

The Lexicon of Slavic

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84. The Lexicon of Slavic

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Many Slavic words of widespread occurrence related to fundamental natural and human concepts have reliable PIE etymologies and may, therefore, be considered as PIE inheritance. Others are particular to Balto-Slavic or Proto-Slavic (PSI), representing local innovations or borrowings from the languages with which the Slavs came into contact. Slavic reconstructions are given below in their late Proto-Slavic (also called Common Slavic) form, mainly according to Trubačev (1974–2013). In the following discussion, Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian adjectives are quoted in their long (attributive) forms.

1. Inherited vocabulary

In relation to the common PIE lexical stock Slavic appears both conservative and innovative (Meillet 1934). On the one hand, many important PIE stems and roots are well preserved in their form and meaning. On the other hand, a PSI term of PIE origin may present significant modifications (e.g. enlargements by suffixation, cf. the word for 'sun', 1.2) and semantic peculiarities (cf. PSI *moldŭ, 1.2).

Moreover, while the lexicon of the modern Slavic languages is rightfully reputed to be remarkably homogeneous in denoting core concepts, Slavic languages and dialects use, in several instances, particular words of PIE origin which differ from the primary signifier of such concepts or are borrowed from non-IE languages.

Sometimes a word in a Slavic language may be quite different from the word having the corresponding sense in another Slavic language, cf. R *gorod* and Cz *město* 'city, town'; but these items are actually based on two common Slavic roots both existing in Russian and Czech, cf. R *mesto* 'place, position' and Cz *hrad* 'castle, citadel'. The semantic relations are generally clear in such cases: the latter is PSI *gordь, from PIE *ghordhos 'hedge; enclosure' showing the semantic development 'enclosed place' > 'citadel' and 'town' (cf. G *Zaun* 'fence' cognate with E *town*); the former is PSI *mēsto 'place' < *mēt-t-o from the PIE root *mei- 'support, sustain' (Černyx 1993: 1. 526) showing the semantic change 'place' > 'town' (cf. E *place* in sense of 'village, settlement, town').

1.1. Kinship terms

Most Slavic kinship terms are clearly IE:

PSI *dŭkt'i, gen. -ere (feminine) 'daughter'; PIE *dhug(h₂)tēr, gen. *dhug(h₂)tros; cf. G *Tochter*, E *daughter*, etc. Slavic forms descended from this item include OCS *dŭšti* gen. *dŭštere*; OR *doči*, gen. *dočere*; R *doč'*, gen. *dočeri*; Ukr *doč*; Bulg *dăšterja*; Slovn *hči*, SCr *kći*; Cz *dcera*; Pol *cora*.

PSI. *žena 'woman, wife'; Balto-Slavic *genā < PIE *gwenh₂, gen. gwneh₂s 'woman'. Cognates of this item are seen in Gr *guné* 'woman, wife', E *queen*, etc. Cf. OCS *žena* 'woman, wife'; R *žena* 'wife', *ženščina* 'woman' (derived by suffixation); Bulg *žena* 'woman, wife', Sorb *žona*; Pol *żona* 'wife', but 'woman' is *niewiasta*, also (archaic) 'wife' (see below *nevesta, 4) or *kobieta*, from a different root: perhaps from a phrase such as *kobita žena 'ill-tempered, irritable, stubborn woman', from *kobi 'divination; fate; wickedness, evil; stubbornness' (Trubačev 1974–2013: 10. 88–91). For 'wife', Ukrainian uses *žinka* (derived by suffixation) and *družyna* 'spouse' – female or male (cf. *druh* 'friend'); Slovene, beside *žena*, uses *soproga* 'spouse', while Czech and Slovak use, beside *žena*, a derivative of *manžel* (see below): *manželka* + specific words for 'spouse': Cz *chot*' 'spouse, husband or wife', OCS *choti* 'lover, beloved', *chotěti* 'wish'.

PSI. *možĭ 'man, husband' from *man-g-i-os (Schenker 1993: 114), which seems to be closely related to PIE *mVnus 'man' (often derived from *men- 'think'), with the addition of a suffixal element *g. But *man-g-i-os is perhaps from a different root signifying virility, which is also seen in Alb *mëz* 'colt', PIE Transponat *men-d-ios 'horse' (Mallory and Adams 1997: 274) and may be the basis of Gr *amazón* (if from *n-mn-g-i-os).

g^(w)-iōn 'man-less, without husbands', Mallory and Adams 1997: 367). Cf. also Rom mînz 'foal, colt', L dial. mannus 'small horse' (borrowed from an unidentifiable source), perhaps Slovn mánih 'gelding' (Trubačev 1960: 56). Cf. Ukr muž 'man', Maced maž, SCr muž, Pol mąż, Cz and Slovk muž 'man', but 'husband' is usually manžel (< PSI *malūžena 'spouse, wife', OCS mal[ū]žena dual 'husband and wife', R dial. malžonki 'spouses', probably partially calqued on OHG *mâlkona 'spouse, wife', cf. mahal 'contract', gimahala 'bride, wife', G Gemahlin 'wife, spouse', or from malŭ 'little', as a prefix of affection, or even from *možižena 'husband + wife' with dissimilation (Vasmer 1987: 2. 562); but cf. also R molodožëny (plural) 'couple just married', from *moldū 'young' + *žena 'wife'). Modern Russian uses muž mostly in the sense 'husband' (although the meaning 'man' is retained in high style), and mužčina 'man' was built later by suffixation. Some Slavic languages use other words for 'husband': Slovene has mož and soprog 'spouse' and Ukrainian čolovik (cf. R čelovek 'man, human being'), Bulgarian uses suprug (and other Slavic languages use a similar word in the sense 'spouse', cf. R suprug).

