

161. *bA, adjectival pc. forming analytical (→ derived) names of quality bearers, nomina possessoris (words denoting the owners of something) and animal names (*N* + ***bA** 'which is *N*'), *F* *N* ***kôL∇ bA** 'dog\wolf, whelp' and *N* ***yoR∇ (b∇)** 'firm, strong, hard') > **HS**: *S* *-b-, *sx* of animal names, e.g. (1) *S* *θaɣlab- 'fox' (Ar θaɣlab-, Ak šēlebūm id.), cp. without the *sx* *-b-: *CS* *θūɣal- 'fox' > BHB שׁוּיָאֵל šū'āl id., (2) *S* *ʔarnab- 'hare', (3) *S* *ʔakrab- 'scorpion', (4) *S* *'kalab- 'dog' (< *N* ***kôL∇ bA** '↑') || *B* *-β- in *-gūlāβ- (or *gūlāH-) > Ah aḡūlāh 'male wolf' (< *N* [??] ***gUḥÍE bA** with *N* ***gUḥÍE** '≈ canine animal') ¶ Fc. 429, Pr. H no. 95 || **IE**: *NaIE* *-bʰo-, [1] *sx* of animal names, e.g., Gk ἔλαφος 'deer' < *IE* *eḷn̥g-bʰo- < *N* ***ʔêl∇ nu bA**) (***ʔêl∇** 'deer' + ***nu** 'of' + ***bA**) (*IS* I 272 [no. 135], Ch. 333-4, *F* I 483-4), *OI* śalabhas 'grasshopper' (cf. śala- 'go, hurry' [?], see *M* K III 312-13), Gk ἔριφος 'chevreau, chevette' (Ch. 372, *F* I 560), [2] *sx* of adjectives: *OI* vṛṣa- 'bha- 'male' (of a man, of a bull) (cf. *OI* vṛṣan- 'male'), *Lt* {BD} ankstýbas 'early' (e.g. of vegetables) (cf. ankstī 'early') ¶ *BD* II/1 386-90, *Brg.* KVG 331, ≈ *Hirt* *IG* III 224, *IS* I 193 [no. 27], *M* K III 251, *M* E II 575-6 || **K** *-b- in *ǝ|ǝyarb- 'hedgehog' < *N* ***ǝaΓ∇R∇** 'hedgehog' (q.v. ffd.) + *N* ***bA** || **U** *-pa-/ *-pä- (< **pa-?), *sx* of nomina possessoris, names (nouns and adjectives) of quality bearers, incl. animal names, e.g. [1] *U* *ora-pa- (< **ora pa-) 'squirrel' > *F* orava, *Es* orav, *oravas* (gen. *orava*) id., *pLp* {Lr.} *ōrēv > *Lp*: *N* {N} oar're / -rr-, *Pa* {TI} vūā'r'rev, *T* {TI} v̄t̄arrev, *Kld* {SaR} byāppev, {TI} v̄uārrrev id. || *Sm*: *Sayan Samoyed* ("stirpis monticulis sajanensibus") {Pl.} orop 'squirrel' (*Pl.* Z I 187), cp. *U* *ura- 'squirrel' > *Mr*, *Chr*, *Z*, *Vt* ur id. || [2] *Os* K {PD} kārəp 'woodpecker' || [3] *Vg* -p(ä) '-ig', e.g. ...səmp(ä) 'having such and such eyes' (səp 'eye') || [4] *pOs* *-əp '-ig' (> *Os* V/Vy -əw, *Os* Ty/D/I/Nz/Sh/Kz/O -əp), e.g. *Os* V/Vy kōl awtəw 'mit dichtem Haar' ('dicht-haar-ig'), *Os* Ty qoɣʷ optəp ko, *Os* D xōw uptəp ikə 'langhaariger Mann' ¶¶ *Lh.* PUAS 241-9, *Gy.* WBU 19ff., *Coll.* CG 263, *UEW* 343, *TI* 773, *Sauer* NBO 57-62 || **A** *-ba/*-bä > *Tg*: *WrMc* -ba / -be, *sx* of quality adjectives used for persons: *sere-be* 'umsichtig, behutsam' (from *sere-* 'fühlen, empfinden'), *kice-be* ({Z} кицэ-бэ) 'fleißig, emsig' (from *kice-* [{Z} кицэ-] 'sich anstrengen, erstreben'), *olxo-ba* 'aufmerksam, vorsichtig, behutsam' (from *olxo-* 'scheuen'), *orngo-ba* 'forgetful' (from *orngo-* v. 'forget'), *xaxi-ba* 'agile, prompt (der schnell arbeitet)' (of a person) (from *xaxi* 'quick'), as well as the final element of some *Tg* animal names, e.g. *kōrbe 'male reindeer' (*F* *N* ***korê** '≈ ε

deer, antelope', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Hr 585, 733, 738, 784, Z 382-3 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 240-1 (unc. hyp.: the Mc sx ← Ko paŋ ← Chn) ◇ It is possible that N ***bA** is a grammaticalized and contracted var. of N ***beʔy∇** '≈ body, self' (q.v. ffd.); this original meaning may be responsible for structures with internal genitive ***nu**, e.g. IE ***ełŋ-bʰo-s** 'deer' < N ***oʔêl∇ nu bA**, lit. 'deer's ***b∇**' (← 'deer's body'??) ◇ IS I 192-3 [no. 27]: IE, HS (? ***bA**, sx in the names of wild animals).

162. ₂ ***b∇**, pc. forming analytical (→ derived) nomina abstracta > IE: NaIE ***-bʰo-s**, ***-bʰā**, sx of abstract nouns (× N ***baXy∇** or ***baXi** 'abundant' [q.v.] × N ***b'i'gê** 'much') > Lt **tikýba** 'faith' (← **tikéti** 'to believe'), **senybé** ~ **†senóbé** 'antiquity' (← **senas** 'old'), Pru **paŋonbe** 'heathenism', OCS **ТАТЪБА** **tatъba** 'theft' (← **ТАТЪ** **tatъ** 'thief'), **ДРОУЖЬБА** **drúžъba** 'friendship', ChS **СѢТЪБА** **sětъba** 'sowing' (n. act.), Gk **φλῆναφος** 'idle talk' (cp. **φλῆνος** id. and **φληνύω** v. 'chatter, babble'), **κόλαφος** 'a buffet' (derived from an unattested v.?) ¶ BD II/1 386-9, En. 218, StSS 197, 689-90 || K: [1] GZ ***-eba-** ~ ***o-oba-**, sx of abstract nouns > OG **-eb-a-** ~ **-ob-a-** id.: **orgul-eba-y** 'falsity', **ymrt-eba-y** 'divinity', **sam-eba-y** 'trinity', **ert-oba-y** 'Einheit' etc., Mg **-apa**, sx of nomina actionis (masdar): **rʕv-apa** 'pouring' (n. act.), 'to pour', **ckv-apa** 'praising' (n.), 'to praise'; [2] GZ ***-eb-**, sx of plural (← n. coll.) > OG, G **-eb-**, Mg **-ep-**, Lz **-(e)pe**; [3] GZ ***-eb-**, sx of the presentic (imperfective) tenses > OG **-eb-** (odes **igi aʒov-eb-da** 'while he was pasturing'), G **-eb-**, Mg **-ap-**, Lz **-ap-**; the latter sx is likely to go back to that of nomina actionis, because the presentic tenses must go back to paraphrastic constructions with deverbal abstract nouns ¶ Fn. GAS 50-1, Q 093, K 78, K² 48, Dn. DSM 43-66.

163. ₂ ***boʔ∇** 'to go' > HS ***baʔ-** (Blz.: ***bayʔ-**) v. 'go' > S ***-bāʔ-** v. 'come' > BHb ip. **-أبأ (-) (-) bōʔ-**: 3m **أبأ** **yā-bō** 'he will come, comes', 3p **yā-bōʔ-ū** 'they (will) come', inv. **أبأ bōʔ**, pf. **أبأ bā** 'he came', Ph, Pun **بʔ** v. 'come', Ug {OLS} ✓ **بʔ** 'enter, come, arrive', Ar pf. **bāʔa** / ip. **yā-būʔ-u** (with **ū** on the analogy of **لūل**-verbs) 'come back, return', {Nld.} **bāʔa** 'he\it entered' ([Hudh.] **bāʔa bi-kaffī** 'es kam in meine Hand'), Sb ip. **ybʔ** v. 'trespass over', pf. **bhʔ** v. 'enter' (with secondary **h**), Gz (prm.) **-bāʔ-** (js. **yā-bāʔ**) v. 'enter' (pf. **bōʔa** on the analogy of **لūل**-verbs), Ak p. **-bā(ʔ)-** (3s **i-bā**), inf. **bāʔu** v. 'come in, walk along' ¶ KB 108-110, HJ 146, Nld. rDelP 726, OLS 98-9, L G 114-15, BGMR 27, 33, Sd. 117, CAD II 178-82 || C {AD} ***baʔ-** v. 'go (away)' > Bj {R} ✓ **bʔ** pcv. 'go' (1s: p. **a'bāy** ~ **a'bē**, pqp. **ībē**, pres. **ēbī**), Bj Am {AD} p. **-bi(y)-** v. 'go',

pres. -ēbi, inv. 'baya || EC: Or {Grg.} baʔa 'go away, go out', Brj {Ss.} ba- v. 'go out, go up' (< EC *baʔ- > EC *baħ- [> Af baħ-īt- 'lose all the animals', Sml baħ-, Arr {Hw.} beh- 'go out']), Sd {C} ba- v. 'go away', Hd Lb {Bnd.} baʔe v. 'go', ʔ Af {R} ba- v. 'go away', ? Af {PH} ōbe v. 'go down' || Dhl {To.} bayóni 'let us go!', {EEN} bay- or bay- 'go home' ¶ Grg. 23, PH 177, Hw. A 347; ≠ AD SF 318-19 and Ss. B 30-1 (both reconstructed *baħ-), To. D 151, EEN 33 || Om *b- v. 'go' > SOm: Dm {Fl.} b / b d v. 'go' || NrOm: Wl {LmS} b-, Zl {C} ba- v. 'go', Bsk {C} ba- 'go out' ¶ Fl. OO 318, LmS 311, C SE III 114 || Ch: WCh: Su {J} bā v. 'return, go away', ? Ang {Flk.} bē v. 'return', Tng {Sh.} bā, {IL} bā, Klr {J} bō, Wrj {J} bu-, Cg {ChC} bā-, Kry {ChC} b3-, bū-, My {ChC} b3-, bu-, Mbr {ChC} bū-, Jmb {ChC} bō- 'come', NrBc {Sk.}: Kry, My, Mbr, Jmb ba- v. 'go', Dr bI v. 'go away', as well as probably Cg, Kry, My bō- v. 'go out', Sir bē-, Mbr bā- v. 'go out' (Stl. ZCh 157 [no. 108] reconstructed here WCh *m|H-ba w v. 'return' and equated it with Ar ✓ b w ʔ, interpreted by her as v. 'return') || CCh: Tr {Nw.}, Pdl {ChL} ba 'come' | BM {ChL}: Klb bīyá, Hld bīy3r/bīy3rī v. 'go', Mrg ba v. 'go out' | McMtk: Gzg D {Lk.} be v. 'go out', MfG {Brr.} -b- id. | McMs: LamP pa, Zm {J} pá, ZmD {KNC} pā v. 'go out' || Ech: Mu {J} bōw / bā v. 'go, go away', Skr {Lk.} bā, bē, {Sx.} bēy v. 'go', Ke {Eb.} bī- 'come' ¶ JI II 82-3, 162-5, ChC, ChL, J S 58, Lk. ZSS 30-1, KNC 20, Eb. s.v. bī- || D *pō- ({ʔGS} *p-) v. 'go' > Tm pō, Ml pōka, Tu pōpini v. 'go, go away', Td pīʔ-/pīʔ-, Kdg pōʔ-, Tl pōv u / pō- / pōy- v. 'go', Kn pō 'going, departing', Knd, Png pōk-, Mnd pūk- v. 'send' ¶¶ D no. 4572, Zv. 64, 86, ≠ Km. 443 [no. 892] (pSD *pō-, *pō-k-a < *poku).

164. *on., id.* *bûʔ 'blow, inflate', (→ ?) 'swell' > IE: NaIE *bʰōy-/ *bʰay- v. 'blow' > Gk φῦσα 'a wind, blast, wind in the stomach' ('Hauch, Blase'), pl. 'a pair of bellows', Gk I φῶδες, Gk A φῶδες 'blister from burning', Gk φαῖσες, φαῖσες id. ¶ P 98-9, F II 1055, 1057, ≠ Ch. 1183, 1236, F II 998, 1055-7 || HS: CS *✓bʷy (or *✓bʷy) v. 'swell' > BHb בנה ✓bʷy G (ip. 3f תבנה תי-b'ē) 'bring (water) to the boil' (of fire), JA [Trg.] בנ' ב'ē 'Aufschwellung' (in metaphorical usage: r m w t ʔyryy wby l b' 'Hochmut und Aufschwellung des Herzens) ¶ KB 136 (the Hb ✓ is equated with Ar ✓ b ʷy, which is translated as 'anschwellen [Wunde]', while its real meaning is {BK} 'dépasser/excéder les limites, sortir des bornes'), KBR 141, Lv. T I 106, BK I 147 || K *bu(w)- > G Kx bu(v)- 'aufschütteln (z. B. Kissen)', (ps.) 'aufgeschüttelt werden' (Kissen), 'an-, aufschwellen, sich aufblähen, sich aufplustern' ¶ Chx. 115 ◇ The

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

164a. *bEbṽṽ 'lip(s), mouth' > **HS**: NrOm: Gdc bādde, Zs {Bnd.} baḍe, {C} bādē 'mouth', Gnj {Fl.} poḍoro, Hrr {CR} poḍuro, Gcm {Si.} poṭo'rō, Krt {Si.} ṽoḍḍoro, Bdt {C} poḍurō 'lip' ¶ Fl. OWL, C SE III 201, CR H 656, C SO 62, Si. ACh 17 || ? B *°-būḍ- > Kb a-βuḍ 'goulot (d'un pot), bec de cafetière' ¶ Dl. 12, NZ 28 || **U** *°pEptṽ (or *°pEpšṽ) > Sm {Jn.} *peptān ~ *piptān, {Hl.} *pepten ~ *pipten 'lip' > Ne Т пибтя', Ne F {Lh.} pīb_ī'i ɘ pīpī'īn 'lower lip', En X {Cs.} fiteṽ, En B {Ter.} pite, {Cs.} piteṽ, Ng {Prk.} fēb_tin, {Cs.} feábter, {Mik.} 'hept+n, Mt M {Hl.} höbten ~ hibten, Mt K höbtet 'lip'; d.: Slq: Tz {KKIH} peptái, Ke {Cs.} peptei, UO {Cs.} peaptái, NP pepti 'chin' ¶ Jn. 122, Ter. 261, KKI 148, Cs. 71, 95, 165, Hl. M 247 [no. 307] || **D** *pet- 'lip' > Tl pedavi id., Klm, Nkr pedave, Nk peddave, Gdb pedave ɘ pedive, Gnd pilivi ɘ pilvī, Knd bedve id., Klm peddēl 'lips' ¶¶ D no. 4400 || **A**: T *biḍik (*mḷiḍik) 'moustache' (× N *bur_u,dṽ'g'ṽ [~ *bar_u,dṽ'g'ṽ?] 'facial hair, animal's body hair, down' × *P_utṽ 'feather, hair', q.v.) > OT biḍiq, MQp XIII biyiq ~ miyiq, Chg ≥xv biḡ ~ miḡ, XwT, OOsM ≥xv biyiq, Tk biyik, Δ buyiq ɘ miyiq, Ggz biyik, Az biṽ, Δ buṽ, CrTt biyiq ~ miyiq, Kr Cr miyuq, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Uz Δ Qrg, StAlt miyiq, VTt, Bsh mbyḡq, Chv ма́йах mbyḡḡ 'moustache', Yk bitik id., 'beard' ¶ The pT cns. *-ḍ- is likely to belong to the heritage of N *bur_u,dṽ'g'ṽ ¶ Cl. 301, ET B 304, TL 223-4, Rs. W 73, Ash. VIII 291, Fed. I 346-7, Jeg.130 || ?ḡ Tg *pej'u'-n 'lip' > Ewk h3jun 'upper lip', Lm hujin, Neg x3jun 'lip (of a reindeer, elk etc.)', Orc xuḡ3 'soft internal side of cheeks and lips' ¶ STM II 360 ◇ ??σ,μ: A very dubious cognate: Eg G bbt 'Kehle, Kehlkopf' (metanalysis from *bbt < *bbṽ) (see EG I 455) ◇ B and T suggest N *b-, the cs. p- (< *p-?) in some NrOm lges may be due to as. N *b...ṽ > *p...ṽ. Tg *pej'u'-n (if it belongs here in spite of the unexplained palatal voiced *-j-) points to an ancient *p- or *p- (suggesting an assimilation *b...ṽ > *p|p...d). Sm provides evidence for a post-N cluster *-PT- from N *-bṽṽ-, which may account for the long *ū in B (*°-būḍ- < **-buṽḍ- < **-bubḍ-). The rounded vw. in NrOm, B and Orc may be due to the infl. of the adjacent labial consonant(s) ◇ Blz. L no. 112g and Blz. DA 153 [no. 10] (NrOm, D).

165. id. *biḡṽ ~ *biḡṽ 'small, little' > **HS**: S: [1] S *°✓bḡḡ ~ *°bḡḡ > Ar ✓bḡḡ 'donner fort peu de qch. à qn', baḡḡ-at- 'parcelle' (mā fī-l-mādi baḡḡa 'il n'y a pas une étincelle, un brin de feu dans les cendres'), and

[2] S * $\sqrt{b\hat{c}r}$ > Ar baḥḥ - 'petite quantité'; there is also a CS root * $\sqrt{b\hat{c}r}$ v. 'be(come) small', but it either goes back to or is contaminated with S * $\sqrt{b\hat{c}r}$ v. 'cut off' (< N *bṇṇ'ṇ, Rṇ 'to cut', q.v. ffd.) ¶ BK I 131, 133, Lv. I 252, Br. 86, DM 68, KB 122 || U: FP *piććṇ 'small, tiny' > Krl pićuk·ajni 'tiny', Vp S piću 'small', Es pişikene, pišune id., with a suffix -k-: F pišku, Vp pišk 'small' | Vt пи́чи pići 'small, little' ¶ SK 578, LG 226 || A *biḥḥ'ṇ > NaT *biḥḥ'ṇ 'small, little' > OT biḥḥ id., Tv би́че biḥe 'small, smaller', Tf bićće 'small', ET pišā 'a little, ein wenig' ¶ DTS 98, Ra. 162, TvR 105 || M *biḥi-qan > WrM {MED} biḥi-qan 'small, tiny, little', HIM бяцхан {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'un peu', Brt би́шыхан 'small, little', Kl {KRS} би́чкн adj.'small, few', adj. and adv. 'little', {KW} bićkṇ 'klein, wenig; etw. weniges, sehr kleines', Ord biḥ'axan 'petit, jeune, un peu' ¶ MED 102, BMR I 319, Chr. 95-6, KRS 101, KW 47, Ms. O 71, Vld. 127 || D *pīćć-/ *piñḥ- ({ḡGS} *p-) 'small' > Ml pīccā, pīccan 'what is small', Kn pīcu 'shortness, smallness', piḥce 'shortness or deficiency in measure and weight', Tu pīricilə 'thin, slender', Tl piḥc 'low; short, deficient' ¶¶ D no. 4214a || ?σ K *biḥ- > Lz biḥ-i 'boy, son' ⇨ G biḥ-i 'boy, young man' (Marr 131, Chx. 88, ≠ K 52 [G biḥ-i 'boy' * ⇨ K *biḥ- v. 'break into pieces, crumble']), unless the word is a loan from Arm բիժ biḥ 'illegitimate child' (Ach. I 475) or from Osm biḥ id. (Bu. I 324), cp. OG biḥ-i 'illegitimate child'. Coalescence of K *biḥ- and the loanword cannot be ruled out ◇ IS I 178-9 [no. 11] (*biḥ'ā: FU, A, D). This N stem may be connected with *bṇṇ'ṇ, Rṇ 'to cut' (q.c. ffd.) ◇ K *biḥ- (if it belongs here) points to N *biḥ'ṇ, while the Ar words suggest coexistence of two variants of the pN etymon.

166. 2 *bṇṇ'ṇ, Rṇ 'to cut' > HS: S * $\sqrt{b\hat{c}r}$ > BHb $\sqrt{b\hat{c}r}$ G 'gather grapes, cut off grape clusters'; (× N *biḥ'ṇ ~ *biḥ'ṇ 'small, little'): JA $\sqrt{b\hat{c}r}$ G 'be cut/diminished', JEA $\sqrt{b\hat{c}r}$ G 'be diminished, diminish', SmA $\sqrt{b\hat{c}r}$ D 'diminish', JA, Sr bə'sīr, bə'sīr-ā 'klein, parvus, minutus', MHb $\sqrt{b\hat{c}r}$ G 'wenig haben'; SmA bṣur 'vintage' (⇨ BHb בָּצִיר bā'ḥīr id.?) ¶ KB 142, KBR 148, GB 109-10, Js. 185, Sl. 229-30, Tal 110-11 || K: G basr- 'zerschneiden' ¶ Chx. 68 ¶ De-affricatization *ḥ' > s in a cns. cluster?.

167. *bočā '(young) deer' > K * $\sqrt{bo\check{c}}$ - > G boč-iḥ-i 'one-year-old deer', boč-ola 'one-year-old calf' ({DCh.} 'зимовальный теленок') ¶ Chx. 100, DCh. 115 || U *počā 'deer' > FP: pLp {Lr.} *pōcōj 'reindeer' > Lp: N {N} boazo, bōc'cu- ~ bōwcu- '(tame) reindeer', S {Hs.} buvdje, L {LLO}

рѣсѡу, K {Gn.} роаз, T {Gn.} роазај id. | Chr L пѣчѡ рѣчѡ, H пѣчы
 пуѣъ, U рѣчѡ 'deer' | Vt Sr пуѣу id. || ? Sm: Kms роѣду 'goat, *Capra*
sibirica', Koyb {Klp.} роѣо 'Ziege', {Pl.} роѣто '*Cervus capreolus*' || ??
 Y: K {IN UJ} реѣа, {Krn.} рѣеѣ, {Iox.} рѣеѣ 'elk', {Iox.} рѣу l
 'Schutzgeist der Elentiere'; this word is not rgstered in IN H ¶¶ Coll. 6, It.
 no. 130, UEW 387-8, Sm. 553 (FP *роѣа 'reindeer'), LG 218, Lr. no. 967,
 Lgc. no. 5115, Hs. 393-4, ≈ IN UJ 274 (unc.: Y реѣа ÷ F реуа 'deer'),
 Ang. 208-9, Krn. JJ 283, ≈ Rd. UJ 42 [no. 46] (Y ← U) || A: Tg *bo|uṣan
 '(ε) deer' > Neg boṣan 'Manchurian deer (изюбр, *Cervus elaphus*
xanthopygus)', Orc buṣa(n-), Ul boṣa(n-) ~ buṣa(n-) id., Nn Nh boṣã, Nn
 Bk boṣa(n-) id. (unless ← Mc *bugu-ṣan ← бугу 'deer', as suggested in
 S CNM 10); ? WrMc {Hr} бучин ({Z} бучинь) 'hirschartiges Fabeltier
 mit langem Schwanze' (reinterpreted by folk et. as abbreviation from
 бучу 'deer' + тучинь 'beginning, origin'), ? Lm būṣṣn 'musk deer,
Moschus moschiferus' (a stem belonging to the closed-vowel harmonic
 type of stems, which still requires investigation) → Yk būṣṣān ~ bīṣṣān
 'musk deer' (ealier also '*Capreolus*' ?) → ? Ewk M/Tk bīṣṣān 'roe,
Capreolus' ; the route of borrowing may have been different as well: from
 an unknown Tg source to Yk and then to Lm and Ewk ¶ STM I 86, 101-2,
 On. 77, Z 527-8, 538, Pek. 481, JkR 90 ¶ Pek. (after Böhlingk) tried to
 explain the Yk word as a loan from M bicin ~ бечин, but the latter
 word means 'ape, monkey', and hence the hyp. is untenable || HS: ?σ S
 *✓bδχ > Ar baḏaḥ-, buḏḥ- 'lamb' (if *-δχ- < *-θχ-) ¶ BK I 100 || Ech: LI
 {Grgs} bīśī 'duiker' ¶ JI II 113 ◇ Cf. Coll. 143 (U~Tg) and UEW 387-8
 (U, incl. Y, connected with Tg and Yk). Some of the cognates may be
 loans from neighboring lges (Jk. 304 on Sm and Vt; RT HUA 243 on
 forms of the A lges; LCm. NLP 17) ◇ AD NM no. 38, S CNM 10.

168. *bič ▽ 'cut, crumble, crush' > HS: Ch mte.: Hs ḡāsā 𐰽 ḡāsā 'break
 off (branch or fruit)' || CCh: Mrg {Hf.} ḡācḡ 'break into small pieces' or
 ḡūṣḡ v. 'crumble', Gude {Hsk.} ḡacṣ vi./vt. 'break off part (of sth. soft)',
 ? ḡaṣṣ 'break off (edge\rim of sh.)', MfG {Brr.} -ḡāṣ- 'percuter, casser (un
 os\noyau)' ¶ Sk. HCD 30, 128, Abr. H 8, Hf. M 140, 148, 164, Hsk. 166,
 Brr. MG II 90 || K {FS, K²} *beč-/ *bič- v. 'crumble, break' > OG d. na-
 bič-/ na-bič-ev- 'crumb', Sv bičḡw-/ bečḡw- (UB ipf. bičḡwa, msd. li-
 bčḡw-e, pres. bičḡwe / -bučḡw, Ln pres. bičḡwe, ä-bčḡw, Ls pres.
 bučḡwe / -bčḡwe) {GP, TK} 'split', {K} 'break (bread, apple etc.)' ¶¶ K 56,
 K² 14, FS K 53, FS E 54-5, TK 155, GP 91-2, 148 || D {Km.} *pič- ({ḡGS}
 *p-) v. 'crush, knead, squeeze' > Tm pičai v. 'work with the thumb and

fingers in mixing, knead, squeeze or mash between the palms, crush and separate as kernels of grain from the ear', Ml piśitu 'husks of fruits', Kt pičk- v. 'squeeze, pinch', Knd hisi v. 'squeeze (a ripe fruit)', pisuku v. 'squeeze, press', Tu piskuni, pīsunī, Tl pisuku, Gnd pisk- id., Nkr pižg- v. 'knead', Prj pīč- v. 'grind', Gdb, Mnd pīč- v. 'milk', Png, Kui pīč- v. 'squeeze, milk', Ku pīč- id., v. 'press out', Krx pička'ānā v. 'press and bruise, flatten by crushing' ¶¶ D no. 4135, Km. 431 [no. 826] | | A *bi|Ič̥- > M *bičal- > WrM bicāl- {MED} 'smash, crush, squash into a pulp', HlM бяцла- {MED} id., {BMR} 'smash to pieces, zerstückeln, zerschlagen', Brt бисал- 'smash, crush' ¶ MED 101, BMR I 319, Chr. 95 | | T *bič- ~ *bič- v. 'cut; cut out a garment' (× N *mô'č|ś'̥, ∇, √ ∇ 'cut, cut into pieces, tear off' [q.v.]?) > OT bič- ~ bič- id., MQp XIII bič-, Tk bič-, Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Uz bič-, Bsh bbs- ~ bis-, VTt pьś-, Qq piš-, Qzq пиш-, StAlt b_Ič̥(I)-, Yk bis-, Tv b_Iš-, Tf bīš-, SY piš- id., Chv Δ {Ash.} пѣч- pьś/ž- v. 'saw' ¶ Cl. 292-3, ET B 158-61, Ra. 77, Ash. X 151 | | AdS of IE: NaIE *peḡs-/ *pis- v. 'crush, pound' (IE *p- rather than *b^h- may be explained by one of the IE incompatibility laws) < N *p̥'äy'ś'i' 'crush, break into pieces' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS I no. 12.

169. ₂ *b∇g'č̥' ∇ '≈ bad, wicked' > HS: S *^o✓bʏſ̥ > Ar baʏīſ̥- 'haï, détesté, devenu odieux à quelqu'un', ✓bʏſ̥ (pf. baʏuſ̥a ~ baʏiſ̥a) 'être haï, détesté' ¶ BK I 146 | | K *^obʏ'e'ž|z- > G Gr {Shar.} bʏzi 'злой' ('wicked, vicious'), {Ghl.} bʏizi, G Gr/Aj {Ghl.} bʏezi id., 'vicious dog' ¶ Shar. GL 11, Ghl. 99 ¶ The K parallel is acceptable if *bʏež|z- < *b∇ʏž|z- goes back to pre-K *b∇ʏč̥- (as. *-ʏč̥- > *-ʏz-) ◇ ≈ AD SShS 307 (suggesting connections with C, Ch, IE and A, better explainable as going back to N *buʔ, ∇, √ ∇ 'bad', q.v.).

170. *b'ʊ'č̥' ∇ '≈ to tear to pieces' > HS: CS *^o✓bſ̥ 'cut, tear to pieces' > Ar ✓bſ̥ G 'cut, split', Ug {A} ✓bṣ̣ 'zerreißen' (absent in OLS), BHb ✓bč̣ G 'cut off' ¶ A no. 562, Hv. 36, KB 141 | | K: G I buč- 'zerzausen' ¶ Chx. 125 | | U: Sm *puč̥ ∇- ≈ *poč̥ ∇- v. 'unrip (a seam)' > Ne T пудѣ-цѣ inf. 'to unrip' ({Jn.}: < *put̥b-s-), Slq Tz {Cs.} 1s aor. pot̥älnam, Slq Ke {Cs.} 1s aor. pocc̣au id., Kms {Cs.} 1s pres. phud(ʊ)lim 'unrip' ¶ Jn. 130 | | ? U *pož̥ ∇- 'split, divide' (× N *poḷiſ̥E or *poḷiſ̥E 'to split' [q.v. ffd.], if U *-ž̥- < **-ž̥- < as. N *-č̣-).

170a. ₂ *bAd ∇ 'many, multitude' > HS: EC: Sa {R} bač- 'be rich', Or {Grg., Sr.} bač-āč- id., {Grg.} bada 'very', Sml badi- 'increase', badan 'most; very, quite', ? Sml J bazáŋ, Bn báda 'many', ? Sml bayddi, ? Sd bata

'wealth'; C $\rightarrow$ Tgr {R} bədədə bələ 'abundavit' ¶ R S II 71, ≈ R WB 90, Lm. Sh 281, Hn. S 53 (pSam *bat-an 'many'), ZMO 26-7, 35, Grg. 30-1, Sr. 269, Gs. 34 || Om: NrOm: Shn {Lm.} bōd- 'be enough', Kf {Msr.} bēdō 'sufficienza' (unless $\leftarrow$ bēdō 'arrivo') || SOm: Bako {Fl.} bēdi-mi, Ari G/U {Fl.} bēdi 'many' ¶ Lm. Sh 281, Msr. 214, Fl. OWL || ECh: Bar {AF} batá 'viele', ?φ Mkl bādà(η) 'beaucoup, abundant' || WCh: ?φ Mbr {ChC} bádli 'much' ¶ The glottalized b̥ in Mkl and Mbr still defy explanation (if these words with b̥ belong here) ¶ J LM 72, Lk. ZSS 51, ChC s.v. 'many' ¶¶ ≈ Tk. LAA-I 107 [no. 23] || D: [1] D *paṭ- 'multitude, crowd' > Tm paṭaṭ 'crowd, army, battle', Ml paṭa 'army, battle', Td paṛ 'crowd', Kn paḍe 'multitude, host, army', Tu paḍæ 'multitude, mob, army', Tl paḍava 'battle' || [2] ?σ D *pāṭi 'extent, size' > Kn pāṭi id., Tl pāṭi id., 'magnitude', Kt paṭy 'size, strength equal to what must be done' ¶¶ D nos 3860 and 4067 || ? A: M: [1] M *badara- (× N *mAt∇d∇ or *mAd∇t∇ 'to stretch' and possibly N *p.aṭX∇ 'to be open, to open') > WrM {MED} badara- 'spread, expand', 'develop'; flow\open' (of flowers), HIM бадра- {MED} id., {BMR} vi. ;prosper, flourish, develop, spread', Brt бадар- 'spread, expand; prosper', Kl {Rm.} badr- 'sich ausbreiten', Kl {KRS} бадар- 'open' (of flowers), 'prosper', Kl {Rm.} badr 'breit, weit', Ord b_ad_ara- 'se repandre en loin, se propager, flamber' || [2] M *badayira- > WrM {MED} badayira-, HIM {MED, BMR} бадайра-, Brt бадайр- 'become swollen\inflamed', Ord b_ad_āra- 'être un peu enflé'; WrM {MED} badayr, HIM {MED, BMR} бадайр n., adj. 'swelling, swollen', Ord b_ad_ār 'légère enflure' ¶ MED 66, BMR I 212-13, Chr. 76, KRS 76, KW 27, Ms. O 42. ◇ ≠ Blz. KM 129-30 (equating the C, SOm and Mkl words with the C, IE, K and T reflexes of N *b'a't∇ '≈ luck, good', q.v.), ≠σ Blz. LNA no. 3 (equating HS with the K and IE reflexes of N *b'a't∇ '↑' and with the A reflexes of N *būd_∇_∇ 'be thick').

171. *bed'ê 'to pierce, to prick' > HS: Ch: CCh: Mrg {Hf.} bdà v. 'sting' (bee), 'kick' (donkey) || WCh: Bg {Sh. in ChC} bwat v. 'pierce' ¶ Hf. M 28, 118, ChC s.v. 'pierce' || EC *✓bd > Af {R} bōd- vt. 'split, open', Sa {R} bōd- vt. 'open', Sd {Mrn.} bad-, {L} badi- v. 'separate, divide' ¶ AD SF 238, R A II 33, R S II 71 and 450 || NrOm: Kf {C} bad-, Mch {L} badda- v. 'split wood' ¶ C SE IV 410, L M 21 || K: G bedek̆i 'cleft, rift' ('расселина'), bedena 'difference' ¶ Chx. 74-5, DCh. 102 || IE *bʰedʰ- v. 'pierce, prick, dig', {EI} 'dig, burrow' > L fōdiō, -ěre / pfc. fōdī / sup. fōssum 'dig' ($\leftarrow$ 'pierce, prick'), fōdicā- 'prick, dig' || Clt {Matas.}

*bedo- 'grave, ditch' > Gl BEDVM 'canal, fossé', MW, W bedd 'grave', Crn {ECCE} bēth, MBr, Br bez 'grave, tomb' || Lt inf. bēsti (pres. bedu) 'to stick, to dig (potatoes), to butt', int. badyti 'to prick, to poke, to stick', Ltv Δ {ME} inf. best (pres. bedu) 'to dig', Ltv int. inf. badīt 'to butt, to gore, to poke' || Sl *bod- (inf. *bos'ti / 1s pres. *bōd-q) v. 'stab, prick' ('stechen') > OCS inf. БОСТИ bosti / 1s pres. БОДѦ bod-q 'stechen, колоть', Blg бода, SCr inf. bōsti / 1s pres. bōdēm, Slv inf. bósti / 1s pres. bōdem, OCz inf. bósti / 1s pres. bodu 'stab, prick' ('stechen', P inf. bóść / 1s pres. bodę v. 'push with horns, goad', Uk inf. БОС'ти / 1s pres. 'боду, R Δ inf. БОС'ти v. 'push with horns', R (← int.) inf. БОДАТЬ 'to gore' || Tc A pāt- v. 'plough' || Ht padda v. 'dig', pattessar 'excavation, hole, pit' ¶¶ Ts. W 62, CHD P 235-7, EI 159 (*b^hed^h- 'dig, burrow'), P 113-14, WH I 521-2, Billy 24, LP § 43, YGM-1 42, Ern. 65-6, Hm. 80, ECCE 214, Frn. 41, ME I 280-1, ESSJ II 222-3, StSS 99, SPS I 339-40, Glh. 142, Wn. I 354, Matas. E 60 || U: FU *peðe- v. 'prick, pierce' (× N *P_{ed}∇,g∇ 'to break, to tear, to wound' [q.v.]?) > Lp: N {N} bæððâ- / -ð-, L {LLO} pātāt v. 'prick, make a hole in' || ObU {Ht.} *pēð- (actually *pēð|l-) 'stechen' (× FU *pel∇- 'stechen') > pVg *pīl- id. > Vg: LK/MK pīl- / pīl-, UK pīl-, P/LL pēl- / pel-, NV/ML/UL/Ss pēl-; pOs *pel- ({fHl.} *pāl-) id. > Os: V/Vy/O pel-, Ty/Y pāð-, D/Nz pet-, Kz peð- ¶ Coll. 74, Coll. CG 410 (*peðä-), Sm. 547 (FU, Ugr *pedä-, FP *pedV- 'prick'), LLO 807, Ht. 174 [no. 488], Hl. rHt 71, ≠ UEW 371 (equating ObU with Er peíe-, Mk päíe- [sc. päíə-] 'bohren', reconstructing FP *pel∇- 'stechen' and leaving Lp bæððâ- & pātāt unexplained) || D (att. in SD) *pett- ({θGS} *p-) v. 'prick, insert' (× N *P_{ed}∇,g∇ '↑') > Kn pettu v. 'push penis into vagina', Krg hețtu v. 'prick' ¶ D no. 4390, Km. 435 [no. 845]; on stem-final gemination in SD see Km. 137, 173 ◇ FU and D go back to the merger of N *bed'ê' and N *P_{ed}∇,g∇ '↑' (q.v.) due to the loss of glottalic opposition in the U and D initial stops.

172. *'b'ed∇ 'back of sth.' > U {UEW} *peðpā 'shoulder blade' > Lp: N {N} bæð'be / -ðb-, L {LLO} pier'pē ~ pār'pē id. || Sm: Ne: T O {Lh.} pir'be, F P {Lh.} pi'áme 'withers, a hump between the reindeer's shoulder blades' ¶¶ UEW 369 ¶¶ U *peðpā is likely to go back to a d. or cd || D *peṭa ({θGS} *pid-) 'back side of sth.' > Tm piṭar, piṭari, Ml piṭari, Kt peṭal 'nape of the neck', Tm piṭarṇku 'back of a blade\weapon', Kn peṭa 'state of being behind or after; the back; backwards', Kdg paḍa maṇḍe 'back of the head', paḍaneṭṭi 'nape of the

neck', Tu pɛɖaŋgɔ 'behind the back', Tl pɛɖa 'hinder, back', Prj piɖtɛl 'behind, after' ¶¶ D no. 4146 || HS *b'u'd- 'back' > EC: Or M {LLC} bōda adv. 'back', Or {Brl.} bōda 'back (dos), hind quarters; hinder back', {Grg.} bōda 'after(wards)' || SC {E} *bídu 'buttocks' > Kz bulituko 'woman's garment covering the hips', SC ⇨ Mb ~búru 'goat's tail' ¶ Brl. 59, Grg. 55, LLC s.v. bōda, E SC 140 (SC *÷ Dhl buɖuɔ- v. 'run away' and Kz bulum- v. 'bend over') || SOm: Ari J {Blz. ← Bnd.} bud 'upper back', Hm {Bnd.} bud-i 'back' ¶ Bnd. AL 144, Blz. OLBP no. 6 || Ch: WCh: Cp {ChC} bɛ̀dɛr 'buttocks', Ang {ChC} bɛ̀dɜr 'anus' || less plausible: ?? ECh: Tmk {Cp.} bɛ̀d, NdD {J} báɖ 'arm' (if ← 'shoulder') ¶ Cp. 48, ChC s.v. 'anus' || ?σ ES *būd- > Oak, Ak fOB buɖ-um, Eb {Krb.} bu-ɖum 'shoulder' ¶ Sd. 136, Krb. EG 36 ◇ Blz. DA 155 [no. 26] (D, HS), Blz. OLBP no. 6, Blz. NDA no. 26 (D, HS).

173. *bod 'body, belly' > HS: WS *badan- 'body' > Ar badan- 'corps, tronc', Mh bɛ̀dɛn 'body', Hrs bɛ̀dan, Jb C 'bɛ̀dɛn (df. ɛ̀dɛn) id., Gz badn 'corpse, dead body' ¶ BK I 98, Jo. M 43, Jo. H 15, L G 87, MiK I no. 1.31 || AdS of Ch {Stl.} *buɖ 'belly, womb' (× N *buɔɖ 'the hinder part of a quadruped's body, the lower part of a human body, bottom', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ IE: NaIE *bʰudʰ-men 'lower part, bottom' (× N *buɔɖ '↑' [q.v. ffd.] × N *bod accounts for IE *-dʰ-) || A *boda 'body', (?) 'belly' > T *bōd 'body', 'stature' > OT bōd 'stature (height of a person)', Tkm, Az boy, Tk boy, SY pōz 'stature, body', Chv пý pü ~ пѣв pьv 'Rumpf, stature of body (height), стан'; (× N *mutʔ 'man, person', q.v. ffd.): NaT *bōd 'self' ¶ Cl. 296-7, 306 (without distinguishing this word from OT Og [MhK] بوى bōy 'clan, tribe' and OT [MhK] bōdun 'people'; unj. rec. of a long vw. ō on the only basis of the *plene* spelling in Arabic script), DTS 107-11, ET B 176-9, Rl. IV 1282-3, Ra. 164, BT 32, MKD 75, Rs. W 77, Dr. TM II no. 812, S AJ 196 [no. 247], Ash. X 71-2 and 186, Fed. I 416, Jeg. 170-1, ChVS 551 || M: **[1]** M *boda 'a head of cattle (cow, ox, horse, camel)' > MM [S] bōdo 'Stück Vieh', WrM {MED} bōda ~ bōdu, HIM {MED, BMR} бод 'large cattle (horses, cows, camels etc.)', Kl {KRS} бод, {Rm.} bōd id., Ord b_ōd_ō 'pièce de gros bétail (chevaux, bœufs, chameaux)'; **[2]** M *boda 'body; object, substance' > MM [S] bōdo 'Objekt', WrM {MED} bōda, HIM {MED, BMR} бод 'substance, matter, body', Kl {KRS} бод 'the true essence, reality, substance', {Rm.} bōd 'das richtige Wesen, Essenz, Realität'; WrM bōdas (pl. of bōda) 'body' ¶ S AJ 241 [no. 166], MED 108, BMR I 252, H 16, KW 48, KRS 103, Ms. O 72 || pJ

*bàtā 'entrails' ({SDM} 'intestines, belly') > OJ wata {S} 'entrails', J: T/Kg wátá, K wátà {Kenk.} 'entrails, guts', Ns wátá, Sh wátá, Ht bàtá, Y bàtā id. ¶ S AJ 269 [no. 121], S QJ no. 121, Mr. 569, Kenk. 2135 ¶¶ SDM 365 (pA *bòda 'body, intestines, belly' > M *boda 'substance, matter, body', T, J), SDM97 s.v. *bòda, KW 48, Rm. EAS I 57, Rs. W 77 (T, M), S AJ 279 [no. 113], Pp. VG 21, 53, TL 266 || D {tr.} *poṭṭṭṭṭ, {GS} *poṭ- 'belly, stomach' > Kn poṭṭṭe id., 'womb', poḍe, puṭṭṭi 'belly', Tl poṭṭṭa, Klm, Nkr, Prj poṭṭa id., Nk poṭ(ṭ)a, Gnd po(ṭ)ṭ, paṭṭa 'belly, stomach', Knd poṭa 'stomach', Png pōṭo, Mlt puṛa-~puṭṭa- 'belly', Krx poṭṭā 'bowels, entrails' ¶¶ D no. 4494, GS 71 [no. 230] ◇ On IE *b^hu- from N *bo- see Introduction, § 2.4.

174. ₂*būd_L∇_L∇ 'be thick' > HS: S: Ar ✓ b d ṣ G 'be(come) fat\ corpulent', b d ṣ- 'full' (of body), {DRS} b d ṣ-, b a d ṣ-, b a d ī ṣ- 'dodu, gros', ?? b d ṣ- 'corpulent, fat' ¶ DRS 46, Ln. 16O, Hv. 24 || A *būd∇- > M *būdūṣün 'thick' > MM [MA] b d ū : n 'thick', [IM] بیدون {Pp.} b d ū : n 'coarse (грубый)', [IsV] بیدون {Lg.} b d ū : n 'thick (épais, gros)', [L] {Pp.} بیدون b d ū : n or b e i d ū : n 'dick, grob', WrM {BMR} b ū d ū ḡ ū n, HlM БУДУУН {BMR, Luv.} 'thick, coarse', {Kow.} 'gros, grossier, épais', {MED} 'large, huge, big', Kl {KRS} БУДУН 'thick, stout', {Rm.} būdūn 'grob, dick', Brt БУДУУ(Н) 'thick, stout', MMgl b e i d ū : n 'thick', Mgl {R} b e i d ū : n 'dick, grob', Mnr H {SM} b _ u d _ i n 'gros', {T} bidun 'thick', Dx b i e d u n, Dg budūn 'thick, coarse', Ord b _ ū d _ ū _ n 'gros, grossier'; M ⇨ Y k bōdōṅ 'big, large, coarse' ¶ Pp. MA 119, 434, Pp. L II 1267, Lg. VMI 2O, MED 144, BMR I 3O1, Kow. 1232, Chr. 121, KRS 126, KW 66, Ms. O 1O1, SM 31, T 317, T DnJ 112, T DgJ 128, Rm. M 23, Iw. 9O, Pek. 517-18 || T *būḍū- (× N *bêžU (Lq∇_L) or *bêž_L∇_Lq∇ 'big, high') > Tk b ū ṣ ṣ - {Thms.} 'grow, grow up; rise; become wider', Az böyü-, Kr K buyu- id.; ⇨ T *būḍū-k 'big, large, high' > Osm büyük id., Tk b ū ṣ ṣ k 'large, high', Ggz būk, Az böyük, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Qrg biyik, StAlt piyik 'large', Tkm beyik 'high, great', VTt Бөек, Bsh Бөһөк 'great', Kr K büyük, StAlt Δ müzük ({Vrb.} mūzük), Xk pōzik 𐌕 müzik 'high' ¶ S AJ 175 [no. 5], ET B 288-9O, Cl. 299, 3O2-3, Thms. 51, TrR 139, TtR 92, BR 111.

174a. *b∇d^hh^hE 'to plait' (→ 'net') > HS: CS *badd- 'woof' > BHb 𐎁𐎠𐎡𐎢 bad (pl. 𐎁𐎠𐎡𐎢 bad'd-īm) 'linen', JA 𐎁𐎠𐎡𐎢 bad'd-ā 'fine linen woof', ? Ar batt- (< *badd-at-?) 'a coarse garment' ¶ KB 1O5, Js. 138, Hv. 2O || K *bade- 'net, cobweb' > OG bade-y, G bade 'net', Lz boda- 'netting for picking fruits', Sv UB/L/Ln bād, Sv L bad {TK, Dn., GP} 'net', {K²} 'netting,

cobweb' ¶¶ K² 6, TK 14, GP 90, Dn. s.v. bad || A *b|p'Ut'ri' - v. 'bind' > M *büč'i 'band, ribbon' > MM бѹč'i 'braid, cord, belt', WrM бѹč'i ~ бѹč'e, HLM бѹч, Brt бѹшэ, Kl {KRS} бѹч büčə n. 'tie, ribbon, band; lace', {Rm.} büč'i 'kurze und breite Schnur oder Kantband, Band', WrO бѹč'i 'ribbon; cord, band', Ord б_үč'i ~ б_үč'e 'bande, ruban' ¶ MED 143, BMR I 311, Chr. 128, KRS 132, KW 70, Ms. H 44, Ms. O 108, Krg. 376 || NrTg *bot- > Ewk botō- v. 'tie together with a knot', Lm bətəb/p- 'be bound together' ¶ STM I 97 || pKo {S} *pith- 'be attached' > MKo pith-, NKO put- put- ¶ S QK no. 1100, Nam 275, MLC 846 ¶¶ SDM 376 (pA *bōt'é- v. 'bind' > Tg, M, Ko + unc. pJ *pəntək- 'untie'), DQA no. 215 ◇ Here Altaic *-t'- may be explained as going back to N *-dH-; the N lr. involved was lost in S, suggesting that it was *h or *ʔ (both of them are liable to be lost in S) ◇ S NSShS no. 1 (K, A).

174b. ₂ *bad_L∇_JX∇ 'be open' > HS: S *o✓bdh > Ar badaḥ- 'ouvert, patent', ʔabdaḥ- 'vaste, spacieux, overt de tous côtés' ¶ BK I 95 || WCh *o✓bd (≈ {Stl.} *bHd-) v. 'open' > Hs būḏē id. | Ang {ChC} bēt id. | Bl bīḏā, Krkr bāḏā, Ngm biḏa id. | Sy buḏē | Grm {Jgr} būdi v. 'open' ¶ JI II 264, Bar. 121, Abr. H 112-13, ChC s.v. 'to open', ChL, Stl. ZCh 144 || A: M *badara- (contamination with pA *padar- [> Tg *padar- 'stretch']; × N *patX∇ 'to be open, to open' × N *mAt∇d∇ or *mAd∇t∇ 'to stretch') > WrM badara- {MED} v. 'spread, expand', 'open' (of flowers), HLM бадра- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'develop, flourish', Brt бадар- id., Kl {Rm.} badrō- 'sich ausbreiten', Ord b_ad_ara- 'se répandre au loin, se propager' ¶ MED 66-7, BMR I 213, Chr. 76, ≈ KW 27 (trying to equate the Kl word with VTt and Qzq baytaq 'weit, ausgedehnt', which is probably a derivative from *bāy 'much, rich' [cp. ET B 28-9 s.v. баѣ - 'rich']), Ms. O 42.

175. (₂?) *bûd_L∇_Jq∇ 'be awake; feel, pay attention; be excited, be cheerful' > HS: CS *o✓bdh|χ v. 'amuse oneself' > JA, MHb ✓bdh v. 'be cheerful', Sr бѹḏā'h-ā {Br.} 'recreatio', {Sl.} 'cheerfulness' ¶ Br. 58, Js. 139, Sl. 185-6 || IE: NaIE *b^heuḏh- {P} 'wach sein, geweckt\geistig\rege sein' ({EI} IE *b^heuḏh- 'pay attention, be observant') (and the derived [caus.] NaIE stem {EI} *b^houḏ^heye/o- 'waken, point out') > OI 'bōdha-ti 'wakes, is awake, notices', Av baoditi 'nimmt wahr', baodah-, MPrs bōḏ 'awareness', KhS бѹ id., 'feeling' || Gk Hm, ππέυθουμα, Gk A πυνθάνουμα v. 'learn\hear (a th.)' ('erfahren') || Clt: Crn [χ] bōth, {ECCE} bōth n. 'will, consent', W bodd id., 'pleasure', OIr buide 'satisfaction, reconnaissance, faveur', NIr buidhe 'graciousness, kind-ness, thanks' ||

Gmc **biuðan* > Gt inf. *ana-biudan* 'entbieten, befehlen', ON inf. *bjóðan* '(an)bieten', OHG inf. *biotan* 'offerre, opponere, praeberere', NHG inf. *bieten*, OSx inf. *biodan*, AS inf. *béodan* 'to offer', NE *bid* || Lt inf. *būsti* / pres. *bundu*, Ltv Δ {ME} inf. *bust* / pres. *būdu* 'wake up, awake', Lt inf. *būdinti*, Ltv Δ inf. *budināt*, *budīt* vt. inf. 'to wake', Lt inf. *budėti* 'to be awake', *budrūs* 'vigilant, watchful' || Sl inf. **bъdě-ti* 'to be awake/alert' > OCS inf. **БЪДѢТИ** *bъdě-ti* / pres. **БЪЖДѢ** *bъždq*, Blg *бдя*, SCr inf. *бдѣти* & *bdjěti*, Slv inf. *b(e)děti*, Cz inf. *bdít* / 1s pres. *bdím* 'be awake/alert', {StSS} 'бодрствовать, бдѣть', Slk inf. *bdiet'* id., 'to observe', R † inf. *бдѣть* 'to be awake, to care for' || Sl caus. inf. **budí-ti* vt. 'to wake' > ChS inf. **БОУДІТИ** *budi-ti* / 1s pres. **БОУЖДѢ** *buždq*, R inf. *будить* / 1s pres. *буду*, Uk inf. *будити*, SCr inf. *būdi ti*, Slv inf. *budí ti*, Cz inf. *buditi*, Slv inf. *buditi*, P *budzic* 'to wake', Blg *будя* vt. 'wake' || Sl **bъdrъ* 'promptus, munter' > OCS **БЪДРЪ** *bъdrъ* id. ('прѣѣмъ', willing, бодрый) [e.g. Mc. 14.38], R 'бодрый', Uk бодрий, SCr *bàdar* 'full of energy, lively, alert', 'munter' || Sl **bǫsti* 'cavere, observare' > OCS **БЛЮСТИ** *bljusti* id., 'to see, to take care of; to guard', {StSS} 'смотреть, следить; охранять', SCr † *blǫsti* (1s pres. *blǫdēm*) 'to observe, to guard', R *блюсти* (1s pres. † *блюду*) 'to guard, to keep (laws, customs etc.)' ¶ P 150-2, EI 516, 636, M K II 449-50, M E II 233-5, Bai. 294, F II 625-6, LP § 43, Vn. B 113-14, Dnn. 97, YGM-1 49, ECCE 215, Fs. 41, Vr. 40, OsS 66, Ho. 19-20, Ho. S 7, EWA II 90-2, Kb. 83, Frn. 62, ME I 345, 356, ESSJ II 136-7, III 76-7, 109 and 111-12, Bern. I 96-7, 105-7, StSS 93, 102-3, SPS I 459-61, Glh. 127, 155 || ?σ D **puṭṭ* ({θGS} *p-, *-ḍ-) > Tm *puṭṭaṭ* v. 'utter a loud noise', Klm *poḍ-* (*poṭṭ-*) v. 'bark' (a dog), Ṭsa *poḍ-* v. 'whistle', Nkr *poṛ-* v. 'bark', Gdb *porp-* id. ¶¶ D no. 4254 || ?σ A **b|p'od|tU* 'think' (< N **bûd, ∇, X|q∇* 'feel, pay attention?') > M **bodu-* v. 'think, count' > WrM {MED} *bodū-*, HlM {MED, BMR}, Brt *bodo-* id., WrO {Krg.} *bodo-* 'think, guess', Kl {KRS} *bod-* v. 'suppose, guess', {Rm.} *bodo-* 'bedenken, in Betracht ziehen; nachdenken; zählen', Dg {T, Mrm.} *bodo-*, {Pp.} *bod_ō-* 'think', Ord *bod_o-* 'penser, réfléchir, supposer' ¶ MED 109, BMR I 253-4, Chr. 97, Krg. 350, KRS 104, KW 48, T DgJ 127, Ms. O 72, Klz. D I 115 || Tg **bodo-* (a loan from M?) > Ewk, Sln *bodo-*, Ork *bod(d)o-* 'think', Ud {Krm.} *bodo-* 'consider, think over, estimate', {STM} 'think, suppose (meinen), count', Nn Nh {On.} *bodo-* 'count, decide', WrMc {Z} *bodo-* 'think, count', Ul *bodo-* ~ *bodj-* v.

'count' ¶ STM I 88, Krm. 213, On. 70, Z 515 ¶¶ SDM97 (A*bu|ü dU 'think, intend').

176. *baHgü (= *baḥ|hgü?) 'forearm' > **HS:** WCh {Stl.} *ba-₁baka 'wing, arm' > pBT *ba¹k₁a 'arm', *b¹ak₁- 'wing' > Tng {J} paka 'hand, arm', Krkr {Lk.} bàk₁á₁ 'arm', Glm {Sch.} (kà)bàgá 'shoulder, wing', Krf {Sch.} kàbà₁á 'shoulder', NrBc: Kry {Sk.} pākè 'arm', AG: Kfr {Nt.} bàgàn 'shoulder' ¶ JI II 178, Stl. ZCh 146 [no. 15], Stl. VZCh B no-s 17 and 22, ChC, Sch. BTL 55, 81, Nt. 46, Nw. no. 147 || ?σ S: Ak bukār- {Sd.} 'Klöppel, Mörserkeule', {CAD} 'pestle' ¶ Sd. 136, CAD II 308 || **IE:** NaIE *b^hā^hg^hu-s 'elbow, forearm' ({EI} IE *b^hā^hg^hus or *b^heh_hg^hus '[fore]arm, foreleg') > OI bā^hh₁-₁ 'arm, forearm; forefoot (of quadrupeds)', Av bāzā₁-š 'arm' || Gk πῆχυς, Gk Ae/D πῆχυς 'forearm' || ON bógr (pl. bógu) 'arm, shoulder', OSx bōg 'Bug', OHG buog 'shoulder, rib; armus, suffrago', NHG Bu g 'shoulder joint', AS bōz 'shoulder, arm, branch', NE bough || pTc {Ad.} *poka₁- > Tc: A poke 'arm', B poko {Ad.} 'arm, (any) limb', (in cds) -poka₁ id. ¶ P 108, Dv. no. 267, EI 26, M K II 429, M E II 223-4, F II 531, Vr. 47, OsS 90, Ho. 29, Ho. S 8, Kb. 131, EWA II 443-5, Wn. I 381-2, Ad. 403, Ad. H 20, 22 || **A:** M *baguyu > WrM {MED} bagu(y), bugu(y) {MED} 'forearm, wrist, bracelet', HIM бугуѣ {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'distal end of the forearm', Kl {KRS} бугу 'bracelet', {Rm.} buṣū 'Armband der Frauen', Ord buḡū 'bracelet', MM [IM] بفر buḡū id., ?σ [S] buqaru 'Schandkragen'; AD LRC no. 85 adduced WrM bagal-cag 'wrist' and Turkic words: ET paqal-čaq 'shin', Uz baqaloq id. and Qrg baṣalek ~ baṣalaq 'the lower part of the trouser leg' ¶ MED 71, BMR I 279, KRS 115, KW 58, Ms. O 91, Pp. MA 433, H 21, Rl. IV 1438-9, Jud. 91 || **D** (in NED) *pak(k)- v. 'take into one's arms' > Krx pāk-nā / pakkyas v. 'take up into one's arms, take on one's lap', Mlt pake v. 'take in the lap' ¶ D *-k(k)- < N *- **Hg-** ¶ D no. 4050 ◇ If Ak bukār- belongs here, the N lr. *H is to be interpreted as *ḥ or *h (causing devoicing *g > *k in WCh and Ak) ◇ Gr. II no. 225 (*bogu 'joint') (IE, A, J, Ai).

177. ₂ *bû₁gE (more plausible than *bûHgE) 'stinging insect' > **IE:** NaIE *b^huḡ₁- 'insect' > Lt bužỹs id., Ltv ch. būza ~ buza, buzis 'louse' || ? eNE xvii bugge, bug 'insect, bug', NE bug ¶ ≈ WP II 117, ≈ Mn. 119, Frn. 29, OED I 1159-60 || **A** *bōge 'ε (stinging?) insect' > T *bōg 'ε insect' > OT {Cl.} bō:g 'poisonous spider, tarantula', Az bōv 'phalangid (a poisonous spider)', Tkm mōy id., Qrg böyü 'tarantula', Chv L паван pavan, Chv Δ pavan 'gadfly (*Tabanus*)' ¶ Rs. W 82-3, S AJ 198

[no. 271], AzRL I 313, Ash. X 99, Fed. I 394, Jeg. 146 || M *böxe-sün 'louse' > MM [S, HI, MA] bö₁esün, [IsV, L] bö:sün, WrM {MED} bögesü(n), HIM {MED, BMR} бөөс(өн), Brt бөөһэ(н), Kl {Rm.} böşü, Dx bosun, Ba bosun, Dg būs, Mnr H {SM} b_ōsa, ShY būsən, MMgl bösün id., Ord b_ōsü ~ b_ōs 'pou' ¶ MED 125, BMR I 276, Chr. 108, KW 53, SM 29, H 16, Ms. H 43, Ms. O 88, Pp. MA 123, Lg. VMI 21, Iw. 92 || Tg *bugu-tuna > Ewk bugūtuna 'gnat', WrMc {Z} бэ̄к̄т̄о 'gadfly' ¶ STM I 102, Z 488 || pJ {S} *pìwè-musi 'dayfly, ephemera' > MJ pìwòmúsì (cd with pJ *músí 'worm, insect' < N *mûs̄ ▽ 'insect, fly, ant', q.v.) ¶ S QJ no. 158O, Mr. 408 ¶¶ SDM 358 (pA *bīūgi 'insect' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 173, S AJ 294 [no. 500], Rs. W 82-3, KW 57, TL 184 ◇ N *y is tentatively suggested by the long vw. in T. It is more probable than N *H, because a preconsonantal *-ûH- would have produced a long vw. *ū in IE.

178. *bAga (or *bAxa?) 'be(come) visible, appear' > K *me-pχ-e 'clear sky, fine weather' > Lz mapχa-, Sv U/L mēpχe, LB/Ln mēpχe 'cleared up (sky), clear space' ¶¶ K *-pχ- < early K **-bɣ- (devoicing due to the infl. of K *pχ- 'be warm') ¶¶ K 133, K² 12O, ≈ Chik. 188-9, TK 57O, GP 218, Dn. s.v. māpχe || **HS:** S *^obɣw|y > Ar ✓ bɣw (pf. بَفا baɣā) 'sortir d'une embuscade et fondre sur sa proie' (hardly etymologically identical with ✓ bɣw 'dépasser, excéder les limites' < N *b'i'gê 'much') ¶ BK I 147 || **D** *pa₁al- ~ (>?) *payal- {ǵGS} *baɣal-) 'visible' > Kt baga₁ 'conspicuous' (of a view from a high place), Kn bayal, bayil, baylu 'conspicuousness, celebrity', Tu bayilə, bailə adj. 'public', Tl bayalu 'outside, exterior', 'clear, evident', Gnd bayul 'open space of ground', Knd baylu 'open space', Ku baylu 'maidan', bayalu 'field' ¶¶ The mysterious intervocalic cns. g in Kota resembles the hiatus-filling g in Hausa ¶¶ D no. 394O || **IE:** NaIE *b^hā- 'appear, become visible' (× NaIE *b^hē-/*b^hō-/*b^hə- 'glänzen, leuchten, scheinen' < N *beha [or *bāha?] 'shine, be bright') > Gk πεφήςεταλ 'will appear', φάινω (aor. ἔφηνα, Gk D ἔφᾶνα) 'cause to appear' || Arm բառամ̐ bana-m 'I open, I discover, I disclose' (← *'I make visible') || Clt *bāno- {Matas.} 'shining, white' > OIr 'white, shining' || ? Tc A pākär, Tc B pākri {Ad.} 'clear, obvious', {Wn.} 'ouvertement, publiquement', Tc B {Ad.} pākre '≈ in the open' ¶ EI 352-3, 513 (*b^heh₂- 'shine'), F II 982-4, Wn. I 350-1 (all of them do not distinguish this ✓ from *b^hē- 'shine, be bright'), Ad. 364, WP II 122-3, P 104-5, Matas. E 55 ◇ D *-[k¹]- = D {ǵGS} *-ɣ- as a reflex of N *-g- still needs elucidation ◇

An alt. rec.: N ***bAxa** > K ***me-pχ-e**, D ***pakal-**, IE: NaIE ***b^hā-** (without HS: S ***°b^hu^hu^h**) ◇ Qu. (the K, IE and Ar roots may be explained otherwise).

179. *b^hi^hgê 'much' > HS: Ch: CCh: FLM {ChL} **b^hāw**, Nz {ChL} **b^hāw**, {Mch.} **b^hāw** 'many' || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} **b^hāyā** id. || ?φ WCh: Wrj {Sk.} **b^hāk^h**, P' {MSk.} **b^hākū** id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'many', ChL III 19, 49 || ? S ***°b^hu^hu^h** > amb Ar **°b^hu^hu^h** ~ **°b^hu^hu^h** (pf. **b^hāw**, ip. **-b^hū**) 'dépasser, excéder les limites' (unless a sd. of **°b^hu^hu^h** ~ **°b^hu^hu^h** 'dévier') ¶ BK I 147 || AdS of Eg fOK **b^hāw** vi. 'be inundated, have abundance, be well-supplied' (< N ***b^he^hu^hu^h** 'to pour' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶¶ Eg, CCh and ECh may have contaminated with N ***baXy** or ***baXi** '≈ abundant' || K ***°be^hu^h-** > Mg **ba^hu(n)**, Lz **ba^hun** 'enough'; G **ba^h-** 'share' should be kept apart, because it is a loan from Iranian (cp. Av **ba^hga**, **ba^hga** 'share'), as indicated in Andk. Z 21; but the Mg and Lz words are semantically rather far from the Iranian word in question and hence should not necessarily be considered Iranisms ¶ Q 201, Chik. 282 || IE: [1] ≈ ***°b^he^hu^h-** and/or ***°b^ho^hu^h-** > Av **baē-var**, **baē-var** 'ten thousand, myriad', Phl **bēvar**, NPrs **bīvar** id., Oss: **bīrā**, D **berā**, **be^hwrā** 'many, much, very' ¶ Brtl. 913, Ab. I 262 || [2] one of the sources of ***-b^he^hu^h**, sx of abstract nouns preserved in Sl ***-ba** and Lt **-bē**, but the N etymon in question is only one of many possible sources of this abstract building (× N ***b^h** [particle of nomina abstracta] [q.v. ffd.] and N ***baXy** or ***baXi** '≈ abundant' [q.v.]) || D (in SD) ***pe^h-** ({^hGS} ***p-**) 'big' > Kt, Td **pe-** 'big' (D no. 4411), unless this is not a contraction of D ***per-** 'great, big' ◇ Since the Ar, the K and the alleged Kt-Td reflexes may be explained otherwise, the comparison is qu. ◇ ≠φ (⇔ Blz.) Lp N {N} **boaw^hje** 'gathering of near relatives; company, clique' (see N ***baXy** or ***baXi** '≈ abundant'; ≠σ (⇔ Blz.) Os V **pāy** 'hillock, heap, crowd of people' (the primary meaning is obviously 'hillock, heap') (see Coll. 74) ◇ IS I 193 [no. 28], ≈ Blz. L no. 107a (adding Irn and erroneously U).

