

Etymological Dictionary
of the
Slavic Inherited Lexicon



Rick Derksen

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Etymological Dictionary of the
Slavic Inherited Lexicon

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Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic Inherited Lexicon

By

Rick Derksen



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PREFACE

The work on the etymological database on which this dictionary is based began in the autumn of 1998 and continued until the spring of 2002, when I started compiling a Baltic etymological database. The project was financed by the *Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek* (NWO), whose support I gratefully acknowledge. Since July 2005 I have been employed part-time as an editor of the *Indo-European Etymological Dictionary project*, which position is financed by Leiden University and Brill. In this period I completed the Slavic etymological database as much as possible and transformed it into a book.

It is my conviction that historical linguistics is all about details. Most of the entries that make up this dictionary fail to meet the standard that I consider desirable for etymological investigations. That said, I admit that the project of a single-volume Slavic dictionary to be written by one author called for a different approach. This book is as much a tool for further research as it is a collection of etymological case-studies. I hope that I shall be able to tie up some loose ends in my Baltic etymological dictionary.

For at least ten years the collaborators of the IEED have exchanged views at Tuesday morning sessions. It seems appropriate to thank all colleagues who took part in these sessions at one time or another and may have made a contribution to the present dictionary. They are, in alphabetical order: Lucien van Beek, Robert Beekes, Dirk Boutkan†, Johnny Cheung, Michiel Driessen, Alwin Kloekhorst, Guus Kroonen, Alexander Lubotsky, Hrach Martirosyan, Michaël Peyrot, Tijmen Pronk, Peter Schrijver, Michiel de Vaan, and Caroline aan de Wiel. I owe special thanks to Alexander Lubotsky for his willingness to be the sole proofreader of the manuscript. Jan Bičovský provided useful comments on the Czech material. For technical support I would like to thank Thomas Olander, who supplied a font that even includes Slovincian, and Maarten Hijzelendoorn, who wrote a macro for generating the indices. Furthermore, I would like to express my gratitude to Willem Vermeer, who was always prepared to share his vast knowledge of Slavic accentology, and my promotor Frederik Kortlandt, whose work in the field of Slavic provided the foundation for this dictionary.

To my regret, our Ukrainian colleague Anatolij Nepokupnyj, linguist and poet, who always showed a keen interest in the Balto-Slavic component of the IEED, is no longer with us to witness the publication of this dictionary. I fondly recall our conversations in Vilnius and Paris.

Leiden, October 2007

ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS OF LANGUAGES

Aeol.	Aeolic	Mor.	Moravian
Alb.	Albanian	MW	Middle Welsh
Arm.	Armenian	Mac.	(Ancient) Macedonian
Av.	Avestan	Mcd.	Macedonian
Bel.	Belorussian	MoDu.	Modern Dutch
Bret.	Breton	MoE	Modern English
BSl.	Balto-Slavic	MoFr.	Modern French
Bulg.	Bulgarian	MoGk.	Modern Greek
CS	Church Slavic	MoHG	Modern High German
Čak.	Čakavian	MoIr.	Modern Irish
CroatCS	Croatian Church Slavic	Mong.	Mongolian
Cz.	Czech	Nw.	Norwegian
Dan.	Danish	OBel.	Old Belorussian
Dor.	Doric	OCorn.	Old Cornish
Dzūk.	Dzūkian	OCS	Old Church Slavic
Est.	Estonian	OCz.	Old Czech
Fi.	Finnish	OE	Old English
Gaul.	Gaulish	OHG	Old High German
Gk.	Greek	OIc.	Old Icelandic
Go.	Gothic	OIr.	Old Irish
Hitt.	Hittite	OLat.	Old Latin
Hung.	Hungarian	OLith.	Old Lithuanian
Kajk.	Kajkavian	OPl.	Old Polish
Kash.	Kashubian	OPr.	Old Prussian
LAv.	Late Avestan	ORu.	Old Russian
LSrb.	Lower Sorbian	OS	Old Saxon
Lat.	Latin	OSlk.	Old Slovak
Latv.	Latvian	OSw.	Old Swedish
Lith.	Lithuanian	OW	Old Welsh
Liv.	Livonian	Osset.	Ossetic
Lomb.	Lombardian	PGmc.	Proto-Germanic
MBulg.	Middle Bulgarian	Piem.	Piemontese
MDu.	Middle Dutch	Pl.	Polish
ME	Middle English	Plb.	Polabian
MHG	Middle High German	PSl.	Proto-Slavic
MIr.	Middle Irish	Ru.	Russian
MLG	Middle Low German	RuCS	Russian Church Slavic
MLat.	Medieval Latin	Rom.	Romanian

ABBREVIATIONS

SCr.	Serbo-Croatian	Sw.	Swedish
SerbCS	Serbian Church Slavic	Toch. B	Tocharian B
Skt.	Sanskrit	USrb.	Upper Sorbian
Slk.	Slovak	Ukr.	Ukrainian
Sln.	Slovene	W	Welsh
Slnc.	Slovincian	Žem.	Žemaitian
Span.	Spanish		

ABBREVIATIONS OF GRAMMATICAL TERMS, ETC.

A	accusative	inj.	injunctive
act.	active	L	locative
adj.	adjective	m.	masculine
adv.	adverb	med.	middle
aor.	aorist	N	nominative
C	consonant	n.	neuter
c.	commune	sg.	singular
conj.	conjunctive	pass.	passive
D	dative	pf.	perfect
du.	dual	pl.	plural
f.	feminine	pres.	present
G	genitive	pret.	preterite
I	instrumental	ptc.	participle
imper.	imperative	V	vocative
impf.	imperfect	v.	verb
inf.	infinitive		

SYMBOLS

*	reconstructed form	C	consonant
>	developed into	V	vowel
<	developed from	R	resonant
>>	analogically replaced by	N	nasal
<<	analogically replacing	I	<i>i</i> or <i>u</i>

INTRODUCTION

1. ORIGIN OF THE DICTIONARY

The dictionary is based on a database that was created within the context of the *Indo-European Etymological Dictionary* project (IED). The circumstance that the dictionary originates from a database is still apparent from the way the lemmata are structured. This type of rigid structure is at times a burden for the author, but it also increases the value of the dictionary as a book of reference.

The main objective of the dictionary is to present an up-to-date etymological account of the Slavic inherited lexical stock. Since there is no consensus on neither the reconstruction of the Indo-European proto-language nor on the reconstruction of Proto-Slavic, the etymological dictionary is bound to represent my personal views, which obviously reflect my academic background (see section 2). Few will deny, however, that especially from the Indo-Europeanist's point of view the dictionary is more up-to-date than, for instance, the *Ětimologičeskij slovar' slavjanskix jazykov* (ESSJa) or Pokorny's treatment of the Slavic material in his *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (IEW).

As to the scope of the dictionary, it must be said that it has not been easy to define the set of etyma that were to be discussed. It was completely out of the question that I should be able to cover as many lemmata as the ESSJa, which at the moment contains about 20,000 entries (many of them marginally attested and of unknown origin), neither would it have been desirable for a dictionary concentrating on the inherited lexical stock. It was therefore decided to focus on etyma that have been part of the scholarly discussion in the field of Indo-European linguistics, e.g. etyma that occur in Pokorny's dictionary or LIV. Obviously, this selection includes a number of etyma that may be considered borrowings from a non-Indo-European substratum language (see 2.2). Excluding such etyma would not be very wise, as the classification of a word as, for instance, "North Indo-European" is merely provisional. Furthermore, even the possibly non-Indo-European elements of the Proto-Slavic lexicon usually meet the IED's criterion that an etymon must be attested in at least two branches of Indo-European in order to be included.

An important difference between the present dictionary and etymological dictionaries such as the ESSJa or the *Słownik prasłowiański* (Sławski SP) is the fact that an attempt is made to reconstruct the prosodic characteristics of the Proto-Slavic etyma. I regard this as a justifiable goal in itself, but Kortlandt's theory about the origins of the Balto-Slavic acute and circumflex intonations (see 2.2.3.3), to which I subscribe, adds significantly increases the importance of Baltic and Slavic accentology for the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European. The accentuation of an etymon may reveal the former presence of a laryngeal or be decisive in cases where it is unclear whether or an aspirated or an unaspirated voiced stop must be reconstructed.

At an earlier stage of the project I planned to present the reconstruction of the accent paradigms more or less as given facts. Then I decided to provide more information on the accentuation of the forms attested in the individual languages, for instance by adding information on the accentuation in Old Russian or presenting a number of case-forms. While this dictionary does not aim at completeness, I have strived for an accurate representation of reliable data. Since the database hopefully remains available on-line, the set of data may be expanded.

Unlike many other etymological dictionaries, the present dictionary does not abound in references. The *Etymologický slovník jazyka staroslovenského* (ESJS), for example, painstakingly lists the most prominent etymologies, which are subsequently evaluated. Though I highly value this approach, I felt that my dictionary had to be set up in a different manner because otherwise too much time would be taken up by reproducing and scrutinizing the scholarly literature. I realize that by limiting the number of references I am at risk of ignoring valuable contributions to Slavic etymology. This I regret, but I think that it is a concession I had to make.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 *General considerations and Proto-Indo-European*

Not surprisingly, the ideas about the structure of the Indo-European proto-language underlying this book conform with the theories propagated by Leiden based Indo-Europeanists such as Beekes, Kortlandt, and Lubotsky. The best introduction to this theoretical framework is Beekes 1995, which is the English edition of Beekes 1990. The existence of this introductory work largely relieves me of the obligation to present an outline of the theories on which my Proto-Indo-European reconstructions are based. Thus, I shall confine myself to representing some of the main aspects.

It is a well-known fact that Leiden Indo-Europeanists tend to deny that there was a Proto-Indo-European phoneme **a* (see especially Lubotsky 1989). Nevertheless, it is quite possible that a Proto-Slavic etymon derives from a form containing **a*. The Proto-Slavic lexical stock contains numerous elements that do not have an Indo-European origin. These may have been borrowed from a substratum language, possibly at an early stage. The **a* that these words may contain is sometimes called “European **a*” because the substratum language was located on European soil.

I subscribe to the hypothesis that Proto-Indo-European did not have an opposition between palatalized and plain velars (cf. Meillet 1894, Steensland 1973). The latter arose from depalatalization in certain constellations, in particular after **s* (though not before **i*) and after **u*, where the opposition between the palatovelar and labiovelar series was neutralized. Depalatalization before resonants unless followed by a front vowel occurred in Balto-Slavic and Albanian (cf. Kortlandt 1978a: 240-242). The latter development is to a considerable extent responsible for the variation between velar stops and sibilants that we observe in both Baltic and Slavic.

The traditional Proto-Indo-European system of voiceless, voiced, and aspirated voiced stops has repeatedly been challenged on typological grounds. As an alternative, it was proposed that the unaspirated voiced stops were actually glottalic (e.g. Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 5-84). The glottalic hypothesis was applied to great effect by Kortlandt, who employed it to tackle a diversity of issues in various branches of Indo-European (cf. Kortlandt 1985a). Crucial to the present publication is Kortlandt's interpretation of the Balto-Slavic development known as Winter's law as the merger of the glottalic element of the traditional mediae with the reflex of the Proto-Indo-European laryngeals (see 2.2.2.3).

In Proto-Indo-European, the lengthened grade vowels **ē* and **ō* occurred in a limited number of categories, which can ultimately be reduced to monosyllables and forms ending in a resonant (cf. Beekes 1990: 204, 1995: 167, Kortlandt 1986: 154-155). Contrarily to what is generally assumed, lengthened grade vowels are regularly circumflex in Balto-Slavic. Forms presented as counter-examples contain either a laryngeal or can be regarded as examples of Winter's law. Another source of circumflex long vowels is contraction. A special case is the constellation **ēH* (**ōH*), where according to Kortlandt the laryngeal was lost (Kortlandt 1985b: 115, 118-120).

As can be gathered from the preceding paragraphs, I adhere to the view that there once existed a Balto-Slavic linguistic unity. It can be demonstrated that Baltic and Slavic underwent a sequence of common developments, a number of which relate to the place of the stress. In view of its complexity as well as the important role it plays in this dictionary, Balto-Slavic accentology will be the subject of a separate section.

2.2 *Balto-Slavic accentology*

2.2.1 *Introduction*

As stated above, Kortlandt's theory about the origins of the Balto-Slavic acute and circumflex intonations significantly increases the relevance of Balto-Slavic accentology for etymological studies. This is reflected in numerous publications by Indo-Europeanists from Leiden, for instance in several monographs that appeared in the *Leiden Studies in Indo-European* series. A good example is Schrijver 1991, where a conscious effort is made to take the Balto-Slavic accentual evidence into account.¹ My own book in the series, Derksen 1996, is a slightly different matter, as it deals with an accentological subject, the problem of metatony in Baltic. It contains a brief survey of Balto-Slavic accentology, which partly coincides with Derksen 1991. I shall here repeat some of the points I tried to make in these two publications, while shifting the emphasis onto Slavic phenomena.

2.2.2 *Balto-Slavic developments*

Over the years Frederik Kortlandt has devised a detailed relative chronology of developments ranging from Proto-Indo-European to disintegrating Slavic. It was

¹ We may draw a comparison with the thematically similar dissertation Beekes 1969, where Balto-Slavic accentology still does not play any role of significance.

first published in a Serbo-Croatian translation in 1989. The English version, which was marred by many misprints, appeared in 1994, to be followed by a corrected version on the World Wide Web (2002). Articles reproducing and discussing large parts of the relative chronology are Kortlandt 2005 and 2007. Kortlandt's chronology might be called the backbone of my investigations in the field of Balto-Slavic historical linguistics, which is not to say that it will be treated as if it were carved in stone.

The Balto-Slavic section of Kortlandt's relative chronology contains a number of developments that concern accentology. These are conveniently listed in Kortlandt 2006a (349):

- “1. Loss of PIE accentual mobility, of which there is no trace outside the nominal flexion of the consonant stems, e.g. Lith. *duktė* ‘daughter’, *piemuō* ‘shepherd’, and the flexion of the athematic verbs, e.g. *duodās* ‘giving’ (cf. Kortlandt 1985b on the latter).
2. Pedersen's law: the stress was retracted from medial syllables in mobile accent paradigms, e.g. acc.sg. *dūkterī*, *piemenī*, Greek *thugatēra*, *poimēna*.
3. Barytonesis: the retraction of the stress spread analogically to vocalic stems in the case forms where Pedersen's law applied, e.g. acc.sg. *āvi* ‘sheep’, *sūnu* ‘son’, *diēva* ‘god’, *žiēmą* ‘winter’.
4. Oxytonesis: the stress is shifted from a medial syllable to the end of the word in paradigms with end-stressed forms, e.g. inst.sg. *sūnumi*, inst.pl. *žiemomis*.
5. Hirt's law: the stress was retracted if the vowel of the pretonic syllable was immediately followed by a laryngeal, e.g. *dúona* ‘bread’, *výras* ‘man’, *dūmai* ‘smoke’, Vedic *dhānās*, *vīrás*, *dhūmās*.
6. Winter's law: the PIE glottalic stops dissolved into a laryngeal and a buccal part. The former merged with the reflex of the PIE laryngeals and the latter with the reflex of the lenes stops, e.g. Latvian *pēds* ‘footstep’ < **pedóm*, *nuōgs* ‘naked’ < **nogwós*, *duōmu* ‘I give’ < **dodH₃mí*.
7. Retraction of the stress from final open syllables of disyllabic word forms unless the preceding syllable was closed by an obstruent, e.g. Lith. gen.sg. *vilko* ‘wolf’, dat.sg. *vilkui*, *gálvai* ‘head’, *nėša* ‘carries’, Serbo-Croatian *vūka*, *vūku*, *glāvi*, *něse* ‘carried’, neuter *pīlo* ‘drank’, but Lith. gen.sg. *aviės*, gen.pl. *vilkū* < *-òm, nom.sg. *galvà* < *-àH, Russian *pilá* ‘she drank’ < *-àH, neuter *nesló*, infinitive *nestí*, where syllable-final consonants (including word-final laryngeals) prevented the retraction of the stress.”

2.2.2.1 *The rise of the mobile paradigm*

The developments 1-4 and 7 are intended to account for the accentual curve of the Balto-Slavic mobile paradigm. Here a few words on the historical background of the problem are in order. According to de Saussure (1896), the Lithuanian opposition between barytona and mobilia continues an Indo-European opposition between barytona and oxytona. As the identity of the Lithuanian and Proto-Slavic mobile paradigms is beyond doubt, this implies that the Balto-Slavic mobile paradigm arose from an oxytone paradigm. De Saussure's explanation for the origin of the Lithuanian mobile paradigm started from consonant stems of which the number of

syllables did not remain constant within the paradigm. In Kortlandt's chronology it appears under the name Pedersen's law in view of Pedersen's effort (1933: 25) to reformulate the law proposed by de Saussure.

The prehistory of the Balto-Slavic accentual system has been the subject of much debate (see especially Olander 2006 for an overview). Kortlandt's development (1) places him at the same starting-point as de Saussure: the early Balto-Slavic system mainly had an opposition between barytona and oxytona. The few traces of original accentual mobility that survived only played a modest role. The question is if it is possible to strengthen the link between the Balto-Slavic accentual mobile paradigm and Proto-Indo-European accentual mobility. We may note that Illič-Svityč, when he set out to provide comparative proof for de Saussure's hypothesis on the Indo-European background of the Balto-Slavic barytone and mobile paradigms (1963, English translation 1979), tried to gain a better understanding of Pedersen's law by suggesting a link with the survival of mobile root nouns. With respect to the Indo-European situation he preferred the term "mobile-oxytone" to "oxytone".

It so happens that Kortlandt himself (2006b) has recently modified his account of the rise of the Balto-Slavic mobile paradigm. Instead of assuming an early loss of Proto-Indo-European accentual mobility, he now starts from the Late Indo-European hysterodynamic and proterodynamic paradigms. The first step is the replacement of the isolated root stress of the Nsg. of the hysterodynamic paradigm by final stress. The sigmatic Nsg. of the proterodynamic paradigm then underwent the same development, creating a clear accentual opposition between end-stressed masculines and feminines on the one hand and root-stressed neuters on the other. The medially stressed case-forms, viz. the A sg., L sg., A pl., and N pl. forms of the hysterodynamic paradigm and the D sg. and N pl. forms of the proterodynamic paradigm, subsequently retracted the stress to the initial syllable. Kortlandt's objective here is to reformulate Pedersen's law as a phonetic development. Furthermore, the scope of the barytonesis has been limited:

"The barytonesis did not affect acc.sg. *āvi* 'sheep', *sūny* 'son', which had preserved Indo-European radical stress, nor *žiēmą* 'winter', which was built on the original nom.sg. form **ǵheim* (cf. Beekes 1985: 44), but did yield the retraction in *diēva* 'god', cf. Vedic *devám*, because the *o*-stems had fixed stress from the outset." (Kortlandt 2006b: 3)

Finally, the existence of oxytonesis as a Balto-Slavic development is put into doubt. The accentuation of Lith. *sūnumi* Isg. and *žiemomis* Ipl. may be old because it replaces the end-stressed instrumental in **-b^hi*. On the whole, the new scenario links the Balto-Slavic state of affairs more closely to Late Indo-European nominal accentuation.

The retraction listed as number 7 was first formulated by Kortlandt in 1975 (5-7). Since it was inspired on a retraction formulated by Ebeling, it was baptized Ebeling's law, but in recent publications by Kortlandt this designation tends to be avoided. An interesting consequence of the condition that the stress was not retracted to syllables ending in an obstruent is the rise of a class of oxytone neuters. In Slavic, these

oxytona ended up in AP (b). If the root contained the reflex of a laryngeal or the laryngeal part of a PIE glottalic stop, it was lost in pretonic position. In Baltic, the oxytone neuters became barytone when the stress was retracted from final *-à, yielding metatony (Derksen 1996: 96-128, 229-232, see also 2004: 87-89). Words belonging to this class were occasionally misinterpreted by Illič-Svityč (1963). The effects of Ebeling's law may also be observed in masculine *o*-stems (Derksen forthc. a).

2.2.2.2 Hirt's law²

Hirt's law, which is listed above as development 5, was proposed in order to account for the large number of correspondences between Baltic and Slavic barytona and nouns which considering the Sanskrit, Greek and Germanic evidence had mobile/oxytone accentuation in PIE. In Hirt's original formulation (1895) the stress was retracted to long root syllables. Since then the law has been reformulated a remarkable number of times, among others by Hirt himself (1899). An important observation was made by Bonfante (1935, 1937), who showed that the stress was only retracted to non-apophonic long vowels, i.e. to sequences of a short vowel and a laryngeal.

After a thorough investigation of the "Hirt-Bonfante hypothesis", Illič-Svityč (1963: 80 = 1979: 63) concluded that the retraction was indeed limited to non-apophonic long syllabic elements, i.e. to non-apophonic long vowels, long resonants and long diphthongs. He contrasts syllables containing "new length" from laryngeal loss after a syllabic element with syllables containing apophonic length or an original sequence of a short vowel followed by a resonant and a vocalized laryngeal, e.g. **tenəuós* < **tenHuós*, cf. Gk. *ταναός* 'outstretched, tall', Latv. *tiévs* 'thin'. This invites the conclusion that at the time of the retraction the laryngeals were still present, as has indeed been argued by some scholars (cf. Kortlandt 1975a: 2, Rasmussen 1985: passim). In that case one might simply say that the stress was retracted to an immediately preceding syllable containing a vocalic element followed by a laryngeal. That the position of the laryngeal plays an essential role was demonstrated by Kortlandt in connection with the accentuation of the Slavic *l*-participle (1975: 2-4). He suggested that in instances such as Ru. *pilá* f.sg. 'drank' the laryngeal must originally have preceded the *i* of the root. His reconstruction **pHiláH* is supported by full grades of the type **pe/oh₃i-* or **pe/oh₃-* e.g. Skt. *pāyáyati*. The opposition between *-*HI-* and *-*IH-* has a parallel in Greek and Italo-Celtic, where we find indications that pretonic *-*HI-* yielded a short reflex (Schrijver 1991: 512-536). It may be clear that Hirt's law is a strong argument for a Balto-Slavic linguistic unity.

2.2.2.3 Winter's law

Winter's law, which in its original formulation is vowel lengthening before PIE unaspirated voiced stops (Winter 1978), is without doubt a sound law of major

² The sections on Hirt's law and Winter's law as well as section 2.2.3.2 on progressive shifts in Baltic and Slavic are adaptations of the corresponding sections in Derksen 2004.

importance. So far, however, it has not received the recognition it deserves. The main reason for this is probably the fact that a number of appealing examples seem to violate the law. Since a survey of the evidence clearly indicates that the law is essentially correct (cf. Young 1990, Rasmussen 1992, and especially Dybo 2002), the next logical step is to look for special circumstances which might provide an explanation for the apparent exceptions. For ‘water’ (cf. OCS *voda* vs. Lith. *vanduō* 3^a) and ‘fire’ (cf. Lith. *ugnis*, OCS *ogn’v*), Kortlandt has proposed that the law did not affect the clusters *ndn* and *ngn* (1979: 61, 1988: 388-389). The nasal infix which may be reconstructed for Balto-Slavic must have developed from a nasal suffix in PIE times already (cf. Thurneysen 1883). Another major exception is Slavic **xodō* ‘going, course’. Here the absence of Winter’s law may originate from a reduplicated present stem **sīzd-*, where the law was blocked by an intervening *z* (Kortlandt 1988: 394).

This is not the place to discuss the various attempts to modify the formulation of Winter’s law, for which I refer to Derksen 2003a, 2004, and forthc. b. I would like to elaborate, however, on Kortlandt’s interpretation of Winter’s law and its relationship to the Balto-Slavic prosodic system. According to the traditional doctrine, the Balto-Slavic acute intonation, which is usually reconstructed as a rising tone, reflects length, i.e. original length or length resulting from the loss of a laryngeal. If Winter’s law is interpreted as vowel lengthening, the fact that the law yields acute long vowels and diphthong is only to be expected. The regular reflex of a lengthened grade, however, is circumflex in Balto-Slavic, as Kortlandt has argued on several occasions (e.g. 1985b, 1997a). The main reason why this is not generally recognized is the ease with which some Indo-Europeanists postulate lengthened grades, thereby obscuring the original situation. Since both the presence of a laryngeal and Winter’s law generate acute syllables, one may try to link this observation to the hypothesis that the PIE voiced unaspirated stops were actually (pre)glottalized (Kortlandt 1978b). In Kortlandt’s interpretation, Winter’s law is the merger of the laryngeal element of the glottalic stop with the reflex of the Indo-European laryngeals, which had become a glottal stop in Balto-Slavic.

An advantage of Kortlandt’s interpretation of Winter’s law is the possibility to regard the Latvian and Žemaitian broken tones as direct continuations of a Balto-Slavic glottal element (Derksen 1995, Kortlandt 1998). This does not imply that already in Balto-Slavic glottalization existed as a vocalic feature. There are no indications that the Balto-Slavic glottal stop lost the status of a segmental phoneme which it must still have had when Hirt’s law operated (see 2.2.2.2). The Balto-Slavic distinction between acute and circumflex syllables, which was clearly independent of the place of the (free and mobile) ictus, was originally the distinction between the presence and absence of a glottal stop. It most certainly was not a tonal distinction originating from PIE (cf. Kortlandt 1985b, Nassivera 2000). The rise of tonal distinctions must probably be dated to the separate branches of Balto-Slavic. One of the subjects of the next section is the rise of distinctive tone in Proto-Slavic.

2.2.3 Slavic accentology

2.2.3.1 Introduction: Stang 1957

The starting-point of modern Slavic accentology is the publication of Stang's *Slavonic accentuation* (1957).³ In this study Stang effectively did away with a number of concepts of what is often called "classical accentology", though in particular the interbellum witnessed many unrealistic theories. Stang ends his book with a list of conclusions (1957: 179), which I shall now try to rephrase and provide with comments (cf. Derksen 1991: 53-55).

Stang established three (Late) Proto-Slavic accent paradigms, each with its own prosodic characteristics:

- (a) Fixed stress on the stem. If the stem is monosyllabic, the stressed syllable is "acute", i.e. we find a short rising tone on a historically "long" syllable, which is equivalent to saying that the nucleus of the root syllable is not constituted by monophthongal *e, *o, *ъ, or *ь. A special class is formed by nouns of the so-called *vòla type, where the root has neo-acute intonation. Stang discusses these nouns within the context of (j)ā-stems belonging to AP (a), but there are good arguments to classify them as belonging to AP (b), which is what will be done in this dictionary.

If the stress is on a medial syllable, there is a greater number of possibilities regarding the prosodic qualities of the root. Since these cases are not crucial for understanding the three basic types, I shall not go into the matter here.

- (b) The stress alternates between the last syllable of the stem and the first syllable of the ending. Stem-stressed forms have a rising tone with retention of the old quantity of the syllable. This tone is called "neo-acute". Forms with stress on the ending have a short rising tone.
- (c) The stress alternates between the first syllable of the stem and the ending. Stem-stressed forms have a falling tone and lose the stress to a clitic. End-stressed forms usually have a short rising accent, but in some cases a long rising accent. The falling tone is sometimes referred to as "circumflex". This is potentially confusing because the same designation has been used to refer to any non-acute long syllable or even to any non-acute syllable (cf. Derksen 1991: 55).

In classical accentology, an acute or a circumflex tone changed under certain conditions into a neo-circumflex and a neo-acute tone, respectively. This process, called metatony, yielded four distinctive tones (Kortlandt 1978c: 271). In Stang's system there are three tones, which are all connected with a specific accent paradigm. Stang now showed that the neo-acute originated from a retraction of the stress.⁴ He also showed that the neo-circumflex is an innovation of Slovene and the Kajkavian

³ See especially Vermeer 1998, which deals with the place Stang's monograph occupies in the history of the field.

⁴ Cf. Ivšić 1911.

dialects of Serbo-Croatian rather than a Proto-Slavic tone.⁵ The next question that we must address is the relationship between the Slavic and the Baltic accent paradigms.

2.2.3.2 *Progressive shifts*

Lithuanian nouns belong to one of four accent paradigms, of which (1) is barytone, while (2), (3), and (4) are mobile. Monosyllabic stems are acute in (1) and (3), while they are circumflex or short in (2) and (4).⁶ If the stem is polysyllabic, the situation is slightly more complicated, but that need not concern us here. The four accent paradigms can be reduced to a barytone and a mobile paradigm if one takes into account the progressive shift which is commonly referred to as de Saussure's law. Employing the method of internal reconstruction, de Saussure (1896) demonstrated that at a certain point in the history of Lithuanian accentuation the stress shifted from a circumflex or short syllable to an immediately following acute syllable. This development was independently discovered by Fortunatov (1897). Hence, de Saussure's law, when applied to both Baltic and Slavic, is sometimes referred to as Fortunatov's law. Propagated by none other than Meillet,⁷ de Saussure's law came to occupy an important place in classical accentology. The law was often considered a Balto-Slavic innovation, though Meillet regarded the progressive shifts in Baltic and Slavic as parallel developments (1900: 350-351, 1924: 145).

The decline of de Saussure's law as a Balto-Slavic development may be said to have started with Kuryłowicz (1931: 75ff, 1952), who denied its operation in Slavic, albeit basically without addressing the facts. A much heavier blow, one might argue, was delivered by Stang (1957: 15-20), who by presenting a series of factual arguments undermined the at the time prevailing view that de Saussure's law had also operated in Slavic. Now as we have seen, Stang reconstructed three Proto-Slavic accent paradigms, whereas the Lithuanian situation points to a system with two paradigms, one of them barytone and the other mobile. Since AP (a) corresponds to Lithuanian AP (1), while AP (c) corresponds to (3) and (4) (see the next section), the core of the problem is the relationship between AP (b) and AP (2). As shown by Stang, the neo-acute tone originates from a retraction of the stress, a development now generally referred to as Stang's law. This means that AP (b) was originally oxytone. AP (2), however, is a mobile paradigm originating from a barytone paradigm as a result of de Saussure's law. Stang did not have an answer for this discrepancy, but he made it clear that the answer most certainly was not de Saussure's law.

A solution was proposed by Dybo and Illič-Svityč, who argued that the oxytone paradigm which must have existed prior to Stang's retraction had been generated by a progressive stress shift that cannot be identified with de Saussure's law (see especially Dybo 1962, Illič-Svityč 1963: 157-161 = 1979: 140-144). According to Dybo's

⁵ The neo-circumflex also occurs in Northwest Čakavian (cf. Vermeer 1982).

⁶ See 2.2.3.3 for the realization of the acute and circumflex in Baltic.

⁷ Actually, Meillet had already suggested the operation of the progressive shift in Slavic at the very same session where de Saussure presented his discovery (CIO 1894).

law, also known as Illič-Svityč's law,⁸ a syllable which was neither acute nor falling lost the stress to the following syllable, causing a split of the Proto-Slavic immobile paradigm. The syllable which received the stress became falling, which provided the input for Stang's law, the retraction of the stress from long falling vowels in final syllables.⁹

The scenario proposed by Dybo and Illič-Svityč allows us to derive the Baltic and Slavic accentual systems from a stage when there were only an immobile barytone and a mobile or oxytone paradigm. As later publications from the Moscow accentological school have shown (see especially Dybo 1968a), it is possible to distinguish between dominant ("strong") and recessive ("weak") morphemes at this stage. The place of the stress is governed by the valency of the morphemes that constitute a given form (cf. Dybo 1981: 260-262, 2000a: 10-14, Lehfeldt 2001: 67-69). Whether a morpheme is dominant or recessive cannot be predicted on the basis of its phonological structure: the distribution of morphemes over the two classes is "traditional" (Dybo 2000a: 10).¹⁰

2.2.3.3 *Illič-Svityč's law and the neuter o-stems*¹¹

In his monograph on nominal accentuation in Baltic and Slavic, Illič-Svityč tried to explain why so many PIE neuter *o*-stems appear to have become masculine in Slavic, an observation which was first made by Hirt. A comparison with accentual data from Baltic, Greek, Sanskrit and Germanic led Illič-Svityč to conclude that PIE barytone neuter *o*-stems correspond with Slavic masculine *o*-stems belonging to the barytone class in the case of "long" roots and to the oxytone class in the case of "short" roots (in Stang's terminology to accent paradigms a and b, respectively). As we have seen, AP (a) and (b) continue a single barytone paradigm, which allows the conclusion that PIE barytone neuter *o*-stems became barytone masculine *o*-stems in Slavic. This shift of gender must be rooted in Balto-Slavic (see below). In originally masculine mobile *o*-stems with a non-acute root, accentual mobility has been generalized (Illič-Svityč 1963: 109-119 = 1979: 94-104), a development that is sometimes called Illič-Svityč's law. Thus, Slavic masculine *o*-stems belonging to AP (b) in principle continue old neuters. I consider it possible, however, that masculine *o*-stems that were oxytone in Late Balto-Slavic, i.e. after Ebeling's law, escaped the transfer to the mobile class (cf. Derksen *forthc.* b).

⁸ The designation Illič-Svityč's law is also used to indicate the transfer of masculine *o*-stems belonging to AP (b) to the mobile accentual paradigm.

⁹ This is actually the formulation of Stang's law as it appears in publications of Dutch accentologists. Stang himself did not limit the retraction to final syllables. In order to account for the **vōla* type, he also assumed that the stress was retracted from semi-vowels. For Kortlandt's solution, which is connected with a development that he baptized "Van Wijk's law", see Kortlandt 1975: 30-32.

¹⁰ It should not be left unmentioned that in the last few decades the concepts of the Moscow accentological school have undergone significant modifications, on which see Vermeer 2001. Since at present it is doubtful whether these modifications can be regarded as improvements, a discussion of the relevant issues fall outside the scope of this dictionary. I shall confine myself to the remark that the new scenario for the rise of AP (b) comes close to a rehabilitation of de Saussure's law for Slavic.

¹¹ This section derives from an (unpublished) paper that was presented at the Fachtagung of the Indogermanische Gesellschaft in Cracow (October 2004).

Whereas the barytone neuter *o*-stems became masculine, PIE oxytone neuter *o*-stems remain neuter in Slavic. According to Illič-Svityč, the majority of the Slavic neuter *o*-stems belong to the oxytone class, Stang's AP (b). Mobile neuter *o*-stems (c) contain, as a rule, a historically long root or have a *jo*-suffix. In my opinion, the distribution between AP (b) and (c) is not completely clear. We can say with a high degree of certainty, however, that originally oxytone neuters of the structure $CVC_1C_2\text{-}\acute{o}$ (where C, is an obstruent) belong to (b), in conformity with Ebeling's law (see 2.2.2.1). Proto-Slavic neuter *o*-stems belonging to AP (a) originate from the retraction generally known as Hirt's law, which generated a new class of neuter *o*-stems with fixed root stress in Balto-Slavic times already.

It is remarkable that Illič-Svityč, who reaches the conclusion that the Baltic and Slavic accentual paradigms were identical, does not make an attempt to connect the Slavic NAsg. *-o* with the Lithuanian ending *-a*, which now only occurs in adjectives, participles and pronouns but must have been the East Baltic NAsg. ending of neuter *o*-stem nouns, as is evident from Baltic borrowings in Finnic. While he follows Nieminen (1922) in deriving the East Baltic ending from pronominal **-od*, Illič-Svityč assumes that Slavic *-o* continues stressed **-om*, a development advocated by Hirt (1893). In my opinion, it would be natural to look for a common origin. Since I do not believe that **-om* ever yields Balto-Slavic **-o*, the best option would be to assume that in Balto-Slavic the ending **-om* was replaced by **-od* in oxytone neuters. In that case one would expect Old Prussian neuter *o*-stems to correspond to Slavic neuter *o*-stems and end-stressed neuters in other Indo-European languages. The evidence seems indeed to point in that direction, e.g. (cf. Kortlandt 1983: 183).

Illič-Svityč's law implies that barytone neuter *o*-stems were still distinct from masculine *o*-stems. Though the above-mentioned bifurcation of neuter *o*-stems seems to be Balto-Slavic, suppletive neuter plurals may have existed both in Baltic and Slavic. The existence of suppletive neuter plurals may also explain why we find so much vacillation between neuter and masculine *o*-stems belonging to (a) and (b). Illič-Svityč's law must have preceded the rise of distinctive tone in mobile paradigms because the transfer to the mobile class was based on the identity of the barytone case forms. For the same reason, Illič-Svityč's law must have preceded Dybo's law.

The above-mentioned developments may be illustrated with the following examples:

PSL. **týľb* (a) 'back of the head, back' (e.g. Ru. *tyl*, Cz. *týl*) < **túHlom*, cf. Skt. *tūla-* n. 'tuft, reed, panicle'. Secondary **týlo* in Slk. *tylo*.

PSL. **dvòrǔ* (b) 'courtyard, door' (e.g. Čak. *dvǔr*, Cz. *dvůr*) < **d^huórom*, cf. Skt. *dvāra-* n. 'door, gate, passage'.

PSL. **zǫbbǔ* (c) 'tooth' (e.g. Čak. *zǔb*, Sln. *zǫb*) < **gómb^hos*, cf. Skt. *jámbha-* m. 'tooth', Gk. γόμφος 'pin, nail', Lith. *žam̃bas* 'sharp edge' 2/4.

PSL. **jǎto* (a) 'flock, herd' (e.g. SCr. *jǎto*) < **jáHto* < **ieh₂tód* << **ieh₂tóm*, cf. Skt. *yātá-* n. 'course, motion'. Secondary **jǎtǔ* in Ru. *jat* (dial.) 'shoal of fish'.

PSL. **perǔ* (b) 'feather' (e.g. Ru. *peró*, SCr. *pěro*) < **pěro* < **peró* < **peród* << **perHóm* (**tperóm?*), cf. Gk. πτερόν 'feather, wing'.

PSL. **męso* (c) ‘meat, flesh’ (e.g. SCr. *měso*, Pl. *mięso*) < **męmsó* < **męmsód* << **męmsóm*, cf. Skt. *māmsá-* n. ‘id.’

2.2.3.4 *The fate of the Balto-Slavic acute and circumflex*

As I explained in the section on Winter’s law, the Balto-Slavic opposition between acute and circumflex syllables is in Kortlandt’s framework equivalent with the respective presence or absence of a glottal stop. Before discussing the fate of the glottal stop in Slavic, I would like to present a concise account of the rise of the East Baltic tones (cf. Kortlandt 1977, Derksen 1995).¹² The crucial point is that the broken tone is an archaism.

In East Baltic, the glottal stop became a feature of the neighbouring vowel, yielding the laryngeal pitch that in Baltic linguistics is known as “broken tone”. Tonal oppositions arose when the stress was retracted from prevocalic **i* and word-final **-a*. In the Aukštaitian varieties of Lithuanian, retraction onto glottalized syllables yielded a rising tone and loss of the laryngeal feature, e.g. *ėdis* ‘food, fodder’, cf. *ėsti* ‘eat’ (of animals). In originally stressed syllables, the glottalic pitch changed into a falling tone, e.g. *sėti* ‘sow’, whereas the non-glottalic pitch merged with the new rising tone, e.g. *duktė* ‘daughter’. Retraction of the stress onto non-glottalized syllables yielded a middle tone, which later merged with the falling tone, e.g. *vilké* ‘she-wolf’, cf. *vilkas* ‘wolf’. In unstressed syllables, glottalization was eventually lost. In Žemaitian, the broken tone was preserved under the old ictus, e.g. *ōmžios* (Kretinga) ‘age, century’ = *āmžius*.

In Latvian, the retractions of the stress yielded a rising tone on both plain and glottalized vowels. The other stressed vowels became falling *per oppositionem*. Subsequently, glottalization was lost under the falling tone. The result was a stretched tone, which later merged with the rising tone, e.g. *sēt* ‘sow’ with the same tone as *sniēdze* ‘snow-bunting’, cf. *sniegs* ‘snow’. The remaining glottalized stressed vowels, which had lost their distinctive tone when the glottalic feature was lost under the falling tone, lost their glottalization as well and became falling, e.g. *dēsts* ‘plant’, cf. *dēstīt* ‘plant’, *dēt* ‘lay (eggs)’. In originally unstressed syllables, glottalization was preserved as a broken tone, e.g. *galva* ‘head’, Lpl. *galvās*, cf. Lith. *galvà*, Lpl. *galvosė*. This scenario is in conflict with the widespread view according to which the broken tone results from retraction of the ictus. The system with a threefold tonal opposition only survives in certain Central Latvian dialect areas.

Apart from the fact that it is not always easy to tell if the tone of a given syllable is metatonical, the way in which the Balto-Slavic acute and circumflex are reflected in East Baltic is fairly straightforward.¹³ It is often insufficiently realized that this is not

¹² Since our knowledge of West Baltic is based on a limited number of Old Prussian documents, the accentual developments in this branch of Balto-Slavic cannot be determined in detail. The system reflected in the *Enchiridion* points to a rising acute and a falling circumflex. Furthermore, Old Prussian seems to have undergone a shift of the ictus from any short vowel to the next syllable (Kortlandt 1974).

¹³ In this account the term “circumflex” refers to non-acute long vowels and diphthongs. In my description of the Balto-Slavic situation I, strictly speaking, used the term as a designation of every non-

the case in Slavic. A common misapprehension, for instance, is the idea that the “Serbo-Croatian” short falling tone indicates that the syllable was originally acute. In reality, the situation is much more complex. If the form belongs to the neo-Štokavian variant of Serbo-Croatian, the short falling tone indicates that the syllable was already stressed before the neo-Štokavian retraction of the ictus and that it is short. The quantity may be related to the fact the syllable was originally acute, but it may also have been originally short or originate from a comparatively late shortening, for instance the shortening of long falling vowels in forms counting more than two syllables. The fact is that the history of Slavic quantity is immensely complicated. Both the vowels that on qualitative grounds are considered “historically long” and the ones considered “historically short” may be reflected as either long or short. In order to establish the origin of a morpheme in terms of acute and circumflex, one must evaluate the information offered by the individual Slavic languages regarding stress, tone and quantity within the context of the Proto-Slavic accent paradigms, which is by no means simple (cf. Vermeer 1992, Kortlandt 2005).

In the classical view, sequences of vowel plus laryngeal merged with lengthened grade vowels. Subsequently, long vowels acquired an “acute” tone movement, probably a rising tone.¹⁴ Thus, the Balto-Slavic acute is about vowel length. As one might expect, Winter’s law, insofar as the law is accepted, is interpreted as vowel lengthening. The difficulties raised by the classical scenario are numerous (cf. Vermeer 125-126). In Kortlandt’s theory, sequences of vowel plus laryngeal (including the glottal stop that arose from Winter’s law) remain essentially distinct from lengthened grade vowels up to the end of the Proto-Slavic period. With the exception of certain positions where the distinction was lost (see below), the original contrast is reflected by a quantitative difference. I shall now give an overview of the fate of the laryngeals in Slavic (cf. Kortlandt 1975: 21-37, Vermeer 1992: 127-130):

(1) The laryngeals were lost in pretonic and postpostonic syllables with compensatory lengthening of the adjacent vowel. In mobile paradigms the loss of the laryngeals gave rise to an alternation between long vowels and sequences of vowel plus laryngeal. In root syllables the long vowel was generalized. This is Kortlandt’s explanation of Meillet’s law, according to which mobilia with an acute root underwent metatony (Meillet 1902).

(2) The laryngeals were lost in the first posttonic syllable without compensatory lengthening. In stressed syllables the glottal stop became a feature of the adjacent vowel. Since the new short vowels had the same timbre as the long vowels and the glottalized vowels and therefore did not merge with the old short vowels, the timbre distinction became phonemically relevant. In pretonic syllables, where the laryngeals had been eliminated at stage (1), quantitative oppositions were rephonemized as

acute syllable. It may be clear, however, that there is no distinction between acute and circumflex short vowels.

¹⁴ Note that in the traditional view the distinction between the rising acute and falling circumflex must have existed in unstressed syllables as well.

qualitative oppositions. In other words: pretonic long vowels were shortened. At a later stage, Dybo's law reintroduced phonemic length in pretonic syllables.

(3) Glottalized vowels lost their glottalic feature and became distinctively short rising. This development must have been posterior to Dybo's law because the progressive shift only applied to non-acute non-falling syllables.

Summarizing, we could say that originally acute syllables are reflected as short vowels in syllables which prior to Dybo's law were stressed or immediately followed the stressed syllable. In originally pretonic or postposttonic position acute and non-acute long syllables merged. Non-acute long vowels and original diphthongs are long in AP (b), whereas in AP (c) they often fell victim to the widespread shortening of falling vowels. Length was preserved in monosyllabic and disyllabic word-forms in Serbo-Croatian and in Slovene monosyllables.

2.3 *Substratum borrowings*

The Indo-Europeans who populated Europe must have come into contact with speakers of non-Indo-European languages, who to a certain extent were assimilated to the invading tribes. Consequently, we expect to find traces of non-Indo-European substrata in the attested Indo-European languages. In Leiden, the study of substratum influences received an impetus from Kuiper 1995, where mainly on formal grounds three substratum layers were distinguished (see also Beekes 1996: passim, Boutkan and Siebinga 2005: xiii-xvii). What these layers have in common, is the frequent occurrence of the vowel **a*, which did not belong to the Proto-Indo-European phoneme inventory (see 2.1). One of the layers, labelled A₃, is the language of Krahe's hydronymy and is usually called "Old European". It is, among other things, characterized by the vocalism **a* and the high frequency of continuants and **s*. Substratum A₂, qualified as "European", only had aspirated voiced stops in antevocalic position, or rather the antevocalic stops were identified with the traditional mediae aspiratae. Furthermore, there seems to have been variation between labial and velar stops. The vowel **a* was frequent and there probably was no distinctive vowel length. Another characteristic feature are vowel alternations of the type **a : *ai* and **a : *au*. Substratum A₁, which is mainly reflected in Germanic, but also left traces in Italo-Celtic and Balto-Slavic, is claimed to have had **a : *i : *u* vocalism, prenasalization, initial consonant clusters **Kn-* and **Kl-*, as well as a remarkable alternation of root-final stops, including geminates.

While A₃ did not prove to be a fruitful subject of investigation, one might say that as far as Kuiper's substratum layers A₁ and A₂ were concerned, the hunt was on, e.g. Beekes 1996, Schrijver 1997, Boutkan 1996, 1998, 2003, Derksen 1999, 2000. Kuiper's criteria for identifying substratum borrowings were applied to various Indo-European languages and attempts were made to establish more phenomena indicative of non-Indo-European origin, of which Schrijvers prefix **a-* (1997: 307-

312) is among the most spectacular.¹⁵ At the same time, Kuiper's distinction between A₂ and A₃ was called into question by Beekes (1996: 217), who proposed to group these two together under the name "European". I am inclined to agree with him that in this respect Kuiper's classification seems premature. Beekes (*ibidem*) also suggested the designation "Helladic" for the non-IE substratum language that left so many traces in Greek, but he himself now seems to prefer "Pre-Greek". Without question, Beekes deserves great credit for his attempt to reconstruct Pre-Greek through a careful analysis of the Greek material (1997, cf. Furnée 1972). A different approach is applied by Schrijver (2007), who tries to link the Pre-Greek substratum to "Minoic" (attested in Linear A) and Hattic. In his view, we are dealing here with the language of the first agriculturalists, who migrated from Asia Minor to Central Europe through Greece and the Balkans and whose language left traces in Anatolian, Greek, Albanian, Germanic, Balto-Slavic and Italo-Celtic.

Undeniably, it makes perfect sense to look for formal characteristics of non-Indo-European elements in the vocabulary of the individual Indo-European languages. Within a couple of years after the publication of Kuiper's article, however, the limitations and inherent dangers of this new line of research became apparent, in particular with regard to the Pre-Germanic substratum, where there was a tendency to pay insufficient attention to the role played by specifically Germanic developments, such as Kluge's law (see Kroonen *forthc.*). Though it seems to me that the Indo-European origins of Balto-Slavic etyma which in view of their Germanic cognates seem to violate Winter's law are suspiciously often unclear, it cannot be denied that the typically Germanic alternation of root-final consonants may at least partly result from Proto-Germanic sound laws. Nevertheless, the question why Germanic underwent these specific developments (the rise of geminates, for instance) is still legitimate.

So far I have only discussed borrowings from a non-Indo-European substratum, but we must also reckon with the possibility that etyma were borrowed from an unknown Indo-European language. An interesting attempt to demonstrate a layer of borrowings of this type was made by Holzer (1989, cf. Kortlandt 2003). Holzer reconstructs an Indo-European language whose main feature is the fact that it underwent a consonant shift: the traditional *tenues* became *mediae*, while the *mediae aspiratae* became *tenues* (hence the name "Temematic"). This shift enables Holzer to propose alternative etymologies for words that often belong to classes where substratum borrowings are expected. Holzer's etymologies will occasionally come up in this dictionary.

3. STRUCTURE OF THE ENTRIES

3.1 *The reconstructed etymon*

The reconstructed etyma represent a late stage of Proto-Slavic, posterior to the loss of glottalization under the stress and Stang's law. Quantity, tone and stressed are

¹⁵ Interestingly, this type of prefixation seems to occur both in Greek (and possibly Anatolian) as well as in "North European".

marked accordingly (see 3.5) The most recent development that I have taken into account is the shortening of the falling tone in word-forms of more than two syllables, e.g. **sǫrdbce*. With respect to the metathesis of liquids (and the East Slavic *polnoglasie*), which shows dialectal differentiation, I had no option but to let the forms reflect the stage where the syllable was still closed, even though the metathesis preceded the above-mentioned developments.

The alphabetical order observed in this dictionary is: *a b c č d e ě e g x i j k l m n o p r s š ś t u v ь y ь z ž*. Please note the following:

- The results of the second and third palatalizations of velars (**k*, **g*, **x*) are written **c*, **dz* and **ś*. This may seem inconsistent, but I considered that there was nothing to gain by using **č* and **dž* or **ž*. The introduction of **ś*, on the other hand, could not be avoided, cf. **vbśb* ‘all’ vs. **vbśb* ‘village’.
- I have employed the signs **ļ*, **ņ* and **ŗ* to render sequences of resonant + **j*. In the alphabetical order these signs are equivalent to **lj*, **nj* and **rj*, respectively.
- I follow the ESSJa in writing anachronistic **tj*, **dj* rather than **tć*, *dź* vel sim.
- Word-initially, I do not distinguish between **e-* and **je-*. I simply write **e-* because the **j-* was automatic before front vowels from a certain stage onwards. I also write **ě-* for etymological **ě-* and **ja-*, which merged after the rise of prothetic **j-*. I do distinguish between **u-* and **ju-*. Initial **jb-* < **i-* is more complicated. I have argued that we basically had stressed **ji-* vs. unstressed **jb-* with generalization of the latter in mobile paradigms (Derksen 2003b). Nevertheless, I have decided in favour of a uniform spelling **jb-*, which is more conventional.

3.2 Grammatical information

Following the reconstruction, there is an indication of the word class the etymon belongs to. In the case of substantives, the stem class is preceded by an indication of gender, e.g. “m. n” for “masculine *n*-stem”. The flexion types to which OCS *mlbn’i(i)* ‘lightning’ and *svěkry* ‘church’ belong are designated with *ī* and *ū*, respectively. If there is more than one lemma, the grammatical information runs parallel to the lemmata.

For the sake of readability, the attested Slavic forms are generally speaking only provided with grammatical information if they belong to a different word class than the etymon.¹⁶ This practice extends to non-Slavic forms insofar as it does not cause confusion.

3.3 Accent paradigm

In those cases where I deemed it justified to reconstruct the accent paradigm of a noun or verb, the paradigm is indicated by Stang’s (a), (b) or (c). I am not convinced

¹⁶ In the case of original *u*-stems it is assumed that the reader is familiar with the fact that in the attested languages the *u*-stem and (masculine) *o*-stem paradigms have merged into a single paradigm, which here will be referred to as the *o*-stem paradigm.

that there ever was a Proto-Slavic paradigm (d) (Bulatov, Dybo, and Nikolaev 1988, cf. Vermeer 2001). I have occasionally resorted to designations such as (b/c) in those cases where there is strong evidence for two accent paradigms.

Tone and quantity are indicated in the same way as is conventional for literary Serbo-Croatian:

short rising: **màti* (a) ‘mother’, **mòka* (a) ‘torment, torture’, **nòžb* (b) ‘knife’
 long rising: **bělb* (b) ‘white’, **pòtb* (b) ‘way’
 short falling: **s̄br̄d̄bce* (c) ‘heart’
 long falling: **mēso* (c) ‘flesh, meat’, **bōgb* (c) ‘god’
 long unstressed: **mōkà* ‘flour’ (b), **osnovā* ‘base, foundation’ (a)

Thus, I have not adopted any of the special signs that are sometimes used to indicate the original acute, e.g. **māti* or **ma^ˈti*.

3.4 Meaning

Unlike the ESSJa, I have attempted to provide a reconstruction of the Proto-Slavic meaning of an etymon. In principle, attested forms meaning the same as the reconstructed etymon have not been glossed, though occasionally the meaning has been retained for the sake of clarity. This holds good for both the Slavic and the non-Slavic forms.

3.5 ESSJa

The line beginning with the reconstructed etymon is concluded by a reference to the ESSJa unless, of course, the latter dictionary does not have a corresponding lemma. The most recent volume at my disposal was volume 32 (-*orzbotati). I have not included a reference to the *Słownik prasłowiański* because at this point the number of published volumes is too limited.

3.6 Church Slavic

The field “Church Slavic” contains forms that occur in texts belonging to the Old Church Slavic canon as well as forms that occur in Church Slavic texts whose language was influenced by the local vernacular. The latter varieties of Church Slavic are called recensions. With the aid of the *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského*, which, by the way, includes a number of texts that fall outside the canon, and the *Staroslavjanskij slovar’*, I have tried to keep Old Church Slavic and Church Slavic forms apart. Here I should also mention Birnbaum and Schaecken 1997, where attention is paid to the lexicon of the manuscripts that were discovered at the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai in 1975.

It is not unusual to present Old Church Slavic forms in a normalized shape and this is the practice I have adopted here. If an etymon is only rarely attested, however, I usually present the form as it occurs in the manuscript(s). If an etymon occurs in a

fairly limited number of manuscripts, the latter have been mentioned. I have used the following abbreviations:

Ass.: Codex Assemanianus	Ps. Dim.: Psalter of Dimitri
Boj.: Bojana Evangeliary	Ps. Sin.: Psalterium Sinaiticum ¹⁷
Cloz.: Glagolita Clozianus	Ril.: Rila Folios
En.: Enina Apostol	Sav.: Sava's Book
Euch.: Euchologium Sinaiticum	SPbOkt.: St. Petersburg Oktoich
Hil.: Hilandar Folios	Supr.: Codex Suprasliensis
Hilf.: Macedonian Folio ¹⁸	Zogr.: Codex Zographensis
Mar.: Codex Marianus	Zogr. ² : Codex Zographensis palimpsest

3.7 East Slavic

The East Slavic field comprises three living languages: Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian. Furthermore, an important place is occupied by Old Russian, which can sometimes hardly be distinguished from Russian Church Slavic. Here I generally follow the ESSJa. For Old Russian accentual data I have relied on Zaliznjak 1985. The accentuation of a noun or verb in Old Russian is chiefly mentioned in those cases where it deviates from the modern Russian standard language.

My main sources for Russian dialect material are the classic dictionary by Dal' and the *Slovar' russkix narodnyx govorov* (SRNG). To indicate the region where a form is attested I have used a number of abbreviations: Psk. (Pskov), Olon. (Olonec), Arx. (Arxangel'sk), Novg. (Novgorod), Smol. (Smolensk), Rjaz. (Rjazan').

3.8 West Slavic

Czech forms may belong to the literary language, for which the SSJČ is an important source, or originate from dialects. Dialect material generally stems from the ESSJa or from Machek's etymological dictionary. A special category is formed by the 18th century dictionaries of Jungmann and Kott, which include archaic and dialectal forms, but also borrowings from other Slavic languages and neologisms. An analysis of the material from these dictionaries is beyond my competence, so I have confined myself to indicating Jungmann (Jg.) or Kott as the source. Slovak forms, insofar as they are not dialectal, are generally quoted according to the *Slovník slovenského jazyka* (SSJ). Since the juxtaposition of Czech and Slovak forms is interesting from an accentological point of view (cf. Verweij 1993), the collection of Slovak material is relatively comprehensive.

Upper Sorbian is one of the languages that are not heavily represented in this dictionary. Nevertheless, the language has retained a number of features which may provide additional information about Proto-Slavic prosody (cf. Dybo 1963, 1968b, Derksen forthc. c). In this respect Lower Sorbian has less to offer. Schuster-Šewc's

¹⁷ Ps. Sin. MS 2/N refers to the part of the *Psalterium Sinaiticum* that was discovered in 1975 at the Monastery of St. Catherine. The other part (MS 38/O) was discovered in 1850 at the same location.

¹⁸ Discovered by Hilferding.

Sorbian etymological dictionary (HEW) deals with both languages and may also function as a source of older attestations and dialect forms.

A considerable portion of the Polish material in the ESSJa, which subsequently found its way to the present dictionary, is quoted from the voluminous dictionaries by Karłowicz et al. (1900-1927) and Doroszewski (1958-1969). For Old Polish the main source is, of course, the yet unfinished *Słownik staropolski*. The etymological dictionaries by Sławski (unfinished) and Bańkowski (in progress) provide a lot of information about the earliest attestations of an etymon. In this context the *Słownik języka polskiego XVII i 1. połowy XVIII wieku* (Karplukówna and Ambrożewicz 1999-) is also worth mentioning.

Within West Slavic, Slovincian – now extinct – and the North Kashubian dialects are unique in having preserved accentual mobility, albeit with certain restrictions. Furthermore, old quantitative distinctions have been transformed into qualitative distinctions, like in Polish. In Slovincian and Kashubian, however, this phenomenon (called *pochylenie* in Polish) applies to a greater number of vowels. Our most important source for Pomeranian, as Slovincian and Kashubian are sometimes called, are the works of Friedrich Lorentz (e.g. 1903, 1908-1912, 1958-1983).

The westernmost attested Lechitic language, Polabian, only plays a marginal role in this dictionary. Forms will be quoted according to Polański and Sehnert 1967.

3.9 South Slavic

The name “Serbo-Croatian” will occasionally be used as a generic designation for all varieties of the language spoken in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro. The abbreviation “SCr.”, however, refers in principle to neo-Štokavian, i.e. to those Štokavian dialects that underwent the neo-Štokavian retraction of the stress. A prominent example is the language that was codified by Vuk Karadžić and Đuro Daničić in the 19th century and subsequently became the basis of normative grammars and dictionaries, for instance the *Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika* (RJA). The Serbo-Croatian (neo-Štokavian) forms presented in this dictionary usually conform to aforementioned normative tradition. In some cases I have quoted directly from Vuk Karadžić’s dictionary (abbreviated as “Vuk”).¹⁹

The Čakavian dialects of Serbo-Croatian are mainly represented by Jurišić’s description of the Vrgada (Vrg.) dialect (1966-1973), Kalsbeek’s description of the dialect of Orbanići (Orb.) near Žminj (1998) and Belić’s description of the dialect of Novi (1909), which is the best-known description of a Čakavian dialect. In addition, I have occasionally added data from Hvar (Hraste 1937), Cres (Tentor 1909, 1950), and Orlec²⁰ (Houtzagers 1985). The Kajkavian dialects are represented by Jedvaj’s description of the Bednja dialect.

The Slovene material originates almost exclusively from Pleteršnik’s dictionary (1894-1895), which is a compilation of data from a great variety of sources presented

¹⁹ For practical reasons, I have used the third edition of Vuk’s dictionary (Belgrade 1898) instead of the second, which appeared in Vienna in 1852. The latter would have been preferable, as the later editions are marred by misprints.

²⁰ A village on the island of Cres.

in a historical spelling, i.e. in a spelling that reflects dialectal differences that are absent from many dialects, including the ones underlying the modern standard language. The reader will therefore be confronted with the spectacular dialectal differentiation that is characteristic of Slovene (cf. Greenberg 2000).

Bulgarian and especially Macedonian provide little information on the prosody of Proto-Slavic.²¹ Nevertheless, it is clear that this corner of the Slavic territory must not be neglected. The material presented here is chiefly modern Standard Bulgarian.

3.10 *Balto-Slavic*

Since I adhere to the view that there was a Balto-Slavic proto-language, I found it attractive to include a field “Proto-Balto-Slavic” in order to obtain a modernized version of Trautmann 1923a (cf. Derksen *forthc.* d). As I explained above, I follow Kortlandt in not reconstructing any Balto-Slavic tones. The stage represented by my reconstructions is posterior to Winter’s law. The reflex of the laryngeals and the glottal element of the (pre)glottalized stops is indicated by ʔ, the IPA symbol for a glottal stop. The phonological system is as follows (cf. Kortlandt 1994):

p	b		m					
t	d	s	n	l	r			
ś	ź							
k	g							
ʔ				j	w			
		i	ī			u	ū	
		e	ē			o	ō	
				a	ā			

With respect to morphology, it is important to note that the barytone neuters have a Nsg. in **-um* < **-om*, while the originally oxytone neuters have **-o* < **-od* << **-om*.

Notwithstanding my comparison with Trautmann’s *Baltisch-slavisches Wörterbuch*, it is my opinion that these reconstructions in themselves do not have independent evidential value for the Balto-Slavic hypothesis, as striking formal similarities between Proto-Baltic²² and Proto-Slavic etyma usually relate to those common developments on the basis of which the Balto-Slavic linguistic unity was postulated. We must reckon with the possibility that seemingly Balto-Slavic etyma are actually old borrowings from Slavic into Baltic or vice versa. In particular, Baltic substratum words in Slavic are a factor that is to be taken into account (cf. Nepokupnyj 1976).

The assumption that there was a Proto-Baltic-Slavic stage raises the question how to act if an inherited Proto-Slavic etymon does not have a Proto-Baltic counterpart?

²¹ This does not hold good for Middle Bulgarian, which is the language of a number of accented texts. Since Middle Bulgarian is on a par with Russian Church Slavic, etc., it belongs to my category Church Slavic.

²² Actually, I am not convinced that it is justified to reconstruct a Proto-Baltic stage. The term Proto-Baltic is used for convenience’s sake.

Does it make sense to reconstruct a Balto-Slavic form anyway, thereby assuming that the etymon was lost in the other branch? In my opinion, it does not. The main point of the field Balto-Slavic is to get an impression of the number of lexical items shared by Baltic and Slavic. A Proto-Balto-Slavic reconstruction of an etymon that is exclusively found in Baltic or Slavic would just be one of many intermediate stages.

Another, quite common problem is the determination of the original stem class of a noun in those cases where Baltic and Slavic diverge. Unless there are clear indications which stem class is more archaic, I considered it best to allow the variation to be reflected in the Balto-Slavic reconstructions.

3.11 *Baltic*

It stands to reason that Baltic is fairly well represented in this dictionary. On the other hand, it would hardly make sense if the Baltic material were so extensive as it will be in my Baltic etymological dictionary. For this reason I cut down on the Lithuanian and Latvian data by leaving out some of the morphological and accentual variants.

Where the modern Standard Lithuanian form serves our purpose, I have quoted from the fourth edition of the DLKŽ. The most important source for Lithuanian, however, is the LKŽ, which has incorporated data from older periods and dialect data. The most important Old Lithuanian text is Daukša's *Postilla* (DP). Latvian data will be quoted from the dictionary by Mühlenbach and Endzelīns (ME) and the supplement by Endzelīns and Hausenberg (EH). The orthography used in these works deviates from modern Standard Latvian orthography but is still customary in the scholarly literature. Forms followed by ² originate from a dialect with two tones (instead of three), where the tone of that particular form is ambiguous from a historical point of view (cf. Derksen 1996: 11-14). We are dealing either with a conflation of the broken and the falling tone (West Latvian) or a conflation of the sustained and the falling tone (East Latvian). These tones are indicated by ^{^2} and ^{`2}, respectively, but it should be noted that there exists considerable variation regarding the realization of the conflated tones.

The Old Prussian evidence stems from the Enchiridion (or Third Catechism) unless indicated otherwise: I write "I" for the First Catechism, "II" for the Second Catechism, "EV" for the Elbing Vocabulary, and "Gr." for Simon Grunau's vocabulary. The forms are quoted from Trautmann 1910 and Mažiulis PKEŽ.

3.12 *Proto-Indo-European*

The field "PIE" basically contains forms that may have belonged to the Proto-Indo-European vocabulary. I do not wish to condemn the practice of reconstructing quasi-Indo-European forms, as the latter may contain useful information, even in the case of etyma that may have been borrowed from a non-Indo-European language, but I personally prefer to let this information be part of the discussion of the etymology.

3.13 Cognates

It is not my intention to present an exhaustive list of cognates from other branches of Indo-European. One may expect to find quite comprehensive lists of cognates in the dictionary that is the ultimate goal of the *Indo-European Etymological Dictionary* project. I have tried to mention forms that are in all respects close to the Proto-Slavic etymon, but occasionally I had to settle for forms that merely contain the same root.

3.14 Discussion of the etymology

As a rule, the etymology of a given root is discussed under a single lemma. If the etymology is perfectly clear, there may be no discussion at all. Instead, only a Proto-Indo-European reconstruction is given.

3.15 Notes

Any lemma may contain a number of notes pertaining to a variety of subjects. The notes do not directly concern the etymology of the lemma, which is discussed elsewhere (see 3.13).

3.16 Cross-references

The last field mentions all cognate lemmata except the ones that are referred to in the discussion of the etymology. If the discussion of the etymology contains a reference to a cognate lemma, the field is omitted.

Dictionary

*A

*a conj. ‘and, but’

ESSJa I 33-35

CS OCS *a*

E Ru. *a*

W Cz. *a*; Pl. *a*

S SCr. *a*; Sln. *a*

BSL. **ō*

B Lith. *ō* ‘and, but’

PIE *(*h*₁)**ōd*

Cogn. Skt. *āt* (RV+) adv. ‘afterwards, then, so’; Av. *āaṭ* adv. ‘afterwards, then’

***āblo**; ***ābl̥** n. o; m. o (a) ‘apple’

ESSJa I 41, 44-47

W Cz. *jablo* n.; OPl. *jablō* n.; Slnc. *jābl̥o* n.

S Sln. *jábl̥o* n. ‘apple, apple-tree’; *jáb̥at* m. ‘apple-tree’; Bulg. *jablo* n.; *jabol* m.

BSL. **aʔb-ōl-s*; **aʔb-l-o*

B Lith. *obuol̥ys* m.(io) 3^a; *óbuolas* (dial.) m.(o); *óbulas* (Žem.) m.(o) 1; Latv. *ābuōls* m.(o) ‘apple, clover’; *ābuls* (dial.) m.(o) ‘apple, clover’; *ābuolis* (dial.) m.(io) ‘apple, clover’ {1}

OPr. *woble* (EV); *wabelcke* (Gr.)

PIE **h*₂*eb-ōl-*; **h*₂*eb-l-*

Cogn. OIc. *epli* n.; OHG *apful* n.; *afful* n.; OIr. *ubull* n.; W *afal* m.

{1} Apparently the Latvian words for ‘apple’ and ‘clover’ (*dābuōls*, *dābuls*, cf. Lith. *dóbilas*) were mixed up. The same may have happened in Old Prussian, where we have *wobilis* ‘clover’.

See also: **āboln̥*; **āblon̥*; **ābl̥ko*; **ābl̥ka*; **ābl̥k̥*

***āboln̥**; ***āblon̥** f. i (a) ‘apple-tree’

ESSJa I 42-43, 47-48

CS MBulg. *ablan̥*

E Ru. *jablon̥* {2}; ORu. *ablan̥*; *jablon̥*

W Cz. *jabloň*; Pl. *jabłoń*; USrb. *jabłoń*; LSrb. *jabłoń*; LSrb. *jaboń* (dial.) {1}

S Sln. *jáblan* f.(i); *jáblana* f.(ā)

BSL. **aʔb-ol-ni-*; **aʔb-el-i-* {3}

B Lith. *obelis* f.(i) 3^a; *obelė* f.(ē) 3^a; Latv. *ābele* f.(ē); *ābels* f.(i)

OPr. *wobalne*

PIE **h*₂*eb-ol-n-i-*; **h*₂*eb-el-i-*

Cogn. OIr. *aball* f.; W *afall* f.

{1} According to Schuster-Šewc (HEW s.v. *jabłoń*), the Lower Sorbian dialect form *jaboń* is limited to the Spremberg area. {2} The current modern Russian form is *jablonja*. {3} We find

several forms which indicate that we are dealing with an old consonant stem, e.g. Gsg. *óbels* or *óbeles*, Gpl. *obelŷ*.

See also: *ablo; *abl̥; *abl̥ko; *abl̥k̥

***abl̥ko; *abl̥ka; *abl̥k̥** n. o; f. ā; m. o (a) ‘apple’ ESSJa I 41, 44-47

CS OCS *abl̥ko* n.

E Ru. *jábloko* n.; *jáblok* (dial.) m.; ORu. *jabl̥k̥o* m.; *jablok̥o* m.

W Cz. *jablko* n.; Slk. *jablko* n.; Pl. *jablko* n.

S SCr. *jābuka* f. ‘apple, apple-tree’; ; *jābuko* (arch., reg.) n.; Čak. *jābuka* (Vrg., Novi, Orb.) f. ‘apple, apple-tree’; Sln. *jáboľka* f. ‘apple, apple-tree’; *jáboľko* n.; Bulg. *jábálka* f. ‘apple, apple-tree’

Diminutives in **-k̥o* (**-ka*, **-ko*). See → **ablo*, **abl̥o*.

***adati** v. ‘investigate, explore’ ESSJa I 52

W OCz. *jadati* ‘investigate, explore’

BSl. **oʔd-*

B Lith. *úosti* ‘smell’; Latv. *uóst* ‘smell’

PIE **h₃ed-*

Cogn. Gk. ὄζω ‘smell’

An example of Winter’s law.

***āgnē** n. nt (a) ‘lamb’ ESSJa I 54-55

CS OCS *agnę* (Zogr., Supr.)

E ORu. *jagnja*

W Cz. *jehně*; Slk. *jahňa*; Pl. *jagnię*

S SCr. *jāgne*; Čak. *jāne* (Vrg.), Npl. *jāñci*; Sln. *jágnje*; *ágnje*; Bulg. *ágne*; *jágne*

PIE **h₂eg^w-n-*

Cogn. Gk. ἄμνος f./m.; Lat. *agnus* m. {1}

PSl. **agn-* < **h₂eg^w-n-* (N.B. Winter’s law) with the diminutive suffix **-ę* < **-ent-*, which is common in designations of young animals. Slavic forms without a secondary suffix do not exist.

{1} The word **agnęd̥o* ‘black poplar’, which Trubačev derives from the word for ‘lamb’, may be related to Gk. ἄμνος ‘chaste-tree’. I tentatively posit a root **h₂eǵ-*.

See also: *āgn̥s̥

***āgn̥s̥** m. jo (a) ‘lamb’ ESSJa I 57

CS OCS *agn̥s̥v*; *jagn̥s̥o*

E Ru. *āgnec*’ (eccl.)

W Cz. *jehnec* (Kott)

S SCr. *jāgnjac*; Čak. *jāne* (Vrg.) n. ‘lamb’, Npl. *jāñci*; *jānjac* (Orb.), Npl. *jājnci*; Sln. *jāgn̥s̥*; *jāgn̥s̥*; *āgn̥s̥*

PIE **h₂eg^w-n-*

PSl. **agn-* < **h₂eg^w-n-* (N.B. Winter's law) with the diminutive suffix **-bcv* < **-iko-* (cf. → **āgnę*).

***āgoda** f. ā (a) 'berry'

ESSJa I 57-59

CS OCS *agoda* (Sav.) 'fruit'

E Ru. *jāgoda* 'berry'

W Cz. *jahoda* 'strawberry'; Slk. *jahoda* 'strawberry'; Pl. *jagoda* 'berry'

S SCr. *jāgoda* 'wild strawberry, berry' {1}; Čak. *jāgoda* (Vrg.) 'blackberry'; Sln. *jāgoda* 'berry'; Bulg. *jāgoda* 'strawberry'

BSl. **óŕga?*

B Lith. *úoga* 1 'berry'; Latv. *uōga* 'berry'

PIE **h₂og-eh₂?*

Cogn. Go. *akran* n. 'fruit (of trees, corn)'

Adams (1999: 109-110) connects Toch. B *oko* n. 'fruit, effect' with this etymon and claims that we are dealing with "a remarkable Balto-Slavo-Tocharian correspondence" (Germanic being more remote). The vocalism of the Tocharian form, which Adams reconstructs as **h₂óg-eh₂*, is not without problems, however. OIr. *áirne* m. 'sloe, fruit of the blackthorn', W *eirin* 'plums' may contain **h₂eg-*, but there are more possibilities. Here, as well as in the case of *akran*, a connection with **h₂eǵ-ro-* 'field' may be taken into consideration.

{1} SerbCS *vinjaga* (XVIIth c.), SCr. *vinjaga* 'wild grapes' is a derivation of *vino* rather than a compound containing **jaga*.

***āje** n. jo (c) 'egg'

ESSJa I 61-62

W Pl. *jajo*; *jaje* (obs.); Sln. *jājā*; USrb. *jejo*; LSrb. *jajo*; Plb. *joji*

S SCr. *jāje*, Npl. *jāja*; Čak. *jāje* (Vrg.), Npl. *jāja*; *jāje* (Novi), Npl. *jāja*; *jāje* (Orb.), Npl. *jāja*

PIE **h₂ōui-om*

Cogn. Gk. *φόν n.*; Lat. *ōvum n.*; OIc. *egg n.*; OHG *ei n.*; W *wy m.*

A derivative of **h₂eui-* 'bird'.

See also: *ajъce

***ajъce** n. jo 'egg'

ESSJa I 61-63

CS OCS *aice*

E Ru. *jajcó*; *jājko* (dial.)

W Cz. *vejce*; *vajko* (dial.); Slk. *vajce*; Pl. *jajko*; *jajce* (obs., dial.); USrb. *jejko* 'testicle'; LSrb. *jajko* 'Easter-egg, berry'

S SCr. *jājce*; Sln. *jājce*; Bulg. *jajcé*

Originally a diminutive of → **āje*. Forms with a suffix **-ko* are secondary.

***ako** adv., conj. ‘as, if’

ESSJa I 64-65

- CS OCS *jako* ‘how, as’; *ako* ‘how, as’ (the form with *j-* is predominant)
 W Cz. *jako* ‘as, when, if’; *jak* ‘as’; Slk. *ako* ‘as’; *jak* ‘if’; Pl. *jako* ‘how, as’; *jak* ‘as’
 S SCr. *ako* ‘if’; Sln. *àkò* ‘if, insofar as, although’; Bulg. *akó* ‘if’

The **a-* may probably be identified with the conjunction → **a*.

See also: *акъ

***акъ** prn. ‘such as’

ESSJa VIII 171

- CS OCS *jakъ* (Mar., Zogr., Supr.) ‘such as’
 W Cz. *jaký* ‘what (kind of), which’; Slk. *jaký* ‘what (kind of), which’; Pl. *jaki* ‘what (kind of), which’; USrb. *jakny* ‘outstanding, strong’
 S SCr. *jâk* ‘strong, healthy’, f. *jâka*, n. *jâko*; Čak. *jâk* ‘strong, healthy’, f. *jâkà*, n. *jâko*; Sln. *jâk* ‘strong, prominent, superb, brave’; Bulg. *jakyj* ‘strong, healthy’

I endorse the hypothesis that the meaning ‘strong’, attested in South Slavic and Upper Sorbian, is secondary, cf. Rom. *tare* ‘strong’ from **talis* ‘such’ (Meyer-Lübke 1935: 705).

See also: *ako

***âma** f. â (a) ‘pit, hole’

ESSJa I 70-71

- CS OCS *jama* ‘pit, hole’
 E Ru. *jâma* ‘pit, hole’; *njâma* (dial.) ‘pit, hole’; ORu. *jama* ‘pit, hole, ditch, grave’; Ukr. *jâma* ‘pit, hole, grave’
 W Cz. *jâma* ‘pit, hole’; Slk. *jama* ‘pit, hole’; Pl. *jama* ‘pit, hole, cave’; Sln. *jâmã* ‘pit, hole, cave’
 S SCr. *jâma* ‘pit, hole’; Čak. *jâma* (Vrg., Novi) ‘pit, hole’; *jâma* (Orb.) ‘pit, hole, two vines planted together in a hole’; Sln. *jâma* ‘pit, hole, cave’; Bulg. *jâma* ‘pit, hole’

Etymology unclear.

***арѣтъ; *арѣтò** m. o; n. o (b) ‘(ox-)yoke’

ESSJa I 76-78

- CS OCS *jarѣтъ* (Supr.) m.
 E Ru. *jar mó* n.; *jarém* (obs.) m.; *jarëm* (dial.) m. ‘busy period, haymaking time’; Ukr. *jarem* (dial.) m.
 W Cz. *jařto* n.; Slk. *jar mo* n.; Pl. *jarzmo* n.
 S SCr. *jár am* m., Gsg. *járma*; Čak. *jārãm* (Vrg.) m., Gsg. *jārãmã*; *jārãm* (Novi) m., Gsg. *jārãmã*; *jārãm* (Orb.) m., Gsg. *jārãmã*; Sln. *járəm* m., Gsg. *járma*; Bulg. *jarém* m.

According to the traditional etymology, this is a derivative of the root **h₂er-* ‘join’, cf. Gk. ἀρᾶρισκω ‘join, fit together’. The long initial vowel must be a Slavic innovation (cf. Pedersen 1937: 312-318). In view of the fact that **arъ-* is found everywhere in all parts of the Slavic linguistic territory I do not consider it plausible that the long

vocalism is of the rare type found in OCS *alōdii* ‘ship, boat’, *alōkati* ‘be hungry’, etc., the more so because the **v* (instead of **ϕ*) would be an anomaly.

See also: *kojariti; *orъmo

***àsenъ; *àsenъ** m. jo; m. o (a) ‘ash-tree’

ESSJa I 79-80

E Ru. *jásen*’

W Cz. *jasan*; *jasañ* (dial.); *jesen* (obs.); *jeseň* (dial.); Slk. *jaseň*; Pl. *jesion*; *jasień* (arch., S. dial.); *jesień* (arch.); *jasion* (arch., S. dial.) {1}; OPl. *jasień*; Slnc. *jāsōun*; USrb. *jasen*

S SCr. *jāsēn*, Gsg. *jāsēna*; Čak. *jāsen* (Vrg.), Gsg. *jāsēna*; *jēsēn* (Novi); *jēsēn* (Orb.), Gsg. *jēsēna*; Sln. *jásen*, Gsg. *jasēna*; *jésen*, Gsg. *jesēna*; Bulg. *jásen*; *ósen* (N.)

BSL. **oʔs-en-*; **oʔs-i-o-*

B Lith. *úosis* m.(io) 1; Latv. *uōsis* m.(io)

OPr. *woasis* (EV)

PIE **Heh₃-s-*

Cogn. Lat. *ornus* f. ‘mountain-ash’; OIr. *uinnius* m. ‘ash-tree’; OIc. *askr* m. ‘ash-tree’; OHG *asc* m. ‘ash-tree’; Arm. *hac’i* ‘ash-tree’; Alb. *ah* m. ‘beech’

In view of the Baltic forms as well as Ru. *ja-* (*je-* > *ja-* is common in West Slavic and western South Slavic but not in East Slavic), we must reconstruct **oʔs-* < **Heh₃-s-* for Balto-Slavic. Unless the West and South Slavic forms with *je-/o-* continue *ja-* (cf. Sławski SP I: 159), Slavic also offers evidence for the elsewhere in Indo-European widely attested stem shape **Hh₃-es-*. The *e*-vocalism could be considered an example of Rozwadowski’s change (see Andersen 1996: 142-143).

{1} The Standard Polish form *jesion* originates from the Mazowian dialect area (Bańkowski 2000a: 588).

***às(ъ)trĕbъ; *às(ъ)trĕbъ** m. o (a) ‘hawk’

ESSJa I 83-85

E Ru. *jástreb*; ORu. *jastrjabъ*; *jastrebъ*; Ukr. *jástrib*; *astrjáb* (dial.); *jástrjab*

W Cz. *jestřáb*; OCz. *jestřáb*; *jěšťáb*; Slk. *jastrab*; Pl. *jastrząb* m.(jo), Gsg. *jastrzębia* {1}; Slnc. *jǎšťrib*; USrb. *jatřob* m.(jo); LSrb. *jastšeb* m.(jo)

S SCr. *jǎstrijeb*; Čak. *jǎstrĕb* (Vrg.); *jǎstrop* (Orlec); Sln. *jǎstreb*; Bulg. *jástreb*

Cogn. Gk. ὠκύπτερος (Il.) ‘swift-flying’; Lat. *accipiter* m. ‘hawk, falcon’

As far as I can see, there are no serious objections to the daring etymology **h₁oh₁kuptr-* ‘fast-flier’ (Vey 1953, cf. Kortlandt 1982: 26). According to Vey, the Slovene falling tone points to the former presence of a weak jer in the medial syllable, but it seems to me that the neo-circumflex may also reflect original posttonic length. The compound has nice parallels in Homeric ἰρηξ ὠκύπτερος N 62 ‘a swift-winged hawk (or falcon)’ and Lat. *accipiter* ‘hawk, falcon’.

{1} The original Gsg. *jastrzęba* was replaced by *jastrzębia* on the analogy of *gołąb*, Gsg. *gołębia* ‘pigeon’ (Bańkowski 2000a: 577).

***aščerъ; *aščerica** m. o; f. jā 'lizard' ESSJa I 87-89

- CS OCS *aštera* (Supr.) Gsg. m. 'lizard'
 E Ru. *jáščer* m. 'inflammation of the tongue (cattle, horses)'; *jáščerica* f. 'lizard'
 W Cz. *ještěr* m. 'saurian, dragon'; *ještěrka* f. 'lizard'; *ještěrce* f. (rare) 'lizard'; Pl. *jaszczur* m. 'salamander, saurian'; *jaszczurka* f. 'lizard'; *jaszczór* (dial.) m. 'lizard'; Slnc. *vješčičěřáčä* f. 'lizard'
 S SCr. *jäster* (obs.) m. 'lizard'; *jášterica* f. 'vesicle on the tongue'; Čak. *jáščerica* (Vrg.) f. 'vesicle on the tongue'; Sln. *jáščerica* f. 'green lizard'; *jáščarica* f. 'green lizard'
 B Lith. *skėrỹs* m. 4 'locust'; Latv. *šķirgaĩlis* m. 'lizard'; *šķirgaila* f. 'lizard'
 OPr. *estureito* (EV) 'lizard'
 Cogn. Gk. ἀσκαρίς f. 'worm in the intestines, larva of a mosquito'; σκαρίδες εἶδος ἐλμίνθων (Hesych.)

Though the details would remain unclear, there is definitely a possibility that this is a substratum word showing prefixation of a non-Indo-European type (cf. Schrijver 1997: 307-312). Among the alternative solutions, the analysis **h₁oh₁ku-sker-*, a compound of the word for 'quick' and the verbal root that is found in Gk. σκαίρω 'frisk' as well as probably Lith. *skėrỹs* 'harvestman, daddy-long-legs' and Latv. *šķirgaĩlis*², seems the most attractive (Vey 1953, see also → **astrębθ*).

***avě** adv. 'manifestly' ESSJa I 93-94

- CS OCS *javě* 'manifestly, openly, clearly'; *avě* 'manifestly, openly, clearly'
 S SCr. *javi* 'manifestly, openly'; Bulg. *áve* 'in reality'; *jáve* 'in reality'; Mcd. *jave* 'in reality'
 BSL. **āw-?*
 B Lith. *ovyje* (DP) 'in reality'
 PIE **h₂ēu-ēi-*
 Cogn. Skt. *āvīṣ* 'apparently, noticeably'; Av. *auuiš* 'apparently, evidently'

OLith. *ovyje* 'in reality' is sometimes regarded as a borrowing from Slavic but there are no compelling arguments for this view. The absence of initial *j-* rather points in the direction of an etymological relationship (thus Būga RR I: 370), cf. OLith. *joṽnai* 'openly', which is a borrowing from Belorussian. In that case we would have to start from a PBSl. *i-*stem **āv-i-* (cf. Anikin 1998: 21, see also s.v. **aviti*). On the other hand, it seems possible that the form *ovyje*, whose oldest attestations are two occurrences in Daukša, is based on Church Slavic *avě*. The Slavic adverb, in turn, may have been borrowed from Iranian (Lubotsky p.c.).

See also: **aviti*; *авьпъ; *ūmъ

***aviti** v. 'show' ESSJa I 94-95

- CS OCS *javiti* 'show, reveal'; *aviti* 'show, reveal'
 E Ru. *javit'* 'show, display', 1sg. *javljú*, 3sg. *jávit* {1}

- W Cz. *jeviti* ‘show’; Pl. *jawić* (obs.) ‘show’
 S SCr. *jáviti* ‘inform’, 1sg. *jāvīm*; Čak. *jāviti* (Vrg.) ‘inform?’, 2sg. *jāviš*; *jāvīt* (Vrg.) ‘(se) greet, answer’, 3sg. *jāve*; Sln. *jáviti* ‘announce’, 1sg. *jávim*
 BSL. *āw-?
 B Lith. *ovytis* ‘appear’, 3sg. *ovijasi*

Lith. *ovytis* (arch.) ‘appear’ derives from the *i*-stem which must underlie *ovyje* ‘in reality’. Fraenkel (I: 519) claims that *ovytis* ‘appear; rage’ and Latv. *āvītiēs* ‘talk nonsense, get up to mischief’ are inherited words cognate with Lith. *óvaidas* (< **avi-vaidas*) ‘rowdy, braggart’, while Lith. *jėvaidas* (< **jeva-vaidas*) ‘ghost’ and Latv. *jāvītiēs* or *jāvītiēs* ‘behave like an idiot’ are borrowings from Slavic (see also Anikin 1998: 22). I am not convinced that this solution, which seems to rely exclusively on the presence or absence of *j-*, is correct. Moreover, it is not obvious that *ovytis* ‘appear’ and *ovytis* (also *jōvytis*) ‘rage’ are cognates. It seems quite possible that Lith. *óvaidas* must be connected with Ukr. *jávida* (dial.) ‘devil’, Ru. *jávid*’ (dial.) ‘snake’.

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 140).

See also: *avě; *авьпъ; *úпъ

*авьпъ adj. o ‘manifest, obvious’ ESSJa I 99-100

- E ORu. *javъnyj* ‘manifest, obvious’
 W Cz. *jevnýj* (Kott) ‘manifest, public’; *zjevnýj* ‘manifest, obvious’; Pl. *jawny* ‘manifest, public, open’
 S SCr. *jávan* ‘manifest, obvious’; Sln. *jávən* ‘manifest, obvious’; Bulg. *jáven* ‘obvious’

Probably derived from the adverb → *avě.

*азъ prn. ‘I’ ESSJa I 100-103

- CS OCS *azъ*
 E Ru. *ja*; ORu. (*j*)*azъ*
 W Cz. *já*; OCz. *jáz*; Pl. *ja*; Opl. *jaz* (Flor., possibly a Bohemianism); *ja*
 S SCr. *jā*; *jāz* (dial.); Čak. *jā* (Vrg.); *jā* (Novi); *jā* (Orb.) ‘I, me’; Sln. *jáz*; Bulg. *az*; *ja* (dial.)
 BSL. *eřž-um; *eś (?)
 B Lith. *àš*; *eš* (OLith.); Latv. *es*; *ēs* (dial.)
 OPr. *as*; *es*
 PIE **h₁eǵ-H-om*
 Cogn. Skt. *ahám*; Gk. *ἐγώ*; Go. *ik*

The distribution of **azъ* and **á* suggests that the latter form is a Proto-Slavic innovation (Kortlandt 2006b: 6).

*азьно n. o ‘goat-skin’ ESSJa I 103-104

- CS RuCS *jazъno* ‘skin, leather’; SerbCS (*j*)*azno* ‘skin, leather’

- BSL. *ařž-ino-
 B Lith. *oženà* f. 3^a ‘goat-skin’; *ožinis* adj. ‘goat-’
 PIE *h₂eǵ-ino-
 Cogn. Skt. *ajína-* n. ‘(animal) skin’

The Balto-Slavic acute root vowel originates from Winter’s law.

*B

***bàba** f. ā (a) ‘old woman’ ESSJa I 105-108

- CS OCS *baba* ‘nurse’
 E Ru. *bába* ‘grandmother, married peasant woman’
 W Cz. *bába* ‘grandmother, midwife, old woman’; *baba* (pej.) ‘old woman’; Slk. *baba* ‘grandmother, midwife, old woman’; Pl. *baba* ‘grandmother, midwife, old woman, mother-in-law’; Slnc. *bābā* ‘old woman, grannie, female (of an animal)’
 S SCr. *bāba* ‘grandmother, midwife, nurse, mother-in-law’; Čak. *bāba* (Vrg.) ‘grandmother, midwife’; *bāba* (Novi) ‘midwife’; Sln. *bāba* ‘grandmother, midwife’; Bulg. *bāba* ‘grandmother, old woman, mother-in-law’
 BSL. *bá?ba?
 B Lith. *bóba* 1 ‘old woman’; Latv. *bāba* ‘old woman’
 Cogn. MHG *bābe* f.; *bōbe* f. ‘old woman’

The Middle High German word is assumed to be a borrowing from Slavic (Sławski SP I: 171).

***bādāti** v. ‘prick’ ESSJa I 121-122

- E ORu. *badati* ‘butt, prick, investigate’; Ukr. *badáty* ‘investigate, test’
 W Cz. *bádati* ‘investigate’; Slk. *bádat* ‘investigate’; Pl. *badac* ‘investigate, check’; Slnc. *bāďac* ‘push’; LSrb. *badas* ‘investigate’
 S SCr. *bádati* ‘prick, go slowly’, 1sg. *bādam*
 B Lith. *badýti* ‘stab’, 3pres. *bādo*
 Cogn. Lat. *fodiō* ‘dig’

An iterative with long root vocalism (→ **bosti*).

See also: **bodāti*; **boďalb*; **bosti*

***badli** m. ī ‘enchanter, healer, physician’ ESSJa I 150

- CS OCS *balii*; *bali* (Cloz.) ‘physician’; CS *bali* (OSln.: FrD) ‘healer, Saviour’
 E ORu. *balii*; *balija* ‘physician, enchanter’
 PIE *b^heh₂-d^hl-

There is no direct evidence for a suffix **d^h-vji-*, but the form *bali* from the Freising Fragments could be regarded as counter-evidence, as *dl* is regularly retained in this dialect, cf. *modliti*. It is not impossible, however, that *bali* is of Church Slavic origin. Trubačev bases his reconstructions **badlvji* and **badlovati* chiefly on derivatives of the type of OCz. *předlí* ‘spinster’, *švadlí* ‘needlewoman’. According to the ESSJa (I 137-138), further evidence for a suffix **-d^h-* is provided by SCr. *bājalo* m. ‘sorcerer’, Ru. *bájala* (dial.) m./f. ‘talker, chatterer, story-teller’, which may be transformations of **badlvji*. Meillet’s idea (Ét. I: 417) that **bali* is based on a derivative in *-l-* deserves consideration.

See also: **badlovati*; **bàjati*; **basnъ*; **bàsŋa*

***badlovati** v.

ESSJa I 148-149

- CS OCS *ubalovati* ‘cure’ (cf. *balovanije* ‘treatment’, *balbstvo* ‘cure, medicine’);
CS *balovati* ‘cure’
E Ru. *balovát’* ‘indulge in, amuse oneself with’
S Sln. *balováti* ‘chatter, talk nonsense’

See → **badli*.

***bagnò** n. o (b?) ‘marsh’

ESSJa I 125-127

- E Ru. *bagnó* (dial.) ‘marshy place, wild rosemary’; ORu. *bagəno* ‘mud, marsh’;
Ukr. *bahnó* ‘marsh, mud, wild rosemary’
W Cz. *bahno* ‘marsh’; *báhno* (Jg.) ‘marsh’ (Jungmann mentions both *bahno* and *báhno*); OCz. *bahno* ‘marsh’; Slk. *bahno* ‘bog, large marsh’; Pl. *bagno* ‘bog, marsh, wild rosemary’; Slnc. *bāgnø* ‘wild rosemary’; USrb. *bahno* ‘marsh, silt’; LSrb. *bagno* ‘marsh, (dial.) wild rosemary’

This etymon is limited to West and East Slavic. It is tempting to seek a connection with MoDu. *bagger* ‘mud’ < **b^hog^h-* and assume that we are dealing with a substratum word. Semantically more remote is OIc. *bekkr* m., OHG *bah* m., OS *beki* m. ‘brook’, which nevertheless may belong here (**b^hog^h-nó-?*). The problem with an oxytone proto-form (b), whether the root was **b^hog-* (> **boŋg-*) or **b^hōg^h-*, is the West Slavic evidence for a short root vowel. Lith. *bōgnas* and *bognà* 4 are generally regarded as borrowings from Slavic.

***bàjati** v. (a) ‘tell’

ESSJa I 138-139, 161-162

- CS RuCS *bajati* ‘tell fables’
E Ru. *bajati* (dial.) ‘speak’; Ukr. *bájati* ‘tell, narrate, practise sorcery’
W Cz. *bajeti* ‘chat, tell fables’; OCz. *báti* ‘speak, invent’; Pl. *bajac* ‘narrate (fables, fairy-tales)’; USrb. *bać* ‘narrate (fables, fairy-tales)’
S SCr. *bājati* ‘practise sorcery, exorcize’; Sln. *bájati* ‘talk idly, prophesy, practise sorcery’, 1sg. *bájam*, 1sg. *bájem*; Bulg. *bája* ‘talk about, say magic chants’

PIE **b^heh₂-*

Cogn. Gk. φημί ‘say’; Dor. φαμί ‘say’; Lat. *fāri* ‘say’; OE *bōian* ‘brag’ {1}

{1} Lith. *bóti* ‘draw attention to’, which has an older variant *dbóti*, is a borrowing from Slavic, cf. Pl. *dbác* ‘(take) care’ (Fraenkel I: 53). According to LIV (181), OE *bō(ia)n* might continue *ǵ^hueH- ‘call’, which seems dubious.

See also: *badli; *badlovati; *basnъ; *bàsŋa

***basnъ; *bàsŋa** f. i; f. jā ‘tale’ ESSJa I 138-139, 161-162

CS	CS <i>basnъ</i> ‘tale’
E	Ru. <i>básnja</i> ‘fable’
W	Cz. <i>báseň</i> ‘tale’, Gsg. <i>básně</i> ; OCz. <i>bás(e)ň</i> , <i>básn</i> ‘tale’; Pl. <i>baśń</i> ‘tale’
S	SCr. <i>bāsan</i> ‘tale’, Gsg. <i>bāsni</i> ; Sln. <i>bāsən</i> ‘fantasy, fable’, Gsg. <i>bāsni</i> ; Bulg. <i>básnja</i> ‘fantasy, fable’

Deverbative noun in *-snъ. See → *bàjati.

***bāviti** v. (a) ‘be, linger’ ESSJa I 168-170

E	Ru. <i>bávit</i> (dial.) ‘linger’; OUkr. <i>baviti</i> ‘remain, linger, delay’
W	Cz. <i>baviti</i> ‘amuse, take time’; Pl. <i>bawić</i> ‘amuse, be, abide’
S	SCr. <i>bāvit</i> (dial.); <i>bāviti se</i> (dial.) ‘be late, linger’; Sln. <i>bāviti se</i> ‘occupy oneself with, linger’, 1sg. <i>bāvim se</i> (Pleteršnik (I: s.v.) does not indicate the change of tone in the present (o.c. II: I)).

BSL. *boʔu-iʔ-; *bʔu-inʔ-

B Lith. *būvintis* ‘sojourn’

PIE *b^hoHu-eie-

Cogn. Skt. *bhāvayati* ‘cause to be, cherish, refresh’

See also: *bydlo; *bylʔje; *bystŋъ; *bȳti; *bytʔje; *byvati

***bebrъ; *bobrъ; *bǣbrъ** m. o (b) ‘beaver’ ESSJa I 174-175; II 145-146; III 159

CS	CS <i>bebrъ; bobrъ</i>
E	Ru. <i>bobr</i> , Gsg. <i>bobrá</i> ; <i>bobër</i> , Gsg. <i>bobrá</i> ; ORu. <i>bebrъ; bobrъ; bǣbrъ</i> ; Ukr. <i>bibr</i> , Gsg. <i>bobrá</i>
W	Cz. <i>bobr</i> ; Pl. <i>bóbr</i> , Gsg. <i>bobra</i>
S	SCr. <i>dābar</i> ; Sln. <i>bóbær</i> ; <i>bébær</i> ; Bulg. <i>bóbǣr</i>
BSL.	* <i>bebrus</i>
B	Lith. <i>bēbras</i> 2; <i>bebrūs</i> 4; Latv. <i>bēbrs</i> OPr. <i>bebrus</i> (EV)
PIE	*b ^h eb ^h rH-u- (b ^h eb ^h rH-o-)

Possibly a derivative of the word for ‘brown’ with reduplication of the root. The reconstruction of a laryngeal is based on Lith. *bėras* ‘brown’. The fact that this etymon was not affected by the generalization of accentual mobility in the masculine o-stems points may be accounted for by positing a u-stem.

Cogn. Skt. *babhrú-* ‘reddish brown’; Lat. *fiber* m. ‘beaver’; OHG *bibar* m. ‘beaver’; OE *beofor* m. ‘beaver’

***bedrò; *bedrà** n. o; f. ā (b) ‘thigh’ ESSJa I 175-176, 179-180

- CS OCS *bedra* f.; SerbCS *bedro* n.; *bedra* f.
 E Ru. *bedró* n. ‘thigh, hip’; *bedrá* (dial.) f. ‘thigh’; ORu. *bedra* ‘hip’ f.
 W Cz. *bedra* Npl. n. ‘loins, hips’; OCz. *bedra* f. ‘thigh, groin’; Pl. *biodro* n. ‘hip’
 S SCr. *bèdro* n.; *bèdra* f.; Čak. *bedrã* (Vrg.) f., Asg. *bèdru*; Sln. *bédro* n.; *bédra* f.; Bulg. *bedró* n.

PIE **b^hed^h-róm*

The etymology of this word is not entirely clear. The connection with Ukr. *bedrá* (dial.) ‘large pit, valley, swamp’, Pl. *ubiedrze* ‘slope, steep bank’ and Lith. *bėdrė* ‘swamp, valley’, Latv. *bedre* ‘pit’ (Anikin 1998: 30-31), which derive from **b^hed^h-* ‘dig’, is semantically unattractive. In Balto-Slavic, the meaning of this root seems to shifted to ‘to stab’, however, which makes one wonder if → **stegnò* ‘thigh’ may derive from a root meaning ‘stab’ as well, cf. Oic. *stinga* ‘stab, thrust’. Pokorny’s reconstruction of a root **bed-* ‘swell’ (IEW: 96) is impossible because of Winter’s law.

***bel(e)niti; *belnovati; *bolniti** v. ‘rage’ ESSJa I 185-187, III 159

- E Ru. (*uz*)*belenít’sja* (dial.) ‘become infuriated’; *bolonít’* (dial.) ‘pester, bore’; *bolónit’* (dial.) ‘talk’
 W Cz. *blenovati* (Kott: Bylinář Mathiolův, 1596) ‘chatter’
 S SCr. *blániti* (17th c.) ‘go crazy, rage’; Sln. *blěncáti* ‘talk in one’s sleep, rave, chatter’, 1sg. *blěncám* (also *belendáti* ‘rave, phantasize’ from Hung. *beléndek* ‘henbane’); Bulg. *blenúvam* ‘be poisoned by henbane, day-dream’; Mcd. *blenuva* ‘dream’

PIE **b^hel(e)-n-*

Apart from denominative verbs meaning ‘to rave, to talk nonsense’, expressions of the type “he has eaten (or drunk) henbane” conveying the same meaning exist in several languages, e.g. Ru. *on belený ob’ělsja*, OCz. *když se komu přihodi, že by se blena najedl*, Cz. *jako by se blínu napil*, SCr. *kao da se buna (bunike) nazobao (najio, (na)jeo*).

See also: *bel(e)нъ; *belenà; *бълнiti; *бълnovati; *бълнъ; *бълника; *bolнъ

***bel(e)нъ; *belenà; *bolнъ** m. o; f. ā; m. o ‘henbane’ ESSJa I 185-187; II 177

- CS RuCS *belenъ* m. ‘henbane’
 E Ru. *belen* (dial.) m. ‘henbane’; *belená* f. ‘henbane’ {1}
 W Cz. *blín* m. ‘henbane’; *blim* (dial.) m. ‘henbane’; OCz. *blén* m. ‘henbane’; Slk. *blen* m. ‘henbane, bitterness’ {2}; Pl. *blen* m. ‘henbane’ {3}; OPl. *bleń* m. jo ‘henbane’ {4}
 S SCr. *blên* (rare) m. ‘henbane’; *blêm* (rare) m. ‘henbane’; *belèna* f. ‘fool, idiot’; *blan* (17th c.) m. ‘furibundus’ {5}; Sln. *blën* m. ‘henbane’, Gsg. *bléna*; Bulg. *bljan* m. ‘day-dream’; *blen* m. ‘day-dream’; Mcd. *blen* (poet.) m. ‘dream, day-dream’

PIE **b^hel-(e)n-o-*

Cogn. OE *beolone* f., *beolene* f., *belene* f. ‘henbane’; OS *bilene* f. ‘henbane’; Dan. *bylne*, *buln-urt* (early Dan.) ‘henbane’; Gaul. βελενοντίαν Asg. ‘henbane’; Gaul. BELENO Dsg. ‘name of a divinity’ {6}

See Derksen forthc. f for a discussion of the Slavic word for ‘henbane’.

{1} Ru. *belen-* cannot reflect **beln-*, which would regularly yield **bolon-*. {2} Alongside *bielian*. {3} Alongside *bielun*. {4} In Old Polish we find *bleń*, *bielun*, *bieluń*, *bielon*. According to Sławski (SP I: s.v.), *blen* is a borrowing from Czech. {5} Both *blên* and *blêm* are rarely attested. The form with *m* can be traced to Stulli’s dictionary. {6} Besides the *n*-stem **b^hel(e)no-*, there was an *s*-stem **b^hel-es-*, e.g. OHG *bilisa* f., *bilesa* f., *bilsa* f., MDu. *bilse*, Span. *belesa*, *velesa*, and probably W *bela*, *bele*, all meaning ‘henbane’ (see Schrijver 1999).

See also: **bel(e)niti*; **belnovati*; **bьlniti*; **bьlnovati*; **bьlnъ*; **bьlnika*; **bolniti*

***bèrdjъ** adj. jo (a) ‘with young, pregnant’ ESSJa I 188-189

CS CS *brěžda* f. ‘pregnant’; RuCS *brěž(d)a* f. ‘pregnant’
 E Ru. *berěžaja* (dial.) f. ‘in foal’; *berěžaja* (dial.) f. ‘mare in foal’; Ukr. *beréža* f. ‘with young’
 W Cz. *břeží* f. ‘with young, pregnant’; OCz. *březí* f. ‘with young, pregnant’
 S SCr. *brěđ* (W. dial.) ‘pregnant, (Cr.) in calf’; Čak. *brēja* (Orb.) f. ‘pregnant (of a cow), with young’; Sln. *bréja* f. ‘with young’

BSl. **berǰdios*

B Lith. *ber̃(g)ždžias* 4 ‘barren (of a cow)’; *ber̃(g)ždē* f.(ē) ‘barren cow’

PIE **b^herdieh₂*

Cogn. Lat. *forda* f. ‘in calf’

Both **b^herd^hieh₂* and **b^herHd^hieh₂* would have yielded ***forba* in Latin (see Nussbaum 1999 for the development of **rd^h* originating from syncope). A proto-form **b^herHdieh₂* is therefore the only possibility. Nussbaum, who considers the connection with OCS *brěžda* possible, suggests that an original noun **b^hori-* > **fori* ‘birther’ was expanded to **fori-d-* and then hypercharacterized as a feminine (1999: 406).

See also: **bèrmę*; **bьrati*

***bergti** v. (c?) ‘take care of’ ESSJa I 189-191

CS OCS *nebrěšti* ‘neglect’, 1sg. *nebrěgo*
 E Ru. *beréc’* ‘take care of, spare’, 1sg. *beregú*, 3sg. *berěžët*; Bel. *berahčý* ‘take care of, spare’; Ukr. *berehtý* ‘take care of, spare, preserve’
 S SCr. *brijèci* (arch.) ‘take care of, spare, guard, preserve’

BSl. **berg-*

B Lith. *birginti* ‘save, stint’

PIE **b^herg^h-*

Cogn. Go. *baorgan* ‘keep, preserve, hide’; OIc. *bjarga* ‘keep, preserve, hide’

See also: **bōrgъ*; **bьrgъ*

***bĕrgъ** m. o (c) 'bank'

ESSJa I 191-193

- CS OCS *brĕgъ* 'bank, shore, steep slope'
- E Ru. *béreg* 'bank, shore'
- W Cz. *břeh* 'bank, shore, boundary, edge'; *břech* (dial.) 'hill', Gsg. *břeha*; OCz. *břěh* 'hill, hillside, bank, shore, pier'; Slk. *breh* 'bank, shore, hill, hillside'; Pl. *brzeg* 'bank, shore, edge'; USrb. *brjóh* 'bank, shore, hill', Gsg. *brjoha*; LSrb. *brjog* 'bank, shore, hill, heap'
- S SCr. *brĭjeg* 'bank, shore, boundary, edge, hill'; Čak. *brĭg* (Vrg.) 'bank, shore, boundary, edge, hill', Gsg. *brĭga*; *brĭĕg* (Orb.) 'hill', Lsg. *brĭĕge*; Sln. *brĕg* 'bank, shore, hillside, hill'; Bulg. *brjag* 'bank, shore'
- PIE **b^herǵh-o-*
- Cogn. Go. *bairgahei* f. 'mountainous region'; Oic. *bjarg* m. 'mountain'; OHG *berg* m. 'mountain'; Skt. *bṛhánt-* (RV+) 'great, large, high'; LAV. *bərəz-* 'great, high'; Arm. *barjr* 'high'

In view of the Indo-Iranian and Armenian forms, the *g of the Slavic etymon is problematic. Attempts to establish **bergъ* as a borrowing from Germanic or Venetic-Illyrian (Pokorny IEW) lack a solid basis but cannot be rejected out of hand.

***bĕrmę** n. n (a) 'load, burden'

ESSJa I 196-197

- CS OCS *brĕmę* 'load, burden', Gsg. *brĕmene*
- E Ru. *berémja* (dial.) 'armful, bundle, burden', Gsg. *berémeni*; Ukr. *beremja* 'load, burden'
- W Cz. *brĭmě* 'heavy load, burden', Gsg. *brĕmene*; Slk. *bremä* (arch.) 'weight'; Pl. *brzemie* 'load, burden', Gsg. *brzemienia*; USrb. *brĕmjo* 'heavy load, burden', Gsg. *brĕmjjenja*; LSrb. *brĕme* 'load, burden, yoke, bundle', Gsg. *brĕmeña*
- S SCr. *brĕme* 'weight, load, pregnant woman', Gsg. *brĕmena*; Čak. *brĭme* (Vrg.) 'weight, load', Gsg. *brĭmena*, Npl. *brimenã*; *brĕme(n)* (Orb.) 'load, burden'; Sln. *brĕme* 'weight, load, bunch, foetus, burden', Gsg. *brĕmĕna*; Bulg. *brĕme* 'weight, load, pregnant woman', Gsg. *brĕmena*
- PIE **b^herH-men-*
- Cogn. Skt. *bhārīman-* n. 'maintenance, care, burden'

The accentuation of the etymon points to the presence of a laryngeal in the root.

See also: **bĕrdjb*; **bĕrati*

***berstъ** m. o (b/c) 'elm'

ESSJa I 199-200

- E Ru. *bérest*, Gsg. *béresta* {1}; Bel. *bérast*, Gsg. *béраста*; Ukr. *bérest*, Gsg. *béresta*
- W Cz. *břest*; Slk. *brest*; Pl. *brzost*; *brzóst* (dial.)
- S SCr. *brĭjest*, Gsg. *briĭjĕsta*; Čak. *brĭst* (Vrg.) 'a herb similar to rosemary', Gsg. *brĭstâ*; *brĕst* (Novi), Gsg. *brĕstâ*; *brĭĕs* (Orb.), Gsg. *brĕsta*; Sln. *brĕst*; Bulg. *brjast*; *brest*
- Cogn. Go. *bairhts* 'bright, clear'

If we assume that **berstō* is cognate with → **bèrza*, which has an acute root, we must explain the variant belonging AP (b). In my view, a form **b^herHǵ-tó-* (admittedly with slightly unexpected end-stress) would remain oxytone in Balto-Slavic, in which case the root would be affected by the Proto-Slavic loss of pretonic laryngeals. As I consider it possible that the generalization of accentual mobility in masculine *o*-stems with a non-acute root vowel did not apply to the marginal class of Balto-Slavic oxytona, Illič-Svityč's reconstruction of a substantivized neuter adjective is not necessarily correct.

{1} Illič-Svityč (1963: 52) mentions a Gsg. *berestá* (dial.).

See also: *bèrza

***bèrza** f. ā (a) 'birch'

ESSJa I 201-203

CS	CS <i>brěza</i>
E	Ru. <i>berěza</i> ; Bel. <i>bjaróza</i> ; Ukr. <i>beréza</i>
W	Cz. <i>bříza</i> ; Slk. <i>breza</i> ; Pl. <i>brzoza</i> ; Slnc. <i>bṛ̌uǰzǎ</i> ; USrb. <i>brěza</i> ; LSrb. <i>brjaza</i>
S	SCr. <i>brěza</i> f.; <i>brěz</i> m. o; Sln. <i>bréza</i> f.; <i>brěz</i> m. o; Bulg. <i>brezá</i> ; Mcd. <i>breza</i>
BSL.	<i>*bérǰzos</i> ; <i>*bérǰzaʔ</i>
B	Lith. <i>béržas</i> m. 3; Latv. <i>bērzs</i> m. OPr. <i>berse</i>
PIE	<i>*b^herHǵ-o-</i>
Cogn.	Skt. <i>bhūrjā-</i> m. 'kind of birch'

The root may be identical with **b^hrh₁ǵ-* 'shine', cf. Skt. *bhrājate* 'id.'

See also: *bérstb

***bez(ь)** prep. 'without'

ESSJa II 7-13

CS	OCS <i>bez(ь)</i>
E	Ru. <i>bez</i> ; ORu. <i>bezь</i>
W	Cz. <i>bez</i> ; Slk. <i>bez</i> ; Pl. <i>bez</i>
S	SCr. <i>bez</i>
BSL.	<i>*be(z)</i>
B	Lith. <i>bė</i> ; Latv. <i>bez</i> OPr. <i>bhe</i>
PIE	<i>*b^he-ǵ^h</i>

***bědā** f. ā (b) 'need, poverty, misery'

ESSJa II 54-56

CS	OCS <i>běda</i> 'distress, need, necessity'
E	Ru. <i>bedá</i> 'misfortune, trouble'
W	Cz. <i>bída</i> 'poverty, misery'; <i>běda</i> 'woe!'; Slk. <i>bieda</i> 'poverty, calamity'; Pl. <i>bieda</i> 'poverty, misery'; <i>biada</i> interj. 'woe!'; OPl. <i>biada</i> 'distress, necessity' {1}; USrb. <i>běda</i> 'grief, woe, misery'; LSrb. <i>běda</i> 'grief, pain'

S SCr. *bijèda* ‘grief, misfortune’; Sln. *bèda* ‘misery’; Bulg. *bedá* ‘misfortune, misery’

PIE **b^hoid^h-eh₂*

Cogn. Alb. *be* f. ‘oath’ {2}

According to Būga (RR I: 345-346), Lith. *bėdà* 4 ‘misfortune, trouble, guilt’ is probably not a borrowing from Slavic because it has *é* instead of the expected *ie* (cf. *biėdnas* ‘poor’). Indeed, there seems to be no obvious reason why *bėdà* and Latv. *bēda* ‘sorrow, grief, distress’ should not be old. These words could be connected with *bādas* ‘hunger’ and Skt. *bād^hate* ‘oppress’ (Būga l.c., Derksen 1996: 258). However, a dilemma arises if we consider that Slavic **bĕditi* ‘force, persuade’ cannot be separated from Go. *baidjan* ‘force’. We must either declare the Baltic forms borrowings or assume that in Slavic **bĕd-* < **b^hoid^h-* and **bĕd-* < **b^hēd^h-* were contaminated (cf. Anikin 1998: 39). In the latter case OCS *bĕda* ‘distress’ and ‘necessity’ would continue different roots. This is a possibility which cannot be excluded. The hypothesis that Lith. *baidyti* ‘to scare’ < **b^hiH-* ‘to fear’ is cognate with **bĕdà* and **bĕditi* (cf. ESSJa II: 55-56) must be rejected, if only on formal grounds.

{1} The vocalism of Modern Polish *bieda* ‘id.’ is of Mazowian origin, cf. *biada* ‘woe!’ {2} Demiraj (1997: 94) prefers **b^heid^h-i-s* to an *ā-stem*.

See also: **bĕditi*

**bĕditi* v. (b)

ESSJa II 56-57

CS OCS *bĕditi* ‘force, persuade’, 1sg. *bĕždŏ*

E Ru. *bedít*’ (dial.) ‘spoil, vex’

W Cz. *bíditi* (Jg., Kott) ‘reduce to poverty, (*se*) torment oneself, suffer’; *bĕditi* (Jg., Kott) ‘reduce to poverty’; *bíditi se* (dial.) ‘live in poverty’; Slk. *biedít* ‘live in poverty’; OPL. *biedzić* ‘struggle’

S SCr. *bijèditi* ‘slander’, 1sg. *bijèdīm*; Bulg. *bedjá* ‘accuse’

PIE **b^hoid^h-eie-*

Cogn. Gk. *πειθω* ‘persuade’; Go. *baidjan* ‘force’; OHG *beitten* ‘demand’

It is very unlikely that Slavic **bĕditi* ‘force’ and Go. *baidjan* ‘id.’ belong to different roots. Stang even includes these words in his “Sonderübereinstimmungen” (1972: 14). The meaning ‘persuade’ is another indication that we are dealing with PIE **b^hoid^h-*. The question is whether denominative **bĕditi* ‘reduce to poverty, live in poverty’ ultimately continues a different root (see **bĕdà*).

See also: **bĕdà*

**bĕgati* v. (a) ‘run, flee’

ESSJa II 58-59

CS OCS *bĕgati* ‘run, flee’, 1sg. *bĕgajŏ*

E Ru. *bégat*’ ‘run’, 1sg. *bégaju*

W Cz. *bĕhati* ‘run’; Slk. *behat* ‘run’; Pl. *biegać* ‘run’; Sln. *bjĕgāc* ‘run’

S SCr. *bjĕgati* ‘flee’, 1sg. *bjĕgām*; Sln. *bĕgati* ‘walk to and fro, rout’, 1sg. *bĕgam*; Bulg. *bjágam* ‘run, flee’

BSL.	* <i>beġg-</i>
B	Lith. <i>bėgti</i> ‘run’
PIE	* <i>b^heg^w-</i>
Cogn.	Gk. φέβομαι ‘flee’

The acute root vowel results from Winter’s law.

See also: *bėžāti

***bĕlŋ** adj. o (b) ‘white’

ESSJa II 79-81

CS	OCS <i>bĕlŋ</i>
E	Ru. <i>bĕlyj</i> ; <i>bel</i> , f. <i>belá</i> , n. <i>bĕlo</i> {1}
W	Cz. <i>bĕlý</i> ; Slk. <i>biely</i> ; Pl. <i>biały</i> ; Slnc. <i>bjǎulĭ</i>
S	SCr. <i>bĭjel</i> , <i>bĭo</i> , f. <i>bijĕla</i> , n. <i>bijĕlo</i> ; Ćak. <i>bĭ(l)</i> (Vrg.), f. <i>bilà</i> , n. <i>bilò</i> ; <i>bĭel</i> (Orb.), f. <i>bĭelà</i> , n. <i>bĭelo</i> ; Sln. <i>bĕl</i> ; Bulg. <i>bjal</i>

B Lith. *bālas* 4 ‘white’; *bāltas* 3 ‘white’; Latv. *bāls*, *bāls* ‘pale’; *balts* ‘white’

The fact that this etymon belongs to AP (b), which implies a non-acute root, does not pose any problems if one assumes that the regular reflex of a lengthened grade vowel was circumflex. We may reconstruct **b^hēlH-o-*, with regular loss of the root-final laryngeal.

{1} AP (b) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 136).

See also: *bòlna; *bolnŋ; *bolŋa; *bolnŋje; *bòlto

***bĕsŋ** m. o (c) ‘demon’

ESSJa II 88-91

CS	OCS <i>bĕsŋ</i>
E	Ru. <i>bes</i>
W	Cz. <i>bĕs</i> ; Slk. <i>bes</i> ; Pl. <i>bies</i>
S	SCr. <i>bĭjes</i> ; Ćak. <i>bĭs</i> , Gsg. <i>bĭsa</i> ; Sln. <i>bĕs</i> ; Bulg. <i>bjas</i> ‘rabies, demon’

BSL. **boiŋsós*

B Lith. *baisùs* ‘terrible’; Latv. *baiss* ‘terrible’

PIE **b^hoiHd^h-so-*

Cogn. Lat. *foedus* ‘repulsive, terrible, disgraceful’

Since both Slavic and Baltic point to BSL. *s instead of *ŋ, it has been suggested that the root of this etymon was **b^hoiHd^h-*, cf. Lat. *foedus* ‘repulsive, terrible, disgraceful’ (cf. Pedersen 1895). An extension of the root is also found in Lith. *baidýti*, Latv. *baīdīt* ‘scare’, but it is uncertain if this *d, which may be identified with **d^hh₁-* ‘put’ and is part of a productive suffix (cf. OPr. *pobaiint* ‘punish’), is the same element.

***bėžāti** v. (c) ‘run, escape’

ESSJa II 92

CS	OCS <i>bėžati</i> ‘run, run away, escape’, 1sg. <i>bėžø</i> , 2sg. <i>bėžiši</i>
E	Ru. <i>bežát</i> ‘run, escape’, 1sg. <i>begú</i> , 3sg. <i>bežít</i>
W	Cz. <i>bėžeti</i> ‘run’; Slk. <i>bežat</i> ‘run’; Pl. <i>bieżec</i> (obs.) ‘run’; Slnc. <i>bjježęc</i> ‘suffer from diarrhoea’

S SCr. *bjèžati* ‘run, escape’, 1sg. *bjèžim*; *bijèžati* (Vuk: “u pjesmi”) ‘run, escape’; Čak. *bižati* (Vrg.) ‘run, escape’; *bežāt* (Orb.) ‘run (away)’, 1sg. *bežin*; Sln. *bèžati* ‘flee, run’, 1sg. *bežim*; *bežāti* ‘flee, run’

BSl. **beʔg-*

B Lith. *bėgióti* ‘run about’

PIE **bʰegʷ-*

Cogn. Gk. φέβομαι ‘flee’

See also: **bēgati*

***bičb** m. jo (a) ‘whip, lash’

ESSJa II 94

CS OCS *bičb*

E Ru. *bič*’; ORu. *bičb*

W Cz. *bič*; Slk. *bič*; Pl. *bicz*; Sln. *bjič*

S SCr. *bič* ‘whip, cane’, Gsg. *biča*; Čak. *bič* (Vrg.) ‘whip, cane’, Gsg. *biča*; Sln. *bič*, Gsg. *biča*; Bulg. *bič* ‘whip, leather lash’

Derivative of → **biti*. The suffix continues **-tjo-*.

***bidlo** n. o (a)

ESSJa II 94-95

E Ru. *bilo* (dial.) ‘pestle, seat in a sleigh’; ORu. *bilo* ‘board which is struck to convoke people to church or to the dining-table, plectrum’; Ukr. *bylo* ‘board used instead of a bell in monasteries’

W Cz. *bidlo* ‘pole’; OCz. *bidlo* ‘rack, support, plectrum’; Slk. *bidlo* ‘pole, perch, slay’; OPl. *bidlo* ‘squared beam covered with nails in a sleigh’; Sln. *bjīdlō* ‘round bar in a sleigh’; LSrb. *bidlo* ‘reed (of a loom)’

S SCr. *bilo* ‘mountain ridge with spurs, artery, riveting hammer’; Sln. *bilo* ‘artery, striking mechanism (of a clock)’; Bulg. *bilo* ‘crest of a mountain, mountain ridge’

Derivative in **-dʰlom* from the root **bʰiH-* ‘strike’ (→ **biti*). AP (a) is in accordance with Hirt’s law.

See also: **bičb*; **biti*; **bitva*; **bojъ*

***biti** v. (a) ‘beat’

ESSJa II 99-101

CS OCS *biti* ‘beat’, 1sg. *bitjō*

E Ru. *bit*’ ‘beat’, 1sg. *bitju*, 3sg. *bitjēt*

W Cz. *bit* ‘beat’; Slk. *bit* ‘beat’; Pl. *bić* ‘beat’; Sln. *bjīc* ‘thresh, beat’; USrb. *bić* ‘beat’; LSrb. *biś* ‘beat’; Plb. *bait* ‘beat’

S SCr. *biti* ‘beat, kill’, 1sg. *bitjem*; Sln. *biti* ‘beat’, 1sg. *bitjem*; Bulg. *bitja* ‘beat’

PIE **bʰiH-*

Cogn. OIr. *benaid* ‘strike’, pret. pass. *-bith*; Lat. *perfinēs* 2sg. pres. subj. ‘you may break’

See also: **bičb*; **bidlo*; **bitva*; **bojъ*

*bitva f. ā (a) ‘battle, fight’

ESSJa II 100-101

- E Ru. *bítva*
 W Cz. *bitva* ; Slk. *bitva* ; Pl. *bitwa*
 S SCr. *bītvā*; Sln. *bītvā*; Bulg. *bitva*
 PIE *b^hiH-tu-eh₂

See also: *bičь; *biti; *bidlo; *bojь

*blekotъ; *blekota m. o; f. ā

ESSJa II 108-109

- E Ru. *blēkot* (dial.) m. ‘henbane’; *blekotá* (dial.) m.f. ‘chatterbox’, *blekóta* (dial.) m.f. ‘chatterbox’; Bel. *blēkat* m. ‘henbane, hemlock’; Ukr. *blékit* m. ‘poison hemlock’; *blēkot* m. ‘henbane’; *blekotá* f. ‘poison hemlock, henbane’
 W Cz. *blekot* m. ‘shouter, babbler’; *blekota* f. ‘grumbler’; OCz. *blekot* m. ‘chatter, grumbling, chatterbox, grumbler’; Slk. *blakot* m. ‘bleating, bellowing’; Pl. *blekot* m. ‘fool’s parsley, henbane, (arch.) stammerer, chatterbox’; USrb. *blekot* m. ‘muttering, babble’
 S SCr. *blēkēt* m. ‘bleating’

See → *blekъ.

*blekъ m. o

ESSJa II 109

- W Cz. *blek* ‘bleating’; USrb. *blek* ‘henbane’; *blik* ‘henbane’
 S SCr. *blēk* ‘bleating’; Sln. *blēk* ‘flock (of sheep)’; Bulg. *blek* (dial.) ‘henbane’
 PIE *b^hlek-o-

The semantic connection between *blek(ot)ъ as the name of various poisonous plants and *blekotъ ‘chatter, chatterer’ is the fact that particularly henbane may cause a delirium, cf. Ru. *belenít’sja* (dial.) ‘become infuriated’, SCr. *belèna* ‘fool’ from *belena ‘henbane’, or the Polish expression *brodzi, jakby się blekotu* (‘fool’s parsley’) *objadł*, which equals Cz. *jako by se blínu napil*. I am inclined to consider the verbs *blekati ‘chatter, mutter, bleat’ and *blekotati derivatives of *blekъ and *blekotъ rather than vice versa (pace ESSJa). The development of a meaning ‘bleat’ may have been favoured by the onomatopoetic qualities of the root. Alternatively, we could distinguish a separate onomatopoetic root *blek- ‘bleat’ or even separate *blek- ‘henbane’ from *blek- ‘chatter, mutter’. Pokorny (IEW) erroneously classifies Ru. *blēkotъ* ‘fool’s parsley’ under *b^hleiq- ‘shine’.

See also: *blekota; *blekotъ

*blēdъ adj. o (c) ‘pale’

ESSJa II 111-112

- CS OCS *blēdъ*
 E Ru. *bledój* (dial.); *blēdyj* (dial.); Ukr. *blidyj*
 W Cz. *bledý*; Slk. *bledý*; Pl. *blady*; Sln. *bladi*; USrb. *blědy* ‘pale, bright’; LSrb. *blědy*

- S SCr. *blijed*, f. *blijèda*; Čak. *blīd* (Vrg.), f. *blīdā*, n. *blīdo*; *bl'ēt* (Orb.), f. *bl'edā*; Sln. *blēd*; Bulg. *bled*
- BSL. **bloi?d-(w)ó-*
- B Lith. *blaīvas* 4 'whitish, blue, sober'
- PIE **b^hloid-(u)o-*
- Cogn. OE *blāt* 'pale'; OHG *bleizza* f. 'pallor'

In view of Winter's law, we would expect to find traces of a glottalic element in Balto-Slavic. The accentuation of Lith. *blaīvas* – the Proto-Slavic form is mobile and therefore inconclusive – offers no evidence for an original acute, however. Pokorny's reconstruction **bhlāido-s* is impossible for Slavic and **bhle₂ido-s* is incompatible with the mobile accentuation of the adjective in Balto-Slavic.

*blējati v. 'bleat'

ESSJa II 107

- CS RuCS *blējati* 'bleat'
- E Ru. *bléjat* 'bleat, (dial.) 'speak, chatter, cry'; Ukr. *bléjaty* 'bleat, speak, tell stories'; *blījáty* 'bleat'
- W Cz. *bleti* (arch.) 'bleat'
- S SCr. *blējati* 'bleat, talk nonsense', 1sg. *blějīm*; Čak. *blējāti* (Vrg.) 'bleat, talk nonsense', 2sg. *blějěš*; *blejāt* (Orb.) 'bleat', 3sg. *blejī*; Sln. *blējati* 'bleat, quarrel, mutter', 1sg. *bléjam*, 1sg. *bléjem*; Bulg. *bléja* 'bleat'
- BSL. **ble?*-
Latv. *blēt* 'bleat'
- PIE **b^hleh₁-*
- Cogn. Lat. *flēre* 'cry'; MHG *blæjen* 'bleat'

*blěskъ m. o (c) 'brightness'

ESSJa II 113-114

- CS RuCS *blěskъ* 'brightness, colour, lightning'
- E Ru. *blesk* 'brightness, splendour'; ORu. *blěskъ* 'brightness, colour, lightning'
- W Cz. *blesk* 'lightning, brightness'; Slk. *blesk* 'id.'; Pl. *blask* 'brightness, shine'; Slnc. *blāsk* 'lightning, brightness'; *blięsk* 'id.'; USrb. *blěsk* 'id.'
- S SCr. *blījesak* 'glow, glimmer'; Sln. *blěsk* 'brightness, splendour, lightning'; Bulg. *bljásāk* 'brightness'
- BSL. **bloisko-*
Latv. *blaiskums* m. 'spot'; *blaizgums* m. 'spot'
- PIE **b^hloig-sko-*

The preglottalized velar may or may not have been lost before Winter's law. I prefer a Proto-Balto-Slavic reconstruction without *ʔ for reasons mentioned s.v. **blěskъ*. (cf. Derksen 1996: 285-294). Dybo (2002: 490) also assumes that Winter's law did not operate in this etymon. In his formulation, Winter's law was blocked by a following *s.

See also: *bliskati; *blistati; *bliscati; *blīskъ; *blěskъ; *blěščati

***blędъ** f. i 'error'

ESSJa II 114-115

- CS OCS *blędъ* f. 'nonsense, error, debauchery'; *blędъ* m. 'chatterer, idle talker'
 E Ru. *bljad'* f. 'prostitute, dissipated woman', Gsg. *bljádi*; ORu. *bljadъ* f. 'deception, nonsense, deceiver, lunatic, adulteress'

Cogn. Go. *blinds* 'blind'; OIc. *blindr* 'blind, unclear'

See → *blęsti.

***blęsti** v. 'talk nonsense, err'

ESSJa II 115

- CS OCS *blęsti* 'chatter, talk nonsense', 1sg. *blędę*; RuCS *blęsti* 'lose one's way, talk nonsense'
 E ORu. *bljasti* 'lose one's way, talk nonsense', 1sg. *bljadu*
 W OCz. *blęsti* 'lose one's way, talk nonsense', 1sg. *bledu*
 S SCr. *blesti* (arch.) 'talk nonsense, blaspheme'; Sln. *blęsti* 'rave, talk nonsense', 1sg. *blędem*

BSl. *blend-

- B Lith. *blęsti* 'sleep, stir flour into soup, talk nonsense, become cloudy', 3sg. *bleñdžia*; Latv. *bliēzt* 'talk nonsense', 3pres. *bliēž*; *blēnst* 'talk nonsense'; *blēnst* 'be short-sighted' {1}

The root *b^hlend^h- seems to be limited to Balto-Slavic and Germanic (cf. Stang 1972: 15).

{1} In ME, *blēnst* 'talk nonsense' is accented *blēnst²* (*blēnz²*) or *blēn²st* (*blēnz²t*). *Blēnst* 'be short-sighted' occurs with the unambiguous accentuations *blēnst* and *blēn²st* (ix). In some dialects, the latter verb has also preserved the root-final *d*.

See also: *blędъ; *blęditi; *blędъ

***bliskati; *blistati; *bliscati** v. 'shine'

ESSJa II 116-117

- CS OCS *bliskati se* 'sparkle, shine'; *bliscati se* 'sparkle, shine'
 E Ru. *blistát* 'shine'; *bliskat'* (dial.) 'sparkle'; Ukr. *blýskati* 'twinkle, kick'
 W Cz. *blýskati (se)* 'shine, flash (lightning)'; Slk. *blýskat'* 'id.'; Pl. *blýskać* 'shine, flash'; OPl. *bliskać* 'shine, flash'; Sln. *blāškāc* 'sparkle, glance'; USrb. *blýskać* 'sparkle, shine'; LSrb. *blýskaš (se)* 'sparkle, shine'
 S SCr. *bliskati (se)* 'shine'; *blistati (se)* 'id.'; Sln. *blískati (se)* 'sparkle'; *bliskati se* 'shine'; Bulg. *bljáskam* 'shine, sparkle'

BSl. *blisk-

- B Lith. *blýškėti* 'shine', 3sg. *blýški*; *blizgėti* 'shine, sparkle'; *bliskėti* 'shine, sparkle'

In view of the forms with *v (→ *blvskъ), we must assume e-grade rather than *iH.

Cogn. OE *blīcan* 'shine'; *blīkan* 'id.'

See also: *blěskъ; *bliskъ; *blvskъ; *blvščati

***bliskъ** m. o (c)

ESSJa II 114

- CS OCS *bliskъ* (Euch.) ‘lightning’
 W Cz. *blisk* (dial.) ‘marsh marigold’; Slk. *blisk* ‘gilding, brightness, marsh plant’
 S Sln. *blisk* ‘lightning’
 PIE **b^hleig-sko-*
 Cogn. OHG *blic* ‘flash, lightning’; OS *bliksmo* ‘lightning’
 See also: *blěskъ; *bliskati; *blistati; *bliscati; *blъskъ; *blъščati

***blizna; *blizno** f. ā; n. o

ESSJa II 118-120

- E Ru. *blizna* (dial.) f. ‘missing thread in fabric, flaw in home-spun material’; *blizná* f. ‘knot in linen resulting from an incorrect arrangement of the warp’; *bliznó* n. ‘flaw in fabric, absence of one or two threads’; *bljuzná* f. ‘flaw in fabric’; ORu. *blizna* f. ‘scar’; Bel. *bljuzná* f. ‘flaw in fabric’; Ukr. *blýzna* f. ‘wound, scar’; *blyzná* f. ‘defect in linen’
 W Cz. *blizna* f. ‘stigma (bot.)’; Pl. *blizna* f. ‘scar, gash, seam, cicatrice, trace left by a fallen leaf’; OPl. *bluzna* f. ‘cicatrice, stigma, stamp’; Kash. *blizna* f. ‘cicatrice’; USrb. *bluzna* f. ‘scar, birth-mark’; LSrb. *bluzna* f. ‘scar, bruise’
 S SCr. *blizna* f. ‘two threads put into a reed (instead of one); ruptured thread in weft or warp’; Npl. *blizni*; *blizna* f. ‘scar’; *blizno* n. ‘gap’; Bulg. *blizná* f. ‘place in fabric where a thread is torn or missing’
 BSL. **bliž-n-*
 B Lith. *blyžė* f.(ė) 4 ‘rip in fabric’; Latv. *bliznis*² m.(io) ‘pile of broken trees in a forest’

A formation with an *n*-suffix derived from **b^hlig-* ‘beat’, cf. Lat. *fligere* ‘hit’. The forms that seemingly reflect **bluzna* must be secondary unless they are cognate with Lith. *blūzgana* ‘scurf’, Latv. *blāugznas* Npl. ‘scurf, husk’, which in my opinion is not very likely.

See also: *blizъ I; *blizъkъ; *blizъ II; *blizъ

***blizъ I; *blizъkъ** adj. o ‘near, close’

ESSJa II 121-122

- CS CS *blizъ* {1}
 E Ru. *blizyj* (dial.) ‘short-sighted’ {2}; *blizkij* ‘near, close’; Ukr. *blýz’kyj* ‘near, close’
 W Cz. *blizý* (arch.); *blízký*; Slk. *blízky*; Pl. *bliski*; OPl. *blizi* ‘near, close, adjacent’; USrb. *blizki*; LSrb. *blizki*
 S SCr. *bliz*; *blizak*; Sln. *blízak*, f. *blízka*; Bulg. *blizāk*
 BSL. **bleiž-*

See → *blizъ* II, **blizъ*.

{1} As an adjective, *blizъ* is exclusively attested in Croatian Church Slavic manuscripts from the 14th century. {2} The adjective *blizъ* has AP (a/c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 133).

***blizъ II; *blizъ** adv., prep.

ESSJa II 121-122

- CS OCS *blizъ* adv./prep. 'near, close to' (rarely *blizъ*)
 E Ru. *bliz* prep. 'near, close to'
 W Pl. *blizo* (dial.) adv. 'near, close by'; OPl. *blizu* adv. 'near, close by'
 S SCr. *blizu* prep./adv. 'near, close by'; Čak. *blizŭ* (Orb.) prep./adv. 'near, nearby'; *blizu* (Orb.) prep./adv. 'near, nearby'; Sln. *bliz* adv. 'near, close by'; *bliz* prep. 'near, close to'; Bulg. *blízo* adv. 'near, close by'
 BSL. *bleiž-
- B Lith. *bliežti* (dial.) 'throw hard'; *bláizyti* 'tear off, shell'; Latv. *bliēzt* 'beat, hew'; *blaizīt* 'squeeze, squash, hit, beat, rub'
 PIE *b^hl(e)ig̑-o-
 Cogn. Lat. *fligere* 'hit'

Although puzzling at first, the semantic transition from 'to beat' to 'near' appears to have convincing parallels, e.g. MoFr. *près* 'near' : Lat. *pressus* 'squeezed' (ESSJa II: 122, with references).

See also: *blizna; *blizno; *blizъ; *blizъкъ

***bljusti** v. (c) 'watch'

ESSJa II 136-137

- CS OCS *bljusti* 'watch, guard', 1sg. *bljudŏ*
 E Ru. *bljusti* 'guard, observe', 1sg. *bljudú*, 3sg. *bljudët*
 S SCr. *bljüsti* (RJA: arch.) 'guard, observe', 1sg. *bljudēm*
 BSL. *bjoud-
 PIE *b^heud^h-e/o-
 Cogn. Gk. πέυθομαι 'give notice'; Skt. *bódhati* 'observe, heed'
 See also: *buditi; *bъdēti; *bъdгъ

***blъvati** v. 'vomit'

ESSJa II 140-141

- CS OCS *blъvati*, 1sg. *bljujŏ*
 E Ru. *blevát* (vulg.), 1sg. *bljujú*, 3sg. *bljujët*; ORu. *blъvati*, 1sg. *bljuju*
 W Cz. *blíti*; *blut* (dial.); OCz. *blvati* 'vomit, spit', 1sg. *bluju*; *blívati*; Slk. *bluvať*; Pl. *blwać* (obs.), 1sg. *bluję*; *bluć*, 1sg. *bluję*; USrb. *bleć*; *bluwać* 'vomit, spit'; LSrb. *bluwaś*; *bluś* 'vomit, spit'; Plb. *blāvā* 3sg. 'vomits'
 S SCr. *bljūvati*, 1sg. *bljūjēm*; Čak. *bljūvat* (Orb.), 3sg. *bljūje*, 3sg. *bljūva*; Sln. *bljāvati* 'vomit, spit', 1sg. *bljújem*; *bljuvati* 'vomit, spit', 1sg. *bljúvam*, 1sg. *bljújem*; *bljúti* 'vomit, spit', 1sg. *bljújem*; Bulg. *bālvam*; *bljúja* (dial., arch.); *bljúvam* (dial., arch.)
 BSL. *bljou?-
 B Lith. *bliáuti* 'bleat, sob, weep'; Latv. *blāūt* 'bleat, bellow'
 PIE *b^hleuH-
 Cogn. Gk. φλέω 'flow over'; Lat. *fluō* 'flow'

***bl̥diti** v. (b) 'err'

ESSJa II 125-127

- CS OCS *bl̥diti* 'err, indulge in debauchery', 1sg. *bl̥žd̥p*
 E Ru. *bludít* 'wander, roam', 1sg. *blužú*, 3sg. *blúdit*; *bludít* 'fornicate', 1sg. *blužú*, 3sg. *bludít*
 W Cz. *blouditi* 'lose one's way, roam, be mistaken'; Slk. *blúdit* 'lose one's way, roam, be mistaken'; Pl. *blądzić* 'be mistaken, roam, lose one's way'; Sln. *bl̥žěc* 'be mistaken, roam, talk nonsense', 1sg. *bl̥žq̣*; USrb. *bludzić* 'delude, lose one's way, be mistaken, roam'; LSrb. *blužís* 'confuse, roam, be mistaken'
 S SCr. *blúđiti* 'spoil, caress', 1sg. *blúđim*; Sln. *bl̥diti* 'roam, be mistaken, talk nonsense, mix, blend, delude', 1sg. *bl̥đim*
 BSL. **blond-ei/i-*
 B Lith. *blandýtis* 'clear up, become cloudy, recover, roam'; Latv. *bluðditiēš*² 'roam, be ashamed'; *blānditiēš*² 'roam'
 PIE **b^hlond^h-eie-*
 Cogn. Go. *blandan sik* 'mix'; OIc. *blanda* 'mix, blend'; OE *blandan* 'mix'; OE *blendan* 'darken, blend'; OIc. *blunda* 'close one's eyes'; ME *blundren* 'stir, confuse'; MoE *blunder* 'blunder'

See also: *bl̥d̥b; *bl̥sti; *bl̥d̥b

***bl̥d̥b** m. o (c) 'delusion'

ESSJa II 126-127

- CS OCS *bl̥d̥b* 'debauchery, depravity, adultery'
 E Ru. *blud* 'lechery, fornication, (dial.) evil spirit that leads the drunk astray'
 W Cz. *blud* 'mistake, delusion, insanity'; *bloud* 'fool' {1}; Slk. *blud* 'mistake, delusion, insanity'; Pl. *bląd* 'mistake, delusion', Gsg. *bl̥đu*
 S SCr. *bl̥ud* 'mistake, delusion, lechery, adultery'; Sln. *bl̥d̥* 'mistake, delusion, voluptuousness'; Bulg. *blud* 'fornication, adultery, time of unrest'
 BSL. **blondos*
 B Lith. *blañdas* m. 'cloudiness, obscuration of mind or eyesight, drowsiness'; *blandà* f. 4 'fog'; *blandūs* 'dim, cloudy, thick (soup)'; Latv. *bluods* m. 'evil spirit that leads one astray, wood-goblin'

Deverbative *o*-stem with *o*-grade in the root of **b^hlend^h-*. Skt. *bradhna-* (RV+) 'pale ruddy, yellowish, bay', which has been assumed to be cognate, rather belongs together with **bron̥*.

Cogn. OIc. *blundr* m. 'slumber'

{1} According to Verweij (1994: 528), the originally long root vowel of Cz. *bloud* may be a vestige of the accent paradigm to which **bl̥d̥b* belonged prior to the operation of Illič-Svityč's law.

See also: *bl̥d̥b; *bl̥sti; *bl̥d̥iti

***bl̥xà** f. ā (b) 'flea'

ESSJa II 129-130

- CS RuCS *bl̥xa*
 E Ru. *bloxá*, Asg. *bloxú*; *bloxá* (dial.), Asg. *bl̥oxu*; Ukr. *bloxá*

- W Cz. *blecha*; Slk. *blcha*; Pl. *pchła* {1}; Slnc. *pchlā*; USrb. *tcha*; *bka* (Pfuhl); *pcha* (Pfuhl); *tk(h)a* (Pfuhl); LSrb. *pcha*; *bcha* (dial.); Plb. *blāxā*
- S SCr. *būha*, Asg. *būhu*, Npl. *būhe*; Čak. *buhä* (Vrg.), Npl. *buhë*; *būha* (Orb.); Sln. *bólha*; Bulg. *bālxā*
- BSl. **blúša*?
- B Lith. *blusà* 2; Latv. *blusa*
- PIE **plus-*
- Cogn. Gk. ψύλλα f.; Skt. *plúṣi-* m.; Lat. *pūlex* m.; OHG *flōh* m.; Arm. *low*
- {1} In Polish dialects, we find a large variety of forms, e.g. *pcha*, *pla*, *plecha*, *blecha*, *blcha*.

***bl̥kn̥q̥ti** v. 'fade' ESSJa II 112-113

- E Ru. *blēknut'* 'fade, wither' {1}; Bel. *bljáknuc'* 'fade, wither'; Ukr. *blēknuty* 'fade, wither'
- W Pl. *blaknąć* 'fade' {2}; Kash. *vəblēknq̥c* 'fade'; *zblēknq̥c* 'fade'
- B Lith. *nubliēkti* 'fade'
- PIE **b^hlik-*

The ESSJa actually reconstructs **blēkn̥q̥ti*. I prefer the traditional reconstruction, which is also found in Sławski SP I.

{1} Cf. also *blēklyj* 'faded, pale, wan'. {2} Rather than regarding the *a* as old, I would follow Sławski in assuming that the root vowel was influenced by *bladny* 'pale'.

***bl̥sk̥** m. o ESSJa II 113-114

- CS CS *bl̥sk̥* 'splendour'
- W OCz. *blesk* 'lightning, brightness', Gsg. *blsku*; LSrb. *bl̥ysk* 'lightning, brightness'
- S Bulg. *blāsāk* 'blow, stab'
- BSl. **blisko-*
- B Lith. *blizgas* 2 'shine, glimmer'
- PIE **b^hliǵ-sko-*

If the preglottalized velar was preserved up to Winter's law, the Slavic and Baltic forms with short **i* would have to be of analogical origin. For this reason I prefer a Proto-Balto-Slavic reconstruction without **ʔ* (see also LIV 89).

See also: **bl̥šk̥*; **bliskati*; **blistati*; **bliscati*; **blisk̥*; **bl̥ščati*

***bl̥ščati** v. 'shine' ESSJa II 131-132

- CS OCS *bl̥štati se* 'sparkle, shine'
- E Ukr. *blyščáti* 'shine'
- W Cz. *blyštěti se* 'shine, sparkle, twinkle' (Jungmann has *bl̥štěti*, *blyštěti*, *bl̥štěti* 'shine'); Pl. *bl̥yszczec* 'shine, sparkle'; Slnc. *bl̥āščec* 'shine, sparkle'; *bl̥ęščec* 'shine, sparkle'; USrb. *bl̥ysćec* 'shine'; LSrb. *bl̥ysćas (se)* 'shine'

S SCr. *blijěštati* (*se*) ‘shine, glisten’; Čak. *bljščiti se* (Vrg.) ‘shine, glisten’; Sln. *bljščati* ‘shine, sparkle, gawk’ {1}; *bojščati* ‘gawk’; Bulg. *blěštja* ‘open one’s eyes wide, gawk’; *bleští* (dial.) 3sg. ‘shines’

BSL. **bliske?*-

B Lith. *blyškėti* ‘shine’, 3sg. *blyški*; *blizgėti*; *bliskėti* ‘shine, sparkle’

PIE **b^hliǵ-sk-eh₁-*

A number of the above-mentioned forms contain a secondary full grade. For a motivation of the Proto-Balto-Slavic reconstruction, see → **blskǵ*.

{1} The accentuation *bljščati* (Pleteršnik I: s.v.) is a misprint (see o.c. II: I).

***bo** conj. ‘for’

ESSJa II 141-142

CS OCS *bo* ‘for’

E Ru. *bo* (dial.) ‘if, for, because’

W Cz. *bo* (arch.) ‘for’; Pl. *bo* ‘for, because’

S SCr. *bo* (dial.) ‘for’

BSL. **bo*

B Lith. *bà* ‘for’; *bè* ‘for’

PIE **b^ho*

Cogn. Go. *ba* ‘that not, if not’

***bodàti** v. ‘stab, sting’

ESSJa II 122-122

E Ru. *bodát* ‘butt’, 1sg. *bodáju*

W Cz. *bodati* ‘stab, pierce’; Slk. *bodat* ‘stab’

S Sln. *bōdati* ‘sting, stitch’, 1sg. *bōdam*; Bulg. *bodá* ‘stab, feel a sharp pain’

BSL. **bod-*

B Lith. *badýti* ‘butt, prick’, 3pres. *bādo*

PIE **b^hod^h-*

Cogn. Lat. *fodiō* ‘dig’

The ESSJa mentions forms reflecting **bodati* under **badati* because the *o*-vocalism is assumed to be analogical. Since in general **bodàti* is also semantically closer to *bosti* (the meaning ‘investigate’ is limited to *bādàti*) and in some languages occurs alongside **bādàti*, it is perhaps more accurate to say that it is a recent formation.

See also: **bādàti*; **bodъlb*; **bosti*

***bodъlb** m. jo (c) ‘thorn’

ESSJa II 154-155

CS RuCS *bodlb* ‘thorn’

S SCr. *bōdalj* (Montenegro) ‘a kind of thorny grass’, Gsg. *bōdlja*; Čak. *b^ođalj* (Orb.) ‘unidentified plant (thistle?), prickle, thorn’, Gsg. *b^ođljja*; Sln. *bōdāl* ‘needle, thorn’, Gsg. *bōdlja*; Bulg. *bodél* (obs.) ‘thorn’

See also: **bādàti*; **bodàti*; **bosti*

***bogàtъ** adj. o 'rich' ESSJa II 158-159

- CS OCS *bogatъ*
 E Ru. *bogátyj*
 W Cz. *bohatý*; Slk. *bohatý*; Pl. *bogaty*
 S SCr. *bògat*; Čak. *bogăt* (Vrg., Orb.), f. *bogàta*; Sln. *bogàt*; Bulg. *bogát*

See → *bògъ.

***bògъ** m. o (c) 'god' ESSJa II 161-163

- CS OCS *bogъ*
 E Ru. *bog*, Gsg. *bóga*; Bel. *boh*, Gsg. *bóha*; Ukr. *bih*, Gsg. *bóha*
 W Cz. *bůh*, Gsg. *boha*; Slk. *boh*; Pl. *bóg*, Gsg. *boga*; USrb. *bóh*, Gsg. *boha*
 S SCr. *bôg*, Gsg. *bôga*; Čak. *bôg* (Vrg., Novi), Gsg. *bôga*; b^u*ôh* (Orb.) 'God, Christ', Gsg. *bôga*; Sln. *bôg*, Gsg. *bogâ*; Bulg. *bog*

Cogn. Skt. *bhága-* (RV+) m. 'prosperity, good fortune'; LAV. *baya-* m. 'lord, god'

The Slavic noun **bogъ* is usually considered a borrowing from Iranian (cf. Vaillant Gr. I: 16). This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the etymon does not show the effects of Winter's law.

See also: *bogatъ; *nebogъ

***bojāti se** v. 'fear, be afraid' ESSJa II 163-164

- CS OCS *bojati se*
 E Ru. *bojat'sja*, 1sg. *bojús'*, 3sg. *boítsja*; Ukr. *bojátý sja*
 W Cz. *báti se*; Slk. *bať sa*; Pl. *bać się*; Slnc. *būjēc sę*; USrb. *bojeć so*; LSrb. *bójas se*
 S SCr. *bòjati se*; Čak. *bòjati se* (Vrg.); Sln. *bojāti se*, 1sg. *bojím se*; *báti se*, 1sg. *bojím se*; Bulg. *bojá se*

- BSL. **b(o)i(ǝ)-aǝ-*
 B Lith. *bijóti(s)*; Latv. *bijāt(iēs)*; *bītiēs*
 OPr. *biātwei*

PIE **b^hoiH-eh₂-*
 Cogn. Skt. *bhayi-* (RV+) 'fear, be afraid'

See also: *bojaznъ

***bojaznъ** f. i 'fear' ESSJa II 165

- CS OCS *bojaznъ*
 E Ru. *bojázń*
 W Cz. *bázeň* f.(i/jā); Pl. *bojaźń*
 S SCr. *bòjāzan*; Sln. *bojāzæn*; Bulg. *bojázǎn*

- BSL. **b(o)i(ǝ)-aǝ-*
 B OPr. *biāsnan* Isg. 'fear'

See also: *bojati se

***bojъ** m. jo (b/c) ‘battle, fight’ ESSJa II 167-168

- CS OCS *uoi* ‘murder’
 E Ru. *boj* ‘battle, fight, beating’, Gsg. *bója* {1}; Ukr. *bij* ‘fight, battle’, Gsg. *bóju*
 W Cz. *boj* ‘battle, fight’; Slk. *boj* ‘battle, fight’; Pl. *bój* ‘battle, fight’, Gsg. *boju*
 S SCr. *bōj* ‘battle, war’, Gsg. *bōja*; Čak. *bōj* (Vrg.) ‘battle, war’, Gsg. *bojā*; Sln. *bòj* ‘battle, fight’, Gsg. *bója*; Bulg. *boj* ‘battle, fight’

PIE *b^hoiH-o-

{1} AP (b) in Old Russian, sporadically (c) (Zaliznjak 1985: 134).

See also: *bičъ; *biti; *bidlo; *bitva

***bolěti** v. (c) ‘ache’ ESSJa II 187-189

- CS OCS *bolěti* ‘be ill, be in pain’, 1sg. *boljъ*, 2sg. *boliši*
 E Ru. *bolét* ‘ache’, 3sg. *bolít*; *bolét* ‘be ill’, 3sg. *boléet*; Ukr. *bolíty* ‘ache’, 3sg. *bolít*; *bolíty* ‘be in pain, be ill’, 3sg. *bolíje*
 W Cz. *boleti* ‘ache’; Slk. *boliet* ‘ache’; Pl. *boleć* ‘ache’; Sln. *būlěc* ‘ache’; USrb. *boleć* ‘ache’; LSrb. *bóles* ‘ache’
 S SCr. *bòljeti* ‘ache, hurt’, *bòlim*; Čak. *bolíti* ‘ache, hurt’, 3sg. *bolī*; *bolèt* (Orb.) ‘hurt’, 3sg. *bolī*; Sln. *bolěti* ‘ache’, 1sg. *bolím*; Bulg. *bolí* ‘aches’ 3sg.; *boljá* ‘be ill’

PIE *b^hol(H)-

Cogn. Go. *balwjan* v. ‘martyr’; OIc. *bōlva* v. ‘curse’

The possibility exists that we had *b^helh₂u- (Gk. φλαῦρος ‘inferior, bad’, OIc. *blauðr* ‘timid?’) alongside *b^helh₂- (cf. Pokorny 125, 159).

See also: *bōlbъ

***bōlgo** n. o (c) ESSJa II 173

- CS OCS *blago* ‘(the) good’
 E Ru. *bólogo* (dial.) adv. ‘well, good’; *bologó* (dial.) adv. ‘well, good’; ORu. *bologo* ‘(the) good’
 W Cz. *blaho* ‘bliss, happiness’; Pl. *blago* ‘good, happiness’
 S SCr. *blāgo* ‘wealth, money, cattle’; Čak. *blāgo* (Vrg.) ‘cattle’; *blāgo* (Orb.) ‘(head of) cattle, farm animal’; Sln. *blagô* ‘good, goods, cattle’; Bulg. *blāgo* ‘good, property, wealth’

Etymology unclear. The etymon has been compared with Skt. *Bṛhaspāti-* (name of a God) and Av. *barəg-* f. ‘rite’, but this is highly speculative.

See also: *bōlgъ

***bōlgъ** adj. o (c) ‘good’ ESSJa II 174

- CS OCS *blagъ* ‘good, gracious’
 W Cz. *blahý* ‘blessed, good’; Slk. *blahý* ‘blessed, good’; Pl. *blogi* ‘good, happy, beneficial’

S SCr. *blâg* ‘sweet, good’; Sln. *blâg* ‘noble, benevolent’; Bulg. *blag* ‘good, pleasant, sweet’

See → **bôlgo*.

***boļe(je)** adv. ‘more’

ESSJa II 193-194

CS OCS *bolje* ‘more’; *bole* ‘more’

E Ru. *bólee* ‘more’

W USrb. *bóle* ‘more’

S SCr. *bôlje* ‘better’; Čak. *bôļē* (Vrg.) ‘better’; *bôlje* (Orb.) ‘better’; Sln. *bôlje* ‘better’

Adverb of → **boļvjb*.

***boļjъ** adj. jo ‘bigger, better’

ESSJa II 193-194

CS OCS *bolji* ‘bigger, better’, f. *boļvši*, n. *bolje*

E Ru. *ból’sij* ‘bigger’, f. *ból’saja*, n. *ból’see*

S SCr. *bôļji* ‘better’; Čak. *bôļi* (Vrg.) ‘id.’; *bôļji* (Orb.) ‘id.’; Sln. *bôļji* ‘id.’

Cogn. Skt. *báliyās-* ‘better’; Gk. *βελτίων* ‘better’

A comparative **bol-(i)is-io-* from a PIE root **bel-* ‘strong’.

See also: **boļe(je)*

***bòlna** f. ā (a) ‘membrane’

ESSJa II 175-177

CS RuCS *blana* ‘placenta’

E Ru. *boloná* ‘sickly outgrowth on trees, sap-wood, (dial.) lump’; ORu. *bolona* ‘placenta’; Ukr. *bolóna* ‘membrane, window-pane’

W Cz. *blána* ‘film, membrane, web (of water-fowl), sap-wood’; Slk. *blana* ‘membrane, film’; Pl. *blona* ‘membrane, film’; OPl. *blona* ‘placenta, eyeweb, peritoneum, entrails’; LSrb. *blona* ‘membrane, film’

S Sln. *blâna* ‘membrane, thin skin, parchment’; Bulg. *blaná* ‘manure (used as fuel), turf’

BSl. **bol?-n-*

B Lith. *bálnas* 3 ‘white, having a white back (cattle)’

PIE **b^holH-n-*

Both the ESSJa and Sławski SP (I: 307-309) are inclined to derive **bolna* ‘membrane, sapwood’ and **bolna* ‘turf, meadow’ from a root meaning ‘white’ (see also Urbutis 1982: 163-164). Though the relationship between ‘membrane’ and ‘white’ may not be obvious, the relationship between the usually light-coloured sapwood and ‘white’ is unproblematic. In view of the semantic similarities between ‘sapwood’ and ‘membrane’, the etymology advocated by the ESSJa and Sławski SP may very well be correct. The connection between **bolna* ‘turf, meadow’ and **bolto* ‘swamp’, where an etymology involving the root for ‘white’ is widely accepted, seems quite plausible.

See also: **béľъ*; **bolnъ*; **bolŋa*; **bolnъje*; **bôlto*

***bolńb; *bolŋa** f. i; f. jā ESSJa II 178

- E Ru. *bolón* (dial.) ‘peritoneum, membrane, upper layers of a tree, cambium, bull’s belly’; *bólon* (dial.) ‘timber’; ORu. *bolonb* ‘low-lying meadow near a river’; Ukr. *bolon* ‘meadow, pasture’
- W Cz. *blaňa* (dial.) ‘film, skin (on milk, etc.)’; OCz. *blaňe* ‘pasture’; Slk. *blana* ‘membrane, film’; Pl. *blona* ‘membrane, film’; Slnc. *blōyn* m.(o) ‘cloud’; Gsg. *blōynā*; LSrb. *bloń* m.(i) ‘meadow, clearing’; Plb. *blān* ‘meadow’; *blānā* ‘id.’
- S Sln. *blánja* ‘board, stump, log’
- BSL. **bolŋni-*
- B Lith. *bálnis* m.(io) ‘peeled tree-trunk’
- PIE **b^holH-n-*

See → **bòlna*. I have included Slnc. *blōyn* in spite of the fact that it is morphologically and semantically deviant.

***bolńje** n. io ESSJa II 178-179

- E Ru. *balón’e* (dial.) ‘low flooded place’; ORu. *bolonje* ‘low-lying meadow near a river’; Ukr. *bolónja* ‘low-lying meadow’; *bolónje* ‘ravine, pasture’; *bolon’é* (dial.) ‘swamp’
- W Cz. *bláně* (arch.) ‘meadow, pasture’; OCz. *blání* ‘meadow, lawn’; Pl. *blonie* ‘large pasture, meadow’; Plb. *blāně* ‘meadow’
- BSL. **bolŋni-*
- PIE **b^holH-nio-*

See also: **bělŋ*; **bòlna*; **bolńb*; **bolŋa*; **bòlto*

***bòlto** n. o (a) ‘swamp’ ESSJa II 179-182

- CS OCS *blato* ‘swamp, quagmire’
- E Ru. *bolóto* ‘swamp’
- W Cz. *bláto* ‘mud’; Pl. *bloto* ‘mud’; Slnc. *blū̃tə* ‘swamp’; USrb. *blóto* ‘mud’
- S SCr. *blāto* ‘mud, swampy terrain’; Čak. *blāto* (Vrg.) ‘mud, swampy terrain’; *blāto* (Orb.) ‘mud, dirt’; Sln. *bláto* ‘mud, swamp’; Bulg. *bláto* ‘mud, swamp’
- BSL. **bolŋto*
- B Lith. *báltas* 3 ‘white’; *balà* f. 2/4 ‘swamp’; Latv. *bal̃ts* ‘white’
OPr. *Namuynbalt* [placename] {1}
- Cogn. Alb. *baltë* f. ‘mud, swamp’; MoGk. βάλτος f. ‘swamp’; Rom. *baltă* f. ‘mud, swamp’ {2}

Both formally and semantically, **bòlto* may derive from PIE **b^helH-* ‘white’, cf. Pl. *biel* (dial.), *bielaw*, Bel. *bel* ‘swampy meadow’ (ESSJa II: 180). PSI. **bolto* is sometimes considered an “Illyrian” substratum word. In this connection not only the above-mentioned forms from the Balkan peninsula are adduced, but also Romance forms such as Lomb. *palta*, Piem. *pauta* (cf. Demiraj 1997: 87-88).

{1} Cf. also the *Rythabalt* meadow and the placename *Peusebalten*. *Namuynbalt* is the equivalent of *Namoyumpelk* (*pelk* ‘swamp’).

See also: *bělъ; *bòľna; *bolнь; *bolŋa; *bolньje

*bōľь f. i (c) ‘pain’

ESSJa II 191-192

CS OCS *bolb* m.(i) ‘sick person’

E Ru. *bol’* ‘pain’; Bel. *bol’* m.(jo) ‘pain’, Gsg. *bólju*; Ukr. *bil’* m.(jo) ‘pain, suffering’, Gsg. *bólju*

W Cz. *bol* m.(o) ‘sorrow, grief’; Slk. *ból’* m.(jo) ‘sorrow, grief’; Pl. *ból* m.(o) ‘pain, sorrow, grief’, Gsg. *bólu* {1}; Kash. *b^uól* m.(o) ‘pain’, *b^uólu* {1}; Slnc. *bōľ* m.(o) ‘pain’, *bōľu*; USrb. *ból* f.(jā) ‘pain’, Gsg. *bole*; LSrb. *bol* ‘pain, grief’, Gsg. *boli*

S SCr. *ból* ‘pain, illness’, Gsg. *bōľi*; Čak. *ból* (Vrg., Novi) ‘pain, illness’, Gsg. *bōľi*; *b^uól* (Orb.) ‘pain, illness’, Gsg. *boli*; Sln. *ból’* ‘pain, suffering, grief’, Gsg. *bōľi*; *bōľ* m.(o) ‘pain, suffering, grief’; Bulg. *bol* (dial.) m.(o) ‘pain, sick person’; *bol’* (dial.) m.(o) ‘sick person, illness’; Mcd. *bol* f.(i) ‘pain’

PIE *b^hol(H)-i-

Cogn. OCorn. *bal* f. ‘illness’; OIc. *bǫl* n. ‘misfortune, damage’, Dsg. *bǫlve*; Go. *balwawesei* f. ‘wickedness’; OE *bealu* n. ‘woe, harm, wickedness’

A deverbative of → *bōľěti.

{1} Sławski mentions *ból* (17th/18th c.) ‘devil, demon’, Gsg. *bolu* (SP I: 315). A variant with the expected short root vowel is also attested in dialects and in Kashubian (Gsg. *-ólu* alongside *-ólu* mentioned in Lorentz PW).

*bolzina f. ā ‘beam’

ESSJa II 183-184

S SCr. *blāzina* ‘pillow, bolster’; Sln. *blazina* ‘roof-beam, cross-beam, pillow, mattress, bolster’

BSL. *bolzei?nař; *bolzei?nos

B Lith. *balžienas* m. 1/3 ‘cross-beam (harrow, waggon, sledge)’; *balžiena* f. 1/3 ‘cross-beam (harrow, waggon, sledge)’; Latv. *bālziēns* m. ‘cross-beam (sledge, plough)’

OPr. *balsinis* ‘cushion’; *pobalso* ‘bolster’

PIE *b^holǵh-

Cogn. OIc. *bjalki* m. ‘beam’; OHG *balko* m. ‘beam’; OE *balca* m. ‘beam’

It seems plausible that we are dealing with two, formally indistinguishable roots (cf. IEW: 122-123, 125-126). The meaning ‘pillow, bolster’ belongs to the same root that underlies Lith. *balnas*, OHG *balg*, etc. Stang (1972: 14) attempts to separate ‘beam’ from ‘pillow, bellows’ on formal grounds (*ǵ vs. ǵ^h, respectively), but this does not seem to work, as the Balto-Slavic forms that are supposed to contain *ǵ do not show the effects of Winter’s law. It is more likely that the Germanic forms with *k contain *k(k) < *ǵ^h-n- (Kluge’s law).

See also: *bolzьno

***bolzno** n. o 'beam'

ESSJa II 184

E Ru. *bólozno* (dial.) 'thick plank'W Kash. *błozno* 'cross-beam'; Slnc. *blūęznø* 'body of a sleigh'BSL. **bolzeiřnař*; **bolzeiřnos*B Lith. *balžienas* m. 1/3 'cross-beam (harrow, waggon, sledge)'; *balžiena* f. 1/3 'cross-beam (harrow, waggon, sledge)'; Latv. *bālziēns* m. 'cross-beam (sledge, plough)'OPr. *balsinis* (EV) 'cushion'; *pobalso* (EV) 'bolster'PIE **b^holǵʰ-*Cogn. Oic. *bjalki* m. 'beam'; OHG *balko* m. 'beam'; OE *balca* m. 'beam'See → **bolzina*.***bordà** f. ā (c) 'beard'

ESSJa II 197-198

CS OCS *brada* 'beard'E Ru. *borodá* 'beard, (dial.) chin', Asg. *bórodu*; Bel. *baradá* 'beard'; Ukr. *borodá* 'beard, chin'W Cz. *brada* 'chin, beard'; Slk. *brada* 'chin, beard'; Pl. *broda* 'beard, chin'; Slnc. *brūędā* 'beard'; USrb. *broda* 'beard, chin'; LSrb. *broda* 'beard, moustache, chin'; Plb. *brödä* 'chin, throat'S SCr. *bráda* 'beard, chin', Asg. *brādu*; *brāda* 'axe'; Čak. *brādä* (Vrg.) 'beard, chin', Asg. *brādu*; *brādä* (Orb.) 'chin, beard', Asg. *brādu*; Sln. *bráda* 'beard, (beardless) chin'; Bulg. *bradá* 'chin, beard'; Mcd. *brada* 'chin, beard'BSL. **bordá?*B Lith. *barzdà* 4; Latv. *bārda*; *bārзда* (dial.)OPr. *bordus* (EV)Cogn. Lat. *barba* f.; OHG *bart* m.; OE *beard* m.Possibly a North Indo-European substratum word. In PIE terms – albeit with "European a" – the reconstruction is **b^hard^h-eh₂*.See also: **bordāt̥****bordāt̥** adj. o 'bearded'

ESSJa II 198-199

CS CS *bradatyi*E Ru. *borodátyj*; Bel. *baradáty*; Ukr. *borodátyj*W Cz. *bradatý*; Slk. *bradatý*; Pl. *brodaty*; Slnc. *brødät̥i*; USrb. *brodaty*; LSrb. *brodaty*S SCr. *bràdat*; Sln. *bradät*; Bulg. *bradät*BSL. **bordá?-to-*B Lith. *barzdótas*Cogn. Lat. *barbātus*Adjective in *-to- derived from → **bordà*.

***bordlo** n. o

ESSJa II 200-201

- E Ukr. *borólo* (dial.) ‘cleft in a crag’; *boroló* (dial.) ‘crag’
 W OCz. *bradlo* ‘cliff, (pl.) fortification’ {1}; Slk. *bradlo* ‘cliff’; Pl. *brodło* (dial.) ‘hay-stack, shock’; *bródło* (dial.) ‘hay-stack, shock’; OPl. *brodło* ‘hay-stack’
 S Bulg. *brálo* ‘weir’
 PIE **b^horH-d^hlom*

Verbal derivative in **-dlo* < **-d^hlo-*, cf. → **bòrti*.

{1} Cz. *bradlo* ‘handle of a stick’ derives from **b^hratī* ‘take’.

See also: **borna* II; **bòrnъ*; **zabordlo*

***bòrgъ** m. o (c) ‘stack, rick’

ESSJa II 202-203

- E Ukr. *borih* (dial.) ‘stack, rick’, Gsg. *boroga*
 W OCz. *brah* ‘stack, rick’; Pl. *bróg* ‘stack, rick, shed’, Gsg. *brogu*; Slnc. *bröug* ‘stack, rick’, Gsg. *brüögü*; LSrb. *brog* ‘stack, rick’

PIE **b^horg^h-o-*

Cogn. MLG *barch* (*barg, berg*) m. ‘shed without walls for storing sheafs’

Lith. *b(a)rāgas* ‘stack, rick’ is a Slavic borrowing. Ru. *brog* was probably borrowed from Polish.

See also: **bergti*; **bьrgъ*

***borna** I f. ā (b/c) ‘harrow’

ESSJa II 204-206

- E Ru. *boroná*, Asg. *bóronu*; ORu. *borona*; Ukr. *boroná*
 W Cz. *brány* Npl.; Slk. *brány* Npl.; Pl. *brona* {1}; Slnc. *bárnä*; USrb. *bróna*; Plb. *bornä*
 S SCr. *brána*; Sln. *brána*; Bulg. *brána*; *braná* (dial.); Mcd. *brana*
 PIE **b^horH-neh₂*
 Cogn. Gk. φαρῶσι 3pl. ‘plough’; Lat. *forāre* ‘perforate’; OIc. *bora* ‘perforate, drill’; OHG *borōn* ‘perforate, drill’

According to the ESSJa, **borna* ‘harrow’ and **borna* ‘guarded entrance, barrier’ belong to one and the same root. Though this may be correct, I prefer to leave it an open question whether these words may be identified. In my opinion, this is tantamount to leaving the question whether PSl. **bortī*, Lat. *ferīre* and OIc. *berja* are cognate with Gk. φαρῶσι, Lat. *forāre* and OIc. *bora* unanswered.