The Slavic word for 'father' goes back to PIE *at- 'father', an informal and probably affective word derived from the language of children (cf. L atta, Gr átta, Goth atta), which may have signified 'foster-father', the meaning found in Old Irish (Mallory and Adams 1997: 195). It may explain L atavus 'great-great-great-grandfather' if one supposes a compound atta 'father'+ avus 'grandfather'. Alternatively, at-avus would represent avus together with a prefix at- (*h2et-) 'beyond, further', almost certainly related to the at- of atque, which no doubt means literally 'and further' (cf. Mallory and Adams 1997: 156). Turkic languages have a similar term ata 'father'. Moreover, PSI *otici (<*ot-ĭk-os) was built with a suffix -ĭk- probably having a diminutive sense ('little father, daddy'); or -īk- is rather an adjectivizing suffix ('one of the father, paternal', cf. French colloquial mon paternel 'my father'). According to Trubačev (1974–2013: 39), PSI *otici may be compared with the Gr ethnic name Attikos. Cf. R otec, Pol ojciec, Cz otec, Slovk otec, SCr otac, Slovn oče, Upper Sorb wótc 'father (rare); ancestor'.

The other PSI word for 'father' is *tata, from a PIE Transponat *t-at-, with sound repetition seen in other nursery terms. Cf. R (old and rural) *tjatja*, (dial. only) *tata* 'daddy'; Ukr *tato*, *tatko*; Pol *tata*, *tatko*; Cz and Slovk *táta*; Bulg *tato*, *tatko*, *tate*; Maced *tatko*

Besides, 'father, daddy' can be denoted by a different lexical item, PSI *bata / *bat'a / *batja (perhaps from *brat[r]ŭ 'brother', which is semantically somewhat symmetrical to *strŭjĭ 'paternal uncle' = 'father's brother'): R (colloquial and affective) *batja, bat'ko*, dial. also '(eldest) brother, uncle, father-in-law, wife's father'; Ukr *bat'ko*; Bulg *bašta* 'father'. But Cz *bát'a* means 'brother, relative, friend', Bulg *bate*, SCr *bata* '(eldest) brother', R. dial. *bat* 'brother'. According to Trubačev (1974–2013: 39. 163–164), PSI *bata 'father, daddy, uncle, elder man' is a very archaic form similar to reduplicated formations such as *baba, *mama (cf. It *babbo* 'daddy' related to *padre* 'father', with voicing of p to b), and the association with *brat[r]ŭ 'brother' is only secondary. Cf. semantically Bengali *stri* 'wife' from PIE *swesōr 'sister'.

In Upper Sorbian the usual word for 'father' is *nan*, also a nursery term, cf. SCr *nana* 'mother'; Slovk *ňaňo*, *ňaňa* 'aunt'; R *njanja* 'nurse' (cf. Gr *nénnos* [variant *nónnos* beside *nánnas* (Hesych.)] 'uncle'; L *nonnus* 'father > monk'; It *nonna* 'grandmother'; E *nan* 'grandmother', *nanny* 'nurse who cares for a baby', etc.).

Apart from the Slavic divine name *Stribogŭ = Stri-bogŭ, taken to be 'father-god', PIE *ph₂tēr, gen. *ph₂tros 'father' (Mallory and Adams 1997: 195), seems to be represented only in PSI *strŭjĭ, *stryjĭ 'paternal uncle'. Cf. OLith strūjus 'old man, grandfather', Lith strujus 'father's brother, mother's sister's husband', L patruus 'paternal uncle'. PIE *ph₂trōus 'male paternal relative; father's brother' (Mallory and Adams 1997: 609). Cf. OR stryj, R dial. stroj, Pol stryj, Cz strýc, Slovk strýc, SCr stric, Slovn stric 'paternal uncle'. However, according to Gippert (2002), this form is derived from a different etymon having the original meaning 'old man' and not related to R staryj 'old' (see 3).

Other kinship terms of wide occurrence are the following:

PSI *bratrъ 'brother', PIE *bhreh₂tēr; cf. OCS *bratr*й, R Ukr BelR Bulg Slovk Pol *brat*, Cz Upper Sorb *bratr*, Lower Sorb *bratš*, etc.

PSI *mati, gen. *matere 'mother', PIE *meh₂tēr. Cf. OCS *mati*, gen. *matere*; R *mat'*, gen. *materi*; Ukr *mati*, gen. *materi*; BelR *maci*, *matka*; Bulg *majka*; Slovn *mati*, gen. *matere*; Pol *matka*; Cz *máti*; etc.

PSI *sestra 'sister', PIE *suesōr; cf. R Ukr Bulg sestra, BelR sjastra, OCS Cz Slovk Polab sestra, SCr sèstra, Slovn séstra, Pol siostra, Upper Sorb sotra, Lower Sorb sotša. PSI *synŭ 'son', PIE *suh_xnus; cf. OCS synŭ, R Ukr BelR Cz Slovk Pol Sorb syn, Bulg Slovn sin, SCr sîn, etc.

PSI *svekry 'husband's mother', gen. *svekrŭve, PIE *suekruh₂s. Cf. OCS *svekry*, gen. *svekrŭve*; R *svekrov*', gen. *svekrovi*; Ukr *svekruxa*; BelR *svjakrou*; Bulg *svekărva*; Pol *świekra*: etc.

1.2. Terms denoting fundamental natural and human concepts

'Sun' is PSI *sŭlnĭce (neut.), from *sulnĭko- / *sulniko-, a stem based on PIE *seh₂ul, gen. *sh₂u-en-s (Mallory and Adams 1997: 556) 'sun', extended by diminutive suffix -ĭk- / -ik- (hypocoristic sense: 'little sun'), which is analogous to the origin of Fr soleil 'sun'. As is well known, the latter is derived not from L sōl 'sun' but from a Vulgar Latin diminutive form of the latter: soliculus. Cf. OCS slŭnĭce, R solnce, Ukr sonce, Pol slońce, Cz slunce, Bulg slănce, SCr sûnce, Slovn sonce, Slovk slnce, Sorb slyńco, etc. Among its IE cognates, cf. Lith sáulè 'sun', Goth sauil (beside sunno) 'id.', etc.