180. *beha (or ***bāha?**) 'shine, be bright' > HS: S ***°b^hā^hu^h** (***°b^hh^hu^h**) > Ar **°b^hh^hu^h** (pf. **bāhā**, ip. **-bāhā** ~ **-bāhū**) v. 'be fine, shine' ¶ Ln. 269, Fr. I 168-9 || Eg G **bā^h** ({EG **b^hu^h**) v. 'shine' (sun, moon), 'light up (leuchten, erleuchten)' ¶ EG I 472, Tk. II 291 || C: Dhl {EEN} **bā^hā^h** v. 'shine', {To.} **būvad-** 'shine' (sun) || SC {E} **ba^h** v. 'glow' ⇨ Mb **-ba^hu** 'red' ¶ E SC 135, EEN 33, To. D 129 || IE ***b^he^hh^h-** / ***b^ho^hh^h-** / ***b^hh^hh^h-** ({EI} ***b^heh^h-** 'shine' ⇨ ? ***b^heh^h(e)s-** n. 'light') > NaIE ***b^hē-** / ***b^hō-** / ***b^hā-** 'shine (glänzen, leuchten, scheinen)' (× NaIE ***b^hā-** 'appear, become visible' < N ***bAga** [or ***bAxa?**] 'be[come] visible, appear') > OI **bāhā-ti** 'shines', **bāhā-** (in cds)

n. 'shine, light, brightness', Av $b\bar{a}$ - 'scheinen' (used with a px: $v\bar{i}$ - $b\bar{a}$ - 'leuchten'), $b\bar{a}m\bar{y}a$ - 'licht, glänzend', $b\bar{a}n\bar{u}$ - 'Licht, Strahl' || Arm $paw\bar{u}m$ $ba-na-m$ (NaIE $*b^h\bar{a}-n-$) 'I open, I discover, I disclose', aor. $pawgh$ $bač^h i$ || Gk $\pi\epsilon\varphi\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ 'will appear', NaIE $*b^h\bar{a}-n-$ in the present form $\varphi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ (< $*\varphi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$) 'bring to light, make appear', $\varphi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ (ipf. $\epsilon\varphi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\nu$, aor. $\epsilon\varphi\eta\nu\alpha$) 'come to light, am seen, appear; shine brightly'; Gk [Hs.] $\varphi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$ (pres. prtc. accus. sg. m. from $*\varphi\alpha-$ v. 'shine') || OIr $b\bar{a}n$ 'white' || Gt $band\bar{w}a$ (· $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\nu$) 'Zeichen', Gmc $*band\bar{w}jan$ > Gt $band\bar{w}jan$ (· $\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\sigma\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\nu}\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\mu\eta\nu\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu$) 'ein Zeichen geben, andeuten', ON $benda$ 'anzeigen, vorbedeuten' || Sl: HLs $bač$ so (pres. $ba\bar{j}u$) vr. 'to burn imperceptibly, to glimmer', LLs $bajaś$ se (pres. $ba\bar{j}om$) vr. 'to glimmer, to flare' ¶ P 104, EI 352, 513, Me. EAC 111, 154, M K II 493-4, M E II 259-60, F II 982-4, Vn B 13, Fs. 79-80, Vr. 32, ESSJ I 130-40 || U: FU $*pej\bar{a}$ ($\approx$ {UEW} $*p\bar{a}j\bar{\nabla}$) v. 'shine white', adj. 'white' > Lp: N {N} $b\bar{a}ggjot$ / $-æj-$ v. 'shine white', L {LLO} $p\bar{a}ju$ 'white' | OHg $feer$ [feēr] ~ $feher$ ~ $fejer$ [feyēr], Hg $fehér$ 'white', Hg $\Delta feér$, $feír$, $fejér$ id. (-h- is an epenthesis in a hiatus, -ér goes back to two nominal sxs: a deverbil $*-j\bar{\nabla}-$ and a denominative $*-r\bar{\nabla}-$) ¶ MF 188, UEW 360 ¶ Lp N {N} $\bar{a}$ suggested FU $*-e-$, but Rd. (UEW) reconstructed $*-ä-$ (probably on the basis of Hg); if he is right, there is $*ä$ rather than $*e$ at both the FU and the pN levels of rec. ◇ Blz. IELA 13 [no. 44] (S, IE).

181. $_2$ $*baH_2\bar{\nabla}$ 'to tie, to bind' > K $*\sqrt{b}-$ v. 'tie, bind, attach; hang' > OG $b-$ 'attach', G $b-$ 'tie, bind, attach; hang', Mg, Lz, Sv $b-$ id. (Sv L {Dn.} $m\bar{a}-b$ stt. 'it is attached to me', $\chi\bar{a}-b$ 'it is attached to him', msd. $li-bem$ 'to tie, to attach', msd. plrt. $li-b-\bar{a}l$, Sv UB msd. $li-b-em$, LSv {TK} $liben$ id.) ¶¶ K 47-8, K² 6, Chik. 250, FS E 39-40, Dn. s.v. b^1 , GP 147, TK 425 || A $*b\bar{a}-$ v. 'bind' > NaT $*^ob\bar{a}-$ 'bind, fasten (sth. to sth.)' > OT $b\bar{a}-$ id.; $\rightarrow$ NaT $*b\bar{a}g$ 'bond, bundle' > OT {Cl.} $b\bar{a}g$ 'bond, tie, belt', MT $b\bar{a}g$ 'bond', Tk $b\bar{a}g$ 'Band, Bindfaden, Strick', Az $ba\bar{y}$ id., Tkm $b\bar{a}g$, Uz boq , ET, Kr, Xlj $ba\bar{y}$, VTt, Bsh, Nog, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Qq $ba\bar{w}$, Qrg $b\bar{o}$, Slr $ba\bar{x}$, SY, Shor $pa\bar{y}$, Tf $ba\bar{y}$ 'Band (завязка)' ¶ Cl. 292, 310-11, ET B 13-17, Rs. W 53, Pek. 598-9, TkR 88 || ?σ Tg $*ba-$ > Ewk $ba-$ v. 'propose for marriage', WrMc {Z} $ба-чихи$ 'proposed for marriage since childhood' ¶ STM I 60, Z 479 || pKo $*pa$ 'rope, string' > NKo pa 'rope' ¶ Rm. SKE 179, SDM97 22, S QK no. 188 || pJ {S} $*b\bar{a}$ 'rope' > OJ $w\bar{o}$, MJ $w\bar{o}$ {S} id., JT $w\bar{o}$ ({Kenk.} o 'string, cord, strap'), J Kg {S} $w\bar{o}$, JK {S} $w\bar{o}$ ¶ S AJ 270 [#139], S QJ #139, Mr. 698, Kenk. 1403 ¶¶ SDM 319 (pA

*bǎ- v. 'bind' > Tg, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 102, S AJ 68 (*bui 'be'), 111, 280, S QJ no. 239, Pp. VG 112, Rm. EAS I 57, Rm. SKE 179, Mr. KJ 228, Oz. NM 304-7, Mur. EA 109 ◇ IS I 172-3 [no. 2].

182. *buHi 'grow, appear, become' > **HS**: NrOm: Kf {C} bē 'esserci', Shn {C} bi- 'be', {Lm.} bèy- 'sit, sit down, dwell, live', Anf {C} bē- 'be', {MYTY} beyyo 'live', ? Ym {Lm.} -wa, -(m)ba/-(m)be (focalizing particles) ¶ C SE IV 247, 409, MYTY 116, Lm. Sh 289, Lm. Y 278-80 || EC: Sml bā (focalizer) (Lm.: ← 'is'), Rn (-)bā ~ -bā (a kind of focalizing pc.: am-bā irda 'I shall be the one to go') ¶ Lm. FP ∇, PG 71 || **IE** *bʰeǵHx- v. 'grow, be' ({EI} *bʰeǵH, 'come into being, be; grow') > OI 'bhavati 'becomes, is', Av bavati id., OPrs bavatiy 'is' || Gk φύω v. 'bring forth, produce, beget', φύομαι v. 'grow, rise', 'entstehen, werden' || L fui 'I was, I have been', Osc fufans 'erant' || Clt {Matas.} *bu-yo- 'be, become' > OIr biid 'is wont to be', p. boí 'was', OW bot 'be' (3s pres. bez and bit), Crn bos 'be' (3s pres. beth), Gl 2p inv. biiete 'be' || Gt bauan (·oʎkeʎv) 'wohnen, bewohnen', AS béo 'I am', NE be || Lt bū-ti, Ltv bū-t, Pru būton 'to be' || Sl *bī- (inf. *bǐ-ti, past prtc. *bī-ly) > OCS inf. БЫТИ bi-ti, SCr inf. bi-ti, Slv inf. bi-ti, R inf. бы-ть, Uk inf. бу-ти, P inf. by-ć, Cz inf. býti, Slk inf. byt' 'to be' || NaIE **būto- 'dwelling, residence' > Lt būtas 'home, house' || ON búð 'house, residence' || Clt {Matas.} *bu-tā > OIr both 'hut', MW bod 'dwelling, place', Br {Hm.} bod 'résidence' ¶ P 146-50, EI 53, Fs 83-4, M K II 485-7, M E II 255-7, F II 1052-4, WH I 557-8, Bc. G 317, Pln. II 684, Vn B 117, Frn. 68, En. 154-5, Tp. P A-D 271-4, SPS I 482, Vs. I 260, StSS 103-5, Glh. 131-2, Matas. E 84-5, Hm. 89 || **A** *b|p'ûyi- 'be (ser, estar)' > M *büyi- ~ *buyi- > MM W [IsV] būi ~ bei ~ bi:, [MA, L] bi: 'is', MM E bui [S] 'is', [HI] 'is, exists', WrM {MED} bui 'being, existing; is\am\are', HlM буй, бий {MED} id., бий {BMR, Luv.} 'there is (есть, имеется, находится)', буй {BMR} 'existing, vorhanden', Brt би́и 'there is', Kl {KRS} бий bī id., {Rm.} bi 'ist', Ord bī 'est', Dg b_ei, {T} be_i, Dx {T} bi '(there) is' ¶ H 21, BMR I 244, 282, Pp. L II 1267, Pp. MA 86, Lg. VMI 19-22, MED 132, BMR I 244, 282, Luv. 69, 84, Chr. 94, KRS 98, KW 44, Iw. 89, Ms. H 43, Ms. O 67, T DgJ 125, T DnJ 112, ≈ S AJ 233 [no. 1] || Tg *bi- v. 'be' > Ewk, Neg bi- 'be (ser, estar)', Ul, Ork bi- 'be (ser, estar, dasein), live', Nn Nh/Bk/KU {STM} bi- id., Nn Nh {On.} bi- 'live, estar, exist', bī 'there is', WrMc {Z} би-, Jrc {Md.} bie-i 'be (estar)' ¶ STM I 79-80, On. 64-5, S AJ 221 [no. 225], Z 503, Md. ChF 135 || pJ *b(u)í- v. 'be, sit' > OJ wí-, MJ wí- 'sit,

be', J T ì- v. {Kenk.} 'be', J K/Kg í 'be', J Ht bì- v. {Mr.} 'sit' ¶ S AJ 270 [no. 139] (pA *bui-), SDM95 s.v. *bui-, S QJ no. 139, Mr. 698, Kenk. 635 ¶¶ SDM 342 (pA *bíyu 'be, sit' > Tg, M, J), DQA no. 127, S AJ 68, 111, 280 [no. 129] (pA *bui- 'be'), SDM95 (A *bui), SDM97 (A *biyu), Rm. EAS I 57, Pp. VG 112, Mur. EA 109, Oz. NM 304-7 ◇ The absence of the expected root-final *j in IE still requires explanation ◇ Illich-Svitych (IS I 184 [no. 19]) adduced Eg 𐎧𐎢𐎠 'shrub', Cb fwa 'tree' and U *puwe- v. 'grow' (not more than a possibility) ◇ ≈ Blz. EIAL 16 [no. 60] (IE + unc. S * ✓bwh [> Ar bāḥa 'be known, become public', būḥ- 'root, origin, pudenda, sexual intercourse', Gz bōḥa 'be seen, be revealed'] instead of the above-mentioned HS root [meaning 'esserci, be']) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 27 (*biu 'be').

183. *buk'o' (or *buk'o'ɤ▽?) 'run, run away' > HS: Eg fP 𐎧𐎢 'run', Eg NK 𐎧𐎢 'durchlaufen'; ?? Cpt {Ws.} vOk 𐎧𐎢𐎠 ~ FOK fōk 'go' ¶ EG I 485, Fk. 86, Tk. II 352-3, Ws. 22 || C {AD} *✓bkʷ v. 'flee' > Ag: Aw {Hz.} buk- id. || EC: Sa I {CR} 𐎧𐎢𐎠 'flight', Af {PH} búka id., 'escape', buk- v. 'flee, escape'; EC {Ss.} *baḵ- v. 'run away, be afraid' > Arr {Hw.}, Brj {Ss.} baḵ-aḵ-, Dbs paq-aḵ- 'run away', Or baḵ-aḵ-, {Grg.} baḵ-aḵḍ- v. 'flee, escape', baḵ-a n. 'escape, running', Sml baq-aḵ- (md.) v. 'be afraid', baḵ-i- (caus.) v. 'frighten', Rn baḥ-s-aḍa caus. md. 'rush, run away, escape' ¶ AD SF 270-1, Ss. B 32, Hw. A 346, Th. 32, Grg. 36, PG 74 || NrOm: Wl {C} biḵiḥ- v. 'flee', Gm {Hw.} baḵáto- 'flee from', as well as possibly Cha {C} 𐎧𐎢𐎠 'way' and (?) Kf 𐎧𐎢𐎠 id. ¶ C SO 28, C SE III 164, C SE IV 410, Hw. EG || S: [1] S *°✓bkɤ (~ *°✓bkɤ?) > Ar ✓bkɤ G {BK} 's'éloigner, s'en aller', ? (× Ar buqɤat-un ~ baqɤat-un {BK} 'pays, contrée; sol, terrain, champ', {Ln.} 'piece\part\portion of plot\land\ground') {BK} ✓bqɤ G 's'éloigner, s'en aller dans une contrée buqɤatun'); [2] SES (+ext.) *✓bkḥ v. 'run' > Mh ✓bkḥ (pf. bɜ'kəwḥ, sbjn. yɜ-bḵaḥ), Hrs ✓bkḥ (pf. bɜkōḥ), Jb E ✓bkḥ (pf. bḵḵ) id. ¶ BK I 149, 154, Ln. 285, Jo. M 48 ¶¶ The origin of the cns. ɤ in Ar ✓bkɤ ~ ✓bqɤ and of the glottalized cns. ḵ in EC *baḵ- and in NrOm is still controversial: one may suppose either a HS élargissement (from an ancient word group) or a HS (or even a N) archaism (contradicted by Eg 𐎧𐎢 without laryngeals), a derived word or a compound ¶¶ ≠ Tk. LAA-1 112 [no. 59] (HS *✓bk 'to abandon'), ≈ Tk. LAA-1 57 [no. 59] (HS *✓bk 'road') || IE: NaIE *bʰe(:)gʷ- ~ *bʰeug- ({EI} *bʰeug-) v. 'flee': [1] *bʰegʷ- / *bʰogʷ- / *bʰēgʷ- > Gk φέβομαι v. 'flee, flight, flee in terror', φόβος 'flight, panic fear' || Lt inf. bēg-ti (1s pres. bēg-u) 'to run, to flee', Ltv

inf. бѣг-ѣ (1s pres. бѣг-ѣ) 'to flee' | Sl *běg- (inf. *běg-iti, 1s pres. *běg-q ~ *běž-q) v. 'run, flee' > 1s pres.: OCS бѣжѣ бѣж-ѣ, R бе'г-ѣ, inf.: Р бѣес, R Δ бѣчь, OUk бѣчи, Uk Δ бѣчи, μ Uk бѣгти, μ Blr inf. бегчы 'to run, to flee', SCr inf. избѣѣти ѣ iz-bjeći 'to avoid, to evade', inf. побѣѣти ѣ po-bjeći 'to run away, to flee'; Sl μ (*běgěti? >) inf. *běžati 'to run, to flee' > OCS inf. бѣжати бѣžati id., R inf. бе'жати, SCr inf. бѣжати ѣ bježati, Slv inf. běžati, Cz inf. běžeti, Slk inf. bežat', Р бѣжець 'to run'; Sl n. act. *běgъ 'running' > ChS бѣгъ бѣгъ, Blg бяг, SCr, Slv бѣг, R бег, Cz бѣх, Slk беh, Р бѣег id.; Sl *běgati iter. inf. 'to run, to flee' > OCS inf. бѣгати бѣgati 'бежать, убежать' ('run, run away'), SCr inf. бѣгати, Δ bjègati id., Slv inf. bégati, Cz inf. běhati, Slk inf. behat', Р inf. бѣгачь, R inf. бегать, Uk inf. бѣгати iter. 'to run' || pInA stem *bhāg-/ *bhāž- v. 'flee', that is reconstructible from Prkr bhagga 'fled', Hindi, Ass etc. bhāg- v. 'flee' etc. and is attested in OI [Bhatt.] (disō) bhājayat 'drove out', (disō) bhyabhajatām 'fled' (disō = disas [gen. of dis 'direction'] functions as a preverb of direction), [Pañc.] disōbhāga- 'fleeing' ¶ P 116, Mn. 69, WP II 248, EI 206, M K II 491, M E II 241-2, F II 998-9, 1005-7, Frn. 38, ESSJ II 58-62, 92, StSS 105-6, Glh. 133, Tls. 162, 382, Drd. 181, 498, Vs. I 143, Tu. no. 532, ≠ Bloch MIIA 62 (*bhāg-/ *bhāž- v. 'break' → 'run'), SPS I 224-7, 245-6 || [2] *bʰeug-/ *bʰoug-/ *bʰug- v. 'flee' > Gk φεύγω (aor. ἔ-φύγον) v. 'flee', φύγη 'flight (in battle)' || L fugi-ō (pfc. fūgī, inf. fugēre) v. 'flee', fuga 'flight' || ? Lt inf. būg-ti (1s pres. būg-sta) 'to fear, to be frightened', inf. baugin-ti 'to frighten', baugūs 'fearful', Ltv būgns id. ¶ P 152, Mn. 75-6, F II 1005-7, WH I 556-7, ≈ Frn. 37-8, ESSJ II 58-60, 92 || u: FU *°pUk∇- v. 'flee' > Es {W} pōge- 'flee' || U *pUkta- 'hop, run' (× N *°p'ô'K∇'d∇ or *P'ô'K∇'d∇ 'run' [q.v. ffd.]). The origin of BF *pakō 'Flucht' (> F pako, Krl, Vo pako, Es pagu id.) and of the corresponding verb (F pae-ta) remains enigmatic. It belongs to the √ in question only if there is explanation of the vw. a ¶¶ W EDW 858, Coll. 12, Coll. CG 406 (*pokta-), UEW 402 (*pukt∇), MF 223, IS I 181 (*pok-t∇) ◇ IS I 181 s.v. убежать *бок'а' (IE, U, C + Tg *pukti- v. 'flee, run' [in fact from N *°p'ô'K∇'d∇ or *P'ô'K∇'d∇ 'run']), AD GDS no. 1.32 (C, IE, U) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 317 (*pok 'run') (IE, U + non-existent M *böğ-si- + err. Tg, J + qu. CK, EA).

184. *b'oſ'ka 'to heat, to roast, to burn' > **HS** *^o✓bſk > **S** *^o✓bſk > **Ar** buſkūk-at- n. 'heat' ('calor') ¶ **Fr.** I 137 || **Ch** *✓bk vt. 'roast, burn, scorch' ({**JS**} *✓bk v. 'roast', {**Nw.**} *b∇ki|u v. 'roast, burn') > **WCh** {**Stl.**} *bak_Lk_J- vt. 'burn' > **Hs** bábbàkǎ {**Ba.**} id., 'scorch', {**Abr.**} v. 'grill or toast' | **AG:** **Tal** {**IL**} p^hi'yàk, {**Sh.**} p'yak vt. 'burn' | **Bl** bokk-, **Ngm** beke, **Maha** boko id. | **SBc** {**Sh.**}: **Zem** mbay, **Brw** bak, **Zar** v àki, v àk, **Gj** búkì, **Dw** b àk id., **Tule** {**ChC**} bàk, **Plc** {**ChL**} baʁã, **Gj** {**ChC**} bùkkà vt. 'burn' | **Ngz** {**Sch.**} bákə id., **Bd** {**ChL**} b àk ʒn id. || **CCh:** **McMtk:** **Mkt** {**Ro.**} b àk ái id., ?? **Gzg** {**Lk.**} fók v. 'roast' || **ECh:** **Jg** {**J**} bīk, **Mu** {**J**} b á g é, **EDng** {**Ebob.**} b ik é v. 'roast' ¶ **JI** II 54-5 and 274-5, **Ba.** 51, **Abr.** H 52-3, **JS** 214, **Stl.** **ZCh** 152 [no. 69], **Nw.** no. 106, **Ro.** 218, **Ebob.** **VDE** 78, **ChL**, **ChC** s.v. 'roast' and 'burn' || **EC:** **Brj** buḵḵ- vi. 'burn, lighten' (the meaning 'lighten' may have been influenced by **C** *✓brḵ 'lightning') ¶ **Ss.** B 42 || **B** *✓Hφḵ > **Gd** āβəy (3m pf. yūβεy) v. 'be lit' ('être allumé'), **Izd** a y id. ¶ **Lf.** I 253 and II no. 0085, **Mrc.** 10, **NZ** 81-2 ¶¶ ≈ **Sk.** **HCD** 13, ≈ **Tk.** **LAA-1** 115 [no. 83] (**HS** *✓b q 'burn') (**B**, **Ch**, **EC** + unc. **Eg** bχχ 'glühen, brennen') || **IE:** **NaIE** *b^hōg- vt. 'roast (rösten, braten), bake, burn', {**EI**} 'bake, roast' > **Gk** φῶγω v. 'roast, toast, parch' || **AS** inf. *bacan* / *bōc* (> **NE** *bake*) v. 'bake', **OHG** inf. *backan* ~ *bachan* 'to bake, to roast, to dry', **MHG** inf. *bachen* 'to bake', **ON** inf. *baka* 'backen, braten, Hände und Füße wärmen', **NHG** inf. *backen* 'to bake' || **Sl** {**Trb.**} *bagatbje 'fire, embers': **Uk** багаття ba'haťta 'smothered fire, embers', **R Dn** багатье ba'haťje 'smouldering fire', **Blr** багачце ba'haćće 'fire' ¶ **P** 113, **Mn.** 88, **F** II 1057, **ESSJ** I 124, **Bern.** I 38, **SPS** I 176-7, **Vr.** 23, **OsS** 36, **EWA** I 419-22, **Kb.** 53, **Lx.** 8, **KM** 43, **Ho.** 14 || Cf. also the qu. **NaIE** stem {**P**} *b^ho'k̑- 'flammen, brennen' (> **L** *focus* 'fireplace, hearth', ? **Arm** png боч^h 'flame' [< *b^ho'k̑-so-?] and **Arm** pnunp босор adj. 'red, blood-color' [< 'feurig?]), that contradicts the IE incompatibility law ruling out the occurrence of mediae aspiratae and tenues in the same √, but acc. to **Mn.** **AIE** 164, **Arm** босор is akin to **OL** *fusvos*, to **L** *furvus* 'dark' and to **AS** *basu* (gen. sg. *baswes*) 'purple' ¶ **P** 162, **EI** 125, **WH** I 521, **Jah.** **OSK** 9, 55 (on **Arm** боч^h) || **K:** **G** {**Chx.**} bug- 'ausbrennen, verbrennen, einäschern', ? bgol- 'kochen, bereiten (Essen)', ? **G** I {**Chx.**} bgal- 'anbrennen, sengen' ¶ **Chx.** 72, 115-16 || **A** *būk|g∇ n. 'heat, steam' > **T** *būg_Lu 'steam' > **OT** bu ({**Cl.**} b ū) 'steam', **MT** bu ɣ, **Tk** bu ɣ u id., bu 'aroma', **Tkm** būg, **Ggz**, **Qrg** b ū, **Az** byɣ, **Uz**, **ET** bu y, **Kr** bu v, **Nog**, **Qzq** bu w, **VTt** bu, **Bsh** bi w, **Qq** pu w, **StAlt** by y, **Chv** пǎв and пy 'steam' ¶ **ET** B 229-30, **Cl.** 292, **Rs.** W 86, **TL** 37, **Äz.** 73, **BT** 36, **Ash.** IX 253-4 and X 98, **Fed.** I 393-4, **Jeg.** 146, 163, **ChVS**

144 || NrTg *bugar 'site of a burned forest' > Ewk buṣar, Lm bōrin id. ('гарь') ¶ STM I 101 || ?σ,φ pJ {S} *bák- v. 'boil, seethe' > OJ wak-, ML wák- id., J T wàk-, J K/Kg wák- {Kenk.} 'boil, grow hot' ¶ S QJ no. 778, Mr. 783, Kenk. 2128 || M: [1] M *baṣagi- > WrM {SDM} 'fumigate', {MED} baṣagi- v. 'smoke profusely, emit puffs or clouds of 'smoke', HlM {MED} бааги- id., {BMR} id., 'burn with much smoke, glimmen (тлеть), 'sich bällen, aufsteigen, клубиться' (Rauch, Dampf), Brt баая- 'клубиться' (Rauch, Dampf); [2] ??σ M *boṣursug ~ *boṣurcug > WrM {MED} bogursug ~ bogurcug 'bread, pastry', HlM {MED} боорсог ~ боорцог id., {BMR} боорцог 'фигурки из теста, жареные в кипящем жире', Brt боорсог 'small pastry', Kl {KRS} боорцг, Δ боорсг 'pieces of dough fried in oil', Kl Ö {Rm.} bōrsag 'cakes, kleine in Fett gebackene Kuchen oder Teigklümperchen aus Weizenmehl', Ord bōrsog 'galette, gâteau, pain'; Mnr H {T} bōrзог 'ε pastry', {SM} bōrзог 'petits gâteaux cuits à l'huile'; M ⇨ Chg baṣursaq ~ boṣursaq, Qrg bōrsog, Qzq baṣursaq id. (× OT baṣirsaq ~ baṣirsuq 'entrails' ⇨ OT baṣir 'liver', see Cl. 319?) ¶ MED 68, 112, BMR 202, 264, Chr. 72, 105, KRS 109, KW 54, Ms. O 81, SM 28, T 318, Dr. TM II no. 797, Ju g. 145 || ? pJ {S} *bák- v. 'boil, seethe' > OJ wak-, MJ wák- {SDM} id., J T wàk-, J K/Kg wák- {Kenk.} 'boil, grow hot' ¶ Mr. 783, Kenk. 2128 ¶¶ SDM 378 (*būgà n. 'heat, steam' > Tg, T *būg 'steam, fog', M *baṣa-gi- 'fumigate'), DQA no. 217.

184a. *bōw∇ka 'put out, throw out' (→ 'sweep out') > HS: S *°-būk- > Ar ✓ bwk (ip. ya-būk-u, pf. bāka) 'remuer le bâton dans l'ouverture de la source pour en faire sortir plus d'eau' ¶ BK I 180 || ?σ Eg G bk v. 'kill (with a sword)' ¶ EG I 480, Tk. II 332-5 || IE: NaIE *bʰeug- ~ *bʰeugh- 'remove' (→ v. 'clean, set free' → 'save') > Gt us-baugjan (ἰσπαρῶν) 'ausfegen', NHD Δ Bucht 'sweepings' || Av baog- / bunja- 'loosen, set free, save', baoxtar 'saviour, liberator', Sgd B βωχ 'deliverance' || ? Vnt p.n. vhuṣiia (lit. 'saviour, liberator' ÷ Av baoxtar) ¶ P 152, EI 621 (*bʰeug(ʰ)- 'purify, free'), Fs. 529, Brtl. 916-17, Bai. 319-20 || ¶ *b|p'o,ag∇ > M *bog∇ > WrM {MED} bog, HlM {MED, BMR}, Brt бог 'sweepings, filth, garbage', Kl {KRS} бог id., {Rm.} bog 'Schmutz, Kehricht', Ord bog_ 'saletés qui couvrent le sol à l'intérieur des habitations, balayures; feuilles tombées et amoncelées au pied des plantes' ¶ The absence of funal vw. in WrM bog needs explanation (infl. of HlM?) ¶ MED 110, BMR I 250, KRS 102, KW 68-9, Chr. 96, Ms. O 73 || Tg *boṣagi- (< **bō,agi-?) 'put out, throw out' > Ewk boṣī-, Neg boṣin- v.

'give birth to a child (out of wedlock)', Ewk *boʻin-* v. 'show oneself (out of an aperture)', 'be born', Ul *boyal-*, *boyalčij-*, Nn Bk *boygao-* 'have a miscarriage', Nn Nh *boyago-* {STM} id., {On.} id., 'be broken', WrMc {Z} *Бойхоло- ~ Бӣохла-* v. 'break loose, run away' (of a fish\bird\beast that escapes from a hook\net\snare) ¶ STM I 87, On. 78, Z 508, 544 || **D** (in GnD) **pok-* ({ʒGS} **p-*) v. 'throw' (× N **bôra* (K̲E)) 'to fall, to fell, to throw'? > Knd *pok-* v. 'throw', Gnd *pohānā* v. 'throw', *poʔ- ~ pon-* v. 'throw away' ¶ D no. 4457 ◇ On IE **bʰeu-* presumably from N **bo-* see Introduction, § 2.4. A possible solution: IE **bʰeu-* ~ **bʰeuḡ-* goes back to N **bow̲ka*. IE **-ḡ-* in IE **bʰeuḡ-* is due to as. (**bʰ...ḡ-* > **bʰ...ḡ-*).

185. **bak̲∇̲ʔa* (or **pak̲∇̲ʔa*) 'stick, sprout; (?) to sprout' > IE: NaIE **bak-* 'stick, staff used for support', {EI} 'club' > L *baculum* 'a staff, walking stick' (< **bak-tlom*), dem. *bacillum* 'a little staff' || OIr *bacc* 'courbure, creux, objet courbé', NIr *bac* 'pin, peg, crook; prop', W *bach*, Cm *bagh* 'hook, hinge', OBr {Flr.} *bach ~ bah* 'ligo (houe)', Br *bac'h* 'croc, gros hameçon' || Gk *βάκτρον* 'stick, cudgel', *βακτηρία* 'staff, cane' || MDt *pegge* 'pin, peg', Dt *Δ pegge* 'block (Klotz)', 'ε peg (in manufacturing wooden shoes)', ME *pegge* > NE *peg*; ?σ Sw *pigg*, Dn *pig* 'thorn' || ?σ Blt d. verbs: Ltv inf. *bakstīt* 'to poke, to pick', Lt inf. *bakstēlēti* 'to give a nudge\prick' ¶ Pokorny considered the Insular Celtic word as a bf. from a Latinism; this hyp. (too complicated to be plausible) is not shared by Vn. ¶ WP II 104-5, P 93, EI 110-12, WH I 92, F I 211-12, Vn. B 2-3, YGM-1 38, Flr. 77-8, Hm. 61, Frn. 30, Ho. N 512-13, Skeat 439, HDEL 967, 1507, Hlq. 760 || **A** **bak̲∇̲* 'pole, pillar' > NaT **ba̲:̲k|ḡan ~ *ba̲:̲k|ḡana* 'pole' > OT Kr *baḡna* 'rung of a ladder, step of a staircase', Uz *Δ* ("Chagatay") {Rl.}, Qzq {Bu., Rl.} *baqan* 'tent pole' ('Stange, mit der man die Filzdecken der Jurte aufhebt und stützt'), Tt *Δ baḡan*, *paḡan* 'post, pole', QK {B} *paqan* 'post for tethering horses' ¶ The variant **ba̲:̲k|ḡana* may have been borrowed from M or influenced by M **bagana ~ *baqana* ¶ Cl. 317, Bu. I 234, ET B 42-3, B DLT 184, Rs. W 53 || M **bagana ~ *baqana* 'pillar, column, post, pole, tent pole' > WrM {MED} *bagana*, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt *багана* id., Kl {KRS} *бахн* id., {Rm.} *baḡanα* 'Säule, Pfeiler, Balkenstütze (im Hause)', Ord *b_agana* 'chevron; piquet pour attacher les animaux; mât'; M ⇨ Qzq, Qrg *baqan*, Yk *baḡana*, Tlt *paqqan* id., WrMc {Z} *бахана* 'tent pole, prop' ¶ MED 68, BMR I 208, KRS 86, KW 28, Chr. 73, KW 29, Ms. O 43, ET B 42-3, Z 473, Pp. IM 135-7 (on M *-q-) || Tg **baksa* 'prop, pole' > Ewk *baksa* id., Ul *baqsa*, Nn Nh

baqsa ~ baḡsa 'central pole of a tent' ¶ STM I 67-8, On. 58, 63 || pKo *pò > MKo pò 'beam, crossbeam', NKo pò, tɪl-bò id. ¶ S QK no. 375, Nam 259, MLC 786 ¶¶ SDM 323-4 (pA *báku|a > T *bak|gna 'rang of a ladder' [for *ba_L:k|gana], Tg, M, Ko), DQA no. 93 (id.), SDM97 s.v. *bak ▽ id., KW 29, Dr. MT 101 || ?ϕ K *biga- 'stick, cudgel' > G Δ biga- 'wooden crossbeam', Mg biga-, Lz biga, Lz At biḡa, Sv {K} biž- 'stick' ¶¶ K DE 361, K² 15, BU 12 || HS: S *'baḡ_L ▽_L]- n. 'sprout', *✓ bḡ_L v. 'sprout' > Ak {Sd.} baḡlu 'Sproß', Sr 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔

bʒħkʷ) is accounted for by earlier mt. and as. (something like *bʷkʷ- > *bʷk- > *bʷχk- with subsequent reg. change of pre-HS *χ to *ħ) || IE [*bʰu(:)ǵHo- >] *bʰu(:)ǵo-s, {EI} *bʰuǵos 'buck, billy goat' ~ NaIE ({P}: end.) *bʰukko-s 'he-goat, ram', f. *bʰu(:)ǵ-ā ~ *bʰukk-ā 'she-goat, ewe' (Dv.: 'capra prisca') > Av būza 'goat, billy goat', NPrs بَزْ bōz 'goat; she-goat', KhS buysa- 'goat', Psh wuz 'billy goat' || Arm բուծ buc '(sucking) lamb' || Clt {Matas..} *bukko- 'goat' > OIr boc, bocc, pocc, MW bwch, Crm boch, MBr bouch, Br bouc'h 'buck', OCrm [ʃ] boch 'caper' or 'hircus' || pGmc *bukka- (< Clt, acc. to Ped.) > ON bukk, bokkr, bokki, Nr bokk, bukk, Dn buj, Sw bock, OHG boc & boch, NHG Bock, OSx bukk, AS bucca 'buck', NE buck ¶ WP II 189, P 174 (misquoting Arm buc as buz), EI 229, Dv. no. 929, Mn. 120, Vl. I 233, Brtl. 969-70, Sg. 182, Horn 49, Bai. 297, Mrg. 94, Vn. B 62-3, Hü. 430, Slt. 292, Vr. 48, 64, EWA II 216-18, OsS 79, KM 87, Ho. 38, Ho. S 11, Matas. E 83, Hm. 94 ¶ The expected lr. is in a prevoc. position and hence leaves no trace || A: M *bugu 'deer' > WrM {MED} buɣu, HIM буга {MED} 'male deer', {BMR} 'deer, Manchurian deer (иэюбр)', maral', Kl {KRS} буг 'deer', {Rm.} buɣa 'männlicher Hirsch', Mnr H {SM} buɣu, Ord buɣu 'cerf', MM [MA] *buɣu- 'deer': gen. بُوغُوین buɣuɣin 'of a deer', [S] {H} buɣu, [HI] {Ms.} buɣu [buɣu] 'deer'; M < WrMc {Z} бугу 'deer', Ewk buɣu, Sln боґо 'Manchurian deer (иэюбр)' ¶ MED 131, BMR I 278, KRS 115, KW 68, H 21, H SMG I no. 144, SM 32, Lew. II 22, Ms. H 43, Ms. O 91, Pp. MA 124, STM I 101-2, Z 527 || ? AdS of Tg *buka 'male horned ungulate' (< N *buḳa 'bovine [animal]') > WrMc {Z} бугу 'deer, male deer' (< M?), ? буга 'wild animal', буга 'billy goat, ram, Sln buɣa, Ewk buka 'sire bull', Ewk Vtm buka 'buffalo' ¶ STM I 103-4, Z 524, 528 || NaT *buɣu 'deer' > (or M <) MU XIII buɣu 'deer', Tk Δ, Uz, Qrg buɣu, Nog buɣu 'male deer', Chg [BL] {Brv.} بُوغُو buɣu 'kind of antelope or wild goat', Qzq бугу 'deer' ¶ KW 58, ET B 237-8, Brv. BL 139, STM I 101-2, Dr. TM II no. 752, Cl. 312, Rs. W 86 ¶¶ S CNM 10 (reconstructing A *pʷkʷ and adducing Ewk hɜɣlɜn ~ hɜwɜn 'young of elk') ◇ In the Altaic lges there is probably a quite plausible semantic change: 'billy goat, ram' → 'deer' ◇ AD NM no. 45.

187. (₂?) *baḳʷ 'to look' > HS: CS *bḳʷ|w v. 'look, observe' > JA, Sr ✓ bḳʷ|w G (pf. בִּקַּח בִּקְחָה bə'ḳā) 'schauen, beobachten, ausforschen', JEA {Sl.} ✓ bḳʷ G 'inquire into, search for, examine', MHb bā'ḳā (בִּקְחָה ~

אִרְבָּי () 'erfahren, kundig', Ar ✓bqy (ip. -bqay, pf. baqā بَقِيَ) 'observavit, respexit', [Qam.] {Fr.} ✓bqw (pf. baqā بَقَا) 'spectavit, respexit, observavit' ¶ Lv. I 253, Sl. 230, Fr. I 144, IS I 172 (adducing also S *✓bkr v. 'examine' and *✓bkθ v. 'seek') || EC *bēk- > Or bēk- v. 'know', Brj bēk-id. (a loan from Or?), ?? amb Sml {R} bēq ~ bēg 'sorgfältige Ausschau (wie etwas ins Werk zu setzen sein)' (unless ← Ar baqy-, msd. from ✓bqy v. 'observe') ¶ AD SF 264-5, Grg. 43, Brl. 50-1, Hd. 87, R SS II 80 || NrOm *b∇k- v. 'see' > Bnc {Wdk.} bēk v. 'see', Bsk {C} bīk-, {Bnd.} bēka, Wl {C, LmS} be?- 'see, look', Zl/Bdt/Cha {C} be?- , Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} be?- , Ym {Wdk.} biya v. 'see', Shn {Lm, Fl.} bek-, Anf {MYTY} bek-, {C, Fl.} bek-, Mch {L} bākki(yé) v. 'see', Kf {C} beg/begg-, caus. bek-, {Fl.} be-/bek id. ¶ AD SF 264-5, Wdk. BY 99, 119, 172, Fl. OWL s.v. 'see', L M 22, MYTY 120, LmS 312, Lm. Sh 282 || Ch: WCh: Hs {Ba.} bīkī 'looking after, tending carefully, taking pains about in order to get sth. back into its original good condition', {Abr.} 'devoting attention to' || CCh: MfG bāk 'regarder' ¶ Ba. 106, Abr. H 100, Brr. MG II 82 || A *bak'a- 'look, watch (regarder)' > T *bak'(a)- v. 'look at' > OT baq-, aor. baqār, Chg baq-, Tk bak-, Tkm, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, VTt baq-, Tf báq-, Uz buk-, Chv пăx- id. ¶ Cl. EW 311, ET B 38-40, Rs. W 58, Ash. X 170-8, Fed. I 407, Jeg. 150-1, Ra. 159 || Tg {ADb.} *baka- v. 'find' > Ewk baka-, Sln, Neg baxa-, Lm baq-, Orc bā-, Ud {STM} b'a-, {Krm.} ba?-, Ork bā-, baqqa-, Ul bā-, baqa-, Nn Nh/Bk bā-, Nn KU baqa-, WrMc {Z} baxa- id. ¶ STM I 66-7, Krm. 210, On 54, Z 473-4 || ? pKo {S} *pò- 'see' > MKo pò-, NKo pò- ¶ S QK no. 73, Nam 259, MLC 788 || pJ {S} *bākār- 'understand' > OJ wakar-, MJ, J Kg wākār-, J: T wakár-, K wákár- ¶ S QJ no. 774, Mr. 782, Kenk 2124-5 ¶¶ SDM 323 (pA *bāka 'look, watch' > Tg. T, J, Ko), DQA no. 90 || E: ?σ ME1 ba-ak-qa-h 'ich fand (?)' ¶¶ HK 106 ◇ Blz. E no. 84 (E, HS); ≈ IS I 172-3 (HS [S, B, C, Om], A [T, Tg]). IS (l.c.) adduced B: Kb əḥyū ({Dl.} ḥyū, aor. -ḥyū) v. 'wish', but it is not convincing (for semantic reasons). IE *spek-/g- v. 'look, see, observe, spy' does not belong here, but rather to N *p'E'Ky∇ 'to track (game), to follow the tracks of' (q.v.).

188. *buḲa 'bovine (animal)' > HS: +ext.: S *ba'ḳar- 'cattle' > BHb בְּקָר bā'ḳār 'cattle, herd', Ph bḳr 'cattle', Ug {OLS} bḳr 'rebaño de vacuno, cabaña', JA אֲבָרִי bāk'r-ā, Sr بَكْرٌ bāk'r-ā 'cattle', JEA bāk'r-ā {Sl.} 'herd', Ar baqar- '(wild\domesticated) bovines, ox\bull\cow', Sb bḳr 'bovines, head of cattle', Eb {Krb.} baḳarum 'cattle'; S d. *buḳār- > Ar

buqār- 'head of (large) cattle', Ak бuқā́r- 'cattle' ¶ KB 144-5, KBR 151, HJ 187, OLS 114-15, Lv. I 256, Sl. 231, Br. 88, Ln. I 234, BGMR 30, BK I 148-9, CAD II 323, Krb. EG 39 || Ch: ECh: Brg {J, ChC} bōgōrō 'male antelope', bōgōréy 'female antelope', EDng {Fd.} bógóór 'antelope', (with mt. of the glottalization): Mkl {J} bōrgú 'horse antelope (kudu), Mgm {JA} b̂ârgú 'oryx antelope'; Nd D {J} pàgòr 'antelope' (p- due to the infl. of the reflex of N *pōkū '(herds of) ruminant animals, wild cattle') ¶ ChC s.v. 'antelope', J LM 73, JA LM 73, Fd. s.v. bógóór || IE: NaIE ≈ *bu(:)k-/bouk- 'bull' > Sl *bĭkъ / gen. *bĭ'ka (< NaIE *būko-) 'bull' > Blg Бик, SCr bĭk, Slv bĭk, Cz, Slk býk 'bull', P bɥk id. ({ESSJ}: 'sire bull'), OR БЫКЪ bĭkъ, R БЫК 'bull'; Sl *bĭkъ (< *buk-) > SCr bāk 'bull' || ? pClt f. {SB, Vn.} *boukk-ā 'cow' (unless < Clt *bōw- < IE *gʷou- 'cattle', as supposed by SB, LP and Vn.) > OW buc h 'iuvenca', W buwch (pl. buchoð), MBr, OCrn buch, MCrn bugh, Br buoc'h ~ buc'h 'cow' ¶ Bern. I 112, ESSJ III 147-8, Glh. 156, 128, SPS I 473-4, Ern. 86-7, SB 178, LP § 298, Vn. B 61-2, YGM-1 61, ECCE 217, Hm. 119 ¶ IE *b- < *bʰ- due to the IE law of incompatibility of voiced aspirates and voiceless cnss in the same root || A *buk'a > NaT *buka (= *buk'a?) 'bull, sire bull' (× A *muk'u 'male' < N *maḳu 'baby, son', ? 'be pregnant' [q.v.]?) > OT بوقا buqa (Cl.: buqā), Chg buḡa, Tk boğa, Tkm buḡa, SbTt buḡa ٲ poḡa, MQp buḡa, Qzq, Uz, ET, Tb buqa, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Nog, Qq, Bsh, Yk buḡa, Xk puḡa, Tv buḡa, Tf buḡa 'bull' ¶ ET B 237-8, Cl. 312, Brv. BL 139, Tm. 46, 175 || M *buqa 'bull' (or borrowed by MM or Old Mongolian from T?) > MM [S] buqa {H} 'Rind, starkes Rind (Stier)', WrM {MED} buqa 'bull', HLM {MED. BMR} bɥx, Brt bɥxa, 'sire bull', Kl {KRS} bɥx buxъ 'sire bull', {Rm.} buxu 'Stier', MMgl {Iw.} buqa, Mgl {Rm.} buqa 'bull', Ord buḡa 'taureau'; but M *bugu 'deer' is easier to explain as going back to N *bukEḡ 'billy goat, ram' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ H 21, MED 142, Luv. 91, BMR I 296-7, Chr. 119, KRS 124-5, KW 58, Rm. M 24, Iw. 93, Ms. O 91, H SMG I 44, Ms. H 43, SM 32, Lew. II 22 || amb Tg *buka (× N *bukEḡ) > Ewk buka, Sln buxa 'bull, male reindeer', WrMc {Z} bɥka 'ram, male goat' ¶ STM I 103-4, Z 524 ¶¶ The apparently lax *-k- in pT needs explanation ¶¶ SDM97 (pA *būka), ADb. KL 5.

189. *bukḡ (or *būḡ?) 'cheek' > HS {Blz.} *bukḡ or *bukḡḡ 'cheek(s), face' > EC *buk-(~ *buk(k)ḡ-?) > Or {Bl.} 'boḡ-o? 'jaw, the whole cheek', Or Gj/B {LLC} boḡo 'jaw, cheek', Kns paḡ-ō-ḡa 'jaw', Brj, Sd boḡo 'head', Kmb boḡo 'head', Sa I {CR} buka 'higher location', Gln, Gwd

pukkaŋ-te 'head' ¶ Bl. 134, LLC 33, 108, Ss. B 38, Lm. SKE 533 || B *-b∇qqā > Rf abəqqa 'face', Mz abəqqa 'cheek', Wrg abəqqa id., 'côté de la figure', Kb abəqqa 'gifle', Nf abəqqa id. ¶ Dl. 34, Dlh. M 9, Wlf. EAW 43, NZ 85-6 || CCh: Tr {Nw.} ḥoxom 'beard', Lgn {Lk.} mbagam 'cheek', {ChL}: Bcm b^ωòkzy 'cheeks', ? Bu pukúm, Ngx p^ωzhəm, HgF puki id., Bnn fókù-ná 'face', Lmn {SSAAJ} pagam 'temple' ('Schläfe') || ?σ WCh: Hs {Ba.} bàkí:, Gw bàk^{yí}, Ywm p^hàk^h, Tng pɔk 'mouth' || ?σ ECh: Nd (Dik Δ) {J} bēg, Tmk bàg 'mouth' ¶ JI II 244-5, ChL, ChC s.v. 'cheek' and 'mouth', Ba. 64, Lk. L 108 ¶¶ ≈ SSAAJ I no. 19 || K: OG {Abul., Fn.} baḵo 'lip, border', G {Chx.} baḵo 'Rand (eines Trinkgefässes)'; the development of vowels in K is still to be investigated ¶ Abul. 28, Chx. 60 || IE: NaIE *^obuk̑(̑)∇ or *^obuk(̑)∇ 'cheek' > L bucca id. || (L ⇝ ??) W boch, OBr boch, Br boc'h id., OCrn [VC] en voch 'facies' (en is an article) ¶ ≠ WH I 120 (unc.: from *bu- 'aufblasen, schwellen'), My. 57 (adducing Al buzē 'lip, edge', which does not belong here, F O 43), Flr. 87, Hm. 89, Loth ML 138 ¶ *b-...-k̑- for *b^h-...-k̑- due to the known incompatibility law || D *pukk- 'cheek' ({GS} *buk- id., unc. 'swollen') > Kn buggi 'cheek', Tl buḡḡa 'cheek, inside of the cheek', bukkā 'inside or hollow of the mouth', pukkili 'inside of the cheek', Prj bukka, Gdb bugga, Gnd bukā 𐌆 p^hukā 𐌆 b^hukā 𐌆 bukka 𐌆 bugga 'cheek', Knd buku 'mouthful', bugli 'cheek', Ku būga 𐌆 bugga id., Krx pok'ō 'chubby-cheeked' ¶¶ D no. 4242, GS 110 [no. 285], 113 [298], 55 [no. 147] ◇ Blz. DA 153 [no. 8] (HS, K, IE, D), Blz. KM 113 [no. 1] (K, HS, D), Blz. NDA no. 8 (D, HS, K, IE).

190. *būḵa 'a stinging insect' (≈ 'gadfly', 'gnat') > HS: S *baḵḵ- > Ak baḵḵum '(small) gnat', Ar baqq- 'bug, gnat', {BK} 'punaise', JA 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎫 baḵ'ḵ-ā, Sr 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎫 bā'ḵ-ā 'gnat' ¶ Sl. 230, Br. 87, JPS 52, Sd. 105, BK I 148, Lv. I 253 || EC: Or {Grg., Hd.} bōkē 'gnat, mosquito', {Brl.} boké 'moscerino della famiglia *Phlebotomus*' ¶ Hd. 71, 102, Brl. 59, Grg. 56 || K: G P buḵuḵa 'gnat' ¶ Chx. 117 || IE: NaIE *^houk-/ *^huk- 'bee' > L fūcus 'drone bee' (< *^houkos) || Clt {Matas} *biko- 'bee' > Gl {ML} *bekos 'bee' (⇝ Port Mr, It Mdn bega, Occ Cr beko, biēko 'bee'), OIr bech 'bee', MW begegryr ~ bygegryr 'drone', W begegryr 'hornet' || Sl *^obučъnъ > R Δ 'бучень 'wild bee; (ε) a green fly with a sting' 𐌆 'бучень; 'бучинь 'bumblebee'; Sl *bъčela (< *^hukelā) ~ *bьčela 'bee' > OCS, OR БЪУЕЛА бьčela ~ БЬУЕЛА бьčela, R, Blg, McdS пче'ла, Blr пча'ла, Uk бджо'ла, SCr čèla, pčèla, Slv bčēla ~ bečēla, Cz, Slk včela, P pszczoła id. ¶ P 116, Dv. no. 868, EI 57 (*^hi-k^ωo- 'bee,

stinging insect'), ESSJ III 76, 104-5, StSS 103, ML no. 1014, Vn. B 24-5, Matas. E 65 || **A** *bö|ük'ä, *bö|ük'E'g'EnE ≈ botfly, gadfly, mosquito' ({ADb.} *bük'∇ 'fly') > NaT *bü|öke-læk {ADb.} 'blue fly, botfly' > Tkm bökelek, Tk Δ bökelek & bükelek 'botfly, gadfly', Az büyäläk, Δ bögäläx, Uz Δ bukalak, Bsh bögäläk, Yk bügöläx 'botfly', Qzq бугелек, {Rl.} bügölük 'Pferde-bremse, botfly'; with other sxs: Qzq bügöžök, Nog бүклесин 'botfly', VTt bögäśän, {Rl.} bögölśök 'botfly'; T *bügäl 'gadfly' > Tk Δ būven, Blgh {Gomb.} *bügäl (→ Hg bögöly 'gadfly'), Chv паван рван 'gadfly (*Tabanus*)' ¶ ET B 212-13, MM 109, Rl. IV 1718, 1881-2, Ash. X 99, Fed. I 394, Jeg. 146, Gomb. BTL 53-4 || **M** *böküxene 'horsefly, gadfly' > MM [HI] {Ms.} böküne 'cousin, moustique', WrM {MED} böküne, būkügene, {SM} bökügene 'cousin jaune', {Ms.} bökögüne 'cousin, moustique', HlM бөхнө {MED, BMR} 'horsefly, gadfly', WrO {Krg.} böküüne 'mosquito', Kl {KRS} бөкүн 'gnat', {Rm.} böküne 'Mücke', Ord b_ökxöŋ 'cousin, moucheron, ∈ petites mouches qu'on voit sur le bétail', Mnr H {SM} p'ug_unog_ 'taon' ¶ Ms. H 43, MED 127, 145, BMR I 277, Krg. 359, KRS 114, KW 55, Ms. O 86, SM 307.

191. *bük'a' 'to bend; bent' > **HS**: Om {Blz.} *buk-/ *bukn- 'knee' > SOm: Dm bōq, Gll buqa, Ub buqa ~ buqá ~ buqá, Baka boṽa, Hm buk, Hm B būko id. || NrOm: Kcm, Gdc boʻe, Gnj boʻaut, Malo, Oyda {Fl.} bunqe, Bdt {C} bohe, {Fl.} böhe, Bsk buqa, Dk buki 'knee' ¶ Blz. OLBP no. 70, C S s.v. Bdt bohe || CCh: ?φ Bnn {ChL} fwoókivà 'knee' ¶ ChL s.v. 'knee', Fl. p.c. || **IE**: NaIE *bʰeug- ~ *bʰeugh-, {EI} *bʰeug- vt. 'bend' > [1] NaIE *bʰeug-/ *bʰug- > OI bhu'jati 'bends, curves', bhuḡ- 'na- 'bent', Blc bōg n. 'bend, knot, joint', KhS haṁ-bujs- 'bow down', haṁ-buśdä 'bows down'] [2] NaIE *bʰeugh- > Gt inf. biugan (ἰ κάμπτειν) 'beugen', OSx inf. būgan, OHG inf. biogan, NHG inf. biegen vi., vt. 'to bend, to turn', ON bogenn pp. 'bent', 3p p. bugu 'they bent'; → Gmc *bauggjan vt. inf. 'to bend' > OSx inf. bōgian, OHG inf. bougen, NHG inf. beugen, AS inf. bīežan, ON inf. beygja id.] [1 or 2] NaIE *bʰeugh₁- > pAl {O} *buta > Al butē 'soft, smooth' (< *bʰug₁h₁-to- pp. 'bent, flexible') || ?? Arm **բութ** butʰ 'blunt, dull' (< *bʰug₁h₁-to- 'bent') (unless akin to Nr Δ butt 'blunt') || OIr boc, NIr bog 'soft' ({Vn.}: ← 'pliable'), OIr fid-bocc 'wooden shaft bow' (< Clt *-buggo-) || Ltv Δ (ME) baũgurs 'Anhöhe, Hügel' || Sl *bugъrb ~ *bugorb 'hillock, knoll, mound' > R, Uk бугор (gen. бугра) id. ¶ WP II 145-6, P 152-3, EI 62, IS I 191, M K II 504-6, M E I 267 and II 274-5, Bai. 463, Fs. 96, Vr. 34, 40-1, OsS 65-6,

EWA II 78-80, 263, KM 71, 74, Ho. 22, Ho. S 8, 10, O 43, Vn. B 62, Ped. AA 341, Kar. II 26-7, ESSJ III 79, Vs. I 228, Slr. 348 || **A** *bū|ök'æ v. 'bow, bend' > T *bük- v. 'bow, bend' > OT {Cl.}, MT бүк- id., Tk бүк-, Tkm, Az, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Qq. Nog бүк-, StAlt бүк-, Xk пүк- ~ рих-, VTt, Bsh бөк-, Uz buk-, Chv L пёк- рьг-, Chv Δ.пук- vt. 'bend, curve, wrap', Tv бүк- vt. 'wrap'; NaT *bük n. 'a bend' (× N *müҚ∇ or *muҚЕ 'a bend, corner, hump' [q.v. ffd.]) > Yk {Pek.} бүк n. 'bend (изгиб) of a river', бүк adj. 'наклонный, загнутый' ¶ Cl. 324, Rs. W 91-2, ET B 290-3, Pek. 582, JkR 88, Ash. X 189-92, Fed. I 418, Jeg. 155 || M: [1] M *böke-yi- > MM [MA] бөкей- vi. 'bend down' (of humans), vt. 'bend down', [HI] d. бөкейилге- 'soumettre', WrM {MED} бөкүі- ~ бөкеі-, HLM бөхий- {MED} v. 'bend down, bow one's head' ('гнуаться'), {BMR} id., 'sich vorwärts biegen', Brt бұжы- 'bend down, bow', Kl {KRS} бөки- id., {Rm.} бөкi- 'sich vorwärts biegen, buckelig werden', Ord б_ö'xī- 'se courber', Mnr H {SM} p'ug_i- id., 'être incliné', {T} pugi- 'bend down, bow (one's head)'; [2] M *böğ|kti-yi- > WrM {MED} бөгтіі- v. 'bend, step over, bow', HLM бөгтий- {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'stoop, bow (нагибаться), 'горбиться, сутулиться' (old persons), Brt бұгды- 'bend down, bow low', Kl {Rm.} бөкчi- 'buckelig sein, sich bücken, sich vorwärts biegen'; [3] M *böken n. 'hump of a camel' > MM [MA] бөке, WrM {MED} бөкү(н), HLM {MED, BMR} бөх(өн), Brt бұхэн, Kl {Rm.} бөкү, Ord б_ö'xö, Dg bug, ShY bögön id. ¶ Pp. MA 123, MED 126-7, BMR I 271, 277, Luv. 79, 82, Chr. 120, 127, KRS 113, KW 55, Ms. O 85-6, Ms. H 43, SM 306, T DgJ 128 || Tg *buk∇ ({ḡBz.} *böklä) 'hump', *buk∇- v. 'bend' > Ewk Urm/Ucr/Chlm buku, Lm бөкçöкэн, Neg бохон, Ud бохо 'humpbacked', Ul boqo(n-) ~ buqu(n-), Ork bo(q)qo ~ buqqo ~ buqqu id., 'hump', Ewk Ucr бэкэ, Nn Nh bukũ 'hump', WrMc {Z} бохото ~ бокто 'hump of a camel', Sln buktur 'bent (кривой)', WrMc {Z} букда- vt. 'bend' ¶ STM I 104, Krm. 214, On. 81, Z 512-13, 526 || pJ {S} *pìnkām- 'be twisted\warped' > MJ pìgām- id., J T/Kg hígām-, J K hígām- {Kenk.} vi. 'warp' ¶ S QJ no. 1659, Mr. 688, Kenk. 486 ¶¶ SDM 360-1 (pA *bìùk'í v. 'bow, bend' > M *böк- 'hump; bend', T, Tg, J), DQA no. 185, Rm. EAS I 147, KW 55, Pp. VG 56 ◇ IS I 191 [no. 25] ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 39 (*buk 'bend') (IE, A + qu. Ai, Gil).

192. *b'ôhi'kə 'be white\bright\light (hell), shine white' > **HS**: WS *✓bhk (G and Sh) > MHb [BT] ✓bhk, act. prtc. bō'hēk 'albino' or 'man with white patches on the skin' (BT, Bekh. 45b), Sh hib'hīk {Js.} v. 'shine,

be bright', {Lv.} 'glänzen, leuchten', Sr ✓ b h k : Sh ʔ a b h ε k {Br.} 'luxit, splenduit', {JPS} v. 'shine white, glitter', {PS} 'splenduit, fulsit', JA [Trg.] ʔ a b h ê k v. 'shine'; WS *buh₁a₁k- ~ *baha₁k- 'white patch', (?) 'ray of light' > BHb 'boha₁k 'vitiligo alba', MHb 'boha₁k 'weißer\blasser Glanzfleck', JA [Trg.] בֹּהַק ב o h^a'k-ā, b h k y t 'white spot on the skin due to leprosy', Ar bahaq- 'id., *Vitiligo alba*, alphas (a mild species of leprosy)', Tgr በሀቅ b e h a k 'blisters', Hrs b 3 h 0 k 'havin {Z}g uncolored (white) blotches on the skin', Jb b h 0 k 'white patches on the skin' ¶ KB 108, KBR 112, LH 267, Br. 61, JPS 36, PS 458, Ln. 267, Lv. I 196, Jo. J 24, Jo. H 16, ≈ MiK I no. 1.33 (S *baha₁k '[kind of] skin disease') || Ch {JS, JI} *✓ b g 'white' > CCh: Gdf {ChC} b 3 g 3, Gv {ChL} b u g à 'white', ? HgNk {ChL} b y a, ? HgB {ChL} b i y a id., Mada b à k b à k 'brûlant' (soleil, feu) || ? WCh: Dir {IL} b á w á, {Sk.} b é 'white' (Ch *b goes back to *bh or is due to mt. of the glottalization) ¶ JI I 178 and II 344-5, ChC s.v. 'white', ChL, BrrB 73 || Om: NrOm: Kf {Cc.} b a k o 'luce', {HHM} b e k k o n h (sc. b e k k o) 'light' || ? φ SOm: Hmr {Ldl} p ^ k 'bright' (of light) ¶ R K (book) 272, HHM 144, Rnd. AL 146 ¶¶ ≠ MiK I no. 1.33 (HS *b ∇ h a k | k - 'a skin disease'), ≈ Tk. LAA-1 113 [no. 68] (unj. k in Kf bako) || IE: NaIE *b h e i g w - / *b h o i g w - / *b h i g w - 'shine (glänzen)' > Gk φωτίζω 'bright, radiant', [Hs.] ἀφικτός, ἀφικτρός (*-b h i g w -) (with the px ἀ- 'un-, not') 'impure' || OPrs *b i g n a - 'Glanz' (in proper names: B a g ā - b i g n a, Ἀρτα-βελγνης) ¶ WP II 138, P 118, F II 1031-2, otherwise EI 514 (Gk φωτίζω < ?? *g w o i g w o s) || D (att. in SD) *p u k - ({θGS} *p -, *-g -) 'bright(ness)' > Tm p u k a r 'brightness, light, color; tawny color, brown', Ml p u k a r 'dun color', Kn p o g a r 'shine, brightness, lustre, color' ¶ D no. 4232 ◇ The absence of the expected laryngeal (from N *h) in the IE root is still puzzling ◇ The IE root *b h e i g w - / *b h o i g w - / *b h i g w - is likely to go back to pre-IE *b h i k o (for *b h i k o) (loss of glottalization due to the IE incompatibility of vd. aspirates + vl. consonants in the same root) < N *b 'ô h i ' k o (loss of the vw. *ô that still needs explaining).

193. ≈ *b U K ç E (or ≈ *b U H₂ a K ç E ?) 'to tie', 'a tie' (→ 'rope') > K *° b a ç | ç (ç) - 'rope' > G b a ç k i 'dünner Faden', ?? b a ç a r i 'Bindfaden, Schnur, Seil, Strick' ¶ Chx. 71 || IE: NaIE *b h a s k ' o ' - 'bundle' > L f a s c i s 'bundle', f a s c i a 'bandage, bund' || OIr b a s c 'collar', {Vn.} 'assemblage tressé (?)', collier', OBrth b a s c a u d a 'eherner Spülkessel' (< 'plaited vessel?'); Brtt b → NE b a s k e t || Gk [Diosc.] φασκίω v. 'bind with bandages', [Hs.] φασκίς (gen. -ίδος) {By, Ch.} 'un paquet lié par une corde' || Mcd [Hs.] βάσκιον (*δεσμοὶ πρύγανων) 'bundles of dry sticks',

βασκευταί (* φασκίδες, ἀγκάλαι) 'paquets liés par des cordes' || pAl {O} *baskā > Al T bas h kē 'together, jointly' (< {BFU} 'bündelweise, in Verbindung') ¶ WP II 135-6, Ch. 1181, LS 310, By 2056, WH I 459-60, Vn. B 21-2, LP § 25.2, O 19, BFU 52, Kf. 48, Ç I 59 and II 351 (reconstructing IE *bask- on the alleged ev. of Lt *bakske 'paquet, fasceau' without indicating the lexicographical source; this Lt word has not been detected so far in any source known to me) || U *pükse ~ *pikse 'rope' ('Seil, Strick') > Mk/Er piks 'rope' || pOs *püṣat ~ *piṣat > Os: V püṣat, D piṣat, Nz pīṣat 'Tragband, Tragschnur', Kz pīwattā- 'die Tragbänder über die Brust zusammenheften' | ?φ OHg fiu [fiū] 'funiculus, Seil' (→ 'modus agri, mensura terrae') || Sm: Ne O pūd 'rope (of bark)', F N pūt 'rope' ¶¶ Coll. 49, Coll. CG 408 (*püks▽), UEW 380 (*pikse), Sm. 539 (U, FU, FP *piks i, Ugr *pīkθī, Sm *pūtθ 'cord'), Ker. II 112 || A: M *büč i 'ribbon, belt' > MM [HI] {Lew.} būč i 'ceinture, ruban d'un vêtement, ceinture qu'on porte sur la hanche', {H} būž i 'belt, loincloth', {Ms.} būč i 'ruban à un habit', WrM būc i ~ būce {MED} 'tie, ribbon, band, lace', HIM буч {MED, BMR} id., Brt буча id., 'поясок', ? бэһэ ~ бучэ 'belt, sash, girdle', WrO būc i 'ribbon, cord, band', Kl {KRS} буч 'Schnur', 'Band (тесма, лента)', {Rm.} būč i 'kurze und breite Schnur, Band', Ord būhč' i ~ būhč' e 'bande, ruban' ¶ Lew. II 23, H SMG I 18, MED 143, BMR I 311, Chr. 128, 135, Krg. 376, KRS 132, KW 70, , Ms. H 44, Ms. O 108 || D *poč(č)- ({θGS} *p-) (partially × N *pōč▽ 'to plait', q.v.) > Kui pōž a v. 'pack, make a bundle', Ku pōž ali v. 'tie up in a cloth', Kn pose v. 'twist, make rope', Krx pōžž nā / pužž yas v. 'wrap (paper, cloth) round some object', Mlt pōž e v. 'wrap' ¶¶ D no. 4479 ◇ In IE *b^hask^o - the cluster *-sk- is probably due to mt. and the vw. *a in IE and K still requires explanation (something like N ≈ *bU_h₂aKč'E with loss of *-U_h₂- in IE and K and with reg. disappearance of N *-h₂a- in U, A and D?) ◇ AD SShS 306-7.