{1} We find attestations of *bróna* (*bruna*) from the 16th century onwards (Sławski SP I: 324).

See also: **borna* I; **bьrna*; **bьртъ*; **bьртъ*

***borna** II f. ā

ESSJa II 204-206

- E ORu. *borona* ‘defence’; Ukr. *boróna* ‘defence’

- W Cz. *brána* ‘entrance, gate, defences’; OCz. *brána* ‘fortification, gate’; Slk. *brána* ‘gate, guarded entrance’; Pl. *brona* ‘(arch.) fortified gate, movable part of a gate’
- S SCr. *brána* ‘dam, weir, barrier, defender, defence’; Sln. *brána* ‘protection, defence’; Bulg. *braná* (dial.) ‘dam, weir’; Mcd. *brana* ‘dam, weir’
- PIE **b^horH-neh₂*
- See → *borna* I.

*bòrnъ f. i (c)

ESSJa II 208-209

- CS OCS *branъ* ‘war, battle, fight’
- E Ru. *bóron*’ (dial.) ‘prohibition, order’; ORu. *boronъ* ‘battle, obstacle, guard’
- W OCz. *braň* ‘arms, fortification, defence’; *bran* ‘arms, fortification, defence’; Pl. *broń* ‘weapon, military division’; USrb. *brón* ‘arms, equipment’; LSrb. *broń* ‘arms’
- S SCr. *brân* f. ‘fight, battle, war’; *brân* m. ‘fight, battle, war’; Sln. *brân* ‘defence, kind of weir, (wicket-)gate’; Bulg. *bran* f.? ‘war’
- BSL. **bor-n-i-*
- B Lith. *baĩnis* m.(io) 2 ‘abuse, quarrel’; *barnis* f.(i) 4 ‘abuse, quarrel’
- PIE **b^horH-n-i-*
- See also: *bordlo; *borna II; *bòrti; *zabordlo

*bòršъno n. o (c) ‘flour, food’

ESSJa II 212-213

- CS OCS *brašъno* ‘food’
- E Ru. *bórošno* (dial.) ‘rye-flour’; ORu. *borošъno* ‘(farinaceous) food’; Ukr. *bórošno* ‘flour’
- S SCr. *brāšno* ‘flour, food’; Čak. *brāšno* (Vrg.) ‘flour, food’; Sln. *brášno* ‘food’; Bulg. *brašnó* ‘flour’
- BSL. **bar-*
- B Latv. *barība* f. ‘food’
- PIE **b^har-s-in-om*
- Cogn. Lat. *far* n. ‘flour’, *farīna* f. ‘id.’; Go. *barizeins* adj. ‘barley-’; OIc. *barr* m. ‘grain’; OIr. *bairen* f. ‘bread, loaf’; W *bara* ‘bread’

We are probably dealing here with a root **b^har-*, which was borrowed into European (cf. Schrijver 1991: 113-114).

*bòrti v. (b)

ESSJa II 213-214

- CS OCS *brati* (*sę*) ‘fight’, 1sg. *borjъ* (*sę*), 2sg. *borješi* (*sę*)
- E Ru. *borót* ‘overpower, throw to the ground’, 1sg. *borjú*, 3sg. *bóret*; *borót’sja* ‘fight’, 1sg. *borjús*, 3sg. *bóretsja*; Ukr. *boróty* ‘overpower’
- W Pl. *bróc się* (dial.) ‘fight, contend’
- S Bulg. *bórja* ‘torment, conquer’; *bórja se* ‘fight’

BSL. *borʔ-
 B Lith. *bárti* ‘scold, accuse, forbid’; *bártis* ‘quarrel’; Latv. *bārti* ‘scold, blame’; *bārtiēš* ‘quarrel’

PIE *b^horH-

Cogn. Lat. *ferīre* ‘hit’; OIc. *berja* ‘beat, hit’; OHG *berjan* ‘hit, pound, knead’

For semantic reasons it is unclear whether Lat. *forāre* ‘perforate’, OIc. *bora* ‘id.’, etc., belong here as well (cf. Schrijver 1991: 216; see also s.v. *borna I). The Germanic forms continue PGmc. *barjan.

See also: *bordlo; *borna II; *bōrnъ; *zabordlo

*bōrvъ m. o (c)

ESSJa II 214-215

CS CS *bravъ* ‘small live stock’

E Ru. *bórov* ‘hog, castrated boar, (dial.) boar, castrated bull’; ORu. *borovъ* ‘small live stock, hog, castrated boar’

W Cz. *brav* ‘small live stock’; *brav* (dial.) ‘hog, castrated boar’; Slk. *brav* ‘hog, castrated boar’; Pl. *browek* (dial.) ‘porker’

S SCr. *brâv* ‘sheep (pl.), (dial.) hog, castrated boar’; Čak. *brâv* (Vrg.) ‘ram’; Sln. *brâv* ‘sheep (pl.), pig, animal’; *brâv* f.(i) ‘sheep (pl.)’; Bulg. *brav* (dial.) ‘ram’

PIE *b^hor-u-o-

Cogn. OIc. *bǫrgr* m. ‘hog, castrated boar’; OHG *barug* m.; *barh* m. ‘id.’; OE *bearg* m.; *bearh* m. ‘id.’; MoE *barrow* ‘id.’; MoDu. *barg* m. ‘id.’

It is unclear whether this root may be identified with the root *b^hrH- of → *bōrti and *bōrtv, as is advocated by Pokorny (IEW: 133-135). The Germanic cognates reflect *b^hor-u-ko-.

*bōrъ m. u (c) ‘pine-tree, pine forest’

ESSJa II 216-217

CS RuCS *borъ* ‘pine-tree, pine forest’

E Ru. *bor* ‘coniferous forest’; *bor* (dial.) ‘woods, forest, heather, shrubbery, high place, dry place, waterless valley’; ORu. *borъ* ‘pine-tree, pine forest’, Npl. *borove*; Ukr. *bir* ‘pine forest, coniferous forest’, Gsg. *bóru*; *byr* (dial.) ‘high, sandy place, pinewood in a high, sandy place’, Gsg. *boru*

W Cz. *bor* ‘coniferous forest, woods’; *bor* (dial.) ‘pine-tree, pine forest’; Slk. *bor* ‘pine-tree’; *bôr* ‘pine-tree’; Pl. *bór* ‘forest’, Gsg. *boru*, Lsg. *boru*; Sln. *bôr* ‘dry, barren soil, pine forest’; USrb. *bór* (arch.) ‘pine-tree, pine forest’; LSrb. *bór* (obs.) ‘pine-tree, (pine) forest’

S SCr. *bôr* ‘pine-tree’, Gsg. *bōra*; Čak. *bôr* (Vrg.) ‘pine-tree’, Gsg. *borà*; Sln. *bôp* ‘pine-tree’; Bulg. *bor* ‘pine-tree’

In Slavic, there are many indications for an original *u*-stem *borъ* < *b^horu-, e.g. RuCS *borove* Npl. ‘pine-trees’, Pl. *w boru* ‘in the forest’, or derivatives based on a stem *borov-, such as SCr. *boròvĭk* ‘coniferous forest, pine forest’, *bòrovina* ‘pine-tree, pinewood’, *bòròvka* ‘bilberry, raspberry’.

Cogn. OIc. *bǫrr* m. ‘tree’; OE *bearu* m. ‘tree’, Gsg. *bearwes*

***borzdà** f. ā (b) ‘furrow’

ESSJa II 220

- CS OCS *brazda* ‘furrow’
 E Ru. *borozdá* ‘furrow, (dial.) harrow, canal’
 W Cz. *brázda* ‘furrow’; Slk. *brázda* ‘furrow’; Pl. *bruzda* ‘furrow’; Slnc. *bářďďa* ‘furrow’; USrb. *brózda* ‘furrow’; LSrb. *brozda* ‘furrow’; *brūzda* (dial.) ‘furrow’; *brouzda* (dial.) ‘furrow’
 S SCr. *brázda* ‘furrow, (dial.) canal’; Čak. *brāzdà* (Vrg.) ‘furrow’; *brāzdà* (Orb.) ‘furrow, row (of potatoes, etc., planted in one furrow)’ (more common is the *i*-stem *brās*, Gsg. *brāzdī*); Sln. *brázda* ‘furrow, wrinkle’; Bulg. *brazdá* ‘furrow’; *brezdá* ‘furrow’; Mcd. *brazdá* ‘furrow, irrigation canal, wrinkle’
 B Lith. *biržė* f.(ė) 2 ‘sign (out of straws or twigs) that marks the boundary of the sowed land, furrow’ {1}; Latv. *birze* f.(ē) ‘furrow’

The reconstruction **b^hrs-d^(h)-*, which would enable a connection with Skt. *bhṛṣṭī-* f. (RV) ‘point, top, spike, tooth’ (if not *ṣ < *ś*), cannot account for the Baltic forms.

{1} The original accentuation of this word cannot be established. In Lithuanian, we find *biržė* 1/2/4 and *biržis* 1/2/3/4. In Latvian, *birze*, *birze* and *birze* are attested.

***bostī** v. (c) ‘stab, sting’

ESSJa II 222-223

- CS OCS *bosti* ‘stab’, 1sg. *bodq*, 1sg. aor. *basō*
 E Ru. *bost’* (Smol.) ‘butt’, 1sg. *bodú*; *bostí* (Kalin. obl.) ‘butt’
 W Cz. *bůsti* (poet.) ‘stab’, 1sg. *bodu*; OCz. *bósti* ‘stab’, 1sg. *bodu*; Pl. *bóśc* ‘stab, butt’, 1sg. *bodę*
 S SCr. *bòsti* ‘sting, prick, stab’, 1sg. *bòdēm*; Čak. *bòsti* (Vrg.) ‘sting, prick, stab’, 2sg. *boděš*; *bòs* (Orb.) ‘sting, prick, stab’, 1sg. *bodèn*; Sln. *bósti* ‘stab, butt’, 1sg. *bódem*
 BSL. **bed-*; *bod-*
 B Lith. *bėsti* ‘stick, drive (into), dig’, 3sg. *bėda* {1}
 PIE **b^hod^h-*
 Cogn. Lat. *fodiō* ‘dig’

{1} We find *o*-vocalism in, for instance, the intensive *badýti*, Latv. *badīt*.

See also: **bādāti*; **bodati*; **bodъbъ*

***bōsъ** adj. o (c) ‘barefooted, unshod’

ESSJa II 223-224

- CS CS *bosъ*
 E Ru. *bosój*; Ukr. *bósyj*
 W Cz. *bosý*; Slk. *bosý*; Pl. *bosy*; USrb. *bosy* ‘barefooted, tasteless’; LSrb. *bosy*
 S SCr. *bōs*; Čak. *bōs* (Vrg.), f. *bosă*, n. *bōso*; *b^uōs* (Orb.), f. *bōsa*, n. *bōso*; Sln. *bōs*; Bulg. *bos*
 BSL. **bosós*
 B Lith. *bāsas* 4; Latv. *bass*

PIE *bʰos-ó-

Cogn. OIc. *berr* ‘naked, bare’; OHG *bar* ‘naked, bare’; OE *bær* ‘naked, bare’

***bʰobʰniti** v.

ESSJa II 232

E Ru. *bubnít* ‘grumble, mutter’

W Cz. *bubeniti* (Jg.) ‘beat the drum’; Pl. *bębnić* ‘beat the drum, make noise’

See → *bʰobʰnō.

***bʰobʰnō** m. o ‘drum’

ESSJa II 232-233

CS RuCS *bubenō* ‘drum’; RuCS *bubonō* ‘drum’

E Ru. *búben* ‘tambourine’

W Cz. *buben* ‘drum’; Pl. *bęben* ‘drum’

S SCr. *būbanj* m.(jo) ‘big Turkish drum, (dial.) fishing-basket’; Čak. *būbanj* (Orb.) m.(jo) ‘drum’; Sln. *bōbən* ‘drum, fishing-basket’

Cogn. OIc. *bumba* ‘drum’

***brātṛb;** ***brātṛ** m. o (a) ‘brother’

ESSJa II 238, III 8-9

CS OCS *bratrō;* *bratō*

E Ru. *brat*, Gsg. *bráta*; Ukr. *brat*

W Cz. *bratr*; *brat* (dial., poet.); OCz. *bratr*; *brat*; Slk. *brat(e)r* (dial.); *brat*; Pl. *brat*; OPl. *bratr* (Bibl. Zof.); Sln. *brāt*; USrb. *bratr*; LSrb. *bratr* (arch.); *bratš*; Plb. *brot*

S SCr. *brāt*; Čak. *brāt* (Vrg., Orb.); Sln. *brāt*; *brātər*; Bulg. *brat*; Mcd. *brat*

BSL. *brátʔ-t(e)r-

B Lith. *brólis* m.(io) 1; *broterėlis* m.(io) 2 ‘brother (dim.)’; Latv. *brālis* m.(io); *brātarītis* m.(io) ‘brother (dim.)’

OPr. *brāti* (Ench.); *brote* (EV); *bratrikai* (Ench.) Npl. ‘brothers (dim.)’

PIE *bʰreh₂-tr-

Cogn. Gk. φράτηρ m. ‘member of a brotherhood’; Lat. *frāter* m. ‘brother’; Go. *broþar* m. ‘brother’

***brātṛbja;** ***brātṛbja** f. jā (a) ‘brothers (coll.)’

ESSJa III 7-8, 9-10

CS OCS *bratrija* ‘brothers, brotherhood’; *bratija* ‘brothers, brotherhood’

E Ru. *brátʹja* Npl. m. ‘brothers’; Ukr. *brátʹtja* Npl. n.(jo) ‘brothers (coll.)’

W Cz. *bratří* (arch.) ‘brotherhood’; Cz. *bratřie* (arch.) ‘brotherhood’; OCz. *bratř* f.(i) ‘brotherhood’; Pl. *bracia* (arch.) ‘brothers (coll.)’; LSrb. *bratša* (arch., obs.) ‘brothers (coll.), brotherhood’; Plb. *brotʹă* ‘brothers’

S SCr. *brāca* ‘brothers’; *brātja* ‘brothers’; Čak. *brāca* (Vrg.) ‘brothers’; *brāca* (Orb.) ‘brothers (and sisters)’; Sln. *brātja* ‘brothers’; Mcd. *bratija* ‘brotherhood’

PIE *bʰreh₂-tr-ieh₂-

Cogn. Gk. φρᾶτρία f. 'brotherhood'

See also: *bràtrъ; *bràtrъ

***brediti** v. 'rave'

ESSJa III 12

E Ru. *brédit'* 'be delirious, rave, (dial.) clear a way'; OUkr. *brediti* 'talk rubbish'; *brěditi* 'talk rubbish'

W Cz. *bředit se* (dial.) 'writhe, forget out of malice'; Pl. *bredzić* 'be delirious, rave' {1}

B Lith. *brėdyti* 'chatter, deceive' {2}

No doubt, this is the same root as in → **bresti* 'wade', cf. Ru. *sumasbród* 'madcap' (van Wijk 1911: 128). We may be dealing with a denominative verb, cf. Ru. *bred* 'delirium, ravings'.

{1} Since the 16th century. According to Bańkowksi (2000: 74), we are dealing with a Ruthenianism. {2} A borrowing from Slavic.

***bresti** v. (c?) 'wade'

ESSJa III 14-15

CS RuCS *bresti* 'wade' {1}

E Ru. *brestí* 'drag oneself along, stroll pensively', 1sg. *bredú*, 3sg. *bredět*; Ukr. *brestý* 'drag oneself along, wade', 1sg. *bredú*, 3sg. *bredět*

W OCz. *břísti* 'wade', 1sg. *brdu*, 1sg. *bř(e)du*; Slk. *brst'* 'wade', 1sg. *brdie*, 1sg. *brdú*; Sln. *brásc* 'wade', 1sg. *brádq*; Plb. *bradě* 1sg. 'wade'

S Sln. *brésti* 'wade', 1sg. *brédem* 'wade'

BSL. **bred-*

B Lith. *bristi* 'wade', 3pres. *breñda*, 3pret. *brido* {2}; Latv. *brist* 'wade'

Cogn. Alb. *bredh* 'jump, hop'

The root must be reconstructed as **b^hred^h-*.

{1} The forms *nepřěbreditъ* and *nepřěbredimъ* 'infinite', which are mentioned in the SSJ, do not occur in texts belonging to the canon. {2} Proto-East Baltic **bristi* must have ousted **birsti* < **b^hrd^h-ti* on the analogy of forms with full grade.

See also: *brediti; *broditi; *brōdъ; *brъdnqti

***brězǵъ** m. o 'dawn'

ESSJa III 17, 19

CS OCS *probrězǵъ*

E Ru. *brezǵ* (coll., dial.)

W Cz. *rozbrěsk*; OCz. *březk*; Pl. *brzask*; OPl. *brzazǵ*

S Sln. *brěsk*

BSL. **brež-(s)k-*

B Lith. *brėkšti* v. 'dawn', 3pres. *brėkšta*, 3pret. *brėško*

Cogn. Skt. *bhrájate* 'shine, beam'

We may reconstruct a deverbative noun **b^hreh₁ǵ-sk-o-*.

***brĕkŋoti** v. (a) ‘swell’

ESSJa III 23

E Ru. *brjáknuť* (dial.) ‘swell, expand as a result of dryness or moisture’; Bel. *brjáknuć* ‘get soaked’; Ukr. *brjáknuty* ‘swell’

S SCr. *brĕknuti* ‘swell’; Bulg. *brĕkna* (dial.) ‘get angry, swell’; Mcd. *brĕkna* ‘swell’

BSl. **brink-*

B Lith. *brinkti* ‘swell, bloat, grow dry’, 3pres. *brinksta*, 3pret. *brinko*

PIE **b^hrnk-*

Cogn. OIc. *bringa* f. ‘chest’

I suspect that AP (a) is connected with the formation in *-*ŋoti*, while the Lithuanian acute may be attributed to the *sta*-present, cf. the variant *brīŋkti* and the causative *brankýti* (dial.) ‘soak (peas)’, 3pres. *braňko*.

***brĕždžati** v. ‘jingle’

ESSJa III 24-25

E Ru. *brjazžát’* (dial.) ‘talk nonsense, jingle, strum’; OUkr. *brjazžáty* ‘jingle, tinkle’; *brjazžáty* jingle, tinkle’

BSl. **brenzg-*

B Lith. *breŋgti* ‘jingle’, 3pres. *brĕzgia*.

***bričb** m. jo ‘razor’

ESSJa III 25

CS RuCS *bričb*; SerbCS *bričb*

S SCr. *brič*; Bulg. *brič*

Derivative in *-čb < *-tio- of → **briti*.

See also: **bridb*; **bridčkb*; **bridb*; **britva*

***bridb**; ***bridb** m. o; f. i ‘sharpness, sharp edge’

ESSJa III 27-28, 29

E Ru. *bryd* (dial.) m. ‘sharpness, fumes, haze’; *brid* (dial.) m. ‘smoke’

S SCr. *brīd* m. ‘border, edge, blade’; Sln. *brīd* f. ‘sharp edge’, Gsg. *bridī*

See → **bridčkb*.

***bridčkb** adj. o ‘sharp’

ESSJa III 28-29

CS OCS *bridčkb* (Supr.) ‘sharp’

E Ru. *bridkij* (Psk.) ‘sharp, cold’; *bridkój* (Psk.) ‘sharp, cold’; *britkój* (Dal’: Arx.) ‘sharp’; *brītkij* (Dal’: S, W) ‘repulsive’

W Cz. *břítký* ‘sharp’; OCz. *břidký* ‘sharp, quick, repulsive’; Slk. *britký* ‘sharp’; *bridký* ‘repulsive’; Pl. *brzydki* ‘repulsive’; USrb. *britki* ‘repulsive’

S SCr. *brīdak* ‘sharp’, f. *brītka*, f. *brītka*; Sln. *brīdāk* ‘sharp, bitter, beautiful’, f. *brīdka*; *bridāk* ‘sharp, bitter, beautiful’, f. *bridka*

The root of this adjective seems to be an extended variant of **b^hr(e)iH-* (→ **briti*).

See also: **bričb*; **bridb*; **briti*; **britva*

***briti** v. (a) ‘shave’

ESSJa III 31-32

- CS CS *briti se* (Christ.) ‘shave’, 1sg. *brijo se*
 E Ru. *brit’* ‘shave’, 1sg. *bréju*
 W Cz. *břiti* (obs.) ‘shave’ {1}; Slk. *brit’* ‘shave’
 S SCr. *brīti* (arch., obs.) ‘shave, cut’, 1sg. *brījēm*; *brijati* ‘shave, cut’, 1sg. *brījēm*; *brījati* ‘shave, cut’, 1sg. *brījēm*; Čak. *brīt* (Orb.) ‘shave’, 3sg. *brīje*; Sln. *bríti* ‘shave, shear’, 1sg. *brijem*; Bulg. *brija* ‘shave’

PIE *b^{hr}(e)iH-Cogn. Skt. *bhrīṇāti* ‘injure’; OIr. *bronnaid* ‘injure, damage’; OIc. *brinna* ‘to cause a cutting, sharp sorrow’; MoHG *brennen* ‘id.’

{1} Possibly a borrowing, as the verb is not attested in Old Czech.

See also: *bričь; *bridь; *bridь; *bridькь; *britva

***britva** f. ā (a) ‘razor’

ESSJa III 25

- CS OCS *britva*
 E Ru. *brítva*
 W Cz. *břitva*; Slk. *britva*; Pl. *brzytwa*
 S SCr. *brītva*; Čak. *brīt(v)a* (Vrg.); *brītva* (Orb.) ‘razor, kind of knife’; Sln. *brítva* ‘razor, clasp-knife’

Verbal derivative in *-tva < *tu-eh₂. See → *briti.***brǫxo; *brǫxь** n. o; m. o (c) ‘belly’

ESSJa III 33-34

- E Ru. *brjúxo* n.; ORu. *brjuxo* n.; *brjuxo* m.
 W Cz. *břicho* n.; *břich* (obs.) m.; Slk. *brucho* n.; Pl. *brzuch* m.; *brzucho* (XV-XVIIth c., dial.) n.; Sln. *brǎχ* m.

PIE *b^{hr}reus-o-Cogn. OIr. *brú* f. ‘abdomen, belly, womb’; W *bru* m. ‘womb, belly’

See also: *brъstь

***broditi** v. (b?) ‘wade’

ESSJa III 36

- CS RuCS *broditi* ‘go across’
 E Ru. *brodít’* ‘wander, roam, stroll’, 1sg. *brožú*, 3sg. *bródit*
 W Cz. *broditi* ‘bathe (horses), (rarely) wander, roam’; *broditi se* ‘wade’; Slk. *brodit’ (sa)* ‘wade, squeeze through’; Pl. *brodzić* ‘wade’; USrb. *brodžić* ‘wade’; LSrb. *broziš* ‘wade’
 S SCr. *bròditi* ‘wade’, 1sg. *bròdīm*; Sln. *bródit* ‘wade, bathe’, 1sg. *bròdim*; Bulg. *bródja* ‘wander, roam, stroll’
 BSl. *brod-
 B Lith. *bra(i)dýti* ‘wade’
 PIE *b^hrod^h-eie-

See also: *brediti; *brestī; *brōdъ; *brьdnōti

***brōdъ** m. o (c) ‘ford’

ESSJa III 36-37

CS RuCS *brodъ*

E Ru. *brod*, Gsg. *bróda*, Gpl. *bródov*; Ukr. *brid*, Gsg. *bródu*

W Cz. *brod*; Slk. *brod*; Pl. *bród*, Gsg. *brodu*; USrb. *bród*, Gsg. *broda*; LSrb. *brod*

S SCr. *brōd* ‘ford, ship’, Gsg. *brōda*; Čak. *brōd* (Vrg.) ‘ship’, Gsg. *brōda*; *brōd* (Novi) ‘ship’, Gsg. *brōda*; *brôt* (Orb.) ‘ship’, Lsg. *brōde*; Sln. *brôd* ‘ford, harbour, ferry’; Bulg. *brod* ‘ford’

BSL. **brodos*

B Lith. *brādas* m. ‘muddy spot or road, ford, fishing net’; *bradà* f. ‘muddy spot or road, ford’; Latv. *brads* m. ‘ford’

PIE **b^hrod^h-o-*

See also: *brediti; *brestī; *broditi; *brьdnōti

***bronъ** adj. o ‘white (of horses)’

ESSJa III 41-42

CS CroatCS *bronъ* ‘white (of horses)’; RuCS *bronii*; *bronyi* ‘white (of horses)’

E ORu. *bronii*; *bronyi* ‘white (of horses), grey, dun’

W Cz. *brony* (obs.) ‘white (of horses)’; OCz. *brony* ‘white (of horses)’

PIE **b^hrod^h-no-*

Cogn. Skt. *bradhna-* (RV+) ‘pale red, ruddy, yellowish, bay’

***brusnīca** f. jā ‘mountain cranberry, cowberry, red whortleberry (*Vaccinium vitis-idaea*)’

ESSJa III 51-52

E Ru. *brusnīka*

W Cz. *brusnice*; Slk. *brusnica*; Pl. *brusznica*; *brusnica* (dial.)

S SCr. *brūsnica* ‘mountain cranberry, cowberry, red whortleberry (*Vaccinium vitis-idaea*)’, bilberry, whortleberry (*Vaccinium myrtillus*); Sln. *brusnica* ‘mountain cranberry, cowberry, red whortleberry (*Vaccinium vitis-idaea*)’; Bulg. *brusnica* ‘measles, mountain cranberry, cowberry, red whortleberry (*Vaccinium vitis-idaea*)’

BSL. *br(o)uš/k-*

B Lith. *brūkėnė* f.(ē) 2; Latv. *brūklene* f.(ē)

PIE **b^hrouk-*

See → *br̥sati, *br̥kati.

***brutъ** m. o ‘nail’

ESSJa III 53

CS SerbCS *brutъ*

S SCr. *brūt* (dial.); Bulg. *brut*

BSL. **brouk-to-*

B Lith. *braūktas* ‘wooden knife for cleaning flax’

See → *br̥sati, *br̥kati.

***br̥sati; *br̥kati v.**

ESSJa III 53-54, 55-56

E Ru. *brosát* ‘throw, (dial.) scutch flax’, 1sg. *brosáju; brokát* ‘(dial.) ‘throw’
 S SCr. *br̥cati* ‘throw’; Sln. *br̥kati* ‘push, rush, provoke’; *br̥sati* ‘kick, touch (in passing), graze’; *br̥sati* ‘kick, touch (in passing), graze’; *br̥cati* ‘kick’

BSL. *br̥s/k-

B Lith. *br̥ukti* ‘poke, thrust, press, scutch (flax)’

PIE *b^hruk-

The alternation between *s and *k points to *k̄. The *k may have arisen in the position before a resonant.

See also: *br̥sel̥; *br̥selije; *br̥s̥nica; *br̥sn̥oti; *br̥kn̥oti; *brysadlo

***br̥sel̥; *br̥selije**

ESSJa III 56

CS OCS *br̥selije* (Supr.) n.(io) ‘potsherd’; CS *br̥sel̥* [?] ‘potsherd, tablet’

See the previous lemma.

***br̥sn̥oti; *br̥kn̥oti v.**

ESSJa III 56-57

CS RuCS *br̥snuti* ‘shave’

E Ru. *brosnút* ‘(dial.) ‘squeeze, pick berries’

S SCr. *br̥knuti* ‘throw’; Sln. *br̥sniti* ‘kick, poke, rush’; *br̥kniti* ‘kick, poke, rush’; *br̥cniti* ‘kick, poke, rush’; Bulg. *br̥sna* ‘shave’

BSL. *br̥s/k-

B Lith. *br̥ukti* ‘poke, thrust, press, scutch (flax)’

PIE *b^hruk-

See also: *br̥sati; *br̥kati; *br̥sel̥; *br̥selije; *br̥s̥nica; *brysadlo

***br̥st̥ f. i ‘bud’**

ESSJa III 58

E Ru. *brost* ‘buds (of a shrub)’; Ukr. *brost* ‘bud (of a tree)’

W LSrb. *baršć* (obs.) ‘bud’

S SCr. *br̥st* m.(o) ‘(young) foliage, shoots, sprouts’; Sln. *br̥st* ‘bud (of a tree), sprout’; Gsg. *br̥sta*, Gsg. *br̥stà; br̥st* ‘bud (of a tree), brushwood’; Gsg. *br̥stī*

PIE *b^hrus-t-i-

Cogn. OS *brustian* ‘bud’

The connection with OS *brustian* was advocated by van Wijk (1909: 235), who actually reconstructed *b^hrust-.

See also: *br̥ûxo; *br̥ûxъ

***br̥zda f. ā ‘bit’**

ESSJa III 62

CS OCS *br̥zdami* (Ps. Sin.) Ipl. ‘bit’

- W Cz. *brzda* ‘brake’; Slk. *brzda* ‘brake’
 S Sln. *břzda* ‘bridle’; *brózda* ‘bridle’; *bruzdà* (16th-18th c.) ‘bridle’
 BSL. **bruzd-*
 B Lith. *bruzdùklis* m.(io) ‘bridle’
 PIE **b^hrus-d^h-*
 Cogn. OIc. *broddr* m. ‘spike, shaft’; OHG *brart* m. ‘edge’

*bry f. ū ‘eyebrow’

ESSJa III 63-64

- CS OCS *brǫvъmi* (Supr.) Ipl. ‘eyebrows?, eyelids?’
 E Ru. *brov’* f.(i) ‘eyebrow’
 W Cz. *brva* f.(ā) ‘eyelash, (pl.) eyebrows’; OCz. *brev* f.(i) ‘eyebrow’, Gsg. *brve*;
 Slk. *brva* f.(ā) ‘eyebrow, eyelid’; Pl. *brew* f.(i) ‘eyebrow’, Gsg. *brwi*
 S SCr. *břv* (13th c.) f.(i) ‘eyelid’
 BSL. **bruŕs*
 B Lith. *bruvìs* (dial.) f.(i) ‘eyebrow’; *brùvė* f.(ė) ‘eyebrow’
 PIE **h₃b^hruH-s*
 Cogn. Skt. *bhrú-* f. ‘eyebrow’; Gk. ὀφρῦς f. ‘eyebrow’; OE *brū* f. ‘eyebrow’

*brysadlo n. o

ESSJa III 65

- CS OCS *brysalo* (Supr.) ‘towel’
 S SCr. *břsalo* ‘rag, duster, wooden knife’; Sln. *brisálo* ‘towel, rag’

Derivative in *-*dlo* of the iterative → **brysati*.

See also: *brǫsati; *brǫkati; *brǫselь; *brǫselije; *brusъnica; *brǫsnqti; *brǫknqti

*brǫdnqti v. ‘wade’

ESSJa III 67

- W Cz. *břednouti* ‘melt, (obs.) wade’; Slk. *břednut’* ‘wade, roam’; Pl. *brnąć* ‘wade’
 BSL. **bird-*
 B Lith. *bristi* ‘wade’, 3pres. *breñda*, 3pret. *brido*; Latv. *brist* ‘wade’
 PIE **b^hrd^h-*

One would have suspected **brǫdnqti*, but Cz. *břednouti* points to **brǫd*. Apparently the zero grade of the root was influenced by the full grade of other forms. Likewise, Proto-East Baltic **bristi* must have ousted **birsti* < **b^hrd^h-ti* on the analogy of forms with full grade. How old the metathesis actually is, cannot be determined.

See also: *brediti; *bresti; *broditi; *brōdъ

*brǫna f. ā ‘mud, clay’

ESSJa III 69-70

- CS OCS *brǫnojъ* (Euch.) Isg. f. ‘mud, dirt’
 W USrb. *borno* n. ‘bog, marsh’
 S SCr. *brna* (16th c.) f. ‘mud, dirt’; Sln. *brna* f.(ā) ‘clay, humus’; *břnja* f.(jā) ‘clay, humus’; *břn* m. ‘silt’

Perhaps cognate with → **brestī*, cf. Lith. *bradà* f. ‘mud’.

***br̥n̥n̥je** n. io ‘mud, clay’ ESSJa III 170

CS OCS *br̥n̥n̥je* ‘mud, dirt’; RuCS *br̥n̥n̥je* ‘mud, dirt’; *brenije* ‘mud, dirt’; *br̥n̥n̥je* ‘clay’; *ber̥n̥n̥je* ‘clay’

S SCr. *br̥n̥n̥je* (arch., obs.) ‘mud, dirt’; Sln. *br̥n̥n̥je* ‘clay, humus, dirt’

See → **br̥na*.

***br̥vn̥no** n. o (b) ‘beam’ ESSJa III 72-73

CS OCS *br̥vn̥no* ‘beam’

E Ru. *brevnó* ‘beam’

W Cz. *břevno* ‘beam’; Slk. *brvno* ‘beam’; Pl. *bierwiono* ‘rough timber’ {1}

S SCr. *br̥vno* ‘beam, small bridge, boundary’; Sln. *br̥vno*; *br̥úno*

It is attractive to derive the word for ‘beam’ from → **bry* ‘eyebrow’, Gsg. **br̥ve* (Pedersen 1905: 322), except for the fact that it has the wrong jer. Pedersen (l.c.) presents examples of similar cases.

{1} A back-formation based on dial. *bier(z)wionko*, *bierzwienko*, cf. OPl. *Birzwno* (place-name) (Bańkowski 2000a: 49-50).

***buč̥ati** v. (c) ‘roar’ ESSJa III 74

E Ru. *buč̥át* (dial.) ‘low, weep loudly, hum’

W Cz. *buč̥eti* ‘roar, low’; Slk. *bučat* ‘low’; Pl. *buczeć* ‘hum, cry’; USrb. *buč̥eć* ‘roar, low, cry’

S SCr. *búčati* ‘make a loud noise, boom, rage’, 1sg. *búčim*; Čak. *būč̥ati* (Vrg.) ‘hit the surface of the sea to frighten fish into a net’, 2sg. *būč̥āš*; Sln. *búčati* ‘make a loud noise, roar’, 1sg. *buč̥im*; Bulg. *bučá* ‘make a deafening noise’

BSl. **bouk-*

B Lith. *baūkti* ‘roar’

PIE **b^houk-*

***bud̥iti** v. (c) ‘awaken, arouse’ ESSJa III 76-77

CS OCS *ubuditi* ‘awaken’, 1sg. *ubuž̥d̥o*; *v̥ozbuditi* ‘awaken’, 1sg. *v̥ozbuž̥d̥o*; CS *buditi* ‘arouse’

E Ru. *budít* ‘awaken, arouse’, 1sg. *buž̥ú*, 3sg. *búdit* {1}

W Cz. *buditi* ‘awaken, arouse’; Slk. *budít* ‘awaken, arouse’; Pl. *budzić* ‘awaken, arouse’

S SCr. *búđiti* ‘awaken, arouse’, 1sg. *búđim*; Čak. *būđiti* (Vrg.) ‘awaken, arouse’, 2sg. *būđiš*; *būđit* (Orb.) ‘wake up’, 1sg. *būđin*; Sln. *budíti* ‘awaken, arouse’, 1sg. *budím*; Bulg. *búđja* ‘awaken, arouse’

BSl. **boud-*

B Lith. *baūsti* ‘incite, force, punish’; *báudyti* ‘incite, instigate’; Latv. *baūdit*; *bàudīt* ‘incite, instigate’
OPr. *etbaudints* ptc. pret. pass. ‘awakened’

PIE **b^houd^h-eie-*

Cogn. Skt. *bodháyati* ‘awaken, draw attention’

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 139).

See also: *b₁usti; *b₂děti; *b₂drъ

***bujь** adj. jo ‘mad, foolish’

ESSJa III 84-85

CS OCS *bui*

W OCz. *buj*

PIE **b^hoHu-*

See also: *bujьnъ

***bujьnъ** adj. o ‘stormy’

ESSJa III 86

CS CS *buino* adv. ‘boldly’

E Ru. *bújnyj* ‘wild, tempestuous’

W Cz. *bujný* ‘lush, tempestuous’; Slk. *bujný* ‘lush’; Pl. *bujny* ‘lush’

S SCr. *bújan* ‘wild, stormy’; Sln. *bújan* ‘luxuriant, lush’

PIE **b^hoHu-*

Cogn. Skt. *bhúyān* ‘bigger, stronger’

See also: *bujь

***bùra; bùra** f. jā (a) ‘storm’

ESSJa III 97-98

CS OCS *burja* ‘storm’

E Ru. *búrja* ‘storm’

W Cz. *bouře* ‘storm’; Slk. *búra* ‘thunderstorm’; *bura* (Káľal) ‘north wind’; Pl. *burza* ‘storm, thunderstorm’

S SCr. *bùra* ‘stormwind’; Čak. *bùra* (Vrg.) ‘north wind’; *bùra* (Orb.) ‘northeast wind’; Sln. *búrja* ‘northeast wind, impetuous person’; Bulg. *búrja* ‘storm’

BSl. **bou?r-* (**bo?ur-*)

Latv. *baūruôt* ‘bellow (said of oxen)’

Cogn. Nw. *búra* ‘bellow (said of raging oxen)’

***b₂děti** v. (c?) ‘be awake’

ESSJa III 109

CS OCS *b₂děti* ‘be awake, keep watch’, 1sg. *b₂žd_o*, 2sg. *b₂diši*

E Ru. *bdet*’ (arch.) ‘keep watch, keep vigil’, 2sg. *bdiš*’ {1}

W Cz. *bdíti* ‘awake, keep watch’; Slk. *bdiet* ‘awake, keep watch, follow’; LSrb. *bzés* (Jakub.) ‘awake, keep watch’

S SCr. *bdjěti* (arch.) ‘be awake, keep watch’; Sln. *bədəti* ‘be awake, keep watch’, 1sg. *bādīm*; *bděti* ‘be awake, keep watch’, 1sg. *bdīm*; Bulg. *bdja* ‘awake, keep watch’

BSl. **bud-*

B Lith. *budėti* ‘be awake, keep watch’

PIE **b^hud^h-*

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 139).

See also: *bļusti; *buditi; *bъdrtъ

***bъdrtъ; *bъdrtъ** adj. o; adj. jo (b) ‘alert, cheerful’

ESSJa III 111-112

CS OCS *bъdro* ‘cheerful’; *bъždrejъ* (Supr.) Isg. f. ‘cheerful’

E Ru. *bódryj* ‘cheerful’; *bodr* ‘cheerful’, f. *bodrá*, n. *bódro* {1}

S SCr. *bādar* ‘cheerful, alert’; *bōdar* ‘cheerful, alert’; *bōdar* ‘cheerful, alert’; Sln. *bōdār* ‘cheerful, lively’; Bulg. *bōdār* ‘fresh, cheerful, awake’

BSl. **budros*

B Lith. *budrūs* 4 ‘vigilant’

PIE **b^hud^h-ro-*

{1} AP (b) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 136).

See also: *bļusti; *buditi; *bъdēti

***bъrna** f. ā ‘snout(?)’

ESSJa III 130

S Sln. *brna* (Steiermark) ‘carnival mask depicting an animal’; Bulg. *bārna* ‘lip’; Mcd. *brna* ‘nose-ring (of animals)’

BSl. **burŋna?*

B Lith. *burnà* f. 3 ‘mouth, face’; Latv. *puŋns* m. ‘snout’

Cogn. Arm. *beran* ‘mouth’

The root can be reconstructed as a zero grade **b^{hr}H-*, which may be identical with the root of Lat. *forāre*, OHG *borōn* ‘perforate’. For the initial *p* of the Latvian form, see Kiparsky 1968.

See also: *borna I; *bъrtъ; *bъrtъ

***bъrtъ; *bъrtъ** f. i; m. o ‘hive of wild bees’

ESSJa III 132-133

E Ru. *bort’* f. ‘wild beehive’; ORu. *bъrtъ* f. ‘log for bees, tree with a beehive’; *bortъ* f. ‘log for bees, tree with a beehive’; Bel. *borc’* f. ‘wild beehive’; Ukr. *bort* m. ‘wild beehive’; *bort’* m.(jo) ‘wild beehive’; *bort’* (dial.) f. ‘natural or artificial beehive in a tree, opening in a hive for viewing bees, wild family of bees living in a hollow tree-trunk’ (other dialect forms are *bōrt’* f. and *bort*)

W Cz. *brt’* f. ‘wild beehive, (dial.) opening in or section of a beehive’; OCz. *brt* f. ‘beehive (also of wild bees)’; Slk. *brt* m. ‘opening in a beehive’; Pl. *barć* f. ‘wild beehive’

S Sln. *brt* m. ‘hollow tree with bees’ (possibly of Czech origin)

PIE *b^{hr}H-t-

Cogn. Lat. *forāmen* n. ‘opening’

See also: *borna I; *bъrna

*bъrzdъ adj. o ‘fast’

ESSJa III 135-136

CS RuCS *borzdo* adv. ‘fast’

E ORu. *borzdo* adv. ‘fast’; OBel. *borzdyj* adj. ‘fast’

BSl. *burzd-

B Lith. *burzdūs* ‘agile, active’; *bruzdūs* ‘agile, busy’

The distribution of *bъrzdъ (cf. → *bъrзъ) suggests that the sequence *-zd- may be due to Baltic influence. On the other hand, we find a form *brzdica* (Vuk) ‘rapid, strong current’ in Serbo-Croatian.

*bъrзъ adj. o (c) ‘fast’

ESSJa III 137-139

CS OCS *brъzo* (Supr.) adv. ‘quickly’

E Ru. *bъrzyj* (obs., poet.) adj. ‘fast, fleet’; *bъrzyj* (dial.) adj. ‘bold, dexterous, daring’; *borzój* (dial.) adj. ‘bold, dexterous, violent’

W Cz. *brzo* adv. ‘soon, early’; *brzy* adv. ‘soon, early’; OCz. *brzý* adj. ‘fast’; *brzo* adj. ‘quickly, immediately’; Pl. *bardzo* adv. ‘very’; *barzo* (dial.) adv. ‘quickly’; OPl. *barzy* adj. ‘fast’; Slnc. *bъrзъ* adv. ‘very’

S SCr. *bъz* adj. ‘fast’, f. *bъza*; Čak. *bъz* (Vrg.) adj. ‘fast’, f. *brzā*, n. *bъzo*; Sln. *bъz* adj. ‘fast, quick’; Bulg. *brъz* adj. ‘fast, quick’; *bъrз* adj. ‘fast, quick’

Since Gk. βραχύς ‘short’ and Skt. *múhur* ‘suddenly’ reflect *mrǵ^hu-, a connection with these forms is dubious. Lat. *festīnāre* ‘hurry’, W *brys* m. ‘haste, speed’ probably continue *b^{hr}is- (Schrijver 1990) and must therefore be kept apart as well.

See also: *bъrzdъ

*bydlo n. o

ESSJa III 147

E Ru. *býdlo* ‘cattle’; ORu. *bydlo* ‘animal’; Bel. *býdlo* ‘cattle’; Ukr. *býdlo* ‘cattle’

W Cz. *bydlo* ‘existence, abode’; Slk. *bydlo* ‘abode, residence’; Pl. *bydło* ‘cattle’; OPl. *bydło* ‘existence, abode, possessions’; Slnc. *bîdlø* ‘steer, young bull, bullock’

BSl. *bъutlō

B Lith. *būklas* m. ‘abode, den’; *būkla* f. ‘residence, existence’

PIE *b^hHu-tlom

The formation is comparable to Gk. φύτλον ‘race’, OE *botl* n. ‘dwelling, house’. The East Slavic forms are borrowings from Polish.

See also: *bāviti; *bylъje; *bъstrъ; *bъti; *bytъje; *byvati

***byľje** io

ESSJa III 150

- CS OCS *bylĭje* n.(io) ‘herbs, plants’
 E Ru. *byl’ě* (obs.) n.(io) ‘grass’
 W Cz. *býlí* n.(io) ‘weed’; Slk. *býlie* n.(io) ‘herbs’; OPl. *byle* n.(io) ‘weed’
 S SCr. *bilje* n.(jo) ‘plants, grass’; Sln. *bilje* n.(jo) ‘plants, grass, stalks’

Derivative of → *bȳti.

***bȳstrǫ** adj. o (a) ‘quick’

ESSJa III 153-154

- CS OCS *bystrǫ* ‘quick’
 E Ru. *býstryj* ‘quick’
 W Cz. *bystrý* ‘quick, sharp-witted’; Slk. *bystrý* ‘quick, sharp-witted’; Pl. *bystry* ‘quick, sharp-witted’
 S SCr. *bīstar* ‘clear, transparent, quick’; Sln. *bístar* ‘quick, vivacious, transparent’; Bulg. *bístār* ‘clear, transparent’

Attempts have been made to connect **bȳstrǫ* with → *bǫdrǫ* ‘cheerful, lively’, which derives from PIE **b^hud^h-*. This etymology fails to provide an explanation for the acute **y*, however. We could assume that the root is simply **by-* ‘be’, but in that case the origin of the suffix would be unclear. In my opinion, it is not unattractive to assume a connection with Skt. *bhūṣati* ‘support, be active, strengthen’, the root of which is probably an *s*-enlargement of **b^hHu-* ‘be’.

See also: *bāviti; *bydlo; *byľje; *byti; *byťje; *byvati

***bȳti** v. (a) ‘be’

ESSJa III 155

- CS OCS *byti*, 1sg. *bǫdǫ*
 E Ru. *byt’*, 1sg. *búdu*
 W Cz. *býti*, 1sg. *budu*; Slk. *byt’*, 1sg. *budem*; Pl. *być*, 1sg. *będę*
 S SCr. *bīti*; Čak. *bīti* (Vrg.); *bīti* (Orb.); Sln. *bíti*

BSL. **bŕu-*B Lith. *būti*; Latv. *būt*PIE **b^hHu-*

Cogn. Skt. *bhāvati* ‘be, become’; Gk. *φύομαι* ‘grow, become’; OLat. *fūi* 1sg. pf. ‘was’; OIr. *buith* f. ‘being’

For a justification of the reconstruction of the root as **b^hHu-*, see Kortlandt 1975a (3, 81) and Schrijver 1991 (228, 512, 526). The AP refers to the (perfective) present **bǫdǫ*. The present forms that derive from PIE **h₁es-* are discussed separately (→ **esm̥*, etc.).

See also: *bāviti; *bydlo; *byľje; *bystrǫ; *byťje; *byvati

***byťje** n. io ‘existence’

ESSJa III 157-157

- CS OCS *bytĭje* ‘existence, origin’
 E Ru. *byt’ě* (obs.) ‘way of life’
 W Cz. *byt’* ‘existence’; Slk. *bytie* ‘existence’; Pl. *bycie* ‘existence’

S SCr. *bíce* ‘being, existence’; Sln. *bítje* ‘existence, state, being’; Bulg. *bitié* ‘existence’

B Lith. *būtis* f.(i) ‘being, existence’

Deverbative noun in *-ti-o-.

See also: *bāviti; *bydlo; *bylʒje; *bystrъ; *byti; *byvati

***byvati** v. ‘be, happen’

ESSJa III 157-158

CS OCS *byvati* ‘become, be’, 1sg. *byvajǫ*

E Ru. *byvát* ‘happen, be’

W Cz. *bývati* ‘happen, be’; Pl. *bywać* ‘be often, frequent, happen’

S SCr. *bívati* ‘happen, be’; Čak. *bīvāt* (Orb.) ‘be, dwell, live (somewhere)’, 1sg. *bīvan*; Sln. *bívati* ‘be, exist, happen, live’, 1sg. *bívam*; Bulg. *bívam* ‘be, exist, happen’

B Lith. *buvóti* ‘be’

PIE *b^hHu-

See also: *bāviti; *bydlo; *bylʒje; *bŷstrъ; *bŷti; *bŷtŷje

***bъčelà** f. ā (b) ‘bee’

ESSJa III 104-105

CS OCS *bъčela* (Ps. Sin.); *bъčela* (Mar., Ass.) {1}

E Ru. *pčelá*; *bčelá* (dial.); *bželá* (dial.); Ukr. *bážolá*; *pčolá*

W Cz. *včela*; Slk. *včela* {2}; Pl. *pszczoła*; *pczoła* (dial., arch.); *pczela* (arch.); USrb. *pčola*; *wčola*; LSrb. *cola*; *pcola* (arch.); Plb. *celā*

S SCr. *pčela*; *čela*; Čak. *čela* (Vrg.); *čelā* (Novi); *čēlica* (Orb.); Sln. *báčēla*; *bčēla*; *čabēla*; *čabēla*; *čēla*; *čmēla*; Bulg. *pčelá*

BSL. *bi-t-; *bi-kel-eh₂

B Lith. *bitė* f.(ė) 2; Latv. *bite* f.(ē)

OPr. *bitte*

PIE *b^hi-

Cogn. OIc. *bý* n.; MoDu. *bij*; OHG *bini* n.; *bīa* f.; OE *bēo* f.; OIr. *bech* m.

The North European root *b^hi occurs with various suffixes. The *-k- of the Slavic forms is also found in OIr. *bech* < *bi-ko-. The main alternative etymology starts from PSI. *bъčela and advocates a connection with *bučati ‘make a loud noise, roar’. This is the etymology preferred by Sławski (SP I: 456-457).

{1} The variant *bъčela* occurs only once, but considering that *bъčela* is almost as rare, it is impossible to conclude on the basis of Old Church Slavic which is the original form. {2} Slovak dialect forms have an anlaut *pč-, fč-, pš-* or *č-*.

***bьlniti; *bьlnovati** v.

ESSJa III 159

S SCr. *búniti se* ‘be mistaken’; *bunòvati* ‘rave’; Bulg. *bálnúvam* ‘day-dream, rave’

See → *bʷln̥.

***bʷln̥;** ***bʷlnika** m. o; f. ā ‘henbane’ ESSJa III 159

S SCr. *būn* m., Gsg. *búna*; *bùnika* f.; Čak. *bunika* (Vrg.) f.; Bulg. *bunika* (dial.) f.

PIE *bʰl-n-

Cogn. OE *beolone*, *beolene*, *belene* f.; OS *bilene* f.; Dan. (early) *bylne*, *buln-urt*; Gaul. βελουντίαν A sg.; Gaul. BELENO Dsg. ‘name of a divinity’

See also: *bel(e)n̥; *belena; *bel(e)niti; *belnovati; *bʷlniti; *bʷlnovati; *bolniti

***bʷrati** v. ‘take’ ESSJa III 162-163

CS OCS *bʷrati* ‘gather, select’, 1sg. *berǫ*

E Ru. *brat* ‘take’, 1sg. *berú*, 3sg. *berët*; Ukr. *bráty* ‘take’, 1sg. *berú*

W Cz. *bráti* ‘take’; Slk. *brat* ‘take’; Pl. *brać* ‘take’; USrb. *brać* ‘take, steal’; LSrb. *braš* ‘take’

S SCr. *brāti* ‘gather’, 1sg. *bērēm*; Čak. *brāti* (Vrg.) ‘gather’, 1sg. *bères*; *brāt* (Orb.) ‘pick, gather, collect’, 1sg. *bēren*; Sln. *bráti* ‘gather, pick, read, take’, 1sg. *bérem*

BSl. *ber-

B Lith. *beṛti* ‘scatter’; Latv. *bērt* ‘id.’

PIE *bʰer-e/o-

Cogn. Gk. φέρω ‘bear, carry’; Skt. *bhárati* ‘id.’; Lat. *ferō* ‘id.’; Go. *bairan* ‘id.’

See also: *bērdj̥; *bērm̥

***bʷrgʷ** m. o ESSJa III 167

W Cz. *brh* (obs.) ‘heap, shock, stack, quantity, net’; OCz. *brh* ‘cave, hut, tent’; Slk. *brh* ‘stack’; OPl. *barg* (*bark*) ‘stack, rick’

PIE *bʰrgʰ-o-

See also: *bergti; *bōrgʷ

*C

***capati** v. ‘tramp’ ESSJa III 12-13

E Ru. *cápat* ‘seize, snatch, scratch’, *cápaju*

W Cz. *capati* (Kott) ‘push, stamp’; *capat* (dial.) ‘walk with difficulty’; *cápat* (dial.) ‘stamp, wade’; Slk. *cápat* ‘beat, tramp, wade’; Pl. *capac* ‘seize, grab’

S Sln. *capáti* ‘wade, tramp’, 1sg. *capâm*; Bulg. *cápat* ‘soil, wade through water or mud’; Mcd. *capa* ‘seize, grab, bite (of fish), tramp through mud’

We may distinguish two basic meanings, viz. ‘tramp, wade’ and ‘seize’. The latter meaning is reminiscent of **gabati* and **xapati* and may be secondary, cf. → **xabiti*. The anlaut **c-*, which cannot be regular, may originate from an interjection *cap*.

***cě** conj. ESSJa III 173

CS OCS *cě* ‘and, also, (and) besides, though’; RuCS *cě* ‘though, however’

BSL. **koi*

B Lith. *kaĩ* ‘when’; Latv. *kā(i)* ‘when’

OPr. *kai* ‘when’

PIE **k^woi*

***cěditi** v. (c) ‘strain, filter’ ESSJa III 174-175

CS CS *cěditi* ‘strain, filter’

E Ru. *cedít* ‘strain, filter’, 1sg. *cežú*, 3sg. *cedít* {1}

W Cz. *cediti* ‘strain, filter’; Slk. *cedít* ‘strain, filter’; Pl. *cedzić* ‘strain, filter’; Sln. *ciężęc* ‘strain, filter’; USrb. *cydžić* ‘strain, filter’

S SCr. *cijěditi* ‘strain, filter’, 1sg. *cijedim*; Čak. *čiditi* (Vrg.) ‘strain, filter’, 2sg. *čidiš*; *c’edīt* (Vrg.) ‘sift, sieve, drain, strain off’, 1sg. *c’edīn*; Sln. *čedíti* ‘strain, filter, drip’, 1sg. *čedim*; Bulg. *cedjá* ‘strain, filter’

BSL. *(s)*koid-*

B Lith. *skiesti* ‘separate, dilute’; Latv. *šķiēst* ‘scatter, spill, cut’

PIE *(s)*koid-*

Cogn. OIc. *skíta* ‘shit’

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 140).

See also: **cěstiti*; **čistiti*; **čistь*

***cěliti** v. (c) ‘heal, cure’ ESSJa III 178

CS OCS *cěliti* ‘heal, cure’, 1sg. *cěljo*

E Ru. *celít*’ (obs.) ‘heal, cure’, 1sg. *celjú*, 3sg. *celít*; Ukr. *čilýty* ‘heal’

W Cz. *celiti* ‘heal, cure’; USrb. *cylić* ‘heal, complete’

S SCr. *cijěliti* ‘heal, cure’, 1sg. *cijelim*; Sln. *čěliti* ‘heal, cure’, 1sg. *čelim*

PIE **kail-*

Cogn. Go. (*ga*)*hailjan* ‘heal’

Derivative of → **cělv̥*.

See also: **cělovati*

***cělovati** v. ‘greet, kiss’ ESSJa III 178

CS OCS *cělovati* ‘greet, kiss’, 1sg. *cělujo*

E Ru. *celovát* ‘kiss’, 1sg. *celúju*

W Cz. *celovati* (poet.) ‘kiss’; Slk. *celovať* (poet.) ‘kiss’; Pl. *całować* ‘kiss’

S SCr. *cjělovati* (rare) ‘kiss’, 1sg. *cjělujēm*; Sln. *čelovati* ‘kiss’, 1sg. *čelūjem* (according to Pleteršnik (I: 77), this is a borrowing from Serbo-Croatian)

Derivative of → *cělъ. The original meaning must have been ‘greet’, cf. Go. *hails* ‘hail!’, OPr. *kayle* ‘id.’ in the Basel epigram.

*cělъ adj. o (c) ‘whole’

ESSJa III 179-180

CS OCS *cělъ* ‘whole, healthy’

E Ru. *célyj* ‘whole, entire’; *célyj* ‘safe, intact’, f. *celá*, n. *celo* {1}; ORu. *kělъ* (Novg.) ‘whole’

W Cz. *celý* ‘whole’; Slk. *celý* ‘whole’; Pl. *cały* ‘whole’

S SCr. *čijel, cjo* ‘whole’, f. *cijela*; Čak. *čí(l)* (Vrg.) ‘whole’, f. *cilā*, n. *cilo*, Npl. *cīli*; *ciē(l)* (Orb.) ‘whole’, f. *ciēlā*, n. *ciēlo*; Sln. *čel’* ‘whole’; Bulg. *čjal* ‘whole’

BSL. **kailos*

B OPr. *kailūstiskan* Asg. ‘health’

PIE **kailo-*

Cogn. Go. *hails* ‘healthy, whole’

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 138).

See also: *cěliti; *cělovati

*cěṇā f. ā (c) ‘price, value’

ESSJa III 182

CS OCS *cěna*

E Ru. *cená*, Asg. *cénu*, Npl. *cény*; *cená*, Asg. *cenú*, Npl. *cény* {1}; Ukr. *ciná*, Asg. *cinú*

W Cz. *cena*; Slk. *cena*; Pl. *cena*

S SCr. *cijěna*, Asg. *cijěnu*; Čak. *činā* (Vrg.), Asg. *činŭ*; *činā* (Hvar), Asg. *činu*, Asg. *činŭ*; *cěṇā* (Novi), Asg. *cěṇŭ*; *ciēno* (Orb.) Asg.; Sln. *cěna*; Bulg. *cená*

BSL. **koina?*

B Lith. *káina* f. 1 ‘price, value’; Latv. *ciens* m. ‘honour, respect’

PIE **k^woi-neh₂*

Cogn. Gk. *ποινή* f. ‘penance, penalty’; Av. *kaēnā* f. ‘penance, penalty’

{1} The variant with mobile stress is also attested in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 138), 17th and 18th century texts, 18th and 19th century poetry and in dialects.

See also: *cěṇiti; *kajati

*cěṇiti v. ‘evaluate, value’

ESSJa III 182-183

CS OCS *cěṇiti* ‘evaluate, value’, 1sg. *cěṇjŏ*

E Ru. *cenít’* ‘evaluate, value’, 1sg. *cenjú*, 3sg. *cénit*

W Cz. *ceniti* ‘estimate, evaluate’; Slk. *cenit’* ‘estimate, evaluate’; Pl. *cenić* ‘estimate, evaluate, price’

S SCr. *cijeniti* ‘evaluate, value’; Sln. *cěṇiti* ‘evaluate, value’, 1sg. *cěṇim*; Bulg. *cenjá* ‘evaluate, value’

BSL. **koin-*
 B Lith. *káininti* ‘price, value’; Latv. *ciēnit* ‘respect’

A derivative of →*cěnà.

See also: *cěnà; *kajati

*cěsta f. ā (a) ‘road’ ESSJa III 188

CS OCS *cěsta* (Ps. Sin. MS 2/N) ‘road; RuCS *cěsta* ‘road, street’
 W Cz. *cesta* ‘road’; OCz. *cěsta* ‘road’; Slk. *cesta* ‘road, street, journey’
 S SCr. *cěsta* ‘road’; Čak. *cěsta* (Vrg.) {1} ‘road’; cěsta (Orb.) ‘road’; Sln. *cęsta* ‘road, street’

Probably the best etymology stems from Zubatý (1894: 385), who connected *cěsta with Lith. *káišti* ‘scrape’. In this view the road is a worn path, cf. Lat. *via trita* (ESSJa s.v.) or Pl. *utarta droga* (Fraenkel I: 205).

{1} According to Jurišić, this word has only recently come into use.

*cěstiti v. ESSJa III 189

CS OCS *cěstiti* ‘castrate’; RuCS *cěstiti* ‘clean’
 S Sln. *cęstiti* ‘castrate, (*listje*) tear off’

BSL. *(s)*koiřd-*
 B Lith. *skaištùs* 3/4 ‘bright’; Latv. *skaiřts* ‘beautiful, pretty’
 PIE *(s)*koid-*

See also: *cěditi; *čistiti; *čistъ

*cěvā f. ā (b) ‘shin-bone, tube, bobbin, spool’ ESSJa III 190-191

E Ru. *cęvka* ‘bobbin, spool, (esp. hollow) bone, (dial.) shin-bone’; *kęvka* (Arx., Psk.) ‘bobbin, spool, (esp. hollow) bone, (dial.) shin-bone’ {1}
 W Cz. *cęva* ‘vein’; OCz. *cęva* ‘tube, spool’; *cieva* ‘tube, spool’; *cievka* ‘small tube’; Slk. *cieva* ‘tube, vein’; USrb. *cywa* ‘spool, reed’
 S Čak. *cęva* (Vrg.) ‘bobbin, spool’; Sln. *cęvka* ‘bobbin, spool’
 BSL. **koi-u-ař*; **koi-u-ař*?
 B Lith. *řaivà* 4 ‘spool’; *řeivà* 2/4 ‘spool, forearm, shin(-bone)’; Latv. *sařva* ‘bobbin’; *sařve* f.(ē) ‘bobbin’ {2}
 PIE **koi-u-*
 Cogn. Skt. *ařthivá(nt)-* m. ‘shin’ {3}; Est. *käv* ‘spool’; OHG *scina* f. ‘shin’; OE *scīa* m. ‘shin’

Apparently, the Baltic evidence points to **k̄-*, while Slavic points to **k*, with **c-* < **k-* as a result of the second palatalization. The plain velar must have originated in root variants with an *s* mobile.

{1} North Russian attestations of this root showing initial *k-* are presented in Nikolaev 1988: 142-143, cf. Anikin 1998: 115. {2} Much better attested are *sàiva*², *saiva*², *sàive*² and *saive*². {3} This may be a compound containing **ast-* and **čūa-* (see Lubotsky 2002).

See also: *cěvъ; *cěvъnica

***cěvъ** f. i (c) ‘tube, spool’ ESSJa III 193

E Ru. *kev*’ (Psk.) f. ‘handle of a flail’ {1}; *cevbě* n.(io) ‘fore-end (of rifle-stock), pivot’; ORu. *cěvb* f. ‘spool’; *cěvije* n.(io) ‘handle’

W OCz. *cěv* f. ‘tube, spool’; *ciev* f. ‘tube, spool’

S SCr. *čijev* f. ‘tube, spool, shin-bone’; Sln. *cěv* f. ‘tube, pipe, spool, thigh-bone, blood vessel’; Gsg. *cěvî*; Bulg. *cev* f. ‘tube’

BSL. **koi-u-i-*; **koi-u-i-*

PIE **koi-u-*

See → *cěvâ.

{1} North Russian attestations of this root showing initial *k-* are presented in Nikolaev 1988: 142-143.

***cěvъnica** f. jâ ‘reed, flute’ ESSJa III 193

CS OCS *cěvъnica* ‘lyre’

W Cz. *cevnice* (Jg.) ‘reed’

S SCr. *cjevànica* ‘shin’; *cjevnica* ‘shin-bone, flute’; Sln. *cěvница* ‘organ’

See → *cěvâ.

Č

***čadjъ; *čadja** m. jo; f. jâ (a) ‘smoke, soot’ ESSJa IV 9

W Slk. *čadza* (dial.) f.(jâ) ‘smoke, soot’

S SCr. *čād* f.(i) ‘soot’; *čāđa* f.(jâ) ‘fumes, soot’; Čak. *čāđa* (Vrg.) f.(jâ) ‘soot’; *sāje* (Novi) Npl. f.(jâ) ‘soot’; *sāji* (Orb.) Npl. f.(jâ) ‘soot’; Sln. *čaj* m.(jo) ‘vapour, haze, abscess’

See → *čadъ.

***čadъ** m. o (a? c?) ‘smoke, fumes’ ESSJa IV 9-10

E Ru. *čad* ‘fumes, intoxication’; Gsg. *čāda*

W Cz. *čad* ‘fumes’; Pl. *czad* ‘fumes, soot’; Slnc. *čāud* ‘smoke, fumes’; Gsg. *čādu*

S SCr. *čād* (RJA: 17th-18th c.) ‘fumes, soot’; Sln. *čād* ‘smoke, fumes’

PIE **k^(w)ēd-o-*

The accent paradigm of *čadъ cannot be determined with certainty. Bogatyrev (1995: 29) slightly prefers (a) to (c). Since the etymology is also unclear, there are a number of possible reconstructions, e.g. **k^(w)ed-o-*, **k^(w)eh₁d^(h)-o-* or – if AP (a) is secondary – **k^(w)ēd^(h)-o-*. See also → *kaditi.

See also: *čadjъ; *čadja; *kadidlo

***čajati** v. (a)

ESSJa IV 10-11

- CS OCS *čajati* ‘expect, thirst for, hope for’, 1sg. *čajō*
 E Ru. *čajat* ‘expect, hope for’, 1sg. *čaju*, 3sg. *čáet* {1}
 S SCr. *čajati* ‘wait’; Sln. *čajati* ‘wait’, 1sg. *čajem*

PIE **k^weh₁i-e/o-*Cogn. Skt. *cāyati* ‘perceive, observe’; Gk. τίω ‘esteem, respect highly’

It has been a matter of dispute (see LIV: 377) whether or not the root contains a laryngeal. Even though Dybo (1968: 205, 234, 236) classifies **čajati* as (c), it seems to me that the evidence warrants the reconstruction of AP (a), which in my framework implies the former presence of a laryngeal.

{1} Also AP (a) in Old Russian, with traces of (c) (Zaliznjak 1985: 133).

***čakati** v. ‘wait, await, expect’

ESSJa IV 13

- W OCz. *čakati* ‘wait, await’; Slk. *čakat’* ‘wait, await’; Pl. *czakać* (Sil. dial.) ‘wait, await’; OPl. *czakać* ‘wait, await’; USrb. *čakać* ‘wait, await’; LSrb. *čakaš* ‘wait, await’
 S SCr. *čakati* (RJA) ‘wait, await, expect’; Kajk. *čökati* (Bednja) ‘wait, await, expect’, 1sg. *čāokam*; Sln. *čakati* ‘wait, await’, 1sg. *čakam*; Bulg. *čakam* ‘wait, await’

It is tempting to assume that **čakati* and → **čajati* contain the same basic root (cf. Meillet Ét. I: 163), but this hypothesis does not explain the variation between **čakati* and → **čekati*.

***čara** f. ā ‘magic, sorcery’

ESSJa IV 22

- CS RuCS *čara* ‘sorcery’
 E ORu. *čara* ‘sorcery’
 W Slnc. *čařā* ‘magic, sorcery’
 S SCr. *čara* ‘magic, sorcery’; Sln. *čára* ‘magic, sorcery, sorceress’

See → **čarō*.

***čarodějъ** m. jo ‘enchanter, sorcerer’

ESSJa IV 24

- CS OCS *čaroděi* ‘enchanter, magician’
 E Ru. *čaroděj* ‘enchanter, magician’
 W Cz. *čaroděj* ‘enchanter, magician, sorcerer’; Pl. *czarodziej* ‘enchanter, magician, sorcerer’
 S SCr. *čaròdjej* (arch., obs.) ‘enchanter, magician, sorcerer’; Sln. *čaroděj* ‘sorcerer’, Gsg. *čarodėja*; Bulg. *čaroděj* ‘sorcerer’

Compound of **čaro-* < **k^wēr-o-* and **dějъ* < **d^heh₁-i-o-*.

***čarъ** m. o ‘magic, sorcery’

ESSJa IV 26

- CS OCS *čary* (Euch.) Apl. ‘magic, sorcery’

E	Ru. <i>čáry</i> Npl. ‘magic, enchantment’
W	Cz. <i>čáry</i> Npl. ‘magic, sorcery’ {1}; OCz. <i>čáry</i> Npl. ‘magic, sorcery’ {1}; Slk. <i>čar</i> (poet.) ‘charm, enchantment’, Npl. <i>čary</i> ‘magic, sorcery’; Pl. <i>czar</i> ‘charm, enchantment’, Npl. <i>czary</i> ‘magic, sorcery’
S	Sln. <i>čār</i> ‘sorcery, magic’; Bulg. <i>čar</i> ‘charm, magic’
BSL.	* <i>kēr-/ker-</i>
B	Lith. <i>kerai</i> Npl. m.(o) ‘sorcery’
PIE	* <i>k^wēr-o-</i>
Cogn.	Skt. <i>kṛṇóti</i> ‘make’

Unlike Baltic, Slavic has a lengthened grade vowel in the word for ‘sorcery’. It is possible that **čarō* and **čara* continue a root noun (cf. Kortlandt 1985b).

{1} The singular *čár* is uncommon. The SSJČ also mentions *čár* or *čar* (poet.) ‘unusual beauty, magical appeal’.

***čāsō** m. o (a) ‘time’

ESSJa IV 27-30

CS	OCS <i>časō</i> ‘time, moment, hour’
E	Ru. <i>čas</i> ‘hour, moment’, Gsg. <i>čása</i> , Npl. <i>časý</i> {1}
W	Cz. <i>čas</i> ‘time, weather’; Slk. <i>čas</i> ‘time, weather’; Pl. <i>czas</i> ‘time’; Sln. <i>čas</i> ‘time’
S	SCr. <i>čas</i> ‘moment’; Čak. <i>čas</i> (Vrg., Novi) ‘moment’, Gsg. <i>čása</i> ; Sln. <i>čas</i> ‘time’, Gsg. <i>čása</i> ; Bulg. <i>čas</i> ‘hour’
BSL.	* <i>keʔs-</i>
B	OPr. <i>kīsmān</i> Asg. ‘time’

The root may be reconstructed as **k^(w)eh₁s-*, but it has been suggested that the **s* belongs to the suffix, the root **kē* (i.e. **keh₁*) being a variant of **kē(i)*, cf. Skt. *cāyati*. For the latter verb I have reconstructed **k^weh₁i-e/o-* (→ **čājati*). The connection with Alb. *kóhë* f. ‘time, season, weather’ is not straightforward (cf. Kortlandt 1987: 222, Demiraj 1997: 221-222).

{1} AP (a) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 134).

***čekati** v. ‘wait, await, expect’

ESSJa IV 36-37

CS	CS <i>čekati</i> (Venc.) ‘wait, await’
E	Ru. <i>čekát</i> (S., W. dial.) ‘wait, await’; Ukr. <i>čekáty</i> ‘wait, await’
W	Cz. <i>čekati</i> ‘wait, await’; OCz. <i>čekati</i> ‘wait, await’; <i>čkáti</i> ‘wait, await’; Pl. <i>czekać</i> ‘wait, await’
S	SCr. <i>čekati</i> ‘wait, await, expect’, 1sg. <i>čekām</i> ; Čak. <i>čekati</i> (Vrg.) ‘wait, await, expect’, 2sg. <i>čekāš</i> ; <i>čekat</i> (Orb.) ‘wait’, 1sg. <i>čekān</i> ; Mcd. <i>čeka</i> ‘wait, await’

Stang (1961: 68-69) has suggested that *čekati* is cognate with OPr. *kackint* ‘attain’, Lith. *kàkti* ‘be sufficient’ (cf. Toporov PJ 1980: 162-163 for the semantic development). In Slavic, we may originally have had **čekti* alongside the intensive **čekati*. According to an older etymology (cf. Vasmer s.v. *čekát*), **čeka-* is a reduplicated variant of the root **keh₂-* that we find in Lat. *cārus* ‘dear’, MHG *huore* ‘whore’ (note, however, that according to Schrijver (1991: 95, 112), the *-r-* belongs to the root here). It seems to me

that Stang's scenario is preferable because it offers a solution for the variation *ček-/čak-.

See also: *čakati

***čelesъnъ** adj. o 'top'

ESSJa IV 39

CS	RuCS <i>čelesъnyj</i> 'main, principal, top'
E	ORu. <i>čelesъnyj</i> 'main, principal, top'
W	OCz. <i>čeles(e)n</i> m. 'oven'
S	Sln. <i>čelēsan</i> 'main, principal, top'

The stem shape *čel-es-* is probably secondary.

See also: *čelò; *čelověkъ; *čeľadь; *kolěno

***čeľadь** f. i 'servants'

ESSJa IV 40-42

CS	OCS <i>čelēdijŕ</i> (Mar.) Isg. 'servants'
E	Ru. <i>čeljad</i> 'servants'
W	Cz. <i>čeled</i> 'servants'; Slk. <i>čelad</i> 'family, members of a household, hired workers'; Pl. <i>czeladz</i> 'servants'
S	SCr. <i>čeljād</i> 'servants, family'; Čak. <i>čeljād</i> (Vrg.) 'servants, family'; Sln. <i>čeljad</i> 'children, servants'
B	Lith. <i>kiltis</i> f.(i) 4 'tribe'; Latv. <i>ciłts</i> f.(i) 'tribe, origin'

See → *kolěno.

***čelò** n. o (b) 'forehead'

ESSJa IV 45-47

CS	OCS <i>čelo</i> 'forehead'
W	Cz. <i>čelo</i> 'forehead, front'; Slk. <i>čelo</i> 'forehead, front'; Pl. <i>czoło</i> 'forehead, front'
S	SCr. <i>čelo</i> 'forehead'; Čak. <i>čelò</i> (Vrg.) 'forehead'; <i>čelò</i> (Novi) 'forehead', Npl. <i>čēla</i> ; <i>čelò</i> (Hvar) 'forehead', Npl. <i>čelā</i> ; <i>čelò</i> (Orb.) 'forehead, brow', Npl. <i>čīēla</i> ; Sln. <i>čelò</i> 'forehead, front'; Bulg. <i>čeló</i> 'forehead'

A neuter *o*-stem derived from *kelH- 'lift'.

See also: *čelesъnъ; *čeľadь; *čelověkъ; *kolěno

***čelověkъ** m. o 'man'

ESSJa IV 48-50

CS	OCS <i>člověkъ</i>
E	Ru. <i>čelověk</i> , Gsg. <i>čelověka</i> ; Ukr. <i>čolovik</i>
W	Cz. <i>člověk</i> ; Slk. <i>človek</i> ; Pl. <i>człowiek</i>
S	SCr. <i>čovjek</i> , Gsg. <i>čovjeka</i> ; <i>čovjek</i> , Gsg. <i>čovjeka</i> ; Čak. <i>čovik</i> (Vrg.), Gsg. <i>čovika</i> ; <i>čovik</i> (Novi); <i>čovik</i> {1} (Orb.), Gsg. <i>čovika</i> ; Sln. <i>člóvek</i> , Gsg. <i>človéka</i> ; Bulg. <i>čelověk</i> ; <i>čovék</i>

According to the traditional etymology, this is a compound of *čelo-*, cf. Lith. *kēlias* 4 'family, tribe, generation', and *vėkъ, cf. Lith. *vaikas* 4 'child'. The variants with *čl-

may continue *čb- with raising of *e to *b after a palatalized consonant in a pretonic syllable (cf. Kortlandt 1984-1985).

{1} Less frequently *čověk* or *šověk*.

See also: *čelesьнъ; *čeľadь; *čelò; *kolěno

***čemerica; *čemerika** f. jā; f. ā ‘hellebore’

ESSJa IV 52-53

E Ru. *čemerica*

W Cz. *čemeřice*; Slk. *čemerica*; Pl. *ciemierzyca*; OPl. *czemierzyca*

S SCR. *čemèrika*; Sln. *čemerika* ‘hellebore, morose person’; Bulg. *čemerika*

See → *čemerь, where also the non-Slavic plant-names are mentioned. The Slavic derivatives of *čemer- denote both the highly toxic white hellebore (*Veratrum album*) and various species of *Helleborus*, which are also toxic.

***čemerь; *čemerь** m. o; m. jo ‘hellebore, poison’

ESSJa IV 52-53

CS RuCS *čemerь* ‘hellebore’

E Ru. *čémer* (dial.), *čémer’* (dial.) ‘crown (of head), forelock, headache, belly-ache, horse’s disease’; *čémer* (dial.) ‘poison, illness caused by poison’

W Cz. *čemer* ‘name of an illness, aversion’; Slk. *čemer* ‘illness caused by coagulation of the blood, weakness’; Pl. *czemier* (dial.) ‘hellebore, stomach-ache (of a horse)’

S SCR. *čěmēr* ‘venom, anger’; Čak. *čěmer* (Vrg.) ‘venom, anger’; Sln. *čemér* ‘venom, anger, gall’; *čmēr* ‘venom, anger, gall’

BSL. *kemero-

B Lith. *kēmeras* ‘hemp agrimony (*Eupatorium cannabinum*), burr marigold’ (*Bidens tripartita*); Latv. *cemerinš* ‘hellebore’

Cogn. Gk. κάμαρος m. ‘larkspur (*Delphinium*)’; Gk. κάμ(μ)αρον n. ‘aconite’; OHG *hemera* f. ‘hellebore’

Undoubtedly a non-Indo-European plant-name.

See also: *čemerica; *čemerika

***čerdà; *čérdь** f. ā; m. o (b) ‘file, herd’

ESSJa IV 60-63

CS OCS *črěda* f. ‘order, herd’

E Ru. *čeredá* f. ‘sequence, file, bur-marigold, (obs.) turn, (dial.) herd of cattle’, Asg. *čeredú*; *čeredá* (dial.) f. ‘sequence, turn’, Asg. *čéredu*; *čērēd* m. ‘turn, (coll.) queue’; Ukr. *čéred* m. ‘turn’

W Cz. *třída* f. ‘row, turn, street’; Slk. *črieda* f. ‘herd’; Pl. *trzoda* f. ‘herd’; OPl. *czrzoda* f. ‘herd’; Sln. *střōūdā* f. ‘herd’; USrb. *črjōda* f. ‘multitude’

S SCR. *črěda* f. ‘turn, sequence’; Čak. *čřidā* (Vrg.: obs.) f. ‘herd (of sheep)’; *čřēdā* (Novi) f. ‘herd (of sheep)’; Asg. *čřēdu*; Sln. *čřēda* f. ‘flock, herd, row’; Bulg. *čerdá* f. ‘herd (of cattle)’

BSL. *(s)kerda?

- B Lith. (*s*)*keřdžius* m.(ju) ‘herdsman, shepherd’
OPr. *kērdan* Asg. ‘time’
- Cogn. Skt. *śárdha-* m. ‘host (of Maruts)’; Skt. *śárdhas-* n. ‘troop, host (of Maruts)’;
Av. *sarəda-* m./n. ‘kind, nature’; Go. *hairda* f. ‘herd’

On the basis of Balto-Slavic and Gothic we may reconstruct **(s)kerd^h-eh₂*. According to Mayrhofer (EWAia II: 619-620), the connection with the Indo-Aryan forms mentioned above is dubious, but cf. Lubotsky 2002: 22-23, where Mayrhofer’s semantic arguments are dismissed.

See also: *čerditi

***čerditi** v. (b)

ESSJa IV 63

- CS CS *čřediti* ‘receive, treat, satiate’
- E Ru. *čeredít’* (dial.) ‘clean, clear, treat, establish’
- W Cz. *tříditi* ‘classify, sort’; *stříditi* (Kott) ‘group, distribute’; USrb. *črjódzić* ‘pile up’
- S Sln. *čřediti* ‘order, arrange’, 1sg. *čředitim*

See → *čerdā.

***čermъxa; *čermъša; *čermъšb; *čermuxa; *čermuša**

ESSJa IV 66-68

f. ā; f. jā; f. i ‘ramson, bird cherry’

- CS OCS *čřemošb* (Ps. Dim.) f.(i?) ‘ramson’
- E Ru. *čerēmuxa* ‘bird cherry’; *čerēmxa* (dial.) ‘bird cherry’; *čeremšā* ‘ramson’;
ORu. *čeremъxa* ‘bird cherry’; Ukr. *čerēmuxa* ‘bird cherry’; *čerēmxa* ‘bird cherry’
- W Cz. *střemcha* ‘bird cherry’; *čermuxa* (Jg.) ‘bird cherry’; OCz. *třemcha* ‘bird cherry’; Slk. *čremcha* ‘bird cherry’; Pl. *trzemcha* ‘bird cherry’; *trzemuxa* ‘ramson, bird cherry’
- S SCr. *crĳemuša* ‘ramson’; Sln. *čřēmha* ‘bird cherry’; *čřēmsa* ‘bird cherry’; *čřēmoš* m.(jo) ‘ramson’
- BSl. **kerm-(o)uš-*; **šerm-(o)uš-*
- B Lith. *kermušē* (dial.) 3^b ‘tip of a drill, top of a flail, ramson’
- Cogn. Gk. κρόμμυον (Hom.), κρόμμυον (Ion., Att.) n. ‘onion’; Gk. κρέμμυον (Hsch.) n. ‘onion’; OIr. *crem* m. ‘dog’s leek, wild garlic leek, gentian, buckrams’; OE *hramsa* m. ‘ramson’

The variation between BSl. **k-* and **š-* (cf. → **sermōša*, etc.) points to an initial palatovelar. The plain velar may have arisen before **r*. In this connection it should be noted that the cognates outside Balto-Slavic reflect **křem-* or **křom-* instead of **křerm-*. The suffix apparently contained an *s*.

See also: **sermъša*; **sermuša*

*černovitъ m. o ‘molar’ ESSJa -

CS RuCS *čřěnovitъ* ‘molar’; *čřěnovitъcbъ* ‘molar’

See → *černъ II, *černъ II.

*černovъ adj. o ‘molar’ ESSJa IV 68-69

CS OCS *čřěnovъnyję* (Ps. Sin.) Apl. m.(o) ‘molars’

W Cz. *třěnový (zub)* ‘molar’; Slk. *črenový (zub)* ‘molar’; Pl. (*zqb*) *trzonowy* ‘molar’

See → *černъ II, *černъ II.

*černъ I; *černъ I m. o; m. jo (c) ‘handle’ ESSJa IV 69-70

CS RuCS *čřěnъ*

E Ru. *čéren*’ (dial.)

W Pl. *trzon*; USrb. *črona* f.

S SCr. *crěn*; Sln. *čřęn*

PIE **k^wer-no-*

Cogn. Skt. *kárṇa-* ‘ear’

See also: *kъrma I; *kъrпъ

*černъ II; *černъ II m. o; m. jo (c) ‘stem, stub’ ESSJa IV 69-70

E Ru. *čéren* (S. dial.) ‘molar’

W Cz. *třěň* ‘stem of a mushroom’; *čren* (dial.) ‘jaw, jaw-bone’; Slk. *čren* ‘molar’; Pl. *trzon* ‘stem of a mushroom, trunk’

BSL. **ker-*

B Lith. *kėras* m. 4 ‘tree-stump, stub, bush, shrub’

PIE **k^(w)er(H)-no-*

Cogn. OIr. *cern* f. ‘angle, corner’; W *cern* f. ‘cheekbone, side of the head’

If the Celtic forms mentioned above are cognate, the root must be **ker-*.

See also: *černovitъ; *černovъ; *korenъ; *kъrъ

*černъ III; *čerěnъ; *čerěнь m. o; m. o; m. jo ESSJa IV 64-65

E Ru. *čeren* (Dal’) ‘salt pan’; *čren* (Dal’) ‘salt pan’; *cerén* (Dal’) ‘salt pan’; *cren* (Dal’) ‘salt pan’; *ciren* (Dal’) ‘salt pan’; *čéren* (Arx.) ‘salt pan’; ORu. *cerenъ* ‘tub for the extraction of salt’; Ukr. *čerín*’ m.(jo) ‘stove bottom’; *čerín*’ m./f.(i) ‘stove bottom’; *čerón* (dial.) ‘stove bottom’, Gsg. *čerónu*

W Cz. *čeřen* ‘device for fishing’; OCz. *čerěň* ‘mountain ridge, rafter, square fishing-net’; Slk. *čereň* m.(jo) ‘fishing-net’; Pl. *trzon* ‘stove bottom’

S SCr. *čěrjen* (dial.) ‘cap with air-hole on a stove, brazier on a hearth, small basket for drying grain on a hearth’; Sln. *čeręn* ‘rocky place’, Gsg. *čeręna*

PIE **k^(w)er-no-*

Illič-Svityč (1963: §43) only mentions forms that may reflect *černǫ. Since Ru. *cerén* (Perm) might just as well continue *čerěn, the evidence for AP (b) – and therefore for an old neuter – is weak, the most important piece of evidence probably being Ukr. *čerano*. The etymological connection with Gk. κέρυος n./m. (also τὰ κέρυα Npl. n.) ‘earthen dish affixed with small pots for miscellaneous offerings’ is doubtful.

***čerpati** v. ‘scoop, draw’ ESSJa IV 71

E ORu. *čerepati* ‘scoop, draw’; Ukr. *čerépaty* (dial.) ‘scoop, draw’
 S SCr. *crèpati* (Dubr.) ‘scoop, draw’; Sln. *črépati* ‘scoop, draw, gulp’, 1sg. *črépam*, 1sg. *črépljem*

See → *čerpti.

***čerpti** v. ‘scoop, draw’ ESSJa IV 71-72

CS OCS *počrěti* ‘scoop, draw’, 1sg. *počrěpǫ*
 W Cz. *čříti* (Jg.) ‘scoop, draw’; OCz. *čřieti* ‘scoop, draw’, 1sg. *čru*; Slk. *čriet* (poet.) ‘gather’
 BSL. **kerp-*; **kirp-*
 B Lith. *kiřpti* ‘chop, cut’, 1sg. *kerpù*
 PIE *(s)*kerp-*
 Cogn. Lat. *carpere* ‘pick, pluck’

Though the semantic development is not evident, I assume that *čerp- continues PIE *(s)*kerp-* ‘cut off, tear off’.

See also: *čerpati; *čerпъ; *čьрpati

***čєрпъ** m. o (c) ESSJa IV 72

CS CS *črěpъ* (Parim) ‘potsherd’
 E Ru. *čérep* ‘skull’, Gsg. *čérepa*; Bel. *čérap* ‘skull’, Gsg. *čérapa*; Ukr. *čérep* ‘skull’, Gsg. *čérepa*
 W Cz. (s)*třep* ‘broken piece of pottery, fragment’; *čérep* (arch., dial.) ‘broken piece of pottery’; Slk. *črep* ‘broken piece of pottery, vase, skull’; Pl. *trzop* (obs.) ‘potsherd, pot’ {1}
 S SCr. *crřjep* ‘broken piece of pottery, tile’; Sln. *črěp* ‘shard, broken piece of pottery, jug, skull’; Bulg. *čérep* ‘skull’

PIE *(s)*kerp-o-*
 Cogn. OHG *scirbi* n. ‘potsherd’

Obviously derived from *(s)*kerp-*, cf. OHG *scarbōn* ‘cut up’.

{1} Ousted by *czerep*, which is of East Slavic origin.

See also: *čerpati; *čerpti; *čьрpati

***čerslò** n. o (b) ‘loin’ ESSJa IV 74-75

CS OCS *črěsla* Npl. ‘loins’

- E Ru. *čeresló* (dial.) ‘ploughshare’; *čéresla* (dial.) Npl. ‘waist, groins’; Ukr. *čeresló* ‘ploughshare’
- W Cz. (*s*)*tříslo* ‘cortex, bark (used in tanning), planks, groin’; Slk. *črieslo* ‘lintel’; Pl. *trzosła* (arch.) Npl. ‘loins, groin’; *trzósla* (dial.) Npl. ‘loins, groin’; USrb. *črjóslo* ‘ploughshare’
- S SCr. *črijěslo* ‘cortex, bark (used in tanning)’; Sln. *črěslo* ‘cortex, bark (used in tanning)’
- BSl. **kersló*
- B Lith. *keřslas* m. ‘chisel, cutter’
OPr. *kersle* ‘axe with two blades’

Derivative of the root *(s)*kert-*. The suffix may be reconstructed as *-*slo-*, but *-*tlo-* is more attractive. It does not seem implausible that **kers-tlo-* < **kert-tlo-* became **kerslo-* in Balto-Slavic.

See also: *čërsti; *čërsъ; *čërzъ; *čьrtà; *kortъ; *kortъкъ

***čërsti** v. ‘carve, slash’

ESSJa IV 75-76

- CS CS *očřesti* ‘carve’, 1sg. *očřotq*; RuCS *čbrsti* ‘hew, slash’, 1sg. *čbrtq*
- E ORu. *čbrsti* ‘hew, slash’, 1sg. *čbrtu*
- BSl. **kert-*; **kirt-*
- B Lith. *kiřsti* ‘hew, slash’, 1sg. *kertiù*; Latv. *cirst* ‘hew, slash’, 1sg. *cērtu*
- PIE *(s)*kert-*
- Cogn. Skt. *kṛntāti* ‘cut (off), split, break’; OHG *scrintan* ‘split (intr.), burst’

See also: *čërslo; *čërsъ; *čërzъ; *čьrtà; *kortъ; *kortъкъ

***čërsъ; *čërzъ** prep. ‘over, through’

ESSJa IV 76-77

- CS CS *čřěsъ* ‘through’
- E Ru. *čërez* ‘over, through’; ORu. *čërezъ* ‘over, through’; *čëres* ‘over, through’
- S SCr. *črëz* (dial.) ‘through, by means of’; Sln. *črëz* ‘over, beyond, against’; *črëz* ‘over, beyond, against’; Bulg. *črez* ‘through, by means of’
- BSl. *(s)*kerso-*
- B Lith. (*s*)*keřsas* adj. ‘transverse, cross’; (*s*)*kersaĩ* adv. ‘across’; Latv. *šķērss* adv. ‘transverse, cross, bad’
- PIE *(s)*kert-*
- See also: *čërslo; *čërsti; *čьrtà; *kortъ; *kortъкъ

***čërvo** n. o (c) ‘belly, intestine’

ESSJa IV 82-83

- CS OCS *čřěvo* ‘belly, womb, (pl.) entrails’
- E Ru. *čëřevo* (dial.) ‘belly, womb’; *čévevo* (dial.) ‘belly’; Ukr. *čévevo* (dial.) ‘belly’
- W Cz. *střěvo* ‘gut, intestine’; *třěvo* (Kott) ‘gut, intestine’; OCz. (*s*)*třěvo* ‘gut, intestine’; Slk. *črevo* ‘gut, intestine’; Pl. *trzewo* ‘entrails, intestines’; USrb. *črjewo* ‘intestine’

S SCr. *crijèvo* ‘gut, intestine’; Čak. *črivo* (Vrg.) ‘gut, intestine’, Npl. *čriva*; *črivo* (Novi) ‘gut, intestine’, Npl. *čriva*; Sln. *črevô* n.(s) ‘belly’, Gsg. *črevêsa*; Bulg. *červó* ‘intestine’

BSL. **ker-m/w-*

B OPr. *kērmens* ‘body’

Cogn. Skt. *cárman-* m. ‘hide, skin’

See also: *červъje

***červъje** n. io

ESSJa IV 83-84

E Ru. *čerěv’ja* Npl. ‘belly’; ORu. *čerevije* ‘hide from an animal’s belly, shoe’

W Cz. *třevo* (Kott) n.(o) ‘footwear’; *střeví* (Kott) ‘footwear’; OCz. *třeví* ‘footwear’

S Sln. *črěvje* ‘intestines’

See also: *čěrvo

***česàti** v. (b) ‘scratch, comb’

ESSJa IV 85-87

CS OCS *česati* ‘pick, pluck’, 1sg. *češō*

E Ru. *česát’* ‘scratch, comb’, 1sg. *češú*, 3sg. *čėšet*

W Cz. *česati* ‘scratch, comb’; Slk. *česat’* ‘comb, hackle’; Pl. *czesac’* ‘comb, hackle’

S SCr. *česati* ‘scratch, comb’, 1sg. *čėšēm*; Čak. *česàti* (Vrg.) ‘scratch’, 2sg. *čėšeš*; *česàt* (Orb.) ‘comb’, 1sg. *čėšen*; Sln. *česati* ‘tear, scratch, comb’, 1sg. *čėšem*

BSL. **kes-*

B Lith. *kàsti* ‘dig, rake’; Latv. *kast* ‘rake’

PIE **kes-*

Cogn. Hitt. *kiszi* v. ‘combs’; OIr. *cír* f. ‘comb’; OE *heord* f. ‘hair’

See also: *kasati; *kosa I; *kosmъ; *kosnōti

***česnъ; *česno; *česnъkъ** m. o; n. o; m. o ‘garlic’

ESSJa IV 89-90

E Ru. *česnók* m.; ORu. *česnōkō* m.

W Cz. *česnek* m.; Slk. *cesnak* m.; Pl. *czosnek* m.

S SCr. *česan* m.; *česno* n.; Čak. *česan* (Orb.) m., Gsg. *česnà*; Sln. *čėsən* m., Gsg. *čėsna*; *čėsnač* m., Gsg. *čėsanka*, Gsg. *čėsnača*; Bulg. *čėsān* m.

PIE **kesn-o-*

Cogn. OIr. *cainnenn* f. ‘leek’; W *cennin* pl. ‘leek’

As the Celtic forms point to **kasn-*, it is likely that this etymon is not of IE origin (cf. Schrijver 1995: 456).

***četverъ; *četvorъ** num. ‘four’

ESSJa IV 93-94

CS OCS *četvorъ* ‘four’

E Ru. *čétvero* n. ‘four’

W Cz. *čtverý* ‘four’; Pl. *czworo* n. ‘four’

S SCr. *čètver* adj. ‘fourfold’; *čètvero* n. ‘four’; *čètvoro* n. ‘four’; Čak. *čètvero* (Vrg., Orb.) n. ‘four’; Sln. *četvêr* adj. ‘four, quadruple’

BSl. **ketuer-*; **ketuor-*

B Lith. *ketveri* Npl. m. ‘four’

PIE **k^wétuer-*; **k^wétuor-*

Cogn. Skt. *catvāras* Npl. m.; *catúras* Apl. m.

See also: *čètvьrtъ; *četyre

*čètvьrtъ num. o ‘fourth’

ESSJa IV 95

CS OCS *čètvьrtъ*

E Ru. *čètvěrtij*

W Cz. *čtvrtý*; Pl. *czwarty*; OPl. *czwarty*

S SCr. *čètvřtī*; Čak. *čètvřtī* (Vrg.); *čèřtī* (Orb.); Sln. *četřtī*; Bulg. *čètvárti*

BSl. **ketuer-*; **ketuor-*

B Lith. *ketvīrtas*; *ketvertas* (OLith.); Latv. *ceturtaiš*

PIE **k^wetur-tHo-*

Cogn. Skt. *caturthá-* ‘fourth’

See also: *čètverъ; *čètvorъ; *četyre

*čètýre num. (a) ‘four’

ESSJa IV 97-98

CS OCS *četyre*

E Ru. *čètýre*

W Cz. *čtyři*; Pl. *cztery*; OPl. *cztyrze*; *czterzy*

S SCr. *čètiri*; Čak. *čètiri* (Vrg., Orb.); Sln. *štírje*, f./n. *štíri*; *čètirje*, f./n. *čètiri*; Bulg. *čètiri*

BSl. **ketur-*

B Lith. *keturi* Npl. m.

PIE **k^wétur-*

Cogn. Skt. *catvāras* Npl. m.; *catúras* Apl. m.

See also: *čètverъ; *čètvorъ; *čètvьrtъ

*čèznŋti v. (a) ‘disappear’

ESSJa IV 100-101

E Ru. *čèznuť* (dial.) ‘disappear, vanish, perish’; Ukr. *čèznuty* ‘disappear, (dial.) perish’

W Pl. *czeznać* (obs.) ‘wither, disappear, vanish’ {1}

S SCr. *čèznuti* ‘thirst for, long for, yearn’ 1sg. *čèznēm*; Bulg. *čèzna* ‘disappear, vanish’

See → **kaziti*.

{1} According to Bańkowski (2000a: 229), this word was originally limited to the eastern dialects and must be considered a Ruthenianism.

***čędo; *čęda; *čędъ** n. o; f. ā; m. o (a) ‘child’ ESSJa IV 102-104

- CS OCS *čędo* n. ‘child’
 E Ru. *čádo* (obs.) n. ‘child, offspring’
 W OCz. *čad* m. ‘little boy’; *čád* m. ‘little boy’; *čada* f. ‘little girl’; *čáda* f. ‘little girl’
 S SCr. *čędo* (arch.) n. ‘child’; Bulg. *čędo* n. ‘child’
 PIE **k(e)n-do-*
 Cogn. Gk. *καινός* ‘new’; Lat. *recēns* ‘new, fresh’; MW *bachgen* m. ‘boy’
 See also: *čędъ; *kopъ; *kopъсь; *načęti; *ščenę

***čędъ** f. i ESSJa IV 104

- CS OCS *čędъ* ‘people’; RuCS *čadъ* ‘children, people, servants’
 E ORu. *čadъ* ‘children, people, servants’
 S SCr. *čed* ‘family, servants’
 PIE **k(e)n-di-*
 Cogn. OIr. *cenél* n. ‘nation, tribe’
 See also: *čędo; *čęda; *čędъ; *kopъ; *kopъсь; *načęti; *ščenę

***čęstъ** adj. o (c) ‘frequent, dense’ ESSJa IV 106

- CS OCS *čęstъ* ‘frequent, dense’; *čęsto* adv. ‘often’
 E Ru. *částyj* ‘frequent, close (together), dense’; *částo* adv. ‘often’
 W Cz. *částý* ‘frequent’; *často* adv. ‘often’; Slk. *častý* ‘frequent’; *často* adv. ‘often’;
 Pl. *częsty* ‘frequent’; *często* adv. ‘often’
 S SCr. *čęst* ‘frequent, dense’; f. *čęsta*; Sln. *čęstoj* adv. ‘often’; Bulg. *čęsto* adv. ‘often’
 BSl. **kimšto-*
 B Lith. *kimštas* ‘packed, stuffed’
 PIE **kmk-to-*

***čęstъ** f. i (c) ‘part’ ESSJa IV 107-108

- CS OCS *čęstъ*
 E Ru. *čast’*
 W Cz. *část*; *čest* {1}; OCz. *čęst*; *čiest*; Slk. *čast’*; Pl. *część*
 S Bulg. *čast*
 BSl. **kimšd-* (**kenšd-*)
 B Lith. *kañdis* m.(io) 2 ‘bite’

See → **kęsati* for a discussion of the root.

{1} Cz. *část* must have adopted the root vowel of the diminutive *částka* (Verweij 1994: 518).

***či** conj. ESSJa IV 109-110

- CS *či* ‘because’; *čimъ* Isg. m.n. ‘what’
 E Ru. *či* (dial.) ‘if, or’
 W Cz. *či* ‘if’; Pl. *czy* ‘if’

S SCr. *či* ‘if’; Sln. *či* ‘if’

PIE **k^wiH*

Cogn. Av. *či* adv. ‘how’; Lat. *quī* adv. ‘how, why’; OE *hwȳ*, *hwī* adv. ‘why’

***čixati**; ***чъхати** v. ‘sneeze’

ESSJa IV 110

E Ru. *čixát’*; *čxát’*; Ukr. *čxáty*

W Pl. *czchać* (dial.); *czychać* (dial.); USrb. *čichać*

S Sln. *čihatī*, 1sg. *čīham*

See also: **къхати*; **къхноти*

***činiti** v. (c)

ESSJa IV 112-113

CS OCS *činiti* ‘arrange, construct’, 1sg. *činjō*

E Ru. *čínít’* ‘repair’, 1sg. *činjú*, 3sg. *čínit*; *čínít’* ‘carry out, execute’, 1sg. *činjú*, 3sg. *čínít*

W Cz. *činiti* ‘do, make, carry out, act’; Slk. *činit’* ‘do, make, carry out, act’; Pl. *czynić* ‘do, make, carry out, act’

S SCr. *činiti* ‘do, make, sift’, 1sg. *čīnīm*; Čak. *činiti* (Vrg.) ‘do, make, (se) appear’, 2sg. *čīniš*; *čīniti* (Orb.) ‘make, force’, 1sg. *čīnīn*; Sln. *činiti* ‘sift, do, bring about’, 1sg. *čīnim*; Bulg. *činja* ‘do, cost’

PIE **k^wei-n-*

Cogn. Skt. *cinóti* ‘gather, arrange, pile up’

In view of the **-n-*, we seem to be dealing with a derivative of → **čīnō*.

***čīnō** m. o (c)

ESSJa IV 113-115

CS OCS *čīnō* ‘row, order, rank, rule’

E Ru. *čin* ‘rank, order, ceremony’, Gsg. *čina*

W Cz. *čin* ‘affair, act, deed’; Slk. *čin* ‘act, deed’; Pl. *czyn* ‘affair, act, deed’

S SCr. *čin* ‘appearance, form’; Sln. *čin* ‘act, deed, (from Russian) rank’; Bulg. *čin* ‘rank’

PIE **k^wei-no-*

Cogn. Skt. *cinóti* ‘gather, arrange, pile up’

See also: **činiti*

***čisti** v.

ESSJa IV 119

CS OCS *čisti* ‘count, read, honour’, 1sg. *čbtō* {1}

W Cz. *čísti* ‘read’, 1sg. *čtu*; OPl. *czyśc* ‘read’, 1sg. *cztę*

S SCr. *čísti* (13th-16th c.) ‘read’

BSl. *(*s*)*keit-*/*(*s*)*kit-*

B Latv. *šķist* ‘think, suppose, seem’, 1sg. *šķietu*

PIE *(*s*)*k^w(e)it-*

Cogn. Skt. *cétati* ‘perceive, take notice of’

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 136).

See also: *čitati; *čьсть

***čistiti** v. (a) 'clean, purify'

ESSJa IV 120

CS OCS *čistiti*, 1sg. *čīstŭ*

E Ru. *čīstīt'*, 1sg. *čīšču*

W Cz. *čistiti*; Slk. *čistiť*; Pl. *czyścić*

S SCr. *čistiti* 'clean, sweep'; Čak. *čīstīt* (Orb.) 'clean'; Sln. *čistiti* 'clean, purify', 1sg. *čīstim*; Bulg. *čīstja* 'clean'

Denominative verb derived from → *čistō.

See also: *čēditi; *čēstiti

***čistъ** adj. o (a) 'clean, pure'

ESSJa IV 121-122

CS OCS *čistō*

E Ru. *čīstyj*

W Cz. *čistý*; Slk. *čistý*; Pl. *czysty*

S SCr. *čīst*; Čak. *čīst* (Vrg.), f. *čīstā*, n. *čīsto*; *čīs* (Orb.), n. *čīsta*, n. *čīsto*; Sln. *čīst*; Bulg. *čīst*

BSL. *(s)*kiřsto-*

B Lith. *skýstas* 'thin (of liquids)'; Latv. *šķīsts* 'liquid, thin (of fabric), clean, clear'

OPr. *skijstan* Asg. 'pure'

PIE *(s)*kid-to-*

See also: *čēditi; *čēstiti; *čistiti

***čitati** v. 'read, count'

ESSJa IV 123

E Ru. *čitát'* 'read', 1sg. *čitájū*

W Cz. *čitati* 'read, count, suppose'; Slk. *čítat'* 'read'; Pl. *czytać* 'read'

S SCr. *čitati* 'read', 1sg. *čitām*; Čak. *čītati* (Vrg.) 'read', 2sg. *čītāš*; *čītat* (Orb.) 'read', 1sg. *čītan* {1}; Sln. *čitati* 'read', 1sg. *čitam*

BSL. *(s)*keit-*; *(s)*koit-*

B Lith. *skaityti* 'read, count'

PIE *(s)*kweit-*; *(s)*kwoit-*

Cogn. Skt. *cétati* 'perceive, take notice of'

{1} In Orbanići, *čītat* is on the verge of ousting *štēt*, 1sg. *štēn*, while in Vrgada the native verb is *štīti*, 1sg. *štījen*. In Novi, we find *štāt*, 1sg. *štén*, 2sg. *štěš*. These forms seem to point to *čbtēti / *čbtati, 1sg. *čbtŭ, cf. Sln. *čtēti* 'read', *štēti* 'count'.

See also: *čīsti; *čьсть

***čuditi (sę)** v. 'be surprised, marvel'

ESSJa IV 127-128

CS OCS *čuditi sę*, 1sg. *čuzdŭ sę*

- E Ru. *čudit'* (coll.) 'behave eccentrically, play the fool', 3sg. *čudit*; *čudit'sja* (coll.) 'seem'
 W Cz. *čuditi se*
 S SCR. *čūditi se*, 1sg. *čūdim se*; Čak. *čūditi se* (Vrg.), 2sg. *čūdiš se*; Sln. *čūditi se*, 1sg. *čūdim se*; Bulg. *čūdja* 'surprise'; *čūdja se* 'be surprised, marvel'

Denominative verb. See → *čūdo.

***čūdo** n. s (a) 'miracle' ESSJa IV 128-129

- CS OCS *čudo*, Gsg. *čudese*, Gsg. *čuda*
 E Ru. *čúdo*, Npl. *čudesá*
 W Slk. *čudo*; Pl. *cudo* n.; *cud* m.; OPl. *czudo*; *cudo*; Sln. *čúd* m.
 S SCR. *čūdo*, Npl. *čuděsa*; Čak. *čūdo*, Npl. *čudesá*; Sln. *čúdo* 'miracle, marvel, admiration', Gsg. *čúdesa*; Bulg. *čúdo*, Npl. *čudesá*

PIE **keud-os-*

Possibly cognate with Gk. κῦδος 'fame, renown'. The acute root may be attributed to Winter's law.

See also: *čuditi (sę); *kuditi; *kudo; *kudъ; *kudь

***čūti** v. (a) 'sense, feel, notice' ESSJa IV 134-136

- CS OCS *čuti* 'sense, notice', 1sg. *čuję*; RuCS *čuti* 'feel, hear, know'
 E Ru. *čújat'* 'scent, sense, feel', 1sg. *čúju*, 3sg. *čúet*; *čut'* (dial.) 'hear'; ORu. *čuti* 'feel, hear, know'
 W Cz. *číti* 'sense, feel'; *čouti* (coll., dial.) 'sense, feel'; OCz. *čúti* 'sense, feel'; *čietí* 'sense, feel'; Slk. *čuť* 'hear'; Pl. *czuć* 'feel'
 S SCR. *čūti* 'hear', 1sg. *čūjem*; Čak. *čūti* (Vrg.) 'hear, feel, sense', 2sg. *čūješ*; *čūt* (Orb.) 'hear, taste, smell', 1sg. *čūjen*; Sln. *čúti* 'hear, be awake', 1sg. *čújem* {1}; Bulg. *čúja* 'hear'

{1} Pleteršnik (I: s.v.) incorrectly has a falling tone in the present (see Pleteršnik II: III).

***ѡрмьновати се** v. ESSJa -

- CS OCS *čr̥m̥n̥uēt̥ se* (Zogr., Mar.) 3sg. 'reddens (sky)'; RuCS *čermnovat'sja* 'become clear'
 E ORu. *čermnovat'sja* 'become clear'

See also: *ѡрмьнѡ

***ѡрмьнѡ** adj. o 'red' ESSJa IV 149-150

- CS OCS *čr̥m̥n̥n̥ь* (Ps. Sin., Cloz., Supr.) 'red'
 E Ru. *čeremnoj* (dial.) 'red-haired, ginger'; *čeremnyj* (dial.) 'red-haired, ginger'
 W Cz. *čermný* (Kott) 'red'; *črmný* (Kott) 'red'; Pl. *czermny* (dial.) 'red'
 S SCR. *crman* (arch., obs.) 'red'

This colour-adjective is one way or another connected with → *čbrvь 'worm', which is also the source of another word for 'red', → *čbrvenь or *čbrvenь (insects and larvae

of insects are known to have been used for the production of red dye). Since in Lithuanian we find *kirmis*, the **m* may be regarded as old, cf. also Sln. *čřm* ‘inflammation, carbuncle, anthrax’. On the other hand, colour designations such as MoDu. *karmozijn* or MoDu. *karmijn* were borrowed from Arabic *qirmiz* through Romance. The Arabic form was borrowed from Persian and may ultimately originate from India. In this context it does not seem impossible that *čьrпъnъ* is a borrowing as well.

See also: *čьrпъnovati se

***čьrпъ** adj. o (b) ‘black’

ESSJa IV 155-157

CS	OCS <i>črъnъ</i> (Zogr., Mar., Supr.)
E	Ru. <i>čěrnyj</i> ; <i>čěren</i> , f. <i>čěrná</i> , n. <i>čěrnó</i> {1}
W	Cz. <i>čěrný</i> ; Slk. <i>čierny</i> ; Pl. <i>czarny</i> ; USrb. <i>čorny</i> ; LSrb. <i>carny</i>
S	SCr. <i>čřn</i> , f. <i>čřna</i> ; Čak. <i>čřn</i> (Vrg.), f. <i>crnā</i> , n. <i>crnō</i> ; <i>čřn</i> (Orb.) ‘black, dark’, f. <i>čřnā</i> , n. <i>čřno</i> ; Sln. <i>čřn</i> ; Bulg. <i>čěren</i>

BSl. **kirsnos*

B Lith. *kiřsnas* 4 ‘black (of a horse)’
OPr. *kirsnan* ‘black’

PIE **krs-no-*

Cogn. Skt. *kṛṣṇā-* ‘black’

{1} AP (b) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 136).

***čьrpati** v. ‘scoop, draw’

ESSJa IV 158-159

CS	OCS <i>črěpъjъšte</i> (Supr.) Npl. m. ptc. pres. act. ‘scooping’ {1}
E	Ru. <i>čěrpat</i> ‘scoop, draw’, 1sg. <i>čěrpaju</i>
W	Cz. <i>čěrpati</i> ‘scoop, draw, pump’, 1sg. <i>čěrpám</i> ; OCz. <i>čřpati</i> ‘scoop, draw’; Slk. <i>čěrpati</i> ‘scoop, draw, pump’; Pl. <i>czerpać</i> ‘scoop, draw’, 1sg. <i>czerpię</i>
S	SCr. <i>čřpati</i> (Vuk) ‘scoop, draw’, 1sg. <i>čřpām</i> ; Sln. <i>čřpāti</i> ‘scoop, draw, pump’, 1sg. <i>čřpām</i> ; Bulg. <i>čěrpa</i> ‘scoop, draw, host’

BSl. **kirp-*

B Lith. *kiřpti* ‘chop, cut’, 1sg. *kerpù*

PIE *(s)*kerp-*

{1} The verb is generally reconstructed as *črěpati*, 1sg. *črěpljъ*, 2sg. *črěplješi*.

See also: *čěrpati; *čěrpti; *čěrпъ

***čьrstvъ** adj. o (c) ‘firm’

ESSJa IV 159-161

CS	RuCS <i>črъstvъ</i> ‘hard, strong, dry, real’; <i>čьrstvъ</i> ‘hard, strong, dry, real’
E	Ru. <i>čěrstvyj</i> ‘stale, hard, callous’ {1}
W	Cz. <i>č(e)rstvý</i> ‘strong, healthy, fresh’; Pl. <i>czerstwy</i> ‘stale, healthy, strong’

S SCr. *čvr̃st* ‘strong, hard, firm’, f. *čvr̃sta*; Čak. *čvr̃st* (Vrg.) ‘strong, hard, firm’, f. *čvr̃stā*, n. *čvr̃stō*; *čvr̃s* (Orb.) ‘strong, firm’, f. *čvr̃sta*, n. *čvr̃sto*; Sln. *čvr̃st* ‘firm, strong, fresh’, f. *čvr̃sta*

BSl. **kirst(w)os*

B Lith. *kir̃stas* ‘sharp, harsh (of a person)’

PIE **krt-tuo-*

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 138).

*ČVRTÀ f. ā (b) ‘line’

ESSJa IV 161

CS OCS *čr̃ota* (Zogr., Mar., Ass.) ‘tittle’

E Ru. *čertá* ‘line, boundary, trait’, Asg. *čertú*

W Cz. *črta* ‘line, sketch’; Slk. *črta* ‘trait, sketch’

S SCr. *čr̃ta* ‘line’; Sln. *čr̃ta* ‘line’; Bulg. *čertá* ‘line, trait’

Derivative of **čvrt-* < **krt-*, cf. **čersti*.

See also: *čerslo; *čersb; *čerzb; *kortb; *kortbkb

*ČRVJENĚ; *ČRVENĚ adj. o ‘red’

ESSJa IV 168-169

CS OCS *črvljeně* (Zogr., Mar., Euch.); *črvljeně* (Sav., Euch.)

E Ru. *čerevlĕnyj* (obs.) ‘dark red’

W Cz. *červený*; Slk. *červený*; Pl. *czerwony*

S SCr. *črven*; Sln. *črljĕn*; Bulg. *červĕn*

Originally a past passive participle. See → *črviti*.

*ČRVITI v. ‘dye red, lay eggs (of insects)’

ESSJa IV 169-170

CS RuCS *črviti*, *črviti*, *červiti* ‘dye, redden’

E Ru. *čėrvyty* ‘lay eggs (of insects)’

W Cz. *červiti* (Kott) ‘lay eggs (of insects)’

S SCr. *črviti* ‘colour, dye’ Bulg. *červjá* ‘dye red’

A derivative of → **črvb*. Cf. also → **čvrmĕně*.

*ČRVŃB m. i ‘worm, maggot’

ESSJa IV 171-172

CS OCS *čr̃Ńb* m.(i) ‘worm’

E Ru. *červ* m.(jo), Gsg. *červjá*

W Cz. *červ* m.(o); Slk. *červ* m.(o); Pl. *czerw* m.(jo); USrb. *červ* m.(o); LSrb. *cerw* m.(o)

S SCr. *črv* m.(o); Čak. *črv* (Vrg.) m.(o); *čřv* (Novi) m.(o); *čřv* (Orb.) m.(o), Gsg. *čřva*; Sln. *čřv* m.(o)

BSl. **kir-m/w-i-*

B Lith. *kirmis* f.(i) 4 ‘worm, maggot, snake’; Latv. *cirmis* m.(io) ‘worm, maggot, caterpillar’

OPr. *girmis* ‘maggot’

PIE **k^wr-m-i-*

Cogn. Skt. *kṛmi-* m. ‘worm, maggot’; OIr. *cruim* m. ‘worm’; W *pryf* m. ‘worm’

The Balto-Slavic vocalization **ir* (instead of **ur*) after an original labiovelar is unexpected.

See also: *čьrvjenъ; *čьrvnenъ; *čьrviti

*čbъstь f. i (c) ‘honour, respect’

ESSJa IV 175-176

CS OCS *čbstь*

E Ru. *čest’*

W Cz. *čest*, Gsg. *čti*; Pl. *cześć*; USrb. *česć*, Gsg. *česće*

S SCr. *čast*, Gsg. *čãsti*; Čak. *čãst* (Vrg.); *čas* (Orb.); Sln. *čast*; *čęst*; Bulg. *čest* ‘honour, luck, happiness’

PIE *(*s*)*k^wit-ti*

Cogn. Skt. *cītti-* f. ‘thinking, understanding’; Av. *čisti-* f. ‘consciousness’

See also: *čisti; *čitati

*čьto pron. ‘what’

ESSJa IV 177-178

CS OCS *čьto*, Gsg. *česo*, Gsg. *česogo*

E Ru. *čto*

S SCr. *štò*; Čak. *štò* (Vrg.); Bulg. *što*

PIE **k^wi-/k^we-*

Cogn. Gk. τί ‘what?’; Gsg. *τέο* (Hom.)

**da* conj.

ESSJa IV 180

CS OCS *da* ‘(in order) that/to’

S SCr. *dã* ‘(in order) that/to, if’; Sln. *dà* ‘(in order) to, because, though’; Bulg. *da* ‘(in order) to, that’

PIE **do-h₁* (*dō?*)

Cogn. OE *tō* prep. ‘to’, OIr. *do* prep. ‘to’

*D

**dadja* f. *jā*

ESSJa -

CS OCS *dažda* (Hilf.) ‘distribution’

According to Pokorny (IEW: 224), OCS *dažda* is analogical after **ędja* (the substantive *jažda* is not attested in OCS). The *jā*-stem is based on the reduplicated root **dad-* < **dodh₃₋* (→ **dãti*), which shows the effects of Winter’s law.

***dadъbogъ** m. o ESSJa IV 182-183

E ORu. *Dažъbogъ* proper name

W OPl. *Dadzibog* proper name

Compound of the imperative **dadъ* (→ **dāti*) and → **bōgъ*.

***dajati** v. 'give' ESSJa IV 197

CS OCS *dajati* 'give, allow', 1sg. *daję*; RuCS *dajati* 'give, allow'

E ORu. *dajati* 'give, allow'

W Cz. *dajati* (arch.) 'give'

S SCr. *dajāt* (dial.) 'give'; Sln. *dajāti* 'give', 1sg. *dájem*, 1sg. *dajèm*, 1sg. *dájam*

See → **dāti*.

***dalěkъ** adj. o (b) 'far, distant' ESSJa IV 184-185

CS OCS *daleče* 'far, long' adv.; CS *dalekъ*

E Ru. *dalëkij*; *dalëk*, f. *daleká*, n. *dalekó*, n. *dalëko*

W Cz. *daleký*; Slk. *daleký*; Pl. *daleki*

S SCr. *dàlek*; Sln. *dálek*

Derivative with the suffix **-okъ*, cf. → **vysokъ*. For the root, see → **dalъ*, **daļa*.

***dalъ; *daļa** f. i; f. jā 'distance' ESSJa IV 186-187

CS OCS *dalja*

E Ru. *dal'*

W Cz. *dál*; *dále*; Pl. *dal*

S SCr. *dālј* f./m.(i); *dálja*; Sln. *dálja*

The root may be identical with the root of → **dbliti* 'last'.

See also: **dalěkъ*

***dānъ** f. i (c) 'tribute, tax' ESSJa IV 194-195

CS OCS *danъ* 'tax, tribute'

E Ru. *dan'* 'tribute, debt'

W Cz. *daň* 'tax, duty'; Slk. *daň* 'tax, duty'; Pl. *dań* 'tax, tribute, duty'

S SCr. *dan* (13th-16th c.) 'tribute'; Sln. *dān* 'tribute, tax', Gsg. *danī*; *dānj* 'tribute, tax'

BSl. **doŕnis*

B Lith. *duōnis* f. i, m. io 'tribute' {1}

PIE **deh₃-n-*

Cogn. Skt. *dāna-* m. 'donation, gift'; Lat. *dōnum* n. 'gift'

{1} Probably a transformation of the borrowing *donis* 'tribute, gift' (Skardžius 1931: 65, 67, Anikin 1994: 191).

See also: **dajati*; **dadja*; **dadъbogъ*; **dārъ*; **datelъ*; **dāti*; **davati*; **prídъ*; **prodadja*

***dārъ** m. u (c) ‘gift’ ESSJa IV 191-192

CS	OCS <i>darъ</i> , Gsg. <i>dara</i> , Gsg. <i>daru</i>
E	Ru. <i>dar</i>
W	Cz. <i>dar</i> ; Slk. <i>dar</i> ; Pl. <i>dar</i>
S	SCr. <i>dâr</i> ; Čak. <i>dâr</i> (Vrg.); <i>dâr</i> (Orb.); Sln. <i>dâr</i> , Gsg. <i>dâra</i> , Gsg. <i>darû</i> ; Bulg. <i>dar</i>
PIE	* <i>deh₃-ro-</i>
Cogn.	Gk. δῶρον n.

According to the ESSJa, the arguments for reconstructing a *u*-stem are not compelling. For the root, see → **dāti*.

***dateļъ** m. jo ‘giver, donor’ ESSJa IV 193-194

CS	OCS <i>datel’ъ</i>
E	Ru. <i>dátel’</i> (dial.)
W	Cz. <i>datel</i> (Jg.)
S	SCr. <i>dätelj</i> (arch.)

Deverbative nomen agentis. See → **dāti*.

***dāti** v. ‘give’ ESSJa IV 194-195

CS	OCS <i>dati</i> , 1sg. <i>damъ</i> , 2sg. <i>dasi</i> , 3sg. <i>dastъ</i> , 1pl. <i>damъ</i> , 2pl. <i>daste</i> , 3pl. <i>dadętъ</i>
E	Ru. <i>dat’</i> , 1sg. <i>dam</i> , 2sg. <i>daš’</i> , 3sg. <i>dast</i> , 1pl. <i>dadím</i> , 2pl. <i>dadíte</i> , 3pl. <i>dadút</i>
W	Cz. <i>dáti</i> ; OCz. <i>dáti</i> , 1sg. <i>dám</i> , 2sg. <i>dáš</i> , 3pl. <i>dádie</i> ; OSlk. <i>dáti</i> ; <i>dať</i> ; Pl. <i>dać</i> , 1sg. <i>dam</i> , 3pl. <i>dadzq</i>
S	SCr. <i>dāti</i> , 1sg. <i>dām</i> , 1pl. <i>dámo</i> ; Čak. <i>dāti</i> (Vrg.), 2sg. <i>dāšš</i> , 2sg. <i>dāđešš</i> ; <i>dāt</i> (Orb.), 1sg. <i>dān</i> , 1pl. <i>dāmō</i> ; Sln. <i>dáti</i> , 1sg. <i>dám</i> ; Bulg. <i>dam</i>
BSl.	* <i>do?</i> ; * <i>do?d-mi</i>
B	Lith. <i>dúoti</i> ; Latv. <i>duôt</i> OPr. <i>dāt</i>
PIE	* <i>deh₃-</i> ; * <i>didh₃-</i>
Cogn.	Gk. δίδωμι; Skt. <i>dádāti</i> ; Lat. <i>dāre</i>

In the reduplicated present the first element became acute as a result of Winter’s law.

See also: **dajati*; **dadja*; **dadjъbogъ*; **dānъ*; **dārъ*; **dateļъ*; **davati*; **prídъ*

***dāvàti** v. ESSJa IV 197

CS	OCS <i>-davati</i>
E	Ru. <i>davát’</i> , 1sg. <i>dajú</i>
W	Cz. <i>dávati</i> ; Slk. <i>dávať</i> ; Pl. <i>dawać</i>
S	SCr. <i>dávati</i> , 1sg. <i>dājēm</i> ; <i>dávati</i> (Vuk: SW), 1sg. <i>dājēm</i> ; <i>dávati</i> , 1sg. <i>dāvām</i> ; Čak. <i>dāvàti</i> , 2sg. <i>dājješ</i> ; <i>dāvàt</i> (Orb.), 1sg. <i>dājjèn</i> ; Sln. <i>dávati</i> , 1sg. <i>dávam</i> ; Bulg. <i>dávam</i>
BSl.	* <i>do?wa?</i>

B Latv. *dāvāt* ‘give (iter.)’

Cogn. Gk. δίδωμι ‘give’; Skt. *dādāti* ‘give’; Lat. *dāre* ‘give’

The secondary *je*-present **dajō* is built on the aorist stem. The long non-acute root vowel of the imperfective iteratives in *-dāvati* can be traced to a perfect form **dh₃-ēu* (Kortlandt 1989: 111).

See also: **dajati*; **dadja*; **dadjъbogъ*; **dānъ*; **dārъ*; **datelъ*; **dāti*; **pridъ*; **prodadja*

***davě** adv. ‘recently’ ESSJa IV 198

E Ru. *dáveča* (coll., arch., dial.) ‘recently’; *dave* (dial.) ‘recently, yesterday’; ORu. *davě* ‘yesterday’

W LSrb. *dawě* (dial.) ‘before, recently, long ago’; Plb. *dovǎ* ‘recently, just’

S Sln. *dáve* ‘this morning, recently’; *dávi* ‘this morning’

Cogn. Skt. *dāvīyas-* adj. ‘further, more distant’; Gk. δήν adv. ‘a long time, far’; Gk. δᾶν (Dor.) adv. ‘a long time, far’; Gk. δοάν (Dor.) adv. ‘a long time, far’

The long vowel of this adverb is striking. We may be dealing with a lengthened grade vowel that originated in a monosyllabic form.

See also: **davъnъ*

***dāviti** v. (b) ‘suffocate’ ESSJa IV 198-199

CS OCS *daviti* ‘suffocate’, 1sg. *davljo*

E Ru. *davit* ‘press (upon), suffocate, crush’, 1sg. *davlju*, 3sg. *davit*

W Cz. *dāviti* ‘suffocate, strangle, throw up’; Slk. *davit* ‘suffocate, strangle, throw up’; Pl. *dawić* (obs., dial.) ‘suffocate, strangle’

S SCr. *dāviti* ‘suffocate, strangle’, 1sg. *dāvīm*; Čak. *dāviti* (Vrg.) ‘suffocate, strangle’, 2sg. *dāvīš*; Sln. *dāviti* ‘suffocate, strangle’, 1sg. *dāvim*; Bulg. *dāvja* ‘drown, suffocate, strangle’

PIE **dh₃ōh₂u-*

Cogn. Gk. Ζεύς θαύλιος m. ‘strangler?’; Go. *afdauiþs* ptc. pret. pass. ‘tormented’

***davъnъ**; ***davъnъ** adj. o ‘ancient, past’ ESSJa IV 200

CS CS *davъno* adv. ‘long ago’

E Ru. *dávnij*

W Cz. *dávný*; *dávní* (arch.); Pl. *dawny*

S SCr. *dávan*; *davn(j)ī*; Sln. *dávæn* ‘ancient, past’; *dávni* ‘from this morning, ancient, past’

Adjective derived from → **davě*.

***debelъ** adj. o ‘fat’ ESSJa IV 201-202

CS RuCS *debelyj* ‘fat’

E Ru. *debélyj* ‘plump, corpulent’; *debělyj* (dial.) ‘healthy, strong, plump, corpulent’

- S SCr. *dēbeo* ‘fat’; Čak. *děbē* (Vrg.) ‘fat, f. *debelà*; Sln. *débel* ‘fat, big, strong’, f. *deběla*; Bulg. *deběl* ‘fat, strong’
- BSl. **deb-*
- B Latv. *depsis* ‘small, fat boy’
OPr. *debīkan* Asg. ‘big’; *debica* (Gr.) ‘big’
- Cogn. OIc. *dapr* ‘sad’; Nw. *daper* ‘sad, with young’; *dabb(e)* (dial.) m. ‘small, fat fellow’; OHG *tapfar* ‘firm, heavy, thick-set’

Formally, the Balto-Slavic and the Germanic forms do not match, considering that in the case of PIE **b* the Balto-Slavic evidence would violate Winter’s law. It is by no means necessary, however, to assume that this etymon is of Indo-European origin.

See also: *debelŕstvo; *doblŕ

***debelŕstvo** n. o ‘fatness’(?)

ESSJa IV 203

CS OCS *debelŕstvo* ‘rudeness’ {1}

{1} According to the SJS (I: 472), the scribe may have translated παχύτης ‘fatness’ instead of τραχύτης ‘rudeness’.

See → **debelŕ*.

***degŕbŕ** m. jo ‘tar’

ESSJa IV 204-205

- E Ru. *děgot*; Ukr. *dihot*; *děhot*
- W Cz. *dehet*; Slk. *decht*; Pl. *dziegieć*
- S Sln. *děgət*
- BSl. **degut(i)os*
- B Lith. *degūtas* 2; Latv. *dēguts*
- PIE **d^heg^{wh}-*

In view of the presumed connection between **žegti* ‘burn’ and Lith. *dėgti* ‘id.’, **degŕbŕ* is sometimes regarded as a borrowing from Baltic. I find it more likely that it is a relic of the original root **deg-* < **d^heg^{wh}-* (cf. Sławski SP III: 34-35), cf. Sln. *děgniti* ‘radiate’, OCz. *dehna* ‘devil’.

***deltò** n. o (b) ‘chisel’

ESSJa IV 205

- S SCr. *dlijěto*; Čak. *lītò* (Vrg.), Npl. *lītā*; *lětò* (Novi), Npl. *lėta*; *dl’etò* (Orb.), Npl. *dl’ėta*; Sln. *dlětò* {1}; Bulg. *dletó*
- Cogn. OE *delfan* ‘dig’

Variant with *e*-vocalism of → **doltò*. The ESSJa adduces Cz. *dletko* (Kott) ‘edge of a plane’ to show that **deltò* is not limited to South Slavic. It seems plausible that the *e*-grade is analogical after the verb, but it must be admitted that **delti* is hardly attested. The only form mentioned in the ESSJa (IV: 205) is Čak. *dlisti*.

{1} Pleteršnik actually has *dlětò*, which is probably a misprint.

See also: *dętelŕ; *doltò; *dŕlbiti; *dŕlti

***dérnъ** m. o (b) ‘cornel, dogwood’ ESSJa IV 208-209

- E Ru. *derěn* (dial.) ‘cornel’; Ukr. *derén* (dial.) ‘cornel’; Gsg. *derenú*
 W Cz. *dřín* ‘cornel’; OCz. *dřien* ‘cornel’; Slk. *drieň* m.(jo) ‘cornel’; Pl. *drzón* (dial.) ‘cornel’; OPl. *drzon* ‘cornel, dogwood, barberry(?)’; Slnc. *dřōyn* ‘blackthorn’; Gsg. *dřōynú*; USrb. *drěn* ‘dogwood’
 S SCr. *drījen* ‘cornel, dogwood’; Gsg. *drijèna*; Čak. *drěn* (Novi) ‘cornel’; Gsg. *drēnā*; *driēn* (Orb.) ‘dogwood, cornel’; Gsg. *drēna*; Sln. *dr̥en* ‘cornel’; Gsg. *dr̥ena*; Bulg. *drjan* ‘cornel’; *dren* ‘cornel’

PIE **d^hergh^h-no-*

Cogn. Gk. τέρχνος n. ‘young shoot, branch’; OHG *tirn-pauma* m. ‘cornel’; OHG *dirn-baum* m. ‘cornel’; OIr. *draigen* m. ‘thorn’; MW *draen* m. ‘thorn(s), prickle(s)’

AP (b) points to an original neuter. For the etymology, see also Schrijver 1995: 135.

***derti** v. (b) ‘tear’ ESSJa IV 209

- W Cz. *dříti* ‘rub, flay’, 1sg. *dřu*; Slk. *driet’* (*sa*) ‘rub off, toil’; Pl. *drzec* ‘tear’, 1sg. *drę*; Slnc. *dřēc* ‘tear’; USrb. *drěč* ‘tear’
 S SCr. *drijēti* ‘tear, pull out’, 1sg. *dērēm*; Čak. *driēt* (Orb.) ‘tear up, fleece’, 3sg. *děre*; Sln. *dr̥ėti* ‘tear, pull out’, 1sg. *dérem*

BSL. **der(ʔ)-*

B Lith. *dėrti* (Žem.) ‘tear, peel’, 1sg. *derù*

PIE **der(H)-*

Cogn. Gk. δέρω ‘flay’; Go. *distairan* ‘tear apart’

See also: **dērā*; **dira*; **diṛa*; **dṛati*; **dṛgv̥ṇa*; **udariti*

***dêrvo** n. o (c) ‘tree, wood’ ESSJa IV 211-213

- CS OCS *drěvo* n.(s/o) ‘tree, wood’; Gsg. *drěvese*, Gsg. *drěva*
 E Ru. *derevo* ‘tree, wood’
 W Cz. *dřevo* ‘tree, wood’; Slk. *drevo* ‘tree, wood’; Pl. *drzewo* ‘tree, wood’; USrb. *drjewo* ‘wood’
 S SCr. *drījevo* ‘tree, wood’; Čak. *drīvo* (Vrg.) ‘tree, wood’; *driēvo* (Vrg.) ‘wood, lumber, tree’; Sln. *dr̥ev̥o* n.(s) ‘tree, plough’; Gsg. *drev̥ęsa*; Bulg. *derévo* (obs., dial.) ‘tree, wood’

BSL. **der(ʔ)wom*

B Lith. *dervà* f. 3/4 ‘chip of kindling wood, log from which tar is produced, resin, tar’; Latv. *daīva* f. ‘tar, pitch’

PIE **deru-o-*

Cogn. Skt. *dāru* n. ‘wood’; Gk. δόρυ n. ‘tree-trunk, wood, spear’; Go. *triu* n. ‘wood, tree’; OIc. *tyrvi* n. ‘coniferous wood’; OE *teoru* ‘tar’

The laryngeal reflected by the Baltic evidence must be an innovation, cf. Skt. *dāru*.

See also: **dṛkolv*; **dṛkolvje*; **dṛvo*; **sṛdōrv̥*

***desęťb** num. o 'tenth'

ESSJa IV 215-216

- CS OCS *desęťb*
 E Ru. *desjatyj*
 W Cz. *desátý*; Slk. *desiaty*; Pl. *dziesiąty*
 S SCr. *dęšęti*; Čak. *desęti* (Vrg.); *des'ęti* (Vrg.) 'tenth, the tenth month, October'; Sln. *desęti*; Bulg. *desęti*
- BSL. **dešimtos*
 B Lith. *dešimtas* 4
 OPr. *desimts*
- PIE **dekmHo-*; **dekmto-*
 Cogn. Gk. δέκατος; Lat. *decimus*; Go. *taihunda*
- See also: **dęšęťb*; **ęťbto*

***dęšęťb** num. i (c) 'ten'

ESSJa IV 216-217

- CS OCS *desęťb*
 E Ru. *desjat'*, Gsg. *desjati*
 W Cz. *deset*; Slk. *desať*; Pl. *dziesięć*; Slnc. *zığsinc*
 S SCr. *dęšęť*; Čak. *dęset* (Vrg., Orb.); Sln. *desęť*; Bulg. *deset*
- BSL. **dešimt(is)*
 B Lith. *dęšimt* indecl.; *dęšimtis* f.(i) 3^b; Latv. *desmit*
 OPr. *dessempts* (I); *desimpts* (I); *desimton* (III)
- PIE **dekm-t-*
 Cogn. Skt. *dása*; Gk. δέκα; Lat. *decem*; Go. *taihun*
- See also: **dęšęťb*; **ęťbto*

***desiti** v. 'find, encounter'

ESSJa IV 217-218

- CS OCS *desiti* 'find, encounter', 1sg. *dešę*; RuCS *desiti*; *dęsiti* 'find, encounter'
 W OCz. *podęsiti* 'catch up with, get hold of'
 S SCr. *dęsiti* (Vuk) 'encounter', 1sg. *dęsim*; *dęsiti* 'find, encounter'
- PIE **deķ-*
 Cogn. Skt. *daśasyāti* 'honour, serve'; Gk. δέκομαι (Ion., Aeol.) 'accept'; Lat. *decet* 'it suits, becomes'
- See also: **dositi*

***dęsnęb** adj. o (c?) 'right'

ESSJa IV 218-219

- CS OCS *desnęb*; RuCS *desnyj*
 E ORu. *desnę* {1}
 S SCr. *dęsnę*; *dęsan*, f. *dęsna*; Čak. *desnę* (Vrg.); Sln. *dęsęn*; Bulg. *dęsen*
- BSL. **deś(i)nos*
 B Lith. *dęšimas* 3^b

PIE **deks-(i)no-*

Cogn. Skt. *dākṣiṇa-* ‘right, southern’; Av. *dašina-* ‘right’; Gk. δεξιτερός ‘right’; Lat. *dexter* ‘right’; Go. *taihswa* ‘right’; OIr. *dess* ‘right, just, south’

See Beekes 1994 for the problem of medial *i.

{1} AP (c) according to Zaliznjak (1985: 138).

***devęťъ** num. o ‘ninth’

ESSJa IV 222

CS OCS *devęťъ*

E Ru. *devjátyj*

W Cz. *devátý*; Slk. *deviaty*; Pl. *dziewiąty*

S SCR. *děvētī*; Čak. *devěti* (Vrg.); *dev'ěti* (Orb.); Sln. *devěti*; Bulg. *devěti*

BSL. **deuin(t)os*

B Lith. *deviñtas*; Latv. *devīt(ai)s*

OPr. *newīnts*

PIE **h₁n(e)un-o-*

Cogn. Gk. ἔνατος; Lat. *nōnus*; Go. *niunda*

See → **dęvēťъ*. The introduction of **-to-* may date from the Balto-Slavic period.

***dęvēťъ** num. i (c) ‘nine’

ESSJa IV 222-223

CS OCS *devęťъ*

E Ru. *devjat'*, Gsg. *devjati*

W Cz. *devět*; Slk. *deväť*; Pl. *dziewięć*; Sln. *zìevjinc*

S SCR. *děvēt*; Čak. *děvet* (Vrg., Orb.); Sln. *devět*; Bulg. *děvet*

BSL. **dewin*

B Lith. *devyni*; Latv. *deviņi*

PIE **h₁neun*

Cogn. Skt. *náva*; Gk. ἐννέα; Lat. *novem*; Go. *niun*

For Balto-Slavic one would expect **dowin*, with **eu* > **ou* before a vowel. The *e* vocalism may have been reintroduced on the basis of the ordinal **deuno-* prior to the development **eu* > **iou* before consonant (Hamp 1976, Kortlandt 1979: 57). The ordinal was later reshaped into **dewino-*. In view of OPr. *newīnts* ‘nine’, it is possible that the numeral still had initial **n-* at the end of the Balto-Slavic period (the **d* must have been adopted from ‘ten’), but German influence cannot be excluded.

See also: **devęťъ*

***dǣdъ** m. o (a)

ESSJa IV 227

CS OCS *dǣdъ* ‘forefather’

E Ru. *ded* ‘grandfather’

W Cz. *děd* ‘grandfather, forefather, old man’; Pl. *dziad* ‘grandfather, forefather, old man’

- S SCr. *djěd* ‘grandfather’; Čak. *did* (Vrg.) ‘grandfather’; Sln. *děd* ‘grandfather, old man’, Gsg. *děda*
- BSl. **deʔd-*
- B Lith. *dėdė* m.(ē) ‘uncle’; *dėdis* m.(io) ‘uncle’; Latv. *dēds* m.(o) ‘old man’
- PIE **d^heh₁d^h-o-*
- Cogn. Gk. τήθη f. ‘grandmother’

***dělati** v. ‘do’

ESSJa IV 231-232

- CS OCS *dělati* ‘do, work’, 1sg. *dělaju*
- E Ru. *dělat* ‘do’, 1sg. *dělaju*
- W Cz. *dělati* ‘do, work’; Pl. *działać* ‘act, be active, operate’
- S SCr. *djělati* ‘do’, 1sg. *djělām*; Čak. *dīlati* ‘do’, 2sg. *dīlāš*; *dělat* ‘do, make, work’, 1sg. *dělan*; Sln. *dělati* ‘do, work’, 1sg. *dělām*
- BSl. **deʔl-*
- B Lith. *dėlioti* ‘put down, away’
OPr. *dīlants* ‘worker’
- Cogn. Skt. *dādadhāti* ‘put, place, make’; Gk. τίθημι ‘put down, ground, create’; Lat. *fēcī* 1sg. pf. ‘made’; OHG *tuon* ‘do’

Derivative of → **dělo*.See also: **děla*; **děľma*; **děti* I; **děva*; **děvica****děliti** v. ‘divide’

ESSJa IV 233-234

- CS OCS *děliti* (Supr.) 3sg. ‘divides’
- E Ru. *delít* ‘divide’, 1sg. *deljú*, 3sg. *delít* {1}
- W Cz. *děliti* ‘divide’; Slk. *deliti* ‘divide’; Pl. *dzielić* ‘divide’
- S SCr. *dijěliti* ‘divide’, 1sg. *dījeljīm*; Čak. *dīliti* (Vrg.) ‘divide’, 2sg. *dīliš*; *d’elīt* (Orb.) ‘divide’, 1sg. *d’ēlin*; Sln. *dělíti* ‘divide’, 1sg. *dělím*; Bulg. *deljá* ‘divide, share’, 1sg. *dělím*
- BSl. **doil-* (*dail-?*)
- B Lith. *dailýti* ‘divide’, 3pres. *dailo*
- Cogn. Go. *dailjan* ‘divide’

Slavic **děl-* has Germanic counterparts reflecting **d^hoil-* or **d^hail-*, which from a PIE point of view is an unusual root structure. The aspirated stop precludes a connection with Gk. δαίωμα ‘distribute’ < **deh₂-i-* unless we assume that the Germanic forms are borrowings from Slavic, which is not particularly plausible. Note that the accentuation of → **děľo* (b) would be in conflict with a reconstruction **deh₂i-l-*.

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 140).

***děľa**; ***děľma**; ***děľa**; ***ďyľa** prep. ‘because of’

ESSJa IV 234-235

- CS OCS *děľa* postp.; *děľma* postp.

- E Ru. *dlja* prep. ‘for’; Ukr. *diljá* (dial.) prep. ‘for, because of, therefore’
 W OCz. *dle* prep. ‘because of’; Pl. *dla* prep. ‘for’; OPl. *dziela* (Bogurodzica) prep. ‘for’
 S SCr. *dijel* (arch.) prep.; Sln. *dělj* prep.
 B Lith. *dėl* prep.; Latv. *dēļ* prep.

This etymon cannot be separated from → **dělo*, cf. Lat. *causā* ‘because of’. The form **děla* seems to be a petrified Isg., while **dělbma* is an Idu. The presence of an element *-j- is unexpected. Furthermore, the explanation of **dvļa* as a shortened variant is not particularly convincing. The ESSJa suggests a contamination of the root of **dělo* and the root **dbl-* found in → **dbliti*. The Baltic prepositions may be borrowings from Slavic.

See also: **dělati*; **děti* I

***dělo** n. o (a) ‘work, deed’ ESSJa V 5-8

- CS OCS *dělo* n.(s/o) ‘work, matter’, Gsg. *dělese*, Gsg. *děla*
 E Ru. *délo* ‘business, matter, thing’
 W Cz. *dílo* ‘work’; Slk. *dielo* ‘work’; Pl. *dzielo* ‘work, deed’; *działo* ‘cannon’; OPl. *działo* ‘work, deed’; USrb. *džělo* ‘work’
 S SCr. *djělo* ‘deed, act’; Čak. *dīlo* (Vrg.) ‘deed, act’; *dělo* (Novi) ‘deed, act’; *dělo* (Orb.) ‘work, job’; Npl. *děla*; Sln. *dělo* ‘work, act, deed’; Bulg. *délo* ‘work, act, deed’
 PIE **d^heh₁-l-*
 Cogn. Skt. *dádhdhāti* ‘put, place, make’; Gk. *τίθημι* ‘put down, ground, create’; Lat. *fēcī* 1sg. pf. ‘made’; OHG *tuon* ‘do’

Derivative with an *l*-suffix of **d^heh₁-* ‘put, make’.

See also: **dělati*; **děla*; **dělbma*; **děti* I

***dělŕ** m. o (b) ‘part’ ESSJa IV 233-234

- CS RuCS *dělo* ‘part’
 E Ru. *del* (dial.) ‘division, section’; Ukr. *dil* ‘part, section’
 W Cz. *díl* (dial.) ‘division, section’; Slk. *diel* ‘part, section’; Pl. *dział* ‘part, section’; Sln. *zěl* ‘part, section’, Gsg. *zěla*
 S SCr. *dijel* ‘part, mountain’, Gsg. *dijela*; Čak. *dī(l)* (Vrg.) ‘part, mountain’, Gsg. *dilä*; *dél* (Novi) ‘part, mountain’, Gsg. *dělä*; *d’el* (Orb.) ‘part, share’, Gsg. *d’ēla*; Kajk. *dīel* (Bednja) ‘part, mountain’, Gsg. *dielä*; Sln. *djal* ‘part, fate’
 Cogn. Go. *dails* m. ‘part’; OHG *teil* m. ‘part’

See → **děliti*.

***děřà** f. ā (b) ‘crack, hole’ ESSJa V 12

- E ORu. *děra* ‘opening’
 W Cz. *díra* ‘hole’; Slk. *diera* ‘hole’; Sln. *žěřà* ‘hole’; USrb. *džěra* ‘hole, lair’

PIE *dēr-

Cogn. Gk. δέρω ‘flay’; Go. *distairan* ‘tear apart’

AP (b) confirms the lengthened grade in the root.

See also: *derti; *dira; diṛa; *dbrati; *dbrvṛa; *udariti

*děte n. nt ‘child’

ESSJa V 12-13

CS CS *děte*, Gsg. *dětete*

E Ru. *ditjá*, Gsg. *ditjáti*

W Cz. *dítě*, Gsg. *ditěte*; Slk. *dieťa*, Gsg. *dieťata*; Pl. *dziecię*, Gsg. *dziecięcia*; Slnc. *zêcã*

S SCr. *dijete*, Gsg. *djèteta*; Čak. *dītè* (Vrg., Novi), Gsg. *ditèta*; *dītè* (Orb.); Sln. *děte* ‘child, infant’, Gsg. *detěta*; Bulg. *deté*

See → *děti II.

See also: *děva; *děvica; *dojidlica; *dojidlo; *dojiti

*děti I v. ‘do, say’

ESSJa IV 229-230

CS OCS *dějati* ‘do, say’, 1sg. *dějō*; *děti se* ‘get to, disappear’, 1sg. *deždō se* {1}; -*děti* ‘do, say’, 1sg. -*dějō*, 1sg. -*deždō*, 1sg. -*děno*

E Ru. *det* ‘put, place’, 1sg. *děnu*; *dějat* (dial.) ‘do, make’, 1sg. *děju*

W Cz. *díti* (obs.) ‘speak’; OCz. *dieti* ‘do’, 1sg. *děju*, 2sg. *dějěš*; *dieti* ‘speak, say’, 1sg. *diem*, 2sg. *dieš* {1}; Pl. *dziać* ‘weave, knit (arch.)’, do’

S SCr. *djěti* ‘do, say’, 1sg. *djèdēm*, 1sg. *djènēm*; *djěsti* (Vuk) ‘do, say’, 1sg. *djèdēm*, 1sg. *djènēm*; Sln. *dejáti* ‘do, say’, 1sg. *dějem*; *dejáti* ‘place, put, do, say’, 1sg. *dēm*; *dejáti* ‘place, put’, 1sg. *děnem*, 1sg. *děnem*; *děti* ‘place, put, do, say’, 1sg. *dēm*

BSL. *deř-

B Lith. *dėti* ‘lay, put’, 3pres. *dėda*; *dėti* (OLith.) ‘lay, put’, 3pres. *desti*; Latv. *dēt* ‘lay (eggs)’

PIE *d^heh₁-

Cogn. Skt. *dādhati* ‘put, place, make’; Gk. τίθημι ‘to put down, to ground, to create’; Lat. *fēcī* 1sg. pf. ‘made’; OHG *tuon* ‘to do’

{1} The SJS gives *děti se*, 1sg. *deždō se*, 2sg. *deždeši se* (Hilf., Venc.). The latter text does not belong to the Old Church Slavic canon. The quoted passages do not show that the present stem *dežd-* occurs in Hilf. {2} In his Old Czech dictionary, Gebauer has *děti*, *děju* ‘do’ and *děti*, *děju* ‘speak, say’. In his Czech historical grammar (III.2: 228), however, he says that *deju* ‘I speak’ is not attested and claims that the attested 1sg. *diem* is an innovation.

See also: *dělati; *dělja; *dělъma; *dělo; *prídъ; *sōditi; *sōdi; *sōdъ

*děti II Npl. f. ‘children’

ESSJa V 14

CS OCS *děti* Npl.

E Ru. *děti* Npl.

W Cz. *děti* Npl.; Slk. *deti* Npl.; Pl. Npl. *dzieci*; Slnc. *zìcã* Npl.

S Bulg. *děti* (dial.) Npl.

A derivative of the root **d^heh₁*-, cf. Latv. *dēls* ‘son’, *dēt* ‘suck’. The singular **dēt_v* is hardly attested. The common singular of the word for ‘child’ is → **dēt_ε*, where the suffix *-*t*- was enlarged with the suffix *-*ε* < *-*ent*-, which is frequent in designations of young living creatures.

Cogn. Lat. *fētus* m. ‘birth, foetus, offspring’

See also: **dēte*; **děva*; **děvica*; **dojidlica*; **dojidlo*; **dojiti*

**děva* f. ā (a) ‘maiden, girl’

ESSJa V 17-18

CS OCS *děva* ‘virgin, maiden’

E Ru. *děva* (obs.) ‘girl, maiden, (D.) The Virgin, Virgo’

W Cz. *děva* ‘girl, maiden’; *díva* (dial.) ‘girl, maiden’; Slk. *deva* ‘girl’

S SCr. *djéva* ‘girl, maiden’; Čak. *Díva* (*Marija*) (Vrg.) ‘The Virgin (Mary)’ {1}; Sln. *děva* ‘maiden, virgin’; Bulg. *děva* ‘maiden, virgin’

Cogn. Gk. θήλυς adj. ‘feminine’; Lat. *fēcundus* adj. ‘fertile’

{1} The noun *djéva* seems to be a hypercoristic of *djěvōjka* (RJA II 449-450) and cannot be regarded as a direct continuation of **děva*. The RJA has also *djěv* (18th c.) f.(i) and *djěva* ‘virgo’, which do not belong to the living language. The status of the accentuation of these words is unclear to me.

See also: **dēte*; **děti* II; **děvica*; **dojidlica*; **dojidlo*; **dojiti*

**děverь* m. jo (a (c)) ‘husband’s brother’

ESSJa V 19

E Ru. *déver*, Npl. *dever’já* {1}

W OCz. *deverš*; OPl. *dziewierz*

S SCr. *djěvēr* ‘husband’s brother, best man’; Čak. *dīver* (Vrg.) ‘husband’s brother, best man’; *děver* (Orb.) ‘marriage witness’; Sln. *devēr* ‘husband’s brother’, Gsg. *devērja*; *děver* ‘husband’s brother, best man’, Gsg. *děvera*; Bulg. *déver* ‘husband’s brother, best man’

BSL. **dářiuer-*

B Lith. *dieveris* m.(i) 1; *dieveris* m.(i) 3^a; Latv. *diēveris* m.(io)

PIE **deh₂i-uer-*

Cogn. Skt. *devár-* m.; Gk. δᾱήρ m.

In case-forms with original stress on the suffix one expects root stress as a result of Hirt’s law. This accounts for the many indications for root stress in both Baltic and Slavic.

{1} AP (a) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 138).

**děvica* f. ā (a) ‘maiden, girl’

ESSJa V 19-20

CS OCS *děvica* ‘virgin, maiden, girl’

E Ru. *devíca* (obs.) ‘unmarried woman, girl’

W OCz. *děvice* ‘girl, maiden’; Pl. *dziewica* ‘virgin, maiden’

- S SCr. *djèvica* ‘girl, maiden, virgin’; Čak. *Divica* (Vrg.) ‘The Holy Virgin’; Sln. *dèvica* ‘maiden, virgin’; Bulg. *devica* ‘maiden, virgin, girl’

See → *děva.

*děžà f. jā (b)

ESSJa V 23-24

- E Ru. *dežá* ‘vat’; *déža* ‘vat’
 W Cz. *díž*, *díze* f.(i/jā) ‘kneading trough’; OCz. *diežě* ‘kneading trough’; Slk. *dieža* ‘kneading trough’; Pl. *dzieża* ‘kneading trough, earthen pot, crock’; USrb. *džéža* ‘kneading trough’; LSrb. *žéža* ‘kneading trough’
 S Čak. *díža* ‘milk-pail’; *dížva* ‘milk-pail’; Sln. *déža* ‘milk-pail, bee-hive’

Cogn. Gk. τοῖχος n. ‘wall, side’

A jā-stem from the root *děz- < *d^hoiǵ^h- ‘knead (clay)’

See also: *zidъ; *zъdbъ; *zъdati

*dęga; *deǵъ f. ā; m. o (a) ‘strap’

ESSJa V 24-25

- CS RuCS *djagъ* m. ‘strap’
 E Ru. *djága* (dial.) f. ‘(W, NW dial.) strap, leather belt, (Psk.) strength, height’; *djag* (dial.) m. ‘height’; ORu. *djagъ* m. ‘strap’; Ukr. *d’ah* (dial.) m. ‘strip of bast’
 W Slk. *d’ah* m. ‘road, direction’
 S Sln. *dęga* f. ‘strap, hame-strap’

See Derksen forthc. e. This etymon is not to be connected with → *doga.

See also: *deǵlъ; *deǵlъ; *nedoǵъ

*deǵlъ adj. o ‘healthy, strong’

ESSJa V 25

- E Ru. *djáglyj* (dial.) ‘healthy, strong’
 BSL. *denʔg-
 B Latv. *dēnkts* ‘strong, healthy, important’
 Cogn. OIr. *daingen* ‘firm, fast, solid’

See → *dęga.

*deǵlъ m. jo ‘angelica’

ESSJa V 25

- E Ru. *djágil* ‘angelica’; *djagíl* (dial.) ‘Heracleum, Valeriana nitida’
 W Cz. *děhel* ‘angelica’; Pl. *dzięgiel* ‘angelica’; USrb. *džehel* ‘angelica’

See also: *dęga; *deǵъ; *deǵlъ; *nedoǵъ

*dęsnò; *dęsnà; *dęslò n. o; f. ā; n. o (b) ‘gum’

ESSJa V 26-27

- E Ru. *desná* f.(ā); *deslá* (Psk.) f.(ā)
 W Cz. *dáseň* f.(i/jā); OCz. *dásno* n.(o); *dás(e)ň* f.(i); Slk. *d’asno* n.(o); Pl. *dziąsła* Npl. n.(o)

S SCr. *dēsni* Npl. f.(i); Sln. *dlésna* f.(ā); *dlásna* f.(ā); *lésna* Npl. n.(o)

It is very plausible that **dēsno*/à ‘gums’ contains **h₃dent-* ‘tooth’, cf. OPr. *dantimax* ‘id.’. The fact that we find both **-sno-* and **-slo-*, makes one wonder whether the latter may be due to dissimilation.

***dętelъ** m. o ‘woodpecker’

ESSJa V 27-28

E Ru. *djátel*, Gsg. *djátela*

W Cz. *datel*, Gsg. *datla*; Slk. *d’atel* m.(jo), Gsg. *d’atla*; Pl. *dzięcioł*, Gsg. *dzięciola*

S SCr. *djètao*, Gsg. *djètla*; Čak. *dětelj* (Orb.) m.(jo), Gsg. *dětelja*; Sln. *dętəł*, Gsg. *dętla*; *dętelj* m.(jo)

PIE **d^h(e)lb^h-tel-*

The word for ‘woodpecker’ can be derived from **d^hlb^h-* ‘dig’ (in Slavic ‘hollow, chisel’, cf. → **dьlbtī*) if we assume that **dętelъ* < **dentelъ* or **dьntelъ* reflects **deltelъ* or **dьltelъ*, cf. **žędlo* < **g^wlH-d^hlo-*.

See also: **deltō*; **dętelъ*; **doltō*; **dьlbiti*; **dьlti*

***dikъ** adj. o ‘wild’

ESSJa V 29-30

CS RuCS *dikiy* ‘wild, rude’

E Ru. *díkij*, f. *diká*, n. *díko*; ORu. *dikiy*

W Slk. *diký* (Kott); Pl. *dziki*; USrb. *džiki*

B Lith. *dỹkas* 4 ‘empty, idle, for free, vacant’; Latv. *dīks* ‘empty, idle, inactive’ {1}

Perhaps cognate with Skt. *dayi* ‘fly (of birds, chariots, horses, gods)’. In view of the evidence for circumflex long *i*, the East Baltic forms may be borrowings from Slavic, but the semantic difference (cf. MoDu. *woest* ‘desolate’ → ‘uncultivated, rough, wild’, with the opposite direction) is conspicuous. Note that East Latv. *dieks*², provided that this is indeed the correct interpretation of the form *dīks* in that area, may reflect **deik-*.

{1} Both *dīks*² and *diks*² are attested. In principle this combination points to *dīks*.

See also: **divъ* II; **divъ*

***dira**; ***diṛa** f. ā; f. jā ‘crack, hole’

ESSJa V 30-31

CS OCS *dira* ‘crack’; *dirja* ‘crack’

E Ru. *dirá* (dial.) ‘hole’; *dirjá* (dial.) ‘hole’

S SCr. *dira* (Herc.) ‘hole’; *dīra* (Herc.) ‘hole’; *dīra* (Dubr.) ‘hole’; *dīra* (Elez., RJA) ‘rags’; *dīra* ‘rags’; *dīra* (RSA) ‘hole, crack’; *dīra* (RSA) ‘hole, crack’

PIE **dr-*

Cogn. Gk. *δέρω* ‘flay’; Go. *distairan* ‘tear apart’

See also: **derti*; **dērā*; **dьrati*; **dьrvъṇa*; **udariti*

***diriti** v. 'look for'

ESSJa V 31

S Bulg. *dírja* 'look for, seek, strive for'B Lith. *dyrėti* (coll.) 'look out (for), watch (for), stare, gape, be in hiding'Cogn. Nw. *tira* (dial.) 'look, shine, beam'

According to the ESSJa, the Slavic and Baltic verbs are possibly cognate with → **dbrati* 'tear'. In that case the *i* would have to originate from the iterative. The connection with Germanic, as advocated by Stang (1972: 18-19), is not unattractive, however. One might reconstruct **dei(H)r-* or **deih₂-r-*, cf. Skt. *dayi-* 'shine, radiate'.

diviti** v. (c) 'surprise, astonish'CS OCS *diviti se* 'be surprised, wonder, marvel', 1sg. *divljo se*, 3sg. *divíši se*E Ru. *divít'sja* 'be surprised, wonder, marvel', 1sg. *divljús'*, 3sg. *divít'sja*; *divít'* (dial.) 'be surprised, wonder, marvel, look (at), gaze'W Cz. *diviti se* 'be surprised, be astounded'; Slk. *divít sa* 'be surprised, be astounded'; Pl. *dziwić* 'surprise, astonish'S SCr. *diviti se* 'marvel at, admire', 1sg. *dívīm se*; Bulg. *divjá* 'surprise, astonish'See also: **dīvo*; **dīṽ I*; **dīṽñ*dīvo** n. s (c) 'miracle'

ESSJa V 33-34

CS OCS *divesa* (Ps. Sin.) Apl. 'miracles'E Ru. *dīvo* n.(o) 'miracle'; *dīvo* (dial.) n.(o) 'miracle, astonishment'; *divesá* (dial.) Npl. n.(s) 'miracles'W Slk. *dīvo* n.(o) 'monster'; OPl. *dziwo* n.(o) 'miracle'S SCr. *dīvo* n.(o) 'miracle'See → **dīṽ I*.***dīṽ I** m. o 'astonishment, miracle'

ESSJa V 35

CS OCS *dīṽ* (Cloz.) 'astonishment, amazement'E Ru. *div* (dial.) 'miracle, astonishment'W Cz. *div* 'miracle'; Slk. *div* 'miracle'; Pl. *dziw* 'miracle'Cogn. Skt. *dhí-* f. 'observation, vision, thought'

Since we find no traces of Hirt's law, an analysis **d^hHi-uo-* or **d^heiH-uo-* seems best.

See also: **diviti*; **dīvo*; **dīṽñ****dīṽ II**; **dīṽ* adj. o; adj. jo 'wild'

ESSJa V 35-36

CS OCS *divii* 'wild'W Cz. *divý* 'wild, furious'; *diví* (dial.) 'wild, furious'; OPl. *dziwy* 'wild'; Sln. *zāvī* 'wild'; USrb. *džiwi* 'wild'S SCr. *divljī* 'wild'; Čak. *divlī* (Vrg.) 'cruel, brutal'; Sln. *dívji* 'wild'; Bulg. *div* 'wild, rough'

See → *dikǝ. The Russian adjectives *dívyyj* (dial.) ‘surprising’ and *dívoj* (dial.) ‘miraculous, surprising’, which the ESSJa mentions under this lemma, are obviously cognate with → *divǝnǝ.

***divǝnǝ** adj. o ‘amazing’ ESSJa V 36-37

- CS OCS *divǝnǝ* ‘amazing, wonderful’
 E Ru. *dívnyj* ‘amazing, wonderful’
 W Cz. *divný* ‘strange, queer’; Slk. *divný* ‘strange, queer’; Pl. *dziwny* ‘strange, queer’
 S SCr. *dīvan* ‘wonderful, splendid’; Sln. *dívǝn* ‘amazing, wonderful, miraculous’; Bulg. *dīven* ‘amazing, wonderful’

Adjectival derivative in *-ǝnǝ (→ *divǝ I).

See also: *diviti; *dīvo; *divǝ I

***do** prep. ‘to, until’ ESSJa V 37-38

- CS OCS *do*
 E Ru. *do*
 W Cz. *do*; Slk. *do*; Pl. *do*
 S SCr. *dǝ*; Sln. *dǝ*; Bulg. *do*
 PIE **do*
 Cogn. Gk. *ἐνδον* adv. ‘within’, OLat. *endo-* preverb ‘in’; OIr. *do* prep. ‘to’

***doba** f. ā ‘time’ ESSJa V 38-39

- CS CS *doba* ‘use, advantage’
 E Ru. *dóba* (dial.) ‘time, measure’; Ukr. *dobá* ‘twenty-four hours’
 W Cz. *doba* ‘time’; Pl. *doba* ‘twenty-four hours, time’
 S SCr. *dǝba* ‘time’; Čak. *dǝba* (Vrg.) ‘time’; *dobǎ* (Orb.) ‘time, season, point of time’; Asg. *dǝbo*; Sln. *dóba* ‘time, period’; *dǝb* f.(i) ‘time’; Bulg. *dóba* ‘time’
 BSL. **doba?*
 B Lith. *dabà* ‘nature, habit, character’; *dabař* adv. ‘now’; Latv. *daba* ‘manner, habit, character’
 Cogn. Go. *gadaban* ‘happen, be suitable’

The root is best reconstructed as **d^hab^h-*, with “European *a*”, cf. Lat. *faber* ‘craftsman, artisan’.

See also: *dobrǝ; *podoba

***dobľb** adj. jo ‘strong’ ESSJa V 40

- CS OCS *dobľb* ‘strong’; RuCS *dobľii* ‘strong’
 E Ru. *dóbljij* ‘valiant’
 S Sln. *dǝbǝlj* ‘capable, able’
 BSL. **dob-*

Latv. *dabļš* ‘strong, lush’; *dabls* ‘strong, lush’

Cogn. OIc. *dapr* ‘sad’; Nw. *daper* ‘sad, with young’; *dabb(e)* (dial.) m. ‘small, fat fellow’; OHG *tapfar* ‘firm, heavy, thick-set’

See → *debelz.

***dobrǫ** adj. o ‘good’

ESSJa V 45-46

CS OCS *dobrǫ* ‘good, beautiful’

E Ru. *dóbryj*

W Cz. *dobrý*; Slk. *dobrý*; Pl. *dobry*

S SCr. *dǫbar*, f. *dǫbra*; Čak. *dǫbar* (Vrg.), f. *dobrǎ*, n. *dobrǝ*; *dǫbar* (Vrg.) ‘good, kind, tasty’, f. *dobrǎ*, n. *dobrǝ*; Sln. *dǫbǎr*, Gsg. *dǫbra*; Bulg. *dobǎr*

Cogn. Go. *gadaban* ‘happen, be suitable’

Adjective in *-ro- of **dhabh-* (→ **doba*). The relationship between **doba* ‘time’ and **dobrǫ* ‘good’ is parallel to **godǝ* ‘right time’ vs. PGmc. **gōda* ‘suitable, good’.

See also: **doba*; **podoba*

***dojidlica** f. jā ‘nurse, nursing animal’

ESSJa V 52-53

CS OCS *doilicǫ* (Ps. Sin.) Gpl. ‘suckling (ewes)’; RuCS *doilica* ‘nurse, milch cow’

S SCr. *dǫjilica* ‘nurse, nursing mother’

A derivative of → **dojidlo*.

See also: See also: **děte*; **děti* II; **děva*; **děvica*; **dojidlica*; **dojiti*

***dojidlo** n. o

ESSJa V 52-53

E Ru. *dójlo* (Dal’) ‘quantity of milk produced by one head of cattle in a twenty-four-hour period, worthless milk’

W Cz. *dojidlo* (Kott) ‘milking machine’

S Sln. *dojilo* ‘breast-feeding, milking’; Bulg. *dójlo* ‘milking’

Deverbative noun in *-dlo. See → **dojiti*.

***dojiti** v. (c) ‘give milk, milk’

ESSJa V 53-54

CS OCS *doiti* ‘breast-feed, nurse’, 1sg. *dojǫ*

E Ru. *doit’* ‘milk’, 1sg. *dojú*, 3sg. *doit’*; *doit’* (dial.) ‘give milk (cow), suckle (calf)’

W Cz. *dojiti* ‘milk’; Slk. *dojit’* ‘milk, give milk’; Pl. *doić* ‘milk, (arch., dial.) give milk’

S SCr. *dǫjiti* ‘breast-feed, suckle, give milk’, 1sg. *dǫjǐm*; Čak. *dojǐti* (Vrg.) ‘breast-feed, suckle, give milk’, 2sg. *dojǐš*; *dojǐt* (Orb.) ‘suckle, breast-feed’, 3sg. *dojǐ*; Sln. *dojǐti* ‘breast-feed, give milk, milk’, 1sg. *dojǐm*; Bulg. *dojá* ‘breast-feed, give milk, milk’

Cogn. Skt. *dháyati* ‘suck’; Go. *daddjan* ‘breast-feed’

The straightforward analysis **d^hoih₁-eie-* meets with several difficulties. In the first place, one would rather expect **d^hoh₁i-eie-* in view of forms such as Latv. *dēt* ‘suck’, where we are dealing with an unextended root. This reconstruction would yield **dajati*, however. Skt. *dháyati* ‘suck’ has been analyzed as **d^hh₁-eie-* (see LIV: 142, where the same analysis is applied to OSw. *dīa*), but this reconstruction cannot account for the Slavic form. Klingenschmitt (1982: 148) has suggested for both Slavic **dojiti* and Go. *daddjan* that the formation is built on the present stem, i.e. **d^h(h₁)éie-* gave rise to **d^hoiéje-*.

See also: See also: *dětę; *děti II; *děva; *děvica; *dojidlica; *dojidlo

***dòļa** f. jā (b) ‘share, fate’

ESSJa V 62-63

CS RuCS *dolja* ‘part, fate’

E Ru. *dólja* ‘part, share, fate, (bot., anat.) lobe’; ORu. *dolja* ‘part, fate’; Bel. *dólja* ‘share, fate’; Ukr. *dólja* ‘fate, destiny’

W OCz. *s dolí* <zdolý> ‘succesfully’; Pl. *dola* ‘fate, destiny, (coll.) share’ (the earliest attestations date from the 17th century)

BSL. **dolja?*

B Lith. *dalià* 4 ‘fate, destiny’; Latv. *daļa* ‘part, share’

PIE **dolh₁-*

Cogn. Lat. *dolō* ‘fashion, work (wood)’

According to Bańkowski (2000a: 282), this etymon spread from Belorussian, where it originated from a Lithuanian substratum, to Ukrainian, Russian and Polish. The secondary meaning ‘fate’ is assumed to have arisen in Belorussian. Though this is not an implausible scenario, it should be noticed that the ESSJa mentions late 14th century attestations of *dolja* in Old Russian / Russian Church Slavic, in the meaning ‘fate’ as well as in the meaning ‘part’. Furthermore, there is an Old Czech attestation from around 1400.

See also: *odolěti

***dòlnь** f. i (a) ‘palm of the hand’

ESSJa V 63-64

CS OCS *dlanь*

E Ru. *ladón’*; *dolón’* (dial.)

W Cz. *dlaň*; Slk. *dlaň*; Pl. *dłoń*

S SCr. *dlàn* m.(o); Čak. *dlǎn* (Vrg.) m.(o), Gsg. *dlàna*; *dlán* (Vrg.) m.(o), Gsg. *dlàna*; *dlân* (Orb.) ‘palm (of the hand)’, Gsg. *dlāni*; Sln. *dlàn*, Gsg. *dlaní*; Bulg. *dlan*

BSL. **dolʔn-*; **delʔn-*

B Lith. *dėlna* f.; *dėlnas* m.; Latv. *dēļna* f.

We are apparently dealing with a Balto-Slavic root **delʔ-*, the origin of which is unclear. Pokorny suggests that there is a connection with Lith. *dilti* ‘rub off, wear out’ (‘flatten’ → ‘flat of the hand’), which seems far-fetched.

***doltò** n. o (b) ‘chisel’

ESSJa V 60-61

E Ru. *dolotó*

W Cz. *dláto*; Slk. *dláto*; Pl. *dluto*

S Bulg. *dlató*; *dletó*

BSL. **dolbtó*

B OPr. *dalptan* ‘punch, instrument for punching holes’

Cogn. OE *delfan* ‘dig’

Nomen instrumenti from a root meaning ‘hollow, chisel’ (→ **dblbiti*, **dblti*). See also Derksen 1996: 115, 236, where the accentuation is discussed.