'Moon' is PSI *luna (Trubačev 1974–2013: 16. 173), from *louksnā, PIE *louksneh₂'moon' (cf. L *lūna* etc.), from the root *leuk- 'light', and PSI *mēsecĭ (masc.) 'moon;
month', from *mēs-n-ko- (with extension by a suffix *k), PIE *meh₁-nōt- / *meh₁-n(e)s'moon' (Mallory and Adams 1997: 385) (cf. L *mēnsis* 'month', E *moon, month*, etc.),
from the root *meh₁- 'measure'. Attested Slavic forms for 'moon' include OCS R Bulg
Slovn Cz (poet.) Slovk (poet.) *luna* 'moon', while forms meaning both 'moon' and
'month include OCS *měseci*, R *mesjac*, Ukr *misac*, Bulg *mesec*, SCr *mjesec*, Cz *měsic*,
Slovk *mesiac*, Pol *miesiąc*, Sorb *mjasec*. But OCS *luna* 'moon' may be a Lat loan,
whereas Slavic *louksnā could mean 'any light (in the sky)' (Černyx 1993: 1. 495), cf.
Pol *luna* 'glint, light', Cz *luna* 'light, glow', R dial. 'light (in the sky), glow', Ukr *luna* 'echo' (< 'light reflection').

The term for 'house; household' is PSI. *domŭ, PIE *dóm(h₂)os (Mallory and Adams 1997: 281). External comparanda are L *domus* 'house; family' and Gr *dómos* 'house,

household, family'. Within Slavic cf. OCS *domŭ*, R *dom* 'house, household', Pol *dom*, Cz *dům*, Bulg *dom* 'house; household, family'. But Bulg 'house' is usually *kăšta*, cf. OCS *kǫšta*, probably related to Bulg *kătam*, R *kutat'* 'to hide', or to OCS *kǫtŭ*, Bulg *kăt*, R *kut* 'angle, corner'; the latter is in turn related to Gr *kanthós* '(corner of the) eye'. Also SCr *kuća*, Slovn *koča*, but Slovn *hiša* 'house' (an old Germanic loan < *hūs, cf. R *xižina* 'hut').

PSI *moldǔ 'soft' and 'young', from PIE *melh₁- 'soft', with extension by a suffix *-d(h)-, is seen in OCS *mladǔ* 'soft, new, fresh; young, babyish, childish, juvenile', R *molodoj* 'young', Ukr *molodyj*, BelR *malady*, Bulg *mlad*, Cz *mladý*, etc.; cf. OPr *maldai* 'young', L *mollis* 'soft', E *melt*, G E *mild*, etc. The semantic shift to 'young' is peculiar to Balto-Slavic. The meaning 'soft' is still partly maintained in phrases such as OCS *iz mladǔ nogtii* 'new, freshly made' and 'since earliest age, since childhood', R *ot / s molodyx nogtej* 'since soft nails' > 'since early youth'. Cf. R *mladenec* 'baby', OPr *maldenikis* 'child'.

Nevertheless, the older etymon in this value, PIE *h₂ieu- 'young' is well preserved: PSI *(j)unŭ 'young', OR *unŭ / unyi*, R *junyj*, Ukr *junyj*, BelR *juny* 'young'; but in Southern Slavic this item appears mostly with derivative suffixes, cf. Slovn *junec* 'young calf'; also in Western Slavic, Pol *junak* 'young brave man'.

Some additional terms of wide currency within Slavic are the following:

PSI *dŭva 'two': OCS dŭva, R Ukr Bulg Cz Slovk dva, SCr Slovn dvâ, Pol Sorb dwa:

PSI *jĭmę 'name': OCS *imę*, R *imja*, Ukr *im'ja*, BelR *imja*, Bulg *ime*, SCr *imē*, Slovn *imê*, Cz *jméno*, Slovk *meno*, Pol *imię*, Sorb *mě*, Polab *jeima*;

PSI *voda 'water': OCS *voda*, R Ukr BR Bulg *voda*, SCr *vòda*, Slovn *vóda*, Cz Slovk *voda*. Pol Sorb *woda*:

PSI *vētrŭ 'wind': OCS *větrŭ*, R *veter*, Ukr *viter*, Bulg *vetăr*, SCr *vjetar*, Slovn *vêter*, Cz *vítr*, Slovk *vietor*, Pol *wiatr*, Sorb *wjetš*;

PSI *sēdēti 'sit': OCS sěděti, R sidet', Ukr sydaty, BelR sidzec', Bulg sedja, SCr dial. sjèditi, Slovn sedéti, Cz seděti, Slovk sediet', Pol siedzieć, Sorb sejžes;

PSI *stojati 'stay': OCS stojati, R stojat', Ukr stojaty, Bulg stajati, Slovn Cz státi, Slovk stát', Pol stać, Sorb stojaś;

PSI *šiti 'sew': R *šit*', Ukr *šyty*, BelR *šyc*', Bulg *šija*, SCr *šiti*, Slovn Cz Slovk *šit*', Pol *szyć*, Sorb *šyś*, Polab. *sait*;

PSI *živŭ 'alive': OCS *živŭ*, R *živoj*, Ukr *žyvyj*, Bulg Cz Slovk *živ*, SCr Slov. *žîv*, Pol *żywy*, Sorb *žywy*;

PSI *novů 'new': OCS novů, R Ukr novyj, Bulg nov, SCr nôv, Slovn nòv, Cz nový, Pol Sorb nowv.

1.3. Lexical isoglosses with other IE subgroups

A huge number of terms are common to Slavic and Baltic, some of which have no direct matches or only remote etymological links with the assumed cognates in other IE languages. Cf. PSl *roka 'hand', OCS roka and Lith rankà 'hand', Latv rùoka, OPr rancko. This term is probably a deverbative from a Balto-Slavic verb similar to Lith

riñkti 'to gather, pick, collect'. R *ruka*, Bulg *răka*, Pol *ręka*, Cz *ruka*, etc. For more see Dini, this handbook.

1.3.1. Slavic-Germanic lexical isoglosses

PSI *voldēti 'to rule, possess'. Cf. OR *voloděti* 'id.', R *vladet*' 'to possess', Lith *valdýti* 'to rule, possess', Goth *waldan*, OE *wealdan* 'to rule' > E *wield*, from a PIE root *ual'rule, be strong' (Mallory and Adams 1997: 490) related to L *valēre* 'be healthy', Toch
A *wäl*, B *walo* 'king'. Slavic (+ Balt) and German present the same extension in *-d(h)-.

