

**2452. \*wa** 'also, same' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'and') > **HS:** S \*wa 'and' > BHb -ṽwā- (before a stressed syll.) / -ṽwə- / -ṽwu-, †Ph w-, Pun w-, (LSc) U-, Y-, (GkSc) ou-, Ug w-, (AkSc) {Hnr.} wə- (?), OA w-, wʔ- ([wa]), BA, IA -ṽwə- / -ṽwu- †Sr wə-, Md u-, Ar, Gz wə-, Sb, Mn, Qt w-, Mh {Jo.} w(ə)- / əw-, Hrs w(ə)-, Jb E/C b-, Sq {Jo.} wə-, Ak u-, Eb {Krb.} ú, ù, wa † Br. G II 484-90 [§ 302], KB 247, 1699, FrdR § 257a, HJ 294-6, Hnr. 122, OLS 512-3, Deg. § 46a, Seg. AAG 234, 532, Mc. HM 450-2, BGMR 154, MA 101, Rk. 47, L G 602, Jo. M 418-9, Jo. H 133, Jo. J 286, DRS 473-80 || **IE:** NaIE {WP, Mn.} \*u 'and, but, also' > OI u ~ ū encl. 'and, also' (also in cds.: rō < 'and not' [\*na 'not' + \*u], athō 'and then, and so' [< \*atʰa 'then, so' + \*u]) || Gk -u in πᾶν-u 'altogether, entirely', {WP} 'gar sehr' (< πᾶν 'all' + -u) || ? Tc A ok {Ad.} 'again', {JGH} 'yet, still', {Wn.} 'encore' (\*u-g), B māwk, A mā ok 'not again' ] NaIE cd. \*u-te > OI utā, Av utā̃, OPrs utā 'and, also', Gk -ύτε in ἡ-ύτε 'as, like as' (ἡ 'as' + -ύτε) ] Highly problematic is the ambiguous NaIE apophonic grade \*au 'again' ({F} 'again, back [zurück]') (with a puzzling \*a for the expected \*e or \*o) > Gk αὔ 'again, afresh, once more' || Gmc: Gt auk 'then, also, but', ON auk 'also, and', Sw ooh, ock, Dn og 'and', OHG ouh, NHG auch 'also', OSx ôk, AS éac 'also'. If IE \*au meant originally 'back, away' (as suggested by BSl: Lt au-, Sl \*u- 'away'), it does not belong here (unless the meaning 'back [zurück]' is the original meaning of the N word, whence the meanings 'also' and 'and') † WP I 188, Mn. 1496, M K I 97, 101, M E I 209, ≈ FI 183, Fs. 67, Vr. 19, Ho. 82, Ho. S 57, Kb. 754, OsS 670, Schz. 231, KM 36, Wn. 329-30, JGH 30, Ad. 109, FI 183 || **K:** OG, G -ve 'also, same' (encl. pc. of identity): OG rametu xar-ve galilevel 'for thou art also a Galilæan' (Mk. 6.20), mas-ve saxlsa šena 'in the same house' (Luc. 10.7), G šen-ve 'du selbst, gerade du' † Ser. 62-3, Chx. 371 || **A:** M \*ba 'and, also, same' > MM [S] {H}, [HI] {Lew.} ba/be 'and, also', [HI] {Ms.} ba/be 'and', {Ms.} ba 'même', WrM, WrO {Krg.} ba, HIM ba, Kl b {Rm.} ba, Dg {T} ba(:) 'and, also', Brt ba 'and' † H 11, 14, Ms. H 38, 40, Lew. II 16, 18, MED 64, T DgJ 123, Krg. 322, KW 27, Chr. 71 ◇ ≈ BmK 603 (\*wa/\*wə sentence particle 'and, also, but, like, as' > IE, S, K [without distinguishing between reflexes of N \*wa 'also, same' and those of N \*ʔa'wû 'whether?', 'or']), ≠ KW 27 (M ← S??).

**2453. \*wv** 'who?' > **HS:** Ch: WCh: Hs wà 'who?' | Fy {J} wá, Bks ʔá-wá, DfB wá(-mây) id. || CCh: Mrg, Klb wà, Bu wà...ri | McMtk: Mtk ware ~ wara, pMM {Ro.} \*wa > Mada {BrrB} wwà / wwây, {Ro.} uwa,

MfG {Brr.} wā, Mf {BLB} wá, wā, as well as {Ro.}: Myn, Mlk, Mofu wáy, Hrз wíyà, Mkt, Gzg wā | Mdr wá | G'nd, Boka wùni, Gbn wùni | Gude {Hsk.} wù, {ChL} wà | Lmn wé (< \*wā) | Hide wā | Bdm (w)ōñi 'who?' || ECh: Mkl, Jg wê, Bdy wá, EDng wā, Mgm wè | Mb {J} wā | Ll wéy id. ¶ ChL, ChC, Lk. G 42, Ro. 359 [#803], BLB 376, Brr. MG II 252-3, BrrB 262, Blz. EChWL #98 || B: Zkara wi, Kb wi, wu 'who?' ¶ Dl. 848-9 || ? C: Ag: Bln {R} wu'rā 'what?', Aw {Hz.} wátay 'what?', wǎš 'where?' ¶ AD KJ 117, R BilS 691-2 || K \*wi- 'who?' > OG nom., erg. wi-n, G nom., erg. vi-n (gen. vi-s, dat. vi-s(a)) 'who?', Sv {TK} i- ɖ yi- ɖ e- (\*'who?') in the gen. form: UB i-šā, L yi-šā, Ln e-šā 'whose?' (i-šā hašwiš li? 'whose daughter is she?') ¶¶ Fn. GAS 73, Vogt GLG 41, FS K 124, FS E 135, ≈ K<sup>2</sup> 52, ≈ K 135, Mrtr. N 183, TK 311 || A: Tg \*y- 'who?', 'what?' > Ewk PT uɣun 'who?', 'what?' (of sth. unknown), Nn KU ūnɜkɜ- - interr. verb ('how to act?', 'what to do?') ¶ STM II 247 ◇ The elements \*-i- (and -i-n) in K and B may have been induced by K \*mi-n 'who?' and by N \*mi 'what?' (or go back to N \*ya 'which?', cf. Myn, Mlk, Mofu wáy, Hrз wíyà 'who?').

**2454. \*wEcû** 'fit (?), good, beautiful' > HS: S \*√wsm > Ak (w)asāmu 'be fit, be proper, be suitable', Ug ysm 'beautiful, pleasant', ysmt 'beauty', Ar √wsm G (pf. wasama, ip. yasimu) 'surpass so. in beauty', (pf. wasuma) {BK} 'être beau de visage' ¶ Sd. 1473-4, OLS 539, BK II 1537, Ln. 3054, Hv. 870, DRS 569 || IE \*wesu- / \*wēsu- / \*eys- 'good' > OI 'vasu-h̄ (f. 'vasvī-), Av vaṇhu-, vohu- 'good', OI vasīyān, Av vahyā 'better', OI vasiṣṭha-, Av vahiṣtō 'best', MPrs vēh 'better, best', NPrs ڤ beh 'good, better' || OIr feb\* {P} 'excellence, superiority (Vortrefflichkeit)', {Thr.} '(good) quality' (att. in an obl. case: feib {EI} 'in excellence') (< \*wesw-ā), febas {P} 'Vortrefflichkeit', fó 'good, goodness' (< \*wosu-), {Thr.} fíu 'worth' (< \*wēsu-), W gwych 'splendid, fine, brilliant', {YGM} gwíw 'fit', Crn gwɣw 'fit, worthy', MBr {Em.} guɣou 'gai, enjoué', Br gwiv 'vif, gai, éveillé' || OCS оуѣннѣ уѣ-иѣ ~ оуѣнѣнѣ уѣ-ѣ adj. 'better' (cmpr. of uno\* < \*ews-no-) | BSl \*wes-el- > Ltv vēsēls 'healthy, unhurt, intact' | Sl \*veselъ (jъ) > OCS весельъ veselъ, Blg 'весел, SCr vēseo, Slv vesel, Cz, Slk veselý, OP wiesioły, P wesoły, Uk ве'селий 'gay, cheerful', R ве'селый id., 'весел' is gay, cheerful' || Lw {Mlc.} wāsu- 'good' || NaIE \*eys-: Gt iusiza 'better' ¶¶ P 1174-5,

EI 235 (\*wesu- 'excellent, noble'), M K III 173-4, M E II 533-4, VI. I 282-3, Sg. 209, Horn 55, Thr. §§ 249, 911, LP§ 24.4, YGM-1 267, 274, Ern. 307, Hm. 365, Fs. 298, StSS 740, Vs. I 303, Glh. 667, BER I 136-7, Kar. II 513-, Mlc. CL 266 || U: FU \*wEć∇ 'beautiful, straight' > Prm {LG} \*veś 'straight' > Z *веськыд* *veśk+d*, Yz *veśkΛt* 'straight, truthful', Vt *veśk+t*, *veś-veś* 'slender', *veśk+tski-* v. 'straighten oneself' || ObU {Ht.} \*wīćaŋ 'beautiful' > pVg \*wīśaŋ id. > Vg: LK *wīśaŋ*, MK *wīśam*, Ss *wēśaŋ*; pOs \*wīćaŋ id. > V/Vy/Ty *wītaŋ*, D/L *wētaŋ*, Kz/O *wēśaŋ*, Nz *wēśap* ¶ LG 54, Ht. #654 ◊ ≠ Gr. II #180 (\*asu 'good') (IE + unc. A, EA).

**2454a.** \*wīć|ć∇ (or \*wEńć|ć∇?) 'whole, all' > IE: NaIE \*weis-/ \*wis- 'whole, every', (pl.) 'all' > Lt *vīsas*, Ltv *vīss*, Pru *wissa* 'whole' (pl. 'all') || SI \*vьсь 'whole' > OCS *вѣсь* *vьсь*, Blg *ce*, Slv *vēs*, SCr Δ *vās* ≈ *ves*, OCz *veš*, OP *wszy*, R *весь*, Uk *увесь* id. || ?? Ir (if from a d. \*wis-*k̑*u<sub>1</sub>wel<sub>0</sub>-?) > OI *vīśvaŋ*, Av *vīspa-*, OPrs *vīsa-*, Sgd *wysp-*, KhS *biśśa-*, MPrs Trf *vyspy* 'every, all'. The element \*-*k̑*- may be tentatively equated with -k- in OI *pinākam* 'stick', Gk *πίναξ* 'stump, stub' (← NaIE \*pin- 'Holzstück', see P 830, Eul. 171-4). Is it possible to equate the Ir stem with Lt *vīsōks*, OCS *вѣсакъ* *vьсакъ*, R *всякий*, Cz *všaký* 'all kind of'? ¶ Frn. 1264, En. 275-6, Vs. I 304-5, 364, Glh. 541, M E III 225-6, Bai. 289, ≠ P 1176 (IE \*wi-*k̑*-) || HS: NrOm: Bsk {Fl.} *wōjci*, Dk {Blz. ← Fl.} *wajuci* 'all' ¶ Fl. OWL s.v. 'all', Blz. LB #1d || U {UEW} \*weć∇ ~ \*weńć∇ 'whole, all' > Er *весе* *veše* ≈ *veši* ~ *väšiy* 'whole, every, all' || Prm {LG} \*w∇ć∇ > Vt N *voćak* 'whole, entirely' ('всё, целиком'), Z Δ *vać* 'completely, quite' || Hg *össze*, OHg, Hg Δ *összve* adv., pv. 'zusammen, aneinander, zueinander' || Sm: Ng {Ter.} *bžnsz* (pl. *bžnje*) 'whole' ('весь'), Kms *būš'a* 'heil, ganz' ¶ UEW 568, Coll. CG 68, 140, LG 4, Ter. NgJ 169, KD 12 || D (on GnD) \*vić- 'all' > Knd, Png *vizu*, Mnd *viža* 'all', Knd *vizer*, Png *vizer*, Mnd *vižar* 'all men, all people' ¶ D #5387 ◊ Since IE \*i<sub>1</sub> may go back to N \*ń, one of two alternative N reconstructions is \*wEńć|ć∇ (not accounting for D \*vić-). But if the N etymon is \*wīć|ć∇, U \*e in needs explaining ◊ The equation was first proposed by Blz. in 1989 (Blz. LB #1d); Blz. LNA #57 (Om, BSl, U, D).

**2455.** \*wac<sub>1</sub>∇, q∇ 'liquid' (esp. 'dirty\filthy liquid'), 'dirt' > HS: WS \*✓wsχ v. 'be dirty' > Ar *وسخ* ✓wsχ G (pf. *wasīḫa*, ip. *yaḡsaḫu* ~ *yaḡsaḫu* ~ *yāsaḫu*) v. 'être sale\malpropre' (of hands, body, clothes),

wasax- 'saleté, malpropreté', wasix- 'sale, malpropre, sali', Mh, Jb  
 ✓wsχ: Mh pf. a'wasχ, sbjn. ya'wasχ, Jb E pf. a'wusχ, Jb C pf. ōsχ v.  
 'dirty' (but Mh w̄sāχ, Jb E/C ws̄χ 'dirt' may go back to Ar O wī'saχ  
 id.), Tgr {d'A} ✓wsχ G (pf. w̄sχe) 'troubler, salir' ¶ BK II 1532-3,  
 Jo. M 431, Jo. J 293, LH 437, DRS 567 || IE: [1] \*w̄o(:)s-o-s, -ā, -i-s,  
 \*wes-, \*w̄ōs- 'liquid' (esp. 'dirty liquid'), 'moisture' > OI 'vasā 'liquid,  
 fluid', NPrs 𐤁𐤁 bōh 'sperm, coitus' || Um VESTICATU vestikatu  
 'libato', vesticia 'libamentum (libation)' || OFrs wase 'mire', OSx  
 waso 'sod, ooze' ({Ho.} 'Rasen, Scholle'), Dt waas 'layer of mist of  
 fine drops', AS wōs 'juice, liquour, sap', NE ooze; ? Nr vass- 'water'  
 (in cds. and ds.: vassen 'watery', vass-flo 'stream of water', Δ  
 vass-fall 'waterfall, shower', etc.) (unless a still unexplained  
 phonetic variant of watn 'water') || Ltv Δ {ME} ie-vasa 'moisture in  
 the ground, sap in trees', ??? vasa 'forest with wet ground and blue  
 clay' | Sl: Cz SEB/Mr d. {Ma.} vaskī (spelled by Ma. as vazkŭ) 'damp,  
 moist (vlhký)' || ?? Ht {Frd., Ts.} wassi 'Ingredienz; Heilmittel, Salbe'  
 (Mn. 1495 interprets this word as '[ε] ritual liquid') || [2] ⇨ NaIE  
 \*w̄osə-lo-s 'fluid' ({Mn.} 'fluid, serum') > OIr {SB} fúal (gen. fúail),  
 NIr fual 'urine', OBr [γ] di-di-oulam \* 'micturio' (unless < Clt {SB}  
 \*w̄oglo- 'urine') | ?? OIr, Ir fuil 'blood' || OHG wasal 'feuchte  
 Erdmasse', Sw vassla 'whey'; a Gmc source (OHG Δ?) ⇨ MdL [LxS]  
 {OsS} wasilus 'humor' ¶ Some of these words may result from a  
 merger with NaIE \*weis-/\*wois-/\*wis- 'liquid, swamp' (> ON veisa  
 'mud, swamp', OI vī'sam 'liquid') ¶ P 1171-2, Mn. 1495, 1525, 1582,  
 ≈ EI 639 (\*h̄wes- 'moist'), M E II 533, ≠ M K III 168-9 (treats OI 'vasā  
 as a variant of vāsā 'grease'), Vl. I 186, Bc. G 351, Thr. 171, Dnn.  
 337, 339, SB 266, Ho. 406, Ho. S 84, Kb. 1151, OsS 1102, Hlq. 1321-2,  
 Vr. 652, Ark. 983, Frn. 23 (s.v. atvašà), ME II 86, Ma. CS 557-8, Frd.  
 HW 248, Ts. W 103 ¶ If Mn.'s rec. \*w̄osəlos is valid, we have here a  
 trace of an IE lr. from N \*q || U: FU \*w̄ac̣c̣∇ 'dirt, (dirty) liquid' > Er  
 vaće, Mk vaća 'faeces, dirt' || ObU {Ht.} \*w̄řćak 'dirt' > pVg {Ht.}  
 \*w̄ăśak > Ovg: S Vt вочагъ, Tb вочахъ, S Tr воряхъ, W Sl  
 вóчaxъ, Vg: T {Mu.} ūćéχ, P {Mu.} v̄ăśéχ 'Kot', LK {Kn.} woštaxt-  
 MK w̄ăštaxt- 'sich beschmutzen'; pOs \*w̄řćak, \*w̄ăćak ({Hl.} \*w̄řćak)  
 'dirt' > Os: Cng wītəχ 'dirt', K wītəχ, Ks w̄ătəχ 'mud (няша,  
 Schlamm)'; Os: Vy w̄řćak, Nz w̄ăśləχ, Kz w̄ăśləχ, O w̄ăśləχ 'humid

(feucht)' ¶ But pLp {Lr.} \*vōh̄č̄z 'water on ice, bare ice, matter in a wound' (> Lp N {N} vuož'že, Lp L {LLO} vuodtja, etc.) hardly belongs here, it may be better equated with D \*vañt̄- 'dirty' [D #4282] ¶ UEW 557-8, Coll. 122, Ps. M 151 [#1247], Ht. #653, Stn. D 1650-1, Jv. 68 (Er ваце 'кал, шлак'), Lr. #1446, Lgc. #8719 || A: M: WrM bazimag, bazima 'sediment, drugs, residue of a liquid' ¶ MED 93 || D (in SD) \*vač̄- 'fluid; to ooze, flow, rain' (× N \*WASV 'rainy weather, rainy season') > Tm vaci 'rain, water', Kn basi, bose v. 'drip, trickle, ooze', basu 'oozing', Tu basabasa 'gushing, flowing in a stream', bassa 'overflowing' ¶ D #5214.

2456. (₂?) \*weç̄V (or \*wiç̄V?) 'to order, to require, to beg' > HS: WS \*√wçy|w > Ar وصاة waṣā-t- 'commandement, ordre', √wçy D 'léguer qch. par testament, recommander qch. en se mourant', √wçy Sh id., 'ordonner, commander', BHb 𐤒𐤃 çaw n. 'order', {KBR} 'command', √çw y v. D (pf. 𐤒𐤓𐤃 çiw'wā) 'command', SmA √çw y v. D 'command', Sb wçt 'decree, ordain', Mh {Jo.} awōṣi, Jb C ṣi 'give dying instructions'; √çw y D v. 'order', IA bçwt 'in an order, by ordering' ¶ BK II 1551-2, KB 946-8, KBR 1008-9, Tal 726, BGMR 164, Jo. M 432, Jo. J 293, DRS 592 || Eg fOK wç v. 'command, decree, commend to', wç, wç.t 'order' ¶ EGI 394-7, Fk. 73-4 || C: Ag \*çiw-/çaw- v. 'beg' ([??] × N ?φ \*ç̄'äwç̄V 'want, beg', q.v. ffd.) || ?φ K: GZ \*χw'ç̄ç̄-- > G χveç- v. 'beg', Mg, Lz χveç- id. (← G?) ¶ Chik. 427 ¶ \*χ- may be due to metanalysis of the 1 sg. form (with the pK px. \*χw- of 1s) || D (in SD) \*ve|iç̄a-, {ṬGS} \*ve|iṣa- 'command, order' > Tm viyam id., Kn besa 'performance of a prescribed act, demand, order' ¶ D #5405, GS 75-6 (on the SD neutralization of \*i and \*e before \*a of the next syll.).

2457. \*weç̄V, ?V 'go out' > HS: S \*√wç̄?, -wç̄i?- 'go out' (× WS \*√wç̄? 'blossom' < N \*wiç̄?V 'grow' [esp. of plants], q.v. ffd.) > OCn [EA] ȳi-ṣa (3s ip. G), Ph √ȳç̄? G 'go out', BHb √ȳç̄? G {KBR} id., 'come out, come forth', Ug √ȳç̄? v. 'come out', {OAS} 'salir, asomar', Amr {Krb., Frnz.} inf. wa-za-ù-um (= waṣāʔum) 'go out', Sr √ȳç̄|ȳ (pf. 𐤒𐤓𐤃 ȳi'ç̄ā) v. G 'grow', Sb, Gz √wç̄? v. 'come out, go out', Ak √wç̄? v. 'go out\away', S d. \*mawç̄aʔ- > BHb 𐤌𐤒𐤃 mō'ç̄ā 'place\act of going out, source', Ph m(w)ç̄?, Y'd 𐤌𐤒𐤃 mç̄k? (ç̄ = [χ]), IA mç̄ʔ 'rising (of the sun)', Sr (d.) maç̄ī't-ā 'growth (Wachstum), plants',

{Br.} 'crescentia, plantae', Ak mūṣū 'exit, passage, escape' ¶ KB 406, 530, KBR 425-7, BDB 422-6, HJ 465,604-5, A #1222, OLS 539-40, Br. 304-5, Lv. T I 340, Js. 583, BGMR 156, LG 606, Sd. 1475, Frnz. EL 152, 157, Jo. J 296, CAD X/2 247, DRS 595-6 || **IE:** NaIE \*wesk- v. 'go out, depart' > OI [Dhat.] vaṣk-atē id. ({MW}: vaṣk-atē is an err. spelling for vask-atē) || MHG wischen v. 'leicht und schnell sich bewegen, (ent)schlüpfen' || ĩ W {Mn. ← ?} gwesu 'to go out, to depart' ¶ Mn. 1528, 1678, MW 930, Lex. 324 || **A:** NaT \*öç- v. 'go out' (of fire, etc.), 'be extinguished' > OT {Cl.} öč- id. ([MhK] ot öčdi 'the fire went out [سَكَنَ]', erniḡ öpkäsi öčdi 'the man's anger died out [سَكَنَ]), Tkm, Qrg, ET, Ln öč-, Qzq, Qq, Tv öš-, Tf čš-, StAlt öč-, Uz č- ωč-, Xk us-, Yk ös- v. 'go out' (of fire), OT öč- {DTS} v. 'stop' (of breath) ([MhK] erniḡ tiri öčdi 'the man's breath stopped'), VTt üš- v. 'die out' (of a clan, etc.), 'be ruined' ¶ Cl. 19-20, DTS 376, ET Gl 559-60, Ra. 215, TatR 755 || **D** (in GnD) \*večč-/ \*venč- v. 'take out' > Mnd vēnč-, Kui vēsa- v. 'take out', Ku večč- v. 'take out/off' ¶ D #5523 ◇ T ö- is a regular reflex of N \*we- (cp. N \*weí∇ 'shoulder, upper part of the back' > T \*ö́'ü'n '≈ shoulder').

**2458.** \*w|ʔü|uĉ<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>ʔ∇ 'to put, to set, to lay' > **HS:** WS \*wš̄f > Ar وضع wš̄f G (ip. -wš̄af-) v. {BK} 'placer, poser, mettre', {Hv.} 'put, put down, place', Sb hš̄f inf. 'be stationed, be resident', ?σ Jb C {Jo.} 'moš̄af 'circular house; family' ¶ BK II 1554-7, Hv. 876, BGMR 157, Jo. J 296, ≈ DRS 598-9 || **K** \*oçq- (or \*çq-) > OG, G çq- 'put/set (several objects on sth.), arrange' (→ 'draw up warriors in battle array') ¶ Chx. 2204, 2227, DCh. 1700, KEGL VIII 1215-6, Abul. 555 || **D** (in GnD) \*uĉ- v. 'set, put' > Png uĉ- v. 'fix (e.g. net), set (trap), put (put on fire)', Mnd uĉ- v. 'fix (net), set (trap)' ¶ D #582 || ? **A:** Tg: Ewk PT uçuç3- v. 'lie, liegen' (of a person) ¶ STM II 297.

**2459.** \*wed∇ 'to hunt' (→ [in descendant lgs.] → '[to] wish') > **K** \*wed- 'wish, ask' > Sv wad-/wd- 'wish' (wad n. 'wish', i-wd-i 'he longs for'), Sv: UB {GP} msd. li-wd-i 'to yearn for so.\sth.', UB/L {TK} li-wd-i, Ln {TK} li-wäd-i 'to wish'; OG, G ved-r- 'ask, implore' (OG evedreboda mas 'he asked him') ¶ FS K 121, FS E 131, Fn. GAS 231, GP 151, TK 450 || **U:** FU \*weð∇ 'kill, (?) hunt' (× N \*wed∇ [or \*weʔ∇d∇?] 'push, strike, cut?') > Prm {LG} \*viy- (or \*v3y-?) 'kill' > Vt ви- vi-, Δ viy- 'kill', Z ви- vi-, Z LL, Prmk viy-, Yz vi- id. || ObU {θHl.} \*wēl- 'kill' > pVg \*ǎl- > Vg: T ǎl-, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV ǎl-, LL ǎl-

~ āl-, UL/Ss al- id.; pOs {{ǵHL}} \*wǎl- > pOs \*wel- > Os: V/Vy/O wel-, Ty/Y wǎf-, D/K/Nz wet-, Kz wef- id. | OHg ≥XIII öl- 'kill', Hg öl- 'kill, slaughter', (× Ugr \*yǎl∇- 'go') OHg ≥XII üld-, Hg üldöz- 'chase, pursue' ¶ UEW 566-7, LG 57, MF 513-4, EWU 1081, 1588, ≈ Ht. #680 (ObU \*wēl-/ \*wōl-, pOs \*wel-) || D: [1] \*vēt̥t̥- / ?φ \*vēñt̥t̥-, {An.} \*vēñt̥t̥-, {GS} \*vēnt̥t̥- 'hunt' (× N \*weñd∇ 'fight, injure, hurt') > Tm vēt̥t̥am, vēt̥t̥ai 'hunting, chase, murder', vēt̥t̥u 'hunting, hunter', MI vēt̥t̥a, Kn bēte, bēñte, Tu bēñt̥æ, bóñt̥æ, bēti, TI vēt̥a, veñt̥a 'hunting, chase', Kt veṭ, Td peṭ, Kdg boṭe, Nkr, Knd vēt̥a, Gnd veṭa & vēt̥a, Png, Mnd bēṭ, Ku bēṭa 'hunting', Klm veṭ aṭ- 'hunt'; [2] ?φ \*vēñ- / \*vēñt̥t̥- / \*vēñ- 'want, desire' (× N \*w'o'ñ∇ 'wish, love', q.v.) > Tm vēñt̥u v. 'want, desire', vēt̥t̥am 'desire, thing desired', vēt̥t̥ai 'desire, longing', veñ(t̥)um 'it will be required \ necessary', MI vēñam, vēñt̥um 'it must, ought, is desired', veñ 'necessary', Td pōṭ-. Kdg boṭ- v. 'beg', Kdg boṭñdu 'it is wanted', Kn bē(n)t̥a 'longings, sexual passion', Tu bēṭu- v. beg, ask', TI vēṭu v. 'pray, beg, wish' ¶¶ Zv. 104, D ##5527-8, GS 199-200 [#501], 60 [#172], An. SG 131-2 ◇ Fn. KD #42 (K, D).

**2460. \*wed∇** (or \*we?∇d∇?) 'push, strike, cut (with weapon)' > HS: Eg fOK wdy '(vom Ufer den Schiff) abstoßen' ¶ EG I 387 || B {ǵPr.} \*-wHi|ut > Ah ayt (Fcj. 62 = Pcj. I A 6, pf. iwǎt, frq. aggāt), Ty/Twl əwət (pf. yəwət, Pcj. I A 6), Gd {Lf.} əwət (pf. īwət) 'frapper', Mz {Dlh.} əwət id., Wrg {Dlh.} əwət, Sll {Ds.} ūt, BSn {Ds.} ūwət, Izn {Ds.} uwət, {Rn.} ewət, Rf B/A {Rn.} ewət (✓ wt) id., 'battre', Kb wət id., Tmz {MT} wət/wt/ut id., ?φ Zng {TC} ewih 'frapper' (pf. yuwah, 3 p yuwah?) ¶ Fc. 1533-8, 2005 (on Fcj. 62), GhA 203; Pr. M VI-VII 106 and GhA 247 (both on Pcj. I A 6); Dlh. M 230, Dlh. Ou 357, Rn. 284, Dl. 878-9, MT 772-4, Ds. 34, 135, Ds. B 33, 140-1, Lf. I 239 and II #689, DCTC 288, TC Z 309, TC FL 2 || Ch: Ngz wḥdú v. 'cut off, slice off' ¶ Sch. DN 164 || IE \*wedh- v. 'push, strike, destroy, slay' > OI vadh- 'strike, slay, kill', 'vadhar 'a destructive weapon', Av vadar- id., vada- 'wedge for hewing wood', vādāy° 'zurück-stoßen\dringen' || Gk Hm ἔθωυ (pl. ἔθουτες) [ΣΧ.] 'damaging, destroying, provoking', Gk [Hs.] ἔθει 'destroys, provokes', ?σ Gk ὠθέω shove, push' || OIr focb {P} 'spoils of war', {EJ} 'weapon' (< \*wodh-wō-), faisc id 'presses', MW gwascu 'press' || Lt vedegà 'adze, ice-axe', Ltv vedga 'ice-axe, crowbar', Pru wedigo 'carpenter's axe' | OCS CЪBADA SB-vada 'quarrel, strife' ||

pTc {Ad.} \*wät- > Tc: B wät- 'fight', A wac, B weta 'combat, struggle' || here Ht wezz- ~ wiwida-, if it means {EI←?} 'strike, urge' rather than {Ts.} 'sich bemühen, anstrengen' ¶¶ WP I 254-5, P 1115, and EI 471 (all of them: \*wed<sup>h</sup>- 'push, strike'), ≈ Mn. 1498, MW 916, M K III 135-6, M E II 496-7, F I 446-50 and II 1144-5, Ch. 316, Hofm. 84, Frn. 1211, En. 272, StSS 639, Wn. 541-2, Ad. 590, 608, Ts. W 107 || U: FU \*weδ▽ 'kill' (× N \*wed▽ 'to hunt', q.v. ffd.) || D (in SD) {tr., †GS} \*veṭṭ- 'cut with weapon, cut off, strike' > Tm veṭṭu 'cut with sword\axe, cut off, engrave, dig as a well', Ml veṭṭuka id., veṭṭu 'blow, strike, cut, wound', Kt veṭ n. 'cut, mark of a cut', Kn beṭṭu 'strike forcibly into, cause to enter firmly, impress, stamp, coin', Tu beṭṭu- 'cut, circumcise', ? boṭṭu- 'beat as a drum, knock as a door' ¶ D #5478 ◇ The root-medial lr. in pB (reconstructed according to Pr.'s theory) points to a pN lr., which is likely to have been \*? (the only N lr. liable to leave no traces [such as lengthening of vowels] in NaIE). But if the form of the verb in B may be explained without postulating a lr. (⇔ Pr.), the N etymon is \*wed▽ ◇ IS SS #3.23 and IS MS 262 (\*wed<sup>h</sup> 'cut [with weapon]' > IE, D).

**2461.** \*w<sup>h</sup>ṽd<sub>1</sub>ṽ<sub>1</sub>ṽ 'walk, go, set out for' > HS: B \*w<sup>h</sup>lydH 'go' (× N \*ṽ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>h</sup>dU 'go' × N \*yäd<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup> or \*yadā 'go') > Sll {Ds.} əddu ~ ədzu (3m pf. idza) 'go', n. act. tawada 'going, to go', Tmz {MT} ddu (3m pf. dda) 'go, go away', Izd {Mrc.} ddu (pf. idda), Kb {DI.} ddu (3m pf. yədda), BSlh/BMs {Ds.} əddu (3m pf. idda) 'walk, go', SrSn {Rn.} addu, SrSn Gz ip. tudu 'go', BMs əddu (pf. idda) 'walk', Awj {Prd.} əadd (3m pf. ya<sup>h</sup>əadd, ya<sup>h</sup>idda) 'go' (with a puzzling ṽ), Zng {TV} pf. yidde 'aller' ¶ Ds. 13, MT 750, DI. 126-7, Rn. 305, Ds. B 10, 212, Prd. 159, Mrc. 18, 162, TC Z 306 || ?? WS \*w<sup>h</sup>ṽd<sub>1</sub>ṽ > Ar w<sup>h</sup>ṽd<sub>1</sub> G (pf. waduṽa) 'partir pour un voyage', †Jb C {Jo.} w<sup>h</sup>ṽd<sub>1</sub>ṽ (pf. oḍa/, sbjn. 'y-ḍdaṽ) 'see so. off' ¶ BK II 1509, Jo. J 286, DRS 502-3 || IE: NaIE \*wad<sup>h</sup>- (or \*wad<sup>h</sup>-/\*wād<sup>h</sup>-) 'walk, wade' > L vād-ō, -ēre 'go' {{EI}: with new long grade), vadum 'shallow ford in a river\sea', vād-ō, -āre v. 'wade' || Gmc: ON vaða 'to wade, to advance', Dn vade, NNR, Sw vada, Nr va<sup>h</sup> vade, OHG watan, NHG waten 'to wade', AS wadan id., 'to walk, to stride', NE v. wade; Gmc \*waða n. 'ford' > OHG wat id., NHG Watt 'sandbank, shallows', AS wæd 'ford; water, sea', ON vað 'ford, shallow (place)' ¶ WP I 217, P 1109, EI 625 (\*wad<sup>h</sup>- 'wade'), WH II 723-4, Vr. 637, Kb. 1152, OsS 1103, Ho 378, Sw. 198, KM 841 || K: GZ \*wed-/ \*wid- 'go, walk' ([?] × N \*ṽ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>h</sup>dU 'go') > OG w<sup>h</sup>ved-/wid-, G ved-/vid-, Mg, Lz id-



'go, walk' ¶ K 84, K<sup>2</sup> 51, FS K 121-2, FS E 130-1, Chik. 273 || A: M \* $\text{u}_{\text{L}}\text{d}$ - 'go, depart, set out for' (× N \* $\text{r}'\text{o}'\text{dU}$  'go' [q.v. ffd.] × N \* $\text{q}'\text{A}'\text{d}_{\text{L}}\nabla_{\text{L}}\text{r}'\text{o}'$  'to step, to walk') ◇ In the HS cognate the lr. follows \*d, while in the IE  $\sqrt{\text{}}$  (if it is \* $\text{w}\text{ad}^{\text{h}}\text{-}$ /\* $\text{w}\bar{\text{a}}\text{d}^{\text{h}}\text{-}$ ) it precedes N \*d. It is not clear which variant of the N word is ancient and which results from mt.

**2462. \*wedhA** 'to cause to go (to drive, to lead)' > HS: WS \* $\sqrt{\text{w}}\text{dh}$  > Ar  $\sqrt{\text{w}}\text{dh}$  (ip.  $\text{yadihu}$ ) 'éloigner qn. et l'empêcher de se livrer à qch.'; Mh {Jo.}  $\sqrt{\text{w}}\text{dy}$  (pf.  $\text{aw}\bar{\text{o}}\text{di}$ ) 'take away', Jb E {Jo.}  $\sqrt{\text{w}}\text{dy}$  (pf.  $\bar{\text{o}}\text{di}$ ), Jb ( $\Delta?$ ) {Jo. H}  $\text{wudi}$  id., Mh S {Jo.}  $\text{aw}\bar{\text{o}}\text{di}$  'bring', ? Hrs {Jo.}  $\sqrt{\text{w}}\text{dy}$  (pf.  $\text{aw}\bar{\text{e}}\text{d}$ , subj.  $\text{yaw}\bar{\text{e}}\text{d}$ ) 'turn away' ¶ In SES the intervoc. \*-h- is likely to have been lost ¶ BK II 1513, Jo. M 421, Jo. H 124 || EC: Sml  $\text{wad-}$  {DSI} 'lead, guide, direct, drive (conduire, guidare, dirigere)', {ZMO} vt. 'move; drive; conduct, lead', Sml N {Abr.}  $\text{wad-}$  'drive', Rn {PG}  $\text{weya}$  or  $\text{woya}$  'drive (animals), lead' || Dhl {EEN, E}  $\text{wad}_{\text{L}}\text{-}$ ,  $\text{wada}_{\text{L}}\text{-}$ , {To.}  $\text{wad-}$  'carry' || SC: Kz {E}  $\text{walit-}$  v. 'wear', Asa {E}  $\text{wades-}$  v. 'lift, carry' ¶ Abr. S 246, DSI 602, PG 293, E SC 311, EEN 43. To. D 149 || mt.: B {ṢPr.} \* $\sqrt{\text{w}}\text{ht}$  vt. 'drive, chase' > Ah {Fc.}  $\text{awt}$ , Ty/ETwl  $\text{aw}\bar{\text{a}}\text{t}$  'drive (domestic animals)' ('conduire en poussant devant soi [des animaux]'), 3m aor. Ah i- $\text{w}\bar{\text{a}}\text{t}$ , ETwl i- $\text{w}\bar{\text{b}}\text{t}$ , Ty  $\text{y}\bar{\text{a}}\text{-w}\bar{\text{b}}\text{t}$  (Fcj. 62 = Pcj I A 6); coalesced with B \* $\sqrt{\text{w}}\text{ht}$  'beat, strike', whence Kb  $\text{aw}_{\text{L}}\text{i lmal}$  'chase away the cattle!' ('fait sortir les bêtes!') is interpreted as 'beat the cattle away!' ¶ Fc. 1533, 2005, Pr. M VI-VII 106, GhA 203, 246-7, Dl. 878-9 || IE \* $\text{wed}^{\text{h}}\text{H}_{\text{L}}\text{-}$  > NaIE \* $\text{wed}^{\text{h}}\text{-}$  v. 'lead' (with loss of \* $\text{a}$  [< \*H] in the prevoc. position) > Iir \* $\text{wad}^{\text{h}}\text{-}$  v. 'lead, lead a woman into one's house' > Av  $\text{vabayeiti}$  'leads',  $\text{upa-vabayeiti}$  'gives a woman in marriage', Yzg  $\text{wab-}$  'marry', d. OI  $\text{va'dhu-h}$  'bride, young wife', Av  $\text{va}\check{\text{d}}\bar{\text{u}}$ - 'wife, woman', Sgd  $\text{wdw}$  'wife', Psh  $\text{wal-war}$  'bride-price' || AS  $\text{weddian}$  'marry', NE  $\text{wed}$  || OIr  $\text{fedid}$  '(he) leads, carries, brings', W  $\text{arweddu}$  'to lead, to bear', W  $\text{dy-weddio}$  'to betroth' || BSl: Lt  $\text{vedu}$  (inf.  $\text{v}\grave{\text{e}}\text{sti}$ ), Ltv  $\text{vedu} \sim \text{vedu}$  (inf.  $\text{vest}$ ) 'I lead, guide', 'I marry (a girl)', Pru  $\text{west}$  'führen' || Sl inf. \* $\text{vesti}$  / 1s pres. \* $\text{ved-q}$  'lead' > OCS  $\text{вѣстн}$   $\text{vesti}$  /  $\text{вѣдѣ}$   $\text{ved-q}$ , Cz  $\text{vésti}$  /  $\text{vedu}$ , Slk  $\text{viest'}$  /  $\text{vediem}$ , P  $\text{wieść}$  /  $\text{wiodę}$ , R, Uk  $\text{вєсти}$  /  $\text{вєду}$  id., Blg  $\text{вєда}$  'I lead';  $\rightarrow$  iter.: Sl \* $\text{vod} \acute{\text{i}}\text{ti}$  / \* $\text{vodj}\acute{\text{o}}$  iter. '(use to) lead' > OCS  $\text{водити}$   $\text{voditi}$  /  $\text{вождѣ}$   $\text{vožd-q}$ , Cz  $\text{voditi}$ , Slk  $\text{vodit'}$ , P  $\text{wodzić}$ , SCr  $\text{vòditi}$ , R  $\text{водитъ}$  /  $\text{вожу}$  id., Blg 'водя 'I (use to) lead' | P adduces here NaIE {P} \* $\text{wed-mno-}$  'dowry' (in his interpretation 'bride-price') >

Gk Hm ἕδνα pl., Gk A pl. ἕδνα, sg. ἕδνον 'bride-price, nuptial gifts', AS wituma, wetma, OHG widamo 'dowry (Brautgabe, Mitgift)', NHG Wittum 'dowry, widow's jointure'. If this derived word does belong here (which is doubtful), its \*d for the expected \*d<sup>h</sup> may be due either to as. (caused by the adjacent plain voiced \*m) or to contamination with a different √ 𐌆𐌆 Not here (⇔ EI) Ht huet- / hut(t)- / hu(i)ttiya- 'draw, pull, pluck, drag' (see Pv. III 343-52) 𐌆𐌆 WP I 255ff., P 1115-6, ≈ EI 346 and 369 (\*h<sub>2</sub>wed(H)- 'lead, take a wife'; unj. adduction of Ht and rec. of \*h<sub>2</sub>-); M K III 136-7, M E II 497-8, F I 442-3, Thr. § 177, YGM-1 32, 205, Frn. 1231-2, En. 273, KM 865, Vs. I 284, Glh. 677-8, Chn. I 146, BER I 126, Schz. 321, Kb. 1188, OsS 1137, KM 865, Ho. 401 || U: FU \*wetä- 'lead, pull, draw' > Vp {ZM} veda- 'drag; lead (so.)', kăžipolíš veda- 'lead so. arm-in-arm with him', F vetä-, Es veda- 'pull, draw, haul, drag' || pMr {Ker.} \*veťa-/\*vítä- ({Ker.}: < ppMr \*vīdä-) > Er ветя-мс veťa-ms, {W} veda-ms, Er Kz {Ps.} vítu-ms, Mk вятя-мс vätä-ms, {Ps.} vätä-ms ≈ vāda-ms 'to lead' || pChr {Ber.} \*wiðb- v. 'lead' > Chr: H wiðe- (inf. видаш 'wiðaš, {Ep.} 'wiðäš), L wüðe- (inf. вүдаш wü'ðaš), Uf/B wüðe- id. || OHg XII-XIV vezet- 'accompany, lead', Hg vezet- v. 'lead, guide, conduct', OHg ≥XIV, Hg vezér 'leader, chief(tain)' || ? Y: Y T {Ku.} use- 'carry/take away (отвезти, отнести)', Y T/K {Jc.} 'uše- 'lead, carry' 𐌆𐌆 Coll. 67, UEW 569-70, It. #343, Sm. 551 (FU, Ugr \*wetä-, FP \*vetä- 'pull'), SK 1719-21, ZM 621, ERV 129, PI 61-2, Ber. 89, Ker. II 188, MRS 65, 85, Ep. 12, Ü 35, MF 690, EWU 1631, Ku. 289, Ang. 248 || ?φ A: T \*īð- 'send (sth.)', (→) 'allow to go, release' > OT {Cl.} īð- 'send, allow to go, release', XwT XIV ið- ~ iy-, MQp [CC] XIV 1-/iy-, Qrg, Alt iy-, Xk ыс- is- 'send', Kr, QrB iy-, Tv it-, Yk it-, Chv яр- yar- 'send, allow to go' 𐌆 Cl. 37-8, Rs. W 164, ET GI 332-3, Md. 82, 165 || M d. \*udur<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>(d)- > MM udurid- [HI] {Ms.} 'guide, lead', [S] {H} v. 'lead', WrM udurid-, HIM удирда-х 'lead, guide, direct', WrO {Krg.} udurid- 'lead, guide, conduct', Brt ударида-, Kl † удрд-х удърдъхъ 'direct, lead (руководить, вести за собой)', ? Kl {Rm.} udṛ tata-χα 'anführen, leiten', Ord {Ms.} ud\_uri-, ud\_urid- 'be the first to do sth., take the initiative, begin, make preparations for', ud\_uril 'enterprise, initiative', Mnr H {SM} d\_uru- 'lead, guide, indicate', {T} duru- 'lead, show the way', Dx {T} uduru- v. 'guide, be so.'s guide' 𐌆 H 159, Ms. H 105, MED 862, Chr. 463, KRS 528-9, Krg. 168-9, KW 446, SM 67, T 332, T DnJ 136, Ms.

O 723 ¶¶ ≈ SDM97 (A \*ūd<sup>r</sup>u<sup>1</sup>; incl. T, M), ≈ DQA #678 (T \*īδ- < pA iūdu 'lead, direct') ◇ FU \*-t- < \*-th- by as. from N \*-dh-. In A there is compensatory lengthening of the vw. (due to the loss of the N lr. [or of \*w-?]) ◇ The A cognate is legitimate if N \*we- may yield a T word-initial \*ī- and a M initial \*u- ◇ ≈ IS MS 333 (\*wētā 'lead': IE, ?A, U), ≈ UEW 569 (U, IE).

**2463.** \*w<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>g<sub>1</sub>ŕ<sub>1</sub>ê 'carry, take (somewhere)' > IE: NaIE \*weg<sup>h</sup>- v. 'carry, convey', \*wog<sup>h</sup>o-s 'way' > OI 'vahati 'drives, transports, rides, draws (a car), leads', Av vaz-aiti 'goes in vehicle (fährt)', MPrs vazītan 'dahinfahren', KhS bayš- v. 'move, run, ride, ride in vehicle' || Gk P Fεχέτω 'he should bring', Gk Cp aor. ἔ-φεξε 'er brachte dar', Gk A ὄχος 'anything which bears, carriage' || L veh-ō, ěre / pfc. vĕxī / sup. vĕctum 'carry, convey' || OIr féin, W gwain 'e vehicle', cy-wain 'fahren', Brtt ↳ L co-vinnus 'war-chariot of the ancient Britons and Belgæ' ({WH}: < \*ko-weg<sup>h</sup>-nos) || Gt ga-wigan, OHG (gi-)wegan vt. 'to move, to shake'; Gt wagjan id., af-wagjan 'to shift, to remove', ON vega vt. 'schwingen, heben', OHG weggen vt. 'to move, to shake', AS wezan vt. 'to move, to bring, to lead'; OHG wagan 'cart', AS wæzn 'vehicle', ON vagn id., 'sledge'; Gmc {Zlz.} \*weg-a-z ~ \*weg-u-z 'way' > Gt wig-s, ON veg-r, OHG, OSx weg, NHG Weg, AS wez 'way', NE way || Lt vĕžti (1s prs. vĕžū) v. 'convey', Ltv vīzināt v. 'take (out) for a drive' || Sl \*vez- > OCS ВЕСТИ vesti (1s prs. ВЕЗѢ vezq) v. 'to convey\transport in a vehicle\ship', R вез'ти / ве'зу, P wieść / wiozę, Cz vézti / vezu v. 'convey \ transport', Blg ве'за 'I convey, transport'; iter. R во'зить, SCr vōziti, P wozić 'to convey, to transport' || pAl {O} \*weza > Al vjedh (aor. vodha) 'steal' || pTc {Ad.} \*wäkne > Tc: A wäkñ (pl. wäkñant), B yäkne 'way, manner' ¶ WP I 249-51, P 1118-20, EI 91 (\*weg<sup>h</sup>- 'bear, carry'), M K III 177-9, M E II 535-7, Bai. 270, F II 457-8, WH I 282 and II 742-3, EM 717, LP § 17, Zlz. M II #29.41, Fs. 212, 541, 563, Vr. 639, 650, Kb. 1130, 1157-8, OsS 1074-5, 1109-10, Schz. 306, 313, Ho. 380, 388, Frn. 1236, SJSS 183, Vs. I 286, Chr. I 138, BER I 129, O 510, Ad. 481-2 || **U** \*wiŕe > FU \*wiŕe v. 'take sth. somewhere, carry' > F vie v. 'take, bring, carry', Es vii- v. 'bring' || pLp {Lr.} \*vikz- v. 'carry\transport (away, from one place to another)' > Lp: Klt {Lr. < ?} viikkâd, Kld {SaR} выгкэ id., {TI} v+jk:ãð, T {TI} v+jk:ëð 'führen' || pMr {Ker.} \*vīŕa- > \*viŕa- > Er Δ {ERV} вие-

мс *v*iyе-мс 'отвезти', v. 'drive/convey so. to some place', {Jv.} *вие-*  
 мс ~ *вии-*мс ~ *вию-*мс 'отнести', v. 'carry sth. to some place', Mk  
 {PI} *ви-* *v*i-n, Δ *víyā-* v. 'accompany so., send back sth. (with\through  
 so.)' || pPrm {LG} \**vayâ-* v. 'bring' > OPrm *ωay-*, Z *vay-*, Vt *vay+n+* id.  
 (in the light of OPrm *ω-* is it preferable to reconstruct pPrm \**vay-*?) ||  
 ObU {Ht.} \**wī-/wīy-~wīy-* v. 'take' > pVg \**wī-/wīx-/wēy-* (= {HL.} \**wēy-*, {Ht.} \**wāy-*) > Vg: T *ü-* / \**üy-* / *üw-*, LK/MK/UK *wi-/wiç-/wäy-*, P *wi-/wü-/wiy-/wüy-/wäy-*, NV *wü-/wāy-*, SV/LL *ü-/üy-/wāy-*, UL/Ss *wi-/wiç-/woy-* id.; pOs \**wē-/wēy-* ({HL.} \**wī-/wīy-*) > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/K *wē-/wēy-*, Mz/Kz *wū-*, O *wu-/wuy-* 'take' || Hg *viv-/vi-/visz-*, Hg Δ *vays-*, *vēs-*, *vüs-* v. 'carry, lead', Hg *vëv-/vë-/vësz-* v. 'take, take away, buy', *visel-* v. 'carry, lead' || pY {IN} \**weyē-* vt. 'lead' > YK {IN} *egē-* 'lead by the hand', T {IN} *wegē-* id., {Ku.} *wegī-* 'lead after oneself', 'lead an animal (by the rein, etc.)' ¶¶ Coll. 125 (\**wexē ~ wixē*), It. #405, 265-6, UEW 573 (\**wixē*), Sm. 551 (FU \**wixi-*, FP \**vixi-*, Ugr \**wīgī-* 'take'), Lr. #1384, TI 752, IG 47, Ht. #651, MF 687-8, SaR 65, ERV 134, Jv. 91, PI 55-6, Ker. II 190 (Mr \**vīxā-* > \**vīyā-*, misinterpreted as 'wegnehmen'), IN 249-50, Ku. 46-7 ¶¶ The change FU \**-ī-* > Prm \**a* is still to be explained (It. 265-6: "a < vorperm. \**ī*. Könnte man sich die Entwicklung \**-īy-* > \**-īj-* > \**-ej-* > \**-äj-* > \**-aj-* vorstellen?") || HS: ECh: ? Nd D {J} \**úgéy* v. 'bring' || WCh: Gmy {Kr.} *wòkám* 'road', Tng {J} *ùkò*, {ChC} *wókò* 'way, path, road' ¶ J T 127, ChC s.v. 'road' and 'bring' || Eg G *ωζζ.τ* 'way', Eg fMK *ωζζ* v. 'go, set out, proceed' ('sich begeben, gehen') ¶ EG I 403-4, Fk. 75 || ?σ,φ EC {Ss.} \**yug-* v. 'pull off\out' > Kns {BISO} *yuk-* v. 'pull off, pull thread off spool', Gdl {Bl.} *yuk-* v. 'take, unhang (sth. fastened)', Dbs, Gln *yuk-* 'herausziehen' ¶ Ss. PEC 43, AMS 192, 228, BISO 220, Bl. G 131 ◇ IS SS 334 [#6.20] (IE, U), IS MS 351 s. v. нести \**wegn* (IE, U; \**÷* Tg \**e<sup>1</sup>gä* v. 'carry, drag' [with a query]). In fact, the Tg *√* in question is \**e<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>e-* (> Ewk PT *зwə-* ~ *əžз-* v. 'carry on one's back to another place', Orc *зwugi-* v. 'bring', F STM II 436), and it is hardly a cognate of IE \**weg<sup>h</sup>-* and FU \**wixē-* ◇ Cf. Gr. II #57 (\**wek* 'carry') (IE, U, A + Ai).

**2464. \*wākīê** (= \**wākīê*?) 'strong, vigorous; strength' > HS: S \**√wkī* > Ar *√wkī* 'be strong (robuste)' (a horse), 'be fast\firm' (thing) ¶ BK II 1597, Hv. 891 || IE: NaIE \**weg-* 'strong, vigorous' (→ 'awake'), \**wogō-*s 'strength', \**wegē-* 'be strong' > OI *vāja-h* 'contest (Wettkampf), victory', Av *vazišta-* 'am besten mit Kraft versehen' || L

vege-ō / vegē-re 'stir up, quicken', vegētus 'lively, vigorous, fresh', vīgil 'wakeful, watchful' || Gt ga-wak-nan, ON vakna, AS wæcnan vi. 'to awake'; Gt wakan, OSx wakōn 'to be awake', OHG wāhhēn vi. 'to wake, to wake up (wachen, er-über-wachen)', NHG wachen 'to be awake, to be on guard, to keep watch', AS wæccān 'wachen', NE watch; ON vakinn 'awake'; AS wacian 'to be awake', NE wake; caus.: Gt us-wakjan 'to awaken from sleep', ON vekja, OSx wēkkjan, OHG, NHG wecken, AS wēccān vt. 'to wake' ¶ WP I 248-9, P 1117-8, E 550, M K III 182, M E II 540-1, WH II 741, 788, Fs. 209, 536, 547-8, Kb. 1133, 1164, OsS 1079, KM 828, 842, Vr. 639, 652, Ho. 378, 387, Ho. S 62, 85 || U: FU \*wāke 'strength, power' > F vāki (gen. vāern) id., 'people, men', Es vāgi 'might, strength, force' || pLp {Lr.} \*vēkz {AD} 'strength, might' > K {Gn.} vīgg, Kld {SaR} вīгк id., 'force', Lp: L {LLO} viehka, N {N} viekkâ 'rather large\strong', adv. 'fairly, rather' || Er vīy, Mk vī 'strength, power, might' || Chr: L вий wīy, B wīy, H ви vī id. || Prm \*vīy- 'strength' (homonymous with \*vīy- 'joint, Gelenk' of uncertain origin) > Z I/Sk/Ss/Ud yz-z-vī, Z LV yz-z-vīy 'strength' (yz-z 'people, men' and 'joint, articulation [of a limb]'), Vt kať-vī 'strength, power' (kať id.) || ObU {Hl.} \*wēy, {Ht.} \*wēy 'strength' > pVg {Ht.} \*wāy > OVg Tr/Tb ва, OVg N Chd ца (Cyrillic script), Vg: T wāw, LK/MK/UK/NV wī, LL wī, UL/Ss wāy id.; pOs {Ht.} \*wōy > Os: V/Vy wōy, Ty wōy, Y wōw, D/K wey, O wey id. || ?? Sm: Ne {Lh.} β+k'a 'Kraft' ¶¶ Coll. 123-4, UEW 563, It. #277, Sm. 551 (FU \*wāki, FP \*vāki, Ugr \*wākī 'power'), Lr. #1396, Lgc. #8518:6, SaR 42, LLO 1398, N III 77, MRS 65, Ep. 12, ≈ LG 55, SZ 141-2, U ZS 178, Ht. #672, ≠ MF 681-2, Jk. rColl. 52, Lh. JVD 161 || A: NaT \*bek 'firm, solid, stable' > OT {Cl., MKD} bāk id., XwT xiv bek čok 'very much', xiv bek 'firmly', OOSm ≥xv pek 'firm, solid, violent', Tkm bek, ET bāk 'firm, solid, stable', Qmq bek 'firm, solid; very', Tk pek 'hard, firm', QrB, Qrg bek 'firm', Qzq, Qq, Nog bek, VTt, Bsh бик bik 'very', Alt бек, Tf bék', Xk пик pik 'firm, solid', Yk bigä id. ¶ Cl. 323, Rs. W 68, ET B 117-20, Ra. 161, BIG 149 || M \*beki 'strong, firm, solid; robust, vigorous, durable' > WrM beki, HIM бэx, Brt бэхи id., WrO beki ~ begi 'firm, strong', Kl Ö {Rm.} bekä 'stark, fest', MM [MA] {Pp.} d. beki- v. 'strengthen' ¶ MED 96, Krg. 342, Pp. MA 116, Chr. 134, KW 41 || pKo {S} \*pə|k|h 'very' > NKo p'hə|k 'very, very much' ¶¶ SDM97 (A \*ba|ek'i 'firm, hard, very'), Rm. SKE 213, Rm. EAS I 57, 145, MLC 1743 ◇ The narrowing of a vw. in

T (or in pA?) (N \*ä > T \*e [and pA \*e?]) is still to be explained ◇ N \*-kʰ- (= probably \*-kʰ-) is evidenced by S and A (A \*-kʰ- < N \*-kʰ- [= \*-kʰ-?]) ◇ IS MS 367 (N \*wäke 'strong' > IE, U), UEW 563 (U, T, M) ◇ Gr. II #369 (\*bek 'strong') (IE, U + err. A, Ko + qu. Gil).