See also: **deltò*; **dętelъ*

***dōlъ** m. o (c) ‘dale, valley’

ESSJa V 64-65

CS OCS *dolu* adv. ‘below’; *dolě* (Supr.) adv. ‘below’

E Ru. *dol* ‘(poet.) dale, vale, (dial.) pit, ditch, grave, bottom, earth’; Gsg. *dóla*; Ukr. *dil* ‘valley, bottom, earthen floor’; Gsg. *dólu*

W Cz. *důl* (Jg.) ‘valley, pit, shaft’; Gsg. *dolu*; OCz. *dolov* adv. ‘down’; Pl. *dół* ‘pit, hole, grave’; Gsg. *dołu*

S SCr. *dō* ‘valley, dale’; Gsg. *dōla*; Čak. *d^uōl* (Orb.) ‘(small) valley, field in a (small) valley’; Sln. *dōl* ‘valley’; Bulg. *dol* ‘narrow gully, ravine’

PIE **d^hol-o-*

Cogn. OIc. *dalr* m. ‘valley’; OHG *tal* n. ‘valley’; W *dol* f. ‘valley’

The forms pointing to an old *u*-stem may be analogical after → **vbrxъ* (cf. Meillet Ét. II: 242-243).

***dōma** adv. ‘at home’

ESSJa V 66

CS OCS *doma*

E Ru. *dóma*

W Cz. *doma*; Slk. *doma*; Pl. *doma* (dial.); OPl. *doma*

S SCr. *dōma*; Čak. *dōma* (Vrg., Orb.); Sln. *domâ*

The petrified case-form **doma* cannot reflect a Lsg. **dom-ōu*, which would have yielded **domu*. A possible reconstruction is an Isg. **dom-oh₁* (cf. → **vъčera*), but we would not expect to find the old Isg. ending of the *o*-stems in a *u*-stem.

See also: **domovъ*; **domъ*

***domovъ** adj. o ‘house-’

ESSJa V 71

E Ru. *domónyj* ‘house-’; *domovój* ‘house-’; *domovój* (arch., dial.) ‘house-spirit’

W Cz. *domový* (obs.) ‘house-’; *domov* m.(o) ‘homeland’; Slk. *domový* ‘house-’; *domov* m.(o) ‘homeland’; Pl. *domowy* ‘house-’

S SCr. *dómov* ‘house-’; Bulg. *domoví* ‘house-’

Cogn. Lat. *domus* f. 'house', Gsg. *domūs*

Denominative adjective with full grade of the suffix.

See also: *dōma; *dōmъ

***dōmъ** m. u (c) 'house'

ESSJa V 72-73

CS OCS *domъ*

E Ru. *dom* {1}; Ukr. *dim*, Gsg. *dómu*

W Cz. *dům*, Gsg. *domu*; Slk. *dom*; Pl. *dom*; USrb. *dom*, Gsg. *domu*

S SCr. *dōm*, Gsg. *dōma*; Čak. *dōm* (Vrg.), Gsg. *dōma*; Sln. *dōm* 'house, home', Gsg. *dōma*, Gsg. *domû*, Gsg. *dōmu*; Bulg. *dom* 'house, home'

BSl. **domus*

B Lith. *nāmas*

PIE **dom-u-*

Cogn. Lat. *domus* f., Gsg. *domūs*

{1} Vestiges of an old *u*-stem are the alternative Gsg. and Lsg. in *-u*, e.g. *na domú* 'at home'.

See also: *dōma; *domovъ

***dōrga** f. ā (a) 'road, way'

ESSJa V 74-75

E Ru. *doróga* 'road, way'

W Cz. *dráha* 'road, way, waste land, (dial.) track'; Slk. *draha* 'road, way, furrow'; Pl. *droga* 'road, way'; USrb. *dróha* 'road, way'; *droha* 'road, way'

S SCr. *drāga* 'ravine, rapid stream, (arch.) road, way'; Sln. *drága* 'ditch, gully, ravine'

Possibly cognate with → **dъrgati* < **drHg^h-*. As for the semantics, cf. OIc. *dragan* 'pull' (**d^hrog^h-*) vs. Nw. *drag* 'draught, stream', *drog* (dial.) 'short sleigh, track (of an animal), valley'.

See also: *dъrgati; *dъrnqti

***dōrgъ** adj. o (c) 'dear'

ESSJa V 77

CS OCS *dragъ* 'dear'

E Ru. *dorogój* 'dear'

W Cz. *drahý* 'dear'; Slk. *drahý* 'dear'; Pl. *drogi* 'dear'

S SCr. *drāg* 'dear', f. *drága*, n. *drágo*; Čak. *drāg* (Vrg.) 'dear', f. *drāgā*, n. *drāgo*; *drāh* (Orb.) 'dear, nice, expensive', f. *drāgā*, f. *drāga*, n. *drāgo*; Sln. *drāg* 'expensive, dear', f. *drága*; Bulg. *drag* 'expensive, dear'

BSl. **dorgos*

B Latv. *dārgs* 'dear'

Etymology unclear.

***dositi** v. ‘find, encounter’

ESSJa V 82

CS RuCS *dositi* ‘find, encounter’

E ORu. *dositi* ‘find, encounter’

PIE **doǵ-*

Cogn. Skt. *dasasyāti* ‘honour, serve’; Gk. (Ion., Aeol.) *δέκομαι* ‘accept’; Lat. *decet* ‘it suits, becomes’

Causative with *o*-grade of → **desiti*.

***dovblěti** v. ‘suffice’

ESSJa V 89

CS OCS *dovblěti* ‘suffice’, 1sg. *dovbljǫ*, 1sg. *dovblějǫ*

E Ru. *dovlét* ‘suffice’; Ukr. *dovlity* ‘suffice’

S Sln. *dovlěti* ‘suffice’, 1sg. *dovlím*

Prefixed verb consisting of → **do* and **vblěti* (→ **velěti*).

***dǫbъ** m. o (c) ‘oak’

ESSJa V 95-97

CS OCS *dǫbъ* ‘oak, tree’

E Ru. *dub* ‘oak’

W Cz. *dub* ‘oak’; Slk. *dub* ‘oak’; Pl. *dąb* ‘oak’, Gsg. *dębu*

S SCr. *dūb* ‘oak, (reg.) tree’, Gsg. *dūba*; Čak. *dūp* (Orb.) ‘tree, oak’, Gsg. *dūba*; Sln. *dǫb* ‘oak’; Bulg. *dāb* ‘oak’

Etymology unclear. An old hypothesis is the connection with Gk. *δέμω* ‘build’, but this fails to convince me.

***dǫgà** f. ā ‘arc, arch’

ESSJa V 98-99

CS CS *dǫga* ‘rainbow’

E Ru. *dugá* ‘arc, arch’, Asg. *dugú*

W Cz. *duha* ‘arc, arch, stave, lag, rainbow’; Slk. *dúha* ‘rainbow, stave, lag’; Pl. *dęga* (dial.) ‘scratch, rainbow, stave, lag’; OPl. *dęga* ‘scratch, arc, arch’

S SCr. *dúga* ‘rainbow’, Asg. *dúgu*; *dūga* ‘stave, lag’; Čak. *dūga* (Vrg.) ‘stave, lag’; *dǫga* (Orb.) ‘stave (of a barrel)’; Sln. *dǫga* ‘stave, lag, rainbow’; Bulg. *dǫgá* ‘arc, arch, rainbow’

BSL. **danga?*

B Lith. *dangà* f. ‘cover’; *dánga* (dial.) f. ‘Deckel des Backtroges’; *dangùs* m.(u) 4 ‘sky, heaven’; Latv. *daņga* f. ‘corner’.

***dǫti** v. (a) ‘blow’

ESSJa V 99-100

CS OCS *dъmy* (Supr.) Nsg. m. ptc. pres. act. ‘blowing’; *dъměše sę* (Supr.) 3sg. impf. ‘swelled’

E Ru. *dut* ‘blow’, 1sg. *dúju* {1}; ORu. *duti* ‘blow’, 1sg. *dъmu*

W Cz. *douti* ‘blow’, 1sg. *dmu*; Pl. *dąć* ‘blow’, 1sg. *dmę*

S SCr. *dùti* ‘blow, inflate’, 1sg. *dmēm*, 1sg. *dūjēm*

BSL. *domʔtei; *dumʔtei

B Lith. *dūmti* ‘blow’

PIE *d^h(o)mH-

Cogn. Skt. *dhāmati* ‘blow’

{1} This verb may theoretically belong to **duti*, but the Old Russian evidence renders this unlikely.

***drabъ** m. o

ESSJa V 100-101

W USrb. *draby* Npl. ‘clothes, dress, rags’

BSL. **drōb-*

B Lith. *drabūžis* m.(io) 2 ‘clothes, clothing’; *drobūžis* m.(io) 2 ‘clothes, clothing’; *drābanas* m.(o) 3^b ‘rags’; *drāpanas* m.(o) 1 ‘clothes, clothing’

See also: **draskati*; **drāpati*; **дърпати*

***drāpati** v. ‘scratch’

ESSJa V 101-102

E Ru. *drāpat* ‘clear out’, 1sg. *drāpaju*; *drāpat* (dial.) ‘scratch, tear’; *drjāpat* (dial.) ‘scratch, tear’; *drjābat* (dial.) ‘scratch, tear’; Ukr. *drāpaty* ‘scratch, tear’; *drjāpaty* ‘scratch, tear’

W Cz. *drāpati* ‘scratch, tear’; Slk. *driapat* ‘scratch, tear’; Pl. *drapać* ‘scratch’; Sln. *drāpāc* ‘scratch’

S SCr. *drāpati* ‘scratch’, 1sg. *drāpām*; Sln. *drāpati* ‘scratch’, 1sg. *drāpam*, 1sg. *drāpljem*; Bulg. *drāpam* ‘tear’

Cogn. Gk. *δρέπω* ‘pluck’

See also: **drobъ*; **дърпати*; *draskati*

***draskati** v. ‘scratch’

ESSJa V 102-103

S Bulg. *drāskam* ‘scratch, scribble’

It is likely that this verb must be analyzed as **drap-sk-* (→ **drāpati*).

See also: **drāpati*; **drabъ*; **дърпати*

***drāžiti** v. (b?) ‘incite, provoke’

ESSJa V 104-105

CS OCS *razdražiti* ‘incite (against), provoke’, 1sg. *razdražō*

E Ru. *drāžit* (dial.) ‘tease’, 1sg. *drāžu*, 3sg. *drāžit*; *dražit* (dial.) ‘tease’, 1sg. *dražú*, 3sg. *dražit* {1}

W OCz. *drāžiti* ‘tease, annoy, incite’; Slk. *drāžit* (dial.) ‘irritate’

S SCr. *drāžiti* ‘annoy, provoke’, 1sg. *drāžim*; Čak. *drāžiti* (Vrg.) ‘annoy, provoke’, 2sg. *drāžiš*; *drōžit* (Hvar) ‘annoy, provoke’, 1sg. *drōžim*; Sln. *drāžiti* ‘annoy, provoke, incite’, 1sg. *drāžim*

LIV reconstructs **d^hroh₂g^h-eie-*, connecting *dražiti* with Gk. *θράσσω, παράσσω* ‘stir up’. In view of the accentuation of the verb, this is problematic.

{1} In the Pskov region, where both *drážit'* and *dražit'* are attested, a variant *dorožit'* seems to have been recorded as well. I am inclined to regard this as a hypercorrection.

***drebězǵъ** m. o ESSJa V 105-106

E Ru. *drébezg* 'sound of breaking glass, falling metal objects, etc.'; *drébezgi* Npl. 'splinters, remnants'

BSL. **dreb-*

B Lith. *drebė̃(z)nos* Npl. f. 'remnants'

PIE **d^hreb^h-*

See also: *drobězǵъ; *drobězga; *drebъ; *drebъnъ; *drobiti; *drobъ; *drobъnъ

***drebъ** m. o ESSJa V 106

S Bulg. *dreb* 'combing of wool or linen, small man'

BSL. **dreb-*

B Lith. *drebė̃(z)nos* Npl. f. 'remnants'

PIE **d^hreb^h-o-*

Cogn. OE *dræf* n. 'waste, mull'; MoDu. *draf* m. 'swill'

See → *drobiti, *drobъ.

***drebъnъ** adj. o 'small, fine' ESSJa V 106

S Bulg. *drében* 'small, fine'; Mcd. *dreben* 'small, fine'

Adjective in *-ъnъ. See → *drobiti.

***drevje; *drevě** adv. 'earlier, before' ESSJa V 106-107

CS OCS *drevlje* 'before, earlier, once'

E ORu. *drevě* 'from the earliest times, long ago'; *drève* 'from the earliest times, long ago'; *drevlje* 'once, before'; *drěvlje* 'once, before'

W Cz. *dřív(e)* 'before, earlier'; OCz. *dřév(e)* 'before, earlier'; *dřiev(e)* 'before, earlier'; Slk. *driev* 'before, earlier'; Pl. *drzewiej* (obs.) 'once, before, earlier'; OPl. *drzewie* 'once, before, earlier'

S Sln. *drěvi* 'tonight'

According to a widely accepted etymology, this etymon is cognate with the word for 'wood' (→ *dērvo).

***drevъnъ; *drevъnъ** adj. jo; adj. o 'ancient' ESSJa V 107

CS OCS *drev|ъnъ* 'ancient'

E Ru. *dřevnij* 'ancient, very old'

W Cz. *dřevný* (Jg.) 'earlier, ancient'; *dřevní* (Jg.) 'earlier, ancient'; *dřívny* (Jg.) 'earlier, ancient'; OCz. *dřevní* 'earlier, ancient'; *dřěvní* 'earlier, ancient'; Slk. *drevný* 'earlier, ancient'

S SCr. *drēvan* ‘ancient, very old’; Sln. *drēven* ‘ancient, old, antique’

See also: *drevje; *drevě

***drēmàti** v. (b) ‘doze, slumber’ ESSJa V 108-109

CS CS *drēmati* (in OCS, we only find *drēmanie* (Ps. Sin.) Asg. ‘slumber’)

E Ru. *dremát’*, 1sg. *dremljú*, 3sg. *drémľjet*

W Cz. *dřimati*; Slk. *driemat*; Pl. *drzemać*; Sln. *dřimác*

S SCr. *drijemati*, 1sg. *drijemām*, 1sg. *drijemľjem*; Čak. *drīmāti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *drīmľeš*; Sln. *drēmati*, 1sg. *drēmam*, 3sg. *drémľjem*; Bulg. *drémja*

It has been suggested that the Slavic root **drēm-* is a contamination of **dreh₁-*, cf. Skt. *ni-drāyāt* (Br) 3sg. opt. ‘may sleep, slumber’, and **drem-*, cf. Lat. *dormiō* ‘sleep’. A reconstruction **dreh₁m* is in conflict with the accentual evidence, however. It is therefore more likely that **drēmati* has a secondary lengthened grade vowel, which is not uncommon in intensives (cf. Klingenschmitt 1989: 81). One might argue, however, that ‘doze, slumber’ is hardly an intensive meaning.

***driskati; *dristati** v. ‘suffer from diarrhoea’ ESSJa V 116

E Ukr. *drystáty*

W Cz. *dřístati* (Jg.); Pl. *drzysać* (dial.); Sln. *dřāstāc*

S SCr. *driskati; drīskati; dríckati* (Vuk); Sln. *driskati; drīstati*; Bulg. *drískam*

Cogn. OIc. *dríta* ‘shit’; OE *drītan* ‘shit’; OHG *trīzan* ‘shit’

To be reconstructed as **d^hreid-sk-*, with early loss of **d*.

***drobà I; *drobina I** f. ā ‘crumb, small fry, small livestock’ ESSJa V 117, 118-119

E Ru. *drobina* (S. dial.) ‘small livestock’; Ukr. *drobyná* ‘poultry, small fry, small change’

W Cz. *droba* ‘type of sandstone’; *drobina* (Jg.: Slk., Kott) ‘crumb, little piece’; Sln. *drùǫbã* ‘small fry’; *drùǫbjinã* ‘small fry, crumb’; USrb. *drobina* ‘trifles, nonsense’

S SCr. *dróba* (RSA) ‘bread crumbled into milk’

Derivatives of → **drobiti*, cf. → **drobǫ I*, **drobǫ*, **drobǫzga*.

See also: *drebǫ; *drebǫnǫ; *drobǫnǫ

***drobà II; *drobina II; *drebà** f. ā ESSJa V 105, 117, 118-119
‘sediment, brewer’s yeast, dregs, entrails’

E Ru. *drobá* (dial.) ‘sediment, brewer’s yeast, dregs’; *drobina* (dial.) ‘sediment, brewer’s yeast, dregs’; *drebá* (dial.) ‘sediment, brewer’s yeast, dregs’

S SCr. *dróba* (RSA) ‘entrails’; *dròbina* (Vuk) ‘entrails, tripe’

BSL. **drob-*

- B Lith. *drabnà* (dial.) f.(ā) 4 ‘sleet, dough, mud’; Latv. *drabenes* Npl. f.(ē) ‘sediment of malt after brewing process’
- Cogn. OIc. *drafn* ‘lees, yeast’; Nw. *dravn* ‘sediment of malt after brewing process’; OHG *trebir* Npl. m. ‘pig’s swill’; MoDu. *drafn* m. ‘pig’s swill’; MoIr. *draoib* f. ‘mud, mire’

Unlike the ESSJa, I have separated **drobà* II ‘sediment, dregs, entrails’ from **drobà* I ‘crumb, small fry, small livestock’, etc. It can be argued that the meanings ‘dregs’ and ‘crumbs’ may be covered by the designation ‘remnants’, but for the root of **drobà* I the notion ‘small, fine’ seems essential, while **drobà* II is about thick, weak masses. We may reconstruct a European root **d^hrab^h-*.

See also: **drebà*; **drobà* II; **drobina* II; **drobъ* II

***drobĕzgzь; *drobĕzga** m. o; f. ā ‘crumbs, small fry’ ESSJa V 118

- E Ru. *drobezgá; drobizgá* f.(ā) ‘small fry’
- W Cz. *drobesk* m. ‘crumbs’; OCz. *droběz* f.(i) ‘crumbs’; Slk. *drobizg* m. ‘small fry’; Pl. *drobiazg* m. ‘small fry’
- BSl. **drop-*
- B Lith. *drėbė(z)nos* Npl. f. ‘remnants’; Latv. *drapsnas* Npl. f. ‘crumbs, remnants’
- See → **drobiti*.

***drobiti** v. ‘crumble, crush’ ESSJa V 119

- CS OCS *drobĕi* (Supr.) Nsg. m. ptc. pres. act. ‘crushing’; CS *drobiti* ‘crumble, chop, break’
- E Ru. *drobít* ‘crush’, 1sg. *drobljú*, 3sg. *drobít*
- W Cz. *drobiti* ‘crumble, chop, crush’; Slk. *drobit’* ‘crumble, chop, crush’; Pl. *drobić* ‘crumble’
- S SCr. *dròbiti* ‘crush, crumble’, 1sg. *dròbīm*; Čak. *drobiti* (Vrg.) ‘crush, crumble’, 2sg. *drobiš*; *drobit* (Vrg.) ‘pulverize, crush’, 1sg. *drobīn*; Sln. *drobiti* ‘crumble, mince’, 1sg. *drobím*; Bulg. *drobjá* ‘crumble’
- Cogn. Go. *gadraban* ‘cut out’ (unless this is a mistake for *gagraban*)

LIV (153) reconstructs **d^hreb-* on the basis of Germanic forms such as OIc. *drepa* ‘beat, kill’, OHG *treffan* ‘hit’. Since this proto-form is in conflict with Winter’s law, I reconstruct **d^hrob^h-eie-* for Slavic. The discrepancy between Slavic and Germanic may have something to do with the fact that the etymon is of non-Indo-European origin or Kluge’s law may have played a role.

See also: **drebъ*; **drebnъ*; **drobà* I; **drobĕzgzь*; **drobĕzga*; **drobina* I; **drobъ*; **drobь*; **drobnъ*

***drobъ I** m. o ESSJa V 119-120

- E Ukr. *drib* ‘little piece, small livestock’

- W Cz. *drob* (dial.) 'hay-dust'; OCz. *drob* 'little piece, crumb'; USrb. *drob* 'hay-dust, sawdust'
 S Sln. *drôb* 'little pieces, crumbs'

A derivative of → **drobīti*, cf. → **drobà* I, **drobъ*, **drobějzъ*, **drobějzga*.

***drobъ** II m. o

ESSJa V 119-120

- E Ru. *drob* (dial.) 'dregs'; ORu. *drobъ* 'dregs'
 W Cz. *drob* 'entrails'; USrb. *drob* 'entrails, tripe'
 S SCr. *drôb* 'entrails, pulp (of fruit), sediment, Gsg. dregs', *drôba*; Sln. *drôb* 'entrails'; Bulg. *drob* 'entrails'

See → **drobà* II.

***drobъ** f. i

ESSJa V 121

- E Ru. *drob'* 'fraction, small shot'
 W Pl. *drób* m.(jo) 'poultry, small items', Gsg. *drobiu*
 S Sln. *drôb* m.(o) 'small piece, particle, chaff, hay-dust, entrails'; *drôb* 'chaff, hay-dust', Gsg. *drobi*; Bulg. *drob* 'fraction'

See → **drobīti*.

***drobъnъ** adj. o 'small, fine'

ESSJa V 122

- CS OCS *drobenъ* (Supr.) 'fine'
 E Ru. *dróbnyj* (dial.) 'small'
 W Cz. *drobný* 'small, fine, fragile'; Pl. *drobny* 'small, tiny'
 S SCr. *drôban* 'small, fine, fragile'; Čak. *drôban* (Vrg.) 'small, fine, fragile'; *drôban* (Orb.) 'tiny, fine'; Sln. *drôban* 'small, tiny'

Cogn. OIc. *drafna* 'dissolve into small parts'

See → **drobīti*.

***dročiti** v. 'stimulate, irritate'

ESSJa V 122-123

- E Ru. *dročit'* 'stroke, caress, feed, tease, irritate'; *dročit'* 'stroke, caress, tease, irritate'; *dročit'sja* 'be obstinate, go mad (said of cattle, for instance)'
 W Pl. *droczyć* 'tease'
 S SCr. *drôčiti* 'sting'; Bulg. *drôča* 'loaf, amuse oneself, booze'
 BSL. **drok-*
 B Latv. *dracīt* 'scold'

It is difficult to link this Balto-Slavic etymon to forms with an Indo-European etymology. The Russian reflexive *dročit'sja* may also be compared with Latv. *drakâtiēs* 'rage, dance'.

See also: **drokъ*; **droka*

***droga** f. ā ‘bar, pole’

ESSJa V 123-124

E Ru. *drogá* ‘wooden bar or metal strip uniting the front and the rear axis of a cart, centre pole’; *drogá* (dial.) ‘pole’; *dróga* (dial.) ‘cart for transporting wood’

Apparently a variant of → **drógǝ*. A comparison with Gk. *τρέχω* ‘run’ and OIc. *draga* ‘pull’ does not bring much.

***drokǝ**; ***droka** m. o; f. ā

ESSJa V 124

E Ru. *drok* (dial.) m. ‘broom (*Genista*), oregano’; *drok* (dial.) m. ‘time when cattle are restless, agitated’; *dróka* (dial.) f. ‘indulgence, over-indulgence’; Ukr. *drik* m. ‘Dyer’s Broom, gadfly’, Gsg. *dróku*; *drúok* (dial.) m. ‘warm period in May or June, when cattle are plagued by gadflies and run from one side to another’, Gsg. *dróku*

BSL. **drok-*

B Lith. *drākas* ‘noise, agitation, quarrel’; Latv. *draks* ‘fight’

See also: *dročiti

***drozdǝ** m. o (c (/b?)) ‘thrush’

ESSJa V 126-127

E Ru. *drozd* ‘thrush, (*čěrnij d.*) blackbird’, Gsg. *drozdá* {1}; Ukr. *drizd* ‘thrush’, Gsg. *drozdá*

W Cz. *drozd* ‘thrush’; Slk. *drozd* ‘thrush’; Pl. *drozd* ‘thrush’; Slnc. *drōuzd* ‘thrush’

S SCr. *drōzd* ‘thrush’; *drōzak* ‘thrush’, Gsg. *drōzga*; *drōzak* ‘thrush’, Gsg. *drōzga*; Čak. *drōzak* ‘thrush’, Asg. *drōzga*; Sln. *drōzd* ‘thrush’; *drōzǝg* ‘thrush, (*črni d.*) blackbird’; Bulg. *drozd* ‘thrush, (coll.) blackbird’

BSL. **trozdós*

B Lith. *strāzdas* 4 ‘thrush, (*juodasis s.*) blackbird, (dial.) starling’; Latv. *strazds* ‘thrush, (*melnais s.*) blackbird, (*mājas s.*) starling’
OPr. *tresde* ‘thrush’

PIE **trozd-o-*

Cogn. Lat. *turdus* m. ‘thrush’; OIr. *truit* f. ‘thrush’ {2}; OIc. *þrǫstr* m. ‘thrush’

In order to explain why **drozdǝ* was not, or rather only partly affected by the generalization of accentual mobility in masculine *o*-stems, Illič-Svityč (1963: §45) reconstructs a *u*-stem, referring to OIc. *þrǫstr* < **-uz*. I am inclined to consider the possibility that owing to the cluster *-zd-*, which prevented the Balto-Slavic retraction called Ebeling’s law, **drozdǝ* belonged to a marginal oxytone type that in principle merged with AP (b). In that case it is no longer necessary to posit a *u*-stem. It must be said, by the way, that the evidence for AP (c) seems to outweigh the evidence for (b).

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 137). {2} OIr. also *truid*, *druid*.

***droždža; *droždžje** f. jā; n. io ‘yeast, dregs’ ESSJa V 129-130

- CS OCS *droždъję* (Ps. Sin.) Npl. f. (iā) ‘dregs’
 E Ru. *drožži* n. (io) ‘yeast, leaven’
 W Cz. *droždí* n. (io) ‘yeast, leaven’; Slk. *droždie* n. (io) ‘yeast, leaven’; Pl. *drożdże* Npl. f. (jā) ‘yeast, leaven’; OPl. *drożdža* f. (jā) ‘sediment, dregs’
 S SCr. *drožda* f. (ā) ‘sediment’; Sln. *drožjê* f. (jā) ‘yeast, leaven’; *drožê* f. (jā) ‘yeast, leaven’; *droždžê* f. (jā) ‘yeast, leaven’; *droži* f. (i) ‘yeast, leaven’
 BSL. **dro(z)gi(ř)a?*
 B Lith. *drāgės* (Bretk.) Npl. f. (ē) ‘dregs’; Latv. *dradži* Npl. m. (jo) ‘sediment (of melted fat)’
 OPr. *dragios* ‘dregs’
 Cogn. Lat. *fracēs* f. ‘fragments of olive pulp left after pressing’; OIc. *dregg* f. ‘dregs, yeast’

Cognate with OIc. *dregg* ‘dregs, yeast’ < **dragjō* and, in spite of the differing velar, probably also with Lat. *fracēs*. Since the word is possibly non-Indo-European, we might just as well reconstruct **dʰragʰ-i-*, with **a*.

***drōgъ** m. o (b) ‘bar, pole’ ESSJa V 129-130

- CS OCS *drōgy* (Euch.) Ipl. ‘sticks’
 W Cz. *drouh* (obs., dial.) ‘bar, club’; Slk. *drúh* (dial.) ‘bar, club’; Pl. *drąg* ‘bar’, Gsg. *drąga*; Sln. *drōyug* ‘bar, pole’, Gsg. *drōyuga*
 S SCr. *drŭg* ‘rail’; Sln. *drōg* ‘bar, latticed side of a cart’
 BSL. **drongos*
 B Lith. *draňgas* m. ‘pole (used as a lever)’; *drąnga* f. ‘pole (used as a lever), edge (of a cart)’
 Cogn. OIc. *drangr* m. ‘detached pillar of rock’; OIc. *drengr* m. ‘heavy stick, pillar’

On the basis of the Balto-Slavic and Germanic evidence, we may reconstruct **dʰrongʰ-*. The limited distribution of the etymon and the fact that we find variants without a nasal or with root-final **k* leads us to consider non-Indo-European origin.

See also: **droga*; **drōkъ*

***drōkъ** m. o (b) ‘bar, pole’ ESSJa V 130-131

- E Ru. *druk* ‘pole, stake, club, beam’; *drjuk* ‘pole, stake, club’; Ukr. *drjuk* ‘club’
 W Cz. *drouk* ‘iron bar, rod’; Slk. *drúk* ‘stake, pole’
 S SCr. *druk* ‘fairly thick stake’; Sln. *drōk* ‘pestle’

See → **drōgъ*.

***drŭgъ I** m. o (c) ‘companion, friend’ ESSJa V 131-132

- CS OCS *drugъ* ‘friend’
 E Ru. *drug* ‘friend’
 W Cz. *druh* ‘friend’; Slk. *druh* ‘friend’; OPl. *drug* ‘companion, comrade’

- S SCr. *drûg* ‘friend’; Sln. *drûg* ‘companion, best man’
 BSL. **drougos*
 B Lith. *draūgas* 4 ‘friend’; Latv. *drāugs* ‘friend’
 Cogn. Go. *gadrauhts* m. ‘warrior’; OIc. *dróttinn* m. ‘prince, lord’; OHG *truhtin* m. ‘lord’

Only Balto-Slavic and Germanic, cf. also Go. *driugan* ‘be up in arms’. I consider the connection with **d^hreugh-* ‘deceive’ dubious.

See also: *drûgъ II; *družina

***drûgъ II** adj. o (c) ‘other’ ESSJa V 131-132

- CS OCS *drugъ* ‘other’
 E Ru. *drugój* ‘other’
 W Cz. *druhý* ‘second, other’; Slk. *druhý* ‘second, other’; Pl. *drugi* ‘second, other’
 S SCr. *drûg* ‘second, other’; Čak. *drügi* (Vrg.) ‘second, other’; *drügi* (Orb.) ‘other, second’; Sln. *drûg* ‘other’; Bulg. *drug* ‘other’

Etymologically identical with → **drûg* I.

***družina** f. ā (a) ESSJa V 134-135

- CS OCS *družina* ‘society, party’
 E Ru. *družina* ‘(prince’s) armed force, militia unit, squad’
 W Cz. *družina* ‘squad, detachment’; Pl. *družyna* ‘team, crew’
 S SCr. *družina* ‘society, friends, detachment, servants’; Čak. *družina* (Vrg.) ‘society, friends, detachment, servants’; Sln. *družina* ‘servants, family’; Bulg. *družina* ‘troop’

Cogn. OIc. *drótt* f. ‘followers’; OHG *truht* f. ‘multitude, host’

Derivative in *-ina of → **drûg* I.

See also: *drûgъ II

***dr̥gati** v. ‘tremble, shake’ ESSJa V 144

- E Ru. *drógat* (Voron.) ‘shake’
 W Cz. *drhati* (rare) ‘tremble, shiver’; Slk. *drgat* ‘shake’; Pl. *drgać* ‘tremble, shiver’
 S Sln. *đrgati* ‘tremble’, 1sg. *đrgam*
 BSL. **drug-*

There are Baltic forms pointing to a Balto-Slavic root **drug-* ‘tremble’ (→ **dr̥žb*). Alongside **dr̥gati* we find forms with a secondarily lengthened root vowel. e.g. ORu., RuCS *drygatisja* ‘tremble’, Ru. *drýgat*, *drygát* (dial.) ‘tremble, shake, writhe’.

***dr̥vo** n. o (c) ‘tree, (pl.) wood’ ESSJa V 141-142

- CS OCS *dr̥va* (Supr.) Npl. ‘wood’
 E Ru. *drová* Npl. ‘wood’

- W Cz. *drvo* (dial.) ‘tree, wood’, Npl. *drva* ‘wood’; Slk. *drvo* ‘tree’; Pl. *drwa* Npl. ‘wood, firewood’
- S SCr. *dřvo* ‘tree’, Npl. *drvěta*, Npl. *dřva* ‘wood’; Čak. *drvò* (Orb.) ‘wood, firewood’, Npl. *drvā* ‘wood’; Sln. *dřvo* ‘log, baton’, Npl. *dřva* ‘firewood’; Bulg. *dārvó* ‘tree’; *dārvá* Npl. ‘wood’
- PIE **dru(H)-o-*
- Cogn. Gk. δρῦς f. ‘tree, oak’

For the reconstruction of a (Balto-Slavic) laryngeal, see → **dēuvo*.

***dr̥žati** v. ‘tremble, shiver’ ESSJa V 144

- E Ru. *drožát* ‘tremble, shiver’, 1sg. *drožú*, 3sg. *drožít*; ORu. *drožati* ‘tremble, shiver’
- W OCz. *držěti* ‘tremble, shiver’; *dřezeti* ‘tremble, shiver’; Pl. *drzeć* ‘tremble, shiver’

A stative verb in *-*ėti*.

See also: *dr̥gati; *dr̥žb̥

***dr̥žb̥** m. jo? ‘shivering, tremor’ ESSJa V 144

- E Ru. *drož’* f.(i) ‘shivering, tremor’; *drošč* (Psk.) m.(jo??) ‘shivering, tremor’
- W Pl. *dreszcz* m.(jo) ‘shivering, tremor, shudder’; *dreszcz* (dial.) f.(i) ‘shivering, tremor, shudder’ {1}

BSL. **drugios*

- B Lith. *drugys* m.(io) 4 ‘fever, malaria, butterfly, moth’; Latv. *drudzis* m.(io) ‘fever, ague’; *drudzi* Npl. m.(io) ‘moths’

BSL. **drug-* may in principle reflect **drug^h-* or **d^hrug^h-*, but to my knowledge there are no cognates outside Balto-Slavic.

{1} In the 18th century, we find forms such as *dresz*, *dres*, *drez* and *dreś* (Sławski SEJP I: 163). According to Bańkowski (2000a: 297), *dreszcz* may be based on a plural *dreszcze* from **drežca* < **dr̥ž-bca*.

See also: *dr̥gati; *dr̥žati

***dr̥kolb̥; *dr̥kolbje** m. i; n. io ‘stick, club’ ESSJa V 139-140

- CS OCS *dr̥kolb* m.(i) ‘stick, club’; *dr̥kolb* m.(i) ‘stick, club’
- E Ru. *drekol’* (dial.) m.(jo?) ‘pole’; *drekól’e* n.(io) ‘staves’
- W Cz. *drkolí* (Jg.) n.(io) ‘wooden rattle, club’ {1}
- S SCr. *drkol* (arch.) m.(o) ‘truncheon, baton’; Sln. *dřkoł* m.(o) ‘truncheon, baton’; *dřkəl̥j* m.(jo) ‘truncheon, baton’

In all likelihood a compound of *dr̥* ‘wood’ (→ **dēuvo*) and **kol-* ‘stab’ (→ **kolti*). Unlike the ESSJa, I have reconstructed **dr̥kolb̥*, **dr̥kolbje* because the evidence points to *b*. I admit, however, that the form originally may have had **ṽ* (cf. Vaillant 1928).

{1} Also *drkolna*, OCz. *dřkolna*, *strkolna*.

See also: *dēuvo; *dъuvo; *sъdōrvъ

***dūxàti** v. (b) ‘breathe, blow’

ESSJa V 151

CS OCS *duxati* ‘breathe’, 1sg. *dušq*

W Cz. *douchati* (Kott) ‘blow’; *duchati* (dial.) ‘breathe’; Slk. *dúchat* ‘blow’; Pl. *duchać* (dial.) ‘blow’

S SCr. *dúhati* ‘blow’, 1sg. *dūhām*, 1sg. *dūšēm*; Sln. *dúhati* ‘smell, breathe’, 1sg. *dūham*; Bulg. *duxam* ‘blow’

B Lith. *dvēsti* ‘breathe, blow’; *dūsėti* ‘breathe heavily’; Latv. *dvēst* ‘breathe heavily’

Denominative verb based on → **dūxъ*.

See also: *dušà; *dvoxati; *dъxnqti; *dъxъ; *dъxati

***dūxъ** m. o (c) ‘breath, spirit’

ESSJa V 153-154

CS OCS *duxъ* ‘breath, spirit’

E Ru. *dux* ‘spirit, breath, smell’

W Cz. *duch* ‘spirit’; Slk. *duch* ‘spirit’; Pl. *duch* ‘spirit, breath’

S SCr. *dūh* ‘spirit, breath, smell’, Gsg. *dūha*; *dūh* (Vuk) ‘spirit, breath, smell’, Gsg. *dūha*; Čak. *dūh* (Vrg.) ‘spirit’, Gsg. *dūha*; *dūh* (Novi) ‘spirit’; *dūh* (Orb.) ‘ghost’; Sln. *dūh* ‘spirit, breath, smell’; Bulg. *dux* ‘spirit’

BSL. **doušos*

B Lith. *daūsos* Npl. f. ‘air, breath’

Cogn. Go. *dius* n. ‘wild animal’ (**d^heus-*)

The root shape **d^hous-* is peculiar to Balto-Slavic. Elsewhere in and Indo-European – and in Balto-Slavic as well – we find full grades of the type **d^hue/ous-* (cf. → **dvoxati*).

See also: *dūxati; *dušà; *dvoxati; *dъxnqti; *dъxъ; *dъxati

***dunqti** v. ‘blow’

ESSJa V 137

CS OCS *dunqti* ‘blow’, 1sg. *dunq*

E Ru. *dúnut* ‘blow’

W OCz. *dunúti* ‘blow’

S SCr. *dúnuti* ‘blow’; Sln. *dúniti* ‘strike, swoop down on’, 1sg. *dūnem*

Cogn. Skt. *dhūnóti* ‘shake’; OIc. *dýja* ‘blow’

Perfective in *-*nqti*, cf. → **duti*.

***dupa; *dupę** f. ā; n. nt ‘hole’

ESSJa V 157-158

E Ru. *dúpa* (dial.) f. ‘buttocks’; Ukr. *dúpa* f. ‘arse’

- W Cz. *doupa* (arch.) f. 'hollow, burrow'; *doupě* n. 'hollow, burrow'; *dupa* (dial.) f. 'hind quarters'; Slk. *dúpa* f. 'hollow, burrow'; *dúpä* n. 'burrow, den'; *dupa* (dial.) f. 'hind quarters'; Pl. *dupa* f. 'arse, vagina'
- S SCr. *düpe* n. 'arse'; Sln. *dúpa* f. f. 'hole, burrow'; Bulg. *dúpe* n. 'arse'
- BSL. **doub/p-*
- B Lith. *daubà* 4 'ravine, hole, burrow'
- PIE **d^houp-*
- Cogn. Go. *diups* adj. 'deep'

The Slavic root **dup-* has a variant **dǫb-* (→ **dǫno*).

See also: **dupina*; **duplò*; **dupľь*; **dupļa*; **дѣбрь*; **дъно*

***dupina** f. ā 'hole'

ESSJa V 158

- CS OCS *dupinǫ* (Supr.) Asg. 'opening'; RuCS *dupina* 'hole, grove, ditch'
- E ORu. *dupina* 'hole, grove, ditch'
- S Sln. *dupína* 'hole, hollow, cavity'

Derivative of → **dupa*.

See also: **dupę*; **duplò*; **dupľь*; **dupļa*; **дѣбрь*; **дъно*

***dupļa** f. jā 'hollow'

ESSJa V 159

- E Ru. *dupljá* (dial.) 'hollow (of a tree)'; *dúplja* (dial.) 'hollow (of a tree)'
- W Pl. *dziupła* 'hollow'
- S SCr. *dúplja* 'hollow (of a tree), orifice, hole, den, cave'; Sln. *dúplja* 'hollow (of a tree), cave'
- PIE **d^houp-*

Derivative of → **dupa*.

See also: **dupę*; **dupina*; **duplò*; **dupľь*; **дѣбрь*; **дъно*

***duplò** n. o (b) 'hole, hollow, cavity'

ESSJa V 159

- E Ru. *dupló* 'hollow (of a tree), cavity'
- W Pl. *dziupło* (19th c.) 'hole, cavity, burrow (of a weasel)'; *dupło* (dial.) 'hole, cavity, burrow (of a weasel)'
- S SCr. *dúplo* 'hole, hollow, cavity'; Sln. *dúplo* 'hole, hollow (of a tree), cavity'; Bulg. *dúplo* 'hole, cavity'

Derivative of → **dupa*.

See also: **dupę*; **dupina*; **dupľь*; **dupļa*; **дѣбрь*; **дъно*

***dupľь** adj. jo 'hollow'

ESSJa V 160

- CS RuCS *dupľii* 'hollow, light'
- S Bulg. *dúpli* (arch., dial.) 'hollow'

Derivative of → **duplò*.

See also: *dupa; *dupę; *dupina; *dupja; *дѣръ; *дѣно

***dura** f. ā ‘hole’

ESSJa V 160

- E Bel. *dzjurá* ‘hole’; Ukr. *djúra* ‘hole’
 W Cz. *d’oura* (Jg.) ‘hole’; *d’úra* (E. Mor. dial.) ‘hole’; *džura* (Sil.) ‘hole’; Pl. *dziura* ‘hole’; *dura* (dial.) ‘hole’; OPl. *dura* ‘hole’; *dzióra* <*dzióra*> ‘hole’; Slnč. *žúrā* ‘hole’

West Slavic cognate of **dyra* (the Ukr. and Bel. forms are borrowings from Polish). According to Sławski (SEJP I: 208-209), there is evidence for a Polish form *dzióra*. This form may derive from OPl. *drać*, 1sg. *dzioreę*, or may continue an older noun **dora* from the same root, which was then influenced by the Polish verb (similarly Baudouin de Courtenay apud Berneker 1899: 150 fn.).

See also: *dyrà

***duriti** v. (c)

ESSJa V 161

- E Ru. *durít* ‘be naughty, be obstinate’, 1sg. *durjú*, 3sg. *durít*; *durít* (dial.) ‘go crazy, do smth. forbidden or unnecessary, deceive’
 W Cz. *duřit sa* (dial.) ‘be angry’; Slk. *durit’* (dial.) ‘chase, hurry’; *durit’ sa* (dial.) ‘be angry’; Pl. *durzyć* ‘deceive, fool’
 S SCr. *duriti se* ‘be angry, fill with disgust, be disgusted’, 1sg. *dûrim se*; *dûriti se* (RSA) ‘be angry, fill with disgust, be disgusted’; Čak. *dûrīt* (Orb.) ‘sulk, pout’, 3sg. *dûri*; Sln. *duriti* ‘make hateful, despise’, 1sg. *durím*

Derivative of → **durǔ*.

See also: *дурѣнь; *дурь

***durǔ** adj. o

ESSJa V 162

- S Sln. *dúr* ‘shy, wild’
 BSl. **d(o)uros*
 B OPr. *dūrai* Npl. ‘shy’

Perhaps to be analyzed as **d^hou-ro-*, cf. Skt. *dhāvati*, Gk. θέω ‘run’. There is no connection with Gk. θοῦρος ‘rushing, impetuous, furious’ (pace Trautmann 1910: 325, Vasmer s.v. *durnój* and others), which derives from **d^hrh₃-*.

See also: *duriti; *дурѣнь; *дурь

***durǔ** f. i ‘stupidity, madness’

ESSJa V 162-163

- E Ru. *dur’* f.(i) ‘stupidity’; *dur’* (dial.) f.(i) ‘pus, fumes causing faintness, faintness’; *dur* (dial.) f.(i) ‘stupidity, madness’; Ukr. *dur’* f.(i) ‘stupidity, wild behaviour’; *dur* (dial.) m.(o) ‘henbane’
 W Pl. *dur* m.(o) ‘typhus, mental derangement (from fever)’

See the previous lemma.

***durьnъ** adj. o ‘stupid, crazy’ ESSJa V 162-163

- E Ru. *durnój* ‘bad, evil, nasty, stupid’
 W Cz. *durný* (Kott) ‘stupid, crazy’; Slk. *durný* ‘scary, rude’; Pl. *durny* (E. dial.) ‘crazy’; Slnc. *děrnii* ‘crazy’
 S SCr. *dūran* ‘hot-tempered, malicious’

Adjective in *-bnъ, cf. → *durъ

***duša** f. jā (c) ‘soul’ ESSJa V 153-154

- CS OCS *duša* ‘breath, soul’
 E Ru. *dušá* ‘soul, spirit’, Asg. *dúšu*
 W Cz. *duše* ‘soul, spirit’; Slk. *duša* ‘soul, spirit’; Pl. *duśa* ‘soul, spirit’
 S SCr. *dúša* ‘soul, spirit’, Asg. *dúšu*; Čak. *dūšā* (Vrg.) ‘soul, spirit’; *dūšā* (Novi) ‘soul, spirit’; *dūšā* (Orb.) ‘soul, spirit’, Asg. *dūšo*; Sln. *dúša* ‘soul’; Bulg. *dušá* ‘soul, character, breath’, Npl. *dúši*, Npl. *duši*

BSl. **dousja?*

B Lith. *daūsios* Npl. ‘air’

PIE **d^hous-i-eh₂*

Cogn. Go. *dius* n. ‘wild animal’

See also: *dūxàti; *dūxъ; *dvoxati; *dъxnqti; *dъxъ; *dyxati

***duti** v. ‘blow’ ESSJa V 166

- W Cz. *douti* ‘blow’, 1sg. *duji*; Slk. *dut* ‘blow’, 1sg. *duji*
 S Sln. *dúti* ‘blow’, 1sg. *dújem*; Bulg. *dúja se* ‘be angry, grumble’
 B Lith. *dujà* f. (jā) 4 (Žem.) drizzle, mist, (Dzūk.) loose, ashy earth
 Cogn. Skt. *dhūnóti* ‘shake’; OIc. *dýja* ‘blow’

Ru. *dut*’, 1sg. *dúju* may also belong here, but cf. ORu. *duti*, 1sg. *dōmъ*.

See also: *dunqti

***dužь** adj. jo ‘strong’ ESSJa V 167-168

- E Ru. *djúžij* ‘sturdy, hefty, robust, healthy’; *dúžij* (dial.) ‘strong, healthy’; ORu. *djúžij* ‘strong’; Bel. *dúžy* ‘strong, vigorous’; Ukr. *dúžyj* ‘strong, healthy’
 W Cz. *duží* (rare) ‘firm, strong’; Slk. *dúži* ‘strong, big, healthy’; Pl. *duży* ‘big, (16th-18th c., dial.) strong’; *dużo* adv. ‘much, many, (16th-18th c.) very’ {1}
 BSl. **doug-jo-*
 B Lith. *daũg*; *daugi* (OLith.); *daũgia* (dial.) adv. ‘much, many’; Latv. *daũdz(i)* adv. ‘much, many’

If the Polish forms are “Ruthenianisms”, there is no objection against positing a root containing a nasal, cf. **dęga*, **dęglъ*, **nedqǫǝ*. On the other hand, the parallellism between Pl. *dużo* and Lith. *daũgia* is suggestive. Possibly, the roots **dǫg-* and **dug-*

were confused (cf. Shevelov 1964: 321-322, ESSJa 25: 126). The latter root may reflect **d^hough-*, cf. Go. *daug* ‘is useful’.

{1} According to Bańkowski (2000a: 312), *duży* ‘strong’ and *dużo* (*duże*) ‘very’, which are attested since the 16th century, originate from Ukrainian. *Duży* ‘big’ is recorded sporadically from 1600 onwards and more frequently since the 18th century, while *dużo* ‘much, many’ occurs only since the 18th century.

***dvoxati** v.

ESSJa V 169

E Ru. *dvóxat*’ (dial.) ‘breathe heavily, gasp, cough loudly’

BSL. **dwos-*

B Lith. *dvėsti* ‘breathe, blow’; *dūsėti* ‘breathe heavily’; Latv. *dvēst* ‘breathe heavily’

The **x* is analogical after formations to which the *ruki*-rule applied. See → **dūxǝ*.

***dvǝrǝ** m. o (b) ‘court, courtyard’

ESSJa V 169-170

CS OCS *dvorǝ*

E Ru. *dvor*, Gsg. *dvorá*; *dvôr* (dial.), Gsg. *dvorá*

W Cz. *dvůr*, Gsg. *dvora*, Gsg. *dvoru*; Slk. *dvor*; Pl. *dwór*, Gsg. *dworu*; Sln. *dvör*, Gsg. *dvörri*; USrb. *dwór*, Gsg. *dwora*

S SCr. *dvôr*, Gsg. *dvóra*; Čak. *dvôr* (Vrg.); *dvör* (Novi), Gsg. *dvorä*; *d^uör* (Orb.) ‘stable(’s complex)’; Gsg. *dvorä*; Sln. *dvòr*, Gsg. *dvóra*; Bulg. *dvor*

BSL. **dwórum*

B Lith. *dvāras* ‘estate’

OPr. *dauris* (EV) ‘big gate’

PIE **d^huor-*

Cogn. Av. *duuar-* m. ‘door, court’

See also: **dvǝrǝ*

***dvǝrǝ** f. i (b) ‘door’

ESSJa V 171-172

CS OCS *dvǝrb*; *dvǝri* Npl.

E Ru. *dver*’

W Cz. *dveře* Npl.; *dvěře* Npl.; OCz. *dřvi* Npl.; Pl. *drzwi* Npl.; USrb. *dwěrja* Npl.

S SCr. *dvari* (16th/17th c.) Npl. ‘gate’; *dvěri* Npl. ‘doors of the altar’; Sln. *dúri* Npl. ‘door, gate’; *dvěri* Npl. ‘door, gate’; *davri* (16th c.) Npl. ‘door, gate’

BSL. **dvir-*; **dur-*

B Lith. *dūr̃ys* Npl. f.(i) 2; *dūres* (dial.) Npl. f.(i); Latv. *dūrṽis* Npl. f.(i); *duris* Npl. f.(i)

PIE **d^hur-*

Cogn. Gk. *θύραι* Npl. f. ‘door’; Lat. *forēs* Npl. f. ‘zweiflügelige Tür’; OHG *turi* Npl. f. ‘door’

See also: **dvǝrǝ*

***dǫxnŋŋti** v. 'breathe, blow'

ESSJa V 177

- CS OCS *dǫxnŋti* 'breathe, blow'
 E Ru. *doxnút* 'breathe, blow'
 W Cz. *d(e)chnouti* 'breathe, blow'; *tchnouti* 'breathe, blow'; Slk. *dochnút* 'breathe, blow'; Pl. *tchnąc* 'breathe'
 S SCr. *dǎhnuti* 'breathe, blow'; Čak. *dahnŋti* (Vrg.) 'breathe, blow'; Sln. *dǎhniti* 'breathe, blow', 1sg. *dǎhnem*; *dǎhniti* 'breathe, blow', 1sg. *dǎhnem*
 BSL. **dus-*
 B Lith. *dūsti* 'suffocate'; Latv. *dust* 'gasp'
 PIE **dʰus-*

See also: *duxati; *duxъ; *dušà; *dvoxati; *dǫxъ; *dyxati

***dǫxъ** m. o 'breathing, breath'

ESSJa V 178

- CS OCS *dǫxъ* 'breathing, breath, smell'
 E Ru. *dox* (dial.) 'rest'
 W Cz. *dech*; Slk. *dech* (dial.); Pl. *dech*
 S SCr. *dǎh*; Čak. *dǎh* (Vrg.), Gsg. *dǎha*; *dǎh* (Orb.), Gsg. *dǎha*; Sln. *dǎh*; *dǎh* (both forms are absent from Pleteršnik's dictionary); Bulg. *dǎx*
 BSL. **dušos*
 B Lith. *dūsas* 'short breath, asthma'
 Cogn. Go. *dius* n. 'wild animal' (**dʰeus-*)

See also: *duxati; *dūxъ; *dušà; *dvoxati; *dǫxnŋti; *dyxati

***dǫkti** f. r (c) 'daughter'

ESSJa V 178-179

- CS OCS *dǫšti*, Gsg. *dǫštĕre*
 E Ru. *doč*, Gsg. *dóčĕri*
 W OCz. *dci*, Gsg. *dceře*
 S SCr. *kíi*, Gsg. *kčĕri*; *šĕi*, Gsg. *ščĕra*; Čak. *čĕr* (Vrg.) f.(i), Gsg. *čĕri*, Gsg. *čĕrĕ*; *hčí* (Novi), Gsg. *hčĕri*, Gsg. *hčĕré*; *hčí* (Orb.), Gsg. *hčĕri*, Gsg. *hčĕri*; Sln. *hčí*, Gsg. *hčĕre*; *hčĕr* f.(i), Gsg. *hčĕri*
 BSL. **duktĕ*
 B Lith. *duktĕ*, Gsg. *dukteĕrs*
 OPr. *duckti*
 PIE **dʰuǵh₂-tér-*
 Cogn. Skt. *duhitár-*; Gk. *θυγάτηρ*

***dǫlgъ** m. o (c) 'debt'

ESSJa V 179-180

- CS OCS *dǫlgъ*
 E Ru. *dolg*
 W Cz. *dluh*; Slk. *dlh*; Pl. *dlug*
 S SCr. *dúg*; Sln. *dólg*, Gsg. *dolǵá*; Bulg. *dǎlg*

Cogn. Go. *dulgs* m. ‘debt’

Possibly a borrowing from Gothic. Within Germanic the noun is isolated. A plausible cognate is OIr. *dligid* ‘be entitled to, deserve’.

*dъnò n. o (b) ‘bottom’

ESSJa V 174-175

CS CS *dъno*

E Ru. *dno*

W Cz. *dno*; Pl. *dno*

S SCr. *dnò*; Čak. *dnò* (Vrg., Orb.); Sln. *dnò*; Bulg. *dъno* ‘bottom, floor’

BSl. **dubno*

B Lith. *dùgnas* m. 4

PIE **dʰubʰ-no-*

The Slavic vacillation between root-final **b* and **p* (cf. → **dupa*) does not have a Baltic counterpart. In East Baltic, however, the full grade **daub-* occurs both with acute and circumflex tone, e.g. Latv. *duòbjš* ‘deep’. The acute variant could be attributed to Winter’s law (note that PGmc. **deupa-* ‘deep’ < **dʰeubʰ-n-* by Kluge’s law), but this would leave us without an explanation for the other forms. The many formal problems connected with this root have made it a prime example of a borrowing from a substratum language (cf. Kuiper 1995).

See also: **dupę*; **dupina*; **duplò*; **dupль*; **dupļa*; **dъbrъ*

*d(ъ)va num. ‘two’

ESSJa V 185-186

CS OCS *dъva*, f. *dъvě*, n. *dъvě*

E Ru. *dva*, f. *dve*, n. *dva*

W Cz. *dva*, f. *dvě*, n. *dvě*; Pl. *dwa*, f. *dwie*, n. *dwa* ‘two’; Sln. *dvā*, f. *dvjię*, n. *dvjię*

S SCr. *dvā*, f. *dvije*, n. *dvā* ‘two’; Čak. *dvā* (Vrg.), f. *dvî*, n. *dvā*; *dvā* (Orb.); Sln. *dvā*; Bulg. *dva* ‘two’

BSl. **duo?*; **duoi?*

B Lith. *dù*, f. *dvi*

PIE **duo-h₁*; **duo-ih₁*

Cogn. Skt. *dvā*; Gk. *δύω*

See also: **d(ъ)vě*; **d(ъ)vogubъ*; **d(ъ)vogubъnъ*; **d(ъ)vojъ*

*d(ъ)vogubъ; *d(ъ)vogubъnъ adj. o ‘double, twofold’

ESSJa V 190

CS OCS *d(ъ)vogubъnъ*; RuCS *dvogubyj*

E ORu. *dvogubyj*

S SCr. *dvògub*; Sln. *dvogùb*

BSl. **duo-goubos*; **dui-gubos*

B Lith. *dvigubas* ‘double, twofold, bipartite’

OPr. *dwigubbus*

See also: **d(ъ)va*; **d(ъ)vě*; **d(ъ)vojъ*

***d(ɤ)vojь** num.

ESSJa V 192

- CS OCS *dъvoi* 'two, double, twofold'
 E Ru. *dvóe* 'two, two pairs'
 W Cz. *dvoji* 'double, twofold'; Pl. *dwoje* 'two, double, twofold'
 S SCr. *dvōji* 'two, double, twofold'; Sln. *dvôj* 'two, double, twofold'

BSl. **duoiós*B Lith. *dveji* 'two'PIE **duo-ió-*Cogn. Skt. *dvayá-* 'double'; Gk. *δοιόι* 'both, two'; *δοιός* 'double'

See also: *d(ɤ)va; *d(ɤ)vě; *d(ɤ)vogubъ; *d(ɤ)vogubьнъ

***dъzdъjь** m. jo (b) 'rainstorm, rain'

ESSJa V 195-197

- CS OCS *dъždъ* 'rain, rainstorm'
 E Ru. *dožd'* 'rain', Gsg. *doždjá* 'rain'
 W Cz. *děšt'* 'rain'; *dešt'* 'rain'; OCz. *děšč'* 'rain', Gsg. *dšče*; Slk. *dážd'* 'rain', Gsg. *dažd'a*; Pl. *deszcz* 'rain'; OPl. *deždž'* 'rain', Gsg. *dždžu*; Sln. *dějšč'* 'rain'; USrb. *dešč'* 'rain'
 S SCr. *dāžd* (Vuk: SW dial.) 'rain', Gsg. *dāžda*; *dāžd* (Dubr.) m.(o) 'rain', *dāžda*; *dāžd* (Prčanj) 'rain', Gsg. *daždā*; Čak. *dāž* (Vrg.) 'rain', Gsg. *dažā*; *dāš* (Orb.) 'rain', Gsg. *dajžā* 'rain', Gsg. *dažljā*; Sln. *džž* 'rain', Gsg. *džžjā* 'rain'; Bulg. *dážd* 'rain'

PIE **dus-diu-(s)*Cogn. Skt. *durdina-* n. 'rain, shower, rainy weather'; Gk. *εὐδία* f. 'fair weather'

Watkins (1991: 175-176) argues that the basic meaning 'rainstorm', which is still attested in OCS, explains why the compound contains the element **dus-* 'bad', cf. Skt. *durdina-* < **dus-di-n(-o)-*. In this way he challenges the view that Trubetzkoy's and Vaillant's etymology (see Trubetzkoy 1927, Vaillant 1927) cannot be correct because to the farmer rain is beneficial. I assume that the long vowel attested in several languages results from the retraction of the ictus from final jers (Derksen forthc. a., forthc. d).

***dyxati** 'breathe'

ESSJa V 199

- CS OCS *dyxati* 'breathe, blow'
 E Ru. *dýxat'* (dial.) 'rest, breathe'
 W Cz. *dýchati* 'breathe'; Slk. *dýchat'* 'breathe'; Pl. *dychać* (arch., coll.) 'breathe'
 S SCr. *dihati* 'breathe, blow', 1sg. *dīšēm*, 1sg. *dīhām*; Čak. *dihati* (Vrg.) 'breathe, blow', 2sg. *dīšēs* {1}; *dihat* (Orb.) 'breathe', 1sg. *dīšen*; Sln. *dihati* 'breathe, blow', 1sg. *dīham*; Bulg. *dīšam* 'breathe'
 B Lith. *dūsúoti* 'breathe, heavily'

Intensive verb with secondary length of the root. Cf. → **dūxō*.

{1} According to Jurišić's dictionary, the form in the Vrgada dialect is a "riječ nova".

	*d̥ymъ m. o (a) 'smoke'	ESSJa V 203
CS	OCS <i>dymъ</i> 'smoke'	
E	Ru. <i>dym</i> 'smoke'	
W	Cz. <i>dým</i> 'smoke, steam'; Slk. <i>dym</i> 'smoke'; Pl. <i>dym</i> 'smoke, steam'; Sln. <i>ďim</i> 'smoke', Gsg. <i>dāmu</i>	
S	SCr. <i>ďim</i> 'smoke'; Čak. <i>ďim</i> (Vrg., Orb.) 'smoke', Gsg. <i>ďima</i> ; <i>ďim</i> (Novi) 'smoke', Gsg. <i>ďima</i> ; Sln. <i>dim</i> 'smoke', Gsg. <i>díma</i> ; Bulg. <i>dim</i> 'smoke'	
BSL.	* <i>dú̯mos</i>	
B	Lith. <i>dūmai</i> Npl. m. 1 'smoke'; Latv. <i>dūmi</i> Npl. m. 'smoke' OPr. <i>dumis</i> (EV) 'smoke'	
PIE	* <i>d^huH-mó-</i>	
Cogn.	Skt. <i>dhūmá-</i> m. 'smoke, vapour'; Gk. <i>θυμός</i> m. 'heart, passion, courage'; Lat. <i>fūmus</i> m. 'smoke, vapour'	

The fixed root stress results from Hirt's law.

	*dyra; *dyra f. ā; f. jā 'hole'	ESSJa V 205
E	Ru. <i>dyrá</i> 'hole, gap'; ORu. <i>dyrja</i> 'hole'	
W	Plb. <i>darā</i> 'hole, prison'	
PIE	* <i>dr(H)-</i>	

In the ESSJa, it is argued that Ru. *dyrá*, which occurs alongside *dirá* (→ **dira*), results from secondary ablaut (starting from **d̥br-* instead of of **d̥br-* 'tear'). The same is suggested for → **dura*. It seems to me that such a scenario requires that there existed a formally and semantically similar root. In this particular case the root of Lith. *dūr̥ti* 'stab, push' has often been mentioned, but more often than not (e.g. Vasmer s.v. *dyrá*, Fraenkel I: 113, Sławski SEJP I: 208) the latter root is considered etymologically identical. This implies that already in Balto-Slavic both **dir-* and **dur-* functioned as the zero grade of **der-* 'tear'. Here I would like to adopt a more agnostic attitude, i.e. I prefer to provisionally separate forms belonging to the "u" ablaut series from **der-* 'tear'. Note that Baltic **dur-* is firmly acute, while in the case of the verb 'tear' there are many indications for an old circumflex.

See also: *dyrà

	*d̥br̥b̥ f. i 'valley, ravine'	ESSJa V 176-177
CS	OCS <i>d̥br̥b̥</i> 'valley, gorge'	
E	Ru. <i>débri</i> Npl. 'jungle, thickets, dense forest'	
W	OCz. <i>debr̥</i> 'valley'; OPl. <i>debrz</i> 'valley, hollow'	
S	SCr. <i>debri</i> (1302) 'hollow, ravine'; Sln. <i>deb̥r̥</i> 'ravine'	
BSL.	* <i>dubr-</i>	
B	Latv. <i>dubra</i> f. 'puddle, marshy spot'	

PIE *d^hub^h-r-
Cogn. Go. *diups* adj. ‘deep’

I have reconstructed **dьbrь* on the strength of the Old Church Slavic and East Slavic evidence, but it is plausible that the original form was **dьbrь* (→ **dьnò*), cf. OPl. *debrz*. Secondary forms with **i* also occur in Baltic, e.g. Latv. *dibens* ‘bottom’ alongside *dubens*.

***дьлѣти** v. ‘hollow, chisel’ ESSJa V 206

E Ru. *dolbíti* ‘hollow, chisel’, 1sg. *dolbljú*, 3sg. *dolbít*
S SCr. *dúbiti* ‘hollow, chisel’

PIE *d^hlb^h-

Verb in *-iti containing the zero grade of *d^helb^h- ‘dig’, cf. OE *delfan* ‘dig’. Like Adams (1999: 738), I consider the etymological relationship with Toch. B *tsälp-* ‘free (from)’ doubtful.

See also: *deltò; *dętelъ; *doltò; *dьlti

***дьлготà** f. ā ‘length’ ESSJa V 208

CS OCS *dlęgota* (Ps. Sin, En., Supr.) ‘length, duration’
E Ru. *dolgotá*
W Slnc. *dlągũętã*
S SCr. *dugòta*; Sln. *dołgóta*

Abstract noun in *-ota, cf. **vysota* ‘height’, **širota* ‘width’.

See also: *дьлгъ

***дьлгъ** adj. o (a) ‘long’ ESSJa V 208-209

CS OCS *dlęgъ*
E Ru. *dólgiј*
W Cz. *dlouhý*; Slk. *dlhý*; Pl. *dlugi*
S SCr. *düg*; Čak. *düg* (Vrg.); Sln. *dôlg*, f. *dôlga*; Bulg. *dáläg*

BSl. **dílęgos*

B Lith. *ilgas* ‘long’; Latv. *ilģs* ‘long (of time)’

PIE *dlh₁g^h-ó-

Cogn. Skt. *dīrghá-* ‘long’; Gk. *δολιχός* ‘long’

See also: *дьлготà

***дьлѣти** v. ‘last’ ESSJa V 210

CS OCS *prodьlę* (Supr.) 1sg. ‘prolong’
E Ru. *dlít’sja* ‘last’
W Cz. *dlíti* ‘last’

Verb containing the unextended root *dlh₁- ‘long’, cf. → *dьlгъ.

See also: *d̥l̥b̥

*d̥l̥ti v. 'hollow, chisel'

ESSJa V 206

CS RuCS *d̥l̥bsti*; *dl̥bsti*

E Ru. *dolbíti*, 1sg. *dolbljú*, 3sg. *dolbít*; ORu. *d̥l̥bsti*; *dl̥bsti*

W Cz. *dl̥bsti* (Kott); Slk. *dl̥bst'* (dial.)

S SCr. *dúpsti*, 1sg. *dúbēm*; Sln. *dólbsti*, 1sg. *dólbem*

BSL. **dilb-*

B Lith. *dil̥bti* 'be lowered (eyes), loiter'

PIE **d^hl̥b^h-tei*

Cogn. OE *delfan* 'dig'

See also: *deltò; *d̥tel̥; *doltò; *d̥l̥biti

*d̥l̥y f. ū 'cask'

ESSJa V 210

CS MBulg. *dbly* f.(ū) 'clay cask', Gsg. *dbl̥ve* (the Nsg. is attested as *dl̥vī*); RuCS *dbly* f.(ū) 'cask'; *d̥l̥y* f.(ū) 'cask'; *delva* f.(ā) 'cask'; *delv̥v* f.(i) 'cask'

S Bulg. *délva* f.(ā) 'big jug with handles'

Cogn. Lat. *dōlium* n. 'pot, drinking vessel (of stone)'

The closest cognate of this etymon seems to be Lat. *dōlium*. OIr. *delb* f. 'form, image' and W *delw* f. 'form, image, idol' are semantically more abstract.

*d̥l̥b̥ f. i 'length'

ESSJa V 210

W Cz. *dél* (poet.) f.(i); OCz. *dél* f.(i); *dle'* f.(jā)

PIE **dlh₁-*

The unextended root **dlh₁-* 'long' also occurs in Ru. *dliná* 'length'.

See also: *d̥l̥liti

*d̥b̥n̥ m. n (c) 'day'

ESSJa V 213-214

CS OCS *d̥bn̥* m.(n/jo), Gsg. *dbne*

E Ru. *den'* m.(jo), Gsg. *dnja*

W Cz. *den* m.(jo), Gsg. *dne*; Slk. *deň* m.(jo), Gsg. *dňa*; Pl. *dzień* m.(jo), Gsg. *dnia*; USrb. *dzeń* m.(jo), Gsg. *dnja*

S SCr. *dān* m.(o), Gsg. *dāna*; Čak. *dān* (Vrg.) m.(o); *dān* (Novi) m.(o), Gsg. *dāna*, Gsg. *dnēva*; *dān* (Orb.) m.(o), Gsg. *dāna*; Sln. *dān* m., Gsg. *dnê*, Gsg. *dnêva*; Bulg. *den* m.(o)

BSL. **dein-/din-*

B Lith. *dienà* f. 4; Latv. *diena* f.

OPr. *deinan* Asg.

PIE **d(e)i-n-*

Cogn. Skt. *madhyam-dina-* m. 'midday, noon'; Lat. *diēs* f. 'day'

Originally a hysterodynamic *n*-stem. The Balto-Slavic paradigm must still have shown ablaut.

***д̥ньсь** adv. 'today' ESSJa V 215

- CS OCS *d̥n̥s̥s̥* 'today'
 E Ru. *dnes* ' (dial.) 'today'
 W Cz. *dnes* 'today, nowadays'; Slk. *dnes* 'today'
 S SCr. *d̥anas* 'today'; Čak. *danās* (Vrg., Orb.) 'today, nowadays'; Sln. *d̥an̥s* 'today'; *dnēs* 'today'; *d̥n̥s̥* 'today'; Bulg. *dnes* 'today'

Adverb consisting of → **d̥n̥s̥* 'day' and enclitic **s̥* 'this'.

***д̥рати** v. 'tear, flay' ESSJa V 218-219

- CS OCS *d̥rati* 'flay', 1sg. *der̥o*
 E Ru. *drat* 'tear', 1sg. *derú*, 3sg. *derēt*
 W Cz. *dráti* 'tear', 1sg. *deru*; Slk. *drať* 'tear'; OPl. *drać* 'tear', 1sg. *dziorę*
 S SCr. *dráti* 'flay'; *der̥ati* 'flay', 1sg. *d̥erēm*; Čak. *der̥ati* (Vrg.) 'flay', 2sg. *d̥erēs̥*; *der̥at* (Orb.) 'flay', 3pl. *d̥ero*; Sln. *d̥erati* 'flay', 1sg. *d̥erem*; Bulg. *derá* 'flay'

BSL. **dir-*

B Lith. *d̥irti* 'tear, peel', 1sg. *d̥iriu*; *d̥irti* 'tear, peel', 1sg. *derù*; Latv. *dirāt* 'flay'

Cogn. Gk. *δέρω* 'flay'; Go. *distairan* 'tear apart'

Verb in *-*ati* with zero grade of the root **der-*.

See also: **derti*; **d̥er̥à*; **dira*; **d̥iřa*; **d̥rgv̥ŋa*; **udariti*

***д̥рба** f. *ā* ESSJa V 219

E Ru. *derbá* (dial.) 'new ploughed field, of which the hardened top layer has been removed; virgin land, fallow land which has been ploughed up anew, overgrown fallow land'; Ukr. *d̥erba* 'turf'

PIE **drb^h-eh₂*

Cogn. OIc. *torfa* f. 'turf'; OE *turf* f. 'turf'; OHG *zurba* f. 'turf'

See also: **d̥rbati*

***д̥рбати** v. ESSJa V 219

E Ukr. *d̥erbaty* 'remove turf'

W Cz. *drbati* 'scratch, scrape'; Slk. *drbat* 'shake, pull'

PIE **drb^h-*

See also: **d̥rba*

***д̥ргати** v. ESSJa V 221

E Ru. *d̥ergat* 'pull, tug'; Ukr. *d̥erhaty* 'pull, tug'

- W Cz. *drhati* (rare) ‘tear, pluck’; Pl. *dziergać* ‘stitch, make bobbin lace, comb (flax)’; *dzierzgać* (obs., dial.) ‘stitch, make bobbin lace, comb (flax)’
- S Sln. *dřgati* ‘rub, whet, sweep, strangle’, 1sg. *dřgam*; *dřzati* ‘scrape, scratch, comb (flax), graze’, 1sg. *dřzam*, 1sg. *dřžem*
- BSL. **dirʔg-*
- B Lith. *dirginti* ‘irritate’, 3pres. *dirgina*, 3pret. *dirgino*
- PIE **drHǵh-*
- Cogn. OE *tiergan* ‘irritate, annoy’; MoHG *zergen* (dial.) ‘tease’; MoDu. *tergen* ‘provoke’
- See also: *d̥õrga; *d̥r̥n̥q̥ti

*d̥r̥n̥q̥ti v.

ESSJa V 221

- E Ru. *děrnūt* ‘pull, tug’
- W Cz. *drhnouti* ‘rub, scour, make bobbin lace, comb (flax)’; Slk. *drhnút* ‘clean, tear, comb (flax)’; Pl. *zadzierzgnąć* ‘tie (a knot)’; Sln. *zřęřnõyc* ‘rub, clean’
- S Sln. *dřgniti* ‘rub, whet, scratch’, 1sg. *dřgnem*
- BSL. **dirʔg-*
- B Lith. *dirgti* ‘become weak’, 3pres. *dirgsta*, 3pret. *dirgo*
- See → *d̥õrgati. Lith. *dirgti* ‘become irritated, get wet, become bad (weather), be retted, (J.)’, 3pres. *dirgsta*, 3pret. *dirgo*, belongs together with → *s̥õdõrga.

*d̥r̥p̥ati v.

ESSJa V 225

- W Cz. *drpati* (Kott) ‘pick, scratch, crumble’; *drpač* (Sil.) ‘tear off’
- S SCr. *dřpati* ‘tear’; Sln. *dřpati* ‘scratch’, 1sg. *dřpam*, 1sg. *dřpljem*; Bulg. *dărpam* ‘pull, drag’
- See → *d̥r̥p̥àti.

*d̥r̥v̥n̥ja f. jā ‘field’

- E Ru. *derėvnja* ‘village, (dial.) field, wasteland, ploughed field’; ORu. *derėvnja* ‘village, field’ (the meaning ‘field’ is attested in the Domostroj)
- BSL. **dir(ʔ)w-*
- B Lith. *dirvā* f. 2/4 ‘(arable) land, field’; Latv. *dirva*² f. ‘(arable) land, field’
- PIE **dr(H)-u-*
- Cogn. Skt. *dūrvā-* f. ‘panic grass’

The reconstruction of a zero grade implies that the sequence *ere* in the Russian forms originates from the so-called *vtoroe polnoglasie*.

See also: *derti; *děřā; *dira; *diřa; *d̥r̥ati; *udariti

*d̥r̥zati v. ‘dare’

ESSJa V 227

- CS OCS *dr̥zati*, 1sg. *dr̥zajǫ*

E Ru. *derzát*, 1sg. *derzáju*

W OCz. *drzati*

BSL. **dirs-*

B Lith. *drįsti*

PIE **dʰrs-*

Cogn. Go. *ga-daursan* ‘venture’

The *z* of the Proto-Slavic form must be secondary.

See also: *dъrzbъ; *dъrzbъkъ

***dъrznŋti** v.

ESSJa V 227-228

CS OCS *drъznŋti*

E Ru. *derznút*’

W OCz. *drznúti*; Pl. *darznąć*

S SCr. *dřznuti*; Sln. *dřzniti*, 1sg. *dřznem*

See → **dъržati*.

***dъrzbъ** adj. o ‘daring, bold’

ESSJa V 228-229

CS OCS *drъzbъ* ‘daring, bold’

E Ru. *dérzŋj* (dial.) ‘daring, bold, impudent, rude’

W Cz. *drží* ‘daring, bold, impudent’; Slk. *drží* ‘daring, bold, impudent’; Slnс. *žírzi* ‘daring, bold’

S Sln. *dřz* ‘bold, impudent’

BSL. **dirs-*

B Lith. *drąsùs* 4 ‘courageous’ (AP 2 is attested in Daukša’s writings); Latv. *drūoss* ‘courageous’; *drūošs* ‘courageous’

OPr. *dirsos* (GrG) ‘good’; *dysos* (GrAF) ‘good, brave’

PIE **dʰrs-u-*

Cogn. Skt. *dhṛṣṇú-* (RV) ‘bold, courageous, strong’; Gk. *θρασύς* ‘bold’

The *z* of the Proto-Slavic form must be secondary.

See also: *dъrznŋti; *dъrzbъkъ

***dъrzbъkъ** adj. o ‘bold’

ESSJa V 229

E Ru. *dérzkij* ‘impertinent, daring’

W OCz. *drzký* ‘unruly’; Slk. *derski* (dial.) ‘dexterous, agile’; Pl. *dziarski* ‘lively, bold’; OPl. *darzki* ‘daring, bold’

S SCr. *dřzak* ‘impertinent, daring’; Bulg. *dăržāk* ‘impertinent, daring’

See → **dъrzbъ*.

***dъržati** v. (c) ‘hold’

ESSJa V 230

CS OCS *drъžati* ‘hold, possess’ {1}

- E Ru. *deržát* ‘hold, keep’, 1sg. *deržú*, 3sg. *déržit* {2}
 W Cz. *držeti* ‘hold, keep’; Slk. *držat* ‘hold, keep’; Pl. *dzierżec* ‘hold, possess’
 S SCr. *držati* ‘hold, keep’, 1sg. *držim*; Čak. *držāti* (Vrg.) ‘hold, keep’, 2sg. *držīs*; *držāti, držāt* (Orb.) ‘hold, hold on, support, keep’, 1sg. *držim*; Sln. *držati* ‘hold, keep’, 1sg. *držim* {3}; Bulg. *dāržá* ‘hold, keep’

Cogn. Av. *dražaitē* ‘hold, lead’

The root may be an extension of **dher-*, cf. Skt. *dhāráyati* ‘hold’, unless we assume that Gk. *δράσσομαι* ‘seize, grab’ also belongs here.

{1} Spellings with *ṛ* are predominant. In the SJS, the lemma is actually *drṛžati*. {2} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 139). {3} The form *držāti* (Pleteršnik I: 182) is a printing error.

***dzělo** adv. ‘very’

- CS OCS *dzělo* ‘very’; *zělo* ‘very’
 E Ru. *zeló* (arch.) ‘very’
 W OCz. *zielo* ‘very’
 S Sln. *zělō* ‘very’
 BSL. **goil-*
 B Lith. *gailūs* 4 ‘sharp, lamentable’
 PIE **g^hoil-o-*
 Cogn. OHG *geil* ‘reckless, frolic, strong’

*E

***edinakъ**; ***edьnakъ** adj. o ‘similar, identical’ ESSJa VI 9-10

- CS OCS *jedinako* (Ril.) adv. ‘at the same time’; *jedьnako* (Supr.) adv. ‘at the same time’
 E Ru. *odinákij* (obs.) ‘identical’ (cf. *odinókij* ‘solitary’); *odnáko* adv. ‘however’
 W Cz. *jedinaký* ‘only’; *jednaký* ‘identical’; Slk. *jednaký* ‘identical’; Pl. *jedynak* ‘only’; OPl. *jedzinak* ‘only’
 S SCr. *jedināk* ‘identical, similar’; *jědnāk* ‘id.’; *enák* ‘identical, similar’; Sln. *ednák* ‘of the same kind, identical’; *enák* ‘identical’; Bulg. *edinák* ‘solitary man or wolf’

A derivation in *-*akъ* of the numeral ‘one’ (→ **edīnō*).

***edīnъ**; ***edьnъ** num. o ‘one’ ESSJa VI 11-13

- CS OCS *jedīnъ*; *jedьnъ* (the form with *ь* is less common than *jedīnō*)
 E Ru. *odín*, Gsg. *odnogó*, f. *odná*
 W Cz. *jeden*; Pl. *jeden*; *jedyny* ‘only’; OPl. *jedziny* ‘only’; Slnc. *jāděn*

S SCr. *jèdan*, f. *jèdna*; Čak. *jedǎn* (Vrg.), f. *jednǎ*, n. *jednǒ*; *jedān* (Orb.) ‘one, some, a certain, a’; f. *jenǎ*, n. *jenǒ*; Sln. *edín* ‘only, lonesome’; *jedín* ‘only, lonesome’; *édan*; *jédan*; *èn*; Bulg. *edín*

PIE **h₁ed^h-(H)iH-no-*

In view of Ru. *odín*, Gsg. *odnogó*, etc., the form **edbnɔ* must be due to analogy. The vowel of the second syllable behaves similarly to a so-called “tense jer”: in strong position we find *i* (sometimes *e*), in weak position the vowel is lost. This behaviour might be linked to the *j* of → **jbnɔ*. Though the *j*, which before words beginning with a front vowel had arisen as an automatic *Hiatusstilger*, is absent in **edinɔ*/**edbnɔ*, it is conceivable that it conformed to the pattern of **jbnɔ*. The problem with this hypothesis is that forms with **jn-* < **jbn* appear to be lacking. Andersen’s reconstruction **edeino-* alongside **edino-* (1996: 116) is, in my opinion, an unsatisfactory explanation for the alternation mentioned above. The origin of the element **ed-* < *(*h₁*)*ed^h-* is unclear. Pokorny’s reconstruction **ed-* is in conflict with Winter’s law.

See also: **jьпъ*; **edinakъ*; **edьnakъ*; *edъva*

***ēdl̥b̥**; ***edl̥à** f. i; f. ā (ā) ‘spruce, fir’

ESSJa VI 14-15

E Ru. *el’* f.(i) ‘spruce, fir’; Gsg. *éli* {1}

W Cz. *jedle* f.(jā) ‘fir’; OCz. *jedl* f.(i) ‘spruce, fir’; Slk. *jedľa* f.(jā) ‘fir’; Pl. *jodła* f.(ā) ‘fir’; Pl. *jedla* f.(ā) ‘fir’ {2}; OPl. *jedl* f.(i) ‘spruce, fir’; *jedla* f.(ā)

S SCr. *jéla* f.(ā) ‘fir’; *jěla* f.(ā) ‘fir’; Čak. *jěla* (Vrg.) f.(ā) ‘tree-trunk’; Sln. *jěl* f.(i) ‘spruce, fir’; Gsg. *jelí*; *jěla* f.(ā) ‘spruce, fir’; Bulg. *jelá* f.(ā) ‘fir’

BSL. **edli-*

B Lith. *ėglė* f.(ē) 2 ‘spruce, fir’; Latv. *egle* f.(ē) ‘spruce, fir’

OPr. *addle* (EV) f. ‘spruce, fir’

PIE **h₁ed^h-l-i*

Cogn. Lat. *ebulum* n., *ebulus* f. ‘dwarf-elder, danewort (*sambucus ebulus*)’; Gaul. *odocos* ‘dwarf-elder, danewort (*sambucus ebulus*)’; OHG *attuh*, *attah* ‘dwarf-elder, danewort (*sambucus ebulus*)’

Connecting the name of the ‘spruce’ or ‘fir-tree’ with Lith. *ādata* ‘needle’ and *adýti* ‘to darn’, as advocated by Fraenkel (I: 117-118) and Pokorny, is semantically attractive but does not make much sense in relation to Lat. *ebulum* (cf. Andersen 1996: 119).

{1} Alongside *ēlka*. A different reflex of the sequence **dl* is attested in the dialect form *ėgla*.

***ed(ɛ)và**; ***ledva** adv./conj. ‘hardly, only just’

ESSJa VI 16

CS OCS *jedъva*; (*j*)*edva* (Supr.)

E Ru. *edvá*; *odvá* (dial.); *lédva*; *lédvé* (dial.); ORu. *odъva*; *odva*

W Cz. *jedva*; *ledva* (dial.); Slk. *ledva*; *ledvo* (dial.); Pl. *ledwo*; *ledwie*; OPl. *jedwo*; *jedwa*; USrb. *lědma* (dial.)

S SCr. *jèdva*; Čak. *jedvǎ* (Vrg.); Sln. *jèdva*; *jèdvaj*; *odvaj*; *odvo*; Bulg. *edvá(m)*; *odva(j)* (dial.)

BSL. *edvaHs

B Lith. *vōs* ‘hardly’ {1}PIE *h₁ed^h-ueh₂-s

{1} Lith. *adva* (a.o. Bretke, Sirvydas) is considered a borrowing from Belorussian. I have not been able to find a form with *o-* in the latter language but we do have ORu., Ru. (dial.) *odvá*. The dialect form *advōs* is probably a blend of *vōs* and a Slavic adverb **odva*.

See also: *edinь

*elēṇь; *elenь m. jo; m. o ‘deer’

ESSJa VI 20

CS OCS *jelenь* (Ps. Sin., Supr.) ‘deer’E Ru. *olén* ‘deer, stag-beetle’; *elén* (dial.) ‘deer, stag-beetle’; Ukr. *ólen* ‘deer’; *jélen* (dial.) ‘deer’W Cz. *jelen* ‘deer, stag-beetle’; Slk. *jelen* ‘deer, stag-beetle’; Pl. *jelen* ‘deer’S SCr. *jèlen* ‘deer, stag-beetle’; Čak. *jělen* ‘deer, stag-beetle’; Sln. *jélen* ‘deer, stag-beetle’; Gsg. *jelěna*; Bulg. *jelén* ‘deer’

BSL. *elenios

B Lith. *elenis* (Bretk.) m.(io) ‘deer’PIE *h₁el-h₁en-iCogn. Gk. *ἔνελος* (Hsch.) m. ‘young of the deer, fawn’ (if a metathesized form of *ἔλενος* < *h₁el_h1eno-)

The reconstruction of a medial laryngeal is based on → *òlnī.

See also: *olsь

*elькь; *jьлькь adj. o ‘bitter, rancid’

ESSJa VI 22

E Ru. *ělkij* ‘bitter, rancid’ (cf. also *ěl(o)č* (Psk.) f.(i) ‘bile’); Bel. *ělkij* ‘bitter, rancid’; Ukr. *ylkýj* ‘rancid’W Pl. *jelkij* (E. dial.) ‘rancid’; *ilkij* (E. dial.) ‘rancid’S Sln. *járək* ‘sharp, astingent’; *žérək* ‘sharp, astingent’B Lith. *alus* m.(u) ‘beer’; Latv. *alus* m.(u) ‘beer’OPr. *alu* ‘mead’ {2}PIE *h₂el-uko-Cogn. Gk. *ἀλύδοιμον* n. ‘sharp, pungent’; Lat. *alūmen* n. ‘alum’; OIc. *ǫl* n. ‘beer, ale’; OE *ealu(b)* n. ‘beer, ale’

The sometimes advocated connection with *ἀλύδοιμον* (Hes.) ‘sharp, pungent’ and Lat. *alūmen* ‘alum’ must be qualified as dubious. The Baltic words are probably borrowings from Germanic.

*elьсь m. jo ‘dace’

ESSJa VI 22-23

E Ru. *eléc* ‘dace’, Gsg. *el’cá*; Ukr. *jaléc* ‘bleak’W Cz. *jelec* ‘dace, chub’; Slk. *jalec* ‘dace, chub’; Pl. *jelec* ‘dace’; Kash. *jel* ‘a fish’; LSrb. *jalc* ‘dace’

S SCr. *jálac* ‘dace’; *jal* (dial.) ‘ide’

As the ESSJa observes (VI: 305), the semantics of Pokorny’s root **el-* are capacious and complex. In my opinion, there is little evidence for a root **el-* ‘light-coloured’. It is tempting to seek a connection between **elbcb* and OHG *alunt* ‘ide’. Pokorny identifies what is presumably the root of the latter word with the first element of **alb^ho-* ‘white’ and links it to **el-*. Since the fish-names under discussion refer to shining, whitish species, this is semantically unproblematic. Nevertheless, it seems quite possible that the root **al/el* (Slavic **el* as a result of Rozwadowski’s change?) originates from a substratum language.

***емехъ** m. o ‘ploughshare’

ESSJa -

E Ru. *ómex* (dial.) ‘ploughshare’

See → **emešb*, **emežb*.

***emela**; ***emelo**; ***jmela**; ***jmelo** f. ā; n. o ‘mistletoe’

ESSJa VI 26-27

E Ru. *oméla* f. ‘mistletoe’; ORu. *omela* f. ‘lure (for birds)’; *imela* f. ‘lure (for birds)’

W Cz. *jmělí* n.(io); *mělí* (dial.) n.(io); *omela* (dial.) f.; *omelo* (dial.) n.; OCz. *jmelé* n.(io); Slk. *jemelo* (dial.), *hemelo* (dial.) n.; *imelo*, *jmelo* (dial.) n.; Pl. *jemiola* f.; *jamiola* (dial.) f.; *imiola* (dial.) f.; OPl. *jemiola* f.; *jemiol* m.(o); *jemiolo* n.; USrb. *jemjel* m.(o); LSrb. *jemjoł*, *hemjoł* m.(o)

S SCr. *imela* f.; *mèla* f.; *òmela* (dial.) f.; Sln. *oméla* f.; *imèla* f.; *mèla* f.; *meljê* n.

BSL. **emel-*

B Lith. *āmalas* m., *ēmalas* m. 3^b ‘mistletoe’; Latv. *amuols* m.; *emuols* (BW) m.; *amuls* m.; *āmals* m.; *āmuls* m. ‘mistletoe, clover’ (the forms with *ā-* may show the influence of *ābuōls* ‘apple, clover’)

OPr. *emelno* (EV) ‘mistletoe’

This plant name is probably a borrowing from a non-Indo-European substratum language. The Slavic forms with **jbm-* may be due to popular etymology (the mistletoe’s sap is used to produce bird-lime), cf. OCS *imati* ‘to take’. An etymological connection with PIE **h₁m-* ‘to take’ is doubtful, as is the connection with **h₃eHm-* ‘raw’.

***emešb**; ***emežb** m. jo ‘ploughshare, plough’

ESSJa -

E Ru. *oměš* ‘ploughshare’; *oměž* ‘ploughshare’; *oméž* ‘ploughshare’

W Pl. *jemiesz* (dial.) ‘ploughshare’

S SCr. *jèmeš* (dial.) ‘plough’; *jèmlješ* (dial.) ‘plough’; Bulg. *émeš* ‘ploughshare’; *émež* ‘ploughshare’; *eméz* ‘ploughshare’; *imež* ‘ploughshare’; Mcd. *émeš* (dial.) ‘plough’

In order to explain the variation between initial *l-* and initial *j-/o-* Popowska-Taborska (1984) has proposed a change *l- > j-*. This seems unlikely.

See also: **емехъ*; **лемехъ*; **lemešb*; **lemežb*; **ламъ*; **lomiti*

*erębica f. jā ‘partridge’

ESSJa I 73

W Slk. *jarabica* ‘partridge’

S SCr. *jerèbica* (dial.) ‘partridge’; *jarèbica* (dial.) ‘partridge’; Čak. *jarebica* (Vrg.) ‘partridge’; *orebica* (Novi) ‘partridge’; Sln. *jerebica* ‘partridge, (snežna j. or j. *bjelica*) ptarmigan, (*rdeča j.* or *gozdna j.*) hazel-grouse’; *jarebica* ‘partridge’; Bulg. *érebica* ‘partridge’; *érembica* ‘partridge’; *járebica* ‘partridge’

BSL. **erimʔb-*; **erumʔb-*

B Lith. *jerubė* f.(ė) 3^b ‘hazel-grouse’; *jerumbė* (dial.) f.(ė) 3^b ‘hazel-grouse’; Latv. *ierube* (BW) f.(ė) ‘partridge’

PIE **ermb-o-*

See → *erębb.

Cogn. OIc. *jarpi* m. ‘hazel-grouse’, *jarpr* adj. ‘brown’

*erębina f. ā ‘rowan-tree’

ESSJa I 73

E Bel. *jarabína* (dial.) ‘rowan-tree’

W Cz. *jařabina* (dial.) ‘rowan-tree’; Slk. *jerabina* ‘rowan-tree’; Pl. *jarzębina* ‘rowan-tree’; *jerzębina* (dial.) ‘rowan-tree’; *orzębina* (dial.) ‘rowan-tree’; USrb. *jerjabina* (dial.) ‘rowan-tree’

S Sln. *jerebína* ‘rowan-berry’ (cf. *jerebika*, *rebika* ‘rowan-tree’)

BSL. **erimb-*

B Lith. *jerubė*, *jerumbė* (dial.) f.(ė) 3^b ‘hazel-grouse’; Latv. *ierube* (BW) f.(ė) ‘partridge’

PIE **ermb-o-*

See → *erębb.

*erębъ; *erębъ; *erębъкъ

ESSJa I 73-76

CS RuCS *jarębъ* m. ‘partridge’

E ORu. *erjabъ*, *orjabъ* m. ‘partridge’

W Cz. *jeřáb* ‘rowan-tree, crane, (arch.) ‘partridge’; *jeřábek* ‘hazel-grouse’; Slk. *jerab* ‘rowan-tree’; Pl. *jarząb* (arch., dial.) ‘rowan-tree (dial.), hazel-grouse (OPL.)’; *jarząbek*, *jerząbek* (dial.) ‘hazel-grouse’; USrb. *jerjab* ‘hazel-grouse’

S SCr. *jārēb* (dial.) ‘partridge’; Čak. *ðreb* (Vrg.) ‘partridge’; Sln. *jeręb* ‘partridge’; *jaręb* ‘partridge’

BSL. **erimb-*

B Lith. *jerubė*, *jerumbė* (dial.) f.(ė) 3^b ‘hazel-grouse’; Latv. *ierube* (BW) f.(ė) ‘partridge’

PIE **ermb-o-*

Cogn. OIc. *jarpi* m. ‘hazel-grouse’; OIc. *jarpr* adj. ‘brown’

Rather than reconstructing *(j)arębъ, etc. (ESSJa I: 73), I assume that *ja- arose secondarily from *je- (cf. Andersen 1996: 136 ff.). We seem to be dealing with a root

*(e)r(m)b- (with a variant *(e)ru(m)b-) of undoubtedly non-Indo-European origin (Derksen 2000).

See also: *erębica; *erębina; *jęrbica; *jęrbina; *jęrbika; *rębika; *rębina; *rębъ; *rębъ; *rębъkъ

***erxъkъ** m. o

ESSJa -

S Sln. *rěšak* ‘sow thistle (sanchus asper)’

BSL. *erʔkš-

B Lith. *erškėtis* m.(jo) 2 ‘thorn-bush’ {1}, *ēr(k)šķis*, *ērķšis* m.(jo) ‘thorn-bush’;

Latv. *ēr(k)šķis* m.(jo) ‘thorn-bush’; *ērķšis* m.(jo) ‘thorn-bush’

PIE *HerH(k)s-

The *š* of Sln. *rěšak* may have originated in a form *erš-bcb < *erx-iko- (cf. Andersen 1996: 140). Bezljaj (1977: 17) has proposed to link the Slovene word to SCR. *rèkeš* ‘eryngo’ (Dubrovnik), with metathesis. The etymological connection with Skt. *anṛkṣarā-* ‘thornless (path)’ – if reliable – is attractive, but the fact that Baltic forms require a laryngeal is problematic.

{1} There are many variants, e.g. *erškėtis*, *ēršketis*, *eršketys* 3^a/3^b (cf. Derksen 1996: 51, 149).

***ernъ** f. i

ESSJa -

E ORu. *renъ* ‘hatred, malice, spite’

BSL. *er-n-i-

B Lith. *ẽrnis* m.(io) 2 ‘wolverine’

Young (2001: 163-164) links Lith. *ẽrnis* ‘wolverine’ to ORu. *renъ* ‘hatred, malice, spite’ and derives these words from Pokorny’s root *er- ‘sich in Bewegung setzen, erregen (auch seelisch ärgern, reizen) (IEW 326-327). LIV distinguishes between *h₁er- ‘wohin gelangen, geraten’ (238, 303) and *h₃er- (299) ‘sich in (Fort-)bewegung setzen’, cf. Kümmel 2000. Formally *ertъ may only belong to the former root, which is semantically less attractive, but it should be noted that the distinction between the roots is not always clear.

See also: *ertъ; *ortъ

***ertъ** f. i ‘strife’

ESSJa -

CS OCS *retъ* (Zogr.², Supr.) ‘strife, contest’

E ORu. *retъ* ‘diligence, strife, contest’

PIE *h₁er-ti-

If the anlaut of OCS *retъ* does indeed originate from *er- (cf. → *ernъ), we would expect *rětъ* in view of the regular development of *oRC- in South Slavic, cf. *ratъ* ‘war, battle’ (→ *ortъ). Nevertheless, the etymology advocated here seems the best option (cf. Toporov 1981: 154).

See also: *ernъ; *ortъ

***ese** interj.

ESSJa VI 8

- CS OCS *ese* ‘behold!’; *jese* ‘behold!’
 E Ru. *vosé* (dial.), *vóse* (dial.), *vos*’ (dial.) ‘look!’; ORu. *ese*, *ose* ‘look!’; Ukr. *osé* ‘look!’; *esé* (dial.) ‘here!’
 S Sln. *esej* m. ‘that one’, f. *esa*, n. *eso*; Bulg. *esé* ‘there!’
 PIE **h₁e-se*

This interjection is based on the PIE particle *(*h₁*)*e*, cf. Gk. ἐκεῖνος.

See also: *eto

***ěsenb** f. i (c) ‘autumn’

ESSJa VI 28-29

- CS CS *esenb* (Const.) *Asg.*
 E Ru. *ósen*’; *ésen*’ (Rjaz.); Ukr. *ósin*’
 W Slk. *jeseň*; Pl. *jesień*
 S SCr. *jěsēn*; Čak. *jěsēn* (Vrg.); *jěsēn* (Novi); *jěsen* (Orb.); Sln. *jesen*; Bulg. *jésen*
 BSL. **es-eni-*
 B OPr. *assanis*
 Cogn. Gk. ὀπώρα, ὀπάρα (Lak.) f. ‘late summer, early autumn’; Go. *asans* f. ‘harvest time, summer’; OHG *ar(a)n* m. ‘harvest’; Fi. *kesä* m. ‘summer’ (see Koivulehto 1991: 36-38)

If the root is indeed PIE **h₁es* ‘to be’, which would lead to a reconstruction **h₁os-en-*, the *e-* of the Slavic forms as opposed to the **o-* elsewhere (Old Prussian being inconclusive) may be an instance of ablaut or a result of “Rozwadowski’s change”. The Greek forms may reflect **οσαρά*, which would point to an *r/n*-stem.

***esera** f. ā ‘fishbone, awn’

ESSJa VI 29-30

- W Pl. *jesiory* (OPL, dial.) Npl. ‘fishbone’; *osiory* (NE. dial.) Npl. ‘awn, beard (on ears of grain), hulls’; Slnc. *jězorā* ‘fishbone’; Plb. *jeserāi* ‘awn, beard (on ears of grain)’
 BSL. **es-er-a?*
 B Lith. *ešerỹs* m.(io) 3^b ‘perch (*perca fluviialis*), fin’; *ašerỹs* (dial.) m.(io) 3^b ‘perch (*perca fluviialis*), fin’; Latv. *asaris* m.(io) ‘perch (*perca fluviialis*)’; *aseris* m.(io) ‘perch (*perca fluviialis*)’
 PIE **h₂eġ-er-*

It seems obvious that this Balto-Slavic etymon is cognate with Germanic **ah-s-/ah-iz-* ‘ear’, cf. Go. *ahs* n., Oic. *ax* n., OHG *ahir*, *ehir* n., and with such forms as OHG *ahil* ‘Ährenspitze’, MoE (arch.) *ail* ‘beard on wheat and barley’ (Kluge-Seebold 1999: 21, Falk-Torp: 1326). A nice parallel for the meaning ‘perch’ is Oic. *qgr* ‘bass’ < **agura-* < **h₂eġ-*. Since the root is probably **h₂eġ-* ‘sharp’, the forms with **e-* must be considered instances of Rozwadowski’s change. Note that we find *a-* in the Latvian forms but also in Lith. *ašakā* ‘fishbone’ and *aš(t)rūs* ‘sharp’.

See also: *ostrъ; *esetъ; *esetъka; *esetrъ; *esetra

***esetъ** f. i 'rack for drying grain'

ESSJa -

- E Ru. *osét* 'granary, rack for drying grain'; Bel. (v) *óseć* (W.), *aséc* (W.) 'granary, drying shed'; *osětka* (dial.) 'granary', *asětka* (dial.) 'spot in granary for drying sheafs'; Ukr. *ósit* (dial.) 'granary'
- W Pl. *jesieć* (dial.) 'grain sieve'; *osieć* (E. dial.) 'granary'; *jesiótka* (dial.) 'grain sieve'; *osiótka* (W dial.) 'granary'
- BSL. **eś-et-i-*
- B Lith. *akėčios* Npl. f.(jā) 1 'harrow'; *ekėčios* (dial.) Npl. f.(jā) 1 'harrow' {1}; Latv. *ecē(k)šas* Npl. f.(jā) 'harrow'
OPr. *aketes* 'harrow'
- PIE **h₂ok-et-i-*
- Cogn. Gk. *òξίva* (Hes.) f. 'an agricultural implement with iron teeth, drawn by oxen'; Lat. *occa* f. 'harrow'; OHG *egida* f. 'harrow'; OE *eg(e)þe* f. 'harrow'; OW *ocet* f. 'harrow'; Fi. *äes* 'harrow'

This is another case where we find Balto-Slavic evidence for **e-* corresponding to **a-* or **o-* in other branches of Indo-European (Rozwadowski's change). Toporov (PJ I: 67) regards the *k* of the Baltic forms as evidence for a western technological borrowing. Since the Baltic and Germanic forms mean exactly the same, while the Slavic forms are semantically more remote, this is a serious option.

{1} The Standard Lithuanian form with *a-* may stem from the territory where the development *e- > a-* occurred. In any case, the attestations of the form with *e-* (see the LKŽ, s.v.) indicate that there are Lithuanian forms completely matching Latv. *ecēšas*.

See also: *ostrъ; *esera; *esetrъ; *esetra

***esètrъ; *esètra** m. o; f. ā 'sturgeon'

ESSJa VI 30-31

- E Ru. *osètr* m., Gsg. *osetrá; osetër* (dial.) m.; ORu. *jesetrō* m.; *osetrō* m.
- W Cz. *jeseter* m.; Slk. *jeseter* m.; Pl. *jesiotr* m.; OPl. *jesiotr* m.; *jasiotr* m.; USrb. *jesetr* (arch.) m.; *jasotr* (arch.) m.; LSrb. *jesotr* m.
- S SCr. *jèsetra* f.; Sln. *jesètər* m.; Bulg. *esètra* f.
- BSL. **ešetros*
- B Lith. *erškėtas; erškėtras* (dial.) 1 {1}
OPr. *esketres*

It seems highly plausible that **esètra* is cognate with → **esera* 'awn, fishbone', Lith. *ešerỹs* 'perch' and that both etyma belong to PIE **h₂ék-* 'sharp', cf. Lat. *acipenser* 'sturgeon' < **h₂éku-*. The Baltic forms are not without problems, however. Forms like *erškėtas* and *erškėtras* were probably influenced by *erškėtis* 'thorn' (thus Būga RR I: 328), though it must be admitted that a development *erškėtas* < *eškėtras* is plausible in itself (cf. Toporov II: 89). It is clear, however, that the original form contained a *k*, cf. OPr. *esketres*, which is absent in Lith. *ešerỹs* 'perch'. This may be the familiar

intrusive velar which in Baltic frequently arose before *s* or *z*. In that case we would have to start from a Baltic protoform **eksetras*.

{1} OLith. *ešketras* ‘whale’ (Bretkūnas) is probably a Prussianism.

See also: *ostrb; *esetb; *esetbka

***esmb** 1sg. ‘am’

ESSJa VI 32

CS	OCS <i>jesmb</i>
E	ORu. <i>esmb</i>
W	Cz. <i>jsem</i> ; OPL. <i>jeśm</i>
S	SCr. <i>jěsam</i> ; <i>sam.</i> ; Sln. <i>səm</i>
BSL.	<i>*esmi</i>
B	Lith. <i>esmi</i> (OLith.) OPr. <i>asmai</i>
PIE	<i>*h₁es-mi</i>
Cogn.	Skt. <i>ásmi</i> ; Gk. εἰμί

See also: *byti; *estb

***estb** 3sg. ‘is’

ESSJa VI 32

CS	OCS <i>jestb</i>
E	Ru. <i>est’</i>
W	Cz. <i>jest</i> ; <i>je</i> ; Pl. <i>jest</i>
S	SCr. <i>jěst</i> ; <i>je</i> ; Sln. <i>jè</i> ; Bulg. <i>e</i>
BSL.	<i>*esti</i>
B	Lith. <i>ėsti</i> OPr. <i>ast</i> ; <i>est</i>
PIE	<i>*h₁es-ti</i>
Cogn.	Skt. <i>ásti</i> ; Gk. ἐστί

See also: *byti; *esmb

***ešče** adv. ‘still, yet’

ESSJa VI 32-33

CS	OCS <i>ješte</i>
E	Ru. <i>eščë</i> ; <i>ošče</i> (dial.) {1}
W	Cz. <i>ještě</i> ; OCz. <i>ješče</i> ; Slk. <i>ešte</i> ; Pl. <i>jeszcze</i> ; <i>oszczo</i> (dial.)
S	SCr. <i>jǫšt(e)</i> ; <i>ješče</i> (dial.); Čak. <i>joščë</i> (Vrg.); <i>jǫš</i> (Orb.); Sln. <i>šè</i> ; <i>ščè</i> ; <i>jošče</i> ; <i>još</i> ; <i>ešče</i> ; <i>išče</i> ; Bulg. <i>ešte</i> ; <i>ošte</i>
PIE	<i>*h₁esk^(w)e(h₁)</i>
Cogn.	Skt. <i>áchā</i> prep., preverb ‘to’; Arm. <i>c’</i> prep. ‘to, till’ {2}

See Lubotsky 2001.

{1} In Russian dialects forms with *e-* occur alongside forms with *o-*. This variation is already found in Old Russian. {2} Forms such as SCr. *jǫšte*, Bulg. *jǫšte* (dial.) and Sln. *išče* (dial.) result from the accretion of **i* ‘and’ (cf. Meillet 1934: 124). The **o-* variants in this word are attested in

a remarkably large area. The alternative etymologies contain a deictic element *ed^h- or *et- (see ESSJa s.v.).

***eterъ** prn.

ESSJa VIII 187

- CS OCS *eterō* ‘some, someone’; RuCS (*j*)*eterō* ‘some, someone’
 W USrb. *wot(e)ry* ‘another’; LSrb. *wōtery, wótary, wótory* ‘some’
 PIE **io-tero-*
 Cogn. Skt. *yatará-* m. ‘which of the two’

It cannot be decided whether this pronoun continues PIE **io-tero-* or **h₁e-tero-*, cf. Skt. *yatará-* ‘which of the two’ vs. Av. *atāra-* ‘this one of the two’. The Sorbian forms may have been influenced by **vōtorō* ‘second’.

See also: *jъ

***eti; *ebàti; *ěbàti** v. (c) ‘copulate’

ESSJa VIII 188

- E Ru. *etí*, 1sg. *ebú*, 3sg. *ebët; ebát’*, 1sg. *ebú*, 3sg. *ebët*; Ukr. *jibáty*
 W Cz. *jebati* ‘copulate, curse, beat’; Slk. *jebať* ‘copulate’; Pl. *jebać* ‘copulate, scold, beat’; Slnc. *jābac* ‘destroy, tear up, spoil’; USrb. *jebać* ‘deceive’; LSrb. *jebaś* ‘beat, push, deceive’
 S SCr. *jèbati*; Čak. *jebàti* (Vrg.); Sln. *jébati*, 1sg. *jêbam*; Bulg. *jebať*
 PIE **h₃iebh^h-e/o-*
 Cogn. Skt. *yābhati*; Gk. οἴφω, οἴφέω

The variant with **ě* is unexpected. The ESSJa, which only has **jèbati* as an entry, suggests that **ě* has the same vocalism as Gk. οἴφω, but I consider it more likely that we are dealing with an iterative formation.

***eto** ptcl.

ESSJa VI 8

- E Ru. *ěto* ‘here (is), this is’
 S SCr. *ěto* ‘here (is)’; Bulg. *ěto* ‘here (is)’

A combination of the particle **h₁e* and the neuter pronoun **to*.

See also: *ese

***evīnъ** m. o ‘granary, drying shed’

ESSJa VIII 187-188

- E Ru. *ovín* ‘drying shed’; ORu. *ovīnō* ‘drying shed’; Bel. *avín* ‘drying shed’; Ukr. *ovín* (dial.) ‘small granary’

Unlike → **evъja*, this etymon is not generally considered a borrowing from Baltic.

See also: *евъѣ

***evъja; *evъѣ** f. iā; f. jā ‘granary, drying shed’

ESSJa -

- E Ru. *ěvnja* (W. dial.); *ěvnja* (Psk.); *evnjá* (dial.) ‘drying shed without a ceiling’; Bel. *ěūnja; ěūnja; jaūja* (dial.) {1}; Ukr. *jevja; jévnja*
 W Pl. *jawia* {2}; *jewnia* (arch.); *jownia* (arch.)

- BSL. *iouiaH
 B Lith. *jáuja* 1 ‘granary, drying shed, threshing shed’ {3}; Latv. *jaūja* ‘threshing floor’
 OPr. *jauge* ‘drying shed, barn for braking flax’ {4}
- PIE *ieu-iH-eh₂
 Cogn. MoHG *jaug* (dial.) ‘barn’

It is evident that **evnja* is a borrowing from Baltic. The Baltic word is a derivative of the word for ‘grain’, Lith. *javaĩ*, which lacks a Slavic counterpart. The resyllabification of **iaų-iā* to **iau-iā* may account for the metatonical acute tone of both the Lithuanian and the Latvian form, if we assume that the original form was **iaų-iā*. The East Slavic word **ovinъ* apparently underwent the *e- > o-* shift (I do not share Andersen’s objections to the ESSJa’s Proto-Slavic reconstruction **evinъ*, theoretical though it is).

{1} The form without *-n-* has been recorded from 1540 onwards in many different shapes, e.g. *ev’ja*, *jav’ja*, *evga* and *javga*. According to Anikin (2005: 143), only the form *jaūja* is known in the living language. The other forms are limited to areas that were inhabited by Lithuanians. {2} Since 1554 many variants have been recorded, e.g. *jawia*, *jawgia*, *jewia*, *jowia*. {3} There are many variants, viz. *jáujė*, *jáujis*, *jáujas*, *jáujus*. {4} The oldest source (1604) has the spelling *jaawyge* (Toporov PJ II: 21).

See also: **evinъ*

*ězero; *ězerъ n. o; m. o (c) ‘lake’

ESSJa VI 33-34

- CS OCS *jezero* n.; *jezerō* (Zogr., Ass.) Asg. m.
 E Ru. *ózero* n.
 W Cz. *jezero* n.; Slk. *jazero* n.; *ježer* (E. dial.); Pl. *jezioro* n.; USrb. *ježer* n.
 S SCR. *jězero* n., Npl. *ježera*; Čak. *jězero* (Vrg.) n., Npl. *ježerā*; *jězero* (Novi) n., Npl. *jězera*; *jězēr* m.; Sln. *jězero* n.; *jězer* m.; *jezer* f.(i); Bulg. *ézero* n.

- BSL. *ézero
 B Lith. *ėžeras* 3^b; Latv. *ēzērs*; *ēzars*
 OPr. *assaran* n.

- PIE **h₁eǵ^h-(e)r-o-*
 Cogn. Arm. *ezr* ‘edge, border, bank’

In view of “Rozwadowski’s change”, the reconstruction of the anlaut offers a number of alternatives (**h₂e-*, **h₃e-*, **Ho-*), but not if the etymon under discussion belongs to **ězъ* ‘balk, weir’, which in my opinion is the case. A cognate from outside Balto-Slavic is Arm. *ezr* ‘bank, border, limit’ < **h₁(e)ǵ^h-* (→ **ězъ* for the semantic aspects of the etymology). Note that the short initial vowel of **jězero* requires the reconstruction of an aspirated velar anyhow (Winter’s law). The connection with the Greek mythological river Ἄχέρων is dubious.

See also: **jězъ*; **jěžъ*; **jěža*; **ezъ*

***eževica; *eževika** f. jā; f. ā

ESSJa VI 35

E Ru. *eževika* ‘blackberry’S SCr. *jěževica* ‘meadow grass, quill, blackberry’; Sln. *ježevica* ‘prickly husk’

BSL. *ež-

See → *ežb.

***ežica; *ežika** f. jā; f. ā

ESSJa VI 35-36

E Ru. *ožika* ‘rush’W Cz. *ježice* ‘female hedgehog’S SCr. *jěžica* ‘sea-hedgehog, she-hedgehog, husk’; *ježika* ‘Jew’s myrtle’; Sln. *ježica* ‘prickly husk’

BSL. *ež-

See → *ežb.

***ežina** f. ā ‘blackberry’

ESSJa VI 35

E Ru. *ožina* (S dial.) ‘blackberry’W Slk. *ožina* (dial.) ‘blackberry’; Pl. *jeżyna* ‘blackberry’; *ożyna* (dial.) ‘blackberry’; OPl. *jeżyny* Npl. ‘strawberries’S SCr. *jěžina* (dial.) ‘edible marine mollusc’

BSL. *ež-

See → *ežb.

***ežb** m. jo ‘hedgehog’

ESSJa VI 36

E Ru. *ež*, Gsg. *ežá*; *ož* (dial.); ORu. *ežb*; *ožb*; Ukr. *již* (dial.); *ož* (dial.)W Cz. *jež* (dial.); Slk. *jež*; Pl. *jeż*; USrb. *jěž*S SCr. *jěž*, Gsg. *jěža*; *jěž* ‘hedgehog’, Gsg. *jěža*; Čak. *jěž* (Vrg.) ‘sea-urchin, kind of plant’, Gsg. *jěža*; *’ěš* (Orb.) ‘hedgehog, sea-urchin’, Gsg. *’ěža*; Sln. *jěž* ‘hedgehog, jimsonweed (*datura stramonium*), prickly husk’; Bulg. *ež* ‘hedgehog’

BSL. *ežios

B Lith. *ežys* m.(io) 4 (variants are *ėžis* 2, *ėžys* 4); Latv. *ezis* m.(io)PIE **h₁eǵʰ-io-*Cogn. Gk. *ἐχίνοσ* m. ‘hedgehog, sea-urchin’; OHG *igil* m.; OE *ig(i)l* m. ‘hedgehog’; Arm. *ozni* m. ‘hedgehog’

In Greek, where *ἐχίνοσ* ‘hedgehog, sea-urchin’ looks like a derivative of *ἔχις* ‘viper’, there seems to be a connection between ‘hedgehog’ and ‘snake’. In Balto-Slavic, the words for ‘hedgehog’ and ‘snake’ do not match formally (→ *ožb*).

See also: *ežina; *ežica; *ežika; *eževica; *eževika

*Ě

*ědro n. o 'bosom'

ESSJa VI 43

- CS OCS *jadra* Npl. 'embrace, bosom'; CS *jadro* Npl. 'depth, womb, bosom'
 W Cz. *ňadro* 'breast, bosom'; *ňadra* Npl. 'breast, bosom'; OCz. *ňadra* Npl. 'breast, bosom'; *ňádra* 'breast, bosom'; Pl. *jadro* 'net'
 S SCr. *jědro* 'sail'; Npl. *jědra*; *jědro* (Vuk) 'sail' (according to the RJA, the accentuation of *jědro* is wrong); Čak. *idro* 'sail'; Npl. *idrã*; *jãdro* (Novi) 'sail'; Sln. *jádro* 'sail, "bosom" of a net'; *nědro* 'bosom'; *nědrje* n.(jo) 'bosom', Npl. *nědrja* 'bosom'

The forms with *n-* originate from the syntagms **vōn ědra* and **vōn ědrěxъ*, cf. *vb nědrěxъ* (Supr. 244, 26). The ESSJa identifies the root as **h₂eid-* 'swell'.

*ědъ m. o (c) 'poison'

ESSJa VI 45-47

- CS OCS *jadъ* 'poison'
 E Ru. *jad* 'poison'; Ukr. *jid* 'poison'
 W Cz. *jed* 'poison, (dial.) malice'; Slk. *jed* 'poison, (coll.) malice, anger'; Pl. *jad* 'poison, something harmful or contagious, anger, malice'; USrb. *jěd* 'poison'
 S SCr. *ijed* 'gall, poison, anger'; *jěd* 'gall, poison, anger'; *jãd* 'grief, sorrow'; Čak. *id* (Vrg.) 'gall, poison, anger'; *jãd* (Vrg.) 'grief, sorrow'; *jât* (Orb.) 'anger', Gsg. *jãda*; Sln. *jãd* 'poison, anger'; Bulg. *jad* 'poison, anger'

PIE **h₁ed-o-*Cogn. OIc. *át* n. 'food'; OHG. *āz* n. 'food'

I prefer this etymology to the one deriving **ědъ* from **h₂eid-* 'swell'. As to the semantics, we may compare the euphemisms MoHG *Gift* 'poison' (from MoHG *geben*) and MoFr. *poison* < **pōtion(em)* (Vasmer s.v. *jad*).

See also: *ědъ; *ěsti

*ědъ f. i (c) 'food'

ESSJa VI 53-54

- CS OCS *jadъ* 'food'; CS *jadъ* 'food'
 E Ru. *jad*' (dial.) 'food, dish'; *ed*' (dial.) 'meal, dinner-time'
 W USrb. *jědž* 'food'; LSrb. *jež* 'food, meal, dish'
 S SCr. *jãd* (arch., lit.) 'food'; Sln. *jěd* 'food, meal'
 BSL. **e?di(o)s*
 B Lith. *ėdis* m.(io) 'food, fodder'
 OPr. *īdis* m. 'food'

PIE **h₁ed-i-*

See also: *ědъ; *ěsti

***ěxati** v. 'go, ride' ESSJa VIII 169-171

- CS OCS *jaxati* 'go, ride', 1sg. *jadꙗ*, 1sg. *jaxajꙗ*
 E Ru. *éxat* 'go, ride, drive', 1sg. *édu*, 3sg. *édet*
 W Cz. *ječati* 'run'; Slk. *jachat* 'run, move, ride'; Pl. *jechać* 'go, ride'
 S SCr. *jähati* 'ride'; Čak. *jähati* (Vrg.) 'ride'; Sln. *jâhati* 'ride', 1sg. *jâham*, 1sg. *jâšem*; Bulg. *jáxam* 'ride'

BSL. *jaʔ-

The *-x-, which the ESSJa calls an intensive suffix, is a Slavic innovation, cf. Lith. *jóti*, Latv. *jât* 'ride' and → *ěti. It is possible that it originates from the s-aorist.

See also: *ěto; *ězda

***ěre** n. nt ESSJa VIII 172

- CS RuCS *jarę* 'lamb'
 E ORu. *jarę* 'lamb'
 W Cz. *ječátko* n.(o) 'one and a half year-old sheep'
 S SCr. *järe* 'kid, young goat', Gsg. *järeta*; Sln. *jarę* 'lamb', Gsg. *jaręta*; Bulg. *járe* 'kid'

Derivative in *-ę, which is frequent in designations of young animals. See → *ěro, *ěra, *ěrb̄ I, for the etymology of the root.

***ěrina** f. ā ESSJa VIII 173-174

- CS CS *jarina* 'wool'; RuCS *jarina* 'wool'
 E ORu. *jarina* 'wool'; Ukr. *jaryná* 'spring corn, spring sowings, spring field'; *jaryná* (dial.) 'vegetables'
 W Cz. *jařina* 'spring corn'; Slk. *jarina* 'spring corn'; Pl. *jarzyna* 'vegetables, spring corn'
 S SCr. *järina* 'lamb's wool'; *jarina* 'spring crop'; Čak. *järina* (Vrg.) 'lamb's (first) wool'; *jarina* (Orb.) 'late crop (grapes, wheat etc.)'; Sln. *jarina* 'spring seed, summer fruit'; Bulg. *járina* 'lamb's wool'

Derivative in *-ina. See → *ěro, *ěra, *ěrb̄ I, for the etymology of the root.

***ěro; *ěra; *ěrb̄ I** n. o; f. ā; m. o ESSJa VIII 175-176

- CS RuCS *jara* f. 'spring'
 E Ru. *jar* (dial.) m. 'heat, fire'; ORu. *jara* f. 'spring'; Ukr. *jar* m. 'spring'
 W Cz. *jaro* n. 'spring'; Pl. *jar* (dial.) m. 'spring, spring corn'; *jaro* (16th c.) n. 'spring, spring corn' {1}
 S SCr. *jära* f. 'great heat, mirage, spirit'; *jâr* m. 'spring'
 BSL. *jeřro-
 B Lith. *ėras* m. 3 'lamb'; *jėras* (dial.) m. 3 'lamb'; Latv. *jērs* m. 'lamb'; *jēre* f.(ē) 'one year old sheep, mother lamb'
 OPr. *eristian* (EV) n. 'lamb'

PIE *Hieh₁-r-

Cogn. Skt. *pariyāriṇī-* (Kāth.+)
f. ‘cow which has its first calf after a year’; Gk. *ῶπα* f. ‘time, season’; YAv. *yār-* n. ‘year’; Go. *jer* n. ‘year’; OHG *jār* n. ‘year’

There is a possibility that the root is identical with *Hieh₁- ‘send’.

{1} According to Bańkowski (2000a: 574), the form *jaro* was made up by W. Pola.

See also: *ěre; *ěrina; *ěръка; *ěръ II; *ěръ; *ěръсь

*ěrostь f. i ‘fury’

ESSJa VIII 177

CS OCS *jarostь* ‘wrath’

E Ru. *járost’* ‘fury, rage’

W Cz. *jarost* ‘abundance in strength, unruly conduct’

S SCr. *járōst* ‘fury, anger’; Sln. *jarōst* ‘fury, anger’; Bulg. *járost* ‘fury, anger’

Abstract noun in *-ostь (→ *ěrv III).

*ěръ I adj. o

ESSJa VIII 175-176

E ORu. *jarýj* ‘spring-’ {1}; Ukr. *járýj* ‘spring-, young’

W Cz. *jarý* (dial.) ‘spring-’; OCz. *jarý* ‘spring-’; Pl. *jarý* (dial.) ‘spring-, of the first shearing (wool)’

S SCr. *jāra* f. ‘great heat, mirage, spirit’; *jār* m. ‘spring’; Sln. *jār* ‘spring-’, f. *járá*

BSL. *jeřro-

{1} Also *jarovyi*. Now only *jarovój*, dial. *járovyj*.

See also: *ěre; *ěrina; *ěro; *ěra; ; *ěръ II *ěръка; *ěръ; *ěръсь

*ěръ II adj. o (c)

ESSJa VIII 178-179

CS OCS *jarь* (Zogr., Mar. Ass.) ‘austere’

E Ru. *járýj* ‘furious, violent, vehement’ {1}

W Cz. *jarý* ‘young, fresh, wild’; Slk. *jarý* ‘energetic, fresh, cheerful’; Pl. *jarý* (arch.) ‘clear, strong, hot’

S SCr. *jār* (RJA) ‘heated, steep, cruel’; Sln. *jār* ‘furious, savage’

The connection with Gk. ζωρός ‘pure, sheer (of wine)’ is, of course, merely a possibility. Note that a reconstructed form *ioH-ro- or *ieh₃-ro- would be affected by Hirt’s law, which seems to be in conflict with the attested accentuation.

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 138).

See also: *ěrostь

*ěръка f. ā

ESSJa VIII 179-180

W Cz. *jarka* ‘spring wheat, sheep born in spring’; *jarka* (dial.) ‘spring rye, ewe that had young in spring’; Slk. *jarka* ‘one year old sheep’; Pl. *jarka* ‘increase or harvest of this or last year’s spring, barren sheep’

- S SCr. *jārka* ‘spring corn, hen that has laid eggs for the first time’; *jārka* ‘spring maize’; Čak. *jārka* (Orb.) ‘species of grain’; Sln. *jārka* ‘summer fruit (e.g. of spring rye or wheat), young hen’; Bulg. *jārka* ‘young chicken’

Derivative in *-*oka*. See → **ěro*, **ěra*, **ěrv*.

**ěr̥b* f. i

ESSJa VIII 180-181

- E Ru. *jar*’ (dial.) ‘spring, spring field, spring wheat’; ORu. *jar*’ ‘spring corn’; Ukr. *jar*’ ‘spring, spring corn’
- W Cz. *jař* ‘spring corn’; *jar* (dial.) ‘spring’; Slk. *jar* ‘spring’; Pl. *jarz* (15th-17th c.) ‘spring, spring corn’
- S SCr. *jar* f.(i) ‘spring barley (*Hordeum distichum*)’; *jar* m.(o) ‘spring barley (*Hordeum distichum*)’; Sln. *jār* f.(i) ‘spring corn’, Gsg. *jarī* {1}

See → **ěro*, **ěra*, **ěrv*.

{1} Pleteršnik actually has ‘Sommergetreide’, which means ‘corn that is sown in spring and harvested in summer’. I assume that *jār* may be identified with *jaro žito* ‘corn sown in spring’, cf. *járca* ‘id.’.

**ěr̥bьсь* m. jo

ESSJa VIII 180-181

- E Ru. *jaréc* (dial.) ‘one year old beaver’, Gsg. *jarcá*; Ukr. *jaréc*’ (dial.) ‘barley’
- W Slk. *jaréc* ‘barley’; Pl. *jarzec* (dial.) ‘spring barley’
- S SCr. *jārac* ‘he-goat’, Gsg. *jārca*; Čak. *jārac* (Vrg.) ‘he-goat’, Gsg. *jārca*; Sln. *jārac* ‘kid born in spring, (uncastrated) ram, spring wheat’; Bulg. *járéc* ‘kid’

Derivative in *-*ьсь*. See → **ěro*, **ěra*, **ěrv*.

**ěsnъ* adj. o (a) ‘clear’

ESSJa VI 51-52

- CS OCS *jasnъ* (Supr.)
- E Ru. *jasny*
- W Cz. *jasný*; Slk. *jasný*; Pl. *jasny*
- S SCr. *jäsán*; Sln. *jasən*; Bulg. *jasen*
- BSl. **aiʔšk-(n)-*
- B Lith. *aiškus*

The root of this adjective can be identified with **h₂eid^h*- ‘kindle’ if we assume that the acute originates from the suffix *-*Hsk*- << *-*sk*-, cf. OIc. *eiskra* ‘rage with heated excitement’. Here the laryngeal of the suffix must have arisen through reanalysis of *sta*-presents containing a root ending in *-*RH* (Derksen 1996: 291-294, 337). This development can easily be pointed out in East Baltic, where it spread to roots of other structures, but is not so clear if it can be traced back to Proto-Balto-Slavic. My explanation of the acute in the etymon under discussion implies that it can.

See also: **jāskra*; **jьstъ*

***ěsti** v. 'eat'

ESSJa VI 53-54

- CS OCS *jasti*, 1sg. *jamъ*, 3sg. *jastъ*
 E Ru. *est'*, 1sg. *em*, 3sg. *est*
 W Cz. *jísti*; Slk. *jest*; Pl. *jeść*; Slnc. *jìęsc*
 S SCr. *jěsti*, 1sg. *jědem*; Čak. *īsti* or *īsti* (Vrg.), 3sg. *idě*; *jěs* (Orb.), 3sg. (*j*)*ī*; Sln. *jésti*, 1sg. *jém*; Bulg. *jam*
- BSL. **eʔsti*
 B Lith. *ėsti*; Latv. *ēst*
 OPr. *īst*; *īstwei*
- PIE **h₁ed-mi*, etc.
 Cogn. Skt. *ātti*; Hitt. *ed-^{zi}/ad-*; Gk. *ἔδμεναι*; Lat. *edō*; Go. *itan*
- See also: **ědъ*; **ědь*

***ėti** v. 'go, ride'

ESSJa VIII 183

- W Cz. *jeti* 'ride, drive', 1sg. *jedu*; OPl. *jať* 3sg. pret. 'rode'; USrb. *jěć* 'ride'; LSrb. *jěs* 'ride'
- BSL. **jaʔ-*
 B Lith. *jóti* 'ride'; Latv. *jāt* 'ride'
- PIE **ieh₂-*
 Cogn. Skt. *yāti* 'drive, travel'
- See also: **ěxati*; **ěto*; **ězda*

***ěto** n. o (a) 'herd, flock'

ESSJa VIII 182-183

- CS CS *jato* n. 'flock'
 E Ru. *jat* (dial.) m. 'shoal of fish'
 W Pl. *jato* (obs.) n. 'herd, flock'
 S SCr. *jāto* n. 'flock (of birds), swarm, herd'; Čak. *jāto* (Vrg.) n. 'flock (of birds), swarm, herd'; Sln. *játŋ* n. 'herd, flock'; *jāta* f. 'herd, flock'; Bulg. *játo* n. 'flock (of birds)'
- PIE **ieh₂-tóm*
 Cogn. Skt. *yātá-* n. 'progress, course'

The fixed root stress of this etymon must be due to Hirt's law.

See also: **ěxati*; **ėti*; **ězda*

***ězda** f. ā 'ride'

ESSJa VIII 184-185

- CS CS *jazda* 'ride'
 E Ru. *ezdá* 'ride, drive'
 W Cz. *jízda* 'ride, cavalry'; Slk. *jazda* 'ride, cavalry'; Pl. *jazda* 'ride, cavalry'
 S SCr. *jezda* 'what one rides in/on, ride'; Sln. *jězda* 'riding'; Bulg. *jazdá* 'riding, ride'; *jezdá* 'riding, ride'

Formation not entirely clear. The sequence **-zd-* may have originated from **-dd-* if we assume that a suffix **-da* was added to the present stem **ěd-* of **ěxati*.

See also: *ěti; *ěto; *ěxati

***ězб; *ězб; *ěza; *езб** m. o; m. jo; f. jā; m. o 'weir'

ESSJa VI 59

- CS RuCS *ězб* m., (*j*)*ezб* m. 'fish weir'
 E Ru. *iž* (dial.) m.(jo) 'fishing tackle made of willow-twigs or a net'; *ěz* m. 'fish weir'; ORu. *ězб* m. 'fish weir'; (*j*)*ezб* m. 'fish weir'; Bel. *jaz* m. 'fishing tackle'; *ez* (dial.) m. 'fish weir'; Ukr. *jiz* m. 'fish weir'; *jaz* m. 'fish weir'
 W Cz. *jez* m. 'mill-pond, dam, weir, dike'; Pl. *jaz* m. 'mill-pond, fish weir'
 S SCr. *jāz* m. 'drain (at a dam or weir), mill-pond, dike'; *jēz* m. 'mill-pond, dam, weir'; *jāž* (dial.) m.(jo) 'canal'; *jāža* (dial.) f.(jā) 'brook streaming from a spring'; Sln. *jēz* m. 'dike, dam, weir'; Gsg. *jēza*, Gsg. *jēzū*; *jēža* f.(jā) 'dike, dam, weir, mill-pond'; Bulg. *jaz* m. 'dam, weir, dike'
- BSL. *ěz-; *ез-о-
 B Lith. *ežia* f.(jā) 2 'boundary(-strip), balk'; Latv. *eža* f.(jā) 'boundary(-strip), balk'
 OPr. *asy* (EV) 'boundary(-strip), balk'

Cogn. Arm. *eZR* 'bank, border, limit'

Meanings such as 'mill-pond', 'drain, canal' and 'brook' form a semantic link between **ěz-/ez-* 'dam, weir' and → **ězero* 'lake', cf. MoE *dike* 'thick bank or wall built to control water' vs. MoHG *Teich* 'pond'. The original meaning in Balto-Slavic is best covered by the word *balk*, meaning both 'boundary-strip, dividing ridge', 'wooden beam' and (dial.) 'fishing-weir'. Arm. *eZR* (→ **ězero*), which basically means 'edge', agrees semantically very well with the Balto-Slavic etymon under discussion. We must reconstruct **h₁ěǵ^h-o/ā-*, with an obscure lengthened grade, alongside **h₁ěǵ^h-o/ā-*.

***ězva** f. ā (a) 'wound'

ESSJa VI 56-57

- CS OCS *jazva* 'wound, injury, scar'
 E Ru. *jázva* 'ulcer, sore, (dial.) damage, injury'
 W Cz. *jizva* 'scar, scratch'; OCz. *jiezva* 'scar, scratch'; Slk. *jazva* 'scar, scratch'
 S Bulg. *jázva* 'ulcer'
- BSL. *oi?źwa?
 B Lith. *áiza* 1 'crack'; Latv. *aīza* 'crack'
 OPr. *eyswo* 'wound'

There seem to be no reliable cognates outside Balto-Slavic.

***ězdžb; *ězdžikb; *ězgarb; *ězgarb; *ěskarb** m. jo; m. o 'ruff'

ESSJa VI 60

- E Bel. *jadžgár*; Ukr. *jazgar* (dial.) {1}

- W Cz. *ježdik*; Pl. *jażdż* (arch., N. dial.) m.(jo); *jaszcz* (arch., N. dial.) m.(jo) {2}; *jazgar* (dial.); *jazgier* (dial.); *jazgarz* m.(jo); *jazgierz* (arch.) m.(jo); OPl. *jeżdzyk*; Kash. *įwżż*; *įwšć* m.(jo)
- BSL. **egz-io-*; **ěžg-io-*
- B Lith. *ežgys* m.(io) 4; *egžlys* (arch.) m.(io) 4; *ežegys* (Pruss.) m.(io) 3^b {3}
OPr. *assegis* (EV) ‘perch’

It seems perfectly plausible to me that this etymon is cognate with → **ežb* ‘hedgehog’ (thus Būga RR II: 217). Like its close relative the perch, the ruff has prickly fins (cf. MoHG *Barsch* ‘perch’, *Borste* ‘bristle’, Lith. *ešerys* ‘perch’, which presumably derives from **h₂eġ-* ‘sharp’). The *g* of this word may be the well-known Baltic intrusive velar. In that case, archaic Lith. *egžlys* would have preserved the original constellation. The Slavic forms would have to be borrowings from Baltic, which in view of their distribution is not unlikely.

{1} Other dialect forms are *jaškar* and *jazgar*. {2} In this case the term “northern dialects” probably refers to Kashubian. {3} The Standard Lithuanian word is *pūgžlys*.

*Ę

***ęćati** v. ‘wail, moan’ ESSJa VI 61-62

- CS RuCS *jačati* ‘cry out, wail, moan’
- E Ru. *jačát* (dial.) ‘wail, moan’; ORu. *jačati* ‘cry out, wail, moan’
- W Cz. *ječeti* ‘shriek’; OCz. *ječěti* ‘scream, moan’; Slk. *jačat* ‘weep loudly, moan’; Pl. *jęceć* ‘moan’
- S SCr. *jęćati* ‘resound, moan’; Sln. *jěćati* ‘whine, moan’, *ječím*; Bulg. *ečá* ‘sound, buzz’
- BSL. **ink-*
- B Lith. *inkštėti* (dial.) ‘stammer’ (cf. also *iňkšti* ‘whine, whimper’)
- Cogn. Lat. *uncāre* ‘make the sound of a bear’; MLG *anken* ‘moan, sigh’; MoDu. *janken* ‘howl, cry’

See also: *ękati, *ęcati

***ęцьmy** m. n ‘barley’ ESSJa VI 63-64

- E Ru. *jačmén* m.(jo) ‘barley, sty (in the eye)’; Gsg. *jačmenjá*; ORu. *jačьmy* ‘barley’; *jačьмень* m.(jo) ‘barley’
- W Cz. *ječmen* m.(o) ‘barley’; Slk. *jačmeň* m.(jo) ‘barley, sty (in the eye)’; Pl. *jęczmień* m.(jo) ‘barley’
- S SCr. *jęčmēn* m.(o) ‘barley, sty (in the eye)’; *jáčmen* m.(o) ‘sty (in the eye)’; Čak. *jáčmer* (Vrg.) m.(o) ‘sty (in the eye)’; *jáčmik* (Orb.) m.(o) ‘sty (in the eye)’; Sln. *ječmen* m.(o) ‘barley, sty (in the eye)’; Gsg. *ječmēna*

In OCS, only the adjectives *јѣчѣнѣ* (Mar.) and *јѣчѣнѣнѣ* (Zogr., Ass.) are attested, e.g. *пѣтѣ хлѣбѣвѣ јѣчѣнѣ* (Mar.), (*отѣ*) *пѣти хлѣбѣвѣ јѣчѣнѣнѣхѣвѣ* (Zogr.) ‘five barley loaves’.

The root of this etymon is usually linked to **ǫk-* ‘bend’ (cf. → **ǫkotb*), which must be reconstructed as **h₂e/onk-*. Consequently, forms with **ǫ-* must continue a zero grade. The ESSJa reconstructs an attested verb **ękt’i* ‘bend’, which is considered to be a Slavic creation.

***ędrò** n. o (b) ‘kernel, core’ ESSJa VI 65-66

E Ru. *jadró* ‘kernel, core’, Npl. *jádra*
 W Cz. *jádro* ‘kernel, core’; Slk. *jadro* ‘kernel, core’; Pl. *jądro* ‘grain, kernel, core’
 S SCr. *jédro* ‘kernel, core’; Kajk. *jádrě* ‘kernel, core’, Npl. *jádro*; Sln. *jédro* ‘kernel, pit’; Bulg. *jedró* ‘kernel’

PIE **h₁en-d^(h)r-ó-m?*

The connection with Skt. *āṇḍá-* (RV, AV+) n. ‘egg, testicle’ has generally been abandoned.

See also: *ętrò; *ętrà; *ętròba

***ędrъ** adj. o ESSJa VI 66-67

CS OCS *ędri* (Supr.) Npl. m ‘quick’; *јѣdro* adv. ‘quickly’; CS *jadryi* ‘quick, eager’
 S SCr. *jédar* ‘firm, solid, abundant’; Čak. *jédar* (Vrg.) ‘large’; Bulg. *édār* ‘big, strong’

Etymologically identical with the preceding entry.

***ęga; *ędza** f. ā; f. jā ‘disease, terror’ ESSJa VI 68-69

CS OCS *јѣdza* ‘disease’
 E Ru. *jagá* ‘Baba-Yaga’; *jagá-bába* ‘Baba-Yaga’
 W Cz. *jaza* (dial.) ‘evil old woman’; OCz. *jězě* ‘witch’; Pl. *jędza* ‘witch’
 S SCr. *jéza* ‘horror, terror’; Sln. *jęza* ‘anger’; Bulg. *enzá* (Gerov) ‘wound, ulcer’; *enzá* (dial.) ‘illness’

BSl. **inǵ-*

B Lith. *ėngti* ‘press, strangle, torture’
 Latv. *īgt* ‘pine’

PIE **Hng-eh₂*

Cogn. OIc. *ekki* m. ‘pain, anguish’; OE *inca* f. ‘pain, suspicion, fight’

Nepokupnyj (1989: 81-90) prefers the old hypothesis that **ęga*/**ędza* is cognate with → **ǫžb* ‘snake’.

***ękati; *ęcati** v. ‘moan’ ESSJa VI 69-70

W Cz. *jekati* ‘shriek’; OPl. *jqkać* ‘moan’; Slnc. *jǫkǫc* ‘sigh, moan’
 S SCr. *jékati* ‘resound, moan’; *jěkati* ‘scold, urge on’; *jěcati* ‘sob, stammer’, 1sg. *jěcām*; Sln. *jékati* ‘hit with a lot of noise, bump into’, 1sg. *jêkam*; *jęcati*

‘stammer, prattle’, 1sg. *jęc̣am*; Bulg. *éc̣am* (dial.) ‘eat, dangle’; *jęc̣am* (dial.) ‘stammer’

BSl. **ink-*

B Lith. *inkštėti* (dial.) ‘stammer’

Cogn. Lat. *uncāre* ‘make the sound of a bear’; MLG *anken* ‘moan, sigh’; MoDu. *janken* ‘howl, cry’

The form *ęcati* shows the regular reflex of the progressive palatalization.

See also: *ęčati

***ęti** v. ‘take’

ESSJa VI 71

CS OCS *jęti* ‘take’, 1sg. *imę* (if preceded by a prefix *-ęti*, *-bmę*); RuCS *jati* ‘take’, 1sg. *imu*

E Ru. *jat*’ (dial.) ‘take, begin’; ORu. *jati* ‘take’, 1sg. *imu*; Ukr. *játy* ‘take’, 1sg. *jmu*

W OCz. *jieti* ‘take’, 1sg. *jmu*; Pl. *jać* ‘begin, (arch.) seize’, 3sg. *imie*; Plb. *jëmě* 3sg. ‘seizes’

S SCr. *jėti* ‘take’, 1sg. *imēm* also *jāmēm*; Sln. *jėti* ‘begin’, 1sg. *jámem*

BSl. **im-*

B Lith. *imti* ‘take’; Latv. *jeņt* (dial.) ‘take’

OPr. *imt* ‘take’

PIE **h₁m-*

Cogn. Lat. *emere* ‘take (in derivatives), buy’

See also: *jьmati; *jьmėti

***ętrò** n. o (b) ‘liver’

ESSJa VI 72-73

CS RuCS *jatro* ‘liver, (pl.) entrails’

E Ru. *játro* ‘entrails, eggs’; *jatró* ‘entrails, eggs’; *jatrá* Npl. ‘entrails, eggs’; ORu. *jatro* ‘liver, (pl.) entrails’

W Cz. *játra* Npl. ‘liver’; Plb. *jotrǎ* Npl. ‘liver’

S SCr. *jětra* Npl. ‘liver’; *jětra* (Dubr.) f. ‘liver’; Čak. Npl. *j’ětra* (Orb.) ‘liver’; Sln. *jétra* Npl. ‘liver’; Bulg. *jatró* ‘liver’

BSl. **intró*

B OPr. *intran* ‘fat’

PIE **h₁en-tr-om*

Cogn. *āntrá-* (RV, AV+) n. ‘intestine’; Gk. *έντερα* Npl. n. ‘entrails’

See also: *ędrò; *ętrà; *ętròba

***ętry** f. ũ ‘husband’s brother’s wife’

ESSJa VIII 188-190

CS CS *jętry* f.(ũ) ‘husband’s brother’s wife’, Gsg. *jętròve*

E Ru. *játrov*’ (dial.) f.(i) ‘husband’s brother’s wife, brother’s wife’; ORu. *jatry* f.(ũ) ‘husband’s brother’s wife’, Gsg. *jatrvòve*

- W OCz. *jatrev* f.(i) ‘husband’s brother’s wife’; Pl. *jątręw* (arch.) f.(i) ‘husband’s brother’s wife’, Gsg. *jątrwi*
- S SCr. *jětrva* f.(ā) ‘husband’s brother’s wife’; *jětrva* f.(ā) ‘husband’s brother’s wife’; *jětrva* f.(ā) ‘husband’s brother’s wife’; Čak. *jětrva* (Vrg.) f.(ā) ‘husband’s brother’s wife’; *jetrvà* (Novi) f.(ā) ‘husband’s brother’s wife’; Sln. *jětrva* f.(ā) ‘husband’s brother’s wife’
- BSL. **ienʔter-*
- B Lith. *jentė* (17th c.) f.(ē/r) ‘husband’s brother’s wife’; *intė* (Sirv., Ness.) f.(ē) ‘husband’s brother’s wife, wife’s sister, daughter-in-law’; Latv. *ietere* (BW) f.(ē) ‘husband’s brother’s wife’; *iētaļa* f.(jā) ‘husband’s brother’s wife’
- PIE **Hienh₂-ter-*
- Cogn. Skt. *yātar-* (AVP+) f. ‘husband’s brother’s wife’; Gk. εἰσατέρες (Hom.) f. ‘wives of brothers or of husbands’ brothers, sisters-in-law’; Lat. *ianitricēs* f. ‘brothers’ wives’; Arm. *nēr* ‘husband’s brother’s wife’

***ęзыкъ** m. o (a) ‘tongue, language’

ESSJa VI 74-75

- CS OCS *językъ* ‘tongue, language, nation’
- E Ru. *jazyk*
- W Cz. *jazyk*; Slk. *jazyk*; Pl. *język*
- S SCr. *jězik*; Čak. *jazik* (Vrg.); *zajik* (Novi, Orb.); Sln. *jėzik*, Gsg. *jezika*; Bulg. *ezik*
- BSL. **inzuʔ-*
- B Lith. *liežuvis* m.(io) 2
OPr. *insuwis*
- PIE **dnǵh-uh₂-*
- Cogn. Skt. *jihvā-* f.; OLat. *dingua* f.; Go. *tuggo* f.

Apparently, the Balto-Slavic noun **inzuʔ-* (with loss of initial **d*) acquired the suffix **-kъ* in Slavic. The nasal vowel of the root is reflected as short in the languages where quantitative differences can be observed, which points to original suffixal stress. The Lithuanian form was influenced by *liėžti* ‘lick’.

*G

***gabati** v.

ESSJa VI 76-77

- E Bel. *habác* ‘seize’; Ukr. *hábaty* ‘seize’
- W Cz. *habati* (Kott) ‘seize’; *habat* (dial.) ‘seize, appropriate’; Slk. *habat* ‘seize, take, grab’; OPl. *gabać* ‘attack, pursue’
- S Sln. *gábati* ‘be in need, starve, be lost, die’, 1sg. *gābam*; Bulg. *gābam* ‘grieve’
- LIV classifies **gabati* under **g^heb^h-* ‘fassen, nehmen; geben’, from which it also derives Skt. *gābhasti-* ‘hand’, Go. *giban* ‘give’, Lith. *gebėti* ‘be able’, *gabėnti* ‘transport,

remove'. LIV also has a root **g^heHb-* 'ergreifen, nehmen', which is claimed to be represented in Italo-Celtic only, e.g. Lat. *habēre*, OIr. *gaibid* 'take seize'. To a certain extent this classification seems arbitrary. Many forms could be derived from a root **g^habh-* (the Germanic verb may contain the prefix **ga-* and therefore be unrelated) instead.

*gādāti v. 'guess'

ESSJa VI 77-78

CS CS *gadati* 'tell fortunes, guess'E Ru. *gadat* 'tell fortunes, guess', 1sg. *gadāju*W Cz. *hádati* 'guess'; Slk. *hádat* 'guess'; Pl. *gadać* 'talk, chatter'S Sln. *gádati* 'guess, chatter', 1sg. *gādam*; Bulg. *gadája* 'guess'Cogn. Gk. *χανδάω* 'contain'; Lat. *prehendō* 'take, seize'; OIc. *geta* 'get, learn, guess'

The root of **gadati*, which seems to have lengthened grade, could be regarded as a variant of **g^wet*, cf. the synonymous → **gātāti*, Go. *qīpan* 'say, speak'. Late Vedic *gádati* 'say, speak' may have originated from **gat-* as a "Reimbildung" after *vádati* (Mayrhofer KEWA: 318), which renders a direct comparison with **gadati* doubtful (pace ESSJa s.v.). More convincing than the suggested connection with **g^wet-* is the etymology that links **gadati* to OIc. *gáta* 'get, learn, guess', Gk. *χανδάω* 'contain', Lat. *prehendō* 'take, seize' < **ghed-*. Finally, a connection with → **goditi* 'please' < **g^hed^h-* cannot be ruled out, cf. Latv. *gadīt* 'happen to find'.

See also: *gatāti

*gāditi v. (a)

ESSJa VI 79-80

CS CS *gaditi* 'blame'E Ru. *gādīt* 'defecate (of animals), defile'W Cz. *haditi* 'scold'S SCr. *gāditi* 'fill with aversion, soil'; Čak. *gāditi se* (Vrg.) 'be repulsive'; Sln. *gáditi* 'make loathsome, scold, slander', 1sg. *gādim*

Denominative verb. See → *gādō.

*gād̥ m. o (a)

ESSJa VI 81-82

CS OCS *gadō* 'creeping animal'E Ru. *gad* 'reptile, amphibian, vermin'W Cz. *had* 'reptile, snake'; Slk. *had* 'snake'; Pl. *gad* 'reptile, scoundrel, (arch.) insects, livestock, poultry'S SCr. *gād* 'loathing, nausea'; Čak. *gād* (Vrg.) 'repulsion, repulsive person'; Sln. *gād* 'adder'; Bulg. *gad* 'animal, scoundrel, loathing'B Lith. *gėda* f. 'shame, disgrace'OPr. *gīdan* Asg. 'shame, disgrace'PIE **g^woh₁d^h-o-*Cogn. MoDu. *kwaad* adj. 'angry, evil'

The comparative evidence points to *g^woh₁d^h-o-.

See also: *gaditi

***gajati** v. (a?) ESSJa VI 84

E Ru. *gájat'* (dial.) 'yawn, talk, scream, curse'; ORu. *gajati* 'caw, croak'

BSL. *gaʔi-

B Lith. *giedóti* 'sing'; Latv. *dziédât* 'sing'

PIE *g^(w)eHi-

Cogn. Skt. *gāyati* 'sing'

***gasiti** v. (b/c) 'extinguish' ESSJa VI 104

CS OCS *ugasiti*, 1sg. *ugašǫ*

E Ru. *gasít'*, 1sg. *gašú*, 3sg. *gásit* {1}

W Cz. *hasiti*; Pl. *gasić*

S SCr. *gásiti*, 1sg. *gāšim*; Čak. *gāsiti*, 2sg. *gāsīš*; *gāsīt* (Orb.), 3sg. *gāsi*; Sln. *gasíti*, 1sg. *gasím*; Bulg. *gasjá*

B Lith. *gesýti*

Cogn. Skt. *jāsáyati* 'extinguish, exhaust'; Gk. σβέννυμι 'extinguish'

Causative formation with lengthened *o*-grade of the root *(s)g^wes-.

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 139).

See also: *gàsŋoti

***gàsŋoti** v. (a) 'be extinguished, go out' ESSJa VI 104-105

E Ru. *gásnut'*

W Cz. *hasnouti*; Slk. *hasnúť*; Pl. *gasnąć*

S SCr. *gàsnuti*; Sln. *gásniti*, 1sg. *gāsnem*; Bulg. *gásna*

Perfective of → *gasiti. The acute tone of the root is productive in this formation.

***gatàti** v. ESSJa VI 105

CS CS *gatati* 'tell fortunes, guess'

W OPl. *gatać* 'talk, chatter'

S SCr. *gátati* 'tell fortunes, guess, await, talk'; Sln. *gátati* 'guess, tell fortunes', 1sg. *gátam* (possibly of Serbo-Croatian origin); Bulg. *gatam* 'tell fortunes, guess'

Cogn. Go. *qīþan* 'say, speak'

The etymological relationship with Go. *qīþan* etc. is plausible, but the fact that there is a synonymous verb → *gādàti presents a problem. Unless we wish to assume that the latter verb, which may contain a root *g^hōd-, originates from a variant of *g^wet-, we may consider the possibility that we are dealing with two etymologically distinct roots that became mixed up.

*gatъ; *gatъ m. o; f. i

ESSJa VI 108-109

- E Ru. *gat'* f.(i) 'road of brushwood, (dial.) weir'
 W OCz. *hat'* f.(i) 'road of brushwood, road in a marshy area'; Slk. *hat'* f.(i) 'weir, fence from twigs'; Pl. *gać* f.(i) 'road of brushwood, weir from brushwood or twigs'; OPl. *gat* m. 'belt, girdle'; USrb. *hat* m. 'pond, weir'
 S SCr. *gât* m. 'drain next to a weir (Vuk), weir'; Sln. *gât* m. 'weir, drain'

Derivative with a *t*-suffix from *g^weh₂- 'go'.PIE *g^weh₂-to-/-ti-Cogn. Skt. *gātú-* m. 'way, course, progress'; LAv. *gātu-* m. 'way, place'

*gàziti v. (a)

ESSJa VI 113

- CS RuCS *izgaziti* 'ruin'
 S SCr. *gàziti* 'trample, wade'; Čak. *gàziti* (Vrg.) 'trample, wade'; Sln. *gáziti* 'wade', 1sg. *gázim*; Bulg. *gázja* 'wade, trample'

BSL. *gaʔź-

B Lith. *góžti* 'overthrow, overturn, pour out'; Latv. *gāzt* 'overthrow, overturn, pour (out)'PIE *g^(w)eHǵ^h-Cogn. Skt. *gāhate* (RV+) 'penetrate, step into the water, wade'The Baltic forms appear semantically distant, but cf. RuCS *izgaziti*.

*glabati v.

ESSJa VI 114

- E Bel. *hlabac'* 'rake together, gather, rob'
 W Pl. *głabac'* (dial.) 'seize, rake together, appropriate'
 S SCr. *glàbati* 'gnaw'; Bulg. *glábam* 'eat while picking out the best bits'

See → *globati. The Belorussian and Polish forms are apparently alterations of *grab-.

*glabiti v.

ESSJa VI 114

S Sln. *glábiti* 'snatch, grab, rob' (cf. *grábiti* 'snatch, grab, rake')

See also: *glabati; *globati

*glādъкъ adj. o (a) 'smooth, plain'

ESSJa VI 115-116

- CS OCS *glādъkъ*
 E Ru. *gládkij*
 W Cz. *hladký*; Slk. *hladký*; Pl. *gładki*
 S SCr. *glādak*, f. *glătka*; Čak. *glādak* (Vrg.), f. *glatkă*, n. *glătko*; *glādak* (Orb.), f. *glătka*, n. *glătko*; Sln. *gládak*; Bulg. *gládăk*

BSL. *glaʔdus

B Lith. *glodùs* 4; Latv. *glūošs*PIE *g^hleh₂d^h-

Cogn. Lat. *glaber* ‘smooth, hairless’; OHG *glat* ‘shining’

***glāzъ** m. o

ESSJa VI 117-118

E Ru. *glaz* ‘eye’

W Cz. *hlaz* (Kott) ‘eye’ (probably a borrowing from Russian); Pl. *glaz* ‘rock, cobble-stone’

Etymology unclear. If we accept that here the *z arose from *s as a result of Zupitza’s law (cf. Shevelov 1964: 147-148), it is possible to establish a connection with OHG *glas* ‘glass, amber’, MoE *glare*, etc. The correctness of the law is doubtful, however.

***glezna; *glezno; *gleznъ** f. ā; n. o; m. o ‘ankle(-bone)’

ESSJa VI 118

CS OCS *glezně* (Hilf.) Ndu. f. ‘ankles’; CS *glezna* f. ‘ankle-bone, heel’

W Cz. *hlezen* m. ‘ankle’; *hlezn* n. ‘ankle’; Pl. *glozna* (obs., W. dial.) f. ‘elbow, ankle, shin’

S SCr. *glěžanj* m.(jo) ‘ankle(-bone)’; *glězan* m. ‘ankle(-bone)’; Sln. *glěžanj* m.(jo) ‘ankle, wrist’; *glěžan* m. ‘ankle, wrist’; *glěžno* n. ‘ankle, wrist’; Bulg. *glēzen* m. ‘ankle-bone’; *glězna* f. ‘ankle-bone’

PIE *glē^h-n-

Cogn. OIc. *klakkr* m. ‘lump, blot’

Slavic *glezn- and Germanic forms such as OIc. *klakkr*, with a geminate arising from Kluge’s law, point to a reconstruction *glē^h-n- for the Slavic form.

***glěnъ; *glěnъ** f. i; m. o

ESSJa VI 120-121

CS RuCS *glěnъ* m. ‘moisture, juice’

E Ru. *glen’* f.(i) ‘moisture, juice’; ORu. *glěnъ* m. ‘moisture, juice’

W Cz. *hlen* m. ‘mucus, moisture, sediment’; Slk. *hlien* m. ‘slime, mud’; Pl. *glon* m. ‘alga’; *glán* (dial.) m. ‘alga, mud, dung’; OPl. *glan* m. ‘sediment, dregs’

S Sln. *glēn* m. ‘mucus, sediment, silt, clay, waterplant’; Bulg. *glen* (dial.) f.(i) ‘waterplant, duckweed’

PIE *gloh₁i-n-

Cf. → *glěvъ, *glina. The root is *gloh₁i-.

See also: *glistъ; *glistà; *gliva; *glъъ

***glěvъ; *glěvъ; *glěva** f. i; m. o; f. ā ‘slime’

ESSJa VI 121

E Ru. *glěv* (dial.) m. ‘slime, mould, (sticky slime on) fish scales’; *glėv’* (dial.) f.(i) ‘slime on fish scales’; *glėvá* (dial.) f. ‘slime on fish scales’; *glėvá* (dial.) f. ‘slime on fish scales’

PIE *gloh₁i-u-

Cogn. Gk. γλοιός m. ‘any glutinous substance’

For Baltic cognates meaning ‘slime’, see → *gliva.

***gl̥dati** v. (a) ‘look at’

ESSJa VI 122-123

- CS OCS *gl̥dati* ‘look at, see’, 1sg. *gl̥dajǫ*
 E Ru. *gl̥jádət’* (dial.) ‘look at’
 W Slk. *hl̥adat’* ‘look for, try’; OPl. *gl̥dać* ‘look at’
 S SCr. *gl̥đati* ‘look at, see’; Čak. *gl̥đati* (Vrg.) ‘look at, see, watch, expect’; *gl̥đat* (Orb.) ‘look, see smth.’; Sln. *gl̥dati* ‘look at, see’, 1sg. *gl̥dam*; Bulg. *gl̥dam* ‘look at’
 BSL. **gl̥enʔd-*
 B Latv. *gl̥eņst*² ‘(scarcely) perceive’; *nūogleņst* ‘notice’
 PIE **ghlend-*
 Cogn. OIr. *as-gleinn* ‘investigate, examine’; MHG *glinzen* ‘shine’

LIV (200) reconstructs **ghlend^{h-}* because a proto-form with root-final **d* would trigger Winter’s law, which is not in agreement with the circumflex of the Balto-Slavic forms. It is unclear to me, however, what exactly is the evidence for a Balto-Slavic circumflex. The mobile accentuation of Ru. *gl̥jadét’* (→ **gl̥dětī*) is inconclusive, while there is ample evidence for **gl̥dati*, with fixed stress on an originally acute syllable. To my knowledge, there is no Baltic evidence for an original circumflex, the Latvian forms being ambiguous. I therefore prefer the reconstruction **ghlend-*, which has the additional advantage of corresponding with the Germanic forms.

***gl̥dětī** v. ‘look at’

ESSJa VI 123

- E Ru. *gl̥jadét’* (dial.) ‘look at’, 1sg. *gl̥jažú*, 3sg. *gl̥jadít*
 W Cz. *hledětī* ‘look at’; OPl. *gl̥dzieć* ‘look at’

See → **gl̥dati*.

***glina** f. ā (a) ‘clay’

ESSJa VI 125-126

- E Ru. *glina*
 W Cz. *hlina*; Slk. *hlina*; Pl. *glina*; Sln. *glānā*
 S SCr. *gnjila*; Čak. *gñila* (Vrg.); Sln. *glina*; Bulg. *glina*
 BSL. **gl̥éʔinaʔ*
 B Lith. *gl̥éinē* f.(ē) 1 ‘moist clay’
 PIE **gleh₁i-n-*
 Cogn. Gk. γλία f. ‘loam’; Gk. γλίνη f. ‘loam’
 See also: **gl̥ěns*; **gl̥ěns*; **gl̥ěv̥s*; **gl̥ěv̥s*; **gl̥ěva*; **gl̥ísts*; **gl̥ístà*; **gl̥ib̥s*

***gl̥ísts**; **gl̥ístà* m. o; f. ā (b) ‘worm’

ESSJa VI 128-129

- E Ru. *gl̥ist* m. ‘intestinal worm’, Gsg. *gl̥ístà*; Bel. *hlist* m. ‘intestinal worm’, Gsg. *hlistà*; Ukr. *hlyst* m. ‘intestinal worm’, Gsg. *hlystà*
 W Cz. *hlíst* m. ‘intestinal worm’; *hlísta* f. ‘intestinal worm’; Slk. *hlísta* f. ‘intestinal worm’; Pl. *gl̥ista* f. ‘intestinal worm, earth-worm’

S ScR. *glísta* f.(ā) ‘intestinal worm, earth-worm’; Čak. *glísta* (Orb.) f.(ā) ‘worm’; *glís* (Orb.) f.(i) ‘worm’, *glísti* f.(i); Sln. *glísta* f. ‘intestinal worm, earth-worm’; Bulg. *glíst* m. ‘intestinal worm, earth-worm’

B Lith. *glaištas* m. 2/4 ‘layer of clay, plaster’

Though masculine *o*-stems belonging to AP (b) in principle continue old neuters, I am uncertain if this holds for original oxytona, i.e. words that were already oxytone before Dybo’s law. Here the reconstruction of an old oxytonon may account for the unexpected absence of a laryngeal in the root, which can now be attributed to the Early Slavic loss of laryngeals in pretonic position. In view of Hirt’s law, which would have generated root stress, a reconstruction with a zero grade (**glh₁it-tó*) is preferable. The semantically different Lith. *glaištas* probably continues an old neuter, in which case *métatonie douce* is plausible.

See also: *glěńbъ; *glěńbъ; *glěvbъ; *glěvbъ; *glěva; *glina; *glъbъ

***gliva** f. ā (a) ‘fungus’

ESSJa VI 129-130

E Ru. *glíva* (dial.) ‘bergamot (kind of pear)’; Ukr. *hlíva* ‘bergamot (kind of pear), tree-fungus’

W Cz. *hlíva* ‘kind of mushroom, tumour’; Slk. *hlíva* ‘kind of mushroom, tumour’; Pl. *gliwa* (dial.) ‘kind of mushroom’

S ScR. *gljīva* ‘tree-fungus’; *gljīva* ‘gland, tonsil’; Sln. *glíva* ‘mushroom, tree-fungus’; Bulg. *glíva* (dial.) ‘small edible mushroom’

BSL. *glé?iwa?

B Lith. *glėivės* Npl. f. 1 ‘slime’; *glėivos* (dial.) Npl. f. ‘slime’; Latv. *glīve* f. ‘green slime on water, mire’

See also: *glěńbъ; *glěńbъ; *glěvbъ; *glěvbъ; *glěva; *glina; *glístъ; *glístà; *glъbъ

***globa** f. ā

ESSJa VI 131-133

E Ru. *globá* (Psk.) ‘cross-beam, pole’; *glóba* (dial.) ‘path’; Ukr. *hlobá* ‘curved tree, iron wedge, trouble, worry, burden’; *hlóba* (dial.) ‘fine, misfortune’

W OPl. *globa* ‘malice, anger’; LSrb. *globa* ‘value’

S ScR. *glōba* ‘fine’; Sln. *glóba* ‘fine’; Bulg. *glóba* ‘fine’

The etymology of **glob-* is unclear and so is the issue if we must distinguish more than one root.

See also: *globiti

***globati** v.

ESSJa VI 133-134

S ScR. *glòbati* ‘gnaw’; Sln. *glòbati* ‘excavate, gnaw’, 1sg. *glòbam*, 1sg. *glòbljem*

The root **glob-* has been connected with Gk. γλαφυρός ‘hollow, hollowed’, γλάφω (Hes.) ‘scrape up, dig up, hollow’, but this etymology seems doubtful to me. Note that for the meaning ‘excavate’ we must reckon with influence of *globòk* ‘deep’, cf. *globíti* ‘excavate’, *glòbsti* ‘excavate, carve’.

See also: *glabati; *glabiti

***globiti** v.

ESSJa VI 134

- E Ru. *globit'sja* (dial.) 'be greedy, (?) worry'; Ukr. *hlobýty* 'strengthen a shaft in a mill with wedges, caulk, insult'
- W Cz. *hlobiti* (Jg., Kott) 'strengthen, wedge'; *hlobit'* (dial.) 'beat, eat, ask'; Slk. *hlobit'* 'beat, knock down'; *hlobic* (dial.) 'wedge'; Pl. *głobić* (arch.) 'squeeze, oppress'; *głobić* (dial.) 'wedge, hoop'; Opl. *głobić* 'beg of, ask persistently'; *głobić się* 'be concerned for'; LSrb. *głobis* (arch.) 'give, offer'
- S SCr. *glòbiti* 'impose a fine'; Čak. *glòbiti* (Vrg.) 'impose a fine'; Sln. *globíti* 'impose a fine, pillage', 1sg. *globím*; Bulg. *globjá* 'impose a fine'

See also: *globa

***glògъ** m. o (b) 'hawthorn'

ESSJa VI 136-137

- E Ru. *glog* 'cornel'; Ukr. *hlih* 'hawthorn', Gsg. *hlóhu*
- W Cz. *hloh* 'hawthorn'; Slk. *hloh* 'hawthorn'; Pl. *głóg* 'hawthorn', Gsg. *głogu*
- S SCr. *glòg* 'hawthorn'; Sln. *glòg* 'hawthorn', Gsg. *glòga*; Bulg. *glog* 'hawthorn'
- PIE **glogh*-
- Cogn. Gk. γλώχης Npl. f. 'beard of corn'

For the Greek form, which is cognate with γλώσσα 'tongue, language', cf. Beekes 1969: 246.

***glota** f. ā

ESSJa VI 138-139

- E ORu. *glota* 'crowd'; Ukr. *hlotá* 'narrowness, throng'; *hlóta* 'narrowness, throng, family'
- S SCr. *glòta* 'the poor, family, crowd, weed (in corn), dust, litter'; Sln. *glòta* 'weed, darnel, *Brachypodium*, riff-raff'; *glóta* (arch.) 'crowd, *Brachypodium*' (the latter form occurs in the *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika*); Bulg. *glóta* 'dust, litter'; *glóta* (dial.) 'flock, crowd'

Etymology unclear. It seems completely unlikely that **glota* derives from **gel*- 'swell' and has anything to do with Go. *kilpei* 'womb' (pace Pokorny IEW: 358)

***glòbòkъ** adj. o 'deep'

ESSJa VI 141-142

- CS OCS *glòbokъ*
- E Ru. *glubókij*; *glubók*, f. *gluboká*, n. *glubokó*
- W Cz. *hluboký*; Slk. *hlboký*; Pl. *głęboki*
- S Sln. *globòk*

It is often assumed that the root of this adjective is connected with **gleubh*-, cf. Gk. γύφω 'cut out, engrave', but the presence of **ǝ* < **oN* (not **uN*) can hardly be accounted for. Note that Slk. *hlboký* seems to derive from *glòbòkъ*.

***glŭxъ** adj. o (c) ‘deaf’

- CS OCS *gluxъ* ‘deaf’
 E Ru. *gluxój* ‘deaf’
 W Cz. *hluchý* ‘deaf, (dial.) empty’; Slk. *hluchý* ‘deaf, empty, barren’; Pl. *gluchy* ‘deaf’
 S SCr. *glŭh* ‘deaf’, f. *glŭha*; Čak. *glŭh* (Vrg.) ‘deaf’, f. *glŭhã*, n. *glŭho*; *gljŭh* (Orb.) ‘deaf’, f. *gljŭhã*, f. *gljŭha*; Sln. *glŭh* ‘deaf, muted, quiet, empty’; Bulg. *glux* ‘deaf’
 BSl. **gl(o)ušos*
 B Lith. *glūšas* ‘dumb’

The Slavic and Baltic forms do not agree as far as the ablaut grade of the root is concerned. In Slavic, we find zero grade in → **glŭxnŭti*.

***glumiti** v.

ESSJa VI 148-149

- CS OCS *glumiti se* (Ril., Supr.) ‘be distracted, talk idly’, 1sg. *glumljŭ se*; RuCS *glumiti* ‘amuse’
 E Ru. *glumit’sja* ‘mock, desecrate’; ORu. *glumiti* ‘amuse’
 W Pl. *glumić* (dial.) ‘spoil, mock’
 S SCr. *glŭmiti* ‘play (on stage)’; Sln. *glŭmiti se* ‘joke’, 1sg. *glŭmim se*
 Cogn. OIc. *gleyma* ‘forget, make a merry noise’

Derivative of → **glumъ*, **gluma*.

***glumъ**; ***gluma** m. o; f. ā

ESSJa VI 147-148

- CS OCS *glumъ* (Ril., Supr.) m. ‘idle talk, mockery’; RuCS *glumъ* m. ‘noise, amusement’
 E Ru. *glum* (dial.) m. ‘stupidity, mockery, joke, noise’; ORu. *glumъ* m. ‘noise, amusement’; Ukr. *hlum* m. ‘mockery’
 W OCz. *hluma* f. ‘actor, comedian’; Pl. *glum* f. ‘mockery, torture, misfortune’
 S SCr. *glŭma* f. ‘joke, gaiety’; Sln. *glŭma* f. ‘joke, foolishness’; Bulg. *glŭma* f. ‘joke’

PIE **g^hlou-m-*

Cogn. OIc. *glaumr* m. ‘jubilation’, OE *glēam* m. ‘jubilation, joy’

See also: **glumiti*

***glupъ** adj. o ‘foolish, stupid’

ESSJa VI 151-152

- CS CS *glupъ*
 E Ru. *glŭpyj*; *glup*, f. *glupá*, n. *glŭpo* {1}
 W Cz. *hloupý*; Slk. *hlupý*; Pl. *glŭpi*; OPl. *glŭpy*; Sln. *glŭpi*
 S SCr. *glŭp*; Čak. *glŭp* (Orb.); Sln. *glŭp*

The connection with OIc. *glópr* m. ‘fool’ is uncertain.

{1} AP (b) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 136).

***gl̥xn̥q̥ti** v. ‘become deaf’ ESSJa VI 145

E Ru. *glóxnut* ‘(Dal)’ ‘become deaf, (sounds) subside’; ORu. *gl̥xnuti* ‘become deaf’

W OCz. *hlechnúti* ‘become deaf’

S Bulg. *gláxna* ‘fall silent’

Verb in *-n̥q̥ti* containing the zero grade of → *gl̥ux̥ǝ. A variant with full grade also exists, e.g. Slk. *hluchnúť*, Pl. *głuchnąć* ‘become deaf, (sounds) subside’.

***gl̥ɔtati** v. ‘swallow, devour’ ESSJa VI 157-158

E Ru. *glotát* ‘swallow’, 1sg. *glotájju*; ORu. *gl̥ɔtati* ‘swallow’

W Cz. *hltati* ‘swallow, devour’; Slk. *hltat* ‘swallow, devour’; Pl. *glutać* (dial.) ‘drink noisily’

S SCr. *gùtati* ‘devour’, 1sg. *gùtām*; Sln. *gòttáti* ‘swallow, devour, belch’, 1sg. *gòttām*; Bulg. *gǎltam* ‘swallow, devour’

PIE *glut-

Cogn. Lat. *gluttiō*, *glutiō* ‘devour’

***gl̥ɔj̥** m. jo ‘clay, loam’ ESSJa VI 162

E Ru. *glej* (dial.) ‘clay, loam’; Ukr. *hlej* ‘moist clay’

W Cz. *glej* (dial.) ‘clay, resin’; Slk. *glej* ‘clay’; Pl. *glej* ‘loam’

S SCr. *glěj* ‘kind of clay’

To be analyzed as *gl̥h₁i-o-, cf. MLG *klei* ‘clay’ < *klaija- (see also → *gl̥ěnb̥, *gl̥lina).