PSI *tyseţia / *tysoţia 'thousand'. Cf. OCS tyseĕta; R tysjaĕa; Pol tysja¢, tysią¢; Cz tisi¢; SCr tisuéa; Slovn tisoĕ; etc.; Lith tikstantis, OIcel pisund, OHG thūsund, Goth pusundi (pusundi) < Gmc *thūs-hundī ← < PIE *tuh2s-kmto- 'fat hundred, strong hundred', cf. G Tausend, E thousand. This term is generally considered to be a Germanic loan in Balto-Slavic. The first part of the compound is from PIE *teuh2- 'swell, grow fat', cf. R tuĕnyj 'fat, obese'. But Bulg and SCr employ usually xiljada (tisešta is archaic or dialectal). Tocharian has a similar term: A tmam, B tumane 'ten thousand'.

PSI *čĭmeljĭ / *čĭmela 'bumble-bee'. Cf. OHG humbal, MHG hummen, Swed humla, E hum etc.; R šmel' 'bumble-bee', Lith kimstu 'become hoarse', Latv kamines 'bee, bumble-bee', OPr camus, Slovn čmelj, Pol czmiel 'bumble-bee' < PIE *kem/*kom 'hum' (possibly of onomatopoeic origin). Cognate with R komar 'mosquito'(cf. *komonĭ below, 3).

PSI *gre(s)ti < *grebti 'dig', PIE *ghrebh- 'dig'. Cf. R pogrebat' 'bury', grob 'coffin' (< 'grave'); OHG, Goth graban, OE grafan (> E grave), G graben 'dig', Grab 'grave'; Latv grebt, OCS pogresti 'bury', SCr grèpsti, Pol grzebać 'dig, excavate'. Although R gresti, grebu 'paddle, rake; row' is sometimes said to be linked to a different, homophonous PIE root *ghrebh- 'seize forcibly, grasp, take, enclose' (Mallory and Adams 1997: 159), both can be related via a chain of semantic shifts such as 'rake together' > 'plunder, seize'. Cf. OCS grabiti 'snatch up', R grabit' 'plunder', MHG grabben 'seize', E (borrowed) grab.

1.3.2. Slavic-Italic lexical isoglosses

PSI *gospodi / *gospodinŭ 'master, lord', from *gostĭpodī. Cf. R *gospod'* 'Lord', *gospodin* 'master'; Bulg *gospod, gospodin*; Cz *hospodin*; and L *hospes, hospitis* < PIE *ghostpot- (Trubačev 1974–2013: 7. 60–63). However, this term may be an Iranian loanword, cf. OIran *wispati 'master of the clan' < PIE *μikpotis 'master of the clan', cf. Avest *vīspaitiš* 'master of the clan', OInd *viśpáti*- 'head of the household', Lith *viēšpatis* 'master', with a change of *wis- to *gus-, then to *gas- pronounced *γas-. Russian has a variant without initial [γ] : Ospodi! 'My Lord!' (perhaps from *wispati > *spati > *aspati > *aspati > *aspati > *aspati > *spati > *aspati >

Feuvre (2002–2003): ORus (Novgorodian dialect) *ospodinŭ* 'master' may be explained by OSwed *husponde* < *husbonde* 'master of the house', cf. E *husband*.

PSI *pola voda 'flood (of a river)'. Cf. R polovod'e or (inverted, rarely) vodopol'e 'flood' and L palūs, palūdis 'marsh, swamp'; (Trubačev 1985: 216). PSI *polŭ 'open (space)' related to *polje 'field', PIE *pleth₂- 'broad and flat, wide, open, plane'. Cf. L palam 'openly'. Gr pėlagos 'sea'.

Many parallels can be observed between Slavic and Latin in the meanings of prepositions such as L ob, $pr\bar{o}$ / PSl *ob, *pro and in derivational models involving corresponding prefixes L ob-, pro- / PSl *ob-, *pro-, cf. L ob-sidēre 'sit near, haunt, frequent, besiege'/ob-sīdere 'blockade, besiege' (> E obsess, Fr obséder) and R ocancombosadit 'besiege' from < PSl *ob-saditi 'set about', L $pr\bar{o}$ -movēre 'move forward, promote', R pro-dvigat' (from dvigat' 'move') in the same sense. Cf. also the L prefix po- (in po-situs 'placed, put') and Slavic po- (cf. R po-stavit' 'put, set' [more in Toporov 1974; Sakhno 2002]). Another matching pair is L com-edere, a "perfective" of edere 'eat' (> Sp comer 'eat', E comestible) and R $s\tilde{u}$ -est', po-fective of est' 'eat' (< PSl *jēdti), the prefixes L com- and R $s(\tilde{u})$ - (< PSl *sŭn-) having the same basic sense ('with'). See *obvlako below, 4.

1.3.3. Slavic-Indo-Iranian lexical isoglosses

Among many examples two may be cited here:

PSI *griva 'mane (of animals)'. Cf. OInd, Avest *grīvā* 'neck', Latv *grīva* 'river mouth', PIE gwrih, u-eh₂ 'neck'.

PSI *čĭrnŭ 'black'. Cf. OCS *črŭrnŭ*, R *čërnyj*, OPr *kirsnan* 'black', OInd *kṛṣṇá*-'black'. PIE k^wrsnos 'black'.

2. Loan-words

2.1. Iranian loans

The earliest borrowings were from the North Iranian languages of the Scythian, Sarmatian, and Alanic tribes. It has also been suggested that the Slavs derived their Iranian vocabulary from the Avars whose ruling family is identified as Turkic but, it has been speculated, was primarily composed of Iranian-speakers (Mallory and Adams 1997: 525). Many of the Iranian loans are linked to religious and social concepts.

PSI *bogŭ 'god'. Cf. Avest baga- 'god' and bag- 'apportion; lot, luck, fortune', OCS bogŭ, R bog (Trubačev 1974–2013: 2. 161), PIE *bhag- 'divide, distribute; receive, enjoy', Gr phágein 'eat' < *'enjoy, share'. An important derivative is PSI *bogatŭ 'rich' (< 'well imparted'). The often assumed Slavic descendant from PIE *deiuos 'god' is *divŭ 'demon' (Mallory and Adams 1997: 230), but according to Trubačev (1974–2013: 5. 29, 35) the etymology of *divŭ / *divo 'miracle' (hence 'demon'), related to PSI *divŭ(jĭ) / *dikŭ(jĭ) 'wild', is different, and is to be compared with OInd dhī- 'observe, contemplate'. Cf. R divo 'miracle', divnyj 'astonishing, wonderful, splendid', udivljat'sja 'be surprised, to wonder', etc.

