

1651. ***p̥ä'** 'ille, another (animate)' > **HS**: Eg fOK p-, marker of m. sg. of the dem. pronouns pn, pw ~ py, pf, and pʒ; Eg OK pw, unchangeable copula in a nominal sentence ¶ Ed. 83-8, EG I 505, Hng. 275, Tk. II 375-6, 433 || ? C: Bj {R} bē- (pl. balī-) 'that, ille' (sg.: nom. m. bē-n, accus. m. bē-b, nom./acc. f. bē-t; pl.: nom. m. balī-n, accus. m. balī-b, nom./acc. f. balī-t; Bj -b, marker of masc. (abs.) in accus., -b-, marker of masc. in the pred. case ¶ AD KJ 27, 31-2, 109-110, 116 || WS *pā (or *paw) ~ *°b∇ 'here' > Hb נָהָר 'here', OCn [EA] pū *[pō] id., Pun [Plt.] PHO, Ug p 'here', Mh bō, Jb C bɔh, Sq boh 'here'; probably also WS *pā 'and, and then' > Ug p [p∇], Ar fa-, Plm, Nbt p-, Sb, Qt f- ¶ KB 866, KBR 916, HJ 898-9, 902, A #2178, OLS 340, Jo. M 58, BGMR 42, Rk. 127-8 ¶ Tk. II 376 unconvincingly rejects the comparison of Eg p with WS *p∇ because "Eg *p- in pʒ, †pw, pf, pn was a marker of masc. gender, while the deictic function was carried out by the attached second element (-ʒ, -w, -f, -n, resp.)". Tk.'s argument is unc. because the change of a dem. prn. into a marker of gender is a common phenomenon in lgs. (e.g. in the history of the Sl marker of masc. in adjectives, that of df. articles in NHG, Fr, Sp., etc., that of HS *y- [3 m. marker in verbs], etc.; practically all markers of the masc. gender in lgs. go back to demonstrative elements); this is further confirmed by the unchangeable copula pw (not connected with gender) || **U:** FU *pā 'ille, other', whence a modal or\and focalizing pc. > pOs *pā 'another', 'and', focalizing pc. > Os: Vy pā ... pā, Ty pā ko ... pā ko, Sh/Kz pā ... pā 'der eine ... der andere', Ty/Y pā-ko, Kz pā-χo 'ein anderer Mann', Sn pā 'and', Sh/Sn/Kz pā - focalizing (thematizing) pc. 'as for...' (R '-тo') || F -pā/-pä, focalizing pc., translatable by R -тo, а вот, -ка, же or by German doch, eben (F mutta hänpä ei tiennytkaän 'а он-то и не знал', F minäpä tiedän 'а вот я знаю', F katsokaapa 'посмотрите-ка', F koirapa sieltä tulee 'da kommt doch ein Hund her'), Krl -buah(h) (hematizing pc.: tuimbuaх mie ūiilä 'ich kam doch zu euch'), Vp -p (kutap void 'wie geht es dir denn'), Es -p (seep see on 'das ist es ja eben') | Prm {LG} *pε, pc. of quotation > Z pʒ, Vt pe id. ('мол, говорит, дескать') ¶ LG 227, Laan. 293-4, Stn. D 1085-7 || Sm: Slq Tz {Hl.} pa in na pa 'voici, вот что, вот оно как' (na is 'this') ¶ KKIH 135 || **A:** OJ pa > J -wa, focalizing pc. of the topic ¶ Syr. DJ 108 ◇ I am grateful to Helimski and Starostin for suggesting the F and Slq cognates (Hl. p.c.) and the J cognate (S p.c.).

1652. ² ***P̥i¹?** **▽** 'sharp edge, blade' > **HS:** S *pi¹-at- 'sharp edge, blade' > Hb פֶּאָה pē'aā 'corner, side', Ug p̥i¹t ~ p̥a¹t (pl. p̥a¹t) {A} 'Saum, Grenze, Gefilde', {OLS} 'temple (Schläfe); limit, border', Ug (AkSc) {Hnr.} pi¹tu 'corner (?)', MHb פֶּאָה pē'aā 'corner', JA [Trg.] פֶּאָתָה pā'tā 'äußerste Ende, Ecke', Sr פֶּאָתָה pa¹tā ~ פֶּאָתָה pa¹tā 'side, blade (of a sword)', Ar فَتَّة fīrat- {Ln.} 'portion\division\party of men, company of soldiers', {Fr.} [Qam.] 'agmen', {Fr.} 'agmen a tergo exercitus collocatum', {BK} 'troupe d'hommes', {Hv.} 'detachment, party of soldiers' (< '≈ side, corner?'), Ak OA/NB pātu 'Rand', Ak M piātum, Eb {Frnz.} bī-a-tum (= piatum) 'temple (Schläfe)' ¶ GB 631, BDB 802 [#6285], A #2181, OLS 341-2, Hnr. 164, Lv. T II 251-2, Js. 113O-2, Ln. 2326, 2468, Fr. III 384, BK II 651-2, Hv. 581, Br. 554, Sd. 849, 861, Frnz. EL 138 || C: SC: Alg/Brn {Wh.} fayu (pl. faye) 'arrow' ¶ Wh. IC 22, ≈ AD SF 42-3 || ? WCh: Bks v̥yā, DfB v̥yah 'arrow' ¶ J R 147, 222 ¶ OS #788 (HS *fe¹- 'arrow': C, Ch, S) || **A:** pJ {S} *pi¹a > OJ {S} pi¹e 'edge, shore', {dMr.} ψιε 'shore, boundary, side' > J {S} -e - ending of the directive case ¶ S p.c. [≈1974], Mr. 403 || NaT *bī 'blade' > OT bī 'knife, blade', Yk bī 'blade'; → *bī-lä- vt. 'sharpen (a knife, etc.)' > OT bilä-, XwT, MQp [incl. CC], OOsm, Chg {PC} bile-, Tk bile-, Ggz, CrTt, Kr Cr, QrB, Qmq, Nog bile-, Az bülö-, Kr bile- & bilä- & bila-, ET bilä-, Alt bilü-, Xk p̥ilö-, Sg p̥ile-, Dlg bī-lä- id. → Tkm bilew, CrTt bilev 'whetstone' ¶ Cl. 291 (unc.: OT bī ← Chn p̥i 'split'), 332-3, DTS 97, 99, ET B 142-3, TL 398, PC 189 ◇ Cf. N *pix|yy▽ 'sharp bone, sharp tool' and IS MS 352 s.v. острое *pix|h¹ə.

1653. ***p̥u¹i** (~ ***b̥u¹i?**) 'tree, bush' > **HS:** Eg fOK b̥i¹.t 'bush' > DEg b̥ id. > Cpt Sd/B/F **բա** bō, A **բոյ** bu 'tree' ¶ EG I 416, Fk. 77, Er. 109, Vc. 24, Tk. II 16-9 || ? S: Ak {Sd.} pā?u ~ pū 'chaff, Spreu' (< *'stalks of plants') || AdS of B *fay 'forest' (< N ***p̥os|gy**▽ 'wooded bank [of a waterway]', q.v. ffd.) || Ch ≈ *pu¹i or *fu¹i 'tree' > WCh: Pr {Kr.} fuu¹? id. (but {Frz.} púrò id.) | Krkr {J, ChL} bá 'tree' (b̥ < *p̥i) || CCh: McMrg: Cb fwā, Mrg {ChL} wu, {IL in ChC} w̥?, MrgM {Mk.} fwε, Kl^b {Mk.} uwa, wuwa, {ChC} wa, Bu {Mk.} fwā 'tree', Hld {ChL} wū, Wmd {ChC} wu id. | McHigi: HgNk {ChL} fwε, HgF {ChL} fu, FIK {ChL} fwu?, FIJ fuw̥, FIM fu 'tree' | Gude: Nz {ChL} fo id. | McMdr: Glv {Kr.} úfà, {Rp.} úfa 'tree', Dgh {Frk.} ?ufá 'tree, wood' | Suk {IL in ChC} fwaj id. ¶ ChC ChL, Mk. I 176, 210, 243, Frz. 48 || **U:** *puwe 'tree, wood (Holz)' > F, Es puu 'Baum, Holz' | Chr L/H/E pu 'firewood, wood (Holz)' | Prm *pu

'tree, wood (Holz)' > Z pu id., Vt pu id., 'firewood' ||| Vg (within compound names of trees) -pə[‡]-pä[‡]-pā 'tree': {Kn.} Vg T s̥y̥l̥t-pā 'lime-tree', Vg P wu̥l̥-pə 'Pinus cembra', {Mu.} ML tip-pə, UL tippä, P tippē [tip̥p̥z] 'Sandweide, тальник', P khøppē, L khøppä 'aspen-tree' || Hg fā 'Baum, Holz' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *pä 'wood (Holz), tree, forest' > Ne T пя, {Lh.} pā:, Ne F Ny p̥ēā 'Baum, Holz', En {KD} X fā, En K fā, pā, En B {Cs.} fē 'tree', Ng {Cs.} fā, {Ter.} x̥a, Slq Tz {KKIH} pō 'tree, wood (Holz), firewood', Slq Tm pō 'tree, wood', Kms pa 'tree, forest', Koyb {Sp.} pa 'tree', Mt {Hl.} *hä 'tree, wood, forest, stick' (Mt: M/T {Mll.} hā, K {Mll.} hō 'sylva', K {Pl.} chūj 'tree', che 'firewood', M {Pl.} häh, r̥j, {Sp.} x̥a 'tree') ¶ UEW 41O-1, Sm. 539 (U *pu|o|äx+|i, FU, RP *puxi, Ugr *pūgī, Sm *pä 'tree'), LG 23O, MK 4OO, 647, Jn. 117, KKIH 151, Coll. 53, MF 174, Ü 165, MRS 462, Wc. SW 216, Hl. M #267 || A *p'iy[∇] 'in tree' > ? T *°_h̥I 'bush, tree' > OT {Cl.} i 'bush, shrubs' (sg. or coll.), {Ml.} 'forest, tree' ({Cl.} ī iyač 'shrubs and trees'); acc. to S AJ, DQA, and ET, T d. *i-gaç 'tree' ({Md.} *ja·gaç ~ *igaç) ({ET}: with an augm. sx. *-gaç) > OT iyaç, XwT iyač ~ jiyač, Chg jiyač, MQp [incl. CC], OOsm ayač, Tk aḡaç, Az ayač, Tkm agač, VTt ayaš, ET jayač, SY jiyaš, Qzq ayaš, Qrg žigač, Tv ījaš, Yk mas 'tree', Chv jiνbš, Chv MK juž_ъ 'tree, firewood' ¶ Cl. 1, 79-8O, Ml. PDP 442, Ml. PMK 1O6, Md. 116, 165, Jeg. 83, S AJ 184 [#85] || Tg *p̥ja 'birch tree' > WrMc fiya, Nn p̥ja, Ul, Ork p̥ē ¶ STM II 36, ≈ DQA #1875 (Tg *pōy-, *pōy-ki- > pia-ki) || pKo *pə₁- 'birch' > NKo pə₁-n-namu ¶ S QK #799, Rm. SKE 199 || pJ *pí 'Japan cypress' > OJ p̥ji, pi-nö-kī, ltOJ [RJ] ψí > J T hìnoki, hínoki id. ¶ S AJ 271 [#178], S QJ #178, Mr. 4O7 ¶ DQA #1875 (A *p'ju[∇]yu 'in tree'; incl. T, Tg, Ko, J). Acc. to DQA, T *i-(ŋ)gaç is a cd. equatable with Tg *pā₁y₁k[†]a 'wood (Holz)' [STM II 331]; the second component of the compound is related to MKo káci ~ kàci 'branch' and (?) M *gesi-ʂūn id. ¶ Not here (because of the vw. *o) M *ψoyi 'forest' (see N *pōy | gy[∇] 'wooded bank') ◇ IS I 184 [#19] considers the Eg, Ch, and U stems to be a sd. from N *buHi ({AD} N *buHi) 'grow', which is possible, but not necessarily true. In the etymon in question the N initial *b- is suggested by Eg (and Krkr?) only, while A suggests N *p-, and most HS branches suggest either N *p- or *p- ◇ Resh. NNE #6 (A, U).

1654. ₂ *pōy|gy[∇] 'wooded bank (of a waterway)' > HS: Eg fN p̥y, p̥t {EG} '≈ bank (of waterway)' ('Ufer o.ä.'), {AnC} 'land susceptible

of irrigation' ¶ EG I 504, AnC-1 #12-3, ⇔ Tk. II 389, 423 (Eg *p̥uy* < Eg P *p̥y̥.t* 'irrigable land') || B *fay 'forest, bank' (× N *p̥u̥pi 'tree, bush'??) > Ah e-fay (pl. ifayən) 'forest', ETwl efъy (pl. ifъууън) 'bord', Ty e-fъy (pl. i-fъууъ-ън) id., 'small forest' ¶ Fc. 299, PGG 73, NZ 682 || Ch: Db {Lnh.} pāy, Kola {Sb.} pāy 'forest' || ECh: Nd D {J} pāy 'bush (forest)' ¶ ChC, ChL || A *p̥oy, > M *φουι > MM [HI, S] hoi 'wood, forest', WrM oī, HlM ой 'woods, forest, grove', MnR H {SM} fē' 'forêt, arbres constituant un forêt', MnR M {T} xoi, {Pot.} хои 'forest', Dx xoy id., Ba xi 'mountain', M → Yk oу 'small forest, grove' ¶ Pel. 218-9 [#31], MED 603-4, H SMG I 9, H 77, Ms. H 61, T 369, SM 99, Pot. 416, S AJ 242 [#196] ¶ Hardly here T *h̥ōy 'pit, low place, depression', which belongs to N *Ρογι 'cavity, valley' (→ 'lowland'), 'to hollow out' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ ADb. KL 2, Pp VGAS 99.

1655. *^rp̥o̥yū 'small', 'child', 'young (of an animal)' > **HS:** Eg fOK p̥.t 'men, mankind' ('die Menschen, Menschheit') (< *'children') (= {Vc.} *[p̥e̥iet], *[pḁj̥et], Eg (GkSc) ὄρπατς = iry p̥.t 'prince'), OCpt ΠΗΡĒ 'hommes' ¶ EG I 503, Fk. 88, Vc. 158, Tk. II 421-2 || WCh: Ron: Fy {J}, DfB {J} fyè 'child, boy', Bks {J} fu 'child', Klr {J} fo, fwè 'child, boy' | AG {Hf.} *p̥wē v. 'be new' > Gmy {Hf.} p̥ə̥ē 'new', Kfr {Hf.} pfwω, Su {J} p̥w̥j, Ang {Brq.} p̥wí, {Hf.} p̥w̥i 'new' || ?? CCh: ZmB {ChC} v̥ay, ZmD {KNC} v̥ay 'child', Zm {ChL} vej 'boy', LamP {ChC, ChL} v̥ay 'son' ¶ Hf. AG 17, J R, J S 80, ChL, ChC, JI II 74, KNC 29 || **IE:** NaIE *p̥ōy-/*p̥əy-/*p̥ū- 'little, child, a young of an animal; few' > Gmc *fawā-(z) > Gt fawai (pl.) 'few', ON fár 'wenig, wortkarg', OHG fō, fōh, {OsS} fao 'wenig, dünn gesät', AS fēa (pl. fēawe) 'little, few', NE few || Gk A [epigr.] παῦς (gen. παῖος) 'child' (⇒ Gk παῖς / gen. παιδός, Gk L/B πάῖς 'child') < {Ch.} *παῖ-ι-δ-) || EpL pouero, L puer (< *puwer) 'child, boy' || with sxs., e.g. NaIE *pu-tlo- 'child' > OI pu'tra- | Av p̥uθra 'son, child', OPrs {Hinz} p̥uča 'son', Oss: I fərt, D furt 'sun' || Osc puklo- 'child', Pæl puclois (dat. pl.) 'pueris' || cd.: L pauper 'poor' (< *p̥awo-par-s 'acquiring little', {WH} 'wenig erwerbend') ¶ The absence of the expected vw. lengthening in *pu-tlo- is still to be explained ¶ P 842-3, EI 200 (*p̥au- 'little, few'), 533 (*put'lō-s 'son' ← *p(a)u- 'small' + dim. *-tlo-), Szem. KT #3.1, M K II 304-5, M E II 142-3, Hinz 123, Ab. I 500, Fs. 147, Vr. 112, Kb. 270, OsS 161, Ho. 98, WH II 267-8, 382-3, Pln. II 702, 715, 719, F II 462-3, Ch. GH I 29 || **U:** FU *poy, *poyka 'son, boy' > F poikä 'son, boy, young of an animal', Es

pоег 'son, young of an animal'; F poju end 'little boy, sonny', FΔ poja 'son, boy' | ? Er buyo, piyo 'grandchild' | ? Chr pü in cds.: Chr K püerъ, B püerъ 'male person (man or boy)', YU püerъ 'boy, male person' | Prm *pi > Z pi 'son, boy', Vt pi 'boy, a youth' || ObU: Vg: P/TY, P püw, TCh päw, LK/MK/UK pöw, NV/SV/LL pü, UL/Ss pi 'son'; Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y păv, D/K/O păx, Nz/Kz pōx 'son' | Hg fiú, fi 'son, boy, child, young of an animal' ¶ Coll. 1O8, UEW 39O, It. #116, Dybo OS xxx, Sm. 547 (FU, RP *poji" Ugr *pojí 'boy'), LG 221, MF 2O6-7, Ht. #796 || A {SDM95} *pōy∇, {SDM97} *pōyu, {S AJ} *p₁'üy∇ 'child, young of animals' > Tg *puy₁u-, *puy-kte 'small, child' > Ewk huyukūn 'small, younger', hute 'child; son, daughter', Neg xutz (pl. xuyil), Ork puttз, Ul pikтz id., Nn Nh pikтz, Nn B fiktз, Nn KU futз id., 'nestling, young of animals' ¶ ≈ STM II 338, 357-8 || T *bōy-tak 'young ram\goat' > Tkm {AB} bōydaq 'one-\two-year-old kid\calf', Qzq boydaq qoy 'castrated ram more than 1 year old' (qoy is 'sheep, ram'), Qzq bojdaq {Rl.} 'young ram', {Shch.} 'two-year-old castrated ram', ET T {Rl.} boytaq, Chg {Rl.} بويـدـاـع boyday 'young ram' || Chv: пүтек L pud_ek, H pod_ek, Δ pud_b ፩ pid_ek ፩ pody_ak ፩ pidy_ak ({Md.} pудyek) 'lamb', ?? Blgh → VTt bäti 'lamb, young ram', Chr L παχα, Chr H πατя; this T word is to be distinguished from *bōtak/η 'unmarried man' (> Qzq {Sht.} boydaq, Brb {Rl.} pojdaq 'unmarried man', QK {B} poydon 'bachelor, bridegroom', Shor/Sg {Rl.} postan 'unmarried man') ¶ Rs. W 77-8, Rl. IV 1291, 1644, Jeg. 169, Fed. I 455, Sht. 55, Shch. Zh 153, Md. 47, 131 || pJ *pítз 'person' > OJ pjítò, J: T hitó, K hitò, Kg hito, Sh tčú id.; OJ pjí-kuo 'great-grandson; prince', pjí-mje 'princess' ¶ S AJ 264 [#58], S QJ #58, Mr. 41O || pKo *puthjæ₁ (presumably 'child') > MKo nún-s-pùthjæ₁ 'pupil of the eye' (lit. 'eye child', the first component means 'eye'), NKo nun-pučhæ₁ 'pupil of the eye' ¶ S QK #311, Nam 116, MLC 363 ¶ S AJ 8O, 1O7, 277 [#56], STM II 338, 357-8, DQA #1672 (A *pōyu 'child, young of animals') || D (att. in GnD) *pUy > Mnd buy, Ku boy 'girl' ¶ D #4532 ◇ Rs. UAW 8, Suv. 27, IS MS 36O s.v. ребенок *pojн (U, Tg), Blz. LB #22 (added the D cognate). Eg p- and AG *pʷ- suggest N *p-, while A *p- (which is acceptable only if T *bōy-tak belongs here) points to a N *p- ◇ ≈ Gr. II #61 (*po 'child') (U, A, CK, Ai).

1656. *pArič∇ 'axe, hammer' > HS: S *pa?laš- 'axe' > Sr {Br.} | Насечка 'ascia, securis' (unknown vocalization), Ar fa?s-

'pick-axe, hoe', {BK} 'hache', Mh *fōs* 'matchet, axe', Jb C/E *fōs* id., Ak OB *pāšu*, *pāštu~pāltu* 'Beil, Axt' ¶ Sd. 846, Br. 585, BK II 529, Hv. 543, Jo. M 86, Jo. J 51 || **U** **päyć* *▽* 'axe, hatchet' > Vg T *päct* id., Vg {Reg.} *pašting*, *pašning* 'mit einem Axt\Beil versehen' | Hg *fejsze*, Δ *fēyse*, *fēysi*, *fēsi*, *fēci*, *fōcō* 'axe, felling-axe' || Sm: Slq Tz {KKIH} *píčt* 'axe', Slq Tur {Lh.} *píči*, {UEW ← ?}: Slq Kt *pittje*, Nr *pedš* (= {MF} *pež*) id. ¶ UEW 416, MF 19O, KKIH 149 || **A:** T **°b|pačsu* > OT *basu* 'sledge hammer' ¶ Cl. 372 ◇ T *-s- for the expected *-ç- is still to be explained.

1656a. ?**ɸ** *Pačk|K* *▽* (= *pačk|K*?) 'hand' (→ 'handful') > **HS:** S **pāšt|k-* > Sr  *pεš'k-ā*,  *pə'šεk* 'handbreath', Ak LB *pūšku* id. (← Aram?) ¶ Br. 612, JPS 458, Sd. 883 || B {Pr.} *-fu?{s-} {AD} 'hand, handful' > Kb, SrSn *afus*, Izn, Wrg *fus* id., Ah, Gh *a-fus*, ETwl *āfus*, Shl, Tmz *afus* 'hand, arm', Ntf *afus*, Mzb *fus*, Shw *fus* (pl. *ifassan*), Gd *ωfess* (pl. *fessən*), Awj *afus* 'hand', Snd *fus* 'the right hand', Zng *afuš* 'hand' ¶ Pr. Z #3O8, Fc. 362, NZ 653-5 || CCh: ECh: Dng {Fdr.} *píse*, {Lk.} *pósindijn*, *pəsíŋkɔŋ* 'hand', Mgm {J} *píssí*, Mu {J} *fōsó*, {Lk.} *fósó* 'arm', Mnj *foso*, Kjk *fuso*, Bdy *pésè*, Smr *b̄sáy* 'hand', ?? Skr {Nc.} *pít-* 'arm' ¶ JI II 179, ChC, Blz. EChWL #38 ¶ B, Ak -u- may be due to the ass. infl. of *p- > *f- || **A:** M **ψatqu* 'hollow of the hand, handful' (× N **patħ* *▽* 'to be open, to open' × N **pa'g'd* *▽* 'leg, foot'??) > WrM *adqu*, HIM *atga* 'hollow of the hand, handful', Ord *adχu'* 'closed hollow of the hand, handful', Kl *atx atχb*, Brt *atxa*, Dg {Mrm.} *χatku ~ χatok* 'handful'; → M **ψatqu-* 'hold in one's hand' > MM [S] {H, Pp.} *hadqu-*, WrM *adqu-*, HIM *adga-*, Ord *adχu'*, Kl *atx-* *atχb*, Brt *atxa-* id. ¶ Pp. VG 11, 5O, H 75, MED 12, Ms. O 3, KRS 56, KW 17-8, Chr. 32-3, Klz. M 138 || ?σ **D** (in NED): Krx *bakkā* 'claws of a crab', {Hhn} 'forceps, shears', Mlt *bake* 'forceps' ¶ D #3814, Pf. 193-4 ◇ N *-Ck|K- > D *-kk-. Simplification of the N affricate *C > HS *s, M (or pA) *t within the N cns. cluster *-Ck|K-?

1657. **Puč|t* *▽*, *χ* *▽* 'to press, to squeeze, to crush by squeezing' > **K:** GZ **pχuč-* v. 'squeeze, crumple' > G *pχuč-* id., {K} 'pucker', {Chx.} 'etw. faltig\runzelig machen', *pχučwili* 'folded (cloth)', Mg {FS} *χuč-* 'faltig machen', *χuč-ili-i* 'faltig' ¶ F KW1 36, FS K 328, FS K² 482, FS E 368, K² 21O, DCh. 1322, Chx. 1527 || **HS:** CS **v* *pči* v. 'injure\crush by striking or squeezing' > Ar *v* *fṣṣi* v. {d Ln., d Hv.} 'squeeze (dates, figs) out of their skin' ({BK} 'presser une ch. entre ses doigts pour l'amollir ou pour

faire sortir ce qui est dans l'intérieur'), JA [Trg.], JEA ✓ *pʂi* v. 'split' ('spalten'); (× S *✓ *pθy* v. 'wound'): BHb ✓ **פְּצַנָּה** ✓ *pçɪ* v. {GB} 'durch einen Schlag verwunden', {KBR} 'wound, injure' (→ **פְּצַנָּה** **פְּצַנָּה** 'pɛçən n. 'wound'), MHb {Js.} ✓ *pçɪ* v. 'split, crack or squeeze open; wound' (the root *✓ *pθy* is represented by Ug ✓ *pθy* G {KB} 'die Haut zerstossen, verwunden', {A} 'aufschlitzen' → 'zerquetschen', {OLS} *pθy* [*pāθiγu] prtc. 'el que se lacera, lacerante') ¶ KBR 954, GB 563, OLS 360, A #2255, Lv. T II 282-3, Sp. 924, Js. 1205-6, BK II 600-1, Ln. 2405 || IE: Ht *pasihai-* {CHD} v. 'rub, squeeze, crush', {Frd.} 'einreiben, zerreiben' (× N ***Pûš** **▽** 'rub, smear', q.v. > Ht {CHD} *pes(s)-* 'rub, scrub [with soap, etc.]', {Frd., Ts.} *pes-* 'einreiben [mit Waschmitteln]') ¶ The prehistory of the Ht vw. ə still needs investigating ¶ Ts. W 63, 66, CHD P 205, 315, Frd. HW 108, 164 || U: FU **puć* **▽** *rłt* **▽** v. 'press, squeeze' > F *puserta-* 'press, squeeze', Es *puserda-* vt. 'squeeze (out), wring (out)' | Prm **pūžir-* > Z *пыдзырт-* *pūžirt-*, Prmk *pīžirt-* id. ('выжать, отжать'), Z Ud *pūžz-* v. 'squeeze out, wring', Yz *pīžart-* id., Vt *пызьырты-* *pūžirti-* v. 'squeeze out (juice, water)' || Os {Stn., KrT}: VK/Kr *posər-*, Sh *pusremə-* v. 'press, knead' || Hg *facsar-* v. 'wring' ¶ UEW 397, ~ Sm. 547 (FU **pūšā-* 'squeeze' > FP **pūšā-*, Ugr **pūša-*), Coll. 110, LG 235, KrT 743, Stn. D 1232.

1658. ***P̥ič** **▽** 'stalks of plants and their fibres used for plaiting' > **U:** FP *pâč **▽** 'fibres of plants' (→ 'hemp') > Prm *púč- 'hemp, fibres' > Z, Vt пыш р̥š 'hemp, oakum' | Chr: L пачаш ра́čaš, Y {Wc.} pō'čaš 'male hemp' ('посконы') ¶ LG 238, Lt. 196, ≈ UEW 412-3, ≈ Ber. 46 ¶ The labialized vowels in pPrm and Chr Y may be due to the labializing infl. of *p- || HS: S (att. in Cn) *°piθ-at- f. 'flax' > EpHb פְשַׁת p̥št, BHb פְשַׁת *pešet* 'flax, linen' (+ppa.: 1s פְשַׁתִּי piš't-í; pl. פְשַׁתִּים piš't-ím), תְּפְשַׁתָּה piš't-ā 'flax, linen', Ph [Diosc.] ζεραφοιστ (*zr̥ p̥št) 'seed of flax', Pun p̥št, Ug p̥θt 'flax' ¶ KB 923-4, A #2296, OLS 359, JH 238, HJ 947 || WCh: DfB {J} p̥is 'Totentuch' ¶ JR 219 || D *pic- / p̥ic- ({θGS} *p-) 'fibre' ¶ Tm picir id., Tl p̥icu 'fibrous parts of plants', Gdb (← Tl?) p̥isu 'fibrous matter of fruits' ¶ D #4133.

1659. ***p**oč**्** 'to plait' (→ 'sth. plaited, cloth') > **HS:** Ch: WCh {Stl.} ***p**uči 'sth. plaited' > Ngz {Sch.} būči 'mat plaited from strips of palm fronds', DfB {J} pís 'shroud' || CCh: Glv {Rp.} m-buča 'cloth' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} pesi 'Gürtel, der den Lendenschurz der Frauen hält', Tmk {Cp.} būži 'natte en rônier' ¶ Stl. ZCh 147 [#34], Sch. DN 27, J R 219, Eb. 87,

Cp. 5O || ?σ Eg MK/NK ρεš.t 'carpet, matting of reeds' (adduced by Stl. on the assumption that Eg εš is a spelling representation of č [which is at variance with the reg. history of N *č, that usually yields Eg ε]; š is probably an ext.) ¶ EG I 555, Fk. 95, Tk. II 513-5 ¶ OS #1975 (*pič- 'cloth') || U *počkV v. 'plait', ?? *pačV 'plaited cloth' > Chr: L ποχκύντας ποčκύντας 'to spin\twist (threads)' ('[c]сучить, [c]крутить'), 'ποχκύντας 'spinned, twisted' (of threads), YU ποčкунce-, U šürtəm püčkъńce- v. 'plait yarn' (šürtö 'yarn'), B ποčкъńce- 'zwirnen (die Schnur)'; H παχ παč 'a piece of linen cloth, piece of cloth' | Prm *pučk- 'spin (сучить) threads' > Z, Prmk πυτшкы- pučk- id., {U} 'flechten, zwirnen (Garn)', Yz {Lt.} pučki- 'to spin (threads)' || ? Sm: Slq Kar {Cs.} pačkalnam 'flechten, zwirnen', ?? patkalnam 'umwickeln' ¶ UEW 346, MRS 412, 449, U 304, LG 234, Lt. J 171, Cs. 164 || D *poč- ({θGS} *p-) v. 'plait, twist' (partially × N ≈ *bUčE 'to tie', 'tie' [→ 'rope'], q.v.) > Kn ποσε 'twist, plait, make ropes', Kn H ποσε v. 'twine', Tu πογιρίνι 'to twist (as rope)', Kui ποζά v. 'pack, make a bundle', Ku ποčι- 'wrap', Ku P ποζά- 'tie up in a cloth', Krx ποζά- 'wrap (cloth, paper) round so./sth.', Mlt ποζε 'wrap, twist, entwine' ¶ D #4479.

1660. ?φ *puč, V, n, V 'worm, snake' > HS: S *paθan- ~ *baθan- '(=) snake' > Ug բթո 'snake', JA [Trg.] פִתְנָה 'peten' / em. פִתְנָה piṭ'n-ā {Js.} 'asp, adder', {Lv.} 'viper, adder', SmA ptñ 'ε snake', Sr {Br.} πάττά pat'n-ā 'vipera, aspis', {PS, JPS} πάττά pattā'n-ā 'asp, deaf adder', NNEA {Mcl.} pat'n-ā 'asp, adder', Aram → BHb פִתְנָה 'peten' (pl. פִתְנִים patə'nim) 'horned viper', SmHb pl. fā'tānām id.; Ar {Fr., BK} بَثْنَن bθn 'coluber' (unknown vocalization) | ES *baθm- > Ak bašmu 'ε a mythical poisonous snake', Eb {Frnz.} baθmum (ba-šam-mu-um) 'snake' (ES *m for *n is puzzling) ¶ A #611, Grd. UT #546, OLS 123, KB 930, Js. 1255, Lv. T II 309, Tal 718, Br. 618, PS 3345, JPS 471, Mcl. 261, Fr. I 84, BK I 85, Sd. 112, Frnz. EL 154 || (mt.) Eg fP fnc 'worm, snake' > Cpt Sd/A φάντα fənt, B φέντα fent 'worm' ¶ EG I 577, Fk. 98, Vc. 280, Tk. II 574-5 || U *puñe (or *puylíne) > Sm *puylíňa 'ε worm' (× N *p'ū'yAmV 'snake') > Ne: T {Ter} πύγη 'ε beetle's larva', T O {Lh.} pu'yg 'ε a black worm with many legs', F {Lh.} pu'yg 'ε small black worm'; Slq MTz {KD} pūńg 'ε small white vermin, worm, ant' ¶ Jn. 131 || D (in SD) *pūćči 'worm, insect' (× N o *būžV 'ε insect?') > Tm

рūccī 'insect, beetle, worm', Ml рūccī '(any) insect', Kn рūcī ~ бūcī 'worm, insect' || D #4357 ◇ Simplification *-čń- > U *-ń-?

1661. *Рuč∇ 'to fall' > HS: S *°-рūθ- > Ar √ fāθ v. G (pf. **فَاضَ** fāθa, ip. -fūθu) 'die', fāwθ- 'death' || BK II 646 || ?φ WCh: NrBc: Wrj/Kry {Sk.} рзć- v. 'descend, unload' || Sk. NB 18 || ≠ Tk. PAA 17 (NrBc ÷ Sb fṣy 'enterrer' [BGMR 47]) || **U** *puč∇- 'fall (down\in)', {UEW} 'pour (out)' ('[aus]schütten, [aus]-gießen') > Prm: pZ {LG} *buž- 'collapse, fall in' > Z буждыг- bužd- 'fall in, crumble away (обвалиться, осыпаться)', n. act. bužd, Z UV bužed ('обвал, осыпь') | Er počodo-ms, Mk 'počadə- 'scatter on (посыпать, осыпать)' | ? F rutoa- (inf. rutoa) 'fall (down), come down, drop', Es pudene-, pudu- 'crumble, fall off, spill'; UEW rejects the BF cognate because of its supposed identity with Lp N bqdō ~ bqdō 'separated from its natural connection, deviating from the rule', but even if the BF - Lp connection is right, it does not rule out coalescence with the other source of the BF word - FU *puč∇ || Sm: Ne: Т пыдара- 'spill out (высыпаться), fall off (опадать)', Т О {Lh.} pudarā-, pidarā-, F Ny {Lh.} putarā- '(her)abfallen'; En {Ter., Mik., Cs.} bata- vt. 'pour out'; Ng {Cs.} ba?bta?a id., 'ausschütten' || Coll. 53, Coll. CG 408, UEW 399-400 (U *puč∇- '[aus]schütten, [aus]gießen'), ERV 507, PI 217, LG 41-2, KP 31 || **A:** NaT *uç- 'fall' (× T *uç- 'fly') > OT [MhK] uç-, Tk uç-, Tkm, CrTt, Kr uç-, Xk Δ us-, Tv uš- || ET Gl 612-3, Cl. 19, DTS 603-4 ◇ Rs. UAW 45 (U, A) (+ unc.Tg *puç- 'jump' and T *uç- 'fly'), IS MS 353 s.v. падать *рučn (U, A).

1662. *р̥eʔ|у, ič̥ū (or *р̥iʔeč̥ū) '∈ coniferous tree' > K: G pičvi 'pine' || Chx. 1482, DCh. 1310 || **IЕ:** NaIE *pitu- '∈ coniferous tree' > OI 'p̥itu-dāruh 'Pinus deodora', pInA (Tu.) *p̥itsa- 'pine', ? Drd: Shm {Tu. ← ?} -wič in ɸyē-wič 'pine' || Gk πίτυς 'pine, stone pine' || pAl {O} *p̥isa ({Jokl} < *p̥it-s-ya) > Al pišhē pine' || L pīnus, -ūs 'fir, pine, stone-pine' (< *pit-s-nu-s) || OCrn iteu 'log for burning', Crn eтew id., 'firebrand' || P 794, Mn. 942, Frdr. PIT 34, Frdr. PITA 31-8, EI 428 (*pit(u)- '∈ conifer' ['≈ pine']), Dlmr. 172, M K II 293, M E II 137, Tu. #8236, LS 1409, F II 546, WH II 308, Jokl LKU 32, O 328, ECCE 241 || **U:** FP *pečä (~ *penčä) 'pine' > F petäjä id., Es pedajas 'Scotch pine (Pinus silvestris); sehr harzige, harte, nicht hochgewachsene Kiefer' | pLp {Lr.} *p̥ečē 'pine' > Lp: N {N} bæccē, L {LLO} piehtsē 'Scotch pine, pinus silvestris', S {Hs.} biedsie, Kld {SaR} пēдзъ р̥iečč 'pine, Kiefer' | pMr {Ker.} *p̥ičə > Er пице piče, Mk пице piča 'Pinus

silvestris' | pChr {Ber.} *pünčə 'Kiefer' > Chr: L 'пүнчо, U pūńćö, KB pənčə 'pine' | Prm *požem (= {LG} *požem) id. > Z пожём požem, USs požem id., Vt πυχύιμ pužim {U3S} id., Vt Δ {UEW, W} pužim ↗ pužim ↗ pužim id., 'fir (Picea, Abies)' ¶ UEW 727, Sm. 553 (FP *pečä 'pine'), Lr. #9O1, Lgc. #4825, Hs. 3O9, Ker. II 115, MRS 478, Ber. 56, LG 223, TmK 546, U3S 361 ¶ The cns. *n in Chr and pPrm may be due to the infl. of a different root (found in pChr as *pin 'zum Pflanzen gelassene Fichte; Kiefer', F Ber. 49; contamination of both roots is found in Chr H πύινέжъи pənežə 'pine forest', F Ep. 1O1) || A: NaT *pöçš ~ *päçš 'cedar-tree, pine' > Tv πεστρόσ, Tf p'ɔ̄š, Alt möš 'cedar-tree', Yk bäs 'pine-tree' ¶ Ra. 165, TL 726, Pek. 444 ◇ T *ö < *e (labializing infl. of *p-); the T vw. *ä remains unexplained. If FP *e can go back to N *i (an unknown phonetic change), the N etymon may be *pičû ◇ IS MsN (K, U, T) → Trnt. NE 16O-2 (incl. K-U-T; err.: K → IE).

1663. *pačv 'to open' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'hole, slit'), to be widened, to spread' > K *°peč- > Mg pač- vt. 'open' ¶ Q 365 || HS: WS *✓ p̄šw (~ *v̄p̄šš?) 'spread, be open' > BHb ✓ p̄šw|y G (pf. פָשַׁר pā'sā, ip. פִּשְׁרָה yi-p̄šš) 'spread' (of the symptoms or the development of a disease), MHb ✓ p̄šw|y v. 'spread, be extended', JA ✓ psy (pf. אֶפְשָׁר pə'sā, imv. פָשֵׁר pə'sē) 'spread, be extended, split, break', Ar ✓ fšw (pf. فَشَّا fašā) 'scatter (cattle) in a pasturage; spread (news)', {Ln.} 'pasture at large' (cattle), ? Ar ✓ fšš 'open a door (without key)', {Ln.} 'open the mouth of a skin, so that the wind comes forth from it', {BK} 'faire sortir l'air d'une autre; ouvrir une serrure sans se servir de clef'; Sq {L} fiši 'être en abondance, écarter, éteindre', Jb C {Jo.} f3š̄set 'squirting everywhere' ¶ KB 92O, KBR 979, Js. 1194, Ln. 2399, 24O2, BK II 595, 598, Hv. 563-4, Jo. J 64 || Eg fOK pšš {EG} (eine Laube) ausspreizen, sich schützend über jem. breiten, über jem. ausgebreitet sein', {Fk.} 'straddle, spread oneself, spread out' ¶ EG I 56O-1, Fk. 95, Tk. II 522-4 || C: Dhl {EEN, To.} piš- 'lay open' || SC: ?φ, σ Kz {E} pil-it- 'take from concealment' || Or B/Or {Sr., Brl.} faččā 'be scattered', Or {Grg.} fačča- id., 'be sown' ¶ *-č- under the ass. glottalizing infl. of *p- ¶ E SC 145, EEN 7, To. D 145, Grg. 13, Sr. 3O2, Brl. 139 || CCh: BM: Bu {Hf.} paša 'pull aside the outer covering in order to inspect the contents', ??φ pBM *✓ psy v. 'release' > Bu {Hf.} psi, Mrg {Hf.} psia id. | Mada {BrrB} ápaš 'décorner, écorcer, ouvrir (gousse, yeux)' ¶ Hf. LBM 47O, BrrB 227 ¶ Cal. 63 (S, Eg), SSAAJ I #15 (S, Eg, Ang, Or), AD SCLC 2O4, BrrB 227, Tk. SCC 74-5 [#2.1], Tk. PAA 1 ¶ AD SCLC 2O4 (C,

S), ≈ Tk. PAA 1 (Dh, Ch, S *✓^{p̄s̄s̄} ~ ✓^{p̄s̄w̄} 'spread' < pHs *p-^{š̄} 'to spread') || **U** *pa^{š̄}|s̄[∇] v. 'open, widen' > P, Z Vm/I/LV/Ud paš id., Vt paš id., 'hole, orifice', paš kar̄nt̄ v. 'open', ds.: Z paškav-n̄t̄, Z US/LL/P/MS paškal-n̄t̄, Prmk paškav- vi. 'widen' ({UEW} 'sich erweitern, sich ausbreiten'), Vt paškitt̄- vt. 'widen' || Sm {Hl.} *p̄st̄ 'slit, cunnus', {Jn.} *p̄st̄ 'RiB' > Ne T O {Lh.} pas̄ 'vulva', Ne F Lm p̄st̄ id., Slq Tz {KKIH} pas̄ 'crack ('ТРЕЩИНА'), Slq Tm {KD} pāz̄ 'RiB, Sprung, Bost', Slq MKe pas̄ 'Loch, Öffnung', Kms {KD} buz_oi, {Cs.} puzoi 'Spalt', Mt {Hl.} *bisigä ~ *biskä 'cunnus' (K {Mll.} bischi'gä, {Pal.} pi'siga" M {Mll.} bischi'ga, {Sp.} Бишке id., T {Mll.} bi'schigedä 'her cunnus') ¶ UEW 357-8, LG 217, SZ 276, Jn. 114, KKIH 147, Hl. M #129 || **A:** T *ač- (= *₁hač-?) vt. 'open' > OT ač- id., Tk ač- v. 'open', Tk Δ hačik adj. 'open', Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr Cr, QrB, Qrg, ET, SY, Ln ač-, Alt ač-, VTt aš-, Uz ač-, Qzq, Nog, Qq aš-, Xk, Yk as-, Tv áš-, Tf áš'-, Az Δ {Cf.} hač- v. 'open', Xlj hač- 'öffnen, ausbreiten', Chv: Lyc- uš/ž-, H oš/ž- v. 'open' ¶ Cl. 18-9, DTS 3-4, ET Gl 2O9-21O, Rs. W 3, Ra. 156, DT 123, Jeg. 277, Fed. II 292-3, Caf. AL 33 || Tg *°pač- > Lm hač- vt. 'open (the wall of a tent), make a hole (in the wall of a tent)', hačiq 'slit, gap, window' ¶ STM II 319 ¶ ≈ DQA #1696 (A *p'ac'∇- v. 'open, split up'; incl. T, Tg) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #286 (*pa(n)te 'open') (A + err. IE, U, A, J).

1664. *Pūč^o 'hair' > **K:** GZ *p|bečw-, {FS} *pečw- 'a hair' > OG beçv-i 'a hair', G beçv-i 'a hair, fibre; fur', beçv-a 'a hair, a fur hair, Mg {Q} pičv-i 'eyelash', {FS} pačv-i ~ piču 'fur, hair', fibre', do-pačv-a 'to blink eyelids'; Fähnrich and Sarjveladze explain G b- (for p-) by dis. ¶ FS K 318-9, FS E 357, DCh. 1O5, Chx. 81, Q 337 || **HS:** S *°✓^{p̄s̄s̄} > Ar {BK} fašūš- {BK} 'cloth of thick wool', {Ln.} fašš-, fašūš- 'a garment of wool that is thick in texture and fine in the yarn' ¶ Ln. 24OO, BK II 595-6 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *m-P∇^[č]- 'hair' > SBC: Sy {Csp.} bīšz̄, Zar K {Sh. in JI} běžīn, Zar {L in JI} mbíšz̄, {Kr.} mbúšū, Gj {Sh. in JI} màžaŋ, {L} mžžž̄, {Luc.} mžž̄en, Gj Mg {Sh.} mžžaŋ, Gj G {Sh.} màžaŋ, Gj B {Sh.} mèšaŋ, Zem Z {Sh.} myežīn, Zem Ch {Sh.} mèšn̄, Tule {Sh.} mèžin̄ id. ¶ JI II 176, ChC, ChL II 183, 2O8, Csp. 53, Sh. SB 47 || **IE:** NaIE *pous-/pus- 'body hair, down' (x N *Puññčē id. [q.v.]) > Lt Δ paustis 'animal hair' | Sl *pūx̄ (< *pous-o) 'down, fluff, fine hair' > Blg пүх, Slv pūh, Cz, P puch, R 'пүх (gen. 'пүхə, loc. в пү'хү), Uk 'пүх (gen. 'пүхү) || pAl {O} *puša > Al push 'fluff, down' || ??σ OI 'pucchaḥ, 'puccham 'tail, hinder part' ¶ ≈ WP II 82, ≈ P 849 (*peuk-

), M K II 298-9, M E II 14O, Frn. 554, ≈ Vs. III 414, ≈ EI 251 (**pou-m-s* '[human] body-hair'), ≈ O 351 (IE **pouksō-*) || A: M **ψüsün* 'hair' (× A **p_Luñe* 'hair' < N **PnE,ya* 'hair'?) > MM [HI, IsV, WrM, IM] *hüsün* 'hair', [S] {H} *hüsü(n)* [hüsün] 'hair (of the body, of the head)' (but [MA] already *üsün*), WrM *üsün*, HIM *γc(εh)* 'hair, fur', Ord {Ms.} *üsü* 'hair (of the hair\body), wool', Kl *γch*, {Rm.} *üsə* 'hair', MMgl {Iw.} *üsü* 'hair of the head', Mgl {Rm.} *üsün*, MnR H {SM} *fuʒə*, {T} *sʒe* ~ *fuʒe*, Dx *usuŋ*, Ba *suŋ*, Dg {Pp.} *üsü*, {Mr.} *huse*, {T} *χusu*, ShY *ħəsun* 'hair' ¶ Pel. 234-5 [#62], H 8O, Ms. H 62, Pp. MA 382, 438, Pp. L III 76, Lg. VMI 35, MED 1O13, KW 46O, Iw. 145, SM 1O2, T 359, T DnJ 138, T BJ 147, T DgJ 18O, S AJ 235 [#39] ¶ M **ψüsün* is likely to go back to earlier ***ψüč-sün* (with a M nominal sx. [Dr.'s "Singularsuffix"] *-sun/*-sün, ≠ Dr. SB 62).

1665. **p^ag¹d* 'leg' (or 'in part of a leg'), 'foot' > **HS:** ? Eg fXVIII *pđ* 'knee' (and Eg fO *pžđ* id.?), DEg *płt* 'knee, foot', Cpt Sd **ΠΑΤ** *păt*, B **ΦΑΤ** *p^hat* 'knee, foot, leg, thigh' (< **pit*, acc. to Till) ¶ EG I 5OO, Fk. 96, Er. 142, Vc. 165, Till KDG 9, Tk. II 4O7-1O ¶ Egyptian *pžđ* belongs here if N *-*g¹d-* may have yielded Eg -*žđ-* || B *-*fuHd-* (pl. -*faHdd-*) 'knee, leg' > Kb *afud* (pl. *ifaddən*) 'jambe, membre inférieur', BSn *fūd*, SrSn *afud*, pl. *ifäddən*, Shnw *fud*, pl. *ifaddən*, Izn, Rf *fud*, pl. *ifäddən*, BMn *fūd*, Sll 'afūd, pl. *ifäddən*, Zn *afud*, pl. *ifaddən*, Si *fūd*, pl. *ifäddən*, Skn {Sarn.} *fūd*, pl. *ifäddən*, Mz *fud*, pl. *ifadən*, Wrg *fud*, Ah, Gh, Ttq, Izd *afud*, pl. *ifaddən*, Nf {Beg.} *uféđ*, pl. *iféddən*, Awj *afud*, Gd *w̄fəđ* (pl. *fəddən*), Zng {TC} *ořfuđ* 'knee' ¶ Fc. 3O1, Dl. 191, Lf. II #O374, La. S 243-4, La. Ch 14O, Dlh. M 48, Dlh. Ou 72, Bs. MS I 226, Loub. 534, Rn. 297, Sarn. S 19, Msq. 138, Beg. 235, Ds. B 141, Bi. Ou 54, Mrc. 128, TC D 5, NZ 523-4 || C: Bj {R ← Mnz.} *fəđig* 'sole of a shoe' ¶ R WBd 76 || NrOm: Hrr {Abb.} *pādāllā* 'inside of the thigh' ¶ CR H 656 || ? Ch (× N **p¹oqEž* ~ **p¹ož* *q* *v* 'thigh, haunch' × N **p¹on* *d* *v* '≈ leg, foot'): ECh: Brg {J} *fādī*, Jg {J} *pādo*, Mu {Lk.} *fūdī*, pl. *fōdāt*, {J} *fūdī*, pl. *fōdāt* 'thigh' || CCh {OS} **f* *Hud-* 'thigh' > McTr {ChL}: Hw *fūdāra*, G'nd *fūdātā*, Gbn *fūdātā*, Bk *fūdātā* id. ¶ Lk. ZSS 189, JI II 324-5, ChL ¶ Hardly connected with Hb *pah^adayim* 'testicles' ([Vulg.] 'testiculi', {GB, KB, KBR} * 'thigh, haunch', ≠ GB 639, KBR 923]) ¶ Cf. OS #1931 (**pahud-* 'leg, thigh', but there is no unambiguous ev. of **p-* rather than **f-*); the dictionary of OS erroneously adduces the Syr and Mhr reflexes of WS **p v̄χiđ-* 'thigh' (misinterpreting them as going back to S

*paxud- 'thigh'), as well as Hb paħa'dayim *'thighs' (in fact, paħa'd-āw 'his testicles', cf. s.v. *Puqð^Δ 'leather bag, scrotum') || IE *pe(:)d-/*po(:)d- 'foot' > OI pad- ('pāt, accus. 'pādam, gen. pa'dah) 'foot', Av pad- id. || Arm նոր օտ-kʰ 'feet', նորն օտ-n 'foot' (gen. նորին օտն), ancient dialectal հեռն het (gen. հեռոյն hetoy) 'trace, track, foot-mark' (× NaIE *ped-o-m 'ground' < N *pat^Δ 'ground, plain', q.v.) || Gk πώς, Gk Α πούς 'foot', gen. ποδ-ός || L pēs id., gen. pēd-is, Um accus. peřu, abl. peři PERSI 'foot' || OIr ís 'lower part' || Gt fōtus, ON fátr, Nr, Sw got, Dn fod, OHG fuoȝ, NHG Fuß, OSx, AS fōt 'foot', NE foot || BSl: Lt pēdā, Δ pēdas 'foot, sole of the foot, foot-mark', Ltv pēds 'Fußstapfe, Spur', Lt pēdas 'sole of foot\shoe', Ltv pēda 'foot' | Sl *pěxъ (< NaIE *pēd-su loc. pl. 'in feet', sc. 'by foot', or d. from *pēd-) > Cz pěchou, pěchem adv. 'by foot', R пеҳота, P piechota, Cz pěchota 'infantry'; Sl *pěšъ(jb) 'walking by foot, pedestrian' (↔ Sl *pěxъ or < NaIE {Vs.} *pēd-syos ↔ *pēd-) > OCS пѣшъ pěšъ, Blg пеш, пеши, Slv pěšji, Cz, Slk pěší, P pieszy, R пеший adj. 'walking by foot, pedestrian', SCr pjěšē 'by foot', d. пේшак ~ pjěšak 'pedestrian, walker, foot-soldier' || pTc {Ad.} *pej-ne du. 'two feet' (< IE du. *'pode id.) > Tc A pēni nom./accus. du., Tc B pājne id.; Tc A pē accus. sg. 'foot', pēyū nom./accus. pl., pēs accus. pl. 'feet', Tc B pājyye nom. sg. 'foot' || Ht pata-, Lw {Mlc.} pāta-, HrLw {Mer.} pati-, Lc {Mlc.} pede- 'foot' || NaIE *ped-om 'footprint' (× N *pat^Δ 'ground, plain; bottom'): Lt pēdā, OI pa'dam, Av paðam 'track', Arm հեռն het 'footprint, track', L pēda 'sole, footprint', ON fet (< Gmc *fatya-) 'step' ¶ P 79O-1, EI 2O8-9 (*'pōd-s / accus. *'pod-ŋ / gen. *pe'd-os 'foot'), ≈ EI 595 (*pedom 'footprint, track'), M K II 249, M E II 77-8, F II 857-8, WH II 293-5, Pln. II 749, Bc. G 341, Fs. 159-60, Vr. 139, Ho. 113, Ho. S 22, Kb. 3O2, OsS 233, KM 226, Slt. 53-4, Frn. 561-3, Vs. III 254, 257, Ma. CS 364, Glh. 482, Ad. 4O1-2, Frd. HW 165, Ts. W 62, CHD P 231-5, Mer. HHG 96, Mlc. CL 173-4, Mlc. L 52 || A {S, SDM95} *p'agd^Δ, {SDM97} *p'agdi 'foot, foot sole' > Tg *pagdi(-kī), *pagdī 'sole of the foot' > Ewk Sm hagdi, Ewk hagdi-kī 'foot, sole', Ewk Y/Np hagdi-kī 'bear's foot\leg', Neg xagdikī ~ xakkī ~ xakī 'sole of the foot (of animals and human beings); animal's foot, paw', Orc xagdi, xagdiqi '(sole of the) foot, paw', Ork pagže, Ud {Krm.} xagdigi, Nn KU xagdikī 'sole of the foot', Ul pagžula- 'flee, begin to run', Nn Nh pagžula-, Nn KU fagdala- id. ¶ STM II 3O8, Krm. 3O3, S AJ 221 [#241]

|| T *haδ-ak 'foot' > OT αδαq, MU, MQp, XwT αδαq ~ αγαq, Chg, Oosm, Qmq, Qrb, Qrg, Alt, ET αγαq, SY, Shor azaq, Xlj hada·q 'foot', Tk αγak, Az, Tkm αγag, VTt, Bsh, Kr, Nog, Qzq, Qq αγαq, Uz αγαq, Xk Qc azaχ, Yk atax, Chv γρα ura & ora 'foot, leg', Tv adaq 'bottom'; *see also* T *aδíl 'palm of hand' > Tv, Tf adiš, Yk ičis id. ¶ Cl. 45, Rs. W 5, ET Gl 1O3-4, TL 288, DT 123-4, S AJ 178 [#32], Jeg. 275, Fed. II 283. TvR 3O, Ra. 151 || M *ψadag 'end, estuary, lower part of a river' > WrM adaq, HlM, Brt αδaг 'end, finish; estuary, lower part or mouth of a river', Kl αдг adag id., Ord ad_aq 'fin, extrémité, dernier'; ?? AdS of M *ψatqu 'hollow of the hand, handful' (< N ?φ Pačk|K̄N 'hand' [→ 'handful']) ¶ MED 9, Chr. 3O, S AJ 241 [#179], KRS 27, Ms. O 3 || ??φ pJ *píñ, túmaj -ja 'hoof' > OJ [RJ] ψítúme, J: T hízume ~ hízume, K hízumé, Kg hízumé ¶ S QJ #98O, Mr. 413 ¶ Not here Ko patak in pal-(p)patak 'sole of foot' (pal is 'foot') (Rm. SKE 18O-1, MLC 7O3) (obviously pal-(p)patak means literally 'bottom of foot', where patak 'bottom' is from A *p‘āt‘ā 'bottom' [S AJ 282, DQA #1719] < N *pat̄N 'ground; bottom', q.v. ffd.) ¶ DQA #17OO (A *p‘agdi 'foot, foot sole) and S AJ 282 [#169] (both sources reject the comparison with Ko patak), Pp. VG 52, Rs. W 5 (T, M, Ko), Rm. SKE 18O-1 (Ko equated with Nn pata 'runner of a sledge', WrMc fatan 'bottom', etc., *see* N *pat̄N '↑'), ≈ Str. LPA 22, ≈ Mill. OJL 137-8, 2O1-2 || D [1] *paṭa ({θGS} *p-) 'sole of foot' (→ 'palm of hand') > Tm paṭam 'instep', Ml paṭam 'flat part of the hand or foot', Png paṭa key 'palm of hand', Mnd paṭa kiy id., paṭa kāl 'sole of foot', Ku paṭa naki 'palm of hand' [2] d. (?) *paṭi, ({θGS} *p-) 'step' > Tm, Ml paṭi 'step, stair', Kt paṛikaṭ 'steps leading up to veranda, steps of ladder', Kn padī 'stirrup', Tl padī-katṭu 'a stair or step' ¶ D ##3843, 385O ◇ IS MS 368 s.v. 'стуپня' *pat̄a, IS SS ##2.23 and 1O.1O, AD SShS 3O5-6 (*paQdN 'стопа' or 'нога'), Sin. OuAIE 228; Eg p and A *p‘- point to a N *p- ◇ B *H provides ev. of a N lr. or uvular cns., Eg ʒd and the IE lack of precons. lr. suggest a N uvular stop (*-gđ- > Eg ʒd, IE *-d-, *see* AD SShS 3O5-6), while Tg *-gđ- (usually a reflex of N *-gđ-) may go back to N *-g|yđ- (cp. N *bałi, ya 'to swallow; throat' > M *balgu- 'to swallow' and Tg *bılga 'throat') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #166 (*pad ~ *pat 'foot') (IE, U, A, J + unc. Ko, CK).

1665a. *pU'h', N, dN(-RN) 'long, spacious, (?) far' > HS: EC: Sa {R} ✓ fđn pcv. (3m pf. 'ifđine, sbjn. af'danō) 'ausgedehnt \ weit \ breit

\ ferne sein', prtc. *fi'dīn* 'weit, breit, ferne', Af {PH} *fidsināne* 'spaciousness, wideness', *fiddinōwe-*, Af S {PH} ✓ *fdm pcv.* (pf. *ifdime*) 'be spread out', Sml *fidso-* 'expand, enlarge', ? *fad* 'large cloud, large piece (of...) § R S II 129, PH 1O2, 133, ZMO 131, 139 || NrOm: Bnc {Wdk.} *pād* 'long, tall', *pād* 'long, very tall', She {Bnd.} *pād* 'long' § Wdk. BY 109, Fl. CWL || ? S: Ar *fawhad-at-* 'jeune fille grandie et grasse', (?) *fudur-* 'jeune homme gros et qui est prêt d'atteindre la maturité' § BK II 555, 641 || CCh: BM {ChL}: Mrg, Cb *p̄d̄im*, Ngx *p̄d̄im*, Wmd *p̄d̄um* 'far' || WCh: NgzB (← BM?): Ngz *p̄d̄ám* 'distant, far', Bd {ChL} *p̄gáam* 'far' § Sch. DN 13O, ChL || A: M **p̄udu_r-* 'long' > MnR H {T} *fudur*, {MYC} *šdur*, MnR Nr *fud_ur*, Dx {T, MYC} *fudu*, Ba {T} *fdu*, {MYC} *ftz* 'long' § SM 1O1, T 37O, T DJ 138, T BJ 149, MYC 681 || D **poṭ-* (= **pođ-*?) 'high, long' > Kn *p̄d̄e* 'extension, length, height', Tl *p̄d̄ugu* ~ *p̄d̄uvu* ~ *p̄d̄avu* 'height, tallness, length; high, tall, long', Klm *p̄d̄am* 'long' (of a jump), Nkr *p̄(h)ođdam* 'length, height' §§ D #4484 || AdS of U **p̄iδe(-kä)* 'high, long' (< N **bēžU(-qN)* ~ **bēžNqN* 'big, high') ◇ Bnc and She *p-* (< **p* + ?) and Ch *-*d-* (< Ir. + **d*) suggest the presence of a N Ir. (most probably *?) ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #1O4d and ≈ Blz. LNA #46 (both: D, NrOm, U).

1666. *Puqd▀ 'leather bag, scrotum' > HS: CS **paxd-* (or **paħd-*) 'testicle' > BHb פָּחָדִים *pah'a'd-āw* 'his testicles' (Hi. 4O.17) (this interpretation is based on the Vulgata translation *testiculi*: Hb פָּחָדִים *pah'a'd-āw* γαστῆς/rāgū is translated as *nervi testiculorum eius perplexi sunt*, while the Septuaginta does not translate the word at all: τὰ δὲ νεῦρα αὐτοῦ συμπέπλεκται), JA [Trg.] *pħdyn* ~ *pħtyn*, {Lv.} פְּחָדִין *pah'a'dīn* ~ פְּחָדִין *pah'dīn* ~ פְּחָתִין *pah'tīn* 'testicles'; CS **a* for the expected **u* (> Hb ɔ) is probably due to the infl. of S **paxið-* 'thigh' (< N **p'øqEžV* ~ **p'øžVqN* 'thigh, haunch') § GB 639, ≠ KB 872, and KBR 932 (all of them translate the Hb word as 'Schenkel, Keule; thigh, haunch' on the basis of direct etl. comparison with Ar *faxð-* ~ *faxið-* 'thigh', which is untenable because Hb *d* is not cognate with Ar *ð*), Lv. II 258, ≠ MiK I #1.211 (does not distinguish between S **paxd-* [or **paħd-*] 'testicle' and S **pVxið-* 'thigh'; MiK's S rec. is **pax(i)ð-* 'hip, thigh') || U **pudā* 'leather bag, scrotum' > Lp N {Fri.} *budda* 'sacculus ex pelle factus', {N} *budđā -đđ-* 'testicle', (pl.) 'scrotum', Lp L {LLO} *pottah* 'scrotum of a reindeer' || Sm: Ne Т пад 'sack', Ne Т О {Lh.} *pāðæ* 'Beutel, Sack, Hodensack', En {Cs.} *foadai*

'Sack', {Mik.} *hōδay* | Kms {KD} *b̄ra, b̄ra, b̄ra, b̄rā* 'Sack' ¶ UEW 400, Lh. 348, KD 9, Ter. 428 || A ***p_L’u^kta* (by as. from ***p_L’u^kda*) > Tg **puta* 'sack' > Ewk *huta-kān* 'small bag', *huta-l-* v. 'open (a bag, package)', Sln *utxā* 'a skin (for liquid)', {Iv.} *utagān* 'suitcase', Neg *xota-kān* 'small bag of fish-skin', U1 *pota-čan* id., *pota(n-)* 'bag (мешок), paper bag', Orc *xuta, xutaka*, Ud X/Sm {Krm.} *xutapā*, Ud B {Krm.} *putapā* 'bag (сумка, мешочек) made of hide', Nn Nh *pōta-ča*, Ork *putā* id., 'bag (мешок, сумка)' ¶ STM II 356, Krm. 307 || ? M **ψυχuta* 'sack' > MM [HI] *hūquta* (= *huyuta*), [ZhY] *fuda*, [MA] **هَوْتَةٌ** *ūta*, [IM] *hūta*, WrM *uguta* 'bag, sack', HlM *үүт* id., Dx, Ba *fuda*, MnR H {SM} *fūd_a* 'sack' ¶ Pel. 226 [#54], MED 865, SM 101, T 370, Pp. MA 372, 438 || D **putt-*, {GS} **budd-* {AD} 'testicle' > Tm *puttā*, *puttai* 'swelled testicle, elephantoid scrotum', Kn *budde* 'swollen testicle; rising or swelling', Tl *budda* id., 'bubble', Prj *budda* 'genitalia', Klm *budde* id., 'testicles', Ku {Fzg.} *būddā* 'animal's testicle', {Isr.} *budā* 'testicle, penis' ¶ D #4266, GS 106 [#276], 110 [#287] ◇ IS MS 349 s.v. 'Мошонка (scrotum)' (U, D).

1667. **Ped_L’g* 'to break, to tear, to wound' > HS: CS **✓pdv* v. '≈ break (esp. a body part), injure' > JA [Trg.], JEA *✓pdv* (pf. *pə'dəs*) v. 'wound', JA [Trg.] **אָנָּזְבָּה** *pīd'ānā* n. 'wound', JEA {Sl.} *pīd'ātā* 'open wound', Sr *✓pdv* v. 'break (e.g. the head), smash', Ar *✓fdv* (pf. *fadaṣa*) vt. 'break, crush', {BK} 'casser, briser, écraser (un corps creux en dedans, comme le crâne ou un pot)' ¶ Lv. IV 9-10, Lv. T II 255, Sl. 888, Br. 558, JPS 435, BK II 556, Ln. 2352, Hv. 551 || ? C: Dhl {To.} *fūdēd-* v. 'tear, rend' (unless -ēd- is a sx.) ¶ To. D 133 || NrOm: Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} *pēd-* v. 'tear' ¶ Mrn. O s.v. *pēd-* || Ch: (1) Hs {Abr.} *fīdīyē* v. 'castrate' or (2) Hs *hūdā* & *fūda* v. 'pierce', Mrg {Hf.} *bdā* v. 'sting' (bee), 'kick' (donkey), MfG {Brr.} -*pátkw-* 'percer (un bouton pour faire sortir le pus, un citron pour extraire le jus)', -*pádkw-* 'percer (un abcès)' ¶ Abr. H 265, Ba. 319, ≈ Sk. HCD 112, Hf. M 28, 118, Brr. MG II 216, 222 ¶ MfG -*p-* (for the expected -*f-*) still needs explaining || ?Φ K: G *p̄xot-* 'sich die Wangen (vor Kummer) zerfleischen' ¶ Chx. 1522; G -*t-* is still to be explained || U: FU **peθe-* v. 'prick, pierce' (× N **bed’ē* 'to pierce, to prick' [q.v. ffd.]) || A: Tg ?Φ **pīdñ'a* (> **pinñā*) 'a wound, scar (from a wound)' > Ewk Skh *hinña*, Lm *hīnñēn*, Neg *xīnñān* 'scar', Ewk I *hiñā* 'wounded', Ork *pñja* 'wound (in a fish)'; Tg (??) **°pēd-* > U1 {PSchm.} *pōdōu* 'strike, slaughter, kill' ¶ STM II 325, PSchm. O 275 ||

D: [1] D *pet- ({^gGS} *p-) v. 'break, burst' > Ml pi̥taruka v. 'burst', OTl {Km.} pet(u)lu, pedulu v. 'break, crack, burst' || [2] SD *pet- v. 'prick, insert' (× N *bed'ē' '↑', q.v. ffd.) §§ D #439O, Km. 435 [#845] ◇ Tg *i needs explaining ◇ IS MS 357 and IS SS #3.12, 11.1 (*pedə 'протыкать'), AD GD 15 ◇ IE *b^hed^h- 'stechen, graben' (adduced in IS MS, IS SS, and AD GD) hardly belongs here (≠*: *b^h- and no lr.), but goes back to N *bed'ē' '↑'. FU and D < N *Ped₁Ν₂gΝ × N *bed'ē' (q.v.), due to the loss of glottalic opposition in the U and D initial stops. Tg *i in *pi'dŋ'a (for the expected *e) is puzzling ◇ Qu. because of the ambiguity of the U and D reflexes.

1668. (2?) *p^ri^gΝ 'to pour; rain' > HS: ? S **-pūg- (or **-pīg-) > Ar ✓ fw̄g (ip. -fūg-, pf. fāḡa) {BK} 'répandre son parfum' (se dit des arômes), {Hv.} 'spread the perfume' (musk) ¶ BK II 643, Hv. 578 || Ch {JS} *✓ pg v. 'pour' > CCh: McTr: Hw fèvūrā 'rainy season', G'nd fèkta, Gbn fèkté, Bk fèktz id. || Lmn {Lk.} p̄zv̄- v. 'pour away' || Mdr {ChC} p̄zw-a id., Dgh {Frk.} p̄z̄a id., p̄z̄-dúwè v. 'pour out', Gzg Mj {Lk.} pi 'hin)eingießen' || Bcm {Sk. in ChC} púkò v. 'pour' || Ms {ChL} fɔkamo id. ¶ JS 206, ChL, ChC, Lk. G 133 || A: Tg *pjigi-n 'storm, rain with storm' > Ewk h̄išin 'whirlwind, storm, rain with storm', Neg x̄išin~x̄iyin, Ud s̄i 'whirlwind, storm', Ork siy 'storm', Ul piw-su(n-) 'gust of hurricane' ¶ STM II 322, Krm. 383 || pKo *pí 'rain' > MKo *pí, Ko: Ph/Chs/Kw p̄i, Ks p̄i, Hm p̄i, Sl p̄i id. ¶ S AJ 254 [#65], S QK #65, Nam 275, MLC 848 ¶ S AJ 34-5, 283 [#196], ~ DQA #177O (A *p̄jage 'rain'; incl. Tg, Ko), Rm. SKE 200 || ? D *pey-/*poj- v. 'rain, pour' (× N *b'ē'Νt̄h̄yΝ 'to pour', q.v. ffd.).

1669. ?φ *pU₁gi₂nΝ (or *p-?) 'faeces, filth' > K: OG puna (nom. puna-γ), pune 'faeces, dung', G pune {DCh.} id., {Chx.} '(cow-)dung' ¶ Abul. 448, Chx. 1506, DCh. 1318 ¶ Not here G xix {DCh.} pinti 'dung, faeces', which is better interpreted as a sd. of G pinti {Chx.} 'mies, miserabel, lausig, schlecht', {DCh.} 'дрянь, гадость; гадкий, мерзкий', which is a loan from Arm փնթի pʰntʰi [pʰəntʰi] 'dirty, filthy' (F DCh. 1306, Chx. 1475, GTG 364, Bdr. 728) || HS: ? Eg Md fgn ~ Eg BD fḡz v. 'defecate and urinate' (of human beings) ¶ EG I 580, Fk. 99, Tk. II 589-90 || Ch: WCh: Sha {J} p̄yaŋ 'Exkremente' || ? Ngm {ChL} mbw̄nà 'faeces' || Mnh. SH 236 mentions Hs findi 'faeces', but I cannot detect this word in Ba., Abr. H, and Sk. HCD || CCh: Bdm {Nc.} p̄in 'dirt' ¶ J R 288, ChL, ChC || ? C *fΝnΝT- 'dirt, filth' > Bj {R} findo

~ *fiŋqo* 'dirt' || Ag: Xm {R} *fəndi'γā* (pl. *fən'dī*, -t) 'Mist, Kot; Ag (?) → Amh *fandiya* 'excrement (of horses\donkeys)' || EC: Sml *fānto* {DSI} 'cow-dung', {Abr., ZMO} 'dung', Or {Th.} *fando*, {Brl.} *fandò* '(horse-)dung', Hd {PB} *fīnda* 'dung of horses'; Or → Ged {L} *fāndo*, Qbn {L} *fanduta* 'dung', Mch {L} *ψāndo* 'dung of horses\donkeys' ¶ AD SF 41, AD GDS 59, R Ch. II 43, R SS II 151, DSI 21O, Th. 128, Brl. 143, LM 45 || A **p₁'ujongu* 'stench, bad smell' (× N **P_ū|uñyE* ~ **P_ū|uñi* 'smell' ['odour']) > M **ψuñgu-* (~ **ψuñga-*?) v. 'break wind' > MM [LM, IsV, MA] *huñgu-*, WrM *uñga-*, HM, Brt *ψuñga-*, Kl {Rm.} *uñgə-*, Ord *u'ñgu-*, MMgl [Z], Mgl *uñgu-* id.; M **ψuñgu-sun* (~ **ψuñgasun*?) 'wind of the bowels' > MM [LM] *huñqusun*, [IM] *hungasun* (spelled with a mistake as *huñra's'un*) id., [S] {H} pl. *huñsi'ut* 'Gestank', WrM *uñgasun*, HM *ψuñgas*, Brt *ψuñgaha(h)*, Kl {Rm.} *oñgasə*, Ord *u'ñgu'su'*, MnR H {SM} *uñg_u'sʒ* 'wind of the bowels' ¶ H 79, Pp. L III 76, Pp. MA 187, 438, Lg. VMI 34, MED 876, Chr. 47O, KW 287, 45O, Ms. O 736-7, SM 472, Iw. 14O || Tg **poñgu* 'musk (of musk deer)' > Ewk *hoñgo*, Ul, Nn Nh *poñgol* id.; Orc *puñgu*, Ud *puñu* id. are probably loans from a p-preserved lge.; Ewk *huñulū*, Orc *xoñgolo*, Lm *hoñgaçan* 'male musk deer', WrMc {Z} *fońo* ~ *fońo* 'female musk deer, female saiga', ? {Hr.} *fońo* 'doe (female roe deer)' ¶ STM II 333, Krm. 279, Z 106O, Hr. 303 || pKo {S} **pāñkuji* 'wind in the bowels' > MKo *pāñkuji*, NKo *pañguji* ¶ S QK #339, Nam 25O, MLC 736 ¶ DQA #1682 (A **p₁'ujngə* ~ *-ju-* 'musk smell, bad smell'), Pp. VG 72 (M, Ko) | A: ?ɸ T **h₁üññy* ▽ *'bog, slush' (→ 'quicksand', 'sediment in wine') > OT {DTS} *üyük* 'quicksand, bog, quagmire', {Cl.} *öyük* 'quicksand', {DTS} *üyük-*, *üyül-* vi. 'stick (in bog, quicksand)', {Cl.} *öyük-* v. 'sink (in quicksand)', XwT XIV أويوك öyük 'sediment in wine' ¶ Cl. 271, DTS 623, Faz. II 188 || D (in CD) **p₁iñ-* ({GS} **p-*) 'faeces' > Gnd *pīñ* ~ *pīñg* ~ *pīñgu* ~ *piñ* 'human ordure, excrement', Knd (pl.) *pīñgu*, Png, Mnd *pīñ*, Kui *piu* (pl. *pīñga*), Ku *piña* ~ *pīñga* 'excrement' ¶ ≠ D #421O (does not distinguish **p₁iñ-* from the D √ **pī* 'faeces') ◇ The T √ is highly qu. because there is no internal ev. of either **h-* (< N **p-*) or medial nasal cns. (the attested OT and MT medial cns. -y- may go back to either N *-y- or *-ñ-). If Eg fgn ~ fgʒ belongs here, it provides ev. of N **p-*, against the ev. of Sha *p-* and T **h₁-* > Ø- that point to N **p-* (albeit T **h₁-* > Ø- may go back to **p-* as well).

1670. *Роғи 'cavity, valley' (→ 'lowland'), 'to hollow out' > **K:** GZ {FS} *рүү- 'cavity' > G рүү- 'hollow of tree-trunk', ? Mg рүү-и 'mole' (← *рүү- 'mole's burrow') || **A:** NaT *һүү 'pit, low place, depression' (× N *զօվ'i 'orifice, hole; to make a hole' × N *բօչցու 'wooded bank [of a waterway]???) > OT {Cl.} өү 'hole, cavity, valley', {DTS} օү 'pit, depression (յա, սլաքնելու), MQp XIII {Cl.} օү, Ln օү 'valley', Tkm օү, QrB, Tv օү 'low place, lowland', Qzq, Alt օү 'low place, depression', Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt օү id., 'hollow (Talkessel)', Xk օү id., 'valley', ET օү 'depression (valley or sim.), low-lying lands', SY օү 'valley, settlement (населенное место)', VTt Δ սү 'rut (ըրտինա)', Bsh սү 'broad and deep valley between mountains'; NaT *һүү- v. 'hollow out' > OT օү-, Chg XV օү-, Tk օү-, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Qzq, Qrg օү-, VTt, Bsh, Ln սү- id., Tkm օү-, Uz չի- ապ- 'id., 'dig out', Nog, Qq օү- 'hollow out, hew\cut through', Kr, Tv օү- 'hollow out, make a hole' || ET Gl 425-8, TL 98, DTS 365, BR 570, Cl. 265-6 || NrTg *թու 'swamp, tundra' (< *'lowland') > Ewk հու 'swamp, tundra', Sln օի 'swamp, bog' || STM II 33O թթ ≠ STM ibid. (÷ M *փու 'forest') || **HS:** C: Dhl բոհեթ- 'bore hole\burrow' || EEN 23 ◇ M *փու 'forest' does not belong here (⇒ ADb. KL 2 [A *պ'ու 'forest [in river valleys]']), but is akin to B *փա 'forest, wood; bank' and goes back to N *բօչցու 'wooded bank' (q.v. ffd.). ADb.'s et. requires unnecessarily complicated semantic changes. Dhl փ- points to N *պ-, while T *Փ- is likely to suggest a N *պ-.

1671. *پä'ύ'üwA 'fire' (→ 'heat', 'daylight, day') > **HS:** Eg BD/L پو 'Feuer, Glut', {Fk.} 'flames (?)' || EG I 503, Fk. 88, Tk. II 424-6 || ?φ S *پهه > Ar fuهه-at- 'pungency of pepper' || -ه- < S *-ه- (devoicing due to unknown factors) < N *-ي- || Fr. III 319, Hv. 548 || B ≈ *-faHw- 'fire, light' > BSn t-faw-ł, Izn t-faw-ł, Sll a-faw, Gd ափա 'lumière', Ah ափա 'lumière, clarté', BMn լա-փա-ł 'sunlight', Izd a-fa, Awj a-fiw 'feu', d.: Ah ufu, Izd -ffu(w) 'se lever (le jour)', Sll i-fiw/i-ffaw 'être lumineux' || Fc. 298, Lf. II #O768, Beg. 258, Mrc. 148, NZ 675-7 || Ch: [1] d. (with the HS sx. *-t-): Ch {Nw.} *fati 'sun, day', {StL.} *fati/a, *fařat- ~ *fawat- 'sun' > WCh: Bl {Mk.} fəti, Dr {J} póří, Ngm {ChL} fótí, Pr {Kr.} fóříy, Krf {Gw.} fiti, {Sch.} fiččí, Glm {Sch.} píží, Gera {Sch.} piší, Grm {Sch.} fiččé 'sun', Tng puda id., Tng B {J} púdà 'day', Krkr {J} fatí 'sun, day' | Wrj {Sk.} fái 'sun', P' {MSk.} fei 'sun', Diri {Sk.} fátá 'sun, day' | Tal {Sh.} pidi, {ChL} pùtè, Plc {ChL} píđí, Grn {Sh.} fùdì, Buli {Sh.} pit, Sy {ChL} fúwt, Zar K {Sh.} fítł 'sun' | Klr {J} fat 'sun, day', Fy {J} vi-vát

'sun' || CCh: Tr {Nw.} f₃d̪à 'sun, day', Pdl {ChL} f_tđa 'sun' | ? Kl^b {Mk.} p₃či, {ChL} p_tčí | Nz {ChL} f_ttè, FIM {ChL} f_ttu, FIJ {ChL} f_ttī, Mln {ChL} fótó | Glv {Rp.} fáčiy, {ChL} fáčya, Gv {ChL} f₃čiyà, Dgh {Frk.} fíčè | Suk {IL} p^his | Mtk {ChC} pāčc, {Sb} páčay 'sun' | Db K {Sb.} píť 'sun, day' | MSG P {Mch.} fút 'sun' | Ms 'j' fáttà, fátnà, ZmB {J} fáttá 'sun' || ECh: EDng {Fd.} pátò, Mgm {J} pátó id. | Mkl {J} pèdó | Jg {J} pōt, Brg {J} fótó 'sun', Mb {Lk.} fát 'fun, day', Mjl {DB} fát, Kjk {DB} fát 'sun'] [2] ??? CCh: Lgn {Lk.} fū~ffù 'fire' (Lk. L 91); this word is a highly qu. as a cognate, because within the CCh context this word is more likely to belong to CCh *?f_tf_t 'fire' (> Msg {Trn.} àfú, Gdr {Mch.} affa, ofq id.) § Stl. IF 47, JI II 312-3, Nw. #126, ChC, ChL, Sch. BTL 155, J R 9O, 352, Blz. EChWL #81 §§ Tk. II 424-5 || K *-px_[w]- 'warm, clear' (of weather), att. in ds. only: [1] in words for 'summer' > G za-px-ul-i, Mg zapxul-i (↔ G?) id., Sv L {Dn.} lupxw 'springtime and summer', Sv UB {GP, TK} lupxw 'springtime', [2] in K *mē-px-e 'clear (sky, weather)' > Lz ma-px-a 'fine weather, clear sky', Sv mē-px-e ~ māpxe 'clear sky', Sv L {TK, Dn.} mēpxe 'clear sky', Sv LB/Ln {TK} mepxe id., Sv UB mēpxe {TK} id., {GP} id., 'clear space' §§ K 194, ~ K² 2O9 (*px- 'be clear' [of weather]), K² 12O, FS K 327, FS E 366-7, Chik. 188, TK 498, 57O, GP 198, 218, Dn. s.v. lupxv and mēpxe §§ In the light of external comparison, the meaning 'clear' is secondary (⇒ K²) || IE *peXw-r/n-'fire' > AnIE *paxur/n- 'fire' > Ht pahhur, gen. pahhwen-as, Lw pāhūr 'fire' || NaIE *pewōr~ *pu(:)r ~ *peu-n- 'fire' > Gk πῦρ (gen. πῦρος) id.†|| Um PIR pir 'fire', accus. PUROM-E 'into fire', Osc aasaí purasiaí 'in ara ignaria' || Pru panno ({En.} < *panu) 'fire' | Sl *píř- 'glowing embers' (< *pūrya-) > Cz † pýř id., P perz, R пыре́й 'a hollow for embers in front of the stove', P perzyna 'embers, ashes'; HLs pyrić, LLs pyris 'to stoke (a stove)', SCr pírjan 'stew', Cz pyřit se 'to blush' || Gmc *feur-az ~ *fun- 'fire' > ON fyrr, fúrr, funi, Ic funi, OSx, OHG fiur, NHG Feuer, Dt vuur, OFrs fiür, fiōr, AS fȳr, Gt fōn (gen. funins, dat. funin) || Arm հոլք huk 'fire', հնոց hñ-očʰ 'stove, furnace' || pTc {Ad.} *puwār > Tc: A por, B {Ad., JGH} pūwar 'fire' §§ P 828, EI 2O2 (*'peh₂ur), Mlc. CL 163, ABIV I 27-31, CHD P 12-6, F II 627-9, Pln. II 7O2, 749, Vr. 147, 149, Vr. N 8O-8, Fs. 158, Ho. 12O, Ho. S 2O2, Kb. 258, OsS 2O1, KM 195, En. 219, Ma. CS 41O, Vs. III 419, Slt. 175-6, Ad. 392-3, Ad. H 34, Wn. 382-3, JGH 13O-1, 2O7-12 || u *päywä 'warmth, fire, sun' (⇒ 'day') > FU *päywä ~ *päyä

'fire': [1] *päywä > F pāivā, Es pāev 'day, sun', pLp {Lr.} *pējvē id. > Lp: N {N} bæi've / -iv- id., L {LLO} pei've ~ pāi've, Kld {SaR} пәййв [p̥ey:v], {TI} p̥ej:v id., S {Hs.} biejjie 'sun, daylight, day'] [2] FU *päyä > ? Lp: N {N} båjan, L {LLO} pajān 'thunder' | Prm *biy- 'fire' > OPrm bi, Z bi id., biw-/biy: biwa k̥rt 'steel for striking fire' ('fire-iron'), biya iz 'flint' ('fire-stone'), Z V bia, biya 'feurig', Yz bi'a 'mit Feuer versehen, feurig' || ? Os: V päy, D/O påy 'Donner, Gewitter', Y/K påy 'thunder, lightning' || Sm {Jn.} *peywä 'warmth, warm' > Ng {Ter.} loc. sg. (тәнә) хейбытәны 'in (summer-)heat', {Cs.} d. 1s aor. feabeme?am 'sich erwärmen', Slq Tm {KD} pū 'warmth' ¶ UEW 359-360, Sm. 54O (U *päjwā 'sun, warmth' > FU *päjwä, FP *päjvä, Sm *pejwä), LG 39-40, Lr. #905, Lgc. #4834, Hs. 312-4, SaR 252, TI 35O, Jn. 12O || A: M *φερεῖν vi. 'warm in the sun', 'be hot' (of the sun) ('палить') (< N *päkō 'to heat [on fire]', 'to be hot'??) > MM [S] hē?ü-[he,ü-] (hē?ü-śiye- 'suffer from the heat', {Pel.} 'ne pas supporter le climat', WrM ege-, HlM, Kl ē- v. 'warm, dry in the sun or by fire; bake' (said of the sun), MnR {T, SM} xē- v. 'dry in the sun or by fire, warm oneself', Dx šie- 'get warm, expose sth. to be warmed', Ba hē- vi. 'warm in the sun', ShY hii- ¶ Pp. IM 97, MED 296, S AJ 24O [#154], SM 166, T 375, T BJ 15O, T DnJ 14, H 76, ≠ Pel. 216 [#23] || ?? Tg *p̥igi-({SDM97} *pig̥i-) v. 'be warmed, bask' (?? < N *päkō '↑') > Ewk h̥iṣit-/hiṣiç-, Lm hiṣat-/hiṣəç- v. 'bask in the sun, bask near the fire', Ewk hiṣəç- 'approach (sth.) to the fire (in order to warm it), hang (sth.) over the fire', ? WrMc fo- 'be sun-tanned' ¶ Z 1064, STM II 322 (does not distinguish this √ from Tg *pik'i- 'bake, roast, warm' < N *päkō '↑') ¶ This Tg √ belongs here unless one can prove that (↔ Bz. 27-9) Ewk/Lm -ṣ- may go back to Tg *-k-, in which case Ewk h̥iṣit- and Lm hiṣat- belong to Tg *pik'i- and hence not to this A and N etymon || pJ {S} *pí 'sun, day' > OJ pí, J: T hì, K òhísan, Kg oxisá id. ¶ S QJ #73, Mr. 404 || pKo {S} *pàj in MKo sàj-pàj 'dawn' (with sàj v. 'dawn'); cp. NKo sä-bjə,k 'dawn' with a secondary suffixation ¶ S J 267 [#75], Nam 295, MLC 922 ¶ S AJ 113, 277 [#69], SDM97 (A *p̥ige 'hot; sun, day'), DQA #1774 (A *p̥jag∇ id.) || ?φ D *pū'v'- 'spark of fire, burning coal' > Tm pū 'spark of fire', Kui pūvala id., pua 'embers', Ku pūya id., puiya ꙗ puvā 'spark', puyā 'burning coal' ¶ D #4347 ◇ IS MS 352 s.v. оғоңъ *p̥iṣwə, IS SS #10.6, AD GD 13, Blz. DA 162 [#102] (suggested to add

D). Ch *f- (if reconstructed correctly) for the expected *p- may be explained by the infl. of the lr. (*p...^fY>*f-). For M *-y|g- and Tg *-g- < N *-y- cp. N *bal_iy'a 'to swallow; throat' (N *bal_iy'a > M *balgu-'swallow' and Tg *bilga 'throat') ◇ ≠ Gr. II #153 (*par 'fire') (IE *peXw-r ÷ [err.] A, Y, Ai, Gil, Ko, see N *por^rū 'to heat with fire, to burn').

1672. *pa^rH₁Ν₁?^rū (= *paqΝ?ū?) 'strike, split, chop' > HS: C: Dhl pāh- {E} v. 'hit, strike', {EEN} 'hit, shoot', {To.} 'beat'; hardly here Dhl pu^h- v. {EEN} 'pierce', {To.} 'sting' (interpreted by E as 'strike [with a sharp instrument]') || SC {E} *puh- v. 'strike (with tool)' > Brn pu^h- v. 'pound (grain)', Alg puhum- id., Kz puxumis- v. 'hit', Mb -pú v. 'break (sth.)' ¶ E SC 144, 146, EEN 7, To. D 145, AD SF 44 || Eg fMK pχ³ 'spalten, durchschlagen' (inf. {Vrg.} ['pax?-]) > Cpt Sd πωρόη, B φωρόηχ 'fendre, partager, déchirer' ¶ EG I 542-3, Vc. 167, Vrg. GC Ib 42, Tk. II 496-8 || K {K} *pu- {K²} 'chop, hack, cut to pieces' > G *p- (inf. p-oba) id., 'split' || Sv {K, K² ← ?} nā-pu & nä-pu 'piece, lump' (literally 'chopped'), Sv UB {GP} nāpu 'mouthful' ¶ K 154, K² 152, FS K 249, FS E 274-5, Chx. 993, GP 229 || IE *pēw-/ *p̥y^hu- > NaIE *pēw-/ *p̥y^hu-/ *pū- v. 'beat, strike, cut' > L pāvi-ō v. 'beat, ram', dē-puv- v. 'beat down' || Gk παίω v. 'beat' || Lt pjáuti (prs. pjáuiju) (< *pēuyō) 'to cut, to carve, to slice, to slaughter', Pru piuclān 'sickle' || NLG {WP ← Fick} füen 'mit dem Fuebusch schlagen (Fastnachtsgebrauch)' ¶ WP II 12, P 827, Mn. 933-4 (rejects the comparison with Lt pjáuiju), Frn. 584, En. 227, WH II 267; Hofm. 249, F II 464, Ch. 650 (these three authors accept the present et. of Gk παίω with reservations and doubts); if the Lt and Pru cognates are rejected, the *e-grade *pēw- loses ev. || U *pa^ry'e > Sm {Jn.} *p̥y^hu-, {Hl.} ? *p̥y^hu- v. 'chop, split' > Ne T πέ-цъ, Ne T O {Lh.} pāe-ćě 'Brennholz spalten', Ne F NI {Lh.} payyeš, {Sm.} padaš v. 'split', Ng (aor. 1s objv.) fajśupama 'zuhauen' | Slq Tz {KKIH} paćal- 'fell (trees), chop (up)', paćit- 'chop (wood)' | Mt {Hl.} *häyäl- v. '(?) chop' (Mt K {Pl.} chejalze (inf. or p. + 3s obx.) 'рублю, секу') || pY *pay- 'strike' > Y: K/T {IN} pay- id., K paydu- 'beat' ¶ Jn. 112, KKIH 145-6, Hl. M #277, IN 240-1 ¶ The Sm √ belongs here if the U rec. is *paye rather than *paLe or *paže (which are equally possible) || ? A: Tg: WrMc fe- v. 'mow (grass)' ¶ STM II 304 || pKo {S} *p̥ə,hí 'cut, reap, sever' > MKo {Yu, Vv.} *p̥ə,hí-, Ko {Vv.} (pə,y-) 'cut as with a sharp-edged instrument' (att. in Ko Ks/Chl {Choy} pī- & pi-), NKo {S} pē 'cut, reap, sever' ¶ S QK

#494, Nam 255, Vv. AEN 6, Yu 377, Choy 1371, MLC 773 **¶** Rm. SKE 200-1, Z 1047 **¶** E χ points to a N pharyngeal ***q**, which suggests a vw. after ***q** (otherwise the cluster ***q**? would have produce a glottalized cns. ***q**). IE *-**h**w- suggests that the N word-final vw. was ***ü** **¶** IS MS 362 (s.v. 'рубить' 2), IS SS 10.27, AD GD 13; IS adduces Tg ***pū-** v. 'saw', which is untenable both for semantic reasons and because in the light of extant data (STM II 336) the Tg rec. must be ***pup-** **¶** T ***h,ōy-** v. 'gauge, hollow out' and Tg ***puyē** 'wound' should be kept apart, because T ***h,ōy-** is semantically nearer to N ***PoΓi** 'cavity, valley; to hollow out' (\times N ***qow'i** 'orifice, hole; to make a hole'), while Tg ***puyē** is nearer to N ***PuXy** 'to be sick; wound' (q.v.).