194. (₂) *baL'ü' 'bad; harm' > HS: S *°✓blw|y > Ar ✓bly (pf. baliya, ip. -blay-) v. 'be worn out' (of clothes), balw- ~ baly- 'brisé, cassé, usé par les fatigues \ les malheurs', baly- 'usé, râpé' ¶ BK I 165 || IE: NaIE *b^halw- 'evil, wicked' > Gt balwa-wēsei (· κακία) 'Bosheit', inf. balwjan (· βασανίζειν) 'martern', balweins (· κόλασις, βάσανος) 'Strafe, Folter', AS bealu n. 'evil, calamity', adj. 'evil, dire, wicked', ON bql 'Unglück, Schade', inf. bqlva 'to curse', OHG balo (gen. balawes) 'harm' ('Ver-derben'), 'bad, evil' (n.), OSx balu id. || Gk

φαῦλος (IE < *bʰalwō-?) 'bad, mean, unfit' ¶ WP II 189, F II 998, Fs. 79, Ho. 17, Ho. S 5, Vr. 70, OsS 38, EWA I 444-5, Kb. 55, Vs. SAW 8 [no. 6] || ? A *b|pʰAíE (= *b|pʰaíE?) > T *bāí 'wound' > OT U, OT K באֵשׁ, Tk Δ baš, Yk bās, Tv באש, Tf baš id., Tkm bāš 'Geschwür (язва, нарыв)', Chv {Ash.} פִּיץעֵק 'inflamed', יִץץ פִּיץעֵקֶ 'tree bark with cracks', {Md.} püžek 'scar' ¶ Cl. 376, Rs. W 65, ET B 88-9, Ra. 158, Ash. X 85, Md. OJ 90, 174 || Tg *bele- v. 'harm' (× pA {SDM} *b|āíča 'harm, wound' [SDM 345]) > WrMc {Z} בַּלְאֵ - v. 'harm, ruin, slander', Lm Ol בַּלְאֵ - v. 'harm' ¶ STM I 125, Z 491 || pJ {S} *bārè- 'bad' > OJ wārè-, J: T/Kg warú-, K wárù- ¶ S QJ 540, Mr. 844, Kenk. 2132-3 || ??? M: HlM {BMR, Luv.} בַּלְאֵג 'guilt, cause' (an obscure word without clear connections within M) (if it is derived from WrM {Kow.} בַּלְאֵ < OI בַּלְאֵ 'power, strength, vigour, validity', it does not belong here), ? HlM {BMR} 'nachlässig (etw. tun), небрежно\невнимаелно\кое-как (что-либо делать)' ¶ BMR I 220, Luv. 59, Kow. 1074, MW 722 ¶¶ SDM 345 (pA **b|āíča 'harm, wound' > T [reconstructed as *b|āíç], Tg [reconstructed as *bial] + unc. M *bilčawu 'wound, scar' and pJ *bánsá-pápí 'damage, harm, disaster'), ≈ SDM95 s.v. *bēía 'bad, harm' (> Tg, pJ + unc. pKo *ōi- 'bad, wrong' and T {SDM} *b|āíç 'wound' [highly doubtful]) ◇ If the pA supposed cognate belongs here, the N rec. must be *baí'ü' ◇ Tg *e (< *a) of the first syll. is probably due to regr. as. (infl. of the front vw. of the next syll.) ◇ This N etymon may be connected (identical??) with N *baHí▽ 'pain, wound' (q.v.).

195. *biṭU 'be warm, burn; warm' > HS: C (× N *bEí▽ 'boil, cook', q.v. ffd.): C: EC: Or BI {Sr.} bullu-sa vt. 'warm', bullūka 'luke warm', Or {Grg.} buluk- 'become warm', bulukā adj. 'warm', {Brl.} bu ll u qa 'caldo, fervido', Rn {PG} bolχa 'be alight, burn', Arr {Hw.} bol(ō)k- 'catch fire, shine', Dsn {To.} bol- vi., Sa {R} bolol- 'burn', Sml belel- vi. 'burn', belbel, Sml N bēlbèl, bēlèl n. 'flame' || Ag {Ap.} *b3l-/ *b3r-, {AD} *b3l- / *b3r- v. 'cook, be hot' > Bln, Aw b3r-, Xm b3l-, Km b3lu y- id. || Bj {R} balōl- vi. 'burn' ¶ Grg. 67, Brl. 66, Sr. 277, PG 79, To. DL 347, 387, ZMO 38, Abr. S 30, Hw. A 348, Ap. AV 7, R WBd 48, Blz. CL 177 || Ch: MfG {Brr.} -b3l- 'allumer (le feu en faisant tourner deux bâtons)', Gzg {Lk.} -b3l- / -bl- 'anblasen (Feuer)' ¶ Brr. MG II 82, Lk. G 118 || U: FU (in Ugr only) *pil|▽ 'warm', *pil|▽- burn' > Hg fűl- v. 'be warm, be heated' | Vg: T piləwt- v. 'light (sth.)', LK pōl- 'brennen', P pēləmt- 'anzünden', N pēl- v. 'catch fire', T pält- 'anzünden', P palt-, Ss pält- 'verbrennen' ¶ UEW 879 || A: M **büli- ⇨ *büli-zen 'warm' > MM [HI] büli, en, [S]

bule_{en}, WrM {MED} būligen ~ būliyen 'warm, lukewarm', HIM бүлээн {MED} id., {BMR} 'warm', Brt бүлээн 'warm', Kl {KRS} бүлэн 'id., {Rm.} būlēn 'lau, laulich', Ord būlēn, Mnr H {SM} bīēlīān 'tiède'; WrM {MED} būli-s-, būli-d- vi. 'warm up', HIM {MED} бүлсэ- id., бүлээдэ-, Brt бүлээдэ- v. 'warm up, become warm', Kl {KS} бүлэд- id., {Rm.} būlēdā- 'lau werden; sich wärmen (durch warmen Trunk), sich erwärmen (vom Pferde, wenn es ein wenig gelaufen)' ¶ H 20, MED 146, BMR I 303-4, Chr. 122, KRS 126, KW 66, Ms. O 102, Ms. H 44, SM 24.

196. *buL ▽ 'to stir up (liquid); turbid' > HS: S *✓bll, *-bull- 'mix, moisten' (× N *ba'Lñ' ▽ 'wash, immerse') > BHb ✓bll, -bɔl (pf. בָּלַל bā'laɪ, pf. c. בָּבַל way'yā-bɔl) 'moisten (with oil); mix up' (→ 'mix up, confuse [languages]'), Sr ✓bll G {Br.} 'confudit, miscuit; madefecit', Md ✓bll v. 'mix (together), confuse', Ar ✓bll G, ip. ya-bull-u 'humecter, mouiller', Jb ✓bll Sh (pf. eb'lel) v. 'give (animals) their fill of water', Gz ✓bll G v. 'moisten; spoil, mix', Tgy ✓bll (pret. bēlēlē) v. 'spoil', Ak ✓bll (inf. balālu) v. 'mix, brew beer, make an alloy', (in the stative) v. 'mix up, confuse'; WS *✓blbl v. 'confuse' > Ar ✓blbl (pf. balbala) v. 'mix, confuse', MHb ✓blbl (pf. bil'bel) v. 'confuse', Tgr ʔabēlbēla v. 'be confused' ¶ KB 128, KBR 133-4, Br. 74, DM 66, BK I 155-6, Jo. J 25, L G 96, CAD II 39-44 || Eg Md bɜy (< *b▽ly-) 'be damp (with perspiration)', bɜyω 'damp' ¶ EG I 417, Fk. 77, Tk. II 44-8 || B: Ah bəlulu 'être très liquid' (un mélange d'un liquide et d'une substance en poudre ou en petits fragments), Tw Ng bələwələw 'être très liquide' (mélange d'un liquide et d'une substance en poudre) ¶ Fc. 65-6, NZ 68 ¶¶ Cal. 60, Tk. II 44-6 || **IE:** (+ ext. or sx?) NaIE *bʰl-end- v. 'be(come) turbid, mix' (× IE *bʰlendʰ- v. 'be blind' < N *baL▽ 'blind') > Gt inf. blandan sik (συναναμύγνυσθα) 'sich vermischen', ON inf. blanda, OHG inf. (gi)blantan, OSx, AS inf. blandan 'to mix', NE blend || Lt inf. blēsti (pres. blendžiù) 'to add flour to sth. and to mix', blendynis 'light\thin mixture (e.g. flour and water)', blandūs 'dim, dull, cloudy; misty, foggy', {Frn.} 'not clean, turbid', inf. blīsti, Δ blēstis, blāstis 'to grow\become dark\dim', 'to become turbid' (of water), subliñdo 'it got dark, night was falling' ¶ P 157-8, EI 147 (*bʰlendʰ- 'be\make cloudy'), Fs. 98-9, Vr. 42, OsS 73-4, EWA II 159-60, Kb. 94, Ho. 26, Ho. S 8, Frn. 47-8 || **A** *bul'i'- 'stir, shake, smear' > NaT *bulga- (and *bula-?) v. 'mix, stir' > OT bulḡa-, bulqa- (Cl.: bulqā-) v. 'stir, confuse', Chgbulḡa-, Nog, StAlt bulḡa- v. 'stir, mix', Qmq bulḡa- v. 'stir, stir up', Qrg bulḡa- v. 'stir, soil', Uz bulḡa-, bula- v. 'stir up, muddy', Tv

b₁l̥ʏa- v. 'mix, soil', Tf bulha- v. 'mix, knead', Xk pulʏa- v. 'mix', ET bulʏi-, Tk bula-, Tkm, Az bula- v. 'stir, mix' ¶ Cl. 337, Ra. 165, ET B 253-7, Rm. W 88 || M: [1] M *būli- 'stir, churn' > WrM būle- ~ būli- {MED} 'beat\churn kumiss with a beater', HLM б̥лэ- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'мешать, взбарывать', Brt б̥лэ- 'churn', WrO {Krg.} būli- 'stir', Kl {KRS} б̥л- 'churn (butter)', {Rm.} būla-, būl- 'umrühren, buttern', Dg {Mr.} d. bulure 'ε stirrer', Ord būli- 'baratter' | [2] M *bulan̄gir > MM [HI] bulan̄gir, [MA] bulan̄qir [bulan̄gir] 'turbid', WrM bulan̄gir {MED} 'disturbed lees or sediment in liquids; turbid', HLM {MED} булингар id., {BMR} булангир ~ булингар Trübe\Kot im Wasser (мутъ\грязь в воде), turbid water', Brt булангир 'dirt', Kl {Rm.} bul̄ngir ~ bul̄nḡ 'Schmutz, Bodensatz, Trübheit', Ord būlingir & būlangir 'saletés qui sont dans un liquide \ dans l'eau', 'mêlé de saletés \ trouble' (un liquide) | [2a] WrO bulan̄gir 'murky, cloudy', Kl {KRS} бульн̄гир bul̄h̄r 'turbid (мутный)', {Rm.} bul̄ngir ~ bul̄nḡ 'schmutzig, unrein, trüb', M ⇨ Ewk bolan̄gir 'mud (in a swamp)', bolan̄int̄i 'turbid' | [3] ?σ M *bulayi > MMgl [Z] була 'polluted', WrM bulai {MED} 'loathsome, filthy', HLM булай {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'мерзкий, гнусный, поганый', Brt булай adj. 'мерзкий, гнусный', n. "Unglück; мерзкий случай, гнусность", Kl {Rm.} bulā ~ bulā 'schmutzig', {KRS} буэр-була 'sewage, dirt' ¶ MED 133, 146, BMR I 283, 285, 303, Krg. 375, Chr. 111, 123, KRS 117, 127, KW 59-60, 66, Ms. O 93, 95, 103, Mr. D 127, Z 93 || ?σ Tg *bule 'swamp, mud' (× N *pal̥ʏ∇ 'mud, swamp, lake', q.v.) > Ewk, Lm bul̥z 'swamp, mud, dirt', Orc bul̥z 'swamp, quagmire' ¶ STM I 109 || pJ {S} *púr- 'shake up, wave' > OJ pur-, MJ φúr- id., J T φùr-, J K/Kg φúr- vt. {Kenk.} 'wave, swing' ¶ S QJ no. 779, Mr. 694, Kenk. 320 ¶¶ SDM 381-2 (pA *būli 'stir, shake, smear' > Tg, T, pJ, M *būli- + unc. Tg *bule-n 'enemy' [> Ewk bulēn, Lm bul̥n id., cf. STM I 109-10]), DQA no. 206 ◇ The loss of N *u in IE *bʰl-end- still requires explanation ◇ IS I 185-6.

197. 2 *b'ū' | í∇ 'a shoot' > K: GZ {K, K²} *bibil-, {FS} *bil- 'shoots, sprouts; edge' > G bibilo- 'comb, crest, tuft (of birds)', Mg birbil- {Kl.} 'catkin, amentum (of tree, tambourine)' ('сережки на дереве, ушки кругом бубна'), Lz bibil- 'comb (of cock); penis' ¶ K 51, K² 15, FS K 54, FS E 55, Chx. 84 || ? IE: NaIE *bʰel- 'membrum virile' > Clt {Matas.} *ballo- > OIr ball, ball ferda 'membrum virile' || Gk φάλλος 'penis' (< *bʰl̥ 'no-s), φάλλος id. ¶ P 120, Matas. 53 || D (att. in SD) (tr., §GS) *pułl- 'small stick, twig' (× N *Pul̥ | í∇, 'ʔ'∇ 'ε tree [poplar or sim.]?) >

Tl pulla 'a small stick or twig', Kn pulle, pulli 'a small bit of very dry wood', Kdg pulli 'fuel', Tu pullæ 'a split, splint' ¶ D no. 4328.

197a. *b ∇ L ∇ 'dove' > **IE**: NaIE: Ltv balôdis, Lt balañdis id. || Oss: I bälön, D bäläw 'domesticated pigeon', (× N *P $\bar{e}$ l| ∇ [= *pe| ∇ ?] 'pigeon') OI bālāgra 'dovecot' ¶ ≈ Frn. 31, ≈ Kar. 1O1 (both: unc.: in Blt 'dove' ← 'white'), Ab. I 249 || **HS**: EC: Or bululla 'colombo, piccione', {Brl.} bulallé id., 'tortora', ??σ Sd {Gs.} bulo 'ε bird' ¶ Brl. 65, Th. 51, Gs. 49 || Ch *(m ∇ -)bU| - > WCh: Hs bōlō 'dove', Gmy bεl, Cp bul, Su {J}, Ang ^mbul; Krkr {ChL} bēlōwī id., Bl {ChC} ^mbole 'dove', Tng {J} ^mbole 'turtledove' || CCh: Tr {Nw.} mbólá 'dove' || ECh: Gabri {AF} bélū, Kwn M {J} búlōgō 'dove' ¶ ChC s.v. 'dove', ChL, Ba. 118. J T 75, Stl. ZCh 156 [no. 1O4], Nw. WLT 42, Lk. ZSS 88 ¶¶ OS no. 33O (Or, Ch + unc. Eg brn 'ε bird', brw 'phoenix' + err. Kwn bēlōkí [in fact 'dawn' rather than 'dove!']) || **D** *pe| - ({ ∇ GS} *b-) 'dove, pigeon' (× N *P $\bar{e}$ l| ∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Blz. DA 160 (D, HS), Blz. NDA no. 61 (D, HS, IE) ◇ Qu. because of possible infl. of the onomatopoeia and names of colors.

198. *bi ∇ u ∇ ê (> *bô ∇ u ∇ ê {mt. of vowels}) 'cloud' > **HS**: C: Bj {R, Rop.} bāl 'cloud', ??? {R} bire ~ bile f. 'sky', m. 'rain' ¶ Rop. 161, R WBd 46-7, 5O || NrOm: Dwr bola, Gf bolla 'sky' ¶ Blz. OL, Mrn. O || Ch *b ∇ l ∇ > WCh: Kir {ChL} pēlat 'sky' || CCh: pMM *nbulum 'sky' > {Ro.}: Mlk cd húrmbùlóm, Zlg cd gèzàmbùlóm, Gzg cd bùmbugùvùn id. | Lgn {Lk.} bēlōkō 'cloud' || ECh: Nd D {J} bēlān 'sky' ¶ ChC s.v. 'sky' and 'cloud', ChL, Ro. 327 [no. 651]; ≈ IS I 18O (+ unc. Ch words for 'rain'), Lk. L s.v. bēlōkō || Eg fOK by ∇ (name of the celestial body of water [Gewässer] in which the Sun-god swims and which is crossed by dead people), (Eg N/G) 'heaven, firmament' ¶ EG I 439, Fk. 8O, Tk. II 128-9 || **K**: Lz pūla, Lz A pūlera 'cloud', Mg pūla 'steam' ¶ Q 299, Rosen L 34, 37 || **U**: FU *pilwe 'cloud' > F pilvi, Es pilv id. | pLp *pēlv ∇ > Lp: N {N} bāl'vâ {LLO} pal'va, Kld pēlv id., S {Hs.} balve 'trübes Wetter' | pMr *piā 'cloud' > Er пель pél, Δ péyeí, Mk Δ peyeí | Chr: KB pēl, U/B pēl id. | Vt piēm-, OPrm pil, Z LV/Ud piv, Z I/Vm piy id. || Os: V pēlən, D pētən, O pālən id. | Hg fēlhō, fēlleg id. ¶ UEW 381, Coll. 49, Sm. 547 (FU *pilwi 'cloud' > FP *pilvi, Ugr *pīlg|ī), MF 148, It. no. 379, Ker. II 1O7-8, Lr. no. 858, Lgc. no. 4657, Hs. 285-6, LG 221, SZ 186 || **A** **bôl'ī' - > ppT *bulit > NaT *bulut (ppT {Md.} *būlit ~ *pilut) > OT, Tk bulut, Az, Tkm, Uz, Qrg bulut, Qq, Qzq bult, Nog bulit, VTt болыт bōlyt, Bsh болот bōlyt, Tv bulut, Yk bilit id. || Chv L пѣлѣт, Chv Δ пѣлт 'sky, cloud' ¶ S AJ

176 [no. 15], ET B 262-4, Rs. W 88, Rs. LTS 156, Ash. X 200-4, Fed. I 420, Jeg. 156, Md. 67-8 ¶ Acc. to IS, *-t goes back to the ending of pl. || ?σ Tg *°bolī- 'wehen', *bolol_ln_l 'autumn' > Ewk bolī- 'wehen', Ewk, Neg, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk/KU, Orc, Sln bolol, Lm bol_lēn_l, Ud boloni, Jrc bolol, WrMc {Z} болори 'autumn' ¶ STM I 92-3, On. 73, Z 516-17 ¶¶ SDM 382 (pA *būlu|o|a 'cloud' > T, Tg) || D (att. in SD) *pu|i|∇ 'mist on mountains \ in valleys' > Kdg pu·|I 'mist on mountains', Td pI₄m₀3m 'mist in valleys \ on hills' ¶ D no. 4375 ◇ Mg and Lz *p- and D *-l- (regularly from the N intervocalic lateral sonorant) point to a lr. (*?) and to the intervocalic position of *l in the N etymon (*biluʔē). D *-l- suggests a N *-l- (or *-l̥-, ruled out by the T cognate), while the U word seems to point to a N *-l-. This discrepancy is still to be elucidated (a positional change in the preconsonantal position in the prehistory of U?). Lz and Mg u, pA *û and D *u of the first syll. are due to regr. as. ◇ IS I 180, DQA no. 209 (A, IE, D, U, ?K).

199. *b∇L∇ʔa 'to blow, to inflate' > HS: CCh: Gzg D {Lk.} b3l 'anblasen (Feuer)' | Db {LnG} mbūl v. 'blow' ||| ECh: Skr {Nc. [reported by Lk.]} bólyo id. ¶ JI II 33, Lk. G 119, ChC s.v. 'blow', LnG s.v. mbūl || ?σ Eg fOK b3 'soul' (transcribed in Gk [Horapollon] as βαύ) (× N *beʔy∇ 'body, self', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Cf. also Ch: Ke {Eb.} fú:li 'blasen, wehen', Kir {ChL} f^ωale v. 'blow' (JI II 33, Eb. 46, ChL, ChC s.v. 'blow'), but this Ch verb may be better equated with HEC {Hd.} *fōle 'breath' ||| K *°bēl- > Sv UB/L {GP, Dn.} li-bēl-e v. 'cause sth. to swell up; swell up', Sv {Ni.} -bāl-/ -bel- v. 'swell' (× N *b^oʔi'í|l|∇ 'swell', q.v. ffd.) (K 50, K² 11 and IS I connect the Sv word with G ber- v. 'inflate' [aor. -ber-e < *-bēr-e, / GM S 250, GM SAKS 70-1], Lz bar-, Mg (m)bar- v. 'blow, inflate' [{K} *bel₂-, {K²} *ber-], but this is highly doubtful) (see N *bū'h¹R∇ 'blow, inflate, swell') ¶¶ Ni. s.v. 'пыхнуть' and 'пыхлый', GP 1, 147, Dn. s.v. bēl-, IS I 193, K 50, K² 11, Schm. 97, Chik. 252 ||| IE: NaIE *b^hlā- (/°b^hel_la_l-?) v. 'blow, inflate' ({EI} IE *b^hl-eh_h- <° *b^hel- 'blow, blow up, swell') > L flā- (1s pres. flō) v. 'blow', flātus (gen. -ūs) 'a blowing, blast, breathing' ||| Gmc *blē- > WGmc *blā- > OHG inf. blāen 'to blow, to blow out' ('conflare, inflare, spirare'), MHG inf. blæje, blæwen, NHG inf. blāhen 'to inflate', OFrs blē p. 'blew', AS inf. blāwan 'to blow, to breathe', NE blow; ON blær 'gust of wind, Windstoß' ||| ? Clt: W ffroen-foll 'with wide nostrils', {P} 'with puffed out nostrils' (ffroen is 'nostril') ¶ The puzzling Gmc *ē (> WGmc *ā) for the expected Gmc *ō (< NaIE *ā) may be due to

positional factors ¶ P 120-2, EI 71, WH I 517, Ho. 26, OsS 73, Kb. 94, EWA II 151-2, Lx. 22-3, KM 81, Vr. 46, YGM-1 227 || **ŋ**: Tg: Ewk bōlī- v. 'blow' (of wind) ¶ STM I 92 ◇ IS I 193-4 (K, IE).

200. *baL̥ ▽ 'blind' > **HS**: C: EC {Ss.} *baŋ-/ *ballaŋ- 'blind, one-eyed' > Or {Grg.} ballā 𐌱 balʔā 'one-eyed', Or H {Ow} bálʔā m., bálʔ-ō f., Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} ballā m., ball-ō f. 'blind', Or Wl {Brl.} ball-a 'squint-eyed, short-sighted, one-eyed', Arr {Hw.} ballák 'blind person', Sd balʔ-ičča ~ ball-ičča, Ged ballaʔ-a, Hr pallaŋ-akko, Brj {Hd.} bal'ŋa, {Ss.} balʔ-ā 'blind', pHEC {Hd.} *ball- v. 'be blind' > Sd ball-, Ged ball-eʔ-, Brj balʔ-āw- || SC: Kz {E} balangayo 'blind person' ¶ Ss. B 33, Hd. 28, AD SF 195, AD GDS no. 1.70, Hw. A 346, Grg. 35, Sr. 27, Ow. 255, E SC 320 || ʔφ Eg: DEg bŋ, Cpt: Sd БАΛΕ balle ~ B ΒΕΛΕ belle 'aveugle' (unless the Eg word goes back to an ellypsis from a cd with Eg bŋ [spelled br] 'eye') ¶ Er. 120, Vc. 27 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 71 [no. 1,7], AD GDS no. 1.70, OS no. 204 || **IE**: NaIE *bʰl-end- v. 'to be(come) blind, not to see' (× IE *bʰlendʰ- v. 'be[come] turbid, mix' < N *buL ▽ 'stir up [liquid]; turbid') > Gt blindz, ON blindr, OHG blint, NHG, Sw, Dn, Nr, OSx, AS blind 'blind', NE blind || Ltv Δ (← Cur) inf. blēnst 𐌱 bleñst (pres. blendu) {ME} 'schwach sehen', Ltv inf. blenzst 'to stare vacantly' || Sl inf. *blesti / 1s pres. *bled-q v. 'err, lose one's way' > OCS inf. БАΛСТН blesti / 1s pres. БАΛДЖ бледq 'φλυαρεῖν, talk rubbish', 'πορνεύειν, be lecherous, fornicate', RChS, OR inf. БАΛСТН blesti 'to stray, to lose one's way', SCr inf. blesti, Slv inf. blésti, OCz inf. blésti 'to talk rubbish\nonsense'; Sl inf. *blqđiti > OCS inf. БАЖДНТН blqđiti (pres. БАЖЖДЖ блqžđq) 'блуждать, to go astray', 'πορνεύειν, развратничать, to be lecherous', R inf. блqдитъ id., SCr inf. blūđiti / blūđīm 'to prostitute', Slv inf. blóđit, Cz inf. blouđiti, Slk inf. blúđit' 'to lose one's way, to roam, to err'; Sl *blqđъ > OCS БАЖДЪ блqđъ 'πορνεύειν, порнεία, порνικός, блуд, разврат', R, Blg блуд 'πορνεία, lechery', P bŋāđ, Slv blōđ 'mistake', SCr blūđ 'unchastity, lechery' ¶ P 157-8, EI 147 (*bʰlendʰ- 'be\make cloudy' without distinguishing the root for 'blind' from that for 'turbid'), Fs. 100, Vr. 44, OsS 76, EWA II 187, KM 84, Ho. 27, Ho. S 8, Kar. I 134-5, ME I 313-14, ESSJ II 114-15, 125-8, SPS I 270f., StSS 93-4, Glh. 136 || **ŋ** *b|p'aL ▽ 'blind' > M *balay 'blind, dark' > MM [IsV] balay in balay soqor 'blind' (soqor also means 'blind'), WrM {MED} balay 'dark, obscure, ignorant, intellectually or morally blind', HlM балай {MED} id., {BMR} 'dark, mad, blind', Brt

балай 'dark, blind', Kl {KRS} бала 'dark, stupid, blaind', {Rm.} balā 'dunkel, dumm, blind', Ord b₁alā 'stupide' ¶ Lg. VMI 18, MED 78, BMR I 220-1, Kow. 1074, KRS 78, KW 30, Ms. O 47 || Tg *bal₁ 'blind' > Ewk, Ud bal₁, Lm, Neg, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk/KU bal₁, Orc bāl₁, Ul bāl₁ 'blind', WrMc {Z} балу 'blind person'; Tg *bal₁- 'become blind' > Ewk bal₁-, Lm, Neg, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk/KU bal₁- v. 'become blind' ¶ STM I 70, On. 60, Z 479 ◇ S and EC suggest a N word-internal lr. *ɿ, while the absence of the expected lr. in Eg bl may be explained away by accepting the alt. etymology of the Eg word as an ellypsis from a cd with bl 'eye' ◇ IS I 178, Blz. LN I 201.

201. *b'iʔ'aɿʔa (or *b'iʔ'aɿʔ'uʔ?) 'to swallow; throat' > HS: WS *✓ bl₁ 'swallow' > Hb, Ug, Ar, Gz ✓ bl₁ G id., JA ✓ bl₁ G id., 'absorb'; derived nouns for 'throat', 'oesophagus' and the like: Sr bāl₁aʔt-ā 'guttur', Md bal₁ʔumā 'gullet', Ar bul₁um 'oesophagus', ? Mh/Hrs {Jo.} tɒbɒlɒt 'uvula, tonsil(s)', Jb C {Jo.} tɒbɒlɒt 'uvula', Sq {L} 'balham 'viveur' ¶ KB 129, KBR 134-5, OLS 108, Sl. 221-2, Js. 174-5, Ln. 249, L G 94-5, L LS 88, Br. 77, DM 48, Jo. M 399, Jo. H 126, Jo. J 269, MiK I no. 1.36 || C *bal₁- 'throat' > Bj A {AD} balaʔa id., Bj {R} bala 'Kehle, Schlund' || EC: Af {Bls.} biliʔa 'necklace' ¶ AD SF 198, R WBd 47, Bls. A s.v. biliʔa || Eg G b₁ʔʔ 'drink blood', ?φ Eg fP b₁ʔn.t 'Hals'; ?? (rdp.): Eg fP b₁ʔʔ 'drink' (⇔ Tk. II 159: Eg-S comparison is improbable with respect to Eg b₁ʔʔ) ¶ EG I 446-7, Fk. 81, Tk. II 157-9 || NrOm: Bdt {C} balā 'neck' ¶ C SO 60 || Ch: WCh: Bks {J} bəlèʔ 'Kropf', as well as possibly words for 'uvula': Hs bēlī ~ bēlū, Su {J} bēlbēl, Bd {Lk.} bāl-án || ?σ CCh: MfG -bál- 'donner à manger (à un enfant)' || ECh: Bdy {AlJ} béle 'gorge, voix' ¶ Brr. MG II 82, J R 140, Abr. H 95, AlJ 58, Lk. NB 224 ¶¶ Tk. I 96 || U *paɿa- v. 'swallow, bite' > FU *paɿa 'mouthful, piece' > F paɿa 'Bissen, Brocken', Es paɿa 'piece, bit', pLp {Lr.} *pōlē 'a bit, small piece' > Lp: N {Fri.} buola 'frustulum', T {TI} p+lɿʔ 'Bissen, Bißchen' | Er pal 'piece (of food)' | ? Chr Y/U pulɿʔ 'bit (of bread, meet)' || pObU *pūɿ(-) v. 'swallow', n. 'mouthful, bit' > pVg *pūɿ 'bit, piece' > Vg: T pōɿ, LK/MK/UL/Ss pūɿ, NV pula id.; pOs *puɿ∇- v. 'swallow' > Os: V puɿɿ- 'schlürfen, kosten', D pūɿ- v. 'swallow', O pulat- 'gierig\schnell hintereinander essen'; pOs *puɿ 'mouthful, bit' > Os: V puɿ, O pūɿ 'mouthful, bit, Vorgekautes', D pūɿ 'Bissen, Vorgekautes' || Sm {Jn.} *palä- 'schlucken' > Ne T O pālē- 'verschlingen, verschlucken', StNe inf. палесъ 'to swallow', Slq Tz {KKIH} pōɿɿ- id., Koyb {Sp.} поолдола 'a gulp' ('глоток') ¶¶ UEW 350, Sm. 540 (U, FU *pālā-, FP *paɿa-, Ugr

*pola-, Sm *pǎlä- 'bite'), Lr. no. 995, Ht. 176 [no. 512], TI 377, Jn. 116, KKI 152, Ptp. 37 || **A** *b|p'i,alg'ü' 'throat', *b|p'i,alg'ü'- v. 'swallow' > M *balgu- > WrM balgu- {MED} v. 'hold water in the mouth; swallow, gulp', HlM балга- {MED} id., {BMR} 'take one gulp of water (to drink it); abtrinken (отпивать)', Brt балга- v. 'swallow', Kl {KRS} балh- v. 'swallow; hold water in the mouth', {Rm.} balʏa- 'schlucken, glucksen, einen großen Schluck nehmen'; M *balgu > WrM {MED} balgu 'mouthful, draught, gulp, swallow, small quantity of water', HlM балга {MED} id., {BMR} 'ein Schluck (глоток)', Brt балга id., Kl {KRS} балh balʏb id., {Rm.} balʏa 'ein Mundvoll oder so viel man auf einmal verschlucken kann, Schluck' ¶ MED 80, BMR I 222, Chr. 83-5, KRS 79, KW 31 || Tg *bilga 'throat' > Ewk bilga, Lm bilgъ, Neg bilga, Orc bigga, Ul bilžā, Ork bilda, Nn Nh {On.} bilga id., Nn Nh/KU {STM} bilga id., 'gullet', WrMc {Z} билха id. ¶ STM I 82, On. 66, Z 502-3 ¶¶ SDM 344 (pA *bjałge 'throat', v. 'swallow' > Tg, M), DQA no. 132, KW 31 ◇ See IS I 173-4 (N *balʕ'U' 'to swallow' > HS [S, Eg, C], A [M, Tg]), AD GD 12 ◇ The change of N *ʏ into pA *g (> M *g and Tg *g) may be compared with a similar change in N *k'o'Rʏ∇ > Tg *χurge- 'heavy' (see N *k'o'ʕR∇ - *k'o'Rʕ'û' [probably *k'o'ʏR∇ - *k'o'Rʏ'û'] 'be heavy, be stout/thick']) and in N *pǎ'ʏ'üwA 'fire' (> pA *p'æ'g'ü' 'hot, warm' > M *pexü- vi. 'warm in the sun'). The conditions of this change are still to be investigated.

202. *b∇L,h,∇ 'leaf, leaves, green plants' > **HS:** S *°bul- > Ar ?ubl- 'restes du fourrage vert fauché ou mangé par les bestiaux' ¶ BK I 5, GB 5 (*÷ Sr and Hb) || C *b∇l- 'leaves' > Ag: Xm {R} bælbæle 'branch' || Bj {R} бая 'leaf, leaves' || EC {Bl.} *bāl- 'leaf, feather' > Af bal 'feather worn by one who has killed a man', Or Wl bāl-eʔ, bāl-a, {Brl.} bal-a (nom. balli), Or M/Gj {LLC} bāla, Arr {Hw.} bāl 'leaf', Dsn {HL} bal-li (pl. bal-ām) 'feather', Or B 'bāl-a (nom. bāl-ī), Kns pāl-a, Gdl E pāl, Sml bāl, Bs {HL} bāl, {Si.} bal 'feather, leaf', Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS} pāl-hó 'ostrich feather', HEC {Hd.} *bālle 'feather' > Brj {Ss.} bālē, Kmb bāl-ita, Sd {Hd.} balle, ball-ičō, Hd {Ss.} ballaʔe id. ¶ Bl. 99, HL 82-3, Brl. 39, Sr. 268, LLC 114, Si. ACh 14, 17, Hw. A 345, PH 67, Ss. B 31 (EC *bāl- 'feather'), Hd. 62, 179, 309, 352, AMS 178, 216, 272, To. DL 486 || NrOm *bal- 'leaf, feather' ({Blz.} *bal- 'grass, leaf') > Gdc {Blz.} bālle 'leaf', Wl {LmS} bālliā, Dwr {LmS} balle, GnJ {Si.} 'bālo, Kcm {Si.} 'bāli 'feather' ¶ LmS 320, Si. ACh 14 || Ch: CCh: Dgh {ChL} bule 'leaf' || ECh: Nd D {J} pàlìí id., ?? Smr {J} bàžé id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'leaf', ChL || **K** *°bal- > Sv: UB {TK, GP}, L

{TK, Dn.}, LB {TK} bale (< *bala-i), Sv Ln/Lx {TK} bāle 'leaf' ¶ TK 141, GP 90, Dn. s.v. bale || IE *b^helH_X-, *b^hl(o)H_X-t-, {EI} *b^holom 'leaf' > Gk φύλλον id. || L folium 'leaf' || OIr bileóc ~ bileóg 'small leaf' || (+ *t-ext.) IE *b^hlH₂d- ({EI} *b^hl_had-) 'leaf' > ON blað, NNr, Sw, Dn, OSx blad, OHG blat ≈ plat, NHG Blatt 'leaf', AS blæd 'leaf, blade of a sword', NE blade || Tc: A pält, B piltā 'leaf' ({Wn.}: < NaIE *b_olā-t-) ¶ WP II 114-15, P 122, EI 348, F II 1051, Ch. 1232-3, WH I 523-4, Vn. B 50-1, Vr. 41, OsS 74, EWA II 167-8, KM 82, Ho. 25, Ho. S 8, Wn. I 158 || ??? A ({SDM95} *b^olp^ol∇ 'leaf'): ?φ pJ *pá > OJ pá, MJ [RJ] φά, J: T hà, K hǎ, Kg/Ns há, Sh φǎ, Ht pǎ, Y hǎ id. ¶ S QJ no. 41, Mr. 394, Kenk. 410 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. *b^ol∇ 'leaf', S AJ 266 [no. 41] ◇ The supposed J cognate is highly qu., because here the rec. of pA *-l- is based on external comparison ◇ Hardly here D: Kn pālīyū 'earlobe' (certainly from pālīyū 'part; edge') ¶ ADM 418.

203. *beLk∇g∇ (= *beĪk∇g∇?) 'belly, waist' > HS: S *^o✓ blg > Ar بُلْجَة bulǧ-at- 'région anale' ¶ DRS 66 || IE: NaIE *b^helg^hl̥g^h- 'belly' (× NAIE *b^helg^h- 'leather bag, sack' and possibly *b^helg^h- v. 'swell') > OIr bolg, MW boly, bola, W bol, bola, boly 'belly, sack' || Gmc: ON belgr 'belly, leather bag', AS bēlǣ ≈ byl(i)ǣ 'leather bag', NE belly ¶ Valid unless the primary meaning is 'swell' or 'bag, sack' ¶ P 125-6, Vn. B 66-7, Vr. 32, Sw. 81, HDEL 121, qu.: EI 45 (hyp.: 'belly' ← *b^hol̥g^his 'skin bag, bolster [made from stuffed animal skin]') || A *bēlkægæ ({S} *bēlkege) 'waist, slope' (× N *P_el̥ǵē ~ *P_el̥ǵē 'side of body, side' × ? N [?] *weHlyL∇ [or *weLH∇?] ≈ hip, waist') > M *belkeʁe-sün 'waist' > WrM belkegesū(n) {MED} 'middle part of the body, waist; middle of the slope of a mountain', HlM бэлхүүс {MED} id., {BMR} 'waist, small of the back (поясница)', Brt бэлхүүһэ(н) 'waist', Kl {KRS} белкүсн belküsn̩ id., {Rm.} belküsn̩ 'Mitte des menschlichen Körpers, Leib', Ord belxūs 'lombes, région lombaire' ¶ MED 98, BMR I 313, Chr. 131, KRS 95, KW 42, Ms. O 65 || pT {TL} *bēlk 'waist' > Chv пилёк pilyk 'waist (поясница, талия)' || NaT *bæ̌l > OT {Cl.} bēl 'waist', Tkm bīl id., Yk bīl, Tk bel, Az, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Uz, Ln, Qmn, Tb bel, ET {Nj.} bāl, ET Δ {ML.} bel, běl, bǐl, StAlt b_el, SY p_el, VTt, Bsh, Slr bīl 'waist', Tv b_el id., 'bottom part of a mountain slope'; NaT ⇨ M: WrM bel {MED} 'waist; declivity, slope' HlM бэл {MED} id., {BMR} 'waist, Rücken; Mitte, Rumpf', Kl {Rm.} 'Hüfte, Mitte (des menschlichen Körpers oder des Berges)', {KRS} бел 'подножие горы', Ord b_el 'milieu du

corps (chez l'homme)' ¶ pT -k > NaT -Ø acc. to Mudrak's rule: pT *-lk > NaT *-l, Chv -лѣк -лѣк ({Md.} -лѣк|χ or -лѣк|χ) (Md. DKCh 220-1) ¶ Cl. 332, DTS 93, ET B 135-7, Nj. 204, Md. 91, Fed. I 232, Ash. IX 211-13, Jeg. 160, ChVS 139. Rm. EAS I 212, MED 96-8, BMR I 312, Chr. 131, KW 41, KRS 93, Ms. O 63 || Tg *belge 'lap' > Ewk, Neg, Nn Nh/Bk/KU {STM} b3lg3, Nn Nh {On} b3lg3, Ud b3g3, Ul b3lǵ3, Ork b3ld3 'lap', Lm b3lgə 'lap, slope' ¶ STM I 123, On 85 ¶¶ The length of *e in pA may be accounted for by the merger of the word in question with N *P_e?lê - *P_e?lê ¶¶ TL 268-9 (T, M, Tg) ◇ N *-k▽g- was reduced to *g in S, pre-IE (> IE *g^hl̥^h) and Tg, to *k in T, but preserved in M *belkeʁe-sün ◇ Qu., because the IE and the A supposed cognates have alt. etl. ties ◇ ADb. SR 306 (IE, A + unc. D *pārka 'rib, side').

204. *baṭi, 'k'a 'to shine' > IE: NaIE *b^helg-/*b^hlg-/*b^hleg- id., {EI} *b^hleg- 'burn, shine' > OI 'b^harg-as- ntr. 'splendour, radiance', ?? bhrā'jatē 'shines, beams, glitters' || Gk φλέγω vt. 'burn, burn up', vi. 'burn, blaze' (of fire, torches), φλέγμα 'flame, fire' || L fulg-ō ~ fulge-ō (< *b^hlg-) 'flash, lighten', fulgor 'lightning', flagrā- vi. 'blaze, burn, glow, flame' || Ltv Δ {ME} baĩgans 'whitish', Olt XVI [Brtk.] inf. blinginti (with an infix *-n-) 'to shine (leuchten, glänzen)' || OHG inf. blecken ~ blecchen (< Gmc *blakjan) 'to become visible, to flash', MHG inf. blecken 'to become visible', OSx inf. blīkan 'glänzen', AS inf. blīcan 'to shine (glänzen, scheinen, leuchten)', inf. blæcern ~ blacern 'to lantern', ON blakkr 'pale, yellowish brown' || pTc {Ad.} *pālk- > Tc A/B pālk- v. 'shine, illuminate', 'luire, briller' || NaIE *b^hleig-/*b^hlig- 'light-colored', 'shine' > AS blāc, OHG bleih 'white, pale, fallow', NHG bleich, OSx blēk, ON bleikr 'pale'; OHG blic 'Glanz' || Lt Δ inf. blaikštýtis 'to shine, to clear up' (of weather), inf. blýkšti 'to turn\grow pale\white' || Sl inf. *bliskati ~ *blistati, *blbščati 'to shine, to sparkle', *blbstěti 'to shine, glänzen' (no traces of IE *g, which had to fall in preconsonantal position, see ESSJ II 116-18, 130-2) ¶ P 124-5, EI 513, IS I 174, M K II 479-80, 529-30, ME I 253 and II 252, 279-80, F II 1022-4, WH I 50-1, Frn. 46, 48, Vr. 42-3, Ho. 25, 27, Ho. S 8, OsS 75-6, EWA II 171-63, 177-8, Kb. 96-7, KM 83-4, Wn. I 354, Ad. 377, Ad. H 64 || U: FU *opa'l|k'▽- > Os N {Páp.} pāḡal 'lightning', Os O {KrT} paḡal 'thunderstorm, thunder', paḡal tut 'lightning' ¶ Stn. D 1124-5, KrT 666 || A *balk'▽- > NaT *balk'i- v. 'shine, lighten' > MT balqī- id., Cmn balki- (balqī-) 'fulgere', OOg [Rabg.], Chg [QB] balqī- v. 'shine'

('сиять, светить'), OOsM *balqı-*, Tk Δ *balkı-*, Bsh, Kr, CrTt, Qmq, Qzq, Qq *balq(ı)-*, VTt *balq(ь)-* v. 'shine' ('сиять'), Tkm d. *balqilda-* v. 'shine' ('блистать, сверкать') ¶ ET B 56-7, Grøn. 48 || pKo *p^hrk- > MKo {S} p^hrk-, {Rm.} p^hlg-, NKo *palk-*, Ko Ph *pak-* 'be light\bright\clear' ¶ Rm. SKE 186, S QK no. 1152, Nam 247, MLC 732 || HS: EC *✓blk (~ *✓blg?) v. 'flash, shimmer' > Or {Tut.} *balag* 'flashing, shimmering' (n. act.), *balagi* 'shimmering, flashing, shining' (n. act.), Or {Grg.} *balak-isa* v. 'flash' (of lightning), Or {Tut.} *balag* 'flashing, shimmering' (n. act.), *balagi* 'shimmering, flashing, shining' (n. act.), Sd {Gs.} *bele'ko* 'lightning', Sml {DSI} *bilig dheh* 'scintillare, brillare in lontananza', *bilig bilig* 'scintillio', *bilig-lee* 'luccicare', Sml N {Abr.} *báddu wâ bílig bílig le dahây* 'the sea is shimmering', ?φ Rn {PG} *bilḏīḫa* v. 'shine' ¶ AD SF 254, Grg. 4, PG 78, Gs. 37 || NrOm: Dm {Fl.} *bēlχzn ~ pēlχzn* 'bright, shiny' (mt. of glottalization: *b...k > b...χ ~ p...χ) ¶ ≈ Fl. OO 317 || CS *✓blg v. 'shine, flash' > Ar {BK, Fr.} بلج ✓blǧ G (ip. -bluǧ-u) 'briller, luire' (l'aurore), Sh (pf. *ʔablaǧa*) 'shine' (sun), بَلَجَة *balǧat-* 'clarté (surtout de la fin de la nuit, à l'approche de l'aurore)', BHb ✓blg Sh (pf. *hib'liḡ*) 'cause to flash; become cheerful, brighten up'; Cn ⇨ Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk} *bí-la-ga* v 'light up' ¶ KB 126, KBR 132, GB 99, Fr. I 149, BK I 157, Hv. 44, Hlk no. 63, SivCR 79 ◇ N *b...k (suggested by EC and NrOm) yields IE *b^h...g due to the law of incompatibility of IE vd. aspirates and vl. consonants. CS *g for the expected *k still requires explanation ◇ IS (MS 331) equated CS *✓blg, the A ✓ (T and Ko) and IE *b^helg- and reconstructed the N source as *balg∇. Later (IS I 174) he added the U ✓ **✓palk∇ and untenably adduced S *✓brk v. 'flash, lighten' and K *berçq-/*brçq- 'glänzen, funkeln' (unacceptable on phonetic grounds, just as the resulting N rec. *balqa). Cf. N *b∇R₁∇₁kæ 'to flash, to shine'. NaIE *b^hleḡg-/*b^hlig- is likely to point to a N word-medial vw. *i. NaIE *-g- suggests a final N *-a ◇ Cf. Gr. II no. 50 (*be'lk 'bright' > IE, U, A, Gil *pila-yu 'be brilliant').

205. ₂ *b∇L i ʔ₁∇₁k'ü' 'beat, strike' > K: G *blikvñ-* 'einen Faustschlag versetzen' ¶ Chx. 89 || IE ≈ *b^hliHχg̃(ω)-, {EI} *b^hliHg̃- 'strike' > NaIE *b^hliḡ(ω)-/*b^hlēyḡ- v. 'strike, press' ({P} 'schlagen, schmeißen') > Gk A/I φλῑβω {Ch.} 'écraser, presser', {EI} v. 'press' || W † *blif* 'catapult' || L *flīg-ō* (inf. -ēre) v. 'beat, dash down' || Ltv Δ inf. {ME} *blaižīt* 'to squeeze, to strike, to smash', inf. *bliēzt* (1s pres. *bliēžu*) 'to strike,

to chop', Lt *blužẽ* 'a torn place in cloth' | Sl **blizna*, **blizno* 'scar, bruise' (← 'a beaten place in the body'), 'Fadenbruch' (← 'a beaten place in the cloth') > P *blizna* 'scar', Cz *blizna* 'bruise', SCr *blīzna*, OR or RChS *БЛИЗНА* *blizna* 'scar', Blg *близ'на*, R Δ *'близна* 'Fadenbruch im Gewebe' ¶ WP II 217, P 160-1 (and unc.155 on *'близна*), EI 549, Ch. 1213, ESSJ II 118-20, EM 369, WH I 517, F II 1027, YGM-1 47, ≈ Frn. 46-7, ME I 308, 317, SPS I 264-5 ◇ IE **ǵ(ʷ)* in **bʰ...ǵ(ʷ)* < N **b...k* is due to one of the IE incompatibility laws.

206. *ba¹Lñ¹∇ 'wash, immerse' > K: GZ **ban-* v. 'wash, wash oneself' > OG *ban-* id., G *ban-* id., 'bathe', Mg *bon-*, Lz (m) *bon-* id. ¶ K 48, K² 7, Chik. 254-5, FS K 43, FS E 42 || **HS** **✓bln* v. 'wash, wet' > S **°✓bll* 'moisten, mix' (× N **buL∇* 'to stir up [liquid]; turbid') > Ar *✓bll* (pf. *balla*, ip. *-blul/-bull-*) 'humecter, mouiller', *✓bll* (pf. *balila*, ip. *-blal-*) 'être humecté\mouillé', BHb *✓bll*, *-bɔl* (pf. *בָּלַל*, pf. cons. *וַיִּבָּל* *way'yā-bɔl*) 'moisten (with oil); mix up', Sr *✓bll* G {Br.} 'confudit, miscuit; madefecit', Jb *✓bll Sh* (pf. *eb'lel*) v. 'give (animals) their fill of water', Gz *✓bll* G 'moisten; spoil, mix' ¶ BK I 155, Ln. 242-3, L G 96, GB 101, Br. 94, Jo. J 95 || Ch [1] CCh: Mada {BrrB} *àbàlá* v. 'wash (oneself\sth.)', Md {Rs.} *bàlá* v. 'wash' |[2] Ch **✓bn* ({Nw.} **bənə* id., {JS} **✓bn* v. 'wash') > WCh: Bl {Lk.} *bin-* v. 'wash oneself' | ? SBc (with puzzling devoicing of **b-*): Bg {Sh., ChC} *pān* v. 'wash (sth.\so.)', Kir {ChL} *pùná* v. 'wash (things)' | ?? pAG {Hf.} **vwan*, {Stl. VZCh} **vwaŋ* v. 'wash (things)' (with **v-* for the expected **p-*, which still needs explanation) > Su {J}, Ang {ChL, Hf.} *vwan*, {Flk.} *var*, Gmy {Hf.} *vwan*, {ChL} *vwaɣɣɣ*, Cp *vɣɣ*, Kfr {Nt.} *van* || CCh: Nz {Mch.} *bən*, BtG {Mch.} *bɔn* 'wash' | Mdr {ChL} *bàràbàré*, Glv {Rp.} *bar-* v. 'wash (sth.)', Dgh (ChL) *pàrá* v. 'wash' | Gzg {Lk.} *bon*, {ChL} *bun* v. 'wash oneself', *buna*, {Ro.} *bánà* v. 'wash (sth.)', Mada *bàlá*, Myn *bàrá*, Mkt *pàláy*, Hrz *bune*, Mlk *bàláy*, Mofu *pèréy* id. | ?φ McDb: Db {LnG} *pān* id., Kola {Sb.} ...*pān*..., Msy {Mch.} *pān* v. 'wash' | Tr {Hf.} *vɣɣɣ* v. 'wash oneself' | McKtk: Bdm {Cfr} *bèní* id. ¶ BrrB 68, Nw. no. 140, JI I 174-5 and II 338-9, JS 382, ChC s.v. 'wash', ChL, Hf. AG 18 [no. 40], J S 86, Nt. 41, Stl. VZCh A no. 259, Ro. 356 [no. 789] (pMM **ban* v. 'wash') || ?φ Eg BD *br̥n̥* 'baigner, plonger' (̥ is puzzling) ¶ Hng 253, Tk. II 205 || C: SC: Kz {E} *bal-* 'wash' ¶ E K 1 ('wash'), E SC 134 (interpreted as 'wash, clean' due to alleged cognates of other SC lges) ¶¶ Tk.II 205 (incl.: E-Ch or E-SC) || **A:** NaT **ba₁n-* (**ma₁n-*) v. 'dip' > OT *ban-*, Tk *ban-*, Cmn, Chg, ET, VTt *man-* id. ¶ Cl. 384, Rs. W 325 || ??φ **D** (in McTm)

**vaṇṇā-* 'washerman' > Tm *vaṇṇān*, *vaṇṇāttān*, *vaṇṇattān*, Ml *vaṇṇatān*, *vaṇṇān* id., Tm, Ml fem. *vaṇṇātti* 'washerwoman', as well as possibly D (in McTm) **maṇṇ-* v. 'bathe' > Tm *maṇṇu* v. 'bathe, perform ablutions, immerse oneself in water', vt. 'wash', Ml *maṇṇān* 'washerman' ¶ D no-s 4684 and 5241 ¶ The initial **v-* and **m-* for the expected **p-* are still to be explained; if **m-* is due to assimilatory nasalisation, this is the only case known so far. The initial **v-* may be explained if the D root goes back to the second member of a cd, and its first member was lost in the prehistory of D || Gk βαλανεῖον 'a bath, bathing room' and βαλανεύς 'bath man' are probably loans from some pre-Gk ("Aegean" or "Pelasgian") lge (words borrowed together with the previously unknown custom of bathing in hot water) (Pls {Fur.} βάλλον 'Bad'), but eventually the stem may be related with the N word **ba'Lṇ'∇*; this Gk word may be the source of Middle Gk {Kö.} *βανεῖον or *βάνειον 'a bath', whence VL **baneo* (> **banjo*) (> Fr *baigner*, Port, Prv, Ctl *banhar*, Sp *bañar*, It *bagnare*, Rm (îm) *băia* v. 'bathe', as well as further Blg *баням* 'I wash') and VL {ML} **baneum* 'bath' (> It *bagno*, Srd *L banzu*, Fr *bain*, Prv *banh*, Ctl *bany*, Sp *baño*, Port *banho*, ➔ Bsq *mainu* id.); EpL *balnea* > VL **banja* ➔ Sl **bańa* 'bath house, bath (room)' > OCS, OR *БАНѦ* *banja*, Blg, R, Uk 'баня', SCr *bǎnja* id., Slv *bãnja* 'bath, washtub' ¶ F I 212-13, ML no. 916, ML G I 477, Kö. 135, ESSJ I 151-2, StSS 77, Ch. I159-60, Fur. VK 37 ◇ IS MS 349 (K, Ch, D **maṇṇ-*) ¶ The pN consonant cluster **-Lṇ-* contracted into **ll* in S and to **-n-* (or **-ṇṇ-*) in other lges, but remained as **-lṇn-* in the "Aegean" (Hittite-Luwian?) source of the Gk words βαλανεῖον and βαλανεύς.

207. ₂ **bEÍ∇* 'boil, cook' > HS: C **✓bll* v. 'boil' > Ag **b3r-*/**b3r-*, {Ap.} **bər-*/**bəl-* v. 'cook, be hot' (× N **biṭu* 'be warm, burn; warm') > Bln {Ap.} *b3r-*, {R} *bir-* 'cook, be hot', Xm {Ap.} *b3l-* (= Xm {R} *bil-*) id., Q {R} *bel-* id., {Ap.} *b3lu y-*, Km {CR} *bulu y-*, Aw {Ap.} *b3r-* id. ¶ AD SF 198, Ap. AV 7, R WB 82-3 || ? S **✓nblṇ* 'flame' (× N **ḥab'ṇ'∇* 'warm, heat' [q.v. ffd.], possibly a N cd **ḥab'ṇ'∇* **bEÍ∇*) ¶¶ Hardly here Eg N/G *brbr* 'bouillir, sourdre' (eau), 'flamber' (feu) (EG I 466, Coh. no. 403, Vc. 30, Tk. II 262-3), because Cpt (Sd *brbr* *barbar*, B *berber* 'bouillir, sourdre') points to an Eg **r* rather than **l* (F N **buṛu* (KṬ) 'spurt, gush forth, boil, seethe') || A **bEÍ∇* > T **bií-* ~ **bií-* (~ **pií-*?) v. 'ripen, be cooked' > OT {Cl.} *bis-* 𐤁𐤓𐤕 *bis-* v. 'come to maturity, ripen', Tk *piṣ-*, VTt *bbš-* ~ *pbš-*, Bsh *bbš-*, Tkm, Qmq *biš*, StAlt *bṭš-* v.

'ripen, be cooked, be baked', Yk bus- id., 'be ready', CrTt, ET piš-, Qq piš-, QrB biš-, Qrg biš-, Tf biš- v. 'ripen, be cooked', Tv b_iš- id., vi. 'finish cooking (up to readiness), gar gekocht werden' ('довариваться'), Az biš- v. 'be cooked\baked', Xk piš-/z- v. 'ripen, be cooked' ¶ Cl. 376-7, ET B 161-4, BIG 171, Ra. 163, Tkr 106 || M *beled- v. 'prepare' > MM [S] belet- 'bereitsstellen', WrM {MED} beled- 'prepare, make ready; be\become ready', HlM бэлдэ- {MED} id., {BMR} 'prepare, make ready; sich vorbereiten', Brt бэлдэ- id., Kl {KRS} бэлд- 'prepare, make ready', {Rm.} beleda- 'fertig\bereit machen, vorferigen, vorbereiten; fertig sein', Mnr H {T} beledga- id., {SM} b_īēlīēsga- 'préparer, apprêter'; M *belen 'prepared, ready' > MM [S] belen, WrM {MED} belen, HlM {MED, BMR}, Brt бэлэн, Kl {KRS} белн id., Mnr H {SM} b_īēlīān 'prêt', Ord b_ēlen 'prêt' ¶ H 14, MED 97, BMR I 313-14, Chr. 131-2, KRS 94-5, KW 41, SM 24, T 317, Ms. O 64 || Tg *belE- v. 'prepare', *bel_ik_jī 'ready' > Ewk bəlinə-, bəlik- v. 'prepare oneself to', Sln bəlik- v. 'prepare, bəlik 'ready', Neg bəlik 'ready', bəlik- v. 'prepare', Orc bəli-, Ud bəlik- id., Ul, Nn Nh bəli- id., bəli 'ready', WrMc {Z} бэлэхэ- v. 'prepare' ¶ STM I 125, On. 85-6, Z 492 || pKo *pírí- > MKo pírí-, NKo puri- v. 'use, employ' ¶ Nam 270, MLC 814 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 337-8 (pA *bēli- 'be acquainted, assist, employ' > Ko, M *bele- 'prepare, ready' + [not belonging to the A root in question]: Tg *bele- 'help' and T *bil- 'know') ◇ M and Tg point to a pA and a N *ä or *e, while T *i is puzzling (infl. of the palatal *í?).

208. *bihí||∇ 'shout, call, speak' > IE: NaIE *b^hel_la- v. 'sound, speak' > OI bhāṣatē (if < *b^hal-s-) 'speaks, says, tells' || L feli-ō / inf. felīre 'to roar' (of panthers) || ON inf. belja, Nnr inf. belje 'to roar, to bellow', AS inf. bellan, OHG inf. bëllan 'to bark, to resound', MHG inf. bellēn 'to cry' (of quadrupeds), 'to bark', NHG inf. bellēn 'to bark' (of canines), NE bell v. 'bellow, bay' || Pru inf. billīt 'to say, to speak', Lt inf. (pra-)bīlti (3s pres. bilsta) 'to (begin to) speak', bylā 'speech' (→ 'case'), inf. bilóti 'to say, to tell', Ltv inf. bīlst 'to say, to speak'; ? Lt baĩsas, Ltv bāls 'voice' || Tc A/B pāl-, pāl- v. 'praise' ¶ P 123-4, Mn. 71, otherwise EI 51 (*b^hels- 'yelp, howl' > Gmc, OI) and M K II 497-8, doubts: M E II 261-2; Vr. 32, OsS 49, Kb. 63, EWA I 533-5, Lx. 14, KM 64, Ho. 19, Frn. 32, ≈ Kar. I 102, 127, En. 151, Tp. P A-D 223-7, Wn. I 356, ≈ WH I 474 ¶¶ The lack of visible traces of N *h in NaIE may be explained by mt. **b^helH- > *b^helH- with further loss of *H in the prevoc. position || D {Km.} *pīl-/ *pil-∇- ({GS} *p-) > Tm pīlirū

'great noise', pīlir̥u v. 'trumpet, roar (as an elephant)', Tl pīluc̥u v. 'call, invite, shout', Gdb pīl-up-/-ut- v. 'thunder', Kui p̥r̥ī 'cry of agony, scream' ¶¶ D no. 4195, Km. 431 [no. 825] || **HS:** S *✓bhl̥ ≈ say, call' > Gz ✓bhl̥ G (pf. bəhla, js. yəbal) 'say, speak, call', Tgy bəle, Tgr belə pf. 'say', OSA bhlk (*bahal-ku) {Rb., Slw.} 'I spoke', OYmn (= Hmr?) {Slw.} ✓bhl̥ G 'say, order', Ar ʔibtahala 'implore, beseech', Mh behlīt (pl. behēl), Jb C bəh'let 'word', Hrs {Jo.} behelēt, Sq {Jo.} 'bilz̥h 'thing', Ak inf. baʔāl̥u ~ bāl̥u 'to beseech, to pray' ¶ L G 89, Slw. 46-7, Rb. AWA 51, Jo. M 4, Jo. H 16, Jo. J 24 ◇ IS I 180-1 adduced K *bir- = {K, FS} *br- 'sing' (> Lz, Mg bir-, ? Sv br- v. 'sing' [Sv L msd. li-br-yal-i], see K 53, K² 17-18, Chik. 254, FS K 54-5, FS E 56, Dn. s.v. briāl-). The K ✓ belongs here only if N *í may yield K *r.

209. *baHí∇ 'pain, wound' > **HS:** WCh: Ang {Flk.} pal v. 'feel pain' ¶ Flk. s.v. pal || **IE** *b^heH̥l- 'pain, wound' > NaIE *b^hēl̥-/ *b^hōl̥- > Tc: A pāl, B pīle 'wound' || **Sl** *bōl̥b 'a sick person; pain' > **OCS** бoлb 'aeger, a sick person', Blg бoл' id., 'illness', Blg Δ бoл 'sick person', 'pain', R бoлb, Uk бiлb, SCr, Slv bōl, Cz бол, Slk bōl', P бóл 'dolor, pain'; Sl inf. *bolěti (1s pres. *bōl-q) v. 'to ache, to be sick' > **OCS** inf. бoлѣти bolěti (1s pres. бoлѣти boljēti) v. 'to be sick, to feel pain', R бо'лит, P боли, Blg боли, SCr Δ боли 'it aches', R inf. бо'леть (1s pres. бо'лею), P inf. boleć (1s pres. boleje), SCr inf. бoлети ѣ болjēti, Slv inf. boléti 'to be sick', Cz inf. boleti, Slk inf. boliet' 'to ache' ¶ Mn. 65 (*bhalyō 'hit, hurt' > Tc, Sl, as well as ON inf. bella 'stoßen'), Wn. I 356, ESSJ II 187-92, StSS 98-9, Bern. I 71, SPS I 302-6, 315-16, Glh. 140 || **A** *bāla > T *bāl̥ 'a wound' > NaT *bāš > OT баš, Tkm bāš, MQp баš, Yk bās 'wound', Tf baš 'wound, ulcer', Tv паш p'āš 'syphilis' (the initial p'- suggests that the Tv word is a loan); NaT *bāl̥-l̥ 'wounded' (with unexpected *-l̥- that needs explanation) > OT {Cl.} bāl̥l̥ id., Tv bāl̥l̥, Tf bāl̥l̥ id., 'wound', StAlt balu 'wound', Tlt {Rl.} palū id., 'score', Xk pal̥l̥ id., 'ulcer' ¶ Cl. 335, 376, Ra. 158-9, Ash. X 95, Rl. IV 1168, BT 26, Md. 113, Md. OJ 90 || **M:** WrM балба {MED} 'completely out to pieces' (of breaking), HLM балба {MED, BMR} id. ('вдребезги'), Ord bālba '(brisé) en morceaux'; WrM {MED} балба- 'smash, beat, hit', HLM балба- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'knock, prügeln (дубасить, лупить)', Brt балбал- 'smash, zerstoßen, zer-stückeln (дробить), ? бала 'ушиб', хүхэ бала 'bruise' (хүхэ means 'blue'), Ord bālbal- 'briser, casser, concasser' ¶ MED 79, BMR I 222, Chr. 83, Chr. 83, Ms. O 47 ◇ See IS I

172 (IE, T). This N etymon may be connected with N ***baL^rü** 'bad, harm' (q.v.) ◇ ≠ Bm. TPN 29: *÷ S *^o✓ bly v. 'be old, worn out', Sml bēl (actually meaning 'loss') and Or bēlaw- v. 'hunger' (no plausible semantic ties) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 290 (*bal 'pain') (IE, A + unc. J).

