269, Fr. I 168-9 || Eg G *b̄x* ({^oEG} *b̄h̄*) v. 'shine (sun, moon)', 'light up' ('leuchten, erleuchten') ¶ EG I 472, Tk. II 291 || C: Dhl {EEN} *b̄aβa?-* v. 'shine', {To.} *b̄uvad-* 'shine' (sun) || SC {E} ? **ba?* v. 'glow' → Mb -*'bayu* 'red' ¶ E SC 135, EEN 33, To. D 129 || **IE** **b̄həh|x-* / **b̄hoh|x-* / **b̄h̄h|x-* ({EI} **b̄həh₂-* 'shine' → ? **b̄həh₁(e)s-* n. 'light') > NaIE **b̄hē-* / **b̄hō-* / **b̄hə-* 'shine (glänzen, leuchten, scheinen)' (< NaIE **b̄hā-* 'appear, become visible' < N **bAga* [or **bAxā*?] 'be[come] visible, appear') > OI 'bhā-ti' 'shines', *bhā-* (in cds.) n. 'shine, light, brightness', Av *bā-* 'scheinen' (used with a px.: *v̄i-bā-* 'leuchten'), *bāmya-* 'licht, glänzend', *bānu-*

'Licht, Strahl' || Arm **բանամ** ba-na-m (NaIE *bʰā-n-) 'I open, discover, disclose', aor. **բացի** bacʰi || Gk πεφήσεται 'wird erscheinen', NaIE *bʰə-n- in the present form φαίνω (< *φάντω) 'bring to light, make appear', φαίνομαι (ipf. ἐφάνην, aor. ἔφηνα) 'come to light, am seen, appear; shine brightly'; Gk [Hs.] φάντα (prs. prtc. accus. sg. m. from *φα- v. 'shine') || OIr báin 'white' || Gt bandwa 'a sign', Gmc *bandwjan > Gt bandwjan 'to give signs', ON benda 'anzeigen, vorbedeuten' || Sl: HLs bać so (prs. baju) vr. 'to burn imperceptibly, to glimmer', LLs bajas se (prs. bajom) vr. 'to glimmer, to flare' ¶ P 1O4, 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 13O-4O || U: FU *pejä (≈ {UEW} *päj∇) v. 'shine white', adj. white' > Lp: N {N} bæggjot, -æj- v. 'shine white', L {LLO} pāju 'white' | OHg feer [feēr] ~ feher ~ fejer [feyēr], Hg fehér 'white', Hg Δ feér, feír, fejér id. (-h- is an epenthesis in a hiatus, -é r goes back to two nominal sxs.: a deverbal *-j∇- and a denominative *-r∇-) ¶ MF 188, UEW 360 ¶ Lp N {N} ≈ suggests FU *-e-, but Rd. (UEW) reconstructs *-ä- (probably on the basis of Hg); if he is right, there is *ä rather than *e at both the FU and the pN levels of rec.

180. ₂ ***baH₂**∇ 'to tie, to bind' > **K** *✓b- v. 'tie, bind, attach; hang' > OG b- 'attach', G b- 'tie, bind, attach; hang', Mg, Lz, Sv b- id. (Sv L {Dn.} mā-b stt. 'it is attached to me', χā-b 'it is attached to him', msd. li-bem 'to tie, to attach', msd. plrt. li-b-āl, Sv UB msd. li-b-em, LSv {TK} liben id.) ¶ **A** *bā- v. 'bind' ({SDM97} *bā) > NaT *bā- 'bind, fasten (sth. to sth.)' > OT bā- id., Yk bīā 'rope' ¶ Cl. 292, Rs. W 53, Pek. 598-9 || ?σ 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} *bá 'rope' > OJ wō, [RJ] wó, J: T/Kg wó, JK wó ¶ S AJ 68, S QJ #239, Mr. 228 ¶ Rm. EAS I 57, S VL, DQA #102 (A *bá 'bind') ◇ IS I 172-3 (#2).

181. ***buH₁** 'grow, appear, become' > **HS:** NrOm: Kf {C} bē 'esserci', Shn {C} bi- 'be', {Lm.} bēy- 'sit, sit down, dwell, live', Anf {C} bē- 'be', {MYTY} beyyo 'live', ? Ym {Lm.} -wā, -(m)bā/-(m)be (focalizing particles) ¶ C SE IV 247, 409, MYTY 116, Lm. Sh 289, Lm. Y 278-80 || EC: Sml bā (focalizer) (Lm.: ← 'is'), Rn (-)bá ~ -bà (a kind of focalizing pc.: am-bá irda 'I'll be the one to go') ¶ Lm. FP ∀, PG 71 || **IE** *b̥eūH- v. 'grow, be' ({EI} *b̥eūH₁ 'come into being, be; grow') > OI 'bhavati

'becomes, is', Av *bavati* id., OPrs *bavatiy* 'is' || Gk φύω v. 'bring forth, produce, beget', φύομαι v. 'grow, rise' || Lfui 'I was, have been', Osc *fufans* 'erant' || Clt d. *bu-tā > OIr *buith*, *buid*, W *bod*, OBr *bot*, MBr, Br V *bout* 'to be' || Gt *bauan* 'to dwell', AS *béo* 'I am', NE *be* || Lt *bū-ti*, Ltv *bū-t*, Pru *būton* 'to be' | Sl *b̥i- (inf. *b̥i-^z-ti, past ptc. *b̥i-lъ) > OCS **быти** b̥i-ti, SCr *bī-ti*, Slv *bī-ti*, R *быть*, Uk *бути*, P *бу-ć*, Cz *býti*, Slk *být'* '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 || A {S AJ, SDM95} *bui- v. 'be, sit' > M *buyi- ~ *būyi- > MM W [IsV] *būj* ~ *bej* ~ *bī*, [MA, L] *bī* 'is', MM E *bui* [S] 'is', [HI] 'is, exists', LM *bui* 'being; is\am\are', HlM *буй*, Бий id., Dg *b_ej*, {T} *bej*, Dx {T} *bī*, Ord *bī* '(there) is', Kl {Rm.} *bī* '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 DnJ 112, KW 44, ≈ S AJ 233 [#1] || Tg *b̥i- v. 'be' > Ewk *bī-*, Neg, Nn, Ul, Ork *bī-*, WrMc *bī-*, Jrc {Md.} *bie-i* id. ¶ STM I 79-80, S AJ 221 [#225], SDM95 s.v. *bui, Md. ChF 135 || pJ *bū(j)- v. 'be, sit' > OJ *wi-* id., J: T *ī-ru* v. 'be', Ht *bī-* 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 *bīyu 'be, sit') ◇ The absence of the expected root-final *j in IE still needs explaining ◇ IS 184 [#19] adduces here Eg *bȝ.t* 'shrub', Cb *fȝā* 'tree', and U *puwe- v. 'grow' (not more than a possibility) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #27 (*biu 'be').

182. *b̥o¹ka 'put out, throw out' (→ 'sweep out') > **HS:** S *^o-būk-: Ar ✓ *bwk* (ip. *ya-būk-u*, pf. *bāka*) 'remuer le bâton dans l'ouverture de la source pour en faire sortir plus d'eau' ¶ BK I 180 || ?σ Eg G *bk* v. 'kill (with a sword)' ¶ EG I 480, Tk. II 332-5 || **IE:** NaIE *b̥eug- ~ *b̥eug^h*- 'remove' (→ v. 'clean, set free' → 'save') > Gt *us-baugjan* 'sweep out', NHD Δ *Bucht* 'sweepings' || Av *baog-* / *bunja-* 'loosen, set free, save', *baoxtar* 'saviour, liberator', Sgd B *βwȝ* 'deliverance' || ? Vnt p.n. *v̥huxiia* (lit. 'savior, liberator' ÷ Av *baoxtar*) ¶ P 152, H 621 [*b̥eug(^h)- 'purify, free'], Fs. 529, Brtl. 916-7, Bai. 319-20 || A: M *bog > WrM *bog*, HlM, Brt, Kl *бог*, Ord *bog* 'sweepings, filth, garbage' ¶ MED 110, KRS 102, Chr. 96, Ms. O 73 || Tg *bog-i- v. 'put out, throw out' > Ewk *boȝī-*, Neg *boȝin-* v. 'give birth to a child (out of wedlock)', Ewk *boȝin-* v. 'show oneself (out of an aperture)', 'be born', Ul *boyal-*, *boyalči-*, Nn Nh *boyago-*, Nn B *boygao-* v. 'have a miscarriage', WrMc

bouyolo- ~ bīyōyala- v. 'break loose, run away' (of a fish\bird\beast that escapes from a hook\net\snare) ¶ STM I 87 || D (in GnD) *pok- ({§GS} *p-) v. 'throw' (x N *bōraKE [or *bōra KE] 'to fall, to fell, to throw?') > Knd pok- v. 'throw', Gnd pohānā v. 'throw', po?-~pon- v. 'throw away' ¶ D #4457 ◇ On IE *bʰeug- presumably from N *bō- see Introduction, § 2.4.

183. *buk'ō¹ (or ***buk'ō¹ń**) 'run, run away' > HS: Eg fP bc 'run', Eg NK bc 'durchlaufen'; ?? Cpt {Ws.} vOk bōk ~ FOK fōk 'go' ¶ EG I 485, Fk. 86, Tk. II 352-3; Ws. 22 || C {AD} *✓bk^w v. 'flee' > Ag: Aw {Hz.} buk- id. || EC: Sa I {CR} bukā 'flight', Af {PH} búka id., 'escape', buk- v. 'flee, escape'; EC {Ss.} *baķ- v. 'run away, be afraid' > Arr {Hw.}, Brj {Ss.} baķ-ad-, Dbs paq-ad- 'run away', Or baķ-ad-, {Grg.} baķ-add- v. 'flee, escape', baķ-a n. 'escape, running', Sml baq-ad- (md.) v. 'be afraid', baż-i- (caus.) v. 'frighten', Rn baħ-s-ada caus. md. 'rush, run away, escape' ¶ AD SF 27O-1, Ss. B 32, Hw. A 346, Th. 32, Grg. 36, PG 74 || NrOm: WI {C} biķič- v. 'flee', Gm {Hw.} baķáto- 'flee from', as well as possibly Cha {C} bokā 'way' and (?) Kf boččō id. ¶ C SO 28, C SE III 164, C SE IV 41O, Hw. EG || S: [1] S *°✓bkř (~ *°✓bkř?) > Ar ✓bkř G 's'éloigner, s'en aller', ✓bqř G 's'éloigner, s'en aller dans une contrée bəqřatun', [2] SES (+ext.) *✓bkř v. 'run' > Mh ✓bkř (pf. bž'ķawř, sbjn. үз-bķař), Hrs ✓bkř (pf. bžķoř), Jb E ✓bkř (pf. bķoř) id. ¶ BK 149, 154, Jo. M 48 ¶ The origin of the cns. ř in Ar ✓bkř ~ ✓bqř and of the glottalized cns. k in EC *baķ- and in NrOm is still controversial: one may suppose either a HS élargissement (from an ancient word group) or a HS (or even a N) archaim (contradicted by Eg bc without laryngeals), a derived word, or a compound ¶ ≠ Tk. LAA-1 112 [#59] (HS *✓bk 'to abandon'), ~ Tk. LAA-1 57 [#59] (HS *✓bk 'road') || IE: NaIE *bʰe(:)gʷ- ~ *bʰeug- ({EI} *bʰeug-) v. 'flee': [1] *bʰegʷ-/ *bʰogʷ-/ *bʰēgʷ- > Gk φέβομαι v. 'flee, be afraid', φόβος 'flight, panic fear' || Lt bēg-ti (1s prs. bēg-u) 'to run, to flee', Ltv bēg-t (prs. bēg-u) 'to flee' | Sl *běg- (inf. *běg-ti, 1s prs. *běg-q ~ *běž-q) v. 'run, flee' > prs.: OCS бѣжжь běž-q, R бе́г-у, inf.: P bieč, R Δ бεχь, OUk бъчи, Uk Δ бічи, μ Uk бігти, μ Blr бегчы 'to run, to flee', SCr йзбећи ѧ iž-bjeći 'to avoid, to evade', поべћи ѧ po-bjeći 'to run away, to flee'; Sl μ (*běgěti? >) *běžati 'to run, to flee' > OCS бѣжати běžati id., R бе́жать, SCr бේжати ѧ bjěžati, Slv běžati, Cz běžeti, Slk bežat', P biežeć 'to run'; Sl n. act. *běgъ 'running' >

ChS **бѣгъ** běgъ, Blg бяг, SCr, Slv bēg, R бег, Cz běh, Slk beh, P bieg id.; Sl *běgati iter. 'to run, to flee' > OCS **бѣгати** běgati, SCr бѣгати, Δ bjēgati id., Slv bégati, Cz běhati, Slk behat', P biegać, R бегать, Uk бігати iter. 'to run' || pInA stem *bhāg-/*bhāž- v. 'flee', that is reconstructible from Prkr bhaggā 'fled', Hindi, Ass, etc. bhāg- v. 'flee', etc. and is attested in OI [Bhatt.] (diśō) bhājayat 'drove out', (diśō) bhyabhadjatām 'fled' (diśō = diśas [gen. of diś 'direction'] functions as a preverb of direction), [Pañc.] diśōbhāga- 'fleeing' ¶ 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 *běg- meant 'flee, avoid' only, while the meaning 'run' is late'), Tu. #532, ≠ Bloch MIIA 62 (*bhāg-/*bhāž- v. 'break' → 'run'), SPS I 224-7, 245-6 | [2] *bhēug-/*bhōug-/*bhug- v. 'flee' > Gk φέυγω (aor. ἔ-φυγον) v. 'flee', φυγή 'flight (in battle)' || L fugi-ō (pfc. fūgī, inf. fugēre) v. 'flee', fuga 'flight' || ? Lt būg-ti (prs. būg-s̄tu) 'to fear, to be frightened', bauginti 'to frighten', baugūs 'fearful', Ltv būgn̄s id. ¶ P 152, Mn. 75-6, F II 1005-7, WH I 556-7, ≈ Frn. 37-8, ESSJ II 58-60, 92 || u: FU *°pUk∇- v. 'flee' > Es {W} pōge- 'flee' || U *pUkta- 'hop, run' (× N *'p'ō'K∇'d∇ '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 (*pukt∇), MF 223, IS I 181 (*pok-t∇) ◇ IS I 181 s.v. убежать *bok'a' (IE, U, C + Tg *pukti- v. 'flee, run' [in fact from N *'p'ō'K∇'d∇ 'run']), AD GDS #1.32 (C, IE, U) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #317 (*pok 'run') (IE, U + non-existent M *bög-si- + err. Tg, J + qu. CK, EA).

184. *b'ōk'ka 'to heat, to roast, to burn' > HS *°✓bōk > S *°✓bōk > Ar buškūk-at- 'heat' ('calor') ¶ Fr. I 137 || Ch *✓bk vt. 'roast, burn, scorch' ({JS} *✓bk v. 'roast', {Nw.} *b∇ki|u v. 'roast, burn') > WCh {StL} *bak,k,- vt. 'burn' > Hs babbákà id., 'scorch' | AG: Tal {IL} pʰiyák, {Sh.} p'yak vt. 'burn' | Bl bokk-, Ngm beke, Maha boko id. | SBC {Sh.}: Zem mbay, Brw bak, Zar v̄aki, v̄žk, Gj búkì, Dw b̄k id., Tule {ChC} b̄k, Plc {ChL} baꝝā, Gj {ChC} bùkkà vt. 'burn' | Ngz {Sch.} bákt id., Bd {ChL} b̄k̄n id. || CCh: McMtk: Mkt {Ro.} b̄k̄l̄ id., ?? Gzg {Lk.} fok v. 'roast' || ECh: Jg {J} b̄k, Mu {J} bágé, EDng {Ebob.} b̄k̄e v. 'roast' ¶ JI II 274-5, JS 214, StL ZCh

152 [#69], Nw. #1O6, Ro. 218, Ebob. VDE 78, ChL, ChC || EC: Brj *bukkvi*. 'burn, lighten' (the meaning 'lighten' may have been influenced by C **✓brk* 'lightning') ¶ Ss. B 42 || B **✓Hpk* > Gd *āþεχ* (3m pf. *ūþεχ*) v. 'be lit' ('être allumé'), Izd *aχ* id. ¶ Lf. I 253 and II #OO85, Mrc. 1O, NZ 81-2 ¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 13, ≈ Tk. LAA-1 115 [#83] (HS **✓bq* 'burn') (B, Ch, EC + unc. Eg *bXX* 'glühen, brennen') || IE: NaIE **b̥hōg-* vt. 'roast (rösten, braten), bake, burn', {El} 'bake, roast' > Gk *ψώγω* v. 'roast, broil' || AS *bacan*, *bōc* (> NE *bake*) v. 'bake', OHG *backan* ~ *bachan* 'to bake, to roast, to dry', MHG *bachen* 'to bake', ON *baka* 'backen, braten, Hände und Füsse wärmen', NHG *backen* 'to bake' || Sl {Trb.} **bagatъje* 'fire, embers': Uk *багаття ba'fiat'ta* 'smothered fire, embers', R Dn *багатъе ba'fiat'je* 'smouldering fire', Blr *багацце ba'fiac'ce* 'fire' ¶ P 113, Mn. 88, F II 1O57, 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} **b̥hōrk'*- 'flammen, brennen' (> L *focus* 'fireplace, hearth', ? Arm *p̥ng* *bocʰ* 'flame' [< **b̥hōk-so-?*], and Arm *p̥nunp* *bosor* adj. 'red, blood-colour' [← 'feurig'?]), that contradicts the IE incompatibility law ruling out the occurrence of mediae aspiratae and tenues in the same √, but acc. to Mn. AIE 164, Arm *bosor* is akin to OL *fusvōs*, to L *fūrvūs* 'dark', and to AS *basu* (gen. sg. *baswes*) 'purple' ¶ P 162, El 125, WH I 521, Jah. OSK 9, 55 (on Arm *bocʰ*) || K: G {Chx.} *bug-* 'aus-, verbrennen, einäschern', ? *bgol-* 'kochen, bereiten (Essen)', ? G I {Chx.} *bgal-* 'anbrennen, sengen' ¶ Chx. 72, 115-6 || A: NrTg **bugar* 'site of a burned forest' > Ewk *bučar*, Lm *bōrin* id. ('гарь') ¶ STM I 1O1 || ??σ M **boγursug* ~ **boγurčug* > WrM *bogursug* ~ *bogurcug*, HIM *боорсог* ~ *боорцог* 'bread, pastry', Ord *bōrsaq* 'galette, gâteau, pain', Brt *боорсог* 'small pastry', MnR H {T} *bōrzog* 'pastry', {SM} *bōržog*, Kl *боорцг*, Δ *боорсг* 'pieces of dough fried in oil', M → Chg *baγursaq* ~ *boγursaq*, Qrg *bōrsaq*, Qzq *bawirsaq* id. (× OT *baγirsaq* ~ *baγirsuq* 'entrails' ← OT *baγir* 'liver', see Cl. 319?) ¶ MED 112, KRS 1O9, Chr. 1O5, Ms. O 81, SM 28, T 318, Dr. TM II #797 || ? pj {S} **bák-* v. 'boil, seethe' > OJ *wák-*, J: T *wàk-*, K/Kg *wák-* ¶ S QJ #778, Mr. 783 ¶ ≈ DQA #217 (A **būgà* n. 'heat, steam' > Tg, J).

185. *bukE₁Ν 'billy goat, ram' > HS: C **✓bkɪ* (> **✓bgɪ* by as.) 'sheep, goat' > Bj {R} *bōk*, Bj A {AD} *bok* 'billy goat' || Ag **beg₁Ν*- 'sheep' > Xm {R} *beg-a* (pl. *big*), Q {R} *bag-a* (pl. *bagan*), Km {CR} *bega*, → Gz *በግዕብንጋይ* 'sheep, ram', Tgy *bəgɪ*, Tgr *bəgguy* id., Kf {C}

bagē, Mch {L} bágó, Shn {C} baggō 'sheep'; Tgy → Bln {R} bəgg-a (pl. bəgg) || SC {E} *bēs- > Irq {Wh.} bési, {E} bəsi, Alg {Wh.} bēsi, {E} bəsi, Grw {Wh.} bēsi 'sheep', Brn {Wh.} bēs-imo, pl. bēs-a, {Fl.} bēs-, {E} bəsi id., Kz {E} bařamuko 'ewe lamb' || Dhl {EEN, To.} bēsa 'buffalo' ¶ LG 88, AD SF 39, 315, R WB 71, ESC 137, EEN 33, To. D 13O, Wh. IC 25, C SE IV 411, LM 21 || S: (mt.) Gz **በአከላ** bəħakʷ 'ram, billy goat' (→ Gz **በአከላ** bəħakʷ id.) (acc. to L: ← C) ¶ LG 91 || B *✓bgg > Ah {Fc.} a-baḡug 'jeune mouton', Ty/ETwl {GhA} abəgog 'jeune mouton de 2 à 3 ans', Gh abažuž 'mouton châtré' ¶ Fc. 34, GhA 4, NZ 32 || Ch *(m)bak|g 'ram, sheep' > WCh: SBc: Kir mbak 'male' (of rams in: mbak partm 'ram'), Zul bəgálá, Gj bágállá 'ram' || CCh: Gude bágá, FlJ bəgá, FlM bəgá, FlB bəgáñ, BtG {Mch.} mbágé, BtD {Srp.} bāgé 'sheep', Mln mbágá 'ram', mbágatí 'sheep', Bcm mbágá 'ram', mbágátó 'sheep', Gudu mbáksü 'sheep' | Glv {ChL} mbákuláká, {Rp.} mbákłaka, Gv mbákùłská '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 form (Gz bəħakʷ) is accounted for by earlier mt. and as. (something like *b^hvak- > *b^hvák- > *b^hvák- with subsequent reg. change of pre-HS *vák to *ħ) || IE [*b^hu(:)gHō- >] *b^hu(:)gō-s, {E} *b^hugōs 'buck, billy-goat' ~ NaIE ({P}: end) *b^hukko-s 'he-goat, ram', f. *b^hu(:)g-ā ~ *b^hukk-ā 'she-goat, ewe' (Dv.: 'capra prisca') > Av būza 'goat, billy-goat', NPrs بوز boz 'goat; she-goat', KhS buysa- 'goat', Psh wuz 'billy-goat' || Arm **բուծ** buc '(sucking) lamb' || Clt: OIr boc, bocc, pocc, W bwch, Crn boch, MBr bouch, Br bouc'h 'buck', OCrn [VC] boch 'caper vel hircus' || pGmc *bukka- (← Clt, acc. to Ped.) > ON bukkr, bokkr, bokki, Nr bokk, bukk, Dn buj, Sw bock, OHG boc & 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. 12O, VI. I 233, Brtl. 969-7O, Sg. 182, Horn 49, Bai. 297, Mrg. 94, Vn. B 62-3, Hü. 43O, Slt. 292, Vr. 48, 64, EWA II 216-8, OsS 79, KM 87, Ho. 38, Ho. S 11 ¶ The expected lr. is in a prevoc. position and hence leaves no trace || A: M *bugu 'deer' > WrM buġu, HIM بۇڭا, Kl buġa 'male deer', Mnr H b_ug_u 'deer', MM [MA] *buġu- 'deer': gen. بوغۇيىن 'of a deer', [S] {H} buħu, [HI] {Ms.} buqū [buqū] 'deer'; M → WrMc buġu 'deer', Ewk buġu, Sln buqo 'Manchurian deer, 犀牛' ¶ 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

*bu_ka 'male horned ungulate' (< N *bu_ka 'bovines') > WrMc buχo ~ buχu 'deer' (← b- M?), ? buχa 'wild animal', SIn buxa, Ewk buka 'sire bull', Ewk Vtm buka 'buffalo', WrMc buq_a 'billy-goat, ram' § Z 528, STM I 1O3-4 || NaT *bugu 'deer' > (or M →) MU XIII buχu 'deer', Tk Δ, Uz, Qrg buχu, Nog buχi 'male deer', Chg [BL] {Brv.} بوغو buχu 'kind of antelope or wild goat', Qzq buχi 'deer' § KW 58, ET B 237-8, Brv. BL 139, STM I 1O1-2, Dr. TM II #752, Cl. 312, Rs. W 86 §§ S CNM 1O (reconstructs A *pUk_? and adduces Ewk h₃gl₃n ~ h₃wl₃n 'young of elk') ◇ In Altaic lgs. there is probably a quite plausible semantic change: 'billy goat, ram' → 'deer' ◇ AD NM #45.

186. *ba_ka (or *bag|k₁▀, ?a?) 'stick, sprout; (?) to sprout' > **I E**: NaIE *bak- 'stick, staff used for support', {El} 'club' > L baculum 'a staff, walking-stick' (< *bak-tlom), dem. bacillum 'a little staff' || OIr bac 'courbure, creux, objet courbé', NIr bac 'pin, peg, crook; prop', W bach, Crn bagh 'hook, hinge', OBr {Flr.} bach ~ bah 'ligo (houe)', Br bac'h 'croc, gros hameçon' || Gk βάκτρον 'staff, stick, cudgel', βάκτηρις 'staff, cane' || MDt pegge 'pin, peg', Dt Δ pegge 'block (Klotz)', 'ē peg (in manufacturing wooden shoes)', ME pegge > NE peg; ?σ Sw pigg, Dn pig 'thorn' || ?σ Blt d. verbs: Ltv bakstīt 'to poke, to pick', Lt bākstelēti 'to 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 1O4-5, P 93, H 11O-2, WH I 92, F I 211-12, Vn. B 2-3, YGM-1 38, Flr. 77-8, Hm. 61, Frn. 3O, Ho. N 512-3, Skeat 439, HDEL 967, 15O7, Hlq. 76O || **A** ({SDM97} *bak_? 'pole, pillar'): NaT *bakan 'pole' > Uz Δ ("Chagatay") {Rl.}, Qzq {Bu., Rl.} baqan 'tent-pole' ('Stange, mit der man die Filzdecken der Jurte aufhebt und stützt'), Tt Δ bayan, payan 'post, pole', QK {B} paqan 'post for tethering horses' § Bu. I 234, ET B 42-3, B DLT 184, Rs. W 53 || M *bagana ~ *baqana 'pillar, column, post, pole, tent-pole' > WrM bagana, HlM, Brt багана, Kl бахн id.; M → Qzq, Qrg baqan, Yk bayana, Tlt paqqan id., WrMc baxana 'tent-pole, prop' § MED 68, KRS 86, Chr. 73, KW 29, Pp. IM 135-7 (on M *-q-) || Tg *baksa 'prop, pole' > Ewk baks_a id., UI baqsa, Nn baqsa ~ baxsa 'central pole of a tent' § STM I 67-8 || pKo *pò > MKo pò 'beam, cross-beam' > MKo pò, NKo po, til-bo § S QK #375, Nam 259, MLC 786 §§ DQA #93 (A *bákuja 'pole, pillar') || ?φ K *biga- 'stick, cudgel' > G Δ biga- 'wooden cross-beam', Mg biga-, Lz biga, Lz At biķa, Sv {K} biž- 'stick' § K DE 361, K²

15, BU 12 || HS: S **bak₁ν*] - n. 'sprout', *✓*bkl* v. 'sprout' > Ak {Sd.} *baklu* 'Sproß', Sr ^{بُوك}_ل *buk'l-ā* {Br.} 'germen', {JPS} 'staff, cudgel', Ar بَقْل *baql-* 'vegetable, herbage, green', ✓*bq* G 'appear, come out (plant, tooth)', Ak ✓*bkl* {CAD} v. 'sprout' ¶ Br. 87, Sd. 1O4-5 || LEC: Af {PH} *bukka* 'woody type of grass used for fence\roof making' ¶ PH 74 || CCh: Msg {Krs.} εfέk ~ γεfέk 'Rohr, Stroh' || ZmD {KNC} νόκ 'foin' ¶ Lk. DQM 52, KNC 29 ¶ ~ Tk. LAA-1 112 [#62] ◇ M **bagana* and K **biga-* (if it belongs here in spite of the irreg. *i) suggest that the medial consonant is likely to go back to N *-g₁ν? - (if this is true, the apparent pN *-K- [suggested by by M **baqana*, as well as by E, S, and T] may go back to a contraction of *-g?-). If K **biga-* does not belong here, but M **bagana* does, the N etymon may be **bak₁ν,pa* ◇ If we adduce here Eg fOK f^čg 'fingernail, claw' (¶ EG I 576, Tk. II 566) instead of S *✓*bkl*, which is rather doubtful, we shall have to rec. N **pak₁ν,gν* ~ **pak₁ν,Kν*.

187. ₂ **baKν* 'to look' > HS: CS **bky|w* v. 'look, observe' > JA, Sr ✓*bky|w* G (pf. בָּקָא ^{בְּ}בָּקָא *bə'kā*) 'schauen, beobachten, ausforschen', JEA {Sl.} ✓*bky* G 'inquire into, search for, examine', MHb *bā'kī* (בָּקִי ~ בָּקִיא ^{בְּ}בָּקִיא *bə'kī*) 'erfahren, kundig', Ar ✓*bqy* (ip. -*bqay*, pf. *baqā* بَقَى) 'observavit, respexit', [Qam.] {Fr.} ✓*bqw* (pf. *baqā* بَقَى) 'spectavit, respexit, observavit' ¶ Lv. I 253, Sl. 23O, Fr. I 144; IS I 172 adduces also S *✓*bkr* v. 'examine' and *✓*bkθ* v. 'seek' || EC **bēk-* > Or *bēk-* v. 'know', Brj *bēk-* id. (a loan from Or?), ?? amb Sml {R} *bēq* ~ *bēg* 'sorgfaltige Ausschau (wie etwas ins Werk zu setzen sein)' (unless ← Ar *baqy-*, msd. from ✓*bqy* v. 'observe') ¶ AD SF 264-5, Grg. 43, Brl. 5O-1, Hd. 87, R SS II 8O || NrOm **bνk-* v. 'see' > Bnc {Wdk.} *bēk* v. 'see', Bsk {C} *bik-*, {Bnd.} *bekā*, WI {C, LmS} *bē?*- 'see, look', Zl/Bdt/Cha {C} *bē?*-, Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} *bē?*-, Ym {Wdk.} *bīya* v. 'see', Shn {Lm, Fl.} *bek-*, Anf {MYTY} *bekk-*, {C, Fl.} *bek-*, Mch {L} *bakkī(yé)* v. 'see', Kf {C} *beg/begg-*, caus. *bekk-*, {Fl.} *bē?*/*bek* id. ¶ AD SF 264-5, Wdk. BY 99, 119, 172, Fl. OWL s.v. 'see', LM 22, MYTY 12O, LmS 312, Lm. Sh 282 || Ch: WCh: Hs {Ba.} *bīkī* 'looking after, tending carefully, taking pains about in order to get sth. back into its original good condition' || CCh: MfG *bák* 'regarder' ¶ Ba. 1O6, Brr. MG II 82 || A **bak'a* > T **bak(a)-* v. 'look at' > OT *baq-*, aor. *baqār*, Chg *baq-*, Tk *bak-*, Tkm, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, VTt *baq-*, Tf *pāq-*, Uz *bak-*, Chv *p̥x-* id. ¶ Cl. EW 311, ET B 38-4O, Rs. W 58,

Fed. I 4O7 || Tg {ADb.} *baka- v. 'find' > Ewk baka-, Sln, Neg baxa-, Lm baq-, Orc bā-, Ud {STM} b?a-, {Krm.} ba?-, Ork bā-, baqqa-, Ul bā-, baqa-, Nn Nh/B bā-, Nn KU baqa-, WrMc baxa- id. ¶ STM I 66-7, Krm. 21O || pKo {S} *p̄o- 'see' > MKo p̄o-, NKo po- ¶ S QK #73, Nam 259, MLC 788 || pJ {S} *bàkàr- 'understand' > OJ, J Kg wàkàr-, J: T wakár-, K wákár- ¶ S QJ #774, Mr. 782 ¶ DQA #9O (A *båka 'look, watch [regarder]') ◇ ≈ IS I 172-3 (HS [S, B, C, Om], A [T, Tg]); IS (l.c.) adduces B: Kb əb̄yu ({Dl.} b̄yu, aor. -b̄ya) v. 'wish', but it is better explained as a loan from Ar ✓ b̄y. IE *spek/g- v. 'look, see, observe, spy' does not belong here, but rather to N *p̄'E¹KuN 'to track (game), to follow the tracks of' (q.v.).

188. *buKa 'bovines' > HS: +ext.: S *ba'kar- 'cattle' > BHb בָּקָר bā'kar 'cattle, herd', Ph b̄kr 'cattle', Ug {OLS} b̄kr 'rebaño de vacuno, cabaña', JA אַבְקָרָא בָּקָרָה, Sr بَقَرَّا bāk'r-ā 'cattle', JEA bāk'r-ā {Sl.} 'herd', Ar baqar- '(wild\domesticated) bovines, ox\bull\cow', Sb b̄kr 'bovines, head of cattle', Eb {Krb.} baqarum 'cattle'; S d. *buqār- > Ar buqār- 'head of (large) cattle', Ak buqār- 'cattle' ¶ KB 144-5, KBR 151, HJ 187, OLS 114-5, Lv. I 256, Sl. 231, Br. 88, Ln. I 234, BGMR 3O, BK I 148-9, CAD II 323, Krb. EG 39 || Ch: ECh: Brg {J, ChC} bògorò 'male antelope', bògoréy 'female antelope', EDng {Fd.} bógór 'antelope', (with mt. of the glottalization): Mkl {J} bòrgú 'horse antelope (kudu)', Mgm {JA} bârgú 'oryx antelope'; Nd D {J} paḡs̄r 'antelope' (p- due to the infl. of the reflex of N *p̄oKü '(herds of) ruminant animals, wild cattle') ¶ ChC, J LM 73, JA LM 73 || IE: NaIE ≈ *bu(:)k-/bouk- 'bull' > Sl *bíkъ / gen. *bíka (< NaIE *būko-) 'bull' > Blg бик, SCr b̄ik, Slv b̄ik, Cz, Slk býk 'bull', P buyk id. ({ESSJ}: 'sire bull'), OR бъикъ бикъ, R бык 'bull'; Sl *bíkъ (< *buk-) > SCr bák 'bull' || ? pClt f. {SB, Vn.} *boukk-ā 'cow' (unless ← Clt *bow- < IE *gʷʰow- 'cattle', as supposed by SB, LP, and Vn.) > OW buch 'iuvanca', W buwch (pl. buchod), MBr, OCrn buch, MCrn bugħ, 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- < *bʰ- due to the IE law of incompatibility of voiced aspirates and voiceless cnss. in the same root || A: NaT *buka ({SDM97, ADb.} *būka) 'bull, sire bull' (× A *muk'u 'male' < N *maKu 'baby, son', ? 'be pregnant' [q.v.]?) > OT بوقا buqa (Cl.: buqā), Chg buya, Tk boğa, Tkm buya, SbTt buya ↗ poğa, MQp buya, Qzq, Uz, ET, Tb buqa, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Nog, Qq, Bsh, Yk buya,

Xk þuγa, Tv þuγa, Tf þuñha '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 þuqæ 'bull', HIM þuχ, Brt þuχa, Kl þuχ buχu 'sire bull', MMgl {Iw.} þuqæ, Mgl {Rm.} buqa, Ord b_uχa 'bull'; but M *bugu 'deer' is easier to explain as belonging to N *bukE₁N '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 (x N *bukE₁N) > Ewk buka, Sln þuχa 'bull, male reindeer', WrMc þuqæ 'ram, male goat' ¶ STM I 103-4 ¶ ADb. KL 5.

189. *buķN (or *būķN?) 'cheek' > HS {Blz.} *buķN or *buk₁N₁N 'cheek(s), face' > EC *buķ-(~*buk(k)₁-?) > Or {Bl.} 'boķ-o?' 'jaw, the whole cheek', Or Gj/B {LLC} boķo 'jaw, cheek', Kns pa'ķ-ō-ča 'jaw', Brj, Sd boķo 'head', Kmb boķo 'head', Sa I {CR} þuķa 'higher location', Gln, Gwd pukka₁-te 'head' ¶ Bl. 134, LLC 33, 108, Ss. B 38, Lm. SKE 533 || B *-bNqqā > Rf abəqqä 'face', Mz abəqqä 'cheek', Wrg abəqqä id., 'côté de la figure', Kb abəqqä 'gifle', Nf abəqqä id., 'sifflet' ¶ Dl. 34, Dlh. M 9, Wlf. EAW 43, NZ 85-6 || CCh: Tr {Nw.} þoxom 'beard', Lgn {Lk.} mbagam 'cheek', {ChL}: Bcm bʷòkz̥y 'cheeks', ? Bu þukúm, Ngx þʷzh̥m, HgF puki id., Bnn fókù-ná 'face', Lmn {SSAAJ} pagam 'temple' ('Schläfe') || ?σ Hs bākí, Gw bākýí 'mouth' ¶ ChL, ChC, Ba. 64, Lk. L 108 ¶ ~ SSAAJ I #19 || K: OG {Abul., Fn.} baķo 'lip, border', G {Chx.} baķo 'Rand (eines Trinkgefäßes)'; the development of vowels in K is still to be investigated ¶ Abul. 28, Chx. 60 || IE: NaIE *°buķ(ķ)N or *°buk(k)N 'cheek' > L bucca id. || (L → ??) W boch, OBr boch, Br boc'h id., OCrn [VC] en voch 'facies' (en is an article) ¶ ≠ WH I 120 (unc.: from *bu- 'aufblasen, schwollen'), My. 57 (adduces Al buzé 'lip, edge', that does not belong here, F O 43), Flr. 87, Hm. 89, Loth ML 138 ¶ *b-...-k|k- for *bʰ-...-k|k- due to the known uncompatibility law || D *pukk- 'cheek' ({GS} *buk- id., unc. 'swollen') > Kn buggi 'cheek', Tl bugga 'cheek, inside of the cheek', bukka 'inside or hollow of the mouth', pukkili 'inside of the cheek', Prj bukka, Gdb buggal, Gnd bukā ɬ þukā ɬ bʰukā ɬ bukka ɬ bugga 'cheek', Knd buku 'mouthful', bugli 'cheek', Ku būga ɬ bugga id., Krx poķ'ō '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. *bükₐa 'in a stinging insect' (≈ 'gadfly', 'gnat') > HS: S *baķk- > Ak baķkum '(small) gnat', Ar baqq- 'bug, gnat', {BK} 'punaise', JA נַקְנָה

ba^k'k-ā, Sr **բակ**՝ bā'k-ā 'gnat' ¶ Sl. 23O, Br. 87, JPS 52, Sd. 1O5, BK I 148, Lv. I 253 || EC: Or {Grg., Hd.} bōkē 'gnat, mosquito', {Brl.} bōké 'moscerino della famiglia Phlebotomus' ¶ Hd. 71, 1O2, Brl. 59, Grg. 56 || K: G P bukuča 'gnat' ¶ Chx. 117 || IE: NaIE *b^houk-/*b^huk- 'bee' > L fūcūs 'drone bee' (< *b^houkōs) || Clt: Gl {ML} *bekos 'bee' (→ Port Mr, It Mdn bega, Occ Cr beko, bīeko 'bee'), OIr bech 'bee', W begegyr 'hornet' || Sl *°būčēpъ > R Δ 'бученъ 'wild bee; (ε) a green fly with a sting' & 'бученъ, 'бучинъ 'bumble-bee'; Sl *būčela (< *b^hukelā) ~ *būčela 'bee' > OCS, OR бъуе́ла ьъчела ~ бъуе́ла ьъчела, R, Blg, McdS пче́ла, Blr пча́ла, Uk бджо́ла, SCr čélā, pčélā, Slv bčélā ~ bečélā, Cz, Slk včélā, P pszczoła id. ¶ P 116, Dv. #868, EI 57 (*b^hi-k^wo- 'bee, stinging insect'), ESSJ III 76, 1O4-5, ML #1O14, Vn. B 24-5 || A *böök'e '≈ botfly, gadfly, mosquito' ({ADb.} *bük'▽ 'fly') > NaT *büök-e-lik {ADb.} 'blue fly, botfly' > Tkm bökelek, Tk Δ bökelek & bükelek 'botfly, gadfly', Az büyäläk, Δ bögäläx, Uz Δ bōkalak, Bsh bōgäläk, Yk bügüläx 'botfly', Qzq бүгелек, {RI.} bügölük 'Pferdebremse, botfly'; with other sxs.: Qzq bügözök, Nog büklesin 'botfly', VTt bōgäšän, {RI.} bōgälök 'botfly'; ?? Tk Δ büven, Chv pъvan 'gadfly' ¶ ET B 212-3, MM 1O9, RI. IV 1718, 1881-2 || M *böküne 'horse-fly, gadfly' > MM [HI] {Ms.} bökö, üne 'cousin, moustique', WrM {MED} böküne, bükügenë, HIM бөхнө 'horse-fly, gadfly', WrM {SM} bökügene 'ε cousin jaune', {Ms.} bökögüne 'cousin, moustique', WrO {Krg.} böküne 'mosquito', Kl бөкүн böküne, {Rm.} bökünə 'gnat', Ord bōh"xōṇ 'cousin, moucheron, ε petites mouches qu'on voit sur le bétail', Mgr H p'ugunog 'taon' ¶ Ms. H 43, MED 127, 145, Krg. 359, KRS 114, KW 55, Ms. O 86, SM 3O7.

191. *bük'a' 'to bend; bent' > HS: Om {Blz.} *buķ-/*buķn- 'knee' > SOM: Dm bōq, Gll buqa, Ub buča ~ buγá ~ buqá, Baka boγa, Hm buk, Hm B būko id. || NrOm: Kcm, Gdc boʔe, Gnj boʔaut, Malo, Oyda {Fl.} bunke, Bdt {C} bohe, {Fl.} böhe, Bsk buča, Dk buki 'knee' ¶ Blz. OLBP #7O || CCh: ?φ Bnn {ChL} fwōkivà 'knee' || IE: NaIE *b^heug- ~ *b^heugh-, {EI} *b^heug- vt. 'bend' > [1] NaIE *°b^heug-/*°b^hug- > OI bhū'jati 'bends, curves', bhug- 'na- 'bent', Blc bōg n. 'bend, knot, joint', KhS ham-bujs- 'bow down', ham-buśdā 'bows down' | [2] NaIE *°b^heugh- > Gt biugan, OSx būgan, OHG biogan, NHG biegen vi., vt. 'to bend, to turn', ON bogenn pp. 'bent', 3p p. bugu 'they bent'; → Gmc *baugjan vt. 'to bend' > OSx bōgian, OHG bougen, NHG beugen, AS

bē̄ējan, ON *beygja*] [1 or 2] NaIE *b^heug_L^h- > pAl {O} *buta > Al butē 'soft, smooth' (< *b^hug_L^h-to- pp. 'bent, flexible') || ?? Arm բուր
but^h 'blunt, dull' (< *b^hug_L^h-to- 'bent') (unless akin to Nr Δ butt 'blunt') || OIr boc, NIr bog 'soft' ({Vn.}: ← 'pliable'), OIr fid-boocc 'wooden shaft-bow' (< Clt *-buggo-) || Ltv Δ (ME) բանցւրս 'Anhöhe, Hügel' | Sl *bugъrъ ~ *bugorъ 'hillock, knoll, mound' > R, Uk бу́гір (gen. бу́гіра) id. ¶ WP II 145-6, P 152-3, EI 62, IS I 191, M K II 504-6, M EI 267 and 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, Slt. 348 || A: T *bǖk- v. 'bend' > OT {Cl.} bǖk- id., Tk bǖk-, Tkm, Az, Qmq, Qrb, Qzq, Qq. Nog bǖk-, Alt bük-, Xk pük- ~ piχ-, VTt, Bsh bök-, Uz buk-, Chv пәк- ръг- id.; T *bǖk n. 'a bend' (× N *mǖK[∇] or *muKE 'a bend, corner, hump' [q.v.]) ¶ Cl. 324, Rs. W 91-2, ET B 290-3 || M: [1] *böke-yi- > MM [MA] bökej- vi. 'bend down' (of humans), vt. 'bend down', [HI] d. bökeyilge- 'soumettre', WrM {MED} bökүi- ~ bökei-, HlM бөхий- v. 'sich vorwärts biegen', 'bend down, bow one's head' ('гнуться'), Brt бүхы- , Kl бөки- 'bend down, bow', Kl {Rm.} bökī- 'sich vorwärts biegen, buckelig werden', Ord b ȫh"xi- 'se courber', Mnr H {SM} p'ug_i- id., 'être incliné', {T} pugi- 'bend down, bow (one's head)'; [2] *bögktiyi- > WrM {MED} bögtüi- v. 'bend, step over, bow', Brt бүгдү- 'bend down, bow low', HlM бөгтий- 'stoop, bow (нагибаться)', Kl {Rm.} bökčī- '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 *buk_e- ({Bz.} *bök_ä) 'hump' > Ewk Urm/Ucr/Chlm buku, Lm bökčökən, Neg boxon, Ud boxo 'humpbacked', Ul boqo(n-) ~ buqo(n-), Ork bo(q)qo ~ buqqo ~ buqqu id., 'hump', Ewk Ucr bžkž, Nn Nh bukū 'hump', WrMc boχoto, boqto 'camel's hump' ¶ STM I 104, Krm. 214 || ? pJ {S} *pinkam- 'be twisted\warped' > OJ p̄iŋigām-, J: T/Kg higám-, K hígám- ¶ S QJ #1659, Mr. 688 ¶ DQA #185 (A *bjūk'í 'to bend, to bow') ◇ IS I 911 [#25] ◇ ≈ Gr. II #39 (*buk 'bend') (IE, A + qu. Ai, Gil).