1673. o ***puh** 'blow (blasen)' > HS: WS *-**pūh-**, * \check{v} **pwh** v. 'blow', vi. 'smell' > Ar \check{v} **fwh**, -**fūh-** {Hv.} 'diffuse its perfume' (flower), {BK} 'répandre son parfum' (un arôme), 'sentir (bon ou mauvais)', {Hv.} 'diffuse its perfume' (flower), Tgr **fəħot** n. 'smell, stench'; (\times S * \circ -**pūχ-**, * \check{v} **pwx** < N ? ϕ o ***Puq** 'to let out air\gas', [?] 'to emit smell'): BHb \check{v} **pwh**, ip. **חַפֵּה** (**yā-**)**pūah** 'blow' (of a wind), 'appear' (of a morning breeze) (**hay'****yōm** **yā'****pūah** lit. 'the day will blow', sc. 'the morning breeze will blow'), MHb \check{v} **pwh** **G** 'aufblasen', {Js.} 'blow, blow up', JA [Trg.] \check{v} **pwh** 'ausgehaucht werden', {Js.} 'evaporate', **אָנָּבָה** **pū'h-ā** 'wind, breath (Hauch)', JEA {Sl.} **חַפֵּה** \check{v} **pwh** **G** 'breathe, blow up', Sr \check{v} **pwh** (pf. Sr W **pāh**) 'flavit, spiravit, respiravit, olfecit' ¶ KB 866, KBR 916-7, Js. 1152, Lv. IV 12, Lv. T II 256, Js. 114O, Sl. 888, BK II 644, Hv. 578, Br. 559, LH 654, MiK I #2.54 || C: Bj {R} **fū?** 'Geruch', **fī?**- scv. 'smell, emit smell' (riechen, Geruch verbreiten) || ?? SC: Kz **fī?**- v. 'sniff' ¶ R WBd 95, E PC #185 || Ch: WCh: Ang {Gr.} **fī** v. 'blow (blasen)', Su {J} **fī** 'blasen (Instrument, Feuer)', Gmy {Hf. in ChC} **fī**, Cp {ChL} **fī** v. 'blow' || Ngz {Sch.} **fīyú** v. 'blow (horn)', ? **fōwā** 'stench, terrible odour' || Bks {J} **fū?** 'blasen', DFB {J} **fū?** v. 'blow' || NrBc: Wrj {JI after SIL} **fwhayò**, Kry {Sk.} **fay-**, My {Sk.} **fay-** v. 'blow' || CCh: Bdm {Cfr. in ChC} **fá**, Lgn {Lk.} **fā** id. || Ms {J} **fōnā**, Bnn {J} **fō?**, {Sa.} **fō?**, MfG {Brr.} -**f-** id. || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} **pō** id. ¶ IS Ch. 21, Gr. LC 300, JS 65, 206, JR 141, JI II 32-3, Sch. DN 58, ChC, ChL || **K** ***pu-** 'inflate, rise (as dough)' > G **pu(v)-** 'rise' (of dough)', Mg, Lz **pu-** 'boil (sieden)', Sv **pu-/pwh-** id. (msd. UB **li-pwh-e**, LB/LSv **lipue** v. 'boil'), UB/L **li-pū-l-i**, LB/Ln **lipuli** v. 'blow at so., st' ¶ K 192, K² 206, FS K 322-3, FS E 361-2, Q 338-9, Chx. 1505, TK 452, GP 171-2 || **IE:** NaIE ***pu(:)-/peu-/pou-/phu-** 'breathe, blow' > OI **phūt-**

ka'rōti 'puffs, blows, shrieks', OI Λριπρῆιλα- 'Blähung' ('blowing up') || Arm հողի ~ ողի (*h*)ogi (< *po^uyo-) 'breath, soul, spirit', հեւամ hewa-m (< *pewā-) v. 'pant, puff' (aor. հեւացի hewach'i) || OIr úan, NIr uan, W ewyn, MBr, Br eon 'foam' (< *po^uw-ino-), OBr [ɣ] eonoc d. 'foamy' (÷ Br eonek) ¶ WP II 11-2, P 847, M K II 398 (denies any genetic connections of the OI word), Slt. 341, Bedr. 404, 412, 557, Vn. U 7, Flr. 169, Dnn. 771 || **U** *puw^Δ (or *pu^uw^Δ-) v. 'blow' > Er puva- 'blasen, an-, weg-blasen' | Chr U/B pue- 'blasen, wehen' || ObU *pūw|ɣ- ({Ht.} *pūɣ-) v. 'blow (blasen)' > pVg *pūw- id. > Vg: T po^uw-, NV, Ss puw-, LLz pu-/pūw- id.; pOs *pōɣ- ({Hl.} *pūɣ-) id. > Os V/Vy/Ty pōɣ-, Y/K po^uw-, D pēw- id. | Hg fúj- / fú- v. 'blow (blasen, [an]wehen), blow\play (trumpet, etc.)' || Sm {Jn.} *pu- or *pu^uy- 'blow' > Nn T пу-цъ рū- 'blasen' (ein Mensch), 'wehen' (ein Wind), En {Cs.} X fuenja-, B fuasa- 'blasen', Ng {Cs.} (1s aor. obcj.) fūa-rúma 'I blew', Slq Tz {KKIH} pū-(qo) v. 'blow', Kms {KD} p'ū?-, {Cs.} phū?-, Koyb {Sp.} пу-бля, ꙗю&-бля id., Mt {Hl.} d. *hal- v. 'blasen' (M {Sp.} халнамъ 'дую' ['I blow'], халзы 'надуваю' ['I inflate'], халгамъ 'пушаю дымъ' ['I discharge smoke']), Mt K {Pl.} chásyymaiha 'пержу' ('I fart') || pY {IN} *puy- > Y K puu- 'blow (blasen)' ¶¶ UEW 411, Coll. 12, Sm. 547 (FU *puwi-, FP *puvi-, Ugr *pūgī- 'blow'), Ht. 174 [#495], MF 219, Jn. 128-9, Cs. 73, 95, KP #1162, KKIH 154, Hl. M ##255, 264, IN 244 || **A** *pū(-) > T: OT bū 'steam' (× T *būg 'steam', see ET B 229-30) ¶ Cl. 292, DTS 119 || Tg *pū- (or *pu^ub- with *-b-<*-w-) > Ewk huw-, Lm hū- v. 'blow (blasen), fan (fire), blow out (fire)', Ewk Np huwar 'draught (wind)', Sln, Ul, Nn Nh pū- ūgū- 'blow', Neg xūw-~pūw-, Orc hū-~pū- 'blow out (fire)' ¶ STM II 336 ◇ IS MS 339 s.v. дутъ *pūχə ◇ The A data (pA *p- lenis > T *b-, Tg *p-) suggest a N non-emphatic *p-. In BHb, Aram, Bj, Ch, IE, U, and A (lgs. that merge N *q and *h) the reflexes of this N word are undistinguishable from those of N ?φ o *Puq^Δ 'to let out air\gas', (?) 'to emit smell' (q.v.) (cf. the meaning in Mt).

1674. *pik^{rū} 'to press' (→ 'to crush') > **HS:** ?σ Eg XVIII fk 'bedrückt sein (o.ä.) durch übermässige Abgaben' (unless ← fk 'wüst sein, brach liegen') ¶ EG I 580 || **K** *pekw-/*pkw- v. 'grind' > OG, G pkv- id., Mg k(u)- id. (inf. ku-ala, 1s p. do-p-kī), Lz mk(v)- id., Sv UB/LB/L/Ln pek 'flour', UB {GP} pek 'meal (flour)', d. (prtcl.) K *pkw-il- 'flour' (lit. 'ground [molita, moulu]') > OG, G pkw-il-i, Mg k(w)ir-, Lz pkwer-

~ mkwe(r)- 'flour' ¶ K 193 (*pkw-), K² 2O1, 2O8 (*pekw-/*pkw-); FS K 317-8, FS K² 465 and FS E 355-6 (*pek-/pk-); Ser. 165, Chik. 3O5, TK 75, GP 263 || IE: NaIE {P} *pu^rk¹- 'zusammendrängen, eng umschließen' > Gk πυκάζω 'make close, cover\wrap up thickly', πυκνός 'close, compact, firm, solid', ἄμ-πυξ (gen. ἄμπυκος) 'a woman's head-band, snood', adv. πύκα thickly, solidly' || ?σ YAv pūsā- {Brlt.} 'diadem', {Bai.} 'headdress', {P} 'head-band', MPrt T pwsg '≈ crown'; Irn → Arm պսակ psak 'garland, crown' || ? pAl {O} *puca > Al T puth {AlbED} 'kiss', {Kf., Ç} puth 'I kiss, embrace', {Ç} pu'thit, puth'toj 'joindre, emboîter, serrer', Al G {LP} puth 'I kiss', D {Cim.} puθ-i 'j'embrasse' ¶ P 849, Brlt. 911-2, Bai. 28O, FI 96 and II 622-3, Ç II 55, 441, Kf. 287, LamP 159. Cim. 115, 16O, O 352 (Al puth is o) ¶ The rec. of *k̥ is justified only if the Irn cognate is valid, otherwise we remain with NaIE *pukk̥- || D *pīk- ({§GS} *p-) v. 'press, crush' > Prj pīk- v. 'crush', ? Krx pīx-nā v. 'press out (oil), squeeze', ? Mlt pīqe v. 'wring or squeeze out, milk' ¶ DED #3458, ≠ D #4135, Bur. PDr 67, Pf. 33 [#164] (Krx pīx-, Mlt pīqe < D *piṛ-∇-k-) ◇ The IE cognate is qu. for phonetic reasons: *-k̥- (for the expected *-g̥w-) defies explanation so far ◇ IE *pu^rk¹- from N *pīk'ū¹ can be explained by mt. of vowels.

1675. (?) *pōka 'side of a body, side' > IE: NaIE {P} *pog-/ *pōg-, *pō(ɔ)k-s- 'Achsel, Hüfte, Lende, Seite': [1] *pōg- 'side of a body', (?) 'arm' > OI {MW} pājas'yam 'the region of the belly (of an animal); the flanks, side' || NaIE *pōg-yo- > Sl *paža > Cz paže, Cz M 'paža 'arm', Cz podpaží 'armpit' (< 'under the arm'), HLs paža 'armpit, upper arm', LLs paža 'armpit', (in set phrases) 'arm' (na pažoma 'auf den Armen', pod pažu wześ 'unter den Arm nehmen') || [2] NaIE *pō(ɔ)k-s- 'side, flank' > OI pak'sah 'wing; flank, side', 'pakṣah ('pakṣas) 'wing, side, side of a carriage', Oss I/D faxs 'side of body, side, slope of a mountain' || Ltv paksis 'corner of the house', (Blt → ?) R Ng/Ar pak'ša 'left hand' | Sl *paxъ > R пах 'groin', R Δ, Uk па'xa, P pacha 'armpit, armhole', OCz páchy 'pendants of sleeves (prívěsky vedle rukávů)' ¶ P 792, EI 517-8 (*pok'so-s 'side, flank' < *pog'so-s; *pōgyo-), M K II 184, 244, M E II 62, ≈ M E II 116, MW 614, Ab. I 426, Kar. II 11-2, ≈ Mikl. E 224, ≈ Vs. III 189, 22O, Ma. CS 348, 358, HlK 268, Jak. 223, Šw. 225 || HS: CS *pakk- 'cheek, side' (→ 'jaw') > Sr **پاک** pak'kā {Br.} 'mala, bucca; maxilla; latus (altaris)', {JPS} 'tusk; jaw, cheek; side (of the altar)', JA [Trg.] **אַפְּקָה** pak'k-ā 'Seite, Pfoste (einer Tür)', Ar fakk- {BK} 'partie de la bouche qui comprend la mâchoire supérieure et

l'inférieure', pl. ?afkāk- 'jointure de deux mâchoires' , {Hv.} fakk- 'jaw; bit of a horse' ¶ Br. 567, Lv. II 264, JPS 445, Fr. III 366, BK II 624, Hv. 572 || CCh: BM: Bu pukúm, Ngx p^wzh^hm 'cheek' || McHigi: HgF puki, HgNk p^tkí, HgB p^tku, HgG pugiy, FIK p^tkumuy id. ¶ ChL ¶ The HS √ was possibly influenced by HS *buķ√ 'cheek' (> EC *buķ- 'cheek', B *-b√qqā > Mz abəqqa 'cheek', etc.) < N *buķ√ 'cheek' || A: ?σ Tg *^opo[gl]√ > Ewk PT/Ald/Ucr hogo 'hip' (× Tg *oga id.) ¶ STM II 5, Vas. 483 ◇ The comparison is qu. If this N word (or variant of a word?) did exist, its reflexes were influenced by the paronymous words that go back to N? *b√qā 'side of body, side' (q.v.) and N *buķ√ 'cheek' (q.v.).

1676. *P_a'h^hk√ 'spring of water; to spout' > HS: S *^opk^y, *^opk^k 'drip' > BHb מְפַכֵּם məp̥ak'k-īm D prtc. m. pl. {KB} 'dripping', {GB} 'quellend, rieselnd', MHb pkpk 'ooze, drip' ({Lv.} 'tröpfeln, tropfenweise auslaufen', {KB} 'hervorsprudeln' ¶ KB 875, GB 641, Js. 1174, Lv. IV 44, PS 3128, Mcl. 251 || ECh: Mu {Lk.} bok v. 'rain, pour', ??? Jg {J} bón 'sky, god', bón páká 'it is raining' (lit. 'the sky is falling') ¶ Lk. ZSS 187, 189, J J s.v. bón || IE: NaIE *^opāg|g- > Gk πηγή, Gk D πάγα 'spring of water' ¶ WP II 4, F II 525, Ch. 894 || ? A: Tg *^opaK- > Lm haꝝy̑lēn 'intermittent rain' ¶ STM II 308 || D *pukk- ({θGS} *bugg-) > Tm pukkai 'spring-pond', Kn bugge 'spring of water, source of a river', Tl bugga 'spring of water, fountain' ¶ ≈ D #4533 ◇ The N lr. is reconstructed on the ev. of NaIE *ā (NaIE *ā < IE *a|eH) and D *-gg- (from a cluster with a lr.). N *h is preferred to all other lrs. because it is often lost in S and is more likely than N *? to cause lengthening of preceding vowels in NaIE. The vw. *u in D is puzzling. Is it due to the infl. of N *p|p- or to a labialized vw. in the N word (then reconstructible as *P_a'h^hUk√) (with *U lost in the pre-history of IE?) ◇ This supposed N etymon is isolated in HS, IE, and A, which diminishes the reliability of the comparison.

1677. *P_a'Hak√ (= *P_a'qak√?) 'hut, village' > IE: NaIE *^opāg|gō- > L pāgus 'community of peasants, village, country district' ¶ WH II 236, ≈ EM 475, EI 133 || A: AmTg *peglula 'a building on posts (for storing food), a stand for hanging dried fish', Orc pəulz 'unroofed store-hut, a building on posts for storing food', Ul pəulz(n-), Ork pəulz, Nn Nh pəulz, Nn B fəulz ~ fulz 'a stand for hanging dried fish', Ork pəwulz-n- 'lay sth. (belongings, food) in a "labaz" (a building on posts)' ¶ STM II 360 || D *pākk- ({θGS} *p-) 'hut, village' > Tm pākkam 'seaside village, town, village', Tl pāka 'hut, hovel', -pāka (sx. of village

names), Knd **pāka** 'hut'; D → OI **pakkā-** 'hut of a village inhabited by barbarians' ¶ D #4047, Tu. #8313 || HS: B *-buHk- > Ah {Fc.} ā-buk 'petite tente, abri misérable', ETwl {Nic.} a-buk (pl. i-bəkk-ън 'gite de lièvre, case misérable' ¶ Fc. 48, Nic. VE 62, PGG 7 || ?? S: Ak **papāχ-** 'Cella; Kultraum; Heiligtum' (if Ak -χ- < S *-χ- < *-χk- < N *-qNk-) ¶ Sd. 823 || C: Bj {Rop.} **bakʷ** 'place of shelter, repose' ¶ Rop. 161 || WCh: Ngz {Sch.} **bákā** ~ **bágā** 'shelter made of vertical poles with cornstalks or mats' ¶ Sch. BTL 19 ¶ Tk. LAA-1 114 [#77] ◇ D *ā < reg. N *äHa. NaIE *ā < IE *eh|x < N *äHa. Tg *-g- is a reg. reflex of N *-k-. If Ak **papāχ-** belongs here (which is not certain), the pN etymon must be ***PäqakN**.

1678. *p^ra¹k₁N₁,?N₂ (= *pakU?N?) (partially 1) 'to split' > HS: S: [1] WS *✓pkk v. 'break, cleave' > Sr ✓pkk (ip. **פָקַקְנִי** ne-'puk, pf. **פָקָק**) v. 'break, bruise (the head)', Ar ✓fkk (pf. fakka) {Hv.} vt. 'loose, disjoin, separate; break (a seal)', {BK} 'dégager, défaire, briser, séparer', 'fregit, dissolvit', Tgr ✓fkk (pf. fəkka) v. 'split, break', Tgy ✓fkk (pret. **פָקַקְנֵנְהָקְאָקָה**) 'öffnen'; EthS → Bln {R} fakak- 'öffnen, einen Spalt, Riß in etw. machen', Sa/Af {R} fak- 'öffnen'; [2] WS *✓pk? ~ *✓pk? v. 'slit, cleave' > Ar ✓fq? G {BK} 'fendre, rompre et séparer deux parties l'une de l'autre', {Hv.} 'split (a pimple), burst (a pomegranate) open, hull (a nut)', Gz ✓fk? ~ ✓fk? v. 'cleave, split asunder', Tgr ✓fk? ~ ✓fk? v. 'split, hit on the head', MHb ✓pk? G (pf. **פָקְנִינְהָקְאָקָה**) 'sich spalten, auseinandergehen', {Js.} 'split, burst', JEA ✓pk? G (pf. **פָקְנִינְהָקְאָקָה**) {Lv.} 'hervorbrechen, abspringen', {Sl.} 'split, rupture, burst', Sr ✓pk? (pf. Sr **פָקְנִינְהָקְאָקָה**) vi. 'burst open, break asunder; be wide open (as the legs)' ¶ Br. 567, 590, JPS 445, 456, BK II 617, 623-4, Hv. 570-1, Lv. IV 91-2, Sl. 925-6, Js. 1210, L G 163, LH 663, 670, RS II 130, R WB 119-120 ¶ The cns. *f of the variant root *✓pk? may have been induced by the synonymous S roots *✓bk? and *✓pc? || Eg N fk? 'ausreißen, ausrotten', ?? Eg XX fk?, fk? id. ({EG}: 'vom Löwen, dessen Krallen und Zähne das Wild zerreißen') ¶ Secondary glottalization k > k due to as. caused by 3? ¶ EG I 578-9, Tk. II 585-6 (Eg ÷ Sb fk'l 'reap crops') || C: (1) *°✓pkk > Bj {R} ✓fkk (p. 'afkik, prs. afan'kīk) v. 'open an infibulated girl'] C *✓pk ({E} *fāk-/fīk-) v. 'cut apart, break open' > Ag: Bln {R} fak- 'durchbrechen, aufreißen, ein Loch stoßen', ?? Aw {CR} pax-s- 'tear to pieces, split' || EC: Rn {PG} fuχχ-, Ya {E} -pāq- vt. 'break' || SC: Irg {E} fiqit- v. 'slice yams' ¶ AD SF 46, EPC #178, PG 116,

R WB 12O || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *b̥ak- v. 'cut into pieces, split' > AG: Su {J} b̥ak 'teilen, (sich) loslosen, trennen', ? Ang {Flk.} b̥āk v. 'make a slit, cut with a knife' | Ron {J}: Fy b̥ak 'spalten, hauen (Holz, etc.)', Sha b̥ak 'zerbrechen (Töpfe, etc.)', Bks b̥ak 'brechen, schneiden' || CCh: Dgh {Frk. in ChC} b̥ákà v. 'cut' | ? MfG {Brr.} *b̥agw- 'partager, diviser, couper en deux' | Stl. ZCh [#115], J S 59, J R 84, 14O, 283, Flk. s.v. b̥ak, Brr. MG II 81, ChC s.v. 'cut' | The glottalized WCh *b̥- goes back to *p + *? | OS #772 (*fak- 'pierce, tear') | | A *p'Ug∇ ~ *p₁'Uk∇ v. 'chop, cut, tear off' (one or several roots) > (1) Tg *p̥og- v. 'chop, cut off' > Ewk h̥ōꝝ-, Ewk V ok-, Ewk Br̥g h̥ok- 'chop\cut off', Neg xon̥n̥- 'chop off; fell (trees)', Or, Nn xol-, Ud xuan- 'cut off'; (2) ?? Tg *pak- > Ewk h̥akū- 'smash, crush (e.g. nuts), break to pieces' (unless ← *pak- 'kernel' [> WrMc faxa]); (3) ? Tg *pegde- 'be torn' > Orc, Nn x̥gdʒ- id., ds.: Ewk h̥̥gdʒl̥-, Lm h̥̥dak-, h̥̥dal-, Neg x̥̥dʒl̥- ~ x̥̥ldʒl̥- vt. 'tear' | STM II 311, 329, 36O || ?σ T *bügteleja > OT {Cl.} bügdā 'dagger' (× N *PotK∇ 'to split, to cut', q.v. ffd.) | | ?φ, σ pKo {S} *p̥ehí- 'cut, reap, severe' > MKo p̥ehí-, NKo p̥ē- | S QK #495, Nam 255, MLC 773 || pJ: (1) pJ {S} *p̥k̥- 'pole\battle-axe' | S QJ #771; (2) pJ {S} *p̥ank- 'tear off' | S QJ #764, Mr. 683 || M *p̥oqta- ({Pp.} *p̥uktal-) (× N *PotK∇ '↑' [mt.], q.v. ffd.) | | Pp. VG 54, 99, ≈ DQA #1668 (A *p̥ok̥e- > M, Tg, T, pJ *p̥k̥- and #1869 (A *p̥ugé-, incl. Ko, Tg *p̥og-/ *peg-de-, pJ *p̥ank-) | | Highly qu. Probably influenced by and partially coalesced with different N words | | D {Pf.} *pak- ({GS} *pag-) > Tm paku (pakuv-, pakk-) v. 'be split', paku (-pp-, -tt-) v. 'distribute, divide, cut to pieces', Ml pakuka v. 'be separate', pakukka v. 'divide', Td pax- (paxθ) v. 'be divided', pax- (paxt-) v. 'distribute, divide', paxy 'division', Tu pagiyuni vi. 'split', Tl pagulu v. 'break, crack, go to pieces', Nk pay- v. 'break', Knd pag- (-it-) vi. 'split', pag- (-t-) vt. 'split', Png pag- (pakt-) vi. 'split', pag- (-t-) vt. 'split', Mnd pak- v. 'split (firewood)', Ku pak- v. 'cut open', Krx pāx- v. 'expand by main strength, force open' | | D #38O8, Pf. 25 [#115], Zv. 119-12O, ≠ Km. 422-3 (+ Kui paj-, Prj payp- v. 'divide', etc.; pD *pay-) | | U: FU *pakka- vi. 'burst' > F pakku- 'burst, crack, burst asunder, become loose', Es pakata- vi. 'burst' || Os: Ty pāy- 'crack, burst', O pax- 'Risse bekommen (?)', V payən-, paqən-, D/O paxən- 'aufplatzen, aufgehen (Geschwür)', O paxən- 'plötzlich aufgehen und fließen (Fluß, Bach)' | Hg fakad- vi. 'spring, have its source' | UEW

349-35O ◇ N *p- is reconstructed on the ev. of Eg f- and (tentatively) A *p- (> T *b- [?], M *ψ-, Tg *p-) ◇ D and U suggest a pN *a, while the labialized vw. in A may be due to the assimilative infl. of the initial *p- and/or of the ancient labialized vw. of the next syll. (preserved as w in MfG [’]-b³gw- 'partager, diviser') ◇ N *-p- is preserved in S *✓ p³? and Eg f³. The root *✓ p³ in EthS, Hb, and Sr is probably a WS innovation.

1679. *päk³ 'to heat (on fire)', 'to be hot' (→ 'to cook, to bake', 'to dry') > **HS:** Eg NK p³ '(den Weihrauch) räuchern', Eg G p³ 'jemanden beräuchern', Eg G p³ 'Weihrauch' (unless akin to Ar -fūg- 'exale an odour', Gz ✓ fgg 'have a bad odour') ¶ EG I 568, Tk. II 545-6 || Possibly (but not necessarily) here: B *-fūk(k)- 'sun' (if ← *'heat, hot weather') > Ah ta-fuk (pl. ti-fukk-īn), Gh tafuk, Izd tafuyt ~ tafušt, Izn t³fūkt, ETwl, Ty tafuq (pl. tafuqən) 'sun', Zng {MH → Nic.} t³aufukt, tūfukt 'sun', ūéffék 'il fait jour', Kb tafuk³ 'lumière du jour, lumière diffuse du soleil' ¶ Fc. 299, Dl. 201-2, NZ 547-8, Nic. 197 || **K** *°p³kw- vt. 'dry' > Sv L {Dn.} -pu³w-/p³w- id., Sv UB lip³wē vt. 'to dry', UB/L/Ln pu³w-i, LB pi³w-i adj. 'dry' ¶ TK 768, Dn. s.v. pu³vi, GP 171, 264 || **IE:** NaIE *pek³- v. 'cook, bake, prepare food on fire' > OI 'pacati, Av pača³ti 'cooks, bakes, roasts', NPrs پزد pāz-ād vt. 'boils, cooks', inf. پختن poχ-tän 'to boil, to cook' || Gk πέσω, Gk A πέττω (aor πέψα) 'cook, bake, soften, ripen' || L coqu-o/-ere v. 'cook' (c- by as.) || W pobí 'to bake, to roast', Crn pobas, Br pobáň, pibin³ 'to bake' || Gmc: AS ā-fižen 'roasted' || pAl {O} *peka > Al pjek- (aor. poqa) v. {AlbED} 'bake, roast, broil' || Sl inf. *pek-'ti/ prs. *pēk-q 'bake' > OCS πεψи pešti / πεκж pekq, Blg prs. пе'ка, SCr pēci / pēčem, Slv pēči / péčem, Cz pēci / peku, P piec / piekę, R печь / пе'ку, Uk пе'чи || pTc *päk- > Tc: A, B p³ak- vt. 'make ready for eating: cook, boil, ripen', vi. md. 'become ready for eating: sc. cook, boil, ripen' ¶ P 798, EI 125, M K II 185-6, M E II 64, Horn 64, Sg. 237, BM 89, F II 519-20, WH I 270-1, LP § 56, YGM-1 365, Hm. 64O, 651, Ho. 104, O 329, En. 225, Glh. 474, Wn. 355, Ad. 368 || **U** *päkk'e' 'hot' > pLp *pākkz 'hot, heat' > Lp: L {LLO} pahkka id., S {Hs.} baakke, N {N} bak'kā 'heat', N bakkās, attr. bak'ka 'hot', Kld {TI} pājkas, attr. pag³a_id. || ? Sm: Ng {Cs.} fekagā, fekutea 'hot' (of a day, stone, water), fekútēm 'be hot' ¶ Lr. #882, Lgc. #4746, N I 114, Hs. 263, TI 332, ≠ SK 468, Cs. 71, 233 || **A** {DQA} *p_L'ek'u 'hot, warm' > Tg *peku

'hot' > Ewk h̥əku ~ h̥əkū, Sln d. əxū-gdi, Lm hōk, Neg xəku ~ xəxu, Ud B {Krm.} xəkuhi, Ud Sm {Krm.} xəkuhi ~ xukui, Ul d. pukzuli, Ork d. xəkusı, xəkkuli 'hot', Orc xəku, d. xəkusı 'it is hot\warm (il fait chaud)', Nn Nh pəku, Nn B fuku ~ fəku, Nn KU fəku id., 'hot', WrMc d. fiyakiyan n. 'warmth (of the sun), heat'; Tg *peku- 'be hot' > Ewk h̥əkū-, Lm hōk- id., WrMc fiyaka- 'be hot' (of the sun), 'be dried, sun-dried' ¶ STM II 362, Krm. 397 || M *φεγύ- vi. 'warm in the sun', 'be hot' (of the sun) ('палить') (×N *päγūwA 'fire', q.v. ffd); M *-γ-suggests that the main source of the M root is not N *päkō || pKo {S} *pukh 'warm' (of weather) > NKo pʰuk-ha- 'be warm' (weather) ¶ S QK #814, MLC 1762 ¶ DQA #1737, ≈ Rm. SKE 116, 215 (Ko, Tg + unc. M) ◇ AD GD #88, IS SS 341 #1O.11, IS MS 337 s.v. горячий *päk'ə (IE, U, Tg) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #76 (*peku 'cook') (IE, Y, Tg, Ko, CK, ES + qu. J).

1680. *P^rōk^ṇ 'to scratch, to comb' > IE: NaIE *pek̥k-, *pek̥k-t- v. 'comb', pek̥kten- n. 'comb' > Gk πέκω v. 'comb (wool)', κτείς (gen. κτεν-ός) n. 'comb (in the loom)' (< *πκτεν-), πεκτέω 'comb' || L pecten 'comb', pect-ō / -ēre vt. 'comb, card (wool)', Um petenata accus. f. 'pectinatum, comb-shaped' ¶ ≈ WP II 16-7, ≈ P 717, EI 57O (*pek̥- 'pull out [e.g. wool], comb out [e.g. wool]'), Dv. #721, ≈ F II 33-4, 492-3, WH II 269-7O, Bc. G 341 ¶ WP, P, WH, F, and EI do not distinguish this √ from IE *pek̥- 'cut\pluck out hair, shear' and *peku- 'cattle' (< N *pok̥ü '[herds of] ruminant animals, wild cattle', q.v.) || D *pok(k)- ({θGS} *b-) v. 'scratch' > Nk bokṛip- id., Gnd A/B bokkānā 'to itch', Gnd Mn bokkānā id., 'to scratch' ¶ D 4464 || HS: EC: Or {Brl.} fak̥-u 'conciare pelli, grattare, raschiare', {Grg.} fākē 'comb', fākis- vt. 'comb', {Th.} fāki 'conciapelli' (unless Or ← EthS ✓ fħk 'scrape' < N *pExk^ṇ 'rub, scrape') ¶ Brl. 143, Grg. 137-8, Th. 127, L G 157.

1681. ₂ *pok̥ü '(herds of) ruminant animals, wild cattle' > IE: NaIE *peku / *pek̥we- 'cattle' > OI pa'su-ḥ (gen. paś'vah) ~ 'paśu 'cattle, animal', Av pasu- 'livestock; sheep and goats' | L pecū (gen. pecūs), pecus (gen. pecoris) 'cattle, livestock', Um PEQUO 'pecuum' (gen. pl.?) | Gmc: Gt faíhu 'Besitz, Vermögen', OSx fehu, NHG Vieh 'cattle', OHG fihu 'livestock, property, money', AS feoh, ON fé id., 'money', NE fee | Lt pēkus, Pru acc. pecku ~ peckan 'cattle' ¶ P 797, EI 23 (*'peku 'livestock'), M K II 239-4O, M E II 1O8-1O, WH II 27O-1, Bc. G 34O, Fs. 135-6, Vr. 1142, Kb. 24O, OsS 193-4, KM 82O-1, Ho. 1O1, Ho. S 19, Frn. 564-5, En. 221 || A: T *hjökür-

/*_Lh_Jokuŕ- ({Md.} *ök'üŕ) 'bull, ox' > OT öküz 'ox', MQp öküz, Qrg ögüz 'ox, bullock', SY kus~qus, ET öküz, Δ höküz, Uz həkiz 'ox', Tk öküz, Tkm öküδ, Az, Ggz öküz, Kr Cr ögüz, Kr T öğüž 'bull, ox', Qmq, QrB ögüz 'ox', CrTt ogüz, Ln ögüs 'bull', Qzq, Nog, Qq ögiz 'ox', VTt ügəz, Bsh ügəδ 'bull, ox', Yk oꝝus 'ox, male domestic animal'; T → Ewk hökəs 'raw hide of a cow', Yk → Ewk oꝝus, Δ ovus, Δ զս, Neg oꝝus 'bull' || Blgh > Chv văkăp văg_ăr 'bull'; Blgh → Hg ökör 'ox, bullock, steer' ¶ Cl. 12O (qu. : T ← Tc A okso), ET Gl 521-3, TL 439-4O, IS III 126-7, Sht. 291, Md. 52, 172, Jeg. 48, Fed. I 105-6, EWU 108O || M *ψüker 'bovine animal (bull, ox, cow)' > MM [HI, IsV, etc.] hüker, [MA] üker 'large cattle', WrM üker, HIM, Brt үхэр, Kl ükř, Mgl ükär, Dg B xükür, Dx fugie(r), MnR H {SM} fug_uor 'bull, ox' ¶ Pel. 24O [#77], MED 1003, SM 104, T DgJ 179, T DnJ 138, T 37O || NrTg (← M?) *pukur / *pukun > Ewk hukur, Δ ukur, Δ ukun, Δ զկն, Sln uxur, Lm O hökən, Lm Sk hökön 'cow, (bovine) cattle' ¶ STM II 341, Iv. 143 ¶ Sin. ANB 315-8, DQA #1822 (A *p'ök'i|e(-ř) 'ox, cow') || AdS of HS: Ch: ECh: Nd D {J} pagər 'antelope' < ECh *bʌgʌr id. < N *buꝝa 'bovines'; the infl. of N *pokü may account for Nd D p- instead of the expected b- (cp. the ECh word for 'blood': Brg {J} bärä, Jg {J} bar, Mgm {J} bärá, EDng bär, Nd D bär) ¶ ChC ◇ Yk oꝝus and Chv văkăp văg_ăr suggest a back vw. in the initial syll. (*o rather than *ü); NrTk *ö is also more likely to go back to *o (> *ö under the infl. of the front vw. of the next syll.) rather than to *ü ◇ IS III 126-8 (*p'okwe 'скот'). In the original ms. text IS equated IE with A only. According an unconvincing hyp. of the editors of IS III this N etymon was represented in HS by the root *v bkr (> S *ba'kar- 'large cattle', *bučar- 'a bovine animal', B *v byr v. 'be rich'), which is phonetically deviant: S, B *b- for the expected S *p- and B *f-. It is preferable to equate HS *v bkr with A *buč'a 'bull' (> T *buka, M *buqa) and IE ~ *bu(:)k-/bowk- 'bull' and to draw it back to N *buꝝa 'bovines' ◇ AD NM #48, S CNM 1O (÷÷ NrCs, ST), Vv. AEN 3.

1682. _L *pō'k'ñ 'bladder, blister' > K {Fn.} *°pakl- > OG pakl-i 'φλυκτίς' ('blister') [Ex. 9.9], G † {DCh.} pakl-i 'abscess, matter in a sore\abscess' ({NCh.} 'сұруп') ¶ NCh. 393, DCh. 1297, SSO II 186, Fn. KD #19 || A *pok'ñ ({Adb.} *poku-) > NaT *bokak (< {Adb.} *bokagu, {DQA} *bokak) 'swelling (esp. in the throat), goitre, bird's crop' > OT {Cl.} boqaq id., Tki {Rl.} poqaq 'goitre', Tkm buχaq id., 'throat', Tk boğak 'tonsillitis, quinsy', Qmq buχaq, ET poqaq ~ poχäk, Ln poqaq, Alt

бояզ, Uz бүгәп 'goitre', Qzq, Qq бүгәп, Qrg бояզ ~ бояզ, Yk тоғоз id., 'double chin', Blq бояз 'Adam's apple', Xk рояз, Bsh бөгәп 'bird's crop', Tb {Rl.} рөң, Shor {Rl.} риңаң id., Alt/Tel {Rl.} роңдәп id., 'Adam's apple' ¶ Cl. 13-4, ET B 202-3, TL 150, Rl. IV 1264-5, 1362, BT 32, Jud. 137, 140, MM 116, KrkR 119 || M (↔ T?) *баңаңу 'goitre' > WrM баңаңу ~ баңаң, HIM бәхүү, Ord баңү 'goitre', KI бәхү баңү id., 'exophthalmic goitre' ¶ MED 93, Ms. O 45, KRS 86 || Tg *руңка(n) 'blister' > Ul роңа & риңа(n-) 'bubble, bird's crop', Ork риңа ~ риңда 'corn (callosity), paumch (рубец)', Nn Nh риңа, Nn KU foңа 'blister', WrMc фиңа 'bubble, blister' ¶ STM II 42-3, Z 1073 ¶ Semantic infl. of A *блка ({DQA} *блкá) 'throat' ¶ ADb. KL 9, DQA #1676 (A *пүк'a 'craw, crop'), #182 (A *блкá 'throat') || D u *покк- ({ФGS} *покк- ~ [?] *блгг-) > Tm pokutтu n. 'bubble', pokku 'be blistered', pokkulam n. 'boil, bubble, blister', pokkulи v. 'rise in blisters', Ml pokkulä, pokkilä 'blister, vesicle, bubble', Kt pogl, Kn риғул, ? bokke, Kdg pokkalä, Tl pokku, Klm pokk, Png poka 'blister', Tu pokkæ id., 'pustule', Mnd puka 'boil', Mlt poka 'blister, blain', Krx pokkʰ- / pukkʰ- 'get blistered, swell', Td pig, Tl бугга, Klm bugga, Ku bugga & буга 'bubble'; D → Npl p^hoko 'blister, boil' ¶ Some of these forms (esp. those meaning 'bubble') are ideophonic ¶ D #4455, Tu. #8391 ◇ ≈ Fn. KD #19 (equates K with D *pakku 'Krätze, Räude', which probably belongs to N *^rp^haqE?N or *^rp^haq₁N, ?E 'skin, film, bark' or results from a merger of both N words) ◇ IS MS 358 s.v. пузырь *ро^rк^hн (Tg, D).

1683. (o?) *рExкN 'rub, scrape' > K GZ *рхек-/ *рхик- 'scrape (schaben)' > OG, G рхек-/ *рхик- id., G a-рхек- 'scratch off (ab- \ weg- kratzen)', рхакун-i, рхак-ур- 'scrape, scratch (scharren, kratzen), make a scraping\scratching noise', Mg, Lz +ext. хакар-ua 'to scrape off (hair from hide)', ??σ Sv {FS} рхəк-/рхк- 'strike, scrape (klöpfen, scharren)', Sv UB/LB/L {TK} рхик n. act. 'scratching' ¶ K² 210, FS E 367, Fn. KW-3 #46, Chx. 1517, 1519-20, Chik. 419, TK 772 || HS: S *°√рхк > Gz √fхк (js. үəфхак) v. G 'scrape, erase, scratch, polish, wipe off\away, rub off' ¶ LG 157 || EC: Sml N {Abr.} fīq- v. 'sweep; sharpen', Sml {ZMO} fīq- id., 'peel' ¶ Abr. S 80, ZMO 139 || A ({S} *р‘়æk‘N v. 'file, polish, rub'): T *়agā-, {S} *়akā- v. 'rub, file' > OT {Cl.} ägā-v. 'file (a metal object)', {DTS} ege- ~ ige- id., MQp xv {Cl.} ägä- v. 'file', Tv e᷑e- 'rub', Qrg ege-, VTt, Bsh igä- id., Nog ege- id., 'sharpen (a saw)', Qq ege- 'saw with a

file', Xk *i ge-* v. 'saw, file', Sg/Qc/Qb {Rl.} *egä-*, Alt/Tlt {Rl.} *äyä-* 'feilen', ET T {Rl.} *äkä-* id., 'glatt feilen'; → NaT *äg-üäk n. 'file' > Chg {Brv.} *egäk*, Tkm *īye*, Tk *e ġe* *eje*, Az *äjä*, Ggz *ija*, ET *ekäk* & *igäk*, CrTt, Kr Cr, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq *egäw*, Uz *egaw*, VTt, Bsh *igäw*, Qrg *egō* & *ögō*, Alt *egü*, Tv *e ȝē*, Yk *igī*, Chv *йёкев* *уьг_ев* id. ¶ Cl. 1O1, DTS 165, 2O, ET Gl 326-8, Rl. I 676, 695 || NrTg *pijiki- 'rub, rub off' > Ewk *hiki-* id., v. 'rub with\on (натирать), iron', Lm *hik-* 'rub', Neg *xixi-* 'rub (with\on) (на-рас-тиратъ) ¶ STM II 323 || pJ {S} *pík- {AD} 'rub, file' > OJ *pík-* (in d.: *píkji*, *píkji-ri* 'rubbing wood for producing fire'), J: T *hik-*, K/Kg *hík-* v. 'file, saw' ¶ S QJ #254, Mr. 689 ¶ DQA #181O (A *p'ík'è- - - - - k- v. 'file, polish, rub').

1684. (2?) *p^rE¹Ky^Δ (or *p^rΔKy^Δ) 'to track (game), to follow the tracks of' > IE: NaIE *(s)pēk- ~ *(s)pēg-: [1] *(s)pēk- 'look, observe' > OI 'spaśati, 'paśyati 'sees', spaṭ 'observer', Vd spaś- (pfc. paspa'sē, aor. 'aspasṭa), KhS spāss- 'look', Av spasyēti 'erblickt, erspäht', OI spaṭ, Av spas- 'observer' || L specio, -ere 'look at, behold, see', spectā- 'look at carefully, watch' || OHG spēhōn 'to spy' (→ MFr espier 'to spy' → ME spie > NE spy), NHG spähen, MDt spien 'to scout, to watch', ON spá 'to prophesy', OSx spāh(i), OHG spāhi 'clever, wise' || pTc *päk- > Tc A, B päk- 'intend'; pTc *päkw- > Tc: A puk-, B päkw- 'expect' || AdS of Gk σκέπτομαι 'I look (at)' (< NaIE *sk̥kep- < N *č̥'o¹P^rΔ 'to watch, to look out, to spy', q.v.) | [2] *(s)pēg- 'look, look after' > ON spakr 'clever, experienced', spekt 'wisdom', speki id., 'Verstand' || Sl *páziti (sé) 'see to, look' > ChS παζιτη̄ paziti (prs. παζж̄ pažq) {Mikl.} 'achtgeben', SCr páziti 'be attentive, pay attention to' (Glh.: ← *'look'), Slv pazítí 'be attentive, pay attention to, take care of, see to, look after' ¶ WP II 659, P 981, 984, EI 505 (*s)pēk-), Mn. 1253, M K II 24O-1 and III 536, M E II 1O7-8, Bai. 436-7, F II 725-6, WH II 57O-1, Vr. 531, 5332, Kb. 928, 931, OsS 846, 849, Ho. S 69, HDEL 1251, Mikl. E 234, Glh. 471-2, Kmc. 713, O 425-6 (rejects the adduction of Al pashë 'I saw'), Ad. 368-9 ¶ The voiced cns. *-g- in *(s)pēg- (for the expected *-k-) remains unexplained || HS: S *✓pky|w 'follow the tracks \ footsteps of', 'pay attention to' > Ar ✓fqw G (pf. faqā) 'follow the tracks \ footsteps of', Ak pukku inf. D 'pay attention to' ¶ Fr. III 365, Ln. 243O, BK II 623, Hv. 571, Sd. 879-8O || ?σ Α *p'Εk'ye ({SDM} *p'æk'e) 'follow, be next' > pKo {S} *pə,kí 'next, following' > MKo *pə,kí

id., NKO *pə̥gim* 'the second in order, next' § S QK #151, Nam 254, MLC 758 || pJ {S} *p̥ká 'other' > OJ *p̥uká*, J: T *hōka*, K *hōká*, Kg *hōká* § S QJ #168, Mr. 413 || ? T **h̥eikkī* 'two' (× N **yEgi* or **y'u'gi* 'both, two [persons]', q.v. ffd.) §§ SDM97 (A *p̥æk'e 'next, following'), ≈ DQA #1785 (A *p̥jök'e id.: T, Ko, J + err. M **ikiere* 'twins', see N **yEgi* or **y'u'gi* '↑'), Rm. SKE 195, Rm. EAS I 92-3 ◇ ≈ Glh. 471-2 (IE *spek- ~ *speg- < N *p̥VygV ~ *baykV) ◇ If the A √ belongs here, the N etymon has a front vw. (*E) and an empathic *p̥. Otherwise the rec. must be less specific: N **p̥NkyN*. In any case, IE *(s)p̥- points to a N *p̥- (see Introduction, 2.2.5) ◇ Not here D **pakal-* (¬ *b-) 'visible' (see N **baK* 'to look').

1685. **p̥'d̥'kN'dN* (or **p̥-*?) 'to run' > HS: WCh: Wrj {Sk. in ChC} *fškēt-*, {IL in ChL} *fókítí* v. 'run' § ChC, ChL || CS *✓ *pd(d)* > Ar *✓ *fdd* (pf. *fadda*) v. 'run', Sr ✓ *pdd G* (pf. *pad*) {Br.} 'evanuit, discessit, defecit', {JPS} 'stray; miss' § Ln. 235O, BK II 554, Br. 557, JPS 434 || Eg fXVIII ? *pd* 'run' > DEg *p̥t* v. 'run, flee' > Cpt Sd *pōt*, B *p̥hōt* 'courir, s'en aller, fuir'; the association with Eg fXVIII *pd* id., DEg *p̥t* 'knee, foot' (if any) is secondary (folk-etymological) (see N **p̥a'g'dN* 'leg' [or 'in part of a leg'], 'foot') § EG I 500-1, Er. 141, Vc. 165, Tk. II 537-9 §§ In the prehistory of the HS languages one may suppose as. **-Kd- > *-gd- (> S *-dd-, Eg d) and (?) > *-kt- > *-t- || u {UEW} **pukta-*, {Coll.} **pokta-* v. 'hop, run' ('hüpfen, laufen') (× N **buk'o'* 'run, run away?') > Chr L *пок'т-аш* 'drive, turn out, pursue (гнатъ, -ся)', Chr H, Chr {Ü} *пок'тэ-*, Chr Uf/B *pokte-* 'treiben, verjagen, verfolgen' || Os V/Vy *pot-ta* {Trj.} 'run, run away, flee' | Hg *fut-* id. || Sm: Slq Tz {KKIH} *pakti-qo* 'to run', *jnnä pakti-qo* 'to jump up', Slq Tz/Kt {KD} *pakta-* 'jump', Slq Tm *pakta-* 'jump, hop, run', Slq Tur *paktırtı-* 'jump over', ? Kms *baktə-* v. 'come' §§ UEW 402, Coll. 12, Coll. CG 406, Trj. S 371, KKIH 146, MF 223, IS I 181 (**pok-tN*), SK 47O || A: Tg **pukti-* ({Bz.} **pökti-*) v. 'run' > Ewk *hukti-* v. 'run, flee' (of an animal), Sln *uktıtlı~utlı-* 'run' (of a horse), *uktılını* 'a fugitive', Neg *xukti-* v. 'gallop', Orc *xukti-* 'run' (of an animal), Ud *xukti-* 'run, gallop' (of an animal)', {Krm.} v. 'run jumping', Ul *pukti-*, Ork *pukçı-* ~ Δ *fukçı-* ~ Δ *fukti-* vi. 'gallop', Nn Nh *pukči-*, Nn KU *fukti-*, Nn B *fukči-* id., WrMc *feksi-* ~ *fekce-* v. 'gallop, run at full speed' (of a horse), Mc Sb *fškši-*, *fškše-* 'run, gallop' (of a horse) § STM II 340-1, Vas. 491, Ci. 158, 329, Krm. 306 ◇ The Eg cognate is phonetically dubious (loss of N *K), and WCh suggests N *p̥-,

hence the rec. of N *¹p̥- (base on Eg p̥d) is not certain ◇ IS I 181 (*bok'ā 'run away'), AD SShS 395-6 (*puQt¹).

1686. *P̥ik¹ṇ²č³ṇ 'sticky liquid, pitch' > IE: NaIE *pik- (< ppIE *pikṇH⁴ṇ) 'tree-pitch' > pGk *pikjā id. > Gk πίσια (→ G pis-i id.), Gk Απίττα || L pīx / gen. pīcis 'pitch, tar' (→ MLG pick, pēk, OHG pēh 'pitch' > NHG Pech) || Sl *ръкъль 'tree-pitch' > OCS пъцъль ръсъль, RChS пъклъръкъ ~ пекъльрекъль ~ пеколъреколь 'pitch', SCr d. opàkliti 'to smear with pitch, to resin', pàklina, {Glh.} pàklin 'pitch, tar' | Lt pīkis 'tree-pitch' (↔ NLG pik id.?) ¶ ≈ P 794, EI 500, Frdr. PITA 31-8, F II 544, WH II 312, EM 511, KM 536, StSS 559, Srz. II 893, Glh. 463-4, ≈ Mikl. E 270, Frn. 589 || u: FU *piška ~ ? *pikša 'sticky liquid, pitch' > F pīhka 'pitch, resin, gum', Es pīhk 'sticky liquid, pitch' || pOs *pīyət > Os: Ty pīyət 'Flicken an einem Boote (gewöhnlich einem Einbaum)', pīyət-i, V/Vy pīyət-i-d. 'mit Harz verstopfen (Spalten in einem Boot), mit erhitztem Harz dichten' ¶ UEW 384-5, Coll. 107, Stn. D 1122, Trj. S 359 || D *pič- 'sticky \ viscous liquid' (× homonymous roots or N words for 'be moist, greasy') > Tm pīcīn 'gum, stickiness, viscousness', pīcupīcu 'be viscous, adhesive', pīcukku 'sticky substance', Tu bijibiji 'gummy, sticky', Tl pīsunu 'gum, resin'; D → OI pīcchā- 'gum' ¶ D #4134, Tu. #8154, 8156.

1687. ₂*P̥al¹ṇ '([?]) tooth' > R {DQA} *p̥_Lala 'tooth' > AmTg *palṇ 'molar' > Nn Nh {Pt., On.} paloa, Nn B {Sem} falō, Ul pāl, {PSchm.} pāli, pālu id. ¶ STM II 313, Pt. 100, On. 323, Sem BD 195 || pKo *par in MKo nī-s-par 'teeth' (compound with nī 'tooth') > NKO vī i-pāl 'tooth' ¶ Rm. SKE 185, S AJ 256 [#127], S QK #127, Nam 127, MLC 1369 || pJ *pā 'tooth' > OJ pā, J: T/Kg hā, K hā, Ht pā ¶ S AJ 268 #81, S QJ #8, Mr. 394 ¶ DQA #1615, Rm. EAS I 55-6, Rm. AKE 14, S AJ 109, 278 [#77] || D {Pf., GS} *pāl 'tooth' > Tm, Kn pāl, Ml pāl, pallū, Kt, Nk, Nkr, Gnd, Konda, Mnd pāl, Td pāt, Kdg pallt, Tl pal(l)u, Prj pēl, Gdb pāl, pallū, Kui pādu, pallū, Ku pallū, pal(l)u, Krx pall, Mlt palu 'tooth', Tu pāru 'animal's tooth', Klm pāl 'tooth' (esp. 'front tooth') ¶ D #3986(a), Pf. 131 [#1118], GS 29 [#21], 33 [#46] ◇ IS III 95-6 [#37O]: D, A (Tg, Ko). IS l.c. tentatively adduces HS: EC: Sml N {Abr.} fōl 'incisor tooth', but this word (Sml {DSI} fōl 'each of the two central superior incisor teeth') is most probably a sd. of Sml fōl 'front, face' < EC *fōl- 'front, face' (F DSI 234, Abr. S 81, Ss. B 175).

1688. *pāl¹'A¹ 'time (mal, fois), once, one' > **HS:** C: Ag: Aw Dng {Hz} ȝmpȝl 'one' || CCh: Mdr {Eg. in JI II} pálle, {ChL} pæle, Mdr Mr {Clm.} pálle, Glv {Rp., ChC} pálà, Nkc {ChL} pala 'one' | McMtk: MfG {Brr.} pál 'one', Gzg {Lk.} pal 'eins' | BM: Mrg, Wmd pašu, Cb {Hf. in ChC} pásu, {ChL} pátu 'one' | McHigi: HgNk {ChL} pašε, HgB {ChL} pašaw, HgG {ChL} pažε 'one' | Ktk {Lbf.}: Ktk Af/ Mkr, Glf päl 'one' ¶ ChL, JI II 262-3, ChC, Brr. MG II 217, RpB 75, Lk. G 133 || **K** (in Zan only) *°pelu > Mg {Q} palo, {FS} palo, paluo 'simple, single, only, sole, one', Lz palu 'one, simple' ¶ Fn. SK 93 [#52], Q 334 || **U:** FU *pällä > FP *pälä 'time, once' > pLp {Lr.} *pälē > Lp: N {Fri.} bale 'tempus, aetas', N {N} *balle -āl-'(definite) time, duration' (used in obl. cases: accus. b_āle ~ b_ā·le, etc.), L {Wk.} pallē 'Mal', S {Hs.} baaliε '(bestimmte) Zeit, Mal', T {TI} pāllīs 'Zeit', Kld {SaR} пāлль 'time, deadline, high time', {TI} pāllī ē 'time' || Prm *pōl 'a time (mal, раз)' > Z pəv, Yz pūlid., Vt pol in ogpol 'once' (og is 'one'), kok pol 'twice' ¶ UEW 726, Lr. #885, Lgc. #4758, N I 125, Hs. 267, TI 335, SaR 247, LG 227, Wk. LLW 87 ◇ Blz. KM #13 (K, HS: C, Ch).

1689. *pāl⁰' 'open ground, plain' > **HS:** S *°✓pl̥w¹ > Ar قَلَّا falā-t- (pl. قَلَّا falā-, قَلَّا فَلَوَاتْ falawāt-) {BK} 'désert sans eau', {Hv.} 'desert, waterless plain' ¶ BK II 635, Hv. 575 || CCh: Gzg {Lk.} pala 'Ebene im Busch ohne Bäume', MfG {Brr.} pālāh, papalāh 'plaine, endroit plat' ¶ Lk. G 133, Brr. MG II 217 || ?φ EC {Ss.} *bal- 'field, plain' > Gdl {Bl.} pa'l-a 'a field (for playing in)', ?σ Kmb {Hd.} bali, bali-ta 'valley; cliff, precipice' (if 'valley' is the primary meaning) ¶ Ss. B 32, Bl. G 93, Hd. 309 || **IE:** NaIE *pol- 'field, plain' > Sl *pōlē > OCS πολιε polje 'field, plain', R 'поле 'field, steppe', P, Cz, Slk pole, HLs polo, LLs pólō, Slv pōlje / poljē, SCr pōlje (πόλιε), Blg πο'ле 'field' || Arm {Bdr.} հող hoł 'soil, earth, land' || OSw, Sw π falā 'plain', {P} 'Feld, Heide', NHG -fal-in n. 1. Westfalen, Ostfalen] Derived stem *pelə₁-t- (× ↔ *pelə-/plā- 'broad') > Gmc *felθ > OSw d. ur-fjælder 'plot (of land), OSx feld, OHG fēld, MHG vēlt, gen. veldes, NHG Feld 'field', AS feld 'field, plain', NE field || OIr {P} láthar 'place, site, spot' (< *plā-) > NIr láthair 'open place, site, spot' ¶ Jah. OSK 8 [#1.211], 94, Shvl. 208 (on *í in *pōlē), SJSS XXVII 148, Glh. 495; ≠ Vs. III 307-8, P 805-7 (both do not distinguish between the √ in question and *pelə- 'broad and flat'); Mn. 918, Dnn. 420, Kb. 232, OsS 176, Lx. 266, KM 191, Ho.

100, Ho. S 19, ≠ EI 133 || **A** {SDM97} *p̥ālā́v, {S} *p̥ālā́v 'field, level ground' > T (att. in NaT) *h̥ala-ŋ 'flat open ground' > OT alaŋ, Tk alaŋ id., Tkm alaŋ 'small height, mountains', VTt {Bu.} alaŋ 'clearing in woods, meadow', Nog alaŋ 'open (ground)', alaŋ er 'glade, lawn', Qzq, Qq alaŋ 'a clearing in woods (поляна)', Tv alāq id., alandı 'thawed patch (проталина)', Yk alā-s 'round field, clearing in woods', Alt yalaŋ 'plain (Ebene)' ¶ ET Gl 134-5, Cl. 147, Bu. I 79, Pek. 67, NogR 36, TvR 51, Sht. 2O, KrkR 36, RKazS 57O || Tg *p̥ala:lin- 'level ground' > Lm Ol/P hālunrъ, Lm O halunra 'a clearing in woods, woodless level ground'; Tg *palan 'ground, floor' > Ork pālla(n-), Nn Nh palā, Nn B ɸala(n-), Nn KU ɸalā 'floor', Ul pala(n-) 'floor, board', WrMc falan 'floor, courtyard within the house'; → Ud pala(n-), Neg palan 'floor'; in addition, the infl. of Chn fa-lan 'fence' (as supposed by Z) cannot be ruled out ¶ STM II 32, 313, Krm. 276, Z 1032 || pKo {S} *p̥á,r(h)- 'field, meadows' > MKo p̥á,ri, Ko Ph pə,ɿ~p̥ə,ɿ, NKo {MLC} pə,ɿ, {Rm.} p̥ə,ɿ 'plain, open field, prairie, even ground', NKo {MLC} p̥ə,ɿ 'a wide expanse of land, vast plain, prarie' ¶ Rm. SKE 196, MLC 764, 1744, BKR I 545, S QK #202 || pJ *p̥arà 'level ground, plain' > OJ p̥arà, J: T/K hárā, Kg hárá ¶ S QJ #269. Mr. 399 ¶ S LV #93, DQA #1723 (*p̥ālā 'field, level ground [plain']), ≠ Rm. SKE 196 (equates Ko p̥ə,ɿ with Ewk hilə-kən 'open field', ? WrMc filə 'a plate', Ul, Nn {PSchm.} pilə, pili id., J hira, Ai hira 'a plain') || **D** *pol- ({θGS} *p-) 'arable field' > Tm pulam 'arable land, rice field; place, region', pulan, pulavu 'arable land', Ml pulam 'cornfield; place', Kn pola 'plough-field; place', Tu pula 'pasturage', Tl polamu 'field, place of cultivated land', Klm polam 'field', Prj polub, Gdb polub, pollūb 'village' ¶ D #4303 ◇ D *-o- is probably due to the assimilative infl. of *p- and/or of an ancient *-r̥o'. EC *b- still needs explaining.

1690. *p̥ālā́v 'inside, entrails, liver' > **HS: Ch: WCh: Gmy {ChL} f̥áɬá, {Sh. in ChC} f̥álep̥, Tal {ChL} f̥áɬák, Cp {ChL} f̥áɬák, Tmbs {Sh.} f̥wáɬák 'liver' || ? CCh: BM {ChL}: Mrg mb̥iɬ, Klб m̥b̥iɬá, Hld mbúlu (pl. mbòlá), Wmd mb̥iɬá id. | Mofu {Ro.} m̥ávél, MfG {Bn} m̥ávél, Gzg {Lk.} mevel id. || Skr {Sx.} p̥élsá 'liver' ¶ ChC, ChL, ~ Ro. 284 (unc.: pMM *ma-givir) || ? HEC *afale 'liver' > Sd {Ss.} affale, {Hd., Gs.} afale, Brj {Ss.} af'ala, {Hd.} af(f)ala, Kmb {Ss.} afelita, {Hd.} afalita, Hd {Hd., Ss.} afare ¶ Ss. B 24, Hd. 93, Bnd. LE258-9 || NrOm (↔ HEC?): Ma S {Ss.} a'fāro, Shn {Lm.} afarà, Mch {L} aɸa'ro, Anf {MYTY} aparo, {Fl.} afarō 'liver' ¶ L M**

17, Lm. Sh 261, MYTY 12O, Fl. OWL || ? S: Ar bāl- 'heart, mind' ¶ Ln. 277, BK I 18O, Hv. 52 ¶ Cf. OS #775 (*fal-/ful- 'liver, lungs', adducing WCh *ful- 'lungs' and CCh *fa-ful- 'lungs') || U: FU *pä||]Δ 'internal, entrails' ({UEW} 'das Innere') > Prm: Vt pol-, pəl-: Vt Sl poltn 'in, im Inneren, zwischen', Vt Sr pəl̩, Vt Kz pole 'in, zwischen' (direction)', Z pəls-~pəvs-: Z Lu miyan pəls̩n 'among us' || OHg bél 'das Innere', Hg bél (accus. belet) 'gut, kernel (of a nut), wick', -be / -ba into', -ben / -ban 'in', -bōl / -ból 'out of' ¶ UEW 364, MF 105, LG 227 || A: M *ψeligen 'liver' > MM [L] هلکان helegen, [S] helige(n), [IM] helige, [MA] eligen 'liver', WrM elige, HIM элэг id., π 'breast, belly', Kl elkn̄, Ba helgə ({T} хэлгэ), Dg {Mr.} helehe, {T} хэлзг, ShY heleхe, MnR H {SM} xalige, {T} xelige, MnR M {T} xalige 'liver' ¶ Pel. 211-2 [#14], Pp. L III 76, Pp. MA 152, 438, H 75, MED 309, KRS 697, KW 119, SM 157, T 375, T DgJ 17, Mr. D 159 || Tg *°pēlbu- 'be pregnant' > Ewk hālbu- id. ¶ STM 363 || pKo *pāj 'belly' > MKo pāj, NKo pā ¶ S AJ 25 [#4], S QK #4, Nam 21, MLC 742 || pJ *pārā 'belly' > OJ pára, J: T/Kg hará, K hárà ¶ S AJ 264 [#4], S QJ #4, Mr. 399 ¶ DQA #1632 (A *pēylo 'belly, liver'), SDM94 (A *pāj 'belly') ¶ T: ئەنچىرىخ {KW ← ?} al 'Niere' (not confirmed by Ash. and any other available sources) (a ghost word?) ¶ KW 119.

1691. *PilΔ 'a hair, tuft of hair, feather' > IE: NaIE *pilo- 'hair' (with as.: *pulo- id.) (→ *pil-t- 'felt') > L pilus 'a hair' || MIr ul (< *pulu) 'beard', Brtt (× N *pīlΔ 'eye'?): OW {Flr.} ail, W ael 'eyebrow', OBr GUORAIL 'supercilium' (Flr.: cd. with GUOR- 'upper') || Gk πύλιγγες 'hairs of the body' || OI pulakāh pl. 'bristling hairs of the body' | Irn: Krd pūr 'headhair' || ? Gmc (× Gmc *felti- 'gestampftes'): OHG filz, MHG vilz, NHG Filz, OSx filt, AS felt 'felt', NE felt || NaIE *piles- /pils- 'felt' > L pilleus (< *pils-eyo-) 'felt cap' || Gk πύλος 'wool\hair made into felt' || Sl *pъlstъ 'felt' > OR пλъстъ pъstъ 'felt, felt carpet', Blg пъст, Scr MN пъст, Slv pôlst (gen. polstî), Cz plst (gen. plsti), Slk plst', P pilsc, Uk повстъ (gen. повсти) 'felt', R полстъ (gen. полсти) 'felt-cloth, cloth', d. полстна 'felt' ¶ H 251 || NaIE *pleu-k-, *pleu-s- 'feather, hair, wool' (× NaIE *pleus- 'pluck out', *pleuk- 'flock') > [1] *pleu-k- > Lt plaukas 'a hair', plaukaī pl. 'hair', pluksna, Δ pluinksna 'feather'; [2] *pleus- > L pluma ({Thr.}: < *plusma) 'downy part of a feather; small, soft feather', pl. plūmae 'down' || Gmc {Vr.} *fleusaz > MLG vlūs, vlūsch, MHG

{KM, Vr.} **vlius**, NHG **Vlies**, MDt **vlies**, **vluus**, Dt **vlies** 'fleece', AS **flīes**, **flēos** id., 'wool, hide', NE **fleecē**, as well as NLG **vlūs(e)**, **vlūsch**, NHG **Flaus**, **Flausch** 'tuft of wool\hair, fleecy woollen material', ??σ Nr Δ {Ar.} **fluret** 'dishevelled\bristling' (of hair), {Ho.} **flūra** 'zottiges Haar' || Lt **plūskos** pl. 'tufts of hair, hair', Lt † **pláuz(d)inis** ~ **plá(u)zenis** '(Deck)bett', Pru **plauxdine** 'eider-down' | § P 830, ≈ 837-8, EI 569, EM 516, ≈ F II 536, WH II 303-5, 324-5, Vr. N 792O, Kb. 243, ≈ KM 197-8, KM 203, 822, Ho. 100, 108, Ar. 274, ≈ Frn. 607-9, 634, En. 227, Vs. III 318, Ma. CS 378, Flr. 198, SB 3 ({SB} pClt *aili), Bc. 220, EI 251 (*pilo-s, *pulo-s '[a single] hair [of the human body']'), 569 (*pil-so- ~ *pil-to- 'felt') || ? HS: ? B *bilh-, *bilh|φ-ič- 'eyelashes, (→) eyelid' > BSn abəl, Izn ābəl 'eyelid', BMn abəl 'eyelash', Mtm abliwān 'eyebrow', Ah abīlat 'eyelid'; acc. to NZ, in most B lgs. anf ds. it means 'eyelash' § Fc. 69, Pr. H #25, NZ 55 || C: EC: Arr {Hw.} **fīl** 'tail' || Ag: Xm Wg {Fl} **fεlfela** 'feather' § Hw. A 358, Blz. CWL || D [1] D *pīl- ({GS} *p-) 'peacocks's tail, peacocks's feather' > Kn pīli, Kdg pīli id., Tu pīli id., bīla 'tail', Tm, Ml pīli 'peacock's feather', Tl pīli 'rudder, peacock's feather' §§ D #4226 || [2] *pilka ({GS} *p-) 'a tuft\knot of hair' > Tl pilaka id., Knd pilka, pilika 'pigtail, dangling ends of hair', Ku pilka 'lovelock (worn curled under the ear by males)' §§ D #4179 || K: Sv {Ni.} **pīl** 'tail' (not confirmed by other available sources) § Ni. s.v. **ХВОСТЬ**.

1691a. *pU1E 'be much\big, increase' > HS: ? S *°√pwl > Ar √fwl TD (pf. tafayyala) 'grow up' (plant, youth) § BK II 655, Hv. 582 || A: M *ψüle- v. 'be too much\big, be superfluous', *ψüle-χü- 'superfluous, left over', *ψülemži 'more, much, many' > MM [L] hülüwülebe 'vermehrte sich', [S] hulegu 'übrig sein', WrM üle-, HlM χлэ- v. 'be left over, be superfluous', WrM ülemži, HlM χлэмж 'more, much, many; great, huge', Ord iłū, iłgū, ülgū 'superflu, plus de, davantage', MnR H {SM} fuliū 'superflu, en surplus, plus de, de trop' § Pel. 236-7 [#64], MED 1004-5, H 78, Iw. 144, Ms. O 384, SM 107 || Tg *pule- ({Bz.} pölä-) v. 'be superfluous' > Ewk hulz- ~ həlz- 'happen to be superfluous (остаться в излишке)', Lm hul- id., 'be(come) superfluous', Sln ułz- id., ułzəx 'the remainder, surplus', 'magnificent', Uł pulz, Ork pullz ~ pulz ~ pulzχz 'sth. superfluous, surplus', Neg xulzχz id., 'extra, more, better', Orc xulz 'superfluous, surplus', xulz aya 'the best', Ud {STM} xulz'a 'superfluous', Nn Nh pulz, Nn KU fulz,

fuləkə, Nn B fuləkə 'superfluous, surplus, redundancy', WrMc fulu 'superfluous, surplus; too much' ¶ STM II 364-5 || NaT *h₂ulug 'great, big' (× N *wuola 'big, large, multitude', *see ffd.* N *wAla [or *wuola?] id.) > OT, OOsm XIV uluγ, XwT XIII ulu(γ), MQp XIII ulū, XIV [CC] ulu, Chg XV, ET uluγ ~ uluq, SY, Ln, Xk, Tv, Tf uluγ, Tkm, Slr uli 'large, big, great', Tk uli, Ggz, CrTt, Kr Cr ulu, Yk ulū id., VTt олы ёлъ, Bsh оло ёлъ 'large, big; old, grown up' (of a person), Az ulu 'big, great, ancient', Uz uluγ, Qzq γлъи ўлъ, Qq ulli, Alt ulu, Uz uluγ 'great', Qrg ulū 'great, elder', † uluq 'chief, ruler', Yk ulū 'large, great' ¶ Cl. 136, ET Gl 593-5, Rs. W 513, Sht. 289, Jud. 803-4, MM 488, KrkR 67, Nj. 134, BT 167, Ra. 237 || D *poli₁ 'increase, abound' > Tm poli 'flourish, prosper, abound, increase', Ml poli n. 'increase', Kn hulisu v. 'increase in bulk, thrive, grow rich', Kdg poli- v. 'increae', Tu poli n. 'interest in kind, increase, abundance', Tl poli n. 'gain' ¶ D #455O ◇ Is there etymological connection with N *palyū 'much, superfluous'?

1692. *pu₁u (or *pu₁ü?) 'to spring forth' (→ 'to flow'), 'to plunge in water' > HS: WS *✓p₁p₁ ~ *✓p₁l ~ *-p₁l- > Gz ✓f₁f₁ (pf. falfala) v. 'gush out, spring forth', falfal 'fountain', Sr ✓p₁l (pf.  pal) 'sprinkle', ✓p₁w₁ (pf.  pāl, ip. -p₁l) id.; EthS → Bln {R} fəlfəl- 'gush out', Qbn {L} fəlfəllo', falfalla id.] Not here (↔ Blz.) S *'palag-' 'canal, small stream' (← S *✓plg 'split asunder', *see ffd.* N *Pä'l'  'to split lengthwise, to divide') ¶ L G 158-9, Br. 560, 569, JPS 437, 445-6, ≈ Blz. LB #60 || IE: [1] NaIE *pol-/ *p₁- v. 'pour\stream' > Lt p̄ilti (pres. pilu) 'to pour', Ltv {ME} piłt (prs. piłstu, pilu) vi. 'tröpfeln', Ltv pilēt 'to drop, to drip, to trickle, to dribble', pali (Δ palas) 'flood, inundation', pile 'a drop', Lt am̄palas (< *añt-palas) 'water frozen on the ice' | Sl *°pol- v., *°polb n. > ChS {Mikl.} **пoль** 'ἐπαρυστήρ, Schöpfgefäß', Slv {Mikl.} plati, poljem 'haurire'; the connection with R 'полая вода, поло'водье 'Hochwasser' is highly qu., the R stem is more likely to derive from пол- 'full' < N *Polxæ 'to fill' (or reflects a merger of both N words) || Arm **հեղում** hełum 'I pour, pour out, empty' (< *pel-nu-mi), **զեղում** zełum (< *z-hełum) vt. 'I shed, pour out (lassen strömen)' || W llanw n. 'flow of tide', OBr lanu, MBr lano, lanv, lanu 'flux', Crn {ECCE} lanwes 'flow, raising tide' ¶ ≈ P 798-801 (does not distinguish between this ✓ and IE *pelñ-/*pleñ- 'to fill'), LP § 19, YGM-1 302, Flr. 236-7, ECCE 264, Frn. 592, Kar. II 13-4, 48, ME III 59, 214-6, Mikl. L 616, F II 547-8, Slt. 384-5, ≠ σ Η

2O1 (Arm *hełum* < **pelh*₁- 'fill') ||| [2] NaIE **pley-* 'flow; swim' > OI 'plavatē 'floats, swims', caus. *plā'vayati* 'causes to swim, bathes, submerges', *plu'ta-* 'floated, bathed' (÷ Gk πλυτός 'washed'), *pluti-* 'overflowing, flood' (÷ Gk πλύσις n. act. 'washing') ||| Gk πλέω 'swim, float, sail, go by sea', πλύνω 'I wash' ||| Arm **լուանամ** *luanam* 'I wash', aor. **լուացի** *luach'i* ||| L *pluit* 'it rains', *pluvius*, *pluor* 'rain', re-*plu-ō* 'durchnässe' ||| ? Clt: OIr {SB} ló-chasair 'rain' (x N ***L^qVU** 'be moist\liquid, flow', q.v.); ??? Brtt: MCrn *glaaw*, Crn *gwlaw* > *glaaw* 'rain', MBr *glauaff* 'to rain' ||| ON *flóa*, AS *flōwan* 'to overflow', OHG *flewen* (< caus.) 'to wash', ON *fley* 'ferry, ship', OSx *flōd* 'flood, river', AS *flōd* 'flowing, stream; tide; river, sea; flood', Gt *flōdus*, ON *flæð*, *flæðr*, *flóð*, OHG *fluot*, NHG *Flut* 'flood', NE *flood* ||| Lt *pláuti* (p. *plóviau*, prs. *pláuji*) (< caus.) 'to wash, to rinse' | Sl **plu'-ti* (prs. **plōvq*) 'to swim, to float' > OCS **πλούτη** *pluti* / prs. **πλοβή** *plovq*, OR *pluti* / *plovu*, SCr Cr *plūti* / *plovēm*, Slv *plúti* / *plóvem*, OCz *plúti* / *plovu*, Cz *plouti* / *pluji*, Slk *plut'*; Sl **pl̥-ti* (< **plū-*) / prs. **pl̥jø* 'swim, float' > R *плыть* / *плы'ву* id., SCr Sr *пли́ти* / *пли́јем* id., P *pływać* 'to swim, to float', Blg prs. *пливам* 'I swim' ||| pTc {Ad.} **plu-* > Tc: A *plu-*, {Wn.} *plau-*, B {Wn.} *pli-*, *plyew-* 'planer, flotter', B {Ad.} *plu-*, *plyew-* 'soar, fly up', *plewe* {Wn.} 'raft, boat', {Ad.} 'raft' ¶ P 835-7, M K II 383-6, M E II 194-6, F II 559-60, WH II 326-7, Bc. 68 (no et. of the Brtt words for 'rain'), Ern. 258, ≠ SB 249-50 (pClt **levô* 'ich spüle'), Vr. 131-3, 1350, Kb. 262, 268, OsS 203-4, 206-7, KM 210-1, Sw. 60, Ho. 109-10, Ho. S 21, Slt. 94, Frn. 609-10, Vs. III 288-9, Glh. 488, Wn. 377, 379, Ad. 428, Ad. H 17, 99 ¶ N **u* is not reflected in the IE root, because in the prehistory of IE the glide **u* after **p* was lost (***pu-* > **p-*) ||| U: FU (att. in Ugr) **pâl̥V* (= **pul̥V*?) 'spring forth, flow' > ObU **pōl̥-* > pOs **pāl̥-* ~ **pōl̥-* ({JHl.} **p̥l̥-* ~ **pūl̥-*) > Os: Nz *pōl̥iy-*, Kz *pōl̥i-*, O *pāli-* 'spring forth (hervorquellen)', Kz *pōl̥ši-*, *pōl̥semə-*, D *pāl̥temə-* 'plätschern'; pVg **pōl̥-* > Vg: T/LK/UK *poísit-*, P/NV *poíst-*, IL *paíst-*, UL *poísat-* v. 'splash, ripple', Ss *pol̥-* 'plätschern' (χάρνοι *pol̥anēt suyti* 'das Plätschern der Bootspitze ist zu hören'), *pol̥alt-* 'plätschern' (matər *pol̥altawe* 'etwas plätschert') | OHg, Hg *folu-* 'flow, stream' ¶ UEW 881, Ht. #511, MF 212-3, EWU 406-7 ||| A **bula-* or **büla-* 'make (a liquid) flow', **bulakV* 'source, spring' > T *^o*bula-* > Qzq {Rl.} *bula-* 'fließen, hervorströmen, entspringen (Fluß)', {Sht.}

бүла- бүла- 'weep, shed tears; foam a horse by fast riding'; NaT *bulak 'spring (of water)' > OT, XwT XIV, MQp [CC] bulaq, Tk bulak, CrTt, Qmq, Qq, ET, SY, Ln bulaq, Az бүләг bulag, Uz bulaq id., Tkm bulaq 'irrigation ditch', VTt болак бүлаq 'brook', Tv бүләк р'ulaq 'spring of water; brook (in a steppe); source (of a river)', Tf р'ulaq 'ice crust (наледь) near a spring'; T → M: MM [IsV, HI] bulaq, [S] bulax, WrM bulag, HlM бүләг, Ord b_u'laq, Kl бүлг бүлөг, {Rm.} bulug_, MnR H {SM} bulag_, MnR H/M {T} bulag 'spring, source' ¶ Rs. W 87, Dr. TM II #77O, 8O9, Rl. IV 1836, Sht. 64, MM 113, ET B 257-8, Cl. 336, TvR 121, Ra. 72, 165, Lg. VMI 22, Ms. H 43, H 21, MED 133, SM 32, T 32O, KW 59 || Tg: [1] *bulku- > WrMc bulqu- vi. 'spout, jet' (of a spring), 'splash', {Hr.} 'von unten nach oben hervorkommen (Wasser), heraussprudeln, hervorquellen', ? Ewk Ald/Z bulku- 'wash oneself', ? Nn Nh bolqo- ~ bulχo- v. 'rinse (one's mouth)']?? [2] *°pulkv- > WrMc fulχa- {Z} 'suppurate, discharge pus', 'burst' (an abscess), 'bleed' (a wound), {Hr.} 'eitern', {Am.} 'lorsque le pus sort d'un plaie'] [3] *bilku- vt. 'moisten, wet' > Ewk bilki-, bilkiptan- 'moisten (a hide to dress leather)', Ud beäku-, Nn Nh bulχo- 'moisten (runners of a sledge to improve sliding)' ¶ STM I 82, 1O8, Hr. 124, 315, Am. I 214, Z 1O88, DQA #146 (Tg *b'ü'lkü-) || M: [1] M *bulqa- vt. 'dip in water' > WrM bulqa-, HlM бүлхә- vt. 'dip in water, rinse', Kl бүлхә bulχa-χa-, {Rm.} bulχa-χävi. 'to dip in water'; [2] ?σ,φ M *bilqa- v. 'overflow; be too full' > WrM bilqä-, HlM бялхә- id.; d. *bilqayi- > WrM bilqai-, HlM бялхай- 'be overfilled', Kl {Rm.} bilχä- 'dick und voll werden, über den Rand überschwabben' ¶ M *bilqa- has more plausible semantic connections with the roots of T and Tg, while M *bulqa- 'dip in water' is justified in the framework of N (see IE *pleu- 'swim') ¶ MED 1O5, 136, KW 45, 6O, KRS 119 || pKo {S} *puri- (or *piri-) 'soak, make wet' > NKo puri-, pulli- ¶ S QK #883, Rm. SKE 211, MLC 836 || pJ {S} *pùrɔ or *pùrya 'bath' > OJ pùr_yò, J: T ψúro ~ ψuró, K ψùró, Kg ψuró ¶ S QJ #1658, Mr. 418 ¶ DQA #146 (A *bjü'lò v. 'soak, gush forth') || D (SD) *pu]- v. float' > Tu pułāvuni, Krg bołä id. ¶ D #4321 ◇ The Tg delabialization (N *u > *i) in Tg *bilku- is still to be explained (see Introduction, § 2.4).

1692a. ₂ *pūLv 'to blow (blasen)' > HS: WCh: Jmb {Sk.} fäl v. 'blow' || ECh: Kir {ChL} fʷale id., Ke {Eb. in ChC} f̥élē id., {Eb.} fūlī 'blasen, wehen' ¶ Eb. 46, ChL, ChC || HEC {Hd.} *fōl- 'breathe' > Sd fōl-, fō?l- id.; HEC *fōlē 'breath' > Sd {Gs.} fōlē id., 'odour, smell', Brj {Hd.} fōlē

'odour, smell', Kmb *fōli*, Hd. *fōre* 'life, soul' || Hd. 31, 19O, 278, 316 ||
A: M *ψüliye- v. 'blow (blasen)' > MM [MA] *hüle-* id., WrM *üliye-*, HIM
 Կլզ- v. 'blow, inflate', Dx *fulie-* v. 'blow', Ba *file-* v. 'blow' (of wind)
 || MED 1006, Pp. MA 19O, T DnJ 138, T BJ 148 || Tg *puł(i)gi- v. 'blow
 (blasen)' > Nn B/KU *fulgi-* id., Nn B *fulgiči-* v. 'inflate', WrMc
fulgiye-, Mc Sb *fulgi-* v. 'blow, fan (fire)' || STM II 336 || pKo *pūr- v
 'blow (blasen)' > MKo *pūr-*, NKo *pūl-* || Rm. SKE 209, S QK #554, Nam
 267, MLC 835 || pJ *pūk- v. 'blow' > OJ *pūk-*, J: T/K *ψūk-*, Kg *ψūk-* || S
 QJ #515, Mr. 694 || DQA 1852 (A *pūlgī -o- 'to blow').

1693. *p_NLu (or *p_NLü) 'lungs, pluck' > **HS:** Ch: WCh: AG: Su {J} *fɔlɔk*, Ang {Flk.} *fwołok*, Gmy {ChC} *fɔłtł*, Mpn {Frz.} *flòk, fùlfúk* 'lung(s)' | Ron: Bks {J} *fòłok* id. || J S 65, J R 141, Flk. s.v. *fwołok*, Frz. DM 18, ChC || Infl. of N *pAí_Ngæ ~ *pAí_Ngæ 'spleen' is possible || Cf. OS #775 (*fal-/ful- 'liver, lungs', adding HEC *afal- 'liver' and Om *afār- 'liver') || **K:** GZ *peiltw- / *p̥ltw- 'lungs' > G *piltv-i* id., {DCh.} id., 'pluck', Mg *pirtv-* (ir < *]), Zan → OG *pirtw-*, G *pirtv-* 'lungs', and [??] Sv UB/LB/L {TK, GP} *peršwda*, Sv Ln {TK} *pereštwā* id.; the stem-final -t_w- & -d_w- may be ancient (cp. IE *plew-tyo- in BSI) || ≈ K 189 (*pir(š)t_w-) and K² 201-2 (*pirt_w- 'lungs' with a "secondary substitution" l for *r in G), ≈ FS K 319-20 and ≈ FS E 358 (*pirt_w-), DCh. 1306, SSO II 193 (*pirtw-*), ≈ Gel. 108 (substitution l for r), TK 681, GP 253 || **IE:** NaIE *pleu-mon-/ *plu-m(o)n- 'lung', *°pleu-tyā- ~ *°ploutyā- 'lung(s)': [1] NaIE *pleu-mon-/ *plu-m(o)n- > OI *klō'man-* 'the right lung', pl. 'lungs' (acc. to P and F, dis. *p...m > *k...m), Pali *kilōmaka* 'the pleura', Kls *krōma* 'lung' (< var. InA *krōman-) || Gk πλεύμων 'lung' || L *pulmō*, mostly pl. *pulmōnes* 'lungs' | [2] NaIE (in BSI) *pleu-tyā- ~ *plou-tyā- 'lungs' > Lt *plaūčiai*, Ltv *plaušas* (m. pl.), Pru *plauti* 'lungs' | Sl {Glh.} *píu'tje / pl. *píutjā 'lung(s)' > OCS πλιουψα *pljušta*, [Supr.] πλουψα *plušta*, OR πλιουψα *pljuča*, SCR *pljūča*, Sln *pluča*, OCz *pliúče*, Cz *plíče*, Slk *pl'úča* 'lungs' || P 837-8, ≈ EI 359 (*'pleumōn / *plum'n-os; BSI < *plou-ty-e/oh_R-; unc.: ← *pleu- 'float'), M E I 419, F II 558-9, WH II 386-7, Frn. 607, En. 227, StSS 452, SJSS XXV 6, Glh. 489 || ?φ **D** *poꝝv1- ({§GS} *p- 'lungs' > Irl *poꝝo* 'lungs', AlK *poꝝondi* id., ? Gnd *posa* id., Knd *poRo* (= [poꝝo]?) 'lung(s)', Png *počla*, Mnd *būlaŋ* id., Ku *bo'la* id. || D #4569 || D *poꝝv1- results

from dis.: *por₂ν1- < **p₂ν1ν1- ◇ N *p- is reconstructed on the ev. of AG *f-.

1694. *p^ri^r?L^r 'strong' > HS *v^rp?^r (or *v^rp^h?r) > S: Ak B/NA bā^rālu(m) 'abnormal groß, lichtstark sein', 'be abnormally large, become bright, shine brightly', Ak YB bā^rlu 'abnormal groß' ¶ Sd. 93-4, 100, CAD II 1 || ? Eg fOK f^rw {EG} 'Macht', {Fk.} 'magnificence, splendour' (*f^rν?w^r < *f^rν?₁ν₂?w^r??) ¶ EG I 575, Fk. 98, ⇔ Tk. II 558-9 (Eg ÷ Hb v^rp^rr D 'zieren, verherrlichen' and related S and Ch words for 'adorn, praise') || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *bala 'strong, big' > pAG {Hf.} *b^ral v. 'be strong, hard' > Su {J} bá^rl 'fest, gewaltig, mächtig; Stärke, Gewalt', Ang {Hf.} bá^rl v. 'get better after illness', Gmy {Hf.}, Mnt {Hf.} bá^rl, Kfr {Nt.} bá^rl 'hard, strong', Cp {ChL} bá^rl 'strong', bá^rbá^rl 'hard' || BT: Tng B {Kr.} bá^rl 'many', Tng {J} bá^rl 'full' || NrBc: P' {MSk.} bá^rl- 'big' (m. bá^rlán, non-m. bá^rléi), Dir {Sk. in ChC} ná^r bá^rl 'big', {Stl. ← ?} bula 'size, height (величина, высота)' || SBC: Krf {Sch.} bá^rllí 'many' || CCh: BM: Mrg {Hf.} bá^rbá^rl 'hard', {ChL}: Klb bá^rbá^rlú, Wmd bá^rbá^rl^rw, Hld bá^rbá^rlú, Bu bá^rbá^rl, Cb bá^rbá^rl, WMrg bá^rbá^rl, bá^rbá^rl, Ngx bá^rbá^rl 'hard' || HgNk {ChL} bá^rbá^rl 'hard' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} bá^rbá^rló m. 'groß' || Nd D {J} bá^rl 'big', Smr {J} bá^rllé 'big' ¶ The cns. b^r is likely to result from glottalization (reflecting N *p) of the initial labial cns. ¶ J S 59, Stl. ZCh 158 [#25], Hf. AGG 17 [#18], Nt. 2, MSk. 168, Sch. BTL 148, ChL, ChC, Hf. M 23, Eb. 33 || IE: NaIE *bel- 'strong' > OI 'bala-m 'power, strength, might', 'balīyān 'stronger', 'balis̥tha-s 'strongest' || Gk βέλτιων, Gk Hm βέλτερο-ς 'better', βέλτιστο-ς, βέλτατο-ς 'best' || L dē-bilis 'powerless, feeble, weak' || Sl *bólyjь, f. *bólyši, ntr. *bóle(je), adv. *bóle 'greater, bigger' > OCS бóлнн bólii (bólyjь) 'größer', f. бóльшн bólši, adv. бóл€ bóle 'magis, plus', R 'больший 'bigger' (→ боль'шой 'big'), Uk більший 'bigger', SCr bòljī 'better' ¶ P 96, Dv. #456, EI 550 (*'belo-s 'strong'), M K II 416-8, M E II 215, FI 232, WH I 326-7, Bern. I 72, ESSJ II 193-4, Glh. 140-1† || A *p₁‘, iL^ra^r- > Tg *pil- 'firm, hard' > Ork pilji 'hardy, healthy' (a person), 'firm, hard' (wood), WrMc fili 'firm, dense, hard' ¶ STM II 38 ¶ Not here WrM ilə-, HlM яла-, Brt ила- v. 'conquer, win a victory, overcome', because on the ev. of MM [S] ilah- 'besiegen' the M √ has no *ψ- (see MED 401-2, Chr. 277, H 81) || K *opl- > G pl-: pl-oba (prs. v-pl-ob) 'besitzen, beherrschen', v-i-pl-ob (aor. 1s da-v-i-plo, 3s da-i-plo) 'sich (einer Sache) bemächtigen, (v.

etw.) Besitz ergreifen' ¶ Chx. 1384 || ?σ Δ (in KK) *p^vli- (⟨θGS⟩ *p-) v. 'be big, high' > Ku p̥li- v. 'be big', pl̥inay v. 'grow', Kui p̥rihp̥a v. 'be tall, high', p̥rihp̥a- v. 'be tall', p̥riša 'tall, high' ¶ D #4192 ◇ NaIE *bel- < **b̥jel- < N *p̥i¹ʔ²l³LN. On the loss of postconsonantal glides in the prehistory of IE cf. AD NVIE. If D *p^vli- belongs here (which is uncertain), the N etymon is *p̥i¹ʔ²l³N.

1695. *p̥i¹ʔ²E³l⁴N (or *p̥-?) 'stinging insect' > **HS**: Ch: WCh: Df/Btr {Sh.} b̥wàlè 'louse', Bks {RLC} b̥wele 'lice' || CCh: Glf {Lk.} f̥elej, Mbara {TrnSL} fùlày ~ fùláy 'mosquito', ? Mlw {Trn.} àv̥lì, ? Msg {Mch.} avuli, {Rlf.} áfili id. ¶ ChC, TrnSL 261, 294, Lk. ZSS 15O, Tk. EDE II 411-2 || WS *√p̥ly > Ar √fly G v. 'louse (the head), hunt for fleas', fāliy-at-'black-beetle spotted with white and black', Hrs √fly|w G (pf. f̥z̥lō), Jb C √fly|w G (pf. 'fe'le) v. 'delouse', Mhr √fly|w G (pf. f̥z̥lō) id., 'look for and remove bugs on an animal' ¶ BK II 635, Hv. 575-6, Jo. H 33, Jo. M 95, Jo. J 58 || EC: Hr filláyye, Glg filáyye 'flea' (× N *paLuC⁵N 'stinging insect'?) ¶ AMS 157, 199 || NrOm: pGng *p̥illo 'flea, bedbug' > Kf {C} p̥illó, {R} p̥illo ~ p̥illo id., Gjb {Fl.} b̥illo 'flea' ¶ C SE 481, Fl. PG 158 || ?φ Eg Md p̥j, Cpt: Sd πηι p̥ēi, B φηι p̥hēi 'flea' ¶ EG I 5O2, Crn. 124, Vc. 158 || **U:** [1] *p̥E¹N > ObU *p̥ēləm 'horsefly (Bremse)' > pVg *p̥älmN > OVg W P пельма, OVg N BerG pällem, OVg Ber π̥лма, Vg T, Vg MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL/ML päləm, LK p̥äləm, UL/Ss paləm id.; pOs *peləm > Os: VK, D, Knd peləm, Y p̥äfəm id. || Sm: Nn T riúu, Nn FL {Lh.} pirñū, Ng filt̥i id. ¶ [2] FU: Chr H пыйылмы ръ'уълтъ 'bumblebee (Bombus, шмель)', Chr {Szil.} pəyəlma 'wasp' ¶ ≈ UEW 416, Ht. #515, MRS 484, Ep. 97 || **A:** M *ψi¹l²u³χa 'fly, gnat, gadfly' > MM [S] {H} d. hilu'atu- 'von Fliegen gestochen werden', WrM ilagā(n), HIM ялаа(н) 'fly, gnat, gadfly', WrM {Kow.} ilaga 'œstre, sorte de taon, mouche', Ord {Ms.} ilō 'taon', Kl d. иласн 'мошка', {Rm.} ilē-sŋ 'Motte, kleine Fliegen\Mücken', Brt илаанан 'midges (мошка, мошкара)', Brt W ilāhan 'flies', Dg {T} xilā 'fly', {Mrm} χila 'Bremse, Pferdebremse' ¶ Pel. 217 (MM hiluqat- 'être excité par des mouches'), H 76, MED 4O2, Kow. 294-5, KRS 267, KW 2O6, Chr. 277, Ms. O 384, T DgJ 176, Klz. D 139 || Tg *pulmi:₁-(k₂t₃) 'midges' > Ewk hunmī-k̥t̥z, Lm humtəçən, Neg xunmužəkt̥z, Orc, Ul, Ork pumikt̥z, Ud xumukt̥z, Nn Nh purmikt̥z, Nn B xumikt̥z, Nn KU xurməkt̥z ¶ STM II 348 || pKo {S} p̥hár, p̥hárì, NKo p̥härin. 'fly' ¶ QK #1183, Nam 463, MLC 173O ¶ DQA #636 (A *p̥i¹olí 'fly, midge') ◇ Eg p̥j (if it belongs here) point to a N initial

p**-. But CCh cognates suggest that the N cns. was ***p**-, which is a stronger argument. The glottalized cnss. ***p**- and **b**- in Om and the WCh lgs. and Chr -**þ*ȝ**- suggest a N intervocalic laryngeal (most probably *-?**p**-). The sequence ***pU?E**- (or ***pU?E**-?) in this N word is suggested by Df/Btr **bwàlè** and Bks **bwele**, as well by the discrepancy between the front vw. of the U and M first syll. and the vw. ***u** in Tg. But if we ignore the WCh data, the above discrepancy may be accounted for by mt. in Tg (***pilu** > ***pul-**) \diamond ~ Blz. LNA #48 (HS, U, A; *÷ Ag {Blz.} ***filut-**/***fälät-**/***fälät-** [sc. ***fɔllūt-**] 'flea', that is better explained as going back to N ***p aL uC** ∇ 'stinging insect').