210. *b^oɾi^í||∇ 'swell' > IE: NaIE *b^hel- v. 'swell' > Gmc: OSw bulin, bolin 'aufgeschwollen', bulde, bolde, byld 'swelling, tumor', OHG bolla, polla 'blister, mug, bowl; bulla in aqua, folliculus, cotula', MHG bolle 'bud, globular vessel', OSx bollo 'Schale, Napf', AS bolla 'bowl, vessel, pot', NE bowl || L follis 'pair of bellows, puffed-out cheeks; purse, leather bag' ¶ ≠ P 120-1, qu. EI 71 (*b^hel- 'blow' → 'swell'), OsS 79, Kb. 103, EWA II 230-1, Lx. 24, Ho. 30, Ho. S 9, WH I 524-5 || **K** *^obēl- > Sv -bēl- 'cause sth. to swell up; swell up', Sv {Ni.} -bäl-/ -bel- v. 'swell' (× N ***b∇L∇ɾa** 'to blow, to inflate', q.v. ffd.); the K vowel length represents the lost lr. (from N ***boɾi^í||∇**?) ¶ Ni. s.v. 'пыхнуть' and 'пыхлый', GP 1, 147, Dn. s.v. bēl- || **A**: M ***bilč²i-yi-** > WrM {Rm.} bilci i-, Kl {KRS} билчи- v. 'swell heavily', {Rm.} bilčī- 'stark aufschwellen, überaus dick werden', Brt бэлсы- 'be bulging' (eyes); WrM bilcud- ~ bilcad- v. {Gl.} 'cicatrise with a bulging scar' (of a wound, bone fracture), {Kow.} 's'élever, être un peu enflé' (cela se dit des chairs qui sont encore un peu enflées après la guérison d'un ulcère); M ***bilč²aɣu** > WrM bilcuu {Gl.} 'small knobs on branches of willows and on stalks of wormwood', {MED} 'bump, blister, boil', HIM бялцуу {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'buds on pussy willows'; Ord bilč²irū 'petite tumeur sur la peau, bouton' ¶ BMR I 318-19, Gl. II 282, Chr. 131, KRS 100, KW 45, Kow. 1146, Ms. O 70 || **D** (in McTm) ***po||-** v. 'swell' > Tm po||u v. 'blister, swell', po||al 'blister, swelling', Ml po||a 'blister, bubble'; D → Hindi p^hola 'blister' ¶ D no. 4563, Tu. no. 8398 (6) || **HS**: ?σ S *^o✓ bɾ|h| > Ak (inf.) ба^ɾāl u, 3s pf. i-b^ɾil, 3s pres. i-ba^ɾil 'be abnormally large' (of body parts, liver) ¶ CAD II 1 ◇ If the N etymon is ***boɾi^í||∇**, the loss of *i in IE still requires explanation.

211. *bôíX^ra¹ 'tail, penis' > HS ***b^ru¹lh-** ({Blz.} ***bul^rh¹-**) > B ***b∇lw-** 'penis' > Tmz abəllu, pl. ibəlla, Izd, BSn abəllu, pl. ibəlwan, Sll {Ds.} a-bəllu, abəllu, Si abālāl, SrSn {Rn.} a-bālāl id., t̥ā-bāžāt ~ t̥a-bālāt 'petite verge d'enfant', Rf {Rn.} a-bɾuɾ 'penis', ? Izn {Rn.} a-bežlāl id., Izd {Mrc.} a-bəllu, pl. i-bəlla ~ i-bəlwan, Sll {Ds.} a-bəllu, a-bəllu, a-bɾalūl, Mz {Dlh.} ta-bəlla-t (pl. ti-bəlla-in) 'penis' ¶ MT 18, Ds. 291, Dlh. M 7, Rn. 294, Mrc. 261, Wlf. EAW 47, NZ 55 || C: EC: Arr {Hw.} ballá 'penis', ?σ Brj

{Ss.} bolókko ~ bulúkkko 'testicle'; EthS: Grg So (< C?) b+l+l+t 'penis' ¶ Hw. A 34, Ss. B 38 || Om: NrOm {Blz.} *bull- 'penis' > Bsk {Fl.} búlli, Doka bulli id. ¶ Blz. OLBP no. 88 || Ch: WCh: Hs bũrá, Bl bola 'penis', Bks {J} b̥wél id. (glottalization is puzzling), Klr {J} byêl, {IL} bɛl 'tail' || CCh: Bt G {Srp.} bõllě 'penis' || McKtk: Glf {Röd. [in Lk. ZSS]} belewe, Shoe {Lk.} belesoe id. || ECh: EDng {Fd.} pělē id. ¶ JI II 316-17, ChC s.v. 'penis', Lk. ZSS 148, 154, ≠ Sk. HCD 26 || Eg Md/RT bʒh 'phallus' ([biʒh-] < *bilh-) > Cpt Sd BAʒ baʒ 'penis', where Cpt a is a reg. reflex of *i in a closed syll. ¶ EG I 419, Fk. 77, Vc. 33, Tk. II 76-80 ¶¶ Cf. Blz. OLBP no. 88 (*bulh¹- > Eg bʒh, Om, C, B 'penis'; *÷ Ak baltu [misinterpreted as 'penis' after Holma NK 99, while in fact the word is the name of some thorny plant, / Sd. 100]); / also EG I 419, 460, Rn. 294, Mrc. 261, Dlh. M 7, Abr. H 120, Ba. 132 || IE: NaIE *bʰl̥o- (= *bʰl̥no-, *bʰl̥Ho-?) 'penis' > Gk φαλλός id. || NGr Hs bille 'penis', AS bealluc 'testicles' > NE ballock || Phr βαλλία 'generative organ(s)' ([Hdt.]: βαλλία · αἰδοῖα) ¶ Not here OIr ball ferda 'membrum virile', ball féili 'pudenda', because the basic meaning of ball is likely to be {Vn.} 'membre' (cp. ocht mbullu 'huit parties') ¶ The identity of the cns. after *l̥ remains unclear ¶ F II 987-8, Hofm. 390-1, P 120-1, Ho. 17, Vn. B 12, unc. EI 71 (φαλλός and OIr ball ferda < *bʰel- 'blow, swell') || U: FU *poía 'tail' > pMr {Ker.} *pūla > Er πυλο pulo, Mk πυλα pulə ≈ pulā 'tail' | ? pLp {Lr.} *pēcə- '(short) tail' > Lp: N {N} biežā, {Fri.} bieča (gen. bieččam), Kld {SaR} пѣжъ pīž 'short tail (of a reindeer, hair, sheep etc.)', S {Hs.} ɿ beetj'eh 'tail of a fish' || pObU {Ht.} *pāí∇k 'tail' > pVg *pāíak > Vg: LK/UK pōlax, MK pōlāk 'tail (of elk and reindeer)'; pOs *paíak > Os K paíāηχ 'tail (of reindeer and elk)', Os Kz pɔ́χ 'Stuttschwanz (des Bären, Elentiers, Renntiers, Hasen)', Os Nz pɔ́nat 'tail', Os Pim pǎ́əq 'hind leg of a bear' ¶ Coll. 109, UEW 393-4, Ps. B (s.p.) 175, Lr. no. 931, Lgc. no. 3982, Hs. 308, SaR 255-6, Ker. II 121, Ht. 177 [no. 517] || D *pull- ({ǵGS} *b-) 'penis' > Kn bulla, bulli 'male generative organ', Tl bulla, bulli 'a child's penis', cp. Mrt bulī, bullī id. and cognate words in other NInA lges ¶¶ D no. 4309, Tu. no. 9292 (1) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 155 [no. 31] (D, IE, EC, Ch, B, Eg), ≈ Blz. NDA no. 30 (D, HS, IE, FU + err. K *bil- 'Vogelkamm, Knospen').

212. *ben|ń∇ 'younger relative' > HS: S *bin- / (stem of pl.) *ban- 'son' > BHb בֵּן bēn (pl. בָּנִים bā'n-īm), Ph, M'b, Ed, Ug bn, Ar ʔibn- (pl. nom. ban-ūna, accus.-gen. ban-īna), Sb bn, OAk, Ak OA/LB {Sd.} binu, {CAD}

bīnu id.; *'bin-at- (pl. *bā'n-āt-) 'daughter' > BHb בַּת bat (pl. בָּנוֹת bā'n-ōt), Ph, Amn bt, Ug bt (pl. brt), Sr 𐤁𐤀𐤃𐤁𐤏 ba<r>t ([bat]) cs., pl. 𐤁𐤀𐤃𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤏 bānā'tā, Ar bint- (pl. ban-āt-), Sb brt, Ak {Sd.}: MB bintu, OA buntu id., Gz bantin banta sayn 'pupil of the eye' (lit. 'daughter of the eye') ¶ KB 131-3, 158-9, HJ 168-72, Br. 93, Sd. 127, 136, CAD II 238-9, 242-3, 319 || Ch: CCh {OS} *bin- > LamP {ChL} bin 'brother', ?σ Ms {Cait.} bāna, {ChC} banana, ?σ BnnM bananna 'friend', ?σ Azm {Pc.} banaḏa '(male) friend', bānā 'friend!' (greeting, calling) || ?φ,σ WCh {OS} *m∇-b∇n- > Buli {ChL} mbɔn, {Sh.} mban 'person' (unless akin to Grn mbalin and Jm mbar id.) ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'person' and 'friend', Cait. 48, Pc. 83 ¶¶ OS no. 28 || A: Tg: [1] Tg *bene- 'wife's sibling' (× N *wān∇ - *x∇, wān∇ 'relative [of a younger/the same generation] of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes', q.v. ffd.) | [2] Tg *bener 'younger relative-in-law' (× pA *bære 'daughter-in-law' < N *berE?a 'to give birth to; child') > Ewk bɔnɔr 'wife's brother, wife's younger sister', Lm bɔnɔr, Neg, Orc bɔnɔ 'wife's younger brother/sister', Ud bɔnɔ, Ul bɔnɔr, bɔnɔli 'wife's younger brother', Nn Nh bɔnɔr {STM} 'wife's younger cousin; nephew', {Pt.} 'nephew' (not mentioned by On.) ¶ STM I 125, Pt. 29 || D *peñt∇ ({{GS} *p-) 'girl, woman' (if ← 'young female relative' ← 'younger relative') (possibly from N *°ben|ñ∇ 'at∇ [*ben|ñ∇ 'younger relative' + *'at∇ 'female, woman']) > Tm perɔ 'woman, daughter, girl', Ml perɔ 'a female' (esp. 'girl, maidservant, bride'), Kt peñ 'female', Kn perɔ, perɔu 'female, woman', Kdg poññi 'wife, female', Tu poñɔu 'girl, female, maid', Tl perɔti 'female (of animals)', Klm peñtī 'female', Gdb peñti 'female sheep'; D ⇨ OI parɔḏa- 'eunuch, effeminate man' ¶¶ D no. 4395 (a), Tu. no. 7717.

213. *b∇hæñy∇ 'bone' (esp. 'bone of a limb') > HS: S *bu|ih∇, n- 'thumb, (big) toe' > BHb 𐤁𐤏𐤂𐤏𐤁 'bohen 'thumb, big toe', Ar ?ibhām- 'thumb, toe', Δ bihām-, bāhim- id., Hrs hā-bēn (pl. hā-bōnɔt) 'thumb, big toe' (hā- goes back to an article), Mh Δ {SSL} hā'bēn id., Ak ubār- 'finger, toe' ¶ KBR 112, KB 108, Jo. H 55, Sd. 1398, SSL LNPM 219, MiK I no. 1.34 || NrOm: She {CR} 𐤁𐤐𐤕𐤁𐤏 'foot, leg' ¶ CR NGS s.v. Sce (She) 𐤁𐤐𐤕𐤁𐤏 || WCh: Bgm {J} mbān, {JI} bān 'leg, foot' ¶ JI II 220, ChC s.v. 'leg', J ChMGB 220 ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 120 [no. 120] (Om, Ch) || IE: NaIE *°bʰoǵno- (mt. *-ǵn- < N *-ñy-) > Gmc *baḡna- 'bone, leg' (← *bone of the leg?) > ON bein 'leg, bone; upper thigh (Oberschenkel)', Sw, Dn ber bēn 'bone, leg', OSx bēn, AS bān, OHG, MHG bein 'leg, bone', NHG Bein 'leg', Yid 𐤁𐤏𐤁 beyn 'bone',

NE bone ¶ Vr. 30, Ho. 16, Ho. S 6, EWA I 515-16, Lx. 12, KM 63 ||
 ¶ *p'e_ly_h 'bone, bone of a leg' > Tg *p'e_ly_h-nen 'knee' > Ewk h₃nn₃n, Sln
 3n₃, Lm h₃nn₃n, Neg x₃n₃n, Orc x₃n₃n ~ x₃n₃n, Ud x₃n₃, Ul p₃n₃(n-),
 Ork p₃n₃ ~ p₃n₃(n-), Nn Nh p₃y_h 'knee' ¶ STM II 366, Krm. 308, On.
 346 ¶ Tg *-y_h- (if the rec. is valid) may be explained by mt. (N *-ñy- > Tg
 *-y_h-) || T *in-çik (or *_len-çik?) 'shin, shank, shinbone' > OT jin₃ik
 'shinbone', Tk in₃ik 'shin, shinbone', Tkm in₃ik id., VTt jin₃ik, Bsh
 encek, Slr in₃ix 'shin', StAlt enček 'heel', Tv inčik 'boot top strap', Yk
 in₃iäx 'shin' ¶ Cl. 172, 203, TL 286 || pKo {S} *s-p_lá 'bone' > MKo sp_lá,
 NKo p_lá, Ko: Ph p_lá, Sl/Chs p_lá, Hm p_lá, Ks p_lá ¶ Ko *s- is a px (e.g., in
 *s-kòrí 'tail', *s-pír 'horn') ¶ S AJ 251 [no. 10], S QK no. 10, Nam 258,
 MLC 774 || pJ {S} *p₃n₃à 'bone' > OJ p(ω)one, MJ p₃n₃, J: T/Kg honé, K
 hóne, Ns p₃n₃, Ht p₃n₃, Sh/Y p₃n₃ ¶ S QJ no. 10, Mr. 414, Kenk. 540-1
 ¶¶ SDM 1131-2 (pA *p'èy_hé 'bone' > Tg, Ko, J, T + unc. M *ya-su 'bone'),
 DQA no. 1735, S AJ 12-13, 39-40, 67, 92, 274 [no. 9], Mr. KJ 226 (Ko,
 J), TL 286 ◇ A *p'- may be explained as going back to a cluster *bh- < N
 *b₃h- ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 47 (*pon 'bone') (cp. N *P₃on'd' 'leg, foot').

214. *bæñt (~ *bæñd) 'to tie' > HS *✓bnt > Eg N/G bnd
 'einwickeln, bekleiden' ⇨ *b₃nd (a k. of garment) (⇨ Gk βύνητος 'an
 Egyptian garment' and BHb פָּאַבְנֵת pabnēṭ 'sash of an official or a
 priest'; this loan in Hb suggests that Eg d was pronounced as t) ¶ EG I
 465, KB 8, KBR 8-9, Lmd. 146, Tk. II 237-41 || Ch: CCh: Lgn {Lk.} b₃n v.
 'tie', Ngl {Dsb.} bari id. || WCh: ? pAG ≈ *b₃wayat ({Stl. VZCh} *b₃wayad)
 > Su {J} b₃wayat, Ang {ChL} bat, Gmy {ChC} bōt, Mnt {Fp.} badni v. 'tie'
 (Stl.: 'привязывать' = 'tie, attach') (glottalized *b₃- in Ch is due to
 transfer of glottalization from *t of HS *✓bnt) ¶ Lk. L 76, Sö. 57, Dsb.,
 ChL, ChC s.v. 'to tie', J S 60 ¶ Not here Ar بَنْد band- 'lien, lacs, lacet' (⇨
 CINPrs band n. 'band, tie, bandage') || IE: NaIE {P, EI} *b₃end₃- v. 'bind' >
 OI badh'nāti, Av bandayeiti 'he binds', OI ban'dhah₃ n. 'binding,
 bond, tie, fetter', Av banda- 'Bande, Fessel', MPrs band 'Schlinge, Band',
 CINPrs بَنْد band '↑' ⇨ G band-i 'Band, Riemen, Binde' ⇨ G band-
 'knüpfen, heften, schnüren; auf-, zurück-, hin-halten, verzögern' (Chx.
 63) || Gk πεῖσμα (< *πενθσμα) 'rope, a ship's cable' || Thr βενδ- v. 'bind'
 || L offendīx 'chin band on priest's cap' || Clt {Matas.} '(arm)ring,
 circlet, bracelet' > OIr buinne buinne {Vn.} 'band, ring, bracelet',
 {Matas.} 'bracelet, stalk' ¶ P 127, EI 64, M K II 406-7, M E II 208, Vl. I

255-6, Sg. 201, F II 492, WH II 205, Vn. B 115, Matas. E 70-1 || **U:** FU {UEW} *pā|ent∇- v. 'cover, close', {Sm.} *pintā- v. 'fasten' > pPrm *pōd- v. 'close' > Z inf. pādla∇-n+ 'to close', pādan 'oven door', Yz pōdnal- vt. 'close', Vt inf. pod+n+ 'to pinch' | (acc. to Sm.) F pinne (< *pinte) 'tension' || pObU *pēnt- > pVg *pānt- v. 'close' > Vg: T/LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV/ML pānt-, UL/Ss pant- id.; pOs *pent- ({JHL} *pānt-) v. 'cover' > Os: V/Vy/D/Kz/O pent-, Ty pānt- id. | Hg fēd-, fōd- 'decken, be-\zu-decken' ¶ Coll. 78, UEW 371, 879, Sm. 547 (FU, FP *pintā-, Ugr *pīntā- 'fasten'), SK 568-9, Ht. 178 [no. 525], MF 187, LG 227 ◇ IS I 194 [no. 30] (HS [Eg, Ch], IE) ¶¶ The N emphatic *t̥ is reconstructed on the HS ev. IE *dʰ- in *bʰendʰ- may go back to *d in N *bæñd∇, but can be better explained by the IE incompatibility law (ruling out combination of voiced aspirates and vl. consonants on the same root).

215. *boŋE 'bosom, breast (front of the body)' > **HS:** S *bam- 'chest' or 'back (Rücken)' > Ak bam-t-ū 'chest, front of the chest', BHb 𐎁𐎍𐎗𐎙 bā'mā 'back (Rücken)' (Dt. 32.29), Ug bmt 'back (of an animal, human)'; → S *bam-at- 'hill' > Ak bamtu 'slope of a mountain', BHb 𐎁𐎍𐎗𐎙 bā'mā 'mountain ridge, hill; high ground, high place of worship', Ug bmt 'alto, monte' ¶ KB 130-1, KBR 136-7, OLS 109, CAD II 78, MiK I no. 1.216 (*p/ban/md(-at)- 'back, podex') || **U:** FU *poŋe-(s∇) 'bosom' > F poŋi (gen. poŋen) 'bosom, breast', Es pōu (gen. pōue), Δ pō 'Busen, Schoß', pLp {Lr.} *pōŋɜ 'bosom, breast' > Lp: S {Hs.} buoŋe id., N {N} buoŋɛ̃ ~ vuogŋɛ̃ -ŋ- 'breast of a bird', L {LLO} puokŋa 'der bauchige Teil des Lappenrockes oder Lappenpelzes', T {TI} p̄ŋŋ(ā), Kld {TI} pūŋŋ(ā) 'Busen (des Kittels, des Renntierpelzes)' | pMr {Ker.} *poŋɔ ~ *poɣɔ > Er ποηγο poŋgo, Mk ποβ poβ, Δ poβā 'bosom' | Chr Η ποηγυш poŋgɔš, L помыш, U/B pomɔš 'bosom' | Prm *pi, *piy 'bosom' > Z Ss pi, Z US/LL piy, Prmk pi, Vt pi, Vt G pij id. || pObU *pūw|ɣəθ 'Busen (im Kleide)' > pVg *pūt > Vg: T pōt, LK/MK/UK pūt, P/NV/SV pūt, LL pōt, UL pūti ~ puw̄ti, Ss pūti id.; pOs *puɣəɬ > Os: V/Vy/Ty puɣəɬ, Y puwəɬ, Nz puχəɬ, Kz pōχəɬ id. ¶ UEW 395, LG 222-3, Lr. no. 1000, Lgc. no. 5320, Hs. 384, TI 406, Ker. II 118, ERV 498, Ht. 175 [no. 498] || ?σ **A:** Tg: Ewk boŋko 'belly, stomach' (influenced by Tg *boklan > Neg bōxan ~ boxon 'stomach', Nn Nh {STM} baqa id., {On.} baqā 'stomach of a squirrel', Ork boqqo 'belly' < N *b∇qâ 'side of body, side', q.v. ffd.) ¶ STM I 94, On. 58 || **D:** [1] *po|amm- ({GS} *b-) 'breast' > Klm, Nkr pamme, Nk pomme id.,

Gnd *bomi* 𐄣 *bomā* 𐄣 *boma* 𐄣 *bomo* 𐄣 *bommu* id., *bom* 'udder' ¶¶ D no. 3935 | [2] **pom-* ({*ǵGS*} **p-*) v. 'embrace' > Png *pom-*, Ku *pom-*, *pom-/pomb-* id., Mlt *pamge* v. 'take between the legs (as the frunk of a tree while climbing)' ¶¶ D no. 4527 ¶¶ On D *-*m(m)-* from N *-*ŋ-* cf. Introduction, 2.1, remark 16 || E: MEI *b u - n i*, {Blz.} *b u n i* (?) 'heart' ¶¶ HK 234 ◇ S *-*m-* and D *-*m(m)-* suggest N *-*ŋ-* (rather than *-*ŋg-*). ◇ Blz. E no. 2 (E, HS).

216. (₂?) **beŋ₁ | X₁ i* '≈ head' > HS: S ?*φ* **°*✓*bnɿ|ħ* > Ak MB *b i b ē n - u* {CAD} 'head' ({Sd.} 'temple, Schläfe'), *b i b ē n* (*a p p i s s u*) {Sd.} '(Nasen-)Spitze' ¶ CAD II 219, Sd. 124 || Ch: if Ak *b i b ē n -* means 'temple', it may be equated with Ke *p á n á y* 'temple' ('Schläfe') ¶ Eb. 88 || U **p ä ŋ e* 'head' (× N **p ä ŋ ▽* 'forehead' [q.v. ffd.]) || A: T **m e ŋ i* [or **m e ŋ y i*?] ({Md.} **b ě ŋ | ħ i*) 'brain' (× N **m E N ▽* 'front') > OT *meŋi* ~ *meyi* 'brain', Chg xv *mäyin*, *miyā*, MQp XIII *bäyin*, XIV [CC] *māŋ*, Tk *beyin*, Δ *meyni*, Az *beyin*, Tkm *beyni*, Uz *miya*, ET *miŋä*, Δ *miŋ*, *miŋi*, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Qq *miy*, Qzq, Nog *miy*, Bsh *мьуь*, VTt *mi*, Qrg, StAlt, Tv *mē*, Tf *mē*, Xk *мии* *mī*, Ln *megä*, Yk *mäyī* id., Chv L *миме* *mīme*, Chv Δ *мимѣ* 𐄣 *мине* 𐄣 *нине* 𐄣 *вине* id., 'Mark, Rückenmark' ¶ Cl. 348-9, Rs. LTS 201, Rs. W 70 (**bäŋ*), ET B 106-7, Md. 91, 131, 135, 173, Rl. IV 2085, Nj. 726, BT 109, Ra. 207, Fed. I 358, Ash. V 235, VII 242-4 and IX 25, Jeg. 134, ChVS 116 ◇ T **m e ŋ i* points to a N **e*, while U **ä* belongs to the heritage of N **p ä ŋ ▽* ◇ Highly doubtful because of rather loose semantic connections and because U **p ä ŋ e* 'head' has an alt. et.

217. **bungä* 'thick; to swell' > IE **b^henĝ^h-*/**b^hŋĝ^h-* 'lump, thick' ({IS} 'шишка, ком, толстый') and d. {EI} **b^henĝ^hu-s* (gen. **b^hŋĝ^hou_us*) 'thick, abundant' > OI *ba'h u-* (< **b^hŋĝ^hu-*) 'much, abundant, large', cmpr. '*baṁbhiyān* 'very strong/thick', Blc *baz* 'tight' || Gk *παχύς* 'thick, stout, massive' || ON *bingr* 'part of room, bed', Ic *bingur* 'heap, store', NNr *binge* 'Düngerraum', ON *bunga* 'Klumpen', Dn, Sw, Nr *bunke* 'heap', MHG *bunge* 'clod, lump', Dt *bonk* 'piece, clod' || Ltv *bīezs* 'thick, dense' || ?*σ* Ht *panku-* 'entire, complete; every', n. 'multitude, the people; assembly', *pangarit* adv. 'in large numbers, en masse' ¶¶ P 127-8, EI 3, M K II 424-5, M E II 220-1, F II 484-5, Vr. 37, 65, Vr. N 76, Lx. 28, Kar. I 125, CHD P 87-92, Ts. W 59 || U **puŋka* > FU **puŋka* 'swelling, bump, lump' > F *puŋka* 'korpulenter oder dicker Mensch', Es *puŋg* (gen. *puŋga*) 'Hervorragendes und Rundliches: Knolle, Knospe, Knauf, Beule etc.' | Lp: N {N} *bug'ge* / -*gg-* 'bump,

lump', L {LLO} *puggē* 'weiter\dichter\zottiger Pelz; kleiner und dicker Mensch, kleines und dickes Renntier' | *pMr* {Ker.} **pukə-íə* > *Er* *p o* 'Renntier' | *pMr* {Ker.} **pukə-íə* > *Er* *pokoí* 'Klumpen, Stück', *Mk* *pokáí* 'Knäuel, Geschwulst, Stück' | *Prm*: *Z* *bug+í* 'eye apple, eye', ? *Vt* *p o g* 'Klumpen' || *pObU* **pūŋkə* > *pVg* **pūkləp* > *Vg* *Ss* *p̄xlip* 'Knopf'; *pOs* **pun̄kə* > *Os*: *Ty* *pun̄lə*, *D/K* *pon̄xə*, *Nz* *pun̄xə*, *Kz* *p̄ŋqə* 'Knollen am Baume', as well as *pOs* **pun̄kət* > *Os*: *Ty/Y* *pun̄qət*, *D/K* *pon̄xət*, *Kz* *pon̄ət* 'Geschwür' || *pY* {IN} **pun̄kə* 'hill; hummock' > *Y*: *K* {IN} *pun̄kə* 'hill', *T* {IN} *p̄ŋke* 'hummock', *T* {Ku.} *pəŋkətaa* 'excrecence, cone (of a tree)', {Ku.} *pəŋkətəz* 'cone', ? *pəŋgigəy* - vi. 'swell up a little' ¶¶ UEW 404, Coll. 109, MF 107-8, LLO 748-9, Ker. II 117, LG 41, Ht. no. 529, IN H 371, IN UJ 234, Ku. 231-2 || **A**: *Tg* **bu|ŋga* 'lump, small ball (шарик)' > *Nn* *Bk* *boŋga*, *Nn* *Nh* {On.} *boŋgã* 'hillock (бугор, пригорок), a height', {STM} *boŋgal̄i* 'lump (of snow etc.)', {On.} *boŋgal̄i* 'lump, ball (Kugel), round object', *Ewk* *bun̄ŋuka*, *bun̄ŋul̄i* 'small ball, lump', *Ud* {STM} *bun̄i*, {Krm.} *būŋi* 'testicles' ¶ STM I 110-11, Krm. 215, On. 175 || ? **D** **pon̄k-* 'swell' (× *D* **pon̄k-* 'boil') > *Tm* *pon̄ku* 'be swollen (as a boil or sore)', *Kn* *pon̄gu* v. 'swell', *buguṭi*, *buguḍu* 'swelling', *Kdg* *pon̄ŋ-* 'swell (as grain or stomach)', *Tu* *boŋketuri*, *Nk* *p̄ugay-*, *Gnd* *p̄ŋ-*, *Ku* *pon̄g-*, *Mlt* *poŋole* v. 'swell', *Krx* *pūxnā* 'to swell', *pūxkā* 'swelling' ¶¶ D no. 4469 ◇ *D* **pon̄k-* 'swell' is a questionable cognate, because it may be a semantic variant of *D* **pon̄k-* 'boil' (D no. 4469); in any case the vw. **o* in *D* **pon̄k-* 'swell' belongs to the heritage of **pon̄k-* 'boil' ¶¶ D no. 4469 ◇ Cf. otherwise IS I 182-3 [no. 17] (IE, U, ? *Tg* **boŋ* 'thick, large', *D* **pon̄k-* 'вздуваться, выкипать'). In the first syll. of the N stem it is better to reconstruct **u* (on U and *Tg* ev.) rather than **o* (as in IS on the basis of *D* and inexact data of *Tg* available to IS in the 1960's).

218. **bŋgâ* (= **boqâ*?) 'side of body, side' > **K** **poq-* (× *N* **poqEžŋ* ~ **p ožŋqŋ* 'thigh, haunch'??) > *Sv* *UB/LB/L/Ln* {TK} *poq* 'thigh, side of body, crupper of horse' ¶ TK 766, Ni. s.v. 'бедро', GP 264, Dn. s.v. *poq*, Wrđ. 629 (*p'hoq* 'thigh') || **HS**: *EC* **bak-* ~ **bok-* 'side of body, side' > *Af* *bagu* 'belly, stomach', *Sml* *boq*, *Sml* *N* {Abr.} *bóg* 'flank of body', *Or* {Grg.} *bukkē* 'beside', *Or* *W* {Brl.} *bukké* 'side (fianco, lato)' ¶ AD SF (C **bakk^w* -), ZMO 43, Abr. S 34, Grg. 64, Brl. 65, PH 66 || **IE**: *NaIE* **b_lh₁ok_l^w* > *Sl* **bōkъ* 'side of body' > *SCr* *bōk*, gen. *bōka*, *Slv* *bōk*, gen. *bókā*, *Blg* *Δ* *бок*, *R* *бок*, gen. 'бока, *Uk* *бік*, gen. 'боку, *P*, *Cz*, *Slk* *bok* id. ¶ ESSJ II 170, SPS I 300-1, Glh. 139-40, Vs. I 185 || **A** **bok* 'i|I' 'side (of body),

thigh' > NaT *bikIN id. > OT b i q i n 'hip, flank (of a human body or animal)', Chg b i q i n 'joint, articulation', Tkm b i q i n 'side of body', XwT b i q i n, Tv БЫГЫН b i ʏ i n 'flank (lower part)', Xk p i ʃ t i 'groin' (acc. to Rs. W, ← 'his flank', sc. *p i ʃ i n + ppa. 3s), Tlt {Rl.} p i k k i n, MQp xiv b i q i n, xv b i ʒ i n ~ b i q i n 'groin', Qzq, Qrg m i q i n id. (m- < *b- due to neutralization of nasality in the word-initial position), Kü {Rl.} p i k t 'part of the body below the armhole'; a form *b i q without sxs has been possibly preserved in SbTt Kk p i q 'waist' (unless it has resulted from phonetic reduction: p i q < *b i q n | t < *b i q i n) ¶ Cl. 316, ET B 304-5, Rs. W 73, TvR 128, Rl. IV 1304, 1307, BIG 171, Tm. 180 || Tg *bōk-(an) 'hip, thigh' > Ewk bōkan, Lm bōqam, Lm O/Sk bokan id., Ud {Krm.} bōʔ 'front muscles of the thigh', ? WrMc {Z} б у х и 'front side of the thigh', 'lap', {Hr} б у х и 'Oberschenkel' | ?σ Tg *bōk_lan_l > Neg bōxan ~ boxon 'stomach', Nn Nh {STM} baqa id., {On.} baqā 'stomach of a squirrel', Ork boqqo 'belly' ¶ STM I 90, 94, Krm. 213, On. 58, Hr 119, Z 528 || M *baqaʏur 'After, back part of body' > MM [L] {Pp.} baɣawur 'After', [MA] {Pp.} baqa,ūr 'nates', [IM] {Ms.} baɣūr, [S] bokorai ~ bokore ~ boʔere 'Lenden, Hüften', WrM {MED} buqur {MED} 'buttock, rump', HlM б у х у р {MED} id., {BMR} 'buttock, anus; vulva', {Ms.} buxar 'buttock, rump', Kl {Rm.} bokūr 'Schurke, Schelm', Mgl buɣār 'After, der hintere Teil', Ord b u ʃ ū r 'derrière, cul, anus' ¶ Pp. MA 111, H 17, MED 143, BMR I 297, KW 50, Rm. M 24, Ms. O 92, SDM97 41 (M *bokaur) || pJ {S} *bàki 'side of body' > OJ w a k i i, MJ w à k i {S} id., J T w a k í, J K w á k i, J Kg w à k í 'side' ¶ S QJ no. 271, Mr. 567, Kenk. 2127 ¶¶ The long vw. *ō in pTg *bōk-(an) is probably a Tg innovation ¶¶ The T vw. *i of the initial syll. is due to regr. as. (*-0...I > *-I...I) ¶¶ SDM 359-60 (pA *b i ʃ k 'a|u > T, M, Tg), DQA no. 174, SDM95 s.v. *b f k ∇, SDM97 s.v. *b ū k a 'side of body, hip', ADb. SR 6, TL 280 ◇ The pN vw. of the first syllable is hard to reconstruct. pA possible hypothetic vw. is *o, that is preserved in Tg and probably in M, but turned to *i in T due to as. (**0...I > *I...I); the IE, K and C data do not contradict this hypothesis.

219. *bAr∇ 'earth, land; dust' > **HS**: S: [1] S *barr- '(uncultivated) land' > BHb בָּר *bar* (pausal form בָּרָר bār) 'open field', JA אֶרֶץ בָּרָר bār-r-ā {Lv.} 'Außenseite, freies Feld', JA [Trg.] אֶרֶץ בָּרָר bār āʔ-ā {Js.} 'external, not belonging to', JEA {Sl.} אֶרֶץ בָּרָר bār-r-ā 'external, outer', Sr {Br.} אֶרֶץ בָּרָר barr ā'ʏā 'agrestis, exterior, externus', Ar barr- 'Festland', Ar Hdr {Lnb.} barr- 'country' (barru-l-ʕarbi 'pays des Arabes'), Mh {Jo.} a-'barr

'outside', Sq {L} *bar* 'côté, éloignement', *ba-barr* 'dehors', Tgr *ber* 'continent, country', Ak {Sd.} *barru* 'uncultivated country', {CAD} *bāru* 'open country']?? [2] S **baray-* > Ar بَرِّي *bara(n)* 'terra' (Fr.: ← 'pars superior et pulvis') ¶ KB 146, Sl. 24O, Js. 189, Br. 88, Jo. M 51, L LS 98, LH 274, CAD II 12O, Sd. 107 || C: [1] ? Brj {Hds.} *bār-iy-* 'become muddy' (unless from HS {Tk.} **b∇r-* 'dirty')] [2] C {AD} **bUrɿ-* 'sand, dust' (× N **bôri'ɣ'U* 'loose earth, dust', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Hw. A 349, PH 74, Rop. 163, Blz. CL 177, Tk. LAA-1 24 [no. 15O] || Ch **✓brbr* 'dust' (× HS ≈ **burɿ-* 'dust' < N **bôri'ɣ'U* '↑' [q.v.]): WCh: Krkr {Lk.} *bárbrér* 'dust' | Ngz {Sch.} *bárbrér*, Bd {ChL} *bárbrérén* id. || CCh: BM {ChL}: Bu *bùrbúr*, Cb *bárbrér*, WMrg *burbur~bárbár*, Klb *bárbrér*, Hld *buburu*, Wmd *búbúr*, Mrg {Hf.} *bárbrér* id. | McHg {ChL}: HgNk *bárbrér*, HgB *bárbrér*, FIK *burbúr*, FIM *bùrbúr*(u) id. | BB {ChL}: Gude *bárbára*, Nz *bùrbér*, Bcm *bùrbér*, Mln *bùrbúr* id. | McMdr: Mdr *búrbrér* id. | Gdr {Cfr} *bárbrér* id. | Lgn {Lk.} '*būra* 'sand, dust' ¶ JI II 28O-1, Stl. ZCh 157-8 [no. 117], ChC s.v. 'dust' and 'sand', ChL, JA LM 72, J R 14O, 213, Gr. LC 91, Lk. LS 87 || K: MG, G *bre* 'dust (пыль, прах)', G Ing *bre* 'chaff' ¶ Chx. 104, DCh. 117 || D (att. in SD) **par∇* ({*ɣGS*} **p-*) 'plateau, tableland' > Tm *parampu* 'hill', *parantalai* 'desert', Ml *parampu* 'higher or dry ground laid out in terraces, fields (too high for rice cultivation), orchard, garden', Kn *Δ padavu* 'a hill top', Kdg *parambi* 'large flat pasture land', Tu *padavu* 'plateau, tableland' ¶ D no. 4O26 || A: AdS of T **bōr* '∈ (barren) soil\ground' (< N **bohr∇* 'loose earth, dust', q.v. ffd.; cp. also **bôri'ɣ'U* 'loose earth, dust, [?] sand' and N **maR∇* 'sand, dust, earth'); the vw. **ō* in T **bōr* is inherited from N **bohr∇* ◇ IS I 187 [no. 22] included the S and Ch stems and G *bre* into his N etymon **bur(H)∇*/**bor(H)∇* 'loose earth, dust' (together with what belongs to N **bôri'ɣ'U*).

219a. **beR∇* 'mud, swamp' > HS: S **bir-* > Ak *bi|er ātu* 'swamps (?)' ¶ The vw. *ā* proves that in the var. reading *ber ātu* there is no infl. of S **ɾ|h* (causing the change of S **a* into Ak *e*) ¶ CAD II 206-7 || U: FU **per∇* 'mud, swampy place' (× N **P_eR∇* 'ground, earth', q.v.) > Prm: Vt {Wc.} *ber-gop* 'swamp, quagmire; Moorpütze', Vt Sr *pera* 'weicher, schwarzer Morast, mit welchem man Tuch färbt', {Mu.} 'damp place with black earth (chernozem)'; Z Le *pereb* 'moss-covered riverbank in a forest' (infl. of R *Берер* 'bank [Ufer]') || OHg XII 'Hain', XVIII 'Moor', Hg *ber êk* 'swampy meadow; grove, bushes (Hain, Gebüsch)' ¶ UEW 374, LG 22O,

MF 106, EWU 98 || IE: NaIE *^ob^hō¹r- > Sl *bara 'swamp, stagnant water, (?) small river' (× N *b^hu¹X¹ra 'watercourse, river', q.v.) > Slv bá¹ra, Cz Δ bara 'swamp', Blg βα¹ρα 'small river\stream, stagnant water, puddle', McdS {IS} βα¹ρα 'puddle', SCr bā¹ra id., 'meadow' ¶ ESSJ I 153-4.

219b. *bor¹ > HS: EC *bUr- > Sml bū¹r 'mountain, bare-topped hill, summit of mountain (cumulo), mucchio', Rn bú¹r (pl. burrá¹r) 'hill', ?σ Or O {Sr.} bū¹ra 'forest' ¶ DSI 71, ZMO 48, PG 81, Sr. 278 || A: Tg *bo¹;₁r₁i₁ 'hill' > Ewk Ald/Z/Ucr bor¹i 'rocky hill', Ewk Skh/Urm bor¹i 'a height (with burnt forest)', Ewk Skh bor 'small mountain (covered with dwarf shrubs and dwarf trees)', borik¹ta 'hill', Ork bō¹ri 'a height (without trees or shrubs)'; Tg б¹ Brt б¹oop¹i 'a height' ¶ STM I 95, Chr. 105 || D {tr.} *po¹;₁r₁-, {GS} *po¹;₁- 'mountain, top', (in SD) *pō¹r- ({θGS} *b-) '(top of a) hill' (× N *p¹or¹á¹∇ 'summit, tip', q.v. × N *pa¹R¹∇¹∇ 'rock, hill'. q.v.) > Tm po¹ra¹, po¹ra¹i 'mountain, hill', Ml po¹ra 'an elevation in rice grounds', Klm po¹de 'high, up, the top; on', Nkr po¹de 'top; on', Nk por 'hill, the top', Prj po¹di 'top, above', Gdb po¹ta 'top of sth.; on, upon', Gnd parrō 'on top', parro 'on, above, top', Krx partā 'mountain, hill' ¶¶ D no. 4567, GS 151 [no. 381], 71 [no. 232] ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 111b, ≈ Blz. DA 160-1 [no. 87] (EC, D + unc.: Tg *bur- 'island'), ≈ Blz. NDA no. 91 (EC, D, Tg *bor¹i 'mountain' + unc.: Tg *bur- 'island').

220. *bu¹Ru (or *bu¹Rū) 'break' > IE: NaIE *b^hre¹u- 'break, tear', {EI} *b^hre¹u- 'cut, break up', (+ext.) *b^hre¹us- 'break' > ON bró¹ma 'splinter, piece', inf. brjó¹ta 'to break, to destroy', OHG brō¹di 'easily broken (fragilis), weak, thin' (< *b^hrou¹-tyo-), AS bréa¹ð id., inf. breo¹ðan 'to destroy', inf. bréot¹an 'to break', inf. brū¹san 'to crush', NE bruise || ?σ Al: T bresh¹er, G bresh¹en 'hail' || Ltv Δ {ME} braū¹na, braū¹na 'Schorf, Schuppe, die beim Häuten oder Auskriechen aus Hüllen nachgelassene Haut, Eingeweide' || Sl: Cz brn¹-ka (< *b^hrun-) 'placenta' || Clt: OIr bruid 'breaks, crashes', MW breu 'brittle'; Clt {Matas.} *brisko- 'fragile, weak' > Mlr brisc id., MBr bresc 'fragile', Br {Hm.} bresk 'fragile, cassant; faible'; ? Clt {Matas.} *^obrustniyo- > OIr brosn¹ae 'bundle of firewood, faggot' || L frustum 'piece' || ? OI bhrū¹na-m 'embryo' ({P}: < 'that has broken the egg skin') ¶ P 169-70, EI 81, Vr. 58-9, OsS 85, EWA II 355-6, Kb. 120-1, Ho. 33-4, ME I 327, Ma. CS 44; M K II 533-4 and M E II 284-5 (no definite et. of the OI word), Matas. E 78, 81, Hm. 108 || A *b¹p¹uR- 'break, crush' > M *bur¹ci- > WrM {MED} bur¹ci- 'break, crush; raze, destroy', HIM {BMR} бур¹чи- 'break,

crush', WrO {Krg.} *burcaq* 'fraction' ¶ MED 137, BMR I 291, Krg. 372 || Tg *^obur- > Lm *bur-* v. 'strip (a film, the inner side of hide)'; Tg **burg^ri*- > Ewk *burgī-* v. 'crush, demolish', Lm *burgъ-* v. 'crush (дробить), smash into smithereens' ¶ STM I 111-12 || pJ {S} **b̥ər-* 'break; bend' > OJ *wor-*, MJ *wòr-*, JT *ór-*, JK/Kg *òr-* ¶ S QJ no. 1494, Mr. 742, Kenk. 1454-5 ¶¶ SDM 386-7 (pA **bùr|ró-* or **bòr|ró-* 'break, crush' M, J, Tg **bur-* 'crush, demolish'), DQA no. 212 (A **bù|òro*) || HS: WS **✓brw* 'cut, trim' > Ar *✓brw G* (ip. -*brū*) 'dégrossir avec une hache'; rogner', OSA {DRS} *✓brw Sh* (pf. *hbrw*) 'tailler en pièces' (× N **buR∇* (or **büR∇*) 'flint') ¶ BK I 119, DRS 82-3 ◇ It may be originally connected with N **bu|üR∇* 'flint' (→ 'to cut/carve with a flint').

221. **buR∇* 'turn round, rotate' > HS: B: Ty {PGG} *bəruray* 'rouler (objet sur une surface)' ¶ PGG 16 || EC: Sml *būr-* 'make round' ({Abr.} 'make into a ball') ¶ Abr. S 36 || S (+ext.) *^o*✓brm*, *^o-*brum-* > Ar *✓brm* (ip. -*brum-*) 'tordre, tresser (une corde) en tordant les fils\tortis' ¶ BK I 117-18 ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 125 [no. 154] || K: GZ **br-* v. 'twirl, whirl, rotate' > OG *bru-y* 'Schwindel', G *bru-* 'schwindlig machen', *bru*, *taṽ-bru* 'giddiness, vertigo', *brun-* (< **br(ṽ)-in-*, caus.) 'sich drehen, kreisen, rotieren', *borbal-* 'wheel, potter's wheel, whirlwind'; ⇨ GZ **brun-* v. 'spin, whirl' > OG *brun-* 'rotate', G *brun-* id., v. 'spin', Mg *burin-* {Kl.} 'throw with spinning; whirl' ¶ K² 17, 19, Chx. 107-8, Schm. 98, GM S 314, FS K 58, FS E 60, NCh. 155, DCh. 119 || U **pārṽ|ṣ∇-* 'turn, revolve' (× N **P̣ôRṽ∇* 'turn, revolve' [q.v.]) > Mr (pMr {Ker.} **pu^rṣ^rrə-*): Er *пувор-* *puṽor-*, Δ *puṽra-*, Mk *пуворя-* *puṽəra-*, Δ *puṽṛa-* 'drehen, winden' | ? Vt Sr *poryal-* 'sich drehen, kreiseln', 'кружиться' || ObU **pěṽar* (× N **p̣eṛḲ∇,ṣa*, [or *P̣eRḲ∇,ṣ∇*]?) 'turn round, twist'??) > pVg **pāṽar* 'round' > Vg: T *pāwər*, LK/MK *pāwər*, UK *pāwər*, P *pāwr*, UL *powr*, Ss *puwr* 'rund', d.: Vg T *püwärt-*, Vg LK/MK/UK *päṽrt-*, Vg P/NV/SV/LL *pārt-*, Vg UL/Ss *powart-* 'wälzen', Vg MK {Kn.} *powrit-* 'sich herum-wälzen'; ? pOs d. **pěṽarṣa-* ({Hl.} **pĩṽarṣa-*) > Os Ty/Y *pěṽarṣa-* 'sich umdrehen' | Hg *forog-* vi. 'turn, revolve' || Sm: Slq NP *p̣irruōldša-*, Slq Ch *puoldā-* 'umwenden, sich umwenden', Slq Tz {KKIH} *pur+ít*, LTz {KD} *pūroltā* 'whirlpool (Wirbel im Wasser, водоворот)' ¶¶ U *-*ṽ|ṣ-* is inherited from N **P̣ôRṽ∇* ¶¶ UEW 414 (**pārṽ|ṣ∇*), MF 214-15, Coll. 78, Ker. II 126, LG 38-9, 41, Ht. 175 [no. 504], Hl. rHt 73-4 (on conditions of the coalescence of FU *-*ṽ-* and *-*ṣ-* in pObU), KKI 153 || A **bur-* 'turn round', 'round' > NaT (× N **mur∇* '≈ twist, roll, go round, tie'): [1]

Т *bur(a)- v. 'turn round' > OOsM bur-, Tk бур- 'twist', Tkm, Ggz, Az, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Uz, ET bur-, Qzq бұр-, VTt, Bsh бор- б̂р-, StAlt pur-, Chv Л п̂р- р̂р-, Chv Н {Md.} р̂р- id. ('крутить, закручивать'), vt. 'turn (повертывать)', Qrg, Kr/Qzq {Rl.} bur- 'verdrehen, zusammen-drehen, umdrehen', Alt/QK/Tlt/Shor/Brb {Rl.} pur- id., 'schrauben'; [2] NrT *bür- v. 'twist, wind round' > OT bür- id., 'screw together', MQp XIII, XwT XIV bür- 'twist', Tk бұрұ- 'wrap, cover', Tlt {Rl.} pür- 'aufrollen, zusammen-legen' ¶ Cl. 355, ET B 264-7, 294-6, Rl. IV 1365, 1397, 1816, 1887, Ash. X 123-6, Fed. I 398, Jeg. 147, ChVS 130 ¶ The variants with -u- ~ -ü- are due to contamination with different N words, e.g. *büryi 'to cover' (q.v.) (whence Tk бұрұ- 'wrap, cover') and *bôr'a 'pierce, bore' (q.v.) (whence StAlt pur- 'drill' etc.) || Tg: Ewk Ucr buruk, Ewk Tk burukūn 'whirlpool' ¶ STM I 114 || М *burǰi- 'curly' (of hair) (× pA *bur_uṭ_gṭ 'facial hair' < N *bur_udṭ_gṭ 'facial hair, animal's body hair, down'??) > WrM {MED} d. бурǰii- v. 'curl, frizzle' (of hair), HlM {MED, BMR} буржий-, Brt буржы-, Kl {KRS} буржи- v. 'curl (кучавиться, завиваться)', Kl {Rm.} burzā- 'sucgzotten, nicht gerade wachsen; zottig\übel zurerichtet sein', Ord бурǰ-ωī- 'présenter un aspect rugueux, être crépu'; ⇨ М *burǰṭgir (or *burǰagar) > WrM burǰigir, HlM буржгар 'curly', Brt буржагар 'curly, wavy' (hair), Kl буржһр бурǰəṭar {KRS} 'curly, wavy' (hair), {KW} burzaṭar 'zottig, nicht gerade wachsend' (Haar), Ord бурǰagar 'qui présente un aspect rugueux' (cheveux) ¶ MED 140, BMR I 289, KRS 120, KW 63, Chr. 113, Ms. O 97-8 ◇ Cf. IS I 186-7 s.v. *burā 'to bore, to drill' (to which IS ascribed some of the reflexes of the etymon in question).

222. 2 *buRṭ (or *büRṭ) 'flint' (→ 'to cut\carve with a flint') or 'to cut\carve' (→ 'flint') > HS: C: Bj {R ← Stz.} ber'rawe 'flint' ({R}: *⇨ ber-r- 'steppe') ¶ R WBd 52 || WS *✓bry 'cut, carve' > Ar ✓bry G (pf. برى barā, ip. -briy-) 'tailler, couper (un roseau à écrire, une plume)', برآة barāt- 'plane\couteau pour adoucir le bois, une flèche etc.', OSA {DRS} bry 'monument sculpté' (× N *buRu 'break') ¶ BK I 119-20, DRS 82-3 || A: Tg *burṭ 'flint' > Ewk buru, Sol boro, Lm bur, Orc bu, burakta, Ud bū, Ul, Ork buraqta, Nn Nh/Bk/KU buraqta 'flint', Nn Nh {On.} boraqta 'flint in a steel (кремьень дкя огнива)', Neg burokta 'amber' ¶ STM I 114, Krm. 214, On. 76 || AdS of IE: NaIE *b^her- 'work with a sharp instrument, cut' (< NaIE *b^her- v. 'bore, pierce' < N *bôr'a 'pierce, bore',

q.v. ffd.) ◇ N ***bu|üR▽** 'flint' is not necessarily identical with N ***bô'ra'** 'pierce, bore' (≠ S CNM 4).

223. ***buR▽, *buR_L▽, 'K'▽** 'storm, stormy wind' (→ [in U and A] 'snowstorm') > HS: B ***-b▽rūr-** 'hail' > Sll {Ds.} **ibrūri^y~ibrīri^y**, Shl {La.} **ibrurin**, Kb **abruri** 'hail', Dmn **abrīro** 'small hailstones', Zmr, Iz **tbrūri** 'hail', Nf **tabruri** 'snow', Izd **tibruri**, Gd **tabruru** id. ¶ La. MChB 186, Mrc. 131, Lf. II no. O1O1, Dl. 396, Ds. 446, NZ 124 || C {AD} ***b▽r-**, {E} ***bar-/bur-** > Bj {R} **bār** (pl. **bar**) 'Geruch', **bar-am-** ps. 'Geruch zugetragen werden (durch die Luft)', **barām** 'Geruch (der zugetragen wird), Luft, Wind' || SC {E} ***būr-** v. 'blow' (of wind) (× N ***bû'h'R▽** 'blow, inflate, swell', q.v. ffd.) ¶ E PC no. 5, E SC 14O, R WBd 49, 51 || Ch: CCh: ? Dgh {Frk, ChL} **mábúrà** 'storm', Db {LnG} **bùrtótóy** id. || ECh: Mu {J} **bùrúndúl** 'storm', Kwn {J} **ká-bār** 'wind' ¶ ChC s.v. 'storm' and 'wind', ChL, Frk s.v. **mábúrà**, J LMF s.v. **bùrúndúl** || HS {Tk.} rdp. ***b▽b▽r-** (= ***bubir-**?) '(whirl)wind' > HEC {Hd.} ***bobire** 'wind, storm' > Kmb **bobira** 'wind', Brij **bubbē** 'storm', Sd **bubbe** 'strong wind' ¶ Hd. 168, 4O6 || Ch: WCh: AG {Tk.} ***vivir** 'whirlwind' (***v < *b**) > Su {J} **fívír**, Mpn {Frz.} **vəvír** id. || CCh: Msg {Mch.} **bérber**, {Rlf.} **bérbere**, {Brt. in Lk. DQM} **bebēr** 'wind', Bld {Trn.} **vùvúr** 'tornado' or 'tourbillon', Mlw {Trn.} **á-vùrvùlí** 'tourbillon' ¶ ChC s.v. 'wind', ChL, Lk. DQM 12O, J S 65, Frz. M 199, Trn. B 56, Trn. MVM 2O7 ¶¶ Not here (⇔ IS I 188) Ar **bāriḥ-** 'vent chaud, particulièrement qui vient du côté du Yémen' (BK I 1O7), which is an act. prtc. of **✓brḥ** v. 'come from the right side' (in Ar 'south, Yemen' literally means 'the right side') ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 1O3 [no. 2] (C, Ch) || ?σ K ***°bu|or-** > eNG {SSO} **bor-i** 'haze of dust', G **bur-i** ~ **bor-i** {NCh.} id., {DCh.} 'haze, mist (мгла, туман)', {Chx.} 'leichter Nebel, Mist, Dunst', {NCh. RKL} **bur-i** 'snowstorm' ('буря') ¶ SSO I 11O, Chx. 97, 121, DCh. 124, NCh. 153, NCh. RKL I 87 || IE: NaIE {AD} ***b^her-/b^heyr-** v. 'be stormy', 'storm' (× ***b^heyr-** v. 'move rapidly' > OI **bhu'rati** id., Gk **φύρω** v. 'mix') > YAv **bar-vi** 'rage, storm' (of wind), 'be stormy' (day), 'flow quickly' (of water) (**barənti ... ayaṇ** 'an einem stürmenden Tage') || ON **byrr** 'fair wind', NE Shetl **bir(r)**, **borr** 'wind', ME **būr, bir** 'strong wind', Frs E **bur** 'wind', MDt **böre-lōs** 'without wind' || Sl ***búra** ~ ***búra** 'storm' > OCS **бoуpтa** **burja** 'procella, tempestas', {StSS} 'буря, гроза', Blg 'буря' 'storm, thunderstorm', McdS **бурa** 'storm', SCr **būra** 'storm, strong wind', Slv **búrja** 'northeastern wind', OCz **búřě** 'storm', P **burza** 'storm, thunderstorm', R 'буря' 'storm' ¶ Not here L **fur-ō** / inf. **fur-ěre** vi. 'rage, rave', **furor** 'madness, raving', **furiōsus** 'raging, raving,

furious' (< IE *d^huse/o- < *d^hwes- 'breathe'??) ¶ Brtl. 943, WH I 260, Vr. 68, ESSJ III 97-8, StSS 102, SPS I 453-4, Glh. 157, ≠ P 132-3 and M K II 508-9 (they did not distinguish between the stem in question and some homonymous stems), EI 82 (L fur-ō < *d^huse/o-) ¶ Two variants of the IE stem (IE *b^her-/ *b^heyr-) are reconstructed because *b^her- alone does not explain Sl *buřa ~ *bura, while *b^heyr- fails to explain Av bar-; this alternation of two "états" (like *b^heg^ω- / *b^heyg- v. 'run, flee') is an expected reg. reflex of a twofold diphthongization of N *u (N *buR ▽ > *b^hwer-/ *b^hewr- > *b^her-/ *b^hewr-, / AD NGIE) || U *purka 'snowstorm' > F purku 'snowfall', purkusä ä 'snowstorm (Schneegestöber)', pLp {Lr.} *porkz id. > Lp: Kld {SaR} πορκκ, {TI} por:k:(a_) id., N bqr'gâ / -rg- 'cloud, spray of snow (either falling or whirled up from the ground by a strong wind)' | Mk πορφ porf 'snowstorm' | Chr B/U purχъž 'Schneegestöber', StChr L purχъž 'snow-drift (Schneehaufen, Schneewehe, сугроб, занос)', purχъž- vi. 'drift' (of snow), 'cover with snow' (of snowfall/wind) ('места, заносить снегом'), Chr U purχα- 'stöbern, wirbeln' (Schnee, Staub) | Prm (1) *pu|ūr- > Vt inf. purž-+n+ 'to rise' (of dust), Z Vm/I/Lz/Le/Sk/Ud inf. p+rž+in+ 'to powder with snow\dust' (of wind) ('порошить, заносить [снегом, песком]'), Z LL p+ra 'snowdrift (heap of snow)', Prmk p+ržet- v. 'drift on sth. (by the wind)' (of snow etc.); (2) ? *pur- > Z purkz d- 'rise' (of snow, dust), 'be a snowstorm' || ObU *pörk ▽ y > pVg *pörk+ (y) 'Schneegestöber' > Vg: T porkē, LK pârχ, MK pârχ, P pork, Ss porxay, N {Mu.} porxey id.; pOs *pörkay ({HL.} *pürkay) 'smoke' > Os: V/Vy/Y pörq+, Kz pörχα, O pârχα id. || Sm: (1) Ne T O pārontāy 'snowdrift', Slq LTz purqālce- 'verschneien, verwehen', Slq Ch purāyinpāt 'es stöbert, es ist Schneegestöber, es weht heftig', Slq Tm purqāt 'Schneegestöber'; (2) pSm *pur₁k₁- 'smoke' > Ne T πυρ" pur' 'Feuer gegen die Mücken', Slq Tz {KKIH} purq+ 'smoke', ?φ Kms ber, b̄r, bor id. ¶¶ Coll. 52, UEW 406, It. no. 198, Lr. no. 956, Lgc. no. 5076, SaR 265, TI 396, Ker. II 124, PI 216, 219, LG 233, 236, SZ 312-13, 370, Ht. 179 [no. 539], Jn. 131, KKIH 153 || A: [1] pA *b|p'ôR- 'wind, rainy weather, snowstorm' > M *borayan id. > MM borōan, borōon, boroxon 'whirlwind', WrM {MED} borugan 'rain, rainy weather', cagan borugan, qatagu borugan 'hail' (cagan is 'white', qatagu is 'hard'), HLM {MED} бороон, {BMR} бороо(н) 'rain, rainy weather', Brt bk., Brt Ag бороон 'rain', Kl {KRS} боран 'bad weather, rain', {Rm.} borān "Unwetter, Sturm mit Regen oder Schnee;

Regenwetter', Ord *b_orōn* 'pluie'; M $\rightarrow$ T lges (Yk *burχān* 'snowstrm', Tkm *borayan* 'whirlwind; *bōrān* id. etc. $\rightarrow$ R *бур'ян* 'snowstrm'); ? ϕ Brt *бордоһо(н)* 'snowstorm, blizzard' ¶ H 19, MED 121, BMR I 266, Chr. 105-6, KRS 110, KW 51, Ms. O 81 || pKo {S} **pʰrʰm* 'wind' > MKo *pʰrʰm*, NKo *param* id. ¶ S QK no. 111, Nam 241, MLC 704 ¶ [2] pA **b|pʰurk'i-* '≈ wind, stormy wind, cold weather' > M **burgi-* 'rise' (of dust, smoke) ($\times$ N **bōri'ʕ'U* 'loose earth, dust' [q.v. ffd.] $\times$ N **buʀu* (ҚУ) 'spurt, gush forth, boil') > WrM *burgi-*, *burgi-ra-* {MED} v. 'rise in clouds', 'whirl (as dust, water or storm)', HlM *бурги-* {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'rise in clouds; snow, in feinen Flocken schneien (порошить)', Mnr H {SM} *pʰuʒi-rā-* 'jaillir, sortir avec violence' (eau, fumée etc.), Ord *b_urgī-* 'jaillir, bouillonner', 's'élever en tourbillonnant' (p. ex. poussière), ? ϕ Kl {KRS} *бүрг-* 'пылиться'; MM *burqalix* 'whirlwind', HlM {BMR} *бүргалиг цас* 'Pulverschnee (снежная пороша)' (цас is 'snow') ¶ H 19, MED 121, 138, BMR I 288-9, Chr. 105, SM 306, S AJ 243 [no. 215], Ms. O 81, 98, KRS 128 || NrTg **burki* > Ewk *burki*, Lm *bwrqaw* 'first snow, fine snow (пороша, мелкий снег)' ($\times$ Tg **bure-ki* 'dust' < N **bōri'ʕ'U* '↑', q.v.) ¶ STM I 113, $\neq$ S AJ 224 [no. 281] (without distinguishing this root from Tg **bureki* 'dust' [< N **bōri'ʕ'U*]) ¶¶ SDM 375-6 (pA **bōru|a|o* 'whirlwind; dust, smoke' > Tg **bure-ki* 'fresh snow', M + unc. Tg **bure-ki* 'dust', T **buruk* 'dust, smoke' and pKo **pʰrʰm* 'wind'), DQA no. 194, S AJ 288 ¶¶ pA {SDM} **bōru|a|o* 'dust, smoke' (i.e. pA {AD} **bur-* 'dust, smoke') goes back to N **bōri'ʕ'U* 'loose earth, dust', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ IS I 189 adduced OT *bor* 'storm' (suggested by V. Thomsen in *Turcica* 94, note 2), but Clauson (Cl. 357 s.v. *borçā*) denied the existence of this word; other words of Turkic lges adduced there by IS (Yk *buray-* vt. 'disperse, scatter [рассеивать, разметать]', Qrg *boro-* 'бушевать, rage' [of wind]) are not valid genetic cognates either: Qrg *boro-* (actually meaning 'be a snowstorm, вьюжить') cannot be separated from Qrg *borōn* 'snowstorm' and is probably a Mongolism, and the Yk word is semantically too distant ◇ Cf. IS I 188-90 (HS, IE, U, A). The meaning 'snowstorm' (repeated in FU, Sm and M) is likely to be a Uralo-Altaic innovation (partially parallel to the B semantic development: 'storm' $\rightarrow$ 'hail').