192. *b'ôhi'kö 'be white\bright\light (hell), shine white' > HS: WS *✓bh_k (G and Sh) > MHb [BT] ✓bh_k, act. prtc. bō'hēk 'albino' or 'man with white patches on the skin' (BT, Bekh. 45b), Sh hib^hič_k {Js.} v. 'shine, be bright', {Lv.} 'glänzen, leuchten', Sr ✓bh_k: Sh ?ab_hεk {Br.} 'luxit, splenduit', {JPS} v. 'shine white, glitter', {PS} 'splenduit, fulsit', JA [Trg.] ?ab_hēk v. 'shine'; WS *'buh_ak- ~ *bahač- 'white patch', (?) 'ray

of light' > BHb 'bohaḳ 'vitiligo alba', MHb 'bohaḳ 'weißer, blasser Glanzfleck', JA [Trg.] בָּהָקָא boh^a'k-ā, bhāqyt 'white spot on the skin due to leprosy', Ar bahaq- 'vitiligo alba, alphus (a mild species of leprosy)', Tgr ՈՍՓ բեհակ 'blisters', Hrs bəhōk 'having uncoloured (white) blotches on the skin', Jb bhōk 'white patches on the skin' ¶ KB 1O8, 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 *bahaḳ '[kind of] skin disease') || Ch {JS, JI} *✓ ḫg 'white' > CCh: Gdf {ChC} ḫzg̃, Gv {ChL} ḫug̃a 'white', ? HgNk {ChL} ḫya, ? HgB {ChL} ḫiya id., Mada ḫak ḫak 'brûlant' (soleil, feu) || ? WCh: Dir {IL} ḫáwá, {Sk.} ḫé 'white' (Ch *b goes back to *bh or is due to mt. of the glottalization) ¶ JI I 178 and II 345, ChC, ChL, BrrB 73 || Om: NrOm: Kf {Cc.} bako 'luce', {HWHM} bekko ՈՒ (sc. բէkkօ) 'light' || ?ϕ SOM: Hmr {Ldl.} p^hak 'bright' (of light) ¶ R K (book) 272, HWHM 144, Nnd. AL 146 ¶ ≠ MiK I #1.33 (HS *b^hak̑k- 'a skin disease'), ≈ Tk. LAA-1 113 [#68] (unj. k̑ in Kf bako) || IE: NaIE *bhēigʷ-/ *bhōigʷ-/ *bhigʷ- 'shine (glänzen)' > Gk φοῖβος 'bright, radiant', [Hs.] ἀφικτός, ἀφικτρός (*-bhigʷ-) (with the px. ἀ- 'un-, not') 'impure' || OPrs *bigna-'Glanz' (in proper names: Bagā-bigna, Αρια-Βιγνης) ¶ WP II 138, P 118, F II 1O31-2, otherwise EI 514 (Gk < ?? *g̃woi̥gʷos) || D (in SD) *puk- ({GS} *p-, *-g-) 'bright(ness)' > Tm pukar 'brightness, light, colour; tawny colour, brown', Ml pukar 'dun colour', Kn pogar 'shine, brightness, lustre, colour' ¶ D #4232 ◇ The absence of the expected laryngeal (from N *h) in the IE root is still puzzling ◇ The IE root *bhēigʷ-/ *bhōigʷ-/ *bhigʷ- is likely to go back to pre-IE *bhiko (for *bhik̑o) (loss of glottalization due to the IE incompatibility of vd. aspirates + vl. consonants in the same root) < N *b^hōhi¹k̑o (loss of the vw. *ō that still needs explaining).

193. ≈ *bUk̑c'E (or ≈ *bUh₂aK̑c'E?) 'to tie', 'tie' (→ 'rope') > K *baç̑c̑(k̑)- 'rope' > G baç̑ki 'dünner Faden', ?? baç̑ari 'Bindfaden, Schnur, Seil, Strick' ¶ Chx. 71 || IE: NaIE *bhask^o- 'bundle' > L fascis 'bundle', fascia 'bandage, bund' || OIr basc 'collar', {Vn.} 'assemblage tressé (?)', collier', OBrth bascauda 'eherner Spülkessel' (< 'plaited vessel'?); Brtt → NE basket || Gk [Diosc.] φασκίω v. 'bind with bandages', [Hs.] φασκίς (gen. -ίδος) {By., Ch.} 'un paquet lié par une corde' || Mcd [Hs.] βάσκιοι · δεσμοὶ φρύγανων ('bundles of dry sticks'), βασκευταί · φασκίδες, ἀγκάλαι ('paquets liés par des cordes') || pAl {O} *bakskā > Al T bashkē 'together, jointly' (< {BFU})

'bündelweise, in Verbindung') § WP II 135-6, Ch. 1181, LS 31O, By. 2O56, WH I 459-6O, Vn. B 21-2, LP § 25.2, O 19, BFU 52, Kf. 48, Ç I 59 and II 351 (reconstructs IE *baksk- on the alleged ev. of Lt *bakske 'paquet, fasceau' without indicating the lexicographical source; this Lt word has not been detected so far in any source known to me) || U *pükse ~ *pikse 'rope' ('Seil, Strick') > Mk/Er piks 'rope' || pOs *püχəf ~ *piχəf > Os: V püχəl, D piχət, Nz piχət 'Tragband, -schnur', Kz piwattæ- 'die Tragbänder über die Brust zusammenheften' | ?φ OHg fiu [fiū] 'funiculus, Seil' (→ 'modus agri, mensura terrae') || Sm: Ne O pūd 'rope (of bark)', F N pūt 'rope' §§ Coll. 49, Coll. CG 4O8 (*püks∇), UEW 38O (*pikse), Sm. 539 (U, FU, FP *piksī, Ugr *pīkθī, Sm *pūte 'cord'), Ker. II 112 || A: M *büči 'ribbon, belt' > MM [HI] {Lew.} büči 'ceinture, ruban d'un vêtement, ceinture qu'on porte sur la hanche', {H} büži 'belt, loin-cloth', {Ms.} büči 'ruban à un habit', WrM büči ~ büče, HlM буč, Brt бушә 'tie, ribbon, band, lace', ? Brt бәхә ~ буһә 'belt, sash, girdle', WrO büči 'ribbon, cord, band', Kl буčи 'ribbon, lace', 'kurze und breite Schnur, Band', Ord b_ūhč'i ~ b_ūhč'e 'bande, ruban' § Lew. II 23, H SMG I 18, Ms. H 44, MED 143, Chr. 128, 135, Krg. 376, KRS 132, KW 7O, Ms. O 1O8 || D *počč- ({§GS} *p-) (partially × N *počč∇ 'to plait', q.v.) > Kui poža v. 'pack, make a bundle', Ku požali v. 'tie up in a cloth', Kn poše v. 'twist, make rope', Krx požžnā / pužžyas v. 'wrap (paper, cloth) round some object', Mlt pože v. 'wrap' §§ D #4479 ◇ In IE *b^hask'ō- the cluster *-sk- is probably due to mt., and the vw. *a in IE and K still needs explaining (something like N ≈ *bUH₂aKčE with loss of *-UH₂- in IE and K and with reg. disappearance of N *-H₂a- in U, A, and D?) ◇ AD SShS 3O6-7.

194. *baL'ū 'bad, harm' > HS: S *°√b^halw|y > Ar √bly (pf. balya, 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 *b^halw- 'evil, wicked' > Gt balwa-wēsei 'κακία = Bosheit', balwjan 'βασανίζειν = martern', balweins 'κόλασις, βάσανος = Strafe, Folter', AS bealu n. 'evil, calamity', adj. 'evil, dire, wicked', ON bql 'Unglück, Schade', bqlva 'to curse', OHG balo (gen. balawes) 'harm' ('Verderben'), 'bad, evil' (n.), OSx balu id. || Gk φαῦλος (IE < *b^halwo-?) 'bad, mean, unfit' § WP II 189, F II 998, Fs. 79, Ho. 17, Ho. S 5, Vr. 7O, OsS 38, EWA I 444-5, Kb. 55, O 31 (Al bolbē 'mishap, accident; disorder, trouble' is a loan from Sl and does not belong here), Vs. SAW 8 [#6] || A: Tg *bele- v. 'harm' > WrMc bele- v. 'harm, ruin, slander',

Lm Ol *bələzəz-* v. 'harm' ¶ STM I 125 || M: HlM {Luv.} **балаг** 'guilt, cause' (an obscure word without clear connections within M) (derived from WrM {Kow.} *bala* ↔ OI *bala* 'power, strength, vigour, validity'?) ¶ Luv. 59, Kow. 1074, MW 722 || ?φ pKo *ōi- 'bad, wrong' > MKo ōi-id., NKo ōi- id., 'left' ¶ S QK #587, Nam 386, MLC 1221 || pJ {S} *bàrž- 'bad' > OJ *wärž-*, J: T/Kg *warú-*, K *wárù-* ¶ S QJ 540, Mr. 844 ¶ ≠ SDM95 s.v. *bḗla 'bad, harm' (equates Tg *bele-, Ko *ōi-, pJ *bàrž- with T *bjā́lc 'wound' [highly doubtful]) ◇ Tg *e (< *a) of the first syll. is due to regr. as. (infl. of the front vw. of the next syll.) ◇ This N etymon may be connected (identical??) with N ***bəHÍ᳚** 'pain, wound' (q.v.).

195. *b̥ilU 'be warm, burn; warm' > HS: C (× N ***bEÍ᳚** 'to boil, to cook', q.v. ffd.): EC: Or BI {Sr.} *bullu-sa* vt. 'warm', *bullūka* 'luke warm', Or {Grg.} *buluk-* 'become warm', *bulukā* adj. 'warm', {Brl.} *buluqa* '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 *bélbèl*, *bélel* n. 'flame' || Ag {Ap.} *bəl-/*bər-, {AD} *bəlk-/*bək- v. 'cook, be hot' > Bln, Aw *bər-*, Xm *bəl-*, Km *bəlu y-* || Bj {R} *balōl-* 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. CL 177 || Ch: MfG {Brr.} -bəl- 'allumer (le feu en faisant tourner deux bâtons)', Gzg {Lk.} -bəl-/-bəl- 'anblasen (Feuer)' ¶ Brr. MG II 82, Lk. G 118 || U: FU (in Ugr only) *pil]᳚ 'warm; to burn' > Hg *fūl-* v. 'be warm, be heated' || Vg: Vg T *pilawt-* v. 'light (sth.)', LK *pōl-* 'brennen', P *pēləmt-* 'anzünden', N *pēl-* v. 'catch fire', T *pält-* 'anzünden', P *palt-*, Ss *pālt-* 'verbrennen' ¶ UEW 879 || A: M *büli- → *büli-χen 'warm' > MM [HI] *büli_en*, [S] *bule_en*, WrM *bülingen* ~ *büliyen*, HlM *булээн*, Brt *бүлээн*, Kl *бүлән* *bülän*, Ord *b_ülēn*, Mnr H {SM} *bīeliän* id., WrM *büli-s-*, *büli-d-*, Brt *бүләэдэ-*, Kl *бүләд-* *büläd-* v. 'warm up, become warm' ¶ H 20, MED 146, KRS 126, KW 66, Chr. 122, Ms. O 102, Ms. H 44, SM 24.

196. *bul᳚ 'to stir up (liquid); turbid' > HS: S *✓*bll*, *-*bull-* 'mix, moisten' (× N ***ba'Lñ᳚** 'wash, immerse') > BHb ✓*bll*, -*bɔl* (pf. **בָּלְלָה** *bā'lal*, pf. c. **בָּלְלָנִי** *way'bā-lən*) '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'ləl*) v. 'give (animals) their fill of water', Gz ✓*bll* G v. 'moisten; spoil, mix', Tgy ✓*bll* (pret. *bələlə*) v.

'spoil', Ak \checkmark b1l (inf. **balālu**) v. 'mix, brew beer, make an alloy', (in the stative) v. 'mix up, confuse'; WS * \checkmark b1b1 v. 'confuse' > Ar \checkmark b1b1 (pf. **balbala**) v. 'mix, confuse', MHb \checkmark b1b1 (pf. **bil'bel**) v. 'confuse', Tgr **pabelbela** v. 'be confused' ¶ KB 128, KBR 133-4, Br. 74, DM 66, BK 155-6, Jo. J 25, LG 96, CAD II 39-44 || Eg Md **b3y** (< * $b\Delta l_y$) 'be damp (with perspiration)', **b3yw** 'damp' ¶ EG I 417, Fk. 77, Tk. II 44-8 || B: Ah **bəlulu** 'être très liquid' (un mélange d'un liquide et d'une substance en poudre ou en petits fragments), Tw Ng **bəlwaw** 'être très liquide' (mélange d'un liquide et d'une substance en poudre) ¶ Fc. 65-6, NZ 68 ¶ Cal. 6O, Tk. II 44-6 || IE: (+ext. or sx.?) NaIE ***bh1-end-** v. 'be(come) turbid, mix', (\times IE ***bh1endh-** v. 'be blind' < N ***baL_q\nabla** 'blind') > Gt **blandan** sīk 'συναναμέννυσθαι, to be mixed up with', ON **blanda**, OHG (gi)**blantan**, OSx, AS **blandan** 'to mix', NE **blend** || Lt **blēsti** (prs. **blendžiū**) 'to add flour to sth. and to mix', **blendynis** 'light\thin mixture (e.g. flour and water)', **blandus** 'dim, dull, cloudy; misty, foggy', {Frn.} 'not clean, turbid', **blīsti**, Δ **blēstis**, **blāstis** 'to grow\become dark\dim', 'to become turbid' (of water), **subliñdo** 'it got dark, night was falling' ¶ P 157-8, EI 147 (***bh1endh-** 'be\make cloudy'), Fs. 98-9, Vr. 42, Oss 73-4, EWA II 159-6O, Kb. 94, Ho. 26, Ho. S 8, Frn. 47-8 || A: NaT ***bulga-**, ? ***bulka-**, ***bula-** v. 'mix, stir' > OT **bulya-**, **bulqa-** (Cl.: **bulyā-**) 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 **þilya-** v. 'mix, soil', Tf **þulha-** 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 ***bülejɪ-** 'stir, churn' > WrM **büle-** ~ **büli-**, HlM **бүлә-** 'beat\churn kumiss with a beater', Ord **b_üli-**, Brt **бүлә-** 'churn', WrO {Krg.} **büli-** 'stir', Kl **бүл-** 'churn (butter)', {Rm.} **bülə-**, **büł-** id., 'stir', Dg {Mr.} d. **bulure** '€ stirrer' [2] M ***bulangir** > MM [HI] **bulungir**, [MA] **bulangir** [bulangir] 'turbid', WrM **bulangir**, HlM **бүлингәр** 'disturbed lees or sediment in liquids; turbid', Brt **бүлангир** 'dirt', Ord **b_ulinjir** & **b_ulanjir** 'dirt in water', 'dirty, turbid' (of liquid), WrO **bulangir** 'murky, cloudy', Kl {Rm.} **bulŋgir** ~ **buŋgir** 'dirty, turbid; dirt, lees', M → Ewk **bolanjir** 'mud (in a swamp)', **bolanjinti** 'turbid'; ?σ M ***bulayi** > MMgl [Z] **bula** 'polluted', WrM **bulai**, HlM **бүлай** 'loathsome, filthy', Kl {Rm.} **bulā** ~ **bulā** 'dirty', {KRS} **бүзр-бүла** 'sewage, dirt' ¶ MED 133, 146, Ms. O 1O, Krg. 375, KRS 12, KW 59, 66, Chr. 123, Mr. D 127, Z 93 || ? Tg ***bulejɪ**

'swamp, mud' ($\times N$ *pály ∇ 'mud, swamp, lake', q.v. ffd.) || pJ {S} *púr-'shake up, wave' > OJ púr-, J: T ꝑúr-, K/Kg ꝑúr- § S QJ #779, Mr. 694 §§ ≈ DQA #2O6 (A *búli 'stir, shake, smear' > T, M *búle|i, J) ◇ The loss of N *u in IE *b^hl-end- still needs explaining ◇ IS I 185-6.

197. ₂ *b^rú ∇ |í ∇ '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)' ('ушки кругом бубна, сережки на дереве'), Lz bibil- 'comb (of cock); penis' § K 51, K² 15, FS K 54, FS E 55, Chx. 84 || D (tr., §GS} *pu]- 'small stick, twig' ($\times N$ *P_uL ∇ , b ∇ 'in tree [poplar or sim.]?') > Tl pulla 'a small stick or twig', Kn pulle, pulli 'a small bit of very dry wood', Kdg pulli 'fuel', Tu pullæ 'a split, splint' §§ D #4328.

197a. *b ∇ L ∇ 'dove' > IE: NaIE: Ltv balôdis, Lt balandis id. || Oss: I bälön, D bäläw 'domesticated pigeon', ($\times N$ *P_eí ∇ [= *peí ∇ ?] 'pigeon') OI bälägra 'dove-cot' § ≈ Frn. 31, ≈ Kar. 1O1 (both: unc.: in Blt 'dove' ← 'white'), Ab. I 249 || HS: EC: Or bululla 'colombo, piccione', {Brl.} bulallé id., 'tortora', ??σ Sd {Gs.} buło 'in bird' § Brl. 65, Th. 51, Gs. 49 || Ch *(m ∇ -)bU]- > WCh: Hs bóló 'dove' | AG: Gmy bɛl, Cp bul, Su {J}, Ang mbul; Krkr {ChL} bél̴swì id. | BT: Bl {ChC} mbole 'dove', Tng {J} mbole 'turtle-dove' || CCh: Tr {Nw.} mbólá 'dove' || ECh: Gabri {AF} bélù, Kwn M {J} bólögó 'dove' § ChC, ChL, Ba. 118. J T 75, Stl. ZCh 156 [#1O4], Nw. WLT 42, Lk. ZSS 88 §§ OS # #33O (Or, Ch + unc. Eg bn 'in bird', bnw 'phoenix' + err. Kwn bólókí [in fact 'dawn' rather than 'dove'!]) || D *pe]- ({§GS} *b-) 'dove, pigeon' ($\times N$ *P_eí ∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Blz. DA 160 (D, HS) ◇ Qu. because of possible infl. of the onomatopoeia and names of colours.

198. *biLu \tilde{e} (= *bílu \tilde{e} ?) 'cloud' > HS: C: Bj {R, Rop.} bäl 'cloud', ??? {R} bire ~ bile f. 'sky', m. 'rain' § Rop. 161, R WBd 46-7, 5O || NrOm: Dwr bolæ, Gf bolla 'sky' § Blz. OL, Mrn. O || Ch *b ∇ l ∇ > WCh: Kir {ChL} p̄lat 'sky' || CCh: pMM *nbulum 'sky' > {Ro.}: Mlk cd. húrmbólóm, Zlg cd. ḡzambólóm, Gzg cd. bumbólún id. | Lgn {Lk.} bólukwì 'cloud' || ECh: Nd D {J} bólán 'sky' § ChC, ChL, Ro. 327 [#651]; ≈ IS I 18O (+ unc. Ch words for 'rain') || Eg fOK bý \tilde{e} - name 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. 8O, Tk. II 128-9 || K: Lz pula, Lz A pulera 'cloud', Mg pula 'steam' § Q 299, Rosen L 34, 37 || U: FU *pilwe 'cloud' > F pilvi, Es

pilv id. | pLp *p̥l̥v̥z > Lp: N {N} bâl'vâ {LLO} pal'va, Kld p̥l̥:v id., S {Hs.} balve 'trübes Wetter' | pMr *pi̥l̥ə 'cloud' > Er пель réi, Δ ρευέι, Mk Δ peyeí | Chr: KB p̥l̥, U/B p̥l̥ id. | Vt pi̥lem-, OPrm pil, Z LV/Ud piv, Z I/Vm piy id. || Os: V p̥l̥əŋ, D p̥təŋ, O p̥l̥əŋ id. | Hg fēlhō, fēlleq id. ¶ UEW 381, Coll. 49, Sm. 547 (FU *pilwi 'cloud' > RP *pilvi, Ugr *p̥ilg̥n̥i), MF 148, It. #379, Ker. II 107-8, Lr. #858, Lgc. #4657, Hs. 285-6, LG 221, SZ 186 || A {DQA} *būlu|o|a 'cloud' > T *bulu|it (ppT {Md.} *būlit ~ *pilut) > OT bulut, Tk bulut, Az, Tkm, Uz, Qrg bulut, Qq, Qzq bult, Nog bulit, VTt болыт бълът, Bsh болот бълът, Tv pulut, Yk bilit id., Chv p̥l̥ət ʌ p̥l̥ət, Δ p̥l̥t 'sky, cloud' ¶ S AJ 176 [#15], Rs. W 88, Rs. LTS 156, Jeg. 156, Fed. I 42O, Md. 67-8; acc. to IS, *-t goes back to the ending of pl. ¶ ≈ DQA #2O9 (T, Tg) || D (in SD) *pu|i]Δ 'mist on mountains \ in valleys' > Kdg pu·]i 'mist on mountains', Td p̥i|mɔz̥m 'mist in valleys \ on hills' ¶ D #4375 ◇ Mg and Lz *p̥- and D *-]- (regularly from the N intervocalic lateral sonorant) point to a lr. (*?) and to the intervocalic position of *L in the N etymon (*bilu?e). D *-]- suggests a N *-l̥- (or *-l̥-, ruled out by the T cognate), while the U word seems to point to a N *-l̥-. This discrepancy is still to be elucidated (a positional change in the precons. position in the prehistory of U?). Lz and Mg u, T and D *u of the first syll. are due to regr. as. ◇ IS I 18O, DQA #2O9 (A, IE, D, U, ?K).

199. *b^hVLV^h?a 'to blow, to inflate' > HS: CCh: Gzg D {Lk.} b^hl̥ 'anblasen (Feuer)' | Db {Lnh.} mb^hl̥ v. 'blow' ¶ Lk. G 119, ChC || ?σ Eg fOK b^h 'soul' (transcribed in Gk [Horapollon] as βαί) (× N *be^hyΔ 'body, self', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Cf. also Ch: Ke {Eb.} fū:li 'blasen, wehen', Kir {ChL} f^hale v. 'blow' (Eb. 46, ChC), but this Ch verb may be better equated with HEC {Hd.} *fōle 'breath' || K *°bēl-> Sv UB/L {GP, Dn.} li-bēl-e v. 'cause sth. to swell up; swell up', Sv {Ni.} -bäl-/ -bel- v. 'swell' (× N *b^hor^hi^h|lΔ 'swell', q.v. ffd.) (K 5O, K² 11, and IS I connect the Sv word with G ber- v. 'inflate' [aor. -ber-e < *-bēr-e, F GM S 25O, GM SAKS 7O-1], Lz bar-, Mg (m)bar- v. 'blow, inflate' [{K} *bel₂-, {K²} *ber-], but this is highly doubtful) (see N *b^hV^hR^hΔ 'blow, inflate, swell') ¶ Ni. s.v. пухнуть and пухлый, GP 1, 147, Dn. s.v. bēl-, IS I 193, K 5O, K² 11, Schm. 97, Chik. 252 || IE: NaIE *b^hlā- (/*b^hel₂a-?) v. 'blow, inflate' ({EI} IE *b^hl-eh_A- ↔ *b^hel- 'blow, blow up, swell') > L flā- (1s prs. flō) v. 'blow', flātus (gen. -ūs) 'a blowing, blast, breathing' || Gmc *blē- > WGmc *blā- > OHG blāen 'to blow, to blow out' ('conflare, inflare,

spirare'), MHG *blæje*, *blæwen*, NHG *blähen* 'to inflate', OFrs *blē* p. 'blew', AS *blāwan* 'to blow, to breathe', NE *blow*; ON *blær* 'gust of wind, Windstoß' || ? Clt: W *ffroen-foll* 'with wide nostrils', {P} 'with puffed out nostrils' (*ffroen* is 'nostril') ¶ The puzzling Gmc *ē (> WGmc *ā) for the expected Gmc *ō (< NaIE *ā) may be due to positional factors ¶ P 12O-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 || A: Tg *°*bol-* > Ewk *bolī-* v. 'blow' (of wind) ¶ STM I 92 ◇ IS I 193-4 (K, IE).

200. *baL̥iN 'blind' > HS: EC {Ss.} **bal̥i-*/**balla-* 'blind, one-eyed' > Or {Grg.} *ballā* & *bal̥ā* 'one-eyed', Or H {Ow} *bálpá* m., *bálp-ó* f., Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} *ballā* m., *ball-ō* f. 'blind', Or WI {Brl.} *ball-a* 'squint-eyed, short-sighted, one-eyed', Arr {Hwl} *ballák* 'blind person', Sd *bal̥-ičča* ~ *ball-ičča*, Ged *balla?*-a, Hr *palla-*akko, Brj {Hd.} *bal̥ia*, {Ss.} *bal̥i-*ā 'blind', pHEC {Hd.} **ball-* v. 'be blind' > Sd *ball-*, Ged *ball-e?*, Brj *bal̥-iaw-* || SC: Kz {E} *balangayo* 'blind person' ¶ Ss. B 33, Hd. 28, AD SF 195, AD GDS #1.7O, Hw. A 346, Grg. 35, Sr. 27, Ow. 255, ESC 32O || ?φ Eg: DEg *bl*, Cpt: Sd **БΛΛΕ** *balle* ~ B **ΒΕΛΛΕ** *belle* 'aveugle' (unless the Eg word goes back to an ellipsis from a cd. with Eg *bl* (spelled *br*) 'eye') ¶ Er. 12O, Vc. 27 ¶ Tk. SCC 71 [#1,7], AD GDS #1.7O, OS #2O4 || IE: NaIE **bhl-end-* v. 'to be(come) blind, not to see' (× IE **bhlendh-* v. 'be[come] turbid, mix' < N ***buL** 'stir up [liquid]; turbid') > Gt *blinds*, ON *blindr*, OHG *blint*, NHG, Sw, Dn, Nr, OSx, AS *blind* 'blind', NE *blind* || Ltv Δ (↔ Cur) *blēnst* & *bleñst* (prs. *blendu*) {ME} 'schwach sehen', Ltv *blenzt* 'to stare vacantly' | Sl **blesti* / prs. **bleđ-q* v. 'err, lose one's way' > OCS **БЛАСТИ** *blesti* / prs. **БЛАДЖ** *bleđq* 'πορνεύειν, to be lecherous, to fornicate; to talk rubbish', RChS, OR **БЛАСТИ** *blesti* 'to stray, to lose one's way', SCr *blesti*, Slv *blésti*, OCz *blésti* 'to talk rubbish\nonsense'; Sl **blqđiti* > OCS **БЛЖДНТН** *blqđiti* (prs. **БЛЖДЖ** *blqžđq*) 'to go astray; πορνεύειν, to be lecherous', R Блуд'дить id., SCr *bluditi* / *blúdīm* 'to prostitute', Slv *blódit*, Cz *blouditi*, Slk *blúdit'* 'to lose one's way, to roam, to err'; Sl **blqđb* > OCS **БЛАДЬ** *blqđb*, R, Blg *блуд* 'πορνεά, lechery', P *błaqd*, Slv *blōd* 'mistake', SCr *blūd* 'unchastity, lechery' ¶ P 157-8, EI 147 (**bhlendh-* 'be\make cloudy' without distinguishing the root for 'blind' from that for 'turbid'), Fs. 1OO, 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 27Of., Glh. 136 || A: 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.} *balā* 'dark, blind', Ord *b_alā* 'stupid' ¶ Lg. VMI 18, MED 78, Kow. 1074, KRS 78, KW 30, Ms. O 47 || Tg **bałi* 'blind' > Ewk, Ud *bali*, Lm, Neg, Ork, Nn *bali*, Orc *bāli*, U1 *bāll* 'blind', WrMc *balu* 'blind man', Ewk *bali-*, Lm, Neg, Ork, Nn *ball-* v. 'become blind' ¶ STM I 70 ◇ S and EC suggest a N word-internal lr. **xi*, while the absence of the expected lr. in Eg *bl* may be explained away by accepting the alt. etymology of the Eg word as an ellipsis from a cd. with *bl* 'eye' ◇ IS I 178, Blz. LN I 201.

201. *bałi, ya (or ***bałi, y'U?**) 'to swallow; throat' > **HS:** WS *✓*blī* 'swallow' > Hb, Ug, Ar, Gz ✓*blī* G id., JA ✓*blī* G id., 'absorb'; derived nouns for 'throat', 'oesophagus', and the like: Sr *bālaſt-ā* 'guttur', Md *bałumā* 'gullet', Ar *bułum* 'oesophagus', ? Mh/Hrs {Jo.} *təbəlōt* 'uvula, tonsil(s)', Jb C {Jo.} *təbəc'żat* 'uvula', Sq {L} 'balham' 'viveur' ¶ KB 129, KBR 134-5, OLS 108, Sl. 221-2, Js. 174-5, Ln. 249, LG 94-5, L LS 88, Br. 77, DM 48, Jo. M 399, Jo. H 126, Jo. J 269, MiK I #1.36 || C **bałi-* 'throat' > Bj A {AD} *bałata*, Bj {R} *bała* id. || EC: Af {Bls.} *biliſa* 'necklace' ¶ AD SF 198 || Eg G *bībī* 'drink blood', ?φ Eg fP *bīn.t* 'Hals'; ?? (rdp.?): Eg fP *bībī* 'drink' (↔ Tk. II 159: Eg-S comparison is improbable with respect to Eg *bībī*) ¶ EG I 446-7, Fk. 81, Tk. II 157-9 || NrOm: Bdt {C} *bałā* 'neck' ¶ C SO 60 || Ch: WCh: Bks {J} *būlē?* 'Kropf', as well as possibly words for 'uvula': Hs *bēlī* ~ *bēlū*, Su {J} *bēlēl*, Bd {Lk.} *bāl-śn* || ?σ CCh: MfG -*bál-* 'donner à manger (à un enfant)' || ECh: Bdy {AIJ} *béle* 'gorge, voix' ¶ Brr. MG II 82, J R 140, Abr. H 95, AIJ 58, Lk. NB 224 ¶ Tk. I 96 || **U** **pala-* v. 'swallow, bite' > FU **pala* 'mouthful, piece' > F *pala* 'Bissen, Brocken', Es *pala* 'piece, bit', pLp {Lr.} **pōlē* 'a bit, small piece' > Lp: N {Fri.} *buola* 'frustulum', T {Tl} *p̥l̥l̥e* 'Bissen, Bißchen' | Er *pal* 'piece (of food)' | ? Chr Y/U *pultъš* 'bit (of bread, meet)' || pObU **pūl*(-) v. 'swallow', n. 'mouthful, bit' > Vg **pūl* 'bit, piece' > Vg T *pōl*, LK/MK/UL/Ss *pūl*, NV *pula* id.; pOs **pūl* v. 'swallow' > Os: V *pūl*- 'schlürfen, kosten', D *pūl*- v. 'swallow', O *pulat-* 'gierig\schnell hintereinander essen'; pOs **pūl* 'mouthful, bit' > Os: V *pūl*, O *pūl* 'mouthful, bit, Vorgekautes', D *pūl* 'Bissen, Vorgekautes' || Sm {Jn.} **palä-* 'schlucken' > Ne T O *pālē-* 'verschlingen, verschlucken', StNe палесь 'swallow', Slq Tz {KKIH} *pōl̥t*- id., Koyb {Sp.} поолдола 'a gulp' ('глотокъ') ¶ UEW 350, Sm. 540 (U, FU **pålå-*, FP **pala-*,

Ugr *polā-, Sm *pålā- 'bite'), Lr. #995, Ht. 176 [#512], TI 377, Jn. 116, KKIH 152, Ptp. 37 || A: M *balgu- > WrM balgu-, HlM балга-, Kl балг- v. 'swallow; hold water in the mouth', Kl {Rm.} balya- 'swallow, gulp', Brt балга- v. 'swallow' ¶ MED 80, KRS 79, Chr. 85, Rm. KEW 31 || Tg *bilga 'throat' > Ewk bilga, Lm bulgъ, Neg bulga, Orc bigga, Ul bulža, Ork bulda, Nn bulga, WrMc bilgā id. ¶ STM I 82 ¶ DQA #132 (A *bjalge 'throat; to swallow') ◇ The origin of the Tg vw. *j (*l) is not yet clear. It may be explained by as. if we reconstruct pN *balija ◇ See IS I 173-4 (*bal¹U: HS [S, Eg, C], A [M, Tg]), AD GD 12 ◇ The change of N *y into M *g and Tg *g (in the cluster *-ly-) may be compared with a similar change in N *k¹o¹Ry² > Tg *xurge- 'heavy' (see N *k¹o¹Rs² - *k¹o¹Rsi² [probably *k¹o¹yRs² - *k¹o¹Ry²] 'be heavy, be stout\thick').

202. *b¹VL₁h₂ 'leaf, leaves, green plants' > HS: S *°bul- > Ar ƿubl- 'restes du fourrage vert fauché ou mangé par les bestiaux' ¶ BK 5, GB 5 (*÷ Sr and Hb) || C *b¹Vl- 'leaves' > Ag: Xm {R} bælbæla 'branch' || Bj {R} baya 'leaf, leaves' || EC {Bl.} *bāl- 'leaf, feather' > Af bal 'feather worn by one who has killed a man', Or Wl bāl-e?, bāl-a, {Brl.} bal-a (nom. bælli), Or M/Gj {LLC} bāla, Arr {Hw.} bāl 'leaf', Dsn {HL} bal-li (pl. bal-ām) 'feather', Or B 'bāl-a (nom. bāl-ī), Kns pāl-a, Gdl E pāl, Sml bāl, Bs {HL} bāl, {Si.} bal 'feather, leaf', Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS} pāl-hó 'ostrich feather', HEC {Hd.} *bālle 'feather' > Brj {Ss.} bā'lē, Kmb bāllita, Sd {Hd.} balle, ball-ičo, Hd {Ss.} ballare 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 *bāl- 'feather'), Hd. 62, 179, 309, 352, AMS 178, 216, 272, To. DL 486 || NrOm *bal- 'leaf, feather' ({Blz.} *bal- 'grass, leaf') > Gdc {Blz.} bālle 'leaf', Wl {LmS} bālliya, Dwr {LmS} balle, Gnj {Si.} 'bālo, Kcm {Si.} 'bāli 'feather' ¶ LmS 320, Si. ACh 14 || Ch: CCh: Dgh {ChL} þule 'leaf' || ECh: Nd D {J} þāliñ id., ?? Smr {J} bāžē id. ¶ ChC, ChL || K *°bal- > Sv: UB {TK, GP}, L {TK, Dn.}, LB {TK} bale (< *bala-i), Sv Ln/Lx {TK} bāle 'leaf' ¶ TK 141, GP 90, Dn. s.v. bale || IE *b^he1H-, *b^hl(o)H-t-, {El} *'b^holom 'leaf' > Gk φύλλον id. || L folium 'leaf' || OIr bileóc ~ bileog 'small leaf' || (+ *t-ext.) IE *b^hlHd- ({El} *b^hlHd-) 'leaf' > ON blað, NNr, Sw, Dn, OSx blad, OHG blat & plat, NHG Blatt 'leaf', AS blæd 'leaf, blade of a sword', NE blade || Tc: A pält, B pilta 'leaf' ({Wn.}: < NaIE *b₂lə-t-) ¶ WP II 114-5, P 122, El 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} *^obol¹ 'leaf'): ?^opJ *pá > OJ pá, ltOJ [RJ] φά, J: T h̄à, K h̄á, Kg/Ns h̄á, Sh ψά, Ht p̄á, Y h̄á § S QJ #41, Mr. 394 §§ SDM95 s.v. *bol¹ 'leaf', S AJ 266 [#41] ◇ The supposed J cognate is highly qu., because here the rec. of pA *-l- is based on external comparison ◇ Hardly here D: Kn pāliyu 'ear-lobe' (← pāliyu 'part; edge') § ADM 418.

203. *beLk¹g² (= *beLk¹g²) 'belly, waist' > HS: S *^oblg > Ar بَلْجَةُ bulg-at- 'région anale' § DRS 66 || IE: NaIE *bhelgh^h- 'belly' (× NAIE *bhelgh^h- 'leather bag, sack' and possibly *bhelgh^h- v. 'swell') > OIr bolg, MW bolu, bola, W bol, bola, bolu 'belly, sack' || Gmc: ON belgr 'belly, leather bag', AS bēlȝ $\not\sim$ byl(i)ȝ '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, HDEL 121, qu.: EI 45 ('belly' ← *'bholg^his 'skin bag, bolster [made from stuffed animal skin]') || A {S} *bēlkege 'waist, slope' (× N *Peł¹ê - *Peł²ê 'side of body, side' × ? N [?] *weH|yL¹ or *weLH²) '≈ hip, waist' > M *belkeze-sün 'waist' > WrM belkegesü(n), HIM бэлхүүс 'middle part of the body, waist; middle of the slope of a mountain', Ord b_eł"xūs, Brt бэлхүүхэ(н) 'waist', Kl бэлкүсн^h id., {Rm.} belküs^h 'Mitte des menschlichen Körpers, Leib' § MED 98, Ms. O 65, KRS 95, KW 42. Chr. 131 || pT {IL} *bēlk 'waist' > Ch pílk 'waist' || NaT *bēl > OT {Cl.} bēl 'waist', Tkm bīl id. ('поясница, талия'), Yk bīl, Tk bēl, Az, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Uz, Ln, Qmn, Tb bēl, ET {Nj.} bäl, ET Δ {Ml.} bel, bejl, bijl, Alt b_eł, SY peł, VTt, Bsh, Slr bil 'waist', Tv peł id., 'bottom part of a mountain slope'; NaT → M: WrM bēl, HIM бэл 'waist; declivity, slope', Brt бэл 'declivity, slope', Kl бэл 'foot of a mountain' § pT -k > NaT -Ø acc. to Mudrak's rule: pT *-lk > NaT *-l, Chv -l¹k|χ or -l²k|χ (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 || Tg *belge 'lap' > Ewk, Neg, Nn bʒlgʒ, Ud bʒgʒ, Ul bʒlȝʒ, Ork bʒlðʒ 'lap', Lm bʒlgə 'lap, slope' § STM I 123 §§ The length of *e in pA may be accounted for by the merger with N *Peł¹ê - *Peł²ê §§ TL 268-9 (T, M, Tg) ◇ N *-k¹g²- was reduced to *g in S, pre-IE (> IE *g^h|g^h), and Tg, to *k in T, but preserved in M *belkeze-sün ◇ Qu., because the IE and the A supposed cognates have alt. etl. ties ◇ ADb. SR 306 (IE, A + unc. D *par¹ka 'rib, side').

204. *bał¹i²k³a 'to shine' > IE: NaIE *bhelg-/*bh^hlg-/*bhleg- id., {E} *bhleg- 'burn, shine' > OI 'bharg-as- ntr. 'splendour, radiance', ??

bhrā'jatē 'shines, beams, glitters' || Gk φλέγω vt. 'burn, light up', vi. 'burn, flame', φλέγμα 'flame, fire' || L fulg-ō ~ fulge-ō (< *bʰlg-) 'flash, lighten', fulgor 'lightning', flagrā- vi. 'blaze, burn, glow, flame' || Ltv Δ {ME} bālgans 'whitish', OLt XVI [Brtk.] blīnginti (with an infix *-n-) 'to shine (leuchten, glänzen)' || OHG blecken ~ blecchen (< Gmc *blakjan) 'to become visible, to flash', MHG blecken 'to become visible', OSx blīkan 'glänzen', AS blīcan 'to shine (glänzen, scheinen, leuchten)', blæcern ~ blacern 'to lantern', ON blakkr 'pale, yellowish brown' || pTc {Ad.} *pälk- > Tc A/B pälk- v. 'shine, illuminate', 'luire, briller' || NaIE *bʰleig-/ *bʰlig- 'light-coloured', 'shine' > AS blāc, OHG bleih 'white, pale, fallow', NHG bleich, OSx blēk, ON bleikr 'pale'; OHG blic 'Glanz' || Lt Δ blaikštýtis 'to shine, to clear up' (of weather), blýkšti 'to turn\grow pale\white' || Sl *bliskati ~ *blistati, *blbščati 'to shine, to sparkle', *blbstěti 'to shine, glänzen' (no traces of IE *g, which had to fall in precons. position, see ESSJ II 116-8, 130-2) ¶ P 124-5, EI 513, IS I 174, M K II 479-8O, 529-3O, M E II 252, 279-8O, F II 1022-4, WH I 5O-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 *°pa[ŋ]k¹ ∇- > Os N {Páp.} pāχəl 'lightning', Os O {KrT} payəl 'thunderstorm, thunder', payəl tut 'lightning' ¶ Stn. D 1124-5, KrT 666 || **A:** NaT *balki- v. 'shine, lighten' > Cmn balqi- (balki-) 'fulgere', OOg [Rabg.], Chg [QB] balqi- v. 'shine' ('сиять, светить'), OOsm balqi-, Tk Δ balki-, Qzq, Qq balq(I)-, VTt balq(ъ)- v. 'shine' ('сиять') ¶ ET B 56-7, Grøn. 48 || pKo *pärk-, MKo {S} pärk-, {Rm.} palg-, NKo palk-, Ko Ph pák- 'be light, bright, clear' ¶ Rm. SKE 186, S QK #1152, Nam 247, MLC 732 || **HS:** EC *✓blik (~ *✓blg?) v. 'flash, shimmer' > Or {Tut.} balag 'flashing, shimmering' (n. act.), balagi 'shimmering, flashing, shining' (n. act.), Or {Grg.} balaķ-isā v. 'flash' (of lightning), Or {Tut.} balag 'flashing, shimmering' (n. act.), balagi 'shimmering, flashing, shining' (n. act.), Sd {Gs.} bele'ko 'lightning', Sml {DSI} bilig dheh 'scintillare, brillare in lontananza', biligbilig 'scintillio', bilig-lee 'luccicare', Sml N {Abr.} báddu wā bílig bílig le dahày 'the sea is shimmering', ?φ Rn {PG} bildīχa v. 'shine' ¶ AD SF 254, Grg. 4, PG 78, Gs. 37 || NrOm: Dm {Fl.} þεlxʒn ~ þεlxʒn 'bright, shiny' (mt. of glottalization: *þ...k > þ...χ ~ þ...χ) ¶ ≈ Fl. OO 317 || CS *✓blg v. 'shine, flash' > Ar {BK, Fr.} بلج ✓blg G (ip. -blug-u) 'briller, luire' (l'aurore), Sh (pf. þablaḡa) 'shine'

(sun), **בָּלְגָת** *balḡat-* 'clarté (surtout de la fin de la nuit, à l'approche de l'aurore)', BHb \checkmark *błg Sh* (pf. הַבְּלִיג *hib'lig*) 'cause to flash; become cheerful, brighten up'; Cn \rightarrow Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} *bí-la-ga* 'to light up' ¶ KB 126, KBR 132, GB 99, Fr. I 149, BK I 157, Hv. 44, Hlk. #63, SivCR 79 ◇ N ***b...k** (suggested by EC and NrOm) yields IE ***b^h...g** due to the law of incompatibility of IE vd. aspirates and vl. consonants. CS ***g** for the expected ***k** still needs explaining ◇ IS (MS 331) equated CS * \checkmark *błg*, the A \checkmark (T and Ko), and IE ***b^helg-** and reconstructed the N source as ***balg** ∇ . Later (IS I 174) he added the U \checkmark ** \checkmark *palk* ∇ and untenably adduced S * \checkmark *brk* v. 'flash, lighten' and K **bercq-*/ \checkmark *brcq-* 'glänzen, funkeln' (unacceptable on phonetic grounds, just as the resulting N rec. ***balga**). Cf. N ***b ∇ R₁ ∇ kæ** 'to flash, to shine'. NaIE ***b^hlejg-**/ \checkmark *b^hlig-* is likely to point to a N word-medial vw. ***i**. NaIE *-**g-** suggests a final N *-**a** ◇ Cf. Gr. II #50 (**belk* 'bright' > IE, U, A, Gil **pila-yu* 'be brilliant').

205. ₂ ***b ∇ līg| ∇ k'ū'** 'beat, strike' > K: G *blikvn-* 'einen Faustschlag versetzen' ¶ Chx. 89 || IE ≈ ***b^hlīHg(w)-**, {EI} ***b^hlīHg-** 'strike' > NaIE ***b^hlīg(w)-**/ \checkmark ***b^hlēyg-** v. 'strike, press' ({P} 'schlagen, schmeißen') > Gk A/I φλέψω {EI} v. 'press' || W † *blif* 'catapult' || L *fličg-ō-* (inf. -*ěre*) v. 'beat, dash down' || Ltv Δ {ME} *blaizit* 'to squeeze, to strike, to smash', *bliēzt* (prs. *bliēžu*) 'to strike, to chop', Lt *blyžē* 'a torn place in cloth' | Sl **blizna*, **blizno* 'scar, bruise' (← 'a beaten place in the body'), 'Fadenbruch' (← 'a beaten place in the cloth') > P *blizna* 'scar', Cz *blizna* 'bruise', SCr *blízna*, OR or RChS ΒΛΗΖΝΑ *blizna* 'scar', Blg близ'на, R Δ 'близна' 'Fadenbruch im Gewebe' ¶ WP II 217, P 16O-1 (and unc.155 on 'близна'), EI 549, ESSJ II 118-2O, EM 369, WH I 517, F II 1O27, YGM-1 47, ≈ Frn. 46-7, ME I 3O8, 317, SPS I 264-5 ◇ IE * $\widehat{g}(w)$ in ***b^h...g(w)** < N ***b...k** is due to one of the IE incompatibility laws.