**2465.** \*wak<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>χa (= \*wak<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>ha?) or \*wak<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>fa 'to shout' > IE (mt.) \*we|ahg-/\*wHg- > NaIE \*wāg- / ? \*wag- 'shout, cry' > L vāgī-ō / vāgī-re 'cry, whimper as a child', vāgor (gen. vāgōr-is) 'the crying of young children, the bleating of kids' || Lt vógrauti 'to whimper, to shout', {Nsl.} vógra, Lt Δ vōgras n. 'a whimpering person (child)' ¶ But OI fVd vāg'nu-ḥm. 'cry, call, roar, sound (esp. of animals)' and Vd vāgvā'nu- 'sound, noise' are likely to belong not here (because of a), but rather to IE \*wek<sup>w</sup>- (see N \*w'a'kō 'to call') ¶ WP I 214-5, P 1110, WH II 723-4, Frn. 1271, M K III 123, M E II 488, Ped. IH 57-8 (heteroclis: nom. \*wāg-u / gen. \*wag-'n-es), cp. EI 89 (\*s)weh<sub>g</sub>h- '≈ cry out; resound' || HS: S: [1] WS \*✓wkḥ (~ S \*°✓wkʰ?) > Gz ✓wkḥ v. D 'clamour, boast', Sb {Mü.} wkḥy-n '(?) altercation, dispute', ? BHb ✓wkḥ Sh (ip. ḥ'ḥ'ḥ' ḡō'kīāḥ) 'rebuke, call to account, judge', JEA ✓wkḥ Sh (pf. ḥ'ḥ'ḥ' ḡō'kīāḥ) {Sl.} 'decide, establish; admonish' ({Lv.} 'zurectweisen'), JA [Trg.] {Js.} אָוֹתָא וְכֹחַ אֲרָאָהּ ~ אָוֹתָא וְכֹחַ אֲרָאָהּ 'reproof', ({Lv.} 'Zurechtweisen') (× \*✓wkḥ 'argue, strife'), Ar ✓wkʰ G {Hv.} 'reprehend so. on' (ʿ for the inherited \*ḥ may be accounted for by contamination with \*✓wkʰ 'strike', hence the meaning {BK} 'réduire qn. au silence par une forte reprimande'); [2] S \*°✓wkʰ > Ar \*✓wkʰ TD (V form) 'pousser des cris dans la douleur de la parturition' (female camel) (? for \*ḥ or \*ʿ due to onomatopoeia?) ¶ BK II 1594, 1597, Hv. 891, LG 612, Mü. ÄMSW 284, KB 391-2, Js. 25, Lv. I 502-3, Lv. T I 14, Sl. 534, DRS 538 || C: Ag \*wak- 'shout' > □Xm {R} wāχ- 'schreien, mitlauter Stimme rufen, lärmern' ¶ R Ch 110 || U: FU \*°wak∇ 'call' (× N \*w'a'kō id. [q.v. ffd.]) > ObU {Ht.} \*wāχ- 'call (rufen)' > pVg \*wāχ- > Vg: LK/P wōw-/wōw-, MK wōχ-/wōw-, NV/LL wōw-, SV wōχ-/wōχ-, Ss wōw- 'call (звать), ask for'; pOs {Ht.} \*wāχ- id. > Os: V wāχ-, Ty wāχ- id., Vy wāχ-, Y wāχ-, D/K/O wāχ-, Nz/Kz wāχ- 'call (звать)' ¶ Ht. #673, Trj. S 507, BV 23 || D (in SD) \*vak-, {ʕGS} \*vag- v. 'sound, cry' > Tm vakuḥi, vakuḥi n. 'sound', Kn baguḥ(u), baguḥu v. 'bark, cry out', baggu 'crying', Tu baguḥu-, baguḥu- v. 'bark, clamour' ¶ D #5204 ◇ The loss of the lr. in Bj suggests that it was N \*ḥ or \*ʿ rather than \*χ or \*χ. S \*ḥ

suggests the N Ir. \***h**. But if the N Ir. was \***ɣ**, S \***h** in \* $\sqrt{\text{wk}h}$  may be due to as. (\***kɣ** > \***kʰ**).

**2466.** (<sub>2</sub>?) \***w<sup>ra</sup>ʰkʷo** (or \***wæʰkʷo**, \***wokʷo**) 'to call' > IE: NaIE \***wek<sup>w</sup>**- (prs. \***wok<sup>w</sup>-ti**) 'speak' (possibly with infl. of IE \***Hw<sup>w</sup>ek<sup>w</sup>**- < N \***ʰokʷo** 'to call out, to speak [solemnly]; incantations'), 'call' > OI **vak-ti** (pp. **uk'ta-**), **vivak-ti** 'says, speaks', Av **vak-** (pp. **ũxta-**) 'speak'; ? (with as. \***kn** > \***gn** and infl. of NaIE \***wāg-** / ? \***wəg-** 'shout, cry' < N \***wak<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>ʰa** or \***wak<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>ʰa** 'to shout?') OI fVd **vag<sup>l</sup>nu-h<sup>m</sup>** 'cry, call, roar, sound (esp. of animals)' and Vd **vagva<sup>l</sup>nu-** 'sound, noise' ||| Arm **գոչեմ** *goč<sup>h</sup>em* v. 'cry, exclaim, call' ||| Gk **εἶπον**, Gk Ls **Ἔειπην** aor. 'spoke' ||| L d. **voc-ō**, **vocā-re** 'call, summon' ||| Pru **wackītwei** 'locken', **wackis** 'Geschrei', **enwackēmai** 'wir rufen an', {E} 'we invoke' ||| NaIE d. \***wek<sup>w</sup>os-** 'speech' > OI **vacas-**, Av **vačah-** 'speech, word' ||| Gk **ἔπος** 'word, a saying, speech', Gk Ae/Cp **Ἔπος** 'word' ||| NaIE d. \***wōk<sup>w</sup>-(s)** 'voice' > OI nom. **vāk** / obl. **vāc-** 'voice, speech, word', Av nom. **vāx-š** / accus. **vāč-əm** id. ||| L **vōx** / gen. **vōc-is** 'voice, cry, call' ||| Gk **ῥψ\*** 'voice' (Gk Hm **ῥπ-α** accus., **ῥπ-ός** gen.) ||| pTc {Ad.} \***wek** > Tc: A **wak**, B **wek** id., 'noise' ||| NaIE d. \***wok<sup>w</sup>-tlo-m** > OIr {P} **foccul** 'word', ?σ W **gwaethl** 'strife, battle' ||| other ds.: OHG **gi-wahan** (p. **giwuoc** ~ **giwuag**) {Kb.} 'erwähnen, erzählen, sagen, erinnern', **giwahanen** 'to mention, to remember', NHG **erwähnen**, Dt **gewagen**, **gewag** **maken** 'to mention'; ON **vátta** 'to testify', **váttr** 'testimony' (< Gmc \***waxta-**z); Gmc \***woxm**, {Ho.} \***wōhm-** > ON **ómun** 'voice', AS **wōm(a)** 'noise' ¶¶ The adduction of Ht **huek-** 'conjure, treat by incantation' (as in P 1136) is convincingly rejected by Puhvel (Pv. III 323-7); on Ht **huek-** see N \***ʰokʷo** '↑' ¶¶ WP II 245-6, P 1135-6, EI 534-5, M K III 123-6, 180, 221, M E II 488-94, 539-40, Brl. 1340-2, Vr. 419, 648, Vr. N 203, KM 174, YGM-1 253, Ho. 405, Kb. 1132, OsS 276, 1075, En. 169, 270, Slt. 382, F I 464, 545 and II 458, WH II 823-5, Wn. 541, Ad. 607, Ad. H 37-9, Ts. E I 255-7 ||| HS: Ch: ECh: Smr {J} **wògè** 'call', Ndam D {J} **wuga**, Tmk {Cp.} **wèg** id., Mkl {J} **wâké** 'appeler, nommer' ¶ ChL, ChC, J LM 183 ||| ? U: FU \***wak<sub>l</sub>∇** 'call' (× N \***wak<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>ʰa** or \***wak<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>ʰa** 'to shout' [q.v. ffd.]) ||| ? A: ? T \***mākIr-** 'shout, bellow' (× N \***m<sup>ra</sup>ʰl<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>ʰk<sub>l</sub>∇** 'cry, shout', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Cf. also SD \***vak-** v. 'sound, cry' (D #5204), which is more likely to belong to N \***wak<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>ʰa** or \***wak<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>ʰa** '↑' ◇ If

FU \*wak $\nabla$  and/or \*mākIR- belong here, the N vw. of the first syll. is \*a, otherwise it may be \*a, \*ä, \*e, or \*o.

**2467. \*wik<sup>r</sup>a'** 'back part, behind, backwards' > IE: NaIE \*weik<sub>l</sub>- (~ \*weig<sub>l</sub>-??) 'yield, give way, draw back' (contamination with homonymous roots for 'move', 'tremble', etc.) > Gk εἶκω / aor. ἔ- (F)ελξε 'yield, give way, draw back' ||| OI vi'jatē 'starts back, recoils, flees from' ||| Gmc \*wīk- 'give way, give in' > OSx wīkan 'to yield, to give in, to give way', AS wīcan 'to give way, to collapse', {EI} 'to yield, to give ground', OHG wīhhan, NHG weichen id., 'to give in', ON vikja, vikva, úkva id. ¶ ≈ WP I 233-5, ≈ P 1130-1, ≈σEI 607 (\*weig<sub>l</sub>/k- 'turn, yield'), ≈σ 63 (? \*weik<sub>l</sub>- 'bend a pliable object'), 607, ≈ Vr. 663, Kb. 1196, OsS 1154, ≈ KM 845, Ho. 392, Ho. S 87, ≈ Vr. 663 (all of them do not distinguish this √ from IE \*weik<sub>l</sub>/g- 'bend, swing'), F I 454 (a justified comparison between Gk, OI, and Gmc), ≈ M K III 204-5 and M E II 577-8 (no distinction between vi'jatē 'flees' and vi'jatē 'heaves' of different origin), MW 959 ¶ The variant \*weig<sub>l</sub>- may be due to contamination with other roots ||| **K:** OG, G uku 'behind, backwards', uku- px. 'backwards', OG uku-ani 'behind', uku-mart 'backwards' ¶ Chx. 1397-9, Ser. 157-8, DCh. 1251-5 ||| **A:** M \*böke 'back, backside' > WrO {Krg.} böq 'rear, torso, rump, posterior, buttocks', Kl βεκ böka 'backside of the knuckle-bone (serving as dice)', {Rm.} bökö 'der Rücken, die Rückenseite des Spielknochens', Brt βγχθ 'back part of the body', ?σ WrM {Bb.} böke 'the frame of a plough'; M ⇨ Qzq {RI.} bügö 'die Stelle des Knochens (beim Spiel) mit der Rückseite nach oben'; M \*böksen 'backside, rear, buttocks' > MM [MA] {Pp.} bökse 'buttocks', WrM bögsen, HIM βεργ 'backside, posterior part, rear; rump, buttocks', Ord {Ms.} bög<sub>l</sub>sö 'buttocks, vulva', WrO {Krg.} böqsö 'backside, rump', Kl βεργ bögās 'rear, backside' ¶ KW 55 (equates Kl bökö with WrM böke '?'), MED 126, Bb. 475, Pp. MA 123, Ms. O 85, Krg. 359, KRS 113, RI. IV 1881 ◇ The labialization N \*i > M \*ö (due to the ass. infl. of N \*w [> M \*b-]) is still to be investigated.

**2468. \*woy<sup>r</sup>k $\nabla$**  'straight, even, fit' > IE: NaIE \*weik<sub>l</sub>- 'true, resembling (like truth), fit' > Gk A εἰκόγ, Gk I οἰκόγ adj. 'like truth, likely', n. 'likelihood', Gk ἔοικα (pfc. with prs. sense) 'be like', Gk Hm εἶκε ipf. 'it was opportune', Gk (F)εἰκελος, (F)ἴκελος adj. 'like', Gk A εἰκάζω (ἔ-Flκάζω) 'represent by an image, portray', Gk A εἰκών, Gk Cp Flεκόνα accus. 'image, picture' ||| Lt vỹk-ti 'to be a success, to happen, to occur', i-vỹk-ti 'to come true; to happen, to occur', Ltv vīkt



'gedeihen, vorstatten gehen',  $v\grave{e}ikt$  'to manage, to carry out',  $v\grave{e}ikties$  'to succeed (in), to do well' (a merger with the  $\sqrt{\text{}}$  of Lt  $v\grave{a}ik\acute{y}ti$  'to chase, to hunt',  $v\grave{e}ikti$  'to do, to act, to have an effect?'), ? Lt  $pav\acute{e}ikslas$  'image, picture, example' (unless from  $*pav\acute{e}izd-klas$  < IE  $w\acute{e}j\grave{d}-/*w\acute{i}d-$  'see', as supposed by Bg. and Frk.) || AS  $w\grave{i}z\sim w\grave{i}h\sim w\acute{e}oh$  'image, idol' ¶ WPI 237, P 1129,  $\approx$ σ EI 25 ( $*w\acute{e}j\grave{k}-$  'appear [whether the appearance is into the speaker's sphere of reference or another's]), F I 452-3, 530, Frn. 556, 1181, 1213-4, 1250, Bg. rHerm. 470 (= Bg. RR III 704) || K: OG, G  $v\grave{a}qe$  'smooth, even',  $v\grave{a}q\text{-}$  'make\be smooth\even' ¶ Chx. 360-1, NCh. 213 || U: FU (att. in FV)  $*w\acute{o}yke$  'straight' > F  $\omicron ike\alpha$  'right, just, correst',  $\omicron iko-$  'get right, rectify, straighten' | pLp {Lr.}  $*v\acute{o}y\kappa\acute{z}$  'straight, right' > Lp: N {N}  $v\upsilon\omicron i'g\hat{a}d$  'right, reasonable; straightforward',  $v\upsilon\omicron i'g\hat{a}$  adv. 'really, straight, truly', K {Gn.}  $v\acute{u}y:g$ , Kld {SaR}  $v\acute{u}j\acute{h}k$  adj. 'straight, even' | preMr {Ker.}  $*v\acute{i}y\acute{x}\acute{a}-d\acute{a}-$  > pMr {Ker.}  $*v\acute{i}y\acute{a}d\acute{a}-$  > Er  $v\acute{i}de$   $v\acute{i}de$ ,  $\Delta v\acute{i}y\acute{e}de$ , Mk  $v\acute{i}d\acute{y}\acute{a}$  'v\acute{i}d\acute{a} adj. 'straight', n. 'truth', Er  $v\acute{i}t\acute{y}$   $v\acute{i}t$ ,  $\Delta v\acute{i}y\acute{e}t$ , Mk  $v\acute{i}di$  'v\acute{i}d\acute{i} 'right (dexter)' | pChr  $*w\acute{i}ya-$  > Chr: H  $v\acute{i}\acute{a}k\acute{a}$   $w\acute{i}(y)\acute{a}k\acute{a}$  'straight',  $v\acute{i}\acute{a}n\acute{a}w$   $w\acute{i}(y)\acute{a}n\acute{a}w$ , B  $w\acute{i}y\acute{ne}$ - 'become straight'; {Ber.}  $*w\acute{i}ya-ks-$  > Chr: L  $v\acute{i}y\acute{a}w$   $w\acute{i}y\acute{a}w$ , YO/V  $w\acute{i}y\acute{a}k\acute{s}$ , Ch  $w\acute{i}y\acute{a}k\acute{s}$ , B  $w\acute{i}y\acute{a}w$ , H  $v\acute{i}\acute{a}w$   $v\acute{i}(y)\acute{a}w$  'straight' ¶ Coll. 103, UEW 824-5, SK 421-2, Lr. #1424, Lgc. #8735, SaR 54-5, Ker. II 190-1, ERV 132, 137-8, PI 54-5, Ber. 86, MRS 69, Ep. 12 ◊ IS MsN s.v.  $*w\acute{o}y\kappa\acute{h}$  'straight' (IE, U).

**2469.**  $*w\acute{a}l\acute{v}$  'be strong, be able' > IE: NaIE  $*w\acute{a}l-$  id., 'rule over' > L  $v\acute{a}l-e\acute{o}$  /  $v\acute{a}lor$  'τιμή, value', Osc {Pln.}  $F\acute{\alpha}le$  'valens' or 'validus' (?) || Clt: OIr {P}  $f\acute{a}l-n-$ ,  $f\acute{o}l-n-$  'herrschen', {P}  $f\acute{a}l\acute{i}th$  'Herrschaft', {SB} 'Herrscher', OW  $g\acute{u}alart$ , W  $g\acute{w}aladr$  'lord, ruler, prince', W  $g\acute{w}lad$  {E} 'rulership', OCrn  $g\acute{u}lat$ , MBr  $g\acute{lo}at$  'country, land', Br  $g\acute{lad}$  id., 'kingdom (heaven)', 'property' || Gt  $w\acute{a}ldan$  'ἀρκεῖν, to suffice', ON  $v\acute{a}lda$ , OSx  $gi-w\acute{a}ldon$ , OHG  $w\acute{a}ltan$ , NHG  $w\acute{a}lten$  'to rule, to have control over, to govern', AS  $w\acute{e}aldan$  id., 'to possess', NE  $w\acute{i}eld$ ; ON  $v\acute{e}ldi$  'power, Macht' (<  $*w\acute{o}l\acute{t}iyom$ ); ON  $v\acute{a}ld$  'Macht, Gewalt', OFrs  $w\acute{e}ld$ , OHG  $w\acute{a}lt$  {Kb.} 'force, power, law',  $giw\acute{a}lt$ , MHG (ge) $w\acute{a}lt$  'Gewalt, Macht, Herrschaft', NHG  $Gewalt$  'power, authority, violence', AS  $z\acute{e}w\acute{e}ald$  'power' || BSI (+ext.): Lt  $v\acute{a}ld\acute{y}-ti$  'to rule, to govern, to own', Ltv  $v\acute{a}ld\acute{i}t$  'to govern, to rule, to reign'; Lt  $v\acute{e}ld\acute{e}ti$  (1s prs.  $v\acute{e}ldu$ ,  $v\acute{e}ld\acute{z}iu$ ) 'to own, to rule, to take possession, to inherit', Pru  $w\acute{a}ld\acute{u}ns$  nom. sg. {En.} 'mantinieks

(legatee)' or 'Erbteil', *weldūnai* nom. pl., *weldīsnan* accus. sg. 'heritage' | Sl inf. \**volsti* (< \**vold-ti*)/ 1s prs. \**vold-q* 'own, rule over' > OCS **ВЛАСТИ** *vlasti* (1s prs. **ВЛАДѢ** *vladq*), OCz *vlasti* (prs. *vladu*) 'to own, rule over'; Sl \**voldě-ti* 'to own' > OCS **ВЛАДѢТИ** *vladě-ti*, OR **ВОЛОДѢТИ** *volodě-ti*, R **Δ** *володеть*, Uk *володіти* id., Blg *в владея* 'I rule over, own'; Sl \**volda-ti* 'to own' > OCS **ВЛАДАТИ** *vlada-ti*, Cz cd. *o-vládati* id., SCr, Slv *vládati* 'to govern, to rule, to reign', P *władać* 'to make use of, to handle, to manage, to wield', Blg *владам* 'I rule over, own'; Sl \**volstь* (< \**vold-ть*) 'power (dominium)' > OCS **ВЛАСТЬ** *vlastь* '(political) power, power of the strong person; owned region' (↳ R *власть* 'political power'), OR **ВОЛОСТЬ** *volostь* 'region, country, power', R *волость* 'volost (small rural district)', Blg *власт* 'political power', SCr *vlast* 'power, might, rule', Slv *lást* 'property, possession', Cz *vlast*, Slk *vlast'* 'one's native country', P *włóśc* 'landed property, estate'; ? OCS **ВЛАТЬ** *vlatь* 'gigas' || pTc {Ad.} \**wālo* (obl. \**lānt*) (< \**wl-ānt* 'the ruling one') > Tc A *wäl*, B *walo*, A/B obl. *lānt* 'king', B *walo* 'king'; pTc \**wlāw-* > Tc A/B *wlāw-* v. 'control' || Ht {Ts.} *walliwalli-* 'stark, kräftig', *walliwallai-* 'kräftigen' ¶¶ WPI 539, P 1111-2, EI 490, WH II 727-8, Pln. II 710, SB 262, LP §§ 136.1, 299, YGM-1 254, 267, Hm. 315, Fs. 548, Kb. 385, 1139, OsS 276, 1084, KM 835-6, Ho. 385, Vr. 640-1, 653, Frn. 1188-9, 1217-8, En. 270, 272, Vs. I 340-1, 344, BER 160-1, 163, Ma. CS 569-70, Glh. 674-5, StSS 118, Me. DIE 22 (Sl \**vold-* ÷ Gmc \**wald-* rather than Sl ← Gmc), Wn. 554-5, Ad. 581-2, 617, Ts. W 100 || **D** \**val*/\**vall-* 'strong' > Tm *val* 'strong, hard, forceful', *vallam*, *valam* 'strength', *vallu* 'be able', Ml *val*, *valu* 'strong, powerful, great', Kt *val* 'powerful, very, right', Kn *bal* v. 'grow strong/firm', *bal(u)* 'strength, firmness', Kdg *bala* 'power, strength', Tu *bala* 'strength', Tl *valanu* 'skill, excellence', Prj *vela key* 'right hand', Gdb *valan* 'thick, stout', Gnd *wallē* 'much, very'; (× D \**va*]- < N \***WA**la [or \***wu**o]a?) 'big, large, multitude', q.v.): Mlt *balehne* 'large', *balebale* 'large ones', Brh *balun* 'big, large, elder' ¶¶ D #5276, Zv. 156 [#225] || **HS** (with an ext.): C \**✓włq̄* > EC: Sd {Gs.} *wolqa*, {Hd.} *wolqá* ~ *walqá* 'strength, power', {C} *wolqā* 'strong'; HEC ↳ Gf {Mrn.} *wolqa* 'strength, power' ¶ Gs. 348, Hd. 400-1, C SE II 252, Mrn. S s.v. *wolqa*, Mrn. O s.v. *wolqa* || **A**: M \**buli-* 'be superior in strength, overcome, be victorious' > Brt *були-* id., (× M \**buliya-*

'take away by force, seize' < N \*<sup>h</sup>u<sup>h</sup>w<sup>h</sup>A<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>i<sup>h</sup>y<sup>h</sup>∇ 'draw, pull [out, off]', q.v.): MM [S] {H} buli- 'conquer, rob, take away by force', WrM buli-, HIM були- 'overcome, conquer, take by force, be superior in strength', Mnr H {SM} b<sub>u</sub>li- 'enlever de force, piller, ravir' ¶ Chr. 111, MED 134, H 22, SM 33 ◇ The vw. \*u in M \*buli- is to be attributed to the ass. infl. of N \*w- or M \*b- (on M \*bu- < N \*wa- see Introduction, § 2.4) ◇ BmK #487 (IE, D).

**2470. \*wA|a** (or \*wu|o|a?) 'big, large; multitude' > HS: CCh: Msg {Mch.} wēl, Mlw {Trn.} wèl, Mbara {TrnSL} wàlá 'old' | Bu {ChL} ?<sup>w</sup>zla 'large', Mrg {Hf.} ?<sup>w</sup>á| 'great' ¶ ChL II 55 [#281], Hf. GML 26, ChC, Trn. MVM 287, TrnSL 300 || ?σ C: Ag: Aw {Hz.} wullá, {CR} wul'lā, Dmt {CR} wullā 'all' ¶ AD SF 190 || ?σ SOm: Hm {Bnd. ← Fl., Ld.}, Hm K {Bnd.} (w)ul(1), Hm B {Bnd.} wū| 'all' ¶ Bnd. AL 144, AD SF 190 || IE: NaIE \*wel- 'many, much, amount' > Gk: I ἔλλη (< \*Fελν-), A ἔλλη (ī-), D ἔλλᾱ (ī-) (< \*Fελλᾱ) 'a crowd, troop of men', Hm/A ἔλλις adv. 'in crowds, in plenty' ||| SI \*velb(-jъ) 'big, great' > OCS, OR **вєлнн** velii, Blg 'вели, SCr vĕljī, OCz velí id., Cz vele, Slk velo, HLs wjele 'very'; SI \*velb-mi 'very' (← instr. pl. of \*velb) > OCS, OR **вєльми** vel'mi, R † вельми, Cz velmi, Slk vel'mi, P wielmi id.; SI \*velikъ(-jъ) 'big, great' > OCS **вєлнкъ** velikъ, Blg ве'лик, SCr vèlik, Slv vèlik, Cz vel(i)ký, Slk veliký, vel'ký, P wielki id., R, Uk ве'ликий 'great', R ве'лик 'is large\big' ||| ? W gwala 'amount, sufficiency, enough', MBr {LP} gwalc'h (not mentioned in Ern.), Br gwalc'h 'satiety, sufficiency', Br a-walc'h 'enough', gwalc'hañ 'to sate, to satisfy' ||| ?? Tc A wäl, B walo 'king' (but more probably from IE \*wal- 'be strong, rule over' < N \*wal∇ 'be strong, be able', q.v.) ¶ ≈ P 1138, LS 828 (ī- in ἔλλη, ἔλλᾱ), Ch. 462-3, ≈ F I 74, 722, Vs. I 288-9, Glh. 665-6, BER I 131-2, LP § 37.3, YGM-1 254, Hm. 56, 344, Wn. 554-5 ||| **U** \*wu]∇ 'big, much, many' > Lp: L ǎllō id., N {N} q'l'lo ~ q'llo ~ q'lo 'much, many' ||| Os: N {KrT} wъ| 'big, older', O {Stn.} wul, Pt {Stn.} u] 'крупный, groß' || Sm: Ne: T нцли" 'quite, very', T O {Lh.} ηυί| id. ¶ Coll. 44, UEW 543-4 (does not take into account Os and reconstructs U \*u|∇), Stn. D 1586, KrT I 222, Ter. 403, Lh. 43 ||| **A** \*u|o|∇ 'big, many' > M \*olan 'much, many, numerous' > MM [IM] {Pp.} olan, [MA, HI, S] olon id., WrM olan, HIM, Brt олон id., 'multitude', Ord {Ms.} olon, Kl олн, {Rm.} олн, Mnr M {T} олон 'much, many, numerous', Mnr H {T} олуон id., {SM} олуон id., 'very', Mnr H {T}, Ba {T} олон, Dx {T} олон 'much, many' ¶

Ms. H 81, Pp. MA 264-5, 443, H 123, MED 607-8, Ms. O 510, KRS 395, KW 285, Chr. 354, SM 298, T 354, T BJ 145, T DnJ 131 || T: NaT d. \*uluḡ 'big, great' (× A \*p'u|E 'large' < ? N \*palyû 'much, superfluous') > OT, OOsM XIV uluḡ, XwT XIII ulu(ḡ), MQp XIII ulū, XIV [CC] ulu, Chg XV, ET uluḡ ~ uluq, SY, Ln, Xk, Tv, Tf uluḡ, Tkm, Slr ul| 'large, big, great', Tk ulu, Ggz, CrTt, Kr Cr ulu, Yk ulū id., VTt олпы ълъ, Bsh оло ълъ 'large, big; old, grown up' (of a person), Az ulu 'big, great, ancient', Uz uluḡ, Qzq җлы ъли, Qq ull|, Alt ulu, Uz uluḡ 'great', Qrg ulū 'great, elder', † uluq 'chief, ruler', Yk ulū 'large, great' ¶ Cl. 136, ET Gl 593-5, Rs. W 513, Sht. 289, Jud. 803-4, MM 488, KrkR 67, Nj. 134, BT 167, Ra. 237 ¶¶ S AJ 286, ≈ DQA #2517 (A \*ulu|o 'big, many; good'; incl. T, M) || D {tr., †GS} \*va| - 'multitude; (?) big' > Tm valaḡkam 'large family', Kn baḡaga 'mass, multitude, assemblage, troop, the family circle', Tu baḡaga 'quantity, heap, multitude', Krg ba| 'clan', Tl balāgamu 'retinue, party, circle of friends and relatives'; (× N \*wa|∇ 'be strong, be able' [q.v.]?): Gdb valan 'thick, stout', Mlt balehne 'large', balebale 'large ones', Brh balun 'big, large, elder' ¶¶ Tm -l- for the expected -l̄- is puzzling (infl. of the reflex of N \*wa|∇ '↑?') ¶¶ D #5308 and (merger of roots) D #5276 ¶¶ D \*va| - 'strong, hard' (D #5276) hardly belongs here (≠φ,σ) (⇔ IS MS) ◇ IS MS 331 s.v. \*ωολη 'большой' (IE, A, U, D, HS), Glh. 665-6 (IE, U, D, A, Mrg ?wal + err. Eg wr) ◇ The U and A data suggest a N rounded vw., but if this vw. in U and A is due to the infl. of N \*w-, we prefer to reconstruct N \*A (on the ev. of D); on M \*o- < N \*wa- see Introduction, § 2.4 ◇ ≠ Blz. LNA #22 (semantically unjustified equation of U and A with IE \*o| - 'all').

2471. \*w'i|∇ 'exchange', 'value' > U: Y T wa|e 'price, compensation, bride-price' ¶ Ku. 41 || D {tr., †GS} \*vil 'sell; price' > Tm vil 'sell, be sold', vilai 'selling, price', Ml vilā 'sale, price', Td pil 'price', Kt bil, bili v. 'sell, buy', bili, bele 'price, cost', Kdg bele 'cost', Tu bilæ, belæ 'price, value, worth', Tl viluva, vela id., 'cost', vil(u)cu v. 'sell, buy' ¶¶ D #5421 || HS: S (with an ext.) \*o√w|t̄ > Gz √w|t̄ D 'change, exchange' ¶ L G 614, DRS 550-1.

2472. \*wo|g|∇ (or \*wo|g|∇?) 'stay, be' > HS: S \*o√w|γ| > Gz √w|l (pf. wafala ~ wafila, juss. yafal) v. 'spend the day, remain, stay', Tgr, Tgy √w|l G v. 'spend the day' ¶ L G 602-3 || B \*√w|H (prm. \*w|∇H) v. 'be' (× N \*h|L'U' 'stand, be, exist', q.v.) > ETwl/Ty {GhA} inv. ъllu (3 m pf. ETwl illa, Ty yalla), Ah inv. əll (pf. illa) 'be' (Fcj. 11, Pcj.

I A 9), Kb {Dl.}, Wrg/Mz {Dlh.} ili (pf. yalla), Gh {Nh.}, BSn {Ds.}, Si {La.}, Gd {Lf.} ili (pf. illa), SrSn, Izn, Tmz ili 'be' ¶ Pr. M VI-VII 119, Fc. 971, 2000 (on Fcj. 11), GhA 109, 246-7 (on Pcj. A I 9), Dl. 439, Dlh. Ou 161, Dlh. M 101, Ds. B 123, MT 362-3, La. S 66, Lf. II #0853 || C: EC \*ʔōl- (~ \*wōl-?) v. 'stay' > LEC {Bl.} \*ōl- {AD} v. 'stay, spend the day' > Or {Grg.} ōl- id., Kns ōl- 'spend the day', Gdl ōl-aḏ- v. ben. 'be late', Sml prs. āl 'I stay', p. īl 'I stayed', ōl 'did not stay', Arr ʔell- / ip. ʔall- 'stand' | Brj wōl-ʔ- md. 'pass the time, stay', ? Hd wul- v. 'stand' ¶ Bl. 112, 150, Ss. PEC 51, Ss. B 188, Grg. 306, Hw. A 267-9 ¶¶ Coh. EC #196, L G 602-3., L ECDG 243 || U: FU \*wōle- v. 'be, become' > Er уле- ule-, Mk уле- ulə- id. | F, Es ole- v. 'be' | Chr L/E ula-, H ъла- id. | Prm \*vūl- / \*vōl- v. 'be, exist': \*vūl- > Z выл-ōм v+l-3m 'existence', Vt G {Wc.} vīlī- v. 'be, be there', Vt Sr v+l-, Vt Kz v3l- id., 'exist', Vt улыны-вылыны, Z овны-вывны 'to be, to be once upon a time' (Z олісны-вылісны 'there were once upon a time' [in fairy tales], олōны-вылōны оһнōдз 'they live upon this very day [они живут-поживают до сих пор]) (ов-, ол- means 'live'), Z Vish/EV vūl- 'be, be once upon a time'; Prm \*vōl- v. (in the past tense) 'be' > Z вōлі v3li, Yz vōli 'was', Vt вал val 'was' (a < \*o due to \*l) || ObU {Ht.} \*wōl- v. 'be, live' > pVg \*āl- > Vg: T āl-/al-, LK ūl-/ul-, ōl-, MK/NV/SV/LL/UL ōl-, P ōl-/ol-, Ss ōl- id.; pOs \*wōl- > Os: V/Vy wāl-, Ty/Y wāḏ-/wōḏ-, D/K/Nz ut-, Kz wōḏ-, O ol- id. | Hg vol-/val-/vagy- 'be' ¶ Coll. 103, UEW 580-1, Sm. 551 (FU \*wā/oli-, P \*voli-, Ugr \*wālī- 'be'), Ker. II 175, Ht. #681, MF 669-71, LG 67, 71-2, TmK 485 || A \*bōl- ~ \*ōl- > T \*bōl- (~ \*ōl-) v. 'become, be': \*bōl- > OT, Chg, MQp, Tkm, Qmq, Qrg, Qzq, Qq, ET bōl-, Xk pōl-, Chv L пул- pul-, Alt, Tv b\_ol-, Tf b\_ol-, Uz bωl-, VTt, Bsh buḏ-, SY pōl-, Yk buōl- 'be, become', XwT, Nog bōl- v. 'be'; NaT \*ōl- 'be, become' > Osm ol-, Tk ol-, Tk W ōl- 'be, become', Az, Ggz, CrTt {Rl.} ol- id., Uz Δ {Jud.} ol- 'be'; acc. to Mel.'s hyp. (Mel. xl-xli), supported by other scholars (including Cl. and the authors of ET), the original T form is \*bōl-, with the loss of the initial \*b- (through the stage of \*w) in Og and Uz Δ ¶ Cl. 331-2, ET B 185-8, Rl. I 1080-3, Ra. 163, Jeg. 164, Fed. I 442-3, Md. 39; the length of the vw. is suggested by Yk and Tk W; the short o in Tkm needs explaining || M \*bōl- (~ \*ōl-) 'become, be' > MM [S, MA, IM, PP, IsV] bōl-, WrM bōl-, HIM боло-, Kl бол-, Ord b\_ol-, Dg, Mgl bōl-, Mnr bōli ~ ōli-, Dx wolu- ~ polu- id. ¶ Pp. IM 99, MED 114, KRS 107-8, Rm. M

20, SM 27, 296, T 318, T DnJ 114 || pJ \*bǝr- 'be' > OJ wǝr-, J T/K/Kg ǝr- ¶ S QJ #250, Mr. 742 ¶¶ DQA #196 (A \*bǝlǝ-e 'be'), ≈ #1595 (A \*ǝlu 'be, become; come', incl. T \*ǝl-), S AJ 284 || **D** (in SD) \*u]- v. 'be, have' > Tm u]-, Kn u]-/ǝ]- id., MI u]- v. 'be there, exist', Kt ǝ]- v. 'exist, be (in a place)', Kdg u]]- v. 'be, be in a place, have', Tu u]]]- v. 'be, exist, have' ¶ D #697 ◇ D \*-]- (for the expected \*-l-) may go back to pre-D \*-ǝ- in a detrired stem with \*-ǝ- from \*\*-l-ǝ- (or may be due to the presence of a lr.?). SD \*u- may be explained by a kind of positional neutralization of the opposition \*ǝ ↔ \*u in SD or by the assimilatory infl. of N \*w-. An alt hypothesis (supposing that D \*] goes back to N \*]) does not explain U \*-l- ◇ IS MS 332 (\*wǝǝlǝ > A, U, ?D, HS).

**2473. \*waHlǝ** 'cry, speak' > IE: NaIE \*ǝwǝ|ǝ|ǝ]- ≈ id. > BSl: Sl \*volati > P wǝłǝć 'to cry, to call', Cz volat(i) 'to clamour', (za-)volat(i) 'to call (to so.)' || Lt {Ma. ← ?} valiuǝti 'to sing' (of mowers when mowing hey), Ltv valǝda 'language, speech' | ?φ NrGmc: ON vǝla, NNr vaala 'jammern', ON vǝla 'jammern, klagen', Sw Δ vǝla 'schreien, blöken', Dn Δ vǝlle 'schreien'; NrGmc ↪ ME weile, wailen 'wail', NE wail ¶ Not here ON vǝlvǝ 'prophetess, sibyl' (adduced by Mn. and BmK) ← 'Stabträgerin' ← vǝlr 'runder Stab' ¶ Ma. CS 572, Brü. 630, Kar. II 478-9, ME IV 461-2, ≠ Mn. 1488, Vr. 640, 671, ≠ BmK #488 (+ err. ON vǝlvǝ, Gk ἄλαζών 'vagabond, false pretender', ἄλαζονικός 'boastful', and ἄλαζονεύομαι 'make false pretensions' [in fact from the Thracian tribal name Ἀλαζώνες], see Vr. 673-4, F I 61, Ch. I 53) || **HS: B** \*waHl 'word(s), language, way of speaking' > Ah {Fc.} ǝ-wǝl, ETwl, Ty, Gh, BSn, Izd, Izn, Kb a-wal, Gd {Lf., CM} awal (pl. {CM} iwǝllǝn), Sll {Ds.} a-wǝl (pl. iwǝliwǝn), Tmz awal (pl. iwǝliwǝn), Nf {La.} a-wǝl id., Skn {Srn.} a'wǝl n. act. 'speaking'; ↪ B {ǝPr.} \*si-Hwǝl caus. (Fcj. 155, Pcj. I A 4) 'speak, produce sounds' (metathesis \*√Hwǝl < \*√wǝl) > Ah siwǝl, ETwl, Ty šiwǝl, BSn {Ds.} Si {La.}, Skn {Srn.} sīwǝl, Sll {Ds.} sawǝl ~ sawǝl, Tmz siwǝl, Zng {TC} šīwǝiy 'parler' ¶ Fc. 1877-80, 2014 (on Fcj. 155), GhA 197, Ds. 212, Ds B 263-4, Dl. 862, La. S 262, MT 759, Lf. II #1667, CM 145, Pr. M VI-VII 100-2 (on Pcj. I A 4), DCTC 291 || Ch {Stl.} \*waHal- {Stl.} 'weep, cry', {AD} 'produce vocal sounds, weep, cry' > WCh: Hs há-wǝyè 'tears' (ha- is a px. for body parts) || pAG \*wǝl 'weep, cry' > Ang, Mpn {Frz.} wǝl, Cp wǝl 'weep, cry', Su {J} wǝl 'tönen, erschallen, klingen', wǝl mǝp 'wail, weep' || NrBc {Stl.} \*war- (< \*waHl-) > Jmb wara, Cg wure 'weep, cry' || Ech {Stl.} \*ǝal-/ǝil- id.

(loss of the initial syll.) > Li ile, Mkl ʔōle / \*īlé id., EDng ále {ChC} id., {Fd.} 'emit sounds, weep', 'cry' (of animals), Mu {Lk.} íléli 'tears', Skr {Nc.} āleṽāle 'weep', ólū 'funeral song' ¶ Stl. IF 142, Hf. AG #228, J S 86, ChC, ChL, Lk. ZSS 30, 37, Fd. 19 || C: Bj {R} wālik- scv. 'rufen, schreien' ¶ R WbD 238 || ??? o†S: ʌ CS \*✓w|w| > Ar ✓w|w| (pf. walwala) 'wail, shriek' (woman), 'howl' (wolf), Sr {PS} ʌ, o†walwalt-ā 'ululatus', BHb לַלְיָא 'lālēl, הַלְיָא 'hālā' lā n. act. 'howling' ¶ BK II 1605-6, Hv. 892-4, PS 1063, DRS 542-4, BDB 410, LH 428 || U \*wal|a > FU (att. in FV) \*wal|a 'word' > F vala, Krl A vala 'oath, vow' | pLp {Lr.} \*vōlē 'song; conjure' > Lp S {Hs.} vuōlie 'Lappish song', Lp L {LLO} vuollē «ein Jojker» (lappischer Melodiensatz, F jojku), N {N} d. vuollo- '(noisily expressed) delight', Lp Pa {TI} vūšl'ēd 'jemandem übles wünschen oder vorhersagen (im Denken\Sprechen, bes. die Zauberer)' | Er, Mk val 'word' || pY {IN} \*walmə 'shaman' > Y T {IN} wōlmə, {Ku.} волмэ, K almə id.; OY K {Bil.} alma id. ¶¶ UEW 812, SK 1614, Lr. #1432, Lgc. #8769, Hs. 1457, LLO 1445, TI 787, IN 249 (Y T walmə [misprint for wōlmə]), 295 || D \*val- 'say, speak, produce sounds by voice' > Tm vali v. 'say, tell, narrate', n. 'sound', Krg valli v. 'bark', Gnd Nr vallih- c. 'call, invite' ¶¶ D #5283 | ??? D \*va]-, \*va]ava]- 'babble, be talkative, noisy' (an ideophonic stem which may have developed on the basis of \*val- 'say, speak') > Tm va]ava]a 'be talkative \ wordy, babble', Ml ʌ va]ava]ā 'sound of babbling', Tu ba]akæ 'boasting', Tl ʌ va]avāli 'noise, fuss, hubbub' ¶¶ D #5310 ◇ ≈ BmK #488 (\*wal- / \*wəl- > IE, D, Ar ✓w|w|).

2474. ? (₂?) \*weH|yL∇ (or \*weLH∇?) (= \*weH|yL∇ - \*weLH₁∇?) ≈ hip, waist' > HS: B: Sll a-wlāl 'groin (aine)' ¶ Ds. 12 || A: T {ADb.} \*bēlk 'waist' (× N \*beLk∇g∇ 'belly, waist' [q.v. ffd.] × N \*P\_e]ʔê - \*P\_e]ʔê 'side of body, side') > NaT \*bēl, Chv пилёк pīl'bk 'waist' || ?σ IE: ȷ Ht {Frd.} walla 'Schenkel, (?) Bein' (not mentioned in Ts. W) ¶ The cognate is valid only if Frd.'s interpretation of the word is right ¶ Frd. HW 242 ◇ A preconsonantic T \*l may go back to any N lateral cns. ◇ If Ht walla belongs here, the N etymon is \*weH|yL∇ or \*weLH₁∇.

2475. \*waLɿæ 'wish, require' > HS: S \*°✓w|ɿ > Ar ✓w|ɿ (pf. waliɿa, ip. -wlaɿ-) {Hv.} 'be fond of, covet', {BK} 'être avide de, convoiter' ¶ BK II 1604, Hv. 893 || IE \*welh̄- > NaIE \*wel|a]- / wle(i)- v. 'want, choose', n. \*w|ti-s 'wish' > L vol-ō, inf. velle v. 'want' || OI ✓var-: prs. vṛṇī'tē, vṛṇāti, vṛṇōti, vṛṇutē 'choses, prefers,

wishes, loves', Av  $\vartheta ar$ - v. 'choose, want' ||| Gt  $\omega iljan$ , ON  $\vartheta ilja$ , OFrs  $\omega illa$ , OSx  $\omega illian$ ,  $\omega ellian$ , AS  $\omega illan$ , OHG  $\omega ellen$ , NHG  $\omega ollen$  'to want', 3s prs (being transformed into p./prs.): Gt  $\omega ili$ , ON  $\vartheta ill$ ,  $\vartheta il$ , OFrs, OSx, OHG  $\omega ili$ , NHG  $\omega ill$  'he wants', NE  $\omega ill$  v. (and analytical marker of ft.); ON  $\vartheta il$ , AS  $\omega ill$  n. 'wish, desire'; Gt  $\omega ilja$ , ON  $\vartheta ili$ , OSx  $\omega illio$ , OHG  $\omega illo$ , NHG  $\omega ille$ , OFrs, AS  $\omega illa$  n. 'will', NE  $\omega ill$  n. ||| ? Gk D  $\lambda \tilde{\omega}$  (2s  $\lambda \tilde{\eta} \varsigma$ , 3s  $\lambda \tilde{\eta}$ ) 'wish, desire' (Gk Cr opt.  $\lambda E(\lambda) o\lambda$ ,  $\lambda E\lambda o\lambda e\nu$ , conj.  $\lambda E\lambda o\nu\tau\iota$ , prtc.  $\lambda E\lambda o\nu\tau o\varsigma$ , - $\alpha$ ) (Schw. GG I 676: < \* $\omega l\bar{e}(j)mi$ ) ||| Olt  $\vartheta \acute{e}l\tau i$  / 1s prs.  $\vartheta \acute{e}lmi$  v. 'wish, prefer, allow' | SI \* $\vartheta el$ - / \* $\vartheta ol$ -: \* $\vartheta el\check{e}\text{-}ti$  (1s prs. \* $\vartheta e\acute{i}\text{-}q$ ) 'to order' > OCS **ВЕЛѢТИ**  $\vartheta el\check{e}\text{-}ti$  / v. **ВЕЛѢ**  $\vartheta elj\check{q}$ , Slv  $\vartheta el\acute{e}\text{-}ti$ , Cz  $\vartheta e\text{-}let\text{-}i$ , R **велеть** (prs. **велю**), Uk **веліти** id., 1s prs.: SCr  $\Delta \vartheta \acute{e}lj\text{-}u$ , Blg  $\Delta$  'велям  $\Delta$  велим 'I say',  $\Delta$  'велям 'I decide'; SI \* $\vartheta o\acute{\lambda}a$  n. 'will' > OCS **ВОЛЯ**  $\vartheta olja$ , Blg, R, Uk 'воля, SCr  $\vartheta o\acute{\lambda}ja$ , Slv  $\vartheta o\acute{\lambda}ja$ , Cz  $\vartheta o\acute{\lambda}e$ , Slk  $\vartheta ol'a$ , P  $\omega o\lambda a$ ; SI \* $\vartheta o\lambda\acute{e}\text{-}ti$  > SCr **волеті**  $\Delta \vartheta o\lambda\text{-}jet\text{-}i$  'to love'; SI \* $do\text{-}\vartheta l\check{e}\text{-}ti$  'to be enough' (< \* $\omega o\lambda\bar{e}\text{-}$ ) > OCS **ДОВЪЛѢТИ**  $do\text{-}\vartheta l\check{e}\text{-}ti$  / prs. **ДОВЪЛѢ**  $do\text{-}\vartheta l\check{q}$ , R **довлеть**, Uk **довліти** ||| ?? Arm **գեղ**  $ge\check{\lambda}$  'beauty, charm, attraction, good grace' (unless < NaIE \* $\omega el$ - 'see, look') ¶ P 1137-8, EI 629 (\* $\omega el$ - 'wish, want'), M K III 244-5, M E II 511-2, WH II 88-30, F II 150, Fs. 563, Vr. 663-4, Ho. 396, Ho. S 88, Kb. 1166, 1201, OsS 1119-20, KM 859, 868, SGGJ IV 424, Frn. 1220, Vs. I 288, 347-8, 521, Glh. 678, BER I 132-3, 175-6, Slr. 141-2 ||| **U**: FU \* $\omega \acute{a}\hat{z}\nabla$ - v. 'demand, desire, wish, urge' > F  $\vartheta a\acute{a}\text{-}t\text{-}i$ - v. 'demand, ask (so. for), want, urge' | Prm \* $\vartheta a\check{s}$ - > Z US  $\vartheta a\check{s}\text{-}d\text{-}$ , Yz  $\vartheta a\check{s}\wedge\text{-}vt$ . 'drive' ('ГНАТЬ'), Prmk  $\vartheta a\check{s}\text{-}t\text{-}v$ . 'zwingen, wegtreiben' ||| Hg  $\vartheta \acute{a}g\text{-}y$ - v. 'desire, wish, long to' ¶ Coll. 122, Coll. CG 414, UEW 549-50, LG 49, SZ 67, Lt. J 95, KPR 57 ¶ The FU cognate is valid only if the Prm  $\check{\lambda}$  belongs here, otherwise the FU  $\check{\lambda}$  may be reconstructed as \* $\omega \acute{a}\check{c}\nabla$  (which may include ObU \* $\omega a\check{c}\nabla$  v. 'catch fish', Ht. #657) ||| **A**: Tg \* $\vartheta o\lambda a\text{-}$  > Ewk Brg  $\vartheta o\lambda a\text{-}v$ . 'order, compell' ◇ AD LZL 360-1.

**2476.**  $\vartheta \omega \nabla L^{\prime}h^{\prime}\nabla$  'to hit, to attack' ( $\rightarrow$  'to wound, to kill') > **HS**: ? $\sigma$  S \* $\omega \check{\lambda}h$ , prm. \* $\omega lih$ - > Ar  $\omega \check{\lambda}h$   $G$  (pf.  $\omega alaha \sim \omega aliha$ , ip.  $\omega alihu$ ) 'be dejected \ depressed by grief',  $D$  (pf.  $\omega allaha$ ) 'confound, perplex so.' (of grief), 'intoxicate so.' (wine),  $\omega alh$ - 'grief' ¶ BK II 105-6, Hv. 894 ||| **IE** \* $\omega elX$ -  $\approx$  'strike, hit, fight' > Ht  $\omega alh$ - 'strike, attack' ({Ts.} 'schlagen', 'niederschlagen, überfallen, schädigen') || NaIE \* $\omega el_{\lambda}\text{-}$  'wound, slay, fight' ( $\times$  N \* $g\acute{u}L\nabla$  'to destroy, to fight; war', q.v.)



> W gweli, Crn goly (pl. golyow) 'a wound', MBr {Em.} gouli id., gouliaff, goulyaff 'to wound' || Gmc (× N \***ʒoī**∇ 'to starve, to die; dead', q.v. [?]): ON **valr** 'the slain in battle', AS **wæl**, OHG {OsS} **wal**, **walu** id., 'slaughter, carnage; battlefield', NHG cd. **Walstatt** 'battlefield', OSx **wal** 'death'; AS **wōl** 'pestilence', OSx **wōl** id., 'ruin (Verderben)', OHG **wuol** id., 'desaster' || Sl: OCz **váleti** (1s prs. **váleju**) 'wage war', Sl \***valьka** > OCz, Cz **válka** 'war', P **walka**, Blr 'валька' 'fight, combat', ? Uk **валява** 'battlefield with bodies of those slain in battle' (× **ва'лятися** 'be scattered all over') | Blt: Pru **ūlint** (< \***wōlint**) 'to fight' ¶¶ Frd. HW 242-3, Ts. W 100, WPI 304-5, P 1144-5, ≈ EI 367 (\***wel**(h<sub>2</sub>)- strike, tear at; unj. adduction of L **vellō** 'pluck, tear' < N \***l<sub>1</sub>w<sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup>l<sub>1</sub>i<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>**∇ 'draw, pull out/off'), Thr. 171, Dnn. 339, Ern. 282, Vr. 642, Ho. 380, 405, Ho. S 82, 89, Kb. 1232, OsS 1085, 1214, KM 834, ≈ Ma. CS 553, Tr. 548, En. 269 ◇ Not here (⇔ IS MS) the FU √ of Hg **ōl-** 'kill', etc., which is FU \***wēδ**∇ 'kill' (< N \***wed**∇ 'to hunt') rather than FU \***wel**∇ ◇ IS MS 367 (\***wel**∇ 'to fight' > IE, A, D ÷ \* U).