***gnestì** v. (c) ‘knead, press’ ESSJa VI 165-166

CS OCS *gnestì* ‘oppress, press, constrict’, 1sg. *gnetǫ*

E Ru. *gnestí* ‘oppress, weigh down’, 1sg. *gnetú*, 3sg. *gnetët*

W Cz. *hnísti* ‘press, knead, constrict’, 1sg. *gnětu*; Slk. *hniest’* ‘press, knead’; Pl. *gnieść* ‘press, squeeze’, 1sg. *gniotę*

S SCr. *gnjèsti* ‘knead, beat’, 1sg. *gnjètēm*; Sln. *gnèsti* ‘knead, press’, 1sg. *gnétem*; Bulg. *gnetá* ‘press, oppress’

PIE *gnet-

Cogn. OIc. *knoða* ‘knead’; OHG *knetan* ‘knead’; OE *cnedan* ‘knead’

***gněvb̥** m. o (a) ‘anger, wrath’ ESSJa VI 169-170

CS OCS *gněvb̥*

E Ru. *gnev*, Gsg. *gnéva* {1}

W Cz. *hněv*; Slk. *hnev*; Pl. *gniew*; USrb. *gněw*

S SCr. *gnjěv*; Sln. *gněv*, Gsg. *gnéva*; Bulg. *gnjav*

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 137).

Probably a derivative of → *gn̥iti. The root has o-grade.

***gnězdò** n. o (b) ‘nest’ ESSJa VI 171-173

- CS OCS *gnězdo*
 E Ru. *gnezdó*, Npl. *gnězda*; Ukr. *hnizdó*, Npl. *hnízda*
 W Cz. *hnízdo*; OCz. *hniezdo*; Slk. *hniezdo*; Pl. *gniazdo*; *gniázdo* (dial.); Sln. *gńáuzdò*
 S SCr. *gnijèzdo*, Npl. *gnijèzda*; Čak. *gńīzđò* (Vrg.), Npl. *gńīzđā*; *gnjīzlò* (Orb.), Npl. *gnjīzla*; Kajk. *gnīēzđè* (Bednja), Npl. *gnjīēzdo*; Sln. *gnězdo*; Bulg. *gnezdó*
 BSl. **nizdó*
 B Lith. *lizdas* m. 4; Latv. *ligzds* m.
 PIE **ni-sd-óm*
 Cogn. Skt. *nīḍá-* m./n. ‘resting-place abode, abode, (esp.) nest’; Lat. *nīdus* m. ‘nest’; OE *nest* n. ‘nest’

The Slavic and Baltic forms show different alterations of the anlaut. For Slavic, various words beginning with **gn-* have been designated as a model, e.g. → **gnōjb* ‘manure’. None of these suggestions carries immediate conviction.

***gṇida** f. ā (a) ‘nit’ ESSJa VI 173-174

- E Ru. *gnída*
 W Cz. *hnida*; Slk. *hnida*; Pl. *gnida*
 S SCr. *gnjīda*; Čak. *gńīda* (Vrg.); Sln. *gnída*; Bulg. *gnída*
 BSl. **gniřda?*
 B Lith. *glinda*; Latv. *gnīda*
 PIE **k/g/Hnid-*
 Cogn. Gk. *kovίς* f.; OE *hnitū* f.; OHG (*h*)*niz* f.; Arm. *anic* ‘louse’

The PIE form of the word for ‘nit’ cannot easily be reconstructed, as we seem to be dealing with distortion of the anlaut for taboo reasons.

***gṇilь** adj. o ‘rotten’ ESSJa VI 175-176

- E Ru. *gnilój* ‘rotten, damp’; *gnil* ‘rotten’ f. *gnilá*, n. *gnílo*
 W Cz. *hnilý*; Slk. *hnilý*; Pl. *gnily* (obs.)
 S SCr. *gnīo*; Čak. *gńī(l)* (Vrg.); *gnjīl* (Orb.); Sln. *gnīl*, f. *gníla*; Bulg. *gnil*

See → **gṇiti*. If the original accent paradigm was (c), the full grade **ǵ^hneiH-lo-* is preferable because this shape of the root would not have triggered Hirt’s law.

***gṇiti** v. (a) ‘rot’ ESSJa VI 176-177

- CS OCS *gnijōštii* (Euch.) Dsg. f. ptc. pres. act. ‘suppurating’
 E Ru. *gnit’*, 1sg. *gnijú*, 3sg. *gniēt*
 W Cz. *hníti*; Slk. *hniť*; Pl. *gnić*
 S SCr. *gnjīti*, 1sg. *gnjījēm*; Čak. *gńijāti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *gńijāš*; *gńít* (Vrg.), 3sg. *gńījen*; Čak. *gnjit* (Orb.), 3sg. *gnjijè*; Sln. *gníti*, 1sg. *gnijem*; Bulg. *gníja*

PIE *ǵʰn(e)iH-
Cogn. OHG *gnītan* ‘grind’; OE *gnidan* ‘grind’

See also: *gnīlъ; *gnōjъ

***gnōjъ** m. jo (c) ‘pus, manure’ ESSJa VI 175-176

CS OCS *gnoi* ‘manure, mould, ulcer, suppurating wound’

E Ru. *gnoj* ‘pus’, Gsg. *gnoja*

W Cz. *hnuj* ‘manure’, Gsg. *hnoje*; Slk. *hnoj* ‘manure’; Pl. *gnój* ‘manure’, Gsg. *gnaju*

S SCr. *gnōj* ‘pus, manure’, Gsg. *gnōja*; Čak. *gnōj* (Vrg.) ‘pus, manure’, Gsg. *gnōja*; gnⁿōj (Orb.) ‘dung’, Gsg. *gnōja*; Sln. *gnōj* ‘pus, manure’, Gsg. *gnojā*; Bulg. *gnoj* ‘pus’

PIE *ǵʰnoiH-

See also: *gnīlъ; *gnīti

***gnōsъnъ** adj. o ESSJa VI 184-185

CS OCS *gnōsъnъ* (Supr.) ‘vile, repulsive’

See also: *gnōšati; *gnusiti; *gnusъnъ; *gnušati; *gnъsъ

***gnōšati** v. ESSJa VI 182

CS OCS *gnōšati se* (Supr.) ‘be filled with aversion, abhor’, 1sg. *gnōšō* {1}

{1} The form *gnōšaaše se* 3sg. impf. ‘were filled with aversion’ could also belong to a verb *gnōsiti se*.

See also: *gnōsъnъ; *gnusiti; *gnusъnъ; *gnušati; *gnъsъ

***gnusiti** v. ESSJa VI 182

E Ru. *gnusit*’ (dial.) ‘abhor’

W Cz. *hnusiti* ‘oppress, fill with disgust’; Slk. *hnusit* ‘make dirty, repulsive’; Pl. *gnusić się* (dial.) ‘dawdle, loiter’; OPl. *gnusić* ‘be slow’

S SCr. *gnūsiti* ‘make dirty, repulsive’; Sln. *gnūsiti* ‘make repulsive, defile, loathe’, 1sg. *gnūsīm*; Bulg. *gnusjā se* ‘loathe’

See also: *gnōsъnъ; *gnōšati; *gnusъnъ; *gnušati; *gnъsъ

***gnūsъ** m. o (c) ESSJa VI 183-184

E Ru. *gnus* ‘vermin’

W Cz. *hnus* ‘aversion, filth’; OCz. *hnus* ‘pus, manure, filth’; Slk. *hnus* ‘aversion’; OPl. *gnus* ‘weak, slow person’

S SCr. *gnūs* ‘filth’; Čak. *gnjūs* (Orb.) ‘dirty fellow, swindler’; Sln. *gnūs* ‘aversion, disgust, abomination, stain, vermin’

Etymology unclear. The comparison with OIc. *gnúa* ‘rub’ and Gk. χνάω ‘nibble’ seems chiefly based on the formal resemblance. There are Old Church Slavic forms that seem to have secondary nasalization. See also → **gnvsṽ*.

***gnusъnъ** adj. o ‘vile, repulsive’ ESSJa VI 184-185

- CS OCS *gnusъnъ* (Supr.) ‘vile, repulsive’
 E Ru. *gnúsnýj* ‘vile’
 W Cz. *hnusný* ‘vile, repulsive’; Slk. *hnusný* ‘vile, repulsive’; Pl. *gnusny* ‘slow, inert’
 S SCr. *gnûsan* ‘loathsome, filthy’; *gnúsan* ‘loathsome, filthy’; Čak. *gnjûsan* (Orb.) ‘filthy, squalid’, f. *gnjûsna*, f. *gnjûsnâ*, n. *gnjûsno*; Sln. *gnúsən* ‘disgusting’; Bulg. *gnúsǎn* ‘disgusting, repulsive’

See also: *gnovъnъ; *gnovšati; *gnusiti; *gnušati; *gnъsṽ

***gnušati** v. ESSJa VI 182

- CS OCS *gnušati se* (Supr.) ‘be filled with aversion, abhor’, 1sg. *gnušǫ*

See also: *gnovъnъ; *gnovšati; *gnusiti; *gnusъnъ; *gnъsṽ

***gnъsṽ** f. i ESSJa VI 183-184

- CS OCS *gnesъ* (Euch.) Asg. f.(i) ‘dirt, pus’; RuCS *gnъsṽ* f.(i) ‘vileness, crime’; *gnesъ* f.(i) ‘vileness, crime’
 E ORu. *gnъsṽ* f.(i) ‘vileness, crime’; *gnesъ* f.(i) ‘vileness, crime’
 B Lith. *gniūsas* m. ‘parasite’

The ESSJa holds that the forms mentioned above reflect a late variant **gn’usṽ* rather than an original *e*-grade **gneus*. In neither case would I expect a development **u* > **ṽ*. In order to get the desired reflex we must posit a comparatively early form **gnjus-*. Here the **j* could have been adopted from **gnjous-* < **gneus-*, but there is no evidence for variants with an *e*-grade. Lith. *gniūsas* is probably a borrowing from Belorussian (thus Skardžius 1931: 76), though one may call it suspect that this is precisely the language that has forms containing a sequence *hnju*, e.g. *hnjus* ‘bastard, miser’.

See also: *gnovъnъ; *gnovšati; *gnusiti; *gnusъnъ; *gnušati

***gobino** n. o ‘abundance’ ESSJa VI 185

- CS OCS *gobině* (Supr.) Lsg. ‘abundance’; RuCS *gobino* ‘abundance’
 E ORu. *gobino* ‘abundance’
 S SCr. *gobino* ‘spelt’

This word is generally considered a borrowing from Germanic, cf. Go. *gabei* f. ‘wealth’, *gabeigs* ‘wealthy’.

See also: *gobъzṽ

***gobъzъ** adj. o 'abundant'

ESSJa VI 186

CS RuCS *gobъzъ* 'abundant, productive'; *gobъzyi* 'abundant, wealthy' {1}

E ORU. *gobъzъ* 'abundant, productive'; *gobъzyi* 'abundant, wealthy'

See → **gobъzъ*.

{1} Cf. OCS *gobedzie* (Euch.) Asg. n. 'abundance', *gobъzjęštiě* (Ps. Sin.) Nsg. f. ptc. pres. act. 'fruitful'.

***godina** f. ā

ESSJa VI 187-188

CS OCS *godina* 'time, suitable time, hour'

E Ru. *godína* 'time, period, (arch.) year'

W Cz. *hodina* 'hour'; Slk. *hodina* 'hour'; Pl. *godzina* 'hour'

S SCr. *gōdina* 'year, (Dubr.) weather, (Cr.) rain'; Čak. *gōdina* (Vrg.) 'year'; *gōdina* (Novi) 'year'; Sln. *gōdina* 'year, name-day, rain'; Bulg. *godína* 'year, age'

Derivative of → **godъ*.

***goditi** v. (c) 'please'

ESSJa VI 188-190

CS OCS *godę* (Supr.) Nsg. m. ptc. pres. act. 'pleasing'; CS *goditi* 'please, satisfy'

E Ru. *godít* 'wait, loiter', 1sg. *gožú*, 3sg. *godít*; *godít'sja* 'be suited', 1sg. *gožús*, 3sg. *godítsja*

W Cz. *hoditi* 'throw'; *hoditi se* 'throw at one another, suit, agree'; Pl. *godzić* 'reconcile, unite, heal'; *godzić się* 'agree, succeed'

S SCr. *gòditi* 'please', 1sg. *gòdím*; Čak. *godīt* (Orb.) 'please'; Sln. *godíti* 'rear, please', *godím*; *godíti se* 'succeed, take place'

BSL. **gad-*

B Latv. *gadītiēs* 'happen'

PIE **g^hod^{h-}*

See → **godъ*.

***gōdъ** m. o 'right time'

ESSJa VI 191-192

CS OCS *godъ* 'time, suitable time, holiday, year'

E Ru. *god* 'year', Gsg. *góda*

W Cz. *hod* 'religious holiday'; *hody* Npl. 'feast'; Pl. *gody* Npl. 'feast'

S SCr. *gōd* 'important holiday, year, right time'; Čak. *gōd* (Vrg.) 'name day, memorial day, anniversary'; *g^uōt* (Orb.) 'holiday, special event (?)'; Sln. *gōd* 'right time, moment, maturity', Gsg. *gōda*, Gsg. *godû*

BSL. **godos*; **gōdos*

B Lith. *guōdas* 'honour, worship, hospitality'; Latv. *gūods* 'honour, banquet, wedding'

PIE **g^hod^{h-}o-*

Cogn. Go. *gops* 'good'; OHG *guot* 'good' (with *ō)

See also: *godina; *goditi; *godъnъ; *negodovati

***godъnъ** adj. o 'suitable'

ESSJa VI 191-192

- CS CS *godbnъ* 'convenient, suitable, timely'
 E Ru. *gódnyj* 'suitable, valid'; *góden* 'suitable, valid', f. *godná*, n. *gódno*
 W Cz. *hodný* 'suitable, worthy, quiet, obedient (child)'; Slk. *hodný* 'big enough, good, suitable, worthy, quiet, obedient (child)'; Pl. *godny* 'worthy, suitable, (arch.) big'
 S SCr. *gōdan* 'suitable, able'; Sln. *gódan* 'ripe, early'; Bulg. *góden* 'suitable, able'

See also: *godina; *goditi; *godъ; *negodovati

***gojiti** v. 'treat, heal'

ESSJa VI 195-197

- E Ru. *góit* (dial.) 'clean thoroughly, take care of, feed well, heal'; *góit'sja* (Smol.) 'heal'; ORu. *goiti* 'give live to, animate'; Ukr. *hójity* 'heal'
 W Cz. *hojiti* 'treat, heal'; OCz. *hojiti sě* 'breed'; Pl. *goić* 'treat, heal'; Sln. *gūejĭc* 'treat, heal'; USrb. *hójíc* 'heal'; LSrb. *gójś* 'heal'
 S SCr. *gōjiti* 'fatten, foster, raise', 1sg. *gōjīm*; Čak. *gojĭti* (Vrg.) 'fatten, foster, raise', 1sg. *gojīm*; Sln. *gojiti* 'foster, feed', 1sg. *gojīm*; Bulg. *gojá* 'fatten'

PIE *g^wh₃oi-eie- (g^woih₃-eie-?)

Apparently, we are dealing with a causative of the PIE root for 'live', which in this framework is reconstructed as *g^weh₃i-. A root *g^woh₃i- would not yield the attested forms, however. The causative may have been based on the metathesized root *g^wih₃-, in which case we must reconstruct *g^woih₃-eie-. Another possibility is *g^wh₃oi-eie-

See also: *gōjъ; *žiti; *žito; *živica; *životъ; *živъ

***gōjъ** m. jo (c)

ESSJa VI 197

- E ORu. *goi* 'peace, friendship'
 W Cz. *hoj* (obs.) '(1599) medicine, (Kott) abundance, wealth'; OCz. *hoj* 'abundance'; Slk. *hoj* (poet.) 'abundance'
 S SCr. *gōj* 'peace', Gsg. *gōja*; Sln. *gōj* m.(jo) 'care, cultivation', Gsg. *gōja*; *gōja* f.(jā) 'care, cultivation'

BSl. **goj-o-*

B Lith. *gajūs* 4 'vigorous'

PIE *g^wh₃oi-o-?

Cogn. Skt. *gāya-* m. 'house, household, family, property'

See also: *gojiti; *žiti; *žito; *živica; *životъ; *živъ

***gōldъ** m. o (c) 'hunger'

ESSJa VI 199-200

- CS OCS *gladъ*
 E Ru. *gólod*
 W Cz. *hlad*; Slk. *hlad*; Pl. *głód*, Gsg. *głodu*; USrb. *hlód*, Gsg. *hlodu*, Gsg. *hloda*

- S SCr. *glâd* f.(i) ‘hunger, craving’; *glâd* (NW dial.) ‘hunger, craving’; Čak. *glâd* (Vrg.) ‘hunger, craving’; Gsg. *glâda*; *glâd* (Novi) ‘hunger, craving’; *glât* (Orb.), Gsg. *glâda*; Sln. *glâd*, Gsg. *glâda*, Gsg. *gladû*; Bulg. *glad*

Cogn. Skt. *gr̥dhyati* ‘be greedy’

A masculine *o*-stem **gʷoldʰ-o-* from the verbal root attested in → **žvlděti*.

***golěmъ** adj. o ‘big’ ESSJa VI 202-204

- CS CS *golěmo* adv. ‘much’; RuCS *golěmyi* ‘big, high’
 E Ru. *goljamyj* ‘tall and thin’; ORu. *golěmyi* ‘big, high’
 W OCz. *holemý* ‘big’; Pl. *golemy* ‘huge’
 S SCr. *gòlem* ‘big, huge’; Bulg. *goljám* ‘big, strong’; Mcd. *golem* ‘big’

The root of this adjective may be identified with the root of Lith. *galėti* ‘be able’ and W *gallu* ‘id.’, which is best reconstructed as **gal(H)*, with a “European” *a*.

***golěň** f. i ‘shin’ ESSJa VI 201-202

- CS OCS *golěň* ‘shin’
 E Ru. *gólen* ‘shin’
 W Cz. *holeň* ‘shin’; OCz. *holeň* ‘shin’; Slk. *holeň* ‘shin (of animals), leg (of a boot)’; Pl. *goleń* ‘shin’
 S SCr. *gòlijen* ‘shin’; Sln. *golęn* ‘shin’

See → **gòľ*.

***golgolati** v. ‘speak’ ESSJa VI 204

- CS OCS *glagolati* ‘speak’, 1sg. *glagoljǫ*
 W Cz. *hlaholati* (Kott) ‘make a noise, talk’ (Modern Standard Czech *hlaholiti*)
 S SCr. *glagòlati* ‘speak, tell’

Denominative verb. See → **golgolъ*.

***golgolъ** m. o ‘speech, word’ ESSJa VI 205

- CS OCS *glagolъ* ‘word, speech, event’
 W Cz. *hlahol* ‘noise, singing, (arch.) speech’
 S SCr. *glágolj* (arch.) m.(jo) ‘speech’; *glāgolj* (arch.) m.(jo) ‘speech’; Sln. *glāgol* ‘verb’

Cogn. W *galw* ‘call’

Noun with intensive reduplication of the root **gol-* < **gal-* (→ **gòľsъ*).

***golota** f. ā ‘nakedness’ ESSJa VI 213-214

- E Ru. *golotá* (dial.) ‘the poor’
 W Cz. *holota* ‘the poor, nakedness’; Slk. *holota* ‘emptiness, poverty, nakedness’; Pl. *golota* (obs.) ‘nakedness’

S SCr. *golōta* ‘nakedness’; Sln. *golōta* ‘nakedness’; Bulg. *golotá* ‘nakedness’

PIE **golH-*

Abstract noun in *-*ota*. See → **gǝlʲ*.

***golotʲ** f. i ‘thin layer of ice’

ESSJa VI 214-215

CS MBulg. *golotʲ* ‘ice, ice-crystal(s), hail’; CroatCS *golotʲ* ‘id.’; RuCS *golotʲ* ‘ice’; *golʲotʲ* ‘ice’

E Ru. *gólótʲ* ‘thin layer of ice on frozen earth’; ORu. *golʲotʲ* ‘ice’; *golotʲ* ‘ice’

W Cz. *holotʲ*, *holot* (Jg.) ‘ice-covered ground’; *holetʲ* (dial.) ‘hoar-frost, ice-covered ground’; Gsg. *holtʲi*; OCz. *holetʲ* ‘hoar-frost’; Gsg. *holtʲi*

S Sln. *golot* m.(o) ‘crystal’

B Latv. *gāle* f.(ē) ‘thin crust of ice, remnants of ice on the road after the snow has gone’

The ESSJa adheres to the view that **golotʲ* is cognate with → **gǝlʲ* ‘naked’ (cf. Berneker SEW I: 322). Seemingly more straightforward from a semantic point of view is the link with forms such as Lat. *gelū* ‘ice’, which derives from **gel-* or **ǵel-* ‘freeze’. On the other hand, it is a fact that there are compounds referring to ‘ice’ that contain the adjective **gǝlʲ*, e.g. Ru. *gololédica*, Pl. *golomróz*. Furthermore, the etymology that starts from the root ‘freeze’ would give rise to the question of the relationship between the initial velars of **golotʲ* and → **xǝldʲ*.

***golǝbʲ** adj. o ‘blue’

ESSJa VI 217

E Ru. *golubój* ‘pale blue’

W OPl. *gołęby* ‘greyish, ashy, blue-grey, dove-coloured (of horses)’

S SCr. *golúbijī* ‘dove-(coloured), blue-grey’; Sln. *golǝbji* ‘dove-’

B Lith. *gelumbė* f.(ė) ‘blue cloth’

OPr. *golimban* ‘blue’

Colour adjective deriving from the word for ‘dove’ (→ **gǝlǝbʲ*).

***gǝlǝbʲ** m. i (c) ‘pigeon, dove’

ESSJa VI 215-217

CS OCS *golǝbʲ* m.(i) ‘pigeon, dove’

E Ru. *gólubʲ* m.(jo) ‘pigeon, dove’

W Cz. *holub* m.(o) ‘pigeon, dove’; Slk. *holub* m.(o) ‘pigeon, dove’; Pl. *gołąb* m.(jo) ‘pigeon, dove’; Gsg. *gołębia*

S SCr. *gǝlūb* m.(o) ‘pigeon, dove’; Čak. *gǝlūb* (Vrg.) m.(o) ‘pigeon, dove’; *gǝlūb* (Novi) m.(o) ‘pigeon, dove’; *gǝlop* (Orb.) m.(o) ‘pigeon’; Sln. *golǝb* m.(o) ‘(male) pigeon, dove’

The suffix *-(V)*mbʰ-* is frequent in bird-names, but the origin of the root is unclear. The well-nigh inescapable connection with Lat. *columba* is impossible within an Indo-European frame-work.

See also: *golǫbъ

***gòlsъ** m. o (c) ‘voice’

ESSJa VI 219-220

CS OCS *glasъ* ‘voice’

E Ru. *gólos* ‘voice’

W Cz. *hlas* ‘voice’; Slk. *hlas* ‘voice’; Pl. *głos* ‘voice’; USrb. *hlós* ‘voice’, Gsg. *hlósa*

S SCr. *glás* ‘voice’, Gsg. *glâsa*; Čak. *glâs* (Vrg.) ‘voice’, Gsg. *glâsa*; *glâs* (Novi, Orb.) ‘voice’, Gsg. *glâsa*; Sln. *glâs* ‘voice, news, knowledge’, Gsg. *glâsa*, Gsg. *glasû*; Bulg. *glas* ‘voice’

BSL. **golsos*

B Lith. *galsas* (Mik.) ‘sound, echo’

The root is probably best reconstructed with “European” *a. PSl. **gòlsъ* may reflect **gal-so-*.

Cogn. Lat. *gallus* m. ‘cock’; OIc. *kalls* n. ‘demand’; W *galw* ‘call’

See also: **golgolati*; **golgolъ*

***golvà** f. ā (c) ‘head’

ESSJa VI 221-222

CS OCS *glava* ‘head, chapter’

E Ru. *golová*, Asg. *gólovu*

W Cz. *hlava*; Pl. *głowa*; USrb. *hłowa*

S SCr. *gláva*, Asg. *glâvu*; Čak. *glâvâ* (Vrg.), Asg. *glâvu*; *glâvâ* (Orb.) ‘head (also head of cattle, head of cabbage)’, Asg. *glâvo*; Sln. *gláva*; Bulg. *glavá*

BSL. **golʔwáʔ*

B Lith. *galvà* 3; Latv. *galva*

OPr. *gallū* (Ench.); *galwo* (EV)

PIE **golH-u-eh₂*

Cogn. Lat. *calva* f. ‘skull’

I consider it plausible that **golvà* is cognate with → **gòlъ* ‘bald’, where the *g- seems to have replaced *k-.

***gòlъ** adj. o (b) ‘naked’

ESSJa VII 14-15

CS OCS *golъ* (Supr.)

E Ru. *gólyj*; *gól*, f. *golá*, n. *gólo* {1}

W Cz. *holý*; Slk. *holý*; Pl. *goły*

S SCr. *gô(l)*, f. *gòla*; Čak. *gō* (Vrg.), f. *golă*, n. *golō*; *g^uōl* (Orb.), f. *golă*, n. *golō*; Sln. *gòl*, f. *gòla*; Bulg. *gol*

PIE **golH-o-*

Cogn. OHG *kalo* ‘bald’, Gsg. *kal(a)wes*; OE *calu* ‘bald’, Gsg. *calwes*

In spite of the incompatibility of the initial consonants (*g : *k), it is tempting to connect the (Balto-)Slavic and the Germanic forms with Lat. *calvus* ‘bald’ and Skt. *kulva-* ‘bald, thin-haired’.

{1} AP (b) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 136).

See also: *golěny; *golota; *goloty; *golvà

***gomola; *gomola; *gomula** f. ā; f. jā; f. ā ‘lump’

ESSJa VII 18-19

- CS RuCS *gomola; gomula*
 E ORu. *gomola; gomula*
 W Cz. *homole* ‘cone’; Pl. *gomóla*
 S SCr. *gòmolja* ‘pile (of cheese)’; Sln. *gomóla* ‘barren ground, waste ground, fat clay’; *gomólja* ‘lump’
 BSl. **gomolos; *gomulos*
 B Lith. *gāmalas* m. ‘lump, chunk’; *gāmulas* m. ‘lump, chunk’

Etymology unclear.

See also: *žęti

***gonęti** v. ‘suffice’

ESSJa VII 22

- CS OCS *gonęti* ‘suffice’, 1sg. *gonęję*; RuCS *gonęti* ‘suffice’
 BSl. **gon-eł-*
 B Lith. *ganęti* ‘suffice’
 PIE **g^{wh}on-*
 Cogn. Gk. εὐθενής adj. ‘in abundance’

***goniti** v. (b) ‘chase, persecute’

ESSJa VII 23

- CS OCS *goniti* ‘chase, persecute’, 1sg. *gonję*
 E Ru. *gonit’* (dial.) ‘persecute’; ORu. *goniti* ‘chase, hunt, persecute’ {1}
 W Cz. *honiti* ‘chase, hunt, persecute’; Slk. *honit’* ‘chase, hunt, persecute’; Pl. *gonić* ‘chase, hunt, persecute’
 S SCr. *gòniti* ‘chase, persecute’, 1sg. *gònim*; Čak. *goniti* (Vrg.) ‘chase, persecute’, 2sg. *gòniš*; *gonit* (Orb.) ‘drive, chase’, 1sg. *gònin*; Sln. *góniti* ‘drive repeatedly’, 1sg. *gónim*; Bulg. *gónja* ‘chase, hunt, persecute’
 BSl. **gon-ei/i-*
 B Lith. *ganýti* ‘graze, pasture’
 PIE **g^{wh}on-*
 Cogn. Skt. *hánti* ‘strike, slay’; Gk. θείω ‘kill’

{1} AP (b) according to Zaliznjak (1985: 137).

See also: *gъnati

***gorà** f. ā (c) ‘mountain’

ESSJa VII 29-31

- CS OCS *gora* ‘mountain’
 E Ru. *gorá* ‘mountain’, Asg. *góru*
 W Cz. *hora* ‘mountain’; *hůra* (dial.) ‘mountain’; Slk. *hora* ‘(wooded) mountain’; Pl. *góra* ‘mountain’; USrb. *hora* ‘mountain’

S SCr. *gòra* ‘mountain, (dial.) wood’; Asg. *gòru*; Čak. *gorà* (Vrg.) ‘mountain’, Asg. *gòru*; *gorà* (Novi) ‘mountain’, Asg. *gòru*; *gorà* (Orb.) ‘mountain’, Asg. *gòrò*, Asg. *gòro*; Sln. *góra* ‘mountain, woods (on a mountain)’; Bulg. *gorá* ‘woods’

BSl. **gor-/gir-*

B Lith. *girià* f.(jā) ‘woods’

Cogn. Skt. *girí-* m. ‘mountain, hill’

Derivative with *o*-grade of the root **g^wrH-*.

***górdjъ; *górdja** m. jo; f. jā (b) ‘fence’ ESSJa VII 36-37

CS OCS *graždъ* (Supr.) Asg. m.(jo) ‘stable’

E Ru. *goróža* f.(jā) ‘fence, palisade’

W Cz. *hráz* f.(jā) ‘dike, dam’; OCz. *hrázě* f.(jā) ‘pisé wall, garden fence, dam’; Slk. *hrádza* f.(jā) ‘dam, weir, embankment, ditch’; Pl. *grodza* f. ‘pisé wall, enclosure’

S SCr. *grāda* f.(jā) ‘building material, (dial.) fence’; Čak. *grāja* (Orb.) f.(jā) ‘thornbush (at the roadside), thorny branches (used by way of fence)’; Sln. *grája* f.(jā) ‘fence, weir, building’

Cogn. Skt. *grhá-* m. ‘house, residence’; Go. *gards* m. ‘house’

A derivative of → **gōrdъ*.

***gōrdъ** m. o (c) ‘fortification, town’ ESSJa VII 37-38

CS OCS *gradъ* ‘wall, town, city, garden’

E Ru. *górod* ‘town, city’, Gsg. *góroda*; Bel. *hórad* ‘town, city’, Gsg. *hórada*; Ukr. *hórod* ‘town, city’, Gsg. *hóroda*

W Cz. *hrad* ‘fortress, castle’; Slk. *hrad* ‘castle’; Pl. *gród* ‘fortress, castle, (arch.) city’, Gsg. *grodu*; USrb. *hród* ‘castle’, Gsg. *hrodu*, Gsg. *hroda*

S SCr. *grād* ‘city, fortress, castle’, Gsg. *grāda*; Čak. *grād* (Vrg.) ‘city’, Gsg. *grāda*; Sln. *grād* ‘city, fortress, castle’, Gsg. *grāda*, Gsg. *gradú*; Bulg. *grad* ‘city, fortress’

BSl. **gordos*

B Lith. *gārdas* ‘fence, enclosure, stall’

PIE **g^hord^h-o-*

Cogn. Skt. *grhá-* m. ‘house, residence’; Go. *gards* m. ‘house’

See also: **gordjъ*; **gordja*

***gorēti** v. ‘burn’ ESSJa VII 42-43

CS OCS *gorēti*, 1sg. *gorjō*, 2sg. *goriši*

E Ru. *gorét*’, 1sg. *gorjú*, 3sg. *gorít*

W Cz. *horēti*; Slk. *horiet*’; Pl. *gorzec*

S SCr. *gòrjeti*, 1sg. *gòrīm*; Čak. *gorīti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *goriš*; *gorèt* (Orb.), 3sg. *gorī*; Sln. *gorēti*, 1sg. *gorīm*; Bulg. *gorjá*

BSL. **gor-ei/i-*

B Lith. *garėti* ‘evaporate, breathe out’

PIE **g^{wh}or-*

Cogn. Skt. *ghṛṇá-* m. ‘heat, glow’; Gk. θερμός adj. ‘warm’

See also: *goṛъjъ; *gorъkъ; *goṛe; *grě(ja)ti; *gъrnidlo; *gъrnъ; *gъrno; *žarъ; *žeravъ

***gòrxъ** m. o (a) ‘pea, peas’ ESSJa VII 45

E Ru. *goróx*

W Cz. *hrách*; Slk. *hrach*; Pl. *groch*; Sln. *grúøx*; USrb. *hroch*; *hróch* (dial.); LSrb. *groch*

S SCr. *grāh* ‘pea, bean’; Sln. *grāh* ‘pea, bean’; Bulg. *grax*

BSL. **gorš-*

B Lith. *garšvā* f.; *gařsas* m. ‘Aegopodium podagraria’; Latv. *gāřsa* f. ‘Aegopodium podagraria’

***gõre** n. jo (c) ‘grief, woe’ ESSJa VII 40-41

CS OCS *gorje* ‘woe’

E Ru. *góre* ‘grief, woe, misfortune’

W Cz. *hoře* ‘grief, woe’; Pl. *gorze* (arch.) ‘grief, woe, misfortune’; LSrb. *góre* ‘grief, woe, irritation, anger’

S Sln. *gorjě* ‘woe’

For the etymology, see → *gorēti*.

***goṛъjъ** adj. jo ‘worse’ ESSJa VII 54-55

CS OCS *goṛii* ‘worse, worst’, f. *gorъši*, n. *gorje*

W Cz. *horší* ‘worse’; *hůře* adv. ‘worse’; OCz. *hoří* ‘worse’; *hóře* adv. ‘worse’; Pl. *gorszy* adj. ‘worse’; *gorzej* adv. ‘worse’

S SCr. *gõri* ‘worse, worst’; Čak. *gõri* (Vrg.) ‘worse, worst’; Sln. *gõrji* ‘worse, more impressive’; *gõrši* ‘worse, more impressive, nicer’

Vaillant (1929: 6) has compared **goṛъjъ* to Skt. *gáṛiyas-*, the comparative of *guru-* ‘heavy’ < **g^wrh₂-ú-*. I see no formal objections to deriving **goṛъjъ* from **g^worh₂-*, but consider it more likely that we have to seek a connection with → **gõre*, etc.

***gornъ; *gorno** m. o; n o ESSJa VII 49

CS OCS *granъ* (Euch.) Asg. m. ‘verse, line’ (spelled *grannъ*); CS *granъ* m. ‘verse, line’; *grano* n.(s) ‘verse, line’

W Cz. *hrany* ‘death bell’ Npl. m.; Slk. *hrana* Npl. n. ‘death bell’; USrb. *hrono* n. ‘phrase, pause, pulse’; LSrb. *grono* n. ‘speech, talk, story’

PIE **g^worH-no-*

Cogn. Skt. *gṛṇāti* ‘praise, honour’

A derivative in *-no- from the root of → *žbrti.

*горѣкъ adj. o (c) ‘bitter’

ESSJa VII 55-56

CS OCS *gorѣkъ*

E Ru. *gór’kyj*; *górek*, f. *gor’ká*, n. *gór’ko*

W Cz. *hořký*; Slk. *horký*; Pl. *gorzki*

S SCr. *górak*, f. *górka*; Čak. *gòrak* (Vrg.), f. *gòrkà*, n. *gòrko*; Sl. *górak* ‘warm, bitter’, f. *górka*; Bulg. *górāk*

For the etymology, see → *gorěti.

*gospodinъ m. o ‘lord, master’

ESSJa VII 61-63

CS OCS *gospodinъ* ‘lord, master’

E Ru. *gospodín* ‘master, gentleman’

W OCz. *hospodin* ‘the Lord’; Slk. *hospodin* ‘the Lord’; Pl. *gospodzin* (arch.) ‘master’

S SCr. *gospòdin* ‘master’; Čak. *gospodín* (Vrg.) ‘master’; *gospodín* (Novi) ‘master’; *gospodín* (Orb.) ‘sir (in particular when addressing a priest)’; Sl. *gospodín* ‘master’; Bulg. *gospodín* ‘master’

See → *gospodъ.

*gospodъ m. i ‘lord, master’

ESSJa VII 61-63

CS OCS *gospodъ* m.(i) ‘lord, master’

E Ru. *gospód’* m.(o) ‘the Lord, God’; Gsg. *góspoda*; Ukr. *hospód’* m.(o) ‘the Lord, God’; Gsg. *hóspoda*; *hóspid’* m.(o) ‘the Lord, God’; Gsg. *hóspoda*

W OCz. *hospod* m.(i) ‘the Lord, god’; Pl. *gospód* (dial.) m.(o) ‘lord, master’

S SCr. *gòspòd* m.(i) ‘the Lord’; Sl. *gospòd* m.(o) ‘lord, master’; Bulg. *góspod* m.(i) ‘the Lord’

PIE *g^host(i)-pot-

Cogn. Lat. *hospes* m. ‘host’

To my knowledge, there is no convincing explanation for the problem that the Proto-Slavic etymon has a *d. According to Ernout-Meillet (529), the variation between *pot- and *pod- is old, cf. Gk. δεσπότης ‘be master’, but in view of Winter’s law this explanation does not work for Slavic.

See also: *gospodinъ; *gōstъ

*gōstъ m. i (c) ‘guest’

ESSJa VII 67-68

CS OCS *gostemъ* (Supr.) Dpl. m.(i)

E Ru. *gost’* m.(i); Ukr. *hist* m.(jo), Gsg. *hóstja*

W Cz. *host* m.(o); Slk. *host’* m.(jo); Pl. *gość* m.(jo)

S SCr. *gōst* m.(o), Gsg. *gōsta*; Sl. *gōst*, Gsg. *gostú*, Gsg. *góstja*; Bulg. *gost* m.(i)

PIE *g^host-i-

Cogn. Lat. *hostis* m. 'enemy, (OLat.) stranger'; Go. *gasts* m. 'guest'

See also: *gospodinǫ; *gospodǫ

***gověti** v.

ESSJa VII 72-73

CS OCS *gověti* (Supr.) 'live a God-fearing life'

E Ru. *govět'* 'fast'

W Cz. *hověti* 'satisfy, show indulgence'; Slk. *hoviet'* 'favour, satisfy, show indulgence'

S SCr. *gòvjeti* 'attend to, respect, please'; Bulg. *govéja* 'fast, be silent (respectfully)'

PIE *g^wh₃ou-

Cogn. Lat. *favēre* 'favour'

Lith. *govėti* and Latv. *gavēt* 'fast' are borrowings from East Slavic.

***govědo** n. o (a) 'head of cattle'

ESSJa VII 74-75

E Ru. *govjádó* (dial.) 'head of cattle'

W Cz. *hovádo* 'head of cattle, cattle'; Slk. *hovädo* 'head of cattle, cattle'

S SCr. *gòvedo* 'head of cattle'; Čak. *govědo* (Orb.) 'head of cattle (cow, ox, bull)'; Sln. *govědo* 'head of cattle'; Bulg. *govédo* 'head of cattle'

B Latv. *gùovs* f.(i) 'cow'

PIE *g^wh₃-eu-

The root *gov- reflects *g^wh₃-eu-. The suffix is reminiscent of → *agnē, -ēt-, but it is unclear why we find *-do- instead of *-t-.

***govoriti** v. 'speak, talk'

ESSJa VII 75-76

CS OCS *govoriti* (Supr.) 'make noise, chatter' (only *govori* imper. and *govorěstemǫ* Dpl. m. ptc. pres. act.)

E Ru. *govorit'* 'speak, talk', 1sg. *govorjú*, 3sg. *govorit'*

W Cz. *hovorití* 'speak, talk'; Slk. *hovorit'* 'speak, talk'; OPl. *goworzyc'* 'speak, talk'

S SCr. *gòvriti* 'speak, talk', 1sg. *gòvorim*; Čak. *govorití* (Vrg.) 'speak, talk', 2sg. *govoríš*; *govorit* (Orb.) 'speak, talk, say', 1sg. *govörin*; Sln. *govoriti* 'speak, talk', 1sg. *govorím*; Bulg. *govórja* 'speak, talk, say'

See → *gǫvorǫ.

***gǫvorǫ** m. o 'talk'

ESSJa VII 76-77

CS OCS *govorǫ* 'noise, shout, rumour, murmur'

E Ru. *góvor* 'sound of voices, talk'

W Cz. *hovor* 'conversation, talk'; Slk. *hovor* 'conversation, talk'; Pl. *gowor* (arch.) 'speech, conversation, talk'

S SCr. *gōvōr* ‘speech, dialect’; Čak. *gōvor* (Vrg., Orb.) ‘speech, dialect’; Sln. *gōvor* ‘speech, talk’; Bulg. *gōvor* ‘speech, talk, dialect’

PIE **gou(H)-*

Cogn. Skt. *jōguve* ‘call, invoke’; Gk. γόος m. ‘weeping, wailing’

See also: *govoriti

***gov̥nò** n. o (b) ‘shit’

ESSJa VII 77-78

CS RuCS *govno* ‘shit, dung, garbage’

E Ru. *govnó*; ORu. *govno* ‘shit, dung, garbage’; Ukr. *hivnó*

W Cz. *hovno*; Slk. *hovno*; Pl. *gówno*

S SCr. *gōvno*; Čak. *gōvnò* (Vrg.); Sln. *gōvno*; Bulg. *govnó*

PIE **g(ʷ)ouH-*

Cogn. Skt. *gūtha-* m. ‘excrements’; Av. *gūtha-* n. ‘excrements’

***gōba** f. ā (a) ‘(tree-)fungus’

ESSJa VII 78-80

CS OCS *gōba* ‘sponge’

E Ru. *gubá* ‘lip’; *gubá* (dial.) ‘mushroom’; *gúba* (dial.) ‘mushroom’

W Cz. *houba* ‘mushroom, tree-fungus’; *huba* ‘snout, mouth’; Slk. *huba* ‘mushroom, tree-fungus, snout, mouth’; Pl. *gęba* ‘mouth, snout, face’

S SCr. *gŭba* ‘mushroom, tree-fungus, amadou, leprosy, snout’; Sln. *gōba* ‘mushroom, tree-fungus’; Bulg. *gǎba* ‘mushroom, tree-fungus’

I have adopted the widespread view that **gōba* ‘tree-fungus’ and **gōba* ‘lip, mouth’ are etymologically identical, the latter being secondary. Formally there are no problems. In the case of Cz. *huba* and *houba* we may be dealing with differentiation resulting from the generalization of either the short or the long variant of the root (the long variant originated from the so-called “Czech lengthening”, see Kortlandt 1975a: 19). The connection with Gk. σπόγγος, σφόγγος ‘sponge’ is formally very difficult.

***gōgnati; *gōgnati;** v. ‘speak through the nose’

ESSJa VII 81-82

CS RuCS *gugnati* ‘whisper, grumble’

E Bel. *huhnác’* ‘speak through the nose’

W Cz. *huhňati* ‘speak through the nose’; Slk. *huhňat’* ‘speak through the nose’; Pl. *gugnác* (obs., dial.) ‘speak through the nose’

S Sln. *gognjāti* ‘speak through the nose, murmur’, 1sg. *gognjām*; Bulg. *gǎgna* ‘speak through the nose’

This verb is undoubtedly onomatopoeic in origin.

See also: *gōgnavъ; *gōgniti; *gōgnivъ

*gǫgnavъ; *gǫgnǫvъ adj. o 'speaking through the nose' ESSJa VII 81-82

E Ru. *gugnávyyj* (dial.) 'speaking through the nose, unclearly'; *gugnǫávyyj* (dial.) 'speaking through the nose, unclearly'; *gunǫávyyj* (dial.) 'speaking through the nose, unclearly'; Ukr. *huhnávyyj*; *huhnǫávyyj*

W Cz. *huhňávý* 'speaking or spoken through the nose, nasal'

S Sln. *gognjáv*; Bulg. *gǎgnív*

See →*gǫgnati, *gǫgnati.

*gǫgniti v. 'speak through the nose' ESSJa VII 82

E Ru. *gugníti* 'tell, speak'; Ukr. *huhnýty* 'speak through the nose'

See →*gǫgnati, *gǫgnati.

*gǫgnivъ adj. o 'speaking through the nose' ESSJa VII 82

CS OCS *gǫgǫnivъ* 'speaking thickly, speaking through the nose, dumb'

E Ru. *gugnívyyj* 'speaking through the nose'

S Bulg. *gǎgnív* 'speaking through the nose'

See →*gǫgnati, *gǫgnati.

*gǫsti v. 'play an instrument' ESSJa VII 85-86

CS CS *gǫsti* 'play an instrument', 1sg. *gǫdǫ*

E Ru. *gust'* (dial.) 'howl, weep, sing'; *gustí* (dial.) 'hum, make a sound, howl, weep, sing'; Ukr. *hustí* (dial.) 'hum'

W Cz. *housti* (arch.) 'play (the violin)'; Slk. *húst* 'play an instrument, chatter incessantly'; Pl. *gǫśc* (arch.) 'play, jingle, strum'

S SCr. *gústi* (arch.) 'play, hum'; Sln. *gǫsti* 'play the violin, grumble', 1sg. *gǫdem*

B Lith. *gaūsti* 'make a sound, hum', 1sg. *gaudžiù*.

The discrepancy between Slavic and Baltic is reminiscent of the *ǫ : *u variation within Slavic.

*gǫstǔ adj. o (c) 'dense' ESSJa VII 87

CS CS *gǫstǔ* 'dense'

E Ru. *gustój* 'dense'; *gust* 'dense', f. *gustá*, n. *gústo*

W Cz. *hustý* 'dense'; Slk. *hustý* 'dense'; Pl. *gęsty* 'dense'

S SCr. *gúst* 'thick, dense, solid', f. *gústa*, n. *gústo*; Čak. *gúst* (Vrg.) 'thick, dense, solid', f. *gústà*, n. *gústo*; Čak. *g^uôs* (Vrg.) 'thick, dense, solid', f. *g^uôsta*, n. *g^uôsto*; Sln. *gǫst* 'dense', f. *gǫsta*; Bulg. *gǎst* 'dense'

BSl. *gǫnstos

B Latv. *guosts* m. 'quantity, masse'

The formation is *gǫt-tǔ, cf. →*gǫtǫnǫ and Ru. *gut'* (dial.) 'thicket'. The etymology of the root is unclear.

***gōsь** f. i (c) ‘goose’ ESSJa VII 88-89

- E Ru. *gus* m.(jo), Gsg. *gúsja*
 W Cz. *hus* (dial.); OCz. *hus*; Slk. *hus*; Pl. *gęś*
 S Sln. *gōs*, Gsg. *gosi*
 BSL. **gansis*/**zansis*
 B Lith. *žąsis*; Latv. *zūoss*
 OPr. *sansy*

PIE **ǵʰh₂ens-*

Cogn. Skt. *haṁśá-* m. ‘goose, swan’; Gk. *χίψ* m./f.; Lat. *ānser* m.; OHG *gans* f.

For the ablaut pattern, see. Kortlandt 1985b: 119. The depalatalization of the initial consonant must have originated in the Gsg. **ǵʰh₂nsos*.

***gōtьnь** adj. o (c) ‘dense’ ESSJa VII 87

- W Cz. *hutný* ‘dense, substantial’; Slk. *hutný* ‘dense’; Pl. *gęsty* ‘dense’

See → **gōstь*.

***gōzь; *gōza; *guzь** m. o; f. ā; m. o ‘bump’ ESSJa VII 91-92

- E Ru. *guz* (dial.) m. ‘behind, buttock, lower part of a sheaf, butt-end, bump’; *gúza* (Dal) f. ‘wrinkle, fold’; *guzá* (Voron.) f. ‘lower part of a sheaf, butt-end’
 W Cz. *huza* (Kott) f. ‘coccyx’; *huzo* (Jg.) n. ‘rump (of a bird)’; Pl. *guz* m. ‘bump, lump’; OPl. *guz* m. ‘bump, lump, gizzard, dwarf’; *gąz* m. ‘bump, lump’; Sln. *gúz* m. ‘bump, lump’
 S SCr. *gúz* m. ‘buttock’; *gúza* m. ‘behind’; Sln. *góza* f. ‘buttock, behind’; *gúza* f. ‘behind, pouch, wrinkle’; Bulg. *gǎz* m. ‘behind’

Cogn. OIc. *kōkkr* m. ‘ball’

Another instance of variation between *o* and **u* (see also → **gyža*). On the basis of OIc. *kōkkr* ‘ball’, we may reconstruct *gongǵ-*. The connection with Gk. *γόγγρος* ‘conger-eel, tubercular disease in olive-trees’ and *γογγρώνη* ‘excrescence on the neck’ is dubious, as the meaning ‘conger-eel’ is generally regarded as primary. The comparison with Gk. *γόγγυλος* ‘round, hard’ seems more promising.

See also: **gyža*

***gōžь** m. jo ESSJa VII 93-94

- E Ru. *guž* ‘tug, cartage’, Gsg. *gužá*
 W Cz. *houž* (dial.) ‘plait, braid’; Sln. *gōž* ‘strap of a flail’
 S Sln. *gōž* f.(i) ‘strap of a flail or yoke’, Gsg. *gožī*; Bulg. *gǎž* ‘band, bandage, turban’

Cogn. OIc. *kengr* m. ‘bend, hook’

Probably a non-Indo-European word. To clarify the relationship with Germanic, we may nevertheless reconstruct **gongʰ-io-*.

See also: *gǫžьvь; *gǫžьva

***gǫžьvь; *gǫžьva** f. i; f. ā

ESSJa VII 94-95

- E Ru. *gúžva*; *gužvá* (dial.) f.(ā) 'twig used for tying up'
 W Cz. *houžev* f.(i) 'braid or band made from twigs'; Pl. *gąžva* f.(ā) 'strap of a flail'; Slnc. *gǫž* m.(jo) 'strap of a flail'
 S SCr. *gūžva* f.(i) 'basket or braid from plaited twigs'; Sln. *gǫžva* f.(ā) 'braid from plaited twigs'; Bulg. *gǎžva* f.(ā) 'band, bandage, noose'

See → *gǫžьb.

***grābiti** v. (a) 'seize, grab'

ESSJa VII 97

- CS OCS *grabiti* 'rob', 1sg. *grabljǫ*
 E Ru. *grābit* 'rob, rake'
 W Pl. *grabić* 'rake, gather'
 S SCr. *grābiti* 'seize, grab, rake'; Čak. *grābiti* (Vrg.) 'seize, grab, rake'; *grābit* (Orb.) 'rake'; Sln. *grābiti* 'seize, grab, rake', 1sg. *grābim*; Bulg. *grābja* 'rob, ramsack, snatch'
 BSl. **groǝb-*
 B Lith. *gróbtī* 'seize'; Latv. *grābt* 'seize'
 PIE **g^hreb-*
 Cogn. OIc. *grāpa* 'seize'

In Balto-Slavic and Germanic, the roots **g^hreb^h-* 'dig, rake' and **g^hreb-* 'seize, grab' were mixed up to a considerable degree (Kortlandt 1988, Derksen 1991: 321-322).

***grādь** m. o (a) 'hail'

ESSJa VII 101

- CS OCS *gradь* 'hail'
 E Ru. *grad* 'hail'
 W Cz. *hrady* Npl. 'thundercloud'; *hrad*' (dial.) f.(i) 'hail'; OCz. *hrad* 'hail'; Slk. *hrad* (dial.) 'hail'; *hrád* (dial.) 'hail'; Pl. *grad* 'hail'; Slnc. *grǎud* 'hail', Gsg. *grādu*
 S SCr. *grād* 'hail', Gsg. *grāda*; Čak. *grāt* (Orb.) 'hail', Gsg. *grāda*; Sln. *grād* 'hail', Gsg. *grāda*; Bulg. *grad* 'hail'
 PIE **g^hreh₃d-o-*
 Cogn. Skt. *hrādūni-* f. 'hail(-stone)'; Lat. *grandō* f. 'hail'

Lith. *grúodas* 3 'frozen earth or mud' is probably cognate with → **grǫda*, **gruda* 'heap, lump', Lith. *grúdas* 'corn', etc., as advocated by the ESSJa and Fraenkel.

***grajati** v. 'caw, croak'

ESSJa VII 102

- CS RuCS *grajati* 'caw, croak'
 E Ru. *grajat*' 'caw, croak, laugh loudly, quarrel'

S SCr. *grājati* ‘caw, croak’; *grájati* ‘talk, cry’; Sln. *grájati* ‘scold’, 1sg. *grájam*, 1sg. *grájem*

BSL. **graʔ-*

B Lith. *gróti* ‘caw, croak, howl, roar, scold’

Cogn. OHG *krāen* ‘crow’

See also: *grakati; *gʔrkati

***grakati** v. ‘caw, croak’

ESSJa VII 102

CS RuCS *grakati* ‘caw, croak’, 1sg. *graču*

E ORu. *grakati* ‘caw, croak’, 1sg. *graču*

S SCr. *grákati* ‘caw, croak, cry’; Sln. *grákati* ‘caw, croak, cry’, 1sg. *grákam*, 1sg. *gráčem*

Cogn. Lat. *graculus* m. ‘daw, jackdaw’

See also: *grajati; *gʔrkati

***gramada** f. ā ‘heap, pile’

ESSJa VII 103-104

CS OCS *gramada* ‘heap, pile’

E ORu. *gramada* ‘pile’

S SCr. *gramáda* ‘clod, pile of firewood’; *gràmada* ‘lump of earth’; Sln. *gramáda* ‘heap, pile’; *grmáda* ‘heap, pile’; Bulg. *gramáda* ‘mass, big pile’

B Lith. *grōmulas* m. ‘food in the rumen of ruminants’

If → **gromada* is to be analyzed as **h₂gr-om-* (with the root of Gk. ἀγείρω v. ‘gather’), we may formally reconstruct **h₂gr-ōm-*, but that does not add much to our understanding of this formation. On the other hand, the hypothesis that this is an instance of assimilation (e.g. Berneker EW) cannot be considered satisfactory.

***grebenъ** m. jo ‘comb’

ESSJa VII 112-113

E Ru. *grében*’ m.(jo) ‘comb’

W Cz. *hřeбен* m.(o) ‘comb’; *hřebeň* (dial.) m.(jo) ‘comb’; Slk. *hrebeň* m.(jo) ‘comb’; Pl. *grzebień* m.(jo) ‘comb’

S SCr. *grěben* m.(o) ‘comb’; Čak. *grěben* m.(o) ‘card (for combing fibers)’; Sln. *grebĕn* m.(o) ‘comb’; Bulg. *grében* m.(o) ‘comb’

Originally an *n*-stem derivative of → **greti*.

***greti** v. (c) ‘dig, scrape, rake’

ESSJa VII 109-110

CS OCS *greti* (Zogr., Mar., Ass.) ‘row’, 1sg. *grebo*

E Ru. *grestí* ‘row, rake’, 1sg. *grebú*, 3sg. *grebĕt*

W Cz. *hře(b)sti* ‘bury’; OCz. *hřĕsti* ‘bury’, 1sg. *hřeбу*; Slk. *hriebst* ‘dig’; Pl. *grześć* ‘bury’

S SCr. *grèpsti* ‘scrape, scratch’, 1sg. *grèbēm*; Čak. *grès* (Orb.) ‘scratch’, 1sg. *grebèn*; Sln. *grèbsti* ‘dig, comb’, 1sg. *grèbem*; Bulg. *grebá* ‘spoon, scoop, rake, row’

BSl. **greb-*

B Lith. *grėbti* ‘rake, seize, rob’; Latv. *grebt* ‘scrape, excavate, seize’

PIE **g^hreb^h-*

Cogn. Skt. *gr̥bhñāti* ‘seize, take, hold’; Go. *graban* ‘dig’

The acute root vowel of the Lithuanian form is analogical after *gróbtī* ‘seize’ (Derksen 1996: 321-322).

See also: *grebenъ; *gribati; *grobъ

***grěxъ** m. o (b) ‘sin’

ESSJa VII 114-116

CS OCS *grěxъ*

E Ru. *grex*

W Cz. *hřích*; Slk. *hriech*; Pl. *grzech*; Sln. *grěx*; USrb. *hrěch*

S SCr. *grějeh*, Gsg. *griježha*; Čak. *grih* (Vrg.), Gsg. *grihā*; *grīēh* (Orb.); Sln. *grěh*; Bulg. *grjach*

In Nievergelt 2003 as well as Nievergelt and Schaeken 2003, attention is drawn to the gloss *hrehō* in a Swiss manuscript dating from the first quarter of the ninth century. This is possibly the earliest attestation of a Slavic word. The root of **grěxъ* is often identified with the root of → **grě(ja)ti*.

***grě(ja)ti** v. ‘warm, heat’

ESSJa VII 116-117

CS OCS *grějati*, 1sg. *grějō*

E Ru. *gret*’

W Cz. *hřáti*; *hřít* (dial.); Slk. *hriat*; Pl. *grzać*

S SCr. *grějati* ‘warm, shine’; Čak. *grějat* (Orb.) ‘warm’; Sln. *grěti* ‘warm, heat’, 1sg. *grějem*; Bulg. *gréja* ‘warm, shine’

PIE **g^{wh}r-eh₁-*

Cogn. Skt. *ghṛṇá-* m. ‘heat, glow’; Gk. θερμός adj. ‘warm’

See also: *gorěti; *gorъjъ; *gorъkъ; *goře; *gъrnidlo; *gъrnъ; *gъrno; *žarъ; *žeravъ

***grędà** f. ā (c) ‘garden bed, beam’

ESSJa VII 120-122

E Ru. *grjadá* ‘ridge, bed (of flowers)’, Asg. *grjadú*, Npl. *grjádý*; *grjadá* (Domostroj, 18th/19th c.) ‘ridge, bed (of flowers), series, (dial.) pole, staff’, Asg. *grjádú*, Npl. *grjádý*

W Cz. *hřada* ‘perch’; Slk. *hrada* ‘perch’; Pl. *grzęda* ‘garden bed, perch’

S SCr. *gréda* ‘beam’, Asg. *grėdu*; Čak. *grėdā* (Vrg.) ‘beam’, Asg. *grėdu*; *grėdā* (Novi) ‘beam’, Asg. *grėdu*; *grīedā* (Orb.) ‘beam’, Asg. *grīēdo*; Sln. *gréda* ‘beam, garden bed’; Bulg. *gredá* ‘beam’

BSl. **grindá?*

B Lith. *grindà* (dial.) 4 ‘flooring of a bridge, (pl.) wooden floor in a barn’; Latv. *grida* ‘floor, threshing-floor’

Cogn. OIc. *grind* f. ‘gate made of spars or bars, fence, dock, store-houses’

The Balto-Slavic and Germanic evidence points to **g^hrnd^h-*.

***gręsti** v. (c) ‘go’

ESSJa VII 123-124

CS OCS *gręsti* ‘go, come’, 1sg. *grędę*; RuCS *gręsti* ‘go, come’, 1sg. *grędu*

E Ru. *gredut* (dial.) 3pl. ‘go’; ORu. *gręsti* ‘go, come’, 1sg. *grędu*; *gręsti* ‘go, come’, 1sg. *grędu* {1}; Ukr. *hrjasty* ‘run fast and noisily, ride’, 1sg. *hrjadú*

S SCr. *gręsti* ‘go’, 1sg. *grędēm*; *gręsti* ‘go’, 1sg. *grędēm*

BSL. **gri(n)d-*

B Lith. *gridyti* (Jušk.) ‘go, wander’

PIE **g^hri-n-d^h-*

Cogn. Go. *grid* Asg. ‘step’; MHG *grit* ‘step’; OIr. *ingreinn* ‘persecute’

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 139).

***gręza** f. ā (c) ‘mud, dirt, mire’

ESSJa VII 123-124

CS RuCS *gręza*; *gręzja*

E ORu. *grjaza*; *grjazja*; Ukr. *hrjazjá*

S Sln. *gręza*

PIE **g^(h)rm-*

Deverbative ā-stem. See → **gręzti*.

***gręziti** v. ‘sink’

ESSJa VII 124-125

CS RuCS *gręziti*

W Cz. *hříziti*

S Sln. *grézíti*, 1sg. *grézím*

See → **gręzti*.

***gręznęti** v. (c) ‘sink’

ESSJa VII 125

CS OCS *pogręznęti* ‘sink, submerge’

E Ru. *grjážnut* ‘sink into smth. sticky, boggy’

W Cz. *hřeznouti* ‘sink, get stuck in’; OCz. *hřážnuti* ‘sink, plunge, fall’; Slk. *hriaznut* ‘sink, get stuck in’; Pl. *grzeznąć* ‘sink, get stuck in’

S SCr. *gręznuti* ‘drown, sink’; Sln. *gręzniti* ‘sink, collapse’, 1sg. *gręznem*

See → **gręzti*.

***gręzti** v. ‘sink’

ESSJa VII 125

E ORu. *grjazti* ‘sink, wallow’

BSL. **grimz-*

B Lith. *grī̃m̃zti* ‘sink’, 3pres. *grī̃m̃zta*, 3pret. *grī̃m̃zdo*; Latv. *grī̃mt* ‘sink’

Slavic has **gręz-* corresponding to Lith. *grimzd-*. In Latvian, where the **z* was eliminated analogically due to reanalysis of the *sta*-present, there are forms with a root *grimd-* (see Endzelin 1922: 582). The situation is reminiscent of PSl. → **lozà* vs. Lith. *lazdà*. Further connections are uncertain.

See also: **gręza*; **gręziti*; **gręzъ*; **grōziti*; **gręznōti*

***gręzъ** f. i (c) ‘mud, dirt’

ESSJa VII 125-126

E Ru. *grjaz’* ‘mud, dirt’

W Cz. *hřez* (Jg.) ‘mud, dirt’

S SCr. *grěz* (arch., dial.) ‘mud, dirt’; Sln. *grěz* ‘watery, deep mud, abyss’, Gsg. *grezi*

Deverbative *i*-stem. See → **gręziti*.

***gribati** v.

ESSJa VII 109-110

E Ru. *gribat’sja* (arch., dial.) ‘frown, become angry, pull faces’

S SCr. *gribati* (arch., dial.) ‘dig, scrape’; Bulg. *gribam* (dial.) ‘bury’

Cogn. Skt. *grbhñāti* ‘seize, take, hold’; Go. *graban* ‘dig’

Iterative of → **greti* with lengthened zero grade of the root.

See also: **grebenъ*; **grobъ*

***griva** f. ā (a) ‘mane’

ESSJa VII 129-130

E Ru. *griva*

W Cz. *hřiva*; Slk. *hriva*; Pl. *grzywa*

S SCr. *griva*; Sln. *griva* ‘mane, overgrown boundary’; Bulg. *griva*

BSL. **grí?wa?*

B Latv. *grīva* ‘river mouth’

PIE **g^wriH-ueh₂-*

Cogn. Skt. *grīvā-* f. ‘neck’

An instance of Hirt’s law.

***grivъna** f. ā (a)

ESSJa VII 130-132

E Ru. *grivna* ‘old monetary unit, (obs.) three kopecks’; Ukr. *hrývna* ‘(current) monetary unit’

W Cz. *hřivna* ‘old monetary unit’; OCz. *hřivna* ‘mark’; Pl. *grzywna* ‘fine, unity, measure of weight for silver’

S SCr. *grivna* ‘iron ring on scythe, bracelet, name of a monetary unit’; Sln. *grivna* ‘necklace, name of a monetary unit’; Bulg. *grivna* ‘bracelet’

A derivative of → **griva*.

***grobnъ** m. o (b/c) 'grave'

ESSJa VII 112-113

CS OCS *grobnъ* 'grave, tomb'E Ru. *grobnъ* 'coffin, (obs.) grave', Gsg. *gróba*; *grobnъ* (dial.) 'coffin, grave', Gsg. *gróbá*W Cz. *hrob* 'grave'; Slk. *hrob* 'grave'; Pl. *grób* 'grave', Gsg. *grobu*S SCr. *gròb* 'grave', Gsg. *gròba*; Čak. *gròb* (Novi) 'grave', *gròbà*; *gròp* (Orb.) 'grave, tomb', Gsg. *gròbà*; Kajk. *grèb* (Bednja) 'grave', Gsg. *gryebà*; Sln. *gròb* 'grave', Gsg. *gróba*; Bulg. *grobnъ* 'grave'PIE **g^hrob^h-o-*Cogn. Go. *graba* f. 'grave'; OHG *grab* n. 'grave'Deverbative *o*-stem. See → **greti*.***gromada** f. ā 'heap, pile'

ESSJa VII 136-137

CS RuCS *gromada* 'heap, pile, bonfire'E Ru. *gromáda* 'mass, bulk, pile'; ORu. *gromada* 'heap, pile, bonfire'W Cz. *hromada* 'heap, pile, multitude, gathering'; Slk. *hromada* 'heap, pile, multitude, gathering'; Pl. *gromada* 'pile, multitude, village community, gathering'S SCr. *gromáda* 'cliff, crag, heap, pile'; *gròmada* 'cliff, crag, heap, pile'; Sln. *gromáda* 'heap, pile of firewood, bonfire'; Bulg. *gromáda* 'heap, pile, mass, bulk'B Lith. *grùmulas* m.(o) 'lump'PIE **h₂gr-om-*Cogn. Skt. *grāma-* m. '(military) host, village, community'; Gk. ἀγείρω v. 'gather'; Lat. *gremium* n. 'lap'The Lithuanian form may have an analogically metathesized zero grade. We must also reckon with influence of the synonymous *gùmulas*.See also: **gramada****grōmъ** m. o (c) 'thunder'

ESSJa VII 138-139

CS OCS *gromъ*E Ru. *grom*, Gsg. *gróma*; Bel. *hrom*, Gsg. *hrómu*; Ukr. *hrim*, Gsg. *hrómu*W Cz. *hrom*; Slk. *hrom*; Pl. *grom*S SCr. *grōm*, Gsg. *grōma*; *grōm* (dial.), Gsg. *grōma*; Čak. *grōm* (Vrg.), Gsg. *grōma*; *grōm* (Novi), Gsg. *grōma*; Sln. *grōm*PIE **g^hrom-o-*Cogn. Gk. χρόμος (Hesych.) m. 'crashing sound, neighing'; OIc. *gramr* 'grim, hostile'See also: **grъměti*

- *grozà** f. ā (c) ‘horror’ ESSJa VII 141-142
- CS OCS *groza* (Supr., Cloz.) ‘horror’
- E Ru. *grozá* ‘(thunder)storm, disaster, terror, (obs.) threats’
- W Cz. *hrůza* ‘terror, horror, multitude’; Slk. *hrôza* ‘horror, multitude’; Pl. *groza* ‘threat, terror, horror’; Sln. *grùezã* ‘horror’
- S SCr. *gròza* ‘horror, disgust’; *gróza* ‘horror, disgust’; Sln. *gróza* ‘horror, shudder, large crowd’

See → *groziti.

- *gròzdъ** m. o (b) ‘cluster, bunch’ ESSJa VII 142
- CS OCS *gròzdъ* ‘bunch of grapes’
- E Ru. *gròzd’* f.(i) ‘cluster, bunch’, Gsg. *gròzdi*; *gròzd* (Dal’) ‘cluster, bunch’; ORu. *gròzdъ* ‘grape’ {1}; *gròzdъ* f.(i) ‘grape’
- S SCr. *gròzd* ‘vine, (bunch of) grapes’; Čak. *gròzd* (Vrg.) ‘vine, (bunch of) grapes’, Gsg. *gròzdã*; *gròs* (Orb.) ‘bunch (of grapes)’, Gsg. *gròzdã*, Gsg. *gròzda*; Sln. *gròzd* ‘grape’, Gsg. *gròzda*; Bulg. *gròzd* ‘grape’

{1} AP (b) according to Zaliznjak (1985: 137).

See also: *grozъje; *grozънь; *grozъno

- *grozъje** n. io ESSJa VII 142
- CS CS *gròzdije* ‘bunch of grapes’
- S SCr. *gròzđe* ‘vine, grapes’; *gròzđe* (dial.) ‘vine, grapes’; Čak. *gròzjē* (Vrg.) ‘vine, grapes’; *gr“òjze* (Orb.) ‘vine, grapes’; Sln. *gròzdje* ‘vine, grapes’; Bulg. *gròzde* ‘vine, grapes’

See → *gròzdъ.

- *grozънь; *grozъno** m. o; n. o ESSJa VII 142
- CS OCS *gròznъ* (Mar., Supr.) m. ‘bunch of grapes’
- E Ukr. *hròzno* n. ‘vine, (bunch of) grapes’
- W Cz. *hrozen* m. ‘bunch’, Gsg. *hroznu*; Slk. *hrozno* n. ‘bunch’

See → *gròzdъ.

- *groziti** v. (c) ‘threaten’ ESSJa VII 143
- E Ru. *grozít’*, 1sg. *grožú*, 3sg. *grozít*
- W Cz. *hroziti*; Slk. *hrozit’*; Pl. *grozić*
- S SCr. *gròziti* ‘threaten, (g. se) detest, shudder’, 1sg. *gròzím*; *gròziti* ‘threaten’; Sln. *grozíti* ‘threaten, scare’, 1sg. *grozím*; Bulg. *grozjá* ‘threaten, mar’
- BSl. *grož-
- B Lith. *gražóti*; Latv. *grēzuôt*

I see no reason to regard the Baltic forms as borrowings from Slavic (pace ESSJa). The connection with Gk. γοργός ‘grim, fierce, terrible’ is formally impossible.

See also: *grozà; *grozъnъ

***grozъnъ** adj. o 'terrible'

ESSJa VII 144

- CS OCS *grozъnъ* (Euch.) 'frightening, terrible' (only *grozъnu* Dsg. m. and *grozъnoe* Asg. n.)
- E Ru. *gróznij* 'threatening, terrible'; *grózen* 'threatening, terrible', f. *grózná*, n. *gróžno*
- W Cz. *hrozný* 'frightening, terrible, horrible'; Slk. *hrozný* 'terrible, horrible'; Pl. *gróźny* 'threatening, terrible'
- S SCr. *grōzan* 'frightening, terrible'; *grðzan* 'id.'; Sln. *grózan* 'horrible, stately, beautiful'; Bulg. *grózen* 'ugly, horrible, terrible'

Adjectival derivative of → **grozà*. Sln. *grózan* 'stately, beautiful' has been compared to Latv. *grēzns* 'beautiful, lush, proud', Lith. *gražūs*, *grāžnas* 'beautiful'. Though this is an intriguing idea, it seems hardly plausible that the Slovene adjective is to be separated from the other Slavic forms. Of course, the meaning of the Slovene form may be considered an argument for an etymological relationship between **grozъnъ* and *gražūs*.

***grǫbъ; *grubъ** adj. o 'coarse, rude'

ESSJa VII 145-146

- CS OCS *grǫbъ* (Supr.) 'ignorant, uneducated'
- E Ru. *grúbyj* 'coarse, rude'
- W Cz. *hrubý* 'big, coarse, rough'; Slk. *hrubý* 'thick, big, coarse'; Pl. *gruby* 'thick, big, coarse'; *gręby* (dial.) 'wrinkled, sharp, tough'; Sln. *grābí* 'thick'
- S SCr. *grūb* 'coarse, rude, ugly'; Čak. *grūb* (Vrg.) 'ugly'; Sln. *grǫb* 'big, strong, conspicuous, rude', f. *grǫba*; Bulg. *grub* 'coarse, rude'
- B Lith. *grubūs* 'uneven, rough'; Latv. *gruṁbulains* 'uneven, rough'
- PIE **gru(m)bʰ-*
- Cogn. OIc. *kryppa* f. 'hump'; OHG *kropf* m. 'crop, gizzard'

The vocalism **ǫ* may result from the lowering of **um* before a tautosyllabic stop.

***grǫda; *grǫdъ; *grūda; *grudъ** f. ā; m. o; f. ā (a) 'heap, lump'

ESSJa VII 148-149

- CS RuCS *gruda* f. 'heap, pile, breastbone, drop'
- E Ru. *grúda* f. 'heap, pile'; *grud* (dial.) m. 'heap, pile'; ORu. *gruda* f. 'heap, pile, breastbone, drop'; Bel. *hrud* m. 'hill'; Ukr. *hrúda* f. 'lump, earth with frozen lumps, hummocks'; *hrudá* f. 'lump, earth with frozen lumps, hummocks'; *hrud* m. 'height, hill'
- W Cz. *hrouda* f. 'lump of earth, clay'; Slk. *hruda* f. 'lump of earth, clay'; Pl. *gruda* f. 'lump of earth, clay'; OPL. *grąd* m. 'dry, wooded place amidst swamps'
- S SCr. *grūda* f. 'clod, lump'; Čak. *grūda* (Orb.) f. 'clod, lump'; Sln. *grúda* f. 'lump, clod, heap'; Bulg. *grúda* f. 'lump, clod'
- BSl. **grouǫd-*

B Lith. *grúodas* m. 3 ‘frozen earth or mud’

These words are usually considered cognate with Latv. *grāuds* ‘grain’, Oic. *grautr* ‘groats’, etc., in which case the root is *g^hroud-. The nasal in Pl. *grąd* may be secondary. I have adopted the ESSJa’s set of lemmata, but it should be noted that the evidence for a nasalized vowel is very limited. One may wonder if the *o*-stem *grōdb belongs here. The reconstructions with *ϝ are partly based on the suggested connections with → *gręda and → *grōdb, neither of which is beyond doubt. Forms such as Bulg. *gārdā* ‘breast’, which points to a nasal, may not belong here.

*grōdb f. i (c) ‘breast’

ESSJa VII 148-149

E Ru. *grud* ‘breast’, Gsg. *grúdi*, Gsg. *grudí* {1}

W Cz. *hrud* ‘breast’; Slk. *hrud* ‘breast’; OPl. *grędzi* Npl. ‘breast’

S SCr. *grūd* ‘breast’; Sln. *grōd* ‘breast’; Bulg. *grād* ‘breast’

The connection with → *gruda, etc., is not entirely certain. An exception must be made for → grōdb, which has a nasalized vowel and is semantically close.

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 138).

See also: *grōda; *gruda; *grudb

*grōziti v. ‘sink’

ESSJa VII 150-151

CS OCS *pogrōziti* ‘sink’, 1sg. *pogrōžō*

E Ru. *gruzít* ‘load’, 1sg. *gružú*, 3sg. *grúzit* {1}

W Cz. *hroužiti* ‘sink, dip’; Slk. *hrúžiťsa* ‘sink, dip’; Pl. *grążyć* ‘sink, dip’

S SCr. *grūziti* ‘dip, sink’; Sln. *grozíti* ‘dive, dip’, 1sg. *grozím*

A causative formation. See → *gręzti.

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 139).

*gruditi v.

ESSJa VII 152

W Cz. *hruditi se* (Kott) ‘be unfriendly’; Pl. *grudzić* (dial.) ‘stir, spoil, blame’

S Sln. *grúditi* ‘torment’, 1sg. *grúdim* (*grúditi* ‘lump, bite to pieces’ obviously derives from *grúda* ‘lump’)

BSL. *groud-

B Lith. *graudinti* ‘move, touch’

See also: *grūstb

*grūstb f. i ‘sadness’

ESSJa VII 155

E Ru. *grust* ‘sadness, melancholy’; Ukr. *hrust* ‘sadness, melancholy’

S Sln. *grúst* m.(o) ‘aversion’

B Lith. *grūstis* f.(i) ‘sadness, harm’

See also: *gruditi

***gr̥mĕždžь** m. jo 'fester in the cornes of the eyes, gramiae' ESSJa VII 158-159

CS RuCS *gr̥mĕždь* 'pus in the eye, gramiae'; *gremĕždь* 'pus in the eye, gramiae'; *gromĕždь* 'pus in the eye, gramiae'

S SCr. *k̥mĕlj* f.(i) 'fester in the corners of the eyes'; *k̥mĕlj* f.(i) 'fester in the corners of the eyes'; Čak. *krmĕljī* (Vrg.) Npl. m.(jo?) 'gramiae'; *k̥mežalj* (Orb.) m.(jo) 'sty, sleep (in the eyes)'; Sln. *krmĕlj* m.(jo) 'fester in the corners of the eyes'; *krmĕžalj* m.(jo) 'fester in the corners of the eyes'

Cogn. Lat. *grāmia* Npl. f. 'viscous humour, rheum that collects in the corner of the eyes'; Go. *qrammīpa* 'moisture'

The numerous formal difficulties connected with this etymon and its cognates render the reconstruction of a proto-form impossible (cf. Schrijver 1991: 487-488). Unlike the ESSJa, I am not unclined to reject the connection with the non-Slavic forms.

***gr̥mь** m. o 'bush, shrub' ESSJa VII 159-160

CS OCS *gr̥mu* (*savekovĕ*) (Euch.) Lsg. 'the σαβέκ bush'; RuCS *gr̥mь* 'bush, shrub, garden'; *gr̥mь* 'bush, shrub, garden' (also *gromь*, *gremь*)

E Ru. *grom* 'hummock'; ORu. *gr̥mь* 'bush, shrub, garden'; *gr̥mь* 'bush, shrub, garden'

W Slk. *grmolec* 'stump'

S SCr. *gr̥m* 'kind of oak, bush, shrubbery', Gsg. *gr̥ma*; Čak. *gr̥m* (Vrg.) 'kind of oak, bush, shrubbery', Gsg. *gr̥mā*; Sln. *gr̥m* 'bush, shrub'

In view of the voiceless initial consonant as well as the acute root, Lith. *krúmas* 'bush, shrub' and Latv. *krūms* 'id.' are better not connected with the Slavic etymon.

***gryzati** v. 'gnaw' ESSJa VII 160-161

W Cz. *hryzati* 'gnaw'; USrb. *hryzac* 'gnaw'; LSrb. *gryzas* 'gnaw'

S Bulg. *grizá* 'gnaw, torment'

See → *grȳzti*.

***grȳzti** v. (c) 'gnaw' ESSJa VII 160-161

CS OCS *grizetь* (Sav.) 3sg.

E Ru. *gryzt'*, 1sg. *gryzú*, 3sg. *gryzĕt*

W Cz. *hrȳzti*; Slk. *hrȳzť*; Pl. *gryźć*; Slnc. *grāsc*

S SCr. *grīsti*, 1sg. *grízēm*; Čak. *grīsti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *grízěš*; *grīs* (Vrg.), 1sg. *grízĕn*; Sln. *grīsti* 'gnaw, bite, eat', 1sg. *grízem*

BSl. **gr(o)uřz-*

B Lith. *gráužti*; Latv. *graūzt*

See also: **gryzati*

***grǫmĕti** v. (c) ‘thunder, roar’

ESSJa VII 163-164

- CS OCS *grǫmę* (Supr.) Nsg. m. ptc. pres. act. ‘thundering’
 E Ru. *gremĕt’*, 1sg. *gremljú*, 3sg. *gremít*
 W Cz. *hřměti’*; *hřmíti*; Slk. *hrmieť*; Pl. *grzmieć*
 S SCr. *grǫmljeti*, 1sg. *grǫmim*; *germĭti* (Vrg.) ‘thunder’, 3sg. *germĭ*; Čak. *grmĕt* (Orb.), 3sg. *grmĭ*; Sln. *grmĕti*, 1sg. *grmím*; Bulg. *gǎrmjá*
- BSL. **grimeŕtei*
 B Lith. *grumĕti*
 PIE **g^hrm-eh₁-*
 Cogn. OIc. *gramr* adj. ‘grim, hostile’; OE *grimman* ‘rage’

The zero grade must have been metathesized quite early – possibly in Balto-Slavic times – on the analogy of the full grade.

See also: *gromъ

***gubiti** v. (c) ‘destroy’

ESSJa VII 166

- CS OCS *gubiti* ‘destroy’, 1sg. *gubljo*
 E Ru. *gubít’* ‘ruin, squander’, 1sg. *gubljú*, 3sg. *gúbit* {1}
 W Cz. *hubiti* ‘destroy, devastate, exterminate’; Slk. *hubiti* ‘ruin, destroy’; Pl. *gubić* ‘lose, ruin, destroy’
 S SCr. *gùbiti* ‘lose, destroy’, 1sg. *gùbim*; Čak. *gubĭti* (Vrg.) ‘lose, destroy’, 2sg. *gubiš*; *gùbĭt* (Orb.) ‘lose’, 1sg. *gùbin*; Sln. *gubiti* ‘harm, spoil, destroy’, 1sg. *gubím*; Bulg. *gúbja* ‘lose, spoil, kill’

PIE **g^houb^h-eie-*

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 139).

See also: *gъbežь; *gъnŏti; *gybati; *gŷnŏti

***gumьnò** n. o (b) ‘threshing-floor’

ESSJa VII 173-175

- CS OCS *gumьno* ‘threshing-floor, granary’
 E Ru. *gumnó* ‘threshing-floor, barn’
 W Cz. *humno* ‘threshing-floor’; Slk. *humno* ‘threshing-floor, barn’; Pl. *gumno* ‘threshing-floor, barn’
 S SCr. *gúmno* ‘threshing-floor’; Čak. *gũnð* (Orb.) ‘threshing-floor’; Sln. *gúmnŏ* ‘threshing-floor’; Bulg. *gúmno* ‘threshing-floor’

The most widely accepted etymology, going back to Pogodin 1903 (234), derives **gumьnò* from the words for ‘cow’ (→ **govędo*) and ‘trample’ (→ **męti*). A reconstruction in PIE terms would be **g^hh₃eu-mŋH-om*.

***gvězdà** f. ā (b) ‘star’

ESSJa VII 181-183

- CS OCS *dzvězda*; *zvězda*
 E Ru. *zvezdá*
 W Cz. *hvězda*; Slk. *hviezda*; Pl. *gwiazda*; USrb. *hwězda*

S SCr. *zvižezda*, Asg. *zvižezdu*; Čak. *zviždä* (Vrg.), Asg. *zviždü*; *zvēzdä* (Novi), Asg. *zvēzdu*; *zviēzdä* (Orb.), Asg. *zviēzdö*; Kajk. *zviēzdö* (Bednja), Asg. *zviēzdu*; Sln. *zvézda*; Bulg. *zvezdá*

BSL. **g/žwoizde?* (*g/žwoizde??*)

B Lith. *žvaiždė* f.(ē) 4; *žvaiždė* (OLith., dial.) f.(ē) 4; Latv. *zvāigzne* f.(ē)

On the basis of Balto-Slavic, we may propose a reconstruction **ǵ^huoig^h-d^heh₁-*, but considering the fact that in Lithuanian we find *žvai(g)zdė* alongside *žvai(g)ždė* (with assimilation?), the reconstruction **ǵ^huoid^h-d^heh₁-* is a serious alternative, cf. Latv. *zvaidrīt*, *zviēdrīt* ‘shimmer, shine’. Latvian forms with *zvaig*, e.g. *zvaigala* ‘cow with a star-shaped blaze’ may be based on *zvāigzne*. Pokorny’s reconstruction **ǵ^huoig^w-* is based on the connection with Gk. φοῖβος ‘pure, bright, radiant’, which I consider untenable.

***gvorъ**; ***govorъ** m. o ‘bubble’

ESSJa VII 184

CS RuCS *gvorō* ‘bubble’; *govorō* ‘bubble’

E Ru. *góvor* (dial.) ‘bubble (on water)’; ORu. *gvorō* ‘bubble’; *govorō* ‘bubble’; Ukr. *hvor* ‘gores in trousers’

S Sln. *gòr* ‘pile of dung’, Gsg. *góra*

Possibly cognate with SCr. *gūra* ‘hump’ and Ru. *gírja* ‘weight, (dial.) lump. clod’. For the Balto-Slavic stage we may reconstruct **g(o)uʔ-*.

***gvozdi** m. io ‘nail’

ESSJa VII 185-186

CS OCS *gvozdii* (Supr.) m.(io); RuCS *gvozdii* m.(io)

S Bulg. *gvozdej* m.(io)

See → **gvozdъ*.

***gvozdъ**; ***gvozdъ** m. i; m o ‘nail’

ESSJa VII 185-186

CS OCS *gvozdie* (Cloz.) Npl. m.(i) ‘nails’

E Ru. *gvozd’* m.(jo) ‘nail’, Gsg. *gvozdjá*; Ukr. *hvizd’* m.(jo) ‘nail’, Gsg. *hvozdjá*

W Cz. *hvozd* m.(o) ‘big, dense forest’; Pl. *gwózdź* m.(jo) ‘nail’; OPl. *gózdź* m.(jo) ‘nail’; *gozd* m.(o) ‘woods’; USrb. *hózdź* m.(jo) ‘nail’

S SCr. *gvōzd* (arch., dial.) m.(o) ‘iron, nail, peg, pig’; *gvōzd* (arch., dial.) m.(o) ‘iron, nail, peg, pig, dense forest’; Sln. *gòzd* m.(o) ‘(big, high) forest’, Gsg. *gózda*

Perhaps cognate with PGmc. **kwasta*, e.g. MLG *quast(e)* m.f. ‘bundle, broom, besom’. Otherwise unclear.

***gъbežъ** m. jo ‘bend, joint’

ESSJa VII 188-189

CS RuCS *gъbežъ* ‘bend, joint’; *gbežъ* ‘turn, bend, slope’

E ORu. *gъbežъ* ‘bend, joint’; *gbežъ* ‘turn, bend, slope’

BSL. **gub-*

- B Latv. *gubezis* m.(io) ‘pile, hay-loft’
 PIE *gʷubʰ-
 Cogn. OIc. *gumpr* m. ‘tail-bone’; MoLG *gubbe* (Estonia) f.? ‘small hay-stack’
 See also: *gubiti; *gʷnqti; *gybati; *gʷnqti

***gʷlbʰ**

ESSJa VII 190

- S SCr. *gūb* (dial.) m.(o) ‘swan’; *gūb* (dial.) m.(o) ‘goby’
 BSL. **gulbis*
 B Lith. *gulbis* f.(i) 4 ‘swan’; *gul̃bis* (Žem.) m.(io) 2 ‘swan’; Latv. *gūlbis* f.(i) ‘swan’
 OPr. *gulbis* (EV) ‘swan’
 Cogn. OIr. *gulban* m. ‘beak, sting’; W *gylfin* m. ‘bird’s bill, beak, snout, sharp-pointed nose’; W *gylf* m. ‘bird’s bill, beak, nose, mouth, sharp-pointed instrument’

See → *kʷlpʷ. There is a chance that SCr. *gūb* ‘goby’ is cognate with Lat. *gōbius*, Gk. κωβίός ‘goby, gudgeon’, cf. Sln. *gúba* ‘barbel’.

***gʷnāti** v. (b) ‘chase, persecute’

ESSJa VII 196-197

- CS OCS *gʷnati* ‘chase, persecute’, 1sg. *ženq*
 E Ru. *gnat* ‘chase, drive, persecute’
 W Cz. *hnáti* ‘chase, drive, compel’, 1sg. *ženu*; Pl. *gnac* ‘chase, drive’
 S SCr. *gnāti* ‘chase, persecute’, 1sg. *žēnēm*; Sln. *gnáti* ‘chase, persecute’, 1sg. *žénem*
 BSL. **gun-*/**gin-*
 B Lith. *giñti* ‘chase, drive’; Latv. *dzīt* ‘chase, drive, persecute’
 OPr. *guntwei* ‘chase, drive’
 PIE *gʷʰn-
 Cogn. Skt. *hánti* ‘strike, slay’; Gk. θείνω ‘kill’
 See also: *goniti

***gʷnqti** v. ‘bend’

ESSJa VII 188-189

- CS RuCS *gʷ(b)nuti* ‘bend’
 E Ru. *gnut* ‘bend’, 1sg. *gnu*, 3sg. *gnět*; ORu. *gʷ(b)nuti* ‘bend’
 W Cz. *hnouti* ‘move’; Slk. *hnút* ‘move’; Pl. *giąć* ‘bend’, 1sg. *gnę*
 S SCr. *gànuti* ‘move’; Sln. *gāniti* ‘move’, 1sg. *gānem*
 BSL. **gub-*
 B Lith. *gūbti* ‘bend, curve (intr.)’, 3sg. *guĩba*; Latv. *gubt* ‘bend, curve (intr.)’, 3sg. *gubst*
 PIE *gʷubʰ-
 Cogn. OE *geap* ‘crooked, sly’ (with *p from Kluge’s law)
 See also: *gubiti; *gʷbežʷ; *gybati; *gʷnqti

***gъrbъ; *gъrba** m. o; f. ā ‘hump’ ESSJa VII 199-201

- CS CS *grobo* (Bon.) m. ‘back, hump’; *grobo* (Pog.) m. ‘back, hump’
 E Ru. *gorb* m. ‘hump, (dial.) back’
 W Cz. *hrb* m. ‘hump, mound, lump’; Slk. *hrb* m. ‘hump, mound, lump’; Pl. *garb* m. ‘hump’
 S SCr. *gřb* m. ‘back’; *gřba* f. ‘hump’; Sln. *gřb* m. ‘hump, back, wrinkle’; *gřba* f. ‘hump, back, wrinkle’; Bulg. *gřb* m. ‘back’; *gřrba* f. ‘hump’
 B OPr. *grabis* [*garbis*] (EV) ‘hill’ (the emendation *garbis* is justified by many place-names, e.g. *Gailgarben* or *Geylegarben* ‘Weissenberg’)

In my opinion, it is preferable to separate *gъrbъ from → *gъrbъ, *gъrbъ ‘coarse, rude’. Of course, the roots may have influenced one another. We may reconstruct *gъrbъ-, if we wish to stick to Indo-European terms, perhaps an enlarged variant of a root meaning ‘bend’ (cf. Mažiulis PKEŽ IV: 324-326).

***gъrdlo** n. o (a) ‘throat’ ESSJa VII 204-205

- CS RuCS *gr̃lo*; *gъrlo*
 E Ru. *gôrlo*; ORu. *gr̃lo*; *gъrlo*
 W Cz. *hrdlo*; Slk. *hrdlo*; Pl. *gardło*
 S SCr. *gřlo*; Čak. *gřlo* (Vrg.); Sln. *gřlo*; Bulg. *gărlo*
 BSL. *gûrʔtlo
 B Lith. *gurklỹs* m.(io) 3 ‘crop’; *gûrklis* (dial.) m.(io) 1 ‘crop’
 PIE *gʷrh₃-tlóm

The comparison with the obscure Greek form βάραθρον ‘gorge’ may not be justified. See also: *zêrdlo; *zèrti

***gъrdъ** adj. o (c) ‘proud’ ESSJa VII 206-207

- CS OCS *gr̃dъ* ‘proud, haughty, majestic, amazing, terrible’
 E Ru. *gôrdyj* ‘proud, haughty’; *gord* ‘proud, haughty’, f. *gordá*, n. *górdo*
 W Cz. *hrdý* ‘proud, haughty’; Slk. *hrdý* ‘proud, haughty’; Pl. *gardy* ‘fastidious, proud, haughty’
 S SCr. *gřd* ‘terrible, ugly, (eccl.) proud’; Sln. *gřd* ‘nasty, ugly’, f. *gřda*

Formally *gъrdъ may be cognate with Lith. *gurdus* 4 ‘weak, slow, uncommunicative, stiff’, Latv. *guřds* ‘tired, weary’, even though strictly speaking the mobility of the Slavic form does not correspond with the fixed stress reflected by the Latvian form. The meaning ‘uncommunicative, stiff’ attested in Lithuanian is close to the meaning of the Slavic adjective, but one wonders if we are dealing with Slavic influence here. If there is an etymological relationship between the Baltic and Slavic forms, we may connect BSL. *gurʔdus with Gk. βραδύς ‘slow, dull, sluggish’ < *gʷrdus.

***gъrkati** v. ‘coo’ ESSJa VII 102

- CS RuCS *gъrkati* ‘coo’

- E Ru. *górkat* (dial.) ‘coo’; ORu. *gʷrkati* ‘coo’
 W Cz. *hrkati* ‘crack, creak’; Slk. *hrkat* ‘rumble, rattle’
 S SCr. *grkati* ‘coo, caw’; Sln. *grkati* ‘coo, screech’, 1sg. *grkam*, 1sg. *grčem*
 Cogn. Lat. *graculus* m. ‘daw, jackdaw’

See also: *grakati; *grajati

***gʷrnidlo** n. o ‘furnace’ ESSJa VII 210

- CS OCS *gr̃nilo* m. ‘smelting furnace, hearth’; RuCS *gr̃nilo* ‘furnace, hearth’;
gʷrnilo ‘furnace, hearth’
 E Ru. *gornilo* ‘furnace, hearth, crucible’; ORu. *gr̃nilo* ‘furnace, hearth’; *gʷrnilo*
 ‘furnace, hearth’

Derivative in *-idlo. See → *gʷrně, *gʷrno.

***gʷrně; *gʷrno** m. o; n. o ‘furnace, cauldron’ ESSJa VII 210-211

- CS RuCS *gr̃no* n. ‘cauldron, pot, oven’; *gʷrno* n. ‘cauldron, pot, oven’
 E Ru. *gorn* n. ‘blacksmith’s hearth’, Gsg. *górna*; *gornó* n. ‘blacksmith’s hearth,
 clay-oven’; ORu. *gr̃ně* m. ‘cauldron, pot, oven’; *gʷrně* m. ‘cauldron, pot,
 oven’; *gorně* m. ‘cauldron, pot, oven’; Ukr. *hornó* n. ‘furnace’
 W Slk. *grno* n. ‘blacksmith’s bellows’
 S SCr. *grno* n. ‘heat, embers’; Bulg. *gǎrné* n.(nt) ‘pot’

PIE *gʷhr-no-

Cogn. Skt. *ghṛṇá-* m. ‘heat’; Lat. *forñax* m. ‘oven’

See also: *gorěti; *gorějъ; *gorěkъ; *goře; *grě(ja)ti; *gʷrnidlo; *žarъ

***gʷrstь** f. i (c) ‘cupped hand’ ESSJa VII 212-213

- CS OCS *gr̃stijō* (Euch.) 1sg. f. ‘cupped hand’
 E Ru. *gorst* ‘cupped hand, handful’
 W Cz. *hrst* ‘cupped hand, handful’; Slk. *hrst* ‘cupped hand, handful, bundle’; Pl.
garść ‘cupped hand, handful’
 S SCr. *gr̃st* ‘cupped hand, handful’; Čak. *gr̃s* (Orb.) ‘handful’; Sln. *gr̃st* ‘cupped
 hand, handful’

BSl. *gursti-

B Latv. *gūrste* f.(ē) ‘bundle of flax’

See also: *gʷrtati; *gʷrtņoti

***gʷrtati** v. ‘rake together’ ESSJa VII 214

- E Ru. *gortát* (dial.) ‘rake together’; Ukr. *hortáty* ‘turn over (pages)’
 S SCr. *gr̃tati* ‘rake together, heap up’, 1sg. *gr̃čem*

See also: *gʷrstь; *gʷrtņoti

***gʷrtnŋti** v. ‘rake together’ ESSJa VII 214-215

- E Ru. *gortát* (dial.) ‘rake together’
 W Cz. *hrnouti* ‘rake together, (*h. se*) rush’; Slk. *hrnúť* ‘rake together, (*h. se*) rush’; Pl. *garnąc* ‘clasp, gather, rake (*g. się*) rush’; LSrb. *garnuś* ‘grasp, squeeze’
 S SCr. *grnuti* ‘rake together, swarm, rush’, 1sg. *grněm*; Čak. *grnūti* (Vrg.) ‘rake together, swarm, rush’, 2sg. *grněš*; Sln. *grniti* ‘rake together, gather, swarm’, 1sg. *grnem*; Mcd. *grne* ‘gather, amass, clasp’

See also: *gʷrstь; *gʷrtati

***gybati** v. ESSJa VII 216

- CS OCS *gybati* ‘perish’, 1sg. *gybljo*
 E Ru. *gibat* (dial.) ‘break, press’; *gibat* (dial.) ‘bend’
 W Cz. *hýbati* ‘move, touch’; Slk. *hýbat* ‘move’; Pl. *gibać* ‘twist, bend’
 S SCr. *gibati* ‘swing, move, bend’, 1sg. *gíbam*, 1sg. *gíbljem*; Sln. *gibati* ‘move, perish’

The root has lengthened zero grade (cf. → *gʷnŋti).

See also: *gubiti; *gʷbežь; *gʷnŋti

***gʷnŋti** v. (a) ‘perish’ ESSJa VII 218-219

- CS OCS *gybnŋti* ‘perish’, 1sg. *gybnŋ*
 E Ru. *gíbnut* ‘perish’, 1sg. *gíbnu*, 3sg. *gíbnut*
 W Cz. *hynout* ‘perish, decay’; Slk. *hynút* ‘perish, decay’; Pl. *ginąc* ‘perish’
 S SCr. *gīnuti* ‘perish’; Sln. *gíniti* ‘perish’, 1sg. *gīnem*
 PIE *gʰubʰ-

The acute root is secondary, as is often the case in verbs in *-nŋti.

See also: *gubiti; *gʷbežь; *gʷnŋti; *gybati

***gyža** f. jā (a?) ‘stump’ ESSJa VII 224

- CS RuCS *gyža* ‘unripe grape’
 W Cz. *hyže* (Kott) ‘tip of the shinbone’; OPl. *giza* ‘leg of pig or cattle, ham’
 S SCr. *gǐ(d)ža* (dial.) ‘stump of a vine’; Bulg. *gīža* ‘vine, stump of a cut off vine’
 BSl. **gunʹžjaʹ*
 B Lith. *gūžė*, *gūžė* f.(ē) ‘head of cabbage, (dial.) gizzard’; *gūžys* m.(io) 3/4 ‘gizzard, (dial.) tip of the thighbone, head of cabbage, Adam’s apple’; *gūžis* f.(i) 1 ‘gizzard, breastbone, tip of the holy bone of birds, elbow of a wing, protuberance (on the nose)’; *gunžys* (Žem.) m.(io) 3 ‘gizzard’; Latv. *gūža* f.(jā) ‘thigh, ham’

The Baltic material points unambiguously to an acute root, which is in agreement with the vocalism of *gyža, whether *y reflects *unʹ or *uʹ. The reconstruction of a nasal is only based on the Žemaitian form and therefore less secure. On the other hand, it facilitates the connection with → *gʷzʷ, *gʷza, though it must be admitted

that there is also evidence for → *guzъ. Another form containing a nasal is Lith. *gūnga* ‘hump, hunch’, where the *ǵ was apparently depalatalized, unless we assume that this word is not related. Still more remote is Lith. *gugà* ‘bump, knot (in wood), withers’, where apart from the nasal also the glottalization is absent, cf. Ru. *gúglja* (dial.) ‘bump’, Pl. *guga* ‘id.’, Lith. *gaūgaras* ‘mountain top’.

See also: *gōzъ; *gōza; *guzъ

*X

*xabati v. ‘spoil’

ESSJa VIII 7-8

W Cz. *chabati* (Kott) ‘seize, snatch’

S SCr. *hābati* ‘wear out, scold, spoil, soil’, 1sg. *hābām*; Sln. *hābati* ‘push’, 1sg. *hābam*

See → *xabiti.

*xabiti v. ‘spoil’

ESSJa VIII 8-9

CS CS *xabiti* ‘spoil, corrupt’; *xabiti se* ‘abstain’

E Ru. *xābit*’ (arch.) ‘seize, snatch’

W Cz. *chabiti* (Jg.) ‘spoil, damage’; *chābit*’ (dial.) ‘snatch, steal’; Slk. *chabit*’ ‘fool’

S SCr. *habiti* ‘spoil’; Sln. *hābati* ‘spoil, damage’, 1sg. *hābim*; *hābíti* ‘spoil, damage’, 1sg. *hābím*; Bulg. *xabjá* ‘spoil’

BSL. *skaʔb-*

B Lith. *skóbtī* ‘become sour’; Latv. *skābt* ‘become sour’

In my opinion, this is one of the cases where Slavic *x- corresponds to Baltic sk-. I thoroughly disagree with Fraenkel that Lith. *skóbtī* is cognate with *skóbtī* ‘hollow out, tear’. The meaning ‘seize, snatch’, which is attested for both *xabiti* and → *xabati is reminiscent of → *capati, → *gabati and → *xapati and must be secondary.

See also: *xabъ; *xabъnъ

*xabъ adj. o ‘weak’

ESSJa VIII 9

W Cz. *chabý* ‘weak, faded, bad’; Slk. *chabý* ‘weak, faded, small, timid’

BSL. **skaʔbos*

B Lith. *skóbas* 3 ‘sour’; Latv. *skābs* ‘sour’

See → *xabiti.

*xabъnъ adj. o

ESSJa VIII 9-10

W Cz. *chabný* ‘cowardly, faint-hearted’; LSrb. *chamny* ‘poor’

S Sln. *hábən* ‘quick, hasty, (dial.) weak’; Bulg. *xāben* ‘blunt (of an axe)’

See → *xabiti.

*xāpāti v. (b) ‘seize’ ESSJa VIII 18-19

- CS OCS *xapъjъšte* (Supr.) Npl. m. ptc. pres. act. ‘biting’; RuCS *xapati* ‘seize, bite, sting, trample’
 E Ru. *xápat* ‘seize, grab’, 1sg. *xápaju*; *xápát* (dial.) ‘seize, grab’ {1}; ORu. *xapati* ‘seize, bite, sting, trample’; Ukr. *xapáty* ‘seize, grab, steal’
 W Cz. *chápati* ‘seize, comprehend’; Slk. *chápat* ‘seize, comprehend’; Pl. *chapać* ‘seize’; Slnc. *χḗpāc* ‘seize’
 S Sln. *hāpati* ‘snap, (*h. se*) seize’, 1sg. *hāpam*

{1} AP (b) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 137).

See also: *xabъ; *gabati

*xlěbъ m. o (a) ‘bread’ ESSJa VIII 27-28

- CS OCS *xlěbъ* ‘bread, loaf’
 E Ru. *xleb* ‘bread, loaf, bread-grain, (pl.) corn’ {1}
 W Cz. *chléb* ‘bread’; Slk. *chlieb* ‘bread’; Pl. *chleb* ‘bread’; Slnc. *χlěb* ‘bread’, Gsg. *χlěbā*
 S SCr. *hlěb* ‘bread’; (*h*)*lěb* ‘bread’; *hljěb* ‘bread’; *ljěb* ‘bread’; Čak. *hļib* (Vrg.) ‘loaf of store-bought bread’; *hlěb* (Orb.) ‘round loaf’; Sln. *hlěb* ‘loaf, (white) bread’, *hlěba*; Bulg. *xljab* ‘bread, grain’

A borrowing from Germanic, cf. Go. *hlaifs*, OHG *hleib*. The length reflected in Slk. *chlieb* is probably due to Czech influence.

*xlěbъ f. i ESSJa VIII 32-33

- CS OCS *xljębei* (Ps. Sin.) Gpl. ‘waterspouts’; *xlěbъ* (Euch. MS 1/N) ‘waterfall’; RuCS *xljabъ* ‘waterfall, rapid’
 E Ru. *xljab* ‘abyss, mud, muddy ground’
 S SCr. *hl(j)eb* (obs., arch.) ‘rapids, waterfall’
 BSL. **sklemb*^h-
 B Lith. *sklėmbti* ‘slide off, slide down’; *sklėsti* ‘slide off, slide down’

*xlōdъ m. o (b/c) ‘stick, pole’ ESSJa VIII 37-38

- CS RuCS *xlōdъ* ‘staff’
 E Ru. *xlud* (dial.) ‘pole, truncheon, yoke’; *xlut* (dial.) ‘pole’
 W Cz. *chloud* ‘stick’; OCz. *chlud* ‘stick’; Pl. *chłqd* ‘stalk, twig’, Gsg. *chłędu*
 S Čak. *hlúd* (??) ‘pole, bar’; *hl^oōt* (Orb.) ‘beam on a waggon (placed lengthwise on top of the hay)’, Gsg. *hl^oodā*; Sln. *hlōd* ‘sawed off block, bar of a plough’; *hlōd* ‘bar of a plough’
 BSL. **skland*-
 B Lith. *sklandà* (Žem.) f. 4 ‘fence-pole, bolt’; Latv. *sklaņda* f. ‘bar, fence-pole’

*xoditi v. ‘go, walk’ ESSJa VIII 48-49

- CS OCS *xoditi*, 1sg. *xoždō*

- E Ru. *xodít*, 1sg. *xožú*, 3sg. *xódit*
 W Cz. *choditi*; Slk. *chodiť*; Pl. *chodzić*
 S SCr. *hòditi*, 1sg. *hòdim*; Čak. *hoditi* (Vrg.); *hodit* (Orb.), 1sg. *hòdin*; Sln. *hòditi*, Gsg. *hòdim*; Bulg. *xódja*

PIE **sod-*

Cogn. Gk. ὀδεύω ‘wander’

The initial **x* is thought to have originated after prefixes triggering the “ruki-rule” (e.g. *pri-*, *u-*). In order to explain the absence of the effects of Winter’s law (cf. also the stem **šbd-*), Kortlandt assumes that **xoditi* replaces a reduplicated present **sizd-*, where the law would not apply (Kortlandt 1988: 394).

See also: *xōdъ

***xōdъ** m. o (c) ‘motion, movement’

ESSJa VIII 51-52

- CS OCS *xodъ* (Supr.) ‘motion, movement’
 E Ru. *xod* ‘motion, movement’, Gsg. *xóda*; Ukr. *xid* ‘motion, movement’, Gsg. *xóda*
 W Cz. *chod* ‘motion, movement, walking’; Slk. *chod* ‘motion, movement, walk’; Pl. *chód* ‘motion, movement, walking’, Gsg. *chodu*
 S SCr. *hòd* ‘motion, movement, speed’, Gsg. *hòda*; Čak. *hòd* (Vrg.) ‘motion, movement, speed’, Gsg. *hòda*; *h^uòt* (Orb.) ‘walk, walking’, Gsg. *hòda*; Sln. *hòd* ‘motion, movement, walking’, Gsg. *hóda*; *hòd* ‘motion, movement, walking’, Gsg. *hodâ*; Bulg. *xod* ‘motion, movement, step’

PIE **sod-o-*

Cogn. Gk. ὀδός ‘way’

See the previous lemma.

***xoxtati** v. ‘laugh loudly’

ESSJa VIII 55

- CS CS *xoxtati*
 E Ru. *xoxtát*
 W Slnc. *χόχotac* ‘laugh’
 S Sln. *hohotáti*, 1sg. *hohotâm*, 1sg. *hohóčem*
 Cogn. Skt. *kákhati* ‘laugh’; Gk. καχάζω ‘laugh loudly’

***xōldъ** m. o (c) ‘coolness, cold’

ESSJa VIII 57-58

- CS OCS *xladъ* (Ps. Sin, Euch.) ‘coolness, cool breeze’
 E Ru. *xólod* ‘cold’
 W Cz. *hlad* ‘cold, coolness’; Slk. *hlad* ‘coolness, cool shadow’; Pl. *chlód* ‘cold, coolness’, Gsg. *chlodu*; USrb. *chlód* ‘coolness, shade’, Gsg. *chloda*
 S SCr. *hlâd* ‘coolness, cool shade’, Gsg. *hlâda*; Čak. *hlâd* (Vrg.) ‘shade’, Gsg. *hlâda*; *hlâd* (Novi) ‘shade’; *hlât* (Orb.) ‘shade’, Gsg. *hlâda*; Sln. *hlâd* ‘coolness’; *hlad* (dial.) ‘shadow’; Bulg. *xlad* ‘cold, coolness’

Cogn. Lat. *gelidus* adj. 'icy, cool'; OHG *kalt* adj. 'cold'

Possibly cognate with Latin and Germanic words for 'cold' reflecting PIE **gel-*. The **x-* lacks a convincing explanation.

See also: *xoldьnъ

*xoldьnъ adj. o (c) 'cool, cold'

ESSJa VIII 59-60

CS OCS *xladьnъ* (Euch., Supr.) 'cool'

E Ru. *xolódnyj* 'cold'

W Cz. *chladný* 'cool, cold'; Slk. *chladný* 'cool, cold'; Pl. *chłodny* 'cool'

S SCr. *hládan* 'cool, cold'; Čak. *hládan* (Vrg.) 'cool, cold'; *hládan* (Orb.) 'cold'; Sln. *hládən* 'cool'; Bulg. *xláden* 'cool'

Adjective in *-ьnъ. See → *xôldь.

*xomq̄tъ m. o 'horse's collar, hames'

ESSJa VIII 69-70

CS CS *xomq̄tъ* 'yoke, scales'

E Ru. *xomút* 'horse's collar, hames'

W Cz. *chomout* 'horse's collar, hames'; Slk. *chomút* 'horse's collar, hames'; Pl. *chomq̄to* n. 'horse's collar, hames, clamp'; *chomq̄t* (arch., dial.) 'horse's collar, hames, clamp'; OPl. *chomq̄t* (arch., dial.) 'horse's collar, hames, clamp'

S SCr. *hōmūt* 'bundle, bunch'; Sln. *homq̄t* 'horse's collar, seine'; Bulg. *xomót* 'yoke'

B Lith. *kāmanos* Npl. f. 'leather bridle'

Cogn. MoDu. *haam* n. 'hames'

This etymon is sometimes regarded as a borrowing from Germanic. Bańkowski (2000a: 143), on the other hand, regards Mong. *khomut* as a possible source.

*xòrbьrъ adj. o (a) 'brave'

ESSJa VIII 71-72

CS OCS *xrabьrъ* (Supr.) 'brave'; *xrabьrъ* (Supr.) 'brave' {1}

E Ru. *xoróbryj* (dial.) 'brave, vain'; ORu. *xoróbryj* 'brave' {2}

W OCz. *chrabry* 'brave'; Pl. *chrobry* (poet.) 'brave, bold'

S SCr. *hrábar* 'brave'; Sln. *hrábər* 'brave, bold'; Bulg. *xrábär* 'brave'

BSl. **skorъbros*

B Latv. *šķerbs* 'astringent, sharp'

Cogn. OIc. *skarpr* 'sharp'

{1} The distribution of the two variants (*xrabьrъ* Nsg. m., *xrabьryi* Nsg. m., *xrabьra* Gsg. m. : *xrabьrě* Lsg. m., *xrabьri* Npl. m.) seems to be governed by the vocalism of the final syllable. {2} AP 2 in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 155).

*xorna f. ā 'food, fodder'

ESSJa VIII 76-77

CS CS *xrana* 'food'

W Slnc. *χǎrnǎ* 'food, fodder'; Plb. *xarnǎ* 'food'

S SCr. *hrána* ‘food, fodder’; Čak. (*h*)*rānà* (Vrg.) ‘food, fodder’; *hrānà* (Novi) ‘food, fodder’; *hrānà* (Orb.) ‘food’, Asg. *hrānō*; Sln. *hrána* ‘food, fodder’; Bulg. *xraná* ‘food, fodder, grain’

Cogn. Av. *xʷarəna-* ‘food’

Possibly a borrowing from Iranian.

See also: *xorniti

***xorniti v.**

ESSJa VIII 78-79

CS OCS *xraniti* ‘preserve, guard, protect’, 1sg. *xranjō*

E Ru. *xoronít* ‘bury, hide’, 1sg. *xoronjú*, 3sg. *xorónit*; *xranít* ‘keep, preserve’, 1sg. *xranjú*, 3sg. *xranít*

W Cz. *chrániti* ‘defend, guard’; Pl. *chronić* ‘defend, guard’; Plb. *xorně* ‘feed’

S SCr. *hrániti* ‘feed, keep, preserve, save’, 1sg. *hrānīm*; Čak. *hrāñiti* (Vrg.) ‘feed, save’, 2sg. *hrāñiš*; *hrāñit* (Orb.) ‘feed, nourish’, 1sg. *hrānin*; Sln. *hrániti* ‘keep, guard’, 1sg. *hránim*; Bulg. *xránja* ‘feed’

The noun from which this verb derives may be a borrowing from Iranian.

See also: *xorna

***xròmъ adj. o (b) ‘lame’**

ESSJa VIII 101-102

CS OCS *xromъ*

E Ru. *xromój*; *xrom*, f. *xromá*, n. *xrómo* {1}

W Cz. *chromý*; Slk. *chromý*; Pl. *chromy* (arch.) ‘lame, mutilated’

S SCr. *hròm*; Čak. *hròm* (Vrg.); Sln. *hròm* ‘lame, sick’; Bulg. *xrom*

PIE **sromo-* (?)

Cogn. Skt. *srāmá-* ‘lame’

In this case it is difficult to explain **x-* < **s-*, as prefixed verbs to which the *ruki*-rule applied seem to be lacking. The ESSJa compares Pl. *poskromić* ‘tame’ ← ‘clip the wings of’ and MoHG *Schramme* ‘scratch’, advocating **x-* < **sk-*.

{1} AP (b) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 136).

***xũdъ adj. o (c) ‘small, thin’**

ESSJa VIII 111-113

CS OCS *xudъ* ‘small, insignificant, poor’; *xuždii* comp. ‘worse’

E Ru. *xudój* ‘thin, lean, bad, full of holes’; *xud* ‘thin, lean, bad, full of holes’, f. *xudá*, n. *xúdo*; *xúže* comp. ‘wor’sé’

W Cz. *chudý* ‘poor, bad, lean’; Slk. *chudý* ‘thin, lean’; Pl. *chudy* ‘thin, lean, insignificant, poor’

S SCr. *hūd* (dial.) ‘bad, evil’; Čak. *hūt* (Orb.) ‘leaky, with a hole in it’, f. *hudă*, n. *húdo*; Sln. *hūd* ‘bad, evil’, f. *húda*

PIE **ksoud-ó-*

Cogn. Skt. *kṣudrá-* ‘small’

The fact that the root is not acute in Slavic, as one would expect in view of the *-d (Winter's law) is a consequence of Meillet's law.

***xvoja; *xvojъ** f. jā; m. jo 'needles or branches of a coniferous tree' ESSJa VIII 125-126

E Ru. *xvója* f. 'needles or branches of a coniferous tree'; *xvojá* f. 'needles or branches of a coniferous tree'

W Cz. *chvoj* m. 'needles or branches of a coniferous tree'; Slk. *chvoja* f. 'brushwood, branch of a fir-tree'; Pl. *choja* f. 'needles (of conifer), branches (of conifer)'

S SCr. *hvòja* f. 'branch, sprout'; *hvója* f. 'branch, sprout'; Sln. *hòja* f. 'fir-tree, coniferous tree, brushwood of a coniferous tree'; *hója* f. 'id.'; *hvôja* f. 'id.'

BSl. **sku(o)ja?*

B Lith. *skuja* f. 4 'needle of a coniferous tree, (dial.) twig of a pine tree, cone, fish-scale'; Latv. *skuja* f. 'needle of a fir-tree'

***xvórstъ** m. o (b) 'brushwood'

ESSJa VIII 130-131

CS CS *xvrastъ* 'osier'

E Ru. *xvórost* 'brushwood'; *xvoróst* (dial.) 'dry osiers, twigs, brushwood'; Ukr. *xvoróst* 'brushwood'

W Cz. *chrast* 'rustle'; *chrást* (dial.) 'bush'; *chrast* (dial.) f.(i) 'thicket, dry osiers'; Pl. *chrust* 'brushwood, shrubbery'; Slnc. *χrōyst* 'brushwood'; USrb. *chróst* (obs.) 'brushwood, shrubbery'

S SCr. *hrást* 'oak, (dial.) tree', Gsg. *hrásta*; Čak. *hrást* (Vrg.) 'oak', Gsg. *hrástà*; Sln. *hrást* 'oak'; *hrást* f.(i) 'brushwood'; Bulg. *xrast* 'bush, shrub'

Perhaps cognate with OHG *hurst* m./f., OE *hyrst* m. 'bush, thicket', but the latter etymon is usually derived from **krt-* 'wind'.

See also: *xvórstъje

***xvorstъje** n. io 'brushwood'

ESSJa VIII 131

CS SerbCS *xvrastije* n.(io) 'osiers'

W Cz. *chrastí* n.(io) 'shrubby'; *chvrastí* (arch.) n.(io) 'shrubby'; Slk. *chrastie* n.(io) 'shrubby, thickets'; Pl. *chroście* (obs.) n.(io) 'shrubby, osiers'

S SCr. *hrášće* (arch., dial.) n.(jo) 'oaks'; Sln. *hrástje* n.(jo) 'oak-wood, brushwood, osiers'; *hráščje* n.(jo) 'brushwood'

See also: *xvórstъ

***xvorъ** adj. o 'ill'

ESSJa VIII 131-132

CS CS *xvorъ* 'ill'

E Ru. *xvóryj* 'ill, sickly'; *xóryj* (dial.) 'ill'

W Cz. *chorý* 'ill, sickly, bad'; OCz. *ch(v)orý* 'thin, skinny'; Slk. *chorý* 'ill'; Pl. *chory* 'ill'

PIE **suor-o-*

Cogn. Av. *xʷara-* m. ‘wound’; OHG *swero* m. ‘pain, ulcer’

***xybati** v. ‘sway’

ESSJa VIII 153

W Cz. *chybati* (Kott) ‘hesitate’; Slk. *chybat’* ‘be absent, be missing’; Pl. *chybać* (obs., dial.) ‘sway, rock, run, rush’

S Sln. *híbatí* ‘scold, criticize’

Cogn. Skt. *kṣobh-* ‘stagger, begin to swing, tremble’

Iterative in **-ati* with lengthened zero grade of the root **k^(w)seub^h-*. Perhaps also cognate with Lith. *skubùs*, Latv. *skùbrs* ‘hasty’.

*I

***i** conj. ‘and’

ESSJa VIII 167

CS OCS *i*

E Ru. *i*

W Cz. *i*; OCz. (*h*)*i*; Pl. *i*; OPl. (*h*)*i*

S SCr. *i*; Sln. *i*; Bulg. *i*

PIE **h₁ei*

Cogn. Gk. *εἰ* ‘if’

*J

***ju(že)** adv. ‘already’

ESSJa VIII 190-191

CS OCS *uže*; *juže*; RCS *ju* ‘now, then’

E Ru. *užé*

W Cz. *již*; OCz. *juž(e)*; Slk. *už*; Pl. *już*; *ju* (dial.)

BSL. **jou*

B Lith. *jaũ*; Latv. *jāu*.

***jǔgъ** m. o (a) ‘South, south wind’

ESSJa VIII 192-193

CS OCS *jugъ* ‘South, south wind’

E Ru. *jug* ‘South, south wind’; ORu. *ugъ* ‘South, south wind’

W Cz. *jih* ‘South’; OCz. *juh* ‘south wind’; Slk. *juh* ‘South’

S SCr. *jǔg* m. ‘south wind’; *jǔgo* n. ‘south wind’; Čak. *jǔgo* (Vrg., Novi, Orb.) n. ‘south wind’; Sln. *jùg* ‘southwest wind, South’, Gsg. *júga*; Bulg. *jug* ‘South’

If **jǔgъ* is cognate with Gk. *αὐγή* ‘light, beam’ < **h₂eug-*, the acute tone of the root can be explained by Winter’s law. On the other hand, this etymology also implies that

the *j- was originally a glide, which considering the distribution of forms with and without *j- seems less likely. The ESSJa argues that *jugō contains *iouā ‘mix, knead’. The original meaning would have been ‘soft’, cf. → *sēverō*, of the which the older meaning is assumed to have been ‘sharp, severe’. This all seems highly speculative.

***jūxà** f. ā (b) ‘broth, soup’

ESSJa VIII 193

CS	CS <i>juxa</i> ‘broth’
E	Ru. <i>uxá</i> ‘fish-soup’, Asg. <i>uxú</i> {1}
W	Cz. <i>jícha</i> ‘liquid, sauce, (arch.) soup’; Slk. <i>jucha</i> ‘cabbage soup’; Pl. <i>jucha</i> ‘bull’s blood, soup, sauce, juice’; Slnc. <i>júχa</i> ‘soup’
S	SCr. <i>júha</i> (dial.) ‘soup, broth’; Čak. <i>jūhā</i> (Vrg.) ‘soup, broth’ {2}; <i>jūhā</i> (Novi) ‘soup, broth’; <i>jūhā</i> (Orb.) ‘soup’, Asg. <i>jūho</i> ; Sln. <i>júha</i> ‘soup’
B	Lith. <i>júšė</i> f.(ē) 1 ‘broth, soup’ OPr. <i>juse</i> (EV) ‘soup’

Cogn. Skt. *yūṣ-* n. ‘broth’; Lat. *iūs* n. ‘broth’

The fact that all in all the accentological evidence points to AP (b) is problematic in view of the laryngeal reflected by forms from other branches. If the root is identical with Skt. *yu-* ‘unite, attach, bind’, which is uncertain, we may reconstruct **ieu-* alongside **ieuH*, cf. Lith. *jáuti*, *jaūti*. In any case, Slavic has full grade, **ieu(H)-s-* or **iou(H)-s-*, against zero grade in Baltic.

{1} AP (b) is also attested in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 135). {2} According to Jurišić, this form is a recent designation of *čōrba*.

***jūnъ** adj. o (c) ‘young’

ESSJa VIII 195-197

CS	OCS <i>junō</i> ‘young(er)’
E	Ru. <i>júnnyj</i> ‘young, youthful’
W	Cz. <i>juný</i> (poet.) ‘young, youthful’
S	SCr. <i>jun</i> (eccl.) ‘young’; Sln. <i>jūn</i> ‘young, youthful’, f. <i>júna</i>

BSl. **iouŋnós*

B Lith. *jáunas* 3 ‘young’; Latv. *jaūns* ‘young, new’

PIE **h₂i-eu-Hn-o-*

Cogn. Skt. *yúvan-* (RV+) adj./m. ‘young, youth’; Lat. *iuvenis* m. ‘young man’; OHG *jung* adj. ‘young’

***jъ(že)** prn.

ESSJa VIII 204-205

CS	OCS <i>i</i> prn. ‘that, he, who’, f. <i>ja</i> , n. <i>je</i> ; RuCS <i>ože</i> conj. ‘how, that, because’
E	ORu. <i>ože</i> conj. ‘how, that, because’
W	Cz. <i>že</i> conj. ‘that’; (<i>j</i>) <i>ež</i> (arch.) conj. ‘that’; <i>jenž</i> (arch.) prn. ‘who’, f. <i>jež</i> , n. <i>jež</i> ; Slk. <i>že</i> conj. ‘that’; Pl. <i>że</i> conj. ‘that’; <i>że</i> prn. ‘who’
PIE	* <i>io-*</i> <i>g^(w)he</i>

***jьde** conj. ‘where’

ESSJa VIII 206

CS	OCS <i>ide</i> ‘where, when’; RuCS <i>ide</i> ‘where, when, as’; <i>idě</i> ‘where, when, as’
E	ORu. <i>ide</i> ‘where, when, as’; <i>idě</i> ‘where, when, as’; Bel. <i>idze</i> ‘where’
W	Cz. <i>jdeže</i> (arch.) ‘where’
PIE	* <i>io+d^he</i>

***jьgo** n. o (c) ‘yoke’

ESSJa VIII 206-207

CS	OCS <i>igo</i> ‘yoke’
E	Ru. <i>igo</i> ‘yoke (fig.)’; Ukr. <i>iho</i> ‘yoke’
W	Cz. <i>jho</i> ‘yoke’; OSlk. <i>jho</i> ‘yoke, burden’; Pl. <i>jugo</i> (dial.) ‘yoke, cross-beam’; <i>igo</i> (dial.) ‘yoke’; Slnc. <i>vjigō</i> ‘yoke’; Plb. <i>jaid’ü</i> ‘yoke’; <i>jaigo</i> Gsg. ‘yoke’
S	SCr. <i>igo</i> (arch., lit.) ‘yoke’ {1}; <i>jigo</i> (Krk) ‘stabilizing cross-beam on primitive boats’; Sln. <i>igō</i> n.(s) ‘yoke’; Gsg. <i>izêsa</i> ; <i>jígo</i> (Carinthia) n.(s) ‘yoke’; Gsg. <i>jižêsa</i> ; Bulg. <i>igo</i> ‘yoke’
BSl.	* <i>jú?go</i>
B	Lith. <i>jūngas</i> m. 1 ‘yoke’; Latv. <i>jūgs</i> m. ‘yoke’
PIE	* <i>iug-ó-m</i>
Cogn.	Skt. <i>yugá-</i> n. ‘yoke, pair’; Gk. ζυγόν n. ‘yoke’; Lat. <i>iugum</i> n. ‘yoke’

The *s*-stem that occurs in Slovene and in late Church Slavic texts must be analogical after forms such as *kolesa* ‘wheels’, *ojesa* ‘thills’ (cf. Vaillant Gr. II: 237).

{1} The RSA gives the accentuations *igo* and *ígo*, but it is unclear on what basis. Skok has *igo* with a question mark. The word *igo* seems to have been introduced into the literary language at a relatively recent stage.

***jьgra; *jьgrь** f. ā; m. o (b) ‘play, game’

ESSJa VIII 208-210

CS	OCS <i>igrь</i> (Euch., Supr.) f.(i) ‘entertainment, joke’; CS <i>igra</i> ‘entertainment, dance, play’
E	Ru. <i>igrá</i> ‘play(ing), game’; Ukr. <i>hra</i> ‘play(ing), game’
W	Cz. <i>hra</i> ‘play, game, entertainment, amusement’; OCz. <i>jhra</i> ‘play, amusement’; Slk. <i>hra</i> ‘play, game, entertainment, amusement’; <i>ihra</i> (arch.) ‘play, entertainment’; Pl. <i>gra</i> ‘play(ing), game’; OPl. <i>igra</i> ‘play(ing), game’
S	SCr. <i>igra</i> ‘play(ing), dance’; Asg. <i>igr̥u</i> ; Čak. <i>igrǎ</i> (Vrg.) ‘play(ing), dance’; Asg. <i>igr̥ü</i> ; <i>igra</i> (Orb.) ‘game, play’; Asg. <i>igro</i> ; Sln. <i>igra</i> ‘play’; <i>igrà</i> ‘play’; Bulg. <i>igrá</i> ‘play(ing), game’

Etymology unclear. The connection with Skt. *éjati* ‘move, stir’ < **h₂eig-* is semantically unconvincing and formally unattractive because it is in conflict with Winter’s law.

See also: *jьgrati

***jьgrati** v. ‘play’

ESSJa VIII 210-211

CS	OCS <i>igrati</i> ‘amuse oneself, play’, 1sg. <i>igrajō</i>
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- E Ru. *igrát* ‘play’, 1sg. *igráju*; Ukr. *hráty* ‘play’
 W Cz. *hráti* ‘play’; Slk. *hrat* ‘play’; Pl. *grac* ‘play’; OPl. *igrac* ‘play, dance to music’; Plb. *jaigrojā* 3pl. ‘play’
 S SCr. *igrati* ‘dance, play’, 1sg. *igrām*; Čak. *igrāti* (Vrg.) ‘dance, play’, 2sg. *igrās*; *igrät* (Orb.) ‘play’, 1sg. *igrân*; Bulg. *igrája* ‘play’

See → *jьgra, *jьgrv.

***jьgrьlā** f. ā (c) ‘needle’

ESSJa VIII 213-214

- CS CS *igla* ‘needle’
 E Ru. *iglá* ‘needle’; Ukr. *hólka* ‘needle’; *ihlá* (dial.) ‘needle’
 W Cz. *jehla* ‘needle’; *ihla* (dial.) ‘needle’; Slk. *ihla* ‘needle’; Pl. *igła* ‘needle, pin’; *jegła* (dial.) ‘needle, pin’; Slnc. *jieglä* ‘needle’; LSrb. *gła* ‘needle’; Plb. *jāglä* ‘needle’
 S SCr. *igla* ‘needle’, Asg. *iglu*; *jigla* (dial.) ‘needle’; *jāgla* (dial.) ‘needle’; Čak. *iglā* (Vrg.) ‘needle’, Asg. *iglu*; *iglā* (Novi) ‘needle’; *jōgla* (Hvar) ‘needle’, Asg. *iglu*; *igla* (Orb.) ‘needle’, Asg. *iglo*; Sln. *igla* ‘needle, kingpin’; *igla* ‘needle, kingpin’; *jāgla* ‘needle, kingpin’; Bulg. *iglá* ‘needle’
 B OPr. *ayculo* (EV) ‘needle’

The connection with Lith. *áigyti* (dial.) ‘prick, sting, incite, beat’, *aīgaras* ‘straw’ (Toporov PJ s.v. *ayculo*), does not seem implausible. OPr. *ayculo* may have <c> for g. The assumption that *ay-* reflects **ei* is not trivial. The Slavic root may have either zero grade or *e*-grade unless the root has initial **h*₂ or **h*₃. Note that in case of a zero grade in the root the **u* of the suffix would have blocked the progressive palatalization.

{1} According to the *Staroslavjanskij slovar*’, the adjective *igōlinē* occurs nine times, always in the context *skvozē igōlinē uši* ‘through the eye of a needle’.

***jьkrā; *jьkro** f. ā; n. o (c) ‘roe, spawn, (anat.) calf’

ESSJa VIII 217-220

- CS CS *ikra* f. ‘roe’
 E Ru. *ikrá* f. ‘roe, spawn, caviar, (anat.) calf’; *ikró* (Psk.) f. ‘roe, spawn, caviar’; *ikrá* f. ‘roe, spawn, caviar, (anat.) calf’; *kra* (arch.) f. ‘ice-floe’
 W Cz. *jikra* f. ‘roe’; *ikro* (dial.) n. ‘(anat.) calf’; *kra* f. ‘ice-floe’; OCz. *kra* f. ‘lump, clod’; Slk. *ikra* f. ‘roe’; Pl. *ikra* f. ‘roe, spawn, caviar, (anat.) calf’; OPl. *ikro* n. ‘roe’; Slnc. *krūę* f. ‘roe, (anat.) calf’; Plb. *jākrā* f. ‘roe’
 S SCr. *ikra* f. ‘roe’; Sln. *ikra* f. ‘spawn, roe, hydatid, scale’
 BSL. **ikra?*; **ikro*
 B Lith. *ikras* m. 2 ‘fish-egg, (anat.) calf, (pl.) roe, spawn, caviar’; Latv. *ikri* Npl. m. ‘roe, spawn, caviar, (anat.) calves’; *ikrs* m. ‘(anat.) calf’; *ikra* f. ‘roe, spawn’
 OPr. *ycroy* (EV) ‘(anat.) calf’

A derivative of **iek^w-r/n-* ‘liver’, cf. Skt. *yákar-* (*yakn-*) m. ‘liver’; Gk. ἥπαρ n. ‘liver’.

***jьľь;** ***jьľo** m. o; n o ‘silt, clay’ ESSJa VIII 221-222

- CS CS *ilъ* m. ‘bog’
 E Ru. *il* m. ‘silt’
 W Cz. *jil* m. ‘silt, clay’; Slk. *il* m. ‘silt, clay’; *il* (arch.) m. ‘silt, clay’; Pl. *il* m. ‘clay, natural dampness of earth’; *jeł* (dial.) m. ‘clay, natural dampness of earth’
 S SCr. *il* (arch., obs.) m. ‘clay’; *jľlo* (Cres) n. ‘silt, clay’; Čak. *ľlo* (Vrg.) n. ‘entrails of an octopus or cuttlefish’; *jľlo* (Novi) n. ‘clay with water’; Sln. *il* m. ‘loam, clay’; Gsg. *ila*; *ilo* n. ‘loam, clay’; *jilo* n. ‘loam, clay’
 BSL. **il-*
 B Latv. *ils* ‘very dark’
 PIE *(H)*iHl-u-*
 Cogn. Gk. ἰλύς f. ‘mud, slime’; Gk. εἰλύ (Hes.) Nsg. n. ‘black’

***jьľьть** m. o ‘elm’ ESSJa VIII 222-223

- E Ru. *il’m* ‘wych elm (*Ulmus montana*)’; Gsg. *il’ma*; *ilem* (Dal’) ‘common (or small-leaved) elm (*Ulmus campestris*)’; Gsg. *il’ma*; *ľemok* (dial.) ‘young wych elm’; ORu. *ilemъ* ‘elm’; Ukr. *il’m* ‘wych elm (*Ulmus montana*)’; *ilem* ‘wych elm (*Ulmus montana*)’; *l’om* ‘wych elm (*Ulmus montana*)’
 W Cz. *jilьm* m.; *jilьma* f.; Pl. *ilьm*; OPL. *ilem*; Slnc. *hělem*; Plb. *jělmă* f.
 S Sln. *lim*, Gsg. *líma* (according to Pleteršnik, *iləm*, Gsg. *ilma*, is of Russian origin)
 PIE **h₁ľ-mo-*?
 Cogn. Lat. *ulmus* m.; OHG *elm* m.; OIc. *almr* m.

***jьməti** v. ‘take’ ESSJa VIII 224-225

- CS OCS *imati* ‘take, gather’, 1sg. *jemljō*
 E Ru. *imát’* (dial.) ‘catch, try’; *imát’* (dial.) ‘have, possess’; *imat’* (dial.) ‘have, possess’; Ukr. *máty* ‘have, intend, be due’; *imáty* (dial.) ‘take, seize’
 W Cz. *jímati* ‘take, seize’; OCz. *jímati* ‘take, seize’; *jmáti* ‘take prisoner’; Slk. *mať* ‘have, possess’; *jímat’* ‘have, possess’; Pl. *imać* (obs.) ‘take, have’; Slnc. *jimăc* ‘seize’; Plb. *jaimăť* ‘catch’, 3sg. *jěmě*
 S SCr. *imati* ‘have’, 1sg. *imām*; Čak. *imăti* (Vrg.) ‘have’, 2sg. *imăš*; Bulg. *imam* ‘have’

See → *ęti.

***jьměti** v. (c) ‘have’ ESSJa VIII 226-227

- CS OCS *iměti* ‘have’, 1sg. *imamb* (rarely *imějō*)
 E Ru. *imét’* ‘have (of abstract possession)’; 1sg. *iméju*; Ukr. *imíty* (dial.) ‘have’; *míty* (dial.) ‘have’
 W Cz. *míti* ‘have’; OCz. *jmieti* ‘have’; Pl. *miec* ‘have’; *imiec* (arch.) ‘have’; OPL. *imiec* ‘have’; *jemieć* ‘have’; *jmiec* ‘have’; Slnc. *mjięc* ‘have’, 1sg. *mőum*; USrb. *měć* ‘have’; LSrb. *měš* ‘have’; Plb. *met* ‘have’, 3sg. *mo*

S SCr. *imjeti* ‘have’; Čak. *imět* (Orb.) ‘have’, 1sg. *īman*; Sln. *iměti* ‘have’, 1sg. *imām*; Bulg. *ímam* ‘have’

See → *ęti. The present formation *jьmamъ, which had mobile stress (cf. Dubr. *īmām*, *imámo*), is the subject of Kortlandt 1985.

{1} The present *jьmamъ had mobile stress, cf. SCr. *īmām*, *imámo* (Dubr.) {2} Rarely *imějǫ*.

***jьmę** n. n ‘name’

ESSJa VIII 227-228

CS OCS *imę*, Gsg. *imene*

E Ru. *ímja*, Gsg. *ímeni*; Ukr. *im’á*, Gsg. *ímeny*; *m’a* (dial.)

W Cz. *jméno* n.(o); *meno* (dial.) n.(o); OCz. *jmě*, Gsg. *jmene*; Slk. *meno* n.(o); Pl. *imię*, Gsg. *imienia*; *imiono* (arch.) n.(o); *miano* (arch.) n.(o); *miono* (dial.) n.(o); Slnc. *mjǫǵnǫ* n.(o); USrb. *mjeno* n.(o); *imje*; *mje*; LSrb. *mě*, Gsg. *meńa*; *jmě* (arch.); Plb. *jaimę*; *jaimǻ* n.(o)

S SCr. *ime*, Gsg. *imena*, Npl. *iměna*; Čak. *ime* (Vrg.), Gsg. *imena*, Npl. *iměna*; *ime* (Orb.), Gsg. *imena*, Npl. *im’ěna*; Sln. *imę*, Gsg. *imęna*; Bulg. *imé*

BSl. *inǫmen-

OPr. *emmens* Gsg., *emnen* Asg.

PIE *h₃nh₃-men-

Cogn. Skt. *nāman-* n.; Gk. *ὄνομα* n.; Lat. *nōmen* n.

***jьпогъ** m. o ‘gryphon’

ESSJa VIII 231

CS RuCS *inogъ*

E ORu. *inogъ*

W Cz. *noh*; Pl. *nóg* (obs.), Gsg. *noga*

S SCr. *ineg* (arch.); *inog* (arch.)

Probably a derivative of → *jьnъ with a meaning similar to → *jьnokъ, cf. Gk. *μονιός* ‘solitary, ferocious’. It remains unclear why the suffix of the word for ‘gryphon’ has *g, however.

***jьпокъ** adj. o ‘solitary’

ESSJa VIII 232-233

CS OCS *inokъ* (Ps. Sin.) ‘singular’; RuCS *inokyj* adj ‘only, sole, solitary’; *inokyj* m. ‘hermit’

E Ru. *inok* m. ‘monk’; *inók* (dial.) m. ‘robber’; ORu. *inokyj* adj. ‘only, sole, solitary’; *inokyj* m. ‘hermit’

S SCr. *inok* (arch.) ‘lonesome, monastic’; Bulg. *inók* m. ‘monk’

Derivative in *-okъ of → *jьnъ. See also the previous lemma.

***jьпъ** prn. (a) ‘other’

ESSJa VIII 235-236

CS OCS *inъ* ‘some(one), other’

E Ru. *inój* ‘different, other’ {1}

W Cz. *jiný* ‘other, different’; Slk. *iný* ‘other, different’; Pl. *inny* ‘other, different’

- S SCr. *in* ‘other, different’; Sln. *in* ‘other’
 BSL. *(o)*iʔnos*
 B Lith. *viėnas* ‘one’; Latv. *viėns* ‘one’
 OPr. *ainan* Asg. ‘one’
 PIE **HiH-no-*
 Cogn. Gk. οἷνῆ f. ‘one (on dice)’; Lat. *ūnus* ‘one’
 {1} AP (a) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 133).

- *jьпъjь; *jьпъje m. io (a) ‘hoar-frost, rime’ ESSJa VIII 235-236
 CS OCS *inii* (Ps. Sin. MS 2/N) m.(io); RuCS *inii* m.(io); *inije* n.(io) {1}
 E Ru. *inej* m.(jo); ORu. *inii* m.(io); *inije* n.(io) (also *inej*, *inij*); Bel. *inej* m.(jo);
 Ukr. *inej* m.(jo)
 W Cz. *jíní* n.(io); OSlk. *jínie* n.(io)
 S SCr. *inje* n.(jo); Sln. *inje* n.(jo); Bulg. *inej* m.(jo)
 BSL. **iʔnio(s)*
 B Lith. *ynis* (dial.) m.(io)

- *jьrbica; *jьrbina; *jьrbika f. ā ESSJa I 73
 W Kash. *jerzbina* ‘rowan-tree’; *jarzbina* ‘rowan-tree’; USrb. *jerbina* (dial.)
 ‘rowan-tree’
 S Sln. *rbika* (Josch 1853) ‘rowan-tree’; Bulg. *érbica* (dial.) ‘partridge’
 BSL. **irʔb-*
 B Lith. *irbė* f.(ē) ‘hazel-grouse’; Latv. *iŗbe* f.(ē) ‘hazel-grouse’, *irbene* f.(ē)
 ‘rowan-tree’
 PIE **h₁rb-i-*
 See also: *erębъ; *erębъ; *erębъкъ; *erębica; *erębina

- *jьгъ; *jьгъjь m. o; m. io ESSJa VIII 236-237
 E Ru. *irej* (dial.) ‘strong wind’; Bel. *výraj* ‘warm lands to which birds migrate’;
výrij ‘warm lands to which birds migrate’; Ukr. (v)*ýrij* ‘warm lands to which
 birds migrate’
 W Pl. *wyraj* (obs.) ‘warm lands to which birds migrate, fairytale land of
 happiness’
 S Sln. *ir* ‘der Wasserabgrund, (pl.) deep spot in water’; *irîn* ‘Wasserwirbel’
 (Bezlaj has *ir* m. and also mentions *ir* f.)
 BSL. **iuʔr-*
 B Lith. *jūra* f. 1 ‘sea’; Latv. *jūra* f. ‘sea (dial. also pl.)’
 OPr. *luriay* [*iuriay*] (EV) ‘sea’; *iūrin* Asg. ‘sea’

According to Bezlaj (1977b: 212), the connection between Sln. *ir* and the other Slavic forms can be understood in the light of the ancient belief that migratory birds hibernate under water. If one is not prepared to accept this, only the Slovene forms

are possibly cognate with Lith. *jūra* ‘sea’, Latv. *jūra* ‘id.’, etc. On the other hand, Sln. *ir* is similar to *vir* ‘Wasserwirbel’, which seems to belong together with **vbrěti* ‘boil’, etc. Formally, **jbrō(jb)* and Lith. *jūra* could both continue **iuHr-*, but in that case it becomes impossible to establish a connection with **ueHr*, cf. Skt. *vâr* ‘water’. A full grade **euHr-* would yield BSl. **iouHr-*, cf. Lith. *jaura* ‘marshy land’. Subsequently, the **i-* could have spread to the zero grade. The PSl. reflex of **uHr-* would have been **vyr-*. Nevertheless, it seems more probable to me that such forms as Ukr. *výrij* were influenced by derivatives containing the prefix *vy-* or arose from collocations with **vō* (cf. ESBM II: 279-280).

***jъskàti** v. (b) ‘look for, seek’

ESSJa VIII 238-239

- CS OCS *iskati* ‘look for, seek’, 1sg. *iskō*, 3sg. *īstetō*, 3pl. *iskōtō* (also 1sg *īstō*, 3sg *īstōtō*, with analogical spread of the palatalized root form *īst-*)
- E Ru. *iskát* ‘look for, seek’, 1sg. *iščú*, 3sg. *iščet*; Ukr. *s’káty* ‘search (one’s head)’
- W Cz. *vískati* ‘look for lice’; *iskat* (dial.) ‘bite (frost), look for lice’; OCz. *jískati* ‘look for, seek’; Slk. *iskat* ‘look for lice’; Pl. *iskać* ‘look for lice’; Slnc. *vjiskāc* ‘look for lice’, 1sg. *vjīščq*
- S SCr. *iskati* ‘wish, (Dubr.) look for’; *iskati* ‘look for lice’; Čak. *iskàti* (Vrg.) ‘look for’, 2sg. *iščeš*, *iščeš*; *iskāt* (Orb.) ‘look for, get’, 3sg. *iščēn*; *iskāt* (Orlec) ‘look for’, 3sg. *išče*; Sln. *iskati* ‘look for, seek’, 1sg. *iščem*; *iskàti* ‘look for, seek’, 1sg. *iščem*; Bulg. *iskam* ‘want’
- BSL. **(o)i?skař-*
- B Lith. *ieškóti* ‘look for’; Latv. *iēskāt* ‘look for lice’
- PIE **h₂is-sk-e/o-*
- Cogn. Skt. *icchāti* ‘wish for, seek’; Av. *isaiti* ‘seek’; Lat. *aeruscāre* ‘beg, ask for’; OHG *eiscon* ‘investigate, demand’

The full grade may be of denominative origin. I assume that at a certain stage of Balto-Slavic the suffix **-sk-* was replaced by **-Hsk-* (Derksen 1996: 294, 337).

***jъskra** f. ā (a) ‘spark’

ESSJa VIII 239-240

- CS OCS *iskra* (Euch.) ‘spark’
- E Ru. *iskra* ‘spark’; Ukr. *iskra* ‘spark’; *skra* (dial.) ‘spark’
- W Cz. *jiskra* ‘spark’; Slk. *iskra* ‘spark’; Pl. *iskra* ‘spark’; *skra* (arch., dial.) ‘spark’; Slnc. *skrā* ‘spark’; USrb. *škra* ‘spark’; LSrb. *škía* ‘spark’; Plb. *jāskrā* ‘spark’
- S SCr. *iskra* ‘spark’; Čak. *iskra* (Vrg.) ‘spark’; Sln. *iskra* ‘spark’; Bulg. *iskrá* ‘spark’
- BSL. **i?šk-*
- B Lith. *yškus* (dial.) 1 ‘clear’; *ėiškus* (dial.) 1 ‘clear’
- Cogn. OIc. *eiskra* ‘rage with heated excitement’

It is quite likely that we are dealing with a noun containing the root **h₂eid^h-* ‘kindle’ (see → **ěsnō* for the origin of the acute).

***jьsto** n. o ‘kidney’ ESSJa VIII 242-243

- CS OCS *istesa* (Supr.) Apl. ‘kidneys’; *istesě* (Supr.) Adu. ‘kidneys’ {1}
 W Plb. *jaistā* Npl. ‘kidneys’
 S Čak. *jīsto* (Cres) n.(o?) ‘kidney’ (in the dialect description of Tentor (1909, 1950), the diacritic $\hat{\ }$ denotes length); Sln. *obīst* f.(i) ‘kidney’
 BSl. **iŕst-*
 B Lith. *inkstas* m.(o) ‘kidney’; Latv. *īkstis* Npl. m.(i) ‘kidneys’; *īstri* Npl. m.(o) ‘kidneys’
 OPr. *inxcze* (EV) n. ‘kidney’
 PIE **h₂id-st-es-*
 Cogn. OIc. *eista* ‘testicle’

{1} Though Ps. Sin. has *otr̥b̥q̥* Asg. ‘entrails’ in the same passage (Psalm 26:2), both Gk. *νεφροί* and the fact that Supr. has a dual *istesě* here justify a translation ‘kidneys’ (‘reins’ in the King James Version). The kidneys were considered to be the seat of desires and affections. The SJS translates ‘entrails’.

***jьstь** adj. o (a) ‘true, genuine’ ESSJa VIII 246-247

- CS OCS *istō* ‘true, genuine, precise, that’
 E Ru. *istyj* ‘true, genuine’
 W Cz. *istý* ‘definite, true, reliable’; Pl. *isty* ‘true, sure, the same’
 S SCr. *istī* ‘true, the same’; Čak. *īstī* (Vrg.) ‘true, the same’; *īsti* (Orb.) ‘same, identical’; Sln. *īsti* ‘the same’
 BSl. **iŕstos*
 B Latv. *īsts* ‘real, true’
 See → **ġsn̥v̥*.

***jьstьbà** f. ā (c) ‘room’ ESSJa VIII 243-245

- CS CS *jьstьbà* ‘room’
 E Ru. *izbá* ‘peasant’s hut, cottage’, Asg. *izbu*; ORu. *istoba* ‘house, building’; *iz(̥)ba* ‘house, building’
 W Cz. *jizba* ‘accommodation, room’; *izba* (dial.) ‘attic, peasant house, house’; OCz. *jistba* ‘room, pillar, arch’; Slk. *izba* ‘accommodation, room’; Pl. *izba* ‘room’; *izdba* (arch.) ‘room’; *istba* (arch., dial.) ‘room’; *zdba* (dial.) ‘room’; *žba* (dial.) ‘room’; OPl. *histba* ‘peasant house, room’; Sln. *jizbá* ‘room’; USrb. *jstwa* ‘accommodation, room’; *stwa* ‘accommodation, room’; LSRb. *špa* ‘attic, big room’; Plb. *jāzba* ‘sitting-room’
 S SCr. *izba* (Herc.) ‘room, cellar’; *izba* (dial.) ‘cellar’; Sln. *izba* ‘room, attic’; *izbà* ‘room, attic’; *jězba* ‘dining-room’; Bulg. *izba* ‘cellar, hut’; *istāba* (arch., dial.) ‘hut’
 B Latv. *istaba* ‘room’

Probably from Romance **istuva* or **istuba* ‘bath-house’, cf. MoFr. *étuve*.

***jьti** v. 'go'

ESSJa VIII 247-248

- CS OCS *iti* 'go', 1sg. *idǫ*, 2sg. imper. *idi*
 E Ru. *iditi* 'go', 1sg. *idú*, 3sg. *idět*, 2sg. imper. *idí* {1}; Ukr. *ití* 'go', 1sg. *idú*
 W Cz. *jíti* 'go', 1sg. *jdu*, 2sg. imper. *jdi*; Slk. *íst* 'go'; Pl. *isć* 'go'; *ić* (arch.) 'go'; Slnc. *jíc* 'go', 1sg. *jīdq*; Plb. *ait* 'go', 3sg. *aidě*, 2sg. imper. *aid*
 S SCr. *íci* 'go', 1sg. *īdēm*; *iti* (dial.) 'go'; *ísti* 'go'; Sln. *íti* 'go', 1sg. *grēm*, 1sg. *grēdem*, 1sg. *ídem*; Bulg. *ída* 'go, come'
- BSL. **ei-*
 B Lith. *eīti* 'go'; Latv. *iēt* 'go'
 PIE **h₁ei-*
 Cogn. Skt. *éti* 'go'; Gk. εἶμι 'go'; Lat. *ire* 'go'

The stem form *id-* results from a reanalysis of the 2sg. imperative *idi* < **h₁i-d^h-oih₁s*, cf. Skt. *ihí* 2sg. imper. 'go', Gk. ἴθι 2sg. imper. 'go'. The original ending was transformed under the influence of the optative ending **-oih₁s*.

{1} AP (b) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 136).

***jьva** f. ā (a) 'willow'

ESSJa VIII 248-249

- E Ru. *íva*; ORu. *iva*; Ukr. *íva* (dial.)
 W Cz. *jíva*; Slk. *iva*; Pl. *iwa*; USrb. *jiwa*; LSrb. *wiwa*
 S SCr. *iva*; Sln. *íva*; Bulg. *íva*
- BSL. **éiřwa?* (**éřiwa?*)
 B Lith. *ievà* 2/4 'bird-cherry' {1}; Latv. *iēva* 'bird-cherry'
 PIE **h₁eiH-ueh₂* (*h₁eh₁i-ueh₂?*)
 Cogn. Gk. ὄα, ὄη, οἶη f. 'service-tree'; Lat. *ūva* 'bunch of grapes, raisins'
- {1} AP 1 seems to occur in dialects. With respect to AP 2, cf. Illič-Svityč 1979: 53.

***jьверъ** m. o 'chip'

ESSJa VIII 250-251

- E Ru. *íver* (dial.) 'felling, mark on a log'; Ukr. *íver* m.(jo) 'notch across a tree'; *ýver* m.(jo) 'notch across a tree'; *hýver* m.(o) 'chip, splinter'
 W Cz. *iver* (dial.) 'chip'; *vejr* (dial.) 'notch, chip'; *vér* (dial.) 'notch, chip'; Slk. *íver* 'stump, chip'; Pl. *wiór* 'shaving, chip'; *wier* (dial.) 'shaving, chip'; *jewir* (dial.) 'shaving, chip'; *iver* (dial.) 'shaving, chip'; Slnc. *vjör* 'shaving, chip'; Plb. *jéver* 'shaving, chip'
 S SCr. *ivēr* 'chip'; Sln. *ivēr* 'chip'; Bulg. *íver* 'chip, chunk'

Formation unclear.

***jьvьlga** f. ā 'oriole'

ESSJa VIII 251-252

- CS CS *vlǫga* 'oriole'
 E Ru. *ivolga* 'oriole, (dial.) purple willow'; Ukr. *jivolga* 'oriole'
 W Cz. *vlha* (Kott) 'European bee-eater'; Slk. *vlha* 'oriole'; Pl. *wilga* 'oriole'; *wywiołga* (dial.) 'oriole'; *wiwielga* (dial.) 'oriole'; *wywilga* (dial.) 'oriole'

- S SCr. *vūga* ‘titmouse’; Bulg. *avliġa* ‘oriole’
 B Lith. *volungė* f.(ē) 3^a ‘oriole’; Latv. *vāluōdze* f.(ē) ‘oriole’
 Cogn. MHG *witewal* m. ‘oriole’; MoHG *wiedewalch* (Swiss dial.) m. ‘oriole’; MoDu. *wielewaal* m. ‘oriole’

Drawing a comparison with Germanic forms such as MHG *witewal*, with a first element meaning ‘wood’, Bulaxovskij (1968: 104) has proposed that **jъvblga* continues **jъvo-vblga* (**jъva* ‘willow’). This is a reasonable attempt to account for the problematic prothetic vowel. I consider it possible, however, that we are dealing with a substratum word, cf. Lith. *irbė* ‘hazel-grouse’, *jeru(m)bė* ‘id.’, Latv. *irube* ‘partridge’.

***jъz** prep./pref. ‘from, out of’ ESSJa VIII 6-8

- CS OCS *iz*
 E Ru. *iz*
 W Cz. *z(e)*; Slk. *z(o)*; Pl. *z(e)* ‘with, from, out of’
 S SCr. *iz*; Čak. *z* (Orb.) ‘out of, from, off’; Sln. *iz*; Bulg. *iz* ‘from, out of, at, in’
 BSl. **iz* (*iš*)
 B Lith. *iš*; *iž* (arch., dial.); Latv. *iz*
 OPr. *is*; *assa* prep.; *assae* prep.
 PIE **h₁eġ^h(s)*
 Cogn. Gk. *ἐξ* prep.; Lat. *ex* prep.

The **i-* of the Balto-Slavic forms is unexplained. The Balto-Slavic form may have been *iš*, with secondary voicing in Slavic.

***jъzkrъ** prep. ‘close to’ ESSJa IX 38

- CS OCS *iskrъ* adv./prep. ‘close (to)’; RuCS *iskrъ* prep. ‘beside’
 E ORu. *iskrъ* prep. ‘beside’
 S SCr. *iskr* (arch.) prep. ‘close to’; Sln. *iskar* prep. ‘close to’

This preposition probably originates from **jъz* and a second element going back to PIE **(s)kr* ‘cut’, cf. Ru. *krej*, *kri* (dial.) ‘beside’.

See also: **jъzkrъnъ*

***jъzkrъnъ; *jъzkrъnъ** adj. jo; adj. o ESSJa IX 39

- CS OCS *iskrъnii* ‘close’
 E Ru. *iskrennij* ‘sincere, candid’
 W Pl. *skierny* (dial.) ‘obstinate, foolish’
 S SCr. *iskrnji* (Dubr.) ‘close’; Sln. *iskrnji* ‘close’

Adjectival derivative of → **jъzkrъ*.

***jъзмьгьгьрати** v. ESSJa IX 51

- CS OCS *izmrъgьgьrto* 3pl. ‘gnaw to shreds’

PIE **mrh₂mrh₂*
 Cogn. Skt. *mṛṇāti* ‘crush’; Gk. *μαραίνω* ‘quench’

***j̥zuti** v. ‘take off (footwear)’ ESSJa IX 87

CS OCS *izuti* (Hilf.) ‘take off (footwear)’
 W Cz. *zouti* ‘take off (footwear)’; Slk. *zozuť* (obs.) ‘take off (footwear)’; Opl. *zuć* ‘take off (footwear)’
 S SCr. *izuti* ‘take off (footwear)’, 1sg. *izujēm*; Čak. *izùti* (Vrg.) ‘take off (footwear)’, 2sg. *izuješ*; *zùt* (Orb.) ‘take off (shoes)’, 1sg. *zùjen*; Sln. *izúti* ‘take off (footwear)’, 1sg. *izùjem*

BSl. **out-*

B Lith. *aũti* ‘put on (footwear)’; Latv. *àut* ‘put on (footwear)’

Cogn. Hitt. *unu-* ‘adorn, decorate, lay (the table)’; Lat. *exuere* ‘take off’

Prefixed verb composed of → **j̥bz-* and **uti-* < **h₃eu-*. The reconstruction of **h₃* is based on Hittite.

See also: **obuti*

*K

***kadidlo** n. o ‘incense’ ESSJa IX 109

CS OCS *kadilo* (Ps. Sin., Euch.) ‘incense’
 E Ru. *kadilo* ‘thurible, censer’
 W Cz. *kadidlo* ‘incense’; Slk. *kadidlo* ‘incense’; Pl. *kadzidło* ‘fragrance’
 S SCr. *kàdilo* ‘smoke, incense’; Sln. *kadilò* ‘smoking, incense’

Derivative of → **kaditi*.

See also: *čadъ*; *čadjъ*; *čadja*

***kaditi** v. (c) ‘burn incense’ ESSJa IX 109-110

CS OCS *kaditi* (Euch.) ‘burn incense’
 E Ru. *kadít* ‘burn incense’, 1sg. *kažú*, 3sg. *kadít*
 W Cz. *kaditi* ‘fumigate, burn incense’; Slk. *kadit’* ‘smoke’; Pl. *kadzić* ‘burn incense’
 S SCr. *káditi* ‘smoke, burn incense’, 1sg. *kādīm*; Čak. *kāđiti* (Vrg.) ‘smoke, burn incense’, 2sg. *kāđiš*; *kōđit* (Hvar) ‘smoke, burn incense’, 1sg. *kóđin*; *kāđit* (Orb.) ‘incense’; Sln. *kadíti* ‘smoke, cover with dust’, 1sg. *kadím*; Bulg. *kadjá* ‘burn incense, smoke’

The accentuation of the Serbo-Croatian forms points to AP (b), but the evidence of the other languages rather points to (c). This is not an uncommon situation, as Serbo-Croatian mobile verbs in *-*iti* have been transferred to (b) on a large scale.

Due to the absence of reliable cognates, the reconstruction of the root presents difficulties (→ *čad̥). In the case of *kaditi, we may be dealing with a lengthened grade *ō.

See also: čadъ; čadjъ; čadja; *kadidlo

***kājati** v. (a) ‘regret, repent’ ESSJa IX 115-116

- CS OCS *kajati se* ‘repent’, 1sg. *kajō se*
 E Ru. *kajat’sja* ‘repent’
 W Cz. *kāti se* ‘regret, redeem’; Slk. *kajat sa* ‘regret, redeem’; Pl. *kajac się* ‘repent, regret’
 S SCr. *kājati* ‘repent, be sorry, avenge’, 1sg. *kājēm*; Čak. *kājati se* (Vrg.) ‘be repentant’, 2sg. *kāješ se*; *se kajat* (Orb.) ‘repent, regret’, 3sg. *se kaje*; Sln. *kājati* ‘blame, retort, (k. se) repent’, 1sg. *kājam*, 1sg. *kājem*; Bulg. *kāja se* ‘regret, repent’

PIE *k^wōi-

Cogn. Av. *kāii-* ‘repent’

The fact that the accentological evidence points to AP (a) is problematic if, following LIV (371), we reconstruct the root as *k^wei- ‘observe, perceive’. Since this is the root that I (s.v. *čājati) reconstructed as *k^weh₁i-, the formal difficulty may be solved by positing *k^woh₁i-. From a semantic point of view, however, I consider it more plausible that we are dealing here with the same root as in → *cěnà, where the reconstruction of a laryngeal seems unfounded. Thus, the formal difficulty remains.

See also: *cěniti

***kakъ** prn. ‘what (kind of)’ ESSJa IX 118-119

- CS OCS *kakō*
 E Ru. *kakój*
 W OCz. *kaký*; Pl. *kaki* (arch.)
 S SCr. *kakī*; Sln. *kák*
 BSL. *kōkos
 B Lith. *kōks*
 PIE *k^wō-ko-

***kaliti I** v. ‘temper, case-harden’ ESSJa IX 123-124

- E Ru. *kalít* ‘heat, roast’, 1sg. *kaljú*, 3sg. *kalít*
 W Cz. *kaliti* ‘temper, case-harden’; Slk. *kalit* ‘temper, case-harden’
 S SCr. *kaliti* ‘temper, case-harden’; Čak. *kālīt* ‘temper, harden (iron)’, 3sg. *kāli*; Sln. *kalíti* ‘temper, case-harden’, 1sg. *kalím*; Bulg. *kaljá* ‘temper, case-harden’
 Cogn. Lat. *callum* n. ‘callous’; OIr. *calath* adj. ‘hard’; W *caled* adj. ‘hard’

***kaliti II** v. 'soil'

ESSJa IX 123-124

- E Ukr. *kalyty* (dial.) 'smear a wall with clay'
 W Cz. *kaliti* 'trouble, spoil'; Slk. *kalit'* 'trouble, spoil'; Pl. *kalíc* 'soil, trouble'; Sln. *kālāc* 'soil'
 S Sln. *kalíti* 'trouble', 1sg. *kalím*

Clearly a derivative of → **kāl̥*. According to the ESSJa, → *kaliti* I 'temper' is etymologically identical.

***kāl̥** m. o (c) 'dirt'

ESSJa IX 127-129

- CS OCS *kal̥* (Supr.) 'dirt, mud'
 E Ru. *kal* 'faeces, excrement'
 W Cz. *kal* 'dirt, muddy water, puddle, sediment'; Pl. *kał* 'dirt, puddle, excrement'
 S SCr. *kāl* 'dirt, mud, puddle'; Čak. *kāl* (Orb.) 'small pond (rainwater cistern) near a village'; Sln. *kāl* 'mud in a puddle, dregs, puddle'; Bulg. *kal* 'mud, dirt, dregs'

Unfortunately, the reconstruction **k^weh₂l-o-*, cf. Gk. πηλός f., Dor. πάλός f. 'clay, earth, mud, mire', would be in conflict with Hirt's law.

See also: *kaliti II

***kamy** m. n 'stone, rock'

ESSJa IX 137-140

- CS OCS *kamy* m.(n) 'stone, rock', Gsg. *kamene*
 E Ru. *kámen'* m.(jo) 'stone', Gsg. *kámnja*
 W Cz. *kámen* m.(o) 'stone'; Slk. *kameň* m.(jo) 'stone'; Pl. *kamień* m.(jo) 'stone'
 S SCr. *kāmēn* m.(o) 'stone, millstone'; Čak. *kāmen* (Vrg.) m.(o) 'stone, millstone'; *kāmēn* (Novi) m.(o) 'stone, millstone'; *kāmen* (Orb.) m.(o) 'rock'; Sln. *kámen* m.(o) 'stone'
 BSL. *(?)*akmen-*
 B Lith. *akmuō* m. 3^b 'stone', Gsg. *akmeñs*; *āšmenys* Npl. m. 3^b 'cutting-edge, blade'; Latv. *akmens* m. 'stone'
 PIE **h₂eḱ-men-*
 Cogn. Skt. *ásman-* m. 'stone, rock'; Gk. ἄκμων m. 'anvil, meteor, heaven'

The root-final palatovelar was depalatalized before the resonant of the suffix. In the Lithuanian word for 'cutting-edge, blade', the palatovelar was restored after the word for 'sharp', *aštriūs* (Kortlandt 1978b: 271).

***kara** f. ā 'punishment'

ESSJa IX 151

- CS CS *kara* 'quarrel'
 E Ru. *kára* (rhet.) 'punishment, retribution'; Ukr. *kára* 'punishment, retribution, anger'

W Cz. *kára* (arch.) ‘punishment, retribution’; Slk. *kára* (arch.) ‘punishment, retribution’; Pl. *kara* ‘punishment, retribution’

S SCr. *kára* ‘punishment, quarrel’

See → **korv*. The long vowel may originate from → **karati*.

***karati** v. ‘scold, punish’

ESSJa IX 152-153

E Ru. *karát* ‘punish’

W Cz. *káratí* ‘reproach, scold, (arch.) punish’; Pl. *karac* ‘punish, (arch.) reproach’

S SCr. *káratí* ‘scold, punish’; Čak. *se kārät* (Orb.) ‘quarrel’; Sln. *káratí* ‘nick, scold’, 1sg. *káram*; Bulg. *káram* ‘scold, quarrel’; Mcd. *kara* ‘scold’

See → **koriti*. The long root vowel is of Proto-Slavic origin.

***kasati** v.

ESSJa IX 155-156

CS OCS *kasati sę* ‘touch’, 1sg. *kasaję sę*

E Ru. *kasát’sja* ‘touch’

W Cz. *kasati* ‘roll, roll up’; Pl. *kasac* (obs., dial.) ‘grab, aspire, climb, prepare’; OPl. *kasac* ‘fold back, tuck up’

S SCr. *kāsati* ‘trot, walk hastily’; Sln. *kasati* ‘go while shaking one’s head (horses)’, 1sg. *kasam*; Bulg. *kasáe se* ‘concerns’

B Lith. *kasýti* ‘scratch constantly’; Latv. *kasít* ‘plane, rake, scratch’

See also: **česati*; **kosa* I; **kosmъ*; **kosnŋti*

***kaš(ь)l̥ati** v. ‘cough’

ESSJa IX 160

CS CS *kašvl̥ati*

E Ru. *kášljat* ‘cough, have a cough’

W Cz. *kašlati*; Slk. *kašlat*; Pl. *kaszlać*

S SCr. *kāšljati*, 1sg. *kāšljēm*; Čak. *kašlāti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *kāšlješ*; *kašljät* (Orb.), 1sg. *kāšljen*, 1sg. *kašljān*; Sln. *kāšljati*, 1sg. *kāšljām*; Bulg. *kášlja*; *kášljām*

B Lith. *kósėti*; Latv. *kāsēt*

PIE **k^weh₂s-*

Cogn. Skt. *kās-*

Denominative verb. See → **kaš(ь)l̥b*.

***kaš(ь)l̥b** m. jo ‘cough’

ESSJa IX 160-161

E Ru. *kášelj*; ORu. *kašvl̥b*

W Cz. *kašel*; Slk. *kašel*; Pl. *kaszel*

S SCr. *kāšalj*; Čak. *kāšaļ* (Vrg.); Sln. *kášelj*, Gsg. *kášlja*

BSL. **kaʔs(u)lio-*

B Lith. *kosulys* m.(io) 3^a; Latv. *kāsulis* m.(io)

PIE **k^weh₂s-*

Cogn. Skt. *kásikā-* (AV) f.; OHG *huosto* m.; OE *hwōsta* m.; Mir. *cosachtach* f. ‘cough(ing)’; W *pâs* m. ‘whooping cough’

See also: *kaš(ḅ)lati

***kāzàti** v. ‘show’

ESSJa IX 168-171

CS OCS *kazati* ‘show’, 1sg. *kažq*

E Ru. *kazát* ‘show’, 1sg. *kažú*, 3sg. *kážet*

W Cz. *kázati* ‘teach, judge’; Slk. *kázat* ‘rule, order, teach’; Pl. *kazać* ‘bid, order, let’

S SCr. *kázati* ‘say, tell, show’, 1sg. *kāžēm*; Čak. *kāzàti* (Vrg.) ‘say, tell, show’, 2sg. *kāžeš*; *kāzāt* (Orb.) ‘show, point’, 1sg. *kāžen*; Sln. *kázati* ‘show’, 1sg. *kážem*; Bulg. *káža* ‘say, show’

LIV (383, 385) regards **kazati* as a causative **k^wōg-je-*, the root being a variant of **k^weĕ-* ‘see, behold’. For the time being this may be the best solution.

See also: *kaznḅ

***kaziti** v. ‘ruin’ (c)

ESSJa IX 171

CS OCS *kaziti* ‘ruin, castrate’, 1sg. *kažq*

E Ru. *kazít* ‘spoil, ruin’ {1}; Ukr. *kazyty* ‘distort’

W Cz. *kaziti* ‘spoil, ruin’; Slk. *kazit* ‘spoil, ruin’; Pl. *kazíc* ‘harm, ruin, destroy’; Sln. *kāžec* ‘destroy, ruin’; USrb. *kazyć* ‘destroy, ruin’; LSrb. *kazyś* ‘ruin, harm’

S SCr. *kazíti* (dial.) ‘ruin one’s own appearance’; Sln. *kazíti* ‘spoil, ruin’, 1sg. *kazím*

It is unclear if this verb is cognate with → **kāzàti*. A connection with → **čèznqti* is more attractive.

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 140).

***kaznḅ** f. i ‘punishment’

ESSJa IX 172-173

CS OCS *kaznḅ* (Supr., Euch.) ‘punishment, command’

E Ru. *kazn* ‘execution, capital punishment’

W Cz. *kázeň* ‘discipline’; Slk. *kázeň* ‘sermon, reprimand’; Pl. *kažn* ‘torture, execution’; Opl. *kažn* ‘punishment’

S SCr. *kāzn* (arch.) ‘punishment’; *kāzanj* (arch.) ‘punishment’; Sln. *kāžan* ‘punishment, tax’, Gsg. *kāžni*

See → **kāzàti*.

{1} AP (a) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 132).