PSI *rajĭ 'paradise'. Cf. Avest $r\bar{a}y$ - 'wealth'. The Slavic borrowing here is analogous to the borrowing of Gr 'paradise' from OIran $pairida\bar{e}za$ - 'enclosure, garden'.

PSI *svętŭ 'holy, sacred'. Cf. Avest *spənta* 'holy' < PIE *kwen(to)- 'holy', originally *'swollen (with force)', from *keu(h₁)- 'swell' (Mallory and Adams 1997: 493); but a PIE origin without Iranian mediation is possible if one brings into the picture Goth *hunsl* 'sacrifice', Toch B *känts* 'right, correct, firm'. Attested Slavic forms of this lexical item include OCS *svętŭ*, *svętyi*, R *svjatoj*, Bulg *sveti*, *svet*, Cz *svatý*, and Pol *święty* 'holy', etc.

PSI *gospodĭ 'master, lord' (unless properly Slavic, see 1.3.2).

However, some Iranian terms do not belong to the religious sphere:

PSI *sobaka 'dog' < MIran sabāka-, cf. Avest spā 'dog', spaka- 'of a dog, doggish'; only R, Ukr sobaka, BelR sabaka (probably an Eastern Slavic loan from Iranian, not known in other Slavic languages, except for Pol dial and Kashub sobaka). According to Trubačev (1960: 29), this term may be a loan from Turkic köbäk 'dog'. But PSI *suka 'bitch' (less likely *soka) may go back to PIE *k(u)won- 'dog' (Mallory and Adams 1997: 168) without Iranian mediation. Note that Slavic developed a specific term for 'dog': PSI *pīsū < *'spotted', probably related to *pīstrū 'variegated', from *pīsati 'paint' and (later) 'write' < PIE *peik- 'paint, mark' (Mallory and Adams 1997: 414), cf. L pingere 'paint, color', etc., R pës, Pol pies 'dog', etc.

2.2. Celtic loans

A few words may have originated in Celtic:

PSI *sluga 'servant'. Cf. OIr *slōg, slūag* 'army, host; crowd, company' < PIE *slougos 'servant, one performing service' (Mallory and Adams 1997: 506). The Proto-Slavic form is manifested in R *sluga* 'servant', but Lith *slaugà* 'service' indicates that the borrowing most likely reaches back into the period of Proto-Balto-Slavic, with a semantic shift from a military context to one of service. Mallory and Adams (1997: 285) suggest that Balto-Slavic may have derived the term independently of Celtic, from PIE *sel- 'move quickly', cf. OE *sellan* 'deliver, sell' (> E *sell*), OCS *sŭlŭ* 'messenger', R *posol* 'messenger, ambassador' (for a semantic analogy cf. E. *ambassador* < Fr < L < Celtic *ambaktos, see *jabeda* below, 2.3), *slat*' 'send'; however, the morphological complexities required by this assumption make it a far less attractive scenario.

PSI *jama / *ama 'cave'. Cf. OIr *huam* 'cavern, specus' (Trubačev 1974–2013: 1. 70–71); but one may also compare this form to Gr $\acute{a}m\bar{e}$ 'shovel, spade' (< PIE *sem-'gather').

2.3. Germanic loans

Slavic possesses numerous loans from Germanic, mostly related to everyday life, hand-craft, power, etc.:

PSI *buky 'writing', gen. *bukŭve < Goth bōka 'written document', cf. R bukva 'letter'. Gmc *bōks is related to *bōkō 'beech' (< PIE bheh₂ģos 'beech', cf. R buzina,

buz 'elder, Sambucus'), cf. G. Buch, Buche, E book, beech. The PSI name of the beech tree, *bukŭ, is also Gmc, cf. R buk 'beech'. But it has been suggested that Gmc *bōks may be linked to the family of PIE *bhag- 'allot, deal, distribute' (Pfeifer 2004: 179), see *bogŭ above in 2.2.

PSI *bl'udo 'dish' < Goth biubs, biud- 'table', cf. R bljudo 'dish'.

PSI *korl'ĭ 'king' < OHG *Kar(a)l*, name of Charlemagne, R *korol'*, etc. Surprisingly, this explains the Polish name for 'rabbit': *królik* (whence R *krolik*, Ukr *krilyk*), which is a recent folk-etymological calque ('little king') after G dial. *Küningl* and *Königshase* 'king-hare' < MHG *küniklīn* / künglīn, from L *cunīculus* 'rabbit', due to confusion between *küniklīn* and MHG *künig*. MLG *Könink* 'king'.

PSI *myto 'tax' < OHG *mûte* 'tax', OR *myto* 'tax'. But G *Miete* < OHG *mieta* 'loan, gift' is different, related to Gmc *mizdō, Goth *mizdō*, cf. OCS *mĭzda* R *mzda* 'recompense, reward'.

PSI *kusiti 'try' < Goth *kausjan*, E *choose*, Fr *choisir*, akin to L *gustus* 'taste'. Cf. Ukr *kusyty* 'tempt' Bulg. *kusja* 'try (a food)', Pol *kusić* 'tempt'; in modern Slavic languages this form is usually prefixed: R *iskušat'* 'tempt', *iskusstvo* 'art', *vkus* 'taste' (Trubačev 1974–2013: 13. 135).

PSI *kŭnędzĭ < *kŭnęg'ĭ 'prince' < Goth kuningaz, cf. R knjaz' 'prince', etc.

PSI *pŭlkŭ 'host' < Gmc *fulkaz, OHG *folk* 'host', G *Volk* 'people, nation', R *polk* 'troop, regiment', akin to L *plēbēs* 'the common people', Gr *plēthús* 'throng, crowd, (common) people', PIE root *pleh₁- 'fill' (Mallory and Adams 1997: 417).

PSI *t'ud'ĭ / *tjudjĭ 'foreign'; cf. OCS tuždĭ, štuždĭ; OR čudĭ, čužĭ 'foreign'; R čužoj, čuždyj < Goth þiuda 'folk', OHG diot 'people, heathen' (> G deutsch, E Dutch). PIE *teuteh₂ 'the people' (Mallory and Adams 1997: 417). This term bears no relationship to OCS OR R čudo 'miracle'.