224. **baʔʔeri* 'hold, take' > HS: S * $\sqrt{b}ʔʔr$ > Ak *baʔāru* (inf.) 'to catch (fish, birds), to hunt' (pres. *i-bar*, p. *i-bār* ~ *i-baʔar*), *bāʔiru* 'fisherman, hunter' ¶ CAD II 2-4, 31-3, Sd. 108 || B (mt.) * $\sqrt{H}br$ > Ah *abər* (pf. *yubər*) 'saisir à pleine main', ETwl/Ty {GhA} *abər* (3m pf.: ETwl *oləm*, Ty *yoləm*) id., 'saisir à pleine bouche' (animal) ¶ Fc. 80-1, GhA 9,

246-7, ≈ NZ 92-3 || C *✓br (E: *ber- v. 'grasp') > Bj {R} ✓brȳ pcv. 'aufbringen, zusammenbringen, besitzen, haben'; pres. 'a-barī 'I possess', ta-ba'riȳa 'du besitzt' has the form of past, suggesting a semantic development: 'have taken\seized' → 'possess' || Ag: Bln {R} b̥ər b̥ər - v. 'take honey out of a hive', Q {R} b̥ər ̥ b̥ər -, Xm {R} birbir - v. 'pillage, plunder'; Ag ⇨ Gz ✓brbr (pf. barbara) id. || (ȝ) EC: Sa I {PW} bar - v. 'grasp, hold', Af Tjr {MLuc.} b̥ər a 'il emporte' || SC {E} *°ber- v. 'touch' > Kz belet- id. || ?σ Dhl {EEN} b̥ər - id. ¶ E SC 137, E PC no. 8, R WB 84, R QW 43, R WBd 49-50, L G 102, PW SSI 381, MLuc. 198, EEN 33 || K *°bar- > G bar-: gada-bar- 'etw. übernehmen, auf sich nehmen', mi-bar- 'etw. entgegennehmen, übernehmen', ča-bar- 'an sich nehmen, entgegen-nehmen, übernehmen' ¶ Chx. 64-5 || IE: NaIE *b^her- v. 'take, bring, carry' (× N *bār? ▽ 'give' × N *berE? a 'give birth to' [q.v.]) > OI 'bharati, Av baraiti 'carries, bears', OPrs bar- 'carry', NPrs بَر bār- pres. (inf. بردن bordān) 'carry, bear, bring', KhS bar- id. || Arm բերեմ ber-em 'I carry' || Gk φέρω id. || L fer-ō id., fer-t 'carries', Um FER- 'carry' || Phr αβ-βερετ 'at-tulit' || Clt {Matas.} *ber-o- 'carry, bear, bring' > OIr beirid, ber- 'carry', Crn kemmeres (< *kom-bero-) 'take, receive' || pAl {O} *berya > Alb bie 'bring' || Gt inf. baíran (τ. φέρειν, βαστάζειν) 'tragen, leiden', ON, Nr inf. bera, Sw inf. bāra, Dn inf. bære, OFrs, OHG, OSx, AS inf. beran 'to carry' NE bear v, 'carry' || Sl'to carry' *bbra-ti 'to gather, to take' / 1s pres. *berq 'I gather, I take' (× N *bār? ▽ 'give', q.v.) > OCS inf. БЪРАТИ b̥rati (1s pres. БЕРѦ berq) 'legere, eligere, собирать', Cz inf. brati (1s pres. беру), Slk inf. brat', P inf. brać (1s pres. biore), R брать (1s pres. беру) 'to take', SCr inf. brāti (1s pres. bē`rēm), Slv inf. bráti (1s pres. bérēm) 'to gather in, to pluck', Blg бера 'gather (fruit), pluck, take' || pTc {Ad.} *pār- > Tc A, B pār- v. 'bear (away), carry (off)' ¶ P 128-32, EI 90 (*b^her- 'carry'), ≈ EI 56 (no distinction between *b^her- 'bear [a child]' and *b^her- 'carry'), M K II 473-6, M E II 246-9, Hinz 72, Sg. 173, Horn 45-6, Bai. 270-1, F II 1003-5, WH I 483-5, Bc. G 335, Vn. B 38-40, Pln. II 735-6, Fs. 75, Vr. 33, OsS 50, EWA I 546-8, Ho. 21, Ho. S 6, Slr. 78-9, ESSJ III 162-3, StSS 105, Wn. I 361-2, Ad. 371 || A *bār ▽ v. 'hold, take, possess' → v. 'earn', 'property' > NaT *bār 'there is', *ba_lri-m 'property' > OT {Cl.} bār 'there is', Tk var, Az var, Tkm bār, ET ba(r), Tf bar, VTt, Bsh, Qzq, Qrg, StAlt, Tv bar, Uz бop, Xk par, Yk bār id., OT barim 'property' ¶ ET B 61-3, DTS 83, S AJ 191 [no. 159], Rs. W 62, Cl. 353,

356, Ra. 159, UzR 80, TkR 71 || M *bari- v. 'take, hold' > MM [S, MA] b̄ari- '(er)greifen, (fest)nehmen', v. 'hold', WrM {MED} b̄ari- v. 'hold, grasp, take, seize', HlM {MED, BMR} б̄ари- id., Brt б̄ари- 'grasp, hold', Kl {KRS} б̄ар- b̄ar- 'hold, take into one's hands', {Rm.} b̄ár-, b̄ar- 'in der Hand halten, mit der Hand greifen', Dx b̄ari- v. 'hold, catch', Mnr H {SM} b̄ari- ~ w̄ari- 'saisir, faire prisonnier, tenir', Dg b̄ari-, ? Ba w̄ar- v. 'hold, take', Mgl {Rm.} b̄ari- '(in die Hand) nehmen, greifen'. Ord b̄ari- 'saisir, prendre en main, tenir en main' ¶ MED 85-6, BMR I 233, Chr. 89, KRS 92-3, KW 38, Rm. M 23, H 13, SM 22, T DgJ 125, T DnJ 112, T BJ 135, T 316, Ms. O 52-3, Pp. MA 433 || pKo {S} *p̄ar- > NKO p̄al- v. 'earn' ¶ S AJ 257 [no. 159], S QK no. 159, MLC 765 || ? pJ *p̄ar̄á-p- v. 'pay' > OJ p̄ar̄áp-, J: T har̄á-, K h̄ar̄á-, Kg h̄ar̄à- id. ¶ S QJ no. 187, S AJ 282 (pJ *p̄ar̄á-p- v. 'pay' going back to pA *b̄ār̄ 'property; possess, earn', sc. to the above-mentioned pA *b̄āri 'property'), Mr. 684, Kenk. 453 ¶¶ The pJ verb *p̄ir̄i-p- v. 'gather, pick up' is unlikely to belong here (because of the vw. *i of the initial syll.), it probably goes back to pA *p̄'ir̄U- v. 'ask (beg), try to receive' from N *p̄iro 'ask' (q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM aduced Tg *bara- (> Ewk bara-a, Sln barā, Neg baya, Ork bara, WrMc {Z} б̄ара̄нь 'multitude', Ewk bara-l- v. 'increase'), which is not convincing ¶¶ SDM 328 (pA *b̄āra 'goods', v. 'possess, earn' > M, T, Ko + err. Tg *bara- 'many; increase'), DQA no. 108, SDM97 s.v. *b̄ār̄ 'goods, possess, earn', S AJ 287 [no. 268], KW 38, Rs. W 62, TL 326-7, Z 480 || D *per̄- ({GS} *p-) v. 'get, obtain' > Tm per̄u 'get, obtain, lay eggs', Kn per̄- id., Tu per̄ga 'winnings made in a game', Tl per̄ayu v. 'obtain' ¶¶ D no. 4422, Km. 435 [no. 844] ¶¶ In some D lges there is homonymy and probably a merger with D *per̄- 'give birth' < N *ber̄E?a id. ◇ Ak -ʔ- and the pT length of the vw. *ā suggest a pN lr. The lack of vowel change *ā > e in Ak points to pS (and pN) *ʔ or *h, while the lack of vowel lengthening in pIE *b̄her- and the zero reflex in K suggest the "lightest" N lr. *ʔ; D *-r̄- (from an intervocal *r) suggests that there was a vw. between N *ʔ and *r ◇ IS I 176-7 [no. 8] (*b̄ari > HS, IE, ?D, A), AD GD no. 100 (IE, A) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 382 (*per̄ 'take') (IE and A [mixing of reflexes of N *baʔ'eri 'hold, take' and N *b̄arʔ 'give'] + err. J, Ai, Gil, CK).

225. *bUʔR̄ (probably *boʔR̄) 'to dig; a pit, well' > HS *b̄uʔr̄ - > S *'buʔr- 'pit, well' > BHb בור̄ b̄ōr 'cistern, pitfall; separate grave', Ar buʔr-at- 'fosse', Har buʔur, b̄ūr 'deep', Grg Ch/Sl/Wl/Go/Z bur, Grg M b̄w̄3r 'pit, well', Ak b̄ūr̄u 'pit, hole; well, pond, pool', b̄ūr̄t̄u 'well, cistern; fish

pond; waterhole; hole, pit', ? Gz mabārō 'means of digging'; de-labialized variant WS *bīṭir- > Ar bīṭr- 'puits', BHb בִּיאַר bə'ṭēr 'well of underground water, watering place', Ug בִּיֶר and Ph (AkSc) bīṭrū 'well' (in place-names), Pun, IA, Nbt בִּיֶר 'well, cistern', OA, IA בִּיֶר bīr id. (em.), JA בִּיֶר bə'ṭēr-ā, Sr bē r ā, bī r ā, Md b i r a, Mh bayr (pl. bə'yawrət) 'well'; an ambiguous case (unk. vowels): M'b br 'cistern' or 'well', OSA bṭr 'well, cistern', Cn 𐤁𐤕𐤔 Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk} ba-ṣi-r 'well'; WS verb *✓bṭr > Ar ✓bṭr (ip. -bṭur-) 'creuser (un puits, une fosse)', Sb ✓bṭr v. 'dig a well or a cistern', Tgy ✓brw 'fendre le sol' ¶ KB 102, 111-12, KBR 106, 116, JH 32, HJ 141-2, 155, DR KAI III 5, A no. 488, OLS 99, Hrs G 85, BK I 78-9, 119, BGMR 25, Av. G II 123-4, Jo. M 40, L ESAC 12, L EDH 39, L EDG III 150-1, L G 328, CAD II 335-9, 342-3, Hlk no. 55, SivCR 79 || B: ETwl bṭrḇwḇt 'fosse' ¶ PGG 16 || LEC *bōr- > Sml {R} bōr- 'dig', bōr (df. bōr-ti) 'Loch, Grube', Sml C bōrān {ZMO} 'deep\large hole', {DSI} 'buca profonda, fossa; grande tana', Sml N {Abr.} bōrān 'hole in the ground'; Or {C, R} bōr- (bōṭṭr-) v. 'dig', ? Or Wl {Brl.} bōrr-ačč-u 'to dig earth with horns' (of infuriated bulls) ¶ DSI 64, Abr. S 34, R SS II 87, C SE II 194, Brl. 63, ≠ AD SF 45 || Ch: WCh: Ron: Fy {J} ḅur 'bury, dug in', Bks {J} ḅor v. 'dig', DfB {J} ḅūr, Sha {J} bur v. 'bury' || SBc: Tala yà ḅōrī v. 'dig' || ? BT: Krf {ChC} burré, Pr {Frz.} pūrè 'grave' || CCh: Bdm {Cfr in ChC} bōrām, BtG borōne 'a well' || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} bīr (bīīr) v. 'dig' ¶ JI II 104-5, J R 84, 140, 213, 283, ChC s.v. 'dig' and 'a well', ChL, Frz. P 48 ¶ The glottalized ḅ- in WCh corroborates the presence of a lr. in the HS ✓ ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 132 [no. 203] || IE: [1] NaIE *bʰer- v. 'dig' (× N *bṓr'a' 'pierce, bore') > Arm -pḥp -biṣ 'auf- grabend' (in cds: qetnawpḥp getn-a-biṣ 'that burrows in the earth', hoṭ-a-biṣ 'digging the earth'), pḥp bṣ-em 'I dig, I hoe, I hollow' || L forā- v. 'bore' || Gk φάρος 'plough', φάρω 'I plough' ¶ ≈ WP II 159-61, P 133-5, WH I 481-2, F II 994, Ch. 1179, Hü. 429-30, Slt. 137 (deriving Arm -biṣ, bṣ-em from Arm pḥp biṣ 'large stick, club, cudgel'), ≠ EI 549 (unc.: φάρω, L forā- and Arm bṣ-em < IE *bʰer- 'strike') || [2] IE {Blz.} *bʰreṵwṛ (gen. *bʰruṵnos) > NaIE *bʰrēw- / *bʰrēw-n- / *bʰru-n- 'spring (fons)' (× N *búru (Kṷ) 'spurt, gush forth, boil, seethe?') > Arm awpḥp aḭbiwṣ ~ awpḥp aḭbewṣ (gen. aḭbeṣ) 'source, spring' (< *bʰrēw-) || Gk φρέαρ (< *φρήαρ) / gen. φρέατος 'a well' || OIr típra 'spring' (possibly < *to-eḱs-bʰrēwṛ) || pGmc *brunō / *brun(e)n- 'well, spring' > Gt brunna (πηνή) 'source' ({Fs.} 'Brunnen'), Gt Cr brunna

'fons', OHG *brunno*, NHG *Brunnen*, ON *brunnr* 'well, spring', AS *brunna* (× *burno*) id., 'creek'; AS *burno*, NHG *Born* 'spring, well', MLG *borne* 'creek', NE *bourne* ¶ P 144, Dv. no. 330, M K II 509–10, M E II 250–1, F II 1040–1, Hü. 415, Slt. 280–1, Me. EAC 147, Vn. T 74, Fs. 108, Vr. 61, EWA II 381–3, KM 10, Ho. 39, Ho. S 11 || K: G {DCh.} *bar-* 'dig', {NCh.} *bar-* ('копать застыном'), {Chx.} *ga-bar-*, *gada-bar-* '(das ganze Feld) umgraben'; G *bar-i* {NCh.} 'spade (заступ)', {Chx.} 'Spaten, Schaufel' ¶ DCh. 97, NCh. 149, Chx. 64–5, 67 ¶¶ Hardly here Sv *-bārǵ-~ -barǵ-ǵ* *-bārǵ-* v. 'dig, hoe' (< N **b'i'Rk|g* ▽ [~ **p'i'Rg* ▽?]) 'to dig', q.v. ffd.) || D **pōr-* ({ǵGS} **b-*) 'hole, hollow in the tree' (× N **PogUr* ▽ 'hollow', 'to gap', 'to be open' [a hollow], q.v. ffd.) || A: M **bürdü* (or **bürüdü*?) 'spring of water, small lake' > WrM *bürdü* {MED} 'small lake, pool', {Cev.} 'spring (of water)', HlM *бүрд* {BMR} 'small lake, puddle (created by rain), small swamp, криница', {Luv.} 'криница', Kl Ö {Rm.} *bürdü* 'Sumpf, Sumpfsee mit Quelle', Ord *bürdü* 'lac, mare' ¶ MED 1200, BMR I 304, Luv. 95, Cev. 117, KW 35 (WrM *bürdü* [spelling at variance with other sources]), Ms. O 103 || pTg **bīra* 'river, spring (Quelle)' (× N **b'u'Xra* 'watercourse, river', q.v. ffd.) || ?φ pKo {S} **ù-* 'well' > cds: MKo *ù-mír*, NKo *umul* 'well' (MKo *mir* 'water') ¶ S QK no. 884, Nam 389, MLC 1239 || ?φ pJ {S} **bì-* (– **bù-i-* – **bè-i-*) n. 'well' > OJ *wi*, MJ *wì*, JT *i* id. ¶ S QJ no. 780, Mr. 420, Kenk. 567 ¶¶ SDM 359 (pA **bīuyri* 'spring, well' > M **bürüdü*, Tg, Ko, J), DQA no. 162 (id.), Whtm. 139, 245 (Ko, J) ◇ K **a*, D **o* and the absence of *vw.* after **b^h-* in IE may be interpreted as tentatively suggesting a N *vw.* **o* in the first syll., while M **ü* (and presumably A **ü*?) may be due to regr. as. ◇ Blz. IELA 7 [no. 11] (HS, IE) ◇ Cf. IS I 186–7 s.v. **būr* 'to bore, to drill' (to which IS ascribed some of the reflexes of the etymon in question).

225a. (₂?) **b'A'ǵr* ▽ 'ε ungulate' > HS: S **'buǵr-*, (d.?) **ba'ǵīr-* > Ak *būr* 'young calf; foal, young of quadrupeds' | Sb *bār* 'cattle, head of cattle; camel', Mn {MA} *bār* 'camel', Gz *bāṣar* 'ox, bull, horned cattle', Tgr, Tgy *bāṣaray* 'ox, bull' (→ Sa {R} *bēṣēr ā*, Bj {R} *bēṣ'r āy* 'ox [Ackerstier]', Mh {Jo.} *bāṣayr* 'camel', coll. {Jo.}: Mh *hā-bēr*, Hrs *hā-byār*, Bth *hābē,ṣr* 'camels' | BHb *bā'ǵīr-** (att. +ppa.: 3m *בְּעִירֵי* *bāṣī'r-ō*, 3p *בְּעִירֵי* *bāṣī'r-ām*) 'cattle (as property)', JA [Tg.], JEA, Sr *bāṣī'r-ā* 'grazing animal, cattle', Ar *bāṣīr-* 'camel; (any) beast of burden' (→ Sq/Hrs {Jo.} *ba'ǵīr* id.) ¶ CAD II 340–2, L G 84–5, ≈ KB 136, Js. 182, BK I 142, BGMR 26, Jo. M 41 || C: Ag {Ap.} **bīr-a* > Bln, Xm {R}, Km {CR} *bīr ā*

'ox, bull' (← EthS?) || HEC {Hd.} ≈ *bōra 'bull, ox' > Kmb bōra id., Sd bōr-to 'cow', Hd bāra 'young bull' ¶ Ap. IV 6, Hd. 109, AD SF 204 || B: Zng ta-barar-t 'female camel'; ??? Ah {Fc.} ə-here 'menu bétail (chèvres et moutons)', Tmz {NZ} ta-burr-it 'troupeau' ¶ NZ 94, 125, Fc. 639, Tk. LAA-1 124 [no. 145] || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *bara 'antelope' ({AD}: and 'buffalo?') > Gera bara 'buffalo', Hs bàṛṛṛṛ {Ba.} 'red-fronted or dorcas gazelle (*Gazella rufifrons*)', Ngz {Sch.} b́ŕŕ 'herd of animals' | P' {MSk.} bàbár 'roan antelope', Sir {Sk.} babari 'dama gazelle', Cg {Sk.} burāmən 'gazelle' | Jm {Csp.} bùrá, ? Grn {Csp.} mbòrò 'sheep' || CCh: Bdm {Nc.} báriē 'bull' | ?σ: Ms {Sk.} boʔora, Bnn {ChC} bàra 'antelope' || ECh: Mkl {J} búrú 'bœuf' ¶ ChC s.v. 'antelope', Stl. ZCh 154 [no. 90], Ba. 86, Abr. H 81-2, MSk. 166, Sk. NB 10-11, Lk. B s.v. báriē, J LM 70, Csp. 32, Sch. DN 16 ¶¶ ≈ Tc. LAA-1 124 [no. 145] || D *paṛṛ- ({ǵGS} *b-) 'buffalo' > Tl barre 'female buffalo', Klm barre 'buffalo' ¶¶ DED no. 3321 || ?μ K: G barakeuli 'heifer, young cow' (unless a loan from an unknown source, which seems likely) ¶ Chx. 65 || ?φ A *bíra(gu) 'young herbivorous mammal (calf, lamb etc.)' (× N *w'í'í'í' id., q.v. ffd.); if it is a valid cognate, the unexpected palatalized *-í- may be due to derivation (*bíra- < **bir-ya-?) or belong to the heritage of N *w'í'í'í' ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 157 [no. 53] (S, C, WCh, D *paṛṛ- + unc. D *pōr 'bull', see N *p'ó'Rᵤwᵤ 'female, young? ungulate [esp. bovine]').

225b. ₂ *bohr ▽ 'loose earth, dust' > HS: S *°✓ bhr > Ar ʔabharu 'sol mou, sol doux', ?σ bahār- 'pepper' ¶ BK I 171, Hv. 49 || A: T *bōr 'dust, sand, clay, chalk', 'ε (barren) soil\ground' (× N *bAr ▽ 'earth, land; dust', q.v.) > Tk bōr 'virgin soil', Tkm Δ bōr 'lime(stone)', CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Qzq, Qq. Nog, Qrg bōr, Uz bwr, VTt, Bsh bur, Chv L пур, пурă, Chv Δ πορ 'chalk', Brb {Rl.} aq por. clay' (aq is 'white') Tv p'or 'clay', Yk būōr 'clay, ground', Tf bōr 'sulphureous ground (сернистые солонцы)' ¶ Acc. to S AJ 288 [no. 298], T *bōr goes back to pA *mō|ōr ▽ 'sand, dust', cp. pKo *mòr(η)áḷ 'sand' ¶ Tv p'or is likely to be a loan from another T lge (because of the irreg. p'-) ¶ ET B 192-3, Ra. 72, 164, Jeg. 165, TL 100, 375-6, Rl. IV 1269, Ash. IX 293 and 301, Fed. I 444, Jeg. 165.

226. ₂ *bUHR ▽ 'be light' (of color) > HS *°✓ bhr v. 'be light' (of color) > CS *°✓ bhr id., 'stand up as white against a darker background' > Ar ✓ bhr G (ip. -bhur-) v. 'shine, shine brightly', BHb מְהִירָה mab'hīr 'shining, bright', BHb בְּהִירָה bā'hīr '(?) brilliant, bright' (h. l. Job 37.21: 'pōr bā'hīr hū ḥaššāḥā'kīm [KJB] 'light which is bright in the skies', [LXX] τὸ φῶς

τηλαυγής ἐστίν... 'the light which is far-shining ...'), MHb {Js.} בְּהִיר *bā'hīr*, בְּהוֹר *bā'hōr* {Js.} 'white, white spot' (cloud), {Lv.} 'glanz-fleckig', JA בְּהִירָא *bəhī'rā* 'glänzend, leuchtend', Md ✓ *bhr* *G* v. 'illuminate'; BHb בְּהֶרֶת *ba'hēret* 'white patch in the skin', JA [Trg.] *bah'rā*, *bahar'tā* id., *bəhī'rā* 'light' (color), 'clear' (sky) ¶ KBR 111-12, L G 103-4, Fr. I 115, Ln. 196, 265, Lv. I 197 || NrOm: Ym (Fl.) *borō*, ? {Wdk.} *pōrō* ~ *fōrō*, {Lm.} *forō* 'white' ¶ Wdk. BY 122, 182, Lm. Y 342 || Ch *✓ *br* 'white' > CCh: MfG {Brr.} *má-bàrá* 'white, clean', Gzg D {Lk.} *babaraṇ*, Db {LnG} *mábàrīn*, Gdr (Mch.) *bábara* 'white' || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} *bùrùwá*, Ll {Grgs} *bòré*, Kwn {J} *bàrétín*, Smr {J} *bùragé* 'white', Ke {Eb.} *gì-bìrwí* (f. *bàrwá*) 'white, light (color)' ¶ JI II 345, ChC s.v. 'white', Eb. 50, Brr. MG II 162 (connecting MfG *má-bàrá* 'white, clean' with -*p̄r*- v. 'wash'), Blz. EChWL no. 97 || A **b|p'uRE* > Tg **būr*... > Ewk *burbi* 'wall-eye', Nn Bk *burix* id. ¶ STM I 111 || Ko {Rm.} *puru* 'white' in *puru-mʾl* 'white horse' (*mʾl* is 'horse') ¶ Rm. SKE 211, Rm. EAS I 57 ◇ The Om and Ch words may also belong to HS *✓ *brh* v. 'shine' (whence S *✓ *brh* v. 'be light' [of color], 'shine' > Ar ✓ *brh* [pf. *bariḥa*] v. 'be light in complexion', Gz ✓ *brh* v. 'shine', 'be light' [of color], *bārūh* 'light' [color], 'bright' [KB 108, BK I 118-19, 170-1, L G 103-4]); EthS > Sa {R} ✓ *brh* v. 'be light' [of color], *bīrīh* 'light' [color]) (< N **bARh'é* 'to shine' [q.v.]).

227. (₂?) **bū'h'R* ▽ 'blow, inflate, (→ ?) swell' > HS: C: SC {E} **búr*- v. 'blow' (of wind) (× N **buR* ▽, **buRₗ* ▽, 'K' ▽ 'storm, stormy wind') > Kz {E} *bul*- v. 'blow' (of wind), Alg {E} *bur*- v. 'fan' || Dhl {EEN} *búri* 'fart' (*b* < ***b?* < **bₗ* ▽, *h*?) || EC: Sml *barar*- 'swell (up)', {DSI} 'gonfiarsi', Boni {Hn.} *barp̄ēr*- 'swell' ¶ E SC 140, EEN 34, ZMO 32, DSI 45, Hn. S 53 || Ch: ECh: Ke {Eb.} *bòrè* v. 'blow (blasen)', Kwn {J} *bōré*, EDng {Fd.} *ábiṛè* 'blow' (wind) || CCh: Msg {Dec.} *barawē* 'wind', {Mch.} *bérber* id., Msg P {Trn.} *baraway* 'tornado sèche', Msg Ng {Rlf.} *berbere* 'wind', Mbara {TrnSL} *bàràwáy* 'tornado', Ms {Caît.} *biri* 'orage'. ? Glv *mbírànt* 'blow' ¶ JI II 33, ChC s.v. 'blow' and 'wind', Lk. DQM 47, Trn. LM 76, TrnSL 254, Caît. 38, Fd. 2 || B: Wrg *bbarbar* 'monter \ se gonfler en fermentant' (pâte) ¶ NZ I 94 || ?σ S *°✓ *bhr* > Ar ✓ *bhr* *G* ps. 'be out of breath', *buhr*- 'the state of being out of breath, breathlessness, short-breathing' ¶ Ln. 265, BK I 170-1 ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 129 [no. 180] || K: GZ **bēr*- 'blow, inflate, distend' > G *ber*- v. id. (aor. -*ber-e* < *-*bēr-e*, / GM S 250, GM SAKS 70-1), Lz *bar*-, Mg (m) *bar*- v. 'blow, inflate' ¶ IS I 193, K 50, K² 11, Schm. 97, Chik. 252 || IE: Clt {Matas.} **burro*- 'inflated, swollen' > Mlr *borr* id., MW *bwrr* ~

bwr 'fat, strong, big', OCrn [ʁ] bor 'pinguis' ¶ Matas. E 84 || ? A: M: WrM {MED} bartairā- 'swell, distend (as eyes, face etc.)' ¶ MED 89.

228. *b'uXr 'back, rear' > U *pur- 'rear part, behind' > pOs *p+r > Os: V p+r, D p+r, Kz p+r 'hinter etw. befindlich, Raum hinter etw.' | Hg far 'Arschbacken, Hinterteil, Gesäß', 'hindquarters, (horse's) croup, (person's) posterior', farol- 'rückwärts gehen' || Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} purdā- 'sich nach hinten \ gegen den Strich wenden' (z. B. die Strömung, die Haare bei einem gereizten Tier), purdārī? 'zurück', Slq Tm {KD} pāran- 'um-, zurück-kehren\-gehen, sich wenden' ¶¶ UEW 407, MF 182-3, EWU 356, Lh. 366 || D (att. in SD) *puṛ- ({GS} *p-) 'buttocks, anus' > Tm pūr 'anus', Ml pūr, pūrām 'buttocks, vulva', Kdg pu'rī 'vulva' ¶ D no. 4379 (unconvincingly adducing Tu pūrī 'vulva' and Tl puṛā 'anus', that in my opinion belong to N *puṛ, tE or *puṛ, tE 'hole' [(in descending lges] → 'vulva, anus'], as well as the etymologically unclear Brh puṇḍū 'bottom of a receptacle, buttocks, anus') || HS **✓bXr 'back, back part of the body' > B *°✓bXr (or *✓bZr) > Ah a-bāhar (pl. ibūhār) 'dos nu d'un animal portant une charge', abhār '(se) mettre à cru sur le dos (d'un animal)' ¶ Fc. 40, Pr. H 34 [no. 23], NZ 40 || CCh: Db {LnG} mbūr, mbūr 'buttocks', Gv {ChL} mbūrta, mbūrte, Dgh {Frk} kfímbūrte id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'buttocks', ChL ◇ D *-ṛ- (a regular reflex of the N intervocalic *-r-) suggests the presenc of a vw. before N *-r-.

229. *bār? 'give' > HS: S *°✓br? > Ar {Dz.} ✓br? G 'hand over' ('livrer, remettre, céder') ¶ Dz. I 62 || Ch *✓br ({Nw.} *barə, {JS} *✓br) v. 'give' > WCh {Stl.} *bar- > BT: Krkr {Lk., J} bar-, Krf (inv.) bārī 'give!'; after Stl. ZCh: Bl, Ngm bar, Glm bār, Gera bār 'give' | pSBc {Stl.} *b3r > Grn {Sh.} būr, Grn Mb {Sh.}, Tule {Sh.} b3r, Sy Zk/B/Z {Sh.}, Zar K/GL/L {Sh.} v3r, Zar {IL} v3r id. | Ngz {Sch.} bārú id. || CCh: Tr {Nw.} v3ri id. | McMdr: Gdf {Sh.} bar-, Gv {ChL} b3ránà, Dgh {Frk} b3ré, bírbgè, Nkc {ChL} bárbìgá id. || Ech: Mu {Lk.} b3rá, {J, Lk.} b3r, Kjr buruno, ? Kjk {DB} fāro, Bdy b3r, Jg {J} b3r, Brg {J} b3rì, EDng {Fd.} b3rè, Mgm {J} b3r-áw id. ¶ JI I 76 and II 158-9, ChC s.v. 'give', Stl. ZCh 154 [no. 88], Nw. no. 57, JS 116, JA LM 70, Sh. SB 35, Sch. DN 22, DB s.v. Kjk fāro, Blz. EChWL no. 34 || K ≈ *bar- > G (da-)bar- 'hinterlassen (z. B. Auftrag)', {DCh.} 'entrust, commission so. (to do sth.), charge (with a task)', Sv UB {GP} li-bräy-e v. 'to hand over', Sv {Ni.} -bräe 'give' ¶¶ Chx. 64, DCh. 97, Ni. s.v. 'дaтb', GP 148 || A *bār v. 'give' > T *bār v. 'give' > OT ber- (= {Cl.} b3r-), Tkm ber-, Az ver-, Afsh v3r-, Tk SW v3r-, Yk b3r-, Chv L nap- id.

¶ Acc. to ADb. SR-D and Pp. J 54, Yk -îâ- and Chv -a- suggest pT *-ā- ¶ IS suggested a long vw. and explained the Tkm short e by the infl. of r ¶ Rs. W 70, Cl. 354-5, S AJ 178 [no. 34], ADb. SR-D 57-8, Ash. IX 102-6, Jeg. 143, Fed. I 384-5, Jeg. 143 ¶¶ A highly questionable cognate: Tg *bū- 'give' > Ewk, Sln, Neg, Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn bū- (high series of vw. harmony), Lm bō-, WrMc {Z} ɓɓ- id. ¶ STM I 99, Z 537 ¶¶ SDM 353 (pA *bǝr'ɛ' 'give, take, collect' > T + qu. Tg *bū- 'give' and err. pJ *pírí-p- v. 'gather, pick up'; the rec. of pA {SDM} *-ǝ- is based on the qu. adduction of Tg *bū- and the err. adduction of pJ *pírí-p- [going back to pA *p'irU(ke)- v. 'ask, try to receive, beg' < N *piro (Kæ) 'ask']), DQA no. 154, S AJ 282 || D (in McTm) *parič- 'gift' > Tm paricu, paricil 'gift, donation, present', pariɣam ~ paricam 'brideprice, hire of a prostitute', Ml pariɣam 'token given by bridegroom to bride' ¶ D *-r- < N *-rʔ- ¶ D no. 3970 || Add. source of Sl *b̥bra-ti 'to gather, to take' (cf. N *ba'ʔ'eri 'hold, take' > IE *bʰer- v. 'take, bring, carry') ◇ IS I 177-8 [no. 10] (*be'rH'ɯ 'give' > S, T, ?K) ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 382 (*per 'take') ([mixing of reflexes of N *bārʔ and N *ba'ʔ'eri 'hold, take'] + err. IE, J, Ai, Gil, CK).

230. *berEʔa 'to give birth to; child' > HS: S: [1] WS *bar- 'son' > Aram bar, Mh cs. bɜr, abs. hɜ-brē, Jb C bɛr id.; for pS we may reconstruct a suppletion system: sg. *bar- ~ *bin- 'son', pl. *ban- + pl. ending (see N *beñ|ñ ▽ 'younger relative'); the suppletion pair *bar-/ *ban- is preserved in Aram and SS (OSA/Mh/Jb/Sq) | [2] ? WS *✓brʔ v. 'give birth to, create' (or SS *✓brw 'give birth', WS *✓brʔ 'create') > Mh {Jo.} ✓brw (pf. bɜrō), Jb C ✓brw (pf. 'biri), Sq {L} ✓brʔ|w (pf. bere) v. 'give birth', Sb brw 'child, son, offspring', Hb, Aram, Ar ✓brʔ v. 'create', OSA ✓brʔ v. 'build, create' (in Hb, Aram, Ar and OSA a coalescence with different roots is almost certain) ¶ Jo. J 28, Jo. M 54, KB 146-7, KBR 153-4, BGMR 30, 32, Bll. 57, Av. G II 176-7, 184 || EC: Rn bâr 'brother-in-law, wife's brother' (← *'brother' ← *'born one'; σ≡: below NaIE *bʰrāter-) ¶ PG 72 || WCh: Fy {J} ɓarà 'Kind, Kleines' ¶ J R 84, JI II 74, ChC s.v. 'child' ¶ ɓ due to mt.: **b ▽ rʔ > **bʔ ▽ r > ɓarà? || +.ext.: B *✓brɔ > Ah a-barad 'boy', ta-barat 'girl', ETwl/Ty a-barɔd 'boy, young man', Gh abarad 'boy' ¶ Fc. 86-7, GhA 9, NZ 103 || K *°b'e'r- 'child' > Lz bere 'child, son', Mg ber- 'son' in family names (beria 'Beria', gigi-beria 'Gigiberia' etc.); ?φ G I bɣari 'child' ¶ Chik. 21-2, Chx. 126 || IE: NaIE *bʰer-/ *bʰor- v. 'give birth', 'child', {EI} *bʰer- 'bear a child' > Gt inf.

baíran (· τίκτειν) 'gebären', OHG, AS inf. *beran*, OHG, OSx inf. *gi-beran*, NHG inf. *gebären* 'to give birth to', NE *bear* 'give birth', Gt *bērusjōs* pl. (· γονεῖς) 'Eltern'; ⇨ Gmc **burθiz* 'birth' > ON *byrð* (⇨ ME *birthe*, NE *birth*), Dn *byrd*, AS *ze-byrd*, OHG *burt*, *giburt*, NHG *Geburt* id., Gt *ga-baúrps* (· γένεσις, γενετή, γένος, πατήρ) 'Geburt, Abstammung, Geschlecht, Geburtsland'; Gt *baúr* (· γεννητός) 'der Geborene', ON *burr* 'son', AS *byre* 'son, child' || pAl {O} **bira* > Al *bir* 'son' || ⇨ (prtc.) **b^her-no-* 'foetus, child' > Gmc {Zlz.} **barnan* 'child' > Gt *barn* (· παιδίον, τέκνον, βρέφος) 'Kind', ON, OHG, OSx *barn*, AS *bearn* 'child' || Ltv *bērnis* 'child', Lt *bėrnas* 'fellow, lad, chap; farm labourer' || pAl {O} **barnā* > Al *barre* 'foetus' || ⇨ IE **b^hreH-tēr* ({EI} **b^hreh_htēr*) > NaIE **b^hrā-ter-* (nom. **b^hrātēr* / obl. **b^hrāt(e)r-*) 'kinsman of ego's generation and of the same exogamous moiety' → 'brother' (← *'born one', σ≡: above Rn *bār*) > OI **b^hrātār-* (nom. **b^hrātā*), Av, OPrs, KhS *brātār-*, ClNPrs *برادر* *birādar*, NPrs *berūdār*, Psh *wrōr* 'brother', Oss (mt.): D *ärvadä* id., I *ärvad* 'kinsman, brother' || Gk I [Hs.] *φρήτηρ* 'brother', Gk A *φράτηρ, φράτωρ* 'kinsman of the same phratría' || Arm *եղբայր* *ełbayr* 'brother' || Phr *βρατερε* dat. 'to (the) brother' || Vn *vhraterei* id. (dat.) || L *frāter*, Um *FRATER* 'brother', Osc *fratrúm* gen. pl. 'of brothers' || Clt {Matas.} **brātīr* 'brother' > OIr *bráthir*, MW *brawt* (pl. *brodyr*), W *brawd* (pl. *brodyr*), MCm *braud*, OCm, Cm *broder* (bf. from pl. *breder*), OBr *brotr*, MBr *breuzr*, Br {Hm.} *breur* (pl. *breudeur*) 'brother' || Gt *brōpar*, ON *bróðir*, Nr, Sw, Dn *broder*, OHG *bruoder*, NHG *Bruder*, OSx *brōthar*, AS *brōðor* id., NE *brother* || Pru *brāti* (voc. *brote*), Lt (← dim.) *broterėlis* 'brother', Ltv *Δ* {ME} *brātarītis* 'Brüderchen' ({P}: 'lieber Bruder!'); shortened form: Lt *brólis*, Ltv *brālis* 'brother' | Sl **brātrъ* id. > OCS *братръ* *bratrъ*, Slv *brāter*, OCz, Cz, HLs *bratr*, Slk *brat(e)r*, LLs *bratš*; Sl **brātъ* id. > OCS *братъ* *bratъ*, Blg, R, Uk *брат*, SCr *brāt*, Slv *brát*, Cz *π*, *Δ*, Slk, P *brat* || Tc: A *pracar* (du. *pratri*), B *procer* 'brother' || Possibly also L *forda* 'pregnant' (of animals), OIr *birít* 'sow' (acc. to Vn., from 'pregnant'), com *brit* 'féconde, prolifique', Sl **berdjā* 'pregnant' > ChS *брѣждь* *brěždъ*, RChS *брѣжнн* *brězii*, SCr *brědja* 'pregnant', Slv *bréja*, Cz *březí* 'pregnant' (of animals), R *Δ* *бе'режая*, Uk *бережа* 'pregnant' (of a mare), Blr *бepëжa* 'pregnant

mare' (× sds from *b^her- 'carry' < N *ba'ʔ'eri 'hold, take' [q.v.]) ¶ IS I 32
 ¶ ≈ P 128-31, 163-4, ≈ EI 56 (no distinction between *b^her- 'bear [a
 child]' and *b^her- 'carry'), EI 84, 333, M K II 530-1, M E I 328-9 and II
 280-1, Mrg. 90, Bai. 313, Ab. II 437-8, F II 1039-40, ≈ WH I 527, 541-
 2, Pln. II 683, 736, Vn. B 52-3, 80-1 and C 168, Matas. E 74, Hm. 108,
 YGM-1 53, Hm. 108, Zlz. M I no. 4.5, Fs. 75, 82, 84-5, 87-8, 106-7, 175,
 Vr. 27, 65, 67-8, Ho. 18, 21, 36, 40, Ho. S 5-6, 10, OsS 41, 50, 86, 240,
 EWA I 346-8, 481-2, II 385-8, 472, Kb. 58, 65, 125, 137, 337, KM 103-4,
 237-8, Frn. 40, 59-60, O 19, 26, ESSJ I 188-9, II 238 and III 7-11,
 StSS 101, Glh. 146-7, Slr. 37, Wn. I 387, Ad. 421-2 || ?σ U: pBF *pereh-
 'family' (← 'children [of...]') > F per he, Es pere, Krl pereh, Vo pere
 'family' ¶ SK 523, SSA II 339 || D *per- ({{GS} *p-) v. 'beget, bear (a
 young)' > Tm per u id., Ml per u ka v. 'bear, bring forth', p i r a p p u,
 p i r a v i 'birth', Kt per v- v. 'be born', Td per p, pe'r 'act of birth', Kdg per-
 v. 'give birth' ¶¶ D no. 4422 ¶¶ × D *per- v. 'get' (< N *ba'ʔ'eri) ¶¶
 Hardly here (⇔ Blz.) SD *pār- 'child, young of an animal', because of the
 vw. *ā and *-r- (regularly from N *r-clusters) (see N *P_{AR}ʔ, ∇ 'to
 bring forth, to give birth', 'young of animals', q.v.) || A ?σ *b|p'ære
 'daughter-in-law' (< pre-A 'girl?') > M *beri 'daughter-in-law; bride' >
 WrM {MED} beri, HLM {MED, BMR} бэр id., MM beri [HI] id., 'younger
 brother's wife', [S] 'daughter-in-law', [MA] 'bride', Dg {Mr.} beri 'bride;
 man's daughter-in-law', Dg {T}, Brt бэри, Kl {KRS} бер 'son's \\
 younger brother's wife, young married woman', {Rm.} берә 'Braut,
 Schwiegertochter, Frau des Sohnes', WrO {Krg.} beri 'bride, wife', ShY
 {Ktw.} bēri 'belle-fille', Mnr H {SM} bīeri 'épouse, femme', Mgl (ArSc)
 {Wr.} bai r ī 'bride', Ord bēre 'bru, femme du fils'; ⇨ M *beri-gen 'elder
 brother's wife' > MM [HI] bergen id., [S] ber(i)gen 'sister-in-law
 (Schwägerin)', [IM] berigen 'bride', [MA] berigen beri 'younger
 daughter-in-law, elder brother's wife', HLM {BMR} бергэн, Brt
 беригэн 'elder brother's wife', Kl {KRS} бергн id., 'son's wife', {Rm.}
 bergn 'Frau des älteren Bruders oder Schwagers; Schwägerin', WrO {Krg.}
 ber ge (n) 'sister\daughter-in-law, brother's wife, young married
 woman', Dg {Mr.} beregen 'sister-in-law', Dg {T} бэригэн, Dx {T} бэгэн
 'elder brother's wife', Ord bergen 'femme d'un frère plus âgé'; sx *-gen
 like in *eme-gen 'old woman, old wife', *kür-gen 'son-\brother-in-law',
 *ebü-gen 'old man', {Rm.} *eli-gen 'relatives-in-law'; M ⇨ Yk bārgän ~
 mārgän 'husband's brother's wife', Ewk Brg бэригэy 'brother's wife',
 WrMc {Z} бэрху 'husband's younger brother's wife, husband's younger

sister' ¶ MED 99, BMR I 315, Chr. 132, Krg. 342-3, KRS 95, KW 42, H 14-15, Pp. MA 118, 433, SM 25, Mr. D 12, Ms. H 40, Ms. O 66, Ktw. OuJ 444, T DnJ 113, T DgJ 126, Wr. B 122, STM I 126, Z 421 || Tg *bener 'younger relative-in-law' (contamina-tion with N *ben|ń ▽ 'younger relative', q.v. ffd.) || pJ *bèť- 'junges Mädchen (девушка)' > OJ woto-mye, MJ wòtómé id., J T otóme ~ òtome, J K òtómè, J Kg otomé {Kenk.} 'virgin, maiden, made' ¶ Mr. 513, Kenk. 1469 ¶¶ SDM 339 (pA *bèré 'daughter-in-law' > Tg, M *beri, J), DQA no. 122 (pA *bèré 'daughter-in-law, younger relative-in-law') ◇ IS I no. 32 (*b ʌ r ʌ 'child' > HS [S, B, dubious C cognates], K, IE), ≈ Blz. DA 156 [no. 44] and Blz. NDA no. 43 (adding WCh and unconvincingly D *pār- 'child, young of an animal') ◇ S *✓brʔ and WCh (Fy ɓarà 'Kind, Kleines' < **bʔ ▽ r < **b ▽ rʔ) point to a lr. *ʔ within the N word. This N lr. is also responsible for the NaIE vowel lengthening in *bʰrā-ter and for the interconsonantal zero reflex in *bʰer-no-. D *-r- suggests that N *-r- was between vowels. The solution is N *berEʔa (*-E- in the light of pBF *pereh- and A *b|p'ære).

231. *bārŷā 'bud, leaf' > HS: S (+ext.) *°b|urŷ ▽ m > Ar burŷam- 'bud' ¶ BK I 113 || ECh: Mu {Lk., J} ɓéríyò (pl. ɓèrè), Mjl {Blz.} ber r î o 'leaf' ¶ Lk. ZSS 180, ChC s.v. 'leaf', Blz. EChWL s.v. 'leaf' ¶ Mu ɓer- < **bʔ ▽ r- < (mt.) **b ▽ rʔ- < *b ▽ rŷ- || ? B: Kb bbærɓær ~ βærɓær 'être feuillu, former rideau' ¶ Dl. 36 || IE: Ht p a r s d u {Frd.} 'bud, sprout', {Ts.} 'sprout', {CHD} 'leaf, foliage' (× N *por ▽ 'leaf', q.v.) ¶ Frd. HW 164, Ts. W 61, CHD P 190-1 || U: FU *pär ▽ 'bud' (× N *pûHr ▽ 'fruit?') > Chr par'ɗa 'bud', Chr H {Rm.} pärtñä 'catkin (on birch trees)', {Ep.} pärtñä 'bud', {Rm.} pärcä 'catkin (on birch trees\willows), bud', {Ep.} pärcä 'the part of tree branches that carries buds' || pVg *pēr- or *pär- > Vg T {Kn.} pēr 'cone (of a birch tree, of an aspen)', {MK} pēr 'bud' | Hg bërke 'bud, catkin on trees' ¶ MF 106-7, Coll. CG 123-4, Rm. BT 99, Ep. 89, Ü 153, MK 431 (hyp.: Vg ← Tatar, cp. VTt ɓəpə bõrɓ and Tlt pür 'bud' [Rl. IV 1397]) || A: NaT *b|pür '(small) leaf, bud, needle(s) of a conifer' and M *borguc ▽ 'cone of trees' (× N *por ▽ 'leaf', q.v. ffd.; T *ü and M *o belong to the heritage of N *por ▽).

232. *boRûŷ ▽ (or *baRûŷ ▽) 'trunk' (→ 'log') > HS: S *burŷ- ~ *burāŷ- 'reed' > Gz bārŷ 'reed', Ak bur ŷ 'reed mat' (> Sr būr ā id.) ¶ Sd. 141-2, L G O11-O12, Br. 95 || B *-būray 'stick' > Gd ta-bwri-t (pl. ta-bwray), Ah tā-būri-t, Gh ta-buray-t id., WTwl, Ty ə-boräy 'bâton attaché au piège par une corde pour empêcher l'animal de s'enfuir' ¶ Lf. II no. O135, Fc. 81, GhA 11, NZ 125 || ?ϕ Eg N br ŷ ∈ 'stick', {Hoch} 'a type of wood used in

chariots', {DLE} 'chariot' ¶ EG I 465, DLE I 158, ≈ Hoch 100-1 (Eg ← Sh), Tk. II 258-9 ¶ The loss of the expected final *ʕ still needs elucidation ¶¶ SSAAJ I 87 [no. 107], OS no. 228, Tk. AANM 2 || IE: NaIE *bʰruHχ- ~ *bʰreHχw- > NaIE *bʰrū- ~ *bʰrēu- 'log' > ON brú 'bridge', ON bruggja, Sw brugga 'bridge; landing place, embankment (Hafendamm)', NNr bruggja, Dn brugge 'landing stage', OHG brugga, brucka, Δ prucca, MHG brucke, brücke, NHG Brücke, OSx bruggia, AS brýcǵ 'bridge', NE bridge; NGr B Bruck 'Bretterbank am Ofen', NGr Sw brügi 'Holzgerüst' || Clt {Matas.} *brīwā- 'bridge' > Gl [ʕ] brío 'ponte', Briua brīva 'bridge' (< *bʰrēwa), preserved in Latin place names (Wb. I 542), such as Briua 'Brive-la-Gaillarde', Briua Sugnutia 'Brèves' etc. || Sl *brъvъ, {Sls.} *brъvъ 'trunk, log' > Blg Δ брѣв ~ брѣф 'tree used as a bridge across a river/stream; small bridge, crossbeam', SCr brъv 'small bridge, crossbeam', Δ brъv 'small bridge; log as a bridge across a river', Slv brъv 'footbridge, gangway, gangplank', OR, RChS брѣвь brъvъ, брѣвь brъvъ 'log', бѣрѣвь беръvъ 'raft, embankment dam', OCz brъev 'small bridge', Uk бер 'small wooden bridge'; ⇨ Sl *brъvъno ~ *brъvъnъ ~ *brъvъna (= {Sls.} *brъvъno) 'log' > OCS брѣвьно brъvъno ~ {StSS} брѣвьно brъvъno 'бревно, beam, log', Blg брѣв'но, 'бървен, R брев'но 'log, beam', SCr brъvno 'log; wooden footbridge, plank bridge', OP birzwno, P bierwiono, bierzwiono, bierzwno 'rafter, beam' ¶ P 173, Vr. 59, 60-1, OsS 86, Kb. 122, Ho. 37, Ho. S 10, Billy 35, LP § 18, ESSJ III 71-3, Bern. I 92, Brü. 26, SPS I 400-1, StSS 102, Glh. 153, Drd. 44, Kmc 525, Matas. E 79 || U: FU *pora 'logs used as a raft/bridge, a board' > pLp {Lr.} *pōrēvē > Lp: N {N} boar're 'logs placed together to form a primitive bridge over a river/lake; a board used as a floating raft', L {LLO} parrē 'raft', T {Gn.} poarrew 'Brett' | Prm {LG} *pur 'raft, ferry' > Vt pur id., Z pur 'raft', Z LL pur 'raft, ferry' || ObU *pōrā 'raft' > pVg *pārā > Vg: T parā, P/NV/SV/LL/ML/UL pōra, Ss pōra id.; pOs *pāra ({JHl.} *pīra) > Os: V/Ty/Y pārā, Vy pārā, K/O pār, Kz pōr id. ¶ Es parv 'ferry' may go back to the merger of this stem with U *parwa 'Haufen, Gruppe' (UEW 356-7) ¶ Coll. 46, UEW 395-6, Lr. no. 974, Lgc. no. 5148, LG 232-3, Ht. 179 [no. 534], Db. OS xi, It. no. 35 || ?σ D *paru|inč- ({ʕGS} *p-) 'hilt of a sword' > Tm parínču, Ml prińńu, Tl parūzu id. ¶¶ D *-r- < *-rH- < N *-Rû- ¶¶ D no. 3969 ◇ If the questionable D cognate is rejected, the N vw. of the first syll. is *o, and the N etymon is *boRû-.

But if *o in FU *pora is due to the infl. of *p-, the D root and Es p a r v may be interpreted as pointing to a N *a (N *baRûŷ ▽) ◇ IS MS 332 (IE, U), AD GD 12 (IE, U), AD NM 67 [no. 84].

233. *bôri'ŷ'U 'loose earth, dust, (?) sand' > K *°bu|irŷw- 'dust' > Sv: UB {TK, GP), LB {TK}, L {TK, Dn} birŷw, LB/Ln {TK} biŷw, UB/L {TK, Dn.} burŷwīr, Ln {TK} buŷwīr 'dust', Sv UB {IS ← ?} burŷw- 'raise dust' ¶ TK 154, GP 91, Ni. s.v. 'пыль', Dn. s.v. mirŷv and burŷvīr || **HS:** C {AD} *bUrŷ- 'sand, dust' (× N *bAr ▽ 'earth, land; dust'?) > Bj {Rop.} būr 'earth, land', {R} būr 'Erde, Boden; Gebiet, Land', Bj A {AD} f. tō 'būr 'earth', m. pō 'būr 'sands, sandy country, semidesert' (with articles tō f. and pō m.) || EC: Sml {ZMO} burŷo 'sand hill, dune', Sml N {Abr.} búrŷo 'sand dune', {R} burŷo 'sand', Sa {R} būrē, {CR} būrē 'sand', ? Sd Hb {C} berrinō 'dust'; Af {PH} búrta 'soil', Arr bōre 'earth' ¶ AD SF 315, ZMO 47, PH 74, Hw. A 349, PH 74, Rop. 163, R WBd 50, Blz. CL 177 || Ch *bur ▽ > WCh {Stl.} *bur ▽ 'sand, dust' > Su bur id., 'ash', Ang {Gr.} bur 'dust' | Ron {J}: Bks, DfB búrà id. || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} 'būra 'sand, dust' | McMs: Zm bir, Lame bùrí mí 'dust' || ECh: Mgm {J} bùrúntùllé, EDng {Fd.} búrintàl pl. (sg. r. búrintìlò) 'dust' (possibly a N phrase *°bôri'ŷ'U nu dŷHí| ▽ with *dŷHí| ▽ 'dust') | Cf. also Ch *✓brbr 'dust' (< N *bAr ▽ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ JI II 280-1, Stl. ZCh 157-8 [no. 117], ChC s.v. 'dust', ChL, JA LM 72, J R 140, 213, Fd. 101, Gr. LC 299 || **U** *por ▽ 'dust, sand' > F poro, Krl, Vo poro 'dregs, dust, ashes', ?σ Es por i, Δ pōr i 'mud, mire', {W} 'dünner Kot, Dreck' | ? Chr L ing. puraka'ŋaš 'to be(come) covered with dust' || Vg: LK pārš, N pors 'rubbish' (d. with a sx) || Sm: Kms pûre 'sand' ¶ SK 604-5, SSA II 399, W ESS 847, ≈ LG 233, Coll. 50, MRS 469, Hal. USz III 443-4 || **A** *bur- 'dust, smoke', *bur ▽-Ki- 'dust' > NaT: [1] *buŷr 'dust, soot' [{SDM95} *bur(ū)] > Qrg bir, Xk pir 'fine dust (in corn, on clothes)', Alt/Tlt {Rl.} pur 'Asche, die vom Feuer aufgewirbelt wird und wie Spinnwebgewebe am Dache hängen bleibt', Tv būru-la- 'aufsteigen' (der Rauch), 'клубиться' (о дыме), {Rs. ← ?} būru 'smoke, dust', Tf {Ra.} bir 'soot (suie, noir de fumée)', SbTt Bkl pir, SbTt Tō por 'soot' (× pT *bōr 'dust, sand'?), ?φ SbTt EuCh pirim 'soot', SbTt Tm burim 'smoke, soot', ?σ Yk burū 'smoke (дым, чад)', [2] AdS of NaT *bōr 'dust, sand, clay, chalk', 'ε (barren) soil\ground' (see N *bohr ▽ 'loose earth, dust', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Rs. W 89, Jud. 171, Rl. IV 1364, Ra. 167, BIG 170, Tm. 47, 175, 181, Pek. 570, TvR 123 || M *burgi- v. 'rise' (of dust, smoke) (× N *buŷu (K U) 'spurt, gush forth, boil, seethe', q.v. ffd.) || Tg *bure-ki 'dust' >

Orc, Ul burзхi, Nn Nh burзхĩ id., WrMc {Z} бураки 'dust' ('пыль, прах') ¶ STM I 113, On. 83, Z 539 ¶¶ SDM 375-6 (pA *bóru|a|o 'dust, smoke', [err.] 'whirlwind' [belonging to N *buR▽ 'storm, stormy wind', q.v.] > Tg *bure-ki, M *burgi- ~ *bürgi- 'rise' [of dust. smoke], T *bur-uk 'dust' + unc. pKo *pàràm 'wind' [going back to N buR▽ 'storm, stormy wind'], DQA no. 194 (id.), Rs. W 89, S AJ 193 [no. 188], 255 [no. 111], 224 [no. 281], 288, STM I 113 ¶¶ Tg *bure-ki suggests that M *burgi- goes back to pA *bur▽-Ki- || D *pūr-/puṛ- ({θGS} *b-) 'dust, earth' > Tm pūr̄i 'powder, dust, sacred ashes', pūr̄ti 'dust', pur̄uti dust, powder, dry earth', Ml pūr̄i, pur̄uti 'dust, earth put to the roots of trees', Tl būḍida 'ashes', Klm būḍdi 'ash', ? Prj por̄mil 'rubbish', Mlt pors̄i 'sweepings' ¶¶ D no. 4316 ◇ D *-ṛ▽ < *-ry▽ < N *-ri'ṽU ◇ IS I 187-8 (*bur(H)ḷ/*bor(H)ḷ 'loose earth, dust', corresponding to our two etymons: N *bôri'ṽU and N *bAr▽ 'earth' [q.v.]), Rs. W 89 (F, T).

234. *bARh'ê' 'to shine' > HS *✓brh > WS *✓brh > Ar✓brh G (pf. bariha, ip. -brah-) v. 'be(come) white', barahrah-at- 'a white girl/female/woman', Gz ✓brh G (pf. barha, js. -brāh) v. 'shine, be bright', Tgr, Tgy ✓brh id. (whence Bln {R} barh- 'licht werden'), Gz bārḥān 'light, brightness' | cp. CS *✓bhr 'be light' (of color), 'stand up as white against a darker background' < N *bUhr▽ 'be light' (of color) (q.v. ffd.) ¶ KBR 111-12, L G 103-4, Fr. I 115, Ln. 196, 265, Lv. I 197 || ?φ Eg L b̄x̄ {EG} 'aufgehen' (Sonne), 'hell glänzen' (Milch) ¶ EG I 423, Tk. II 83-4 || EC *✓br? (~ *✓brØ) > Or {Grg.} bari?- v. 'break' (day), barī 'morning', Or B {Sr.} barī id., 'dawn', bari- v. 'dawn', 'break' (day), Kmb {L} birre? v. 'clear up' (weather), Sa {R} bera 'morning, tomorrow', Af {PH} 'bēra 'tomorrow', Sml {DSI} beri- v. 'dawn', {DSI, ZMO} beri 'day', berri 'tomorrow', Sml N {Abr.} wāgu wā beriyayya 'the day is dawning', Rn {PG} báryò 'early dawn', Arr {Hw.} barrí 'dawn, tomorrow', Bs ge-bar-i, Dsn bér-ìkà, Elm ḥár-ri 'tomorrow', Sml bér-i 'east', Or bar-i, Kns, Gdl par- v. 'dawn', Elm ḥúr-re 'morning' ¶ EC *?/Ø is a reg. reflex of HS *h (sc. it corresponds to S *h), / AD WIL 630-1 ¶ AD SF 40, Bl. 151, Grg. 41, Sr. 271, Hw. A 346, ZMO 38, DSI 55, Abr. S 31, PG 75 ¶¶ Dk. p.c. → AD SF 40 (C, S *✓bhr), L G 104 (C, S ✓brh) || IE *bher_LH_X- (= *bherH̄-?) > NaIE *bher_Lə- 'shine (glänzen)' (× IE *bher- 'brown' < N *boŕ_L?_Lú 'brown, yellow') > OSx, MLG, AS brūn 'shining (glänzend)', ON brunn id., 'polished' || IE *bherH̄- +ext. > NaIE *bhrē-g̃- ({EI} IE *bherH̄g̃- 'shine') > OI 'bhrājatē 'shines, beams, glitters', bhrāj- 'Glanz', Av brāza'ti

'beams, glitters', NPrs بَرَان bārāz 'ornament, decoration; beauty', {Vl.} 'ornatio, pulchritudo, bonitas', inf. بَرَانِيدَن bārāzīdān 'to decorate, to render beautiful\good' || Clt {Matas.} *berxto- 'beautiful' ({Matas.} adj. 'bright, beautiful') > MW berth 'beautiful, fine, rich', MBr berz, Br berzh 'prosperity' || Lt inf. bréksiti (pres. bréksit-) 'to dawn', 'to break' (the day) | Sl *brěskъ 'dawn' > Slv brēsk, Slk bresk, P brzask id.; Sl inf. *°brěskati se ~ *°brěščiti se > Slv Δ inf. brēckati se 'to dawn', P † inf. brzeszczy się 'it dawns'; *brězgъ ~ *brězga > ChS, OR БРѢЗГЪ brězgъ, OCz březk, R Δ брезг, брезга 'dawn'; Sl inf. *brěžžiti ~ *brěžžati > Slv Δ inf. brežďžiti, bréžati, brez(d)éti, Cz Δ inf. břížiti se, Slk inf. brieždit' sa, P inf. brzeždźyć się 'to dawn', Plb brezďojě 'it begins to dawn', R inf. брезжить, OCz inf. břěžďiti se 'to begin to dawn' ¶ P 136-7, EI 513-14, M K II 529-32, M E II 279-80, Horn 45, Vl. I 209-10, Sg. 167-8, OsS 87, EWA II 375, Ho. 36, Vr. 61, Wn. I 34, Frn. 55-6, ESSJ III 16-20, Matas. E 63-4, Hm. 78 || **D** *par- ({ǵGS} *p-) v. 'dawn, shine' > Kt par par in- (/ par par id-) 'become a little light before dawn' (of a country {na·r}), Kn pare v. 'dawn', OTl {Km.} parāgu v. 'shine', Kui pari inba v. 'dawn', 'break' (dawn), Mlt parċe v. 'shine brightly, be seen clearly' ¶¶ D *par- < N *-Rh- ¶¶ D no. 3980, Km. 426 [no. 797].

235. ₂ *bAR'h' ▽ 'be hungry, want' (→ 'love') > HS: S *✓br'h|ʔ' G '≈ be hungry' (→ 'love') > OA, Ak ∇ inf. barû 'be hungry, starve', Ar ✓brr G 'be goodpious; love (one's parents)' ¶ BK I 103-4, CAD II 118-20 || ? B *✓βrH 'love, want' > Gd ✓βr (inv. əβr, 3m pf. yäβr) 'vouloir, désirer, aimer, avoir l'intention de', Ah ər, Tnsł ərh, Ty {ABs.} ər ~ əru, Kb ər, Shl, Tmz iri 'love, want', Twl {ABs.} ərhu ~ əru, {PGG} iṛu v. 'love, want, wish, need'; ? ✓β'r > Tw Ng {NZ} ihar 𐎠 𐎡wər 'être nécessaire de, avoir le devoir de' ¶ Lf. II no. 0096, Fc. 154-51, Pr. H 86 [no. 588] (B *✓rh₂h₁), NZ 90-1, PGG 264 || **D** *pari 'love' > Tm pari v. 'be affectionate, love', pari n. 'love, affection', Ml parivu 'love', Kn paraḷiga 'paramour', Tl perima 'love, affection' ¶¶ D *-r- < N *-R'h'- ¶¶ D no. 3964.

236. *boRHû ≈ 'belly', 'internal organs' > HS: EC: pSam {Hn.} *bē'r 'stomach, liver' > Sml bē'r, Sml N bē'r 'liver', pBn {Hn.} *bē'r 'stomach, liver' > Bn {Hn.}: Bi/J/Ba bē'r id., 'liver', K bē'r 'entrails', bē'r 'liver' | ? Brj {Ss.} bára 'chest' || SC: ?σ Brn {E} baroʔo 'spleen' ¶ Hn. S 54, Hn. BD 116, 130, Abr. S 30, Ss. B 33, E SC 320, 338 || ? (+ext.) WS *bar₁▽₁k- > Sq {L}

'berak 'poitrine', {SSL} 'be(:)rak 'chair sur poitrine des animaux', Ar bark- 'poitrine (chez l'homme); poitrail dont le chameau agenouillé touche la terre' ¶ L LS 95, SSL CLS 100-1, BK I 116, MiK I 1.35-6 [no. 38]

|| IE: NaIE *b^hrū-n- > OI b^hhr ū-ŋa-m 'embryo' || MHG briune, brūne 'pudenda muliebria' || Cz brnka 'placenta', {M} 'Kindsfell' | ?σ Ltv braũna 'scab, slough, cast skin of a serpent' ¶ ≈ P 169, M K II 533-4, β≈ M E II 283-4, Lx. 26, Ma. CS 44, ME I 327 || D *pōr-, {ǵGS} bōr- 'chest, breast' > Tl bōra id., Knd bōra 'chest', Kn bōr(a)la, bōr(a)lu 'upside down' ¶¶ D no. 4592 ◇ D *-r- (reflex of N *R-clusters) and of the long vw. in D suggest the presence of a N lr. ◇ NaIE *-ū- in *b^hrū-n- (< IE *b^hruH-(n)-) may be explained by mt. (*-Hû- > IE *-uH-) ◇ Blz. DA 154 [no. 21] (HS, D, IE; Blz. tacitly included the IE reflexes of N *b∇Rǵûč∇ '≈ belly', q.v.), Blz. NDA no. 20 (D, HS, IE).

237. ₂ *bûrûH∇ 'eyebrow, eyelash' > IE *b^hruHχ- ({EI} *'b^hruH-s) > NaIE *b^hrū- 'eyebrow' > OI b^hhr ū- (nom. b^hhr ūh, gen. bruvah), Av brvat-, NPrs برو äbrū, برو bārū || Gk ὀφρύς (gen. -ύος) id. || Mcd [Hs.] ὀφροῦτες 'eyebrows' || OIr brá, nom. du. broí, accus. du. bru, gen. du. brúad id., forbrú (accus. pl., gen. pl.) 'supercilia' || ON brúnn, pl. brunn, Dn øjenbrunn, Sw ögonbrunn, OHG brāwa, NHG Braue, AS brū 'eyebrow', ME browes pl. 'eyebrows', NE brow, eyebrow || Clt {Matas.} 'brow' > OIr -brú (for-brú) id. || Lt† bruvis, Lt brúvė 'eyebrow' | Sl *brī (gen. *brīv-e) > OCS БРЪВЬ brъвъ 'eyelash, eyebrow', P brew, OCz brev 'eyebrow', SCr † br̃v, Blg Δ μ β ρ β α 'eyelid', Cz μ brva 'eyelash', Slk pl. μ brvy 'eyelashes, eyebrows', OR БРЪВЬ brъвъ, R бровь 'eyebrow' ¶ WP II 206-7 (and 169), EI 188, Bc. 219, M K II 534-6, M E II 282-3, Horn 16, F II 454, Vn. B 75, Thr. §§ 310, 314, Ho. 36, Vr. 60, OsS 82, EWA II 302-5, KM 96, Frn. 57, ESSJ III 63-4, Vs. I 215, StSS 101, Matas. 80 || D *pur|r∇ ({ǵGS} *b-) > Klm bu'r 'eyelash, eyebrow', Gdb burgul 'eyebrows', Ku kanu būru 'eyebrow' (kanu is 'eye') ¶¶ ≈ D no. 4358 (without distinguishing it from D *pūt- 'down, hair' and from D *pūr- 'down, hair on the body', see N *bū|ur̃,?,∇ 'lock of hair, down').