***klasti** v. ‘put’

ESSJa IX 187-189

CS OCS *klasti* ‘put’, 1sg. *kladq*

E Ru. *klast* ‘put’, 1sg. *kladú*, 3sg. *kladët*

- W Cz. *klásti* ‘put’, 1sg. *kladu*; Slk. *klást* ‘put’; Pl. *klásć* ‘put’
 S SCr. *klásti* (arch.) ‘put’, 1sg. *kládēm*, 1sg. *klādēm*; Sln. *klásti* ‘put, lay’, 1sg. *kládem*; Bulg. *kladá* ‘pile’

BSl. **klaʔ-*

B Lith. *klóti* ‘cover’; Latv. *klāt* ‘cover’

PIE **k^(w)leh₂-*

Cogn. Go. *afhlaþan* ‘overburden’; OHG *hladan* ‘load’

The Slavic verb seems to contain an enlargement *-*d^(h)*, whereas in Germanic we find *-*t*. Given the meaning of the verb, the hypothesis that the Proto-Slavic *-*d* originates from the imperative (LIV: 362, cf. → *iti*), is not implausible, but cf. Vaillant Gr. III: 115.

***klegotǔ; *klegota** m. o; f. ā ‘shouting, shout’

ESSJa IX 189-190

CS RuCS *klegota* f. ‘shouting’

E ORu. *klegota* f. ‘shouting’

W Cz. *klehot* (dial.) m. ‘shout’

We may reconstruct **kleg^h-*, but the root is probably onomatopoeic in origin.

See also: *klegǔtati; *klekotati; *klekotǔ; *klekǔtati

***klegǔtati** v. ‘scream’

ESSJa IX 193

CS CS *klegǔtati* ‘scream’; RuCS *klegǔtati* ‘scream like an eagle’

E ORu. *klegǔtati* ‘scream like an eagle’

See → *klegotǔ, *klegota.

***klekotati** v. ‘scream’

ESSJa IX 191

E Ru. *klekotát* ‘scream (like birds)’

W Cz. *klekotati* ‘scream (like birds)’; Pl. *klekotać* ‘clatter, knock, buzz’

S Sln. *klekotáti* ‘clack, croak’, 1sg. *klekotâm*; Bulg., 1sg. *klekǒčem*

See → *klegotǔ, *klegota.

***klekotǔ** m. o ‘scream’

ESSJa IX 191-192

E Ru. *klëkot* ‘scream (of birds)’

W Cz. *klekot* ‘scream (of birds)’; Pl. *klekot* ‘rattle’

See → *klegotǔ, *klegota.

***klekǔtati** v. ‘scream’

ESSJa IX 193

CS CS *klekǔtati* ‘scream’

E Ru. *klektát* ‘scream like birds of prey’

W Cz. *klektati* ‘knock, shake’; Pl. *klektać* ‘knock, pound, shake’

See → *klegotǔ, *klegota.

***klějъ; *kľjъ** m. jo ‘glue, resin’

ESSJa X 19-20

E Ru. *klej* ‘glue’

W Cz. *klej* (dial.) ‘glue, resin’; OCz. *klí* ‘resin, clay’; Pl. *klej* ‘glue’; *klij* ‘glue’

S SCr. *klīja* ‘glue’; Sln. *klěj* ‘bitumen, glue’; Gsg. *klēja*, Gsg. *klējā*; Bulg. *klej* ‘resin, glue’

This noun is reminiscent of → **glěva*, **glbjъ*, etc. The connection with Gk. κόλλα f. ‘glue’ is doubtful. Note that **klě/lbjъ* does not seem to contain a zero grade **kъl-* < **kļ-*.

***klěšča** f. jā ‘claw, pincer’

ESSJa X 20-22

E Ru. *klěšči* Npl. ‘pincers’; *klěšči* Npl. ‘pincers’; ORu. *klešča* ‘claw’

W Cz. *kleště* Npl. ‘pincers’; Slk. *klište* Npl. ‘pincers’; Pl. *kleszcze* Npl. ‘pincers’

S SCr. *klijěšta* Npl. n. ‘pincers’; *klijěšte* Npl. f. ‘pincers’; Čak. *klīšća* (Vrg.) Npl. n. ‘pincers’; *klīšća* (Novi) Npl. n. ‘pincers’; *klīšća* (Orb.) Npl. n. ‘pair of tongs’; Sln. *klěšče* Npl. ‘pincers’; Bulg. *klěšti* Npl. ‘pincers’

B Lith. *klīšė* f.(ē) ‘(crab’s) pincer’

If we start from a root **k^(w)leik-*, the etymon **klěšča* may be reconstructed as *k^(w)loik-t-ieh₂*. A possible cognate is Skt. *kleś-* (ŚB+) ‘trouble, torment’.

See also: **klěščiti*

***klěščiti** v.

ESSJa X 22-23

W Cz. *kleštití* ‘castrate’; *klestiti* ‘prune, clear, castrate’; OCz. *klestiti* ‘castrate’, 1sg. *klešću*; Slk. *klištit’* ‘castrate’; Pl. *kleścic* (dial.) ‘castrate’, 1sg. *kleszczę*, 2sg. *kleścisz*; *kleszczyc* (1902) ‘castrate’

S SCr. *klijěštiti* ‘squeeze’

Apparently a derivative of → **klěšča*. The ESSJa suggests that forms reflecting **klestiti* are analogical after **pustiti*, 1sg. **puščō*. This may very well be correct, but it should be noted that the West Slavic forms with *-šć-, which could be analogical after the present stem or the noun → **klěšča*, are comparatively recent.

***klětb** f. i

ESSJa X 25-27

CS OCS *klětb* ‘closet, abode’

E Ru. *klet’* ‘cage (in mines), (dial.) store-room, shed’

W Pl. *klec* ‘hut, cabin, (arch.) store-room’

S SCr. *klījet* ‘closet, cabin, granary’; Sln. *klēt* ‘cellar, store-room’

BSL. **klěʔtis*

B Lith. *klėtis* ‘barn, granary’; Latv. *klēts* ‘granary’

Unlike the ESSJa, I consider it unlikely that the Baltic forms are borrowings from Slavic (see also Fraenkel s.v. *klėtis*, Anikin 2005: 169-171). I agree that long vowels in borrowings are not necessarily circumflex in Lithuanian, but the vocalism *é* instead of *ie* is not what we would expect in a loanword from Slavic. The ESSJa assumes that

the vocalism is due to remodelling, but I find that unconvincing. It seems preferable to reconstruct **kleh₁-ti-* with secondary mobility in the Slavic *i*-stem. The reason why the Baltic words have been regarded as borrowings is that it makes it possible to derive the **ě* of the Slavic etymon from **oi*, cf. Go. *hleipra* ‘hut, tent’, OIr. *clíath* ‘hurdle, woven wall’, late Lat. *clēta* ‘enclosure’ < **klei-*, whereas a root *kleh₁-* cannot easily be connected with forms from other branches of Indo-European.

*klečàti v. (c) ‘kneel’

ESSJa X 28-29

- CS OCS *klečęšta* Ndu. ptc. pres. act. ‘kneeling’
 E Ru. *kljačet*’ (dial.) ‘grow numb’
 W Cz. *klečeti* ‘kneel’; Pl. *klęczęć* ‘kneel’
 S SCr. *klěčati* ‘kneel, squat’, 1sg. *klěčim*; Čak. *klečàti* (Vrg.) ‘kneel, be on your knees’, 2sg. *klečiš*; *kl’ečēt* (Orb.) ‘kneel, be on your knees’, 1sg. *kl’ečīn*; Sln. *klečati* ‘kneel’, 1sg. *klečim*; Bulg. *klečá* ‘squat’
- BSL. **klenk-*
 B Lith. *klénkti* ‘walk with difficulty’; Latv. *klencēt* ‘hobble’

If Lith. *klénkti* ‘walk with difficulty’ and Latv. *klencēt* ‘hobble’ are cognate, we must reconstruct **k^(w)lenHk^(w)-*. Further etymology unknown.

*klikati; *klicati v. (a) ‘cry out, call’

ESSJa X 41

- CS OCS *klicati* ‘cry out, wail’, 1sg. *kličę*
 E Ru. *klíkat*’ ‘call’
 W OCz. *klíčeti* ‘call’
 S SCr. *klīcati* ‘cheer, shout, cry out, call’; *klīkati* (dial.) ‘cry out, make a merry noise’; Čak. *kļicati* (Vrg.) ‘cheer, shout, cry out, call’; *klīcat* (Orb.) ‘announce (news, publicly)’; Sln. *klicati* ‘shout, call’, 1sg. *kličem*
- BSL. **kli?ka?*
 B Lith. *klýkti* ‘scream, yell’; *klýkoti* ‘scream, yell’; Latv. *klīkât* ‘scream loudly (in a forest)’

The acute of the Baltic forms in *-*āti* may be metatonical, but on the basis of the Slavic evidence I am inclined to reconstruct a root containing a laryngeal.

See also: *kliknŋti

*kliknŋti v. (a) ‘cry out’

ESSJa X 42

- CS RuCS *kliknuti* ‘cry out’
 E Ru. *klíknut*’ (dial.) ‘cry out’; ORu. *kliknuti* ‘cry out’
 S SCr. *klīknuti* ‘cry out, call’; *klīknuti* ‘cry out, call’; Sln. *klíkniti* ‘cry out’, 1sg. *klíknem*

Perfective in *-*nŋti*. See → *klikati.

***klikъ** m. o ‘cry’

ESSJa X 43

- E Ru. *klik* ‘cry’; ORu. *klik* ‘cry, shouting’
 S SCr. *klík* ‘cry, call, scream (of birds)’; Sln. *klik* ‘cry’

Deverbative *o-stem*. See → *klikati.

***kļučiti** v. ‘lock’

ESSJa X 50

- CS OCS *ključiti se* ‘happen’, 1sg. *ključŕ se*; RuCS *ključiti* ‘lock’ {1}
 W Cz. *klíčiti* (Jg., Kott) ‘lock’; Slk. *klučati* ‘squat’; Sln. *klěčec* ‘lock’
 S SCr. *ključiti* ‘lock, peck’; *ključiti* ‘lock, peck’; Sln. *ključiti* ‘bend’, 1sg. *ključim* {2}

According to the ESSJa, this is a derivative of → *kľúčъ, but the accentological evidence suggests that in some cases we might be dealing with a derivative of → *kľúka.

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 140). {2} The form *ključim* (Pleteršnik I: 409) is incorrect (see o.c. II: V).

See also: *kľúčъ

***kľúčъ** m. jo (b) ‘key’

ESSJa X 50-52

- CS OCS *ključъ* ‘key’
 E Ru. *ključ’* ‘key’
 W Cz. *klíč* ‘hook, key’; Slk. *klúč* ‘key’; Pl. *klucz* ‘key’; Sln. *klúč* ‘key’
 S SCr. *ključ* ‘hook, seedling, key’, Gsg. *ključa*; Čak. *ključ* (Vrg.) ‘hook, seedling, key’, Gsg. *ključä*; *ključ* (Orb.) ‘key’, Gsg. *ključä*; Sln. *ključ* ‘hook, key’; Bulg. *ključ* ‘key’

See also: *kļučiti

***kľúka** f. ā (a) ‘hook’

ESSJa X 55-56

- E Ru. *kljuká* ‘walking-stick, (dial.) poker’; ORu. *kljuka* ‘deceit, walking-stick, poker’; Ukr. *kljúka* ‘pole with a hook, hook’
 W Cz. *klika* ‘door-handle’; *klíka* (Jg.) ‘bend, hook’; Slk. *kluka* ‘joint, knob’; OPl. *kluka* ‘hook’; Sln. *klāka* ‘yoke’
 S SCr. *kljúka* ‘hook, door-knob’; Sln. *kljúka* ‘hook, knee-pad, handle’
 B Lith. *kliúti* ‘brush against, be caught in, obstruct’
 PIE **kleh₂u-*
 Cogn. Gk. κληίς (Ion.), κλαΐς (Dor.) f. ‘bolt, catch, hook, key, rowing pen’; Lat. *clāvis* f. ‘key’

The reconstruction of the root as **kleh₂u-* implies that the **e* of BSl. **kle?u* is secondary (Schrijver 1991: 175).

***klokotati** v. ‘bubble, gurgle’

ESSJa X 64-65

- CS OCS *klokotati* (Supr.) ‘bubble, boil’, 1sg. *klokoštŕ*

- E Ru. *klokotát* ‘bubble, gurgle’
 W Cz. *klokotati* ‘bubble, gurgle, boil, sing (of a nightingale)’
 S SCr. *klokòtati* ‘bubble, gurgle’; Bulg. *klokotáti* ‘bubble, gurgle’

Verb of onomatopoeitic origin.

***kľьkati; *kľьcati** v. ‘pound’

ESSJa X 79-80

- CS OCS *klъcaše* (Ps. Sin.) 3sg. impf. ‘made diligent search’ {1}; RuCS *klьcati* ‘pound’; *klъčati* ‘pound’ {2}
 W Slk. *klkať* (dial.) ‘batter, pound’
 S Sln. *kólcati* ‘knock’, 1sg. *kólcam*; Bulg. *káľcam* ‘chop up, mince, pick’

Verb of onomatopoeitic origin.

{1} In *klъcaše d<u>xъ moi* (Psalm 76:7). {2} E.g. *klъcaaše duxъ moi* (Psalm 76:7) and *a srdce klъcaše v němъ* (from *klъčati* or *klъkati*?).

***kobь** f. i

ESSJa X 101

- CS OCS *kobь* (Supr.) f.(i) ‘fate’
 E Ru. *kob’* (dial.) f.(i) ‘evil, obstinacy, scoundrel’
 W OCz. *koba* f.(ā) ‘wish, success’
 S SCr. *kòb* f.(i) ‘encounter, omen, augury’

Cogn. OIc. *happ* n. ‘success’

Origin unclear. We may be dealing with a substratum word. OIr. *cob* n.(?) ‘victory’ may or may not belong here.

***kobьсь** m. jo

ESSJa X 101

- E Ru. *kóbec* (Dal’) ‘honey buzzard’; ORu. *kobecъ* ‘merlin’; Ukr. *kibec’* ‘merlin’
 W Slk. *kobec* ‘merlin’; Pl. *kobiec* ‘falcon’
 S SCr. *kòbac* ‘merlin’; Sln. *kóbac* ‘sparrow hawk’; *skóbac* ‘sparrow hawk’

Cogn. OIc. *haukr* m. ‘hawk’; OHG *habuh* m. ‘hawk’; OHG *habuh* m. ‘hawk’

Origin unclear. The suggestion that this etymon is cognate with → **kobь* is based on augural rites.

***kogьda; *kogьdy** adv./conj. ‘when’

ESSJa X 108-109

- CS OCS *kogda* ‘when, sometimes, one time’
 E Ru. *kogdá* ‘when’
 W OCz. *kehdy* ‘when’; Pl. *kiedy* ‘when’; OPl. *kiedy* ‘when’; *kiegdy* ‘when’
 S SCr. *kàda* ‘when’; Sln. *kədə́* ‘when, sometime’; *kədə́j* ‘when, sometime’; *kdá* ‘when, sometime’; *kdáj* ‘when, sometime’; *kadá* ‘when, sometime’; *kadaj* ‘when, sometime’; Bulg. *kogá* ‘when’

The element **ko-* must reflect **kʷo-*. The element **gьda* is sometimes interpreted as **goda*, Gsg. of → *gòdъ*.

***kojariti** v.

ESSJa X 111-112

W Pl. *kojarzyć* ‘connect, match, unite’S SCr. *kojáriti* ‘increase, develop’The connection with → **arbmò* is uncertain.See also: **orbmò****kōkošb** f. i (c) ‘hen’

ESSJa X 115-116

CS OCS *kokošb* (Mar.) ‘hen’W Cz. *kokoš* (dial.) ‘cock’; Slk. *kokoš* (dial.) ‘cock’; Pl. *kokosz* ‘hen’S SCr. *kòkōš* ‘hen’; Čak. *kòkōš* (Vrg.) ‘hen’; *kòkoš* (Orb.) ‘chicken, hen’ Gsg. *kokošī*; Sln. *kokôš* ‘hen’

Probably onomatopoeitic in origin.

***kokotb** m. o ‘cock’

ESSJa X 117-118

CS OCS *kokotb*W OCz. *kokot* ‘cock, penis’; Slk. *kokot* ‘penis’; Pl. *kokot* (arch., dial.)S SCr. *kòkòt*; Sln. *kokòt****kōlda** f. ā (a) ‘block, log’

ESSJa X 122-123

CS OCS *gladp* (sic: Supr.) Asg. ‘block’E Ru. *kolóda* ‘block, log, (water-)trough’W Cz. *kláda* ‘block, log, beam’; Slk. *klada* ‘block, log, beam’; Pl. *kloda* ‘block, log’; USrb. *klóda* ‘stocks, fetter’S SCr. *klāda* ‘block, log, beam’; Sln. *kláda* ‘block, log, layer’; Bulg. *kláda* ‘pile, pyre’PIE **kold-eh₂*Cogn. Gk. κλάδος m. ‘branch, shoot’; OIc. *holt* m. ‘wood’; OHG *holz* m. ‘wood’***kolěno** n. o (a) ‘knee’

ESSJa X 132-134

CS OCS *kolěno* ‘knee’E Ru. *koléno* ‘knee’W Cz. *koleno* ‘knee, generation’; Slk. *koleno* ‘knee, (arch.) generation’; Pl. *kolano* ‘knee’S SCr. *kòljeno* ‘knee, joint’; Čak. *kolīno* (Vrg.) ‘knee, joint’; *kolěno* (Novi, Orb.) ‘knee’; Sln. *kolėno* ‘knee, generation, origin’; Bulg. *koljáno* ‘knee, generation, origin’BSL. **kol-/kel-*B Lith. *kėlis* m.(io) ‘knee’; Latv. *celis* m.(io) ‘knee’As to the etymology of the root, there are two candidates, viz. **kelH-* ‘rise, raise, lift’ and **k^wel(H)-* ‘turn, rotate’. For semantic reasons, I have a slight preference for the

former option. The connection with Gk. κῶλον ‘limb’, which cannot reflect an initial labiovelar, is hardly secure enough to serve as a formal argument.

See also: *čelesъnъ; *čelò; *čelověkъ; *čeladъ

***koli** adv./conj. ‘how much’ ESSJa X 135-136

- CS OCS *koli* ‘when, ever’
 E Ru. *kóli* (obs., dial.) ‘if’
 S SCr. *kòli* (RJA, RSA: obs., dial.) ‘how much’; Sln. *kòli* ‘however much’

Adverb (also conjunction) consisting of the neuter pronoun **ko* and the particle *li*, cf. Ru. *li*, which functions as an interrogative particle and as a conjunction ‘whether, if’.

***koliko** adv./prn. ‘how much’ ESSJa X 135-136

- CS OCS *koliko* ‘how much’
 W Cz. *koliko* (arch.) ‘how much’
 S SCr. *kòliko* (Vuk) ‘how much’; *kòliko* ‘how much’; *koliko* ‘how much’; Čak. *koliko* (Orb.) ‘how much’; Sln. *kòliko* ‘how much’

Derivative in *-*ko*- of → **koli*.

***kolokolъ** m. o (c) ‘bell’ ESSJa X 137-138

- CS CS *klakolъ*
 E Ru. *kólokol*; ORu. *kolokolъ*
 W Plb. *klât’ól*
 B Latv. *kaļūôt* ‘talk idly’
 PIE **kolHkolH-o-*
 Cogn. Gk. κάλεω ‘call’; Lat. *calāre* ‘call’

***kōlo** n. s ‘wheel’ ESSJa X 141-145

- CS OCS *kolo* n.(s/o) ‘wheel’, Gsg. *kolese*, Gsg. *kola*
 E Ru. *kolesó* n.(o) ‘wheel’; Ukr. *kólo* n.(o) ‘wheel, circle’
 W Cz. *kolo* n.(o) ‘wheel’; Slk. *kolo* n.(o) ‘wheel, circle’; Pl. *koło* n.(o) ‘wheel’
 S SCr. *kòlo* n.(s) ‘wheel, circle’, Npl. *kolěsa*; Čak. *kòlo* (Vrg.) n.(o) ‘wheel, circle’, Npl. *kòlā*; *kòlo* (Novi) n.(o) ‘wheel, circle’, Npl. *kòla*; *k’òlo* (Orb.) n.(o) ‘wheel, circle’, Npl. *k’òla*; Sln. *kolô* n.(s) ‘wheel, circle’, Gsg. *kolěsa*, Gsg. *kolěsa*
 B Lith. *kāklas* m. 4 ‘neck’; Latv. *kakls* m. ‘neck, throat’
 OPr. *kelan* (EV) ‘wheel’
 PIE **k^wol(H)-es-*
 Cogn. Skt. *cakrá-* n. ‘wheel (of a chariot, of the sun, of the year)’; Gk. κύκλος m. ‘circle, ring, wheel’

Meillet (Ét. II: 357) suggests that the root vocalism *o (unexpected in an *s*-stem) is due to contamination with the masculine *o*-stem that is reflected in Gk. πόλος '(axis or pole of the) celestial sphere'.

***kōlsъ** m. o (c) 'ear, spike' ESSJa X 152-153

- CS OCS *klasъ* 'ear, spike'
 E Ru. *kólos* 'ear, spike'; Ukr. *kólos* 'ear, spike'
 W Cz. *klas* 'ear, spike'; Slk. *klas* 'ear, spike'; Pl. *kłos* 'ear, spike'; USrb. *klós* 'ear, spike', Gsg. *klosa*
 S SCr. *klās* 'ear, spike, corn-cob'; Čak. *klās* (Vrg.) 'ear, spike, corn-cob', Gsg. *klāsa*; *klās* (Orb.) 'ear, corn-cob', Gsg. *klāsa*; Sln. *klās* 'ear, corn-cob', Gsg. *klāsa*, Gsg. *klasû*; Bulg. *klas* 'ear'

Derivative in *-so- of the root *kolH-, cf. Alb. *kalli* m. 'ear, awn'.

See also: *kolti; *koltiti; *kóltъ; *kolta; *koltò; *kòlъ; *кѣлъ

***kolti** v. (b) 'stab, sting' ESSJa X 154-156

- CS OCS *klati* 'kill', 1sg. *koljъ*
 E Ru. *kolót'* 'prick, stab, chop', 1sg. *koljú*, 3sg. *kóljet*
 W Cz. *kláti* 'stab, beat, kill'; Slk. *klat'* 'stab, butt, kill'; Pl. *kuć* 'sting, prick'; Slnc. *klūec* 'sting, prick'
 S SCr. *klàti* 'chop, cut', 1sg. *kòljēm*; Čak. *klàti* 'chop, cut', 2sg. *kòješ*; *klàt* (Orb.) 'slaughter', 3sg. *kòlje*; Sln. *kláti* 'sting, bite, slaughter, split, beat', 1sg. *kòljem*; Bulg. *kólja* 'slaughter, kill'

BSl. *kolŕ-

B Lith. *kálti* 'beat, forge'; Latv. *kalīt* 'beat, forge'

PIE *kolH-

Cogn. Lat. *calamitas* f. 'damage'

See also: *kōlsъ; *koltiti; *kóltъ; *kolta; *koltò; *kòlъ; *кѣлъ

***koltiti** v. (b) 'shake, strike' ESSJa X 156-158

- CS OCS *klatiti* (Supr.) 'shake', 1sg. *klaštъ*
 E Ru. *kolótít'* 'strike, smash, shake', 1sg. *koločú*, 3sg. *kolótít*
 W Cz. *klátiti* 'shake'; Slk. *klátit'* 'shake, swing'; Pl. *klócić* 'stir up, cause to quarrel'; Slnc. *klūecēc* 'kill'
 S SCr. *klátiti* 'shake, swing'; Čak. *klătīt* (Orb.) 'beat, shake (e.g. nuts from a tree), knock about', 1sg. *klătin*; Sln. *klátiti* 'knock down, shake off', 1sg. *klátim*; Bulg. *klátja* 'shake, swing'

Denominative verb. See → *kóltъ*

***kòltb; *kolta; *koltò** m. o; f. ā; n. o (b) ESSJa X 158-159

- E Ru. *kólot* (dial.) m. 'wooden sledge-hammer, heavy club'; *kolóta* (dial.) f. 'flail, threshing floor'; ORu. *kolotb* m. 'instrument for ramming'; Bel. *kólat* m. 'pole for rousing fish'; Ukr. *kólot* m. 'quarrel'
- W Cz. *klát* m. 'bee-hive, piece of wood around the neck of a mean dog, (dial.) log'; Slk. *klát* m. 'log, block, primitive bee-hive'; Pl. *klota* (dial.) m. 'boot-tree, last'
- S SCr. *kláto* n. 'log around the neck or feet of livestock'; Čak. *klātò* (Orb.) n. 'clapper, tongue (of a bell)'; Npl. *klāta*; Sln. *kláta* f. 'log around the neck of a pig'

BSl. **kol'tó*

B Lith. *káltas* m. 1 'chisel'; Latv. *kāļts* m. 'chisel, small hammer'

I assume that the mobile *o*-stems found in East Slavic are secondary and that the root-final laryngeal was lost in pretonic position in an end-stressed noun *kol'tò* or *kol'tb*. Note that due to the transfer of the original barytone neuter *o*-stems (in **-om* > **-um* > **-b*) to the class of the masculine *o*-stems, there was widespread vacillation between the Nsg. endings **-b* and **-o* (cf. Illič-Svityč 1963: 49, Derksen forthc. a: passim). The relationship between **kòltb* and → **koltiti* (see also Derksen 1996: 118) may be compared with the one between → **moltb* and → **moltiti* but is not completely parallel (see → **moltb*). I wonder if the East Slavic variant *kólot* may be analogical after *mólot*. The East Baltic forms do not show metatony, which is regular in the case of *to*-derivatives of dominant acute roots. The final stress reflected by the Slavic etymon may be due to the productivity of the neuter suffix **-tò* (**-tò*). In view of the numerous Old Prussian derivatives in *-tan* (e.g. *dalptan* 'punch'), the spread of the suffix may have been a Late Balto-Slavic development, in which case the East Baltic state of affairs results from redistribution according to the accentual properties of the root.

See also: **kòlsb*; **kòlti*; **kòlb*; **kɔlb*

***kòlb** m. o (b) 'stake' ESSJa X 160-161

- CS OCS *kolb* (Supr.) 'stake'
- E Ru. *kol* 'stake'
- W Cz. *kůl* 'stake'; Slk. *kól* 'stake'; Pl. *kól* 'stake', Gsg. *kołu*, Gsg. *koła*
- S Sln. *kòl* 'pole, stake', Gsg. *kóla*; Bulg. *kol* 'pole, stake'

BSl. **kōl-/kol-?*

B Lith. *kuōlas* 'stake'

Originally a neuter *o*-stem derivative of → **kòlti*.

***kòŋb** m. jo (b) 'horse' ESSJa X 197-198

- CS OCS *koŋb*
- E Ru. *kon*'
- W Cz. *kůň*, Gsg. *koneš*; Slk. *kôň*, Gsg. *koňa*; Pl. *koń*; USrb. *kón*, Gsg. *konja*

- S SCr. *kònj*, Gsg. *kònja*; Čak. *kõṅ* (Vrg.), Gsg. *konjã*; *k"õnj* (Orb.), Gsg. *konjã*; Sln. *kònj*, Gsg. *kónja*; Bulg. *kon*

Etymology disputed. An attempt can be made to connect **kòṅb* with Ru. *kobyła* ‘mare’, etc., which may be cognate with Lat. *caballus* ‘working-horse’. In that case we might posit a (non-IE) root **kab-* (with a non-glottalized **b*) and derive **kòṅb* from **kab-n-io-*. Another possibility is to start from **kom-nb* and seek a connection with ORu. *komonb*, Cz. *komoň* ‘horse’ and maybe also Lith. *kumėlė* ‘mare’.

*kopъ m. o

ESSJa X 195-196

- E Ru. *kon* ‘row, turn, kitty (in games)’; *kon* (dial.) ‘beginning, end, turn’; ORu. *kon* ‘end, limit’
 W OCz. *kon* ‘end’; LSrb. *kón* ‘period, moment’
 S SCr. *kõn* ‘beginning, end’ (in the expression *od kona do kona* ‘from beginning to end’)
 PIE **kon-o-*
 Cogn. Gk. *καινός* adj. ‘new’; Lat. *recens* adj. ‘fresh, young, new’; OIr. *cét-* ‘first’
 See also: *čędo; *čęda; *čędъ; *čędъ; *kopъсь; *načęti; *ščene

*kopъсь m. jo ‘end’

ESSJa XI 5-6

- CS OCS *kopъсь* ‘end, boundary’
 E Ru. *konéc* ‘end, boundary’
 W Cz. *konec* ‘end, limit’; OCz. *konec* ‘death, death penalty’; Slk. *koniec* ‘end’; Pl. *koniec* ‘end’; USrb. *kónc* ‘end’
 S SCr. *kònac* ‘thread, end’; Gsg. *kónca*; Čak. *konãc* (Vrg., Orb.) ‘thread, end’; Gsg. *koncã*; *konãc* (Novi) ‘thread, end’; Gsg. *kõncã*; Sln. *kónac* ‘end, tip, beginning, purpose’

Derivative in *-*бcb*. See → **kopъ*.

*kopa f. ā ‘heap, shock’

ESSJa XI 10-12

- E Ru. *kopá* ‘heap of hay or rye’; ORu. *kopa* ‘monetary unit, shock (group of sixty units, group of sheaves)’
 W Cz. *kopa* ‘shock (group of sixty units), heap, pile, (dial.) hay-stack’; Slk. *kopa* ‘shock (group of sixty units), heap, pile, hay-stack’; Pl. *kopa* ‘shock (group of sixty units, group of sheaves), hay-stack’
 S SCr. *kõpa* (Vuk) ‘hay-stack’; *kõpa* ‘hay-stack’; Čak. *kõpa* (Vrg., Orb.) ‘hay-stack’; *kõpa* (Vrg., Orb.) ‘hay-stack’; *kõpa* (Orb.) ‘hole (to plant a tree in)’; Sln. *kópa* ‘hay-stack’; Bulg. *kopá* ‘heap’
 BSl. **kop-*
 B Lith. *kāpas* m. 4 ‘grave’; Latv. *kaps* m. ‘grave’
 PIE *(s)*kop-*

Deverbative *ā*-stem. See → **kopàti*.

***kopāti** v. 'dig'

ESSJa XI 18-20

- CS OCS *korati*, 1sg. *korajō*
 E Ru. *korát'*, 1sg. *koráju*
 W Cz. *korati*; Slk. *korat'*; Pl. *korac'*
 S SCr. *kòpati*, 1sg. *kòpām*; Čak. *korāti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *kòpāš*; *kopät* (Orb.) 'dig, cultivate (land)', 1sg. *korān*; Sln. *kópati*, 1sg. *kópljem*; *koráti*, 1sg. *kopām*; Bulg. *korája*
- BSL. **kor-*
 B Lith. *karóti* 'chop, hew'; Latv. *karāt* 'chop, hew'
 OPr. *enkokts* 'buried'
- PIE *(s)*kor-*
 Cogn. Gk. *κόπτω* 'beat, hit'
- See also: *kora; *коръje

***korrb̄** m. o 'dill'

ESSJa XI 26-27

- CS OCS *korrb̄* (Mar.) Asg.
 E Ru. *korěr*
 W Cz. *korpr*; Slk. *kòpor*; Pl. *koper*; OPl. *korpr*
 S SCr. *kòpar*; Sln. *kópər* 'dill, camomile'; Bulg. *kópār*
- Cogn. Gk. *κύπερον* (Hom.) n.; *κύπερος* m. 'galingale'

The ESSJa holds that the root is **kuerp-* 'smell', but I consider it more likely that we are dealing with a borrowing from an identified language.

***korrb̄; *korrb̄** m. o; f. i 'soot'

ESSJa XI 29-30

- E Ru. *kópot'* f.(i) 'soot, (dial.) smoke, dust, hoarfrost'; ORu. *kopotb̄* f.(i) 'soot, dust'; Ukr. *kópit* m.(o) 'dust (in the air)'
- W Cz. *kopt* m.(o) 'soot'; OCz. *kopet* m.(o) 'soot'; Slk. *kopt* (arch.) m.(o) 'soot'; Pl. *kopieć* m.(jo) 'soot, fumes'
- BSL. **kwop-*
 B Lith. *kvāpas* m. 4 'smoke'
- PIE **k^(w)h₂uop-o-*
 Cogn. Gk. *καπνός* m. 'smoke'; Lat. *vapor* m. 'steam' (both probably < **k^(w)uh₂ep*)

The reconstruction **k^(w)h₂uop-o-* was first proposed by Schrijver (1991: 161), who tried to account for the accentual difference between Latv. *kūpt*, *kūpēt* 'smoke, steam' and Lith. *kvēpti* 'cough, breathe' by placing the laryngeal before the **u*. The broken tone of Latv. *kvēpt* is assumed to be analogical after the zero grade. I would like to add that the broken tone may also originate from the *sta*-present, cf. Latv. *pīkt* 'be angry' vs. *pikts* 'angry'. Schrijver does not discuss → **kypēti*, which he correctly groups together with Latvian forms containing a root *kup-* (see → **kypēti*).

***kopъje** n. io ‘spear, lance’ ESSJa XI 40-41

- CS OCS *kopije* n.(io) ‘spear, lance’
 E Ru. *kop’ě* n.(io) ‘spear, lance’, Npl. *kóp’ja*
 W Cz. *kopí* n.(io) ‘spear, lance’; OPl. *kopije* n.(jo) ‘spear, lance’
 S SCr. *kòplje* n.(jo) ‘spear, lance, point, shaft’; *kòplje* n.(jo) ‘spear, lance, point, shaft’; Sln. *kopjê* n.(jo) ‘spear, lance, wedding banner’; Bulg. *kópie* n.(io) ‘spear, lance’

Deverbative of → *kopàti.

***korà** f. ā (b) ‘bark’ ESSJa XI 44-45

- CS CS *kora* ‘bark’
 E Ru. *korá* ‘bark’
 W Cz. *kůra* ‘bark, crust’; *kora* (obs.) ‘bark, crust’; Slk. *kôra* ‘bark, crust’; Pl. *kora* ‘bark’
 S SCr. *kôra* ‘bark, crust’; Čak. *kôra* (Vrg.) ‘bark, crust’; *kôra* (Orb.) ‘bark (of a tree), crust, peel (of fruit)’; Sln. *kóra* ‘bark, crust’; Bulg. *korá* ‘bark, crust’

Prosodically, some forms behave as if **kora* belongs to the **vòla* type (cf. Zaliznjak 1985: 135-136, Verweij 1994: 507, 510). The root is (s)*ker-*, cf. Gk. κείρω ‘shear’, OIc. *skera* ‘cut’.

See also: *korica; *korÿto; *korъсь; *skorà

***korbъ; *korba** m. o; f. ā ‘basket’ ESSJa XI 52-54

- E Ru. *kórob* m. ‘box, basket’; ORu. *korobъ* m. ‘box, basket’
 W Cz. *krabuše* f.(jā) ‘wicker basket’; Pl. *kroba* (dial.) f. ‘wicker box’
 S Sln. *kraba* f. ‘box’
 B Lith. *kařbas* m. ‘basket’

Cogn. Lat. *corbis* f. ‘basket’; OHG *korb* m. ‘basket’; Fi. *karpas* m. ‘basket’

Possibly an early (Balto-Slavic?) borrowing from Germanic. The Germanic word was in turn borrowed from Latin.

See also: *korbī

***korbī** f. ī ‘basket’ ESSJa XI 55-56

- CS OCS *krabii* (Supr., Ass.) ‘casket, basket’
 E Ru. *kórob’ja* (dial.) f.(iā) ‘box or case for storing clothes’; *kórob’ja* (dial.) f.(iā) ‘box or case for storing clothes’; ORu. *korob’ja* f.(iā) ‘box, basket’
 W Pl. *krobia* f.(jā) ‘basket, box’

See → **korbъ*, **korba*

***korda** f. ā ‘pile of logs’ ESSJa XI 58-60

- CS OCS *krada* (Supr.) ‘bonfire, stake’; RuCS *krada* ‘bonfire’
 E Ukr. *kóroda* ‘pile of logs, wood-stack’

- W OCz. *krada* ‘tinder-box, torch’; Pl. *króda* (dial.) ‘hay-cock, stack of sheafs in a field’
 S Sln. *kráda* ‘pile of logs, wood-stack, refining works’
 PIE **kord-eh₂*
 Cogn. Go. *hrot* n. ‘roof’; MHG *rāz(e)* f. ‘stake’

***korica** f. jā ‘bark’

ESSJa XI 69-70

- CS OCS *korice* Npl. ‘cinnamon’
 E Ru. *korica* ‘cinnamon’
 W Cz. *skořice* ‘cinnamon’; *kořice* (Kott) ‘cinnamon’; Slk. *korica* ‘small bread-basket’
 S SCr. *kòrica* ‘bark, crust’; Čak. *kòrice* (Vrg.) Npl. ‘scabbard, sheath’; Sln. *kórica* ‘bark, crust’; Bulg. *korica* ‘cover (of a book), binding’
 PIE *(s)*kor-*
 Derivative of → **korà*.

***korti** v. ‘reproach’

ESSJa XI 74-77

- CS OCS *koriti* (Supr.) ‘jeer at’, 1sg. *korjǫ*
 E Ru. *korít’* ‘upbraid (for), reproach (with)’
 W Cz. *kořiti se* ‘submit, resign oneself’; Slk. *korit’ sa* ‘submit, resign oneself’; Pl. *korzyć się* ‘humble oneself’
 S SCr. *kòriti* ‘reproach (with)’; Sln. *koriti* ‘reproach, punish’, 1sg. *korím*; Bulg. *korjá* ‘reproach (with), scold’
 BSL. **kar-*
 B Lith. *káirinti* ‘provoke’; Latv. *kaīrināt, karināt* ‘tease, irritate’
 PIE **kar-*
 Cogn. Lat. *carināre* ‘use abusive language’; OHG *harawēn* ‘mock’

The **i* of some of the Baltic forms is due to secondary ablaut. For the etymology, see → **korǫ*.

***kòrsta** f. ā (a) ‘scab’

ESSJa XI 93-95

- CS OCS *krasta* (Euch.) ‘scab (of a leper)’
 E Ru. *korósta* ‘scab’
 W Cz. *chrásta* ‘mange, scab’; OCz. *krásty* Npl. ‘mange’; Slk. *chrasta* ‘scab’; Pl. *krosta* ‘rash, scab’
 S SCr. *kràsta* ‘scab(s), leprosy’; Čak. *kràsta* (Vrg.) ‘scab(s), leprosy’; *kràsta* (Orb.) ‘blister, corn’; Sln. *krásta* ‘scab(s)’; Bulg. *krásta* ‘scab(s)’
 PIE **korHs-t-*
 Cogn. MoHG *verharschen* ‘form scabs’

The often advocated connection with Lith. *kařšti*, Latv. *kārst* ‘comb, card’, Lat. *carrere* ‘card’ (from PIE **(s)ker-s-*) is problematic because the tone of the Baltic verb does not match the acute of **kōrsta*. Perhaps there is a relationship with PGmc. **harska-* ‘raw’. It seems hardly possible that we are dealing with a borrowing from German, cf. MLG *korste*, because this would require the Low German metathesis (the etymon is a borrowing from Romance **crusta*, cf. OHG *kruste*) to have preceded the Slavic metathesis of liquids.

***kórtъ** m. o (b) ‘once, time’ ESSJa XI 99-100

- CS OCS *kratъ* m. / adv. ‘once, time’
 W Cz. *krát* m. / adv. ‘once, time’; Slk. *dvakrát* adv. ‘twice’
 S SCr. *krât* (arch.) m. / adv. ‘once, time’; Sln. *kràt* ‘once, time’, Gsg. *kráta*
 BSl. **korto-*
 B Lith. *kařtas* m. 2 ‘once, time’
 PIE **(s)kórt-o-m*
 Cogn. Skt. *křtvas* (RV+) adv. ‘- time(s)’; Skt. *sakřt* (RV+) adv. ‘once’
 See also: *čerslò; *čersъ; *čerzъ; *čьrtà; *kortъkъ

***kortъkъ** adj. o (b) ‘short’ ESSJa XI 101-104

- CS CS *kratъkъ*
 E Ru. *korótkij*
 W Cz. *krátký*; Slk. *krátky*; Pl. *krótki*
 S SCr. *krátak*, f. *krátka*; Čak. *krâtak* (Vrg.), f. *krâtkă*, n. *krâtko*; *krâtak* (Vrg.), f. *krâtka*, n. *krâtko*; Sln. *krátak*; Bulg. *krátak*
 BSl. **kortus*
 B Lith. *kartùs* 4 ‘bitter’

I see no reason to separate **kortъkъ* from Lith. *kartùs*. The latter is attested with an acute root, but this may be analogical after *saldùs* ‘sweet’.

See also: *čerslò; *čersъ; *čerti; *čerzъ; *čьrtà; *kórtъ

***kōrva** f. ā (a) ‘cow’ ESSJa XI 106-112

- CS CS *krava*
 E Ru. *koróva*
 W Cz. *kráva*; Slk. *krava*; Pl. *krowa*; USrb. *kruwa*; *krówa* (dial.)
 S SCr. *kràva*; Čak. *kràva* (Vrg., Orb.); Sln. *kráva*; Bulg. *kráva*
 BSl. **kórřve?*
 B Lith. *kárvė* f.(ē) ‘cow’
 OPr. *curwis* (EV) ‘ox’
 PIE **kōrh₂-ueh₂*
 Cogn. Gk. *κεραός* adj. ‘horned’; Lat. *cervus* m. ‘deer’

***korǵ m. o**

ESSJa XI 120

CS CS *korǵ* ‘contumely’S SCr. *kōr* (dial.) ‘reproach’; Bulg. *kor* ‘nickname’; *kor* (dial.) ‘reproach’Cogn. Gk. *κάρνη* (Hesych.) f. ‘penalty’; OIr. *caire* f. ‘blame, disapproval’

Schrijver (1991: 429) makes an effort to derive the various forms that have been mentioned in connection with Lat. *carināre* (→ **koriti*) from **k(e/o)r-*. One may consider a reconstruction **kar-*, however. Note that Gk. *κάρνη* cannot reflect a form with syllabic **r*. The etymological connection with Lith. *kāras* ‘war’, which has also been connected with **korǵ*, seems quite uncertain (see Fraenkel s.v.).

See also: **kara*; **karati*; **koriti****kory m. n ‘root’**

ESSJa XI 62-65

CS OCS *korenъ* m.(n); *korę* (PsDim.) Asg. m.(n) {1}; RuCS *korenъ* m.(n); *korę* m.(n)E Ru. *kórenʹ* m.(jo), Gsg. *kórnja*W Cz. *kořen* m.(o/jo); Slk. *koreň* m.(jo); Pl. *korzeń* m.(jo)S SCr. *kōrijen* m.(o); Čak. *kōren* (Vrg., Orb.) m.(o); *kōrēn* (Novi) m.(o); Sln. *koręn* m.(o); *kōren* m.(o); *kōrən* m.(o); Bulg. *kóren* m.(o)B Lith. *kēras* m. 4 ‘tree-stump, stub, bush, shrub’; Latv. *čers* m. ‘bush, knotty root of a tree’PIE **k(w)or(H)-en-*{1} Also *kory* (see Birnbaum and Schaecken 1997: 32, 147-148).See also: **černovitъ*; **černovъ*; **černъ II*; **černъ II*; **kъrъ****korýto n. o (a) ‘trough’**

ESSJa XI 121-126

CS CS *koryto* ‘trough’E Ru. *korýto* ‘wash-tub, trough’W Cz. *koryto* ‘trough’; Slk. *koryto* ‘trough, river-bed’; Pl. *koryto* ‘trough, river-bed’S SCr. *kōrito* ‘trough, river-bed’; Čak. *korīto* (Vrg., Novi) ‘trough’; *korīto* (Orb.) ‘(drinking) trough’; Sln. *korító* ‘trough, bee-hive’; Bulg. *korīto* ‘trough, depression, river-bed’

This etymon can be analyzed as **kor-* ‘cut’ (PIE **(s)kor-*) plus the suffix **-yto* that we find in Ru. *kopýto* ‘hoof’. We may compare Lith. *prākartas* ‘manger, trough’, OPr. *pracartis* ‘trough’, which contain a root **kort-* ‘hew’, an enlarged variant of the above-mentioned root.

See also: **korà*; **korica*; **korǵъ*; **skorà****korǵъ m. jo**

ESSJa XI 128-130

CS OCS *korecъ* (Mar.) Gpl. ‘measures’ {1}E Ru. *koréc* (dial.) ‘bucket’

W Cz. *korec* ‘dry measure’; OCz. *kořec* ‘dry measure’; Pl. *korzec* ‘100 liters, 100 kilograms’

S SCr. *kòrac* ‘bark, crust’; Sln. *kórac* ‘scoop, bucket, bushel’

PIE *(s)kor-

{1} Zogr. has *korō* Gpl. in the same verse (Luke 16:7)

See also: *korà; *korica; *korÿto; *skorà

***kosà I** f. ā (c) ‘hair, braided hair’

ESSJa XI 131-133

CS CS *kosa* ‘hair’; RuCS *kosa* ‘braided hair, braid’

E Ru. *kosá* ‘braid, plait’, Asg. *kósu*; ORu. *kosa* ‘braided hair, braid’

W OCz. *kosa* ‘hair’; OPl. *kosa* ‘braid, mane’

S SCr. *kòsa* ‘hair, wool’, Asg. *kòsu*; Čak. *kòse* (Vrg.) Npl. ‘hair, wool’; *kosà* (Novi) ‘hair, wool’, Asg. *kosù*, Asg. *kòsu*, Npl. *kosě*, Npl. *kòse*; Kajk. *kyesò* (Bednja) ‘hair, wool’, Asg. *kesòu*, Asg. *kyèsu*; Bulg. *kosá* ‘hair’

BSl. **kosa?*

B Lith. *kasà* ‘braid’

OPr. *kexti* ‘Zopfhaar’

Cogn. OIc. *haddr* m. ‘hair (of a woman)’

Derivative with *o*-grade of the root **kes-* ‘comb, scratch’ (→ **česàti*)

***kosà II** f. ā (b) ‘scythe’

ESSJa XI 133-135

CS CS *kosa* ‘scythe’

E Ru. *kosá* ‘scythe, spit (geog.)’, Asg. *kosú*, Asg. *kósu*

W Cz. *kosa* ‘scythe’; Slk. *kosa* ‘scythe’; Pl. *kosa* ‘scythe’; USrb. *kosa* ‘scythe’

S SCr. *kòsa* ‘scythe’, Asg. *kòsu*; Čak. *kosà* (Novi) ‘scythe’, Asg. *kosù*, Asg. *kòsu*; *kosà* (*kòsa*) (Orb.) ‘scythe’, Asg. *kòso*; Sln. *kósa* ‘scythe, spit (geog.)’; Bulg. *kosá* ‘scythe’

The ESSJa regards **kosà* ‘scythe’ as etymologically identical with → **kosà* I. This may indeed be the best solution. It seems unlikely that **kosà* ‘scythe’ derives from PIE **kos-*, cf. Skt. *śástra-* n. ‘knife’. Positing original zero grade of the root, as has been done for Skt. *śástra-* and Lat. *castrāre*, does not seem to explain the depalatalization of **k̑-* because in that case we would expect **kox-* < **koş-* << **kş-*, but before a consonant **kos-* < **koş-* << **kş-* is possible. Likely candidates for this development, such as Slk. *kostura* ‘big knife’, Ukr. *kostúra* ‘knife for slaughtering animals’, seem to be related with → **kòstv* ‘bone’, however.

***kosm̃** m. o ‘tuft, lock of hair’

ESSJa XI 145-147

CS RuCS *kosm̃* ‘hair, lock of hair’

E Ru. *kósm̃y* Npl. ‘locks, mane’

W Cz. *kosm* (Jg.) ‘tuft, lock of hair’; *kosma* (obs., poet.) f. ‘tuft, lock of hair’; Pl. *kosm* ‘tuft, lock of hair’

S Sln. *kósam* ‘tuft, flake’; Bulg. *kósam* ‘hair, fibre, colour of animal’s hair or coat’

PIE **kos-mo-*

See → **kosà* I.

***kosnōti** v.

ESSJa XI 155-156

CS OCS *kosnōti se* ‘touch’, 1sg. *kosnō*

E Ru. *kosnút’sja* ‘touch’

S SCr. *kosnuti (se)* ‘touch’

Verb in *-*nōti* from the same root as → **česàti*.

***kōstb** f. i (c) ‘bone’

ESSJa XI 167-173

CS OCS *kostb* ‘bone’

E Ru. *kost’* ‘bone’

W Cz. *kost* ‘bone’; Slk. *kost’* ‘bone’; Pl. *kości* ‘bone’

S SCr. *kōst* ‘bone’; Čak. *kōst* (Vrg.) ‘bone’, Gsg. *kōsti*; *kōst* (Novi) ‘bone’; *k^uōs* (Novi) ‘bone’, Gsg. *kostī*; Sln. *kōst* ‘bone, pit’; Bulg. *kost* ‘bone’

Cogn. Lat. *costa* f. ‘rib’

The relationship with the otherwise isolated Lat. *costa* ‘rib’ seems quite possible. An interesting hypothesis is to regard the **k* of **kōstb* as the reflex of the initial laryngeal of PIE **h₂ost-* ‘bone’, cf. Skt. *ásthi*, Gk. ὀστέον, in an Indo-European substratum language (cf. Kortlandt 1997b: 47, where the option is dismissed, however). Meillet (e.g. 1921, *Ét.* II: 262) regards the **k* as a prefix. If the root is **h₂ost-*, we are probably dealing with an original neuter **kosti*.

***kōsb** m. o (c) ‘blackbird’

ESSJa XI 175-177

CS RuCS *kosb*

E Ru. *kos* (arch., dial.) ‘starling’; Ukr. *kis* (dial.), Gsg. *kosá*

W Cz. *kos*; *kůs* (dial.); Slk. *kos* (dial.); Pl. *kos*

S SCr. *kōs*; Sln. *kōs*; Bulg. *kos*

Cogn. Gk. κόψιχος m.; Gk. κόσσυφος m.

PSl. **kōsb* can be connected with the Greek forms mentioned below if we reconstruct a root **kops-*. The variation attested in Greek points to a pre-Greek substratum word, but that does not entirely rule out a relationship with the Slavic word.

***košara; *košarъ; *košeŕa** f. ā; m. o; f. jā ‘sheep-fold, basket’

ESSJa XI
183-186

CS CS *košerja* f. ‘basket’

E Ru. *košára* (dial.) f. ‘large wicker basket’

- W Cz. *košár* m. 'enclosure'; Slk. *košiar* (dial.) m. 'enclosure for sheep'; Pl. *koszar* m. 'sheep-fold, enclosure for sheep'; *koszara* f. 'sheep-fold, enclosure for sheep'
- S SCr. *kòšara* f. 'basket, fence'; *kòšār* m. 'basket, bee-hive'; *kòšār* m. 'basket, bee-hive'; Čak. *košāra* f. 'large (hay) basket'; Sln. *košāra* f. 'round basket'; *košár* m. 'round basket'; Bulg. *košāra* m. 'sheep-fold, enclosure for sheep'

See → *kòšb.

***kòšb** m. jo (b) 'basket'

ESSJa XI 195-197

- CS OCS *košb* 'basket'
- E Ru. *koš* (dial.) 'fishing-basket, bird-trap, bee-hive'; Ukr. *kiš* 'basket', Gsg. *košá*
- W Cz. *koš* 'basket'; *kúš* (dial.) 'basket'; Slk. *kôš* 'basket'; Pl. *kosz* 'basket'; LSrb. *kóš* 'basket'
- S SCr. *kòš* 'granary, basket', Gsg. *kòša*; Čak. *kòš* (Orb.) 'basket', Gsg. *košā*; Sln. *kòš* 'basket, pannier, bee-hive, chest', Gsg. *kóša*; Bulg. *koš* 'basket'

The connection with Lat. *quālum* n. 'wicker basket' and *quasillum* n. 'small basket' is somewhat hazardous.

See also: *košara; *košarъ; *košeŕa

***kotera**; ***kotora** f. ā 'quarrel, fight'

ESSJa XI 200-201

- CS OCS *kotora* (Supr.) 'quarrel, fight'; RuCS *kotera* 'fight'
- E Ru. *kotóra* (dial.) 'hostility, fight'; *kótora* (dial.) 'hostility, fight'; ORu. *kotera* 'fight'; Ukr. *kotorá* 'quarrel, offence'

Cogn. OIc. *hǫð* f. 'quarrel'; MHG *hader* m. 'quarrel, fight'; OIr. *cath* m. 'fight, host'

PIE origin doubtful. The North European evidence points to *kat-.

***koterъ**; ***kotorъ** prn. 'who, which'

ESSJa XI 201-203

- CS OCS *kotorъi* 'who, someone'; *koterъi* (Mar., Hil.) 'who, someone'
- E Ru. *kotóryj* 'which, (rel.) who, which'
- W Slk. *koterý* 'which'; *kotorý* 'which'; *kotrý* 'which'; USrb. *kotry* 'which, what'; LSrb. *kótary* 'which'
- S SCr. *koteri* (dial., obs.) 'which'; Sln. *kotéri* 'which'; *katéri* 'which'; Bulg. *kótryj* (Gerov) 'which'; *kotrí* (dial.) 'which'

BSl. **kot(e)ros*

B Lith. *katràs* 'which (of the two)'

PIE **k^wo-ter-o-*

Cogn. Skt. *katará-* 'which (of the two)'; Gk. *πότερος* 'which'; Go. *hvaþar* 'which'

***kotiti se** v. (c) 'have young'

ESSJa XI 204-205

- E Ru. *kotít'sja* 'have kittens, have young', 1sg. *kočús'*, 3sg. *kotít'sja*
- W Cz. *kotiti se* 'have young'; Pl. *kocić się* 'have young'

- S SCr. *kòtiti* (*se*) ‘have kittens, have young’; Čak. *koṭiti* (Vrg.) ‘have kittens, have young’; Sln. *koṭiti* ‘have young, brood’, 1sg. *koṭím*; *kòtiti* ‘have young, brood’; Bulg. *kòtja* ‘have young’

According to one theory, **kotiti se* derives from **kotv* ‘cat’, which must be a borrowing from a non-Indo-European language (cf. Lat. *cattus*, attested since Palladius, which ousted *fēlēs*). On the other hand, there is Lat. *catulus* ‘young of an animal’, already attested in Plautus, which has been connected with Oic. *haðna* f. ‘goat’. This word, too, is probably of non-Indo-European origin.

See also: *kotъ I

***kotъ I** m. o ESSJa XI 211-212

- W Cz. *kót* (dial.) ‘post-natal period’; Pl. *koṭ* (dial.) ‘place where forest animals young’
 S SCr. *kòt* ‘(time of) having young, litter, breed’; Sln. *kòt* ‘brood, litter’, Gsg. *kòta*; Mcd. *koṭ* ‘(time of) having young, breed’

Deverbative *o*-stem. See → **kotiti se*.

***kotъ II** m. o ‘booth, sty’ ESSJa XI 211-212

- W OCz. *koṭ* ‘booth, stall (market)’; *kót* ‘booth, stall (market)’
 S SCr. *kòt* (dial.) ‘sty for domestic animals, young animals’

Cogn. OE *headðor* n. ‘incarceration, jail’

Furthermore, the etymon has been connected with LAv. *kata-* m. ‘storage room, cellar’. The ESSJa points out that in the culture of the early Slavs sties for domestic animals may have been dug out.

See also: *kotъcb

***kotъcb** m. jo ESSJa XI 214-215

- CS CS *koṭьcb* ‘cage’
 E Ru. *koṭéc* (dial.) ‘(fish-)trap made from brushwood’
 W Cz. *koṭec* ‘sty’; OCz. *koṭec* ‘booth, stall (market)’; OPl. *koṭiec* ‘enclosure for domestic animals’
 S SCr. *kòtac* ‘cattle-shed, weir’; Sln. *kòtæc* ‘compartment of a stable, pig-sty, bird-cage’

See → **kotv* II

***kovàti** v. (c) ‘forge’ ESSJa XII 10-12

- CS OCS *kovati* (Ps. Sin., Supr.) ‘forge’, 1sg. *kovø*
 E Ru. *kovát* ‘forge, hammer’, 1sg. *kujú*, 3sg. *kuëṭ*
 W Cz. *kouti* ‘forge’, 1sg. *kujji*; OCz. *kovati* ‘forge’, 1sg. *kujju*; Slk. *kovat* ‘forge, shoe’; *kuṭ* ‘forge, shoe’; Pl. *kuć* ‘forge’; *kować* (dial.) ‘forge’

S SCr. *kòvati* ‘forge, shoe’, 1sg. *kùjëm*; Čak. *kovāti* (Vrg.) ‘forge, shoe’, 2sg. *kùješ*; *kovāti* (Orb.) ‘forge, shoe’, 1sg. *kùjèn*; Sln. *kováti* ‘forge, hammer’, 1sg. *kújem*; Bulg. *ková* ‘forge, hammer’

BSL. **kouʔ-*

B Lith. *káuti* ‘murder, beat, hew’; Latv. *kaút* ‘fight’

PIE **kouh₂-*

Cogn. Lat. *cūdere* ‘beat, grind, forge’; OIc. *hoggva* ‘hew, beat’; OHG *houwan* ‘hew, beat’

See also: *kuzŋa; *kъznъ; *kyjъ

***kozà** f. ā (b) ‘goat’

ESSJa XII 19-21

CS OCS *koza* (Supr.)

E Ru. *kozá*, Asg. *kozú*

W Cz. *koza*; Slk. *koza*; Pl. *koza*

S SCr. *kòza*, Asg. *kòzu*; Čak. *kozà* (Vrg.), Asg. *kòzu*, Asg. *kozù*; *kòza* (Orb.), Asg. *kòzo*; Sln. *kóza*; Bulg. *kozá*

Possibly a borrowing from a Turkic language (cf. ESJS: 350-351, Dybo 2002: 478-480).

See also: *kozьlъ; *koža

***kozьlъ** m. o ‘he-goat’

ESSJa XII 32-33

CS OCS *kozьlъ* (Ps. Sin., Supr.)

E Ru. *kozěl*, Gsg. *kozlá*

W Cz. *kozěl*; Slk. *kozol* (dial.); Pl. *koziół*; *koziel*

S SCr. *kòzao*, Gsg. *kòzla*; Sln. *kózəl*, Gsg. *kózla*; Bulg. *kozél*

Derivative of → **kozà*. The suffix *-*ьlъ* is not uncommon in animal names.

***kòža** f. jā (b) ‘skin, leather’

ESSJa XII 35-36

CS OCS *koža* ‘skin, leather’

E Ru. *kóža* ‘skin, leather, rind’

W Cz. *kůže* ‘skin, leather’; *kože* ‘skin, leather’; Slk. *koža* ‘skin, leather’; OPl. *koža* ‘skin’

S SCr. *kòža* ‘skin, leather, rind’; Čak. *kòža* (Vrg.) ‘skin, leather, rind’; *kòža* (Orb.) ‘skin, hide, leather’; Sln. *kóža* ‘skin, leather, rind’; Bulg. *kóža* ‘skin, leather, rind’

Derivative of → **kozà*.

***kōda** adv. ‘where, whither’

ESSJa XII 46-47

E Ru. *kudá*

S SCr. *kūdā*; Sln. *kōda*; *kōd*

B OPr. *isquendau* ‘thence’

PIE **k^wom-d^(h)*-

The final part of the formation is obscure. An Isg. would be unexpected in an adverb with this meaning.

See also: *kŏdě

***kŏdě** adv. 'where, whither'

ESSJa XII 47

CS CS *kŏdě*

E Ru. *kudé* (dial.); ORu. *kudě*

S Bulg. *kǎdě*

See → *kŏda.

***kŏpina** f. ā 'bush'

ESSJa XII 63-64

CS OCS *kŏpina* 'bush, shrub'

E Ru. *kupiná* (arch.) 'bush'; *kúpina* (dial.) 'mound, knoll'

W Cz. *kupina* 'bunch, bush, bramble bush'; Slk. *kupina* 'bush'; Pl. *kepina* 'hummock'

S SCr. *kopina* 'bramble bush'; Bulg. *kǎpina* 'bramble bush'

Derivative of a peripherally attested noun **kŏpa*, e.g. Slnc. *kǎpa* 'sandbank overgrown with reed in a lake'. The root **kŏp-* cannot easily be separated from **kup-*, cf. → **kupŏ*.

***kŏsati** v. 'bite'

ESSJa XII 65-66

CS OCS *kŏsati*

E Ru. *kusát'*

W Cz. *kousati*; Slk. *kúsat'*; Pl. *kŏsac'*; *kęsac'*; Slnc. *kŏsac*

S SCr. *kúsati* 'eat with a spoon'; Sln. *kosáti* 'break in pieces, pulverize', 1sg. *kosám*; Bulg. *kǎsam* 'tear, hurt'

BSl. **konʔd-*

B Lith. *kąsti*, 3sg. *kánda*; Latv. *kuóst*

In view of the East Baltic forms, the root must have ended in a dental stop. We may reconstruct either **k^(w)ond-* (where Winter's law would be responsible for the acute) or **k^(w)onHd^(h)*-. It is therefore formally possible to regard the root under discussion as a nasalized variant of the root of Skt. *khād-* 'chew, bite, eat' and Arm. *xacanem* 'bite'. Like the Armenian form, Slavic **kŏsati* seems to contain *-s-. One might be inclined to think that the *s originates from a suffix *-so- in → **kŏsŏ*, but the ESSJa regards the latter as a deverbative noun.

***kŏsъ** m. o (c) 'piece'

ESSJa XII 67

CS CS *kŏsŏ* 'lump, piece'

E Ru. *kus* (dial.) 'piece of smth., food'

W Cz. *kus* 'part, piece'; Slk. *kus* 'piece'; Pl. *kęs* 'piece, bit, morsel'

S SCr. *kūs* ‘piece, lump’; Čak. *kūs* (Vrg.) ‘piece’, Gsg. *kūsa*; *kūs* (Orb.) ‘piece, part’, Gsg. *kūsa*; Sln. *kōs* ‘piece’; Bulg. *kās* ‘piece’

BSL. **kanʔd-*

B Lith. *kañdis* m.(io) ‘bite’

See also: *čęstь; *kɔsati

***kɔtati** v. ‘muffle up, conceal’

ESSJa XII 69-70

E Ru. *kútat* ‘muffle up (in)”; ORu. *kutati* ‘muffle up (in), conceal’; Ukr. *kútaty* ‘muffle up (in), take care of, reassure’

S Bulg. *kátam* ‘hide, conceal’

See → *kɔtja.

***kɔtja** f. jã ‘hut’

ESSJa XII 70-74

CS OCS *kɔštę* (Supr.) Gsg. ‘hut’

E ORu. *kuča* ‘hut, cabin’; Ukr. *kúča* ‘bird-cage, pig-sty’

W Cz. *kuča* (dial.) ‘hut, shack’ (according to Machek (1997: 304), this word may have been borrowed from Ukrainian through Polish); Slk. *kučka* (E. dial.) ‘little house’; Pl. *kuczka* ‘hut, shack’ (perhaps from Ukrainian)

S SCr. *kūća* ‘house’; Čak. *kūća* (Vrg., Novi) ‘house’; *kūća* (Orb.) ‘house, (obs.) kitchen’; Sln. *kóča* ‘peasant hut, shack’; Bulg. *kášta* ‘house’

Etymology obscure. To all appearances, the etymon was originally limited to East and South Slavic.

See also: *kɔtati

***kóť** m. o (b) ‘corner’

ESSJa XII 75-78

CS OCS *kɔť*

E Ru. *kut* (dial.)

W Cz. *kout*; Slk. *kút*; Pl. *kąt*; Sln. *kóyt*

S SCr. *kūt*; Čak. *kút* (Novi), Gsg. *kūtà*; *kūt* (Orb.: obs.), Gsg. *kūtà*; Sln. *kót*; Bulg. *kāt* ‘corner, angle’

BSL. **komp-*

B Lith. *kañpas* ‘corner’

If **kóť* is cognate with Lith. *kañpas*, we may reconstruct a neuter *o*-stem **komp-tom*.

***kràjъ** m. jo (a) ‘edge’

ESSJa XII 88-89

CS OCS *krai* ‘edge, end, shore’

E Ru. *kraj* ‘edge, country, land’

W Cz. *kraj* ‘edge, end, region’; Slk. *kraj* ‘edge, end, region’; Pl. *kraj* ‘edge, country, land’

- S SCr. *krāj* ‘end, (dial.) edge, bank’, Gsg. *krāja*; Čak. *krāj* (Vrg.) ‘shore, end’, Gsg. *krāja*; *kráj* (Novi) ‘end’, Gsg. *krāja*; *krāj* (Orb.) ‘side, rim, piece (of wood, thread), end’, Gsg. *krāja*; Bulg. *kraj* ‘end, edge, area’

See → **krojiti*.

***krakati** v. ‘croak’

ESSJa XII 92-93

- CS RuCS *krakati*
 E ORu. *krakati*, 1sg. *kraču*
 W Cz. *krákati*; Slk. *krákať*; Pl. *krakać*
 S SCr. *krákati*; Sln. *krâkati*, 1sg. *krâkam*, 1sg. *krâčem*
 B Lith. *krokoti* (dial.); Latv. *krâkât*
 Cogn. Lat. *crōcīre*
 See also: **kъrkati*; **kъrkŋti*

***krāsà** f. ā (b)

ESSJa XII 95-97

- CS OCS *krasojoŕ* 1sg. f. ‘adornment, decoration’
 E Ru. *krasá* ‘beauty’
 W Cz. *krása* ‘beauty’; Slk. *krása* ‘beauty’; Pl. *krasa* ‘colour, beauty’
 S SCr. *krása* ‘snake’; Bulg. *krása* ‘snake’

Etymology unclear. The resemblance to Lith. *gražūs* ‘beautiful’, *grōžis* ‘beauty’, has given rise to the idea that this is another instance of the alternation between voiced and voiceless obstruents which is observed in, among others, → **kǝlpǝ* vs. Lith. *gulbis* ‘swan’.

See also: **krasъlpъ*

***kràsti** v. ‘steal’

ESSJa XII 102-105

- CS OCS *krasti*, 1sg. *kradǫ*
 E Ru. *krast’*, 1sg. *kradú*, 3sg. *kradët* {1}
 W Cz. *krásti*; Pl. *krasć*
 S SCr. *kràsti*, 1sg. *krádēm*; Čak. *kràs* (Orb.), 1sg. *krādën*; Sln. *krásti*, 1sg. *krádem*; Bulg. *kradá*
 BSl. **kraʔ-*
 B Latv. *krât* ‘gather, heap’
 PIE **kreh₂-d^(h)*

LIV (367) suggests that the *d*-enlargement of the root is actually to be identified with the *-*d*- of **jǝdǫ* ‘I go’, which originated in the imperative. Vaillant (Gr. III: 179) explicitly argues against this.

{1} AP (a) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 133).

***krasъnъ** adj. o 'beautiful' ESSJa XII 109-110

- CS OCS *krasъnъ* 'beautiful, pleasant'
 E Ru. *krásnyj* 'red, (obs., coll.) beautiful'
 W Cz. *krásný* 'beautiful, pretty'; Slk. *krásny* 'beautiful, pretty'; Pl. *krasny* (poet.) 'red, beautiful'; *krásny* (poet.) 'red, beautiful'
 S SCr. *krâsan* 'beautiful, pretty'; *krâsan* 'beautiful, pretty'; Sln. *krâsan* 'splendid, beautiful'

See also: *krāsà

***krečētъ** m. o 'gerfalcon' ESSJa XII 111

- CS RuCS *krečētъ*
 E Ru. *kréčet*; ORu. *krečētъ*; Ukr. *kréčet*
 W Pl. *krzeczot*

In all likelihood a derivative of an onomatopoeic root **krek-*.

***kremy** m. n 'flint' ESSJa XII 118-123

- CS CS *kremy* m.(n), Gsg. *kremene*
 E Ru. *kremén'* m.(jo)
 W Cz. *křemen* m.(o); Slk. *kremeň* m.(jo); Pl. *krzemień* m.(jo)
 S SCr. *krēmēn* m.(o); Čak. *krëmen* (Vrg.) m.(o); Sln. *krémen* m.(o) 'flint, energy', Gsg. *kreměna*
 BSL. **krem-*
 B Latv. *krēms* m.; *krams* m.

The root may be *(s)*krem-*, an enlargement of *(s)*ker-* 'cut'.

***krěpъ** adj. o 'strong' ESSJa XII 134

- CS OCS *krěpъ* 'strong'
 W Cz. *křepý* (obs.) 'strong'; Slk. *krepy* 'slow-witted, simple-minded'
 S SCr. *krījep* (poet.) 'strong'
 PIE **kreh₁p-o-*
 Cogn. OIc. *hræfa* 'endure'

See also: *krěpъkъ

***krěpъkъ** adj. o (a) 'strong' ESSJa XII 135-138

- CS OCS *krěpъkъ* 'strong'
 E Ru. *krěpkij* 'strong'; *krěpok* 'strong'
 W Cz. *křepký* 'fresh, strong'; Slk. *krepký* 'adroit, smart'; Pl. *krzepki* 'strong, alive, quick'
 S SCr. *krěpak* 'strong, lively'; Čak. *krīpak* (Novi) 'strong, lively'; *krěpak* (Orb.) 'strong, lively'; Sln. *krěpak* 'hard, stiff, tough', f. *krěpka*; *krěpāk* 'hard, stiff, tough', f. *krěpkà*; Bulg. *krěpāk* 'tough, hard, strong'

Adjective containing the very common adjectival suffix *-okъ. For the etymology, see → *krěpъ.

***krěslo** n. o (a) 'chair' ESSJa XII 126-129

- E Ru. *krěslo* 'arm-chair, (dial.) flooring for the slaughter of livestock'
 W Cz. *křeslo* 'arm-chair'; Slk. *krieslo* 'arm-chair'; Pl. *krzesło* 'chair'; *krzasło* (dial.) 'chair'; OPl. *krzasło* 'chair'
 S Bulg. *kresló* 'seat'
 BSl. **krěslo*
 B Lith. *krėslas* m. 3 'arm-chair'; Latv. *krēsls* m. 'chair'
 OPr. *creslan* 'arm-chair'

***křičati** v. (c) 'cry, scream' ESSJa XII 149-150

- CS OCS *křičati* 'cry, shout, scream', 1sg. *křičŏ*, 2sg. *křičiši*
 E Ru. *křičát* 'cry, shout, scream', 1sg. *křičú*, 3sg. *křičít*
 W Cz. *křičeti* 'cry, shout, scream'; Slk. *křičat* 'cry, shout, scream'; Pl. *krzyczeń* 'cry, shout, scream'
 S SCr. *křičati* 'scream', 1sg. *křičim*; Sln. *křičati* 'scream', 1sg. *křičim*
 B Lith. *krỹkti* 'cry (of birds), quack'; *krỹkšti* 'cry, shout'

See → *křikъ.

***křidlo** n. o (b) 'wing' ESSJa XII 152-154

- CS OCS *krilo* 'wing, roof'
 E Ru. *kryló* 'wing'; Ukr. *kryló* 'wing' (with analogical *y* after *kryt* 'cover')
 W Cz. *křídlo* 'wing'; Slk. *křidlo* 'wing'; Pl. *krzydło* (dial.) 'wing'; Slnc. *křídlo* 'wing'
 S SCr. *krílo* 'wing, fin, nostril, lap'; Čak. *krilã* Npl. 'skirt, white linen half-slip, (esp. in songs) wings'; *krilò* (Orb.) 'lap'; Sln. *krilò* 'wing, fin, nostril'; Bulg. *kriló* 'wing'
 BSl. *(s)*krei-*
 B Lith. *skriėti* (dial.) 'rotate, circle, fly' (Standard Lithuanian has *skriėti*); Latv. *skriet* 'go, run, fly'
 PIE *(s)*krei-d^hlom*

See also: *krina; *krinica II

***křikъ** m. o (c) 'cry, shout' ESSJa XII 155-156

- CS CS *křikō* 'shouting, cries'
 E Ru. *křik* 'cry, shout'
 W Cz. *křik* 'cry, shout'; Slk. *křik* 'cry, shout'; Pl. *krzyk* 'cry, shout'
 S SCr. *křik* 'cry, shout'; Sln. *křik* 'cry, scream'
 BSl. **kreik-*

B Lith. *krỹkti* ‘cry (of birds), quack’; *krỹkšti* ‘cry, shout’

PIE *kreik-

***krina**; ***krinica I** f. ā; f. jā ‘vessel, jug’

ESSJa XII 156-158

CS OCS *krinicŏ* (Supr.) Asg. ‘jug’; RuCS *krina* ‘vessel, grain measure’

E Ru. *krinica* ‘earthenware pot, jug’; ORu. *krina* ‘vessel, grain measure’

S SCr. *krīnica* (arch., dial.) ‘plate, clay bowl’; Sln. *krinja* ‘flour vessel’; *krinjica* ‘flour vessel (dim.)’

Etymology unclear. The ESSJa derives this etymon from the root *(s)ker- ‘cut’.

***krinica II**; ***крѣница** f. jā

ESSJa XII 158-159

E Ru. *krinica* (dial.) ‘spring, well’; Ukr. *krynycja* ‘spring, well’

W Pl. *krynica* ‘spring, well’; *kiernica* (dial.) ‘spring, well’; *krzynica* ‘stream, well’

S Sln. *krnica* ‘deep spot in river or lake, vortex, basin’

The Slovene word in particular agrees very well with Lith. *skriėti*, dial. *skriėti* ‘rotate, circle, fly’. I therefore reconstruct the root as *(s)kr(e)i-.

See also: *krīdlò

***kriti** v. ‘buy’

ESSJa XII 160-161

CS RuCS *kriti* ‘buy’

E ORu. *kriti* ‘buy’

PIE *k^wr(e)ih₂-

Cogn. Skt. *krīṇāti* ‘buy’; Gk. *πρίασθαι* ‘buy’; OIr. *crenaid* ‘buy’

See also: *крѣнѣти

***krojiti** v. ‘cut’

ESSJa XII 180-182

E Ru. *kroít* ‘cut (out)’, 1sg. *krojú*, 3sg. *kroít*

W Cz. *krojiti* ‘cut’; Pl. *kroić* ‘cut’

S SCr. *kròjiti* ‘cut’, 1sg. *kròjim*; Čak. *krojiti* (Vrg.) ‘cut’, 2sg. *krojíš*; *krojīt* (Orb.) ‘cut out (garment from cloth)’, 3sg. *krojī*; Sln. *krojiti* ‘split, disrupt, unstitch, cut (out)’; Bulg. *krojá* ‘cut out (a garment), devise’

B Latv. *krijāt* ‘skin’

In my dissertation (1996: 271-272) I discussed the accentual properties of the East Baltic root *krei- ‘skim, fish’. Beside solid evidence for an original acute, we find forms pointing to a circumflex. Schrijver, in his discussion of Lat. *cernō* (1991: 407-408), does not commit himself. LIV (366-367) now reconstructs a root *kreh₁(i)- ‘sieben, trennen’ and claims that CS *kroiti* continues an iterative *kroh₁i-éje-, but with a root *kroih₁-, which is supposed to be analogical after the metathesized zero grade. In view of similar problems connected with roots of the structure CVHI- (cf. → *gojiti), I think that this is acceptable. The original full grade *kroh₁i- seems to be present in → *kràjb.

***kroma** f. ā ‘edge, slice’ ESSJa XII 185-186

E Ru. *kromá* (dial.); *króma* (dial.) ‘edge, (thick) slice of bread’; ORu. *kroma* ‘(thick) slice of bread’

W Pl. *kroma* (dial.) ‘heel of a loaf, slice of bread’; USrb. *kroma* ‘edge’; LSrb. *kšoma* ‘edge’

Perhaps derived from a root *(s)*krom-* ‘cut’, cf. MoHG *Schramme*.

See also: *kromě

***kromě** prep. ‘except’ ESSJa XII 185-186

CS OCS *kromě* prep. ‘except, without’; *kromě* adv. ‘far away’

E Ru. *króme* prep. ‘except, besides’

W Cz. *kromě* prep. ‘except’; *krom* prep. ‘except’; Pl. *krom* (dial.) prep. ‘except, without’

See → **kroma*.

***kropiti** v. ‘besprinkle’ ESSJa XIII 8-9

CS OCS *kropiti* (Euch., Supr.) ‘besprinkle, asperse’, 1sg. *kropljǫ*

E Ru. *kropít* ‘besprinkle, asperse, trickle’, 1sg. *kropljú*, 3sg. *kropít*

W Cz. *kropiti* ‘besprinkle, splash’; Slk. *kropit* ‘besprinkle, splash’; Pl. *kropić* ‘besprinkle, drip’

S SCr. *kròpiti* ‘pour, besprinkle’, 1sg. *kròpīm*; Čak. *kropiti* ‘pour, besprinkle’, 2sg. *kropiš*; Sln. *kropíti* ‘besprinkle, asperse’, 1sg. *kropím*

BSl. **krop-*

B Lith. *skrepliúoti* ‘spit slime’; Latv. *krēpāt* ‘spit thick slime’

Etymology unclear.

***kròsno** n. o (c) ‘weaver’s beam, (pl.) loom’ ESSJa XIII 13-17

CS RuCS *krosna* Npl. ‘canvas, loom’

E Ru. *krósna* Npl. ‘loom, threads’; *kròsno* (dial.) ‘loom, threads’; *krósna* Npl. ‘loom’; *krosná* Npl. (dial.) ‘loom, canvas, linen’; ORu. *krosna* Npl. ‘canvas, loom’

W Cz. *krosna* f. ‘basket (carried over the shoulders)’; *krúсна* f. ‘basket (carried over the shoulders)’; Slk. *krosná* Npl. ‘loom’; Pl. *krosna* f. ‘loom’

S SCr. *kròsno* (dial.) ‘weaver’s beam’; *kròсна* ‘loom’; *kròсна* (dial.) f. ‘loom, weaver’s beam’; Čak. *kròsnā* (Vrg.) Npl. ‘loom’; *kr^uòсна* (Orb.) ‘(part of a?) loom’; Sln. *krósna* Npl. ‘loom’; *krosne* Npl. f. ‘loom’; Bulg. *krosnó* ‘weaver’s beam’; *krosna* f. ‘cradle’;

Etymology unclear. An analysis **krot-sno*, with the root of Lith. *krėsti* ‘shake’ (Vaillant Gr. IV: 584) is semantically not particularly convincing. More promising is the connection with forms such as Lith. *krāsė* (obs., dial.), *krėšė* (dial.) ‘chair’, Latv. *kreslis* ‘(simple) sledge’. The relationship between this root **kres-* and the root of →

**krěslo* < **krěslo*, cf. also Latv. *krēsls* ‘Stuhl, der Teil des Spinnrockens, in dem die Beine ruhen’ is unclear to me. Even the assumption that a lengthened grade yields an acute brings no solution because the fact that this Balto-Slavic neuter *o*-stem has fixed stress must be due to Hirt’s law, which is a retraction of the ictus to a non-apophonic vowel.

***krotiti** v. ‘tame’

ESSJa XIII 17

- CS OCS *krotiti* (Euch., Supr.) ‘tame, reassure’, 1sg. *kroštŭ*
 E Ru. *krotít’* (dial.) ‘soothe, restrain, tame, club to death (fish, seals)’
 W Cz. *krotiti* ‘soothe, restrain, tame’; Slk. *krotit’* ‘soothe, restrain, tame’; OPl. *krocíc’* ‘soothe, tame’
 S SCr. *kròtiti* ‘tame, calm’; Sln. *krotíti* ‘tame, restrain’, 1sg. *krotím*

Factitive verb. See →**kròtøkъ*.

***kròtøkъ** adj. o ‘gentle, quiet’

ESSJa XIII 18-19

- CS OCS *krotøkъ* ‘tame, placid, quiet’
 E Ru. *kròtkij* ‘gentle, meek’; Ru. *kròtok* ‘gentle, meek’, f. *krotká*, n. *kròtko*
 W Cz. *krotký* ‘quiet, tame’; Slk. *krotký* ‘quiet’; OPl. *krotki*; *kròtki* ‘gentle, tame’
 S SCr. *kròtak* ‘gentle, meek, quiet, slow’, f. *kròtka*, n. *kròtko*; Čak. *kròtak* (Orb.) ‘tame, calm’; Sln. *kròtak* ‘quiet, gentle, meek’; *krotâk* ‘quiet, gentle, meek’; Bulg. *kròtâk* ‘quiet, tame, gentle, meek’

According to Berneker (I: 624), we must start from a meaning ‘castrate’, but there is little formal support for this hypothesis, Gk. κροτέω ‘rattle, clap, knock, strike’ being the best example. The connection with *(s)*kert-* ‘cut’ (→ **čersti*) would require *Schwebeablaut* and is therefore not very convincing.

See also: **krotiti*

***kròvъ** m. o (b) ‘roof’

ESSJa XIII 20-21

- CS OCS *krovъ* ‘roof, shelter’
 E Ru. *krov* ‘roof, shelter’, Gsg. *króva* {1}
 W Cz. *krov* ‘roof, shelter’; Slk. *krov* ‘roof’
 S SCr. *kròv* ‘roof’, Gsg. *kròva*; Čak. *kròv* (Vrg.) ‘roof’, Gsg. *kròva*, Gsg. *krovâ*; *kr“òf* (Orb.) ‘roof’, Gsg. *krovâ*; Sln. *kròv* ‘roof, lid’, Gsg. *króva*
 BSl. **krou(ŕ)um*
 B Latv. *krava* f. ‘heap, pile’

A derivative of → **krÿti*.

{1} AP (b) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 134).

***kròčina** f. ā ‘gall, anger’

ESSJa XIII 21-22

- CS RuCS *kručina* ‘gall, grief, anger’
 E Ru. *kručina* ‘grief, anguish’; ORu. *kručina* ‘gall, grief, anger’

- W OPl. *kręczynka* ‘gorse’
 S SCr. *kručina* (arch., obs.) ‘gall, anger’

The root **krǫk-* has been linked to words meaning ‘bend’ (cf. → **krǫgǫ*), but the voiceless root-final velar is awkward and almost isolated within Slavic. Vasmer (s.v. *kručina*) mentions Sln. *ukročiti*, *ukrokniti* ‘bend’.

***krǫglǫ** adj. o ‘round’ ESSJa XIII 23-24

- CS CS *krǫglǫ*
 E Ru. *krúglyj* {1}
 W Pl. *krągły* (poet.); *kręgły* (dial.) {2}
 S SCr. *krúgao*; Sln. *krǫgǫt*; Bulg. *krǫgǫl*

Adjective in *-*lo-*. See → **krǫgǫ*.

{1} AP (b) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 136). {2} Cf. Cz. *okrouhlý*, Pl. *okrągły* ‘round’.

***krǫgǫ** m. o (c) ‘circle’ ESSJa XIII 25-27

- CS OCS *krǫgǫ* ‘circle’
 W Cz. *kruh* ‘circle’; Slk. *kruh* ‘circle’; Pl. *krąg* ‘circle’, Gsg. *kręgu*
 S SCr. *krúg* ‘circle’, Gsg. *krúga*; Čak. *krúg* (Vrg.) ‘circle’, Gsg. *krúga*; *krúh* (Orb.) ‘big stone, rock (in a field), circle’, Gsg. *krúga*; Sln. *krǫg* ‘circle, disc’; Bulg. *krǫg* ‘circle, sphere’

- PIE **krongh-o-*
 Cogn. OIc. *hringr* m. ‘ring’

***krǫpěti** v. ESSJa XIII 27-28

- CS CS *krǫpěti* ‘contract’
 BSl. **kromp-*
 B Latv. *kruņpēt* ‘shrink’

See also: **krǫpǫ*

***krǫpǫ** adj. o ‘short, small’ ESSJa XIII 27-28

- CS CS *krǫpǫ* ‘small’; RuCS *krupyj* ‘small’
 W OCz. *krupý* ‘rough, unpolished’; Pl. *krępy* ‘rather short, thick, strong’
 S Bulg. *krǫp* (dial.) ‘short’

The entry in the ESSJa is **krǫpǫ(jǫ)*/**krupǫjǫ*, but in this case we are rather dealing with two roots having become confused (cf. → **krupǫnǫ*) than with *ǫ* : *u* variation.

See also: **krǫpěti*

***krǫtiti** v. ‘turn, twist, twirl’ ESSJa XIII 30-31

- CS CS *krǫtiti se* ‘turn’, 1sg. *krǫštǫ*
 E Ru. *krutít* ‘twist, turn’, 1sg. *krúú*, 3sg. *krútít*
 W Cz. *kroutiti* ‘turn, twirl’; Slk. *krútít* ‘turn, twirl’; Pl. *kręcić* ‘turn, twirl’

S SCr. *krútiti* ‘consolidate, compress’; Sln. *krotiti* ‘turn, twist’, 1sg. *krotim*

See → *krōtъ.

***krōtъ** adj. o (c)

ESSJa XIII 33-35

CS CS *krōtъ* ‘winding’

E Ru. *krutój* ‘steep, severe’

W Cz. *krutý* ‘cruel, severe’; Slk. *krutý* ‘cruel, severe’; Pl. *kręty* ‘winding, crooked’

S SCr. *krūt* ‘hard, coarse, cruel, severe’; Sln. *krōt* ‘fierce’

The meaning ‘steep’ can be linked to Lith. *krañtas* ‘bank’. The root *kront- seems to have no cognates outside Balto-Slavic.

See also: *krōtiti

***kruxъ** m. o ‘chunk’

ESSJa XIII 41

CS CS *kruxъ* ‘fragment, chunk’

E Ru. *krux* (dial.) ‘slice, lump’

W Cz. *kruch* ‘piece, lump’; Slk. *kruch* (dial.) ‘piece, lump, chunk of bread’; Pl. *kruch* ‘piece, lump’

S SCr. *krüh* ‘bread’, Gsg. *krüha*; Čak. *krüh* ‘bread’, Gsg. *krüva*; *krüh* (Novi, Orb.) ‘bread’, Gsg. *krüha*; Sln. *krüh* ‘bread’, Gsg. *krúha*; Bulg. *krux* (dial.) ‘piece of salt or sugar’

PIE *krous-o-

Cogn. Gk. κρούω ‘beat’

See also: *krъxa; *krъxъ

***krukъ** m. o ‘raven’

ESSJa XIII 42-43

CS CS *krukъ* ‘raven’

E Ru. *kruk* (dial.) ‘raven’; Ukr. *kruk* (dial.) ‘crane’

W Pl. *kruk* ‘raven’; Slnc. *krëk* ‘raven’

Probably of onomatopoeic origin, cf. OPl. *krukač* ‘roar’.

***krūpā** f. ā (b) ‘grainy substance, groats, hail’

ESSJa XIII 43-45

CS CS *krupa* ‘grain, groats’ (cf. OCS *krupica* ‘crumb’)

E Ru. *krupá* Npl. ‘groats, sleet’, Asg. *krupú*

W Cz. *kroupa* ‘groats, grain’; Slk. *krúpy* Npl. ‘groats, hail’; Pl. *krupy* Npl. ‘groats’; OPl. *krupy* Npl. ‘groats, broth, hail’; Slnc. *krāpā* Npl. ‘groats’

S SCr. *krúpa* ‘hail, (arch.) crumb’; *krūpa* ‘hail, (arch.) crumb’; *krūpa* ‘hail, (arch.) crumb’; Čak. *krūpa* (Vrg.) ‘hail’; *krūpā* (Novi) ‘hail’; Sln. *krúpa* f.(ā) ‘barley-groats’; *krūpi* Npl. f.(i) ‘hail’

BSl. *kroupa?

B Latv. *křaūpa* f. ‘wart’

PIE *kroup-eh₂

Cogn. OIc. *hrýfi* f. 'scabies'

See also: *krupǫnǫ

***krupǫnǫ** adj. o 'coarse'

ESSJa XIII 46-47

E Ru. *krúpnyj* 'big, tall'; ORu. *krupnyj* 'consisting of large parts, big'

W OCz. *krupný* 'coarse'; Pl. *krupny* 'coarse'

S SCr. *krúpan* 'coarse-grained, coarse, big, high'; *krúpan* 'coarse-grained, coarse, big, high'; Čak. *krúpan* (Orb.) 'large, heavy, bulky'; Bulg. *krúpen* 'great'

BSl. **kroup-*

B Lith. *kraupūs* 'rough'

PIE **kroup-*

Cogn. OIc. *hrjúfr* 'rough, scabby'

See also: *krūpā

***krǫxǫ; *krǫxǫ** (b/c) f. ā; m. o 'lump'

ESSJa XIII 51

CS CS *krǫxa* 'grain'

E Ru. *kroxá* 'crumb', Asg. *króxu*

W Slk. *krh* 'bar, touchstone'; *krch* 'bar, touchstone'; Pl. *krech* 'piece, lump'

S Sln. *křh* 'crack, notch, rift', Gsg. *křha*

BSl. **kruša?*

B Lith. *krušà* f. 'hail'; Latv. *krusa* f. 'hail'

PIE **krus-*

Cogn. Gk. κρούω 'beat'

See also: *kruxǫ

***krǫvǫnǫ** adj. o 'bloody, blood(-)'

ESSJa XIII 66-67

CS OCS *krǫvǫnǫ* 'bloody, of the blood'

E Ru. *króvnyj* 'blood(-)'

W Cz. *krevní* 'blood(-)'; *krevný* 'blood(-)'; Slk. *krvný* 'blood(-)'; Pl. *krewny* 'sanguineous, bloody, blood(-)'

S SCr. *křvni* 'bloody, sanguineous'; *křvni* 'bloody, sanguineous'; *křvan* 'blood(-)'; Sln. *křvǫn* 'blood(-), sanguineous'; Bulg. *krǫven* 'blood(-), sanguineous'

BSl. **kru(w)inos*

B Lith. *krūvinas* 'bloody'

PIE **kruh₂-*

Cogn. Skt. *kravyá-* n. 'bloody'; OE *hrēaw* adj. 'raw'

See also: *krǫ

***krŷ** f. ū (c) ‘blood’

ESSJa XIII 67-70

- CS OCS *kry* (PsDim.) f.(ū); *krǫnb* f.(ū), Gsg. *krǫve*
 E Ru. *krov*’ f.(i), Gsg. *króvi*
 W Cz. *krev* f.(i), Gsg. *krve*; Pl. *krew* f.(i), Gsg. *krwi*; OPl. *kry* f.(i); Slnc. *krǎ* f.(i), Gsg. *krǎvjig*; USrb. *krej* f.(i), Gsg. *krwě*
 S SCr. *křv* f.(i), Gsg. *křvi*; Čak. *křv* (Vrg.) f.(i), Gsg. *křvi*; *kri* (Cres) f.(i), Gsg. *krvi*; *křf* (Orb.) f.(i), Gsg. *křvi*; Sln. *krî* f.(i), Gsg. *krvi*; Bulg. *krāv* f.(i)
 BSl. **kruHs*; **krouio*
 B Lith. *kraūjas* m.(jo)
 OPr. *krawian*; *crauyo* (EV)
 PIE **kruh₂-s*; **kreuh₂-*
 Cogn. Skt. *kravis-* n. ‘raw meat’; Skt. *kravyá-* n. ‘raw meat’; Gk. κρέας n. ‘meat’; Lat. *cruor* m. ‘raw blood’

Like Skt. *kravyá-*, Lith. *kraūjas* m.(jo) and OPr. *krawian* represent a derivative in *-jo- of the root noun reflected in Slavic. The Lithuanian form underwent resyllabification.

See also: *krǫnbŋbŋ

***krŷti** v. (a) ‘cover, hide’

ESSJa XIII 71-72

- CS OCS *kryti* ‘cover, hide’, 1sg. *kryjŋ*
 E Ru. *kryt*’ ‘cover’, 1sg. *króju*, 3sg. *króet*
 W Cz. *kryti* ‘hide, keep’; Slk. *kryt* ‘cover, hide, keep’; Pl. *kryć* ‘cover, hide’
 S SCr. *kríti* ‘hide, keep’; Sln. *kríti* ‘cover’, 1sg. *krijem*; Bulg. *krija* ‘hide, cover’
 BSl. **kr(o)uŋ-*
 B Lith. *kráuti* ‘heap, pile’; Latv. *kraūt* ‘heap, pile’
 PIE **kruH-*
 Cogn. OE *hrēodan* ‘cover’

According to LIV (371), the *d^h of the Old English form was originally a present suffix.

See also: *krǫnbŋ

***krǫnŋoti** v. ‘buy, take, pay’

ESSJa XIII 74-75

- CS RuCS *krǫnuti*
 E ORu. *krenuti*
 PIE **kʷri-n-h₂-*
 Cogn. Skt. *krīṅāti* ‘buy’; Gk. πρίασθαι ‘buy’; OIr. *crenaid* ‘buy’
 See also: *kriti

***kuča** f. jā ‘heap’

ESSJa XIII 79

- E Ru. *kúča* ‘heap, pile’; *kúča* (dial.) ‘hill, shock, hay-cock’

W Cz. *kuče* (dial.) ‘lump, heap’; Pl. *kucza* (arch., dial.) ‘heap, pile’; Slnc. *kuča* ‘tuft, mane’

S SCr. *kúča* ‘bunch, bundle, forelock, sheaf’

Derivative in *-jā. See → *kuka I.

***kūditi** v. (a)

ESSJa XIII 82-83

CS OCS *kudětъ* (Supr.) 3pl. ‘use ill language’

E Ru. *kúdit’* (dial.) ‘force, persuade’

W Slk. *kudit’* (Jg., Kott) ‘blame, criticize’

S SCr. *kūditi* ‘slander, reproach, condemn’; Čak. *kūditi* (Vrg.) ‘slander, reproach, condemn’; Sln. *kúditi* ‘blame, criticize, despise’, 1sg. *kúdim*

PIE *koud-

Cogn. Gk. *κυδάζω* ‘jeer at’; OIc. *hóta* ‘threaten’

See also: *čuditi (sę); *čudo; *kudo; *kudъ; *kudь

***kudo** n. s

ESSJa XIII 83-84

E Ru. *kudesá* (dial.) Npl. n. ‘miracles performed through an evil force’; *kúdes’* f.(i) ‘(dial.) sorcery’; ORu. *kudesъ* m. ‘magic, sorcery’

W Pl. *kudyś* (dial.) m. ‘evil spirit, devil’

PIE *koud-

Cogn. OHG *hosc* m. ‘scorn, mockery’

Since *o*-grade of the root is unexpected in an *s*-stem, the formation may be secondary. In Russian dialects, we find an *o*-stem (→ **kudъ*).

See also: *čuditi (sę); *čudo; *kuditi; *kudъ; *kudь

***kudъ; *kudь** m. o; f. i

ESSJa XIII 84

E Ru. *kud* (dial.) m. ‘evil spirit, demon, Satan’; *kud’* (dial.) f.(i) ‘sorcery’; ORu. *kudъ* f.(i) ‘will, desire’

See → *kudo.

***kujati** v.

ESSJa XIII 85

CS OCS *kujajōšta* (Supr.) Gsg. ptc. pres. act. ‘grumbling’

S SCr. *kūjati* ‘be ailing, doze’; Sln. *kújati se* ‘sulk, behave capriciously’, 1sg. *kújam se*

According to the ESSJa, of onomatopoeitic origin, but this is far from evident. Unclear.

***kukati** v. ‘cuckoo’

ESSJa XIII 35

E Ru. *kúkat’* (dial.) ‘cuckoo, call, cry, grieve’

W Cz. *kukati* ‘cuckoo’; Pl. *kukać* ‘cuckoo’; OPl. *kukać* ‘cuckoo, appeal, complain’

- S SCr. *kùkati* ‘groan, moan, cuckoo’; Sln. *kúkati* ‘cuckoo, grieve’, 1sg. *kúkam*; Bulg. *kúkam* ‘cuckoo, grieve’

***kùka I** f. ā (a) ESSJa XIII 86-87

- E Ru. *kúka* ‘fist, lever, handle’; Bel. *kúka* ‘big wooden hammer’; Ukr. *kúka* ‘big wooden rattle’
 S SCr. *kùka* ‘hook, poker’; Čak. *kùka* (Orb.) ‘hook’; Bulg. *kúka* ‘hook’
 BSL. **koukos*
 B Lith. *kaũkas* m. ‘lump’
 PIE **kouk*
 Cogn. OIc. *haugr* m. ‘hill’; MHG *hocker* m. ‘hump’; OIr. *cúar* adj. ‘crooked’

I suspect that the fixed stress of the Slavic etymon is due to influence of → **kļùka*.

See also: *kuča; *kukonošъ; *кък(ъ)пъ

***kuka II** f. ā ‘goblin’ ESSJa XIII 86-87

- E Ru. *kúka* (dial.) ‘wood-goblin’; Bel. *kúka* (dial.) ‘something terrible living in the dark’
 W Slnc. *kuka* ‘evil spirit’; USrb. *kuka* ‘intestinal worm’
 S Sln. *kúka* ‘insect, intestinal worm, pig’
 BSL. **koukos*; **kouka?*
 B Lith. *kaũkas* m. ‘goblin’
 OPr. *cawx* ‘devil’

Possibly etymologically identical with → **kuka I*.

***kukonošъ** adj. o ‘hook-nosed’ ESSJa XIII 91-92

- CS CS *kukonošъ* ‘hook-nosed’; RuCS *kukonosyj* ‘hook-nosed’
 S SCr. *kukònos* ‘having a hooked nose’

See → **kuka I* and → **nòšъ*.

***kùpъ** m. o (a) ‘heap, mound’ ESSJa XIII 114-115

- CS OCS *kupъ* (Supr.) ‘heap’; *vòkupъ* adv. ‘jointly, at the same time’; *vòkupъ* (Mar.) adv. ‘jointly’; *vòkupě* adv. ‘together, at the same time’; RuCS *kupъ* ‘hill, burial mound’
 E Ru. *vkúpe* (obs.) adv. ‘together’
 S SCr. *kùp* ‘heap, pile, crowd’; Čak. *kùp* (Vrg.) ‘heap, pile’; *kùp* (Orb.) ‘heap, pile’; Sln. *kùp* ‘heap, mass’, Gsg. *kúpa*; *vkùp* adv. ‘together’; *vkùpe(j)* adv. ‘together’; Bulg. *kup* ‘heap, pile, crowd, mass’
 BSL. **ká?upo-*
 B Lith. *kaũpas* 4 ‘heap’; *káupas* (dial.) 1 ‘heap’
 PIE **keh₂up-o-*
 Cogn. OHG *hubil* m. ‘hill’ (cf. Latv. *kāpa* ‘dune, hillock, snowmound’)

***kurenъje** n. io (b)

ESSJa XIII 119

- CS OCS *kurenije* (Euch.) n.(io) 'burning of incense, steam, fire'
 E Ru. *kurén'e* n.(io) 'tobacco'
 W Cz. *kouření* n.(io) 'fumigation, evaporation'

Noun derived from the past passive participle **kurenъ* of → **kūriti*.

See also: **kūriti*

***kurica** f. jā 'hen'

ESSJa XIII 121-122

- E Ru. *kúrica* 'hen'
 W Cz. *kurica* (dial.) 'hen'; Pl. *kurzyca* (15th-17th c.) 'hen'; Sln. *kūřáčä* 'young hen'
 S Sln. *kúrica* 'pullet, little hen'; *kurica* 'female genitals'

See → **kurъ*.

***kūriti** v. (b) 'smoke'

ESSJa XIII 123-125

- CS OCS *kuritъ sę* (Euch.) 3sg. 'smokes'
 E Ru. *kurít* 'smoke', 1sg. *kurjú*, 3sg. *kúrit*
 W Cz. *kouřiti* 'smoke'; Slk. *kúrit* 'kindle, smoke'; Pl. *kurzyć* 'raise dust, smoke'
 S SCr. *kūriti* (dial.) 'smoke, set fire to'; Čak. *kūrīt* (Orb.) 'smoke (ham, etc.)', 1sg. *kūrin*; Sln. *kūriti* 'kindle, smoke', 1sg. *kúrim*
 B Lith. *kūrti* 'light, kindle'; Latv. *kuŗt* 'light, kindle'

If **kūriti* is cognate with Lith. *kūrti*, the vocalism **ū* < **ou* must be secondary. The Lithuanian verb, which also means 'make, create' has been connected with Skt. *ḥṛnóti* 'do, make' < **k^wr-*. This etymology is not implausible, though the fact that the East Baltic evidence points to a root-final laryngeal is problematic. One may consider an extended root **k^wrH-*, which would not be unprecedented. A reconstruction with a labiovelar has the advantage that it explains why we find **ur* instead of **ir*. It seems to me that if we also wish to establish a link with Lat. *carbō* 'charcoal', Go. *hauri* n. 'coal', OIc. *hyrr* m. 'fire', it might be best to give up the above-mentioned etymology and simply reconstruct **kerH-*.

See also: **kurenъje*

***kurъ** m. o 'cock'

ESSJa XIII 129-130

- CS OCS *kurъ* 'cock'
 E Ru. *kur* (dial.) 'cock'
 W OCz. *kur* 'cock'; *kúr* (?) 'cock'; Pl. *kur* 'cock'; Sln. *kūr* 'cock'
 S SCr. *kūr* (RJA: N. Čak. and Kajk.?) 'cock'; Sln. *kūr* 'cock'; Gsg. *kúra*; Bulg. *kur* 'cock, penis'

It is sometimes assumed that **kurъ* derives from a root **ku-* 'cry', which may be onomatopoeic in nature. The connection with → **kujati* is semantically not very

convincing. As possible cognates containing an *r*-element, Latv. *kaūrēt* ‘howl, cry’ and Lat. *caurīre* ‘howl (of panthers)’ have been mentioned.

See also: *kurica

***kutiti** v.

ESSJa XIII 139-140

- CS CS *kutiti* ‘devise’
 E Ru. *kutít* ‘live a disorderly life, booze’, 1sg. *kučú*, 3sg. *kútít*
 W Cz. *kutiti* ‘design, plan, venture’; *kutiti se* ‘rummage (in)’; Slk. *kutit* ‘look for, rummage (in), venture’
 S SCr. *kútiti* (RJA) ‘plunge completely into illness’; Sln. *kutiti se* ‘bend, hide oneself, squat’

Etymology unclear.

***kúznja** f. jā (b) ‘smithy’

ESSJa XIII 124-125

- E Ru. *kúznja* (dial.) ‘smithy’
 W Cz. *kuzňā* (dial.) ‘smithy’; *kouzeň* (Dobrovský) f.(i) ‘smithy’; Slk. *kúznja* (dial.) ‘smithy’; *kúzeň* (dial.) f.(i) ‘smithy’; *kuzňā* (dial.) ‘smithy’; Pl. *kuźnia* ‘smithy’; Sln. *kúznja* ‘smithy’
 S Bulg. *kúznja* ‘smithy’

Derivative of → **kovati*. The suffixes *-*zna/znja* and *-*znъ* are not uncommon, cf. OCS *ukorizna* ‘insult’, *bojaznъ* ‘fear’. The root is not acute because it is a recent formation.

See also: *кѣзнъ; *kyjъ

***kvâsъ** m. o (c) ‘leaven, fermented drink’

ESSJa XIII 153-155

- CS OCS *kvassъ* ‘leaven, fermented drink, kvass’
 E Ru. *kvass* ‘kvass, fermented drink’, Gsg. *kvása*
 W Cz. *kvass* ‘leaven, kvass, fermented drink’; Slk. *kvass* ‘leaven, mud’; Pl. *kwass* ‘sourness, (arch.) fermented drink’
 S SCr. *kvâs* ‘leaven, kvass, malted drink’, Gsg. *kvâsa*; Čak. *kvâs* (Vrg.) ‘yeast’, Gsg. *kvâsa*; *kvâs* (Orb.) ‘yeast’, Gsg. *kvâsa*; Sln. *kvâs* ‘leaven, ferment’; Bulg. *kvass* ‘leaven, kvass’

Cogn. Lat. *cāseus* m. ‘cheese’

For Lat. *cāseus*, Schrijver (1991: 252) has tentatively suggested that it is based on a collective **kHy-ôs*. See → **kysati* for a discussion of the root.

***kvěťъ** m. o (c) ‘flower’

ESSJa XIII 162-163

- CS OCS *cvěťъ* ‘flower’
 E Ru. *cvet* (obs.) ‘flower’, Gsg. *cvéta*, Npl. *cvety*; *cvetók* ‘flower’, Npl. *cvety*; *kvet* (dial.) ‘flower’
 W Cz. *květ* ‘flower’; Slk. *kvet* ‘flower’; Pl. *kwiat* ‘flower’; USrb. *kwět* ‘flower’

S SCr. *cvijet* ‘flower, bloom’, Gsg. *cvijeta*; Čak. *cvit* (Vrg.) ‘flower, white wheat flour’, Gsg. *cvita*; *cv’et* (Orb.) ‘bloom’; Sln. *cvět* ‘flower’, Gsg. *cvěta*, Gsg. *cvětū*; Bulg. *cvjat* ‘bloom’

PIE **kuoit-o-*

In Balto-Slavic, PIE **k̄* was depalatalized before **u* followed by a back vowel. The second palatalization affected **kw-* in South and East Slavic (North Russian excepted), but not in West Slavic.

See also: **kvisti*; **světjā*; **světъ*; **světēti*

***kvisti** v. (c) ‘bloom, blossom’

ESSJa XIII 167-168

CS OCS *cvisti* (Supr.), 1sg. *cvbtq*

E Ru. *vesti*, 1sg. *cvetū*, pret. sg. m. *cvěl*

W Cz. *kvěsti*, 1sg. *kvetu*, *květu* (obs., dial.); *kvísti*, 1sg. *kvetu*, *květu* (obs., dial.); OCz. *kvisti*, 1sg. *ktvu*; OPl. *kwiść*

S SCr. *cvāsti*, 1sg. *cvātēm*; Čak. *cvās* (Orb.), 3sg. *cvatě*; Sln. *cvěsti*, 1sg. *cvétem*; *cvāsti*, 1sg. *cvātēm*; *cvāstí*, 1sg. *cvātēm*

BSL. **kweit-/kwit-*

B Latv. *kvītēt* ‘shimmer, glimmer’

PIE **ku(e)it-*

The **k* of Balto-Slavic **kw(e)it-* is analogical after forms with *o*-grade, where the palatovelar was depalatalized.

See also: **květъ*; **světjā*; **světъ*; **světēti*

***kъ(n)** prep. ‘to’

ESSJa XIII 173-174

CS OCS *kъ*

E Ru. *k(o)*

W Cz. *k(e/u)* ; Slk. *k(u)* ; Pl. *ku*; OPl. *k(u)* (by the beginning of the 18th century, the variant *ku* had ousted *k*, which still occurs dialectally).

S SCr. *k(a)* ; Sln. *k*; Bulg. *kām*; Mcd. *kon*

Possibly cognate with the Sanskrit particle (after datives) *kām*.

***kъde** adv. ‘where’

ESSJa XIII 173-174

CS OCS *kъde* ‘where’

E Ru. *gde* ‘where’

W Cz. *kde* ‘where’; Slk. *kde* ‘where’; Pl. *gdzie* ‘where’

S SCr. *gdjě* ‘where’; Čak. *kadě* (Orb.) ‘where’; Sln. *kjě* ‘where’; *kjě* ‘somewhere’; Bulg. *gde* ‘where’

BSL. **ku*

B Lith. *kuř* ‘where’

PIE **kwu-d^he*

Cogn. Skt. *kūha* adv. 'where?'; Lat. *nēcubi* conj. 'lest somewhere'

***кѡхати** v. 'cough, sneeze' ESSJa XIII 176

S SCr. *kāhati* (dial.) 'push, shove'; Sln. *kāhati* 'cough loudly', 1sg. *kāham*

See → *кѡхати.

***кѡхнѡти** v. 'cough, sneeze' ESSJa XIII 176

CS CS *kōxnōti* 'sneeze'

S SCr. *kāhnuti* 'cough, sneeze'; *kāhnuti* 'cough, sneeze'; Sln. *kēhniti* 'sneeze (once)', 1sg. *kēhnem*

See → *кѡхати.

***кѡѣ** prn. 'who, what, which' ESSJa XIII 116-117

CS OCS *kōi* 'who, what, which', f. *kaja*, n. *koje*

E Ru. *koj* 'what, which'

W Slk. *ký* 'what, which', f. *ká*, n. *ké*; Pl. *ki* (arch., dial.) 'what, which', f. *ka*, n. *kie*

S SCr. *kōji* 'what, which', f. *kòjā*, n. *kòjē*; Bulg. *koj* 'who, which', f. *kojá*, n. *koé*

BSl. **kos*

B Lith. *kàs* 'who, which'

PIE **kʷo-*

Cogn. Skt. *ká-* 'who, which, someone'; Go. *has* 'who?'

***кѡк(ѡ)нѣ** m. jo? ESSJa XIII 177

CS OCS *kōkōn'ŭ* (Supr.) Ldu. 'shins'

See → **kuka* I.

***кѡлѣ** m. jo 'gudgeon' ESSJa XIII 182-183

E Ru. *kolb'* (dial.) m.(jo)

W Pl. *kielb* m.(jo); *kielb* m.(o); Kash. *kelb* m.(jo); *ketp* m.(jo)

BSl. **kulb-*/**kilb-*

B Lith. *kilbas* (obs.) m. 1; *kelbas* (obs.) m. 3

See → **kōlpb-*.

***кѡлка; *кѡлкѣ** f. ā; m. o 'bony stump' ESSJa XIII 188

E Ru. *kolka* (dial.) m. 'bony stump underneath a horn of a cow or bull'

W Cz. *kelka* (obs.) f. 'stump of an arm or leg, artificial limb'

S SCr. *kùk* m. 'thigh, hip, (dial.) ham, rock', Gsg. *kùka*; Čak. *kūk* (Vrg.) m. 'hip, rock', Gsg. *kūkā*; *kūk* (Novi, Orb.) m. 'hip'; Sln. *kòtk* m. 'thigh, hip, cliff'; Bulg. *kállka* f. 'thigh, hip'; *kláka* (dial.) f. 'thigh, hip, side, bend of a river'

BSl. **kulʔk-*

- B Lith. *kulkšnis* f.(i) 4 ‘ankle(-bone)’; Latv. *kulksnis* m.(io) ‘tarsal joint, hough’
 PIE *klHk-?
 Cogn. Lat. *calex* f. ‘heel’

*кѣѣ f. i; m. jo ESSJa XIII 189-190

- E Ru. *kolp’* (dial.) f.(i) ‘spoonbill’; ORu. *kolpъ* (dial.) f.(i) ‘spoonbill’
 W Kash. *kwłp* m.(jo) ‘swan’; *kēłp* m.(jo) ‘swan’; Slnc. *kə-urp* m.(jo) ‘swan’, Gsg. *kə-urpja* {1}; USrb. *kolp* m.(jo) ‘swan’, Gsg. *kolpja*
 S SCr. *kūp* (Herc.) m.(o) ‘swan’; *kūf* (Dubr.) m.(o) ‘swan, pelican’
 BSl. **kulpis*; **gulbis*
 B Lith. *gulbis* f.(i) 4 ‘swan’; *gulbis* (Žem.) m.(io) 2 ‘swan’; Latv. *gūlbis* f.(i) ‘swan’
 OPr. *gulbis* (EV) ‘swan’
 Cogn. OIr. *gulban* m. ‘beak, sting’; W *gylfin* m. ‘bird’s bill, beak, snout, sharp-pointed nose’; W *gylf* m. ‘bird’s bill, beak, nose, mouth, sharp-pointed instrument’

In view of the variations *k/g* and *b/p*, the geographical distribution of the root, and the semantic field to which the etymon belongs, I consider this a North European substratum word of non-Indo-European origin (see Derksen 1999). Note also that in view of the Celtic forms the sequence **ul* does not reflect a syllabic resonant.

{1} Place-names deriving from *kielp-* occur in various parts of Poland (see Bańkowski 2000a: 665-666).

See also: *кѣѣ; *кѣѣ

*кѣѣ m. o ‘fang, tusk’ ESSJa XIII 192-193

- E Ru. *kol* (dial.) ‘sharp lower tooth of a horse, fang, tusk’
 W Cz. *kel* ‘fang, tusk, shoot’, Gsg. *klu*; Slk. *kel* ‘fang, tusk’, Gsg. *kla*; Pl. *kiel* ‘canine (tooth), fang, tusk’, Gsg. *kła*
 S SCr. *kāl* ‘canine (tooth), fang, tusk’; Sln. *kəl* ‘tusk (of a pig)’, Gsg. *klà*

Derivative containing the zero grade of the root of → *kòlti.

See also: *kòlsъ; *kolti; *koltiti; *koltъ; *kolta; *kolto; *kòlъ

*кѣѣ m. jo ESSJa XIII 242

- E ORu. *kъrb* ‘cleared spot, shrubbery’; *korъ* ‘cleared spot, shrubbery’
 W Cz. *keř* ‘bush’, Gsg. *keře*; *keř* (lit., poet.) ‘bush’, Gsg. *kře*; Slk. *ker* ‘bush’, Gsg. *kra*; Pl. *kierz* ‘bush’, Gsg. *krza*, Gsg. *krzu*
 BSl. **kur-/kir-*
 B Lith. *kirna* (dial.) f. 1 ‘root of a tree or shrub on a riverbank that is hollowed out by water, soggy spot overgrown with bushes, spot with fallen trees’
 OPr. *kirno* ‘bush’

A *jo*-stem containing the zero grade of the root of → *korenъ.

See also: *černovitъ; *černovъ; *černъ II; *černъ II; *korenъ

***кѣркати** v.

ESSJa XIII 216

- W Cz. *krkati* ‘croak’; Slk. *křkat* ‘croak’; Pl. *karkać* ‘cackle’
 S SCr. *křkati* ‘stuff oneself’; *křkati* (Elez.) ‘eat greedily’; Bulg. *kărkam* ‘gurgle, rumble, stuff oneself, booze’

Verb of onomatopoeitic origin.

See also: *krakati; *кѣркати

***кѣркнѹти** v.

ESSJa XIII 216

- CS OCS *krĕknŭti* (Supr.) ‘squeak’
 W Cz. *krknouti* ‘belch’
 S SCr. *křknuti* ‘bang, crash, squeak’; Sln. *křkniti* ‘squeak’, 1sg. *křknem*

See the previous lemma.

See also: *krakati

***кѣрма I** f. ā ‘stern’

ESSJa XIII 220-222

- CS OCS *krĕma* (Zogr., Mar.) ‘stern’
 E Ru. *kormá* ‘stern’
 S SCr. *křma* ‘stern, helm’; Čak. *krmă* (Vrg., Novi) ‘stern, helm’; Sln. *křma* ‘stern’; Bulg. *kărmă* ‘stern’

PIE *k^wr-m-

See also: *černъ; *černь I; *кѣрнъ

***кѣрма II; *кѣрмъ** f. ā; m. o ‘food, fodder’

ESSJa XIII 222-223; XIII 227

- CS OCS *krĕma* (Supr.) f. ‘food’
 E Ru. *korm* m. ‘fodder, forage’; ORu. *kĕrmĕ* m. ‘food, feast, banquet’; *kormĕ* m. ‘food, feast, banquet’
 W Cz. *krm* (obs.) m. ‘fodder’; Slk. *krm* m. ‘fodder’; *krma* (dial.) f. ‘fodder, mother’s milk’; Pl. *karm* (arch, dial.) m. ‘food, fodder’; Sln. *kărma* f. ‘fodder’
 S SCr. *křma* f. ‘fodder’ (according to the RJA, the original meaning ‘food’ occurs until the 16th century); Čak. *křmă* f. ‘(cattle) fodder’, Asg. *křmĕ*; Sln. *křma* f. ‘nourishment, fodder, hay’; Bulg. *kărmă* f. ‘fodder, mother’s milk’

The root of this etymon may be reconstructed as *k^hrh₃-, cf. Gk. κορέννυμι ‘satiates’, Lith. šėrti ‘feed’, with depalatalization before syllabic *r.

***кѣрнъ** adj. o ‘maimed’

ESSJa XIII 236-237

- CS CS *krĕnĕ* ‘mutilated (with ears slit or cropped)’
 E Ru. *kornój* (dial.) ‘stocky, thickset’; *kórnyj* (dial.) ‘stocky, thickset’
 W Sln. *kărń* m. ‘notch’
 S SCr. *křń* ‘broken off, dented, knocked out (teeth), maimed’; *křnja* ‘crop-eared, snub-nosed, toothless’; *křnja* ‘crop-eared, snub-nosed or toothless person’; Sln. *křń* ‘maimed, mutilated’

BSl. *kurnos
Latv. *kuĩns* ‘deaf’

PIE *k^wr-no-

Cogn. Skt. *kaṛṇá-* ‘eared, crop-eared’; LAv. *karəna-* ‘deaf’

I assume that in Slavic this root was secondarily associated with *krH- ‘to cut’ (Derksen 1996: 226-227).

See also: *černъ I; *černь I; *кѣрма I

*кѣрпа f. ā (a)

ESSJa XIII 237

CS OCS *krǫpa* ‘texture, fabric’

W Slk. *krpa* ‘earthenware pot’; Pl. *karpa* (dial.) ‘stump and roots of a felled tree’; OPl. *karpa* ‘stump and roots of a felled tree’

S SCr. *křpa* ‘rag, patch’; Čak. *křpa* (Vrg.) ‘rag, patch’; *křpa* (Vrg.) ‘piece of cloth, rag, towel’; Sln. *křpa* ‘patch, stain’; Bulg. *kǎrpa* ‘piece of cloth, towel’

BSl. *kúrǫp(i)aǫ

B Lith. *kùrpė* f.(ē) ‘shoe’; Latv. *kuīpe* f.(ē) ‘shoe’
OPr. *kurpe* (EV) ‘shoe’

Cogn. Gk. *καρβάτιναι* Npl. f. ‘shoes of undressed leather, brogues’; Gk. *καρπάτινον* (Hesych.) n. ‘shoe of undressed leather, brogue’

If the Greek words, which are formally incompatible with the Balto-Slavic forms, are cognate, we are probably dealing with a substratum word (cf. Beekes 2000: 28).

*кѣръзно n. o ‘fur’

ESSJa XIII 244

CS CS *krǫz(b)no* ‘piece of clothing made of fur’

E ORu. *korzno* ‘cloak’ (also *kǫrzno*, *korǫzno*, *krǫzno*, *korozno*)

W Cz. *krzno* ‘military cloak’

S SCr. *křzno* ‘fur’; *křzno* ‘fur’; Sln. *křzno* ‘skin, pelt, fur’

This Slavic etymon was apparently borrowed into Germanic, cf. OHG *kursi(n)na*, *krusina*, OS *krusina* f. ‘cloak made of fur’ (Kluge-Seebold: 495). The relationship with Lat. *crocina* (Gaul.) f. ‘pelt, fur’ is uncertain. According to Vasmer (s.v. *kórzno*), Slavic borrowed this word from an eastern language, cf. Osset. *kærc* ‘fur’.

*кѣсьпъ adj. o ‘slow’

ESSJa XIII 246-247

CS CS *kǫsnǫ* (Nik.) ‘slow’

E Ru. *kósnij* ‘inert, sluggish’

S SCr. *kāsan* ‘late, tardy’; *kāsnō* (Vuk) adv. ‘late, tardy’; Čak. *kāsan* (Vrg.) ‘late, tardy’; *kāsan* (Orb.) ‘late, tardy’; Sln. *kāsān* ‘sluggish, slow, late’; *kāsən* ‘sluggish, slow, late’; Bulg. *kǎsen* ‘late’

BSl. *kuś-no-; *kuś-lo-

B Lith. *kùšlas* (dial.) ‘blind, weak (plants), small’; Latv. *kušls* ‘stiff, small, weak’

The ESSJa rejects the connection with the Baltic forms and links *kѣsbnѣ to *kyselѣ, etc. As a parallel Lat. *sērēscere* ‘become dry’ and *sērus* ‘belated’ are adduced, but these words may very well derive from different roots.

***кѣšiti** v. ‘cast lots’ ESSJa XIII 247

CS CS *kѣšiti* ‘cast lots’
E ORu. *košitisja* ‘cast lots’

Derivative of → *kѣšb.

***кѣšb** m. jo ‘lot, fate’ ESSJa XIII 247

CS RuCS *kѣšb*; *košb*
E ORu. *kѣšb*; *košb*

Etymology unclear.

See also: *kyšiti

***кѣto** prn. ‘who’ ESSJa XIII 248

CS OCS *kѣto*
E Ru. *kto*
W Cz. *kdo*; OCz. *kto*; *chto*; Pl. *kto*; OPl. *kto*; *chto*
S SCr. *tkǒ*; *kǒ*; Sln. *kdǒ*

BSl. **kos*

B Lith. *kas* ‘who, what’

The pronoun *k^wo- (→ *kѣjb) + *tod

See also: *nekѣto; *někѣto

***кѣznb** f. i ‘art’ ESSJa XIII 249

CS OCS *kѣznb* (Ril., Supr.) ‘art, manner’; RuCS *kѣznb* ‘occupation, profession, art’
E Ru. *kóznj* Npl. ‘machinations, intrigues’; ORu. *kѣznb* ‘occupation, profession, art’

Considering that the root is *kuh₂- (→ *kovàti), the vocalism *ѣ < *u is unexpected. We may be dealing with a productive ablaut pattern, however.

See also: *kuzŋa; *kyjъ

***kydati** v. ‘throw, fling’ ESSJa XIII 252-253

E Ru. *kidát* ‘throw, fling, cast’, 1sg. *kidáju*; Ukr. *kýdaty* ‘throw, fling, cast, cease’
W Cz. *kydati* ‘throw, muck out’; Slk. *kydat* ‘throw, muck out’; Pl. *kidać* (dial.) ‘throw, fling, cast’; OPl. *kidać* ‘throw, fling, cast’
S SCr. *kīdati* ‘tear, muck out’, 1sg. *kīdām*; Čak. *kīdati* (Vrg.) ‘tear, muck out’, 2sg. *kīdāš*; Sln. *kidati* ‘throw out, throw aside, muck out’, 1sg. *kīdam*; Bulg. *kīdam* (dial.) ‘soil, stain’

PIE *(s)kud-

Cogn. Skt. *códati* ‘impel’; OIc. *skjóta* ‘shoot, shove’

An example of Winter’s law.

See also: *kydnōti

***kydnōti** v. ‘throw, fling’

ESSJa XIII 252-253

- E Ru. *kínut* ‘throw, fling, cast’, 1sg. *kínu*; Ukr. *kýnuty* ‘throw, fling, cast, cease’
 W Cz. *kydnouti* ‘throw, fling’; Slk. *kydnút* ‘throw, fling, strike’; Pl. *kinąc* (dial.) ‘throw, fling, cast’; OPl. *kinąc* ‘throw, fling, cast’
 S SCr. *kìnuti se* ‘get away from’; Sln. *kíniti* ‘nod’, 1sg. *kínim*; Bulg. *kína* (dial.) ‘tear’

PIE *kud-

See also: *kydati

***kyxati** v. ‘sneeze’

ESSJa XIII 254-255

- E Ru. *kíxat* (dial.) ‘laugh loudly, cough’; ORu. *kixati* ‘sneeze’
 W Cz. *kýchati* ‘sneeze’; Slk. *kýchat* ‘sneeze’; Pl. *kichać* ‘sneeze’
 S SCr. *kíhati* ‘sneeze’, 1sg. *kíhām*, 1sg. *kíšēm*; Čak. *kíhàti* (Vrg.) ‘sneeze’, 2sg. *kíšēs*; *kíhàt* (Orb.) ‘sneeze’, 1sg. *kíšen*; Sln. *kíhati* ‘sneeze’, 1sg. *kíham*, 1sg. *kíšem*; Bulg. *kíxam* ‘sneeze’

Undoubtedly onomatopoeitic in origin. In view of the forms with *kǝx-, we are dealing here with an intensive verb.

See also: *čixati; *čǝxati; *kǝxati; *kǝxnōti

***kyjь** m. jo ‘stick, club’

ESSJa XIII 257-258

- CS RuCS *kyi* ‘hammer, club’; *kii* ‘hammer, club’
 E Ru. *kij* (dial.) ‘stick, wooden hammer, pestle’
 W Cz. *kyj* ‘stick, club’; Slk. *kyj* ‘stick, club’; Pl. *kij* ‘stick, cane’
 S SCr. *kij* (15th c.) ‘hammer’; Sln. *kij* ‘big wooden beetle, corn-cob’
 BSL. *kuʔios
 B Lith. *kújis* ‘hammer’
 OPr. *cugis* (EV) ‘hammer’

A jo-derivative of *ky < *kuh₂. See → *kovàti.

***kȳla** f. ā (a) ‘outgrowth, hernia’

ESSJa XIII 262-263

- CS CS *kyla* ‘hernia’; *kila* ‘hernia’
 E Ru. *kilá* ‘hernia, outgrowth on plants’; Ukr. *kýla* ‘hernia’; *kylá* ‘hernia’
 W Cz. *kýla* ‘hernia’; Slk. *kyla* ‘hernia’; Pl. *kila* ‘hernia’
 S SCr. *kíla* ‘hernia, oedema, swelling, outgrowth (on plants)’; Čak. *kíla* (Vrg.) ‘hernia, swelling’; Sln. *kíla* ‘scrotal hernia, outgrowth (on plants)’; Bulg. *kila* ‘hernia’

- BSL. *kú?la?
 B Lith. *kūla* (dial.) f. 'lump, hernia, stalk'; *kūlas* (dial.) m. 'lump, hernia'
 PIE *kh₂u-l-eh₂
 Cogn. OIc. *haull* f. 'hernia'; OHG *hōla* f. 'hernia'

For the colour of the laryngeal cf. Gk. *καυλός* 'stalk, shaft' = Lith. *káulas* 'bone'.

***kypĕti** v. (c) 'boil, seethe' ESSJa XIII 265

- CS OCS *kypĕti* (Euch., Supr.) 'seethe'
 E Ru. *kípĕt* 'boil, seethe', 1sg. *kipljú*, 3sg. *kipít*
 W Cz. *kypĕti* 'boil, overflow'; Slk. *kypiet* 'boil, overflow'; Pl. *kipieć* 'boil'
 S SCr. *kípjeti* 'boil, overflow'; Čak. *kípĕt* (Orb.) 'boil', 3sg. *kípī*; Sln. *kipĕti* 'boil, overflow', 1sg. *kípim*; Bulg. *kipjá* 'boil, overflow'
- BSL. *kup-
 B Lith. *kūpĕti* 'boil over', 3sg. *kūpa*

In my opinion, Schrijver (1991: 260-263) correctly separates *kypĕti* from Latv. *kūpēt* 'smoke, steam', *vapor* 'steam, heat', etc., which he derives from a root *k^(w)h₂up- (→ *kopĕtv). An analysis of the East Baltic material alone nearly suffices to establish the roots *kūp- 'smoke, steam' and *kup- 'boil, seethe', e.g. Latv. *kūpt*, *kūpēt* 'smoke, steam' vs. *kupēt*, *kupuôt* 'seethe'. The latter root may go back to PIE *kup-, cf. Skt. *kupyati* 'swell, heave or boil with rage or emotion, be angry, be angry with', Lat. *cupiō* 'desire'. LIV distinguishes between *keup- 'innerlich beben', *kueh₁p- 'sieden', and *kuep- 'hauchen'. The root *kueh₁p- is posited on the basis of forms that do not or not necessarily require a laryngeal, such as Lith. *kūpĕti* 'boil over' (cf. Lith. *kūpti*, Latv. *kupt* 'rise (bread)' and OCS *kypĕti*, the etymon under discussion. The forms that do require a laryngeal, viz. Latv. *kūpt* and *kūpēt* 'smoke, steam' have a different meaning and can be linked to the forms mentioned under *keup- if we adopt Schrijver's reconstruction.

***kypṛǵ** adj. o ESSJa XIII 267

- CS RuCS *kypryj* 'porous'
 W Cz. *kyprý* 'ironed, rounded'; Slk. *kyprý* 'mellow, soft'; USrb. *kipry* 'weak, powerless'
 S Bulg. *kípār* (dial.) 'beautiful, neat'

The connection with → *kypĕti, as advocated by the ESSJa, is semantically unconvincing.

***kysati** v. (a) 'turn sour' ESSJa XIII 269

- W Cz. *kysati* 'turn sour, rot'; Pl. *kisac* (arch.) 'turn sour, ferment, pickle'
 S SCr. *kisati* (arch.) 'turn sour, boil'; *kīsati* (RSA) 'rise (dough), pickle'; Čak. *kisāti* (Vrg.) 'leave to rise (bread)'; *se kīsa* (Orb.) 3sg. 'rises (dough)'; Sln. *kísati* 'pickle', 1sg. *kísam*, 1sg. *kīšem*; Bulg. *kísel* 'sour, fermented'

BSL. **kuʔs-aʔ-*
Latv. *kūsāt* ‘boil’

LIV (374) derives Slavic **kys-* from an aorist stem **kuth₂-s*. The root is reconstructed as **kuath₂₋*, cf. Skt. *kváthant-* (YV+) ptc. prs. act. ‘bubbling, boiling’, Go. *hvaþo* f. ‘foam’. I seriously doubt the necessity to reconstruct **a* for this root, but my main objection is that the fact that the root is acute is not explained, cf. also Ru. *kvásit* ‘make sour, pickle’, SCR. *kvāsiti* ‘moisten, dip’. If we want to stay close to LIV’s reconstruction (the presence of a dental before **s* would explain that in the zero grade we do not see the effects of the *ruki*-rule, but perhaps this is due to analogy), we may posit **kuHth₂-s-*, but of course there is a possibility that the Slavic root is not cognate with Skt. *kvath-*.

See also: **kvāsʔ*; **kýselʔ*; **kýsēlʔ*; **kýs(ʔ)lʔ*

**kýselʔ*; **kýsēlʔ* adj. o (a) ‘sour’ ESSJa XIII 271

CS OCS *kysělu* (Euch.) Dsg.n. ‘sour, young (wine)’
W Cz. *kyselý* ‘sour’; Pl. *kisiaty* (arch.) ‘sour’
S SCR. *kīseo* ‘sour’, f. *kīsela*; Čak. *kīsē* (Vrg.) ‘sour’, f. *kiselä*, n. *kīselo*; *kisel* (Orb.) ‘sour’, f. *kīsela*, n. *kīselo*; Sln. *kísel* ‘sour’; Bulg. *kisel* ‘sour, fermented’

See → **kysati*.

**kýs(ʔ)lʔ* adj. o (a) ‘sour’ ESSJa XIII 275

E Ru. *kíslyj* ‘sour’
W Slk. *kyslý* ‘sour’; Pl. *kisły* (arch., dial.) ‘sour, fermented’
S SCR. *kīsao* (arch., dial.) ‘sour’; Sln. *kísəl* ‘sour’

See → **kyselʔ*, **kýsēlʔ*.

**kyvati* v. ‘nod’ ESSJa XIII 283-284

CS OCS *kyvati* ‘nod’
E Ru. *kivát* ‘nod’
W Cz. *kývati* ‘wink, nod, move, shake’; Slk. *kývat* ‘wink, nod’; Pl. *kiwać* ‘wink, nod, wag’
S Sln. *kívati* ‘nod’, 1sg. *kívam*
PIE **kh₁u-*
Cogn. Lat. *cēvēre* ‘move the haunches in a lewd or effeminate manner’

*L

**lājati* I v. (a) ‘bark’ ESSJa XIV 20

CS OCS *lajati* (Supr.) ‘bark’, 1sg. *lajō*
E Ru. *lájat* ‘bark’; ORu. *lajati* ‘bark’; Bel. *lájac* ‘curse’; Ukr. *lájati* ‘curse, scold’

- W Cz. *láti* ‘scold, bark’; OCz. *láti* ‘scold’; Slk. *lát* ‘scold’; Pl. *łajac* ‘curse, scold, bark’; OPl. *łajac* ‘curse, scream’; Slnc. *łajac* ‘bark, curse’; LSrb. *łajás* ‘bark, scold, curse’
- S SCr. *lājati* ‘bark, swear’, 1sg. *lājēm*; Čak. *lājati* (Vrg.) ‘bark, swear’, 2sg. *lāješ*; *lājati* (Orb.) ‘bark’, 3sg. *lāje*; Sln. *lājati* ‘bark, scream, curse’, 1sg. *lājam*, 1sg. *lājem*; Bulg. *lāja* ‘bark, scold’; Mcd. *lae* ‘bark, swear’
- BSl. **la?*-
- B Lith. *lóti* ‘bark’; Latv. *lāt* ‘bark, scold’
- PIE **leh₂*-
- Cogn. Skt. *rāyati* ‘bark’ (if not from PIE **Hreh₁*-); Lat. *lātrāre* ‘bark’

***lajati** II v. ‘ambush, lie in wait for’

ESSJa XIV 21

- CS OCS *lajati* ‘ambush, lie in wait for’, 1sg. *lajǫ*; RuCS *lajati* ‘ambush, lie in wait for, engage in intrigues’
- PIE **leh₂*-
- Cogn. Gk. *λήθω* ‘be hidden’; Lat. *latēre* ‘be hidden’
- See also: *lakati

***lakati** v. ‘lie in wait for’

ESSJa XIV 23

- W OCz. *lákati* ‘lie in wait for’; USrb. *łakać* ‘lie in wait for’; LSrb. *łakaś* (dial.) ‘lie in wait for, threaten’
- Apparently, an extended root **leh₂-k^(w)*-.
- See also: *lajati

***lamъ** m. o ‘hollow, bend’

ESSJa XIV 26

- E Ru. *lam* (dial.) (Psk.) ‘meadow covered with small trees and bushes that is occasionally flooded, (Novg.) wasteland’
- W Pl. *łam* (obs.) ‘quarry, bend’
- S SCr. *lām* (RSA: dial.) ‘knee-joint, underground passage’; Sln. *lam* ‘pit, (dial.) quarry’
- BSl. **lōm*-
- B Lith. *lomà* f. 4 ‘hollow, valley, plot, lump’; Latv. *lāma* f. ‘hollow, pool’
- See → **lomiti*. The sustained tone of the Latvian form reflects the root-final laryngeal (pace Schrijver 1991: 142).

***lāpa** f. ā (a) ‘paw’

ESSJa XIV 26-28

- E Ru. *lāpa* ‘paw’; ORu. *łapa* ‘paw’
- W Cz. *tlapa* ‘paw’; *dlapa* (dial.) ‘paw’; *łapa* (Jg.) ‘snare, trap’; Slk. *laba* ‘paw’; *tlapa* ‘paw’; Pl. *łapa* ‘paw’; *dlapa* (dial.) ‘paw’
- S SCr. *lāpa* (RSA: dial.) ‘paw’; Sln. *lāpa* ‘snout, mouth’; *łapa* ‘paw’; Bulg. *łapa* ‘paw’

- BSL. *láʔpaʔ
 B Lith. *lōpa* (dial.) 1 ‘paw’; *lopà* (dial.) 2 ‘paw’; Latv. *lāpa* ‘paw’
 Cogn. Go. *lofa* m. ‘flat of the hand’

The problem with a reconstruction **leh₂p-eh₂* is the fact that **lāpa* seems to be related with → **lopàta* ‘spade, shovel’. Besides, Latv. *lēpa* ‘paw’ points to **leh₁p-*. One could reconstruct **loh₁p-* for **lāpa*, but **ā* for stressed **ō* is not that common. Perhaps we are dealing with two separate roots, **leh₂p-* and **lep-*, which became confused, cf. Lith. *lōpeta* vs. PSl. → **lopàta*.

***lāska** f. ā (a) ESSJa XIV 46

- E Ru. *lāska* ‘caress, endearment, kindness’
 W Cz. *lāska* ‘love’; Slk. *lāska* ‘love’; Pl. *laska* ‘favour, mercy’; Sln. *lāskā* ‘favour, mercy’
 S SCr. *lāska* ‘flattery’; Bulg. *lāska* ‘caress, tenderness’

Deverbative ā-stem (→ **lāskati*).

***lāskati** v. ‘flatter, caress’ ESSJa XIV 46

- CS OCS *laskaše* (Supr.) 3sg. impf. ‘flattered’
 E Ru. *laskát* ‘caress, fondle, (obs.) comfort, console’, 1sg. *laskáju*
 W Cz. *laskati* ‘caress’; Slk. *laskat* ‘caress’; OPL. *laskanie* n.(jo) ‘soothing’
 S SCr. *lāskati* ‘flatter’, 1sg. *lāskam*; Sln. *lāskati* ‘flatter’, 1sg. *lāskam*; Bulg. *laskája* ‘flatter, caress’

PIE **leh₂s-sk-*

Cogn. Lat. *lascīvus* ‘playful’

See also: **lāska*; **lasъ*

***lasъ** adj. o ‘greedy’ ESSJa XIV 46

- E Ru. *lasyj* ‘greedy, eager, affectionate’; Ukr. *lasyj* ‘greedy, eager’
 W Pl. *lasy* (obs., dial.) ‘greedy, eager’

BSL. **laʔs-*

B Lith. *lokšnūs* 4 ‘sensitive’

PIE **leh₂s-o-*

See also: **lāska*; **laskati*

***lāziti** v. (a) ‘crawl, creep’ ESSJa XIV 64-67

- CS OCS *izlaziti* (Supr., Hil.) ‘come out of’, 1sg. *izlažŏ*
 E Ru. *lāziti* ‘climb, clamber’, 1sg. *lāžu*, 3sg. *lāziti*
 W Cz. *laziti* ‘crawl, climb, walk slowly’; Slk. *laziti* ‘drag oneself along, crawl’; Pl. *lazić* ‘crawl, tramp’

- S SCr. *láziti* ‘crawl, creep’; Sln. *láziti* ‘crawl, creep, sneak’, *lázim*; Bulg. *lázja* ‘crawl, climb’

Iterative of → **lězti*. See also → **lazъ*.

***lazъ** m. o

ESSJa XIV 72-76

- W Cz. *laz* ‘part of a furrow that has not been ploughed up’; *láz* ‘slope where the forest has been uprooted but the earth has not been worked’; OCz. *laz* ‘strip of land, ploughed field, field’; *láz* ‘strip of land, ploughed field, field’; Slk. *lazy* Npl. ‘kind of mountain settlements’; *lazy* Npl. ‘ploughed fields, meadows, houses on a slope’; Pl. *laz* ‘mountain path, pasture’; OPl. *laz* ‘strip of worked land in the woods’
- S SCr. *láz* (Vuk) ‘small field, place with many felled trees’; *láz* ‘cleared field, narrow passage, hole in a fence’; Čak. *láz* (Vrg.) ‘hole in a fence’; Sln. *láz* ‘clear spot in the woods, virgin soil’

PIE **loh₁ǵ^h-o-*

Cogn. OIc. *lágr* adj. ‘low’

See also: **láziti*; **lězti*

***lědъ** m. o(/u) (c) ‘ice’

ESSJa XIV 91-92

- CS OCS *lědъ* (Supr.)
- E Ru. *lěd*, Gsg. *l’da*; Ukr. *lid*, Gsg. *l’ódu*
- W Cz. *led*; Slk. *lad*; Pl. *lód*, Gsg. *lodu*; USrb. *lód*, Gsg. *lodu*, Gsg. *loda*
- S SCr. *lěd*, Gsg. *lěda*; Čak. *lěd* (Vrg.), Gsg. *lěda*; *lěd* (Novi), Gsg. *lěda*; *l’ět* (Orb.) ‘ice, cold, frost’, Gsg. *lěda*; Sln. *lěd*, Gsg. *lěda*, Gsg. *ledû*; Bulg. *led*
- BSL. **ledús*
- B Lith. *lėdas* m.(o) 4; *ledūs* m.(u) 4; Latv. *lėdus* m.(u)
- OPr. *ladis* (EV)

The PIE proto-form would be **led^h-u-s*, but cognates from outside Balto-Slavic seem to be lacking. The connection with Gk. λίθος ‘stone’ seems rather fanciful.

***legti** v. (a) ‘lie (down)’

ESSJa XIV 99-100

- CS OCS *lešti* ‘lie (down)’, 1sg. *lęgo*, 2sg. *lęžeši*
- E Ru. *leč’* ‘lie (down)’, 1sg. *ljágu*, 3sg. *ljázet*; *legći* (dial.) ‘lie (down)’, 1sg. *lečú*; *legti* (dial.) ‘lie (down)’; ORu. *leči* ‘lay (down)’; Ukr. *ljagtý* ‘lie (down)’
- W Cz. *léci* ‘lie (down)’; Slk. *lášť* (dial.) ‘lie (down)’; Pl. *lec* ‘lie down, fall’, 1sg. *legnę*; *ląc* (arch., dial.) ‘lie down, fall’; OPl. *lec* ‘lay (down)’
- S SCr. *lěci* ‘lie (down)’, 1sg. *lěžēm*, pret. m. *lęgao*, pret. f. *lęgla*, pret. n. *lęglo*; Čak. *lěci* (Vrg.) ‘lie (down)’, 2sg. *lěžeš*, pret. m. *lęgā*, pret. f. *lęgla*; *lěc* (Orb.) ‘lie down’, 2sg. *l’ēzen*, pret. m. *lęga*, pret. f. *lęgla*; Sln. *lěci* ‘lay (down), go to sleep’, 1sg. *lęžem*
- PIE **leg^h-*

Cogn. Gk. λέχομαι (Hes.) 'go to sleep'; Go. *ligan* 'lie'

The present stem contains a nasal.

See also: *ležati; *légati; *lôgъ; *lonò; *lože; *ložesno; *ložiti

***lemexъ** m. o 'ploughshare, plough' ESSJa XIV 106-107

E Ru. *lémex* 'ploughshare'; *leméx* (dial.) 'ploughshare'; *lémex* (dial.) 'plough';
ORu. *lemexъ* 'ploughshare'; Bel. *lémex* 'ploughshare'

W Cz. *lemech* (dial.) 'back of a chair'

See → *lemešъ, *lemešъ.

***lemešъ; *lemežъ** m. jo 'ploughshare, plough' ESSJa XIV 108-110

CS OCS *lemešъ* (Bes.) 'plough'

E Ru. *lěmeš* 'ploughshare'; *leměš* 'ploughshare'; Bel. *ljaměš* 'ploughshare'; Ukr. *lemiš* 'ploughshare', Gsg. *lemešá*

W Cz. *lemeš* 'ploughshare'; Slk. *lemeš* 'ploughshare'; Pl. *lemiesz* 'ploughshare';
OPl. *lemiesz* 'ploughshare'; *lemiesz* 'ploughshare'; *limiesz* 'ploughshare'; Slnč. *lemješ* 'ploughshare'; *lemóž* 'ploughshare'

S SCr. *lěmeš* 'ploughshare'; *lěmež* 'ploughshare'; Čak. *leměš* (Orb.) 'ploughshare', Gsg. *leměša*; Sln. *lěmeš* 'ploughshare'; *lěmež* 'ploughshare';
Bulg. *leměž* 'ploughshare'; Mcd. *leměš* 'ploughshare'

BSL. *lemeš-

B Lith. *lėmežis* m.(io) 'wooden part of the plough'; *lāmežis* (dial.) m.(io) 'wooden part of the plough'; Latv. *lemesis* m.(io) 'sharp plough'

The *-l- must originate from *lem-.

See also: *emexъ; *emešъ; *emežъ; *lemexъ; *lāmъ; *lomiti

***letěti** v. (c) 'fly' ESSJa XIV 145-148

CS OCS *letěti* 'fly', 1sg. *leštъ*

E Ru. *letět* 'fly', 1sg. *lečú*, 3sg. *letít*

W Cz. *letěti* 'fly'; Slk. *letiet* 'fly'; Pl. *lecieć* 'fly', 1sg. *leczę*

S SCr. *lètjeti* 'fly', 1sg. *lètím*; Čak. (Vrg.) *letíti* 'fly', 2sg. *letiš*; (Orb.) *letèt* 'fly', 3sg. *letī*; Sln. *letěti* 'fly', 1sg. *letím*; Bulg. *letjá* 'fly'

BSL. *lekt-

B Lith. *lėkti* 'fly', 3sg. *lėkia*; Latv. *lèkt* 'jump, (rarely) fly', 3sg. *lec*

Cogn. MHG *lecken* 'hop'

According to Meillet (Ét. I: 180), *letěti derives from *letъ < *lek-to-.

***ležàti** v. (c) 'lie' ESSJa XIV 161-165

CS OCS *ležati* 'lie, be (situated)', 1sg. *ležъ*, 2sg. *ležiši*

E Ru. *ležát* 'lie, be (situated)', 1sg. *ležú*, 3sg. *ležit*; Ukr. *ležaty* 'lie, be ill', 1sg. *ležú*

- W Cz. *ležeti* 'lie, lie asleep, lie ill'; OCz. *ležĕti* 'lie, lie asleep'; Slk. *ležat'* 'lie, sleep, lie ill'; Pl. *leżeć* 'lie, be situated'; Sln. *ležĕc* 'lie'; USrb. *ležeć* 'lie'; LSrb. *lažaš* 'lie, rest'
- S SCr. *ležati* 'lie, be ill', 1sg. *ležim*; Čak. *ležàti* (Vrg.) 'lie, be ill', 2sg. *ležiš*; *ležàt* (Orb.) 'lie', 2sg. *ležiš*; Sln. *ležati* 'lie', 1sg. *ležim*; Bulg. *ležà* 'lie, spend the night, be ill'; Mcd. *leži* 'lie, be in custody, be situated'

Verb with the stative suffix *-ĕti. See → *legti.

***lĕgati** v. 'lie'

ESSJa XIV 182-183

- CS OCS *lĕgati* (Euch.) 'lie', 1sg. *lĕžø*
- E Ru. *legát'* (dial.) 'lie down'; *ljagát'* (dial.) 'lie down'; ORu. *lĕgati* 'lie'
- W Cz. *lehati* 'lie down'; Pl. *legać* (obs., dial.) 'lie down (frequently)'; USrb. *lĕhać* 'lie, be situated'; LSrb. *lĕgas'* 'lie down, lie'
- S SCr. *lijĕgati* (se) 'lie down, put to bed'; Čak. *lĕgàti* (Vrg.) 'lie down, put to bed'; Sln. *lĕgati* 'lie down, lie', 1sg. *lĕgam*; Bulg. *ljágam* 'lie, lie down, go to sleep'

Iterative of → *legti. The root has lengthened grade.

See also: *ležati; *lōgъ; *lonò; *lože; *ložesno; *ložiti

***lĕxa** f. ā (b) 'strip of land, bed'

ESSJa XIV 184-187

- CS OCS *lĕxa* (Zogr., Mar.) 'row'
- E Ru. *lexá* (dial.) 'strip of land, furrow, bed'; *léxa* (dial.) 'strip of land, furrow, bed'; Ukr. *ljaxá* 'bed (garden)'
- W Cz. *liča* 'narrow strip of land'; OCz. *lécha* 'strip of land'; Pl. *lecha* (obs.) 'row, file'; OPl. *lecha* 'strip of land, bed (garden)'
- S SCr. *lijĕha* 'small patch of farmed land, ridge between furrows, flower bed'; Čak. *l'ehà* 'flower bed, vegetable plot, row of plants (in a garden)'; Asg. *l'ĕho*; Sln. *léha* 'furrow, strip of land, gap in a field'; Bulg. *lexá* 'flower bed'
- B Lith. *lŷė* f. (ė) 1 'bed (garden)'
OPr. *lyso* (EV) 'bed (field)'

PIE *lois-eh₂

Cogn. Lat. *lira* f. 'ridge between two furrows'; OHG *wagan-leisa* f. 'track of a cart'

The acute of the Lithuanian form is unexpected.

***lĕnĭvъ** adj. 'lazy, sluggish'

ESSJa XIV 204-205

- CS OCS *lĕnĭvъ* (Ass., Sav., Supr.) 'lazy'
- E Ru. *lenívŷj* 'lazy, sluggish'
- W Cz. *lenívý* 'lazy, sluggish'; Slk. *lenívý* 'lazy, sluggish'; Pl. *leniwy* 'lazy, sluggish'
- S SCr. *ljĕnĭv* 'lazy'; Sln. *lenĭv* 'lazy, sluggish'; Bulg. *lenív* 'lazy, sluggish'

See → *lĕnŷ.

***lěnbъ** adj. o (c) 'lazy, slow' ESSJa XIV 209-211

- CS OCS *lěnbъ* (Zogr., Mar.) 'lazy'
 E Ru. *lǎnoj* (dial.) 'lazy'; *lenój* (dial.) 'lazy'; ORu. *lěnbъ* 'lazy, slow'
 W Cz. *líný* 'lazy, slow'; OCz. *léný* 'lazy, slow'; OPl. *leny* 'lazy, slow'
 S SCr. *lǎjen* 'lazy, slow', f. *lijèna*; Čak. *lîn* (Vrg.) 'lazy, slow', f. *lîná*, n. *lîno*; *lên* (Novi) 'lazy, slow'; *l'ên* (Orb.) 'lazy, slow', f. *l'enã*; Sln. *lên* 'lazy, slow', f. *lëna*
 BSL. **leʔnos*; **lēnos*
 B Lith. *lėnas* 'lazy'; Latv. *lēns* 'lazy'; *lēns* 'lazy'; *lēns* 'lazy'; *lēns*² (Biel. Gr.) 'soft, mild'
 PIE **leh₁-(e)no-*
 Cogn. Lat. *lēnis* 'soft'

For the reconstruction, cf. Schrijver 1991: 125, Derksen 1996: 227-228.

See also: *lěnivъ; *lěnbъ; *lětbъ

***lěnbъ** f. i 'laziness' ESSJa XIV 211

- CS CS *lěnbъ* 'laziness'
 E Ru. *len'* 'laziness'
 W Cz. *lěň* (obs., dial.) 'laziness'; OCz. *lěň* 'laziness'; Slk. *lieň* (poet., dial.) 'laziness'; OPl. *lení* 'lazy person'
 S SCr. *lǎjen* 'laziness'; Sln. *len* 'laziness'

Abstract *i*-stem. See → *lěnbъ.

***lěpiti** v. (b) 'smear, stick' ESSJa XIV 247-249

- CS OCS *prilěpiti* 'stick', 1sg. *prilěpljo*
 E Ru. *lepít'* 'mold, mould, stick', 1sg. *lepljú*, 3sg. *lepít*
 W Cz. *lepiti* 'glue, stick'; Slk. *lepít'* 'glue, stick'; Pl. *lepić* 'glue, stick'
 S SCr. *lijèpiti* 'cover with clay', 1sg. *lijepim*; Čak. *lípiti* (Vrg.) 'cover with clay', 2sg. *lípíš*; Sln. *lepíti* 'stick', 1sg. *lepím* (the homonym *lepíti* 'clean, embellish' derives from *lêp* 'beautiful'); Bulg. *lepjá* 'stick, smear'
 BSL. **loip-*
 B Lith. *lipinti* 'glue, stick'; *láipioti* (dial.) 'glue, stick'
 PIE **loip-eie-*
 Cogn. Skt. *lepayati* 'smear'; Gk. λιπαίνω 'oil'

See also: *lěpъ I; *lěpъ II; *lěpъti

***lěpъ I** m. o (c) 'glue' ESSJa XIV 224-225

- CS CS *lěpъ* 'glue'
 W Cz. *lep* 'glue'; Slk. *lep* 'glue'; Pl. *lep* 'glue'; Sln. *lep* 'bird-lime'; USrb. *lěp* 'glue'
 S SCr. *lǎjep* 'glue, bird-lime, mortar'; Sln. *lêp* 'glue, bird-lime, mistletoe'

Deverbative *o*-stem. See → *lěpiti.

***lěpъ II** adj. o (c) ‘beautiful’ ESSJa XIV 225-228

- CS OCS *lěpъ* ‘appropriate, beautiful’
 W Cz. *lepý* ‘beautiful’; Slk. *lepý* ‘beautiful’
 S SCr. *lijep* ‘beautiful’, f. *lijèpa*; Čak. *lîp* ‘beautiful’, f. *lîpà*, n. *lîpo*; *lîp* (Novi) ‘beautiful’, f. *lîpà*; *l’èp* (Orb.) ‘beautiful’, f. *l’epà*, f. *l’èpa*, n. *l’èpo*; Sln. *lep* ‘beautiful’, f. *lepa*

The communis opinio is that this adjective derives from the root ‘smear’. The semantic development is supposed to be from ‘fat’ to ‘rich, abundant, of good quality’, cf. MoDu. *vet* (pop.) ‘cool, neat, great’ (see the ESSJa for more parallels).

See also: *lěpiti; *lěpъ I; *lьnqti

***lěškà** f. ā (b) ‘hazel’

- E Ru. *ljazgá* (dial.) ‘hazel’; Bel. *ljáska* ‘stick, cane’
 W Cz. *líska* ‘hazel’; *laska* (Sil.) ‘hazel’; Slk. *lieska* ‘hazel’; Pl. *laska* ‘stick, staff’; Sln. *láušká* ‘hazel’; USrb. *lěska* ‘hazel’; LSrb. *lěska* ‘hazel switch’
 S SCr. *lijěska* ‘hazel’; Sln. *lěska* ‘hazel’; Bulg. *leská* ‘hazel’
 B Lith. *lazdà* ‘stick, staff, (OLith., dial.) hazel’; Latv. *lazda* ‘hazel’; *lagzda* ‘hazel’
 OPr. *laxde* (EV) ‘hazel’

In spite of the formal differences, there can hardly be any doubt that the Slavic and Baltic forms are cognate. For Balto-Slavic, one might posit a medial cluster *-zgd-. The difference in root vocalism remains unaccounted for, however. Forms such as SCr. *lijèsak*, Čak. *l’esàk* (Orb.) ‘hazel’ must be compared with SCr. *mòžak* ‘brain, marrow’ vs. Ru. *mozg* and should not be identified with **lesòkъ*, a diminutive of → **lěšv*.

See also: *lozà

***lěsъ** m. o (c) ‘forest, wood(s)’ ESSJa XIV 249-252

- CS OCS *lěsъ* (Euch., Supr.)
 E Ru. *les*; Ukr. *lis*
 W Cz. *les*; Slk. *les*; Pl. *las*
 S SCr. *lîjes*; Sln. *lēs* ‘wood (material), forest’, Gsg. *lêsa*, Gsg. *lēsû*; Bulg. *les*

If there is an etymological connection with OE *læs* f. ‘pasture’, Gsg. *læswe*, we might reconstruct **leh₁s-u-*. In the case of an *u*-stem, the fact that Hirt’s law did not cause the noun to acquire fixed root stress, can be attributed to the influence of trisyllabic end-stressed case-forms, cf. → **sŷnъ*.

***lěto** n. o (a) ‘summer’ ESSJa XV 8-12

- CS OCS *lěto* ‘summer, year’
 E Ru. *léto* ‘summer, (pl.) age, years’; *léto* (dial.) ‘South, south wind’
 W Cz. *léto* ‘summer, year’; Slk. *leto* ‘summer, (dial.) year’; Pl. *lato* ‘summer, (arch.) year’

S SCr. *ljěto* ‘summer, year’; Čak. *lito* (Vrg.) ‘summer, year’; *lěto* (Novi, Orb.) ‘summer, year’; Sln. *lěto* ‘summer, year’; Bulg. *ljáto* ‘summer, (obs.) year’

PIE **leh₁-tóm*

Cogn. OIr. *laithe* n. ‘day’

*lětb f. i

ESSJa XV 18-19

CS OCS *lětb* ‘it is allowed’ {1}; RuCS *lětb* ‘it is allowed’ {2}; SerbCS *lijet* ‘it is allowed’

E Ru. *let’* (arch.) ‘it is allowed’; ORu. *lětb* ‘it is allowed’ {2}

PIE **leh₁-ti-*

Cogn. Go. *letan* ‘let’

{1} The construction is *lětb/lětiju jestb*. {2} Also *lětiju (estb)*.

See also: *lěnivъ; *lěnbъ; *lěnbъ

*lěviti v.

ESSJa XV 28

E Ukr. *leviti* ‘weaken, diminish’

W Cz. *leviti* (obs., poet.) ‘facilitate, alleviate, diminish’; *leviti* (Jg.) ‘reduce, give up, release, drop’

S SCr. *lěviti* (dial.) ‘waste time, loaf’

BSL. **leʔw-(V)-*; **ljoʔu-(C)-*

B Lith. *liáuti* ‘stop’; Latv. *ļāūt* ‘allow, (refl.) stop, yield, rely on’
OPr. *aulaūt* ‘die’

PIE **leh₁u-*

Cogn. Go. *lewjan* ‘betray’

According to LIV (399), the **u* was originally a present suffix. The basic root **leh₁-* is assumed to occur in → **lěnvō*, etc.

*lěvъ adj. o (c) ‘left’

ESSJa XV 29-31

CS OCS *lěvъ*

E Ru. *lěvyj*

W Cz. *levý*; Slk. *lavý*; Pl. *lewy*

S SCr. *ljevī*; Čak. *līvī* (Vrg.); *l'ēvi* (Orb.); Sln. *lěv*, f. *lěva*; Bulg. *ljav*

PIE **lh₂eiuo-*

Cogn. Gk. *λαίός*; Lat. *laevus*

*lězti v. (a) ‘crawl, climb’

ESSJa XV 36-38

CS OCS *izlěsti* ‘go out of’, 1sg. *izlězŕ*

E Ru. *lezť* ‘climb, crawl, drag oneself along’, 1sg. *lézu*, 3sg. *lézet*

W Cz. *lězti* ‘climb, crawl, drag oneself along’; Slk. *liezt’* ‘crawl’; Pl. *leźć* ‘climb, crawl upwards, drag oneself along’; Slnc. *hęsc* ‘crawl’

- S SCr. *ljěsti* ‘crawl, climb’, 1sg. *ljěžēm*; Čak. *listi* (Vrg.) ‘crawl, climb’, 1sg. *ližeš*; Sln. *lěsti* ‘crawl, drag oneself along’, 1sg. *lězem*
- BSl. *leʔź-
- B Latv. *lězēt* ‘slide’
OPr. *līse* ‘crawls’
- PIE *leh₁ǵʰ-
- See also: *lāziti; *lazъ

- *lędvъje; *lędvъja** n. io; f. iā ‘loins’ ESSJa XV 48-50
- CS OCS *lędviję* (Ps. Sin., Euch.) Npl. f. ‘loins’; CS *lędvije* n. ‘loins’; *lędvija* f. ‘loins’; *lędviję* Npl. f. ‘loins’
- E Ru. *ljádveja* (arch.) f. ‘thigh’
- W Cz. *ledví* (arch.) n. ‘thigh, groin (horse), entrails’; *ladví* (arch.) n. ‘thigh(s), loins’; OCz. *ledvie* f. ‘thighs’; Slk. *ladvie* (arch.) n. ‘loins’; *ladva* f. ‘kidney’; Pl. *lędźwie* Npl. f. ‘loins’
- S SCr. *ledvija* Npl. n. ‘loins’; *lędva* Npl. n. ‘side, thigh’; *lędva* f. ‘side, thigh’; Sln. *lędija* f. ‘calf, thigh’; *lędjeja* f. ‘calf, thigh’; *ledavjě* n. ‘loins’; *ledovjě* n. ‘loins’; *lędje* n. ‘loins’; *lędje* Npl. f. ‘loins’; *lędvije* Npl. f. ‘kidneys’
- PIE *lendʰ-u-
- Cogn. Lat. *lumbus* m. ‘loin’; OHG *lentīn* f. ‘kidneys, loins’

- *lęga** f. ā (a) ‘depression’ ESSJa XV 52-53
- E Ru. *ljága* (N. dial.) ‘swampy place, swamp, depression, cavity (usually filled with water), puddle’; ORu. *ljaga* ‘damp low place’
- W Slnc. *lęga* ‘low place, depression’
- BSl. *lenʔg(i)aʔ
- B Lith. *lėngė* (arch.) f.(ē) ‘depression, small meadow between two hills’; *lėnkė* f.(ē) ‘vale, depression, moist and boggy place, meadow, marsh’; *linka* f.(ā) ‘depression’
- See → *lōgъ.

- *lękati; *lęcati** v. ESSJa XV 59-61
- CS OCS *lęčъtъ* (Supr.) 3pl. ‘set traps’
- E Ru. *ljakát*’ (dial.) ‘scare, chase a fish caught in a net’
- W Cz. *lekati* ‘scare’; *lęceti* ‘lay snares, set traps’; *líceti* ‘lay snares, set traps’; OCz. *lęceti* ‘lay snares, set traps’; Pl. *lękać się* ‘be afraid’
- S SCr. *lęcati se* ‘not feel well, fear’; *lęcati se* ‘not feel well, fear’; Sln. *lęcati* ‘bend, lay snares, tremble, be scared’, 1sg. *lęcam*

The form **lęcati* shows the regular reflex of the second palatalization. See → *lękti for the etymology of the root.

***lękti** v. ‘bend’ ESSJa XV 62-63

- CS CS *lęšti* ‘bend’
 W Cz. *léci* (arch.) ‘bend’; *líct* (dial.) ‘lay snares (for birds)’; USrb. *lac* (arch.) ‘set traps, grow ears’; LSrb. *léc* ‘set traps’
 BSL. **lenk-*
 B Lith. *leñkti* ‘bend’; Latv. *liekt* ‘bend’

As a verbal root, **lenk-* seems to be limited to Balto-Slavic.

See also: *lękati; *lęcati; *lęкъ; *lęčiti; *lęčъje; *lęka; *lękàvъ; *lękъ

***lęкъ** adj. o ‘bent’ ESSJa XV 63

- E Ru. *ljákij* (arch.) ‘bent, hunchbacked’
 BSL. **linkas*
 Latv. *liks* ‘bent’

See → **lękti*. In view of the Latvian form, we must probably reconstruct zero grade of the root, though in that case we would in principle have expected the velar to be affected by the progressive palatalization.

***libavъ; *liběvъ; *libivъ; *libovъ** adj. o ‘lean, thin’ ESSJa XV 70-71

- CS CS *libavъ* ‘slender, thin’; *liběvъ* ‘slender, thin’; *libivъ* ‘slender, thin’
 E Ru. *ljubávvyj* (dial.) ‘lean (meat)’; *libívvyj* (dial.) ‘gaunt, weak’; *libivój* (dial.) ‘gaunt, weak’; *ljubivój* (dial.) ‘gaunt, thin’; *ljubóvyj* (dial.) ‘fleshy, meaty’; Bel. *ljubáva* f. ‘lean pork’
 W Cz. *libový* ‘lean’; *libivý* (Kott) ‘lean, fleshy, meaty’; OCz. *liběvy* ‘lean, thin’; Pl. *lubawy* (dial.) ‘lazy, weak, sluggish, lean (meat)’; Slnc. *lēbavi* ‘lazy, sluggish, excessively tall, thin, lean (meat)’; *lābāvi* ‘slow, lazy, sluggish’
 S SCR. *libav* ‘agile, flexible’; *libiv* ‘big, fat, fleshy, meaty’

See → **libъ*. We find o-grade of the root in the rare adjective **lēbavъ*, e.g. Cz. *lebavý* (Jg., Kott: Mor.) ‘bald’.

***libъ** adj. o ‘thin’ ESSJa XV 74-75

- W OCz. *libí* ‘lean, thin’; OPL. *luby* ‘thin, frail’ {1}; Slnc. *lēbí* ‘weak, soft, frail’
 BSL. **lei?bos* (**le?ibos?*)
 B Lith. *láiabas* 3 ‘thin, tall, high’; *liebas* (dial.) 3 ‘thin-legged’
 Cogn. OE *lēf* ‘infirm, diseased, ill’

If Lith. *líasas*, Latv. *liēss* ‘thin, lean, arid’ belong here, we may reconstruct **leiH-b^ho-* or **leh₁i-b^ho-*.

{1} According to Bańkowski (2000b: 67), the single gloss we are dealing with here may be an instance of *luby* ‘dear, beloved’. In that case we must assume that the scribe misunderstood Lat. *gracilem*.

See also: *libavъ; *liběvъ; *libivъ; *libovъ

*licè n. jo (b) ‘cheek, face’

ESSJa XV 75-78

- CS OCS *lice* n. (jo./s.) ‘face, person’, Gsg. *lice*, Gsg. *ličese*
 E Ru. *licó* ‘face, person’; ORu. *lice* ‘face’; *lico* ‘face’
 W Cz. *lice* ‘face, (lit.) cheek’; OCz. *lice* ‘cheek’; Pl. *lice* ‘cheek, (pl.) face’
 S SCr. *lice* ‘face, appearance’; Čak. *ličè* (Vrg.: obs.) ‘face, appearance’, Npl. *liča*; *ličè* (Novi) ‘face, appearance’, Npl. *liča*; *ličè* (Orb.) ‘cheek’, Npl. *liča*; Sln. *lice* ‘cheek, face’; Bulg. *licé* ‘face, appearance, person’
 BSl. *lik-/*loik-?
 B OPr. *laygnan* (EV) ‘cheek’
 PIE *(l)oik-o-
 Cogn. OIr. *lecca* n. ‘jaw, cheek’

Since the third palatalization is generally considered not to have operated after *ei, one may advance the hypothesis that the root originally had zero grade (Kortlandt, p.c.).

*lixo adv.

ESSJa XV 89-91

- CS OCS *lixo* adv./prep. ‘abundantly, above, beyond’
 E Ru. *lixo* (dial.) adv. ‘very, (it is) bad, heavy, boring’; *lixo* (dial.) n. ‘evil, harm’; Ukr. *lýxo* n. ‘misfortune, grief’; *lýxo* (dial.) adv. ‘very, badly, disgustingly’
 W Pl. *lichó* adv. ‘badly, unsuccessfully, insufficiently’; *lichó* n. ‘evil, misfortune, devil’; OPl. *lichó* (Ps. Flor.) adv. ‘unjustly, badly’
 S SCr. *liho* adv. ‘unevenly, above, beyond’

See → *lixъ.

*lixъ adj. o ‘superfluous, incorrect’

ESSJa XV 99-102

- CS OCS *lixъ* ‘excessive, superfluous’
 E Ru. *lixój* ‘brave, quick, swift, evil, heavy, difficult’; *lixój* (dial.) ‘sharp, strong’
 W Cz. *lichý* ‘lonesome, isolated, empty’; OCz. *lichý* ‘unequal, wrong, evil, simple, empty’; Slk. *lichý* (lit.) ‘deceptive, empty, incorrect’; *lichý* (dial.) ‘deceptive, empty, incorrect, poor, insignificant’; Pl. *lichy* ‘poor, miserable, insignificant, mean, (dial.) evil’; OPl. *lichy* ‘incorrect, evil, poor, pitiful, insignificant’
 S SCr. *lih* ‘exclusive’; *lih* ‘unnecessary, false, empty, odd (number)’; Sln. *lih* ‘uneven, odd (number)’

In order to explain the *x, we may reconstruct *leikʷ-so-. For the root see → *ot(ъ)lěkъ.

*likъ m. o

ESSJa XV 107

- CS OCS *likъ* ‘round dance, chorus’
 E Ru. *lik* (eccl.) ‘assembly’
 W Pl. *lik* ‘assembly, detachment’
 Cogn. Go. *laiks* m. ‘dance’; OHG *leich* m. ‘play, melody, song’

A borrowing from Germanic.

***lipa** (a) ‘lime-tree’

ESSJa XV 114-116

- E Ru. *lípa*
 W Cz. *lípa*; Slk. *lípa*; Pl. *lipa*
 S SCr. *lǐpa*; Sln. *lípa*; Bulg. *lipá*
 BSl. **léi?pa?* (*lé?ipa?*)
 B Lith. *liepa* 1; Latv. *liēpa*

The acute root precludes a connection with **leip-* ‘smear’.

***lisa** f. ā ‘fox’

ESSJa XV 137-139

- E Ru. *lísá* ‘fox’; ORu. *lisa* ‘fox, vixen’; Bel. *lísá* ‘fox’; Ukr. *lýsa* ‘fox’
 W OCz. *lisa* ‘fox, vixen’
 S Bulg. *lísá* ‘fox’; Mcd. *lisa* ‘fox’

If we reconstruct **leipsa*, the closest cognate is Latv. *lapsa* ‘fox’. This would still leave us facing considerable problems, cf. also Skt. *lopāśá-* ‘a jackal, fox, or a similar animal’ with yet another vocalism of the root.

See also: **lisъ*; **lisica*

***lisica** f. jā ‘fox, vixen’

ESSJa XV 140-141

- CS CS *lisica* ‘fox’
 E Ru. *lisíca* ‘fox, vixen’
 W Pl. *lisica* ‘vixen’; Slnc. *lāsācā* ‘vixen’; Plb. *laisaićā* ‘fox’
 S SCr. *lisica* ‘fox’; Sln. *lisíca* ‘fox’; Bulg. *lisíca* ‘fox’; Mcd. *lisica* ‘fox’

See → **lisa*.