206. ***ba'Lñ ∇** '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 * \checkmark *błn* v. 'wash, wet' > S * \circ \checkmark *błl* 'moisten, mix' (× N ***buL** ∇ 'to stir up [liquid]; turbid') > Ar \checkmark *błl* (pf. *balla*, ip. -*blul*-/-*bull*-) 'humecter, mouiller', \checkmark *błl* (pf. *balila*, ip. -*blal*-) 'être humecté, mouillé', BHb \checkmark *błl*, -*bɔl* (pf. בָּלֵל, pf. cons. בָּלָל *way'ya-bɔl*) 'moisten (with oil); mix up', Sr \checkmark *błl* G {Br.} 'confudit, miscuit; madefecit', Jb \checkmark *błl* *Sh* (pf. *eb'lel*) v. 'give (animals) their fill of

water', Gz \checkmark bll G 'moisten; spoil, mix' § BK I 155, Ln. 242-3 || Ch [1] CCh: Mada {BrrB} àbàlá v. 'wash (oneself\sth.)', Md {Rs.} bála v. 'wash' | [2] Ch * \checkmark bn ({Nw.} *bənə id., {JS} * \checkmark bn v. 'wash') > WCh: Bl {Lk.} bin- v. 'wash oneself' | ? SBc (with puzzling devoicing of *b-): Bg {Sh., ChC} pán v. 'wash (sth.\so.)', Kir {ChL} púná v. 'wash (things)' | ?? pAG {Hf.} *vwaŋ, {Stl. VZCh} *vw₁aŋ v. 'wash (things)' (with *v- for the expected *p-, which still needs explanation) > Su {J}, Ang {ChL, Hf.} vwaŋ, {Flk.} vəŋ, Gmy {Hf.} vwaŋ, {ChL} vw̥t̥yʒŋ, Cp vʒŋ, Kfr {Nt.} vəŋ || CCh: Nz {Mch.} bən, BtG {Mch.} bən 'wash' | Mdr {ChL} báràbáré, Glv {Rp.} bar- v. 'wash (sth.)', Dgh (ChL) párá v. 'wash' | Gzg {Lk.} bon, {ChL} bun v. 'wash oneself', buna, {Ro.} bána v. 'wash (sth.)', Mada bála, Myñ bárá, Mkt páláy, Hzr bune, Mlk bála, Mofu páréy id. | ?φ McDb: Db {Lnh.} pán id., Kola {Sb.} ...pán..., Msy {Mch.} pán v. 'wash' | Tr {Hf.} vʒnʒ v. 'wash oneself' | Ktk: Bdm {Cfr.} béní id. § BrrB 68, Nw. #14O, JI I 174-5 and II 338-9, JS 382, ChC, ChL, Hf. AG 18 [#4O], J S 86, Nt. 41, Stl. VZCh A #259, Ro. 356 [#789] (pMM *ban v. 'wash') || ?φ Eg BD bññññ 'baigner, plonger' (ñ 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. I.c. (incl.: E-Ch or E-SC) || A: NaT *ba₁:n- (*ma₁:n-) v. 'dip' > OT ban-, Tk bən-, Cmn, Chg, ET, VTt man- id. § Cl. 384, Rs. W 325 || ?σ D (in McTm) *vəññā- 'washerman' > Tm vanññān, vanññattān, vanññattān, Ml vanññatān, vanññān id., Tm, Ml fem. vanññātti 'washerwoman', as well as possibly D (in McTm) *maññ- v. 'bathe' > Tm maññu v. 'bathe, perform ablutions, immerse oneself in water', vt. 'wash', Ml maññān 'washerman' § D ##4684, 5241 § The initial *v- and *m- for the expected *p- are still to be explained; if *m- is due to assimilatory nasalisation, this is the only case known so far || Gk βαλανεῖον 'a bath, bathing-room' and βαλανεύς 'bath-man' are probably loans from some pre-Gk ("Aegean" or "Pelasgian") lge. (words borrowed together with the previously unknown custom of bathing in hot water) (Pls {Fur.} βάλανον 'Bad'), but eventually the stem may be related with the N word *ba'Lñ'Ν; this Gk word may be the source of Middle Gk {Kö.} *βανεῖον or *βάνειον 'a bath', whence VL *baneo (> *banjo) (> Fr baigner, Port, Prv, Ctl banhar, Sp bañar, It bagnare, Rm baia v. 'bathe', as well as further Blg БАНЯМ 'I wash') and VL {ML} *baneum 'bath' (> It bagno, Srd L banzu, Fr bain, Prv banh, Ctl bany, Sp baño, Port banho, →

Bsq *mainu*); EpL *balnea* > VL **banja* → Sl **bańja* 'bath house, bath (room)' > OCS, OR **БАНЯ** *banja*, Blg, R, Uk 'бáня', SCr *bānja* id., Slv *bānja* 'bath, wash-tub' ¶ F I 212-3, ML #916, ML G I 477, Kö. 135, ESSJ I 151-2, F I 212-3, Ch. I159-6O, Fur. VK 37 ◇ IS MS 349 (K, Ch, D **maññ-*) ¶ The pN consonant cluster *-Lñ- contracted into *ll in S and to *-n- (or *-ññ-) in other lgs., but remained as *-l₁ñ₂n- in the "Aegean" (Hittite-Luwian?) source of the Gk words βαλανεῖον and βαλανεύς.

207. ₂***EÍ**Ν 'boil, cook' > HS: C *✓*bll* v. 'boil' > Ag **bɔ̄l-*/**bɔ̄lk-*, {Ap.} **bər-*/**bəl-* v. 'cook, be hot' (× N **bílU* 'be warm, burn; warm') > Bln {Ap.} *bɔ̄r-*, {R} *bɔ̄r-*'cook, be hot', Xm {Ap.} *bɔ̄l-* (= Xm {R} *bíl-*) id., Q {R} *bəl-* id., {Ap.} *bɔ̄lu y-*, Km {CR} *búlu y-*, Aw {Ap.} *bɔ̄r-* id. ¶ AD SF 198, Ap. AV 7 || ? S *✓*nbl₁?j* 'flame' (× N **ńab^{r?}j*Ν 'warm, heat' [q.v. ffd.], possibly a N cd. **ńab^{r?}j*Ν **bEÍ*Ν) ¶ Hardly here Eg N/G *brbr* 'bouillir, sourdre' (eau), 'flamber' (feu) (EG I 466, Coh. #403, Vc. 30, Tk. II 262-3), because Cpt (Sd **БРВР** *bərbər*, В **БЕРВЕР** *berber* 'bouillir, sourdre') points to an Eg *r rather than *l (F N **buřu(-KU)* 'spurt, gush forth, boil, seethe') || A **bEÍ*Ν > T **bíl-* ~ **bíl-* (~ **píl-*?) v. 'ripen, be cooked' > OT {Cl.} *bíš* ~ *bíš* v. 'come to maturity, ripen', Tk *píš-*, VTt *bíš-* ~ *píš-*, Bsh *bíš-*, Qmq *bíš-*, Qzq *píš-*, StAlt *bíš-* v. 'ripen, be cooked, be baked', Yk *bíš-* id., 'be ready', CrTt, ET *píš-*, Qq *píš-*, QrB *bíš-*, Qrg *bíš-*, Tf *píš-* v. 'ripen, be cooked', Tv *píš-* id., vi. 'finish cooking (up to readiness), gar gekocht werden' ('довариваться'), Tkm, Az *bíš-* v. 'be cooked \ baked', Xk *píš-/z-* v. 'ripen, be cooked' ¶ Cl. 376-7, ET B 161-4, BIG 171 || M **beled-* v. 'prepare' > MM [S] *belet-* 'bereitstellen', WrM *beled-*, HlM, Brt *бэлдэ-*, Kl *бэлд-*, MnR H {SM} *bíeliesga-*, {T} *beledga-* 'prepare, make ready'; M **belen* 'prepared, ready' > MM [S] *belen*, WrM *belen*, HlM, Brt *бэлэн*, Kl *бэлн*, MnR H {SM} *bíeliän* id. ¶ H 14, MED 97, Chr. 131-2, KRS 94-5, SM 24, T 317 || Tg (↔ M??) **bele-* 'ready; to prepare' > Ewk *bílinz-*, *bílžki-* v. 'prepare oneself to', Sln *bílxz-* v. 'prepare, *bílxž* 'ready', Neg *bílixž* 'ready', *bílixži-* v. 'prepare', Orc *bílī-*, Ud *bíxilž-* id., Ul, Nn *bílī-* id., *bílī* 'ready', WrMc *belxe-* v. 'prepare' ¶ STM I 125 ◇ M and Tg point to a pA and a N *ä or *e, while T *i is puzzling (infl. of the palatal *í?).

208. ***bihíl**Ν 'shout, call, speak' > IE: NaIE **b^hel₁a*- v. 'sound, speak' > OI *bhāṣatē* (if < **b^hal-s-*) 'speaks, says, tells' || L *feli-ō* / inf. *feliře* 'to roar' (of panthers) || ON *belja*, NNr *belje* 'to roar, to

bellow', AS **bellan**, OHG **bëllan** 'to bark, to resound', MHG **bellen** 'to cry' (of quadrupeds), 'to bark', NHG **bellen** 'to bark' (of canines), NE **bell** v. 'bellow, bay' || Pru **billīt** 'to say, to speak', Lt (**pra-**)**bilti** (3s prs. **bilsta**) 'to (begin to) speak', **bylā** 'speech' (→ 'case'), **bilōti** 'to say, to tell', Ltv **biłst** 'to say, to speak'; ? Lt **bałsas**, Ltv **bałss** 'voice' || Tc A/B **päl-**, **pāl-** v. 'praise' ¶ P 123-4, Mn. 71, otherwise EI 51 (***b̥els-** '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 1O2, 127, En. 151, Tp. P A-D 223-7, Wn. 356, ≈ WH I 474 ¶ The lack of visible traces of N ***h** in NaIE may be explained by mt. ****b̥eH1-** > ***b̥e1H-** with further loss of *H in the prevoc. position || D {Km.} ***pīl-**/***pīl-**∇- ({§GS} ***p-**) > Tm **pilirū** 'great noise', **pilirū** v. 'trumpet, roar (as an elephant)', Tl **pilucu** v. 'call, invite, shout', Gdb **pil-up-/ut-** v. 'thunder', Kui **přī** 'cry of agony, scream' ¶ D #4195, Km. 431 [#825] || HS: S *✓**bh1** '≈ say, call' > Gz ✓**bh1** G (pf. **bahla**, js. **yabal**) 'say, speak, call', Tgy **bələ**, Tgr **bəla** pf. 'say', OSA **bhlk** (***bahal-ku**) {Rb., Slw.} 'I spoke', OYmn (= Hmr?) {Slw.} ✓**bh1** G 'say, order', Ar **pibtahala** 'implore, beseech', Mh **behlīt** (pl. **behēl**), Jb C **bəh'let** 'word', Hrs {Jo.} **behelēt**, Sq {Jo.} 'bilzh' 'thing', Ak inf. **bəpālu** ~ **bālu** 'to beseech, to pray' ¶ LG 89, Slw. 46-7, Rb. AWA 51, Jo. M 4, Jo. H 16, Jo. J 24 ◇ IS I 18O-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. **briāl-**). The K ✓ belongs here only if N ***í** may yield K ***r**.

209. *bəH1N 'pain, wound' > HS: WCh: Ang {Flk.} **päl** v. 'feel pain' ¶ Flk. s.v. || IE ***b̥eH1-** 'pain, wound' > NaIE ***b̥e1-**/***b̥ōl-** > Tc: A **pāl**, B **pīle** 'wound' || Sl ***boīb** 'pain' > OCS **бoль** **boľ**, R **боль**, Uk **біль**, SCr, Slv **bōl**, Cz **boł**, Slk **bôl'**, P **ból** 'pain'; Sl ***bolěti** (1s prs. ***boī-q**) v. 'ache, be sick' > OCS **бoлѣти** **bolěti** (prs. **бoлiж** **boljø**) v. 'be sick, feel pain', R **бо'лит**, P **boli**, Blg **боли**, SCr Δ **boli** 'it aches', R **болеть** (/1s prs. **бо'лею**), P **boleć** (/ **boleję**), SCr **бòлети** **boljeti**, Slv **boléti** 'to be sick', Cz **boleti**, Slk **boliet** 'to ache' ¶ Mn. 65 (***bhalýō** '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. 14O || A ***°bā́la** > T ***bā́i** 'a wound' > NaT ***bāš** > OT **baš**, Tkm **bāš**, MQp **baš**, Yk **bās** 'wound', Tf **paš** 'wound, ulcer', Tv **паш** **p'aš** 'syphilis' (the initial **p** -

suggests that the Tv word is a loan), Chv püž-ek 'scar, trace of a sore' (an old loan from NaT); NaT *bāl-iɣ 'wounded' > OT {Cl.} bāliɣ id., Tv, Tf ƿaliɣ id., 'wound', Alt balu 'wound', Tlt {Rl.} ƿalū id., 'score', Xk paliv id., 'ulcer' ¶ Cl. 335, 376, Ra. 158-9, Ash. X 95, Rl. IV 1168, BT 26, Md. 113, Md. OJ 9O || M: Brt бала 'bruise' ¶ Chr. 83 ◇ See IS I 172 (IE ~ T). This N etymon may be identical with N *baL'ǖ 'bad, harm' (q.v.) ◇ ≠ Bm. TPN 29: *÷ S *°✓bly v. 'be old, worn out', Sml bēl (actually meaning 'loss'), and Or bēlaw- v. 'hunger' (no plausible semantic ties) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #29O (*bal 'pain') (IE, A + unc. J).

210. *b'or'iłł|l̥N 'swell' > IE: NaE *bhel- 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 12O-1, qu. El 71 (*bhel- 'blow' → 'swell'), OsS 79, Kb. 1O3, EWA II 23O-1, Lx. 24, Ho. 3O, Ho. S 9, WH I 524-5 || K *°bēl- > Sv -bēl- 'cause sth. to swell up; swell up', Sv {Ni.} -bäl-/ -bel- v. 'swell' (× N *bNlNra 'to blow, to inflate', q.v. ffd.); the K vowel length represents the lost lr. (from N *bor'iłł|l̥N?) ¶ Ni. s.v. пухнуть and пухлый, GP 1, 147, Dn. s.v. bēl- || A: M *bilči-yi- > WrM {Rm.} bilčii-, Kl билчи- v. 'swell heavily', {Rm.} bilči- 'stark aufschwellen, überaus dick werden', Brt бэлсыг- 'be bulging' (eyes); WrM bilcud- ~ bilcad- {Gl.} 'cicatrize with a bulging scar' (of a wound, bone fracture), {Kow.} 's'élever, être un peu enflé' (cela se dit des chairs qui sont encore un peu enflées après la guérison d'un ulcère); M *bilčayu > WrM bilčuu, HIM бялциу 'bump, blister, boil', WrM {Gl.} bilčuu 'small knobs on branches of willows and on stalks of wormwood'; Ord bılč'irū: 'petite tumeur sur la peau, bouton' ¶ Gl. II 282, KRS 1OO, KW 45, Kow. 1146, Chr. 131, Ms. O 7O || D (in McTm) *pol]- v. 'swell' > Tm pollu v. 'blister, swell', poltal 'blister, swelling', MI polla 'blister, bubble'; D → Hindi phola 'blister' ¶ D #4563, Tu. #8398(6) || HS: ?σ S *°✓b?hl > Ak (inf.) baʔālu, 3s pf. i-b?il, 3s prs. i-baʔil 'be abnormally large' (of body parts, liver) ¶ CAD II 1 ◇ If the N etymon is *bor'iłł|l̥N, the loss of *i in IE still needs explaining.

211. *bōix'a' 'tail, penis' > HS *b'u'l̥h- ({Blz.} *bul'h-) > B *bNl̥w- 'penis' > Tmz aballu, pl. iballa, Izd, BSn aballu, pl. ibalwan, Sll {Ds.} a-

bəllu, abəllu, Si abālāl, SrSn {Rn.} a-bālāl id., tā-bāžāt~ta-bālāt 'petite verge d'enfant', Rf {Rn.} a-brur 'penis', ? Izn {Rn.} a-bežlāl id., Izd {Mrc.} a-bəllu, pl. i-bəlla ~ i-bəlwan, Sll {Ds.} a-bəllu, a-bəllu, a-bəlūl, 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.} ballá 'penis', ?σ Brj {Ss.} bolókko ~ bulúkko 'testicle'; EthS: Grg So (< C?) b̥llit 'penis' ¶ Hw. A 34, Ss. B 38 || Om: NrOm {Blz.} *bull- 'penis' > Bsk {Fl.} búlli, Doka bulli id. ¶ Blz. OLBP #88 || Ch: WCh: Hs būrá, Bl bəla 'penis', Bks {J} b̥wéł id. (glottalization is puzzling), Klr {J} byēł, {L} b̥eł 'tail' || CCh: Bt G {Srp.} bōllé 'penis' | Ktk: Glf {Röd. [in Lk. ZSS]} belewe, Shoe {Lk.} belesoe id. || ECh: EDng {Fd.} p̥éłè id. ¶ ChC, JI II 316-7, Lk. ZSS 148, 154, ≠ Sk. HCD 26 || Eg Md/RT b̥zh 'phallus' ([b̥i?h-] < *bilh-) > Cpt Sd բազ բահ 'penis', where Cpt ա is a reg. reflex of *i in a closed syll. ¶ EG I 419, Fk. 77, Vc. 33, Tk. II 76-8O ¶ Cf. Blz. OLBP #88 (*bulh'- > Eg b̥zh, Om, C, B 'penis'; *÷ Ak baltu [misinterpreted as 'penis' after Holma NK 99, while in fact the word is the name of some thorny plant, F Sd. 1OO]); F also EG I 419, 46O, Rn. 294, Mrc. 261, Dlh. M 7, Abr. H 12O, Ba. 132 || IE: NaIE *b̥h]łto- (= *b̥h]łno-, *b̥h]łHo-?) 'penis' > Gk φαλλός id. || NGr Hs bille 'penis', AS bealluc 'testicles' > NE ballock || Phr βαλλία 'generative organ(s)' ([Hdt.]: βαλλία · αἰδοῖα) ¶ Not here OIr ball ferda 'membrum virile', ball féili 'pudenda', because the basic meaning of ball is likely to be {Vn.} 'membre' (cp. očht mballu 'huit parties') ¶ The identity of the cns. after *] remains unclear ¶ F II 987-8, Hofm. 39O-1, P 12O-1, Ho. 17, Vn. B 12, unc. EI 71 (φαλλός and OIr ball ferda < *b̥hel- 'blow, swell') || U: FU *polā 'tail' > pMr {Ker.} *pūlə > Er пуло pulo, Mk пула pulə ~ pulā 'tail' | ? pLp {Lr.} *pēćz- '(short) tail' > Lp: N {N} biežā, {Fri.} bieča (gen. bieččam), Kld {SaR} пīжъ рīž 'short tail (of a reindeer, hair, sheep, etc.)', S {Hs.} ž beetj'eh 'tail of a fish' || pObU {Ht.} *pāíñk 'tail' > pVg *pāíñk > Vg: LK/UK pōíñx, MK pōíñk 'tail (of elk and reindeer)'; pOs *pāíñk > Os K pāíññx 'tail (of reindeer and elk)', Os Kz pōñx 'Stutzschwanz (des Bären, Elentiers, Renntiers, Hasen)', Os Nz pōśnat 'tail', Os Pym pāññaq 'hind leg of a bear' ¶ Coll. 1O9, UEW 393-4, Ps. B 175, Lr. #931, Lgc. #3982, Hs. 3O8, SaR 255-6, Ker. II 121, Ht. 177 [#517] || D *pull- or *pull- ({‡GS} *b-) 'penis' > Kn bulla, bulli 'male generative organ', Tl bulla, bulli 'a child's penis', cp. Mrt buli,

bullī id. and cognate words in other NInA lgs. §§ D #4309, Tu. #9292
 (1) ◇ ~ Blz. DA 155 [#31] (D, IE, EC, Ch, B, Eg).

212. *beñ|ń 'younger relative' > **HS:** S *bin- / (stem of pl.) *ban-'son' > BHb בֵּן bēn (pl. בְּנִים bā'n-īm), Ph, M'b, Ed, Ug bn, Ar ?ibn- (pl. nom. ban-ūna, accus.-gen. ban-īna), Sb bn, OAk, Ak OA/LB {Sd.} binu, {CAD} bīnu id.; *'bin-at- (pl. *bā'n-āt-) 'daughter' > BHb בָּת bat (pl. בָּתִּים bā'n-ōt), Ph, Amn bt, Ug bt (pl. bnt), Sr לְבָתָּה ba<r>t ([bat]) cs., pl. לְבָתִּים bənā'tā, Ar bint- (pl. ban-āt-), Sb bnt, Ak {Sd.}: MB bintu, OA buntu id., Gz bānt in bānta ṣayn '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', ?σ Ms {Cait.} bāna 'friend', ?σ Azm {Pc.} banaða '(male) friend', bānā 'friend!' (greeting, calling) || ?φ, σ WCh {OS} *m̄-b̄-n- > Buli {ChL} mbən, {Sh.} mban 'person' (unless akin to Grn mbaliŋ and Jm mbar id.) ¶ ChL, ChC, Cait. 48, Pc. 83 §§ OS #28 || **A:** Tg *bene- 'wife's sibling' (× N *wāñ- 'relative [of a younger\the same generation] of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes', q.v. ffd.) || **D:** *peñt̄- '({θGS} *p-) 'girl, woman' (if ← 'young female relative' ← 'younger relative') (possibly from N *beñ|ń 'relative [of a younger\the same generation] of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes', q.v. ffd.) || **Tm:** peñ 'woman, daughter, girl', Ml peñ 'a female' (esp. 'girl, maidservant, bride'), Kt peñ 'female', Kn peñ, peñnu 'female, woman', Kdg poññi 'wife, female', Tu poññu 'girl, female, maid', Tl peñti 'female (of animals)', Klm peñt̄i 'female', Gdb peñti 'female sheep'; D → OI pāñðā- 'eunuch, effeminate man' §§ D #4395 (a), Tu. #7717.

213. *b̄-hæñy 'bone' (esp. 'bone of a limb') > **HS:** S *bu|h̄-n- 'thumb, (big) toe' > BHb בַּחַן 'bohen 'thumb, big toe', Ar ?ibhām- 'thumb, toe', Δ bihām-, bāhim- id., Hrs hā-bēn (pl. hā-bōnət) 'thumb, big toe' (hā- does back to an article), Mh Δ {SSL} hā'bēn id., Ak ubān- 'finger, toe' ¶ KBR 112, KB 108, Jo. H 55, Sd. 1398, SSL LNPM 219, MiK I #1.34 || NrOm: She {CR} bən 'foot, leg' || WCh: Bgm {J} m̄bān, {JI} bān 'leg, foot' ¶ JI II 220, J ChMGB 220 §§ Tk. LAA-1 120 [#120] (Om, Ch) || **IE:** NaIE *b̄-h̄-oijno- (mt. *-jñ- < N *-ñy-) > Gmc *bajna- 'bone, leg' (< *bone of the leg?) > ON bēin 'leg, bone; upper thigh (Oberschenkel)', Sw, Dn bēn bēn 'bone, leg', OSx bēn, AS bān, OHG, MHG bein 'leg, bone', NHG Bein 'leg', Yid יְבֵן beyn 'bone', NE bone ¶ Vr. 30, Ho. 16, Ho. S 6, EWA I 515-6, Lx. 12, KM 63 || **A:** *p̄'Eñ- or *p̄'En̄- 'bone, bone'

of a leg' > Tg *peń-ŋen 'knee' > Ewk hənəŋən, Sln əŋz̥, Lm hənəŋən, Neg xəńŋən, Orc xənəŋən~xənəŋən, Ud xənəŋən, Ul pəńŋən(n-), Ork pənəŋ~pənəŋ(n-), Nn Nh pənəŋz̥ 'knee' ¶ STM II 366, Krm. 308 || pKo {S} *s-pjá, 'bone' > MKo spjá, NKo p̄já, Ko: Ph p̄já, Sl/Chs p̄já, Hm p̄já, Ks p̄já, ¶ Ko *s- is a px. (e.g., *s-kòrí 'tail', *s-pír 'horn') ¶ S AJ 251 [#1O], S QK #1O, Nam 258, MLC 774 || pJ {S} *pənja 'bone' > OJ pònè, J: T/Kg honé, K hóne, Ns ɸún̄t, Ht pù_ní, Sh/Y ɸúní ¶ S QJ #1O, Mr. 414 ¶ S AJ 39, 271 [#9], ~ DQA #1735 (A *p'èjné 'bone' > Tg, Ko, J) ◇ A *p'- (> Tg *p-) may be explained as going back to a cluster *bh- < N *b̄nh- ◇ ~ Gr. II #47 (*pon 'bone') (cp. N *'p̄'on'd̄n̄ ~ leg, foot').

214. *bæn̄t̄n̄ (~ *bæn̄d̄n̄?) 'to tie' > HS *✓bn̄t̄ > Eg N/G bnd 'einwickeln, bekleiden' → *b̄n̄n̄ (a k. of garment) (→ Gk βύνητος 'in an Egyptian garment' and BHb בָּנֶתְּנֵת '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.} b̄n̄ v. 'tie', Ngl {Dsb.} bani id. || WCh: ? pAG ~ *b̄wayat ({Stl. VZCh} *b̄wa,gad) > Su {J} b̄wayat, Ang {ChL} b̄at, Gmy {ChC} b̄ot, Mnt {Fp.} badni v. 'tie' (Stl.: 'привязывать' = 'tie, attach') (glottalized *b̄- in Ch is due to transfer of glottalization from *t̄ of HS *✓bn̄t̄) ¶ Lk. L 76, Sö. 57, Dsb., ChL, ChC, J S 6O, Ba. 114, 1169 ¶ Not here Ar بَنْدٌ band- 'lien, lacs, lacet' (← CINPrs band n. 'band, tie, bandage') || IE: NaIE {P, El} *b̄hendh- v. 'bind' > OI badh'nāti, Av bandayeiti 'he binds', OI ban'dhah̄ n. 'binding, bond, tie, fetter', Av banda- 'Bande, Fessel', MPrs band 'Schlinge, Band', CINPrs بَنْدٌ band '↑' → G band-i 'Band, Riemen, Binde' → G band- 'knüpfen, heften, schnüren; auf-, zurück-, hinhalten, verzögern' (Chx. 63) || Gk πεῖσμα (< *πενθίσμα) 'rope, a ship's cable' || Thr βενδ- v. 'bind' || L offendīx '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 || U: FU {UEW} *päent̄n̄- v. 'cover, close', {Sm.} *pintä- v. 'fasten' > pPrm *pōd- v. 'close' > Z pədlav-n̄t̄ 'to close', pədan 'oven-door', Yz pōdnal- vt. 'close', Vt podn̄t̄ 'to pinch' | (acc. to Sm.) F pinne (< *pinte) 'tension' || pObU *pēnt- > pVg *pänt- v. 'close' > Vg T/LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV/ML pänt-, UL/Ss pant- id.; pOs *pent- ({JHl.} *pänt-) v. 'cover' > Os V/Vy/D/Kz/O pent-, Ty pänt- id. | Hg fēd-, föd- 'decken, be-zudecken' ¶ Coll. 78, UEW 371, 879, Sm. 547 (FU, FP *pintä-, Ugr

*p̥intä- 'fasten'), SK 568-9, Ht. 178 [#525], MF 187, LG 227 ◇ IS I 194 [#30] (HS [Eg, Ch], IE) ¶ The N emphatic *t̥ is reconstructed on the HS ev. IE *d̥h- in *b̥endh- points to *d̥ in N *bæñdV.

215. *bɔŋE 'bosom, breast (front of the body)' > HS: S *bam- 'chest' or 'back (Rücken)' > Ak bam-t-u 'chest, front of the chest', BHb בָּמַת bā'mā 'back (Rücken)' (Dt. 32.29), Ug bmt 'back (of an animal, human)'; → S *bam-at- 'hill' > Ak bamtu 'slope of a mountain', BHb בָּמַת bā'mā 'mountain ridge, hill; high ground, high place of worship', Ug bmt 'alto, monte' ¶ KB 130-1, KBR 136-7, OLS 109, CAD II 78, MiK I #1.216 (*p/ban/md(-at)- 'back, podex') || U: FU *pōne-(sV) 'bosom' > F povī (gen. poven) 'bosom, breast', Es pōn (gen. pōne), Δ pō 'Busen, Schoß', pLp {Lr.} *pōηz 'bosom, breast' > Lp: S {Hs.} buoηe id., N {N} buoηgå ~ vuogηå -η- 'breast of a bird', L {LLO} puokηa 'der bauschige Teil des Lappenrockes oder Lappenpelzes', T {TI} p̥t̥ηη(ă), Kld {TI} pūηη(ă) 'Busen (des Kittels, des Renntierpelzes)' | pMr {Ker.} *pōηy ~ *pōy > Er πόνγο pōngō, Mk ποβ pōv, Δ pōvā 'bosom' | Chr Η πόνγυις pōngyis, L πόμυις, U/B pōmъš 'bosom' | Prm *pi, *piy 'bosom' > Z Ss pi, Z US/LL piy, Prmk pi, Vt pi, Vt G pij id. || pObU *pūw|zəθ 'Busen (im Kleide)' > pVg *pūt > Vg: T pōt, LK/MK/UK pūt, P/NV/SV pūt, LL pōt, UL pūti~puwti, Ss pūti id.; pOs *puγəf > Os: V/Vy/Ty puγəf, Y puwəf, Nz puχəf, Kz pōχəf id. ¶ UEW 395, LG 222-3, Lr. #1000, Lgc. #5320, Hs. 384, TI 406, Ker. II 118, ERV 498, Ht. 175 [#498] || ?σ Α: Tg: Ewk bōŋko 'belly, stomach' (influenced by Tg *bok₁an₂) > Neg bōxan~boxon 'stomach', Nn baqa id., Ork boqqo 'belly' ¶ STM I 94 || D: [1] *po|amm- ({θGS} *b-) 'breast' > Klm, Nkr pamme, Nk pomme id., Gnd bomi ↗ bomā ↗ boma ↗ bomo ↗ bommu id., bom 'udder' ¶ D #3935 | [2] *pom- ({θGS} *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 #4527 ◇ S *-m- and D *-m(m)- suggest N *-ŋ- (rather than *-ŋg-).

216. *bəŋ₁|X₂i '≈ head' > HS: S ?φ *°✓bn̥i> Ak MB bibēn-u {CAD} 'head' ({Sd.} 'temple, Schläfe'), bibēn (appišu) {Sd.} '(Nasen-)Spitze' ¶ CAD II 219, Sd. 124 || If Ak bibēn- means 'temple', it may be equated with Ke p̥náy 'temple' ('Schläfe') ¶ Eb. 88 || U *pāne 'head' (x N 'p̥'äŋV 'forehead' [q.v. ffd.]) || Α: T *mēŋi [= *menyi?] ({Md.}*bēn̥i) 'brain' > OT meŋi ~ meyi id., Chg xv mäyin, miyä, MQp

xiii bäyin, xiv [CC] mäj, Tk beyin, Δ meyni, Az beyin, Tkm beyni, Uz miya, ET miää, Δ mię, mięi, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Qq mię, Qzq, Nog mię, Bsh myuъ, VTt mię, Qrg, Alt, Tv mē, Tf m̄̄, Xk мии м̄̄, Ln megä, Yk mäyī, Chv миме mime, Δ mimə & mine id. ¶ Cl. 348-9, Rs. LTS 2O1, Rs. W 7O (*bäj), ET B 1O6-7, Md. 91, 131, 135, 173, RI. IV 2O85, Nj. 726, BT 1O9, Ra. 2O7, Jeg. 134 ◇ T *mej̄i points to a N *e, while U *ä belongs to the heritage of N 'päj̄n' ◇ Highly doubtful because of rather loose semantic connections and because U *päj̄e 'head' has an alt. et.

217. *bungä 'thick; to swell' > IE *b̄hengh-/ *bh̄nḡh- 'lump, thick' ({IS} 'шишка, ком, толстый') and d. {EI} *b̄hengh-u-s (gen. *bh̄nḡhous) 'thick, abundant' > OI ba'hu- (< *bh̄nḡh-u-) 'much, abundant, large', cmpr. 'bam̄bhīyān' 'very strong\thick', Blc baz 'tight' || Gk παχύς '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 biez̄s 'thick, dense' || ?σ 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 22O-1, F II 484-5, Vr. 37, 65, Vr. N 76, Lx. 28, Kar. I 125, CHD P 87-92, Ts. W 59 || **u** *puŋka > FU *puŋka 'swelling, bump, lump' > F punka 'korpulenter oder dicker Mensch', Es pung (gen. punga) 'Hervorragendes und Rundliches: Knolle, Knospe, Knauf, Beule, etc.' | Lp: N {N} bugige / -gg- 'bump, lump', L {LLO} puggē 'weiter\dichter\zottiger Pelz; kleiner und dicker Mensch\Renntier' | pMr {Ker.} *pukə-íə > Er pokoi 'Klumpen, Stück', Mk pokái 'Knäuel, Geschwulst, Stück' | Prm: Z bugi 'eye apple, eye', ? Vt pog 'Klumpen' || pObU *pūŋkə] > pVg *pūkləp > Vg Ss pōxlip 'Knopf'; pOs *puŋkə] > Os: Ty puŋla], D/K poŋχəl, Nz puŋχəl, Kz poŋqə] 'Knollen am Baume', as well as pOs *puŋkət > Os: Ty/Y puŋqət, D/K poŋχət, Kz poŋət 'Geschwür' || pY {IN} *pōŋkə 'hill; excrecence' > Y: K/T {IN} puŋkə 'hill', T {IN} pōŋkətā {Ku.} пөнкэтаа 'excrecence, cone (of a tree)', {Ku.} пөнкэтээ 'cone', ? пөнгигэй- vi. 'swell up a little' ¶ UEW 4O4, Coll. 1O9, MF 1O7-8, LLO 748-9, Ker. II 117, LG 41, Ht. #529, IN 234, Ku. 231-2 || **A:** Tg *buŋja 'lump, small ball (шарик)' > Nn BK boŋga, Nn Nh boŋglı 'lump (of snow, etc.)', Ewk buŋňuka, buŋňulı 'small ball, lump', Ud {STM} buŋi, {Krm.} buŋji 'testicles' ¶ STM I 11O-1, Krm. 215 || ?σ **D** *poŋk- 'swell' (× D *poŋk- 'boil') > Tm poŋku 'be swollen (as a boil or sore), Kn poŋgu 'swell, be elated', buŋutı, buŋudı

'swelling', Kdg *pōŋŋ-* 'swell (as grain or stomach)', Tu *bōŋketuni*, Nk *pʰugay-*, Gnd *pōŋ-*, Ku *pōŋg-*, Mlt *pōŋole* v. 'swell', Krx *pūxna* 'to swell', *pūxkā* 'swelling' ॥ D #4469 ◇ D **pōŋk-* 'swell' is a questionable cognate, because it may be a semantic variant of D **pōŋk-* 'boil' (D #4469); in any case the vw. **o* in D **pōŋk-* 'swell' belongs to the heritage of **pōŋk-* 'boil' ॥ Cf. otherwise IS I 182-3 [#17] (IE, U, ? Tg **bōŋ* 'thick, large', D **pōŋk-* 'вздуваться, выкипать'). 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 D and inexact data of Tg available to IS in the 1960's).

217a. **bEPt̪* 'lip(s), mouth' > **HS:** NrOm: Gdc *bādde*, Zs {Bnd.} *bađe*, {C} *bādē* 'mouth', Gnj {Fl.} *podoro*, Hrr {CR} *pōdūro*, Gem {Si.} *pōtō'rō*, Krt {Si.} *ψαδδօրօ*, Bdt {C} *pōdurō* 'lip' ॥ Fl. OWL, C SE III 201, CR H 656, C SO 62, Si. ACh 17 || ? B **o*-*būđ-* > Kb *a-βuđ* 'goulot (d'un pot), bec de cafetière' ॥ Dl. 12, NZ 28 || **U** **o*^o*pEpt̪* (or **o*^o*pEpš*) > Sm {Jn.} **peptän* ~ **piptän*, {Hl.} **pepten* ~ **pipten* 'lip' > Ne Т *пибтя*', Ne F {Lh.} *pīb_t̪i* ~ *pīpt̪inj* 'lower lip', En X {Cs.} *fitež*, En B {Ter.} *pite*, {Cs.} *pitež*, Ng {Prk.} *fēb_tinj*, {Cs.} *feábterŋ*, {Mik.} 'heptin, Mt M {Hl.} *höbten* ~ *hibten*, Mt K *höbtet* 'lip'; d.: Slq: Tz {KKIH} *peptäi*, Ke {Cs.} *peptei*, UO {Cs.} *peaptái*, NP *pepti* 'chin' ॥ Jn. 122, Ter. 261, KKIH 148, Cs. 71, 95, 165, Hl. M 247 [#307] || **D** **pet-* 'lip' > Tl *pedavi* id., Klm, Nkr *pedave*, Nk *peddave*, Gdb *pedave* ~ *pedive*, Gnd *pilivi* ~ *pilvī*, Knd *bedve* id., Klm *peddēl* 'lips' ॥ D #4400 || **A:** ?φ Tg **peju-* *n* 'lip' > Ewk *həjün* 'upper lip', Lm *hujin*, Neg *xəjün* 'lip (of a reindeer, elk, etc.)', Orc *xužz* 'soft internal side of cheeks and lips' ॥ STM II 360 || ?σ T **bɪðɪk* (**mɪðɪk*) 'moustache' (× N **Put̪* 'feather, hair', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ??σ,μ: A very dubious cognate: Eg G *bb.t* 'Kehle, Kehlkopf' (metanalysis from **bbt* < **bbt̪?*) (see EG I 455) ◇ B and T suggest N **b-*, the cs. *p-* (< **p-?*) in some NOm lgs. may be due to as. N **b...t̪* > **p...t̪*. Tg **peju-* *n* (if it belongs here in spite of the unexplained palatal voiced *-j-) points to an ancient **p-* or **p̪-* (suggesting an assimilation **b...P* > **p|p̪...P*). Sm provides evidence for a N cluster *-PT-, which may account for the long **ū* in B (**o*-*būđ-* < **-*buwđ-* < **-*bubđ-*). The rounded vw. in NrOm, B, and Orc may be due to the infl. of the adjacent labial consonant(s) ◇ Blz. LB #112g and Blz. DA 153 [#10] (NrOm, D).

218. **b* *qâ* (= **bogâ*?) 'side of body, side' > **K** **pōq-* (× N **puqEž* ~ **pužq* 'thigh, haunch??') > Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} *pōq*

'thigh, side of body, crupper of horse' ¶ TK 766, Ni. s.v. бедро, GP 264, Dn. s.v. роq, Wrd. 629 (р'hoq 'thigh') || HS: EC *bak-~*bok- 'side of body, side' > Af bagu 'belly, stomach', Sml bog, Sml N {Abr.} bog 'flank of body', Or {Grg.} bukkē 'beside', Or W {Brl.} бу́ккé 'side (fianco, lato)' ¶ AD SF (*bakk^w-), ZMO 43, Abr. S 34, Grg. 64, Brl. 65, PH 66 || IE: NaIE *^ob₁h₂ok₁w > Sl *bōkъ 'side of body' > SCr bōk, gen. bōka, Slv bōk, gen. bóka, Blg Δ бок, R бок, gen. 'бока, Uk бік, gen. 'боку, P, Cz, Slk bok ¶ ESSJ II 17O, SPS I 300-1, Glh. 139-4O, Vs. I 185 || A *bōk^h ({{SDM95}} *bōk^h, {{SDM97}} *būka) 'side of body, hip' > NaT *bikin id. > OT biqin 'hip, flank', Chg biqin 'joint, articulation', Tkm biqin 'side of body', XwT biqin, Tv быигын ပါယီ 'flank (lower part)', Xk pīx̥ti 'groin' (acc. to Rs. W, ← 'his flank', sc. *pīx̥in + ppa. 3s), Tlt {Rl.} pikkin, MQp XIV biqin, XV bīyin~biqin 'groin', Qzq, Qrg mīqin id. (m- < *b- due to neutralization of nasality in the word-initial position), Kü {Rl.} pik't 'part of the body below the arm-hole'; a form *bīq without sxs. has been possibly preserved in SbTt Kk pīq 'waist' (unless it has resulted from phonetic reduction: pīq < *bīqn̥t < *bīqin) ¶ Cl. 316, ET B 304-5, Rs. W 73, TvR 128, Rl. IV 1304, 1307, BIG 171, Tm. 18O || Tg *bōk-(an) 'hip, thigh' > Ewk bōkan, Lm bōqam, Lm O/Sk bokan id., Ud {Krm.} bō? 'front muscles of the thigh', ? WrMc бу́хi {Z} 'front side of the thigh', 'lap', {Hr.} 'Oberschenkel'] ?σ Tg *bok₁an₂ > Neg bōxan ~ бохон 'stomach', Nn baqa id., Ork boqqa 'belly' ¶ STM I 9O, 94, Krm. 213, Hr. 119 || M **ba|oqaþur (> *ba|oqaþur) '≈ anus, hip, loins' > MM [L] {Pp.} bayawur 'After', [MA] {Pp.} baqa_ūr 'nates', [IM] {Ms.} bayūr, [S] bokorai ~ bokore ~ bo^here 'Lenden, Hüften', WrM {MED} buqur, HIM бүхүүр, {Ms.} buxar 'buttock, rump', Ord {Ms.} b₁uxūr 'derrière, cul, anus', Mgl buyār 'After, der hintere Teil' ¶ Pp. MA 111, H 17, MED 143, Rm. M 24, Ms. O 92, SDM97 41 (M *bokaur) || pJ {S} *bāki 'side of body' > OJ wākijì, [RJ] wākì, J: T wakí, K wákì, Kg wákì ¶ S QJ #271, Mr. 567 ¶ DQA #174 (A *bjūk'a 'side [of body], thigh' > T, M, Tg) ◇ The pN vw. of the first syllable is hard to reconstruct. A possible hypothetical vw. is *ø, that is preserved in Tg and probably in M, but turned to *i in T due to as. (**ø...i > *i...i); the IE, K, and C data do not contradict this hyp.

219. *bArV 'earth, land; dust' > HS: S: [1] S *barr- '(uncultivated) land' > BHb בָּר * bar* (pausal form בָּרְ bār) 'open field', JA בָּרָא bā'r-ā {Lv.} 'Außenseite, freies Feld', JA [Trg.] בָּרָאָ bārā'ʔ-ā {Js.} 'external,

not belonging to', JEA {Sl.} אֶרְאָן bar'r-ā 'external, outer', Sr {Br.} בָּרָאָן barrā'yā 'agrestis, exterior, externus', Ar barr- 'Festland', Ar Hdr {Lnb.} barr- 'country' (barru-l-sarbi 'pays des Arabes'), Mh {Jo.} a-'barr 'outside', Sq {L} bar 'côté, éloignement', ba-barr 'dehors', Tgr bər 'continent, country', Ak {Sd.} barru 'uncultivated country', {CAD} bāru 'open country']?? [2] S *°baray- > Ar بَرَّ barā(ḥ) '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: [1] ? Brj {Hds.} bār-iy- 'become muddy' (unless to HS {Tk.} *bār- 'dirty')] [2] C {AD} *būrṣ- 'sand, dust' (× N *bōri'v'U 'loose earth, dust', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Hw. A 349, PH 74, Rop. 163, Blz. CL 177, Tk. LAA-124 [#150] || Ch *✓ brbr 'dust' (× HS ≈ *burṣ- 'dust' < N *bōri'v'U '↑' [q.v.]): WCh: Krkr {Lk.} b̄rb̄s̄r 'dust' | Ngz {Sch.} b̄rb̄t̄r, Bd {ChL} b̄rb̄s̄r̄n id. || CCh: BM {ChL}: Bu b̄rb̄b̄r, Cb b̄rb̄t̄b̄t̄r, WMrg b̄rb̄b̄r~b̄rb̄t̄r, Klb b̄rb̄t̄r, Hld b̄rb̄r, Wmd b̄rb̄r, Mrg {Hf.} b̄rb̄s̄r id. | McHg {ChL}: HgNk b̄rb̄t̄b̄t̄r, HgB b̄rb̄t̄r, FIK b̄rb̄b̄r, FIM b̄rb̄b̄r(v) id. | BB {ChL}: Gude b̄rb̄t̄ra, Nz b̄rb̄t̄re, Bcm b̄rb̄b̄ren, Mln b̄rb̄rú id. | McMdr: Mdr b̄rb̄b̄rē id. | Gdr {Cfr.} b̄rb̄s̄r id. | Lgn {Lk.} 'būra '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 (пыль, прах)', G Ing bre 'chaff' ¶ Chx. 104, DCh. 117 || D (in SD) *parv ({{GS}} *p-) 'plateau, tableland' > Tm parampu 'hill', parantalai 'desert', Ml parampu 'higher or dry ground laid out in terraces, fields (too high for rice cultivation), orchard, garden', Kn Δ padavu 'a hill top', Kdg parambi 'large flat pasture land', Tu padavu 'plateau, tableland' ¶ D #4026 || A: AdS of T *bōr 'e (barren) soil\ground' (< N *bōri'v'U 'loose earth, dust, [?] sand', q.v. ffd. × N *maRv 'sand, dust, earth'); the vw. *ō in T *bōr is inherited from N *bōri'v'U ◇ IS I 187 [#22] includes the S and Ch stems and G bre into his N etymon *bur(H)ā/*bor(H)ā 'loose earth, dust' (together with what belongs to N *bōri'v'U).

219a. *berv 'mud, swamp' > HS: S *°bir- > Ak bi'erātu 'swamps (?)' ¶ The vw. ā proves that in the var. reading berātu 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 *PeRv 'ground, earth', q.v.) > Prm: Vt {Wc.} ber-gop 'swamp, quagmire; Moorpfütze', Vt Sr pera 'weicher, schwarzer Morast, mit welchem man Tuch färbt', {Mu.} 'damp place with black earth (chernozem)'; Z Le pereb 'moss-covered river-bank in

a forest' (infl. of R беरег 'bank [Ufer]') || OHg XII 'Hain', XVIII 'Moor', Hg berēk 'swampy meadow; grove, bushes (Hain, Gebüschen)' ¶ UEW 374, LG 22O, MF 1O6, EWU 98 || IE: NaIE *^ob^h̄r- > Sl *bara 'swamp, stagnant water, (?) small river' (xN *b^h̄u'X̄ra 'watercourse, river', q.v.) > Slv bára, Cz Δ bara 'swamp', Blg бара 'small river\stream, stagnant water, puddle', McdS {IS} бара 'puddle', SCr б̄ра id., 'meadow'.