1696. $\text{2 } *P'Ey'L\nabla$ 'to fly, to soar' > **HS:** NrOm ***p** ∇ **l-** > Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} **päl-** v. 'fly', WI {C} **fäl-**, {LmS} **fäll-**, Dwr {Lm.} **fäl-**, Ym {Lm.} **fūl-** id., {Wdk.} **fūlū** ~ **fūlū** v. 'run off' ¶ Mrn. O 155, LmS 353-4, Lm. Y 341, Wdk. BY 123, Fl. OWL || **A** (***p** ∇ **EyLe-** v. 'fly, soar'): M ***ψele-** v. 'soar, float in the air, fly up' > HIM **элэ-** 'float in the air', Brt **эли-** 'float in the air' (birds), Dx **həljəz-** id., 'take wing, rise', Kl **el-xə** 'be scattered in the air (by wind), sich (im Winde) zerstreuen' ¶ KW 119, Luv. 67O, Chr. 762, T DnJ 14O, Cev. 875 || Tg ***pjele-** v. 'fly', 'float in the air' (of birds) > WrMc **fiyele-** ({Z} **φъле-**) id.; (\times N ***p i y** ∇ **lā** [or ***p i l y** ∇ ?] 'to fall'): Nn Nh **pīlužn** ~ **pīružn** 'fly, float in the air', 'fall from a tree' (of leaves) ¶ STM II 38, Z 11OO \diamond ~ IS III 97-1O6 (***p'äjla** 'to fall') (A ***p** ∇ **Eyle-** v. 'fly' + IE *(s)**p** \bar{h} **ōl-** [sc. *(s)**p** \bar{h} **ol-**] 'fall' [in fact from N ***p i y** ∇ **lā** id.] + unc. D ***vēl-** 'fly, descend').

1697. ***p i y** ∇ **lā** (or ***p i l y** ∇ ? 'to fall' > **HS:** S: [1] S * \checkmark **npl**, *-**npl-** v. 'fall' > BHb \checkmark **npl** (ip. **y**i-**p**'**pol**) 'fall (accidentally)', Ug \checkmark **npl**, BA, Sr \checkmark **npl** (pf. **nə'p****al**) v. 'fall', OAK p. -**ppul** '(Steine) brechen (im Gebirge)', Ak **napālu** (p. -**ppul**) 'zu Fall bringen, (Gebäude) abbrechen, zerstören'; [2] S * $\circ\checkmark$ **ŋpl** v. 'set' (of celestial bodies) > Ar **pafala** (ip. -**?fil-u** ~ *-**?ful-u**) {Fr.} 'occidit (sol), abiit (lac lactentis)', {Hv.} 'set' (star), 'have no more milk' (woman) ¶ Fr. I 44, Hv. 1O, KB 67O-1, KBR 7O9-11, GB 535, 926, A #182O, OLS 326, Br. 436-7, Sd. 733-4, G OA 2O3 || NrOm * $\circ\checkmark$ **npl-** > Kf {C} **hol(l)-** v. 'fall' ¶ C SE IV 455 || Ch: WCh ***p** $\bar{a}l- v. 'fall' > Ang **p**a(:)**l** 'stumble, fall', Su {J} **p****al**, Cp {ChC, ChL} **p****al**, Mpn {Frz.} **p** $\bar{a}l v. 'fall' || CCh: McTr: Hw {ChL} **f** $\ddot{l} id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 147 [#26], J S 78, ChL I 43 and II 18, ChC s.v. 'fall', J S 2O8, Flk. s.v. **p** $\bar{a}l, Frz. DM 48 ¶ S ***n-** and ***š-** (> Ar ***?-**) in S * \checkmark **npl** and * \checkmark **ŋpl** go back to stirpes-forming (verbal derivational) prefixes || IE: NaIE$$$$

*(s)p^hol- v. 'fall' > Gk σφάλλω v. 'make fall', aor. ps. ἐ-σφάλην 'I was made to fall, I fell' (probably, the basic form from which other forms of the verb developed) || Arm փլանիմ p^hlanim 'I fall, fall in, crumble' (aor. փլայ p^hlay), փուլ p^hul n. 'falling, fall; crumbling' || Gmc *falla/e- v. 'fall' (< *falna/e-) > ON falla 'to fall\fell', OSx, OHG fallan, NHG fallen, AS feallan 'to fall, to perish, to die', NE f^all v. || Lt p^hulti / prs. p^holu v. 'fall', Ltv pult / polu id. ¶ WP II 1O3, P 851, EI 191 (*p^hōl- or *pHōl-), Frn. 666, Me. EAC 35, Slt. 391-2, Vr. 11OO, Kb. 218-9, OsS 159, KM 182, Ho. 99, Ho. S 18, ≠ F II 827-8, Ch. 1O74-5 ¶ Ffd. see IS III 98-1O5 || A *^op^hilâ- > NaT *h₁il(u)- > OT il- (aor. ilu-r) v. 'descend (from sth.)' (er tāydan kōdī ildī 'the man descended [جبل] from the mountains'), Qrg ildiy adv. 'down', ? Qzq īldiy 'depression', Qq ildiy 'low ground, dell' ¶ Cl. 125, Sht. 24, Jud. 929, KrkR 756 || Tg (× N *P^hEy'L^h 'to fly, to soar', q.v.): Nn Nh pīluзn ~ pīruзn 'fall from a tree' (of leaves) ¶ STM II 38 ◇ The IE *s- mobile suggests the presence of a palatal element (*y?) within the N etymon. The origin of the aspiration in NaIE *(s)p^hol- still needs investigating ◇ ≈ IS III 97-1O6 (*p^hājlā 'to fall') (IE + A *p₁l^hEyle- v. 'fly' [in fact from N *P^hEy'L^h '↑'] + unc. D *vēl- v. 'fly, descend') ◇ Identical with N *P^hEy'L^h '↑' ('to fly' ← 'to fall', as in R ↓ лететь)??.

1698. *Peļrē - *Peļrē 'side of body, side' > K: Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} pīl 'edge, (river-)bank; lip' (× N *per^h 'lip, edge'?) ¶ TK 681-2, Ni. s.v. край and берегъ, GP 213, ≈ K² 15O-1 (Sv pīl < K *pīr 'edge') ¶ Sv pīl < *pīr^hl | | IE: NaIE *pol- 'side of body, side, half' (× N *PälkA 'half, part', q.v. ffd.) > pAl {O} *palā > Al pālē 'fold, set, couple' || Sl *polъ 'side' > OCS поль polъ 'side\bank of a river' (ш Δρυγιν πολъ στοιαψα 'alterā stantes ripā' [Legend of St. Venceslaus Nicolensis 23.37]), опъ polъ 'trans, alterum latus, altera ripa', оба poly 'ex utraque parte' (SJSS XXVII 144), Slv pōl 'side'; Sl *polъ 'half' (× N *PälkA '↑') ¶ Mn. 974, Vs. III 3O6, Ma. CS 4O6-7, O 3O9, Kf. 25O-1, ≠ P 986 (does not distinguish between this IE √ and *(s)p(h)el- 'spalten') || U *pēlē 'side' > F -piel (gen. -pielen) in cds.: suupieli 'Mundwinkel' (suu- is 'mouth'), poskipieli 'Kinnbacken' (poski 'Backe, Wange'), cf. ds.: pielos, pielus 'Rand', pieltää 'sich seitwärts neigen' | pLp {Lr.} *pēlē > Lp: N {N} bælle -æl- ~ bællē ~ -æl-, L {LLO} piellē ~ pällē 'side', S {Hs.} bielie 'half, side', T/Kld

{TI} *p̥iɛll̥e* 'half, side' | pMr {Ker.} *pä́l 'side' > Er postp. *пелє* *pele* 'on the side of (въна сторона)', Mk postp. *пяле* *pä́la* 'near, γ' (the vw. influenced by pMr *pä́la 'halb, Hälfte' < U *pä́llä 'half') | Chr U *pel* 'side' (ε due to the infl. of pChr *pelə 'half' < U *pä́llä 'half') || ObU *^opḗl 'side' > Vg *pä́l id. > Vg: T *pä́l*, LK/MK/UK *pä́l*, P/SV/LL *pä́l*, NV/UL/Ss *pä́l* 'side'; Vg T *pä́lt* 'bei'; Os *pelək ({JHl.} *pä́lək) 'side, half' (> Os V/Vy *pelək*, Ty/Pm *pä́lək* 'side, half', D/K/Nz/O *pelək*, Kz *pelək* 'half, direction'); Os *pelək (*pä́lək) may either contain a sx. *-∇k- or (less probably) belong together with K *pelič- 'vierteilen' and S *✓plg v. 'split' (presumably from N *PE1∇^{g?}∇, cf. below s.v. *Pä́l∇^{g?}∇~ -^{g?}∇) (or result from coalescence of both N words) | OHg, Hg *fél* 'half, side' || ? Sm: Kms {KD} *p̥i̥l̥*, *p̥i̥l̥* 'side' §§ UEW 362-3, Sm. 539 (U *pexli 'edge, side' > FU, FP *peeli, Ugr *pä́li, Sm *piθj), Lr. #907, Lgc. #4842, Hs. 316-7, Ker. II 108, Ht. 716 [#508], Hl. rHt 71, Stn. D 1159-1161, MK 404-6, U3S 329, LG 227, TI 366, FF 757-7, MF 194-6, KD 53 ¶ UEW 362-3 describes both this ✓ and *pä́lək 'half' together as one etymon, but recognizes the possibility of distinguishing between them: "Möglichlicherweise haben diese Wörter eine ursprüngliche Doppelform bewahrt (*pä́lək 'halb, Hälfte' - *p̥ele 'Seite')". In several lgs. and branches within FU (Lp, ObU, Hg) both U roots have coalesced || ?σ A {S} *bḗlkege 'waist, slope' > M *belkeže-sün 'waist', pT {TL} *bḗlk 'waist', and Tg *belge 'lap' (x N *beLk∇^g∇ 'belly, waist', q.v. ffd. ×? N [?] *weH|yL∇ (or *weLH∇?) '≈ hip, waist') || D *pḗl∇ ({θGS} *b-) 'half' > Td *pa·f* 'each seed section of a jackfruit', Kn *bḗlē* 'half of a seed of the guñja (*Abrus precatorius*)', Kdg *be·lē* 'each of the halves of a seed that can be divided', Tu *bḗlæ* 'split pulse', *bōlæ* 'seed of a jackfruit', ? Tl *bḗdalu* (pl.) 'split pulse' §§ D #4444 || HS: ? EC: Sml *bāl* {DSI} 'lato, estremità', {ZMO} 'side, edge', Sml N {Abr.} *bāl* 'side'; the word cannot be identical with *bāl* 'wing, feather' (different tones) ¶ DSI 33, ZMO 23, Abr. S 25 ¶ The irreg. b- for the expected f- still needs investigating ◇ ≠ Gr. II #190 (*pal 'half') (IE, U, A, Ko, qu. Ai), no distinction from N *Pä́lqA 'half, part'.

1698a. *PuL₁∇₂ʒ∇ '∈ tree (poplar or sim.)' > HS: S *^obul₁a₂ʒh- (~ *p-?) > Ak MA *bula?*u ~ *bulū* ~ *pulū* 'firewood, dry wood and reed' ¶ CAD II 312-3 || SC ({E} *paŋal- 'wood'): Irq *paŋal-mo* 'board, slat, lath', Kz *paŋalukø* 'stool' ¶ ≈ E SC 143 (adduces Dhl *pólaŋi* 'medicine in the form of an amulet', which strains the credibility) || IE: NaIE (?) *pel-

'poplar' > Oss D *färwā*, Oss I *färv* 'alder-tree' || L *pōpulus* 'poplar' || ?φ Gk Δ [Hs.] ἀπελλόν · αἴγειρος 'black poplar' ¶ WH II 34O, Ab. I 455-6, Bois. 92O, LS 185, ≠ WP II 55 || A **p'uL* 'poplar, aspen' > Tg **pula* id. > WrMc *fulχa* *moo* 'aspen, poplar', Ork *pulv*, Nn Nh *polo*, Nn KU *xolo*, Nn B *folo*, Sln *vlu*, Lm *hul* id., Ewk *hula* id., 'ash-tree', Ud *xulu*, U1 *pul* ~ *pulv* 'aspen' ¶ STM II 342-3, Krm. 306 || M **ψuliyā-sun* 'poplar, aspen' > Dx {T} *χulasun* 'aspen', WrM *uliyā-sun* (and {Rm. EAS ← ?} 趄 *ulagasun*), HlM үлиас(ан), Brt үляяха(н) үләха(н) 'asp', ? үлянгир үләngir 'poplar', Ord {Ms.} үләsu[‘] 'poplar', WrO {Krg.} *ulasan* 'aspen, poplar', WrO *uləsun* 'aspen', *ulasun* 'quaking poplar, aspen', Kl үласн 'poplar', {Rm.} *uləsn̥* id., 'aspen' ¶ MED 873, KRS 531, Chr. 468, KW 448, Krg. 171, Ms. O 829, T DnJ 139 ¶ Rm. EAS I 55 (Tg, M), ADb. KL (**p'uli* 'aspen, poplar': Tg, M), ≈ DQA #1801 (A **p'jule* 'ash tree'; incl. Tg, M) || D **pu*]- ({θGS} **p-*) 'small stick\twig, piece of (dry) wood' (× N **b'ü'l* | *í* 'a shoot', q.v. ffd.).

1698b. *poli⁵E (or *poli⁴E?) 'to split' > HS: S *^o✓ *płi* > Ar ✓ *fłi* G 'split, cut' ('fendre, couper') ¶ BK II 631, Hv. 574 || B *✓ *fłH* > Ah əfləh 'fendre', Kb əflu (pf. үəflə) 'trouer, perforer' (× B *✓ *fly* 'split' < N **pəL₁i,yA* 'to split, to separate') ¶ Pr. H #58, Fc. 324, Di. 204, NZ 567 || ? C *✓ *fł?* v. 'bore hole, pierce' > Bj {Rop.} *fil?*(ə) pcv. 'bore, pierce; deflower' || EC: Or {Grg.} *fulla?*- vi. 'break through, pierce through' || SC: Irq *ful-* v. 'bore hole' ¶ Rop. 18O, EPC #512, Grg. 149, Brl. 153 || IE: NaIE *(s)*pʰel-* '≈ split' (? × N **pəL₁i,yA* '↑' [q.v.]) > OI 'phalati 'bursts, splits' (⇒ OI *phalaka-m* 'board, lath' × ← D **paL* 'cut lengthwise', see N **Pä'l* | *ñkñ* 'to split lengthwise') || Gk [Hs.] σφαλάσσειν · τέμνειν, κεντεῖν 'to cut, to prick', ? Gk Ae σπαλίς, Gk A mt. ψαλίς (gen. ψαλίδος) 'in pair of scissors' ¶ NaIE **p₁h,eł-*, **p₁h,ol-* 'board (Brett), log of wood' (× N **PuL₁N,žN* 'in tree') > Gmc **felō* > ON *fjøl* 'Diele, Brett', Ic, Sw *fjöл*, Dn *fjæl*, Nr *fjæl*, Δ *fjøl* 'board (Brett)' || Sl **polěno* 'billet (split piece of wood)' > ChS, OR **пoлeнo** *polěno*, R, Blg по'ленo, Uk по'ліно, Slv *poléno*, Cz, Slk *poleno*, P *polano* id.; amb Sl dim. **polica* 'shelf, board' > ChS/OR **пoлицa** *polica*, R Δ по'лицa, Uk по'лиця, Slv *polica*, Cz *police*, Slk, P *polica* 'shelf', Blg по'лицa 'shelf, cornice', SCr *pòlica* 'lath in a wall'; Sl amb d. **polъka* > R 'полка', P *pólkа* 'shelf'; amb 趄 Sl (in ESL only) **polъ* 'board' (unless from Sl **pod-lъ*) > OR **пoлъ** *polъ* 'basis, bottom, floor', R **пoл** (gen. 'пoла') 'floor', Uk **пiл** (gen. 'пiлу'), Blr {Prb.} **пoу**

'plank-bed' ||| OI phalaka- 'board, lath' (*see above*) §§ WP II 677, P 985, M K II 393-5, M E II 201-2, F II 1128 (on ψαλίς without et.), Ch. 1285, Vr. 125, Hlq. 217, Bv. 172, Vs. III 306-10, Glh. 493, Prb. II 101, Chrn. II 50-3, Kmc. 730, ≈σ EI 512-3 (IE *spelo-~*spelh₂- 'shield') ||| U *po̥z̑Δ 'split, divide' (× N *b'ū̑č̑z̑Δ '≈ to tear to pieces'??) > FU *po̥z̑Δ > Lp: N {N} bqd̑č̑d̑- 'take to pieces; separate from; cut loose\away', bqd̑o 'separated from its natural connection', L {LLO} pāddi- 'ein geschlachtetes Stück Vieh zerlegen, zerstückeln; in mehrere Teile teilen', Kld {TI} ро́ба 'los, getrennt', (pl.) 'zerstücktes Fleisch' ||| pObU *po̥l̑- > pVg *po̥l̑- 'span' > Vg: {Mu.} T/P po̥l̑, K {Mu.} pḁl̑, NV {Kn.} po̥l̑, IK {Kn.} pḁl̑, SV/LL {Kn.} po̥l̑ (pl. po̥l̑t) 'Span', Ss {ChCh.} poliχ- 'in small pieces' ('намелко, на кусочки, раз-') ||| Sm {Jn.} *p̑y̑u- 'chop, split' > Ne: T d. п̑э-цъ 'chop firewood', T O {Lh.} p̑āe- id., F {Lh.} payy-eś & paj-aś id.; Ng {Cs.} d. 1s obcj. faiśu?ama 'zuhauen'; Slq Tz {KKIH} paćal- 'chop', paćit- 'chop, split', Mt {Hl.} *hāyāl- 'hauen' (Mt K {Pls.} chejalze 'рублю, секу') §§ ≈ UEW 389-90 (+ unc. Prm *pe̥l̑- 'split off'), MF 176, Lr. #942, Lgc. #5202, N I 215-6, Kn. WV 178, TI 389, Stn. WV 131, 239, ChCh. 91, Jn. 112, KKIH 145-6, Hl. M 242 [#277] ||| A: T *h̑ülä- 'divide' > NaT *ülä- > OT {Cl.} ülä- 'divide into shares and distribute', Tkm üle- id., Alt, Xk, Tv, ET {Rl.} üle-, Tb {B}, Brb {Rl.} ülö- 'divide' ¶ Cl. 127, Rs. W 520, ET Gl 627-9, Rl. I 1845, 1849 ||| D (in SD) *pol̑- ({θGS} *p̑-) v. 'split' > Tm pol̑i v. 'chisel, split (as a stone), dig', MI pol̑i v. 'split, chip', Kdg pol̑i- vi. 'break' (of a stick-like thing, tree), Tu poliγunī 'be broken', polipuni vt. 'break' ¶ D #4560 ◇ N *pol̑iθE (rather than *po̥iθE) is suggested by T *-l̑- in *h̑ülä- and by U *-z̑- in *po̥z̑Δ (*see* Introduction, § 2.1, remark 10).

1699. *'p̑uł̑iθu or *'p̑uł̑iθa 'red, yellowish, pale' > HS: ? S *°✓p̑ł̑iθ| > Ak p̑el-û(m) 'to be red', p̑elû 'red' ¶ Sd. 853-4 || CCh: Msg {Röd.} fēl 'red', {Mch.} fēl 'blood', Msg P {Trn.} fel id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'red' and 'blood', Trn. LM 87 || IE *p̑l̑Hw-, *pol̑Hw- > NaIE *p̑l̑w-/ *pol̑(ə)w- 'light yellow, blond, pale, dun' > Gk πολιός 'gray' || Sl *pol̑v'b(jb) 'light yellow, blond' > OCS πλαβъ plavъ {StSS} 'light, of golden colour (žlutavy, plavý)' (fields of ripe corn), Blg Δ плав 'light blue, light' (colour), 'fair-haired', SCr plāv 'blue, blond, fair-haired', Slv plāv 'blue', Cz plavý 'blond, fair-haired', OR πολούθι polovu, R πο'ловый 'light yellow' (of animals), P płowu 'light yellow, light gray' || Lt pałvas 'light yellow' || Gmc *falwa- > OHG falo 'fallow,

yellow', NHG *fahl* 'pale, fawn-coloured, dun', AS *fealu~fealo* / pl. *fealwe* 'dull-coloured, yellow, bay' (> NE *fallow*), ON *fqlr* (accus. sg. *falvan*) 'bleich, fahl', {EI} 'fallow, dun' || L *pallē-* 'grow pale', *pallidus* 'pale' || ? MIr {EI} *líath*, W *llwyd* 'gray' || Arm **ԱԼԻՎ** *alikʰ* 'gray beard, gray hair' ¶ P 804-5, Mn. 967, 975, EI 641-2 (**p]h₃-* 'dull white, pale'), ZVSZ 329, Glh. 485, Vs. III 313, StSS 448, Frn. 534, F II 575-6, WH II 239-40, Vr. 150, Ho. 99, Sw. 55, Kb. 219, KM 180, Ma. CS 372. Slt. 19-20 || **A:** M **pula-yan* 'red' > MM [L, MA, IM], MMgl *hulān*, WrM *ulagan*, Dg *xulān*, Dx *xulan*, HM *үлаан*, Kl *ulān*, Ba *fulaŋ*, MnR H *fulān*, MnR M {T} *hulān*, Dx *hulaŋ*, Ba *felaŋ* 'red' ¶ Pel. 223-4 [#47], Pp. L III 76, Pp. MA 187, 438, MED 869, KW 448, Iw. 140, T 370, T DnJ 139, T BJ 149 || Tg **pula-* 'red' > Ewk *hulama*, Sln *ularin*, Neg *xolayin*, Lm *holaña*, Ud {Krm.} *xulala*, Nn *folgā(n)*, WrMc *fulgiyan*, Mc Sb {ØY} /fɔlɔgian/ [fɔlɔgjän] ~ /fulɔgian/ [fulɔgjän] 'red', Jrc *fulagiyan* 'red, vermillion', WrMc *fulaxun* 'reddish, pink', Ud {Krm.} *xulala* 'brown (бурый), rust-coloured', {STM} *xulaligi* 'red' ¶ STM II 343-5, Y #2419, Z 1081, 1086, Kiy. 131-2 [##617, 624], Krm. 306 || pKo {S} **pirk-* 'red' > MKo *pirk-*, NKo *pulk-* *puk-* 'red' ¶ S QK #66, Nam 274, MLC 844 ¶ S AJ 213, 236, 257, 291, KW 448, DQA #1678 (**p[']pul[']e* → *-o-e 'red') || **D** **pulla-* ({ØGS} **b-*) 'yellowish, brown' > Tm *pul* 'tawny colour', *pullai* 'dull, yellowish colour', Ml *pulla'a* 'yellowish colour of cattle', Kt *bul* 'liver-coloured', Tl *pula* 'yellowish' ¶ D #431O ◇ IE **p]Hw-*, **pol]Hw-* suggest a pN final **u*, while M, Tg, and D point to a N final **a*. The discrepancy can be explained if IE *-w- goes back to a sx. The N lr. is suggested by the NaIE length of the syllabic sonant **]̥* and by the vw. e in Ak (in Ak the S vw. **a* changes into e in the presence of the lost pS epiglottal cnss. **ń* [< N **ń* and **v*] and **ń* [< N **ń* and **X*]). To judge from the semantic usage of the reflexes of this N word in descendant lgs., it denoted "warm" colours, sc. colours of the shorter waves of the spectrum, as well as light colours. In pre-IE **pū-* > **p-* (see above the entry #1693 s.v. **p*∇*Lu* 'lungs, pluck' and AD NVIE §6). N **p-* (rather than **p-*) is suggested by Msg.

1700. *pəl̥t̥g̥'v̥ 'settlement, home, wall' > **HS:** EC: [1] **bal-* > Kns {BISO} *palēta* 'village, town', *palēse'* 'this village' [2] ?φ LEC **bu₁;₁-* > Sml *būl* {DSI} 'capanna malfatta o rovinata', {ZMO} 'hut, nest', {R} *būl* 'hut, house', {DSI, ZMO} *būlo* 'village', {R} *būlal*, *būlo* 'village, hut', ? Or *bul-* {Grg.} 'stay the night, pass time, live, stay', {Th.} 'passare la notte, abitare, dimorare', {Brl.} 'dormire, pernottare, albergare' ¶ BISO

136, DSI 7O, ZMO 48, Grg. 65, Th. 5O-1, Brl. 66-7, R SS II 82 || IE
 p**ol**H**-/p**o**H**- 'fortified settlement' > OI 'pur / (before vw.) pur- f.
 (nom. pur**h**, accus. 'puram, gen. pu'r**ah**, loc. pu'r*i*, instr. pl. pu'r-
 'bhi**h**) 'wall, rampart', 'puram 'wall, fortified settlement, city', \wedge
 pur**h** 'city, town' | Gk πόλις (gen. Gk Α πόλεως, Δ πόλιος) 'city' | Lt
 pilis, Δ pilis 'castle', Ltv pils 'castle, palace', in place- names -pils
 '-burg', cd. pilsēta 'city' (pils + sēta 'fense') ¶ Hofm. 279, M K II
 327, M E II 145 (IE ***p**o**H**₁-), EI 21O (*pe**H**- 'fort, fortified place'), F II
 577, Frn. 59O-1, ≠ P 799, WP II 51 (the $\sqrt{*\div}$ *pe**H**- v. 'fill'; F l.c. is quite
 right in his evaluation of such attempts: "Die wiederholten Vorschläge,
 dieses uralte Wort für 'Burg' mit Verben für 'füllen' [πέμπλημι; seit
 Pott] oder für 'schütten' [lit. pilti ...] zu verbinden, haben als
 unbeweisbare Hypothesen kein größeres Interesse") || U: FU *palv ∇
 'village' > Krl palvi 'Wohnstätte', F palva- (in toponymy: Palvala, a
 village in Finland, and Palvajärvi [lit.: 'village lake'], a name of two
 lakes in Finland) || pObU *pu**χ**el (or pu**w**el) 'village' > pVg *p̄wəl-
 /*pāyl- > OVg: N SoG, E TM paul, S Chus bēl, S Vt пеолъ, S SSs
 peōl, W Sol πόιλъ; Vg: T pawl, LK/UL/Ss pāwəl, MK/UK p̄wəl, P
 p̄wəl ~ p̄l, SV/LL p̄l 'village', +ppas.: LK/MK pāyl-əw, P poyl-əw,
 SV/LL payl-əw 'our village'; pOs *pu**χ**el 'village' > Os V/Vy pu**χ**el, Ty
 pu**χ**əf, Y puwəf, D/K pu**χ**ət, O poxəl id. | Hg falu (pl. faluk ~
 falvak) 'village' ¶ Coll. 77, UEW 351, Sm. 548 (FU *p̄lwa ∇ 'village;
 idol' > FP palva, Ugr *polgī), Ht. 175 [#5O2] || A *palv ∇ g ∇ 'wall (of
 a settlement), fenced settlement' > NaT *balik|g or *p'alig|k 'wall, town' >
 OT, MT baliq, Chg XV baly χ 'town, province', MU baliq ~ {Rl.} paliq,
 [OQ] baluq 'town, fenced settlement, fortress', SY {Ml.} paluq ~ paliq
 'adobe wall\fence' ¶ Cl. 335-6, DTS 8O-1, ET B 59, TL 485, RI. IV 1166,
 1498, Ml. ZhU 86-7 ¶ DQA reconstructs pT *bjalik on the unreliable
 ev. of Chv püler (name of the town of Билярск \leftrightarrow Chv pül- v. 'fence'
 < T *böl-, see Ash. X 77-9, Jeg. 171) || M (\leftrightarrow eT?) *balaga-sun (pl.
 *balagad) 'town, wall of a fortified settlement' > MM [S, HI, IsV]
 balagasun (pl. balaga-t ~ -d), [IM] balyasun 'city, town', [L] بالقسوون
 balqasun id., 'village', [MA] balyasun 'wall; city, town', WrM
 balgasu(n), HIM балгас 'city, town; ruins, site of an ancient town',
 WrM balgad, HIM балгад 'city, town; government department', Ord
 {Ms.} b₁algasu² 'ville murée', Kl балгасын balyasyn 'city, town', {Rm.}
 balyasyn 'village, town', Kl Ö {Rm.} balyad_ id., 'house', MnR H {SM}

b₂arg₂āss₃ 'mur, rempart d'une fortification', {T} b₂algāse, Mn_r M {T} b₂argāse 'wall, fence' | H 12, Ms. H 38, Lg. VMI 18, Pp. MA 11O-1, 443, Pp. L II 1265-6, MED 8O, Kow. 1O77, KRS 79, KW 31, SM 21, T 316 || Tg {ADb.} *^opalga > WrMc f₂alga 'group of houses, village' | STM II 298 | ADb. KL 14, DQA #1645 (A *p₂īlag₂ 'fortress, group of houses') || D *pa]- ({^oGS} *p-) 'hut, settlement, village' > Tm p₂alli 'hamlet, herdsman's village, temple, palace', Ml p₂alli 'hut, small settlement of jungle tribes, public building', Td poly 'secret dairy, matrilineal sib, Badaga house', K p₂alli, balli 'settlement, hamlet, village', Kdg p₂alli 'hut of low castes', Tu h₂alli 'hamlet, small village', p₂alli 'mosque', OTI (inscr.) p₂alli, Tl p₂alli 'village, hut', Png p₂alli 'village' (in toponymy), Krx e₂pā-pallī 'household' (e₂pā 'house'); D → OI Sk pallī-, palli-, pallikā- 'small village (esp. a settlement of wild tribes), hut, house' | D #4O18, Tu. #7972 | D *-ll- < *-lg-? ◇ ≈ IS MS 356, ≈ IS SS 34O [#1O.5] (*p₂al'^g) with a different interpretation of A) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #4O9 (*p₂al^g 'village') (IE, U, A, Ea + qu. Gil).

1701. *p₂aly₂ 'mud, swamp, lake' > HS: Ch: WCh *p₂al₂ ({Stl.} *pali) 'lake, marsh' > Hs f₂álámi 'a pond, the water of which does not dry up' | BT: Dr {Nw.} p₂ólí 'marshy ground', Bl {ChL} p₂álí, Ngm {ChL} f₂álí, Pr {Frz.} pali, Glm pal 'lake', Tng {J} p₂álj 'large body of water, lake' | Klr {J} p₂ápilinj 'großer Teich' | NrBc: Jmb {Sk.} f₂álá 'lake' || ECh: Mu {Lk.} b₂eli (pl. b₂álá'l 'Teich, See', Mgm b₂álè (pl. b₂állállì) 'pool' ('mare'), Bdy {AlJ} b₂álé ~ b₂álè 'mare, marigot', EDng {Fd.} b₂ùl₂a 'large flaue d'eau près d'une rivière qui a débordé', ??σ: Bdy b₂òl₂a (pl. b₂òlòl) 'vallée' et Mkl {J} p₂òllè 'fossé, vallée' | Stl. ZCh 147 [#25], Ba. 294, ChC s.v. 'lake', J T 128, J LM 162, JA LM 68, AlJ 56, 59, Nw. KL 131, ChL, Frz. P 44, Sch. BTL 87, Lk. ZSS 18O, Fd. 1O4 || K *^ob₂y₂al- > G b₂y₂al- 'beschmutzen, besudeln' | Chx. 126, DCh. 126 | In K the lrs. tend to move to a position after the next (mainly initial) stop or affricate, with subsequent as. of the glottalic feature (voiced ↔ vl. ↔ glottalized) and appearance of a "harmonic complex". In this case it is N *p-...y > *p₂y- > K *b₂y- | IE *b₂olH- ~ *pelH-: [1] *b₂olH- '≈ swamp, pool' > Gmc *p₂òla- > OHG pfuol, MHG phuol, NHG Pfuh₂l, Dt poel, AS p₂ol 'pool', NE pool; *polja > Nr pøla p₂la, Sw pö₂l, Dn pøl pö'l 'puddle'; other grades of apophony: Dt peel 'morass', AS pyll, NE Δ pill 'creek, backwater' || Lt b₂alà 'marsh, bog, slough; morass', Ltv Δ bala 'swampy valley', Pru *bal- (in proper names) | Sl *b₂ólt₂ 'swamp' > OCS

БЛАТО blato, Blg 'блато, SCr blàto, Slv bláto, Cz bláto, Slk blato, P błoto, R, Uk бo'лoto id. || pAl {O} *baltā > Al baltē 'muddy place, mud; ground' | Thr and/or Ilr → Dlm balta 'swampy lake', Rm 'baltă 'swamp', Blg Δ балта, NGk βάλτος id.; Blg or Rm → Ggz balta id. || Cf. ?? OI jām-bālah̄ 'mud, clay, marsh' (Uhl. AI s.v. jambāla-: "OI jambālah̄ is from jām- 'earth' + *bāla-s 'Pfuhl'", but M K II 427: "bālah̄ 'Pfuhl(?)' ist aus jambālah̄ gewiß nicht zu gewinnen") ¶ ≠ P 118-120, Ho. 248, 251, Vr. N 511-2, 534, Lx. 1600, Kb. 763, KM 547, Ho. 248, Ç I 511-2 and II 349, O 15-6, Frn. 30-1, Tp. P A-D 184, ESSJ II 179-82, BER I 54, Glh. 134 || [2] *pēlH- 'swamp' > OI palva'la-m 'pool, pond, small tank' || L palūd- (palus, palūdis) 'swamp' || Lt pālios f. pl. 'vast swamp, bog', Ltv palas, pāli m. pl. 'marshy river-side'; d.: Pru pelky 'marshy ground', Lt pēlkē 'swamp', Ltv pēlce 'puddle' ¶ Frn. 532-3, 567, En. 222, IS II 97 (reconstructs IE *H on the basis of the intonation of Sl *bōlto and Blt *pēlkē), ≠ P 799; ≠ M K II 237 and M E II 105 (both sources suggest that OI palva'lam goes back to IE *pel- [name of a colour], cp. Lt pālvās 'blaßgelb') || A: T **pal- (~ **bal-) in ds.: [1] NaT *bal-īk 'mud' > OT [MhK] balıq, OT Ar bālq, Yk bīlīk 'mud (in the roads)'; [2] T *pal-çik ({Md.} *bə-l-çik ∇ *bāl-ćik-Δ) 'mud' > OT QU {Cl.}, MU, MOg balčiq 'mud', OT Og XI balčiq 'liquid mud', Chg XV palčiy, {PC} balčiq 'mud', ET balčuq, ET S palčiq, Uz balčik, Cmn balčuk, MQp Mm, OOsm balčiq, Qmq balčiq 'liquid mud', Qmq {Rs.} palčiq, Az палчыг palčig, Tk balçık, Tk Qrpp palčix 'mud', Nog balšiq, VTt балчык balšyq, Bsh балсык balſyq 'clay, earth (as stuff)', Tkm palčiq 'clay', Qzq balšiq 'clay, dirt', Chv пылчæk ріl-ž_yk, Chv H pul-ž_ik 'mud'; T → M: WrM balciq, HIM балчиq 'swamp, march; mud, clay', Kl {KRS} бальчиг bałčag 'mud', R Балчуг (a street in the historical center of Moscow); [3] *bal-kaš 'liquid mud' > Tf p'alhaš, StAlt b.alqaš, Qb palgas, VTt balqaš id., Tv b.alqaš ~ malqaš id., 'swamp', Qzq balqaš 'swampy land' ¶ Rs. W 60, Cl. 333, 336, TL 374-5, PC 154, TatR 56, BR 74, Md. 98, 173, Ra.158, Jeg. 173, Fed. I 464-5, MED 80, KW 60, KRS 80 ¶ T *p' has preserved its voicelessness in Chg, Az, dialects of ET and in some Xk ds. || Tg *bułe 'swamp' (× N *buL ∇ 'to stir up [liquid]; turbid') > Ewk, Lm bułz 'swamp, mud, dirt', Orc bułz 'swamp, quagmire' ¶ STM I 109 ¶ ≈ DQA #134 (A *bięlu 'dirt, mud'; incl. T, M, Tg) || D *pał]ra' ({§GS} *p-) 'low ground, pond, body of water' > Tm pałlam 'lowness, low land,

valley, ditch', Ml *pallā* 'cavity, pit, hole', *pallam* 'pit, low ground, low shore', Irl *palla* 'river', Td *pal* 'valley', Kn *pallā* 'depth, pit, low ground, stream', Tu *palla*, *palla*, *pallā* 'shallow stream, pond, low spot', *palikæ* 'valley, pond', Tl *pallamu* 'pit, low ground, wet land', Gnd *palla* 'plain, meadow'; not here (\Leftrightarrow IS) Brh *pāl* v. 'get wet' and *pālun* 'moist' (see N ***p**UTHV 'be liquid, be wet') §§ D #4O16 ◇ The IE and T cognates suggests a N cns. ***p**-, while the Ch ev. of the quality of the initial labial cns. is controversial ◇ IS II 97-8 [#336] (***p**'al_η in IE, A, ?D: Brh *pāl* v. 'get wet' and *pālun* 'moist'); OS RPV I 68 added WCh (Hs and BT) to the N comparison. T ***l** and D ***l** suggest N ***l**.

1702. ***p**UTHV 'be liquid, be wet' > A: NaT **hōl* 'damp, moist' > Tk Δ *hōl*, Chg *هَوْلٌ* *hw̠l*, Tkm Δ *hōl* $\not\sim$ *hōl*, Uz *hw̠l*, ET, Qq *hōl*, XT {DH} *hēl* id.; in other Tk lgs. the word lost its *h-* (OT {Cl.} *ōl* 'damp, moist', MQp/OOsm XIV *öł* 'moist', XwT XIV *öł* 'moisture', Tkm *ōl*, Tk *öł*, Qrg, Xk, Tv *öł*, ET *yöł*, Alt *üł*, Yk *üöł*, Chv *v̠il*, etc.) and coalesced with the reflexes of T **ōl* 'moist, damp' (< A **ōl̥i̥-* < N **w̠i̥l̥i̥q̥V* 'liquid; moist, damp', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Cl. 124 ("a recently acquired prosthetic *h-*"), ET Gl 524-5 (recognizes the possibility that *h-* is ancient), Rs. W 371, Nj. 764, BS 318, Jr. 122, Shaw 188, Rl. II 1798 ¶ Tkm and Yk suggest a long **ō* || pKo {S} **p̠irh-* 'green' > MKo *p̠irí-*, NKo *p̠uri-*; → pKo **p̠irh* 'grass, herbs' > MKo *p̠ír*, NKo *pulh* 'grass, herbs' ¶ S AJ 253 [#37], S QK #37, Nam 464-5, MLC 1761-3, Rm. SKE 215 || Tg **°puł-* > Ewk *hulu-* v. 'melt' (of ice on a river\lake) ¶ STM II 346 §§ Rm. SKE l.c. (Ko, T + M **ölen* 'grass' [though no traces of A **p̠-* are found in the M word]), ≈ DQA #1836 (A **p̠'öle*) || D: Brh *pāl-* v. 'get wet', *pālun* 'wet, damp, moist' ¶ The quality of the vw. *ā* needs explaining ¶ Bray II 227-8 || IE: NaIE **°plə|ad-* > Gk πλάδος 'abundance of fluids', πλαδάω 'humid, fluid', πλαδαρός 'wet, damp' ¶ F II 547-8, Ch. 9O9, ≈ P 800.

1702a. ***P**ūlV, Hū, 'grass' > IE ≈ **peloH-/peleH-*, **pelH, ou-* 'straw, chaff' > NaIE {WH} **pelō(w)-*, **p̠e|le'w̠-* > L *palea* 'chaff' || Lt *p̠elū-s*, Ltv *p̠elus* ~ *p̠el(a)vas*, Pru *pelwo* id. || Sl **pelva* > OCS πλέβενъ *plěvъ* pl., Blg πλява 'straw', SCr *pljeva*, Slv *pléva*, Cz *pléva* $\not\sim$ *pleva*, P *plewa*, R Δ *полова* $\not\sim$ *пелёва*, Uk *полова* 'chaff' → μ (loss of the **w*-element) Lt *pelai̥* pl., Ltv *peli* 'chaff', OR instr. pl. πελъмн *pelъ-mi* id. || OI *pa'lāvās* 'chaff, husk', 'palālam' 'stalk, straw' ¶ P 8O2, EI 1O4, M K II 233-4, WH II 238-9, Frnk. 568-9, Tr. 213, Vs. III 312, Glh. 489-9O || HS: Ch: WCh: Bks {J} *fálá(h)* 'Unkraut, Gras'

|| CCh: ? Dgh {Fk.} **b**lé, {Kr.} **b**úlé 'grass' ¶ ChC, J R 141, ChL III 104 || A:
 ?σ Tg *^opul > Lm Sk hul 'horsetail (Equisetum)' ¶ STM II 342 || pKo {S}
 *p̥trh- 'grass' > MKo p̥tr̥, NKo p̥ul id.; ? → OKg {Mill.} pä(l)lə,k-
 'green', MKo p̥tr̥-, NKo p̥urt- id. ¶ Mill. OKA 9, QK #37, Nam 464-5,
 MLC 1761-3 ¶ ~ DQA #1836 (A *p̥'óle 'wet, succulent; grass, plant' >
 Lm, Ko + err. T *ö'l 'wet' (actually *ö'l] (obviously from N *w̥i'l̥i, qN
 'liquid; moist, damp', q.v. ffd. + N *p̥U̥H̥N̥ 'be liquid, be wet', q.v.
 ffd.)) || D *pul 'grass' > Tm pul 'grass; grass family (e.g. bamboo)', ?φ
 pillu 'grass', Ml pul 'grass, hay, straw', Td pul 'thatching grass', Kt pul
 id., 'grass', Kn pul 'grass, straw', Kdg pilli, Tl pul(l)u ~ pillu
 'grass', Tu pullu 'a rush, ∈ grass', Ku pilka 'grass, bunch of grass' ¶ D
 #43OO ◇ The adduction of T *ö'l (sc. *ö'l] 'wet' (DQA for pA, Blz. for
 N) is untenable: it may belong to the above pA root only if the original
 meaning of the latter was 'wet', but in this case A cannot be related to
 D *pul 'grass' and go back to a N word meaning 'grass'. The Lm word
 may belong here only if in some Lm (or pTg) cultural context Equisetum
 was/is the grass *par excellence* ◇ ~ Blz. DLA #49 (D. Tg, Ko + err. T).

1703. *Pä́lqA 'half, part' > IE: NaIE *polə- 'side of body, side, half'
 (× N *Pełpē - *Pełpē 'side of body, side' [q.v.]) > Sl *polъ / gen. *polu
 'half, side' > Slv pôl id., OCS πολъ polъ, Blg, R пол, SCr pôl, Cz
 pôl, P pôł 'half', → OR πολοβηνα, R, Uk половина 'half' (on Sl
 *polъ 'side' see s.v. N *Pełpē - *Pełpē) ¶ Vs. III 306, Ma. CS 406-7,
 Glh. 493, ≠ EI 83 (unc.: Sl *polъ is related to IE *p̥l̥th₂u- 'broad, wide'
 and *p̥leth₂es 'breadth') || U *päjä 'half' > pMr *päjä > Er пелә pejé,
 пель pejí, Mk пялә pälä | pChr *pelə 'half, one of a pair' > Chr: L
 пелә 'pele, Uf 'pele, B pele, H пельі pelə id. | Prm *pôl 'half, one of a
 pair' > Vt пал pal id., Z пöв рзv 'half, part' || Ugr (× *pējē 'side' < N
 *Pełpē - *Pełpē '↑' [q.v. ffd.] × N *Pä́l̥N̥ 'to split lengthwise, to
 divide' [q.v.]): Os *pelæk ({ʃl.} *päjæk) 'side, half' > Os: V/Vy pejæk, Ty
 pälæk id., Y pälæk, D pelæk 'half', Nz/O pelæk, Kz pejæk 'half, direction'
 (→ Slq Tz {KKIH} pejäk id.) | OHg, Hg fél 'half, side' || Sm {Jn.} *pelä,
 {hl.} *pelē 'half' > Ne: T пеля, T O {lh.} päl·e 'half, part'; En: X {Cs.}
 fejē, B {Cs.} ferie 'halb'; Ng {Cs.} fealéa, {Ter.} хэльиэ id.; Slq: Vy
 {KD} pejle 'halb'; Kms {Cs.} phiel id., {KD} p̥il, p̥jēl id., 'side' (× U
 *pējē 'side' < N *Pełpē - *Pełpē?), Koyb {Sp.} d. пелдой 'a half'; Mt
 {hl.} *hälä 'a half, half-' (Mt M {Sp.} холя 'a half', {Mue.} hällä-
 chaià 'meridies' [chaià 'day']) ¶ UEW 362-3, Ber. 48, MRS 416, Ep.

89, LG 237, Lt. 138, Jn. 12O (Sm *pelä 'Hälfte, Stück'), Ter. 457, KD 53, Cs. 71, 94, 19O, KKIH 148, Hl. M 242-3 [#278], Hl. PH ##19E and 21C, Stn. D 1159-61, Stn. OV 69, 100 || D {tr.} *pāl, {GS} *pāl- 'part' > M1 pāl id., Tm, Kn pāl, Tu pālъ 'part, portion, share', Tl pālu id., 'lot, fraction', Kt pa·lm, Prj pēla 'portion', Tf po·lm 'share', Kdg pa·li ma·d- 'divide, distribute' ¶ D #4097, GS 179 [#454] || HS: CS *✓ plχ 'split in two parts' > Ar ✓ flχ {BK} 'pourfendre, couper en deux', {Hv.} vt. 'split', CS *'p'a'l₁n₁χ- > MHb {Js.} פֶלַח 'pelaḥ' 'slice, segment', JPA {Js.} פֶלְחָא pil'hā 'slice, portion', ? BHb פֶלַח 'pelaḥ', JA [Trg.] pil'hā 'millstone', cp. Ar faylax- 'meule d'un moulin à eau', 'stone of a water-mill' ¶ KB 878, Js. 1178, BK II 629, Hv. 574 ◇ IS MS 356 (*pāl₮ 'half': IE, U, D + unc. the U reflex of N *Pēlᵑē ~ *Pēlᵑē 'side') ◇ D *-l suggests that N *l may yield D *-l (under not yet defined conditions, possibly in pN precons. position) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #19O (*pal 'half') (IE, U, A, Ko, qu. Ai), no distinction from N *Pēlᵑē ~ *Pēlᵑē 'side of body'.

1704. *pelqē 'to tremble, to fear' > HS: S *✓ plχ 'fear' (→ 'worship'?) > OAk, Ak ✓ plχ (p. -plax) v. 'fear', Ak fOB pulux-t-u(m) n. 'fear, fearfulness', Ak MB pulχu (used most in pl.) 'fearfulness', Ak LB 'fear', possibly also (x S *✓ plχ 'work, serve [a person]'): Ak ✓ plχ (p. -plax) v. 'worship, serve', IA ✓ pl̄h, JEA G ✓ pl̄h id., BA פֶלְחָן pil'hān, JA [Trg.], JPA, Sr, MHb (↔ Aram) pul'hān 'worship, religious service, ritual' ¶ x S *✓ pl̄h 'till (earth)' ¶ Sd. 812-3, 878-9, G OA 214, HJ 914, Js. 1141, 1178, Sl. 912, KB 1765, Br. 572 || IE {IS} *pelH- / *pleH- '(make) tremble, fear' > Gk πάλλω (aor. ἔπηλα) v. 'poise, sway (a missile before it is thrown), brandish', παλτός 'brandished, hurled', πελεμέτω 'shake, make quiver\tremble' || Gmc: ON fæla 'to scare away, to chase off', Ic, NNr fæla 'to fear', Nr Δ, ODn fæle 'to frighten', AS eal-fēlo ɏ æl-fæle 'dire' (of poison), ON fála 'female troll, witch', MHG vālant 'devil'; +ext. *-m-: Gt us-filma 'frightened, astonished' (Fs.: 'erschrocken, entsetzt'), ON felms-fullr 'scared', felmta 'to be scared', NNr felm 'to scare' || +ext. *-s-: Sl *polxъ {IS}: < *polHs-o-) 'fear', *polxъ(jь) 'fearful; frightening' > RChS πλαχъ plaxъ id. {IS}: pla- < *polH-, Blg плахъ n. 'fear', adj. 'fearful, shy, timid', Cz, Slv plachý id., SCr plāh 'quick, harsh', Slv plāh, f, pláha, P rłochy 'wild, wanton', R Δ {Dal} по'лох 'alarm', Uk по'лох 'fear'; Sl d. *polšítí 'to scare, to frighten' > RChS πλασιτъ plasítъ, OR πολοσιτъ pološítъ, R Δ поло'шить, SCr

plàšiti, Slv plášiti, Cz plášiti, P plöszyć id., Blg 'плаша' 'frighten'; R пере-по'лох 'alarm, commotion, flurry', вс-поло'шить 'to startle, to agitate' ¶ P 8O1, F II 469, 497-8, Vr. 11O, 117, 149, Sw. 4, Ho. 95, Fs. 53O, Lx. 263, Vs. III 317-8, Glh. 482-3 ¶ The pIE *H₂, proposed here by IS, is qu. (in view of Gk παλτός and other forms without expected traces of a lr., which however may be accounted for by contamination with IE *pel- 'swing' > Gk παλμός 'Schwingung', etc., see P 8O1) || U *pele- 'fear' > F pelkää- / pelä-, Es pelga- v. 'fear', F pelko n. 'fear' | pLp {Lr.} *pələz- v. 'fear' > Lp: S {Hs.} b'illedh, L {LLO} pallat, N {N} bâllât, Kld pəlleb id. | Er пеле- pele-, Mk пеле- pele- id. | Prm *pöл- ({LG} *pöł-) id. > Z pov-, Z US pol-, Yz 'pul-, Vt Ks {W} pul-, Vt MU {Wc.} puwt- || ObU {Ht.} *pil- id. > pVg *pil- > Vg: T/LL pií-, LK/MK/UK/NV/SV/UL/Ss pil-, P pil- ~ pií-; pOs *pěl- ({HI.} *pěl-) id. > Os: V/Vy pěl-, Ty/Y pět-, D/K pět-, Nz păt-, Kz păt-, O păt- | OHg, Hg fél- v. 'fear' || Sm {Jn.} *piy- id. > Ne T {Ter., Lh.} piñna- rī-na- id., piñl- rī-l- 'be frightened', Ne F {Lh.} piñna- v. 'fear', En {Pu.} pī-, {Cs.} fī-, Ng {Cs.} filiti- id. ('fürchten'); ↗ Sm {Jn., HI.} *piy-m- (or {Jn.} *piy-ъym-) 'be frightened' > En {Cs.} fim- ↗ fīm-, Ng {Cs.} fēm-, {Ter.} хым-, {Mik.} hīm-, Kms {KD} p'īm-, Koyb {Sp.} пыим-, Mt {HI.} *hi:imär- (Mt M {Sp.} имер-) ¶¶ UEW 37O, Coll. 47, Db. OS xxxiii, Sm. 539 (U, FU, FP *peli-, Ugr *pili-, Sm *pij- 'fear'), SK 516-7, Lr. #855, Lgc. #465O, Hs. 332, Ker. II 1O9, LG 223, Ht. #5O9, MF 198, EWU 372, Jn. 124-5, Ter. 465, Cs. 72, 224-5, KP 169, KD 53, HI. M #3OO || A: T d. *beläli-ŋ n., d. *belälinj-lä- v. > OT beliŋ ~ bälj n. 'panic, terror', belälinjlä-, (BrSc) pälinja- 'be panic-stricken, terrified', Tkm beliŋ al-maq 'to fear, to be scared' (lit. 'to take fright'), ? Tk belin 'astonishment' ¶ Cl. 343-4, DTS 94, TrR 86 || ?σ M *belbesü(-re)- v. 'mourn, observe mourning' > MM [MA] belbüslē, ül- 'express condolences', belbüslē-n, WrM belbesüre-, HIM бэлэвсрэ- 'observe mourning', Ord b_elbesere-, Kl бэлвср- belvsr-, Brt бэлбэхэр- 'become widow(er)', WrO belbesere- ~ belbesüre- 'be a widow'; M *belbe-sün 'widow' > MM [MA], WrO belbisün, belbesün, WrM belbesün, HIM бэлэвсэн, Brt бэлбэхэ(н), Dg {T} belbisen, ShY {Ktw. ← Mnrh.} pelvisin id., Kl бэлвсн belvsn 'widow(er)', MM [IM] belbesün 'unmarried woman' ¶ Pp. MA 116, 433, H 14, Ms. H 4O, MED 96, Ms. O 62-3, Krg. 34, KRS 94, KW 42, Chr. 131, T DgJ 126, Ktw. OuJ 456 || NrTg *belin(-) > Ewk

bəlīn- 'be scared, startled', bəlin 'hysterics', Neg bəlin 'nervous disease' ¶ STM I 124 §§ DQA #119 (A *bel^Δ 'hysterics, panic, mourning'), STM I 124 (Tg, T) §§ IS II 99 reconstructs A and pT long *ē, which is unc.: Tkm beliŋ points to a short *e|ä, while the transcriptions of OT (USc, MnSc, BrSc, ArSc) provide no definite ev. (↔ IS). He reconstructs pT *p- (*pēliŋ-) and A *p- (*pēli-) on the only ev. of OT (BrSc), as well as on misinterpreted Tlt pälindä-, that does not belong here because it does not mean 'be timid' (as in IS), but 'an der Nachärmungssucht leiden' (Rl. IV 1244-5, the same meaning in Alt {BT} belinde-) ◇ IS II 98-9 (*pelhi: IE, U, A, S + unc. D), AD GD 11 (IE, U, A), Coll. 146 (U, A) ◇ N *q is reconstructed on the ev. of S *χ (> Ak χ). T *b- suggests N *p- ◇ Gr. II #144 (*pel 'fear') (IE, U, A, J).

1705. *Pileqi (= *PilíEqi?) 'open, uncovered, bare' > IE: NaIE *plēj-/ *plaj-/ *plī- 'bare, naked' > Gmc: Nr Δ flein 'bare, naked', 'kahler Fleck', fleina 'be uncovered, become bald', Sw flen 'bloß, nackt, kahl' || Lt plýnas 'even, smooth, bare (kahl)', plýné 'open field (without trees), uncultivated plain', Lt plíkas 'bald, bare, naked', Ltv pliks 'naked, nude, bare' | Sl *plěšь 'bald spot\patch' > OR πλέσθια plěšь, R плещь, Uk пліш, Slv plěš, Cz pleš, P plesz id., *plěš-i-vъ adj. 'bald' > OR πλέσινε plěšivъ, R плєшивый, Uk плішивий, Blg плєшив, C, Slk plešivý; Sl *plěx-, *plěхъ > P plech 'bald spot', d. Cz plechatý, Slk plechavý 'bald' ¶ P 834, Frn. 611-2, Vs. III 281-2, Ma. CS 378 || A: Tg *pile- 'naked, uncovered' > Ewk Brg hilz̥k̥n 'open (land) among mountains', WrMc filitaxun, filtaxun, filfin 'open, without vegetation (of land), naked', filfil bəje 'naked body'; ? Tg *pile(-) 'thawed patch of land' > Ewk hilz̥, Lm hilz̥z̥, Neg xilz̥x̥ id., Ud s̥ilz̥z̥gisi- 'thaw up to form a thawed patch' ¶ STM II 324 || HS: S *°✓pl̥x > Ar ✓fl̥x G 'faire voir, mettre au jour' ¶ BK II 629 || ?σ δ *pil- 'burst open' (× D *pil- 'burst, crack, split' of different origin) > Tm pil- 'burst open', pīlal 'pudendum muliebre', Ml pilukkuka v. 'open (the lips)', Kui plipā (p. plit-) 'cause to open, hatch, create', ?? Png p̥r̥i- 'be split open', 'hatch' (egg) §§ D #4194 ◇ If the D root belongs here, the N lateral is *-l- or *-ʃ-, otherwise one must reconstruct an unspecified lateral *-L-.

1706. *p'a'lXΔ 'spade; to dig; pit (sth. dug)' > IE: NaIE *belə_a- ~ *bəl- v. 'dig, hollow' (× IE *bel- 'hollow out, dig' < N *poíΔ 'hollow, empty') > Arm պեղեմ peğem v. 'hollow, excavate; dig, delve' || Vd

'bilam 'cave, hole, pit; hollow (of a dish), bowl (of a spoon\ladle)', OI
 \wedge billa- 'pit, hole, reservoir' || ?σ OIr belach {P} 'Kluft, Paß, Weg',
{Vn.} 'passage, défilé, route' || ? L pāla 'spade' (< IE *^opaH1- mt. < N
*^op'a¹l^X?) ; L → Crn pāl 'shovel', B: Sll {Ds.} a-fäla (pl. i-fäla-tən)
id., 'pelle à fourrer' ¶ P 96; M K II 431-2 and M E II 225 (no et. of
bilam); MW 732, Tu. #9245, WH II 236 (no et. of L pāla), ≠ EM 723,
ECCE 277, Ds. 216, Vn. B 29 || U: FU *p'a¹l^Δ 'spatula, spoon, small
hammer for shamanistic rituals' > Os: V/Vy pa]əntip, Ty/Y pā]əntep
'Rührloeffel, Teiglöffel, Spatel, Schlegel zum Zaubertrommel' || Lp {Fri.}
balle^m, Lp L † bālle^m 'a small hammer of reindeer horn with which
the shaman drum was beaten' ¶ Coll. 74, Stn. D 1159-61, Stn. OV 69,
100 ¶ The phonetic irregularity (the vw. in Lp does not correspond to
that of Os) may be explained if we suppose borrowing in Lp ¶ The
authors of UEW (p.c. to Stn.) reject the comparison between the Os
word and Lp K balle(d)e^m 'take part or assist at the shamanistic
performance' || HS: CS *✓ p̥lh 'dig, till' > MHb ✓ p̥lh G id., JA [Trg.]
✓ p̥lh G, Ar ✓ fl̥h 'till the ground' ¶ Lv. T II 267, Js. 1178, BK II 628-9,
Hv. 574.

1707. *pał'iX'a¹ '∈ fish' > U: FU: Krl Ld päíí (gen. päííä) ~ päll (gen.
pällä) '∈ salmon', Vp päíí 'Salvelinus lepechini, lake char (∈ trout)', BF
→ R 'палия id., R 'пелядь 'Coregonus peled (a salmonide freshwater
fish in Northern Russia and Northern Siberia)' ¶ Hardly here Vg T {Mu.}
pail, payil 'crucian carp' (UEW: < U *pay^Δ '∈ fish') ¶ UEW 348-9, ZM
397, ~ Coll. 47 || A {DQA} *páli > T: [1] *pálik 'fish' > OT balıq, MQp
XIII, Tkm bālıq, Δ pālıq, Tk balık, Qzl {Jk.} pālıx, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB,
Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Ln, Tb, Yk balıq, VTt, Bsh balıq, Az balıq, Alt, Tf
b_aliq, ET beliq, Slr balıx, Ln balıq ~ balıq ~ waliq, Xk palıx, Chv ըլա
pul̥ ձ pol̥; T → Kl balıq zaqasq '∈ fish', Brt bałū zagahun id.] [2] ?
NaT *bel 'Salmo taimen' > Tv b_el, Tf b̄_el, Xk pil, Yk bil, VTt {Rs. ← ?} չ
bəl id., Alt b_el 'salmon', Δ 'Salmo taimen' ¶ Cl. 335, ET B 59-60, TL
177, Rs. W 61, 68, Ra. 159, 161, Ash. IX 278, BT 29 || Tg *pa:¹lu '∈ fish'
> WrMc falu {Hr.} 'Schwarzbrasse', {Z} 'a flat and broad bream-like
fish', ? Ewk palwāne Ձ pulwāne 'orfe (Leuciscus idus, язъ)' ¶ Hr. 207, Z
1033, STM II 43, 298 || pKo {S} *par- 'carp' > MKo parkan¹i, NKo
palgan¹i ¶ S QK #793, Yu 368, ~ MLC 724 (← 'the red one', which is err.,
because its MKo vowel is a, not \wedge as in the word for 'red') || pJ {S}
pírámáj - *-já 'fluke, plaice' > OJ p̥l̥jiram̥j¹e, J: T hírame, K híramé, g
hiráme ¶ S QJ #335 ¶ ~ DQA #1624 (A *páli '∈ fish'; incl. T, Tg, Ko, J),

≈ Rs. W 61 (T, Mc + err. Kl and Brt [which are loans from T]), ≈ Rm. SKE 185-6 (Ko, T + M *balgu žigasun*) || HS: EC: Sml *fōlhun* (df. *fōlhunta*) coll. 'in fish' ¶ ZMO 143 ◇ Krl, Vp -īl(∇) < *-ly∇ < N *-Lix∇. A *ā - with compensatory lengthening due to the loss of the Ir. The vowels *e in T *bel and *ā in Krl Ld päīl ~ päll are due to the infl. of the next syllable(s) ◇ Coll. 146 (U, T *bel).

1708. **p'ōlx|q|Γa* 'broad and flat' > HS: B *✓fliy(y) > Izd *fliy* (pf. - *flay-*), CM {NZ} -*fliy-* 'être large', CM *ufliy* 'broad', Zn *ti-fju-t* (pl. *ti-falw-in*) 'planche, porte' ¶ Mrc. 153, Loub. 540, NZ 575 || IE *plex- 'broad' > Ht *palhi* 'wide, broad' || NaIE *plā-/*pelə- 'broad and flat', +ext. *-no-: *plā-no-/*pelə-no- 'flat' > L *plānus* 'even, level, flat' || Clt: Gl *Medio-lānum* ({P} lit. 'mitten in der Ebene?') || Ltv *plāns* 'flat, even, thin', Lt *plónas* 'thin' | Sl (× Sl **polnina* 'mountain region' × ? {Ma.} **polnъ* 'empty, unfruitful'): HLs *płoní* 'plain', Cz *pláň* 'plain, prarie', *plany* 'unfruitful, Feld-, Wald-', Slv *plán*, f. *plána* 'frei vom Bauwuchs' || ? Gk πέλανος (if Solmsen's and P's interpretation as 'flache Opferkuchen, flache Münze' is right) || +ext. *-k-: NaIE *plā-k-/*plə-k- > Gk πλάξ (gen. πλακ-ός) 'flat surface, flat land' || AS *flōh* 'flagstone', OHG *fluoh* 'rock, cliff', {OsS, KM} 'wall of rock', NHG *Fluh* 'mass of rock; layer', ON *flaga* 'thin layer of earth', Ic *flaga* 'plate, flat piece of stone', Sw *flaga* 'abgespaltene Scheibe', ON *flá* / pl. *flær* 'Felsabsatz; Tal im Hochgebirge mit schwacher Neigung' (< Gmc *flax-iz ÷ Gk πλάκ-ες), *fló* 'layer' || L *plācā-* v. 'soothe, calm, quiet' || Lt *plākanas*, Ltv *plakans* 'flat', Ltv *plācenis* 'flat cake', *plušoku* / *plakt* v. 'become flat' | ? Sl **ploskъ(jь)* 'flat' (< *plak-sko-?) > OCS **плоскъ** *ploskъ*, Blg *плосък*, Slv *plôšk*, R, Uk 'плоский', Cz, Slk *ploský*, P *płaski* id., d. SCr *płosan* id. (< **plosk-nъ*) || Tc: A, B *plāk-* 'be in agreement' (← *'be even') ¶ EI 205-6 (**pelhək-* 'spread out flat', **plehənos*), Frd. HW 156, Ts. W 58, CHD P 65-6, P 805-7, 831, WH II 318, F II 493-4, 550-1, Ho. 109, Vr. 127-8, 1320, Kb. 268, OsS 208, KM 210, ≈ Frn. 602-3, Kar. II 57-8, Vs. III 284-5, Glh. 484, 488-9, Brü. 422, Ma. CS 370-1, Ad. 423 || A: T: OT *bulaq* 'broad-backed' (of a horse) (cp. above NaIE *plā-k-/*plə-k-) ¶ Cl. 336 ◇ If OT *bulaq* belongs here (which is not certain), the N initial cns. is *p, otherwise *p cannot be distinguished from *p-.

1709. **Polxæ* 'to fill' > HS: WS *✓*płh Sh* v. 'have eaten just enough' (→ 'satisfy oneself, succeed') > Mh ✓*fłh Sh* (pf. *fłēh*, ip.

үзfōlзh, sbjn. үзhaflзh) v. 'have eaten just enough', Jb E ✓ flh (pf. flah) id., Jb C ✓ flh Sh (pf. e'flah, ip. 'yfəlah, sbjn. 'yεflah) v. 'eat just enough', v. 'satisfy oneself, be happy' | ?σ Ar ✓ flh Sh {BK} 'réussir; avoir du bonheur, du succès', {Hv.} 'be successful, lucky' ¶ Jo. M xxxvii, 93, Jo. J 57, BK II 628, Hv. 574 || IE *pelh-/*pleh- v. 'fill' > NaIE *pelə-/*plē- > OI 'piparti / pipr'mah, pr'nāti ~ pr'nati v. 'fill, nourish, sate', aor. 'aprāt (< *-plē-, see Gk aor. πλήτο), imv. pūr'dhi, Av par- 'fill' || Gk πέμπλη-μι 'I fill' (< *πέ-πλη-μι, with -μι- on the analogy of πέμπρημι 'burn [up]'), ft. πλή-σ-ω, aor. πλήτο 'füllte sich' || L plē- v. 'fill', (in cds.: complē-, implē- v. 'fill', replē- 'fill up\again') || Lt pilti (pres. pilù) v. 'fill', ? Ltv {ME} pilt (unknown accentuation) v. 'become full (?)' || NaIE pp. *plē-to- 'filled, full' > OI prā'ta- [prtc.] || L -plētus (in cds. such as re-plētus 'filled, full', com-plētus 'complete') || pAl {O} *plāta > Al T plotē 'full' || NaIE *plē-no- ~ *p̄l-no- (< IE *pleh-no- ~ *p̄l-h-no-) 'full' > OI prāna-, Av frāna- 'Füllung', OI pūr'nā- 'full', Av pərəna- 'filled' || L plēnus 'full' || Gt fulls, ON fullr, OHG fol/foll-, NHG voll, OSx, AS full 'full', NE full || OIr d. lín-aim 'I fill', lín(t) pp. 'filled', OIr lín 'number', OIr lárn 'full', Gl {Evn.} *lano- (in n. pr.), Brtt {RE} *lānos 'full' (> OW laun, MW, W llawn, Crn lün ~ len ~ luen ~ leun, OBr [in cds.] -lon, MBr, Br leun), Crn {LP, ECCE} lanwes 'abundance', {ECCE} lenwel 'to fill, to replenish' || Lt pilnas, Ltv piñns 'full', Pru pilnan 'whole (ganz)' | Sl *pēlnъ > OCS πλήνъ ръпъ 'full', R 'полон 'is full', полный, Blg пълен, SCr puñ, Slv pôln, Cz, Slk plný, P pełny 'full' || Tc B pällew 'full-moon' || *plē-yo- > Arm լի 'full' || Gk Hm πλεῖος, Gk A πλέως 'full' || *plē-mŋ n. act. 'filling' > Gk [Hs.] πλήμα · πλήσμα id. ('impregnation?') || L [γ] d. plēminā-bantur 'replebantur' ¶ WP II 55, P 798-800, IS IA 74 (on *p̄l-'no-s), H 201 (*pelh,- 'fill'), 214 (*p̄lh,'no-s 'full'), M K II 282-4, 324, M E II 89-90, F II 537-8, WH II 322-3, LP §§ 12, 32, ≈ § 19, Thr. §§ 43, 58, 215, 267, RE 98, Evn. 215, Billy 92, Flr. 246, ≈ 237 (on Crn lanwes), ECCE 264, 266, Fs. 171-2, Vr. 146, Ho. 118, Ho. S 230, Kb. 270, OsS 231, KM 223, 824-5, O 335, Slt. 93-4, Frn. 591-2, En. 226, VW AI 117, 119, Glh. 512, O 335, Ad. 379 || D (in CD) *pōl- ({θGS} *p-) > Prj pōl- v. 'finish, complete', Gdb pōl- v. 'finish, be finished' ¶ D #4598 ◇ ≈ Gr. II #172 (*pal 'full') (IE, U, Ko + unc. Y, J, Gil, CK; Gr. does not distinguish between *Pōlxæ 'to fill' and N *palyū 'much, superfluous').

1710. ***p**alyū 'much, superfluous' > **HS:** Ch: Ang {Flk.} p̄il 'very' ¶ Flk. s.v. || **I**E: NaIE *'pelu- 'great, many' / *p̄lu- 'much' > OI p̄u'rū-, Av pouru-, OPrs {Hiz} paruw 'much' || Gk πολύς id. | OIr (h)il 'much' | Gmc {Vr.} *felu > Gt filu 'much, very', OSx, OHG filu, filo, NHG viel 'much, many', AS fela (/felu-), feala, feola id., 'very', ON fiql- 'much', 'Menge' (in cmpd. nouns) || d. NaIE {P} *plē-yōs 'more' > OL plous, L plus 'more' || OIr líā id. ('plus, plures') || ON fleiri 'more' || Av frāyah- 'more', OI prā'yā- 'mostly, commonly' || d. NaIE {P} *plē-yōs-tos 'most' > Gk πλεῖστος 'largest, most' || Brtt {RE} *liāstos 'many' > OW, MW liaus, W lliaus, Crn lȳes, OBr lios, Br lies || ON fleistr 'most' ¶ P 8OO, ~ EI 3 (*'pelh, u-s / gen. *p̄l'h, ou-s 'much', *pleh, yos 'more'), M K II 311, M E II 148-9, Hinz 118, WH II 327-8, LP §§ 29, 164, RE 111, Vr. 13OO, Kb. 242, KM 821, Sw. 55, Ho. 1OO, F II 577-8, Fs. 152-4, Vr. 125, Ho. 1OO, Ho. S 2O || **u** ***p**aljyU ({UEW} ***p**aly∇) 'much; thick (dense)' > F paljo, paljon 'much, a lot', Es palju 'much, plenty (of), a lot' | Chr: KB pülä 'rather much\many', H {Ep.} пүлә, {MRS} пүлә 'rather much, rather great' || pVg *pā́l > Vg: LK pā́l, Yk {Vxr.} pā́l, P/Ss pā́l 'thick' (of forests, grass), 'dicht, dicht belaubt' (UEW: pVg *ā < *a due to the infl. of *-ly-) || Sm {Hl.} *pzítč > Nn Т паль" / пальд- раí? / раíd- 'thick' (of a forest, liquid), 'fine-tooth' (of a comb), Nn T O {Lh.} раí? 'thick' (of a wood, hair, porridge), En {Cs.} fodē-me ~ fodē-ma 'dick werden', Mt {Hl.} *hāldi 'dicht' (Mt M {Sp.} халды 'густой') || pY {IN} *poy- 'much, many' > Y: T {IN} poy- id., {Krn.} poyō- 'be many\much': poyōn 'many' (kedēn poyōn 'homines multi sunt', lit. 'homo multus est'), poyōde-gzdek yabel 'many people died'), poyōler 'many (people)', {Ku.} poyumu vi. 'become more numerous' ¶ Coll. 46, UEW 35O-1, Ep. 97, MRS 478, BV 76, Ter. 44O, Lh. 337, Cs. 95, Hl. M 243, Krn. JJ 193, Ku. 224, ~ Rd. UJ 41 [#42] (Y ← U) || **D** ***p**al'a, ***p**alav∇ ({GS} *p-) 'many, several, diverse' > Tm, Ml pala id., Td pes id., 'a large number, many', Kn pala, palavu 'many, several, various', Tl palu id., Mlt palware v. 'be multiplied, be bred' ¶ D #3987 || ?σ **A** *^op̄aí∇ > T *h̄aí- v. 'enlarge, increase' > OT aš- v. 'enlarge, increase (sth.)', Uz aš- vi. 'increase', ET, Alt aš- id. (Cl. 255, ET Gl 212-4, UzR 312, Nj. 38, BT 23); ET Gl does not distinguish it from NaT *aš- v. 'cross (a mountain)' (< A *āla- id. < N *h̄a1, ∇?, E 'on the other side' [q.v.]); this supposed cognate is highly qu., because here the initial A *p̄ is only possible, but not evidenced ◇

IS MS 348 (***p**ālā 'much, many' > IE, A, U, D, Ch, unc. K *pr-), IS SS #10.3, AD GD 11, Coll. 145-6 (U, A), UEW 350-1 (U, A, IE).

1711. ***p**eL_iy^Δ 'to split, to separate' > HS: WS ***v**ply > Gz, Tgy **v**fly, Tgr **v**fly (pf. fāla) G 'divide, separate' (→ Sa {R} falay-'scheiden, sondern, trennen'), BHb **v**ply|w N: ... וַנְפָלִינוּ מִן... wə-ni-p'li-nū min... 'and we shall be distinct from...', Sh 'make separate, set apart', MHb **v**ply|w G (pf. פָלָה pā'lā) 'search; search one's garment for vermin', JA **v**ply (pf. פָלֵא pə'lē ~ פָלָה pə'lā) 'split, open up', Ar **v**fly vt. G 'louse (the head); scrutinize (an affair); study the meaning of (a poem)' ¶ LG 161, KB 878, BDB 811, Js. 1181, Sl. 912, BK II 635, Hv. 575, Ln. 2445, R S II 133 || B ***v**fly (× ***v**fli < N ***p**olivE [or ***p**olivE?] 'to split') > Ah {Fc.} əfli (pf. ifləy) 'fendre', Ttq {Msq.} fallāt 'fendre (du bois)', Tnsl iflā 'déchirer brusquement', CM {NZ} fley / fli id., 'déchirer, lacérer', Si fli 'fendre' ¶ Fc. 324-5, Msq. 124, NZ 574-5 || C: LEC *fil- {Ss.} 'separate' > Or {Grg.} fil- 'comb', Or Wl {Brl.} fil- v. 'chose, separate, discern; comb' ({Ss.}): not akin to Brj sil-? v. 'comb'), Kns {BISO} fil-, Rn {PG} filā v. 'comb', Arr {Hw.} fil- v. 'comb, separate out', fil-ad- v. 'comb one's hair', filā n. 'comb', Af {PH} fil-o ~ fil-o 'act of combing'; ?? Sml fullāt vi. 'detach, be separated, come off' ¶ Ss. B 166, Bl. 166, PH 102-3, Grg. 144, Brl. 147, PG 115, Hw. A 358, BISO 32, ZMO 144 ¶ ≠ OS #845 (S ÷ B *f^Δl¹l²w- 'pierce') || IE: NaIE *(s)p¹lej-, *splej-d- 'split, split off' (? × N ***p**olivE [or ***p**olivE?] 'to split' [q.v.]) > Ltv Δ {ME} plītes 'small crumbs (kleine Brosamen)', {ME} plivinā 'abgelöste flatternde Baumrinde; Schelfer' || OIr {Vn.} sliess 'copeau, éclat de bois', d. sliessiu 'copeau, éclat; planchette' || MHG splīzen, OFrs splīta, MDt splīten, Dt splijten vi., vt. 'split, be split', MDt, Dt splitten vi. 'split' (→ NE split [{OED}: originally a nautical term]); d. Gmc *splita- > MHG splitter 'splinter', d. v. MLG splitteren, Sw splittra 'to split, to splinter' ¶ WP II 684, P 1000, Vn. S 136, Vr. N 681, OsS 853-4, OED X 645, ME III 347, 349 || U: FU (att. in Prm) *^opēl^Δ 'divide, split, crush' > Prm *pēl- ({LG} *pēl- 'slit' > Z пель- pēl- vt. 'split, slit off lengthwise', Yz pēl-d- 'scale off', Vt πιλλύηντι pił-tnt vt. 'split' (hardly from FU *ροῦδω [= *ροῦντω] 'Span, spalten, splittern' because of its vw. [↔ UEW]) || ? Sm: Ng {Cs.} filmia, filmi?ə 'little bit, fragment' ¶ Coll. 49, LG 219, ≠ UEW 389-90 ◇ The IE and other cognates suggest that Prm *^ol goes back to *-liy- ◇ IE *(s)p- points to a N ***p**- (see Introduction,

2.2.5). On the origin of IE *sp- see s.v. N *^rp¹ü1, üy, ∇ 'to wash' and Introduction, 2.2.5.

1712. (✉?) *puLy∇ 'bubble, blister, round swelling' > HS: WCh: Tng {J} pōl 'tuber' ¶ J T 133 || IE: NaIE ✉ *bul-/ *bou1- 'round swelling' > L bulla id., 'water bubble' || Gmc: OHG {OsS} paula 'pustule, blister', but words with b- (AS býle, býl 'boil, carbuncle', OHG būlla 'pustule, blister', MLG būle, NNr bulle, Sw bula 'bump, lump, Beule', NHG Beule 'bump') may be of L origin (or influenced by L) || Slv búla 'tumour, bump, a boil, carbuncle' (unless ← L) || OIr bolcha accus. pl. (< NaIE dim. *bulakā) 'pimples, pustules' ¶ ×IE *bhœyl- 'swell' (in lgs. without the opposition *b- ↔ *bh-) ¶ WH I 122, Frn. I 63, M K I 439-40, Bern. I 100, Vr. 340, Kb. 130, OsS 90, 683, KM 71-2, ~ Ho. 39, Vn. B 66, Vs. I 239 || U: FU *pu^rly∇ 'bubble' > F Δ ✉ pullo 'bubble, soap-bubble', Es {W} pull puíl 'blister, vesicle' ('Blase, Wasserblase'), Vo pullu ~ puílu 'bubble', Lv būl ({Kt.}: < *puli) 'vesicle' (in F and possibly in other BF lgs. there is infl. of Sw bula?) | Lp {Fri.} buljaras, buljokas 'bubble', Lp N {N} bul'l-járás n. 'bubble' | Prm *poí ({LG} *poí) 'bubble, round swelling' > Vt пульы руít 'bubble, blister', Yz poí 'bubble', Prmk va-poí 'water-bubble' (va 'water'), Z польо роíз 'a young (bulb of) onion', d. польк роíк 'bubble' || OHg XVIII, Hg † buggy 'Luftblase' ¶ SK 636, W EDW 890, Kt. 31, Fri. 97, N I 249, LG 224, EWU 144, Sándor Sf. VII 173 || A: Tg *pu1∇n 'boil, abscess, furuncle' > Lm hulān id., Orc pōloŋko 'ulcer, unhealing wound', ??ψ WrMc furdan 'wound, ulcer' ¶ STM II 344 ◇ Hl. (p.c., 1976): IE, U.

1713. *^rp¹ü1, üy, ∇ 'to wash' > HS: WCh: Tng {J} palt v. 'wash (body)' || ECh *-p^ri1- v. 'wash' > Kwn {J in JI} pélē v. 'wash (body)' | Kbl {Cp. in JI} p̄l, Ll {Grgs. in JI} p̄l v. 'wash' | Tmk {Cp.} p̄l id., Nd {J} p̄lā v. 'wash (things)' | Mgm {JA} (inf.) p̄p̄lō id. (passé absolu p̄p̄lé, progr. p̄p̄llá) | Mkl pfv. p̄p̄lē v. 'wash' (subj. (t)opílē) ¶ ChC, AJ 53, JA LM 54, 66, J LM 241, JI II 339, Cp. 90, Nw. #140 || IE: NaIE (att. in WGmc) *°spel- v. 'rinse, (?) wash' > OHG ir-spuolen 'to rinse', MHG spüelen, NHG spülen, MLG spölen, Dt spoelen, AS āspylan 'to rinse, to wash'; MLG → Sw spola, Dn spula, NNr spyle id. ¶ OsS 860, Lx. 2070, Kb. 945, KM 733-4, Ho. 314, Vr. N 681-2, Hlq. 1048 || U: FU *pijü1w1∇ (or *piw1∇?) v. 'bathe' > Prm *pōl- v. 'bathe' > Vt пыласък-, Vt Ks pulašk- v. 'wash oneself, bathe in a river', Z

пывсъы- *p̥vśt-*, Z Ss *p̥lśt-*, Yz 'púlśt- 'take a steam-bath (in a sauna)', Z **пывсян** 'sauna' || ObU *pēχəl- 'sich baden' > pVg *păχl- id. > Vg: T *päwl-*, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL *päχl*, UL/Ss *pūwl-* id.; pOs *pöχəl- ({ʃHl.} *păχəl-) id. > Os: V/Vy *pōχəl-*, Ty *păχwəf-*, Y *păχwəf-*, D/K *pewət-*, Nz *pewət-*, Kz *pewəf-*, O *pewəl-* id.; ObU *-χəl- may go back to FU *-χk-, -χy- -χw- | ? Hg *füröd-*, *fürd-* 'baden, sich baden', *füröszt-* vt. 'baden' ¶ UEW 38O-1 (*pilkΔ [*pülkΔ]), LG 234-5, Lt. J 172, Ht. 175 [#502] || D *pul-Δm- ({øGS} *p-) v. 'wash\ clean' > Tu *polampuni* v. 'clean, wash, rinse', Tl *pulumu* v. 'rub and wash with the two hands, scour' ¶ D #4549, Km. 433 [#836] ◇ Acc. to IS's hyp., IE *sp- < N *p-...-y- or *p- + palatal sonorant (see Introduction, 2.2.5). Since the N lateral is not *-ł- (to judge from the U and D ev.), the only solution is to suppose an additional stem-medial N *y.

1714. *paLuCΔ (or ***paLüCΔ?**) 'stinging insect (flea, mosquito, tick)' > **HS:** C ≈ *fΔllΔt- 'flea' > EC: Gdl *fillét* id. (coll.); ?? Hr {AMS} *fillāyye*, Gwd {AMS} *fillāye* 'flea' (× N *p'U?E'1Δ 'stinging insect') || Ag *fʒɻɻVt- (= *fʒllVt-), {Ap.} *fʒlΔt- > Bln {R} *fəlúta*, Xm {R} *fəltə*, Q {R} *peleyə*, {Flad} *pelea*, Km {Ap.} *fäløy* 'flea' ¶ Ap. AV 9 (Ag *fʒlΔt-), Ap. WLQ 8, AD SF 45 (Ag *fΔllΔt- or *fΔrrΔt-), R BilS 122, Bl. G 2O, AMS 157, 242 || Ch (× N *pürgU(-čΔ) ~ *pürčΔgΔ 'flea, gnat, mosquito'?) > CCh: Gudu {ChL} *vřínzù*, Msy {Mch.} *vřrc*, Db {ChL} *vřrrut*, {Lnh.} *vřrič*, Kola {Sb.} *vřt*, Bdm {Cy.} *bàlaši*, {Nw.} *pélačé*, {Lk.} *hólači*, Lgn {Bou.} *fžlásž*, {Lk.} *vžlásén*, Ms/BnM {ChL} *furutna*, Ms {J} *húrúttá*, Zm {ChL} *vursu* 'mosquito' || WCh: Dir {Sk.} *avǔltu* id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Lk. B 1O4, IS II 99 (Ch. *bΔlΔč) || **IE:** NaIE *b_Lh_Llus- ~ *plus- 'flea': [1] *b_Lh_Llus- > Lt *blusā*, Ltv *blusa* id. | Sl *b₁ь'xa > OR **բլչա** *blչxa*, R, Uk *blo'xa*, Blr *блы'ха*, Blg *бъл'ха*, SCr *bùha*, Slv *bólha*, Cz *blecha*, Slvj *blčha*, P mt. *pčhla* id. || Arm **լու** *lu* (gen. **լունյ** *luoy*) id. || Gk mt. *ψύλλα* id. (or to [2]) || [2] *plus-/pleus- 'flea' > OI *pluši-hi* id. | Irm: Prc *ruč*, Psh 'wrža (< *frušā), Ydg *friχo* (< *fruši-kā) id. || pAl {O} *pleusta > Al T *plesht* id. || ? L mt. *pūlex* (< *pusl-ek-) / gen. *pulic-is* id. ¶ ≠ P 102, EI 2O6 (*plus- ~ *b_Hluseh_A 'flea'), M K II 386-7, M E II 197-8, Mrg. 91, Slt. 41-2, Frn. 51-2, Bern. I 62-3, Vs. I 177, ESSJ II 129-3O, Glh. 155-6, F II 114O, WH II 385, O 333 || **R:** Tg *°pałčuka ~ *balčuka 'tick (insect)' > Neg *balčuxa* ~ *balčuka*, U1 *balčuqsa* ~ *belčuqsa*, Nn Nh *paltoχa* ¶ STM I 71 ◇ The variations are due to ideophonic, euphemistic, and/or other factors (F II 1141 on IE:

"die vielen Varianten beruhen auf euphemistischer, spielerischer und volksetymologischer Verdrehung") ◇ IS II 99-100 (?) *purčn(ə) / pülcn(ə) 'flea').

1715. ₂ *P^rūlīrč¹ṇ (or *P^rūlīrč¹ṇ?) 'gray, gray-haired' > **IE:** NaIE *pelit- 'gray' > Gk πελιδνός, Gk A πελιτνός 'livid' || OI pali'ta-h₁ 'gray, hoary, aged', pali'tam 'gray hair' ¶ F II 498, LS 1357, MK II 234-5, ME II 103-4 (IE *pelh₂it- without explicit justification of *h₂), ≠ EI 641-2 (the above words *< *p_ølh₃- 'dull white, pale', see N *p^rūlīs|h₁ or *p^rūlīs|h₂ 'red, yellowish') || **D** *pu]ṇč- '(become) gray' > Nkr pu]s-, Klm puls- (p. pulust-), Prj pu]č-, Gnd pi]s- & pi]čanā & pi]čanā & pi]č-, Koya pi]sk- 'become gray' (of hair), Krx pu]qna 'become hoary, gray in hair', Mlt ponđe id. ¶ D #4325, ≈ Pf. 170 ◇ N *-l- is more plausible than *-ł-, because the latter is likely to cause an IE initial *s mobile.

1715a. **UA** ₂ *pA^rTy'a^kgṇ 'foot' (and 'sole of foot'?) > **U:** FU *pälkṇ 'foot' > pMr {Ker.} *pilgə > Er пильгə рилгə, Mk пильгə рилгə 'foot' || Vg: LK pöälkənt, MK pöälkənt 'side hoof, false hoof (of a reindeer), kleine Klaue (bei der Kuh, dem Elentier, dem Renntier)' || ?? Sm: Slq Tz {KKIH} pält 'thigh' ¶ UEW 364, IS III 67, Ker. II 113, KKIH 148 || **A:** NaT *balak 'trouser leg, sole of foot' > Osm {Rl.} balaq 'trouser leg', Tk balaq 'trousers', Qmq, Qzq, Nog, VTt, Bsh balaq, Az balag 'trouser leg, ankle', QrB balaq 'sole of foot, trouser leg', Qzq balaq 'trouser leg, leg of an animal (esp. bird)' ¶ Rs. W 59, ET B 51-2, Rl. IV 1492, Dr. TM #762, ≈ TL 478 || Tg *palga-n 'sole of foot' > Nn Nh palgā 'sole of foot or of shoe', Ul palža(n-), Orc xagga(n-) id., Nn B falga 'sole of foot of a bear', Neg xalgan, Sln alga(n), Ork palža(n-) 'sole of foot', Ewk halgan 'foot, hoof, sole of foot' ¶ STM II 312, IS III 67-8 || pKo {S} *pár 'foot' > MKo p^hwat [*pal], NKo pal 'leg (lower than the ankle)', pal-gup 'hoof' (kup 'hoof'), Ko Δ: Ph/SI pal, Ks pál, Hm pa]l ¶ S QK #33, Nam 245, MLC 722 || pJ {S} *pánkì 'foot, shin' > OJ pagjì {Mr.} 'shank (lower leg)', StJ {Kenk.} hagi 'leg' ({S} J: T/Kg hagi, K hagi 'shin'), J: Ns hági, Ht páñ, Y háñ 'foot' ¶ S QJ #131, Mr. 395, Kenk. 414 ¶ DQA #1616 (*pålgå 'foot') ¶ The discrepancy between the ev. of U (suggesting N *ł) and that of T (suggesting *ł) may be avoided by suggesting a N cluster *Ty (with loss of *y in Altaic) ◇ Cf. IS III 66-70 (*pa]qə 'sole of foot': U, A + *÷ K *perq-~*berq- 'foot, step'). IS III adduces M *lψa]ku- 'step', which is in fact *alqu- < N *haLṇKlu, 'to step, to walk' (q.v.). The rec. of N *q is unt. because N *q usually does not yield U *k and M *k. The

whole comparison is highly qu., because the U and Tg stems may well belong to N *pä́íx|y^v 'thumb, big toe'. T *paímak 'shoe' (> OT bašmaq, Tk başmak, etc.) and Ko parmak 'footgear worn by small gentry' apparently suggests an A word *paímak '(ε) shoe', which is unlikely to be derived from A *p^lālK^v (because of the cns. *í in *paímak). In this case the infl. of N *pä́íx|y^v may be a solution.

1716. *pałukü 'axe, hammer' > IE: NaIE *peleku- 'axe' > OI para'suh̄ 'axe', pIr *parasu- > OPrs {Bai., Ab.} *paraθu- → KhS pada 'axe' and Oss färät 'axe, hatchet' || Gk Mc pe-re-ke-we, Gk πέλεκυς 'axe' ¶ EI 37, Mn. 915, Dv. #462, M K II 213-4, M E II 87, Ab. I 451, F II 497 || HS: S *✓płk 'axe' > OAk {G} d. naplaktum 'battle-axe'; Sr **پلک** pə'l'kā 'axe' (unless ← Gk) ¶ G OA 215, Br. 569-71, 574, Sd. 813, 863 || A *paluk^v 'hammer' > NaT *baluka id. > Brb {Rl.} palya, Qq, Qzq balya, SbTt {Tm.} palya & palkä, {Gig.} balya, Qrg, ET {Rl.} **بالقا** balqa, ET {KtnM} balaqa, ET Δ {Jr.} bolqa, Ln baloqa, balqa, Uz болға balya id., Bsh balya 'sledge-hammer', QrB balqa id., hammer-axe', Chg {Rl.} **بالقا** balya 'eine Keule mit einem langen Stiel'; T → M: Kl {KRS} балһ balъy, {Rm.} balag, balya 'large flat knife, table-knife' ¶ ET B 57-8, Rs. W 61, Rl. IV 1169, 1498, 1500, UzR 80, Jud. 105, Tm. 167, KRS 79, KW 31 || M *φαλυρα(n) > MM [IM] {Pel., Pp.} haluya (misspelt **ھالغا**), WrM алура(n), HIM алх(ан) 'hammer, mallet' (→ Sln alxa), Ord aluχu^v ~ aluχa 'small hammer', Kl алх alχy, {Rm.} alχa 'hammer', Dg xaldu^v id. (× reflex of N *pał_lu^v, t^v 'to split', 'axe'??), Brt алха '(small) hammer' ¶ Mel. 153, Pel. H #90, Pp. MA 434, MED 34, Ms. O 18, Chr. 45, KRS 37, KW 7, T DgJ 173 || Tg *paluka 'hammer' > Ul pala(w)v(n-) ~ paloa(n-), Nn Nh paloa, Nn B falo(n-), Orc xalu(w)a, Ud xaluga, Ewk halka & aluka, Lm halqъ, Neg xalka, WrMc folxo ¶ STM II 313, Krm. 306 ¶ Pp. VG 11, DQA #1617 (A *płuk^v 'hammer'), Ci. EApk 30-1, ≠ Rm. SKE 185 ◇ If the pN word was trisyllabic (*pałukü), the loss of *-Kü in pU (or pFU) may be accounted for by the adaptation of the word to the reg. U ✓ pattern (if the U ✓ is inherited or borrowed). But if A *płaltu 'axe' belongs here (rather than to N *pał_lu^v, t^v 'to split; axe' [q.v.]), the pN etymon in question is to be reconstructed as *pału(-Kü). Several scholars have treated this lexeme as a Wanderwort and have tried to explain its occurrence in many lgs. by borrowing (Krtm. E 105f., Dr. TM II #710, KW 31, Rm. SKE 185, Pp. AKAS, Mng. ZAL 30Off., etc.). Their hyp. is only

partially correct. The long-hold hyp. about the Mesopotamian (Ak and Sum) origin of IE *pele^ku- 'axe' had to be rejected when it was found that Ak pilakku meant 'spindle' rather than 'hammer', and Sum balag meant 'ein paukenartiges Muskinstrument' (see Wüst IAB). In fact, the spread of the word throughout vast regions of Eurasia is due to both inheritance and borrowing.