***lisъ** m. o ‘fox’

ESSJa XV 150

- CS OCS *lisъ* ‘fox’
 E Ru. *lis* (obs.) ‘fox’, Gsg. *lísa*
 W Pl. *lis* ‘fox’; Slnc. *lās* ‘fox’
 S SCr. *līs* (Vuk) ‘(male) fox’; Sln. *lis* ‘fox’, Gsg. *lísa*

See → **lisa*.

***līstъ** m. o (c) ‘leaf’

ESSJa XV 147-148

- CS OCS *līstъ* (Ps. Sin., Supr.) ‘leaf’
 E Ru. *líst* ‘leaf’, Gsg. *lístá*, Npl. *líst’ja*; *líst* ‘sheet’, Gsg. *lístá*, Npl. *lístý* {1}
 W Cz. *líst* ‘leaf, sheet, letter’; Slk. *líst* ‘leaf, sheet, letter’; Pl. *líst* ‘letter’; Slnc. *lāst* ‘letter’
 S SCr. *líst* ‘leaf, sheet’; Čak. *líst* (Vrg.) ‘leaf, sheet’, Gsg. *lístá*; *līs* (Orb.) ‘leaf’, Gsg. *lístá*; Sln. *líst* ‘leaf, sheet, letter’, Gsg. *lístá*, Gsg. *lístû*; Bulg. *líst* ‘leaf, sheet’
 B Lith. *laiškas* 4 ‘letter’; *láiškas* (E. Aušt.) 3 ‘letter’

OPr. *cixti lāiskas* ‘Taufbüchlein’

A reconstruction **leh₁i-sk-to-*, containing the verbal root ‘let, leave’, would raise the question why Hirt’s law did not generate fixed stress. Instead, we might posit **leid-sk-to-*, cf. Lith. *léisti* ‘let, leave’, provided that this root exists (see LIV: 402-403).

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 137).

***lišiti** v. ‘deprive of’

ESSJa XV 155-156

- CS OCS *lišiti* ‘deprive of’, 1sg. *lišŋ*
 E Ru. *lišít* ‘deprive of’, 1sg. *lišú*, 1sg., 3sg. *lišít*
 W Cz. *lišiti* ‘distinguish, (se) differ’; *lišiti* (Jg.) ‘spoil, (se) take care’; Slk. *líšit sa* ‘distinguish oneself, differ’; Pl. *liszyć* (arch.) ‘deprive of’; *liszyć się* ‘lose, be deprived of’; OPl. *liszyć się* ‘worsen, deteriorate’
 S SCr. *lišiti* ‘deprive of, (l. se) sell, give away’, *lišim*

A derivative of → **lixǝ*.

See also: **lixo*; **otǝlǝkǝ*

***liti** v. ‘pour’

ESSJa XV 157-159

- CS OCS *-liti*, 1sg. *-lijŋ* (*izliti* ‘pour out’, *proliti* ‘id.’, etc.)
 E Ru. *lit’*, 1sg. *l’ju*, 3sg. *l’ët*
 W Cz. *líti*, 1sg. *lijí*; OPl. *lic*
 S SCr. *liti*, 1sg. *lǝjǝm*; Čak. *liti* (Orb.), 1sg. *lijǝn*, 1sg. *lijen*; Sln. *líti*, 1sg. *lǝjem*;
 Bulg. *léja*
 BSL. **leʔi-*
 B Lith. *lieti*; Latv. *liêt*
 OPr. *pralieton* ‘shed’

PIE **leh₁i-*

Cogn. Gk. *λείβω* ‘shed, pour’; MW *di-llyd* ‘pour out’

See also: **lǝjǝ*; **lǝjati*; **sǝlǝjǝ*

***lizàti** v. (b) ‘lick’

ESSJa XV 162-163

- CS OCS *lizaasē* (Supr.) 3sg. impf. ‘licked’
 E Ru. *lizát* ‘lick’, 1sg. *lizú*, 3sg. *lizet*
 W Cz. *lizati* ‘lick’; Slk. *lizať* ‘lick’; Pl. *lizać* ‘lick’
 S SCr. *lizati* ‘lick’, 1sg. *lizǝm*; Čak. *lizàti* (Vrg.) ‘lick’, 2sg. *lizǝš*; *lizàt* (Orb.) ‘lick’, 2sg. *lizǝš*; Sln. *lizati* ‘lick’, 1sg. *lizem*; Bulg. *líza* ‘lick’
 BSL. **leiz-*
 B Lith. *ližti* ‘lick’; *laižyti* ‘lick’; Latv. *lāizīt* ‘lick’ (also *laizīt* (W. Latv.), with metatony)
 PIE **leigʰ-*
 Cogn. Skt. *réh-* ‘lick’; Gk. *λείχω* ‘lick’; Lat. *lingere* ‘lick’; Go. *bilaigon* ‘lick (at)’

***ľubiti** v. (b) 'love'

ESSJa XV 174-176

- CS OCS *ľubiti* 'love, desire, worship', 1sg. *ľjublǫ*
 E Ru. *ľubít'* 'love, like', 1sg. *ľjublǫú*, 3sg. *ľúbit*
 W Cz. *ľibiti se* 'please'; OCz. *ľibiti* 'love, like, prefer'; *ľibiti se* 'be inclined'; Slk. *ľubit'* 'love, like'; Pl. *ľubić* 'love, like'
 S SCr. *ľubiti* 'love, desire, kiss', 1sg. *ľúbīm*; Čak. *ľubiti* (Vrg.) 'love, desire, kiss', 2sg. *ľubīš*; Sln. *ľúbiti* 'love, caress, promise', 1sg. *ľúbim*; Bulg. *ľúbja* 'love'
 PIE **leub^h*-
 Cogn. Skt. *ľubhyati* 'desire'; Lat. (arch.) *ľubet* 'pleasede'; OHG *ľiuben* 'please, be dear'

See also: *ľubo; *ľubъ; *ľuby

***ľubo** conj. 'or'

ESSJa XV 177

- CS OCS *ľubo*
 E Ru. *ľibo*; *ľúbo*
 W OCz. *ľubo*; *ľúbo*; *ľib(o)*; Pl. *ľub*; OPl. *ľubo*
 S SCr. *ľubo* (arch., lit.); *ľjibo* (arch., lit.)

See → *ľubъ.

***ľubъ** adj. o 'sweet, pleasant'

ESSJa XV 181-182

- CS OCS *ľubъ* 'sweet, pleasant'
 E Ru. *ľubój* 'any, either'
 W Cz. *ľibý* 'sweet, pleasant'; Slk. *ľubý* 'dear, pleasant'; Pl. *ľuby* 'dear, beloved, pleasant'
 S SCr. *ľjub* 'dear, beloved'; Sln. *ľjub* 'sweet, dear', f. *ľjúba*
 PIE **leub^h-o-*
 Cogn. Go. *ľiufs* 'dear, sweet'

See also: *ľubiti; *ľubo; *ľuby

***ľuby** f. ū 'love'

ESSJa XV 185-186

- CS OCS *ľuby* f.(ū) 'love, passion', Gsg. *ľubъve* {1}
 E Ru. *ľubóv'* f.(i) 'love'; ORu. *ľuby* f.(ū) 'love'; *ľubъвъ* f.(i) 'love'
 W OCz. *ľuby* f.(ū) 'love', Gsg. *ľubve*
 S SCr. *ľjubav* f.(i) 'love'; *ľjubov* f.(i) 'love'; Čak. *ľubāv* (Vrg.) f.(i) 'love', Gsg. *ľubāvī*; *ľubāv* (Novi) f.(i) 'love'; *ľjubāf* (Orb.) f.(i) 'love', Gsg. *ľjubāvī*; Sln. *ľjubāv* f.(i) 'love, friendly turn, kindness'; Bulg. *ľjubóv* f.(i) 'love'
 BSl. **ľoub-*
 B Lith. *ľiaupsė* f.(ē) 4 'praise, eulogy'
 PIE **leub^h-uH*
 Cogn. Go. *ľiufs* 'dear, sweet'

{1} Secondary Nsg. forms are *ļubvov* (En.) and *ļubvve* (Sav.). Interestingly, the Asg. is *ļuby* in the expressions *ļuby dējati, tvoriti, sētvoriti* ‘commit fornication’.

See also: *ļūbiti; *ļubo; *ļubъ

***ļudinъ; *ļudīna** m. o; m. ā

ESSJa XV 192

CS	OCS <i>prostō ljudinō</i> (Euch.) ‘layman’
E	Ru. <i>ljudīna</i> (dial.) ‘man (pej.)’; Ukr. <i>ljudýna</i> ‘man’
S	SCr. <i>ljùdina</i> ‘strong man’

Singulative of → *ļūdō.

See also: *ļūdъje

***ļūdъ** m. o (c) ‘people’

ESSJa XV 194-200

CS	CS <i>ljudō</i>
E	Ru. <i>ljud</i> (coll.)
W	Cz. <i>lid</i> ; OCz. <i>lud</i> ; Slk. <i>lud</i> ; Pl. <i>lud</i>
S	Sln. <i>ljūd</i>
BSL.	* <i>ljoud-</i>
B	Lith. <i>liáudis</i> f.(i) 1; Latv. <i>ļaudis</i> Npl. m.(i)
PIE	* <i>h₁leud^h-o-</i>
Cogn.	OHG <i>liut</i> m.

See also: *ļudinъ; *ļudīna; *ļūdъje

***ļūdъje** Npl. m. (c) ‘people’

ESSJa XV 194-200

CS	OCS <i>ljudъje</i>
E	Ru. <i>ljúdi</i>
W	Cz. <i>lidé</i> , Gsg. <i>lidí</i> ; OCz. <i>ludie</i> ; Slk. <i>ludia</i> ; Pl. <i>ludzie</i>
S	SCr. <i>ljúdi</i> ; Čak. <i>ļūdi</i> (Vrg.); <i>ļūdi</i> (Orb.); Sln. <i>ljudjê</i>
BSL.	* <i>ljoudejes</i>
B	Lith. <i>liáudis</i> f.(i) 1; Latv. <i>ļaudis</i> Npl. m.(i)
PIE	* <i>h₁leud^h-ei-es</i>
Cogn.	OHG <i>liuti</i> Npl.

See also: *ļudinъ; *ļudīna; *ļūdъ

***ļūtiti** v. (b) ‘be angry’

ESSJa XV 224-225

CS	CS <i>ljutiti se</i> ‘rage’
E	Ru. <i>ljutít’sja</i> ‘be angry’; Ukr. <i>ljútyty</i> ‘anger, irritate’
W	Cz. <i>lítiti se</i> (obs.) ‘become angry’; <i>lítiti</i> (Jg., Kott) ‘anger, (<i>se</i>) become angry’; OCz. <i>lūtiti</i> ‘anger, (<i>se</i>) become angry’
S	SCr. <i>ljútiti</i> ‘anger’, 1sg. <i>ljútīm</i> ; Čak. <i>ļūtīti</i> (Vrg.) ‘anger’, 2sg. <i>ļūtīš</i> ; Sln. <i>ljútiti</i> ‘anger’, 1sg. <i>ljútīm</i> ; Bulg. <i>ljutjá</i> ‘bite, burn, (<i>l. se</i> be annoyed, be angry)’; <i>ljútja</i> (BTR) ‘anger’

See → **ljutō*.

****ljutb*** adj. o ‘fierce’

ESSJa XV 231-236

- CS OCS *ljutō* ‘fierce, wicked, strong’
 E Ru. *ljútyj* ‘ferocious, fierce, cruel’
 W Cz. *lity* (lit.) ‘fierce, ferocious’; OCz. *lúty* ‘fierce, ferocious, sharp’; Slk. *lúty* ‘strong, sharp, fierce’; Pl. *luty* ‘fierce, ferocious, wild’
 S SCr. *ljūt* ‘bitter, sharp, angry, fierce’, f. *ljúta*, n. *ljúto*; Čak. *lūt* (Vrg.) ‘intense, strong, severe, sour’, f. *lūtà*, n. *lūto*; *ljūt* (Orb.) ‘strong (of brandy and of food), sour, hot’, f. *ljúta*, n. *ljúto*; Sln. *ljūt* ‘strong, sharp, fierce, bitter’, f. *ljúta*; Bulg. *ljut* ‘sharp, pungent, angry, horrible’

The proto-form must be reconstructed as **leut-o*. Cognates seem to be lacking, however. Gk. λύσσα f. ‘rage’ is generally considered a derivative of λύκος ‘wolf’.

See also: **lütiti*

****lobzati*** v. ‘kiss’

ESSJa XV 241-243

- CS OCS *lobzati* ‘kiss’, 1sg. *lobžō*
 E Ru. *lobzát*’ (obs.) ‘kiss’
 S SCr. *lobzbät* (Cres) ‘kiss (?)’
 PIE **lab^h-*
 Cogn. Gk. λαφύσσω ‘swallow greedily’; Gk. λάπτω ‘lap’; Lat. *lambere* ‘lick’; OHG *laffan* ‘lick’; Arm. *lap'em* ‘lick’

Apparently a verb with “European *a*”.

****lōgb*** m. o (c)

ESSJa XV 248-250

- E Ru. *log* ‘ravine, broad gully’, Gsg. *lóga*
 S SCr. *lōg* ‘lair, den, riverbed’, Gsg. *lōga*
 Cogn. Gk. λόχος m. ‘ambush’

See also: **legtī*; **ležati*; **lēgati*; **lože*; **ložiti*

****lōjb*** m. jo (c) ‘tallow, suet’

ESSJa XV 259-262

- CS CS *loi* ‘fat, suet’
 W Cz. *lůj* ‘tallow, suet’, Gsg. *loje*; Slk. *loj* ‘tallow’; Pl. *lój* ‘tallow’, Gsg. *loju*
 S SCr. *lōj* ‘tallow, fat, suet’, Gsg. *lōja*; Čak. *lōj* (Vrg.) ‘tallow, fat, suet’, Gsg. *lōja*; *l'ōj* (Orb.) ‘tallow, fat’; Sln. *lōj* ‘tallow’; Bulg. *loj* ‘tallow’

Since **loh₁i-o-* would have yielded ***lāj₁b*, we must reconstruct a secondary full grade **loih₁-* or **lh₁oi-*.

See also: **liti*; **ljati*; **sblojb*

****lokati*** v. ‘lap’

ESSJa XVI 6-7

- CS CS *lokati* ‘lap’

- E Ru. *lakát* ‘lap’; *lokát* ‘lap’
 W Cz. *lokati* ‘gulp, swallow’; Pl. *tokać* (dial.) ‘lap’; OPl. *tokać* ‘lap, gulp, gobble’
 S SCr. *lòkati* ‘lap, guzzle’, 1sg. *lòčēm*; Čak. *lokàti* (Vrg.) ‘guzzle’, 2sg. *lòčeš*; *lokàt* (Orb.) ‘drink (of animals), booze, guzzle’, 2sg. *lòčeš*; Sln. *lòkati* ‘lap, slobber’, 1sg. *lòkam*, 1sg. *lòčem*
 BSL. *lak-
 B Lith. *làkti* ‘lap’; Latv. *lakt* ‘lap’
 PIE *lak-??
 Cogn. Arm. *lakem* ‘lick’

Another expressive (onomatopoeic?) verb that seems to contain “European *a”, cf. → *lobbzati.

***loký** f. ū (b?) ‘puddle’

ESSJa XVI 10

- CS OCS *lokъvi* (Euch.) Gsg. ‘puddle’
 S SCr. *lòkva* f.(ā) ‘puddle, pool, swamp, (arch.) lake’; Čak. *lòkva* (Vrg.) f.(ā) ‘puddle, pool, swamp’; *lòkva* (Novi) f.(ā) ‘puddle, pool, swamp’; Sln. *lòkav* f.(i) ‘puddle, pool, pond, lagoon’, Gsg. *lòkve*; *lòkva* f.(ā) ‘puddle, pool, pond, lagoon’; Bulg. *lòkva* f.(ā) ‘puddle, pool’; *lòkva* (dial.) f.(ā) ‘field on a riverbank with rich alluvial soil, grassy meadow at the bend of a river’
 PIE *lok-uH-
 Cogn. Gk. *λάκκος* m. ‘pond’; Lat. *lacus* m. ‘lake, reservoir’; Lat. *lacūna* f. ‘cavity, deep, abyss’; OHG *lahha* f. ‘pool, puddle’; OE *lagu* f. ‘lake’; OIr. *loch* n. ‘lake’

For this etymon one has often suggested a substratum origin, mainly in view of the supposed *a of the root. It is uncertain, however, if we must reconstruct *a (cf. Schrijver 1991: 423-424, 475). Crucial in this respect is Lat. *lacus*, where, according to Schrijver, *la-* may originate from *lo-. If this is correct, we may posit *lok-uH- for PSL. *loky, cf. Lat. *lacūna*, in which case the Greek form does not belong here unless it contains λα- < *l.

***lomiti** v. (b) ‘break’

ESSJa XVI 16-19

- CS OCS *lomiti* ‘break’, 1sg. *lomljǫ*
 E Ru. *lomit’* ‘break’, 1sg. *lomljú*, 3sg. *lomit*
 W Cz. *lomiti* ‘break’; Slk. *lomit’* ‘break’; Pl. *lomić* (14th-17th c., dial.) ‘break, plough across a field’
 S SCr. *lòmiti* ‘break, plough for the first time’, 1sg. *lòmīm*; Čak. *lomiti* (Vrg.) ‘break’, 2sg. *lomiš*; *lomit* (Orb.) ‘break, burst’, 1sg. *lomīn*; Sln. *lómiti* ‘break’, 1sg. *lómim*; Bulg. *lomjá* ‘break’
 BSL. *lom?-
 B Lith. *lėmti* ‘decide, determine’; Latv. *lemt* ‘decide, determine’
 OPr. *lembtwey* (I) ‘break’; *limtwey* (II) ‘break’; *limtwei* (III) ‘break’

The Baltic evidence is slightly in favour of a root containing a laryngeal (see Derksen 1996: 68-69).

See also: *emeχъ; *emešbь; *emežbь; *lemexъ; *lemešbь; *lemežbь; *lamъ

***lonò** n. o (b) ESSJa XVI 32-35

- CS OCS *lono* ‘breast, bosom’
 E Ru. *lono* (obs.) ‘bosom, lap’; *luno* (dial.) ‘abdomen’; *lunó* (dial.) ‘abdomen’ {1}
 W Cz. *luno* ‘womb, (lit.) lap’; OCz. *lono* ‘bosom, lap’; Slk. *lono* ‘lap, womb’; Pl. *lono* ‘lap’; Sln. *l̥ionø* ‘breast, inside’
 S Sln. *lonø* ‘lap’ (according to Pleteršnik, this is a borrowing); Bulg. *lono* ‘lap’

In view of → **ložesno*, this etymon has been reconstructed as **log^h-s-no-*.

{1} AP (b) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 135).

***lopàta** f. ā ‘spade, shovel’ ESSJa XVI 39-43

- CS OCS *lopata* ‘shovel, fan’
 E Ru. *lopàta*
 W Cz. *lopata*; Slk. *lopata*; Pl. *lopata*
 S SCr. *lòpata*; Čak. *lopàta* (Vrg., Orb.); Sln. *lopàta*; Bulg. *lopàta*
 B Lith. *lòpeta* 1; Latv. *lâpsta*
 OPr. *lopto* (EV) ‘spade’

The relationship with → **lâpa* is problematic. A Baltic cognate with a short vowel may be Lith. *lâpas* ‘leaf’.

***lososbь** m. jo ‘salmon’ ESSJa XVI 88-90

- E Ru. *losós’* m.(jo); *lósos’* m.(jo); *lox* (dial.) m.(o) ‘salmon which has become thinner after spawning’; Bel. *lasós* m.(jo); Ukr. *losós’* m.(jo)
 W Cz. *losos* m.(o); Slk. *losos* m.(o); Pl. *losos* m.(jo); Sln. *l̥osøs* m.(o)
 S Sln. *l̥osos* m.(o)
 BSl. **lošos-*
 B Lith. *lašišà* f.(jā) 2; Latv. *lasis* m.(io)
 OPr. *lalasso* [*lasasso*] (EV) m.
 PIE **loks-os-*
 Cogn. OIc. *lax* m.; OHG *lahs* m.; Toch. B *laks* m. ‘fish’; Fi. *lohi* ‘salmon’; Osset. *læsæg*.

***lòšbь** adj. jo (b) ‘bad’ ESSJa XVI 92-94

- E Ru. *lòšij* (dial.) ‘bad’, f. *lòš’ja*, n. *lòš’e*
 S SCr. *lòš* ‘poor, bad, evil’, f. *lòša*, f. *lòša*, n. *lòše*, n. *lòše*; Čak. *lòš* (Vrg.) ‘poor, bad, evil’, f. *lòša*, n. *lòšo*, n. *lòše*; Bulg. *loš* ‘bad, evil, angry’

Cogn. Go. *lasiws* adj. 'weak'; OE. *lyso* adj. 'bad, wrong, evil'

The ESSJa rejects the traditional comparison with PGmc. **lasiwa-* for semantic reasons, but in view of OE *lyso* this is hard to understand. On the other hand, OE *lyso* < **lusiwa-* may not belong here.

***loviti** v. (c) '(try to) catch'

ESSJa XVI 106-108

- CS OCS *loviti* 'catch, hunt', 1sg. *lovljǫ*
 E Ru. *lovít'* '(try to) catch', 1sg. *lovljú*, 3sg. *lovít* {1}
 W Cz. *loviti* '(try to) catch, fish'; Slk. *lovit'* '(try to) catch, fish'; Pl. *łowić* '(try to) catch, fish'
 S SCr. *lòviti* '(try to) catch, fish', 1sg. *lòvīm*; Čak. *loviti* (Vrg.) '(try to) catch, fish', 2sg. *loviš*; *lovit* (Orb.) '(try to) catch, fish', 1sg. *lovīn*; Sln. *lovíti* '(try to) catch, fish', 1sg. *lovím*; Bulg. *lovjá* 'seize, (try to) catch, fish, hunt'

Lith. *lāvinti* 'train, develop' must derive from *lavūs* 'adroit, dexterous' (→ **lovǫkǫ*) and is therefore not to be compared directly with **loviti*. Latv. *lavīt* 'catch' is probably a borrowing from Slavic.

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 138).

See also: **lōvъ*

***lōvъ** m. o (c) 'hunt, hunting'

ESSJa XVI 111-113

- CS OCS *lovъ* (Ps. Sin., Supr.) 'hunt, hunting'
 E Ru. *lov* 'hunting, catching, catch'
 W Cz. *lov* 'hunting, catching, catch'; Slk. *lov* 'hunting, catching, catch'; Pl. *łow* 'hunting, catching, catch', Gsg. *łowu*
 S SCr. *lōv* 'hunting, catching', Gsg. *lōva*; Čak. *lōv* (Vrg.) 'hunting, catching', Gsg. *lōva*; Sln. *lòv* 'hunt, catch', Gsg. *lóva*; *lōv* f.(i) 'catch, catching'; Bulg. *lov* 'hunt, game, catch'

See → **lovǫkǫ*.

lōvъkǫ adj. o (c) 'adroit, dexterous'

ESSJa XVI 111-113

- E Ru. *lōvkij* 'adroit, dexterous, cunning, smart (dial.) beautiful, good'; *lōvok*, f. *lōvká*, n. *lōvko*; Ukr. *lōvkyj* 'beautiful, good, tasty'
 S SCr. *lōvak* (RSA) 'clever at catching smth.', f. *lōvka*, f. *lōvka*, n. *lōvko*
 BSL. **low-*
 B Lith. *lavūs* 'adroit, dexterous, clever'

To my knowledge, there are no cognates outside Balto-Slavic. One may even wonder if Lith. *lavūs* is a borrowing.

See also: **loviti*; **lōvъ*

***lozà** f. ā (c) 'vine'

ESSJa XVI 118-120

- CS OCS *loza* 'vine'

- E Ru. *lozá* ‘rod, vine’, Asg. *lozú* {1}
 W Cz. *loza* (dial.) ‘vine’; OCz. *loza* ‘tree-trunk (?)’; Slk. *loza* ‘vine, sapling’; Pl. *łozą* ‘willow, osier, vine’
 S SCR. *lōza* ‘vine, umbilical cord’, Asg. *lōzu*; Čak. *lozā* (Vrg.) ‘vine’, Asg. *lōzu*; Sln. *lōza* ‘shoot, vine, wood, grove’; Bulg. *lozá* ‘vine’

This word for ‘vine’ is usually compared with Lith. *lazdà* ‘stick, staff, (OLith., dial.) hazel’, Latv. *la(g)zda*, OPr. *laxde* ‘hazel’, which are semantically closer to → **lěškà*. In addition, the latter etymon contains a consonant sequence that can be linked to Baltic *(g)zd. On the other hand, the root vocalism of *lozà* is the same as in the Baltic forms meaning ‘hazel’. The problem is to explain the relationship between the *-z- of **lozà* and the consonant sequences that occur in the Slavic and Baltic words for ‘hazel’. Possible parallels are → **gręzti* vs. Lith. *grimzd-* ‘sink’ and → **børzdō*, Lith. *burzdūs*, vs. → **børzō*.

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 138).

***lože** n. jo ‘bed’

ESSJa XVI 125-126

- CS OCS *lože* ‘bed, den’
 E Ru. *lōže* ‘bed, den’
 W Cz. *lože* ‘bed, den’; OCz. *lože* ‘womb’; Pl. *łóże* ‘bed’
 S SCR. *lōže* ‘bed, den’; Sln. *lože* ‘den, afterbirth’; Bulg. *lože* ‘bed’
 PIE **log^h-io-m*
 Cogn. Gk. λόχος m. ‘ambush’; OIc. *lag* n. ‘situation’

Deverbative *jo*-stem. See → **legti*.

***ložesno** n. o ‘womb’

ESSJa XVI 126-128

- CS OCS *ložesna* Npl. ‘womb’ (the singular *ložesno* occurs once in the Codex Suprasliensis)
 E ORu. *ložesno* ‘womb’; *ložesna* Npl. ‘womb’
 S Sln. *ložesna* Npl. ‘womb’

An old derivative in *-no- of an *s*-stem, cf. → **lonō*. The root is generally identified with the root of → **legti* ‘lie down’, cf. Gk. λέχος ‘bed, bedstead, marriage’, λόχιος ‘belonging to child-birth’. The vocalism of the root may have been influenced by → **lože*.

***ložiti** v. (b) ‘lay’

ESSJa XVI 127-128

- CS CS *ložiti* ‘lay’
 E Ru. *ložít’sja* ‘lie down’; *položít’* ‘lay down’; Ukr. *ložýty* ‘lay, put’
 W Cz. *ložiti* ‘lay, put’; Slk. *ložít’* ‘lay, put, kindle’; Pl. *łóżyć* ‘lay out, bestow’; Sln. *lōžęc* ‘lay, put’; LSrb. *ložys* ‘lie, rest’
 S SCR. *lōžiti* ‘spread out, heat, kindle, make a fire’, 1sg. *lōžim*; Čak. *ložiti* ‘heat, kindle, make a fire’, 1sg. *lōžīš*; *ložīt* (Orb.) ‘heat, make a fire, burn (as fuel)’, 3sg. *lōži*; Sln. *ložiti* ‘lay, put’, 1sg. *lōžim*

PIE *log^h-eie-

Cogn. Go. *lagjan* ‘lay’

See also: *legti; *ležati; *lēgati; *lōgъ; *lonò; *lože; *ložesno

***lōčiti** v. (b) ‘separate’

ESSJa XVI 132-134

CS OCS *lōčiti* (Supr.) ‘separate’, 1sg. *lōčŕ*

E ORu. *lučiti* ‘accomplish, reach’ (cf. Ru. *razlučit’* ‘separate’)

W Cz. *loučiti* (lit.) ‘separate, (arch.) unite’; OCz. *lúčiti* ‘separate’; Slk. *lúčit’ sa* ‘separate, part’; Pl. *łączyć* ‘separate, unite’

S SCr. *lúčiti* ‘separate, herd together’, 1sg. *lúčim*; Sln. *lōčiti* ‘bend, separate’, 1sg. *lōčim*

BSL. *lonk-ei/i-

B Lith. *lankýti* ‘visit’; Latv. *lūocīt* ‘bend repeatedly, move, arrange’

See → *lękti.

***lōčъje** n. io ‘rush’

ESSJa XVI 134

CS CS *lōčije* n.(io) ‘rush’

W Pl. *łącze* (obs.) n.(io) ‘snare’

S Sln. *lōčje* n.(io) ‘reed, rush’

Derivative in *-bje of the root *lęk- ‘bend’ (→ *lękti).

***lōgъ** m. o (c) ‘depression’

ESSJa XVI 139-141

CS OCS *lōga* (Ps. Sin.) Gsg. ‘wood(s)’

E Ru. *lug* ‘meadow’

W Cz. *luh* ‘damp depression overgrown with shrubs and trees’; OCz. *luh* ‘forest, wood(s), grove, wooded meadow’; Slk. *luh* ‘damp wood with tall trees, grove near water’; Pl. *łąg* ‘damp or flooded wood, meadow or pasture near a river or in a depression’, Gsg. *łągu*

S SCr. *lūg* ‘forest, wood(s), shrub(s), (dial.) meadow, depression’, Gsg. *lūga*; Čak. *lūg* (Vrg.) ‘ashes’, Gsg. *lūgā*; *lūh* (Orb.) ‘lye’, Gsg. *lūgā*; Sln. *lōg* ‘grove’; Bulg. *лъг* ‘meadow, depression, grove (on a damp spot)’

BSL. *lon?g-*

OPr. *Langa* ‘name of a brook’; *Langodis* ‘name of a swamp’

I have grouped together a number of etyma where the vacillation between *k and *g as well as between roots with and without a nasal could be interpreted within the context of a substratum origin. To a certain extent, influence of *lenk- ‘bend’ must be taken into consideration (cf. → *lōkà).

See also: *lēga; *lugъ; *lūža; *lъkno

***lōkà** f. ā (b) ‘low-lying meadow, water-meadow’

ESSJa XVI 141-142

CS OCS *lōka* (Supr., Euch.) ‘ruse’; CS *lōka* ‘bay, swamp’

- E Ru. *luká* ‘pommel, bend, (dial.) flood plain’, Asg. *lukú*; ORu. *lǫka* ‘bay, bend, ruse’; Ukr. *luká* ‘flood plain’, Asg. *lukú*
- W Cz. *louka* ‘meadow, hayfield’ (in the plural also *luk*); Slk. *lúka* ‘meadow, hayfield’; Pl. *lǫka* ‘meadow’
- S SCr. *lúka* ‘bay, harbour, port, fertile field, meadow near a river’; Čak. *lūka* (Vrg.) ‘bay, harbour’; *lūkà* (Novi) ‘bay, harbour’, Asg. *lūkù*; Sln. *lǫka* ‘swampy meadow in a valley, harbour’; Bulg. *lǎká* ‘meadow in the bend of a river’
- BSL. **lonka?*
- B Lith. *lankà* 4 ‘water-meadow, swamp’; Latv. *lañka* ‘bend of a river, big low-lying meadow, big puddle’

See → **lękti*.

***lǫkǎvъ** adj. o ‘curved, cunning’ ESSJa XVI 143-144

- CS OCS *lǫkavъ* ‘evil, sly, cunning’
- E Ru. *lukávъj* ‘sly, cunning’
- W Cz. *lukavý* (Jg., Kott) ‘sly, cunning’
- S SCr. *lúkav* ‘sly, cunning’; Sln. *lokáv* ‘sly, cunning’

See → **lękti*.

***lǫkъ** m. o (c) ‘bow’ ESSJa XVI 148-149

- CS OCS *lǫkъ* ‘bow’
- E Ru. *luk* ‘bow’
- W Cz. *luk* ‘bow, saddle-bow, shaft-bow’; Slk. *luk* ‘bow, shaft-bow, arch’; Pl. *lęk* ‘saddle-bow, shaft-bow, curvature, bow’
- S SCr. *lūk* ‘shaft-bow, bow’, Gsg. *lūka*; Čak. *lūk* (Orb.) ‘bow (on the cover of a well)’; Sln. *lǫk* ‘shaft-bow, bow, rainbow’; Bulg. *lǎk* ‘bow’
- BSL. **lonkos*
- B Lith. *lañkas* ‘shaft-bow, hoop, bow’; Latv. *lūoks* ‘shaft-bow, rim’
OPr. *lunkis* (EV) ‘corner’

See → **lękti*.

***lǔbъ** m. o (c) ‘bast’ ESSJa XVI 156-158

- E Ru. *lub* ‘bast’, Gsg. *lúba*
- W Cz. *lub* ‘rim, hoop’; Slk. *lub* ‘wooden rim’; Pl. *lub* ‘bast’
- S SCr. *lúb* ‘bast’; Sln. *lúb* ‘bast’

PIE **loub^h-o-*

Cogn. Lat. *liber* m. ‘bark, book’

The root of this etymon seems to have a variant with **p* (→**lǔpiti*). One might consider a substratum origin.

See also: ***lъbъ**

*lŭčà f. jā (b) ‘ray, beam’

ESSJa XVI 160

- CS OCS *luča* (Euch., Supr.) ‘ray, beam’
 W Cz. *louče* (Kott) ‘ray, beam’
 S SCr. *lŭča* ‘ray, beam’ (probably a Church Slavicism)

See → *lŭčb.

*lučiti v. (c)

ESSJa XVI 162-163

- CS OCS *lučiti se* (Zogr., Supr.) ‘happen’; RuCS *lučiti* ‘accomplish, find, meet’; *lučitisja* ‘happen’
 E Ru. *lučit’* (dial.) ‘allow’; *lučit’sja* (dial.) ‘happen’; ORu. *lučiti* ‘accomplish, find, meet’; *lučitisja* ‘happen’ {1}
 W Cz. *lučiti* ‘throw’; Slk. *lúčit’* ‘throw’; OPl. *luczyc’* ‘aim, reach, attain, find’
 S SCr. *lŭčiti* (RJA) ‘find, receive’; *lučiti* (Mažur.) ‘attain’; Sln. *lučiti* ‘throw, fling’, 1sg. *lučím*

PIE *louk-eie-

Cogn. Skt. *rocáyati* ‘let shine’

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 140).

See also: *lŭčà; *lŭčb; *lunà

*lŭčb m. jo (b) ‘ray, torch’

ESSJa XVI 163-164

- CS RuCS *lučb* m.(jo) ‘ray, light, shining’
 E Ru. *luč* m.(jo) ‘ray, beam, (dial.) torch’
 W Cz. *louč* f.(i) ‘torch’; OCz. *lúč* f.(i) ‘torch’; Slk. *lúč* f.(i) ‘ray, (dial.) torch’
 S SCr. *lŭč* m.(jo) ‘torch, light, ray’; *lŭč* f.(i) ‘torch, light, ray’; *lŭč* (dial.) m.(jo) ‘torch, resinous tree’; Čak. *lŭč* (Vrg.) m.(jo) ‘core of pinewood (used as fuel)’; Gsg. *lŭčà*; Sln. *lúč* f.(i) ‘light (from fire)’

B OPr. *luckis* ‘torch, log’

PIE *louk-

Cogn. Skt. *rocíṣ-* f. ‘light, splendour’; Lat. *lŭx* f. ‘light’

See also: *lŭčà; *lučiti; *lunà

*lŭdn̄ adj. o (c) ‘crazy’

ESSJa XVI 168-169

- CS CS *lud̄* ‘foolish’
 E Ru. *lud* (Dal’: arch.) ‘stupid, mad, crazy’
 S SCr. *lūd* ‘stupid, crazy, immature’, f. *lúda*, n. *lúdo*; Čak. *lūd* (Vrg.) ‘stupid, crazy, immature’, f. *lūdà*, n. *lúdo*; Sln. *lūd* ‘crazy’, f. *lúda*; Bulg. *lud* ‘crazy, insane, wild’

B Lith. *liūdnas* ‘sad’

PIE *loud-o-

Cogn. Go. *liuts* ‘hypocritical’

The Lithuanian form has a lengthened zero grade. The palatalization of the *l* originates from the (unattested) *e*-grade **liaud-*.

***lug̃** m. o ESSJa XVI 169-170

W Pl. *lug* (arch., dial.) ‘meadow, grove’; OPl. *lug* ‘swamp, marsh, lake, grove’; Sln. *lúg* ‘swamp, marsh, lake, grove’; Plb. *laug* ‘meadow’

S Sln. *lûg* (dial.) ‘meadow’

See → **lôg̃ṽ*.

***lunà** f. ā ‘moon’ ESSJa XVI 173-174

CS OCS *luna* ‘moon’

E Ru. *luná* ‘moon, (dial.) ray of light, firmament, echo’; Ukr. *luná* ‘reflection, glow, echo’

W Cz. *luna* (poet.) ‘moon’; Slk. *luna* ‘moon’; Pl. *luna* ‘reflection, glow, moon, flame’; OPl. *luna* ‘moon, reflection, glow’

S SCr. *lúna* ‘moon’; Čak. *lūnā* (Orb.) ‘full moon, phase of the moon’; Asg. *lūnð*; Sln. *lúna* ‘moon’; Bulg. *luná* ‘moon’

BSl. **louksnaŕ*

B OPr. *lauxnos* Npl. ‘luminary’

PIE **louk-s-neh₂*

Cogn. Av. *raoxšna-* adj. ‘shining’; Lat. *lūna* f. ‘moon’

Dybo (1981: 20) classifies this etymon as belonging to AP (b). The absence of length in West Slavic is puzzling, however.

See also: **lūčā*; **lúčb̃*; **lučiti*

***lūpiti** v. (b) ‘peel’ ESSJa XVI 183-18

E Ru. *lupít* ‘peel, bark, thrash’, 1sg. *lupljú*, 3sg. *lúpit*

W Cz. *loupiti* ‘rob’; Slk. *lúpit* ‘steal’; Pl. *lupić* ‘plunder, loot’

S SCr. *lúpiti* ‘clean, peel’; Čak. *lūpīt* (Orb.) ‘peel (potatoes etc.)’, 1sg. *lūpin*; Sln. *lúpiti* ‘clean, peel’, 1sg. *lúpim*

BSl. **loup-ei/i-*

B Lith. *laupýti* ‘tear off’; Latv. *lāupīt* ‘peel, rob, lunder’

See → **lub̃ṽ*.

***luska** f. ā ‘peel, shell, pod, scale’ ESSJa XVI 188-191

E Ru. *luská* (Dal’) ‘skin, peel, chaff’

W Cz. *luska* (obs.) ‘pod, husk’; OCz. *luska* ‘iron scale’; Pl. *luska* ‘pod, shell, scale (of fish, reptiles)’; USrb. *luska* ‘pod’

S SCr. *ljüska* ‘shell, pod, scale (of fish, reptiles)’; *lūska* (arch.) ‘skin, shell, pod, scale (of fish), splinter’; Čak. *lūskā* (Orb.) ‘splinter’; Asg. *lūskø*; Sln. *lūska* ‘scale, bran’

BSl. *lou(?)ska?

B Latv. *lāuskas*² Npl. 'flake, dandruff'

According to Vaillant (Gr. IV: 122), **luska* derives from the verb **luskati* < **lup-sk-ati* (< **loup-*). Though the accentuation of several forms is in conflict with this etymology, it is nevertheless an attractive solution. The East Latvian form *lāuskas*² may very well differ etymologically from *laūska* 'something broken, potsherd, splinter, the breaker (personification of frost)', which clearly derive from *lauzt* 'break'. This raises the question to what extent **louǵ-sk-* may be present in Slavic. Though **louǵ-sk-* would regularly yield **lusk-* in Balto-Slavic, it is only to be expected that the glottal stop originating from Winter's law was occasionally restored.

See also: **luskati*; **luskъ*; **luspa*; **luščiti*; **luzga*

***luskati** v. 'peel, shell, pod'

ESSJa XVI 192-194

E Ru. *luskát* 'peel, shell, pod'; *lúskat* 'peel, shell, pod'

W Pl. *łuskać* 'peel, shell, pod'

S SCr. *ljúskati* (dial.) 'peel, shell, pod'; Sln. *lúskati* 'peel, shell, pod, clean (fish)'; Bulg. *l'úskam* (dial.) 'peel, shell, pod'

BSl. *lou(?)ska?

B Latv. *lāuskāt*² 'flake, peel'

See also: **luska*; **luskъ*; **luspa*; **luščiti*; **luzga*

***luskъ** m. o 'peel, shell, pod'

ESSJa XVI 197-198

E Ru. *lusk* (Dal') 'skin, peel, chaff'

W Cz. *lusk* 'pod, husk'; Slk. *lusk* (lit.) 'pod, husk'; OPl. *lusk* 'skin, peel, rind'

S Sln. *lúsk* 'pod, bran, flake of skin'

See → **luska*.

See also: **luskati*; **luspa*; **luščiti*; **luzga*

***luspa** f. ā 'peel, shell, pod, scale'

ESSJa XVI 199-200

CS RuCS *luspa* 'shell, skin, peel, scale'

E ORu. *luspa* 'shell, skin, peel, scale'; Ukr. *lušpá* (dial.) 'shell, skin, peel, scale'; *luspá* (dial.) 'shell, skin, peel, pod, scale (of fish, snakes)'

S SCr. *ljúspa* (dial.) 'scale, peel, shell'; Bulg. *ljúspa* 'scale, peel, rind'; *lúspa* 'scale, peel, rind'

The most likely explanation for the sequence **sp* is contamination of **lusk-* (→ **luska*) and **lup-* (→ **lūpiti*).

See also: **luska*; **luskati*; **luskъ*; **luščiti*; **luzga*

***luščiti** v. 'peel, shell, pod'

ESSJa XVI 207-209

E Ru. *luščít* 'shell, hull, pod, crack, remove stubble (from), (dial.) guzzle, cram oneself', 1sg. *luščú*, 3sg. *luščít*

- W Cz. *luštiti* ‘solve, pod, shell, hull’; OCz. *luščiti* ‘pod, shell’; *luštiti* ‘pod, shell’; Slk. *lúštit’* ‘pod, shell, hull, try to solve’; Pl. *luszczyć* ‘peel, pod, shell’
- S SCr. *ljúštiti* ‘skin, peel, shell, eat or drink greedily’, 1sg. *ljúštim*; Sln. *lúščiti* ‘skin, peel, pod, shell’, 1sg. *lúščim*; Bulg. *ljúštja* ‘skin, peel, shell, pod’; *lúštja* ‘skin, peel, shell, pod’

Verb in *-iti created alongside **luskati*.

See also: **luska*; **luskati*; **luskъ*; **luspa*; **luzga*

***luzga** f. ā ‘peel, shell, pod’

ESSJa XVI 213

E Ru. *luzgá* ‘husks, (dial.) scales (of fish), chaff, peel, membrane’

S SCr. *luzga* (dial.) ‘scale (of fish), snake-skin’

BSl. **l(o)uzg-*

B Lith. *lūzgana* 1 ‘scale (of fish)’

Variant of → **luska*. This type of vacillation is quite common.

See also: **luska*; **luskati*; **luskъ*; **luspa*; **luščiti*

***lūža** f. jā (a) ‘puddle, pool’

ESSJa XVI 217-219

CS CS *luža* ‘marsh’

E Ru. *lūža* ‘puddle, pool’

W Cz. *louže* ‘hollow with stagnant water, puddle, pool’; OCz. *lúže* ‘puddle, pool, swamp’; Pl. *luža* (dial.) ‘pit, hollow, puddle, pool’; Plb. *lauze* ‘swamp, puddle, pool’

S SCr. *lūža* ‘puddle, pool, mud, bog’; Sln. *lūža* ‘puddle, pool’

B Lith. *liūgnas* m. 2 ‘puddle’; *liūgas* m. 2 ‘puddle, little marsh, mud, quagmire’; *lūgas* m. 1/2 ‘hollow overflowed by a river, muddy branch of a river, marsh, quagmire’; Latv. *luga* f. ‘aspic, pulp’; *luga* f. ‘marshy deposit of a lake that is silting up’

Cogn. Ill. Λούγεον ‘swamp’

See → **lōgъ*, where it is argued that we are probably dealing with a borrowing from a substratum language. Most of the Baltic forms do not match the acute of the Slavic etymon.

***ІѢѢ** m. o ‘skull’

ESSJa XVI 225-228

CS CS *ІѢѢ* ‘skull’

E Ru. *lob* ‘forehead, brow’, Gsg. *lba*

W Cz. *lebka* f.(ā) ‘skull’; *leb* (lit.) f.(i) ‘skull’, Gsg. *l(e)bi*, Gsg. *lba* (arch.); *leb* (lit.) ‘skull’, Gsg. *l(e)bu* (Jungmann also mentions an obsolete Gsg. *lba*); OCz. *leb* ‘skull’, Gsg. *lba*; *leb* f.(i) ‘skull’, Gsg. *lbi*; Slk. *leb* (lit., arch.) ‘skull’, Gsg. *leba*; *leb* (arch., lit.) f.(i) ‘skull’, Gsg. *lebi*; Pl. *leb* ‘head of an animal, (coll.) head, pate’, Gsg. *lba*

S Sln. *lĕb* ‘skull, forehead’, Gsg. *lĕbà*

PIE *lub^h-o-

See also: *lubъ; *l̥piti

***l̥gati** v. (b) 'lie'

ESSJa XVI 233-237

CS OCS *l̥gati* 'lie', 1sg. *l̥žŋ*

E Ru. *lgat'* 'lie', 1sg. *l̥žu*, 3sg. *l̥žët*

W Cz. *lháti* 'lie'; OCz. *lháti* 'lie', 1sg. *l̥žu*; Slk. *luhat'* 'lie'; *lhat'* 'deceive'; Pl. *lgac'* 'deceive, lie', 1sg. *l̥žę*

S SCr. *l̥gati* 'lie', 1sg. *l̥žēm*; Čak. *lagàti* (Vrg.) 'lie', 2sg. *l̥žēš*; Sln. *lagáti* 'lie', 1sg. *l̥žēm*; Bulg. *l̥žā* 'lie'

BSL. *lug-

B Lith. *lūgóti* 'request, beg' (possibly of Latvian origin); Latv. *lūgt* 'request, invite'

PIE *lug^h-

Cogn. Go. *liugan* 'lie'; OIc. *ljúga* 'lie'; OHG *liogan* 'lie'

See also: *l̥ža; *l̥žь I; *l̥žь II

***l̥kno** n. o 'water-lily'

ESSJa XVI 244-247

E Bel. *loknó* (dial.) 'yellow water-lily'; Ukr. *loknó* (dial.), *luknó* (dial.) 'water-lily, yellow water-lily'

W Cz. *lekno* (Jg.) 'water-lily'; OCz. *lekno* 'water-lily'; Slk. *lekno* 'water-lily'

S Sln. *leknŋ* 'water-lily' (in view of the *e*, probably a borrowing from Czech)

BSL. *luk-n-

B Lith. *lūgnė* f.(ē) 2 'yellow water-lily, (dial.) quagmire, bog'; *lūgnė* (dial.) f.(ē) 2 'yellow water-lily'; *lūknė* (arch.) f.(ē) 2 'yellow water-lily'

Here, too, we find variation regarding the phonation type of the root-final velar. The East Slavic forms can be found in Nepokupnyj 1976 (34-35).

See also: *l̥ga; *l̥gъ; *lugъ; *l̥ža

***l̥skъ** m o 'shine'

ESSJa XVI 251-252

E Ru. *losk* 'lustre, gloss, shine', Gsg. *lóska*

W Cz. *lesk* 'lustre, gloss, shine'; OCz. *lesk* 'shine, metal'; *lésk* 'shine, metal'; Slk. *lesk* 'lustre, gloss, shine'; Pl. *tysk* (obs., dial.) 'lightning'

S Sln. *lask* 'shine, shimmer', Gsg. *laskà*

Derivative of the hardly attested verb *l̥skati < *luk-sk-, cf. Cz. *leskati* (Jg.) 'shine'.

See also: *l̥čā; *l̥čь; *l̥čiti; *l̥unā

***l̥ža** f. jā 'lie'

ESSJa XVI 256-257

CS OCS *l̥žā*

E Ru. *l̥ža* (arch.)

W Pl. *l̥ža* (dial.); OPl. *l̥ža* 'deceit, lie'; Slnc. *l̥žā*

S SCr. *lāža* (coll.); Sln. *lažà; lažà; lžà*; Bulg. *lāžà*

Cogn. OHG *lugī* f.; OE *lyge* m.

Derivative in **-ja* of → **lŷgati*. The *ā*-stem **lŷga* is not as widespread.

See also: *lŷžb; *lŷžb

***lŷžb I** f. i 'lie'

ESSJa XVII 5

E Ru. *ložʹ*; ORu. *lŷžb; ložb*

W Cz. *lež*; OCz. *lež*; Slk. *lož*; Pl. *lež* (arch., dial.); OPl. *lež*; Sln. *lāž*

S SCr. *lāž*; Čak. *lāž* (Vrg.); *lāš* (Orb.); Sln. *lāž*, Gsg. *lāžī*, Gsg. *lāžī; lāž*, Gsg. *lāžī*

Derivative *i*-stem synonymous with → **lŷža*.

See also: *lŷgati; *lŷža; *lŷžb

***lŷžb II** adj. jo 'false'

ESSJa XVII 6-7

CS OCS *lŷžb* 'lying, false'

E Ukr. *ložʹ* 'deceptive'

PIE **lugh-i-o-*

Cogn. OHG *luggi* 'lying, mendacious'; OE *lycge* 'lying, mendacious'

See also: *lŷgati; *lŷža; *lŷžb

***lyda; *lyta** f. ā 'thigh, calf'

ESSJa XVII 22-23

E Ru. *lýdy* (dial.) Npl. f. 'long legs'

W Slk. *lido* (dial.) n. 'thigh'; Pl. *tyda* n. 'calf'; *tyta* (dial.) n. 'calf'; OPl. *tyda* n. 'long leg, thigh'

See → **lysto*.

***lydŷka; *lytŷka** f. ā

ESSJa XVII 23, 55-57

E Ru. *lýtki* Npl. f. 'calves, shins'; *lýtka* (dial.) f. 'leg, calf, shin, thigh, heel'; ORu. *lytka* f. 'leg, shin, ham'; Ukr. *lýtka* f. 'calf'

W Cz. *lýtko* n. 'calf'; *lýtka* (Jg.: obs.) f. 'calf'; OCz. *lýtka* f. 'calf'; Pl. *tydka* f. 'calf'; OPl. *lytka* f. 'calf'

S Sln. *lítka* f. 'calf'

See → **lysto*, **lystŷ*, **lysta*.

***lŷko** n. o (a) 'bast'

ESSJa XVII 28-31

E Ru. *lýko*; Ukr. *lýko*

W Cz. *lýko*; Slk. *lyko*; Pl. *tyko*

S SCr. *līko*; *līk* m.; Sln. *līkŷ* 'bast fibre, fibre'; Bulg. *liko*

BSl. **lúnŷko*

B Lith. *lūnkas* m. 1; Latv. *lūks* m.

OPr. *lunkan*

PIE *lnH-k-ó-m

Cogn. Fi. *lunka* ‘remnants of bark’ (a borrowing from Baltic)

***lysto; *lystъ; *lysta** n. o; m. o; f. ā ‘shin, calf’

ESSJa XVII 43-44

CS OCS *lysto* (Ps. Sin. MS 2/N) n. ‘shin’; CS *lystъ* m. ‘shin’

W Cz. *lsto* n. ‘shin-bone’; Slk. *listá* (dial.) f. ‘calf’; Pl. *lyst* (arch.) m. ‘calf’; *lysta* (arch., dial.) f. ‘calf, shin’; OPl. *lyst* m. ‘calf’

S SCr. *líst* m. ‘calf’; Mcd. *list* m. ‘calf’

A neuter derivative in *-to- of a root *lyd- or *lyt-. Schuster-Šewc’s suggestion (1963) that *lyd-/lyt- is cognate with Ru. *glúda* (dial.) ‘lump, clod’, Sln. **glúta* ‘lump’ seems to have gained some acceptance in spite of that fact that the “simplification” of *gl- to l- seems completely ad hoc.

See also: *lyda; *lyta; *lydъka; *lytъka

***lystъ** adj. o ‘bald, having a white spot on the forehead’

ESSJa XVII 45-50

E Ru. *lýsyj* ‘bald’; *lys*, f. *lýsá*, n. *lýso*

W Cz. *lysý* ‘bald, (animals) having a white spot on the forehead’; Slk. *lysý* ‘bald’; Pl. *lysy* ‘bald, (animals) having a white spot on the forehead’; Slnc. *lási* ‘bald, having a noticeable spot’

S SCr. *lís* (dial.) ‘having a white spot on the forehead, bald’, f. *lísa*, n. *líso*; Bulg. *lis* ‘bald, (animals) having a white spot on the forehead’

The comparison with Skt. *ruśant-* ‘shining, bright’ (Vasmer s.v.) does not seem promising. A connection with → *lysto ‘shin, calf’ (Lubotsky, p.c.) is semantically feasible, cf. → *golěnb vs. → *gòlъ.

***lъdza** f. jā ‘possibility’

ESSJa XVII 108

CS OCS *lъžě* (Cloz., Supr.) adv. ‘(l. *jestъ*) it is possible’ {1}; CS *lъdza* ‘possibility’

E Ru. *l’zja* (obs., dial.) adv. ‘it is possible’

W Cz. *lze* adv. ‘it is possible’; OCz. *lžě* adv. ‘it is possible’; OPl. *ldza* adv. ‘it is possible’; *lza* ‘it is possible’

Originally a Dsg. of *lъdza or *lъga. The *dz results from the progressive palatalization. For the etymology, see → *lъgъkъ.

***lъga** f. ā

ESSJa XVII 64

E Ru. *l’ga* (dial.) ‘facilitation, possibility’; Bel. *l’ha* (dial.) ‘facilitation, possibility’

Ultimately identical with → *lъdza. The *g must have been restored on the basis of forms where the progressive palatalization did not operate, e.g. → *lъgъkъ.

See also: *lъdza; *lъgъkъ; *роlъdza

*льгѣкъ adj. o 'light, easy'

ESSJa XVII 64

- CS OCS *lǫgǫkǫ* (vocalization of the first jer is quite common in this word; Euch. also has two instances of *lek-*)
 E Ru. *lǣgkij*
 W Cz. *lehký*; Slk. *lahký*; Pl. *lekki*
 S SCr. *lāk*; *lāhak* (arch.); *lāgak* (arch., dial.); Čak. *lāk* (Vrg.: obs.), f. *lakà*, n. *lāko*; *lāgak* (Orb.), f. *lāhka*; Sln. *lahāk*, f. *lahkà*; *lāhək*, f. *lāhka*; *lagāk*, f. *lahkà*; *lāgək*, f. *lāhka*; Bulg. *lek* 'light, light-hearted'
 B Lith. *leņgvas* 4 'light'; Latv. *liēgs*² 'gentle'
 PIE **h₁leng*^{(w)h-u-}
 Cogn. Skt. *raghú-* (RV+) 'fast'; Skt. *laghú-* (RV+) 'light, small, easy'; Gk. ἐλαχός 'small, little'; Gk. ἐλαφρός 'light, dexterous, fast, little'; Lat. *levis* 'light, fast, small, scanty'; Go. *leihts* 'light'

The root vocalism **v* is problematic because it can neither continue **ŋ* nor **en*, which is what we find in most languages, nor **e*, as in Lat. *levis*.

See also: *lǫdza; *lǫdga; *polǫdza

*ljati v. (c) 'pour'

ESSJa XVII 80-81

- CS OCS *lijati* (Mar., Supr.), 1sg. *lějǫ*
 W Cz. *líti*, 1sg. *leji*; OCz. *léti*; Pl. *lać*, 1sg. *leję*
 S SCr. *lijati* (arch., Čak.); Sln. *léja*

See → *liti.

*lǫŋti v. 'stick'

ESSJa XVII 92-93

- CS OCS *prilǫŋti* 'stick', 1sg. *prilǫŋǫ* {1}
 E Ru. *l'nut* 'stick, cling'
 W Cz. *lnouti* 'stick'; Pl. *lgnąc* 'stick'; OPl. *lnąc* 'stick'; Slnc. *lnōyc* 'stick'
 BSL. **lip-*
 B Lith. *lipti* 'stick'
 PIE **lip-*
 Cogn. Skt. *limpāti* 'smear'; Gk. λιπαίνω 'oil'

{1} For instance in *i praxǫ prilǫpǫšii* (Zogr., *prilepǫšei* Mar., *prilepǫšii* Ass.) 'the dust that cleaveth to us' (Luke 10:11).

See also: *lǣpǫ; *lǣpiti; *lǣpǫ

*lǫnǣnǫ adj. o 'flaxen, linen'

ESSJa XVII 82-83

- CS CS *lǫnǣnǫ* (Supr.) Asg. f. 'linen'
 W Cz. *lněný* 'flaxen, linen'; Pl. *lniany* 'linen'
 S SCr. *lānen* 'flaxen, linen'; Sln. *lanĕn* 'flaxen, linen'; Bulg. *lėnen* 'flaxen, linen'

Material adjective derived from → *lǫnǫ.

***ІѢПЪ** m. o (b) 'flax'

ESSJa XVII 87-90

- CS CS *lbnъ*
 E Ru. *lěn*, Gsg. *l'na*
 W Cz. *len*, Gsg. *lnu*; Slk. *lan*; Pl. *len*, Gsg. *lnu*; USrb. *len*, *lena*, Gsg. *lenu*
 S SCr. *lăn*; Čak. *lân* (Orb.), Gsg. *lâna*; Sln. *lân*, Gsg. *lâna*, Gsg. *lanû*; Bulg. *len* 'flax, linen'

BSl. **lĭnum*

B Lith. *linaĩ* Npl. 4; Latv. *lini* Npl.
 OPr. *linno*

Cogn. Gk. *λίβον* n. 'flax'; Lat. *lĭnum* n. 'flax, linen'; OIr. *lín* n. 'flax, linen, cloth'; Go. *lein* n. 'canvas'

The widespread vacillation between long and short *i* makes it impossible to establish a common IE proto-form. Ablaut **ei* : **i* can only be assumed if the Celtic and Germanic forms are borrowings from Latin. We are probably dealing with a non-IE culture word. For Balto-Slavic we must reconstruct a barytone neuter *o*-stem. Accentual mobility is secondary.

See also: *ІѢПѢПЪ

***ІѢСТЪ** f. i (c) 'ruse'

ESSJa XVII 97-99

- CS OCS *lbstъ* 'ruse, deceit, error'
 E Ru. *lést* 'flattery'; Ukr. *lést* 'flattery'
 W Cz. *lest* 'cunning, craftiness', Gsg. *lsti*; Slk. *lest* 'cunning, craftiness, ruse', Gsg. *lesti*, Gsg. *lsti*; OPl. *leśc* 'hypocrisy, cunning, lie'; USrb. *leśc* 'cunning', Gsg. *leśće*
 S SCr. *last* (arch., dial.) 'craftiness, cunning, lie'; *lâst* 'use'; Sln. *lâst* 'ruse, cunning', Gsg. *lâsti*; *lâst* 'rest, leisure, easiness', Gsg. *lâsti*

Cogn. Go. *lists* f.(i) 'ruse'

Probably a borrowing from Gothic.

M**māxāti** v. 'wave'

ESSJa XVII 123-126

- CS CS *maxati*, 1sg. *maxajǫ*
 E Ru. *maxát*', 1sg. *mašú*, 3sg. *mášet*
 W Cz. *máchat*; Slk. *máchat* 'swing'; Pl. *machać* 'wave, swing'
 S SCr. *máhati*, 1sg. *māšēm*; Čak. *māhāti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *māšēs*; *māhāt* (Orb.), 1sg. *māšen*; Sln. *máhati*, 1sg. *máham*; Bulg. *máxam*

BSl. **maHs-*

B Lith. *mosúoti*

PIE **meh*₂*s-*

In spite of the fact that the *x* in **maxati* is not the regular reflex of **s* in this position, I assume that we are dealing with a Balto-Slavic enlargement *s* of the root **meh*₂- ‘to beckon’ (cf. Vaillant Gr. III: 332), for which see → **majati*, **mavati*.

***majati**; ***mavati** v. ‘wave, beckon’

ESSJa XVII 133-135, XVIII 21-22

CS OCS *namaiaaxo* (Supr.) 3pl. impf. ‘beckoned’; RuCS *pomavati* ‘give a signal with one’s hand or head’

E Ru. *májat* ‘exhaust, harass’; *mavat* (dial.) ‘wave’; ORu. *majati* ‘beckon, agitate, vibrate’; *pomavati* ‘give a signal with one’s hand or head’

W Cz. *mávati* ‘wave’; Slk. *mávat* ‘wave’; LSrb. *mawas* ‘wave, rock’

S SCr. *mājati* ‘beckon, keep, detain’; Sln. *májati* ‘move about, shake’, 1sg. *májam*, 1sg. *májem*; Bulg. *mája* ‘dawdle, detain’

BSL. **maH-*

B Lith. *móti* ‘beckon’; Latv. *māt* ‘beckon’

PIE **meh*₂-

Cogn. Go. *afmauiþs* ‘tired’; OHG *muoan* ‘alarm, worry’

It is clear that **majati* and **mavati* continue one and the same verb, *j* and *v* being “Hiatustilger”. While *majati* ‘to beckon’ cannot be separated from Lith. *móti*, Latv. *māt* ‘id.’, *majati* ‘to detain, to tire, to exhaust’ has been linked to Germanic forms like OHG *muoan* and Go. *afmauiþs* (cf. Stang 1972: 35). The respective roots in Pokorny are *mā-* (693) and *mō-* (746). If we assume that **majati* indeed continues **meh*₂- as well as **meh*₃- (LIV: 382), we have to settle for semantic arguments. Since it is also possible to argue on semantic grounds that **majati* ultimately continues **meh*₂- ‘to beckon’ only (ESSJa XVII 134), it is to a certain extent a matter of taste which solution one prefers.

See also: **maxati*; **mamiti*; **maniti*; **māmъ*; **manqti*; **matati*; **mara*; **mora*

***mākъ** m. o (a) ‘poppy’

ESSJa XVII 149-151

CS CS *makъ*

E Ru. *mak*, Gsg. *máka*

W Cz. *mák*; Slk. *mak*; Pl. *mak*

S SCr. *māk*, Gsg. *māka*, Gsg. *māka*; Čak. *māk* (Vrg.), Gsg. *makä*; Sln. *māk*, Gsg. *máka*; Bulg. *mak*

B Lith. *aguonà* f. 2; *māguonė* (dial.) f. 1 {1}; Latv. *maguõne* f. {2}

OPr. *moke* (EV)

Cogn. Gk. *μήκων* f., Dor. *μάκων* f.; OHG *māho* m.; OHG *mago* m.; OS *magosāmo* m. ‘poppyseed’; OS *mēcopin* (Königsberg) m.; OSw. *valmoghe* m. {3}; Est. *magun*; Liv. *maggon*

The Germanic forms show *grammatischer Wechsel* as well as an alternation $*\bar{a} : *a$. The vocalism, which could reflect PIE $*eh_1 : *h_1$, does not match the \bar{a} of the Greek and the Slavic forms, which leads us to assume that the vowel alternation arose when at a comparatively late stage the root *māk-* was borrowed into Germanic (cf. Kluge-Seebold: 565). The Lithuanian and Latvian forms are usually considered borrowings from Germanic, whereas OPr. *moke* may have been borrowed from Polish. The Estonian and Livonian forms must be borrowings from Baltic, probably Latvian. It is generally agreed upon that ultimately we are dealing with a word of non-Indo-European (Mediterranean?) origin.

{1} Besides, we find the variants *maguona* and *magūna*. The forms with *m* are restricted to the area around Klaipėda. {2} I have found the variants *magūona*², *magana*, *magane* and *magūne*. The initial *m* of the word for ‘poppy’ was apparently lost in Lithuanian but not in Latvian. The Lithuanian dialect forms with *m-* may be due to the influence of the (Latvian) language of the fishermen of the Curonian Isthmus (cf. Būga RR III: 320). Sabaliauskas (1960: 71-72) suggests dissimilatory loss of *m*, parallel to the loss of *r* in *arotai* : *rarotai*, *akrūtas* : *rakrūtas*, Latv. *ruodere* : *uodere*, *ūķeris* : *ūķeris*. {3} The first element means ‘sleep’, cf. Nw. *vale* (dial.) ‘deep sleep’, Sw. *valbjörn* (dial.) ‘Schlafadorn’.

*māl̥ adj. o (a) ‘small, little’

ESSJa XVII 173-178

CS OCS *mal̥*

E Ru. *mályj*

W Cz. *malý*; Slk. *malý*; Pl. *mały*

S SCr. *māo*; Čak. *mālī* (Vrg.); *māli* (Orb.); Sln. *māli*; Bulg. *mal* (BTR)

PIE $*moh_1-lo-$

Cogn. Gk. $\mu\eta\lambda\omicron\nu$ n. ‘small cattle, goat, sheep’ (Doric also has η); OIr. *míl* ‘(small) ‘animal’; Go. *smals* m. ‘small, insignificant’; OIc. *smali* m. ‘small (live) ‘stock, sheep’

The question is whether **māl̥* can be linked to PIE $*melH-$, as has been advocated by Varbot, for instance (1972: 63). In view of the acute root vowel, I consider this unlikely: we would have to posit a lengthened grade root of which the acute intonation is analogical after forms with full or zero grade. Thus, I prefer to reconstruct a root $*mh_1-$, which in the etymon under discussion is followed by an *l-* suffix (cf. Vaillant Gr. IV, 545, where the root is assumed to be identical with the root of Ru. *májat*’, which I reconstruct as $*meh_2-$). The Germanic forms would have *s* mobile and zero grade of the root. Notice that Pokorny classifies CS *měľt̥k̥* under 1. *mel-*, *melə-* ‘zermalmen, schlagen, mahlen, etc.’, while OCS *mal̥* can be found under *mēlo-*, *smēlo-* ‘kleines Tier’.

See also: $*māl̥k̥$; $*mēľ̥$; $*mēľ̥k̥$

*māl̥k̥ adj. o (a) ‘small’

ESSJa XVII 173-178

E Ru. *málok* (folk.) ‘child, teenager’

S SCr. *mālak* ‘small, little’, f. *mālka*; Sln. *māl̥k* m. ‘small man, dwarf, devil’; Bulg. *māl̥k* ‘small, little’

Derivative of → **māl̥* (cf. Vaillant IV: 545, Varbot 1972: 63-64).

***mamiti; *maniti** v. 'deceive' ESSJa XVII 189-190, 197-199

- CS CS *mamiti* 'deceive'; *maniti* 'deceive'
 E Ru. *manít* 'beckon, attract, lure; (dial.) 'deceive, lie, linger, loiter', 1sg. *manjú*, 3sg. *manít*
 W Cz. *mámiti* 'stun, deceive, seduce'; Slk. *mamit* 'stun, deceive'; Pl. *mamić* 'deceive, seduce, lead astray'; *manić* (dial.) 'deceive, seduce, lead astray'; Slnc. *mańic* 'attract, lure, deceive'; LSrb. *mamiś* 'deceive, enchant'; *maniś* 'deceive, enchant'
 S SCr. *mámiti* 'attract, lure, seduce'; Čak. *māmiti* (Vrg.) 'attract, lure, seduce'; *mániti* (dial.) 'lure'; Sln. *mámiti* 'stun, deceive, seduce, fool', 1sg. *māmim*; Bulg. *mámja* 'deceive, seduce, lead astray'; *mánja* (dial.) 'deceive'
 B Lith. *mōnyti* 'practise sorcery'; Latv. *mānīt* 'mislead, deceive'

According to van Wijk (1934: 73), **mamiti* is the original denominative verb (→ **māmō*), while **maniti* arose through dissimilation, which was probably favoured by the existence of **manōti*. Van Wijk's hypothesis is supported by the fact that there is more or less a geographical distribution. The form **mamiti* occurs in West and South Slavic, whereas **maniti* occurs in East Slavic and in certain West and South Slavic regions. I consider both the Latvian and the Lithuanian forms to be borrowings from Slavic. Endzelīns is inclined to regard Latv. *mānīt* as an inherited word.

***māmъ** m. o (c) 'deceit' ESSJa XVII 190-191

- CS CS *mamō* adj. 'foolish'
 W Cz. *mam* 'deceit, error, (dial.) 'apparition, ghost'; Slk. *mam* 'deceit, mirage'
 S SCr. *mām* 'lure, bait, temptation, charm, frenzy'

Derivative in **-mo-*. See → **majati*, **mavati*.

***manōti** v. 'beckon' ESSJa XVII 200-201

- CS CS *manōti* 'beckon'
 E Ru. *manút* (dial.) 'beckon, lure'; *mánut* (dial.) 'beckon, lure'; ORu. *manuti* 'nod, beckon'
 S SCr. *manúti* 'nod, beckon, wave'

Vaillant (Gr. III: 332) regards **manōti* as the original perfective of → **majati*.

***mara** f. ā 'ghost, apparition' ESSJa XVII 204-207

- CS RuCS *mara* 'ecstasy'
 E Ru. *māra*, *mará* 'apparition, mirage, (dial.) house-sprite, evil spirit'; Bel. *mará*, *māra* 'dream, apparition, nightmare; *māra* (dial.) 'witch, demon'; Ukr. *mará* 'apparition, ghost, witch'
 W Slk. *mara* 'ghost, apparition'; Pl. *mara* 'dream, illusion, ghost, (dial.) nightly spirit that attacks people and horses in their sleep'; Slnc. *mara* 'dream, apparition, ghost'; USrb. *mara* 'goddess of illness and death'

S Bulg. *Mára* ‘name of a fairy-tale monster’

PIE **meh₂-reh₂*

There are basically two views on the origin of **mara*. According to a hypothesis put forward by Franck (1904: 129, against Solmsen 1908: 580-582) and advocated by a.o. Schuster-Šewc (HEW 885ff), **mara* continues PIE **mōrā* and differs from **mora* only in having lengthened grade. The alternative etymology, which can at least be traced to Zubatý 1894, connects **mara* with the root *ma-* < **meh₂-* of **majati*, **mamō*, etc. Though at a first glance it seems unsatisfactory to separate **mara* from **mora* – in Polish, for instance, *mara* and *mora* are synonymous –, it is awkward that in most Slavic languages both apophonic variants would occur side by side. Perhaps we have to start from **mara* ‘illusion, apparition’ beside **mora* ‘female demon that tortures people with nightmares’, which later became confused. This scenario may also offer an explanation for the fact that the accentual paradigm of both words is so hard to determine. We would expect **màra* (a) – in view of Hirt’s law – beside **morà* (b) or (c). Nevertheless we find forms like Ru. *móra* and *mará* (beside *mára*). I think that in this respect, too, we have to reckon with analogy.

See also: **maxati*; **majati*; **mavati*; **mamiti*; **maniti*; **māmъ*; **manṭi*; **matati*; **mora*

***màslo** n. o (a) ‘oil, butter’

ESSJa XVII 230-232

CS OCS *maslo* ‘oil, butter’

E Ru. *máslo* ‘butter, oil’

W Cz. *máslo* ‘butter’; Slk. *maslo* ‘butter’; Pl. *masło* ‘butter’

S SCr. *màslo* ‘butter, oil’; Čak. *màslo* (Vrg.) ‘butter, cream’; *màslo* (Orb.) ‘butter’; Sln. *máslo* ‘lard, butter’; Bulg. *màslo* ‘butter, oil, fat’

If **màzati* is cognate with Lith. *mėžti* ‘manure, muck out’, Latv. *mēzt* ‘muck out, sweep’, **màslo* < **màz-slo* < PBSl. **mož-slo* closely matches Lith. *mėšlas* 1/3, Latv. *mēšls* ‘manure’ < PEBl. **mēž-sla* < PBSl. **mež-slo*. Here I must add that Slavic **maslo* is sometimes derived from **maz-tlo*.

See also: **màstъ*; **màzati*; **māzъ*; **māzъ*

***māstъ** f. i (c) ‘ointment’

ESSJa XVII 30-31

CS OCS *mastъ* ‘chrism, ointment’

E Ru. *mast* ‘colour of wool or feathers’

W Cz. *mast* ‘ointment’; Slk. *mast* ‘ointment, fat, lard’; Pl. *maśc* ‘ointment’

S SCr. *māst* ‘fat, lard, grease, ointment, colour’; Čak. *mās* (Orb.) ‘fat, grease’; Gsg. *māsti*; Sln. *māst* ‘fat, lard’; Gsg. *maští*; Bulg. *māsti* Npl. ‘animal fat’

Derivative in *-*tb* of → **màzati*.

***matati** v.

ESSJa XVII 235-236

W Cz. *mátati* (dial.) ‘frighten’; Slk. *mátat* ‘haunt, frighten’; OPl. *matać* ‘deceive, swindle’; Slnc. *măýtăc* ‘swindle, lie’

S SCr. *matati* (Stulli, dial.) ‘bait, attract’

The root must be an enlargement of **meh₂*- in → **majati*, **mavati*.

***materъstvo** n. o ‘motherhood’

ESSJa XVII 254

- CS OCS *materъstva* (Ps. Sin.) Gsg. ‘old age’
 W Cz. *materstvo* (Jg.); *mateřstvo* (Kott); Slk. *materstvo*
 S SCr. *materstvo* (Stulli); Sln. *máterstvo*

Derivative of → **màti*.

***màti** f. r (a) ‘mother’

ESSJa XVII 254-259

- CS OCS *mati*, Gsg. *matere*
 E Ru. *mat’*, Gsg. *máteri*; ORu. *mati*, Gsg. *matere*
 W OCz. *máti*, Gsg. *mateře*; OPl. *mać*, Gsg. *macierze*
 S SCr. *màti*, Gsg. *măterē*; Čak. *màti* (Vrg.), Gsg. *măterē*; *mât* (Novi, Orb.), Gsg. *măteri*; Sln. *máti*, Gsg. *mátere*
 BSL. **máŕter-*
 B Lith. *mótė* (OLith, dial.) f.(r) 1 ‘wife, mother’ {1}; Latv. *māte* f.(ē) ‘mother’ (the accentuation *māte*, as found in IEW, is incorrect)
 OPr. *mūti* (Ench.); *mothe* (EV); *muti* (Gr.)
 PIE **meh₂ter-*
 Cogn. Skt. *mātár-* f.; Gk. μήτηρ f.; Lat. *māter* f.; OHG *muoter* f.; OIr. *máthir* f.; Alb. *mótrë* f. ‘sister’

The root stress in this word may be due to Hirt’s law, cf. Skt. *mātár-*, but there is a distinct possibility that it is old, cf. Gk. μήτηρ.

{1} The oldest form of the genitive is *móteres*, which occurs, for instance, in DP and in dialects. The most important Standard Lithuanian derivatives are *móteris* ‘wife, mother’ and *mótina* ‘mother’. The form *motė*, which frequently occurs in the older scholarly literature, does not exist.

See also: **matorъ*; **materъ*; **matorъnъ*; **materъnъ*; **materъstvo*

***matorъ**; ***materъ** adj. o

ESSJa XVII 244-249

- CS CS *matorъ* ‘old’
 E Ru. *matěryj* ‘experienced, full-grown’; *materój* ‘full-grown’
 S SCr. *mător* ‘old, elderly’; Sln. *matór* ‘old’

PIE **meh₂tor-*

While the ESSJa states that **matorъ* is older than **materъ*, the same dictionary considers the *o*-grade of the suffix in **matorъnъ* as well as the meaning of this formation (in comparison with *materъnъ* ‘motherly’) to be late. The point is, however, that **matorъnъ* and **materъnъ* may not be cognate with **màti* at all. Lat. *mātūrus* has been connected with *mānus* ‘good’, OIr. *maith* ‘id.’ (Pokorny 693, Ernout–Meillet s.v., Schrijver 1991: 143). In Trubačev’s dictionary, the connection with the latter form is dismissed. Instead, **matorъ* is considered cognate with both **màti* and *mātūrus* (with references to Trubačev 1959: 32 and – incorrectly – Meillet

Ét. II: 407, where merely the connection with *māne* and *mātūrus* is considered). Yet another etymology was proposed by Vaillant, who tried to link the Slavic etymon to words meaning 'big', such as OPr. *muis* 'bigger' (1961: 189). In my opinion, Lat. *mātūrus* has the best chance of being cognate with **matorъ* etc. (pace Vasmer s.v. *matěryj*). The connection with **māti* cannot be disproved on formal grounds but there are sufficient semantic reasons for keeping this word apart. Although ultimately we may be dealing with the same root, it is unlikely that **matorъ* is a recent derivative of **māti*.

Cogn. Lat. *mātūrus* adj. 'ripe, mature, premature'; Lat. *mānus* adj. 'good'

See also: *materъnъ; *materъstvo; *mati; *matorъnъ

***matorъnъ; *materъnъ** adj. o

ESSJa XVII 251-253

E Ru. *matěryj* (dial.) 'big, strong'

W OCz. *matornyj* 'mature, serious'

S Sln. *matórən* 'elderly, old'; Bulg. *matórnyj* 'old, senile'

Derivative in *-bnъ of → **matorъ, *materъ*.

***màzati** v. (a) 'smear, anoint'

ESSJa XVIII 23-25

CS OCS *mazati* 'anoint', 1sg. *mažo*

E Ru. *mázat* 'smear, oil, grease', 1sg. *mážu*, 3sg. *mážet*

W Cz. *mazati* 'smear, oil, defile'; Slk. *mazat* 'smear'; Pl. *mazac* 'smear'

S SCr. *màzati* 'smear, grease, paint', 1sg. *màžem*; Čak. *màzati* (Vrg.) 'soil, besmirch', 2sg. *màžeš*; *màzat* (Orb.) 'smear, grease', 1sg. *màžen*; Sln. *mázati* 'smear, grease, paint', 1sg. *mážem*

BSL. **mož-*

B Lith. *mėžti* 'manure, muck out'; Latv. *mēzt* 'muck out, sweep'; *muōzēt* 'gobble, pound, fool, harass, beat'

For the time being I have grouped together Slavic **màzati* and Lith. *mėžti* 'manure, muck out', Latv. *mēzt* 'muck out, sweep' and *muōzēt* 'gobble, pound, etc.' (cf. Oštir 1912: 214, Fraenkel I: 444). It seems to me that the Baltic words can be linked semantically to **màzati* 'smear' if we start from a meaning 'smear, wipe, sweep' (for the semantic development attested in *muōzēt*, cf. Ru. *smázat* 'strike a blow', MoDu. *afsmeren* (dial.) 'give s.o. a beating'). Another possibility would be to connect **màzati* with Gk. μάσσω (aor. pass. μαγήναι) 'knead' (provided that the root is not μακ- instead of μαγ-, which, according to Chantraine (670), cannot be determined), Arm. *macanim* 'thicken, stick together' (Meillet 1916: 122) and OHG *mahhōn*, OS *makōn*, etc. 'make'. This would entail a reconstruction **meh₂ǵ-* (**mag-* in IEW), which would preclude a connection with *mėžti*, Latv. *mēzt*.

See also: *màslo; *māstь; *māzь; *māzъ

***māzь; *māzъ** f. i; m. o (c) 'grease, ointment'

ESSJa XVIII 33-34

CS CS *mazь* f.(i) 'unction'

- E Ru. *maz* f.(i) ‘ointment’; *maz* (dial.) m. ‘lover’
 W Cz. *maz* m. ‘ointment, grease, glue’; Pl. *maż* f.(i) ‘grease, oil, tar’; USrb. *maz* (dial.) m. ‘ointment, grease’; LSrb. *maz* f.(i) ‘starch, grease, oil, tar’
 S SCR. *māz* (arch.) m. ‘ointment, grease’; Sln. *māz* f.(i) ‘lubrication, grease, ointment’; Gsg. *mazī*

Deverbativ nouns derived from → **māzati*.

***měčь**; ***mbčь** m. jo (b) ‘sword’

ESSJa XVIII 38-42

- CS OCS *mečь*
 E Ru. *mečʹ*, Gsg. *mečá*
 W Cz. *meč*; Slk. *meč*; Pl. *miecz*; USrb. *mječ*; *miecz* (Matthaei 1721)
 S SCR. *măč*, Gsg. *măča*; Čak. *măč* (Vrg.), Gsg. *mačā*; Sln. *měč*; Bulg. *meč*

Cogn. Go. *meki* m.; OS *māki* m.

This etymon has often been considered a borrowing from Germanic, but the Slavic short vowel does not match the long vowel of the Germanic forms. The vacillation between **e* and **b* may be attributed to the raising of pretonic **e* in the vicinity of a palatalized consonant (see Kortlandt 1984-1985), but this development seems to have occurred prior to Dybo’s law and there is no particular reason to regard **mečь* as an old oxytone noun. The ESSJa advocates a connection with OIr. *mecc-*, referring to Odincov 1985.

***medjā** f. jā (b) ‘border, boundary, balk’

ESSJa XVIII 45-47

- CS OCS *meždaxъ* (Supr.) Lpl. ‘alleys’
 E Ru. *mežá* ‘boundary, boundary-strip’, Asg. *mežú*; Ukr. *mežá* ‘boundary, boundary-strip’, Asg. *mežú*
 W Cz. *meze* ‘balk, border’; Slk. *medza* ‘balk, border’; Pl. *miedza* ‘balk, border’; USrb. *mjeza* ‘balk, border’
 S SCR. *měďa* ‘boundary, border’, Asg. *měđu*; *mejä* (dial.) ‘boundary, boundary-strip’, Asg. *mejü*; Čak. *mejä* (Vrg.) ‘boundary, border’, Asg. *měju*; Sln. *mėja* ‘boundary, fence, shrub(s), grove’; Bulg. *meždá* ‘balk’

BSL. **med-j-o/a?*

B Lith. *mėdžias* m.(io) ‘forest’; Latv. *mežs* m.(io) ‘wood’
 OPr. *median* ‘wood’

PIE **med^h-ieh₂*

Cogn. Skt. *mádhyā-* (RV+) adj. ‘middle, located in the middle’; Lat. *medius* adj. ‘id.’;
 Go. *midjis* adj. ‘middle’

See also: **medju*

***medju** prep. (b) ‘between, among’

ESSJa XVIII 51-52

- CS OCS *meždu* (Supr., Ass., Boj.); *meždju* (Zogr., Mar., Sav., Cloz.)
 E Ru. *mežú* (dial.); *měžu* (dial.)
 W Cz. *mezi* prep.; *mezu* (Kott)

S SCr. *měđu*; Sln. *měju*; Bulg. *meždú*

Originally a dual of → **medjà*.

***medojěďbъ** m. o ‘honey-eater’

ESSJa XVIII 55

E Ru. *medoéd* (dial.) ‘honey-lover’

W Cz. *medojed* (Jg.) ‘honey-lover’

S SCr. *mědojěd* (dial.) ‘death’s head moth’; Sln. *medojed* ‘honey-eater, honey-lover’; Gsg. *medojěda*

For morphological as well as semantic reasons the noun **medojedbъ* must be a more recent formation than → **medvěďbъ*.

See also: **medvâ*; **medvěďbъ*; **měďbъ*

***medvâ** f. â

ESSJa XVIII 62

E Ru. *medvá* (dial.) ‘hydromel, sweet must’

S SCr. *mědva* (dial.) ‘kind of white grapes’

Derivative in *-â based on the *u*-stem **med^hu-* (→ **měďbъ*).

Cogn. Skt. *mádhu-* n. ‘sweet drink, anything sweet, honey’; Gk. μέθυ n. ‘wine’; OHG *metu* m. ‘mead’; OIr. *mid* n./m. ‘mead’

See also: **medvěďbъ*; **medojěďbъ*; **měďbъ*

***medvěďbъ** m. jo (a) ‘bear’

ESSJa XVIII 55, 65-67

CS OCS *medvěďbъ* (PsDim.) m.(jo) {1}; CS *medvěďbъ* (Par., Hval.) m.(jo) {2}

E Ru. *medvéd’* m.(jo)

W Cz. *medvěd* m.(o); Slk. *medved’* m.(o); Pl. *miedźwiedz* (arch., dial.) m.(jo) {3}

S SCr. *mědvjed* m.(o); Čak. *medviđ* (Vrg.) m.(o); *medviđ* (Novi) m.(o); *medvěđ* (Orb.) m.(o); Sln. *médvęd* m.(o), Gsg. *medvěda*

PIE **med^hu-h₁ed-*

Cogn. Skt. *madhvád-* m. ‘honey-eater’

{1} The Psalter of Dimitri belongs to the corpus that was discovered at St. Catherine’s monastery in 1975. Strictly speaking it might be classified as a Middle Bulgarian text (Birnbäum and Schaecken 1997: 143). {2} The attestations occur in a Croatian MS from the 14th century and a Serbian MS from the 15th century, respectively. {3} In West Slavic, we find secondary forms with *n-*, e.g. (O)Pl. *niedźwiedz*, OCz. *nedvěđ*.

See also: **medvâ*; **měďbъ*

***měďbъ** m. u (c) ‘honey, mead’

ESSJa XVIII 68-72

CS OCS *medbъ* ‘honey’, Gsg. *meda*, Gsg. *medu*

E Ru. *měď* ‘honey, mead’, Gsg. *měda*, Lsg. *medú*, Npl. *medý*

W Cz. *med* ‘honey, mead’; Slk. *med* ‘honey, mead’; Pl. *miód* ‘honey, mead’, Gsg. *miodu*; USrb. *měď* ‘honey’, Gsg. *mjedu*, Gsg. *mjeda*

S SCr. *mēd* ‘honey’, Gsg. *mēda*; Čak. *mēd* (Vrg.) ‘honey’, Gsg. *mēda*; *mēd* (Novi) ‘honey’, Gsg. *mēda*; *m’ēt* (Orb.) ‘honey’, Gsg. *mēda*; Sln. *mēd* ‘honey’, Gsg. *mēda*, Gsg. *medū*; Bulg. *med* ‘honey’

BSl. **medú-*

B Lith. *medūs* m.(u) 4 ‘honey’; Latv. *mēdus* m.(u) ‘honey’

OPr. *meddo* (EV) ‘honey’

PIE **med^hu-*

Cogn. Skt. *mádhu-* n. ‘sweet drink, anything sweet, honey’; Gk. μέθυ n. ‘wine’; OHG *metu* m. ‘mead’; OIr. *mid* n./m. ‘mead’

See also: *medvǣdъ; *medojǣdъ; *medva

***melkò** n. o (b) ‘milk’

ESSJa XVIII 85-88

CS OCS *mlěko*

E Ru. *molokó*

W Cz. *mléko*; Slk. *mlieko*; Pl. *mleko*; USrb. *mloko*

S SCr. *mlijěko*; Čak. *mlikò* (Vrg.); *mlikò* (Novi); *ml’ekò* (Orb.); Sln. *mlékò*; Bulg. *mljáko*

Since the PIE root for ‘to milk’ is **h₂melǵ-* (→ **melzti*), this etymon is often regarded as a borrowing from Germanic.

***mèl̥ti** v. (b) ‘grind, mill’

ESSJa XVIII 90-91

CS OCS *mlěti*, 1sg. *meljo*

E Ru. *molót*, 1sg. *meljú*, 3sg. *méljet*

W Cz. *mlíti*; Slk. *mliet*; Pl. *mleć*, 1sg. *mielej*; Slnc. *mlūoc*; USrb. *mlěć*

S SCr. *mljěti*, 1sg. *měljēm*; Čak. *mlíti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *měleš*; *mlèt* (Orb.) ‘grind, mill, babble, chatter’, 1sg. *měljen*; Sln. *mlěti*, 1sg. *měljem*; Bulg. *mělja*

BSl. **melʔ-*

B Lith. *mál̥ti*; Latv. *maļt*

PIE **melH-*

Cogn. Skt. *mṛṇāti*, *mṛṇāti* ‘crush, grind’; Hitt. *malla-* ‘grind’; Lat. *molere* ‘grind’; Go. *malan* ‘grind’; OHG *malan* ‘grind, mill’; OIr. *meilid* ‘grind’; Arm. *malem* ‘crush’

See also: *mēľь; *mǣľь; *mlinъ; *moltiti; *moltъ; *moľь

***melzti** v. ‘milk’

ESSJa XVIII 95-96

CS RuCS *mlěsti* ‘bring down, dislodge’, 1sg. *ml̥z̥u* {1}

W Slk. *ml̥z̥t* ‘suck’

S SCr. *mūsti*, 1sg. *múzēm*; Čak. *mūsti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *mūzeš*; *mūs* (Orb.), 1sg. *mūzēn*; Sln. *młęsti*, 1sg. *mółzem*; Bulg. *mälzjá* (dial.), 1sg. *ml̥z̥u*

BSl. **melʔz-*

B Lith. *mél̥zti*, 3sg. *mél̥zia*; *mil̥zti*, 3sg. *mél̥zia*

PIE **h₂melǵ-*

Cogn. Gk. ἀμέλω; Lat. *mulgēre*; OE *melcan*

{1} Also RuCS *melbziti* ‘milk’. Furthermore, cf. Ru. *molóživo* ‘colostrum, beestings’.

***mene** prn. GAsg. ‘me’

ESSJa XVIII 96-97

CS OCS *mene* GAsg.

E ORu. *menē* GAsg.; Ukr. *mené* GAsg.

S SCr. *méne* GDAsg.; *měne* (dial.) GDAsg.; Bulg. *méne* Asg.

B Lith. *manęs* Gsg.

PIE **h₁menē*

Cogn. Av. *mana* Gsg.

See also: *mьně

***meriti** v. ‘die’

ESSJa XVIII 101-102

CS OCS *mrěti* (Supr., Ass.) ‘die’, 1sg. *mьrǫ*

E Ru. *mriet* ‘die (in large numbers)’, 1sg. *mru*, 3sg. *mrět*

W Cz. *mříti* ‘die, wither’; Slk. *mriet* ‘die, wither, thaw’; Pl. *mrzec* ‘die’

S SCr. *mrijèti* ‘die’, 1sg. *mrêm*; Sln. *mrěti* ‘die, be miserable’, 1sg. *mr(j)èm*, 1sg. *mřjem*, 1sg. *mřjem*

BSL. **mer-*; **mir-*

B Lith. *miřti* ‘die’; Latv. *miřt* ‘die’

PIE **mer-*

Cogn. Skt. *mriyáte* ‘die’; Lat. *morior* ‘die’

See also: *mertī; *морь; *mьртвь; *сьмьрть

***mèrža** f. jā (a) ‘net’

ESSJa XVIII 102-103

CS OCS *mrěža* ‘net’

E Ru. *merěža* (dial.) ‘fishing-net’; *merěža* (dial.) ‘fishing-net’

W Cz. *mříže* ‘grating’; Slk. *mreža* ‘grating’; OPl. *mrzeža* ‘a type of net’; Sln. *mřježā* ‘small fishing-net’

S SCr. *mrěža* ‘net’; Čak. *mriža* (Vrg.) ‘net’; *mriža* (Novi) ‘net’; *mrěža* (Orb.) ‘lace, net, netting of a sieve’; Sln. *mrěža* ‘net, grating’; Bulg. *mrěža* ‘net’

BSL. **mer?g(i)a?*

B Lith. *mářška* ‘sheet, table-cloth, drag-net’; Latv. *mařga* ‘railing, gallery’; *męřga* ‘railing, gallery’.

***mesti** v. (c) ‘throw, sweep’

ESSJa XVIII 105-108

CS CS *mesti* ‘throw, sweep’, 1sg. *metǫ*

E Ru. *mestí* ‘sweep’, 1sg. *metú*, 3sg. *metět*

W Cz. *městi* ‘sweep, (Jg., Kott) throw, sweep’; Pl. *mieść* ‘sweep, throw’

S SCr. *mĕsti* ‘sweep’, 1sg. *mĕtĕm*; Čak. *mĕsti* (Vrg.) ‘sweep’, 2sg. *metĕš*; *mĕs* (Orb.) ‘sweep’, 1sg. *metĕn*; Sln. *mĕsti* ‘sweep, throw’, 1sg. *mĕtem*; Bulg. *metá* ‘sweep’

BSl. **met-*

B Lith. *mĕsti* ‘throw’, 3sg. *mĕta*; Latv. *mest* ‘throw’, 3sg. *mĕt*

OPr. *pomests* (Ench.) ptc. perf. pass. ‘submissive’; *pomettĭwingi* (Ench.) Npl. m. adj. ‘obedient’

According to LIV (442), verbs with the root **met-* ‘abmessen’ (cf. Lith. *mĕtai* ‘year’) are limited to Balto-Slavic. The meaning of these verbs is supposed to have developed through an intermediate step ‘aim’. Considering the similarity between the movements ‘sweep’ and ‘mow’, I would rather advocate a connection with Lat. *metō* ‘mow, harvest’ and W *medi* ‘reap’.

See also: **metàti*; **motati*

***metàti** v. (b) ‘throw’

ESSJa XVIII 112-115

CS OCS *metati*, 1sg. *meto*, 1sg. *mešto*, 1sg. *metajo*

E Ru. *metát*, 1sg. *mečú*, 3sg. *mĕčet*

W Cz. *metati*; Slk. *metať*; Pl. *miotac*

S SCr. *mĕtati* ‘place, put, throw’, 1sg. *mĕcĕm*; Sln. *mĕtati*, 1sg. *mĕcĕm*

See → **mesti*.

***mĕdb** f. i (a) ‘copper’

ESSJa XVIII 144-146

CS OCS *mĕdb* ‘copper’

E Ru. *med* ‘copper’; Ukr. *mid* ‘copper’

W Cz. *mĕd* ‘copper’; Slk. *med* ‘copper’; Pl. *miedz* ‘copper’; USrb. *mjedz* ‘ore’ {1}; LSrb. *mĕž* ‘copper’

S SCr. *mĕd* ‘copper, brass’; *mĕd* m.(o) ‘copper, brass’; Sln. *mĕd* ‘ore, metal (esp. copper and alloys of copper)’; Gsg. *mĕdĭ*; *mĕd* m.(o) ‘ore, metal (esp. copper and alloys of copper)’; Bulg. *med* ‘copper’

{1} According to Schuster-Šewc (HEW II: 920), *mĕdz* ‘copper’ is of Czech origin.

***mĕxъ** m. o (c) ‘bag (made from skin)’

ESSJa XVIII 156-159, 220-221

CS OCS *mĕxъ* ‘wine-skin’

E Ru. *mex* ‘fur, (dial.) bag’, Gsg. *mĕxa*, Npl. *mexá* (the plural noun *mexí* means ‘fur bag, wine-skin’); *mešók* ‘bag’, Gsg. *mešká*

W Cz. *mĕch* ‘bag, net’; *mĕšek* ‘purse, small bag’, Gsg. *mešká*; Slk. *mech* ‘bag’; Pl. *miech* ‘bag, bellows’; Sln. *mĭjex* ‘bag, bellows’; USrb. *mĕch* ‘bag, bellows’

S SCr. *mĭjeh* ‘bellows, wine-skin’, Gsg. *mĭjeha*; Čak. *mĭh* (Vrg.) ‘bellows, wine-skin’, Gsg. *mĭha*; *mĭh* (Novi) ‘bellows, wine-skin’; *mĭĕh* (Vrg.) ‘bellows, bag-pipes’, Lsg. *mĭĕhe*; Sln. *mĕh* ‘fur, wine-skin, bellows, leather bag’, Gsg. *mĕha*, Gsg. *mĕhû*; *mĕšak* ‘small bellows’; Bulg. *mjax* ‘bellows, bag made from skin’; *mex* ‘bellows, bag made from skin’

- BSl. **moišós*
 B Lith. *maišas* 4 ‘bag, sack’ {1}; Latv. *māiss* ‘bag’
 OPr. *moasis* (EV) ‘bellows’

- PIE **moiso-*
 Cogn. Skt. *meśá-* m. ‘ram’; OIc. *meiss* m. ‘basket’; OHG *meisa* m. ‘pannier’

I feel that we should not attach too much importance to De Vries’s observation that with respect to Germanic it is unwarranted to start from an original meaning ‘Tragkorb aus Fell’ (1962: 382). In fact, the same would apply to the Baltic forms. I consider the semantic similarity between, for instance, Lith. *maišas* ‘ein aus Schnüren gestricktes Heunetz’ (note that the meaning ‘net’ is also attested in Slavic), OIc. *heymeiss* ‘hay-sack’ and MoE *maiz* (dial.) ‘large, light hay-basket’ sufficient evidence for the etymological identity of the Germanic and the Balto-Slavic forms. MoIr. *moais* ‘bag, hamper’, *moaiseog* ‘wicker basket’ is doubtless a borrowing from Germanic.

{1} Friedrich Kurschat’s dictionary (1883) mentions the more specific meaning ‘ein aus Schnüren gestricktes Heunetz’.

See also: *mēšькь

- ***mēľь; *mēľькь** adj. o (a) ‘small, little’ ESSJa XVIII 168-170

- CS CS *měľькь* ‘small, thin’
 E Ru. *melyj* (dial.) ‘small, little’; *měľkij* ‘small, little’
 W Cz. *měľý* (Kott) ‘small, little’; *měľký* ‘small, shallow’; Pl. *mięły* (obs.) ‘small, little’; *miałki* ‘small, refined’; Plb. *ímolě* Npl. ‘small, little’
 S SCr. *měok* ‘small, shallow’
 PIE *(s)*meh₁-lo-*
 Cogn. Gk. *μηλον* n. ‘small cattle, goat, sheep’ (Doric also has *η*); OIr. *míl* ‘(small) animal’; Go. *smals* m. ‘small, insignificant’; OIc. *smali* m. ‘small (live) stock, sheep’

See → **màľь*.

- ***mēľь; *mēľь** f. i; m. o ESSJa XVIII 162-168

- CS OCS *měľa* (Supr.) Gsg. m.(o) ‘lime’
 E Ru. *mel’* f.(i) ‘sand-bank, shoal’; *mel* m. ‘chalk’
 W Cz. *měľ* (SSJČ) f.(i) ‘spit’; *měľ* (Jg.) f.(i) ‘pebble, dust, shoal’; *měľ* (Kott) f.(i) ‘loose earth, powder, pebble’; OCz. *měľ* m.(i) ‘shoal, sand-bank, fodder’; Pl. *miał, miel* (dial.) m. ‘dust, chalk, muddy water, fine powder’; OPl. *miel* f.(i) ‘sand-bank’; *miał* m. ‘finely ground substance’
 S SCr. *měľj* (Čak.), Gsg. *měľja* m.(jo) ‘fine sand’; *měľ* (Čak.) m. ‘dust, powder’; Gsg. *měľa*; Sln. *měľj* m.(jo) ‘sand-bank’
 BSl. *(s)*měľ-i-*
 B Lith. *smėľis* m.(io) 2 ‘sand’ (also Standard Lithuanian is *smėľys* 4); Latv. *smėľis* m.(io) ‘fine sand’ {1}

PIE **mēlH-i-*

Cogn. OIc. *melr* (dial.) m. ‘sand-bank’; Sw. *mjåg* (dial.) m. ‘sand-hill, high riverbank’; Sw. *smula* m. ‘chunk’; Nw. *smola* (dial.) ‘smash’; Nw. *smol* (dial.) m. ‘dust’ {2}

The Baltic and Slavic forms are formally compatible with the root **melH-* ‘to grind’, the Baltic word showing *s* mobile. The lengthened grade vowel points to an old root noun. Semantically, this etymology does not seem implausible to me (pace Stang (l.c.), who, by the way, does not mention any Baltic forms).

{1} Judging by the Lithuanian evidence, the zero grade of the root was originally acute: *smiltis* (LKŽ) 1/3/4 ‘fine sand, gritty earth’. The only non-ambiguous Latvian forms in ME are *smilts* and *smiltis* ‘sand’, however. The most plausible option is that the Latvian falling tone is secondary (cf. Derksen 1996: 147). {2} The Scandinavian forms with *sm-* could derive from the root *mēlH-* ‘grind’ preceded by *s* mobile. OIc. *melr* and Sw. *mjåg* (dial.) < **mjalg* are mentioned by Stang in connection with Ru. *mel’*, etc. (1972: 36). According to Stang, these words point to **melha-/melga-*. Therefore the possible etymological relationship with the Slavic forms is limited to the root.

See also: **melti*; **měľb*; **měľb*; **mľinb*; **moltiti*; **mōľtb*; **moľb*

***měna** f. ā ‘change, exchange’

ESSJa XVIII 171-172

CS OCS *měna* (Supr.) ‘exchange’

E Ru. *měna* ‘exchange’ {1}

W Cz. *měna* ‘exchange, change’; Pl. *miana* ‘change’

S SCr. *mijěna* ‘exchange, change, new moon, metamorphosis’; Čak. *mīnā* (Vrg.) ‘phase of the moon’; Sln. *měna* ‘exchange, change, phase of the moon’

BSl. **moina?*

B Lith. *maīnas* m. ‘exchange’; Latv. *maīna* f. ‘exchange’

PIE **moi-n-*

Cogn. Skt. *mēnā-* ‘concubine’; OHG *mein* adj. ‘false, deceitful’

{1} AP b/c in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 135).

See also: **měniti* I

***měniti** I v. (c) ‘change, exchange’

ESSJa XVIII 173-174

CS OCS *měnitъ* (Supr.) ‘changes’

E Ru. *menít’* (dial.) ‘change, exchange’

W Cz. *měniti* ‘exchange, change’; Slk. *meniť sa* ‘exchange, change’; Pl. *mienić się* ‘change colour’

S SCr. *mijěniti* ‘change’; Sln. *meñiti* ‘change, exchange’, 1sg. *mením*; Bulg. *menjá* ‘change, exchange’

BSl. **moin-ei/i-*

B Lith. *mainýti* ‘exchange’, 3sg. *maīno*; Latv. *maīnīt* ‘exchange’

Derivative of → **měna*. The root is **moi-*, cf. Skt. *máyate* ‘exchange, change’.

***měniti II** v. ‘think’

ESSJa XVIII 174-175

- CS OCS *měniti* ‘suppose, think, reckon, mention’, 1sg. *měnjǫ*
 E ORu. *měniti* ‘think, suppose, mention, mean, symbolize’
 W Cz. *míniti* ‘think, suppose, intend’; Slk. *mienit’* ‘intend, plan’; Pl. *mienić* ‘think, suppose’
 S SCr. *mijeniti* ‘think, say, remember’; Sln. *měniti* ‘think, suppose’, 1sg. *měnim*
 Cogn. OHG *meinen* ‘mean’

This formation may be identical with → **měniti* I. The original meaning may have been ‘consequently present one’s meaning’ (Kluge-Seebold: 551).

***měra** f. ā (a) ‘measure’

ESSJa XVIII 178-181

- CS OCS *měra* ‘measure’
 E Ru. *méra* ‘measure’
 W Cz. *míra* ‘size, measure, limit’; Slk. *miera* ‘size, measure, limit’; Pl. *miara* ‘measure’; USrb. *měra* ‘measure’
 S SCr. *mjěra* ‘measure, weight’; Čak. *mīra* (Vrg.) ‘measure, 100 liters’; *měra* (Orb.) ‘measure, size’; Sln. *měra* ‘measure, size’

An r-derivative of **meh*₁- ‘measure’, cf. Gk. μῆτις f. ‘plan, ruse’, OE *mæð* f. ‘measure’.

See also: **měriti*

***měriti** v. (a) ‘measure’

ESSJa XVIII 183-185

- CS OCS *měriti* ‘measure’, 1sg. *měrijǫ*
 E Ru. *mérit’* ‘measure’
 W Cz. *měriti* ‘measure, judge’; *mířiti* ‘aim at, try’; Slk. *mierit’* ‘aim at, compare’; Pl. *mierzyc’* ‘measure, judge, aim at’
 S SCr. *mjěriti* ‘measure, weigh’, 1sg. *mjěrim*; Čak. *mīriti* (Vrg.) ‘measure, weigh’, 2sg. *mīriš*; *měriti* (Orb.) ‘measure, weigh’, 2sg. *měriš*; Sln. *měriti* ‘measure, compare, aim at’, 1sg. *měrim*; Bulg. *mérja* ‘measure, weigh, aim at’

Cogn. Skt. *mímāti* ‘measure, assign’; Lat. *mētīri* ‘measure’

Denominative verb. See → **měra*.

***měšęcb** m. jo (a) ‘moon, month’

ESSJa XVIII 191-195

- CS OCS *měšęcb* ‘moon, month’
 E Ru. *měšjac* ‘month’
 W Cz. *měšíc* ‘month, moon’; Slk. *mesiac* ‘month’; Pl. *miesiąc* ‘month’
 S SCr. *mjěšęc* ‘month, moon’, Gsg. *mjěšęca*; Čak. *mīšęc* (Vrg., Novi) ‘month, moon’, Gsg. *mīšęca*; *měšec* (Novi) ‘moon, month’, Gsg. *měšęca*; Sln. *měšec* ‘month, moon’, Gsg. *měšęca*, Gsg. *měšęca*; Bulg. *měšec* ‘month, moon’

BSl. **meʃn-(e)s-*

- B Lith. *mėnuo* m.(s) 1 ‘moon, month’, Gsg. *mėnesio*; Latv. *mēness* m.(i) ‘moon’
 OPr. *menig* (EV) ‘moon’

PIE **meh₁n-(e)s-*

Cogn. Skt. *mās* m. ‘moon, month’; Gk. μείς (Ion.) ‘moon’, Gsg. μηνός; Lat. *mēnsis* ‘month’; Go. *mena* f. ‘moon’; OHG *māno* f. ‘moon’

PSl. **měšęcb* apparently reflects **meh₁n-s-(e)n-ko-*

***měšiti** v. (b) ‘mix, knead’

ESSJa XVIII 119-201

CS OCS *měsimŏ* (Supr.) ptc. pres. pass. ‘being mixed’

E Ru. *mesít* ‘knead’, 1sg. *mešú*, 3sg. *mesít*

W Cz. *mísiti* ‘mix, confuse’; Slk. *miesit* ‘knead’; Pl. *miesić* ‘knead’

S SCr. *mijēsiti* ‘knead’, 1sg. *mījesim*; Čak. *mīsiti* (Vrg.) ‘knead’, 2sg. *mīsīš*; *m’esīt* (Orb.) ‘knead (dough)’, 1sg. *m’ēsin*; Sln. *měsiti* ‘mix, knead’, 1sg. *měsim*; Bulg. *mėsja* ‘mix, knead’

BSl. **moiš-ei/i-*

B Lith. *miėšti* ‘dilute’; *maišyti* ‘mix’; Latv. *māisīt* ‘mix’

PIE **moik-*

Cogn. Skt. *mīśráyati* ‘mix’; Lat. *miscēre* ‘mix’

***město** n. o (a) ‘place’

ESSJa XVIII 203-206

CS OCS *město* ‘place’

E Ru. *město* ‘place’

W Cz. *město* ‘town’; *místo* ‘place, space’; Slk. *miesto* ‘place, town’; Pl. *miasto* ‘town, city’; USrb. *město* ‘city, place’

S SCr. *mjěsto* ‘place, town, city’; Čak. *mīsto* (Vrg.) ‘place, town, city’; *město* (Novi) ‘place, town, city’; *město* (Orb.) ‘place, spot, room, space’; Sln. *město* ‘place, town, city, square’; Bulg. *mjásto* ‘place’

As observed by Fraenkel (I: 460), the problem with the connection with Lith. *mīsti* ‘feed, live, stay’ is that the acute tone of the root of **město* is left unexplained. The same holds for the etymology advocating a *t*-enlargement of Skt. *may-* ‘fix, build’, *mitá-* ‘built, established’. To my knowledge, there are no satisfactory alternatives.

***měšьkъ** m. o ‘bag (made from skin)’

ESSJa XVIII 156-159, 220-221

E Ru. *mešók* ‘bag’, Gsg. *mešká*

W Cz. *míšek* ‘purse, small bag’

S Sln. *měšak* ‘small bellows’

Diminutive of → **měxŏ*.

***mězga** f. ā (b) ‘sap’

ESSJa XVIII 23-25

E Ru. *mezgá* (dial.) ‘sap-wood, pulp, membrane, remnants of meat on the inside of a hide’; ORu. *mězga* ‘sap, sap-wood, resin’; *mjazga* ‘sap-wood, resin’

- W Cz. *míza* ‘sap’; *mizga* (Mor. dial.) ‘sap’; OCz. *miezha* ‘sap’; *miezka* ‘sap’; Slk. *miazga* ‘sap’; Pl. *miazga* ‘mass, mash, pulp’; Sln. *mjǎuzgǎ* ‘sap’; USrb. *měza* ‘sap’; LSrb. *mězga* ‘sap’
 S SCr. *mězga* ‘sap’; *mězgra* ‘sap’; Sln. *mězga* ‘sap’; Bulg. *mǎzga* ‘sap’

Obviously, some forms have been influenced semantically and/or formally by → **męzdra*. The original meaning of the etymon seems to be ‘sap of (trees)’ rather than ‘sap-wood’. The connection with MoHG *Maische*, MHG *meisch*, OE *māx-wyrt* ‘mash (in a brewery)’ is not unattractive, but becomes less plausible if the Germanic word derives from OHG *miscen*, OE *miscian* ‘mix’. The ESSJa suggests that the root is **h₃meiǵh-* (→ *mižati* II, etc.) and adduces Sln. *mǎžėti* ‘trickle’, *měžiti se* ‘begin to contain sap’. The seemingly obvious semantic link may be secondary, however.

***mę** prn. Asg. ‘me’

ESSJa XVIII 232-233

- CS OCS *mę*
 E Ru. *mja*
 W Cz. *mě*; Pl. *mię*
 S SCr. *me*
 BSl. **mem*
 OPr. *mien* (EV)
 PIE **h₁me-m*
 Cogn. Skt. *mām*; Av. *mąm* (< **h₁mē-om*)

***męknōti** v. (a) ‘become soft’

ESSJa XVIII 241-242

- CS CS *męknōti*
 E Ru. *mjǎknut’*
 W Cz. *měknouti*; Slk. *mǎknút* ‘make soft, become soft’; Pl. *mięknąć*
 S SCr. *měknuti*; Sln. *měkniti*, 1sg. *měknem*
 BSl. **min?k-*
 B Lith. *minkyti* ‘knead’; Latv. *mīcīt* ‘knead, tread’
 PIE **m(e)nHk-*
 Cogn. OE *mengan* ‘mix’

LIV (438) acknowledges the Balto-Slavic evidence for the presence of a laryngeal in the root, but prefers to reconstruct **menk-* on the basis of Gk. *μάσσω* ‘knead’. The latter verb does not necessarily contain a nasal, however (→ **mǎzati*).

See also: **mękъkъ*; **mōčiti*; **mōka*

***mękъkъ** adj. o (c) ‘soft’

ESSJa XVIII 248-251

- CS OCS *mękъkъ*
 E Ru. *mjǎgkij*; *mjǎgok*; ORu. *mjakъkyi*
 W Cz. *měkký*; Slk. *mǎkký*; Pl. *miękki*

S SCr. *měk*, f. *mekä*; Čak. *měk* (Vrg.), f. *mekä*, n. *měko*; *měkak* (Orb.) ‘soft, softhearted’, f. *měhka*, n. *měhko*; Sln. *mehāk* ‘soft, softhearted’, f. *mehkà*; *měhāk* ‘soft, softhearted’, f. *měhka*; *mekāk* ‘soft, softhearted’, f. *mehkà*; *měkāk* ‘soft, softhearted’, f. *měhka*; Bulg. *mek* ‘soft, tender’

BSL. **minʔk-*

B Lith. *minkštas* ‘soft’; Latv. *mīksts* ‘soft’

PIE **mnHk-*

Cogn. OE *mengan* ‘mix’

See also: **męknōti*; **mōčiti*; **mōka*

***męso** n. o (c) ‘flesh, meat’

ESSJa XIX 7-11

CS OCS *męso*

E Ru. *mjaso*

W Cz. *maso*; Slk. *mäso*; Pl. *mięso*

S SCr. *męso*, Npl. *męsa*; Čak. *męso* (Vrg.); *męso* (Novi), Npl. *męsa*; *m’ęso* (Orbanić); Sln. *mesō*; Bulg. *mesō* ‘flesh, meat, (pl.) body’

BSL. **męns*; **męnsāʔ*

B Lith. *męsà* f. 4; *męsà* (S. Žem.) f.; Latv. *miesa* f.

OPr. *menso* (EV); *męsā* (Ench.)

PIE **męms-om*

Cogn. Skt. *māṁśá-* (RV+) n.; Skt. *māḥ* (RV) n.; Go. *mimz* n.

See Derksen 1998 for a discussion of the Baltic evidence. Lith. *męsà* is sometimes regarded as a borrowing from Slavic, but in my opinion this assumption is unjustified.

***męsti** v. ‘stir, trouble’

ESSJa XIX 12-13

CS OCS *męsti* ‘trouble, disturb’, 1sg. *męto*

E Ru. *mjastí* (obs.) ‘trouble, disturb’, 1sg. *mjatú*, 3sg. *mjatět*

W Cz. *másti* ‘confuse’, 1sg. *matu*; OCz. *miesti* ‘confuse’, 1sg. *matu*; Slk. *miast* ‘confuse’

S SCr. *męsti* ‘disturb, mix, stir’, 1sg. *mętēm*; Sln. *męsti* ‘disturb, churn’, 1sg. *mętēm*

BSL. **ment-*

B Lith. *męsti* ‘mix’, 3sg. *meñčia*

PIE **mentH-*

Cogn. Skt. *mánthati* ‘whirl, rub’

See also: **mōtiti*

***męti** v. ‘compress, crumple, scutch’

ESSJa XIX 18-19

CS CS *męti* ‘compress’, 1sg. *męno*

E Ru. *mjat* ‘work up, knead, crumple, scutch’, 1sg. *mnu*, 3sg. *mnět*

- W OCz. *mieti* ‘rub, knead’, 1sg. *mnu*; Slk. *mät* ‘rub, knead’; Pl. *miąc* ‘rumple, crumple, (dial.) scutch’, 1sg. *mne*
 S Sln. *měti* ‘rub, mince’, 1sg. *mánem*; Bulg. *mána* ‘scutch’
 BSL. **min*?-
 B Lith. *minti* ‘trample, scutch’; Latv. *mīt* ‘trample, scutch’

It is doubtful whether there are any cognates outside Balto-Slavic (cf. LIV: 438).

***meždra; *meždro** f. ā; n. o ‘inner side (of a hide)’ ESSJa XIX 7-11

- CS CS *meždra* f. ‘inner side of a rind’
 E Ru. *meždrá* f. ‘inner side (of a hide)’; Ukr. *mizdró* n. ‘inner side (of a hide)’; *mizdrjá* f. ‘inner side (of a hide)’
 W Cz. *mázdra* f. ‘pellicle, film, membrane’; Slk. *máz(d)ra* (dial.) f. ‘membrane of an egg’; Pl. *mięzdra* (dial.) f. ‘membrane’; OPl. *miązdra* f. ‘membrane’; *mięzdra* f. ‘membrane’
 S SCr. *mězdra* f. ‘pellicle on flesh, membrane, inner side (of a hide)’; Sln. *mězdra* f. ‘inner side (of a hide), skin on milk, sap-wood’; *mězdro* n. ‘sap-wood, bast’; *mězda* f. ‘membrane’

PIE **mēms-ro-*
 Cogn. Lat. *membrum* n. ‘limb’

Possibly a derivative of → **mēso*.

***migati** v. ‘blink’ ESSJa XIX 26-28

- E Ru. *migát* ‘wink, blink, twinkle’
 W Cz. *míhati* ‘shimmer, loom’; Slk. *migát* ‘move quickly, blink’
 S SCr. *mĭgati* ‘blink, twinkle, move’; Čak. *mĭgati* (Vrg.) ‘wink’; *mĭgati* ‘blink, twinkle, move’; *mĭga* (Orb.) 3sg. ‘flash (of lightning)’; Sln. *migati* ‘blink, wink, twinkle, swarm (with)’, 1sg. *migam*; Bulg. *migam* ‘blink, wink, flicker’
 BSL. **meig-*
 B Lith. *miegóti* ‘sleep’
 OPr. *meicte* ‘sleep’

PIE **h₃meigh-*

See also: **mĭgъ*; **mьglà*; **mьgà*; **mĭglъ*; **mьgnqti*; **mьža*; **mьžati* I; **mьžati* II; **mьžiti* I; **mьžiti* II

***mĭgъ** m. o (c) ‘blink, moment’ ESSJa XIX 30-31

- E Ru. *mĭg* ‘blink, moment’, Gsg. *mĭga*
 W Cz. *mih* ‘wink, twinkle, moment’; Slk. *mih* ‘wink, twinkle, moment’
 S SCr. *mĭg* ‘moment, gesture’, Gsg. *mĭga*; Sln. *mĭg* ‘moment, wink’; Bulg. *mĭg* ‘moment’
 BSL. **meigos*
 B Lith. *miėgas* 4 ‘sleep’; Latv. *miegs* ‘sleep’

PIE **h₃meigh^h*-

Cogn. Skt. *meghá-* (RV) m. 'cloud, gloomy weather'

For a discussion about the relationship between this root and the root of **h₃migh^h-leh₂* see → **mvglà*.

***mijati** v. 'pass'

ESSJa XIX 31

W Cz. *míjeti* 'pass'; OCz. *mījěti* 'pass'; Pl. *mijać* 'pass'; Slnc. *mījāc* 'pass'

PIE **mei-*

Cogn. Lat. *meāre* 'go, pass'

See also: **mimo*; **minovati*; **minoti*

***mikati** v.

ESSJa XIX 31-32

E Ru. *míkat*' (dial.) 'stuff (a bag)'

W Cz. *míkati* 'move abruptly'; Slk. *mikat* 'move abruptly, wave'; USrb. *mikać* 'blink'; LSrb. *mikaš* 'blink, wink, twinkle'

S Sln. *míkati* 'make jerky movements, pluck, bite, hackle', 1sg. *míkam*, 1sg. *míčem*

PIE **meik-*

Cogn. Lat. *micāre* 'tremble, move quickly, sparkle'

See also: **мѣѣта*; **мѣѣтъ*

***mīlъ** adj. o (a) 'sweet, dear'

ESSJa XIX 46-48

CS OCS *mīlъ* 'pitiable'

E Ru. *mīlyj* 'sweet, dear'

W Cz. *mily* 'sweet, dear'; Slk. *mily* 'sweet, dear'; Pl. *mily* 'sweet, dear'

S SCr. *mīo* 'sweet, dear, sympathetic'; Čak. *mīlī* (Vrg.) 'dear'; *mīo* 'sweet, dear, sympathetic'; *mīlī* (Vrg.) 'dear'; *mīli* (Orb.) 'dear' (only in religious contexts); Sln. *mīl* 'sympathetic, kind', f. *mīla*; Bulg. *mil* 'sweet, dear'

BSl. **m(e)iřlos*

B Lith. *mīelas* 3; *mīlas* (Žem.) 'nice, sweet, dear'; Latv. *mīļš* 'nice, sweet, dear'

OPr. *mījls* 'sweet, dear'

PIE **m(e)iH-lo-*

Cogn. Lat. *mītis* 'soft (of taste)'

See also: **mīrъ*

***mimo** adv./prep. 'by, past'

ESSJa XIX 50

CS OCS *mimo* adv. 'by, past'

E Ru. *mīmo* 'by, past'

W Cz. *mimo* prep. 'by, past, besides, despite'; *mīmo* 'by, past, besides, despite'; Slk. *mimo* 'besides, notwithstanding'; Pl. *mimo* 'despite, past by'

S SCr. *mīmo* ‘by, past, besides, through’; Sln. *mīmo* ‘by, past, besides’; *mimō* ‘by, past, besides’

Derivative of → **mijati*.

***minovati** v. ‘pass’

ESSJa XIX 51-52

CS OCS *minovati* (Supr.), 1sg. *minuju*

E Ru. *minovát’*, 1sg. *minúju*

W Cz. *minovati*; Pl. *minować*

S SCr. *minòvati*; Sln. *minováti*, 1sg. *minújem*; Bulg. *minávam*

See → **minōti*.

***minōti** v. ‘pass’

ESSJa XIX 52-53

CS OCS *minōti*, 1sg. *minō*

E Ru. *minút’*

W Cz. *minouti*; Slk. *minút*; Pl. *minąc*

S SCr. *minuti*; Sln. *miníti*, 1sg. *minem*

Verb in *-*nōti*, based on the same root as → **mijati*.

See also: **mimo*; **minovati*

***mīr̥** m. o (c) ‘peace, world’

ESSJa XIX 55-57

CS OCS *mīr̥*

E Ru. *mir*

W Cz. *mír*; Slk. *mier* ‘peace’; Pl. *mir* ‘peace’

S SCr. *mīr*, Gsg. *mīra*; Čak. *mīr* (Vrg., Orb.) ‘peace’; Gsg. *mīra*; Sln. *mir* ‘peace’; Gsg. *mīra*, Gsg. *mirû*; Bulg. *mir* ‘peace, (obs.) world’

BSl. **mei̯r̥ós*

B Lith. *mieras* (OLith.) ‘peace’; Latv. *miērs* ‘peace’

PIE **meiH-ro-*

Cogn. Lat. *mītis* ‘soft (of taste)’

See also: **mīr̥*

***mitě** adv. ‘in turn, alternately’

ESSJa XIX 59

CS OCS *mitě* (Supr.) ‘in turn, alternately’

S SCr. *míce* (dial.) ‘in turn, alternately’; Bulg. *mitó* (dial.) ‘irregularly’

PIE **meith₂-*

Cogn. Skt. *mithás* (RV+) adv. ‘mutually, alternately’; Lat. *mūtūus* adj. ‘mutual’; Go. *misso* adv. ‘alternately’

See also: **mitus̥*; **mitva*; **mьstь*; **mьsta*

***mitusъ** adv. ‘opposite one another, criss-cross’ ESSJa XIX 60-61

- CS RuCS *mitusъ* ‘opposite one another, criss-cross’
 E ORu. *mitusъ* ‘opposite one another, criss-cross’; Ukr. *mýtus* ‘with their heads in opposite directions’; *mytús* (dial.) ‘inopportunately’
 W Pl. *mitus* (dial.) ‘across, criss-cross, the other way round’
 PIE **meith₂-u-*
 Cogn. Skt. *mithuná-* adj. ‘paired’; Av. *miθβana-* adj. ‘paired’; Av. *miθβara-* adj. ‘paired’; Lat. *mūtuus* adj. ‘mutual’

See also: *mitě; *mitva; *mъstъ; *mъsta

***mitva** f. ā ESSJa XIX 61

- W Cz. *mitvy* (dial.) adv. ‘in turn, alternately’

See → **mitusъ*.

***mižati; *mъžěti** v. ESSJa XIX 63; XXI 179

- S SCr. *mižati* ‘urinate’ {1}; Sln. *māžěti* ‘flow, trickle, drip’, 1sg. *māžím; mžěti* ‘flow, trickle, drip’, 1sg. *mžím*

BSl. **m(e)íž-*

- B Lith. *mỹžti* ‘urinate’; Latv. *mīzt* ‘urinate’

PIE **h₃meiǵh-*

- Cogn. Gk. ὀμείχω ‘urinate’

{1} In view of **mъžati* ‘drizzle’, etc., I do not agree with the ESSJa that Bel. *mižác* ‘drizzle’ doubtless belongs here.

***mlinъ** m. o ‘pancake’ ESSJa XIX 67-68

- CS CS *mlinъ* ‘placenta’; RuCS *mlinъ* ‘pancake’
 E Ru. *blin* ‘pancake’; ORu. *mlinъ* ‘pancake’; Ukr. *mlin* ‘pancake’
 W LSrb. *mlin* (dial.) ‘pancake’
 S Bulg. *mlin* ‘pastry’

Derivative in *-*inъ*. For the root, see → **melti*.

***moča; *močъ** f. jā; m. jo ‘wetness, puddle, urine’ ESSJa XIX 69-71

- CS CS *moča* f.(jā) ‘puddle’
 E Ru. *močá* f.(jā) ‘urine’
 W Cz. *moč* f.(i)/m.(jo) ‘urine (Jg., Kott) wetness, dampness’; Slk. *moč* m.(jo) ‘urine’; Pl. *mocz* m.(jo) ‘urine’; USrb. *moč* m.(jo) ‘urine’
 S SCr. *móča* f.(jā) ‘piece of bread dipped in meat sauce’; Čak. *mōča* (Vrg.) f.(jā) ‘wet period’; *mōča* (Orb.) f.(jā) ‘wet, rainy time; period with enough rain (for the crops)’; Sln. *móča* f.(jā) ‘wetness, lasting rain, urine’

Derivatives in *-*ja* and *-*jb*, respectively, of the root **mok-* (→ **mokrъ*), cf. Lith. *mokė* (dial.) ‘big quagmire’, *mokas* (dial.) ‘thick mud’.

See also: *močiti; mokrъ

***močiti** v. (b) 'wet'

ESSJa XIX 144

- CS OCS *močiti* (Zogr., Mar., Supr.) 'wet'
 E Ru. *močit'* 'urinate, wet, moisten', 1sg. *močú*, 3sg. *móčit*
 W Cz. *močiti* 'urinate, wet, moisten'; Slk. *močit'* 'urinate, wet, moisten'; Pl. *moczyć* 'wet, moisten'
 S SCr. *mòčiti* 'wet, soak', 1sg. *mòčim*; Čak. *močiti* (Vrg.) 'wet, soak', 2sg. *mòčiš*; *močīt* (Orb.) 'wet, soak', 3sg. *mòči*; Sln. *móčiti* 'wet, moisten, be moist, urinate', 1sg. *móčim*; *močiti* 'urinate'

See → *mokrъ.

***modla** f. ā 'idol'

ESSJa XIX 85-86

- W Cz. *modla* 'idol'; *modla* (Kott) 'sculpture, statue, temple'; OCz. *modla* 'idol'; Slk. *modla* 'idol'; Pl. *modła* 'sacrifice (obs.), prayer, idol'
 BSl. **molda?*
 B Lith. *maldà* 'prayer'
 OPr. *maddla* 'prayer'

See → *modliti.

***modliti** v. 'pray' (b)

ESSJa XIX 87-92

- CS OCS *moliti* 'ask, pray', 1sg. *moljō*
 E Ru. *molít'* 'pray, beseech', 1sg. *moljú*, 3sg. *mólit*
 W Cz. *modliti se* 'pray'; Slk. *modlit' sa* 'pray'; Pl. *modlić* 'pray'
 S SCr. *mòliti* 'pray, ask', 1sg. *mòlīm*; Čak. *moliti* (Vrg.) 'pray, ask', 2sg. *mòliš*; *molīt* (Orb.) 'pray, beg', 1sg. *mòlin*; Sln. *modliti* (OSln., dial.) 'pray'; *mòliti* 'pray (for), wish', 1sg. *mòlim*
 BSl. **mold-*
 B Lith. *mełsti* 'ask, implore, pray', 3sg. *mełdžia*; *maldyti* 'implore'
 PIE **moldh-*
 Cogn. Hitt. *māldi-/mald-* 'recite, make a vow'; OS *meldōn* 'report, tell'

Various explanations have been presented for the apparent metathesis, like the presence of an *l*-suffix or reasons of taboo. Apart from the fact that the development must have preceded the general metathesis of liquids the matter remains unclear.

See also: *modla

***modrъ** adj. o 'blue'

ESSJa XIX, 101-104

- CS CS *modrō*
 W Cz. *modrý*; Slk. *modrý*; Pl. *modry*; Sln. *mødrí*; USrb. *módry*
 S SCr. *mòdar*, f. *mòdra*, n. *mòdro*; *mòdar* (Croat.), f. *mòdra*, n. *mòdro*; Sln. *mòdər*, f. *módra*

Machek (1949) has connected **modrō* with Hitt. *antara-* ‘blue’, which requires that the latter etymon has *an* < **am-*. In view of Winter’s law, we would have to reconstruct **mod^hro-* for Slavic and a zero grade **md^hro-* for Hittite.

**mogti* v. (b) ‘be able’

ESSJa XIX 107-111

- CS OCS *mošti*, 1sg. *mogō*, 3sg. *možetō*
 E Ru. *moč’*, 1sg. *mogú*, 3sg. *móžet*
 W Cz. *moci*, 1sg. *mohu*, 3sg. *múže*; Slk. *môct’*, 1sg. *môžem*; Pl. *móc*, 1sg. *mogę*, 3sg. *może*
 S SCr. *môci*, 1sg. *mògu*, 3sg. *môžē*; Čak. *môci* (Vrg.), 1sg. *mògu*, 3sg. *môže*; mǝć (Orb.), 1sg. *mǝren*; Sln. *móci* ‘be able, must’, 1sg. *mǝrem*, 1sg. *mórem*; Bulg. *móga* ‘be able, be allowed’
 BSl. **mog-*
 B Lith. *magėti* ‘please, interest’, 3sg. *māga* (usually in impersonal constructions)
 OPr. *massi* ‘be able {1}’
 PIE **mogh-*
 Cogn. Skt. *maghá-* m. ‘power, wealth, gift’; Go. *mag* 3sg. ‘has power, is able’; OIc. *mega* ‘be able’, 3sg. *má*; OHG *magān*, *mugān* ‘be able’

The generally accepted apophonic relationship between Slavic **mogti*, Lith. *magėti*, etc., on the one hand and *měgti* ‘love, like’, Latv. *mēgt* ‘be able, be accustomed to’ on the other cannot be maintained if one adheres to the view that the lengthened grade yielded a Balto-Slavic circumflex. The acute of the latter verbs may be due to Winter’s law (**h₁meǵ-* if cognate with Gk. περιμεκτέω ‘be aggrieved, chafe’). The *o*-vocalism of *magėti* and the Slavic and the Germanic forms points to an old perfect. For the semantic development ‘to be able’ → ‘to like’, cf. Go. *mag* vs. MoHG *mögen*. As Pokorný remarks himself, his reconstruction **mag^{h-}*, **māg^{h-}* is entirely based on the presumed connection of the aforementioned forms with Gk. μηχανή ‘means, instrument’, μῆχος ‘instrument, apparatus’, Dor. μᾶχάνᾱ, μᾶχος, which was rejected by Endzelins (1931: 183), Fraenkel (1951: 168), Stang (1972: 37) a.o. for various reasons (cf. ESSJa X: 110) but nevertheless reappears in Lehmann 1986 (239).

{1} The scholarly community is divided with respect to the question whether *massi* is a borrowing from Slavic (viz. Polish *może*) or a genuine Prussian form (see Mažiulis PKEŽ III: 114 for the relevant literature).

**mōgtь* f. i (c) ‘power’

ESSJa XIX 111-113

- CS OCS *moštъ* (Euch., Supr.) ‘power’
 E Ru. *moč’* ‘power, might’
 W Cz. *moc* ‘ability, influence, power’; Slk. *moc* ‘ability, influence, power’; Pl. *moc* ‘power, strength’
 S SCr. *môc* ‘power’; Čak. *m^uôc* ‘power, strength’; Sln. *mǝč* ‘power, strength’, Gsg. *mǝčī*; Bulg. *mošt* ‘power, strength’
 PIE **mogh-ti-*

Cogn. Go. *mahts* f. ‘power, might’

See also: *mogti

***moǰь** prn. ‘my’

ESSJa XIX 126-128

CS OCS *moi*, f. *moja*, n. *moje*

E Ru. *moj*, f. *mojá*, n. *moě*

W Cz. *můj*; Slk. *môj*; Pl. *mój*

S SCr. *môj*, f. *môja*, n. *môje*; Čak. *môj*, f. *mojà*, n. *mojě*; m^u*ôj*, f. *mojà*, n. *mojě*;
Sln. *mój*; Bulg. *moj*

BSL. **mojos*

B OPr. *mais*, f. *maia*

PIE **h₁mo-io-*

Cogn. Lat. *meus*

***mokrъ** adj. o (b?) ‘wet, damp’

ESSJa XIX 144

CS OCS *mokrъi* (Supr.) ‘wet’

E Ru. *mókryj* ‘wet, damp’; *mokr* ‘wet, damp’, f. *mokrá*, n. *mókro* {1}

W Cz. *mokry* ‘wet, damp’; Slk. *mokry* ‘wet, damp’; Pl. *mokry* ‘wet, damp’

S SCr. *môkar* ‘wet, damp’, f. *môkra*; *mòkar* ‘wet, damp’, f. *mòkra*; Čak. *môkar*
(Vrg.) ‘wet, damp’, f. *mokrà*, n. *mòkro*; *môkar* (Orb.) ‘wet’, f. *mòkra*, n. *mòkro*;
Sln. *mòkər* ‘wet, damp’, f. *mókra*; Bulg. *mókär* ‘wet’

BSL. **mok-*

B Lith. *makōnė* f.(ė) ‘mud’

Cogn. Arm. *mōr* ‘mud’

{1} AP (b) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 136).

See also: *moča; *močь; *močiti

***moldenьсь** m. jo ‘infant, child, youth’

ESSJa XIX 151-153

CS OCS *mladenьсь* ‘infant’; *mladěньсь* ‘infant’; *mladъньсь* ‘infant’ {1}

E Ru. *mladėnec* ‘infant’

W Cz. *mládenec* (arch., dial.) ‘child, youth, adolescent’; Slk. *mládenec* ‘youth,
unmarried young man’; Pl. *młodzieniec* ‘youth’

S SCr. *mlādjenac* ‘infant, child, youth’; Sln. *mladėnac* ‘youth’

BSL. **maldenikos*

OPr. *maldenikis* ‘child’

Derivative of → **mōldъ*.

{1} The variant *mladъньсь* may have adopted the first jer from *mladъnъ*, which in OCS is limited to Supr.

See also: *moldъnъ

***mōldъ** adj. o (c) ‘young’ ESSJa XIX 174-179

- CS OCS *mladъ*
 E Ru. *molodój*
 W Cz. *mladý*; Slk. *mladý*; Pl. *młody*
 S SCr. *mlād*, f. *mlāda*; Čak. *mlād* (Vrg.), f. *mlāđä*, n. *mlādo*; *mlāt* (Orb.), f. *mlāđä*, f. *mlāda*, n. *mlādo*; Sln. *mlād*, f. *mlāda*; Bulg. *mlad*

BSL. **molʔdós*
 OPr. *malđai* Npl. ‘boy’

PIE **mld-u-*

Cogn. Skt. *mṛdú-* ‘soft, tender’; Lat. *mollis* ‘soft’

See also: **moldenъсъ*; **moldънъ*

***moldънъ** adj. o ‘young’ ESSJa XIX 184-185

- CS OCS *mladъnъ* (Supr.) ‘children’s’
 W OCz. *mladny* ‘young’; USrb. *mlódný* ‘young, fresh, blooming’
 S SCr. *mlādan* (RSA) ‘young, youthful’; *mlādan* (RSA) ‘young, youthful’; Sln. *mlādъn* ‘soft’, f. *mlādna*

Derivative of → **mōldъ*.

See also: **moldenъсъ*

***moļъ** m. jo ‘moth’ ESSJa XIX 203-205

- CS CS *molъ*; *moļъ*
 E Ru. *molʹ* f.(i)
 W Cz. *mol* m.(o) ‘moth, scab’; Slk. *mol*; Pl. *mól*, Gsg. *mola*
 S SCr. *mōlj*, Gsg. *mōlja*; Sln. *mōlj*, Gsg. *mólja*

PIE **molH-(i)o-*

Cogn. Go. *malo* n.; OIc. *mōlr* n.

See also: **melti*; **měľъ*; **měľъ*; **mlinъ*; **moltiti*; **moltъ*; **moļъ*

***moltiti** v. (b) ‘beat, thresh’ ESSJa XIX 192-194

- CS OCS ‘beat, thresh’; CS *mlatiti* ‘beat’
 E Ru. *molótítʹ* ‘thresh’, 1sg. *moločú*, 3sg. *molótít*
 W Cz. *mlátiti* ‘thresh, beat’; Slk. *mlátitʹ* ‘thresh, beat’; Pl. *mlócić* ‘thresh’; USrb. *mlócić* ‘thresh’
 S SCr. *mlátiti* ‘thresh, beat’, 1sg. *mlātīm*; Čak. *mlātiti* (Vrg.) ‘thresh, beat’, 2sg. *mlātīš*; *mlātīt* (Orb.) ‘thresh, beat’, 3sg. *mlāti*; Sln. *mlátiti* ‘thresh’, 1sg. *mlátim*; Bulg. *mlátja* ‘beat’

See → **moltъ*.

***moltъ** m. o (b/c) ‘hammer’ ESSJa XIX 197-199

- CS OCS *mlatъ* (Supr.) ‘hammer’

- E Ru. *mólot* ‘hammer’
 W Cz. *mlat* ‘hammer’; Slk. *mlat* ‘(big) hammer’; Pl. *mlot* ‘hammer’; *mlót* (obs.) ‘hammer’; Slnc. *mlùḡt* ‘sledgehammer’; USrb. *mlót* ‘hammer’
 S SCr. *mlât* ‘big hammer, flail’, Gsg. *mlâta*; *mlât* (Pos.) ‘hammer(?)’; Čak. *mlât* (Vrg.) ‘big hammer, flail’, Gsg. *mlâta*; *mlât* (Novi) ‘big hammer, flail’, Gsg. *mlâta*; Sln. *mlât* ‘hammer’
 PIE **molH-to-*
 Cogn. Lat. *malleus* m. ‘hammer’

Traces of AP (b) are sparse in this etymon. Nikolaev (1989: 54, 89) mentions *mlót*, Gsg. *mlóta* in a archaic dialect of Upper Sorbian, *mlât*, Isg. *mlátom* in a grammar of a Posavian variant of Serbo-Croatian, and a number of end-stressed forms from Belorussian and NW Russian dialects. Since there are no neuter variants (cf. → **kóltṵ*, where the evidence for AP (b) is much stronger), we might posit an original masculine *o*-stem, which become mobile as a result of Illič-Svityč’s law. In that case the accentuation of *moltiti* could simply reflect the original state of affairs.

See also: **melti*; **mělb*; **mělb̃*; **mliñb̃*; **moltiti*; **moľb̃*

***monisto** n. o ‘necklace’

ESSJa XIX 209-211

- CS OCS *monisto* (Euch.) ‘necklace’
 E Ru. *monísto* ‘necklace’
 S SCr. *monisto* (eccl.) ‘necklace’; Bulg. *manísto* ‘necklace, beads’
 PIE **mon(H)-i-*
 Cogn. Skt. *mañi-* (RV+) n. ‘necklace’; Lat. *monile* n. ‘necklace’; OHG *menni* n. ‘necklace’

***morà** f. ā ‘nightly spirit, nightmare’

ESSJa XIX 211-214

- CS SerbCS *mora* ‘sorceress’
 E Ru. *móra* (dial.) m./f. ‘mythological female creature, ghost, darkness’ {1}; Ukr. *móra* (dial.) ‘nightmare, house-spirit’
 W Cz. *můra* ‘nightmare, mythological creature that suffocates people in their sleep, moth’ {2}; Slk. *mora*, *mura* ‘demonical mythological creature that torments people in their sleep’; Pl. *mora* (dial.) ‘nightly spirit that attacks people and horses in their sleep, nightly apparition, nightmare’; Slnc. *miùorā* (dial.) ‘nightmare, its female personification’
 S SCr. *móra* ‘nightmare’ {3}; Čak. *Morā* (Orb.) ‘[personified] nightmare, female phantom (appears early in the morning, walks with the sound of a cat tripping)’; Sln. *móra* ‘nightmare, owl’ {4}; Bulg. *morá* ‘nightmare’
 PIE **mor-eh₂*
 Cogn. OIc. *mara* f. ‘nightmare’; OE *mare* f. ‘nightmare’; OIr. *mor-rígain* f. ‘goddess of the battlefield, female demon’ (see LEIA M-64/65).

The image of a (female) ghost who induces nightmares is apparently common to Slavic, Germanic and, possibly, Celtic. The root of this creature’s name is unclear.

Pokorny assumes a connection with *mer- ‘aufreiben, reiben; packen, rauben’, which is not entirely convincing. For a discussion of the relationship between *mora and *mara, see s.v. *mara.

{1} The noun also occurs in *kikimora* m./f. ‘house-sprite that spins at night’. {2} In dialects, we find a variant *mora*. {3} The folkloristic belief that the *mora* is an evil female creature (witch, sorceress) is mentioned in Karadžić’s dictionary (cf. the form from Orb.). {4} There is a variant *môra* ‘nightmare, house-spirit, creature that at night suffocates people in their sleep and harms animals’ (*Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* II: 238).

See also: *maxati; *majati; *mavati; *mamiti; *maniti; *mâmъ; *manṓti; *mara; *matati

***mõre** n. jo (c) ‘sea’ ESSJa XIX 227-230

- CS OCS *morje* n.(jo)
 E Ru. *móre* n.(jo), Npl. *morjá*
 W Cz. *moře* n.(jo); Slk. *more* n.(jo); Pl. *morze* n.(jo)
 S SCr. *mõre* n.(jo); Čak. (Vrg.) *mõre* n.(jo); (Orb.) *m^uõre* n.(jo); Sln. *morjê* n.(jo); *mõrje* n.(jo); Bulg. *moré* n.(nt)
 BSl. **morjo*; **morja?*
 B Lith. *mārios* Npl. f. ‘sea, isthmus’
 PIE **mor-i-*
 Cogn. Lat. *mare* n.; OIr. *muir* n.; Go. *marei* f.

***mõrkъ** m. o (c) ‘darkness’ ESSJa XIX 234-236

- CS OCS *mrakъ* ‘darkness’
 E Ru. *mõrok* (dial.) ‘darkness, cloud, fog’
 W Cz. *mrak* ‘darkness, twilight, cloud’; Slk. *mrak* ‘big (dark) cloud, twilight, crowd’; Pl. *mrok* ‘twilight, shadow, darkness’
 S SCr. *mrâk* ‘darkness’, Gsg. *mrâka*; Čak. *mrâk* (Vrg.) ‘darkness’, Gsg. *mrâka*; *mrâk* (Novi) ‘darkness’; Sln. *mrâk* ‘twilight’, Gsg. *mrâka*, Gsg. *mrakû*; Bulg. *mrak* ‘darkness’
 BSl. **mor?k-*
 B Lith. *mérkti* ‘close one’s eyes’
 PIE **morHk-ó-*
 Cogn. Go. *maurgins* m. ‘morning’
 See also: *mъrkṓti; *mъrkъ I; *mъrkъ II

***morky** f. û ESSJa XIX 234

- E Ukr. *morokvá* (dial.) f.(â) ‘quagmire, swamp’
 B Lith. *mėrkti* ‘wet, moisten (flax, linen)’; Latv. *mērt* ‘wet, moisten, strike’
 PIE **mork-*
 Cogn. Gaul. *mercasius* m. ‘swamp’; MHG *meren* ‘dip bread into water or wine’

***morvi** f. ī 'ant'

ESSJa XIX 246-249

- CS CS *mrvii* f.(iā)
 E Ru. *muravěj* m.(io), Gsg. *murav'já*; ORu. *morovej* m.(io); *moravej* m.(io); *muravej* m.(io); Ukr. *muravýj* m.(io)
 W Pl. *mrówka* f.(ā)
 S SCr. *mrâv* m.(o), Gsg. *mrâva*; Čak. *mrâv* m.(o), Gsg. *mrâva*; *mrâv* (Novi) m.(o); Sln. *mrâv* f.(i); *mrâv* m.(o); *mrâvlja* f.(jā); Bulg. *mrâvka* f.(ā)
 PIE **moru-iH-*
 Cogn. Av. *maoirī-* f.; OIr. *moirb* f.

***morъ** m. o 'plague'

ESSJa XIX 250-251

- CS OCS *morъ* (Mar., Zogr., En.)
 E Ru. *mor*
 W Cz. *mor*; Slk. *mor*; Pl. *mór*
 S SCr. *môr* 'death, plague'; Sln. *mòr* 'death, plague', Gsg. *môra*; Bulg. *mor*
 BSl. **moros*
 B Lith. *māras*
 PIE **mor-o-*
 Cogn. Skt. *pramará-* (RV) m. 'death'

See also: **merti*; **мыртвъ*; **сьмыртъ****mòrzъ** m. o (a) 'frost'

ESSJa XX 10-14

- CS OCS *mrazъ* (Euch., Supr.)
 E Ru. *moróz*
 W Cz. *mráz*; Slk. *mráz*; Pl. *mróz*, Gsg. *mrozu*; Slnc. *márz*, Gsg. *märzü*; *mróuz*, Gsg. *mròuzü*; USrb. *mróz*, Gsg. *mróza*, Gsg. *mrózu*
 S SCr. *mräz*, Gsg. *mräza*; Čak. *mräz* (Vrg.), Gsg. *mräza*; *mräz* (Novi); *mräs* (Orb.) 'hoarfrost, frost', Gsg. *mräza*; Sln. *mräz* 'cold, frost, hoarfrost'; Bulg. *mraz*
 Cogn. Alb. *mardhë* f. 'frost'

Possibly an example of Winter's law, in which case we must reconstruct **mórg-o-*.See also: **мырзѣти*; **мырзити*; **мырзнѣти****mōstъ** m. o (c) 'bridge'

ESSJa XX 30-35

- CS OCS *mostъ* (Supr.)
 E Ru. *most*, Gsg. *mōsta*, Gsg. *mostá* {1}
 W Cz. *most*; Slk. *most*; Pl. *most*; USrb. *móst*, Gsg. *mosta*, Gsg. *mostu*
 S SCr. *mōst*, Gsg. *mōsta*; Čak. *mōst* (Vrg.), Gsg. *mōsta*; *mōst* (Novi), Gsg. *mōsta*; *m^uōs* (Orb.), Gsg. *mōsta*; Sln. *mōst*, Gsg. *mōsta*, Gsg. *mostā*, Gsg. *mostū*; Bulg. *most*

PIE **masd-to-*?

Cogn. Lat. *mālus* m. ‘mast, pole’; OHG *mast* m. ‘mast’

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (see Zaliznjak 1985: 137)

***mošbna** f. ā ‘small bag, purse’

ESSJa XX 37-39

CS OCS *mošbna* (Zogr., Mar.) ‘small bag, scrip’

E Ru. *mošná* ‘pouch, purse’

W Cz. *mošna* ‘purse’; Slk. *mošna* ‘pocket’; Pl. *moszna* ‘purse, pocket, scrotum’

S SCr. *mōšnja* ‘purse, scrotum’; Čak. *mōšnja* (Orb.) ‘pod, seedcase’; Sln. *móšnja* ‘purse, scrotum’

BSL. **makš(i)naʔ*

B Lith. *makšná* ‘case’

OPr. *dantimax* ‘gums’

PIE **mak-s-in-eh₂*

Cogn. OHG *magō* m. ‘stomach’

***motāti** v. ‘wind’

ESSJa XX 44-47

E Ru. *motát* ‘reel, wind’; ORu. *motati* ‘tire, worry’

W Cz. *motati* ‘wind’; Slk. *motat* ‘wind’; Pl. *motać* ‘reel, wind’

S SCr. *mōtati* ‘revolve, wind, move, throw’, 1sg. *mōtām*; Čak. *motāti* (Vrg.) ‘revolve’, 2sg. *mōtāš*; *motāt* (Orb.) ‘wind (up), roll up’, 1sg. *motân*; Sln. *motāti* ‘wind, unwind’, 1sg. *motām*; Bulg. *motája* ‘wind’

See also: **mesti*; **metāti*

***motriti** v. ‘look at, watch’

ESSJa XX 65-67

CS CS *motriti* ‘look at’, 1sg. *moštrjō*

E Ru. *motrít* (dial.) ‘look at, watch’

S SCr. *mōtriti* ‘look at, watch’, 1sg. *mōtrim*; Sln. *mótriti* ‘look at, watch’, 1sg. *mótrim*

BSL. **mot(r)-*

B Lith. *matýti* ‘look at, watch’

For the *-r-, cf. Lith. *matrūs* ‘sharp-sighted, vigilant’.

***motýka** f. ā ‘hoe’

ESSJa XX 79-82

CS OCS *motyky* (Supr.) Apl.

E Ru. *motýga*

W Cz. *motyka*; Slk. *motyka*; Pl. *motyka*

S SCr. *motiška*; Čak. *motika* (Vrg.); Sln. *motika*; Bulg. *motika*

PIE **mot-*

Cogn. Skt. *matyà-* (AV+) m. ‘agricultural device, harrow(?)’; Lat. *mateola* f. ‘hoe, grip of a hoe’; OE *mattoç* m. ‘hoe’

***mōzǵǔ** m. o (c) ‘marrow, brain’

ESSJa XX 94-97

CS CS *mozǵǔ* ‘marrow’

E Ru. *mozǵ* ‘brain, marrow’

W Cz. *mozek* ‘brain’; OCz. *mozk* ‘brain, marrow’; Slk. *mozog* ‘brain’; Pl. *mózg* ‘brain’, Gsg. *mózgu*

S SCr. *mōzak* ‘brain, (Dubr.) marrow’, Gsg. *mōzga*; Čak. *mōzak* (Vrg.) ‘brain’, Gsg. *mōska*; *mōzak* (Orb.) ‘brain’, Npl. *mōzgi*; Sln. *mōzǵ* ‘marrow, (pl.) brain’; *mōzǵ* ‘marrow, (pl.) brain’; *mōzǵak* ‘marrow, (pl.) brain’; Bulg. *mōzǵak* ‘brain’

BSl. **mozg-o-*

B Lith. *smēgenys* Npl. m. ‘brain’

OPr. *musgeno* ‘marrow’

PIE **mosǵ^h-o-*

Cogn. Av. *mazǵa-* m. ‘brain, marrow’; OIc. *mergr* m. ‘marrow’

See also: *moždǵanǵǔ; *moždǵenǵ; *moždǵeno

***moždǵanǵ** adj. o

ESSJa XX 104-105

CS OCS *moždǵanǔ* (Ps. Sin.) ‘full of marrow’

S SCr. *mōždǵanī* ‘cerebral’; *mōždǵan* ‘cerebral, (arch., dial.) wise’; *mōždǵāni* (Vuk: Dubr.) Npl. ‘brain’; Sln. *moždǵāni* Npl. ‘brain, mind’; *moždǵāni* Npl. ‘brain, mind’; *moždǵāni* Npl. ‘brain, mind’

Derivative in *-ǵnǔ of → *mōzǵǔ.

***moždǵenǵ; *moždǵeno** m. i?; n o ‘brain’

ESSJa XX 105-106

CS RuCS *moždǵeni* m. (i?) ‘brains’

W Plb. *mūzdǵin* m. (i?) ‘brain’; *mūzdǵenū* n. ‘brain’

S SCr. *moždǵena* (dial.) Npl. n. ‘brain’

BSl. **mozg-en-*

B Lith. *smēgenys* Npl. ‘brain’

OPr. *musgeno* ‘marrow’

PIE **mosǵ^h-en-*

Cogn. Skt. *majǵán-* (RV+) m. ‘marrow’

See also: *mōzǵǔ; *moždǵanǵ

***mōčiti** v. (a) ‘torment, torture’

ESSJa XX 151-117

CS OCS *mōčiti* ‘torment, torture’, 1sg. *mōčǵ*

E Ru. *múčit* ‘torment, harass, worry’

W Cz. *mučiti* ‘torment, torture’; Slk. *mučít* ‘torment, torture’; Pl. *męczyć* ‘torment, torture’

S SCr. *mūčiti* ‘torment, worry’, 1sg. *mūčim*; Čak. *mūčiti* (Vrg.) ‘torment, worry’, 2sg. *mūčiš*; Sln. *múčiti* ‘torment, torture’, 1sg. *múčim*; *močiti* ‘torment, torture’; Bulg. *mǵča* ‘torment, torture’

BSL. **monʔk-*
 B Lith. *mánkyti* ‘knead, crumple, press’

PIE **monHk-*

See also: **mēknōti*; **mēkьkь*; **mōka*

***mōdrg** adj. o (b) ‘wise’

ESSJa XX 130-133

CS OCS *mōdrō*

E Ru. *múdryj*

W Cz. *moudrý*; Slk. *múdry*; Pl. *mądry*

S SCr. *múdar*, f. *múdra*; Čak. *múdar* (Vrg.), f. *mūdrā*, n. *mūdro*; *mūdar* (Orb.), f. *mūdra*; Sln. *mōdər*, f. *mōdra*; Bulg. *mǎdǎr*

BSL. **mondros*

B Lith. *mañdras* 4 ‘cheerful, lively’; *mandrūs* 4 ‘cheerful, lively’; Latv. *muōdrs* ‘cheerful, lively, alert, vigorous’; *muōžs* ‘cheerful, lively, alert, vigorous’

PIE **mon-dʰh₁-ro-*

Cogn. OHG *muntar* ‘ardent, cheerful’

Cf. also Skt. *medhā-* (RV+) f. ‘mental power, wisdom, intelligence’; Av. *mazdā* f. ‘wisdom’ < **mns-dʰeh₁-*.

***mōka** f. ā (a) ‘torment, torture’

ESSJa XX 136-138

CS OCS *mōka* ‘torment, torture, instrument of torture’

E Ru. *múka* ‘torment, torture’

W Cz. *muka* ‘torment, torture’; Slk. *muka* ‘torment, torture’; Pl. *męka* ‘torment, torture’

S SCr. *mūka* ‘torment, torture’; Čak. *mūka* (Vrg., Orb.) ‘pain, torment’; Sln. *múka* ‘torment, torture’; *mōka* ‘torment, torture’; Bulg. *mǎka* ‘torment, torture, pain, hell’

See → **mēknōti*; **mēkьkь*.

***mōkà** f. ā (b) ‘flour’

ESSJa XX 135-136

CS OCS *mōka* (Zogr., Mar., Ass., Sav.)

E Ru. *muká*

W Cz. *mouka*; Slk. *múka*; Pl. *mąka*

S SCr. *múka*; Čak. *mūkǎ* (Vrg., Novi, Hvar); *m^uokǎ* (Orb.), Asg. *m^uokǝ*; Sln. *mōka*

Since the root of this noun is clearly non-acute (**monk-*), the generally assumed connection with → **mēknōti* ‘go soft’, etc., is problematic.

***mōtiti** v. ‘stir, trouble’

ESSJa XX 142-145

CS OCS *mōtiti* (Ps. Sin., Supr.) ‘disquiet’

E Ru. *mutít* ‘trouble, stir up’, 1sg. *mućú*, 3sg. *mutít*

- W Cz. *moutiti* (obs.) ‘make cloudy, grieve, worry’ (the SSJČ gives the variants *mútiti* and *mutiti*); *moutiti*, *mútiti* (Jg.) ‘grieve, churn, mix, worry’; *mútiť* (dial.) ‘churn’; OCz. *mútiti* ‘trouble, grieve, torment’; Slk. *mútiť* ‘trouble, churn’; Pl. *mącić* ‘trouble, disturb’
- S SCr. *mútiti* ‘trouble, confuse’, 1sg. *mútim*; Čak. *mūtiti* (Vrg.) ‘trouble, confuse’, 2sg. *mūtīš*; *m^uotīt* (Orb.) ‘stir, make turbid, muddy, confuse, entangle, talk smb. into smth.’, 3sg. *m^uōti*; Sln. *mǫtiti* ‘trouble, stir’, 1sg. *mǫtim*; Bulg. *mǎtja* ‘trouble, disturb’

See → *męsti.

*mǫžь m. jo (c) ‘man, husband’ ESSJa XX 158-161

- CS OCS *mǫžь* ‘man, husband’
- E Ru. *muž* ‘husband, (obs.) man’
- W Cz. *muž* ‘man, husband’; Slk. *muž* ‘man, husband’; Pl. *mąż* ‘man, husband’, Gsg. *męża*
- S SCr. *mūž* ‘husband, (obs.) man’, Gsg. *mūža*; Čak. *mūž* (Vrg.) ‘husband’; Gsg. *mūža*; *mūž* (Novi) ‘husband’; *m^uōš* (Orb.) ‘husband’, Gsg. *m^uōža*; Sln. *mǫž* ‘man, husband’, Gsg. *možā*; Bulg. *māž* ‘man, husband’

PIE *mon-ǵ^(w)io-

Cogn. Skt. *mānu-* (RV+) m. ‘man, mankind’; OHG *mann* m. ‘man, husband’

For the suffix we may perhaps compare Lith. *žmogūs* ‘man’ vs. *žmuō*.

*muditi v. ‘stay, linger’ ESSJa XX 167-169

- CS OCS *muditi* (Zogr., Ass., Sav., Supr.) ‘stay, linger’, 1sg. *muždǫ*, 2sg. *mudiši*; *mǫditi* (Zogr.) ‘stay, linger’, 1sg. *mǫždǫ*, 2sg. *mǫdiši*
- S Sln. *mudíti* ‘delay, linger, (*m. se*) dwell’, 1sg. *mudím*

Verb containing the *o*-grade of the root *mud^h- (→ *mǫdēti).

See also: *mъдыль; *mъдыльнъ

*mùxa f. ā (a) ‘fly’ ESSJa XX 170-172

- CS OCS *muxa* (Ps. Sin., Supr.)
- E Ru. *múxa*
- W Cz. *moucha*; Slk. *mucha*; Pl. *mucha*
- S SCr. *mùha*; Čak. *mùha* (Vrg., Orb.); *muhà* (Novi); Sln. *múha*; Bulg. *muxá*
- B Lith. *mùsè* f.(ē); *musià* f.(jā); Latv. *mūsa* f.; *muša* f.(jā)
- OPr. *muso*

Cogn. Gk. *μύα* f. ‘fly’; Lat. *musca* f. ‘mosquito’; OIc. *mý* n. ‘mosquito’

The root of this etymon apparently contains the *o*-grade of the within Indo-European much more widespread zero grade *mus- (→ *mǫxa, *mǫšica). Moreover, the accentual evidence for the greater part points to AP (a) and therefore to an acute

root, cf. CS *myšbca* ‘mosquito’, ORu. *myšca* ‘insect, mosquito’, Latv. *mūsa*. Perhaps the root **muHs-* is a contamination of **muH-* (Olc. *mý*?) and **mus-*.

See also: **mъxa*; **mъšica*

***murъ I; *mura** m. o; f. ā ‘mud, mould’ ESSJa XX 191-192, 195

- E Ru. *mur* (Voron.) ‘mould’; *murók* ‘(Arx.) meadow grass, (Psk.) May’
 W Cz. *mour* ‘coal-dust, soot’
 S SCr. *mûr* (RJA, RSA: dial.) ‘drift sand’; SCr. *múra* (Vuk: Bačka) ‘mud, clay’
 BSL. **mouřros*
 B Lith. *mauraĩ* Npl. 3 ‘duckweed, silt, mud’; Latv. *maĩrs* ‘grass, lawn’

See also: **murъ II*

***murъ II** adj. o ‘dark, with dark streaks or spot’ ESSJa XX 195-196

- E Ru. *múryj* (dial.) ‘reddish brown, reddish grey, having dark streaks or spots (of animal’s hair or coat)’; Ukr. *múryj* ‘dark-grey with spots, dark-complexioned’
 S Sln. *mûr* ‘black (of animal’s hair or coat)’

See also: **murъ I*; **mura*

***muzga; *muzgъ** f. ā; m. o ‘pool, mud’ ESSJa XX 202-203

- CS CS *muzga* f. ‘pool’
 E Ru. *múzga* (dial.) f. ‘cavity (often filled with water), pool’; *muzgá* (dial.) f. ‘cavity filled with water in the summertime’; ORu. *muzgъ* m. ‘mud’
 W Pl. *muzga* (dial.) f. ‘grass of superior quality, grass near water’
 S SCr. *mûzga* (Vuk) f. ‘stripe, trail’; Sln. *múzga* f. ‘tree-sap, silt, mud’; *môzga* f. ‘batter, quagmire’; Bulg. *múzga* f. ‘snout of a pig’

PIE **mous-k/g-*

Cogn. Lat. *mūscus* m. ‘marsh’; Nw. *musk* (dial.) m. ‘dust, drizzle, darkness’

See also: **mъxъ*; **mъzga*; **mъzgъ*; **mъždžiti*

***mъčati** v. ESSJa XX 203-204

- CS OCS *mъčimi* (Supr.) Npl. ptc. prs. pass. ‘being thrown’
 E Ru. *mčat* ‘rush, whirl along (tr.)’, 1sg. *mču*, 3sg. *mčit*
 W Cz. *mčeti* (Jg., Kott) ‘move, make for’; OCz. *mčieti* ‘pull, carry, drag’
 BSL. **muk-*
 B Lith. *mùkti* ‘come off, flit, stick’; Latv. *mukt* ‘come off, flee’
 PIE **muk-*
 Cogn. Skt. *múcyate* ‘be released’

See also: **mъkŋoti*

***mъděti** v.

ESSJa XX 205-206

E Ru. *modet'* (dial.) 'sit out patiently, become weak, decay, go bad'BSL. **mud-*B Latv. *mudēt* 'moulder, decay, go bad'

Winter's law now enables us to reconstruct the root as **mud^{h-}*. The connection with Gk. *μύδος* 'damp' is therefore formally impossible.

See also: **muditi*; **mъдыль*; **mъдыльнъ*

***mъдыль** adj. o

ESSJa XX 210-211

CS CS *mъdlъ* 'slow, sluggish'; *mъdlъ* 'slow, sluggish'; RuCS *mъdъlyi* 'compassionate' (cf. OCS *mъdlostъ* (Cloz.) 'sluggishness')

E ORu. *medlyj* 'compassionate'

W Cz. *mdlý* 'weak, flat, dull'; Slk. *mdlý* 'weak, flat, dull'; Pl. *mdły* 'dim, dull, faint, sickening'; OPl. *mdły* 'weak, thin'; *mgły* 'weak, thin'; SInC. *mgłi* 'weak, thin'

S SCr. *madal* (obs.) 'unclear, dim'; Sln. *mădăł* 'weak, flat, dull, faint, sickening, thin', f. *mădlă*; *mădăł* 'weak, flat, dull, faint, sickening, thin', f. *mădlă*; *mădăł* 'weak, flat, dull, faint, sickening, thin'; *mădăł* 'weak, flat, dull, faint, sickening, thin', f. *mădla*

Adjective derived from the root **mud^{h-}* (→ **mъděti*).

***mъдыльнъ** adj. o

ESSJa XX 211

CS RuCS *mъdъlъnyj* 'slow, sluggish'

E Ru. *médlennyj* 'slow'

S Čak. *mlêdan* (Vuk: Dubr.) 'thin', f. *mlêdna*, n. *mlêdno*; Sln. *mădlên* 'weak'; *mlêdăn* 'emaciated, flat, dull', f. *mlêdna*

See the previous lemma.

See also: **muditi*; **mъděti*; **mъдыльнъ*

***mъха** f. ā

ESSJa XX 211

E Ru. *môxa* (dial.) 'midge'S SCr. *máha* (dial.) 'mosquito'BSL. **muș-(i)a?*B Lith. *mùsė* 'fly'; *musià* 'fly'; Latv. *mūsa* 'fly'; *muša* f.(jā) 'fly'OPr. *muso* 'fly'PIE **mus-*Cogn. Gk. *μύα* f. 'fly'; Lat. *musca* f. 'mosquito'; Olc. *mý* n. 'mosquito'

See also: **mûxa*; **mъšica*

***mъxъ** m. o (b/c) ‘moss’

ESSJa XX 216-218

- E Ru. *mox* ‘moss’, Gsg. *móxa*, Gsg. *mxa*; ORu. *mъxъ* ‘marsh overgrown with moss’; *moxъ* ‘marsh overgrown with moss’; Bel. *mox* ‘moss’, Gsg. *móxu*; Ukr. *mox* ‘moss’, Gsg. *móxu*
- W Cz. *mech* ‘moss’; Slk. *mach* ‘moss’; Pl. *mech* ‘moss, fluff’; USrb. *moch* ‘moss’; *móch* (dial.) ‘moss’, Gsg. *mocha*
- S SCr. *mâh* ‘moss, mould, bloom’, Gsg. *mâha*; Čak. *mâh* ‘moss, mould, bloom’, Gsg. *mâha*; Sln. *mâh* ‘moss, marsh, fluff’, Gsg. *mâha*, Gsg. *mahû*; *mèh* ‘moss’, Gsg. *méha*; Bulg. *măx* ‘moss’
- BSL. *mušo-
- B Lith. *mūsaī* Npl. m. 4 ‘mould’; *mūsos* Npl. ‘mould’
- PIE *mús-o-m
- Cogn. OIc. *mosi* m. ‘moss, moorland’; OHG *mos* n. ‘moss, marsh’
- See also: *muzga; *mъzga; *mъzгъ; *mъždžiti

***mъknōti** v. ‘move’

ESSJa XX 219

- W Cz. *mknouti* ‘move’; Pl. *mknąć* ‘flit, fleet’
- S SCr. *măknuti* ‘move’, 1sg. *măknēm*; Čak. *măknūti* (Vrg.) ‘move’, 2sg. *măkneš*; *măknūt* (Orb.) ‘move, shove’, 1sg. *măknem*; Sln. *măkníti* ‘jerk, tug, move’, 1sg. *măknem*, 1sg. *měknem*; Bulg. *măkna* ‘drag along’
- BSL. *muk-
- B Lith. *mūkti* ‘come off, flit, stick’; Latv. *mukt* ‘come off, flee’
- See → *mъčati

***mъldni** f. ī ‘lightning’

ESSJa XX 220-222

- CS OCS *mlъni* (Zogr., Mar., Ass., Sav.) f.(iā); *mlъnii* (Mar., Ass, Supr.) f.(iā) (the variant *mlъ-* is more frequent than *mlъ-*)
- E Ru. *mól'nija*; *molón'ja* (dial.); *molodnjá* (dial.); *melen'já* (dial.); Ukr. *maladnjá* (dial.) ‘lightning without thunder’
- W Cz. *mlna* (arch.); Pl. *mełnia* (dial., probably only in Pomeranian); Sln. *mōłnǎy*; Plb. *māuńa*
- S SCr. *múnja*; Sln. *mól'nja*; Bulg. *măł'nija* f.(iā)
- BSL. *mild-n-
- B Latv. *milna* f. ‘hammer of the thunderer’
OPr. *mealde* ‘lightning’
- PIE *mld^h-n-
- Cogn. OIc. *mjöllnir* m. ‘Thor’s hammer’

***mъlva** f. ā ‘speech’

ESSJa XX 225-226

- CS OCS *mlъva* ‘tumult, commotion’

- E Ru. *molvá* (obs.) ‘rumour, talk’; Bel. *móna* ‘language, speech’; Ukr. *móna* ‘language, speech’
 W Cz. *mluva* ‘speech’; Slk. *mluva* (lit.) ‘speech’; Pl. *mowa* ‘speech’; Slnc. *m[#]ova* ‘speech’
 S Bulg. *mǎlvá* ‘rumour, noise, racket’
 PIE **mluH-eh₂*
 Cogn. Skt. *brávīti* ‘speak, say’
 See also: *mǝlviti

***mǝlviti** v. ‘speak, say’ ESSJa XX 227-228

- CS OCS *mlǝviti* (Zogr., Mar., Ass., Sav.) ‘make ado, make a rout’, 1sg. *mlǝvljǝ*
 E Ru. *mólvit*’ (obs., dial.) ‘say’; Ukr. *mónvyty* ‘speak, say’
 W Cz. *mluviti* ‘speak, say’; Slk. *mluvit* (Káral) ‘speak, say’; Pl. *mówić* ‘speak, say’; Slnc. *mǝvǝvjic* ‘speak, say’
 S Sln. *mólviti* ‘grumble, mumble’, 1sg. *mólvim*; Bulg. *mǎlvjá* ‘whisper, rumour’
 PIE **mluH-*
 Cogn. Skt. *brávīti* ‘speak, say’

I am not convinced that a vocalization **mǝ_luH-V-* would be out of the question (pace LIV s.v. **mleu_h2*).

See also: *mǝlva

***mǝmati** v. ‘stammer’ ESSJa XXI 111

- CS CS *mǝmati* ‘stammer’

Onomatopoeic verb.