238. *barq∇ (~ *barX∇) 'go, go away, step' > K *b'a'rq- (or *berq-?) '≈ step, walk' > Sv: {Ni.} bārqa, U {TK} bārqa (pl. bārqär), UB {TK, GP} bāq (pl. bāqär), LB/Ln {TK} bāq (pl. baqär), L {TK, Dn.} bāq (pl. bāqar) 'step', Sv {Ni.} χwi-bārqi v. 'I step' (шагаю), Sv LB {GP} na-barq, UB {GP} na-bāqw 'footmark; overstepped (by so.)', Mg d. la-bax-u 'passage in wattle fence',

?σ OG perq 'foot', G pex- 'leg' ¶¶ The irreg. vowel corrs and the vowel lengthening in Sv UB/L may be due to the cns. r and its loss ¶¶ K 50 and K² 12 (*berq- 'leg, step'), TK 149, GP 90, Dn. s.v. māq, Ni. s.v. 'шаръ' and 'шаратъ', FS 47 (+ err. G baq-baq-i 'unschönes Laufen', baq-baq- 'sinnlos herumlaufen'; err. rec. of K *baq-) || HS: WS *✓brħ v. 'flee, run away' > BHb, Ph, JA ✓brħ G id., Ug {OLS} brħ adj. 'huidizo, escurridizo; fugitivo', Ar ✓brħ G 'leave (a place), cease', Gz ✓brħ D 'flee, escape, run' (× barrəħa 'enter the wilderness, take to the woods' ← Gz baraħā 'wilderness' ÷ Ar barāħ- 'bare stretch of land') ¶ KB 149, KBR 156-7, OLS 115, Sl. 243, ≈ L G 104-5 || C *b∇r- > Bj {R} ber- scv. 'auswandern', ? ✓sbr (1s: p. a-s'bār, pres. astā'bīr) pcv. md. 'sich flüchten, davon laufen' (if it goes back to a causative stem s∇-b∇r) || z Dhl ḡariḡ- {E} 'go out, depart' (unless the right interpretation is {To.} 'depart on dawn' or {EEN} ḡarij- 'rise [sun], stay till dawn', connected with Dhl {To.} ḡariti 'dawn') || ??? SC: Ehret (E PC no. 4) adduced a pSC stem *bariy- v. 'travel' → Mb -bāri v. 'travel' and the above Dhl verb ¶ R WBd 50, 52, 195, E SC 135, E PC no. 4, EEN 33, To. D 130 || A: T *bar- v. 'walk, go, go away' (× N *mAr'ū 'trace, path; to follow?') > OT bar- v. 'go, go away', Tkm, VTt, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, ET, Yk bar-, ET Δ bār-, Uz bar-, Tk var-, Δ vār-, Az var-, StAlt bār- v. 'walk, go', Chv L пыр-, Chv Δ пыр- v. 'gehen, fahren' ¶ Shch. SFTJ 195 (*bār- with unj. long *ā on the supposed ev. of some ds of ET, Tk and Qzl; in view of the reflexes in Tkm and Chv, the vw. was short), Cl. 354, Rs. W 62 (unc.: ÷ M *bara- 'ein Ende machen, zu Ende bringen', see KW 34), Ash. IX 184-90, 293. Fed. I 465-6, Jeg. 173, Md. 105, 173; ET B 64-5 (unc.: *ā), S AJ 194 [no. 206], DHST 294 (*bēr [= *bēr]) || D *par- ({GS} *p-) v. 'run, go away, flow' (× N *pARy∇ 'run, flee', q.v. ffd.) || E par- 'gehen, reisen': AchEl par-u 'gehend, reisend', pa-ri-iš- 'sie gingen, sie zogen, eie reisten', pa-ri-iš-da 'er ist gegangen\gereist' ¶ HK 123, 149-50, 161 ◇ Hardly here Ht pars- v. 'flee, escape' (Frd. HW 163, Ts. W 61, CHD P 179-80), better explainable as going back to N *P_∇RC∇ 'flee, run (from\after smb.)' (q.v.). The K ✓ points to N *q, while S *ħ is likely to go back to N *χ; the problem needs further investigation (a positional change?).

239. *büryi 'to cover' > HS: B *✓brbr ~ *✓brr v. 'cover, be covered' > Ah bārubarat 'couvrir, être couvert, se couvrir', Gh (caus.) sbārbar 'couvrir, boucher', Gd bārbar 'être couvert, être enveloppé', Gdm {Lnf.} bārbar 'être couvert', Kb sbērber 'se voiler', sburr 'se couvrir,

s'envelopper', Shw ssbərbar id., Mz bbərbar 'couvrir entièrement'; ?? B *✓ φ Hr v. 'close' > Ah əhər 'fermer, boucher', Gd εβər (3m pf. īβər) 'fermer au verrou bloqué ou à clef (une porte)' (B *✓ φ Hr may be alternatively or even better equated with Ak apārū v. 'put a covering on so.'s head') ¶ Fc. 84, 633, Nh. 146, Lf. I 238, II no-s OO93 and O108, Dl. 36-7, Pr. H no. 355, NZ 90-2, Dlh. M 10 || Ch: CCh: Mlw {Trn.} b̄irí 'étendre (un tissu), couvrir (avec un tissu)', Mbara {TrnSL} b̄ār 'couvrir (une maison)', Ms {Caīt.} b̄ār 'se couvrir' || ECh: Dng {Fd.} b̄îrè 'couvrir' ¶ Trn. MVM 282, Caīt. 36, TrnSL 254, Fd. 92 ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 126 [no. 163] || K *bur- v. 'cover, muffle up, wrap up; darken' > G bur- 'muffle up, darken', {Chx.} bur- (ft. gada-bur-) 'in Nebel\ Dunkel hüllen, be-\überdecken', bur- (ft. da-bur-) 'in Nebel\ Dunkel hüllen, verhüllen, verschleiern, be-\verdecken', Lz bur- v. 'patch up', Mg bur- id., v. 'darn', Sv bur-/bwr- 'darken' (UB/KB/Lx/L msd. libwr-e 'to darken sth., to get dark', L pres. i-bruv i 'it is darkening', aor. ed-burān(da) 'night fell', ft. ed-bur 'it will get dark'), Sv UB {GP} rəhi-y-bur-i 'life' (lit. 'light and dark'); ds: OG da-h-bur-es tavsa '(they) blindfolded him' (Lk. 22.64), G da-bur-uli tge 'dense forest', Sv {TK}: USv mubwir ~ mubir, L mubur 'dark', {Ni.} nambwr 'darkness' ¶¶ K 55, K² 20, Chx. 119-20, FS K 64-5, FS E 67, TK 427, 573-4, GP 147, 221, 256, Dn. s.v. bur-, Ni. s.v. 'темный' and 'темнѣть' || A *bürE- v. 'cover' > T *büre- v. 'cover, wrap' > Tkm büre-, Chg b̄ür̄ - v. 'cover', Tk b̄ür̄ - v. 'cover, envelop, wrap', T *bürke- > Qmq bürke- v. 'cover, wrap', Qzq, Nog, Qq, ET Δ bürke-, StAlt b_ürke- v. 'cover', Tv b_ür̄e- (ftp. б_үргэз) 'wrap, become cloudy, Uz burkā- v. 'wrap', Qrg bürkō- vt. 'cover, close', VTt бөрке- b̄örk̄ - id. (↳ Chv п̄үрке- {Ash., Fed.} vt. 'обернуть, wrap [the whole body, including the head]', Xk pürge- v. 'wrap, envelop, cover', Chv п̄ёрке- {Ash., Fed.} v. 'bedecken, bekleiden' ¶ ET B 296-8, Ash. X 84-5, 232, Fed I 422-3, Jeg. 172, TvR 128 || M *büri|ü- v. 'cover' > MM [S] buri- 'bedecken, beziehen', WrM {MED} b̄ür̄i-, {Rm.} b̄ür̄i- ~ b̄ür̄ - , HlM {MED, Luv.} б_үрэ- v. 'cover, envelop', Btr б_үри- 'umnähen, обтягивать, обивать (furniture)', Kl {KRS} б_үр- bür- v. 'cover, заворачивать', {Rm.} bür- 'hüllen, bedecken, mit einer Decke (Deckel oder Dach) versehen', Ord b_ür̄i- 'couvrir, d.: b_ür̄ī- 's'obscurir' (vue), 'être sombre', 'être couvert' (ciel); M *bürkü- 'cover' > MM [HI] b̄ür̄k̄ - id., WrM {MED} b̄ür̄k̄ - v. 'grow\become cloudy, cover, cover up, envelop', HlM б_үрхэ- {MED} id., {BMR} 'cover', 'be covered with tears' (eyes), 'grow\

become cloudy', Brt б̣γ̣р̣х̣э̣-. 'be covered, cloud over', MMgl būrk 'clothed', Mgl būrkūnā 'he covers', Dg būrkū- v. 'cover', Ord b_ūr^kxū- 'couvrir, voiler, obscurir', 'se couvrir de nuages' (ciel) ¶ H 23, Ms. H 45, MED 148, 150, BMR I 306-7, Luv. 95-6, Chr. 124-5, KW 68, KRS 130, Ms. O 104-5, Iw. 94, Pp. IM 50-1 || Tg *buri- v. 'cover' > WrMc {Z} б̣ури- id., Nn Nh, Ul buri- v. 'cover, wrap' ('покрыть, обтянуть, оклеить') ¶ STM I 113-14, Pt. 27, On. 82, Z 539 ¶¶ SDM 385-6 (pA *būri|e ~ *būrijū- v. 'cover, shade' [> M, T, Ewk bū-] with unj. meaning 'shade', based on the presumable Ewk cognate bū- v. 'shade [light]' [qu. as cognare]), DQA no. 220, Pp. VG 111, KW 68-9, Pp.VG 111 || D {Pf.} *pūr-/ *puṛ- ▽- ({ǵGS} *p-) v. 'cover, bury' > Kn hūṛ. u id., pūṛ. (u) v. 'enwrap, insert, cover, bury', Ml pūṛ. uk v. 'be buried', Kdg puṛ- v. 'bury', Tl pūḍu v. 'be filled and closed up (as a pit)', pūḍ. (u) cu v. 'bury', Nkr purp- id., Krx putt- v. 'set' (of the sun) ¶¶ D no. 4376, Pf. 88 [no. 585], ≠ Km. 434 [no. 839] ◇ D *-ṛ- may be explained as going back to pre-N *-ṛ- < N *-ry- ◇ IS I 191-2 (*būri in K, HS, D, A; IS adduced [with a query] IE *wer- 'cover', which is hardly acceptable).

240. ₂ *b ▽ R ǵ ū č ▽ ≈ belly' > HS: S: Ar burṣuθ- 'derrière, cul' ¶ BK I 113 || IE: NaIE {Vn.} *b^hreus-/ *b^hrus- ≈ chest, belly' > Clt {Matas.} *bruson- 'abdomen, womb' (< d. *b^hrusō / gen. *b^hrus-n-os) > OIr brú (gen. bronn) 'sein, ventre, matrice', MW, W bru 'womb, belly', W, MCrn bronn (< NaIE *b^hrusnā-) 'breast', OBr, MBr bronn 'breast', Br bronn 'sein, mamelle' || Gmc: Gt brusts pl. (· σπλάγχνα, στήθος) {Fs.} 'Eingeweide' (or 'Herz?'), 'Brust', OFrs brust, burst, MDt, Dt borst, OHG brust, NHG Brust 'breast'; Gmc {Vr.} *breusta > ON brjóst, OSx briost, AS bréost 'breast', NE breast || Sl *bruxo ~ *bruxь 'belly, paunch' > OR Брюхо brjuxo, Брюхъ brjux 'venter', OCz břuch 'stomach (venter), belly', Cz břicho, Slk bruch, OP brzuch, P brzuch, R Брюхо 'belly, paunch' ¶ P 170-1, ≠ EI 561 (words for 'breast' and 'belly' < *b^hreus- 'swell'), Vn. B 99-100, Hm. 114, Fs. 108-9, Vr. 57-8, Vr. N 79-80, EWA II 399-402, KM 105, Ho. 34, Ho. S 10, ESSJ III 33-4, Vs. I 225, Bern. I 25, Matas. E 81, Hm. 114 ◇ It may be connected with (derived from?) N *boRHû ≈ belly', 'internal organs'.

241. *bAR, ▽, d ▽ 'to pass; way, road' > K: GZ *bo, r, d- v. 'wander, roam' (→ v. 'rave') > Mg bordiš- v. 'rave', bond- id., Lz bod- v. {K} 'rave', 'dart in trouble, беспоко́йно сновать' (of a brood hen), G bod- v.

'wander, roam', 'be delirious, rave', G I bodial- 'kopflos\ziellos hin- und herlaufen, umherstreifen' ¶ ≈ K 52 and ≈ K² 17 (*bod-), Chx. 93-4, DCh. 111 || **HS:** B *✓brd 'road' > Izn abrid 'road', Rf AU, AT abrid, pl. ibridan 'chemin, route', Kb abrid, pl. ibardan 'chemin, route, rue, passage', Ah a.barid, Gd abrīd, pl. bērdan ~ bridawen 'chemin', Nf brid 'route, sentier' ¶ Fc. 86, Rn. 293, Lf. II no. O11O, Dl. 41-2, NZ 100 || ?φ S: Sr {Br.} pl. **𐌲𐌿𐌹𐌺𐌰** bēry-āṭ-ā 'via' (sg. bēr ī't-ā), Sr {JPS} **𐌲𐌿𐌹𐌺𐌰** ber ī't-ā 'street, broad place' (unless from N *bAr▽ 'earth, land; dust') ¶ Br. 88, JPS 55 || ?φ Ch: WCh: Bd bɜdum, budm {IL} 'path' || CCh: Mdr {Eg.} bārāmā id., Glv {RpB} bāram(a), barāmā 'road (in town), street, way' || ECh: Smr {J} bārmā 'road', Nd D {J} bām 'road', Tmk {Cp.} bωĩm 'path', Mu {Lk.} bōdōl, {J} bodōl 'road' ¶ ChC s.v. 'road', RpB 14, Eg. MM s.v. bārāmā, J Mu. s.v. bodōl || **IE:** NaIE *b^hre(:)d^h- v. 'pass, leap over, wade' > pAl {O} *breda > Al G/T breth (aor. brodha) {AIED} v. 'roam, wander; run, go fast; frolic, leap about' || 𐌿 W {Mn. ← ?} bridd (*b^hrēd^h-) v. 'leap forward' (absent in YGM and SB) || Lt inf. brīsti (1s pres. brenḑu, p. bridaũ), Ltv inf. brist (1s pres. briedu) 'to ford, to wade', Lt brūdis n. 'wading', brudē 'track, trace, trail', ?σ brādas 'fishing' || Sl *bred-/*br̥d- (*bred-ǫ ~ *br̥d-ǫ, inf. *bresti) > ChS inf. **БРЕСТИ** bresti / 1s pres. **БРЕДѦ** bredq v. 'wade, ford', Slv inf. bresti / 1s pres. brédem, OCz inf. břísti / 1s pres. br(e)du ~ břdu, Slk brst' / brdú id., R бpe'cти / бpe'дy 'plod one's way, drag oneself along'; Sl *brodъ 'ford' > ChS **БРОДЪ** brodъ, Blg, R брод, SCr, Slv brōd, Cz, Slk brod, P bród id. ¶ WP II 201, P 164, Mn. 100-1, Glh. 152, O 34, BFU 66, Kf. 55, Ç I 75-6 and II 357, Frn. 58-9, ESSJ III 14-15, 36-7, SPS I 368-9 || **D** *paṭi ({ǵGS} *b-?, *-ḑ-) 'way, manner' > Tm paṭi 'manner, mode', Kn paṭi 'manner, method, way', Tl baṭi, vaṭi 'manner' ¶¶ D no. 3851 || **E:** AchEl ба'р-ḑ'и 'Straße(?)' ¶¶ HK 147 ◇ The meaning 'rave, be delirious' (attested in GZ, Ltv [brist 'Albernes sprechen'] and Sl [Рредитъ 'to rave']) is likely to have derived from 'roam' ◇ IS MS 332 s.v. 'брод' ¹ (IE, K), IS SS no. 12.2O, K 52 (IE, K); Blz. E no. 42 (E, HS).

242. *bur_ud▽'g'▽ (~ *bar_ud▽'g'▽?) 'facial hair, animal's body hair, down' > K: GZ *burḑa- 'down, plumage' > G burḑa-, Lz bundḑa- ~ burḑa- id., Mg burḑa- 'down; shaggy'; ⇨ GZ *brḑḑ-wn- v. 'pluck (a bird)' > G brḑḑu-, brḑḑvn-a (~ bdḑvn-a) v. 'pluck (fowl)', OG na-bdrḑu-en-i 'Flaum, Daunen', Mg burḑ- v. 'pluck', Lz o-burḑ-ol-u ~ o-bundḑ-ol-u v. 'pluck (fowl)'; acc. to FS, G burḑa 'plumage, down' is a

loan from Zan; K *^obardʷ- (?) > G P bardʷl-i '(Tier-, Fell-)Haar' ¶ K 55, K² 18, 2O-1, FS K 59, FS E 61, Chx. 66, 72 (s.v. ^oḡḡḡḡḡḡ- / ^oḡḡḡḡḡḡ-) and 1O4, Abul. 317, Ghl. 6O || IE: NaIE *b^hard^hā 'beard' > L barba id. || Gmc: OHG bart, NHG Bart, Dt baard, AS, NE beard, ON barð id. || Lt barzdà, Ltv bārda, bārzda, Pru bordus id. | Sl *bor¹da (accus. *bōrdō) id. > OCS брѡдѡ brada, Blg брѡда, R бopo'да (accus. 'бopoдy), Uk бopo'да, SCr bráda (accus. brādu), Slv bráda, Cz, Slk brada, P broda ¶ WP II 135, P I 11O, EI 251 (*b^hard^h-eh₉-), Mn. 65-6, Dv. no. 327, SPS I 317-19, Vr. 26, Vr. N 24, Ho. 17, EWA I 488-9O, KM 54, Frn. 36, En. 153, Tp. P A-D 24O-2, ESSJ I 197-8, StSS 1OO, Glh. 144-5 ¶ The variant with *-sd- > -zd- in Lt and Ltv is not yet explained (infl. of *b^hars- 'ear of barley') || A: [I] A *bur₁u₁T₁g₁∇ 'facial hair' (× *bEb∇t₁∇ 'lip[s], mouth' [q.v. ffd.] × *P₁ut∇ 'feather, hair') > T: (1) NaT *murut 'moustache' > Chg {Rl.} بورتو burut, ET burut, Brb {Rl. → Tm} murut, SbTt {Tm.} mōrt 𐎠 murt, Tkm murt, Qzq мұрт, Qq, Uz Δ murt id., Nog murt 'tips of moustache' ¶ Rs. W 9O, Rl. IV 1825, 2193-4, Nj. 219, TkR 459, MM 248, Tm. 153, 155, KrkR 467, NogR 228, UzR 272 | (2) ??φ T *biδik (*m₁iδik) 'moustache' (× N *bEb∇t₁∇ 'lip(s), mouth', q.v. ffd. × *P₁ut∇ 'feather, hair', q.v.) > OT biδiq, MQp XIII biyiq ~ miyiq, Chg ≥xv biḡ ~ miḡ, XwT, OOSm ≥xv biyiq, Tk biyik, Δ buyiq 𐎠 miyq, Ggz biyik, Az biḡ, Δ buḡ, CrTt biyiq ~ miyiq, Kr Cr miyuq, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Uz Δ Qrg, StAlt miyiq, VTt, Bsh мьуьq, Chv ма́йăх мьуьх 'moustache', Yk bitik id., 'beard' ¶ Cl. 3O1, ET B 3O4, TL 223-4, Rs. W 73, Ash. VIII 291, Fed. I 346-7, Jeg. 13O || Tg *burga-kta ~ *gurga-kta 'beard, moustache' > Ul buḡaqta, Orc baḡakta ~ guggaqta, Ud guakta, Ewk gurgakta, Sln guggakta ~ gurgakta, Lm gurgat, Neg goygakta id., Nn Nh {STM} bogaqta ~ boḡaqta ~ gogaqta id., {On.} boḡaqta id., bogaqta ~ gogaqta 'moustache and beard' ¶ The root-internal *-g- may go back to N *g (*burga < **burdga < N *bur₁u₁d∇'g'∇). The initial *g- may be due to as. ¶ STM I 173, On. 7O, 1O ¶¶ SDM 385 (pA *būrda 'beard' > Tg, T *burut 'moustache' + unc. *burḡi- 'curly' (of hair), which is more likely to go back to pA *bur- 'turn round', 'round' [cf. N *bUr∇ 'turn round, rotate'. q.v. ffd.]), DQA no. 213 (id.), TL 224 || [II] ? M *barba-yi- > WrM {MED} barbai-, HlM {MED, BMR} барвай- 'be broad and thick' (of a beard), Kl {KRS} барва- id. (× N *bar¹∇ 'big, much, thick', q.v. ffd.); M *barbagar (× N *bar¹∇, q.v. ffd.) > WrM barbagar {MED} 'hairy, shaggy', 'broad and thick' (of a beard), 'coarse' (of textiles), HlM

{MED} баравгар id., {BMR} барвагар 'грубый, coarse, thick' (e.g. барвагар гар 'грубые\шершавые руки'), Brt барбагар 'hairy, shaggy', Kl {KRS} барвһр barwəʁar id., {Rm.} barwəʁar 'mit großen\dicken Wängen, bartbewachsen, bärtig', Ord b_arwagar 'qui est en saillie' ¶ MED 84, BMR I 229, KRS 81, KW 35, Chr. 87, Ms. O 57 ¶ M -b- in *barba-yi- and *barbagar still requires explanation (progressive as., cf. L barba?) || HS: ?φ,σ S: Ar {BK} burd-at- 'pièce en étoffe de laine et qui sert pour s'envelopper et coucher dessus', burd- '∈ textile' ¶ BK I 107-8 ¶ The loss of the expected *ʁ may be due to the infl. of the Semitic triconsonantal pattern of root structure ◇ The apparent pN variation *u ~ *a in the first syll. may be due to as. *-aru- > *-uru- in descendant lges. Alternatively, *a in IE, in G bardʁli and in M barbayi-, *barbaʁar may be due to the infl. of a different N word or to internal vw. changes in lges (such as IE **∇ur > *∇r before a syllable boundary).

243. *biʔ∇r∇gE 'high, tall' (~ *bu|üʔ∇r∇gE with *-u|ü- due to ass. infl. of the labial cns. *b-?) > K {FS} *bʁg- 'tall and strong' > G brge 'tall, broad-shouldered' (Chx.: 'hochgewachsen, breitschultrig'), Sv {Ni.} bəg-i 'thick rope (канат)', Sv UB {GP} bəg-i 'firm; bold', Sv -bg- (msd. {Ni.} li-bg-i, UB/LB {TK, GP} li-bge) 'strengthen', na-bg-i {GP} 'firmness', {Ni.} id., 'strengthening' (укрепление, твердость) ¶¶ FS K 58-9, FS E 60-1, GM S 99, Chx. 104, TK 425, GP 92, 147, Ni. s.v. || HS: B: Ah burǵat (aor. pret. -bburǵat < *-w-brg) 'être soulevé, se soulever', ETwl, Ty bərgət 'être soulevé', Gh barǵad v. 'stand up suddenly' ¶ Fc. 88-9, GhA 10, Nh. 173, NZ 105 || C: Bj {Alm., R} 'birga 'high' || EC: Or {Tut.} borigi 'eminence, hill (Anhöhe, Hügel)', adj. borigi 'rising, eminent; erhaben, ansteigend', ? pSam {Hn.} *būr- 'big' (of things), {AD} 'high, big' > Rn {PG} būr 'big', Sml {ZMO} būr 'mountain, bare-topped hill', Sml būran {Hn.} 'stout', {ZMO} 'fat, plump, corpulent, obese', {DSI} 'essere grasso\robusto\grosso', Sml {ZMO} būrān 'stoutness' ¶ R WBd. 52, Hn. S 55, PG 82, 147, DSI 71, ZMO 48, Tut. 439, IS I 177 ||| var. HS *✓bgr (< *✓brg) > S: Gz ✓bgr G v. 'grow, become physically developed', MHb ✓bgr G v. 'mature' ¶ L G 89, Sl. 185 || (mt.) Eg fBD bʒʒ 'Mastspitze' ¶ EG I 488 || Ch: WCh: Kir pʒgòre, Kir Mn bagóra 'big' | Bd {Lk.} ʒvgor 'long' ||| Bdy {AIJ} begèr 'dépasser, surpasser' ¶ Csp. 42, Lk. Bd 71, AIJ 58 ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 111-12 [no. 55] || IE *bʰerǵʰ- 'high' (-d> *bʰerǵʰo-s 'mountain', *bʰrǵʰu-s 'high' etc.), {EI} *bʰrǵʰu-s, *bʰrǵʰent- 'high' > OI brǵhant- 'groß, hoch', Av bərazant- 'high', bəraz- 'high; height, mountain', CINPrs برز barz

~ بُرنُ burz, NPrs بَرْنُ borz 'height, tallness; tall', KhS balysga- 'high' ||
 Arm -բերձ -berz *'high' (in: երկնա-բերձ erkna-berz 'himmelhoch', լեռնա-բերձ leṛna-berz 'berghoch') (< *b^herġ^ho-s),
 բարձր barzr (gen. barzu) 'high' (< *b^herġ^hu-s) || ? OL [Fest.]
 fortus (< *forg-tos < *b^horġ^h-to-s), L fortis 'strong', Osc FORTIS
 adv. cmpr. {Bc.} 'potius', {Pln.} 'fortius' (÷ L fortius) || Clt {Mats.}
 *brig- 'hill', {AD} 'hill, high' > Mlr brí 'hill' (accus. go brigh 'towards
 the hill'), MW bre 'hill', W bry ~ fry 'en haut', brig 'top, summit',
 MBr {Ern.} bre 'hill, highland', Crn brē, {Matas.} bre 'hill', Br bre 'hill,
 mountain'; W bera 'rick, stack', Crn bern id., 'heap', Br bern 'tas,
 meule', MBr bernou 'monceaux', berniaff 'élever', Gl brig- 'high'
 (in n. pr., ƒ Evn. 316), briga- 'height' (in n. l., ƒ Wb. I 525) || Gt
 baírgahei (· ὀρεινή-[χώρα]) 'Gebirgsgegend', ON bjarg, berg, Dn
 bjerg, NNr, Sw, OHG, OSx berg, NHG Berg 'mountain', AS beorh ~
 beorz 'hill, mountain; heap of stones', NE barrow; ON borg 'a height;
 fortress, city', Gt baurgs (· πόλις, βῆρις) 'Stadt, Turm', Dt borg,
 borch, OSx, OHG burg 'castle, town; stronghold', NHG Burg
 'fortress, stronghold, castle', AS burz id., 'city', NE borough,
 barrow || Sl *bergъ 'bank, steep slope' > OCS брѣгъ brěgъ
 'крытой склон, откос; берег' ('steep slope; bank'), Slk brěg, 'берег,
 склон' ('bank, slope'), Blg бряг 'bank, coast; hill; Abhang', SCr брѣг &
 brijēg 'hill; coast, bank', Cz břeh 'Ufer, Rand', Slv breh 'Ufer, Hang,
 Hügel', P brzeg, R, Uk 'берег' 'bank, coast, shore' || pTc {Ad.} *pärk- >
 Tc A/B pärk-, A park- v. 'arise', 'rise' (of celestial bodies), A pärkär,
 B pärkare 'long' || Ht parku- 'high', park-, parkiya- v. 'raise, rise'
 ¶¶ P 140-1, EI 269, Bc. 296, M K II 445-7, M E II 232, Bai. 272, Vl. I 218,
 WH I 535-7; ≈ EM 382-3 and ≈ Pln. I 384 (both: L fortis and Osc
 FORTIS < *d^herġ^h-to- < *d^herġ^h- 'hold'), Pln. II 39, 600-1, 683, Bc. G
 316, Vn. B 87, LP § 37.2, YGM-1 44, 53, 55, ECCE 214-16, Ern. 58, 80,
 Hm. 76, Billy 34, Fs. 75-6, 85-6, Vr. 39, 50, Vr. N 96, OsS 51, 92, EWA I
 553-4 and II 457-60, KM 66, 111-12, Ho. 20, 38, Ho. S 6, 11, ESSJ I 191-
 3, StSS 102, SPS I 203-4, Glh. 150-1, Hü. 428, Slt. 68-9, Wn. I 362-3,
 390, Matas. E 77, Hm.105, Ad. 372-3, Ad. H 124, 138, Ts. W 60-1, CHD
 P 155-61 || D (att. in SD) *pēr (≈ *pīr-?) ({ǵGS} *p-) > Kdg pe·r 'steep
 slope', Td pō·r 'cliff' ¶ IS adduced also Kn pēr·h- v. 'lift up' (sc. Kn {BE}
 pēr·u v. 'lift up and put upon, load, pile up'), which goes back to D {GS}
 *pēd- > Ml pēr·u 'a load', Tm per·r·u 'a pile', pīr·akku v. 'heap' (as in

D no. 4446, GS 64 [no. 195]) ¶ D no. 4448 ¶ D *-r- (regularly from N intervoc. *-r-) suggests a N vw. between *r and *g || A: [1] A *b|p'i'yo'r▽ '≈ big' (in Ko and J) → 'fathom' > Tg *bi'yo'r...- > Sln {Iv.} бирахан 'mountain', WrMc {Hr.} biyoran 'hohes Ufer aus kahler Erde', {Z} биорань 'ravine with red ground, cliffy bank' ('красный яр, обрывистый утес берега') ¶ STM I 84, Z 545, Hr 102 || pKo *p'ár 'fathom' (N *ba'rá▽ 'big, much, thick') > MKo p'ár id., as well as NKO p'al id. (× < MKo p'ar 'armful') ¶ S QK no. 668, Nam 246, MLC 723 || pJ *p'irè- 'wide; fathom' > OJ p'iro- 'wide', p(i)iro 'fathom', MJ p'irò- 'wide', p'irò 'fathom', J T/Kg hiró- 'wide', J T hiro 'fathom', J K h'irò-, J Kg hiró- 'wide' ¶ S QJ no. 601, Mr. 408, 828, Kenk. 508 ¶¶ SDM 330-1 (pA *bà'rá' 'wide, thick' > Ko, J + [going back to pA *ba'rá▽ 'thick, wide' from N *ba'rá▽ 'big, much, thick', q.v. ffd.): Tg *baru-n 'thick; round, full', M *bar- 'broad and thick' (of a beard), 'coarse' (of textiles) and T *ba'rik 'thick, stout; stubby man', DQA no. 96, Whtm. 193. 210 || [2] ?? *Add. source* of Tg *burgu 'fat, thick' (from N *ba'rá▽ 'big, much, thick') > Ewk, Sln burgu, Lm bergъ, Neg bolgo, Ul božo(n), Ork boddo(n), Orc boggo, Ud bogo id., Nn Nh buygu {STM} 'thick, fat', {On} 'fat' (of animals), 'thick' ¶ STM I 112, On 81 || U *p'ir|ðkä 'high' > Sm {Hl.} *p'irke, {Jn.} *p'irkä 'high' (× U *p'irðe(-kä) 'high, long' < N *bêžU (,q▽,) or *bêž,▽,q▽ 'big, high', q.v.) > Ne T пирця, Ne T O {Lh.} p'irćē, Ne F {Lh.} pííśśáă, En X {Cs.} fiće, En B {Cs.} fiše, {Ter.} пизе 'high', Slq Tz {KKIH} p'irq+ 'high, deep', Slq MTm {KD} p'ürg 'high', Kms {KD} p'úrže, {Cs.} phirže, Koyb {Sp.} прица, Mt {Hl.} *hirge (> Mt M {Mll.} 'hyrgi, Mt M {Mll.} 'hürgü, Mt K {Pls.} chirgè) 'high' ¶ UEW 377-8, Jn. 125, Jn. UK 225, Hl. M 246 ◇ D *ē in *pēr is still to be explained ◇ IS I 177 [no. 9] (HS [B, C, Ch: Jg búlgât 'high' qu.], ? K, IE, ?D, Sm); Blz. LN I 202 derived the Sm stems from U *p'irðe(-kä) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 204 (*p'irka 'high') (IE, U + err. A + qu. CK).

244. ₂ *b'E'R▽'k'▽ 'knee' > HS: S *'birak- 'knee' > BHb בִּרְאֵךְ 'berək id., בִּרְכַּיִם bir'kayim 'knees' (pl. ← du.), בִּרְכֵיהֶם birkē'hēm (< *birakē'hēm) 'their knees' (suggesting the original pl. **bārā'kīm 'kneres'; the fricative k of birkē'hēm points to a preceding vw. in the pl. form, which provides ev. for a vw. in the second syll. of S *'birak-), Ug brk, (AkSc) {Hnr.} birku, BA, JPA בִּרְכָּא bir'k-ā, Sr bur'k-ā, Md burka, Mh/Hrs {Jo.} bark, Jb {Jo.} berk, Sq {Jo.} b3rk, Gz bark, Ak birku ~ burku 'knee'; ⇨ [1] WS *✓brk v. G 'kneel' > BHb ✓brk G 'kneel down', Ar ✓brk

'kneel' (of camels), Mh ✓brk (pf. bə'rōk) id.; [2] CS *✓brk v. *D* and *L* 'bless' (← *'make kneel') > Hb, Ph, Ug ✓brk *D* id., Ar ✓brk *D* and *L* id.; pp. *G* means 'blessed', e.g. in BHb בָּרֹךְ bā'rūk 'blessed', (of God) 'praised', Amn, Ug brk, IA bryk (= *bā'rīk), JA [Trg.], JEA בָּרֵךְ bə'rīk, Sr bərī'k-ā 'blessed'; Cn ⇨ Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk} bī-ra-kú v. 'bless, serve (as an acolyte)' and (?) bī-r-kú 'gift' ¶ KB 153-4, KBR 159-61, OLS 116, Hnr. 115, Sl. 245, Br. 96, Jo. M 52, Sd. 129, 140, CAD II 255ff., L G 105, DRS 84-5, HJ 198-202, Hlk no-s 60-1, SivCR 57, 79, MiK I no. 1.39 || Ch: CCh: Gzg Mj {Lk.} poporok 'knee' || possibly WCh *burum 'knee' (loss of *k): BT: Grm {Sch.} búrmùŋ, Dr {J} bó-bə̀rə̀m, Tng {J} purum, Bl {IL} burum 'knee' | AG: Su {J} fùrùm, Ywm {J} furum id. | NrBc: My {Sk.} wúrùm, P' {MSk.} bürmí, Jmb vûrmú id. | SBc: Tala vārām, Kir kā-fúrum id. ¶ JI II 214-15, Sch. BTL 134, Lk. G 134, ChC s.v. 'knee' || **K**: pZn *br̥g-∇- 'knee' > Mg Z birgul-, Mg Sn, Lz A/VAr burgul-, Lz X burgil-id., ?Lz A birgiži 'elbow' ¶ Q 203-4, Marr 131-2, Chik. 64 ◇ pZn *g (for the expected *k) still requires explanation ◇ IS I no. 31 (*bārKΛ).

244a. *b'i'Rk|g∇ (~ *p'i'Rg∇?) 'to dig' > **HS**: B *✓brk ~ *✓prk 'dig' > Ah əbrək, ETwl əbrəg ~ əbrək (3m pf. i br̥g ~ -k), Gd εbrək (3m pf. i br̥k), Gh əbrək 'piocher' ¶ Fc. 91, GhA 9-10, 246, Lf. I 225 and II no. O120, NZ 119 || Ch {JS} *✓brg, {AD} *✓prg ~ ?? *✓brg v. 'dig' > ECh: Ke {Eb.} fərgí v. 'dig' || CCh: Ms {ChC} vùròk, Msg P v'r̥w̥g 'dig' ¶ JI II 105, JS 85, ChC s.v. 'dig', Eb. 46 || **K** *b∇rg- > Sv: UB {TK} -bərž- ~ -barž- (msd. libəržē, libaržē) 'dig', Ln {TK} li-bäržē 'to hoe', L {Dn.} li-bərž-e 'to dig with a hoe', Sv {Ni.} -bərž- ~ -bərđ- 'dig' ¶ Chx. 65, TK 427, GP 148, Dn. s.v. bərž-, Ni. s.v. 'копаты' || **A**: M *°φirga- > WrM irga- {MED} v. 'dig hole\burrow' (of animals), HLM ярга- {MED} id., {BMR} 'dig a burrow' (of mice and moles) ¶ MED 414, BMR IV 467.

245. UA₂ *buR_uk|g∇ 'run, jump' > **U**: FU *°purk∇- > pObU *pörk- > pVg *pörk- 'hop, jump (hüpfen)' > Vg T pork-, Vg LK par̥-, Vg P porr-, Vg Ss por̥- id. ¶ UEW 414 (adducing Ne T O partam 'plötzlich aufspringen', which may be better explained as going back to N *p.ar∇ 'to fly, to jump') || **A**: M *buruγud- > MM [HI] {Ms.} buruγud- 'se retirer, éviter, fuir', WrM burugud- {MED} 'flee', HLM буруγуд- {MED} id., {BMR} 'sich verzerren; unrecht sein, irren, sich vergehen, ; M *buruγula- > WrM burugula- {MED} v. 'flee, run away, take to one's heels', HLM буруγул- {MED} id., {BMR} 'flee, zurücktreten, sich entfernen', Brt буруγул- v. 'retreat (отступать), flee', Ord b_urūla- 'fuir, s'enfuir pour

une destination inconnue pour éviter qch. de désagréable' ¶ Ms. H 44, MED 139, BMR I 290, Chr. 114, Ms. O 99.

246. *bôra KE ~ *bôra 'to fall, to fell, to throw' > IE: NaIE *b^hreġ- v. 'fall, fell' > Vd bhrāś-/bhras-/bhr̥ś-: ni-bhrāśai 'fällen, stürzen, niederschlagen', 'bhrāś(i)ya- 'was zum Fallen gebracht werden kann', ('adhi)-bhrasat 'soll entfallen', with a nasal infix: OI bhramśatē 'falls, falls out\down, drops', pp. bhras 'ṭah 'ausgefallen, entfallen', KhS brasś- v. 'fall', Oss ālvāsən 'être projeté (de sa place)' || ? Sl inf. *brъsi-ti, iter. inf. *brъsati > R inf. 'бросить, ip. inf. бросать 'to throw', Uk inf. бросити 'to throw, to throw away' ¶ P 168, M K II 525-6, M E II 276-7, MW 769, Ab. I 132, Bai. 313, Vs. I 218, ESSJ III 55-6, SPS I 398-9 || **A** *bur▽- 'abandon, lose', *burak- v. 'drop, throw' > T *burak- ~ *biṛak- v. 'throw' > OT biraq-, biraḡ- 'let, abandon', MT biraq- id., Osm (QB, IM) biraq-, Tk bīrak-, Δ burak-, Az burax- 'leave, release, let out', CrTt biraq- v. 'throw, leave', Bsh biraq-tir- 'throw, throw away', Yk {JkR} biraḡ-, Chv пăрах- p̄рах- v. 'throw, abandon'; the variant *birqa- is represented in SbTt Tö birqa-, Bsh Δ b̄r̄ya- v. 'throw', Shor purka- v. 'cast' ¶ ET B 307-8, Rs. W 74, Ash. X 129-32, Fed. I 399-400, Jeg. 148, ARL 60, JkR 94 ¶ Chv ä ь suggests pT *u || Tg *burī- > Ewk burī- vt. 'drop, let fall, lose, sink', buruwkən ~ burupkən- 'drop, let fall, knock down, knock down from so.'s feet', Sln burī- ~ b̄rī- 'untie, let go', Lm b̄ri- v. 'lose', Orc bui- id., WrMc {Z} б̄р̄б̄ - 'disappear, get lost' (unless a semantic change from б̄р̄б̄ - 'grow dark'); Tg *b̄rgi- > Ewk PT b̄rgi- vt. 'drop, let fall, lose, sink' ¶ STM I 113, Z 540 || pJ *p̄ara-p- ~ p̄ara-p- 'sweep away, drive out' > OJ para-p-, MJ p̄ar̄a-φ- id., J T har̄á-, J K h̄ar̄á-, J Kg h̄ar̄à- 'clear (away, out), sweep (away, off), wipe' ¶ Mr. 684, Kenk. 453 || pKo *p̄ri- ~ *p̄rí- 'throw aside\away, abandon' > MKo p̄rí- ~ p̄rí-, NKo p̄ri- id. ¶ Rm. SKE 192, S QK no. 605, Nam 241, MLC 759-60 ¶¶ SDM 363 (pA *biura- 'abandon, loose' > M, T, J, Ko), Rs. SKE I 184, 192. Mr. KJ 243 || **HS**: WCh: Bl {Lk.} bur- v. 'niederwerfen, fallen lassen' ¶ Lk. PVB II 134 || ?σ S *✓br̄kt̄|d vt., vi. 'knock down on one's back, turn back', S *bur̄k̄id|ṭ- 'on one's back' > Ak pur̄k̄idam 'auf dem Rücken (liegen), auf den Rücken (fallen)', Ar ✓br̄qt̄: tabarqat̄a '(il) tomba à la renverse', barqat̄a '(il) se retourna pour regarder derrière soi' ¶ BK I 115, Sd. 881 || ?σ D (in GnD) *p̄ōk(k)- ({θGS} *p-) v. 'throw away' (× N *bow▽ka 'put out, throw out' [→ 'sweep

out'], q.v. ffd.); the prehistory of the D stem may be reconstructed as *pōk(k)- < *pork- < *borak-.

247. *b∇R₁∇₁kæ 'to flash, to shine' > **K** *°brk- > OG, G brkial- 'glitter, shine (glitzern, glänzen)' ¶ Abul. 35, Chx. 106, DCh. 118 || **HS:** S *✓brk v. 'flash, lighten' > BHb, Ug, Aram, Sb, Gz, Ak ✓brk, Ar ✓brq id., Mh {Jo.} b3r'kawt, Hrs {Jo.} b3rkōt, Jb C {J} 'b3'r3'k3t vb. n. 'to lighten, to flash', Mn {MA} ✓brk vi. 'briller'; S *ba'raḳ- 'lightning' > BHb בָּרָק bā'rāḳ, Ug brk, IA brk?, Sr bar'k-ā, Ar بَرَق barq- (< *'barak-, a metatonic variant of *ba'raḳ-), Mh {Jo.} bōr3k, Hrs {Jo.} h3bēr3k, Jb C {Jo.} b3rk, Ak birk- id., Sb brk 'rainy season, monsoonal storm'; S ⇨ Cpt Sd (ε)ΒΡΗΘΕ (e)brēce 'lightning' ¶ KB 155, KBR 162, HJ 203, OLS 116, Sd. 122, Jo. M 53, BGMR 31, MA 23, L G 106, CAD II 258ff., Ws. 23, Crn. 33, Vc. 39, SivCR 79 || Eg fP b3k '(be) bright, white'; Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk} bu-r-kā 'glitter' = Eg N brk v. 'glitter, reflect' (about water) ['glitzern'] ¶ EG I 424-5, 466, Fk. 78; Vc. 39 and Hlk no. 59 (they suppose that brk is a loan from S, but borrowing of a verb [not through derived nouns] in highly inflected lges is possible only if the verbal morphology of the borrowing lge and the source lge are similar, which is not the case for Eg and S; on the other hand, the EgSSc for the word [with preservation of r before a cns.] suggests that it is a loan; we may see here a merger of the inherited Eg word with a Semitism), Tk. II 91-3 || C *✓brk > EC {Ss.} *barḳ-/birḳ- 'lightning', v. 'lighten' > Elm i-birg-a, ?φ Sd bank-o, ?φ Hd bānḳ-o 'lightning', ?φ Brj buḳḳ- v. 'lighten', Dsn birgač 'flashing', ?ír birgamu 'lightning' (?ír 'rain') || Ag *barḳ- > Xm {R} berqā ~ barqa, Bln {R} barq 'lightning', Xm ✓brq v. 'flash'; *m-b∇rk- 'lightning' > Xm {R} mirqā, Bln {R} mirkā, Q merkā id. || DhI {EEN} bīrikḳína, {To.} bīrikinna id. ¶ R WB 86, 274, AD PmbC, Ss. PEC 49, Ss. B 42, E SC 32, EEN 34, To. D 130, To. DL 487 || NrOm: Mch {L} parìḳḳi(yé) v. 'lighten' ¶ L M 45, Fl. OO 317 || ?φ WCh: DfB {J} bàra 'lightning and thunder' || CCh: Bdm {Lk.} barmél, {Nc.} 'barmīl 'lightning', FIM {ChL} buru id. ¶ J R 212, Lk. B 91, ChL, ChC s.v. 'lightning' || **IE** ({EI} ? *b^herḱ- 'shine'): NaIE *b^herḱ- / *b^hreḱ- v. 'shine, glitter' > Gk [Hs.] φορκόν (-λευκόν, -πολιόν, -ῥυσόν) {EI} 'white, grey' || MHG inf. brehen 'plötzlich und stark aufleuchten, glänzen, funkeln', ON inf. brjā, brā (< *brehōn) 'to shine (glänzen), to sparkle', AS breah^tm ~ bear^tm 'glance', 'Glanz, Augenblick' || OIr brecc, W bruch 'speckled' || Vd 'bhrāsātē 'shines, glitters' (ā due to the infl. of 'bhrājātē 'shines, beams, glitters' < NaIE *b^hrē-ḡ- < N

***bARh¹é'** 'shine' + ext.) || ?σ Ht parkuis 'clean' ¶¶ P 141-2, EI 514, M K II 532, ≠ M E II 280 (claiming that Vd bhr āś- is a var. of bhr āj-), F II 1036, Vr. 57, Ho. 17, Lx. 26 ◇ IS I no. 5 equated HS *✓brk with T *balqi- v. 'shine', U **palk▽ (> Os N paṽāl 'lightning') and IE *b^helg- v. 'shine', which is not plausible because of the liquid (HS *r is not cognate with IE, U and T *l) and because HS has better parallels in IE and K with reflexes of N *r. On these roots of T, U and IE see N *baṭ₁i, 'k' a 'to shine'. Neither is plausible the comparison with K *berçq-/*brçq- v. 'flash' (with an unexplicable *ç, while there is a better K cognate *°brk-).

248. *baRm▽ 'ε stinging insect' > IE: on. NaIE amb *b^hrem- 'a buzzing insect' (× on. NaIE *b^hrem- v. 'buzz') > OI bhr ama'r-aḥ 'bee' || OSx brémmia, OHG brema 'gadfly, horsefly', bremo 'horsefly', eNHG [Luther], NGr Δ Breme 'ε stinging insect', d. MLG bromese → NHG Bremse 'horsefly, gadfly' || Sl *brqkь 'beetle' > Cz brouk, LLs, HLs bruk id., RNvg брюк 'dung beetle' ¶ The connection with the NaIE onomatopoeic verb *b^hrem- v. '≈ buzz, growl' (> L fremō, OHG bremen, Sl *brьměti) is secondary; hardly here Gk φόρμιγγ (gen. -γγος) 'phorminx (ε lyre\harp)' ¶ P 142-3, ≈ EI 24 (OI bhr ama'r-a- 'bee' ← *b^hrem- 'make a noise'), ≠ M K II 528-9 (denying any genetic connections of OI bhr ama'r-aḥ because of its onomatopoeic associations), M E II 279, F II 1036-7, WH I 544-5, Ho. 33-4, Ho. S 10, OsS 83, EWA II 315-16, KM 98-9, ESSJ III 22 and 44 (Sl on. *brqkь connected with on. *brękati 'produce sounds' > P brzokać, brękać 'бренчать, звенеть'), 68-9, Sls. I 46, YGM-1 54 || U: FV *parma '≈ gadfly, horsefly' > F парма, Δ парма 'gadfly, horsefly, deerfly', Es parm 'horsefly (Tabanus, слепень)' | Er промо promo, Δ puromo id., Mk пуром 'puram 'botfly (овод)' | Chr KB parmъ, U pormo 'Pferdefliege, Bremse', B pormo 'Bremse' ¶ UEW 724-5, Coll. 107, It. no. 31, ERV 519, PI 226 || HS: WCh: Zar {IL} bəřǝm n. 'fly' ¶ ChC s.v. 'fly'.

249. *baRǝ▽ 'be uneven\rough; bristle' > K: GZ *barǝg-/*brǝg-, {FS} *barǝg- 'thorn' > G {FS} barǝg-i ~ baǝg-i 'thorny plant', Mg buǝga- 'needles of a chestnut fruit'; Zn → G burǝg-aḥ- {DCh} 'teasel' ('ворсянка'), G I burǝg-i {DCh.} 'bristle, щетина', {FS} 'Stachel, Dorn', burǝgalai 'needles of a chestnut fruit', G buǝg-i 'small hedgehog'; d.: G burǝg-n-, Mg buǝg- ~ biǝg-, Lz buǝg-in- vi. 'bristle up, ruffle' ¶ ≈ K DE 361 and ≈ K² 21 (GZ *burǝga- 'bristle', *burǝg- v. 'bristle [up], ruffle'), FS K 66, FS E 46, Chik. 256, DCh. 125 || IE: NaIE {P} *b^hars-, *b^hṛsti-, *b^hṛsti-

'≈ bristle, point, spike' > OI *bhr̥ǵt̥i-h̥* 'point, spike, edge, corner' ||| pGmc **bursti-* > ON *burst* 'bristle, ridge of a roof', NNr *bust*, Sw *borst* 'bristle', Dn *børst* id., 'brush', AS *byrst*, OHG *burst* 'bristle, prickly', NHG *Borste* 'bristle', *Bürste* 'brush', NE *brush*; Gmc **barza-* (< **b̥ars-*) > ON *barr* 'conifer' (< **'needles of a conifer'*), Ic, Sw *barr*, NNr *bar* 'needles of a conifer' ||| Clt {Matas.} **barro-* n. 'point, top' > Ir *barr* 'summit, tip (of a tongue, a finger)', MBr *barr* 'summit', MW *barr* ~ *bar*, OBr, Br *barr* id., 'branch', Crn *bar* 'summit, branching bough' ||| L *festūca* 'stalk, straw' (< **fers-tūka*), *fastīgium* 'point\spike (Spitze), the gable end, pediment of a roof', *fastigātus* 'pointed' ||| P, Bern. and ESSJ adduced Sl **bъrŝčъ* (P's Sl **bъrstjo-*) '*Heracleum sphondylium*' ('Bärenklau, борщевик') > Slv *bŕšč*, Slk *bršť*, HSrb *baršč* id., OR *борщъ*, P *barszcz* id., whence the name of heracleum soup and later that of soup of beet and cabbage (R, Uk *борщ*, P *barszcz*); the reason of this designation of the plant is not clear ({Bern.}: "die Benennung erfolgte nach der Gestalt der Blätter") || Ltv {ME} pl. *burkšķi*, *buršķi*, *burkši*, *burši* {Bern.} '*Aegopodium podagraria*', {ME} 'Hundspetersilie', sc. 'cicely, *Aethusa*' (the reason of the designation is probably the form of its long naked haulm and its parsnip-like poisonous root) | Acc. to WH, the stem has a variant **b̥orzd̥h̥o-* / **b̥rez-d̥h̥o-* > OIr *brot* 'pointe, aiguillon', Crn *bros*, Br *brous* 'thorn', OCrn [VC] *bros* 'aculeus', *broud* 'aiguillon (+ err. Al *breðh* 'fir tree', see O 34) ¶ P 109, EI 439 (**br̥ǵsti-s* 'point'), M K II 523-4, M E II 273, Vn. B 19-20, 98, Flr. 80, Hm. 68, ECCE 213, WH I 461-2, 489, Vr. 27, 65, Bv 65, Ho. 41, OsS 93, EWA II 471-2, Kb. 137, KM 93, 113, Bern. I 109, ESSJ III 131-2, SPS I 422, ME I 353-4, Kf. 55, Matas. E 58 ||| A: M **barǵa-yi-* > WrM *barǵai-* {BMR} 'become uneven\rough', HlM *барзай-* {MED} id., {BMR} id., становиться корявым), Brt *барзай-* 'be rough (быть шероховатым\корявым)', Kl {KRS} *барза-* 'be uneven\rough', {Rm.} *barzã-* 'eine unebene Oberfläche haben, runzelig\narbig sein; an-geschwollen und runzelig sein', Ord *b_arǵ_ã-* 'présenter un aspect rugueux, avoir des aspérités'; M **barǵagar* > WrM {MED} *barǵagar*, HlM {MED, BMR} *барзгар*, Brt *барзгар* 'uneven, rough', Kl {KRS} *барзһр* *barzъұр* id. ('неровный, шероховатый, бугристый'), {Rm.} *barzaұар* 'uneben\rauh' (von der Oberfläche), 'narbig\schmarrig' (von der Haut), Ord *b_arǵ_agar* 'couvert d'aspérités, raboteux'; WrM *barǵigir* {MED} 'uneven, rough', HlM *баржгар*

{MED} id., {BMR} id. (of crêpe, silk), Brt бapжap 'uneven, rough' ¶ MED 90, BMR I 230. Kow. 1111, Chr. 87, KRS 82, KW 35, Ms. O 52.

250. *b'A'í∇ 'old' > **HS** *✓br? 'old, grown-up' > S: the S adj. (< pp.) *ba'rī? - 'fat, stout' (of animals and humans), 'healthy' (> BHb אֲרִיָּא bā'rī adj. 'fat', f. bārī? - ā id., MHb אֲרִיָּא bā'rī 'healthy, strong, fat', JA {Js.} bā'rī, JEA {Sl.} אֲרִיָּא bā'rī id., Ar bari?a 'was\became fat') is likely to go back to a merger of several N etymons (becoming homonymous in S), among them the etymon in question ¶ KBR 156, Sl. 244, Js. 192-3 || C: EC: Sa {Morin} 'bārra, {R} 'barā 'old man', {Morin} bār'ra, {R} ba'rā 'old woman', Af {PH} barra 'wife, woman', ? Rn {Oo.} o'borri, {PG} òbórrì 'women, wives' || SC: Irq {Wh.} barisē 'old men', SC ⇨ Mb {Fl.} m-bora 'woman' ¶ Oo. 73, PG 238, R S II 84-5, Morin p.c., PH 69, Fl. p.c. || **K** *°ber- > OG, G ber-i 'old man', ber- v. 'make old' ¶ Chx. 78, DCh. 104, Abul. 31 || **U**: FP *por∇ 'old (aged)' > pLp {Lr.} *pōrēs id. > Lp: N {N} boares / -rras- 'old', S {Hs.} boāries, L {LLO} pāre's 'old', Pa {TI} pū'a're's', Kld {TI} puāres' 'old' (of humans, animals, things) | Vt peres' 'old', 'Ahn', Z p̄r+ś, Prmk p̄riś 'alt, alterschwach, hinfällig' ¶ UEW 737, Coll. 74, LG 229, Lr. no. 975, Lgc. no. 5149, Hs. 352-3, TI 385 || **D** {tr., GS} *pa'ra- 'old' > Tm pa'ra 'old' (of things), Ml pa'ra 'old', pa'ama 'oldness, old age', Kt pa-y-/pa- 'old', Td pa'w/pa- 'old', Kn pa'ra, pa're, Kdg pa'le 'old', Tu pa'ra 'old, worn out', Tl prā- 'old' (in cds), Png p'ān 'old' (of things), Mnd p'ān(ċa) 'old', Kui p'āḍi, Ku prā?i id. ¶¶ D no. 3999, GS 226 [no. 555], 165 [no. 413] ◇ FP *o may be explained by the assimilative infl. of the labial cns. *p-.

250a. *bo'í∇ or ***bu'í∇** 'sun, day' > **HS**: EC *barr- 'day, year' > Elm parr-ac 'daytime', Sml ber-i 'time', Gwd, Hr per-ko 'year', par-a 'when', HEC *barr- 'day' > Sd barr-a 'day, time', Ged barra, Kmb bar(r)a, bari 'day', Hd ball-a 'day, date'; Brj {Ss.} berr-i 'year'; (× N *b'A'í∇ 'old', q.v.): Or bar-a 'year, time, age', Kns par-a 'year, age' ¶ Ss. PEC 14 (pEC *bar-r- 'time'), Ss. B 35 (pEC *bar(r)- 'time, age, year'), Hd. 47 (pHEC *barra 'day') || ECh: Kwn {Mch.} bur 'day (journée)' ¶ ChC s.v. 'day' ¶¶ Not here Ak bēru 'double hour, one twelfth of a full day' (which is obviously a metaphore based on Ak bēru 'a «mile», measure of length'; the pS etymon must be *baš|ħru) (CAD II 208-11) || **IE**: Clt {Matas.} *bāregō- 'morning' > OIr bārach 'tomorrow', MW bore, MBr beure, Cn bore 'morning' ¶ Matas, E 57 || **D** *po'ut- 'sun, day' > Tm po'utu, pō'utu, Kt po'ūt, Kn po'utu, portu 'sun, time', Ml po'utu 'sun, day, auspicious time', Td

pišt 𐤱 pošt 'time, luck', Tu p o r t u 'sun, daylight, time', Tl p (r) o d d u 'day, morning, time', Klm pod 'sun', appuḏ, a·puḏ 'then', e·puḏ 'when?', Nkr podd 'sun', Nk pod 'sun, day', Prj apoṭ 'that time', ipoṭ 'this time', Gnd poṛd 'sun, time, hour' 𐤱 poṛd(u) 'sun, day', Knd podu id., Png padna ~ podna 'time' ¶¶ D no. 4559 || U {UEW} *purk∇ 'time (Zeit, Mal)' > Prm *pūr > Z, Vt pīr 'always; immediately' || ObU: Vg: T pār, LK/MK/P/SV pōr, NV pōr, LL pōr 'time (Zeit, Mal), opportunity'; pOs {Ht.} p+ṣar > Os: V/Vy ki-p+ṣar, Ty kit-p+ṣar 'double' (kit 'two') || Sm: Slq LTz {KD} pā:r 'time (Mal)', Slq Tz {KKIH} pōr id., ukkīr pōr 'once' (ukkīr 'one') ¶¶ UEW 407, Coll. 53, LG 236, Lt. 195, Ht. no. 802, KKIH 152 ◇ The discrepancy between D *o and U *u is still to be explained ◇ The semantic filiation: 'sun' → 'day' → 'year, time' ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 164 [no. 115] (D, EC, U + err.: L -ber in names of months and S).

251. *bôṛ'a' 'pierce, bore' > HS: WS *✓brr, *✓bry ~ *✓brw v. 'pierce, sharpen' > Gz ✓brr (js. yə-brər) v. 'pierce', BHb בָּרַרְתָּ 'heḥ bā'rūr 'sharpened arrow', הָבִירָה hā'bīrū v. Sh 2p inv. 'sharpen (the arrow)!', Ar ✓bry (pf. بَرَى barā) 'tailler, couper (un roseau à écrire, une plume), exténuer, amaigrir (une bête de somme)', ✓brw (pf. بَرَأ barā) 'dégrossir avec une hache, adoucir avec une plane' ¶ L G 107, KB 156, KBR 163, BK I 119 || Eg fOK 𐤠𐤁𐤓 v. 'drill' (𐤠 - is a px), Eg fP 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤓 'hole' ('Loch, Höhlung') > Cpt Sd/B BHB bēb 'caverne, nid' ¶ EG I 290-1, 419, Fk. 58, 7, Tk. II 56-63, Vc. 25 ¶ IS I 186 misquoted Eg 𐤠𐤁𐤓 as 𐤠𐤁𐤓 || IE: NaIE *b^her- v. 'bore, pierce' (× N *bUṛR∇ 'to dig' [q.v.]) > L for-ā- v. 'bore', forāmen 'hole' || ON bora 'hole', inf. bora, OSx, OHG inf. borōn, NHG inf. bohren, AS inf. borian 'to bore', NE bore || ? Irn: NPrs inf. بَرِّيدَن borrīdān ~ بَرِيدَن borīdān 'to cut', Av tiži-bāra- 'mit scharfer Schneide' || pAl {O} *birā > Al T/G birē 'hole' || Arm բահ bah 'spade, hoe' (gen. բահի bahi) (< *b^hṛ-ti-) || OIr bern, berna 'crack, cleft, gap', {Vn.} 'fente, brèche, trouée' ||] Possibly words for ploughing (← 'piercing the soil'): Gk φάρος ntr. 'plough, ploughing', φάρᾱω ~ φάρόω v. 'plough' || Sl *borna 'harrow' > Blg брѣна, McdS брана, SCr brāna, Δ brāna 'harrow', Slv brána, Cz, Slk pl. brány, LLs brona, HLs bróna, OR БОРНА, R, Uk боро'на, Blr бара'на id. ¶ P 133-5, WH I 481-2, M K II 533, F II 994, Ch. 1179, Vr. 49-50, EWA II 246-7, KM 89, Ho. 31, Ho. S 9, Vl. I 232, Horn 49, O 2, ≈ Vn. B 41 (OIr bern < IE *b^her- 'strike, cut'), ≈ ESSJ II 204-6, Vs. I 196-7, Drd. 39 || U *pura 'borer

(tool)', *pura- v. 'bore, drill, pick a hole' > F *pura* 'crowbar, drill', *puraa*- v. 'pick holes (Löcher stemmen)', Es *pura* 'Instrument der Schmiede zum Durchschlagen von Löchern in Eisen' | Lp: N {N} *bqrrē* / -r- 'edge', L {LLO} *pārrē* 'borer (tool)' | Prm {LG} **pūr*- vt. 'drill, gouge, peck', Prm **pūr* 'through', **pūrić* 'ice pick' > Vt Sr *pīr*, Kz *pēr*, Prmk *pīr* 'durch, hindurch', Vt *прич* 'ice pick, ice spike', {W} *pīrīž* 'Hohleisen', Z *pīr-ńzv* 'gimlet' ({TmK} *пырнёв* 'буравчик'), *pīriž* 'long crowbar, ice pick' (= 'lange Brechstange, Eishaue'), Z {TmK} *pīrzd*- 'drill a hole, perforate, durchbohren' || ObU **pōr* 'awl, borer' > pVg **pōrī* > Vg T *porē* 'Ahle, Pfriemen'; pOs **pōr* ({Hl.} **pūr*) 'borer' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/Nz/Kz *pōr*, K/O *pār* id. | Hg *fúr*- v. 'bore, drill', *fúró* 'Bohrer; bohrend' || Sm **pṽr*-, {Jn.} **pṽryṽn* 'Bohrer' > Ne T *пăрэ*, T O *parē*, Ne F L *par:ī* id., Ne T inf. *парэноць* 'to perforate, durchbohren', F *parrīnōs* id., Slq Tz {KKIH}, Slq Tm *pur* 'a borer', Slq Tz {KKIH} *parān* 'ice pick', Slq UKt *parīn* 'Eishaue', Kms *pəriyan*, *pārīn* 'borer', *paṛan* 'Brenneisen zum Anbringen der Löcher in den Schneeschuhen, Bohrer' ¶¶ UEW 405, Coll. 52, Sm. 539 (U, FU **purā*, FP **pura*, Ugr **pūrā*, Sm **pørə* v. 'bore'), MF 221-2, LG 236-7, TmK 587-8, It. no. 197, Ht. 178 [no. 531], Jn. 114, KKIH 147 || ¶ A: T (+ext.) **burga* 'borer' > ET *burṣa*, Uz *burgi*, Qrg *burṣu*, *burō*, Qq *burṣi*, *bureau*, Qzq *burṣi*, Tk *burgu*, Az *burṣu*, Tkm, Nog *buraw*, Bsh, VTt *bōraṣ* id., Chv *pṛa* 'Bohrer (бурав, сверло), Ahle', VTt *бъ* O R *буравъ*, R *бур'ав* 'gimlet, auger'; as to Qzq {Rl.} *bura*- 'schrauben, bohren' and Alt Δ *pur*- v. 'drill', they may be semantic derivatives from T **bura*- v. 'turn round' or result from a merger of both roots ¶ Jeg. 147-8, Fed. I 398, Rl. IV 1817, Vs. I 242-3, ≠ ET B 264-7 (considering this stem to be a variant of and a d. from **bur*- v. 'turn round, rotate'), Ash. X 126, Fed. I 398-9, Jeg. 147-8, ¶ The loss of palatality in **ř* is due to the precon. position (acc. to Hl.'s hyp.) || D **pōrē*- ({GS} **p*-) v. 'split', n. 'hole, opening, cleft' > Kn *pōrāl* 'hollow in a tree', ?φ: Tm *pōtṣu* 'hole, opening, cleft', Kt *bōtṣ* 'hollow in tree trunk, hole that goes through', Tu *pōtṣṣ* 'hollow of a stalk or a tree'; the D √ results from the merger of two ancient roots: the √ in question and another one meaning 'cleave, split': D **pōrā* ({GS} **p*-) v. 'split, cleave' > Tm *pōr* v. 'be cleft\split; split, cleave open', Kn *pōr* v. 'cleave, split', Prj *pōrē*- v. 'split, cleave' ¶¶ D no. 4599 ¶¶ The length of the vw. and the meaning are connected with the infl. of D **pōr*- 'hole' (< N **bUṛ* 'to dig; a pit') ◇ The discrepancy between the U and T ev. for the N vw. **u* and the D ev. for **o* is still to be

explained ◇ IS I 186-7 s.v. *bura 'to bore, to drill', to which he ascribed together the reflexes of N *bôr'a 'pierce, bore', those of N *bUr▽ 'turn round, rotate' and those of N *bU?R▽ 'dig'.