PSI *xǫdogŭ 'wise, skillful' < Goth *handugs* 'handy, dexterous' (E *handy*), cf. OCS *xǫdožĭnikŭ* 'creator, maker', *xǫdožĭstvo* 'wiseness, sagacity; ruse, perfidy', R *xudožnik* 'artist, painter'.

PSI *xlēbǔ 'bread' < Goth *hlaifs*, cf. G *Laib*, E *loaf* . Attested Slavic forms include OCS *xlěbǔ*, R *xleb*, Ukr *xlib*, Bulg *xljab*, etc. But a properly Slavic origin (akin to Germanic) is possible, if PIE *kloibo- 'a mold of pottery used to bake bread' > 'bread baked in a pottery mold', cf. Gr *klibanos* / *kribanos* 'baker's oven' (Trubačev 1974–2013: 8. 27–29).

There are debatable cases: PSI *čędo / *čęda / *čędů 'child', cf. R *čado*, etc., may be an early Germanic loan (k > č, 1st palatalization), from OHG *kind*. But a Slavic origin may be admitted (Trubačev 1974–2013: 4. 102–104), from PSI *čęti 'begin' < PIE *ken- 'beginning; end', cf. R načalo < PSI *na-čęlo < *na-ken-lo, L *recēns* 'recent, young', etc.

Germanic also served as an intermediary: some loans from Germanic are actually of Latin, occasionally Greek, origin.

PSI *dŭska 'board' < OHG tisc (cf. G Tisch 'table', E dish) < L discus < Gr diskos, cf. R doska 'board'. This may explain R stakan '(drinking) glass', from *dŭstŭkanŭ 'wooden holder (of drink)'.

PSI *kupiti 'buy' < Goth *kaupōn* (the Germanic word was itself borrowed from L *caupō*, *caupōnis* 'petty tradesman, huckster, innkeeper'). This word is not to be confounded with its PSI homonym *kupiti 'gather', from PSI *kupa 'mound, heap', cf. R *sovokupnvj* 'gathered, summarized' < PIE *koupo- 'heap', cf. OHG *houf* 'heap', E *heap*.

PSI *kotīlŭ 'kettle' < Goth *katils / *katilus, from L *catillus* 'kettle' (Trubačev 1974–2013: 11. 217–218), R *kotēl* 'kettle', etc.

PSI *cĭrky / *cĭrĭky 'church' < Gmc *kiriko < Gr (dōma) kūriakón '(house) of the Lord'. OCS crĭky, R cerkov' 'church', etc. A different but very unconvincing etymology (Gunnarsson 1937): from Romanian beserică, biserică < L basilica < Gr. basileús. According to Le Feuvre (2002–2003), in ORus (Novgorodian dialect) kĭrku, the initial (unpalatalized) k is due to OSwed kirkio / kirko.

Some loans are limited to a particular Slavic subgroup. These include especially some North Germanic (Scandinavian) terms borrowed only by Eastern Slavic: OR *jabednikŭ* 'official, administrator, judge' < *ębeda < ON *embætti* 'office', cf. OHG *ambahti* 'id.', G *Amt*, from Celt *ambaktos 'highly ranked servant' (with a different suffix) < *h₂entbhi 'around' + the participle of the verbal root *h₂eģ- 'be active' (Mallory and Adams 1997: 506). With semantic pejoration cf. R Ukr *jabeda, jabednik* 'libeller, slanderer; sneak, telltale' (for a similar debasement, cf. R *fiskal* 'sneak', from Pol *fiscal* 'lawyer, procurator' < L *fiscālis* 'fiscal', cf. Scots E *Procurator Fiscal*).

Many Germanic loans are more recent, as Pol *rynek* 'market', Cz *rynk* 'ring, town square' (whence R *rynok* 'market'), from MHG *rinc* 'ring, circle, town square', cf. G *Ring*, E *ring*. Inversely (and much earlier), PSI *tŭrgŭ 'market' (of unclear etymology), seen in R *torg* 'market, bargaining', Cz *trh*, etc., was borrowed by Scandinavian, cf. Swed Norw Icel *torg*, Dan *torv* 'market'.

2.4. Loans from non-PIE languages

Most of these are from Asian languages (Altaic, Chinese, etc.)

PS1 *kapĭ 'appearance, figure, idol', OCS *kapĭ* 'id.', *kapište* 'pagan temple' < Proto-Bulgarian (Turkic) *käp, cf. Uigur *kep* 'shape, form, figure, picture'.

PSI *kŭniga 'written document, book' < OTurkic *küinig < Chinese *küen* 'roll, volume', the same source as for Hung *könyv* 'book'. Cf. R kniga 'book', etc. Other etymologies have also been suggested for this term, e.g., from Akkadian *kunukkum* '(cylindrical) seal, stamp, document'.

Some Slavic terms for 'horse' are of Altaic (Turkic, Mongol) origin: cf. OR *loša, R lošad' (fem.), now the usual word for 'horse' (cf. kon': 'charger, steed', 3), Ukr loša 'colt', Pol loszę 'id.', a loan from Turkic (a)laša 'horse, gelding'. More recent is R Ukr merin (attested since 1500) 'gelding', borrowed from Mong mörin, morin (Trubačev 1960: 58) and therefore having no direct link with ON merr 'mare'. But the Mongol term is probably related to PIE *markos 'horse' (Mallory and Adams 1997: 274) seen in Ir marc, Bret marc'h, ON marr 'horse', merr 'mare', OHG meriha 'mare', E mare, etc.; Chinese mă, Korean mal (opinion is divided on whether the PIE word is a borrowing from pre-Mongol, which would also be the source of the Chinese word and that in turn the source of the Korean, or the Mongol, Chinese, etc., words are ultimately borrowed from PIE). See other terms for 'horse' below, 3.

3. Specific vocabulary

Many Slavic word can be related to PIE terms having a different meaning, although the link is semantically justifiable.

PSI *dobrǔ 'good, kind' is related to PIE *dhabros 'craftsman', L faber, etc., from PIE *dhabh- 'put together' (Mallory and Adams 1997: 139). Cf. OCS dobrǔ 'good, kind, well-famed, beautiful', R dobryj 'good, kind', etc. The meaning in Slavic may be explained as coming from 'fitting, becoming', cf. G tapfer 'bold, solid, brave', OE gedæfte 'mild, gentle' > E daft, from the same PIE root, which also explains PSI *doba 'time period, season', cf. Ukr doba 'time', Cz 'time, period, epoch', Pol 'period of 24 hours'. For the meaning 'fitting' cf. R udobnyj 'fitting, convenient', from the same root. Semantically, the latter PSI term is analogous to PSI *godǔ (see next item).