219b. *bor^Δ 'mountain, hill' > HS: EC *bür- > Sml bür 'mountain, bare-topped hill, summit of mountain (cumulo), mucchio', Rn bür (pl. burrář) 'hill', ?σ Or O {Sr.} būra 'forest' ¶ DSI 71, ZMO 48, PG 81, Sr. 278 || A: 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 bōri 'a height (without trees or shrubs)'; Tg → Brt bōri 'a height' ¶ STM I 95 || D {tr.} *por^z-, {GS} *pod- 'mountain, top', (in SD) *pōr- ({GS} *b-) '(top of a) hill' (xN *porā^z̄^Δ 'summit, tip', q.v. xN *par^Δ 'rock, hill'. q.v.) > Tm porai, porrí 'mountain, hill', Ml porrā 'an elevation in rice grounds', Klm pode 'high, up, the top; on', Nkr pode 'top; on', Nk por 'hill, the top', Prj podi 'top, above', Gdb poyta 'top of sth.; on, upon', Gnd parrō 'on top', parro 'on, above, top', Krx partā 'mountain, hill' ¶ D #4567, GS 151 [#381], 71 [#232] ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #111b, ≈ Blz. DA 16O-1 [#87] (EC, D + unc.: Tg *bur- 'island').

220. *buRu (or ***buRü**) 'break' > IE: NaIE *b^hreug- 'break, tear', {E} *b^hreug- 'cut, break up', (+ext.) *b^hreus- 'break' > ON bróma 'splinter, piece', brjóta 'to break, to destroy', OHG brōdi 'easily broken (fragilis), weak, thin' (< *b^hroug-tyo-), AS bréað id., breoðan 'to destroy', bréotan 'to break', brýsan 'crush', NE bruise || ?σ Al: T breshēr, G breshēn 'hail' || Ltv Δ {ME} braūna, braūṇa 'Schorf, Schuppe, die beim Häuten oder Auskriechen aus Hüllen nachgelassene Haut, Eingeweide' | Sl: Cz brn-ka (< *b^hrun-) 'placenta' || OIr bruid 'breaks, crashes', MW breu 'brittle' || L frustum 'piece' || ? OI bhrū'na-m 'embryo' ({P}: ← 'that has broken the egg-skin') ¶ P 169-7O, EI 81, Vr. 58-9, OsS 85, EWA II 355-6, Kb. 12O-1, Ho. 33-4, ME I 327, Ma. CS 44; M K II 533-4 and M E II 284-5 (no definite et. of the OI word) || A *burj̄^Δ - 'break, crush' > M *burci > WrM burci- 'break, crush; raze, 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} *b̥̄r- 'break; bend' > OJ w̥̄r-, J: T ór-, K/Kg ór- | S QJ #1494, Mr. 742 || DQA #212 (A *b̥̄oro) || HS: WS *✓brw 'cut, trim' > Ar ✓brw G (ip. -brū) 'dégrossir avec une hache'; rogner', OSA {DRS} ✓brw Sh†(pf. hbrw) 'tailler en pièces' (× N *buR ∇ (or *büR ∇) 'flint') | BK I 119, DRS 82-3 ◇ May be originally connected with N *bu|üR ∇ 'flint' (→ 'to cut\carve with a flint').

221. *bUr ∇ 'turn round, rotate' > HS: B: Ty {PAM} bərurəy 'rouler (objet sur une surface)' | PGG 16 || EC: Sml bür- 'make round' ({Abr.} 'make into a ball') | Abr. S 36 || S (+ext.) *°✓brm, *-brum- > Ar ✓brm (ip. -brum-) 'tordre, tresser (une corde) en tordant les fils\tortis' | BK I 117-8 || Tk. LAA-1 125 [#154] || K: GZ *br- v. 'twirl, whirl, rotate' > OG bru-γ 'Schwindel', G bru- 'schwindlig machen', bru, 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- {Kl.} 'throw with spinning; whirl' | K² 17, 19, Chx. 1O7-8, Schm. 98, GM S 314, FS K 58, FS E 6O, NCh. 155, DCh. 119 || U *pärw|y ∇ 'turn, revolve' (× N *PôRw ∇ 'turn, revolve' [q.v.]) > Mr (pMr {Ker.} *pu^ryra-): Er пувор- puvor-, Δ puvra-, Mk пуворя- puvará-, Δ puvъra- 'drehen, winden' | ? Vt Sr poryal- 'sich drehen, kreiseln', 'кружиться' || ObU *pěγar (× N *perK ∇ , [or PeRK ∇ , ?] 'turn round, twist'??) > pVg *päγar 'round' > Vg T päwər, LK/MK pāwər, UK pāwər, P pāwər, UL powr, Ss puwr 'rund', d.: Vg T püwārt-, LK/MK/UK päγrt-, P/NV/SV/LL pārt-, UL/Ss powart- 'wälzen', MK {Kn.} powrit- 'sich herumwälzen'; ? pOs *pěγəryə- ({ʃHl.} *piŋəryə-) > Os Ty/Y pěγəryə- 'sich umdrehen' | Hg forog- vi. 'turn, revolve' || Sm: Slq NP p̥rruoldša-, Slq Ch puolda- 'umwenden, sich umwenden', Slq Tz {KKIH} purít, LTz {KD} pūroltā 'whirlpool (Wirbel im Wasser, водоворот)' || U *-w|y- is inherited from N *PôRw ∇ || UEW 414 (*pärk|y ∇), MF 214-5, Coll. 78, , Ker. II 126, LG 38-9, 41, Ht. 175 [#504], Hl. rHt 73-4 (on conditions of the coalescence of FU *-w- and *-y- in pObU), KKIH 153 || A: NaT (× N *mur ∇ '≈ twist, roll, go round, tie'): [1] *bur(a)- v. 'turn round' > OOsm bur-, Tk bur- 'twist', Tkm, Ggz, Az, CrTt, Qmq, Qrb, Nog, Qq, Uz, ET bur-, Qzq бүр- bür-, VTt, Bsh бор- bør-, StAlt pur-, Chv L пăр- pъr-, Chv H ръr- id. ('крутить, закручивать'), Qrg, Kr/Qzq {RI.} bur- '(ver-\ zusammen-)drehen, umdrehen', Alt/QK/Tlt/Shor/Brb {RI.} pur- id., 'schrauben'; [2] *bür- v. 'twist, wind round' > OT bür- id., 'screw

together', MQp XIII, XwT XIV *bür-* 'twist', Tk *bürü-* 'wrap, cover', Tlt {Rl.} *pür-* 'aufrollen, zusammenlegen' ¶ Cl. 355, ET B 264-7, 294-6, Rl. IV 1365, 1397, 1816, 1887 ¶ The variants with *-u-* ~ *-ü-* are due to contamination with different N words, e.g. **büryi* 'to cover' (q.v.) (whence Tk *bürü-* 'wrap, cover') and **bôr'a* 'pierce, bore' (q.v.) (whence Alt *pur-* 'drill', etc.) || Tg: Ewk Ucr *buruk*, Ewk Tk *burukün* 'whirlpool' ¶ STM I 114 ◇ Cf. IS I 186-7 s. v. **burn* 'to bore, to drill' (to which IS ascribes some of the reflexes of the etymon in question).

222. ₂ **buR* ∇ (or **büR* ∇) 'flint' (\rightarrow 'to cut\carve with a flint') or 'to cut\carve' $>$ (\rightarrow 'flint') $>$ HS: C: Bj {R \leftarrow Stz.} *ber'rave* 'flint' (R: \ast \leftarrow *berr-* 'steppe') ¶ R WBd 52 || WS * \checkmark *bry* 'cut, carve' $>$ Ar \checkmark *bry* G (pf. بَرَى *bârâ*, ip. -*briy-*) 'tailler, couper (un roseau à écrire, une plume)', OSA {DRS} *bry* 'monument sculpté' (\times N **buRu* 'break') ¶ BK I 119-20, DRS 82-3 || A: Tg **bur* ∇ 'flint' $>$ Ewk *buru*, Sol *boro*, Lm *bur*, Orc *bu*, burakta, Ud *bû*, Ul, Ork *buraqta*, Nn *boraqta* 'flint', Neg *burokta* 'amber' ¶ STM I 114, Krm. 214 || AdS of IE: NaIE **b^her-* 'work with a sharp instrument, cut' (< NaIE **b^her-* v. 'bore, pierce' < N **bôr'a* 'pierce, bore', q.v. ffd.) ◇ N **bujüR* ∇ 'flint' is not necessarily identical with N **bôr'a* 'pierce, bore' (\neq S CNM 4).

223. **buR* ∇ , **buR_L* ∇ -_J *K* ∇ 'storm, stormy wind' (\rightarrow [in U and A] 'snowstorm') $>$ HS: B *-*b* ∇ *rûr-* 'hail' $>$ Sll {Ds.} *ibrûri^y*~*ibrîri^y*, Shl {La.} *ibrurin*, Kb *abruri* 'hail', Dmn *abrîro* 'small hailstones', Zmr, Iz *tbrûri* 'hail', Nf *tâbruri* 'snow', Izd *tibruri*, Gd *tabruru* ¶ La. MChB 186, Mrc. 131, Lf. II #O1O1, Dl. 396, Ds. 446, NZ 124 || C {AD} **b* ∇ *r-*, {E} **bar-*/*bur-* $>$ Bj {R} *bâr* (pl. *bâr*) 'Geruch', *bâr-am-* ps. 'Geruch zugetragen werden durch die Luft', *bâr-äm* 'Geruch (der zugetragen wird), Luft, Wind' || SC {E} **bûr-* v. 'blow' (of wind) (\times N **b* ∇ ^h*R* ∇ 'blow, inflate, swell', q.v. ffd.) ¶ E PC #5, E SC 140, R WBd 49, 51 || Ch: CCh: ? Dgh {Frk., ChL} *máburâ* 'storm', Db {Lnh.} *bûrtatóy* id. || ECh: Mu {J} *bûrundúl* 'storm', Kwn {J} *ká-bâr* 'wind' ¶ ChC, ChL || HS {Tk.} rdp. **b* ∇ *b* ∇ *r-* (= **bubir-?*) '(whirl)wind' $>$ HEC {Hd.} **bobire* 'wind, storm' $>$ Kmb *bobira* 'wind', Brj *bubbé* 'storm', Sd *bubbe* 'strong wind' ¶ Hd. 168, 406 || Ch: WCh: AG {Tk.} **vivir* 'whirlwind' (**v* < **b*) $>$ Su {J} *fîvîr*, Mpn {Frz.} *vâvîr* id. || CCh: Msg {Mch.} *bérbér*, {Rlf.} *bérberë*, {Brt. in Lk. DQM} *bébér* 'wind', Bld {Trn.} *vùvûr* 'tornade' or 'tourbillon', Mlw

{Trn.} { á-vùrvùlī 'tourbillon' ¶ ChC, ChL, Lk. DQM 12O, J S 65, Frz. M 199, Trn. B 56, Trn. MVM 2O7 ¶ Not here (↔ IS I 188) Ar bāriħ- 'vent chaud, particulièrement qui vient du côté du Yémen' (BK I 1O7), which is an act. prtc. of $\sqrt{brħ}$ v. 'come from the right side' (in Ar 'south, Yemen' literally means 'the right side') ¶ Tk. LAA-1 1O3 [#2] (C, Ch) || ?σ K *^obūlōr- > eNG {SSO} bor-i 'haze of dust', G bur-i ~ bor-i {NCh.} id., {DCh.} 'haze, mist (Μρά, τύμαν)', {Chx.} 'leichter Nebel, Mist, Dunst', {NCh. RKL} bur-i 'буран' ('storm'?') ¶ SSO I 11O, Chx. 97, 121, DCh. 124, NCh. 153, NCh. RKL I 87 || IE: NaIE {AD} *b^her-/*b^heūr- v. 'be stormy', 'storm' (× *b^heūr- v. 'move rapidly > OI bhu'rati id., Gk φύρω v. 'mix') > YAv bar- vi. 'rage, storm' (of wind), 'be stormy' (day), 'stream quickly' (of water) (baranti ... ayən 'an einem stürmenden Tage') || ON búrr 'fair wind', NE Shetl bir(r), borr 'wind', ME bür, bir 'strong wind', Frs E bur 'wind', MDt böre-lōs 'without wind' || Sl *búra ~ *búra 'storm' > OCS бура burja 'procella, tempestas', Blg 'буря 'storm, thunderstorm', McdS бура 'storm', SCr búra 'storm, strong wind', Slv búrja 'north-eastern wind', OCz búře 'storm', P burza 'storm, thunderstorm', R 'буря 'storm' ¶ Not here L fur-ō / fur-ěre vi. 'rage, rave', furor 'madness, raving', furiōsus 'raging, raving, furious' (< IE *d^huse/o- ↔ *d^hwes- 'breathe'???) ¶ Brtl. 943, WH I 26O, Vr. 68, ESSJ III 97-8, SPS I 453-4, Gh. 157, ≠ P 132-3, M K II 5O8-9 (they do not distinguish between the stem in question and some homonymous stems), EI 82 (L fur-ō < *d^huse/o-) ¶ Two variants of the IE stem (IE *b^her-/*b^heūr-) are reconstructed because *b^her- alone does not explain Sl *buřa~*bura, while *b^heūr- fails to explain Av bar-; this alternation of two "états" (like *b^hegʷ-//*b^heug- v. 'run, flee') is an expected reg. reflex of a two-fold diphthongization of N *u (N *buR ∇ > *b^hwer-/*b^hewr- > *b^her-/*b^hewr-, F AD NGIE) || U *purka 'snowstorm' > F purku 'snowfall', purkusää 'snowstorm (Schneegestöber)', pLp {Lr.} *porkz id. > Lp: Kld {SaR} πόρκκ, {Tl} por:k:(a_) id., N bqr'gā -rg- 'cloud, spray of snow (either falling or whirled up from the ground by a strong wind)' | Mk πορφ porf 'snowstorm' | Chr B/U purzъž 'Schneegestöber', StChr L purzъž 'snow-drift (Schneehaufen, Schneewehe, сугроб, занос)', purzъž- vi. 'drift' (of snow), 'cover with snow' (of snowfall\wind) ('Мести, заносить снегом'), Chr U purza- 'stöbern, wirbeln' (Schnee, Staub) | Prm (1) *puř- > Vt purž-+nt 'to rise' (of dust), Z Vm/I/Lz/Le/Sk/Ud pírž+nt 'to powder with snow\dust' (of wind) ('порошить, заносить [снегом,

песком]), Z LL p̄tra 'snow-drift (heap of snow)', Prmk p̄t̄r̄žet- v. 'drift on sth. (by the wind)' (of snow, etc.); (2) ? *pur- > Z purkəd- 'rise' (of snow, dust), 'be a snowstorm' || ObU *p̄ork̄v̄y > pVg *p̄ork̄t̄(y) 'Schneegestöber' > Vg: T pork̄, LK p̄ärx, MK p̄ärk, P pork, Ss porxay, N {Mu.} porxey id.; pOs *p̄orkay ({ʃl.} *p̄ürkay) 'smoke' > Os V/Vy/Y p̄ørq̄t̄, Kz p̄ørχa, O p̄ärχa id. || Sm: (1) Ne T O p̄arontāy 'snowdrift', Slq LTz purqālće- 'verschneien, verwehen', Slq Ch purāyinj̄p̄at̄ 'es stöbert, es ist Schneegestöber, es weht heftig', Slq Tm purq̄at̄ 'Schneegestöber'; (2) pSm *pur₁k₁- 'smoke' > Ne T пүр "pur" 'Feuer gegen die Mücken', Slq Tz {KKIH} purq̄t̄ 'smoke', ?φ Kms ber, b̄er, bor id. ¶ Coll. 52, UEW 4O6, It. #198, Lr. #956, Lgc. #5O76, SaR 265, TI 396, Ker. II 124, PI 216, 219, LG 233, 236, SZ 312-3, 37O, Ht. 179 [#539], Jn. 131, KKIH 153 || A *bu|or₁ŋ̄, K₁ŋ̄, *burj̄a 'snowstorm, wind' > M: [1] M *borayān 'snowstorm' > MM boro₁an, boro₁on, boroxon id., WrM borugan 'rain, rainy weather', cagan borugan, qatagu borugan 'hail', HIM бороон 'rain, rainy weather', Ord b₁orōn, Brt b, Brt Ag Бороон 'rain', Brt бордоно(н) 'snowstorm, blizzard', Kl borān 'snowstorm, bad weather'; M → T lgs. (Yk burxān, Tkm borayān, bōrān, etc.) ¶ H 19, MED 121, Ms. O 81, KRS 11O, KW 51, Chr. 1O5-6 1?σ [2] M *burgi- > WrM burgi-, burgi-ra-, HIM бурги- v. 'rise in clouds', 'whirl (as dust, water, or storm)' (× N *buřu(-ku) 'spurt, gush forth, boil', q.v. ffd. × N *bōri'y'U 'loose earth, dust') || NrTg *burki > Ewk burki, Lm bōrq̄w 'first snow, fine snow (пороша, мелкий снег)' (× Tg *bure-ki 'dust' < N *bōri'y'U '↑', q.v.) ¶ STM I 113, ≠ S AJ 224 [#281] (does not distinguish this root from Tg *bureki 'dust' [< N *bōri'y'U]) || pKo {S} *p̄l̄r̄äm 'wind' > MKo p̄l̄r̄äm, NKO param id. ¶ S QK #111, Nam 241, MLC 7O4 ¶ ≈ DQA #194 *bōru (-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. bōrq̄ā) denies the existence of this word; other words of Turkic lgs. adduced there by IS (Yk buray- vt. 'disperse, scatter [рассеивать, разметать]', Qrg boro- 'бушевать, rage' [of wind]) are not valid genetic cognates either: Qrg boro- (actually meaning 'be a snow-storm, вьюжитъ') cannot be separated from Qrg borōn 'snowstorm' and is probably a Mongolism, and the Yk word is semantically too distant ◇ Cf. IS I 188-9O (HS, IE, U, A). The meaning 'snowstorm' is likely to be a Uralo-Altaic innovation (partially parallel to the B semantic development: 'storm' → 'hail').

224. *ba^{r?}eri 'hold, take' > HS: S *^o✓b^{r?}r > Ak ba^rāru (inf.) 'to catch (fish, birds), to hunt' (prs. i-bār, p. i-bār ~ i-bār), bā^riru 'fisherman, hunter' ¶ CAD II 2-4, 31-3, Sd. 1O8 || B *✓Hbr > Ah abər (pf. yubər) 'saisir à pleine main', ETwl/Ty {GhA} abər (3m pf.: ETwl ołb̥m, Ty yolb̥m) id., 'saisir à pleine bouche' (animal) ¶ Fc. 8O-1, GhA 9, 246-7, ≈ NZ 92-3 || C *✓br (E: *ber- v. 'grasp') > Bj {R} ✓bry pcv. 'auf- \ zusammen-bringen, besitzen, haben'; prs. 'a-bari 'I possess', ta-ba^riya 'du besitzst' has the form of past, suggesting a semantic development: 'have taken\seized' → 'possess' || Ag: Bln {R} bərbər- v. 'take honey out of a hive', Q {R} bərəbər-, Xm {R} bərbər- v. 'pillage, plunder'; Ag b→ Gz ✓brbr (pf. barbara) id.†|| (⌚) EC: Sa I {PW} bər- v. 'grasp, hold', Af Tjr {MLuc.} bəra 'il emporte' || SC {E} *^ober- v. 'touch' > Kz belet- id. || ?σ Dhl {EEN} bər- id. ¶ E SC 137, E PC #8, R WB 84, R QW 43, R WBd 49-5O, L G 1O2, PW SSI 381, MLuc. 198, EEN 33 || K *^obar- > G bar-: gada-bar- 'etw. übernehmen, auf sich nehmen', mi-bar- 'etw. entgegennehmen, übernehmen', ča-bar- 'an sich nehmen, entgegennehmen, übernehmen' ¶ Chx. 64-5 || IE: NaIE *bhər- v. 'take, bring, carry' (× N *bär?V 'to give' × N *berE^a 'to give birth to' [q.v.]) > OI 'bharati, Av baraiti 'carries, bears', OPrs bər- 'carry', NPrs بَرَ bär- prs. (inf. بُرْدَن bor-dän) 'carry, bear, bring', KhS bər- id. || Arm բերեմ ber-em 'I carry' || Gk φέρω id. || L fer-ō id., fer-t 'carries', Um FER- 'carry' || Phr αβ-βερετ 'at-tulit' || OIr bər- 'carry' || pAl {O} *berya > Al bie 'bring' || Gt baíran, ON, Nr bera, Sw bärä, Dn bære, OFrs, OHG, OSx, AS beran, NE bear 'to carry' || Sl *bъra-ti 'to take' / *berq 'I take' > OCS inf. БъРАТН bъrati (1s prs. БЕРЖ berq), Cz brati (1s prs. beru), Slk brat', P brać (1s pres. biore), R братъ (1s prs. беру) id., SCr brăti (1s prs. бѣрѣм), Slv bráti (bérém) 'to gather in, to pluck', Blg бера 'gather (fruit), pluck, take' || pTc {Ad.} *pär- > Tc A, B pär- v. 'bear (away), carry (off)' ¶ P 128-32, EI 90 (*bhər- 'carry'), ≈ EI 56 (no distinction between *bhər- 'bear [a child]' and *bhər- 'carry'), M K II 473-6, M E II 246-9, Hinz 72, Sg. 173, Horn 45-6, Bai. 27O-1, F II 1OO3-5, WH I 483-5, Bc. G 335, Vn. B 38-4O, Pln. II 735-6, Fs. 75, Vr. 33, OsS 5O, EWA I 546-8, Ho. 21, Ho. S 6, Slt. 78-9, ESSJ III 162-3, Wn. 361-2, Ad. 371 || A *bāri- v. 'hold, take, possess' → v. 'earn', A *bāri 'property' (≈ {SDM97} *bārV 'goods, possess, earn') > NaT *bār 'there is', *bāri-m 'property' > OT bār 'there is', Tk var, Az var, Tkm, Yk bār 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', HlM бары- id., Kl bär- бэр- 'hold, take into one's hands', Dx bari- v. 'hold, catch', MnR H {SM} b_ari- ~ wari-, Dg bari-, ? Ba wār- 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} *pā,r > NKo pā,l- v. 'earn' ¶ S AJ 257 [#159], S QK #159, MLC 765 ¶ S AJ 287 [#268], ~ DQA #1O8 (A *bāra 'goods; to possess, to earn' > T, M, Ko) ¶ The pA high-tone long vw. is that represented by length in pT and by shortness in pTg || D *per- ({θGS} *p-) v. 'get, obtain' > Tm peru '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- 'give birth' < N *berEra id. ◇ Ak -?- and the pT length of the vw. *a suggest a pN lr. The lack of vowel change *a > e in Ak points to pS (and pN) *? or *h, while the lack of vowel lengthening in pIE *b^her- and the zero reflex in K suggest the "lightest" N lr. *?; D *-r- (from an intervocal *r) suggests that there was a vw. between N *? and *r ◇ IS I 176-7 [#8] (*bari > HS, IE, ?D, A), AD GD #1OO (IE, A) ◇ ~ Gr. II #382 (*per 'take') (IE and A [mixing of reflexes of N *ba'r'i'eri 'hold, take' and N *bär?r 'give'] + err. J, Ai, Gil, CK).

225. *bU?RΔ (probably *bo?RΔ) 'to dig; a pit, well' > HS *b'u?₁Δ₂r-> S *bu?₁r- 'pit, well' > BHb בּוֹר bōr 'cistern, pitfall; separate grave', Ar bu?r-at- 'fosse', Har bu?ur, būr 'deep', Grg Ch/SI/WI/Go/Z bur, Grg M b^wzr 'pit, well', Ak būru 'pit, hole; well, pond, pool', būrtu 'well, cistern; fish pond; waterhole; hole, pit', ? Gz mabārō 'means of digging'; delabialized variant WS *b*i*?ir-> Ar bi?r- 'puits', BHb בְּאַר bə'ær 'well of underground water, watering place', Ug b[?]r, and Ph (AkSc) b*i*?rū 'well' (in place-names), Pun, IA, Nbt b[?]r 'well, cistern', OA, IA בִּירָא b[?]yur? id. (em.), JA בִּירָא bə're'[?]ā, Sr bērā, bīrā, Md birā, Mh bayr (pl. b^wyawr^wt) 'well'; an ambiguous case (unk. vowels): M'b br 'cistern' or 'well', OSA b[?]r 'well, cistern', Cn → Eg (EgSSC) {Hlk.} ba-i-r 'well'; WS verb *✓b*i*?r > Ar ✓b*i*?r (ip. -b[?]ur-) 'creuser (un puits, une fosse)', Sb ✓b*i*?r v. 'dig a well or a cistern', Tgy ✓brw 'fendre le sol' ¶ KB 1O2, 111-2, KBR 1O6, 116, JH 32, HJ 141-2, 155, DR KAI III 5, A #488, OLS 99, Hrs. G 85, BK I 78-9, 119, BGMR 25, Av. G II 123-4, Jo. M 4O, L ESAC 12, L EDH 39, L EDG III 15O-1, L G 328, CAD II 335-9, 342-

3, Hlk. #55, SivCR 79 || B: ETwl *bъrъwwъt* 'fosse' ¶ PGG 16 || LEC *bōr-> Sml {R} *bōr-* 'dig', *bōr* (df. *bōr-ti*) 'Loch, Grube', Sml C *bōrān* {ZMO} 'deep\large hole', {DSI} 'buca profonda, fossa; grande tana', Sml N {Abr.} *bōrān* 'hole in the ground'; Or {C, R} *bōr-* (*bō:r-*) v. 'dig', ? Or WI {Brl.} *bōrr-ačč-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} *būr* 'bury, dug in', Bks {J} *bōr* v. 'dig', DfB {J} *būr*, Sha {J} *bur* v. 'bury' | SBC: Tala *yà bōrī* v. 'dig' | ? BT: Krf {ChC} *burré*, Pr {Frz.} *pùré* 'grave' || CCh: Bdm {Cfr. in ChC} *bōrām* 'a well' || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} *bīr* (*bī:r*) 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 *bʰer- v. 'dig' (× N *bōr'a¹ 'pierce, bore') > Arm -*p̪h̪r* -*bīr* 'aufgrabend' (in cds.: **գետնաբիր** *getn-a-bīr* 'that burrows in the earth', **հողաբիր** *hoł-a-bīr* 'digging the earth'), **բռես** *b̪r-em* 'I dig, I hoe, I hollow' || L *forā-* v. 'bore' || Gk *ψάρος* 'plough', *ψαρόωσι* 3p prs. 'they plough' ¶ ≈ WP II 159-61, P 133-5, WH I 481-2, F II 994, Ch. 1179, Hü. 429-30, Slt. 137 (derives Arm -*bīr*, *b̪rem* from Arm *p̪h̪r* *bīr* 'large stick, club, cudgel'), ≠ EI 549 (unc.: *ψαρόωσι*, L *forā-*, and Arm *b̪rem* < IE *bʰer- 'strike') | ?σ NaIE *bʰrēu-ṛ / *bʰrēu-n-* / *bʰru-n-* 'spring (fons)' (× N *buřu(-KU) 'spurt, gush forth, boil, seethe?') > Arm **աղբիւր** *ałbiwṛ* ~ **աղբեւր** *ałbewṛ* (gen. *ałber*) 'source, spring' (< *bʰrēwṛ-) || Gk *ψρέᾶρ* (< *ψρῆϝαρ) / gen. *ψρέᾶτος* 'a well' || OIr *típ̪ra* 'spring' (possibly < *tō-ek̪s-bʰrēwṛ) || pGmc **brunō* / **brun(e)n-* 'well, spring' > Gt *brunna* 'πηγή, source' ({Fs.} 'Brunnen'), Gt Cr *brunna* 'fons', OHG *brunno*, NHG *Brunnen*, ON *brunnnr* '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. ('копать засту́пом'), {Chx.} *ga-bar-*, *gada-bar-* '(das ganze Feld) umgraben'; G *bar-i* {NCh.} 'spade (заступ)', {Chx.} 'Spaten, Schaufel' ¶ DCh. 97, NCh. 149, Chx. 64-5, 67 ¶ Hardly here Sv -*bə,rž-~barž-*- *bärž-* v. 'dig, hoe' (< N *b̪i'Rk|gN [~ *p̪i'RgN?] 'to dig', q.v. ffd.) || **D** *pōr- ({GS} *b-) 'hole, hollow in the tree' (× N *PogUrN 'hollow', 'to gap', 'to be open' [of a hollow], q.v. ffd.) || **A** *b̪ü'rN 'spring, well' > M *bürdü 'spring of water, small lake' > WrM *bürdü* {MED} 'small lake,

pool', {Cev.} 'spring (of water)', HlM {Luv.} бүрд id. ('криница'), Kl Ö {Rm.} bürdü 'Sumpf, Sumpfsee mit Quelle' ¶ MED 1200, Luv. 95, Cev. 117, KW 35 (WrM büründü - spelling at variance with other sources) || pKo {S} *`u- 'well' > cds.: MKo `u-mír, NKo umul(mir 'water') ¶ S QK #884, Nam 389, MLC 1239 || pJ {S} *bì- (¬ *buj- ¬ *bzj-) 'well' > OJ wì, J T i ¶ S QJ #780, Mr. 420 ¶ ~ DQA #162 (incl. M *büru-dü [sc. *bürdü], Ko, J) ◇ K *a, D *o, and the absence of vw. after *bh- in IE may be interpreted as tentatively suggesting a N vw. *o in the first syll., while M *ü (and presumably A *ü?) may be due to regr. as. ◇ Cf. IS I 186-7 s.v. *burə 'to bore, to drill' (to which IS ascribes some of the reflexes of the etymon in question).

225a. (2?) *b'A'ı̥́v̥r̥ 'ungulate' > HS: S *'buřı̥v̥r̥-, (d.?) *bařír̥- > Ak buřu 'young calf; foal, young of quadrupeds' | Sb břr 'cattle, head of cattle; camel', Mn {MA} břr 'camel', Gz bəřər 'ox, bull, horned cattle', Tgr, Tgy bəřəray 'ox, bull' (→ Sa {R} bəřərā, Bj {R} bəř'rāy 'ox [Ackerstier']'), Mh {Jo.} břřayr 'camel', coll. {Jo.}: Mh hř-břr, Hrs hř-byřr, Bth hřběřr 'camels' | BHb břřír̥-* (att. +ppa.: 3m břřír̥-ō, 3p בְּנִירָם břřír̥-ām) 'cattle (as property)', JA [Tg.], JEA, Sr břřír̥-ā 'grazing animal, cattle', Ar břřír̥- 'camel; (any) beast of burden' (→ Sq/Hrs {Jo.} bařír̥ id.) ¶ CAD II 340-2, L G 84-5, ~ KB 136, Js. 182, BK I BGMR 26, Jo. M 41 || C: Ag {Ap.} *bir-a > Bln, Xm {R}, Km {CR} birā 'ox, bull' (↔ EthS?) || HEC {Hd.} ~ *bōra 'bull, ox' > Kmb bōra id., Sd bōr-to 'cow', Hd bāra 'young bull' ¶ Ap. IV 6, Hd. 109, AD SF 204 || B: Zng ta-barar-t 'female camel'; ??? Ah {Fc.} a-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.} bärēwā 'red-fronted or dorcas gazelle (Gazella rufifrons)', Ngz {Sch.} břří 'herd of animals' | P' {MSk.} břřár 'roan antelope', Sir {Sk.} babari 'dama gazelle', Cg {Sk.} burāmžn 'gazelle' | Jm {Csp.} bùrá, ? Grn {Csp.} mbòrò 'sheep' || CCh: Bdm {Nc.} báriē 'bull' | ?σ: Ms {Sk.} bōrora, Bnn {ChC} bāra 'antelope' || ECh: Mkl {J} búrú 'bœuf' ¶ ChC, Stl. ZCh 154 [#90], Ba. 86, MSk. 166, Sk. NB 10-1, Lk. B, J LM 70, Csp. 32, Sch. DN 16 ¶ ~ Tc. LAA-1 124 [#145] || D *par̥- ({§GS} *b-) 'buffalo' > Tl bar̥re 'female buffalo', Klm barre 'buffalo' ¶ DED #3321 || ?μ Κ: G baraķeuli 'heifer, young cow' (unless a loan from an unknown source, which seems likely) ¶ Chx. 65 || ?φ Α *biřa(gu) or *buřa(gu) 'young herbivore (calf, lamb, etc.)' (× N

***w̥i'ṛʒṇ** 'young herbivorous mammal [calf, lamb, etc.]', q.v. ffd.); if it is a valid cognate, the unexpected palatalized *-ṛ- may be due to derivation (*bi|uṛā- < **bi|ur-ya-?) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 157 [#53] (S, C, WCh, D *parč- + unc. D *pōr 'bull', see N ***p̥o'ṛlwṇ** '[female, young?] ungulate [esp. bovine]').

225b. ²*bohr ∇ 'loose earth, dust' > HS: S *°✓bhr > Ar ꝑabharu 'sol
mou, doux', ?σ bahār- 'pepper' ¶ BK I 171, Hv. 49 || A: NaT *bōr 'dust,
sand, clay', 'ε (barren) soil\ground' > Tk bōr 'virgin soil', Tkm Δ bōr
'lime(stone)', CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Qzq, Qq. Nog, Qrg bor, Uz bw̥r, VTt, Bsh
bur, Chv purъ 'chalk', Brb {Rl.} aq por, Tv p'or 'clay', Yk bu᷑r 'clay,
ground', Tf b_ɔr 'sulphureous ground (сернистые солонцы)' ¶ Acc. to
St AJ 288 [#298], T *bōr < A *mōř̥r ∇ 'sand, dust', cp. pKo *mòr(ŋ)ái
'sand' ¶ Tv p'or is likely to be a loan from another T lge. (because of the
irreg. p' - for p) ¶ ET B 192-3, Ra. 72, 164, Jeg. 165, TL 100, 375-6, Rl.
IV 1269.

226. ² *בָּהַר **בָּהַר** 'be light' (of colour) > **HS** *✓**bhr** v. 'be light' (of colour) > **CS** *✓**bhr** id., 'stand up as white against a darker background' > **Ar** ✓**bhr** *G* (ip. -bhur-) v. 'shine, shine brightly', **BHb** מְבָהֵר **mab'hîr** 'shining, bright', **BHb** בָּהֵר **bā'hîr** '(?) brilliant, bright' (h. l. Job 37.21: 'זֹר bā'hîr hū bā'sšətāhā'kîm [KJB] 'light which is bright in the skies', [LXX] τὸ φῶς τηλαυγής ἐστιν... 'the light which is far-shining ...'), **MHb** {Js.} בָּהֵר **bā'hîr**, בָּהָר **bā'hôr** {Js.} 'white, white spot' (cloud), {Lv.} 'glanzfleckig', **JA** בְּהִירָא **bəhî'râ** 'glänzend, leuchtend', **Md** ✓**bhr** *G* v. 'illuminate'; **BHb** בָּהָרֶת **ba'haret** 'white patch in the skin', **JA** [Trg.] **bah'râ**, **bahar'tâ** id., **bahî'râ** 'light' (colour), 'clear' (sky) ¶ **KBR** 111-2, **L G** 1O3-4, **Fr. I** 115, **Ln. 196**, 265, **Lv. I** 197 || **NrOm**: **Ym** (Fl.) **borō**, ? {Wdk.} **pôrō** ~ **fôrō**, {Lm.} **forò** 'white' ¶ **Wdk.** **BY** 122, 182, **Lm. Y** 342 || **Ch** *✓**br** 'white' > **CCh**: **MfG** {Brr.} **má-bàrá** 'white, clean', **Gzg D** {Lk.} **babaran**, **Db** {Lnh.} **mâbârîn**, **Gdr** (Mch.) **bábara** 'white' || **ECh**: **Kbl** {Cp.} **bùrùwá**, **Li** {Grgs.} **bòré**, **Kwn** {J} **bàretín**, **Smr** {J} **bùràgé** 'white', **Ke** {Eb.} **gi-bìrwí** (f. **bàrwá**) 'white, light (colour)' ¶ **JI II** 345, **ChC**, **Eb. 5O**, **Brr. MG II** 162 (connects **MfG** **má-bàrá** 'white, clean' with -pər- v. 'wash'), **Blz. EChWL #97** || **A** *buRE > **Tg** *bûr... > **Ewk burbi** 'wall-eye', **Nn burix3** id. ¶ **STM I** 111 || **Ko** {Rm.} **puru** 'white' in **puru-mâl** 'white horse' (**mâl** is horse') ¶ **Rm. SKE** 211, **Rm. EAS I** 57 ◇ The Om and Ch words may also belong to **HS** *✓**brh** v. 'shine' (whence **S** *✓**brh** v. 'be light' [of colour], 'shine' > **Ar** ✓**brh** [pf. **bariha**] v. 'be light in

complexion', Gz \checkmark brh v. 'shine', 'be light' [of colour], bərūh 'light' [colour], 'bright' [KB 1O8, BK I 118-9, 17O-1, LG 1O3-4]); EthS > Sa {R} \checkmark brh v. 'be light' (of colour), birīh 'light' (colour) (< N *bĀrh'ē¹ 'to shine' [q.v.]).

227. (2?) *b ∇ 'h'R ∇ 'blow, inflate, (→ ?) swell' > **HS:** C: SC {E} *búr- v. 'blow' (of wind) (× N *buR ∇ , *buR ∇ -, 'K' ∇ 'storm, stormy wind') > Kz {E} bu1- v. 'blow' (of wind), Alg {E} bur- v. 'fan' || Dhl {EEN} búri 'fart' (b < **b? < *b ∇ h?) || EC: Sm barar-, Boni {Hn.} bar \bar{e} r- '(an)schwellen' ¶ E SC 14O, EEN 34, Hn. SL 75 || Ch: ECh: Ke {Eb.} bōré v. 'blow (blasen)', Kwang {J} bōré, EDng {Fdr.} ábi \bar{r} e 'blow' (wind) || CCh: Msg {Dec.} barawē 'wind', Msg P {Trn.} baraway 'tornade sèche', Mbara {TrnSL} bārāwāy 'tornade', Ms {Caït.} biri 'orage' ¶ Lk. DM 47, Trn. LM 76, TrnSL 254, Caït. 38, Fdr. 2 || B: Wrg bbərbər 'monter, se gonfler en fermentant (pâte)' ¶ NZ I 94 || ?σ S *° \checkmark bhr > Ar \checkmark bhr G ps. (pf. buhira) 'be out of breath', buhr- 'breathlessness, short-breathing' ¶ Tk. LAA-1 129 [#18O] || **K:** GZ *bēr- 'blow, inflate, distend' > G ber- v. id. (aor. -ber-e < *-bēr-e, F GM S 25O, GM SAKS 7O-1), Lz bar-, Mg (m)bar- v. 'blow, inflate' ¶ IS I 193, K 5O, K² 11, Schm. 97, Chik. 252 || ? **A:** M: WrM bartairā 'swell, distend (as eyes, face, etc.)' ¶ MED 89.

228. *'b'uXr ∇ 'back, rear' > **U** *pur ∇ - 'rear part, behind' > pOs *p̄ir > Os: V p̄ir, D p̄ir, Kz p̄ir 'hinter etw. befindlich, Raum hinter etw.' | Hg far 'Arschbacken, Hinterteil, Gesäß', 'hindquarters, (hotse's) croup, (person's) posterior', farol- 'rückwärts gehen' || Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} purdā- 'sich nach hinten, gegen den Strich wenden' (z. B. die Strömung, die Haare bei einem gereizten Tier), purdārī? 'zurück', Slq Tm {KD} pāran- 'um-, zurück-kehren/-gehen, sich wenden' ¶ UEW 4O7, MF 182-3, EWU 356, Lh. 366 || **D** (in SD) *pur- ({θGS} *p-) 'buttocks, anus' > Tm pūru 'anus', Ml pūru, pūram 'buttocks, vulva', Kdg pu·ri 'vulva' ¶ D #4379 (unconvincingly adducing Tu pūti 'vulva' and Tl pudā 'anus' [that in my opinion belong to N *pu₁w₁t̄E or *pu₁w₁t̄E 'hole' → 'vulva, anus'], as well as the etymologically unclear Brh pundū 'bottom of a receptacle, buttocks, anus') || **HS** ** \checkmark bXr 'back, back part of the body': B *° \checkmark bXr (or * \checkmark bzr) > Ah a-bāhar (pl. ibūhār) 'dos nu d'un animal portant une charge', abhār '(se) mettre à cru sur le dos (d'un animal)' ¶ Fc. 4O, Pr. H 34 (#23), NZ 40 || CCh: Db {Lnh.} mbür, mbür 'buttocks', Gv {ChL} mbúrtà, mbúrtè, Dgh {Frk.} kfímbýtè id. ¶ ChC, ChL.

229. *bär?Δ '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.) bári 'give!'; after Stl. ZCh: Bl, Ngm bar, Glm bár, Gera bár 'give' | pSBC {Stl.} *bár > Grn {Sh.} bár, Grn Mb {Sh.}, Tule {Sh.} bár, Sy Zk/B/Z {Sh.}, Zar K/GL/L {Sh.} vár, Zar {IL} vár id. | Ngz {Sch.} bárú id. || CCh: Tr {Nw.} vár id. | McMdr: Gdf {Sh.} bar-, Gv {ChL} báránà, Dgh {Frk.} báré, bárbgé, Nkc {ChL} bárígá id. || ECh: Mu {Lk.} bárá, {J, Lk.} bár, Kjr buruno, ?Kjk fáro, Bdy bér, Jg {J} bir, Brg {J} bérí, EDng {Fd.} bérè, Mgm {J} bár-áw id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 154 [#88], Nw. #57, JI I 76 and II 158-9, JS 116, JA LM 7O, Sh. SB 35, Sch. DN 22, Blz. EChWL #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-bräy-e v. 'to hand over', Sv {Ni.} -bräe 'give' ¶ Chx. 64, DCh. 97, Ni. s.v. 'датъ', GP 148 || **A** *bárΔ (or *bérΔ?) v. 'give' > T *bár- ({ADb., DQA} *bér-) v. 'give' > OT bér (= {Cl.} bér), Tkm ber- (acc. to IS, secondary shortnening due to the infl. of r), Az ver-, Afsh vár-, Tk SW vár, Yk bár-, Chv par- (acc. to ADb. SR-D and Pp. J 54, Yk -iā- and Chv -a- suggest pT *-ē-) ¶ Rs. W 7O, Cl. 354-5, S AJ 178 [#34], ADb. SR-D 57-8, Jeg. 143, Fed. I 384-5 || ?φ pJ *pará-p- v. 'pay' > OJ párap-, J: T hará-, K hárá-, Kg härä- id. ¶ S QJ #187, ≠ S AJ 282 (treats this J word as going back to pA *bárΔ 'property; to possess, to earn'), Mr. 684 || ??φ Tg *bū- 'give' > Ewk, Sln, Neg, Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn bū- (high series of vw. harmony), Lm bō-, WrMc bu- ¶ STM 99 ¶ ≈ DQA #154 (A *björ'rē '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 #397O ◇ IS I #1O (*ber, H, Η: HS, T -?K) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #382 (*per 'take') (A [mixing of reflexes of N *bär?Δ and N *ba'r?eri 'hold, take'] + err. IE, J, Ai, Gil, CK).