***mǝnogǝ** adj. o ‘much, many’ ESSJa XX 229-231

- CS OCS *mǝnogǝ* adj. ‘much, many’; *mǝnogo* adv. ‘much, many’
 E Ru. *mǝnogij* adj. ‘much, many, numerous’; *mǝnogo* adv. ‘much, many’
 W Cz. *mǝnohý* adj. ‘numerous’; *mǝnoho* adv. ‘much, far’; Slk. *mǝnohý* adj. ‘numerous’; *mǝnoho* adv. ‘much, far’; Pl. *mǝnogi* adj. ‘numerous’
 S SCr. *mǝnǝgī* adj. ‘much, many, numerous’; Sln. *mǝnǝg* adj. ‘many’; *mǝnǝgo* adv. ‘much, many’; Bulg. *mǝnǝgo* adv. ‘much, many’
 PIE **mǝnog^h*
 Cogn. Go. *manags* adj. ‘many’; OHG *manag* adj. ‘many’; OIr. *menic* adj. ‘frequent, abundant’

The root may be interpreted as a zero grade **mǝn-*, as opposed to the full grade of Germanic. Boutkan (2005: 257), however, argues that we are dealing with a North European substratum word considering the vocalic and consonantal variation in Germanic, Baltic, and Celtic.

***mъrgati** v. 'blink, wink'

ESSJa XX 237-238

E Ru. *morgát* 'blink, wink'W Cz. *mrgat* (dial.) 'move, wave, watch gloomily'; Pl. *margać* 'wave, wag, move'; *mrugać* 'wave, wag, move'; Sln. *mārgáč* 'blink, wink'BSL. **murʔg-*; **mīrʔg-*B Lith. *mirgėti* 'twinkle', 3sg. *mirga*; Latv. *mīrdzēt* 'twinkle'PIE **mr(H)g^w*Cogn. OIc. *myrkr* adj. 'dark', Asg. *myrkvan****mъrky** f. ū 'carrot'

ESSJa XX 247-249

E Ru. *morkón* f.(i) 'carrots'; *mórkva* (dial.) f.(ā) 'carrots'; *morkvá* (dial.) f.(ā) 'carrots'; ORu. *morkov* f.(i) 'carrots'; *morkva* f.(ā) 'carrots'; Bel. *mórkva* f.(ā) 'carrot'; Ukr. *mórkva* f.(ā) 'carrot'W Cz. *mrkev* f.(i) 'carrot'; *mrkva* (Jg., Kott) f.(ā) 'carrot'; OCz. *mrkev* f.(i) 'carrot'; Slk. *morkva* f.(ā) 'carrot'; Pl. *marchew* f.(i) 'carrot'; OPl. *marchew* f.(i) 'carrot'; *marchwa* f.(ā) 'carrot'S SCr. *mřkva* f.(ā) 'carrot'; Čak. *mřkva* (Vrg.) f.(ā) 'carrot'; Sln. *mřkav* f.(i) 'carrot', Gsg. *mřkve*; *mřkva* f.(ā) 'carrot'PIE **mrk-uH-*Cogn. OHG *morha* f. 'carrot'; OE *moru* f. 'carrot'***mъrmiti** v. 'mumble, grumble'

ESSJa XX 250

E Ru. *mormúlit* (dial.) 'grumble, chatter'S SCr. *mrmljiti* 'mumble, grumble'BSL. **murm-*B Lith. *murm(l)énti*; *murmėti*Cogn. Lat *murmurāre* 'mumble'; OHG *murmulōn* 'mumble'

Onomatopoeitic verb.

See also: *mъrm(ъ)rati

***mъrm(ъ)rati** v. 'mumble, grumble'

ESSJa XX 252

W Cz. *mrmrati*S SCr. *mřmrati*; Sln. *mrmráti*, 1sg. *mrmrām*; Bulg. *mārmórja*BSL. **murm-*B Lith. *murm(l)énti*; *murmėti*Cogn. Lat *murmurāre* 'mumble'; OHG *murmulōn* 'mumble'

See also: *mъrmiti

***mъšica** f. jā

ESSJa XXI 15

CS CS *mъšica* 'mosquito, locust'

- E Ru. *mšica* (dial.) ‘midge, gnats, smell insects’
 W Cz. *mšice* ‘midge, plant-louse’; Slk. *mšica* ‘louse’; Pl. *mszyca* ‘louse, midge’
 S Sln. *mšica* ‘mosquito, midge, plant-louse’

Derivative in *-ica of → *mъxa. There is a variant *myšьca, which is attested in Church Slavic and Old Russian.

See also: *mùxa; *mъxa

***mъzga; *mъzgъ** f. ā; m. o ESSJa XXI 19-20

- E Ru. *mzga* (dial.) f. ‘grey, dank weather, mould’; *mozg* (dial.) m. ‘grey, cloudy weather’

PIE *mus-k/g-

Cogn. Lat. *muscus* m. ‘marsh’; Nw. *musk* (dial.) m. ‘dust, drizzle, darkness’

See also: *muzga; *mъxъ; *mъždžiti

***mъždžati; *mъždžiti** v. ESSJa XXI 22

- CS CS *moždivyi* ptc. pres. act. ‘pining’
 E Ru. *možžát*’ (dial.) ‘grumble, drizzle’; *možžít*’ (Novg.) ‘turn sour (milk)’
 S SCr. *màžđiti* ‘drizzle’

Cogn. Lat. *muscus* m. ‘marsh’; Nw. *musk* (dial.) m. ‘dust, drizzle, darkness’

Derivative of → *mъzga, *mъzgъ. Forms meaning ‘ache’, e.g. Ru. *možžít*’ (coll.) may derive from *mozg-, cf. SCr. *mòžđiti* ‘squeeze, torment’.

See also: *muzga; *mъxъ

***my** prn. ‘we’ ESSJa XXI 21-24

- CS OCS *my; ny* (KB)
 E Ru. *my*
 W Cz. *my*; Slk. *my*; Pl. *my*
 S SCr. *mî; Čak. mī* (Vrg.); *mî; mî* (Hvar); *mî* (Orb.); Sln. *mî*; Bulg. *mi* (dial.)
 B Lith. *mēs*; Latv. *mēs*
 OPr. *mes*

The *m- probably originates from the ending of the first person plural. The *y must have been adopted from *vy ‘you (pl.)’ < *iuH-. The n- of the form *ny* (KB) was taken from the oblique cases, cf. the enclitic Apl. *ny*.

See also: *nasъ

***mъdlo** n. o (a) ‘soap’ ESSJa XXI 27-28

- CS CS *mylo* ‘soap’
 E Ru. *mýlo* ‘soap, lather (on horses)’
 W Cz. *mýdlo* ‘soap’; Slk. *mydlo* ‘soap’; Pl. *mydło* ‘soap, lather (on horses)’
 S SCr. *mīlo* (dial., obs.) ‘soap’; Sln. *mīlo* ‘soap’

PIE **muH-*
Cogn. Skt. *mūtra-* (AV+) n. ‘urine’

See also: **m̥ti*

***mykati** v. ‘bellow’

ESSJa XXI 35

CS CS *mykati* ‘bellow’
E Ru. *mýkat’* (dial.) ‘bellow, cry, weep’, 1sg. *mýkaju*
W Cz. *mykati* (dial.) ‘bleat’, 1sg. *mýkaju*
S SCr. *míkati* ‘bellow’

Onomatopoetic verb, cf. Latv. *maût* ‘bellow’.

***m̥slb** f. i (c) ‘thought, idea’

ESSJa XXI 47-50

CS OCS *m̥slb* ‘thought, idea’
E Ru. *m̥sl’* ‘thought, idea’
W Cz. *m̥sl* ‘mind, courage’; Slk. *m̥sel’* ‘mind’; Pl. *m̥sl’* ‘thought, idea’
S SCr. *m̥siao* ‘thought, idea’, Gsg. *m̥isli*; Čak. *m̥isal* (Orb.) ‘thought’, Gsg. *m̥isli*;
Sln. *m̥isəl* ‘thought, idea’, Gsg. *m̥isli*

PIE **muHdʰ-*

Cogn. Gk. *μῦθος* m. ‘word, fact, purpose’

The suffix must be **-slb*, which to a certain extent seems to be in complementary distribution with **-lb* (cf. Meillet *Ét.* II: 416).

***m̥šb** f. i (a) ‘mouse’

ESSJa XXI 64-67

CS OCS *m̥šb* (Euch.)
E Ru. *m̥š’*
W Cz. *m̥š*; Slk. *m̥š*; Pl. *m̥ysz*
S SCr. *m̥š* m.(jo); Čak. *m̥š* (Vrg., Orb.) m.(jo); Sln. *m̥š*, Gsg. *m̥iši*

PIE **muHs-*

Cogn. Skt. *m̥ś-* m./f. ‘mouse, rat’ (RV); Gk. *μῦς* m. ‘mouse, muscle’; Lat. *mūs* m. ‘mouse’; OHG *mūs* f. ‘mouse, muscle’

See also: **myšьca*

***myšьca** f. jā ‘muscle, shoulder’

ESSJa XXI 67

CS OCS *myšьca* ‘hand, shoulder, muscle’
E Ru. *myšca* ‘muscle’
S SCr. *m̥šca* (obs.) ‘muscle, shoulder’; *m̥šca* (obs.) ‘muscle, shoulder’; Sln. *m̥šca* ‘muscle, shoulder’

PIE **muHs-*

Cogn. Lat. *musculus* m. ‘muscle’

See also: **m̥šb*

***mȳti** v. (a) ‘wash’ ESSJa XXI 76-79

- CS OCS *myti* (Zogr., Ass., Supr.) ‘wash’, 1sg. *myjo*
 E Ru. *myt’* ‘wash’, 1sg. *móju*, 3sg. *móet*
 W Cz. *mýti* ‘wash’; Slk. *myt’* ‘wash’; Pl. *myć* ‘wash’
 S SCr. *mīti* ‘wash’, 1sg. *mījēm*; Sln. *míti* ‘wash’, 1sg. *mījem*; Bulg. *mija* ‘wash’

BSl. **m(o)uǎ-*

B Lith. *máudyti* ‘bathe’; Latv. *maût* ‘submerge, swim’; *maudât* ‘bathe’

PIE **muH-* (< **miuH*)

Cogn. Skt. *mīvati-* (AV+) ‘push, shove’; Lat. *movēre* ‘move’

See also: **mȳdlo*

***myto** n. o ‘toll, fee’ ESSJa XXI 81-82

- CS OCS *myto* (Ps. Sin.) ‘gift, bribe’
 E Ru. *mýto* (arch.) ‘toll, fee, duty’
 W Cz. *mýto* ‘toll’; Slk. *mýto* ‘toll, fee’; Pl. *myto* ‘fee, duty’
 S Sln. *mító* ‘bribery, tax, rent’; Bulg. *mító* ‘toll’

This etymon is generally considered a borrowing from Germanic, cf. OHG *mūta* f. , MLat. *mūta* f. ‘toll’.

***mьčьta** f. ā ‘dream’ ESSJa XXI 90-91

- CS CS *mьčьta* ‘vision, apparition’
 E Ru. *mečtá* ‘dream, day-dream’; ORu. *mьčьta* ‘dream, imagination’; *mečьta* ‘dream, imagination’; *mečta* ‘apparition, sorcery, imagination’
 S Bulg. *mečtá* ‘dream’

See → **mьčьtǫ*.

***mьчьтѣ** m. o ‘vision, apparition’ ESSJa XXI 91-92

- CS OCS *mьчьтѣ* (Supr.) ‘vision, apparition’
 E ORu. *mьчьтѣ* ‘apparition, delusion (?)’, ecstasy’ (also *mečьtѣ*, *mečētѣ*, *mečtѣ*, *mčētѣ*)

Derivative containing the root **mьk-* < **mik-*, cf. → **mikati*. For the suffix, cf. OCS *skrѣžьtѣ* ‘gnashing’

***mьglà; *mьgà; *miglъ** f. ā; f. ā; m. o (b) ‘mist, haze’ ESSJa XXI 92-94

- CS OCS *mьgla* (Ps. Sin. MS 2/N) ‘mist, haze’
 E Ru. *mglá* ‘mist, haze, darkness’; *mga* ‘dense mist, drizzle, haze in times of drought’
 W Cz. *mlha* ‘mist, haze’; *mha* (poet.) ‘mist, haze’; *mhla* (obs., dial.) ‘mist, haze’; OCz. *mhla* ‘mist, haze’; Pl. *mglá* ‘mist, haze’; USrb. *mihel* m. ‘wet mist, drizzle’

- S SCr. *màgla* ‘mist, haze’, Asg. *màglu*; Čak. *maglā* (Novi) ‘mist, haze’, Asg. *maglū*, *màglu*; Kajk. *mīēglō* (Bednja) ‘mist, haze’, Asg. *mīēglū* {1}; *màgà* (dial.) ‘drizzle’; Sln. *màglà* ‘mist, haze’, Gsg. *mglè*, Gsg. *mglê*; Bulg. *màglá* ‘mist, haze’
- BSl. **migláH*
- B Lith. *miglà* f. 2/4 ‘mist, haze’; *miēgas* m. 2 ‘sleep’; *migtī* ‘sleep, fall asleep’; Latv. *migla* f. ‘mist, haze’; *mīegs* m. ‘sleep’
OPr. *maiggun* Asg. ‘sleep’
- PIE **h₃migh^h-leh₂*
- Cogn. Skt. *meghá-* (RV) m. ‘cloud, gloomy weather’; Skt. *mīh-* (RV, TS) f. ‘haze, rain’; Gk. *ὀμίχλη* f. ‘mist, haze’; Av. *maēya-* m. ‘cloud’; Arm. *mēg* ‘mist’; MoDu. *miggelen* ‘drizzle, swarm (with)’ {2}

I agree with Mayrhofer (EWAia s.v. *meghá-*) that we must in principle distinguish PIE. **h₃meiǵh-* and **h₃meiǵh-* (cf. Kern 1894: 106). The former root is present in Lith. *mỹžti*, Latv. *mīzt* ‘urinate’, and is, in my opinion, sparsely attested in Slavic. On account of their semantic similarity, the above-mentioned Slavic verbs meaning ‘drizzle’ are sometimes connected with *mỹžti*, etc. I think that the Slavic etyma listed above show that verbs like **mbžiti* are best grouped together with **mbglà*. A more complicated issue is the relationship between words meaning ‘mist, drizzle’ (**meiǵh-* B ‘dunkel vor den Augen werden, Nebel, Wolke’ in Pokorny) and words meaning ‘blink, twinkle’ (**meiǵh-* A ‘flimmern, blinzeln, micāre’), which I discuss s.v. *mīǵv*. Since there is no obvious semantic link between these groups, the ESSJa basically tries to keep them apart, e.g. **mbžiti* I ‘blink, twinkle’ vs. **mbžiti* II ‘drizzle’ (but Ru.(dial.) *mža* ‘doze; drizzle; said about smth. which vanished rapidly’ without further distinctions). It is not entirely clear how the meanings ‘doze, drowsiness’ and ‘swarm (with)’ fit in. LSrb. *migorís se* ‘move to and fro, swarm with, drizzle’ (Schuster-Šewc 907) is matched by MoDu. *miggelen*, *miegelen* (dial.) ‘drizzle, swarm with’. Ru. *mžit*’ (dial.) ‘doze, be delirious’ is mentioned by the ESSJa s.v. **mbžiti* I, but a connection with **mbžiti* I cannot be excluded, cf. SCr. *míždati* ‘drizzle, doze’, MoHG *drisseln* ‘drizzle, doze’, *drusen* ‘doze’, *drussig* ‘clouded’, Lith. *blañdas* ‘sleepiness; cloudiness’ (cf. Merkulova 1975: 59). Discussing the origin of the meaning ‘doze’ is essentially the same as establishing the semantic connection between Slavic **mbg-* and Lith. *miēgas* ‘sleep’, *migt* ‘sleep, fall asleep’, *miegóti* ‘sleep’, etc. Fraenkel (I 447) considers the meaning of *miegóti* to have evolved from ‘close one’s eyes’ (cf. Kern 1894: 109). This seems plausible indeed. On the other hand, there are parallels for a connection between ‘sleep’ and ‘cloud’, e.g. Av. *snaoda-* ‘cloud’ vs. Lith. *snáusti* ‘doze’ or OIr. *nél* ‘cloud; swoon, faintness, stupor’ (cf. Merkulova 1975: 58-59). As long as there is no evidence for a formal distinction between the roots of **mbglà* and **mīǵv*, I think that we must start from a single root **h₃meiǵh-*.

{1} Illič-Svityč lists a number of SCr. dialect forms which point to AP (b) (1963: §40). The standard language has secondary mobility in this word. {2} It cannot be excluded that *miggelen* is cognate with MDu. *miegen* ‘urinate’.

See also: **migati*; **mīǵv*; **mьgnōti*; **mьža*; **mьžati* I; **mьžati* II; **mьžiti* I; **mьžiti* II

***mьgnŋti** v. 'blink'

ESSJa XXI 97-98

E	ORu. <i>mьgnuti</i> 'wink, blink, twinkle'; <i>megnuti</i> 'wink, blink, twinkle'
W	Cz. <i>mehnouti</i> (Kott) 'blink, move'
S	SCr. <i>màgnuti</i> 'blink'; Sln. <i>magníti</i> 'blink', 1sg. <i>mágnem</i> , 1sg. <i>měgnim</i>
BSl.	* <i>mig-</i>
PIE	* <i>h₃meigh-</i>
Cogn.	MDu. <i>micken</i> 'aim'

According to the ESSJa (XIX: 29), the root vocalism of **mьgnŋti* is older than the one encountered in **mignŋti*, which in most Slavic languages serves as the perfective counterpart of **migati*. Van Wijk was the first to identify **mьgnŋti* with Gm. **mikk-* 'aim' < **migh-n-* (van Wijk 1911: 124).

See also: **migati*; **migь*; **mьglà*; **mьgà*; **miglь*; **mьža*; **mьžati* I; **mьžati* II; **mьžiti* I; **mьžiti* II

***mьlčati** v. (c) 'be silent'

ESSJa XXI 102-104

CS	OCS <i>mlьčati</i> , 1sg. <i>mlьčŋ</i> , 2sg. <i>mlьčiši</i>
E	Ru. <i>molčát</i> ', 1sg. <i>molčú</i> , 3sg. <i>molčit</i>
W	Cz. <i>mlčeti</i> ; Slk. <i>mlčať</i> ; Pl. <i>milczeć</i>
S	SCr. <i>múčati</i> , 1sg. <i>múčim</i> ; Čak. <i>mučäti</i> (Vrg.), 2sg. <i>mučiš</i> ; <i>mučät</i> (Orb.), 2sg. <i>mučiš</i> ; Sln. <i>mólčati</i> , 1sg. <i>molčím</i> ; Bulg. <i>mälčá</i>

This root **mlk^(w)*- seems to be limited to Slavic.

***mьně** prn. Dsg. 'me'

ESSJa XVIII 96-97

CS	OCS <i>mьně</i>
E	ORu. <i>məně</i>
W	Cz. <i>mně</i> ; Pl. <i>mnie</i>
B	Lith. <i>mán</i> OPr. <i>mennei</i>

See also: **mene*

***mьněti** v. 'think'

ESSJa XXI 113-115

CS	OCS <i>mьněti</i> 'think, suppose, reckon, imagine', 1sg. <i>mьnjŋ</i> , 3sg. <i>mьnit</i>
E	Ru. <i>mniť</i> (obs.) 'think, imagine', 1sg. <i>mnju</i> , 3sg. <i>mniť</i>
W	Cz. <i>mněti</i> (arch.) 'think, suppose'; <i>mníti</i> (lit.) 'think, suppose'; OCz. <i>mnieti</i> 'think, suppose, intend'; Slk. <i>mniet'</i> (obs.) 'think, suppose'; OPl. <i>mnieć</i> 'think, suppose'
S	SCr. <i>mnjeti</i> (arch.) 'think, suppose'; <i>mniti</i> 'think, suppose'; Sln. <i>mněti</i> 'think, suppose', 1sg. <i>mním</i>
BSl.	* <i>mineŋtei</i>
B	Lith. <i>minėti</i> 'mention'; Latv. <i>minēt</i> 'mention'
PIE	* <i>mn-eh₁-</i> ; present stem * <i>mn-ei-</i> .

Cogn. Skt. *mányate* ‘think, believe, suppose’; Gk. *μαίνομαι* ‘rage’

See also: *памѣтъ

***мѣне(је)** adv. ‘less’

ESSJa XXI 119-122

CS OCS *mъnje* ‘less’

E Ru. *ménee* ‘less’

W Cz. *méně* ‘less, fewer’; Pl. *mniej* ‘less, fewer’

S SCr. *mānjē* ‘less’; *mānje* ‘less’; Čak. *mānje* (Orb.) ‘less’; Sl. *mànj* ‘less, fewer’; *mānje* ‘less, fewer’

PIE **mi-n-ios*

Cogn. Lat. *minus* ‘less’; Goth *mins* ‘less’

See also: *мѣнѣъ

***мѣнѣъ** adj. jo ‘smaller, lesser’

ESSJa XXI 119-122

CS OCS *mъnii* ‘smaller, lesser, younger’, f. *mъnъši*, n. *mъne*

E Ru. *mén’sij* ‘smaller, lesser, younger’

W Cz. *menší* ‘smaller, lesser’; OCz. *meni* ‘smaller, lesser, younger’, f. *menši*, n. *menše*; Slk. *menši* ‘smaller, lesser’; Pl. *mniejszy* ‘smaller, lesser’

S SCr. *mānji* ‘smaller, lesser’; Čak. *māñi* (Vrg.) ‘smaller, lesser’; *mānji* ‘smaller’; Sl. *mānji* ‘smaller, lesser’; *mānjsi* ‘smaller, lesser’

PIE **mi-n-i(e/o)s-jo-*

Cogn. Lat. *minor* ‘smaller’; Goth *minniza* ‘smaller, lesser’

See also: *мѣне(је)

***мѣркнѣти** v. (a) ‘become dark’

ESSJa XXI 133-135

CS OCS *mъrknъti* ‘become dark, darken’ (according to the *Staroslavjanskij slovar*, six of the seven attestations actually have *mъrk-*)

E Ru. *mérknut* ‘become dark, become dim, fade’

W Cz. *mrknouti* ‘wink, blink, glimmer’; *mrknouti* (Kott) ‘become dark, screw up one’s eyes’; OCz. *mrknúti* (*sě*) ‘become dark, darken’; Slk. *mrknut* ‘become dark, darken, blink’; Pl. *mierzchnąć* ‘become dark, darken’

S SCr. *mъrknuti* ‘become dark, darken’; Sl. *mъrkniti* ‘become dark, darken, blink, wink’, 1sg. *mъrknem*

BSl. **mirъk-*

B Lith. *mirksėti* ‘blink’

PIE **mrHk-*

See also: *мѣркъ; *мѣркъ I; *мѣркъ II

***мѣркъ I** m. o

ESSJa XXI 136-137

W Cz. *mrk* ‘blink, wink, sign’; Slk. *mrk* (dial.) ‘twilight’; Slnc. *mjięrk* ‘twilight’

S SCr. *mrk* ‘solar eclipse, kind of mollusk’; Sl. *mъrk* ‘eclipse, darkness’

- BSL. **mirʔk-*
 B Lith. *mérkti* ‘close one’s eyes’
 PIE **mrHk-o-*
 Cogn. Go. *maurgins* m. ‘morning’
 See also: *mōrkъ; *mьrknq̃ti; *mьrkъ II

*mьrkъ II adj. o (a) ‘dark’

ESSJa XXI 137

- W Slk. *mrký* (Káral) ‘dark(?)’
 S SCR. *mьkī* ‘black’; *mьk*; Mcd. *mrāk* ‘dark, black’
 See also: *mōrkъ; *mьrknq̃ti; *mьrkъ I

*mьrtvъ adj. o (b) ‘dead’

ESSJa XXI 146-148

- CS OCS *mrъtvъ*
 E Ru. *měrtvyj*
 W Cz. *mrtvý*; Slk. *mrtvy*; Pl. *martwy* ‘lifeless, dead’; *miartwy* (arch.) ‘lifeless, dead’
 S SCR. *mьrtav*, f. *mьrtva*; Čak. *mьrtāv* (Vrg.), f. *mrtvā*; *mьrtāv* (Novi), f. *mrtvā*; *mьrt* (Orb.), f. *mrtvā*; Sln. *mьrtav*, f. *mьrtva*
 PIE **mr-tu-o-*
 Cogn. Lat. *mortuus*
 See also: *mertī; *mōrъ; *sьmьrtъ

*mьrzěti v.

ESSJa XXI 159-160

- CS OCS *mrъzěti* (Ps. Sin.) ‘be loathsome, detestable’
 E Ru. *merzět* (dial.) ‘become disgusting’
 W Cz. *mrzeti* ‘irritate’; Slk. *mrziet* ‘irritate’; Pl. *mierzic* ‘be repulsive, disgust’
 S SCR. *mьrzjeti* ‘experience hostility, aversion, disgust, freeze’; Čak. *mьrzět* (Orb.) ‘hate, 3sg. *mьrzije*; Sln. *mьrzěti* ‘freeze’, 1sg. *mrzím*

Verb with zero grade of the root of → *mōrzъ. For the semantic development, cf. SCR. *stūd* ‘cold’ vs. Sln. *stūd* ‘aversion’.

*mьrziti v.

ESSJa XXI 159-160

- E Ru. *merzít* (dial.) ‘render disgusting, be unpleasant, feel disgusted’; ORu. *merziti* ‘sicken, disgust, defile’ (also *mьrziti*, *mrъziti*)
 W Pl. *mierzic* ‘be repulsive, disgust’; Slnc. *mьjierzęc* ‘be repulsive, disgust’
 S SCR. *mьrziti* ‘hate, detest’, 1sg. *mьrzím*; Čak. *mьrziti* (Vrg.) ‘hate, detest’, 2sg. *mrzíš*; Sln. *mьrziti* ‘experience disgust, hate, detest, be angry with’, 1sg. *mrzím*

See → *mьrzěti.

*mьrznq̃ti v. ‘freeze’

ESSJa XXI 163-165

- CS OCS *pmьrznq̃ti* (Supr.) ‘freeze’; CS *mrъznq̃ti* ‘curse, detest’

- E Ru. *měznut* ‘freeze’
 W Cz. *mrznouti* ‘freeze’; Slk. *mrznút* ‘freeze’; Pl. *marznąć* ‘freeze’; *mierznać* (arch.) ‘become disgusting, irritate, disgust, repel’
 S SCr. *mřznuti* ‘freeze, grow cold’; Sln. *mřzniti* ‘freeze, turn into ice’, 1sg. *mřzнем* (see Pleteršnik II: VI); Bulg. *mrázna* ‘freeze’

See → *mьrzěti.

*mьstiti v. ‘take vengeance, revenge, avenge’ ESSJa XXI 170-171

- CS OCS *mьstiti* ‘take vengeance, revenge, avenge, punish’, 1sg. *mьštъ*, 2sg. *mьstiši*
 E Ru. *mstit’*, 1sg. *mšču*, 3sg. *mstit*
 W Cz. *mstíti*; Pl. *mścić*
 S Sln. *məstíti*, 1sg. *məstím*; Bulg. *məstjá*

Derivative of → *mьstvъ, *mьsta.

*mьstvъ; *mьsta f. i; f. ā ‘vengeance, revenge’ ESSJa XXI 172-174

- CS OCS *mьstvъ* ‘vengeance, revenge, punishment, defence’
 E Ru. *mest’*; *msta* (dial.); Ukr. *msta* (poet.)
 W Cz. *msta*; Slk. *mstva*; Pl. *msta* (16th-17th. c.)
 S Bulg. *məst*

Cogn. OIc. *missa* f. ‘loss, damage’

I consider a reconstruction *mьth₂-ti- more likely than the assumption that *mьstvъ has the same origin as → *mьzdà.

See also: *mitě; *mitusъ; *mitva

*mьšelъ m. o ‘profit’ ESSJa XXI 174-175

- CS CS *mьšelъ* m.(o) ‘shameful profit’; MBulg. *mьšelъ* m.(o) ‘income’; RuCS *mšelъ* m.(o) ‘profit, unlawful gain, property’; *mšelъ* m.(jo) ‘profit, unlawful gain, property’
 E ORu. *mšelъ* m.(o) ‘profit, unlawful gain, property’; *mšelъ* m.(jo) ‘profit, unlawful gain, property’

Etymology unclear.

*mьzdà f. ā (b) ‘payment, pay’ ESSJa XXI 176-178

- CS OCS *mьzdà* ‘payment, salary, fee, gift’; *mьzdà* ‘payment, salary, fee, gift’
 E Ru. *mzda* (arch.) ‘recompense, payment’
 W Cz. *mzda* ‘wages, salary, fee’; Slk. *mzda* ‘wages, pay’; OPl. *mzda* (arch.) ‘fee, price, ransom’
 S SCr. *màzdà* ‘recompense, payment, pay, revenge, punishment’; *mzda* (CS) ‘recompense, payment, pay, revenge, punishment’; Sln. *məzdà* ‘wages’
 PIE *misd^h(h₁)-o-

Cogn. *mīdhá-* (RV) n. 'booty, prize, profit'; *mīžda-* n. 'reward, prize'; Gk. μισθός m. 'reward, rent'; Go. *mizdo* f. 'reward'

*mъža f. jā ESSJa XXI 179-180

E Ru. *mža* (dial.) 'drizzle, slumber'; Bel. *mža* (dial.) 'mist'; Ukr. *mža* 'drizzle'

See → *mъglà, *mъgà.

*mъžati I; *mižati v. 'screw up one's eyes, doze' ESSJa XIX 62-63; XXI 179

E Ru. *mžat'* (dial.) 'doze'

W Cz. *mžeti* 'blink, screw up one's eyes'; Pl. *mžec'* 'blink, doze, dream'

S SCr. *míždati* 'doze, drizzle'; Sln. *mžáti* 'keep one's eyes closed', 1sg. *mžím*; *mížati* 'keep one's eyes closed', 1sg. *mížím*; Bulg. *mižá* 'blink, screw up one's eyes, flicker'; *mížã* (dial.) 'screw up one's eyes, stand with eyes closed'

See → *mъglà, *mъgà.

*mъžati II v. 'drizzle' ESSJa XXI 179-180

E Bel. *imžec'*

W Slnc. *mžec*

See → *mъglà, *mъgà.

*mъžiti I v. ESSJa XXI 181-182

E Ru. *mžit'* (*glaza*) (dial.) 'screw up one's eyes, doze'

W Cz. *mžíti* 'blink, flash'; Pl. *mžyc'* 'blink, doze, dream'

See → *mъglà, *mъgà.

*mъžiti II v. 'drizzle' ESSJa XXI 182-183

E Ru. *mžit'* (dial.) 'drizzle'; *mžit'sja* (dial.) 'be wrapped in a cold mist'

W Cz. *mžíti* 'drizzle'; Pl. *mžyc'* (dial.) 'drizzle'

See → *mъglà, *mъgà.

*N

*na prep. 'on(to), in(to)' ESSJa XXI 185-187

CS OCS *na*

E Ru. *na*

W Cz. *na*; Slk. *na*; Pl. *na*

S SCr. *na*; Sln. *nà*; Bulg. *na* prep. 'of, on(to), in(to)'

BSl. *nō

- B Lith. *nuõ* ‘from’; Latv. *niõ* ‘from’
OPr. *no; na* ‘onto, against, over’

***načęti** v. ‘begin’

ESSJa XXI 226-227

- CS OCS *načęti*, 1sg. *načęnę*
E Ru. *načát’*, 1sg. *načnú*, 3sg. *načnęt*
W Cz. *načítí* ‘begin, begin to cut’; Slk. *načat’* ‘cut off, begin’; Pl. *nacząć* (dial.)
S SCr. *náčęti*, 1sg. *náčęnem*; Čak. *načęti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *náčęneš*; Sln. *načęti*, 1sg. *načęnem*
PIE *nō+k(e)n-

Apart from two suspicious instances of OCz. *čieti*, the simple verb is nowhere attested in Slavic.

See also: *čędo; *čęda; *čędъ; *čędъ; *kopъ; *kopъсь; *ščenę

***nadъ** prep. ‘over, above’

ESSJa XXII 15-16

- CS OCS *nadъ* ‘over, above’
E Ru. *nad* ‘over, above, on’
W Cz. *nad(e)* ‘over, above’; Slk. *nad(o)* ‘over, above’; Pl. *nad(e)* ‘over, above’
S SCr. *nad(a)* ‘over, above’; Sln. *nàd* ‘over, above’; Bulg. *nad* ‘over, above’

An extended form (*-d^hh₁-om) of *na, cf. → *podъ I.

***nâglъ** adj. o (b) ‘very quick, sudden’

ESSJa XXII 33-37

- CS OCS *naglo* (Ril.) adv. ‘very quickly’
E Ru. *nâglyj* ‘impudent’; *nâgl* ‘impudent’, f. *nâglá*, n. *nâglo*; {1}
W Cz. *nâhlý* ‘sudden, hasty’; Slk. *nâhly* ‘very quick, unexpected’; Pl. *nagły* ‘sudden, urgent’
S SCr. *nâgao* ‘hasty’, f. *nâgla*; *nâgao* ‘hasty’, f. *nâgla*; Čak. *nâgal* (Vrg.) ‘hasty’, f. *nâglâ*, n. *nâglo*; *nâgal* (Orb.) ‘rash, hasty, sudden, steep’, f. *nâgla*, n. *nâglo*; Sln. *nâgâl* ‘abrupt, sudden’, f. *nâgla*; Bulg. *nâgâl* ‘impudent, insolent’

Etymology unclear. Lith. *nõglas* ‘sudden’ is a borrowing from Slavic.

{1} AP (b) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 136).

***nâgъ** adj. o (c) ‘naked’

ESSJa XXII 70-72

- CS OCS *nagъ*
E Ru. *nagój*; *nag*, f. *nagá*, n. *nágo*
W Cz. *nahý* ‘naked, bald’; Slk. *nahý*; Pl. *nagi*
S SCr. *nâg* (obs.); Sln. *nâg*, f. *nâga*
BSl. *noʎgós
B Lith. *niogas* 3; Latv. *niõgs*

For the PIE background, cf. Skt. *nagná-*, Lat. *nūdus*, Go. *naqap̥s*, see Beekes 1994. The Balto-Slavic etymon is an example of Winter’s law.

***nārōdъ** m. o 'people'

ESSJa XXII 253-255

- CS OCS *narodъ* 'people, tribe'
 E Ru. *narod* 'people', Gsg. *naróda*, Gsg. *naródu*
 W Cz. *národ* 'people, nation'; Slk. *narod* 'people, nation'; Pl. *narod* 'people, nation', Gsg. *narodu*
 S SCr. *narod* 'people, nation'; Čak. *nārōd* (Vrg.) 'people, nation', Gsg. *nārōda*; *nārot* (Orb.) 'people'; Sln. *narod* 'people, nation, generation', Gsg. *naróda*; Bulg. *narod* 'people, crowd'

Prefixed noun consisting of → **na* and → **rōdъ*. The stress on the medial syllable originates from Dybo's law.

See also: **roditi* I; **rōdъ*

***nasъ** prn. GALsg. 'us'

ESSJa XXIII 105-106

- CS OCS *nasъ*
 E Ru. *nas*
 W Cz. *nás*; Pl. *nas*
 S SCr. *nās*; *nas* encl.; Čak. *nās* (Vrg.); *nās* (Orb.)

The form **nasъ* goes back to **nōs* plus the Gpl. ending *-*om*.

Cogn. Lat. *nōs* Apl. 'us'

See also: **my*

***natъ** f. i 'leafy top of a root vegetable'

ESSJa XXIII 186-187

- E Ru. *natina* (dial.) 'leafy top of a root vegetable'; Ukr. *nat'* (dial.) 'leafy top of a root vegetable'
 W Cz. *nat'* 'leafy top of a root vegetable'; Slk. *nat'* 'leafy top of a root vegetable'; Pl. *nać* 'leafy top of a root vegetable'
 S Sln. *nāt* 'leafy top of a root vegetable'
 BSl. **naʔt*-
 B Lith. *notrė* f.(ė) 4 '(stinging) nettle'; Latv. *nātre* f.(ē) '(stinging) nettle'
 OPr. *noatis* '(stinging) nettle'

The relationship with OHG *nazza*, OIc. *noʀ* 'nettle' is not entirely clear.

***naustiti** v. 'incite'

ESSJa XXIII 198-199

- CS OCS *naustiti* (Zogr., Mar.) 'incite, persuade'
 E Ru. *naustít'* (obs.) 'incite'
 W LSrb. *nahusćís* 'prepare oneself, undertake'
 S SCr. *naustiti* 'prompt, incite'; Sln. *naústiti* 'incite', 1sg. *naústim*; *nahústiti* 'incite', 1sg. *nahústim*

Prefixed verb consisting of → **na* and → **ustiti*.

***naviti** v. ‘torment, tire’ ESSJa XXIII 198-199

W Cz. *naviti* (poet., Jg.) ‘tire’; *naviti se* (dial.) ‘get tired’; OCz. *naviti* ‘torment’; Slk. *navit’ sa* (dial.) ‘get tired’

BSl. **nōw(ř)*-

B Lith. *nōvyti, nóvyti* (OLith., dial.) ‘kill, torment’; Latv. *nāvit* ‘kill, destroy’; *nāvītiēs* ‘exhaust oneself, toil’

Like the Baltic verbs, **naviti* may derive from a noun with lengthened grade (→ **navb*). The ESSJa is probably right in suggesting a connection with → **nyti, *nūditi*, etc. Note that **nūditi, *nōditi* is also attested with the meaning ‘exhaust, torment’.

***navb** m./f. i ‘dead man’ ESSJa XXIV 49-54

CS CS *navb* m.(i?) ‘corpse’

E Ru. *nav*’ (Dal’: arch., dial.; SRNG) m. ‘dead man, corpse’ (also *návij, návej*); ORu. *navb* m.(i) ‘dead man, corpse’

W OCz. *náv* f.(i) ‘the other world, realm of the dead’; OCz. *náva* f.(ā) ‘grave, the other world, hell’

S Sln. *nāv* m.(o) ‘soul of a dead person’; Sln. *nāvje* n.(jo) ‘souls of unbaptized children’; Bulg. *návi* (Gerov) Npl. f. ‘evil spirits’

BSl. **naw?*-

B Lith. *nōvis* (dial.) m.(io) 2 ‘death’; *nōvė* (Daukant) f.(ē) 2 ‘massacre’; Latv. *nāve* f.(ē) ‘death’
OPr. *novis*

Cogn. Go. *naus* m. ‘dead person’

In view of the Baltic evidence, the root must probably be reconstructed as **nōuH-*, with the Latvian broken tone reflecting the root-final laryngeal. If the root was **noHu-*, we would expect to find fixed root stress on an acute syllable.

See also: **naviti*

***ne** adv. ‘not’ ESSJa XXIV 91-93

CS OCS *ne* ‘not’

E Ru. *ne* ‘not’

W Cz. *ne* ‘not, no’; Slk. *ne* ‘not’; Pl. *nie* ‘not, no’

S SCr. *ne* ‘not, no’; Sln. *ně* ‘not’; Bulg. *ne* ‘not, no’

BSl. **ne*

B Lith. *ne* ‘not’; Latv. *ne* ‘not’

PIE **ne*

Cogn. Lat. *ne-* ‘not’; Go. *ni* ‘not’

***nēbo** n. s (c) ‘sky, heaven’ ESSJa XXIV 101-104

CS OCS *nebo* n.(s) ‘heaven’, Gsg. *nebes*

- E Ru. *nébo* n.(o/s) 'sky, heaven', Npl. *nebesá* (a Church Slavicism); *něbo* n.(o) 'palate'
- W Cz. *nebe* n.(jo/s) 'sky, heaven', Npl. *nebesa*; Slk. *nebo* n.(o) 'sky, heaven'; Pl. *niebo* n.(o) 'sky, heaven'; USrb. *njebjo* n.(jo) 'sky, heaven'
- S SCr. *něbo* n.(s) 'sky, heaven, (dial.) ceiling, palate', Npl. *neběsa*; Čak. *něbo* (Vrg.) n.(o) 'sky, heaven', Npl. *nebesã*; Sln. *nebô* n.(o) 'sky, heaven, (dial.) ceiling, palate'; Bulg. *nebé* n.(s) 'sky, heaven', Npl. *nebesá*
- BSL. **nebo, nebes-*
- B Lith. *debešis* f.(i) 'cloud'; Latv. *debess* f.(i) 'cloud'
- PIE **nebh-es-*
- Cogn. Skt. *nábhas-* (RV+) n. 'fog, mass of clouds, sky'; Gk. *véφος* n. 'cloud, mass of clouds'; Hitt. *nēpiš-* n. 'sky'

***nebogъ** adj. o 'poor, unfortunate'

ESSJa XXIV 104-105

- CS OCS *nebogъ* (Supr.) 'unfortunate, poverty-stricken'
- W Cz. *nebohý* 'poor, late (deceased)'; Slk. *nebohý* (dial.) 'poor, dead, late (deceased)'; Pl. *niebogi* 'poor, unfortunate'
- S SCr. *něbôg* 'poor, unfortunate'; Sln. *nebôg* 'poor, miserable'

Compound of → **ne* and → **bôgъ*, cf. → *ubôgъ*.

See also: **bogatъ*

***nedôgъ** m. o (a) 'disease'

ESSJa XXIV 125-126

- CS OCS *nedôgъ* 'disease'
- E Ru. *nedúg* 'disease'; ORu. *nedugъ* 'disease, vice'
- W Cz. *neduh* 'disease'; OCz. *neduha* f. 'disease'; Slk. *neduh* 'disease'
- S Bulg. *nedǎg* 'flaw, disease'

It seems to me quite natural to connect this compound with → **dęglъ* 'healthy, strong', etc., which has an acute root. The ESSJa suggests that the (various) roots **dôž-* and **dug-* may have become mixed up, cf. → **dužb*. For ORu. *dugъ* 'strength (?)'; Cz. *duh* 'flourishing', the ESSJa's reconstruction **dugъ* (V 150) seems to be based on the comparison with Lith. *daūg* 'much', etc.

***negodovati** v. 'be indignant'

ESSJa XXIV 129

- CS OCS *negodovati* 'be indignant, exasperated', 1sg. *negoduju*
- E Ru. *negodovat'* 'be indignant'
- S SCr. *něgodovati* 'be indignant'; Bulg. *negodúvam* 'be indignant'

See → **goditi*.

***nejęsyтъ** f. i 'pelican'

ESSJa XXIV 134-135

- CS OCS *nejęsyti* (Ps. Sin.) Dsg. f.(i) 'pelican'
- E Ru. *nejásyt'* f.(i) 'tawny owl'

S SCr. *nesit* m.(o) ‘pelican’; Sln. *nesit* m.(o) ‘pelican’, Gsg. *nesita* (cf. *nesit* = *nesitən* ‘insatiable’); Bulg. *nésit* m.(o) ‘pelican’

PIE **ne-h₁m-seh₂??-to-*

Compound of → **ne* ‘not’, → *eti* ‘take’ and **sytb* ‘satiety, repletion’ (→ **sýtō*). The background of this etymon has been discussed by Shapiro (1982).

***nekъto**; ***někъto** prn. ‘someone’

ESSJa XXIV 146-147

CS OCS *někъto*

E Ru. *někto*

W Cz. *někdo*; OCz. *někto*; *někdo*; Slk. *niekto*; Pl. *niekto* (dial.); OPl. *niekto*

S SCr. *něko*; Sln. *někdó*

Compound of the negative prefix **ne-* or **ně-* and → **kъto*.

***nērstъ**; ***nērstъ** m. o; f. i (c) ‘spawning’

ESSJa XXV 9-11

E Ru. *nérest* m. ‘spawning’

W OCz. *neřest* f.(i) ‘spawning’; Slk. *neres* (dial.) m. ‘spawning’; *nerest* (dial.) f.(i) ‘spawning’; Pl. *mrzost* (dial.) m. ‘spawning’; *nerest* (dial.) m. ‘spawning, spawn’; OPl. *mrost* m. ‘spawning’

S SCr. *mrļjest* m. ‘roe of a small fish’, Gsg. *mrļjesta*; Sln. *mręst* m. ‘rutting period (of cats), (*žabji* m.) frogspawn’; *dręst* m. ‘spawning’

BSl. **ners-t-*

B Lith. *neřstas* m. 2 ‘spawning’; Latv. *nērsts*² m. ‘spawning’

The hypothesis that **ners-* is an enlargement of the root **h₂ner-* that we find in Gk. ἀνήρ ‘man’ (IEW: 765) does not seem very plausible.

See also: **nōrstъ*

***nerți** v.

ESSJa XXV 13

CS CS *ponrēti* ‘enter’, 1sg. *ponbrę*; RuCS *nrēti* ‘go deep into, hide oneself’; *nereti* ‘go deep into, hide oneself’

E Ru. *nrēti* ‘go deep into, hide oneself’; *nereti* ‘go deep into, hide oneself’

BSl. **ner?*-

B Lith. *nerți* ‘dive’

Only Balto-Slavic.

***nestera** f. ā ‘niece’

ESSJa XXV 18-19

CS RuCS *nestera* ‘niece’

E ORu. *nestera* ‘niece’

W OPl. *nieściora* ‘niece’

S SCr. *něstera* ‘niece, sister’s daughter’

BSl. **nep(ō)t-*

- B Lith. *nepuotis* (OLith.) m./f.(i) ‘grandson, granddaughter’; *neptė* (OLith.) f.(ė) ‘granddaughter’
- PIE **h₂nep-t-ter-eh₂*
- Cogn. Skt. *naptī-* (RV+) f. ‘daughter, granddaughter’; Gk. ἀνεψιός m. ‘cousin’; Lat. *neptis* f. ‘granddaughter, (later) niece’; OIr. *necht* f. ‘niece’; OHG *nift(a)* f. ‘niece’

An *r*-stem created on the basis of PIE **h₂nep-t-*.

See also: *netьjь

***nesti** v. (c) ‘carry, bring’

ESSJa XXV 19-23

- CS OCS *nesti*, 1sg. *nesq*
- E Ru. *nestí*, 1sg. *nesú*, 3sg. *nesët*
- W Cz. *nésti*; Slk. *niesť*; Pl. *nieść*
- S SCr. *něsti*, 1sg. *něsēm* (rarely without prefix); Čak. *něsti* (Vrg.) ‘lay (eggs)’; 2sg. *nesěš*; *něs* (Orb.) ‘lay (eggs)’; 3sg. *nesě*; Sln. *nésti*, 1sg. *nésem*
- BSl. **neś-*
- B Lith. *nėšti*
- PIE **h₁nek̑*
- Cogn. Gk. ἤνεγκον 1sg. aor. ‘brought’

The specific meaning ‘lay (eggs)’ is found in the entire Slavic language area.

See also: *nositi

***netopyrь** m. jo ‘bat’

ESSJa XXIV 143-145

- CS RuCS *netopyrь* m.(jo); *nep̑tyrь* m.(jo)
- E Ru. *netopyr’* m.(jo), Gsg. *netopyrjá*; *netopyr’* (dial.) m.(jo); Ukr. *netopyr* m.(o)
- W Cz. *netopyr* m.(o); OCz. *netopyř* m.(o); Slk. *netopier* m.(o); Pl. *nietoperz* m.(jo); *niedoperz* m.(jo); OPl. *nietopyrz* m.(jo); USrb. *njetopyr* m.(o)
- S Sln. *netopír* m.(jo), Gsg. *netopírja* ((Pleteršnik mentions a large number of variants: *natopír*, *nadopér*, *matopír*, *matofír*, *letopír*, *latopír*, *dopír*, *dupír*, *nadopir* (Meg. 1744))

What makes this etymon interesting, is the fact that it may contain **neto-* < **nek̑to-* ‘night’, with *e*-grade as in Hitt. *nekuz* ‘at night’. Vaillant (Gr. I: 83, IV: 655) reconstructs original *o*-grade, however. The second element is often interpreted as **pyrь* ‘flier’, with a lengthened zero grade (→ **pariti*, **p̑rati*). A reanalysis **ne-topyrь* seems only possible for East Slavic (Ru. *ne* ‘not’, *topýrit’* ‘bristle’). According to Vaillant (l.c.), **pyrь* has replaced original **pirь* under the influence of the suffix **-yrь*, which originated in borrowings from Greek (cf. Ru. *psaltýr’*).

***netьjь** m. io ‘nephew’

ESSJa XXIV 224-225

- CS CS *netii* m.(io) ‘nephew’

- E ORu. *netii* m.(io) ‘nephew’
 W OPl. *nieć* m.(jo) ‘nephew’; *niesć* m.(jo) ‘nephew’
 S SCr. *nečák* m.(o) ‘sister’s son’; Čak. *neťjāk* (Novi) m.(o) ‘sister’s son’; Sln. *nečák* m.(o) ‘nephew’
 BSl. **nep(ō)t-*
 B Lith. *nepuotis* (OLith.) m./f.(i) ‘grandson, granddaughter’; *neptis* (OLith.) m.(io) ‘grandson’
 PIE *(*h*₂)*nep-t-i-o-*
 Cogn. Skt. *nápāt-* (RV+) m. ‘descendant, grandson’; Gk. ἀνεψιός m. ‘cousin’; Lat. *nepōs* m. ‘grandchild, offspring’; OE *nefa* m. ‘grandson, nephew’

See also: **nestera*

***nevěsta** f. ā (a) ‘bride’ ESSJa XXV 70-76

- CS OCS *nevěsta* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’
 E Ru. *nevěsta* ‘bride, fiancée, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law’
 W Cz. *nevěsta* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’; Slk. *nevesta* ‘bride, marriageable girl, daughter-in-law’; Pl. *niewiasta* ‘woman, wife’; OPl. *niewiasta* ‘married woman, bride, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law’; USrb. *njewjesta* ‘bride’; LSrb. *njewjesta* ‘bride’
 S SCr. *nevjesta* ‘marriageable girl, bride, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law’; Čak. *nevīsta* (Vrg.) ‘id.’; *nevěsta* (Orb.) ‘bride, daughter-in-law’; Sln. *nevěsta* ‘bride, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law’; Bulg. *nevěsta* ‘bride, young woman, wife’; *nevjāsta* ‘bride, young woman, wife’

The most plausible analysis is → **ne* plus a *to*-derivative of PIE **uoid-* ‘know’.

***nēvodъ** m. o (c) ‘seine, sweep-net’ ESSJa XXV 81-84

- CS OCS *nevodъ* ‘seine, sweep-net’
 E Ru. *névod* ‘seine, sweep-net’; *névod* (dial.) ‘big fishing-net, net for fishing in winter’; *něvod* (dial.) ‘big fishing-net, net for fishing in winter’
 W Cz. *nevod* ‘seine, sweep-net’; OCz. *nevod* ‘seine, sweep-net’; Pl. *niewód* ‘seine, sweep-net’, Gsg. *niewodu*; OPl. *niewod* ‘type of big fishing-net’; *niewód* ‘type of big fishing-net’; LSrb. *nawod* ‘seine, sweep-net’
 S SCr. *nevod* (Stulli) ‘net’; Bulg. *névod* ‘seine, sweep-net’; *návod* (dial.) ‘seine, sweep-net’
 BSl. **wodós*
 B Lith. *vādas* 4 ‘seine, sweep-net’; Latv. *vads* ‘seine, sweep-net’
 Cogn. OIc. *vaðr* m. ‘fishing-line’; MHG *wate* f. ‘fishing-net’; MLG *wade* f. ‘fishing-net’

It is clear that this compound must be analyzed as **ne* + **vodъ*. According to Vasmer (s.v. *névod*), the negation is motivated by reasons of taboo. The root may be identified as the *o*-grade of **uedh-* ‘lead’ (→ **vesti*), but on the other hand the attempts to connect the Germanic forms with **uh₂d^h-* ‘wade’, cf. OHG *watan*

‘advance, wade’, Lat. *vadō* ‘wade’, *vādō* ‘go, walk’ must be taken seriously in view of parallels such as Ru. *bréden* ‘a kind of dragnet’. It is not attractive, however, to separate the Balto-Slavic forms from their Germanic synonyms (the connection with ‘wade’ is formally impossible for Balto-Slavic) and a borrowing from Germanic into Baltic and Slavic does not seem very likely.

***neže** adv. ‘than’

ESSJa XXIV 98

CS OCS *neže* ‘than’
 W Cz. *než* ‘than’; Slk. *neže* ‘than’; USrb. *njež* ‘than’
 S SCr. *neže* ‘than’; Bulg. *néže* ‘than’

BSL. **ne-g-*

B Lith. *negù* ‘than’

See →**ne* and →**že*.

***ni** conj., ptcl. ‘nor, not’

ESSJa XXV 106-107

CS OCS *ni* ‘not’
 E Ru. *ni* ‘nor, not’
 W Cz. *ni* ‘nor, not’; Slk. *ni* ‘nor, not’; Pl. *ni* ‘nor, not even’
 S SCr. *ni* ‘nor, not even’; Sln. *ni* ‘nor, not even’; Bulg. *ni* ‘nor, not even’

BSL. **nei*

B Lith. *neĩ* ‘nor, than’

PIE **nei*

See also: **niže*

***nicati**; ***nikati** v. ‘arise’

ESSJa XXV 109

CS OCS *ničetǫ* (Cloz.) 3sg. ‘arises, germinates’; RuCS *nicati* ‘lie stretched out face downwards, germinate’; *nikati* ‘appear, germinate, stoop’, 1sg. *niču*
 E Ru. *ńikat* (dial.) ‘dive (Psk.), walk around aimlessly (SW)’; ORu. *nikati* ‘appear, germinate, stoop’, 1sg. *niču*
 W Cz. *ńiceti* (Kott) ‘germinate’; *niceti* (Kott) ‘lie face downwards’; Slk. *nicat* (Kott) ‘bow down’
 S Čak. *ńikat* (Orlec) ‘come up (of plants, etc.)’, 1sg. *niču*; Sln. *ńikati* ‘bow down’, 1sg. *ńikam*

Verb derived from → **nicǫ*.

***nicǫ** adj. jo ‘lying face downwards’

ESSJa XXV 109-110

CS OCS *nicǫ* ‘lying face downwards’
 E Ru. *nic* adv. ‘face downwards’
 W Cz. *nicí* (obs.) ‘lying face downwards’; *nice* (Jg., Kott) adv. ‘face downwards’; OCz. *nicí* ‘lying face downwards’
 S Bulg. *ńicǫm* (dial.) adv. ‘face downwards, with downcast eyes’

PIE **ni-h₃k^wo-*

Cogn. Skt. *ni* adv. 'downwards'; Skt. *nĩcā* adv. 'downwards'

The operation of the progressive palatalization in this etymon confirms the reconstruction **ni-h₃k^wo-* as opposed to a reconstructed form with *e*-grade.

See also: **nicati*; **nikati* **ničati*; **niknŋti*; **nizb*

***ničati** v. 'bend, stoop'

ESSJa XXV 119

CS RuCS *ničati* 'bend, bow, droop'

E ORu. *ničati* 'bend, bow, droop'

W Cz. *ničeti* (Jg., Kott) 'bend, stoop, lie face downwards'; OCz. *ničeti* 'hang one's head, stoop, lie face downwards'

S SCr. *ničati* (arch.) 'bend, bow'; Sln. *ničati* 'squat', 1sg. *ničim*

Verb in **-ėti* derived from the stem **nik-*, see → **nicb*.

***niknŋti** v. 'arise'

ESSJa XXV 114-115

CS RuCS *niknuti* 'appear, arise'

E Ru. *niknut* 'droop'; ORu. *niknuti* 'appear, arise'

W Cz. *niknouti* 'bow, disappear, germinate, sprout'; Pl. *niknŋć* 'disappear, be lost'

S SCr. *niknuti* 'appear, arise', 1sg. *niknēm*; Čak. *niknuti* (Vrg.) 'appear, arise', 2sg. *nikneš*; Sln. *nikniti* 'germinate, sprout, disappear', 1sg. *niknem*; Bulg. *nikna* 'germinate, sprout'

See → **nicb*.

***niščb** adj. jo (a) 'poor, destitute'

ESSJa XXV 123

CS OCS *ništbo* 'poor, destitute'

E Ru. *niščij* 'destitute, poverty-stricken, (dial.) thin, ill'; ORu. *niščii* 'poor, destitute, poverty-stricken'; Ukr. *nyščyj* 'destitute, poverty-stricken'

S SCr. *ništ* 'poor, destitute'; *ništ* (OSerb.) 'poor, destitute'; Sln. *ništ* 'poor, destitute'; Bulg. *ništ* 'poor, destitute'

According to Meillet (Ét. II: 381), we are dealing here with a *tjo*-derivative of **nīs*, cf. Skt. *nīṣṭya-* 'external, foreign'. The form **nīs* as such (with unexplained length) has not survived. Instead we find → **nizb*.

***nĩť** f. i (a) 'thread'

ESSJa XXV 130-133

E Ru. *nit* 'thread'

W Cz. *nit* 'thread'; Slk. *nit* 'thread'; Pl. *nić* 'thread'

S SCr. *nĩť* 'thread'; Čak. *nĩť* (Orb.) '(piece of) thread, (piece of) wire'; Sln. *nit* 'thread', Gsg. *nĩti*

BSl. **nĩťtis*

B Lith. *nýtis* f. ‘(warp) thread’; *nýtys* Npl. f. 1 ‘harness (text.), heald’; Latv. *nītis* f. ‘(warp) thread’; *nītis* Npl. f. ‘harness (text.), heald’

PIE *(s)nh₁i-t-i-

Cogn. Gk. *véw* ‘spin’; Lat. *nēre* ‘spin, weave’; OIr. *sniid* ‘twist, tie’

***nizъ** adv. ‘down, below’

ESSJa XXV 145-148

CS OCS *nizъ* ‘down, below’

S SCr. *niz* ‘below’; Sln. *niz* ‘down, from’

PIE *nei-ó^h-?

Cogn. Skt. *ni* ‘downwards’; Skt. *nīcā* ‘downwards’

See also: *nicati; *nikati; *nicъ; *ničati; *niknōti

***niže** conj./adv.

ESSJa XXV 108

CS OCS *ni že* (Supr.) conj. ‘nor’

E Ru. *níže* (dial.) conj. ‘nor, not even’; Ukr. *niž* adv. ‘than’

W Pl. *niž* adv. ‘than’; *niže* (arch.) adv. ‘than’

See →*ni and →*že.

***niva** f. ā (a) ‘field’

ESSJa XXV 134-137

CS OCS *n’iva* ‘field’

E Ru. *níva* ‘(corn-)field’

W Cz. *niva* ‘field, ploughed field’; *níva* ‘field, ploughed field’; Slk. *niva* (lit.) ‘meadow, field’; Pl. *niwa* ‘field, (poet.) ‘corn-field’

S SCr. *nj’iva* ‘field, ploughed field’; *gniua* (Mažur.) ‘field, ploughed field’; Sln. *njíva* ‘field, ploughed field’; *gnjiva* (dial.) ‘field, ploughed field’; Bulg. *níva* ‘field, ploughed field’

PIE *neh₁i-u-?

If this etymon is to be connected with Gk. *veióç* f. ‘fallow-land’, the *g-* of the SCr. and Sln. dialect forms, which could account for the sequence *nji*, must be secondary. The palatalized *n* reflected in certain Old Church Slavic manuscripts would remain unexplained, however. A serious alternative is Shevelov’s suggestion (1964: 209) that **niva* is cognate with → *gniti* ‘rot’.

***noga** f. ā (c) ‘foot, leg’

ESSJa XXV 161-164

CS OCS *noga*

E Ru. *nogá*, Asg. *nógu*; Ukr. *nohá*, Asg. *nóhu*

W Cz. *noha*; Slk. *noha*; Pl. *noga*

S SCr. *nòga*, Asg. *nògu*; Čak. *nogà* (Vrg.), Asg. *nògu*; *nogà* (Orb.), Asg. *nògo*; Sln. *nóga*; Bulg. *nogá* ‘leg’

BSl. **noga*?

B Lith. *nağà* f. ‘hoof’; *nāgas* m. ‘nail, claw’

OPr. *nage* ‘foot’

PIE **h₃nog^{wh}-eh₂*

Cogn. Gk. ὄνυξ m. ‘nail, claw, hoof’; Lat. *unguis* m. ‘nail, claw’; OIr. *ingen* f. ‘nail’; OHG *nagal* m. ‘nail’

See also: *ногътъ

***нòгътъ** m. i / m. io (c) ‘nail, claw’

ESSJa XXV 170-173

CS OCS *nogъtv* (Supr., Euch., Hil.) m.(i) ‘nail, claw’

E Ru. *nógot*’ m.(jo) ‘nail’, Gsg. *nógtja*

W Cz. *nehet* m.(o) ‘nail’; Slk. *necht* m.(o) ‘nail’; *nehet* (dial.) m.(jo) ‘nail’; Pl. *nogieć* m.(jo) ‘nail’; *nokieć* (arch.) m.(jo) ‘nail’; USrb. *nochć* m.(jo) ‘nail’; LSrb. *nokś* m.(jo) ‘nail’

S SCr. *nòkat* m.(o) ‘nail, claw, hoof’, Gsg. *nòkta*; *nogat* m.(o) ‘nail, claw, hoof’, Gsg. *nokta*; Čak. *nòhat* (Vrg., Orb.) m.(o) ‘fingernail, toenail’, Gsg. *nòhta*; Sln. *nòhət* m.(o) ‘nail, claw’, Gsg. *nòhta*; *nòhət* m.(o) ‘nail, claw’, Gsg. *nòhta*; *nohət* m.(o) ‘nail, claw’, Gsg. *nohtà*; *nògət* m.(o) ‘nail, claw’, Gsg. *nòhta*; Bulg. *nókät* m.(o) ‘nail, claw’

BSl. **nogutios*

B Lith. *nagùtis* m.(io) ‘nail, claw (dim.)’

OPr. *nagutis* ‘nail’

PIE **h₃nog^{wh}-*

Cogn. Skt. *nakhá-* m./n. ‘nail, claw’; Gk. ὄνυξ m. ‘nail, claw, hoof’; Lat. *unguis* m. ‘nail, claw’; OIr. *ingen* f. ‘nail’; OHG *nagal* m. ‘nail’

See → *nogà.

***нòктъ** f. i (c) ‘night’

ESSJa XXV 175-177

CS OCS *noštъ*

E Ru. *noč*’, Gsg. *nóci*

W Cz. *noc*; Slk. *noc*; Pl. *noc*; USrb. *nóc*, Gsg. *nocy*

S SCr. *nòc*, Gsg. *nòci*; Čak. *nòc* (Vrg.), Gsg. *nòci*; *n^uòc* (Orb.) ‘night, darkness’, Gsg. *nòci*; Sln. *nòč*, Gsg. *nočî*; Bulg. *nošt*

BSl. **noktis*

B Lith. *naktis* 4; Latv. *nakts*

OPr. *naktin* Asg.

PIE **nok^w-t-*

Cogn. Skt. *nákt-* (RV+) f.; Hitt. *nekuz* Gsg. ‘in the evening’; Gk. νύξ f.; Lat. *nox* f.; Go. *nahts* f.

***norà** f. ā (c) ‘den, lair’

ESSJa XXV 184-185

CS CS *nora* ‘den, lair’

E Ru. *norá* ‘burrow, den, hole’

- W Cz. *nora* ‘den, lair, hole’; Pl. *nora* ‘den, lair, hole’ (also *nóra*, *nura*)
 S Sln. *nora* ‘hole, crater-like depression’

BSL. **norʔ-*

- B Lith. *nāras* (dial.) m. 4 ‘hole, lair’; *narà* (dial.) f. 4 ‘hole, lair’

Deverbativ *ā*-stem (see → **nerī*). In the LKŽ, only the variant *narà* is designated as a borrowing. The form *nāras* is attested in an East Lithuanian manuscript.

***nōrstъ; *nōrstь** m. o; f. i (c) ‘spawning’ ESSJa XXV 189

- E Ru. *nórost* (dial.) m. ‘frog spawn’; *nóros* (dial.) m. ‘frog spawn’; *nórost*’ (dial.) f.(i) ‘spawning’

BSL. **norʃ-t-*

- B Lith. *narštas* m. 2 ‘spawning’; Latv. *nārsts*² m. ‘spawning, mating season (birds)’

See → **nērstō*

***nōrvъ; *nōrvь** m. o; f. i ‘custom, manner’ ESSJa XXV 192-195

- CS OCS *nravъ* (Supr., Zogr.²) m. ‘custom, manner’

E Ru. *nórov* m. ‘(obs.) custom, (coll.) obstinacy’

- W Cz. *mrav* m. ‘custom, manner’; OCz. *nrav* m. ‘custom, manner, habit’; Pl. *narów* m. ‘bad habit, shortcoming, vice’

S SCr. *nárav* f.(i) ‘custom, nature, character’; Čak. *nārāv* (Vrg.) f.(i) ‘custom, nature, character’; Gsg. *nārāvi*; Sln. *nrāv* m. ‘custom’; Gsg. *nráva*; *nrāv* f.(i) ‘customs’; Gsg. *nrávi*; Bulg. *nrav* m. ‘character, (pl.) customs’

The connection with Lith. *norėti* ‘want’, *nóras* ‘wish, desire’ is possible if we assume that the tone of the Lithuanian forms reflects the root-final laryngeal of *(H)nōrH-, which is not impossible, though the consistency is surprising.

***nositi** v. (b) ‘carry, bear’ ESSJa XXV 206-210

- CS OCS *nositi*, 1sg. *nošǫ*

E Ru. *nosít*’, 1sg. *nošú*, 3sg. *nosít*

W Cz. *nositi*; Slk. *nosit*’; Pl. *nosić*

S SCr. *nòsiti*, 1sg. *nòsim*; Čak. *nositi* (Vrg.), 2sg. *nòsīš*; *nosit* (Orb.), 1sg. *nòsin*; Sln. *nòsiti*, 1sg. *nòsim*; Bulg. *nósja*

BSL. **noś-*

- B Lith. *našinti* ‘announce, proclaim’

PIE **h₁noḱ*

Cogn. Gk. ἤνεγκον 1sg. aor. ‘brought’

See → **nestì*.

*nōsъ m. o (c) 'nose'

ESSJa XXV 212-216

CS CS *nosъ*E Ru. *nos*, Gsg. *nósa*W Cz. *nos*; Slk. *nos*; Pl. *nos*; USrb. *nós*, Gsg. *nosa*S SCr. *nōs*, Gsg. *nōsa*; Čak. *nōs* (Vrg.) 'nose', Gsg. *nōsa*; *nōs* (Novi), Gsg. *nōsa*; *n"ōs* (Orb.) 'nose, nozzle (on a jug or a pair of bellows)', Gsg. *nōsa*; Sln. *nōs*, Gsg. *nōsa*, Gsg. *nosā*, Gsg. *nosū*; Bulg. *nos*BSl. **nas-*; **našs-*B Lith. *nósis* f.(i) 'nose'; Latv. *nāss* f.(i) 'nostril'OPr. *nozy* (EV) 'nose'PIE **nh₂-es-/*neh₂-s-*Cogn. Skt. *nás-* (RV+) f. 'nose'; Lat. *nāris* f. 'nose'; OHG *nasa* f. 'nose'

Slavic and Baltic have generalized different variants of the stem. PSl. **nōsъ* is based on the Asg. **nh₂-es-m*, whereas Baltic **nās-* continues the stem of the Nsg. **neh₂-s-s*.

See also: *nozdra; *nozdra

*novákъ m. o 'novice'

ESSJa XXV 225-226

CS CS *novakъ* 'novice'E Ukr. *novák* 'novice, new moon'W OCz. *novák* 'novice, newcomer'; Slk. *novák* (arch.) 'novice'; Pl. *nowak* (arch.) 'novice'S SCr. *nōvāk* 'novice'; Sln. *novák* 'novice'; Bulg. *novák* 'novice'Derivative in **akъ* of → **nōvъ*.

See also: *novъ

*nōvъ adj. o (b) 'new'

ESSJa XXVI 9-13

E Ru. *нóвѣ* {1}W Cz. *nový*; Slk. *nový*; Pl. *nowy*S SCr. *nōv*, f. *nōva*; Čak. *nōvī* (Vrg.), *nōvā* f., n. *nōvō*; *novī* (Novi); *n"ōf* (Orb.), f. *nōva*, n. *nōvo*; Sln. *nōv*, f. *nóva*; *nōv*; Bulg. *nov*BSl. **nou(i)os*B Lith. *naũjas*PIE **neuos*Cogn. Skt. *náva-* (RV+) 'new, fresh, young'; Gk. *véoc*; Lat. *novus*; Go. *niujis*

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian with traces of (b) (Zaliznjak 1985: 138).

See also: *novákъ

*nozdra; *nozdra f. jā; f. ā (b) 'nostril'

ESSJa XXVI 15-18

CS OCS *nozdrī* (Ps. Sin., Supr.) Npl. f.(jā)E Ru. *nozdrjá* f.(jā)

- W Cz. *nozdra* f.(ā); Slk. *nozdra* f.(ā); Pl. *nozdrze* n.(jo); OPl. *nozdrza* f.(jā); *nozdrze* n.(jo)
- S SCr. *nǫzdra* f.(ā); Čak. *nǫzdrva* (Vrg.) f.(ā); Sl. *nǫzdra* f.(ā); *nǫzdrva* f.(ā); *nozdr̥v* f.(i), Gsg. *nozdrvi*; Bulg. *nǫzdra* f.(ā)
- BSL. **nas-r-*
- B Lith. *nasrai* Npl. m.(o) 4 ‘mouth (of an animal)’; *nastrai* (dial.) Npl. m.(o) 4 ‘mouth (of an animal)’
- PIE **nh₂es-r-eh₂*

The alternative solution is that we are dealing with a compound of → **nōsō* ‘nose’ and → **dbrati* ‘tear’.

***nǫžь** m. jo (b) ‘knife’

ESSJa XXVI 23-24

- CS OCS *nožь*
- E Ru. *nož*
- W Cz. *nůž*, Gsg. *noža*; Slk. *nôž*, Gsg. *noža*; Pl. *nóż*, Gsg. *noża*; USrb. *nóž*, Gsg. *noža*; LSrb. *nož*; *nouž* (dial., see Schuster-Šewc 1958: 270)
- S SCr. *nōž*, Gsg. *nóža*; Čak. *nōž* (Vrg.), Gsg. *nōžā*; *nóž* (Hvar), Gsg. *nōžā*; *n^hōš* (Orb.); Kajk. *něž* (Bednja); Sl. *nòž*, Gsg. *nóža*; Bulg. *nož*
- PIE **h₁noǵ^h-io-*
- Cogn. Gk. ἔγχος n. ‘spear’

See also: **v̥noziti*; **v̥nǫžiti*; **v̥nǫžnǫti*; **v̥nǫžti*

***nǫditi; *nǫditi** v. (a) ‘compel, force’

ESSJa XXVI 34-37

- CS OCS *nǫditi* ‘force’; *nuditi* (Sav., Supr.) ‘force’ (Supr. has 24 instances of *nud-* against 1 occurrence of *nǫd-*)
- E Ru. *núdit’* ‘compel, force’; *núdit’* (dial.) ‘compel, force, plague’; *nudit’* (dial.) ‘compel, force, plague’
- W Cz. *nuditi* ‘bore, (obs.) plague’; Slk. *nudit’* ‘bore’; Pl. *nudzić* ‘bore, plague’; *nędzić* ‘plague, exhaust, worry’; OPl. *nędzić* ‘compel, force, plague’
- S SCr. *nǫditi* ‘offer, incite, invite’; Čak. *nǫditi* (Vrg.) ‘offer, incite, invite’; *nǫdit* (Orb.) ‘offer’; Sl. *núditi* ‘force’, 1sg. *núdim*

Formally, **nǫditi* matches Lith. *naudóti* ‘use’, Go. *niutan* ‘attain’, in which case the acute of the root could be attributed to Winter’s law. Semantically, the etymology fails to convince, however. More attractive is the connection with OPr. *nautin* A sg., *nautins* Apl. ‘need’, Go. *nops* f., OHG *nōt* m./f. ‘need, force’, which may contain a suffix *-*ti-*. (cf. IEW: 1351). Besides **nǫditi*, **nǫditi*, we also find → **nutiti* (**nǫtiti*) and → **nukati* (**nǫkati*). We may posit a root **neuH-* (cf. → **nyti*) with various enlargements (as well as secondary nasalization), but it can hardly be excluded that **neuH-* is itself an enlargement, the other root variants being enlargements of **neu-*. The accentual evidence is not always unequivocal and besides the verbs may have influenced each other.

See also: **nukati*; **nǫkati*; **núdja*; **nǫdja*; **nutiti*; **nǫtiti*; **nyti*

***nukati; *nøkati** v. ‘urge, incite’ ESSJa XXVI 43-44

- CS CS *nukati* ‘incite’
 W Cz. *nukat* (dial.) ‘incite’; Slk. *núkat* ‘incite’; Pl. *nukać* ‘urge, induce, impel’;
nękać (dial.) ‘urge, induce, impel’; *nąkać* (dial.) ‘urge, induce, impel’; Slnc.
nąkąc ‘chase, urge’
 S SCr. *nùkati* ‘(try to) persuade, offer’

See → *nùditi, *nòditi.

***nùdja; *nòdja** f. jā (a) ‘need’ ESSJa XXVI 37-39

- CS OCS *nožda* ‘force, necessity, suffering’; *nužda* (Supr., En.) ‘force, necessity,
 suffering’ (Supr. has 27 instances of *nužd-* against 4 instances of *nožd-*)
 E Ru. *núža* (dial., arch.) ‘need, necessity’
 W Cz. *nouze* ‘poverty, need’; OCz. *núže* ‘difficult situation, torment, need’; Slk.
núdza ‘poverty, need, torment’; Pl. *nędza* ‘poverty, need, torment’
 S SCr. *nůžda* ‘poverty’; Sln. *núja* ‘necessity, need’; Bulg. *nůžda* ‘need, poverty’

See → *nùditi, *nòditi.

***nura** f. ā ESSJa XXVI 45

- E Ru. *núra* (dial.) m./f. ‘sullen, morose person’; ORu. *nura* ‘door’

See also: *norà; *nuriti; *nyřati

***nuriti** v. ESSJa XXVI 45-48

- CS CS *nuriti* ‘derive profit from’
 E Ru. *núrit* (dial.) ‘exhaust, compel’
 W Cz. *nuřiti se* (Kott) ‘plunge (into)’ (Modern Standard Czech *nořiti*); Slk.
nurit’ sä ‘plunge (into)’; Pl. *nurzyć* (obs.) ‘soil, wet’; USrb. *nuric* ‘plunge
 (into)’; LSrb. *nuriš* ‘dive, (se) plunge (into)’
 S SCr. *núriti* ‘stuff, shove’

See also: *norà; *nura; *nyřati

***nuta** f. ā ‘cattle’ ESSJa XXVI 48-49

- CS CS *nuta* ‘cow, ox, cattle’
 E ORu. *nuta* ‘cattle’
 W LSrb. *nuta* (arch.) ‘herd’
 S Sln. *núta* ‘herd of cattle’

This etymon is considered a Germanic loanword, cf. OIc. *naut* n. ‘cow, ox’, OHG *nōz* n. ‘cattle’.

***nutiti; nṓtiti** v. (a) ‘compel, force’ ESSJa XXVI 49

W Cz. *nutiti* ‘compel, force’; OCz. *nutiti* ‘torture, punish, force, constrain, compel’; Slk. *nútit’* ‘compel, force’; USrb. *nućić* ‘compel, force, impel’; Pl. *nęćić* ‘entice, tempt’; *nucić* (16th c.) ‘entice, force, compel’; OPl. *nęćić* ‘impel’

S SCr. *nutiti* (obs.) ‘offer’

BSl. **nout-*

OPr. *nautin* Asg. ‘need’

See → **nūditi*, **nṓditi*.

Cogn. Go. *nops* f. ‘need, force’

***nъ** conj. ‘but’ ESSJa XXVI 50-54

CS OCS *nъ* conj. ‘but’

E Ru. *no* conj. ‘but’; Ukr. *no* conj./adv. ‘but, only’

S Bulg. *nǎ* conj. ‘but’; Mcd. *no* conj. ‘but’

PIE **nu*

For cognates, see the next lemma.

***nyně; *nъně** adv. ‘now’ ESSJa XXVI 57-58

CS OCS *nyně* ‘now’; *nynja* ‘now’; CS *nъně* ‘now’

E Ru. *nýne* ‘now, today’; *nóne* (dial.) ‘now, today’

W Cz. *nyní* ‘now’; OCz. *nenie* ‘now’; Pl. *ninie* (obs.) ‘now’; OPl. *nynie* ‘now’

BSl. **nūnoi*; **nunoī*

B Lith. *nūn* ‘now, today’; *nūnai* ‘now, today’

PIE **nū-*; *nu*

Cogn. Skt. *nú*, *nū* ‘now, just, but’; Gk. *vu(v)* emph. ptcl., *vūv* adv. ‘now’ (also emph. ptcl.); Go. *nu* adv. ‘now’

See also: **nъ*

***nyṛati** v. ESSJa XXVI 65

CS CS *nyṛjati* ‘immerse oneself’; *nyṛati* ‘immerse oneself’

E Ru. *nyṛját’* ‘dive’; Ukr. *nyṛjátý* ‘dive’

See → **norà*.

***nyti** v. ‘yearn’ ESSJa XXVI 66-67

E Ru. *nyt’* ‘ache, moan’, 1sg. *nóju*, 3sg. *nóet*; ORu. *nyti* ‘grieve’, 1sg. *nyju*

W Cz. *nýti* ‘yearn’, 1sg. *nyji*; OCz. *nýti* ‘yearn, suffer’, 1sg. *nyju*; Slk. *nyt’* (poet.) ‘grieve, be deeply moved’; USrb. *nyć* ‘yearn’; Pl. *nyć* ‘yearn, languish’

BSl. **nuʔ(d)-*

B Lith. *panūsti* ‘yearn’

See also: *nùditi; *nòditi; *nukati; *nøkati; *nùdja; *nòdja; *nutiti; *nqtiti

*O

*ob prep. 'about'

ESSJa XXVI 71-74

- CS OCS *o(b/bi)* 'about, at, during'
 E Ru. *o(b/bo)* 'about, with, against'
 W Cz. *o* 'about'; *ob* 'every other'; Slk. *o* 'about'; Pl. *o* 'about, with'
 S SCr. *o(b)* 'about'; Sln. *ò(b)* 'about'; Bulg. *o* 'about, at'

Skt. *abhí* (RV+) 'to, against' probably reflects **h₂mb^{hi}* (<**h₂nt-b^{hi}?*), not **h₃ebhi*. This means that in spite of formations such as *abhí-vīra-* 'surrounded by men', there is no etymological relationship with **ob* unless we are dealing with a special development, cf. → *ògnv*. The connection with Go. *bi* 'about' may perhaps be maintained. Lith. *apiē*, *ap(i)-* 'about' probably continues **h₁opi*.

See also: *obъtъ

*oba num. 'both'

ESSJa XXVI 85-88

- CS OCS *oba*, f. *obě*, n. *obě*
 E Ru. *óba*, f. *óbe*, n. *óba*
 W Cz. *oba*, f. *obě*, n. *oba*; Pl. *oba*, f. *obie*, n. *oba*
 S SCr. *òba*, f. *òbje*; Čak. *òba* (Vrg., Orb.), f. *òbe*, n. *òba*; Sln. *obā*, f./n. *obē*
 BSL. **obo?*
 B Lith. *abù*, f. *abi*
 Cogn. Skt. *ubhá-*; Gk. ἄμφω; Go. *bai*

The PIE anlaut of the root defies reconstruction. Toch. B *antapi*, *āntpi*, and Gk. ἄμφω seem to reflect **h₂nt-b^hoh₁*, which does not match Skt. *ubhá-* and Go. *bai*.

*obětjati v. 'promise, pledge'

ESSJa XXXI 31-33

- CS OCS *oběštati* 'promise, pledge', 1sg. *oběštajø*
 E Ru. *obeščát'* 'promise', 1sg. *obeščájju* (a Church Slavicism); *obečát'* (N. dial.) 'promise'; *obvečát'* (N. dial.) 'promise, bequeath'; *obvičát'* (Arx.) 'promise'; ORu. *oběščati* 'promise, pledge'; *oběčati* 'promise, pledge'
 W Cz. *oběcat*, *oběcet* (dial.) 'promise, appoint'; OCz. *oběcěti* 'promise, pledge'; Slk. *obecat'* 'establish'; Pl. *obiecać* 'promise'
 S SCr. *oběčati* 'promise', 1sg. *oběcām*; Čak. *obečāti* (Vrg.) 'promise', 2sg. *obecāš*; Sln. *oběčati* 'promise, pledge', 1sg. *oběčam*; Bulg. *obeštája* 'promise'
 BSL. **woitiař-*
 OPr. *waitiāt* 'say'

Prefixed verb consisting of → **ob* and → **větjati*.

***obolkъ** m. o 'cloud' ESSJa XXXI 85-87

- CS OCS *oblakъ* m.
 E Ru. *óblako* n., Gsg. *óblaka*; *óboloko* (dial.) m., Gsg. *oboloká*; ORu. *obolokъ* m.; *oboloko* n.
 W Cz. *oblak* m.; Slk. *oblak* m.; Pl. *obłok* m. 'cloud, swath'
 S SCr. *ðblāk* m., Gsg. *ðblāka*; Čak. *ðblāk* (Vrg.) m., Gsg. *ðblāka*; *ðblak* (Orb.) m., Gsg. *ðblaka*; Sln. *oblāk* m.; Bulg. *óblak* m.

Prefixed noun to be analyzed as → **ob* plus → **vōlkъ*.

***obora I** f. ā 'string, twine' ESSJa XXXI 92-93

- CS CS *obora* 'string'
 E Ru. *obóra* (dial.) 'string for tying up bast shoes'; *obór*, *óbor* (dial.) m. 'string, kind of fishing-net'; ORu. *obora* 'strap, string for tying up bast shoes'; Bel. *obóra* 'string, twine'; Ukr. *obóra* 'string, twine'
 W Pl. *obora* (dial.) 'string for tying up bast shoes'

Derivative consisting of → **ob* and a deverbative noun **vora* (→ **otǝverti*). Lith. *apvarà* 'cord, string' can only be etymologically identical if the prefixes are identical.

See also: **obora* II; **oborъ*; **proverti*; **zaverti*

***obòra II; *obòrъ** f. ā; m. o 'enclosure' ESSJa XXXI 93-96

- E Ru. *obóra* f. 'cattle yard, pasture, field, plot'; ORu. *obora* f. 'area for cattle, pasture for cattle'
 W Cz. *obora* f. 'game preserve'; *obora* (Jg., Kott) f. 'game preserve, paradise, fence'; OCz. *obora* f. 'fence, enclosed strip of land, enclosed wooded area, preserve'; Slk. *obora* f. 'preserve'; USrb. *wobora* f. 'pasture for cattle'
 S SCr. *ðbor* (Vuk) m. 'enclosure for pigs, courtyard'; Sln. *obòra* f. 'zoo, enclosed strip of land'; *obòr* m. 'fence, region', Gsg. *obóra*; Bulg. *obór* m. 'fence, building for horned cattle'

Derivative consisting of → **ob* and deverbative nouns **vora* and **vorъ* (→ **otǝverti*), cf. Sln. *ovrěti* 'detain, enclose'.

***obrěsti** v. 'find' ESSJa XXIX 74-76

- CS OCS *obrěsti* 'find', 1sg. *obrěštŏ*
 E Ru. *obrestí* (rhet.) 'find', 1sg. *obretú*, 3sg. *obretët*, 1sg. *obryášču* (arch.), 3sg. *obryáščet*
 S SCr. *obresti* (13th-16th c.) 'find'; *obrěsti se* (dial.) 'meet'; *obrës(t)* (dial.) 'be found, turn out to be' {1}; Sln. *obrěsti* 'find', 1sg. *obrětem*

Prefixed verb containing the elements → **ob* and **rět-* < *urēt-*(?). The Lithuanian verb *surėsti* 'seize', referred to by Pokorny, is of obscure origin (→ **sǝrěsti*).

{1} According to Skok (III: 319), *obresti* was borrowed from Russian into the eastern variant of the literary language. The position of the dialect forms is unclear.

See also: *sъrěsti

***obuti** v. 'put on footwear' ESSJa XXX 246-247

- CS OCS *obuti* (Mar., Zogr., Supr.) 'put on footwear'
 E Ru. *obút'* 'put on someone's boots or shoes for him, provide with boots or shoes'
 W Cz. *obouti* 'put on footwear'; Slk. *obut'* 'put on footwear'; Pl. *obuc'* 'put on footwear'
 S SCr. *òbuti* 'put on footwear', 1sg. *òbujēm*; Čak. *obùti* (Vrg.) 'put on footwear', 2sg. *òbujješ*; *ubùt* (Orb.) 'put on (shoes)', 1sg. *ubùjen*; Sln. *obúti* 'put on footwear', 1sg. *obújem*; Bulg. *obúja* 'put on footwear'
 BSl. *(-)outei
 B Lith. *aùti* 'put on footwear'; Latv. *àut* 'put on footwear'
 Cogn. Hitt. *unu-* 'adorn, decorate, lay (the table)'; Lat. *induere* 'put on footwear'
 Prefixed verb composed of → *j_oz- and *uti- < *h₃eu- (→ *j_ozuti).

***obъlъ** adj. o 'round' ESSJa XXXI 124-126

- CS CS *obvlъ* 'round'
 E Ru. *óblyj* 'rounded'
 W Cz. *oblý* 'round, rounded, oval'; Slk. *oblý* 'oval, round(ish)'; Pl. *obły* 'oval'
 S SCr. *òbao* 'round, oval', f. *òbla*; Čak. *òbal* (Vrg.) 'round, oval', f. *oblã*, n. *òblo*; Sln. *òbãl* 'round, oval'; Bulg. *òbãl* 'round'

Prefixed noun, of which the element *(v)vl- is the zero grade of the root of Lith. *apvalūs* 'round'; Latv. *apaļš* 'round', OIc. *valr* 'round'.

***obъtъ** adj. jo 'common' ESSJa XXXI 166-167

- CS OCS *obvštъ*
 E ORu. *obvčii*
 W Pl. *obcy* 'foreign'
 S SCr. *òpčī*; Sln. *óbčī*; Bulg. *obšt*

Derivative in *-tio- of → *ob.

***odolěti** v. 'overcome, defeat' ESSJa XXVI 161-162

- CS OCS *odolěti* 'defeat', 1sg. *odolějo*
 E Ru. *odolét'* 'overcome, conquer'
 W Cz. *odoleti* (Kott) 'resist, withstand'; Slk. *odoliet'* (dial.) 'resist, defend oneself'
 S SCr. *odòljeti* 'overcome, withstand'; Čak. *odoliti* (Vrg.) 'overcome, withstand'; Sln. *odolěti* 'overcome, defeat'
 B Lith. *dalyti* 'share'; Latv. *dalīt* 'share'
 OPr. *dellieis* 'share!'

See → *dòla. The root is *dohl₁-, the meaning of which is given as ‘behauen, spalten’ in LIV (114), cf. Lat. *dolō* ‘fashion, work (wood)’. The meaning ‘split’ developed into ‘share’. The meaning of the Slavic prefixed verb arose from ‘get one’s share’ (cf. Vasmer s.v. *odolét*’).

***òdrǫ** m. o (b) ‘bed’ ESSJa XXVII 165-169

- CS OCS *odrǫ* ‘bed’
 E Ru. *odr* (arch.) ‘bed, couch’, Gsg. *odrá*; *oděr* (dial.) ‘bed’
 W Cz. *odr* ‘pillar, frame, summer-house’; Slk. *vòdor* ‘hay-loft’
 S SCr. *òdar* ‘bed, scaffolding’, Gsg. *òdra*; Čak. *odǎr* ‘dugački stol od trstika, na kojemu se suše smokve’, Gsg. *odrǎ*; Sln. *òdar* ‘flooring, hay-loft’; Bulg. *òdǎr* ‘couch, bed’
 PIE *h₁od^h-?
 Cogn. OE *eodor* m. ‘fence, house’; OHG *etar* m. ‘fence, edge’

***ògnǫ** m. i / m. jo (b) ‘fire’ ESSJa XXXII 30-33

- CS OCS *ognǫ* m.(i), Gsg. *ogni*; *ogn’b* m.(jo), Gsg. *ognja*
 E Ru. *ogón’* m.(jo), Gsg. *ognjá*; *ogon’* (N. dial.) m.?(i), Gsg. *ogni*; Ukr. *ohón’* (dial.) m.(jo), Gsg. *ohnjú*; *ohén’* (dial.) m.(i), Gsg. *ohný*
 W Cz. *oheň* m.(jo); Slk. *oheň* m.(jo); Pl. *ogień* m.(jo); Slnc. *vùgòùn* m.(jo); USrb. *woheń* m.(jo); LSrb. *wogéń* m.(jo)
 S SCr. *òganj* m.(jo), Gsg. *ògnja*; Čak. *ògań* (Vrg.) m.(jo) ‘fire, hearth’, Gsg. *ògńa*; *ogán* (Novi) m.(jo), Gsg. *ogńǎ*; *ugānj* (Orb.) m.(jo), Gsg. *ugnjǎ*; Sln. *óganj* m.(jo), Gsg. *ógnja*; Bulg. *ógǎn* m.(jo)
 BSl. **ungnis*
 B Lith. *ugnis* f.(i) 4; Latv. *uguns* f.(i); *uguns* m.(i)
 PIE *h₁ng^w-ni-
 Cogn. Skt. *agní-* (RV+) m. ‘fire, Agni’; Lat. *ignis* m. ‘fire’

According to Kortlandt (1979: 60-61, 1988: 388-389, cf. Hamp 1970a), **ògnǫ* reflects a Balto-Slavic noun **ungnis*, where *-ngn- blocked the operation of Winter’s law (cf. Thurneysen 1883). The sequence **un* was lowered to **on* before a tautosyllabic stop, with subsequent loss of the nasal as a result of dissimilation (→ **vodà*). Apparently, the latter development occurred in Baltic as well. The expected reflex of Winter’s law is found in → **vùgòùnb*, *vùgòùna*.

See also: *òglǫ; *vùgǫǫ; *vùgǫǫ

***oje** n. jo ‘thill’ ESSJa XXXII 35-37

- E Ru. *voě* (dial.) n.(jo)
 W Cz. *oje* (dial.) n.(jo); OCz. *ojě* f.(jǎ); *oje* n.(jo); Pl. *oje* (dial.) n.(jo); OPL. *oje* n.(jo)
 S SCr. *óje* n.(jo); Sln. *ojê* n.(s), Gsg. *ojêsa*
 PIE *h_{2/3}oiH-os

Cogn. Gk. οἰᾶξ ‘handle of rudder, tiller, helm, rings of the yoke’; Hitt. *išša-* ‘thill’; Fi. *aisa* ‘pole in a stack’

***ojьminъ** m. o

ESSJa XXXII 38-39

CS OCS *oimi* (Supr.) Npl. ‘soldiers’

BSl. **jud-*

B Lith. *judūs* (OLith.) ‘belligerent’

Prefixed noun consisting of → *ob* and a derivative in *-*inō* of **jud-m* < PIE **Hiud^h-m-*, cf. Skt. *yudhmā-* m. ‘warrior’.

***ōko** n. o (c) ‘eye’

ESSJa XXXII 13, 41-42

CS OCS *oko* n.(s/o), Gsg. *očese*, Gsg. *oka*, Ndu. *oči*

E Ru. *óko* (arch., poet.), Npl. *óči*

W Cz. *oko*, Npl. *oči*; Slk. *oko*, Npl. *oči*; Pl. *oko*, Npl. *oczy*

S SCr. *ōko*, Npl. f. *ōči*; Čak. *ōko* (Vrg., Novi, Orb.), Npl. f. *ōči*; Sln. *okô* n.(s), Gsg. *očęsa*, Npl. *očęsa*, Npl. *oči*; Bulg. *okó*, Npl. *oči*

BSl. **ok-*

B Lith. *akis* f.(i) 4; Latv. *acs* f.(i)

OPr. *ackis* Npl. ‘eyes’

PIE **h₃ek^w-o-*

Cogn. *ákši-* (RV+) n. ‘eye’; Gk. ὄσσε NAd. n. ‘eyes’; Lat. *oculus* m. ‘eye’

See also: *okъnò

***okъnò** n. o (b) ‘window’

ESSJa XXXII 45-47

E Ru. *oknó*; ORu. *okъno*

W Cz. *okno*; Slk. *okno*; Pl. *okno*

S SCr. *ōkno* ‘shaft, window’; Čak. *ūknō* (Orb.) ‘window’, NApl. *ūkna*; Sln. *ókno* ‘window’; Bulg. *oknó* (dial.) ‘opening, hole’

Derivative of → *ōko.

***olbōdъ; *olbōtъ; *elbedъ; *elbōtъ** m. jo (c (a)) ‘swan’

ESSJa VI 19; XXXII 50-51

E Ru. *lébed’* m.(jo), Gsg. *lébedja*; Ukr. *lébid’* m.(jo)

W Cz. *labuť* f.(i/jā); Slk. *labuť* f.; Pl. *łabędź* m.(jo); *łabęć* (dial.) m.(jo); OPl. *łabęć* m.(jo); *łabęć* f.(i)

S SCr. *lābūd* m.(o); *lēbūt* (arch.) m.(o); Čak. *lābūd* (Vrg.) m.(o); Sln. *labóđ* m.(o); *lebéd* m.(o); *lobóđ* m.(o); Bulg. *lébed* m.(o)

PIE **h₂elb^h-ond-i-*

Cogn. OHG *albiz*, *elbiz* ‘swan’; OE *ælbitu*, *iel fetu* f. ‘swan’; OIc. *elpr*, *ólpt* f. ‘swan’

If the PSI. reconstruction **olb-* is correct, the fact that the root shape **lab-* occurs outside South Slavic and Central Slovak suggests that we are dealing with an originally acute root (cf. Meillet 1934: 83), which would be in conflict with the

traditional etymology that the etymon derives from a root **h₂elb^h-* ‘white’. Unless one adheres to the view that a lengthened grade yields an acute in Balto-Slavic, a reconstruction **h₂lōb^h-* (with Schwebelaut) does not solve the problem. Apart from the etymology, the distribution of the reflexes **la-* and **lo-* needs to be explained. It is possible to argue that the reflex **le-* in Ru. *lébed’* (perhaps from **lo-* before a soft labial, cf. *tebe* < *tobě*) continues the short reflex of **ol-* in the oxytone forms of a mobile paradigm, but there is no such explanation for the West Slavic forms. Kortlandt (2005: 128) makes an attempt to account for the facts while starting from the hypothesis that the etymon originally belonged to AP (a) and only became mobile after the rise of distinctive tone and the South Slavic lengthening of initial vowels before tautosyllabic resonants.

See also: *olboda; *elbeda

***olbodà; *elbedà** f. ā ‘goosefoot’

ESSJa VI 18; XXXII 50-51

E Ru. *lebedá; lobodá*

W Cz. *lebeda; loboda* (dial.); Slk. *loboda; lebeda* (dial.); Pl. *lebioda*

S SCr. *lobòda; Čak. lobodã* (Vrg.) ‘goosefoot (?)’; *lobodã* (Novi) ‘goosefoot (?)’; Npl. *lòbode; lobodã* (Orb.) ‘unidentified plant (wild basil?)’; Asg. *lobodð*; Sln. *lóboda; lobóda; lebéda*; Bulg. *lóboda*

The anlaut of dialect forms such as Pl. *łabqdz* or SCr. *laboda* must be analogous after the words for ‘swan’. The reconstruction **olboda* is not without problems in view of the consistent reflex **lo-* in South Slavic (but cf. SCr. *ròb* ‘slave?’), which also does not match the **la-* of the ‘swan’ word. We must seriously consider the possibility that the proto-form was **h₂lob-oda* (**h₂leb-eda*) (for further discussion see s.v. **olbodb*).

See also: *olbōdъ; *olbōtъ; *elbedъ; *elbōtъ

***ōlčьnъ** adj. o (a) ‘hungry’

ESSJa XXXII 52-53

CS OCS *ālčьnъ* (Supr.) ‘hungry’; CS *ālčьnъ* (Christ.) ‘hungry’; *lačna* (Freis.) Asg. m. ‘one who is hungry’

E Ru. *ālčnyj* ‘greedy, grasping, (obs.) hungry’; *álošnoj* (dial.) ‘greedy’; *álašnyj* (dial.) ‘greedy’; ORu. *al(ъ)čьnъ* ‘hungry, greedy’; *ālčьnъ* ‘hungry, greedy’; *lačьnъ* ‘hungry, greedy’

W Cz. *lačný* ‘hungry, greedy’; Slk. *lačný* ‘hungry, greedy’; OPl. *łaczny* ‘hungry, thirsty (for)’

S SCr. *lāčan* ‘hungry’; Čak. *lāčan* (Orb.) ‘hungry’; Sln. *lāčan* ‘hungry’, f. *lačna*; Bulg. *ālčьn* ‘greedy’

BSL. **olřkino-*

B Lith. *álkanas* ‘sober’; Latv. *ālkans* ‘greedy, hungry’

OPr. *alkīns* ‘sober’

For the reconstruction of the root, see → **ōlkati*.

See also: *ōlkomъ

***oldi** f. i 'boat' ESSJa XXXII 53-54

CS OCS *al(ǔ)dii* (Zogr., Supr.) f.(iā) 'ship, boat'; *ladii* (Zogr., Mar.) f.(iā) 'ship, boat'

E Ru. *lad'já* f.(iā) 'rook, (arch., dial.) boat'; *lód'ja* (dial.) f.(iā) 'boat, trough'; ORu. *lodǔja* f.(iā) 'boat'; Ukr. *lódja* f.(iā) 'boat, (dial.) 'trough'

W Cz. *lod'* f.(i/jā) 'boat'; OCz. *lodi* f.(iā) 'boat'; Pl. *łódź* f.(i) 'boat'; OPL. *łodziá* f.(iā) 'boat'

S SCr. *lāđa* f.(jā) 'boat'; Čak. *lāđa* (Vrg.) f.(jā) 'boat'; Sln. *ládja* f.(jā) 'boat'; Bulg. *ládiija* f.(jā) 'canoe, boat'

BSL. *old-iH-aH

B Lith. *eldijà* f.(jā) 3^b 'hollowed out tree trunk, canoe'; *aldijà* f.(jā) 3^b 'hollowed out tree trunk, canoe' {1}

PIE *Hold^h-eh₂; *h₂eld^h-eh₂

Cogn. OE *ealdoh*t f 'trough, vessel'; OE *aldaht* f 'trough, vessel'; Nw. *olda* (dial.) f. 'large trough, often made from a hollowed out tree trunk'; Sw. *ålla* (dial.) f. 'elongated deepened spot, container'; MoHG *alden* (dial.) 'furrow'

{1} According to Zinkevičius (1966: 124), the forms with *a-* occur exclusively in those dialects where *e- > a-.

***òlkati** v. (a) 'be hungry' ESSJa XXXII 57-58

CS OCS *alǔkati* 'be hungry, fast', 1sg. *alǔčǔ*; *lakati* 'be hungry, fast', 1sg. *lačǔ* {1}

E Ru. *alkát'* 'hunger (for), crave (for), (obs.) be hungry', 1sg. *álču*, 3sg. *álčet*; ORu. *al(ǔ)kati* 'hunger (for), crave (for)', 1sg. *alǔču*; *lakati* 'hunger (for), crave (for)', 1sg. *laču*

W OCz. *lákati* 'crave (for)', 1sg. *lákaju*, 1sg. *láču*

S Sln. *lákati* 'be hungry, be greedy, starve', 1sg. *lákam*

BSL. *olǔk-

B Lith. *álkti* 'be hungry'; Latv. *álkt* 'be hungry'

In my view, the reconstruction *òlk- < *h₁eh₁olk- (Rasmussen 1999: 199) cannot account for the acute tone of the root. For this reason I reconstruct *h₁olHk-. The colour of the initial laryngeal is based on OIc. *illr* < *elhila-. The connection with the latter adjective is not beyond doubt, however, so that we might reconstruct *h₂ or *h₃. The verbal root is limited to Balto-Slavic.

{1} According to the *Staroslavjanskij slovar'*, the ratio between *alǔk-* (including *alk-* and *alk-*) and *lak-* is 19 : 9, respectively. Zogr. (1 : 4), Mar. (3 : 1) and Ass. (3 : 1) have both variants.

See also: *olčъnъ; *òlkomъ

***òlkomъ** adj. o (a) 'greedy' ESSJa XXXII 60-61

CS OCS *lakomyi* (Supr.) 'glutton'

E Ru. *lákomyj* 'tasty, fond of'; Ukr. *lákomyj* 'greedy'

W Cz. *lakomý* 'greedy'; Slk. *lakomý* 'greedy'; Pl. *łakomy* 'greedy'; USrb. *łakomy* 'greedy, overly ambitious'

S SCr. *lākom* ‘greedy’; Čak. *lākom* (Vrg.) ‘greedy’; Sln. *lākom* ‘greedy’; Bulg. *lākom* ‘greedy’

See the previous lemma.

See also: *ǫlčътъ;

*ǫlkътъ; *ǫlkътъ m. i/jo; m. o (c) ‘elbow, ell’

ESSJa XXXII 65-67

CS OCS *lakъtv* m.(i) ‘elbow, ell’; Gsg. *lakъte* {1}

E Ru. *lōkot* ‘elbow, ell’; Gsg. *lōktja*

W Cz. *loket* ‘elbow, ell’; Slk. *lakot* ‘elbow, ell’; Pl. *łokiec* ‘elbow, ell’; USrb. *ločh* ‘elbow’; *ločh* (dial.) ‘elbow’

S SCr. *lākat* ‘elbow, ell’; Gsg. *lākta*; Čak. *lākat* (Vrg.) ‘elbow, ell’; Gsg. *lāhta*; *lākat* (Novi) ‘elbow, ell’; Gsg. *lāhta*; *lākat* (Orb.) ‘elbow, armlength, yard (measure)’; Gsg. *lāhta*; Sln. *lakāt* ‘elbow, ell’; Gsg. *laktā*, Gsg. *laktū*, Gsg. *lahtā*, Gsg. *lahtū*; *lakāt* f.(i) ‘elbow, ell’; Gsg. *laktī*, Gsg. *lahtī*; *lahāt* ‘elbow, ell’; Gsg. *lahtū*; *lakāt* ‘elbow, ell’; Gsg. *laktā*; *lākāt* ‘elbow, ell’; *lākāt* f.(i) ‘elbow, ell’; Gsg. *lāhtī*; *lākāt* ‘elbow, ell’; Gsg. *lāhtū*; *lèhāt* ‘elbow’; Gsg. *lāhta*; Bulg. *lākāt* ‘elbow, ell’

BSl. **Holk-*

B Lith. *alkūnė* f.(ē) 1 ‘elbow’; *elkūnė* (arch., dial.) f.(ē) 1 ‘elbow’ {2}; Latv. *ēlks* m. ‘elbow, bend’; *ēlkuons* m. ‘elbow, bend’ {3}
OPr. *alkunis* (EV) ‘elbow’

PIE **Hh₃elk-*?

Cogn. Gk. ὀλέκρᾰνος m. ‘point of the elbow’; Lat. *ulna* f. ‘elbow’; OIr. *uilen* f. ‘elbow’; OHG *elina* f. ‘ell’; Arm. *oṭn* ‘spine, shoulder’

The *e-* of the East Baltic forms may be another instance of “Rozwadowski’s change”, cf. Andersen 1996: 130-131. The somewhat awkward reconstruction **Hh₃elk-* (**HHolk-*) is required by the acute intonation of Lith. *úolektis*, Latv. *uólekts* ‘ell’ < **Heh₃lk-* (**HoHlk-*), cf. OPr. *woaltis* ‘forearm’, *woaltis* ‘ell’; Gk. ὀλένη ‘elbow, forearm’ (see Schrijver 1991: 78-79).

{1} In some case forms OCS *lakъtv* is inflected as a consonant stem. In the modern languages *ǫlkътъ has adopted the pattern of the *jo-* or *o-*stems. {2} The LKŽ has *elkūnė* instead of *elkūnė*, even though one of the sources mentioned – F. Kurschat’s dictionary – actually has an acute. {3} Also *ēlkuonis*, *ēlkuone*, *ēlkūne*?

See also: *olnita

*ǫlni f. ī (a) ‘doe’

ESSJa XXXII 70-71

CS OCS *alōnii* (Supr.) Gpl. f.(iā) ‘does’ (provided that this is the correct reading of *mōnii*)

E Ru. *lan*’ f.(i) ‘fallow deer, doe’

W Cz. *laň* f.(i/jā) ‘doe’; OCz. *laní* f.(iā) ‘doe’; Slk. *laň* f.(i/jā) ‘doe’; OPl. *łani* f.(iā) ‘doe’; *łania* f.(jā) ‘doe’

S SCr. *lāne* f.(jā) ‘doe’; Bulg. *ālne* (dial.) f.(jā) ‘young chamois’

- BSL. **ol-Hn-*
 B Lith. *ėlnis* (arch.) m.(io) ‘deer’; *álnis* (dial.) m.(io) 1 ‘deer’; *ėlnias* m.(jo) 1/3 ‘deer’; *ėlnė* f.(ė) 1 ‘doe’; *álnė* (dial.) f.(ė) 1 ‘doe’; Latv. *ālnis* m.(io) ‘elk’
 OPr. *alne* (EV) ‘?deer’
- PIE **h₁ol-Hn-iH-*
 Cogn. Gk. ἔλλός (Hom.) m. ‘young of the deer, fawn’; ἔλαφος m. ‘deer’ {1}; Arm. *ełn* m. ‘deer’; Mİr. *ailit* f. ‘doe, hind’, Gsg. *ailte*; Mİr. *elit* f. ‘doe, hind’; Gsg. *eilte* {2}; MW *elein* f./m. ‘young deer, doe, hind-calf’; Npl. *alanet* ‘young deer, doe, hind-calf’ {3}

{1} Probably < **h₁el-n-b^ho-*. Like the Armenian word mentioned below, this form does not contain the “Hoffmann-suffix”. {3} According to Schrijver (1995: 79) < PIE **el-(H)n + t-iH* or **el-en + t-iH*. {3} MW *elein*, MoW *elain* may reflect PIE *(*h₁*)*el-Hn-* or *(*h₁*)*el-ŋ-ī* (Schrijver 1995: 79).

See also: **elens*; **olsb*

***olni** adv. ‘last year’ ESSJa XXXII 69-70

- CS CS *lani*; *loni* (Christ.)
 E Ru. *loní* (Arx., Olon.); ORu. *loni*; Ukr. *lóny*
 W Cz. *loni*; Slk. *lani*; Pl. *loni* (14th-17th c., dial.); USrb. *loni*; LSrb. *loni*
 S SCR. *lāni*; *lāni*; Čak. *lānī* (Vrg.); *lāni* (Novi); Čak. *lāni* (Orb.); Sln. *lāni*; Bulg. *lāni*; *laní*

This adverb may contain a demonstrative pronoun **h₂ol-*, cf. OLat. *ollī* ‘then’, Lat. *ōlim* ‘at that time, once’. If *ollī* continues **olnī* one may even consider this form to be identical with the Slavic etymon under discussion. Meillet has suggested that the **n* is etymologically related with Gk. ἔνος ‘year’.

***olnīta** f. ā ‘cheek’ ESSJa XXXII 72

- CS OCS *lanita*
 E Ru. *lanīta* (arch.); Ukr. *lanýta*
 W OCz. *lanítva*
 S Sln. *lanīta*

This word for ‘cheek’ is usually considered cognate with the word for ‘elbow’ (→ **ðlkv̥t̥v̥*, **ðlkv̥t̥v̥*), the semantic connection being the curved shape of the body-parts.

***ðlovo** n. o (c) ‘lead’ ESSJa XXXII 76-77

- CS OCS *olovo* (Supr.) n.(o) ‘lead’
 E Ru. *ólovo* n.(o) ‘tin’; ORu. *olov̥* f.(i) ‘tin’
 W Cz. *olovo* ‘lead’; Slk. *olovo* ‘lead’; Pl. *olów* m.(jo) ‘lead’; *olów* (obs.) m.(o) ‘lead’; *olowo* (dial.) ‘lead’
 S SCR. *ðlovo* ‘lead’; Čak. *ðlovo* (Vrg.) ‘lead’; Sln. *olóv* m. ‘lead’; Bulg. *élavo* (dial.) ‘lead’
 B Lith. *álvas* (DK, Bretk.) m. ‘tin’ {1}; Latv. *álva* ‘tin’; *álvas* m. ‘tin’
 OPr. *alwis* (EV) ‘lead’

Forms with *(j)e- are limited to Bulgarian, e.g. MBulg. *jelovo*, Bulg. *élavo* (dial.). In Russian dialects, we find a form *lov'* (Voronež), which may reflect **olvь*. The fact that we do not have **lavь* < **olHvi-*, as we might have expected on the basis of the Baltic forms, can be explained by assuming that the laryngeal was eliminated according to Meillet's law before the metathesis of liquids. Pokorny derives the Balto-Slavic word for 'tin, lead' from **al(ə)-* 'white'. This more or less presupposes that the original meaning was 'tin' (*plumbum album*) rather than 'lead' (*plumbum nigrum*). In view of both the formal problems and the sphere to which this word belongs it seems preferable to regard it as a borrowing from an unknown language.

{1} It is unclear to me on what grounds the LKŽ assigns AP 1 to this word. To my knowledge, the only accented form is *álwu* Isg. (DK), which points to AP 1 or 3. The Modern Lithuanian form *álavas* is a borrowing from Slavic.

*ǫlsь m. jo (c) 'elk'

ESSJa XXXII 79-80

E Ru. *los'* 'elk, (Arx.) Great Bear', Gsg. *lósja*; ORu. *losь*; Ukr. *los'*

W Cz. *los* m.(o); Slk. *los* m.(o); Pl. *łoś*

PIE **h₁ol-k-i-*

Cogn. OIc. *elgr* m.; OE *eolh* m. {1}

{1} Gk. ἄλκη (Paus.) 'elk' and Lat. *alcēs* (since Caesar) are assumed to be borrowings from Germanic (cf. Frisk I: 75).

See also: **elensь*; *ǫlni

*ǫlь m. u (c) 'fermented liquor, beer'

ESSJa XXXII 80-81

CS RuCS *olь* 'fermented liquor, strong drink'

E ORu. *olь* 'fermented liquor, strong drink'

S Sln. *ǫl'* 'beer', Gsg. *ǫla*, Gsg. *olū*

BSL. **alu*

B Lith. *alus* m.(u) 'beer'

OPr. *alu* (EV) 'beer'

PIE **h₂el-u-*

Cogn. OIc. *ǫl* n. 'beer, drinking-bout'

*olьxa; *elьxa f. ā 'alder'

ESSJa VI 23-25; XXXII 81-82

E Ru. *ol'xá* 'alder'; *ělxa* (dial.), *elxá* (dial.) 'alder, spruce' {1}

W Slk. *jelcha* (dial.); Pl. *olcha*

S SCr. *jelha* (dial.) 'alder'; Bulg. *elxá* 'alder, spruce'

BSL. **a/elisaH*; **a/el(i)snio-*

B Lith. *alksnis*, *elksnis* m.(io) 2 'alder'; *aliksi* (E. dial.) m.(io) 2 'alder'; *alksna*, *elksna* (dial.) f. 1 'alder thicket, place where alders grow, marsh, dale'; Latv. *alksnis*, *elksnis* (dial.) m.(io) 'alder'; *alksna*, *elksna* (E. dial.) 'alder thicket, swampy place' {2}

PIE **h₂eliseh₂*

Cogn. Lat. *alnus* m. ‘alder’; Span. *aliso* m. ‘alder’; Mac. *āličā* ‘white poplar’; OHG *elira, erila* f. ‘alder’; OE *alor* m. ‘alder’; OIc. *ǫlr* m. ‘alder’, *ǫlstr* f. ‘alder’ {3}

As Schrijver observes (1991: 40), this etymon presents two problems. The first problem is the anlaut. The Slavic forms with *je-* cannot be explained away by assuming analogy after the word for ‘spruce’: *je-* also occurs in West Slavic, where ‘spruce’ is *jedl-*, not *jel-* (pace Kortlandt apud Schrijver: o.c. 41). The *a- : e-* variation in Germanic suggests that the variation in Baltic and Slavic does not result from “Rozwadowski’s change” alone (cf. Andersen 1996: 130). The second problem is the alternation between *i* and zero in the second syllable. It is true that the **i* and **u* (cf. the Latvian toponym *Aluksne?*) of the Germanic forms may continue the regular ablaut of an *s*-stem (Schrijver: l.c.), but the fact that we find **i* of in Slavic and East Lithuanian as well indicates that it should be taken at face value. The above-mentioned peculiarities of the etymon strongly suggest that we are dealing with a word of non-Indo-European origin. The fact that there are North Slavic forms with *s* alongside the expected *x* must be connected with the Baltic presence in the area (cf. Anikin 2005: 85-86).

{1} In Russian dialects there are apparently also forms with a vocalized medial jer, e.g. *elóxa* (Kostr.), *alëx* (Voron.), *olëx* (Rjaz.) ‘alder’ (cf. Popowska-Taborska 1984: 39). {2} The form with *e-* is actually reflected as *ālksna* (Bersohn, E. Latvia) (M-E: s.v.). {3} From **aluz-* and **elustrō* (< **elastrō?*), respectively.

See also: *olbša; *elbša; *olbxa; *olbъ; *olbse

***olbša; *olbъ; *olbse** f. ā; m. o; n. jo (a) ‘alder thicket’

E Ru. *Ol’sa* (Upper Dniepr) top. f.; *alës* (Smol., Dniepr basin) m. ‘alder thicket, swampy place’; Bel. *al’sa* (Upper Dniepr) f. ‘alder thicket, swampy place’; *alës* (dial.) m. ‘alder thicket, swampy place’; Ukr. *ol’os* (dial.), *oles* (dial.) m. ‘alder thicket, swampy place’

W Pl. *olesie* n.(jo) ‘swampy place in forest’ (cf. also *olesisty* ‘swampy’ and *oleśnik* alongside *jeleśnik* ‘white hellebore’)

See also: *olbxa; *olbša; *elbxa; *elbša

***olbša; *elbša** f. jā (a) ‘alder’

ESSJa VI 23-25; XXXII 82

W Cz. *olše* ‘alder’; *jelše* (dial.) ‘alder’; Pl. *olsza* ‘alder’; USrb. *wólša* ‘alder’; LSrb. *wolša* ‘alder’

S SCr. *jělša* ‘alder’; Sln. *jělša* ‘alder’; *ółša* ‘alder’

, *ēlksna* (E. dial.) f. ‘alder thicket, swampy place’ {2}

Derivative in **-jā* of → **olbxa, *elbxa*.

***onutja** f. jā ‘footwear’

ESSJa XXXII 88-89

CS OCS *onušta* (Supr.) ‘footwear, sandal’

E Ru. *onúča* ‘sock, cloth puttee’

W Cz. *onuce* ‘sock, cloth puttee’; Slk. *onuca* ‘sock, cloth puttee’; OPl. *onuca* ‘sock, cloth puttee’

S Sln. *onúča* ‘puttee’; *vnuča* ‘puttee’

Compound containing the root of → **jbz-uti*, **ob-uti*. The prefix is often assumed to be the *o*-grade of **h₁n* ‘in’. This hypothesis is supported by the Slovene dialect form *vnuča* < **vɔn-*. See also → **otrъ*.

*опъ prn. ‘he, she, it’

ESSJa XXXII 89-90

CS OCS *onъ*, f. *ona*, n. *ono*

E Ru. *on*, f. *oná*, n. *onó*

W Cz. *on*, f. *ona*, n. *ono*; Slk. *on*, f. *ona*, n. *ono*; Pl. *on*, f. *ona*, n. *ono*

S SCr. *òn*, f. *òna*, n. *òno*; *òn*, f. *òna*, n. *òno*; Čak. *òn* (Vrg.), f. *onǎ*, n. *onǒ*; Sln. *òn*, f. *óna*, n. *onô* n., *óno*

BSl. **anos*

B Lith. *anàs* ‘that’

PIE **h₂en-o-*

Cogn. Gk. *ǎv* modal ptcl.; Lat. *an* ‘whether, or’

***òpakъ**; ***òpako**; ***òpaky** adv. (c) ‘the other way round’

CS OCS *opaky* (Supr.) ‘the other way round, behind one’s back’

E Ru. *òpak(o)* (dial.) ‘back, backwards, the other way round’

W Cz. *opak* m. ‘contrary’; OCz. *opak* m. ‘backwards, the other way round’; Slk. *opak* ‘contrary’; Pl. *opak* ‘(na o.) the other way round, upside down, wrongly’

S SCr. *òpāk* adj./adv. ‘the other way round’; Čak. *òpāk* (Vrg.) adj./adv. ‘the other way round’; Sln. *opāk* ‘backwards, the other way round’; Gsg. *opáka*; Bulg. *òpak* ‘backwards, the other way round’

PIE **h₂epo-h₃k^w-*

Cogn. Skt. *ápāka-* (RV+) adj. ‘located behind, distant, aside’; Skt. *apākā* (RV) adv. ‘behind’; Skt. *apākāt* (RV) adv. ‘behind’; Oic. *ɔfugr* adj. ‘turned the wrong way, wrong’

The quantitative variation in the second syllable reflects accentual mobility, as pretonic long vowels were shortened but posttonic long vowels were not. The laryngeal of the second syllable had been lost with compensatory lengthening at an earlier stage.

***orāti** v. ‘plough’

ESSJa XXXII 106-109

CS OCS *orati* (Zogr., Mar., Ass., Sav., but only in John 17:7).

E Ru. *orát* (dial.), 1sg. *orjú*, 3sg. *orět*

W Cz. *orati*; Slk. *orati*; Pl. *orati*, 1sg. *orzę*

S SCr. *òrati*, 1sg. *òrēm*; Čak. *orāti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *òreš*; *oràt* (Orb.), 2sg. *orèš*; Sln. *orāti*, 1sg. *orām*, 1sg. *órjem*; *orati*; Bulg. *orá*

BSl. **ar?*

B Lith. *árti*, 1sg. *ariù*; Latv. *ar̃t*

PIE **h₂erh₃-*
 Cogn. Gk. ἄρῶω; Lat. *arāre*

See also: *òrdlo; *orlbja; *òrtajb

***orbiti** v. ‘do, work’ ESSJa XXXII 116-118

E Ru. *róbit*’ (dial.) ‘do, work’, 1sg. *róblju*
 W Cz. *robíti* ‘make, do’; Slk. *robit* ‘make, do’; Pl. *robić* ‘make, do’; LSrb. *robiś* ‘work, earn’

S SCr. *rábiti* ‘use’; Sln. *rábiti* ‘use, do’, 1sg. *rábim*

See → *orb̥.

***orbòta** f. ā ‘work’ ESSJa XXXII 119-122

CS OCS *rabota* ‘slavery’; *robota* (Supr.) ‘slavery’
 E Ru. *robóta* (dial.) ‘work’; ORu. *robota* ‘work, slavery, captivity’
 W Cz. *robota* ‘corvée’; Slk. *robota* ‘work, corvée’; Pl. *robota* ‘work, labour’
 S SCr. *ràbota* ‘corvée’; Čak. *ràbota* (Vrg.) ‘corvée’; Sln. *rabòta* ‘corvée’; Bulg. *ràbota* ‘work, thing’

Cogn. Go. *arbaiþs* f. ‘labour’

See → *orb̥.

***orb̥** m. o ‘servant, slave’ ESSJa XXXII 131-133

CS OCS *rab̥* ‘servant, slave’; *rob̥* (Zogr., Supr.) ‘servant, slave’ (In Supr., the variant *rob-* occurs 28 times, but *rab-* is even more frequent)
 E Ru. *rab* ‘slave’; Gsg. *rabá*; ORu. *rob̥* ‘servant, slave’
 W Cz. *rob* ‘slave’
 S SCr. *ròb* ‘slave’; Gsg. *ròba*; Sln. *ròb* ‘slave, detainee’; Gsg. *róba*, Gsg. *ròba*; Bulg. *rab* ‘slave’; *rob* ‘slave, servant, prisoner’

Unlike the ESSJa, I think that an etymological relationship with Germanic forms such as Go. *arbaiþs* f. ‘labour’ and OIc. *erfiði* n. ‘id.’ is highly plausible. These forms are possibly cognate with Gk. ὀρφανός ‘orphan’, Lat. *orbis* ‘deprived of, orphan’ from a root **h₃erb^h-*. The South Slavic variants reflecting **rob̥*, with unexpected **rob-* < **orb-*, must be borrowings from West (or East) Slavic.

See also: *orbiti; *orbota

***òrdlo** n. o (a) ‘plough’ ESSJa XXXII 141-145

CS OCS *ralo* (Zogr., Mar., Sav., Euch., Supr.)
 E Ru. *rálo*
 W Cz. *rádlo*; Slk. *radlo*; Pl. *radło*; USrb. *radło*; LSrb. *radło*
 S SCr. *rǎlo*; Sln. *ráló* ‘small plough’; Bulg. *rálo*

BSl. **árʔdlo*; **árʔtlo*

B Lith. *árklas* m. 3; Latv. *ārķls* m., Latv. *ārķls* m.

PIE **h*₂(*e*)*rh*₃-*d*^h*lom*

Cogn. Gk. ἄροτρον *n.*; Arm. *arawr*

In Balto-Slavic, zero grade of the root (cf. Lith. *irklas* ‘oar’) was apparently replaced by full grade after the verb ‘to plough’. The fixed stress on the root must result from Hirt’s law. OCS *oralo* (Ass.) is clearly analogical after *orati*.

See also: **orati*; **orlbja*; **ortajъ*

***orěxъ** m. o (a) ‘nut’

CS CS *orěxъ*

E Ru. *oréx*

W Cz. *ořech*; Slk. *orech*; Pl. *orzecz*

S SCr. *òrah*; Čak. *orih* (Vrg.); *orih* (Novi); Sln. *óreħ*, Gsg. *oréħa*; Bulg. *órex* ‘walnut, nut’

BSL. *(*o*)*re/oiřs-*

B Lith. *riešutas* m.(o) 3^a; *riešutys* m.(io) 3^a; Latv. *riēksts* m.(o)

OPr. *buccareisis* (EV) ‘beech-nut’

***oriti** v.

ESSJa XXXII 162-165

CS OCS *oriši* (Supr.) 2sg. ‘tempt’

W Cz. *obořiti* ‘collapse’

S Bulg. *órja* (dial.) ‘bring down’

BSL. **or-ei/i-*

B Lith. *ardýti* ‘pull down, destroy’; Latv. *ārdīt* ‘destroy, scatter’

PIE **Hor-eie-*

The literal meaning of OCS *oriti*, which in Supr. 510,8 translates Gk. καθέλκειν, is apparently ‘drag down’. The ESSJa (s.v. **oriti* II) connects *oriti* in this particular meaning with SCr. *òriti se*, Sln. *oriti se* ‘resound’ as well as with Lat. *orāre* ‘speak’. I am inclined to consider the reconstruction of a second etymon **oriti* unnecessary.

See also: **razoriti*

***orkъ** m. o (a) ‘crayfish’

ESSJa XXXII 169-172

E Ru. *rak*

W Cz. *rak*; Slk. *rak*; Pl. *rak*; Sln. *rāk*

S SCr. *rāk*; Čak. *rāk* (Vrg., Orb.); Sln. *rāk*, Gsg. *rāka*; Bulg. *rak*

BSL. **órřk-*; **érřk-*

B Lith. *ėrkė* f.(ė) ‘tick’; Latv. *ērce* f.(ē) ‘tick’

OPr. {1}

{1} OPr. *rokis* (EV) ‘crayfish’ and Lith. *rōkis*, *rōkis* (dial.) must be borrowings from Slavic (pace Mažiulis PKEŽ IV: 31).

*orkyta f. ā (a) ‘brittle willow’

ESSJa XXXII 173-175

- E Ru. *rakíta*; *rokíta* (dial.); Ukr. *rokíta*
 W Cz. *rokyta*; Slk. *rakyta*; *rokyta* (pop.); Pl. *rokita*
 S SCr. *ràkita*; Čak. *Rakíta* (Vrg.) an island; Sln. *rakíta*; Bulg. *rakíta*
 B Latv. *ērcis* m.(io) ‘juniper’
 Cogn. Gk. ἄρκευθος f. ‘juniper’

It is very likely that we are dealing here with a substratum word, cf. the Greek variant ἄργετος (Hesych.).

*orľja f. iā ‘field, arable land’

ESSJa XXXII 177-179

- E ORu. *rolija* ‘(corn-)field, ploughed field’; *rolja* ‘(corn-)field, ploughed field’; Ukr. *rilljá* ‘ploughed field’
 W Cz. *role* ‘field, arable land’; *rolí* (S. dial.) n. n.(io) ‘field, arable land’; OCz. *rolí* f.(iā) ‘field, arable land’; Slk. *rola* ‘field, arable land’; Pl. *rola* ‘field, arable land’; USrb. *rola* ‘field, arable land’

I assume that the root-final laryngeal (see → *oràti, *òrdlo) had been lost in pretonic position before the word-initial metathesis of liquids. The fact that we find no lengthening is also connected with non-initial stress.

*òrmo; *òrmę n. o; n. n (a) ‘shoulder’

ESSJa XXXII 185-187

- CS OCS *ramo* n.(o)
 E Ru. *ramená* (arch., poet.) Npl. n.(n) ‘shoulders’
 W Cz. *rámě* (lit, arch.); *rameno* n.(o); Slk. *ramä*; Pl. *ramię*; USrb. *ramjo*; LSrb. *ramje*
 S SCr. *ràme*, Gsg. *ràmèna*, Npl. *ramèna*; Čak. *ràme* (Vrg.), Gsg. *ràmèna*, Npl. *ramenã*; *ràme* (Novi), Npl. *ramená*, Npl. *ràmèna*; *ràmen* (Orb.), Gsg. *ràmèna*, Npl. *ràmèna*, Npl. *ram’èna*; Sln. *ràme* ‘shoulder, arm’, Gsg. *ràmèna*; *ràma* f.(ā); *ràmo* n.(o); Bulg. *ràmo*, Npl. *ramená*, Npl. *ramené*
 BSL. *írʔmo; *írʔmen-; *órʔmen-
 B Lith. *irmėdė* f.(ē) ‘gout’¹
 OPr. *irmo* ‘arm’
 PIE *h₂erH-mo-; *h₂erH-men-
 Cogn. Skt. *irmá-* m. ‘arm’; Lat. *armus* m. ‘arm, shoulder’; Go. *arms* m. ‘arm’

*orqɔbje n. io

- CS OCS *orqɔdije* (Supr.) n.(io) ‘business, affair’
 E Ru. *orúdie* n.(io) ‘instrument, tool, gun’
 W Cz. *orudí* n.(io) ‘instrument’; Pl. *orędzie* n.(jo) ‘proclamation, message’
 S SCr. *òrùžde* n.(jo) ‘instrument, organ’; *òrùžje* n.(jo) ‘weapons’; Čak. *oružjē* (Vrg.) n.(jo) ‘weapons’; *oružje* (Orb.) n.(jo) ‘weapons’; Sln. *orqɔdje* n.(jo) ‘instrument, organ’; Bulg. *orádie* n.(io) ‘instrument, artillery’

Prefixed noun consisting of → *ob and a derivative of the root that is also found in → *rĕdĕ ‘row, line’.

***orsti** v. (c) ‘grow’ ESSJa XXXII 197-199

CS OCS *rasti*, 1sg. *rastŏ*

E Ru. *rastí*, 1sg. *rastú*, 3sg. *rastĕt* (the spelling with -a- originates from Church Slavic); Ukr. *rostý*, 1sg. *rostú*

W Cz. *růsti*, 1sg. *rostu*; Slk. *rást*; Pl. *róść*; USrb. *rość*

S SCr. *rásti*; Čak. *rās* (Orb.), 3sg. *rāstĕ*; Sln. *rásti*, 1sg. *rástem*; Bulg. *rastá*

Formation unclear. Since there are reasons to assume that the Lithuanian and Latvian *sta*-suffix arose from *-ska within Baltic (cf. van Wijk 1933), it is unattractive to posit *h₃er-st-. Nevertheless, a possible connection with *h₃er- ‘move (upward), rise’ deserves attention.

***örtajb** m. jo (a) ‘ploughman’ ESSJa XXXII 209-211

E Ru. *rátaj* (folk poet.) ‘ploughman’

W Cz. *rataj* ‘farmer’; Slk. *rataj* ‘farmer’; Pl. *rataj* ‘farmer’

S SCr. *ràtaj* (Montenegro) ‘farmer’; Čak. *ràtaj* (Orb.) measure of land (± 2000 square metres, = a day’s ploughing); Sln. *rátaj* ‘ploughman, farmer’; *ratáj* ‘ploughman, farmer’; Bulg. *rátaj* ‘servant’

BSl. *arĕtaĕjos

B Lith. *artójas* 1 ‘ploughman, farmer’; Latv. *arājs* ‘ploughman, farmer’; *arējs* ‘ploughman, farmer’

OPr. *artōys* (EV) ‘farmer’

Agent noun in *-tajb. See → *orāti.

***ortb** f. i ‘war, battle’ ESSJa XXXII 214-215

CS OCS *ratb* (Supr.) ‘war, battle, (pl.) enemy forces’

E Ru. *rat* (poet., arch.) ‘host, army, war battle’; ORu. *ratb* ‘war, battle, troops’

S SCr. *rāt* ‘war’; *rāt* m.(o) ‘war’; Bulg. *rat* ‘battle, war, soldiers’

PIE *h₁or-ti-

See also: *ernb; *ertb

***orblb** m. o (b) ‘eagle’ ESSJa XXXII 232-234

CS OCS *orblb*

E Ru. *orĕl*, Gsg. *orlá*

W Cz. *orel*; Slk. *orol*; *orel*; Pl. *orzeł*, Gsg. *orła*; USrb. *worjoł*, Gsg. *wórła*; LSrb. *jerjoł*; *jerjet*; *herjoł* (dial.); *herjet* (dial.); *horal* (arch.)

S SCr. *òrao*; Sln. *órł*, Gsg. *órła*; Bulg. *orĕl*

BSl. *or-il-o-; *er-el-io-

B Lith. *erĕlis* m.(jo) 2; Latv. *ĕrglis* m.(jo)

OPr. *arelie*

PIE **h₃er-il-o-*

Cogn. Gk. ὄρνις m. 'bird'; Go. *ara* m. 'eagle'; OIc. *orn* m. 'eagle'; OIr. *irar* m. 'eagle'; Hitt. *hara(n)*- c. 'eagle'

The Lithuanian variant *arēlis* is limited to the area where *e-* becomes *a-* (Būga RR II: 508). The East Baltic forms therefore all have initial **e-*. Since this is unexpected, these forms may be labelled as an example of "Rozwadowski's change". It does not seem very plausible that within Slavic only the Low Sorbian forms would show the effect of this phenomenon.

***or̥mò** n. o 'part of a (wooden) plough'

ESSJa XXXII 234

E Ru. *or'mó* (Dal': Nižegor.-Mak.) 'mount of the ploughshare of a (NE Russian type of) wooden plough'; *ormó* (Jarosl.) 'wooden part of a plough on which the ploughshare is fixed'

If this etymon is to be identified with → **ar̥m̥o*, **ar̥mò*, the root vocalism may be attributed to the influence of → **or̥ati* 'plough'. Note, however, that the long vowel of **ar̥m̥o/o* is unclear.

***orz** pref. 'dis-, un-'

CS OCS *raz-*

E Ru. *roz-* (in unstressed position and in Slavonicisms we find *raz-*)

W Cz. *roz-*; Slk. *roz-*; Pl. *roz-*

S SCr. *raz-*; Sln. *ràz* prep. 'away from'; *raz-*; Bulg. *raz-*

It has been suggested that **orz-* continues **ord-z*, where the **z* may have been adopted from → **bez*, **jbz*, **v̥bz*. The form **ord* < **ord^h* (note the absence of a Balto-Slavic glottal stop) may be connected with Skt. *árdha-* m. 'side, part, half'.

***osà** f. ā (b) 'wasp'

E Ru. *osá*, Asg. *osú*; *osvá* (dial.); Bel. *osvá*; Ukr. *osá*, Asg. *osú*; *osá* (dial.), Asg. *ósu*

W Cz. *vosa*; Slk. *osa*; Pl. *osa*

S SCr. *òsa*, Asg. *òsu*; Čak. *osà* (Vrg.) 'prickle of an ear of grain', Asg. *òsu*; (Orb.) *òsa*, Asg. *òso*; Sln. *òsa*; Bulg. *osá*

BSl. **wops(w)a?*

B Lith. *vapsvā* 2/4; *vapsà* (dial.) 2/4; Latv. *vapsene* f.(ē)

OPr. *wobse*

PIE **uob^h-s-eh₂*

Cogn. Lat. *vespa*; W *gwchi* m. 'wasp, drone'; OHG *wafsa*

The root is sometimes identified with **ueb^h-* 'weave'.

***osa; *osina; *esika** f. ā ‘aspen’

ESSJa I 80-81; XXXII 93

E Ru. *osína*; Ukr. *osýna*W Cz. *osa* (dial.); Pl. *osa* (obs.); *osina*; USrb. *wosa*; LSrb. *wósa*S SCr. *jèsika*; *jàsika*; Sln. *jesíka*; *jasíka*; Bulg. *jèsika*; *jàsika*BSL. **aps-*B Lith. *ėpušė* f.(ė); *āpušė* (dial.) f.(ė) 1 (alongside *epušė*, *apušė*); *Āpšė* top. f.(ė) 2; Latv. *apse* f.(ė); *epse* f.(ė); *epss* f.(i)
OPr. *abse* f.PIE **aps-eh₂*Cogn. OHG *aspa* f.; OIc. *ǫsp* f.; Arm. *op’i* ‘aspen, poplar’

This tree-name may be classified as a (North) European etymon. It is also found in Finnic and Turkic. The forms with *e- may be attributed to “Rozwadowski’s change” (cf. → **àsenb*), though their distribution over the Balto-Slavic territory (South Slavic + Lithuanian) is remarkable.

***oskǫrdǫ** m. o ‘pointed hammer, pickaxe’

ESSJa XXIX 197-198

CS OCS *oskrǫdǫ* (Ps. Sin, Euch.) ‘stone cutter’s tool, pickaxe’E Ru. *oskórd* ‘axe’W Cz. *oškrť* ‘iron tool for whetting or roughening mill-stones’; *oškrď* (dial.) ‘iron tool for whetting or roughening mill-stones’; OCz. *oškrď* ‘iron tool for whetting or roughening a mill-stones’; Pl. *oskard* ‘pickaxe’S Sln. *oskrď* f.(i) ‘pointed hammer for whetting mill-stones’BSL. **skurd-*B OPr. *scurdis* ‘dibstone, mattock’

To be analyzed as → *ob* + **skǫrdǫ*, with zero grade of the root attested in → **skorda*.

***osmǫ** num. o (b) ‘eighth’CS OCS *osmǫ*E Ru. *vos’mój*W Cz. *osmý*; *űsmý* (dial.); Slk. *ôsmy*; Pl. *ósmy*S SCr. *ôsmi*; Čak. *ôsmi* (Vrg.); *ósmi* (Novi); **ōsmi* (Orb.); Sln. *ósmi*; Bulg. *ósmi*BSL. **ośmas*B Lith. *āšmas* (obs.)PIE **h₃eǵth₃-uo-*Cogn. Lat. *octāvus*

The suffix *-*mo-*, cf. Skt. *aṣṭamá-*, must have been adopted from ‘seventh’.

See also: **ōsmǫ*

***ōsmǫ** num. (b) ‘eight’CS OCS *osmǫ*

- E Ru. *vósem*; *vósem*’ (dial.)
 W Cz. *osm*; Slk. *osem*; Pl. *osiem*; OPl. *osm*; Sln. *vŕšes̃m*; USrb. *wósom*; LSrb. *wosym*; *wosom* (dial.)
 S SCr. *òsam*; Čak. *òsan* (Vrg., Orb.); *òsam* (Novi); Sln. *òsəm*
 BSl. **ost-*
 B Lith. *aštuoni*
 Cogn. Skt. *aṣṭáu*; Lat. *octō*

The cardinal number may have been created on the basis of the ordinal → **osmō* on the analogy of other numerals.

***osnòvā** f. ā (a) ‘base, foundation’ ESSJa XXIX 233-237

- E Ru. *osnóva* ‘base, foundation, warp’
 W Cz. *osnova* ‘system, plan, device, warp’; Slk. *osnova* ‘plan, device, basis’; Pl. *osnowa* ‘warp, theme’
 S SCr. *òsnova* ‘base, foundation’; Sln. *osnòva* ‘base, foundation’; Bulg. *osnóva* ‘base, foundation’

Prefixed noun consisting of the elements → **ob* and **snova* (→ **snuti*). The final syllable is long because prior to Dybo’s law it was in post-posttonic position, where the laryngeals were lost with compensatory lengthening.

***ostrovъ** m. o (c) ‘island’ ESSJa XXX 79-82

- CS OCS *ostrovъ* (Zogr., Supr.)
 E Ru. *óstrov*, Gsg. *óstrova*
 S SCr. *òstrov*; Sln. *ostròv*, Gsg. *ostróva*; Bulg. *óstrov*

Noun consisting of → **ob* and an *o*-stem **strovъ* (cf. Gk. ῥόος m. ‘stream’) deriving from a verb meaning ‘stream’ (→ **strujà*).

***ostrъ** adj. o (b/c) ‘sharp’

- CS OCS *ostrъ* ‘sharp, rough’
 E Ru. *óstryj*; *ostěr*, f. *ostrá*, n. *ostró*
 W Cz. *ostrý*; Slk. *ostrý*; Pl. *ostrzy*; USrb. *wótry*
 S SCr. *òštar*, f. *òštra*; *òštar*, f. *òštra*; Čak. *òštār* (Vrg.), f. *òštrā*, n. *òštro*; *òštar* (Orb.), f. *òštra*, n. *òštro*; Sln. *òstær*, f. *òstra*; Bulg. *òštār*
 BSl. **asros*
 B Lith. *aštrūs* 4; *ašrūs* (dial.) 4; Latv. *ass*
 PIE **h₂eḱ-ro-*
 Cogn. Gk. ἄκρος ‘pointed’; Lat. *ācer* ‘sharp’

See also: **ostъ*; **ostъtъ*; **ostъnъ*; **osъla*

*ōstь f. i (c (b?)) ‘sharp point, smth. with a sharp point’

- E Ru. *ost’* ‘awn’
 W Slk. *ost’* ‘fishbone, awn, thorn’; Pl. *ośc’* ‘fishbone, awn, thorn’
 S SCr. *ōsti* Npl. ‘harpoon’; *ōstve* Npl. ‘harpoon’; Čak. *ōsti* (Vrg.) Npl. ‘harpoon’;
 Sln. *ōst* ‘sharp point, fishbone, (pl.) harpoon’, Gsg. *ostī*
 BSl. **aštis*
 B Lith. *akstis* f.(i) 4 ‘spit, thorn, prick’ (the form *akštis* is also attested)

On the basis of Sln. *ōst*, Illič-Svityč posits an original AP (b) for this etymon. Furthermore, Skardžius (1941: 330) has *akstis*, *-ies*, which “mixed paradigm” Illič-Svityč (1963: 57) also regards as evidence for original barytone accentuation. The root is **h₂ek-* ‘sharp’ (→ **ostrō*).

*ostьнъ m. o (b) ‘sharp point, smth. with a sharp point’

- CS OCS *ostьnъ* (Supr.) ‘sharp point’
 E Ru. *ostén* (dial.) ‘thorn, spike’
 W Cz. *osten* m.(jo) ‘spike, quill’; Pl. *oścień* ‘harpoon, (arch.) fishbone’
 S SCr. *ōstan* ‘pointed stick for driving cattle’; Sln. *ōstən* ‘spike, thorn’; Bulg. *ostén* ‘pointed stick for driving cattle’
 BSl. **aštinos* (*akstinos*?)
 B Lith. *ākstinas* 3^b ‘thorn, awn, pointed stick for driving cattle’

Derivative in *-*ьnъ*. See → **ostь*.

*ostьтъ m. o ‘thistle’

- CS OCS *ostьтъ* (PsDim.) ‘thistle, sow thistle’
 E Ru. *osót*
 W Cz. *oset*; Pl. *oset*; USrb. *wóst*; LSrb. *woset*
 S Sln. *osāt*; *ósət*
 BSl. **ašutos*
 B Lith. *āšutas* ‘hair of a horse’s tail or manes’

Derivative in *-*ьтъ*. See → **ostrō*.

*ōsь f. i (c) ‘axle, axis’

- CS CS *osь*
 E Ru. *os’*
 W OCz. *os*; Slk. *os*; Pl. *oś*
 S SCr. *ōs*; Sln. *ōs*, Gsg. *osī*; Bulg. *os*
 BSl. **aśis*
 B Lith. *ašis*; Latv. *ass*
 OPr. *assis* (EV)
 PIE **h₂eḱs-i-*

Cogn. Skt. *ákṣa-* m.; Gk. *ἄξων* m.; Lat. *axis* m.

***osъla** f. ā ‘whetstone’

CS OCS *osla* (Supr.)

E Ru. *osëlok* m.

W Pl. *oselka*

S Sln. *ósla*

Derivative in **-bla*. See → **óstb*.

***osъlb** m. o (b) ‘donkey’

CS OCS *osъlb*

E Ru. *osël*, Gsg. *oslá*

W Cz. *osel*; Slk. *osol*; Pl. *osioł*

S SCr. *ósao*, Gsg. *ósla*; Sln. *ósł*, Gsg. *ósla*

BSl. **asilos*

B Lith. *āsilas* 3^b

OPr. *asilis*

A borrowing from Germanic, cf. Go. *asilus*.

***otjutiti** v. ‘feel, perceive’

CS OCS *oštutiti* ‘feel, perceive, understand’, 1sg. *oštuštq*

E Ru. *očútít’sja* ‘find oneself, come to be’; ORu. *očutiti* ‘notice’

W Cz. *cítiti* ‘feel’; Slk. *cítit’* ‘perceive, (refl.) feel’; Pl. *cucić* ‘bring back to consciousness, (refl.) awake’

S SCr. *čútjeti* ‘feel’; Čak. *čūtiti* (Vrg.) ‘feel’; *čūtīt* (Orb.) ‘feel’; Sln. *čútiti* ‘feel, sense, notice’, 1sg. *čútim*; *čútiti* ‘feel, sense, notice’, 1sg. *čútim*

BSl. **jout-*

B Lith. *jaūsti* ‘feel, sense’, 3pres. *jaūčia*, 3pret. *jaūtė*; Latv. *jāust* ‘feel, notice, heed, understand’

PSl. **jut-* can be connected with Skt. *vat-* ‘get acquainted with’ < **uet-* only under the assumption that Balto-Slavic created a new full grade **eut-* > **jout-*. The unprefixated forms reflect initial **tj-* resulting from reanalysis of **ot-jutiti* as **o-tjutiti*.

See also: *otjъnqoti

***otjъnqoti** v.

E Ru. *očnúť’sja* ‘wake, regain consciousness’, 1sg. *očnúť*, 3sg. *očněťsja*

W Cz. *ochnouti se* ‘find oneself, come to be’; Slk. *ocitnout’ sa* ‘find oneself’; Pl. *ocknąć się* ‘awake’

BSl. **jut-*

B Lith. *jūsti* ‘feel’, 3pres. *juñta*, 3pret. *jūto*; Latv. *just* ‘feel, notice’

Perfective verb with zero grade of the root. If the connection with Skt. *vat-* is to be upheld, the **j-* must have been adopted from the full grade (see → **otjutiti*).

***ot(ъ)** prep. 'from'

CS OCS *otъ*

E Ru. *ot(o)*

W Cz. *od(e)*; Slk. *od(o)*; Pl. *od(e)*

S SCr. *od(a)*; Sln. *òd*; Bulg. *ot*

BSl. **ot*

B Lith. *at-* pref. 'back, away'; Latv. *at-* pref. 'back, away'

OPr. *at-*; *et-* pref. 'back, away'

PIE **h₁eti*

Cogn. Skt. *áti* prep. 'beyond, over'; Gk. *ἔτι* adv. 'yet, still, besides'; Lat. *et* conj. 'and'; Go. *id-* 'again'

Beekes (1990: 264) reconstructs **h₁oti* alongside **h₁eti*, but the *e*-grade is predominant. Perhaps the first element of Go. *aþþan* 'but, however' may be compared directly with the Balto-Slavic forms.

***ot(ъ)lěkъ** m. o 'remainder'

CS OCS *otъlěkъ* (Ps. Sin.) A sg. 'remainder, rest'; *odъlěkъ* (Ps. Sin.) A sg. 'remainder, rest'

BSl. **otloiko(s)*

B Lith. *ãtlaikas* 'remainder, remnant'

Prefixed noun of which the second element continues the *o*-grade of PIE **leik^w-* 'leave', cf. Skt. *riṇákti* 'leave'; Gk. *λείπω* 'to let, to leave'.

See also: **lixo*; **lixъ*; **lišiti*

***otrokъ** m. o 'child, servant'

CS OCS *otrokъ* 'child, son, boy, servant'

E Ru. *ótrok* 'boy, lad, adolescent', Gsg. *ótroka*

W Cz. *otrok* 'serf'; Slk. *otrok* 'serf'; OPl. *otrok* 'hired labourer, adolescent, lad'

S Čak. *otròk* (Orb.) 'child, boy', Gsg. *otrokã*; Sln. *otròk* 'child, boy', Gsg. *otróka*; Bulg. *otrók* 'serf, (obs.) child'

Noun consisting of the prefix **ot-* and an *o*-stem **rokъ* from **rekti* 'speak' (as in OCS *prorokъ* 'prophet'), cf. Lat. *īnfāns*.

See also: **rāčiti*; **rekti*; **rěčъ*; **rokъ*

***ot(ъ)verti** v. 'open'

W Cz. *otevřiti* 'open', 1sg. *otevřu*, 1sg. *otevru*

S Sln. *odvrěti* 'remove an obstruction, open', 1sg. *odvrèm*

- BSL. *atwerʔ-
 B Lith. *atvérti* ‘open’; Latv. *atvērt* ‘open’
 OPr. *etwerreis* imper. ‘open!’

The root-final laryngeal seems to be a Balto-Slavic enlargement (cf. Derksen 1996: 81-82). Synonymous prefixed verbs of the same root are Skt. *apavṛṇoti* ‘open’, Lat. *aperīre* ‘open’.

See also: *obora; *ot(ъ)voriti; *proverti; *zaverti

***ot(ъ)verzti** v. ‘open’

- CS OCS *otvrěsti* ‘open, reveal’, 1sg. *otvrězǫ* (the prefix less frequently has the shape *otъ-*)
 E Ru. *otvėrzt’* (poet.) ‘open’, 1sg. *otvėrzu*, 3sg. *otvėrzet*
 BSL. *verʒ-
 B Lith. *veřžti* ‘string, tighten, squeeze’
 PIE **h₁oti-uergʰ*
 Cogn. OHG *wurgen* ‘strangle’
 See also: *povorzъ; *pavorzъ; *verslo

***ot(ъ)větjati** v. ‘answer’

- CS OCS *otǫvěštati*, 1sg. *otǫvěštajǫ*
 E Ru. *otvečát’*, 1sg. *otvečájju*
 See → *větjati.

***ot(ъ)voriti** v. (b) ‘open’

- CS OCS *otvoriti*
 E Ru. *otvorít’*, 1sg. *otvorjú*, 2sg. *otvórit*
 W Cz. *otevřítí*; Slk. *otvorit’*; Pl. *otworzyc*
 S SCr. *otvòriti*, 1sg. *òtvorīm*; Čak. *otvoriti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *otvòriš*; Sln. *otvoríti*, 1sg. *otvorím*; Bulg. *otvórja*

See → *otǫverti.

***отъць** m. jo (b) ‘father’

- CS OCS *otъcb*
 E Ru. *otéc*, Gsg. *otcá*
 W Cz. *otec*; Slk. *otec*; Pl. *ojciec*
 S SCr. *òtac*, Gsg. *òca*; Čak. *otăc* (Vrg.), Gsg. *òca*; *otăc* (Novi, Orb.), Gsg. *ocă*, Npl. *ocî*; Sln. *óče*, Gsg. *očéta*

The root *ot- may be compared to Gk. ἄτρα, Lat. *atta*, Go. *atta* (all ‘father’), etc., and must be considered a nursery word.

***ovŦ** prn. 'this, that'

CS	OCS <i>ovŦ</i> 'someone, someone else, other' ((<i>ovŦ...ovŦ</i> 'the one...the other')
W	OCz. <i>ov</i> 'that', f. <i>ova</i> , n. <i>ovo</i> ; Pl. <i>ów</i> 'that', f. <i>owa</i> , n. <i>owo</i>
S	SCr. <i>òvāj</i> 'that', f. <i>òvā</i> , n. <i>òvō</i> ; Čak. <i>ovī</i> (Vrg.) 'that', <i>ovā</i> f., n. <i>ovô</i> ; Sln. <i>óv</i> 'this, that'; Bulg. <i>óvi</i> 'that'
PIE	* <i>h₂eu-o-</i>
Cogn.	Av. <i>ava-</i> 'that'

***ovŦcà** f. *jā* (b/c) 'sheep'

CS	OCS <i>ovbca</i>
E	Ru. <i>ovcá</i> , Asg. <i>ovcú</i> {1}
W	Cz. <i>ovce</i> ; Slk. <i>ovca</i> ; Pl. <i>owca</i>
S	SCr. <i>òvca</i> , Asg. <i>òvcu</i> , Npl. <i>òvce</i> ; Čak. <i>òvca</i> (Vrg.), Asg. <i>òvcu</i> ; <i>ofcā</i> (Novi), Asg. <i>òfcu</i> ; Sln. <i>òvca</i> ; Bulg. <i>ovcá</i>
BSL.	* <i>owis</i>
B	Lith. <i>avis</i> f.(i) 4; Latv. <i>avs</i> f.(i)
PIE	* <i>h₃eu-i-</i>
Cogn.	Skt. <i>ávi-</i> m./f. 'sheep, ram'; Gk. <i>ὄις</i> m./f. 'sheep'; Lat. <i>ovis</i> f. 'sheep'

Derivative in *-*bca* < *-*i-keh₂*.

{1} In Old Russian we find indications for AP's (b) en (c) (Zaliznjak 1985: 135). According to Illič-Svityč (1963: 85), *ovcá* has mobile accentuation in 18th and 19th century poetry as well as in dialects.

See also: *ovŦpŦ

***ovŦpŦ** m. o (b) 'ram'

CS	OCS <i>ovbnŦ</i> (Ps. Sin., Euch.)
E	Ru. <i>ovén</i> 'Aries, (obs.) ram', Gsg. <i>ovná</i> ; ORu. <i>ovbnŦ</i>
W	OCz. <i>oven</i> ; OPl. <i>owien</i> (Ps. Flor.)
S	SCr. <i>òvan</i> , Gsg. <i>òvna</i> ; <i>òvan</i> , Gsg. <i>òvna</i> ; Sln. <i>òvan</i> , Gsg. <i>òvna</i> ; Bulg. <i>ovén</i> 'wether'
BSL.	* <i>owinos</i>
B	Lith. <i>āvinas</i> ; Latv. <i>āuns</i> OPr. <i>awins</i> (EV)

The word for 'ram' is another derivative of **h₃eu-i-* (→ **ovbca*).

***ovŦsŦ** m. o (b) 'oats'

E	Ru. <i>ověs</i> , Gsg. <i>ovsá</i> ; ORu. <i>ovbsŦ</i>
W	Cz. <i>oves</i> ; Slk. <i>ovos</i> ; Pl. <i>owies</i>
S	SCr. <i>òvas</i> , Gsg. <i>òvsa</i> ; Čak. <i>ovās</i> (Orb.), Gsg. <i>ofsā</i> ; Sln. <i>òvas</i> , Gsg. <i>òvsa</i> ; <i>òvas</i> , Gsg. <i>ovsá</i> ; Bulg. <i>ovés</i>
BSL.	* <i>awiz-</i> ; <i>awis-</i>

B Lith. *avižà* f. 3^b; Latv. *àuzas* Npl. f.
OPr. *wyse*

PIE **h₂eu-igʰ(s)-eh₂*

Cogn. Lat. *avēna* f.

The Balto-Slavic and Latin forms can be derived from **h₂eu-igʰ-* (cf. Schrijver 1991: 46-47), except for the fact that Slavic has a voiceless sibilant. A substratum origin cannot be excluded.

***ozòrdь** m. o (a) ‘device for drying hay or grain’

E Ru. *ozoród* ‘device for drying hay or grain, hay-stack’; Bel. *azjaród* ‘device for drying sheafs’

See → *zòrdь.

*Q

***ǫditi** v. (c) ‘smoke’

W Cz. *uditi*; Pl. *wędzić*

S Sln. *vodíti*, 1sg. *vodím*; *odíti* ‘smoke’, 1sg. *odím*

PIE *(s)*uondʰ-*

Cogn. OHG *swintan* ‘fade, pine away, wither’; OE *swindan* ‘subside, fade’

See also: *svędnǫti; *uvędati; *vędnǫti

***ǫǵьль** m. i (a) ‘coal’

CS OCS *ǫǵьль* (Ps. Sin., Supr.) m.(i)

E Ru. *úgol*’ m.(jo), Gsg. *úǵlja*, Gsg. *uǵljá*

W Cz. *uhel* m.(jo); Slk. *uhol*’ m.(jo); Pl. *węgiel* m.(jo)

S SCr. *ǫǵalj* m.(jo), Gsg. *ǫǵlja*; *ǫǵljēn* m.(o), Gsg. *ǫǵljēna*; Čak. *ǫǵlen* (Vrg.) m.(o), Gsg. *ǫǵlena*; Sln. *ǫǵal*’ m.(o), Gsg. *ǫǵla*; *vǫǵal*’ m.(o), Gsg. *vǫǵla*

BSL. **onǵlis*

B Lith. *anglis* f.(i) 4; *ánglis* m.(io) 1; *ańglis* m.(io) 2; Latv. *ùogle* f.(ē)

PIE **h₁ongʷ-l-*

Cogn. Skt. *áṅgāra-* (RV+) m. ‘coal’ (with a suffix *-ǫl-)

Probably a hysterodynamic *l*-stem.

See also: *ǫǵнь; *vǫǵьнь; *vǫǵьна

***ǫǵьль** m. o (c) ‘corner’

CS OCS *ǫǵьль*

E Ru. *úgol*, Gsg. *uǵlá*

W Cz. *úhel*; Slk. *uhol*; Pl. *węgiel*

S SCr. *ügal* (dial.); Sln. *ôgǎl*, Gsg. *ôgla*; *vôgǎl*, Gsg. *vôgla*; Bulg. *ǎgǎl*

PIE **h₂eng-*

Cogn. Lat. *angulus* m. 'corner, angle'; OIc. *ekkja* f. 'ankle, heel'; Arm. *ankiwn* 'corner'

Derivative in *-*ǝlb* of *ǝg- < **h₂eng-*.

*ǝǝǝ m. jo 'eel'

E Ru. *úgor* 'eel, blackhead', Gsg. *ugrjá*

W Cz. *úhoř* 'eel'; Slk. *úhor* m.(o) 'eel'; *uhor* m.(o) 'pork tapeworm, blackhead', Gsg. *uhra*; Pl. *węgorz* 'eel'; USrb. *wuhor* 'eel'; LSrb. *wugor* 'eel'

S SCr. *ügor* m.(o) 'eel'; Čak. *ügor* (Vrg.) m.(o) 'conger eel', Gsg. *ügora*; *ügōr* (Novi) m.(o) 'conger eel', Gsg. *ügora*; Sln. *ogōr* 'eel', Gsg. *ogōrja*

BSL. **angurio-*

B Lith. *ungurys* m.(io) 'eel' (with E. Lith. *un-* < **an-*)

OPr. *angurgis* m.(io) 'eel'

PIE **h₂eng^{wh}-ur-io-*

Cogn. Lat. *anguilla* f. 'eel'; Fi. *ankerias* 'eel'

See also: *ǝǝǝ

*ǝkǝǝ f. i

CS SerbCS *ǝkotb* 'hook'

E ORu. *ukotb* 'claw, anchor'

BSL. **h₂onk-*

B Lith. *ánka* (K, WP) f. 1 'snare, noose'

Cogn. Skt. *aṅká-* (RV+) m. 'hook, clamp'; Gk. *ὄγκος* m. 'hook'; Lat. *uncus* 'hook m.

The root of this derivative is **h₂onk-*, cf. Lat. *ancus* (Paul. ex Fest.) m. 'with crooked arms' < **h₂enk-*. For the meaning of the root, cf. Skt. *aṅc-* 'bend'.

*ǝǝǝ m. o (b) 'moustache'

CS RuCS *ǝǝ* 'moustache, beard'

E Ru. *us* 'hair of a moustache, whisker', Npl. *usy* 'moustache'

W Cz. *vous* 'beard hair', Npl. *vousy* 'beard'; Pl. *wąs* 'moustache', Npl. *wąsy* 'moustache'

S Sln. *vôš* 'moustache', Npl. *vosi* 'id.'; *vôse* Npl. f.(ā) 'moustache'

BSL. **wónsum*

B Lith. *uðstai* (Žem.) Npl. m.(o) 2 'moustache'

OPr. *wanso* 'first beard'

PIE **uond^h-s-om*

Cogn. OHG *wintbrāwa* f. 'eye-lash'; Mlr. *find* m. 'hair'

***q̄trò** n. o (b) ‘inside, coe’

E Ru. *nutró* ‘inside, coe’; Bel. *nutró* ‘inside, coe’; Ukr. *nutró* ‘inside, coe’

PIE **h₁on-tr-ó-m*

Cogn. *āntrá-* (RV, AV+) n. ‘intestine’ (with unexplained *ā*); Gk. ἔντερα Npl. n. ‘entrails’

The initial *n-* originates from *vən-* ‘in’ as a result of reanalysis, cf. → **q̄trv*.

***q̄tròba** f. ā (a) ‘entrails’

CS OCS *q̄troba* ‘entrails’

E Ru. *utròba* ‘womb, (coll.) belly’

W Cz. *útroba* ‘entrails’; Slk. *útroba* ‘entrails, womb’; Pl. *wątroba* ‘entrails’

S SCr. *ùtroba* ‘intestines, womb’; Čak. *utròba* (Vrg.) ‘intestines’; *utròba* (Orb.) ‘intestines’; Sln. *otròba* ‘entrails, womb’; *vq̄troba* (Meg., Dalm.) ‘entrails’

PIE **h₁on-tro-*

Cogn. Skt. *āntrá-* (RV, AV+) n. ‘intestine’; Gk. ἔντερα Npl. n. ‘entrails’

Slavic has a suffix **-ba*, cf. OCS *z̄loba* ‘badness’.

See also: **jēdrò*; **jētrò*; **q̄trà*; *q̄trv*

***q̄trv** adv. ‘inside, within’

CS OCS *q̄trv* (Supr.); *v̄nq̄trv*

E Ru. *vnutr’* adv./prep.; *vnutri* adv./prep.; ORu. *utr̄v*

W Cz. *vnitř*; *uvnitř*; OCz. *vñutř*; Slk. *vnútri*; Pl. *wewnątrz*

S SCr. *unútar*; *unútra*; Sln. *nq̄tər* ‘in, inside’; *nq̄tri* ‘inside’

Adverb based on **h₁on-tr-*, cf. → **q̄trò*.

***q̄ty** f. ū ‘duck’

CS CS *q̄ty* f.(ū)

E Ru. *útkā* f.(ā); *utvá* (dial.) f.(ā); ORu. *uty??* f.(ū), Gsg. *utov̄e*; *utov̄v* f.(ū); Bel. *uč* f.(i)

S SCr. *útva* f.(ā); Sln. *q̄tva* f.(ā)

BSl. **anʔt-*

B Lith. *ántis* f.(i) 1

OPr. *antis* (EV)

PIE **h₂enh₂-t-*

Cogn. Skt. *ā́tí-* f. ‘aquatic bird’; Lat. *anas* f. ‘duck’; OHG *anut* f. ‘duck’

***q̄ziti** v. ‘constrain’

CS RuCS *q̄ziti* ‘constrain, torture’ (cf. OCS *q̄zilište* n. ‘prison’)

E Ru. *úzit’* ‘make narrow, straiten’, 1sg. *úžu*, 3sg. *úzit*; ORu. *uziti* ‘constrain, torture’

S SCr. *úziti* ‘make narrow, straiten’, 1sg. *úzīm*

PIE **h*₂*omǵ^h-eie-*

For the root, see → **ǫzǫkǫ*.

*ǫzlъ m. o (a) ‘knot’

CS SerbCS *ǫzlъ; vǫzlъ*

E Ru. *úzel*, Gsg. *uzlá*

W Cz. *uzel*; Slk. *uzol*; Pl. *węzeł*

S SCr. *ǫzao*, Gsg. *ǫzla*; Čak. *úzał* (Vrg.), Gsg. *úzła; úzal* (Novi), Gsg. *úzla*; **ǫzalj* (Orb.) m.(jo); Sln. *vózǫł*, Gsg. *vózla*; *ǫzǫł*, Gsg. *ǫzla*; Bulg. *vázel*

BSL. **onǫž-(ǫ)l-*

B Lith. *ǫžuolas* 1/3 ‘oak’; Latv. *uǫzuǫls* ‘oak’

OPr. *ansonis* ‘oak’

In his list of laryngealized roots in Slavic, Kortlandt (1975a: 63) groups the above-mentioned Slavic and Baltic together, which since a publication by Zubatý is not uncommon. This etymology is sometimes integrated with the hypothesis that **ǫzlъ* is cognate with → **vęzati*. In view of the tone of the root this connection is problematic.

*ǫzъkъ adj. o ‘narrow’

CS OCS *ǫzǫkǫ*

E Ru. *úzkij*; *úzok*, f. *uzká*, n. *úzko*

W Cz. *úzký*; Slk. *úzky*; Pl. *wązki*

S SCr. *ǫzak*, f. *ǫska*, f. *uskǫ*; Čak. *ǫsak*, f. *uskǫ*, n. *ǫsko*; Sln. *ǫzǫk*, f. *ǫzka*

BSL. **anž-(u)-*

B Lith. *añkštas*

PIE **h*₂*emǵ^h-u-*

Cogn. Skt. *amhú-*; Lat. *angustus*; Go. *aggwus*

See also: **ǫziti*; **vęzati*; **uvęsti*

*ǫžъ m. jo (b) ‘snake’

E Ru. *už* ‘snake’, Gsg. *užá*; ORu. *užb* ‘snake’

W Cz. *užovka* f. ‘adder’; Slk. *užovka* f. ‘adder’; Pl. *wąż* ‘snake’, Gsg. *węża*; USrb. *wuž* ‘grass snake’; LSrb. *wuž* ‘snake, (dial.) maggot’

S Čak. **ǫš* (Orb.) ‘kind of black snake’, Gsg. **ǫžǫ*; Sln. *ǫž* ‘grass snake’; *vǫž* ‘snake’

BSL. **angi(o)s*

B Lith. *angis* f.(i) 4 ‘snake’; Latv. *uǫdze* f.(ē) ‘adder’

PIE **h*₂*eng^{wh}-i-*

Cogn. Lat. *anguis* m. ‘snake’; OHG *unc* m. ‘snake’; Mlr. *escung* m. ‘eel’

See also: **ǫgъgъ*

*P

***pàdati** v. (a) ‘fall’

- CS OCS *padati*, 1sg. *padajŏ*
 E Ru. *pádat’*, 1sg. *pádaju*, 3sg. *pádaet*
 W Cz. *padati*; Slk. *padat’*; Pl. *padać*
 S SCr. *pàdati*, 1sg. *pādām*; Čak. *pàdati*, 2sg. *pādāš*; *pàdat* (Orb.), 1sg. *pàdan*;
 Sln. *pàdati*, 1sg. *pādam*; Bulg. *pādam*

Derivative in *-ati. The root is PIE *pod- (→ *pasti* II). We are therefore dealing with another example of Winter’s law.

***padorga** f. ā ‘bad weather’

- E ORu. *padoroga* ‘bad weather’
 BSL. **dor?ga?*
 B Lith. *dargà* 4 ‘bad, rainy weather, (dial.) retting’; *dārgana* 1 ‘bad, rainy weather’

See also: *sṓdorga

***paxati I** v. ‘sweep’

- CS OCS *paxati* ‘wave, agitate’
 E Ru. *paxát’* (dial.) ‘sweep, sweep the chimney’, 1sg. *pašú*
 S SCr. *pàhati* ‘sweep off dust, blow off’, 1sg. *pāhām*; *páhati* ‘blow off, dust’, 1sg. *pāšēm*; Sln. *páhati* ‘dust, brush off’, 1sg. *pāham*

Etymology unknown. According to Vasmer (s.v. *paxát’*) probably of onomatopoeitic origin.

See also: *paxnṓti

***pāxàti II** v. (b)

- E Ru. *paxát’* ‘plough, till’, 1sg. *pašú*, 3sg. *pášet*
 W Cz. *páchatì* ‘do, make, (dial.) herd cattle’; Slk. *páchat’* ‘accomplish, perform’;
 Pl. *pachać* ‘dig, cause harm’

Etymology unclear. The meaning ‘herd cattle’ is reminiscent of → **pasti*, but the tonal properties of the root do not match.

***paxnṓti** v. ‘smell (of)’

- E Ru. *paxnúť* ‘puff, blow’, 3sg. *paxnět*; *páxnut’* ‘smell (of)’
 W Cz. *páchnouti* ‘be fragrant’; Slk. *páchnut’* ‘smell (of)’; Pl. *pachnąć* ‘smell (of)’

See *paxati I.

***palica** f. jā ‘stick, staff’

- CS OCS *palica* (Ps. Sin., Supr.) ‘staff’
 E Ru. *pálica* ‘club, cudgel’
 W Cz. *palice* ‘baton’; Slk. *palica* ‘club’; Pl. *palica* (dial.) ‘club’
 S SCr. *pǎlica* ‘stick, staff’; Čak. *pǎlica* (Vrg.) ‘flat stick for beating laundry’;
pǎlica (Orb.) ‘stick for beating laundry’; Sln. *pálica* ‘stick, staff’

The obvious connection with forms containing a root **pol-* (e.g. → **polica*) forces us to reconstruct a lengthened grade **pōl-* for **palica*. This is not in agreement with the accentual evidence, however. The etymology of the root is unclear.

See also: **paľka*; **polěno*; **polica*; **polъ*

***pāliti** v. (b) ‘burn, singe’

- CS OCS *paliti*, 1sg. *paljǫ*
 E Ru. *palítʹ*, 1sg. *paljú*, 3sg. *palít* {1}
 W Cz. *páliti*; Slk. *pálit*; Pl. *palić*
 S SCr. *páľiti*, 1sg. *páľim*; Čak. *pǎľiti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *pǎľiš*; Sln. *páľiti*, 1sg. *páľim*;
 Bulg. *pálja*

Since this causative verb belongs to (b), we must reconstruct the root as **pōlh₁-*. LIV has **pōl-* in view of Ru. *pólomja* ‘flame’, but I prefer to reconstruct → **pōlmy* (a) (see also Dybo 1981: 74). There is also East Baltic evidence (see → **pēpelъ*, **pōpelъ*).

{1} AP (b) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 137).

***paľka** f. ā ‘stick, staff’

- E Ru. *pálka* ‘stick, staff’
 W Cz. *pálka* ‘stick, club’; Pl. *paľka* ‘stick, club’
 S Bulg. *pálka* ‘stick, club’

See → **palica*.

***paľьсь** m. jo ‘finger’

- CS CS *paľьсь* ‘finger’
 E Ru. *pálec* ‘finger’, Gsg. *páľca*; ORu. *paľьсь* ‘finger’
 W Cz. *palec* ‘thumb’; Slk. *palec* ‘thumb’; Pl. *palec* ‘finger’
 S SCr. *pǎlac* ‘thumb, big toe’, Gsg. *pǎľca*; Čak. *pǎlac* (Vrg.) ‘thumb, big toe’, Gsg. *pǎľca*; *pǎlac* (Hvar) ‘thumb, big toe’, Gsg. *pōľca*; *pǎlac* (Orb.) ‘thumb, big toe, spoke (of a wheel)’; Sln. *páľac* ‘thumb’, Gsg. *páľca*; Bulg. *pálec* ‘thumb’

This derivative is strongly reminiscent of Lat. *pollex* m. ‘thumb, big toe’, but the details remain unclear.