1717. *Pä^rl¹ṇk¹ṇ (or *PE¹ṇk¹ṇ) to split lengthwise, to divide' > **HS:** S: [1] CS *✓pl̥k v. 'split' > Ar ✓flq v. G 'split, cleave, divide lengthwise, cut in two halves' (→ Mz fallag 'chop\split [wood, etc.]), JEA ✓pl̥k G {Sl.} 'split, smash', {Js.} 'split, create a gaping wound', JA [Mdr.] ✓fl̥k (3s sbjn. 'yc-fłz̥k) 'split, crack (like a skull)', intens.-conat. e'folk 'split into pieces'; [2] S *✓pl̥k > Ak {Sd.} ✓pl̥k G '(Gebiet) abteilen', pilku 'Abgrenzung, Gebiet' → MHb פְּלָקָר 'pele^kar, JA [Trg.] {Js.} pa'lak ~ פְּלָקָר 'pele^kar / em. פְּלָקָה pil'kā 'district'; [3] S *✓pl̥g v. 'split, share' > Ar فَلْج✓fl̥g G 'split asunder, share, allot sth. amongst', BHb ✓pl̥g: N pf. נִפְלַגnip'lag 'was divided', D (pf. פִּלְגֵּלleg, imv. נִפְלַג pal'leg) vt. 'split, furrow', פִּלְגָּה 'peleg 'division' [Gn. 10.25, I Chr. 1.19], EpHb/IA {HJ} ✓pl̥g 'half', MHb פִּלְגָּה 'peleg 'part, share', Ug ✓pl̥g G or N vi. 'be divided, disintegrate', IA, Plm ✓pl̥g G or D, JA ✓pl̥g vt. G, D 'divide, share', JA [Trg.] פִּלְגָּה פִּלְגָּה pa'lag / em. פִּלְגָּה pal'gā, Sr פִּלְגָּה pe'l'gā 'part, half', Sr ✓pl̥g vt. G 'divide, separate', Gz ✓fl̥g (js. -fl̥g) G 'divide, split', Cn → Eg (EgSSc) pa-la₂-gā v. 'divide, share'; → S *'palag- 'ditch, canal, small stream' > Ak fOB {Sd.} palgu 'ditch, channel', BHb פִּלְגָּה *peleg, Ug pl̥g 'canal, small stream', IA {HJ} pl̥g? s. e. 'canal', Ar فَلْج falag-, فَلْج falag- 'streamlet, brook', Gz falag 'river, brook, valley' (→ Gz ✓fl̥g G 'flow'), Mh {Jo.} falēg 'watercourse', Jb E {Jo.} 'fe'lēg 'stream', Jb C {Jo.} 'fe'lēg 'oasis' ¶ The causes of voicing *k > *g are not yet clear ¶ OLS 349, Fr. III 70, GB 641-2, BK II 627-8, 631-3, Ln. 2436-8, 2441-3, Hv. 573-5, Sd. 813, 815-6, 863, KB 877-8, HJ 911-3, Js. 1175-6, 1182, 1185, Lv. IV 57, Lv. T II 266, 270, Sl. 914, Br. 569-71, Jo. M 93, Jo. J 57, L G 159, Hlk. #73, SivCR 79, ≈ Blz. LB #6O (equates S *'palag- 'canal, stream' with the reflexes of N *puļu 'to spring forth' [→ 'to flow'], q.v.) || **K:** G pelik-i 'Stück der Fleischseite des Schlachtviehs; Viertel eines geschlachteten Tiers', G R pelik-i 'Hälften einer Länge lang halbierten Schweins' ¶ Chx. 146O || **U:** FU *°pä]ṇk¹ṇ > pOs *pe]ṇk- ({JHl.} *pä]ṇk-) 'half, side' (× U *pä]ä

'half' < N *PälgA 'half, part' [q.v. ffd.] × U *pēle 'side' < N *Pēl?ē ~ *Pēlē 'side') || | D *paL^Δk- ({θGS} *p-?) v. 'split, cut lengthwise' > Krx palk- id., 'crack (the earth, a wall)', Mlt palke v. 'cut up (as fruit\vegetable)', ? Prj palva 'split piece of wood'; D → OI phalaka-m 'board, lath'? (unless ← OI 'phala- 'burst' §§ D #3991, MK II 392-3 ◇ S *√plg v. 'split, share' suggests that the original N etymon was *Pēl^Δr^{g?} with subsequent contaction *-g?- > *-k- ~ *-k- > S *k and *k (n S *√plk and *√plk), K *k, U and D *-k- ◇ An etl. connection with N *paTUKü 'axe, hammer' is possible, but not certain.

1718. *paL^Δt^Δ 'to split', 'axe' > HS: SS *√plt 'split' > Gz √flt G 'separate, divide, split', Sb √flt 'assign (land)' § LG 161, BGMR 44 || EC: Sa {R} √fld (p. 'ə-flelə, sbjn. a'-flałō, prtc. fa'lēl) 'split (spalten, entfalten)' (influenced by or borrowed from EthS?), Sml fallid 'splinter, chip' § R S II 132, ZMO 133 || K *plet-/*plit-/*plt- 'tear to pieces' > G plet-/plit- id., 'wear out', (Chx.) 'zerreißen, zerfetzen, zerfleischen', G da-plet-il- 'worn out', G X da-pit-a aor. 'he wore\tore out', Mg {K²} pat- 'wear out (?)', Lz plat- 'get worn out, tear to pieces', Sv pet-/pt- v. 'scutch wool' (UB/L li-pt-i, Ln li-pet-i, L ft. 1s ox-pot-ne ~ ox-pet-ne) § GM S 200, FS E 358, ~ K² 202 (*plet-/plit-/plt- 'wear out'), Chx. 1485, TK 451-2, Dn. s.v. pt- §§ The deglottalization *t > t is still to be explained || A *palt'a|u 'axe' > NaT *paltu|a 'axe' > OT baltu ({Cl.} baltū), MQp, XwT balta 'axe, battle-axe', OT Og baldu 'axe', Chg balta, Tk balta, Tkm, Qmn, SbTt palta, Tb {B}, Brb {Dm.} palta ~ balta, Slr palto 'axe', CrTt, Kr, QrB, Qmq, VTt, Bsh, Nog, Qrg balta, StAlt {BT}, Shor malta, QK {B} malta ~ palta, Uz balta, ET palta ~ paldä, Δ {Jr.} paltu ~ paldu, ET X {Ml.} palta ~ palti, Ln palti ~ palto, Xk palti, Tv baldi, Chv purtъ 'axe', Qzq, Qq balta 'axe, battle-axe', Yk balta 'forge hammer, molar' § TL 397, Cl. 333, MKD 64, Jr. 223, Nj. 245, TkR 512, Tm. 167, Jud. 1O6, 6O5, B DK 24O, B DChT 1O6, 143, B DLT 185, BIG 142, Dm. JBT 133, 173, Ln. 249 || M *balta (← T?) > WrM balta, HIM балт 'big hammer, sledge hammer, axe', Brt балта 'hammer, sledge hammer', Kl балт baltъ 'battle-axe'; M (or Yk) → Ewk balta 'hammer' § MED 81, Chr. 84, KRS 80, KW 31-2, STM I 71 §§ KW 31-2.

1719. *PaL^Δt^Δq^Δ 'broad and flat' > HS: EC *bald-/ *ballād- 'wide, broad' > Rn {PG} bállád^qì, {Hn.} ballád^q-i 'width', {PG} bállád^qáñ, Sml ballād-an ~ ballād-an, Bn badār-, Or {Grg.} bal?-ā ~ ball-ā, Or H {Ow.} bállá (f. bálló) 'wide', Or B/O {Sr.}, Or M {LLC} ballā, Or Wt {Hn.} balla?

'broad, wide', Or B {Bl.} **bald-**, ? Or Gj {LLC} **badda** 'wide', Or Wl {Brl.} **balda** 'spiazzo, largura', Kns, Gdl **pald-** 'broad', Bs {HL} **bald-**, Brj **bal-**v. 'be broad', {Hd.} 'be wide', **balp-an-ē** {Ss.} 'broad', {Hd.} 'wide', Ged {Hd.} **badđa** (< ***balda**) 'wide', **badd-at-** 'be wide' ¶ Bl.196, Ss. PEC 7, 22, Ss. B 33, Grg. 33, Sr. 27O, LLC 26, 231, Brl. 41, Vnt. 17, Hn. W 58, 64, Hn. S 53, PG 74-5, HL 83-4, Hd. 167-8, 179, 232 || B (mte.?) *✓ **fłtę́y** > Ah {Fc.} **faltę́y** v. 'be broad and flat', ETwl, Ty **fältbę́y** (pf. **faltę́y**) v. 'be flat', **fältbę́s** id. ¶ Fc. 33O, GhA 39, NZ 572 || IE *pletHu-/*płtHu- > NaIE *plet(h)u-/*płt(h)u- 'broad and flat', IE *pletH-/*płtH- > NaIE *plet(h)-/*płt(h)- v. 'extend, spread' > Gk πλατύς 'wide, broad, flat, level' || Arm **լայն** 'broad' (< *plata-no-) || W **lled**, Crn **les**, Br **led** 'breadh, width', Br **ledarñ**, OIr **leth-** 'extend, spread, widen'; MW {SEv.} **llet**, W **lled** (< *plet-is), OIr **letha** 'broader, wider', d. **lethet** 'breadth, size'; *płt.no- > OIr **lethan** 'broad', Brtt {RE} *litanos 'wide' > MW, W **llydan**, Crn {RE} **ledan**, OBr **letan** ~ **litan**, MBr, Br **ledan** 'wide, broad', Gl n. I. **Litana silva** (lit. 'Wide forest') and **Litanobriga** || Lt **platūs**, Ltv **plats** 'broad', Lt **plōtis** 'width' || Ilr *plet^hu/*płt^hu- > OI **pr'thu-**, Av adj. **pərəθav-** 'broad, wide' (adv. **pərəθu**), OI 'prāthati' 'spreads, extends', 'prathas-', Av **fraθah-** 'width' ¶ P 833-4, EI 83 (*pł^h₂u- 'broad, wide'), M K I 333-4, 362-4, M E II 161-2, Brtl. 892-3, 983, Bai. 3O2, F II 553-4, LP §§ 7.1, Thr. §§ 215, 226, 259, RE 146, SEv. 41, Slt. 224-5, Flr. 241, 244, Hm. 5O9, Frn. 6O6-7 || K: GZ *pr̥tq-el- 'flat' > G **br̥tgel-i**, G Δ **pr̥tq-el-i** 'flat, even', Mg **birtqa-** 'flat (and round)' ¶ as. *t̥q > *t̥q ¶ K2 19, 151, Chx. 1O7, DCh. 119 || A: M: WrM **baltaɪ-**, HIM балтай- v. 'be(come) flat' ¶ MED 81 ◇ The N stem may be akin to N *'**p'ôłtx|q|Γa** 'broad and flat'. If IS is right in assuming that N *í may yield G r, the N unspecified *L is to be understood as *í.

1720. ₂ *P₂ΔLhE^{r̥z̥}Δ or\and *P₂ΔL₁h,E₂ç|çΔ 'split up, separate' > HS: S: [1] CS *✓ **płhd** v. 'separate' > Sr ✓ **płhd** (pf. **pal'hed**) 'dispersit, separavit', Ar ✓ **fłδ** G (pf. **fłδ** **falaδa**) 'cut a slice of', D (pf. **fłδ** **falaδa**) 'cut into pieces, couper en morceaux', **fłδ** **fłδ** 'morceau', {Hv.} **fłδ** **fłδ**-at- 'piece (of meat, metal)' | [2] WS *✓ **płç** > MHb {Js.} ✓ **płç** N 'be split\cracked', Ar ✓ **fłs** D 'deliver, save', Gz ✓ **fłs** G 'divide in two, split, separate', **fals** 'broken piece'; EthS ✓ **fłs** → Aw {Hz.} **felec-** v. 'separate' ¶ Js. 1185, Br. 571, BK II 629-3O, Hv.

574, LG 161, ≠ AD SF 42 (pC *✓pl̥č v. 'separate, divide'; C → Gz ✓fl̥š) || IE: NaIE *pl̥ēs-/ *pl̥as- 'splinter off, tear off' > ON flasa 'dünne Scheibe, Splitter', NNr flasa 'to splinter off, to split off', Ic flaska 'to be split' || Lt pl̥askanos pl. 'dandruff' § P 834, Vr. 129, Frn. 604 ◇ The IE ✓ includes a lr., which suggests a connection with CS *✓pl̥hδ.

1721. ₂ *Peíl̥l̥N (= *peíl̥l̥N?) 'pigeon' > IE *p̥él̥- (~ *bel-?) 'pigeon' > Gk πέλεια 'pigeon', esp. 'rock pigeon, Columba livia' || L palumbēs 'wood-pigeon, ring-dove' (infl. of L columba 'dove\pigeon') || Pru poalis 'pigeon' || ? OI bālāgra 'dove-cot' § ≠ P 805, ≠ F II 496, ≠ WH II 242 (all of them unc.: 'dove' ← *'grey'), Dv. #860, EI 169 § The root may have been influenced by *pel- 'grey', but it is hardly its main source (see the D cognate) || D *pel- ({§GS} *b-) 'pigeon' (×N *bNl̥N 'dove') > Kn belava, beluva 'wild pigeon', Tl bela-guvva, belava 'ring-dove' §§ D #4420 ◇ If OI bālāgra 'belongs here, it suggests an IE *b- < N *p- ◇ ≈ Blz. 160 (equates D with HS *bNl̥N [see N *bNl̥N 'dove'] and does not take account of the IE cognate).

1722. *poíl̥N 'hollow, empty' > HS: ECh: Smr {J} pól, Nd D {J} p̥l̥á, Kwn {J} p̥é, Kbl {Cp.} p̥ál v. 'hollow out' (= 'creuser, évider') § JS 140, ChC s.v. 'hollow out' || IE: NaIE *bel-~ *poal-: [1] *bel- v. 'hollow out, dig' (< IE NaIE *belə- ~ *°bəl- v. 'dig, hollow' < N *p̥ál̥XN 'spade; to dig; pit [sth. dug]') > Arm պեղեմ pele-m v. 'dig' || OIr belach 'passage, defile, route', NIr bealach 'road, way, path, mountain pass', Clt {P} *bolko-/-ā- > W bwlc'h 'gap, notch', Br boulc'h 'entamure, entaille, brèche', OIr bolg 'fente, crevasse, brèche' || [2] *poal- 'hollow, bare' > OR πολъ polъ, R полый 'hollow', OCz polo 'empty place' | Blt: the Blt word ≈ *palya-s (nom. sg. m.) has not been found so far in the attested Blt lgs. and dialects, but is preserved as a loan in BF: F, Es paljas 'bare, uncovered, naked', Vp pałłaz id., Lv pōłaz_ (pl. pał·yād_) 'kahl, nackt' || ?? L palam 'openly, publicly' (← *'uncovered') § Vn. B 29, 67, YGM-1 62, Hm. 97, Dnn. 59-60, Chrн. II 54, ≠ Vs. III 320, SK 473, Kt. 307, ZM 397-8, Ach. HGB 919-20, Jah. 21, 52, ≠ WH II 237, unc.: EI 255 (L palam < *polhām 'palm of hand'); I am grateful to Hl. for drawing my attention to the F loanword || A: T *boí 'hollow, empty, free' > OT [MhK] boš 'free, loose, empty', Tkm, CrTt boš 'empty, hollow', Tk boš, Az, Qmq, ET, Slr boš, Kr boš & bos, Bsh buš, Alt b_oš, Nog, Qzq bos, Xk pos, Xlj boš 'empty', Uz bwš 'empty, without a load,

vacant, unoccupied, free', Qrb *boš*, SY, Alt Δ {Vrb.} pos, Tf *b_ɔ̄š* 'empty, loose', VTt, Bsh *buš* id., 'without a load, non busy, free' (→ Chv πύσ
puš \wedge poš, πύσαριζ_β \wedge pož_β 'empty'), Tv *b_ɔ̄š* 'loose, shaky', Qq *bos*, Qrg *boš* 'empty, weak' ¶ ET B 203-5, STM II 203-4, Cl. 376, Ra. 164, Rs. W 82, DHST 190, DT 94, Jeg. 170, ~ Fed. I 458 ¶ Not here Tg *pile-'naked, uncovered' (belonging rather to N *Pileqi (= *PilíEqi?) 'open, uncovered, bare', q.v. ffd.).

1723. *pe₁?jíū(-n̄E) 'dust, ashes' > HS: Eg P fʒ.t 'dust (?) (unless akin to Mkl {J} pùré 'dust') ¶ EG I 575, Tk. II 553 (Eg, Mkl) || WCh: NrBc {Stl.} *puli 'ashes' > Wrj {Sk.} p̄zli-ná, {IL in ChC} p̄zliéná, Kry {Sk.} p̄zli, My {Sk.} p̄zli, {ChL} p̄zli, Jmb {Sk.} b̄zli id. | SBC: Plc B {Sh.} b̄zližŋ id., as well as possibly Zar GL {Sh.} b̄zšär, Zar {IL in ChC} b̄zšär, Sy B b̄zšērə 'ashes' ¶ Sk. NB 13, Stl. ZCh 248 [#10], ChC s.v. 'ashes', JI II 4, ChL s.v. 'ashes', Sh. SB 20 || K: G perpl-i 'ashes' (dis. *l...l > r...l?), perpli xorblisa 'husk of wheat' ¶ DCh 1302 || IE: NaIE *pel(w)-, *pelōy-s / *pelw-os 'dust' > L pulvis (gen. pulvis) 'dust', VL pulver 'ashes' || Gk πάλη 'fine dust, the finest meal', παλύνω v. 'strew, sprinkle (meal, dust, snow, etc.)' || Clt: OIr lúraith 'ashes', Brtt {RE} *loutwos id. > W lludw, Crn lüsow, Br ludu id. | *pel-en- (from N *pe₁?jíū-n̄E with depalatalization N *-n̄- > IE -n- [still to elucidate] or from N *pe₁?jíū + genitive *nu) > L pollen, -in-is 'very fine meal (Staubmehl)' (< nom. *polen, gen. *poln-es with subsequent as. *polnes > *polles and generalization of the stem variant *poll-) || ? Blt (× IE *pelH-/pleH vi. 'burn, be warm' < N *paɪlHä 'burn' [intr.]): Pru pelanne, Lt pelenaï (pl.), Ltv p̄elnī 'ashes'; but hardly here Sl *p̄l'b and *p̄l'b 'dust' (> R пыль, Cz pyl id., etc.), which is derived from *p̄hū- 'blow, blasen' (so Vs. III 418, HIK 307 ⇔ Ma. CS 409) || I am not sure that IE *polt- 'soup\porridge of meal' (> Gk πόλτος 'porridge', L puls / gen. pultis 'porridge of flour', OIr {P} littiu 'soup of meal, pulmentum', W llith 'pap, mash') belongs here || ?σ (here?) *p̄e'lw- 'chaff, husk' > L palea 'chaff' ('Spreu, Stroh, Getreidehülse') || OI m. pl. pa'lāv-ah 'chaff, husk', ?? palālī-, palala 'stalk, straw', \wedge palah 'straw' (unless loans from a pre-IE source) || BS1 *pelū-, *p̄elwā- 'chaff' > Lt pl. p̄elūs, (pl.) pelaī (sg. p̄elas), Ltv pl. p̄elus, p̄elavas, p̄elēvas, Pru pelwo, Ltv pelvas (pl.) id. | Sl *pelva 'chaff' > OCS πλέβει plěvъ (pl.), R, Uk по'лова,

R Δ πελέβα, SCr πλέβα $\ddot{\alpha}$ pljëva, Slv pléva, Cz pléva, pleva, Slk pleva, P plewa id. ¶ P 8O2, EI 1O4 (*pe₁lo/h_A- ~ *pelou̯- chaff'), 441 (*polt- 'pap, porridge'), M K II 233, M E II 1O3, F II 467, 47O, WH II 238, 331-2, 388, LP § 162, RE 79, ECCE 266, Frn. 566-9, En. 226, SJSS XXV 58, Vs. III 312, Glh. 489-9O† || U: FP *peíme 'dust, ashes, dirt' > F pelme (gen. pelmeen) 'dirt', pulmuə- 'aufwirbeln, qualmen, aufstauben' || Prm {LG} *ρευμ, *ρευη- 'ashes' > Z ποιμ ρείμ, Z ΛΛε ρείν, Vt πεν्य ρείν id. || σ, μ F pöly, Krl, Vp pölü 'dust' ¶ UEW 728, U 341, SK 696, SSA II 467 || A *p_L’ULN̄E 'ashes', (→) 'gray' > M *φüne-sün 'ashes' > MM [MA, IsV] hünesün, [S] hünesü, WrM ünesün, HIM γης(эн), γηсс, KI γηсн ümsəŋ, Ord ünisü, MnR {T} funise, MnR H {SM} funjez_з, {Pot.} фүнисы, MnR M {Pot.} хүнисы, Dx funjesun, Mgл {Iw.} ünesün, Dg xuns, ShY henesən id. ¶ Pel. 238-9 [#7O], MED 1OO9, Iw. 144, H 79, Pp. MA 191, Lg. VMI 35, T 71, T DnJ 138, SM 111, Pot. 414, S AJ 233 [#2] || Tg {S, DQA} *pułne 'ashes' > Ewk hulz-ptżn, Neg xulzptżn, SIn uluktż, Lm hultżn, Nn Nh puńzktż, Nn KU fuńzżtż, Orc xulzptż, Ud {Krm.} xulzptż(n) ~ xunzptż, Ul puńzktż(n-) ~ puńzktż, Ork puńzktż(n-), WrMc fulen̄i, Jrc fulen̄i id. ¶ STM II 347, Krm. 3O7, S AJ 2O7 [#3] || NaT *o_L’ñy 'dun' (colour of horse's coat), 'dust- or ash-coloured' > OT o_L’ñy ({Cl.} öy) 'dun', MQp XIII oy 'dust- or ash-coloured', Xk oy 'dun, light bay (буланый, соловый)', Shor {Rl.} aγ-oy 'light bay', Tv oy 'dun' ¶ Cl. 266, Rl. I 969, BIG 124, TvR 315 ¶ S AJ 257 [#167] and SDM97 (s.v. *pułn̄E) adduced pKo {S} *puńə₁- 'gray, ash-coloured' (> NKO puńə₁-thā id.), but in DQA the Ko cognate was not mentioned ¶ DQA #1824 (A *p’oíne 'ashes, gray' > T, M, Tg), Pp. VG 12 || **Gil:** Gil A płznyg 'ashes, soot' ¶ ST 263 ◇ The glottalized consonants in the WCh lgs. (p-, b-) suggest the presence of a glottal stop *ʔ. The initial zero cns. in T may go back to *p- < *p ∇ ?- ◇ The A labialized vw. may be due to the infl. of *p_L’- and of the labial vw. of the second syll., while U *-e- cannot be explained away, therefore I prefer to reconstruct the N etymon with the vw. *e (*pe_L?_Íū(-ñE)) ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #4b (IE, U, A, Ch), ≈ Blz. LNA #45 (N *pełn̄ 'ashes' > IE, U), ≈ Blz. DNA #5O (N *pułn̄ 'ashes, dust'; *÷ D: Tm pūři 'ashes, sacred dust' [transcribed as pūři], Tu puγγe sand').

1724. *p’iʔū́ñ ∇ 'slit' > HS: C: Sa {R} bōl 'Kluft, Erdspalt, précipice' ¶ R S II 79-8O || IE: NaIE *bul̄i- 'vulva', *'anus' (→ 'buttocks') > BdhSk bu'lī-h, OI \wedge bu'rī-h 'buttocks, vulva' || Lt {Frn.} bulis, bùlé,

bulē 'Hinterer, Gesäß', {EI} 'rump' § P 99, MK II 439-40, Frn. 63-4, H 88 (**bulis* '≈ rump') || **U:** FU *pi̥l̥ 'slit, cunnus' > F *pillu* 'cunnus', Vp *pi̥lu*, Es *pilu* 'slit' || Vg N {Mu.} *pi̥l̥* 'Bunze' ('cunt'), *pileyaxti* v. 'copulate with' § Coll. 108, SK 564, ZM 418, MK 440 || **A:** pKo {S} *pi̥ə,r- 'precipice, road above precipice' > MKo *pi̥ə,ro*, *pi̥ə,r*, NKO *pi̥ə,raŋ*, *pi̥ə,re*, *pi̥ə,ru* § MLC 775, Nam 258, MLC 775 || ?σ Tg *pile 'thawed patch (проталина)' > Ewk *hilz*, *hilzkz*, Lm *hilzŋz*, Neg *xilzŋz* id., Ud *silzŋgisi*- v. 'thaw out' (a patch of ground amidst a frozen snow-covered country), WrMc *fili-ta-xun* 'open (ground)' § STM II 324 §§ ~ DQA #1793 (A *p̥jōlo 'way, path; patch, precipice' > Tg, Ko) ◇ The pKo diphthong *jə, and the conflicting ev. of the IE and C back labialized vw. and the vw. *i in FU and Tu point to a pN bisyllabic sequence *-iHū-. The lack of vw. lengthening in IE suggests that the tentatively reconstructed N lr. was *?.

1725. *paɪl̥H̥ā' 'to burn' (intr.), 'to be heated on fire' > **HS:** B *✓f1Hw ~ *✓f1H1y v. 'shine, sparkle' > Ah *faluwat* 'scintiller', Izd *s-flili* 'briller', Kb *flali* 'briller' (the meanings 'surgir', 'subiter' of the same Kb verb are likely to go back to a different HS root or a different N word) § Fc. 326, Mrc. 39, Dl. 208, NZ 574 || WCh *✓fy1 ~ *✓fw1 v. 'boil' ({Stl.} *faʊly1- vt. 'cook, boil') > AG: Su *fīl*, Ang {ChC} *fīl*, Kfr {Nt.} *fyal*, Cp {Kr.} *fīyel*, ? Gmy {Kr.} *fulc* v. 'boil' | BT: Gera *pili-*, Bl {Lk.} *pi-fulo*, ? Krkr {Kr.} *fūltz* id. | SBC {ChL}: Kir *fule*, Gj *hūlūwī*, Buli *fulu*, Plc *fr fūlū* id. § Stl. ZCh 160-1 [#143], ChC, ChL, Nt. 14 || **IE:** [1] *pelā-/ *pleh- > NaIE *pelə-/ *plē(w)- / *plō(w)- vi. 'burn, be warm' > ON *flór* 'warm, luke-warm', Nr *flø* 'luke-warm' || Sl *polēti > OCS **пoлѣти** *polěti* vi. 'ψλέγεσθαι, to blaze', Slv *poléti* id., SCr Ch *spoliti* 'to kindle, to light', caus.: Sl *palīti (1s prs. *päljō) > **пaлити** *paliti* vt., vi. 'to burn', R *палить*, Uk *палити*, P *palić*, SCr, Slv *páliti* vt. 'to burn', Blg *пaля* vt. 'burn'; Sl *polm̥t / G *polmene 'flame' > OCS **пaламъ** *plam̥t* / **пaламене** *plamene* (→ R 'пламя / пламени'), OR **пoломa** *polomę*, R *f*, Δ *полымя*, Δ *поломя*, Uk *полум'я*, Blg *плам*, SCr *plām*, *plāmēn*, Slv *plámen*, Cz *plamen*, Slk *plameň*, P *płomień* | [2] if the N word-internal lateral was *-l-, then the expected IE form with initial *(s)- has coalesced with some other sources (N words?) in NaIE *(s)p(h)e1- v. 'shine' > OI *sphuliringa* 'spark' (MK III 545 without definite et.), Arm

փայլ *pʰayl* (gen. **փայլից** *pʰaylich*) n. 'shine, brilliancy, glitter', **փայլեմ** *pʰaylem* v. 'shine, glitter, gleam' ¶ WP II 59-60, 679-80, P 805, 987 (the Arm forms misquoted with *p-* for *pʰ-*), Vr. 133, Hü. 500, Me. EAC 35, Slt. 210-1, StSS 441, 448, 474, Glh. 465, Vs. III 192-3, 273, Chrn. I 617-8 and II 38 || **Ա:** FV *paLa- vi. 'burn' > F, Es *pala-* id. | pLp {Lr.} *pōlē > Lp: N {N} *buołle* / -l- vi. 'burn, be on fire, burn down, up', S {Hs.} *buoł'edh*, L {LLO} *puollē* vi. 'burn', Kld {SaR} *пүлле*, {Tl} *pū'lle*- id. | pMr {Ker.} *pal'b- vi. 'burn' > Er *пало-* *palo*, Mk *пало-* *palə-* id., and possibly the (derived?) verb Er *пұлта-* *pulta-*, Mk *плхта-* *pəxta-* vt. 'burn', which most probably belongs together with F *polttaa* id. ¶ In FU there is also a √ *paía- v. 'freeze' (a homonym of different origin or a semantic development of the √ in question) > F *palele-* 'Kälte empfinden, frieren', Lp N {N} *buołāš* / -ll- 'frost', Mk *пало-* *palə-* 'erfrieren, frieren', Hg *fagy* 'Frost, frieren', Vg: T *pāl-*, LK, P *pōl-*, Ss *pōl-* 'erfrieren'; for semantics cf. R от мороза горит лицо, the metaphor being based on similarity of physiological reactions to intense heat and frost ¶ Coll. 106, UEW 352 (FU *paía 'Eiskruste, Frost, frieren, gefrieren'; he considers the meaning v. 'burn' to be secondary), Lr. #994, Lgc. #5310, Hs. 382-3, TI 407, SaR 270-1, Ker. II 104-5 || **Ճ** *pa]√ ({θGS} *p-) v. 'glitter, shine' > Tm *palapala* id., Ml *palapala* 'gleaming', *palunηηukā* v. 'glitter', Kn *palakane*, *palac(c)ane*, *palanče* 'with a glitter, with pure brightness', Tu *pallenā* v. 'light, shine', Tl *palapala* 'glitteringly' ¶ D #4012 ◇ IE *h₂ and U *-a point to a pN *ä (with synharmonic levelling *a...ä > U *a...a) ◇ AD GD 11 (IE, U), IS MS 337 (**pālā* 'гореть'), IS SS #10.15 (in both latter sources IE, U, D); WCh (AG) data suggest a N initial *p-.

1726. *ρā́ix|y√ 'thumb, big toe; (?) finger' > **HS:** Ch: CCh: MrgP, Mrg L {Mk.} *pil*, KlB {Mk.} *pilu* 'fingernail' | HgMd {Mk.} *billi*, HgMk {Mk.} *billə*, HgSn *billə* id., HgWl {Mk.} *pilla* 'finger' | Suk {Mk.} *pilak* 'fingernail' || ECh: Jg {J} *ψílló*, Jg Kf {J} *pílló* id. ¶ Mk. I, ChC, ChL || **K:** Sv: UB/LB/L/Ln *pxule*, U *pxole* 'finger' ¶ TK 773-4, GP 265, Dn. s.v. *pxule* ¶ In K the lr. was attracted to the initial stop, bringing about a "harmonic cluster" *px- < *p|p...x|y || **IE:** NaIE *pōl- 'thumb, big toe' > L *pollex*, -icis id. (with -oll- < -ōl-, acc. to WH II 333) || Sl d. *pal'b- > *pal'b-c- b id. > ChS {Mikl.} **пaльцъ** *ральсъ* id., Blg 'палец', Cz, Slk, Slv *palec*, SCr *pàlac* id., P *palec*, OR *palēcē* *ральсъ*, R 'палец', Uk 'пaльцъ' 'finger, toe'; underived Sl *pal'b is found in R бес-'пaльцъ'

'fingerless', шести-'пальц' 'having six fingers' ¶ WH II 332-3, EI 255 (*¹poliko-s 'finger, thumb', *¹poliHō-s 'pertaining to a finger'), ZVSZ 300, Ma. CS 35O, Vs. III 191-2, Glh. 464-5 || | **U** *pä́lā 'thumb' > FU d. *pä́l-kä id. > pLp {Lr.} *pä́lkē 'thumb, big toe' (suggests FU *-e-) > Lp: N {N} bæl'ge / -lg-, L {LLO} piel'kē, Kld {Tl} piel'g id., S {Hs.} bielgie 'thumb' | pMr *pä́lkə ;thmb, big toe' > Er пелька ре́ка, Mk пяльхъя pä́lkə (suggests FU *-ä-) | Prm *pÉlk> Z pev / pevy- 'thumb', Δ 'big toe', Z UV/US/LL/P/MS pel, StVt pzl̩, Vt Sl {R} pzl̩, Kz {R} pó́l' 'thumb' || Sm *p̥iy-, {Hl.} *piy- 'thumb' (< U *pÉly|z̥l̩e) > Ne T O pīkće, En X fītu, B fīdu, Ng fe?aya, Kms pidí, Mt {Hl.} ~ *hegəbti id. (Mt K {Pl.} егебти) ¶ UEW 363, Lr. #909, Lgc. #484O, Hs. 316, LG 217, Lt. 226, SZ 278, Ker. II 109 (postulates pre-Mr *pēlə-kä > pMr *pä́lə-kə > *pä́lkə), Jn. 123, Hl. M #275.

1727. *pAí, N, gæ ~ *pAí, N, gæ 'spleen' > IE *b_Lh_JHg^hen- ~ ~ *(s)p_JHg^hen- > NaIE *b_Lh_Jg^hen- ~ *(s)pel_Ləg^h(-en, -ā) ~ *(s)pleng^h- ~ *(s)ple(:)g^h- 'spleen' > ? Blt: Lt blužn̩is, blužn̩é, Pru blusne 'spleen' | Sl *selzena, {Vln.} *sblezena > SrChS слѣзенѧ slězena, Blg 'слезен', d. 'слезенка, 'слезка, SCr slezina, Slv sležen, sležena, Cz, Slk slezina, Cz Δ slezena, OP śleziona, P śledziona (secondary ź), R d. селе'зёнка, Uk d. селе'зінка || OI plī'hā / plīhan-, Av sparəzan-, KhS ʂpuljei, MPrs spurz, NPrs سپر ز soporz ~ سپر ز osporz 'spleen' || Gk σπλήν / gen. σπληνός id. (< *σπληγχ, cp. σπλάγχνα nom. pl. 'entrails') || Arm փայծաղն pʰaycałn 'spleen' (→ G paçal-i, Lz pançala) || L liēn / gen. liēnis 'spleen' || OIr selg, OBr, MBr fēlch, MBr fēlc'h id. ¶ The deviations from the expected reflexes in several lgs. are due to simplification of a complicated proto-form (and possibly to tabuistic replacements of sounds) ¶ WP II 68O, P 987, ~ EI 538 (*spelg^h-), M K II 385-6, M E II 196-7, Bai. 415, VI. I 89 and II 204, Horn 155, F II 769-7O, Ch. 1039-4O, WH I 799, EM 357-8, Vn. S 81, Flr. 17O, Frn. 52, En. 153, Tp. PA-D 236-8, Vs. III 594-5, Vln. SS 66-7 (IE *sp_JHg^hen- with simplifications in branches of NaIE), Brü. 53O-1 || | **D** *pał]- (or *pałl-) ({GS} *b-?) 'spleen' > Tu pallæ, Prj bella, Ku balla ↗ bella ↗ bela 'spleen', Tl balla 'enlargement of the spleen' ¶ D #3995 || | **HS:** WCh: AG: Tal {L} fɔłjek, Cp {Kr.} ffɔłjek, Tmbs {Sh.} fwàłjek, Gmy {Kr.} fɔ́łż 'liver' ¶ ChC, ChL || ?σ, φ **U** *°pał, N, V > Ne: T пǎлă 'gut', T O {Lh.} pǎl'ă 'großer beutelartiger Darm, wohl Dickdarm' ¶ Ter. 437, Lh. 335, UEW 364 ◇ IE

*(S)- suggests the presence of a palatal cns., sc. N *-ī-, so that we expect *-ī]- in pD, but the extant ev. of the D lgs. does not distinguish between D *-ī]- and *-ī]-. The zero reflex of N *g in Sm suggests a vw. before *g (because the N intervoc. *-g- yields U *-ɣ- > Sm *∅). The AG word (if it belongs here, in spite of the semantic distance) and the Baltic cognate point to the initial N cs. *p-, while IE *(s)p̥Hg̥hēn- suggests a N initial *p̥-. This discrepancy still needs explaining ◇ The IE, D, and Ch data allow a reconstruction of either N *-ī- or *-z̄-, but Sm *-ī- rules out N *-z̄- (which regularly yields Sm *-y-, see N *sǖz̄g̥z̄N 'finger(s), hollow hand' > U *suž̄a 'finger' > Sm {Jn.} *t̄ȳyā, {Hl.} *t̄ȳyā id., N *bUȳz̄N 'in fur-bearing animal' > U *poȳz̄N 'ermine' > Ne Т пия, and N *sǖz̄A 'heart' > U *sǖz̄ä(me) id. > Sm {Jn.} *seȳ or {AD} *s̄eȳ id.).

1728. *p̥a'īHīja 'palm of hand' > IE *p̥Hm- > NaIE *p̥mā 'palm of hand, hand' > Gk παλάμη, Gk D παλάμα id. || L palmā 'palm of hand' || OIr {Thr.} láṁ 'hand, arm', NIr lámh, Brtt {RE} *lámā 'hand' > OW lau, MW llau, llaw, W llaw, OCrn lof, lau, MCrn lef, lœf, Crn lüf, OBr lom-, lou- 'hand' || OHG folma, AS folm(e) 'palm of hand', OSx folm 'hand' ¶ WP II 62, Mn. 965, EI 255 (*polh₆m / *p̥h₆m-ōs 'palm of hand'), WH II 240-1, FII 466, Ho. 112, Ho. S 21O, Kb. 274, OsS 212, LP §§ 12.2, Thr. § 215, RE 1O2, Flr. 237, Bc. 238-9 || A {AD} *p̥ā'īja ({IS} *p̥ālīja, {S, SDM95} *p̥ālīja) (with length of the 1st type [yielding a T long vw. and a Tg short one]) ({SDM97} *p̥ālīo, {ADb.} *p̥alīja) 'palm of hand') > M *ψalaga(n) 'palm of hand' > MM {Pel.} halaqan, [L] halaga, [MA] alaqan, WrM alaga(n), HlM алга, Brt альгә(н), Mnr {T} χalga, Mnr M χařga, Mnr H {SM} χarg_a, Dx hanga, Ba χalge, Dag alaga, ShY halayān id., Kl {KRS} альхн а́хън id., {Rm.} aíxan 'palm of hand, handful'; M → WrMc falāŋgu 'palm of hand', Mc Sb falandu 'clap one's hands' ¶ Pel. 2O9 [#11], T 372, T DnJ 139, T BJ 149, Iw. 147, SM 161, Pp. MA 97, Pp. L III 76, Pp. MDG 5, KRS 39, MED 26, KW 7, STM II 312 || ? pKo {S} *pār 'armful' > MKo pār, NKo pāl ¶ S QK #99O, Nam 245, MLC 723 || NaT *hā'īa (or *hāya?) 'palm of hand' (× N *p̥'īN 'palm of hand, [sole of] foot' [q.v.]) > OT aya id., MU, XwT, MQp XIII, [CC] XIV, OOsm ≥XIV, Chg ≥XV aya, SY χaya, χayan, Tkm, Uz Δ, Uz XrOg āya, CrTt, Qmq, Nog, Xk aya, Tk Δ aye 'palm of hand', Qzq aya 'the middle of the palm of hand', Bsh aya 'comb (for carding goat-down)' ¶ Cl. 267, ET Gl 1OO-1, TL 252, THDS I 413, Rs. W 1O || Tg *pańja or *payja 'palm of hand' (× N *p̥'īN '↑') > Nn Nh

pay̥ja, Nn B faj̥ŋga, Nn KU fańŋā, Orc xan̥ja ~ xan̥ja, Ud {Krm.} xan̥a?, Ork pana ~ pańa, Ul pańa 'palm of hand', Ewk han̥ja ~ hańja, Lm han̥y id., 'hand' ¶ STM II 314, Krm. 3O4 ¶ DQA #1725 (A *p̥áńhae 'palm of hand'), Rm. SKE 213, ADb. SR-D 259 || HS: Ch: WCh: Su {Kr.} pāl, Mpn {Frz.} bāl 'arm' || CCh: FIK {Mk.} pulla, {ChL} p̄lla, HgB/HgG/HgNk {ChL} p̄lla 'arm' ¶ ChL, Frz. DM 5, Mk. I 3O6, ChC s.v. 'hand' and 'arm' ◇ IS III 93-5 (*p̥áliHma 'palm of hand' > IE, A + unc. U *p̥ey̥ŋv 'handful, palm of hand' [in fact from N *p̥ŋv̥iŋ̥U 'palm of hand', q.v.]) ◇ Gr. II #291 (*palan̥ 'palm') (IE, U, A, Ko).

1729. *p̥uŋyAmv̥ (‘b’v̥) (with the component *bA of animal names) 'snake' > A: Tg *p̥uŋymur 'dragon, monster' > Ork pomot 'a mythical monster resembling a boa', Nn Nh puymur, Nn B himur ~ simuru 'dragon, a crocodile-like monster', Orc himu ~ simu '≡ monster', Neg ximju ~ ximu '≡ mythical monster resembling a sheatfish' ¶ STM I 466 || T *h̥uman > Chv ăman ăman, Δ ăman 'earthworm' ¶ Ash. IV 39 || pKo *p̥ay̥am 'snake' > MKo p̥ay̥am, Ko p̥am (spelled p̥aym) ¶ S AJ 255 [#1O9], S QK #1O9, Nam 242, MLC 756 || J: pJ {S} *p̥aj̥m(p) 'snake' > OJ p̥emí, J: T hébi, K hèbí, Kg hé], Ns h̥abú, Sh h̥abù, ? Ht p̥akù id. ¶ S AJ 91, 269 [#1O3], S QJ #1O3, Mr. 4O4, Mr. KJ 251 || M: WrM {Rm. ← ?} yamu, Kl {Rm.} yama 'worm (i.a., causing tooth-ache), disease', {KRS} ям 'disease of the teeth' (= or × M *yama > WrM yama 'strangles, glanders', HlM ям {MED} id., {Luv.} 'glanders'?') ¶ Valid only if the meaning 'worm' is primary ¶ KW 214, KRS 7O9, MED 426, Luv. 693 ¶ DQA #1876 (A *p̥oŋyamv̥ 'snake'), S AJ 91, 278 [#96] || D *p̥amp̥o ({θGS} *p̥-) 'snake' > Tm, Ml p̥amp̥u, Kt pa·b, Tf po·b, Kn p̥avu, Kdg pa·mb̥t, Tl p̥amu, Klm pa·m, Nk p̥am, Prj b̥am, Gdb b̥am ~ b̥amb̥ id., Tu p̥amb̥olu '≡ flat, long fish' ¶ D #4O85 || HS: Eg Md p̥nd '≡ intestine worm' ¶ EG I 511, Tk. II 455-6 || Ch: pAG {Hf.} *pan̥ '≡ snake' > Gmy/Mnt {Hf.}, Su {J} paŋ, Ang {Hf.} ƿaŋ id., Ang {Flk.} paŋ '≡ poisonous large snake', Mpn {Frz.} paŋ 'Gabon viper' ¶ Hf. AG 17 [#1], J S 78, Flk. s.v. paŋ, Frz. DM 48 || ? U: Sm: Slq Tz {KKIH} pünä '≡ mythical monster' ¶ KKIH 154 ||| U *puńe (or *puylíne) > Sm *pu, y, n̥ '≡ worm' (× N ?φ *puč, v̥, n̥v̥ 'worm, snake' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ ≈ Blz. LNA #47 (unc. equation of D and A with Su/Fy púpwáp 'fish') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #352 (*p̥am 'snake') (A, Ko, J + unc. Ai).

1730. ***peñ** **Ν** (or ***peñ**₁**i****y****h**₂**Ν**) 'small dog, whelp' > **K:** G **p̥in̥ia** 'small dog', Mg **p̥in̥ia**, **p̥in̥ie**, **p̥ina** 'small dog, poodle' **¶ Q** 336, Chx. 1475 || **U:** FU (att. in FP only?) ***pen̥ne** (or **pen̥hi**) 'dog' > F **peni** (gen. **peni-n**) 'whelp', **penikka** 'puppy', Es **peni** 'dog', pLp {Lr.} ***p̥en̥ək** 'dog' > Lp: N {N} **bænâ**, L {LLO} **pāna**, S {Hs.} **biēnje**, Kld {TI} **pjennăš** | pMr {Ker.} ***peñā** > Er **piñe** **riñe**, Mk **piñe** **riñā** id. | Chr L **pijj** **pij**, E {Ps.} **pij**, H **pij** **ri**, KB **pun̥i**, K **ryp̥n̥y** 'dog' | Prm {LG} ***pōni** id. > Z **pon**, **ponj-**, Z US **p̥wñ**, Yz **pun**, Vt **punt** || ??? Hg **fene** 'wild, graulich, scheußlich' **¶ J** UEW 371, Sm. 553 (FP ***penä** 'dog'), SK 517-8, Lr. #911, Lgc. #4853, Hs. 318-9, Ker. II 113, PsS 93, Wc. TT 83, LG 224-5, TI 369 || **A** ***p̥enü-** (**k'****Ν**) 'whelp, dog' > NaT ***h̥enük** 'whelp, puppy' > OT {Cl.} **änük**, {DTS} **enük** 'the young of a carnivorous animal (cub, puppy, etc.)', MQp **enük**, OOsm **enük** ~ **enik**, Tk **enik**, **inik** 'young animal (dog, bear, etc.)', Chg **ئەنۈك** | **enük** 'young of a carnivorous animal', Az Δ **äniš**, Ggz **jenik**, Tv, Tf **enik**, Shor {Rl.} **ünäg-äš** id., Tb {B} **önögöš** 'young dog', QK {T} **önöžek**, Yk **ünügäš** 'puppy' **¶ ET** Gl 281-3, TL 190-1, Rs. W 44, Cl. 183, B T 142, B DLT 183, Bu. I 214, Rl. I 182O, Shch. Zh 129 || Tg: Ewk **h̥ənnukā** 'dog (returned from the hunt)' **¶ STM** II 3O || *AdS* of M ***ψünegen** 'fox' (< N ***Puñ'a** or ***Püña** 'red colour, [?] fox', q.v. ffd.) **¶ P** Pp. VG 7O, Rs. UAW 24 || ?σ **D** ***peñ-** 'female animal, a female (woman, girl)' > Tm **peñ** id., M **peñ** 'a female (woman, girl)', Kt **peñ**, Klm **peñti** 'female', Td **peñ** 'woman', Kn **peñ** 'female, woman', Kdg **poññi** 'wife, female', Tu **poñnu** 'girl, female', Tl **peñti** 'female animal\plant', Gdb **peñti** 'female sheep', Nkr **peñli**, Gnd **pendul** 'marriage', Prj **pindrul**, Kui **pondri** **rindi** 'married couple' **¶** → (?φ) D ***peñt-** 'female animal, female young animal' > Tm **pettaj** 'female animal, woman', Ml **petta** 'female of birds\asses\camels', Krb **poñti** 'hen', Tl **petta**, Klm **petta** 'female of birds', Nkr **peñy** 'female animal\bird', Png **peñi** 'female kid', Ku **peñi** **mila** 'female young (of sheep, pig)', Mlt **bañgo** 'female of birds', **bañg** 'virginal' **¶ D** ***peñ-** belongs here only if the primary meaning was 'female animal' (< *'small animal') **¶ D** #4395 ◇ IS MS 366 s.v. 'собака' ***p̥enV** (U, D, K), Rs. UAW 24 (U, A).

1731. ***p̥iñ** **Ν** 'piece of wood, trunk' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'log, board, pole') > **HS:** B ***fn̥at** > Ah a.fən̥yatut (pl. ifən̥yatat) 'grosse pièce du bois mort', Tdq afən̥yatot 'grosse pièce de bois' **¶ Fc.** 332, NZ 583 || ?DEg **pñt** 'threshold' (pñt n pr 'Schwelle des Hauses'), Cpt

Sd πννη πνнē, πνη πнē, Cpt B βεννη βенне 'montant de la porte, seuil, marche', ?? Eg N бнн 'Balken', Eg L бнн.t 'threshold (of a door)' || Er. 131, EG I 46O, Vc. 16O, Tk. I 44 (Eg бнн, бнбн < HS *b^hnl) and II 231-2 || K: G {Chx.} pin-i 'dicke Stange, Barre', 'Balken' || Chx. 1475 || IE: NaIE *pin- 'piece of wood, trunk' > OI 'pināka-m 'staff', later 'bow, club' || Gk πένας (gen. πένακος) 'wooden board, plank (of a ship); tablet for writing on; panel, picture' || OHG witu-fīna 'pyre, pile of wood', MLG vīne 'pile of wood' || Sl *ръпъ > ChS {Mikl.} ПЬНЬ ръпъ 'truncus', OR ПЬНЬ ръпъ, R пень (gen. пня) 'tree-stump', P piēn 'trunk\stock of a tree', SCr pānj (gen. pánja) id., 'tree-stump', Slv pānj (gen. pánja) 'tree-stump, stock', Blg пън 'tree-stump, block of wood, log', Cz peň 'trunk of a tree' || P 83O, EI 44 (*pin- '≈ shaped wood'), M K II 281-2, M E II 132, F II 539, Kb. 1217, Mikl. L 758, Vs. III 233, Ma. CS 361, Glh. 467 || L pīnus 'fir, pine, stone-pine' is kept apart because of the long vw. ī which suggests a following cluster of cnss. (*pīt(s)nos, *pit(s)nus or *piksnos) (÷ Gk πέτυς 'pine' < N *p_heʔ|y, ič̥ū '∈ coniferous tree' [q.v.], see WH II 308) || U: FU *pEnhīnā '∈ coniferous tree' > Chr H {Ü} пын рəп 'pine-tree', {Ep.} пын-жъ рəпžə 'pine forest' | Prm *pənjél 'young coniferous tree' > Vt pumél 'sprout; young tree, young growth (поросль)', Z ponží 'young coniferous trees (хвойная поросль), young fir-tree\spruce' || Hg fenyő 'pine, spruce, fir-tree' || UEW 416-7, Coll. 78, LG 225, TmK 551, Ep. 1O1 || A: Tg *pīna 'wooden yoke behind the shoulders which is used for carrying load' > Ewk hīna, Neg xīna, Ud sīna, Ul, Nn Nh pīna, Ork pīnā id., Orc xīna ~ sīna 'knapsack', WrMc fiyana (< *fīna?) {Hr.} 'zwei durch Stricke verbundene Bretter, die zum Tragen von Lasten auf dem Rücke dienen' || STM II 325, Krm. 285, Hr. 297 || ? D *pūnū-({GS} *p-) 'mast-wood, trees Calophyllum and Rottlera tinctoria' > Tm punnai ~ pīnnai 'mast-wood, Calophyllum inophyllum', Tl ponna id., Ml punna id., 'Rottlera tinctoria', Kn punniķe, ponne, honne 'Terminalia tomentosa', Tu ponnæ 'Rottlera tinctoria'; D → Sk pūmnāga id., 'Calophyllum inophyllum' || D #4343, Tu. #8244 ◇ The N initial cnss. is *p- (rather than *p-) if Eg pñ.t belongs here. D *U < *i (ass. infl. of *p-?).

1732. *P^hōnā 'path, ford' > IE *'pontoh-s, gen. *p^hoth-os 'way, path, ford' > OI panthah_h, -ā (instr. sg. pathā) 'path', Av pantā, panta 'path, space', OPrs accus. sg. paθim 'path', KhS pande 'way, path,

road', NPrs **پَنْد** pänd 'road', Oss I/D (\leftarrow dim.) fändag 'road'; IIr \rightarrow ? FU {UEW} *pänt^o 'way, path' > Z pad- in pad-vež 'cross-roads' (vež 'cross, across'), ? Os: D pěnt 'Weg (der Menschen\Tiere), Kz pānt 'way, path, tracks (of an animal)' || Arm **հովն** hun (gen. **հովի** hni) {Bdr.} 'ford, shallow passage, way' || Gk πόντος 'the (open) sea' ({EI}: \leftarrow 'path through the sea'), πάτος 'path, trodden or beaten way' || amb Al NG pēndē 'weir, dam' (unless a loan from L) || L pōns (gen. sg. pōntis, gen. pl. pōnti-um) 'bridge, gangway, deck of a ship, Steg, Prügelweg durch Sümpfe' || OSx fāthi, fōthi (i o-stem) 'going, step', OHG fendo 'pedestrian, infantryman' | Gmc *paθa- 'path, way' (\leftrightarrow another IE descendant lge.?) > OHG pfad ~ phad, MHG phat (gen. phades), NHG Pfad, MDt pat (pad), Dt pad, AS pæd id., NE path || pBSI {Rsm.} accus. sg. *'pant-in, gen. sg. *pan't-es > Sl *pōtъ (gen. *pō'ti) > OCS пожть роtъ (gen. роtи) 'road, highway', R путь (gen. пу'tи), Uk путь, Blg път, SCr pūt, Slv pōt, Cz pout, Slk pūt', P pāc 'way' | Ltv pañts 'line of verse', {ME} 'row, line, rank of soldiers', Pru pintis 'way' | Acc. to Rsm. AT 82, IE nom. sg. *'pontoh-s > Av pantā, IE gen. sg. *pō'th-os > Av paθō, OI pa'thah; in OI nom. 'panthah the cns. th is due to generalization | P 8O8-9, ≈ EI 2O2, 487 (*'pontōh₂-s / *pō'th₂-os 'untraced path'; unc.: \leftrightarrow *pent- 'find one's way' > Gmc: Gt finþan 'recognize, learn', ON finna, AS findan 'find', NE find, etc.), Mn. 975, Mn. AHG 4O, M K II 21O-1, M E II 81-3, Bai. 211, Ab. I 445-6, UEW 364-5, Coll. 135, WH II 336-7, F II 578-9, Ho. S 18, Ho. 244, Kb. 234, 757, OsS 177, 671, Lx. 158, KM 54O, Vr. N 5OO, Me. EAC 36, 181, Slt. 175, Rsm. AT 82, Vs. III 413, Glh. 513, Kar. II 16-8, En. 226, ME III 78 | | HS: S: Gz fannā 'way, path', fənōt 'way, path, road, journey' | L G 163 | | K *pō'n- '≈ ford' > MG, G pon-i {Chx.} 'ford', † 'reißender Bach', {DCh.} 'ford, pond', eNG {SSO} pon-i 'mdinaris gasavali' ('passage through a stream'?), Sv {Ni.} la-pän 'ford' | Chx. 1488, DCh. 1312, Ni. s.v. бродъ ◇ The origin of IE *tH is not clear (the second component of a N cd.?). If FU *pänt^o is not a loan from the IIr word, but its inherited cognate, the N rec. must be *Päñt^oH₁H₂. If so, the loss of N *t in S and K is puzzling.

1733. *Puñ'a¹ or *Püñ'a 'red colour, (?) fox' > U: FU (att. in BF) *punñ'a 'red colour, fox' > Es punane 'red animal, fox', 'red', 'blood', F puna 'red colour, blood', Lv pu'n:i 'red' | SK 64O-1 | | ? A *p_L'ünE > M *ψünegen 'fox' (× N *pēñ^o 'small dog, whelp') > MM [MA, IM, S, HI]

hünegen, [L] **هُنْكَانْ** hüngen, WrM ünege(n), HIM үнэг, Brt үнэгэ(н), MnR H {SM} funig_e ~ xunig_e, {T} funige, Dx {T} funiege 'fox', Kl үнгн id., 'female (wild animal)' (e.g. үнгн чон 'she-wolf') ¶ Pel. 235-6 [#63], Pp. L III 76, Pp. MA 191, 438, H 79, Ms. H 62, MED 1O08, KRS 551, Chr. 5O8, SM 1O8, 183, T 371, T DnJ 149 ¶ Against Pp. VG 7O, Yk ünögäś 'puppy' ('Junges eines Hundes') does not belong here, but rather to A *p'enijü-(k^W) 'whelp, dog' (< N *pən^W '↑' [q.v.]), cp. Shor {RI.} ünäg-äš, Tb önögös 'puppy' || HS: WCh: AG *b^Wb^Wn^W 'red' > Gmy {Kr.} b^Wz^W, {IL in ChC} b^Wa^W, Tal {IL in ChC} báñ | NrBc {Stl.} *mbin^W 'red' > Wrj {Sk.} mbíná, Kry {Sk.} mbíná, My {Sk.} bí:ní, P' {MSk.} bihán, Cg {Sk.} bunan ¶ Stl. ZCh 249 [#18], Sk. NB 25, ChC, ChL ◇ We cannot rule out the possibility that this N word is identical with N *PunE,ya 'hair' (as suggested at the A level by Pp. and at the FU level by Rédei and IS III), their common ancient meaning being 'abundant hair, fur, fur of a fox'. If the WCh √ belongs here, the primary meaning of the etymon is 'red'. Neither can we rule out the possibility that the A √ is identical with A *p'enijü-(k^W) 'whelp, dog' and thus belongs to N *pən^W '↑' (q.v.).

1734. *pən^W 'put, lay' > HS: CCh: Msg (Trn.) f'ñ', {Mch.} fáná máy, Msg Ng {GKrs.} fána v. 'lie' || ? WCh ({Stl.} *p^Wn- v. 'give'): AG: Ang {ChC} pñn v. 'give', {Flk.} pün, pan, Tal {IL in ChC} pñn, {Sh.} p'ñn, Mnt {J} pñ, Gmy {Luc.} pínì, Kfr {Nt.} pñn v. 'give' | NrBc {Stl.} *p^Wñn- v. 'pay\ransom' > My pñn-, Sir punu, Jmb bñn- ¶ Stl. ZCh 148 [#36], ChC, ChL, Nt. 33, Sk. NB 34, IS ChL 22 [#2.13] || ?σ S *°✓pñn > Ar ƿifyaƿanna ({BK}: for ƿiftaƿanna) pf. 'stand up' ('se dresser, se mettre debout') ¶ BK II 53O || K *°pan- > Mg pon- vt. 'put\lean (against)' ¶ Q 299 || u {UEW} *pane- v. 'put, lay' ('legen, stellen') > F, Es pane- 'setzen, legen, stellen' | Prm *pñn- ({JIt.} *pñn-, {JLt.} *pñn-) v. 'lay' > Vt pon-ñt v. 'to lay, to put, to put on', Z Le/I pñn- v. 'copulate with' || ObU *pñn-ā- 'put, lay' > (1) pVg *pñn-ā- 'stellen, legen' > Vg: T poñ-, poñ-ā-, LK/MK pon-, UK/P/NV/SV/LL/ML pun-, UL/Ss pin-; pOs *pña- ({JHl.} *pñna-) 'lay' > Os V/Vy/Y/D/K/O pñn-, Ty pñn-, pña-, Kz pñn- || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *pñn- 'legen' > StNe T пэ\$н-зъ, T O {Lh.} рёе·н-ć id., Ne F L {Lh.} рјз·нт 'put (it)' imv., Ng {Cs.} fanýama (1s aor. obcj.) 'I put (it)', En {Cs.} funabо id., Slq Tm {KD} pñnnab_id., Slq Tz {KKH} pin- v. 'put, lay', Mt {Hl.} *hñn- 'legen' (Mt M {Sp.} хеннамъ 'кладу', аннам 'закладываю') || pY {IN} *pñn- 'put, lay' > Y: K/T pñn- id. (sx. *-i- of

vt.), T {Krn.} *pońi*(¹) 'leave (оставить)', K {Krn.} *poni*- id., K {IN} *pońō-*, {Krn.} *pońō-*, T {IN} *pońā-* 'remain', OY {Wts.} *ponkatsj* imv. 'leave (verlasse)', *poniatsjok* 'we leave' ¶ UEW 353-4, Sm. 539 (U, FU **p̥ni-*, FP **p̥ni-*, ? Ugr **p̥ni-*, Sm **p̥n-* 'put, lay'), LG 228, Ht. 177 [#521], Jn. 118, KKIH 149-50, Ptp. 75, Hl. M #288, IN 24, 318, Krn. JJ 276, 283, ~ Rd. UJ 41-2 [#43] (Y ↔ U) || ? D **pañ-* v. 'lie, lie down' within 3 derived stems: [1] (in SD) **paññaj* ({§GS} **p-*) 'lair of an animal' > Tm *pañai* 'lair', *paññai* 'lair, sleeping place of a beast', Kn *pañe* 'haunt or lair of wild beast' ¶ D #3893 | [2] (in SD) **pañ-i* ({§GS} **p-*) v. 'be low in height, bow' > Tm *pañi* (fts. -v-, prts. -nt-) id., v. 'be lowered, make obeisance', *pañi* (fts. -pp-, prts. -tt-) v. 'lower, lead down', Ml *pañiyuka* v. 'worship, salute, acknowledge superiority', Kn Δ *hənuku* v. 'bend, bow' ¶ D #3888 | [3] **pañt-* ({§GS} **p-*) v. 'lie down' > OTI *pañdu* v. id., 'sleep', Tu *pāñtə*, *pāñtu* 'fatigue', Prj *pand-* v. 'be(come) tired', Gdb *pand-* v. 'be(come) tired' ¶ D #3900, Km. 425 [#788] ¶ D *-ñ- < **-ń- < **-jn-? ◇ K, NrBc **p-* < N **p...ñ?* ◇ IS MS 344 **pāñla* 'кластъ', IS SS #10.17 (Ch, K, U).

1735. **P_Uñ,Nñ* (= **P_Uñ,Nñ*?) 'meat, (?) blood (as food)' > **HS:** SC: Irq {Mgw.} *fù?nì*, pl. *fù?nāy*, {Wh.} *fu?ûni~fu?ûnañ* 'meat', {MQK} *fu?(u)nāy* id., *fu?(u)nì* 'piece of meat', Grw {Dmw.} *fu?umāñ*, Alg {E} *fu?umi*, Brn {E} *fu?umañ* id. ¶ Mgw. 1OO, Wh. SI s.v., MQK 36, Dmw. 31O, E SC 386, Blz. SCL s.v. 'meat', AD GDS 61 [#2.22] || **U:** FU (att. in FP) **pāññe* or **pāññye* 'meat' (?) > ? Chr H *pay* 'meat' | Prm **pun* > Prmk *pun* 'sinew' ¶ LG 232 || **A:** Tg (att. in NrTg) **punel* > Ewk *hunžl* 'dried blood as food', Lm *hunžl* 'blood' ¶ STM II 350-1 ◇ Qu.

1736. **Pun,E,ya* 'hair' > **HS:** S *°✓ *pny~*✓ pyn* > Ar ^{فَنْ} *?afnā* (✓ *fny*) 'très abondant' (la chevelure, les cheveux), *fanwā?- f.* 'qui a une chevelure abondante' (femme), *fayn-ān-* 'qui a une chevelure abondante' ¶ BK II 636, 64O || **U:** FU **puna* 'hair, wool, feathers' > pMr {Ker.} **pъna* > Er *pona* *pona* 'wool', Mk *pona* *pona* 'wool, body hair' | Chr L *pun* 'wool, feathers, body hair' || ObU **pūn* 'hair' > pVg **pūn* id. > OVg: N SoG, E TM *pun*, W P/Sl, S Vt *puñъ*, S SSs *bunn*; Vg: T/LK/MK *pon*, UK/P/NV/SV/LL/UL/Ss *pun* 'hair'; pOs **pun* id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/O *pun*, D *pūn*, Nz/Kz *pūn* | Hg *fan*, Δ *fon* 'pubic hair', Δ *fanoš* 'hairy' ¶ UEW 402, Coll. 78, Sm. 547 (FU **pū/ånå* 'hair' > FP **puna*, Ugr **påna*), Ker. II 117, ERV 498, PI 215, MF 181, Ht. #520, KrT 706-7, PD

#1958, Trj. S 383 || A: STg *pu₁ñe- > WrMc fuñexε 'hair, wool, fur, down', Mc Sb {Y} f3ñx {fenixə}, {Mrm.} funixε 'hair', Jrc {Kiy.} funirhei, {Md.} fu-nir-xie 'hair, fur' ¶ STM II 303, Klz. MS 171, Z 1069, Hr. 320-1, Y #2, 2282, Kiy. 124, 126 [##493, 515], Md. ChF 135 || M *ψüsün 'hair' (× N *Pūç'ø' 'hair' [q.v. ffd.]?) || pJ {S} *pánáj 'feather' > OJ páne, J: T hane, K hánè, Kg háne, Ns háné, Ht pānì ¶ S QJ #24, Mr. 398 ¶ S AJ 275 [#22], DQA #1858 (A *p'úñe 'hair, feather'; the unambiguous rec. of A *p'- is not justified, because M *ψ-, Tg *p-, and J *p- may go back both to *p'- and to *p- ◇ Cf. IS III 81-4 [#366] (*p/u/r/a = *p'u'r'a). IS adduces D *p,ūta 'hair, wool, down, small feathers', which is unacceptable; the D stem can be better traced to N *PutV 'feather, hair' (q.v. ffd.). The adduction of D is based on IS's hyp. about N *-ñ- (IS's *ñ) > D *-t-. But in this N word there is no *-ñ- (as unequivocally proved by U and namely Os), and the very hyp. about N *-ñ- > D *-t- is hardly provable ◇ Gr. II #146 (*puna 'feather') (U, A, Ko, J).

1737. *Pun₁V₂y₃a (i.e. *Pun₁V₂y₃a ~ *p-?) 'to turn, to twist, to tie' (→ 'to plait') > HS *✓ p|pny v. 'turn, twist, spin' > S *✓ pny v. 'turn' > BHb ✓ pny (pf. פָנָה pā'nā) 'turn to the side, turn round, turn to (sth.)', Ug {A} ✓ pny (pf. pn) (not mentioned in OLS), JA [Trg.] ✓ pny (pf. פָנָה pā'nā ~ פָנֵה pā'nē), Sr ✓ pny|w (pf. פָנָה+pā'nā) vi. 'turn to/from', 'sich wenden', Ar ✓ fny (فَنِي) v. 'pass away, disappear', Gz ✓ fnw D (pf. fannawa) v. 'send', Ak OA pānū 'sich wenden an', Ak B pānū 'vorangehen' ¶ KB 885, KBR 937-8, GB 645-6, A #223O, Js. 1187-8, Hv. 577, BK II 639-4O, Ln. 2451, Lv. T II 272-3, Ls CDG 163 || Eg P/G ifn '≈ umwenden, (das Gesicht) zuwenden, sich umwenden' [EG I 7O] (× N *'p'äñV 'forehead' [q.v.]); possibly Eg OK pn '≈ spindle' (Name eines spindelartiges Gerätes) (EG I 5O8, Tk. II 436-7) || Ch *✓ p|fn > Hs fūnì 'covering mouth and nose with the long part of turban' || ECh: Mu {J} ?àwán, ?Brg ?ùnñayí v. 'tie' (< *?VpVn, where *?V- is a px.) || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} bñn v. 'tie' (< *?VpVn), Bdm {Cfr.} fánáj id. ¶ Abr. H 273, Lk. ZSS 29, 4O, 17O, ChC s.v. 'tie' ¶ Cal. 62 (S, Eg), Vc. HÄ 43 (Eg, Ch) || IE: NaIE *(s)pen- v. 'plait, spin, tie' > Arm հանում hanum (aor. hanay), հենում henum (aor. hen), հինեմ hinem v. 'weave, warp, plait' || Ltv p̄it (prs. pinu) 'to plait, to braid', Lt p̄inti (prs. pinu) id., 'to weave, to twine', Lt p̄antis, Ltv pineklis, pineklis 'hobble, horse-lock', Pru panto 'Fessel' | Sl *pqto > OCS πάτα p̄ata pl. 'πέδαι,

fetters', R pl. **пүты**, Uk **пүто**, SCr **pùto**, Slv **póto** (pl. **póta**), Cz **pouto**, Slk **púto**, P **pëto** 'fetters' || Gmc (< *spenwō): ON **spinna**, Gt, OHG, AS **spinnan**, NHG, Dt **spinnen**, v. 'spin', NE **spin** ¶ P 986 and Vr. 535 (both do not distinguish this √ from the homonymous √ ***(s)pen-** v. 'stretch, strain'), ≈ EI 571-2 (***(s)pin-** 'draw, spin'), Slt. 258-9, Frn. 59, En. 219, Vs. III 412-3, Fs. 445-6, Vr. 535, Ho. 31O-1, Kb. 936, OsS 852, KM 727 || **U:** pre-U ****pun्ya-** > U ***puna-** ~ ***puña-:** [1] U ***puna-** v. 'spin, plait' > F **puno-** 'drehen, zwirnen' | pLp {Lr.} ***ponē** > Lp N {N} **bâdne** ~ **bqdne** / -n-, Lp L {LLO} **påtnē-** 'Sehnenfaden spinnen, die Sehnenfasern zu einem einzigen Faden zusammendrehen, Garn spinnen', S {Hs.} **büdn'edh** 'spinnen, zwirnen (Sehnenfaden); spleißen' | pMr {Ker.} ***pъna-** > Er **пона-** **pona-** v. 'twist (a rope), plait', Mk **пона-** **pona-** v. 'twist (a rope), braid' | pChr {Ber.} **punъ-** ({JBer.}) ***punā-** 'zwirnen, flechten' > Chr L **pune** (inf. **пұна-**ш 'puna-š'), Chr KB {Ber.} **pъne-** (inf. **пына-**ш **ръ'на-**š), Chr U/B **pune-** 'twist (ropes), 'braid (one's hair)' | Prm ***pūn-** 'twist, plait' > Vt **punt-** id. ('winden, flechten'), Z Le **p̥n-** 'twist (ropes)' || ObU ***pōn-** > pVg ***p̥n-** > Vg T/Ss **pon-** 'drehen, winden, bauen'; pOs ***pon-** ({JHl.} ***pān-**) 'zwirnen' > Os: V/Vy **ponal-**, Ty **pōnəd-**, Y **pōntəd-**, D/K **puntta-**, Nz **puntal-**, Kz **pōntəd-** id. | Hg **fon-** v. 'spin, plait' || Sm {Jn.} ***pъn-** v. 'plait' > Ne T (augm.) **панор-цъ**, {Lh.} **pan·ōr-ć** id., {Lh.} **paan·fr'** 'Gezwirntes', Ne F L {Lh.} **panmōt·ā'ś** 'straff zwirnen', Ng {Cs.} 1s aor. **obcj. fonu?**ama, {KD} **fonu'a-** id., Slq {KD} LTz/MTm **par-**, MKe **panpa-** v. 'plait', Slq Tz {KKIH} **panjš** 'braid, braided hair', Slq Tm {KD} **pan·ťš** id., Kms **pūn-** 'zwirnen', Koyb {Sp.} **пандлямъ 'верчу'** ('I twist, ich drehe') || ?σ Y: K {IN} **pundu-**, {Jc.} **pundu-**, **punedu** vi. 'erzählen' | [2] FU {UEW} ***puña?** Windung, ? gedreht; wickeln, winden' > F **puna** 'Windung, gedreht' | pLp {Lr.} ***pońz** > Lp: N {N} **bqdnjā-/nj-** v. 'twist, turn, screw; turn, change direction', L {LLO} **påtnā-** 'drehen (Faser, Rute), zusammendrehen, sich drehen\wenden', S {Hs.} **büdnj'edh** id., 'winden (z. B. eine Weidenrute), zwirnen', Pa {TI} **pōńňā-** 'drehen, winden (z. B. eine Rute)', Kld {TI} **pońňā-** 'drehen, winden', {SaR} **пōннē-** 'twist, twist together' | ? Chr **չ՛ր-ըս'հեմ** 'plaited hair, braid', {Szil.} **üp-pъńem** 'Haarflechte' (չ՛ր üp 'hair') | Prm ***piń-** (< ***pūn-**) vt. 'curve, twist, wrap' > Vt **biń-+n̄t** 'twist together, wrap, wind together \ around', Z **pińov** '(wood) with slanting layers, knotty', Z Ud/Le **pińovt-** 'bend', Prmk **pińal-** vt. 'bend, rumple' || Os: V **pōń-**, D **păń-** 'wickeln,

umwickeln' | Hg bonyolód-, Δ banyalít- 'become complicated, get entangled \ involved in' §§ UEW 402-3, Sm. 539 (U *punā-/+, FU *punā-, FP *puna, Ugr *pūna-, Sm *pēn- 'plait'), Lr. #949, 952, Lgc. #4663, 5073, Hs. 376-7, LG 221-2, 236, TI 394, SaR 261, It. #196, SK 643, Ker. II 118, MRS 468, 486, ERV 498, PI 215, Ht. #519, MF 213, Jn. 113, KKIH 146, Ang. 219, IN RJS s.v. рассказать, ≈ Rd. UJ 43 [#49] (Y ← U) || A: ??φ NaT *e|äŋir- > OT {Cl., Gbn.} äŋir- v. 'spin', Chg eŋir- 'surround'; there may be a partial merger with NaT *egir 'spin' (ffd. see ET Gl), which is responsible for the unexpected vw. *e|ä- § Cl. 113, Gbn. ATG 298, ET Gl 227-31 || pJ {S} *p̥injär- 'twist, twirl' (× N *piń, v. 'to turn, to plait', q.v. ffd.) §§ DQA #1805 (A *p̥ińjí v. 'twist, twirl') || ? D (in SD) *°puña- ({§GS} *p-?) v. 'tie, unite' > Tm puñai v. 'unite, tie', puñai v. 'bind', puñai ~ puñai 'fetters', ?? Kn poñar 'be joined/united' §§ D #416O (b) ◇ On the possible etl. connection between this N word and N *piń, v. 'see s.v. N *piń, v.'↑' see s.v. N *piń, v.; F IS SS #10.8 (HS, IE, U, D), IS MS 354 ('плести' *p̥u'ny'ə > HS, IE, U, D). IS does not distinguish between the two N words (IS SS #10.8 adduces Eg pñ without explaining the Ir. ⓘ) ◇ IE *(s)p- and Eg OK pñ (if it belongs here) suggest a N *p- (see Introduction, 2.2.5), while Eg ifn points to a N *p-. This discrepancy still needs investigating ◇ Gr. II #298 (← IS) (*pin 'plait') (IE, U, A, J)

1738. *'[p̥]uñ|ŋyû 'to breathe; wind, smoke' (× N *Pü|uñyE - *Pü|uñi 'smell' [q.v.]) > HS: C: Ag: Q {R} fingiyā ([EthSc] ፩ንግይፏ fəngiyā) 'Wind, Sturm' (acc. to R, a derived relative noun analyzable as fingi-yā and related to Xm fig yā 'blasen') || Dhl {EEN} funt- 'breathe' § R QW 57, EEN 23 || WCh: Kfr {Nt.} fəfəŋ 'south wind', Gmy {ChC} fańut 'storm'; ? AG *fwan 'rain', (*←) 'storm' > Gmy {Hf.} fə,ān 'rain', Su {J} fwan 'rain', Ang {Brq.} fwān, {Hf., Flk.} fwān id., {ChC} kʷifwan 'storm', Mnt {Hf.} fan 'rain' § Nt. 12, Hf. AGG 18 [#34], J S 66, ChC, ChL, Flk. s.v. fwān, Brq. AP, Pod. AWL || IE: NaIE *pneu- 'breathe, blow' > Gk πνέω (ft. πνεύσομαι) v. 'blow' (of wind and air), 'breathe', πνεύμα 'a blowing, a wind, breath, spirit' || Gmc: (1) *fne(:)h- 'breathe, pant' > OHG fnēhan 'to breathe, to snort', MHG phnēhen 'to breathe, to pant, to gasp', (2) *fnēs-/*fnōs-/*fnas-: AS fnæst 'breath, breathing, panting', OHG fnāstōn 'gasp, snort; anhelare', as well as partially onomatopoeic words: ON fnýsa, fnasa, fnæsa 'to pant, to puff', MHG phnūsen id., 'to sneeze' (ph- [= pf?] for *f- due to

onomatopoeic infl.), AS *fneosan*, *fnesan* 'to pant, to sneeze' § P 838-9, F II 566-7, Kb. 269, OsS 209, Lx. 16O, Ho. 11O, Vr. 136, ≈σ EI 82 (**pneu-* '≈ snort, sneeze') || A {S AJ} **p|p'uńv*, {DQA} **póne* (¬ **p'*) 'smoke' ({AD} 'smoke, snow-storm') > M **ψuní-n* 'smoke' > MM [HI] *hunin*, [S] *hüni* id., [IsV] *huni*, WrM d. *uniyar* {MED} 'mist, haze, vapor', {SM} 'vapeurs qui s'élèvent du sol échauffé par le soleil', HlM d. үниар 'mist, haze, vapor', Brt *uńej*, Dg *xońi*, Dx *funíe*, MnR H {T, SM} *funi* 'smoke', Ba {SM} *fune*, {T} *fzńz* 'smoke' § Ms. H 6O, SM 107, T 371, S AJ 237 [#85], ≈ Pel. 238 [#69] || Tg: (1) **púń-* v. 'smoke, emit smoke' > Ork *pun-* id., Orc *puńa* 'smoky', Ud *punkisi-* vt. 'smoke out' (a loan from a p-preserving lge.), Ul *púńa-púńa* adv. 'emitting smoke, raising dust, *punžiči* v. 'smoke (дымить)', *punguču-* vt. 'smoke (food)', Nn Nh *pøŋki-*, Nn B/KU *føŋki-* v. 'smoke, smoke out', (2) Tg **púńge* 'snow-storm' > Ewk *hunjž* ~ *huńz* id. ('вьюга, метель'), *hunjž-* ~ *huńz-* 'begin\be a snow-storm, block the road with snow', Lm *hūnjuž* ~ *hūnjuž-* 'storm, snowstorm', Neg *xuńjž*, Orc *xuńjž* 'snowstorm' ('вьюга'), Ud *xuńgž-* 'be a snow-storm, skim over the ground' (snow), Ul *púńaalul* 'whirlwind (carrying sand \ snow \ leaves)', Ork *pūndž* 'snowstorm, blizzard, blizzard with ground wind', Nn *pūngiktu-* 'covered with snow\sand brought by the wind' § STM II 43-4, 348-9, Krm. 307, S AJ 225 [#297] §§ S AJ 295 [#517], DQA #168O (M, Tg + unc. pKo {S} **píńa,k* 'kitchen' ({S} ← 'smoking place') ◇ This N word may be connected (or identical) with N **Pü|uńyE* – **Pü|uńi* 'smell' (q.v.). N **p-* is suggested by the WCh data.

1739. (2?) **Pü|uńyE* – **Pü|uńi* 'smell (odour); to smell (sth.)' > HS: C: Bj {R} *fín* 'Geruch', *fín-* 'schnüffeln, nach Geruch in der Luft fangen (das Wildtier), riechen, schnuppern' || Ag: Bln {R} *fün y-* 'smell sth.' ('schnüffeln, nach Geruch in der Luft fangen, schnuppern'); Ag → Tgr {LH} *fin bələ* v. 'sniff\scsent', {R} *fun bələ* id., ? (× EC **sun-* < N **s'üńv* 'to smell') Or *fünf-adda* v. 'smell sth.' § R WBd 79, R WB 122, LH 666 || AdS of B **fńnfán* 'museau, nez (d'animal)' (< N **pńńčv* 'nose' [q.v. ffd.]); the absence of reflexes of the N affricate may be accounted for by the infl. of N **Pü|uńyE* – **Pü|uńi* §§ The apparent traces of this etymon in Ch are too qu.: Ch: Ngz {Sch.} (3s p.) *fáuńú*, sbjn. *fáwán* (Sch. DN 57) v. 'smell at, sniff at' is probably to be analyzed as *fáu-n-ú* (cp. Ngz *fówâ* 'stench, terrible odour') || A: M **ψünir* 'odour' > MM [IM, MA] *hünir*, WrM *üñür*, HlM үнэр 'odour,

smell, fragrance, aroma', Kl γηρ ünər, Brt γηρə, MnR H {SM, T} funir, MnR M {Pot.} xүнир 'odour'; M *ψünis- v. 'smell sth., smell at' > MM [MA] hünis- id., WrM ünüs-, HlM † γηс-(əх) v. 'kiss, smell', MnR H {SM, T} funis- v. 'smell sth.' ¶ Pel. 237-8 [#68], S AJ 240 [#152], Pp. MA 192, MED 1O1O, KRS 552, T 37, SM 1O8, Pot. 414 || Tg *pūń- v. 'smell' > Ewk Brg huńjuktž- v. 'smell sth.', Sln ū: 'odour', Lm hīnʒmsi 'bad odour (of mouldy meat)', Neg xun 'odour', Orc xū(ən-) ~ xūń, Ud xu(ən-), Ul and Ork pū(ən-), Nn Nh pū:, Nn KU fū, Nn B fu(ən-) id., WrMc fun 'aroma' ¶ STM II 349, Krm. 3O5, S AJ 22O [#2O7] || ?? pJ *páná 'nose' (×N *p̥nč́v 'nose' [q.v.]??) > OJ páná, J: T hāna, K háná, Kg hána, Ht pānà id. ¶ S AJ 267 [#55], S QJ #55, Mr. 397 ¶ S AJ 78, 277 [#53], DQA #1679 (*p̥uńe v. 'smell', n. nose') || A (d.?) *p̥l̥uŋgu 'stench, bad smell' (×N ?φ *p̥l̥giŋv [or *p̥-?] 'faeces, filth', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ D *puŋ- ({θGS} *p-) v. 'know' > Klm, Prj, Gdb, Png, Ku pun- id., Gnd pund-ə pun-, Kui punba id. ¶ D #4344 (a) ◇ Connection (or even identity?) with N *p̥uŋŋyū 'to breathe; wind, smoke' (q.v.) cannot be ruled out.

1740. (2?) *p̥nč́v 'nose' > HS: Eg fOK fn̥z 'nose' ¶ EG I 577-8, Fk. 98, Tk. II 575-8 || C: unknown C source → Amh አፋንች የፋንች 'nose'. as well as possibly Gz fəšəm 'front, forehead' and Grg: Ms/Go/So fənčə, Ch/Ed/M finčə, En/Gt fīnčə 'forehead' ¶ LG 169, LEDG III 729 || ? B: (1) *f̥nč́v 'nose', v. *f̥nč́r '≈ have the nose injured' > Egg funzər 'nose', Kb ffunzər, SrSn, Rf funzar, Shw funzər, Gd fənzər 'saigner du nez', Ah fuńhər 'avoir la narine coupée', ETwl, Ty fənčər 'avoir le nez déchiré', Ty efinčər 'coupure de narines', Gd fənzər, Awj fənčər 'saigner du nez' ¶ Fc. 1355, GhA 39, Dl. 211, Pr. H #6O, Lf. II #0399, NZ 587] (2) ? Kb afənniš (pl. ifənnišən) 'homme au nez trop court, aplati, camard', ffunnəš 'avoir le nez camard, écrasé', CM {NZ} fənnəš 'avoir le nez épate', Shw afənniš 'camard; camus' ¶ Dl. 2O9, NZ 578 || K: OG p̥inči, G † p̥inčvi, p̥inči 'nostrils'; K (and\or another lge. of the Caucaso-Mesopotamian region?) → Arm պինչ pinčʰ 'nostrils', Oss I fənč, Oss D finč(ä) 'nose, tip', Abkh a-pənča 'nose', and even Blc p̥onč 'nose' (an argument for the ancient migration of the Baluchis from a more western area) ¶ Abul. 339, Chx. 1OO6, DCh. 1OO1, Ab. I 497, Bai. 236, Ach. IV 83 ¶ The glottalization in p̥- may be secondary or result from metathesis of glottalization (cp. Abkh a-pənča). Alternatively, the K word my be a loan from Arm pinčʰ || IE: ?σ NaIE {P} *bend-/ *bñd-no- 'vorspringende Spitze' > OIr benn 'mountain peak, horn, point, tip (of

a lance)' (< *b_ŋd-no- or *bend-no-?), bennach 'pointed, horned', NIr beann, MW bann 'mountain peak, horn, point' (< *b_ŋd-no-), OBr bann 'horn', MBr ban 'éminence, saillie, hauteur', Br bann 'ray' || Dt Fl W pint 'Spitze', MHG {WP} pinz 'subula', MLG, MNG {Lx.} pint, NNR {P} pintol, ODn, AS pintel 'penis', NE pintle ¶ The IE √ belongs here if *-nd- may be an IE reflex of N *-nč- ¶ WP II O9-1O, P 96-7, Vn. B 35-6, Flr. 78, Hm. 65, Dnn. 61, Lx. 16O, Ho. 246, Vr. N 522-3 || ? A: pJ *páná 'nose' (× N *Pü|uñyE ~ *Pü|uñi 'smell') > OJ páná, J: T hana, K háná, Kg hána, Ht pá_ná_ ¶ S QJ #55, Mr. 397; S AJ 78, and DQA #1679 prefer to derive it from A {DQA} *p_lújné 'nose, smell' (< N *Pü|uñyE ~ *Pü|uñi 'smell' ['odour'], 'to smell [sth.]' which is phonetically preferable because the J word has no traces of N *č or *č) ◇ Eg fnʒ and NaIE *bend-/ *b_ŋd-no- point to pN *p-; OG pincí and G pinc(v)i may be explained by a pre-K mt. of glottalization: N *p_lndčnč > *p_lndčnč ◇ Cf. AD LRC #1O9.

1741. ₂ *'**p**'on'd'v '≈ leg, foot' > HS: WCh: BT *pundv 'thigh' > Bl {Bnt.} pundo, Krf {Sch.} fòndo, Glm {Sch.} pèndá, Gera {Sch.} fìndí, Dr {J} pùdó, Krkr {Kr.} fùntɔw 'thigh', {J} fùndò 'leg', {Al.} pàntó, Pr {Frz.} pündé, Krf {J} fàntáw 'leg', {JI ← Sch.} fòndó 'thigh' || ECh (× N *pa'g'dv 'leg' [or 'in part of a leg'], 'foot'): Jg {J} pàdo, Brdg {J} fàdí 'thigh', Mu {J} fùdí (pl. fòdàt) 'thigh', {Lk.} fùdí (pl. fòdàt) 'Schenkel' || ?? CCh (× N *pa'g'dv '↑'): McTr {ChL}: Hw fùdàrà, G'nd fùdátà, Gbn fìdàtɔ, Bk fùdàtɔ 'thigh' ¶ ChL, JI II 324-5, Bnt. 19, Frz. P 47 || **U:** RP *pontv 'leg, foot' > Prm *pod 'foot, leg, basis' > Vt p̄d 'foot, paw, hoof', Vt Shm puden, Vt B po'do'n ({LG} pədən) 'by foot', Z pod 'leg' (in: pod vuž̄rsɔ oz až̄žt 'has very weak eye-sight', lit.: 'does not see the shade of his own legs'), 'stem (of a mushroom)', podən 'by foot', Z US pwd 'basis', Yz 'puda 'pedestrian', 'pudən 'by foot' | Er/Mk ponks ({U}): < *pondâks) 'trouser leg', pl. ponkst 'trousers' ¶ LG 223, U3S 369-7O, UR 256, Wc. WC 93-4, U SC, U 117, Wc. SW 21O, Ps. M 112.

1742. *P_lndv,-šv (~ *-žv?) 'in insect' > HS: CCh {ChL}: BM: Br, WMrg pínžu, Cb pínžù, Ngx pínžù 'mosquito' | McHigi {ChL}: HgG fìyènží, HgNk, Kps vìnzé, HgF vìnzó, HgB vìgìnzɔw, FIK vìnzum, FIG vìnzú id. || CS *pa|išp'a's- (~ *°pašš-) 'in bug' > MHb {Dlm., Lv., Js.} piš'piš' piš'pāš, {ESh.} piš'piš' piš'pēš, NHb piš'piš' piš'peš 'bedbug', Sr {JPS} pašpa'šā pašpa'šā 'small reddish bug', {Br.} piš'piš' piš'peš 'bug', Ar fasfas- ~ {Hv.} fass- 'bug' ¶ Dlm. 339, Lv IV 15O,

Js. 1248, ESh. 111O, Br. 613, JPS 458, Nld. BSS 122 (unc.: Ar ←b JA), BK II 594, Hv. 561 || **u** ≈ *pañC ∇ > FU: Mk панжам 'panžam 'ant' || Sm: Ne T BZ {Ter.} пăнзă"ш panže?ə, Nn {Cs.} pansie, panže, pande 'louse' ¶ PI 199, Ter. 441 || ? **A**: Tg *punjim- > Nn ponžim ~ рзпžимъ 'small winged blood-sucking insects (мошкá, мелкая мошкара, гнус)', WrMc funzima ~ funima {Z} 'white insects on dung (навозная бѣлая мошка)', funzima {Ha.} 'in Kriebelmücke, Simulium', funima {Ha.} id., 'giftige Sandfliege' ¶ Thr absence of ʒ in funima is still to be explained ¶ STM II 41, On. 3, Z 1O69, 1O71, Ha. 32O-1 ¶ ≈ DQA #186O (incl. Tg + unc. parallels in M, Ko, and J) || **D** *pēñ ∇ 'louse' > Tm pēñ, Ml, Kn pēñ, Kt, Klm peñ, Td pōñ, Kdg peñi, Tu pēñn, Nkr, Nk, Gdb pēñ, Prj, Knd pēñi, Png, Mnd pen, Ku pēñ, Krx pēñ, Mlt {Drs.} pēñu 'louse', Kui pēñu, Ku pēñū 'flea' ¶ D 4449 ◇ D *-ñ- (regularly from intervocalic *-n-) suggests a vw. after N *ñ (with loss of the final syll. *-š ∇ or *-ž ∇ in D) ◇ There may have been a change N *nš > nž (in some Ch, U, and Tg lgs.) due to post-nasal affricatization of sibilants (a typical phenomenon in lgs., cp. Yid menč < *menš 'person', unž < *unz 'us'), the voicing *nš > nž, nž may be due to as. ◇ It is tempting to adduce here Fr punaise, Occ {Alib.} punaisa & penaïsa (Alib. 568), Gsc püñaze, and Frl pudjese 'bed-bug', but ML #6879 derives this word from VL *pūtināsius 'stenching' ◇ Schrd. DU 93 [#3O] (D, U), Blz. LB #1O5b and Blz. LNA #44 (in both: BM, D, U).

1743. (?) *Pañt ∇ h ∇ 'belly' > IE *pant(∇)x- > NaIE *pant- ~ *p ∇ nd- 'belly' > Ltv Δ {ME} penderis & penders 'stomach (Magen)' || L pantex 'belly, paunch', pl. pantic-ēs 'bowels' || Ht panduha- {Ts.} 'stomach (?)', {CHD} 'bladder (?)' ¶ The NaIE variation *t ~ *d may be due to the lr. (surviving in Ht) ¶ ≈ EI 2 (*pant- 'stomach, paunch'), ≠ WH II 248, EM 479-8O, ME III 199-2OO, Frd. HW EH II 19, Ts. W 59, CHD P 95 || **D** *pañt ∇ > Tm pan̄ti, pan̄tam 'belly, paunch, body', Ml pan̄ti 'stomach', Ku bandi 'belly' & bañdi 'stomach'; D → Sk phāñda- 'belly' ¶ D 3898 || ?σ HS: ī B *✓'ψ'dn ({Pr.} *✓H|zdn) 'middle' > Ah a-hađun 'the 15th night of a lunar month' (× N *bu₁w₁t ∇ 'the hinder part of a quadruped's body, the lower part of a human body, bottom') ¶ Fc. 518, Pr. H #296 ◇ D *-t- (that regularly goes back to N and pre-D *t) is due to the de-emphatizing infl. of the lr. *h (N *-t ∇ h- > *-t- > D *-t-).

1744. *P^UN³Ν 'in part of the leg of animals' ('knee', 'foot'?) > **HS:** B *✓fnz 'foot (of ungulate animals)' > Sll {Ds.} a-fənzu (pl. i-fənz-a) 'pied de veau', ta-fənzu-t (pl. ti-fənz-a) {Ds.} 'pied de mouton', {La.} 'sabot des chèvres et des moutons', BSns θi-fənzi-θ (pl. θi-fənz-a), Ntf i-fənzi (pl. i-fənz-a), Mz tifənzət id., CM {NZ} ifənzi 'pointe de pied (les orteils)' ¶ Ds. 219, La. S 291, NZ 586 || **U** *puńća '≈ knee-cap' > Lp N {N} բսչես-~բսչօս-: b.-dak'te 'the small bone in the pit of the femur in the hind leg of a reindeer, the patella (knee-cap)' (dak'te is the Lp for 'bone'), Lp L {LLO} puttjēs 'the Kniescheibe (patella) des Renntiers' || Sm: Ne T O puncū 'weiche grubenförmige Stelle unterhalb des Kniescheibes des Renntiers' ¶ UEW 403-4 || **A** (i**°p_L'insa [{SDM95} *°pins³Ν]): pJ *pínsá 'knee', > OJ pížá 'knee', J: T híža, K hížá, Kg híža 'knee', Sh ψíṣà 'foot' ¶ S QJ #96 ¶ SDM95 s.v. "? *pins³ 'knee'".