**2477. \*wA<sub>1</sub>l<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>h<sup>1</sup>∇** 'to turn, to roll, to revolve' > HS: WS \***√wly** vi. 'turn' > Ar **√wly** G + prep. **fan** (pf. ... **وَلَّى عَنْ** **walā fan**, ip. **yaliyu fan**) vt. 'détourner de', **√wly** D 'turn away from, turn back', Mh {Jo.} **√wly** Sh (pf. **həwālū**) vi. 'turn back, direct oneself to', Jb C {Jo.} **√wly** G (pf. **ōli**) 'turn towards', Jb E/C {Jo.} **√wly** Sh (pf. **eb'le**) 'direct oneself towards', Hrs {Jo.} **wəl** 'towards' ¶ BK II 1606-7, Hv. 894, Jo. M 429, Jo. J 292, Jo. H 136, ≈ DRS 549 || B \***√wHl** (mt. from \*\***√wH?**), pf. {ʒPr.} \***-wHl|ul** > Ah **āwl** (3m pf. **iwəl**) '(se) tourner (changer de direction)' (Fcj. 62 = Pcj. I A 6), ETwl/Ty {GhA} **əwəl** id. (3m pf. ETwl **iwəl**, Ty **yəwəl**) ¶ Fc. 1480-94, 2005 (on Fcj. 62), GhA 197, Pr. M VI-VII 106 and GhA 246-7 (both on Pcj. I A 6) || C: DhI {E} **walam-** in **wálampáni** 'whirlwind' ({E}: **walam-** + **ṛūf-/yūf-** v. 'blow') || ? SC: Irq {MQK} **harwēr-** 'surround', {E} **harwel-** v. 'surround' ¶ E SC 314, E PC #576, MQK 47 || IE: NaIE \***wel**(ə)- / \***wlē-**, \***welu-**, \***wlej-** v. 'turn, roll' > Lt **vélti** / prs. **veliu** v. 'felt, full (cloth)' (a NaIE heavy basis \***welə-**), Ltv **veĩt** 'to roll, to trundle; to felt, to full (cloth)' | Sl \***valíti** sę rf. 'to roll' > OCS **ВАЛИТИ СЯ** **valiti sę** id., Sl ip. \***valíati** 'to roll, to felt, to full (cloth)' > OCS **ВАЛЯТИ СЯ** **valjati sę** rf. 'to roll', Cz **válet se**, R **ва'ляться** rf. id. (v.i.), R **ва'лять**, SCr **váljati** 'to roll, to felt, to full (cloth)', Cz **váleti**, Slk **vál'at'** id., Blg 'валям' I felt,

full' || OI *valati* 'turns, turns to, returns' (unless ← D \**val-* 'surround, turn around'), Av *var-* '(se) vertere' || Arm **գելում** *gelum* v. 'wring', **գելանիմ** *gelanim* v. 'twist, wring, writhe', **գլեմ** *glem* v. 'roll, wheel' (< \**wlē-*) || Gk *ἐλλέω* (\**Fελ-ν-έω*) ~ *ἐύλω* v. 'roll up', *ἐλλύω* 'enfold, enwrap' || L *volvo-ō, -ēre / volvoī / volūtum* v. 'roll, wind, turn/twist round' || OIr *fillim* 'turn (drehen), bend', {SB} 'flecto' || Gt *af-walwjan* 'wegwälzen', *at-walwjan* 'hinzuwälzen', *fauř-walwjan* 'vorwälzen', AS *wealwian* vi. 'to roll', *wielwan*, *wiellan* 'wälzen, rollen', ON *valr* adj. 'round', MLG *walen* 'drehen, wälzen, rollen' ¶ WP I 298-304, P 1140-3, EI 607 (*wel-* 'turn, wind, roll'), M K III 161 (against the connection between OI *valati* and IE \**wel-*), Ach. II 112, Slr. 81-2, F I 457-8, WH II 832-4, SB 275, Frn. 1221, Vs. I 268, StSS 108, Glh. 661, Chr. I 132, BER I 116-7, Vr. 642, Fs. 13, Ho. 386, 393-4 || ? **а**: M \**bulu* > WrM *булу*, HIM *бүл* 'wheel, hub of a wheel; cylinder; roller for husking grain or leveling ground', MM [HI] *bulu* 'hub of a wheel', Ord {Ms.} *b\_u'lu'* 'cylindre servant à écorcer le millet \ à aplanir la terre', WrO {Krg.} *булу* 'roller, hub', Brt *бүл* 'cylinder (вал, валик)', Kl *бүл* id., 'hub', Brt E *бүла* 'hub of a wheel', Kl {Rm.} *булу* id., 'Rolle' ¶ On M \**bu-* < N \**wa-* see Introduction, § 2.4 ¶ MED 136, Ms. H 43, Ms. O 96, Lew. II 22, Krg. 366, KRS 117, Chr. 110, KW 59 || **д** \**valai* 'circle, ring' > Tm *valai* 'circle', MI *vala* 'ring', Td *pa]* 'ring, circle', Kt *va]* 'bangle', Kn *ba]e* 'ring, armlet, bracelet', Kdg *ba]e* 'bangle, ring', Tu *ba]æ* 'bracelet, hoop', ↔ OI *valaya-* 'bracelet, ring'; D \**val-* (+ sxs.) v. 'surround, turn around' > Tm *valai* v. 'surround, walk around', MI *valayuka*, TI *balayu* v. 'surround', TI {Km.} *valayu* vi. 'turn around', Kt *va]č-* v. 'walk in a circle, make round', Kn *ba]asu* 'go in a circle or round', Tu *ba]epu-* 'enclose, surround' ¶¶ D #5313, Tu. #11405, #11407, M K III 161 ◇ The IE and B data point to the existence of a lr., which is likely to have been \**h* (the only lr. which was easily lost in S) ◇ ≈ BmK #486 (\**wal<sup>h</sup>-* / \**wal<sup>h</sup>-* > IE, HS [S, C], D) (with inaccurate information about Ar).

2478. \**w'e' | [í, ∇, h ∇* (or \**wi | [í, ∇, h ∇*?) 'field, plain' > IE \**walē-* > Ht {Ts.} *wellu-* 'unmowed grass; meadow' || ? NaIE: L *vallēs, vallis* 'valley' ¶¶ Ts. W 104, ≈ WH II 729 (with unc. etymological proposals), ≠ EI 200 (Ht < *č* \**welsu-* 'meadow, pasture' - an unc. rec.) || **к**: GZ \**wel-* 'field, plain' ({K<sup>2</sup>} 'valley, field') > OG, G *vel-* 'field, plain', Mg *ve / vel-* (in pl.) 'field, glade (поле, поляна)' ¶ K 82-3, K<sup>2</sup> 51, Q 234 || **д**

(in McTm) \*ve|i]- 'area, terrain, field' > Tm vīlākam 'battlefield, surrounding area', Ml vīlākam 'battlefield, garden' ¶ In Tm and Ml there is positional neutralization of the opposition \*i ↔ \*e before \*a of the next syllable ¶ D #5435 || HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓w|h > Ar d. mīlah- {BK} 'vaste plaine, désert', {Fr. ← [Qam.]} 'campus, desertum' ¶ Fr. IV 505, BK II 1606, Hv. 894 || C: Ag: Q {R} wulāy 'plain, field, meadow' ({Beke} wulagha), Km {CR} wulāḡā 'plaine, prairie', Xm {R} wula-s- (← causative?) 'auf die Weide treiben' ¶ R Q II 142, R Ch II 111, CR K 265 ◇ The change N \*-|í- > D \*-|- takes place in an intercalic position, which suggests the presence of a vw. after N \*-|í-. An alt. hyp.: N \*w'e' |íh ▽ > pre-D \*w'e' |í ▽ > D \*ve|i]- ◇ Giorg. 65 and GI<sup>2</sup> 793 (IE, K), Blz. KM 141 [#30] (suggested to adduce Ag and unconvincingly U \*o|k ▽ 'grass').

**2479.** \*w'i' l<sub>l</sub>i<sub>l</sub>q ▽ 'liquid; moist, damp' > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓w|χ > Ar ✓w|χ *Sht* [rf.] (pf. ṛista wlaχa) 'être arrosé par la pluie\rosée, être humecté, humide' (le sol), ṛarḡun waliχ-at-un 'terre humectée, humide, mouillée', walīχ-at-un 'boue, fange; lait épais' ¶ BK II 1602 || U \*w|l<sub>l</sub>y ▽ 'sap of trees, sap-wood' > FU: Chr L выле wь́ле {MRS} 'cambium', Chr E {Ps.} wь́ле 'sap of trees' ||| ObU {Ht.} \*ũ]-, {Stn.} \*õ]- {AD} 'sap of trees, sap-wood' > pVg {Ht.} \*ṹ]- ~ \*ṹ]- 'sap-wood' > Vg: T {Stn.} ṍ, {Ht.} ó, UK/P/ll {Stn.}, LK/P/LL {Ht.} í, ML í, VS {Stn.} ý id. (Stn.: with a hyper-correct \*y-); pOs {Ht.} \*õ] 'sap of trees' > Os: V/Vy õ], Ty õ], Y õ], D/K ělǝ, Nz ǎlǝ, Kz ǎ] 'sap of a tree (birch, conifer trees)' ¶ Acc. to Stn. ZOUV, the non-palatal vw. õ in Vg T is due to the infl. of Vg T ó́st- 'abschälen (Baumstamm), скоблить' ¶ MRS 88, PsS 17, Stn. ZOUV 237, Stn. D 90, Ht. #23 || Sm {Jn.} \*ü] ▽ > Slq: Tm {KD} õ], MKe {KD} ü]:y 'sap of trees', {Cs.}: NP ůllŭ, Yel ůl, B ůle, Tz/Kar ůl) ¶¶ The palatal í in Chr and Vg points to the presence of \*y ¶ ≈ Jn. 27, Cs. 109, 203 ¶¶ ≈ UEW 24 (\*a] ▽ 'sap of a tree'; does not take into account Chr) || A: M \*öleŋ 'fresh\soft grass' > MM [MA] öleŋ 'grass' (att.: öleŋ tataqu ŷažar 'field used for mowing grass'), 'meadow' (öleŋin ičēsün 'луговой тальник'), [S] olǝŋ ({H}: read olǝŋ) 'fresh grass', WrM öleŋ, HIM өлөн 'soft grass, thick grass', WrO {Krg.} ölöŋ 'meadow, green field, plain, lawn', Kl ölrŋ 'sanftiges Gras, Wiese' ¶ Pp. MA 275, H 122, MED 633, KW 295, Krg. 140 || T \*õ] 'damp, moist' > OT {Cl.} õ] id., MQp/OOsm XIV õ] 'moist', XwT XIV õ] 'moisture', Chg XV õ], Tk õ], Tkm

ōl, Yk ūōl, Qrg, Xk, Tv ö l, Tf ǫ l, ET yōl, Alt ü l, Qb {Rl.} ōl ~ ūl, Shor {Rl.} ūl, Chv vilid., Tk ö l 'humidity \ dampness (of soil)'; Chv vil 'damp, moist' points to a short (shortened?) \*ö; in some T lgs. pT \*ōl- contaminated with \*hō<sub>l</sub>:<sub>l</sub>- 'damp, moist' (< A \*p'ōle 'moist, succulent' < N \*p<sub>l</sub>U<sub>l</sub>H<sub>l</sub>∇ 'be liquid, be wet' [q.v. ffd.]); if the latter T word was \*hōl and Chv vil goes back to it, this can explain the short \*ö in the prehistory of Chv ♪ Cl. 124, ET Gl 523-5, Rs. W 371, Ra. 214, Md. 50, 172 ◇ On N \*wi- > T and M \*ü- see Introduction, § 2.4 ◇ IS MS 333 (N \*wi<sub>l</sub>∇, sc. \*wi<sub>l</sub>∇: U, A, ?S, IE \*welk- ~ \*welg- [see N \*wi<sub>l</sub>'ka<sub>l</sub>∇ 'wet, moist']).

**2480.** \*<sub>l</sub>'<sub>l</sub>w<sub>l</sub>'A<sub>l</sub>'<sub>l</sub>i<sub>l</sub>y<sub>l</sub>∇ (or \*<sub>l</sub>'<sub>l</sub>w<sub>l</sub>ō<sub>l</sub>'<sub>l</sub>i<sub>l</sub>y<sub>l</sub>∇?) 'draw, pull (out, off)' > IE \*<sub>l</sub>'<sub>l</sub>wel-/ \*<sub>l</sub>'<sub>l</sub>wol- v. 'draw, pull, pluck, tear out' > L velli-ō, -ēre / pfc. velli ~ volsi / sup. volsum v. 'pluck, pull, twitch' || Gt wilwan 'to steal, to plunder', wulwa 'robbery', wilwa 'robber' || ? Gk ἀλίσκομαι 1s prs. (aor. ἄλῳναι), Gk Th Φαλίσσεται 3s prs. 'be taken \ conquered' (of persons, places), 'gefangen werden', Gk ἄλωσις 'Einnahme, Gefangennahme' || Arm գողանամ go<sub>l</sub>anam v. 'rob, steal' || Ht walli- 'geschoren (?), enthaart' (of hides), {E} 'plucked' ♪ WP I 304-5, P 1144-5 (with unc. parallels from other IE lgs.), ≈ EI 567 (\*wel(h<sub>2</sub>)- 'strike, tear at'), WH II 744-5, Fs. 564-5, F I 74, 77, Mn. 1509 ('snatch, tug'), Ts. W 100, ≈ EIC 567 (IE \*wel(h<sub>2</sub>)- 'strike, tear at' without distinguishing between reflexes of N \*<sub>l</sub>'<sub>l</sub>w<sub>l</sub>'A<sub>l</sub>'<sub>l</sub>i<sub>l</sub>y<sub>l</sub>∇ and those of N \*w<sub>l</sub>∇L<sub>l</sub>'<sub>l</sub>h<sub>l</sub>'∇ 'to hit, to attack') || A: M \*buliya- > WrM buliya-, HIM булаа- 'take away by force, seize, grab, rob, pillage', MM [S] {H} buli- 'rob, take away by force, conquer' (× M \*buli- 'overcome' < N \*wal∇ 'be strong, be able', q.v.), WrO {Krg.} buliū- 'take away', buli- 'take by force', Ord {Ms.} b<sub>u</sub>'<sub>l</sub>ā-, Kl {Rm.} bulā- id., Kl {KRS} була-, Brt буляа- id., 'conquer', Ba {T} bulā- 'take away by force', Mnr H {SM} b<sub>u</sub>li-, {T} buli- id., 'rob' ♪ On M \*bu- < N \*wa- see Introduction, § 2.4 ♪ MED 134-5, H 22, Krg. 366, KW 59, KRS 117, Chr. 113, Ms. O 93, SM 33, T 320, T BJ 135 || K \*<sub>o</sub>wl- > G a-vl- v. 'etwas einer Sache entlang ziehen\führen' ♪ Chx. 380-2 || D {tr., †GS} \*val- v. 'draw, pull' > Tm v<sub>a</sub>li v. 'draw, pull, row', Ml v<sub>a</sub>li 'drawing, pull, tug, spasm', Kdg bali v. 'snatch, pull', Krg bali v. 'pull', Kui velba 'pull, pull up' ♪ D #5282 || ? U: FU \*wō<sub>l</sub>∇ 'strip sth. (bark, etc.) off' > pLp {Lr.} \*ō<sub>l</sub>∇ v. id., 'gnaw' > Lp: L {LLO} āllō- 'cut off branches', N {N} oallo- / -l- 'strip the bark off', K {Gn.} v<sub>o</sub>alleδ, Kld {TI} v<sub>u</sub>allaδ v. 'gnaw' || Er

{W} vala- 'make even, smooth' ⇔ {ERV} валаня valańa 'smooth, even' | Prm \*vóǫ- v. 'bark (a tree)' > Z, Yz vóǫ-, Z US vǫǫ- id., Vt vǫǫ- 'remove a ring of bark from a tree in order to make the tree dry' || Vg {Kn.}: T oǫt-, MK waǫst-, P woǫst- v. 'abschalen (Baumstamm, Deichselstange)' ¶ UEW 582-3, TI 771, ERV 101, LG 621 ◇ \*ǫǫwʹAǫǫiǫǫǫ as a pN rec. is preferred to \*ǫǫwǫǫǫǫǫǫ, because M \*-u- and FU \*-o- may be due to the infl. of \*w- (on N \*wa- > M \*bu- see Introduction, § 2.4) ◇ BmK #485 (IE, D) ◇ On N and pIE \*- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

**2481. \*wǫǫǫǫǫ** 'look, see' > HS: B \*will 'eye', \*ǫǫHwǫ 'avoir l'œil sur' > Gd a-wǫǫ (pl. wǫǫǫ) 'eye', Kb allǫ 'eyes' (pl. of ǫǫǫ 'eye'), Ah aǫǫ (pf. ǫǫwǫǫ) 'avoir l'œil sur (veiller sur, surveiller)' (Fcj. 63, Pcj. I A 4, bringing about the rec. of the stem as \*-hǫǫil) ¶ Fc. 1493-4, Pr. M VI-VII 100 || IE: NaIE \*wǫǫ- 'see', \*wǫǫ-tu- 'Aussehen' > OIr fil ~ fel ~ feil 'there is' (< inv. \*wǫǫe 'behold!'), OIr fili (gen. filed), OIr gen. velitas 'seer, poet' (< \*wǫǫǫts), Brtt [RE] \*wǫǫǫmi v. 'see' > MW gwelet (1s gwelif), W gweled, Cm gweles (1s gwelaf), OBr guil- ~ guel-, MBr guel- id., MBr gwelet, Br gwelout 'to see' || L vultus ~ vultus 'expression of the face, countenance, look, aspect' || Gmc \*wǫǫǫd- 'Angesicht' > Gt anda-wǫǫǫzn accus. id. (?), AS wǫǫǫtan, ON líta 'to see, to look', AS wǫǫita 'face' || Tc B ǫǫel- 'investigate' ¶ WPI 293, P 1136-7, EI 505, LP § 92, Thr. 58-9, 479, RE 126, Flr. 191, WH II 831, Fs. 48, Ho. 403, Vr. 358, Ad. 507 || U: FU \*wǫǫǫǫǫ v. 'think, understand, learn' > Z велав- velav-, Δ velal-, Yz 'vǫǫǫǫǫ' v. 'learn, understand, get accustomed', OPrm, Z velǫǫd- vt. 'teach, train, accustom', Vt vala- ~ valal- 'understand (понять, осмыслить)' || Hg vǫǫǫ- v. 'think (meinen)' ¶ UEW 589 (FU \*wǫǫǫǫ-), LG 51, Lt. J 101 || A: T: [1] \*ǫǫǫǫǫ- > ds.: NaT \*ǫǫǫǫǫ- 'learn, receive instruction' > OPT {Cl.} ǫǫǫǫǫ- id.; caus. NaT \*ǫǫǫǫǫ- > OT ǫǫǫǫǫ- 'teach' ¶ Cl. 379 | [2] ? \*ǫǫǫǫǫ > OT oǫǫ 'look!, see here!' (unless < \*ǫǫǫǫǫ- 'this, voici', see ET Gl 492-4) ¶ Cl. 254-5 || ? M \*ǫǫǫǫǫǫ- v. 'beware carefully, be careful, be cautious' > MM [HI] ǫǫǫǫǫǫ- {Ms.} 'examiner avec soin', {Lew.} id., 'discerner, agir avec circonspection', WrM ǫǫǫǫǫǫ-, HIM, Brt ǫǫǫǫǫǫ-, Kl ǫǫǫǫǫǫ- ǫǫǫǫǫ- v. 'be careful, be cautious, beware' ¶ Ms. H 42, Lew. II 21, MED 117, Chr. 99, , KRS 105 || pKo {S} \*ǫǫǫǫǫǫ- 'learn' > MKo ǫǫǫǫǫǫ-, NKo ǫǫǫǫ- ¶ S QK #818, Nam 22, MLC 921 || pJ {S} \*ǫǫǫǫǫǫ- 'teach' > OJ wǫǫǫǫǫǫ-, J: T oǫǫǫǫ-, K oǫǫǫǫǫ-, Kg

ośié- ¶ S QJ #785, Mr. 742 ¶¶ DQA #189 (A \*bóylo 'learn, be attentive': T \*boǫgu-, M, Ko, J) || D (in CD) \*ōl- v. 'see' > Klm o·l- 'see, look at', Nkr ōl- 'see' ¶ D #1066 ◇ D, T, and M point to a pN \*o, while the FU front vw. (\*Ē) still needs investigating.

**2482.** <sub>2</sub> \*waLd∇ 'to give birth' > HS: S \*√wld 'give birth' > Hb, Ph, Ug, OA, IA, JA [Trg.], JEA √yld G, Sr pf. <sup>ٲ</sup> ٲi'lεd, Ar, Sb, Mn, Qt, Gz, Ak √wld G 'give birth, beget'; Sr <sup>ٲ</sup> ٲal'dā 'birth'; WS \*'walad- '(so.'s) child' > BHb ٲٲٲ 'yεlεd, SmHb 'yālad, Pun, Ug, Nbt, Plm yld id., Ar وٲد wald- 'né, procréé, enfenté; postérité, enfants', Sb wld 'born one, begotten one; children', Gz wald 'son'; a metatonic S variant \*wa'lad- > Ak (w)ildu 'child, lamb' and Ar وٲد walad- 'child, offspring, youngling'; Eb mu-li-tum ({Frnz.} = mulltum < \*muwallitum) ~ mu-wa-li-tum = muwallitum prtc. D f. 'midwife'; Mh {Jo.} wa'lēd coll. 'children', Jb C {Jo.} 'e'led id., 'e'ld pf. 'beget children' ¶ KB 393-4, HJ 456-7, OLS 526, Js. 578, Lv. T I 334-5, Br. 301, Sl. 534-5, BK II 1602-3, Hv. 893, Sd. 1496, CAD I/1 71, 287ff., Frnz. H 146-7, BGMR 160, Jo. M 428, Jo. J 291, DRS 546-7, MiK I #2.80 || LbB \*w (< \*w∇ld) 'son' > ONum w id., B \*w > Ah a w, BSn ũ, Izd u id., d. ilili 'new-born child', Kb u- ~ w- 'son of ...'; LbB \*w∇lt (< \*w∇ldt) > ONum wlt 'daughter', B \*w∇lt id. > Izd ult ~ ulat id., Izn ult 'daughter of' ¶ Fv. LJ 418 || EC: pSam {Hn.} \*weil- (pl. \*wēl'lāl) 'child' > Sml wīl (pl. wīlal) 'boy', weylf. 'calf', Rn {PG} wēl 'child' (pl. wēlāl ~ wēylāl), {Hn.} wēl 'baby; baby-camel', Bn Bi/J wēl (pl. wēlǝ) 'child' ¶ Hn. S 98, Hn. BD 98, PG 291-2 || A: Tg \*baldi- v. 'give birth, be born' > Ewk baldi-, Lm baldъ-, Neg, Ul baldt-, Orc bāgdi-, Ork, Nn Nh/KU baljt- v. 'be born, give birth', Ud bagdi- id., 'live; grow', Sol baldi- v. 'give birth', ?WrMc banzi- ~ bani- 'be born', Mc Sb banži- id., Jrc bandi- 'live' ¶ STM I 69-70, Krm. 210, Bz. 46, Kiy. ##388, 488.

**2483.** \*wi'ɫka∇ 'wet, moist' > IE: [1] NaIE \*welg- 'moist, damp' > Gmc: OHG welc 'damp', MHG wēlk 'damp, wet' (and also OHG welc 'soft, limp', MHG welk 'limp', MLG welk 'welk, dürre', NHG welk 'withered, faded?') || Lt vīlgyti, vālgyti 'to moisten, to damp, to wet', vīlkšnas 'damp', Ltv valgums 'moisture, humidity', vālgš, vēlgans 'moist, humid, damp' || Sl \*vьlg-ъk-ъ 'damp, moist' > RChS вѡлгѡкъ vьlgъкъ, R Δ 'волгкий, Cz, Slk†vlhký, P wilgi id.; Sl \*vьlg- > derivatives: R 'волгнуть 'to become moist\damp', P

wilgość n. 'moisture, wet, damp', wilgotny adj. 'wet, damp, moist'; SI \*vólga 'moisture' > OCS ВЛАГА vlaga id. (↳ R 'влага), Blg 'влага, SCr vlàga, Slv vlàga, Cz vláha, Slk vlaha id., 'dampness, humidity', OR ΒΟΛΟΓΑ vologa 'soup', R Δ βο'πογα 'a liquid, liquid fat (as seasoning)', Uk βο'πογα 'fat liquid' || [2] NaIE \*welk- 'moist, wet' > OIr folc {P} 'Wasserflut', {EI} 'heavy rain, wet weather', OIr, Nir folcaim 'I bathe, wash', Nir folcadh n. 'bath, wash, dipping', Brtt {RE} \*wlipus 'wet' (< Clt \*wlikwu-) > OW, OBr gulip, W gwlip, Crn glyp, MBr gloeb, glueb, Br gleb; Brtt {RE} \*wolkīmi 'to wash' > W golchi, Crn golghy, MBr gwelchi, Brt gwalc'hiñ ~ gwelc'hiñ 'to wash', OBr gwolch-ti 'washhouse' || Gmc: OHG welhc, MHG welch 'moist, damp' || Lt valkà 'puddle, pool', Ltv Δ {ME} valks 'fließendes Wässerchen, Waldbächlein, (Regen)bach, feuchter Ort' ¶ WP I 304-6, P 1145-6, Mn. 1145, ME IV 457, LP § 3.4, Tr. 358, RE 144-5, Dnn. 327, Kb. 1165, OsS 1118, Lx. 312, Ho. 386, Frn. 1191, ≈ EI 639 (\*welk- ~ \*welg- 'wet') || A: Tg \*bilk∇ > Ewk bilki-, Ud {STM} beāku-, Nn Nh buλx0- v. moisten' ¶ STM I 82 || U: ?σ FU \*°w∇lK∇- 'flow, leak' > pOs {θHL} \*°wā̃l̃a∇-, {θHt.} \*°wā̃l̃a∇- > Os: V/Vy/Ty {Trj.} wā̃l̃a∇-, V/Ty {KrT → Stn.}, Ag/UAg {Trj.} wā̃l̃a∇-, Vy {KrT → Stn.} wā̃l̃a∇- 'fließen' (Wasser vom Dach, auf der Erde, in einem kleinen Bach), 'rinnen\tropfen' (Wasser, Schweiß) ¶ Trj. S 517, KrT 224, Stn. D 1587 || HS: B {θPr.} \*√lwl̃y > Kb aləỹləỹ 'mou et humide', lləỹləỹ 'être ramolli', Wrg lləỹləỹ 'être ramolli par imprégnation d'eau \ de liquide' (× B \*√lyỹ ~ \*√lw̃ỹ 'soft, tender, mild' < N \*Laqû 'tender, mild') ¶ Dl. 458, Dlh. Ou 170 || ?σ Eg ∇ w̃z̃z̃ '(be) green, fresh', 'raw' (of food)' (× N \*wer∇K∇ 'branches, leaves of a tree', q.v.) > DEg wt 'be green\fresh' > Cpt Sd/B oγwt uōt id. ¶ EG I 264-6, Fk. 55, Er. 104-5, Vc. 238 ◇ N \*-kaʔ- yields both \*\*-kʔ > \*\*k̃ > IE \*k and (with the loss of \*ʔ) \*\*-k- > IE \*g. N \*-kaʔ- > \*\*-kʔ > \*\*k̃ yields Tg \*k ans B \*ỹ ◇ If FU \*°w∇lK∇- belongs here, the N lateral cns. is \*l̃, otherwise it remains an unspecified \*L (N \*wilkaʔ∇) ◇ IS MS 333 (IE \*welk-, \*welg- < N \*w i l̃ a, sc. \*w i l̃ ∇ [see N \*w i l̃ i, q∇ 'liquid; moist, damp']).

2484. \*walK'a¹ 'be bright\white, shine' > IE: NaIE \*wlek-/°w̃k- 'radiant, shining, bright' > OI ul'kā 'fiery phenomen in the sky, meteor', ?? varcah 'brilliance, lustre' (also 'energy, vital activity') || Gk Δ [Hs.] ἄφλαξ·λαμπρῶς 'brightly, brilliantly' (of sun, stars), possibly also (?) Gk ἠλέκτωρ 'the beaming sun; fire (as an element)', ἠλεκτρον ~ ἠλεκτρος 'amber; an alloy of gold and silver', ἠλεκτρίς 'shining' (of the

moon) 𐌚𐌚? ⇨ NaIE \*wǫkānos {E} 'smith god' > Oss D wǫrgon id. || L Volcānus, Vulcānus 'god of fire' ¶ WPI 321, P 1178, FI 629 (no et. for ἠλέκτωρ, ἠλεκτρον, etc.), M KI 112, 153 and III 651, M EI 231-2, ≠ WH II 825-6 (Volcānus ⇐ Etr or "Mediterranean"), Ab. IV 93-4 || U: FU \*walǫkǫ-/ \*wǫlǫkǫ- 'bright, light-coloured, white; light (lux)' > F valkea 'while, bright; fire, light of fire', valkas (gen. valkaan) 'white cow', valko 'white ox/horse', valkoinen 'white', Es valge (gen. valge) 'white, light; light (lux)', valgu 'white ox', Krl Ld vałged 'white, bright' | pLp {Lr.} \*vēlkǫ 'white' > Lp: S {Hs.} v'öölge-de 'is white', v'öölge-ge ~ -ke, Kld vīlkeδ 'white', L {LLO} viel'kat (at. viel'kis) 'light(-coloured)', N {N} viel'gād (at. vil'gis) 'white, light, pale' | Er валдо valdo, Mk валда valda 'white' | Chr: L волгыдо 'wǫlǫbdo, Uf/B wǫlǫbdo, Y walǫbdo, H валгыды 'walǫbdo 'light-coloured; light (lux)' || ObU {Ht.} \*wǫlǫv- v. 'glitter (glänzen, блескеть)' (× \*wǫlǫ 'light (lux), bright; to shine' < N \*w'e'íǫ 'to shine, to lighten', q.v. ffd.; ObU \*í is inherited from N \*w'e'íǫ) | OHg ≥XIII, Hg vil'ág 'light (lux)', 'world' (a loan translation from some Slavic lgs., in which the descendants of pSl \*svěť mean both 'light' and 'world') (OHg, Hg i is probably due to the infl. of \*w'e'íǫ 'to shine, to lighten') ¶ Coll. 122-3, UEW 554-6, It. #52, Sm. 551 (FU \*wǫlki- 'light' > FP \*vǫlkitā, Ugr \*wǫlki-), SK 1619-21, Lr. #1399, Lgc. #8674, Hs. 1439-40, Ker. II 181, MRS 53, 74, Ht. #687, BV 24, ChCh 108, MF 691-3, EWU 1636-7 || D {tr., ṽGS} \*vǫl 'whiteness, purity' > Tm vǫl id., Ml vǫl 'purity', Tl vǫlucukka 'Venus (planet)' ¶¶ D #5364 ¶¶ Cf. D {Tr., GS} \*vǫl- 'white, shining' < N \*w'e'íǫ '↑' (q.v. ffd.) || ?σ HS: WCh: Hs wǫlǫíyā 'lightning', ? Dr wǫlǫíyō id. ¶ Ba. 1077, ChL, ChC ◇ IS MS 363 (\*w'a'í(k)ǫ 'bright') (IE, U, D), AD GD #6 (IE, U).

**2485.** \*w'u'Lǫa (or \*w'u'Lǫaǫ) 'remove, dislocate, pull, drag' > IE: NaIE \*welk- 'draw, carry (away)' (possibly with the infl. of N \*'w'A'íyǫ 'draw, pull [out, off]') > Av -varək- (with pxs. only) 'draw, drag' || Blt: Lt vilkti / 1s prs. velkù 'carry, drag, pull', Ltv vilkt / vǫlku 'pull, draw, drag' | Sl \*velk-ti ~ \*vǫlkt-i (1s prs. \*velkǫ ~ \*vǫlǫ) 'to draw, to drag' > OCS влѣщн vľěštī / влѣкѣ vľěkǫ, SCr vúci / vúćem, Slv vľéči / vľéči, Cz vľéci / vľeku, Slk vľiect' / vľečiem, P wlec / włoke, R во'лочь / во'лочь, Blg вл'ка v. 'drag, draw' || Gk αῦλαξ, ἄλοξ, Gk Hm accus. ὤλκ-α (nom.



\* $\acute{w}\lambda\xi$  = {Slm.}  $\acute{w}[\acute{F}]o\lambda\xi$  'furrow' ¶ WP I 306, P 1145, ≈ EI 471 (\* $h^4welk-$  'pull'; unj. rec. of \* $h^4-$  on the alleged ev. of Al T  $h\epsilon q$  'draw, pull' [in fact akin to Gk  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\kappa\omega$  < IE \* $so\lambdakej\bar{o}$ , see O 145]), FI 77, Slm. U 258ff., Frn. 1253, Vs. I 342, BER I 165, Glh. 688 || **HS:** WS \* $\check{w}\lambda\kappa$  > Gz  $\check{w}\lambda\kappa$  G 'be dislocated, fall off, slip off', Tgy  $w\epsilon l\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$  'be dislocated', Amh  $w\epsilon l l\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$  id., 'be taken off' (clothes), Ar  $\check{w}\lambda q$  *Sh ps.* (pf.  $\beta awliqa$ ) 'be seized with madness',  $\beta awlaq-$  {BK} 'folie, démence' ¶ L G 614, BK II 1605, Fr. IV 505, Hv. 894, ≈ DRS 554-5 || **A:** M \* $bulgu$  > WrM  $bulgu$ , HIM  $бyлгa$ , Kl  $bul\gamma_u$  - preverbal word expressing uprooting, pulling out of a socket, disjointing: WrM  $bulgu\ tata-$ , HIM  $бyлгa\ тата-$  'pull out with the root, uproot, jerk out', Kl {Rm.}  $bul\gamma_u\ tat-$  'verrenken, ein Glied verziehen', WrM  $bulgu\ coki-$ , HIM  $бyлгa\ цoхи-$  'knock out (as a tooth)' (\* $tata-$  'draw', \* $\acute{c}oki-$  'beat');  $\rightarrow$  \* $bulgul-$  > WrM  $bulgul-$ , HIM  $бyлгa\ лax$  v. 'disjoint, luxate; break at the root; knock out of a socket', WrO  $bul\gamma ul(a)-$  v. 'uproot, dislocate, disjoint', Brt  $бyлгa\ л-$ , Kl  $бyлгa\ л-$  'dislocate, luxate, disjoint (a bone from the carcass)', Kl {Rm.}  $bul\gamma a\ l-$  'verrenken'; M \* $bulgura-$  > WrM  $bulgura-$ , HIM  $бyлгa\ рax$  'be disjointed \ luxated; come out of a socket; be uprooted', WrO  $bul\gamma ur(a)-$  v. 'dislocate, uproot', Brt  $бyлгa\ р-$ , Kl  $бyлгa\ р-$ , {Rm.}  $bul\gamma ar-$  'be dislocated, luxated' ¶ MED 134, Krg. 367, KRS 118, KW 59-60, Chr. 111  $\diamond$  The deglottalization and voicing N \* $\acute{K}$  > M \* $g$  is still to be explained. A possible solution is to reconstruct N \* $w^r u^l ka\ ?\nabla$  (N \* $k$  > M \* $g$ , N \* $-ka\ ?-$  > \*\* $k\ ?$  > \*\* $\acute{k}$  > S \* $\acute{k}$  and IE \* $k$ )  $\diamond$  The apparent M evidence for N \* $u$  is not unequivocal, because M \* $u$  may be attributed to the infl. of the N cns. \* $w-$  or M \* $b-$  (on M \* $bu-$  < N \* $wa-$  see Introduction, § 2.4).

**2486.** \* $wAlA\ t\nabla$  (= \* $walA\ t\nabla$ ?) 'run, flee' > K \* $w\lambda\acute{t}$ - 'run away, flee, escape' > OG  $\lambda\acute{t}$ - id., Mg  $r\acute{t}$ - ~  $n\acute{t}$ - 'run away', Lz  $r\acute{t}$ - ~  $m\acute{t}$ - id., 'flee', Sv  $\check{w}:\acute{t}w-$  (msd. UB  $\lambda\acute{t}w$ , 3s prs.: UB/L  $\chi\acute{e}\acute{t}w$ , LN/Ln  $\chi e\acute{t}w$ ) 'run away' ¶¶ K 85, K<sup>2</sup> 54, FS K 126, FS E 136, Chik. 419, GP 169, TK 248-9 || **A:** M \* $bulta-$  > WrM  $bulta-$ , HIM  $бyлгa-$  v. 'avoid, flee, dodge, sneak \ slip away', {Kow.} 'éviter, fuir la peine', Ord  $bu^l t^u-$  ~  $bu^l t^a-$  'changer brusquement de direction (p. ex. pour éviter qch.)', WrO  $bulta-$  'avoid, flee', d.  $bultayi-$  'evade'; d.: MM [S] {H}  $buldari-$  'ausweichen', WrM  $bultari-$ , HIM  $бyлгa\ рax$  'avoid, evade', WrO  $bultari-$ ,  $bultir-$  id., Dg {T}  $boltoro-$  'evade, get rid of' ¶ H 21, MED

135-6, Kow. 1197, Ms. O 96, Krg. 267-8, T DgJ 127 || **D** \*valac̣- 'flee' > Tm valacai, valacal 'emigration, flight from home', Kn valase, valise, olise id., 'flight', Tl valasa '(e)migration, flight, or removal from one country to another' ¶¶ **D** #5278 ◇ **D** \*-c̣- goes back probably to \*ṭ + another cns. (belonging to a sx.) or to a pre-D cluster \*-ṭy- or \*-ṭj- ◇ The M vw. \*u is probably due to the incl. of \*w-. On M \*bu- < N \*wa- see Introduction, § 2.4.

**2487.** ?φ<sub>2</sub> \*w∇L<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>ṭ∇ 'moist; moisture' > **K**: GZ \*wlṭ- v. 'wet, moisten' > OG (∇)lṭ-, G lṭ- v. 'wet, get wet', Mg ṛṭ(w)- 'soften (by wetting)' (\*l > r in a cluster) ¶ **K** 122 (\*lṭw-), K<sup>2</sup> 110 (GZ \*lṭw- or \*wlṭ-), FS **K** 127 and FS **E** 137 (\*wlṭ-) || **HS**: Ch: CCh: Bnn {ChL} lòdám<sup>wá</sup> 'moist', Azm {Pc.} lā<sup>1</sup>uđá msd. 'to melt (a solid, by heat)', ? lōtá msd. 'to dissolve (by saturation), to melt away' ¶ Flk. s.v. lē<sup>t</sup>, ChL, Pc. 265, 273 ||| WCh: Ang lē<sup>t</sup> v. 'melt, smelt' || ?φ **S** \*<sup>o</sup>✓wlṭ > Ar walθ- 'small quantity of rain; remainder of wine\water', {BK} 'reste\résidue d'eau sur le sol sablonneux \ de vin \ de farine' ¶ Hv. 892, BK II 1600-1 ¶ **S** \*θ (for the expected \*ṭ or \*t) may be accounted for by an ext.: \*t-š > \*č > **S** \*θ || ? **B** \*-lūđ- (unless ← L lutum) > Gd a-luđ, Shw {Hy.} luđ, BSn {Ds.} lūđ, Izd {Mrc.} a-luđ (pl. ila<sup>1</sup>tṭan) 'boue', Kb a-luđ 'boue (plutôt liquide), grosse boue', Tmz a-luđ (pl. aludn, ila<sup>1</sup>tṭan) id., 'glaise, eau boueuse', Mz luđ 'limon, vase' ¶ Lf. II #0878, Hy. 326, Ds. B 46, Dl. 445, MT 369-70, Dlh. M 103, Mrc. 75, Msq. Z 493 ||| ? **IE**: AdS of NaIE \*lat- 'moist' (see N \*ẓaṭ∇ 'fluid, body of water' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ ≈ IS II 31 (\*L<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>ṭ<sub>1</sub>: IE \*lat-, K, WCh + unc. **S** \*<sup>o</sup>✓ṛṭw 'moist').

**2488.** \*w<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>í∇ 'to shine, to lighten' > **HS**: Ch: CCh: G'nd {ChL} wùlwùdánžī, Gbn {ChL} wùlwùtté, Boka {ChL} wìlwútá 'lightning' || FIG {ChL} walàlí id. || Nkc {ChL} wulva id. || Ms {Caït.} wìlek 'lancer les éclairs' (orage), 'briller par intermittence', {ChL} wilata, Bnn {ChL} wèlèrá, BnnM {Lk.} welerá 'lightning' ||| ECh: Ke {Eb.} wéldé id. ¶ ChL, ChC, Eb. 102, Caït. 151 ||| **K** \*<sup>o</sup>wel- > Mg, Lz val- v. 'lighten' (Mg val-un-s, Lz val-um-s 'it is lightning'); but hardly here (⇔ **K**, FS) G el- and Sv hel-, el- 'lighten', see N \*hA1∇ 'to shine; bright' ¶¶ ≈ FS **K** 121 and FS **E** 131 (\*wel-), ≈ **K** 79 & K<sup>2</sup> 46-7 (\*el-); all of them adduce G el- and Sv hel-, el- ||| **U**: FU \*waí∇ 'light (lux), bright; to shine' > F valon. 'light, lightning', vaalea ({UEW}: sporadic vowel lengthening), Δ {SK} valea 'light(-coloured); pale, pallid, white' || Er валдо valdo, Mk валда valdā n. 'light', adj. bright, light' (× FU \*walk∇ 'white' < N \*walk<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>

'be bright\white, shine') | Prm \*vǫǵ- (= {LG} \*vǫǵ-) 'shine' > Z волявны vǫǵav-nǫ, Z US vǫǵǵal-nǫ 'be glossy, shine', Vt: G číí-vaí, M čííi-vaí 'Glanz, Schimmer; glänzend, schimmernd', S vaík, M vaít 'glänzend, schimmernd, leuchtend' || ObU {Ht.} \*wǎǵ- 'shine (glänzen)' (× N \*wǎǵ'a' '↑', q.v.) > pVg {Ht.} \*wǎǵ- > Vg: T oík-, LK/MK/UK wǎǵ-, P/NV/LL wǎǵ-, UL/Ss wǎǵ- v. 'glitter'; pOs {Ht.} \*wǎǵ- ~ \*wǎǵ-, {ǾHI.} \*wǎǵ- ~ \*wǎǵ- id. > Os: Kz wǎǵ-, O wǎǵ-; the palatalized \*ǵ (at the level of pObU or pFU) is caused by the contamination with FU \*wǎǵ 'light (lux), bright; to shine' | OHg ≥ XIII, Hg vilǵ 'light (lux)', 'world' (a loan translation from some Slavic lgs., in which the descendants of pSl \*svěť mean both 'light' and 'world') ¶ UEW 555-6 (the ObU √ belongs here only if \*-ǵ- goes back to a derivational sx.), Coll. 122-3, Sm. 551 (FU \*wǎǵ- 'light' > IP \*vǎǵita, Ugr \*wǎǵ-), ERV 101, Ker. II 181, LG 62, Ht. #687, (on FU \*wǎǵ-/\*wǎǵ- 'bright, light-coloured, white; light [lux]' < N \*wǎǵ'a' 'be bright\white, shine') Sm. 551 (FU \*wǎǵ- 'light' > IP \*vǎǵita, Ugr \*wǎǵ-) || D {tr., GS} \*ve]- 'white, shining' > Tm ve] 'white, shining', ve]i v. 'break' (as the day), 'clear, whiten', Ml ve]i 'light, clearness', Kt ve] 'white', ve]v- 'become pale', ? Td pǒ] 'white', Kn be](u), be]a 'whiteness, brightness', Kdg bǒ]I- 'become white', Tu bǒ]b, bǒ]b 'white, bright', Tl ve]ūg 'shine, give light', Klm ve]e]n. 'light', Prj vil 'white', Gdb viled id., Gnd werčī n. 'light', Ku vella ~ wella 'white', Krx bilč- v. 'shine, glitter, sparkle', Mlt bilbilre v. 'shine brilliantly; D → Prkr villa- 'bright, clear', vilha- 'white' ¶¶ D #5496 (a), GS 218 [#536], 61 [##179, 185] ◇ The unexpected FU \*a may be due to the infl. of U \*wǎǵ 'white' < N \*wǎǵ'a' 'be bright\white, shine' or result from regr. as. (if followed by a back vw.) ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 123 [#29] (Ch, K, FU, D + err. IE \*wǎǵ- 'leuchten' and Hs wǎǵíyā 'lightning' that belong to N \*wǎǵ'a' '↑').

**2489.** \*weǵ or \*weǵKǵ 'shoulder, upper part of the back' > U \*wǎǵ > FU \*wǎǵ 'shoulder' > F olka, Es ōla, Δ olg ǵ ōlg id. | pLp {Lr.} \*ǵlkē id. > Lp: S {Hs.} oǵlgie, N {N} oal'ge / -lg- id., L {LO} ǵl'ke, Kld {SaR} вуэлльк, {Gn.} vūel:g id. ('Schulter, Achsel') || amb Vg: LK/P {Knn.} wǎǵǵǵ, Ss {Knn.} wǎǵǵǵ, {BV} вагглап, {ChCh.} wǎǵǵǵ 'shoulder strap (лямка, ошейник; Schulterriemen, Tragriemen, Riemen im Zugseil [der Narte] am Schulter)' (× FU \*wǎǵ

'aus Ruten geflochtener Riemen') (-p is a sx.) || pSm \*wäykkъ 'neck, shoulder' > Ne T ик, Ne T O {Lh.} yīk̄, Ne F {Lh.} β̄jeʰk, Ng {Mik.} d. bakəbə, En {Ter.} bek 'neck', Slq Tz {Prk.} qəq 'shoulder', Kms {KD} bajḡə 'Nacken', Koyb {Pls.} baige, {Sp.} байгă 'neck', Mt {HL.} (?) \*bäykä ~ \*bö|üyko|ü id. (Mt: M {Pls.} buikö, буйкэ id., {Sp.} бюйхуде 'his neck', K {Pls.} bḡĩkḡdi id.) || pY {IN} \*wel- 'carry on one's back\shoulders' > OY K {Bil.} ellēyi-, Y {IN}: K eī-, eleyī-, T welī- id., T wel-ibə 'saddle' (with the sx. -bə denoting a place), wel-il 'load, package' ¶ At the pFU level the identity of the lateral cns. cannot be determined (because Vg l may belong to the heritage of FU \*wakla), but a pU palatal \*í is positively suggested by Sm \*y ¶¶ UEW 581, Sm. 551 (FU \*wolkā, FP \*vorka, Ugr \*wālkā- 'shoulder'), Lr. #827, Lgc. #4562, SaR 61, BV 20, ChCh. 107, Jn. 173, Pot. 50, Hl. M #107, IN 250, 299 || A: T \*óí'ü'n > OT {Cl.} öšün '≈ shoulder' ([MhK] öšün 'ra'su-l-katifi' = 'point [sc. flexion] of the shoulder'), Alt/QK/Shor {Rl.} öžün 'collar-bone', Brb {Rl.} üžün 'humerus, upper arm', Tv öžün 'humerus, forearm', Tki, ET Δ {Jr.} öšne ~ öšni, Shor öštü 'shoulder' (< \*öšn-ü 'his shoulder'), Tf ḡ'ḡün 'shoulder', QrB öšün 'chest, breast'; Alt öš 'Oberarm' ¶ Cl. 263, Rl. I 1308, 1907, ADb. SR 159-60, 192, Ra. 214 || Tg \*uḡlin ~ \*uḡkḡn 'breast-bone' > Ewk ḡlin (accus. ulin-ma) 'breast-bone of a bear; chest', Lm ölkən 'chest, thorax', WrMc ulku giranḡi 'breast-bone, collar-bone', ulkume 'chest strap (for fastening the saddle on a horse)' ¶ STM II 261, ADb. SRAE 446 (\*í|uleg), DQA #2515 \*óí|e 'chest bone, collar-bone' ¶¶ ADb. KL 11 [#28] (A \*ö|ḡg), ADb. SR 309 [#23] (A \*óí|eg) || D \*veḡ(ḡ)k- ({ḡGS} \*-ḡk-) '(lie) on the back' > Tl velikilu 'fall/lie on the back', velikila 'on the back, supine', Klm velākā 'lying on one's back', Gnd KM {BB} pal verinḡi 'with the face upwards', Gnd B {Tr.} pʰat warēngana v. 'sleep on one's back', Png rēḡ(g)- ḡ rēk 'lie on the back', Mnd rēḡ(g)- 'fall backward', Kui lāmgari 'flat on the back' ¶¶ D #2499 ◇ The rounded vw. in FU and A is due to the labializing infl. of \*w-. T ö- and Tg \*u- are regular reflexes of N \*we- (see Introduction, § 2.4) ◇ ADb. MSR 21 [#20] (U, A, D), Resh. NNE #12 (U [FU, Sm], A) ◇ If the N etymon is \*weíḡKḡ, the absence of reflexes of N \*K in T and in one of the variants of the Tg root is still to be explained.

2490. ?<sub>2</sub> \*wḡíḡPE 'fur-bearing animal' > IE: NaIE \*wḡp(-eḡ)- ~ \*wḡḡloupe(:)ḡ- '≈ fox' > L volpēs ~ vulpēs 'fox' || Lt wilpišỹs

'wild cat', *lãpè* 'fox', Ltv *lapsa* id. || Gmc (× NaIE \*w<sub>2</sub>lk<sup>w</sup>o-s 'wolf' < N \*w<sup>1</sup>U<sup>1</sup>ẓ<sub>1</sub>E<sub>1</sub>Ḳo ~ \*w<sup>1</sup>o<sup>1</sup>Ḳṽẓ<sub>1</sub>Ḳṽ 'e a canine'): Gt *wulf*s, ON *ulfr*, NNR, Dn, Sw *ulv*, MDt *wolf* ~ *wulf*, Dt, OHG *wolf*, NHG *Wolf*, OSx, AS *wulf* 'wolf', NE *wolf* || Gl ἄλώπηξ (< \*Fαλώπηξ) 'fox' || ? Arm *աղուխ* *ałuê*s id. || OI *lōpā'sah*, Av *raopi-* 'fox, jackal', ZPhl *lwɔp<sup>ɔ</sup>s* ~ *lwɔp<sup>ɔ</sup>s*, CINPrs *روباه* *rōbāh* (> NPrs *rubah*) 'fox', KhS *rrūvāsa-* 'jackal', Oss I *rūvas*, Oss D *robas* 'fox'; Av *urupi-s* 'dog' || Ht {Ts.} *ulip(pa)na* 'e predator' ('wolf?') ¶¶ WP I 317-8, P 212-3, E 212-3 (\*w<sub>1</sub>(o)p- 'fox'), WH II 830, M K III 115-6, Ab. III 433-4, Fs. 576, Vr. 632-3, Vr. N 845, Ho. 410, Ho. S 90, Kb. 1224, OsS 1196, KM 867, Frn. 340, 1254, Sl. 119, Ts. W 96 || ¶ A: M {DQA} *olbo* ~ \**olbi* > WrM *olbu*, HIM, Brt *olbo* 'flying squirrel' (unless there was an initial \*φ-leaving no traces in WrM, HIM, and Brt) ¶ MED 608, Chr. 353 || T \**oū́l* > NaT \**oū́š* > Yk *ūs* 'sable, marten, lynx', Xk/Tv *üs* (< b- Yk?) 'lynx'; T \**ü.́l*ák (< N ? \*w<sup>1</sup>U<sup>1</sup>ẓ<sub>1</sub>E<sub>1</sub>Ḳo ~ \*w<sup>1</sup>o<sup>1</sup>Ḳṽẓ<sub>1</sub>Ḳṽ '↑', q.v.) > T \**ü.́l*ák > MT [IM] {Shch.}, Osm {RL} *üşäk*, Tk *üşek* 'lynx' ¶ Shch. Zh 141-2, TL 159, Rs. W 523, Pek. 3184-5, TrR 890, Rl. I 1904 || ?φ pJ {S} \**b3s3* ~ \**b3sua* 'otter' > OJ *woso*, J T *uso* ¶ S QJ #328, Mr. 512 ¶¶ DQA #2512 (A \**ú́lpe* 'fur-bearing animal' ["ground game"]) ◇ The absence of reflexes of N \**P* in T \**oū́l* still needs explaining.

**2491.** \*w<sup>1</sup>ṽmo<sub>1</sub>?<sub>1</sub>i 'use magical forces' ('make magical signs, utter magical incantations, swear, cause suffering, torment') > HS: S \**√w<sub>1</sub>m?* ~ *√w<sub>1</sub>my|w* ≈ 'make a (magical?) sign, swear' > OAk *√w<sub>1</sub>m?* *G* (inf. *wamā<sup>ɔ</sup>u*) 'swear', d. Ak *māmītu* 'oath, curse', JA {Trg.} *√ymy|w G* (pf. *Ḳṽ'p<sup>ɔ</sup>mā*), JEA {Sl.}, JPA Bz {Sl.} *√ymy G* 'swear', Sr *√ymy|w G* (pf. *Ḳṽ'p<sup>ɔ</sup>mā* ~ *Ḳṽ'p<sup>ɔ</sup>mā*) 'swear', Ar *√w<sub>1</sub>m?* *G* (pf. *wama<sup>ɔ</sup>a*) 'make a sign with the head to' ¶ Sd. 899-700, 1459, AD X/1 189-90, Br. 303, Js. 580, Lv. T I 335-6, Sl. 536, Sl. 242, BK II 1609-10, Hv. 895, DRS 556 || IE: NaIE \**omō*(<sub>1</sub>)- v. 'swear; torment, vex, annoy' > OI 'amīti 'swears' || Gk ὅμνυμι, ὅμνύω 'I swear' ] another variant of meaning: OI *amīvā* 'pain, grief; distress, terror', Vd *amīva* 'tormenting spirit, demon; affliction, disease', ? *am-* 'be pernicious, dangerous; be afflicted, sick' (unless ← *am-* 'anpacken, anfassen') || Gk Hm ὀμοῦτος {Hofm., P} 'plagend, leidvoll' || ON *ama* 'plagen, belästigen' || Tc B *ami-éske* 'bad-tempered, despondent', {Wn.} 'mal disposé, de mauvaise humeur', *amiškäríne* 'tristesse, affliction, détresse', {Ad.}

'bad disposition, despondency' ¶ The IE cognate is valid unless \*a|om- 'strong, strength' (> Av ama- 'Kraft, männliche Potenz; stark') belongs here and its meaning is primary ¶ WP 178-9, P 778, Dv. #372, M KI 44, M E I 96-8, MW 80, 82, Hofm. 232, F II 388-9, Ch. 798-9, Slm. U 101ff., Vr. 8, Wn. 143-4, Ad. 19, ≈φ EI 560 (\*h<sub>1</sub>emh<sub>3</sub>- 'swear') || U: FU \*wâme- v. 'influence by magic means' > Prm: Z вомицэ vomīz̄, Z US vom+ž̄, Yz 'vomīz̄ n. act. 'bewitching with the evil eye', Z vomžav-n+, Yz 'vomžal- n^ 'to bewitch with the evil eye' || OHg im-ād- 'pray, worship', Hg imád- 'worship, adore' ¶ UEW 589, LG 62, Lt. J 100, MF 318, EWU 608  
 ◇ The loss of the initial \*w- in IE (possibly \*w $\nabla$ m- > \*oum- > IE \*om-?) still needs investigating.