252. *buřu (ḲU) [or *buřü (ḲU)] 'spurt, gush forth, boil, seethe' > HS: Eg N/G br br '≈ kochen' > Cpt: Sd БРБР bər bər, B БЕРБЕР ber ber 'bouillir, soudre' ¶ EG I 466, Vc. 30, Tk. II 262-3 || B *✓Hbr v. 'boil' > Mz, Wrg abər (pf. yubər), Gd āβər (pf. yūβər) 'bouillir', Awj 3s pf. yu'vīra, Nf 'awer (pf. yō'wer~yōū'wer) id., Gh abər v. 'boil' ¶ Dlh. M 10, Dlh. Ou 27, Beg. 220, Lf. I 253 and II no. 0095, Prd. 161, La. S 205, NZ 90 || ?φ S *°-pūr- > Ar ✓fwr (ip. ya-fūru) 'bouillonner, être en ébullition' (une marmite) ¶ BK II 645 || EC *burḳ- 'spring (Quelle)', v. 'spring' > Or: {Ss.} burḳ- v. 'spring', burḳ-a, B {LLC} burḳa n. 'spring', {Th.} 'fonte', M {LLC} burḳā 'spring', burḳ- v. 'spring up', Kmb bu'ḳ-uta 'spring', Hd buḳ-, bubuḳ- v. 'spring', Sml buq- v. 'leak' ¶ Ss. B 42-3, LLC 194, Th. 51-2 || IE: NaIE *bʰrey-/ *bʰerw- 'boil' ({EI} *bʰrey- 'brew') > L fervē-re, ferv-ēre inf. 'boil, seethe' || OIr berb-aid (3s pres.) 'boil, cook', Wberw-, Br birvi- ~ birvi- vi. 'boil', MBr {Ern.} beru 'du bouillon', bero 'bouilli' || ON, NNr inf. brugga 'to brew', OHG {OsS} inf. briuwen ~ brūwen ~ brouwen vt. 'to brew, to boil' (not mentioned in EWA, mentioned as briuwan and gibriuwan without translation in Kb., but reconstructible from ds and cds: OHG brower 'Brauer, caupo', briumeistar id., briuwino 'Bierbrauer, caupo' and briu-hūs 'brewery'), NHG inf. brauen, OSx inf. gi-breuwan, AS inf. bréowan 'to brew', NE brew; OHG brower 'Brauer, caupo', OSx brou-hūs, OHG briu-hūs, NHG Brauhaus 'brewery' || R Δ бpу'я 'Strömung', бpу'ить 'stark reißend strömen' || ?σ OI bhur'vaṇi- 'restless, excited' ¶ P 143-5, Mn. 75, EI 199, WH I 487, Vn. B 40-1, Ern. 59, Vr. 60, OsS 85, EWA II 367, 350-1, Kb. 120, KM 96-7, Ho. 34, Ho. S 10 ¶ The variant *bʰrew- is original, while *bʰerw- (in L and Clt) is a secondary Schwebeablaut variation || NaIE *bʰrēu-ṛ / bʰrēu-n- / bʰru-n- 'spring (fons)' (× N *bU?R▽ 'to dig; a pit, well', q.v. ffd.) || U: FU *pur▽- > Es S {W} pura- vi. 'bubble, seethe (клокотать, бурлить)', Es {W} purise- 'sprudeln, hervorsprudeln, mit Geräusch fließen', F (Δ?) {MF} pura-ta, pura-an 'sprudeln' | Er purams 'strudeln', puramo 'Strudel, Wasserwirbel' | Prm **būr- > Vt bīrekt- 'boil', 'sieden, aufsieden, aufkochen', ?σ Z bīrkməs 'buttermilk' || Hg forr- v. 'boil, seethe' ¶ F poris- v. 'murmur' (of water), 'журчать', porina n. act.

'murmur of water, журчание' and Es porise- {W} 'brodeln, verworren und undeutlich schallen' are either onomatopoeic and do not belong here or have their irreg. -o- due to onomatopoeic connections (e.g. with F pore n. 'bubble'); F pore 'bubble' and Sm *pъ|âr id. (> Ng {Cs.} fâr, far id., Kms {Adl.} phor 'vesica', Koyb {Sp.} пяръ 'пузырь') are likely to belong to a different etymon ¶¶ MF 215-16, W EDW 896-7, Jn. 114, ≠ LG 45, UEW 414, SK 502-3 || **A** *burk^{ri}- > T *bürkü-, *bürkür- v. 'spurt, gush' (× N *m∇R₁∇₁Qa 'moist, liquid; to moisten'?) > OT būrkir- ~ būrkür- v. 'spurt, gush', būrkek in kö:k būrkek boldı: 'the sky poured down rain', MT XIII būrkük 'spray', Tkm pürk- v. 'sprinkle, splash', Uz purka-, VTt бөрк- bōrk-, CrTt бүрүк-, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Qq, Nog бүрк- id., 'spray', Alt/Tlt {Rl.} pürkü- ~ pürkür- v. 'splutter', Xk pürgür-, ET pürk(ü)-, Chv пёрёр- pьрьх- 'sprinkle' ¶ The vl. cns. in Tkm and Uz needs explanation ¶ Cl. 363-4, DTS 133, Rl. IV 1399, Rs. W 93, Ash. X 231, Fed. I 422, Jeg. 156, TkR 538, Sht. 63, KumRS 89, RKB 51, Md. 64, 175 (*p'ürk-) || M *burgi- (× N *buR∇, *buR₁∇, 'K'∇ 'storm, stormy wind' × N *bôri^{ry}U 'loose earth, dust') > WrM {MED} burgi-, burgi-ra-, HLM бурги- {MED, BMR} v. 'rise in clouds, whirl (as dust, water or smoke)', {BMR} бургира- v. 'rise, swirl (клубиться)' (smoke), Ord b_urgi- 'jaillir, bouillonner', 's'élever en tourbillonnant' (p. ex. poussière), Mnr H {SM} p'užī-rā- 'jaillir, sortir avec violence' (eau, fumée etc.); the M verb < the A (and N) etymon in question × N *bôri^{ry}U '↑' (q.v.) ¶ H 19, MED 138, BMR I 289, SM 306, S AJ 243 [no. 215], Chr. 105, Ms. O 98 || **D** {Pf.} *puṛ-∇-k- / *puṛ-∇ṅk- ({ṡGS} *p-) v. 'boil' > Tm puṛuṅku v. 'be steamed\parboiled', puṛukku v. 'boil (paddy) before husking', Ml puṛuṅṅuka v. 'be boiling\stewed\steamed', puṛukkuṅka vt. 'boil', Td puṣk- v. 'boil (potatoes)', Kn puṛgi 'rice boiled with pulse', Tu purguni v. 'be well-boiled (as rice)', Krx pūx- vt. 'boil' ¶¶ D no. 4315, Pf. 42 ◇ IS I 190-1 (*bur'a).

253. *b'u'Xra 'watercourse, river' > **HS**: WS *'baḥ₁∇₁r- 'watercourse, river' (→ 'sea') > Ak bērtu 'stream of water, watercourse', Ar baḥr- 'sea, large river', Sr (← Ar) baḥ'r-ā 'sea', Sb bḥr 'sea, coast', Gz 𐎧𐎡𐎢𐎠 bāḥr [baḥr] 'large river, lake, sea', Tgr baḥr, Tgy baḥri 'sea' ¶ Sd. 122, BGMR 27, L G 91. BK I 88 || C: Bj {R} be'hār ~ be'har 'river, sea' (← Ar, EthS?) ¶ R WBd 45-6 || Ch: WCh: pAG {Stl. VZCh} *vwo₁yōr 'river, brook' > Ang {Flk.} fwo₁r 'river, stream', Ywm {Fp.} ver id., Su {J} vóyó₁r 'Bach, Wasserlauf' | ? Ngz {Sch.} wúríyâ 'open pit where water can

collect' ||| ECh: Mu {Lk.} bŭrǝ́lǝ́ 'river', Ke {Eb.} vòr 'river, lake' ¶ ChC s.v. 'river', Lk. ZSS 181, J S 86, Stl. VZCh A no. 257, Sch. DN 173, Eb. 101 ||| IE: NaIE *bʰeʳu- / *bʰōr- 'body of water' > OI $\wedge$ bha'ru-h 'sea' ||| pSl *bara 'small river, stagnant water' ($\times$ N *beR ∇ 'mud, swamp', q.v.) > Blg bapa 'small river/stream, stagnant water, puddle', McdS {IS} bapa 'puddle', SCr bāra id., 'meadow', Slv bára, Cz Δ bara 'swamp' ||| ? ϕ AS brim, brymm 'sea, flood'; ?? σ , ϕ Gmc *brōka- > OHG 'marsh, swamp', NHG Δ Bruch 'feuchte Wiese', NLG brōk, Dt broek 'Morastgrund', AS brōc 'brook, stream, river', NE brook ¶ Ho. 35; M K II 479 (OI bha'ru-h: "möglicherweise eine ganz künstliche, schwerlich nachzu-zeichnende Genesis hat"), MW 748, Bt. IV 252, Ho. 33-5, 37, ESSJ I 153-4, KM 103, Ho. 35 ||| U: BF *pur- > F puro 'brook, creek', Krl puro id., 'small ditch', Krl N purakko 'brook', ? F Δ purakko 'damp country' ¶ SK 655, SSA II 437 ||| A: Tg *bira ($\times$ *buR ∇ 'to dig; a pit, well') > Ewk, Sln bira, Lm bira, Neg biya, WrMc {Z} бира 'river', Ewk biraya, Lm biraqçan, Neg biya 'small river, spring', Nn Nh {STM} bīrā id., {On.} бирāн 'brook, small mountain river', Orc bia-ka ~ biya-ka 'brook, spring', Ud {STM} bʰeäsa, {Shn.} biyasa, Ud Sm {Krm.} bāʰsa 'river, small river', Ul bura 'brook, gulf', WrMc {Z} бирага, биргань, биржа 'small river, brook, канава', Jrc {Kiy., Md.} bira 'river' ¶ STM I 84, On. 67, Z 504, 506, Ci. 297, Krm. 212, Kiy. SJL 99 [no. O4O], Md. ChF 135 ¶ Hardly here Ewk Ucr buruk, Ewk Tk burukūn 'whirlpool' (< N *buR ∇ 'turn round, rotate', q.v.) ||| D (att. in SD) *pUra ({ $\mathfrak{G}$ GS} *p-) 'river' > Ml pura, Kt pey, Td paʷ, Kn porē, Kdg poʰe id. (with *U for the expected *i due to the labializing infl. of *p-?), as well as probably D (att. in SD) *pīr 'flow' > Tm pīr 'abundant flow; milk flowing from a woman's breast', Ml pīra 'milk of grated coconuts', Tu pīruni v. 'exude, percolate' ¶ D no-s 4222 and 4318 ◇ The Tg delabialization (N *u > *i) is still to be explained (see Introduction, § 2.4). Cp. similar cases: N *Kum ∇ 'sand' > Tg *χimana- v. 'snow' and N *puʰu (or *puʰü?) 'to spring forth' > Tg *bilku- vt. 'moisten, wet' ◇ IS MS 369 (*bir $\wedge$ > Tg, D *pīr-), $\approx$ Blz. L no. 96c (suggesting to add Sl *bara and Gmc *brōka), $\approx$ Blz. LNA no. 5 (N *buhr ∇ ~ *burh ∇ ; suggesting to add BF and Ewk buruk).

254. *baʳʔ ∇ 'big, much, thick' > HS: EC: Sml bīr- 'augmentare', bir-s- 'crescere'; pSam {Hn.} *būr 'big' (of things) > Rn būr id., 'large; plenty', Sml būr-an 'be stout'; Dsn búrnab 'be many' ¶ DSI 57, 71, PG 82, Hn. S 55, To. DL 488 ||| NrOm: Hrr {Abb.} bērā, {Fl.} bera 'big', Bsk {Fl.} barinc

'long' ¶ CR H 641, Fl. OWL, Blz. OL no. 183 || Ch: WCh: Zul bàrì, Buli bàrí, ? Sy {Sh.} v^wzèrì 'large' || CCh: Gudu búròm id., Lame ḅ́ẓ́m 'many' || ECh: EDng {Fd.} ḅ́èṛ́l 'big', ? ḅ́ùr ḅ́ùr 'many' ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'large' and 'many', Fd. s.v. ḅ́èṛ́l || The CS adj. (< pp.) *ba'rī?- 'fat, stout' (of animals and humans), 'healthy' (> BHb אִרְיָ bā'rī adj. 'fat', f. bārī?-ā id., MHb אִרְיָ bā'rī 'healthy, strong, fat', JA bārī 𐤁 bā'rī id., Ar bariṭa 'was\became fat') is likely to go back to a merger of several N etymons (becoming homonymous in S), among them the etymon in question ¶ KBR 156 || IE: NaIE *b^her- 'good, big' > Gk Hm φέρ-ιστος sprl. {P} 'best', Gk φέρ-τατος 'bravest, best' || Arm բարի bari (gen. բարոյ barowoy) 'good' || L ferē 'almost, nearly', 'as a rule, generally' (← 'mostly'), fermē (< *ferimē sprl.) 'almost, nearly' || OHG bora- (-or- < *r̥) px 'very' (bora-lang 'very long'), OSx bar- px 'very' (bar-wirthing 'sehr würdig') ¶ IS I 175, Mul. 177, ≠ WP I 858, ≈ WH I 480-1, ≈ F II 1002, OsS 80, EWA II 242-3, Ho. S 5 || A *ba'rw (= *ba'ri?) 'thick, wide' (× N *bi'rwgE 'high, tall?') > T *ba:rwik 'thick' > MT XIV [AH] bazuq 'stout person', MQp XIV [CC] baziq 'dick, grob', Qmq, Blq baziq, Kr baziq ~ bazik ~ baziḫ 'thick (dick)', VTt baziq 'thickset (коренастый)', Bsh baḏiq 'hefty, firm' ¶ Rs. W 66, KumRS 59, TatR 52, KRPS 97-8, BR 69-70, RKB 628 || Tg [1] Tg *bara(n) 'much' > Ewk baran, baradin id., barama 'many', Sln barā, Lm baran 'much', Neg baya id., bayan 'many', Ork bara 'much, many', WrMc {Z} барань 'a lot, multitude'; Tg *baru-n 'thick' > Lm barun, Orc baun, Ud bau 'thick', Nn KU barō, WrMc {Z} барунь 'round, full' ¶ STM I 73, 76, Z 480-1 || [2] ?φ Tg *burgu 'fat, thick' (× N *bi'rwgE 'high, tall?') > Ewk, Sln burgu, Lm bergъ, Neg bolgo, Ul boǰo(n), Ork boddo(n), Orc boggo, Ud bogo id., Nn Nh buygu {STM} 'thick, fat', {On} 'fat' (of animals), 'thick' ¶ STM I 112, On. 81 || M: [1] M *barbayi- 'be thick' > WrM barbai- {MED} 'be broad and thick' (of a beard), 'be coarse' (of textiles), 'be thick' (of lips), HLM барвай- {MED} id., {BMR} 'be broad and thick' (of a beard), 'be coarse' (of textiles), 'become thick', Brt барбай- 'be hairy\shaggy' (× N *bur_ud'g' 'facial hair, animal's body hair, down' [q.v.]?), Kl {KRS} барва- id., 'be hairy\shaggy', {Rm.} barwā- 'kompakt und haarig sein' ¶ MED 84, KRS 81, KW 35, Chr. 87 || [2] M *barda-, *barda-yan > WrM {MED} bardagan 'abundance, abundant; efficiency', HLM {MED} бардаа(н) id., {BMR} бардаа 'energy, Willenskraft', Brt (d.) бардамаар 'щедро, вволю', Kl {KRS} барда- bardā- 'be stout' (as well as possibly M *barda- 'be

sure\overconfident about one's success, boast' > WrM {MED} *barda*- id., HlM *барда-* {MED} id., {BMR} 'voll Selbstvertrauen sein, sich brüsten, prahlen', {BMR} *бардаа* 'Selbstvertrauen [уверенность в себе]', Brt d. *бардаастай* 'self-confident', d. *бардам* 'swagger, boasting', Kl d. {KRS} *бардм* id., {Rm.} *bardm* 'Prahlerie; prahlerisch, stolz, selbstvergnügt', Mnr H {SM} *bard_õh* 'fanfaron, présomptueux') ¶ MED 85, BMR I 230, Chr. 87, KRS 82, KW 34, SM 21 || Ko: (a) pKo *pár > MKo pá, NKo pál 'fathom' (pA *b|p'i'yo'r▽ ≈ big' < N *bi?▽r▽gE 'high, tall') ¶ Nam 246, MLC 723 |(b) ? pKo *pìrì 'thick, satiated' > MKo pìrì, NKo puri id. ¶ Nam 270, MLC 813 ¶¶ SDM 330-1 (pA *bǎ́r'i' 'thick, wide' > Tg, M, T, Ko + unc. pJ *pìrè- 'wide; fathom'), DQA no. 96 || D *par- ({ǵGS} *p-) v. 'become large', adj. 'large' > Tm paru id., Ml paru 'gross, big', Kn hari, hariba 'a mass, multitude', Tu pariya 'plenty, much', OTl prabbu v. 'increase', Krx pard- 'grow in number, grow in size or age' ¶¶ D no. 3972, Km. 444 [no. 894] (reconstructing pSD *par-ump-/-amp-) ◇ Cf. also FP *para 'good' (probably from N *paR,a,Xi ≈ happy, dear' [q.v.], which is semantically nearer) ◇ IS I 175 [no. 7] (IE, U, D, A) ◇ The presence of *? in the original N form is suggested both by S *? and by the reflex *-r- in D (going back to N *r|́ + cns., while the N intervocalic *-r̥- yields D *-r̥-) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 235 (*pare 'large') (IE, U, Ai + qu. CK, Gil).

255. *boṛ,ʔ,û 'brown, yellow' > HS: EC (Ss.) *boʔr- id., 'red, dark-colored' > Rn {PG} bōrán 'brown', Sml {Ss.} bor-a 'grey, dirty', {ZMO} bōre 'grey, ash-colored' (of cloth) (× < bōr 'dust'), Or bōr-ū 'ash-colored, dim, dull', {Th.} bōra 'pale (bianco sbiadito), grey (cenerino, grigio)', {Grg.} bōra 'brown' (color of cow), 'mud-colored', Kns pōr, pl. puʔʔur-, Gdl pōr- 'black', Arr {Hw.} burrí, {Ss.} bur-iy-ḍa, Dsn búr, Elm burr-i-ḍa 'red', Arr {Hw.} burraḥḍ- 'become red', burras- vt. 'redde', Brj 'bōr-ē 'yellow color', Sd bōra 'ash-colored', Kmb {L} bora 'grey, brown, dirty color' ¶ Ss. B 39, PG 80, DSI 64, ZMO 44, Gs. 45, Th. 47, Grg. 56-7, Hw. A 350, L EDH 44, To. DL 488 || B {ǵPr.} *✓brh,m (< ✓*brʔ|hm) > Ah b̄arum̄at, ETwl, Ty ibram / b̄ram 'être de couleur jaune paille', Ah eb̄arim 'chameau jaune paille' ¶ Fc. 95, GhA 10, NZ 113-14 || IE {EI} *b̄her- 'brown' > NaIE *b̄her- id. (→ 'a bear'), *b̄hreugh- id., *b̄he-b̄ru- 'brown' (→ 'beaver'): [1] *b̄her- > Lt b̄éras, Ltv b̄ērs 'bay' (a horse) (with *e in the L-grade of apophony) || ON bjqrn, NNr, Dn bjørn, Sw björn, OHG b̄ero, NHG Bär, AS bera n. 'bear' > NE bear || [2] *b̄hreugh- > pGmc

*brūna- 'brown' > OHG, OSx, AS brūn, NHG braun, NE brown] [3]
 *b^heb^hru- 'brown' (→ 'beaver') ({EI} *b^heb^hru-s 'beaver') (rdp.) > OI
 ba'b^hru^h 'reddish-brown, brown', Av ba^wra- 'beaver', pln *ba^wra-
 'brown, yellow' > Ygn, Shgn vur id., Oss I būr, Oss D bor 'yellow', ClNPrs
 {Vl., Sg.} بور bōr, NPrs بور būr 'red, color of the pistachio nut'; Irn ⇨ Sl:
 R 'бурый, Р bury 'brown'; Ary ⇨ Ak Nz babrunnu 'bay' || L fiber
 ~ feber 'beaver' || Gl bebru-, Crn (⇨ OCrn) befer, Br {WH}
 bieuzr id. || Gmc *beþ(u)raz 'beaver' > ON bjór-r, OHG bibar, NHG
 Biber, OSx bi^var, AS be(o)for, NE beaver || Clt {Matas.} *bebru-
 *'beaver' > OIr p.n. Bibar, OBr beuer 'castor' || Pru bebrus, Lt
 bẽbras, Lt Δ bebrūs, Ltv bebrs id. | Sl *bebrъ ~ *bōbrъ id. > ChS, OR
 БѢБРЪ bebrъ ~ БОБРЪ bobrъ, Blg бобър, Δ бебер, SCr đābar, Δ
 bōbar, Slv bōber, Cz bobr, Slk bobor, P bóbr, R бо'бѣр, бобр, Uk
 бібр id. ¶ P 136, EI 57, 85, M K II 409, M E II 210, Vl. I 274, Sg. 206,
 Horn 49, Ab. I 271-2, WH I 490-1, ECCE 213, OsS 52, 59, 87, EWA I 563-
 5, II 6-8, 374-7, Kb. 68, 71, 123, KM 50-1, 73-4, 97, Ho. 20-1, 36, Ho. S
 8, 10, Vr. 40-1, SPS I 453, Frn. 38-9, En. 150, Tp. P A-D 203-5, Vs. I
 180-1, 249, ESSJ I 174-5 and II 145-6, Glh. 186-7, Matas. E 59 || **A**
 *bo[́]∇ 'grey' > T *bo[́] 'grey' > NaT *boz > OT boz id. ({Cl., Dr.} OT bōz
 with unj. long ō), Tkm bōδ (providing ev. for a short vw. in this stem), Tk
 boz 'brown, grey', Az boz 'grey', Ggz bōz id. (with puzzling length of the
 vw.) ¶ Chv пѣвѣр(лѣ), Δ пурлѣ 'roan (horse)' (that was often adduced
 as a proof of a long vw. within the stem reconstructed as *bō[́]) has been
 convincingly interpreted by IS as a loan from M *bu^ɣural ~ *bu^ɣurul
 'roan' ¶ Cl. 388-9, Rs. W 82, IS I 183, ET B 171-73, Jeg. 146, Fed. I 394,
 TL 605, Dr. TM II 335 || M *bora (or *boro?) 'grey' > MM [MA] bora, [S]
 boro id., [HI] boro 'cendré', WrM boru {MED} 'grey, brown', HIM
 бор {MED} id., {BMR} 'grey', 'сизый', 'braun' {Gesicht}, Brt боро 'grey;
 braun {Gesicht}', Kl {KRS} бор id., {Rm.} boro 'grau', Mnr H {SM} b_oro
 'gris', {T} boro, Dx boron 'grey', Mgl borō 'dunkelgelb, gelbbraun', Ord
 b_oro 'gris, gris jaunâtre' ¶ Pp. MA 121, H 19, Lew. II 21, MED 121, BMR I
 264-5, Chr. 106, KRS 110, KW 51, SM 28, Ms. H 42, Ms. O 80, MYC 584,
 T 318, T DnJ 112, Rm. M 24 ¶¶ SDM 376 (pA *bo[́]∇ 'grey' > M, T), DQA
 no. 191, Pp. VG 20, 81, KW 51, Vld. 361 || ? E: NEl pu-ur-na 'brown' ¶
 HK 242 ◇ Blz. E no. 71 (E, HS) ◇ Cf. IS I 183-4.

255a. *bū|u[́]∇ 'lock of hair, down' > K: GZ *bur^ɥq̌- 'down and
 plumage' > G bur^ɥq̌- id., Mg bu^ɥqu- 'soft'; GZ *bur^ɥq̌- is likely to go back

to a N cd $\approx$ ***b**ü|u_rʔ, ∇ d∇lqâ (lit. 'hair feather', / N ***d**∇lqâ 'feather') with as. *d_q > *t_q ¶ K 55, K² 21, FS K 65, FS E 68 || D *pūr- ({{GS}} *b-) 'down, body hair' (× N ***P**o_r∇s∇ 'hair') > Klm bur 'fur', Nkr būr 'down, fine feather', Gnd būrā ɖ bura 'down' ɖ burā 'feather', Knd bu_rus ɖ bulus 'pubic hair, feathers, hair on legs and chest', Png būra 'small feathers, down, wool, pubic hair', Mnd būri_ŋ '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- from a N cns. cluster (in N ***P**o_r∇s∇ 'hair'), while Knd -r̥- suggests pD -r̥- (× N ***P**o_r∇s∇) ¶¶ D no. 4358 (without distinguishing this root from D *pūt̥- > Ml pūt̥a 'down of birds', Brh put̥ 'hair' etc., as well as from D *pur̥|r̥∇ 'eyelash, eyebrow', see N ***b**ûrûH∇ 'eyebrow, eyelash'), GS 159, 173-6, 181-3 (on D *-r̥- and *-r-), Berger BZ 42 [fn. 85] || HS: Eg N br {Hng} 'hair tuft' (in br n s d 'tuft of the tail' [n s d 'of the tail']), {AnC} 'touffe (de la queue d'animal)' ¶ Hng 256, AnC-1 no. 1277, Tk. II 249-51 || C: Bj {Rop.} bār 'camel hair', ber ā r i 'mane', {R} be'r ā r e 'mane (of lions, horses, pavians)' || EC: Sml {ZMO} bār 'eyelashes; hairs of the camel's hump' || SC: Irq {E} bori 'body hair, facial hair', {MQK} bōri 'beard on the chin', Brn {Kß.} bōra 'goat's beard', -> Mb {E} būru 'goat's tail' ¶ Blz. EDB 6, Blz. CP s.v. 'hair', Rop. 162, R WBd 51, ZMO 24, Siy. 290, E SC 140 || ECh: Smr {J} bārà 'tresse (cheveux)' ¶ J LS s.v. bārà ¶¶ Tk. SCC 72 [no. 1.4] (C, Eg + unc. ✓bhrr ~ ✓bhrr ~ ✓br̥r 'tail' in B lges), Tk. LAA-1 127-8 [no. 171] || ?μ S: Ar burāʔil- 'plumes fines formant le collier de certains oiseaux (p. ex., le coq, le pigeon)' ¶ BK I 117 ¶ The etymological structure of burāʔil- is unknown; it may go back to a phrase (two words), and it is not certain that ʔ belongs to the first root (presumably ✓brʔ) || A: NaT *bū_rʔ, rçæ k (originally a d.?) 'curly hair, forelock' > OT [MhK] būrčäk 'forelock', Osm būrček ~ būrčük 'curly hair', {Rl.} pürčük 'die Locke, lockig, gelockt; der Flaum eines Stoffes, Tk pūrčək 'curly hair, fringe hair/fibres (бaxпoma)', Az birčäk, Tki {Vmb.} بورچاك, {Rl.} būrčäk 'die Locke, das gekräuselte Haar', Qzq БҮРШІК 'nap (of velvet etc.)' ¶ Cl. 357, MM 111, Rl. IV 1400, 1892 ◇ The long vw. and the quality of r in D are likely to suggest the presence of a lr. The ev. of K (glottalization *d > *t̥) and S (if ʔ in Ar burāʔil- belongs to the ancient root) suggests that the N lr. was *ʔ.

256. ? ***b**∇'r̥', ∇, d∇ 'hail' (and 'snow'?) > K ***o**bard-(a)n- '(fresh) snow' > G bardni 'Schneepolster (z. B. auf Ästen)', bardn- 'schneien (in dichten

Flocken)' ¶ Chx. 66 || **HS:** WS *ba'rad- 'hail' > BHb בָּרָד bā'rād 'hail', JA, Sr bar'd-ā id., JEA {Sl.} bar'd-ā 'ice', Md barda 'hail, ice', Ar بَرَد barad- 'hail', Sb brd 'cold weather, hailstorm', Gz barad 'hail, snow, hoarfrost'; WS *✓brd G 'be cold, hail' > Ar ✓brd (pf. barada) v. 'be cold, hail', ✓brd (pf. baruda) v. 'be cold', BHb ✓brd G v. 'hail', Gz ✓brd G 'be cold, be covered with hail' ¶ KB 147, KBR 154, Sl. 242, Br. 95, Mc. HM 50, L G 103, Fr. I 105 || **A:** T *būr 'ice, hail' > OT בּוּז, Tk בּוּז, Tkm būδ, Az, Ggz buz, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Nog buz, Uz, ET, Qq, Qrg, Slr, Ln muz, Qzq мѹз, VTt būz, Bsh būδ, StAlt mus, SY piz, Xk pus, Yk būs 'ice', Chv πᾶρ {Fed.} 'ice', {Ash., Jeg.} 'ice, hail' ¶ Cl. 389, ET B 238-9, Rs. W 91, Ash. X 119-22, Fed. I 398, Jeg. 147 ◇ Qu., because we cannot rule out a S origin of the G stem; the T cognate is problematic due to the absence of reflexes of N *d. The latter may be explained (ad hoc) as contraction *-rd- > *-r-, causing a compensatory lengthening of the vw.

257. (₂?) *b'i'ŕ'üw'ga (or *b'i'ŕ'uw'ga?) '∈ edible fruit' > K {K} *brgen, {K} *bergen, {FS} *berqwen 'wild pear, wild plum' > G Δ b(e)rgena 'willow-leaf pear (*Pyrus salicifolia*)', Sv: UB bargwend, Ch bārgwen, Lx bārgen, L/Ls bargwen 'wild plum' ¶¶ K 54, K² 12, Chx. 80, FS K 50, FS E 51, TK 144, GP 91, Dn. s.v. bargven || **IE:** NaIE *bʰrūg- 'fruit', v. 'use (as fruit)' (P: 'genießen, gebrauchen' ← 'sich Früchte zum Genusse abrechnen oder abstreifen', Mn.: 'use, benefit, product, profit') > L frūg- (nom. frūx, gen. -gis) 'fruit', Um accus. pl. FRIF, FRI 'fruges', L frūgī (dat.: *'zum Gebrauche' =) 'useful', fruor (inf. frui, pfc. fructus sum) 'enjoy', frūmentum 'corn', fructus (gen. -ūs) 'enjoyment; produce, fruit', Osc fruktatiuf (*frūgetātiōnis) 'fructus' || Clt {Matas.} *baraglenjō/ā '(barley) bread' > MW, MBr bara id., OCrn bara 'panis', baracan 'white bread', OIr bairgen 'breaif, loaf' || Gt inf. brūkjan (p. brūhta) (· χρῆσθαι) 'gebrauchen', OHG inf. brūchan, brūchen, NHG inf. brauchen, OSx inf. brūkan 'to need, to use', AS inf. brūcan 'to make use of, to enjoy', NE brook; Gt brūks (· εὐχρηστος, ὠφέλιμος) 'brauchbar', OHG brūhhi 'useful (brauchbar)', AS brūcé 'useful' || ? amb Gk φρυκτός 'lottery bean, bean for voting' (unless derived from φρύγω v. 'roast' and originally meaning 'roasted [bean]') ¶ P 173, WP II 208, Mn. 106, WH I 552-3, EWA II 365-7, Bc. G 317, 336, F II 1046, Ch. 123, Fs. 107, OsS 86, KM 96, Ho. 36, Matas. E 56 || ?σD *piŕ'ī'ka (~ *piŕ'ī'la) ({θGS} *p-) 'green mango fruit' > Kn pīrika, pīka, Png, Mnd pīla id., Kui pīa, Ku pīla 'unripe mango

fruit' (unless akin to S *'piriy- 'fruit') ¶¶ D no. 4184 || HS: ? S: amb Ar bīrquq- ~ burquq- 'prunum, malum Armeniacum\Persicum' (unless ← Gk πρεκόκκλον ~ προκόκκλον id. ← L praecox 'ripe before the time' [Plinius: "Post autumnum maturescunt Persica, aestate praecocia"]) ¶ Fr. I 112, Steph. VII 157 ◇ Cf. N *pûHr▽ 'fruit'.

258. ?₂ *bUś|ć▽ 'rub, grind' > IE {P, EI} *b^hes- 'rub (off\away)' > OI bhas-: pres. 'babhasti 'chews, masticates, devours' (3p 'bapsati), bhas'ma 'ashes' || Gk ψάω, ψάω 'I rub away, I grind down' || ? Al fshij- 'sweep, wipe, brush' ({EI}: < *b^hs-in-ye/o-) (but O 104 proposed a different et.) || ? amb Ht pes(s)- 'rub, scrub (with soap etc.)' (unless somehow connected with IE *peis- 'zerstampfen, zermalmen', F P 796) ¶¶ P 145-6, EI 490, M K II 409, M E II 57, F II 1127, Frd. HW 108, Ts. W 62-3, CHD P 315 || U: FU *puś|ć▽-n▽ or *puśn▽ 'flour' (× N *P_oŋś▽ 'dust') > Prm *puź / *puźn- > Vt, Z p+ź 'flour' || pVg *pāsən (or *pōsən) 'flour' > Vg: T {Mu.} pāsən, {Kn.} P posən, ML pasən id. ¶ It is not clear if Vt inf. p+źna-n+ and Z inf. p+źnav-n+ 'to pour (schütten)' belong here ¶ UEW 408-9, Coll. 110, LG 235 ¶ Rédei supposed that this root refers to flour made of wild cereals ◇ Qu., because FU *puś|ć_L▽,n▽ has an alt. etymology. IS MS 358 (s.v. 'размельчать' *ba'ś'▽) equated the IE √ with U {Coll.} *paś▽ (which is less plausible, because here the semantic distance is greater: acc. to UEW 357-8, U *paś▽ means 'Loch, Öffnung, Spalt, Riß').

259. *buṛ_L▽,ś▽ 'bad' > HS: S *✓bṛś 'be bad' > Ak bīṛiśu, bīśu 'bad', baṛāśu v. 'be of bad quality, smell bad', Ar bīṛsa 'wie widerlich!', ✓bṛs (pf. baṛisa) v. 'be wretched, be unfortunate', BHb ✓bṛś G (pf. 𐎲𐎠𐎺𐎠 bā'ṛaś) v. 'stink', N (pf. 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤏 nib'ṛaś) 'be hated', IA bṛyś 'bad, evil', BA f. 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤏 bāṛiś-'t-ā 'böse', IA bṛś {HJ} adj. 'bad, evil', JA ✓bṛś (pf. bā'ṛeś) v. 'be bad\unpleasant\wicked', JEA {Sl.} ✓bṛś 𐎠𐎺𐎠 byś 'be sick\displeased', SmA ✓bṛś G 'displease', bṛś n. 'disease', Sr G ✓bṛś 'be bad', 𐎠𐎺𐎠 bāyśā 'poor', Md ✓byś 'be bad\evil', bīś, bīśa 'bad, evil, wicked', OSA ✓bṛś v. 'be bad', Gz ✓bṛs (pf. baṛasa, subj. yə-bṛas) id., 'become worse' (← Q {R} bīs- 'schlecht\elend sein') ¶ CAD II 4-5 and 270-1, HJ 142, L G 82-3, R QW 44, Vinn. SAN IV 201, KB 103, KBR 107, Sl. 183, Br. 56-7, Tal 78-9, DM 63 || EC *bus- 'be bad' > Sd {Hd.} buśa 'bad', buś- 'be worse\bad', Hd/Kmb {C} buś- 'be cheap', Hd {Hd.} buś- 'become cheap', Or {Brl.} bosa 'lazy', bos-aωu 'become lazy' ¶ AD SF 53, Hd. 23, 38, 273, 355, Brl. 63 || Ch: WCh: Ang bās, Cp

bìs, Su bíš 'bad' || Fy {J} ~bušī id. || CCh: Dgh {Frk} bəzà id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'bad', ChL, J S 59 || IE: NaIE *^ob^hous- > Gmc *bausi, *bausu- > OSx bōsa 'Posse', gi-bōsi 'Possen', OHG bōsi 'useles, cowardly, weak', bōsa 'hardness, nothingness; Possen, lappisches Treiben', NHG böse 'bad, wicked, angry', OFrs bâs-feng 'unzüchtiger Griff', Sw Δ böś 'wild' ¶ Ho. S 9, OsS 80, EWA II 252-5, Kb. 106, KM 93 || A: M *busa₁- > WrM {MED} busaki, HLM бусхи {MED} 'bad, wicked', {BMR} 'scoundrel, villain, человек непристойного поведения'; d.: Kl {KRS} бусрмг 'bad, evil, mean' ('дурной, скверный, недостойный') ¶ MED 140, BMR I 292, KRS 122 ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 7b (incl. C, S, IE, M).

260. *buš[∇] 'to uncover, to peel', 'bare' > HS: C: Ag: Q {R} beš - 'nackt\ entblößt sein' || SC {E} *baš- v. 'be stripped bare or clean' > Irq baša 'field cleaned and dug up for cultivation, Kz ba| - v. 'wash, clean' || Dhl bašēδ- v. 'strip bark away' ¶ AD GDS no. 1.29, R DQW 45, E SC 134, EEN 32 || NrOm: Kf {C} bešō 'except (for)' ('eccetto, fuori di...') ¶ C SE IV 416 || Ch: WCh *buš- (= {JStl.} *buĉ-) v. 'untie' > Bl bəḏ-, Krkr bəḏu id. | NrBc *buĉ¹- > Wrj bəĉ-, Sir buḏu, Jmb mbuḏ id. | SBc: Sy {ChL} bəḏtú id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 151 [no. 66], ChL I 213; on my interpretation of S's WCh *ĉ as *š see AD LOHS and LOHSa || S *^o✓nbš > Ar ✓nbšš 'déterrer, tirer au clair'; S (+ext.) *✓bšr v. 'peel, skin' > Ar {BK} ✓bšr 'peler en enlevant l'écorce, dépouiller d'écorce \ de peau extérieure', Jb ✓bšr (pf. 'bššr) v. 'remove the old roof of a hut to put on a new one; skin (as an orange)'; S d. *bašar- 'skin' ([in several S lges]:→ 'flesh' → [in Ak] 'one's child']) > Ar bašar- 'peau extérieure (chez l'homme), épiderme', 'homme, genre humain, l'humanité', bašarat- 'épiderme', Mh bəššrēt 'skin, complexion', BHb בָּשָׂר bāšār 'skin' (ψ 102.6, 119.120, Hiob 4.15), 'flesh, meat', MHb בָּשָׂר bāšār 'flesh, meat; body', Pun bšr 'flesh; child, descendant', Ug bšr {A} 'flesh, body', {OLS} 'flesh', IA bšr 'flesh', BA בָּשָׂר bəšar 'flesh, people, animals', JA בָּשָׂר bəšar, בָּשָׂרָא ~ בִּישָׂרָא bis'r-ā 'body, flesh, meat', JEA בָּשָׂר ~ בִּישָׂרָא bis'r-ā 'flesh, meat', Sr bəšar, bəs'rā 'flesh, body', Sb bšr 'flesh', Har, Grg Ch/Ez/Ed/En/Mh/ Ms/Go/Gt bäsär 'meat, flesh', Ak bišru 'little child' ¶ BK I 128-9 and II 1184, Hv. 740, Js. 199-200, Jo. J 29-30, Jo. M 56, KB 156-7, KBR 164, JH 45, HJ 204, A no. 598, OLS 119, GB 120, 899, Sl. 207, BGMR 33, L G 110, L EDG III 159, CAD II 270, MiK I no. 1.41 ¶ ≈ Tk. LAA-1 169 [no. 41] || IE: NaIE *^hoso-, {EI} *^ho'so-s 'naked, bare' > pGmc *baza- > OHG bar 'bare, naked, alone', NHG, Sw, Dn bar 'naked,

bare', AS *bær* id. (> NE *bare*), ON *ber* 'naked; visible, clear' || Ltv *bass* 'bare', Lt *bāsas* id., 'barefoot' | Sl **bōsъ* (f. **bō'sa*, *dadj. *bōsъjъ*) 'barefoot' > OCS, OR *босъ* *bosъ*, Blg *бос*, SCr *bōs* (f. *bō'sa*), Slv *bōs*, Cz *bosý*, P *bosy*, R *бос*, *бо'сой* id. || Arm *pnly bok* (< **bʰoso-gō-* or {EI} **bʰos-ko-?*) id. ¶ P 163, EI 45, OsS 40, EWA I 465-6, Kb. 56, Ho. 15, Vr. 34, Sl. 347, Frn. 36, SPS I 340, ESSJ II 223-4, Vs. I 199, Glh. 142 || **U**: FU **puš|ś ∇* - v. 'peel, pluck, be worn out' > Vt Sr *pošt-* 'abgetragen werden, sich zerfetzen' || Hg *fosz* - v. 'pluck (a fowl), peel', *foszl-* v. 'fray, get threadbare' | ObU: Vg: N {MK} *pāslī* ~ *pāslī* 'sich abwetzen', Ss {Kálm.} *posl-* 'sich zu einem Loch benutzen'; Os V *pus* in *íopt* *pus* 'abgenutztes (Ober-)Kleid' ¶ UEW 409, MK 466, MF I 960.

261. *bUš ∇ (or **bUš ∇*?) 'breath' (→ 'odor, steam, smoke') > HS: S **o✓bš ∇* > Ar *✓bš ∇* 'avoir l'haleine fétide' ¶ BK I 130, Ln. 209 || **U**: FU **pUš ∇* ~ **opiš ∇* (< ***püš ∇*?) 'breath, smoke' > pObU **pōš(-am, -aṇ)* 'smoke' > pVg **pāšam* id. > Vg: LK *pāšam*, P *pošam*; pOs **pōsaṇ* id. > Os: Nz *pusaṇ*, Kz *pūsaṇ*, O *posaṇ* | Hg *fūst* 'smoke, steam' || pPrm **poš* (acc. to LG) 'breath, vapor' > Z *poš-+ktī/-kī-* v. 'puff, pant', ?σ Z LV *poš* 'greedy for... (падкий на...)' ¶ LG 226, Ht. no. 544, MF 226, KrT 742, Stn. D 1231 || **A**: T **b|pu:,s* 'mist, fog, steam' > OT *būs*, *pūs* ({Cl.} *būs*, *pūs* 'mist, fog', {MKD} *būs* 'mist, vapor'), Tk *pūs*, Δ *būs* 'light fog', Bsh *бoç* *bʰoθ*, Tv *бyс* *b_ūs* 'steam', Tf *būs* 'fog over an unfrozen patch of water in winter', Shor *pūs*, ET *būs*, Chv *пāс* *pās* 'steam' ¶ Cl. 370, MKD 82, ET B 277, Rs. W 90, Jeg. 149, Fed. I 403-4, Md. 57, 175, Ra. 82, Ash. X 146, Fed. I 403-4, Jeg. 149-50 ¶ Clauson and Dankoff (MKD) reconstruct an OT long *ū* on the only basis of the Arabic *plene* spelling, which has no certain phonetic value.

262. *b'a't ∇ '≈ luck, good' > K: GZ {Fn.} **bed-* 'luck' > G *bed-* 'Geschick, Schicksal, Glück', Mg *u-bad-o* 'unlucky, unhappy' (u- 'un-), ?σ Lz *bad-* 'wrath' ¶ Fn. SK 92 [no. 25], Chx. 75 || **IE**: NaIE **bʰ'e'd-*, {P} **bʰad-* '≈ good, fortunate' ({EI} IE ?? **bʰehad-* 'good') > OI *bʰad'ra-* 'fortunate, blessed, delightful', Av *hū-bađra* 'fortunate' (hū- 'good') || Gmc **batiz* ~ **bataz* 'better' adv. > ON *betr*, OHG, MHG *baȝ* (> NHG *baß*), OSx *bat*, *bet*, OFrs, AS *bét* id., Gmc **batizan* 'better' > Gt *batiza* (·κρείσσων· χρηστότερος) 'besser', ON *betri*, AS *bētera*, OHG *beȝȝiro*, NHG *besser* 'better', NE *better*; Gmc **batistaz* 'best' > Gt *batista* (·κράτιστος) 'Bester', ON *beztr*, OSx, AS *bétst*, OHG *beȝȝist* 'best', NHG, NE *best* || Sl {ESSJ} **bedrьnъ* > OCS *бєдрьнъ* *bedrьnъ*

'πλούσιος = plentiful, abundant' ¶ P 106, EI 236, M K II 467-8 (rejecting the relationship between OI and Gmc for phonetic reasons [without explicitly mentioning them]), M E II 244, Lunt B 128-33, Fs. 83, Vr. 34-5, OsS 43, EWA I 503-5, 577-8, KM 55, 70, Ho. 21-2, Ho. S 5-6, ESSJ I 182-3, StSS 77, SadA IV 261, ESJS 58 || **A**: ?σ Tg *badī 'yet, more, noch -er' > Neg badī, badīgda 'noch (mehr)', 'noch' + cmpr., Orc bādæ, bādī, Ork bažē id., Ud badi id., 'still more\stronger', Nn Nh/Bk/KU bažī 'noch' + cmpr., 'too, very', Ul badī~bādī 'more (noch), again; too (zu); {PSchm.} 'more (больше)', badal-badala 'more and more (increasingly more)' ¶ STM I 63, Krm. 211, On. 55 || **HS**: C: Ag: Bln {R} bi t - 'satt\reich\wohlhabend sein', Q {R} be t - 'satt\reich werden\sein' ¶ R WB 90, R QDW 45 || ġ S *°✓btt > amb Ar ✓btt 'omnino perfecit, perfectum reddidit', unless a secondary development from ✓btt 'cut' ¶ Fr. I 81, BK I 81 ◇ Cf. Blz. KM 113 [no. 2] (K, IE, A), ≈ Blz. KM no-s 129-30 [addition to no. 2] (adding Ag + unc. C and Ch reflexes of N ***bAd** 'many', q.v.). The IE reflex of the medial cns. suggests a N *-t-, the Tg reflex is ambiguous (N *-t- or *-d-), while K *-d- may be explained by assimilation.

262a. ₂ ***bot** 'dust' or 'ashes' > **HS**: Ch ≈ *but 'ashes': WCh: Bl {IL} bûtó, Krkr {IL} butaw, Grm {Sh.} bûtá, Krf }Sch.} bûtó id. | Dir {Sk.} bûtù id. | Ngz bébéđ id. || CCh: Ms {Mch.} búdu, ZmB {J} bût, LmP {ChL} b^uut, Bdm {Nc.} buđén, {Cfr} pǝdǝn id. || ECh: EDng {Fd.} bûtù, Mgm {J} bíttí, Brg bûtì, Bdy bûtó 'ashes', Jg {J} bú't 'flour', bú't kɔ ʔók 'ashes' ¶ JI II 4-5, ChC s.v. 'ashes', ChL, AIJ 61, J J s.v. bú't, ≈ HCVA #75 (HS ***bə** 'ashes' > Ch + unc.: Eg ^ub^ud 'burn; soot', Ah a-baṭul 'roasting, baking in ashes') || Om: NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} bēdnā, Wl {LmS} bidinta, Dwr {LmS} bittenta, Malo budó, Dk {Fl.} buda, Bsk buda, Oyda {Bnd.} būdo, Drz {Bnd.} buddu 'ashes' | SOm: Hm {Fl.} bidin-, Ari {Bnd., Fl.} bind-, Dm {Bnd., Fl.} bund- id. ¶ AD SF 241, Wdk. BY 119, LmS 315, Bnd. AL 144, Fl. OWL ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 353 (HS ***bu**ut- > Ch + unc. Eg ^ub^ud 'burn') || **D** ***pō** 'powder, dust' > T m pōi id., 'ash', Ml pōi, Kt poyr, Kn pūđi 'dust, powder', Kdg pōđi 'powder, flour', Tu, Tl pōđi id., 'dust' ¶¶ D no. 4481, Zv. 102 (Zvelebil suggested an alternation *-t-/*-t̥-, finding *-t̥- in Td pīr̥y 'dust', Prj por, podil, poyl 'flour, husk dust', Gdb poddūl 'flour') ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 4d (Ch, D), ≈ Blz. LNA no. 4 (N ***budi** 'ashes'; he hesitantly suggested to add M ***buzar** 'dirt[y]' to the HS-D equation).

262b. *b'æ'gUt 'thigh, (calf of) leg' > **HS** *baʁ|ʁt- > S: Gz baʁāt, Amh, Gft bat 'calf of leg', ?φ Amh {R} ባሕት baḥt 'Hüfte, Oberschenkel' ¶ L G 85, L ECDG 149 ¶ Gz ā may be due to a S derivational pattern || C: Dhl {To.} ḥōti 'thigh' || EC: Sml {ZMO, DSI} bōwdo f. 'thigh', {R} baʔudo f. 'Hüfte, Oberschenkel', Sml N {Abr.} bówdo 'thigh' ¶ To. D 130, ZMO 45, R SS II 69, Abr. S 34 || NrOm: Kf {C} bātō 'gamba, arto inferiore' ¶ C SE IV 417 || CCh: Ms {Caīt.} bāt 'jambe, patte' ¶ Caīt. 37 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. LAA-1 106 [no. 15] (HS *✓bt 'leg') || **A** *bægʁt ~ (>?) *bugʁt 'leg', (?) 'thigh' > Tg: [1] Tg *begdi ~ *bugdi 'leg, foot' > Nn KU bugži, Nn Nh/Bk bɜgži, Ewk, Orc, Ud bɜgdi, Sln bɜldīr, Lm bōdɔl, Ork bɜgži 'leg, foot' [2] Tg *bvti-ke 'leg, thighs' > Jrc {Md.} bodixe, {Kiy.} bodihe, {S} budixe 'leg', WrMc {Z} βəτχə 'leg, foot; leg of a bird', Mc Sb {Y} /betəχə/ [bətχ] ~ /betəkə/ [bətχ] 'leg, foot, foreleg, hind leg, limb', Neg bətiχə 'the upper part of the "untī" (fur boots that cover the thighs)', Nn bɜčχə 'the part of shorts that covers the thighs' ¶ STM I 118–19, 127, On. 84, Y no-s 137 and 2285, Hr 89, Kiy. 125 [no. 505], 489, Md. ChF 135, S AJ 209–10 [no. 45] || NaT *būt 'thigh' > OT {Cl.} bāt 'thigh, leg' (OT U bāt 'leg', OT Kr [MhK] بوت bāt 'thigh'), Tk bāt, bud- 'rump, buttocks', Tkm bāt 'thigh (бедро, ляжка)', Az bud 'Schenkel', Chg bāt 'leg', Xlj būt 'Schenkel, Oberschenkel', Yk bāt 'thigh, leg' etc. ¶ ET B 280–2, Cl. 297, DTS 129, Rs. W 90, TrR 136, Rh. 391, DT 96, Jeg. 158 ¶ Doerfer adduced Chv pəžə (пѣчѣ) 'thigh' (in his opinion from *būt-si 'his thigh'), which is doubtful (because the T allomorph *-si does not appear after cnss); ET B 25–6 equated Chv пѣчѣ with Tk bacak and Ggz, CrTt, Kr bažaq 'leg'; Jegorov (Jeg. 158) believed that Chv пѣчѣ is from NPrs پاچ پا pāčə 'feet (of sheep, calves or other animals, esp. when boiled)' [Sg. 229], cf. Qrg Δ pāyčä 'animal's leg' ¶ T *-t' < *-tt < *-gt? ¶¶ SDM 380 (pA *būkt 'led, thigh' > *bugdi ~ *begdi > Tg *begdi, T), S AJ 289 [no. 303] (T, Tg), TL 282 || **D** (att. in GnD) *p'otta > Png, Kui pōta, Mnd pata 'calf of leg' ¶ D *-tt- is likely to go back to *-Ht- (from N *-gUt-) ¶ D no. 4513 ◇ N *æ is tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of Tg *begdi (cp. also WrMc {Z} βəτχə and *a of the first syll. in S and other HS lges).

263. *bit, ʔ' ʔ' 'to hold' > **HS**: EC: Af {PH} i-bbiḍe v. 'grasp, hold, keep', Sa {R} -biḍ-, p. 3s i-biḍā (R: baḷ, p. í-biḷə) 'nehmen, erhalten', 'rauben, nehmen, ergreifen' ¶ R S II 82–3, PH 132 || ?σ S *°✓bt? > Ar ✓bt? G (pf. bataʔa) ~ ✓btw G (pf. باتا batā, ip. -btū) 's'arrêter, faire

halte' ¶ BK I 82, 84 || Ch: Mu {Lk.} bōdā 'ergreifen', {J} būdī v. 'hold', bót / būwāt id. ¶ Lk. ZSS 181, ChC s.v. 'hold', J Mu s.v. būdī and bót / būwāt || U: FV *pitä- v. 'hold' > F pitä-, Es pida (pres. pean) id. || Er peđa- vi. 'stick to, cling close to, press to' ¶ But not here (⇔ UEW) ObU *pāt- / *pit- v. 'fall'; see N *pāt▽▽ 'to fall' ¶ Coll. 108, UEW 386, Ht. 180 [no. 551] || D *piṭṭ v. 'grasp, hold' > Tm piṭṭi v. 'catch, grasp, carry, keep back', piṭṭi n. 'hold, clutch, seizure by hand', Ml piṭṭi n. 'grasp, hold, closed hand', Kt piṛč- v. 'clench (hand), piṛy 'handful', Kn piḍi v. 'seize, hold', Kdg puḍi- v. 'catch, hold', Tu hiḍi n. 'hold, grasp', Tl piḍi 'handle, hilt, handful', Prj piḍk- v. 'embrace', Gnd pīḍanā v. 'snatch, catch' ¶¶ D no. 4148 ◇ Sa/Af -ḍ- points to the presence of an ancient lr. (-ḍ- < *tH-), which is probably N *ʔ (on the ev. of S *✓btʔ, if it belongs here) ◇ IS MS 339 s.v. 'держатъ' *ṛp'itḥ (U, D).

264. *bôt'ṛ'▽ 'to grow' (intr.), 'to sprout' > HS: S *°✓btṛ > Ar bitṛ- 'big, tall' (of a person), ✓btṛ G (pf. batiṣa) 'avoir une belle encolure, longue et robuste' (of a horse), 'être robuste et ferme' ¶ BK I 83 || D *poṭ- ~ *puṭṭ- v. 'grow, sprout' > [1] Tm poṭṭi- 'spring up, shoot', Ml poṭṭiyuka v. 'spring up, ooze out', poṭṭikka id., 'sprout', Krb poḍe 'sprout of grain', Kn poḍe 'a pregnant ear of corn, an ear of corn just before shooting forth', Tu poṭṭæ 'tender ear of corn', Tl poṭṭakar(ṛ)ā 'unopened ear of corn, tender ear of corn just formed', Prj poṭ 'grain in embryonic stage'; [2] (× *puṭ- 'be born'): Td puṭ- vi. 'grow' (of grass, tree, hair), Kdg puṭṭ- 'be born, (seed) sprouts' ¶¶ ≈ D no-s 4264 and 4482 || A *but'a > NaT *buṛṛta- 'sprout, bough, twig' > Nog butaq id., Qzq butanaq 'small bough, branch, snag', ? buta 'bush, shrub', Qrg butaq 'twig'; (× T but- 'cut' < N *but▽ 'cut, cut off, cut into pieces'): Qzq бѣтала- 'cut shoots\twigs', Qrg buta- 'cut twigs, clean the tree from twigs\branches' ¶ Rs. W 8, NogR 91, MM 116, Sht. 66, Jud. 163 || M *buta ≈ tuft (touffe) of plants, thicket (Gebüsch), bush' > MM [S] {H} buta 'Dickicht, Grasbusch, Gestrüpp', WrM buta {MED} 'bush, brushwood, thicket', HlM бѣт {MED} id., {BMR} 'bush (Strauch, куст), dicht wachsende Pflanzengruppe (купа), Gestrüpp (заросль)', Kl {KRS} бѣт 'bush, shrub; bunch of flowers', {Rm.} butu 'Gebüsch, Strauch', Mnr H {SM} būdā 'herbes\plantes croissant en touffe', Mnr H {T} butā, Mnr M {T} buta 'bunch (пучок)', Ord būt'a 'buissons, broussailles, touffe' ¶ H 24, MED 141, BMR I 292, Chr. 116, KRS 122, KW 63, Ms. O 100, SM 31, T

320 ◇ A *-t' < N *-tʃ-. We reconstruct N *ʃ rather than *ʏ because the A reflex of the N cluster *-tʏ- is likely to be *-d- rather than *-t'.

265. UA₂ *batʏ ▽ '≈ cold; to feel cold, to freeze' > U: FU (att. in Ugr) *pâtʏ ▽ ~ *pât ▽ 'snow crust, ice crust', v. 'freeze, feel cold' > pObU *pūt- 'ice crust' > pVg *pūt- id. > Vg: Yk пʏт, Ss put id., Sg put-wit 'Wasser über dem Eis (am Moor, Fluß)'; pOs *put > Os: D/O pot, Nz put, Kz pət 'Schneerinde, Eisschicht', pOs *pat- > Os: V pat- 'frieren, ge-\zu-\erfrieren', D pot- id., 'kalt werden', O pat- id., 'sich abkühlen', Vy pat-, Ty/Y pāt-, K pot-, Nz/Kz pət- 'frieren' | OHg fáz-, Hg fázik 'freeze, feel\be cold' ¶ Ht. no. 549, MF 185-6, ≠ UEW 414-15 (Ugr ÷ [with a query] Sm *p̄rā̄- vi. 'burn' [F Jn. 114]; pU *pâr ▽), ≠ Rd. UJ 43 [no. 50] (U > Y K {IN} pēdɜ 'burn' [but in IN CDY 349-50 the pY word is reconstructed as *pentɜ]) || A: Tg *batʏn 'frozen ground' > Ewk batun, Ul bātʏ(n-), Nn Nh {STM} batõ ~ batũ id., Lm batʏn id., 'hard, hardened' (of ground, ice, snow), batʏn- 'get frozen' (of ground, ice), WrMc {Z} батунъ 'low layer of ground that remains frozen in spring, lower layers of ice' ¶ STM I 77, On. 63, Z 476 ◇ Not here the D stem, represented by Tm paḍisenu 'a cold, catarrh, Prj paḍcom id., Gnd paṛsa id., Δ poṛsa 'rheum of nose', Δ parsā, parsum 'a cold', which, acc. to D App. no. 48, goes back to OI pratisyāya- (> Marathi paḍse) 'cold in the head' (Tu. no. 8604).

265a. *bitʏ ▽ 'louse', '≈ parasitic insect' > HS: C: Ag {Ap.} *bɜt- 'louse' > Bln {R} bi'tā ~ be'tā, Q {R} be'tā, Xm {R} bet'tā, Km {CR} bītā (pl. bīt) 'louse' ¶ R WB 90, CR LK 181, Ap. AV 8 || ?φ B ✓ fṽḍīḍ > Ah afūḍiḍ 'petit pou gris de chameaux', Izn, Rf/SrSn {Rn.} afōiō 'tique (acarrien femelle gros et gris)', Shl afḍuḍ 'tique des moutons\chameaux\ bovins', Fgg afḍiḍ 'parasite des chameaux', BSn afḍiḍ 'pou des chiens' ¶ Fc. 305, Rn. 297, NZ 532 || Ch:WCh: Ngz {Sch.} bābāt 'flea' || Ech: Smr {J} bādādar 'flea', as well as (?) words for 'mosquito': Smr {J} bédé 'mosquito', Nd D {J} bídé, Tmk {Cp.} betɜ, bēd ¶ ChC s.v. 'flea' and 'mosquito', Sch. DN 28 || A: T *bit' ~ *bit' ({Md.} bīt' ▽) 'louse' > OT, Cmn XIV, MOg XIV bit 'louse', MQp bit 'bug', Tk bit, Tkm, Az, Ggz, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qq, Qzq, Qrg, Uz bit, Nog biyt, VTt, Bsh бет бѣт, Xk pɪt, Yk bit, Tv, Tf bīt, SY pišt, Chv пыйтă pɪyɔ̆, Chv Δ пытъă .louse' ¶ Cl. 296, ET B 151-2, Rs. W 76, Md. 75, Ash. IX 177 and 197, Fed. I 463, Jeg. 172 || D (att. in NED): Krx putuṅgī ~ putuṅgī 'midge', Mlt putgi 'sandfly'; D ⇨ OI puttikā- 'gnat' ¶ D no. 4203 ◇ D *u (from N *i) may be due to the labializing infl. of N *b-. An alt. rec. (N *būt' ▽) implies a hyp. of T delabialization

(without any imaginable cause) and hence is less plausible ◇ AD GDRV 61 (C, T); Blz. L no. 105a and Blz. LNA no. 6 (suggesting to add D).

266. *buṭ ▽ 'cut, cut off, cut into pieces' > HS *✓bṭ > WS *✓bṭṭ > Ar ✓bṭṭ (pf. baṭṭa) 'percer un ulcère \ un clou', Amh {DRS} bəṭṭa 'entailler', as well as possibly CS *✓bddd v. 'separate' (< **✓bṭṭ by as.?) > Ar ✓bddd id., BHb ᠓᠓᠘ bā'ḏāḏ 'alone', (act. prtc. G) bō'ḏēḏ 'alone, solitary' ¶ BK I 134, KB 105, KBR 109-10, DRS 59-60 || B *✓bḏH > Kb əḏḏu (pf. 3s yaḏḏa) 'partager, séparer', Tdq {Fc.} əbḏu 'être séparé, se séparer', Izd bḏu (pf. 3s i-bḏa, hab. baṭṭa) 'partager, séparer', BSn əbḏa id., CM bḏu 'partager, être partagé', Sll {Ds.} əbḏu (pf. iḏa) 'partager' ¶ Mrc. 233, Dl. 11, Fc. 32, NZ 27-8 || C {AD} *bṭ- > LEC *bṭ- > Sa {R} -baḏ- (= -baḏ-), p. 'i-biḏä 'abtrennen, wegreißen', əbaḏ, aḏ 'part, half', Af {PH} əbḏa 'half, part', Sml {ZMO}, Sml N {Abr.} baḏ 'half' ¶ R S II 82-3, ZMO 26, PH 28, AD SF 248 || NrOm: Kf {C} bōtō 'share, part' ¶ C SE IV 417 || Ch: WCh: Bl {Lk.} ḏot-, Gera {ChL} ḏédì-mì, Grm {ChL} ḏát v. 'cut' (mte. *b...ṭ > *ḏ...t) ¶ JI II 96, ChL, ChC s.v. 'cut' || A *but'▽- > NaT *buta- ~ *buti- v. 'cut off branches, prune a tree' > OT {Cl. after MhK} buṭa-, buṭi- v. 'prune', {MKD} buṭi- 'cut branches of a tree', Yk mutā- id., OOsM, MQp buḏa- v. 'prune', Tk buḏa- 'die Zweige beschneiden, prune', StAlt буда- buḏa-, Xlj pu'ta- id., Qq puta-, ET puta-, puti-, Ggz, Az, Qmq, QrB, Qrg buḏa-, VTt, Bsh бота- 'cut off branches, prune a tree', Nog bita- 'cut off branches', Qzq бѣта- 'hew (firewood)' ¶ Rs. W 91, Cl. 300, DTS 129, MKA II 141 and III 317, MKD 82, ET L-S 120-2, MM 116 || M *buta- > MM [MA] buṭa- 'cut off, hit'; M *buta adv. 'in fragments\pieces', 'into pieces' (× N *baṣ|guṭ ▽ 'kick, push?') > WrM {MED} buṭa, HIM {MED, BMR}, Kl {KRS} бут, Brt бута adv. 'in fragments\pieces, into pieces'; M butara- > MM buṭara- vi. [MA] 'disintegrate, break into pieces (распасться, развалиться, рассыпаться)', [S] 'auseinanderstieben', WrM {MED} buṭara-, HIM {MED, BMR} бутра- vi. 'break into pieces, smash', Brt бутар- vi. 'break, be smashed', Kl {KRS} бутар- 'in Scherben gehen (рабиваться, рассыпаться), бутр- 'be dispersed (распыляться, рассеиваться)', {Rm.} butṛ- 'zerstreut werden, im Winde fortfliegen, flattern. zergehen', Ord buṭ'ara- 's'échapper sous forme d'étincelles' (feu), Mnr H {SM} p'ud_3rā- 's'élever dans l'air (comme la poussière), se disperser'; ⇨ caus.: MM [HI] buṭara_uḏ- 'laisser se disperser', WrM butaraguḏ- {MED} 'let disintegrate', HIM бутрула- {MED} id., {BMR} caus. of бутра-, Ord buṭ'arūḏ- (caus. of

b_ut'ara-) ¶ H 24, Ms. H 44, Lew. II 22, Pp. MA 126, Pp. VG 121, MED 141, BMR I 292-3, Chr. 116-17, KRS 122, KW 63, SM 304, Ms. O 100 || Tg *bute, *butekte- vt. 'break into pieces', *butekte 'piece' (× N *baṣ|guṭ ▽ 'kick, push'?) > Lm b_ut- 'break, beat, split', Ewk butukt₃ 'piece', Neg boktaxān, Nn Nh boqtā 'splinter'; Ewk but₃kt₃-, Ud bukta- vt. 'split', Lm b_ut₃q- vt. 'break off', Orc buktaga- vt. 'break', Ul buqta-, Nn boqtā- {STM} vi. 'crack', {On.} vi. 'break off (from sth.)' ¶ STM I 116, On 71 ¶¶ ≈ S D M 388 (pA *bū|ōt'ū 'beat, break' > Tg + [going back to N *baṣ|guṭ ▽ 'kick, push'] M *buta- 'break, be broken', unc.: pJ *pūt- 'beat, hit' and pKo *puti₁iċ- 'hit, hump, collide') || D {Pf.} *putt-/ *put-▽-, *put-▽-k- ({ṢGS} *p-) v. 'cut off, cut in pieces' > Klm put- v. 'cut in pieces, pluck (a flower), break (a rope)', Nkr put- v. 'cut, pluck', Nk put- vi. 'be cut, break', Krx pud^ug-nā v. 'pluck out (hair etc.), strip (fowl) by plucking' ¶¶ D no. 4277, Pf. 75.