1745. *p^UÁ^ñΝ (= *päń³Ν?) 'hollowed-out vessel' > **U:** FU *peń³Ν 'spoon' > Er/Mk пенч реńč, Er Δ {Ps.} pänč id. | Prm {Lt.} *påń- > Vt пуньы руńt, Z pań id., Z Vm/I/LV/Ud pań 'spade, small spade (лопата, лопаточка)' || ObU *°pěń³Ν (or *°píń³Ν) > Os *pěń ({JHl.} *píń) 'spoon, scoop' > Os: V/Vy/Lk/MY/Ty/Y pań id., Lk/MY yätte-pań 'flache Schöpfkelle, mit der Fische aus dem Kessel geschöpft werden', Vy կշպատ-պեń 'Trommelschlegel' ¶ UEW 372, Coll. 106, LG 216, Ps. M 108, ERV 47O, PI 204, SZ 274, Stn. D 1183 || **A** ({S, SDM97} *p'äń³Ν 'vessel, boat'): NaT *hjańak 'vessel' > OT аyaq 'vessel' (particularly 'a drinking vessel: cup, goblet, bowl'), Yk aŷaχ 'big goblet for drinking fermented mare's milk', Tf aŷaq 'big cup, bowl', Tv aяк аyaq 'cup, drinking bowl (чашка, пиала)', Qrg, Qzq, ET, SY, Ln аyaq 'cup, bowl (чашка, чаша)', Uz аyaq, Xk аyaχ id., QrB аyaq 'bowl, wooden bowl', Bsh аyaq 'big bowl' ¶ Cl. 643, Rs. W 265, S AJ 193 [#186], ET Gl 105, Pek. 55-6, JkR 33-4, Ra. 152; Tf and Yk -ŷ- provides ev. for a nasal *-ń-; OT, Tv, and Xk medial -ŷ- proves that the internal cns. is not pT *-δ- || pKo {S} *pʌj 'boat' > MKo pʌj, NKo pä id. ¶ S AJ 257 [#164], S QK #164, Nam 251, MLC 743 || pJ *púná-i 'boat, vessel' > OJ pùné, J: T ψúne, K ψùné, Kg ψuné ¶ S AJ 272 [#193], S QJ #193, Mr. 418 || ? M *°ψayi-žagan > MM [IM] هیجفا h̥ayižaɣa 'ship' ¶ Pp. MA 437 ¶ S AJ 67, 288 [#296], DQA #1775 (*p_L'oříń³Ν 'vessel, boat': M, Ko, J), SDM97 (A *p'äń³Ν id.: T, Ko, J) || **D** *pāñ ~ *pāñ³Ν 'pot' > Tm pāñi 'large earthen pot', pāñā

'large rounded pot', Ml **pāna**, **pāni** 'water pot', Kt **pāny** and Kdg **pāni** (measures of capacity), K **pāne**, **hāne** 'pot (of metal\earth)', Tu **pāni**, **pānæ** 'a large pot', Tl **bāna** 'a large earthen pot, boiler, kettle' || HS: Eg fOK **pnk** {EG} 'schöpfen', {Fk.} 'bail (out of s boat)' > DEg **pnq**, **pnk** 'schöpfen, ausschöpfen', Cpt Sd **πωνγ** **pōng** ~ **πωνκ** **pōnk** ~ **πωνδ** **pōnd**, B **φωνκ** **p^hōnk** 'puiser', Cpt **πονκ** **pōnk** '≈ bottle' (with the sx. -f) || EG I 51O-1, Fk. 89, Er. 132, Vc. 16O ◇ The D permutation *-ŋ / *-ñ- may be explained as follows: in the word-final position all nasal cnss. yielded D *-ŋ (the only nasal admissible in this position); in the intervoc. position D *-ñ- is the reg. reflex of N *-ñ-; later *-ŋ- was generalized in some stems (whence -n- in those lgs. where *ŋ yields n) ◇ The narrowing *A (= *ä?) > FU *e may be due to the infl. of the adjacent palatal cns *ń.

1746. *pE>XQña 'keep, protect' > HS: WCh {Stl.} *pan- v. 'keep' ('хранить') > Ang {Flk.} **pān** v. 'keep' | Ron: DfB {J} **fen** 'Kornspeicher' || Stl. ZCh 146 [#18], Flk. s.v. **pan**, J R 214 || IE *peXy- v. 'protect, keep, take care of' > NaIE *pā(y)-/*pō(y)-/*pī- v. 'protect, graze (cattle)' > OI **pā(y)-** v. 'protect, preserve, keep', 3s prs. **pā-ti** 'protects, preserves, keeps', Av **pā̄ti** 'protects', OPrs **pādiy** 'beschütze!', **pātuv** 'er soll beschützen', KhS **pā-** v. 'protect', Sgd **p^hy-** id.; IIrn d. *pāy-us > OI **pāyuh** 'protector', Av **pāyuš** id.; Irn *pāθra- > Av **pāþra-(vant-)** 'Schutz (gewährend)', NPrs **पाह्रे** pähre (coll. **पाहर** pāhr) 'guard, watch of the night; protection', {Vl.} 'custodia, vigilia' || Gmc *fōðra- 'sheath, covering, cover' (< NaIE *pōtrom, see OI **pātrām** 'holder' × Na IE *pō- v. 'cover' < N *pōqī 'to cover, to close', q.v. ffd.) || L **pā-sco** (pfc. **pā-vi**, sup. **pāstum**) v. 'graze (cattle)', **pāstor** 'herdsman' || Gk πῶμ, gen. -εος 'flock (of sheep)', ποιμῆν 'herdsman, shepherd', ποίμην 'flock' || W **pawr** 'meadow' || Lt **piemus** 'herdsboy, herdman' | Sl *pāsti (1s prs. *pās-q) v. 'graze (cattle)' > OCS **пасти** **pasti** / **пасък** **pas-q**, SCr **pásti** († **pāsti**) / **pásē**, SIn **pásti** / **pásem**, R **пасти** / **па'су** || Arm **հաւրան** hawran 'herd' || pTc {Ad.} *pāsk- > Tc A **pās-**, B **pāsk-** v. 'guard, protect' || Ht **pahs-** / **pahhas-** 'protect, keep, guard' || P 839, EI 198 (*peh₂- 'guard, protect, cause to graze'), 268, Mn. 897, 905-7, 971-2, M K II 25O-3, M E II 112-3, Bai. 228, F II 573, WH II 26O, Frn. 585, Glh. 469-7O, Slt. 173-4, Wn. 353, Ad. 367, Ad. H 2O, Ts. W 58, CHD P 2-1O;

IS III 1O6-8 considers NaIE *pā(y)- to be a different root, but it may be suggested that NaIE *pā(y)- is an *e-grade of the same root, NaIE *ā going back to *ex (the non-palatalized lr. *x is explained by its original precons. position); this attempt to distinguish between *pō(y)- v. 'graze, protect' and *pā(y)- v. 'graze, feed' is at variance with the observed distribution of these two meanings: NaIE *poy-wā 'means 'fodder, meadow grass' (> Gk ποίη, ποία, πόη 'meadow grass', Lt pīeva 'meadow of mowing grass', F Mn. 972), while Ht pahs- / pahhas-, which acc. to IS III l.c. belongs to *pā(y)-, means v. 'protect, keep' || U *pīna~*puña ({UEW} *pānā, {IS} *pīna [= *pīna] < **pēna) v. 'observe, protect' > Lp: T {Tl} pīnā- 'bewahren, verwahren, schützen, beobachten', Kld {SaR} гынне 'keep, take care of (беречь, хранить)', {Tl} pīnīā- 'bewahren, hüten, pflegen' || Sm {Hl.} *p̥īnā-r- v. 'graze, guard, keep' (*-r- is a sx. of multiple action) > En {Cs.} X fōneko (1s prs. fōneñero), B fōniro (1s prs. fōníñédo) 'hüten, weiden', X fonedde, B fōnidde 'herdsman', En T {OSIPL} poner- (1s prs.) ponerñedo) 'be busy with, maintain, hold', Ne {Cs.} prs. 3s pāer-ñā 'hold, use, protect', Ne T O {Lh.} pāe·r-ć 'tun, sich beschäftigen' ¶ UEW 413-4, Cs. 95, IS III 1O8-11O, TI 356, SaR 277; the variant *puña- (> Sm *pūnā-) is probably due to labializing as. caused by the initial *p- || D *pēñ- ({GS} *p-) v. 'protect, take care of' > Tm pēñ 'protection', pēñu v. 'treat tenderly, protect, care of', Ml pēñuka v. 'foster, take care of', Tl pēñ(u)cū v. 'nourish, foster, support' ¶ D #4436, Km. 436 [#848] || A: T *hāñā- v. 'preserve (sth.), look after sth. carefully' > OT {Cl.} aya- id., v. 'treat (so.) with respect' (OT QU XI 01 tōnīn ayaði 'he looked after his clothing [etc.] carefully'), Tkm, Uz, Qmq, QrB, Kr, VTt aya- 'keep, spare', Qzq, Nog, Qq, Bsh, Xk aya- 'spare, take care of', Ln aya- id., 'preserve, guard', Chv: L үя- үя-, Н оя- vt. 'keep (customs), preserve, respect' ¶ Cl. 267-8, Rs. W 11, ET Gl 1O1-2, TkR 62, UzR 47, Ash. III 171, Jeg. 28O, Fed. II 298 ¶ The vw. *a of the first syll. is probably due to vowel harmony: *hāñā < **pēna ◇ Ffd. see IS III 1O6-111 [#373] (*pēnā 'пасти [graze], защищать, заботиться' > IE, U, D). Cf also IS MS 354 (*pīñā 'пасти' > IE, U) and IS SS #1O.26 (IE, U). The meaning 'to graze (cattle)', although present in two sub-branches (NaIE and Sm), should not be ascribed to the pN level, but rather considered a parallel development in IE (or even NaIE) and in Sm (or U?).

1747. *piń, **ṇ**, ya 'to turn, to plait' ([in descendant languages] → 'to spin, to weave') > HS: Eg fP pñv v. 'turn upside down, turn the eyes' ({EG} 'umwenden, sich umwenden') ¶ EG I 508-9, Fk. 88f., Tk. II 437-9 || K: GZ *px̥in- v. 'spin, weave' > G X px̥in- 'weaving instrument', Lz px̥en- ~ mx̥en- 'spindle' ¶ Fn. KW-2 44 [#34] || A: pJ {S} *pińiar- v. 'twist, twirl' (x N *Pun, **ṇ**, ya 'to turn, to twist, to tie?') > OJ p̥ińiñer-, J: Thinér-, K hínér-, Kg hínér- ¶ S QJ #1345, Mr. 689 || D *piń- ({θGS} *p-) v. 'plait, weave' > Tm pińnu v. 'plait, braid, lace, knit, weave, entwine, bind', Ml pinnuka v. 'plait, twist, wreath', Td piń- '(hair) is matted', v. 'weave (basket), plait (hair)', Brh pinning v. 'be twisted'; ?? D {Km.} *piń- ({θGS} *p-) v. 'entwine, tie together, link', *piń-aŋk- v. 'be twisted' > Kn pena v. 'unite\tie different things together, interwine, twist, plait, braid', pińil 'braid of hair', Tm pińai (fts. -v-, prts. -nt-) vi. 'entwine', v. 'unite; tie, fasten', pińai (fts. -pp-, prts. -tt-) v. 'link, unite, tie'; Ml pińa 'tying, yoke', Kt piń- 'become entangled' (of ropes, wrestlers' legs), Tl pena 'a twist of ropes, tie, bond', OTl {Km.} penācu v. 'twist', Tl {BE} penu vt., vi. 'twist, entwine', 'twist two or three single threads into a thick thread' ¶ D ##4207, 416O (a), Km. 435-6 [#846-7] ◇ Cf. Blz. KM 117 [#15] (adduces the K √ to the Nostratic compairson). Some kind of etl. connection between this N word and N *Pun, **ṇ**, ya 'to turn, to twist, to tie' is possible. It may be explained either by supposing that one of these two N etymons goes back to a compound or by pre-Nostratic derivation ◇ The K vl. harmonic cluster *px̥- goes back to N *p- + *y rather than to *p- + *y (where no as. is likely to bring about a vl. unglottalized cluster).

1748. *РауńΔ₁qΔ₂ 'to press, to squeeze, to close' > **U** *rauńΔ vt. 'press' > F paina- v. 'press, weigh down; stamp', Es paina- v. 'press' → 'obsess, haunt', 'мучить, угнетать, удречать' | Prm {Lt.} *poń- > Z pońtav/1- ~ pońtal- 'pressen, weigh down', Vt SW puńña-~puńña- v. 'lock', Vt Kz pań্যrt- 'drücken, zerdrücken' || Vg: T po'ńawt-, LK pańayt-, P pońat-, Ss pońiṣt- 'drängen, drücken', LK pańs-, P/Ss pońs- v. 'press\weigh down' || ? Sm: Kms paṇdə-, paŋgorə- id., v. 'press' ¶ Coll. 105, UEW 348, LG 225 || **A:** M *ɸani- 'close' (of an opening), 'close one's eyes', *ɸanisqa 'eyelid' > MM [MA] hanisba nidüni 'closed his eyes', WrM ani-, HlM ани- v. 'close one's eyes', vi. 'close' (of a wound, crack, fissure), WrO {Krg.} ani- v. 'close up, close eyes, squint', Kl ань-, {Rm} аńy- ~ аń-, Brt ани- 'blink\close one's eyes', Ord {Ms.}

anī- 'close one's eyes', MM [HI, MA] hanisqa, [L] hanišqa, [IsV] hanasqa, MnR H {SM} xanasqa, {T} xanesga, MnR H/M {Pot.} ханиска 'eyebrow', WrM anisqa, HlM анисга, WrO {Krg.} anisxa 'eyelid'; the etl. connection between *ψanī- 'close (one's eyes)' and the noun *ψanisqa suggests that the latter originally meant 'eyelid' (as in WrM, HlM, and WrO) rather than 'eyebrow' (as in the MM texts and in MnR) ¶ Pp. L III 31, Pp. MA 181, Ms. H 6O, Lg. VMI 31, Pel. 2O6-7 [#9], MED 46, Krg. 2, KRS 45, KW 11, Chr. 53, Ms. O 25-6, SM 155, ~ T 373, Pot. 411 || HS: S *°√ pñx > Ar √ fñx v. G 'bruise (a bone within the body), contusionner l'os dans le corps', 'soumettre, abaisser et humilier' ¶ BK II 637, Hv. 573 ||? WCh: Gmy {Kr., ChL} fum 'close'; ?? WCh {Stl.} *f₁w₁n vt. 'close' > Krkr fñna, Klr fwān (unless d. from WCh *f[u]- [Krkr {Lk.} f-, Klr fu v. 'close', etc. < Ch *√ pH < N *pøqí 'to cover, to close', q.v.]) ¶ Stl. ZCh 16O [#137], ChC ◇ Cf. IS MS 364 s.v. 'сжимать' *paj[n]n (U, A), Rs. UAW 45.

1749. *Puń|ñčē 'body hair, down, (?) feathers' > K: GZ *pačw- 'hair', esp. 'hair on the body' > G {DCh.} pačv̥i 'hair on human body', OG {Abul., DCh.} pačunieri 'hairy', MG, G pačvnieri 'hairy, shaggy', Zan **počkw- 'hair' influenced the vw. of G Gr počv̥i 'hair', G Gr/I {Chx.} počv̥i, G {DCh., NCh., Chx.} poči 'fringe hair\fibres (бахрома), tassel', {DCh.} 'leaved branch' ¶ DCh. 1299, 1313, NCh. 396, Chx. 1456 ¶ To be distinguished from GZ *pečw- 'a hair' (< N *Pūč'ō' 'hair', q.v.) || IE: NaIE *pouſ-/*pus- 'body hair, down', fell' (× N *Pūč'ō' '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) || U: FV *punče 'down, feathers' > Es S puts (gen. pudzu) 'down' | pLp {Lr.} *poncз 'feather' > Lp: S {Hs.} baddse, K {Gn.} pon:ž, Kld {SaR} пōннц pōn:c id., N {N} бoз'зâ 'lower, thick end of a feather; large wing-feather, flight-feather' | Chr: L пыстыл pъs-tъl, E, U pъš-təl 'feather' (pChr *š for the expected *č because of the precons. position?) (tъl, təl < U *tulka 'feather') ¶ Tv. IA 2O7, Lr. #947, Lgc. #461O, Hs. 276, N I 21O, SaR 265 ◇ Ffd. IS III 8O-1 [#365] (*'p'ünčE 'body hair' > IE, K, U + D *poččo. 'hair, down, wool', see N *božN 'hair, feather'). The variant rec. with N *ní can explain the loss of the nasal cns. in IE.

1750. *'p'äŋN 'forehead' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'face', 'head') > HS: S *pan- > BHb pl. פָנִים pā'nim 'front (of the head), front, surface, face', M'b l-pny 'in front of', Ph l-pnm 'earlier', Ph cs. pn 'face', Pun cs. ffpn, FANE, FENH 'face', Ug pl. pnm 'face', l-pn 'in front of', IA pnh 'in front' (lit. 'his front'), Sr d. pəni'tā 'Seite, Gegend', {Br.} 'latus,

regio', Ar **š̥l̥w̥ finā?** 'cour devant une maison', Sb **f̥n̥w̥** 'space outside, immediate surroundings, front (of building)', Mh **f̥n̥z̥-** (in cds.): **f̥n̥f̥n̥w̥-** 'in front of, before', **f̥n̥z̥h̥** 'earlier, before', Hrs **f̥ēn̥** 'before, in front of; earlier', Jb E **'f̥en̥e** 'face, front part', **f̥z̥'n̥-ε-**, **f̥z̥'n̥-ɔ-**, Jb C **'f̥en̥e ε** 'in front of, before' (ε is 'of'), Sq {Jo.} **'fan̥z̥**, **'f̥n̥h̥ɔn̥** 'face, front part', Ak **pānu** 'front side', pl. 'face'; the vi. ***✓pny** 'turn' (in Hb and several other S lgs.) is likely to belong to N ***Pun₁D₂ya** 'to turn, to twist, to tie' (q.v.) ¶ KB 886-89O, KBR 938-44, Br. 578, GB 646-7, JH 229, HJ 918-2O (err. rec.: pS ***✓pn̥h̥**), A #223O, OLS 351-2, BK II 64O, BGMR 45, Sd. 818, Jo. M 96, Jo. H 33, Jo. J 59, SSL LSNP 1455-6, MiK I #1.215 || ?σ Eg P/G **ifn̥** '≈ umwenden, (das Gesicht) zuwenden, sich umwenden' (× N ***Pun₁D₂ya** '↑' [q.v.]?) ¶ EG I 7O || B ***f̥n̥fān̥** 'museau, nez (d'animal)' (× N ***p̥n̥č̥č̥** 'nose') > Ah **ăfunfan**, ETwl **afanfan**, Ty (pl. t.) **ifanfanən̥** 'museau, nez (d'animal)', t Wrg **ffanfan** 'nasiller, parler du nez, avoir le nez bouché' ¶ Fc. 331, GhA 39, Dlh. Ou 78, NZ 578 || C {{AD SF} ***p̥n̥-** 'forehead'} > Ag: Aw {CR} **feni**, **fen̥** 'forehead, face' || SC: Alg {Wh.}, Brn {Wh.} **pān̥-da** 'forehead' ¶ AD SF 45 || ECh: Ke **p̥n̥áy** 'temple (Schläfe)' ¶ Eb. 88 ¶ ≈ OS #417, ≈ MiK I #215 || **u** ***pāŋe** 'head' (× N ***beŋ₁iX₂i** '≈ head' [q.v.]) > F **pāä**, Es **p̥e a**, Δ **pā** id. | ? Lp N {N} **bagŋe** / -āŋ- 'the thickest part of the reindeer antler, by the head' | pMr ***p̥eŋə** > Er πε ře, Δ řä, Mk πε ře 'end, edge' ('конец, грань') | Prm {Lt.} ***p̥oŋ** 'end' > StVt **pum**, Vt Uf/MU/Y/M **pūŋ** 'end (bout, fin), limit', Z **pom** 'end, tip' (Ende, Spitze'), Z LL/Sk/MS/US, **pon** 'end (bout, fin)', Prmk **pom** 'end', Yz **pon** id. || pObU ***p̥eŋ₁k₁** > pVg ***pāŋk** {{Stn.} ***p̥eŋk**} 'head' > Vg: N {MK} **pūŋk** ~ **pōŋk**, ULz {Kn.} **pūŋk**, Ss {Kn.} **pūŋk**, {Stn.} **pōŋk**, ML/LL {MK} **p̥eŋk** ~ **pāŋk**, P {MK, Stn.} **p̥eŋk**, LK/MK/UK {MK, Stn.} **pāŋk**, T {MK, Stn.} **p̥eŋ** id. | Hg **f̥e j**, **f̥ō** (accus. **f̥e j e t**) 'head' || Sm: Ng **feai**, **feae** 'Ende, Gipfel, Äußerstes', Sm {Jn.} ***pā v.** 'begin (?)', {Hl.} ***pā-** 'tun, vorhaben' > StNe T **пя-сь**, Ne T O {Lh.} **řā:-ś**, Ne F Ny {Lh.} **řeä:-ś**, Ng {Cs.} -fa- ~ -fea-, sx. of inchoative (e.g. **~amafantuma** 'ich gehe essen', **~atadafeatem** 'ich gehe zaubern'), En {Mik.} 3s aor. obcj. **p̥eza** 'he began it', Slq Tm (1s aor.) {KD} **p̥ābab_** 'tehdä' (v. 'do'), Kms (1s prs.) {Cs.} **p̥halim**, {KD} **haíam** (Jn.: ← Mt M) 'machen', Koyb {Sp.} **палемъ** 'I do', Mt {Hl.} ***hä-** 'do, make, be able' (Mt M {Sp.} **аямъ** 'дѣлаю', 'могу') || Y (← Vg??): K {IN} **pūŋkə**, {IN RJ} **pūŋke**, {Jc.} **pūŋke** 'hill', T {Ku.} **punkə** 'hillock, hummock' ¶ UEW 365-6, Coll. 47, It. #263, Sm. 548 (FU, FP ***pāŋi**, Ugr ***pāŋkī** 'head'), Ker. II 106, LG

224, Wc. SW 211-2, TmK 549-55O, KPR 355, Lt. J 166, SZ 291-2, U3S 64, Stn. WV 268, Kn. VW 33, MK 479-48O, MF 188, Jn. 117-8, Hl. M #268, IN 276 (Y ÷ Vg), IN RJ s.v. холм, Ang. 219, Ku. 237, Rd. UJ 42 [#44] (Y ← U) || A *p^röŋv (~ p'äŋv?) > T *h₁öŋ 'face, front' > OT {Cl.} öŋ 'the front (of anything)', Qrg, Qq, ET öŋ 'face', Qzq öŋ 'face, right side (of cloth)', StAlt, Yk öŋ 'right side (of cloth)', Tk öŋ 'front, space in front of sth.', Az, Tkm öŋ 'front', OT äŋ 'cheek', Osm {Rl.} äŋ 'complexion', Chv үм um ʌ om 'front, breast' ¶ Cl. 166, ET Gl 534-5, Rs. W 372, Rl. I 71O, TrR 7O2, Jeg. 274, Fed. II 28O ¶ The labialized vw. *ö is probably due to the infl. of A *p^r- || ?pJ (?) *^opīn- > J Kg bintá 'head' ¶ S QJ #152 ¶ M *emüne 'front, south' (> MM [S, MA] emüne 'in front of', [HI] emüne 'south', WrM emün-e, HlM өмнө, Kl өмнө 'front, south', WrM emünnesi, HlM өмнөш 'forward, southward', Kl өмнөс 'from the front side' [H 44, MED 314-5, Pp. MA 155, Ms. H 54]) hardly belongs here, because in the MM documents there are no traces of the expected M *ψ- || D: ??amb Tm pamparam 'top', Ml pamparam 'top for play' (unless ← OI Sk bhramaraka 'humming-top') ¶ D #1, 41O(a), 494, 557(a), 393O ◇ T *h₁öŋ and Ke pžnáy suggest a pN *p-, while Eg ifn (that can point to a N *p-) is not a decisive proof, because its origin is ambiguous.

1751. (2?) *Pⁱŋū (or *P^üŋE) '∈ a game bird of medium size (grouse or sim.)' > U *püŋe '≈ grouse' > F puyy {Coll.} 'hazel grouse, wood grouse' ({UEW} 'Hasel-, Rothuhn'), peltopyy 'partridge', Es püň, Es S püv̥i 'Feldhuhn, Rebhuhn', Lv {Kt.} pi'k·i, Lv W † {Kt.} pü'k·i, Lv E pi'uk·i 'Feld-, Reb-, Haselhuhn', pLp {Lr.} *pžŋkāy 'hazel grouse' > Lp: N {Fri.} baggoi (= bâggō), L {LLO} pakkōi, K {Gn.} pę̄ngas, Klt {TI} pag:a | pMr {Ker.} *pužъ > *puvə > Er ποβο πονο, Δ πον 'Tetrao bonasia (hazel hen)', Mk (dim.) ποβνя {Ps.} πον-նա 'partridge' || Os V/Vy pěŋk 'hazel grouse' | Hg fogoly, fogumadár 'partridge' (madár 'bird') || ?φ Sm: Slq {KD}: LTz pēke, MKt pāke, Tm pēkä 'hazel grouse' | Kms {KD} p^užε id. || pY {IN} *pon- > Y K ponžu-bə 'capercaillie' (-bə is a sx. of animal names, see N *bA, pc. of names of quality bearers and animal names) ¶ Coll. 53, UEW 383, Sm. 547-8 (FU, FP *püŋi, Ugr *püŋkī 'grouse'), Kt. 296, Lr. #86O, Lgc. #462O, TI 326-7, Ker. II 121, Stn. D 1188, KD 55 || A: Tg *pⁱŋ'ų 'hazel grouse' > Ewk hinu-kī, Δ iñz-mī, Lm hini-ki id., Orc xi(m)mui, UI pinu~piňu~pimu, Ork pinu ~ piňu, Nn Nh pimu, Nn B fimi, Nn KU xiŋ-ki id., Neg xînkī~xiŋ-kī id., 'female wood grouse, female black grouse' ¶ STM II 325 || ?σ HS: Eg bn hier. *'∈ bird

(wagtail [Bachstelze]?) (pictorial representation for **bn**), 'is a holy bird in Heliopolis' ¶ EG I 457, Hng. 252, Tk. II 195-6 || ? B: Shl {Stm.} **walbēnna**, **talbbēnna** 'wagtail' (\leftarrow cd.?) ¶ Stm. 229, 240 ¶ Wlf. EAW 144, Tk. II 195-6 ◇ The HS word for 'wagtail' is a qu. cognate (the semantic distance and the unexpected *b-).

1752. ***[p]ṇ̥iŋ̥U** (= ***p̥oŋ̥iŋ̥U**?) 'palm of hand, (sole of) foot' > **HS:** S ***paŋ̥ṇ̥m-** (\sim ***paŋ̥ṇ̥n-**) 'foot, step' > Ph **p̥m** 'foot', **p̥m p̥m** 'step by step', Pun **p̥m** 'foot; time (Mal)', BHb **paŋ̥p̥** 'paŋam 'foot, step, time (Mal)', Ug **p̥n** 'foot', ? **p̥amt** (pl.) 'times (Male)', Mh {Jo.} **f̥em**, Hrs {Jo.} **fām**, Jb C {Jo.} **fām** 'foot, leg', Ak fOB {Sd.} **pēmu** ~ **pēnu** 'thigh (Oberschenkel) (of humans and animals)' ¶ KB 807, HJ 928-9, A #2185, 2243, Grd. UT #2076, OLS 342, Jo. M 87, Jo. H 31, Jo. J 51, Sd. 854, MiK I #1.207 || SC: Kz **paŋ̥amukō** 'foot' ¶ E SC 147 || ?σ WCh: Grn {ChC} **fwaŋ̥e**, {Hrn.} **fūŋ̥** v. 'walk' ¶ ChC, Hrn. G #250 || **u** ***p̥iŋ̥ṇ̥** ({{θAD} ***p̥iŋ̥U**?}) 'handful, palm of hand' > F **pivo** 'handful', Δ **pijo**, **pio** 'handful, middle (дно) of the hollow of the hand, palm of hand', Krl Tv **pivo**, Krl L **pivo** ~ **pio** ~ **piyo**, Vp N/S **piyo**, Vp C **pio**, Vo **pivo** 'handful, piyo 'hollow of the hand, handful', Es **pihu**, Δ **peo**, **pego**, **pōgo** 'palm of hand, handful', Lv **pīuv**, **pīu**, **pzu** 'handful' || Sm {Jn.} ***peŋ̥** 'flat hand (flache Hand)' > Ne T **pe?** **réž**, Ne F {Lh.} **pje·ŋ̥**, {Ppv.} **réŋ̥**, Ng {Cs.} **fēan̥**, {Mik.} **ħan̥**, En {Cs.} X **fēo**, B **fe** ~ **pe**, Slq MKe {KD} **pēŋ̥ga**, Kms {KD} **p̥'ňŋ̥** 'palm of hand', {Cs.} **pheŋ̥** id., Koyb {Sp.} **пямъ** 'моя ладонь' ('my palm of hand'), **памъ** 'горстъ' ('hollow hand'), Mt {Hl.} ***hōŋ̥** 'flat hand, hollow hand' (Mt M {Mll.} **hüngde** 'his hand', [Sp.] **үгмъ** 'my hollow hand', **оўмә** 'my palm of hand') ¶ Coll. 49-50, Coll. CG 143, Sm. 539 (U ***pīäŋ̥i** 'hollow hand' > FU, FP ***pīŋ̥i**, Sm ***peŋ̥**), Jn. 121, Ter. 460, KD 52, Ppv. 99, Hl. M #309, UEW 384 (***pīŋ̥ṇ̥**) || **A** (× N ***paŋ̥ṇ̥Hīŋ̥a** 'palm of hand' [q.v. ffd.]): NaT ***hāŋ̥ŋ̥a** (or ***hāya?**) 'palm of hand' and Tg ***pańŋ̥ja** ~ ***payŋ̥ja** id. || ?σ **D:** NED ***bōŋ̥-** > Krx **bōŋ̥-nā** 'to run, to run away', Mlt **bōŋ̥ge** 'run, flow' ¶ Pf. 194 [#180], D #4473 ◇ The SC and T cognates point to a pN ***p̥-**, but the T ev. is not decisive (because the T word is of ambiguous origin). S *-m- ~ *-n- and the labial elements in C, Ch, and probably in U suggest that the final vw. of the N etymon was labialized. If NED ***bōŋ̥-** belongs here, the N etymon may be reconstructed as ***[p̥]oŋ̥iŋ̥U**.

1753. ***pAŋ̥iŋ̥kṇ̥** 'joint, shoulder joint' > **HS:** S ***pnk** > Ar **fanīk-**, **pifnīk-** 'junction of the two jaws; root of a bird's tail' ¶ BK II 639, Hv.

577 || **U:** FU *paŋka 'shoulder (Achsel), shoulder-bone, wing' > F pankka (gen. panka-n) 'arm, shoulder (Achsel), wing' | ? Z bugun '(playing) knuckle-bone' || ObU *pāŋkəl > pVg *pāŋkəl 'shoulder-bone' > Vg: T paŋkəl, LK poŋkəl, MK/UK/NV/LL poŋkəl, P poŋʷkəl; pOs *paŋkəl 'shoulder-blade' > Os: V/Vy paŋqəl, Ty/Y pāŋqət, D paŋxət, Nz poŋxət, Kz poŋqət | UEW 355, SK 482, LG 41, Ht. #528 || ? **A** *p'En̥s'a' ({ADb. SR-D} *p'aŋsa) 'shoulder-blades or part of the back' > NaT *h̥eŋsä 'shoulder (?); back side of the neck\head' > MT äŋsä (كَسَّا, ενσὲ, ئۇسە) 'back of the head, nape of the neck', Chg بَنْكَسَّا | eŋsä 'withers (of a horse); nape of the neck (Nacken)', MQp {Houts.} äŋsä 'back of the head', [CC] eŋse id., 'nape', OOsm, Osm eŋse 'upper part of the back; behind, after', Az äŋsä 'occiput, withers of a horse', Ggz eŋsä id., 'neck', Tkm jen̥θe 'occiput, withers, back (dorsum)', CrTt {Rl.} äŋsä 'nape', Slr eŋse(ŋ) 'occiput', Kr äŋsə ~ eŋsa ~ ense id., 'back of the neck', VTt نَجْسَهِ iŋsə 'shoulder', Δ 'occiput' (→ Chv eŋse 'occiput'), Nog eŋse 'part of the back between the shoulder-blades', Qzq 'body', {Rl.} 'Nacken', StAlt eŋze, Qmn {B} äŋze 'hunch', QK {B} eŋze 'shoulder' | ADb. SR 126-8, 186-91 (T *äŋse), TL 236-8 (T *äŋsä|e), Rl. I 718-9, 748-9, TkR 3O7, Jud. 956, B DLT 23O || Tg *p̥isa {ADb.} 'shoulder-blade as part of the back' > Ewk I hišaki 'shouler-blade', Ewk V/Tk/Tmt/Tng isakī id., 'wing', Ewk Ald/Z/Urm/Uch ihakī 'shoulder-blade, bird's humerus', Sln isaxi, Neg (PSchm.) хесаки, Orc xisai, Ud {STM} s̥äi, {Krm.} s̥äri (~ s̥äri), Ul, Ork, Nn Nh p̥isa, Nn B ψισα(n-) 'shoulder-blade', Lm f̥isa, Mc Sb f̥isa, Jrc {Kiy., Md.} f̥isa (fēi-sāh) 'back (dos)' | STM II 329, Krm. 282, Kiy. 125 [#5O3], Md. ChF 135 | | ADb. MSR 9 [#9] (*p'εŋsa), ADb. SR 47, 3O6 [#9], ADb. SR-D 455 || **D** *pāŋk-({GS} *p-) 'side' > Tm pāŋku, pāŋkar, Ml pāŋku, paāŋηn 'side', Kn pāŋgu 'manner, form', Knd pāŋi in: gitoni pāŋi 'temple of head' | | D #4O53 ◇ The A stem belongs here if *-s- goes back to a sx. (*p'En̥s'a' < *p'En̥k-s'a'). The vowel narrowing (N *A [evidenced by U and D] > T *e and Tg *i) is still to be accounted for. It is likely to be due to the impact of a N internal front vw. (presumably *i), possibly through the stage *paŋŋ... (cf. A. Dybo's rec. of an A *p'aŋsa and a pT **äŋse).

1754. *P̥oŋs̥a 'dust' > **HS:** WCh ({Stl.} *p̥uci 'ashes'): NrBc: Cg {Sk.} púščn, Sir {Sk.} v̥ččki, {L in ChC} v̥ččkí 'ashes' | SBc {Sh.}: Grn būši,

Mbaru būší, Zem mbòc̄s̄ŋ id. || CCh: BM {IL in ChC}: Bu pənzu, Mrg
 pȳinždω id. | (?) McHigi {ChL}: HNk pcuri, HgF ps̄t̄di, Kps ps̄vdi, FIG
 ps̄vř, HgG ws̄vri id. | (?) McMdr: Glv {Rp.} áfçà, Gv {IL} fc_L^hà, {ChL}
 f̄t̄cà, Dgh {Frk.} fcùd̄é, {ChL} f̄(t̄)cuđe, Nkc {IL} fcú, {ChL} f̄t̄ca id. |
 McMtk: pMM {Ro.} *vitay > Mada {Ro.} žftá, {BrrB} áftà, žftà, Myn
 {Ro.} vžté, Mkt {Ro.} fckál, Mlk {Ro.} vžité, Zlg {Ro.} bítékʷé, Gzg {Lk.}
 ŋafco, {Ro.} fučù, Gzg Mj {Lk.} fuču 'ashes' ¶ Stl. ZCh 147 [#31], Sk. NB
 11, Sh. SB 2O, ChC s.v. 'ashes', JI II 4-5, ChL, RpB 4, Lk. G 117, 122, Ro.
 2O3, BrrB || IE: NaIE *pēs-, *pēns- 'dust, sand' > OI pām'su-h 'dust,
 sand, crumbled soil', Av pəsnu-š 'dust, rubbish', KhS phāna 'dust,
 mud', Oss I fānžk, Oss D funuk 'ashes' || Sl *pēs-ъkъ 'sand' > OC, OR
пѣсъкъ pěsъkъ, Blg 'пясък, SCr пѣсак ȝ piјesak, Slv pěsak, Cz
 písek, Slk piesok, P piasek, R пе'сок, Uk пі'сок ¶ P 824, M K II
 243, M E II 114-5, Bai. 261, Ab. I 449, Vs. II 249-5O, Glh. 478 || U: FU
 *pušćŋ-ŋŋ or *pušnŋ 'flour', v. 'strew' ('schütten') (× N ? *bušćŋ 'to
 rub, to grind' [q.v. ffd.]) || A: Tg *ponsa-(h-) 'dust' > Nn B fojsan
 'dust', Nn Nh fojsongo/u, Nn KU fojsaqtu 'turbid, smutty
 (закопченный)', Nn KU fojsangt- 'get dusty', WrMc fojsor, fojsongi ~ fojsungi 'dust, soot', fojsor- 'be covered wuth soot' ¶
 STM II 41.

1755. *p̥oq̥i 'to cover, to close' > **HS:** S (1) *^o✓pxy|w > OAk paxā?um, Ak pexū ~ paxū 'verschließen'; (2) CS *paxx- 'trap' > BHb נַחַת paħ 'trapping-net', JA [Trg.] {Js.} pāħā id., 'snare', Sr ׀אַחַת paħħ-ā 'laqueus, snare', Ar fāxx- 'snare for birds' ('filet pour prendre les oiseaux'), {Hv.} 'trap, snare, net' ¶ Sd. 853, KB 871, KBR 921, Js. 115O, Lv. T II 258, Br. 562, Fr. III 321, BK II 551, Hv. 549 || Eg N pχ̥ 'Vogelfalle aus Holz' (× Eg fOK pχ̥ 'Platte') ({EG}: → Hb and Aram, {Vc.}: ← S) > DEg pχ > Cpt Sd πασ̥ pāš, B φασ̥ pʰaš 'lacet, trappe, piège' ¶ EG I 543, Vc. 166, Tk. II 498-9 || Ch *✓pH > WCh ({Stl.} *pah): AG: Ang {ChL} p̥e, Su {J} pā v. 'cover' | BT: Gera {Nw.} fē, {ChC} fe-, Grm {Lk.} f-, {ChC} fa-, Bl pā, Krkr f- v. 'close' | Ron {J}: Klr fu, Fy pa v. 'close', Bks v̥o v. 'close, cover', DfB v̥oh, Klr fu, Sha vu v. 'close' | NrBc {Sk. NB and Sk. in ChC}: Cg, P', Jmb, Mbr pu(w)-, My púwá vt., vi. 'hide', Kry págwú vi. 'hide' || CCh: Lmn {Nw.} fo, {ChC} f- v. 'close', ? Lgn {Bou.} fágá v. 'cover' ¶ Nw. 24 [#25], Stl. ZCh 147 [#27], ChC, J S 78, J R 88, 147, 289, 352 ¶ SSAAJ I ##23 (S, Ch, Eg) || ?σ **K:** G P p̥-ev-/pi- 'sich eine Wunde mit etw. ausstopfen (zur Blutstillung)' ¶ Chx. 1458; the

absence of the expected G -χ- (< N *-q-) defies explanation, therefore it is doubtful that the K √ belongs here || IE: NaIE *pō- v. 'cover' > Gk πῶμα (< *pō-mn̥) 'lid, cover' || Gmc *fōðra- 'sheath, covering, cover' (< NaIE *pō(j)-/i*pəj-/pī- 'hüten, schützen, 'Vieh weiden' < pIE *peχy- v. 'protect, keep, take care of' < N *pEXQṇa 'keep, protect') > Gt fōðr 'θῆκη, sheath', ON fóðr 'case (Futteral), sheath', AS fōðor id., 'container (Behälter)', MLG vōðer 'Futter (des Kleides)', OHG fuotar 'Futteral, case', fēdar-fuotar 'tube of a plume (canna)', NHG Futter 'lining, coating; sheath' ¶ P 839, MK II 252-3, ME II 119, VI. I 385, Sg. 261, Horn 76, F II 634-5, Fs. 157-8, Vr. 136, Ho. 110, Kb. 229, 302, OsS 232, KM 227 || U *°poyN (or *°poíN?) > Sm {Jn.} *påy- 'be wrapped' > StNe T d. пэбтa-сь 'be wrapped, get tangled', Ne T O {Lh.} pəptā 'wickeln, verwickeln', Ng {Cs.} (1s aor. obcj.) fuikali'zema v. 'wrap', En {Cs.} X 'foho'rabo, En B 'foho'rabo id., Slq Ch {Cs.} pūuāng, Slq NP {Cs.} pūugan̥ 'sich verwickeln', Slq Tm {KD} aor. 1s pūdag_ 'svepa in sig' ('wrap oneself') ¶ Jn. 115, Ter. 500, Cs. 168, 170 ¶ Here only if the U etymon is *°poyN ◇ AG *p- and Eg p- (unless the Eg word is a loan) suggest a N *p-.

1756. ?φ ο ₂ *PuqN (or *PüqN?) 'to let out air\gas', ? 'to emit smell' > HS: S *°-pūχ-, *√ pwx > Ar √ fwx, -fūχ- 'se répandre partout' (se dit d'une odeur), 'lâcher des vents'; (< WS *-pūħ-, *√ pwh v. 'blow', vi. to smell' < N ο *puħN 'blow [blasen]']) Sr √ pwh (pf. pāħ) v. 'exhale, give out odour' ¶ BK II 644, Br. 559, JPS 436, MiK I #2.54 || S *√ npx 'breathe, blow' (originally a cd. N *nop'E¹ 'breathe, blow' + *PuqN 'let out air', see s.v. N *nop'E¹) || K *°puq- > G da-puq- 'aus etwas (Aufblasenem) entweicht die Luft' ¶ The glottalization *q > *q̥ may be due to the onomatopoeic factor ¶ Chx. 1510 || Cf. also N *puħN '↑', especially for Bj, Ch, IE, U, and A cognates (where one cannot distinguish between N *puħN and N *PüqN, because in these lgs. the reflexes of N *ħ and *q̥ have merged).

1757. *'p'aqE?N or *'p'aq₁N, ?E 'skin, film, bark' > HS: S *°¹paķ₁N, ?- > Ar faq?- 'membrane envelopping the head of the foetus', faq?-at-'membrane envelopping the head and the nose of the foetus' ¶ BK II 618, Hv. 570 || C: SC: Kz {E} paʔuko 'bark' ({Tk.}: -ʔ- < *-k-?) || Dhl {EEN} páķo 'tree bark' || ? EC: Kmb {Hd.} buku(ta) '(piece of) bark' || Ag: Aw pāq 'bark' ¶ E SC 143, E K 2, Hd. 312, Blz. CWL, Blz. CL 176, EEN 7 || NrOm {Bnd.} ≈ *poķ- 'bark' > Omt {Bnd.} foķo, Ym {Bnd.} fōča id.,

Gnj/Kcm {Si.} po'ko id., Wl {AlA} pok-uwa, {LmS} fokuwa, Gf {AlA} fočo, Gm {Hw.} pokó ~ pečé, {AlA} pokēδ, Drz/Cnc {AlA} pokō, Dwr {AlA} pok-uwa, {LmS} fokoa 'bark'; NrOm *pok- v. 'peel' > Gm {Hw.} pokō, Wl {LmS} fōkķ-, Dc {LmS} fokķ- id., ?? Ym {LmS} fōč- 'rub, peel, whittle' (unless = Ym {Wdk.} fóčā v. 'wipe, massage'); SSAAJ I #18 mentions Omt foq (= foč-?) v. 'tan leather' (without indicating the dialect and the source) ¶ Bnd. PO 149, Blz. OL #149, Si. ACh. 3, AlA ODS 5, Hw. EG s.v. 'bark' and 'peel', LmS 351-3, Wdk. BY 122 || Ch: WCh: DfB {J} fákūt, Klr {J} fakut, {IL in ChC} fákʰw̥tʰ 'skin' | Ang {Flk.} pok v. 'peel, skin' || Ngz {Sch.} pà-pkú 'scrape (bark)' || CCh: Dgh {Frk.} v̥yà, v̥yè, {ChL} vùyè id. | ? Mofu -pokʷ- v. 'peel', to-pokʷ 'husk' | Bnn {ChL} p̥ék t̥nù 'skin (of body)', Zm {KNC} bōk 'peau que les vieux attachent comme cache-sexe', Ms {Cait.} bák (df. bák-ŋà) 'skin', Azm {Pc.} bákà 'animal skin' || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} p̥ág hum 'to skin' (hum 'skin'), ?? hōgōn 'bark' | ? Ke {Eb.} poké 'auszupfen, Baumwolle ernten' | EDgl {Fd.} pokkiyè 'décapsuler' | ? Mkl {J} pàkírté 'écorce' ¶ Stl. IF 31-2, Cp. 51, Eb. 88, ChL, KNC 2, Caït. 48, Pc. 81 ¶ Tk. SCC 75 [#2.5]; OS #1935 (Ar, CCh, Dhl), ≠ SSAAJ I #18 || K *°p̥q'a > G px̥a 'Nagelhäutchen' ¶ Chx. 1517, DCh. 1321 ¶ *r̥q' for the expected *q due to as.: **p̥q' > *p̥q || IE: NaIE *pokō-/*pečo-, *peču- 'fleece' (→ 'wool, hair') > Gk πόκος 'sheep's wool, fleece', πέκω / gen. -ους 'fleece', ποκή, Gk Mc poka 'sheep's wool' (x ← πέκω v. 'comb\card wool') || AS feht ~ feht 'fleece', Dt vacht 'wool, hide', OSw fæt (< *fahti-) 'wool, fleece', Gmc *faxsa- > OSx fahs, AS feax '(head)hair', OHG fahs id., 'curl (Locke)', ON fax 'mane' || Arm ասր asr (gen. ասուլ asu) 'sheep's wool, fleece' || NPrs پشم pāšm 'wool, pubic hair', OI pakšman- ntr. 'eyelashes', Av pašnām 'eyelid' ¶ P 797, M K II 184, M E II 62-3, F II 492-3, Ch. 872, VI. I 366, Me. EAC 82, 142, 152, Slt. 125-6, Ho. 1OO, 1O3, Ho. S 17, Vr. 114, Vr. N 762, Kb. 216, OsS 158, ≈ M K II 184 (IE *peč- 'Wolle zupfen'), ≈ EI 57O (the above words < *peč- pull\comb out (wool)), Grgv. BEO 128 (derives Arm asr from IE *pokū- 'Vieh' + *-r-, but believes that Arm asr goes back to a Phr loanword from Daco-Moesian - because Arm -a- is a reg. reflex of IE *-o- in DM, but not in Arm); in some IE lgs. there is a merger: N *r̥p̥aqE?N or *r̥p̥aq,N,?E × IE *peč- v. 'comb, pull out (hair, wool)' (< N *p̥EχkN 'rub, scrape' [q.v.]) × IE *pokū / *pečwe- 'cattle' (< N *pokü '(herds of) ruminant animals, wild cattle' [q.v.]) || D *pakk. ({GS} *p-) 'scab, crust (dried portion of a bodily secretion)' > Tm

pakku 'scab of a sore, dried mucus of the nose', Kn hakku 'crusted or dry mucus of rheum, scab', hakka^{le} 'an incrustation', Tl pakku 'scab', Gdb pakku 'dried portion of any bodily secretion, scab' ॥ D #3811 ◇ Ang pok v. 'peel\skin' provides ev. for a N *p-, but this is not enough because the Ang word is isolated within WCh and because its meaning (alternatively derivable from different N words, e.g. *pExk^W '↑') makes the connection *qu*. Tg *püg- v. 'flay' (> Nn Nh, Ork puyi-, U1 puyu-, Orc, Ud sī-, Ewk, Lm hix-, Neg. xix-, F STM II 323, Krm. 283) hardly belongs here because both its vw. and its voiced medial cns. are not expected in reflexes of N *'p'agE^W or *'p'ag_L^W,?E. On the Altaic connection of this Tg root see DQA #1799 (A *p'jūg^W 'flay, cut').

1758. *par^W 'to fly, to jump' > HS: WS *✓pr̥r v. 'fly' (x N *pAr_Ly_L^W 'to run, to flee', q.v.) > Jb ✓frr (Jb E pf. 'fer, Jb C pf. fer(r), sbjn. 'yɔffər) v. 'fly, jump up quickly', Mh ✓frr (pf. fər, sbjn. yɔfrēr) v. 'fly, jump up', Hrs ✓frr (pf. fər, sbjn. yɔfrēr) v. 'fly, jump, spring', Sq {L} fər 'voler, planer'; rdp.: Ar O {L} ip. yfarfur 'voltiger' ॥ Jo. J 59, Jo. M 96-8, Jo. H 33, L LS 341-2 || Eg fOK pʒ v. 'fly' ॥ EG I 494, Fk. 87 || B *✓frH~*✓frr~*✓?fr v. 'fly, fly away' > Nf {Beg.} fār (pf. ifār) v. 'fly', Sll {Ds.} firri (pf. ifarra), Izd {Mrc.} afuru (pf. yafru), ZAS {Loub.} afuru (pf. yifru ~ yufru) v. 'fly', Wrg afār imv. (pf. yufār) v. 'fly, fly away', Ah fārārat 's'envoler'; B *✓frfr 'voler, s'envoler, volet' > SrSn fārfār 'voler, s'envoler', Shl Sm fārfār (pf. iffair) 'volet', Kb ffārfār 's'envoler, voler' (infl. of the onomatopoeic verb ffārfār 'battre les ailes'), Mz ffārfār 'voler, s'envoler', Wrg ffārfār 'voler de ci et de là, volet'; ? Kb ✓frws (imv. friwəs, pf. yəfrawəs) 'sursauter' ॥ Dl. 216, 229, Ds. 297, Fc. 355, Rn. 299, Loub. 535, Dlh. Ou 79, Dlh. M 50, La. S 313, Beg. 265, NZ 597-8 || C {AD} ✓pr(r) v. 'fly, jump', {E} *par-/*pir-/*pur- id. > Bj {R} fir, fīr (~ bīr, bir) 'Flug', Bj {Rop.} fār- scv. 'hop, spring, jump', {AD} far-, {R} far- v. 'jump' ('springen, hüpfen'), fār (pl. fār) 'Sprung, saltus' || Ag: Bln {R} fir y- v. 'fly', Aw {Hz.} p̥rr v. 'jump' || EC: Ya {E ← ?} peri v. 'fly', Sml {ZMO} fatanfardē 'jump, gambol about', Sml N {Abr.} faranfardáynayā prs. 'gambol about' || SC: → Mb {E} púru v. 'fly', -púrupúru v. 'hop' ॥ AD SF 45-6, E PC #65, R WBd 50, 81, Rop. 180-1, ZMO 134, Abr. S 77, E SC 321 || Om: Sōm: Dm {Fl.} far(um) v. 'fly' || NrOm: Bsk {Fl.} fər, Gemu {Fl.} fir, Gm {Hw.} piráðo v. 'fly' ॥ Fl. OAF 89, Fl. OO 318, Hw. EG s.v. 'fly' || Ch *✓pr v. 'jump, (?) to fly' (≈ {Nw.} *pərə v. 'fly, jump') > WCh: AG: Gmy {Hf.} pār v.

'jump', Kfr {Nt.} *pār* id. | Hs *fīrā* v. 'soar into the air' (of a bird) || CCh: Bdm {Bou.} *fīr* id., Msg {Trn.} *pīr'*, fMSg G {MB} *pər-* v. 'jump', ?*l* Gude {Hsk.} *pər* ~ *fīr* 'flying away' (of bird) (verbal *l*) || Smr {J} *pār* v. 'jump', Kwn {Lens.} *pōrē* v. 'jump' (pl.) ¶ JI II 21O-1, ChC, Nw. 26 [#51], Abr. H 268, Ba. 323, Hsk. 184, 255, Lens. 111 ¶ Tk. I 55, Tk. SCC 75 [#2.3], Tk. PAA 1 || K: [1] K {K} *^o*per-* v. 'fly' > Sv *li-pēr* v. 'fly' (UB {GP} 'start to fly'), *pēr-n-i* '(he) flies', Sv UB *nä-pēr* 'bird', Sv LB *näpwr* (small) bird'; [2] GZ {K} **pren-*/**prin-* v. 'fly' > OG, G *pr-in-/pr-en-*, Mg *purin-*, Lz *purtin-* id.; FS reconstruct K **par-* (tacitly considering **prin-* to be a d.) on the alleged ev. of OG *prte* 'wing' (which hardly belongs to the same √, cf. N *^r*pūrūy* 'wing, feather(s)'); [3] ? G *parpat-* 'sachte fliegen, schweben, gaukeln' ¶ K 152-3, 19O, K² 149, 2O3, FS K 247-8, 312, FS E 273, 348-9, Chx. 145O-1, TK 444, 626, GP 164, 229 || IE: NaIE **per-* v. 'fly', {Bn.} 'flotter en air, se déplacer dans l'espace' > Sl **per-* / **pēra-* v. 'fly' > ChS *пeрж* *per-q* (inf. *п(ь)рaтн* *p(ь)rā-ti*) v. 'fly', Sl iter. **pař-* / **pari-* > ChS, OR inf. *пaрнти* *pariti* 'to fly' ('πέτεσθαι') ({Srz.}): RChS **птиця** **пaрaшaтa** **нa земля** 'пeтeиnа пeтóмeнa єпi тiк' (Gen. 1.2O), R *па'рю*, *па'ритъ* v. 'float in the air' (birds) || Hrn {Bn.} **per-* > NPrs *پریدن* *pārī-dän* 'to fly' ¶ Not here Ht *partawar* 'wing' (↔ Trb. in Vs. III 2O7), see N *^r*pūrūy* '↑' ¶ Bn. HR 36-41, Vs. III 2O7, Mikl. L 565-6, 659, Mikl. E 24O-1, Srz. II 881, Chrn. II 6, VI. I 354, Bai. 231, ≠ P 817 || U *^o*pār* 'jump' > Sm: Ne T {Ter.} *pārtām-* 'jump quickly to one's feet', {Lh.} *partam-* 'plötzlich aufspringen', ? {Ter.} *pārombā* 'in a hurry, hurriedly', Δ *pārombā-* v. 'hurry', ? {Lh.} *paro-*, *porombā-* 'be in a hurry', *porolā-* 'beschleunigen, zu Eile antreiben' ¶ Not here pObU **pōrəy-* v. 'jump, fly', that belongs to N **pūrūgā* 'to jump' (q.v.) ¶ ≈ UEW 414, Ter. 449-45O, Lh. 339, 358, Hl. rHt 74-5 (on distinction between the ObU reflexes of U **w* and **k* [{AD}: and **v-*] that suggests that ObU **pōrəy-* does not belong here), Ht. #538 || A **pār* > Tg (att. in NrTg) **par-* v. 'float in the air' (of birds) > Ewk *hāri-* v. 'float in the air, fly together' (birds), Ewk Tng (*h*)*arikta-* 'fly high up' ('зaлететь вyсoкo'), Neg *хзыwзn-* 'float in the air' (a bird), Lm *harwançala-* id., 'fly down (circling in the air)' ('спускаться кружась') (of a bird) ¶ STM II 317 || D **pār*-/**par-* ({GS} **p-*) v. 'fly, run' > Tm *parā* v. 'fly, flutter', *pārū* v. 'run, flee', Ml *pārūka* v. 'fly', *parakka* v. 'fly, flee', Kt *parn-* v. 'fly, run without stopping', Td *pōr-* v. 'fly', Kn *pari*, *paru* 'flying, running swiftly',

pār, pāru v. 'leap up, run, jump, fly', Kdg pār v. 'fly, leap', Tu pāruni v. 'run, fly, escape', OTl {Km.} pāru v. 'run, flee', Tl pāru v. 'run, flow, fly', Gnd pari- ~ pori- ~ pari- ~ paři- v. 'fly', Kui pāsk- id. ¶ D #4O2O, Km. 429 [#815] ¶ The meaning 'flee, run' may be due to the infl. of the D √ *par^Δ 'run, flee' (D #3963) < N *pĀr₁y₂^Δ 'run, flee' ◇ ≈ Gr. II #164 (*par 'fly' v.) (U + IE, Y, A, J, Gil words for 'feather', without distinguishing this N word from N *p'ur₁y₂^Δ 'wing, feather[s]').

1759. *P¹A¹R^Δ 'finger' and *P₁ĀR₁y₂^Δ 'finger, thumb' > **HS:** C {AD} *p^Δr- > LEC *fer- 'finger' > Af {PH} fēra, Sa {R} ferā id.; pSam *farr- ({Hn.} *far-) 'finger' > Sml {DSI} far (pl. farro), Sml J far (pl. farńa), Bn far (pl. farɔ̄) 'finger', Rn fár (pl. {PG} fàrró, {Hn.} far'ró, {Oo.} fa'ro), Bs {HL} fer 'finger, toe', {Fl.} pér 'finger', Elm fárrit, fárr, Arr farrit (pl. farró) id. ¶ AD SF 41-2, Bl. 117, PH 1O1, DSI 217, Hn. NBLK 2O5, Hn. S 59, Oo. 67, PG 113, Hw. A 357, ≈ HL 93 (Bs fer < C *(z)eber 'finger') || Ch: WCh: AG: Kfr {Nt.} furap-sár 'fingers' (sár means 'hand') || ECh: EDng {Fd.} pérnē 'finger' (pérme in JI II 137 is a misprint), Mgm {JA} pùrrùn (pl. pòrònna ~ pòrinná) 'ongle, griffe', Mu {J} féri 'finger' || CCh: HgW1 {Mk.} piri 'fingernail' (to be separated from the reflexes of N *p'äíx|y^Δ 'thumb, [?] finger' in the Higi gr. [HgW1 {Mk.} pülla 'finger', HgMd {Mk.} bülli, HgMk {Mk.} büll3, HgSn büllε id.] and in other CCh lgs. [see s.v. N *p'äíx|y^Δ]) ¶ ChC, JI II 136-7, ChL, Fd. 59, Nt. 13, JA LM 117, Mk. I ¶ Not here (↔ Blz. OLBP 13 [#36]) NrOm *part-/ *parç-/ *birad- 'finger' (< N *P^ΔR^Δč₁x₂^Δ 'fingernail, claw' [q.v.]) || IE [1]: Tc A prār, B prāri 'finger' ¶ Wn. 3O, Ad. 414-5, Ad. H 12O | ? [2]: mt.: NaIE *penKro- ({WP, Bc.} *penkwro-) (< N *P₁ĀR₁y₂^Δ 'finger, thumb') > Gmc *fingra- 'finger' (× NaIE *penkwros 'a group of five' [> OI cóicer id.] ← *penkwé 'five') > Gt figgrs, AS finger, ON fingr, OSx, OHG finger, NHG Finger, OFrs, Sw, Dn, Nrw finger 'finger', NE finger ¶ WP II 26, P 8O8, FT 218, F 15O, Bc. 24O, Fs. 15O, Vr. 12O, Kb. 245, Ho. 1O5 || A [1] *p'äränjä 'thumb' > T: NaT *härnæk 'finger' or 'thumb' ({Cl.} *ärnääk, {ADb. SR} *ärnääk, {ADb. NPAJ} *ärnek) > OT ernek ~ erñä, Chg ernek ~ ärmäk 'finger', MU erňák [Rbg.] 'finger', [IM] 'thumb', Alt ergek ~ erkek, Tb/QK {B}, Shor ergek, Xk irgek, Tf εrgék, Yk ärbäx 'thumb', Tv eršek 'thumb, small finger' ¶ ADb. NPAJ 1-7, Cl. 234, ET Gl 299-3OO, TL 253-4, ADb. SR 318, BT 193 || M *ψerekeyi

'thumb' > MM [S] *heregay*, WrM *er(e)kei*, HlM эрхий, Brt эрхы, Kl эркэ *erkā*, Ord *ere^h"xī*, Dg B *xergi*, Dg Hl *ergi* 'thumb'; but MnR H *χuri* and Ba *χur* 'finger' belong to M **quruγ* 'finger' ¶ Pel. 29-1O [#13], ADb. NPAJ 38-9, ADb. SR 321, H 75, MED 322, KRS 703, KW 125, Ms. O 243, T 378, T DgJ 75 || Tg **pereñen* ~ **püreñen* 'thumb' > Ewk *hurušun*, Sln *zrgū* ~ *zrgž*, {Iv.} *or'gun* ~ *ur'gun* ~ *uru'gun*, Lm *hōrъyъn*, Neg *хόузыз*, Orc *хōно(n-)*, Ud *хуз*, Ul *poro* / *poron-*, *puru* / *purun-*, Nn Nh *pərxz*, WrMc *ferxe* 'thumb' ¶ STM II 354, Krm. 307, ADb. NPAJ 40 ¶ DQA #1750 (A **p'er* 'thumb') || A [2] **par₁naK*, 'finger' > T **parŋak* ({Md.} **p'ja·rŋak*) > NaT **parmaq* ~ **parnaq* 'finger' > MU, Chg, XwT *barmaq*, OOsm *barmaq* ~ *parmaq*, Tk *parmak*, Δ *barmaq*, ET *barmaq* ~ *pamaq*, ET H *parmaq*, Ggz *parmak*, Az *barmag*, Tkm, Bsh, Qmq *barmaq*, Slr *parmax*, VTt *barmaq*, Δ *barnaq* 'finger', Qzq, Qrg, ET *barmaq* 'thumb' || Chv *pürne* 'finger' ¶ ADb. NPAJ 1-7, ET B 66-7, TL 253-5, ADb. SR 319-21, Md. 113, 174, Fed. I 461-2, Dr. G 449, ~ Jeg. 172 || Tg **pargan* > Ewk *hargan* 'unity of length (~ 1 cm)' ¶ STM II 317 ¶ DQA #1648 (A **pjäri* 'finger, finger width [a measure]', incl. T, Tg). ADb. 319-21 (T, M, Tg) || E: NEl *pu-ur* 'finger' or 'thumb' ¶ HK 241-2 ◇ The difference between A **a* and *ä* in **par₁naK* vs. **päränä* may be accounted for by vowel harmony (different results of regr. as. from the pN word, if it was **P_aREŋ|ñak* or **PäRāŋ|ñak*). N **pAR₁ŋ|ñak* 'finger' survives in A **par₁naK*, **päränä*, and probably (with mt.) in Gmc **fingra-*, N **P^rA^rR* 'finger' is represented in C, Ch, and Tocharian. N **P₁AR₁ŋ|ñak* is probably a cd. with N **P^rA^rR* as its first component, which is the only reason of our tentative rec. of N **A* in **P^rA^rR* ◇ In T and in Ch there is variation between the regular reflexes of N **p-* and of N **p̥-*. It needs investigating ◇ Cf. IS III 70-7 (**p^ra^rä* 'fingernail', not distinguishing between the etymon in question and N **P₁NR₁č₁X₁* 'fingernail, claw') → Glh. 507.

1760. **P₁Arū* 'stone, rock' > IE **perw-*/**peru-* 'rock, mountain' (× N **por^rä^rṇ* 'summit, top', q.v.) > Ht *peru-*, *peruna-* 'rock, cliff, boulder', ? *pirwa-* {Frd.} 'rock', {Ts.} 'eine bestimmte Felsgottheit' || OI 'parvata- 'rocky' (< **perwnto-*), 'parvatah' 'mountain, rock', Av *pa^urvatā-* 'Gebirge' ¶ Frd. HW 68, Ts. W 63-4, CHD P 314-5, M K II 228, M E II 99, EI 547 (**peru* 'rock') || HS: Ch: CCh: Hw {ChL} *fera*, *fērē*, Jr {ChL} *vere* 'stone' | HgNk {ChC} *purre*, {ChL} *pīré*, Kps {Mch.} *pere*, {ChL} *pūré* id. | Gude {Mch.} *farin*, {ChL} *fára*, FIM {ChC, ChL} *fara*, BtG

{Mch.} *førę*, BtZ {Mch.} *fırra*, BtM {ChL} *fúrà* 'stone', Bcm {Sk.} *fára* 'stone, rock' | Gv {ChL} *fúràdà*, Glv {ChL} *fúrdexa* 'stone', Glv {Rp.} *fúrdaxa* 'rock' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} *párki* 'stone, rock, mountain', {Eb. in ChC} *párgí* 'rock' ¶ ChC, ChL, Eb. 88 || D **pář-* 'rock, large stone' > Tm *pářai* 'rock, crag, hillock', ? (< d.?) *pář* 'rock', Ml *pářa* 'rock, large stone', Kdg *páře* 'flat stone, stone slab', Tu *pářæ*, Krg *háde* 'rock', Prj *pářa* 'skab of stone', Gnd *pářum* 'rock, boulder' ¶ D #4121 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 16O [#86] (D, CCh + unc. NrOm **pal-* 'stone').

1761. **p̥e̥rṇ* ~ **p̥ûHrṇ* (both from **p̥û?e̥rṇ*?) 'fruit' > **HS:** S: [1] WS **piriy-* 'fruit' > BHb (paus.) פִּרְיָה 'p̥erī', (ctx.) פִּרְיִם 'p̥erīm' 'fruit, offspring', SmHb פִּרִּי id., Ph *pr* 'fruits', Ug *pr* ({Hnr.}) = **pirū* < **piryu*, Sr פִּרְיָה 'p̥erī' | ¶ *p̥e̥<?>r-ā*, Md *pira*, Gz *fərē* 'fruit'; [2] WS *✓*pry* (*-pray) v. 'bear fruit, be fruitful, fertile' (× N **PAr̥i?* 'bring forth, give birth', q.v.) > BHb פִּרְהַנְּתַבְּרֵה 'p̥erāh', ip. יִפְרֹה 'p̥erōh' 'be fruitful', JEA ✓*pry* 'grow, bear fruit', Sr ✓*pry* 'be fruitful', Gz ✓*fry* (js. -fray) v. 'bear fruit, be fruitful', Tgr ✓*fry* (pf. *fera*) 'Frucht tragen' ¶ KB 907, 910-1, KBR 963-8, Br. 555, HJ 936-7, A 2261, Hnr. 288 (fn. 93), OAS 353, JH 234, Js. 1225, Sl. 932-3, LH 659 || Eg fOK *pr.t* 'fruit', DEg *pr* 'Korn, Getreide' (× Eg fMK *pr.t* 'Same, Nachkommenschaft' < N **PAr̥i?* 'bring forth') ¶ EG I 530-1, Fk. 91, Er. 135, Vc. 39 || C: Bj ✓*fry* pcv. ({R} p. 'a-fri, prs. a-fanrī') 'Knospen, Blüten treiben', *fär* (pl. *far*) 'Blüte, Blume, Knospe' || Ag: Bln {R} *fr̥i-/-friy-* v. 'bear fruit', *fri'y-* *aŋ* 'fruchbringend, fruchtbar', Xm {R} *fir-* 'bear fruit' (a tree); pAg **fɔ̥l-* ({Ap.} **fär-*) 'fruit' > {Ap.} Bln/Xm *fɔ̥ra*, Q *fɔ̥ri* || EC: Sa {R} -*faray* 'blossom, bear fruit', *fi'rē* 'Blüte, Frucht', ??ϕ Sml {ZMO} *birre* 'spear of grain (with husk), grass flower' (unless ÷ Rn *bír* 'tip, peak of sth.') ¶ R WBd 81, R WB 125, R Ch. II 43, R S II 137, ZMO 41, PG 78-9, Ap. AV 10 || B: Gnc AFARO = {Wlf.} a-*farø* 'Korn', ? Ty *ufær*, ETwl *uffær* 'pain en farine de jujubes', ?? Rf *afərfur* 'couscous de sorgho; soupe de maïs' ¶ Wlf. 502, Z 606, NZ 606. 609 ¶ Cf. SSAAJ I #31 ¶ In S, Bj, and Ag the verb *✓*pry* (> *✓*fry*) v. 'bring fruit' coalesced with *✓*pry* v. 'have offspring, bring forth, beget' (see ffd. N **PAr̥i?* 'bring forth, give birth') || U: FU **perṇ* ~ **pärṇ* 'cone, bud' (× N **bärſā* 'bud, leaf' [q.v. ffd.], whence the variant **pärṇ* and the meaning 'bud') || A **p̥uri* 'seed, fruit' > M **ψüre* 'fruit, grain' (× M **ψüre* 'child, posterity' [whence WrM *üre*, HlM ψρ 'posterity', and Kl ürn 'child, baby', F N **pôr'i'* 'child, offspring']) > MM [HI] *hüre* 'seed' ('semences'), [PP] *hüre*

'fruit', WrM *üre*, HlM *yp* {MED} 'seed, grain, fruit', {Gl.} 'fruit, grain, seed', MnR H {SM} *furiē* 'semence, graine, fruit', Dx *fure* 'seed, grains', Ba *fure* 'seed' ¶ Pel. 237 [#65], Ms. H 62, MED 1O11, Gl. I 331, SM 11O-1, Pp. PP 124, T DnJ 138, T BJ 149, T 371 || T **h*urug 'seed' ({Md.} **u·rug* 'seed') > OT {Cl.} *uruγ* 'seed, pip, kernel', Chg *uruq* ~ *uruγ* 'relatives, clan', MQp *uruq* 'clan', [CC] 'clan, progeny', OOsm *uruγ*, *uruq* 'seed, progeny', Qzq *ūriq*, ru 'seed', Qrg *urū*, Ln *uγuγ* ~ *oγoq* 'seed, clan', Uz *uruγ*, Qq *uriq* ~ *uruw* id., 'tribe', ET *uruγ* 'seed, grain', Tkm {TkR} *uruγ*, Az Δ *uruγ*, Nog *iruw*, VTt *iru*, Bsh *iriw*, SY *oruγ* 'clan', Tk *uruk* 'tribe', Kr *uruw* 'clan, tribe', Yk *urū* 'relatives, kinsmen, litter of animals', Tv *uruγ* 'child', Chv: L *vāpā v̄r̄b*, H *v̄rb̄* 'seed'; T → M: WrM *urug* 'wife's relatives; relatives', HlM, Br *ураг*, Kl *ург* 'relatives' ¶ Cl. 214-5, ≈ ET Gl 6O4-6 (err. Tkm *urūγ*, pT **urūγ*), TL 115-6, 3O7-8, 323-4, Jud. 8O7, Ash. V 313, Jeg. 49, Fed. I 1O9, Md. 59, 182, ET Gl 6O4-6, Ra. 237 || pKo {S} **pōrī* 'barley' > MKo *pōrī*, NKo *pori* ¶ S QK #935, Nam 26O, MLC 79O || ? pJ [1] {S} **p̄z* or **p̄gā* 'ear of grain' > OJ *p̄w̄jō* > J: T/Kg *hō*, K *hō* ¶ S QJ #378, Mr. 413] [2] ?? J {S} **pú* 'growth, поросль' > OJ *pu*, J: T *ψū*, K *ψū*, Kg *ψū* ¶ S QJ #1147, Mr. 416 || ? AdS of Tg **p̄yr-* ({Bz.} *pōr-*) 'woman with her children, family, female with its youngs' < N **pōr'i* 'child, offspring', q.v. ffd.) ¶ The meanings 'child' (in Tv) and 'posterior, progeny' (in many lgs.) of this √ is partially due to coalescence with the heritage of N **pōr'i* '↑' (q.v.) ¶ DQA #1829 (A **p̄ūri* 'seed', incl. T, M, Tg, K, pJ **pú*) || IE: NaIE **pōro-* 'corn, grain' > Gk πῦρος 'wheat', Gk D πῦρῆν 'stone of fruit' || Lt *pūras* 'grain of winter-wheat', pl. *pūraī* 'winter-wheat', Ltv *pūrī* id., Pru *pure* 'Trespe, bromegrass (*Bromus secalinus*)' | Sl **p̄tr̄b* 'cereal' > RChS **пъро** *p̄tro* 'ѡλυрѡ' (ε cereal), millet', Cz, Slk *pýr*, P *perz*, HLs *pýr* 'Triticum repens', d.: R *пырей*, Uk *пирій* ~ *пєрій*, Blg *пирей*, Cz *pýř*, LLs *pýr* id., SCr *p̄ir*, Slv *p̄ir* 'spelt' || AS *fyr(e)s* 'furze', NE *furze* ¶ WP II 83, ≈ EI 639 (**puH'ro-s* 'wheat'), F II 631, Tr. 232, Frn. II 671, Vs. III 419, Brü. 4O2, Trof. 24O, Ma. CS 4O9, Ho. 12O ◇ DQA #1829 (A, IE).

1762. *PeR▽ 'ground, earth' > HS: CCh: G'nd *fírtà*, Bk *fúrtà* 'ground' ¶ ChL || S: Ak *parattu* 'Festland' ¶ Sd. 832 || U: FU **per'a* ~ **pora*: [1] FU **per▽* 'mud, swampy place' (× N ***beR▽** 'mud, swamp', q.v. ffd.); [2] FV **pora* > F *porikko* 'aufgeschwollene Erde' | Mk 'pora' 'grove' ¶ UEW 374-5, MF 1O6, PI 215, LG 22O || A: M **ψiru-γal* (~ *-

γαρ) 'ground, soil, bottom' > MM [S, HI] *hiru[?]ar* [hiru₂ar] 'Boden, Grund', WrM *irugār* ~ *irugal* 'bottom, ground', HIM ёроол, Ord *irōl*, Kl йорал *yorāl*, Brt оёоп 'bottom (of a vessel, river, sea), base' || H 76, Ms. H 6O, Pel. 217 [#26], MED 415, Gl. I 196, KRS 28O, Chr. 35O, Ms. O 387-8, S AJ 241 (#178) || Tg **pere* 'bottom (of a vessel, river), floor' (× N ***P**₁**e****r**Δ 'bottom, buttocks', q.v. ffd.) || S AJ 12, 282 (#16O) (A **p[‘]jer*Δ), SDM97 (A **p[‘]jer*Δ), ≈ SDM97 (A **p[‘]eri* 'floor, ground, earth', incl. M, Tg] ◇ FU *-o- in **pora* and M *-i- in **φiru-* are still to be explained ◇ Connected (or originally identical) with ***P**₁**e****r**Δ 'bottom, buttocks'?

1763. ***p**₁**e****r**Δ (= ***p**₁**e****r**[‘]o?) 'lip, edge' > HS: C **p*Δ*r*- 'lip' (→ 'face') > Bj {R} *fir* 'face (Gesicht, Antlitz)', {Rop.} *fīr* 'face, surface' || EC: Sml *farūr* {ZMO} 'lip', {DSI} 'lip; hare-lip', Sml N {Abr.} *fárūr* 'hare-lip, (camel's) split lip', Rn {PG} *fūrūr* 'lip, edge' || R WBd 81, Rop. 18O, Abr. S 77, ZMO 136, DSI 222, PG 117, E PC #181 (**far-*/**fir-* 'lower face' > Bj, Sml; *÷ Aw *pən* 'face' [F AD SF 45]) || K **pīr*- 'lip, edge' > OG, G *pīr-i* 'mouth, edge, lip', Mg *pīž-i* 'mouth; face; edge; bank, shore', Lz *pīž-i* 'mouth; face; bank, shore'; (× N ***P**₁**e****l**̄ē - ***P**₁**e****l**̄ē 'side of body, side') Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} *pīl* 'lip; edge, (river-)bank' || K 153, Chik. 5O-1, Q 299, Marr 179, TK 681-2, GP 253, Dn. s.v. *pīl-*, Wrd. 613, 1O1O-1 || IE: [1] Ht *puri* 'lip; rim, edge, border' | [2] IE **per-* (with a hardly identifiable meaning; {P}: 'das Hinausführen über'), a noun used (in its different case forms) as adv., pv., and prep., which goes back to a merger of several N words, including N ***p**₁**e****r**Δ 'lip, edge'; a contribution of this N word is the meaning 'in front, forward, before': (2a) IE **pro*, **prō* 'in front of, forward, before, forth' > OI 'prā- px. id., Av *frā*, *fra-*, OPs px. *fra-* 'vorwärts, voran' || Gk πρό (pv., prep.) in front of, before', πρω-πέρυστι 'two years ago' || L *prō* prep., *prō-*, *prō-* (in cds.) 'before, in front of; for', *prōnus* 'inclined forward' || Gl [GlE] *hro* 'nimium' (read by Vn. as *rō*), MW *ry*, Br *re* 'too (zu)', Crn *re-* (in *rewan* 'too weak'), W *rhy* 'too, very', OIr *ro-*, W *r(h)y-*, OBr *ro-*, *ru-*, MBr, Br *ra-*, pv. and px. of intensity (OIr *ro-már* 'too big', W *rhy-fawr* 'very big') || in the Gmc px. (Gt *fra-*, OSx, AS *for-*, OHG *fir-*, *far-*, NHG *ver-*) it is hard to define its exact meaning and to distinguish between semantic components of different origin: N ***p**₁**e****r**Δ 'lip, edge' (→ 'front') and N ***P**₁**ΔR**Δ 'to cross, to pass through' || Sl **pra-* 'Ur-', e.g. OCS **п**рѧдъдъ *pradědъ*, R, Blg 'прадед, SCr *пра́дъдъ*

дед $\ddot{\text{a}}$ prà-djed 'grand-grandfather' (lit. 'for-grandfather'), Cz prales, P pralas, Uk праліс 'primeval forest, Urwald', Blg пра-майка 'mother of mankind' || Ht {Frd., Ts., CHD} peran ~ {Ts.} piran (adv., prec., postp.) 'before, in front of; previously' || (2b) NaIE *prō 'early, in the morning' > OI prā-'tar (prā'tah), Gk πρω̄, Gk A πρῷ id., OHG fruo 'early, early in the morning, soon', fruoī, MHG vrüeje adj. 'early' || (2c) NaIE *praj, *p̥raj, *prej-, *p̥ri (dat. of direction from *per-) '≈ forward, in front of, before' > Gk Hm παρά, Gk πάρα ~ παρά 'beside, by, near', Gk πρέν, Gk Hm πρέν, πρέν 'before' || pAl {O} *para > Al para ~ parē 'foreward', prep. 'in front of, before', 'parē' adj. 'first', adv. 'earlier', Al G {LamP} para 'vor' || L prae (adv.) 'before, in front', (prep.) 'before', prae- 'voran, voraus, überaus', Osc prai, Um pre PRE 'prae' || Gl are- 'before, by, east', W er-, OIr air- 'before, for', OIr anair 'from the east' ('east' as the front side of anyone who orients himself towards the rising sun) || Gt fáir-, AS fyr-, OHG furi- 'before', OSx, OHG furi 'before, for, because of, in advance' (> NHG für), ON fyr 'vor, für', AS for id., NE for; cmpr.: OHG furiro {OsS} 'der frühere, vordere', {Kb.} 'greater, more', sprl.: OHG furist {Kb.} 'first' (adv.) mostly', MHG vürst 'the first, most eminent', AS fyr(e)s̥t 'first, vorderste' (> NE first) || Lt priē, Lt Zh prý 'at, by, near, in the presence of', Ltv priē(k)ša 'das Vordere' (< *preytyā), piere 'forehead, front side', Pru prei 'to' | Sl *pri 'near, in the presence of' > OCS при pri, Blg, R, Uk при, SCr, Slv, Slk pri, Cz pří, P przy; Sl *pri- preverb (approaching, adding) > OCS при- pri-, etc.; possibly Sl *prě- 'Ur' > OCS прѣотъцъ prě-otъсь 'forefather', прѣдѣдъ prědědъ 'grand-grandfather' || ? OI pa'rē thereupon' | [3] IE *pr̥- (nom. or loc. without sx.?) 'hervor', *pera(:) (instr.) 'in front' > L por-tend- v. 'predict, presage, indicate' || Gt faúr, OSx for, fur 'vor, für', AS for, ON for- 'before', Gt faúra, OHG, OSx fora 'in front of, before', NHG vor 'before, in front of', OSx fora, and AS fore (prep.) 'before', NE before || IIrn: OI pu'rā 'formerly, before', Av parā ~ para 'before' || Ht {CHD} parā pv. 'out (to), forth, towards, further', postp. 'out of, from' §§ P 81O-4, EI 6O-1 (*pr̥hæh, and *pr̥hæj 'in front of' and 'before' [of time], *pro 'forward, ahead, away'), Frd. HW 158, 170, 173, Ts. W 59, 64-5, CHD P 1O9-3O, 291-311, 384-6, Mer. SGA 374, M K II 31O, 35O-3, 376-7, M E II 173-4, 188, F II 472-3, 595-7, WH II 351-7, 364-5, Bc. G 323, 343, Kb.

295, 3O4-6, 825, OsS 213, 229-3O, 234-5, 274, KM 225, Ho. 112, 12O, Ho. S 21, 24, Fs. 145, 16O, Vr. 137, 148, Frn. 652-3, Vs. III 351, 362-3, 37O, StSS 497-8, Glh. 5O2, ESISJ-SGZ I 2O5-8, 21O-2O, Vnd.2 II 313, Vn. R 35-6, Dtn. 213, Billy 87, AlbED 623, O 311, BFU 373, 386-7, Ç II 5, 43O, Kf. 252-3, LamP 157 || **U** *peär ∇ 'side', d. *peärt ∇ 'edge, side' > pY {IN} *pere 'side' > YT pere-n 'at the side' (-n is an adverbial ending) || FU *peärt ∇ 'edge, side' > Prm *berd- 'sth. near sth., wall' > Z, Yz berd-, Vt bord- 'near' in postpositions (Z berd- \bar{z} , Yz 'berd- \wedge , Vt bord-+ 'towards', Z berd- \dot{z} 'from', Yz 'berd- \dot{n} 'bei', Vt bord-o \bar{z} 'up to'), Z {W} berd, Vt bord 'wall' || ??σ ObU: Vg: Ty pärt, Ss pärt 'board' (< *'wall'?)

¶ IN 242, UEW 374, LG 39, Lt. J 88, UR 5O || **A** *p \acute{e} r- > NaT: [1] *erin 'lip; brim' > OT, MU, XwT, MQp [incl. CC] erin, Chg ≥XV ern, eriŋ, Tkm, Qmq, QBl, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt erin, Qzq eriň, Uz irin, VTt, Bsh iryn, Xk irin 'lip', Kr, Tv erin id., 'brim (of a vessel)' ¶ Cl. 232-3, ET Gl 292-3, TL 226-7, RI. I 766-7k, Bu. I 791, KRPS 665 | [2] *ernä- > Bsh irnä- vt. 'edge\fringe with, frame (окаймлять, обрамлять)'; *ernäg 'brim, edge' > Tkm ernek, Qmq, Qzq ernew, Qq, Tk Δ ernek, Chg ابرنڪ {Bu.} ernäk 'edge', {RI.} ärnäk 'Rand, Kante', Qrg erdö (< *ernew < *ernäg) 'brim of a cup', VTt irnäw 'thick brim of a vessel', {RI.} 'brim of a pot\cup\barrel' ¶ ET Gl 3O1, RI. I 787, 1468-9, Bu. I 191, BR 213, KumRS 377 || M *φir- > WrM ir, HIM ιρ 'blade, edge of a knife' ¶ MED 413 || pj {S} *pjärì 'edge, brink' > OJ p_ljärì, ItOJ {Mr.} φeri 'rim, brink', J: T/Kg herí, K hérì 'edge, verge, brink' ¶ S QJ #156O, Mr. 4O4

¶ ≈ DQA #1747 (A *p \acute{e} ri 'edge' > T *erneg, M, J) ◇ The tentatively suggested N *- \acute{o} can be responsible for the labialized vw. in Ht puri. M *i in *φir- is still to be explained ◇ Gr. II #123 (*pere 'edge') (IE, U, A, J), ≈ Gr. II #155 (*pir 'first') (IE, Ko, Gil + err. T, M, J).

1764. *Per ∇ 'bottom, buttocks' > **A:** Tg *pere 'bottom' (× N *PeR ∇ 'ground, earth') > Lm h̥ər, SIn əri, Neg xəyəz, Ork pərzə, pərzəl, Nn Nh pərzəg, pərzəl 'bottom, bottom of a vessel\river', Ewk h̥ərz id., 'floor', LMc fere id., 'bottom of a boat', Nn KU xərz, Nn B fərz 'bottom of a vessel \ pit \ river', Ul pərzə(g) id., Ud xəz id., 'foot of a hill\mountain' ¶ STM II 37O-1, Vas. 511, Pt. 1O9, Krm. 3O8, Z 1O49, S AJ 221 (#236) || **U:** FU *perä- 'rear part; bottom' > F perä 'rear end, back end, hinder part, end', Es pära 'rear; butt (end), rump; bottom (of a vessel)' | ?? pMr {Ker.} *pīrä > Er пря pīra, f pīra, Mk пря pīrä 'head, summit, ear (Ähre)' | Prm {Lt.} *ber- 'hind part' > Vt ber, Z bər 'hind, hind part', Z

bər, Yz bōr id. || ObU {ʃHl.} *pēr-^Δ ~ *pēr-t^Δ 'back (zurück)' > pVg *pārə^Δ > Vg: T pārəw ~ pūrəw, LK pārī, MK/UK päri, P pär, pārə^Δ, NV/LL pär 'zurück'; pOs *pērtä^Δ ({ʃHl.} *pīrtä^Δ) > Os: V/Vy pērtä^Δ, Ty pērəi, Kz pārta, O pārtā id. (ObU *-t^Δ-, -^Δ- sxs. of the lative case) ¶ UEW 373, Sm. 553 (FP *pērā 'back'), LG 41, Ht. 179 [#541] ¶ This FU √ is likely to have been semantically influenced by FU *pur^Δ < N *'b¹uXr^Δ 'back, rear' || D *°pīr- 'anus' > Tm pīru id. (variant of D *pūr- id. < N *'b¹uXr^Δ '↑') ¶ D #4379 ◇ D *ī- in *°pīr- is still to be explained ◇ Connected (or originally identical) with N *Pēr^Δ 'ground, earth'?

1765. *pīRo(-Kæ) 'to ask' > IE: NaIE *prek-/ *pr̥k- v. 'ask (a question); ask for sth.' > OI √ pras̥-: 3s prs. pr̥c'chati (aor. 3s 'a-prat̥) 'asks, seeks', Av prs. act. 3s pərəsāiti, prs. md. 3s pərəsaite 'asks, questions' || Arm հարցանեմ harčanem 'I ask', aor. 3s եհարց eharc̥, imv. հարց harč || L posco (< *pr̥k-sk-) 'I ask earnestly, I reflex', precor 'I beg, entreat, request, prey, invoke', precēs pl. 'requests, entreaties', procus 'wooer' || OIr arc- 'beg, ask' (arco fuiñ 'posco veniam'), W archaf, Crn argħaf 'I ask, beg', MBr archas 'il commanda' || Gmc *frexna- v. 'ask (question)', p. 3s *frax > Gt fraíhnán (p. 3s fräh), ON fregrna (p. 3s frá), OSx fregrnan, AS freȝnan ~ friȝnan, NE Δ frain 'to ask (fragen)', OSx gi-fregrnan 'to learn', OHG gi-fregrnan 'to inquire'; Gmc *frēȝō, *frēȝōn 'question' > Dt vraag, AS freȝn, OHG frāga, NHG Frage id.; → OHG frāgēn, frāgōn, NHG fragen, OSx frāgon, Dt vrägen 'to ask (a question)' || Lt piršti (1s prs. peršū) 'to woo, to ask in marriage', pras̥yti 'to ask (for sth.)' (< iter.), Ltv pras̥it id., 'to ask (a question)' | Sl *pros̥iti (< BSl iter.) > OCS просити prositi, R про'сить, Uk просити, SCr pr̥ositi, Sln pr̥ositi, Cz prositi, Slk prosit', P prosic̥ 'to ask (beg)', Blg prs. прося 'ask' || pTc {Ad.} *pärk- > Tc A pärk-/prak-, B pärk-/prek- v. 'beg, pray, ask (a question)' ¶ P 821-2, EI 33 (*perk- 'ask, ask for [in marriage']'), M K II 329, M E II 183-4, WH II 346-7, Vn. A 86, Me. EAC 1O6-7, 114, 119, 179, IS III 112-119 (a detailed history of the stem and its ds.), Fs. 161-2, Vr. 14O-1, Vr. N 8O3, Ho. 115-6, Ho. S 22, Kb. 282, 286, OsS 218, Schz. 139-4O, KM 214, Frn. 598-9, Vs. III 377-8, Glh. 5O5-6, Wn. 386, Ad. 371-2, Ad. H 79, 82-3 || A *p'ir|rū(ke)- v. 'ask (beg), pray' (≈ {SDM97} *p'iro 'pray, bless'): Tg *pīrugē- v. 'pray, predict' > Neg xīꝝ-

'pray for happiness\success', Ewk Brg *hiruṣē-*, Ewk UL/SB *irṣwā-* v. 'prey, bless', Ewk *hiru-* vt. 'scold', Sln *irugā-* 'pronounce a blessing of good wish for so.' ('произносить благопожелание'), Lm *hirgā-* 'prey to spirits\god for happiness\success', WrMc *firu-* id., 'pronounce incantations, curse' ¶ STM II 327-8 || M **pirüṣe-* v. 'prey, wish well' > MM [S] *hiru?er* [hirü_er] 'Gebet um langes Leben', [MA] *hirebē hanisqaqsan* '(he) expressed a good wish to a sneezer' ('произнес благое пожелание чихнувшему'), WrM *irüge-*, HIM *epəθ-* v. 'wish well, bless, pray, felicitate', Ord *örō-* 'prononcer des formules de bénédictions, formuler des bons souhaits' ¶ Pel. 216-7 [#25], H 76, MED 415, Ms. O 538 || pKo **pīr-* v. 'beg, pray' > MKo *pīr-*, NKO *pīl-* ¶ S QK #592, Nam 279, MLC 862 || ?pJ **pər-* > OJ *por-* v. 'wish, hope' ¶ S QJ #546, Mr. 693 ¶ Adduced in S AJ, but not in DQA || ??σ T **hirk-* > NaT **irk* 'omen, fortune, divination' > OT *irq* 'omen, taking omens, divination', OT U VIII *irq* 'dice' or 'divination rods', Osm {Zn.} *أرق*, {Bu.} *قر* *irq* 'luck, fortune', Tk Δ *irg*, *irk*, *irik*, *irgīn* id., Qzq *irid* 'lot, fate, (good\bad) fortune', Qrg *irq* 'wellbeing, peaceful life', Nog *irq* 'desire', SY *irq* ~ *eriq* ~ *erq* ~ *erq* 'omen, predicion, future', ??? Yk *ira* ~ *irā* 'presentiment, fortune' (unless ↔ M: WrM *irua* 'foreboding, bad omen, premonition', cp. WrM *irula* v. 'presage, portend, curse' - F Vld. ZDST 294-5). The T √ belongs here if its meaning has developped from *'bless' (acc. to SDM97), but Cl. derives it from 'dice, sticks, etc. used for casting lots, divination, etc.'. The authors of SDM97 reconstruct T **ir-* on the precarious basis of Yk *ira(:)*, which may well be of M origin ¶ ET Gl 665-6, Cl. 213, Rs. W 166-7, RI. I 137O, SDD 772-4, Bu. I 29, Pek. 3808-9, MED 415 ¶ ADb. KL, DQA #1767 (A **p'iru-* v. 'pray, bless'). The Tg stem may be a loan from M ¶ If Yk *ira*: does not belong here, pT **irk* (even if it is a legitimate cognate) cannot help us to distinguish between pA **r* and **ŕ* (because precons. **ŕ* loses its palatalization in T). If the T √ does not belong here, we lose the ability to distinguish between A **p-* and **p'-* || K: Sv L -*pīr-* 'intend to', Xwa-*pīre* 'I intend to', Sv {Ni.} Xwa-*pīri* 'I want', ?σ Sv UB *li-pīre* 'to decide', MG ≥XII, G *prian-* 'belieben, wünschen' 'захотеть, пожелать', Mg {Q} *pian-* 'like, wish (захотеть, изволить, созволить)' (↔ G?) ¶ Dn. s.v. *pīr-*, Ni. s.v. *хотѣть*, GP 164, DCh. 1O25, Chx. 1O24, Q 298 || ?HS: S *√ *pkr* (~*√ *bkr*) v. 'require, want' (→ 'curse', 'love') > Ak √ *pkr* ~ √ *bkr* (inf. *p/bakāru*) 'Anspruch'

geltend machen, vindizieren', *pākāru* 'vindication', Gz \checkmark fkr in the words *pafkara* v. 'love, long for, cherish', *fākr* 'love, affection', *fākūr* 'loved, beloved', Hrs \checkmark fkr in *aftakōr* v. 'curse, miscall' ¶ Sd. 1O4, 826, Jo. H 32, L G 164 ¶ Not here (\Leftrightarrow IS) S * \checkmark brk v. 'bless' (> BHb, Ph, IA \checkmark brk D, Ar \checkmark brk L, D id.), which is derived from S * \checkmark birak 'knee' (* \checkmark brk D originally means 'make kneel down', whence 'bless' [Ar *barraka* 'make kneel down', see Fr. I 112]), which can be understood within the appropriate cultural context: the ritual of blessing involves kneeling of the blessed person (e.g., son) (F Genesis, chapter 27). An argument for the denom. origin of the stem for 'bless' is the very fact that it is used almost exclusively as a *D*-stem (as well as a *L*-stem, which is its variant), and almost never used as *G* (basic stem) except for the pp. *ba'rīk-~*b'arūk- 'blessed one' (> BHb *bā'rūk*, Aram *bə'rīk*, etc.), which was actually a derived adj. ◇ Tg and M suggests that the vw. after *R of the N word was labialized. IE *prek-/*pr̥k- (without reflexes of N *u|ü) suggests that the labialized vw. was not *u or *ü, hence it was *o ◇ IS III 111-25, ≈ Blz. KM 238 [#22] (added G and Mg, but did not distinguish the reflexes of this N word from those of N *n̥äp ∇ r ∇ 'tender, beautiful', N *paR₁a₂Xi '≈ happy, dear', and N *bAr'h¹ ∇ 'be hungry, want' [→ 'love']) ◇ Gr. II #94 (*per(k) 'desire') (IE, A, ?CK).