PSI *godǔ 'fitting / convenient / favorable time', from PIE *ghedh-'join, fit together' (whence E together) (Mallory and Adams 1997: 64). Cf. OCS godǔ 'appointed time, period; year', godina 'hour', R god 'year', pogoda 'weather' (< 'fine, favourable weather'), from which is derived R godnyj 'fitting', Pol gody 'feast', godzina 'hour', Cz hod 'time; feast', hodina 'hour', Slovk god 'fitting / favourable time / moment', related to Lith guõdas 'honour, respect', OHG gi-gat 'fitting', G gättlich 'fitting', Gatte 'spouse, husband', gut 'good', E good, etc.

PSI *starŭ 'old' (Slavic has no word derived from PIE *senos, unlike Lith *sēnas* 'old'), hypothetically from PIE *(s)terh₁- 'stiff' ON *starr* 'stiff', OE *starian* 'look at, stare' > E *stare* or, more plausibly, from PIE *sth₂ei- 'become hard, fixed' (an extension of *steh₂- 'stand') (Černyx 1993: 2. 199; Vasmer 1987: 3. 747), cf. Lith. *stóras* 'thick, wide, large', L *stīria* 'icicle' ON *stórr* 'big, strong, important'.

Other Slavic words have more questionable Indo-European etymologies.

The PSI term for 'oak' is *dobu / *dobru, R dub, etc., of unclear etymology, hypothetically from *dheubh- (with inclusion of a nasal infix *n, cf. E dump 'deep hole in a pond') 'deep, hole' (Mallory and Adams 1997: 154). The sense would originally have been 'tree growing in a valley, a low / deep place' (Trubačev 1974–2013: 5. 95–97), cf. OCS duno, R dno 'ground, floor' < PIE *dubno as well as OCS dubru 'ravine, valley' and R dubrava 'oak wood', R duplo 'tree hole', Pol dub, dziub 'tree hole'. However, other etymologies have been suggested, including *dem-bh-os / *dom-bh-os 'timber, building wood used to build houses' or *dheubh- / *dhoubh- 'dark' (oak timber / wood becomes dark if it remains in water). If one supposes *dhan-bh-os (Černyx 1993: 1. 272), then a link would be possible between PSI *dobu and Gmc *danwo, cf. G Tanne 'pine' (if so derived). In any event, the Slavic word differs from such Germanic words as ON fura 'pine', OHG for(a)ha 'pine', E fir, which seem to derive from a dialectal PIE *pṛkweh2 cognate with *perkwus 'oak'. The latter word was not preserved in Slavic, except for the divinity name *Perunu 'thunder god', from *perkwu-hxn- 'the oaken one' (cf. the mythological link between oak and thunder).

PS1 *konĭ, *komonĭ 'horse', R kon', Ukr kin' < *komnio-, OR komonǐ < *komon-'hornless one' (as opposed to cattle); cf. R komolyj 'hornless', from PIE *kem- / *kem-'hornless'; cf. OInd śáma- 'id.', Lith šmùlas 'id.', ON hind 'hind', OE hind 'id.' > E hind, OPr camstian 'sheep', camnet 'horse, hornless', Lith kumêlė 'mare', kumelỹs, Latv kumelš 'colt', Gr kemás 'young deer'(Mallory and Adams, 273). Cf. SCr konj 'horse; castrated horse', Cz kůň, Pol koń 'horse'. Trubačev (1960: 51) suggests for *konĭ a derivation from *kopnio- 'male animal', from *kap-n- < PIE *kapro- 'male', cf. L caper; but later (1974–2013: 10. 197) he claims that *komonĭ may have a different, onomatopoetic etymology: 'the neighing one', cf. ON humre 'neigh' < *kom- / *kim-, and PSI *čĭmelĭ 'hum' (see above, 1.3.1.). He proposes (1974–2013: 10. 197) that *konĭ is from *konikǔ / *konĭkǔ borrowed from Celt *konko / *kanko 'horse' (akin to G Hengst

'stallion', etc.). Note that PSI *kobyla 'mare', probably related to L (< Celt) *caballus*, perhaps originated in an Asian language, cf. Turkish *käväl(at)* 'swift (horse)', Persian *kaval*, or from "Pelasgian" *kabullēs < PIE *ghabheli- < *ghabh(o)lo- 'fork', 'Gabel-pferd', cf. G *Gabel* 'fork' (Trubačev 1960: 52, 1974–2013: 10, 93).

PSI *skotŭ 'livestock' is specific to Slavic, unlike such Baltic forms as Lith *pekus*, (PIE peku- 'livestock') borrowed from some western IE group (Mallory and Adams 1997: 23), and *gyvulŷs* 'beast' < PIE *g^wih₃-w- 'live'. It is often considered to be a Germanic loan (Goth *skatts* 'wealth, treasure', G *Schatz*; ON *skatts* 'tribute, treasure' is a loan from West Germanic), see discussion in Trubačev (1960: 99–105). However, Martynov (*apud* Trubačev 1960: 101) has etymologized this word as PSI *sŭkotŭ 'young animals, brood, offspring, progeny' from **kotiti se* 'procreate, give birth, drop'.

4. Word Formation

Slavic is rich in various compounds and derivatives by prefixation and suffixation.

PSI *nevēsta 'bride' < *neu-uedh-t-a, from PIE *neu- 'new' and *uedh- 'lead' (Mallory and Adams 1997: 369): 'the one who has been newly led', i. e. the newcomer in the husband's family, R *nevesta* 'bride', etc. Cf. L *dūcere uxōrem* 'lead a wife', E *wed, wedding* (< *uedh-). Different, because of its *d, is PIE *uedmo- 'bride-price', whence PSI *vēdnom, OCS *věno* 'bride-price' (Mallory and Adams 1997: 82), although the PIE term has often been taken as derived from *uedh- 'lead', a root frequently used in connection with marriage. But a common PIE form *hxued- has been suggested by Szemerényi (*apud* Mallory and Adams 1997: 82). PSI *nevēsta has also been explained as *ne-vēst-a 'the unknown' to *věstů* 'known'.