2492. (2?) \*wûmH $\nabla$  (or \*hûmh $\nabla$ ) 'spit, vomit' > IE: NaIE \*wemā- v. 'spew, vomit' > OI 'vamiti 'vomits', MPrs vāmēδ 'speit aus', Oss I wāmən ~ omən, Oss D wāmun 'to vomit' || Gk ἔμέω 'vomit', n. act. ἔμετος, ἔμεσις || L vom-ō / -ēre 'vomit', n. act. vomitus || ON váma 'Unwohlsein', OSw vami 'Ekel', Ic voma 'nausea', Nr Δ vimla 'to feel nausea', vimra 'to make so. sick, to nauseate' || Lt vém-ti, Ltv vem-t 'to vomit' ¶ WPI 262-3, P 1146, EI 538 (\*'wemH-ni 'spew, vomit'), Mn. 1517, M K III 146, M E II 506-7, Ab. IV 85, F I 504-5, WH II 835-6, Vr. 642, Frn. 1222 || D \*um- v. 'spit, vomit' > Tm umi 'spit, gargle', uminīr, Tu ubbi, Tl ummi 'spittle, saliva', Ml umiyuka 'spit out', umiṛu 'spittle', umiṛka v. 'spit, emit', Kn ummalu, ummulu 'phlegm, mucus', Tu ubbiyuni, {BhK} ubi v 'spit', Krg ubbi id., umi 'saliva', Tl umiyu v. 'spit, spit out' ¶ D #636 || ? HS: Eg NK hmh 'saliva' or sim. ¶ EG II 490 ◇ BmK #408 (IE, D) ◇ If Eg hmh belongs here, the pN etymon may be \*hûmh $\nabla$  (though the shift N \*Hû- > NaIE \*we- has no parallels). But if Eg hmh is kept apart, the N rec. must be \*wûmH $\nabla$ .

2493. (2?) \*w|yUm $\nabla$ R<sub>L</sub>T<sub>L</sub> $\nabla$  or \*w|yUm $\nabla$ r $\nabla$ ηT $\nabla$  'ε egg' > HS: S \*✓ w|ymr (? \*w|y $\nabla$ mu<sub>L</sub>;<sub>r</sub>-) > Ak tumurtu 'ant's eggs'; ? Ar يامور yāmūr- 'male camel' (← 'having testicles'??) ¶ Sd. 1370, BK II 1634 || ? mt.: Eg CT ω r m. t '(?) testicles' ¶ EG I 333 || ??φ Ch: Tng {J} amak 'egg' ¶ JI II 122, J T 66 || A \*<sub>L</sub>yUmur|<sub>r</sub>- 'egg' > T \*jumur-tka 'egg' > OT/Chg {Cl.}, Tkm jumurtqa, MQp jumurtqa, Tk yumurta, Az jumurta, Uz Δ jumurtqa, Qmq jimirtqa, VTt йомырка jǫmǫrqa, Bsh jǫmǫrtqa, Nog jumirtqa, Qzq жҫмыртқа žǫmirtqa, Qrg žumurtqa, StAlt žimirtqa, Tv чурга čūrqa, Tf númurha, Xk nimirqa, Shor nibirtqa, Yk сымыыт

simīt || Chv çǎmarta ṣ́mard\_a ¶ Cl. 938, ET J 250-1, TL 149, Rs. W 211, Ra. 210, Jeg. 207, Fed. II 94 || Tg \*umū- 'lay eggs' > Ewk umū- id.; \*umū-hta 'egg' > Ewk umūhta, Sln umatta ~ umurta, Lm umtъ, Δ umta, Neg omokta ~ omukta, Orc, Ud umukta, Ul omuqta ~ umuqta, Nn Nh omoqta id.; \*umū- with a different sx. > WrMc umgan, umxa, umxan 'egg' ¶ STM II 269, Krm. 302 || ?ϕ M \*ömdegen 'egg' (originally a derived noun or a cd.) > MM [LV] {Pp.} ömdegen, [IM] {Pp.} öndüge, WrM ömdügen ~ öndegen, HIM өндөг, Brt үндэгэ(н), Kl {KRS} өндгн öndgän, {Rm.} öndǎgŋ ~ öndǎgə, MMgl [Z] ündagan, Mgl {Rm.} ündǎṣōn, Mnr H {SM} nd\_ig\_e, {T} ndige, Mnr M {Rkh.} endégé, Dx {T} endeṣi, Ba {T} ndegi id. ¶ Pp. L II 1261, Pp. MA 443, MED 635-6, T 349, T DnJ 144, T BJ 145, Iw. 144, Rm. M 41, KW 296, KRS 416, Chr. 505 ¶ Loss of the reflexes of N and A \*-r- in Tg and M may be due to metanalysis and back formation ¶¶ ADb. SRAE 13 and TL 149 (both: A \*ömur-), S AJ 58, SDM97 (A \*umi(r)-tk∇ [~ o-] 'egg'), DQA #2522 (A \*úmu-tki 'egg' > T, M, Tg) || ? D: Png rōnda, Mnd runða 'egg', as well as possibly D \*uñta ({ǧGS} \*und-) 'small globular object' > Tm uñta, Ml uñta id., 'ball', Kt uñdy 'round lump of food', Td udy 'round, ball', Kn uñde 'a round mass or ball (of raw sugar, clay, cow-dung, etc.)', Tu uñdæ 'ball, ball-shaped confection', Tl uñda 'ball, globe'; D → OI uñderaka-, Prkr uñderaya- 'ball of flour, roll, loaf', Mrt ūdā 'lump of kneaded dough' ¶¶ D #664(b), Tu. #1669 ◇ T \*j- and Ak t- may be due to metanalysis: they are likely to be final cnss. of the first components of word compounds, in which the N word \*<sup>r</sup>w|y<sup>r</sup>Um∇R<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>∇ was used. Alternatively, Ak t- may be a S px. of derivation, and T \*j- may point to a N \*y-. The D roots (Png rōnda, Mnd runða, and D \*uñta) may belong here if the N etymon is \*<sup>r</sup>w|y<sup>r</sup>Um∇r∇nT∇.

2494. \*wǎñ∇ ~ \*<sub>1</sub>X∇<sub>1</sub>wǎñ∇ 'relative (of a younger \ the same generation) of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'brother\sister-in-law, son-in-law') > HS: ? Eg fP ħwrn 'child, young man', ħwrn.t 'girl, virgin, daughter', Eg N ħwrn 'so.'s child, son', Eg fP ħwrn v. 'be rejuvenated' ¶ EG III 52-4, Fk. 166, Tk. I 297 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} wñn son', wññâ 'girl, young woman, daughter', Bd {ChL} wùnǎn 'son', wúnán 'girl' || NrBc {Sk.}: Wrj wúnáj, Cg uné, Kry wún, My wùn, Sir úná, Mbr wúná 'girl, daughter' || Plc {ChL} wun 'son', Buli {IL} wɜna 'child', {ChL} únñ 'son,

daughter', Wnd {ChL} wun id., {IL} wʒn 'child' || CCh: Pdl wɪnùšù 'girl', ? Lmn Hd {Lk.} v̄ěne 'boy' ¶ Sch. DN 169 (Ngz wʒnâ 'girl, daughter'), 2O1 (Ngz wúnâ id.), ChC, ChL, Sk. NB 23, Lk. H 107 || NrOm {Blz.} \*wan- 'woman' > She {Bnd.} wano 'woman' ¶ Blz. OL #63, Bnd. LE s.v. 'woman' (Blz. p.c. 2000: "mistake?") ¶ Tk. I 297 (Eg, ? Lmn) || **U** \*wän∇ > **[1]** FU \*wäñü 'daughter's husband, younger brother' > F vāvū, † vāy, Es vāi 'daughter's husband' | pLp {Lr.} \*vívʒ id. > L {LLO} L vívva, N {N} vívva, Kld vív id., S {Hs.} v'ijve 'younger sister's husband; sister's husband younger than ego' | Mk 0v 'daughter's husband, sister's husband' | Chr H wɪŋʒa, U/B weŋe 'daughter's husband, younger sister's husband' || Sm \*wänb 'relative-in-law (durch Heirat verwandt)' > Ne T O yiy, Ne F Lm wiy 'younger relative's husband', En bī 'Schwager, Mann der Schwester', Ng biŋi,-n 'daughter's husband', Slq: Tz {Cs.} kuena, Nr {Cs.} kuenek, Kar {Cs.} kuenaŋ 'wife's brother', Tm {KD} kuən'ǝg 'svåger, svågerska', LTz {KD} kʷɛnǝg 'styvson, systems man' || **[2]** ? (d.?) U \*want∇ 'bridegroom, relative-in-law' > Lp Kld vūntem 'Freier, Bräutigam' || Sm: Ne O yanne', Ne F Lm wennī 'durch Heirat verwandt, verschweigert' ¶¶ Coll. 67, UEW 557, 565-6, It. #278, Sm. 541 (U \*we|äñiw 'son-i-law' > FU \*wäñiw, FP \*vāñiv, Ugr \*wäñī-, Sm \*wɪŋo-), Jn. 173, Lr. #1394, Lgc. #8611, Hs. 1430, Jn. 173, Cs. 277 || **A:** Tg \*bene- 'wife's sibling' (× N \*beñ|ñ∇ 'younger relative', q.v.) > Ewk bɛnɛr, Ewk Z/Sm bɛnɛ 'wife's brother, wife's younger sister', Lm benər 'wife's\husband's younger sibling', Neg bɛnɛ 'wife's younger sibling', Orc bɛnɛ id., 'wife's younger sister's husband', Ul bɛnɛli, bɛnɛr 'wife's younger brother', Ud {Krm.} bɛnɛ 'wife's younger sibling', Nn Nh bɛnɛr- 'wife's younger male cousin; nephew' ¶ STM I 125, Krm. 216 || **D:** **[1]** ?? \*vanna or \*vañña '(elder) brother's wife' > Klm vanna 'brother's wife', ? Png oni 'elder brother's wife', ? Knd oni id., 'maternal uncle's daughter (older than person concerned)' (unless the D word is a loan from Prkr vahuññī 'husband's elder brother's wife') ¶¶ D #5251 || **[2]** (in GnD) (< d.?) \*vāñi 'wife' > Png, Mnd vāñi id. ¶ D #5348 || **[3]** D \*-vañ 'man' (within dem. pronouns): D \*a-vañ 'that man (ille homo)' (↔ \*a-tu 'that thing') > Tm avañ ~ avvañ 'that man', Ml avan, Kn ava, Nkr avnd id. (↔ Tm, Ml atu 'that thing', Kn adu, Nkr ad 'that thing'), D \*i-vañ 'this man' (↔ \*i-tu 'this thing') > Tm i vañ 'that man', Ml i van, Kn i va, Nkr ivnd id. (↔



Tm, Ml itu 'this thing', Kn idu ~ itu, Nkr id 'this thing, this woman'), D \*u-vaŋ 'iste homo' (↔ \*u-tu 'ista res') > Tm uvan, Kn uva 'iste homo' (↔ Tm utu, Kn udu 'ista res'); the same √ is found in cds., e.g. Kdg illa-vã<sub>1</sub> 'man who is a relative' (lit. 'house-man', 'family-man': illa- is 'house, family'), Mlt qal-we 'thief' ¶¶ Shanm. DN 30-140, D ##1, 410, 494 ◇ AD NM #112, ≠ S CNM 12 (rejects the Tg cognate, because, in his opinion, N \*w- cannot yield A \*b-; but cf. N \*waLd∇ 'to give birth' [q.v.] > S \*√wld G id. and Tg \*baldi- v. 'give birth, be born', D \*van- 'elder brother's wife' < N \*wän∇ → \*X∇, wän∇ 'relative of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' [see ADb. NNN 35] and other N words with A \*b- < N \*w- that are quoted in this dictionary) ◇ The semanteme 'relative from the other exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' (preserved in U, A, and D) was transformed in 'younger relative' in HS ◇ FU \*-ŋ- in \*wänjü may be due to the presence of a sx. ◇ The pN element \*X∇- (> Eg ĥ-) may go back to the first component of a cd.

**2495.** \*w<sup>r</sup>o<sup>1</sup>n∇ 'wish, love; luck' > ? HS +ext.: \*√wng ~ \*√wnk > EC: Sml wanāg 'goodness, kindness, mercy', Sml N {Abr.} wánāg 'goodness', Sml wanāgsan, Sml N wánāgsán 'good, nice, kind' ¶ ZMO 408, Abr. S 249 || S \*<sup>o</sup>√wnk > Ar √wnq: mūniq- adj. 'qui plaît, agréable' (derivational pattern of a prtc.) ¶ BK II 1611 || ? Ch: Hs wāngalà 'feeling pleasure' ¶ Ba. 1079, Abr. S 921 || IE \*wen- 'wish, strive for, love' > OI 'vanati, va'nōti 'demands, strives for, likes', vani- f. 'wish, desire', 'vanaḥ / vanas- ntr. 'loveliness; longing, desire' (÷ L venus), vānchā n. 'wish', vanitā- 'beloved (woman), wife', Av vantā- id. || L venus (gen. veneris) 'charm, attractiveness' → Venus 'goddess of love'; vener-ō / -āre v. 'ask reverently; revere, respect, worship, honour' || OIr fine (< \*venyā) 'kinship, (joint-)family' || Gmc \*wēnō 'expectation, hope' > ON vān ~ (v)ón, Nr von, Sw vån, Gt wēns id.; Gmc \*wānja- adj. > ON vænn 'belonging to hope; beautiful'; Gt wēnjan, ON væna 'to expect, to hope'; ORu -winaR, ON vinr, AS wine, OSx wini, NNr vin, Dn ven, Nr venn, Sw vån 'friend', OHG wini id., 'beloved'; Gmc \*wunskō- n. 'wish' (÷ OI vānchā) > ON ósk, OHG wunsc, NHG Wunsch, MDt wonsc ~ wunse, AS wýsc ~ wūsc n. 'wish' (in the cd. wūsc-bearn 'liebes Kind') ⇨ Gmc \*wunskjan > ON yskja,

æskja, OHG *wunsken*, NHG *wünschen*, AS *wýsćan* 'to wish', NE *wish* v.; OHG R *wunja*, OHG *wunna*, *wunnī* 'delight', NHG *Wonne* 'joy, delight', OSx *wunna*, AS *wynn* 'joy', NE d. *winsome*  
 || Tc: A *wañi*, B *wīna* 'pleasure' || Ht *wen-*, *went-* 'copulate' ¶¶ WP I 259, P 1147, EI 158 (\**wenH-* 'desire, strive to obtain'), M K III 141-2, M E II 499-500, WH I 752-3, Thr. § 259, Vr. 421, 643, 666, 671, 680, Fs. 561, Kb. 1203, 1229, OsS 1160, 1212-3, 1228-9, KM 868-9, Ho. 397, 411-2, Hlq. 1376, 1389, Wn. 544, Ad. 601-2, Ts. W 105 || U: FU: FL ≈ \**ᵛwonne* 'luck' > F *orri* 'luck, chance, fortune', Es *ōrn* 'happiness, luck, fortune' | pLp ≈ \**ᵛōnn3* > Lp: L {LLO} *ᵛuodna* 'Glück', N {N} *ᵛuod'nâ* / *-dn-* 'good fortune, luck' ¶ SK 422, N III 784, Lgc. #8784, LLO 1430 ¶ FL \**n* may go back to pFU \**n* or \**ñ* || A: T \**on-* v. 'thrive, prosper' > OT {Cl.} *on-* id., Chv *ǎH- ɔn-* 'succeed', 'be good' (crop), 'breed well' (live-stock), Tk *on-* ~ *un-* 'improve, be healed'; in most T lgs. the cns. *-n-* changed into *-ŋ-* under the infl. of the word *oŋ* 'right' (Cl.: "by false analogy with *oŋ*"): OOSm ≥XIV *oŋ-* 'prosper, thrive', MQp XIV *oŋ-* id., 'be satisfactory', Tkm *oŋ-* 'get right, return to normal (наладиться)', Uz *ǎH- oŋ-* 'be successful, fit', Qrg, Nog, Qq, ET *oŋ-*, VTt, Bsh *uŋ-* id., 'have luck', QbB *oŋ-*, Qzq *oŋ-* 'succeed, have luck', *oŋ* 'success, good luck' ¶ Cl. 166-9, DTS 367 (OT *on* 'fate'), ET Gl 456-60, Sht. 155, UzR 584, Md. 42, 171 (pT \**oŋ-*) || ?σ M \**onu-* 'hit the target' → 'guess rightly' (× N \**wanE* 'to hit, to injure', q.v. ffd.) || D ?? \**ᵛēñ-* / \**ᵛēñt̥-* / \**ᵛēñt̥-* 'want, desire' (× N \**wed∇* 'to hunt', q.v. ffd.); the D vw. \**ē* suggests that the main source of the D √ is N \**wed∇*, but the latter is likely to have contaminated with N \**w'o'ñ∇* (as suggested by *-ñ-* in Ml *ᵛēñam* 'it must') ¶¶ D #5528 ¶¶ GS 173 [#435] suggests here D \**ᵛēñ-* > SD \**ᵛēñ-* / \**ᵛēñ-*; if GS is right, the D √ does not belong to N \**w'o'ñ∇* ◇ The HS cognate is qu. because the HS root-final \**g* needs explaining ◇ Blz. SNE #15 (C, Ch, IE, U, T).

**2495a.** (₂?) \**w∇ᵛ∇N∇* 'stay, (?) be' > HS: C: Ag {AD} \**w[ā]n-* 'stay, be' > Bln {Ap.} *wan-*, {R} *wān-* 'weilen, sich aufhalten, die Zeit verbringen', Xm {Ap.} *w3n-*, {R} *wīn-* 'sein, existieren, bleiben', Q {R} *wān-* 'weilen, sich aufhalten, sein, existieren', Km {Ap.} *wan-*, {CR} *wān-* 'être, exister' ¶ Ap. IC 50 (Ag \**√wn* 'be'), R WB 357, R Q II 111, CR K 265 || Eg √ *w n(n)* 'be' ('sein, vorhanden sein') ¶ EG I 308-9 || ? S \**°√wañn-* > Ar *wañn-* 'lieu où l'on se retire, asile, refuge'; possibly also WS \*\**-ñn-* 'dwell' ⇨ WS \**mañān-* 'place, dwelling' > BHb *ᵛmāñn*

'dwelling' (↳ Sr **مَدِينَة** māḏīn-ā 'country, region'), Ar **مَعَان** maḏān- 'lieu, endroit, place', Sb mḏn 'dwelling' ¶ GB 443, ≈ KB 577 (err. equation with Ar maḏnā-n 'dwelling', which is derived from √ḏny 'dwell' and does not belong here), BK II 414, 512-3, 1570, Br. 398, BGMR 23 ¶ WS \*maḏān- belongs here if it goes back to S \*√wḏn with metanalysis (reinterpretation of \*w- as a prefix of intransitivity) ¶¶ If the S root belongs here, the absence of ḏ in Eg is still to be accounted for || K \*owān- > G vān-: [1] 1s prs. v-i-vān-eb 'sich einrichten, niederlassen, ein Haus beziehen', [2] 1s prs. v-a-vān-eb vt. '(jemanden) herbergen' ¶ Chx. 362, ≈ Fn. KL 72 (unreliable equation with Mg on- [name of a city] and Sv wān 'plain, lowland, plateau') || Highly doubtful: IE: Ir fanaim {IED} 'wait, stay', {Mn.} 'tarry, dwell' (acc. to Mn. from NaIE {Mn.} \*owān- 'stay, dally, linger, limp', but the alleged cognates of the Ir word (L [vānūs], Gmc, and Al, adduced by Mn.) cannot be semantically related to the N word ¶ Mn. 1490, IED 43 ◇ If NaIE \*owān- belongs here, the N rec. must be \*wā<sub>1</sub>ḏ<sub>1</sub>n̄ ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 141 [#29] (suggested the K-Ag-Eg comparison and adduced the dubious IE parallel).

**2496.** (₂?) \*weñdḏ 'to fight, to injure, to hurt' > IE: NaIE \*wendh- 'wound, injure' (× N \*wanḏE 'to hit, to injure') > Gt wunds, AS, OSx, NHG wund, OHG wunt adj. 'wounded', ON und, OHG wunta, NHG Wunde, OSx wunda, AS wund n. 'wound', NE wound n.; Gt ga-wundōn, ON unda, OHG wuntōn, NHG wunden 'to wound' ||| Arm **վանդեմ** vandem 'I undo, destroy, ruin' ¶ Fs. 213, 566, 577-8, Kb. 1129-31, KM 869, Vr. 634, Ho. 410, Ho. S 90, OsS 1213, KM 869 || D {ḡAn.} \*vēñt- 'hunt, (try to) kill' (× D \*vēt- 'hunt' < N \*wedḏ 'to hunt') > Kn bēñte, Tu bēñtæ ~ bōñtæ, Tl vēḡta ~ venḡta 'hunting, the chase', as well as Tm vēḡtam, Nkr vēḡta id., etc. (ffd. see N \*wedḏ 'to hunt') ¶¶ D #5527, An. SG 131-2 || ? A: M \*onḡi- (< \*\*ondi-) > MM [S] onḡi- 'punish (bestrafen)' (unless identical with MM [S] honcīt- 'tadeln, maßregeln' with h- < pM \*φ-) ¶ H 77, 125, MED 616 ◇ Highly doubtful because of the alt. etl. connections in IE, D, and M. The M cognate is legitimate if M \*o- may go back to N \*we-.

**2497.** (₂?) \*weñdḏ 'to be withered, to dry' > IE: NaIE \*wendh- 'be barren, wither' > OI vandhya- adj. 'barren', vandhyā 'barren woman' ||| Arm **գոնջ** gonḡ 'mangy, scurfy' ||| ? OIr {SB} fann 'weak', NI fann 'weak, languid, faint', OCrn guan, Crn, Br gwan 'weak' (<

\*wŋd<sup>h</sup>-) || SI \*ved-nŋ-ti (ip. \*vedati) 'to fade, to wither' > OCS **УВѢДАТИ** u-vedati, SCr **vénuti**, Slv **véniti**, Cz **vadnouti**, Slk **vädnut'**, P **więdnąć**, R **вянуть** 'to fade, to wither', Blg **Δ вена** **џ вѣна** v. 'wither' (Blg **вехна** **џ вѣхна** id. has x due to the infl. of **съхна** vi. 'dry'); ?? ChS **ѠДНТИ** qđiti, Cz **uditi**, P **wędzić** vt. 'to smoke, to humigate' ¶ WP I 261, Mn. 1513-4, ≈ P 1047, 1148, SB 259, Dnn. 297, Hm. 347, M K III 143-4, M E II 503, Dnn. 297, ECCE 250, Hm. 347, ≈ Vs. I 375, ≈ Glh. 666, BER I 138-9 || **D** \*ven<sup>h</sup>ŋ-, {ǵGS} \*vend<sup>h</sup>- > Tm **ven<sup>h</sup>ŋu** v. 'dry as in the sun, become withered', Ml **ven<sup>h</sup>ŋ-elpu** 'an old bone', Kn **be<sup>h</sup>ŋu** 'ε white and light corky wood; cork, pith; a soft \ light \ useless substance', Tu **be<sup>h</sup>ŋu** ~ **be<sup>h</sup>ŋu** 'pith; Aeschynomene aspera (a light and spongy plant growing in water); thin(ness), lean(ness), light(ness), emaciated', **bo<sup>h</sup>ŋu** 'pith', Tl **be<sup>h</sup>ŋu** 'Aeschynomene indica; soft, powerless'; D **↳ Mrt b<sup>h</sup>ēd** 'pith' ¶¶ D #5480 || **?,φ A**: T: OT {Cl.} **bēδ-** 'be weak' (of eyesight) ¶ Cl. 298.

**2498. \*wen<sup>h</sup>ŋ<sup>h</sup>d<sup>h</sup>** 'to turn' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to return') > **HS**: B {ǵPr.} \***✓wŋd** (Pcj. I A 2) > Ah {Fc.} inv. **ənnəđ** 'se tourner, changer de direction', Ty/ETwl **ənnəđ** (3m pf.: Ty **ɣənnəđ**, EWlm **innəđ**) 'enrouler, envelopper, tourner (dans une autre direction), être enroulé\tourné', Tmz {MT} **ənnəđ** 'envelopper', Rf/Izn/SrSn {Rn.} **ənnəđ** '(se) tourner', Kb **ənnəđ** '(s')envelopper, tourner', Wrg {Dlh.} **ənnəđ** 'tourner, entourer', Mz {Dlh.} **ənnəđ** id., 'enrouler', BSn/BMnc {Ds.} **ənnəđ**, Nf {La.} **ənnəđ** 'tourner', Skn {La.} **ənnəđ** 'tourner en rond', Gd **ənnəđ** (3m pf. **innəđ**) 'tourner, enrouler' ¶ Fc. 1298, Pr. M VI-VII 300, GhA 140, Dl. 546, Dlh. Ou 212-3, Dlh. M 133, Ds. B 348, MT 466, La. S 304, Lf. I 244 & II #1096 || C: Ag: Q {R} **wāntə-r-**, Xm {R} **water-vi** 'return, turn back', Bln {R} **wāntə-r-** id., vt. caus. **wāntə-s-** vt. 'give back, put back, answer' ¶ R WB 358 || **IE**: NaIE \*wend<sup>h</sup>-/\*wond<sup>h</sup>-/\*wŋd<sup>h</sup>- 'turn, twist, plait' > OI **van<sup>h</sup>dhur-** 'wicker basket tied on a wagon, wicker carriage' ({M}: < Iir \*wand<sup>h</sup>- 'flechten, winden') || Gk cd. **κάν(ν)αθρον** 'cane or wicker carriage', Gk R [Hs.] **ἄθρας** \* **ἄρμα** 'wagon' ({EI}: **ἄθρας** < \*wŋd<sup>h</sup>-r-) || Arm **գինդ** gind 'ear-ring, buckle' || Um PRE-VENDV 'advertitō', **¿ AHV-VENDV** 'avertitō (let him turn aside)' || Gmc: Gt **bi-windan** 'umwinden', **us-windan** 'to plait', OSx, AS **windan**, ON, NNr, Sw **vinda**, Dn **vinde**, OHG **wintan**, NHG **winden** 'to wind', NE v. **wind**; d. caus. Gmc \*wandjan > Gt **wandjan**, ON, NNr **venda**, Sw **vända**, Dn **vende**, OSx **wëndian**, AS **wëndan**, OHG

wenten, NHG wenden vt. 'to turn, to bend' ||| pTc \*wänt- > Tc A/B wänt- v. '≈ cover, envelop' ¶ WP I 261, P 1148, EI 607, Mn. 1513, 1556-7, 1575, M K III 143, M E II 503, F I 779, Pln. 725, 751, Fs. 98, 550, Vr. 653, 665, Ho. 389, 397, Ho. S 85, 88, Kb. 1168, 1206, OsS 1089, 1164, KM 852, 861, Slr. 142-3, Ad. 592 ||| D \*ven̄t-, {ǵGS} \*ven̄d- v. 'turn (round), return' > Tl ven̄d̄i 'again, once more', Ku vendali 'go back, return', ? Kui vr̄epa (p. vr̄ēt-) v. 'return, come back', ? Krx bīrd- vt. 'turn over, turn round, give back' ¶¶ D #5481 ◇ The emphatic \*ǵ in B and the vl. \*t in Ag (for the expected \*d) suggest the presence of a lr. in the N word, that is likely to have been \*ʔ (N \*-ʔ∇d- > \*-ʔd- > \*-t̄- > B \*ǵ); any other lr. would have yielded a NaIE \*ə, which is not the case.

2499. (₂?) \*w'o'n̄t̄∇ 'belly' > IE: NaIE \*went-/wont- id. > L venter (gen. ventris) 'belly' ||| Gmc \*wan̄θa- > d.: MLG ingewāt, ingewant, ingewende, MDt inghewant, Dt ingewanden 'entrails' (infl. of MDt inghewāde ÷ NHG Eingeweide of different origin) ¶ ≈ P 1104-5, WH II 751, ≈ Vr. N 281 ||| U: FU \*o<sub>l</sub>w<sub>l</sub>ont̄∇, \*o<sub>l</sub>w<sub>l</sub>ont̄∇r̄∇ > ObU \*ōnt, \*ōntar 'belly, inside of the body' > pVg \*āntar > Vg MK/UL ontar 'stomach (Magen)'; pOs {Ht.} \*ont ({ǵHL} \*ānt < \*ōnt) > Os: V/Vy ont, Ty/Y ōnt, D/K/Sh unt 'inside of the body (υτρο, Inneres), belly'; pOs {Ht.} \*ontar ({ǵHL} \*āntar < \*ōntar) {Ht.} 'Leib' > Os: Vy/O ontar, D/Nz untar 'womb', Sh untar id., 'belly, inside of the body', Kz wūntar 'belly', V ontar, Ty/Y ōntar {Trj.} 'length, extension, distance' ¶ Sm. 542 (FU, FP \*o<sub>l</sub>nti, Ugr \*o<sub>l</sub>ntī 'cavity'), Ht. #40, Stn. D 117-8, Trj. S 327 ||| ?σ HS: mt. WS \*√w̄t̄n 'dwell' (← \*'be within [a house]'), \*o<sub>l</sub>w̄t̄n- (\*wa't̄an-?) 'dwelling, place to dwell' > Ar √w̄t̄n (ip. -w̄tinu) G 'dwell in, settle, inhabit (a place)', waṭan- 'dwelling; stable for cattle; fatherland', Jb C {Jo.} √w̄t̄n G (pf. ōt̄n) 'start living in a new place' (← Ar?), Sb d. (n. l.) m̄w̄t̄n 'temple' ¶ BK II 1563, Hv. 878-9, Jo. J 294, BGMR 166, DRS 529.

2500. \*wañ∇z̄'a¹ 'belly' > HS \*√wn̄ž ~ \*w̄∇ž̄∇m/n- (mt. from \*√wn̄ž) > CCh: Db {Lnh., ChL} w̄n̄ž̄i 'entrails', ? G'nd {ChL} w̄n̄šárà, ? Gbn {ChL} w̄n̄sèwúrè id. ||| ?? WCh (× N \*'wAt̄∇ 'belly?'): Zar {ChL} v̄ic̄íkì 'stomach' ¶ ChC, ChL || S \*o<sub>l</sub>waḍam- > Ar waḍam-at- 'ventricle with the bowels' ¶ BK II 1515, Hv. 961, DRS 506 || C {AD} \*w̄∇z̄∇n- (? ~ \*w̄∇z̄∇m-?) 'belly, inside' > Ag {AD} \*o<sub>l</sub>w̄∇z̄∇n- / pl. \*o<sub>l</sub>w̄∇z̄z̄∇n- > Bln {R} w̄o<sub>l</sub>d̄en (pl. w̄o<sub>l</sub>z̄en) 'belly, heart, inside of the house', Xmt {Bnd.} z̄z̄en 'heart' ||| EC {Ss.} \*wazn- (~ \*waz∇m-?) > Af {R} wadanā

'belly, heart, inside', Sa {Bl.} wadan-ā, {Ss.} wadana ~ wazana 'heart', {Wlm.} wadana 'belly'; pSam {Hn.} \*wéznè 'heart' > Sml N {Abr.} wádne, pBn {Hn.} \*wénnè (> Bn: Bi wennɜ, J/Kj wénnɜ, K wénnɜ), Rn {Hn.} 'wéyn-a, {PG} wéynà, Bs {Fl.} wɫɛɛna id., Or B {Anr.} ónne?, {Sr.} onnē, Or T {Mrn.} onnē, Or H {Ow.} ónnē, Or Wt {Hn.} ona id., Kns otanta 'center', Dsn {To.} <sup>h</sup>úōðin-u 'chest', <sup>h</sup>úōðin-ni 'heart', Elm pawa (< \*wawa < \*wazan), ?φ Arr zazzá 'heart', pHEC {Hd.} \*wazana 'heart' > Sd wadan-a, {Gs.} wodana, Alb, Kmb wazan-a, Hd {Hd., Ss.} wodan-a, Tmb {L} wazano, Brj {Ss.} wodán-a; LEC ⇨ Gf {Mrn.} wozana, Gm {Hw.} woziná, Wl/Malo {LmS} wozana, Kcm {LmS} wazzo 'heart'; EC ⇨ EthS: Har {L} wazāna 'chest, courage', Grg Sl/Z wəzəne, Grg Wl {L} wəzən 'heart, chest'; Rn {PG} woyām, {Fl., Bnd.} wayam 'heart' may represent C \*w∇z∇m- and EC \*waz∇m- ¶ AD SF 187, Ss. PEC 20, Ss. B 187-8, Bl. 211 (LEC \*wadn-/\*wadan-), BISO 131, R WB 353, Sr. 337, Ow. 270, Hn. W 60, Hn. S 98, Hn. BD 111, 150, PG 293-5, Hd. 77-8, 226, 302, 343, 401, L Z 120, L EDG III 675, Hw. A 401, Hw. EG s.v. 'heart', LmS 552-3, C SE I 279, To. DL 507 || ? B: Sll {Ds.} adān (ann. wadān) pl. 'intestin grêle, boyau', BSn/Izn/Mtmt {Ds.} āḏān 'intestins (incl. panse des ruminants, cœur, poumons, foie)', Ty/WTwl adan 'intestin grêle', Ah {Fc.} adānan pl., Gh {Nh.} adan, Izd {Mrc.} adan 'intestins', Nf {La.} adun, {Beg.} adū (pl. adān) 'intestino', Gd {Lf.} ādan (pl. adānən) 'intestins, boyaux' ¶ Ds. 45, 159, Ds. B 178, Fc. 205, GhA 24, Lf. II #O291, Beg. 238 || ? Eg P wzmw '∈ human body part'; according to Tk. I 176-86, Eg z < HS \*ž is not anomalous (⇔ OS) ¶ EG I 357 ¶¶ Coh. #397 (C, B), OS #2538 (HS \*wažam- 'intestines' > S, Eg), #2539 (\*wažan-/\*wažin- 'intestines' > B, Ch, C, Om) || U: FU \*waća 'stomach, belly' > F vatsa 'belly, stomach', Es vats (vatsa) 'paunch, belly' || Vg {Mu.}: N vaś, ML vaša 'stomach' ¶ Coll. 123, UEW 547, MK 721 || D \*vač- ~ \*vanč- 'belly' ({Zv.} \*vač-) > Tm vayin id., vayiru id., 'paunch, womb, centre', vayā 'foetus, womb', Ml vayarū 'belly, stomach, inside', Kt vīr, Td pīr 'belly, pregnancy', Kn basar(u), basir 'belly, abdomen, womb', Tu bañji 'stomach, belly, womb', Knd vaski 'small intestines', Png/Mnd vahin pl. 'intestines', Kui vahi, Kw wahi ɘ vahi ɘ vahī id. ¶¶ D #5259, Zv. 112 || IE: NaIE {F} \*wēnes-trō- '∈ internal organ (in the belly)' ('stomach of ruminants?') > Gk ἄβυστρον 'abomasum (the forth stomach of ruminants)' || Nr Δ vinstr id., Sw Δ vinstēr 'Lab-Blätter-magen', Ic vinstr 'omasum

(the third stomach of ruminants)', Far  $\upsilon$ instur, Nr  $\Delta$   $\upsilon$ instr, Sw  $\Delta$   $\upsilon$ inster 'abomasum', Ic  $\upsilon$ instur {Bv.} id., {Hlq.} 'the third stomach of ruminants', OHG  $\omega$ anast,  $\omega$ enist 'belly', {EI} 'the first stomach of ruminants', NHG Wanst 'rumen' ||| OI  $\upsilon$ aniṣṭhu 'a part of the entrails of an animal offered as a sacrifice' ¶ P 1105, EI 2 (\* $\omega$ en $\nabla$ st(r)- 'abomasum, omasum'), M K III 140-1, 175, F I 638, WH II 750-1, Kb. 1140, OsS 1088, KM 837-8, Bv. 861, JM 506, Hlq. 1351-2  $\diamond$  Uralix \*- $\acute{c}$ - suggests N \*- $\acute{z}$ |-, while Ar - $\delta$ - points to a N \*- $\acute{z}$ -; FU \* $\omega$ a $\acute{c}$ a and D \* $\omega$ a $\acute{c}$ - reflect a later epenthetic variant of the N word with loss of the nasal consonant  $\diamond \neq$  BmK 617 (equates the FU and D roots with  $\text{\textcircled{E}}$  \* $\upsilon$ dero-/\* $\omega$ \text{\textcircled{E}}dero- [see N \* $\omega$ At $\nabla$  'belly'])).

**2501. \* $\omega$ a $\acute{n}$  $\nabla$**  'squeeze, press' ([in descendant lgs.]  $\rightarrow$  'weaken [sth.], 'ram, trample down, make compact by pressing') > HS: S  $\checkmark$   $\omega$ ny '≈ suppress, weaken (vt.)' > BHb  $\checkmark$   $\omega$ ny| $\omega$  'suppress, oppress': acp. G הַנְּיָיִי  $\omega$ ō'nē 'oppressing' (f. hā'īr hayyō'nā 'the oppressing city'), Sh pf. הַנְּיָיִי hō'nā 'he oppressed, maltreated', JA [Trg.]  $\checkmark$   $\omega$ ny: Sh pf. הַנְּיָיִי  $\omega$ ō'nī id. ({Lv.}  $\checkmark$   $\omega$ ny Sh 'bedrücken'), JEA {Sl.}  $\checkmark$   $\omega$ ny Sh 'act fraudulently', JPA Bz {Sl.}  $\checkmark$   $\omega$ ny Sh 'vex, taunt, deal fraudulently', Ar  $\checkmark$   $\omega$ ny G 'être fatigué; être faible, mou, manquer de force' ( $\leftarrow$  \*'be weakened'), Ak (fOAK?) {Sd.} inf.  $\omega$ anā $\omega$ um '≈ unter Druck setzen, bedrängen mit', Sb {DRS  $\leftarrow$  VAbd.} h $\omega$ ny 'dépérir' ¶ KB 398, BDB 413, GB 303 (adduces Mn  $\checkmark$   $\omega$ ny that is not confirmed by up-to-date research), Lv. T I 337, Sl. 538, Sl. P 242, BK II 1612, Hv. 896, Sd. 145, DRS 562 ||| **U:** FU \* $\omega$ a $\acute{n}$  $\nabla$  'make soft\compact (by kneading, fulling)' > F  $\upsilon$ anu- 'become condensed, thick, be kneaded; become matted, mat',  $\upsilon$ anutta- 'shrink, cause to shrink, knead; full, mill', {SK} 'thrash soundly (mukiloida)', Es  $\upsilon$ anu- 'shrink; become matted, mat, felt', {W} 'walken' ||| OHg  $\upsilon$ ányol- 'walken, filzen; massieren', Hg  $\upsilon$ ányol- v. 'felt (wool); full, mill' ¶ UEW 558, W EDW 1306, MF 671-2, EWU 1605-6 ||| **A:** NaT \* $\omega$ y- ( $\leftarrow$  \* $\omega$ h-?) 'squeeze, trample' > OT {Cl.}  $\omega$ y- 'squeeze (to make compact)', {DTS} 'trample', MT [IM]  $\omega$ y- 'knead', d. OT {Cl.}  $\omega$ mā n. 'felt', Tkm  $\Delta$   $\omega$ y $\omega$  'felt socks', Tb/Qzq/Chg {Rl.}  $\omega$ y $\omega$  'felt boots (валенки)' ¶ Cl. 267, 273, DTS 60 (OT  $\omega$ y- 'compact'), ET Gl 581-2, Rl. I 1633 ||| ? **IE** NaIE \* $\omega$ e $\grave{h}$ (ə)- / \* $\omega$ ī-, +exts.: \* $\omega$ īt- ( $\leftarrow$  \* $\omega$ i-Ht-), \* $\omega$ e $\grave{h}$ -s '(make) wither, weaken' ( $\times$  N \* $\omega$ i $\acute{z}$  $\nabla$  'gray, [?] withered' [q.v. ffd]  $\times$  N \* $\omega$ ahy $\nabla$  '[be] weak' [q.v.])  $\diamond$  The NaT vw. \* $\omega$ - (from N \* $\omega$ a-) may be

connected with the labializing infl. of \*w- (on similar development in M an Tg see Introduction, § 2.4).

**2501a.**  $\text{₂} *wE\eta\acute{\eta}\eta\eta \nabla \sim *wE\acute{\eta}\eta\eta\eta \nabla$  'daylight' > HS: Eg G  $w\eta n \sim w\eta\eta$ , DEg  $w\eta n$  'light (lux)' > Cpt: Sd  $\text{o}\Upsilon\epsilon\text{IN}$   $ue\text{in}$ , B  $\text{o}\Upsilon\text{WINI}$   $u\bar{o}ini$  id. ¶ EG I 315, Er. 79, Vc. 231 || NrOm: Wl {LmS}, Gm {LmS}  $w\bar{o}nta$  'morning',  $w\bar{o}nto$  'tomorrow', Gf {LmS}  $wonta$  id., 'morning', Zl {LmS}  $wonto$ , {C}  $wont\bar{o}$ , Dwr {LmS}  $wanto$ , Gm {Hw.}  $wont\acute{o}$  'tomorrow', Dc {LmS}  $wonto$ , Bsk {LmS}  $wonto$ ,  $wons$ , Cha {LmS}  $onta \sim wonto$  'tomorrow', Kcm {LmS}  $wanto$  id., 'God' (← \*'daylight'), Hrr {CR}  $w\epsilon nto$  'God; tomorrow', Bdt {Hw.}  $wont-$  'dawn', She {CR}  $wen-den$  'today',  $won-\eta$ ,  $wensen$ , Bnc {Wdk.}  $w\acute{o}ns\acute{a}n$  'tomorrow', Ym {Wdk.}  $w\acute{o}n\grave{a}$  'time, day',  $w\acute{o}n\grave{o}$  'tomorrow' ¶ LmS 546, Wdk. BY 113, 138, C SE III 81, C SO 45, Hw. NKL 236, CR NGS 13, CR H 665, Hw. EG || **D** [1] \* $v\acute{i}\eta$  'sky' > Tm  $v\acute{i}\eta$ ,  $v\acute{i}\eta\eta$ , MI  $v\acute{i}\eta\eta$  'sky, heaven', TI  $v\acute{i}n(n)u$  'sky', Mlt  $bi\eta ye$  'god of thunder and lightning' ¶¶ D #5396 ||| [2] \* $v\acute{a}\eta\grave{a}$  'sky, cloud, rain' (× N \* $\eta\grave{a}\nabla w\grave{a}\acute{\eta}\nabla$  'sky, cloud', q.v. ffd.) ||| [3] It is not clear if one may add here D \* $v\acute{e}\eta t-$  'spirit, god' (> Prj  $v\acute{e}:did \acute{a} v\acute{e}:did$  'god', Gdb {BB}  $v\acute{e}\eta di\eta$  'devil[s], spirit[s]', Gdb O  $v\acute{e}\eta di\eta$  'god', Gnd  $p\acute{e}\eta\eta\eta vandin$  'the highest god of the Muryas'), it is more plausible to equate it with D (McTm) \* $v\acute{e}\eta t-$  'king' (> Tm  $v\acute{e}\eta\eta\eta$  'king, Indra', MI  $v\acute{e}\eta\eta\eta$ ,  $v\acute{e}\eta\eta u$  'king') ¶¶ D ##5529-30 ◊ ≈ Blz. DA 162 [#101] (HS, D; includes D \* $v\acute{e}\eta t-$  'god').

**2502.** \* $w\eta\eta E$  'to hit, to injure' > IE: NaIE \* $w\eta n-$  'hit, injure' > W  $\eta m-wan$  'to joust', ? $\sigma$  Brtt {RE} \* $w\eta n\eta mi$  'to pierce, to stab, to thrust' > MW  $gwaint$ , W  $gwanu$ , Crn  $gwana$ , MBr  $goanaff$ , Br  $gwana\eta$  id., OBr  $cic-guan$  'fork' ||| ? $\sigma$  Gt  $winnan$  'to suffer',  $wunns$  n. 'pain' ¶ P 1108, EI 548-9, RE 119, YGM-1 256, 440, Fs. 213, 566, 577-8, KM 869, Vr. 634, Ho. 410, Ho. S 90, OsS 1213, KM 869 || **K**: GZ \* $w\eta n-$  'injure, harm; torment, suffer' > OG  $v\eta n-$  v. 'harm; suffer' ( $m\eta v\eta li$   $mevno$   $me \dots$  'I have suffered a great deal ...' - Mt. 27.18), G  $v\eta n-$  v. 'inhure, harm', OG  $v\eta ba-\eta$ , G  $v\eta ba$  n. 'suffering, Easter', Mg  $n-$  v. 'harm' ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 54-5, Ts. 381-3, DCh. 509-10, Ser. 65-6, Q 285 || **U**: FU \* $w\eta\eta \nabla-$  'hit, cut' > ObU {Ht.} \* $w\eta\eta k-$  > pVg \* $w\eta\eta k-$  'hit' > Vg: T/SV/LL  $w\eta\eta k-$ , MK/UK/P/NV/ML  $w\eta\eta k-$  id., UL  $w\eta\eta\eta\eta p$  n. 'hammer'; pOs {Ht.} \* $w\eta\eta k-$  (= {JHl.} \* $w\eta\eta k-$ ) 'hew (behave)' > Os: V/Vy  $w\eta\eta-$ , Ty/Y  $w\eta\eta k-$ , D/K  $w\eta\eta\eta-$ , Nz/Kz  $w\eta\eta-$ , O  $w\eta\eta-$  id. | OHg  $v\acute{a}g-$  'hew down, chop, slaughter', Hg  $v\acute{a}g-$  'cut, hew down, chop' ||| ? Prm {LG} \* $v\acute{a}\eta n-$  'cut' > Z



вундыны *vundɨnɨ* 'to cut, to crop', Vt вандыны *vandɨnɨ* 'to cut, to slaughter' ¶ UEW 558, LG 70, Ht. #698, MF 665-6, EWU 1595 || A: T \**mōŋ-* (< \*\**bōŋ-*) > OT [MhK] *mōŋ-* {MKD} 'kick', ET {Nj.} *mōŋ-* 'kick (брыкатъся)', ET Tr *mōŋ-* v. 'rear, kick' (a horse) ¶ Cl. 767, MKD 119, Nj. 771, Rl. IV 2130 || Tg \**baŋsa-* 'kick', 'rear' (a horse) > [1] mom. \**baŋsala-* > Orc, Nn *baŋsala-*, Ud *baŋčala-*, Ul, Ork *basala-* 'kick\rear (once)', WrMc *bašila* 'kick, strike with a fist'; [2] iter. (?) \**basacı-* > Ul *basacı-*, Nn *baŋsačl-* 'kick\rear' ¶ STM I 72 || ? M \**onu-* 'hit the target' > WrM *onu-*, HIM *оно-х, он-х*, Brt *оно-хо* id., 'guess rightly', Ord *оно-* id., 'make a good deal, earn', WrO *оно-* 'hit the target, understand' ¶ MED 615, Ms. O 512-3, Krg. 107, Cher. 357 ¶¶ DQA #95 (A \**bāŋgi* 'to kick' > T, Tg) ◇ On M \**o-* < N \**wa-* see Introduction, § 2.4. T \**-ō-* can be explained by the palatalizing infl. of \**-E* and the labiaizing infl. of \**w-*.

**2503.** \**wāŋg'o* 'hook' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'handle') > U: pre-FU \*\**wāŋkâ* > (after synharmonic levelling) FU \**wāŋk∇* (= \**wāŋkU?*) ~ \**wāŋk∇* 'hook' (× N \**wāŋka* 'to bend'): [1] FP \**wāŋk∇* (= \**wāŋkU?*) > F {Cl.} *vanko, vanka, vanku* 'hook lever used for rolling burning logs across a burn-beaten clearing', Es *vang* (gen. *vannu*) 'handle; crook, bend, loop' | Prm \**vug∇* 'handle, hook' > Z *вуг vug* 'handle, bucket-handle (дужка)', *вугыр vugɨr* 'fishing-hook, fishing-line', Vt *вугы vugɨ* 'handle (of a door, bucket, cauldron, etc.)' ('ручка, скоба двери, дужка ведра\котла') | [2] FU (in ObU) \**wāŋk∇* 'hook' (→ 'draw with a hook', 'hang on a hook') > ObU \**wāŋk-* (and \**wāŋk-* + sxs.) id. > pVg \**wāŋk-* > Vg: LK/MK *wāxr-*, LL *waxrit-* 'draw with a hook', T *wāŋkər*, P/NV/SV *waxrəp*, UL/Ss *wāŋkrip* 'hook'; pOs {Ht.} \**wāŋk-*/\**wiŋk-*, {θHL} \**wāŋk-*/\**wīŋk-* > Os: V/Vy *wiŋ-* ({Ht.} *wiŋ'-*), Ty/K/Kr *wiŋk-* vi. 'remain stuck\hooked (зацепиться, застрять), hängen bleiben (повиснуть)', d.: V/Vy *wāŋləʷ-*, Ty *wāŋləʷ-* id.; ds.: V/Vy *wiŋkəli*, Ty *wiŋli*, D/K *wāŋklə*, Nz *wāŋkalə* 'hook', Vy *wāŋwä*, Ty *wāŋkər*, K/Kr/O *wāŋkəm*, Nz/Kz *wāŋkəm* id. ¶ Coll. 139, It. #54, Sm. 554 (FP \**vēŋka* 'handle'), LG 69, UEW 814, Ht. #699, Stn. D 1608-10, Trj. S 513, 524 || D \**vāŋk-* 'hook' > Tm *vāŋki* 'ε iron hook or curved instrument; ε armllet', Kn *vāŋki, oŋki* 'hook; gold armllet of a curved shape', Tu *oggi, uggi* 'handle, hook', *vāŋki* 'ε bracelet', Tl *vāŋki* 'ε curved ornament worn on the arm', *oŋkiya, oŋke* 'hook\peg fixed

in a wall', Gnd ChM {LuC}  $\nu$ akonjēe 'an elephant goad' ¶¶ D #5210 ||  
**IE:** (mt.) NaIE \*wog<sup>w</sup>hni-s, \*wog<sup>w</sup>hnes- 'ploughshare' > Gk [Hs.] ὄφυλις ·  
 ὕβρις. ἄροτρον 'ploughshare, plough' || Pru wagnis 'Sech' = 'Pflugeisen',  
 {EJ} 'coultter' || OHG waganso, NGr B Wagensun, ON vangsnī  
 ({Vr.}: < \*vagsni), NNr vagnse, vangsnē, Sw Δ wangs  
 'ploughshare' || L vōmis (gen. vōmeris) id. (whence nom. vōmer  
 id.) ({WH}: < \*wog<sup>w</sup>h-smis) ¶ WP I 315, P 1179-80, Mn. 1561-2  
 (wog<sup>w</sup>hsnis), EI 434 (wog<sup>w</sup>hnis), F II 453-4, WH II 835, En. 269, Vr.  
 643-4, Kb. 1132, OsS 1074, Hlq. 1341 (s.v. vigg) ¶ NaIE \*-g<sup>w</sup>h- < N \*  
**ṛg-** can be explained as a case of metathesis || **A:** M \*oṅgi (× M \*oṅgi  
 'hole' [< N \*wanK∇ ~ (>?) \*woṅK∇ 'hole, orifice', q.v.] and A {DQA}  
 \*ṅjūṅni {AD} 'heel' [> Tg \*ńuṅni 'heel, shin']?) > MM [S] {H} oṅgi  
 'handle (of a sword)', WrM oṅgi, HIM oṅgi 'socket\ring for a handle  
 in an axe\spade\hoe', Ord oṅgi 'virole, anneau dans lequel on fait  
 passer la manche d'un instrument', Kl oṅh 'orifice (проушина) in an  
 axe'; M ⇨ WrMc uṅgin 'orifice for a handle in an axe\spade' ¶ H  
 124, MED 614, Ms. O 514, KW 287 || ?φ **HS:** WS ≈ \*w<sup>ra</sup>n<sup>1</sup>w- 'hook' >  
 BHb ṽ\* wāw\* (att.: pl. ṽṽ wā<sup>1</sup>wīm, pl. cs. ṽṽ wā<sub>1</sub>wē) 'hook, pin,  
 peg', Pun ww 'nail', Ph \*wa<sub>1</sub>w (name of the letter wu w) > Gk Fǣ  
 (name of the letter for Fwww); JA [Trg.] ṽ wāw, em. ṽṽ wā<sup>1</sup>w-ā  
 'hook', Gz wāwē 'hook, ring, buckle, point' ¶ KB 249, BDB 255, HJ  
 297, Js. 372, Lv. T I 207, Dlm. 114, LG 623, DRS 513-4 ¶ A tentative  
 explanation: Hb, JA ā < \*ã < \*an (like in Hb ṽīš 'man' < \*ṽinš, see AD  
 PSH 57-8), which accounts for ā (rather than ə) in the Hb pl. cs. wā<sub>1</sub>wē;  
 absence of \*n in Gz suggests that this is a loanword. The irreg. w- in  
 Hb, Ph, Pun, and JA suggests as. (\*w- preserved in Cn and Aram due to  
 the infl. of the medial \*-w-) ◇ Alternatively, one must consider the  
 possibility of borrowing: FU \*wanK∇ and D \*vanK- ⇨ Iir \*wank- (see  
 N \*wāṅka 'to bend'), but this latter hyp. (suggested for FU \*wanK∇ by  
 Coll. and UEW) is less plausible because in Iir we do not find the  
 meanings 'hook' or 'handle' ◇ ≈ ADb. NNN 34 (N ? \*ṅ<sub>1</sub>A<sub>1</sub>ṅK∇ 'hook,  
 handle' > U, D, IE, M + unc. A ? \*ṅjūṅni 'heel, hook' > Tg \*ńuṅni 'heel,  
 shin') ◇ M \*o- goes back to N \*o or \*a in \*wanK∇ ~ (>?) \*woṅK∇  
 'hole, orifice'. On M \*o- < N \*wa- see Introduction, § 2.4.