230. *berE?a 'to give birth to; child' > **HS:** S: [1] WS *bar- 'son' > Aram bar, Mh cs. bár, abs. ḥz-brē, Jb C ber id.; for pS we may reconstruct a suppletion system: sg. *bar-~*bin- 'son', pl. *ban- + pl. ending (see N *beníñΔ 'younger relative'); the suppletion pair *bar-/*ban- is preserved in Aram and SS (OSA/Mh/Jb/Sq)] [2] ? WS *✓br? v. 'give birth to, create' (or SS *✓brw 'give birth', WS *✓br? 'create') > Mh {Jo.} ✓brw (pf. bárō), Jb C ✓brw (pf. 'biri), Sq {L} ✓br?|w (pf.

bere) v. 'give birth', Sb **brw** 'child, son, offspring', Hb, Aram, Ar \checkmark **br?** v. 'create', OSA \checkmark **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 **bār** 'brother-in-law, wife's brother' (\leftarrow *'brother' \leftarrow *'born one'; $\sigma\equiv$: below NaIE ***bhrāter-**) ¶ PG 72 || WCh: Fy {J} **barà** 'Kind, Kleines' ¶ J R 84 ¶ b due to mt.: **b ∇ r? > **b? ∇ r > **barà?** || +ext: B * \checkmark **brd** > Ah **a-barad** 'boy', ta-barat 'girl', ETwl/Ty **a-barad** 'boy, young man', Gh **abarad** 'boy' ¶ Fc. 86-7, GhA 9, NZ 103 || K * \circ b'e'r- 'child' > Lz **bere** 'child, son', Mg **ber-** 'son' in family names (beria, gigi-beria, etc.); ?φ G I **bvari** 'child' ¶ Chik. 21-2, Chx. 126 || IE: NaIE ***bher-**/ ***bhōr-** v. 'give birth', 'child', {EI} ***bher-** 'bear a child' > Gt **baíran**, OHG, AS **beran**, OHG, OSx **gi-beran**, NHG **gebären** 'to give birth to', NE **bear** 'give birth', Gt **bērusjōs** 'parents'; \rightarrow Gmc ***burθiz** 'birth' > ON **byrð** (\leftrightarrow ME **birthe**, NE **birth**), Dn **byrd**, Gt **ga-bauúrþs**, AS **ȝe-byrd**, OHG **burt**, **giburt**, NHG **Geburt** id.; Gt **baúr** m. ' γ εννετός (a born one)', ON **burr** 'son', AS **byre** 'son, child' || pAl {O} ***bira** > Al **bir** 'son' || \rightarrow (prtc.) ***bher-no-** 'foetus, child' > Gmc {Zlz.} ***barnan** 'child' > Gt, ON, OHG, OSx **barn**, AS **bearn** 'child' || Ltv **bērn̄s** 'child', Lt **bērnas** 'fellow, lad, chap; farm labourer' || pAl {O} ***barnā** > Al **barrē** 'foetus' || \rightarrow IE **bhreh-tēr** ({EI} ***breh_Atēr**) > NaIE ***bhrā-ter-** (nom. ***bhrātēr** / obl. ***bhrāt(e)r-**) 'kinsman of ego's generation and of the same exogamous moiety' \rightarrow 'brother' (\leftarrow *'born one', $\sigma\equiv$: above Rn **bār**) > OI **'bhrātar-** (nom. **'bhrātā**), Av, OPrs, KhS **brātar-**, CINPrs **բրած** **birādar**, NPrs **beradär**, Psh **wrōr** 'brother', Oss (mt.): D **ärvadä** id., I **ärvad** 'kinsman, brother' || Gk I [Hs.] **ψρήτηρ** 'brother', Gk A **ψράτηρ**, **ψράτωρ** 'kinsman of the same phratria' || Arm **եղբայր** **ełbayr** 'brother' || Phr **βρατερε** dat. 'to (the) brother' || Vn **vhraterei** id. (dat.) || L **frāter**, Um FRATER 'brother', Osc **fratrūm** gen. pl. 'of brothers' || OIr **bráthair**, W **brawd** (pl. **brodyr**), MCrn **braud**, Crn **broder** (bf. from pl. **breder**), MBr **breuzr**, Hm **breur** (pl. **breudeur**) 'brother' || Gt **brōþar**, ON **bróðir**, Nr, Sw, Dn **broder**, OHG **bruoder**, NHG **Bruder**, OSx **brōþar**, AS **brōðor** id., NE **brother** || Pru **brāti** (voc. **brote**), Lt (\leftarrow dim.) **broterēlis** 'brother', Ltv Δ {ME} **brātarītis** 'Brüderchen' ({P}: 'lieber Bruder!'); shortened form: Lt **brōlis**, Ltv **brālis** 'brother' || Sl

*brātrъ id. > OCS **братръ** bratrъ, Slv brāter, OCz, Cz, HLs bratr, Slk brat(e)r, LLs bratš; Sl *brātъ id. > ChS **брать** bratъ, Blg, R, Uk брат, SCr brāt, Slv brát, Cz π, Δ, Slk, P brat || Tc: A pracar (du. *pratri*), B procer 'brother' || Possibly also L *forda* 'pregnant (of animals)', OIr *birit* 'sow' (acc. to Vn., from 'pregnant'), combrit 'féconde, prolifique', Sl *berdjā 'pregnant' > ChS **брѣждъ** brěždъ, RChS **брѣжни** brěžii, SCr brēdja 'pregnant', Slv bréja, Cz březí 'pregnant' (of animals), R Δ бе'режая, Uk бережа 'pregnant' (of a mare), Blr берёжа 'pregnant mare' (× sds. from *bh̥er- 'carry' < N *ba'ṛ̥'eri 'hold, take' [q.v.]) ¶ IS I 32 ¶ ≈ P 128-31, 163-4, ≈ EI 56 (no distinction between *bh̥er- 'bear [a child]' and *bh̥er- 'carry'), EI 84, 333, M K II 53O-1, M EI 328-9 and II 28O-1, Mrg. 9O, Bai. 313, Ab. II 437-8, F II 1O39-4O, ≈ WH I 527, 541-2, Pln. II 683, 736, Vn. B 52-3, 8O-1, and C 168, YGM-1 53, Hm. 1O8, Zlz. M I #4.5, Fs. 75, 82, 84-5, 1O6-7, 175, Vr. 27, 65, 67-8, Ho. 18, 21, 36, 4O, Ho. S 5-6, 1O, OsS 41, 5O, 86, 24O, EWA I 346-8, 481-2, II 385-8, 472, Kb. 58, 65, 125, 137, 337, KM 1O3-4, 237-8, Frn. 4O, 59-6O, O 19, 26, ESSJ I 188-9, II 238,, III 7-11, Glh. 146-7, Slt. 37, Wn. 387, Ad. 421-2 || ?σ **U:** pBF *pereh- 'family' (← 'children [of...]') > F perhē, Es pere, Krl pereh, Vo pere 'family' ¶ SK 523, SSA II 339 || D *per- ({θGS} *p-) v. 'beget, bear (a young)' > Tm peru id., Ml peruka v. 'bear, bring forth', pičappu, pičavi 'birth', Kt perv- v. 'be born', Td perp, per 'act of birth', Kdg per-, Tu pedpini, pedduni, Tl pettū, Nkr pett- v. 'give birth', Klm peṭ- v. 'bear young' ¶ D #4422 × D *per- v. 'get' (< N *ba'ṛ̥'eri) ¶ Hardly here (⇒ Blz.) SD *pār- 'child, young of an animal', because of the vw. *ā and *-r- (regularly from N *r-clusters) (see N *P_Ar₁ṛ̥₁ṇ) 'to bring forth, to give birth', 'young of animals', q.v.) || A ?σ *berE 'girl' > M *beri 'daughter-in-law; bride' > WrM beri, HlM бэр 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 бэри, Kl бэр 'son's \ younger brother's wife, young married woman', Kl {Rm.} berə 'bride, son's wife', WrO {Krg.} beri 'bride, wife', ShY {Ktw.} bēr̥t 'belle-fille', Mnr H {SM} b̥i̥eri 'wife, woman', Mgl (ArSc) {Wr.} b̥air̥t 'bride'; → 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, elder brother's wife', Brt бэригэн '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} **bərigən**, Dx {T} **bəgən** 'elder brother's wife'; sx. *-gen like in *eme-gen 'old woman, old wife', *kür-gen 'son-\brother-in-law', *ebü-gen 'old man', {Rm.} *eli-gen 'relatives-in-law'; M → Yk **bärgän** ~ **märgän** 'husband's brother's wife', Ewk Brg **bərigəy** '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 DnJ 113, T DgJ 126, Wr. B 122, STM I 126 ¶ DQA #122 (A *béré 'daughter-in-law, younger relative-in-law'; incl. M, J) ◇ IS I #32 (*bərə 'child': HS [S, B, dubious C cognates], K, IE), ≈ Blz. DA 156 [#44] (added WCh and unconvincingly D *pār-) ◇ S *✓br? and WCh (Fy **barà** 'Kind, Kleines' < **b?vr < **bvr?) point to a lr. *? within the N lr. This N lr. is also responsible for the NaIE vowel lengthening in *b̥rā-ter and for the interconsonantic zero reflex in *b̥er-no-. D *-r-suggests that N *-r- was between vowels. The solution is N *berE?a (*-E- in the light of pBF *pereh- and A *berE).

231. *bü|ur₁?₂Ν 'lock of hair, down' > **K:** GZ *burṭq]- 'down and plumage' > G burṭq]- id., Mg buṭqu- 'soft'; K *burṭq]- is likely to go back to a N cd. ≈ *•bü|ur₁?₂Ν dΝlqâ (lit. 'hair feather', F N *dΝlqâ 'feather') with as. *dq > *ṭq ¶ K 55, K² 21, FS K 65, FS E 68 || D *pūr-({GS} *b-) 'down, body hair' > Klm bur 'fur', Nkr būr 'down, fine feather', Gnd būrā ȝ burā 'down' ȝ burā 'feather', Knd buṛus ȝ bulus 'pubic hair, feathers, hair on legs and chest', Png būra 'small feathers, down, wool, pubic hair', Mnd būriŋ 'pubic hair', Kui būri, būru 'hair, fur, feather, wool', Ku būrka (pl.) 'down', Mlt purgu 'hair on the body' ¶ Png and Mnd point to D *-r- (hence to N *bü|ur₁?₂Ν), while Knd -ṛ-suggests pD -ṛ- (× N *PōṛsΝ 'hair') ¶ D #4358 (does not distinguish it from D *pūṭ- > MI pūṭa 'down of birds', Brh puṭ 'hair', etc., as well as from D *purṛrΝ 'eyelash, eyebrow', see N *būrūHΝ 'eyebrow, eyelash'), GS 159, 173-6, 181-3 (on D *-ṛ- and *-r-), Berger BZ 42 [fn. 85] || HS: 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.} bār 'camel-hair', berāri 'mane', {R} be'rāre 'mane (of lions, horses, pavians)' || EC: Sml {ZMO} bār 'eyelashes; hairs of the camel's hump' || SC: Irq {E} bori 'body hair, facial hair', {MQK} bōri 'beard on the chin', Brn {Kβ.} bōra 'goat's

beard', → Mb {E} *búru* 'goat's tail' ¶ Blz. EDB 6, Blz. SCL s.v. 'hair', Rop. 162, R WBd 51, ZMO 24, Siy. 29O, ESC 14O || ECh: Smr {J} *bàrà* 'tresse de femme, cheveux tressés' ¶ J ms. ¶ Tk. SCC 72 [#1.4] (C, Eg + unc. \checkmark *bhrr* ~ \checkmark *bhrr* ~ \checkmark *brr* 'tail' in B lgs.), Tk. LAA-1 127-8 [#171] || ?μ S: Ar *burā?il-* 'plumes fines formant le collier de certains oiseaux (p. ex., le coq, le pigeon)' ¶ BK I 117 ¶ The etymological structure of *burā?il-* is unknown; it may go back to a phrase (two words), and it is not certain that ? belongs to the first root (presumably \checkmark *br?*) || A: NaT **bürçäk* (originally a d.?) 'curly hair, forelock' > OT [MhK] *bürçäk* 'forelock', Osm *bürçek* ~ *bürçük* 'curly hair', {Rl.} *pürçük* id., 'nap (of cloth)', Tk *pürçek* 'curly hair, fringe hair\fibres (бахрома)', Az *bırçäk*, Tki {Vmb.} بورچاڭ, {Rl.} *bürçäk* 'curly hair, curl, lock (of hair)', Qzq бүршік 'nap (of velvet, etc.)' ¶ Cl. 357, MM 111, Rl. IV 14OO, 1892 ◇ The long vw. and the quality of r in D are likely to suggest the presence of a lr. The ev. of K (glottalization *d > *t) and S (if ? in Ar *burā?il-* belongs to the ancient root) suggests that the N lr. was *?.

232. *bärṣâ 'bud, leaf' > HS: S *^obilurṣ- > Ar *burṣ-* 'bud' || ECh: Mu {Lk., J} *béríyò* (pl. *bèrè*), Mjl {Blz.} *berrîo* 'leaf' ¶ Lk. ZSS 18O, ChC, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'leaf' ¶ Mu *bér-* < **b[?]vr- < (mt.) **b[?]vṛ- < *b[?]vṛṣ- || ? B: Kb *bbərβər* ~ ββərβər 'être feuillu, former rideau' ¶ Dl. 36 || IE: Ht *parṣdu* {Frd.} 'bud, sprout', {Ts.} 'sprout', {CHD} 'leaf, foliage' (× N ***por**Ν 'leaf', q.v.) ¶ Frd. HW 164, Ts. W 61, CHD P 19O-1 || U: FU **pär*Ν 'bud' (× N **p'e'r*Ν 'fruit', whence U *e > pVg *ē|ä, Hg ē) > Chr *par'ða* 'bud', Chr H {Rm.} *pärtñä* 'catkin (on birch-trees)', {Ep.} *pärtñä* 'bud', {Rm.} *pärcä* 'catkin (on birch-trees\willows), bud', {Ep.} *pärcä* 'the part of tree branches that carries buds' || pVg **pēr-* or **pär-* > Vg T {Kn.} *pēr* 'cone (of a birch-tree, of an aspen)', {MK} *pér* 'bud' | Hg *bérke* 'bud, catkin on trees' ¶ MF 1O6-7, Coll. CG 123-4, Rm. BT 99, Ep. 89, Ü 153, MK 431 (hyp.: Vg ← Tatar, cp. VTt бөре бөрб and Tlt *pür* 'bud' [Rl. IV 1397]) || A: NaT **bipür* '(small) leaf, bud, needle(s) of a conifer' and M **borçuguyi* 'cone of trees' (× N ***por**Ν 'leaf', q.v. ffd.; T *ü and M *o belong to the heritage of N ***por**Ν).

233. *borūṣΝ (or *baRūṣΝ) 'trunk' (→ 'log') > HS: S **burṣ-* ~ **burāṣ-* 'reed' > Gz *bərṣ* 'reed', Ak *burūṣ* 'reed mat' (> Sr *būrā* id.) ¶ Sd. 141-2, LG O11-2, Br. 95 || B *-*būray* 'stick' > Gd *ta-bwri-t* (pl. *ta-bwray*), Ah *tă-būri-t*, Gh *ta-buray-t* id., WTwl, Ty *a-borăy* 'bâton attaché au piège par une corde pour empêcher l'animal de s'enfuir' ¶ Lf. II #O135, Fc.

81, GhA 11, NZ 125 || ?φ 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* still needs elucidation ¶ SSAAJ I 87 [#107], OS #228, Tk. AANM 2 || IE: NaIE ***b̥ruH-** ~ **b̥reHw-** > NaIE ***b̥rū-** ~ ***b̥rēu-** 'log' > ON **brú** 'bridge', ON **bryggja**, Sw **brygga** 'bridge; landing-place, embankment (Hafendamm)', NNr **bryggja**, Dn **brygge** 'landing-stage', OHG **brugga**, **brucka**, Δ **prucca**, MHG **brucke**, **brücke**, NHG **Brücke**, OSx **bruggia**, AS **brycȝ** 'bridge', NE **bridge**; NGr B **Bruck** 'Bretterbank am Ofen', NGr Sw **brügi** 'Holzgerüst' || Gl **Briua** **brīva** 'bridge' (< ***b̥rēwa**), preserved in Latin place names (Wb. I 542), such as **Briua** 'Brive-la-Gaillarde', **Briua Sugnutia** 'Brèves', etc. || Sl ***br̥vъ**, {Sls.} ***br̥vъ** 'trunk, log' > Blg Δ **бръв** ~ **бръф** 'tree used as a bridge across a river\stream; small bridge, cross-beam', SCr **br̥v** 'small bridge, cross-beam', Δ **br̥v** 'small bridge; log as a bridge across a river', Slv **br̥v** 'foot-bridge, gangway, gangplank', OR, RChS **бръвъ** **бръвъ**, **бръвъ** **бръвъ** 'log', **бървъ** **бервъ** 'raft, embankment dam', OCz **br̥ev** 'small bridge', Uk **бер** 'small wooden bridge'; → Sl ***br̥vъно** ~ ***br̥vънъ** ~ ***br̥vъна** (= {Sls.} ***br̥vъно**) 'log' > OCS **бръвъно** **бръвъно**, Blg **бръвъно**, 'бървен', R **бревъно** id., SCr **brvno** 'log; wooden foot-bridge, plank-bridge', OP **bierzwno**, P **bierwiono**, **bierzwno**, **bierzwno** 'rafter, beam' ¶ 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, Brü. 26, SPS I 400-1, Glh. 153, Drd. 44, Kmc. 525 || U: FU ***pora** 'logs used as a raft\bridge, a board' > pLp {Lr.} ***p̥rēvē** > 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} **parrē** 'raft', T {Gn.} **poarrew** 'Brett' | Prm {LG} ***pur** 'raft, ferry' > Vt **pur** id., Z **pur** 'raft', Z LL **pur** 'raft, ferry' || ObU ***pōrā** 'raft' > pVg ***pārā** > Vg: T **parā**, P/NV/SV/LL/ML/UL **pōra**, Ss **pōra** id.; pOs ***pāra** ({JHI.} ***p̥tra**) > Os: V/Ty/Y **pāra**, Vy **pāra**, K/O **pār**, Kz **pōr** id. ¶ Es **parv** 'ferry' may go back to the merger of this stem with U ***parwā** 'Haufen, Gruppe' (UEW 356-7) ¶ Coll. 46, UEW 395-6, Lr. #974, Lgc. #5148, LG 232-3, Ht. 179 [#534], Db. OS xi, It. #35 || ?σ D ***paru|inc-** ({θGS} ***p-**) 'hilt of a sword' > Tm **parińcu**, Ml **prińňu**, Tl **parūžu** id. ¶ D #3969 ◇ If the questionable D cognate is rejected, the N vw. of the first syll. is ***o**, and the N etymon is ***borū** Λ. But if ***o** in FU ***pora** is due to the infl. of ***p-**,

the D root and Es *pārv* may be interpreted as pointing to a N ***a** (N ***baRū̥s**) ◇ AD GD 12 (IE, U), IS MS 332 (IE, U), AD NM 67 [#84].

234. *bōri'v'U 'loose earth, dust, (?) sand' > K *^obūjirv̥w- 'dust' > Sv: UB {TK, GP}, LB {TK}, L {TK, Dn} bīrv̥w, LB/Ln {TK} bīvw, UB/L {TK, Dn.} buryw̥ir, Ln {TK} buvw̥ir 'dust', Sv UB {IS ← ?} buryw̥- 'raise dust' ¶ TK 154, GP 91, Ni. s.v. πύλη, Dn. s.v. mīrv̥v and burv̥v̥ir || HS: C {AD} *būr̥s- 'sand, dust' (× N *bĀrV 'earth, land; dust?') > Bj {Rop.} būr 'earth, land', {R} būr 'earth', Bj A {AD} f. tō 'būr 'earth', m. pō 'būr 'sands, sandy country, semi-desert' (with articles tō f. and pō m.) || EC: Sml {ZMO} burfō 'sand hill, dune', Sml N {Abr.} būrfō 'sand dune', {R} burfō 'sand', Sa {R} burē, {CR} būrē 'sand', ? Sd Hb {C} berrinō 'dust'; Af {PH} būrta 'soil', Arr bōre 'earth' ¶ AD SF 315, ZMO 47, PH 74, Hw. A 349, PH 74, Rop. 163, Blz. CL 177 || Ch *burV > WCh {Stl.} *burV 'sand, dust' > Su būr id., 'ash', Ang {Gr.} būr 'dust' | Ron {J}: Bks, DfB būrā id. || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} 'būra 'sand, dust' | McMs: Zm bīr, Lame būrimi 'dust' || ECh: Mgm {J} būruntūllé, EDng {Fd.} būrintāl pl. (sg. r būrintilō) 'dust' (possibly a N phrase *^obōri'v'U nu dūHīlV with *dūHīlV 'dust') Cf. also Ch *✓brbr 'dust' (< N *bĀrV '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Stl. ZCh 157-8 [#117], ChC, JI II 28O-1, ChL, JA LM 72, J R 14O, 213, Fd. 1O1, Gr. LC 299 || u *porV 'dust, sand' > F poro, Krl, Vo poro 'dregs, dust, ashes', ?σ Es pōri, Δ pōri 'mud, mire', {W} 'dünner Kot, Dreck' | ? Chr L puraka'ŋaš 'to be(come) covered with dust' || Vg: LK pārš, N pors 'rubbish' (d. with a sx.) || Sm: Kms pūrε 'sand' ¶ SK 6O4-5, SSA II 399, W ESS 847, ≈ LG 233, Coll. 5O, MRS 469, Hal. USz III 443-4 || A {SDM95} *bōr̥V (or *boru?) > NaT: [1] *bur 'dust, soot' [{SDM95} *bur(ū)] > Qrg bīr, Xk pīr 'fine dust (in corn, on clothes)', Alt/Tlt {Rl.} pur 'Asche, die vom Feuer aufgewirbelt wird und wie Spinngewebe am Dache hängen bleibt', Tv {Rs. ← ?} pūru 'smoke, dust', Tf {Ra.} pīr 'soot (suie, noir de fumée)', SbTt Bkl pīr, SbTt Tō por 'soot' (× pT *bōr 'dust, sand?'), ?φ SbTt EuCh pīrim 'soot', SbTt Tm burim 'smoke, soot', ?σ Yk burūo 'smoke (дым, чад)', [2] AdS of NaT *bōr 'dust, sand, clay', 'ē (barren) soil\ground' (see N *bohrV 'loose earth, dust', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Rs. W 89, Jud. 171, Rl. IV 1364, Ra. 167, BIG 17O, Tum. 47, 175, 181, Pek. 57O || M {S} *burgi- v. 'rise' (of dust, smoke)' (× N *burū(-ku) 'spurt, gush forth, boil, seethe', q.v. ffd.) || Tg *bure-ki 'dust' > Orc, U1 buržxi, Nn buržxī id., WrMc buraki 'dust' ('пыль, прах') ¶ STM I 113 ¶ ≈ DQA #194 (incl. T, M, Tg; does not distinguish this root from the

reflexes of N *buR^Δ, *buR₁Δ-₂'K'Δ 'storm, stormy wind', q.v.), Rs. W 89, S AJ 193 [#188], 255 [#111], 224 [#281], STM I 113 §§ Tg *bure-ki suggests that M *burgi- goes back to *burΔ-Ki- || D *pūr-/puṛ- ({GS} *b-) 'dust, earth' > Tm pūrī 'powder, dust, sacred ashes', pūṛti 'dust', puruti dust, powder, dry eardh', Ml pūrī, puruti 'dust, earth put to the roots of trees', Tl būḍida 'ashes', Klm būḍdi 'ash', ? Prj poṛmil 'rubbish', Mlt porsi 'sweepings' §§ D #4316 ◇ D *-ṛΔ < **-ryΔ < N *-ri^yU ◇ IS I 187-8 (*bur(H)_Δ/*bor(H)_Δ 'loose earth, dust', corresponding to our two etymons: N *bōri^yU and N *bArΔ 'earth' [q.v.]), Rs. W 89 (F, T).

235. *bArh^ē '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. -brāh) v. 'shine, be bright', Tgr, Tgy ✓brh id. (whence Bln {R} barh- 'licht werden'), Gz bərhān 'light, brightness' || cp. CS *✓bhr 'be light' (of colour), 'stand up as white against a darker background' < N *bUhR^Δ 'be light' (of colour) (q.v. ffd.) ¶ KBR 111-2, LG 1O3-4, Fr. I 115, Ln. 196, 265, Lv. I 197 || ?φ Eg L bəx {EG} 'aufgehen' (Sonne), 'hell glänzen' (Milch) ¶ EG I 423, Tk. II 83-4 || EC *✓br? (~ *✓brØ) > Or {Grg.} bari?- v. 'break' (day), barī 'morning', Or B {Sr.} barī id., 'dawn', bari- v. 'dawn', 'break' (day), Kmb {L} birre? v. 'clear up' (weather), Sa {R} bera 'morning, tomorrow', Af {PH} 'bēra 'tomorrow', Sml {DSI} beri- v. 'dawn', {DSI, ZMO} beri 'day', berri 'tomorrow', Sml N {Abr.} wāgu wā beriyyayya 'the day is dawning', Rn {PG} báryò 'early dawn', Arr {Hw.} barri 'dawn, tomorrow', Bs ge-bar-i, Dsn bér-ikà, Elm bár-ri 'tomorrow', Sml bér-i 'east', Or bar-i, Kns, Gdl par- v. 'dawn', Elm bür-re 'morning' ¶ EC *?/Ø is a reg. reflex of HS *h (sc. it corresponds to S *h), F AD WIL 63O-1 ¶ AD SF 4O, Bl. 151, Grg. 41, Sr. 271, Hw. A 346, ZMO 38, DSI 55, Abr. S 31, PG 75 §§ Dk. p.c. → AD SF 4O (C, S *✓bhr), LG 1O4 (C, S ✓brh) || IE *b^her₁H₂- (= *b^herH-?) > NaIE *b^her₁a₂- 'shine (glänzen)' (× IE *b^her- 'brown' < N *boř₁?₂û 'brown, yellow') > OSx, MLG, AS brūn 'shining (glänzend)', ON brunni id., 'polished' || IE *b^herH- +ext. > NaIE *b^hrē-ğ- ({EI} IE *b^herHğ- 'shine') > OI 'bhrājatē 'shines, beams, glitters', bhrāj- 'Glanz', Av brāzaⁱti 'beams, glitters', NPrs بَرَازْ bärəz 'ornament, decoration; beauty', {Vl.} 'ornatio, pulchritudo, bonitas', بَرَازِيَّةٌ bärəzī-dän 'to decorate, to render beautiful\good' || Lt brékšti (prs. brékšt-) 'to dawn', 'to break' (the day) | Sl *brěskъ

'dawn' > Slv *břesk*, Slk *bresk*, P *brzask* id.; Sl *^o*brěskati* se ~ *^o*brěščiti* se > Slv Δ *brēckati* se 'to dawn', P† *brzeszczy się* 'it dawns'; **brězgъ* ~ **brězga* > ChS, OR **бре́згъ** *brězgъ*, OCz *březk*, R Δ *брéзг*, *брéзга* 'dawn'; Sl **brěžiti* ~ **brěžati* > Slv Δ *breždžiti*, *bréžati*, *brez(d)ětì*, Cz Δ *břížiti* se, Slk *brieždit'* sa, P *brzeždžyć* się 'to dawn', Plb *brezđojě* 'it begins to dawn', R *брéзжитъ*, OCz *břěžditi* se 'to begin to dawn' ¶ P 136-7, EI 513-4, M K II 529-32, M E II 279-80, Horn 45, Vl. I 209-10, Sg. 167-8, OsS 87, EWA II 375, Ho, 36, Vr. 61, Wn. 34, Frn. 55-6, ESSJ III 16-20 || D **par-* {⟨GS⟩ **p-*} v. 'dawn, shine' > Kt *par* *par* in- (/ *id-*) '(country {na·ř}) becomes a little light before dawn', Kn *pare* v. 'dawn', OTl {Km.} *parāgu* v. 'shine', Kui *pari* *inba* v. 'dawn, break (dawn)', Mlt *parče* v. 'shine brightly, be seen clearly' ¶ D #3980, Km. 426 [#797].

235a. 2 **bAr'h*Δ 'be hungry, want' (→ 'love') > HS: S *✓*br'h*? G '≈ be hungry' (→ 'love') > OA, Ak √ inf. *barū* 'be hungry, starve', Ar ✓*brr* G 'be good\pious; love (one's parents)' ¶ BK I 103-4, CAD II 118-20 || ? B *✓*þrH* 'love, want' > Gd ✓*þr* (imv. *əþr*, 3m pf. *yäþr*) 'vouloir, désirer, aimer, avoir l'intention de', Ah *ər*, Tnsl *ərh*, Ty {ABs.} *ər* ~ *əru*, Kb *ər*, Shl, Tmz *iři* 'love, want', Twl {ABs.} *ərhu* ~ *əru*, {PGG} *iřu* v. 'love, want, wish, need'; ? ✓*þ'r* > Tw Ng {NZ} *ihar* & *əwər* 'être nécessaire de, avoir le devoir de' ¶ Lf. II #0096, Fc. 154-51, Pr. H 86 [#588] (B *✓*rh₂h*), NZ 90-1, PGG 264 || D **pari* 'love' > Tm *pari* v. 'be affectionate, love', *pari* n. 'love, affection', Ml *parivu* 'love', Kn *parařiga* 'paramour', Tl *perima* 'love, affection' ¶ D #3964.

236. **borHû* '≈ belly', 'internal organs' > HS: EC: pSam {Hn.} **bér* 'stomach, liver' > Sml *bér*, Sml N *bér* 'liver', pBn {Hn.} **bér* 'stomach, liver' > Bn {Hn.}: Bi/J/Ba *bêr* id., 'liver', K *bêr* 'entrails', *bêr* 'liver' | ? Brj {Ss.} *bára* 'chest' || SC: ?σ Brn {E} *baropō* 'spleen' ¶ Hn. S 54, Hn. BD 116, 130, Abr. S 30, Ss. B 33, ESC 320, 338 || ? (+ext.?) WS **bar*Δ₂*k-* > Sq {L} 'berak' 'poitrine', {SSL} 'be(:)rak' 'chair sur poitrine des animaux', Ar *bark-* 'poitrine (chez l'homme); poitail dont le chameau agenouillé touche la terre' ¶ L LS 95, SSL CLS 100-1, BK I 116, MiK I 1.35-6 [#38] || IE: NaIE **bhrū-n-* > OI *bhrū'na-m* 'embryo' || MHG *briune*, *brūne* 'pudenda muliebria' || Cz *brnka* 'placenta', {M} 'Kindsfell' | ?σ Ltv *braūna* 'scab, slough, cast skin of a serpent' ¶ ≈ P 169, M K II 533-4, ≈ M E II 283-4, Lx. 26, Ma. CS 44, ME I 327 || D **pōr-*, {⟨GS⟩} *bōr-* 'chest, breast' > Tl *bōra* id., Knd *bōra* 'chest', Ka *bōr(a)la*, *bōr(a)lu*

'upside down' §§ D #4592 ◇ D *-r- (reflex of N *r-clusters) and of the long vw. in D suggest the presence of a N lr. ◇ NaIE *-ū- in *b̄rū-n- (< IE *b̄ruH-(n)-) may be explained by mt. (*-Hû- > IE *-uH-) ◇ Blz. DA 154 [#21] (HS, D, IE; tacitly includes the IE reflexes of N *b̄R̄sūč̄ '≈ belly', q.v.).

237. 2 *b̄rūH̄ 'eyebrow, eyelash' > IE {EI} *b̄ruH-s > NaIE *b̄rū- 'eyebrow' > OI b̄rū- (nom. b̄rūh̄, gen. bruvah̄), Av brvat-, NPrs برو | äbrū, برو bärū || Gk ὄφρύς (gen. -ύος) id. || Mcd [Hs.] ἀβροῦτες 'eyebrows' || OIr brá, nom. du. bróí, accus. du. bru, gen. du. brúad id., forbrú (accus. pl., gen. pl.) 'supercilia' || ON brún, pl. brynn, Dn øjenbrynn, Sw ögonbrynn, OHG brāwa, NHG Braue, AS brū 'eyebrow', ME browes pl. 'eyebrows', NE brow, eyebrow || Lt † bruvis, Lt brúvē 'eyebrow' | Sl *br̄t (gen. *br̄v-e) > OCS бръвъ br̄vъ 'eyelash, eyebrow', P brew, OCz brev 'eyebrow', SCr † br̄v, Blg Δ μ βърва 'eyelid', Cz μ brva 'eyelash', Slk pl. μ brvuy 'eyelashes, eyebrows', OR бръвъ br̄vъ, R бровъ '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 || D *pur̄r̄ ({{GS} *b-}) > Klm bu·r̄ 'eyelash, eyebrow', Gdb burgul 'eyebrows', Ku kanu būru 'eyebrow' (kanu is 'eye') §§ ≈ D #4358 (does not distinguish it from D *pūt- 'down, hair' and from D *pūr̄- 'down, hair on the body', see N *bū|ur̄, ?r̄ 'lock of hair, down').

238. *barq̄ (≈ *barX̄) 'go, go away, step' > K *b̄a'r̄q- (or *berq-?) '≈ step, walk' > Sv: {Ni.} bärq, U {TK} bārq (pl. bārqär), UB {TK, GP} bāq (pl. bāqär), LB/Ln {TK} bāq (pl. baqär), L {TK, Dn.} bāq (pl. bāqar) 'step', Sv {Ni.} χwi-bärqi v. 'I step' ('шагаю'), Sv LB {GP} na-barq, UB {GP} na-bāqw 'foot-mark; overstepped (by so.)', Mg d. la-bax-u 'passage in wattle-fence', ?σ OG perq 'foot', G pex- 'leg' §§ The irreg. vowel corrs. and the vowel lengthening in Sv UB/L may be due to the cns. r and its loss §§ K 50 and K² 12 (*berq- 'leg, step'), TK 149, GP 90, Dn. s.v. māq, Ni. s.v. шагъ and шагать, FS 47 (+ err. G baq-baq-i 'unschönes Laufen', baq-baq- 'sinnlos herumlaufen'; err. rec. of K *baq-) || HS: WS *✓br̄t v. 'flee, run away' > BHb, Ph, JA ✓br̄t G id., Ug {OLS} br̄t adj. 'huidizo, escurridizo; fugitivo', Ar ✓br̄t G 'leave (a place), cease', Gz ✓br̄t D 'flee, escape, run' (× barrəħha 'enter the wilderness, take to the woods' ↔ Gz barəħā 'wilderness' ÷ Ar barāħ- 'bare stretch

of land') § KB 149, KBR 156-7, OLS 115, Sl. 243, ≈ LG 1O4-5 || C *b^νr- > Bj {R} ber- scv. 'auswandern', ? ✓ s^νbr (1s: p. a-s'bār, prs. asta'bīr) pcv. md. 'sich flüchten, davon laufen' (if it goes back to a causative stem s^ν-b^νr) || ḡ Dhl bariž- {E} 'go out, depart' (unless the right interpretation is {To.} 'depart on dawn' or {EEN} barij- 'rise [sun], stay till dawn', connected with Dhl {To.} bariti 'dawn') || ??? SC: Ehret (E PC #4) adduces a pSC stem *bariy- v. 'travel' → Mb -bári v. 'travel' and the above Dhl verb § R WBd 5O, 52, 195, E SC 135, EPC #4, EEN 33, To. D 13O || A: T *bar- v. 'walk, go, go away' (× N *mAr^{rū} 'trace, path; to follow, to trace?') > OT bar- v. 'go, go away', Tkm, VTt, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, ET, Yk bar-, ET Δ bār-, Uz bar-, Tk var-, Δ vār-, Az var-, StAlt b_ar- v. 'walk, go', Chv pir-, Δ pur- v. 'gehen, fahren' § Shch. SF 195 (*bār- with unj. long *ā 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', see KW 34), Jeg. 173, Fed. I 465-6, Md. 1O5, 173; ET B 64-5 (unc.: *ā), S AJ 194 [#2O6], DHST 294 (*bēr [= *bār] on supposed ev. of Xlj bār) || D *par- ({θGS} *p-) v. 'run, go away, flow' (× N *pAr_yν 'run, flee', q.v. ffd.) || E par- 'gehen, reisen': AchEl par-u 'gehend, reisend', pari-iš- 'sie gingen, zogen, reisten', pari-iš-da 'er ist gegangen, gereist' § HK 123, 149-5O, 161 ◇ Hardly here Ht pars- v. 'flee, escape' (Frd. HW 163, Ts. W 61, CHD P 179-8O), better explainable as going back to N *P_yRC_yν 'flee, run (from, after smb.)' (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. *büryi 'to cover' > HS: B *✓ brbr ~ *✓ brr v. 'cover, be covered' > Ah bərubərat 'couvrir, être couvert, se couvrir', Gh (caus.) sbərbər 'couvrir, boucher', Gd bərbər 'être couvert, être enveloppé', Gdm {Lnf.} bərbər 'être couvert', Kb sberber 'se voiler', sburr 'se couvrir, s'envelopper', Shw ssbərbər id., Mz bbərbər 'couvrir entièrement'; ?? B *✓ ψHr v. 'close' > Ah aħar 'fermer, boucher', Gd εβər (3m pf. īβər) 'fermer au verrou bloqué ou à clef (une porte)' (B *✓ ψHr may be alternatively or even better equated with Ak apāru v. 'put a covering on so.'s head') § Fc. 84, 633, Nh. 146, Lf. I 238, II ##OO93, O1O8, Dl. 36-7, Pr. H #355, NZ 9O-2, Dlh. M 1O || Ch: CCh: Mlw {Trn.} bīrī 'étendre (un tissu), couvrir (avec un tissu)', Mbara {TrnSL} bār 'couvrir (une maison)', Masa {Caït.} bār 'se couvrir' || ECh: Dng {Fd.} bārē 'couvrir' § Trn. MVM 282, Caït. 36, TrnSL 254, Fd. 92 §§ Tk. LAA-1 126

[#163] || K *bur- v. 'cover, muffle up, wrap up; darken' > G bur- 'muffle up, darken', {Chx.} bur- (ft. gada-bur-) 'in Nebel\Darkel hüllen, be-\über-decken', bur- (ft. da-bur-) 'in Nebel\Darkel 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., to get dark', L prs. i-bruvi 'it is darkening', aor. ed-burān(da) 'night fell', ft. ed-bur 'it will get dark'), Sv UB {GP} rəhi-y-bur-i 'life' (lit. 'light and dark'); ds.: OG da-h-bur-es tavsa '(they) blindfolded him' (Lk. 22.64), G da-bur-uli tge 'dense forest', Sv {TK}: USv mubwir ~ mubir, L mubur 'dark', {Ni.} nambwr 'darkness' §§ K 55, K² 2O, Chx. 119-2O, FS K 64-5, FS E 67, TK 427, 573-4, GP 147, 221, 256, Dn. s.v. bur-, Ni. s.v. темный and темнеть || A *bürE- 'cover' > T *büre- ~ *bürü- v. 'cover, wrap' > Tkm büre-, Chg bürü- v. 'cover', Tk bürü- v. 'cover, envelop, wrap', d. *bürke- > Qmq bürke- v. 'cover, wrap', Qzq, Nog, Qq, ET Δ bürke-, StAlt bürke- v. 'cover', Tv бүргээр pürše- 'wrap, become cloudy, Uz burkä- v. 'wrap', Qrg bürkö- vt. 'cover, close', VTt бөркө- børkə- id. (→ Chv pürke- vt. 'cover'), Xk pürge- v. 'wrap, envelop, cover', Chv pürke- v. 'cover, wrap (the whole body, including the head)' § ET B 296-8, Jeg. 172, Fed. I 422-3, TvR 128 || M *büri- v. 'cover' > MM [S] buri- 'bedecken, beziehen', WrM büri-, HlM бүрэ- v. 'cover, envelop', Kl bür- v. 'cover'; *bürkü- id. > MM [HI] bürkü- id., WrM bürkü- v. 'grow\become cloudy, cover, cover up, envelop', HlM бүрхэ- 'cover, be covered, cloud over', MMgl bürk 'clothed', Mgl bürkünä 'he covers', Dg bürkü- v. 'cover' § H 23, Ms. H 45, MED 15O, Iw. 94, Pp. IM 5O-1, KW 68-9 || Tg [1] Tg *büri- v. 'cover' > WrMc buri- id., Nn, Ul buri- v. 'cover, wrap' ('покрыть, обтянуть, оклеить') § STM I 114, Pt. 27] [2] ?? Ewk bū- v. 'shade (light)' § STM I 99 §§ Pp. VG 111, KW 68-9, DQA #22O (A *būru [-jū-, -e] 'to cover, to shade' > T, M, Tg *bū-) || D {Pf.} *pūṛ-/*puṛ-▽- ({§GS} *p-) v. 'cover, bury' > Kn hūṛu id., pūṛ(u) v. 'inwrap, insert, cover, bury', Ml pūṛuk v. 'be buried', Kdg pu]- v. 'bury', Tl pūḍu v. 'be filled and closed up (as a pit)', pūḍ(u)cu v. 'bury', Nkr purp- id., Krx putt- v. 'set' (of the sun) §§ D #4376, Pf. 88 [#585], ≠ Km. 434 [#839] ◇ D *-ṛ- may be explained as going back to *-ry- ◇ IS I 191-2 (*büri in K, HS, D, A; IS adduces [with a query] IE *wer- 'cover', which is hardly acceptable).

240. ² *b^hR₂̥ūč₂̥ '≈ belly' > **HS:** S: Ar b^hrusθ- 'derrière, cul' ¶ BK I 113 || **IE:** NaIE {Vn.} *b^hreus-/ *b^hrus- '≈ chest, belly' > Clt (< d. *b^hrusō / gen. *b^hrus-n-os) > OIr brú (gen. bronnn) 'sein, ventre, matrice', W bru 'womb, belly', W, MCrn bron (Clt < *b^hrusnā-) 'breast', Br bronnn 'sein, mamelle' || Gmc: Gt brusts pl. 'σπλάγχνα, στήθος', {Fs.} 'pluck' (actually 'heart'), 'breast', OFrs brust, burst, MDt, Dt borst, OHG brust, NHG Brust 'breast'; Gmc {Vr.} *breusta > ON brjóst, OSx briost, AS bréost 'breast', NE breast || Sl *bíuxo ~ *bíuxъ 'belly, paunch' > OR брюхο brjuxo, брюхъ brjux 'venter', OCz břuch 'stomach (venter), belly', Cz břicho, Slk brucho, OP brzuch, P brzuch, R брюхо 'belly, paunch' ¶ P 17O-1, ≠ EI 561 (words for 'breast' and 'belly' ↔ *b^hreus- 'swell'), Vn. B 99-1OO, Hm. 114, Fs. 1O8-9, Vr. 57-8, Vr. N 79-8O, EWA II 399-4O2, KM 1O5, Ho. 34, Ho. S 1O, ESSJ III 33-4, Vs. I 225, Bern. I 25 ◇ May be connected with (derived from?) N *borHû '≈ belly', 'internal organs'.

241. *b^hA₁R₁̥₂̥d₂̥ '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, umherstreifen', Mg bordiš- v. 'rave', bond- id., Lz bod- v. {K} 'rave', 'dart in trouble, беспокойно сновать' (of a brood-hen) ¶ ≈ K 52 and ≈ K² 17 (*bod-), Chx. 93-4, DCh. 111 || **HS:** B *✓brd 'road' > Izn abrid 'road', Rf AU, AT abrid, pl. ibridən 'chemin, route', Kb abrid, pl. iberdan 'chemin, route, rue, passage', Ah a.barid, Gd abrīd, pl. berdan ~ bridawen 'chemin', Nf brid 'route, sentier' ¶ Fc. 86, Rn. 293, Lf. II #O11O, Dl. 41-2, NZ 1OO || ?φ S: Sr {Br.} pl. **בָּרוֹדְךָ**, bēry-āt-ā 'via' (sg. bērī't-ā), Sr {JPS} **בָּרוֹדְךָ** bērī't-ā 'street, broad place' (unless from N *b^hA₁r₁̥ 'earth, land; dust') ¶ Br. 88, JPS 55 || ?φ Ch: WCh: Bd b^hedum, budm {IL} 'path' || CCh: Mdr {Eg.} báramà id., Glv {RpB} báram(a), baráma 'road (in town), street, way' || ECh: Smr {J} bármà 'road', Nd D {J} bám 'road', Tmk {Cp.} bw̥m 'path', Mu {Lk.} bòdòl, {J} bodòl 'road' ¶ ChC, RpB 14 || **IE:** NaIE *b^hre(:)d^h- v. 'pass, leap over, wade' > pAl {O} *breda > Al G/T breth (aor. brodha) {AIED} v. 'roam, wander; run, go fast; frolic, leap about' || ?W {Mn. ← ?} bridd (*b^hrēd^h-) v. 'leap forward' (absent in YGM and SB) || Lt bristi (prs. brendù, p. bridañ), Ltv brist (prs. briedu) 'to ford, to wade', Lt brýdis n. 'wading', brudē 'track, trace, trail', ?σ brádas 'fishing' | Sl *bred-/*brbd- (*bred-q ~ *brbd-q,

inf. *bresti) > OCS **брести** bresti / prs. **бре́дъ** bredъ v. 'wade, ford', Slv bresti / brédem, OCz břísti / br(e)du ~ břdu, Slk brst' / brdú id., R бре'сти / бре'ду 'plod one's way, drag oneself along'; Sl *brodъ 'ford' > ChS **бродъ** brodъ, Blg, R брод, SCr, Slv brōd, Cz, Slk brod, P bród id. ¶ WP II 201, P 164, Mn. 100-1, Glh. 152, O 34, BFU 66, Kf. 55, C I 75-6 and II 357, Frn. 58-9, ESSJ III 14-5, 36-7, SPS I 368-9 || D *pači ({θGS} *b-?, *-č-) 'way, manner' > Tm pači 'manner, mode', Kn pači 'manner, method, way', Tl bədi, vadī 'manner' ¶ D #3851 ◇ The meaning 'rave, be delirious' (attested in GZ, Ltv [brist 'Albernes sprechen'], and Sl [R 'бредить 'to rave']) is likely to have derived from 'roam' ◇ IS MS 332 s.v. брод 1 (IE, K), IS SS #12.20, K 52 (IE, K).

242. *bur₁u,d^₂ŋ'g'₃ (~ *bar₁u,d^₂ŋ'g'₃?) 'facial hair, animal's body hair, down' > K: GZ *burdyā- 'down, plumage' > G burdyā-, Lz bundyā- ~ burdyā- id., Mg burdyā- 'down, shaggy'; → GZ *br̥dy-wn- v. 'pluck (bird)' > G br̥yu-, br̥yvn-a (~ bdyvn-a) v. 'pluck (fowl)', OG na-bdr̥y-én-i 'Flaum, Daunen', Mg burdy- v. 'pluck', Lz o-burdy-ol-u ~ o-bundy-ol-u v. 'pluck (fowl)'; acc. to FS, G burdyā 'plumage, down' is a loan from Zan; K *°bardy- (?) > G P bardyl-i '(Tier-, Fell-)Haar' ¶ K 55, K² 18, 20-1, FS K 59, FS E 61, Chx. 66, 72 (s.v. ბდელი / ბდელები), and 104, Abul. 317, Ghl. 60 || IE: NaIE *b^hardhā 'beard' > L barba id. || Gmc: OHG bart, NHG Bart, Dt baard, AS, NE beard, ON bardr id. || Lt barzdà, Ltv bārda, bārzda, Pru bordus id. | Sl *bor'da (accus. *bōrdq) id. > OCS **брѧда** brada, Blg брада, R боро'да (accus. 'бороду'), Uk боро'да, SCr bráda (accus. brādu), Slv bráda, Cz, Slk brada, P broda ¶ WP II 135, P I 110, EI 251 (*b^hardh-eh_H-), 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, Glh. 144-5 ¶ The variant with *-sd- > -zd- in Lt and Ltv is not yet explained (infl. of *b^hars- 'ear of barley'?) || A: [1] *bur₁u,T_₂g_₃ 'facial hair' > NaT *murut 'moustache' > Chg {Rl.} **بۇرۇت** burut, ET burut, Brb {Rl. → Tm} murut, SbTt {Tm.} mōrt ↗ murt, Tkm murt, Qzq мұрт mūrt, 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-kta ~ *gurga-kta 'beard, moustache' > Nn Nh bogaqta ~ božaqta ~ gogaqta, Ul bužaqta, Orc bažakta ~ guggaqta, Ud guakta, Ewk gurgakta, Sln guggakta ~ gurgakta, Lm gurgət, Neg

goygakta id. ¶ The root-internal *-g- may go back to N ***g** (*burga < **burdga < N ***burud** **g̥** **g̥**). The initial *g- may be due to as. ¶ STM I 173 ¶ ≈ DQA #213 (≈ A *bürda 'beard'; incl. T, Tg) ¶ ? M *barba-y- 'be broad and thick' (of a beard) (× N ***bar**? **g̥** 'big, much, thick', q.v. ffd.); M *barbagar > WrM barba-gar, HIM барвгар 'hairy, shaggy', 'broad and thick' (of a beard), 'coarse' (of textiles), Kl барвхр barwəyər, Brt барбагар 'hairy, shaggy' ¶ MED 84, KRS 81, KW 35, Chr. 87 ¶ M -b- in *barba-yi- and *barbagar still needs explaining ¶ || HS: ?φ, σ S: Ar {BK} burd-at- 'pièce en étoffe de laine et qui sert pour s'envelopper et coucher dessus', burd- 'in 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. may be due to as. *-aru- > *-uru- in descendant lgs. Alternatively, *a in IE, in G bardyli, and in M barbayi-, *barbayar may be due to the infl. of a different N word or to internal vw. changes in lgs. (such as IE **v̥y̥r > *v̥r before a syllable boundary).