PSI *medvēdǐ 'bear' is a bahuvrīhi 'whose food is honey' from *medv- 'honey' (cf. *medǔ 'honey', adj. *medvǐnǔ) and *ēdǐ 'food' (from the root *ēd- 'eat'), hence 'honeyeater' (Černyx 1993: 1. 519). OCS medvědǐ, R medved', Ukr medvid', vedmid' (with inversion of members), Cz medvěd, etc. This form, together with its Germanic counterpart G Bär, E bear, originally 'brown one', is a tabu substitution for PIE *h₂trkos 'bear' in an area (Northern Europe) where bears have been hunted since antiquity.

PSI *obvolko / *obvolka / *obvolkŭ 'cloud' (R *oblako* [< OCS], BelR *voblak* Bulg Maced *oblak*, SCr Slovn *voblak*; cf. Trubačev 2005: 84–87) is from *obvelkt'i 'envelop' < *ob- 'about, around' + *velkt'i 'pull, draw' > 'veil, cover'. The same combination of root and prefix had the meaning 'garment, clothing' (the Slavic *k* precludes any connection to G *Wolke*, which is rather related to PSI *volga > OCS *vlaga* 'moisture'). The Slavic term is semantically analogous to ON Swed *sky* 'cloud' (borrowed as E *sky*), L *ob-scūrus*, both presumably from a root *skeu- 'cover'. For the semantics, cf. also Fr *nuage* < L *nūbes* 'cloud; veil, shroud, covering' and for the prefix (on which see also 1.3.2 above) cf. L *ob-nubilāre* 'cover with clouds'. Other Slavic languages form their word for 'cloud' from different etyma: Ukr *xmara*, Pol Cz Slovk *chmura* presuppose a *xmur- 'gloomy', while Cz Slovk *mrak* 'cloud' is from *morkŭ 'darkness', related to G *Morgen* 'dawn' < 'dusk'.

An identical notion can be denoted in Slavic languages by derivatives involving a common prefix but different roots. Thus, *otŭ- 'away' appears in the following Slavic verbs meaning 'to answer' (cf. also E *reply, respond, rejoin*, all of Latinate origin):

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OCS otŭvěštati, R otvečat', root *vět- 'tell, say (solemnly)'; cf. PIE *uōt- 'seer, poet'; OCS otŭrěšti, root *rěk- 'say' < *'lead, arrange, indicate'; cf. PIE *rek- 'speak'; Bulg otgovorjam, Maced odgovori, SC Slovn odgovoriti, root *govor- 'speak'; BelR adkazvac', root *kaz- 'say' < 'show, indicate'; Ukr vidpovidati, Pol odpowiedać, Cz odpověděti, from *pověd- 'tell', prefix *po- + *věd- 'know'; cf. PIE *ueid- 'see, know as a fact'.

5. Abbreviations

Alb – Albanian, Avest – Avestan, BelR – Belorussian, Bret – Breton, Bulg – Bulgarian, Celt – Celtic. Cz – Czech, Dan – Danish, E – (New) English, Fr – French. G – German, Gmc – Germanic, Goth – Gothic, Gr – Greek, Hung – Hungarian, Ir – Irish, Iran – Iranian, It – Italian, Kashub – Kashubian, L – Latin, Latv – Latvian, Lith – Lithuanian, Maced – Macedonian, MHG – Middle High German, Mong – Mongol, Norw – Norwegian, OCS – Old Church Slavonic, OHG – Old High German, OIcel – Old Icelandic, OInd – Old Indic, ON – Old Norse, OPr – Old Prussian, PIE – Proto-Indo-European, Pol – Polish, Polab – Polabian, PSI – Proto-Slavic, R – Russian, Rom – Romanian, SCr – Serbian-Croatian, Slovk – Slovakian, Slovn – Slovene, Sorb – Sorbian, Sp – Spanish, Swed – Swedish, Toch – Tocharian, Ukr – Ukrainian. In general, O before any of the above designates 'Old' and M denotes 'Middle'. Also, it should be noted that the rubric SCr is employed in its "traditional" value. The items in question are, at least diachronically, inherent to both Serbian and Croatian, as well as to Bosnian and Montenegrin (BCMS).

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85. The Dialectology of Slavic

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- 2. Early Proto-Slavic
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1. Introduction

All Slavic languages have been derived from their common ancestor, Proto-Slavic. The majority of scholars consider Proto-Slavic to have developed from yet an earlier intermediate proto-language. Proto-Balto-Slavic. This larger entity belonged in turn to the satem group of Indo-European languages. Both Slavic and Baltic harbor some irregular traces of features found in centum dialects, e.g. OCS kamy, Russ. kameni 'stone', Lith. akmuõ 'id.': ašmuõ 'blade', cf. Gk. ákmōn 'anvil', ON hamarr 'hammer, crag, precipice': Skt. áśman- 'stone'; OCS slušati 'hear', Skt. (Vedic) śrosantu 'let them hear' : Lith. klausýti 'hear', OIr. -cloathar (subj.) 'would hear', Toch. A klyos- 'heard (3sg.)', OHG hlosên 'hear'; OCS svekrŭ 'father-in-law', Gk. hékuros, Lat. socer, OHG swêhur: Lith. šēšuras, Skt. cvácuras, Av. xvasura- 'id.', etc. Some irregular correspondences reflect probably dialectal differences within Proto-Balto-Slavic. These are usually neglected in comparative grammars but are presented in etymological dictionaries, e.g. OCS večerů 'evening': Lith. vãkaras, Latv. vakars 'id.'; OCS redŭkŭ 'seldom' : Lith. rētas 'id.'; OCS devetĭ, Lith. devynì, Latv. devini '9': Pr newīnts '9th', cf. Gk. ennéa, Lat novem, Skt. náva, Goth niun '9'; OCS domă 'house' : Lith. namas 'id.' but dimstis 'yard, domain', cf. Skt. dámas, Gk. dómos, Lat. domus 'house'; OCS dlŭgŭ 'long' : Lith. ìlgas, Latv ilgs 'id.'

Is this the correct