**2504. \*wanK∇ ~ (>?) \*woṅK∇ 'hole, orifice' (→ 'pit') > U**  
 \*\*w<sup>ra</sup>ṅK∇ > FU \*woṅK∇ 'hole, cave' > Fonkalo 'cleft, crevice, ravine,  
 gorge; cave; hollow, cavity, pit', Δ ongahta- 'become hollow',

ongerta- v. 'hollow out', Es unk (gen. unga) 'rafter (of the roof)',  
ongas (gen. onka), ungas (gen. unka) 'vent-hole (in the gable of  
the house)' | Lp: N {Fri.} v u o g g o 'hole of a field mouse; hut' ('antrium,  
in quo mus sylvestris tegitur'; tugurium'), Kld {SaR} в у э н к в  $\widehat{v\bar{u}e\eta:k}$   
'fox-hole' || ObU {Ht.} \*wōηk, \*wōηkā > pVg {Ht.} \*wāηkā 'pit' > Vg: T  
wankā, LK wōηxə, MK/UK wōηkə, P/NV/ML wōηka, UL wōηxa, Ss wōηxa  
id.; pOs {Ht.} \*wōηk, {θHL} wāηk 'lair, animal's hole' > Os: VK/Y wōηk  
Ty wōηk, D/K wōηx, Nz uηx, Kz w̄ηk, O oηk id.; pOs {Ht.} \*wāηka ({θHL}  
\*wāηka) id. > Os: V wāηkə, wōηkə, Vy wāηka, Ty/Y wāηkə, D wāηxə id.  
|| Sm {Jn.} \*wāηkь > Ne: T в а н г, O/F {Lh.} βāηk 'pit, ravine; animal's  
hole, lair'; En {Cs.} 'baggō 'pit', {KD} d. bāgūta 'nest'; Ng {Cs.} 'banka  
'pit, nest'; Slq: Tm {KD} d. kōηgьr 'bird's nest hollowed out in a tree',  
UO {KD} k<sup>ω</sup>oq'a 'small pit' ¶¶ Coll. 44, UEW 583, Sm. 551 (FU \*wōηki  
'den' > FP \*vōηki, Ugr \*wāηkī), SaR 63, Ht. #697, Trj. S 517, Jn.  
171-2, Ter. 42 || **А** \*Uηg∇ 'orifice, pit, hollow' > M \*oηgi 'hole, orifice'  
> Kl {Rm.} oηgi id., M \*oηgi 'handle, socket, or ring for a handle in an  
axe\spade\hoe' (× N \*wāηg'g'o 'hook', [in descendant lgs.] → 'handle',  
q.v. ffd.), M \*oηgayi > WrM {Rm.} oηgai, Kl oηha 'hollow in a tree,  
cave', {Rm.} oηgā ~ oηgā 'Höhle, Vertiefung; leer, hohl'; M \*oηgayi- >  
WrM oηgai-, oηgai-, HIM oηгой- 'become wide open, form an  
opening\gap, gape', Brt oηгой- 'become opened', Ord oηgō- 'be  
opened (as a door), gape, yawn', Kl oηha- v. 'gape', {Rm.} oηgā- ~  
oηgā- 'leer\hohl\offen sein', M \*oηg'a'rqayi > WrM oηgurqai ~  
oηgarqai, HIM, Brt oηгорхой 'opening, orifice, gap, hole', Ord  
oηgorxō 'ouvert, troué; trou', WrO oηgorqa 'hollow, pit, opening; eye  
hollow', Kl oηhrxa 'hollow, eye hollow; hole, cave', {Rm.} oηgārχā  
'vertieft, hohl; Vertiefung, Höhle'; M \*oηgila- > WrM oηgila-, HIM  
oηгил-, Brt oηгил- 'dig; dig in, rummage' ¶ MED 614, Luvs. 299, H  
124, Ms. O 514-5, Krg. 108-9, KRS 398-9, KW 287, Chr. 356, Z 142 || Tg  
\*oηu 'hollow, cave' > Orc, Ud {STM} oηgo 'cave', Nn Nh oηgo 'rectum', ?  
Ewk d. uηtukāçān 'small hollow (ямка)'; ? Tg d. \*Uηala 'pit, hole,  
hollow' > Ewk uηulu 'pit, puddle', Ud uηulu 'hollow in a tree', Ul oηgolo  
id., 'cave', Neg oηolo, Nn oηgolo ~ uηgulu id., 'hollow (depression)',  
WrMc uηgala 'hollow in a tree, hole, hollow of the ear' ¶ STM II 280,  
Krm. 302, Vas. 497, Z 142 || T \*ūη- 'dig a hole in' > OT {Cl.} ūη- id.,  
'hollow (sth.) out', MQp XIV ūη- 'hollow out, excavate', [CC] 'dig,  
excavate', Qzq ūηg- 'make a pit\hole (by boring), make an excavation',

Qrg üñü- 'make\punch\forge a hole, bury oneself in' ¶ Cl. 16, DTS 626, Rs. W 521, Sht. 28, Jud. 822, ET Gl 634 (on the T d. \*üñür 'cave, animal's hole') ¶¶ DQA #2528 (A \*uñe 'hollow, pit') || D (in SD) \*vañk 'orifice' > Tm vañku 'orifice, hole, hollow, rat-\snake-hole', Ml vañku, Tu oñka 'rat-\snake-hole' ¶ D #5212, Tu. #11191, M K III 124, 127-8 || ??φ HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} an'qāy 'hole, cave' ¶ R WB 40 || B \*-w∇nuH (and \*-<sup>r</sup>w∇<sup>1</sup>gnuH-?) 'well (puits), pit' > Awj {Prd.} a'wānū (pl. wān'yin ~ wānni'yin) 'well', Izd {Mrc.}, Tmz {MT} anu (pl. una), Gd {Lf.} ānu (pl. {CM} anuyin), Nf, Snd {La.} dim. tanut (pl. tina), BS {Ds.} ānu (pl. anūyān), Izn {Ds.} ānā (pl. anāyān), Sll {Ds.} ānu (pl. una), Si {La.} anu, Gh {Nh.} anu (pl. unan) id., Ah ānu (pl. ānān), Ty añu (pl. añān), ETwl añu (pl. eñwan) id., 'pit', Kb {Dl.} anu 'gouffre ou puits naturel', Ntf {La.} dim. tanut 'petite excavation dans le sol'; ?? \*-<sup>r</sup>w∇<sup>1</sup>gnuH- > Ah tañnut 'puits peu profond' ¶ Prd. 172, Fc. 1283-4, GhA 137, La. MChB 412, Mrc. 207, Lf. II #1066, CM 150-1, Ds. 235, Ds. B 292, MT 458, Dl. 537 ◇ On M and Tg \*o- < N \*wa- see Introduction, § 2.4 ◇ IS MS (\*wōñ<sup>r</sup>k<sup>1</sup>∧ 'orifice' > U, A, D), Rs. UAW 33 (U, A).

**2505.** (₂?) \*wāñka 'to bend' > IE: NaIE \*weng-/wong- 'bent, crooked' > Gmc: OHG winken 'to wave, to nod', MHG winken 'to move to and fro (schwanken), to wink one's eyes', MLG winken, AS wincian 'to shut eyes, to blink', NE wink v.; AS, OHG winkil, NHG Winkel 'corner'; Gmc \*wankōn > ON vakka, Sw vanka, Dn vanke 'to wander about', OSx wancon, OHG wankōn 'to waver, to shake', NHG wanken 'to move to and fro' || Lt vēngti (1s prs. vēngiu) 'to avoid, to evade, to shun' (← 'to bend\turn outwards'), vīngis n. 'bend, curve; winding', vīngiuoti 'to twist, to wind, to meander', Pru wīngriskan n. accus. sg. 'cunning', {EI} 'trick' || ?σ pAl {O} \*wengā > Al: T vēng, G vang {AlBED} 'wooden rim of a wheel, wooden stake (stuck in the ground and tied to sth.)' ({O} 'hoop, tyre, ring, rim') || OI vañgati [Vop.] 'goes lamely, limps', [Dhat.] 'goes' ¶ P 1148-9, EI 63, Vr. 639, Kb. 1142, 1204, OsS 1092, 1162-3, KM 837, 861, Frn. 1223, 1256-7, En. 274, Tr. APS 462, O 504, AlBED 928, MW 912 || ? U: pre-FU \*\*wāñkâ 'hook' > FU \*vañk∇ (= \*vañkU?) ~ \*wāñk∇ (× N \*wāñ<sup>r</sup>g<sup>1</sup>o 'hook', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Coll. 139, It. #54, Ht. #699 || D \*vāñk-, {GS} \*vag-/\*vañ- v. 'bend, bow' > Tm vāñku- ~ vēñku- vi., vt. 'bend', Ml vāññuka vi. 'bend', Kt vag- 'be slightly bowed', vā'g- 'make (pot) bulge (in throwing it on the potter's wheel)', vak- vi. 'bend, be cowed',

Kn *bāgu* v. 'bend, bow', *boṅkane* 'in a bending\bent way', Kdg *baṅg-* 'become bent, slope', Tu *bā(ṅ)gu-*, Tl *vaṅgu-* v. 'bow, stoop', Klm, Nkr, Png, Gdb *vaṅg-* vi. 'bend', Knd *vaṅ-* id., 'become bent', Ku {Fzg.} *vaṅgali* 'be crooked', {Isr.} *vaṅg-* vi. 'bend, be bent', Krx *beṅk(a'ā)-* vt. 'turn from a straight line, bend, curve', *beṅkō, baṅkā* 'crooked, bent, curved'; D *↳* OI *vaṅcati* 'moves crookedly', Pali *vaṅka-* 'bent, crooked' (this borrowing accounts for the cns. *ϙ/κ*, because in the inherited IE word [*<* IE \**weng-*] we expect OI *g* [*see on OI vaṅgati* above]) ¶¶ D #5335, GS 23-4 [#2], Tu. #11191, M K III 124, 127-8 ◇ IS MS 336 (\**wankā* 'to bend' [vt.] > IE, U, D).

**2506. \*wopṽ** 'pour, strew' > HS: B {ṽPr.} \**✓wfy* 'pour' (Pcj. I A 2, Fcj. 32) > Tw {Pr.} inv. *ǝffi* 'verser' (3m pf. *iffḅy* = {Pr.} *iffäy*) id., Ty/WTwl {GhA} inv. *ǝffay* id. (3m pf. WTwl *ikkḅy*, Ty *yakkḅy*), Ah {Fc.} inv. *ǝffi* (3m pf. *iffay*) id., Izd {Mrc.} *ffi* (3m pf. *iffi*) id., {MT} *ffay* ~ *ffi* 'suppurer', *déborder* (liquide), Sll {Ds.} *ǝffi* (3m pf. *iffi*) 'verser (liquide)', Izn {Rn.} *ǝffay* id., 'transvaser', Gd {Lf.} *S safi* 'déborder' (marmite qui bout), Kb {Dl.} *ǝffi* 'puiser' ¶ Fc. 310-1, 2002, Pr. M VI-VII 92-3, GhA 45, 246-7, Rn. 297, Lf. II #0461, Dl. 243, Mrc. 262, Ds. 292, MT 140-1 || +ext.: Eg fP *wpš* v. 'strew, scatter' ¶ EG I 305, Fk. 60 || IE: NaIE \**wep-* 'strew' > OI *vaṇati* 'strews, scatters (seed)', *vaṇa-ḥ* 'earth mound', Av *vā-vap-* 'disicere', 'zerstreuen', Irn \**vafra-* 'snow' (< \*'aufgeschüttet?') > Av *vafra-*, Phl *vafra*, NPrs *برف* *bārf*, KhS *baura* 'snow' ¶ WP I 256-7, P 1149, M K III 144-5, M E II 503-4, Horn 47, Bai. 305-6, Brtl. 1346-7 || U \**wopṽ* or \**wopṽša* (× N \**hopṽ, ṽE* 'flow down?') > Sm {Jn.} \**wāptā-* ~ (vi.) \**wāptḅ-*, {HL} \**wapta-* 'pour (out), overturn' > Ne T *вабтă-(цб)* 'strew out; overturn', T O {Lh.} *βāptā-* id., Ne F L {Lh.} *βāptā-* 'umfallen', En {Ter., Mik.} *bata-*, {Cs.} *ba'ta-* 'pour out', Ng {Mik.} *boptuda* 'turn over' || Slq Tm {KD} d. vt. 1s aor. *kōptarnag* 'drown' || Kms {KD} 1s prs. *ba'pta'ām* 'I pour, I strew' || Mt {HL} \**baχtă-* 'overturn' (Mt M {Sp.} *бахтыямъ* 'I overturn') ¶ Jn. 172, Ter. 29, KP 31, KD 8, Hl. M 72, 213 [#92] || D (in NED) \**op(p)-* vt. 'wet, soak' > Krx *op-* 'wet, soak (with a view of softening and preparing to work)', Mlt rf. *oprare* 'become soft (as earth by water)' ¶ D #981, Pf. 187 [#53].

**2507. \*w'a'qa** 'hit, hurt' > HS: S: Ar {Fr. < [Qam.]} \**waxχ-* 'dolor' ¶ Fr. IV 446, BK II 1503 (Ar *waxχ-* 'peine, fatigue') || Eg d. *ḫ-wχ?* (caus.

of  $\sqrt{\omega\chi}$ ?) vt. 'damage' ¶ EG IV 74 || IE  $*weh-$ / $*woh-$ / $*wh-$  > NaIE  $*wā-$ / $*wō-$ / $*wə-$  'hit, wound' > Gk  $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\omega}$  'hurt, damage', n. act.  $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\tau}\eta$  (Gk Ae  $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\tau}\alpha$ ) > Gk A  $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\tau}\eta$  'bewilderment, infatuation' ] with a  $*-t$ -ext.: Gk  $\omicron\acute{\upsilon}\acute{\tau}\acute{\alpha}\omega$  (3s aor.  $\omicron\acute{\upsilon}\acute{\tau}\acute{\alpha}$ ) 'I wound, hurt, hit',  $\acute{\omega}\tau\epsilon\iota\lambda\acute{\eta}$  n. 'wound' || Ltv  $\upsilon\hat{a}ts$  'wound' ({EI} 'suppurating wound'), Lt  $\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}s$  'ulcer' ¶ WPI 211, P 1108,  $\approx\sigma$  EI 650 (? $*weh_{\text{H}}t-$  '[suppurating] wound'), Ch. 3, Hofm. 27, F I 2 & II 449-50, 1153, Frn. 1275 || A: Tg  $*\underline{u}\bar{a}$ - (<  $**u\bar{a}$ - < N  $*w'a'qa$ ?) 'kill' > Ewk, Sln, Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn  $w\bar{a}$ -, Lm A  $w\bar{a}$ -, WrMc  $w\bar{a}$ -, Mc Sb  $w\bar{a}$ -, Jrc  $wadula$  'kill' ¶ STM I 127-8, Krm. 216, Vas. 77, Kiy. 122 [#459] || D  $*vay-$  'strike' > Kn  $bese$  'strike with a whip', Knd  $v\acute{e}y-$  v. 'flog, beat', Kui  $v\bar{e}pa$  (p.  $v\bar{e}-t$ -) v. 'strike, beat', Ku  $v\acute{e}'-$  'beat' ¶¶ D #5555 ◇ IS MS 330 ( $*w\acute{a}h_1\acute{\omega}$  'beat'), AD GD 5 ◇ Gr. II #435 ( $*wa$  'wound') (IE, A + qu. Gil).

**2508.  $*wAr'i$**  'to burn, to heat, to cook\ fry' > HS: S  $*\sqrt{wry}$  > Ar  $\sqrt{wry}$  (pf.  $wariya$ ) 'donner (faire jaillir) du feu' (of a strike-a-light),  $\sqrt{wry}$  (pf.  $\text{ورى } war\bar{a}$ , 3m ip.  $ya-r\bar{i}$ ) id., 'être allumé' (of fire) ¶ BK II 1526, Hv. 865 || C: EC: Sml  $war-$  'put out to dry', pBn {Hn.}  $*war-$  > Bn Bi/J/K/Kj  $war-$  v. 'dry in the sun' ¶ ZMO 409, Hn. BD 103 || NrOm: Malo {Fl.}  $ware$  'warm' ¶ Fl. OWL || Ch: WCh: Dr {ChC}  $wari$  v. 'roast' || CCh: Pdl {ChC}  $vara$  v. 'burn', Gzg D {Lk.}  $wur$  vt. 'burn, roast' ¶ ChC s.v. 'roast' and 'burn', JI II 55, Lk. G 138 ¶¶ BmK adduces Eg G  $wr.t$  'flame', but in fact this is only "Bezeichnung der Flamme" (EG I 332), sc. a word with unknown meaning, hence the comparison is not reliable || K {FS}  $*war-$  > G  $varvar-$  v. 'glow, light, blaze (glühen, leuchten, flammen)' {DCh.} 'пылать', Sv {Fn.}  $warw\bar{a}l-$  v. 'glitter, flash, glance' ¶¶ Fn. KW-1 35 [#19], FS E 127-8, Chx. 367-8, DCh. 502 || IE: NaIE  $*wer-$  v. 'burn, heat' > ? Arm  $\text{վանխմ } va\bar{r}em$  vt. 'light up, set fire to',  $\text{վանխմ } va\bar{r}im$  vi. 'take fire, be kindled, lighted, be on fire, flame' || ? Gmc  $*warm-$  'warm' ( $\times$  IE  $*g^whormo-$  'warm' < N  $*gor\acute{a}e$  'hot; to heat; embers') > ON  $\upsilon armr$ , NNr, Dn, Sw  $\upsilon arm$ , OFrs, OSx, OHG, NHG  $warm$ , AS  $wearm$  'warm' (adj.), NE  $warm$  adj.; Gt  $warmjan$ , OSx  $warmian$  v. 'warm' || Sl: [1]  $*varb$  'heat' (n.) > OCS, OR  $\text{варъ } varb$ , Uk  $var$  id.; [2] Sl  $*vbr\acute{e}-ti$  vi. 'to boil, to seethe' > OCS  $\text{вѣрѣти } vbr\acute{e}ti$  (prs.  $\text{вѣрѣ } vbrj\acute{q}$ ), SCr  $\text{vr\acute{e}ti}$  (prs.  $\text{vr\acute{i}m}$ ), Slv  $\text{vr\acute{e}ti}$ , Cz  $\text{vr\acute{i}ti}$ , Slk  $\text{vret}'$ , P  $\text{wrzeć}$ , Uk 'врити, Blr  $\text{врэць}$  id., R  $\Delta$   $\text{вреть}$  vi. 'sweat intensely'; [3] Sl  $*variti$  vt. 'to cook' ( $\leftarrow$   $*varb$  'heat') > OCS  $\text{варити}$

variti, SCr *várīti*, Cz *vařiti*, Slk *varit'*, P *warzyć*, R *варить* 'to cook', Slv *varíti* 'to weld (iron)', *várīti* 'to brew', Blg *варя* 'I cook';  $\rightarrow$  \**varb* n. act. 'boil' > Slv *vâr*, Cz, Slk *var* n. act. 'boil', SCr *vâr* (gen. *vâra*) 'boiling water', R *вар* 'boiling water, pitch, heat' || Lt *virtī* (1s prs. *vérdū*, 1s p. *viriaũ*), Ltv *vir̃t* (1s prs. *veŗ̃du* ~ *vir̃stu*, 1s p. *viru*) 'to boil, to bubble, to seethe' ||| Tc A *wrātk-* 'cook' || Ht *war-/ur-* vi. md. 'burn', *warant-* 'burnt' ¶¶ The irregular Arm *v-* (for the expected *g-* < IE \**w-*) is puzzling; Cuny R 88f. tried to explain it by postulating two different \**w-* phonemes in pIE (\**w*<sub>1</sub>- > Arm *g-*, \**w*<sub>2</sub>- > Arm *v-*); Mallory (EI 88) supposes that the Arm words are of Iranian origin ¶¶ P 1166, EI 88 & 125 (\**wer-* 'burn', 'boil, cook'), Fs. 552, Vr. 64, Kb. 1147, OsS 1100, Ho. 387, Ho. S 84, KM 838, Vs. I 273, 362, Glh. 662-3, 783, StSS 108-9, BER I 118, 121, Frn. 1263, Frd. HW 344, Slt. 451-2, Ts. W 101 || D {tr.} \**var-*, {GS} \**vaḡ-* 'be fried\grilled' > Tm *varu* (ft. -*v-*, p. -*nt-*) id., *varu* (ft. -*pp-*, p. -*tt-*) vt. 'grill, fry, toast', Ml *vara* 'frying', Td *parf-* (p. *part-*), Prj *vedp-* (p. *vedt-*), Gdb *vaṭp-*, Gnd *vars-*  $\rightarrow$  *vah-*, Png *vah-* v. 'fry', Kdg *bare-* 'be fried', Mnd *vahpa-* vt. 'cook, bake', Kui *vahpa-* vt. 'fry, grill', Ku *vah-* 'fry, roast' ¶¶ D #5325, GS 34 [#51]  $\diamond$  BmK 613 (HS [S, Eg], IE, D + Sum *ur4-ur4* v. 'burn up, flicker, flame, gliter'), Blz. KM 123 [#28].

**2509. \*war**  $\nabla$  'stream of water' > HS: Eg  $\nabla$  *w3w* {EG} 'surf (Brandung) of the sea \ of high water of the Nile', Eg G *w3w* 'flood, water', Eg MK {Fk.} *w3w* 'waves of the sea' ¶ EGI 249, Fk. 53 || C: [1] LEC \**war-* 'river' > Dsn *wár*, Arr {Bl.} *war* id., Rn {PG} *wór* 'well', Sml *war* 'pool, pond' | [2] pC \* $\sqrt{wrb|p}$  ({E} \**warb-*) 'stream of water; to pour\fetch water' > EC \**warāb-* 'draw \ pour water' > Or {Grg.} *warāb-* 'draw water', Kns {Bl., Ss.} *orāp-*, Gdl *orrāp-*, Ya *irpa-* id., Arr {Hw.} *war(a)b-* 'draw and fetch water', Sml caus. *warāb-iy-* v. 'water', Rn {PG} *warāb-* 'fetch water, fill (container) with water', Bs *worāb-* 'drink water, be watered' (of cattle), Brj *hurāb-* 'pour out' ||| Ag {AD} \**w<sup>a</sup>rap* 'river' > Bln {Plm.} *were<sup>a</sup>ba* (pl. *were<sup>a</sup>ref*), Xm {R} *wirbā* (pl. *wirib*), Xm T {CR} *wirvā* ¶ Bl. 100, Ss. PEC 42, Ss. B 102, PG 291, 294-5, Grg. 400, Hw. A 399,  $\approx$  AD SF 247, E PC #581, R WB 360, To DL 531 || NrOm: Male {Tre.} *vorov* 'river' || Ch: WCh: My {ChL} *wór* 'lake' ||| ECh: Ke {Eb.} *vór* 'lake, river' ¶ ChL. Eb. 101 || S \* $\sqrt{w<sup>a</sup>r}$  > Ug *yr* 'early rain' ¶ OLS 535 ||| IE: NaIE *wer-/wēr-/ūr-* 'water, flowing water' > Vd *vār-* (nom. *vāh*), OI '*vār* i ntr. water' ( $\times$  '*vār* i 'rain' < N \**w<sup>a</sup>qr*  $\nabla$

'to rain, to drip'), Av *vairi-* m. 'sea' || ??? Arm **qawjn** *gayr̄* 'mud, mire, filth' (× N \***w'a'qr**∇ '↑', q.v.) || Gmc: ON *varī* n. 'a liquid, water', π *vári* 'a liquid', π *véř* 'sea', AS *wæ(:)r* 'spray (Spritzwasser)' || Pru *wurs* 'pond, pool' (× NaIE \***wrn-**/\***ūr-**/\***aur-** < N \***Γûrû** 'to flow, to stream') || pTc {Ad.} \***wär** > Tc: A *wär*, B *war* 'water' || Lw {Mlc.} *wār* id. ¶¶ WP I 252-3, P 80-1, ≈φ,σ EI 636 (\***'we/oHr-** 'water'), Dv. #331, M K III 194, M E II 544-5, MW 943, WH II 840, ≈ Vr. 646, 653, En. 278, Wn. 557-8. Ad. 577-8, Mlc. CL 257 || **U:** FU \***°walo|ur**∇<sub>∇</sub><sub>y</sub>∇ > ObU {Ht.} \***wūr**∇<sub>y</sub> 'river-bed' > pVg {Ht.} \***wūrāy** id. > Vg: T *orāy*, LK *ori*, MK *worī*, P *wuri*, NV *uri*, Ss *ūray*; pOs {Ht.} \***wur**† id. > Os: V, Vy, Ty *ur†*, D, K, Nz *ura*, Kz *wūrī*, O *wuri* ¶ Ht. #712 || **D** \***var**∇ 'flood, torrent' > Tu *barakelb* 'inundation', Tl *varada* 'flood, torrent, inundation, deluge', *varru* 'flow, flood', *varuta* loc. 'in the flood\river', Prj *vered*, Knd *urda* 'flood', Ku *vāru* id., *varda piyu* 'torrential rain', Kui *vāru* 'stream, torrent' ¶¶ D #5323, ≈ #5356 (referring Kui *vāru* to a wrong pD √) ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #15 (the first to adduce Ug, Male, and Ch cognates).

**2510.** <sub>2</sub> \***waR**∇ 'crow, raven' > IE: NaIE \***worn-** id. > BSI \***vorn-o-s** 'raven' > Lt *var̃nas*, Lt W *várnas*, Pru *warnis* id. | Sl \***vórnъ** id. > OCS **вранъ** *vranъ*, Blg Δ *вран* (df. *вран-ът*), McdS *вран*, SCr, Slv *vrān*, Cz *vran*, R, Uk 'ворон' | BSI \***vorn-ā** 'crow' > Lt *vārna*, Ltv *vārna*, Pru *warne* id. | Sl \***vōrna** 'crow' > Blg 'врана', SCr *vrāna*, Slv *vrána*, Cz, Slk *vrana*, P *wrona*, R, Uk *во'рона*¶|| Tc B *wrauná* {Ab.} '≈ crow', {Wn.} 'corneille du prédicateur' ({Wn.}: < \***wār**-*auhá*) || **o?** Arm **wqñw** *agraw* 'raven, crow' (perplexing a-; *r̄* due to onomatopoeia?) ¶ Frn. 1201, En. 272, Vs. I 253, Glh. 681, BER I 180-1, Wn. 583, Ad. 616-7, EI 142 (\***wer-** 'crow') || **U** \***war**∇ 'crow' > F *varis* ~ *vares* (gen. *variksen* ~ *vareksen*), Es *vares* (gen. *varese* ~ *varekse*) id.; Krl A *varoj* id. | pLp {Lr.} \***wōrččē** 'crow' > Lp: S {Hs.} *vuortje*, U {Qv.} *vuōr'tjee*, N {N} *vuoričes*, K {Gn.} *vūrečč* id., Kld {SaR} *vūrəč* *vūreč* 'magpie' | Er *варака* *varaka*, Δ *варсей* *varsey* 'raven, crow', Δ {Ps.} *varčey*, *varčej*, *varksiy* 'crow', Mk *варси* 'varsi id. || ObU {Ht.} \***wūr-** id. > pVg \***ūr**∇<sub>n</sub> > Vg: ML {Mu.} *urin-yēkwä*, Ss *ūrin-ēkwa* id. (*yēkwä* & *ēkwa* 'woman'); pOs \***wurñay** 'crow' > Os: V/Vy/Ty *urñ†*, Y *wurñ†*, D *wārñay*, K *wārñay*, Nz/Kz *wōrña*, O *wārña* id. | Hg *varjú* (accus. *varjat*) id. || Sm {Jn.} \***wър-**, {Hl.} ? \***wärä** 'crow' > Ne: T d. *vārñə*, T O {Lh.} *parñāe*, F {Lh.}



βαρῆ + ε βαρῆαῖ; Slq Tz d. {KKIH, Prk.} k̄zr̄ä, {Prk.} k̄<sup>ω</sup>zr̄ä id.; Kms {KD} barī, Koyb {Sp.} βαρε id., {Pls.} 'bare 'carrion crow (Corvus corone)'; Mt {Hl.} \*bĒrE 'crow' (Mt M {Sp.} βαρε) ¶¶ UEW 559, Coll. 66, Lr. #1459, Lgc. #8801, SaR 58, ERV 108-9, PI 46, MF 673-4, Ht. #709, Jn. 170, KKIH 116, Hl. M #111.

**2511. \*<sup>o</sup>war** ▽ 'look, watch' > IE: NaIE \*<sup>o</sup>wer-/\*<sup>o</sup>wor- id., 'perceive, pay attention to, take care', \*<sup>o</sup>wor-<sup>o</sup>s 'watching, cautious' (× N \*<sup>o</sup>zūr'i 'look at, examine?') > Ltv rf. vēr-tiē-s (prs. vēr-) 'to look at', vērība 'attention, notice' ||| Gk *φορ-*, *ορ-*: Gk Hm ἐπὶ ὄρονται 'sie beaufsichtigen', Gk [Hs.] ὄρει φυλάσσει '(he) guards\watches', Gk A ὄρώ 'I see' (\**F*- evidenced by the hiatus in ἑώρον ipf. and ἑόρακα pfc.), ἑφορος 'overseer, guardian' ||| L vereor, -ēri v. 'behold with fear (ängstlich beobachten), fear, have respect for, revere' ||| Clt (< \*kom-woros) > OIr {Vn.} cóir, coair 'juste, égal, droit, approprié', W cywair 'perfect, orderly, ready' ||| Gmc: ON varr 'attentive, cautious', OHG war 'aware, careful', gi-war 'conscious, careful', AS wær 'aware; attending, heading', OSx war cautious', Gt warai (nom. pl. of \*wars) 'sober', OSx, AS waru 'precaution, care', OHG wara 'awareness, care' (< \*worā); OHG be-warōn 'to protect', NHG bewahren 'to keep, to preserve; to guard', NE beware; OSx, OHG warōn 'to beware' (> NHG wahren 'to watch over, to look after, to keep safe'), AS warian 'to guard, to watch over', NE cd. aware ||| Ltv vēr̄t (1s prs. vēr̄u), usually rf.: vēr̄ties 'to be considered, to be reckoned' ||| Tc: A wār- v. 'smell (sentir)', B wār-sk- act. 'emit a smell', md. 'smell (receive a smell)', A war, B were n. 'smell, odour' || ??σ Ht werite- v. 'fear' ¶¶ WP I 280-5, P 1164-5, EI 417, Mn. 1516-7, F II 409-10, WH II 757-8, Vn. C 152, YGM-1 152, Fs. 551, Vr. 645-7, Kb. 387, 1145, 1148, OsS 58, 277, 1096, 1101, Schz. 309-10, Lx. 309, KM 832, Ho. 380, 384, Ho. S 83-4, Kar. II 513, Wn. 558, Ad. 596, Ts. W 105, ≈ EI 606 (\*w(h<sub>1</sub>)erH-; unc.: ← IE \*weHro-s 'true') ||| **U:** FU \*<sup>o</sup>war ▽ > Ugr \*<sup>o</sup>war ▽ 'wait, be on one's guard, keep safe' > Vg: T ōr- 'wait', MK ūr- id., 'be on one's guard', Pd. wurlāt- 'ein wenig warten', Ss ōr- 'wait; treat carefully, keep safe' | OHg XII vár- 'wait', Hg vár- 'wait, expect, look to' ¶ UEW 898-9, MF 672-3, EWU 1606 ||| **A:** M \*barayan 'a thing seen, the sight of; (?) protection' > MM bara<sub>1</sub>a 'Form, Erscheinung', WrM baragan, HIM βαραα 'object visible in the distance; view; form', Ord {Ms.} b<sub>1</sub>arā 'les dimensions d'un objet, pour autant qu'elles tombent sous le sens de la vue (à une certaine distance);

aspecte, présence vue de loin, protection', WrO *barā* 'a thing seen, the sight of', Kl *баран* 'outline, view', {Rm} *barān*, *barā* 'outline of an object, figure (seen in the distance)'; M \**baraṣala-* > WrM *baragala-*, HIM *бараала-* 'appear in the distance', 'be visible', WrO *barala-* 'become visible' (of a distant object), WrM *baragalqa-*, HIM *бараалжа-* 'look up, glance upward'; M \**baraṣatayi* 'seen from afar, visible' > WrM *baragatai*, HIM *бараатай*, Dg *barātī* id. ¶ H 12-3, MED 83, Ms. O 50, KRS 81, KW 83, Krg. 334, T DgJ 124 || D \**aṣi-*, {GS} \**yeṣṣ-* ({AD} \**yeṣṣi-*) v. 'know, find out, search' > Tm *aṣi*, Tl *erūgu* v. 'know, understand, perceive', Ml *aṣiyuka* v. 'know, understand', Kt *ayr*, Td *arṣ-*, Kn *aṣi* v. 'know', Kdg *ari-* v. 'find out', Tu *arupu*, *aruhu* 'knowledge', Krg *ade* to search', Brh *harrifiṇ* v. 'inquire, ask' ¶¶ D #314, Zv. 95 (reconstructs \**aṣ-*), GS 134 [#348] ◇ D {GS} \**ye-* < \**wadue* to as. to \*-i- ◇ The adduction of Eg *wṛš* 'spend the day, be awake' (proposed by Bm.) is highly qu. ◇ MF 672-3 (FU, IE), BmK 604 (\**war-*/*wār-* 'look, watch our for, observe, care for' > IE, FU + qu. Eg *wṛḡ* [not confirmed by the available dictionaries], *wṛš*) ◇ On N and pIE \*'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

**2512. \*wārE** 'make, do' (← 'plait?') > HS: C \**✓wry* 'do' > Bj *✓wry* {R} (1s: p. *a'wēr*, prs. *awa'rī*) 'machen, tun', {Rop.} *-wēr* 'do, act' (*a'wēr* 'I did', *a'wari* 'I do', *ti'waria* 'thou doest'), {R} *'wara ~ 'wāra* 'Werk, Tat, Handlung, Arbeit, Geschäft' || Sa {R} *û'ray* 'Geschäft, Gewerbe' (*ay sīn û'ray* 'what is your occupation?'), Af {R} *u'ray* 'Geschäft, Arbeit, Gewerbe' ¶ R WBd 239, Rop. 78, 248, R S II 48, R A II 24 || EthS (← C?) \**✓wry* 'do' > Tgy pf. *ᠮᠠᠵᠤ warəyē / js. ᠯᠮᠠᠵᠤ yṣwari* 'operare, fare', *ᠮᠠᠵᠤ wṣray* 'faccenda, affare', Tgr pf. *ᠮᠠ wera* 'do, try', *ᠮᠠᠵᠤ wera* n. 'work' ¶ LH 435, Bsn. 642-3 || ? Eg *ṽ'ry* 'do, make' > DEg *īr*, *īry* > Cpt: Sd *eipe*, B *ipi* id. ¶ EG I 108-12, Er. 36, Vc. 65, ≠ Tk. I 140 (reads *īry* as *✓yly*) || NrOm: *ḷ Cha* {Hnz. ← ?} *ir* 'make' ¶¶ Tk. 1.c. (Eg, Bj, Cha + err. EC \**yēl-*/*\*yāl*, Asa *wel-*), Hnz. HS 75 (Eg, Cha) || U: FU \**wār* > ObU {Ht.} \**wēr-* 'make' > pVg \**wār-* > Vg: T *wār-/wār-*, LK/MK/UK *wōr-*, P/LL/ML *wōr-/war-*, NV *wōr-/war-*, SV *wōr-/wār-*, UL/Ss *wār-* id.; pOs {Ht.} \**wer-*, {᠑HL} \**wār-* > Os: V/Vy/D/K/Nz/Kz/O *wer-*, Ty/Y *wār-* id. ¶ Coll. 139 (FU ← Ary), Ht. #703 || A (× N \**war?*'*ū*' → \**war?*'*ū*' 'tie' [→ 'thong', 'rope'], 'to bind, to tie'): T \**ōr-* v. 'plait' > OT {Cl.} *ōr-*, MQp, Chg *ōr-* id., Tkm *ōr-*, T *ōr-*,

Az hör-, CrTt ór- id., 'knit', Uz ωr-, ET ö(r)- 'plait', Qzq, Nog, Qrq, Qrg, Alt, Yk ör- id., 'twist (ropes)' ¶ Cl. 105, ET Gl 544-6 || M \*öre- > MM [MA] öre- 'plait' ¶ Pp. MA 277 || pKo \*ōr 'strands of rope' > MKo ōr, NKo ō | id. ¶ S QK #790, Yu 579, MLC 1207 || pJ \*ǰr- 'weave' > OJ ór-, J: T ór-, K/Kg òr- ¶ S QJ #248, Mr. 742 ¶¶ DQA #1604 (A \*ōre 'plait, weave') ◇ This etymological comparison suggests that N \*wä- may yield T \*ō- and M \*ö- ◇ Two possible directions of semantic change: (1) 'plait' → 'make by plaiting' → 'make' or (2) 'make' → 'make by plaiting' → 'plait, weave' ◇ IS MS 339 (\*wǣrǻ 'делатъ': U, C + qu. IE \*werǵ-/ \*wreǵ- 'act, do', see N \*woRkê 'make') ◇ ≠ Gr. II #420 (\*ur 'weave') (IE, A, Ko, J + err. U \*work▽ [< N \*woRkê 'make'] + unc. Gil, EA).

**2513.** \*wer▽ 'to speak; communication, information' > HS: EC \*war- 'news, information' > Sml wár 'news, communication, information', warso / war-s-ad- v. 'ask (question), inquire', war-s-t- 'get news', Rn {PG} wór 'news', wor-s-ad-, Brj war-s-aḏ- 'ask (about sth.)', Sd {Gs.} worē 'matter, strange thing; news, fable' ¶ Ss. PEC 42, Bl. 211, ZMO 409, 411, PG 294-5, Gs. 350 || ?? WS \*✓wry > [1] CS \*✓wry Sh 'teach, let know' (< \*w▽r<sub>1</sub>▽<sub>1</sub>y 'news, information' or \*\*✓wry G 'get information'?) > JA ✓ury Sh (pf. אֲוִרִי אֲוִרִי 'teach, instruct', BHb ✓ury|w Sh (pf. הוֹרָה הוֹרָה hō'rā, 3m ip. יוֹרֵה יוֹרֵה yō'rē) 'teach, instruct, direct', BHb d. תוֹרָה תוֹרָה tō'rā 'instruction, law', MHb הוֹרָה הוֹרָה hō'rā 'teaching, Jewish religion', EpJA הוֹרָה הוֹרָה hō'rā Sh inf. abs. 'to teach', JA [Trg.] ✓ury Sh (pf. אֲוִרִי אֲוִרִי 'teach', JEA {Sl.} ✓ury Sh 'instruct, make a legal decision', JPA Bz ✓ury Sh 'teach, instruct', Ar SL ✓wry Sh (pf. أَوْرَى <sup>أَوْرَى</sup> pawrā) 'show' (semantic influence of the paronymous verb أَرَى <sup>أَرَى</sup> parā 'show?'); [2] EthS \*✓wry > Gz ✓wry G (3m pf. waraya, 3m js. yaray) 'tell news, narrate', Tgr ✓wry (3m pf. אָוַרָא wəra) 'announce', wəre (< \*waray-) 'communication', Tgy wəre 'notice, fame', Amh wəre 'news', EthS ⇨ Sa, Af ware 'news', Or {L} warē, {Brl.} ware, Hd ware 'fame' ¶ GB 318, KB 415-6, BDB 434-6, Js. 596, 1657, Lv. T I 344-5, Sl. 542, Sl. P 245, BK II 1526, Hv. 865-6, HJ 277, LG 618, Brl. 421, DRS 627-8 || IE: NaIE \*wer- 'say, speak, tell' > Gk εἶπω 'say, speak, tell', ῥῆσις, Gk Ar ῥῆσις 'a saying, speaking, speech', Gk Hm ῥῆτορ 'a speaker', Gk ῥήτρα, Gk Ae βράτρα 'verbal agreement, covenant', Gk ῥῆμα 'word, speech' || ?σ IIr: Av urvata- 'command, ordinance, rule', KhS gvar- 'assert, tell,

speak', Ydg w0r 'oath', Vd {MW} vra'ta-m '(?) will, command, law, ordinance, rule' ({M} 'Gelübde, religiöse Observanz, Pflicht' ← 'Gebot, Anweisung, Regel') || Pru wertemmai 'we swear' | Sl: [1] Sl \*rota 'oath' (unless < \*rok-ta) > OR ροτα rota, R † po'ta 'oath, vow', SCr rōta, Protā 'oath'; ⇨ Sl \*rotīti se 'to swear' > OCS ροτιти се rotiti se, SCr rōtiti se, HLs ročić so id., Sl \*rotīti > Slv rotiti 'to implore, to entreat', Cz rotiti 'to rumble at, to be angry with'; [2] Sl \*vbrati (1s prs. \*vbrq) > RBpрать (prs. bpy) 'to tell lies'; ⇨ Sl \*vráčb 'sooth-sayer, sorcerer, medicine-man' > SCr vrāč id., 'witch-doctor', Slv vráč 'witch-doctor, medicine-man', Blg врач id., 'sorcerer', OCS брауѣ врачѣ 'ἰατρός, one who heals, physician', R врач 'physician' || Ht {Ts.} weriya- v. 'call, name, mention', -war- (pc. of quoted speech ← 'said'), Pal wērti 'calls' ¶¶ WP I 283-4, P 1182-3, ≈ EI 535 (\*(s)wer-; unj. adduction of reflexes of N \*SûrV [= \*SuřE?] 'speak', q.v.), Mn. 1516, AHDI 77, FI 469-71, MW 1042; M K III 278-9 and M E II 594-5 (doubts about the connection of the Ir stem with IE \*wer-), Bai. 94-5, En. 273, Vs. I 361 and III 507, StSS 585, Glh. 531, 680, BER I 183, Ts. W 101, 105 || D {BE} \*verǫ- ({ǫGS} ≈ \*-ǫ- or \*-ǫ- + cns.?) 'speak' > Gnd veh- ǫ weh- v. 'tell', Knd ver- v. 'speak, tell', Png več- v. 'speak', Mnd veh-, Ku veh- v. 'tell, say', Kui vesta / p. vest-b. 'say, speak, tell', ? Krx baʔa- 'say, command', bār- 'be called' ¶¶ D 5514 ◊ BmK 613-4 (\*wer-/\*wir- > IE, HS, D).

**2514. \*werV** 'without, not, void of, (?) empty' > HS: B \*wVr 'not' (negation of verbs) > ETwl, Ty wār, Ttq {Msq.} wr, w0r ({JMsq.} ũr, ũ0r), Ah, Shl, Izd ur 'not', Tmz ur ~ wār, Izn, Rf, Srsn ur (ur ... š, etc.), Zng {TC} wer id., Kb ur (usually with completive ara, sc. ur + verbe + ara) 'not, do/does/did not', a wār 'let ... not' (a wār d-yuʔal 'qu'il ne revienne pas!', a wār tāsʔuḡ 'que tu n'en aies pas'); B \*w<sup>r</sup>ā'r > Kb, Tmz war 'without' ¶ Ai. MCB II 203, Nic. 15-6, 65, Fc. 1522, GhA 201, Msq. 207, Mrc. 435, MT 765-7, Rn. 127, Ds. 197, Dl. 871-2, TC Z 309 || K: GZ \*we;̣r- 'not' > OG wer 'not, cannot', G ver 'cannot', (in certain cases) 'does ... not' (dʔes ver arid ʔargad 'today he does not feel good [unfortunately]), ver- 'no-' (in negative pronouns/adverbs: ver-vin 'nobody', ver-ʔara 'not any more'), Mg va(r) 'not; do not!; cannot', Lz var ~ va 'not, -less' ||| K \*-ur (sx. of nomina attributiva privativa ['-less']) > G -ur id. (G I ʔud-ur 'without tail'), Sv -ur '-less' (χex-ur

'without wife', di-ur 'without mother', niċ-ur & liV-ur 'without water')  
 ¶¶ Mg, Lz ā in a close syll. points to a pK \*ē (Test. KV) ¶¶ K 83, FS K 123, 309-10, FS E 132-3, 345, Fn. GAS 213, Ser. 63, Vogt GLG 218, Chx. 373, DCh. 505, Q 233, Marr 143, TK 730 || D \*ver̥- 'void of, empty' > Tm ver̥u 'empty, MI ver̥u 'asunder, void of, empty', Kt ver 'mere, unmixed, vain', ver a' ] 'man without wife or children', veraċ' 'woman temporarily without a child', Kn bare, bar̥i, bar̥u 'emptiness', Kn PBh bar̥ide 'for nothing, without cause', Kdg bari 'only, merely', Tu baji id., 'empty', Tl bar̥igi, Nkr vaṭṭi, Mnd veru, Ku var̥i & v̥wāri 'empty', Prj vededi, Gnd warrōl 'alone', Knd var̥i 'mere, simple, nothing but', Png var̥i 'bare, empty', Kui var̥i 'only', Brh bira 'simply, just' ¶¶ D #5513.

2515. \*waṣrê 'wooded hill\mountain' > HS: CS \*waṣr- 'forest, thicket' > BHb 𐤆𐤍𐤏 'yaṣar 'thicket, wood', M'b 𐤆𐤍𐤏 'forest, parkland', Pun 𐤆𐤍𐤏, [Aug.] IAR 'wood' (hḥršm šyr 'wood-craftsmen'), Ug {A} 𐤆𐤍𐤏 'Gestrüpp, Wald', {OLS} 'forest', JA [Trg.] 𐤆𐤍𐤏-r-ā 'forest, thicket', Sr 𐤆𐤍𐤏-r-ā 'thicket, a tangle of thorns and briars', {Br.} 'herba inutilis, virgulta; vepres', Ar Y {L ← ?}, Ar B {Lb. ← Stace} وعرَة waṣra 'thicket' ¶ KB 404, KBR 422-3, HJ 464, Br. 305, JPS 194, Js. 585, Lv. T I 340-1, A #1200, OLS 517, L G 603, Lb. 2928, Stace 171, DRS 580 || B \*w̥rr, \*w̥r̥r̥ 'mountain, hill' > Mz awrir (pl. iw̥rir̥an) 'mountain, big hill', Mz, Izd, Sll tawrirt (pl. tiw̥ririn) 'hill', Kb awrir, ṭawrirt 'a height (hauteur du terrain)', Tmz awrir (pl. iw̥rir̥n), tawrirt (pl. tiw̥ririn) id., 'hill', Si turarət (pl. turār) 'hill' ¶ Dlh. M 228, Mrc. 54, Dl. 872, Ds. 69, MT 768, La. S 216 || LEC: Cm {Hab.} wóro 'forest', Dsn {Bnd.} war̥, {Hab.} wār, {Fl.} w̥r 'mountain' (but hardly here Dsn {To.} wâr 'stone', related to Ah aw̥r̥r̥a 'small stone', see To. DL 531 and Fc. 1521) ¶ AMS 278, Blz. DL s.v. 'mountain' || NrOm {Blz.} \*w̥or- 'forest' > Wl/Zl {C} w̥orā, Wl/Zl/Dc {LmS} w̥ora, Gm {Hw.} wóra id. ¶ C SO 35, Blz. OL #144, Hw. EG, LmS 547-8 || Ch: WCh: Sir {Sk.} wûrú 'forest', Zr {ChL} w̥ur, {IL in ChC} w̥r̥ 'mountain' || CCh: Kola {Sb.} wúrûm id. ¶ ChC, ChL || U \*wōre (< \*\*wāre) 'wooded mountain' > F vuori (gen. vuoren) 'mountain' || Prm \*vōr 'wooded hill, wooden height' > Z Böp v̥r, Yz 'v̥r 'forest', Z v̥rv̥v̥ 'an oblong height in the flood-plain', Vt B̥p̥ v̥r̥ 'height, hill' || ObU {Ht.} \*wōr 'coniferous forest' > pVg {Ht.} \*wār > Vg: T wār, UK wōr, NV/LL w̥or, Ss w̥r id.; pOs {Ht.} \*w̥or > Os: V/Vy w̥or, Ty wōr, Kz w̥r̥, O or id. || Sm: Kms bōr 'Berg, Landrücken'

(unless a loan from Tg) ¶¶ UEW 571, LG 67, Ht. 196 [#705], KD 10 ¶¶ The vw. \*ō (from earlier \*ā) is probably the reg. reflex of N \*aH. This is suggested by the absence of \*ā in the pU (and pFU) vocalism (F Db. OS xxii-xxvi). In FU (FL) there is also a variant stem \*wārā 'wooded mountain' > F vaara 'wooded hill\mountain' | pLp {Lr.} \*vārē 'mountain, forest' > Lp: {Hs.} S vaarie, L {LLO} vārrē, N {N} varre 'mountain', Kld vārř / vařř 'forest' (Coll. 121-2, UEW 571, Sm. 551 (FU \*woori 'forest, hill' > FP \*voorī, Ugr \*wārī), Lr. 144-5 [#1357], Lgc. #8454, Hs. 1399-1400). This latter variant may have originated from regressive as.: pre-U \*ā > \*ā̄ due to the infl. of the front vw. in the second syll. || A: Tg \*bōri 'small mountain' > Ewk Skh/Urm bori 'a height covered with burned wood', Ewk Ald/Z/Ucr 'stony hill', Ewk Skh bōr 'small mountain wooded by creeping trees\bushes (горка, покрытая стлаником)', Ork bōri 'a small height' ¶ STM I 95 || ? NaT \*ō̄:ṛ 'a height, high ground, high' (\*ō̄ < \*\*ō̄ due to as. caused by a pre-T front vw. of the second syll.) > Chg ≥ XV ör, örk 'high ground, upwards', Tk ör 'a height, hill', Qmq ör id., Qzq ör 'a small height', {Rl.} 'eine hohe Stelle, die Erhöhung', {Rl.} 'mountain ridge' (taladan ör körünü 'von der Ebene aus war ein Bergrücken zu sehen'), VTt ür 'a height', Uz wr 'a gently sloping height', Qq ör 'river-head, upper reaches (of river)', SY ür 'a high place', Qzq (or SbTt Tb?) {Rl.} ür 'eine kleine Erhöhung, ein Hügel'; in many lgs. the √ contaminated with the omophonous T √ \*ōr- 'rise' (< N \*H<sub>1</sub>erU 'ascend, rise' [q.v.], F IS I 254-5 [#116]), whence Qmq ör 'top', SbTt Tb {Rl.} ür 'ein höher liegende Teil', etc. ¶ Cl. 193, EF Gl 542-4, Rl. I 1216-8, 1824 || D (in SD) {tr., †GS} \*var∇ 'mountain, slope' > Tm varaj 'mountain, peak, slope of hill', Kn bare, Kdg bare 'steep slope', Tu bare 'a steep precipice' ¶ D #5274 ¶¶ D \*-r- (unlike \*-r̄-) is a reg. reflex of N \*r-clusters (\*r + cns. or cns. + \*r), in this case \*-r̄- ◇ Tg \*bō- and T \*ō̄:ṛ- are likely to go back to N \*war̄-, see Introduction, § 2.4 ◇ ≈ IS MS 337 (\*wō<sup>r</sup>H<sup>r</sup>∇ 'mountain' > Tg, U \*wōr∇ + err. D \*vōr∇ (i.e. \*pōre, see D ##4505 and 4567), ≈ Blz. DA 161 [#88] (unc. equation of this N word with D \*vār- 'slope, side').

2516. <sub>2</sub> \*waHr∇ ⇄ \*warH∇ 'to scratch, to scrape, (?) to comb' > U \*<sup>o</sup>w<sup>r</sup>a<sup>r</sup>∇ > Sm {Jn.} \*w+r̄b v. 'scratch, scrape' > Ne T выпра- v. 'scratch; rub, wipe, scrape', Ne T O {Lh.} β+r̄bā- 'kratzen, schaben', Ne F β+r̄tā- 'mit dem Wetzstein schleifen' | Slq Tz {KKIH} k̄r̄+ v. 'ободраты' (= v. 'bark?') ¶ Jn. 175, Ter. 62, Lh. 73, KKIИ 117 || D \*vār- v. 'comb

(as hair)' > Tm *vār*, *vāru*, Ml *vātuka*, Kn *bārcu* ~ *bācu*, Tu *barcu*- ~ *bācu*- id., Krx *bagr*- v. 'comb oneself'; D ⇨ OI *vārakira*- 'a small comb' ¶¶ D #5357 ◇ ≠ Fn. KD #4 (equates D with K \**warcχ*- that belongs to N \**war'c̆* ▽ 'rub, scrape', q.v.) ◇ D \*-r- (reg. reflex of N \**r*-clusters) and the D long vw. suggest the presence of a N lr.

2517. \**w'a'qr* ▽ (or \**w'a'rq* ▽?) 'to rain, to drip, to trickle, to be strained' > IE: NaIE \**wēr*-/\**ūr*- 'rain', (?) 'liquid' (× N \**Γûrû* 'to flow, to stream' [q.v.]) > OI '*vāri* n. 'rain' (× OI *vāri* 'water' < N \**war* ▽ 'stream of water'), Av *vār*- n. 'rain', *vār*- v. 'rain', KhS *bār*-, Psh *wōrēdəl*- id. || ?? Arm *qawjn* *gayr̄* 'mud, mire, filth' (more likely than from N \**war* ▽ '↑', q.v.) || Gmc: ON *úr* 'humidity, drizzling rain', *ýra* 'to drizzle (fein regnen)', ? AS *ūriȝ* 'moist' || L *ūrīna* 'urine', *ūrīnor* / -*āri* v. 'dive' ¶ WP I 252-3, P 80-1, EI 636 (\**we/oHr*- 'water'), M E III 194, Brtl. 410-1, Mrg. 88, Bai. 278, WH II 840, Vr. 635 || D {tr., GS} \**vār*- v. 'flow, trickle, be strained' (of a liquid) > Tm *vār* v. '(over-)flow, trickle', *vāri* 'channel for draining off rain-water from roof', Ml *vāruka* 'run, flow down, be strained off' (of water), Kt *vāry* 'ditch around field', Td *pōry* 'ditch', Kn *bār* v. 'set free a liquid, pour out, purge', Tu *barcelb* 'channel to empty surplus water (as from a field)', Tl *vāru* v. 'flow down as water from boiled rice, be drained off', Nk *vār žav*, Prj *vār žāva* 'water of boiled rice', Prj, Gdb *vār̄p*- / p. *vārt*- v. 'strain (as water from boiled rice)', Gdb *vār*- 'be filtered (like boiled rice)', Gnd HMB {BB}, Png *vār*- v. 'pour', Gnd Mu {Bh.} *var*, Knd *vāra* 'irrigation channel', Kui *vāru* 'water-channel' (× Kui *vāru* 'stream, torrent' < N \**war* ▽ '↑') ¶¶ D #5356, GS 36 [#61], 31 [#33] || mt. (?): HS: S \**√wrχ* > Ar *warix*- 'arrosé et amolli par la pluie' ¶ BK II 1517 || ? A: M \**boruȝan* 'rain' > WrM *boruȝan*, HIM *борoo(н)*, Brt *борoo*, Brt b, Brt Ag *борooн*, Ord *b\_orōn*, WrO {Krg.} *buran* id., Kl *боран* 'rain, bad weather', Kl {Rm.} *borān* 'bad weather, storm with rain' (if recorded accurately, × M *buragan* 'snowstorm' < N \**buR* ▽ 'storm, stormy wind', q.v.), Mnr H {SM} *b\_urōn* 'petite pluie continue' ¶ On M \**bō*- < N \**wa*- see Introduction, § 2.4. In Mnr and WrO the vw. u of the first syll. may be due to infl. of \**buruȝan* 'storm, snowstorm' > WrO *burān* ¶ MED 121, Krg. 371, KRS 110, KW 51, Chr. SM 36 ◇ ≠ Gr. II #310 (\**urus* 'river') (unt. comparisons).