267. ₂ *buṭ ▽ 'pistachio (and terebinth?) tree\nut' > HS: S *'buṭ₁u₁n|m- id. > BHb pl. בִּטְנִים buṭ₁'nīm 'nuts of terebinth', JA buṭ₁'m-ā, JEA {Sl.} אֲבִטְנִים buṭ₁'m-ā, Sr beṭ₁m-ə't₁-ā id., Ar buṭ₁m- 'térébinthe (arbre), térébinthine', Gz (← Ar?) baṭ₁m ~ būṭ₁m 'terebinth tree', Ak buṭ₁n-u 'terebinth tree\wood', buṭ₁n-aṭu, buṭ₁um-t-u, buṭ₁ṭuṭu 'pistachio tree\wood\ nut' ¶ KB 117, KBR 121, Sl. 190, Js. 147, L G 114, CAD II 358-9, Löw I 192 || A: NaT *bu₁ṭur₁gāq > OT (Cl.) buṭur₁gāq 'a thorn tree shaped like a pistachio tree, which has thorns that catch clothing' (MKA I 502), {MKD} 'burr', SbTt Tr {Rl.} butur₁yaq 'a tree which has split and is bound round to save it from collapse'; NaT *'bi₁ṭri₁k > OT [MhK] biṭrik id. ¶ Cl. 307, 309, MKD 74, 82, Rl. IV 1857, DTS 104, 130 ◇ AD NM no. 58, S CNM 14, ≠ Vv. AEN 9 (rejecting the T etl. doublets on the false presumption denying the very existence of etl. doublets, though in fact they do exist in lges if a √ is found in different phonetic conditions [incl. phonetic infl. of affixes], undergoes lexical attraction, analogy etc., as in NE off and of, life [laɪf] and live [liʋ], Fr homme and on, BHb 'leb 'heart' and lē'ḅāḅ id. [both from *'libab-um]).

268. *baṣ|guṭ ▽ 'kick, push' > HS: CS *✓bṣ|ṣṭ > BHb בִּטַּח ✓bṣṭ G v. 'kick', {KB} 'ausschlagen', MHb, JA ✓bṣṭ G {Js.} v. 'trample, strike, kick', JEA {Sl.}, Sr ✓bṣṭ G v. 'kick' ¶ KB 136, KBR 142, Js. 180-1, Sl. 224, Br. 83, JPS 50, DRS 74 || EC: Af {PH} boṣto 'bang, clang, knock, tap', Sa {R} boṭ₁'ṣō 'Schlag, Hieb, Stoß', boṭ₁'ṣō- 'einen Schlag\Hieb bekommen', boṭ₁'ṣ-iṣ- 'einen Schlag\Hieb\Stoß geben' ¶ PH 72, R S II 92 || Ch: WCh:

pAG {Stl.} *bet v. 'push' > Su {J} bèt 'niederschlagen, stoßen', Ang {Flk.} bētt/bǣtt v. 'push, butt', Cp {ChL} bēt v. 'push' ¶ Stl. ZCh 240 [no. 1], J S 59, Flk. s.v., ChL || IE: NaIE {Mn.} *bʰaǵd- (= {P} *bʰǵwǵd-) / {P} *bʰud- v. 'beat, chastise', {EI} *bʰeǵd- (pres. *bʰoǵdeǵ) 'strike, beat' > Gmc {Wt.} *baǵt- v. 'strike' > ON inf. baǵta 'to beat', AS inf. beátan / p. beo(f)t id., NE beat; MLG inf. bōten, OHG inf. bōzan or bōzen & pauzen / p. biezen 'push, strike (contundere)', {EWA} '(zer)stoßen, (zer)schlagen', MHG inf. bōzen 'to strike, to beat', bōzen 'Schlag' || OIr {Vn.} buailid 'il frappe\bat\attaque'; ?σ Clt {Matas.} *bibud- 'guilty' > MBr {Flr.} bevez 'guilty', OIr {Vn.} bibdu id., 'enemy' (< *bʰe-bʰud-wots), OW bibid 'rei' || Lt baudā 'fine, penalty', inf. baũsti (1s pres. baũdžiu) 'to punish' ('strafen, züchtigen') ¶ P 112, EI 549, Mn. 67-8, Vr. 29, Ho. 18, OsS 81, EWA II 270-2, Kb. 109, Lx. 25, Vn. B 49, 109, Flr. 82, AHDI 6, ≠ Frn. 62 (baudā ÷ Lt budēti 'to be awake'), Matas. E 65 || A *b|pʰutʰ- 'beat, break' > M *buta- (× N *butʰ- 'cut, cut off, cut into pieces', q.v.) > MM [MA] buta- 'cut off, hit', ?σ M *buta adv. 'in fragments\pieces', 'into pieces'; M *buta-ra- > MM butāra-, WrM butara- {MED} vi. 'break into pieces; disperse, scatter', HIM бѹтра- {MED, BMR} id., Brt бѹтра-, Kl {KRS} бѹтра- vi. 'sich zerstauben, scatter', {Rm.} butʰ- 'zerstreut werde, wie Staub vor dem Winde fliegen, zergehen', Ord butar- 'tourbillonner sous l'action du vent' (poussière), 'flotter ans l'air' (choses légères: poussière, vapeur, ouate, etc.), Dx putura- 'рассыпаться', Mnr H {SM} pʰudərā- 's'élever dans l'air (comme la poussière), flotter de tous côtés dans l'air, se disperser' ¶ H 24, Ms. H 44, Lew. II 22, Pp. MA 126, Pp. VG 121, MED 141, Chr. 116-17, KRS 122, KW 63, SM 304, Ms. O 100, MYC 172 || Tg *bute- 'break into pieces', Tg *butekte 'piece', *butekte- 'break into pieces' (× N *butʰ-, q.v. ffd.) || pKo {S} *puti'icʰ- 'hit, bump, collide' > MKo puti'icʰ-, NKo putic- pudit- id. ¶ S QK no. 928, Nam 265, MLC 812 || pJ {S} *pʰut- 'beat, hit' > J T bútt- ~ ut-, J K/Kg bʰut- id. ¶ S QJ no. 1397, Mr. 680, Kenk. 130, 2114 ¶¶ SDM 388 (pA *bʰǵtʰ- 'beat, break' > Tg, M, J, Ko) || D [1] D *poʰt- ({ǵGS} *p-) v. 'winnow, strike, beat' > Tm puʰtai v. 'winnow, thresh, beat, strike', poʰti v. 'be broken to pieces', Kt poʰcʰ- v. 'winnow', Td puʰf- id., v. 'flap (a branch of leaves in cleaning house)', puʰ 'beating', Kn poʰe v. 'strike, beat', Tu puʰepuni, poʰepuni v. 'winnow, fan', boʰtʰuni v. 'beat (as a drum), hammer (as metal), knock (as a door)', Tl poʰucu v. 'fight', Gdb pōdu 'fight', Png poʰ- v. 'hit (das Ziel treffen)' || [2] D (att. in

SD) *pōt- ({{GS}} *p-) v. 'strike, cast' > Tm pōtʉ v. 'cast down, strike, beat, stamp', Ml pōtʉka v. 'strike (as a wedge into timber), put', Tu pāḍuni v. 'throw, cast, fling' ¶¶ D no-s 4252, 4481 and 4581, Km. 439-40 [no. 871] ¶¶ D *-t- < pre-D *-Ht- (= *-ʕ|gt-?) < N *-ʕ|gut-.

268a. *bag, ∇, t' i 'be quick; sudden' > HS: S *°✓bʏt > Ar ✓bʏt G 'arriver\survenir soudain et à l'improviste', baʏt-at- 'événement inattendu', بَغْتَةً baʏt-at-an 'soudain, subitement, à l'improviste' ¶ BK I 144-5 || Ch: WCh: Ang {Flk.} vʷōt, Anf H {Flk.} bʷōt 'quickly, at once', Dr {Nw.} bú't 'suddenly, on the run' ¶ Flk. 154, Nw. KL 122, ≈ Tk. LAA-1 107 [no. 22] || A *bāt'∇ > M *bačim (< **batī-) 'hasty, urgent, quick' > WrM {MED}, WrO бачим id., HlM бачим {MED} id., {BMR} бачим 'urgent, pressing (спешный)', Brt башам id., Kl {KRS} бачм баčъm id., {Rm.} bačm ~ bačim 'schnell, hurtig', Ord b_ač'im ž_oč'im 'à l'improviste', b_ač'im_d_a- 'être très pressé' ¶ MED 65, BMR I 238-9, Chr. 92, KRS 86, Krg. 329, KW 36, Ms. O 58 || T id. *bāt ~ *pāt 'quickly, extremely' > OT бат 'quickly', Chg бат 'quick(ly)', Tk pat, Uz bot, ET {Nj.}, ET Tr {Rl.} pat, Qrg бат 'quickly, soon', Tkm bādina 'immediately, right away', Tv p'at 'extremely, completely' ¶ Cl. 296, Rs. W 65, TkR 65, TvR 345, Nj. 238, Rl. IV 1173, 1508 ¶¶ Pp. VG 134 (M, T), Rm. SKE 146-7 (Ko, M, T), SDM97 (A *pāt'e 'quick, swift', incl. T, M) || D (att. in SD) *paṭ(t)- ({{GS}} *p-) 'hasty, sudden' > Tu paṭṭa 'suddenly', Kt paṭakn 'suddenly, with a jerk', Tm on₂ paṭapaṭṭappu 'precipitancy', paṭapaṭa 'be overhasty' ¶ D *-t- < pre-D *-d|t- < N *-g, ∇, t- ¶ D no. 3842 ◇ T *p- (for *b-) may be due to the ideophonic factor. In view of S and M a rec. of N *p- is less plausible.

269. *b'ü'g' â t ∇ 'hunt, try to catch' > HS: WCh: pAG {Hf.} *bʷaʏat v. 'tie, hobble' (if from *'catch by a lasso') > Gmy bōt, Su bʷaʏat, Ang {Hf.} bāt id., Ang {Flk.} bāt 'tie, bind', Su {J} bʷaʏat 'binden', Kfr {Hf.} bʷaʏat, {Nt.} bʷogat v. 'tie' ¶ Mte.: N *b...t > *b...t ¶ Hf. AG 18, Flk. s.v. bāt, Nt. 46, J S 60, ChC s.v. 'to tie' || S *°✓bʏt > Ar ✓bʏt '(suddenly) come upon so., take so. by surprise' (← *'catch') ¶ Deglottalization *t > S *t ¶ Ln. 228-9, BK I 144-5 || U {UEW} *pūwtä- v. 'hunt, catch (game), fish', 'follow the trail' (of an animal) > F ppytā- v. 'hunt, fish, catch (game)' (→ 'ask, request, invite'), Vp pūta- v. 'hunt, catch (game/fish)', Es pūūd- / pūūa- 'catch, try' || Sm: Slq: Nr {Cs.} pūdap, Tz {Cs.} pūtalžam 'follow the trail (of an animal)', Kms

{KD} p'idera- id. ('verfolgen, auf der Spur folgen') ¶ Not here (⇔ UEW) Ne: Т пиде- pīde- v. 'chase away', Т О {Lh.} pīde-, F Ny {Lh.} pīćī- 'chase away (e.g. beasts of prey)' ({Lh.} 'verscheuchen, vegjagen', {Cs.} 'treiben, jagen'); this word belongs together with Slq Tz {Prk.} pītī- 'frighten' < pSm {Jn.} *piytä- id. < pSm {Jn.} *piy- 'be afraid' ¶¶ Coll. 54, UEW 387 (U *piwtä 'die Spuren eines Wildes folgen'), SK 676-7, ZM 446, Jn. 124-5, Ter. 462, Cs. 222, 170, KD 52 || A: AmTg *bogatu- v. 'hunt' > Orc bātu-, Ul bātī- ~ buati- v. 'hunt', Neg boatu- ~ boyatū-, Nn Nh boato-, Nn Bk bātu- v. 'hunt (esp. for sable)', Ud bātu- 'spend the hunting season in the forest' (of hunters) ¶ STM I 87, Krm. 211, On. 69 ¶ N *-g- is preserved in Tg as *-g- (a rare case). Cf. the cases of preservation of lrs in U. The Tg back vw. *-o- of the first syll. (< N *-rū-) may be due to vw. harmony (infl. of *-a- of the next syll.) ◇ The Tg root with *-t- and the WCh root with *b...t (< *b...t) (if it belongs here) point to a N *t.

270. *bu₁w₁t ▽ 'the hinder part of a quadruped's body, the lower part of a human body, bottom' > HS: S *būt- > Md bu₁t a 'bottom, anus', NMd bō₁t a 'Hintern, Anus', Sr 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎡 bō₁t ā 'anus, podex', NNEA {Mcl.} 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎡 bō₁t ā 'penis' | WS (or CS?) *ba₁t₁ ▽ n- 'belly' > BHb 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎡 bē₁t₁ εn 'belly, internal organs', OCn [EA] ba-a₁t₁-nu-ma 'belly', IA 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎡 bē₁t₁ n id., JA [TrgOJ] 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎡 ba₁t₁'n-ā, JA {Js.} 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎡 bi₁t₁'n-ā 'belly', JEA 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎡 bē₁t₁ n₁ (unk. voc.) 'womb', Sr ba₁t₁ n-ā 'conceptio', Ar ba₁t₁ n- 'ventre', Tgr bē₁t₁ n, Har bē₁t₁ ni id. ¶ KB 116-17, KBR 121, JH 34, HJ 151, Sl. 198, Js. 158, DM 54-5, 58-9, Mc. NM 205, PS 464, 513-14, Mcl. 27, BK I 138, DRS 51, 60, MiK I no. 1.42 ¶ If the Tgr and Har words are Arabisms, the stem is CS || B *būd- > BSn bō₁d 'fond', Mz bu₁d 'fond, cul' (pl. ibudawən ~ iba₁t₁t₁), Izd {Mrc.} abu₁d (pl. iba₁t₁t₁ εn) 'fond, extrémité, orifice anal', CM abu₁d ~ bu₁d 'fond, partie basse', Fgg bu₁d 'fesse; anus', Shw bu₁d 'fond, pied de végétaux', Ah {Fc.} buyə₁d 'avoir des fesses décharnées', Ntf abu₁d 'bottom of a vessel', Nf {Beg.} bō₁t 'base, pied' | ?? B *b₁u₁t₁ ▽ n > Ah a-ha₁dun 'la 15^{me} nuit du mois lunaire' (< **'middle') (× N *P₁a₁n₁t₁ ▽ h ▽ 'belly', q.v.) ¶ Fc. 518, ≠ Pr. H 29, NZ 28-9, Beg. 278 || C: EC: Rn bē₁y₁dó 'buttocks', bē₁dé₁y 'buttock', Sml {ZMO} ba₁d₁ i 'buttocks, tail of sheep', Sml N {Abr.} bá₁d₁ í 'buttocks; buttocks of sheep', ? Dsn {Fl.} be₁d₁ i 'foot', Sd ba₁d₁ e 'back, behind', {Mrn.} 'dorso, dietro' ¶ PG 76, ZMO 26, Blz. DL s.v. 'foot', Hd. 351, Mrn. S 207, Fl. p.c. || ?σ NrOm: Kf {C} bā₁t₁ o 'leg, hind leg' ¶ C SE IV 417, ≈ AD SF 240-1 || Ch: WCh: Hs b₁ūt₁t₁yā 'anus' || ECh: Brg {J} bà₁ à 'anus', EDng {DjM} bá₁d₁yā 'fesse' | (× N *bod ▽ 'body, belly'): {Stl.} *b₁u₁t₁ ▽

'belly, womb' > Su {J} *b̥ut* 'Bauch, Inneres', Ang {Flk.} *b̥u t* 'belly, pregnancy', {Brq.} *b̥wút* 'stomach', Mnt *b̥ēt* 'belly', Kfr {Nt.} *b̥út* 'belly, side', Gmy {Hf.} *b̥et*, Tal {Sh.} *b̥uth* 'belly', Chip {ChC} *yim-b̥ut* 'entrails' || Gj {ChL} *b̥ótì* id. || Fy {J} *b̥útó* 'belly' || ECh: Brg {J} *b̥ùtùrì* 'belly' ¶ JI II 20-1, Stl. ZCh 157 [no. 113], Abr. H 127, Ba. 141, DjM 32, J S 60, Nt. 4, Hf. AG 17, Brq. AP, ChC s.v. 'belly and 'anus', ChL ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 104 [no. 7] (*✓ *b̥t̥* 'bottom. back') and ≈ 104 [no. 4] (HS *✓ *b̥d* 'bottom, lower part' [B, CCh.]) || IE: NaIE **b̥hudʰ-men* 'lower part, bottom' (in some languages transformed into **b̥hudʰ-mo-*, **b̥hudʰ-no* > **b̥hundʰo-*), {EI} **b̥hud-* 'no-bottom' (× N **bod̥* 'body, belly' [q.v.]) > OI *budh'nah̥* 'bottom, ground, base', Av *būnō* id. || Gk *πυθμήν* 'hollow bottom or stand of a cup, bottom of the sea, bottom\stock\root of a tree' || L *fundus* 'bottom of sth., ground, soil' || Clt {Matas.} **obundo-* > OIr *bond, bonn* 'plante de pied, base, sol' || Gmc: OSx *bothom*, OHG *bodam*, NHG *Boden*, ON, Ic, NNr *botn*, Sw *botten*, Dn *bund*, AS *botm* ~ *bodan* 'bottom, ground', NE *bottom* ¶ WP II 190, P 174, EI 247, Dv. no. 443, M K II 438, M E II 228-9, F II 620-1, WH I 564-5, EWA II 222-5, Vn. B 69, Ho 31, Ho. S 9, Vr. 51, KM 88, Matas. E 83 ¶ IE *-dʰ- for *-t- is due to the IE incompatibility law (no mediae aspiratae + tenues in the same √) and to contamination with N **bod̥* '↑' || U: FU **put̥* 'rectum, large intestine' (× N **pu̯wt̥E* [or **pu̯wt̥E?*] 'hole') > Lp S {Lgc.} *pyh̥t̥ε-k̥ε* 'rectum' || pObU **pūt̥* > Vg N {MK} *puti* 'large intestine', Os Nz *pūt̥a*, Os Kz *pūt̥i* id., 'rectum' ¶ UEW 410 (← ?), Lgc. no. 687, MK 487 || ?σ,φ D (att. in SD) **put̥a-* ({θGS} **p-*, *-d̥-) 'side, place' (← *'bottom') > Tm *put̥ḁ, put̥am* 'side, place', Ml *put̥a*, Kn *hod̥e* 'side', Tu *pu̯d̥æ* 'border, edge, side' ¶ D {θGS} *-t̥- (for the expected *-t-) is still to be explained; if the D root belongs here, D *-t̥- may probably go back to a cns. cluster (from N *-wt̥-) ¶ D no. 4254 || A **mot̥æk̥* 'pudenda; bird's crop' (× N **mot̥E* 'sprout, stem, penis, genitals', q.v.): NaT **bötækæ* > VTt *bōt̥bg* 'vulva', Qz *bötäkä* 'kidneys of animals', Tkm *peteke*, Nog *bötege* 'bird's crop', Bsh *bütägä*, VTt *bütäkä* 'masticatory stomach', Yk *bötögö* 'bird's crop; calves of the legs'; a NaT lge ⇨ Chv *пyтeкe pud_eg_e* {Jeg.} 'crop of birds', {Ash.} id., 'kidneys of animals' ¶ Rs. W 84, JkR 79, Ash. X 44, Jeg. 153 || ??φ pJ {S} **b̥è* (← **buà*) 'tail' > OJ *wò*, J: T/Kg *ó*, K *õ*, Sh *yū* id. ¶ S AJ 267 [no. 75], S QJ no. 75, Mr. 503, Kenk. 1403 ◇ Hardly here NaT **būt* 'thigh' and Tg **b̥ti-ke* 'leg, thighs', which are more likely to go back to N **b̥'æ'gUt̥* 'thigh, (calf of) leg'

(q.v.) ◇ IS II 102-3: N *p'odqa / p'odqa 'thigh', sc. N *p'oqEǵ or *p'oǵq 'thigh, haunch' (q.v.) with unconvincing adduction of T *būt 'thigh' (reconstructed as *pūt).

271. *b'i'χa (or *b'i'qa, *büyx|qa?) 'beat, strike' > IE *b^heǵH₂x- / *b^hiHx- ({EI} *b^heǵh₂-) 'strike' > NaIE *b^heyə- / b^hi- v. 'beat' > Av {P} byente 'sie bekämpfen, sie schlagen' || ? Arm բիր biʁ (gen. բրի bʁi) 'large stick, club, cudgel' || ? L [Fest.] perfinēs 'perfringās' (2s conj. 'break [through, in pieces]') ({EM}: *-nā-present of *b^heǵH-) || Clt {Matas.} *bi-na- 'strike, hit' > OIr ben- 'strike, beat', p. bi, ro-bíth 'was beaten', bíthe 'beaten', 1s ft. bíu '(whom) shall I beat?', {P} béim 'Schlag' (< *b^hey-smǵ), OW etbinam [χ] 'lanio', MW kymyru 'hit, cut down' (< *kom-bi-na-), W {YGM} bid 'lopped hedge', {Vn.} bidio 'tailler une haie', OBr [χ] bedioc 'caedes' ({Flr.} 'action de trancher\tailler'), MBr benaff, Br benañ v. 'cut', Gl imp. bietu tu 'should strike' || Sl inf. *bǐ-ti 'to beat' > OCS inf. БИТИ bitī / 1s pres. БЬЮ бьѹ ~ БИЮ бѣу-ѹ, SCr inf. bǐti / 1s pres. bǐjēm, R inf. БИТЬ / 1s pres. БЬЮ 'beat' Uk inf. бити, Slv, Cz inf. bitī, Slk inf. bit', P inf. bić 'to beat' ||| NrIE d. {Mn.} *b^hiya-lo-s ~ -li-s 'striker, axe' > OIr biail, OW bahell, W bwyell, bwyall, Br bouc'hal ~ bouhal 'axe' || OHG bīhal 'axe', MHG bīhel, bī(e)l, NHG Beil, Dt bijl 'axe, hatchet' (< IE *b^hiya-lo) ¶ WP II 137-8, P 117-18, EI 549, Mn. 78-9, EM 498, WH I 503, EWA II 35-8, Vn. B 32-4, 48, Flr. 80-1, YGM-1 45, Hü. 429, ≠ Slt. 137 (unlike Hü., Solta connected Arm biʁ with the verb бʁem 'I dig. I hoe'), ESSJ II 99-103, Db. SA 204, 212-13, SPS I 251-2, Glh. 132, StSS 84-5, OsS 62, KM 6, Vr. N 58, Matas. E 65-6 || K: GZ (att. in Zn) *^obex|q- v. 'beat, strike' > Mg baχ- 'beat so., give a beating' ({Chik.} '᠘ᠦᠭᠳᠠ, поколотить', {Q} 'бить'), Lz baχ- 'beat so., thresh' ({Marr} 'бить (человека), молотить', {Chik.} '᠘ᠦᠭᠳᠠ, ᠳᠣᠮᠳᠦᠭᠳᠠ, поколотить') ¶ Q 202, Marr 130, Chik. 253 || HS: C: EC: Sa {R} buw- scv. 'hauen, schlagen' || ? SC {E} *bañ- v. 'kill (animal)' > ? Asa bahat 'trap', ➔ Mb bañ- v. 'kill' ¶ R S II 94, E SC 136 || Ch: CCh: Bcm {Sk.} bǐyθ v. trans. 'break' || WCh: pNrBc *ba {Stl.} id., {AD} 'beat, break' > Wrij bǐbǐ, Kry bǐǐ- v. trans. 'break', My bǐǐ- v. 'beat, break', Cg bǐǐ- ~ bǐǐ-, Mbr, Jmb bǐǐ- v. trans. 'break' || Ech: Kbl {Cp.} bǐyǐ, Kwn {J} bǐyǐ, Ll {Grgs} bǐy, Smr {J} bǐ id. ¶ In WCh and CCh b- < *bH ¶ JI II 40-1, Stl. ZCh 249 [no. 23], ChC s.v. 'break' (trans.), ChL || A: Tg *buya- 'be broken' > Orc buya- 'broken', buya- v. 'be broken, be torn apart', Ul buya 'broken', Ork buya id., 'fragments' (осколки), buya- 'be broken\

destroyed', Nn Nn/Bk boyā - id., Nn Nh boyā 'broken; hole', Lm buyak- 'spoil' ¶ STM I 103, On. 78 ◇ If the pN vw. of the first syll. was *i (as suggested by IE, K and CCh), the labialized vw. in Tg and EC may be due to the assimilative infl. of *b-.

272. *bay ▽ 'place', 'to be (somewhere)' (= 'estar') > **HS**: S *bi- 'in', 'with' (instr.) > BHb bā-, bā- id., Ph, Pun, OA, IA b, Ug b, bɥ, (AkSc) bi-, JA, Sr bā-, Ar bi-, Gz bā- (with pronouns: bā-ka 'in you'), bā- (with nouns) id., Tgy ʔɜb- id., bɜ- (in bɜ-yɐ 'I have', lit. 'in me'), Ak in bašɯ v. 'be' (< *ba-šɯ 'in him?') ¶ Br. G II 363-77 [§§ 237-41], KB 100-2, HJ 137-41, OLS 97-8, Hnr. 112, L G 82, Sd. 112, DRS 39-40 || Eg fOK bɯ ~ bɥ.t 'place' ¶ EG I 433, 450-2, Fk. 81-2, Tk. II 172-5 || C {AD} *bay- 'place' > EC: HEC {Hd.} *bay-(ččo) 'place' > Sd bay-ččo, Hd bēyyo, Kmb *bēččɯ || Or O/Wt {Sr.} biyya 'place; sand', Or H {Ow.} biyyá 'land, country', Dsn {To.} bī 'soil, ground; world', Arr {Hw.} biyy 'land, earth, field' || Dl: Gln {AMS} píye 'earth, land', Dbs {AMS} piye 'land, world', Cm {Hbl.} bíye 'earth' || Bj -b, locative case sx || Ag: Q {R} -ɯā, directive case sx ¶ AD SF 38-9, Hd. 113, Hw. A 348, Sr. 274, Ow. 256, To. DL 487, Blz. CL 177, AMS 180, 239 || NrOm: Kf {C} bič 'towards' ¶ C SE IV 410 || Ch {AD} *b▽y▽ (≈ {Nw.} *ba) 'place' > WCh: pHAB {Stl.} *beyi id. > BT: Bl {Lk.} beyi, Krkr {Lk.} biyi, Dr {Nw.} bôî, {ChL} bʷóyì, Ngm {ChL} bèʔí, Gera {ChL} bí id. | pAG {Hf.} *pē, {Stl.} *bē > Su {J} pē id., Ang {Flk.} pē 'place, spot', {Hf.} pī, {Brq.} pí 'place', Mnt {Fp., Gr.} bi, Gm {Hf.} pē, {Fp.} be, Kfr {Hf.} pē, {Nt.} pè, Mpn {Frz.} pē, Cp {ChL} pè 'place' || ECh: ? Skr {ChC} bā 'place' or 'where' ¶ Hf. AG 17, Stl. VZCh, Nw. 30 [no. 97], Nw. KL 121, J S 78-9, Nt. 32, Brq. AP, Frz. DM 91, Gr. LA 60, ChL, ChC s.v. 'place' ¶¶ Tk. I 103 || **IE**: NaIE *-bʰej/*-bʰi, postpositive marker of locative: Gk Hm -υι, case ending with the meaning of instr., loc., dat., abl.; marker of instr., dat. and abl. in several lges: Iir *-bʰis instr. pl. (> OI -bʰih, Av -bīš, OPrs -biš), *-bʰayas dat.-abl. pl. (> OI -bhayaḥ, Av byō), L -bus abl. pl., -bis in nobis, vobis (dat. and abl.-instr. of nos 'we', vos 'ye') (cf Shl. IENI 50-2); IE *kʷo-bʰey 'where?' > L ubi, Ht kuwapi ¶ Ts. W 43-4, Pv. IV 229-31, Brg. KVG 398-9 (incl. a table), 406 (incl. a table), Ch. GH I 234-41 || **U**: Y (not registered in IN HDJ): K {Krn.} -nubo, -nube, -be, T {Krn.} -nube, sx of nomina loci: K piedāl-be 'place under a rocky bank, under a rock' (← pie 'stone' + āl 'under'), íie-nube 'place of residence' (← íie- 'be, stay'), T āwa-nube 'sleeping place' (← āwa- 'sleep') ¶ Krn. JJ 26 || **A** *b|p'ay▽ 'place; stay, be somewhere (estar)' > M

*bayi- 'stand, stay, be' > MM [PP] bayi- 'be', [IM] bay- 'remain, stop (s'arrêter)', [HI] bayi- 'stand, stand up', [MA] bayi- 'stand', [S] {H} bayi- 'daliegen', baiyidal 'Stellung, Stand, Posten', [IsV] bay ipv. 'be quiet!', WrM bai- {MED} 'be' (copula), 'stay, exist, live, reside', HlM бай- {MED} id., {BMR} be' (copula), 'stay, exist, estar, ci essere', Brt бай-, Kl {KRS} бээ- 'stand, remain, be (ci essere)', бээнэ 'there is', {Rm.} bā- 'stehen, bleiben, sein, sich befinden', Mnr H {SM} bē- 'être debout, se mettre debout, se dresser, s'arrêter', Dg {Mrm.} bai- ~ bāi- 'stand', {Pp.} bēi 'is', Dx {T} bai- id., 'stop (s'arrêter)', Mgl {Rm.} bei nā 'is, stands, remains standing', Mgl (ArSc) {Wr.} ба?i ipv. 'stand!', Ord bā- 'être, exister, subsister, être dans un endroit déterminé, être présent' ¶ Ms. H 39, Ms. O 58-9, Pp. PP 120, Pp. MA 115, 433, Lg. VMI 18, H 11, 14, MED 72-3, BMR I 219, Chr. 80-2, KRS 88-90, KW 39, SM 23, Klz. D I 112-13, Rm. M 24, Wr. B 122, Iw. 89 || Tg *bi'ā or *be'ā ({SDM} *bi'a) 'lying place (within the house\hut), bed' > Ud {Shn.} beā, {Krm.} bā, Ork bē 'parts of the house on both sides of the hearth near the side walls where people sleep, eat and work in the daytime', Ewk bē id., Ewk Δ 'bed, plank bed (постель, нары)', Lm bā 'animal's bed (лежбище)'; ?ф STg *boy- > WrMc {Z} бойхонь 'earth', бойгонь 'estate, hereditary property (earth and serfs)', Mc Sb bohan ~ bohun 'earth', Jrc boy- hu 'servants', бор- хор 'earth' ¶ STM I 78, 89, Krm. 211, Z 506-8 ¶¶ SDM 322 (pA *b_Li_Laya 'place; to be located' > Tg *bia, -gun, M *bayi-), DQA no. 131 (id) ◇ The semantic and grammatical change from a noun ('place') to a pre-\post-position (→ case ending) can be easily seen in HEC: Hd manč'o bēyūo (lit. man's place) actually means 'towards the man, chez l'homme', just as in NE: my place = Ру меня, Fr chez moi ◇ Gr. I 144-7 ("locative BH" in IE, Y, Tg, Gil, qu. Ko and J).

273. ₂ *b_uy_u (or *b_uy_u?) 'bee' > HS: Eg fOK by.t 'bee', fMK by.t-y 'apiculteur' (> Cpt Sd **εβειτ** ebeit id.), Eg fOK by.t ({Vc.} byy.t) 'honey' > DEg iby id. > Cpt Sd/B **εβιω** ebiō id. ¶ EG I 434, Fk. 79, Er. 26, Vc. 38, Tk. II 107-10 || IE *b^hei_LH_X-/*b^hoi_LH_X-/*b^hiH_X- 'bee' (× N on. *b^uz_u 'ε insect' [q.v.]) ({EI} *b^hi-'k^ωo- and *b^hi- + other sxs) > NaIE *b^hey-/ *b^hoy-/ *b^hi- 'bee' > ON by, Sw, Dn bi, NGr Al bī, NGr B bei j, Dt bi j, Gmc *bī-on- > OHG bīa, AS bīo, NE bee; +ext. *n (reinterpretation of the obl. cases with *-n- of the "weak declension?"): OHG bini, bīna, NHG Biene, NGr Ö Bein 'bee' || +ext. *-t-: Lt bitė, bitis, Ltv bite, Pru bitte 'bee' || W bydaf 'swarm of wild bees, beehive' ¶ P 116, EI 57, Dv. no. 868, Vr. 66, Ho. 24, EWA II 3-6, KM 75, Frn. 45, En. 152, Tp. P A-

D 233, YGM-1 63 ◇ NaIE *b^hī- suggests the presence of a pIE root-final lr., which may be of a pN origin. The absence of any lr. in Eg b_y.t points to N *ʔ or *h as the only possible pN lr. Alternatively, the lr. in IE may belong to the heritage of N on. *bū́z̑ ∇ '∈ insect'.

274. *beʔy ∇ 'body, self' ([in descendant lges] → 'soul') > HS: Eg ∇ b̑, Eg (GrSc) βατ 'soul' (× N *b ∇ L ∇ ʔa 'to blow, to inflate'?) > DEg b_y 'soul' > OCpt БАИ bai 'spirit, soul' in NEBBAI nebbai 'lord of the soul' and in БАИНХБХ bai nk^hbk^h (name of a demon, lit. {Vc.} 'soul of darkness') ¶ EG I 410-14, Fk. 77, Vc. 25, Tk. II 6-9 || C: Bj {Rop.} bīye 'self' ('ane i-bīye 'adʔe 'I myself did it') (but Reinisch interpreted i-bīye as 'meine Glieder' → 'ich selbst'; if the meaning 'Glieder' is indeed primary, the Bj word does not belong here) ¶ Rop. 166, R WBd 54 || A *b|p̑æyæ 'body, man, self' > M *beye 'body, person, (one)self' > MM [MA, IM, PP, HI] beye, [S] beye(n) 'body', [L] بِيَا {Pp.} biye 'Körperbau', WrM {MED} beye(n), HLM {MED, BMR} бие, Brt бэе 'body, person', Mnr H {T} biy id., {SM} bīye 'corps, taille, tronc d'arbre, objet', Dg beye 'body, (one)self', Kl {KRS} биЙ 'body, person', {Rm.} bī, bīyа 'Körper, Selbstheit, Wesen; sichl allein', Ord b̑ye 'corps, personne, taille, stature' ¶ Pp. L II 1267, Pp. MA 118, 433, Pp. KP 146, MED 94-5, BMR I 241-3, Chr. 129-30, KRS 98, KW 47, Ms. H 40, Ms. O 62-3, H 15, SM 26, T DgJ 125 || Tg *beyе 'body, person, oneself' > Neg бзүз id., Sln бзи ~ бзүз 'person, oneself', Ewk бзүз, Lm бзү 'person, man, male', Orc, Ud, Nn Nh/Bk/KU бзүз, Ul бзүз(н-) 'body, (one)self', Ork бзүз 'body', WrMc {Z} бэѣ 'body, life, personality, (one)self', Jrc beye 'body' ¶ STM I 122-3, On. 84, Z 485-6, Kiy. 124 [no. 490] || pJ {S} *b̑ 'man (vir)' > OJ wo(nokyo), wotokwo, MJ wo(noko), wòtòkò, J T/Kg otokó, J K ótoko, J Ns ẓingá, J Sh ẓíkígá, J Ht bìdùmù, J Y bìngà 'man' ¶ S QJ no. 46, Mr. 507, 513, Kenk. 1468-9 ¶¶ SDM 335 (pA *b̑ye > Tg, M, J), DQA no. 115, S AJ 79, 105, 276, Rm. EAS I 57, 98, KW 47, Vls. 261, Pp. VG 66 ¶¶ A less probable cognate is A {SDM} *béyo 'an ungulate animal' > T *bEye id., M *bayita-sun 'farrow (horse, cow)', Tg *beyū- '(foaled) mare', pJ {S} *bí - *b̑j 'pig', ffd. see SDM 335-6 || D *pēy 'soul' (→ 'ghost, demon, god') > Tm pēy 'devil, goblin, fiend', Ml pē, peyi 'demon', pena 'ghost, spirit', Kt e'y 'demon', Kn pē, hē 'madness, rage', pētū, hēde 'demon', Tu pēyi id., Gnd pēn 'idol, god', Kui pēnu, vēnu 'god, spirit', Ku pēnu 'god, devil' ¶¶ D no. 4438.

275. *baXy∇ or ***baXi** '≈ abundant' > **HS**: S: Ar {Ln.} ✓ bħbħ v. 'take a wide \ an ample \ a large range', ✓ bħħ: ʔibtiħāħ- 'opulence' ¶ Ln. 154-5, DRS 55-6 || amb Eg fOK bʕħy 'have abundance, be inundated', bʕħ 'abundance, inundation' (× N ***b'i'gê** 'much' and N ***b'e'ʕ∇ħy∇** 'to pour?') ¶ EG I 448-50, Fk. 81, Tk. II 170-2 || EC: Sam {Hn.} *būħ-i / *būħ-ičā v. 'fill' > Rn {Hn.} būħi, {PG} būħi-, Sml būħi, Bn būħi / būħía id.; Sam {Hn.} *būħ 'be full' > Rn {Hn.} buħ, {PG} būħ-, Sml būħ-so, buħ ¶ Hn. R 215, Hn. S 54-5, PG 82, ≈ Tk. SCC 73 [no. 1.8] || **A** *bāya 'rich' > T *bāy 'rich' > OT {Cl.} bāy 'rich, a rich man', MQp, Chg bay 'rich', Tkm bāy id., 'rich man', Yk bāy 'rich', CrTt, QrV, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, VTt, Bah, ET bay, Uz bay id., 'rich man', Osm bay {Rh.} 'rich and freat' (of a person), Tk bay 'Bei (Großbauer), mister; rich', Chv пуй- ɖ пой- 'become rich', пужн ɖ поян 'rich man; rich' ¶ Cl. 384, ET B 27-9, TkR 103, Rh. 337, Fed. I 440-1, Jeg. 163, Ash. IX 254-5, ChVS 144. 151 || **M** *bayan 'richness, rich' > MM, WrM {MED} bayan, Dx, ShY bayan, Ba bayan, Brt баян id., HIM баян {MED} id., {BMR} 'rich man, rich', Dx, ShY bayan, Ba bayan id., Mnr Н {T} bayan id., {SM} bayān 'riche, productif', Ord bayan 'riche', Kl {KES} байн bayън 'rich man', {Rm.} bayn 'reich, der reiche Mann; Eigentum, Vermögen' ¶ Pp. MA 114, 433, MED 76-7, SM 23, T 316, T DnJ 111, T BJ 134, Mr. D 8, Chr. 93, KRS 77, KW 29, Ms. O 46 || Tg *baya(n)- v. 'be rich', *bayan 'rich' > Ewk bay, bayan 'rich, rich man', Sln baiji~bayaji, Neg bayan- v. 'get rich', Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork baya(n-), Nn bayā, WrMc {Z} баянь (pl. баяса), Jrc bayan ({Md.} bay-yan) 'rich', WrMc {Z} бая- v. 'get rich' ¶ STM I 65, On. 64, Z 466, Md. ChF 135 ¶¶ SDM94 s.v. *bāja ¶¶ Part of the forms may be borrowings (M ⇨ some Tg lges etc.) || **D** *-vaLy, sx of pl. (↔ *-t of sg.) within pronouns *a-valy (< N ***ha baXy∇**) and *u-valy (< N ***'h'u baXy∇**) > Tm av~avai 'those things' (pl. of atu), uv~uvai 'those things' (intermediate deixis) (pl. of utu), Ml avav 'those things', Kn avu, Prj av (pl. of ad), Gdb O au (pl. of ad) id. etc. ¶¶ D no-s 1 and 557 || ?σ **U**: FU ≈ *opoLy > Lp N {N} boaw'je 'gathering of near relations presided over by the head of the family; company, clique' (supposedly Lp N oa < FU *ō < *aH) ¶ N I 209, Coll. 74 || possibly **K**: GZ *-eb-, sx of pl. (< collectivity sx), which is more probably connected with N ***b∇** (pc. forming compound [→ derived] nomina abstracta, q.v. ffd.) ¶ K 78 || **IE**: one may try to adduce NaIE *-bʰo-s and *-bʰā, sxs of abstract nouns preserved in Sl *-ba and Lt -bē, but the N etymon in question is only one of many possible sources of this

pattern of abstract nouns (cp. N ***b**∇ '↑' [q.v. ffd.] and N ***b'i'gê** 'much' [q.v.]) ◇ If GZ ***-eb-** belongs here, the N rec. must be ***bahy**∇ or ***bah**i.

276. ?σ ***b'e'y**×∇ 'tear, cut into pieces' > **HS**: S: Ar ✓byḥ D (pf. bayyaḥa) 'couper en petits morceaux [la viande]' ¶ BK I 182, DRS 62 || Ch: WCh: Kry {Sk.} ḥū v. 'cut' || ? CCh: Lgn {Lk.} pīyà 'cut' ¶ ChC s.v. 'cut', JI II 97, Lk. L || **U**: FU (att. in Ugr) *pey∇- 'undo (auftrennen)' > Hg fej-t-id., 'unstitch, separate' | ObU: Vg LK (χul) pāy-, Vg P pāy- 'dress a fish' ('Kopf wird weggeworfen, der Fisch wird vom Rücken bis zum Schwanz gespaltet'), ? Os N 'payit-, 'pāyit- 'abnehmen, herunternehmen, abwerfen', sam 'payit- 'beat off the scales (of a fish)' ¶ UEW 878, MF 190-1 || **D**: Tm piy- v. 'be tattered, be torn off, be torn into bits' (unless this verb goes back to D {ḡGS} *pis- < pD *picc-/pińc- v. 'tear into pieces') ¶ D no. 4171.

277. ***b'e'ɣ**∇ḥy∇ 'to pour' > **HS**: Eg fOK bʿḥy vi. 'be inundated, have abundance, be well-supplied', vt. 'flood, inundate', bʿḥ 'inundation, abundance', as well as possibly Eg G bʿy (a word used to denote inundation) ¶ EG I 448-50, Fk. 81, Tk. II 170-2 (× N ***baXy**∇ or ***baXi** 'abundant' [q.v. ffd.] and N ***b'i'gê** 'much'?) || B ***-bāy-** > Ah tabayōt 'fine and penetrating rain without wind' ¶ Fc. 41, NZ 143 || C: SC ***buʔ-** v. 'pour' > Alg buʔ-, SC ⇨ Mb -butu id. || DhI buʔ- id. ¶ E SC 142 || Ch: CCh: Mf {BLB} mbáhaʔa, mbáḥ-mbáhaʔa 'en giclant (comme le lait quand on presse un sein ou le jus quand on presse un fruit)' || Ech: Mkl {J} ḥô 'full' ¶ JI II 157, BLB 245, J LM 73 || possibly also WCh: Mbr {Sk.} vaʔ- ~ vɔw-, Cg {Sk.} vɔ- ~ vu-, Grn {Jgr} vʷā- 'pour' || CCh: Mtk {Lk.} pɛ 'pour away' ¶ Sk. NB 35, Jgr 187, ≈ Tk. NB 185, ChC s.v. 'pour (liquid)' || ?σ S: Ar SL ✓bḥbḥ 'donner largement, rendre abondant' ¶ DRS 55 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 73 [#1.8] || **K** ***b-** v. 'pour' > Mg, Lz, Sv b- id. (Sv L li-b-em 'to pour in, налить', stt.: maba 'it has been poured on me', xaba 'it has been poured on him') ¶¶ K 47, K² 6, FS K 40-1, Chik. 250-1, Dn. s.v. b-² || **D** *pey- ~ *poɣ- ({ḡGS} *p-?) v. 'pour, rain' (× N ***P'i'g**∇ 'to pour; rain'?) > Tm pey v. 'rain, pour down', Ml peyɣuka v. 'pour, rain', Kn poɣ, puɣ v. 'pour, cast', poɣ- v. 'rain', Kdg poɣɣ '(rain) rains, (wind) blows', Krg pī-, Tl pōɣu, Klm paɣɣen v. 'pour', Nk pī-, poɣ '(water) pours, flows', Gnd poɣ-vi. 'pour, be spilled', Ku boɣɣali v. 'overflow', bō- v. 'be spilled', Krx pōɣɣ- v. 'fall' (of rain), puɣd- v. 'pour some water on rice', Mlt poɣe v. 'rain' ¶¶ D no. 4407, ≠ Pf. 62 [no. 385] (without distinguishing the ✓ *pey- / *poɣ- from *pec- v. 'drizzle'), Km. 443 [no. 889].

278. (₂?) *on.* *bûž ▽ '∈ insect' > **HS**: B *b ▽ zīz- 'cicada', *būzīz- 'beetle' or sim. > Tmz {MT} a-bəzziz (pl. i-bəzziz-n), Kb a-b̥ziz̥ (pl. i-b̥ziz̥ən ~ i-b̥zaz̥) 'cigale', Rf W/B a-bziz (pl. ibzizən) 'bousier, cafard', SrSn abužič (pl. ibužičən) 'bousier', CM abəzzi, BSn abziz 'cigale', CA abziz 'sauterelle'; B ⇨ Ar Mgr bəzīz (in normalized spelling of BK بزين bazīz-u n) 'grillon' or sim.; Ar Mgr bu-bzīz (in normalized spelling أبو بزين abū-bazīzin) ⇨ Mz bu-b̥ziz̥ 'cigale' ¶ Dl. 62, MT 41, Dlh. M 17, Rn. 292, NZ 148 ¶ The emphatization of *z in some B lges is due to the onomatopoeic associations and/or to re-borrowing from Ar Mgr | | **K** *on.* *buz(ʷ)- 'a fly' > OG buzu-, G buz-i 'a fly', ?σ Lz d. ma-buz-al-e- ~ ma-puz-al-e- 'wagtail', Sv UB/L buzūl {GP} 'a fly', {TK} id., 'bee', Sv Ln {TK} buzul id., Sv {Ni.} buzul 'fly, wasp' ¶¶ FS K 64, K 51 (refers the G and Sv word to the K *on.* √ *bzu- v. 'hum, buzz'), K² 2O, Chx. 117, Abul. 37, TK 157, GP 92, Dn. s.v. buzūl, Ni. s.v. 'Myxa' and 'oca' | | **D** (att. in SD) *puččī 'insect, worm' (× N ?φ *pučč ▽, ṇ ▽ 'worm, snake', q.v. ffd.) | | **IE** *b^hey_LH_X- / *b^hoy_LH_X- / *b^hiH_X- > NaIE *b^hey- / *b^hoy- / *b^hī- 'bee' (× N *b ▽ y ▽ [or *b ▽ y ? ▽] 'bee' [q.v. ffd.]); NaIE *-ey- / *-oy- / *-ī- belongs to the heritage of N *b ▽ y ▽ (except for the length of *-ī-).

279. *b'a' hž ▽ 'strike, thump' > **HS**: WS *✓bhž > Ar ✓bhž G 'frapper de la main, du pied ou de deux mains (p. ex., en se frappant la poitrine)', Tgr {DRS} ✓bhž Sh (pf. ʔabbhazə) 's'abbatre sur, éprouver' ¶ BK I 172, DRS 47 | | **K**: GZ *bez- v. 'beat so. soundly, belabour' ({K} 'сильно колотить', {Schm.} 'gründlich verprügeln') > G I/R bez- id., Mg, Lz baz- id. ¶ Schm. 97, K 49-5O, K² 1O, FS K 48 | | **U**: [1] FU (att. in Z) *opaś ▽- > Z paś mun- v. 'break into pieces' ('in Trümmer zerbrechen') | [2] FU (att. in Prm) *opaś ▽- > pPrm {LG} *paz- > Z pazəd- v. 'break into pieces, scatter', Prmk inf. pazd+n+ 'to break, to crush', ? Vt paža- v. 'scatter'. The cns. *-s- in *opaś ▽- requires explanation ¶ LG 214, ≠ UEW 357 (ascribing Z paś to U *paś ▽ 'hole, split').

280. *bažē 'ripen, be cooked (gar werden)', 'cook, (?) prepare' > **K** *°baz|ž- v. 'ripen' > G I/G baz- v. 'ripen' (of beans, maize etc.) ¶ Chx. 59 | | **HS**: S (+ ext.) *✓bšl G v. 'ripen', D v. 'cook' > BHb, JA ✓bšl G vi. 'grow ripe; boil, get cooked', JEA {Sl.} JA ✓bšl G pp. 'cooked, roasted, baked', SmA ✓bšl G 'ripen', D vt. 'cook', BHb bā'šēl 'ripe, boiled, cooked', BHb ✓bšl D vt. 'boil, cook, fry', MHb bā'šēl 'ripe', BHb, JA ✓bšl D vt. 'cook, boil, roast', {Sl.} 'cook, boil, suppurate', Ug ✓bšl vt. D

(or *G* ?) 'cook', Sr ✓bšl (*G* : pf. bə'šɛl, ip. ne-b'šal) v. 'ripen, boil, melt' (intr.), Md ✓bšl *G* vi. 'boil, cook', Ar ✓bsl *Sh* (pf. ʔabsala) 'cuire des dattes non mûres et les sécher ensuite', Mh, Hrs ✓bh1 (pf. bəhēl, sbjn. yəbhōl) v. 'be cooked, be ready', Jb E/C ✓bšl (pf. 'bešəl, sbjn. Jb C yəb'šəl) id., Sq {L} ✓bh1 (pf. behel), Sb mbšl 'cooking place', Gz ✓bsl (js. yəbsəl) v. 'be cooked, be ripe', Ak ✓bšl *G* v. 'boil, roast, become roasted, ripen' ¶ KB 157, KBR 164, OLS 118, Lv. I 273, JPS 56, Tal 120, DM 71, CAD II 135-7, BK I 127, Jo. M 45, Jo. H 16, Jo. J 30, L G 109, BGMR 32, DRS 89 || IE: NaIE *bʰō- vt. 'warm', ? 'roast' > OHG inf. bā(h)en 'to warm, to foment', {OsS} 'bähen, gelinde rösten' (> NHG inf. bähen vt. 'durch Umschläge wärmen, Brot rösten', 'warm, heat, toast') ¶ P 113, KM 44, EWA I 425, Kb. 52, F II 1057 || U: FP *paše- v. 'fry, bake, roast' > F pahta-, Δ pahta- id. || pPrm *pōž- v. 'bake, get cooked' ('gar werden') > Z пōжав- pžaw- 'bake', пōж- pž- 'bähen, brühen; schmoren', 'gar werden' (Speisen), Yz 'pūž- v. 'steam (milk in an oven, twigs before twisting etc.)', Vt pž- v. 'bake, fry' ¶ Db. OS x, LG 227-8, UEW 725, Lt. J 172 || ?σ A: M *bažar'ya- > WrM bazaga- {MED} v. 'prepare, get\have ready', HLM базаа- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'sich (mit etw.) versehen, Vorräte anlegen (запасать, готовить)', Brt базаа- id., Ord b_až_ā- 'préparer, apprêter, se préparer'; M → Sln baja- 'prepare' ¶ MED 93, BMR I 214, Chr. 77, Ms. O 43, STM I 63-4.

281. *bōyâ '∈ fur-bearing animal' > IE: NaIE *bʰel- ≈ marten', {EI} 'wild cat; any small carnivore' > L fēlēs 'wild cat, marten, polecat' || W bele (< *bʰelego-) 'marten' || OI ∧ bharuḡa- 'jackal', ? Mld balu 'dog' ¶ Hardly here OHG bilih & pilih, MHG bilch, NHG Bilch 'dormouse', likely to be a loan from Sl *рыхъ id. (> ChS пльхъ plъxъ, SCr pūh, Slv pólh, Cz plch, Blr поўх, R Δ полчок id., P pilch 'gopher', Blg плъх 'rat') ¶ WP II 177, EI 91, WH I 474, YGM-1 43, EWA II 54-6, Lx. 21, KM 76, Vs. III 319-20, Glh. 511 || U {Coll.} *poyâ 'ermine' > pLp {Lr.} *pōytzk id. > Lp: N {N} buoidâ ~ buoidâgâ, L {LLO} puoita, T {TI} pītēg, Kld {TI} puītēg id. || Sm: Ne Т пия, Т О {Lh.} pīy:e, Ne F pīy:ea & pīy:ea, Ne Т пияко, Т О pīyək:o, En B {Cs.} fiéda, Ng {Cs.} fīdū, pīdū, Mt {HL.} *hūyâ 'ermine' (Mt M {M} húje, {Pl.} hūdja 'ermine') (unless identical with Mt {HL.} *hūne id. [Mt K/T {Mll.} húne, K {Pl.} chunī]) ¶¶ Coll. 6, Coll. CG 405, Lr. no. 990, Lgc. no. 5298, Lh. VJS 40, 105, Ter. 472, Cs. 36, 72, 95, 234 ¶¶ Originally Ne пияко and pLp *pōytzk were dim. forms (f Cs. 36) || A: M *bul'u'gan 'sable (Zobel)' >

MM [MA] bulɣan, [HI] buluqan (= bulugan), [S] {H} buluḥan (= bulugan), WrM {MED} bulagan, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt булга(н), Kl {KRS} булһн id., {Rm.} bulɣan 'Zobel', Ord b_ɯlaga 'zibeline' ¶ MED 133, BMR I 284, Chr. 111, KRS 118, KW 60, Pp. MA 125, Ms. H 43, H 22, Ms. O 93 || ?σ D {GS} *pul-i ({θGS} *p-) 'tiger' > Tm पुलि, पुल, Ml, Kn, Tl पुलि, Kt puṛ, Td pūṣu, Tu pili, Krg hili, Klm, Nkr pul, Nk pul(a), Gdb pullu & pulu & berpul, Gnd pullī & puli & pulid.; D ⇨ Prkr pulli- 'tiger' ¶¶ D no. 4307, GS 179 [no. 455], 53 [no. 136] ◇ AD NM no. 38, Vv. AEN 12 (doubts because "semantic is too broad" and the M cognate is isolated within A).

281a. ₂ *bo3∇ 'hair, feather' > A *b|p'ô3∇ 'feather' > M *°bo3uɣu > WrM бозуɣу {MED} 'small bird feathers; tufts on the head of birds', HIM бозго {MED} id., {BMR} 'small bird feathers, small feathers in wings, малое правильное перо в крыле птицы' ¶ MED 123, BMR I 254 || NrTg *buji 'feather' > Lm buji id., Ewk buji 'new feather (after moult)' ¶ STM I 102-3 || D *poćć° ({θGS} *boćć-) 'hair, down, wool' > Tm роccу 'quantity of hair', Kn босcу 'wool, fine hair, down', Tl босcу 'hair, down, wool', Nkr bućuṛa 'knot of hair', Prj boćća 'eyebrow' ¶¶ D no. 4477 ◇ NrTg *u is still to be explained.

282. *bêžU (,q∇,) or *bêž ,∇, q∇ 'big, high' > HS: S *°✓ bδχ > Ar ✓ bδχ 'être grand\haut' ¶ BK I 100-1, ≠ DRS 47 || B *°✓ bd_ɣ_ 'be high' > Kb bādḏ 'être debout', əbdəd 'se tenir debout', Ah əbdəd, Gd εbdəd (3m pf. iḃdəd) id., Izn, Rf abəddi, SrSn ibəddi 'hauteur', Shl {NZ} bədd / biddn, Si {NZ} bdəd 'rise, stand' ¶ Rn. 291, Dl. 7, Fc. 19-20, Lf. I 240 and II no. 0017, NZ 15-17 || U *piδe(-kä) 'high, long' > FU *piδe(-kä) > F pitkä (cmpr. pitempi ~ pidempi) 'long', Δ pitevā 'long and narrow', Es pikk, Δ pitk 'long' || ObU *pěl- (= {Ht.} *pāl-/ *pěl-) 'high, long' > pVg *pāl(∇)t- 'Länge' > Vg: P pālt 'Länge, so lang wie', LK/MK/LL pālt 'so lang wie', N palit 'Länge, Entfernung'; pOs *pěl ({JHl.} *pīl) 'high' > Os: D/K pēt, Kz pāḏ, O pāl 'high', pOs *pěl∇t ({JHl.} *pīl∇t) 'height' > Os: V/Vy pēlāt, Ty pēḏit, Nz pātāt, Kz pāḏāt, O pālāt | Hg fēl, fōl 'up (aufwärts, hinauf)', Δ 'surface, upper part' || pSm *pirъ 'height' > Ng fira 'hoch, gewachsen', En: T {Pl.} 'пырро 'high (высоко)' (adv.?), En X fiřuddio, En B firuddio 'erhöhen', Ne T пир, Ne T O pir 'Höhe', Slq Tz {KKIH} pīr+, Slq NP pīr∇ 'height'; pSm {Jn.} *pirkä, {Hl.} *pirke 'high' (× N *bi°∇r∇gE 'high, tall') > Ne T пирця, Ne T O {Lh.} pirćē, Ne F {Lh.} píćśśā, En X {Cs.} fiće, En B {Cs.} fiše, {Ter.} пизе 'high', Slq Tz

{KKIH} *pirq+* 'high, deep', Slq MTm {KD} *pürg* 'high', Kms {KD} *p'üržē*, {Cs.} *phiržē*, Koyb {Sp.} *прицэ*, Mt {Hl.} **hirge* (> Mt M {Mll.} 'hürgi', Mt M {Mll.} 'hürgü', Mt K {Pls.} *chirgè*) 'high' || pY {IN H} **puðe* 'top' > Y: K *bude* 'on the top of', *pude* 'outside, above', T *pure* 'above, outside', OY Ch {Mat.} *пуданмей* 'high' ¶¶ UEW 377-8, Ht. 176 [no. 506], KKIH 150, Hl. M no. 305, IN H 364-5, IN UJ 244, 318, Ku. 241 || **A: [11]** (?) pA **b|p'ü'ž* ▽- > M **bužagaγ₁i* > WrM *бузагаи* {MED} 'strong, sturdy; hard, firm, durable', HlM *бузгаи* {MED} id., {BMR} 'strong, sturdy (сильный, крепкий); rather good', 'enough, very', Kl Ö {Rm.} *buzγā* 'sehr, stark' (× Kl {Rm.} *buzγā* 'schrecklich, abscheulich' < *buzγ* < **bužar* 'dirt?') ¶ MED 143, BMR I 282, KW 64 || ?σ Tg **b'ü'j* ▽n > Lm *bзjзn* 'ten reindeer', WrMc {Z} *бучжу бачжа* 'very much', *бучжунь* 'multitude', 'very (much)' (× WrMc {Z} *бучжунь* 'hundred thousand' < Chn *bo-qian* id.) ¶ STM I 103, 120, Z 538 || J: (a) pJ {SDM} **pùtuà* 'thick, big' > OJ *putwo-*, MJ *putò-* 'thick', J T {SDM} *putó-*, StJ {Kenk.} *puto-* id., J K {SDM} *putó-*, J Kg {SDM} *putó-* 'big' ¶ Mr. 829, Kenk. 334 || (b) ?φ pJ {S} **piyi(n)ta-* ~ **pui(n)ta-* 'surpass' > OJ *p₁i₁iida-*, J: T/Kg *hiidé-*, K *hiíidé-* ¶ S QJ no. 1150, Mr. 688, Kenk. 488 ¶¶ Lm 3 and pJ **i* of the initial syll. may be explained by regr. as. || **[2]** pA **°bædu-* 'thick, large' (× N **büdü₁γ₁γ₁▽* 'be thick') > T **bæδü-* ({SDM} **bèdù-*, {Rs.} **beδü-*, {S} **büδü-*) v. 'be(come) big\high' > OT *beδū-*; T d. {SDM} **bEδü-k* 'big, large' > OT *beδūk* 'big, great', Osm *büyük* 'big, large, high', Tk *büyük*, Az *böyük* 'large', Tkm *beyik*, VTt *биэк* *bijək* 'big, high', Tv *b₁edik* 'high' ¶ Not here Yk *bödöŋ* 'big, large, coarse', which is a loan from M (cp. HlM *бүдүүн* 'large, huge, big', see N **büdü₁γ₁γ₁▽*) ¶ S AJ 175 [no. 5], ET B 288-90, Cl. 299, 302-3, Pek. 517-18 || M **bediṣün* ~ **büdiṣün* 'thick' > MM [IM] *bid(o)n*, [MA] M *bidun* id., WrM {MED} *bidügün* ~ *büdügün* 'large, huge, big', HlM *бүдүүн* {MED} id., {BMR} 'thick, тучный', Brt *бүдүү(н)* 'thick', Kl {KRS} *бүдүүн* id., {Rm.} *büdüñ* 'groß, dick', Mnr *b₁üdü₁n* 'gros', Ord *b₁üdü₁:n* 'gros, grossier' ¶ KW 86, MED 144, BMR I 300, Chr. 121, KRS 126, KW 66, SM 31, Ms. O 101, MYC 173 ¶¶ The cns. *-δ- in pT **bæδü-* (and *-d- in A **°bædu-*?) may belong to the heritage of N **büdü₁γ₁γ₁▽* ¶¶ SDM 334-5 (pA **bèdù-* 'thick, large' > T **bEδü-k* 'big, high', M **bediṣün* ~ **büdiṣün*, pJ **pùtuá-* + unc. pKo **pìrì* 'thick, satiated' and Tg **burgu* 'fat, thick' (both possibly from N **bar'γ₁▽* 'big, much, thick', q.v. ffd.)) and SDM 340-1 (pA **bēžū* 'numerous, great' > M **bužā-* 'strong, durable, quite good', Tg **bejun* 'ten deer, multitude', pJ {S}

*piyi(n)ta- + err. T *bāy 'rich, noble; many, numerous' [from pA *bāya 'rich']) and DQA no. 124 (pA *bēž'u 'numerous, great') ◇ The U cognate points to the N vw. *i, while T and Tg suggest *e. This discrepancy is still to be elucidated. If M *buž'a- belongs here, its vw. *u is explained by as. (infl. of the labial cns. *b-).

283. *bEΓ₁∇₁ž∇ 'ungulate animal (deer and sim.)' > **HS**: EC *bEɣiz- 'oryx' > Sa {R} bəɣid-ā 'antelope', Af {HP} biɣid, biɣid- 'oryxes', singulative m. biɣid-da 'oryx', Sml bíɣid 'oryx', EC ⇨ EthS: Gz {L ← Ludolf} bəɣaz-ā 'kind of antelope', Amh bɣɣɣ, bɣɣɣā id.; pEC *-z-, lost in the modern LEC lges, has been preserved in EthS loanwords of EC origin; the EC stem may be derived rather than primary, sc. its vocalism may be not original ¶ L G 85, AD SF 40, PH 70, Abr. S 32, DSI 56 || **U**: FU *pāɣč∇ or *pāč∇ɣ∇ (in ObU only?) > pObU *pēčəɣ 'reindeer fawn' > pVg *pāšəɣ id. > Vg UL/Ss pāsiɣ id.; pOs *pečəɣ ({JHl.} *pāčəɣ) id. > Os: V/Vy pečəɣ, K pečə, Nz pešə, Kz pešb id. || Prm: ?amb Z *pež 'newborn reindeer' found in the cd pež-ku 'fur of newborn reindeer, пыжик' (akin to Os, unless it is a loan from it) ¶ Ht. no. 483, LG 218 ¶ Rédei (UEW 387) tried to explain the ObU word as belonging to U *poča (F N *boča '(young) deer'), which is not accurate from the phonetic point of view || ?φ A *bEy∇ 'an ungulate animal' > T *bE₁yæ ({SDM} *bEyε) 'mare' (× N *ma'ʔ'a (y∇) 'mother?') > OT, MQp XIV bē, [CC] bey, Chg ≥ XV, CrTt, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq biye, VTt biyā, Bsh bbyā, Qrg bē, StAlt b₁ē, Tlt/QK {RL} pē, Qmn/Tb {B} pē, SY pie 𐤀 pi, Qb pī, Tv b₁e, Tf be, Xk pey ~ pī, Yk bīā 'mare' ¶ Cl. 291, ET B 133-4, B DK 241, B DChT 144, Rs. W 175, Rl. IV 1743, 1790, Ra. 73, 160, ≈ Shch. SFTJ 194 (*pā 'mare') || Tg *beyūn 'wild ungulate animal' > Ewk bzyūn 'elk, reindeer', Δ bzyūn 'wild reindeer', Lm buyūn id., 'wild animal', Neg bzyūn, Orc bzyu(n-) 'elk', Ud bu(y)i 'wild animal', Ul boyo(n-) ~ buyu(n-) id., 'elk; bear', Ork biy(n-) ~ buyu(n-) 'wild reindeer; bear', Nn Nh/KU {STM} buyū ~ bzyū, Nn Bk buyu(n-) 'elk, red deer, wild game (ungulate)', Nn Nh {On.} buyū ~ bzyū 'wild ungulate animal (крупный зверь), elk, Manchurian deer (изюбр)'; Tg *beyū- v. 'hunt ungulate animals' > Ewk bzyū-, Lm buyū-, Nn bzyuntu- id., Neg bzyū-, Orc bzyumɜ- v. 'hunt elks' ¶ STM I 121-2, On. 84, 87 || pJ {S} *bí ~ *báj 'Schwein' > OJ wí, MJ wí {S, SDM} id., J T i {Kenk.} 'a wild boar; The Boar (of the twelve horary signs)', inóśíśi {Kenk.} 'wild boar' ¶ S QJ no. 794, Kenk. 567, 620 || ?φ M *bayita-sun ~ bayida-sun > WrM {MED} bayitasu, bayidasu 'a 3- to 4-year old mare which has not yet

born young', Brt байтаһа(н) 'unfruchtbare Stute', HlM {BMR, Luv.} байдас id., 'young mare', Kl {Rm.} bǎ:sŋ 'dreijährige feiste Stute, die noch nicht besungen worden ist', Ord b_āḍ_asu 'female animal which has not born young' ¶ This M word was borrowed by some Tg and T lges (cf. Pp. MLT 197, STM I 6, Rs. W 57, ET B 36-7, TL 444) ¶ MED 74, 76, Luv. 57, BMR I 216, Chr. 802, KW 40, Ms. O 59 ¶¶ SDM 335-6 (pA *béyo 'an ingulate animal' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 116 ¶¶ The A cognate is valid if under some (not yet known) conditions N *-ǰ- yields pA *-y-.