243. *b̥i'r̥g̥E 'high, tall' > **K** {FS} *b̥rg̥- 'tall and strong' > G brge 'tall, broad-shouldered' (Chx.: 'hochgewachsen, breitschultrig'), Sv {Ni.} bə̥g̥-i 'thick rope (канат)', Sv UB {GP} bə̥g̥-i 'firm; bold', Sv -bg̥- (msd. {Ni.} li-bg̥-i, UB/LB {TK, GP} li-bge) 'strengthen', na-bg̥-i {GP} 'firmness', {Ni.} id., 'strengthening' ('укрепление, твердость') ¶ FS K 58-9, FS E 60-1, GM S 99, Chx. 104, TK 425, GP 92, 147, Ni. s.v. ¶ || HS: B: Ah burg̥at (aor. pret. -bburg̥at < *-w-brg̥) 'être soulevé, se soulever', ETwl, Ty b̥erg̥at 'être soulevé', Gh bə̥r̥zəd 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.} *b̥ur- 'big' (of things), {AD} 'high, big' > Rn {PG} b̥ur 'big', Sml {ZMO} b̥ur 'mountain, bare-topped hill', Sml b̥uran {Hn.} 'stout', {ZMO} 'fat, plump, corpulent, obese', {DSI} 'essere grasso \ robusto \ grosso', Sml {ZMO} b̥urān 'stoutness' ¶ R WBd. 52, Hn. S 55, PG 82, 147, DSI 71, ZMO 48, Tut. 439, IS I 177 ¶ var. *✓ bgr (< *✓ brg̥) > S: Gz ✓ bgr G v. 'grow, become physically developed', MHb ✓ bgr G v. 'mature' ¶ Ls. G 89, Sl. 185 || (mt.) Eg fBD b̥ʒʒ 'Mastspitze' ¶ EG I 488 || Ch: WCh: Kir pə̥g̥ore, Kir Mn bagóra 'big' | Bd {Lk.} ʒvgor 'long' || Bdy {AlJ} begèr 'dépasser, surpasser' ¶ Csp. 42, Lk. Bd 71, AlJ 58 ¶ Tk. LAA-1 111-2 [#55] || IE *b̥herg̥h- 'high' (⇒ *b̥herg̥hō-s 'mountain', *b̥r̥g̥hū-s 'high', etc.), {E}

*b^her^gh-u-s, *b^her^gh-ent- 'high' > OI b^héhant- 'groß, hoch', Av bərəzant- 'high', bərəz- 'high; height, mountain', ClNPrs بَرْزَ barz ~ بَرْزُ burz, NPrs بَرْزَ borz 'height, tallness; tall', KhS balysga- 'high' || Arm -բերձ -berz *'high' (in: ԵՐԿՈՒԱ-բերձ erkna-berz 'himmelhoch', ԼԵՆՈՒԱ-բերձ leřna-berz 'berghoch') (< *b^her^gh-o-s), բարձր barzr (gen. barzr) 'high' (< *b^her^gh-u-s) || ? OL [Fest.] forctus (< *forg-tos < *b^hor^gh-to-s), L fortis 'strong', Osc FORTIS adv. cmpr. {Bc.} 'potius', {Pln.} 'fortius' (÷ L fortius) || Clt: Gl brig- 'high' (in n. pr., F Evn. 316), briga- 'height' (in n. l., F Wb. I 525), OIr brí 'hill' (accus. go brigh 'towards the hill'), W bry ~ fry 'en haut', brig 'top, summit', W, MBr {Ern.} bre 'hill, highland', Crn brē 'hill', Br bre 'hill, mountain'; W bera 'rick, stack', Crn bern id., 'heap', Br bern 'tas, meule', MBr bernou 'monceaux', berniaff 'élever' || Gt baírgahei 'highland', ON bjarg, berg, Dn bjerg, NNr, Sw, OHG, OSx berg, NHG Berg 'mountain', AS beorh ~ beorž 'hill, mountain; heap of stones', NE barrow; ON borg 'a height; fortress, city', Gt baurgs 'city, tower', Dt borg, borcht, OSx, OHG burg 'castle, town; stronghold', NHG Burg 'fortress, stronghold, castle', AS burg id., 'city', NE borough, barrow || Sl *bergъ 'bank, coast' > OCS брѣгъ brěgъ, Blg бряг, SCr брѣгъ brijeğ, Slv bręg, P brzeg, Cz břeh, Slv breh, R, Uk 'бeper' || pTc {Ad.} *pärk- > Tc A/B pärk-, A park- v. 'arise', 'rise' (of celestial bodies), A pärkär, B pärkare 'long' || Ht parku- 'high', park-, parkiya- v. 'raise, rise' §§ P 140-1, EI 269, Bc. 296, MK II 445-7, ME II 232, Bai. 272, VI. I 218, WH I 535-7; ≈ EM 382-3 and ≈ Pln. I 384 (both: L fortis and Osc FORTIS < *d^her^gh-to- ↔ *d^her^gh- 'hold'), II 39, 600-1, 683, Bc. G 316, Vn. B 87, IP § 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 and 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, Slt. 68-9, Wn. 362-3, 390, Ad. 372-3, Ad. H 124, 138, Ts. W 60-1, CHD P 155-61 || D (in SD) *pēr̥ (~ *pir̥-?) ({§GS} *p-) > Kdg pēr 'steep slope', Td pōr̥ 'cliff'; IS adduces here also Kn pērh- v. 'lift up' (sc. Kn {BE} pēru v. 'lift up and put upon, load, pile up'), which goes back to D {GS} *pēd- > Ml pēru 'a load', Tm pērru 'a pile', pirakkū v. 'heap' (as in D #4446, GS 64 [#195]) § D #4448 § D *-r̥- (regularly from N intervoc. *-r-) suggests a N vw. between *r and *g || A: Tg *bir...- > Sln {Iv.} бірахáн 'mountain', ?φ WrMc biyoran (=

[b̥oran] or [bjoran]) {Z} 'ravine with red ground, cliffy bank' ('красный яръ, обрывистый утесъ берега'), {Hr.} 'hohes Ufer aus kahler Erde' ¶ STM I 84, Z 545, Hr. 1O2 || **u** *pir|δkä 'high' > Sm {Hl.} *pirke, {Jn.} *pirkä 'high' (x U *p̥iδe(-kä) 'high, long' < N *b̥ežU(-qN) - *b̥ežN,qN 'big, high', q.v.) > Ne T пирця, Ne T O {Lh.} pirčē, Ne F {Lh.} p̥iššā, En X {Cs.} fiđe, En B {Cs.} fise, {Ter.} пизе 'high', Slq Tz {KKIH} pirqt 'high, deep', Slq MTm {KD} pürg 'high', Kms {KD} p̥ürže, {Cs.} phirže, Koyb {Sp.} прицэ, Mt {Hl.} *hirge (> Mt M {Mll.} 'hyrgi, Mt M {Mll.} 'hürgü, Mt K {Pls.} chirgē) 'high' ¶ UEW 377-8, Jn. 125, Jn. UK 225, Hl. M 246 ◇ D *ē in *pēr is still to be explained ◇ IS I 177 [#9] (HS [B, C, Ch: Jg bulgīt 'high' qu.], ? K, IE, ?D, Sm); Blz. LN I 2O2 derives the Sm stems from U *p̥iδe(-kä) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #2O4 (*pirka 'high') (IE, U + err. A + qu. CK).

244. ² *b'E'RΝ'k'Ν 'knee' > HS: S *'birak- 'knee' > BHb בָּרַק 'berek id., בָּרְקִים bir'kayim 'knees' (pl. ← du.), בָּרְכִּים birkē'hem (< *birakē'hem) 'their knees' (suggesting the original pl. **bərā'kīm 'knees'; the fricative k of birkē'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 בָּרְקָא bir'k-ā, Sr bur'k-ā, Md burka, Mh/Hrs {Jo.} bark, Jb {Jo.} berk, Sq {Jo} bərk, Gz bərk, Ak birku ~ burku 'knee'; → [1] WS *✓brk v. G 'kneel' > BHb ✓brk G 'kneel down', Ar ✓brk 'kneel' (of camels), Mh ✓brk (pf. bə'rōk) id.; [2] CS *✓brk v. D and L 'bless' (< *make kneel') > Hb, Ph, Ug ✓brk D id., Ar ✓brk D and L id.; pp. G means 'blessed', e.g. in BHb בָּרוּךְ bā'rūk 'blessed', (of God) 'praised', Amn, Ug brk, IA bryk (= *ba'rīk), JA [Trg.], JEA בָּרִיךְ bə'rīk, Sr bərī'k-ā 'blessed'; Cn → Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} bí-ra-kú v. 'bless, serve (as an acolyte)' and (?) bí-r-kú 'gift' ¶ KB 153-4, KBR 159-61, OLS 116, Hnr. 115, Sl. 245, Br. 96, Jo. M 52, Sd. 129, 14O, CAD II 255ff., L G 1O5, DRS 84-5, HJ 198-2O2, Hlk. ##6O-1, SivCR 57, 79, MiK I #1.39 || Ch: CCh: Gzg Mj {Lk.} poporok 'knee' || possibly WCh *burum 'knee' (loss of *k): BT: Grm {Sch.} búrmù, Dr {J} bó-bər̥m, Tng {J} purum, Bl {IL} burum 'knee' | AG: Su {J} fùrùm, Ywm {J} furum id. | NrBc: My {Sk.} wúrùm, P' {MSk.} bùrmí, Jmb vúrmú id. | SBC: Tala várám, Kir kā-fúrum id. ¶ JI II 214-5, Sch. BTL 134, Lk. G 134 || K: pZn *b̥rg-Ν- 'knee' > Mg Z birgul-, Mg Sn, Lz A/VAr burgul-, Lz X burgil- id., ? Lz A birgiži 'elbow' ¶ Q 2O3-4, Marr 131-2, Chik. 64 ◇

pZn *g (for the expected *k) still needs explaining ◇ IS I #31 (*b^rak).

244a. *b^ri'Rk|g ∇ (~ *p^ri'Rg ∇ ?) 'to dig' > HS: B *v^rbrk ~ *v^rprk 'dig' > Ah əbræk, ETwl abrag ~ əbræk (3m pf. iþr̥bg~-k), Gd εþræk (3m pf. iþr̥ek), Gh əbræk 'piocher' ¶ Fc. 91, GhA 9-1O, 246, Lf. I 225 and II #O12O, NZ 119 || Ch {JS} *v^rbrg, {AD} *v^rprg ~ ?? *v^rbrg v. 'dig' > ECh: Ke {Eb.} f^rargí v. 'dig' || CCh: Ms {ChC} v^ròrok ¶ JS 85 || K *°b ∇ rg- > Sv: UB {TK} -b^ar^ž-~-bar^ž- (msd. lib^ar^že, libar^že) 'dig', Ln {TK} li-bär^že 'to hoe', L {Dn.} li-b^ar^ž-e 'to dig with a hoe', Sv {Ni.} -b^ar^ž- ~ -b^ard- 'dig' ¶ Chx. 65, TK 427, GP 148, Dn. s.v. bär^ž-, Ni. s.v. 'копать' || A: M *°φ^rirga- > WrM irga-, HlM ярга- v. 'dig hole\burrow' (of animals) ¶ MED 414.

245. UA ₂ *buRuk|g ∇ 'run, jump' > U: FU *°purk ∇ > pObU *pōrk- > pVg *pōrk- 'hop, jump (hüpfen)' > Vg T pork-, Vg LK parø-, Vg P porr-, Vg Ss porø- id. ¶ UEW 414 (adduces Ne T O partam 'plötzlich aufspringen', which may be better explained is going back to N *par ∇ 'to fly, to jump') || A: M *buruγud- > MM [HI] {Ms.} buruγud- 'se retirer, éviter, fuir', WrM buruγud-, HlM бүрүүда- v. 'flee' ¶ Ms. H 44, MED 139.

246. (₂?) *bōraKE (or *bōra KE) 'to fall, to fell, to throw' > IE: NaIE *b^hre^h- v. 'fall, fell' > Vd bhrās-/bhraś-/bhr̥s-: ni-bhrā'sai 'fallen, stürzen, niederschlagen', 'bhrās(i)yā- 'was zum Fallen gebracht werden kann', ('adhi)- bhraśat 'soll entfallen', with a nasal infix: OI bhrāmśatē 'falls, falls out\down, drops', pp. bhrāś'tah 'ausgefallen, entfallen', KhS braśś- v. 'fall', Oss älvässn 'être projeté (de sa place)' || ? Sl *°br̥si-ti, iter. *°br̥sati > R 'бросить, ip. бро'сать 'to throw', Uk бросити 'to throw, to 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 пăрах- pъrakh- v. 'throw, abandon'; the variant *birqa- is represented in SbTt Tō birqa-, Bsh Δ bъrγa- v. 'throw', Shor purka- v. 'cast' ¶ ESTS II 307-8, Rs. W 74, Jeg. 148, Fed. I 399-400, Hüs. 60 ¶ Chv þ suggests pT *u || Tg *°būrgi- > Ewk PT burgi- vt. 'drop, let fall, lose, sink' ¶ STM I 113 || ?σ Δ (in GnD) *pōk(k)- ({θGS} *p-) v. 'throw away' (× N *b^ro'ka 'put out, throw out' [→ 'sweep out'], q.v. ffd.); the pre-history of the D stem may be

reconstructed as *pōk(k)- < *pork- < *borak- || HS: ?σ S *✓brkt̪d vt., vi. 'knock down on one's back, turn back', S *burk̪id̪t̪- 'on one's back' > Ak purk̪idam 'auf dem Rücken (liegen), auf den Rücken (fallen)', Ar ✓brqt̪: tabarqat̪a '(il) tomba à la renverse', barqat̪a '(il) se retourna pour regarder derrière soi' ¶ BK I 115, Sd. 881 ||| A variant N stem without *KE may be reconstructed as *bôr'A' 'to fall, to let fall' > U: RP *pâra '(nieder)fallen' > pMr {Ker.} *pəura- > Er, Mk pra- v. 'fall, fall down, fall out' ({UEW} 'fallen, stürzen') | pPrm *pŵr- > Z p3r- vi. 'fall, overturn', Yz 'pûr-(nə₁)' 'fall down' ¶ UEW 742, LG 229, Ker. II 122 || A: Tg *buri > Ewk buri- vt. 'drop, let fall, lose, sink', Ewk buruwk3n ~ burupk3n- 'drop, let fall, knock down, knock down from so.'s feet', Sln buri-~b3ri- 'untie, let go', Lm b3ri- v. 'lose', Orc bui- id., Mc burubu- (ps.) 'disappear, get lost' ¶ STM I 113 || pKo *p̄r̄i- 'throw aside\away, abandon' > MKo p̄r̄i- ~ pār̄i-, NKo pər̄i- id. ¶ Rm. SKE 192, S QK #605, Nam 241, MLC 759-6O || HS: WCh: Bl {Lk.} bur- v. 'niederwerfen, fallen lassen' ¶ Lk. PVB II 134.

247. *bR₁R₂kæ 'to flash, to shine' > K *°brk- > OG, G brkial- 'glitter, shine (glitzern, glänzen)' ¶ Abul. 35, Chx. 106, DCh. 118 || HS: S *✓brk v. 'flash, lighten' > BHb, Ug, Aram, Sb, Gz, Ak ✓brk, Ar ✓brq id., Mh {Jo.} b3r̄kawt̪, Hrs {Jo.} b3rkōt̪, Jb C {J} 'bɔ'rɔ'kɔt̪ vb. n. 'to lighten, to flash', Mn {MA} ✓brk vi. 'briller'; S *ba'rak- 'lightning' > BHb بَرَّك bā'rāk, Ug brk, IA brk?, Sr bar'k-ā, Ar برق barq- (< *'barač-, a metatonic variant of *ba'rak-), Mh {Jo.} bōr3k, Hrs {Jo.} h3bēr3k, Jb C {Jo.} bərk, Ak birk- id., Sb brk 'rainy season, monsoonal storm'; S → Cpt Sd (ε)ερηδε (ε)brēce 'lightning' ¶ KB 155, KBR 162, HJ 203, OLS 116, Sd. 122, Jo. M 53, BGMR 31, MA 23, LG 106, CAD II 258ff., Ws. 23, Crn. ED 33, Vc. 39, SivCR 79 || Eg fP b3k '(be) bright, white'; Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} bu-r-kä 'glitter' = Eg N brk v. 'glitter, reflect' (about water) ['glitzern'] ¶ EG I 424-5, 466, Fk. 78; Vc. 39 and 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 [with preservation of r before a cns.] 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, ?φ Sd bank-o, ?φ Hd bānk-o 'lightning', ?φ Brj

bukk- v. 'lighten', Dsn *birgač* 'flashing', *?ír* *birgamu* 'lightning' (*?ír* 'rain') || Ag *bałk- > Xm {R} *berqā* ~ *barqa*, Bln {R} *barq* 'lightning', Xm ✓ *brq* v. 'flash'; *m-b⁷rk- 'lightning' > Xm {R} *mirqā*, Bln {R} *mirkā*, Q *mērkā* id. || Dhl {EEN} *bírikkiina*, {To.} *bírikinna* id. ¶ R WB 86, 274, AD PmbC, Ss. PEC 49, Ss. B 42, ESC 32, EEN 34, To. D 13O, To. DL 487 || NrOm: Mch {L} *párikki(yé)* v. 'lighten' ¶ L M 45, Fl. OO 317 || ?φ Ch: DfB {J} *bàra* 'lightning and thunder' || CCh: Bdm {Lk.} *barmél*, {Nc.} 'barmil' 'lightning' ¶ J R 212, Lk. B 91 || IE {EI} ? *b^herk- 'shine'): NaIE *b^herk- / *b^hrek- v. 'shine, glitter' > Gk [Hs.] φορκόν 'white, gray-haired' || MHG *brehen* 'plötzlich und stark aufleuchten, glänzen, funkeln', ON *brjā*, *brā* (< *brehōn) 'to shine (glänzen), to sparkle', AS *breahtm* ~ *bearhtm* 'glance', 'Glanz, Augenblick' || OIr *brecc*, W *brych* 'speckled' || Vd 'bhrāsatē' 'shines, glitters' (ā due to the infl. of 'bhrājatē' 'shines, beams, glitters' < NaIE *b^hrē-ğ- < N *b^hArh'ē 'shine' + ext.) || ?σ Ht *parkuis* 'clean' ¶ P 141-2, EI 514, M K II 532, ≠ M E II 28O (claims that Vd *bhrās-* is a var. of *bhrāj-*), F II 1O36, Vr. 57, Ho. 17, Lx. 26 ◇ IS I #5 equates HS *✓brk with T *balqi- v. 'shine', U **palk⁷ (> Os N *payäl* 'lightning'), and IE *b^helg- v. 'shine', which is not plausible because of the liquid (HS *r is not cognate with IE, U, and T *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 *bałi, r'k'a 'to shine'. Neither is plausible the comparison with K *berçq-/*brçq- v. 'flash' (with an unexplicable *ç, while there is a better K cognate *°brk-).

248. *baRm⁷ 'ε stinging insect' > IE: o†NaIE amb *b^hrem- 'a buzzing insect' (× o NaIE *b^hrem- v. 'buzz') > OI *bhrama'r-ah* 'bee' || OSx *brēmmia*, OHG *brema* 'gad-\horse-fly', *bremo* 'horse-fly', eNHG [Luther], NGr Δ *Breme* 'ε stinging insect', d. MLG *bromese* → NHG *Bremse* 'horsefly, gadfly' || Sl *brøkъ 'beetle' > Cz *brouk*, LLs, HLs *bruk* id., R Nvg брюк 'dung-beetle' ¶ The connection with the NaIE onomatopoeic verb *b^hrem- v. '≈ buzz, growl' (> L *frēmō*, OHG *breman*, Sl *br̥měti) is secondary; hardly here Gk φόρμιγξ, -γγος 'phorminx (ε lyre\harp)' ¶ P 142-3, ≈ EI 24 (OI *bhrama'r-a-* 'bee' ← b^hrem- 'make a noise'), ≠ M K II 528-9 (denies any genetic connections of OI *bhrama'r-ah* because of its onomatopoeic associations), M E II 279, F II 1O36-7, WH I 544-5, Ho. 33-4, Ho. S 1O, OsS 83, EWA II 315-6, KM 98-9, ESSJ III 22, 44 (Sl *brøkъ ← *brékati), 68-9, Sl. I 46, YGM-1 54 || u: FV *parma '≈ gadfly, horsefly' > F *paarma*, Δ *parma* 'gad-

\horse-\deer-fly', Es *parm* 'horsefly (*Tabanus, слепень*)' | Er **промо** *romo*, Δ *puromo* id., Mk *пуром* '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} бързъм n. 'fly' | ChC.

249. *baR̥g- 'be uneven, rough; bristle' > K: GZ **barzg-*/**břzg-*, {FS} **barzg-* 'thorn' > G {FS} *barzg-i* ~ *bažg-i* 'thorny plant', Mg *bužgati* 'needles of a chestnut fruit'; Zn → G *burzg-al-* {DCh} 'teasel' ('ворсянка'), G I *burzg-i* {DCh.} 'bristle, щетина', {FS} 'Stachel, Dorn', *burzgalai* 'needles of a chestnut fruit', G *bužg-i* 'small hedgehog'; d.: G *burzg-n-*, Mg *bužg-* ~ *břzg-*, Lz *bužg-in-* vi. 'bristle up, ruffle' | ≈ K DE 361 and ≈ K² 21 (GZ **burzga-* 'bristle', **burzg-* v. 'bristle [up], ruffle'), FS K 66, FS E 46, Chik. 256, DCh. 125 || IE: NaIE {P} **b̥ars-*, **b̥rsti-*, **b̥rsti-* '≈ bristle, point, spike' > OI *bhr̥'sti-h* 'point, spike, edge, corner' || pGmc **bursti-* > ON *burst* 'bristle, ridge of a roof', NNr *burst*, Sw *borst* 'bristle', Dn *børst* id., 'brush', AS *byrst*, OHG *burst* 'bristle, prickle', NHG *Borste* 'bristle', *Bürste* 'brush', NE *brush*; Gmc **barza-* (< **b̥ars-*) > 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 *festūca* 'stalk, straw' (< **fers-tūka*), *fastīgium* 'point\spike (Spitze), the gable end, pediment of a roof', *fastigātus* 'pointed' || P, Bern., and ESSJ adduce here Sl **bъrščь* (P's Sl **bъrstjo-*) 'Heracleum sphondylium' ('Bärenklau, борщевик') > Slv *br̥šč*, Slk *br̥št*, HSrb *baršć* id., OR *боршъ*, P *barszcz* id., whence the name of heracleus soup and later that of soup of beet and cabbage (R, Uk *борщ*, 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. *burkški*, *burški*, *burkši*, *burši* {Bern.} 'Aegopodium podagraria', {ME} 'Hundspetersilie', sc. 'cicely, Aethusa' (the reason of the designation is probably the form of its long naked haulm and its parsniplike poisonous root) | Acc. to WH, the stem has a variant **b̥orz-d̥o-/b̥rez-d̥o-* > OIr *brot* 'pointe, aiguillon', Crn *bros*, Br *brous* 'thorn', OCrn [VC] *bros* 'aculeus', *broud* 'aiguillon (+ err. Al *bredh* 'fir-tree', see O 34) | P 109, EI 439 (**břsti-s* 'point'), MK II 523-4, ME 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 *barža-uyi- > WrM *baržai-*, HIM барзай- v. 'become uneven \ rough', Brt барзай- 'be rough (быть шероховатым, корявым)', Kl барза- *baržā-* 'be uneven\rough', Ord *b_arž_ā-* 'présenter un aspect rugueux, avoir des aspérités'; M *baržagar > WrM *baržagar*, HIM барзагар, Brt барзагар 'uneven, rough', Kl барзагар *barzəγər* id. ('неровный, шероховатый, бугристый'), Ord *b_arž_agar* 'couvert d'aspérités, raboteux'; WrM *baržigir*, HIM баржагар, Brt баржагар 'uneven, rough' ¶ MED 90, Kow. 1111, Chr. 87, KRS 82, Ms. O 52.

250. *b'Άř́ν 'old' > **HS** *✓ br? 'old, grown-up' > S: the S adj. (< pp.) *ba'ři?- 'fat, stout' (of animals and humans), 'healthy' (> BHb בָּרִיא bā'řī adj. 'fat', f. *bərī'*?-ā id., MHb בָּרִיא bā'řī 'healthy, strong, fat', JA {Js.} *bərī*, JEA {Sl.} בָּרִי bā'řī 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} 'bārra, {R} 'barā 'old man', {Morin} *bār'ra*, {R} *ba'rā* 'old woman', Af {PH} *barra* 'wife, woman', ? Rn {Oo.} o'borri, {PG} ḥōbōrrī 'women, wives' || SC: Irq {Wh.} *barisē* 'old men', SC → 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.} *pōrēs id. > Lp: N {N} boares / -rras- 'old', S {Hs.} *boåries*, L {LLO} pårēs 'old', Pa {TI} pō'a're:s^č, Kld {TI} *puares*^č 'old' (of humans, animals, things) | Vt *pereš* 'old', 'Ahn', Z pɔrt̩s, Prmk pɔriš 'alt, altersschwach, hinfällig' ¶ UEW 737, Coll. 74, LG 229, Lr. #975, Lgc. #5149, Hs. 352-3, TI 385 || **D** {tr., GS} *pařa- 'old' > Tm *para* 'old' (of things), MI *para* 'old', *parama* 'oldness, old age', Kt *pay-/pa-* 'old', Td *pa:w/pa:-* 'old', Kn *para*, *pare*, Kdg *pałe* 'old', Tu *para* 'old, worn out', TI *prā-* 'old' (in cds.), Png *přan* 'old' (of things), Mnd *přan(č)a* 'old', Kui *přadí*, Ku *prā?i* id. ¶ D #3999, GS 226 [#555], 165 [#413] ◇ FP *o may be explained by the assimilative infl. of the labial cns. *p-.

250a. *bōř́ν or *buř́ν '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'Άř́ν 'old', 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.} **b̄ur** 'day (journée)' ¶ ChC ¶ Not here Ak **b̄eru** 'double hour, one twelfth of a full day' (which is obviously a metaphore based on **b̄eru** 'a «mile», measure of length'; the pS etymon must be *bařhru) (CAD II 208-11) || D *pořut- 'sun, day' > Tm pořutu, pořtu, Kt pořt, Kn pořtu, portu 'sun, time', Ml pořutu 'sun, day, auspicious time', Td pišť & pošt 'time, luck', Tu portu 'sun, daylight, time', Tl p(r)ođđu 'day, morning, time', Klm pod 'sun', appud, a·puđ 'then', e·puđ 'when?', Nkr podd 'sun', Nk pod 'sun, day', Prj apoč 'that time', ipoč 'this time', Gnd pořd 'sun, time, hour' & pořd(u) 'sun, day', Knd podu id., Png padna ~ podna 'time' ¶ D #4559 || U {UEW} *purk▽ 'time (Zeit, Mal)' > Prm *pūr > Z, Vt pīr 'always; immediately' || ObU: Vg: T pār, LK/MK/P/SV pōr, NV pōr, LL pōr 'time (Zeit, Mal), opportunity'; pOs {Ht.} pīyar > Os: V/Vy ki-pīyar, Ty kit-pīyar 'double' (kit 'two') || Sm: Slq LTz {KD} pā:r 'time (Mal)', Slq Tz {KKIH} pōr id., ukkīr pōr 'once' (ukkīr 'one') ¶ UEW 407, Coll. 53, LG 236, Lt. 195, Ht. #802, KKIH 152 ◇ The discrepancy between D *o and U *u is still to be explained ◇ The semantic filiation: 'sun' → 'day' → 'year, time' ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 164 [#115] (D, EC, U + err.: L-ber in names of months and S).

251. *bōr'a' 'pierce, bore' > HS: WS *✓brr, *✓bry ~ *✓brw v. 'pierce, sharpen' > Gz ✓brr (js. yə-brər) v. 'pierce', BHb חַז בְּרוֹר 'heç bā'rūr 'sharpened arrow', הַבִּירָן hā'bīrū v. Sh 2p imv. 'sharpen (the arrow)!', Ar ✓bry (pf. بُرَى barā) 'tailler, couper (un roseau à écrire, une plume), exténuer, amaigrir (une bête de somme)', ✓brw (pf. بُرَا) 'dégrossir avec une hache, adoucir avec une plane' ¶ LG 107, KB 156, KBR 163, BK I 119 || Eg fOK w'bʒ v. 'drill' (w- is a px.), Eg fP bʒbʒ 'hole' ('Loch, Höhlung) > Cpt Sd/B **בְּהֵבֶת** bē:b 'caverne, nid' ¶ EG I 290-1, 419, Fk. 58, 7, Tk. II 56-63, Vc. 25; IS I 186 misquotes Eg w'bʒ as wbr || IE: NaIE *b̄her- v. 'bore, pierce' (x N *bU?R▽ 'to dig' [q.v.]) > L for-ā- v. 'bore', forāmen 'hole' || ON bora 'hole', bora, OSx, OHG borōn, NHG bohren, AS borian 'to bore', NE bore || ? Irn: NPrs بُرِيدَن borī-dän ~ بُرِيدَن borī-dän 'to cut', Av tiži-bāra- 'mit scharfer Schneide' || pAl {O} *birā > Al T/G birē 'hole' || Arm p̄w̄h bah 'spade, hoe' (gen. -h-i) (< *b̄h̄r-ti-) || OIr bern, berna 'crack, cleft, gap', {Vn.} 'fente, brèche, trouée' || Possibly words for ploughing (<

'piercing the soil'): Gk φέρω 'plough, ploughing', φεράω ~ φερόω v. 'plough' || Sl *borna 'harrow' > Blg бра́на, McdS брана, SCr brána, Δ brána 'harrow', Slv brána, Cz, Slk pl. brány, LLs broná, HLs bróna, OR борона, R, Uk боро́на, Blr бара́на id. ¶ 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, VI. I 232, Horn 49, O 2, ~ Vn. B 41 (OIr bern < IE *b̥her- '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} børre / -r- 'edge', L {LLO} pørrē 'borer (tool)' | Prm {LG} *pūr- vt. 'drill, gouge, peck', Prm *pūr 'through', *pūrič 'ice-pick' > Vt Sr pīr, Kz pør, Prmk pīr 'durch, hindurch', Vt прич 'ice-pick, ice-spike', {W} pīriž 'Hohleisen', Z pīr-ńzv 'gimlet' ({TmK} пырнёв 'буравчик'), pīriž 'long crowbar, ice-pick' (= 'lange Brechstange, Eishaue'), Z {TmK} pīr3d- 'drill a hole, perforate, durchbohren' || ObU *pōr 'awl, borer' > pVg *pōr̄ > Vg T porž 'Ahle, Pfriemen'; pOs *pōr ({JHl.} *pūr) 'borer' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/Nz/Kz pōr, K/O pār id. | Hg fúr- v. 'bore, drill', fúró 'Bohrer; bohrend' || Sm *pōr-, {Jn.} *pōrъуън 'Bohrer' > Ne T пāрэ', T O par·ž", Ne FL par:̄ id., Ne T парэноць 'to perforate, durchbohren', F parrin·ōs id., Slq Tz {KKIH}, Slq Tm pur 'a borer', Slq Tz {KKIH} parān 'ice-pick', Slq UKt pariŋ 'Eishaue', Kms pəriyan, pər̄ŋ 'borer', pařan 'Brenneisen zum Anbringen der Löcher in den Schneeschuhen, Bohrer' ¶ UEW 405, Coll. 52, Sm. 539 (U, FU *purā, FP pura, Ugr *pūra, Sm *pōrə v. 'bore'), MF 221-2, LG 236-7, TmK 587-8, It. #197, Ht. 178 [#531], Jn. 114, KKIH 147 || **A:** T *burga 'borer' > ET burya, Uz burgi, Qrg buryu, burō, Qq buryt, burau, Qzq buryt, Tk burgu, Az buryu, Tkm, Nog buraw, Bsh, VTt bōrau, Chv pīra id.; as to Qzq {Rl.} burā- 'schrauben, bohren' and Alt Δ pur- v. 'drill', they may be semantic derivatives from 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 *ř is due to the precons. position (acc. to Hl.'s hyp.) || **D** *pōr- ({GGS} *p-) v. 'split', n. 'hole, opening, cleft' > Tm pōtū 'hole, opening, cleft', Kt bo·t̄ 'hollow in tree trunk, hole that goes through', Kn pōr̄al 'hollow in a tree', Tu pōt̄tæ 'hollow of a stalk or a tree'; the D √ results from the merger of two ancient roots: the √ in

question and another one meaning 'cleave, split': D *pōṛā (⟨θGS⟩ *p-) v. 'split, cleave' > Tm pōṛ̥ v. 'be cleft, split; split, cleave open', Kn pōṛ̥ v. 'cleave, split', Prj pōṛ̥- v. 'split, cleave' ¶ D #4599; the length of the vw. and the meaning are connected with the infl. of D *pōṛ̥- 'hole' (< N *bUṛRΝ 'to dig; a pit') ◇ The discrepancy between the U and T ev. for the N vw. *u and the D ev. for *o is still to be explained ◇ IS I 186-7 s.v. *bur̥n 'to bore, to drill', to which he ascribes together the reflexes of N *bōṛ̥a' 'pierce, bore', those of N *bUṛΝ 'turn round, rotate' and those of N *bUṛRΝ 'dig'.

252. *bur̥u(-KU) [or ***bur̥ü(-KU)**] 'spurt, gush forth, boil, seethe' > HS: Eg N/G br̥br̥ '≈ kochen' > Cpt: Sd брбр̥ bərbər, B бэрвэр berber 'bouillir, soudre' ¶ EG I 466, Vc. 3O, Tk. II 262-3 || B *✓Hbr v. 'boil' > Mz, Wrg abər (pf. yubər), Gd āβər (pf. yūβər) 'bouillir', Awj 3s pf. yu'vīra, Nf 'awer (pf. yo'wer~yō'wer) id., Gh abər v. 'boil' ¶ Dlh. M 1O, Dlh. Ou 27, Beg. 22O, Lf. I 253 and II #OO95, Prd. 161, La. S 2O5, NZ 9O || ?φ S *°-pūr- > Ar ✓fwr (ip. ya-fūru) 'bouillonner, être en ébullition' (une marmite) ¶ BK II 645 || EC *burk̥- 'spring (Quelle); to spring' > Or: {Ss.} burk̥- v. 'spring', burk̥-a, B {LLC} burka n. 'spring', {Th.} 'fonte', M {LLC} burk̥ā 'spring', burk̥- v. 'spring up', Kmb bu'k̥-uta 'spring', Hd buk̥-, bubuk̥- v. 'spring', Sml buq- v. 'leak' ¶ Ss. B 42-3, LLC 194, Th. 51-2 || IE: NaIE *b̥reu-/ *b̥erw- 'boil' ({EI} *b̥reu- 'brew') > L fervē-re, ferv-ēre v. 'boil, seethe' || OIr bərb-aid (3s prs.) 'boil, cook', W berw-, Br birvi- ~ birvi- vi. 'boil', MBr {Ern.} beru 'du bouillon', berō 'bouilli' || ON, NNr brugga 'to brew', OHG {OsS} briuwen ~ brūwen ~ brouwen vt. 'to brew, to 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-hūs 'brewery'), NHG brauen, OSx gi-breuwian, AS bréowan 'to brew', NE brew; OHG brower 'Brauer, caupo', OSx brou-hūs, OHG briu-hūs, NHG Brauhauß 'brewery' || R Δ бру'я 'Strömung', бру'ить 'stark reißend strömen' || ?σ OI bhur'vani- 'restless, excited' ¶ P 143-5, Mn. 75, EI 199, WH I 487, Vn. B 4O-1, Ern. 59, Vr. 6O, OsS 85, EWA II 367, 35O-1, Kb. 12O, KM 96-7, Ho. 34, Ho. S 1O ¶ The variant *b̥rew- is original, while *b̥erw- (in L and Clt) is a secondary Schwebeablaut variation || (here??) NaIE *b̥rēu-ř / b̥rēu-n-/ b̥ru-n- 'spring (fons)' (× N *bUṛRΝ 'to dig; a pit, well', q.v. ffd.) || u:

FU *pur ∇ - > Es S {W} pura- vi. 'bubble, seethe (клокотать, бурлить)', Es {W} purise- 'sprudeln, hervorsprudeln, mit Geräusch fließen', F (Δ?) {MF} pura-ta, puraan 'sprudeln' | Er purams 'strudeln', puramo 'Strudel, Wasserwirbel' | Prm **bür- > Vt birekt- 'boil', 'sieden, aufsieden, aufkochen', ?σ Z birkmēs 'buttermilk' || Hg forr- v. 'boil, seethe' | F poris- v. 'murmur' (of water), 'журчать', porinan. act. 'murmur of water, журчание' and Es porise- {W} 'brodeln, verworren und undeutlich schallen' are either onomatopoeic and do not belong here or have their irreg. -o- due to onomatopoeic connections (e.g. with F pore n. 'bubble'); F pore 'bubble' and Sm *ръяр id. (> Ng {Cs.} fâr, far id., Kms {Adl.} phor 'vesica', Koyb {Sp.} пяръ 'пузырь') are likely to belong to a different etymon | MF 215-6, W EDW 896-7, Jn. 114, ≠ LG 45, UEW 414, SK 502-3 || A: T *bürkü-, *bürkür- v. 'spurt, gush' (× N *m ∇ R₁ ∇ , Kā 'moist, liquid; to moisten?') > OT bürkir- ~ bürkür- v. 'spurt, gush', bürkek in kōk bürkek boldī 'the sky poured down rain', MT XIII burkük 'spray', Tkm pürk- v. 'sprinkle, splash', Uz purka-, VTt бөрк- børk-, CrTt bürük-, Qmq, Qrb, Qzq, Qq, Nog bürk- id., 'spray', Alt/Tlt {Rl.} pürkü-~pürkür- v. 'splutter', Xk pürgür-, ET pürk(ü)-, Chv пĕрĕх- ръяръх- '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 (*p'ürk-) || M *burgi- (× N *buR ∇ , *buR₁ ∇ -, 'K' ∇ 'storm, stormy wind' × N *bôri' ψ 'U 'loose earth, dust') > WrM burgi-, burgi-ra-, HIM бурги- v. 'rise in clouds', 'whirl (as dust, water, or storm)', Ord b_urgi- 'jaillir, bouillonner', 's'élever en tourbillonant' (p. ex. poussière), MnR H {SM} p'uzi-rā- 'jaillir, sortir avec violence' (eau, fumée, etc.); the M verb < the A (and N) etymon in question × N *bôri' ψ 'U '↑' (q.v.) | H 19, MED 121, 138, SM 306, S AJ 243 [#215], Chr. 105, Ms. O 81, 98 || D {Pf.} *puṛ- ∇ -k- / *puṛ- ∇ h- ({ β GS} *p-) v. 'boil' > Tm purukku v. 'be steamed \ parboiled', purukku v. 'boil (paddy) before husking', MI puruhnuka v. 'be boiling \ stewed \ steamed', purukkuka vt. 'boil', Td pušk- v. 'boil (potatoes)', Kn purgi 'rice boiled with pulse', Tu purguni v. 'be well-boiled (as rice)', Krx pūx- vt. 'to boil' | D #4315, Pf. 42 ◇ IS I 190-1 (*burā).

253. *b¹u¹X̥ra 'watercourse, river' > HS: WS *baħ₁ ∇ r- 'watercourse, river' (→ 'sea') > Ak bērtu 'stream of water, watercourse', Ar baħr- 'sea, large river', Sr (↔ Ar) baħ'r-ā 'sea', Sb bħr 'sea, coast', Gz ηħa bāħr [baħr] 'large river, lake, sea', Tgr baħr, Tgy baħri 'sea' | Sd.

122, BGMR 27, L G 91 || C: Bj {R} *be'hār* ~ *be'har* 'river, sea' (<= Ar, EthS?) || R WBd 45-6 || Ch: WCh: pAG {Stl. VZCh} *v̥wo₁yor 'river, brook' > Ang {Flk.} *fwōr* 'river, stream', Ywm {Fp.} *ver* id., Su {J} *v̥oyj̥r* 'Bach, Wasserlauf' | ? Ngz {Sch.} *wúriyâ* 'open pit where water can collect' || ECh: Mu {Lk.} *būrj̥l̥j̥* 'river', Ke {Eb.} *v̥or* 'river, lake' || ChC, Lk. ZSS 181, J S 86, Stl. VZCh A #257, Sch. DN 173, Eb. 1O1 || IE: NaIE *b̥e'r̥u-/*b̥ō'r̥- 'body of water' > OI \wedge *bha'rū-h̥* 'sea' || pSl *bara 'small river, stagnant water' (x N *beR ∇ 'mud, swamp', q.v.) > Blg *бара* 'small river\stream, stagnant water, puddle', McdS {IS} *бара* 'puddle', SCr *b̥ara* id., 'meadow', Slv *bára*, Cz Δ *bára* 'swamp' || ?φ AS *brim*, *brymm* 'sea, flood'; ??σ,φ Gmc *brōka- > OHG 'marsh, swamp', NHG Δ *Bruch* 'feuchte Wiese', NLG *brōk*, Dt *broek* 'Morastgrund', AS *brōc* 'brook, stream, river', NE *brook* || Ho. 35; M K II 479 (OI *bha'rū-h̥*: "möglicherweise eine ganz künstliche, schwerlich nachzuzeichnende Genesis hat"), MW 748, Bt. IV 252, Ho. 33-5, 37, ESSJ I 153-4, KM 103, Ho. 35 || u: BF *pur- > F *puro* 'brook, creek', Krl *puro* id., 'small ditch', Krl N *purakko* 'brook', ? F Δ *purakko* 'damp country' || SK 655, SSA II 437 || a: Tg *bi̥ra > Ewk, Sln *bira*, Lm *bura*, WrMc *bira*, Jrc {Kiy., Md.} *bira* 'river', Neg *buya* 'small river, spring', Orc *bia-ka* ~ *biya-ka* 'brook, spring', Ud {STM} *b̥eäsa*, {Shn.} *biyasa*, Ud Sm {Krm.} *bā?sa* 'river, small river', Ul *bura* 'brook, gulf', Nn Nh *būrā*, Nn B/KU *bura* 'brook, small river' || Ci. 297, STM I 84, Krm. 212, Kiy. SJL 99 [#O4O], Md. ChF 135 || Hardly here Ewk Ucr *buruk*, Ewk Tk *burukūn* 'whirlpool' (< N *bUr ∇ 'turn round, rotate', q.v.) || b (in SD) *pU̥ra ({GS} *p-) 'river' > Mi *pura*, Kt *pey*, Td *pa'w*, Kn *pore*, Kdg *pole* id. (with *U for the expected *i due to the labializing infl. of *p-?), as well as probably SD *p̥ir̥ 'flow' > Tm *p̥ir̥* 'abundant flow, milk flowing from a woman's breast', Mi *p̥ira* 'milk of grated coconuts', Tu *p̥iruni* v. 'exude, percolate' || D ##4222 and 4318 ◇ The Tg delabialization (N *u > *i) is still to be explained (see Introduction, § 2.4). Cp. similar cases: N *Kum ∇ 'sand' > Tg *x̥imana- v. 'snow', N *ku|od'a'h ∇ 'pierce' > ?σ Tg *xidar- v. 'hurt by pricking', N *puļu (or *puļü?) 'to spring forth' > Tg *bijku- vt. 'moisten, wet' ◇ IS MS 369 (*birn̥ > Tg, D *p̥ir̥-), ≈ Blz. LB #96c (suggested to add Sl *bara and Gmc *brōka), ≈ Blz. LNA #5 (N *buħr ∇ ~ *burħ ∇ ; suggested to add BF and Ewk *buruk*).