**2518.** \*<sub>l</sub>'<sub>1</sub>weX∇r∇ 'be mad, be dizzy, be intoxicated' > **HS:** S \*<sub>o</sub>✓wħr > Ar ✓wħr G (pf. wahira, 3m ip. yahiru ~ yawħaru) 'être animé de colère\haine contre qn., être infecté du venin du lézard called وحرة wahra' ¶ BK II 1499 || **IE:** NaIE \*<sub>l</sub>'<sub>1</sub>wōr- 'be mad, be giddy' (×N \*w'a'Rǰ∇ [~ \*w'a'ǰR∇??] 'weak' [of a person]) > Gk ὠπακτάω v. 'faint, swoon away' ||| ON W órar pl. 'attacks of mental disturbance', {Vr.} 'Betäubung, Wahnsinn', NNr orar id., ON ærr 'mad, (mentally) disturbed', NNr, Dn ør, Sw Δ ör id., OSx wōrig 'entkräftet, mühe, matt', OHG wuorag 'intoxicated (berauscht), languorous' ¶ P 1180, F II 1151, Vr. 419, 684, Kb. 1232, OsS 1214, Schz. 331, Ho. S 90 || **D** \*verǰi-, [GS] \*verǰi- 'drunken, mad' > Tm verǰi 'be drunk, intoxicated, become mad', Ml verǰi 'intoxication, fury', Kn verǰi id., 'madness, confusion', Tl verǰi 'madness, mental derangement', Knd verǰi 'foolish, simple', Ku verila 'madman', Brh birr 'wild, not tame', birrī 'wildness' ¶¶ D #5511, GS 57 [#158], 66 [#204] || **U:** FU \*ür∇ 'be drunken, intoxicated (×N \*?uRE or \*?üR∇ 'drink, swallow' [q.v. ffd.]) || ? Slq Tm {KD} ōra- ~ ǝra- 'get drunk' ¶¶ But Sm \*3r- v. 'drink' is likely to belong to N \*?uRE or \*?üR∇ '↑' only ¶¶ Coll. 16, UEW 85, IG 329, Lt. J 160, Jn. 21-2, Hl. M #249 ◇ FU \*ür∇ belongs here if FU \*ü- may go back to N \*we-.

**2519.** \*wixR∇ 'male, man' > **IE:** NaIE \*wīro-s nom. 'male person, man' > OI vī'ra-, Av vi:ra- 'man, warrior, person, hero', MPrs vir, Sgd wyr- 'husband, man' ||| L vir 'male person', OL vir 'husband', Um VEIRO, VIRO 'men' (accus. pl.) ||| OIr fer, Brtt {RE} \*wiros 'man, husband' > OW gur, MW gwr, W gŵr, OCm, OBr gur, Crn, MBr, Br gour id. ||| Gt waír, OSx wer, OHG wër 'man', AS wer, ON verr 'man, husband' ||| Lt vŷras, Ltv vīrs id., Pru wijr ~ wirs 'Mann' ¶ The perplexing shortness of i in L still needs explaining ¶ P 1177-8, H 366 (\*wiH'ros 'man, husband'), M K III 238-9, M E II 569-70, WH II 796-7, EM 738-9, Bc. G 351, Pln. II 763, Thr. §§ 57, 74, LP §§ 5.5, 6.3, RE 111, Fs. 544, Vr. 657, Ho. 391, Ho. S 85, Kb. 1170, OsS 1122, Frn. 1258, En. 275, ≈ P 1177-8 || **HS:** C: Ag: Bln {R} wuhīr 'bull'; Ag ⇨ Tgr w-uc wəhər 'bull' ||| EC: Sml war 'you, fellow!', 'hey, you!', 'man!' (addressed to a male person) (≡σ: Sp ¡hombre! and G ῥαcο! 'you fellow!' ← 'man!') ¶ AD SF 203-4, R WB 354, LH 427, DSI 607, Abr. S 250, ZMO 409 || **K:** Sv L/LB/Ln χwir 'male animal (dog, cat, bear)', Sv UP χwir 'male (dog)' ¶ Dn. s.v. χvir, TK 878, GP 302 || **U:** FU \*<sub>o</sub>wEr∇



> pPrm \**ver* 'man, male' > OPrm *wer* 'servant, slave', Z pi-*ver* 'husband's brother' (pi 'son'), Z Vm *ver-ćeri* 'male fish' (ćeri 'fish'), Vt {Mu.} *var, war* 'slave, servant' ¶ LG 52 ◇ The unexpected Prm vw. \**e* still needs explaining.

2520. <sub>2</sub> \**wel<sub>1</sub>yl<sub>1</sub>r<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>?* 'back' > HS: WS \**✓wr?* > Ar *warā?a* 'ce qui est derrière ou au delà', *✓wr?* v. G 'éloigner', ? Mh {Jo.} *✓wr<sup>r</sup>|<sup>r</sup>* v. *Sh* (pf. *həwrē ~ həwrē?*) 'turn, bring back (beasts, people), keep back\away', ? Hrs {Jo.} *✓wr<sup>r</sup>|<sup>r</sup>* v. *Sh* (pf. *awrā*) 'bring home (livestock) in the evening', v. *Sh* (pf. *šəwrā?*) 'back off, be brought back, ?<sub>μ</sub> Sb *hwrt* 'back part' ¶ BK II 1516, Jo. M 429, Jo. H 136, Mü. BHS 70, BGMR 57, DRS 614-5 || EC: Or {Grg.} *wirtū* 'spine' ¶ Grg. 403, Brl. 424 || ?σ Ch \**✓w<sub>1</sub>yl<sub>1</sub>r* 'neck' ({Stl.} \**ħa-wuyar* [with the px. of body parts \**ħa-*]) > WCh 'neck': Hs *wúyà* | Klr {J} *wur* | Wrj {J} *yiráy*, Cg {Sk.} *wuré*, Kry {Sk.} (ϣ)*wīr*, My {Sk.} *wír*, Mbr {Sk.} (ϣ)*wīrò*, Jmb {Sk.} *yírá* | Kir {SAh.} *uyar*, Tala {Sh.} *yār*, Zar {IL} *yêr* | Ngz {Sch.} *wùrá* || CCh: HgNk {Mk.} *wure*, FIK {Mk.} *wuri* 'neck' | Gude {Hsk.} *ūrā* 'neck, throat', Gude/Nz/Bcm {Mk.} *wura*, BtG {Srp.} *wūrē*, Gudu {IL} *wuḥa* 'neck' | Lmn {Mk.} *wurək* id. || Ech: Jg {J} *were*, Mu {J} *wírì* id. ¶ JI II 252-3, Nw. #91, ChC, ChL, Stl. IF 142 (pCh \**ħa-wuyar*), ≈ Stl. ZCh 239 [#860] (\*[ħ<sup>w</sup>]-yara), Hsk. 287 || Eg G *wəy<sub>1</sub>t* 'Kehle (des Gegners, die durchbohrt wird)' ¶ EG I 49 || B \**✓wr* > Izn {Rn.} *awərr*, Rf {Rn.}: T *awar*, B *awarn* 'behind, after'; Mz {Dlh.} *awərr<sub>1</sub>* 'au-delà' ¶ Rn. 285, Dlh. M 228 || D \**ver∇n* 'back' > Tm *verin*, Kt, Klm *ven*, Kn *ben*, Kdg *benni*, Tl *ve(n)nu* '(the) back', Nkr *venka* 'behind', Knd *venka* 'afterwords' ¶¶ D #5488 ◇ D \*-r- suggests a N or post-N \**r*-cluster; in view of the Ch and S cognates it is likely to be either \**-yr-* or \**-r?* < N \**-r<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>?* ◇ Blz. DA 154 [#23] (HS, D), ≈ Blz. LB #6c (including S, EC, B, D).

2521. \**war?<sup>r</sup>ŭ* ⇌ \**wa?<sup>r</sup>ŭ* 'tie' (⇒ 'thong', 'rope'), 'to bind, to tie' > HS: either [1] Eg OK *wə<sub>1</sub>r* 'zusammenschnüren', Eg fBD *wə<sub>1</sub>r.t* 'Schnur, Strick' ] or [2] Eg fBD *wə<sub>1</sub>* 'Schnur, Strick', Eg XVIII/Md *wə<sub>1</sub>.t* 'Schnur, Band', Eg fXVIII *wə<sub>1</sub>wə<sub>1</sub>.t* 'rope' ¶ EG I 244, 250, 252 || IE: NaIE \**wer-* v. 'bind, tie', \**werw-* 'rope' > Lt *vérti* (1s prs. *veriu*), Ltv *vērt* (1s prs. *veru*) 'to string', sa-*vāre* 'Rute zum Binden', Lt E *virtinē* 'Bündel'; Lt *virvė*, Ltv *virve* 'rope', Pru *wirbe* 'rope (Seil)'; but not here (⇔ EI) Lt *vérti*, Ltv *vērt* 'to thread (a needle)' (÷ R Δ *верать*, Blg *вра*, and OCS *въврѣти* *въ-врѣти* 'shove, put into') || Sl \**vьrvь*

'rope' > OCS **ВРѢВЪ** **УРЪУЪ** ~ **ВРѢВЪ** **УРЪУЪ**, OR **ВѢРВЪ** **УВРУЪ**, R † **ВЕРВЪ**†Blg **ВРѢВ**, McdS **ВРВ**, OCz, SCr  $\Delta$  **УRV**, Slk **УР̂V** id.; d. (originally dim.) Sl \***УВРУВЪСА** > SCr **УР̂УСА** ~ **УР̂РСА**, Slv **УР̂УСА**, d. **УRVICA**, P  $\omega$ irzbcā; Sl \***УВРУВЪКА** > R **ВЕ'РѢВКА**, Uk **ВІРЬОВКА** 'rope' ||| Gk  $\rho\acute{\upsilon}\tau\eta\rho$  ({P}: < \* $\mathcal{F}$  $\rho\acute{\upsilon}\tau\eta\rho$ ) 'strap (with which one holds a horse), rein; strap to flog with' (x  $\leftarrow$   $\epsilon\rho\acute{\upsilon}\omega$  'drag, draw'??), ?  $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ - $\alpha\epsilon\lambda\rho\omega$  'bind together' ||| Vd **УARA'trā-** 'thong' ||| ? (+ext.): Clt: OIr **fraig** 'wattle, osier', {Thr.} 'wall', NIr **fraigh** 'inside roof of a house; rafters', Brtt {RE} \***wrīgami** 'to sew' > Cm **gwr̄yās**, OBr **gruīam** (1s), MBr **gruyat**, **gryat**, Br **gwriad**, **gr(ω)iat** 'sew' ¶ WP I 263-5, ≈ P 1150-1, EI 64 (\* $(h_2)$ wer- ≈ attach'), FI 23-4, Thr. 191, Dnn. 333, RE 127, Frn. 1263, En. 274-5, BER I 187, Vs. I 295, Glh. 686; ≠ M K III 245-6 (connects OI **УARA'trā-** with **УR̄o'ṇōti** 'covers; ≠ FI 571 and Ch. 367 (both:  $\rho\acute{\upsilon}\tau\eta\rho$   $\leftarrow$   $\epsilon\rho\acute{\upsilon}\omega$  'drag, draw' ||| **D** {tr., ṡGS} \***УāR-** 'thong' > Tm **УāR** 'churning rope, leather strap', Kn **bāR**, **bāra**, Tl **УāRU**, **УāRU** 'leather strap, thong', Ml **УāR** id., 'tendon', Td **pō'R** 'whip' ¶¶ D #5363 (b) ||| **A**: Tg d. \***bartukin** 'rope' (x N \***weraH<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>t∇** 'root, sinew', q.v.) > Nn Nh **bartoxī**, Ul **batuxu(n-)** 'rope, cable', Neg **batuxun**, Orc **bātuxā** ~ **bātuxi**, Ud {SDM} **batixi** 'rope' ¶ STM I 77 ||| *AdS* to the A root for 'plait, weave' (T \***ūr-**, M \***öre-** 'plait', pJ \***úr-** 'weave', pKo \***ūr** 'strands of rope') (< N \***wärE** 'make, do', q.v. ffd.).

**2522. \*У'а'R̄∇** (~ \***У'а'R̄∇??**) 'weak' (of a person) > **HS**: S \* $\sqrt{wr̄}$  > Ar  $\sqrt{wr̄}$  *G* (pf. **waraṣa**, 3m ip. **yaraṣu**) {Hv.} 'be faint-hearted \ weak', {BK} 'être faible \ sans énergie \ incapable de tout effort; être timide; être modeste \ pieux' ¶ BK II 1521, Hv. 864 ||| **IE**: NaIE \***wōr-** 'be weak, faint' > OSx **wōrig** 'entkräftet, mühe, matt', (x N \***weX∇r∇** 'be mad, be dizzy, be intoxicated') Gk  $\acute{\omega}\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega$  v. 'faint, swoon away' ||| ON **órar** pl. 'attacks of mental disturbance', {Vr.} 'Betäubung, Wahnsinn', NNr **orar** id., ON **ærr** 'mad, (mentally) disturbed', NNr, Dn **ør**, Sw  $\Delta$  **ör** id., OHG **wuorag** 'intoxicated (berauscht), languorous' ¶ WP I 316, P 1180 ||| **A**: M \***barama** 'weak' (of a child) > WrM **barama**, HIM **барам** id.; ?? WrO **barama** 'alas! woe is me! poor fellow!', ?? Kl {Rm.} **barma**, Brt **барма** 'poor fellow!' (unless  $\leftarrow$  M \***bar-**, Kl {Rm.} **bar-** 'come to an end') ¶ MED 84, Krg. 335, Chr 89  $\diamond$  The long \***ō** in NaIE \***wōr-** may be accounted for by a metathetical variant \***У'а'R̄∇** of the pN word (or by complementary lengthening (\***-'a'R̄∇-** > \***-ōr-**)).

**2523. \*w<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>rh<sup>1</sup>ü|u<sup>1</sup>** 'be wide\broad, expand, spread' > **HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>✓wrh > Ar wārīh-at- adj. f. 'broad, spacious' (of a house), ✓wrh G 'be very fat' (of a woman) ¶ BK II 1525, Hv. 865 || Eg √wr, wrr 'big; be big' ¶ EG I 326-30 || ?? SC: Irq {MQK} ʔur 'big, great', {E} ur 'big, large', ur-aw- 'grow up' ¶ E SC 395, MQK 113 || Ch: Ang {Flk.} wārη 'big', Su {J} wúrāη 'big', ? Gmy warr 'strength' | Glm wur- v. 'surpass' ¶¶ OS #2529 (Eg, Ch, Irq), ≈ IS II 109-10 || **IE** {E} \*werHu- (nom. \*wer<sup>1</sup>Hu-s, gen. \*wer<sup>1</sup>Hou-s) 'broad', \*werH-os- 'breadth' > OI u<sup>1</sup>ru-ḥ, Av vouru-š 'wide, broad', Oss I wārāχ, Oss D uruχ 'broad, spacious' ||| mt.: Gk εὐρύς 'wide, broad', εὐρος ntr. 'breadth' ¶ WPI 285, P 1165, M KI 110, M EI 227, Ab. IV 90-1, FI 592-3 || **K** (+ext.): GZ \*w<sup>o</sup>ṛç- 'be broad, wide' > OG, G vrc- v. 'widen'; ⇨ GZ \*<sup>o</sup>w<sup>o</sup>ṛç-el- 'broad, wide' > Mg pirča- 'broad' (of eyes), 'branchy' (of trees) ¶ K 85-6, K<sup>2</sup> 55, FS K 127-8, FS E 137-8, Abul. 161 || **D** {tr., ʔGS} \*vir<sub>1</sub>i<sub>1</sub>- v. 'expand, open' > Tm viri, Ml viriyuka id., Kn biri id., 'burst open', Tl viriyu id., vi. 'open', Td piry- 'be opened' (bag), 'be parted' (hair)', Kdg biri- (p. birin<sup>2</sup>-) v. 'dismantle' (house), 'open' (jackfruit), biri (p. biriç-) 'spread', Tu biriyu- vi. 'split', Prj virṅg- 'be loosened', Gnd A {Sbr.} virp- vt. 'spread', Knd vir(i)s- 'open (as a book), lay open', Krx berr- 'get out of space by expanding sidewise' ¶¶ D #5411 || **A:** Tg \*bire- v. 'roll out dough' > Ul, Nn Nh birɜ-, WrMc bire- id.; ? Tg \*bir(i)- v. 'spread perches' > Ewk biri- id.; ⇨ Tg \*biri-ptin 'perches that are spread as flooring' > Ewk biriptir, Ud bīpti id., Orc bipti 'a tent for provision'; Tg \*biri-ke<sub>1</sub>n 'perches spread as flooring' > Lm birkən, Lm A birkən, Neg biyɜɜɜ id., WrMc biregen ~ bireken 'wattle-fence' ¶ STM I 84-5, Krm. 212 ◇ D \*-r- is the reg. reflex of N \*r-clusters (rather than of the intervocalic \*-r-), hence the Ir. \*h (attested in Ar) must belong to the N word ◇ Bm. TPN 364-5 [#400] (Eg, IE, K), ≈ IS II 109-10 (Eg, WCh < N \*w<sup>o</sup>l<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> 'big, large' [i.e. N \*wA<sup>1</sup>a [or \*wu|o<sup>1</sup>a?] 'big, large; multitude', q.v.).

**2523a. \*wAr<sup>1</sup>h<sup>1</sup>∇** 'grain (of cereals)' > **HS:** Eg fXVIII wɜḥy.t 'Ertrag der Ernte, Fülle des Kornes', 'Getreide' (spec. 'Spelz') ¶ EG I 258 || SC: Irq warāri (pl. warāḥ<sup>w</sup>) 'seed(s)' ¶ MQK 115, Blz. SCL s.v. 'seed(s)' || Ch: WCh: Kry/My {Sk.} wáré, P' {MSk.} vārí, Wrj {Sk.} wáríná, Cg {Sk.} vārín, Sir {Sk.} (ʔ)wùryí 'seed' ||| Ech: Mu {Lk.} wār 'Getreide, Korn', Kjk {DB} wār 'seed' ¶ JI II 286-7, Lk. ZSS 186, Blz. EChWL #72 || **IE:** Ht {Ts.} warwatna- 'seed, posterity', (?) Lw {Ivn. ← ?} warwalan id. ¶

Ivn. SL 154, Ts. W 102 (hyp.: *warwatna-* ← Lw) || D: [1] \**var-* 'rice' > Tm, Tl *vari* 'paddy', Prj pl. *verčilid.*, *vars pīru* 'rice straw', Ml *vari* 'wild-growing rice with rough beards' ||| [2] \**varak-* 'millet' > Tm *varaku* id., Ml *varaku* 'Paspalum frumentacium (a kind of millet)', Kn *baraga*, *baragu* id., 'Indian millet', Tl *varaga*, EpTl *vrυvu* 'hog millet (*Panicum miliaceum*)' ¶ D ##526O, 5265 ◇ D \*-r- (regularly from N \*r-clusters) and Eg ħ suggest the presence of a N Ir. Eg ħ and the AnIE loss of the Ir. suggest that it was N \*ħ.

2524. \**wirχ∇* '€ tree' ('Populus', 'Alnus', or sim.) > K: GZ \**werχw-* 'aspen' > OG *verχu* {Abul.} 'aspen' or 'white poplar (*Populus alba*)', G *verχv-*, Mg *veχ-* 'aspen'; (G → ?) Sv: Ln *werχw*, L *werχw-la*, UB *yerχw*, UB/KB/L *yerχw-la*, LB *erχw(-la)* id. ¶¶ K 84, K<sup>2</sup> 52, Abul. 157 (translates OG *verχu* into G as 'aspen', but into L as '*Populus alba*'), TK 639 || IE: NaIE \**werno-*, *wernā* {EI} 'alder (*Alnus barbata*)', {P} 'alder, poplar' > Mcd {Hs.} ἄλιζα 'white poplar' ||| pAl {O} \**werna* > Al T/G *verr* 'alder' ||| OIr *fern*, OCrn *guern-en* 'alder', W, Br *gwern* 'alder wood', W *gwernin* ~ {LP} *gwernen* 'alder'; Gl → VL \**verna* > It P *verna*, Prv *verna*, Ctl *vern*, Fr Lr *ver(n)*, *verñe* 'alder' ||| Arm *գերաւ* *geran* 'beam, rafter, joist' (not 'alder', as in EI!) ¶ WP I 292, P 1169, EI 11, Mn. 152O, GI II 635, O 50O, LP § 72, Hm. 358, YGM-1 264, ML #9232, Slr. 294-5 || ?σ A: M \**burga-sun* 'willow, osier; willow branches' > WrM *burgasu(n)*, HIM *бургаас(ан)*, *бургас* id., 'twigs of willow; brushwood', Ord *b\_u'rgasu'* 'saule des dunes', WrO *burçasu* 'willow, rosewillow', Kl *бурһсн* 'pussy-willow', {Rm.} *burçasñ* 'Strauch, Weidenbusch', Brt *бургааһа(н)* 'twig, (long) dry branch, rod (прут, хворостина, лоза)', 'willow, shrubs', ?σ MM [S] {H} *burçasun* 'elm bark', ?? MM [MA] {Pp.} *burçasut* pl. 'leaves' ¶ MED 137, Ms. O 98, H 22, Pp. MA 125, Krg. 372, KRS 12O, KW 62, Chr. 113 || Tg \**burgan*, \**burgak* '(poplar\willow) grove, thicket' > Ewk Tt 'poplar brushwood', Ewk Clm *burgan* 'grove on riverbank', Ewk Δ *burgan* 'thicket on a riverbank', Sln *bur'gan* 'grove', *buggã* ~ *burgã* 'purple or rose willow', Lm *burgaγ* 'poplar\willow grove', Ork *buda* 'willow brushwood', Nn B *boyga mōnt* 'purple\rose willow', WrMc *buzan* 'forest\grove in the plain' ¶ STM I 111 ||| D \**vir∇-* 'sebesten (a kind of tree)' > Tm *viracu*, *viricu*, *virucu* 'large sebesten', *virivan* 'common sebesten', Ml *virisú* '€ tree', Tl *virigi* '*Cordia sebestena*' ¶¶ D #54O8 ◇ M and Tg \*u may be explained by labialization of the

original vw. (caused by the heritage of N \*w-) and by its depalatalization (due to regr. as., caused by the M and Tg vw. \*a of the second syll.) ◇ BmK 614 (\*wir-/\*wer- > K, IE, D).

2525. \*w∇r<sub>ly</sub>'E' 'another', \*yi w∇r<sub>ly</sub>'E' 'one and another one' (→ 'two') (N \*yi 'a couple' [→ a marker of dual] + N \*w∇r<sub>ly</sub>'E' 'another') > K \*yör- 'two' > OG, G or-i, G Ing {Schm.} oor-i, G G {Ghl.} vor-i (= wori?), Mg žir-i ~ ž̌ir-i, Lz žur-i & ž̌ur-i, Sv: UB yör-i, yör-u, yeru (dat. yarw), LB yori (dat. yarw), L yeru, Ln yerbi ¶¶ K 149, FS K 243, FS E 267-8, Schm. 129, Ghl. 227, TK 640, GP 238, Dn. s.v. yeru || HS: C: Bj {R} wēr, 'wārī 'another, second', {Rop.} wer '(an)other' || Ag \*ʔari/\*ʔři, {Ap.} \*ʔari / \*ʔli (\*-l- < \*-ř-) 'other' > Bln ʔari-xʷ, Km ayɜ-ʷ, Aw ɜľli-w ¶ Ap. AV 2, R WB 45, R WBd 245, Rop. 248, E PC #579 || D \*ir- 'two' > Tm, Ml iru (before cns.) / īr (before vw.) adj. 'two', Tm iran̄t̄u, Ml ran̄t̄u 'two', Kt ir, Td, Kdg i'r 'two' (bound form: Kt ir vad 'twenty', ir pa'ny '2 pa'ny measures', Td i'r q̄r, Kdg i'r aṇḍi '2 years'), Kn iru / ir / ik / īr adj. 'two', Tu irъ, ir- 'two, double, both', Tl iru-, īr- (in some cds.: iru-vadi 'twenty'), Klm, Nkr iddar '2 men', Klm iral, Nk iral '2 women', Prj irḍu, Gdb inḍi '2 things', Prj, Gdb irul '2 men', iral '2 women', Knd riʔ-/ri-, Png, Mnd, Kui ri, Ku rī & ri 'two', Krx irb, Mlt iwr '2 persons', Brh irat̄, irā- 'two' ¶¶ D #474 || A: T \*ör-gä 'another' (originally dat. of \*\*ör 'another?') > OT (?), Chg özgä 'other, other than, different', Tk özge, Tkm ɛzge öḍge, Az, ET özgä, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Qq özge, VTt üzgä, Uz wzga, Qrg özgö, Alt öskö, Tv öske ¶ Cl. 263, DTS 395, Rs. W 377, ET Gl 508-9, UzR 579 ¶ The T word belongs here unless we accept the etymological hyp. of Bu. and Rl. interpreting NaIE \*öz-gä as the dative case of \*öz 'oneself' || M \*örexe ≈ 'otherwise' > MM [S] {H} oreʔe (= öre<sub>e</sub>) 'anders, besonders'; M \*öreveli, \*örevel-sün 'one out of a pair' > WrO öröli, Kl {Rm.} örelj, Brt γρөөл(э) id., 'an equal half', MM [HI] öre<sub>e</sub>elsün {Lew.} 'qui n'est pas double, qui est seul d'un pair, impair, unique', Kl ɛpəçh öräsən, {Rm.} örēsṇ† 'one of a pair', WrM örüge(l)sün, HIM ɛpəçəçh, Ord örösön id., 'odd'; M \*örevel 'half' > MM [MA] örēle, WrO örölö, Kl ɛpəç öräl id., WrM örügel, HIM ɛpəçəçl 'half of a carcass' ¶ H 121, Ms. H 84, Lew. II 69, Pp. MA 277, MED 643-4, Krg. 149, Ms. O 539, KRS 422, KW 298, Chr. 513 || Tg \*urē- 'resemble' > Ewk urē- id., v. 'echo', Lm urēç, Ork urɜɜ 'resembling, similar, equal to' ¶ STM II 289 ¶¶ DQA #1579 (A \*örē 'other, one of two') ◇ D \*-r- points

to a N cns. cluster (\*r + another cns.), so that the D and T ev. may be consiliated by postulating N \*-ry- ◇ The labialized vw. in T, M, and Tg is not necessarily original, because it may be caused by the ass. infl. of N \*w-.

**2526. \*wORD** ∇ 'grow' (trans.), 'raise, bring up (children\animals)' > IE: NaIE \*wredh-/\*werdh- 'grow', \*wordh<sup>o</sup>-s 'grown, full-grown, upright, high', \*wrdh- 'raised, upright, high' > OI 'vardhati 'increases, augments, strengthens', 'vardha-h<sub>1</sub> adj. 'augmenting', m. 'increase', ūrdh<sup>1</sup>va<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub> 'raised, upright', Av varəḍō adj. 'growing', NPrs {Sg.} 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 vāḷō 'exalted, eminent, high', 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 bāḷō 'high; height', 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 bāḷōdān 'to grow, to wax great' (< \*werdh-), Oss I wərdəg, Oss D urdug adj. 'vertical, perpendicular (отвечный)' || Gk ὀρθός, Δ Forθός & βορθός 'straight, erect' || Arm արդակ arḍak adj. 'smooth, even' || ON varði m., varðaf. 'cairn' || pTc \*wrāt- > Tc: B wrāt- '≈ shape, form', A wrātal in sne-wrātal 'formlessness' || BSI (×IE \*<sup>g</sup>ordh- < N \*z<sup>g</sup>e<sup>g</sup>rd ∇ 'to grow', 'to feed, to rear', q.v. ffd.): Ltv rādīt 'create, produce, give birth to', Sl \*rodi-ti (prs. \*rodj-q) 'give birth to' (ffd. see N \*z<sup>g</sup>e<sup>g</sup>rd ∇) ¶ P 1167, Mn. 1578, 1598, EI 249 (\*wredh- 'grow, stand, take shape'), M K III 157-8, M E II 520-1, Horn 39-40, VI. II 140, Ab. IV 121-2, F II 415-6, ME III 462, Vs. III 492, Xud. I 167, Vr. 645, Ad. 616 || U: FP \*wort ∇ vt. 'rear \ raise \ bring up (e.g., domestic animals, children)' > Chr: L урда- urḍa- 'keep\rear\raise (e.g. animals)', Kz urḍe-, Y wərḍe-, YU {Bk.} wərḍe- 'erziehen\halten (Vieh, Bienen, Diener, ein fremdes Kind)' | pPrm \*verd- 'bring up, feed' > Z verd-, Yz 'verd- 'feed', Vt vord+ 'bring up'; ?? pPrm \*verd- 'give birth' > Z Δ verd- id., Vt vordsk+ 'be born' ¶ U EB 183-5, Ü 230, LG 52; qu. UEW 825 and It. #401 (FU ← Ary) || A: M \*borda- ~ \*bordū- 'fatten (animals)' > WrM borda- ~ bordū-, HIM бордо- id., 'fertilize the soil', Kl борд- id., {Rm.} borda- 'mästen, fett und dick machen', WrO {Krg.} bordo- 'fatten up, feed so as to slaughter; get fat', Brt бордо- 'fatten up', Ord b\_ord\_0- 'nourrir de graines farineuses'; M → Chg {Rm.} borda- 'fett und dick sein' ¶ MED 120, Ms. O 80, Krg. 356, KRS 111, KW 51, Chr. 105 || ?? HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>war<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>d- \*'boy', \*<sup>o</sup>war<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>d-at- 'girl' (if ← \*'erzeugtes Kind') > Ak fOAK (w)ard-u(m) 'servant, slave', (w)ardatu(m) 'girl, young woman' ¶ Sd. 1464-6 ◇ IS MS 335 (IE, U).

2527. (2?) \*woRkê 'to make' > IE: NaIE \*werǵ- 'do, make, work' > Av varəz- 'act, do, make', NPrs وړزیدن vārzīdān {Sg.} 'to labour, to endeavour; to exercise, to perform; to sow', {Vl.} 'strenuum\assiduum esse in agendo, factitare, exercere', بړزیدن bārzīdān 'to sow; persevere', بړز bārz 'seed, agriculture', وړز vārz id., 'trade, art, craft; custom, habit', {Vl.} 'labor asiduus; opificium', KhS valys- v. 'work, cause' ||| Arm գործ gorc 'work, affair, deed' ||| Gk ἔργον, ἔργον n. 'work', ὄργανον 'instrument\tool of doing sth., organ', ἔρδω 'do' ({F} < \*F ἔργλω) / pfc. ἔοργα, Gk Cp aor. ἔFεργα; Gk ῥέλω 'do, act, deal' ({F} < \*wǵǵ-y-) ||| Clt: OBr guerg 'efficax', MW guereit, gwreith 'deed' ||| ON, NNr, Dn verk, Sw verk, vārĳ, OHG werc ~ werah, NHG Werk, AS weorc ~ worc n. 'work', NE work n.; Gt waúrĳjan, ON yrĳja / p. orta, NNr yrĳja, Sw yrĳe, OSx wirĳian, OHG wērĳkōn 'to work, to act', OHG U wurchen / p. wor(a)hta, OHG F wirĳan ~ wirĳen / p. war(a)hta, NHG wirĳen, AS wyrĳean / p. worhte v. 'work, do', NE work v. ||| Tc wārĳšäl, Tc B wārĳšäl 'power, energy' ¶ WP I 290-1, P 1168-9, EI 649 (\*werǵ-, prs. \*wǵǵeye/o- 'work'), Dv. #540, Brtl. 1374-9, Sg. 173-4, 1462-3, Bai. 379, FI 54, Flr. 189, LP § 491.5, Vr. 656, 679, Fs. 555, Ho. 390, 411, Ho. S 88, Kb. 1180, OsS 1122-4, 1128-9, 1168, KM 854, 862, Sl. 144-6, Ad. 579-80 ||| U: FU {Ber.} \*worke 'sew' > pChr {Ber.} \*wurĳa- ({Ber.} \*wurĳā-) id. > Chr: L yrĳe- ur'ĳe (inf. yrĳaĳ ur'ĳ-aš), Uf/B urĳe-, H yrĳe- ырĳe- (inf. ырĳaĳ 'ырĳ-aš); Chr: L wurĳem wur'ĳ-em, Uf/B wurĳem, H вырĳем 'wырĳ-em 'cloth' ||| Prm \*vur- 'sew' > Z vurны vur-nĳ, Vt vurыны vur-inĳ 'to sew' ||| Hg varr- 'sew' ¶ UEW 584-5, Ber. 82, MRS 82, 89, 632, 764, Ep. 166, LG 70, MF 674-5 ||| ?σ HS: S \*°√wrk > Ar √wrk G 'be able to do', {BK} 'être de force et au delà pour faire (telle ou telle chose)', D warraka ʕalā 'être de force à faire qch.' ¶ BK II 1523-4, Hv. 864.

2528. 2 \*werǵǵ 'branches, leaves of a tree' > HS: S \*'waraĳ- 'branches, leaves of a tree' > Ar وراق waraq- 'leaves of a tree, foliage' (→ 'sheet of paper'), √wrq G {BK} 'être branchu, avoir des branches longues' (a tree), {Hv.} 'put forth leaves' (a tree), OA yrĳ 'verdure', JA [Trg.] ירקא yar'ĳ-ā n. 'green, herb, vegetables', adj. 'green', JEA yar'ĳ-ā 'vegetables', BHb, MHb ירק 'yerεĳ id. (→ MHb ירוק yā'rōĳ 'green'), Sr يارق yar'ĳā (abs. ييرق yī'rεĳ) 'a herb, vegetables', Sb

wrk 'vegetable crops', Ak (w)arku 'gelbgrün, Grünes', Ug yrk {A} 'Gelbes, Gold', {OLS} 'amarillo verdoso' (un metal, oro); Qt {Rk.} wrk '(piece of) gold', Sb wrk, Gz warq 'gold, gold coin' (← 'yellow' ← 'green'), OYmn (= Hmr?) wrk ({Slw.} wariq-) 'silver, money', Ar (← OSA or Eth) warq- ~ wirq- ~ wurq- 'argent monnayé'; ⇨ (?) \*✓wrk 'be green' > Ak ✓wrk G 'gelbgrün\faul sein\werden', MHb/JA {Js.} ✓yrk Sh (MHb pf.  $\text{ק'ר'ר'ה}$  hō'r īk, JA  $\text{ק'ר'ר'א}$  ḳō'r īk) 'be light-coloured, pale, green, yellow', Sr ✓yrk G 'be\grow pale', yar'kān, yar'kā'nā 'yellowish, pale yellow', {Br.} yurā'k-ā 'viridis, lividus' ¶ BK II 1522-3, Hv. 864, HJ 471, KB 420-1, Sd. 1463-4, 1470-1, Js. 597-8, Lv. T I 345-6, Sl. 543, Br. 309-10, JPS 197, BGMR 162, Rk. 56, Slw. 219-20, L G 618, A #1247, OLS 538, DRS 632-4 || Eg ∇ wɜɜɜ '(be) green, fresh', 'raw' (of food) (× N \*wi'ḷ'ka?∇ 'wet, moist' [q.v.]) > DEg wt 'be green\fresh' > Cpt Sd/B oγwt uōt id. ¶ EGI 264-6, Fk. 55, Er. 104-5, Vc. 238 ¶¶ Tk. I 319-20 (sceptical about the Eg - S connection) || D \*veḡ∇k- 'firewood' (← \*'branches used as fuel?') > Tm viraku, virāy, Knd veḡgu, Png vezgu, Mnd viyke, Kui veḡu, veḡgu, Ku vergu ḍ vegū ḍ vegu ḍ weggu 'firewood, fuel', Ml viruku, Kt verg, Td berk, Krg biḡi 'firewood', Tu birirji 'slender pieces of firewood', Gnd verrki ḍ vark ḍ verk ḍ vaxk, vexki 'fuel, stick of firewood' ¶¶ D #5440.

2529. (₂?) \*weraH<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>t∇ 'root, sinew' > IE: NaIE \*wrād-/\*w<sub>o</sub>rād-/\*w<sub>o</sub>rād-/\*wrād- 'branch, twig, rod, root' > Gk ῥάδιξ (gen. ῥάδικος) 'branch, frond', ῥάδαμος 'young twig', ῥίζα, Gk L ῥίζα 'roots' (← \*ῥέδια) || L rādīx (gen. rādīcis) 'root' || pAl {O} \*wradhā > Al: T rrēnjē, G rranjē 'root' || Clt: Brtt {RE} \*wradys 'root' > W gwreiddyn (coll. gwraidd), OCm [γ] grueiten, Crn gwredhen, OBr {Flr.} ureid, MBr gwruizyenn, Br gwrizienn id.; W gwrysg 'halm', {P} 'Äste, Zweige'; OIr frén 'root' (← \*wḡd-o-); OIr frém (← \*wḡd-mā) id., W greddf 'instinct, intuition' (← 'root'), greddfū 'take root' || Gt waurts 'root', ON urt, OSx wurt, AS wyr t 'root, herb (Kraut)', OHG wurz, NHG Wurz 'herb, spice, root', cd.: AS wyr twalu 'root' (lit. 'Kraut-stock'), OHG wurzala, NHG Wurzel, MDt wortele, Dt wortel 'root'; ON rót (← \*wrād-) (→ ME rōt > NE root), Sw rot, Dn rod id. || An unknown (Irn?) lge. → Sr  $\text{ܘܪܝܕܐ}$  warīd-ā 'blood vessel, sinew', MHb  $\text{ܘܪܝܕܐ}$  wārīd 'blood vessel, jugular vein' and Ar warīd- 'jugular vein' (the cns. d [for the



expected \*t if the word is an inherited S cognate] and Aram/MHb w- [that are ruled out in inherited S words] suggest that these words are loans from an IE lge.) ¶ WP I 228, P 1167, ≈ EI 80 (\*wr(h<sub>h</sub>)d-, \*wr(e)h<sub>h</sub>d- 'root, branch'), F II 637-8, 655, WH II 415, O 384, LP § 44, Bc. 522, RE 123, Hm. 366, YGM-1 273, Fs. 556, Vr. 452, 636, Vr. N 847, Kb. 1236-7, OsS 1218-9, KM 870, Ho. 412, Ho. S 91, Br. 186, Js. 375-6, BK II 151, Hv. 863 || ? A: Tg d. \*bartukin 'rope' (× N \*warʔ<sup>u</sup> or \*waʔr<sup>u</sup> 'tie' [→ 'thong', 'rope'], q.v.) > Nn Nh bartoxĩ, Ul batuxu(n-) 'rope, cable', Neg batuxun, Orc bātuxā ~ bātuxi, Ud {SDM} batixi 'rope' ¶ STM I 77 || D \*vēr- 'root' > Tm, Ml vēr, Kt, Klm ve·r, Td pō·r, Kn bēr(α), Kdg be·rī, Tu bērъ, Tl vērα, Nkr, Gdb vēr, Prj vār, Knd vēla ~ vēla, Ku {Fzg., Isr.} veʔla 'root' ¶¶ D 5535 ◇ Tg \*a may be due to the heritage of N \*warʔ<sup>u</sup> or \*waʔr<sup>u</sup>. D \*-r- and \*ē suggest that \*ē- in the D root goes back to pre-Dravidian \*-erH∇- < (syncope) N \*-eraH∇-.

2530. \*w<sup>i</sup>R<sub>3</sub>∇ 'young herbivorous mammal (calf, lamb, etc.)' > K: GZ \*werǰ- 'ram' > OG, G verǰ-, Mg erǰ- id. ¶ K 84, FS 123 || IE: NaIE \*wersē-/ī- '(young) herbivorous mammal' > Lt veršis 'calf', Ltv versis 'ox, cattle', Pru dim. werstian 'calf' || L verrēs / -is 'a boar' || Ir (× IE \*wers- 'male'): OI vṛṣaḥ 'bull', Av varəšni 'male, ram' || ? pTc {Ad.} cd. \*keṽ-wārsän 'bull' (lit. 'bull-calf' or 'bull-male') (× IE \*wers- 'male') > Tc: A kaṽurṣ, B kaṽurṣe 'bull' ¶ WP I 269, WH II 761, M K III 251-2, M E II 575-6, Frn. 1228-9. En. 273, Ad. 212, ≈ EI 363 (\*<sup>i</sup>wersēn 'male [as sire]') || A \*biṛa(gu) 'young herbivorous mammal (calf, lamb, etc.)' (× N \*b<sup>i</sup>A<sup>i</sup>ṣ∇r∇ 'ungulate') > T \*biṛagu (or \*buṛagu?) ({SDM} \*buṛagu) 'calf' > OT, OOsM buzaṽu, MQp buzaṽu ~ buzaṽu, [CC] buzaṽ 'calf', Chg buzaṽu ~ buzag ~ buzaṽ 'young of a cow\buffalo', Az buzoṽ 'calf of the first 6 months of its life', Δ bizō 'two-years-old calf', Tk buzaǰı, Ggz buzā, Qmq buzaṽ, VTt бозаṽ bōzaṽ, Bsh бѳаṽ, Qzq бѳзаṽ būzaṽ, Qq, Nog bizaw ~ buzaṽ, Qrg muzō, Alt biza ᄃ bozu, Uz buzaṽ, ET mozaṽ, Xk pizo, Shor piza, Tv b<sub>i</sub>zā, Chv L пѳрṽ рѳру (obl. пѳрѳв- рѳрѳv-), Chv Δ рѳрѳv, Chv H рѳру (Chv {Md.} рѳрṽ) 'calf' ¶ Rs. W 74-5, Cl. 391, Shch. Zh 100-1, ET B 239-42, TL 438-9, Jeg. 149, Fed. I 402-3, Md. 57, 175 (T \*buṛagu). In my opinion, the original vw. of the first syll. is likely to have been \*i, which in many T lgs. was labialized to \*u by as. to the adjacent \*b- || M \*biraṽun 'calf' > MM [S] buraṽu 'two-year-old calf', [MA] burū 'three-

year-old calf', WrM *biragu(n)*, HIM *бярү* *barū*, Kl *бүрү* *bürü*, {Rm.} *bürü*, Ord {Ms.} *b\_īrū'* 'calf of a second year', Brt *бүрү* *burū* 'calf of the first year', 'young bear\lynx\elk\deer (of the first year)', MMgl [Z] {Iw.} *buraūl* 'two-year-old cow', *buraγul* 'three- or 'four-year-old cow', Mnr M {Pot.} *pīru* 'calf'; M *↳ ?* Yk *borōsku ~ borōsko* 'calf (after its first 4-5 months)' ¶ MED 106, H 22, Pp. MA 126, Chr. 114, KW 60, KRS 130, Iw. 93, SM 36, T 320; in some M lgs. the original *vw. \*i* was labialized to *u* due to the infl. of *b-* || Tg *\*°bjaru* (or *← M?*) > Ewk: Np *bēru*, Tkm *bēranki* 'sheep', Ewk Olkm/Tng *borē* 'ram' ¶ STM I 78 || pKo {S} *\*puruk* 'young bull' > MKo *puruk-so* (*so* 'cow'), NKo *purugi* ¶ S QK #1153, MLC 813 || pJ {S} *\*pítú-nsí* 'sheep' > OJ *píítúǰí*, ItOJ [RJ] *pítúǰí*, J: T *hìcuǰí*, K *hícúǰí*, Kg *hicúǰí* ¶ S QJ #330, Mr. 411 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. *\*bīṽrṽ* 'calf, lamb', SDM97 (A *\*bär'í* id.), DQA #136 (A *\*bjǰóru* id.), Pp. VG 21, 60, 81, 131, 146-7, KW 60 || HS: S *\*√wrz* > Gz *warēzā* 'young' (of humans and animals), 'young man', Tgr *w3reza* 'young man', OAk *urāṣ-um*, Ak OB/MB/MA *urīṣ-um* 'billy-goat' ¶ LG 619, Sd. 1430-1 ¶ The Ak glottalization of the sibilant (*ṣ* for the expected *z*) is puzzling || EC: Rn {PG} *ûr* 'bull, male camel', HEC {Hd.} *\*warʔe* 'young female calf' > Sd *wa'r-iččö* (pl. *wa'dda*) 'female calf', Hd *wēʔ-iččö* 'young female calf', pl. *wa'la* 'young calves'; Sd *war-āmo* 'older male calf; ox, bull' ¶ PG 241, Hd. 35, 302-3, 400 ¶ The disappearance of the reflex of *\*ǰ* is still to be explained ◊ AD GD #40 (IE, K, A [T, M]). Here A *\*-r'* presumably goes back to pre-Altaiic *\*\* -rj-* < N *\*-rǰ-* (unless the N cluster was *\*-rǰ-*).

2531. (2?) *\*√WR3ṽ - \*√W3ṽRṽ* 'to pour, to flow' > IE *\*√wers-* / *\*√wors-* > NaIE *\*√wers-* 'rain, dew' > OI *varṣati* 'it rains', *var'ṣa-* 'rain, rainy season, year', Av *aīβi-varšta-* 'beregnet, worauf es geregnet hat', Krd *wäšt* *wīšani* 'rain' || Gk *έρση, έέρση* 'dew' || OIr *frass* {Thr.} 'rain', {P} 'rain, shower (of rain)' || Ht *warsa* 'rainfall', Lw *warsa-* 'drop' ¶¶ WP I 261, ≈ P I 81 (IE *\*wers-* < *\*awer-* 'water'), ≈ WH II 761, M K III 160, M E II 522-3, F I 567, Thr. 131, Ts. W 102, Lar. 108, ≈ EI 477 (*\*h<sub>1</sub>wers-* 'rain') || HS: B *\*√wzr* (× N *\*ǰûr'û'* 'to stream') > Kb inv. *əzzər* v. 'couler; aller au fond' ¶ Dl. 952 || ?ϕ A: M ≈ *\*°bursu* > MM [L] *برسو* {Pp.} *bursu*, [MA] *bursu* 'river' ¶ Pp. L II 1265, Pp. MA 125 ◊ M *\*-s-* < *\*\* -z-* (loss of the obstruent part of N *\*ǰ* in the postconantal position?) ◊ On N and pIE *\*√-* see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

**2531a.**  $_2$  \*wA $\acute{r}$ \nabla 'way, path' ([in descendant lgs.]  $\rightarrow$  'road') > **HS** \*w $\nabla$ r- > Eg  $\nabla$  w $\beta$ .t 'way' ¶ EG I 246-7,  $\approx$  Vc. 231 || Ch: WCh: Gmr {Gw.} war, Kfr {Nt.} w $\acute{a}$ r 'road' || ? CCh: Zm {Sa.} v $\acute{a}$ rì, {ChL} vari id. ¶  $\approx$  Stl. ZCh. #793, ChC, ChL, Nt. s.v. w $\acute{a}$ r || ?? SC: Rft \* $\surd$ ? $\nabla$ r- > Irq {MQK} ?irwā 'path', Grw {Wh.} ú $\acute{r}$ úwa (pl. ú $\acute{r}$ du) 'path, way' (unless from \* $\surd$ ?r $\chi$  'road' < N \* $\surd$ u|or $\nabla$ q $\nabla$  'path, way') ¶ OS #122 (pRft \* $\surd$ uruw-), Wh. IC 24, MQK 57 ¶¶  $\approx$  OS #122 (incl. Gmy and Grw; does not distinguish this HS root from \* $\surd$ ?r $\chi$  'road') || **D:** SD \*va $\acute{r}$ i 'way, road' > Tm, Ml va $\acute{r}$ i id., 'path', Kn ba $\acute{r}$ i 'way, road', Tu ba $\acute{r}$ i 'lineage, descent' ¶ D #5297  $\diamond$   $\approx$  Blz. DA 162-3 [#104] (incl. the D and HS cognates; unc. his other equations: with the FV \*ura 'way, path' [< N \* $\surd$ u|or $\nabla$ q $\nabla$  '↑'], with T \*oram 'street' and M \* $\surd$ h $\surd$ oram 'trace, trail' [most probably < A \*por $\nabla$ m 'trace', cf. Ko por $\wedge$ m 'sign, trace', see Rm. SKE 206]).

**2532.** \*w $\acute{u}$ r $\acute{u}$  'to scrape' ([in descendant lgs.]  $\rightarrow$  'to plough') > **IE** \* $\surd$ worw- > **[1]** NaIE \* $\surd$  $\surd$ worw-/\* $\surd$  $\surd$ w $\acute{r}$ w- 'plough, dig up' > L ver $\surd$ -ag-ō 'brachen' ({Mn.} 'plough up - a fallow'), ver $\surd$ -actum 'newly turned fallow' || NIr fearb 'a stripe' ( $\times$  N \* $\acute{z}$ o $\Gamma$ R $\acute{u}$  [or \* $\acute{z}$ oR $\Gamma$ ú] 'line\boundary\strip of land between geographical objects\areas') || **[2]** NaIE \* $\surd$ worwō-s 'furrow, ditch' ([in descendant lgs.]  $\rightarrow$  'boundary-ditch'  $\rightarrow$  'boundary') > Gk: Mc ωο-ωο, {ChB} wō $\surd$ r $\surd$ wō- '(?) boundary', {AJ} 'frontera, límite' [?], A ὄρος, I οὐρος, Crc {Hofm.} Gk Crc hor $\surd$ os, ὄρρος, {Schw., Bc., Ch.} ὄρ $\surd$ os 'boundary, landmark', Gk Cr/Ar ὄρος, Gk οὐρον 'boundary, limit', Gk Hm οὐροί pl. 'trenches\channels for hauling up ships and launching them again' || L (amb-)ur $\surd$ ā- 'surround (a territory) by a boundary-ditch', [Y] ur $\surd$ us 'circuitus civitatis', Osc ur $\surd$ uvú {WH} 'boundary' ({Bc.} 'curva, flexa [?]) || NIr forba 'glebeland' || Lt ū $\acute{r}$ vas 'ditch, hole, den', Ltv ur $\surd$ va 'Loch, Höhle (in der Erde)' || ?? OI ū $\acute{r}$ 'va $\acute{h}$  'dungeon' ( $\Leftrightarrow$  M K I 117 and M E I 245 [denies the connection of ū $\acute{r}$ 'va $\acute{h}$  with this IE  $\surd$ ]) ¶ Mn. 1523, 1581-2, 1606, EI 215 (\* $\surd$ worwōs 'furrow'),  $\neq$  WP II 352-3, F II 425-6, 447, Ch. 825, Bc. GD §§ 54, 58c, Schw. GG I 135, Hofm. 239, WH II 767, 843-4, Bc. G 326, Dnn. 304, 330, AJ II 450, ChB 228, Ch. 825, Tr. 335f., Frn. 1171 || **U** \* $\surd$ wur| $\delta$ a- > Sm {Jn.} \*w $\acute{b}$ rā-, {Hl.} \*w $\acute{b}$ ra- vt. 'scrape, plane' > Ne T vāpa- 'make wood shavings by scraping a birch-tree', Ne T O {Lh.} βar $\acute{a}$  'schaben (mit dem Messer, usw.)', Ne F {Lh.} βorr $\acute{a}$ -ś id.; Ng {Cs.} ls obcj. aor. bara $\acute{a}$ ama 'scrape'; En {Cs.}: X 'borabo, B 'borabo 'schaben'; ? $\phi$  Slq Tz {KIH} qorsan 'adze' (q- for the expected k-); Mt

{Hl.} d. (r-freq.) \*barar- 'scrape' (Mt M {Sp.} барарнамъ 'I scrape [скоблю]') ¶ Jn. 170, Ter.45, KKH 163, Hl. M #101 || D \*uṛu- v. 'plough, dig up' > Tm uṛu v. 'plough, dig up, scratch', Ml uṛuka, Td uṣf-, Kn uṛ-, Kdg uṛ-], Tu uṛu-, Prj, Gnd uṛ-, Gdb uṛ-, Png, Mnd, Ku ṛū-, Krx uṛ-, uy- v. 'plough', Kt ug- (p. uṛt-) id., 'be ploughed', Klm, Nkr ur- v. 'harrow, plough', Knd ṛū- v. 'plough, till soil', Kui ṛūva v. 'plough', ūṛa 'dig up with snout, root up', Mlt use v. 'turn up the soil (as pigs do)' ¶¶ D #688 || A \*ūr|rüṛub, whet' > M \*ürü- 'rub' (× A \*p'ūrE 'crush, tear to pieces') > WrM ūrū-, HIM ṽpə-(×) v. 'rub; grate, file', Brt ṽpə-(×ə) id., 'whet', Ord {Ms.} ūrū- 'frotter, aiguiser, limer, émietter', Kl ṽp- vt. 'card (wool), scutch' ('чесать, трепать'), {Rm.} ūr-χə 'zer-|ab-reiben, feilen, raspeln'; Rm. and Pp. postulate here M \*φ- (\*φürü-) which is unj., because in MM and the h/φ-preserving M lgs. no traces of \*φ- have been attested ¶ MED 1013, Chr. 514, Ms. O 763, KRS 555, KW 459 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #1864 (A \*p'ūrī|e 'to crush' > M ÷ unc. Tg \*puru-, \*purgu- 'crush', T \*ūr- 'tear, pull apart \ to pieces', pKo \*pīr 'in pieces, in crumbs'), ≠: Pp. VG 111, 132, Rm. EAS I 54, 56, 216, Rm. SKE 216, Posch AAI 283-4, IS II 101 (all of them connect the M word with A \*pürü 'crush') ◇ h- in Gk A ὄρος (and in Hofm.'s reading of the Gk Crc word as ἡορφορ, ὄρφορ) is probably ancient, while in other Gk ds. there is psilosis (loss of h-) (see Bc. GG 52-5), therefore we must reconstruct pIE and pN \*'w- (see Introduction, § 2.2.6) ◇ If the N vw. of the first syll. was \*u, M \*ü of the first syll. may be due to regr. as., suggesting N \*'wurü. But if the vw. of the first syll. was \*ü, U \*u is due to as. infl. of U \*a of the second syll. ◇ BmK #489 (\*wur<sup>u</sup>-/\*wor<sup>u</sup>- 'to scratch, to incise, to dig up' > IE, D, Sum uru4, ur11(-ru) 'to plough').