1766. *pōr'i (or *pōHar'i?) 'child, offspring' > IE: NaIE *pari-k-ā 'concubine' or 'whore' (< 'girl') > OIr airech 'concubine' (gen. airige, dat. airig) || pIrn *parīkā > Av pairikā 'demonic courtesan', ZPhl parīk > NPrs پری pārī 'a good genius, a Peri', MPrs Trf pryg, pryg²n 'witch', BdhSgd pr̥y̥k 'demon' (bf. of a masc. noun from pIrn fem.) || Arm հարճ harč 'concubine' (< *pargyā with puzzling voicing *k > *g) ¶ Dmz. SEA 68, ≈ P 789, EI 123 (? *parikeh_A- 'concubine; wanton woman'), Vn. A 43, Horn 69, ≠ Bai. 234 (equates the Irn words with Gk παλλακής, παλλακή 'concubine'), Xud. II 40 ¶ *-k- is a dim. sx., *-ā is a marker of feminine; the form may be compared with Tg *pur'i¹k- 'boy, a youth' (F below) || A *p'uri 'child, offspring(s)' > T *^oh₁uri 'male child, son' (x A *ur ∇ {AD} 'male; young male relative' < N *H|wur ∇ 'male person') > OT Y/U/QU ur₁I 'male child, son' (hardly from pT *h₁urug 'seed' [< N *pūHr ∇ < [?] *pū?e¹r ∇ 'fruit', see s.v. *p'e¹r ∇ ~ *pūHr ∇ 'fruit']) because of the lack of -g in the most archaic OT texts) ¶ Cl. 197, TL 315 || Tg: [1] Tg *pur- ({Jbz.} pōr-) 'woman with her children, family, female with its

youngs' ($\times N *p^r'e^r\Delta \sim *p^{\hat{u}}Hr\Delta$ 'fruit') > Ewk *hurū* 'family, mother of many children', Lm *hurkə* 'female animal with its young', *hurkəç* 'having a family, having many children', Neg *xuykət* 'she-bear\she-odder with youngs', Orc *xūnə* (< **hurunə*) 'female animal with its youngs', [2] pTg **pur'i'k-* 'boy, a youth' > Sln *ukkəxəz* ~ *urkəxəz*, Lm *hurkən* id., 'son', Ewk *hurkəkən* 'a youth, boy', Ul *purē* ~ *puriż* ~ *puriż* ~ *purż* ~ *purżż* 'a young', Nn B *furi(n-) nał* 'young man' || STM II 353-4 JJ ≈ DQA #1829 (A **p'ūri* 'seed' [does not distinguish between reflexes of N **pôr'i* 'child, offspring' and those of N **p^r'e^r\Delta* ~ **p^{\hat{u}}Hr\Delta*, both from **p^{\hat{u}}?e^r\Delta?* 'fruit']) || D **pōr-* ({θGS} **p-*) 'child' > Kn *pōra* 'child, little boy, girl', *pōri* 'little girl', Tu *pōrā*, *pōre* 'lad', *pōri* 'lass', Tl *pōrādū* 'boy, child, young man', *pōri* 'girl', Gnd *pōri* 'young of pigs', *pōri* 'young of chicken', ? Ml *pōrā* 'silly, a glutton' || HS: the reflex of this N word coalesced with those of N **P_Ar,?r\Delta* 'bring forth, give birth; young of animals' (q.v. ffd.); the meaning 'child' is present in Ch (P' {MSk.} *vūrā* 'girl, daughter') and C (Bj {R} *fē'rāy* / pl. *fē'rāy* 'child, offspring') || MSk. 21O, R WBd. 81 ◇ The discrepancy between the IE vw. (suggesting N **a*) and the labialized vw. in D and A suggests a N etymon **pôHar'i*.

1767. **porΔ* 'leaf' > HS: B **fΔr̥r̥-* 'leaf' > SrSn {Rn.} *afar*, Izd {Mrc.} *ifær* (pl. *ifrawən*), Grr {Bs.} *afær* (pl. *ifriwən*), Kb {Dl.} *ifərr* (pl. *ifərrawən*), ZAS {Loub.} *affər̥* (pl. *affriwən*) id., Sll {Ds.} *ifər* 'leaves' coll.] B **fΔr̥r̥-* 'leaf' > Nf {La.} *tafrīt* (pl. *tafra*), Rf U/B/A {Rn.} *θifriθ* (pl. *θifray*), Rf T *θifrišt* (pl. *θifräy*), Izn {Rn.} *θifriχθ* (pl. *θifräy*), Mz/Wrg {Dlh.} *tifrit* (pl. *tifray*), Snd {La.} *tefret*, Shnw {La.} *tifrit*; B **fΔr̥r̥w-* 'leaf' > Ah {Fc.}, Ttq {Msq.}, Gh {Nh.} *afraw* (pl. *ifrawən*), Gd *tafra* (pl. *tafrawēn*), Sll {Ds.} *afraw* (pl. *ifrawn*), Ntf *afraw* id. || Fc. 336, Lf. II #O4O8, Nh. 16O, Mrc. 117, Rn. 299, Dl. 218, Msq. 125, Dlh. Ou 79, Dlh. M 53, Loub. 535, Ds. B 127, La. S 237, La. MChB 471, ≈ NZ 598-9, 645 || IE: NaIE **per-*, **per-n-* 'leaf, fern' > OI *par'nām*, Pali *pañña-* 'leaf' | KhS *pārra-*, BdhSgd *prn?k* 'leaf, petal', MPrt *png* 'foliage', Blc *pan*, Prc *pōn*, Psh *pāñña*, Shgn *pūn* 'leaf' || Gmc: OSx, OHG *farn*, NHG *Farn*, MDt, Dt *varen*, AS *fearn* 'fern', NE *fern* || OIr *raith* 'fern' || Lt *papártis*, Δ *papártis*, Ltv *paparde*, *papards* id. | Sl **paportь* id. > OR, R Δ, Uk 'папороть', R 'папоротник', Blg 'папрат', SCR *päprat*, Slv *páprat*, Slk *papradie*, P, HLs *paproć*, LLs *paproś* 'fern' || Ht *parsdu* {Frd.} 'Knospe, Triebe', {Ts.} 'Trieb',

{CHD} 'leaf, foliage' (× N *bär̥sā 'bud, leaf' [q.v.]) || The causes of the semantic change 'leaf' → 'fern' in Europe (Clt, Gmc, BSl) are still to be elucidated || M K II 223-4, M E II 97 (no et. of OI par'nam 'leaf'), Bai. 231, Ho. 99, Ho. S 18, Kb. 225, Vr. N 764, KM 184-5, Vn. R 5, Frn. 538, Vs. III 2O2, Frd. HW 164, Ts. W 61, CHD P 19O-1, ≈σ EI 646 (OI and Gmc < *por'no-m 'wing, feather') || A (× N *bär̥sā '↑'): NaT *pür ~ *pürü '(small) leaf, bud, needle(s) of a conifer' > OT bür 'bud', Tkm pür 'needle(s) of a conifer; foliage (or crown) of a tree', Qzq bür 'needle(s) of a conifer', {Tn. in TL} 'bud', CrTt, Qmq bür 'bud', Alt bür 'bud, leaf', Tf bür 'leaves, needle(s) of a conifer, bud (бүтөн)', VTt бөрө бөрь, Bsh бөрө 'bud', Qrg bür 'small young leaves', Xk, Shor pür, Tv {TvR} bürü, {Ra.} bür 'leaf'; → Nat *b|pür-çük 'bud' > Qzq büršik, Alt bürçük, Xk pürçük 'bud', Qq büršik 'bud, bit', VTt бөршék 'spot (of spotted fabric)', Bsh бөрсék id., 'very small drop', Tk Δ bürçük 'bit, small grain' || Cl. 354, TL 114-5, Ra. 167, TkR 538, BRS 113, Rs. W 92, TatR 93, Rl. IV 1394, Rl. IV 1394 || M: WrM боргусың, боргусиң, НIM боргоцоғ, боргоцой 'evergreen tree cone', Brt борбоосгой 'tree cone', WrM narasunu боргусың 'pine cone' || MED 121, Chr. 1O5 || Tg *°p'e'r... > Ewk hərkənəz 'leaf of tobacco' || STM II 37O || pKo *pūrō 'lettuce' > MKo puro, pūrù, NKo puru || S QK #11O9, MLC 813 || ?φ pJ {S} *pá 'leaf' > OJ pá, J: T hà, K hā, Kg/Ns há, Sh φá, Ht pà, Y hā || S AJ 266, S QJ #41, Mr. 394 || DQA #1683 (T, M, J) (A *púre 'leaf, bud') || D (in CD) *por|r- ({θGS} *p-) 'leaf' > Prj porra 'bush, shrub', Gdb pore 'leaf' || D #4546 ◇ In B and IIr the √ in question coalesced with the reflexes of N *p'ur, y, ∇ 'wing, feather(s)' bringing forth a pseudo-metaphor: 'leaves' as a μφ of 'feather'. Altaic *p- (> NaT and Tg *p-, M b-) suggests N *p- ◇ M and D suggest a pN vw. *o, while T *ü in *pür(ü) may be due to regr. as.

1768. (2?) *P₁NR₂ 'to cross, to pass through' (= N *pær, if Az bärä belongs here) > HS: S *°v¹pry > Ar v¹fry (pf. فَرَّا farā, ip. -friy-) {BK} 'traverser, parcourir (un pays)', {Hv.} 'go over the country' || BK II 588-9, Hv. 56O || IE: NaIE *per- v. 'cross, go through\over' (→ 'bring over, lead') > OI par- v. 'bring over, save, surpass' (prs. 'pi partī, Vd aor. par-ṣi), Av par-: ni-pārāye¹nti 'sie führen hernieder', {El} 'convey across' || Arm հորդ hord 'trodden, frequented', հորդես hordem v. 'pave, trace (a road, path)', հորդան տամ hordan ta-m 'cause to advance, lead on' || Gk περάω 'pass through, transverse', πείρω

'pierce quite through' || L *portā-* 'carry, bring, lead', Um PORTATU 'portato' || Gmc **far-* > Gt *faran* 'wandern, fahren', ON *fara*, AS, OSx, OHG *faran* 'to drive (fahren)' > NHG *fahren*; caus. **fōrjan* 'to lead' > ON *fōra*, Dn *fōre*, Sw *fōra*, AS *fōran*, OHG *fuoren*, NHG *führen* | d.: NaIE **poro-s* 'Durchgang, Zugang' > Gk πόρος id., 'ford', Av *pāra-* 'Ufer, Grenze' | d. nomen loci: NaIE **pṛtus*, **pertus* 'Durchgang' > Av *pərətu-š* (< **pṛtus*), *pəšuš* (< **pṛtus*) 'Durchgang, Zugang, Brücke' || OL *portus*, -ūs 'Haustüre', L *portus* 'haven', *angiportus* 'enge Passage, Nebengäßchen'; *-ā-stem: L *porta* 'gate, door', Um [p]úrtam 'portam' || Clt: OW, Crn *rit*, NW *rhyd* 'ford', Gl *ritu-* 'ford' in n. l.: *Ritomagus*, *Augustoritum* || Gmc: OHG *furt* 'ford, passage', NHG *Furt*, AS *ford* 'ford', NE *ford* | IE **per-*, **peri* (instr. case?) 'across, beyond' > NaIE **per-*, **peri* id. (×IE **peri* 'around' < N **p̥i'h|Q̥RE* 'around', q.v. ×IE **per-* < N **peRΔ* 'lip, edge', q.v.) > OI *pari* 'beyond, away from', Av *pa|rī* 'über - hin', {El} 'towards, around', OPrs *pariγ* 'über' || Gk πέρι, περί 'darüber hinaus', Δ πέρι id. || L *per* prep. 'through' → 'along, over; because of', L *per*-pv. 'through' || Gmc: OHG *fir-* (pv. of several meanings: 'across, vorbei [мимо]', perfective meaning, erroneous action [*fir-faran* 'vorbeifahren, vergehn', *firfallan* 'geraten, einfallen', *fir-denken* 'mit den Gedanken abirren, verdenken, verachten', etc.]), NHG *ver-* and OSx *far-~ for-* (px. of several meanings: perfective, erroneous action, etc.) || Ltv *per* 'over (über - hin)', Lt *per̄* id., 'through, across', Pru *per*, *par* 'für, durch', Lt *per-* pv. 'again, anew, through', Pru *par-~ per-* pv. (*perbanda* 'vesucht', *perbilliton* 'versagen') | Sl **per*-pv. 'across, over, through; anew' > OCS πρέ- *prě-*, Blg пре-, SCr, Slv, Slk *pre-*, R, Uk *пере-*, P *prze-*, Cz, HLs *pře-*, LLs *pše-* id.; Sl **perzъ* (prep.) > ChS πρέζъ *prězъ* 'over, through' ('ύπέρ, παρά'), SCr Δ, Slv *prez*, Cz *přes*, *přeze*, HLus *přez*, LLus *pšež*, P *przez*, Blg през, R Δ, Uk, Blr *перез* 'across, over, through' || Ht *pariyan* 'across, over, beyond; over to, across to' | P 81O-7, EI 228-9 (**per-* 'pass through'), 581 (**per* 'over, through, about'), M K II 216-7, 284, M E II 89-92, F II 491-2, 512-3, WH I 283-6, 343-5, Bc. G 342, Fs. 142-3, Vr. 112, 15O, Kb. 149, 219, 222, 30O, 307, OsS 161-7O, 232, Schz. 129, 142, KM 18O, 223, 225-6, 811, Ho. 98, 111-2, Ho. S 18, Vs. III 236-8, Brü. 441-2, 444, Frn. 572, En. 222-3, En. APG 147-5O, KM 18O, 219, 2223, 225-6, ESISJ-SGZ I 162-9, 175-8, Jak. 26, 94, CHD P 151-3 || ? E

pir-: AchEl pi-ir-i-k-ra 'ein Durchreisender', pi-ri-i-p, pír-ri-ba 'Marschierende, Reisende' (pl.) §§ HK 196, 209, 217 || ?σ A *p̥r̥E v. 'wade, cross a river' > T: Az {Äz., Hüs.} bärä 'ford', 'ferry', {Ax.} pära 'ford', bärä 'ferry' § Äz. 62, Hüs. 47, Ax. 31, 826 § The Az word is isolated within T. Is it a loanword? || ?σ Tg *purE- v. 'dive, swim under water' > Neg xuyi-, xuygan-, Ul purin-, Nn Nh purin-, Nn KU xurunz-, f̥y̥runz-, Nn B furin-, f̥rin-, Ork purru- 'dive', puroči- iter. 'dive', Ud xuin-ž- v. 'dive', Ewk hur- 'dive, swim', WrMc fura-, furi- 'untertauchen, unter Wasser schwimmen' § STM II 352, Krm. 306, Z 1092, Hr. 323 § The adduction of the A cognates is valid if we assume that the meaning 'dive, swim under water' goes back to the meaning 'cross a river by swimming under water' - cp. the meaning WrMc furi- 'durchwaten' reported by H. C. von der Gabelentz (WalG s.v. 'durchwaten' ← Gab. MDW) ◇ Unless the Az word is a loan, it suggests pT, pA, and N *p- and *-r-.

1769. *p̥ä?rE (= *p̥ährE?) 'to look', 'to be seen' > HS: S *°✓p̥r̥hr > Ak {Sd.} pār-um v. 'look for' § Sd. 836-7 || ??l C: Ag: Aw {Hz.} parr- v. 'be open' (eye), {Plm., Hz.} parc- v. 'open (eyes)' || ? NrOm: Kf {C} herabō ~ herawō, Mch {L} pārawi 'looking-glass' § C SE IV 456-7, L M 45 || Ch: WCh: BT *par- v. 'look for' > Tng parj id., Bl {Bnt.} paruo v. 'find' || ECh: EDng {Fd.} p̥er(l)ne 'examiner, regarder de près' § J T 129, Bnt. 23, Fd. 59 §§ AD SF 44 || IE *pehr-/*ph̥r- > NaIE *pār-/*par-({P} *p̥ār-) v. 'be visible' > Gk πεπαρεῖν aor. inf. 'to display, to manifest' || L pārē- 'appear, become evident', appārē- 'become visible, appear', compārē- 'appear, be visible' || Ht parai- v. 'appear, emerge (?)' §§ P 789, F II 508, WH II 252-3, Ts. W 60, CHD P 134 || A: Tg *peri- v. 'watch', (*'look for' >) 'try to' > Ewk h̥riwç̥- 'watch (beobachten, verfolgen)', ?σ WrMc feri- v. 'endeavour, strive, make every effort' § STM II 369, Z 1049-50, Hr. 288 || Rm. SKE 198 equated the Tg ✓ with Ko p̥ia,ri-da ("commonly pronounced perida") v. 'purpose, intend to do' §§ Tg *e represents A *ä || D *pār- v. 'look at, behold' > Tm pār- ({GS} *p-) v. 'see, look at', Ml pārkka v. 'regard, behold', Kn pār v. 'look for, wait for', Tu pāra 'guard, custody, keeping', Tl pāruva 'sight, glance' §§ D #4091 (a) ◇ The N cns. *p̥- is reconstructed on the ev. of Ch. Not here Eg √ pry (a verb that means, among other things, 'appear, be seen') that is obviously a semantic derivative from Eg pry 'go out' ('hervorgehen, herausgehen') (F EG I 518-525, Fk. 90-1). Neither belongs here the Eg L verb pr 'see',

which is a late form going back to Eg fP **p̥tr** v. 'see, behold' (\mathcal{F} Fk. 96, Vc. 163 s.v. pOOre 'rêver, voir en songe', and EG I 564). The IE lr. (> the NaIE lengthening of the vw.) suggests a N lr. before ***r**. The N lr. must have been ***?** or ***h**, because ***?** and ***h** are the only laryngeals that can account for the Ak reflex (**ā** from S ***a?**|**h**, but not from ***aʃ|h**). NaIE ***p̥hr-** suggests that the N lr. was ***h** rather than ***?** (reduced to NaIE zero in the non-syllabic position), but the loss of the lr. in Ht is still to be explained.

1770. *P̥ogUr ∇ 'hollow', 'to gape', 'to be open' (of a hollow) > **K** ***puγwr-** > G **puγ(v)r-** 'aushöhlen, ausbohren', **puγuro-** n. 'hollow in a tree', adj. 'hollow, empty' ¶ Chx. 151O, DCh. 132O || **HS:** WS * \checkmark **p̥yr** v. '(be) open' (of a mouth, sth. hollow), 'be hollow, gape' > BHb \checkmark **p̥r** vi. **G** 'be open wide' (a mouth), MHb \checkmark **p̥r** vi. **G** 'open wide' (of a mouth or another hollow object), vt. 'uncover', JA [Mdr.] \checkmark **p̥r** **G** 'open wide, uncover oneself', Sr \checkmark **p̥r** v. **G** 'open wide, gape (as the mouth, the earth, sores)', **ƿε᷑r-ā** {JPS} 'a cleft, chasm, gap', {Br.} 'fovea, caverna', Ar \checkmark **fyr** **G** 'open the mouth, be half-opened (as mouth, flower), yawn', **fayr-** 'opening of a half-open mouth', Jb C {Jo.} \checkmark **fyr** v. **G** (pf. **fa'yar**, sbjn. **ȝ3f'ȝɔr**) 'open (the mouth), make an opening (in flesh, wood, etc.)', Mh **fȝyʒrwōt** (pl. **fȝyðrɔw**, **fȝyʒ'rew**), Hrs **fȝyʒrōt**, Jb E **fȝyʒ'rōt** 'hollow below the Adam's apple' ¶ KB 898, BDB 822, Js. 12O3, Br. 586, JPS 453, BK II 616, Hv. 569, Jo. J 53, Jo. M 89, and Jo. H 31 || **B** *-frīH- 'cave, hole' > Sll, CM, Shw **ifri** id., Izd {Mrc.} **ifri** id., Izn/Rf/SrSn **ifri** 'caverne, terrier, trou', Wrg, Ntf **ifri** 'cave, grotto', BSn **īfri** id, 'burrow of a rabbit', Sll **ti-frī-t** 'burrow (of a rabbit, hedgehog, etc.), hole', Kb **ifri** 'grotte, abri sous une roche', Tmz {MT} id., 'caverne, gîte, terrier' ¶ Rn. 298, Ds. 147, 277, 285, Ds. B 58, 16O, 342, Dl. 218, MT 12O, Dlh. Ou 79, Mrc. 348, NZ 6O1 || **C:** EC: ? σ Ya **pɔrχɔn** (pl. **pɔrɔχ**) 'honeycomb' (E: "it is composed of ... holes"; alternatively, "? hollow [of trees]", as in Td) || **SC:** Brn **faraxo** 'gap left by an extracted tooth' ¶ E PC #292 ¶ mt. N ***g...r** > B and C ***r...H** || **D** ***pōr-** ({ θ GS} ***b-**?) 'a hollow, cavity, hole' (\times N ***bU?R ∇** 'to dig; a pit'??) > Tm **pōrāj** 'hole, hollow in tree', **pōr** 'hollow of a tree' (D ***r** > Tm word-final **r**, \mathcal{F} An. GTJ 29), Td **p̥t'r** 'hollow of tree (where bees nest)', Kn **pōr** 'hole', Tl **boriya**, **borre** 'hole, burrow, hollow, pit', **borra** 'hole, hollow, cavity in a tree', Gdb, Ku **borra** 'hole in tree', Knd **bōrō** 'hole of a crab, etc.' ¶ D #46O4 (a). ◇ The presence of a N vw. (*-U-)

between *-g- and *-r- is suggested by the D cognate (D *-ξ- going back to a N intervoc. *-r- rather than to a cns. cluster) and by the G postcons. -v-/u-.

1771. *p̥i'h|X|Q'RE 'around' > HS: Eg fMK p̥xr 'turn, turn about, revolve, surround, enclose', m p̥xr 'im Umkreisen von' (may be adduced unless p̥xr goes back to Eg OK p̥šr id.) (x an additional source: N *P̥RwN [= *p̥r̥wN?] 'turn, revolve' [q.v.], which cannot be the main source [for phonetic reasons], but may have influenced the meaning); acc. to Vc., this is the source of DEg p̥xr 'ensorceler' > Copt Lpo2re pohre, O poxrl pok^hri, O peer peer 'ensorceler' ¶ EG I 544-7, Fk. 93-4, Er. 319, Vc. 167 || CCh: Mlw {Trn.} firki 'renverser, retourner' ¶ Trn. MVM 293 ¶ ≈ Tk. I 173 (Eg, Mlw + unc. Anf kirp 'turn sth. over to its mouth') || IE *peri > NaIE *peri (instr.?) 'around' > OI 'pari 'round, about', Av parī 'um - herum', MPrs par-, KhS pari-, para- 'around, beyond' || Gk πέρι, περί 'ringsum, um' || ?σ pAl {O} *peri > Al p̥er 'for, about' ¶ P 81O, ≈ EI 581 (*per 'over, through, about'), M K II 216-7, M E II 91-2, Bai. 214, F II 512-3, O 319 ¶ IE *peri 'around' coalesced with the homonymous form *peri 'beyond, across, away from' of different origin (< N *P̥RN'R 'to cross, to pass through', q.v.) ¶ The absence of traces of the N lr. in NaIE may be accounted for by mt.: N *p̥i'h|X|Q'RE > *p̥iRHN > IE *perH-i > NaIE *peri || U: *p̥irE ({UEW: *pireä}) 'circle, ring; to surround' > F piiri 'Kreis, Zirkel, Ring; Gebiet', Es piir 'Umkreis, Grenze, Umriß', piira- 'umgrenzen, umgeben, Kreise beschreiben' | pLp {Lr.} *pirz > Lp: N {N} birrâ (adv., postp., prep.) 'round, all round', L {LLO} pirra, Klt/T/Kld p̥irr 'herum, um' | Er p̥ire, Mk pera 'eingezunter Platz (Dreschtenne, Gemüsegarten, usw.)', 'vegetable garden; farmstead', Er pirá-, perá-, píri- 'zäunen, einzäunen, umringen', Er perít, Mk perf 'um, herum' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} pürt 'ring, circle', LTz {KD} püre 'ring', Ke {KD} p̥ir 'circle; round', Tm {KD} pörök id. | Kms {KD} p̥eri 'ringsum, um' ¶ Coll. 49, UEW 384 (the √ is unconvincingly considered onomatopoeic), SK 551, KKIH 155, Ker. II 113-4, KD 52, Lr. #927, N I 180-1, Lgc. #4949 ◇ Cf. UEW 384 (U, IE, M ergi- v. 'turn, move round', Ewk h̥ərkə- v. 'tie'). It is tempting to suppose that MEI pu-ur 'Kreis, Rundhof (??)' (HK 241) belongs here. ≈ Gr. II #15 (*pir 'around').

1772. (2?) *P̥EyRN(čN) 'belly, stomach, contents of the intestines' > HS: WS *parNθ- 'contents of the guts\stomach' > Ak pars-ū, BHb

פֶּרֶשׁ 'peres̄ id., 'dung', Sr פֶּרֶתְּ פֶּרֶתְּ per't-ā 'undigested food in the stomach; dung', JA [Trg.], JPA, JEA פֶּרֶתְּ par't-ā, SmA prt, Md parta 'excrements', Ar farθ- {Ln.} '(ð) what is extracted from the kariš- (or stomach of a ruminant)', {Hv} 'contents of the stomach of ruminants', Tgy fərsi id., Amh fərs 'contents of the stomach', Mh {Jo.} farθ, Hrs {Jo.} fōrθ, Jb J {Jo.} 'fɔrθ, Sq {L} 'sort 'undigested food in the stomach\entrails of a slaughtered animal' ¶ KB 918, KBR 977, GB 663, Tal 712, Ln. 2358-9, Hv. 552, BK II 561, Js. 1244, Sl. 941, Br. 609, DM 365, JPS 446, Bsn. 989, Jo. M 101, Jo. H 35, Jo. J 62, LLS 343, Sd. 836, MiK I #1.221 || ?σ IE: ḥt paratarru 'lying prone' ¶ Ts. W 60 (absent in CHD) || **עַ** *piyra 'stomach of an animal, crop of a bird' > F piira 'der zweite Magen der Vögel, Kropf', pLp {Lr.} *pirē(m) > Lp: N {N} birram ~ birran ~ birrem, birraš / -až- 'crop of a bird, craw', L {LLO} pirēv ~ pirēm 'der Magen des Eichhörnchen; Kaumagen, Muskelmagen der Vögel', pirāv ~ pirām 'Kaumagen (bei Vögeln)', T {Tl} pārram 'crop of a bird' | Er puyarma, {Reg.} purmo, Mk pärma 'stomach of birds' || Sm {Jn.} d. *perkä (~ *pirkä?) 'belly' > Ne T πιρὶ, T O {Lh.} pirčī 'crop of birds', Ne F {Lh.} pīčōccī 'Blättermagen', En d. {Cs.} 'fedíko 'Fischmagen', Slq Tz {KKIH} pērq+ 'belly' ¶ UEW 378-9, Lr. #928, Lgc. #4955, Jn. 122, KKIH 148-9 || **אַבְ**: pKo *pāj 'belly' > MKo pāj id., NKO pā 'stomach, abdomen, belly' ¶ S AJ 90, 251 (#4), S QK #4, Nam 251, MLC 743 || pJ *pārā 'belly' > OJ párā, J: T/Kg hará, K hára ¶ S AJ 90, 264 (#3), S QJ #4, Mr. 399 ¶ An alt. et.: Ko, J < A *pājélo (≈ {DQA} *pēylo) 'belly, liver' (S AJ 90, DQA #1632) < N *pālā 'inside, entrails, liver' (q.v.). Cf. Rm. SKE 182, Mr. KJ 243, Mill. JAL 153.

1773. *P_Ar₁?_Ν 'to bring forth, to give birth' (of animals), 'young of animals' ([in descendant lgs.] → v. 'breed') > **HS:** S: [1] WS *✓pry v. 'bring forth posterity' > BHb בְּרִית✓pry 'bring forth posterity' (ברִיתְ פְּרִיתְ wu-r'bū 'bring forth posterity and multiply!' - 2p imv.), Tgr ✓fry (pf. fera) 'sich vermehren, hervorbringen'; [2] S *parr- 'young ungulate, bull' (× N *p'ō'r₁w₁Ν '[female, young?] ungulate [esp. bovine]), q.v. ffd.) ¶ KB 904-5, KBR 963-4, 967-8, Ln. 2356, Sd. 834, LH 659 || B *✓fr?> Kb nnufra 'accoucher, enfanter', Izn tinəfra, BSn tanəfra, CA timənnəfra 'placenta, délivre' ¶ Di. 551, ≈ NZ 602-3 || C: Bj ✓fry ({R} p. 'a-fri, prs. a-fan'rī) pcv. 'give birth, beget', {R} -t-ferāy v. ps. 'be born', fe'rāy (pl. fe'ray) 'child, offspring' || Ag: Bln

{R} **fr̥ī-**/fr̥iy- v. 'multiply, have offspring, beget' (lu'w̥ī 'fr̥īti 'die Kuh hat viele Kälber gebracht', ү-оқүр fr̥inīux 'meine Söhne haben Kinder erzeugt'), Xm {R} fir- 'sich vermehren' (die Herde) ¶ R WBd 81, R WB 125, R Ch. II 43 || Ch (xN *p̥ōr'i [or *p̥ōHar'i?] 'child, offspring'): WCh: NrBc: Wrj {Sk.} vurd- v. 'bear, give birth', Cg {Sk.}, Kry {Sk.} v̥ard̥, My {Sk.} vurk-, {ChL} á v̥rk̥, P' {MSk.} v̥ard̥ā, Sir {Sk.} v̥ad-, Mbr {Sk.} v̥ark-, Jmb {Sk.} vurd-, Dir {Sk.} v̥'rā id., P' {MSk.} v̥ard̥ā v. 'give birth, beget', v̥urā 'girl, daughter' || CCh: Zm {J} fr̥ā, {Sa.} v̥rā?ā v. 'give birth, beget' ¶ ChC s.v. 'bear' and 'beget', JI II 161, ChL, Sk. NB 23, MSk. 21O ¶ In S, Bj, and Ag the verb *v̥pry (> *v̥fry) 'have offspring, bring forth, beget' coalesced with *v̥pry v. 'bear fruit' (< N *p̥e'r̥N ~ *p̥ūHr̥N 'fruit') || IE: NaIE *per- v. 'give birth' > L p̥ariō, parēre (pfc. p̥ep̥eri, sup. partum) v. 'bring forth, bear' || Gk πόρις (gen. πόριος) 'calf' || W ərthyl, {YGM} ərthyl(iad) 'abortion' || Lt peréti (prs. periū), Ltv perēt 'to hatch, to brood', Lt p̥eras 'larva, hatch egg', žuvū p̥eras 'fish spawn', perai 'Brut', Ltv p̥eri 'larvae of bees, grubs' | Sl *(v̥t-, jbz-)p̥yr(-t)- 'give birth (prematurely)' > ChS һспърътък ісрърътък 'a child cut out of the womb of its mother', Uk ви-порт-ок, R Δ въпороток 'premature birth', Cz s-pratek, † zpratek, Cz L vý-par-ek 'premature-born calf', P {Chd.} wyporek 'cesarean section', wyporka 'a child taken from the womb by the cesarian section', wyprótek 'a child\animal cut out of the womb of its mother' || AdS : contamiantion with N *p̥o'r̥w̥N '(female, young?) ungulate (esp. bovine)' (q.v. ffd.) > Gk πόρις 'calf'; OHG far, farro, NHG Farre, AS fearr, ON farri '(young) bull' ¶ NaIE ds. for youngs of animals (*p̥r̥-t̥N) > OI p̥thuka-h 'young of an animal, boy' || Arm nnp̥ orth̥, gen. -n̥l -u 'calf, young deer', NArm Δ hort̥ & fərt̥ & fuerth̥ ~ huert̥ id. || Gk πόρταξ, πόρτις 'calf' ¶ -t- in *p̥r̥-t̥N- and Sl *(v̥t-, jbz-)p̥yr-t- may be a sx. of pp. (*p̥r̥-t̥N- 'born') ¶ P 818, EI 24 (*per- 'offspring of an animal' ← 'what is brought forth'), WH II 255-6, M K II 332-3, F II 58O, YGM-1 218, Vr. 113, Kb. 221, 225, OsS 161, KM 185, Ho. 99, Frn. 573, Hü. 483, Slt. 200-1, ≈ Ma. CS 467 || D: [1] (in SD) *p̥ar-, *p̥arNpp- / *p̥arNv- ({GS} *p-) 'child, young of an animal' > Kn p̥ara 'boy', Tm p̥arppu 'fledgling, young of birds, young of tortoise \ frog \ toad \ lizard, etc., young of quadrupeds', p̥arval 'fledgling, young of deer and other animals', Ml p̥arppu 'shoal of young fish, small fry' ¶ D

#4O95 ॥ [2] D *pār^Δ] ({§GS} *p-) 'a young (female?) buffalo' (× N *p^ro¹r₁w₁^Δ '↑, q.v. ffd.) ॥ Not here D *per- v. 'beget, give birth' (D #4422), which goes back rather to N *berE?a 'give birth' (q.v.) ◇ D *-r- suggests a pN cns. cluster with *r; in the light of the HS data it may have been *-rp- ◇ Cf. IS SS #1O.7 and IS MS 361 (рождать *perə: IE *per- v. 'give birth', A *pōr^Δ 'offsprings', U *per^Δ 'family, relatives', HS *pr- 'offsprings, child, fruit'; does not distinguish the reflexes of N *PAr₁?^Δ from those of N *p^re¹r^Δ ~ *p^ūHr^Δ 'fruit' and N *pōr'i¹ 'child').

1774. 2 *pAri₁?^Δ, 'take out, pull out\off' > HS *✓ pry ~ *✓ pr? (< **p^Δri?^Δ) v. 'take out, go out' > (× N *pAr₁y₁^Δ 'run, flee', q.v.) Eg √ pry v. 'go out' ('herausgehen, hervorgehen'), DEg pry 'herausgehen', Copt Sd πειρε peire, B φιπι p^hiri 'sortir' ॥ EG I 518-525, Fk. 9O-1, Er. 134, Vc. 162-3 || C: Bj {R} ✓ fr? (1s: p. 'a-fra?, prs. afan'rī?) '(her)ausziehen', (1s: p. a-'frā?, prs. atfa'rī?) '(her)ausgehen, aufgehen (Sonne, Mond, Sterne)', {Rop.} fir?(a) v. 'get \ lift \ pick \ fetch out\up' (ba'rū ašši'gēti ū'hānžar 'farr?i 'he is quick to get out his dagger', ba'rū kwire-fār?[?]ībi 'he is a tooth-drawer'), fir?a (2m p. tifir?a) vi. 'get out\up', 'rise' (sun) || EC: Sa {R} far-'ausgehen' ('išši 'dibōl 'farte 'sie ging in die Steppe'), 'weggehen, abweichen von der Volkssitte'; but not here Hd fir- v. 'go out' (↔ SSAAJ I #32), which goes back to HEC *ful-, Hd -r- being a reg. reflex of EC and HEC *-l- (Hd. 71) || Dhl {EEN} fir- 'take out' ॥ R WBd 81-2, RS II 17, Rop. 18O-1, EEN 23 ॥ Cf. SSAAJ I #32 ॥ The separate existence of the HS roots *✓ p|fr v. 'flee' (F N *pAr₁y₁^Δ 'run, flee') and *✓ pry ~ ✓ pr? v. 'go out, take out' is suggested by the distinction within Bj, where each of these roots is represented by a different verb || D *pari- ({§GS} *p-) v. 'tear off, pluck' (× N *päri?[?]E [or *päryE?] 'to tear, to split' × N *P^ΔR^t¹^Δ 'to jerk, to pull [out], to tear off') > Tm pari (fts. -pp-, prts. -tt-) 'to pluck, to crop, to weed', pari (fts. -v-, prts. -nt-) 'to be cut off, to be torn apart', Ml pari 'pulling, tearing off', Kt payr- vt., vi. 'break by pulling both ends (as rope, flower-stem)', payr 'rag', Td par^y- v. 'pluck forcibly', par^y 'rag', Kn pari- 'break off, tear asunder, tear', Kdg pari 'pluck', par(a)ŋkuni, parkuni 'pluck out', parpuni 'pluck, pull out', Tl pariya 'piece, fragment, slice', Kui paža 'hew, cut down', Krx pařax- 'separate or force asunder the two parts of

some object previously split' §§ D ##3962, 4027 ◇ Dhl *f- (for the expected p- < N *p-) is puzzling (infl. of some paronymous word?).

1775. *päri'g'E (or *päryE?) 'to tear, to split' > HS: S (or CS) *✓pry ~ *✓prr 'split, break' > Ar ✓fry v. 'cut, split', {Hv.} 'slit, cut out, rip off (skin)', Ar Sh ✓fr̥r 'fendre, couper en deux', Ar ✓fr̥fr (pf. farfara) v. 'couper, briser, déchirer', {Hv.} 'cut, break', BHb פְרַר ✓prr Sh (pf. הֶפְרֵר hē'p̥r̥) v. 'break, destroy', MHb ✓prr D (pf. pē'rēr), ✓pr̥r (pf. פְרַפְרָר pir'per) 'zerbröckeln', JA [Trg.] TD (pf. ?itpar'per) 'zerbröckelt werden', {Js.} 'crush, crumble', Ug {Grd., DrvG} ✓prr G v. 'break' (Grd. UT #2121, DrvG 156, OLS 355), Ak {Sd.} ✓prr D 'zerstreuen' (× ✓prr 'auflösen', which is hardly of the same origin and is akin to Rn fura 'untie, undo, open sth. fastened, release'); S *°✓wpr > Ar ✓wfr D {Hv.} 'cut out a large piece of cloth' § KB 916-7, KBR 974-5, BDB #6565, Js. 1236, ~ Lv. T II 298, BK II 559, 582, 1574, Hv. 552, 560, 883, OLS 355, Sd. 830, PG 116 || ?σ EC: SmI farūr {DSI} 'aprire un passaggio per far defluire qs., fare un canale per deviare qs. (fiume, liquido, ecc.)', {ZMO} 'cut a channel' § DSI 222, ZMO 136 || B *✓fr̥H (most probably ✓fr̥?) v. 'tear' > Kb fr̥i 'déchirer', Gd afra (3m pf. ifra) 'être cassé\déchiré, se casser\déchirer; fendre (une bête égorgée)'; ??σ B *-f̥r̥u-~-f̥r̥i- 'sword' > Grr/Fgg {Bs.} تفريت ta-fru-t 'épée', Izd {Mrc.}, Fgg ta-fru-t id., Zng {Bs.} te-feri-t, {MH → Nic.} tefəri 'poignard', CM tafrut, tafra 'knife, sword' § Di. 229-230, Lf. I 265 and II #0412, Bs. NLB IV 342, Bs. MS I 160, Mrc. 109, Nic. 193, NZ 605-7 || ?Ch: WCh: Hs bārā v. 'split' (yā bārā gōrō 'he split a kola-nut into segments') (× Hs bārā v. 'shell, peel, strip off [bark]', which is probably of different origin) | Dr {J} ber- v. 'tear', ?Krf {Sch.} bārālú v. 'break (e.g., a stick)' | Ngz b̥tr̥u 'separate a unitary thing into parts' || CCh: Db {Lnh.} pur, {ChL} pur v. 'tear' || ?ECh: Skr {Sx.} pūrē v. 'split' §§ Unlike SSAAJ (I #28), I prefer to keep apart words of AG for vt. 'break', such as Gmy {SSAAJ} piar-am v. 'break' (which probably belongs together with Gmy piyēn, Cp piyan, Ang p̥in, Su piyin vt. 'break', Fy pyan id. [ChC, ChL] and Ang {Flk.} parp v. 'smash with noise' (which is o) § ChC s.v. 'split', 'break', 'tear', Abr. H 77, ChL, Sch. DN 28 §§ SSAAJ I #28, Sk. HCD 29 || IE: NaIE *(s)per- v. 'tear, be torn, break' > Arm փերք p̥erq 'piece, bit' ({P} 'abgerissenes Stück') || Gk σπαρ-άσσω, Gk Α σπαρ-άττω v. 'tear, rend in pieces, mangle', σπάραχμα 'a piece torn off, shred, fragment' || ON

spiqrr 'shred of cloth, rag' (< *sperrō) || Lt *spūr-ti* (prs. *spūr-ù*),
 spury-ti vi. 'to fray', Ltv Δ {ME} *spurt* 'ausfasern', Ltv *spurōtiēs*
 'to become frayed\ragged' || Sl *por-ti / 1s prs. *porjō > ChS **прати**
prati / **порих** porjō 'scindere', R по'роть / по'рю, Uk **пороти** v.
 'unpick, rip (clothes)', Blg 'поря' 'cut into parts', SCr 1s prs. *pòrīm*
 (⇒ inf. *pòriti*), Slv **práti** / **pórjem** v. 'rip up', Cz **párati**, P
próć / **porzeć** 'unsew, unseam, rip up' ¶ WP II 668, P 99O (the Arm
 word misquoted with p- for p^h-), IS II 1O1, F II 757, Vr. 536, Frn. 886,
 Kar. II 28O-1, ME III 1O33, Vs. III 332, Mikl. L 659, Glh. 496 || **U:** FU
 *päre v. 'break, split' (> Chr: H *pera-*, L *perb-* v. 'strike') ⇒ *päre-k,
 *päre 'kleines Stück; Span' > F **päre** (gen. **päreēn**) 'Span, Kienspan', ?
 Es **peerg** (gen. **peeru**), **pirg** (gen. **piru**) 'Kienspan' | ? Prm {Lt.}
 *pūr 'crumb' > Z **pīrig** id., Vt **pīrt** id., ñāñ **pīrt** 'crumbs of bread' (the
 change of the vw. is puzzling) || ObU *pĒr- > pVg *pār 'crum, piece'
 (preserved in cds.) > Vg: P **tōr-pār** 'rag' (lit. 'piece of cloth', tōr is
 'Tuch'), NV **tarpōr**, SV **torpōr**, LL **tarpōr** 'rag', P **ñiñ-pār** 'crumb of bread'
 (ñiñ is 'bread'), SV **ñāñ-pōr** 'crumb of bread'; pOs *pēr ({ʃHl.} *pīr) > Os
 V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/K **pēr** 'crumb' ¶ UEW 366, Lt. 196, LG 236, Ht. 178 #53O,
 Kn. VW 166 || **A** {SDM97} *pāre v. 'split; crack, precipice' ({DQA}
 *pīär̩N 'split, crack') > Tg *pīri- v. 'split; crack' > Ewk **hiri-ktz** 'crack,
 трещина', Δ **hirkz-**, **sirnz-** vi. 'crack (of wood\ice)', Lm **hir** 'crack,
 fissure, crevice', Ork **pīri-ktz** 'crack, chink (in ice)', WrMc **fiyere-**,
fiyerene- vi. 'crack (образоваться трещине, трескаться)',
fyeren 'crack, fissure; ravine (ущелье)' ¶ STM II 327 || ? T *jār- v.
 'split, cleave (with a sharp instrument)' (× N *zärXN 'to cut, to
 wound', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Belongs here only if S's rec. of A *jā is justified ¶
 SDM97 s.v. *pāre (T, Tg + unc. M *pērgi 'steep bank', see N *PäRga
 'to split'), ≈ DQA #1783 (incl. T, Tg) || **D** *pari- ({ʃGS} *p-) 'tear off,
 pluck' (× N *pAri,?N 'take out, pull out\off', q.v. ffd., as well as N
 *P̩N R̩t̩N 'to jerk, to pull [out], to tear off?') ◇ Cf. IS II 1OO-1
 (*pār̩N 'tear, break, split'; IS adduces A *pōru~*pūru (> T *hūr̩-
 'tear, pull apart or to pieces', M *pürü- 'rub, grate, file', and Tg *puru-
 'crush, chop up, crumble'), which is to be rejected because the A vw.
 does not correspond to those of U and D and because A *r̩ does not
 correspond to D *-r-~-[r̩-] ◇ The IE *s- mobile points to a palatal
 element in the N word or its later development (N *päryE or *päriʔ̩E

> *päryE) and to the initial *p- (rather than *p-) ◇ The glottalized cns. in Ch and the long vw. in T point to a N lr., while lack of its traces in S and IE suggests that it was *?. Acc. to Pr.' theory (Pr. M VI-VII), the stem final vowel apophony i/a and u/a suggests a pB stem-final lr. (symbolized as *H), which may reflect the same N lr. (but not necessarily so, because the root final *? may well be of positional origin, as in the case of B *v̥ md^{r?} < N *muda 'to finish', q.v.). D *parj- is a reg. reflex of N *päri^{r?}E ◇ ≈ Gr. II #385 (*peri v. 'tear') (IE, U + err. A, Ko, Ai).

1776. *par₁Ν₂ι^{r?}i 'in stinging insect(s)' > HS: S *°para^r- > Ar fara^r- 'lice' coll. ¶ Fr. III 338, BK II 579 || Ch: WCh: SBc: Buli {ChC} f̄rēn, {ChL} furen 'fly', Zar K {Sh.} vurūn, Zar {ChL} vūrūŋ, Dw {ChL} vuren 'mosquito' || ? CCh: Mdr {Mch.} 'værræ (?) 'fly', Dgh vrāvrá, Msy {Mch.} v̄zre, Db {ChL} v̄rrút, {Lnh.} v̄rtč, Db K {Sb.} vrót 'mosquito' ¶ ChC, JI II 148, ChL, JS 111 || U: FU (att. in Lp) *°po₁; r₂ > pLp {Lr.} *pōrj- 'Tabanus, Oestrus' > Lp: N {N} boaro 'horse-fly, gadfly', Kld {Tl} pu'arā 'gadfly', {SaR} πυαρ 'botfly', S {Hs.} boär'üve, boär'üje 'Renntierbremse, Oedemagena tarandi' ¶ Lr. #976, Lgc. #515O, TI 385, Hs. 354, N I 204, SaR 268, ≠ UEW 724 || A *p'är^{r?}i 'bee, wasp' > T (att. in NaT) *hāri (or *hārig?) 'bee, wasp' > OT [MhK] {Cl.} arī, MU XIII ari 'bee, wasp, hornet', MQp aru, XwT, Chg ari, ET {LCq} hāri 'bee, wasp', ET härä, Qq härre, Tkm, Qrg āri, Xlj {Tn. in TL ← ?} hāri 'bee, wasp', Ggz āri 'wild bee', Tk arī, Az, Tv ari, Tv Tj xari, Xk ār, QK {B} ari ~ ariy 'bee', Ln ari 'big black fly (bee?)', Qzq ara, Uz ari 'wasp', StAlt arū 'bee' ¶ Rs. W 25-6, ET Gl 186-7, TL 186, Cl. 196-7, DTS, RI. I 248, 272, BIG 11 ¶ The cause of preserving *h- in ET, Tv Tj, and Qq is unknown. The NaT rec. is most likely without *-g, unless -y in QK is inherited; it may have been induced by analogy with some *-ig/-ig-words || pJ {S} *pátí > OJ pátí 'bee', J: T hāci, K hācī, Kg hācī 'bee, wasp, hornet' ¶ S QJ 238, Mr. 401, Kenk. 411 ¶ S VL #32 ¶ ≈ DQA #1755 (A *p'éra 'bee'; incl. T, J) || D: Kui parri 'hornet', Ku Δ prāri 'wasp', Δ parri 'wild bee' ¶ D #3985 ◇ FU *ō goes back to eU *ā < N *a with compensatory lengthening ◇ Cf. Rs. UW 28 (U, A), IS MS 358 ('bee': U, A).

1777. (2?) *pAri^{r?}Ν 'strew, spread, extend' > IE: NaIE *(s)p(^h)er-, *sprej-, *sprey- 'strew, scatter, sow' > Arm փարաս

h

arət 'detached, disunited, dispersed' (< *p^h.r-), փարասեմ

h

arətem 'I dissipate, disperse, scatter', ? սփռեմ sp̄rəm 'I spread, disseminate,

disperse, scatter', **սփիռ** spʰiṛ adj. 'spread, dispersed, diffused, extended' (< *spʰēro-), **սփիռը** spʰiṛkʰ 'dispersion' || Gk σπέρω v. 'scatter, sow, strew', σπέρμα, σπορά 'semen, seed' || Gmc *sprēwen > NNr språ 'spröde, brüchig werden', Gmc *sprēujan > MDt spræien 'fly about (like dust)', ? OHG {OsS} spræjen, spræwen 'spritzen, stieben', Gmc *sprōujan > OHG sprouwen 'sprühen, sprinkle', NHG sprühen 'to spray, to sprinkle', OHG F {ML} sprowan 'sprühen, zerstieben' → OFr {ML} esproher 'besprengen' || pAl {O} *sparā > Al farē 'seed, semen' || Ht ispar(r)-, isparriya- 'spread, strew, scatter' §§ P 993-4, EI 500 (*sper- 'strew, sow'), F II 762-3, KM 733, Kb. 945, OsS 855, ML #8188, Me. EAC 35, Slt. 387-9, O 93, Pv. I-II 441-7 || ? HS: S *°✓pr̥i (x N *Poirī́ṇ 'hair', q.v.) > Ar farī- {Hv.} 'woman's hair', {BK} id., 'chevelure' (esp. 'chevelure très abondante'), Ar ✓fr̥i (pf. fariṣa) {Hv.} 'have abundant hair', {BK} 'avoir une chevelure très abondante, telle qu'elle couvre toute la tête' § BK II 578-9, Hv. 557 || ?? K: +ext.: MG, G prkv-ev- 'pour, strew, scatter' ('schütten, vergießen, streuen') § DCh. 1316, Chx. 1503 || D *par- ({θGS} *p-) v. 'spread' > Tm parə v. 'spread, be diffused, be flattened (as by hammering)', Ml parakka v. 'spread, be diffused, extended', Kt pard- '(small objects) spread over large space', part- v. 'spread (grain, chillies) in sun to dry', Td par- v. 'open wide (an entrance)', Kn paraqū vt., vi. 'spread, extend, be diffused', Kdg para- v. 'crawl', parat- v. 'spread (grain)', Tu parapuni v. 'creep, crawl, spread (as a creeper)', paraquni vt., vi. 'spread', Tl parapu, parapu 'broad, extended, expanded', paravu vi. 'spread', Δ parāgu, parāgu, paragu id., Klm pārakerj v. 'crawl' (of babies), Prj parp- (p. part-), Gnd parhānā v. 'spread', Knd par̥- v. 'spread (as a mat)', Kui prahpa (p. praht-) vt. 'spread out, scatter', Ku pressali v. 'spread out paddy to dry' §§ D #3949, Km. 426 ◇ IS MS (*pa'r̥j'a v. 'spread': IE, D). The N initial *p- is suggested by IE *(s)p-. IE *s-mobile suggests a palatal element in the prehistory of the word (N *pAri'f'ṇ > *pařarya). The form *pařarya is also responsible for D *-r- (regularly from cns. clusters with *r). N *f > S *f and zero in K and Ht.

1778. *por'f'û 'to heat with fire, to burn' > HS: C: Dhl puruſ- vi. {E} 'be burnt up', {EEN} 'burn, cook', {To.} 'burn' § E PC #389 (Dhl < SC {E} *purſ- v. 'be burnt'; + err. Ag {E} *bær-/ *bäl- v. 'burn'), EEN 7, To. D 145 || K {Fn.} *°pur- v. 'heat, heat with fire' > Mg pur- id., 'incandence' § Q 339, Fn. KD #109 || IE: NaIE *preufs- vi. 'burn' > OI 'plōšati

'burns, scorges, singes', *plus̥ta-* 'burned, scorged, singed' || pAl {O} **prušā* > Al T/G *prušh* 'bed of hot coals or of live charcoal, live ember', Al {My.} *prūš* 'brennende Kohlen, Glut' || L *prūna* 'live coal' (< **prusnā*), *prūri-o / -īre* 'itch' ¶ WP II 88, EI 88, M K II 387, P 846, My. 355, O 348, AlbED 697, Kf. 283, BFU 45O, LamP 158 || **u:** (ppU ***poru?*) > U **porv* (in FP) ~ **purv* (in Sm) vi. 'burn' > FP **porv* > Es Δ *pə,reñd* 'Brand auf der Schwende, Schwende, Brandacker' ('sōōrutuli, sōōrd'), *pə,reñd_e* 'mit großen Flammen brennen, *pə,reñt* (gen. *pə,reñt·i*) 'große Flamme', Lv *pə,randyks* 'Scheiterhaufen' | Prm **pur-* v. 'burn' > Vt *purom-* 'grow hot' (of live coal), *puromit-* 'kindle (firewood)', Z LL *purd-* 'burn (earthenware, bricks)', Prmk Zz *purdit-* 'pour boiling water on' ('обваривать') || pre-Sm **pura-* > Sm {Jn.} **pərā-* vi. 'burn' > Ne T *pära-* 'be burnt down\round, burn oneself' ('сгореть, обгореть, обжечься'), *päradä-* vt. 'burn down\round, scorch' ('сжечь, обжечь, опалить'), Ne F {Lh.} *paratāmmi* 'gebraten', En {Ter.} *порай* 'burnt down', En X (Cs.) *fokarabō* 'braten' (1s aor. obcj.), B (Cs.) *foradabō* id., Slq UKe {KD} *pərru·yan* (1s aor.), *pərumba* (3s) 'is bitter' ¶ UEW 737, LG 233, Jn. 114 || **A** {SDM97} **p̥ore* 'fire; to burn' > T **hjört* 'flame, fire, conflagration, forest-\steppe-fire', **hjört-* vi. 'burn' > OT {Cl.} *ört* 'flame, conflagration', Tkm NC, Qrg, Qzq, Qq, StAlt, Xk *ört*, Tv {Bich.} *ört* 'fire (Brand, пожар)', Tf *ጀrt* 'forest-fire', Chg [Ab.] *ورت* *ört* 'flame that is spread in a field by wind', Tkm *ört* al-'get burnt' (of food) ('подгорать'), 'be burnt down', Bsh *ürt*, Yk *ört/örd-* 'burning out the remainder of last year's grass' ('пал'), 'steppe fire', VTt *yr̥t* *ürt* 'burning of last year's grass, fire (Brand), live coal', Chv *v̥irt* 'steppe fire'; T **hjört’ä-* > NaT **ört’ä-* vt. 'burn' > OT *örtä-* vt. 'light, burn', , Xk *örte-* 'burn down', Qq *örte-* id., v. 'set fire to, kindle', Qzq *örte-* v. 'set fire to, make a fire' ¶ Cl. 201, 208, ET Gl 550-1, Rs. W 375, TatR 752, Ash. V 245, Md. 50, KrkR 513, Jud. 599, Fed. I 125, Sht. 294, Ra. 214, S AJ 191 [#158], JkR 289, Bich. 52 || M **wp̥örv* > Kl *өр* 'kindling, firing up (рóзжиг)' (архснд өр өгх 'to kindle dry dung [used as fuel]' [= 'разжечь кизяк']); M {∂DQA} **wp̥örde-* > WrO *ördö-* v. 'fire up, stoke up', Kl *örde-* 'kindle (a big fire)', {Rm.} 'feuern', {KRS} *һал өрдх* 'kindle fire', {Rm.} *gal ördēd* 'ein Großfeuer anzündend', WrM {Kow., Gl.} *ördtüs-* (or *ürdtüs-*?) 'blaze up, take fire' ('prendre feu, s'enflammer'); other ds.: WrM *örbis-*, *örbid-* to burst into flames, blaze' ¶ KW 298, Krg. 151, KRS 424, Kow. 587, Gl. I

337, MED 64O, S AJ 289 [#134] || Ko {S} *pír 'fire' > MKo pír, NKo (= Ko Sl/Ph) pul, Ko ds.: PhN/Chj/Kw pul, Ks púl, Hm puł | S QK #3O, Nam 273, MLC 832, S AJ 252 [3O] || J *p̥-i 'fire' > OJ pyi, J: T hí, K hìi, Sh ψí | Q SJ #25, Mr. 405 || ??σ Tg *puri-/*piri- v. 'dry (over fire)' > Ewk huri- & huriṣī- & hiriw- id., Neg xīwun({STM} < *hiriwun) 'wicker device for drying fish\meat over fire', Orc xi 'shelf for drying fish over fire', WrMc fiyariŋgiya- vt. 'dry in the sun' | | S AJ 265 [#25], DQA #1828 (A *p̥'ōre) || D: [1] *pori ({§GS} *p-) 'spark, fire, fireplace' > Ml, Tu pori 'spark', Klm, Nkr poy 'hearth, fireplace' | | [2] *por- ({§GS} *p-) v. 'parch, roast, fry; be parched, fried' > Tm pori (fts. -v-, prts. -nt-) v. 'be parched, blackened by fire', pori (fts. -pp-, prts. -tt-) v. 'fry, parch, burn (as the sun)', Kt poyr- v. 'parch (grain)', Kn puri id., v. 'dry by exposure to the heat of fire', Kdg pori-, Tl porātu, Gnd pors- & borsānā v. 'fry', ? Krx porcō, poroc 'half cooked, not sufficiently boiled' (of grain) | | D #4537 ◇ D *-r- goes back to a cns. cluster (*-r̥t̥-) ◇ Cf. Fn. KD #109 (K, D) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #153 (*par 'fire') (A, Y, Ai, Gil, Ko are erroneously equated with IE *peXw-r 'fire', see N *p̥ä'r̥v̥üwA 'fire').

1779. *porāt̥n̥ 'summit, top' > HS: WS *parāt̥n̥- 'summit, upper part' > Ar farāt̥- 'summit, upper part', Sq {L} ferāt̥- 'bord', Sb frāt̥ 'upper part, summit (of the building)', ? BHb פֶרָאַת 'perat̥ 'leader, prince', Ug prāt̥ 'high (alta, excelsa)' adj. f.; WS *✓prāt̥ v. 'ascend (a mountain)' > Ar G ✓frāt̥ {Hv.} id., {BK} 'monter sur une hauteur, gravir une montagne', Mh {Jo.} ✓frāt̥ v. 'up, ascend' | KBR 971, KB 913 (BHb 'perat̥' *÷ S *parāt̥- 'hair of the head'), A #2276, OLS 354, BK II 578-9, Hv. 557, BGMR 46, Jo. M 97 || B *✓fry 'aiguille rocheuse, escarpement' > Ah efāri 'aiguille rocheuse', Kb ifri 'escarpement, rocher escarpé' | Fc. 339, Dl. 218, NZ 608 || CCh: Gude {Hsk.} fārā 'rock, stone', FLM {ChL, ChC} fara 'stone' | Bcm {Sk. in ChC} fārā 'rock, stone', Glv {Rp.} fərdaxa (pl.) 'rock(s)', fərdyéxa (pl.) 'rock(s), rocky ground' | McMtk: Mofu {Ro.} práy 'rock' (as well as possibly MfG {Brr.} (p̥)r̥ràd 'rocher plat' and Mf {BLB} p̥rád id. [but these two words may be alternatively connected with MfG {Brr.} p̥r̥ràdá, p̥r̥ràdé 'flat']) || ?σ ECh (+ext.): Ke {Eb.} p̥rkí 'mountain, rock, stone' (see Gmc ↓) | ChC, RB 39, Hsk. 184, Ro. 316, Brr. MG II 219, BLB 309, Eb. 88 || K: G prialo 'steep rock; steep', {DCh.} 'крутой утесъ, яръ', {Chx.} 'jäh,

abschüssig, steil', 'steile Felswand' ¶ Chx. 1502, DCh. 1315 || IE
 *perw-/ *peru- 'rock, mountain' (× N *P₁Arū 'stone, rock', q.v.) > Ht
 peru-, peruna- 'rock, cliff, boulder', ? pirwa- {Frd.} 'rock', {Ts.} -
 eine bestimmte Felsgottheit || OI 'parvata- 'rocky' (< *'perwŋto-),
 'parvatah 'mountain, rock', Av pa^urvatā- 'Gebirge'] +ext. *-k-:
 Gmc: Gt faírguni 'mountain', AS firȝin-~fyryȝin- 'mountain-' (in
 cds. with -strēam, etc.) || Clt *ṛkunios in n l. for mountainous
 regions: Ἀρκύνια ὄρη, Orcynia, etc. ¶ Frd. HW 68, Ts. W 63-4, CHD P
 314-5, M K II 228, M E II 99, EI 547 (*'peru 'rock'), Fs E 102-3, GI II 614,
 ~ EI 407 (unc.: connection of *perk- with *'perkwu-s 'oak'). ¶ IE *-w-
 /*-u- belongs to the heritage of N *P₁Arū 'stone, rock' || u *^op^ur^u >
 Sm *p^ur^u 'top, summit' > Slq Tz {KKIH} pōr id., Slq {Cs.}: Nr pār, Ke
 pār, NP pāri, Y/B/Kar pāre 'Gipfel, Höhe, das Obere' | Kms {Cs.}
 phāru 'Gipfel, Höhe' ¶ KKIH 153, Cs. 163, 228, 236 || A: M *ψorayi
 'top, summit, crown of the head' > MM {Pp.} horai, [S] horai
 'forehead (?)', WrM {Pp.} orai, {MED} orui 'summit, peak, crown of
 the head', HIM орой id., Brt орой, Ord orā, Kl opa 'top (of a tree),
 head, sinciput', Kl {Rm.} orā ~ orā 'Gipfel, höchster Punkt' ¶ Pp. VG 11,
 MED 621, Chr. 361, KRS 400, KW 287, Ms. O 522, H 77 || Tg *poro-n
 'crown of the head, top' > Ewk horon, Neg xojo ~ xoyon 'crown of
 head\mountain', Orc xō(n-), Nn Nh porō, Nn KU xorō, Nn B forō, Ul, Ork
 poro(n-) 'sinciput, crown of mountain, top', Ud xō(n-) 'space above
 (sth.)' ¶ STM II 334 || pJ {S} *p̥r̥z 'top (of carriage) > ltOJ ψoro id., J:
 T hóro, K/Kg hórò a (folding) top (hood), a calash-top, a hood, a
 bonnet' ¶ S VL #35, S QJ #252, Kenk. 549 || NaT *ōr 'top, high, height'
 (× N *H₁erU 'ascend, rise') > OT ör 'height, high, high ground', Chg ≥XV
 ör, örök 'high ground, upwards', Tkm ör 'steep ascent', Tkm NC ör
 'upwards', Tk ör 'high ground, hill', Qmq ör id., 'top, ascent', QrB, Qrg
 ör, SY ür ~ jür 'top', Nog, ET ör, Uz wr, Bsh ür 'ascent', VTt ür id., 'high
 ground', Qq ör 'upper waters'; Tkm ör- 'rise', Tk Δ ör- 'get up', VTt, Bsh
 ür- v. 'sprout' ¶ Cl. 193, ET Gl 542-3 ¶ DQA #1837 (A p'ōre 'top') || D:
 [1] D {tr.} *porr-, {GS} pod- 'mountain, top' (× N *parT^u 'rock, hill',
 q.v. ffd.) || [2] (in SD) *pōr- ({GS} *b-) '(top of a) hill' > Kn bōræ
 'hill, hillock', Tu bōræ 'top of a hill' ¶ D ##4567, 4595, GS 151
 [#381], 71 [#232] ◇ T *h₁- and CCh (McMtk *p-) suggest N *p-. D
 *porr- reflects the N etymon *porrā¹² without elision of the internal

vw., while *-r- in D *pōr- may be accounted for by a syncope (*pōr^{r̥}ā¹Ν > **pōr^{r̥}Ν) in the N word. I am grateful to Hl. for drawing my attention to the Slq cognate. The T front vw. *ö is due to vw. harmony (infl. of the N word-medial vw. *ā¹?).

1780. *pürgU(-čΝ) ~ *pürčΝgΝ 'flea, gnat, mosquito' > HS: S *pʌryuθ- ~ *ob'u'ryūθ- 'flea' > BHb פָרְעֹשׂ par'ūš 'flea', ? Ug pr̥t (p.n.), Sr mt. ^{لِهَلْكَة} purtaⁿ-ā, Ar بُرْغُوْثُ buryūθ-, Ak OB mt. perša^{um} ~ persa^{um} 'flea'; cp. also Ar بُرْغَشْ baryāš- {Hv.} 'gnat', {BK} 'moucheron' (S *bryš^h) ¶ The Ar word baryāš- has an unexpected final sibilant š that may point to an ancient cd. with a different second component or to borrowing from another S lge. ¶ KB 914, Hv. 29, 39, A #2278, Grd. UT #2114, BK I 113, Hv. 29, OLS 355, Sd. 855-6 || A: *pürgE, *pürčE 'flea' > T: [1] *pürgäe 'flea' > OT bürgelä ({Cl.} bürgä), MU, Chg [San.], Tk Δ bürge, ET bürgä, Δ bürge, Uz burgä, Qzq, Qq bürge, Qrg bürgö, MOg, OOsm büre, Osm {Bu., Zen.} پوره ~ {Bu.} پُرْه pürä, Tkm büre, Tk pire, Ggz, Kr Cr pire, Az pira id.] [2] T *pürçä 'flea' > MQp {Hts.} bürçä, Tkm Δ pürče, VTt бурча bürča, Bsh бөрсә bürsä, CrTt {Rl.} birčä, Kr T birča, Cry Cr birče, Kr G birce, QrB, Qmq bürče, Brb {Rl.} pürcä, Nog бүршө bürše, Chv L пăрча pürča, Chv H {Md.} pürča id.; T → MM [L] bürče id. ¶ The loss of T *-g- in the Og lgs. is still to be explained ¶ Cl. 362, ET B 298-9, TL 182-3, Rs. W 92, Bu. I 325, Zn. I 234, Md. 57, 175 (*bür-če ~ *-ü-), SM 35 || M *bürge > MM [HI, IsV] bürge 'flea', HIM {OMT} бүргэнэ id., {Luv.} бүрэг bürreg 'louse, lice', MnR H {SM} bürge 'flea', Kl бүрг бürgä, {Rm.} bürge, bürög id. ¶ Ms. H 45, Lg. VMI 22-3 (believes that M ← T), Luv. 98, KRS 132, KW 71, OMT I 49, SM 35 ¶ The long ü in some modern M lgs. is puzzling || pKo {S} *piärök 'flea' > MKo piärök, NKo piärük ¶ S QK #47O, Nam 258, MLC 775 ¶ DQA #17O (A *bijure 'flea') || D {tr.} *piärük-, {GS} piärük- 'gnat, mosquito' > MI piärukku id., Kdg puriki 'mosquito', Gnd pork & porki & poṛki & paṛkī 'louse' ¶ D #42O3, GS 43 [#93] ◇ T *pürçä and D {GS} piärük- (with *-d- < *-rC-?) go back to a N metathetic variant ~ *pürčΝgΝ. This mt. and variations within the √ (y ~ ī in Ar, reflexes of N *k ~ *k instead of N *g in A and D) may be connected with ideophonic (even onomatopoeic - in the case of 'gnat, mosquito') associations. The variation *b- ~ *p- may be due to the N non-emph. *p- or to ideophony. Alternatively, the N element *-čΝ (> S

*-θ-, T *-çä) may go back to an ancient particle (with diminutive meaning, as in T; cp. TL 182-3: "the form with -č- is probably a diminutive") ◇ IS II 99-1OO (? *pūrčn(ən) / pūlčn(ən) 'flea').

1781. *parah' i|ü (or *parap'i|ü) 'weak' > HS: S *°✓ pr̥r > Ak ✓ pr̥r G v. 'be weak' ¶ Sd. 829-830 || IE: NaIE *prāyu- 'lacking in energy' > OI 'a-prāyu- 'careful, assiduous' (← *'not lacking of energy') || Gk πράγμας, πράγματος 'mild, soft, gentle, meek' ¶ WP II 86-7, M K I 4O, F II 588, Ch. 933-4 (no et. of the Gk word) || A *p̥är'i- ({SDM97} *p̥āra) v. 'be tired' > T *h̥är- ({Md.} *-ē-, {ʃMd.} *-ā-) > OT {Cl.} ār- v. 'be tired, exhausted, weak', Tkm ār- v. 'get tired\weak', Tkm Δ har- id., ET Trn hār- id., hārdur 'müde machen', Qq hari-, Uz hari- v. 'get tired, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Bsh, Qrg ari- v. 'get tired', VTt ar-(u) 'get tired\exhausted', ar̥t-(u) 'vt. 'tire (утомлять)', Yk Ȑr- ~ Ȑr- v. 'get tired', Chv Ȑr- id. ¶ Pp. VG I 96, ET Gl 16O-2, Cl. 193, Rs. W 22, RI. II 1748-9, TatR 4O-41, Jeg. 343, Fed. II 472, Md. 98, 1O1 ¶ Md. reconstructs pT *ä, *ā (a, ā in most T lgs., I, I: in Chv and Yk), which goes back to A *a or *ā preceding a vw. *i of the second syll. or to A diphthongs || M *φari- > MM {Pp.} hari- v. 'get exhausted' ('erschöpft sein'), WrM {Pp.} ari- id. (the word does not appear in Kow., MED, and Gl.), {Gl.} ari-su- 'come to an end, stop, disappear' (unless it is a sd. from ari-su- 'be cleaned' ['очиститься, быть очищенным']) ¶ Pp. VG 96, Gl. I 186-7, Krg. 51, MED 53 || Tg {SDM97} *paru- v. 'be dizzy, faint' > Ewk harū-, harūl-, harūní- v. 'be dizzy', Lm hāru-, Ud xaunz- id., Nn B farında- v. 'faint', WrMc {Z} fara-ka-bi (p.) 'fainted', {Hr.} fara- 'ohnmächtig werden, bewußtlos werden', ? Mc Sb {Mrm.} faranna- 'bestürzt sein, erstarren'; acc. to Pp. VG 96 (an unconvinsing hyp.), Ewk harul- 'krank werden' is a loan from MM ¶ STM II 317-8, Krm. 3O5, Klz. MS 165, Z 1O36, Hr. 276 || ?σ pKo {S} *parh- 'be lean\emaciated' > NKO p̥hari-ha- ¶ S QK #925, MLC 173O ¶ S VL #31, ~ DQA #1727 (A *p̥āra 'be tired'; incl. T, M, Tg, Ko) || D (in SD) *par- ({GS} *p̥-) 'weak, worn out' > Tm parai v. 'be wasted, worn out, impaired', Kn pare, parakalu 'leanness, thinness, weakness' ¶ D #4O33 || ?σ, φ U: Ugr (UEW) *p̥ārrv- or *p̥ārkv 'get tired' > Vg Ss {Knn.} powrə-mat- 'ermüden, müde werden' (-mat- mom.) | Hg fárad 'get tired' ¶ UEW 88O-1, EWU 357 ◇ The long *ā in IE and the type of length in A (S's 1st type > T long vw., Tg short vw., J high tone) suggest a lr. within the N word. The only N lrs. compatible with Ak data are *h

and *?. Acc. to my hyp., D **č* goes back to N **r* in the intervoc. position (suggesting a vw. after N *-r-). On the evidence of IE *-y- and A *-i (> M *-i) we may tentatively reconstruct a word-final N *-i. If this is true, the IE *-u- goes back to an affix. Alternatively, it may suggest a N word-final *-ü ◇ ≈ Gr. II #396 (*par 'tired') (U, A, Ko, Gil + unc. Ch, EA + err. J).

1782. *P_er^rw¹▽ 'skin, hide, bark' > HS: S *paruw- 'leather, hide' > Ar farw- 'pelisse, vêtement doublé de fourrure', farw-at- 'peau de la tête; une pelisse, une robe fourrée; vêtement fait de poil de chameau; voile de femme', ✓frw D (pf. farrā) (denom. verb) 'fourrer, doubler de fourrure'; in MHb (Mishnah) the noun פָּרָה par'wā is found within bēt-happar'wā, which is the proper name of a hall in the Temple; one of the traditional interpretations of פָּרָה par'wā is 'hide' or 'fur' (bēt-happar'wā 'the house of the hide\fur'), which underlies NHb פָּרָה par'a 'fur'; ?Akk. pāru 'skin' (Sd. considers it to be a loan from Sum) ¶ Fr. III 344, BK II 588, BY M 5143, fn. 1, Sd. 836 || Ch: ECh: EDng {Fd.} pàrdé 'bark (of a tree)', Mgm {JA} púrdè (pl. pòrdá), Skr (Sx.) pòrñágá, ?{Lk.} furkia id. || WCh: ?Dir {Sk.} fùfùr id. ¶ JI II 8-9, ChC, JA LM 117 || ?φ C: EC: Dsn {To.} bōrti 'bark, husk' || Q F {Flad} ber 'bark' ¶ To. DL 487, Blz. DL s.v. 'bark' || U *per▽ 'skin, bark' > FU: Os Vy pěr 'rötliche Haut auf der Innenseite der Birkenrinde' || Hg bőr 'skin, hide, leather' || Sm: Ne Т пир" 'cambium of a birch-tree; hard excrescence; hard crust (as of bread)', Ne T O {Lh.} pīr? 'rote innere Rinde der Birke, Schleimhaut des Pansens, Rinde des Brotes', Koyb {Klp.} pere 'bark' ¶ UEW 374, Coll. CG, Sm. 539 (U, FU *peri, Ugr *pir̥i, Sm *pir 'back, cover'), MF 11O-1, Ter. 47O || ?R: Tg: WrMc {Hr.} feri 'enthaarte Pferde-, Maultier- oder Eselhaut', {Z} 'abrasion, rubbed (sore) skin of a draught-horse' ('ссадина, стертая кожа у рабочей лошади') ¶ Hr. 288, Z 1O49; IS III 78-9 rejects the adduction of this word because its original meaning seemed to him to have been 'abrasion; to rub sore', so that the word may have been derived from Tg *perk- 'produce a corn, eine Schwiele machen (намозолить)' (STM II 3O5) || D {Pf.} *per▽ ({‡GS} *p-) 'skin (of a snake), bark' > Kn pere 'skin or slough of a serpent', Tu perevuni v. 'be peeled, scraped', piresuni v. 'peel, scrape, pare off', Tl beradu 'bark, rind, shell', baradu 'bark of a tree', Krx čayā-perē, čayā-perperē 'snake's old skin' ¶ D 4417, Pf. 135 [#1166] ◇ Cf. IS MS 344 (*'p'erə 'skin' > U, D), IS III 78-9, Sauv. UAW 12-3 (U, A), UEW 374 (U, A).

1783. ***p'ō'r₁w₂ṇ** '(female, young?) ungulate (esp. bovine)' > **HS:** S *parr- 'bull, young ruminant' (× N ***P_Ar₁?₂ṇ** 'bring forth, give birth' [of animals], 'young of animals', q.v.) > BHb פָר par 'bull, steer', MHb פָר par 'zwei- bis fünfjähriger junger Stier', Ug pr 'Stier, junges Rind', {OLS} 'novillo (young bull)', ?alp pr 'calf (?alp is 'bull'), Sr ?; פָר pa<?>r-ā, Md para 'lamb', Ar [Zhr.] farr- 'calf', Ak parru 'lamb'; S *parr-at- 'female young ruminant' > BHb פָרָה pā'rā, Ug prt 'cow', Sr ?; פָרָה para'tā, Md parta, Ak parratu 'ewe lamb'; other ds.: Ar d. furār- 'young of sheep \ goats \ wild cows', farīr- 'a young of wild animals (gazelle, etc.)' ¶ GB 656, KB 904-5, KBR 959-60, 963-4, OLS 353, Br. 591, DM MD 362, Ln. 2356, Fr. III 326, BK II 559, Hv. 552, Sd. 834 || Eg MKL prū 'Kampfstier (?)' ({EG} prū als Bezeichnung des Kampfstiers), {Fk.} 'ferocious bull' ¶ EG I 526, Fk. 91 || B *°✓ψrw ({ʃPr.} *✓h₂rw) 'goats and sheep' > Ah {Fc.} e-here (pl. i-harawən) 'goats and sheep', ETwl/Ty e-hére (pl. iħerwan) 'bétail', ETwl {Nic.} e-hare (pl. iħerwan) id., SII hruy 'moutons', tahruyt (pl. tiħray) 'a sheep', *✓ψry 'calf' > ETwl/Ty {GhA} e-heri (pl. i-harən) 'jeune bœuf de 2 à 3 ans'; Pr. adduces here also *✓ψ'r₁w 'wealth (bien matériel)' > Ah ehore (pl. iħarwān), Gh iħ'a¹ri (pl. iħ'a¹rawən) id. ¶ Pr. H 68 [#397], Fc. 639-40, GhA 79-80, Nh. 134 || EC: Sml {ZMO, DSI} farow, Sml N {Abr.} fáraw 'zebra' ¶ ZMO 135, DSI 222, Abr. S 76 || Ch: CCh: Mrg {Hf.} fur 'buffalo', MrgL, MrgM {Mk.}, BuP {Mk.}, Kl^b {Mk.} fur, MrgP {Mk.} fir id., Mbara {TrnSL} fàrày 'wealth, cattle', Msg P {Trn.} fuss 'troupeau, bétail' || ? WCh: Ang {Flk.} fīr 'roan antelope' ¶ ChC, Hf. GML 2O, 23, RK MLBM 112, Meek I 176, 21O, 236, 243, 251, Flk. s.v. fīr, TrnSL 26O, Trn. LM 87 ¶ SSAAJ I #141, Tk. LAA-1 124 [#145] (HS *br 'wealth, cattle') || K *pur- 'female bovine' > G puri 'female bovine (buffalo, deer, cow, etc.)', Mg puži 'female domestic bovine (cow, etc.)', Lz puž-i 'cow', Sv: UB pür, UB/Ln pírw, LB/Ln pwir, L pur 'cow' ¶ K 192, K² 2O6, FS K 324, Chik. 78, Chx. 15O7, Q 34O, Marr 195, TK 771, GP 264 || IE: NaIE *per- 'calf, young bull' (× N ***P_Ar₁?₂ṇ** '↑') > Gk πόρις (gen. πόριος) 'calf' || OHG far (gen. farres), farro 'bullock, bull', NHG Farre 'bullock, young bull', AS fearr, ON farri (< *farh-) 'bull' ¶ F II 58O, Vr. 113, Ho. 99, Kb. 221, 225, OsS 161, KM 185, ~ EI 24 (*per- 'offspring of an animal') || D: [1] (in SD) *po(:)ri '(young) bull, buffalo' > Tm pori 'calf of buffalo', Kt po·ry 'young bullock', Kn hōri 'bull calf, bullock', Kdg po·ri 'male buffalo', Tu bōri 'bull, ox' ¶

D #4593 ॥[2] D *pār^Δ] ({§GS} *p-) 'a young (female?) buffalo' (× N *P_Ar₁?^Δ '↑') > Tu pārolu 'a young she-buffalo', Td pō^ɸ 'female buffalo calf between 1 and 2 years old', Knd pā^ʃ 'buffalo calf between one and two years old' §§ D #4118; D *-] is a sx. denoting females (Tm maxa^ʃ 'daughter', Png toṛndal 'sister', F An. SG 171) ◇ Eg p- suggests a N *p-. The cns. f- (usually from N *p-) in Ang fīr 'roan antelope' is puzzling (if the Ang word belongs here). The original rounded vw. has been preserved in K *pur-, in pMrg (CCh) *fur-, and in D *po(:)ri, while the vw. *a in S *parr- 'bovine, young ungulate' and in D *pār^Δ 'young (female) buffalo' is due to contamination with N *P_Ar₁?^Δ '↑' (q.v.). A N cns. (*w, preserved in B and C?) is responsible for the D reflex *-r- (regularly from a N cluster *r + cns.).

1784. (2?) *P̄ōRw^Δ (= *p̄ṓrw^Δ?) 'to turn, to revolve' > A *p̄o[‘]o|urwa- > M *ψurbā- v. 'turn around' ({Pp.} *purbā-) > MM [HI] hurba- 'tourner, retourner', WrM urba- v. 'turn around', HIM үрва-, Brt үрбә- id. ('поворачиваться, оборачиваться'), MnR H {T} furā- 'turn around \ upside-down \ inside out', {SM} furā- 'se tourner, se retourner' ¶ Pel. 224 [#49], Ms. H 6, SM 1O9, MED 88O, Rinch. 459, T 371, Pp. LVCM 18, Str. AOJ 24O || Tg *pora- vi. 'turn, revolve' > Ewk horol- id., 'turn over', Neg xoŋ^l ~ xoŋol 'whirlpool', xoŋ^l- ~ xoŋol- vi. 'turn round', vt. 'surround', Ud {STM} xoŋli-, {Krm.} xoŋli- vi. 'fly round, кружиться' (a bird), 'turn round', Ul poŋo(n-), Ork poŋal, Nn Nh poŋō 'whirlpool', WrMc foro- vt. 'turn, повертьвать', vi. 'turn back' ¶ STM II 334, Krm. 3O5, Z 1O65, Hr. 3O5 || u *pārw^γΔ v. 'turn, revolve' (× N *bUr^Δ 'turn round, rotate') > Mr (pMr {Ker.} *pu^γrə-): Er пувор- puvor-, Δ puvrā-, Mk пуворя- puvərā-, Δ puvъrā- 'drehen, winden' | ? Vt Sr poryal- 'sich drehen, kreiseln', 'кружиться' || ObU *pēγər (× N *peřK^Δřa, [or PeRK^Δřa?] 'turn round, twist'??) > pVg *pārər 'round' > Vg T pāwər, LK/MK pāwər, UK pāwər, P pāwr, UL powr, Ss puwr 'rund', d.: Vg T pūwārt-, LK/MK/UK pāwārt-, P/NV/SV/LL pārt-, UL/Ss powart- 'wälzen', MK {Kn.} powrit- 'sich herumwälzen'; ? pOs *pēŋərγə- ({ʃHl.} *pīŋərγə-) > Os Ty/Y pēŋərγə- 'sich umdrehen' | Hg forog- vi. 'turn, revolve' || Sm: Slq NP p̄rruoldša-, Slq Ch purolدا- 'umwenden, sich umwenden', Slq Tz {KKIH} purít, LTz {KD} pūroltā 'whirlpool (Wirbel im Wasser, водоворот)' §§ UEW 414 (*pārk^γΔ), MF 214-5, Coll. 78, , Ker. II 126, LG 38-9, 41, Ht. 175 [#5O4], Hl. rHt 73-4 (on conditions of the coalescence of FU *-w-

and *-ꝑ- in pObU), KKIH 153 || ? IE: NaIE *sper- v. 'turn, twist' ('drehen, winden') (xN ***ç****ñ**P**R****ñ** 'to twist, to plait' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ The absence of *-w- suggests that the main source of the √ is N ***ç****ñ**P**R****ñ** || HS: ECh: Ke {Eb.} pérte 'drehen' ¶ Eb. 87 || ??? AdS of Eg fMK p̄x̄r 'turn, turn about, revolve, surround, enclose' (< N *p̄i'h|X|Q'RE 'around', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Coll. 148 (U, A) ◇ If IE *sper- belongs here, the N vibrant is *ř, and the N labial cns. is *p̄-, otherwise we reconstruct N *P̄ōRwñ without distinction between *r and *ř and between *p̄- and *p̄-.

1785. *paR₁a₂Xi (= *par₁a₂Xi?) '≈ happy, dear' > HS: WS *✓pr̄h v. 'be happy' > Ar ✓fr̄h (pf. fariha, ip. -fraħ-) {BK} 'être gai, content, joyeux', {Hv.} 'be glad, cheeful, pleased', faraħ- 'joy, cheerfulness', 'joie, alegresse', Mh ✓fr̄h (pf. fīrəħ, sbjn. үз-frēħ) v. 'be happy', Jb C/E ✓fr̄h (pf. 'ferəħ) id. ¶ BK II 563, Jo. M 99 || C: ? Dhl fūr 'be satiated' (but fūrā 'joy' ← Swahili) || B *✓fr̄Hr > Ah ifrar 'être bon pour la marche' (terrain, chemin), 'être bon, avoir de la valeur; être de\en bon qualité', Twl/Ty ifrar 'être bon \ de valeur \ de bonne qualité', Tdq ifrar 'être bon' ¶ NZ 601-2, Fc. 354-5, PGG 67 || IE *preh̄y- > NaIE *prāj-/prāj-/pri- 'wish so. well, favour so.' > OI pri'yah 'own, dear, beloved', pri'nāti 'pleases', pp. pri'tah 'pleased, delighted', Av frya- 'lieb, wert, eigen', frīnāt̄i 'wünscht', Oss I ləmän, Oss D limän (< *frīya-mana-) 'friend' || AdS of Gk πράῦς, πρᾶος 'mild, soft, gentle' (< NaIE *prāyu- 'lacking in energy' < N *para'h'iū or *para?iū 'weak') || Gmc *frijōn 'to love' > Gt frijōn, ON frjá, NNr, Sw fria, Dn fri, AS frēo(ȝ)a)n id.; Gt frijōnd-s, OSx friund, OHG friunt, NHG Freund, AS frēond & frīend 'friend', NE friend || Sl *prijā-ti 'to be friendly\favourable' > OCS **прияты** 'prijati 'φροντίζειν, to be favourable to', SCr prijati, Slv prijati 'to please, to suit, to be agreeable', P s-przyjać, Cz přáti 'to wish so. well, to favour so.', Slk priat' 'to favour so.'; Sl d. *prijā-tel' 'friend' > OCS, OR **приятели** prijatelъ, R при'ятель, Blg при'ятел, SCr prijatel, Slv prijatelj, Cz přítel (pl. přátelé), Slk priatel', P przyjaciel id. ¶ P 844, M K II 378-80, M E II 181-2, 189-90, F II 588, Fs. 168, Vr. 143, Kb. 291, OsS 227, KM 218, Ho. 117, Ab. II 54-5, Ma. CS 490-1, 494, Vs. III 369-70, Glh. 502-3, Vr. 143, KM 218, EI 358 (*priH-eh_A- 'love'), 642 (*pri'H-eh_A- 'wife'), ≠ EI 214 (*pri'Ho-s 'of one's own' → 'deer'), 642 || U: FP *para 'good' > F (ds.) parempi 'better', paras

(gen. *parhaan*), *parahin* ~ *parhain* 'the best', *paranta-* 'gesund machen; (ver)bessern', *parantu-* 'besser werden, genesen', Es *parem* 'better', *parim* 'the best' | pLp {Lr.} *pōrē 'good' > Lp N {N} *buorre* ~ *buorrē/-r-* 'good, kind, pleasant', L {LLO} *puorrē*, S {Hs.} *buör ie*, Nt {TI} *pu^zrē:e*, T {TI} *p̄r̄(:)e*, Pa {TI} *p̄wzrr̄* 'good', Kld {TI} *pu'raṁ, p* 'better' | Er *паро* *paro*, Mk *пара* *para* 'good' | Chr L 'poro' 'good, good-hearted', H *пуры* *purъ* id., {Ep.} id., 'healthy', {Ü} 'good', B *poro* id., Uf *puro*, *poro* 'good, healthy' | pPrm *bur 'good' > OPrm *bur*, Z *bur* id., Vt *bur* 'right (dexter)', 'good, well' ¶ UEW 724, It. #34, Sm. 553 (FP *p̄ērā 'good'), SK 49O-1, Lr. #1OO1, Lgc. #5323, It. LC 85, Hs. 386-7, TI 4O9, Ker. II 1O6, Ü 16O, 169, MRS 443, 472, Ep. 95, LG 42, 2O5, U3S 57 || A *ba^{r̄}▽ > AmTg *bāra-či- 'rejoice' > Orc *bārači-*, Ul, Nn Nh *bārači-* id. ¶ STM I 73 || M *barda- 'be proud, boast' > WrM *barda-*, HIM *барда-* v. 'boast, brag, be proud', Ord *b ard_a-* v. 'boast, swagger', WrO {Krg.} *barda-* 'be proud', Kl *бардм bardm* n. 'swagger, Prahlerei', {Rm.} *barda-* 'sicher sein (in seinen Absichten, über den Erfolg)', Brt *бардам* n. 'swagger, pride', Dg {T} *bardan* n. 'boasting, vainglory' ¶ MED 85, Ms. O 51-2, Krg. 337, KRS 8, KW 34, Chr. 87, T DgJ 124 ||?σ T *bař- v. 'dare\venture to' > Bsh *bař-* id., VTt *baz-* id., 'make up one's mind to', QrB {Rs.} *baz-*, Uz Δ {Rl.} -باز *baz-* (or *bař-*?) 'wagen, sich entschließen' ¶ Rs. W 66, TatR 52, BRS 7O, Rl. 1542 || pJ {S} *báráp- 'laugh' > OJ *wáráp-*, J: T *wàra-*, K *wárá-*, Kg *wará-* id. ¶ S QJ #1428, Mr. 783 ¶ DQA #1O9 (A *bāražo 'rejoice, be proud') ◇ If T *bař- 'belongs here, we reconstruct N *-ř-, otherwise we remain with the unspecified *-R- ◇ An alt. et. of U: FP *para 'good' < N *bař?▽ 'big, much, thick', see IS I 175: ? *barə 'big, good' ◇ Blz. SNE (Ar, IE; *÷ T), ~ Blz. KM 238 [#22] (added Berber, but did not distinguish the reflexes of this N word from those of N *ńäp▽r▽ 'tender, beautiful', *bAr^h▽ 'be hungry, want' (→ 'love'), and *piRo 'ask'), Bru. 187 [#997] (Ar, IE), Čop IU IV 133-4 (IE, U).