254. *bár?N 'big, much, thick' > **HS:** EC: Sml bīr- 'aumentare', bir-s-'crescere'; pSam {Hn.} *būr 'big' (of things) > Rn būr id., 'large; plenty', Sml būr-an 'be stout'; Dsn búrnab 'be many' ¶ DSI 57, 71, PG 82, Hn. S 55, To. DL 488, Blz DL s.v. 'many' || NrOm: Hrr {Abb.} bērā, {Fl.} bera 'big', Bsk {Fl.} barinc 'long' ¶ CR H 641, Fl. OWL, Blz. OL #183 || Ch: WCh: Zul bārī, Buli bārī, ? Sy {Sh.} vāzrī 'large' || CCh: Gudu búrōm id., Lm bāzrām 'many' || ECh: EDng {Fd.} bērēl 'big', ? būr būr 'many' ¶ ChL, ChC || The CS adj. (< pp.) *bárī?- 'fat, stout' (of animals and humans), 'healthy' (> BHb בָּרִיא bārī adj. 'fat', f. bārī?-ā id., MHb בָּרִיא bārī 'healthy, strong, fat', JA bārī ↗ bārī id., Ar bari?pā '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 || **IE:** NaIE *b̥her- 'good, big' > Gk Hm φέρ-ιστο-ς sprl. {P} 'best', Gk φέρτατος 'bravest, best' || Arm բարի bari (gen. բարւոյ bārvoy) 'good' || L ferē 'almost, nearly', 'as a rule, generally' (< 'mostly'), fermē (< *ferimē sprl.) 'almost, nearly' || OHG bora- (or < *r̥) px. 'very' (bora-lang 'very long'), OSx bar- px. 'very' (bar-wirthig 'sehr würdig') ¶ IS I 175, Mul. 177, ≠ WP I 858, ≈ WH I 48O-1, ≈ F II 1OO2, OsS 8O, EWA II 242-3, Hlt. S 5 || **A** *bařa > T *bařik 'thick' > MT XIV [AH] bazuq 'stout person', MQp XIV [CC] baziq 'dick, grob', Qmq, Blq baziq, Kr baziq ~ bazik ~ bazix 'thick (dick)', VTt baziq 'thickset (коренастый)', Bsh բաճիq 'hefty, firm' ¶ Rs. W 66, KumRS 59, TatR 52, KRPS 97-8, BR 69-7O, RKB 628 || Tg *bara(n) 'much' > Ewk baran, baradin id., barama 'many', Sln barā, Lm baran 'much', Neg bayā id., bayan 'many', Ork bara 'much, many', WrMc baran 'a lot, multitude' ¶ STM I 73 || **M:** [1] *barda-, *barda-yan > WrM bardagan 'abundance, abundant; efficiency', HlM бардаа(н) id., Kl барда- bardā- 'be stout' (as well as possibly M *barda- 'be sure about one's success, boast' > WrM bardā- id., Brt d. бардаастай 'self-confident', d. бардам, Kl d. бардм 'swagger, boasting', MnR H {SM} b_ard_ōn 'fanfaron, présomptueux') ¶ MED 85, Chr. 87, KRS 82, SM 21 | [2] M *barbayi- 'be thick' > WrM barbai-, HlM барвай- 'be broad and thick' (of a beard), 'be coarse' (of textiles), 'be thick' (of lips), Kl барва- id., 'be hairy\shaggy', {Rm.} barwā- 'kompakt und haarig sein', Brt барбай- 'be hairy\shaggy' (×N *burudN^rg¹N 'facial hair, animal's body hair, down' [q.v.]?) ¶ MED 84, KRS 81, KW 35, Chr. 87 || pKo *pār 'fathom' > MKo pār id., as well as NKo pāl id. (× < MKo pār

'armful') § S QK #668, Nam 246, MLC 723 || pJ *pir̥s- 'wide; fathom' > OJ pi̥r̥s 'wide', J: T/Kg hiró, K hírò id., OJ pi̥r̥s, J T hiro 'fathom' § S QJ #601, Mr. 408, 828 §§ DQA #96 (A *baři̥i̥ 'wide' [actually 'broad'?], 'thick') || D *par- ({θGS} *p-) v. 'become large', adj./n. 'large' > Tm paru id., Ml paru 'gross, big', Kn hari, hariba 'a mass, multitude', Tu pariya 'plenty, much', OTI prabbu v. 'increase', Krx pard- 'grow in number, grow in size or age' §§ D #3972, Km. 444 [#894] (reconstructs pSD *par-ump-/amp-) ◇ Cf. also FP *para 'good' (probably from N *paR₁a, Xi̥ '≈ happy, dear', q.v., which is semantically nearer) ◇ IS I 175 [#7] (IE, U, D, A) ◇ The presence of *? in the original N form is suggested both by S *? and by the reflex *-r- in D (going back to N *r̥r̥ + cns., while the N intervocalic *-ř- yields D *-ř-). An alt. solution: N *baři̥V 'thick' and N *bar?V 'big, much' (the reg. D reflex of N *-r?̥- is *-r-) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #235 (*pare 'large') (IE, U, Ai + qu. CK, Gil).

255. *bor̥i̥?̥, ū 'brown, yellow' > HS: EC (Ss.) *bor̥r̥- id., 'red, dark-coloured' > Rn {PG} bōrān 'brown', Sml {Ss.} bor-a 'gray, dirty', {ZMO} bōre 'gray, ash-colour' (of cloth) (× ← bōr 'dust'), Or bōr-ū 'ash-coloured, dim, dull', {Th.} bōra 'pale (bianco sbiadito), gray (cenerino, grigio)', {Grg.} bōra 'brown' (colour of cow), 'mud-colour', Kns pōr, pl. pu??ur-, Gdl pōr- 'black', Arr {Hw.} burrī, {Ss.} bur-iy-đa, Dsn bür, Elm burr-i-đa 'red', Arr {Hw.} burrahad- 'become red', burras- vt. 'redden', Brj 'bōr-ē 'yellow colour', Sd bōra '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 {θPr.} *✓brh₁m (< ✓*br?̥h₁m) > Ah bərumət, ETwl, Ty ibram / bəram 'être de couleur jaune paille', Ah eberim 'chameau jaune paille' § Fc. 95, GhA 10, NZ 113-4 || IE {EI} *b̥her- 'brown' > NaIE *b̥her- id. (→ 'a bear'), *b̥reugH- id., *b̥he-b̥ru- 'brown' (→ 'beaver'): [1] *b̥her- > Lt béras, Ltv bērs 'bay (horse)' (with *e in the L-grade of apophony) || ON bjørn, NNr, Dn bjørn, Sw björn, OHG bero, NHG Bär, AS beran. 'bear' > NE bear || [2] *b̥reugH- > pGmc *brūna- 'brown' > OHG, OSx, AS brūn, NHG braun, NE brown || [3] *b̥eb̥ru- 'brown' (→ 'beaver') ({EI} *b̥eb̥ru-s 'beaver') (rdp.) > OI ba'b̥ruh̥ 'reddish-brown, brown', Av bawra- 'beaver', plrn *bawra- 'brown, yellow' > Ygn, Shgn vur id., Oss I būr, Oss D bor 'yellow', ClNPrs {Vl., Sg.} بور bōr, NPrs بور bōr

būr 'red, colour of the pistachio nut'; Irn → Sl: R 'бүрый', P bury 'brown'; Ary → Ak Nz babrunnu 'bay' || L fiber ~ feber 'beaver' || Gl bebru-, Crn (↔ OCrn) befer, Br {WH} bieuzr id. || Gmc *beþ(u)raz 'beaver' > ON bjór-r, OHG bibar, NHG Biber, OSx bivar, AS be(o)for, NE beaver || Pru bebrus, Lt bēbras, Lt Δ bebrūs, Ltv bebrs id. | Sl *bebrъ ~ *bōbrъ id. > ChS, OR бεбръ bebrъ ~ бοβρъ bobrъ, Blg бобър, Δ бεбер, SCr dābar, Δ bōbar, Slv bōber, Cz bobr, Slk bobor, P bōbr, R бo'бeр, бобр, Uk бібр id. ¶ P 136, EI 57, 85, M K II 409, M E II 210, VI. 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 and II 145-6, Glh. 186-7 || A: T *boř 'gray' > OT boz id. ({Cl., Dr.} OT bōz with unj. long ō), Tkm bōδ, Tk bōz 'brown, gray', Az boz 'gray', Ggz bōz id. (with puzzling length of the vw.); Tkm provides ev. for a short vw. in this stem; Chv pъvъr(lъ), Δ purlъ 'roan' (that was often adduced as a proof of a long vw. within the stem reconstructed as *bōř) has been convincingly interpreted by IS as a loan from M *buγural ~ *buγurul 'roan' ¶ Cl. 388-9, Rs. W 82, IS I 183, ETB 171-73, Jeg. 146, Fed. I 394 || M *boraļu 'gray' > MM [MA] bora, [S] boro id., [HI] boro 'cendré', WrM boru, HIM бор, Brt боро, Kl бор boro, Mnr H {SM} b_oro, {T} boro, Dx boron 'gray', Mgl borō '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 *boř▽ 'gray') || ? E: NEl pъ-ur-na 'brown' ¶ HK 242 ◇ Cf. IS I 183-4.

256. ? *b¹ard² '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 בָּרָד bā'rād 'hail', JA, Sr bar'd-ā id., JEA {Sl.} bar'd-ā 'ice', Md barda 'hail, ice', Ar بَرَد barad- 'hail', Sb brd 'cold weather, hailstorm', Gz barad 'hail, snow, hoarfrost'; 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, LG 103, Fr. I 105 || A: T *būr 'ice, hail' > OT buz, Tk buz, Tkm būδ, Az, Ggz buz, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QRb, Nog buz, Uz, ET, Qq, Qrg, Slr, Ln muz, Qzq mūz, VTt bōz, Bsh bōδ, Alt mus, SY piz, Xk pus, Yk būs 'ice',

Chv þyr '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; the T cognate is problematic due to the absence of reflexes of N *d. The latter may be explained (ad hoc) as contraction *-rd- > *-r-, causing a compensatory lengthening of the vw.

257. (2?) *b^hi^rüw¹qa (or *b^hi^ruw¹qa?) '∈ edible fruit' > K {K} *br̥gen, {K} *bergen, {FS} *bergwen 'wild pear, wild plum' > G Δ b(e)rgena 'willow-leaf pear (*Pyrus salicifolia*)', Sv: UB bargwend, Ch bärqwen, Lx bärgen, L/Ls bargwen 'wild plum' §§ K 54, K² 12, Chx. 8O, FS K 5O, FS E 51, TK 144, GP 91, Dn. s.v. bargven || IE: NaIE *b^hrūg-'fruit', v. 'use (as fruit)' (P: 'genießen, gebrauchen' ← 'sich Früchte zum Genusse abbrechen oder abstreifen', Mn.: 'use, benefit, product, profit') > L frūg- (nom. frūx, gen. -gīs) 'fruit', Um accus. pl. FRIF, FRI 'fruges', L frūgī (dat.: *'zum Gebrauche' =) 'useful', fruor (inf. frui, pfc. frūctus sum) 'enjoy', frūmentum 'corn', fructus (gen. -ūs) 'enjoyment; produce, fruit', Osc fruktatiuf (*frūgetatiōnis) 'fructus' || Gt brūkjan (p. brūhta) 'to make use of', OHG brūchan, brūchen, NHG brauchen, OSx brūkan 'to need, to use', AS brūcan 'make use of, enjoy', NE brook; Gt brūks, OHG brūhhī 'useful (brauchbar)', AS brūcē 'useful' || ? amb Gk φρυκτός 'lottery bean, bean for voting' (unless derived from φρύγω v. 'roast' and originally meaning 'roasted [bean]') § P 173, WP II 2O8, Mn. 1O6, WH I 552-3, EWA II 365-7, Bc. G 317, 336, F II 1O46, Ch. 123, Fs. 1O7, OsS 86, KM 96, Ho. 36 || ? D *piṛīka (~ *piṛīla) ({θGS} *p-) 'green mango fruit' > Kn piṛika, prīka, piṛka, Png, Mnd pīla id., Kui pīia, Ku pīla 'unripe mango fruit' (unless akin to S *'piriy- 'fruit') §§ D #4184 || HS: ? S: amb Ar birqūq- ~ burqūq- 'prunum, malum Armeniacum \ Persicum' (unless ← Gk πρεκόκκιον ~ προκόκκιον id. ← L praecox 'ripe before the time' [Plinius: "Post autumnum maturescunt Persica, æstate præcoccia"]) § Fr. I 112, Steph. VII 157 ◇ Cf. N *p^he^rṇ 'fruit'.

258. ?₂ *bUśčṇ 'rub, grind' > IE {P, EI} *b^hes- 'rub (off\away)' > OI bhas-: prs. 'babhasti 'chews, masticates, devours' (3p 'bapsati), bhas'ma 'ashes' || Gk ψαίω, ψάω 'I rub away, grind down' || ? Al fshij- 'sweep, wipe, brush' ({EI}: < *b^hs-in-ye/o-) (but O 1O4 proposes a different et.) || ? amb Ht pes(s)- 'rub, scrub (with soap, etc.)' (unless somehow connected with IE *pejs- 'zerstampfen, zermalmen', F P 796) §§ P 145-6, EI 49O, M K II 4O9, M E II 57, F II 1127, Frd. HW 1O8, Ts. W

62-3, CHD P 315 || **U:** FU *puščn̥-n̥ or *pušn̥ 'flour' (× N *P_on̥s₁n̥ 'dust') > Prm *puž / *pužn̥- > Vt, Z p̥tž 'flour' || pVg *p̥asən (or *p̥osən) 'flour' > Vg: T {Mu.} p̥asən, {Kn.} P posən, ML pasən id. ¶ It is not clear if Vt p̥tžna-n̥t and Z p̥tžnav-n̥t 'to pour (schütten)' belong here ¶ UEW 408-9, Coll. 110, LG 235; Rd. supposes that this root refers to flour made of wild cereals ◇ Qu., because FU *puščl̥n̥ has an alt. etymology. IS MS 358 (s.v. 'размельчать' *ba's¹n̥) equates the IE √ with U {Coll.} *paśn̥ (which is less plausible, because here the semantic distance is greater: acc. to UEW 357-8, U *paśn̥ means 'Loch, Öffnung, Spalt, Riß').

259. *buʔ₁n̥s₁n̥ 'bad' > **HS:** S *✓b̥s̥ 'be bad' > Ak b̥iʔišu, b̥išu 'bad', b̥aʔašu v. 'be of bad quality, smell bad', Ar biʔsa 'wie widerlich!', ✓b̥s̥ (pf. baʔisa) v. 'be wretched, be unfortunate', BHb ✓b̥s̥ G (pf. נִבְאָשׁ b̥a'ʔaš) v. 'stink', N (pf. נִבְאָשׁ nib'ʔaš) 'be hated', IA b̥uʔš 'bad, evil', BA f. בַּאֲיַשׁ b̥aʔiš- 'böse', IA b̥uʔš {HJ} adj. 'bad, evil', JA ✓b̥s̥ (pf. ba'ʔeš) v. 'be bad, unpleasant, wicked', JEA {Sl.} ✓b̥s̥ ✕ ✓byš 'be sick, displeased', SmA ✓b̥s̥ G 'displease', b̥uʔš n. 'disease', Sr G ✓b̥s̥ 'be bad', לְאֵשׁ b̥a'yušā 'poor', Md ✓b̥uʔš 'be bad, evil', b̥iš, b̥iša 'bad, evil, wicked', OSA ✓b̥s̥ v. 'be bad', Gz ✓b̥s̥ (pf. baʔasa, subj. үә-b̥as) id., 'become worse' (→ Q {R} bis- 'schlecht\elend sein') ¶ CAD II 4-5, 270-1, HJ 142, LG 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.} buša 'bad', buš- 'be worse\bad', Hd/Kmb {C} buš- 'be cheap', Hd {Hd.} buš- 'become cheap', Or {Brl.} b̥osa 'lazy', b̥os-awui 'become lazy' ¶ AD SF 53, Hd. 23, 38, 273, 355, Brl. 63 || Ch: WCh: Ang b̥z̥s, Cp b̥is, Su b̥iš 'bad' | Fy {J} ~buš̥i id. || CCh: Dgh {Frk.} b̥az̥a id. ¶ ChC, ChL, J S 59 || **IE:** NaIE *^ob̥hous- > Gmc *bausi, *bausu- > OSx b̥osa 'Posse', gi-b̥osi 'Possen', OHG b̥osi 'useless, cowardly, weak', b̥osa 'hardness, nothingness; Possen, lappisches Treiben', NHG böse 'bad, wicked, angry', OFrs bâs-feng 'unzüchtiger Griff', Sw Δ bös 'wild' ¶ Ho. S 9, OsS 80, EWA II 252-5, Kb. 106, KM 93 || **A:** M *bus₁a₁- > WrM busaki, HlM b̥usxi 'bad, wicked'; Kl бүсрмг 'bad, evil, mean' ('дурной, скверный, недостойный') ¶ MED 140, KRS 122 ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #7b (incl. C, S, IE, M).

260. *buš̥n̥ 'to uncover, to peel', 'bare' > **HS:** C: Ag: Q {R} b̥eš- v. 'be naked, deprived of sth.' || SC {E} *baš̥- v. 'be stripped bare or clean' > Irq baš̥a 'field cleaned and dug up for cultivation, Kz bal- v. 'wash,

clean' || Dhl **ḥaśēδ-** v. 'strip bark away' ¶ AD GDS #1.29, ESC 134, EEN 32 || NrOm: Kf {C} **bęšō** 'except (for)' ('eccetto, fuori di...') ¶ C SE IV 416 || Ch: WCh ***buś-** (= {ʃtł.} ***buč-**) v. 'untie' > Bl **bz̥d-**, Krkr **bz̥du** id. || NrBc ***buč̥-** > Wrj **bz̥č̥-**, Sir **bužu**, Jmb **mbuž** id. | SBC: Sy {ChL} **bz̥č̥tu** id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 151 [#66], ChL; on my interpretation of S's WCh ***č̥** as ***ś** see AD LOHS and LOHSA || S *^o✓**nbś** > Ar ✓**nbś** 'déerrer, tirer au clair'; S (+ext.) *✓**bśr** v. 'peel, skin' > Ar {BK} ✓**bśr** 'peler en enlevant l'écorce, dépouiller d'écorce \ de peau extérieure', Jb ✓**bśr** (pf. **'bś'śor**) v. 'remove the old roof of a hut to put on a new one; skin (as an orange)'; S d. ***ba'śar-** 'skin' ([in several S lgs.]: → 'flesh' → [in Ak] 'one's child']) > Ar **baśar-** 'peau extérieure (chez l'homme), épiderme', 'homme, genre humain, l'humanité', **baśarat-** 'épiderme', Mh **bz̥sərēt** 'skin, complexion', BHb **בָשָׂר** **bā'śār** 'skin' (ψ 1O2.6, 119.12O, Hiob 4.15), 'flesh, meat', MHb **בָשָׂר** **bā'śār** 'flesh, meat; body', Pun **bśr** 'flesh; child, descendant', Ug **bśr** {A} 'flesh, body', {OLS} 'flesh', IA **bśr** 'flesh', BA **בָשָׂר** **bā'śār** 'flesh, people, animals', JA **bə'sar**, **בִּשְׁרָא ~ בַּשְׁרָא ~ בִּשְׁרָא ~ בַּשְׁרָא** **bis'r-ā** 'body, flesh, meat', JEA **בִּשְׁרָא ~ בַּשְׁרָא** **bis'r-ā** 'flesh, meat', Sr **bə'sar**, **bes'rā** 'flesh, body', Sb **bśr** 'flesh', Har, Grg Ch/Ez/Ed/En/Mh/Ms/Go/Gt **bäsär** 'meat, flesh', Ak **biśru** 'little child' ¶ BK I 128-9, II 1184, Hv. 74O, Js. 199-2OO, Jo. J 29-3O, Jo. M 56, KB 156-7, KBR 164, JH 45, HJ 2O4, A #598, OLS 119, GB 12O, 899, Sl. 2O7, BGMR 33, L G 11O, LEDG III 159, CAD II 27O, MiK I #1.41 ¶ ≈ Tk. LAA-1 169 [#41] || IE: NaIE ***bʰoso-**, {EI} ***bʰo'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 **bāsas** id., 'bare-foot' | Sl ***bōsъ** (f. ***bo'sa**, dadj. ***bōsъjъ**) 'bare-foot' > OCS, OR **босъ** **bosъ**, Blg **боc**, SCr **bōs** (f. **bōsa**), Slv **bōs**, Cz **bosý**, P **bosý**, R **боc**, **бо'сой** id. || Arm **pṇկ** **bok** (< ***bʰoso-go-** or {EI} ***bʰos-kو-?**) id. ¶ P 163, EI 45, OsS 4O, EWA I 465-6, Kb. 56, Ho. 15, Vr. 34, Slt. 347, Frn. 36, SPS I 34O, ESSJ II 223-4, Vs. I 199, Glh. 142 || U: FU ***puśśv-** v. 'peel, pluck, be worn out' > Vt Sr **pośt-** 'abgetragen werden, sich zerfetzen' || Hg **foszt-** v. 'pluck (a fowl), peel', **foszl-** v. fray, get threadbare' | ObU: Vg: N {MK} **pāslī-** ~ **pāslī-** 'sich abwetzen', Ss {Kálm.} **posl-** 'sich zu einem Loch benutzen'; Os V **pus** in **łopł** **pus** 'abgenutztes (Ober-)Kleid' ¶ UEW 4O9, MK 466, MF I 960.

261. *bUśčv (or ***bUśv**?) 'breath' (→ 'odour, steam, smoke') > HS: S *^o✓**bśč** > Ar ✓**bśč** 'avoir l'haleine fétide' ¶ BK I 13O, Ln. 2O9 || U:

FU *pU̥s̥V ~ *°pi̥s̥V (< **pü̥s̥V?) 'breath, smoke' > pObU *pōš(-əm, -əŋ) 'smoke' > pVg *pāšəm id. > Vg: LK pāšəm, P pošəm; pOs *pɔsəŋ id. > Os: Nz pusəŋ, Kz pwsəŋ, O posəŋ | Hg fūst 'smoke, steam' || pPrm *poš (acc. to LG) 'breath, vapour' > Z poš-ikt̄/-kt̄- v. 'puff, pant', ?σ Z LV poš 'greedy for... (падкий на...)' ¶ LG 226, Ht. #544, MF 226, KrT 742, Stn. D 1231 || A: T *b|pu:js 'mist, fog, steam' > OT bus, pus ({Cl.} būs, pūs 'mist, fog', {MKD} būs 'mist, vapour'), Tk pus, Δ bus 'light fog', Bsh ហូច ប៊ែត, Tv ឃួច រុស 'steam', Tf រុស 'fog over an unfrozen patch of water in winter', Shor pus, ET bus, Chv пাঁc រៀs 'steam' ¶ Cl. 37O, MKD 82, ET B 277, Rs. W 9O, Jeg. 149, Fed. I 403-4, Md. 57, 175, Ra. 82 ¶ Cl. and Dankoff (MKD) reconstruct a OT long ū on the only basis of the Arabic plene spelling, which is rather shaky.

262. *b'a't̄V '≈ luck, good' > K: GZ {Fn.} *bed- 'luck' > G bed- 'fate, luck', Mg u-bad-o 'unlucky, unhappy' (u- 'un-), ?σ Lz bad- 'wrath' ¶ Fn. SK 92 [#25] || IE: NaIE *b̥h̥e'd-, {P} *b̥had- '≈ good, fortunate' ({EI} IE ?? *b̥eh̥ad- 'good') > OI bhad'r̥a- 'fortunate, blessed, delightful', Av h̥u-bažra 'fortunate' (h̥u- 'good') || Gmc *batiz ~ *bataz 'better' adv. > ON betr, OHG, MHG baž (> NHG baß), OSx bat, bet, OFrs, AS bét id., Gmc *batizan 'better' > Gt batiza, ON betri, AS bētera, OHG bezziro, NHG besser 'better', NE better; Gmc *batistaz 'best' > ON beztr, OSx, AS bētst, OHG bezziſt, NHG, NE best || Sl {ESSJ} *bedrъnъ > OCS бедрънъ bedrъnъ 'πλούσιος = plentiful, abundant' ¶ P 106, EI 236, M K II 467-8 (rejects the relationship 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, 7O, Ho. 21-2, Ho. S 5-6, ESSJ I 182-3, SadA IV 261, ESJS 58 || A: ?σ Tg *badj̥ 'yet, more, noch -er' > Neg badi, badugda 'noch (mehr)', 'noch' + cmpr., Orc bādæ, bādī, Ork baže id., Ud badi id., 'still more\stronger', Nn bažl 'noch' + cmpr., 'too, very', Ul badi~bādl 'more (noch), again; too (zu); {PSchm.} 'more (большe)', badal-badala 'more and more (increasingly more)' ¶ STM I 63, Krm. 211 || HS: C: Ag: Blz {R} bit-, Q {R} bet- 'satt \ reich \ wohlhabend sein' ¶ R WB 9O || i S *°✓btt > amb Ar ✓btt 'omnino perfecit, perfectum reddidit', unless a secondary development from ✓btt 'to cut' ¶ Fr. I 81, BK I 81 ◇ Cf. Blz. KM 113 [#2] (K, IE, A), ≈ Blz. 129-3O [addition to #2] (added Ag + unc. C and Ch reflexes of N *bAdV 'many', q.v.). The IE reflex of the medial cns. suggests a N *-t-, the Tg reflex is ambiguous (N *-t- or *-d-), while K *-d- may be explained by assimilation.

262a. ² ***bot** ∇ 'dust' or 'ashes' > HS: Ch \approx *but 'ashes': WCh: Bl {IL} bùtó, Krkr {IL} butaw, Grm {Sh.} bütá, Krf }Sch.{} bütó id. | Dir {Sk.} bütù id. | Ngz békéd id. || CCh: Ms {Mch.} búdu, ZmB {J} büt, LmP {ChL} b̄wut, Bdm {Nc.} budén, {Cfr.} p̄édz̄n id. || ECh: EDng {Fd.} bütù, Mgm {J} bítí, Brg bütì, Bdy bütó 'ashes', Jg {J} bút 'flour', bút kɔ p̄ók 'ashes' ¶ JI II 4-5, ChC, ChL, AJ 61 || Om: NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} b̄edná, Wl {LmS} bidinta, Dwr {LmS} bittenta, Malo budó, Dk {Fl.} buda, Bsk buda, Oyda {Bnd.} būdɔ, Drz {Bnd.} buddu 'ashes' | SOM: Hm {Fl.} bidin-, Ari {Bnd., Fl.} bind-, Dm {Bnd., Fl.} b̄ind- id. ¶ AD SF 241, Wdk. BY 119, LmS 315, Bnd. AL 144, Fl. OWL ¶ \approx HSVA #75 (HS *bət 'ashes' > Ch + unc.: Eg wbd 'burn; soot', Ah a-batul 'roasting, baking in ashes'), \approx OS #353 (HS *buwut- > Ch + unc. Eg wbd 'burn') || D *poṭi 'powder, dust' > Tm poṭi id., 'ash', Ml poṭi, Kt poyṛ, Kn puḍi 'dust, powder', Kdg poḍi 'powder, flour', Tu, Tl poḍi id., 'dust' ¶ D #4481, Zv. 1O2 (suggests an alternation *-t-/*-t-, finding *-t- in Td p̄iru 'dust', Prj por, podil, poyl 'flour, husk dust', Gdb poddūl 'flour') ◇ \approx Blz. LB #4d (Ch, D), \approx Blz. LNA #4 (N *budi 'ashes'; hesitantly suggested to add M *bužar 'dirt[y]' to the HS-D equation).

262b. ***b'æ'gUt** ∇ 'thigh, (calf of) leg' > HS *baɣʃ̄t- > S: Gz baṣāt, Amh, Gft bat 'calf of leg', ?∅ Amh {R} በቻት baṣht 'Hüfte, Oberschenkel' ¶ LG 85, LGD 149 ¶ Gz ā may be due to a S derivational pattern || C: Dhl {To.} bōti 'thigh' || EC: Sml {ZMO, DSI} bowdo f. 'thigh', {R} ba?udo f. 'Hüfte, Oberschenkel', Sml N {Abr.} bōwdo 'thigh' ¶ To. D 13O, ZMO 45, R SS II 69, Abr. S 34 || NrOm: Kf {C} bātō 'gamba, arto inferiore' ¶ C SE IV 417 || CCh: Ms {Caït.} bát 'jambe, patte' ¶ Caït. 37 ¶ \approx Tk. LAA-1 1O6 [#15] (HS *✓bt 'leg') || A: NaT *būt 'thigh' > OT būt 'thigh, leg' (OT U but 'leg', OT QU [MhK] بُوت 'thigh'), Tk but, buḍ- 'rump, buttocks', Tkm būt 'thigh (бедро, ляжка)', Az bud 'Schenkel', Chg but 'leg', Xlj būut 'Schenkel, Oberschenkel', Yk būt 'thigh, leg', etc. ¶ ET B 28O-2, Cl. 297, DTS 129, Rs. W 9O, TrR 136, Rh. 391, DT 96; Doerfer adduces here Chv p̄bz̄_b 'thigh' (in his opinion from *bút-si 'his thigh'), which is doubtful (because the T allomorph *-si does not appear after cnss.); ET B 25-6 equates Chv p̄bz̄_b with Tk bacak and Ggz, CrTt, Kr bažaq 'leg'; Jeg. 158 believes that Chv p̄bz̄_a is from NPrs پَذَق pāče 'feet (of sheep, calves, or other animals, esp. when boiled)' [Sg. 229], cf. Qrg Δ p̄ayčä 'animal's leg' ¶ T *-t' < *-tt < *-gt? || Tg: [1] *begdi 'leg, foot' >

Ewk, Orc, Ud *begdi*, Sln *bældīr*, Lm *bōdъl*, Ork *bægži*, Nn *bægži* 'leg, foot' | [2] **b*∇ti-ke 'leg, thighs' > Jrc {Md.} *bodixe*, {Kiy.} *bodihe*, {S} *budixe* 'leg', WrMc *betxe* 'leg, foot; leg (of a bird)', Mc Sb {Y} /*betaxə/ [bætx] ~ /*betəkə/ [bætk] 'leg, foot, foreleg, hind leg, limb', Neg *bætixə* 'the upper part of the "unti" (fur boots that cover the thighs)', Nn *bæčxə* 'the part of shorts that 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 **būt* 'thigh, leg' with the Tg √ || D (in GnD) **p'o'tta* > Png, Kui *pota*, Mnd *pata* 'calf of leg' ¶ D #4513 ◇ N **æ* is tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of Tg **begdi* (cp. also WrMc *betxe* and **a* of the first syll. in S and other HS lgs.).**

263. **bit*₁∇, [?]₂∇ 'to hold' > **HS:** EC: Af {PH} *i-bbiđe* v. 'grasp, hold, keep', Sa {R} -*biđ-*, p. 3s *i-biđä* (R: *baļ*, p. *i-biļə*) 'nehmen, erhalten', 'rauben, nehmen, ergreifen' ¶ R S II 82-3, PH 132 || ?σ S *^o✓*bt?* > Ar ✓*bt?* G (pf. *bata?*a) ~ ✓*btw* G (pf. *batā*, ip. -*btū*) 's'arrêter, faire halte' ¶ BK I 82, 84 || Ch: Mu {Lk.} *bòdá* 'ergreifen', {J} *būdí* v. 'hold', *bót* / *bùwāt* id. ¶ Lk. ZSS 181, ChC || **U:** FV **pitä-* v. 'hold' > F *pitä-*, Es *piđa* (prs. *pean*) id. || Er *peda-* vi. 'stick to, cling close to, press to' ¶ But not here (↔ UEW) ObU **pät-*/**pit-* v. 'fall'; see N **pät*₂∇ 'to fall' ¶ Coll. 108, UEW 386, Ht. 180 [#551] || D **pit*₂∇ v. 'grasp, hold' > Tm *pit̪i* v. 'catch, grasp, carry, keep back', *pit̪i* n. 'hold, clutch, seizure by hand', Ml *pit̪i* 'grasp, hold, closed hand', Kt *piřč-* v. 'clench (hand), piřy 'handful', Kn *piđi* v. 'seize, hold', Kdg *puđi-* v. 'catch, hold', Tu *hiđi* n. 'hold, grasp', Tl *piđi* 'handle, hilt, handful', Prj *piđk-* v. 'embrace', Gnd *piđanā* v. 'snatch, catch' ¶ D #4148 ◇ Sa, Af -*đ-* points to the presence of an ancient Ir. (-*đ-* < **tH-*), which is probably N **?* (on the ev. of S *✓*bt?*, if it belongs here) ◇ IS MS 339 s.v. 'держать' **p'it*₂∇ (U, D).

264. **bōt*₁∇, [?]₂∇ 'to grow' (intr.), 'to sprout' > **HS:** S *^o✓*bt̪i* > Ar *bit̪i* 'big, tall' (of a person), ✓*bt̪i* G (pf. *batiňa*) 'avoir une belle encolure, longue et robuste' (of a horse), 'être robuste et ferme' ¶ BK I 83 || D **pot̪-* ~ **put̪t-* v. 'grow, sprout' > [1] Tm *pot̪i-* 'spring up, shoot', Ml *pot̪iyuka* v. 'spring up, ooze out', *pot̪ikka* id., 'sprout', Krb *pođe* 'sprout of grain', Kn *pođe* 'a pregnant ear of corn, an ear of corn just before shooting forth', Tu *pot̪tæ* 'tender ear of corn', Tl *pot̪takar(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 *putt-* 'be born, (seed) sprouts' || A *but[‘]- > NaT *buta- 'sprout, bough, twig' > Nog *butaq* id., Qzq *būtanaq* 'small bough, branch, snag', ? *būta* 'bush, shrub', Qrg *butaq* 'twig'; (× T *but-* 'cut' < N *but^Δ 'cut, cut off, cut into pieces'): Qzq *būtala-* '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 бүт 'bush, brushwood, thicket', Ord {Ms.} *but'a* 'buissons, broussailles, touffe', Kl бүт *butu* 'bush, shrub; bunch of flowers', {Rm.} 'Gebüsch, Strauch', Mgr H {SM} *b_ud_ā* 'herbes\plantes croissant en touffe', Mgr H {T} *butā*, Mgr M {T} *buta* 'bunch (пучок)' || H 24, MED 141, KRS 122, KW 63, Ms. O 1OO, SM 31, T 32O ◇ A *-t[‘]- < N *-t^Δ- . We reconstruct N *-t^Δ rather than *-t^Y because the A reflex of the N cluster *-t^Y- is likely to be *-d- rather than *-t[‘]-.

265. *UA* ₂ *bat^Δ '≈ cold; to feel cold, to freeze' > **U:** FU (att. in Ugr) *pātt^Δ ~ *pāt^Δ 'snow-\\ice-crust', v. 'freeze, feel cold' > pObU *pūt- 'ice-crust' > pVg *pūt- id. > Vg: Yk πύτ, Ss *put* id., Sg *put-wit* 'Wasser über dem Eis (am Moor, Fluß)'; pOs *put > Os: D/O *pot*, Nz *put*, Kz *pöt* '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 *påt-*, K *pot-*, Nz/Kz *pöt-* 'frieren' || OHg fáz-, Hg fázik 'freeze, feel\\be cold' || Ht. #549, MF 185-6, ≠ UEW 414-5 (Ugr ÷ [with a query] Sm *pъrā- vi. 'burn' [F Jn. 114]; pU *pār^Δ), ≠ Rd. UJ 43 [#5O] (U → Y K {IN} pēdз 'burn') || A: Tg *batun 'frozen ground' > Ewk *batun*, Ul bātu(n-), Nn *batō*, batū id., Lm *batən* id., 'hard, hardened' (of ground, ice, snow), *batən-* 'get frozen' (of ground, ice)', WrMc *batun* 'frozen ground, lower layers of ice' || STM I 77 ◇ Not here the D stem, represented by Tm padisemu 'a cold, catarrh, Prj padčom id., Gnd parṣaid., Δ poṛsa 'rheum of nose', Δ parsā, parsuṁ 'a cold', which, acc. to D App. #48, goes back to OI pratiśyāya- (> Marathi padse) 'cold in the head' (Tu. #8604).

265a. *bit^Δ 'louse', '≈ parasitic insect' > **HS:** C: Ag {Ap.} *bət- 'louse' > Bln {R} bi'tā ~ be'tā, Q {R} be'tā, Xm {R} bet'tā, Km {CR} bītā (pl. bīt) 'louse' || R WB 9O, CR K 181, Ap. AV 8 || ?φ B ✓ f^Δdīd > Ah afūdīd 'petit pou gris de chameau', Izn, Rf/SrSn {Rn.} afđiđ 'tique

(acarien femelle gros et gris)', Shl afđid 'tique des moutons\chameaux\bovins', Fgg afđid 'parasite des chameaux', BSn afđid 'pou des chiens' § Fc. 3O5, Rn. 297, NZ 532 || Ch:WCh: Ngz {Sch.} þàbát 'flea' || ECh: Smr {J} báđadár 'flea', as well as (?) words for 'mosquito': Smr {J} bédé 'mosquito', Nd D {J} bídé, Tmk {Cp.} betz, bžd § ChC, Sch. DN 28 || A: T *bit ~ *bit, {Md.} bit '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 бът, Xk pit, Yk bit, Tv, Tf bít, SY pišt, Chv пыйтă риyd_ъ 'louse' § Cl. 296, ET B 151-2, Rs. W 76, Md. 75, Jeg. 172 || D (in NED): Krx putungī ~ putungī 'midge', Mlt putgi 'sand-fly'; D → OI puttikā- 'gnat' § D #42O3 || ?ϕ K: Mg biča 'tick' ◇ D *u (from N *i) may be due to the labializing infl. of N *b-. An alt. rec. (N *bṳ̈t∇) implies a hyp. of T delabialization (without any imaginable cause) and hence is less plausible ◇ AD GDRV 61 (C, T); Blz. LB #1O5a and Blz. LNA #6 (suggested to add D).

266. *but∇ 'cut, cut off, cut into pieces' > HS *✓b̤t > WS *✓b̤t > Ar ✓b̤t (pf. bat̤ta) 'percer un ulcère \ un clou', Amh {DRS} bat̤ta 'entailleur', as well as possibly CS *✓bdd v. 'separate' (< **✓b̤t by as.?) > Ar ✓bdd id., BHb בָּדָד bā'dād 'alone', (act. prtc. G) bō'dēd 'alone, solitary' § BK I 134, KB 1O5, KBR 1O9-1O, DRS 59-6O || B *✓bđH > Kb aħđu (pf. 3s yħħđa) 'partager, séparer', Tdq {Fc.} aħđu 'être séparé, se séparer', Izd bđu (pf. 3s i-bđa, hab. bat̤ta) 'partager, séparer', BSn aħđa id., CM bdu 'partager, être partagé', Sll {Ds.} āħđu (pf. ibđa) 'partager' § Mrc. 233, Dl. 11, Fc. 32, NZ 27-8 || C {AD} *b∇t- > LEC *b∇đ- > Sa {R} -bal- (= -bad-), p. 'i-bidä 'abtrennen, wegreißen', aba'lā, a'b'lā 'part, half', Af {PH} abđa 'half, part', Sml {ZMO}, Sml N {Abr.} bađ 'half' § R S II 82-3, ZMO 26, PH 28, AD SF 248 || NrOm: Kf {C} botō 'share, part' § C SE IV 417 || Ch: WCh: Bl {Lk.} bot-, Gera {ChL} bědi-mi, Grm {ChL} bát v. 'cut' (mte. *b...t > *b...t) § JI II 96, ChL || A: NaT *buta- ~ {Cl.} *buti- v. 'cut off branches, prune a tree' > OT {Cl. after MhK} buta-, buti- v. 'prune', {MKD} buti- 'cut branches of a tree', OOsm, MQp buda- v. 'prune', Tk buda- 'die Zweige beschneiden', VTt бета- бъта-, StAlt buda-, Xlj pṳta- id. § Rs. VW 91, Cl. 3OO, DTS 129, MKA II 141 and III 317, MKD 82, DHST 296 || M *buta- > MM [MA] buta- 'cut off, hit'; M *buta adv. 'in fragments\pieces', 'into pieces' (×N *bař|gṳt∇ 'kick, push?') > WrM buta, HlM, Kl бүт, Brt бүтə adv. 'in fragments\pieces,

into pieces'; M *butara-* > MM *butara-* vi. [MA] 'disintegrate, break to pieces (распасться, развалиться, рассыпаться)', [S] 'auseinanderstieben', WrM *butara-*, HlM *бүтре-* v. 'break to pieces, smash', Brt, Kl *бүтэр-* vi. 'break, be smashed', Kl *бүтр-*, {Rm.} *butr-* 'be dispersed, zerstreut werden', Ord *but^hara-* 's'échapper sous forme d'étincelles (feu)', MnR H {SM} *p'ud₃rā-* 's'élever dans l'air (comme la poussière), se disperser', caus. MM [HI] *butaraul-* 'laisser se disperser', WrM *butaragul-*, HlM *бүтргүлә-* '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 1OO, SM 3O4 || Tg **bute*, **butekte-* 'break into pieces', **butekte* 'piece' (× N ***ba**ŋ|*gut*▽ 'kick, push?') > Lm *būt-* 'break, beat, split', Ewk *butuktə* 'piece' , Neg *boktaxān*, Nn Nh *boqtā* 'splinter'; Ewk *butəktə-*, Ud *bukta-* 'split', Lm *būtəq-* 'break off', Orc *buktaga-* 'break', Ul *bvqta-*, Nn *boqtā* 'crack' ¶ STM I 116 || D {Pf.} **putt-*/ **put-*▽-, **put-*▽-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 *pudug-nā* v. 'pluck out (hair, etc.), strip (fowl) by plucking' ¶ D #4277, Pf. 75.

267. ₂ **but*▽ 'pistachio (and terebinth?) tree\nut' > HS: S **butun|m-* id. > BHb pl. בָּטְנִים *bət'nīm* 'nuts of terebinth', JA *but'm-ā*, JEA {Sl.} בָּטָן *but'm-ā*, Sr *bət'm-ə't-ā* id., Ar *butm-* 'térebinthe (arbre), térébinthine', Gz (↔ Ar?) *bətm* ~ *būt'm* 'terebinth tree', Ak *butn-u* 'terebinth tree\wood', *butn-atu*, *butum-t-u*, *buttutu* 'pistachio tree\wood\nut' ¶ KB 117, KBR 121, Sl. 190, Js. 147, LG 114, CAD II 358-9, Löw I 192 || A: NaT **buturgāk* > OT (Cl.) *buturyāq* '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 in fact they do exist in lgs. if a √ is found in different phonetic conditions (incl. phonetic infl. of affixes), undergoes lexical attraction, analogy, etc., as in NE *off* and *of*, *life* [laɪf] and *live* [lɪv], Fr *homme* and *on*, BHb *'leb* 'heart' and *lē'bāb* id. - both from **'libab-um*).

268. ***ba**ŋ|*gut*▽ 'kick, push' > HS: CS *√*bñ|y̥t* > BHb √*bñt* G v. 'kick', {KB} 'ausschlagen', MHb, JA √*bñt* G {Js.} v. 'trample, strike,

kick', JEA {Sl.}, Sr ✓ *bɛt G* v. 'kick' ¶ KB 136, KBR 142, Js. 180-1, Sl. 224, Br. 83, JPS 50, DRS 74 || EC: Af {PH} *bɔnto* 'bang, clang, knock, tap', Sa {R} *botɛno* 'Schlag, Hieb, Stoß', *botɛno-* 'einen Schlag\Hieb bekommen', *botɛn-iš-* 'einen Schlag\Hieb\Stoß geben' ¶ PH 72, R S II 92 || Ch: WCh: pAG {Stl.} **bet* v. 'push' > Su {J} *bɛt* 'niederschlagen, stoßen', Ang {Flk.} *bɛt/bɛt* v. 'push, butt', Cp {Kr.} *bɛt* v. 'push' ¶ Stl. ZCh 240 [#1], J S 59, Flk. s.v., ChL || IE: NaIE {Mn.} **bhaud-* (= {P} **bhāwd-*) / {P} **bhud-* v. 'beat, chastise', {EI} **bheud-* (prs. **bhoudej*) 'strike, beat' > Gmc {Wt.} **baut-* v. 'strike' > ON *bauta* 'to beat', AS *béatan* / p. *beo(f)t* id., NE *beat*; MLG *bōten*, OHG *bōz̄an* or *bōz̄en* & *pauzen* / p. *biez̄* 'push, strike (contundere)', {EWA} '(zer)stoßen, (zer)schlagen', MHG *bōz̄en* 'to strike, to beat', *bōz̄* 'Schlag' || OIr {Vn.} *buailid* 'il frappe\bat\attaque'; ?σ MBr {Flr.} *bevez* 'guilty', OIr {Vn.} *bibdu* id., 'enemy' (< **bhe-bhud-wots*) || Lt *baudà* 'fine, penalty', *baūsti* (prs. *baūdžiu*) '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 (*baudà* ÷ Lt *budēti* 'to be awake') || A **but* 'beat, hit' > pKo {S} **puti'ič-* 'hit, bump, collide' > MKo *puti'ič-*, NKo *putic-* *pudit-* ¶ S QK #928, Nam 265, MLC 812 || pJ {S} **pùt-* 'beat, hit' > J: T *bút-*, K/Kg *büt-* ¶ {S}: an expressive voicing **p-* > **b-* ¶ S QJ #1397, Mr. 680 || M **buta-* > MM [MA] *buta-* 'cut off, hit', ?σ M **buta* adv. 'in fragments\pieces', 'into pieces' (× N **but* 'cut, cut off, cut into pieces', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ Tg **bute-* 'break into pieces' (← 'beat'?), **butekte* 'piece', **butekte-* 'break into pieces' (× N **but* 'cut', q.v. ffd.) || D [1] D **poč-* ({§GS} **p-*) v. 'winnow, strike, beat' > Tm *pučai* v. 'winnow, thresh, beat, strike', *poči* v. 'be broken to pieces', Kt *pořč-* v. 'winnow', Td *puřf-* id., v. 'flap (a branch of leaves in cleaning house)', *puř* 'beating', Kn *pođe* v. 'strike, beat', Tu *puđepuni*, *pođepuni* v. 'winnow, fan', *botčuni* v. 'beat (as a drum), hammer (as metal), knock (as a door)', Tl *pođucú* v. 'fight', Gdb *pođu* 'fight', Png *pođ-* v. 'hit (not to miss)'] [2] D (in SD) **pōč-* ({§GS} **p-*) v. 'strike, cast' > Tm *pōču* v. 'cast down, strike, beat, stamp', Ml *pōčuka* v. 'strike (as a wedge into timber), put', Tu *pāđuni* v. 'throw, cast, fling' ¶ D ##4252, 4481, 4581, Km. 439-40 [#871] ¶ D *-*č-* points to a de-emphasized *-*t-* < *-*č* < N *-*č* | *guč-*.