**2533. \*wArĉv** 'rub, scrape' > K: GZ \*warcχ- v. 'comb' (× N \*h'ūr|χvĉv 'to scratch, to comb', q.v. ffd.) || HS: mt.: S \*√wšr v. 'saw' > Ar √wšr G, Gz √wšr G id. ⇨ Gz mōšart 'a saw', Ak OA, OB šaššār u ~ šuššār u ~ šaršār u id.; μ: [1] BHb √šwr (pf. c. שׂוּר way'yāšar) v. 'saw', [2] S \*√nšr id. > MHb, JA [Trg.], Sr √nsr G v. 'saw, cut asunder', Ar √nšr G 'saw', Ak OB/OA nasru 'gesagt'; CS \*manšār- 'a saw' > BHb מַשְׂאֵר maš'šār, JA, Sr מַשְׂאֵר massār-ā, Ar minšār-, Ak YB (← Aram) massār u id. ¶ BK II 1258, 1260, 1541, GB 465, 781, KB 605, 1224, Br. G I 226 [§ 84.3], Br. 434, JPS 342, DIm. 233, ≈ Nld. NB 172, Js. 919, Lv. T II 117-8, DM 242, 302, Sd. G § 57a, Sd. 619, 753, 1198 || ?φ Eg fOK wsw v. 'saw' > DEg ws > Cpt: Sd

**ΟΥΕΙΕ** *ueise*, **ΒΟΥΙΣΙ** *uisi* v. 'saw, cut' ¶ EGI 258, Er. 99, Vc. 237 ¶ The Eg cognate is qu. because of the unexpected cns. **ε** (for **ξ**) || **IE** \**wers-/\*wors-* > NaIE \**wers-/\*wors-* {P} 'drag over the ground' > L *verr-ō* / inf. *verrēre* / pfc. *verrī* / sup. *versum* 'drag, trail, sweep, pull' || Gk ἔρρω, Gk Lr ipv. *Ἐρρέτω*, Gk El inf. *Ἐρρεν* 'go slowly, wander about; be clean gone, disappear' || ON *varr* 'stroke of the oar' || Ht *wars-* '(ab)wischen, (ab)streifen' ¶¶ WP I 292, P 1169-70, F I 566, WH II 761-2, Vr. 675, Ts. W 102, Frd. HW 246 || **D** {tr., **ǰGS**} \**vař-* 'scrape, wipe' > Tm *vaři* v. 'wipe, scrape, gather together as a pulpy mass, rub in', Ml *vařikka* v. 'wipe off, scape, polish', Td *pođy-* v. 'scrape', Kn *baři, boři* 'sweep together, wipe off', Tu *baři* 'smear as lime', OTl *vařaccu*, Tl *vařaccu* v. 'efface (the writing)', Tl *bađiyu* 'sweep away' ¶¶ D #5295 ◇ K \***č** for the expected \***ć** defies explanation (a special development in a cns. cluster?). K \***χ** (having no parallels in S, IE, and D cognates) is likely to belong to the heritage of N \***h<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>rχ∇ĉ∇** ◇ ≠ Fn. KD #4 (K, D).

**2534. \**waS∇*** (= \**waS∇*?) 'rainy weather, rainy season' > **HS**: Ch {JS} ✓ *ws<sub>1</sub>n* 'rainy season' > WCh {Stl.} \**wasun-* id. > NrBc {Stl.} \**wasun* id., 'year' > My {Sk.} *wásšm* 'rainy season', Wrj {Sk.} *wásšnná*, Kry {Sk.} *wásšn*, My {Sk.} *wášš šân* (sc. *wášššân* or two words?), {ChL} *wššěššm*, Sir {ChC} *wásšnúwá*, Mbr {ChC} *wásšn*, Jmb {ChC} *wásšn*, ? Dir {ChC} *áššn* 'year' || SBc {Stl.} \**wašun* > Plc {ChL} *wáššn*, Zul {ChL} *wáššnè*, Gj {ChL} *waššn* 'rainy season', 'year' || CCh: Gude {Hsk.} *všná* 'rain', ??φ Gudu {ChC} *všěčú* 'rainy season' ¶ ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh. 238-9 [#852], Sk. NB 49, Hsk. 288 || **IE**: NaIE \**wesr̥* / gen. \**wesn-es* 'springtime' > OI *vasan-<sup>1</sup>ta-h* id., Av *vařri* loc. 'in spring', MPrs *vahār*, NPrs *بهار* *bāhār* 'spring' || Arm **գարուն** *garun* id. (< \**wesr-*) || Gk ἔαρ (< \**Ἐαρ*, reconstructed on the ev. of prosody), gen. ἔαρ *~* ἦρος (whence nom. ἦρ), [Hs.] ἔαρ 'spring' (< \**wesar*) || L *vēr* (gen. *vēris*) id. || OIr *errach* id. (lenition from \**ferrach*) (< \**wesr-āko-*), OW *guiannuin* 'in spring' (\**wes-nt-ejnō-*), OCrn *guaintoin* 'spring' || ON *vár*, Dn, Sw *vår*, OFrs *wars* id. || Lt *vāsara ~* *vasarā*, Ltv *vasara* 'summer' || Sl \**ves<sup>1</sup>na* 'spring' > OCS, OR **вєсна** *vesna*, R, Uk **вєсна**, SCr **Δ** *vēsna*, Slv *vēsna*, Cz, Slk *vesna*, Cz **Δ** *vesno*, P *wiosna* id. ¶ WP I 301, P 1174, EI 504 (\**wesr̥*), M K III 172-3, M E II 532, Horn 56, F I 432-3, WH I 755, LP § 26.3, Vr. 644-5, Frn.

1206, Vs. I 303, Chrn. I 145-6, Ma. CS 582, Slr. 139-41 || **A:** ? M \*<sup>o</sup>osu- v. 'suffer from cold weather' > WrM osu, HIM oco- id. ¶ MED 624 || **D** (in SD) \*vač- 'rain, flowing water', 'v. 'ooze' (× N \*wac<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>q∇ 'liquid' [esp. 'dirty\filthy liquid'], 'dirt', q.v. ffd.) ◇ If M \*<sup>o</sup>osu- belongs here, the N rec. is \*waS∇. On M \*<sup>o</sup>- < N \*wa- see Introduction, § 2.4.

**2535. \*wä<sub>1</sub>e<sub>1</sub>s∇** 'get tired, be(come) weary\troubled' > **U:** FU (att. in FL) \*<sup>o</sup>wäs∇ 'get tired\exhausted' > F väsȳä 'to get tired\weary', {Hkl.} † 'abgenutzt werden', Krl A väzüö, Krl Ld väzüdä, Vp väzüdä, Vo väsüä 'ermüden', Es väsi-, Δ {W} väsü- 'get tired' | pLp {Lr.} \*vēs3- id. > LpL {LLO} viessat 'be exhausted', N {N} viessät, Kld vīssaö 'get tired' ¶ SK 1847-8, ≈ Hkl. Fv 113-5, W EDW 1335, Lr. #1413, Lgc. #8693, LLO 1409 || **D** \*vēč- 'be weary, get tired' > Tm vēcaru 'be weary \ fatigued \ vexed', vēca(:)ṭaj 'sorrow', Ml Δ vēcāru 'anxiety', Kn bējāru 'weariness (from fatigue, pain, vexation)', bēsar(u) 'grow weary\fatigued', Kdg be<sup>ṭ</sup>a<sup>ṭ</sup>ra 'sorrow', Tu be(:)jārṛ, be(:)sārṛ, Tl vēsaṭa 'weariness, fatigue', Tl vēsa(:)ru 'be troubled \ fatigued', Krg bisirige 'homesickness' ¶¶ Some items (Kn, Kdg, Tu) may go back to modern IAr lgs. (e.g. Hindi bē-zār 'sick' ← NPRs zār 'weak, emaciated') ¶¶ **D** #5524 || **HS:** WS \*✓wṛš ~ \*✓ṛṣ v. 'despair' > BHb ✓wṛš N (pf. ṣṣṣṣ nōṛaš, prtc. ṣṣṣṣ nōṛāš) 'despair', BHb ✓ṛṣ (< \*✓wṛš) **D** 'make despair', JA [Trg.] ✓ṛṣ (< \*✓wṛš) **D** 'verzweifeln machen\lassen, zur Verzweiflung bringen', ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ-ā {Lv.} 'Verzweiflung, Desperation', {Js.} 'despair', JPA Bz {Sl.} ✓ṛṣ **TD** 'abandon hope', JEA {Sl.} ✓ṛṣ **TD** 'abandon a claim', SmA ṣṣṣ n. 'despair', mwṛš muwwāš 'desperate', Ar ✓ṛṣ **G** (pf. ṣṣṣṣ ~ ṣṣṣṣ, ip. [Qm.] ṣṣṣṣ) 'désespérer de, perdre tout espoir de', ✓ṛṣ **G** id., Gz ✓ṛṣ (js. ṣṣṣṣ) 'waste away, languish' ¶ BDB 384, Fr. I 75 and IV 514, BK I 74 and II 1621, KB 364, Js. 560, Lv. T I 324, Sl. 521, Sl. P 233, Tal 328, L G 5 ¶ The Ar cns. \*ṣ- in the pf. ṣṣṣṣ ~ ṣṣṣṣ (for the expected w-) may be due to the root reinterpretation in the form of ip. (where the morphophonemic opposition [w] ↔ [ṣ] was neutralized). Similar reinterpretation may have brought about the transformation of \*✓wṛš into \*✓ṛṣ (due to the loss of \*w in the intervoc. position in some verbal forms) ◇ The D vw. (\*e for the expected \*a < N \*ä) suggests the presence of a N front vw. \*-e- after the lr. ◇ Schrd. DU 95 (FU, D), IS MS 370 (BF, D).

**2536.** (<sub>2</sub>?) \*w<sup>2</sup>VS<sub>1</sub>ŋ<sub>1</sub>∇ (= \*wUśŋ∇?) 'wide, vast' > HS \*√wsŋ > WS \*√wšŋ > Ar √wsŋ (pf. wasīfa ~ wasuŋa) 'be broad \ ample \ wide', Sb √wšŋ oSwuw 'amply supply (with water)', as well as possibly (σ) Hb d. 𐤒𐤑𐤓 'yešaf, M'b 𐤒𐤓 'yšaf 'deliverance, salvation', BHb, M'b, SmA √yšŋ Sh 'save, deliver' ¶ BK II 1534, Hv. 869, KB 427-8, HJ 476, Tal 364, BGMR 162, DRS 648 || Eg OK wsχ 'wide' ¶ EG I 364-5 ¶¶ Tk. I 326 (Eg ω...χ < \*w...ŋ) || IE: NaIE (+ext.) \*wasd<sup>h</sup>- 'wide, long' > L vastus 'vast, enormous' || OIr fōt 'length', fōtae 'long', Ir fad 'length', fada 'long', Mx foddey id. ¶ P 1113-4, WH II 737, Thr. §§ 80, 345, Dnn. 269-90 || ??σ U: FU \*<sup>o</sup>wō|uś∇ > ObU {Ht.} \*wūs- 'yawn' > pVg \*ūsant- > Vg: T ōsant-, LK ūsant-, LL/Ss ūsint-, P ūsantōl- id.; pOs \*wus- id. > Os: Km os- id., d.: V/Vy us+|- , Ty/Y us+|- id., Nz usīyt-, Kz wūsiþa-, D wāses-, K uses- id. ¶ Ht. #720, Trj. S 503-4 ◇ The absence of the expected \*ə in NaIE needs explaining. It may be suggested that the reflex of N \*ŋ merged with adjacent consonants (e.g., \*ŋ-t > \*\*d > IE \*d<sup>h</sup>-).

**2537.** \*was<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>∇ 'place inside' > HS: S \*'wašit<sub>1</sub>- (~\*wašat<sub>1</sub>-?) 'middle' > Ar was<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>- 'midst, middle', d. wasat<sub>1</sub>- 'intermediate, middling', Sb, Mn tSwuw wš<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub> n. 'middle, midst', Qt tSwuw wš<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub> 'in, in the middle of', Gz wəst<sub>1</sub> 'interior, middle, inner part' and possibly JEA 𐤒𐤑𐤓𐤔 'wəš<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>ā 'oesophagus', JPA 𐤒𐤑𐤓𐤔 'wəš<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>ā 'gullet', MHb {Js.} 𐤒𐤑𐤓𐤔 'wəš<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub> id. ({Lv.} 𐤒𐤑𐤓𐤔 'wəš<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub> 'Schlund'), JPA Bz {Sl.} 𐤒𐤑𐤓𐤔 'throat' (the JA and MHb words are borrowed from a \*w-preserving S lge.), Sr 𐤒𐤑𐤓𐤔 yaš<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>ā {JPS} 'throat, gullet, windpipe', {Br.} 'oesophagus, arteria' ({Trcz.}: ← 'middle of the body'); ? OAK, Ak išt<sub>1</sub>u 'since, after, as soon as' (a reg. reflex of \*waš<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>-, valid if from 'within'), ?? Eb áš-ta, áš-ti, áš-tù 'chez; from' (if the loss of \*w- is reg.) ¶ Gz ə points to a pS posttonic vw. \*i (AD SNSE) ¶ LG 620, Fr. IV 464-5, BK II 1533, Hv. 868, Js. 376, Lv. I 505, Sl. 396, Sl. P 170, Br. 310, JPS 189, Penn. SPE 295-7, BGMR 163, MA 105, Rk. 56, CAD VII 284-8, DRS 645-6 || IE: NaIE \*wa(:)stu ~ \*west<sub>1</sub>u, 'home, house' (× NaIE \*wes-, etc. 'be, live, dwell' < IE \*xwes- < N \*y<sup>1</sup>ū<sup>1</sup>ś∇ 'live' [q.v.]) > Vd 'vāstu- 'homestead, house' (× OI ClSk/BdhSk vāstu- 'place, seat' that goes back to a d. from \*wes- 'be') || Gk ἄστῦ <sup>δ</sup> \*F<sup>1</sup>ástῦ (Gk B gen. F<sup>1</sup>ástῦος, Gk M wa-tu) 'city' || L Vest-a 'goddess of the home hearth' || W gwas 'abode', {P} 'Heimstätte', OIr {P} i foss 'at home' (not here OIr foss 'Bleiben, Rasten' < NaIE \*wes- 'be, live') || pTc {Ad.} \*wost > Tc A was<sub>1</sub>t (pl. was<sub>1</sub>tu), Tc B ost (pl. ostwa) 'house' ¶ ≈ P

1170-1, ≈ EI 281 (\*h<sub>2</sub>wostu 'dwelling' [with unj. \*h<sub>2</sub>-] \*←d \*h<sub>2</sub>wes- 'dwell'), M K III 198, M E II 549, F I 123-4, ≈ WH II 772-4, YGM-1 258, SB 277, Wn. 342-3, 549, JGH 11, 70, 90, 101, 164-5, 258-9, Ad. 128, Ad. H 24, 125-6 || U: FV \*wasta 'place, place by, place opposite sth., in the opposite direction' > Mk васта, {Ker.} vāstā, {Ahl.} vāstā 'place (Stelle, Platz, Ort); sleeping place (Schlafstätte), bed' | F vāstā- in vāstā-ranta 'the opposite bank of a river', vāstā-kohta 'the opposite (of)', vāstāan 'against', Vp vāst(e') 'by, near' (iknad vāst(e') ištub 'sits by the window'), '(leaning) against' (panda siṅnad vāst(e') 'поставить к стенке'), Es vāstas 'opposite, opposite to' (kauplus on teatri vāstas 'the shop is opposite the theatre'), vāst '(only) just, just now' | pLp {Lr.} \*vōstē 'nearby, opposite, in the opposite direction' > Lp: S {Hs.} vuöstie 'nearby' (jukken vuöstie 'ganz nahe am Fluß'), 'entgegen', L {LLO} vuostē 'by (a time limit), immediately before', vuostē- 'opposite, entgegen' (vuostē-piegga 'head-wind', vuostē-rauvvē 'Gegenstömung'), N {N} vuost'e 'in the opposite direction', Kld vūc̄syt vūššt 'opposite, in front of, прямо перед' (oap̄p̄r̄ vūc̄syt čūv̄v̄v̄ 'to site against the light'), adj. 'in the opposite direction' (vūc̄syt piṅṅk 'head-wind') | Chr: L vaštareš wašta'reš 'opposite' (waštareš i'la 'he lives opposite [my house]'), 'in the opposite direction', 'against', B waštareš 'gegenüber', H {Ep.} vaštareš waštareš 'in the opposite direction', vaštareš mar̄d̄ž 'head-wind' ¶ The semantic variant 'place opposite sth.' may be due to a semantic change 'place by' → 'place opposite sth.' → 'against' (as seen in Vp and Lp) or to contamination with a different √ ¶ It. #57, UEW 815, ZM 616-7, Lr. #1471, Lgc. #8839, Hs. 1467, LLO 1462-4, SaR 58-9, Ker. II 182-3, MRS 58, Ep. 10 || D (in SD) \*vati, {ǧGS} \*vadi 'so.'s place, dwelling' > Tn vati 'lair, nest', Kn bađi 'a deity's place, small building', Tu bađi 'roofed shelter (temple) constructed for a devil' ¶ D #5246.

**2538.** <sub>2</sub> \*wiš̄v̄ 'green' > IE: NaIE \*wis- > L virē- 'be green, verdant', viridis 'green' (× \*weis- v. 'sprout, grow' < N \*wiš̄?v̄ 'to grow') || ? Gk λόγ 'rust, verdigris' ¶ P 1134, WH II 797, F I 730-1 || U: Fp \*wiša 'green, yellow' > F vihanta 'green, blossoming', viheriä, vihreä 'green' | Er ožo 'yellow' | Chr H ьžar, žar, Chr Uf/B užar 'green' | pPrm \*vęž 'green, yellow' > Vt вож 'green', Z веж 'green, unripe, not black', Prmk веж, Yz 'viž 'green, yellow' ||| Not here FU



(att. in FP) {UEW} \*wiša 'poison' (> F, Es viha 'hate, anger', Vt vož 'Zorn', Vt G {W} vožo 'an evil spirit causing illness', Yz 'vižŭkti v. 'be jealous'), because it is obviously a loan from Ir \*wiša- 'poison' (see N \*wiḥ<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>3∇ 'spring (fons); to flow') ¶ It. ##391-2, LG 49, Coll. 140-1, UEW 823-4, Sm. 554 (FP \*viša- 'green', \*viša- 'hatred') ◇ ≈: Coll. 141 and Jcs. 26.

**2539.** \*wiš<sup>?</sup>∇ 'to grow' (esp. of plants) > HS: WS \*√wš<sup>?</sup> ~ \*√wš<sup>?</sup>y v. 'grow, sprout' (× N \*weĉ<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>?∇ 'go out') > Jb √wš<sup>?</sup>y (pf. 'iṣi, sbjn. 'yṣē?) 'grow' (plants), Sq {L} eṣa G pf. 'pousser' (herbes), JA [Trg.] 𐤀𐤁𐤃 √yṣw|y v. 'blossom' (of plants) ({Js.}: ← 'burst forth', {Lv.}: ← 'herauskommen'), Sr √yṣw|y (pf. 𐤍𐤏𐤃𐤁 yī'ṣā) v. G 'shoot, sprout, bud, spring\come up', 'grow' (of plants) ¶ Br. 304-5, JPS 194, Lv. T I 340, Jo. J 296, LLS 70, DRS 598-9 ¶ Aram (incl. Sr) < N \*wiš<sup>?</sup>∇ 'to grow' × CS \*√wš<sup>?</sup> v. 'go out' (< N \*weĉ<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>?∇ '↑', q.v.) || IE: NaIE \*weṛs- v. 'sprout, grow' ('sprießen, wachsen') > Lt veĩsti 'to procreate, to breed', veĩsti-s vi. 'to multiply', Ltv viesti-s 'sich vermehren, gedeihen', Lt veislūs, vislūs 'fecund, fertile, prolific', Lt veislẽ, Ltv vaisla 'breed', Pru wēisin 'fruit', weijsewingi 'fruchtbar' || ON vísir, NNr visa 'bud', AS wīse 'sprout, stalk' ¶ WP I 242, P 1133, Frn. 1214, En. 272, WH II 797, Vr. 668, Ho. 399 || A: NaT \*ös- v. 'grow' > OT ≥VIII ös-, Tkm öθ-, Uz ws-, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq, ET, Qrg, Alt, Xk, Tv ös-, VTt üs- (-> Chv üs/z<sub>1</sub>-), Bsh üθ-, Ln ös- 𐤌 üs- ¶ Cl. 241 (supposes [without arguments] that the T word is a loan from M), ET Gl 552-3, Rs. W 376, Jeg. 281, BT 120, Fed. II 301-2 || M \*ös- v. 'grow' (esp. of children, animals, plants) > MM [S, HI] ös- v. 'grow' (of children), [MA] {Pp.} ös- v. '≈ grow' or '≈ stand up' (of hair), d. [HI] {Ms.} öske- 'faire accroître', WrM ös-, HIM ecē-, Kl ec- ös-, Dx {T} os<sup>+</sup>- v. 'grow, multiply' (of humans and animals), 'increase', Mnr H {SM} ös<sup>3</sup>-, {T} öse- v. 'grow' (of plants, children) ¶ H 128, Ms. H 84-5, Pp. MA 279, MED 645, KRS 427, KW 301, SM 298, T 354, T DnJ 132 || ??φ Tg {ADb., SDM95} \*iseb-, {Bz.} \*üsi- v. 'grow' (× N \*r<sup>?</sup>y<sup>?</sup>iš<sup>?</sup>∇b∇ 'to grow; vegetation', q.v. ffd.) || Ko {S} \*isàk- > MKo isàk-, NKo isak- v. 'sprout, spike' ¶ S QK #482, Nam 401, MLC 1330 ¶¶ Rs. W 376, SDM97 (A \*üsi 'to grow, to sprout'), DQA #674 (A \*juse id.) ◇ The A data point to a N fricative sililant (s-sound) rather than to an affricate. Semitic \*-š<sup>?</sup>- may go back to a N cluster \*-š<sup>?</sup>-. On T and M \*ö- from N \*wi- see Introduction, § 2.4.

2540. \***wes̥|č̥** 'to wind, to wrap, to clothe' > HS: S \***√w̥s̥** > Ar **√w̥š̥** *D* 'make up (thread, cotton) into a ball', **wāšī** 'layer of palm-leaves under the coating of a flat roof', 'haie vive en arbrisseaux dont on entoure un jardin', 'variegated tent of a chief', **wušū** 'cobweb' ¶ BK II 1542, Hv. 871-2 || IE \***wes<sub>l</sub>H<sub>X</sub>** / \***wos<sub>l</sub>H<sub>X</sub>** 'cover, clothe' > Ht **was(s)-**, **wassiya-**, **wessiya-** vt. 'clothe, cover; put on (clothes)', **wess-** md. 'be clothed', 'be put on' (clothes) || NaIE \***wes-** vt. 'clothe', ds.: \***wes<sub>o</sub>-no-**, \***wes-mŋ-**, \***wes-tro-** n. 'garment' > OI **vastē**, Av **vastē** 'wears, is dressed in', OI **vasana-**, Av **vaŋhana-**, OI **vastra-**, Av **vastra-** 'cloth, clothes, dress, garment', **vasman-** 'cover, clothes' || Arm **զգեմում** *z-genum* v. 'clothe, get dressed; put on one's back, wear' (< \***wes-nu-**), **զգեստ** *z-gest* 'dress, robe, garment, clothes' || Gk **έννυμι** (Gk I **έννυμι**), aor. **έστ(σ)αι** 'put clothes on (so.)', **έσθος**, **έσθημα**, **έσθης** 'clothes', Gk D **έστρα** 'warm upper garment' || pAl {O} \***wesya** > Al **vesh** 'put on (clothes), cover' || L **vestis** 'covering, garment, clothing', **vestiō** vt. 'dress, clothe, cover' || MW **gwisgaw**, W **gwisgo**, MCm **guyske**, Cm {ECCE} **gwysca**, MBr **guisquaff**, Br **gwiskañ** 'to dress, to wear (clothes)' || ON **verja** 'to wrap, to clothe', Gt **wasjan**, OHG **wërien**, OSx, AS **wërian** 'to wear, to dress', NE **wear** v.; Gt **wasti** 'garment'; ON **vesl** 'upper garment, coat'; MHG **wester** 'Taufkleid' || pTc \***wäs-** > Tc: A/B **wäs-** 'be\get dressed in' ¶¶ WP I 309, P 1172, EI 109 (\***wes-** 'be dressed, dress'), M K III 175-6, M E II 529-30, F I 521-2, WH II 775-6, LP § 474, YGM-1 267, ECCE 257, Hm. 365, O 501-2, Fs. 552-3, Vr. 655-8, Fs. 552-3, Ho. 391, Ho. S 86, Kb. 1179, OsS 1102-3, 1128, 1132, Lx. 315, Slt. 247-8, Wn. 564-5, Ad. 597, Frd. HW 428, Ts. W 103, 105 ¶¶ N \***č̥** > Ht Ø. The (apparent) absence of any traces of lrs. in NaIE is explained, if the primary stem was \***wesH<sub>X</sub>** with subsequent loss of \***H<sub>X</sub>** in the prevoc. position, while the derivatives may have been of later origin (after the loss of the prevoc. lr.). Is it possible to interpret NaIE \***o** in \***wes<sub>o</sub>-no-** as a trace of a lr.? || D \***vē(n)č̥** 'wrap, put on (as a dress), wear (clothes)' > Tl **vēyu** 'put on (as a dress)', Krx **bāč̥** 'throw (a piece of clothing) on so.'s shoulders, wrap it around his body', Mlt {Drs.} **benje** v. 'dress, gird', **básre** 'cover oneself in clothing', ? Brh **bēniŋ** 'wear, put on' ¶ The nasalised **√** variant in NED (and Brh?) is probably due to some D morphological pattern ¶¶ D #5534 ◇ On N and pIE \***č̥** - see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

**2541.** (<sub>2</sub>?) \***wAt**∇ 'belly' > **IE: [1]** NaIE \*'udero- / \*'wēdero- 'belly' > OI u'dara-m, Av udara- 'belly' ||| Gk [Hs.] ὄδερρος · γαστήρ 'stomach' (< \*'ὑδερρος?), acc. to Frisk, here also Gk ὕδερρος 'dropsy' (< \*'swollen stomach') (×: connection with ὕδωρ 'water', σ≡: NHG *Wassersucht* and R *водрянка* 'dropsy') ||| Pru *weders* 'belly, stomach' (Bauch, Magen)', Lt *védaras*, Δ *véderas* id., † 'intestines'; 'e sausage made of entrails and potatoes', Ltv *vêders*, Δ *vêdars* 'belly' ]? **[2]** NaIE \*'ud-tero- 'belly, womb' > Gk ὑστέρα 'womb', [Hs.] ὕστρος · γαστήρ 'stomach' ||| L *uterus* ~ *uterum* (gen. *uterī*) 'womb, belly' (× NaIE \*'udero-, see above) ¶ WP I 190-1, P 1104-5, EI 2 (\*'udero- 'abdomen, stomach'), M K I 104, M E I 216, WH II 846, Ch. 1151, 1162, F II 956, ≠ 975-6 (ὑστέρα 'womb' ÷ OI 'uttara- 'oberer, höherer', sc. cmpr. of \*'ud- 'upper'), Frn. 1210-1, En. 272 ||| **D** (in SD) {tr., †GS} \*'vaṭṭi 'belly' > MI *vaṭṭi* 'belly; rupture', Kn *baṭṭi* 'rupture, hernia; big intestine', Kdg *baṭṭi* 'stomach (Magen)', Tu *baṭṭi* 'rupture' ¶ D #5232 ||| ? **HS:** WCh: Zar {ChL} *v̀̀c̀́k̀̀* 'stomach' (× N \*'wañ∇3'a' 'belly' [q.v.]?) ◇ ≠ BmK 617 (equates IE \*'udero- / \*'wēdero- with FU \*'waća 'stomach, belly' [{BmK} \*'wat<sup>ya</sup>] and D \*'vač̣- 'belly' [see N \*'wañ∇3'a' ↑]).

**2542.** \***wAt**∇ 'earth, ground, dirt' > **IE** \*'wed- > NaIE \*'wed- 'ground, earth' > Gk οὐδης (gen. οὐδεος) 'surface of the earth, ground', ἔδαφος 'the bottom \ foundation \ base (of anything)' with the suffix -αφος (unless <† ἔδος 'seat') ||| Arm *qetn* 'ground, earth, soil, land' ||| Ht *utne-* 'land', 'country' (↔ 'city') ¶¶ WP I 254, F I 441-2 and II 442 (Ht < IE \*'wedeno-/\*'udn-), Ts. W 98 ||| **HS:** Eg fXVIII *iwtn* ~ *itn* 'surface of the earth, ground, dirt, dust', DEg *iwtn* 'ground', Cpt: Sd **eITN** *eitn*, B **ITEN** *iten*, F **EITEN** *eiten* 'ground, earth, dust' ¶ EG I 58, Er. 47, Vc. 68, Crn. 49 ||| **D** (in SD) \*'vati, {†GS} \*'vadi 'mud, mire' > Tm *vati* 'mire', Kn *baḍi* 'mud, mire, slush, ooze' ¶ D #5245 ¶ D \*-t- for the expected \*-ṭ- is puzzling.

**2543.** \***wät**∇ 'gut, sinew' > **HS:** WS \*'watar- 'sinew' > BHb יִתְרִי 'yēṭer, Gz *watr* 'sinew, cord, bowstring', Sr יִתְרִי *ya'tr-ā* (abs. יִתְרִי *yit'ar*) 'sinew; string (of a bow, of a musical instrument)', JA [Trg] {Lv.} יִתְרִי *yəṭā'rīn*, אִתְרִי *yəṭāray'ya* pl. 'ropes' (<† Hb pl. יִתְרִי *yəṭā'rīm*, as suggested by -ā-), JEA {Lv., Dlm.} אִתְרִי *ya'tr-ā* 'bowstring, straight side of the stomach', Md *iatra*, Ar وتر *watar-* 'sinew; bowstring; chord of a musical instrument' ¶ KB 431, Lv. II 280,

Dlm. 180, Lv. T I 349, Js. 605, Wl. 548, Br. 313, JPS 200, DM 166, BK II 1480, Hv. 848, L G 62, DRS 653, MiK I #1.290 || ??? Eg XVIII  $\omega\text{z}.t$  'Strick bei der Gründungszeremonie', Eg Md  $\omega\text{z}.t$  {EG} «Bänder», sc. 'Muskeln und Sehnen am Kiefern gelenk', {DW} 'Band am Kiefern gelenk' (valid if  $\omega\text{z}.t < * \checkmark wrt < mt. * \checkmark wtr?$ ) (× Eg fBD  $\omega\text{z}$  'Schnur, Strick' < N \* $\text{war}^{\text{r}}\hat{\text{u}}$  → \* $\text{wa}^{\text{r}}\hat{\text{u}}$  'tie' [→ 'thong', 'rope']) ¶ EG I 244, DW I 160 || U \* $\text{wät}_t\text{t}_j\text{E}$  (or \* $\text{wäs}|\check{s}\text{E}$ ) > Sm {HL} \* $\text{wetö}$ , {Jn.} \* $\text{wetb}(-)$  'gut' > Ne: T edë, T O {Lh.}  $y\check{e}d\dot{u}$ , F {Lh.}  $\acute{b}\dot{i}\acute{e}\acute{c}\acute{u}$ ; En X {Cs.} 'bere, B {Cs.} 'bede; Ng {Cs.} 'beatuḡ, {Mik.} pl. 'betu'; Slq: Tz {KKIH}  $ket\dot{i}$ , Tm {KD}  $k\check{e}d\check{a}$  id.; Kms {KD}  $bed\dot{u}$ ,  $\beta ed\dot{u}$ ,  $bed\check{b}$ , {Cs.}  $b\acute{e}d\check{u}$ , Koyb {Sp.}  $bad\check{e}$ ; Mt {HL} \* $bed\dot{u}l\check{o}h$  (Mt K {Mil.}  $bed\acute{u}$ , Mt M {Mil.}  $bed\check{u}$  'gut', {Sp.}  $бод\check{e}xтa$  'his gut', T {Mil.}  $be'd\check{u}kta$  id.) ¶ Jn. 175, Ter. 88, Lh. 121, KKI 115, Hl. M #106, Cs. 69, 93, 117, 191, 211 || D {tr., §GS} \* $\text{va}\check{t}$ - 'cord, string, rope' > Tm  $\text{va}\check{t}am$  id., 'bowstring',  $\text{va}\check{t}i$  'rope', Ml  $\text{va}\check{t}am$  'rope', Kn  $\text{va}\check{t}a$ ,  $\text{va}\check{t}ara$ ,  $\text{va}\check{t}i$  'string, rope, tie', Tl  $\text{va}\check{t}i$  'rope, cord', Gnd  $\text{va}\check{t}iya$  'ε strong rope' ¶¶ D #5220.

2544. \* $\text{wet}\hat{e}$  '(flowing) water' > IE \* $\text{wed-}/\text{wod-}/\text{ud-}$  'water' ({EI} \* $\text{wod}\check{g}$  / gen. \* $\text{wed}\check{g}\text{-s}$  / loc. \* $u'den\text{-}i$  'water'; coll. \* $\text{wed}\check{o}r$  / accus. \* $u'den\text{-}m\check{o}$  / gen. \* $ud'n\text{-}os$  'water') > OI gen.  $ud'naḡ$ , loc.  $u'dan(i)$  'water' || Arm  $q\check{b}un$  get 'river' || Gk  $\acute{u}\delta\omega\rho$  'water' (gen.  $\acute{u}\delta\alpha\tau\acute{o}\varsigma < *ud\text{-}ḡ\text{-}tos$ ) || Phr  $\beta ed\check{v}$  id. || Um  $utur$  accus. id. (abl.  $une < *ud\text{-}n\text{-}i$ ) || OIr  $uisce$  ({EI}: < \* $ud\check{g}\text{-}s\text{-}kyo\text{-}$ ) id. || Gt  $wat\bar{o}$  (dat. pl.  $watnam$ ), ON  $vatn$  (generalization of the stem for the obl. cases), OSw  $\text{v\ae}tur$ , OSx  $\text{watar}$ , OHG  $\text{wa}\check{z}\check{z}ar$ , NHG  $\text{Wasser}$ , AS  $\text{w\ae}ter$  'water', NE  $\text{water}$  || BIt (with the puzzling infix \*-n-): Lt  $\text{vandu}\check{o}$  (gen.  $\text{vande}\check{n}s$ , accus.  $\text{v\`a}nden\dot{i}$ ), Ltv  $\hat{u}dens$ , Pru  $\text{wundan}$ , unds 'water' || Sl \* $\text{vo'da}$  id. (accus. \* $\text{v}\check{o}d\check{q}$ ) > OCS  $\text{вoдa}$ , Blg, R, Uk  $\text{bo'da}$ , SCr  $\text{v\`o}da$ , Slv  $\text{v}\acute{o}da$ , Cz, Slk  $\text{voda}$ , P  $\text{woda}$  || pAl {O} \* $\text{udr-y\`a}$  'water' > Al  $\text{uj}\check{e}$ , pl.: Al: T  $\text{uj}\check{e}ra$ , G  $\text{ujna}$  || pTc {Ad.} \* $\text{w\`ar}$  > Tc: A  $\text{w\`ar}$ , B  $\text{war}$  id. || AnIE: Ht  $\text{watar}$  'water' (obl.:  $\text{weten-}$ ,  $\text{wit-}$ ), Lw {Lar.}  $\text{wid-}$  id. (dat.  $\acute{u}\text{-}i\text{-}ti$ , accus. pl.  $\acute{u}\text{-}i\text{-}da\text{-}an\text{-}za$ ) || NaIE \* $\text{u}\check{e}ud\text{-}v$  'flow' (of water) > OI  $\text{od-}$  'quellen, benetzen' (prs.: 3s  $u'natti$ , 3p  $un'danti$ ),  $\text{od-man-}$  n. 'flood, flooding', Av  $\text{aod}\check{a}$  'well, spring of water' || d.: ON  $\text{v\`atr}$  'humid, wet', Sw  $\text{v\`at}$ , Dn  $\text{v\`ad}$ , OFrs  $\text{w\`et}$ , AS  $\text{w\`aet}$  id., NE  $\text{wet}$  || SI \* $\text{v\`ed}ro$  'pail, bucket' (← \* $\text{vessel for water}$ ) > OCS, OR  $\text{в\`edpo}$ , Blg, R  $\text{vedpo}$ , Uk  $\text{vi}dpo$ , SCr  $\text{v\`edpo}$  &  $\text{v}\check{e}dro$ , Slv  $\text{v\`edro}$ , Cz  $\text{v\`edro}$ , Slk  $\text{vedro}$ , P  $\text{wiadro}$  ¶¶ P 78-80, H

66 (\*<sup>1</sup>wodr̥ 'water'), M K I 103, 132, M E I 215-6, 279, F II 957-9, Bc. G 350, Pln. II 761, Vn. U 21, Fs. 553-4, Vr. 648, Ho. 381-2, Kb. 1153, OsS 1106, KM 840, Frn. 1194, En. 269, Vs. I 283-4, 330, Glh. 676-7, BER I 127, 168-9, Slr. 34-6, O 483-4, Ad. 577-8, Frd. HW 249-50, Ts. W 104, 106, Lar. 111 || **HS:** EC: Ged {Hd.} wadaʔe 'water, river', as well as possibly (×EC \*<sup>1</sup>w̥ 'flowing water' < N \*<sup>1</sup>ho<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>ʃa [or \*<sup>1</sup>ho<sub>1</sub>wa] 'to flow, to stream; a stream'): Hd w0ʔ0, Kmb waʔa, wɪʔa, Sd wā, Brj 'wā (gen. wayin-) 'water', and (C →) Amh w3ha 'water' ¶ Hd. 164-5, 264, Ss. B 186, PH 211 || WS \*<sup>1</sup>w̥tn v. 'flow continuously' (water) (×\*<sup>1</sup>w̥|ytn 'be continuous' < N \*<sup>1</sup>t̥i<sup>1</sup>n̥'E 'strong') > Ar wātin- 'flowing continuously' (of water) [{BK} 'qui coule, courant (eau)'], <sup>1</sup>w̥tn (pf. watana, ip. yatinu) v. 'flow continuously' (of water), Sb w̥tn 'continuous (rain)'; ??? Sb <sup>1</sup>w̥d̥w̥|y v. 'flow' ¶ BK II 1482, Hv. 849, BGMR 156, 165, DRS 652 || **U** \*wete 'water' > FU \*wete id. > FU \*wete id. > F vesi (gen. veden), Es vesi (gen. vee) | pMr \*vedā- > Er/Mk vedь véď | Chr H вѣд̣ vəḏ, Chr L вѣд̣ vüḏ | Prm {LG} \*va (or \*vā?) > Z va, Vt vu || ObU: Vg: T üç, LK wiç, P wüç, Ss wit | Hg vız (accus. vizet) || Sm {Jn., Hl.} \*wit 'water' > Ne F {Lh.} βit, Ne T и", Ne T O {Lh.} jīʔ, Ng {Cs.} bēʔ (gen. bed-aŋ), {Mik.} b+ʔ, En B/X {Cs.} bîʔ (gen. En B bir õ, En X bidõ), En {Ter.} biʔ, Slq Tz {KKIH} üt, Kms {KD} bū, {Cs.} bü, Koyb {Pl.} bü, бы, {Sp.} b̄, Mt {Hl.} \*bü (Mt: M/K/T {Mil.}, A {Msr.} бу, M {Pl.} бу, {Sp.} б̄) || ??φ pY {IN} \*ōnčī 'water' > OY K {Lnd.} óndschi, {Bil.} -ondschi, {Klc.} ожеѣ, онжи, OY U {Lnd.} onsche, OY Ch {Mat.} онде, {Boe.} и\$нжии\$, и\$жи\$ело, Y K {Km.} ōji, {IN} ōžī id. ¶ The Y cognate is qu. because of the unexpected word-internal \*n ¶¶ UEW 570, Sm. 541 (U, FU \*weti, FP \*veti, Ugr witī, Sm wit), Ker. II 188, LG 46, Jn. 176, KP 17, KKIИ 193, Hl. M #143, IN 273, 316, Km. JJ 283 || **A:** Tg \*udun 'rain' > Ewk udun, Sln udũ, Lm ud̥n ɹ udun, Ork udu / udun- ¶ STM II 248 || pKo {S} \*òrán- 'heavy rain' > MKo òrán-pí ¶ S QK #880 ¶¶ DQA #2489 (A \*u|od̥ - \*j̥u|od̥ 'rain') || ??φ **D** \*vaṭ- ({GS} \*-ḏ-) v. 'flow, run in a small stream' > Tu oḏḏa 'flowing', oḏḏuni v. 'flow, run', Kn oḏi v. 'flow in a small gentle stream', Tm vaṭi v. 'drip, trickle', v. 'ebb' (of tide), Ml vaṭiv̥u 'a current', vaṭiyuka v. 'overflow, ebb, trickle', Td waṭf / waṭt- v. 'flow' (of blood), Tl vaḏiyu ~ oḏiyu v. 'be strained, percolate', vaḏucu ~ vaḏacu v. 'pour slowly, let falling drops', Klm vaḏp- v. 'pour', Knd vaḏis- v. 'pour down' ¶¶ D #5221 ◇ The element \*-n- in S

\* $\sqrt{w}tn$ , Tg \* $\underline{u}d\underline{u}n$ , and in the oblique cases \* $\underline{w}ed\underline{n}$ -, \* $\underline{u}d(e)n$ - of the  $\mathbb{E}$  heteroclitic noun goes back to the N genitive pc. \* $\underline{nu}$  (\* $\underline{w}et\underline{e} nu$  'of water')  $\diamond$  Tg \* $\underline{u}$ - is a regular reflex of N \* $\underline{we}$ - (see Introduction, § 2.4). D \* $\underline{va}\underline{t}$ - is a qu. cognate because of the vw. \* $\underline{a}$  (for the expected \* $\underline{e}$ )  $\diamond$  IS SS #2.17, IS MS 336 (\* $\underline{w}et\underline{n}$ :  $\mathbb{E}$ , Tg, U + S: Sb  $\sqrt{wdw|y}$  'flow'),  $\approx$  AD MRV 29 ( $\mathbb{E}$ , U, Tg),  $\neq$  BmK #483 (\* $\underline{wa}\underline{t}$ -/\* $\underline{wa}\underline{t}$ -:  $\mathbb{E}$ , U + D [Tm  $\underline{o}\underline{t}\underline{a}m$  'moisture', etc.]; wrong phonetic correspondences)  $\diamond$  On N and p $\mathbb{E}$  \* $\underline{e}$ - see Introduction, § 2.2.6  $\diamond \approx$  Gr. II #416 (\* $\underline{wet}$  'water') ( $\mathbb{E}$ , U, A + unc. Ai).

**2545.** ( ${}_2$ ?) \* $\underline{wA}Ht\underline{\nabla}$  '≈ to smell (sth.), to smell (of sth.)' > **HS:** ? B { $\mathfrak{P}r$ .} \* $\sqrt{w}ht$  > Ah inf.  $\underline{a}wt$  'be smelled' (unless  $\leftarrow$   $\underline{a}wt$  'be struck') [Fcj 62 = Pcj I A 6], ?? $\sigma$  Ty  $\underline{b}\underline{w}\underline{w}at\underline{b}n$  n. 'smoke' ¶ Fc. 1536, Pr. M VI-VII 106 (on the conjugation Pcj I A 6), PGG 352 || **D** {Pf.} \* $\underline{v}\underline{a}\underline{t}$ - 'smell' > Tm  $\underline{v}\underline{a}\underline{t}\underline{a}\underline{i}$  'fume, scent', Ml  $\underline{v}\underline{a}\underline{t}\underline{a}$  'scent of dogs', Tl  $\underline{v}\underline{a}\underline{d}\underline{a}$  'smell', Krx  $\underline{b}\underline{a}\underline{r}$ - v. 'perceive as by sniffing, scent, discover\track by the smell' ¶¶ D #5343, Pf. 59 [#370] || **U** \* $\underline{w}atta$ - 'find tracks of' > pLp {Lr.} \* $\underline{v}\underline{o}\underline{t}\underline{t}\underline{e}$ - id. > Lp: S {Hs.}  $\underline{v}\underline{u}\underline{o}\underline{t}\underline{t}\underline{e}d\underline{h}$  'nachspüren, (einen Wolf \ Elch) aufspüren, der Spur folgen', L {LLO}  $\underline{v}\underline{u}\underline{o}\underline{h}\underline{t}\underline{t}\underline{e}\underline{t}$  'find tracks of', N {N}  $\underline{v}\underline{u}\underline{o}\underline{t}\underline{t}\underline{e}\underline{t}$  id., 'observe, get to know', Kld {TI}  $\underline{v}\underline{u}\underline{z}\underline{t}\underline{e}$ - 'folgen, die Spuren verfolgen, aufspüren' | F  $\underline{o}\underline{t}\underline{t}\underline{a}$ -, Es  $\underline{v}\underline{o}\underline{t}\underline{a}$ -, Vo  $\underline{v}\underline{z}\underline{t}\underline{t}\underline{a}$ -, Lv  $\underline{v}\underline{z}\underline{t}\underline{b}$  'take, take away', F d.  $\underline{o}\underline{t}\underline{u}\underline{s}$ , Krl  $\underline{o}\underline{t}\underline{u}\underline{s}$  'game (animal)' | Prm {LG} \* $\underline{v}\underline{o}\underline{t}$ - v. 'chase' > Z  $\underline{\Delta}\underline{v}\underline{z}\underline{t}$ -, Z d.  $\underline{v}\underline{o}\underline{t}\underline{l}\underline{y}$ -  $\underline{v}\underline{z}\underline{t}\underline{-l}\underline{i}$ - id., Prmk  $\underline{v}\underline{o}\underline{t}$ -  $\underline{v}\underline{z}\underline{t}$ -, Yz  $\underline{v}\underline{o}\underline{t}$ -, Z  $\underline{v}\underline{z}\underline{t}\underline{z}\underline{d}$ - 'run after\down, catch up' || Sm: Ne T O {Lh.}  $\underline{w}\underline{e}\underline{d}\underline{e}$ - 'look after \ inspect (nachsehen), visit (as a sick person)', T {Ter.}  $\underline{v}\underline{z}\underline{d}\underline{e}$ - id. ('проследить, проверить, разведать, навестить') ¶¶ Coll. 69, UEW 561-2, Lr. #1476, Lgc. #8847, Hs. 1468, TI 800, SK 443-4, LG 69, KPR 85, Lt. J 101, Ter. 68, Lh. 68  $\diamond$  U \*- $\underline{t}\underline{t}$ - as a reflex of N \*- $\underline{H}\underline{t}$ - still needs investigating  $\diamond$  In some lgs. there may have been influenced of N \* $\underline{w}\underline{e}\underline{t}'\underline{y}'\underline{\nabla}$  'look, see' (q.v.).

**2546.**  ${}_2$  \* $\underline{w}it\underline{\nabla}?\underline{\nabla}$  'find' > **HS:** S \* $\sqrt{w}t\underline{p}h$  v. 'find' > OAk, Ak OA inf.  $\underline{w}at\underline{a}^p\text{-um}$ , Ak B inf. ( $\underline{w}$ ) $\underline{a}\underline{t}\underline{u}\underline{m}$ , p. 3s  $\underline{u}\underline{t}\underline{a}$  'finden, entdecken' || ?? WCh ( $\times$  N \* $\underline{w}\underline{e}\underline{t}'\underline{y}'\underline{\nabla}$  'look, see'): pBT {Stl.} \* $\underline{w}\underline{\nabla}$ - v. 'see, find' > Dr {J}  $\underline{w}\underline{a}$ -, Krkr {J}  $\underline{w}$ - 'find', Tng {J}  $\underline{w}\underline{e}$ - 'see, look' | ?? DfB {J}  $\underline{w}\underline{i}\underline{s}\underline{i}$ - 'find' ¶ Stl. VZCh B #208, Stl. ZCh 247 [#57], ChC, J T 161 || **IE:** Na $\mathbb{E}$  \* $\underline{w}\underline{e}\underline{i}\underline{d}$ - v. 'find' ( $\times$  N \* $\underline{w}\underline{e}\underline{t}'\underline{y}'\underline{\nabla}$  '↑') > OI  $\underline{v}\underline{i}\underline{d}$ - v. 'find, discover, obtain': prs.  $\underline{v}\underline{i}\underline{n}'\underline{d}\underline{a}\underline{t}\underline{i}$  ~ ' $\underline{v}\underline{e}\underline{t}\underline{t}\underline{i}$  ~  $\underline{v}\underline{i}\underline{t}'\underline{t}\underline{e}$ , aor. ' $\underline{a}\underline{v}\underline{i}\underline{d}\underline{a}\underline{t}$ , pfc.  $\underline{v}\underline{i}'\underline{v}\underline{e}\underline{d}\underline{a}$ , Av  $\underline{v}\underline{a}\underline{e}\underline{d}$ - 'finden, erlangen', prs.  $\underline{v}\underline{i}\underline{n}\underline{a}\underline{s}\underline{t}\underline{i}$  ~  $\underline{v}\underline{i}\underline{n}\underline{d}\underline{a}\underline{n}\underline{t}\underline{i}$ , pfc.  $\underline{v}\underline{i}\underline{v}\underline{a}\underline{e}\underline{d}\underline{a}$

id., MPrs  $\nu$ indātan 'gewinnen, erreichen' || Arm  $\mathfrak{qunawunub}$  gtanem 'I find', aor. 3s  $\mathfrak{tqhun}$  egit 'he found' ¶ P 1125, Me. EAC 49, 106, 160, M K III 214, M E II 579-81, ≈ Slr. 82-3 (Arm gt-/get- < NaIE \*wōjda 'know') || AdS of  $\mathfrak{A}$  \*bEd∇ 'search, look for' and of  $\mathfrak{D}$  \*vet- (or \*vedd-?) v. 'seek, search, look for' (both mainly from N \*wēt'γ'∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ S \*oʔh suggests that in the N etymon there was a lr. The only N lr. that could leave no traces in IE is \*ʔ (with a preceding vw., otherwise N \*-tʔ- [> \*-t-]) would have produced an IE \*-t-).

2547. \*wot<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>E ⇌ \*wot<sub>1</sub>E<sub>1</sub>∇ 'speak, utter sounds', (?) 'organ of speech' > HS: Eg P ωt 'tongue' or 'mouth' (?) ¶ EG I 377 || ECh: Ke {Eb.} wāté 'say', wāté kel 'speak' (lit. 'say words'), ??φ Smr {J} wáy 'speak', {Nc.} ωοιο 'speak, talk' || CCh: ?σ Gude {Hsk.} wudʒ 'take oath on a fetish', wudá 'formal oath', ??φ Lgn {Lk.} wá- ~ wǎ- 'say' ¶ Eb. 101, ChC, Hsk. 293, Lk. L 125, Lk. ZSS 82 || WS \*✓wtt̥ > Ar ✓wtt̥ G (pf. wāt̥ta) 'shout, make noise', 'cry out' (of children), Tgr ✓wtt̥'γ' G (pf. ωω wēt̥a), Tgy ✓wtt̥ G (pf. ωω wēt̥e) 'sing', ?? (o?) Tgr ✓wtt̥ 'howl, make a noise, bluster' ¶ BK II 1559, Hv. 877, LH 440, ≈ DRS 528 || C: HEC {Hd.} \*odʔ- 'cry, mourn' > Brj, Ged, Kmb, Sd odʔ- id. || ?φ Bj {R} ad- scv. 'bellow' (of camels) ¶ Hd. 45, R WBd 8 || IE \*wed- / \*ud- 'utter vocal sounds, speak' (× N \*hawt∇ 'call, speak') > OI 'vadati (pp. ud-i'ta-) 'speaks, says, raises the voice' || Lt vadinti (1s prs. vadinū) 'to call by name; to invite, to ask' (as well as Sl \*vaditi > OCS ВΑΔΗΤΗ vaditi 'to accuse?') || Gk [Hs.] γοδᾶν (sc. Ἔοδᾶν) · κλάειν 'to lament', Gk ὑδέω, ὑδω v. {LS} 'call, name', {F} 'besingen, verherrlichen' || ? Ht uttar / uttan- 'word, speech' (× N \*wAt∇r∇ 'speak') ¶¶ The NaIE variant stem \*aud- (> Gk αὔδαω v. 'utter sounds, speak', αὔδη 'voice, sound, speech') is hardly explainable as a Schwebeablaut from \*wed- (because of the unexpected vw. α-) and may be attributed to N \*hawt∇ '↑' (q.v.) ¶¶ WP I 251-2, ≈ P 76-7, EI 535 (\*wed- 'raise one's voice'), M K III 133-4, M E II 496, Frn. 1177-8, StSS 108, FI 184 and II 956, Ts. W 97-8 ||  $\mathfrak{A}$ : [11] \*U:t'E 'sound', 'sing' (of birds) > T \*öt- v. 'sing' (of birds), 'emit a sound' > OT, Az, CrTt, Ln öt-, Ggz yöt- 'sing' (of birds), Tk öt- id., 'resound', 'emit sounds' (of musical instruments), OOSm XIV v. öt- 'bleat', Tv æt- 'emit sounds', Chv avbt- 'sing' (of birds), 'croak' (of frogs), v. 'thunder', Yk ūöt- v. 'coo, invoke (spirits)' ¶ Cl. 39-40, ET Gl 556, Jeg. 21, Rs. W 52, 376, TvR 606 ¶ Yk ūöt- points

to a pT long \*ō̄ || M \*ō̄ci- (< \*\*ō̄ti-) 'say, inform' > MM [HI, S] ō̄ci- v. 'inform, report', [MA] ō̄cibe n. 'account', ō̄cibe ügeyi 'said a word', WrM ō̄ci-, HIM Ѡчи- v. 'say, answer, testify; pray', WrO {Krg.} ō̄ci- v. 'depose, say respectfully', Kl Ö {Rm.} ō̄čə- v. 'answer to an accusation'; -d> M \*ō̄ci-g > WrM ō̄ciḡ, HIM Ѡциг 'testimony, deposition (in court), prayer', WrO ō̄ciḡ 'reply', Kl Ö {Rm.} ō̄čǎḡ n. 'answer'; ? Dg učun 'song', učule- v. 'sing' ¶ H 121, Ms. H 83, Pp. MA 272, MED 628, KW 302, Krg. 143, T DgJ 172 || Tg \*ōot- (or \*ōɔot-) > Ewk otutka- 'shout' or 'cry' ('schreien') ¶ STM II 29 || pJ {S} ʔtʔ 'sound' > OJ ótò, J: T otó, K ótò, Kg óto ¶ S QJ #180, Mr. 513 ¶¶ S AJ 286 [#245], DQA #1589 (A \*ó̄t'è - \*-t- 'sound') || ?? [2] A \*bUdU > M \*bodu- v. 'think, count' > WrM bodu-, HIM, Brt бодо-, Ord b\_od\_o- id., WrO {Krg.} bodo- 'think, guess', Kl бод-х 'to suppose, to guess', {Rm.} bodo-χǎ 'to think, to count', Dg {T, Mrm.} bodo-, {Pp.} b\_od\_ǒ- 'think' ¶ MED 109, Chr. 97, Ms. O 72, Krg. 350, KRS 104, KW 48, T DgJ 127, Klz. D I 115 || Tg (← M?): Ewk, Sln bodo-, Ork bod(d)o- 'think', Ud {Krm.} bodo 'consider, think over, estimate', Ud {STM}, Nn bodo-, WrMc bodo- 'think, count', Ul bodo-~bodt v. 'count' ¶ STM I 88, Krm. 213 || ?? pKo {S} \*ptí-t 'will, intention' > MKo ptít, NKo t̄iɛ [t̄it] id. ¶ S QK #355, Nam 174, MLC 544 ¶¶ SDM97 (A\*bulüdü 'think, intend') || D (in SD) \*ō̄t- ({ǧGS} \*-d-) 'utter, recite, pronounce' > Tm ō̄tu v. 'read, recite, utter mantras, speak', Ml ō̄tuka v. 'recite, read, say', Kn ō̄du id., 'utter', Kt ōd- 'read, pronounce (charms)', Td wI'θ- v. 'read', wI't 'incantation', Kdg ɔ̄d-, Tu ō̄durni v. 'read' ¶ D #1052 ◇ The N lr. \*-ʔ- survives in HEC, is lost in IE (a reg. change), in Ar and in Ke, while in the prehistory of some other lgs. (A, B) it merged with N \*-t- (\*-tʔ- > \*-t-) and later produced reflexes of \*-t̄- (sc. A \*-t' and B -t̄-). The long vw. in T \*ō̄t' and SD \*ō̄t- may have resulted from loss of the N lr. \*-ʔ- (complementary lengthening).