1786. *pAr_uy,▽ 'run, flee' > HS: WS *✓pr̄r (~ *°✓prw|y?) v. 'flee, run' > Ar ✓fr̄ G v. 'flee, escape' ({BK} 's'enfuir, se sauver, s'échapper; courir'), Sq {L} fer v. 'run, be in a hurry', Jb ✓fr̄ (Jb E pf. 'fer, Jb C pf. fer(r), sbjn. 'yɔffʒr), Mh ✓fr̄ (pf. fʒr, sbjn. yʒfr̄er) v. 'flee', JPA {Lv.} ✓prw|y (pf. פַרְעָה pā'rā ~ פַרְעֹה pā'rī) v. 'run', Sr ✓pr̄r (pf. פַרְעָה p̄ar, ip. פַרְעֹה nε-'p̄ur) 'fugere, avolare' (WS *✓pr̄r v. 'flee' has a

secondary connection with WS * \sqrt{prr} 'fly' < N ***p̥ar** ∇ 'to fly, to jump', q.v.); WS d. √: * \sqrt{npr} > Sr \sqrt{npr} (pf. nə'**p̥ar**) 'consternatus fugit (equus)', **p̥ap'par** (*Sh* of \sqrt{npr}) v. 'put to flight', Ar \sqrt{nfr} (pf. nafara, ip. ya-nfur-u ~ ya-nfir-u) 'fugax, pavidus fuit (de jumento)', 'fugit et dispersit se (gens)', {Hv.} 'be scared away' (beast), 'disperse away' (people); reduplicated WS stem * \sqrt{prpr} > Ar \sqrt{frfr} 'marcher d'un pas serré, se dépêcher, aller vite', Jb C **f̥er'fɔr**, **f̥er'fer** (pl. **f̥ɔr'fɔr**, **f̥ɔr'fɔrtʒ**), Jb E **f̥ɔr'fer** 'hasty', Mh **f̥ɔrfīr** 'hasty person' ¶ Br. 441, PS 3225, JPS 346, Lv. IV 96, Fr. III 325-6 and IV 311, BK II 558-9, 582, 1307, Hv. 552, 786, Jo. J 59-60, Jo. M 96-8, Jo. H 33, LLS 342 || C: Bj {R} -**fōr** (1s: p. a'-**fōr**, prs. 'a-fori ~ 'a-féri ~ 'a-fri), {Rop.} -for v. 'flee', {R} 'fira, {Rop.} fira 'flight' ¶ On semantic grounds I prefer to keep apart the HS verb * $\sqrt{pry} \sim *pr?$ v. 'go out, take out' (F N ***p̥Ari₁?N**, 'take out, pull out\off') ¶ R WBd 81-2, Rop. 180-1 ¶ Cf. SSAAJ I #32 || K * \circ **p̥ar-** v. 'escape' (?) > G **p̥ar-** (i-version) v. 'escape' (e.g. ga-v-i-**p̥ar**-vi 'I escape'), (→?) (trans. form) v. 'steal'; the K √ belongs here only if the meaning 'escape' is primary and the meaning of the transitive form ('steal') is secondary (cp. Fr **voler** 'to fly' → 'to steal') ¶ NCh. RKL I 46, Chx. 996-7, 1030 || D: [1] ***p̥ar-** ({GS} ***p-**) v. 'run, flow' (× N ***barq** ∇ [~ ***barX** ∇] 'to go, to go away, to step' × N ***p̥Ar₁y₁** ∇ 'to run, to flee') > Tm **p̥ari** v. 'run, go out, escape', Td **pary-** '(horse) gallops', v. 'ride at a gallop', Kn **p̥ari**, **hari**, Tu **paryuni**, **hariyuni** v. 'run, flow', Tl **p̥aru** v. 'run, run away', **parugu**, **par(u)vuu** 'running, a run', Mlt **parče**, **parčtre** v. 'run away' ¶ D #3963, Km. 427 [#801] (does not distinguish this √ from SD ***p̥ar-uv-**/-av- v. 'spread'), 429 [##813, 815] ¶ [2] ***p̥ar-**/***p̥ar-** ({GS} ***p-**) v. 'fly, run swiftly' (× N ***p̥ar** ∇ 'to fly, to jump' [q.v. ffd.]), the meaning 'run' is represented in OTI {Km.}, Tm **p̥aru** v. 'run, flee', Kn **p̥aru**, **hāru** v. 'run' ◇ K ***p̥-** provides evidence for N ***p̥-**. D *-r- in ***p̥ar-** goes back to a cns. cluster (belonging to the heritage of N ***barq** ∇ [~ ***barX** ∇]).

1787. ***p̥ur₁y₁** ∇ (or ***p̥ür₁y₁** ∇ ?) 'wing, feather(s)' > HS: S * \circ \sqrt{prpr} > Hrs **f̥er'fayr** (pl. **f̥arfōr**) 'feather' ¶ Jo. H 33 || B ***f̥Nr-** wing' > Rf {Rn.}, SrSn {Rn.} **afar**, Izn {Bs.} **affər**, BSn, Grr {Bs.}, Mz {Dlh.} **afər**, Wrg {Dlh.} **afər** (pl. **afriwən**), Hrw {Bs.} **afər** (pl. **ifriwin**), Izd {Mrc.} **ifər** (pl. **ifriwən**), Kb {Dl.} **ifərr** (pl. **ifərrawən**, **afriwən**), ZAS {Loub.} **affək** (pl. **affriwən**), Gd {Lf.} **ifər** (pl. **afrawn**) id., SII **tifərt** (pl. **tifrawin**) id., **ifər** 'large wing'; B ***f̥Nrīw-** ~ ***f̥Nrāw-** 'wing' > Zng {Bs.} افريوي

afriwi (pl. ifriwan), Wrs {Bs.} afriwi (pl. ifriwin), BMn {Bs.} afri ~ afriw (pl. afriwn, ifriwən), Grr {Bs.}, Mz {Dlh.}, Fgg {NZ} afriw, Tmm {Bs.} afri (pl. ifriwn), Nf {Beg.} afriw (pl. ifriwən) 'wing', Ah {Fc.}, Ttq {Msq.} afraw (pl. ifrawən) 'wing, feather', Ty afraw (pl. ifrawən), Gd {Lf.} afraw (pl. afrāwən), ETwl afrut (pl. ifrutən) 'wing' ¶ Fc. 336, Lf. II #O436, Dl. 218, Bs. MS I 226, Bs. ZOu 141, Beg. 215, GhA 42, Mrc. 16, Dlh. DMB 50, Dlh. Ou 79, Loub. 535, Msq. 18, 252, Rn. 298, NZ 598-9, 645 || K: OG prte, G prta 'feather' ¶ Ser. 164, Chx. 1497 || IE: NaIE *_{1(s)}per- 'feather, wing' > Vd par^wnam, Av par^wnəm, KhS pārra- 'feather, wing', NPrs پر id. || Sl *pe^wro 'feather' > ChS, OR pero pero 'feather', OCS pero pero 'pen', R, Uk, Blg пе'ро, SCr però, Slv perō (gen. perēsa), Δ πέρο, P pióro, Cz, Slk pero 'feather'; Sl *periye 'feathers' > R 'перъя id., Cz peří 'feather' | ? Blt: Lt spařnas, Ltv spārn̄s 'wing' || Ht partawar 'wing', (?) 'feather' (-t- due to the infl. of Ht pattar/n-'wing' < N *Put ∇ 'feather, hair??) ¶¶ EI 646 (*por'no-m 'wing, feather'), M K II 223-4, M E II 97, Horn 65-6, Bai. 231, SJSS XXV 26-7, Vs. III 243, Mikl. E 241, Glh. 275, Frn. 861, CHD P198-9, ~ Bn. HR 36-41 ('feather, wing' in Sl and IIR < IE *per- 'flotter en air, se déplacer dans l'espace') (see N *par ∇ 'to fly, to jump') || A: Tg *pyrakī 'wing, bone of a wing (humerus of birds)' > Ewk hurakī 'wing; humerus (of birds); quill (Federkiel)', Lm hūrīqū 'forelimb (предплечье) of a wing', Neg xouaxt 'humerus in a bird's wing', 'humerus (of humans)', Ork xūraqū 'bone of a wing' ¶ STM II 352 || M *₁φörbelge 'in feather(s)' > WrM örbelge, HlM ερβελεг ~ ερεвлεг 'feather on the head (of a bird), tuft, crest; small feathers', Ord örwölgö 'small feather', Kl {Rm.} örw $\ddot{\text{o}}$ gə ~ örwöləg 'feathers, plumage', {KRS} ερвлг 'down (of birds)', Brt γρβεլг 'feathers of the tail' ¶ MED 640, Ms. O 540, KW 301, KRS 423, Chr. 509 || pJ {S} *pər ζ 'falcon's wings, underwing feathers' > OJ poro, poro-pa ¶ S QJ #1589, Mr. 415 ¶ DQA #1830 (A *p^wore -j-, -r- 'feather, wing') || D *pur- ({ θ GS} *p-) 'feather of a peacock's tail' > Ti puri 'peacock's tail', Klm pūrage id., Prj pūril (pl.) 'peacock's tail feathers', Gnd pūri 'peacock's tail', Knd puri 'feather of a peacock' ¶ D #3581 ◇ Blt *s- provides evidence for an IE *s- mobile, which suggests a palatal element (*y or palatality of *r) in the N word. But N *-r- is probably ruled out by the D reflex, therefore my tentative

solution is to suppose a N cluster *-ry-. Frn. 861 believes that Baltic *s- is secondary and tries to explain it by the infl. of IE *sp(^h)er- 'zucken' ◇ ≈ Gr. II #164 (*par 'fly' v.) (IE, U, Y, A, J, Gil, without distinguishing this N word from N *par ∇ 'to fly, to jump').

1788. *P ∇ R ∇ C ∇ 'flee, run (from, after smb.)' (or N *pAr ∇ yU ∇ , a cd. with N *pAr ∇ y ∇ 'run, flee', q.v.) > HS: S * \circ ✓prš $\hat{š}$ θd > Ak ✓pršd v. N (inf. naparšudu) '(ent)fliehen' ¶ Sd. 735 || IE: Ht pars- v. 'flee, escape' ¶ Frd. HW 163, Ts. W 61, CHD P 179-80 || A: Tg * \circ p \hat{o} rç- > Ewk Sk/Urm hōrça- v. 'overtake' ('догнать, нагнать') ¶ STM II 334.

1789. (2?) *P ∇ R ∇ C ∇ _L \bar{n} ∇ 'heel' or '(sole of a) foot' > HS: WS *✓prš $\hat{š}$ n (x N *P ∇ R ∇ č ∇ _LX ∇ 'fingernail, claw', q.v. ffd.) > Ar {BK} firsin- (pl. furāsin-) 'pied, patte (cette partie du pied chez le chameau et l'éléphant que l'animal pose sur le sol); pied de brebis', {Fr.} firsin- 'ungula cameli, elephanti', {Hv.} 'camel's or man's foot', ? Tgr fərsəm 'ankle (of men), heel tendon' ¶ BK II 569-70, Fr. III 332, Ln. 2369, Hv. 555, LH 656, ≈ MiK I #1.220 || IE *pers-nā, *pers-ni- 'heel' > OI 'pārṣni-, Av pāšna- 'heel', KhS pārrā-, Sgd pšn?, NPrs {Vl., BM} پاشن پاšne, {Sg.} پاشن پاšne 'heel' || Gt faírzna, AS fierſn, OHG fersna, NHG Ferse 'heel' || Gk πτέρνη id. || L perna 'leg; ham' (← 'heel', as evidenced by the d. perniō, -ōnis 'Frostbeule an den Fersen') || ?? Ht {Frd.} parsina- [*parsna-] 'Oberschenkel, Lende', {CHD} parseina-, parsna- 'buttock, loins, male genitalia' ¶ P 823, EI 265 (*'persn-eh_A-), M K II 261, M E II 123-4, Horn 62, Vl. I 320, Sg. 231, BM 87, Bai. 231, F II 611-612, WH II 289-290, EM 499, Fs. 141, Kb. 237, OsS 186, KM 193-4, Ho. 104, CHD P 187-8, Ts. W 62 || ?φ K: OG brčal-i [OT, NT] 'heel' (Gen. 3.15, Joh. 13.18), MG [VTq.] {DCh.} 'длань, лапа', G {Chx.} brčal-i 'fingernail, claw' ¶ DCh. 121, Ser. 17, Chx. 114 ¶ Several phonemes of the word are irreg. (b- for the expected þ- or p-, a glottalized affricate with unexpected glottalization, as well as probably -l- for -n-), which suggests that the word may be a loan from some unknown source. An alternative conjecture is as follows: *p ∇ rc ∇ _Lvn_J > K *p ∇ rč ∇ _Lvn_J > *b ∇ rč ∇ _Lvn_J (mte.) > Zan *brč-al- (*-al- is a sx.) → OG brčali 'heel'. This conjecture presupposes a N rec. *p ∇ rc ∇ _L \bar{n} ∇ 'heel' ◇ IS MS 342 equated the abovementioned IE and K roots with FU *persše- 'hind part' and reconstructed a N etymon with the meaning 'задний (hind part)'.

1791. ***P**ΔRiç**▽** 'break through, tear' > **HS:** S *✓prç > BHb ✓prç (pf. פָּרַץ pā'raç, ip. -proc) 'make a split, make breach (in the city wall), break through', Ug prs {KB} ? 'Riß, Spalt', {OLS} 'breach', JA [Trg.]

✓ pr̥s v. 'break through', Md ✓ pr̥s G v. 'breach, break through', Ar ✓ fr̥s G v. 'cut, slit, pierce', {BK} 'couper, fendre en deux', Ak ✓ pr̥s G 'durchbrechen' ¶ KB 914-5, KBR 971-2, OLS 357, Lv. T II 298, Js. 1237, DM 8O, Ln. 2372, BK II 572, Hv. 556 || K: GZ *preç-/priç- vt. 'tear, rend' > G p(x)riç-/p(x)rec- id., 'zerreissen, zerfetzen; (die Augen) aufreissen', Mg buriç- ~ biriç-, Lz briç- ~ bruç- ~ briç- v. 'tear' ¶ K 19O, K² 2O4, ~ FS K 6O and FS E 62 (*breç-/*briç-), Chx. 1523 || IE *pers- ~ *pr̥is- v. 'break to pieces' > Gk πρέω v. 'saw (asunder)', πρέω τοὺς ὀδόντας 'grind\gnash the teeth', πρεσμα 'anything sown' → [Euc.] 'prism' || pAl {O} *pr̥iša > Al pr̥ish 'destroy, spoil, waste', Al G {LamP} pr̥ish 'spoil' || Ht {CHD} parsai- v. 'break up into small pieces, crumble', {Ts.} parsuya- md. 'zerbrechen, zerteilen, zerstückeln' ¶ P 846, F II 596, O 346, Ç II 49-5O, 44O, Kf. 282, LamP 158, Frd. HW 163, CHD P 183-4, Ts. W 61 ◇ The length of the vw. in IE *pr̥is- and the optional lr. in G challenge explanation. Do they suggest the presence of a lr. in the N etymon (≈ *P_NRiHéN_D)?

1792. *Pärga 'to split' > HS: S *°✓ pr̥g (or CS *✓ pr̥g) > Ar فرخ✓ fr̥g G {BK} 'fendre, pourfendre', {Ln} 'make an opening (or intervening space) between two things', ?σ JA [Trg.] ✓ pr̥g D 'exchange' (if ← 'auseinander halten', as supposed by Lv.) ¶ BK II 561, Ln. 2359, Js. 1213, Lv. IV 97 || ?σ IE: NaIE *perg- '≈ beat, strike, wound' > Arm հարկանեմ harkan-em 'beat, strike, wound' (but aor. հարի hari without -k-) || Clt (x *xerg_Lh- < N *hirN_DgN_D 'kill' or 'die'): OIr org- 'smite, slay', OBr treorgam 'perforō' ¶ P 819, ~ Slt. 257-8, Vn. O 3O-1, Billy 116, cp. EI 158 (*h₂erk- 'rend, destroy') || A: M *ψergi 'steep bank, precipice' > WrM ergi 'steep bank; steep precipice or slope', HIM զըշը id., MnR H {SM} xarg_i '(river-)bank, precipice' ¶ Pp. IM 153, MED 323, T 374, SM 162 || D *pari- ({§GS} *p-) v. 'break off, tear, cut asunder' > Tm pari (fts. -pp-, prts. -tt-) v. 'cut asunder', pari- (fts. -v-, prts. -nt-) v. 'be sundered, break off, be cut asunder', Ml parin̥yuka v. 'pluck grass', Tu paripuni v. 'tear, rend', pariyuni v. 'rend', OTl pariyu v. 'wear away; fall away in shreds' (of plastering), Klm part- 'cut up', Prj parŋg- 'be split', paarkip- v. 'split', Gdb pariŋp- v. 'split (firewood with axe)', Knd para 'crumb, fragment', Ku par- 'dig a ditch', Krx parx-, Mlt parge v. 'split, cleave, rend' ¶ D ##3962, 4O27, Km. 426 [#799] (does not distinguish between D *pari- and D *pari- ({§GS} *p-) 'tear off, pluck', which is likely to go back to N

***päri^{r?}E** 'to tear, to split', q.v.) ◇ IE *g (rather than *g^h) is due to the incompatibility law ruling out media aspirata and vl. stops in the same root. D *-r- < N *r + cns.

1793. *pür[?]K[?]N (or *pir[?]K[?]N) 'be startled, be scared, fear' > **HS:** WS *✓prk 'fear' > Ar ✓frq (pf. fariqa) {Hv.} 'fear, be frightened', {BK} 'avoir peur; être peureux, timide', fariq-un 'qui a peur (effrayé par une chose qui survient inopinément)', Hrs fɜrōk v. 'fear, be afraid', Mh frōk (sbjn. үзfrōk), Jb E furk, Jb C e'frek v. 'frighten', Jb C {Jo JL} 'fersk (sbjn. үз'frōk) v. 'be afraid, frightened', Mh fīrsk (sbjn., prs. үзfrōk), Hrs 'fayrsk (sbjn., prs. үзfrōk) v. 'be afraid, timorous' ¶ BK II 583-4, Hv. 558, Jo. M 1OO, Jo. H 34, Jo. J 61 || ?φ EC: pKns *fūr- 'fear' > Gdl hūr-, Kns fūr- ¶ Bl. 67 || ?φ CCh: Db {Lnh.} pīrūt 'fear' ¶ ChC s.v. 'fear' || **IE:** NaIE *perk- n., v. 'fear' > Gt faúrh̥tei, OHG, OSx forhta, NHG Furcht, AS fyrhtu ~ fryhtu n. 'fear', NE fright; Gt faurhtjan sīk 'to be frightened'; OHG for(a)hten, OSx forhtian, forhton, AS forhtian 'to fear'; Gt faúrh̥ts, AS, OSx forht, OHG for(a)ht 'fearing, timid' || pTc {Ad.I} *pärsk- (< *perk-sk-) > Tc A, B pärsk- 'be afraid'; d.: Tc A praski-, Tc B proskiye ~ prosko n. 'fear, danger' ¶ P 82O, EI 198, Fs. 146-7, Kb. 279, OsS 213-4, Ho. 112, 12O, Ho. S 22, Wn. 388, JGH 29, 123, 193, 326, Ad. 375-6, 422 || **A** *pürke v. 'be startled\scared, fear' > T (att. in NaT) *hüürk_i- ~ *hüürk_ü- id. > OT ürk(ü)- id., Chg ≥ xv ürk- ~ härk- id., Tk ürk- 'be startled \ scared \ frightened', Tkm, Qq ürk-, Tkm NC härk-, Uz hurk-, SY örk- id., Az, Qmq, QrB, Qrg, Nog ürk-, Qzq ürkī-, VTt, Bsh örk-, Xk örük-, ET, StAlt örkü- id. ¶ Cl. 221, Rs. W 522, ET Gl 635-7 || M *φürgü- v. 'be(come) frightened' > MM [MA] hürgü- id., WrM ürgü- ~ ürge-, HlM Үргэ- v. 'be(come) alarmed or frightened', Brt Үргэ-, Kl Үрг- ürgə- 'be frightened', Ord ürgü- id., MnR H {SM} furg_ud_i- be frightened \ shy' (of animals) ¶ Pp. MA 192, MED 1O12, Chr. 511, KRS 554, Ms. O 761, SM 11O ¶ ?φ, σ M *ψurin 'anger' > WrM urin, HlM үрин 'ardent passion, anger, dislike', Kl үр, {Rm.} ur ~ ūr, b uřň 'anger', Kl үрнъ-x, {Rm.} b urnj- 'be angry', Brt үри гари бoloшоhoн 'be in bad spirits', Ba hor, Dx χō 'anger' ¶ MED 884, KRS 534, 537, KW 45O-1, 454, T DnJ 139, T BJ 15O || ?σ Tg *purke- v. 'be depressed, feel miserable' > Ewk hurkā-, hurkzū- 'be bored\sad' ('скучать, тосковать'), Lm hōrkzən-, hōrkzə-/ç- id., Orc xokko(y)ā, xokko(i)si 'boring (скучно)', xokkosī- 'be bored', Ud {STM} xokoHō 'it is very unpleasant\disgusting (because of noise, disorder)' ¶

STM II 353 || ?φ pJ {S} *pirū-m- 'retreat frightened, run away' > OJ p_Lj̄irūm-, J: T hirúm-, K hírúm-, Kg hírūm- ¶ S QJ #783, Mr. 69O ¶ The loss of A *-k- in J and in M *purin is still to be explained ¶ SDM94 (A *p'ürkE), SDM97 (A *p'urkE 'be afraid, angry' > T, M, as well as Tg *purkē- 'be bored'), ≠ DQA #1806 (A *p'jūri 'be afraid, angry'); Rm. SKE 209, Pp. VG 83, 111, Rs. W 522 (these sources equate T *h_Lürk- and M *pürgü- with Tg *purkE- v. 'jump' [STM II 353] and Ko {Rm.} pulkīn h^hada 'spring up, arise', which is qu.; the Tg and Ko root is better to be referred to N *pUṛūgä 'to jump', q.v. ffd., though the merger of both N words at the A and even at the pN level is probable) || D *pirakk- ({θGS} *p-) 'fear' > Tm pirakkam 'awe, fear', ? pirappu 'fear, alarm', Kn piriki 'coward', Tl piriki 'coward; timid, cowardly'; connected with Tm pirar v. 'tremble' (?) ¶ D #4200 (a) ◇ D *i and A *ü may be explained either by labialization of the vw. in A (ass. infl. of *p-?) or by delabialization *ü > *i in D (still to be investigated).

1794. ?σ₂ *P_LN₁N₂Kæ 'tear out\asunder\off, detach' > **HS:** WS *✓prk 'tear out\away\off' > BHb ✓prk G v. 'tear away\off, rescue', OA ✓prk v. 'destroy', JA [Trg.] ✓prk G 'einlösen, erlösen', {Js.} 'untie, redeem', JEA {Sl.} ✓prk G 'redeem, separate, divide, solve', Sr, Nbt ✓prk 'auflösen, befreien', Md ✓prk v. 'severe, detach, free, deliver, save', Ar ✓frq G (pf. faraqā ip. -fruq-) {BK} 'distinguer, mettre de la différence entre deux\plusieurs choses; se partager en deux\plusieurs, se fourcher (la route)', {Hv.} 'separate, set apart; part (the hair)', Sb ✓frk v. 'deliver, save', Gz ✓frk v. 'save, redeem', Tgy *✓frk 'befreien', Ak ✓prk G 'abtrennen', 'separate' ¶ KB 915-7, KBR 973-4, Sd. 829, BGMR 46, L G 166, LH 657, Lv. IV 136, Js. 1239, Sl. 937-8, BK II 582-3, Hv. 558 || C: Bj ✓frk pcv. ({R} 1s: 'a-frik, prs. afan'rīk) 'dig' ¶ R WBd. 83 || **IE:** NaIE *perk- '≈ dig a ditch\chasm', {P} 'aufreißen, aufwühlen' (and → NaIE *prkā 'furrow') > OI 'paršāna-h̄' 'precipice, chasm' || L porca n. 'furrow' || MW rhŷch 'furrow', W rrych id., 'groove', OBr r̄ec 'sulco', ro-risceñti 'sulcavissent', MBr reguenn snglt. 'furrow', Br d. regañ 'labourer légèrement', Gl rica 'furrow' (→ Fr raiε 'line, stroke') || OHG fur(u)h, NHG Furche, Sw fāra, Δ för, Dn fure, AS furh 'furrow', NE furrow; ON for 'furrow, ditch' (< *prk-), NNr fere 'ridge between two furrows' || Lt prā-peršis, pra-paršā, pra-peršā 'unfrozen patch of water in ice-covered surface', praparšas 'ditch, Graben' ¶ P 821, MK II 228-

9, M E II 1OO, WH II 34O-1, Flr. 294, Hm. 683, Vr. 13, Kb. 3O3, OsS 234, KM 225, Ho. 119, Frn. 578, EI 215 (**pṛkēhₖ*- 'furrow') ◇ Cf. IS II 1OO-1 (**p’är’ā* 'tear, break, split'). It is tempting to see the same N etymon in D **pīr-* (> Tm *pīr-*) and D **pīk-* (> Ka *pīku* v. 'pull out, pluck up, tear', Tl *pīku* v. 'pull out, root up, pluck out', Klm *pīken* v. 'uproot', Nkr *pīk-* v. 'pull out', Gdb *pīhk-* v. 'pluck', F D #4212), but acc. to Km.'s analysis (Km. 431 [#827]), the forms with *-k-, *-kk- go back to D **pīy-* rather than to **pirk-*.

1795. **päRp* $\nabla\hat{\zeta}\nabla$ ~ ? *l* **päRp* $\nabla R|1\nabla$ 'butterfly' > K **pēpel-* id. > G *pēpela-* id., Mg *parpal(ia)-* ~ *papralia*, Lz *parpal-*, Sv L/Ln {T} *pēpel*, UB {GP} *parpānd*, {K ← ?} *pärpānd*, *päpold* id. ¶ K 153, K² 14, TK 681, GP 252 || ? HS: S: [1] S *°✓*pr̄s* > Ar *farāš-* coll. 'butterflies', snglt. *farāš-at-* 'butterfly'; [2] *l*: NNEA {Kal.} *pirpira* 'butterfly'; ? NHb פָרְפָר par'par id. (unless an independent *l*-formation, possibly encouraged by Fr *papillon*, It *farfalla*, and/or Ar *farāš-at-* id.) ¶ BK II 571, Kal. s.v. бабочка, ESh. 11O3 || Ch *l* ~ **p* $\nabla l p \nabla l- 'butterfly' > WCh: Su {J} *m̄pūlpūl*, Kfr {Nt.} *p̄lp̄l* id. | ? NBC: My {Sk.} àp̄sípèpír, Kry {Sk.} ūifírfirá id. || CCh: Glv {Rp.} àpalapala, Mofu {Brr.} m̄apl̄apl̄a id. ¶ ChC || ?? *l* IE: NaIE {EI} **pēpel-* 'butterfly' > L *pāpiliō* id. || AS *fīfealde*, OSx *fīfoldara*, MLG *viveltere*, OHG *fifaltra* ~ *pifoltra*, NHG *Feifalter*, ON *fífrildi* id. || ?? Ltv Δ {ME} *pledins* id. (infl. of *pledināt* 'to move wings' ÷ NHG *flatten*) ¶ WP II 52, EI 88, WH II 249-5O, Vr. 119, Ho. 1O4, Ho. S 19, Kb. 24O, OsS 193, ME III 333 || D: [1] **pāpp(al)-* ({GS} **p-*) 'butterfly' > Tm, Ml *pāppātti*, Gnd *pāpe* ✈ *pāpē* ✈ *p̄ape* id., Kdg *pāpili* id., 'moth', Krx *paplā* 'butterfly' || [2] **pip* $\nabla l i$ ({GS} **p-*) id. > Nk *pipuli*, Prj *pilpili*, Gnd *piprī* ✈ *p̄iplī* id., as well as Ku *pubuli* ✈ *pūbūli* id. ¶ D #4O83, Pf. 84 || A: M {Pp.} **pēbegekey* 'butterfly' > MM [H] {Ms.} *herbegei*, MA {Pp.} *herbēkei* id., WrM *erbegekey* ~ *erbekey*, HlM эрвээхий id., 'moth', Ord *erwē”χ“i*, Brt эрбээхэй, Kl эрвэкэ, {KW} *erwēkē* 'butterfly' ¶ Pp. IM 46, Pp. MA 184, Ms. H 6O, Ms. O 248, MED 319, KW 12, Chr. 77O ◇ IE **pēpel-* is a doubtful cognate, because it may be an independently created ideoophone.$

1796. **parT* ∇ 'rock, hill' > HS: B: Ah e-fartas 'rocaille' ¶ Fc. 359, NZ 644 || ? S *°✓*prd* > Ar *furd-āt-* pl. 'collines que l'on aperçoit ça et là' (x Ar ✓ *frd* 'be alone, be simple \ uncompound', 's'isoler, se séparer?') ¶ BK II 565 || IE: Gk πέτρα 'rock' ¶ F II 522, Ch. 892-3 (in both no et.) ||

A: M *bartayān > WrM bartaga(n), HlM бартая 'uneven terrain, broken country; hillock', Ord b_art'ā 'endroit couvert de broussailles et d'arbrisseaux et où ne peut avancer qu'avec difficulté', WrO bardātai 'precipitous, difficult' § MED 89, Ms. O 55, Krg. 337 || ?φ D {tr.} *porr-, {GS} pod- 'mountain, top' (xN *bor^N 'mountain, hill', q.v. xN *por'ā^N 'summit, tip', q.v.) > Tm porai, porr'i 'mountain, hill', Ml porr'a '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] ◇ M *bartayān suggests a pN vw. *a, while the D vw. *o in *porr- belongs to the heritage of N *por'ā^N.

1797. 2 *PUR₁Ν₂tΝ '≈ moisture, water' > HS: S *purāt- 'sweet water' (→ 'the Euphrates') > Ar furāt- 'sweet water; the Euphrates', mīyāh-un furāt-un 'eaux douces', Ak purattu, JA [Trg.] {Lv.} pə'rāt 'the Euphrates', Aram → Hb pə'rāt id.; S → OPrs ufrātu id. → Gk Εὐφράτης; Ar ✓ fr̥t (pf. faruta) 'dulcis admodum fuit' (aqua) § KB 92O, KBR 978-9, Fr. III 326-7, BK II 56O, Hv. 552, Lv. T II 3O4 || IE: NaIE *p_ord- '≈ wet, moist, slimy' > Gk παρδακός, Gk I πορδακός 'wet, moist' || Ltv purduļi 'mucus' § WP II 5O, F II 473 (no et. of the Gk word).

1798. *pūRtΝ₁XΝ₂, to spit, to vomit, to fart' > HS: WCh {Stl.} *pard- v. 'spit, (?) suck' > Ang par v. 'spit', Ngz pādū v. 'suck' § Stl. ZCh 146 [#22], Sch. DN 131, Flk. s.v. par || K: G purtx- v. 'spit' § DCh. 1318 || IE: NaIE *perd- v. 'fart with noise', *pr̥di-s n. 'fart' > OI LSk 'pardatē '(he) farts', Av pərəðaiti id. || Gk πέρδομαι, πέρδω v. 'fart' (1s prs.), aor. Ἐπαρδον, pfc. πέπορδα; πορδή n. 'fart' || pAl {O} *perda > Al pjerdh- (aor. pordha) v. 'fart' || Lt pérsti / 1s prs. pérdžu, Ltv piřst / piřdu v. 'fart', Lt piřdis 'Furz' || Sl *pъrděti 'to fart' > SCr pr̥djeti, Slv prděti, Cz prděti, R пер'деть 'to fart', Blg пърдя v. 'fart' || W rhech n. 'fart' ({P}: < *rikkā < *pr̥d-kā), rhechain 'to fart', Br rec'hiñ id. || ON freta, OHG fērzan, NHG farzen, AS feortan 'to fart', feorting n. 'fart', NE fart; ON fretr, OHG furz ~ firz, NHG Furz n. 'fart' § P 819, EI 194 (*perde/o-), M K II 225, M E II 98, F II 511-2, BFU 429, My. 342, O 33O, Huld BAE 154, Cim. 16, Frn. 577, Tr. 219-2O, Vs. III 235-6, Glh. 5O1, YGM-1 377, Hm. 681, Vr. 142, Kb. 237, KM 185, Sw. 57, Ho. 1O2 || D (in NED) *put^Nr̥k- v. 'vomit' > Krx putür-nā (p. puttras), Mlt putre id. § D #4276 ◇ N *p-

(rather than *p-) is reconstructed on the ev. of the WCh cognates ◇
Connected with N *PUR₁N₂t₃N '≈ moisture'?

1799. ₂ *P₂N₁R₃t₁N 'jerk, pull (out), tear off' > HS: S *✓prt 'tear off, pick (a fruit from a tree), separate' > Ak ✓prt (inf. parātu) 'abreißen, abräumen', MHb ✓prt G (pf. פָּרַת pā'rat), JA {Lv.} G (pf. פָּרַת pā'rat) 'absondern, trennen', JEA {Sl.} ✓prt G 'split, breach; specify', ? Ar SL ✓frt G 'shake off (nuts) from a tree' ¶ Sd. 832, GB 659, KB 91O, Lv. IV 11O, Sl. 931-2, Bel. 582, Hv. 556 || NrOm: Mch {L} pāriča(yé) v. 'be uprooted, fall with the root' (a tree) ¶ L M 45 || IE: Ht partai- {CHD} v. 'disentangle (?), unravel (?)', {Ts.} 'auszupfen, entwirren' ¶ Ts. W 62, CHD P 197-8.

1800. _(2?) *p¹A¹R₂t₁N²h¹N ~ *p¹A¹t₁R₂N²h¹N '≈ rod, young twig, shoot' > IE: NaIE *perth- 'pole, rod, shoot' > Arm ռորտ orth (0-stem) 'vine' || Gk πτόρθος 'young branch, shoot, sucker, sapling' || ? L pertica 'long pole\rod', Osc perek'aís¹ 'perticis', Um PERCAM accus. 'virgam', perkaf accus. pl. 'virgas' || ? (acc. to Vn.) Clt: W erhyll 'ship mast' || ? Sl *pratъ 'rod' (with an unexplained nasalized vw.) > OCS d. прѧтнє pratiye coll. 'βέργαι, virgae, rods, ροζη', OR πράτη prátē, R, Uk прут 'rod', Blg πράτη, SCr prút, Slv prôt, Cz prút, Slk prút, P præt id. ¶ WP II 49, P 823; F II 615 and Ch. 95O (both: no et. of Gk πτόρθος), WH II 292-3, EM 500, Bc. G 341, Pln. I 216, 253 and II 38, Vs. III 39O, SJSS 506, StSS 555, Mikl. L 754, Chrн. II 77 || HS: EthS *bat₁N₂r- ~ ? *bar₁N₂t- 'stick, shoot, rod' > Gz batr id., 'branch', Tgr bətər, Tgy bətri, Amh bəttər, Har bərti, Gft bərtə, Grg So/WI/Z bərt 'stick' ¶ LG 112, LEDG III 156 || ? D *paṭṭ- ({§GS} *p-) 'beam, timber, wood (Holz)' (< *'trunk of a tree'), 'bough' > Tm paṭṭai 'palmyra timber, rafter', Kn paṭṭe id., 'areca bough', Ml paṭṭa 'areca bough', Tu paṭi 'rafter', Tl paṭṭe 'bar\spar of wood, piece of timber of door-frame', Klm paṭṭe, Nkr paṭi 'plank', Prj peṭṭi 'beam, post', Gdb paṭiya, Kui paṭi 'beam', Krx paṭṭā 'beam in oil-mill' ¶ D #3875, Pf. #532.

1801. *P₂oṛ₁N 'hair' > HS: S *par₁N₂- 'hair of head' > BHb פָּרַע 'peras 'loosely hanging and unplaited hair on the head', Ak pēr(e)tū 'hair of the head', Ar farṣ- id. (esp. 'woman's hair'), 'branch, bough, sprout', ✓frṣ (pf. farīṣa) 'avoir une chevelure très abondante, telle qu'elle couvre toute la tête', {Hv.} 'have abundant hair' (for Ar possibly: × N *pAri'₁N 'strew, spread, extend') ¶ KB 913, KBR 97O, BK II 578-9,

Hv. 557, Sd. 856, BDB 828, MiK I #1.218 || K *papar- 'mane' > G papar-, Mg *popor-*, Sv L *papar*, UB/L/Ln *papal id.* § K 187, K² 198, Chik. 1O2, Chx. 454, TK 752 || A: Tg *°pora- > WrMc *foron* 'curls', {Hr.} 'Haarwirbel' (× *foron* 'a turn, Kraüselung' < N *PôRwN 'to turn, to revolve', q.v.) § Z 1O65, Hr. 3O5 || D *pū̄r- ({θGS} *b-) 'down, hair on the body' (× N *bū|ur,?,N 'lock of hair, down') > Klm *bur* 'fur', Nkr *būr* 'down, fine feather', Gnd *būrā* & *bura* 'down' & *būrā* 'feather', Knd *būrus* & *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- (due to the merger with N *bū|ur,?,N), while Knd -r- suggests pD -r- (hence N *Pōr,?,N) §§ Ffd. see N *bū|ur,?,N '↑' §§ The D vw. *ū belongs to the heritage of N *bū|ur,?,N.

1802. *p̥r̥dN₁X|qN₂ 'quiver, tremble, start (from fear, with suddenness)' > HS: WS *✓pr̥d > Ar, Jb ✓fr̥d v. 'fear' || K: [1] *prt̥χ- v. 'tremble, quiver, be shy (animals), rouse oneself' > OG *prt̥χ-* 'rouse oneself', G *prt̥χ-* 'scheuen (vom Pferd), scheu sein (von Tieren), sich ängstigen', Lz *pat̥χ-* id., Mg (p)nt̥χ-, t̥χ- 'be frightened', Sv {K} *pə₁(r)t̥χ-* ~ *ba₁rt̥χ-* ~ *ba₁n-* 'tremble' ('тряпетатъ'), {FS} *χw-i-pə₁rt̥χ-* ~ *ba₁n-i* 'ich scheue, erschrecke', *ot-pə₁rt̥χ-* ~ *ba₁n-ān* 'ich scheute' || [2] *pert̥χ- vt. 'shake' > G *pert̥χ-*, Lz *pat̥χ-* 'shake, knock out' ('трясти, выколачивать'), Mg *part̥χ-* vt. 'shake; clean' ('выколачивать, трусить, чистить'), Sv *pə₁t̥χ-*, *p̥t̥χ-* 'shake', Sv LB/Ln {TK} *li-pə₁t̥χ-* ~ *ba₁nə₁* 'to shake, to knock out' § K 188, 19O, K² 20O, 2O4, FS K 317, FS E 359, Chx. 1498-9, Q 245, 33, BU 379, TK 452 || IE: NaIE *sperd^h- 'move convulsively (zucken), jump up (aufspringen)' > Av *spradka* 'zappeln', BdhSgd ?spr̥d̥t vi. 'trembles, shakes' || Gk σπυρθῆσαι 'leap, skip', {F, P} 'aufspringen, zappeln' (of donkeys) || ON *spradka*, NNr Δ, Sw Δ *sprala*, MDt *spartelen*, NGr Wph *spraddeln* 'zappeln' || Sl *pr̥dati, mom. *pr̥nɔ̄ti (< *pr̥d-nq-) > ChS **пра́дати** pr̥dati 'to jump, (?) to tremble', OCS d. **въспра́нжти** vъs-pr̥nɔ̄ti 'διανέστασθαι, to stand aloof, to stand up, to rouse up', SCr pr̥nuti се 'to rouse up, to awaken', R Δ **прядать**, 'прянутъ 'to jump up, aufspringen'; Sl *pr̥d- > R Δ **прудкий** 'quick' § P 995-6, M K III 537, ≈ F II 772-3, Vr. 537, Mikl. E 26, Vs. I 357 and III 394, StSS 154 || ?? D

*^opir- > Tm *pirar* v. 'tremble' ¶ D #42OO (a) ¶ This D √ may belong here only if the cns. *-r- is due to ideophonic influences or reflects some reduction of the original √.

1803. *p^Url̥,g^Δ ~ *p^Url̥,k^Δ 'to jump' > IE: NaIE [1] *sperg^h- / *spreg^h- v. 'jump, move energetically' > OI spr^h'hayati 'is eager, desires eagerly', Av ā-spærəzatā 'war bestrebt' || Gk σπέρχομαι {LS} 'be in haste (to do sth.), hasten', 'rage' (of the sea), {F} 'einherstürmen, sich drängen, leidenschaftlich bewegt sein', σπέρχω vt. 'set in rapid motion', σπερχνός 'hasty, rapid, hurried' || ON springa 'springen, rennen, bersten', OSx springan 'to jump, to leap', OHG springan id., 'to gush', NHG springen 'to jump', AS springan 'to leap, to spring back (through elasticity)', NE spring v. ? [2] *(s)preug- / *(s)proug- / *(s)prug- v. '≈ jump' > Sl *pręg- / *pręg- v. 'jump' > R 'прыгать' 'to jump', SrChS **и спръгнѫти** is-pręg-nq-ti 'hervortreten, hervorspringen' || Lt sprūg-ti (modern spelling sprūkti) 'to make off, to run away', Ltv spruk-t (prs. sprūk-u) 'to escape, to run away' || ON frauki, AS froȝa 'frog', NE frog ¶ WP II 675, P 998, EI 284-5 (*sperg^h- 'move energetically'), M K III 539-40, M E II 775, F II 764, Vr. 14O, 538, Kb. 943, OsS 857-8, KM 732, Ho. 117, 313, Ho. S 7O, Frn. 883, Vs. III 39O-1, Mikl. E 241, 265 || **U:** FU (att. in ObU) *^oporȝa v. 'jump' > ObU *pōrəȝ- > pVg *pɔrȝ- > Vg: T pork-, UK/MK/LK pårȝ-, P porr, NV porr- ~ parr-, SV/LL/ML parr-, UL/Ss porȝ- 'hüpfen'; pOs *porəȝla- ({ʃHl.}) *pärəȝla-) > Os: Vy porəȝal-, Ty/Y pōrəȝtə-, Kz pŵrȝtə-, O porla- v. 'fly' ¶ Ht. 179 [#538], Hl. rHt 74-5 (on distinction between the ObU reflexes of U *w and *k [{AD}]: and *ȝ-) that suggests that ObU *pōrəȝ- belongs here rather than to N *p^Uar^Δ 'to fly, to jump') || **A** ({ʃSDM94} *p^Uürki- v. 'leap, jump'): Tg *purkE- v. 'jump' > Ewk h^urkujžhin- id., 'fly up', Orc xokko- 'jump, jump on (sth.)', Ul puçu- ~ puçi- 'jump', Orkutta- 'jump (once)', Nn Nh puyku 'jump, jump up\over' ¶ STM II 353 || ? Ko {Rm.} pul̥kin h^uda 'spring up, arise' ¶ Rm. SKE 2O9, Pp. VG 83, 111, Rs. W 522 (these sources adduce T *h^uürk- 'erschrecken' and M *pürgü- id., which is qu.; the T and M √ is better to be referred to N *pür^ΔK^Δ 'to be startled, to be scared, to fear', q.v.) ◇ The rec. of the N final vw. is problematic: NaIE *sperg^h- / *spreg^h- and Tg *purkE- point to a front vw., while NaIE *(s)preug- / *(s)proug- / *(s)prug- and FU *^oporȝa- suggest a N *-a. The pN variation *-g- ~ *-k- is also to be explained. It may be supposed that

some derivational morphemes (in the ptrhistory of descendant languages) are involved here.

1804. *Peř₁ṇ₂Kü '(=) bone', 'rib' > **HS**: WS *ⁱpičar- 'vertebra of the neck; neck' > Ar fiqr-at- (pl. fiqarāt-) 'vertebra dorsi', faqār- id., JA [Trg.] pir'_k-ā, pirkə't-ā, purkə't-ā 'joint', JPA Bz פָּוֹרְקָה pwrk̚h 'neck', Sr **پَرَاكَ** pārak-^t-ā 'back of the neck, vertebra of the neck', NNEA JIA bķarta ~ pķarta 'neck, nape', Sq {L} fiķe'rīroh 'cou, nuque' ¶ Fr. III 363, BK II 619, Js. 1172, 124O, Sl. P 427, Br. 6O6, JPS 465, Grl. 3OO, 324, L LS 34O, SSL LSNP 1455, SSL CLS 94, MiK I #219 || C: ? SC {E} *fára- 'bone' > Irg {MQK} fara, Irg {E}, Grw fāra (pl. fādu) id., Brn, Alg fara (pl. faradu), Kz falapato, Asa farit, → Mb ifwára id. ¶ E SC 15O [#1O], Wh. IC 22, MQK 34 ¶ ≠ Tk. SCC 76 [#3.1] (unc. equation of SC *fára- with EC *laf-, SOM *lafi 'bone', and Eg ȝf.t 'bone marrow'), Blz. SCL s.v. 'bone' || IE: NaIE *perķu- 'rib, chest' > OI 'paršu-h' 'rib', pār'svā- 'the region of the ribs, side, flank' | Av parəsu- 'rib', parəsu- 'rib, side', Oss I/D fars 'side, side of a body' || Lt Δ pīršys (pl. pīršiai) 'forepart of horse's chest' | OCS, OR **प्रेस्ति** pr̄esi 'breasts' (f. pl. ← 'chest, Rippengegend'), R π, Uk **перси**, SCr [†] pr̄si, SCr pr̄sa, Slv pr̄si, OCz pr̄si, Slk pr̄sia 'breasts', Cz pr̄s, P pierś 'breast' || Al parzēm 'breast' ¶ P 82O, EI 81 (*ⁱperķu-s / gen. *pr̄'ķeu-s '≈ breast, rib'), M K II 229, M E II 100-1, Ab. I 423, Frn. 598, Vs. III 245, Glh. 5O6, O 311-2 || D (in GnD) *peř(ṇk)- ({^gGS} *p-) 'rib, side' > Gnd peřeka, peřka, peřenka 'bone', peřekā 'backbone, rib', Knd peřen (pl. peřek), Png přēn (pl. přēku), Mnd přēn (pl. přēke), Kui, Ku přēnu (pl. přēka) 'bone' ¶ D #4418.

1805. *peřKṇ₁fa, (or PeRKṇ₁ṇ₂) 'to turn round, to twist' > **HS** S *^o✓prķi > Ar ✓frq̚i D 'tordre le cou à qn.' ¶ BK II 586 || B *✓fray 'être tordu, courbé; tourner' > Wrg əfray 'tourner, bifurquer; être tordu', Izd fray 'être tordu', s-fray 'rendre tordu', ZAS fray 'être tordu, courbé', Izn, SrSn, Rf U əfray 'être courbe, tordu, sinueux', Sll fray 'être tortueux', Shl {NZ} ✓fray 'tordre', CM {NZ} ✓fray 'être tordu', Ty, ETwl əfray id., 'dévier de la ligne droite', sə-fray 'rendre tordu, tordre', Ah əfray 'n'être pas droit' ¶ Dlh. Ou 52, Mrc. 251, Loub. 536, Rn. 299, Fc. 355-7, Ds. 28O, GhA 41, NZ 635-7 || ?σ IE: NaIE {P} *spērg-, (with a nasal infix) *spēng- 'wrap up, constrict' > Gk σπάργω* (att: 3p aor. σπάρξαν) 'swathe, wrap', σπάργανον 'swathing band', pl. σπάργανα 'swaddling-clothes' || Lt spēngti '(gewaltsam, mit Anstrengung) in einen engen Zwischenraum pressen', Ltv Δ {ME}

sprāngāt '(ein)schnüren', {EI} v. 'cord, constrict' || MHG **phrengen** 'pressen, drängen, bedrücken' || Tc A, B **pränk-** 'restrain oneself, hold back' ¶ P 992, EI 644 (***(s)pre(n)g-** 'wrap up, constrict'), Frn. 879-8O, F II 757-8, ME III 1010, Lx. 160, Ad. 415-6 ¶ In the prehistory of IE the N cns. ***K** was de-emphasized due to an adjacent lr. (***k̥** > ***k** > IE ***g**) || **U:** FU (or FP) ***per₁y|k₂**▽ v. 'turn sth. round' > Chr L inf. **pör'δ-aš**, H **pörte** (inf. 'pört-aš') vi. 'turn round (вертеться, вращаться)', vt. 'turn on a lathe', Uf **pörte-** 'drehen, drechseln', B **pörta-** 'rotieren, umlaufen' | Prm {LG} ***berg-** v. 'rotate' > Vt **berga-** ~ **bergal-** vi. 'turn\go round, revolve', Z **bergal-** ~ **bergaw-(n̥t)** id., Yz **bergal-** id., Z **bergəd-** vt. 'turn, turn round\over', ? **bert-** (-t- is a sx. of transitivity) vt. 'turn out, root out, put out (of joint)', Vt {Wc.} **berti-** 'zurückkehren' || ?? ObU ***pěyər** > pVg ***păyər** 'round' and pOs ***pěyəryə-** ({JHl.}) ***pīyəryə-** 'sich umdrehen' (the origin of *-y- is unknown) (× FU ***pārw|y**▽ v. 'turn, revolve' < N ***P̥Rw**▽ 'to turn, to revolve' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ UEW 729 (without ObU), MRS 451-2, LG 38-9, Ht. #504 || **A:** M ***ψergi-** v. 'turn, move round, revolve' > MM [S] **hergi-** 'umwenden', WrM **ergi-**, HIM **эргэ-** v. 'turn, move round, revolve; circumambulate (act of devotion or worship)', MnR H {SM} **xərgi-** 'tourner, tourbillonner, se mouvoir autour', ? {T} **Xargi-** 'go round, turn round, revolve' ¶ Pel. 262 [#15], H 75, MED 323-4, T 74, SM 167-8 || Tg ***perke-** ~ ***pergi-** v. 'turn round, revolve' > WrMc **hergi-** 'fly round', 'wind threads on smth.', Ul **xərkə-** 'wrap\wind (sth.) round', as well as possibly in the meaning 'tie, tie around' (v.): Ewk **hərkə-** v. 'tie', Lm **hərkə-** v. 'tie, tie around' ¶ STM II 369-370 ◇ We can reconstruct N ***p**, ***r**, and ***-a** (all on the ev. of IE) only if IE ***sperg-** belongs here. Otherwise the N rec. will be ***PēRKV̥**▽.

1806. (2?) ***Pāśū** 'root, stem of a plant' > **K:** GZ ***pesw-** or {Mach.} ***pasw-** 'root' > OS **pesu-**, G **pesv-i** id. | Mg Snk **posve-**, Mg SmZ **posvi**, posí, Lz **poso-** 'root' ¶ Q 338, K 138, 187, K² 2OO; the vw. ***a** is reconstructed acc. to Mach. XS 265 and IS III 77 || **A:** ***p'æsin** 'stalk, handle, haft' > M ***ψesi(n)** > MM [IM] {Pp.} **hesi** 'handle, haft (черенок), handle (рукоятка)' (Pp. reads **hesi** in spite of IM's [mis]spelling: هستی **h̥e'sti** and هیسنی **heisni**), WrM **iſi** ~ **esi**, HIM **иš** 'trunk (of a tree), stem of a plant, stalk; grip, handle' ¶ MED 334, Pp. VG 11, 63, 136, Pp. MA 438 || Tg ***pesin** > Ewk **həsin** 'handle,

axe-handle, haft, shaft', Ud {Krm} *xʒhi*, WrMc *fesin* ~ *fesen* ~ *fešen* 'handle, haft', Ewk *hʒsin*, Neg *xʒsin*, Lm *hʒsən*, Nn Nh *pʒs̥i*, Nn KU *xʒs̥i*, Orc *xʒsi* / *xʒsin-*, Ul, Ork *pʒsi* / *pʒsin-* id., 'axe-handle' ¶ STM II 371, Krm. 3O8 || ?φ D **vača* ~ **pača* ({IS} < **p₁ača*) '(ε) edible root' > Tm *vacam*, *vacampu*, *payampu* 'sweet flag, Acorus calamus', Ml *vayampu*, Kn *baji*, *baje*, *vace*, *vaje*, Tu *bajæ*, Tl *vaca*, *vasa* id.; D → OI *vacā-* 'e aromatic root (Acorus calamus?)' ¶ D #5213, Tu. #112O1 || HS: C: ?φ Bj {R} *būs* 'Rohr, Halm, Schilf' ¶ R WBd. 52 ◇ IS III 77-8 [#3O3] (*^r*p¹äṣṇ* 'root' > K, A, D) ◇ D **v-* needs explaining (back formation from the second component of a compound word with D *-*v-* < N **p?*). If this explanation is right, the discrepancy between the D reflex (pointing to N **p-*) and the A reflex (suggesting a N cns. **p*) is to be resolved. A possible solution is N **p*∇^r*äṣū*.

1807. ₂ **Pis*∇ 'to remain, to stick' > HS: S *^o-*pūʃ-* > JA [Trg.], JEA ✓ *pwljš* (pf. *pāš*) v. 'remain', Sr ✓ *pwlš* (pf. *pāš*, ip. *nə-pūš*) v. 'remain, stay behind' ({PS} 'cessare, manere, quiescere, morari'), Md ✓ *pwlš* 'remain' ¶ Lv. IV 18, Js. 1149, Sl. 893-4, Br. 561, PS 3O75-7, DM 569 || U: FV **pise-* v. 'remain, stick' ('bleiben, verbleiben, steckenbleiben') > F *pysy-*, Δ *pisü-* 'remain, hold on (somewhere)', Es *pūsi-* 'stay, endure, last' | Er *pezna-*, Mk *пезо-* *реза-* 'be thrusted \ stick in smth. ('воткнуться, увязнуть, завязнуть') | Chr L *p̥iža-š* id., 'catch on sth., be glued to smth.' ('[за]цепляться, [за]вязнуть, приклеиваться'), Chr KB *p̥ižä-*, U/M *p̥iža-* 'sich anschließen, klebenbleiben, anstecken'] ↳ FV **pise-tä-* v. 'put, set, stick in, thrust in' ('stellen, setzen, legen, hineinstecken') > F *pistä-* vt. 'prick, thrust', Es *pista-* id., 'stab', pLp {Lr.} **p̥stē* 'stecken' > Lp: N {N} *bâstet*, L {LLO} *pastēt* | Chr B *p̥šte-* vt. 'put, set, lay, place', U *p̥šte-* id., 'thrust in', Chr L *p̥š'ta-š*, Chr H *pište-*, 'pišta-š vt. 'put\place (somewhere)' ¶ UEW 732-3, Ker. II 11O, MRS 431, 491, Lr. #87O.

1808. ₁ *^r*p¹iš*∇ 'to spray, to sprinkle, to drip' > HS: pCh {Nw} **pəsa* (sc. **p̥iʃiʃi*) v. 'spit, 'spurt water from one's mouth' > WCh: Hs {Sk.} *fēsà* ~ *fīda* ~ *fīča* v. 'spurt water from one's mouth' | P' {MSk.} pf. *p̥t̥sū* (p. *p̥t̥sī*, ip. *p̥t̥sō*) v. 'spit', Jmb {Sk.} *fʒš-*, Kry *pʒcʒ* v. 'spit' | GIm {Sch.} *pʒs-ǎlá*, Gera {Sch.} *f̥iši-mi* v. 'spit' | ? Wnd {ChLC} *p̥yās*, ? Zar {ChC} *p̥iyac̥*, Zar K {Sh.} *p̥yac̥* id. || CCh: MfG {Brr.} -*pʒs-* 'cracher dans une calebesse pour la bénir', Mf {BLB} *p̥iš-* 'cracher de l'eau pour la

bénir ou pour vaporiser; pleuvoir à petites gouttes, bruiner' ||| ECh: Mgm {JA} pis-/pes- v. 'spit' ¶ Nw. #12O, MSk. 2OO, Sk. NB 41, Sk. CHD 68, Sch. BTL 115, 174, ChC, JA LM 117, Brr. MG II 22O, BLB 3O9 || B: ETwl ьfсу 'vomir', Ty ьfсу id., Shl {NZ} ssufs ~ ьssufs, CM, Shw, Wrg ssufəs, Ntf sufəs, Izn siuffes, BSn sufəs, Gh sufəs (pf. yəssufəs) v. 'spit' ¶ GhA 43, NZ 120, 659 || ? S: Sr |^oščipas'r-ā 'urine' ¶ JPS 469 ¶ ≠ OS #197O (*peħas- 'wet, sprinkle' > Hs fēsa + S *✓pħs *'wet, moisten' > Ar ✓fħs [in fact 'lick up \ lap water from the hand'] and Skr peso 'wet'), ≈ Sk. HCD 68 || K t-*ps- v. 'urinate' > G, Lz ps-, Mg (p)s-, Sv s-ēn- (UB msd. li-s-ēn-e) id.; ds.: (1) GZ *ps-am-/*ps-m- v. 'urinate' > G psam-/psm-, Mg psəm-, Lz psim- id.; (2) GZ (or G) *pse-l- 'urine' > G psel-, (→ ?) Mg psela-, Lz psel-~msel- id. ¶ K 191-2, K² 2O5-6, FS K 322, FS E 36O-1, GP 167 || U: FU (att. in FV) *piśsa- v. 'drip, drizzle' ('tropfen, tröpfeln') > F piśaa- 'heraussickern, tropfen', F piśara, Es piśar 'drop' | Er piźe-, Mk piźə- v. 'rain', Er piźeme, Mk piźəm 'rain' ¶ Ker. II 114, Rv. DVaM 1O8, UEW 732 || A: Tg *piś- v. 'sprinkle' > Nn Nh piśi, Nn KU fisī-, Ul piśuri- '(be)sprinkle, pour on', Nn Nh piśuri-, Nn B fusindz-, Nn KU fisuri- 'be drizzling' ('моросять, накрапывать'), Nn Nh piśuci- 'pour on', WrMc fisī- 'sprinkle, splash water on oneself by hand', fise- 'splash\sprinkle water from one's mouth'; irreg. p- in Ork piśitći- 'splash' and piśuri- 'drizzle' is due either to borrowing (from Nn) or to onomatopoeia ¶ STM II 39 || M *ψüsür- v. 'spout, squirt out' ({Pp.} 'besprengen, streuen') (×N t *Pus|š'E¹ or *Püs|š'E¹ 'to spit, to sprinkle', q.v. ffd.) || ? AdS of T: Sag/Qb {Rl.} üskür- 'aus dem Munde spritzen' (< N t *Pus|š'E¹ or *Püs|š'E¹ '↑') ¶ Rl. I 188O ¶ Rm. SKE 212, Pp. VG 11 || D: [1] *pićv- ({gGS} *p-) v. 'drizzle, sprinkle' > Tm pićir, pićupicu id., pićir 'rain drop, spray', Td piśk 'urine', Tl piśaru 'a bit, small quantity' || [2] ? (in SD) *pićć- ({gGS} *p-) v. 'squirt' > Tm pićcu v. 'squirt, milk (as a cow)', Ml pićcukav. 'squirt, syringe', Kn piću id., 'squirting' ¶ D ##4132, 4215 ◇ IS MS 332 ◇ N *p- (rather than *p-) is suggested by Ch *p- (> Mf and MfG p-) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #3O1 (*pes 'pour') (FU, A + unc. σ Ht pessiya-, Yk pešeи 'throw' + err. Ko).

1809. *pośi 'be hot\warm' > HS: Eg fOK psey v. 'cook (sth.), bake, boil (Fäden kochen)' > Cpt: Sd πίσει πίσε, B φίσι hísit'faire cuire (aliments, briques); Eg MKL pse.t 'das Kochen' ¶ EG I 551-3, Fk. 94, Vc.

164 || B *✓fsy v. 'melt' (\times N *p̥äy's̥i' [~ *piš'i?] 'crush, break to pieces'?) > Shl {Stm., Ds.} (ə)fsi (hab. fsäj, Ah, BSn, SrSn, Kb afsi, Izn afsiy, Izd fsi vi. 'melt', Mz, Wrg afsi, ETwl afsay 'se fondre, se liquéfier' ¶ Stm. 178, Fc. 362, Dl. 234-5, Dlh. M 55, Dlh. Ou 86, NZ 665-6 || Ch: CCh: Mdr {ChC} p̥ša vt. 'burn, verbrennen' || WCh: Hs t̥à-fásà 'be boiling' (of water, etc.); WCh *✓fs 'cook, roast' (\times N *piša 'to get\make ready [cooked, ripe]', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Abr. H 836 || ? (d.?) CS *✓p̥šr v. 'melt, be slightly warm' > JA [Trg.] פִישָׁרָא piš'r-ā {Lv.} 'sth. (water) luke-warm, luke-warmed', ✓p̥šr G vi. 'melt, be dissolved', vt. 'auflösen durch Zermalmen \ Kauen', JEA ✓p̥šr G 'melt', Sr ✓p̥šr (pf. p̥a'šar) v. 'dissolve, melt, liquefy, fuse (as metals)', MHb הַפְשֵׁיר h̥ip̥šir 'lau machen', MdHb, NHb po'šer 'slightly warm' ¶ ASh VI 46O, Lv. IV 151-2, Lv. T II 306, Js. 1249, Sl. 945, JPS 469 ¶ JA and MHb ✓p̥šr is from ✓p̥šr v. 'melt, be warm' \times ✓p̥šr v. 'resolve, dissolve, disentangle'; the adduction of the S √ is tenable unless *✓p̥šr v. 'melt, be warm' is a sd. of *✓p̥šr v. 'resolve, dissolve, be disentangled' || **U:** FP *poś∇ 'hot, heat; sweat' > Er, Mk p̥si 'hot', {W} p̥isi, p̥si 'heiß, hitzig, Hitze' | Chr: L püž-'wüδ, H 'püž-węδ 'sweat' (L wüδ, H węδ 'water'), L püžalt- v. 'sweat' | Z, Vt p̥s̥ 'hot, sweaty' ¶ UEW 738, LG 23O, Ker. II 122 (pMr *piśa-), MRS 477, Lt. 224 || **A:** T *hiS-si-/*hiS-si- (or *hiS-su-/*hiS-sü-) v. 'heat', *hiS-si-χ-/*hiS-si-χ- (or *hiS-su-χ-/*hiS-sü-χ-) 'hot' ({Md.} *t̥ssig ~ *i.ssig) 'warm' (\times N *ʔüs∇ 'fire'?) > OT {Cl.} isī- v. 'be hot', isig 'hot, heat', Qrg, Qzq, Qq iſi-, StAlt iž_i-, Xk t̥z̥- 'get warm', Qmq iſi- vt. 'warm', Uz iſi-, Tv iži- 'get warm (разогреться)', ETΔ iſſi- v. 'be warm'; → T *hiS-su-χ-/*hiS-sü-χ- 'hot' ({Md.} *t̥ssig ~ *i.ssig) 'warm' > Xlj hissī, OT isig 'hot, heat', MU iſiχ, MQp iſſiχ ~ iſſi ~ iſ(s)i, MOg, XwT iſſi, Chg iſſi ~ iſti ~ iſiχ, Uz Δ, ETΔ iſſiq, Uz, ET iſſiq, Ln iſſiq, SY iſſiχ, OOsm iſſi, Tk iſſi, iſi, Tkm, Qzq, Qq iſſi, Tk Δ, Kr, QRb, Qmq, Nog iſſi, VTt əccə bſſb, Bsh bθb, Qrg iſi ~ iſiq, Alt iž_ü, Xk t̥z̥ig, Shor ižiχ, Tv ižiχ, Tf iſiχ, Yk it̥i 'hot', Chv šašă ńč_ъ, Δ ńč_ъ 'hot, heat' ¶ Cl. 241, 246, Rs. W 17-4, ET Gl 668-71, TL 19-21, DT 133, BT 63, BIG 66, Md. 73, 165, Ra. 75, Jeg. 45, Fed. I 95 ◇ T *i/i needs explaining (regr. as. [*i..i / *i...i from **o...i/i] and/or heritage of N *ʔüs∇ 'fire'?).

1810. *p̥os∇ (~ *bos∇) 'to fart (without noise)' > **HS:** S *✓p̥sw > Ak pašū, Ar ✓fsw (pf. fasā, ip. -fsū) v. 'fart (without noise)', Gz, Tgy

✓ *fsw* v. *G*, Tgr *G* pf. *fəša* 'break wind' || Sd. 846, L G 168 || BK II 595, L G 168, LH 662, Bsn. 994, MiK I #2.57 || IE: NaIE *pesd- v. 'fart (without noise)' > Gk βδέω id. (< *βεδέω) || L pēd-ō, -ěre v. 'fart' || Sl {Sls.} *pezd- ~ *pъzd- > Blg пъз'дя v. 'fart without noise', SCr бázdeti ә bazdjeti, Uk пез'diti, 'бздіти (*ръзд-), R бздеть 'to fart without noise', Slv pezdéti, P bždzieć, Cz bzdíti id. || Lt bezdéti (prs. bezdu) id., Ltv bezdēt 'to fart' || MHG vist ~ vīst, NHG Fist, Dt veest, AS fīsting n. act. 'farting without noise', NE adj. † fīsting 'breaking wind' (e.g. fīsting dog, fīsting hound), † fist, NE feist v. 'break wind' || WP II 11, P 829, EI 194, FI 230, ~ KM 2OO, Ho. 1O6, Vr. N 768, Frn. 42, Sls. I 54, Vs. I 163, Tls. 24 || ? K: Mg buz-in- v. 'fart' (× o K *bzu- v. 'buzz' [> Lz buz-al-]) || K 51, K² 15 || U: FL *poske v. 'fart' > pLp {Lr.} *pōckz v., n. 'fart' > Lp: N {N} buos'kâ, L {LLO} puoskas, Kld {TI} pūčk n. 'fart', S {Hs.} d. buotskethidh v. 'fart' || Mk puska- v. 'fart' || UEW 737-8, Lr. #987, Lgc. #5326, Hs. 388; Rédei explains pLp *c for the expected *s by onomatopoeic associations || A: T (in NaT) *h̥osur- ~ *būsar- v. 'fart': (1) *h̥osur- > OT, MT, Chg osur-, Tk osur-, ET Tr {Rl.} osar-, VTt {ðRl.} usъr-, Qzq {Rl.} osur- id., Yk {Pek.} utur-uk n. 'fart' → uturukt- v. 'fart'; (2) T *būsar- > Chv пăсар- pъz_ar- v. 'fart' → Chr pušar- id. || Cl. 251, Rs. W 366, Rl. I 1139-41, 1746, Pek. 3O99-1OO, Jeg. 15O, Fed. I 4O4-5.

1811. (2?) u *Pus|š|rE¹ or *Püs|š|rE¹ 'to spit, to sprinkle' > U *pus|š|v v. 'spit, sprinkle' > ObU *pūθ- v. 'sprinkle' > pVg *pūt- > Vg: LK/MK pot-, NV/SV/LL put- 'bespritzen', LK potəs-, P putās-, LL putās- id.; pOs *pōfa- ({ʃHl.} *pūfa-) id. > Os: V pōl-, Vy pōla-, Ty/Y/Kz pōf-, D/K păt-, Nz pōt-, O *păl- || Sm: Slq NP puttu 'saliva', Slq {KD} UKt purōn- v. 'spit' ('spucken, speien'), Tm putōn- vt. 'sprinkle water, pour, pour out' || Ht. 173 [#486], KD ALS 169-17O, cp. UEW 4O9-41O (does not distinguish between FP *puš|š|v- v. 'blow' and U *pus|š|v v. 'spit, sprinkle') || A *p'üs|š|v > Tg *pus- ({ʃBz.} *pōs-) v. 'sprinkle, irrigate' > Ewk husu- 'sprinkle, pour water on', Lm hus-, Neg xusi- 'sprinkle', WrMc fusu-, Mc Sb fuss- 'sprinkle from one's mouth, pour water from a watering-pot' || STM II 355 || M *p'üsür- v. 'spout, squirt out' (× N u *p'iš|š|v 'to spray, to sprinkle, to drip') > WrM üsür-, HlM γcp̥e- v. 'spout, squirt out' ({Pp.} 'besprengen, streuen'), Mnr H {SM} fuʒ_urū- 'verser, couler (des métaux)', WrM {Rm.} üsürge- ~ üsügle- v. 'water plants' || pM

*ψ- is a qu. rec., because MnR f- may be secondary (acc. to Md.-Hl.'s law of a MnR secondary h-/f- induced by a stem-medial voiceless cns.); Starostin (p.c., 2OO1) admits a possibility of derivation from *usun 'water' § SM 1O3, MED 1O14, Rm. SKE 212 || ? T: Sg, Qb üskür- 'aus dem Munde spritzen' (× N t *^rp̥isν '↑?') § RI. I 188O || pKo {S} *p̥osɔj- ~ *pusiŋ- 'wash, sprinkle' > MKo p̥osɔj- ~ pusɔj-, NKo pusí- § S QK #136, Nam 261, 265, MLC 816 §§ DQA #18O8 (A *p̥jūsi 'to sprinkle') || ? o D (in SD) *pučνkk- ({§GS} *p-) > Kn pučakkane 'suddenly and with a small noise, as when spittle is ejected with force', Tu pučukku 'the force, as of spitting' § D #4245.

1812. *P_Ešν 'grain, nut' > HS: B *✓(y)fs 'grain, seed' > Ah {Fc.} tēfəst (pl. tēfsīn) 'seed' ('semence de végétal'), Gh {Nh., La.} čifəst (pl. čifsīn), Tmz {MT} ifs (pl. ifsan) 'grain, seed', Izd {Mrc.}, CM {NZ} ifs 'a seed' (pl. ifsan), Nfs {La.} ayfs 'seed', Zmr/Iz {La.} pl. ifsan id. (coll.), Tmz AN {La.} ifsi 'grain', Mz {Dlh.} ayəfs ~ ayfəs, Wrg {Dlh.} ayfəs 'semence, grain de semence', Nf ayfs 'graine, semence'; ?? *✓fsH > Mz/Wrg {Dlh.} əfsə, Ah əfsi 'répandre, verser'; ?? Izn {Rn.} tafsaут 'sorgho, millet', Rf tafsawt 'millet', Shl {NZ} tafsut 'wild millet', Ntf tafsut 'white sorgho' § Fc. 362, La. MChB 272 (n. 1), La. S 294, Mrc. 233, Dlh. M 54, 242, Dlh. Ou 84, 38O, Rn. 298, MT 132, NZ 656-7 || A {SDM97} *p̥isE, {DQA} *p̥i^rsν (¬ *-ja-) 'a seed, grain' > Tg *pise-ke > Lm fisike ~ fisihə 'millet', Ork, Ul piksə, Nn: Nh piksə, KU fisxə 'millet' § STM II 38 || pKo {S} *psí 'seed' > MKo psí, NKo ūi id. § S QK #75, Nam 326, MLC 1O32 §§ DQA #1769 || U: FP *päškν 'nut' > F pähkinä, Es pähkel, Δ pähke, pähnen, pähknä id. | Er пеште pešte, Δ pešče, Mk пяште päštə 'hazel-nut' | Chr: L/H пүкш pükš 'nut' | Prm *pašk- ({LG} *pačk-) > Vt пашпү paš-pu 'hazel' (pu 'tree'), Z UV paškan ~ pačkan 'hips (fruit of dog-rose)' § UEW 726-7, Ker. II 111, MRS 478, Ep. 96, LG 217, SZ 195 || K: G pačka 'millet', {DCh.} 'черное, птичье, или боровое просо' (unless a loan from an unknown source) § Chx. 1456, DCh 1299 ◇ Tg *-ke, G -ka, and FP *-k▽ are likely to go back to a sx. ◇ If G pačka belongs here (and is not a loanword), its cns. č still needs explaining ◇ Resh. NNE #7 (U, A).

1813. (2?) *p̥iša 'to get\make ready (cooked, ripe)' > HS: Eg OK/MK {EG} f̥s(y) v. 'cook' § EG 551-2, 578, Fk. 98, ≈ Vc. 164-5 || Ch (× N *p̥osí 'be hot, warm'): WCh: Ron : DfB {J} fâš v. 'roast', Bks/Sha {J} fos 'kochen' || CCh: McHigi {ChL}: HgB pcéyò, Kps psa- (psákè), FlG psati,

HgF psášò, FIK wča 'roast' Mdr {ChC} pšapša id. | pBM *pca > Bu {Hf.} pca, Mrg {Hf.} pcà, Ngx cз, Klb, Hld ca 'roast (rösten, braten)' ¶ ChC, ChL, JI II 55, 274-5, J R 85, 141, 214, 284, Hf. LBM 47O [#5], Hf. B 28, Hf. M 123, 133-5, Pan. NC 59 ¶ Tk. I 114-5 || U: FU *piša- v. 'roast, cook' > pLp {Lr.} *pзsē v. 'roast' > Lp: N {N} bâsset, L {LLO} passē id., S {Hs.} biss'edh 'roast, bake' || ObU *pīθ- v. 'cook' > pVg *pīt- > Vg: T pīt-, LK/MK/UK/NV/LL/UL/Ss pēt- id.; pOs *päf- > Os: Vy päл-, Ty päf-, D/K pät-, Nz pat-, Kz paф-, O päл- id. ¶ UEW 385, Sm. 547 (FU *pi/ešä-, FP *pišä-, Ugr *pešä- 'cook'), Lr. #867, Lgc. #4695, Hs. 334, Ht. 173 [#485] || A: ?σ M *ψis- v. 'ferment, turn sour' > Brt əhə-, Kl ис-, Ord es- id., WrM iš-, HIM əсə-, исə- id., 'rise' (of dough); since the word is not attested (as far as I know) in MM and the peripheral h-|ψ-preserving M lgs., the rec. of M *ψ- and the adduction of the M stem remain qu. ¶ MED 416, Ms. O 248-9, Chr. 78O, KRS 274 ◇ The unexpected CCh *p (rather than *f) may be probably due to its position within a cns. cluster ◇ In some lgs. there is partial contamination with N *bažē 'ripen, be cooked (gar werden)', 'cook' (q.v.).

1814. *pišv 'gall' > IE: NaIE *bis-(t)v id. > L bīlis (< *bislis) id. || W bustl 'gall, choler', Δ bystl, OCrn bistel, MCrn bystel, MBr, Br bestl 'bile', OBr [Y] bistlou id. ('humores nigri') ¶ P 1O2, WH I 1O5-6, LP § 26.5, YGM-1 61, Flr. 84 || U *piša 'gall' (→ 'green, yellow') > Er piže 'green, copper', Mk пиже pižə 'green' || Sm {Jn.} *pъtä 'gall' > Ne T пăдя, Ne T O {Lh.} pađe', Ne F {Lh.} paćă, Ng {Cs.} făte, {Mik.} hoti, En {Ter.} rođe, En X {Cs.} 'fore?', En B {Cs.} fode? id. | Slq Tz {KKIH} pat 'bile', patlı 'yellow, green, blue', Slq Tm {KD} pa·d_, Slq Ch {Cs.} pače, Slq O {Cs.} pač 'bile' | Kms {KD} p‘åda, Koyb {Sp.} пода 'bile', Mt {Hl.} *hädä (Mt: M {Sp} хадыде, K {Pl.} chèdiđe 'his\its bile') ¶ Coll. 5O, UEW 84-5, PI 2O7, Jn. 115, KKIH 147-8, Cs. 164, 226, Hl. M 273 || D *picč- ({§GS} *p-) 'bile' > Tm picci 'bile, madness', Ml picci, Kt puč, Kn peccu, raccu, russu, Tl picci, picca 'madness', Td püč 'anger', Nk pisak 'mad'; D → OI pitta- 'bile' ¶ D #4142, M E II 131 (OI pitta without et.) || ??σ HS: EC {Ss.} *pis- 'colour, flower' > Af bisu, Or bifa, Brj bíš-a 'colour', Sd biša 'red', Hd {C} bišo 'brown', Kns pisa, Gwd piso, Hrs, Gln pis-ko 'flower' ¶ This EC root may belong here if there was a semantic change 'green' (or 'yellow') → 'colour', which is imaginable only if green (or yellow) was a colour *par excellence* in some Cushitic cultural context ¶ Ss. B 37, Ss.

PEC 14, 32, Bl. 171 ◇ AD GD 13, IS MS 34O s.v. желчъ *b̥išča, ≈ Blz. LNA #41 (suggests to equate IE and U with EC *b̥is- 'colour, flower' and unconvincingly with D *pač- 'green' [D #3821]) ◇ Gr. II #173 (*pis 'gall') (IE, U + qu. Ko, J, Ai, A).

1815. u *Puš^Δ 'to blow' > HS: S *✓pš|θw, *-pūš|θ- 'breathe' > Ak paščā (inf.) 'hauchen', MHb ✓pwš G 'breathe, take a rest', ?φ Tgr ✓fšfš D 'bluster, steam' ('brausen, dampfen'), fəšfəšo 'vapour-bath' ¶ Sd. 846, Js. 1149, LH 663, MiK I #2.56 || IE: [1] NaIE *peus- v. 'blow, blow up, inflate' ('aufblasen') > Gk φῦσα 'wind, blast, wind in the stomach; (pair of) bellows', φυσάω v. 'blow' (of the wind), 'blow, puff' (of bellows) || L pustula, pussula 'blister, pimple' || NNr føyse (< *fausian) 'aufschwellen, aufgären' || Lt pūsle 'blister, vesicle', Ltv pūsliš 'bladder', Lt † {Ruh., Frn.} pūšé 'Blatter', Lt pūškas 'pustule, pimple, blister' || Sl *puxati (prs. *puš-) 'to blow', *opruhnati 'to swell', RChS пышж риšq 'I pant', Blg 'пъхам id., R пыхать, пышет v. 'blaze', Slv píhati, píšem v. 'blow, fan (fire)', LLs puchaś 'to pant', puchaś, HLs puchać 'to blow', SCr púhati (1s prs. pūšēm) 'to blow, to puff, to pant', Cz puch 'stench' ¶ WP II 81, P 848, FII 1O55-7, WH II 392, ≈ Frn. 677-9, Vs. III 421, Glh. 511, Ma. CS 4O5, ≈ EI 72 || [2] NaIE *pēs- v. 'blow' (of a person, of wind) > ON fónn (< *faznō) 'snow-drift (Schneewehe, fester Schneehaufe)', Nr fónn, Nr †, Sw Δ fann 'snow-drift, Schneehaufen' || ChS {Mikl.} пѣхыръ pěxirъ 'πομφόλυξ, bulla, Blase', Cz puchýř '(water-)blister' (× ↔ puchnuti 'to swell' and possibly puchřeti 'to rot'), ? P † pęchyrz, pacherzyna, P pęcherz 'bladder', LLs puchorina 'bulld, blister', puchorž id., 'bladder', HLs {Jak.} pucher 'bubble, blister' (× ↔ LLs puchaś 'stark blasen, pusten', HLs puchać 'paffen, pusten') ¶ Vr. 151, Mikl. L 762, HIK 3O5, Brü. 4O3, Šw. 323, Jak. 29O, Trof. 238, ≈ P 796 || K: OG pšw-, G pšv- v. 'exhale fragrance', OG pšwa, G pšva 'fragrance', G pšven-/pšvin- 'leise atmen, duften' ¶ Chx. 1514, DCh. 1321 || U: FP *puš^Δ- v. 'blow (blasen)' > F Δ puhu- v. 'blow', F puhalta- 'blow (blasen, pusten, hauchen, wehen)', Es puhu- 'blow (blasen, wehen), breathe' | pLp {Lr.} *posč v. 'blow' > Lp: N {N} bøssot, L {LLO} påssōt, S {Hs.} båssudh v. 'blow' (also of the wind), 'blow up, inflate', Lp K {Gn.} påsseð 'aufschwellen' | ? Chr pošaš 'to blow (the fire)' | Prm: Z puški- vt. 'blow' (of wind), 'blow with bellows', 'fan fire' || in Sm there is a √ with U *-ś-: Ne pos 'a whiff

(дуновение)', ?? Slq Tz {KKIH} *pusqa* 'snow-storm' ('пурга') ¶ UEW 4O9-41O (does not distinguish between FP **pušv-* v. 'blow' and U **pusšv-* v. 'spit, sprinkle'), Sm. 547 (FU **pušča-*, FP **pušča-*, Ugr **pūθa-* 'blow'), Lr. #962, LG 234, TmK 583, Hs. 294-5, KKIH 153; the Sm cognate was indicated in 1976 by HI. (p.c.) || A: Tg **pus-* (??) > Ewk *hus-* 'blow out (fire)', Lm *hūsъn-* id., 'blow (blasen)', WrMc *fusxe-mbi* 'I fan (with a fan)', *fusxe-ku* 'a fan', Jrc {Kiy.} *fusxegu* id. (unless in Ewk and Lm the verb is derived from Ewk *huw-*, Lm *hū-* v. 'blow') ¶ Z 1O78, STM II 336, Kiy. 1O9 [#221] (s.v. *hūv-* I 'blow') || ? pJ **pūsū-(m)pur-* v. 'smoke' > OJ *pusubur-*, ItOJ [RJ] *ɸūsūbó�-*, J T *ɸusubur-* ¶ S QJ #1417 || ? Ko {Rm.} *putčhi-dā* v. 'fan, blow (a fire)' (acc. to Rm., < **pus-tʰi-*) ¶ Rm. SKE 211-2 ◇ NaIE **pēs-* may go back to ***pues-* < N **Pušv-* ◇ IS MS 339 s.v. *дуть* **pūšn* (IE, A, U) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #46 (**pus* 'blow').

1816. **Pušv-* 'rub, smear' > HS: S *°✓ *pšš* (¬ *°*pθθ* ¬ *°✓ *p̪s̪*) > Ak ✓ *pšš* v. 'smear' || K **pšw-en-/*pšw-n-* v. 'crumble, make friable' > OG d. *na-pšuen-* pp. 'crumb', G (da)*pšvn-/pšven-* {Chx.} 'zerbröckeln, zerkrümmeln, zerreiben', (da)*pšvneṭ-/pšvniṭ-* 'zerreiben, zermalmen', (ča)*pšvneṭ-* 'zerreiben und in etwas streuen', Sv {K} *puršgwīn-* 'crumble, make friable', Sv {TK}: UB *pursgwīn(a)*, LB *pursgwīn*, *purs(w)in*, *pərsin*, LB/L *puršgwīn*, Ln *purškwīn* n. act. 'crumbling' ¶ K² 2O9, Chx 1514-5, TK 768 || IE: Ht {CHD} *pes(s)-* 'rub, scrub (with soap, etc.)', {Frd., Ts.} *pes-* 'einreiben (mit Waschmitteln)', (× N **Pučv-* **v** 'press, squeeze, crush by squeezing'): Ht *pasihai-* {CHD} v. 'rub, squeeze, crush', {Frd.} 'einreiben, zerreiben' (??) ¶ Ts. W 63, 66, CHD P 2O5, 315, Frd. HW 1O8, 164 || D **pūč-* ({GS} **p-*) v. 'smear' > Tm *pūču* v. 'besmear, anoint, rub', Ml *pūčuka*, *pūšuka* v. 'smear, daub, rub', *pūčal*, *pūccu* 'smearing, daub', Kn *pūšu* v. 'smear, daub, anoint', Tu *pūjuni*, Tl *pūyū* v. 'smear, rub, daub'; D → OI *pusta-* 'working clay, modelling' ¶ D #4352, Km. 434 [#841].

1817. ₂ **p̪všqv-* ~ **Peqše* "spear" ([in descendant lgs.] → 'arrow') > HS: S *°*p̪všχ-* (or *°*p̪vθ|šχ-*) > Ak NA *pašχu* ~ *pū-aš-χu* (acc. to Sd., possibly a spelling for **pošχu*) 'e hunting spear (?)' ('ein Jagdspieß') ¶ Sd. 844 || WCh {Stl.} **pasa* 'arrow' > BT: Krkr {Mk.} *pasku*, Pr {Frz.} *púžuk*, Dera {J} *pék*, ? Ngm {ChL} *poʔošo*, Krf {Sch.} *fūši*,

Bl {Mk.} fɔsɔ 'arrow' || SBc: Zul {ChL} pùsè, Jm {Gw.} pussko, Plc {ChL} pyes, Grn {Jgr.} pəši, Gj {ChL} p̄sì, Buli {ChL} p̄s, Dw {ChL} pis, Zr {ChL} p̄is id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Frz. P 47, Stl. ZCh 144 [#7], IS Ch 26, Jgr. 183 ¶ OS #19O2 || U: FU *pekše 'arrow (with a dull arrowhead)' > Chr: L пикш рikš 'arrow, bow', Н пикш рikš, В рikš, М рikš 'arrow' || Prm: StVt пукыгч рuktč 'bow; рыба-стрела (arrow-fish?)', Vt: Sr рuktš ~ рuktč, Kz рukas 'arrow', G рuktč 'bow' || ObU: Os V pōr 'arrow with a dull wooden arrowhead, arrow for hunting squirrels without spoiling their skin' | Vg LK lišen-pāxtnap-piwat 'arrow with a dull arrowhead for hunting squirrels' (lišen 'squirrel', pāxt- v. 'shoot') ¶ Coll. 1O8, UEW 369, MRS 429, U3S 363.

1818. *Pay, ſ̄e 'penis' > IE: NaIE *pes- id. > OI 'pasa-h̄ id. || Gk πέος id. || L pēnis id. (< *pes-ni-s) || Ht pisnatar/-n- 'männliches Genitale', {CHD} 'male parts (penis, scrotum, etc.)', ? pisnatar/-n- 'manhood', pesna-, pisena-, *pis(e)ni- 'man, male person' ¶ P 824, EI 5O7 (*'peses), M K II 241, M E II 111, Dv. #26O, F II 5O7, WH II 281, Ts. W 63, CHD P 324-9, Dlmr. 1O7 || HS: S *°payſ- > Ar fayš-, fayš-at- 'gland de la verge'; ?? Ak bāštu 'penis' ¶ BK II 653 || ??φ B *✓bšš 'penis' (× *✓bšš 'urinate') > CM abəššiš 'pénis, verge', Fgg abšiš, Kb abbuš 'penis', CA (BMn), Nf abəššaš 'verge' ¶ NZ 8-9 || U: FU *paſe (or *paſ|će) 'penis' > pLp {Lr.} *pōćz 'penis' > Lp: N {N} buoččā - č- 'penis of man or horse', S {Hs.} buodje, L {LLO} puohťja, Kld {Tl} pūč:(ă) 'penis' || Hg fasz id. ¶ UEW 345 (reconstructs *pać∇, though pLp *-ć- and Hg -sz may go back also [and more regularly] to FU *-ſ-), Sm. 548 (FU *paļoļooši, FP *paļoļooši, Ugr *poļaši 'penis'), Lr. #988, Lgc. #5289, Hs. 38O, TI 41O-1 ◇ The absence of the reflexes of *y in the prehistory of NaIE needs explaining ◇ Ffd. see IS III 96-7 (mentions OT [MhK] äs 'männliche Schamteile' [MKA I 181.16], but OT äs with this meaning is not registered by either Cl. or MKD); IS III does not take into account Ar fayš- and reconstructs */p/a/se (sc. *p̄aſe).

1819. *p̄äy, ſ̄i (‐ *piſ̄i?) 'crush, break to pieces' > HS: Eg fP pšn vt., vi. 'split (spalten, sich spalten)' ¶ EG I 56O, Fk. 95 || ?σ B *✓fsy '(se) délier, (se) défaire' > Ah aſsi 'désagréger, être désagrégé', Kb aſsi '(se) délier, (se) défaire', Gd fasyiy 'être clairsémé (grain, arbres)', Tmz fsu '(se) défaire, étirer (la laine), (se) démêler', Shl {NZ} fsu 'carder', CM fsu 'défaire, étirer, nettoyer (la laine)', Rf fsu, Fgg fsa

'préparer la laine pour le tissage', Mz f̥su, Wrg əfsu 'démêler, défaire' ¶ Fc. 362, DI. 234-5, Lf. II #O445, MT 131, NZ 656 || Ch *p|f⁷s¹, {Nw.} *fas₁i v. 'break' > WCh {Stl.} *pas- 'break to pieces (разбивать)' > Hs fásà, fášè v. {Ba.} 'break irregularly', {Sk.} 'break in piece', Hs fású v. 'burst' | Ngz p̄t̄psú v. 'render into small pieces or powder' || ? NrBc: P {MSk.} piša, Sir {Sk.} p̄ššu, Dir {Sk.} f̄ššu v. 'break' || CCh: G'nd {Nw.} f̄šš 'break' | Mrg {Hf.} p̄šš'vt., vi. 'break (pot, calabash, glass)', Hld p̄ššfnā, Wmd p̄ššw 'break' || McHigi {ChL}: HgNk p̄šε, HgB puš°, Kps pušε, HgF p̄šo, FlG p̄šamti, FlJ f̄š(i), FlM f̄š, FlB f̄št id. || ECh: Ke {Nw.} p̄se 'hatch', {Eb.} p̄sé 'éclore, schlüpfen aus dem Ei', as well ?? Tmk {Cp.} p̄až 'casser, rompre' (unless from HS *✓pcc, cp. S *✓pss 'destroy, break') ¶ ChL, ChC, Stl. ZCh 144 [#6], Abr. H 256-9, Sch. DN 130, Nw. 23 [#16] (*f̄asə 'break'), Hf. M 123, 127, etc., Eb. 87, Cp. 89 ¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 66, cp. OS #1916 (*pac- 'destroy, break'; S, Tmk) || IE: NaIE *pejs- (?) / *pis- v. 'crush, pound' > OI piš- (3s prs. pi'našt̄i, 3p prs. pi'santi, pfc. pi'peša, pipiše, pp. piš'tah) 'crush, pound', piš'tam 'flour', Av pišant- 'threshing, zerstampfen', pištra 'flour', NPrs {Horn} پشت, pešt, Wx p̄ost id. || Gk (1s prs.) πτίσσω (aor. ἔπτισα), Gk A πτίττω v. 'peel\bray in a mortar; winnow' || L pins-ere (sup. pis-tum) v. 'stamp, pound, crush, remove hulls from grain', pistor 'grinder, miller', Um pistu 'pistum' || MLG vīsel 'mortar' || Lt (iter.) paisýti 'to thresh off the awns, to awn', Ltv p̄aisít 'to swingle (flax)' | SrChS, OR **пъхати** ръхати 'to push, to shove', R пи'хать, Δ πχατъ, Uk пхати, пихати id., Slv peháti [paháti] 'to push, to thrust', OCz, Cz Δ pcháti, Cz pichati, Slv pichat' 'to prick'; Cz pěchovati 'to beat\stamp down', Sl *p̄šeňo 'crushed corn' (→ 'husked millet') > OR (and OCS?) **пъшено** ръшено 'grain of corn (?)', Slv p̄šéno 'husked corn, husked millet', R пшe'но, Uk пшo'но, Cz Δ p̄šeno 'husked millet', Slv p̄šeno id., 'millet', R p̄szono 'grain of millet'; → Sl *p̄šeňica 'wheat' > OCS **пъшеница** ръшеница, Blg, R пшеница, Uk пшениця, SCr p̄šénica, Slv p̄šenica, Cz p̄šenice, Slk p̄šenica, P pszenica ¶ P 796, EI 581 (*pejs- / prs. *pi'nes-ti 'remove the hulls from grain, grind, thresh'), M K II 281, M E II 169, Horn 71, WH II 307-8, Bc. G 342, F II 614-5, Tr. 220-1, Frn. 526, HlK 272, 303, Vs. III 269-70, 417, Chrн. II 56-7, Ma. CS 403-4, Glh. 508-9 || U: *pa[š]́v > FU (att. in Prm) *°pa[š]́v > Z {TmK} paz-3d- 'break in pieces', Prmk paz-dt- v. 'break, crush' ('ломать,

мельчить'); Z *paž-žd-* 'scatter', Vt *paža-* 'scatter, disperse' may be a sd. of the same √ || Sm: Helimski (p.c.) suggested to adduce here Slq Tz {KKIH} *pas̥š-qo, passē-qo* 'explode, burst, crack' ¶ LG 214, TmK 515, KKIH 147 || A **p̥Eſi*₁(K ∇) v. 'break, cleave, peck' > M **ɸeske-* v. 'cut' > WrM *eſke-*, HlM *əſgə-*, Brt *əſxə-* v. 'cut, cut out (as cloth), cut off' ('кроить, выкраивать; обрезать, делать порез'), Dg *herkī-* 'cut', Ord *eſ"xe-* 'tailler' ¶ MED 334-5, Luv. 681, Chr. 776, Ms. O 249, T DgJ 35 (on M **s* > Dg *r*), 175 || Tg (att. in NrTg) **p̥is(k)-* 'crack; to prick' > Lm *ħiſqān-* vi. 'crack, burst, split', Neg *xl̥skan* 'a fissure' ('щель'), *xl̥smiķił-* v. 'prick (a fish) with a fish-fork', Ewk *hismat/-ç-* id., v. 'prick, pierce' ¶ STM II 328 || pKo **pskír* 'chisel' > MKo *pskír*, NKO *ħiſi* ¶ S QK #411, Nam 74, MCL 247 || pJ **p̥isi*₁(n)k- v. 'break up' > OJ *p̥iñiſig-* > J: T *hiſig*, K *hiſig-*, Kg *hiſig-* ¶ S QJ #417, Mr. 69O ¶ DQA #1768 (A **p̥isi*(K ∇) 'break, cleave; peck [долбить]') || ??ϕ K **peš-* vi. 'open', (partially ϕ) 'burst (with a cracking sound)' > Mg *pašk-* ~ *pešk-* 'burst (with a cracking sound)', Sv {K} *p̥išg-/p̥šg-* id., Sv UB {GP} msd. *li-p̥šg-e*, prs. *p̥išge* '(to) open (a vessel)', Sv {TK}: UB/L *li-p̥šg-e*, Ln *li-p̥šk-e* 'to untie, to open' ¶ K 188-9, GP 172, 264, TK 452 ¶ A qu. cognate because of the unexpected cns. *-š- (instead of *-š-) ◇ Eg -š- and Vt -ž- suggest a N lateral *-š-, while the Z reflex -z- is still hard to explain. FU *a (< ä due to the vw. harmony?) and M *e point to a N *ä, while the IE diphthong *e₁ may go back either to N *i or to * ∇ y, so that a possible N source is likely to be *äy. Traces of the original final *i can be discerned in A, B, and possibly Ch. One of two alt. reconstructions is N **p̥iš'i*, that accounts for the vw. (~ diphthong) in IE and A, but not in U. The discrepancies in vowels may be due to some onomatopoeic factor.