268a. *bag₁∇₂t'í 'be quick; sudden' > HS: S *°√bꝫt > Ar √bꝫt G 'arriver \ survenir soudain et à l'improviste', bayt-at- 'évenement inattendu', بفَتَّا bꝫt-at-an 'soudain, subitement, à l'improviste' ¶ BK I 144-5 || Ch: WCh: Ang {Flk.} vwōt, Anf H {Flk.} bwōt 'quickly, at once', Dr {Nw.} bút 'suddenly, on the run' ¶ Flk. 154, Nw. KL 122, ≈ Tk, LAA-1 1O7 [#22] || A: M *bačim (< *batı-) 'hasty, urgent, quick' > WrM, WrO bacim, HIM бачим id., Brt башам 'urgent, pressing (спешный)', Kl бачм bačym id., {Rm.} bačm, bačim 'schnell, hurtig', Ord b_ač'ım ž_oč'ım 'à l'improviste', b_ač'imd_a- 'être très pressé' ¶ MED 65, Chr. 92, KRS 86, Krg. 329, KW 36, Ms. O 58 || T u *bāt ~ *pāt 'quickly, extremely' > OT bat 'quickly', Chg bat 'quick(ly)', Tk pat, Uz bat, ET {Nj.}, ET Tr {Rl.} pat, Qrg bat 'quickly, soon', Tkm bādina '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 *pāt'e 'quick, swift', incl. T, M) || D (in SD) *paṭ(t)- ({§GS} *p-) 'hasty, sudden' > Tu paṭṭa 'suddenly', Kt paṭakn 'suddenly, with a jerk', Tm o₂ paṭapaṭṭappu 'precipitancy', paṭapaṭa 'be overhasty' ¶ D #3842 ¶ D *-t- < pre-D *-d- < (as.) *-v̥t- ◇ 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. *b'ü'g'ât∇ 'hunt, try to catch' > HS: WCh: pAG {Hf.} *bwayat v. 'tie, hobble' (if from *'catch by a lasso') > Gmy bōt, Su bwayat, Ang {Hf.} bāt id., Ang {Flk.} bāt 'tie, bind', Su {J} bwayat 'binden', Kfr {Hf.} bwayat, {Nt.} bwegat v. 'tie' ¶ Mte.: N *b...t > *b...t ¶ Hf. AG 18, Flk. s.v. bāt, Nt. 46, J S 6O || S *°√bꝫt > Ar √bꝫt '(suddenly) come upon so., take so. by surprise' (< *'catch') ¶ Deglottalization *t > □S*t ¶ Ln. 228-9, BK I 144-5 || U {UEW} *püwtä- v. 'hunt, catch (game), fish', 'follow the trail' (of an animal) > F püytä- v. 'hunt, fish, catch (game)' (→ 'ask, request, invite'), Vp püta- v. 'hunt, catch (game\fish)', Es þuðd- / püða- 'catch, try' || Sm: Slq: Nr {Cs.} püðap, Tz {Cs.} pütalžam 'follow the trail (of an animal)', Kms {KD} p'iderə- id. ('verfolgen, auf der Spur folgen') ¶ Not here (↔ UEW) Ne: Т пиде- pīde- v. 'chase away', T O {Lh.} pīde-, F Ny {Lh.} pīcī- 'chase away (e.g. beasts of prey)' ({Lh.} 'verscheuchen, vegjagen', {Cs.} 'treiben, jagen'); this word belongs together with Slq Tz {Prk.} pīt̪- 'frighten' < pSm {Jn.} *piytä- id. ↔ pSm {Jn.} *piy- 'be afraid' ¶ Coll. 54, UEW 387 (U

*piwtä 'die Spuren eines Wildes folgen'), SK 676-7, ZM 446, Jn. 124-5, Ter. 462, Cs. 222, 17O, KD 52 || A: AmTg *bogatu- v. 'hunt' > Orc bātu-, Ul bātu- ~ buatu- v. 'hunt', Neg boatu- ~ boγatu-, Nn Nh boato-, Nn B bātu- v. 'hunt (esp. for sable)', Ud bātu- 'spend the hunting season in the forest' (of hunters) ¶ STM I 87, Krm. 211 ¶ N *-g- is preserved in Tg as *-g- (a rare case). Cf. the cases of preservation of lrs. in U. The Tg back vw. *-o- of the first syll. (< N *-rū-) may be due to vowel harmony (infl. of *-a- of the next syll. ◇ The Tg root with *-t- and the WCh root with *b...t (< *b...t) (if it belongs here) point to a N *t.

270. *bu₁w₂t 'the hinder part of a quadruped's body, the lower part of a human body, bottom' > HS: S *°būt- > Md buṭa 'bottom, anus', NMd bōṭa 'Hintern, Anus', Sr **buṭā** 'anus, podex', NNEA {Mcl.} **buṭā** 'penis'] WS (or CS?) *'bat₁n-ā' 'belly' > BHb בָּטָן 'bēṭən 'belly, internal organs', OCn [EA] ba-aṭ-nu-ma 'belly', IA בָּטָן id., JA [TrgOJ] **בָּטָן** JA {Js.} **בָּטָן** 'belly', JEA **בָּטָן** (unk. voc.) 'womb', Sr baṭn-ā 'conceptio', Ar baṭn- 'ventre', Tgr bəṭn, Har bəṭni 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, 6O, MiK I #1.42 ¶ If the Tgr and Har words are Arabisms, the stem is CS || B *būd- > BSn bōd 'fond', Mz bud 'fond, cul' (pl. ibudawān ~ ibattān), Izd {Mrc.} abud (pl. ibattān) 'fond, extrémité, orifice anal', CM abud ~ bud 'fond, partie basse', Fgg bud 'fesse; anus', Shw bud 'fond, pied de végétaux', Ah {Fc.} buyad 'avoir des fesses décharnées', Ntf abud 'bottom of a vessel', Nf {Beg.} būt 'base, pied'] ?? B *v^rψdⁿ > Ah a-hadun 'la 15^{me} nuit du mois lunaire' (< **'middle') (x N *Pañt₁h₂ 'belly', q.v.) ¶ Fc. 518, ≠ Pr. H 29, NZ 28-9, Beg. 278 || C: EC: Rn bəyđó 'buttocks', bəđey 'buttock', Sml {ZMO} bəđi 'buttocks, tail of sheep', Sml N {Abr.} báđí 'buttocks; buttocks of sheep', ? Dsn {Fl.} bedi 'foot', Sd bəđe 'back, behind', {Mrn.} 'dorso, dietro' ¶ PG 76, ZMO 26, Blz. DL s.v. 'foot', Hd. 351, Mrn. S 207 || ?σ NrOm: Kf {C} bātō 'leg, hind leg' ¶ ≈ AD SF 240-1, C SE IV 417 || Ch: WCh: Hs būtīyā 'anus' || ECh: Brg {J} bājā 'anus', EDng {DjM} bádyā 'fesse'] (x N *bod₁ 'body, belly?'): {Stl.} *būt₁ 'belly, womb' > Su {J} būt 'Bauch, Inneres', Ang {Flk.} būt 'belly, pregnancy', {Brq.} būwūt 'stomach', Mnt bāt 'belly', Kfr {Nt.} būt 'belly, side', Gmy {Hf.} bēt, Tal {Sh.} būth 'belly', Chip {ChC} yim-būt 'entrails' | Gj {Kr.} bōt₁ id. | Fy {J} būtō 'belly' || ECh: Brg {J} būtūrī 'belly' ¶ Stl. ZCh 157 [#113], Abr. H 127, DjM 32, J S 6O,

Nt. 4, Hf. AG 17, Brq. AP, ChC s.v. 'belly, 'anus' **¶** Tk. LAA-1 104 [#7] (* \check{v} b \ddot{t} 'bottom. back') and ≈ 1O4 [#4] (HS * \check{v} bd 'bottom, lower part' [B, CCh.]) || 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-'no-'bottom' (× N *bod ∇ 'body, belly' [q.v.]) > OI budh'nah $\dot{\imath}$ 'bottom, ground, base', Av b \check{u} n \bar{o} id. || Gk πυθμήν '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 19O, P 174, EI 247, Dv. #443, M K II 438, M E II 228-9, F II 62O-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 ∇ '↑' || U: FU *put ∇ 'rectum, large intestine' (× N *pu₁w₁t ∇ [or *pu₁w₁t ∇ ?] 'hole') > Lp S {Lgc.} pu^hte- $\bar{k}\xi$ 'rectum' || pObU *pūt ∇ > Vg N {MK} puti 'large intestine', Os Nz pūtə, Os Kz pūtī id., 'rectum', ¶ UEW 41O (< ?), Lgc. #687, MK 487 || ?σ,φ **D** (in SD) *puta- ({§GS} *p-, *-d-) 'side, place' (\leftarrow *'bottom') > Tm putai, putam 'side, place', Ml put \dot{a} , Kn hode 'side', Tu pudæ 'border, edge, side' ¶ D #4254 ¶ D {§GS} *-d- (for the expected *-t-) is still to be explained ◇ Hardly here NaT *būt 'thigh' and Tg *b ∇ ti-ke 'leg, thighs', which are more likely to belong to N *b^ræ^gUt ∇ 'thigh, (calf of) leg' (q.v.) ◇ IS II 1O2-3: N *p'ozqa/p'odqa 'thigh', sc. N *p'ozE \dot{z} ∇ ~ *p'oz ∇ q ∇ 'thigh, haunch' (q.v.) with unconvincing adduction of T *būt 'thigh' (reconstructed as *pūt).

271. *b^ri¹xa (or *b^ri¹qa, *b^üy χ |q \dot{a} ?) 'beat, strike' > IE *b^heijH- / b^hiH- ({EI} *b^heijh_A-) 'strike' > NaIE *b^heyə-/b^hī- v. 'beat' > Av {P} byente 'sie bekämpfen, schlagen' || ? Arm p̪hp̪ bir (gen. p̪ph̪ b̪ri) 'large stick, club, cudgel' || ? L [Fest.] perfinēs · "perfringās" (2s cnj. 'break [through, in pieces!]') ({EM}: *-nā-present of *b^heijH-) || OIr ben- 'strike, beat', ro-bíth 'was beaten', bíthə 'beaten', 1s ft. bíu '(whom) shall I beat?', {P} béimm 'Schlag' (< *b^hey-sm \dot{y}), OW etbinam [ɣ] 'lanio', W {YGM} bidl 'lopped hedge', {Vn.} bidio 'tailler une haie', OBr [ɣ] bedioc 'caedes' ({Flr.} 'action de trancher\tailler'), MBr benaff, Br benañ v. 'cut' || Sl inf. *bī-ti 'to beat' > OCS бити biti / prs. бъиќъ бъиќ ~ биќъ biy-q, SCR бити / бијем, R бить /

бью, Uk бити, Slv, Cz biti, Slk bit', P bić III NrIE d. {Mn.} *b^hiyə-lo-s~-li-s 'striker, axe' > OIr biail, OW bahell, W bwyllell, bwylall, Br bouc'hal~bouhal 'axe' || OHG bīhal 'axe', MHG bīhel, bī(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 5O3, EWA II 35-8, Vn. B 32-4, 48, Flr. 8O-1, YGM-1 45, Hü. 429, ≠ Slt. 137 (unlike Hü., connects Arm bīf with the verb brem), ESSJ II 99-1O3, Db. SA 2O4, 212-3, SPS I 251-2, Glh. 132, StSS 84-5, OsS 62, KM 6, Vr. N 58 || K: GZ (att. in Zn) *^obex|q-v. 'beat, strike' > Mg bax- 'beat so., give a beating' ({Chik.} 'çəmə, поколотить', {Q} 'битъ'), Lz bax- 'beat so., thresh' ({Marr} 'битъ (человека), молотить', {Chik.} 'çəmə, əmədəgəzə, поколотить') ¶ Q 2O2, Marr 13O, Chik. 253 || HS: C: EC: Sa {R} baw- scv. 'hauen, schlagen' || ? SC {E} *baħ- v. 'kill (animal)' > ? Asa bahat 'trap', → Mb baħ- v. 'kill' ¶ R S II 94, E SC 136 || Ch: CCh: Bcm {Sk.} bīye v. 'break' || WCh: pNrBc *ba {Stl.} id., {AD} 'beat, break' > Wrj bəzəz, Kry bā- v. 'break', My bā- v. 'beat, break', Cg bā-~bō-, Mbr, Jmb bā- v. 'break' || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} bəzū, Kwn {J} bāyū, Li {Grgs.} bōy, Smr {J} bī id. ¶ In WCh and CCh b- < *bH ¶ Stl. ZCh 249 [#23], ChC, ChL || A: Tg *buuya- 'be broken' > Orc buya- 'broken', buya- v. 'be broken\torn apart', Ul buya 'broken', Ork buuya id., 'fragments' (осколки'), buya- 'be broken, destroyed', Nn boyā- id., boyā 'broken', Lm buyak- 'spoil' ¶ STM I 1O3 ◇ If the pN vw. of the first syll. was *i (as suggested by IE, K, and CCh), the labialized vw. in Tg and EC may be due to the assimilative infl. of *b- .

272. *bay ∇ 'place', 'to be (somewhere)' (= 'estar') > HS: S *bi- 'in', 'with' (instr.) > BHb bə-, bā- id., Ph, Pun, OA, IA b, Ug b, bȳ, (AkSc) bi-, JA, Sr bə-, Ar bi-, Gz bə- (with pronouns: bə-ka 'in you'), ba- (with nouns) id., Tgy ʔəb- id., bə- (in bə-ye 'I have', lit. 'in me'), Ak in bəšu v. 'be' (< *ba-šu 'in him'?) ¶ Br. G II 363-77 [§§ 237-41], KB 1OO-2, HJ 137-41, OLS 97-8, Hnr. 112, LG 82, Sd. 112, DRS 39-4O || Eg fOK bw ~ bȳ.t 'place' ¶ EG I 433, 45O-2, Fk. 81-2, Tk. II 172-5 || C {AD} *bay- 'place' > EC: HEC {Hd.} *bay-(ččo) 'place' > Sd bay-ččo, Hd bēyyo, Kmb *bēčču | Or O/Wt {Sr.} biyya 'place; sand', Or H {Ow.} biyyá 'land, country', Dsn {To.} bī 'soil, ground; world', Arr {Hw.} biyy 'land, earth, field' | Dl: Gln {AMS} piye 'earth, land', Dbs {AMS} piye 'land, world', Cm {Hab.} bīye 'earth' || Bj -b, locative case sx. || Ag: Q {R} -wā, 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 18O, 239 || NrOm: Kf {C} *b*ič 'towards' ¶ C SE IV 41O || Ch {AD} **b*∇y∇ (≈ {Nw.} **ba*) 'place' > WCh: pHAB {Stl.} **beyi* id. > BT: Bl {Lk.} *beyi*, Krkr {Lk.} *biyi*, Dr {Nw.} *bōi*, {Kr.} *b*ωóyì, Ngm {ChL} *bē?*í, Gera {ChL} *bí* id. | pAG {Hf.} **pē*, {Stl.} **bē* > Su {J} *pē* id., Ang {Flk.} *pē* 'place, spot', {Hf.} *pī*, {Brq.} *pí* 'place', Mnt {Fp., Gr.} *bí*, Gm {Hf.} *pē*, {Fp.} *be*, Kfr {Hf.} *pē*, {Nt.} *pē*, Mpn {Frz.} *pē*, Cp {ChL} *pē* 'place' || ECh: ? Skr {ChC} *bā* 'place' or 'where' ¶ Hf. AG 17, Stl. VZCh, Nw. 3O [#97], Nw. KL 121, J S 78-9, Nt. 32, Brq. AP, Frz. DM 91, Gr. LA 6O ¶ Tk. I 1O3 || IE: NaIE *-*b*hēj/-*b*hī, postpositive marker of locative: Gk Hm -ψι, case ending with the meaning of instr., loc., dat., abl.; marker of instr., dat., and abl. in several lgs.: IIr *-*b*his instr. pl. (> OI -*b*hiḥ, Av -*b*īš, OPrs -*b*īš), *-*b*hayas dat.-abl. pl. (> OI -*b*hayah, Av *b*yō), L -*b*us abl. pl., -*b*is in *nobis*, *vobis* (dat. and abl.-instr. of *nos* 'we', *vos* 'ye') (F Shl. IENI 5O-2); IE **k*ʷo-*b*hēy 'where?' > L ubi, Ht *kuwapi* ¶ Ts. W 43-4, Pv. IV 229-31, Brg. KVG 398-9 (incl. a table), 4O6 (incl. a table), Ch. GH I 234-41 || U: Y: K {Krn.} -nubo, -nube, -be, T {Krn.} -nube, sx. od nomina loci: K piedāl-be 'place under a rocky bank, under a rock' (↔ pie 'stone' + āl 'under'), īie-nube 'place of residence' (↔ īe- 'be, stay'), T āwa-nube 'sleeping place' (↔ āwa- 'sleep') ¶ Krn. JJ 26 || A: 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', *bajidal* 'Stellung, Stand, Posten', [IsV] *bay* ipv. 'be quiet!', WrM *bai*-, HIM бай- 'be' (copula), 'stay, exist, live, reside', Brt бай-, Kl бээ- 'stand, remain, be (ci essere)', бээнэ 'there is', Kl {Rm.} *bā*- 'stand, remain, be (sein, sich befinden)', MnR H {SM} *bē*- 'stand, stand up, stop (s'arrêter)', Dg {Mrm.} *baj*- ~ *bāj*- 'stand', {Pp.} *b_ej* 'is', Dx {T} *baj*- id., 'stop (s'arrêter)', Mgl {Rm.} *beinā* 'is, stands, remains standing', Mgl (ArSc) {Wr.} *bā?*i ipv. 'stand!' ¶ Ms. H 39, Pp. PP 12O, Pp. MA 115, 433, Lg. VMI 18, H 11, 14, MED 72-3, Chr. 8O-2, KRS 88-9O, KW 3O-1, SM 23, Klz. D I 112-3, Rm. M 24, Wr. B 122, Iw. 89 || Tg **bjā* 'lying-place (within the house\hut), bed' > Ud {Shn.} *beä*, {Krm.} *bā*, Ork *bē* 'parts of the house on both sides of the hearth near the side walls where people sleep, eat, and work in the daytime', Ewk *bē* id., Δ 'bed, plank bed (постель, нары)', Lm *bā* 'animal's bed (лежбище)' ¶ STM I 78, Krm. 211 ¶ DQA #131 (A **b*l̥jaya '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 mančo *bēyyo* (lit. man's

place) actually means 'towards the man, chez l'homme', just as in NE: my place = R u меня, Fr chez moi ◇ Gr. I 144-7 ("locative BH" in IE, Y, Tg, Gil, qu. Ko and J).

273. ₂ ***b**ΔyΔ (or ***b**Δy?Δ) 'bee' > **HS**: Eg fOK **by.t** 'bee', fMK **by.t-**y 'apiculteur' (> Cpt Sd **εβειτ** ebeit id.), Eg fOK **by.t** ({Vc.} **byy.t**) 'honey' > DEg **i**by id. > Cpt Sd/B **εβιω** ebiō id. ¶ EG I 434, Fk. 79, Er. 26, Vc. 38, Tk. II 107-10 || IE ***b**h*ej*_LH_J-/***b**h*oj*_LH_J-/***b**h*i*H- (x N o ***b**ūžΔ 'insect' [q.v.]) ({EI} ***b**h*i*-**k**ωo- and ***b**h*i*- + other sxs.) 'bee' > NaIE ***b**hey-/***b**hoy-/***b**hī- 'bee' > ON **bu**ý, Sw, Dn **bi**, NGr Al **bī**, 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** 'bee' || +ext. *-t-: Lt **bītē**, **bitis**, Ltv **bite**, Pru **bitte** 'bee' || 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 ◇ NaIE ***b**hī- suggests the presence of a pIE root-final lr., which may be of a pN origin. The absence of any lr. in Eg **by.t** points to N *? or *h as the only possible pN lr. Alternatively, the lr. in IE may belong to the heritage of N o ***b**ūžΔ 'insect'.

274. ***b**e?yΔ 'body, self' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'soul') > **HS**: Eg √ **b**ʒ, Eg (GrSc) **βατ** 'soul' (x N ***b**ΔLΔ?**a** 'to blow, to inflate?') > DEg **by** 'soul' > OCpt **βαι**₁**βαι** 'spirit, soul' in **Νεββαι** nebbai 'lord of the soul' and in **βαι** **Νεββαι** 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.} **bīye** 'self' ('**ανε** i-**bīye** 'ad?e 'I myself did it') (but Reinisch interpreted i-**bīye** as 'meine Glieder' → 'ich selbst'; if the meaning 'Glied' is indeed primary, the Bj word does not belong here) ¶ Rop. 166, R WBd 54 || A {DQA} ***b**ēye, {AD} ***b**ē|āye 'body, man, self' > M ***beye** 'body, person, (one)self' > MM [MA, IM, PP, HI] **beye**, [S] **beye(n-)** 'body', [L] **بَيْهَةٌ** {Pp.} **beye** 'Körperbau', WrM **beye(n)**, HIM биe 'body, person', MnR H {SM} **bīye**, {T} **bij**, Dg **beye** 'body, (one)self', Kl бий, {Rm.} **bī**, **bīya** 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 **bzuz** id., SIn **bzi** ~ **bzuz** 'person, oneself', Ewk **bzuz**, Lm **bzy** 'person, man, male', Orc, Ud, Nn **bzuz**, UI **bzuz(n-)** 'body, (one)self', Ork **bzuz** 'body', WrMc **beye** 'body, life, personality, (one)self', Jrc **beye** 'body' ¶ STM I 122-3, Z 485-6, Kiy. 124 [#49O] || pJ

{S} *b₃ 'man' > OJ wo(nokuo), J (ds. , cds.): T/Kg otoko, K ótoko, Ns žingá, Sh žíkigá, Ht bìdùmù, Y bìngà 'man' || S QJ #46, Mr. 507, 513 || DQA #115 || A less probable cognate is A {DQA} *béyo 'an ungulate animal' > T *bEye, M *bayita-sun, Tg *beyū-, pJ {S} *bí ~ *bží, ffd. see DQA #116 || D *pēy 'soul' (→ 'ghost, demon, god') > Tm pēy 'devil, goblin, fiend', Ml pē, pøyi 'demon', pena 'ghost, spirit', Kt e·y 'demon', Kn pē, hē 'madness, rage', pētu, hēde 'demon', Tu pēyi id., Gnd pēn 'idol, god', Kui pēnu, vēnu 'god, spirit', Ku pēnu 'god, devil' || D #4438.

275. *baXy ~ *baXi '≈ abundant' > **Hs**: S: Ar {Ln.} ✓ bħbħ v. 'take a wide \ an ample \ a large range', ✓ bħħ: ?ibtiħāħ - 'opulence' || Ln. 154-5, DRS 55-6 || amb Eg fOK bħħu 'have abundance, be inundated', bħħ 'abundance, inundation' (× N *b'rīgħ ē 'much' and N *b'reħiħu 'to pour'?) || EG I 448-50, Fk. 81, Tk. II 170-2 || EC: Sam {Hn.} *būħ-i/*būħ-ičà v. 'fill' > Rn {Hn.} būħi, {PG} būħi-, Sml būħi, Bn būħi / būħiā id.; Sam {Hn.} *būħ 'be full' > Rn {Hn.} buħ, {PG} būħ-, Sml būħ-so, buħ || Hn. R 215, Hn. S 54-5, PG 82, ≈ Tk. SCC 73 [#1.8] || A *bāya ({SDM94} *bāja) 'rich' > T *bāy 'rich' > OT {Cl.} bāy 'rich, a rich man', MQp, Chg bay 'rich', Tkm bāy id., 'rich man', Yk bāy 'rich', CrTt, QrV, Nog, Qzq, Qrq, Qrg, VTt, Bah, ET bay, Uz bay id., 'rich man', Chv puu- ~ pou- 'become rich', puyan ~ poyan- 'rich, rich man' || Cl. 384, ET B 27-9 || M *bayan 'richness, rich' > MM bayan, WrM bāyan, HlM bayā, Dx, ShY bayan, Ba bayan, Mnr H {SM} b_ayān, {T} bayan id., Brt баян 'rich man, richness', Kl баян bayān id. || Pp. MA 114, 433, MED 76-7, SM 23, T 316, T DnJ 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 bayā, WrMc bāyan, Jrc {Md.} bay-yan 'rich', WrMc bāya- v. 'get rich' || STM 65, Md. ChF 135 || SDM94 s.v. *bāja || Part of the forms may be borrowings (M → some Tg lgs., etc.) || D *-vay- - sx. of pl. (↔ *-t of sg.): Tm av~avai 'those things' (pl. of atu), uv~uvai 'those things' (pl. of utu), Ml avā 'those things', Kn avu, Prj av (pl. of ad), Gdb O au (pl. of ad) id., etc. || D #1, 557 || ?σ Υ: FU ≈ *°pojya > Lp N {N} boaw'je 'gathering of near relatives; company, clique' (supposedly Lp N oā < FU *ō < *ah) || Coll. 74 || possibly K: GZ *-eb-, sx. of pl. (< collectivity sx.), which is more probably connected with N *b∇ (pc.

forming compound [→ derived] nomina abstracta, q.v. ffd.) § K 78 || IE: one may try to adduce here NaIE *-b^ho-s, *-b^hā, sx. of abstract nouns preserved in Sl *-ba and Lt -bē, but the N etymon in question is only one of many possible sources of this pattern of abstract nouns (cp. N *b^hā '↑' [q.v.] and N *b^ri^gē 'much' [q.v.]) ◇ If GZ *-eb- belongs here, the N rec. must be *baħyā - *baħi.

276. ?σ *b^re^gyXā 'tear, cut into pieces' > HS: S: Ar ✓byħ D (pf. bāyyaħa) 'couper en petits morceaux [la viande]' § DRS 62 || Ch: WCh: Kry {Sk.} bū v. 'cut' § ChC || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *peyā 'undo (auf trennen)' > Hg fejt- id., 'unstitch, separate' | ObU: Vg LK (χul) pāy-, P pāy- 'dress a fish' ('Kopf wird weg geworfen, der Fisch wird vom Rücken bis zum Schwanz gespaltet'); ? Os N 'payit-, 'pāyit- 'abnehmen, herunternehmen, abwerfen', sam 'payit- 'beat off the scales (of a fish)' § UEW 878, MF 19O-1 || D: Tm piy- v. 'be tattered, torn off, torn into bits' (unless this verb goes back to D {θGS} *pis- < pD *picc-/pińc- v. 'tear in pieces') § D #4171.

277. *b^re^gāXā 'to pour' > HS: Eg fOK bāħy vi. 'be inundated, have abundance, be well-supplied', vt. 'flood, inundate', bāħ 'inundation, abundance', as well as possibly Eg G bāy (a word used to denote inundation) § EG I 448-5O, Fk. 81, Tk. II 17O-2 (× N *baħyā - *baħi 'abundant' [q.v. ffd.] and N *b^ri^gē 'much'?) || B *-bāy- > Ah tabayōt 'fine and penetrating rain without wind' § Fc. 41, NZ 143 || C: SC *bu?- v. 'pour' > Alg bu?-, SC → Mb -butu || Dhl bū?- id. § E SC 142 || Ch: CCh: Mf {BLB} mbžha?a, mbžħ-mbžha?a 'en giclant (comme le lait quand on presse un sein ou le jus quant on presse un fruit)' || ECh: Mkl {J} bō 'full' § BLB 245, J LM 73, JI II 157 || possibly also WCh: Mbr {Sk.} vay- ~ vəw-, Cg {Sk.} və- ~ vu-, Grn {Jgr.} v^wā- 'pour' § Sk. NB 35, Jgr. 187, ~ Tk. NB 185 || ?σ S: Ar SL ✓bħbħ '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, наливъ', stt.: maba 'it has been poured on me', Xaba 'it has been poured on him') || K 47, K² 6, FS K 4O-1, Chik. 25O-1, Dn. s.v. b-2 || D *pey- ~ *poy- ({θGS} *p-?) v. 'pour, rain' (× N *p^ri^gā 'to pour; rain'?) > Tm pey v. 'rain, pour down', Ml peyyukā v. 'pour, rain', Kn poy, puoy v. 'pour, cast', poyy- v. 'rain', Kdg poyy '(rain) rains, (wind) blows', Krg pī-, Tl pōyū, Klm paġyen v. 'pour', Nk pī-, poyp '(water) pours, flows', Gnd poyp- vi. 'pour, be spilled', Ku boġyali v. 'overflow', bō- v. 'be spilled', Krx poġġy- v. 'fall' (of rain), puġd- 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. (2?) o *būž̥**∇** 'insect' > **HS:** B *b̥z̥iž- 'cicada', *būz̥iž- 'beetle' or sim. > Tmz {MT} a-bəzziz (pl. i-bəzziz-n), Kb a-b̥z̥iž (pl. i-b̥z̥ižən ~ i-b̥z̥az̥) 'cigale', Rf W/B a-bziz (pl. ibzizən) 'bousier, cafard', SrSn abužiž (pl. ibužižən) 'bousier', CM abəzzī, BSn abziz 'cigale', CA abziz 'sauterelle'; B → Ar Mgr bəz̥iž (in normalized spelling of BK بزير baz̥iž-un) 'grillon' or sim.; Ar Mgr *bu-bz̥iž (in normalized spelling أبو بزير ?abū-baz̥ižin) → Mz bu-b̥z̥iž 'cigale' ॥ Dl. 62, MT 41, Dlh. M 17, Rn. 292, NZ 148 ॥ The emphatization of *z in some B lgs. is due to the onomatopoeic associations and/or to re-borrowing from Ar Mgr || K o *buz(w)- 'a fly' > OG buzu-, G buz-i 'a fly', ?σ Lz d. ma-buz-al-e- ~ ma-puz-al-e- 'wagtail', Sv UB/L buzūl {GP} 'a fly', {TK} id., 'bee', Sv Ln {TK} buzul id., Sv {Ni.} buzul 'fly, wasp' ॥ FS K 64, K 51 (refers the G and Sv word to the K o √ *bzu- v. 'hum, buzz'), K² 2O, Chx. 117, Abul. 37, TK 157, GP 92, Dn. s.v. buzūl, Ni. s.v. myxa and oca || D (in SD) *pučči 'insect, worm' (× N ?φ *pučč₁**∇**, n₂**∇** 'worm, snake', q.v. ffd.) || IE: IE *b^hey₁H₂-/*b^hoy₁H₂-/*b^hiH- > NaIE *b^hey-//*b^hoy-//*b^hi- 'bee' (× N *b^hey₁**∇** [or *b^hoy₁?**∇**] 'bee' [q.v. ffd.]). NaIE *-ey-//*-oy-//*-i- belongs to the heritage of N *b^hey₁**∇** (except for the length of *-i-).

279. *b^ha¹hž̥**∇** 'strike, thump' > **HS:** WS *√bhz > Ar √bhz G 'frapper de la main, du pied ou de deux mains (p. ex., en se frappant la poitrine)', Tgr {DRS} √bhz Sh (pf. ?abħazə) 's'abatre sur, éprouver' ॥ BK I 172, DRS 47 || K: GZ *bez- v. 'beat so. soundly, belabour' ({K} 'сильно колотить', {Schm.} 'gründlich verprügeln') > G I/R bez- id., Mg, Lz baz- id. ॥ Schm. 97, K 49-50, K² 1O, FS K 48 || U: [1] FU (att. in Z) *°paś**∇** > Z paś mun- v. 'break in pieces' ('in Trümmer zerbrechen')] [2] FU (att. in Prm) *°pas**∇**- > pPrm {LG} *paz- > Z pazd̥- v. 'break in pieces, scatter', Prmk pazd̥iñt 'to break, to crush', ? Vt paža- v. 'scatter'. The cns. *-s- in *°pas**∇**- needs explaining ॥ LG 214, ≠ UEW 357 (ascribes Z paś to U *paś**∇** 'hole, split').

280. *bažē 'ripen, be cooked (gar werden)', 'cook, (?) prepare' > **K** *°baž|ž- v. 'ripen' > G I/G baz- v. 'ripen' (of beans, maize, etc.) ॥ Chx. 59 || **HS:** S (+ ext.) *√bšl G v. 'ripen', D v. 'cook' > BHb, JA √bšl G vi. 'grow ripe; boil, get cooked', JEA {Sl.} JA √bšl G pp. 'cooked, roasted,

baked', SmA \checkmark bšl G 'ripen', D vt. 'cook', BHb bā'šēl 'ripe, boiled, cooked', BHb \checkmark bšl D vt. 'boil, cook, fry', MHb bā'šēl 'ripe', BHb, JA \checkmark bšl D vt. 'cook, boil, roast', {Sl.} 'cook, boil, suppurate', Ug \checkmark bšl vt. D (or G ?) 'cook', Sr \checkmark bšl (G : pf. bə'šel, ip. ne-b'šal) v. 'ripen, boil, melt' (intr.), Md \checkmark bšl G vi. 'boil, cook', Ar \checkmark bšl Sh (pf. ?absala) 'cuire des dattes non mûres et les sécher ensuite', Mh, Hrs \checkmark bhl (pf. bzhēl, sbjn. үзбхөл) v. 'be cooked, ready', Jb E/C \checkmark bšl (pf. 'bešəl, sbjn. Jb C үз-b'šəl) id., Sq {L} \checkmark bhl (pf. bəhəl), Sb mbšl 'cooking place', Gz \checkmark bsl (js. үəbsəl) v. 'be cooked, be ripe', Ak \checkmark bšl G v. 'boil, roast, become roasted, ripen' ¶ KB 157, KBR 164, OLS 118, Lv. I 273, JPS 56, Tal 12O, DM 71, CAD II 135-7, BK I 127, Jo. M 45, Jo. H 16, Jo. J 3O, L G 1O9, BGMR 32, DRS 89 || | IE: NaIE *^ob^hō- vt. 'warm, ? roast' > OHG bā(h)en 'to warm, to foment', {OsS} 'bähen, gelinde rösten' (> NHG bähren vt. 'durch Umschläge wärmen, Brot rösten', 'warm, heat, toast') | ? +ext. *-g̃g̃-: *^ob^hōg̃g̃- > Gk φῶνω v. 'roast, toast, parch' ¶ P 113, KM 44, EWA I 425, Kb. 52, F II 1O57 || | U: FP *paše- v. 'fry, bake, roast' > F paahta-, Δ pahta- id. | pPrm *pōž- v. 'bake, get cooked' ('gar werden') > Z пожав- рзжаω- 'bake', пож- рзж- 'bähen, brühen; schmoren', 'gar werden' (Speisen), Yz 'pūž- v. 'steam (milk in an oven, twigs before twisting, etc.)', Vt p̄ž̄- v. 'bake, fry' ¶ Db. OS x, LG 227-8, UEW 725, Lt. J 172 || ?σ Α: M *baža^γa- > WrM баџага- v. 'prepare, get\have ready', HlM, Brt базаа-, Ord b_až_ā- id.; M → Sln baja- 'prepare' ¶ MED 93, Chr. 77, Ms. O 43, STM I 63-4.

281. *b^huž^hṇ '∈ fur-bearing animal' > IE: NaIE *b^heł- '≈ marten', {E} 'wild cat; any small carnivore' > L fēlēs 'wild cat, marten, polecat' || W bēle (< *b^helego-) 'marten' || OI \wedge bharuja- 'jackal', ? Mld balu 'dog' ¶ Hardly here OHG bilih \notin pilih, MHG bilch, NHG Bilch 'dormouse', likely to be a loan from Sl *pъlkъ id. (> ChS πλάκη plákъ, SCr рӯh, Slv pólh, Cz plch, Blr поўх, R Δ полчок id., P pilch 'gopher', Blg πλъх '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 319-2O, Glh. 511 || | U {Coll.} *poyž^hṇ 'ermine' > pLp {Lr.} *pōy^ht^hk id. > Lp: N {N} buoiđâ ~ buoi'dâgâ, L {LLO} puoita, T {TI} p̄ž̄t^hež, Kld {TI} puž̄tež || Sm: Ne T пия, T O {Lh.} pīy:e, Ne F pūž̄y:ea \notin pīy:ea, Ne T пияко, T O pīyək:o, En B {Cs.} fiéda, Ng {Cs.} fīdū, pīdū, Mt {Hl.} *hüyž^hṇ 'ermine' (Mt M {M} húje, {Pl.} hudja 'ermine') (unless identical with Mt {Hl.} *hüne id. [Mt K/T {Mll.} húne, K {Pl.} chuuuni])

¶ Coll. 6, Coll. CG 405, Lr. #99O, Lgc. #5298, Lh. VJS 4O, 1O5, Ter. 472, Cs. 36, 72, 95, 234 ¶ Originally Ne **пияко** and pLp ***рōутзк** were dim. forms (F Cs. 36) || A: M ***бул'у'ган** 'sable' > MM [MA] **бульян**, [HI] **булуqан** (= bulugan), [S] {H} **булухан** (= bulugan), WrM **bulagan**, HlM, Brt **бүлгə(н)**, Kl **бүлһиң бүлъян**, Ord **б_улага** id. ¶ MED 133, Chr. 111, KW 6O, Pp. MA 125, Ms. H 43, H 22, Ms. O 93 || ?σ D {GS} ***pul-i** ({GS} ***p-**) 'tiger' > Tm **puli**, **pul**, Ml, Kn, Tl **puli**, Kt **puž**, Td **püsy**, Tu **pili**, Krg **hili**, Klm, Nkr **pul**, Nk **pul(a)**, Gdb **pullu** & **pulu** & **berpul**, Gnd **pullī** & **puli** & **pul**; D → Prkr **pulli-** 'tiger' ¶ D #43O7, GS 179 [#455], 53 [#136] ◇ AD NM #38, Vv. AEN 12 (doubts because "semantic is too broad" and the M cognate is isolated within A).

281a. ₂ ***bо3**Δ 'hair, feather' > A (infl. of N ***Put**Δ 'feather, hair'?): M ***božugu** > WrM **боզиғи**, HlM **бозғо** 'small bird feathers; tufts on the head of birds' ¶ MED 123 || NrTg ***buji** 'feather' > Lm **бујт** id., Ewk **buji** 'new feather (after moult)' ¶ STM I 1O2-3 ¶ The voicing of the initial cons. still needs explanation || D ***poččo** ({GS} ***boćć-**) 'hair, down, wool' > Tm **поccи** 'quantity of hair', Kn **boccu** 'wool, fine hair, down', Tl **boccu** 'hair, down, wool', Nkr **bučuṛa** 'knot of hair', Prj **bočča** 'eyebrow' ¶ D #4477 ◇ NrTg ***u** is still to be explained.

282. ***bēžU**(₋qΔ₋) ~ ***bēž**Δ₋qΔ 'big, high' > HS: S *[°]✓**bδχ** > Ar ✓ **bδχ** 'être grand\haut' ¶ BK I 1OO-1, ≠ DRS 47 || B *✓**bd_ly** 'be high' > Kb **bədd** 'être debout', **a**bdəd**** 'se tenir debout', Ah **a**bdəd****, Gd **ɛ**bdəd**** (3 m pf. i**bdəd**) id., Izn, Rf **abəddi**, SrSn **i**bdədi**** 'hauteur', Shl {NZ} **bədd** / **biddn**, Si {NZ} **bdəd** 'rise, stand' ¶ Rn. 291, Dl. 7, Fc. 19-2O, Lf. I 24O and II #OO17, NZ 15-7 || U ***piðe(-kä)** 'high, long' > FU ***riðe(-kä)** > F **pitkä** (cmpr. **pitempi** ~ **piðempi**) 'long', Δ **pitevä** 'long and narrow', Es **pikk**, Δ **pitk** 'long' || ObU ***pěl-** (= {Ht.} ***păl-/*pěl-**) 'high, long' > pVg ***păl(Δ)t-** 'Länge' > Vg: P **pălt** 'Länge, so lang wie', LK/MK/LL **pălt** 'so lang wie', Vg N **palit** 'Länge, Entfernung'; pOs ***pěl** ({Hl.} ***păl**) 'high' > Os: D/K **pět**, Kz **păč**, O **păl** 'high', pOs ***pěl**Δ_t ({Hl.} ***păl**Δ_t) 'height' > Os: V/Vy **pělät**, Ty **pěčit**, Nz **pătat**, Kz **păčat**, O **pălät** | Hg **fěl**, **föл** 'up (aufwärts, hinauf)', Δ 'surface, upper part' || pSm ***pirъ** 'height' > Ng **fira** 'hoch, gewachsen', En: T {Pl.} 'пырро' 'high (высоко)' (adv.?), En X **fiřuddio**, En B **firuddio** 'erhöhen', Ne T **пир**, Ne T O **pir** 'Höhe', Slq Tz {KKIH} **pīrt**, Slq NP **pīr**Δ 'height'; pSm {Jn.} ***pirkä**, {Hl.} ***pirke** 'high' (x N ***b'i'r**ΔgE 'high, tall') > Ne T **пирця**, Ne T O {Lh.} **pircé**, Ne F {Lh.} **pičssää**, En X {Cs.} **fiđe**, En B

{Cs.} *fisə*, {Ter.} *пизә* 'high', Slq Tz {KKIH} *pırq* 'high, deep', Slq MTm {KD} *pürg* 'high', Kms {KD} *pürže*, {Cs.} *phirže*, Koyb {Sp.} *прицә*, Mt {Hl.} **hirge* (> Mt M {Mll.} 'hyrgi, Mt M {Mll.} 'hürgü, Mt K {Pls.} *chirgè*) 'high' || pY {IN} **puð-* 'top' > Y: K *pude*, T *pure* 'above, outside', Y Kf {IN} *pudenmē*, OY Ch {Mat.} *пуданмей* 'high' §§ UEW 377-8, Ht. 176 [#506], KKIH 150, Hl. M #305, IN 244, 318, Ku. 241 ||

A: T {Rs.} **beðü-* ({SDM} **bäðü-*, {S} **büðü-*) v. 'be(come) big, high' > OT *beðü-*; T d. **beðü-k* 'big, large' > OT *beðük* 'big, great', Osm *büyük* 'big, large, high', Tk *büyük*, Az *böyük* 'large', Tkm *beyik*, VTt *биең* *біјек* 'big, high', Tv *pedik* 'high'. Rs.'s reconstruction of **e* of the first syll. is preferable, because VTt/Bsh **i* suggests pT **e* rather than **ä*, while Osm, Tk *büyük* and Az *böyük* go back to **beyük* by as. Not here Yk *bödön* 'big, large, coarse', which is a loan from M (cp. HlM *бүдүүн* 'large, huge, big', see N **büd*₁ *н* *н* 'be thick') § S AJ 175 [#5], ET B 288-90, Cl. 299, 302-3, Pek. 517-8 || Tg **b'e*₁ *н* > Lm *bəjən* 'ten reindeer', WrMc *бүзүн* *база* 'very much', *бүзүн* 'multitude', 'very (much)' (× WrMc *бүзүн* 'hundred thousand' ← Chn *bo-qian* id.) § STM I 103, 120 || pJ {S} **piy(n)ta-* ~ **pui(n)ta-* 'surpass' > OJ *p̥i,j,iida-*, J: T/Kg *hiidé-*, K *hiídé-* § S QJ #1150, Mr. 688 || ?σ M **bužagay*₁ *i* > WrM *бүзагай*, HlM *бүзгай* 'strong, sturgy; hard, firm, durable', Kl Ö *buzğā* 'very, strong' (× *buzğā* 'schrecklich, abscheulich' ← *buzr* < **bužar* 'dirt'?) § MED 143, KW 64 § Valid unless the meaning 'strong, hard' is a μφ from 'awful, abominable' ← 'dirty') §§ ≈ DQA #124 (A **bēžu* 'numerous, great'; incl. M, Tg) ◇ The U cognate points to the N vw. **i*, while T and Tg suggest **e*. This discrepancy is still to be elucidated. If M **bužagay*₁ belongs here, its vw. **u* is explained by as. (infl. of the labial cns. **b-*).

283. **bEΓ₁* *н* *з* 'ungulate animal (deer and sim.)' > **HS:** EC **bEñiz-* 'oryx' > Sa {R} *bəñíd-ā* 'antelope', Af {HP} *bifid*, *bipíd-* 'oryxes', singulative m. *bipíd-da* 'oryx', Sml *bíñid* 'oryx', EC ← EthS: Gz {L ← Ludolf} *bəñaz-ā* 'kind of antelope', Amh *bəñaz*, *bəñazā* 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, sc. its vocalism may be not original § L G 85, AD SF 40, PH 70, Abr. S 32, DSI 56 || **U:** FU **pävč* *н* or **päč* *н* *з* (in ObU only?) > pObU **pəčəv* 'reindeer fawn' > pVg **päšəv* id. > Vg UL/Ss *päsi* *v* id.; pOs **pečəv* ({Hl.} **päčəv*) id. > Os V/Vy *pečəv*, K *pečə*, Nz *pešə*, Kz *pešb* id. || Prm: ?amb Z **pež* 'new-

born reindeer' found in the cd. pež-ku 'fur of new-born reindeer, пыжик' (akin to Os, unless it is a loan from it) ¶ Ht. #483, LG 218; Rédei (UEW 387) tries to explain the ObU word as belonging to U *poča (F N *boča '(young) deer'), which is not accurate from the phonetic point of view || A *bey∇ 'an ungulate animal' > T *biyä, {DQA} *bEye 'mare' (< N *ma^ra(-y∇) 'mother'?) > OT, MQp XIV bē, [CC] bey, Chg ≥ XV, CrTt, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq biye, VTt biyä, Bsh b̄yä, Qrg bē, Alt bē, Tlt/QK {Rl.} pē, Qmn/Tb {B} pē, SY pie ɻ pi, Qb pī, Tv, Tf b_e, Xk pey ~ pī, Yk bīā 'mare' ¶ Cl. s291, ET B 133-4, B DK 241, B DChT 144, Rs. W 175, Rl. IV 1743, 179O, Ra. 73, 16O, ≈ Shch. SF 194 (*pā 'mare') || Tg *beyū-n 'wild ungulate animal' > Ewk b̄yūn 'elk, reindeer', Δ b̄yūn 'wild reindeer', Lm buyūn id., 'wild animal', Neg b̄yūn, Orc b̄yu(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 buyū ~ b̄yū, Nn B buyu(n-) 'elk, red deer, wild game (ungulate)'; Tg *beyū- v. 'hunt ungulate animals' > Ewk b̄yū-, Lm buyū-, Nn b̄yuntu- id., Neg b̄yū-, Orc b̄yumz- v. 'hunt elks' ¶ STM I 121-2 || ?σ pJ {S} *bí ~ *bśj 'pig' > OJ wí, J T i(nosíši) ¶ S QJ #794 ¶ Hardly here (↔ 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 (not yet known) conditions N *-ž- yields A *-y- (> Tg *-y-).