**2548. \*wê̄t'ʔ'∇** 'look, see' > HS: S \*√ wdʔ v. 'know' (as. N \*-t'ʔ'- > \*-d'ʔ'- > \*-dʔ-) > Ph, Ug, Aram √ ydʔ G v. 'know', BHb √ ydʔ G (pf. ʔ̄ʔ̄, yā'daʔ) 'know, learn, notice', ʔ̄ʔ̄hōdīaʔ (Sh pf.) 'communicate', Mh √ wdʔ v. 'know', Sh hɜwdē ~ hɜw'dɛʔ v. 'tell people that so. is under one's protection', OAk idā'um, Ak fOB idû ~ edû, Ak MA/NA (wa)du, v. 'know', Eb √ wdʔ id. ({HMu.} 3m aor. i\i-da = yiwdaʔ 'he knew\knows'), SCn acp. G \*yō'diʔ- -> Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} y(u)-di-ʔa '(one) knowing'; -d> S \*diʔ-at- (from \*\*wdiʔat-) 'knowledge' > BHb



הַבִּיטָה dē'ṣā, Pun, Ug {OLS} dʿt id., Ak diʔ(a)tu ~ daʔ(a)tu 'notice, information' (× N \*di'h'a 'look at', q.v.) ¶ OLS 126-7, 521, KB 373-5, KBR 390-2, HJ 439-40, Sd. 187-8, 1454-6, CAD III 130-1, IV 34-5, and VII 20-34, Krb. PE 40-1, HMü. 180, 183, Hlk. 530, SivCR 78, DRS 502-3 || Ch: CCh: McM: Azm {Pc.} wēḏā msd. 'to see, to know', ? Ms {Caīt.} wī 'see, know' || BM: Cb wūtī 'see' || Ech: Smr {J} ʔwōtū 'know' || ??φ WCh: Tng {J} wē- 'see, look' (× N \*wit∇∇ 'find'?) ¶ Pc. 417, Caīt. 150, JI II 217, ChL, J T 161 || IE: NaIE \*weyd- v. 'see, look' > Gk εἰδήσω ft. 'I shall know', besides Gk Hm εἶδομαι 'appear, am seen' || L video, -ēre v. 'see, look' || Gt witan 'to see, to look', ON vita, AS bewitian 'to observe, to watch', OHG wizzen, gi-wizzen 'to become wise, to know' || Sl \*viděti (1s prs. \*\*vidjǫ) 'to see' > OCS ВИДѢТИ vidě-ti, SCr видети ≈ vidjeti, Slv videti, R видеть, Cz viděti, P widzieć id., Blg виждам ~ видя 'see' || Ltv {ME} vīdēt '(in der Ferne \ flüchtig \ nicht genau) sehen, wahrnehmen', μ viedēt 'to see, to have the faculty of sight', ?φ Lt veizdėti 'to see', Pru widdai '(he) saw' | A derived noun: \*weyd-o- > Gk εἶδος 'shape, aspect' || Sl \*vidь > OCS ВИДЪ vidь 'aspect, sight', R, Uk вид, SCr, Slv vīd, Cz, Slk vid id. | Ltv veīds 'shape, form', Lt veidas 'face' || NaIE pfc. 3s \*'woyd-e 'knows' (← \*'has seen') / 1p \*wid-me 'we know' > Gk οἶδε 'knows', ἴδμεν 'we know' || OI 3s vēda (1p vid'ma), Av vaēdā 'knows' || Clt \*widri (< pfc. \*widrǫ 'they know') > W {LP} gwyr, Cm gor, Br goar 'knows', OIr -fitir id. (ro-fetar 'knows'), W gwydd- 'know' || Sl \*vědě > OCS ВѢДѢ věd-ě 'I know'; → μ \*věděti 'to know' (prs: 1s \*vě-mь, 2s \*vě-si, 3s \*vě ~ \*vēs-tь) > OCS ВѢДѢТИ věděti (prs: 1s věmь, 2s vēsi, 3s vě ~ vēstь), Slv védeti, Cz věděti (prs.: 1s vím, 2s víš), Slk vedet', P wiedzieć 'to know' → μ: R ведать, Uk відати id. || Pru μ waist 'to know' || Gt 3s wait (1p wítum), ON veit, AS wāt, OHG weiz, NHG weiß 'I know, he knows', NE † wit 'to know' (prs. wot, p. wist); ⇨ inf. OHG wizzan, NHG wissen 'to know' || μ: Arm qhunteb gitem 'I know' || L vīdī 'I have seen, I saw' || Brtt [RE] \*wojd-butā 'to know' (cd. \*wojd- + \*bū-t- 'be', see N \*buHi 'grow, appear') > MW gwybot, W gwybod, Cm gothwos, OBr gudbut, MBr, Br gouzout 'to know' | NaIE \*wid-(o)- 'sight, shape, appearance' > OI vid- 'knowledge' (× N \*wit∇∇ 'find' [q.v.]) || ON vit 'Verstand', OHG

wizzī 'knowledge, wisdom', NHG Witz 'wit', † 'esprit, mother wit', OFrs, AS witt 'intellect, knowledge, awareness', NE wit n.; Gmc d. (< \*wid-yo-?) > Gt -witi (in un-witi 'Unwissenheit') ¶ Mn. 1501-2, ≈ P 1125-7, EI 337 (\*weid- 'see, know [as a fact]', pfc. \*woide), Bks. 238-9, F I 451-2 and II 357, Ch. 526, 569-70, LP § 44, Sw. 24, Ho. 400-1, Kb. 1221-2, OsS 279, 1193-4, Vr. 669, KM 864-5, Frn. 1212-6, En. 269-70, 273, Vs. I 283, 312, Glh. 668, BER I 143-6 || U \*<sup>o</sup>u<sup>r</sup>t<sup>e</sup> (= \*ū|t<sub>t</sub>|s|še) > Sm {Jn.} \*btb- v. 'see', {Hl.} \*bt∇- 'be seen\visible (sichtbar sein)' (× N \*q<sup>r</sup>i<sup>t</sup>∇ 'appear, become visible', q.v. ffd.) || A: M \*bedere- (× N \*wit∇?∇ '↑?') > MM [S] bedere- 'suchen, absuchen', WrM bedere- v. 'seek, search, look for', HIM бэдрэ-, Brt бэдэр- id., Kl бедр- bedr- 'get\be ready to, intend to' ¶ H 14, MED 94, Chr. 129, KRS 93, KW 41 || D \*vet- (\*vedd-?) v. 'seek, search, look for' (× N \*wit∇?∇ '↑?') > Kn bedaku 'seek, search, look for', Tl vedaku, vetaku v. 'search, explore' || Krx beddnā (biddyas) v. 'seek, search', Mlt bede v. 'seek, marry' ¶¶ D #5483. According to IS, D \*-dd- < N \*-tH- ◇ The phonetic prehistory of the Sm (and pU) root still needs investigating ◇ The IE ev. points to a pN \*i, while the D and M vowels suggest a pN \*e. This controversy is still to be resolved. It may be supposed (as a possible solution) that the IE root was influenced by N \*wit∇?∇ 'find' ◇ In some lgs. there may have been infl. of N \*wAht∇ '≈ to smell sth.' (q.v.).

**2549. \*waṭ∇** 'heavy, firm, strong' > HS: Eg fOK wdn 'be heavy, weigh' ¶ EGI 390, Fk. 73 || A \*<sup>o</sup>bat<sup>∇</sup> > M \*batu 'firm, solid, stable' > MM [MA] batu id., [IM] batu 'hard, strong', [IsV] batu 'hard, solid', [S] batu adv. 'fest (anziehen)', WrM batu, HIM бат 'firm, solid, stable, strong', Brt бата, WrO batu, Kl бат batъ, {Rm.} bata 'firm, solid, steady', Ord {Ms.} b<sup>∇</sup>at<sup>∇</sup>u, Ba {T} batз, Mnr H {SM} p<sup>∇</sup>ad<sup>∇</sup>u 'firm, solide', {T} padu ~ batu id., 'strong'; M ↗ Chg {SulB} batu 'strong, hard' ¶ Pp. MA 113, 433, Lg. VMI 19, H 13, MED 91, Chr. 91, Krg. 325, KRS 84, KW 37, Ms. O 57, SM 300, T 354, T BJ 135, SulB 66 ¶ M bac<sup>∇</sup>im- 'hasty' does not belong here, but goes back to N \*bag<sub>t</sub>∇, t<sup>r</sup>i 'be quick; sudden' (q.v.) || D: NED \*ott- 'heavy' > Krx ott<sup>h</sup>ā 'burden; heavy, difficult', Mlt oye 'heavy, important' ¶ D #977, Pf. 186 [#50] || ?φ U: pY {FIN} \*waδ- 'firm, strong' > YT war- 'be firm, solid', YK {Jc.} adi 'fest (die Tür zuschließen)', a<sup>∇</sup>dulbe 'become hard\strong', a<sup>∇</sup>dulbei 'vigour, courage, strength' a<sup>∇</sup>dulet- 'strengthen, gather strength, grow strong'

¶ Ku. 42-3, Ang. 4, IN 91 (on pY \*δ), 94-5 (on pY \*w-) ◇ It is still to be found out if (and under what conditions) N \*wa- may yield NED \*o-, and N \*-t- may yield pY \*-δ-.

**2550.** \*wet̥ ▽ 'year' (and/or 'long time' [→ 'old']?) > HS: B \*w̥ ▽ tāy 'year' > Ah {Fc.} awetay (pl. iwtiān), Ty/ETwl {GhA} aw̥t̥ay (pl. iwaṭyan), Gh {Nh.} awatay (pl. iwčian) ¶ Fc. 1538-45, GhA 203, Nh. 27 || IE \*wet- 'year' > pAl {O} \*weta id. > Al vit, vjet || Ht witt-, d. wettant- 'year', ?φ: Lw {Lar.} ussa/i-, HrLw usa-s id. ||] -> NaIE \*wetos / \*wetes- / \*wets- 'year', 'old' (lit. 'jährig') > OI d. vatsa'ra- 'year', ? vat'sa- 'calf, young of animals, child' (< \*'yearling') || Gk ἔτος ε̅ ἔτος (gen. ἔτεος) 'year' || pAl {O} \*vetuša > Al vic 'calf' || L vetus (gen. veter-is) 'old', d. vetustus 'old, ancient', d. (dim.) vetulus 'little old, poor little old' || Lt †, Δ vētušas 'old (alt, bejahrt)', Ltv vęcs 'old' (of things), 'aged' | SI \*vetъxъ 'old' (of things) > OCS вѣтѣхъ vetъxъ id., 'ancient', Blg вехт, 'ветъx id., 'decrepit' (of things)', R 'ветхий, Cz vetchý, Slk vetchy 'decrepit' (of things), P wiotchy, wiotki 'flimsy, sleazy' ||] -> NaIE \*wet-elō- 'yearling' > Gk ἔτελον, ἔταλον id. || L vitulus 'bull-calf', Um vitlu accus. id. ¶¶ WP I 251, P 1175, EI 654, M K III 132-3, M E II 495, F I 583-4, O 506-7, 509, WH II 776-8, 807, Bc. G 351, Pln. II 763, Frn. 1233, Vs. I 307, Ma. C 564, BER 139, Frd. HW 255, Ts. W 106, Mer. HGG 140, Lar. 103, Ot. 103 || A: T {DQA} \*ōtū- > Chv батă vad\_ь 'old' (of a person) ¶ Jeg. 47 || M \*ōte- -> \*ōtegün (pl. \*ōtegüs) 'old (senex)' > MM [S] {H} otogu, [L, MA, IM] ötegü, [HI] ötögü gü'ün 'old person', WrM pl. öteğüs, HIM pl. өтөгс 'seniors, elders, chieftains', WrM öteğü 'old man; senior', Kl {Rm.} ötöga, ötkö 'old man', Brt өтөө 'old', Mnr H {SM} sd̄ōqu 'old man'; WrM ötēl-, HIM өтлө-, Brt үтэл-, Kl өтл-öt̄]-, Mnr H {SM} sd̄ōli- v. 'age, grow old'; Mnr H {SM} sd̄anon, {T} sdanon 'last year' ¶ SM 327-8, H 129, Ms. H 85, Pp. L II 1258, Pp. MA 279, 443, MED 646, Chr. 516, KRS 427, KW 302, STM II 294 || NrTg \*ūt ▽ > Ewk utu 'old (senex), decrepit', Sln u'taçi 'grandfather', Lm ut̄ 'old' (of a dog) ¶ STM II 294 || pJ {S} \*ýt̄-nà 'grown-up man, an adult' > OJ otona, J: T òtona, K/Kg òtónà ¶ S QJ #258, Mr. 513 ¶¶ DQA #1610 (A \*ōt'e 'old'; T, M, Tg, J), Pp. VG 108 (A \*ötä- 'old'; M, Tg, Chv), Rm. EAS I 146, Jeg. 47 (Chv, M) ¶¶ The M root has no initial \*φ- (on the ev. of MM ötögü), so that the supposed ev. of Mnr s- (< h/φ, usually from pM \*φ) has no value, acc. to Md.-Hl.'s law of a secondary Mnr h-/f-/s-

induced by the stem-medial vl. cns.; an alt. hyp. (ignoring MM *ötögü* and interpreting Mnr *sd\_ōq\_u* 'old man' as providing ev. for pM \**φ-*) would have meant that the M √ goes back to N \**P\_AHṭṬ* 'old man' (q.v.) ¶¶ DQA #1610 (A \**ōt'e* 'old [senex]') ◇ T \**ō-* and Tg \**ū-* (and probably M \**ö-*) are regular reflexes of N \**wē-* (see Introduction, § 2.4) ◇ B, IE, and Mnr suggest that the original meaning of the word was 'year', while the cognate words in L, BSl, and most A lgs. may be interpreted as pointing to the meaning 'long time' (→ 'old'). Which meaning is the original one, is still to be investigated ◇ IS MS 337 (\**ω'ε'ṭ* 'year': IE, B, A).

2551. <sub>2</sub> \**wiṭṬ* 'grain' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'seed') > HS: C: HEC \**wiṭa* 'seed' > Hd *wiṭo* 'seed, grain, cereal', Kmb *wiṭa* id., 'crop', *wiṭa-ta* 'seed', Sd *wiṭa* id. ⇨ \**wiṭ-* v. 'sow' > Hd *wiṭ-*, Kmb *wīṭ-* id., Sd *wiṭ-* v. 'sow, scatter, sprinkle' ¶ Hd. 130, 303, 343, 401, Gs. 344 || Eg G *ωtḥ* 'seed', Eg fOK *ωtḥ* v. 'beget' ¶ EGI 381-2, Fk. 72 ¶ -ḥ goes back probably to a sx.; ṭ for the expected ḍ (< \*ṭ) is due either to as. (\**ḍ...ḥ* > *t...ḥ*) or to pHS deglottalization || WCh {Stl.} \**wṽnṭṬ* 'grain, seed' > BT: Krf {Sch.} *wàttà*, Bl {ChL} *wəttò*, Grm {Sch.} *wàtá* 'mush (staple food made from flour of cereals, called *tuw0* in Hs)' || SBC: Grn {Sh.} *wandar*, *wanti*, Gj {Sh.} *wundel*, *wund*, {ChL} *wundul*, Zem/Brw {Sh.} *wanda* ~ *wonda*, Sy {ChL} *wəndu*, Dw {ChL} *wəndi* 'grain, seed' ¶ Stl. ZCh 238 [#847], ChL I 85, Sch. BTL 59, 149, Ba. 1065 (on Hs *tuw0*) || D {tr., ḡGS}) \**vitt* / \**vitt-* 'seed', \**vitt-* v. 'sow', [GS] \**vit-* id. > Tm, Ml *vittu*, Prj *vittid* 'seed, semen', Kt *vit*, Td *pīt*, Kn *bittu*, *bittā*, ? *biṛtu*, Kdg *bittī*, Tu *bittb*, Tl *vittu*, Klm, Nkr *vitānam*, Gdb *vīti*, Knd *vitu*, Ku 'seed', Kui *vitkā* 'semen'; Tm, Tl *vittu* v. 'sow, spread', Kdg *bitt-* v. 'sow, scatter', Kt, Nkr, Prj, Knd *vit-*, Td *pīt-*, Gdb *vit-* ḍ *vīt-*, Gnd, Png, Mnd *vīt-* v. 'sow', Kn *bittu* v. 'put seeds, sow' ¶¶ D #5401, Zv. 93-4, GS 46 [#109].

2552. <sub>2</sub> \**waHṭṬ* 'cold (north) wind' > A: AmTg \**ōtī* 'north wind' > Ul *ōtū* 'northeast wind', Nn Nh/B *ōčl* 'north, north wind' ¶ STM II 28 || D \**vaṭ-*/\**vāṭ-* ({ḡGS} \*-ḍ-) 'north, cold wind' > Tm *vaṭa* 'northern', *vāṭai* 'north wind, cold wind, wind', Ml *vaṭa* 'north', *vāṭa* 'wind', Kn *baḍa* 'the north, to the north', Kdg *baḍakī* 'north', Tu *baḍakāyi* id., 'northern', Tl *vaḍakūgoṇḍa* 'Himalaya' ¶¶ D #5218 ◇ Here D \**-ṭ-* (the reg. reflex of N \**-t-*) goes back to N \**-Hṭ-* (> \**-t-* by as.). On Tg \**0-* < N \**wa-* see Introduction, § 2.4.

**2553.** (<sub>2</sub>?) \*wAṭṭrṇ 'speak' > HS: CCh: Gudu {IL in ChC} wadṛ- 'say' ¶ ChC || D \*vatarṅ-, {ḡGS} \*vadarṅ- v. 'chatter, talk, shout' > Tm vataru v. 'chatter, be talkative', Kn oḍaru v. 'sound, cry aloud, shout', Tu badaritanu 'defamation', Tl vadaru ~ vaduru v. 'prattle, chatter' ¶¶ D #5244 || ? IE: Ht uttar / uttan- 'word, speech, thing' (× N \*wot<sub>ṭ</sub>ṇ<sub>ṛ</sub>E ṛ \*wot<sub>ṭ</sub>E<sub>ṇ</sub>ṇ 'speak, utter sounds') ¶ Ts. W 97-8 ◇ Cp. N \*wot<sub>ṭ</sub>ṇ<sub>ṛ</sub>E ṛ \*wot<sub>ṭ</sub>E<sub>ṇ</sub>ṇ '↑' > IE \*wed-/ \*ud- 'utter sounds, speak' (q.v.).

**2554.** \*wayṇ 'want, wish, strive for' > IE \*weḡ- 'strive for' > NaIE \*weḡ- id. (× N \*xawi<sub>ṭ</sub>ṇ<sub>ṛ</sub> 'drive, chase, pursue' > IE \*xweḡx- v. 'pursue /chase', q.v.) > OI 'vē-ti (3p 'vṽ-anti) 'tracks, has in view, strives for, hastens', vī-'ta- 'desired, liked, loved' || Gk ἔμμι {P} 'eile, strebe, begehre' || OL [DI] vōi-s, L vī-s 'you (sg.) want', in-vī-tus 'unwilling, against one's will' || pTc {Ad.} \*woyā- > Tc A wā-, B wāya(:)- 'will drive, lead' ¶ Ffd. see s.v. N \*xawi<sub>ṭ</sub>ṇ<sub>ṛ</sub> ¶¶ ≈ P 1123-4, ≈σ EI 208 (\*weḡ(H)- 'go after'), M K III 255-6, M E II 509-10, F I 711-2, WH I 714 and II 800, Ad. 36-7 || A: Tg \*obay- 'look for, try to find, beseech' > WrMc bay-(mbi) {Z} 'look for (sth. lost), search, ask, beg', {Hr.} 'suchen, (er)forschen, verlangen, (er)bitten', Mc Sb biamḡ 'look for, beseech, beg, seek, ask' ¶ STM I 64-5, Z 464-5, Hr. 69, Y ##1527, 1560 ¶¶ The connection with M \*bayḡaya- (> WrM baycaga, HIM байцаа- v. 'investigate, inspect, inquire into, check, examine') is highly qu., because \*baycaga- is apparently derived from \*bayḡa 'state of being' < \*bay 'be' (see MED 72-3) || D \*vay- 'desire' > Tm vayam n. 'desire', vayā id., 'love', vayāv v. 'desire', Kn bayake 'longing, wish, desire', Kdg bay- '(stomach) hungers', Tu bayaku-, bayasu- 'long for, desire eagerly', Tl vācu, vācu v. 'feel a strong desire for sth.', vāru 'longing eagerly after long privation', Gnd vas- ḍ vah- ḍ was- '(hunger\thirst) be felt' ¶¶ D #5257 || ? HS: CS \*w<sub>ṛ</sub>wy > BHb w<sub>ṛ</sub>wy D 'wish', Sr w<sub>ṛ</sub>wy|w G 'agree' (only participles: act. prtc. m. |ḡ)ḡ wāwē / |ḡ)ḡ wāwā), Ar w<sub>ṛ</sub>wy (pf. wāwā) G 'être ému, éprouver une émotion de pitié \ compassion \ tendresse pour qn.' ¶ KB 20, BK I 72, Hv. 17, ≈ DRS 12 ¶ The initial \*w<sub>ṛ</sub>- may be somehow explained by S apophony or reinterpretation of derived forms.

**2555.** \*wṇyṇ 'we' > IE: [1] IE \*weḡ- 'we' pl. > Ht wēs 'we' || OI va'yam, Av vaēm, OPrs vayam 'we' ({M}: \*-am on the analogy of other personal pronouns [those represented by OI a'ham 'I', 'tvam

'thou']) || Gt *weis*, ON *ver*, OSw *wī(r)*, OSx *wi*, *we*, *wir*, OHG, NHG *wir*, AS *wē* 'we', NE *we* || pTc {Ad.} \**wes* > Tc: B *wes*, A *was* 'we' || The cd. \**welj-* + \**dwo* 'two' underlies pronouns of 1st pers. du.: Lt *ve-du*, Gt, AS, OSx *wit*, ON *vit* || [2] NaIE \**wē* 'we' du. nom. for nomina animata (< N \**w∇y∇* 'h'æ, with N ? \**h'æ* [an ancient marker of dual], q.v. ffd.) > Vd *vām* nom. 'we' du. (on OI *ā'vam* accus. and *ā'vām* nom. 'we' du. see N \**n̄∇* 'we' excl.), OAv *vā* 'we' du. nom. || OCS *ѡѣ* 'we' du. ¶¶ Brg. KVG 410-3 (with a table), WP I 220, P 1114, EI 454-5 (\**welj* 'we', emph. \**welyom*), Mn. 1505, 1524, M K III 147, M E II 508, Ad. 265-6, Bks. 208-9, Fs. 560, 568-9 || HS: SOm: Hm {Ldl.} *wō* 'we' (general form), *wosi*, *wodi* (aut. prn.), *won* (dependent) 'we', *wō-no* / *wō-ntia* / *wō-nna* / *wō-nno* 'our', Ari {Hw.} *wō'(:)* 'we' (basic form), *wō'(:)tá* 'we' (aut. prn.), *wō'(:)-m* 'us' (-m is a marker of accus.), *wō'(:)ntén* 'our', Ari G {Bnd.} *wōta*, *wōte*, Dm {Fl.} *watu* / *woto* 'we' (abs.), accus. *won-im* 'us', *wō* (with postpositions, e.g. *wō gišo* 'because of us'), *wō-kō* 'our', {Bnd.} *wō'(:)t*, Ari U/B {Fl.} *wōta*, Hm B *wōdi* ¶ Hz. PO and Fl. OO reconstruct pSom \**wōt* 'we', probably on the basis of early descriptions (Bnd., etc.) and of the verbal sxs. of 1p: Gll -*ōt*, Dm -*t*. Alternatively, the element \**t∇* in the SOm prn may go back to the HS accusative ending \*-*t∇* (F N \**t∇*, marker of accusative) ¶ Ldl. H 414-5, Hw. A 448-52, Fl. D 521-5, Fl. OO 315, Hz. PO 110-2, Bnd. AL 161 || ?? Eg *wy* 'I' (dependent) (×N \**H₂oy∇* 'by me, my') ¶ Ed. 75 || K \**čwen-i* 'our' > OG *čueni čweni*, G *čveni*, Mg *čkən-i* ~ *čkin-i*, Lz *čkun-i* ~ *čkin-i* ~ *škun-i* ~ *škin-i* 'our', Sv UB {GP} *gu-šgwē(y)*, {TK} *gwišgwey* ~ *gušgwey*, LB *gwi-šgwe* ~ *gušge* 'our' incl., UB {GP} *ni-šgwē(y)*, {TK} *nišgwey*, LB *nišg(w)e* 'our' excl. (*gu-* is the marker of 1p incl., *ni-* is that of 1p excl.), L *gušgwe*, Ln *guškwē* 'our'; GZ \**čwen-i* 'our' → GZ \**čwen* 'we' > OG *čuen čwen*, G *čven*, Δ *čon*, Mg *čkə-*, *čki-*, Lz *čku(n)-*, *čkin-*, *šku-* ¶¶ K 219-20, FS K 388-9, FS E 436-7, Fn. GAS 72, Ser. 194, TK 183, GP US 45, Tt. 18-9, Dn. s.v. *gušgve* ¶¶ K \**čwen-* 'our' is analyzable as \**č-* (marker of poss. pronouns < N \**č'ü* 'that of ..., that which' [cp. \**če-m-i* 'my', \**šeni* < \*\**č-sen-i* 'thy']) + \**we-* (< N \**w∇y∇* 'we') + \*-*n-* (< N \**nu*, marker of gen.) + \*-*i* (pK marker of nom.).

2556. \**wahy∇* '(to be) weak' > IE: [1] NaIE \**wāy-/wāy-/wī-* '(be) weak' > OI *vāyati* 'vanishes, becomes exhausted, is extinguished', Av *frāvayōit* 'es möge erlöschen' || Lt *vojus* adj.

'suffering, weak, ill', Ltv vājš (f. vāja) 'weak, feeble, lean' || ? W gwael 'poor, ill, base, vile', gwaelu 'to sicken' || ?? ON víl 'misery, need', AS wīl {Vr.} 'Bedrängnis, Kümmernis', {P} 'Bedrängnis, Not' (absent in Ho. and Sw.) ¶ WP I 213-4, P 1111, M K III 189-90, M E II 538, Frn. 1272, YGM-1 252, Vr. 663-4 ||| [2] NaIE \*weĵ(ə)-/\*wī-, +exts.: \*wīt- (< \*wi-Ht-), \*weĵ-s '(make) wither' (× N \*wižŋ 'gray, [?] withered', q.v. × N \*wañŋ 'squeeze, press', [→ 'weaken sth.'], q.v.) > NaIE \*weĵ(ə)-/\*wī-, +exts.: wīt- (< wi-Ht-), \*weĵ-s '(make) wither, weaken' > L viēsc-ō-/ēre 'fade, wither, shrink', viētus 'withered, shrunken' ||| OIr [Ÿ] feugud 'marcor' < OIr {LP, P} \*feo 'withered', W gwyw id., 'feeble' (both from NaIE \*wī-wō- or \*wis-wō-), W gwywo 'to wither, to fade' ||| OHG wēsanēn v. 'wither', MHG wēsel 'schwach, matt', NE Δ weasel, weazen 'thin, lean', ON vesall 'poor, miserable'; ON visinn 'withered', prtc. of \*wisan; ⇨ Gmc \*wis-n-ōn ~ -ēn > ON visna, NNr visna, Sw vissna, Dn visne, AS wisnian 'to dry up, to wither' ||| Lt vūsti (p. vūtau), Ltv vīst 'to fade, to wither, to droop', Lt vūtinti (/ pa-vaitinū), Ltv vītīnāt 'to make [sth.] fade', Ltv vietēt, vītēt id. ¶ WP I 227-8, P 1123, WH II 787-8, LP § 95.3, YGM-1 277, Vr. 657, 668, Hlq. 1359-60, Ho. 39, Kb. 1184, OsS 1131, Frn. 1265 ||| HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓why > Ar ✓why G (ip. -whay-) {Hv.} 'be weak, frail', 'be rent' (clothes), 'break asunder' (skin, rope), {BK} 'être faible\débile; être crevé\déchiré; se détraquer, se déranger, tomber en morceaux' ¶ BK II 1618-9, Hv. 899 ||| A: Tg \*<sup>o</sup>b<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>y- > Ewk KO bāyay- 'scanty (скудный)' ¶ STM I 79.

2557. \*woy<sub>1</sub>ĵê ~ \*wo<sub>1</sub>ĵyê 'be strong, be able\capable' > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓w<sub>1</sub>y > Ar wa<sub>1</sub>y- 'strong beast', ✓w<sub>1</sub>y G (pf. <sup>أى</sup>wa<sub>1</sub>ā, 3m ip. <sup>يى</sup>yā-<sub>1</sub>, n. act. wa<sub>1</sub>y-) 'promise, threaten' ¶ BK II 1474, Hv. 846 ||| IE \*weĵH- > NaIE \*weĵə- / \*wī- 'strength, force' > OI 'vayas 'energy, strength, power' ||| Gk ἰς (with a long ī) 'strength, force', [Hs.] ἰς · ἰσχίς 'strength (of body)' (ἰς = \*F īς), Gk ἰ-φι 'strongly' ('with strength') (\*wī + \*b<sup>h</sup>i-, pc. of instr.) ||| L vī-s (accus. vim) 'force, strength, power' ¶ ≈ P 1123-4, M K III 147-8, FI 735-6, WH II 800-1, EI 209 and 548 (\*<sup>1</sup>weĵHs 'vital force' < \*weĵH- 'be strong') ¶ The NaIE ✓ may have contaminated with homonymous \*weĵ(ə)-roots (< N \*<sup>1</sup>wayŋ 'want, wish, strive for' and N \*xawi<sub>1</sub>ŋ<sub>1</sub> 'drive, chase, pursue') ||| U: FU \*woye 'be able, (?) be strong' > F vōi-, Es vōi- 'be able', F vōi-ma, Es vōim 'power, might' || ? Z † ойōс оу-3s 'strength'

|| OHg >xiv v í -, Hg v í v - v. 'fight, struggle with' ¶ UEW 579, LG 204, SK 1805-6, EWU 1648 || A: NaT \*ū- or \*u<sub>i</sub>·y- > OT {Cl., Rs.} ū- 'be able, capable' → OT, OOsm u-ṽān 'allmighty, God', Osm {Rl.} أويغان uyγan id. (?) [{Rl.} 'allgegenwärtig', an epitheton of God], XwT XIII, MQp Δ XIII uṽān, Chg xv uyān 'God' ¶ NaT \*u<sub>i</sub>·y- is not a reg. representative of N \*w0-; the problem is still to be investigated ¶ Rs. LTS 193, Rs. MIFTS 167, Rl. I 970-1, Cl. 2 ||| This pN word may be the source of a marker of passivity\intransitivity in descendant lgs.: HS \*w∇- ~ \*-u<sub>i</sub>·y- > Eg -w, verbal suffix of the passive form ¶ Ed. 261-9 || S: [1] \*w- as the additional first radical of verbs of state and quality: \*√w|yṭb 'be good' (> BHb, BA, JA √yṭb) - cp. \*ṭāb- 'good' (> BHb ṭōb id., etc.); [2] \*-u- ~ \*-ū- as an apophonic prefix\infix of ps.: CS \*y-u-12a3- 3m ps. of the G-stem (> Ar y-u-qtal-u 'he is\will be killed'), \*y-u-šā-12a3- 3m ps. of the caus. Sh-stem (> BHb شام يـ-جـ-شلام y-ḡ-šlam 'it will be completed\restituted', Ar y-u-slam-u 'he will be kept safe'), pS ps. verbal adj. of the D-stem \*1u22∇3- (> Ak adj. 1u22u3, Ar 3m pf. 1u22i3a, BHb 3m pf. 1u2'2a3), pS ps. verbal adj. of the causative Sh-stem \*š1u2∇3- (> Ak adj. šu12u3, BHb 3m pf. hḡ1'2a3, Ar 3m pf. ḡu12i3a), BHb ps. adj. of the G-stem 1ā'2ū3 (sā'ḡūr 'closed') ¶ Ptrc. IF IV 602ff., KB 354-6, 390-1, BL H 378 || pB {Pr.} \*tiwi- / \*-ttiwi- (> Tw tw-/ttw-, NrB ttw-), px. of the ps. verb stems (< combination of the HS reflexive px. \*t- and the passive \*w-): imv. \*tiwi-kraz / 3m pf. \*yittiwikraz > Tw imv. twākrah / 3m pf. ittṽākrah 'être acquis' ¶ Pr. M VI-VII 56, 63, as well as 88-267 (on the ps. forms of different conjugations), Cadi 45-72 || ? EC: Sml -0w-, sx. of verbs of state and quality (denom. inchoative verbs): ʕ0ll-0w- 'become hostile' ← ʕ0l 'enemy', ʕadd-0w- 'become white' ← ʕad 'white', Sml C {M.} duχ0w- 'become old' ← duχ 'old man', Af {Hw.} -ōwe, derivational sx. of inchoative verbs (ḥāḡidd-ōwe 'become busy' ← ḥāḡid 'matter, affair') ¶ Mrn. SS 97, 267, ZMO 53-4, 70, PH 245 ¶¶ Kln. PSK 26 || U: FU \*w∇- (~ \*w∇y-?), passivizing and intransitivizing verbal sx.: F -u-/-y- (näky- 'be visible' ← näke- 'see', kaatu- 'fall, overturn' ← kaata- v. 'fell'), Es -u-/-i- (passive\intransitive: kordu- 'repeat oneself, recur' ↔ korda- vt. 'repeat', sütti- 'be kindled, catch fire' ↔ süüta- vt. 'kindle') || Lp N sx. -u-: gaw'dnu- 'be able to be found, exist' ← gaw'd'nâ- 'find' || Er -v0-: kadovo- kadovo- 'remain' ← kado- kado- 'leave, desert-,



неяво- нецаво- 'be seen' <д- нее- неце- 'see' || Vg N -we- / -wē-, sx. of ps. verbal forms ({Rmb.} субъектно-пассивное спряжение): wā-we-m 'he knows me' (lit. 'I am known [by him]'), Vg T {Ht.} wārīwam 'I am made' (momentaneous present) ↔ wārām 'I make', wārawsam 'I was made' ↔ wārsam 'I made', Vg N wārwesam 'I was made' ↔ wārsam 'I made'; Os \*-∇y- sx. of passive verb forms: Os V werluyam, Os Kz werɬayam 'I am made' ↔ Os V werlam, Os Kz werɬam 'I make', Os V wersuyam, Os Kz wersayam 'I was made' ↔ Os V/Kz wersam 'I made' || Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} -o(:) / -ü-(:), intransitivizing sx. (sí·dō vi. 'awake' ↔ sí·dē vt. 'wake'), Kms {Cs.} šüddōlām vi. 'awake' ↔ šüddirlim vt. 'wake' ¶¶ The Os forms are likely to suggest the existence of a variant sx. \*-w∇y- ¶¶ Coll. CG 281, Lh. 38-43, Kul. P ∇, Ht. POU ∇, Rmb. 113, 119 || A: T {Rs.} \*-u-/\*-ü-, sx. of reflexive verbs and of denom. verbs of quality ('become\be X'): OT säš-ü- 'losmachen' <д- säš- 'lösen', OT bay-u- 'become rich' <д- bay 'rich', bāk-ü- 'fest sein' <д- bāk 'fest', MT qiz-u- 'be expensive' <д- qiz 'expensive' ¶ Rs. RT ∇, Cl. 384-5, Br. OTG 215 || Tg \*-bu-, verbal sx. of passivity (and causativity): pTg \*ḡḡn-bü ({{Bz.} \*ḡḡn-bü-) 'be said, cause to say' > Nn {Bz.} umbu- 'be said' <д- un- 'say' (STM I 171) ¶ Bz. 122 || Gil: Gil A ∇-, Gil ES w- px. of the reciprocal voice ¶¶ Pnf. II 62-3, Krn. NJ-79 313 ◇ Alternatively, the passivizing-intransitivizing morphem of HS, U, A, and Gil may go back to some other N word (still to be reconstructed) ◇ Hardly here (⇔ IS) the K causative sx. \*-e∇-, because the connection between causativity and passivity is not close enough to justify the conjecture ◇ IS MS 364 (\*ωojḡḡḡ 'сила': IE, T, BF), IS I 13 s.v. Пассив ωḡ (A, U, ?K, HS), IS MsN s.v. -u- ps. and intr., Gr. I 209-10 ("reflexive U/W" in U, A, Gil, Ai).

**2558. \*wayH∇** 'to descend; below' > **HS**: C: Bj {R} 'ωuḡa 'Niederung, Tiefe', ωuḡhā-y 'in der Tiefe; unter, unterhalb' ¶ R WBd 237 || U: FU \*way∇ 'sink, go to the bottom' > F vaja- v. sink, fall, descend', Es vaju- v. 'sink, subside' || pLp {Lr.} \*vōyḡ- vi. 'sink' > Lp: S {Hs.} vōājudh, L {LLO} vuoɬjo- id., N {N} vuooggjo- / -j- 'sink, go to the bottom', Kld {TI} ōāyešḡḡḡ- inch. 'start sinking' || Er, Mk vāy- vaja- v. 'sink (sinken, ertrinken)' || pPrm {LG} \*vōy-, ({{LG} \*vōj-) vi. id. > OPrm ∇zj-, Yz vūy- id., Z vōy- ∇zj- 'sink, be stuck (in)', Vt vāy- ∇j- 'sink, immerse' || Vg: N {Mu.} uy- 'sink', Y/Ss {BV} uy-tt-, ML {Mu.} uy-t- d. vt. 'submerge, drown' || ? Hg vεjsze 'weir-basket, trap (for

fish), Senk-reuse' ¶ Coll. 122, UEW 551, It. #50, Sm. 551 (FU \* $\omega\check{a}j\check{a}$ - 'sink' > FP \* $\upsilon a\check{a}j\check{a}$ -, Ugr \* $\omega o\check{a}j\check{a}$ -), Lr. #1426, Lgc. #8753, Hs. 1435, TI 1723, LG 66, Lt. J 103, BV 128, EWU 1615-6 || **а:** NaT \* $ba\check{u}j\delta i$ - v. 'disappear', 'set' (of the sun) (× N \* $ma\check{X}y\check{\nabla}$  'lose force, weaken, disappear, be worn out?') > Osm {Rl.}  $ba\check{u}i$ - 'vergehen, проходить, исчезать', VTt/Qzq {Rl.}  $ba\check{u}b$ - 'set' (of heavenly bodies), Qrg {Jud.}  $ba\check{u}i$ - 'sink' (level of the water in a river/lake), 'stop giving milk' (of a cow) ¶ Rl. IV 1468-9, Jud. 98; semantic infl. of T \* $bat$ - 'disappear, set (of the sun)' || ? $\sigma$  M \* $o\check{u}i$  > WrM  $oi$ -, HIM  $oi$ - v. 'fall down', ? $\sigma$  'be rebound, ricochet', Brt  $oi$ - 'feel sick, have nausea', Ord  $o\check{u}$ - 'attraper des maux de tête par suite d'une disposition' ¶ MED 604, Ms. O 515, Chr. 352 ◇ Hardly here NaIE \* $\omega e(:)$ -/\* $\omega o$ - {P} 'herab, weg von' (> L  $\upsilon\bar{e}$ -grandis 'small, diminutive' ↔ grandis 'big, large',  $\upsilon\bar{e}$ -sanus 'mad' ↔ sanus 'healthy', see WP I 13-4, P 72-3, WH 740-1), which cannot be separated from \* $au$ - 'herab'; actually, without identifying \* $\omega\check{e}$ - with \* $au$ - the rec. of the meaning as 'herab' is not justified ◇ IS MS 353 (U, T).

**2559.** \* $\omega\check{a}\check{z}\check{\nabla}$  'little, young' > K \* $\omega\check{a}\check{z}$ - > G  $va\check{z}$ -i 'son; boy; young man; man (male person)',  $va\check{z}$ - 'mannhaft sein',  $ve\check{z}o$  voc. 'Junge!' ¶ Chx. 363, 373, DCh. 501 || **HS:** B: SrSn a-wz $\omega$ iz 'un tout petit peu' ¶ Rn. 285 || ? $\sigma$  S \* $\check{\omega}z\check{y}$  > Ar  $\omega\check{z}i$   $\omega\check{z}a(n)$  'petit de taille et au corps ramassé' (×  $\check{\omega}z\check{y}$  [p.  $\omega\check{z}i$   $\omega\check{z}a$ ] 'être rassemblé, aggloméré sur un seul point') ¶ BK II 1532 || **U:** FV \* $\omega\check{a}\check{s}\check{a}$  'little, few' > F  $\upsilon\check{a}h\check{a}$  'little, small, scanty; a little',  $\upsilon\check{a}h\check{a}n$  'a little', Es  $\upsilon\check{a}he$ ,  $\Delta$   $\upsilon\check{a}ha$ ,  $\upsilon\check{a}h\check{a}$  'little (not much), few (not many)' | pMr {Ker.}  $\upsilon\check{a}\check{z}\check{a}$  'small, younger' > Er вежава  $ve\check{z}ava$  'younger brother's wife', вежаське  $ve\check{z}a\check{s}\check{ke}$  'little finger', веженсь  $ve\check{z}e\check{n}\check{s}$  'youngest (son, etc. in a family)', вишка  $\upsilon\check{i}\check{s}\check{ka}$  'small, younger' (in set phrases: вишка кель 'uvula' ['small tongue'], вишка патя 'husband's younger sister', вишка сур 'little finger', etc.), вишкине  $\upsilon\check{i}\check{s}\check{ki}\check{ne}$  'small, little', Mk вяжя  $\upsilon\check{a}\check{z}\check{a}$  '(new) daughter-in-law' (name used during her wedding party) ¶ UEW 818-9, Ker. II 187, ERV 118, 138, PI 61.

**2560.** \* $\omega i\check{z}\check{\nabla}$  'gray, (?) withered' > K \* $\omega e\check{z}$ - > G †  $ve\check{z}an$ -i {DCh.} 'dove-coloured, gray (сизый, серый, бурый)', {Chx.} 'schwefelgrau, taubenfarbig', G Mt  $ve\check{z}ani$  'getigert, gefleckt' ¶ Chx. 373, DCh. 505 || **HS:** B \* $\check{\omega}z\check{w}z\check{w}$  > Ah  $h\check{a}\check{w}h\check{a}\check{w}$  v. 'be gray', ETwl {Nic.} n. act.  $t\check{a}z\check{a}\check{w}z\check{a}\check{w}t$  'being gray', Ty {ABs.}  $z\check{a}\check{w}z\check{a}\check{w}$ , Gh {ABs.}  $z\check{a}\check{w}z\check{a}\check{w}$  'être

bleu(-clair)', Kb a-zəjzaw 'green, blue, gray; uncooked, unripe' ¶ Pr. H 71 [#430], Fc. 624, Dl. 936-7 || IE (× N \*wahyǵ 'be] weak' and N \*wanǵ 'squeeze, press', [in descendant lgs.] → 'make weak', q.v.): NaIE \*weǵ(ə)-/\*wī-, +exts.: wīt- (< wi-Ht-), \*weǵ-s '(make) wither, weaken' > L viēsc-ō-/ēre 'fade, wither, shrink', viētus 'withered, shrunken' || OIr [ʃ] feugud 'marcor' ← OIr {LP, P} \*feo 'withered', W gwyw id., 'feeble' (both from NaIE \*wī-w0- or \*wis-w0-), W gwywo 'to wither, to fade' || OHG wësanēn v. 'wither', MHG wesel 'schwach, matt', NE Δ weasel, weazen 'thin, lean', ON vesall 'poor, miserable'; ON visinn 'withered', prtc. of \*wisan; ⇨ Gmc \*wis-n-ōn ~ -ēn > ON visna, NNr visna, Sw vissna, Dn visne, AS wisnian 'to dry up, to wither' || Lt vūsti (p. vūtau), Ltv vīst 'to fade, to wither, to droop', Lt vūtinti (/ pa-vaitinū), Ltv vītīnāt 'to make (sth.) fade', Ltv vietēt, vītēt id. ¶ WPI 227-8, P 1123, WH II 787-8, LP § 95.3, YGM-1 277, Vr. 657, 668, Hlq. 1359-60, Ho. 39, Kb. 1184, OsS 1131, Frn. 1265.

2561. \*w'U'ĒE,Ķo ~ \*w'o'Ķǵǵ 'ē a canine' > IE: NaIE \*wǵkʷo-s 'wolf' > OI 'vrka-, Av vahrka-, NPrs گورگ gorg id. || Gk λύκος id. (× NaIE \*lu(n)k̄- < N \*īuk'æ' 'ē canine' [q.v.]) || L lupus 'wolf' (from Sbn or under the infl. of \*wǵp- '≈ fox' < N ? \*wǵǵǵPE 'fur-bearing animal?') || Gmc \*wulǵ-ī > ON ǵlǵr 'she-wolf' | Gmc (× NaIE \*wǵp- < N ? \*wǵǵǵPE '↑', q.v. ffd.) > Gt wulfs, ON ulfr, NNr, Dn, Sw ulv, MDt wolf ~ wulf, Dt, OHG wolf, NHG Wolf, OSx, AS wulf 'wolf', NE wolf; Gmc \*f is due to the merger with NaIE \*wǵp- || Lt vīlkas, Ltv vīlks, Pru wilkis 'wolf' | Sl \*vьlkъ id. > OCS вѣлкѣ vьlkъ, Blg вѣлк, SCr vŭk, Slv vōlk, Cz, Slk vlk, P wilk, R волк, Uk вовк || Tc B walkwe id. || ?σ,φ AnIE: Lw walwa- 'lion', Ld walw-el(i)- 'pertaining to a lion' ¶¶ WPI 316-7, P 1178-9, EI 646-7 (\*'wǵkʷo-s), M K III 240-1, ME II 570-1, Horn 202-3, F II 143-4, WH I 836-7, Fs. 576, Vr. 632-3, Ho. 410, Kb. 1224, Frn. 1251-2, Glh. 688-9, BER I 205-6, Wn. 542, Mlc. CL 254 || HS: S ?? \*wa'saḳ- > Ar wašaq- 'lynx' (⇨ CINPrs وشاق vašaq id. ⇨ Tk vašak, Az vašaq id.) ¶ Dz. II 808, Wehr 951, Bel. DFA 389, Blb. 546, ≈ Dr. TM IV #1765 (Tk, Az, NPrs ← ?) ¶ -q in CINPrs suggests that the Prs word is a loan (most probably, from Ar) || C \*wǵKǵ]-~ \*wǵǵK- 'jackal, lycaon' > Ag: Aw {R} wugeli 'jackal' || EC: HEC: Kmb {C} olukk-iččo 'jackal', {Hd.} orok-ičču 'wolf', Hd {PB} orok-iččo 'Lycaon pictus' (Hd -r- is the reg. reflex of pHEC \*-l-); ? Arr

{Hw.} woláte id. ¶ AD SF 189-90, Hd. 169-70, 335, Hw. A 399 || Ch: Mofu {Brr. in ChC}, MfG {Brr.} wágàlák 'jackal (Canis aureus)' ¶ ChC, Brr. MG II 253 ¶ Dz. II 808, Wehr 951, Bel. DFA 389, Blb. 546, ≈ Dr. TM IV #1765 (Tk, Az, NPrs ←b ?) ¶ -q in CINPrs suggests that the Prs word is a loan (most probably, from Ar) ¶ The S root is highly qu. because the hypothesis of the foreign origin of the Ar word cannot be ruled out || U: FU (in ObU only) \*<sup>o</sup>w<sup>1</sup>okš<sup>1</sup>∇r∇ 'fox' (× N ? \*<sup>r</sup>g<sup>1</sup>oK<sup>1</sup>∇s<sup>1</sup>|ĉ∇(-R∇) 'ε a canine') > pObU \*wākšār > pOs \*wāksar ({Hl.} \*wīksar) 'fox' > Os: Y wāqsar, Nz/Kz wōχsar, D/K wāχsār, O ōχsār; pVg \*ĵkšar id. > Vg: T okšār, LK/MK oxsar, P/ML oxšar, Ss oxsar ¶ Ht. #679 || ?φ A: T \*ü:ǰÉk (× N ? \*w∇í<sub>ǰ</sub>∇<sub>ǰ</sub>PE 'fur-bearing animal') > MT [IM] üšäk, Osm {Rl.} أوشاك üšäk, Tk ұşәк 'lynx' ¶ Rl. I 1904, Pek. 3184-5, Shch. Zh 141, TL 159 || ?? Tg: Ewk ulз 'wolf' ¶ STM II 264 ¶¶ Cf. DQA #2512 (A \*úǰpe 'fur-bearing animal' ["ground game"]) that belongs to N ? \*w∇í<sub>ǰ</sub>∇<sub>ǰ</sub>PE ↑' ◇ FU \*š (< \*ž in a cluster \*-kž- > \*-kš-), Ar š (< S \*š), IE, C, Ch, M \*l, and T \*í (secondary palatalization) suggest a pN \*ž.

**2562.** \*wiĥ<sub>ǰ</sub>∇<sub>ǰ</sub>∇ 'spring (fons); to flow' > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓wĥz|δ, \*-wĥz|δ- v. 'flow' > Gz ✓wĥz G (pf. wəĥza, js. yaĥaz) 'flow' (of a stream, water), Tgy, Tgr ✓wĥz G id. ¶ LG 610-1 || K: GZ \*wež- 'spring (fons)' > G vεza id., Mg menž id. (m- < \*w- due to as. to the following n) ¶ K DE 361-2, K<sup>2</sup> 53 (\*wež- 'mineral spring'), FS K 125, FS E 134-5, Ghl. 225 || IE: NaIE \*weǰs- v. 'flow' ({P} 'zerfließen, fließen') > Vd {Grs.} vǰs- 'sich ergießen, fließen' | ⇨ NaIE \*wis- 'liquid' (→ 'poison') > L vīrus 'liquid, poison' || OI vǰsam, Av vǰš-, Phl vǰš, KhS ĥäta- 'poison' || Gk λόγ (with ĩ-) id. || pTc {Ad.} \*wāse- > Tc: A wās, B was id. || OIr fí id., W † {SB} gwǰ 'Flüssigkeit, Fluß', W † {SB, YGM} gwǰar 'blood' (< \*weǰsar-) || ON veisa 'swamp', OFrs wāse 'mud', OHG wisa, NHG Wiese 'meadow', AS wāse 'mud, swampy country', NE ooze n. ¶ P 1134, M K III 223, 227-8, M E II 563-4, Bai. 282, WH II 800, Vr. 652, Ho. 38, Kb. 1213, OsS 1170, ≠ KM 858 (NHG ÷ ON veisa 'Schlamm'), F I 730, SB 265-6, YGM-1 273, Ad. 584, EI 439 (\*<sup>1</sup>wis-s ~ \*wīs 'poison') || U: FU \*<sup>o</sup>wi:ǰ<sub>ǰ</sub>s∇ '(swift) current; to flow' > pPrm \*viz > Prmk viz {Wc.} 'Strom, stromende Stelle im Wasser'; ⇨ Prm \*vizâl 'rapid(s), current' > Z визув vizuv 'stream, rapid(s)', Vt визыл vizyl 'стрежень, rapid(s), swift current' ¶ LG 56, Wc. SW 337.