1820. *p̥at ∇ 'ground, plain; bottom' > HS: Ch: WCh **p̥at ∇ t-* > Ngz *pátatá* 'plain, field' | Hs *fètái* ~ *fètál* ~ *fètētē* adv. emphasizing 'clear expanse': *fili fetal* 'a large expanse of open country', *sarari fetal* id., *fètētē* 'shallowness' (× N **p̥at ∇ h ∇* 'to be open, to open') ¶ Ba. 317, Abr. H 263, Stl. ZCh 144 [#2] || IE: NaIE **ped-*, **ped-om* 'ground' (× **pedom* 'footprint' ← **ped-* 'foot' < N **p̥a[ŋ]d ∇* 'leg, foot') > Gk *πέδον* 'ground, earth', *πεδίον* 'a plain, plain flat open country' || Um *p̥ežum*, PERSO 'πέδον', *solum*, L *oppidum* 'town', ? *oppidō* 'quite, very much, exceedingly' (< *ob + **pedom* {Krtm.} 'bei der Grundfläche', {P} 'on the spot') || MIr {EI}, i ned, {DIL} inad 'position, place, trace' (< **eni-pedo-*

) || Sl *рoдъ 'ground, bottom' > OR подъ родъ 'ground', Cz pôda id., 'soil', R под, Uk під 'hearth-stone', Blg под, Slv рoд 'floor', SCr рoд 'floor, planking', Slk рôda 'bottom'; → Sl *рoдъ 'under' > OCS, OR подъ родъ, Blg, R под, P, Slk, SCr, Slv под 'under', Cz pod(e) 'below, beneath' || Ht peda-n 'place' ¶¶ On NaIE *pedom 'footprint, track' see N *pə'g'd_N ¶¶ WP II 24, ≈σ EI 595 (*pedom 'footprint, track'), F II 485-6, ≈ WH II 214-5 (rejects the connection between oppidum and πέδον), 29, Bc. G 341, Pln. 749, Vs. III 295-6, Glh. 491, Slt. 53-4, Vr. 118, CHD P 330-45 || A [1] {DQA} A *p'át'a 'ground, uncultivated land, field' > T *h_₂atír > OT atiz 'a strip of land between two dykes', Tkm atið 'strip of land, garden bed (грядка, грядка), plot of land', Chg atiz, Qzq {Rl.}, ET atiz 'field', ET Tar {Rl.} ätiz 'Acker, Ackerland', Shor {Rl.} atis 'ein Feldmaß, 1/18 desyatina', Qzq {Sht.} atiz 'garden bed', {Rl.} atiz, atanaq 'mit kleinen Hügelchen bedecktes Feld' ¶ Cl. 73, Rl. I 454, 460, 493, 843, TkR 87, TDS 58 || M *h_₁atar > WrM атар 'uncultivated land', HlM, Brt атар 'virgin land, unploughed or fallow field' (acc. to Cl. 73, T → M) ¶ MED 58, Chr. 64 || Ko {Rm.} *path, {S} *p_₂at_₁h_₂ > MKo pat ~ pat^h, NKo {MLC} pat^h, NKo {S} pat, Ko N {Rm.} pat^hi, Ko S {Rm.} pat^{ch}i, padi 'field, plot of ground' ¶ S QK #665, Rm. SKE 192-3, MLC 741 || pJ {S} *páta / *páta > OJ pátá, J: T hatá ~ háta, K/Kg hátá 'field, farm' ¶ S QJ #599, Mr. 401 ¶ DQA #1718, Rm. EAS I 53, Rm. SKE 192-3 | [2] A {DQA} *p'át'a(-k_N) 'bottom, lower side' (→ 'leg') > Tg: [a] *pata 'bottom' > Ewk hat 'basis, root; foot of a mountain', Ud xədi, Orc pata 'runner of a sledge (полоз нарты)' (→ Neg pata id.), 'end', Nn pata & fatā 'runner of a sledge; tree that is sunk into water', Ul pata id., 'footboard of a sledge', WrMc fatan 'foot of a mountain, bottom, bottom of vessel\barrel' | [b] *pata, *pataka 'paw, hoof, sole of foot' > Lm hatıqa 'fetlock under reindeer's hoof', Ewk hata, Neg xata id., 'pad (подушечка) of the sole of dogs and other animals', Orc xaptamuki 'bird's foot', WrMc fatxa 'foot (of birds and mammals), hoof' ¶ STM II 318, Z 1030 || pKo {S} *pátók 'bottom, lower part' > MKo pátók, pátáñ, NKo padak ¶ S QK #317, Nam 237, MLC 703 || pJ {S} *pátá 'fish fin' (< *'≈ leg'?) > OJ pátá ¶ S QJ #903, Mr. 401 || ?? T *a_₂:t (< *h_₂a_₂:t?) 'trace' [{DQA}] *at(-ki) [(x T *á:t 'step' < N *q'A'd_₁_N, ?'o 'to step, to walk' [q.v. ffd.] × N *pat_₁?_N 'come') > VTt Δ {DS} at 'trace' (ati da juq 'no trace <remains>'), some T lge. (Osm,

Chg?) {Zn.} *at* 'trace (of foot)'; much less plausible is the adduction of *č* Tv {DQA ← ?} *adim* 'handful' and Chv *idam* 'armful' ¶ ET Gl 88-9, Zn. I s.v. *čāt*, DS III 24 ¶ Highly qu. as a cognate because it is easily explained as going back to N *q^čA^čd_čṇ_č?

^o ¶ DQA #1719 (A *p^čāt^ča(-k_čṇ)) 'bottom, lower side' > M, Tg, Ko, J + qu. T *atim), S AJ 7O (Tg, Ko, J), ~ Rm. EAS I 5 (Tg, Ko), Pp. VG 11 and 5O (M, Tg, STM II 318 (Tg, M, T) ¶ Not here T *haδ-ak 'foot' (⇒ Str. LPA 22, Mill. OJL 137-8, 201-2, and other scholars, see N *p^ča^čg^čd_čṇ 'leg, foot') || D (in GnD) *pača 'field' > Gnd pače 'small field for cultivation', Png bača 'a field on the hills', Ku bača 'pasture' ¶ D #3874 ¶ D *pātti ({GS} *p-) 'small field' > Tm pātti 'small field', Ml pātti, Kn pāti 'garden bed', Tu pāti 'nursery for plants', Tl pādu, pādi 'garden bed or plot' ¶ D *patti is likely to go back to a d. form (< *pača + a *-t_čṇ-sx.) ¶ D #4078 ◇ This N etymon may be a semantic variant of N *pačhṇ 'to be open, be open' (if the apparent phonetic difference between them is explained away). Cf. IS MS 372 s.v. широкий *pačhṇ, IS SS #1.32, AD GD 1O ◇ Altaic *-t^č- (> M, Tg *-t-) for the expected Altaic *-t- (> M, Tg *-d-) may be explained by some contamination (with N *pačhṇ?).

1821. *p^čat_čṇ 'basket, box' > HS: S *°v^čptn (? *pa'tan-) > Ak pitnu 'box' ¶ Sd. 869-7O || IE: NaIE *pod- 'box, vessel, pot' > ? OI palla 'large granary, barn', pallī 'measure of grain' (if -ll- < *-dl-) || OHG f^čaz 'vessel, jug, dish', NHG Faß 'cask, barrel, vessel', OSx, ON fat 'vessel', AS fæt 'vessel, casket, cup, pot' || Lt pūodas, Ltv pōds 'pot' || ? L pot(t)us 'drinking-cup' (× L n. pōtus 'drink'?) > Fr, Prov. pot, etc. → AS pot > NE pot ¶ WH II 351, HDEL 1O25, P 79O, M K II 236 (no et. of the OI words), WH II 351, ML #67O5, Vr. 113, Sw. 54, Ho. 97, Ho. S 18, Kb. 228, OsS 172, KM 185, Frn. 668, Frd. HW EH I 15-6 ¶ IE *pot_čH_čr / p_čt_čH_čn-os 'basket' → 'dish' > Ht {CHD} pattar 'basket' (/ dat.-loc. paddan-i), Lc πατάρα 'Korb, Kasten', Gk πατάνη 'flat dish', L patera 'low bowl, saucer' ¶ F II 48O, Ts. W 62-3, CHD P 241-2, EI 443 (IE *pot_čH_čr / p_čt_čH_čn-os 'shallow dish'), ≠ WH II 264 (unc.: L patera ← L pateo 'be open') || U: FU *pata 'cauldron, pot' > F pata (gen. padan) 'Kessel, Kochtopf', Es pāda (gen. pāja) id. | Lp N {N} batte / -d-, L {LLO} pāhtē 'pot, cauldron' | Chr H pat, U pot id., B pat, pot 'pot' || ObU *pūt 'cauldron' > pVg *pūt 'Kessel, Grapen' > Vg: T pōt, LK/MK/UK/UL/Ss pūt, P/NV/SV/LL put; pOs *put 'cauldron' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/O put, D püt, Nz/Kz püt | Hg fazék 'cooking-pot' ¶ UEW

358, LLO 7O5, MF 185-6, Ht. 18O [#55O] || A *p[‘]a[’]t^Δ 'in vessel' > ? ϕ T *iti^í 'cup, vessel' > OT {Cl.} idis \neq iδiš, XwT XIV iδiš, Chg ≥XV idis id., Tkm Δ, Uz, Qrg idis, Qzq, Qq idis, Xk idis, Sg/Qb/Qc {Rl.} edis, Qb {Cs.} ides 'vessel', Yk isit 'cup' § Cl. 72, ET Gl 328-9, DQA #1697 (T *edi^í) || Tg *padu 'pouch' > WrMc fadu id., Ud padu 'pouch (for tinder and flint)', Ork padu 'tobacco-pouch', Orc padu, UI padu(n-), Nn Nh pado ~ pado^ã, Nn B/KU fado ~ fadu id., 'pouch' § STM II 31 || pJ {S} *pítú 'box' > OJ pjítú, J: T hícu, K hícú, Kg hicú; pJ *pítú-ki 'coffin' > OJ p_ljítuk_lj_li, J: T hicugi, K hicúgi, Kg hicúgi § S QJ #979, Mr. 411 §§ DQA #1697 (A *p[‘]ádi 'a k. of vessel'; Tg and pJ are tentatively supposed to go back to *p[‘]ádi-b^Δ) §§ The origin of T and pJ *i remains unknown || D *patal^Δ ({§GS} *p-) 'pot' > Tm patalai 'large-mouthed pot', Td paθ_g 'large, broad-mouthed clay pot', Gnd, Mlt patli 'cooking pot' §§ D *-t- for the expected *-t- may be due to a sx. §§ D #39O9 ◇ The rec. of N *p- is valid only if T *iti^í is a legitimate cognate. Otherwise we remain with an unspecified N *P- ◇ IS MS 366 s.v. сосуд *pat_h, IS SS #2.18 (in both sources: IE, U, D), UEW 358 (U, IE). IS (MS 366) supposed that the ancient meaning is 'clay vessel', but the S (Ak) and AnIE data suggest that the original meaning was 'basket, box', with further development into 'vessel'. Borrowing from one lge. to another is not ruled out (Jk. UI 3O1 and ItK 322: FU ← IE; → LCm. NLP 16-7).

1822. *pät^Δ 'to fall' (~ ? *p^Δt^Δ-XE 'fall, cast [to the ground]') > HS: WS *^o-pūt- (~ *^o-pūd-?) > Mh ✓ fw^t (pf. fōt), Hrs ✓ fw^t (pf. fēt, sbjn. -fōt) v. 'die unslaughtered' (of an animal) (cp. R падёж скота 'loss of cattle, cattle-plague', lit. 'falling of cattle'), ? Ar ✓ fwd (pf. fāda, ip. -fūd-u) v. 'die, disappear' § Jo. M 1O9-11O, Jo. H 67, Fr. III 38O, BK II 644, Hv. 578 || EC: Sd fottoķa 'fall down' § Gs. 1O3 || Ch: ECh: Mu {J} fádé / fát v. 'fall' || WCh {Stl.} *pad-~*piđ- v. 'fall' > Hs fāđi id. | AG: Ywm {Kr. in ChL} yà p̄t̄ter (gwe) v. 'lie down' || CCh: {ChL} Mrg piđa, Hld piđà, Wmd piđà v. 'lie down' § JI II 13O-1, Stl. ZCh 144 [#4], IS III 84-5, ChC, ChL § Ngz mp̄đú and My piyętə- v. 'put' (mentioned in IS III 84 ← Stl. ZChSSI) cannot belong here, because Ngz mp̄đú is a form of the verb mpáų v. 'put' (Sch. DN 116) and My piyętə- is a form of My piyō v. 'put' (ChC) || Eg fP p̄t̄x vt. 'cast (to the ground), put down (so. carried)', vi. 'sich niederwerfen, sich zu Boden werfen', {Fk.} 'be stretched out (in obeisance)' (Tk. (p.c., 2OO1): may be from *pt̄i (a reg. sound change), an alt. hyp. equating Eg p̄t̄x v. 'cast' with T *at[‘]- v.

'throw' (presupposing that T *at[‘]- is from *hat[‘]-) is untenable, because T *at[‘]- has a phonetically and semantically reg. cognate in HS, namely EC *gad- v. 'throw' (F N *gat^Δ 'to throw, to cast') § EG I 565-6, Fk. 96 §§ ≈ Sk. HCD 62 || | IE: [1] NaIE *ped- 'fall' > OI ✓ pad-: Vd 'padyatē 'falls, descends'; Av raiðyāite 'moves down, lies down' || Gmc *fetan 'to fall' > AS (3p p.) ȝefetur 'ceciderunt', OHG fēȝȝan 'wanken, fallen', gi-fēȝȝan 'to fall' || Sl *pāsti (1s prs. *pādō, ip. inf. *pādati) 'to fall' > OCS пасти pasti / 1s prs. πάδω padō, R пастъ / па'ду, ip. 'падать', 'падаю, Blg 'падна, ip. 'падам, SCr pāsti, pādnēm, OCz pāsti / padu, Cz ip. inf. padati, P paść / pada 'fall'; in Cz and Slk a derived inf.: Cz padnouti, Slk padnút 'to fall' || [2] NaIE *pet(ə)-/ptē-/ptō- 'fall' (× *pet(ə)- v. 'fly?') > OI 'patati 'falls', (× *pet(ə)- v. 'fly') 'flies, soars, rushes', aor. арaptat, Av tāta (< *ptā'tā) 'falling (of rain)' || Gk πέπτω 'I fall' (reduplicating prs.; long ī on the analogy of βέπτω 'I throw, cast)', inf. aor. πετεῖν, Gk D/Ae aor ἔπετον § IS III 85-88 (with further details and references), ≈ P 791 (erroneously identified with *pēd- / *pōd- 'foot'), ≈ EI 192, M K II 199, 2O6-7, M E II 71-2, 76-7, Brtl. 841-2, F II 242-3, Ho. 1O2, Kb. 239, ≈ OsS 191-2, Vs. III 18, Glh. 469 || | U: FU (att. in ObU) *°pät_t_jΔ > ObU *pät-/ *pit- v. 'fall' > pVg *pāt- v. 'fall', 'come to be, (wohin) geraten, попастъ' > Vg: T pät-, LK/MK/UK pāt-, P/NV/SV/LL pät-/pāt-, UL/Ss pat- id., {BV}: Vg Ss пат-, Vg Yk pät- 'fall, (wohin) geraten', Vg Ss паттал-, Vg Yk pättäl- 'let fall'; pOs *pit- v. 'fall; , 'come to be, geraten, попастъ' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/O pit-, Nz/Kz pīt- id.; ObU *i belongs to the alternating pair *ä/*i going back to FU *ä § Ht. #551, BV 79, Trj. S 362-3, Coll. 1O8, UEW 386, Sm. 547 (FU, FP *pitä-, Ugr *pītä- 'leep, hold') || | A: Tg *°pet-ke- 'fall' > Lm hətkəz/ç- (ip.?) 'fall, tumble' ('падать, шлётаться'), Lm Ol/Al/M/T hətkəzçī-, Lm A ȝtkən- (pfv. or mom.?) 'fall, tumble' ('упастъ, шлёнуться'), Lm hətkəzçukən- v. 'drop' § STM II 371, Sun. G 122-3 (on sxs. of aspects: Lm -çī is considered ip.) || pKo {S} *ptə,rā₁- v. 'drop, fall; finish' > MKo ptə,rā₁-tī-, NKo ūtə,rā₁-ȝi- § S QK #862, Nam 151, MLC 449 || ?σ pJ {S} *pātā- v. 'finish, anchor' > OJ pata-, J: T haté-, K/Kg hātē- § S QJ #737, Mr. 686 §§ Tg *t (rather than *d) is explained by its position within a cns. cluster before *k §§ DQA #1753 (A *p_tȝetā -t̄- v. 'drop, fall') || | D *pāt- ({GS} *pad-) 'fall, fall in, set (as a heavenly body), be destroyed' > Tm pātū 'perish, die', 'set' (of heavenly body)', pātī 'settle (as

dust, sediment), sink in water', **pāt̥u** (-pp-, -tt-) v. 'lay horizontally', v. 'lie down to sleep', Ml **pāt̥uka** v. 'fall, sink', **pāt̥iyuka** v. 'settle, sink', Kt **paṛ-** (**pāt̥-**) v. 'lie down, sleep', Td **por-** 'lie down', Kn **pāḍu** id., 'set (as the sun), die', Kdg **pāḍ-** 'lie fallow', Tu **pāḍa** 'placing, laying', **pāḍipuni** 'to plunge', Tl **pāḍu** v. 'fall, lie, recline, sleep', Klm **bollā** **pāḍ-** v. 'lie on one's back', Nkr **pāṭ-**, Nk **pāḍ-/paṛ-**, Gdb **par-** 'fall', Prj **pāḍ-** 'fall, sink down', 'set' (of the sun), Gnd **pāṭṭ-** 'lie down', Png **paz-** 'be caught (in snare)' ||| Another D etymon (a d. from the first one?): D ***pāṭ-i-** v. 'settle (as dust or sediment), sink' > Tm **pāṭi-** id., Ml **pāt̥iyuka** id., Tu **pāḍipuni** v. 'plunge', Prj **pārva** **baḍi**, Ku **pārva** **pāḍi** 'dovecote' ¶ D #3848, 3852, Km. 424 [#784] ◇ IS III 84-89 [#367] (*p[‘]ad^Δ; comparison between all pertinent cognates, except ECh, U, and S). N ***p-** is reconstructed on the evidence of Eg **p** (as well as the WCh and CCh cognates). Mubi **f-** still needs explaining. Eg **pṭh** 'cast (to the ground), put down (so. carried)' and NaIE ***pṭē-/pṭō-** v. 'fall' suggest a N cd. etymon ***p∇t∇-XE** 'fall, cast (to the ground)'.

1823. *pEt∇ 'to pass, to go out' > **HS**: S *^o-**pūt-** > Ar \checkmark **fwt** (ip. -fūt-u, pf. **fāta**) {Ln.} 'pass', 'pass away, elapse' (time, opportunity), {BK} 'passer à côté de qn.', {Hv.} 'elapse' (time), die' ¶ Ln. 2454, BK II 642-3, Hv. 578 || B * \checkmark **ftH** > Tmz {MT} **ftu** (pf. **ifta**) 'passer, s'en aller', Shl {La.} **ftu** 'aller', {NZ} id., 'partir, s'en aller'; but the verb **fat** / **fut** (Wrg **fat** 'passer' [le temps], Kb **faṭ** [pf. **ifut**] 'passer, dépasser', Shl {La.} **fut** v. 'lose', 'elapse, be over' [of beauty, time], ZAS {Loub.} **faṭ** / **fut** 'passer, s'écouler') may be a loan from Ar ¶ MT 137, Dlh. Ou 87, Dl. 236, La. CBM 29O-1, Loub. 54O, NZ 667 || C: Ag {Ap.} ***fät-** v. 'go' > Xm **fir-/fit-** v. 'go (away)', Aw **fey-/fet-**, Bln {R} **fər-** id., Km **fäy-/fät-** id. || ? SC: Irq {Wh.} **purūç-** v. {Wh.} 'go afar\off', {MQK} 'go far' ¶ Ap. AV 9, Ap. VSA 19, AD GDS 67, R WB 116, 124, Wh. VR 82, MQK 83 || Ch ***p∇t∇** > WCh ***p∇t∇** v. 'go out' (→ 'come') (≈ {Stl.} ***p̥ut-** v. 'go out' and ***f∇t-** v. 'go out, come') > Hs **fītā** v. 'go out', Gw {Nw. ← ?} **p̥et** ('pət) id. (= Gw [all dialects] {Mts.} **būtu** 'go out?') | AG {Hf.} ***p̥st** > Su **put**, Ang {ChL} **pūt**, Gmy {Hf.} **p̥et**, Kf {Nt.} **fūt**, {Hf.} **p̥et** ~ **pfut**, Cp {ChL} **pūt** v. 'go out' | BT ***fat-** v. 'go out' > Bl {Lk.} **fat-**, {Bnt.} **pā't-** **awo**, Krkr {Lk.} **fat-**, Dr {Nw.} **pori**, {ChL} **pōd-**, Tng {J} **pōdī**, Ngm **hatu**, Bele **fētī**, Glm **páz**, Gera **fīd-**, Pr **pētō** v. 'go out' | SBc {Sh.}: Zem D **fut**, Ds D, Ds Bn **fūt**, Ds Bd, Wnd **fut** v. 'come' || CCh: Gudu {ChC} **p̥st** v. 'go' | G'nd {Nw.} **p̥da** 'go out' ¶ ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh 147 [#29] and 159

[#127], Stl. VZCh #191, Mts. G 28, Mch. D 147, Sh. SB 34, Hf. AGG 17, Nt. 13, J S 79, J T 132, Lk. PVB II 135, Lk. TS, Sch. BTL, Frz. P 45, ChC, JI II 164, Nw. #6O (pCh *pətə), IS Ch. 25 || ?σ Eg fOK ptpt 'tread (roads), trample (enemies)' > Cpt Sd ποτπετ potpet, B φοτφετ phɔtpʰet 'fouler, faire tomber, tomber' (× N *pət²ν 'to beat, to strike', q.v. ffd.) ¶ ~ OS #783 (Ch *fat-//*fit- 'move'), ~ Sk. HCD 7O, SSAAJ I #137, AD GDS 67 (#3.21) || IE: NaIE *pe(:)d- v. 'go, walk' > OI 'padyatē 'goes' (≠ M K II 2O6-7 [\leftarrow padyatē 'falls']) || Gk πηδάω v. 'leap, spring, bound' || Lt p̄edīnu / p̄edinti v. 'pace, walk (slowly)' ¶ × IE *ped- v. 'fall' (see s.v. N *pət²ν 'to fall') × (?) IE *pe(:)d-/pod-'foot' (< N *pəg¹d²ν 'leg' [or 'in part of a leg'], 'foot') ¶ P 791, M E II 76-7, ~ F II 526-7, Frn. 561 (Lt p̄edīn- → p̄edā 'foot') || U: FU (att. in Prm) *°pEttν > pPrm *pət- v. 'go out' > OPrm pet-, Z pet- v. 'go out; rise (sun, etc.)', Vt potin+ id. ¶ LG 22O ◇ Not here Tg *pete- 'jump' (< N *pE¹t²ν 'to fly') (unconvincingly equated in DQA #1756 [= A *p̄ēta- v. 'step, walk'] with T *āt- v. 'step' and M *h₁ada- [i.e. *adam 'pace, step'], which are in fact from N *pət₁p₂ν 'to come', N *q¹A²d₁ν, p¹o²ν 'to step, to walk') ◇ Ang, Su p- and Eg p- (?) suggest HS *p- and N *p-.

1824. *PitA 'hold, grasp, seize' > HS: S *°-p̄id- v. 'catch' > Ak ✓ pyd (p. -p̄id, inf. p̄adū) 'einschließen, gefangen setzen' ¶ Sd. 8O8 || IE: NaIE *pe(:)d- 'grasp, joint\fit together' > OHG {Kb.} fa²z²ōn 'to load, to pack', MHG v²a²zzen 'fassen, erfassen, zusammenfassen', NHG fassen 'to grasp', ? ON fata 'lose zusammenfügen' || Ltv Δ {ME} p̄eda 'handful, armful', linu p̄eda 'ein Bund Flachs, eine Handvoll Flachs', Lt p̄edas 'sheaf' ↓ the NaIE nouns *p̄od-, *p̄edo- 'vessel, box, pot' (> OHG fa²z 'vessel, casket', OSx, ON fat 'vessel', AS fæt 'vessel, casket, cup, pot', Lt p̄uodas, Ltv p̄ods 'pot') go back to N *p̄at²ν 'basket, box' (q.v. ffd.), but there may be contamination of N *PitA and *p̄at²ν in forms like OHG fa²z²ōn, MHG v²a²zzen 'in ein Gefäß tun', NHG fassen 'to barrel (beer), to hive (bees)' ¶ Fs. 148-9, Kb. 228, OsS 172, Lx. 264, 287, Ho. 97, 1O2, Vr. 114, 118-9, 149, ME III 2O6, Frn. 563, cp. otherwise P 79O || U: FV *pitä- v. 'hold' (× N *bit₁ν, p̄¹at²ν 'to hold') > F pitä- v. 'hold', Es pida (prs. pēan) id. | Er pēda 'sich anschließen, ankleben, sich anheften' ¶ Hardly here (for lack of reliable semantic connection) (⇒ Sm. 547) FU {UEW} *pitä- v. 'tie, tie up, bind' ('schnüren, binden') > Chr: L πιδαш p̄i¹δ-aš 'to tie, to bind', KB p̄iδä-, U/B p̄iδa- 'binden, schnüren, stricken' || Hg fūz- v. 'stitch, attach,

bind' ¶ Coll. 1O8, UEW 386-7, Sm. 547 (FU, FP *pitä-, Ugr *pitä-'keep, hold'), MRS 426-7 || D {tr.} *pit-, {GS} *pid- v. 'grasp, hold' (x N *bit₁Ν₂τ₁Ν₂ 'hold') > Tm pit i v. 'catch, grasp, carry, keep back', pit i n. 'hold, clutch, seizure by hand', Ml pit i 'grasp, hold, closed hand', Kt pit̚- v. 'clench (hand)', pit̚y 'handful', Kn pit̚i v. 'seize, hold', Kdg pud̚i- v. 'catch, hold', Tu hid̚i n. 'hold, grasp', Tl pit̚i 'handle, hilt, handful', Prj pit̚k- v. 'embrace', Gnd pit̚anā v. 'snatch, catch' ¶ D #414, GS 43 [#91] || ?φ Κ: Sv {Ni.} -pdäl 'touch, take', Sv UB {GP} lipdäl 'to touch with a hand' ¶ Ni. s.v. трогать and братъ, GP 171 ◇ U suggests N *-t-, while IE *-d- and D *-t̚- may go back to both N *-t- and *-d-. Therefore the pN cns. is most likely to be *-t-. Sv -d- is still to be explained ◇ NaIE *pe:₁d is likely to go back to eIE **pid $<$ N *PitA (cf. AD NGIE, SD NVIE).

1825. *Put₁Ν₂ 'feather, hair' > D: [1] *put̚a ({GS} *b-) 'down of birds, feather, hair' > Ml put̚a 'down of birds, wool, fine hair', Klm bu·r (pl. bu·d̚l) 'eyelash, eyebrow', Nkr būr (pl. būd̚l) 'down, fine feather', Prj būdul id., Gnd būrā \notin bura \notin puļa 'feather', Png būra 'small feathers, down', Mnd būriŋ 'pubic hair', Kui būri, būru 'hair, fur, feather, wool', Brh puč 'hair' ¶ D #4358 || [2] (in Gnd) *putt- ({GS} *p-?) > Gnd putga 'feather' \notin putgā id., 'wing', Png putehiŋ, puteliŋ, butuhiŋ 'eyebrows' ¶ D #4278 || Κ: Sv UB/LB/Ln pätw, Sv L patw 'hair' ¶ TK 753, GP 263, Dn. s.v. patv || IE *pet-Ν₂r/n- / *pter- 'feather, wing' (x IE *pet- v. 'fly' < N *pE₁t₂Ν₂ 'to fly') > OI 'patram 'wing, feather' || Gk πτερόν 'feather, wing' || L pennia (< *petnā) 'feather' || Arm բերբ թերթ 'leaf' (< *pter- 'wing'), {Sl., Juh.} բեր թեր 'leaf', ? բրանիմ թրանիմ v. 'fly' || Clt: OIr ette, W adain 'wing' || OHG fēdara, NHG Feder, OSx fethera, Dt ve(d)er, AS feðer, NE feather, ON fjóðr 'feather' || Ht pattar/n- ~ pittar 'wing'; some AnIE lge. \rightarrow Arm փետուր p^hetur 'feather' (acc. to Ach.) ¶ P 825-6, EI 646 (*pet(e)r- / *pet(e)n-), M K II 2O3-4, M E II 75-6, F II 612-3, WH II 282-3, Thr. § 78, ≈ RE 82, YGM-1 3, Vr. 124-5, Vr. N 766, Kb. 229, OsS 173, KM 188, Ho. 1O3, Ho. S 19, Sl. 38, Juh. OSK 22, 95 (on Arm բեր թեր 'leaf'), Frd. HW 166, Ts. W 62, CHD P 24O || ? HS: CCh: Bdm {ChC} fēpēdō, {Nc.} fefēto 'wing', Db {Lnh.} pētē-pētē id., ? Gudu {ChL} bibyēd, Nz {ChL} bēdēki id. ¶ ChC, ChL || ?σ Η: ??φ T *mīθik 'moustache' (x N *bEPt₁Ν₂ 'lip(s), mouth?') > OT bīθiq, MQp XIII bīyiq ~ mīyiq, Chg շxv bīy ~ mīy, XwT, OOsm շxv bīyiq, Tk bīyik, Δ bīyiq \notin mīyq, Ggz

biyik, Az *bıç*, Δ *buç*, CrTt *bıyiq* ~ *mıyiq*, Kr Cr *mıyuq*, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Uz Δ *Qrg*, Alt *mıyiq*, VTt, Bsh *męyęq*, Chv *męyęx* 'moustache', Yk *bıtık* id., 'beard' ¶ T *-δ- is not a reg. reflex of N *-t- and requires explanation. The delabialization *u > T *I is a rather frequent phenomenon, but its rules and conditions have not yet been investigated ¶ Cl. 3O1, ET B 3O4, TL 223-4, Rs. W 73 || *AdS* of NrTg **bujı* 'feather' (< N **Puń|hče* 'body hair, down, [?] feathers') > Lm *bujı* 'feather', Ewk *bujı* 'new feather after moult' ¶ STM I 1O2 || ?φ pJ *pí-n-kaj 'beard' (cd. with *kaj 'hair') > OJ *pjigé*, J: Y *hige*, K *hígé*, Kg *híge* 'bard' ¶ S QJ #691, Mr. 4O6 ¶ ≈ DQA #155 (A **bjudu* 'down, feather, curly'; incl. T) ◇ D {GS} *b- suggests a N *p- (rather than *p-). D *pūt̪V, A, Ch, and K point to a N non-emph. *-t-. The apparent reflexes of the emph. *-t- in IE *pet-∇r/n- / *pter- and D *puttV are secondary, they are induced by the infl. of *pet- v. 'fly' in IE and by a sx. in D (*puttV < **put-t̪V). If the T root belongs here, T *m- is likely to belong to the heritage of N *bEPt̪V, while T *-δ- is still puzzling ◇ Blz. LB (D, IE), ≈σ Blz. LNA #43 (N *p|putV 'bird / feather' > D, BSI (in fact BSI *put- is more likely to go back to N *pEt̪V 'to fly', q.v.).

1826. *pa₁?i₁t̪V (or *pa₁?et̪V?) 'skin, bark' > HS: Om {Blz.} *pa₁i₁t̪- 'skin' > SOM: Ari G {Blz. ← ?} fōti 'snake skin' || NrOm: Na fatu 'skin', Cha {Fl.} fāta 'skin' ¶ Blz. OLBP #9O, Bnd. PO 149 || Ch *pata 'skin' > WCh: Hs fātā id., Gw páta id., 'leather, hide, fur' || Wrj pataj 'skin' || CCh: HgB, HgF pta, Kps, HgG pta & w(p)ta id. || →: Mofu pápzt- 'éplucher', Mafa pit- v. 'bark' | Msy {Mch.} pəd- v. 'skin' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} pétré 'schälen (Baum), entfedern' ¶ Stl. IF 32-3, ChL, ChC, Abr. H 259, Mats. 94-5 ¶ OS #1964 (HS *pat- 'skin') || ?σ,φ S: Ar fūt̪-at- {Ln.} 'cloths used as waist-wrappers', {BK} 'serviette, essuie-main', {Hv.} 'waist-wrapper'; Ar SL {Hv.} fūt̪-at- 'napkin, towel' ¶ Ln. 245O, BK II 646, Hv. 579 || D {tr.} *paṭ̪-, {GS} *°paṭ̪- 'bark of a tree' > Tm paṭ̪tai, MI paṭ̪ta, Kn paṭ̪te, TI paṭ̪ta, paṭ̪tamū id.; ?? SD {tr.} *paṭ̪° ({GS} *p-) 'crust of a wound' > Kt paṭ̪ 'scar', Kn paṭ̪tu 'a callous spot' ¶ D ##3873, 3876, GS 98 [*269] || IE {P} *baɪtā 'goat-skin, garment' > Gk βαῖτη 'goat-skin, a shepherd's or peasant's coat of skins, tent of skins' || Gmc (← Gk?): Gt paida 'χιτών' ('the garment worn next to skin'), ga-paidōn 'to clothe', OSx pēda {Ho.} 'garment, cloth', AS pād 'coat', {Ho.} 'rock, Mantel', OHG pfēit 'garment, jacket', MHG pfeit ~ pheit {Lx.} 'shirt; ∈ a shirt-like garment'; Gmc → F paita

'shirt' (unless an inherited cognate) || pAl {O} *patika > Al petk
 'clothes, garment' (← some other lge. with *p- < IE *b-?) ¶ P 92-3, H
 109-10 (*ba^jteh_A- 'cloak'), FI 210, Fs. 381-2, Ho. 244, Ho. S 5, Kb.
 758, OsS 67, Lx. 159, O 317 || A: ? Tg *pētē 'seal, skin of seals' (→ NTg
 'fat of seals') > Ork pəttz ~ pətz ~ pət^z 'seal', pə(:)təskz 'skin of
 seals', Ud xət^z, WrMc fəthi 'seal', Orc hət^z id., hət^zkss 'skin of
 seals', Neg xət^z, Ewk hət^z ə zt^z 'seal, fat of seals', Lm hət^z 'fat; fat of
 sea mammals', hət^zks 'skin of seals' ¶ STM II 372, Krm. 308 || pJ {S}
 pā(n)tá 'skin, flesh' > OJ pada id., J: T háda, K hadá, Kg hadá 'skin, body'
 ¶ S AJ 283, S QJ #161, Mr. 395, Kenk. 412 || M *ψadasqa '≈ raw hide'
 > WrM adasqa, HlM адсаға 'raw hide used as a mat\rug', Kl адсh
 adсъуъ 'raw hide of a horse', {Rm.} adсхъ 'altes Fell' ¶ MED 11, KRS 28.
 KW 2 || ? NaT *et 'meat, flesh' (≡σ Hb bā'sār 'meat, flesh' < S *ba'sar-
 'skin') (×N *pitē 'eat', ≡σ: Ar laħm- 'meat' < S *laħim- 'food') > OT
 {Cl., Dnk.} ät, {DTS} et, MU, XwT, MQp (incl. CC), Ch et 'meat, flesh', Tk
 e^t, Ggz ħet, Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, QRB, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Uz, SY, Ln, Alt et,
 Az, ET, XIj, Yk ät, VTt, Bsh, Xk i^t, Tv əħxt ēt, Tf īt^t, Chv üt 'meat' ({TL}:
 ü due to as. in Chv üt pü 'body' < T *et boy id.) ¶ *e on the ev. of
 VTt/Bsh *i, as against the unconclusive ev. of the Ar spelling without **u**
 in OT [MhK] ¶ Cl. 33, MKD 28, DTS 186, ET Gl 311-2, TL 455, DT 111,
 TvR 121, Ra. 183, AD EHL ¶ T *∅- < A *p[‘]- < N *p[‘] - ¶ ~ DQA #1757
 (A *p[‘]etá 'meat, skin' > Tg, M, J) ◇ IE *b- suggests pN *p-. Ch *p- is
 likely to go back to **p- < N *p[‘] -. D *-t- points to N *t|d; IE *-t-, Tg *-
 t-, and Ar -t- (all usually from *-t-) may go back to *-t- < N *-p[‘] - . Tg
 *-ē- and T *e- are puzzling. They may suggest a pN *pətēt^Δ (> **peta),
 unless N *-a[?]i- can yield Tg *ē and T *e.

1827. ² *P_{ot}K^Δ 'to split, to cut' > HS > S *°✓ptk v. 'split, break' > Ar
 ✓ftq (ip. -ftuq-) {BK} 'fendre, rompre', {Hv.} 'break, slit, disjoin' ¶ BK II
 535-6, Hv. 545 || B *✓ftk > Ah, Ttq aftak 'fendre', Gh aftak 'être
 déchiré', Kb aftak, CM {NZ} ✓ftk 'percer, ouvrir', Tmz ftak id.,
 'pratiquer une ouverture', Zng {TC} ɔftag 'défaire, découdre' ¶ Fc. 369,
 Dl. 237-8, MT 138, Msq. 124, DCTC 287, NZ 669 || C: Bj {R} ✓fdg (1s:
 p. 'afdg^g, prs. afan'dīg) v. 'split, separate', 'fidg^ga 'Spaltung, Spalt' ¶
 R WBd 76-7 || A: M *°ψotqal- v. 'cut' > MM [L] hotqal- 'schneiden'] M
 *ψoqtal- ({Pp.} *pōktal-) > MM {Pp., Pel.} hoqtal- 'abschneiden,
 abhauen', WrM oqtul- v. 'cut, cut off, cut across, chop off; fell', HlM

оѓтло-х id., Ord og[‘]t[‘]ol- 'couper, trancher', MnR H {SM} sd_oli- 'cut, wound by cutting', ? Brt отол- 'chop across, cut in two, cut off'; M *φοqt^Δci- > MM {Pel.} hoqtoči- 'abschneiden', WrM ogtuci-, HlM оѓтчи- v. 'cut into small pieces, mince, chop up, hash', Ord og[‘]t[‘]o[‘]či- 'cut' iter.; M *φοqt^Δri- > MM {Pel.} hoqtori- 'abschneiden, abhacken', M *φοqt[‘]a[‘]r > WrM oг(u)tur, HlM охтор, Kl охтр оутр 'short' ¶ The variant with *-qt- may be due to contamination with N *p[‘]a[‘]k₁Δ₁?Δ (partially t) 'to split' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ Pel. 221 [#4O], MED 602-3, KRS 392, H 76, Chr. 365, Ms. O 508, SM 334, Pp. L III 74, SM 338, T 359 || mt.: T *büg₁te|ä > OT {Cl.} bügdā 'dagger' (× N *p[‘]a[‘]k₁Δ₁?Δ '↑?') ¶ Cl. 325, Dr. TM II 746.

1828. *p[‘]a[‘]Δ 'beat, strike' > HS: WS *√ptt v. 'crumble, break into small pieces' > BHb √ptt v. 'break up, crumble (bread)', Sr, Md √ptt v. 'crumble', Ar √ftt {BK} 'écraser, broyer qch. entre ses doigts; casser, broyer en petits morceaux; fendre (les pierres, etc.)', {Hv.} 'bruise, crush, crumple sth. with the fingers', Gz √ftt v. 'break off a piece, fracture, crush' ¶ Br. 615, BK II 531, Hv. 543, KB 931, KBR 991, L G 171 || Eg fOK p[‘]tpt 'tread (roads), trample (enemies)' > Cpt Sd потпєт ротпєт, В фотфєт р^hотр^hєт 'fouler, faire tomber, tomber' ¶ EG I 563, Fk. 96, Vc. 165 ¶ Eg t (rather than d < *t) due to as. || K *petk- vi. 'break, blow up' > G petk- id. ('биться, взрываться'): petk-va ~ petk-a 'schlagen', 'klopfen' (Herz), petk-eba vt. 'to explode', Mg partk-al- 'palpitate, tremble', Lz pa(r)tkal- id., 'break', Sv {K} pitkw-/ptk- 'break off, erupt' ({Fn.} li-ptkw-e 'schlagen, spalten', m-i-pitkw-e 'ich schlage, spalte') ¶ K 188, K² 199, FS K 315-6, FSE 353, Chik. 328, Fn. KW-2 44 || A {SDM97} *p[‘]at'a v. 'strike, hit' > Tg *pāt- v. 'strike, hit' → (1) *pāti > Nn Nh раči, U1 pāti 'beetle (Holzhammer) for hammering stakes (колотушка для вбивания колъев)', Ork раčɔ- 'wood-chopper', Orc pati 'beating (побой)' (with p- for the expected x- due to the onomatopoeic factor); (2) *patil- ~ *patul- v. 'beat' > Nn Nh раčıla-, Nn B fačıla-, Ork раčılla- id., with p- for the expected x-, h-: Lm patul-, Orc patila- id. ¶ STM II 35 || M *φ₁atalga- 'axe, gouge' > WrM {Kow.} аtalga 'теслá, плотническý инструментъ = sorte de hache, doloire', Brt W аталга 'chisel, gouge (долото)', Kl атльг id., 'semicircular axe (кривой топор, тесак)', {Rm.} at₁la 'Queraxt, Häcke' ¶ Kow. 61, KRS 55, KW 18, Chr. 64 || ? T *h₁at- (× T *at'- v. 'throw, shoot' < N *yat^Δ 'throw, cast', q.v. ffd.) >

Tk **a**t- v. 'beat' ¶ Cl. 36, TrR 76 || pKo *pat- v. 'strike against, push, gore with the horns' > NKO pat/d-; ? MKO p̄a₁t̄h̄á₁ŋ 'anvil' ¶ S QK #19, MLC 721 || pJ {S} *p̄at̄a-k- v. 'flap, clap, slap' > ltOJ ɸatak-, J T haták-u, J K hátk-ú, J KLg h̄aták-ú ¶ S QJ #263, Mr. 685 ¶ DQA #1729 (A *p̄at̄a 'strike, hit').

1829. *p̄ä't̄v 'pinch, pluck' > HS: Ch: WCh *faṭ- v. 'pull out, tear out' > Bl fod- v. 'pull out', Gera fād- 'take\pull\tear out' | pNrBc {Sk.} *p̄v̄t- > Dir f̄ta, P' p̄ta 'pluck, pick, pluck out, extract' | Ngz f̄t̄ú ~ p̄t̄ú v. 'extract, pull one thing away from another' ¶ Stl. ZCh 16O [#135], Sk. NB 34, Sch. DN 57 || K: GZ *put̄-wŋ- v. 'pluck (poultry)' > G put̄(n)-, Mg put̄on- id., Lz pun̄ol- v. 'pluck, tousle' ¶ K 154, K² 152, Q 299 || A: Tg *pat- ~ *pet- vt. 'pinch, nip off, pluck by pinching' > WrMc fata- v. 'nip, pluck' ({Z} 'щипать, сощипывать, срезать [колося], срывать [цветы], обрывать [плоды]'), Ewk PT h̄ztukžt-/ç-, Ewk Y hatukalā-, Ewk D h̄ztukžlž- vt. 'hook (зацепить)', Ewk E h̄ztukžlžhin- 'take a pinch of smth. (захватить щепотку)', Lm h̄zt̄kž- vt. 'pinch, nip off (от-у-щипнуть)', h̄zt̄kžt-/ç- 'pinch so., nip, feel by touching', Ul patarači- v. 'grasp' ¶ STM II 371-2 || M *ψ̄ete- v. 'pick, pluck out' > WrM ēte-, HlM et̄e- v. 'pick, pluck out', Kl et̄-, {Rm.} et- 'kratzen oder in der Erde graben (nicht tief), schaufeln, pflügen', {KRS} 'rake out (выгребать)', Mnr H {SM} sd̄jē- 'arracher, déraciner', {T} sd̄ē- 'dig (a pit)' ¶ Mnr s- < *h- (usually from pM *ψ-), but acc. to Md.-Hl.'s law, South Mongolian *ψ- may be secondary (due to the infl. of a stem-medial vl. cns.) ¶ MED 335, KW 128, KRS 705, T 358, SM 334 || pKo {S} *pt̄i-t-, *pt̄λ- v. 'pinch, pick, pluck' > MKO pt̄i-t-, pt̄λ-, NKO t̄it-, t̄a- ¶ S QK #525, Nam 137, 174, MLC 38O, 532 ¶ KW 128 (M, Tg, T *it- 'schieben, stoßen'); Rm. ASL 4, SM 334, DQA #1752 (A *p̄et̄v ~ *p̄-, -t- 'pinch' > Tg, Ko) || D: Tl paṭakāru, paṭukār̄u 'pair of tongs, large pincers', Kn paṭakāru 'tongs, pincers' (↔ Tl?) ¶ D #3864 ◇ WCh points to N *p̄-, while *p̄- in GZ *put̄-wŋ- may be explained by as. *put̄- > *put̄-. GZ *u may be due to the assimilative infl. of the labial cns.

1830. *p̄Eṭv (or *p̄Eṭv?) 'to fly; bird' > K *°peṭ- > OG peṭi {Abul.} 'kalakp̄et̄i' (= 'urban bird?'), G peṭi 'bird' ¶ DCh. 1011, Abul. 339 || IE: NaIE *pet- v. 'fly' > OI 'patati, pa'tayati, Av pataiti 'flies' || Gk Hm πέτομαι 'I fly' (aor. ἐπτόμεν) || OW hedant 'volant', W eh-eđeg 'das Fliegen'; Gl [ɣ] {Flr.} etnoso- 'bird', OIr én id., Brtt {RE}

et-n/r-* id. ($\times \leftarrow$ IE **pet-[~]r/n-* 'feather, wing', see N *Put ∇ 'feather, hair'?) > OW *atar*, W *adar*, OCrn [Y] *hethen*, Crn *edhen*, *ethen*, OBr *etn*, MBr *ezn*, Br *evn* 'bird' || BSl **put-* (\times IE **pu(:)-*, **put-* 'a little one' [> OI *putrah* 'son']) > Sl **ръта* 'bird' > OCS, OR **пътъ *ръта* id.; \rightarrow dim. **рътица* 'bird' > OCS **пътица** *рътица*, SCr *ptica*, Slv *ptica*, Blg, R *птица*, Uk *птиця* 'bird' || Ltv *putns* 'bird' and Lt *putytis* dim. 'hen, small bird'; BSl **u* is due to the above merger ¶ P 825-6, 843, EI 208 (**peth_A-* 'fly'), M K II 199, M E II 71-2, F II 521-2, IP §§ 29, 62, 134, Dtn. 257, Flr. 168, Billy 73, Thr. § 44, Frn. 554, Glh. 509, Chrn. II 79-80 || A ({[SDM]} **p'et'~* v. 'jump' [\leftarrow 'fly']): Tg **pet-* v. 'jump' > Ewk *hзtзkзn-* v. 'jump', *hзtзkū-* vi. 'jump aside, break off (pieces of sth.), jump over (отскакивать, отлетать [кусками], перепрыгивать)', Lm *hзtъkзn-* v. 'start running', Neg *хзtзxзn-*, Ud *хзtigзn-з-* v. 'jump', Orc *хзtз-* 'jump aside, recoil (отскочить, отпрянуть)', Ul *pзtзn-* 'jump aside, break off', Nn Nh *pзtēn-* id. ¶ STM II 372, Krm. 308 ¶ It is tempting to adduce here pKo {S} **pitùrī* 'dove' (> MKo *pitùrī*, *pitarki*, *pitori*, *pituroki*, NKo *pidołgi*) and pJ {S} **pàtuā* 'dove' (> OJ *patuo*, J: T *háto*, K *hàtô*, Kg *ható*) (see S QK #262, Nam 276, MLC 851, S QK #262, Nam 276, MLC 851), but these words are valid cognates only if for the speakers of the underlying pA dialect the dove was a bird *par excellence*; an alt. et. for them is proposed in DQA #1646 (A **pjóltor* ∇ 'e small bird') || ??Φ D **pit̪ta* ({GS} **pit̪t-*) 'bird' > Tm *pit̪ta*, Klm, Nkr *pit̪ta* id., Klm *pit̪te* 'young bird, chick', Gnd *pit̪te*, *pit̪e*, *pitte* 'bird' ¶ D #4154 ◇ K **p-* does not provide decisive ev. for a pN **p-*, because it may be due to as. (N **p...t* > **p...t̪*) ◇ D **i* and **t̪* (for the expected **e* and **t̪*) still need explaining.

1831. *P ∇ t̪ ∇ 'fright, confusion of mind' > HS: S * $^{\circ}\checkmark$ *p̪tw* > Ar \checkmark *f̪tw* (pf. *faṭā* طَفَّ, ip. -*f̪tuw-*) 'donner une chasse vigoureuse à un animal au point de le faire courir' ¶ BK II 613 || K * $^{\circ}$ *pet-* > G *pet-* 'frighten; be frightened\timid' ¶ Chx. 1526 || A: Tg * $^{\circ}$ *pat-* v. 'be afraid' > Ewk *hatin-* 'be frightened' ¶ STM II 319 || D (in SD) **p̪ēt-* ({GS} **p-*) 'confusion of mind, fear' > Tm *pētu* 'bewilderment, folly', Tu *pētu*, *pētu* 'fear', Kn *pētu* 'confusion or distraction of mind' ¶ D #4437 ◇ G -*t-* (for the expected -*t̪-*) is due to as. (**p-t̪* > *p-t̪*).

1832. ₂ *P ∇ Ht̪ ∇ 'old man' > IE **pHt-ter(-)* > NaIE nom. **p̪at̪er*, voc. **p̪ater*, gen. **p̪atr-os* 'father, head of a clan' > OI *pi'tar-* (nom. *pi'tā*), Av *pitar-* ~ *patar-*, OPrs *pitar-*, NPrs *پدار* pedär 'father' ||

Arm **հայր** hayr id. || Gk πατήρ (gen. πατέρος, Gk A gen. πατρός 'voc. πάτερ) 'father' || L pater (gen. patr-is) 'father, head of a clan', patrēs 'ancestors', Osc nom. (?) patír ~ patir 'father', dat. paterei 'patri' || OIr athir (< *pətēr) 'father', gen. athar (< *pətros), W -atr 'father' || Gt fadar, ON faðir, OHG fater, NHG Vater, AS fæder id., NE father || pTc {Ad.} *pāčer- > Tc: A pāčar, B pācer 'father' || → NaIE *patruyyo-s 'father's brother' > OI 'pitrvya-, Av tūrya- id. || L patruus id. || OHG fetiro, fatureo, NHG Vetter, AS fædera id. ¶ Vey 65-7 and other scholars adduce here Sl *str̥jь 'father's brother' (> SrChS, OR **стрыи** str̥i, R Δ строй, Blr стрый, Uk стрий, P struj, d. [originally end]), *str̥jьkъ ~ *str̥jьсь id. > Blg Δ стрико, SCr stríko, strīc, Slv stríc, Slk strýc, strýk id., Cz strýc 'uncle'], but the supposed change *pt- > Sl *st- (and hence this et. of Sl *str̥jь) has been rejected by Krtl. (Krtl. IptS 25-7) ¶ WP II 4, P 629, ~ EI 194-5 (*ph̥A'tēr / *ph̥A'trōs 'father'), M K II 277-8, M E II 128-9, Horn 64-5, WH II 262-4, Bc. G 321, Pln. II 698, Vn. A 100-1, F II 481-2, Fs. 133, KM 81O, 82O, Ho. 95, Kb. 227, 239, Schz. 13O, 133, OsS 156,171, Slt. 45-6, Vs. III 78O, Ma. CS 478, Glh. 588, ~ Brü. 521-2, Wn. 351, Ad. 365, Ad. H 18, Pohl 62-3 || D (in McTm) *pātt- 'grandparent' > Tm pāttān 'grandfather, ancestor', pātt̥i 'grandmother, aged woman', Ml pāttān 'grandfather' ¶ D #4066 || On a questionable rec. of A *p̥'ôte- 'old man' (where *p̥'- is based on a controversial interpretation of Mnř sd_ōg_u 'old man') see N *wetv 'year' ◇ NaIE *ə and D *ā point to a N lr., which also accounts for the cerebral D *-t̥t̥- (< N -Ht̥-, unlike D *-t̥- < N *-t̥-).

1833. *p̥h̥t̥i?v 'liquid secretions, sweat' > HS: Eg fOK fd.t 'sweat', Eg Md fd v. 'sweat' > Cpt Sd զատէ fōte, Cpt B զաՏI fōti n. 'sweat' ¶ EG I 582, Fk. 99, Vc. 281 || CCh: McHigi: FlK {ChL} pētuku 'sweat' || S *°v̥ p̥t̥? > Ar v̥ f̥t̥? v. 'defecate, fart' ¶ BK II 602 || IE: NaIE *(s)pōt-/ (s)pət- 'dirty moisture, sweat' ({WP} 'fettig feuchtes, Schweiß') > Sl *potъ 'sweat' n. > OCS potъ potъ, SCr, Slv pōt, Blg, R ποτ, Uk πίτ, P, Slk, Cz pot id. || ? Gk οἵ-σπώτη {F} 'the dirt that collects about the hinder parts of sheep\goats; sheep-dung', {F} 'the fat dirt on the unwashed sheep wool' {F} < *óF̥i-σπώτη with *óF̥i-ç 'sheep'), σπατέλη 'thin excrement (as in diarrhoea)' ({WP} < *σπατο-τέλη with -τέλη ↔ τίλάω 'have a thin stool') ¶ WP II 683, Chrн. II 61, ~

F II 368-9, 759, ≠ P 798 (Sl *pot- < *pek-to), ≈ Vs. III 342-3 (Sl < *poktos) || K: G Rch **paṭiv-/paṭi-** 'düngen, bemisten', **pīṭl-i** 'im Wasser aufgelöster Kuhmist, den man auf den Tennboden gießt' ¶ Chx. 1OO1, 1O18 ◇ The IE *s- mobile and the stem-final -i in Cpt and G suggest a final palatalizing *i-element in the N word (*-ti?->*-ty-). IE *ā/ə points to a N word-medial lr. (most probably *h, which is easily lost in HS and always lost in K). IE *(s)p- < *p- (for the expected *p-) and G p- (likewise for the expected p-) are due to as. (*p...t>p...t).

1834. *pu₁w₁tE (~ *pu₁w₁tE?) 'hole' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'vulva, anus') > HS: CS *put- / *°pawt-: (A) *put- 'vulva', 'fissure' > BHb **pōt*** with two meanings: [1] 'vulva, pudenda muliebria' (traditional interpretation) (h.l. attested with a ppa. of 3pf: **פָתָה** **בּוֹתֶלֶת** 'their [f.] vulva(s)': **wəšip'paḥ** **?ədō'nāy** **կօճկօճ** **ba,nōt** **çiy**"**yōn** **wə-YHWH** **pōt**'hen **յեհָא**"**rē** 'decalvabit Dominus verticem filiarum Sion, et YHWH pudenda earum nudabit', Is. 3.17) (other [untenable] scholarly interpretations are based on the euphemistic translation of the LXX: τὸ σχῆμα αὐτῶν); [2] 'the sockets above and below, in which the door-pivots turned' (הַפְתּוֹת **happō'tōt**, I Kings 7.50), MHb **פּוֹתָה** **pō'tā** 'slit, hole' (**happō'tā** **שֵׁת, תָּחַת** **הַכִּיר** 'das Loch unter der Türangel'), NHb **תּוֹתָה** **pot** 'vulva', JA [Trg.] cs. **פְּאַתִּי** **p̄ty** 'pudenda muliebria' (**p̄ty** **דְּלַתְּיָ** 'das Schamglied der Mutter' [Targum of Hiob 3.9]); (B) S *°pawt- > Ar **fawt-** 'space between two fingers', {BK} 'interstice\distance entre deux doigts' ¶ KBR 983, GB 665-6, ESh II 1111, BDB #5696, Lv. T II 252, Lv. IV 18, Hv. 578, BK II 643, ≠ KB 924 (err. interpretation of Hb **pōt*** as 'forehead' based implicitly on a misinterpretation of the LXX translation and explicitly on a phonetically unt. comparison with Ak **pūtu** 'Stirn, Stirnseite') || EC: Sml N {Abr.} **fúto** 'anus', Sml {ZMO} **futo** 'anus, buttocks', Or {Grg.} **futē** 'anus', Or Wl {LLC, Brl.} **fuči** 'vagina', {Ft., Tut.} **fuči** 'vulva' || Dhl {E} **fāt-** v. 'dig a hole' ¶ AD SF 247, AD KGD #2.16, Abr. S 83, DSI 238, LLC 221, Brl. 151, Ft. 20, Grg. 427 || NrOm: Gnj {Blz. [\leftarrow Fl.?] } **pote** 'vagina' ¶ Blz. OLBP 3O [#1O5] || Ch: WCh: Ang {Flk.} **fut** 'a deep hole' || ECh: Mu {J} **fūdī** (pl. **fōdāt**) 'cuisse', ? Jg {J} **pāte** 'vulva', **pāto** 'penis' ¶ ChC, Flk. s.v. **fut**, JJ 116 || ?φ Eg Md **wft** 'pierce (durchbohren)' ({Tk.}: < *✓ **fwt**) ¶ DW I 84, EG I 3O6, Tk. I 398 ¶ Coh. #381, AD SF 247, SSAAJ I #136, Blz. OLBP #1O5, OS #836, Tk. I 114 || K *°put- > Sv: UB {GP} **puṭu** 'hole', UB/U {TK} **puṭu**, LB **p̄t̄** 'small hole' ¶ GP 264, TK 77O || IE: Ht **padda** v. 'dig', **pattessar** 'excavation, hole, pit' ¶ Ts. W 62, CHD

P 235-7, Frd. HW 166 || **U:** FU *put[▽] 'large intestine, rectum' ('Dickdarm, Mastdarm') (×N *bu₁w₂t[▽] 'the hinder part of a quadruped's body, the lower part of a human body, bottom') > Lp S Tn {Lgc.} pūht'eg₃ 'Mastdarm' || Vg N {Mu.} puti 'Dickdarm'; Os: Nz pūtə, Kz pūti 'Dickdarm, Mastdarm', 'great gut (colon), rectum' ¶ UEW 41O, Coll. 74, MK 487, Stn. D 1242 || **A:** T (att. in NaT) *h₁üt 'hole, aperture' > OT üt id., Qrg, Xk üt, StAlt üyt 'narrow aperture', Qb üt 'aperture', Tv üt 'hole, aperture', Tf üt 'narrow aperture, small hole', Yk üt 'artificial (drilled) hole, round chink' ¶ Cl. 36, ET Gl 649-64O, Ra. 239, Pek. 3191-2 || M *pütü-gün (Pp.: < *pütükün) 'vulva' > MM [MA] **هُوْتُوكُون** hütgün, [L] hütgün, WrM ütüğün, HlM γτερ, Kl {Rm.} ütüğün, Ord {Ms.} üt'ūγū, MnR H {SM} sd_og_u, MMgl üdkün id. ¶ Pp. MA 192, Pp. VG 112, MED 1014, KW 46O, SM 337, Ms. O 765, Iw. 142 || Tg {DQA} *putē 'hole' > Ork putā id., putz-, Nn {On.} putā- 'pierce', ?σ WrM feteri 'nostrils' ¶ STM II 43, 305, On. 344 || pKo {S} *pot- 'vulva' > NKo potci [pōči], Δ podāŋi ¶ S QK #876, MLC 794, BKR I 562 || J: pJ {S} *pata > OJ poto 'vulva' ¶ S QJ #746, Mr. 415 ¶ Pp. VG 112 (T, M), KW 46O (T, M), DQA #1877 (A *p'ōt'ē 'hole'), Oz, NM 140-1 || **D** *pott-/pōt- 'hole' > Tm pottu 'hole, rat-hole, hollow in a tree', Ml pottu 'hole in the ground', Kn hodarū id., 'hollow of a tree', Tl botta, Prj botta 'hole', Ku pot- v. 'make a hole (in wood, etc.)' ¶ ≠ D #4452 (does not distinguish this √ from *po- v. 'perforate') ◇ D *-o-/-ō- is to be explained ◇ Hardly here Ht padda v. 'dig', pattessar 'excavation, hole, pit' (Ts. W 62, CHD P 235-7), which is more likely to belong to IE *b^hed^h- 'dig, burrow' (EI 159) < N *bed're' 'to pierce, to prick' ◇ IS MS 34O (дыра *pu't¹Δ: A [M, T], U, K, HS). Ang f- and Eg -f- suggest pN *p-, while T *h₁- points to an ancient *p- (as. N *p...t > pre-T *p...t?) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #212 (*puto 'hole') (IE, U, A, J, EA +qu. Ko + err. Y).

1835. *paṭh[▽] 'to be open, to open' > **IE:** IE (attested in NaIE) *pet(H)- id., 'expand, be spread' > Av paθana- 'breit, weit', Phl pahan, Psh pla, Oss I/D fätän id., NPrs پَرَّ pähn 'broad, spread' || Gk πεταννύμι ~ πέτνημι vt. 'spread out (sails, clothes)' || L patē- (pateo, inf. patēre) 'be\stand\lie open', 'sich erstrecken, offen stehen' || Clt ({EI}): < *peth_Aimeh_A-): ScGl aitheamh, OW etem 'fathom' || ON faðmr, AS fæðm 'outstretched or embracing arms,

fathom', OSx **fathmos** pl. 'hands and arms', MDt **vadēm**, OHG **fādam**, NHG **Fader** 'fathom', NE **fathom**; ON **feðma** to embrace' ¶ P 824-5, EI 539 (***peth_A-** 'spread out'), Brtl. 843, Bai. 259, Mrg. 56, BM 98, Ab. I 464-5, F II 52O-1, WH II 244, 262, EM 727, Vr. 1O9, 114, Ho. 97, Ho. S 18, Kb. 214, OsS 156, KM 179-8O || HS: S *✓ **p̥th** vt. 'open' > Hb, Ph, Ug, DA, OA, IA, JA [Trg.], JEA ✓ **p̥th**, Ar, Sb, Gz ✓ **fth**, Ak inf. **p̥etū**, Eb ✓ **p̥th** (in proper names) ¶ KB 926-8, HJ 948-9, OLS 358, Lv. T II 3O7-8, Sl. 946-7, Ln. 2327-8, Bll. 412-3, LG 17O, Sd. 858-61, Krb. PE 36 || Eg N/G **p̥th** vt. 'open' ¶ EG I 565 || C: Bj {R} ✓ **fth** (1s: p. 'a-**fth**, prs. **afan'tīh**) pcv. 'open' ¶ R WBd 84 || Ch: CCh: MfG {Brr.} - **p̥áth-** 'open wide (one's eyes), open (the anus)' || ECh: Bdy {AlJ} **pit** v. 'open', Skr {Nc.} 'fiti'fiti 'öffnen, lösen' ¶ Stl. ZCh 144 [#2] (does not distinguish *✓ **p̥t** v. 'open' from *✓ **p̥t** 'plain, field'), JT 129, ChC, ChL, Brr. MG II 222, AlJ 1O8, Lk. ZSS 33 ¶ OS #1989 (***pitaħ-** 'open'), ≈ Sk. HCD 25 || A: [1] M ***ψatqu** 'hollow of the hand, handful' (× N ?φ **PaCk|K**Ν 'hand', q.v. ffd.) ¶ [2] (× N ***bad**Ν, XΝ 'be open' > M ***badar-** > WrM **badara-**, НИМ бадра-, Brt бадар-(xa) 'spread, expand', 'open' [of flowers]) || Tg ***padar-** 'stretch' > Ork **pāddā-** 'stretch on a frame (a hide)', Ewk **hadarga** 'stretching a rope between fingers (a game)' ¶ STM II 3O8 ¶ ≈ DQA #1611 (A ***pādā**; incl. M, Tg) ◇ Tg *-d- < **-t- < N *-t̥h- (de-emphatization caused by the adjacent lr.). Eg t < N ***t̥** (desglottalization) ◇ N ***p̥at**Ν 'ground, plain' (q.v. ffd.) may be a semantic variant of the N word in question (if the apparent phonetic difference between them is explained away). Cf. IS MS 372 (***p̥at**Δ 'широкий'), IS SS #1.32, AD GD 1O ◇ ≈ Gr. II #148 (***p̥at** 'field') (IE, A, Ko, J), ≠ Gr. II #286 (***p̥a(n)te** 'open') (IE + err. U, A [actually from N ***p̥ač**Ν 'to open'], J).

1836. *p̥ix|yύΝ 'sharp bone, sharp tool, (?) flintstone' > K ***p̥xa-** 'fishbone, cartilage, awn of cereals' > G **p̥xa** id., Mg **χa** 'cartilage of snake, scales of fish', Lz **mχa** 'fishbone, Sv L {Dn.} **p̥xa** id., Sv {K} **p̥xa** id., 'small snake', Sv UB/LB/L/Ln **p̥xa** {TK} 'snake', Sv UB {GP} **p̥xa** 'awn' ¶ K 94, K DE 358, K² 2O9-1O (pK 'frame, small bone'), FS K 327, FS E 367, TK 771, GP 264, Dn. s.v. **p̥xa** || IE: NaIE *(s)p(^h)e(:)j-/*(s)p(^h)i(:)- 'pointed (spitz), a pointed piece of wood' (× N ***šab|p̥Eh'i'** 'log, piece of wood', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P mentions ds. + extensions *-g-, *-k-, *-l-, *-n-, *-r-, *-t-, which are hard to evaluate because of uncertainty of their structure and original meaning ¶ ≈ P

98O-2, ≈ M K III 547, M E II 779, MW 1271, VI. II 698. Bai. 264, F II 83O-1 || | **u** *piye 'flintstone, stone' > F pii 'flintstone', F, Es piikivi id. (kivi 'stone') || Sm {Jn.} *pъя́у 'stone, flintstone' > Ne T пэ, T O {Lh.} pāe· 'stone, glass', F {Lh.} pāey id., T O tūm-pe, F tup-pī 'flintstone, Feuerstein' (tū 'fire'), En {Cs} X fū, B fu ~ pu 'stone' | Slq: Tz {KKIH} pü, Kt/Tm {KD}, Tur {Lh.} pū 'stone' | Koyb {Pl., Sp.} pi | Mt {Hl.} *hilä (?) 'stone, rock' (Mt: M {Pl.} hilä, гиля 'stone', A {Msr.} 'a rock') || pY {IN} *pəy 'stone' > Y K {IN} pē 'stone, mountain', {Jc.} pię 'mountain, stone, rock', OY: K {Bil.} pəa 'mountain', O {Mat.} пеа id., 'stone' ¶ UEW 378, SSA II 352, Jn. 112, KKIH 154, Hl. M #298, Ang. 208, Jc. JR s.v. pię, IN 241, 316, 333, ≈ Rd. UJ 42 [#45] (Y ← U) || **HS:** C: EC: Ya {Hn.} pax̥a, Arr {Hw.} bah (pl. bahó), Rn {PG} bìhín 'bow (weapon)' (← *'arrow'?) ¶ Hn. YII 121, Hw. A 345, PG 77 || WCh: My {Sk.} b̥iy-, Wrj {Sk.} b̥iy- v. 'stab, pierce', Kry {Sk} b̥iyá, Sir b̥iyù v. 'pierce' || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} p̥iyà v. 'cut' ¶ ChC s.v. v. 'stab', v. 'pierce', Lk. L 115 ◇ WCh *b̥- is likely to go back to N *p̥Nv̥-, while K *p̥x̥- may go back both to *p̥Nχ̥- and to *p̥Nv̥- ◇ IS MS 352-3 s.v. острье *p̥i'H̥a, IS SS #10.6, AD NM #101, Vv. AEN 6.

1837. *PayN '(ε) fish' > IE: NaIE *pejsk(o)-/*pisk- 'fish' > L piscis id. || Gt fisks, ORu fiskr, ON fiskr, Nr, Sw, Dn, OSx fisk, OHG fisc, NHG Fisch, Dt visch, AS fisć id., NE fish || OIr íasc (< *peyksos), gen. éisc 'fish' || Sl *pisk-ařь~*pisk-ořь > R пи'скарь (modern spelling: пе́скарь) 'gudgeon', SCr p̥iskor 'eelsucker (мурена)', Slv piškur 'Lampetra (минога)', Cz piskoř P piskorz, HLs piskor 'mud loach, въюн' ¶ P 796, ~σ, φ EI 604 (*piksko-s 'trout' [AD: why*-ksk-, and why 'trout'?]), Dv. #864, WH II 310, Fs. 155, Mkj. DR 123, Vr. 121, Ho. 105, Ho. S 20, Kb. 257, OsS 201, KM 199, LP § 28, Thr. § 279, Chrн. II 25-6, Vs. III 267, Jak. 225, Trof. 169 ¶ *-sk- is likely to be the adjectival sx. *-sk- || **u *payN 'ε fish' > Vt paya 'bream, Bramis' || ? Vg T {Mu.} paιl ~ paιyl 'crucian carp' || ? Sm: Ne {Cs.} paja, paιha 'пеледка, Salmo peljet', StNe T пайха 'сырок, пелядъ (ε a fish)', Ne T O {Lh.} pāyxa 'ε Lachsfisch', En B {Cs.} faeha 'Salmo peljet', Ng {Cs.} faʔyka 'Muksun' ({Cs.} ү ~ [ū], F Cs. GSS 7) ¶ UEW 348-9, Ter. 435, Cs. 34, 70, 93, 258 || **D** (in SD) *pauy- ({GS} *p-) '(ε) fish' > Ml paуyatti 'a fish', Tu paуyяә '(ε) fish' ¶ D #3946 ◇ AD NM #48, ≠ S CNM 11 (prefers to consider IE *pejsk(o)-/*pisk- to be a loan from NrCs {S} *b̥v̥s̥wA 'fish').**

1838. *ρüH|QyN (= *ρügyN?) 'to boil, to get ready' (food), 'to ripen'
 > **U** *ρüye- v. 'be cooked, boil' > pMr {Ker.} *ρiyə- > Er ρiyə- 'be
 boiled, be baked enough' (of food), Mk ρi- id., 'burn\scald oneself',
 {Ahl.} ρiyə- vi. 'gar kochen' | Z ρu- v. 'cook', vi. 'boil' || ObU: Vg: IK
 ρü-, P ρāy- vi. 'kochen, sieden' | Hg fō- (/fōv-) 'boil, cook, be
 cooked' || Sm {Jn.} *ρi- '(durch Kochen) reifen' > Ne T πι-сь, T O
 {Lh.} pīś, F NI pīś, Ng (aor. 1s) {Cs} fīrem, En {Cs.}: (aor. 1s) X fiero?,
 B fiedo? id. | Kms (1s prs.) {KD} p‘ū- 'reifen, zur Reife gelangen, gar
 sein\werden' ¶ UEW 368, Ker. II 112, ERV 477, PI 2O8, Sm. 539 (U, FU,
 FP *ρexi-, Ugr *pig̑i-, Sm *ρi- 'cook'), LG 232, Jn. 122-3 || **A** {[SDM}
 *ρüyyi- v. 'cook, be cooked' > Tg *ρuyi- vi. 'boil' > Ewk ρuyu- v. 'boil,
 be cooked', Neg ρuy- id., Lm ρuy- vi. 'boil', Orc ρuyu-, Ud ρui- vt. 'boil',
 Ul ρuyu- vt. 'boil, cook', Ork ρuy- vi. 'boil, be cooked', ρuyu- vt. 'boil,
 cook', Nn Nh ρuyu-, Nn KU fuyu- id., WrMc fuyue- vi. 'boil' ¶ STM II 337-
 8, Krm. 3O6 || M *ψüyyiü- 'put food into a copper with boiling water' >
 MnR H {SM} wī- id., WrM üi- ~ üyü-, HIM ψī- v. 'put meat,
 vegetables, or other ingredients into boiling water or soup', Brt ψī- v.
 'put tea or other food into a copper\tea-pot with boiling water' ¶ In
 MnR *ψw- > w- ¶ MED 999, 1OO2, Chr. 499, SM 484 ¶ Rm. EAS I 54, ≈
 Rm. SKE 2O7 (tries to adduce Ko ρugil 'boiling, bubbling') || **IE** *spēñu-
 > NaIE *sp(h)ēj-/*spī- and *sp(h)ē-/*sp(h)a- v. 'ripen, become thick' > OI
 'spēñā-yatē 'grows fat, increases' || Lt spēti / prs. spēju 'be in
 time, have time', Ltv spēt / spēju 'be able' | Sl *spě- 'ripen, succeed
 in time' > OCS спēti spě-ti / prs. спējъ spějъ 'succeed', R
 'спелый' 'ripe', по'спеть 'to be ready' (of food), SCr доспети &
 досрjeti / доспēм & досрjēm 'be just in time, arrive at the right
 (last) moment; arrive at; ripen; mature', R успеть, P уspieć '(to
 succeed to) be in time for, to come just in time', Blg успея 'be\come
 just in time; be able, succeed', Slv uspēti 'to succed, to be
 successful', R, Blg успех, Cz uspěch 'success' || AS spōwan 'to
 thrive', OHG spuon 'to succeed', AS spēd 'prosperity, success,
 dispatch, speed', NE speed || ??σ L spē-s 'hope' ¶ P 983, EI 3, 458,
 5OO (*speh(i)- 'flourish, prosper, be sated \ satisfied'), M K III 541-2,
 M E II 776-7, Frn. 866, Vs. III 73, StSS 62O, Drd. 91, Ts. W 3O, Pv. I-II
 429-31, Pv. EA 91-2, WP II 68O, P 983, EI 458, 5OO, Bai. 437, Ho. 312,
 Kb. 945-6, Vs. III 734, StSS 62O ¶ In IE there is coalescence of several
 roots (one of them with the meaning 'succeed, gedeihen') || ?σ HS: S

*^o✓^v p̥yw > Ar ✓fyw (ip. -fyū, pf. **لَفَّ** faŷā) 'fade' (a plant), 'sécher' (se dit des céréales qui sèchent sur pied)' ¶ BK II 617, Hv. 569 ◇ If Ar ✓fyw belongs here, the N rec. must be *p̥ügyv. Otherwise the N etymon remains with an unspecified *-H|Q-. ◇ IS MS 343-4 (*p̥u'H'jə 'kipetъ'), IS SS #1O.2.

1839. *P̥ûXyv 'to be sick; wound' > HS: S *^o-p̥ūħ- > Ar ✓fwh G (ip. -fūħ-, pf. fāħa) 'bleed' (of a wound') ¶ Hv. 578, BK II 644 || SC: Alg piħ-v. 'suffer' ¶ ESC 144 || IE *peñu- (> NaIE *pē(j)-/*pī-) v. 'hurt, harm' (→ v. 'blame, abuse') > OI 'pīyatī 'reviles, blames, abuses' || ??φ Gk πηρός, Gk D πάρος 'disabled in a limb, maimed' || L paenitēt 'es reut, tut leid', 'it makes (me) sorry', pēnuria n. 'lack, want, penury', patior 'I tolerate, suffer' (↔ pp. *pə-'to-s) || Gt faiān 'to blame', Gt fijan, AS fēon, fēoȝan, ON fjá 'to hate', OHG fī(j)eñ id., 'to detest' || IE d. *peñ-mṇ (> NaIE *pēmṇ) n. 'disease, illness' > OI pā'man- (nom. pā'mā) 'ε skin-disease, cutaneous eruption, scab', Av pā'man- 'ε skin-disease', Psh pam 'Krätze, Grind' || Gk πῆμα 'suffering, calamity, woe; Unheil' || ? L paeminosus, pēminosus 'brüchig, rissig' ¶ P 792-3, EI 258 (*peh₁(i)- 'harm'), 313 (*piH(i)- 'revile'), M K II 255-6, 294-5, M E II 85, 121, WH II 255-6, 264, 283, F II 529, 531, Vr. 122, Fs. 135, 150-1, Kb. 241, Ho. 1O1 || A: Tg *p̥ye ({j}Bz. *p̥yä) 'wound' > Ewk huyz, Lm puç 'wound, sore (болячка)', Neg xiuz, Orc xiuz ~ siuz, Ud {STM} siž, {Krm.} sē, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh puç, Nn KU fuç, Nn B fui 'wound', WrMc feye 'a wound, sore' ¶ Ci. 158, Bz. 971, Vas. 49O, STM II 338, Krm. 282, Z 1O4O ¶ DQA #1815 (A *p̥'oyE - -ju-, -jo- 'pain, sore'; incl. Tg) ◇ IS MS 331 s.v. болеть *p̥e'H'jə, AD GD 11.

1840. *p̥äžv 'to strain, to percolate, to screen (durchsieben)' > HS: S *^o✓^v p̥ss v. '≈ strain' > Ar ✓fšš (pf. fašša, ip. -faššu) 'traire (une chamelle) avec précipitation', 'faire sortir l'air d'une outre en la comprimant', fašš- 'femme qui trait une chamelle' ¶ BK II 595-6 || U: FU *p̥äžv v. 'strain' > Er педя- peda-, Mk педя-, {Ps.} peda- v. 'strain, filter (milk, etc.)' || Hg fej- v. 'milk' ¶ The primary meaning is obviously 'to strain', rather than 'to milk' (↔ UEW), because a semantic change from 'to milk' to 'to strain' is hardly imaginable and is not observed in lgs. as far as I have been able to check. Hence the Irn origin of the FU √ (cf. Av p̥ai iō- 'milk') is ruled out (↔ UEW with a query) ¶ UEW 359, KC 162, Ker. II 112, PI 2O3 || A: T *hælgä- v. 'strain' > OT {Gbn., Rs.} älgä-, {Cl.} elgä-, {Br. for MhK} älkä- 'durchseihen',

'strain, filter', Qrg *ełge-* ~ *ele-*, StAlt *ełge-*, Tlt, Kü {Rl.} *äłżä-*, Xk *iłge-*, Tv *ełle-*, ET *ägli-*, Tk *ele-*, Tkm, Qzq, Nog, Qq *ele-* vt. 'screen (durchsieben)', Xlj *häjlä-* vt. 'screen (durchsieben, durchseien)', Chv *ala* n. 'sieve', *alla-* ~ *ala-* vt. 'sow (from a sieve)' ¶ Rs. VW 4O, Cl. 143, ET Gl 261-3, DHST 292, DT 13O, Jud. 946-7, Jeg. 24, Fed. I 33, BIG 57; the quality of the initial vw. (*ä-) is evidenced by Chv *a-* ◇ In all probability, T *-gä goes back to a sx. (a root-ext.).

1841. *PEHy,a^z▽ 'in wild galliform bird' > **U:** FU *pažt▽ id. > Z *baydзg*, Z N *baydъk*, Prmk *bađzg*, Yz *badug* 'partridge' || Vg: T *pał'tā*, IK *pōít*, UL *pṓta* 'Tetrao tetrix' | OHg *faid*, *faith* 'heath-hen, hazel grouse', Hg *fajd* 'grouse, capercalzie' ¶ UEW 347, LG 35-6, EWH 35O || **A:** Tg *pjala 'partridge' > Ewk *hēlakī* id., 'белая тетерка', Lm *hālukī*, Neg *xēlaxt*, Ul *pēla*, {PSchm.} *pjala* 'partridge', WrMc {Z} *fiyelenku*, *fiyelengu* 'mountain forest hazel grouse similar to a female gray partridge', {Hr.} *fiyelengu* 'hazel grouse (Haselhuhn, Tetrastes bonasia)'; Neg *xēlaʂt* 'wild goose' ¶ STM II 32O, Z 11OO, Hr. 299 || **HS:** WCh: pNrBc *puz▽ ({Stl.} *pałuz▽) 'stone partridge (Ptilopachus petrosus)' > Cg *puze*, Mbr *p3z3*, Jmb *buzuwa* id. ¶ Sk. NB 34, Stl. ZCh 248 [#7] || ?φ S *°✓bšf: Ar **بَشْفٌ** bšf (unk. voc.) 'pelican' (σει: Neg *xēlaʂt* 'goose') ¶ Fr. I 125, BK I 13O ◇ FU *-t▽ is likely to be an ancient sx.

1842. *Po^z▽, z▽ 'to become hard on the surface\top', 'hard surface (crust, bark, skin)' > **HS:** S *°✓pšf > Ar ✓fšf 'be dried up at the top' (maize) ¶ BK II 596, Hv. 563 || **U:** FU *°pož▽ v. 'freeze; frozen hard outer layer of snow' > ObU *pōž- > pOs *poy ({JHl.} *păy) > Os: V/Vy *poy*, Ty/Y/K *pōy*, D *păy* 'frozen hard outer layer of snow'; pVg *pāi id., *pāi- v. 'freeze' ('erfrieren') > Vg: T *pāi-* / *pał-*, LK/MK/UK/UL *pōi-*, P/NV/SV/LL *pōi-* / *poi-*, Ss *pōi-* id., Ss {Kn.} *pōi*, {BV} *пoль*, Yk {Vxr.} *poi* 'frozen hard outer layer of snow' ¶ Ht. #489, Hl. rHt 71, Stn. WV 1O3, 131, 17O, 312, Kn. WV 7O, WVD VII 243, BV 83, ChCh. 91 || **IE:** NaIE *pel(ə̥)- 'film, skin' > Gmc: OFrs *filmene*, AS *filmen* 'film, foreskin', NE *film* || Ltv *plēvē* 'film, skin on milk, thin transparent fabric', Lt *plēvē* 'thin soft skin, membrane, film, skin on milk' | Sl *plěva 'thin skin, membrane' > R *плева*, Uk *пліва* id., 'hymen', Slv *plěva* 'eyelid' || with a sx. *-n- : Gk {P} πέλλας accus. pl. 'skins', [γ] πελλο-ράψως 'sewing skins together', Gk ἐρυσί-πελας 'red inflammation on the skin' || L *pellis* (< *pelni-) 'hide, skin' || OHG *fel* / *fell-es*

'skin, fur', NHG Fell, AS fell, ON fjall 'skin, hide' ||| BSl: Lt plēnē 'membrane, film (on milk)', Ltv plēnē 'thin layer', Pru pleynis 'meninx (Hirnfell)' | Sl *pelna, *pelena (< *pelənā?) > OCS, OR **пєлена** pelena 'σπάρυανον, fascia, incunabula', R пеле'на '(light) cover, membrane', 'плёнка 'film', пе'лёнка 'swaddle', Uk пеле'на 'cover', Blg пеле'на 'light cover, swaddle', SCr pēlena, Cz pléna, plena 'swaddle, thin skin, membrane' ¶ P 8O3, Dv. #627, WH II 275-6, Bois. 68, 763, ≈ Ch. 876-7 (Gk πελλα 'seau à lait; 'coupe', Gk πελλω- in πελλο-ράφος ← L), Kb. 232s, OsS 176, KM 192, Vr. 123, Ho. 1OO, 1O5, Frn. 615, 62O, En. 228, Bg. AS 18, Vs. III 277-9, BER V 137-8, Glh. 474-5, Chrн. II 17, SJSS XXV 25, ≈ El 268-9 (*'peln- 'animal skin, hide') ||| D *pol- ({θGS} *p-) 'bark, skin, crust', v. 'peel, remove the skin' > Tu poliňkæ, polikæ 'bark, skin, peel, crust', puleyi a skin', Kn hołacu v. 'pare off', Kui plōvā (p. plōt) v. 'shed\cast a skin', polpa (p. polt) v. 'peel', Ku porhali v. 'peel' ¶ D #4561.

1843. *'**p'**oqEžN ~ *'**p'**ožNqN 'thigh, haunch' > HS: WS *pNχiδ- (~ *'pix₁Nδ-?) 'thigh' > Ar faxiδ-, faxδ-, fixδ- {BK} 'cuisse', {Hv.} 'thigh', Sr puħ'd-ā 'femur, clunis', Sb fχδ 'thigh', Jb E fχeδ-, Jb C faxδ- 'flesh and bone of upper leg from knee to hip', Mh ȝfχāδ id.; the usually supposed connection with BHb נְחֵלָה paħaħdāw (h. l., Hi. 4O.17) is implausible (≠∅: Hb d is not from S *δ) and semantically qu.: according to Hieronymus' translation in the Vulgata (4th c. AD) paħaħdāw means 'testiculi sui', and its new interpretation as '(seine) Schenkel' is based on alleged connection with Ar faxiδ- and Sr puħ'd-ā (a vicious circle!), see the discussion above s.v. N *PuqdN 'leather bag, scrotum' ¶ BK II 552, Hv. 55O, BGMR 43, BK II 552, Hv. 55O, Jo. J 67, Jo. M 11O, Br. 562, KB 872, ≠ MiK I #1.211 (does not distinguish WS *pNχiδ- 'thigh' from CS *paxd- [or *paħd-] 'testicle') ||? amb Eg fP xpd(.w) 'buttocks' (× N *qNtN (or *qNp₁NtN) 'tail, hinder part' [q.v.]) ¶ EG III 27O-1, Fk. 19O ¶ An unusual kind of mt.? For Eg d < N *ž cp. Eg ȝdn 'ear' related to S *'yuð₁n- id. < N *žūžN 'hear; ear' (q.v.) ||? Ch (× N *pa'g'dN 'leg' [or 'part of a leg'], 'foot'): CCh: McTr {ChL}: Hw fùdàra, G'nd fùdátà, Gbn fìdáztà, Boka fùdàztà 'thigh' ||| ECh: Mu {Lk.} fúdí, pl. fòdàt, {J} fùdí, pl. fòdàt, Jg {J} pādo, Brg {J} fádi id. ¶ Lk. ZSS 182, ChC s.v. 'thigh', JI II 325, ChL ¶ Not here (↔ IS II 1O2-3) Sml bowdo 'thigh', {R} ba?udo f. 'Hüfte, Oberschenkel', (C →) Amh {R} በቃ bat~በካተ baħt id., Kf {C} bātō 'leg, hind leg', and Hrr pādāllā

'inside of thigh' (on their origin see N *bu₁w₂t₃Ν 'the hinder part of a quadruped's body, the lower part of a human body, bottom' and N *pa^gnd₃Ν '↑') || AdS of K *^opoq- 'thigh' > Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} poq 'thigh, side of body, crupper of a horse' (< N ? *b₃Νqā 'side of body, side', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Hardly here (≠φ) (↔ IS II 1O3 [with a query and with *ā]) K **pašt- (> Sv {Ni.} pašd₂- thigh [ляжка], calf of the leg', Sv UB {GP} pašd₂- 'thigh-muscle', Sv {Wrd.} pashv_d, pasht 'calf of the leg') || ?φ IE: NaIE {Bern.} *b^hed- 'thigh' (×N *bu₁w₂t₃Ν '↑'?) > Sl *bedro 'thigh' > SrChS bedro, R, Uk, Blg бед'ро, Slv bédro, Slk bedro, P biodro id., Cz bedra ntr. pl. 'waist' || ? L femur (gen. feminis) 'thigh' (if < *b^hed-mor-/men-) ¶ Bern. I 47-8, Sls. I 33-4, ≠ ESSJ I 179-80 (rejects the connection of Sl with L, but proposes a less plausible connection of Sl *bedro with IE *bed- v. 'beat, split'), EM 224, WH I 477 (rejects the connection between the words of Sl and L and proposes to derive the Sl word from *bed- v. 'swell'), SPS I 199-200 (the Sl - L connection is considered not convincing, but no other et. of the Sl word is proposed) ¶ The phonetic irregularity (IE *b^h-) still defies explanation (infl. of *bu₁w₂t₃Ν?) || u *počka 'ء fleshly part of leg' (≈ 'thigh' or 'calf of leg') > F pohke_a, pohje 'calf of leg' (< *počke_a, *počkes); ? F potka 'Schenkel, Hinterfuß', ? Es pőtk 'Schinken, Lende' | plp {Lr.} *pōckē > Lp: S {Hs.} boåtskie 'Ferse (eines Menschen), Kniekehle (eines Tieres)', N {N} boas'ke / -sk- 'the small of the leg', L {LLO} påskē 'Fußsohle (des Mittelfußes)', Snk {TI} pōas'k-ě_ 'Armmuskel', Kld {Lgc.} pužs'k- 'Schenkel, Wade', {TI} pužs'k- īužn:žě_ 'Schenkel', Nd {TI} pōas'k- -vūš, žě_ 'Wade (beim Menschen)' | ? Er пукшо рukšo {ERV} 'buttocks, croup', {KC} 'ляжка', Mk пукша, {Ker.} pukša 'meat (without bones)' (Er/Mk {Ps.} 'das dicke Fleisch, Schenkel'), Mk пукшет рukšat 'muscle' || ? Sm: Slq Ch paqtur, påqtur, UO paqtur 'calf (Wade)' || pY {IN} *pökči(-) 'muscles of the leg' > Y T {IN} pökčidö id. (-d gen., ö 'child') ¶ UEW 389, ≈ Sm. 539 (U *puckt 'tube' > FU *pucki, FP *pučki, Sm *puceθ), SK 588-9, Lr. #966, Lgc. #5114, Hs. 356, TI 286, Coll. 50, Ker. II 123, ERV 525, KC 179, PI 225, Tv. IA 128, IS II 1O2-3, IN 242 || A: Tg (in NrTg) *pogjΝ 'lower part of the back, tail' > Ewk "Π" {STM} (misprint for "ΠΤ" = Ewk PT?) hogjō 'the lower part of the back', Ewk D hogjō 'tail', Lm hoχjl ~ hoχjl 'tail' ¶ STM II 329 || T *hūča 'loins, haunches, rump' (×N *hU₁w₂čΝ or *hU₁w₂čΝ 'loins, lap' [q.v. ffd.] × N *χōčΝ 'bone', [?] 'backbone') ¶ T

*₁h₂- is not the reg. reflex of N *p (suggested by the Eg cognate and by Mubi f-), thererfore one has to conclude that the main N source of the T word is *h₂U₁w₂ç₂N or *h₂Uw₂Nç₂N ՚՚ T *būt 'thigh, leg' (adduced as *pūt in IS II 1O2-3) does not belong here, but rather to N *bu₁w₂t₂N '↑' (q.v.) | | D [1] D {tr.} *počč₂N 'genitalia, anus', {GS} *poč- 'vulva' > Tm рoсcи 'woman's pubic hair, vulva, anus', Ml рoсca, рoсci 'membrum muliebre', Kt рož, Kn рuccе, рuccи, Brh pōs 'vulva'; D → Prkr posa- 'anus, vulva', posaŋa 'anus', phosa id., Mrт рuccī 'vulva' ՚՚ D #4476, Tu. #6248, GS 116 [#306], 74 [#243] ՚՚ ? [2] D *počč₂- ~ *poč₂Nj₂k- ~ *pokk- (< **počk-) 'belly' > Tm рoсcai 'paunch, pot-belly', Kn бojju 'pot-belly', бojjе 'belly, paunch', Tl бojjā id., Prj bokka 'big intestine, large stomach of ruminants', Gnd počča 'big intestine, stomach', Gnd Mu/K pohk 'intestines', Gnd K pōhku 'guts', pokku, рoсca 'intestines' ՚՚ D #4478, BBh CVG #2377 ◇ IS II 1O2-3 [#341] (бeдро *pоžq₄/ *pоdq₄: HS [S, Eg, Ch + *÷ C, Om], IE, U, ?A, ?K *pāst-).