***pāmęťь** f. i (a) ‘memory, remembrance’

- CS OCS *pamęťь* ‘memory, remembrance, memorial’
 E Ru. *pámjatʹ* ‘memory, remembrance’

- W Cz. *paměť* ‘memory, remembrance’; Slk. *pamät’* ‘memory, remembrance’; Pl. *pamięć* ‘memory, remembrance’
 S SCr. *pāmēt* ‘mind’; Čak. *pāmēt* (Vrg.) ‘mind’; *pāmet* ‘mind’; Sln. *pámet* ‘memory, mind’; Bulg. *pámet* ‘memory’
 BSL. **mintis*
 B Lith. *mintis* m.(i) ‘thought’
 PIE **mn-ti-*
 Cogn. Skt. *matí-* f. ‘mind, thought’

For the prefix, see → **po*, **pa*.

See also: **мьнѣти*

***pāḡkъ** m. o (a) ‘spider’

- CS CS *paḡkъ* Cf. OCS *paḡčina*, *paučina* (Ps. Sin.), *pajḡčina* (Supr.) ‘spider, spider’s web’
 E Ru. *paiúk*, Gsg. *pauká*; *pavók* (dial.); Ukr. *pavúk*, Gsg. *pavuká*
 W Cz. *pavouk*; Slk. *pavúk*; Pl. *pajak*
 S SCr. *pāūk*, Gsg. *pāūka*; Čak. *pāūk* (Vrg.), Gsg. *pāūka*; *pāuk* (Orb.), Asg. *pāuka*; Sln. *pājək*, Gsg. *pājka*; *pājok*; *pāvok*; *pāvuk*

Compound of → **pa* and **ḡk-* (→ **ḡkotъ*). The spider was apparently named after the shape of its legs.

***pāra** f. ā (a) ‘steam’

- CS CS *para* f. ‘steam’
 E Ru. *par* m. ‘steam’; Ukr. *pāra* f. ‘steamy field, evaporation’
 W Cz. *pāra* f. ‘steam’; Slk. *para* f. ‘steam’; Pl. *para* f. ‘steam’
 S SCr. *pāra* f. ‘steam’; Čak. *pāra* (Vrg., Orb.) f. ‘steam’; Sln. *pāra* f. ‘steam, vapour, soul (of an animal)’; Bulg. *pāra* f. ‘steam’

If there is a connection with Gk. πύπρημι ‘kindle, burn, blow’, which continues a root **preh₁-*, we must assume *Schwebeablaut*. Furthermore, the acute must have been adopted from forms where the laryngeal was preserved. It might be better to seek a connection with → **pariti*, even though this root is generally considered to have no laryngeal. As in other cases, (Balto-)Slavic may have a secondary **H*.

***pariti** v.

- CS OCS *paręštę* (Supr.) Apl. f. ptc. pres. act. ‘which flew’
 E Ru. *parít’* ‘soar, swoop, hover’, 1sg. *parjú*, 3sg. *parít*
 PIE **pōrH-*
 Cogn. Skt. *pārayāti* ‘lead’; OE *fōrian* ‘lead’

For a discussion of the root, see the previous lemma.

See also: **perō*; **ръгати* I

***pasti I** v. (c) ‘pasture, herd’

- CS OCS *pasti* ‘pasture, herd, feed’, 1sg. *paŝ*
 E Ru. *pastí* ‘pasture, shepherd’, 1sg. *pasú*, 3sg. *pasët*
 W Cz. *pásti* ‘pasture, look after, watch’, 1sg. *pasu*; Slk. *pást* ‘pasture’, 1sg. *pasiem*; Pl. *paść* ‘pasture, feed’, 1sg. *paŝ*
 S SCr. *pǎsti* ‘pasture, look after’, 1sg. *pásēm*; Čak. *pǎsti* (Vrg.) ‘pasture, look after’, 2sg. *pǎšěš*; *pǎst* (Hvar) ‘pasture, look after’, 1sg. *pōšēn*; *pās* ‘graze’, 3sg. *pāsē*; Sln. *pásti* ‘pasture, look after’, 1sg. *pásem*; Bulg. *pasá* ‘pasture, graze’
- PIE **peh₂s-*
 Cogn. Lat. *pāscō* ‘pasture’; Hitt. *pahs-* ‘protect’

***pǎsti II** v. ‘fall’

- CS OCS *pasti* (*se*), 1sg. *padŝ* (*se*)
 E Ru. *past’*, 1sg. *padú*, 3sg. *padët*
 W OCz. *pǎsti*, 1sg. *padu*; Pl. *paść*, 1sg. *padę*
 S SCr. *pǎsti*, 1sg. *pǎdnēm*; Čak. *pǎsti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *pǎdeš*; *pās* (Orb.), 1sg. *pāden*; Sln. *pásti*, 1sg. *pádem*
- PIE **pod-*
 Cogn. Skt. *padyate* ‘go, fall’; OE *gefetan* ‘fall’
 See also: *pǎdati II

***pazduxa** f. ā ‘bosom, armpit’

- CS OCS *pazuxa* (Euch.) f. ‘bosom, armpit’
 E Ru. *pázuxa* f. ‘bosom’
 W Cz. *pazucha* (dial.) f. ‘armpit’; OCz. *pazucha* f. ‘armpit’; Slk. *pazucha* f. ‘armpit’; Pl. *pazucha* f. ‘bosom’
 S SCr. *pǎzuho* n. ‘armpit’; Čak. *pǎzuha*; *pǎzoka* (Orlec) f. ‘armpit’; Sln. *pǎzduha* f. ‘armpit’; *pǎzdiha* f. ‘armpit’; *pǎziha* f. ‘armpit’; *pǎzha* f. ‘armpit’
 B Latv. *paduse* f.(ē) ‘armpit, bosom (of a dress)’
- PIE **pōs-dous-eh₂*
 Cogn. Skt. *dōṣ-* n. ‘arm, forearm’

The prefix **paz* is a long variant of the prefix found in → **pozdnr̥*, cf. Lith. *pas*. See also → **paznegōtv*.

***paziti** v. ‘heed’

- S SCr. *pǎziti* ‘love, pay attention’, 1sg. *pǎzīm*; Sln. *páziti* ‘heed, pay attention’, 1sg. *pázim*; Bulg. *pázja* ‘guard, keep’
- PIE *(*s*)*poǵ-*
 Cogn. Olc. *spakr* adj. ‘clever, quiet, soft’

***paznegътъ; *paznogътъ** m. i / m. jo ‘hoof’

- CS OCS *paznegъti* (Ps. Sin.) Apl. m.(i) ‘hoofs’; CS *paznogъtb* (Pog.) m.(i) ‘hoof’;
paznokъtb (Bon.) m.(i) ‘hoof’; *paznoxъtb* (Par.) m.(i) ‘hoof’
 E Ru. *paznógt’* (Sib.) m.(jo) ‘phalanx’; Ukr. *páhnist’* m.(jo) ‘hoof’
 W Cz. *pazneht* m.(o) ‘hoof’; Pl. *paznokiec* m.(jo) ‘nail’
 S Sln. *pážnohət* m.(o) ‘claw’, Gsg. *pážnohta*
 PIE *pōs-h₃nog^{wh}-ut-io-

For the prefix, see → *pazduxa. The second element is → *nogъtb.

***pažitь** f. i ‘pasture, meadow’

- CS OCS *pažitь* f.(i) ‘pasture, meadow’
 E Ru. *pážit’* (obs., poet.) f.(i) ‘pasture’
 W Cz. *pažit* m.(o) ‘meadow’; Slk. *pažit* m.(jo) ‘meadow’

The root of this prefixed *ti*-derivative is *g^w(e)h₃i- ‘live’ (→ *žiti).

***pekti** v. (c) ‘bake’

- CS OCS *pešti* (Mar., Ass.) ‘bake’, 1sg. *pekø*; *pešti se* ‘care for, worry, mourn’, 1sg.
pekø se
 E Ru. *peč’* ‘bake’, 1sg. *pekú*, 3sg. *pečët*
 W Cz. *péci* ‘bake’, 1sg. *peku*; Slk. *piecť* ‘bake’, 1sg. *pečiem*; Pl. *piec* ‘bake’, 1sg. *piekę*
 S SCr. *pěci* ‘bake’, 1sg. *pěčem*; Čak. *pěci* (Vrg.) ‘bake’, 2sg. *pečěš*; *pěc* (Orb.) ‘bake’,
 1sg. *pečën*; Sln. *pěci* ‘bake, fry’, 1sg. *pěčem*; Bulg. *peká* ‘bake, fry’, 2sg. *pečēs*
 BSl. *pek-
 B Lith. *kèpti* ‘bake, fry’ ((with metathesis)
 PIE *pek^w-
 Cogn. Skt. *pácati* ‘cook, bake, fry’; Gk. *πέσσω* ‘bake, cook, ripen’

See also: *pēktь; *pōtь

***pēktь** f. i (c) ‘oven’

- CS OCS *peštь* ‘oven, cave’
 E Ru. *peč’* ‘stove, oven’
 W Cz. *pec* ‘oven’; Slk. *pec* ‘oven’; Pl. *piec* m.(jo) ‘oven’; USrb. *peč* ‘oven’, Gsg.
pjegy
 S SCr. *pěc* ‘oven’, Gsg. *pěci*; Čak. *pěc* (Vrg., Hvar) ‘oven’, Gsg. *pěci*; Sln. *pěč*
 ‘oven, rock’, Gsg. *pečī*; Bulg. *pešt* ‘oven’
 PIE *pek^w-ti-
 Cogn. Skt. *pakti-* ‘cooking, cooked food’

Derivative of → *pekti.

***pelenà; *pelna** f. ā 'band, bandage'

- CS OCS *pelena* (Cloz., Supr.) 'band for swathing children'
 E Ru. *pelená* 'shroud, (dial.) nappy'
 W Cz. *plena* 'headscarf, bandage'
 S SCr. *pelèna* 'bandage, shroud'; Čak. *plēnà* (Vrg.) 'band for swathing children'; *plēnà* (Vrg.) 'band for swathing children'; *pl'ēn* (Orb.) f.(i) 'diaper'; Sln. *pléna* 'bandage'; Bulg. *pelená* 'bandage'
- BSl. *pel-(e)n-*
 B Lith. *plėnė* f.(ė) 4 'membrane'
- PIE **pel-en-eh₂*
 Cogn. Gk. *πελλοράφος* adj. 'sewing skins together'; Lat. *pellis* f. 'skin'; OIc. *fjall* n. 'skin'

See also: *plėna; *plėva; *poltbno

***pelesъ** adj. o

- CS CS *pelesъ* 'grey, greyish black'
 E Ru. *pelėsyj* 'spotted (of animals)'
 S Sln. *pelėsast* 'spotted'
- B Lith. *pálšas* 'light grey'; Latv. *palšs* 'faded'
- Cogn. OIc. *fōlr* 'faded'

Besides the different full grades of the root, Slavic and Baltic diverge regarding the ablaut of the suffix.

See also: *plėsnъ

***pėlnъ** m. o (c) 'loot, spoils, captivity'

- CS OCS *plėnъ* 'captivity, loot'
 E Ru. *polón* (arch.) 'captivity', Gsg. *polóna*; ORu. *polonъ* 'loot'; Bel. *palón* (arch.) 'captivity', Gsg. *palónu*; Ukr. *polón* 'captivity', Gsg. *polónu*
 W Cz. *plen* 'loot, spoils'; Slk. *plen* 'gain'; Pl. *plon* 'harvest'
 S SCr. *plījen* 'gain'; Sln. *plēn* 'loot'
- BSl. **pėlnos*
 B Lith. *pėlnas* m. 4 'gain, profit'; Latv. *pėļna* f.(jā) 'gain, profit'
- Cogn. OIc. *falr* adj. 'for sale'

The accentuation of the verb *polonít*' (arch.) 'to take captive', 3sg. *polonít*, may be considered evidence for original mobility (cf. Illič-Svityč 1963: §43).

***pėlti** v. (a) 'weed'

- CS OCS *plėvoma* (Supr.) Nsg. f. ptc. pres. pass. 'being weeded, eradicated'
 E Ru. *polót*, 1sg. *poljú*, 3sg. *pólet*
 W Cz. *plíti*, 1sg. *pleji*; Slk. *plet*, 1sg. *plejem*; Pl. *pleć*, 1sg. *pielę*

S SCr. *pljěti*, 1sg. *plijěvēm*; Čak. *pl'evět* (Vrg.), 1sg. *pl'ěvin*; Sln. *plěti*, 1sg. *plěvem*, 1sg. *plějem*

It seems to me that there is a slight possibility that this verb is cognate with LIV's root **pelh*₁- 'in Schwung bringen' (469), cf. Gk. *πάλλω* 'sway, swing'. More plausible is perhaps the connection with the next lemma.

***pělva** f. ā (a) 'chaff'

CS OCS *plěvy* Npl. 'chaff'

E Ru. *polóna* 'chaff'

W Cz. *pleva* 'chaff'; *plíva* (S. dial.) 'chaff'; OCz. *pléva* 'chaff'; Slk. *pleva* 'awn, chaff'; Pl. *plewa* 'awn, (pl.) chaff'; USrb. *pluwa* '(pl.) chaff'

S SCr. *pljěva* 'chaff'; Čak. *plíva* (Vrg.) 'chaff'; *plěva* (Orb.) 'chaff'; Sln. *plěva* 'awn, chaff'; Bulg. *pljáva* 'chaff'

BSl. **pelʔus*; **pelʔuaʔ*

B Lith. *pėlūs* Npl. f.(u) 'chaff'; Latv. *pēlus* Npl. f.(u) 'chaff'

OPr. *pelwo* 'chaff'

PIE **pelH-u-*

Cogn. Skt. *palāva-* (AV) m. 'chaff, husks'

***pěpelъ**; ***pōpelъ** m. o (c) 'ashes'

E Ru. *pépel* 'ashes', Gsg. *pépla*

W Cz. *popel* 'ashes'; Slk. *popel* 'ashes'; Pl. *popiół* 'ashes'

S SCr. *pěpeo* 'ashes'; Čak. *pōpel* (Orb.) 'ashes'; Sln. *pepěł* 'ashes', Gsg. *pepěla*; *popěł* 'ashes'; Bulg. *pépel* 'ashes, dust'

B Lith. *pelenai* Npl. m.(o) 'ashes'; *plėnis* f.(i) 'speck, fine ashes'; Latv. *plēne* f.(ē) 'white ashes on coals'

OPr. *pelanne* 'ashes'

PIE **pepelh*₁-o-

See also: **paliti*; **polěti*; **polmy*.

***per** pref. 'over, through, very, exceedingly'

CS OCS *prě-*

E Ru. *pere-* (*pére-*)

W Cz. *prě-*; Pl. *prze-*

S Sln. *pre-*

BSl. **per*

B Lith. *peř* prep. 'through'; *pér-* pref. 'through, over'

PIE **per*

Cogn. Skt. *pári* (RV+) adv. 'around, about'; Gk. *περί* prep. 'around, about'; *περικαλλής* adj. 'very beautiful'; Lat. *per* pref. 'through'; *per-magnus* adj. 'very big'

See also: *perǵь; *perkь

***perǵь** prep. 'before, in front of'

CS	OCS <i>prědъ</i>
E	Ru. <i>péred(o)</i>
W	Cz. <i>před(e)</i> ; Pl. <i>przed(e)</i>
S	Sln. <i>prěd</i> ; Bulg. <i>pred</i>

This preposition must reflect **per-d^hh₁-om*, cf. → **nadъ*.

See also: *per; *perkь

***perkь** adj. o

E	Ru. <i>poperěk</i> prep./adv. 'across'; ORu. <i>perekъ</i> m. 'width, cross-beam'
W	Slk. <i>priek</i> m. 'obstinacy, resistance'; Pl. <i>przeko</i> adv. 'across'
S	SCr. <i>prĭjek</i> prep./adv. 'steep'; Sln. <i>prêk</i> 'rough, wild', f. <i>prêka</i> ; <i>prêk</i> 'cross, across'; Bulg. <i>prĭjak</i> 'shortest, direct'; <i>prĭjako</i> prep. 'over, beyond'

Apparently, → **per* + **-ko-*.

***però** n. o (b) 'feather'

CS	CS <i>pero</i>
E	Ru. <i>peró</i> ; ORu. <i>pero</i>
W	Cz. <i>pero</i> ; <i>péro</i> ; Slk. <i>pero</i> ; Pl. <i>pióro</i> ; USrb. <i>pjero</i> ; LSrb. <i>pjero</i> ; <i>pjoro</i>
S	SCr. <i>pěro</i> , Npl. <i>perǎ</i> ; <i>pěro</i> (E. Hercegovina), Npl. <i>pěra</i> ; Čak. <i>però</i> (Vrg.), Npl. <i>pěrà</i> ; <i>però</i> (Novi), Npl. <i>pěra</i> ; Sln. <i>perô</i> n.(s) 'feather, leaf', Gsg. <i>perêsa</i> ; <i>péro</i> 'feather, leaf', Gsg. <i>péras</i> ; Bulg. <i>peró</i>
B	Lith. <i>spařnas</i> m. 4 'wing'; Latv. <i>spārn̄s</i> m. 'wing'
PIE	<i>*perH-o-</i>
Cogn.	Skt. <i>parṇá-</i> n. 'wing'; Gk. <i>πτερόν</i> n. 'feather, wing'; OE <i>fearn</i> m. 'fern'; OIr. <i>raith</i> m. 'fern'

The reconstruction with a laryngeal is based on Baltic (e.g. Lith. *papártis* 'fern') and Celtic evidence (see Derksen 196: 79).

See also: *pariti; *pъrati I

***perti** v. (c)

E	Ru. <i>perét'</i> 'go, make one's way, push, drag', 1sg. <i>pru</i> , 3sg. <i>prët</i>
W	Cz. <i>přiti se</i> 'quarrel, (obs.) be engaged in a lawsuit', 1sg. <i>pru se</i> , 1sg. <i>přu se</i> ; <i>přiti</i> (obs.) 'deny, renounce', 1sg. <i>přu</i> , 1sg. <i>přím</i> ; Pl. <i>przec'</i> 'press (on), push', 1sg. <i>prę</i>
BSl.	<i>*per-</i>
B	Lith. <i>peřti</i> 'beat, lash with a besom (in a bath)'
PIE	<i>*per-</i>

See also: *pъrati II; *pъrěti; *pъrtъ; *sъporъ

***pěga; *pěgъ** f. ā; m. o (a) 'freckle'

CS (OCS *pěgoty* Npl. f. (Supr.) 'leprosy')

W Cz. *piha; píha* (obs.); *pěha* (Mor.); *píja* (SE dial.); OCz. *pieha*; Slk. *peha*; Pl. *piegi* Npl. m.; *piega* (obs.)

S SCr. *pjěga*; Sln. *pěga* 'spot, freckle'; Bulg. *pěga*

PIE *poig-

Cogn. Skt. *piṅgalā-* (AV+) adj. 'reddish brown, reddish yellow, greenish yellow';
Lat. *pingō* 'paint'

See also: *pěgъ; *pěgavъ

***pěgъ; *pěgavъ** adj. o

E Ru. *pěgij* 'skewbald'

S SCr. *pjěgav* 'spotted, freckled'; Sln. *pěgav* 'spotted, freckled'

PIE *poig-

Cogn. Skt. *piṅgalā-* (AV+) adj. 'reddish brown, reddish yellow, greenish yellow';
Lat. *pingō* 'paint'

See → *pěga, *pěgъ.

***pěna** f. ā (a) 'foam'

CS OCS *pěny* Npl.

E Ru. *pěna*

W Cz. *pěna*; Slk. *pena*; Pl. *piana*; USrb. *pěna*

S SCr. *pjěna; spjěna* (Dalm.); Čak. *pīna* (Vrg., Hvar); *pěna* (Orb.); Sln. *pěna*;
Bulg. *pjana*

BSL. *(s)póřina?

B Lith. *spáinė* f.(ē) 'foam (on waves)'

OPr. *spoayno* 'foam (of fermenting beer)'

PIE *(s)poHi-neh₂ ((s)peh₃i-neh₂?)

Cogn. Lat. *spūma* f.; OE *fām* m.; OHG *feim* m.

***pěstъ** m. o (b) 'pestle'

E Ru. *pest* m. 'pestle'; Gsg. *pestá*

W Cz. *píst* m. 'pestle'; *písta* f. 'pestle'; Slk. *piest* m. 'pestle'; Pl. *piasta* f. 'nave'

S Sln. *pěstъ* n. 'nave, hub'

BSL. *póistum

B Lith. *piēstas* m. 2/4 'pestle'; *piestà* f. 2/4 'wooden mortar'; Latv. *piesta* f. 'wooden mortar, pestle'; *piests* m. 'wooden mortar, pestle'

PIE *pois-to-m

Cogn. MLG *vīsel* m. 'pestle' (with *-tlo-)

See also: *pъxati; *pъšeno

***pěsъkъ** m. o (b) 'sand'

CS	OCS <i>pěsъkъ</i>
E	Ru. <i>pesók</i> , Gsg. <i>peská</i>
W	Cz. <i>písek</i> ; Slk. <i>piesok</i> ; Pl. <i>piasek</i> ; USrb. <i>pěsk</i> m.; LSrb. <i>pěsk</i> ; <i>pjask</i> (dial.)
S	SCr. <i>pijèsak</i> , Gsg. <i>pijèska</i> ; Sln. <i>pěsək</i> , Gsg. <i>pěska</i> ; Bulg. <i>pjásək</i>
PIE	*pē(n)s-u-ko-
Cogn.	Skt. <i>pāṁsú-</i> (AV+) m. 'dust, sand'

***pěšъ** adj. jo 'pedestrian, on foot'

CS	OCS <i>pěšъ</i> (Zogr., Mar., Supr.)
E	Ru. <i>pěšij</i> ; <i>pěxij</i> (dial.)
W	Cz. <i>pěšít</i> ; Slk. <i>pešít</i> ; Pl. <i>pieszy</i>
S	SCr. <i>pjěše</i> (Vuk) adv. 'on foot'; <i>pjěškē</i> (Vuk) adv. 'on foot'; Sln. <i>pěšji</i> ; <i>pěški</i> ; Bulg. <i>peš</i> adv. 'on foot'; <i>pešá</i> adv. 'on foot'
BSl.	*peʔ(d)-
B	Lith. <i>pěščias</i> 3 'pedestrian'

Derivatives of PIE *ped- 'foot' showing the effects of Winter's law. While the Slavic etymon seems to contain a suffix *-sjo-, Baltic requires *-tjo-.

***pěti** v. (c) 'sing'

CS	OCS <i>pěti</i> 'sing, praise', 1sg. <i>pojǫ</i> , 2sg. <i>poješi</i>
E	Ru. <i>pet'</i> 'sing', 1sg. <i>pojú</i> , 3sg. <i>poët</i> ; <i>pet'</i> (dial.) 'sing', 1sg. <i>péju</i> , 3sg. <i>péet</i>
W	Cz. <i>pěti</i> 'crow', 1sg. <i>pěji</i> ; Pl. <i>piac'</i> 'crow', 1sg. <i>pieję</i> {1}; OPl. <i>pieć</i> 'sing', 1sg. <i>poję</i> ; <i>piac'</i> 'sing', 1sg. <i>pieję</i>
S	SCr. <i>pójati</i> 'sing', 1sg. <i>pòjēm</i> ; <i>pěti</i> (Vuk: "in songs") 'sing', 1sg. <i>pēm</i> (<i>pojem?</i>); Sln. <i>pěti</i> 'sing', 1sg. <i>pójem</i> ; <i>pójati</i> 'sing', 1sg. <i>pójam</i> , 1sg. <i>pójem</i> ; Bulg. <i>péja</i> 'sing', 2sg. <i>péš</i>
PIE	*poiH-
Cogn.	Toch. B <i>pi-</i> 'sing, make sing'

{1} According to Bańkowski (2000b: 540), *piac'* 'sing' occurs from the 14th to the 17th c. and in 18th and 19th c. poetry.

***pědъ** f. i (c) 'span'

CS	OCS <i>pědъ</i> (Euch., Ps. Sin.) 'span'
E	Ru. <i>pjad'</i> 'span'
W	Cz. <i>píd'</i> 'span'; Slk. <i>piad'</i> 'span'; Pl. <i>piędz'</i> 'span'
S	SCr. <i>pěd</i> 'span'; Sln. <i>pěd</i> 'span', Gsg. <i>pedī</i>
BSl.	*(s)penʔd-
B	Lith. <i>spėsti</i> 'set a trap'

PIE *(s)p(e)nd—
Cogn. Lat. *pendō* ‘weigh, judge’

***pęšťь** f. i (c) ‘fist’

CS SerbCS *pęšťь* ‘fist’
E Ru. *pjast’* ‘metacarpus’
W Cz. *pěšt’* ‘fist’; Slk. *päst’* ‘fist’; Pl. *pięść* ‘fist’
S SCr. *pěšt* ‘fist’; Čak. *p’ēs* (Orb.) ‘fist’, Npl. *p’ēsti*; Sln. *pęšt* ‘fist, handful’, Gsg. *pešī*

PIE **pnk^w-s-ti-*
Cogn. OHG *fūst* m. ‘fist’; OE *fýst* m. ‘id.’

See also: *pęťь; *pęťь

***pęťà** f. ā (c) ‘heel’

CS OCS *pęta* (Zogr., Ps. Sin., Supr.)
E Ru. *pjată*, Asg. *pjatu*
W Cz. *pata*; Slk. *päta*; Pl. *pięta*; USrb. *pjata*; LSrb. *pata*; Plb. *pęta*
S SCr. *pęta*, Asg. *pęta*; Čak. *pętä* (Vrg.), Asg. *pętu*; *pętä* (Novi, Hvar); Čak. *p’etä* (Orb.), Asg. *p’ęto*; Sln. *pęta*; Bulg. *petá*
BSL. **penŕta?*; **penŕtis*
B Lith. *pęntis* f.(i) ‘backside of an axe, part of a scythe near the handle, (dial.) heel’; Latv. *pięts* f.(i) ‘backside of an axe’
OPr. *pentis* ‘heel’

Derivative in *-t- of the root *(s)penH- (→ *pęťi).

***pęťi** v. (c) ‘stretch’

E Ru. *pjat’* (obs.), 1sg. *pnu*
W Cz. *pnouti*, 1sg. *pnu*; OCz. *pieti*, 1sg. *pnu*; Slk. *pnút’*, 1sg. *pnu*; Pl. *piąć*, 1sg. *pnę*
S SCr. *pęti*, 1sg. *pęnjēm*; Sln. *pęti*, 1sg. *pnēm*

BSL. **pinŕ-*
B Lith. *pinti* ‘braid’; Latv. *pīt* ‘braid’

PIE *(s)pnH-
Cogn. Gk. *πένομαι* ‘toil, work’; Arm. *henum* ‘weave, sow together’

See also: *pęťà; *pęťo

***pęťь** num. o (b) ‘fifth’

CS OCS *pęťь*
E Ru. *pjátyj*
W Cz. *pátý*; Slk. *piaty*; Pl. *piąty*
S SCr. *pęti*; Čak. *pęti* (Vrg.); *p’ęti* (Orb.); Sln. *pęti*; Bulg. *peti*
BSL. **penktos*

- B Lith. *peñktas*
OPr. *piēnctis*
- PIE **penk^w-to-*
Cogn. Gk. πέμπτος; Lat. *quīntus*; OHG *fimfto*
- See also: *pētь; *pētь

***pētь** num. i (c) ‘five’

- CS OCS *pětь*
E Ru. *pjat’*
W Cz. *pět*; Slk. *pät*; Pl. *pięć*; Sln. *pjinc*
S SCr. *pět*; Čak. *pēt* (Vrg., Hvar); *p’ët* (Orb.); Sln. *pēt*; Bulg. *pet*
- BSl. **penk-*
B Lith. *penki*; Latv. *pieci*
- PIE **penk^we*
Cogn. Skt. *pāñca* (RV+); Gk. πέντε; Lat. *quīnque*; Go. *fimf*

In Slavic, the uninflected PIE numeral **penk^we* apparently acquired the suffix *-*ti-*.

See also: *pētь; *pētь

***pīskāti; *pīščāti** v. (b) ‘squeak, whistle’

- CS OCS *piskati* (Mar.) ‘pipe’, 1sg. *piskajō*
E Ru. *piščát’* ‘squeak’
W Cz. *pískati* ‘whistle’; *píštěti* ‘whistle’; Pl. *piskać* ‘whistle, squeak’; *piszczeć* ‘whistle, squeak’
S Sln. *pískati* ‘whistle’, 1sg. *pískam*, 1sg. *píščem*; Bulg. *pískam* ‘howl, cry, squeak, whistle’
- BSl. **pīšk-*
B Lith. *pyškėti* ‘click, snap, crack’; Latv. *pīkstēt* ‘squeak’

It seems best to posit an onomatopoeic root **pī-* followed by the suffix *-*sk-*.

See also: *piskorbь; *piskarbь; *piskalь

***piskorbь; *piskarbь; *piskalь** m. jo; m. jo; m. o ‘loach, gudgeon’

- E Ru. *piskár’* ‘gudgeon’; *peskár’* ‘gudgeon’; *piskál* (dial.) m.(o) ‘gudgeon’; *peskál* (dial.) m.(o) ‘gudgeon’
W Cz. *piskoř* ‘loach’; Slk. *piskor* ‘loach’; Pl. *piskorz* m.(o) ‘loach’
S SCr. *pīskor* m.(o) ‘muray’; Sln. *pískor* ‘lampray’, Gsg. *pískorja*; *pīškōr* ‘lampray’, Gsg. *pīškōrja*; *pīškúr* ‘lampray’, Gsg. *pīškúrja*; Bulg. *piskál* m.(o) ‘gudgeon’
- PIE **peis-sk-*

For the semantic development cf. Lith. *pyplỹs* ‘loach, gudgeon’ vs. *pỹpti* ‘squeak’ or Pl. *sykawiec* ‘loach’ vs. *sykać* ‘hiss’ (Vasmer s.v. *piskár*). As was to be expected, attempts

have been made to link this fish-name to PIE *peisk- ‘fish’, cf. Lat. *piscis*. This etymology is difficult to disprove.

See also: *piskati; *piščati

***pitati** v. ‘feed’

- CS OCS *pitati* ‘feed, raise’, 1sg. *pitaję*
 E Ru. *pitát’*, 1sg. *pitáju*
 W OCz. *pitati*
 S SCr. *pítati*, 1sg. *pítām*; Čak. *pítati* (Vrg.), 2sg. *pítāš*; *pítat* (Orb.), 1sg. *pítan*;
 Sln. *pítati* ‘fatten, feed’, 1sg. *pítam*

Verb derived from *pit- < *peit (→ *pitja).

***pitěti** v. ‘feed’

- CS OCS *pitěti*, 1sg. *pitěję*

Verb derived from *pit- < *peit (→ pitja).

***pitja** f. ā (a) ‘food’

- CS OCS *pišta* ‘food, bliss’
 E Ru. *pišča* ‘food’
 W Cz. *píce* ‘fodder’; OPl. *pica* ‘fodder, victuals’
 S SCr. *piča* ‘fodder’; Sln. *píča* ‘food, fodder’
 BSL. *peit-
 B Lith. *piētūs* Npl. m.(u) ‘dinner’

The root of Skt. *pitú-* m. ‘nourishment’ and related forms is sometimes reconstructed as *pei- (cf. *peiH in Skt. *pívan-* ‘fat’, etc.), but *peit- seems more plausible. In view of the accentuation of *pitja, however, one may wonder whether the root *peiH may have influenced *peit-.

See also: *pitati; *pitěti

***piti** v. ‘drink’

- CS OCS *piti* ‘drink’, 1sg. *piję*
 E Ru. *pit’* ‘drink’, 1sg. *p’ju*, 3sg. *p’ët*
 W Cz. *píti* ‘drink’; Slk. *pit’* ‘drink’; Pl. *pić* ‘drink’
 S SCr. *píti* ‘drink’, 1sg. *pījēm*; Čak. *píti* (Vrg.) ‘drink’, 2sg. *pījēs*; *pít* (Orb.) ‘drink’, 1sg. *pījēn*; *píti* (Hvar) ‘ask’, 1sg. *pījēn*; Sln. *píti* ‘drink’, 1sg. *píjem*; Bulg. *píja* ‘drink’
 B OPr. *pōuton* ‘drink’
 PIE *ph₃i-
 Cogn. Skt. *pāti* ‘drink’; Skt. *pītá-* ptc. pret. pass. ‘drunk’; Gk. *πίνω* ‘drink’; Gk. *πώνω* (Aeol., Dor.) ‘drink’

See also: *pīvo

*pívo n. o (c) ‘drink, beer’

CS OCS *pivo* (Zogr., Mar., Euch.) ‘drink’

E Ru. *pívo* ‘beer’

W Cz. *pivo* ‘beer’; Slk. *pivo* ‘beer’; Pl. *piwo* ‘beer’

S SCr. *pīvo* ‘beer’; Čak. *pīvo* (Vrg.) ‘beer’; Sln. *pívo* ‘drink, beer’; Bulg. *pívo* ‘beer’

PIE **ph₃i-uo-m*

Cogn. Gk. πίνov n. ‘beer’

See also: *piti

*pjbvāti v. (a) ‘spit’

CS OCS *plbvati*, 1sg. *pljujō*

E Ru. *plevát’*, 1sg. *pljujú*, 3sg. *plujët* {1}

W Cz. *plíti*, 1sg. *pliji*; *plvati*, 1sg. *pliji*; Slk. *pluti*, 1sg. *plujem*; Pl. *pluć*, 1sg. *pluję*; *plwać* (arch.), 1sg. *pluję*

S SCr. *pljùvati*, 1sg. *pljùjēm*; Sln. *pljuvāti*, 1sg. *pljúvam*, 1sg. *pljújem*; Bulg. *pljúja*; *pljúvam*

BSL. *(s)*pjaʔu-*

B Lith. *spjáuti*; Latv. *spļaūt*

PIE *(s)*pieHu-*

Cogn. Lat. *spuere*; Go. *speiwan*

{1} AP (a) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 133).

*plàkati v. (a) ‘cry, weep’

CS OCS *plakati* (*sę*) ‘cry, lament’, 1sg. *plačō* (*sę*)

E Ru. *plàkat’* ‘cry’, 1sg. *pláču*

W Cz. *plakati* ‘cry’, 1sg. *pláču*; Slk. *plakat’* ‘cry’, 1sg. *pláčem*; Pl. *plakać* ‘cry’, 1sg. *placzę*

S SCr. *plàkati* ‘cry’, 1sg. *pláčēm*; Čak. *plàkati* (Vrg.) ‘cry’, 2sg. *pláčēs*; *plàkati* (Orb.) ‘cry’, 2sg. *pláčēn*; Sln. *plàkati* ‘cry’, 1sg. *plákam*, 1sg. *pláčem*; Bulg. *pláča* ‘cry’

PIE **pleh₂k-/pleh₂g-*

Cogn. Gk. πλήσω ‘beat’; Lat. *plangere* ‘beat, beat the breast as a sign of mourning, bewail’; OE *flōcan* ‘applaud’

For the semantic development, cf. Lat. *plangō*.

*plástъ m. o (b) ‘layer’

CS RuCS *plastъ* m. ‘layer’

E Ru. *plast* m. ‘layer’; ORu. *plastъ* m. ‘layer’

W Cz. *plást* f.(i) ‘honeycomb’; Slk. *plást* m. ‘honeycomb’; OPl. *plast* m. ‘honeycomb’

S SCr. *plāst* m. ‘hay-stack’; Sln. *plāst* m. ‘layer, hay-swath’; Gsg. *plastī*; Bulg. *plast* m. ‘layer’

The etymology **plōth₂-to-*, cf. Lith. *platūs* ‘broad, wide’, Gk. πλατύς ‘wide, broad, flat, level’ (see → **pletjē*), seems possible, but I consider it preferable to reconstruct **plōsk-to-* (→ **ploskō*).

***plāvati** v. (a) ‘swim, sail’

CS OCS *plavati* (Supr.) ‘sail’, 1sg. *plavajō*

E Ru. *plávat* ‘swim, sail’

W Cz. *plavati* ‘swim’; Slk. *plávat* ‘swim’; OPl. *plawać* ‘swim, sail’

S Sln. *plávati* ‘swim, sail’, 1sg. *plávam*; Bulg. *plávam* ‘swim, sail’

PIE **pleh₃(u)-*

Cogn. Gk. πλώω ‘float, sail’; OIc. *flóa* ‘flow’

It seems that Balto-Slavic offers evidence for both **pleh₃u-* and **pleu-* (cf. Derksen 1996: 116-117). LIV (485, 487) distinguishes between **pleh₃-* and **pleu-*, while entertaining the possibility of a **ue-* present for the former root. Balto-Slavic **pleh₃u-* may be a conflation of these two roots. The existence of an acute root **pl(j)ou?d-* < **pleud-*, cf. Lith. *pláusti* ‘wash, bathe’ (alongside *pláuti*), OIc. *fljóta* ‘flow’, may have added to the confusion.

See also: **plāviti*; **pluti*; **plūtō*; **plътъ*; **plÿti*

***plāviti** v. (a)

E Ru. *plávit* ‘melt’

W Cz. *plaviti* ‘float, bathe (horses, cattle), navigate, scour’; Slk. *plavit* ‘float’; Pl. *plawić* ‘bathe (horses, cattle), (arch.) melt’

S SCr. *plāviti* ‘flood’; Sln. *plavíti* ‘flood, sail, melt’, 1sg. *plávím*; Bulg. *plávja* ‘rinse’

See → **plāvati*.

***plesno**; ***plesna** n. o; f. ā ‘sole’

CS OCS *plesno* (Euch., Ps. Sin., Supr.) n. ‘sole’ (cf. *plesnoce* n. (Euch.) ‘sandal’)

W OCz. *plesna* f. ‘sole’

S Sln. *plésna* f. ‘sole’

BSl. **ples-/ *plos-*

B OPr. *plasmeno* ‘front part of the sole’

The usual reconstruction is **pleth₂-sn-*, cf. → **plástō*. I wonder if **plesk-n-* (→ **ploskō*) would not be a viable alternative, cf. Ru. *pljusk* ‘flattened spot’ : *pljusná* ‘metatarsus’.

***plesti** v. (c) ‘plait’

CS OCS *pletomi* (Supr.) Npl. m. ptc. pres. pass. ‘(plots) being hatched’ {1}

- E Ru. *plestí* ‘plait’, 1sg. *pletú*, 3sg. *pletět*
 W Cz. *plésti* ‘plait’, 1sg. *pletu*; Slk. *pliest’* ‘plait’, 1sg. *pletem*; Pl. *pleść* ‘plait’, 1sg. *plotę*
 S SCr. *plèsti* ‘plait’, 1sg. *plètēm*; Čak. *plèsti* (Vrg.) ‘plait’, 2sg. *pletěš*; *plèst* (Hvar) ‘plait’; *plēs* (Orb.) ‘plait’, 1sg. *pletèn*; Sln. *plésti* ‘plait, knit’, 1sg. *plétem*; Bulg. *pletá* ‘plait, knit’

PIE **plék-t-*

Cogn. Lat. *plectāre* ‘plait’; OIc. *flétta* ‘plait’; OHG *flechtan* ‘plait’

{1} In: *kovi že i svñeti zblí na n’ę pletomi byvaaxp.*

See also: *plotъ

***pletjè** n. jo (b) ‘shoulder’

- CS OCS *plešte* n.(jo) ‘shoulder’
 E Ru. *plečó* n.(jo) ‘shoulder’
 W Cz. *plec* f.(i) ‘shoulder’; Slk. *plece* n.(jo) ‘shoulder’; Pl. *plecy* Npl. n.(jo) ‘back’
 S SCr. *plěće* n.(jo) ‘shoulder (blade)’, Npl. n. *plěca*, Npl. f. *plěci*; *plěćē* (Pos.) n.(jo) ‘shoulder (blade)’, Npl. *plěcā*; Čak. *plečē* (Novi) n.(jo) ‘shoulder (blade)’, Npl. *plěca*; *plečō* (Orb.) n.(jo) ‘shoulder (blade)’, Npl. *pl’ěca*; *plěćā* (Vrg.) Npl. n. ‘shoulders’; Sln. *plěče* n.(jo) ‘shoulder’, Npl. *plěča*; Bulg. *plěšti* Npl. ‘shoulders’; *plešti* Npl. ‘shoulders’

Derivative of the root **plet-* < **pleth₂*- ‘broad’ (→ **plesna*).

See also: *plástъ; *plesna

***plěna** f. ā ‘membrane’

- E Ru. *plená* ‘membrane’
 W Cz. *plena* ‘membrane’
 BSL. **plēn(i)a?*
 B Lith. *plėnė* f.(ē) 4 ‘membrane’; *plėvė* f.(ē) 4 ‘membrane’
 OPr. *pleynis* ‘cerebral membrane’

PIE **plēn-eh₂*

See: → **pelenà*

***plěsnъ** f. i ‘mould’

- CS RuCS *plěsnъ*
 E Ru. *plěsen’*
 W Cz. *plíseň*; Slk. *pleseň*; Pl. *pleśń*
 S SCr. *plījesan*; Čak. *plěšnja* (Orb.) f.(jā); Sln. *plēsən*, Gsg. *plēsni*; Bulg. *plěsen* m.(o)
 B Lith. *pelėsis* m.(io)

Formation not entirely clear. Apparently, *plěsnъ* : **pelesъ* runs parallel to **plěna* : **pelenà*, with ablaut of both the suffix and the root.

***plěšb** f. i (c) ‘bald patch’CS CS *plěšb*W Cz. *pleš*; Pl. *plesz*S Sln. *plěš* m.(jo); *plěša* f.(jā)B Lith. *plikas* adj. ‘bald’; *plėikė* (E. Lith.) f. ‘bald patch’; Latv. *plikas* adj. ‘bare, bald’Cogn. Nw. *flein* (dial.) m. ‘bald patch’

Forms such Ru. *plexán* ‘bald person’ show that the root of this etymon is *plěx-. According to Kortlandt (1994: 112), Slavic *x corresponding to Baltic *k points to *ĥh₂, cf. → *soxà vs. Lith. *šakà*. We may therefore reconstruct *ploiĥh₂-o-.

***plėva** f. ā ‘membrane’E Ru. *plevá* ‘membrane, film’W Sln. *plėvā* ‘iris’S Sln. *plėva* ‘eyelid’

BSL. *plėw(i)a?

B Lith. *plėvė* f.(ė) 4 ‘membrane’PIE *plėu-eh₂

Cogn. Gk. ἐπίπλοος m. ‘net around the intestines’

See also: *pelenà; *plėna; *poltynò

***pļuskō** m. oE Ru. *pļusk* ‘flattened spot’

Etymology unclear. The root seems to be a variant with *u of the root of → *ploskō.

See also: *pļusna

***pļusna** f. āE Ru. *pļusná* ‘metatarsus’

BSL. *pl(j)ousk-

B Lith. *plaūksta* ‘flat of the hand, palm’

See → *pļuskō.

***pļūtjè** n. jo (b) ‘lung’CS OCS *pļušta* (Supr.) Npl. n. ‘lungs’E ORu. *pļuča* Npl. n. ‘lungs’W Cz. *plice* f.(jā) ‘lungs’; OCz. *plūcě* Npl. f. f.(jā) ‘lungs’; Slk. *plúca* Npl. n. ‘lungs’; Pl. *płuco* n. ‘lung’S SCr. *plúca* Npl. n. ‘lungs’; *plúca* (Vuk: Dubr.) f. ‘lung’; Čak. *pļūcà* / *pļúcà* (Vrg.) f. ‘lungs’; *plúca* (Novi) Npl. n. ‘lungs’; *plúca* (Orb.) Npl. n. ‘lungs’; Sln. *pļjúca* Npl. n. ‘lungs’

BSl. **pl(j)outia?*

B Lith. *plauščiai* m.(io) 2 'lungs'; Latv. *plāuši* m.(io) 'lungs'

See → **plāviti*. Apparently, we are dealing here with a *tjo*-derivative containing the root **pleu-*.

***ploskъ** adj. o 'flat'

CS OCS *ploskъ* (Supr.)

E Ru. *plóskij*

W Cz. *ploský*; OPl. *ploski* (Maz.)

S Sln. *plôsk*, f. *plóska*; Bulg. *plósăk*

B Lith. *plākanas*

PIE **plok-sk-o-*

Cogn. OHG *flah*

See also: **plástъ*

***plotъ** m. o 'fence'

CS OCS *plotъ* (Ps. Sin.) 'fence'

E Ru. *plot* (dial.) 'fence'; ORu. *plotъ* 'fence'

W Cz. *plot* 'fence'; Slk. *plot* 'fence'; Pl. *plot* 'fence'; USrb. *plót* 'fence', Gsg. *plota*, Gsg. *plotu*

S SCr. *plôt* 'fence', Gsg. *plôta*; Sln. *plôt* 'wickerwork, fence', Gsg. *plôta*, Gsg. *plotû*

A *to*-derivative of the stem **plot-* < **plokt-* < **plók-t* (→ **plestì*).

***pluti** v. 'swim, sail'

CS OCS *plu* (Supr.) 3sg. aor. 'sailed'

W Cz. *plouti* 'swim, sail', 1sg. *pluju*; OCz. *plúti* 'swim, sail', 1sg. *plovu*; Slk. *plut* 'swim, sail'

S Sln. *plúti* 'swim, sail', 1sg. *plújem*, 1sg. *plóvem*

BSl. **plažu-*

B Lith. *pláuti* 'wash, bathe'

See → **plávati*.

***plūtò** n. o (b) 'flotsam'

W Slnc. *plūtθ* 'flotsam'

S SCr. *plūtò* (Prčanj) 'flotsam'; *plúto* (Dubr.) 'flotsam'

BSl. **plořutó* (*ploutó?*)

B Lith. *plāutas* 2 'sweating shelf, bath shelf, sideboard (of a bee-hive or a boat)'; Latv. *plāuts*² 'shelf, Verschlußbrett des Klotzbienenstocks'

PIE **ploh_{3u}-tó-m* (*plou-tó-m?*)

Cogn. OIc. *fleyðr* ‘cross-beam’; Fi. *lauta* ‘bath shelf, board’

See Derksen 1996 (116-117) for a discussion of the accentual properties of the Slavic and Baltic forms.

See also: *plàvati; *plàviti; *pluti; *plütò; *plÿti

***plǫtъ** m. o (b) ‘raft’

E Ru. *plot* ‘raft’; Gsg. *plotá*

W OCz. *plet’* f.(i) ‘raft’; Slk. *pl’* f.(i) ‘raft’; Pl. *plet* ‘raft’

BSl. **plútom*

B Latv. *pluts* m. ‘raft, ferry’ (possibly a borrowing from Slavic)

Here we clearly find the zero grade of the root **pleu-*, i.e. without a laryngeal, cf. Skt. *plávate* ‘swim, float’, Gk. *πλέω* ‘to sail, to swim’.

See also: *plàvati; *plàviti; *pluti; *plütò; *plÿti

***plÿti** v. (a) ‘swim, sail’

E Ru. *plyt’* ‘swim, sail’, 1sg. *plyví*, 3sg. *plyvët*

S SCr. *plīti* ‘swim, sail’, 1sg. *plījēm*

BSl. **plʔu-*

B Lith. *plūti* ‘flow’

According to LIV (486), Gk. *πλύνω* either goes back to **plu-n-je-*, which would be a Greek innovation, or continues a *seʔ*-root.

See also: *plàvati; *plàviti; *pluti; *plütò; *plǫtъ

***po; *pa** prep., pref. ‘after, by, at’

CS OCS *po* ‘after, by, at’, *pa* pref.

E Ru. *po* ‘after, on, by, at, up to’, *pa-* pref.

W Cz. *po* ‘after, on, by, at, up to’, *pa-* pref.; Pl. *po* ‘after, on, by, at, up to’, *pa-* pref.

S SCr. *po* ‘for, over, through, by, after’, *pa-* pref.; Sln. *pò* ‘at, on, after, by’, *pa-* pref.; Bulg. *po* ‘on, over, in, at, to’

BSl. **po(ʔ)*

B Lith. *pa-* pref. {1}, *pó-* pref.

PIE **h₂po*

Cogn. Skt. *ápa-* adv. ‘away, from’; Gk. *ἀπό* ‘from, away from’; Lat. *ab* prep. ‘from, away’; Go. *af* ‘from, away from, since’

The nominal prefix *pa-* is the equivalent of the verbal prefix *po-*. The prefix *po-* also forms perfective aspect in Russian and most other Slavic languages. The glottal stop of **poʔ-* was probably adopted from nouns with an initial laryngeal or a glottalized stop.

***počiti** v. (a) 'rest'

- CS OCS *počiti*, 1sg. *počijō*
 E Ru. *počít'*, 1sg. *počítju*
 S Sln. *počiti*, 1sg. *počijem*

Prefixed verb containing the root **k^wih₁-* 'rest', cf. Av. *šaitim* Asg. f. 'happiness', Lat. *quiēs* f. 'rest, quiet'

***podoba** f. ā (a)

- CS OCS *podoba* 'manner, necessity, decency, appearance' (*podoba jestō, na podobō* (sc. *jestō*) 'it is necessary, it is becoming', *na podobō byti komu* 'be worthy', *podoba jestō* 'it seems, apparently')
 W Cz. *podoba* 'similarity, appearance'
 S Sln. *podōba* 'image, picture, appearance, likelihood'
 BSL. **doba?*
 B Lith. *dabà* 'nature, habit, character'; *dabař* adv. 'now'; Latv. *daba* 'manner, habit, character'

See → **po* and → **doba*.

***podorgъ** m. o 'hem, border'

- CS OCS *podragъ* m. 'hem, border'; RuCS *podragъ* m. 'hem, border'
 W OCz. *podrah* m. 'hem, border'; USrb. *podroha* f. 'hem, border'
 Cogn. OHG *zarga* f. 'frame, side wall'

Derivative consisting of → **po-* and a noun **dorgъ*, cf. OHG *zarga* f. 'frame, side wall', which is probably cognate with → **dbrgati*.

***podъ I** prep./pref.

- CS OCS *podъ* 'under, towards (of time)'
 E Ru. *pod(o)* 'under, near, towards (of time)'
 W Cz. *pod(e)* 'under'; Slk. *pod(e)* 'under'; Pl. *pod(e)* 'under, near, towards (of time)'
 S SCr. *pod(a)* 'under'; Čak. *pod(â/ä)* (Orb.) 'under, beneath'; Sln. *pòd* 'under, towards (of time)'; Bulg. *pod* 'under'

An extended form of → **po*. Perhaps essentially the same as **podъ* II < **h₂po-d^hh₁-o-*.

***podъ II** m. o (b/c) 'floor, ground'

- E Ru. *pod* 'hearth-stone, sole (of furnace)'; Gsg. *póda*; *pòd* (Rjaz.) 'hearth-stone, sole (of furnace)'; Gsg. *pòda*; ORu. *podъ* 'floor, bottom'; Ukr. *pid* (dial.) 'hay-stack floor', Gsg. *póda*
 W Cz. *půda* f. 'floor, bottom'
 S SCr. *pòd* 'floor, ground'; Gsg. *pòda*; *pòd* (Vuk) 'floor, ground', Gsg. *pòda*; Čak. *pòd* (Vrg.) 'floor, ground', Gsg. *podà*; *pòd* (Novi) 'floor, ground', Gsg. *podà*;

Kajk. *pèd* (Bednja) 'floor, ground', Gsg. *pyedä*; Sln. *pòd* 'floor, threshing floor, Gsg. attic', Gsg. *pòda*; Bulg. *pod* 'floor'

BSl. **pódum*

B Lith. *pādas* 2 'sole, metatarsus, floor of a stove, (E. Lith.) clay threshing-floor'; Latv. *pads* 'stone floor'

Compound of → **po* and an *o*-stem containing the zero grade of *d^heh₁*- 'do' (→ **dēti* I), cf. → **prídō*.

***podǫšva** 'sole'

E Ru. *podóšva* 'sole, foot (of a slope)'; ORu. *podǫšva* 'sole'; Ukr. *pidóšva* 'sole'

W Cz. *podešev* f.(i) 'sole'; *podešva* (Mor. dial.) 'sole'; Slk. *podošva* 'sole'; Pl. *podeszwa* 'sole'

Compound of **podō* I and **šva* < **siuH-eh₂* (→ **šiti*). Cf. also → **podō* II.

***poiti** v. (c) 'give to drink'

CS OCS *poilō* (Supr.) Nsg. m. *l*-ptc. 'gave to drink'

E Ru. *poit* 'give to drink', 1sg. *pojú*, 3sg. *póit*

W Cz. *pojiti* (obs.) 'give to drink' (now usually with a prefix, e.g. *napojiti* 'give to drink', *opojiti* 'intoxicate'); Pl. *poić* 'give to drink'

S SCr. *pòjiti* 'give to drink', 1sg. *pòjim*; Čak. *pojīti* (Vrg.) 'give to drink', 2sg. *pojīš*; Sln. *pojíti* 'give to drink', 1sg. *pojím*; Bulg. *pojá* 'give to drink, water', 1sg. *pojím*

PIE **po_h3i-ei-*

***pǫjāsъ** m. o (c) 'girdle'

CS OCS *pojasō* 'girdle' ((the verb is *pojasati*, 1sg. *pojašō* or *pojasajō*)

E Ru. *pójas* 'girdle'; ORu. *pojasō* 'girdle'; *pojasōnica* f. 'girdle'

W Cz. *pás* 'girdle'; Slk. *pás* 'girdle'; Pl. *pas* 'girdle'

S SCr. *pǫjās* 'girdle'; *pās* 'girdle', Gsg. *pāsa*; Čak. *pās* (Vrg.) 'girdle', Gsg. *pāsa*; *pās* (Vrg.) 'belt, waist, Gsg. stripe', *pāsa*; Sln. *pās* 'girdle', Gsg. *pāsa*, Gsg. *pasú*; *pojās* 'girdle'; Bulg. *pójas* 'girdle'

BSl. **jošs-*

B Lith. *júosta* f. 'girdle'

Prefixed noun consisting of → **po-* and **jasō* < **ie/oh₃s-o-* from a PIE verbal root meaning 'to gird', cf. Gk. ζωστήρ m. 'girdle'; Gk. ζωστός ptc. pret. pass. 'girdled'; Av. *yāstá-* ptc. pret. pass. 'girdled'.

***pokòjъ** m. jo (a) 'rest'

CS OCS *pokoi* 'rest'

E Ru. *pokój* 'rest, (obs.) chamber'

W Pl. *pokój* 'peace, chamber'

S SCr. *pòkōj* ‘tranquility’, Gsg. *pòkoja*; Čak. *pokōj* (Vrg.) ‘tranquility’, Gsg. *pokōja*; Sln. *pókoj* ‘rest’, Gsg. *pokója*; *pokòj* ‘rest’, Gsg. *pokója*; Bulg. *pokój* ‘rest’

Compound of → **po* and **kojb* < **kʷoih₁-o*, cf. OCS *pokoiti* ‘calm down, put at ease’. See → **počiti* for the etymology of the root.

***polěno** n. o (a) ‘billet’

CS CS *polěno*
E Ru. *poléno*; ORu. *polěno*
W Cz. *poleno*; Slk. *poleno*; Pl. *polano*
S Sln. *poléno*

See → **palica*.

***polěti** v. ‘burn’

CS OCS *polěti* (Supr.) ‘burn’, 1sg. *poljō*
S Sln. *polěti* ‘burn, flame’, 1sg. *polím*

See → **pāliti*. Here the stem is **polh₁-*, which according to LIV (469) – but without the laryngeal – continues an old perfect stem.

***pòlxъ I** m. o ‘fear’

CS RuCS *plaxъ* ‘fear’
E Ru. *perepolóx* ‘alarm, commotion’; Ukr. *polóx* ‘fear’; *pólox* ‘horror’
W Cz. *poplach* ‘alarm’; Slk. *poplach* ‘alarm’

Etymology unclear. The connection with Gk. πάλλω ‘sway, swing’ from **pelh₁-* is a possibility, cf. παλλομένη κραδίην (Il. XXII 461) ‘with pounding heart’ (LIV: 469-470). The **x* of the suffix must have arisen secondarily for **s*.

See also: **pòlxъ II*; **polšiti*

***pòlxъ II** adj. o (a) ‘shy, timid’

W Cz. *plachý* ‘timid’; Slk. *plachý* ‘timid’; Pl. *płochy* ‘frivolous’
S SCr. *plāh* ‘quick, sharp, hot-tempered’; Sln. *plāh* ‘shy, timid’, f. *pláha*; Bulg. *plax* ‘shy, timid’

See → **polxъ I*.

***polica** f. jā (a) ‘shelf’

CS CS *polica* ‘shelf’ (Supr. has one instance of *polica* for *palica* ‘staff’)
E Ru. *políca* ‘shelf (for kitchen-ware)’; ORu. *polica* ‘shelf’
W Cz. *police*; Slk. *polica*; Pl. *polica* (arch., dial.)
S SCr. *pòlica*; Čak. *polìca*; Sln. *políca*; Bulg. *políca*

See → **palica*.

***pòle** n. jo (c) ‘field’

- CS OCS *polje*
 E Ru. *póle*
 W Cz. *pole*; Slk. *pole*; Pl. *pole*; USrb. *polo*
 S SCr. *pòlje*, NApl. *pòla*; Čak. *pòle* (Novi), NApl. *pòla*; *pòlje*, NApl. *polǎ*; Sln. *pòlje*; *poljê*; Bulg. *polé*, Npl. *poléta*, Npl. *poljá*

One might reconstruct **pol-i-om*, cf. OHG *feld* n. ‘field’.

***pòlmy** m. n (a) ‘flame’

- CS OCS *plamy* m.(n) ‘flame, fire’, Gsg. *plamene*
 E Ru. *plámja* n.(n) ‘flame, fire’, Gsg. *plámeni* (obviously a Church Slavicism); *pólomja* (dial.) n.(n) ‘flame, fire’
 W Cz. *plamen* m.(o) ‘flame’; Slk. *plameň* m.(jo) ‘flame’; Pl. *plomień* m.(jo) ‘flame’
 S SCr. *plāmēn* m.(o) ‘flame’, Gsg. *plāmēna*; Čak. *plāmen* (Vrg.) m.(o) ‘flame’, Gsg. *plāmēna*; Sln. *plāmen* m.(o) ‘flame’, Gsg. *plamēna*; *plamēn* m.(o) ‘flame’; *plāmən* m.(o) ‘flame’, Gsg. *plāmna*
 B Lith. *pelenāi* Npl. m. ‘ashes’; *plėnis* f.(i) ‘speck, fine ashes’; Latv. *plēne* f.(ē) ‘white ashes on coals’
 OPr. *pelanne* ‘ashes’

The formation **polh₁-men-* is a Slavic innovation. For the etymology of the root, see → **pāliti*.

***polsà** f. ā (c) ‘strip’

- E Ru. *polosá* ‘stripe, strip’, Asg. *pólosu*; ORu. *polosa* ‘strip of land’
 W Pl. *płosa* ‘measure of arable land’; *płósa* ‘measure of arable land’
 S SCr. *plāsa* ‘clod of earth, piece of ice, a swelling beneath the eyes’; *plāsā* (dial.) ‘treeless land’; Asg. *plāsu*; Čak. *plāsā* (Novi) ‘treeless land’; Asg. *plāsū*; Sln. *plása* ‘strip of land, plateau, zone’

The same root **pol-* may be present in OHG *falg* f. ‘plowed field’, OE *fealg* ‘fallow’.

***polšiti** v. ‘scare’

- CS RuCS *plašiti*
 E Ru. *pološít’*
 W Cz. *plašiti*; Pl. *ploszyc*
 S SCr. *plášiti*; Sln. *plášiti*, 1sg. *plášim*; Bulg. *pláša*

See also: *polъ I; *pòlъ II

***poltъnò** n. o (b) ‘linen’

- CS OCS *platъno* (Ps. Sin.); CS *platъno*
 E Ru. *polotnó*

- W Cz. *plátno*; Slk. *plátno*; Pl. *plótno*
 S SCr. *plátno*; Čak. *plātñō* ‘fabric, textile’; Sln. *plátno*; Bulg. *platinó* ‘fabric, linen, sail’
 PIE **pol-t-*
 See also: **pelenà*; **plěna*; **plěva*

***polvъ** adj. o

- CS OCS *plavъ* (Zogr., Mar., Ass.) ‘white’ (only in John 4:35); RuCS *plavъ* ‘white’
 E Ru. *polónyj* ‘pale yellow, sandy’; *polovój* ‘pale yellow, sandy’
 W Cz. *plavý* ‘faded, dun, light yellow’; Slk. *plavý* ‘faded, dun, light yellow’; Pl. *plowy* ‘faded, straw-coloured’
 S SCr. *plāv* ‘blue, blond’; f. *pláva*, n. *plávo*; Sln. *plāv* ‘blue, pale, blond’; f. *pláva*
 BSL. **polwos*
 B Lith. *paīvas* ‘light yellow, straw-coloured’
 PIE **pol-uo-*
 Cogn. Lat. *pallidus* ‘pale’; OIc. *fǫlr* ‘faded’; OHG *falo* ‘faded’

***polъ I** m. o ‘half’

- CS OCS *polъ* ‘sex, half’; Gsg. *polu*
 E Ru. *pol* ‘sex, (in compounds) half’
 W Cz. *půl* ‘half’; Slk. *pol* ‘half’; Pl. *pół* ‘half’
 S SCr. *pō* ‘half’; Čak. *pō* (Vrg.) ‘half’; Sln. *pōl* ‘side, half’

***polъ II** m. o

- E Ru. *pol* ‘floor’; ORu. *polъ* ‘foundation’; Ukr. *pol* ‘sleeping bench’
 PIE **pol-*
 Cogn. OIc. *fjǫl* m. ‘floor board, plank’
 See also: **palica*; **palъka*; **polěno*; **polica*; **polъ*

***polъdza** f. jā ‘use, benefit’

- CS OCS *polъdza* ‘use, benefit’; *polъza* ‘use’
 E Ru. *pól’za* ‘use, benefit’; *pól’ga* (Arx.) ‘use, benefit’
 S Bulg. *pólza* ‘use, benefit’

See → **lъdza*; **lъga*.

***pólzъ** m. o (c)

- E Ru. *póloz* ‘sledge runner, grass-snake’
 W Cz. *plaz* ‘reptile’; Slk. *plaz* ‘reptile’; Pl. *plóza* f. ‘sledge runner’
 S SCr. *plāz* ‘plough sole’; Sln. *plāz* ‘plough sole’; Bulg. *plaz* ‘sledge runner’

On the basis of OHG *felga* f. ‘felly, harrow’, one might be inclined reconstruct **polǵh-* for the Slavic noun. The root seems to be acute, however (→ **pǐlzati*). Consequently, we must reconstruct **polHǵh-* or give up the connection with the Germanic word.

*porà f. ā ‘time’

E	Ru. <i>porá</i> ‘time, season’; Ukr. <i>porá</i> ‘time, season, age’
W	Pl. <i>pora</i> ‘occurrence, time’
S	Bulg. <i>póra</i> ‘age’

See → **poriti* I.

*pòrgъ m. o (a) ‘threshold’

CS	OCS <i>pragъ</i> (Cloz., Supr.) ‘door-post’
E	Ru. <i>poróg</i>
W	Cz. <i>práh</i> , Gsg. <i>prahu</i> ; Slk. <i>prah</i> ; Pl. <i>próg</i> , Gsg. <i>progu</i> ; Sln. <i>pǎry</i> , Gsg. <i>pǎryú</i> ; USrb. <i>próh</i> , Gsg. <i>proha</i>
S	SCr. <i>prǎg</i> ; Čak. <i>prǎg</i> (Vrg., Novi); <i>prǎh</i> (Orb.), Gsg. <i>prǎga</i> ; Sln. <i>prág</i> , Gsg. <i>prága</i> ; Bulg. <i>prag</i>
BSL.	* <i>porǵos</i>
B	Lith. <i>pérgas</i> ‘(fishing) canoe’
PIE	* <i>porǵ-o-</i>
Cogn.	OIc. <i>forkr</i> m. ‘bar, stick’

*pòrxъ m. o (c) ‘dust’

CS	OCS <i>praxъ</i> ‘dust’
E	Ru. <i>pórox</i> ‘gun-powder, powder’
W	Cz. <i>prach</i> ‘dust, powder’; Slk. <i>prach</i> ‘dust, powder’; Pl. <i>proch</i> ‘dust, powder’
S	SCr. <i>práh</i> ‘dust, powder’; Čak. <i>prǎh</i> (Vrg.) ‘dust, powder’; <i>prôh</i> (Hvar) ‘dust, powder’; <i>prǎh</i> (Novi, Orb.) ‘dust, powder’; Sln. <i>práh</i> ‘dust, powder’, Gsg. <i>prâha</i> , Gsg. <i>prahû</i> ; Bulg. <i>prax</i> ‘dust, powder’
BSL.	* <i>porş-</i>
B	Latv. <i>pārsla</i> f. ‘flake, particle (snow, hoarfrost, ashes)’

See → **pòrxъ*.

*poriti I v.

E	Ru. <i>porít</i> ‘grow fat, increase, help’
PIE	* <i>porh₃₋</i>
Cogn.	Gk. πορείν ‘procure’

See also: **porà*; **porǵъ*; **şporǵъ*

***poriti II** v. ‘unstitch’

S SCr. *pòriti* ‘unstitch’, 1sg. *pòrīm*; Čak. *porīti* ‘unstitch’, 2sg. *poriš*; Bulg. *pórja* ‘cut, unstitch, plough’

See → **porti*.

***porъnъ** adj. o ‘healthy, strong’

E Ru. *pornój* (dial.); *pórnyj* (dial.)

PIE **porh*₃-

See also: **porà*; **poriti I*; **съporъ*

***pørse** n. nt (c) ‘piglet’

CS CS *prase*, Gsg. *prasete*

E Ru. *porošėnok* m., Npl. *porosjáta*; ORu. *porosja*

W Cz. *prase* n.(o/jo) ‘pig’; Slk. *prasa*; Pl. *prosię*

S SCr. *prāse*, Gsg. *prāseta*; Čak. *prāse* (Vrg.), Gsg. *prāseta*; *prōse* (Hvar), Gsg. *prōseta*; *prāse* (Novi), Gsg. *prāseta*; Sln. *prasė* ‘piglet, pig’, Gsg. *prasėta*; Bulg. *prasé* ‘piglet, pig’

BSL. **porś-*

B Lith. *paršėlis* m.(io) 2; *paršiùkas* m.(o) 2

OPr. *prastian*

PIE **porċ-os*

Cogn. Lat. *porcus* m. ‘pig’; OHG *far(a)h* n. ‘pig’; OHG *fearh* m. ‘pig, boar’

***porti** v. (b) ‘unstitch’

CS CS *prati* ‘cut’, 1sg. *porjŕ*

E Ru. *porót* ‘unstitch, rip’, 1sg. *porjú*, 3sg. *póret*

W Pl. *próc* ‘unstitch, cut’, 1sg. *porzę*

S Sln. *práti* ‘unstitch’, 1sg. *pórjem*, 1sg. *pórjem*

This verb is cognate with Gk. *πείρω* ‘pierce’ (PIE **per-*). LIV (472) links the *o*-grade to a reduplicated present.

See also: **poriti II*

***posětiti** v. ‘visit’

CS OCS *posětiti* ‘visit’, 1sg. *posěštŕ*

E Ru. *posetít* ‘visit’, 1sg. *poseščú*, 3sg. *posetít*

S Bulg. *posetjá* ‘visit’

B Lith. *svėčias* m.(jo) ‘guest’

PIE **sue-t-*

Cogn. Gk. *ἑταρος* m. ‘comrade’

The lengthened grade is unexpected.

***pōtъ** m. o (c) ‘sweat’

- CS OCS *potъ*
 E Ru. *pot*, Gsg. *póta*
 W Cz. *pot*; Slk. *pot*; Pl. *pot*
 S SCr. *pôt*, Gsg. *pōta*; Čak. *pôt* (Vrg., Novi), Gsg. *pōta*; *pôt* (Vrg.) f.(i), Gsg. *pōta*; *p^uôt* (Orb.), Gsg. *pōta*; Sln. *pôt*, Gsg. *pōta*, Gsg. *potû*; Bulg. *pot* f.(i); *pot*
 PIE **pok^w-to-*

The Slavic word for ‘sweat’ formally matches MW *poeth* < **pok^w-to-* < **k^wok^w-to-*.

See also: *pekti; *pëktъ

***povinōti** v.

- CS OCS *povinōti* ‘subject’, 1sg. *povinō*
 BSL. **wi?*
 B Lith. *výti* ‘drive away, chase, pursue’, 3sg. *vėja*
 PIE **uih₁-*
 Cogn. Skt. *véti* ‘persecute, strive, chase’

See also: *vojъ; *vojъna

***povorzъ; *pavorzъ** m. o ‘cord’

- CS SerbCS *povrazъ* ‘lobe’
 E Ru. *pávoroz* ‘cord of a tobacco pouch’; Ukr. *póvoroz* ‘cord, loop’
 W Cz. *provaz* ‘cord’ (from **povraz*); Slk. *povraz* ‘cord’; Pl. *powróz* ‘cord’
 S SCr. *pōvrāz* ‘ear of a cauldron’; Sln. *povrāz* ‘cord, noose, handle’, Gsg. *povráza*; *póvrāz* ‘handle’

Cogn. OS *wurgil* m. ‘snare’

Compound of → **po* and **vorzъ* < **uorǵ^h-os*.

See also: *otъverzti; *verslo

***pozďъ** adj. o ‘late’

- CS OCS *pozďě* adv.
 E Ru. *pózdij* (dial.); ORu. *pozďъ*
 W Cz. *pozďě* adv.; Slk. *pozde* adv.
 S Sln. *pozď*; *pózdī* adv.; *pozďī* adv.; *pozde* adv. ‘later, afterwards’
 B Lith. *pas* prep. ‘to’

Cogn. Skt. *paścā* (RV+) adv. ‘behind, after’; OLat. *poste* prep. ‘behind, after’

For the element **-d^hh₁-o-*, cf. → **nadъ*, **podъ*, etc.

See also: *pozďьnъ

***rozďьпъ; *rozďьпъ** adj. o; adj. jo ‘slow, late’

CS OCS *rozďьпъ* (Supr.) ‘slow’

E Ru. *пóзднй* ‘late’

W Cz. *pozdńi* ‘late’; Pl. *późny* ‘late’

S SCr. *pòzan* ‘late’, f. *pòzna*, f. *pòzna*; Čak. *pozni* (Vrg.) ‘late’, f. *poznâ*, n. *poznô*;
Sln. *pòzən* ‘late’, f. *pòzna* ‘late’; Bulg. *pòzden* ‘late’

See → **pozďь*.

***pòčati** v. ‘bud, germinate’

W Cz. *pučeti* ‘germinate, sprout, bud’; Slk. *pučať* ‘thrive, germinate, sprout, bud’

See → **pòkь*.

***pòčina** f. ā

CS OCS *pòčina* ‘(open) sea’

E Ru. *пу́čina* ‘gulf, abyss’

S Sln. *počina* ‘open sea’

Derivative of → *pòčiti* (‘crack’ → ‘abyss’ → ‘open sea’).

***pòčiti; *pòkti** v. (a) ‘swell, burst’

E Ru. *пу́чит* ‘become swollen’

S SCr. *pūci* ‘burst, crack, shoot’, 1sg. *pūknēm*; *pūknuti* ‘burst, crack, shoot’, 1sg. *pūknēm*; Čak. *pūknuti* (Vrg.) ‘burst, crack, shoot’, 2sg. *pūkneš*; Čak. *pūknut* (Orb.) ‘burst, crack, shoot’, 3sg. *pūkne*; Sln. *pòčiti* ‘crack, hit, burst’, 1sg. *pòčim*

See → **pòkь*.

***pòditi** v. ‘chase’

CS MBulg. *pòditi* ‘push, chase’

E Ru. *пудит* ‘scare, chase’; *пудит* ‘scare, chase’

W Cz. *puditi* ‘impel, induce’; Pl. *pędzić* ‘chase’

S SCr. *púditi* ‘chase’; Sln. *podíti* ‘chase’, 1sg. *podím*; Bulg. *páďja* ‘chase, dispel’

***pògy; *pògvica** f. ū; f. jā (a) ‘knob, button’

CS MBulg. *pògy* ‘knob’, Gsg. *pògvе*

E Ru. *пуговица* ‘button’; ORu. *пугы* ‘knob’, Gsg. *пугъве*; *пугъвъ* ‘knob’, Gsg. *пугъве*

W Pl. *pagwica* ‘button’

S Čak. *pūgva* (Vrg.) ‘pimple’

BSl. **ponŕg-*

B Latv. *puōga* ‘button’

The root **pòg-* seems to be a variant of **pòk-* (→ **pòkь*).

***pŏkʰ** m. o 'bud'E Ru. *puk* 'bunch, bundel'W Cz. *puk* 'sprout, bud'; Slk. *puk* 'sprout, bud'; Pl. *pęk* 'bunch, bundel'; *pałk* 'bud'

PIE *ponHk-

Cogn. Lat. *pānus* m. 'tumour'

See also: *pŏčina; *pŏčiti; *pŏgy; *pŏgъvica; *pŏkti

***pŏrʰ; *pŏrʰkʰ** m. o 'bud, navel'CS CS *puřb* 'navel'E Ru. *pur* 'navel'W Cz. *pupek* 'navel'; Slk. *puřok* 'navel'; Pl. *pep* 'plug, bung'; *pepek* 'navel'S SCr. *pŭp* 'bud'; *pŭpak* 'bud'; *pŭřak* 'navel'; Čak. *pŭp* (Vrg.) 'bud'; *pŭřak* (Vrg.) 'navel'; *pŭp* (Orb.) 'bud'; *pŭřak* (Orb.) 'navel, bud (on a tree or vine)'; Sln. *pŏp* 'bud, navel'; Bulg. *păp* 'navel'

BSL. *pomp-

B Lith. *paĩpti* 'swell'***pŏto** n. o (a) 'fetter'CS OCS *pŏta* Npl. 'fettters'E Ru. *pŭto* 'fetter'W Cz. *pouto* 'fettters, shackles'; Slk. *puto* 'fetter'; Pl. *pęto* 'fetter'S SCr. *pŭto* 'fetter'; Sln. *pŏto* 'fetter (for horses)'

BSL. *pŏnʰto

B Lith. *pántis* m.(io) 'horse-lock'OPr. *panto* 'fetter'

PIE *ponH-tom

Cogn. Arm. *hanum* 'weave, sow together'

See also: *pętà; *pęti

***pŏtʰ** m. i (b) 'way'CS OCS *pŏtb* m.(i) 'way'E Ru. *put'* m.(i) 'way, journey'W Cz. *pout'* f.(i) 'pilgrimage, (lit.) journey'; Slk. *pút'* f.(i) 'pilgrimage, (lit.) journey'; Pl. *pać* m.(i) 'way'S SCr. *pŭt* m.(o) 'road, way', Gsg. *pŭta*; Čak. *pŭt* (Vrg.) m.(o) 'road, way, time', Gsg. *pŭta*; *pŭt* (Hvar) m.(o) 'road, way', Gsg. *pŭtâ*; *pŭt* (Orb.) m.(o) 'road, way, path', Gsg. *pŭtâ*; *pŭt* (Orb.) m.(o) 'time'; Sln. *pŏt* f.(i) 'way'; *pŏt* m.(o) 'way'; Bulg. *păt* m.(jo) 'road, way'

BSL. *pont-/ *pint-

B OPr. *pintis* 'way, road'PIE *p(o)nt-h₁-

Cogn. Skt. *pánthā-* (RV+) m.; Gk. πάτος m. 'road'; Gk. πόντος m. 'sea'; Lat. *pons* m. 'bridge'

The combined evidence of the various branches of IE points to a hysterodynamic h_1 -stem.

***prǎvǔ** adj. o (a) 'right'

CS OCS *pravǔ* 'right'

E Ru. *právyj* 'right'

W Cz. *pravý* 'right'; Slk. *pravý* 'right'; Pl. *prawy* 'right'

S SCr. *prǎv* 'innocent, straight'; Čak. *prǎv* (Vrg.) 'right, good'; *prǎv* 'innocent, straight'; *prǎvi* (Orb.) 'right, good', f. *prǎva*, n. *prǎvo*; Sln. *prāv* 'right'; *prāvi* 'right, real'; Bulg. *prav* 'right, straight'

If **prǎvǔ* < **proH-u-* (see → **pro*, **pra*), we may compare the formation with Lat. *probus* 'solid, decent' provided that the latter form continues **pro-b^h(u)-* and not **pro-b^huH-*.

***pretivǔ** prep. 'against'

W Pl. *przeciw*; USrb. *přeciwo*; LSrb. *pršesíwo*

BSL. **preti*

B Latv. *pretī* adv. 'to meet, towards, opposite'; *pret* prep. 'against, before'

PIE **preti-*

Cogn. Skt. *prāti* adv. 'against'; Gk. πρές (Aeol.) prep. 'in addition'

See also: **protivǔ*; **protivq*; **proti*

***prǣdati** v. (a)

E Ru. *prjádat'* (obs., dial.) 'move (its ears)'

S SCr. *prǣdati* 'fear'

PIE *(s)*pr(e)nd-*

Cogn. OIc. *spretta* 'jump up, sprout'

An example of Winter's law.

See also: **prǣdnǫti*

***prǣdnǫti** v. (a)

CS OCS *vǫsprǣnǫti* 'leap up, come to one's senses'

E Ru. *prjánut'* (obs.) 'jump aside'

S SCr. *prǣnuti* 'rouse somebody from sleep, (*p. se*) wake up, come to one's senses'; Čak. *prǣnut* (Orb.) 'frighten, (*se p.*) get frightened', 3sg. *prǣne*

See → **prǣdati*.

***pręsti** v. (c) ‘spin’

CS	OCS <i>prędotъ</i> (Zogr., Mar., Ass., Sav.) 3pl. {1}
E	Ru. <i>prjast’</i> , 1sg. <i>prjadú</i> , 3sg. <i>prjadët</i> ; Ukr. <i>prjásty</i> , 1sg. <i>prjadú</i>
W	Cz. <i>přísti</i> , 1sg. <i>předu</i> ; OCz. <i>priesti</i> , 1sg. <i>přadu</i> ; Slk. <i>priast’</i> , 1sg. <i>pradiem</i> ; Pl. <i>prząść</i> , 1sg. <i>przędę</i> ; USrb. <i>přasć</i> , 1sg. <i>přadu</i> ; LSrb. <i>pšěsć</i> , 1sg. <i>pšědu</i>
S	SCr. <i>pręsti</i> , 1sg. <i>prędēm</i> ; Čak. <i>pręsti</i> (Vrg.), 2sg. <i>pręděš</i> ; <i>pręst</i> (Hvar), 1sg. <i>prędèn</i> ; <i>pręs</i> (Orb.), 1sg. <i>prędèn</i> ; Sln. <i>pręsti</i> , 1sg. <i>prędem</i> ; Bulg. <i>predá</i>
BSL.	* <i>(s)preñd-</i>
B	Lith. <i>spręsti</i> ‘stretch, spread, solve, judge’, 3pres. <i>sprëndžia</i> ; Latv. <i>spriēst</i> ‘stretch, press, judge, discuss’, 1sg. <i>spriēžu</i>
PIE	* <i>(s)prend-</i>

Another example of Winter’s law. Vaillant (Gr. III: 153-154) assumes that this root is etymologically identical with the root of **prędati*.

{1} ‘Neither do they [the lilies of the field] spin’ (Matthew 6: 28, Luke 12: 27). Zogr. actually has the scribal errors *pridotъ* (also Sav.) and *pręxtъ*.

***pri** prep., pref. ‘at, with, by’

CS	OCS <i>pri</i>
E	Ru. <i>pri</i>
W	Cz. <i>při</i> ; Slk. <i>pri</i> ; Pl. <i>przy</i>
S	SCr. <i>pri</i> ; Sln. <i>pri</i> ‘at, by’; Bulg. <i>pri</i> ‘at, with, by, to’
BSL.	* <i>prei(?)</i>
B	Lith. <i>priē</i> prep. ‘at, with, to’; <i>prie-</i> pref. ‘at, with, to’ OPr. <i>prei</i> prep. ‘at, with, to’
PIE	* <i>prei</i>

See also → **prídъ*.

***prídъ** m. o (b) ‘addition’

S	SCr. <i>príd</i> ‘addition, supplement’, Gsg. <i>prída</i> ; <i>príd</i> (Slavonia, Croatia) ‘addition, supplement’, Gsg. <i>prída</i> ; Sln. <i>príd</i> ‘use, advantage’, Gsg. <i>prída</i> ; Bulg. <i>prídāt</i> ‘(the) gift to the bride’
BSL.	* <i>preidum</i>
B	Lith. <i>priēdas</i> 2 ‘addition, bonus, supplement’; Latv. <i>priēds</i> ‘bonus’
PIE	* <i>prei-d^hh₁-o-m</i> (* <i>prei-dh₃-o-m?</i>)

See → **podъ* II.

***prijateľb** m. jo ‘friend’

CS	OCS <i>prijateľb</i> (Euch., Ril.)
E	Ru. <i>prijátel’</i>
W	Cz. <i>přítel</i> , Npl. <i>přátelé</i> ; Slk. <i>priateľ</i> ; Pl. <i>przyjaciel</i>

S SCr. *prijatelj*; Čak. *pr̃jatelj* (Vrg.); *prijatēl* (Novi); *pr'êtel* (Orb.); Sln. *prijâtelj*; Bulg. *prijátel*

PIE **priH-*

Cogn. Skt. *priyá-* adj. 'dear, beloved'; Go. *frijōnds* 'friend'

See also: *prijati

***prijati** v. 'please, favour'

CS OCS *prijati* (Ps. Sin., Supr.) 'take care of'

W Cz. *pr̃áti* 'be well disposed towards'

S SCr. *prijati* 'please, agree with, be of benefit'; Sln. *prijati* 'favour, grant, do good'

PIE **priH-*

Cogn. Skt. *prīnāti* 'please'; OHG *friten* 'to look after'

See also: *prijatelъ

***pro;** ***pra** prep. / pref. 'through'

CS OCS *pro-* pref. 'through'; *pra-* pref. 'through'

E Ru. *pro* prep./pref. 'about'; *pro-* pref. 'through, past'; *pra-* pref. 'through, past'

W Cz. *pro-* pref. 'through, past'

S Bulg. *pro-* pref. 'through'

BSl. **pro*(?)

B Lith. *pra-* pref. 'by, through'; *pró-* pref. 'pre-, fore-, between'; *prō* prep. 'through, along, past'

PIE **pro*

Cogn. Skt. *pro-* adv. 'before, forward'; Gk. *πρό* adv. 'before, forwards, forth'

The variant *pra-* occurs in nominal compounds. The glottal stop was probably adopted from nouns with an initial laryngeal.

See also: *pročь; *prokъ; *prostъ

***pročь** adj. jo (b)

CS OCS *pročь* 'remaining'; *pročeje* adv. 'further, then'

E Ru. *pr̃óčij* 'other'; *proč'* adv. 'away'

S SCr. *pr̃ōčī* 'other'; Sln. *pròč* adv. 'away'

Derivative of → **prokъ*.

***prodadja** f. ja 'sale, selling'

E Ru. *prodáža* 'sale, selling'

S SCr. *pr̃ōdaja* 'sale, selling'; Sln. *prodâja* 'sale, selling'

The root of this prefixed *jā-*stem noun is the present stem of → **dāti*.

***prokъ** adj. oCS OCS *prokyi* ‘remaining’; *prokъ* (Supr.) m. ‘remainder’E Ru. *prok* m. ‘use, benefit’; ORu. *prokъ* m. ‘remainder’Cogn. Gk. *πρόκα* adv. ‘immediately’; Lat. *reciprocus* adj. ‘mutual’

See also: *pro; *pra; *pročъ; *prostъ

***prosějati** v. ‘sift’CS OCS *prosěati* (Supr.)E Ru. *prosėjat’*S Bulg. *prosėja*

See → *sěti II, *sějati II.

prositi** v. (b) ‘ask’CS OCS *prositi*, 1sg. *prošǫ*E Ru. *prosít’*, 1sg. *prošú*, 3sg. *prosít*W Cz. *prositi*; Slk. *prosiť*; Pl. *prosić*S SCr. *pròsiti* ‘beg for charity, ask a girl’s hand’, 1sg. *pròsim*; Čak. *prositi* (Vrg.) ‘beg for charity, ask a girl’s hand’, 2sg. *pròsiš*; *prošit* ‘beg for charity, ask a girl’s hand’, 1sg. *pròsin*, 3sg. *pròsi*, 3sg. *prosi*; Sln. *prósiti* ‘ask’, 1sg. *prósim*; Bulg. *prósja* ‘beg for charity, ask’BSl. **proś-ei/i-*B Lith. *prašýti*PIE **prok-eie-*Cf. Skt. *pr̥cchāti* ‘ask’, Lat. *poscō* ‘demand’ < **pr̥k-sk-*.prosterti** v. ‘extend’CS OCS *prostrěti*, 1sg. *prostǫrǫ*; *prostǫrěti*, 1sg. *prostǫrǫ*E Ru. *prosterét’*, 1sg. *prostǫrǫ*W Cz. *prostrěti*S SCr. *pròstrijeti*, 1sg. *prostrijēm*; Čak. *prostrīti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *prostreš*; *prostrít* (Novi); Sln. *prostrěti* ‘expand’, 1sg. *prostrèm*; Bulg. *prostrá* ‘expand, extend’PIE **pro-sterh₃-*Cogn. Skt. *stṛ̥ṇāti* ‘spread’; Gk. *στόρνυμι* ‘to extend, to strew’; Lat. *sternere* ‘strew, spread’; OIr. *sernaid* ‘extend’

See also: *stornà

***prōstъ** adj. o (c) ‘simple, straight’CS OCS *prostъ* ‘simple, free’E Ru. *prostój* ‘simple’

- W Cz. *prostý* ‘simple, straight’; Slk. *prostý* ‘simple, straight’; Pl. *prosty* ‘simple, straight’
 S SCr. *pròst* ‘simple’; Sln. *pròst* ‘free, natural, simple’, f. *prósta*; Bulg. *prost* ‘simple, dumb, ignorant’
 PIE **pro-sth₂o-*
 See also: *pro; *pra; *pročъ; *prokъ

***protivъ; *protivo; *protivoꝝ; *proti** prep. ‘against’

- CS OCS *protivъ* (Supr.) adv. ‘against’; *protivo* (Euch.) prep. ‘against, in accordance with’; *protivoꝝ* prep./adv. ‘against, towards’
 E Ru. *prótiv* prep. ‘against’; *proti* (dial.) prep. ‘against’; *prot’* (dial.) prep. ‘against’
 W Cz. *proti* prep. ‘against’; Slk. *proti* prep. ‘against’
 S SCr. *pròtiv* prep. ‘against’; Čak. *pròti* (Orb.) prep. ‘towards, in the direction of, against’; Sln. *pròti* prep. ‘towards’; *pròti* adv. ‘to meet’; Bulg. *protív* prep. ‘against’
 PIE **proti*
 Cogn. Gk. πρότι prep. ‘to, against’
 See also: *pretivъ

***proverti** v. ‘stick through’

- CS OCS *provřěšę* (Supr.) 3pl. aor. ‘stuck through’
 S Bulg. *provrá* ‘stick through’
 See → *otъverti.

***proꝝlo** n. o ‘noose, snare’

- E Ru. *prúꝝlo* (Dal’) ‘noose, snare’; ORu. *proꝝlo* ‘net’
 W Cz. *pruhlo* ‘noose’
 S SCr. *prúꝝlo* ‘noose’; Sln. *próꝝlo* ‘snare, trap’; *próꝝla* f. ‘snare, trap’
 Derivative in *-lo- of **proꝝ-* < *(s)*prongh-* ‘jump’, cf. OIc. *springa* ‘jump’, MoE *spring* (obs., dial.) ‘trap’. See also → *proꝝo.

***proꝝъ** m. o ‘locust’

- CS OCS *proꝝъ* (Sav., Ps. Sin., Euch.) ‘locust’
 E ORu. *prugъ* ‘locust’
 PIE *(s)*prongh-o-*
 Cogn. OHG *houuespranca* f. ‘locust’; MLG *spranke* f. ‘grasshopper, locust’; MLG *sprinke* f. ‘grasshopper, locust’
 See → *proꝝlo.

***pr̥skati** v. ‘splutter, splash’

- W Cz. *prskati* ‘splutter, sizzle’; Slk. *prskat* ‘splutter, sizzle’
 S SCr. *pr̥skati* ‘splash’; Sln. *pr̥skati* ‘splash’, 1sg. *pr̥skam*; Bulg. *pr̥ška* ‘sprinkle, splash’
 B Lith. *praūsti* ‘wash’
 PIE **prus-sk-*
 Cogn. Skt. *pruṣṇóti* ‘sprinkle’
 See also: *pryskati; *prysnŋti

***pryskati** v. ‘sprinkle, splash’

- E Ru. *prýskat* ‘sprinkle, spurt’
 W Cz. *prýskati* ‘splash, sprinkle’; Pl. *pryskać* ‘splash, sputter’
 See → *pr̥skati. The *y* is secondary,

***prysnŋti** v. ‘sprinkle, spurt’

- CS CS *prysnŋti* ‘sprinkle’
 E Ru. *prýsnut* ‘sprinkle, spurt’; ORu. *prysnuti* ‘become turbulent (of the sea)’
 See the previous lemma.

***puxati** v.

- W OCz. *puchati* ‘swell’ ((in Modern Standard Czech only *napuchati*, *opuchati*); Pl. *puchać* ‘blow’)
 S SCr. *púhati* ‘blow’, 1sg. *púšem*; *púhati* ‘blow’, 1sg. *púhām*; Čak. *púhāti* ‘blow’, 2sg. *púšeš*; *púhät* (Orb.) ‘blow, pant’, 2sg. *púšeš*; Sln. *púhati* ‘snort, puff, blow’, 1sg. *púham*, 1sg. *púšem*
 See → *puxnŋti.

***puxľъ** adj. o

- E Ru. *púxlyj* ‘chubby, plump’
 W Cz. *pouchlý* ‘fruitless, barren, empty’
 S Sln. *púhəl* ‘empty, having little substance’, f. *púhla*
 BSL. **po*
 B Lith. *pūslė* f.(ē) 4 ‘blister, bladder’
 See → *puxnŋti.

***puxnŋti** v. ‘swell’

- E Ru. *púxnut* ‘swell’
 W Cz. *puchnouti* ‘swell’; Slk. *puchnúť* ‘swell’; Pl. *puchnąć* ‘swell’
 S SCr. *púhnuti* ‘blow’, 1sg. *púhnēm*; Čak. *púhnūti* ‘blow’, 1sg. *púhneš*; Sln. *púhniti* ‘blow, blast’, 1sg. *púhnem*

PSl. *pux- continues the *o*-grade of PIE *peus-, cf. Skt. *púsyati* ‘thrive, flourish’, Nw. *føysa* ‘swell’.

See also: *puxati; *puxľb

***pustiti** v. (c) ‘let go, let, send’

- CS OCS *pustiti* ‘let go, let, send’, 1sg. *puštŭ*
 E Ru. *pustít’* ‘let go, let, send’, 1sg. *puščú*, 3sg. *pústit*
 W Cz. *pustiti* ‘let go, let’; Slk. *pustiť* ‘let go, let’; Pl. *puścić* ‘let go, let’
 S SCr. *pustiti* ‘let go, let’, 1sg. *pùstīm*; Čak. *puštiti* (Vrg.) ‘let go, let’, 2sg. *pūštīš*; *puštīt* (Orb.) ‘let, leave’, 1sg. *pūštīn*; Sln. *pustiti* ‘let go, let’, 1sg. *pustim*

See → *pūstv.

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 140).

***pūstv** adj. o (c) ‘empty, desolate’

- CS OCS *pustv* ‘empty, desolate’
 E Ru. *pustój* ‘empty, deserted’
 W Cz. *pustý* ‘empty, desolate’; Slk. *pustý* ‘empty, desolate’; Pl. *pusty* ‘empty, desolate’
 S SCr. *pūst* ‘empty’, f. *pūsta*; Čak. *pūst* (Vrg., Hvar) ‘empty’, f. *pūstā*, n. *pūsto*; Sln. *pūst* ‘empty, desolate’; Bulg. *pust* ‘empty, desolate, poor’
 BSl. **poustos*
 OPr. *pausto* ‘wild’

Etymology unknown. If the root were **po_{h2}u-* ‘end’, cf. Gk. *ἔπαυσα* ‘ended, terminated’ (LIV 462), we would expect fixed stress on an acute syllable.

See also: *pustiti

***pľlk** m. o ‘troop’

- CS OCS *plǫkŭ* (Ps. Sin., Supr.) ‘troop, army’
 E Ru. *polk* ‘regiment’
 W Cz. *pluk* ‘regiment’; Slk. *pluk* ‘regiment’; Pl. *pułk* ‘regiment’
 S SCr. *pľk* ‘people, crowd, regiment’, Gsg. *pľka*; Čak. *pľk* (Vrg.) ‘people, crowd’, Gsg. *pľka*; Sln. *pōlk* ‘regiment’

Cogn. OIc. *folk* m. ‘army, people’; OE *folc* m. ‘army, detachment, people’

Probably a borrowing from Germanic.

***pľtāk** m. o ‘bird’

- W Cz. *pták*; Slk. *vták*; Pl. *ptak*; *ptāk* (Mał. dial.); Slnc. *ftāuχ*
 BSl. **put-*
 B Latv. *putns*

***pŷtica** f. jā (a) ‘bird’

CS OCS *pŷtica*

E Ru. *ptica*

S SCr. *ptica*; Čak. *tīca* (Vrg., Hvar); Sln. *ptica* f.(jā); *ptič* m.(jo), Gsg. *ptiča*; Bulg. *ptica*

See → *pŷtākŷ.

***pŷtŷka** f. ā ‘bird’

E Ru. *pótka* (dial.); ORu. *potka*

S SCr. *pātka* ‘duck’; Čak. *pātka* (Vrg., Orb.) ‘duck’

See → *pŷtākŷ.

See also: *pŷtica

***pŷgŷ; *pŷgŷjŷ** m. o; m. io (a) ‘spelt’

CS RuCS *pyro* n. ‘spelt’

E Ru. *pyréj* m.(jo) ‘couch-grass’

W Cz. *pŷr* m.(o) ‘quitch’; Slk. *pŷr* m.(o) ‘quitch’; Pl. *perz* m.(jo) ‘quitch’; OPl. *pyrz* m.(jo) ‘quitch’

S SCr. *pŷr* m.(o) ‘spelt’; Čak. *pŷr* m.(o) ‘spelt’, Gsg. *pŷra*; Sln. *pŷr* m.(o) ‘spelt’; *pŷra* f. ‘spelt, millet’

BSL. **puŷro-*

B Lith. *pŷrai* Npl. m.(o) 4 ‘winter corn’; *pŷras* m.(o) 1 ‘grain measure’; Latv. *pŷri* Npl. m.(io) ‘winter corn’; *pŷri* (E. Latv.) Npl. m.(io) ‘winter corn’; *pŷrs* m.(o) ‘corn measure’

PIE **puH-ró-*

Cogn. Gk. πŷρός m. ‘wheat’; Dor. σπŷρός m. ‘wheat’

***pŷtāti** v. (b) ‘ask, examine’

CS OCS *pytati* ‘examine, scrutinize’, 1sg. *pytajŷ*

E Ru. *pytát* ‘torture, torment, try for’, 1sg. *pytájju*

W Slk. *pŷtat* ‘ask’; Pl. *pytać* ‘ask’

S SCr. *pŷtati* ‘ask’; Čak. *pŷtāti* (Vrg.) ‘ask’, 2sg. *pŷtāš*; *pŷtāt* (Orb.) ‘ask, request’, 1sg. *pŷtan*; Sln. *pŷtati* ‘ask’, 1sg. *pŷtam*; Bulg. *pŷtam* ‘ask’

Cogn. Lat. *putāre* ‘cut off branches, estimate, consider, think’

An interesting form is Cz. *ptāti se* ‘ask, inquire’, which seems to have a unique zero grade.

***ръсьль; *ръкъль; *ръкъло** m. o; m. o; n. o (b) 'pitch, hell'

- CS OCS *ръсьль* (Supr.) m. 'pitch'; *ръкъль* (Ps. Sin. MS 2/N) m. 'pitch, resin' (an Isg. *ръкъломъ* occurs in the fragments of the Psalterium Sinaiticum that were discovered in 1975); RuCS *ръкъль* m. 'pitch'
- E Ru. *рѣкло* n. 'scorching heat, (coll.) hell'
- W Cz. *peklo* n. 'hell'; Slk. *peklo* n. 'hell'; Pl. *piekło* n. 'hell'; OPl. *pkiet* m. 'hell'; Sln. *pijeklò* n. 'hell'
- S SCr. *pàkao* m. 'hell, pitch'; Čak. *pakā* (Vrg.) m. 'hell, pitch', *paklā*; *pakāl* (Novi) m. 'hell'; Gsg. *paklā*; *pakōl* (Hvar) m. 'hell'; Gsg. *pākla*; *pakāl* (Orb.) m. 'hell'; Sln. *pəkəl* m. 'pitch, hell', Gsg. *pəklà*; Bulg. *pākāl* m. 'hell'
- BSL. **pikil-/pikul-*
- B Lith. *pikis* m.(io) 'pitch'; Latv. *piķis* m.(io) 'pitch'
OPr. *puculs* (EV) 'hell'
- Cogn. Gk. πίσσα f. 'pitch'; Lat. *pix* f. 'pitch'

***ръхати** v. 'push, shove'

- CS CS *ръхати* 'smite'
- E Ru. *pixát* 'push, shove'; *pxat*' (dial.) 'push, shove'; ORu. *ръхати* 'push, shove'; *pixati* 'push, shove'
- W Cz. *pcháti* 'prick, sting, stuff, poke'; *píchati* 'prick, sting'; Slk. *pchat* 'stuff, shove'; *pichat* 'sting'; Pl. *pchać* 'push'
- S Sln. *pəhāti* 'push, shove', 1sg. *pəhām*; Bulg. *pāxam* 'push, shove'
- BSL. **piš-*
- B Lith. *pisti* 'copulate'
- PIE **pis-*
- Cogn. Skt. *pináṣṭi* 'crush'; Gk. πτίσσω 'winnow grain, bray in a mortar'; Lat. *pīnsere* 'to crush'

See also: *рѣсть; *ръшено

***рълнь** adj. o (a) 'full'

- CS OCS *рлнь*
- E Ru. *ро́лнь*
- W Cz. *plný*; Slk. *plný*; Pl. *pełny*
- S SCr. *pŭn*; Čak. *pŭn* (Vrg.), f. *punā*, n. *pŭno*; *pún* (Novi), f. *pŭna*; *pŭn* (Hvar), f. *pŭna*; *pŭn* (Orb.), f. *pŭna*, n. *pŭno*; Sln. *pōln*; Bulg. *pālen*
- BSL. **pīlnos*
- B Lith. *pilnas*; Latv. *pīlns*
- PIE **plh₁-nó-*
- Cogn. Skt. *pūrṇá-*; OIr. *lán*; Go. *fulls*

An example of Hirt's law.

***pъlstь** f. i (c) 'felt'

- E Ru. *polst'*; ORu. *pъlstь*
 W Cz. *plst'*; *plst*; Slk. *plst'*; Pl. *pilsć*
 S SCr. *pŭst* (dial.); Sln. *pôlst*, Gsg. *polstí*
 Cogn. Lat. *pilleus* m. 'felt hat'; OHG *filz* m. 'felt'

***pъlzati** v. (a) 'crawl, creep'

- CS OCS *plъzati* (Supr.) 'crawl', 1sg. *plěžŏ* {1}
 E Ru. *pólzat'* 'crawl', 1sg. *pólzaju*
 W Pl. *pełzać* 'crawl'
 S SCr. *pŭzati* 'creep, crawl', 1sg. *pŭžēm*; Čak. *pŭzät* (Orb.) 'creep, crawl', 1sg. *pŭže*; Sln. *pólzati* 'crawl', 1sg. *pólzam*

See → *pôlzь*.

{1} In the *Staroslavjanskij slovar'*, the participle *plъzę* (Supr.) is listed under *plъžęti* or *plъziti*, cf. Sln. *polžęti*, 1sg. *polžim* 'slide, sneak', SCr. *pŭziti*, 1sg. *pŭžim* 'crawl, climb, slide'.

***pъlztі** v. (c) 'crawl, creep'

- E Ru. *polztі* 'crawl, creep', 1sg. *polzú*, 3sg. *polžët*

See → *pôlzь*.

***pъnъ** m. jo (c) 'trunk'

- CS CS *pъnъ* 'trunk, stub'
 E Ru. *pen'* 'trunk, stub'
 W Cz. *peň*; Slk. *peň*; Pl. *pień* 'trunk, stump'; USrb. *pjeń* (arch.), Gsg. *pjenja*
 S SCr. *pъnj*, Gsg. *pъnja*; Čak. *pǎń* (Vrg.), Gsg. *paňǎ*; *pъnj* (Novia); Sln. *pъnj*, Gsg. *pъnja*, Gsg. *panjâ*, Gsg. *panjû*; Bulg. *pъn* 'trunk, log'

Etymology uncertain. The connection with Skt. *pīnāka-* n. 'staff, stick, bow', Gk. *πίναξ* m. 'wooden board, writing slate, painting' is doubtful.

***pъrati I** v.

- CS OCS *perŏtь* (Supr.) 3pl. 'fly'
 PIE **prH-*
 Cogn. Go. *faran* 'wander'

See → **però*.

***pъrati II** v. 'beat, trample, wash'

- CS CS *pъrati* 'trample, press, wash', 1sg. *perŏ*
 E Ru. *prat'* 'wash, beat linen', 1sg. *perú*; *poprat'* 'trample', 1sg. *poprú*

- W Cz. *práti* ‘wash, beat’, 1sg. *peru*; Slk. *prat* ‘wash’, 1sg. *perem*; Pl. *prac* ‘wash’, 1sg. *pioę*
 S SCr. *prāti* ‘wash’, 1sg. *p̥rēm*; Čak. *prāti* (Vrg.) ‘wash’, 2sg. *p̥rēs*; *prāt* ‘wash’, 1sg. *p̥ren*; Sln. *práti* ‘beat, wash’, 1sg. *p̥rem*; Bulg. *perá* ‘wash’
- PIE **pr-*
 Cogn. Skt. *p̥rt-* (RV) f. ‘battle, strife, fight’
 See also: **perti*; **p̥rēti*; **p̥rtb*; **s̥p̥roǵ*

*p̥rdēti v. (c) ‘break wind’

- E Ru. *perdet*’, 1sg. *peržú*, 3sg. *perdit*; Ukr. *perdíty*
 W Cz. *prděti*; Slk. *prdieť*; Pl. *pierdzieć*; USrb. *pjerdžec*
 S SCr. *pr̥djeti*, 1sg. *pr̥đim*; Čak. *pr̥điti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *pr̥điš*; Čak. *pr̥dět* (Orb.), 3sg. *pr̥đī*; Sln. *pr̥děti*, 1sg. *pr̥đim*; Bulg. *p̥ardjá*
- BSL. **per̥d-/p̥ir̥d-*
 B Lith. *p̥ersti*; Latv. *p̥irst*
- PIE **perd-/p̥ird-*
 Cogn. Skt. *pardate* (attested quite late); Gk. *πέρομα*; OIc. *freta* (with metathesis); OHG *ferzan*; Alb. *pjerdh*

*p̥rēti v. ‘quarrel, deny, renounce’

- CS OCS *p̥rēti* ‘quarrel, contradict, deny’, 1sg. *p̥rjǫ*
 W Cz. *p̥řiti se* ‘quarrel, (obs.) be engaged in a lawsuit’, 1sg. *pru se*, 1sg. *p̥řu se*; *p̥řiti* (obs.) ‘deny, renounce’, 1sg. *p̥řu*, 1sg. *p̥řim*; OCz. *p̥řieti* ‘question, deny, renounce’, 1sg. *pru*, 1sg. *p̥řu*; Pl. *przec* (*się*) (14th-18th c.) ‘repudiate, renounce, be engaged in a lawsuit’, 1sg. *prze* (*się*)
- See → **perti*, **p̥rtb*.

*p̥r̥x̥ m. o (c) ‘dust’

- E Ru. *perx* (dial.) ‘dandruff’
 S SCr. *p̥řh* (dial.) ‘coal dust’, Gsg. *p̥řha*; Sln. *p̥řh* ‘dust from fine earth, mould’
- PIE **prs-o-*
 Cogn. OIc. *fors* m. ‘waterfall’

The root of this etymon has also been connected with Skt. *p̥ř̥sant-* ‘dappled, with white spots’.

See also: **p̥r̥x̥*; **p̥rstb*

*p̥rstb m. o (b) ‘finger’

- CS OCS *pr̥stb*
 E Ru. *perst* (obs.), Gsg. *perstá*

- W Cz. *prst*; Slk. *prst*
 S SCr. *p̥rst* ‘finger, toe’, Gsg. *p̥rsta*; *p̥rst* (Lepetane, Prčanj, Ozrinići) ‘finger, toe’, Gsg. *prstà*; Čak. *p̥rst* (Vrg.) ‘finger, toe’, Gsg. *p̥rsta*; *p̥rst* (Hvar) ‘finger, toe’, Gsg. *p̥rsta*; *p̥rs* (Orb.) ‘finger, toe’, Gsg. *p̥rsta*; Sln. *p̥rst*; Bulg. *präst*
 BSL. **pirštó*
 B Lith. *pirštas* 2; Latv. *pir(k)sts*
 OPr. *pirsten* ‘finger’
 PIE **pr-sth₂-o-*
 Cogn. Skt. *p̥r̥sthá-* (RV+) n. ‘back, mountain ridge’

In view of the Sanskrit and Old Prussian evidence I am inclined to posit a Balto-Slavic oxytone neuter *o*-stem. I suspect that the Nsg. in *-*o* was replaced by *-*o* at a stage when barytone masculine *o*-stems continuing old neuters still had a NApl. in *-*aH* and may have shown neuter agreement (see Derksen forthc. a). Note that there is a large-scale fluctuation between masculine *o*-stems continuing Balto-Slavic barytone neuters and neuter *o*-stems belonging to AP (b).

*p̥r̥stʲb̥ f. i (c) ‘dust, earth’

- CS OCS *prstb̥* ‘dust, earth’
 E Ru. *perst*’ (arch.) ‘dust, earth’
 W Cz. *prst* ‘earth, soil’; Opl. *piersć* ‘dry earth, dust’
 S Sln. *p̥rst* ‘earth, soil’, Gsg. *prstí*; Bulg. *präst* ‘earth, soil’
 BSL. **pirštis*
 B Lith. *pirkšnys* (Žem.) Npl. f.(i) 4 ‘hot ashes’; Latv. *pirkstis* m.(io) ‘spark in ashes, heat’

See → *p̥r̥xʲb̥. The development **ʃ* > **x* did not take place before a consonant.

*p̥r̥sʲb̥ f. i (a) ‘chest, breast’

- CS OCS *pr̥si* Npl. f.(i) ‘chest, bosom’
 E Ru. *p̥ersi* (arch., poet.) Npl. f.(i) ‘breast, bosom’
 W Cz. *prs* m.(o) ‘(female) breast’; *prso* (rare) n.(o) ‘(female) breast’; *prsa* Npl. n.(o) ‘chest, bosom’; OCz. *pr̥si* Npl. f.(i) ‘chest, bosom’; Slk. *pr̥sia* Npl. n.(o) ‘chest, bosom’; Pl. *piersć* f.(i) ‘breast, chest’
 S SCr. *p̥rsi* Npl. f.(i) ‘breast, chest’; *p̥rsa* Npl. n.(o) ‘breast, chest’; Čak. *p̥rsi* (Vrg.) Npl. f.(i) ‘breast, chest’; *p̥rsa* Npl. n.(o) ‘breast, chest’; Sln. *p̥rsi* Npl. f.(i) ‘breast, chest’
 BSL. **pirš̥sis*
 B Lith. *piršys* Npl. f.(i) ‘chest (of a horse)’

Since the connection with Skt. *p̥ársu-* ‘rib, curved knife’ is better abandoned, the etymology must be designated as unclear.

***pьrtь** f. i 'bath-house'

- E Ru. *pert'* (dial.) 'Karelian cottage'; ORu. *pьrtь* 'bath-house'
 BSL. **pirtis*
 B Lith. *pirtis* m.(i) 4 'bath-house'; Latv. *pirts* m.(i) 'bath-house'
 PIE **pr-ti-*

Derivative in *-*ti-* of the zero grade of → **perti*. The connection with Skt. *pft-* (RV) f. 'battle, strife, fight' is uncertain.

***pьrvъ** num. o 'first'

- CS OCS *prьvъ*
 E Ru. *pěrvyj*
 W Cz. *prvŭ*; Pl. *pierwszy*; OPl. *pierwy*
 S SCr. *přvī*; Čak. *přvī* (Vrg.), *přvā* f.; *přvi*, f. *přva*; Sln. *přvi*; Bulg. *pārvi*
 BSL. **pírʔwos*
 B Lith. *pirmas*; Latv. *pirmais*
 OPr. *pirmas*

- PIE **prH-uo-*
 Cogn. Skt. *pūrva-* (RV+) adj. 'foremost, first, previous'

The suffix *-*mo-* of the Baltic forms, also found in Lat. *primus*, is analogical.

***pьsati** v. (b) 'write'

- CS OCS *pъsati*, 1sg. *pišŭ*; *pisati*, 1sg. *pišŭ*
 E Ru. *pisát'*, 1sg. *pišú*, 3sg. *píšet*
 W Cz. *psáti*, 1sg. *píši*; Slk. *pisat*; Pl. *писаć*
 S SCr. *pisati*, 1sg. *pīšem*; Čak. *pīsàti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *pīšeš*; *pīsàt* (Hvar), 1sg. *pīšen*; *pīsàt* (Orb.), 3sg. *pīše*; Sln. *pisati*, 1sg. *pīšem*; Bulg. *píša*
 BSL. **p(e)is-*
 B Lith. *piešti* 'draw, paint'
 OPr. *peisai* 3pl. 'write'

- PIE **p(e)ik-*
 Cogn. Skt. *piṃśati* (RV+) 'hew, carve, form'

See also: *pьstrъ

***pьstrъ** adj. o (b) 'variegated'

- CS CS *pьstrŭ*
 E Ru. *pěstryj*; *pěstr*, f. *pestrá*, n. *pěstro*, n. *pestró* {1}
 W Cz. *pestrý*; Slk. *pestrý*; Pl. *pstry*
 S Sln. *pàstər*, f. *pàstra*; Bulg. *pástār*
 PIE **pík-ró-*

Cogn. Gk. πικρός ‘sharp, pungent’; ποικίλος ‘variegated’; OHG *fēh* ‘variegated’

{1} AP (b) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 136).

See also: *r̥sāti

*r̥sъ m. o (b) ‘dog’

CS OCS *r̥sъ*

E Ru. *r̥s* (coll.)

W Cz. *pes*; Slk. *pes*; Pl. *pies*; USrb. *pos*, Gsg. *psa*; *pós* (dial.), Gsg. *psa*; LSrb. *pjas*, Gsg. *psa*

S SCr. *pās*, Gsg. *psā*; Čak. *pās* (Vrg., Novi), Gsg. *pasā*; Sln. *pās*, Gsg. *psà*

There are many etymologies for this word, for instance the identification of **r̥s-* with the root of → **r̥s-* ‘variegated’. One of the more appealing etymologies is **r̥k-* with zero grade of the root (s)*r̥k-* ‘see, watch’ (cf. Meillet Ét. I: 238). Another possibility is **r̥k-u-*, cf. Skt. *paśú*, *kaśú-* ‘cattle’.

*r̥šenò n. o (b) ‘millet’

E Ru. *r̥šenó* ‘millet’

W Cz. *r̥šeno* (dial.) ‘millet’; OCz. *r̥šano* ‘millet’; Slk. *r̥šeno* ‘millet’; Pl. *pszono* (W.) ‘millet’

S SCr. *r̥šena* f. ‘kind of clover’; Sln. *r̥šeno* ‘peeled grain, millet’

PIE **r̥is-*

Cogn. Gk. πτίσμα n. ‘peeled or winnowed grain’

See → **r̥xati*.

*r̥zděti v. ‘break wind’

E Ru. *bzdět* ‘break wind’; Ukr. *bzdity* ‘break wind’; *pezdity* ‘break wind’

W Cz. *bzdíti* ‘break wind’; Pl. *bzdzić* ‘break wind’

S SCr. *bàzdjeti* ‘stink’; Sln. *r̥zděti* ‘break wind’, 1sg. *r̥zdím*

BSL. **r̥(e)sdětei*

B Lith. *bzděti* ‘break wind’; Latv. *bzdēt* ‘break wind’

PIE **psd-*

Cogn. Gk. βδέω ‘break wind’; Lat. *pēdere* ‘break wind’

*R

*rāčiti v. (b) ‘wish, want’

CS OCS *račiti* ‘wish, want’, 1sg. *račŕ*

E Ru. *rāčit*’ (dial.) ‘be zealous, wish, want’; *rāčít*’ (dial.) ‘be zealous, wish, want’

W Cz. *rāčiti* ‘wish, want, (lit.) deign’; Slk. *rāčit* ‘deign’; Pl. *raczyć* ‘deign’

S SCr. *ráčiti se* '(+D) feel like', 3sg. *ráčī se*; Čak. *ráčiti se* (Vrg.) '(+D) feel like', 3sg. *ráčī se*; Sln. *ráčiti* 'wish, want, deign, (se) please', 1sg. *ráčim*

LIV (506) hesitantly suggests an iterative **rōk-je-* (secondarily **-eie-*) of **rek-* 'ordnen, festlegen, bestimmen'. According to Vaillant (Gr. III: 434), we are dealing with a borrowing from Gmc. **rōkija-* 'care about', cf. OIc. *rækja*.

See also: **otrokъ*; **rekti*; **rěčъ*

***radi** postp. 'for the sake of'

CS OCS *radi* postp. 'for the sake of, because of'; *radьma* postp. 'for the sake of, because of'

E Ru. *rádi* postp./prep. 'for the sake of'

S SCr. *ràdi* prep. 'for the sake of, because of'; *râdi* prep. 'for the sake of'; Čak. *radi* (Vrg.) prep. 'for the sake of'; Sln. *zarâdi* prep. 'because of'; *zarâd* prep. 'because of'; *râdi* prep. 'because of'

Cogn. OP *râdiy* 'for the sake of'

A borrowing from Iranian?

***raditi** v. 'care about, heed'

CS OCS *raditi* (Supr.) 'care (about)'; *neraditi* (Mar., Supr.) 'not care (about), not heed' (the form *neroditi* is much more frequent)

E Ru. *radét'* (obs.) 'oblige, take care (of), carry out rites', 3sg. *radéet*; ORu. *raditi* 'care (about)'

S SCr. *ráditi* 'work, do', 1sg. *râdīm*; Čak. *râđiti* (Vrg.) 'work, do', 2sg. *râđiš*; Bulg. *radjá* 'care (about), attempt'

See → **roditi*

***rajati** v.

E Ru. *rájat'* (dial.) 'make a noise, sound'

BSL. *raži*-?

B Lith. *rojóti* 'caw anxiously'; Latv. *rāt* 'scold'

According to LIV (501), the root is **reh₂(i)-*, the main motivation for **-i* being Lith. *rieti* 'scold, bark'. Schrijver (1991: 257-258) reconstructs **Hroh₁-* for the Baltic and Slavic forms. He derives OIc. *rámr* 'hoarse' from **Hreh₁-mo-* and OIc. *rómr* from **Hreh₁-mo-*. LIV (l.c.), however, claims that Rasmussen is right in deriving the Old Icelandic forms a root **rem-*. As in Schrijver's opinion Lat. *ravus* 'hoarse' may reflect either **Hrh₁uo-* or **Hrouo-*, PSl. **rajati* has virtually no reliable cognates outside Balto-Slavic, whichever reconstruction one chooses.

***razoriti** v. 'destroy'

CS OCS *razoriti* 'destroy', 1sg. *razorjǫ*

E Ru. *razorít'* 'destroy'

- S SCr. *razòriti* ‘destroy’
 B Lith. *ardýti* ‘pull down, destroy’; Latv. *ārdīt* ‘destroy, scatter’
 See also: *oriti

*rebrò n. o (b) ‘rib’

- CS OCS *rebro* ‘rib, (pl.) side’
 E Ru. *rebró*, Npl. *rěbra*
 W Cz. *žebro*; OCz. *žebro*; řebro; Slk. *rebro*; Pl. *żebro*
 S SCr. *rěbro*, Npl. *rěbra*; Čak. *lebrò* (Vrg.), Npl. *lěbrā*; *rebrò* (Hvar), Npl. *rebrā*;
rebrò (Orb.), Npl. *riěbra*; Sln. *rébrò* ‘rib, slope’ (cf. *rěbær* f., *rěbær* f. ‘slope’);
 Bulg. *rebró* ‘rib, slope’
 PIE *(H)*reb^h-róm*
 Cogn. OHG *rippi* n.; OHG *ribbi* n.; OIc. *rif* n.

*rekti v. (c) ‘speak, say’

- CS OCS *rešti*, 1sg. *rekø*
 E Ru. *rečí* (dial.), 1sg. *rekú*, 3sg. *rečēt*; ORu. *reči*, 1sg. *reku*
 W Cz. *řici*, 1sg. *řku*; Slk. *riect*, 1sg. *rečiem*; Pl. *rzec*, 1sg. *rzekę*
 S SCr. *rěci*, 1sg. *rěčem*; Čak. *rěci* (Vrg.), 2sg. *rečěš*; Sln. *rěci*, 1sg. *rěčem*; Bulg.
reká, 2sg. *rečěš*
 PIE *rek-

Possible cognates are Skt. *racayati* ‘construct, work’ and W *rhegi* ‘curse’ (cf. LIV: 506).

See also: *otrokъ; *rāčiti; *rěčъ; *rokъ

*remy m. n ‘strap, belt’

- CS OCS *remenъ* m.(n) ‘latchet’, Gsg. *remene*
 E Ru. *remén* m.(jo) ‘strap, belt’, Gsg. *remnjá*
 W Cz. *řemen* m.(o/jo) ‘strap, belt’; Slk. *remeň* m.(jo) ‘strap, belt’; Pl. *rzemień*
 m.(jo) ‘strap, belt’; *rzemyk* m.(o) ‘little leather strap, thong’
 S SCr. *rěmēn* m.(o) ‘strap, belt’, Gsg. *rěmena*; *rěmik* (Herc.) m.(o) ‘strap, belt’;
 Čak. *rěmik* (Orb.) m.(o) ‘strap (of a whip)’; Sln. *rémen* m.(o) ‘strap, belt’,
 Gsg. *reměna*

Attempts have been made to connect *remy with → *arьmъ/o, but this meets with formal difficulties. The fact that there are no South Slavic forms pointing to *rě- may, for instance, be considered a counter-argument (but cf. OCS *retъ*). More importantly, *arьmъ/o is usually derived from PIE *h₂er-, which seems incompatible with *remy. On the other hand, the relationship with MHG *rieme* m. ‘strap, belt’, the etymology of which is unknown, is also unclear.

*rěčь f. i (c) ‘speech’

- CS OCS *rěčь* ‘speech, accusation’
 E Ru. *rečʹ* ‘speech’
 W Cz. *řeč* ‘speech’; Slk. *reč* ‘speech’; Pl. *rzecz* ‘thing’; USrb. *rěč* ‘language, speech’
 S SCr. *riječ* ‘word’; Čak. *rič* ‘word’; Sln. *rěč* ‘thing’, Gsg. *rěči*; Bulg. *reč* ‘speech, language, conversation’

Lengthened grade formation to → **rekti*. The *i*-stem goes back to a old root noun.

*rěďькъ adj. o ‘sparse, rare’

- CS OCS *rěďьkyę* (Supr.) Apl. m. ‘rare’
 E Ru. *rědkij* ‘sparse, rare’; *rědok* ‘sparse, rare’, f. *redká*, n. *rědko*
 W Cz. *řidký* ‘sparse, rare’; Slk. *riedky* ‘sparse, rare’; Pl. *rzadki* ‘sparse, rare’; USrb. *rědki* ‘sparse, rare’
 S SCr. *rijedki* ‘thin, sparse, rare’; *rijèdak* ‘thin, sparse, rare’, f. *rijètka*; Čak. *ritak* (Vrg.) ‘thin, sparse, rare’, f. *ritkà*, n. *ritko*; *ri’etki* (Orb.) ‘thin, sparse, rare’, f. *ri’etka*; Sln. *rěďak* ‘sparse, rare’, f. *rěďka*
 BSL. **ređd-*
 B Latv. *rēns* ‘undicht’ (e.g. *rēni rudzi* ‘undicht stehender Roggen’, *rēns audums* ‘loses Gewebe’); *rēds* (BW) ‘undicht’

*rējati v. (a)

- CS OCS *rējati* (Supr.) ‘push, press’
 E Ru. *rějatʹ* ‘soar, hover, flutter’; Ukr. *rijaty* ‘swarm’
 S Bulg. *réja* ‘wander, fly’
 BSL. **roiʔ-*
 B Latv. *raīdīt* ‘send hastily, urge’
 PIE **h₃roiH-*
 Cogn. Skt. *riyate* (RV, YV^m) ‘flow, whirl’

See also: **rěkā*; **rinqti*; **rojь*

*rěkā f. ā (b/c) ‘river’

- CS OCS *rěka* ‘river’
 E Ru. *reká* ‘river’, Asg. *rekú*; *reká* ‘river’, Asg. *reku* {1}
 W Cz. *řeka* ‘river’; OCz. *řieka* ‘river’ (Nonnenmacher-Pribić 1961: 84); Slk. *rieka* ‘river’; Pl. *rzeka* ‘river’; Slnc. *řéká* ‘river’ {2}; USrb. *rěka* ‘river’; LSrb. *rěka* ‘river’
 S SCr. *rijèka* ‘river’, Asg. *rijèku*; *rijèka* (Orahovica) ‘river’, Asg. *rijeku* {3}; Čak. *rika* (Vrg.) ‘river’; *riekà* (Orb.) ‘river’; Sln. *rěka* ‘river’; Bulg. *reká* ‘river’
 PIE **h₃roiH-*
 Cogn. Lat. *rivus* m. ‘brook, stream’; OIr. *riathor* m. ‘torrent’

The Proto-Slavic AP is not entirely clear. Dybo (1981: 156) classifies *rěkā* as (b), but the evidence for the on etymological grounds expected AP (c) cannot be ignored.

{1} AP (b) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 135). {2} Sln. *rěkā* belongs to a small group of *ā*-stems that have a “Langstufenvokal” in the root but are nevertheless mobile. {3} According to the RJA, *rějeka* (with root stress on the analogy of the Asg.) has been recorded in Bosnia and Hercegovina.

See also: *rějati; *rinqti; *ròjъ

***rębica** f. jā ‘partridge’

S SCr. *rebica* (dial.) ‘partridge’; Sln. *rebica* ‘partridge’

BSL. **ri(m)ǫb-*; **ru(m)ǫb-*

B Lith. *irbė* f.(ē) 1 ‘partridge’; *irbėnis* m.(io) ‘snowball-tree’; Latv. *īrbe* f.(ē) ‘partridge’; *rubenis* m.(io) ‘black grouse’

See → *rębika, *rębina.

***rębika; *rębina** f. ā ‘rowan tree’

E Ru. *rjabika* (dial.); *rjabina*; Ukr. *rjabýna* (dial.)

S SCr. *rebika* (dial.); Sln. *rebika*

BSL. **ri(m)ǫb-*; **ru(m)ǫb-*

B Lith. *irbė* f.(ē) 1 ‘partridge’; *irbėnis* m.(io) ‘snowball-tree’; Latv. *īrbe* f.(ē) ‘partridge’; *īrbenājs* m.(jo) ‘snowball-tree’; *rubenis* m.(io) ‘black grouse’

PIE **r(e)mb-*

Cogn. Oic. *rjúpa* f. ‘ptarmigan’

Latv. *rubenis* < **rub-* and Oic. *rjúpa* < **reub-* lack the nasal element of **ręb-* but nevertheless seem to be cognate. Lith. *ráibas*, Latv. *rāibs* ‘speckled, variegated’ (= Ukr. *ribyj?*) probably belongs here as well. The *i* : *u* alternation in the root and the traces of prenasalization (not to mention the **e-* of *jerębъ*) definitely point to a non-Indo-European origin. The *u* of Latv. *rubenis* must have been secondarily shortened because in view of Winter’s law we would have expected **rūbenis*, cf. Lith. *irbė*, Latv. *īrbe* ‘hazel-grouse’.

See also: *erębъ; *erębъ; *erębъкъ; *erębica; *erębina; *jърbica; *jърbina; *jърbika; *rębъ; *rębъ; *rębъкъ

***rębъ** adj. o ‘speckled’

E Ru. *rjabój* (dial.) ‘speckled’; Ukr. *rjabýj* (dial.) ‘speckled’

See → *rębika, *rębina.

***rębъ; *rębъкъ** m. jo; m. o ‘hazel-grouse, partridge’

E Ru. *rjab’* (Dal’: eccl., N. dial.) ‘sand-grouse, hazel-grouse’; *rjabók* (dial.) ‘hazel-grouse’. Cf. *rjábčik* (the Standard Russian form), *rjabuška* and *rjabec*

or *rjabéc* ‘hazel-grouse’, *rjábka* ‘partridge’ (Dal’ s.v. *rjabyj*). The form *rjabéc* also means ‘trout’.

S Sln. *rĕb* ‘partridge’

See → **rĕbika*, **rĕbina*.

***rĕdъ** m. o (c) ‘row, line’

CS OCS *rĕdъ* ‘row, line’

E Ru. *rjad* ‘row, line’

W Cz. *řad* ‘rank, row’; *řád* ‘order’; *řada* f. ‘line, row’; Slk. *rad* ‘row, line’; *riad* ‘gear, order’; Pl. *rzqd* ‘row, line’, Gsg. *rzędu*; *rzqd* ‘government’, Gsg. *rzqdu*

S SCr. *rĕd* ‘row, line’, Gsg. *rĕda*; Čak. *rĕd* (Vrg.) ‘row, line’, Gsg. *rĕda*; Sln. *rĕd* ‘order’, Gsg. *rĕda*, Gsg. *redû*; Bulg. *red* ‘row, order’

BSL. **rind-*

B Lith. *rindà* f. 4 ‘row, line’; Latv. *riņda* f. ‘row, line’ (according to ME, either a Curonianism or a Lithuanianism, cf. *ridā* or *ridams* ‘reihenweise’)

***rinqti** v. (a) ‘push, shove’

CS OCS *rinqšę sę* (Supr.) 3pl. aor. ‘precipitated’

E Ru. *rĭnut’sja* ‘rush, dash’

W Cz. *řinouti se* ‘stream, flow’; Slk. *rinút se* ‘stream, flow’

S SCr. *rĭnuti* ‘push’, 1sg. *rĭnĕm*; Čak. *rĭnuti* (Vrg.) ‘push’, 2sg. *rĭneš*; *rĭnut* (Orb.) ‘push, shove’, 1sg. *rĭnen*; Sln. *rĭniti* ‘shove, press’, 1sg. *rĭnem*; Bulg. *rĭna* ‘shovel’

PIE **h₃r(e)iH-*

Cogn. Skt. *rināti* (RV+) ‘make flow, run’

See also: **rĕjati*; **rĕkà*; **rĕjъ*

***ritъ** f. i ‘buttocks’

CS SerbCS *ritъ* ‘buttocks’

E ORu. *ritъ* ‘hoof’

W Cz. *řit* ‘buttocks’; Pl. *rzyć* ‘buttocks’

S Sln. *rit* ‘arse’, Gsg. *rĭti*

BSL. **reit-* (*re?it-?*)

B Lith. *rietas* m. 1 ‘thigh, loin’; Latv. *riēta* f. ‘thigh, haunch’

***ruti** v. ‘roar’

CS OCS *revy* (Hil.) ptc. pres. act. ‘roaring’; *rovy* (Supr.) ptc. pres. act. ‘roaring’ (the SJS reconstructs the lemmas *rjuti*, 1sg. *revŏ*, and *ruti*, 1sg. *rovŏ*)

E Ru. *revét* ‘roar’, 1sg. *revú*, 3sg. *revĕt*; ORu. *rjuti* ‘roar’, 1sg. *revu*

W OCz. *řúti* ‘roar’, 1sg. *řevu*; Pl. *rzuć* ‘roar’

S SCr. *rĕvati* ‘roar, bray’, 1sg. *rĕvĕm*; Čak. *rovät* (Vrg.) ‘roar, bray’, 2sg. *rovĕš*; *rovät* (Orb.) ‘bray (of a donkey)’, 2sg. *rovĕš*; Sln. *rjúti* ‘roar’, 1sg. *rjóvem*, 1sg. *rjújem*

PIE **h₃reu-*

Cogn. Skt. *ruvāti* ‘roar’; Gk. ὠρούμαι ‘howl, roar, complain’; Lat. *rūmor* m. ‘noise, rumour’

***roditi I** v. ‘give birth, bear (fruit)’

CS OCS *roditi* ‘give birth, beget’, 1sg. *roždō*, 2sg. *rodīši*

E Ru. *rodít* ‘give birth, bear’, 1sg. *rožú*, 3sg. *rodít*

W Cz. *roditi* ‘give birth, bear (fruit)’; Slk. *rodit* ‘give birth, bear (fruit)’; Pl. *rodzić* ‘give birth, bear (fruit)’

S SCr. *ròditi* ‘give birth, bear (fruit)’, 1sg. *ròdīm*; Čak. *roditi* (Vrg.) ‘bear, bring forth’, 2sg. *ròdiš*; *rodīt* (Orb.) ‘bear, bring forth’, 1sg. *ròdin*; Sln. *rodíti* ‘give birth, beget, bear (fruit)’, 1sg. *rodím*; Bulg. *rodjá* ‘give birth, bear (fruit)’

BSL. **rod-ei/i-*

B Latv. *radīt* ‘give birth to, create’

Only Balto-Slavic. LIV’s reconstruction *(*H*)*rod^h-eie-* (497) of an aspirated voiced stop is based on Matasović’s modification of Winter’s law (only in closed syllables), which is why in a footnote **d* is not completely ruled out. The often suggested connection with Skt. *várdhate* ‘grow, increase, thrive’ is formally problematic, since we would have to assume Schwebeablaut and loss of **u-*.

See also: **nārōdъ*; **rōdъ*

***roditi II** v. ‘care (about), heed’

CS OCS *neroditi* ‘not care (about), not heed’, 1sg. *neroždō*

W OCz. *neroditi* ‘not care (about)’; USrb. *rodzić* ‘want, strive’

S Sln. *róditi* ‘care (about), observe’, 1sg. *ródim*; Bulg. *rodjá* ‘care (about), observe’

See also: **raditi*

***rōdъ** m. o (c) ‘birth, origin, clan, family, yield’

CS OCS *rodъ* ‘birth, origin, kin, people, sex, sort’

E Ru. *rod* ‘birth, origin, kin, genus, sort’, Gsg. *róda*

W Cz. *rod* ‘family, clan, origin, birth’; Slk. *rod* ‘family, clan, origin, birth’; Pl. *ród* ‘family, clan’, Gsg. *rodu*

S SCr. *rōd* ‘family, clan, sex, genus, harvest, fruit’, Gsg. *rōda*; Sln. *rōd* ‘birth, origin, kinship, race, generation, tribe, genus’, Gsg. *rōda*, Gsg. *rodû*; Bulg. *rod* ‘birth, origin, clan, tribe, people, family, generation, sex, genus, sort, fruit’

BSL. **rodos*

B Latv. *rads* ‘birth, origin, kin, people, sex, sort’

The meaning of the denominative *o*-stem (→ **roditi* I) is ‘birth’ (hence ‘origin, clan, family’, etc.), but also ‘yield, harvest, fruit’, cf. Ru. *urožáj* ‘harvest’, Lith. *rasmė* ‘ripeness, maturity’, Latv. *rasma* ‘prosperity, maturity, harvest’, *raža* ‘harvest, yield, crop’.

***rōgъ** m. o (c) 'horn'

- CS OCS *rogъ*
 E Ru. *rog*, Gsg. *róga*; Bel. *roh*, Gsg. *róha*; Ukr. *rih*, Gsg. *róha*
 W Cz. *roh*; Slk. *roh*; Pl. *róg*, Gsg. *rogu*
 S SCr. *rōg*, Gsg. *rōga*; Čak. *rōg* (Vrg.), Gsg. *rōga*; *rōg* (Novi), Gsg. *rōga*; *r^uōh* (Orb.), Gsg. *rōga*; Sln. *rōg*, Gsg. *rōga*, Gsg. *rogā*; Bulg. *rog*
- BSl. **rogos*
 B Lith. *rāgas* 2/4; Latv. *rags*
 OPr. *ragis* (EV)

***rōjъ** m. jo (b) 'swarm'

- E Ru. *roj*, Gsg. *rója*; *rōj* {1}; Bel. *roj*, Gsg. *rojá*; Ukr. *rij*, Gsg. *rojá*
 W Cz. *roj*; Slk. *roj*; *rōj* (dial.); Pl. *rój*, Gsg. *roju*
 S SCr. *rōj*, Gsg. *rōja*; Čak. *r^uōj* (*r^uōj*) (Orb.), Gsg. *rojā*; Sln. *rōj*, Gsg. *rója*; Bulg. *roj*

PIE **h₃roiH-o-m*

Cogn. Lat. *rīvus* m. 'brook, stream'; OIr. *riathor* m. 'torrent'

{1} According to Zaliznjak (1985: 134), the Old Russian evidence points to AP (b), cf. Gsg. *rojá* in Deržavin (Illič-Svityč 1963: §52).

See also: *rějati; *rěkà; *rinōti

***rokъ** m. o 'time'

- CS OCS *rokъ* (Euch., Supr.) 'time'
 E Ru. *rok* 'fate, (dial.) year, time', Gsg. *róka*
 W Cz. *rok* 'year'; Slk. *rok* 'year'; Pl. *rok* 'year'
 S SCr. *rōk* 'period, time', Gsg. *rōka*; Sln. *ròk* 'period, fate, omen', Gsg. *róka*
 B Lith. *rākas* (OLith.) 'time, limit, end'; Latv. *raks* 'goal, limit'

For the semantics, cf. Lat. *fātum*. The Baltic forms are probably borrowings from Slavic (cf. Skardžius 1931: 185).

See also: *otrokъ; *rāčiti; *rekti; *rěčъ

***rosà** f. ā (c) 'dew'

- CS OCS *rosa* (Euch., Supr.) 'dew, rain'
 E Ru. *rosá* 'dew', Asg. *rosú*; *rosá* (arch.) 'dew', Asg. *rosu* {1}; Ukr. *rosá* 'dew', Asg. *rosu*; *rosá* 'dew', Asg. *rosú*
 W Cz. *rosa* 'dew'; Slk. *rosa* 'dew'; Pl. *rosa* 'dew'
 S SCr. *rōsa* 'dew', Asg. *rōsu*, Npl. *rōse*; Čak. *rosā* (Vrg.) 'dew', Npl. *rōse*; *rosā* (Orb.) 'dew', Asg. *rōso*; Sln. *rosá* 'dew'; Bulg. *rosá* 'dew, drop of sweat, drizzle'
- BSl. **rosā?*
 B Lith. *rasà* 4 'dew, drop'; Latv. *rasa* 'dew, drop, drizzle'
 PIE **Hros-eh₂*

Cogn. Skt. *rasā́* f. ‘mythical river, moisture’

{1} According to Illič-Svityč (1963: §39), *rosá*, Asg. *rósu*, Npl. *rósy* is attested in 17th and 18th century documents as well as in 18th and 19th century poetry. Zaliznjak (1985: 138) reconstructs AP (c) for Early Old Russian.

***rovъ** m. o ‘ditch, pitch’

CS OCS *rovъ* ‘ditch, pit’

E Ru. *rov* ‘ditch, pit’

W Cz. *rov* (lit.) ‘grave’; Slk. *rov* ‘ditch’; Pl. *rów* ‘ditch’, Gsg. *rowu*

S SCr. *rōv* ‘ditch’; Sln. *ròv* ‘ditch’, Gsg. *róva*; Bulg. *rov* ‘ditch’

BSL. **rowos*

B Lith. *rāvas* ‘ditch’

OPr. *rawys* ‘ditch’

See → **rýti*.

***rǫbiti** v. ‘chop, hem’

E Ru. *rubít* ‘fell, chop’, 1sg. *rubljú*, 3sg. *rúbit*

W Cz. *roubiti* ‘erect, (rarely) hem, (arch.) graft’

S SCr. *rúbiti* ‘hem’, 1sg. *rûbim*; Čak. *r^uobit* (Orb.) ‘peel, shell (of nuts)’, 1sg. *r^uōbin*; Sln. *rǫbiti* ‘hem, hew, beat’, 1sg. *rǫbim*; Bulg. *rǎbja* ‘hem’

B Lith. *rumbúoti* ‘hem’

See also: **rǫbъ*

***rǫbъ** m. o (c)

CS SerbCS *rǫbъ* ‘cloth’

E Ru. *rub* ‘coarse cloathing, rags’; Bel. *rub* ‘hem, seam’; Ukr. *rub* ‘hem, seam’

W Cz. *rub* ‘hem, the wrong side’; Slk. *rub* ‘hem, the wrong side’; Pl. *rąb* (obs.) ‘hem, border, scar’, Gsg. *ręba*

S SCr. *rûb* ‘hem, seam, edge, brink’, Gsg. *rûba*; Čak. *rûb* (Vrg.) ‘edge, end’, Gsg. *rûba*; Sln. *rǫb* ‘hem, seam, cloth, plain clothing’; Bulg. *rǎb* ‘hem, edge, border’

BSL. **rom?bas*/**rum?bos*

B Lith. *rum̃bas* 4 ‘scar, notch, waist (of skirt or trousers)’; *rumbas* 3 ‘scar, notch, waist (of skirt or trousers)’; Latv. *rùobs* ‘notch’ (this form actually has *uo* < **am* before a homorganic obstruent)

See → **rǫbiti*.

***rǫkà** f. ā (c) ‘hand, arm’

CS OCS *rǫka* ‘hand, arm’

E Ru. *ruká* ‘hand, arm’, Asg. *rúku*

W Cz. *ruka* ‘hand’; Slk. *ruka* ‘hand’; Pl. *ręka* ‘hand, arm’

S SCr. *rŭka* ‘hand’, Asg. *rŭku*; Čak. *rŭkà* (Vrg., Hvar) ‘hand’, Asg. *rŭku*; *r^uokà* (Orb.) ‘hand’, Asg. *r^uoko*; Sln. *róka* ‘hand’; Bulg. *rāká* ‘hand’

BSl. **rónka?*

B Lith. *rankà* 2 ‘hand’; Latv. *rùoka* ‘hand’

OPr. *rānkan* Asg. ‘hand’

Cogn. OIc. *rá* f. ‘corner, berth in a ship’

The Balto-Slavic word for ‘hand’ derives from a verbal root **urenk*, cf. Lith. *riñkti* ‘gather’. Since deverbative *ā*-stems are usually immobile, Kortlandt (1977a: 327) suggests that the accentuation is analogical after **nogà* ‘foot, leg’, where mobility is old.

***rŭdъ** adj. o (c)

E Ru. *rŭdyj* (dial.) ‘blood-red’; *rudój* (dial.) ‘red, red-haired (S., W.), dirty (Smol.)’

W Cz. *rudý* ‘red, reddish’; Slk. *rudý* ‘red, reddish’; Pl. *rudy* ‘reddish’

S SCr. *rŭd* ‘reddish, rust-coloured’, Gsg. *rŭda*; Sln. *rŭd* ‘reddish’; Bulg. *rud* ‘blood-red’

BSl. **roudos*

B Lith. *raūdas* ‘reddish brown, bay, reddish’; Latv. *raūds* ‘red, reddish brown, ‘light bay’

PIE **h₁roud^h-o-*

Cogn. Lat. *rŭfus* (dial.) ‘red-haired, reddish’; Go. *rauþs* ‘red’

***rŭxъ** m. o (c) ‘movement’

E Bel. *ruх* ‘movement, bustle’, Gsg. *rŭxu*; Ukr. *ruх* ‘movement, bustle’, Gsg. *rŭxu*

W Cz. *ruch*; Slk. *ruch*; Pl. *ruch*; Slnc. *rãch*

PIE *(*H*)*rous-o-*

Cogn. OIc. *reyrr* m. ‘pile of stones’

***rŭnò** n. o (b) ‘fleece’

CS OCS *runo* (Ps. Sin.) Asg.

E Ru. *runó* ‘fleece, (dial.) school of fish, bundle (of hops) with roots’; Ukr. *rŭno*

W Cz. *rouno*; Slk. *rŭno*; Pl. *runo*

S SCr. *rŭno*; Čak. *rŭno* (Vrg., Hvar); *rŭnò* (Orb.) ‘skin, fleece’, Npl. *rŭna*; Sln. *rŭno*; Bulg. *rŭno*

PIE *(*H*)*rou-(m)no-*

Cogn. Skt. *róman-* (RV+) n. ‘(body-)hair’; OIr. *rúamnae* m. ‘blanket’

***rǔvāti** v. (c) ‘tear’

- CS SerbCS *rǔvati* ‘tear’, 1sg. *rǔvǔ*
 E Ru. *rvat’* ‘tear’, 1sg. *rvu*, 3sg. *rvět*; ORu. *rǔvati* ‘tear’, 1sg. *rǔvu*
 W Cz. *rváti* ‘tear’; Slk. *rvat’* ‘tear’; Pl. *rwac’* ‘tear’
 S SCr. *řvati se* ‘wrestle, struggle’, 1sg. *řvēm se*; Čak. *rvāti se* (Vrg.) ‘wrestle, struggle’, 1sg. *rvāš se*; Sln. *rváti* ‘tear out, pull’, 1sg. *rújem*
 B Lith. *ravėti* ‘weed’; Latv. *ravēt* ‘weed’
 PIE *(H)ruH-

See → *rǔyti.

***rydati** v. ‘weep, wail’

- CS OCS *rydati* ‘mourn, lament’, 1sg. *rydajǔ*
 E Ru. *rydát’* ‘sob’, 1sg. *rydáju*; ORu. *rydati* ‘weep, wail’
 W Cz. *rydati* ‘wail, nag’; OCz. *rydati* ‘attack, nag’; Slk. *rydat’* ‘wail, lament’
 S SCr. *řidati* ‘sob’, 1sg. *řidām*
 BSL. *ruǔd-
 B Lith. *raudóti* ‘weep, sob, lament’; Latv. *raúdāt* ‘weep’
 PIE *(H)rud-
 Cogn. Skt. *rudanti* 3pl. ‘weep’; OE *rēotan* ‘weep, complain’

***rǔdlo** n. o (a) ‘spade, snout’

- CS OCS *rǔlo* (Supr.) ‘spade’
 E Ru. *rǔlo* ‘snout, mug’
 W Cz. *rydlo* ‘cutter’; Slk. *rydlo* ‘cutter, spade’
 S SCr. *řilo* ‘snout, trunk’; Sln. *řilǔ* ‘snout’; Bulg. *řilo* ‘snout’
 B Latv. *raúklis* ‘scraper’
 PIE *(H)ruH-

See → *rǔyti.

***rygati** v. ‘belch’

- CS OCS *otǔrigati* (Supr., Ps. Sin.) ‘disgorge, throw out (words)’
 E Ru. *rygát’* ‘belch, (dial.) sob, weep’, 1sg. *rygáju*
 W Cz. *řihati* ‘belch’; Slk. *rihat’* ‘belch’; Pl. *rzygać* ‘throw up’
 S SCr. *řigati* ‘belch’, 1sg. *řigām*; Čak. *řigati* (Vrg.) ‘belch’, 2sg. *řigāš*; Sln. *řigati* ‘throw up, belch, bray’, 1sg. *řigam*
 BSL. *ruǔg-
 B Lith. *ráugėti* ‘belch’; Latv. *raúgātiēs* ‘belch’
 PIE *h₁rug-
 Cogn. Gk. *ἐρεύομαι* ‘belch out, disgorge, discharge, vomit, roar’; Lat. *rūgīre* ‘roar’, *ērūgere* ‘disgorge noisily, belch’

Some of the Slavic forms seem to reflect **rigati*. This may be due to a relatively recent development, but it is also conceivable that these forms continue **rjuʔg-*, with analogical **j* from **rjouʔg-* < **h₁reug-*, cf. Lith. *riáugeti* (dial.).

***rȳti** v. (a) ‘dig, root’

- CS OCS *ryti* (Euch.) ‘dig, tear up’, 1sg. *ryjǫ*; SerbCS *ryti* ‘dig’, 1sg. *ryjǫ*
 E Ru. *ryt’* ‘dig’, 1sg. *róju*, 3sg. *róet*
 W Cz. *rýti* ‘dig’; Slk. *ryt’* ‘dig’; Pl. *ryć* ‘dig’
 S SCr. *rīti* ‘dig’, 1sg. *rījēm*; Sln. *ríti* ‘root, dig’, 1sg. *rījem*; Bulg. *rīja* ‘root, dig’
 BSl. **ruʔ-*
 B Lith. *ráuti* ‘tear out, pull’; Latv. *raût* ‘tear, pull, take’
 PIE **(H)ruH-*
 Cogn. Lat. *rūta caesa* Npl. n. ‘minerals and timber already quarried and felled at the time an estate is put up for sale’; Oic. *ryja* ‘tear out wool’

See also: *roubъ; *rǫvati; *rȳdlo

***S**

***sāditi** v. (c) ‘plant’

- CS OCS *sāditi* ‘plant’, 1sg. *saždǫ*
 E Ru. *sadít’* ‘plant’, 1sg. *sažú*, 3sg. *sádit* {1}
 W Cz. *sāditi* (arch.) ‘set, plant’; Slk. *sadit’* ‘set, plant’; Pl. *sadzic’* ‘set, plant’; Sln. *sāžac* ‘set, plant’, 1sg. *sāužā*
 S SCr. *sāditi* ‘plant, seat’, 1sg. *sādīm*; Čak. *sāđiti* (Vrg.) ‘plant’, 2sg. *sāđiš*; *sādīt* (Orb.) ‘plant’, 1sg. *sādin*; Sln. *sāditi* ‘set, plant’, 1sg. *sadīm*; Bulg. *sadjá* ‘sow, set, plant’
 BSl. **soʔd-ei/i-*
 B Lith. *sodinti* ‘set, plant’
 OPr. *saddinna* 3sg. ‘sets’
 PIE **sod-eie-*
 Cogn. Skt. *sādáyati* ‘set’

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 140).

See also: *sādъ; *sěděti; *sěsti

***sādъ** m. o (c) ‘plant, garden’

- CS OCS *sadъ* ‘plant’
 E Ru. *sad* ‘garden’; ORu. *sadъ* ‘tree, plant, garden’
 W Cz. *sad* ‘orchard, (pl.) park’; Slk. *sad* ‘garden, park’
 S SCr. *sād* ‘new planting’, Gsg. *sāda*; Čak. *sād* ‘new planting’, Gsg. *sāda*; Sln. *sād* ‘fruit, plantation’, Gsg. *sāda*, Gsg. *sadû*

B Lith. *sōdas* ‘orchard, garden, park, (dial.) plant’; Latv. *sāds* ‘garden, orchard’
The Baltic forms are borrowings from Slavic. For the root, see → **saditi*.

***sanb** f. i ‘sleigh, sledge’

CS RuCS *sanb* ‘snake’
E Ru. *sáni* Npl.; ORu. *sani* Npl.; Ukr. *sány* Npl.
W Cz. *sáně* Npl.; *saně* Npl.; *saň* ‘dragon, tapeworm’; Pl. *sanie*; Opl. *sani* Npl.
S SCr. *sāoni* Npl.; *sāone* Npl. f. (ā); *sāni* (NW dial.) Npl.; Sln. *sanī* Npl.
BSL. **śaṛnos*; **śaṛnis*
B Lith. *šonas* m. 1 ‘side, flank’; Latv. *sāns* m. ‘side’

***sedmṽ** num. o ‘seventh’

CS OCS *sedmṽ*
E Ru. *sed’mój* {1}
W Cz. *sedmý*; *sedmý* (dial.); OCz. *sedmý*; Slk. *siedmy*; Pl. *siódmy*
S SCr. *šēdmī*; Čak. *šēdmī* (Vrg.); *šēdmī* (Novi); *s’ēdmi*; Sln. *šēdmi*; Bulg. *šedmi*
BSL. **septmos*
B Lith. *septiñtas*; Latv. *septīts*
OPr. *septmas*

PIE **septm-ó-*

Cogn. Skt. *saptamá-* (VS+); Gk. ἑβδομος; Lat. *septimus*; OHG *sibunto*

{1} AP (b) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 136).

See also: **sedmṽ*

***sedmṽ** num. i (b) ‘seven’

CS OCS *sedmṽ*, Gsg. *sedmi*
E Ru. *sem’*, Gsg. *semí*
W Cz. *sedm*; Slk. *sedem*; Pl. *siedem*, Gsg. *siedmiu*; *siedm* (arch.) ‘seven’; Slnc. *šētēm*; USrb. *sydom*; LSrb. *sedym*
S SCr. *šēdam*; Čak. *šēdan* (Vrg., Orb.); *šēdam* (Novi); Sln. *šēdam*; Bulg. *šedem*
BSL. **sept-*
B Lith. *septyni*; Latv. *septiņi*

PIE **septm*

Cogn. Skt. *saptá*; Gk. ἑπτά; Lat. *septem*; Go. *sibun*

Both in Baltic and Slavic the cardinal was reshaped under the influence of the ordinal.

See also: **sedmṽ*

***sedṽlò** n. o (b) ‘saddle’

CS CS *sedblo*
E Ru. *sedló*; ORu. *sedblo*

- W Cz. *sedlo*; Slk. *sedlo*; Pl. *siodło*
 S SCr. *sèdlo*, Npl. *sèdla*; Čak. *sedlò* (Vrg.); *sedlò* (Novi), Npl. *sèdla*; *sèdlo* (Orb.)
 ‘seat (on a bicycle), saddle’, Npl. *sèdla*; Sln. *sédlo*; Bulg. *sedló*

A borrowing from Germanic, cf. OIc. *spðull* m.; OHG *satul* m.

***selò** n. o (b)

- CS OCS *selo* ‘field, abode, tabernacle, village’
 E Ru. *seló* ‘village’
 W OCz. *selo* ‘field’; Pl. *sioło* (poet.) ‘soil, hamlet, village’
 S SCr. *sèlo* ‘village, country’, Npl. *sèla*; Čak. *selò* (Vrg.) ‘village, country’, Npl. *sělã*; *selò* (Novi) ‘village, country’, Npl. *sèla*; *selò* (Orb.) ‘village’, Npl. *s’ièla*; Sln. *sélo* ‘building lot, colony, hamlet, village’; Bulg. *sélo* ‘village’, Npl. *selá*
 B Lith. *salà* f. 4 ‘island, (dial.) field surrounded by meadows (or vice versa), (E. Lith.) village’
 Cogn. OIc. *salr* m. ‘hall, room, house’

***serdà** f. ā (c) ‘middle, Wednesday’

- CS OCS *srěda* ‘middle, community, Wednesday’
 E Ru. *seredá* (obs.) ‘Wednesday’, Asg. *séredu*
 W Cz. *středa* ‘Wednesday’; Slk. *streda* ‘Wednesday’; Pl. *środa* ‘Wednesday’; USrb. *srjeda* ‘Wednesday’
 S SCr. *srijèda* ‘Wednesday’, Asg. *srijedu*; Čak. *srīdā* (Vrg.) ‘Wednesday’, Asg. *srīdu*; *srīedā* ‘Wednesday’, Asg. *srīēdu*; Sln. *srěda* ‘middle, centre’; *srēda* ‘Wednesday’; Bulg. *sredá* ‘middle, centre, environment’; *srjáda* ‘Wednesday’
 BSL. **šerd-*
 B Lith. *šerdis* f.(i) 3 ‘core, kernel, pith’
 PIE **ḱerd-*
 Cogn. Go. *hairto* n. ‘heart’

See also: **сѣрдѣце*

***sermъša; *sermuša** f. jā ‘ramson, bird cherry’

- S SCr. *srījemuša* ‘ramson’; Sln. *srēmša* ‘bird cherry’; *srēmša* ‘bird cherry’

See → **čermъxa*, etc., for a discussion of the etymology.

***sérnъ; *sérnъ** m. o; m jo (b) ‘hoarfrost, crust of ice’

- CS CS *srěnō* ‘white, greyish white (horses)’
 E Ru. *serěn* (dial.) m.(o) ‘crust of ice’; *séren* (dial.) m.(o) ‘crust of ice’; *séren* (dial.) f.(i) ‘crust of ice’; Ukr. *serén* m.(o) ‘frozen hard snow’
 W Cz. *střín* (dial.) m.(o) ‘ice on branches’; *střín* (dial.) f.(i/jā) ‘ice on branches’; Slk. *srieň* m.(jo) ‘hoarfrost’; Pl. *szron* m.(o) ‘hoarfrost’ (older spellings *śron*, *śrzon*)

- S Sln. *srĕn* m.(o) ‘hoarfrost, frozen crust of snow’; *srĕnj* m.(jo) ‘hoarfrost, frozen crust of snow’
- BSL. **šer(s)nos*
- B Lith. *šerkšnas* m. ‘hoarfrost’; *šerkšnas* adj. ‘grey, whitish’; Latv. *sērsna* f. ‘hoarfrost’
- PIE **ker(H)-no-m*
- Cogn. OIc. *hjarn* n. ‘frozen snow’; Arm. *sarn* ‘ice’

***sestrà** f. ā (b) ‘sister’

- CS OCS *sestra*
- E Ru. *sestrá*, Asg. *sestrú*
- W Cz. *sestra*; Slk. *sestra*; Pl. *siostra*
- S SCr. *sěstra*; Čak. *sestrà* (Vrg.); *sestră* (Orb.), Asg. *sestrò*; Sln. *séstra*; Bulg. *sestrá*
- BSL. **ses-(e)r-*
- B Lith. *sesuõ* f.(r) 3^b, Gsg. *seseřs*
OPr. *swestro*
- PIE **sues-r-*
- Cogn. Skt. *svásar-* f.; Lat. *soror* f.; Go. *swistar* f.; OIr. *siur* f.

***sěděti** v. ‘sit’

- CS OCS *sěděti*, 1sg. *sěždq*
- E Ru. *sidét’*, 1sg. *sižú*, 3sg. *sidít*
- W Cz. *seděti*; Slk. *sedieť*; Pl. *siedzieć*
- S SCr. *sjědjeti*; *sjěditi*, 1sg. *sjěđim*; Čak. *siditi* (Vrg.), 2sg. *sidiš*; *sedèt* (Orb.), 1sg. *sedin*; Sln. *sěděti*, 1sg. *sěđim*; Bulg. *sedjá*
- BSL. **seʔd-eʔ-*
- B Lith. *sėdėti*, 3sg. *sėdi*
- PIE **sed-eh₁-*
- Cogn. Lat. *sedēre*

For the root, cf. also Gk. ἕζομαι ‘to sit down’, Go. *sitan*, OIc. *sitja*

See also: **saditi*; **sādъ*; **sěsti*

***sědlò** n. o (b) ‘seat’

- W Cz. *sidlo* ‘seat, residence’; *Sedlo* PN; Slk. *sidlo* ‘seat, residence’; Pl. *Długosiodło* PN; USrb. *sydło* ‘residence’; LSrb. *sedlo* ‘residence’
- PIE **sed-lo-m*

If this is a Proto-Slavic formation, we must assume that in those languages where **dl-* > **l-* the etymon merged with **selò*. In West Slavic as well these two etyma seem to have influenced one another, cf. Pl. *Długosiodło* with **e* in the root.

*sěkti v. (c) ‘cut, mow’

- CS OCS *sěšti* (Euch., Supr.) ‘cut’, 1sg. *sěkŕ* (the attested forms are *sěky* Nsg. m. ptc. pres. act. (Euch.) and *sěčete* 2pl. (Supr.))
- E Ru. *seč’* ‘cut to pieces, beat’, 1sg. *seku*, 3sg. *sečët*
- W Cz. *síci* ‘mow’, 1sg. *seku*, 1sg. *seču*; OCz. *sieci* ‘mow’, 1sg. *sěku*; Pl. *siec* ‘hew, beat’, 1sg. *siekę*; USrb. *syč* ‘hew, beat’, 1sg. *syku*; LSrb. *sec* ‘hew, beat’, 1sg. *seku*
- S SCr. *sjěči* ‘cut’, 1sg. *sjěčēm*; Čak. *sīci* (Vrg.) ‘cut’, 2sg. *sīčěš*; *sěc* (Orb.) ‘cut, chop, hew’, 1sg. *s’ecēn*; Sln. *sěči* ‘cut’, 1sg. *sěčem*; Bulg. *seká* ‘chop, fell’, 1sg. *sečěš*

It is hardly imaginable that *sěkti is not cognate with Lat. *secō* ‘cut, mow’. The acute root cannot be reconciled with the root variant *sek-, however. LIV (524) predictably reconstructs an acrodynamic present to account for the Slavic length, which in their framework yields the desired acute. Kortlandt claims that “*sěkti adopted the long root vowel for disambiguation from the root which is preserved in Lith. *sėkti* ‘watch, follow’ and Slavic *sočiti* ‘indicate, pursue’” (1997a: 28). The original short vowel is attested in OCS *sekyra* ‘axe’.

*sěmę n. n (a) ‘seed’

- CS OCS *sěmę*, Gsg. *sěmene*, Gsg. *sěmeni*
- E Ru. *sémja*
- W Cz. *símě*; Pl. *siemię*
- S SCr. *sjěme*, Gsg. *sjěmena*, Npl. *sjeměna*; Čak. *sīme* (Vrg.), Gsg. *sīmena*; *sīme* (Hvar), Gsg. *sīmena*, Npl. *simenā*; Sln. *séme*, Gsg. *sémena*; Bulg. *séme*, Npl. *semená*
- BSl. *seřmen-
- B Lith. *sėmenys* m.(n) 1/3^a ‘linseed, flaxseed’
OPr. *semen*
- PIE *seh₁-men-
- Cogn. Lat. *sēmen* n.
- See also: *sėti I

*sěno n. o (c) ‘hay’

- CS OCS *sěno* ‘hay, grass’
- E Ru. *séno*
- W Cz. *seno*; Slk. *seno*; Pl. *siano*; USrb. *syno*
- S SCr. *sijeno*, Gsg. *sijena*; Čak. *sěno* (Vrg.), Gsg. *sěna*; *sěno* (Novi), Gsg. *sěna*; *s’ěno* (Orb.), Gsg. *s’ěna*; Sln. *seňo*; Bulg. *senó*
- BSl. *sóino
- B Lith. *šiėnas* m. 4; Latv. *siens* m.

If this etymon is cognate with Gk. *κοινά* (Hesych.) f. ‘hay’, we may reconstruct *koi-n-óm.

***sěnb** f. i (a) ‘shadow’

CS	OCS <i>sěnb</i> ‘shadow’
E	Ru. <i>sen</i> ’ (obs., poet.) ‘canopy’
W	Cz. <i>siň</i> ‘(entrance) hall’; OCz. <i>sieň</i> ‘(entrance) hall’; Slk. <i>sieň</i> ‘(entrance) hall’; Pl. <i>sień</i> ‘(entrance) hall’
S	SCr. <i>sjèn</i> m.(o) ‘shadow’
B	Latv. <i>seja</i> f.(jā) ‘face’; <i>seija</i> (dial.) f.(jā) ‘face’; <i>paseijā</i> adv. ‘behind one’s back’
PIE	* <i>skeHi-n(-i)-</i>
Cogn.	Skt. <i>chāyā-</i> (RV+) f. ‘shadow, reflection’; Gk. σκιά f. ‘shadow’; Alb. <i>hie</i> ‘shadow’

The *s- was adopted from forms with zero grade of the root, cf. → **sijati*.

See also: *stěnb; *těnb

***šěrb** adj. o ‘grey’

CS	RuCS <i>šěrb</i>
E	Ru. <i>šeryj</i> ; <i>ser</i> , f. <i>será</i> , n. <i>séro</i> ; Ukr. <i>síryj</i>
W	Cz. <i>šery</i> ; OCz. <i>šěry</i> ; Slk. <i>šery</i> ; Pl. <i>szary</i> ; USrb. <i>šěry</i>
S	Sln. <i>sér</i> , f. <i>séra</i>
PIE	* <i>šHe/oiro-</i>
Cogn.	OIr. <i>cíar</i> ‘dark-brown’; OIc. <i>hárr</i> ‘grey-haired, old’; OE <i>hār</i> ‘grey, grey-haired’

The initial fricative results from the palatalization of *x- before **ě* < **oi/ai*. According to Kortlandt (1994: 112), **kh*₂ was depalatalized to **kH* in Balto-Slavic, which sequence ultimately yielded *k* in Lithuanian and **x* in Proto-Slavic. Lubotsky (1989: 51), on the other hand, reconstructs **kh*₁ in order to account for the vocalism **ei* of the Old Irish form. Heidermanns (1993: 269) seems to ignore the problem.

***sěsti** v. ‘sit down’

CS	OCS <i>sěsti</i> , 1sg. <i>sędę</i>
E	Ru. <i>sest</i> ’, 1sg. <i>sjádu</i> , 3sg. <i>sjádet</i>
W	Cz. <i>siesti</i> , 1sg. <i>sadu</i> , 2sg. <i>sěděš</i> ; Pl. <i>siąść</i> , 1sg. <i>siąęę</i>
S	SCr. <i>sjěsti</i> , 1sg. <i>sjědēm</i> ; Čak. <i>sěsti</i> (Vrg.), 2sg. <i>sědeš</i> ; <i>sěs</i> , 1sg. <i>s’ěden</i> ; Sln. <i>sěsti</i> , 1sg. <i>sędem</i> ; Bulg. <i>sjádam</i>
BSl.	* <i>seʔd-</i>
B	Lith. <i>sěsti</i> , 3sg. <i>sęda</i> OPr. <i>sindants</i> ‘sitting’

See → **sěděti*.

***sěti I; *sějati I** v. (a) ‘sow’

CS	OCS <i>sěti</i> , 1sg. <i>sěję</i> ; <i>sějati</i> , 1sg. <i>sěję</i>
E	Ru. <i>sęjat</i> ’, 1sg. <i>sęju</i>
W	Cz. <i>síti</i> ; Slk. <i>siat</i> ; Pl. <i>siać</i> ; USrb. <i>syć</i> ; LSrb. <i>seš</i>

S SCr. *sĭjati*, 1sg. *sĭjēm*; Čak. *sĭjati* (Vrg.), 2sg. *sĭješ*; *sĭjat* (Orb.); Sln. *sejāti*, 1sg. *sějem*; Bulg. *sėja*

BSl. *seʔ-

B Lith. *sėti*; Latv. *sēt*

PIE *seh₁-

Cogn. Lat. *serere*; Go. *saian*

See also: *sěme

***sěti II; *sějati II** v. (a) ‘sift’

CS OCS *sěti* ‘sift’, 1sg. *sějō*; *sějati* ‘sift’, 1sg. *sějō*

S SCr. *sĭjati* ‘sift’, 1sg. *sĭjēm*; Čak. *sějat* (Orb.) ‘sift, sieve’, 1sg. *s’ějen*; Sln. *sejāti* ‘sift’, 1sg. *sějem*; Bulg. *sėja* ‘sift’

BSl. *s(e)ʔi-

B Lith. *sijóti* ‘sift’; Latv. *sijāt* ‘sift’

PIE *seh₁i-

See also: *prosějati; *sito

***sětb** f. i (a?) ‘snare, net’

CS OCS *sětb* ‘snare, trap’

E Ru. *set* ‘net’, Gsg. *sěti* {1}

W Cz. *sít* ‘net’; Slk. *siet* ‘net’; Pl. *siec* ‘net’

PIE *sh₂-(o)i-t-

Cogn. Skt. *sētu-* (RV+) m. ‘band, fetter, dam’; OHG *seid* n. ‘cord’

If one does not wish to posit PIE *seH- alongside *sei- (Insler 1971: 581 ff), Lith. *siėti*, Latv. *siet* ‘tie’ must reflect *sHei- (Schrijver 1991: 519) or rather *sh₂ei- (LIV: 544). On the basis of Hitt. *išhamin-* c. ‘cord’ alongside *išhāi*, 3pl. *išhūanzi* ‘bind, wrap’, Kloekhorst (2008: 393) has argued that we must reconstruct PIE *seh₂- and *sh₂-(o)i-. This seems to be a satisfactory solution. Baltic forms with e-vocalism, e.g. Lith. *sėja* (dial.) ‘ties’ can easily be analogical. On the other hand, we may wonder what the fate of *sh₂-oi- would be in Balto-Slavic. It is possible that *sh₂-oi- > would develop into a root *soi-, which could have given rise to new apophonic grades *sei- and *si-. The root of *sětb seems to be acute, however. Perhaps the zero grade *sh₂i- provided the basis for a new full grade *soh₂i (after all, *Ce/oHI : *CHI is a common type of ablaut) or the word for ‘net’ was influenced by the verbal root *seʔi- ‘sieve’. The semantic connection is obvious.

{1} AP (a) is also attested in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 132).

See also: *sīdlō; *sītŕ

***sěverŕ** m. o (a) ‘North’

CS OCS *sěverŕ* ‘North, north wind’

E Ru. *séver* ‘North’

- W Cz. *sever* ‘North’; Slk. *sever* ‘North’; USrb. *sowjer* ‘(high altitude) haze’ {1}
 S SCr. *sjěvēr* ‘North’; Sln. *séver* m.(jo) ‘north wind, North’, Gsg. *séverja*; *séver* ‘north wind, North’, Gsg. *sévera*; *sévær* ‘north wind, North’, Gsg. *sévra*; Bulg. *séver* ‘North’
 BSL. *séřwer-; *sjóřur-
 B Lith. *šiáurė* f. ‘North’
 PIE **keh₁uer-o-*
 Cogn. Lat. *caurus* m. ‘northwestern wind’ (< **kh₁uer-o-*)
 {1} *Sewjer* ‘North’ is a 19th century borrowing from Czech (Schaarschmidt 1997: 150).

***sędzati; *sęgati** v. (a) ‘reach for, attain’

- E Ru. *posjagát* ‘encroach, infringe’
 W Cz. *sahati* ‘touch, reach for’; OCz. *sahati* ‘touch, reach for’, 1sg. *sahu*, 2sg. *sěžeš*; Pl. *sięgać* ‘reach for, reach’
 S SCr. *sězati* ‘reach, attain’, 1sg. *sěžēm*; Sln. *sézati* ‘reach for’, 1sg. *sézam*; *sęgati* ‘reach for’, 1sg. *ségam*

See → *sęgti. The acute root is in agreement with Winter’s law.

***sęgnōti** v. ‘reach for, attain’

- CS Only prefixed verbs, e.g. *prisęgnōti* (Supr.) ‘touch’.
 E Ru. *sjagnút* (Dal’) ‘reach for, attain’
 W Cz. *sáhnouti* ‘touch, reach for’; Slk. *siahnut* ‘reach for’; Pl. *sięgnąć* ‘reach for, reach’
 S SCr. *sęgnuti* ‘reach’; *sęgnuti se* (Vuk) ‘reach for’; Sln. *sęgniti* ‘reach for’, 1sg. *sęgnem*
 BSL. **se(n)g*

According to Kortlandt (1988: 389), the fact that Winter’s law apparently did not operate in the derivative in *-*nōti* (where AP (a) is productive!) is due to the cluster *-*ngn-*, which blocked the law. For the etymology, see → *sęgti.

***sęgti** v. ‘reach for’

- CS OCS *prisęšti sę* ‘touch’, 1sg. *prisęgo sę*
 W Cz. *dosíci* ‘reach’
 S Sln. *sěči* ‘reach for, try to grab’, 1sg. *šěžēm*
 BSL. **se(n)řg-*
 B Lith. *sęgti* ‘fasten, pin’
 PIE **se(n)g-*
 Cogn. Skt. *sájati* ‘adhere to’

Lith. *seg-* must have been created on the basis of the nasal present (→ *sęgnōti).

See also: sędzati; *sęgati

***sęknōti** v. 'run dry'

- CS OCS *isęknōti* 'run dry', 1sg. *isęknō*
 E Ru. *issjáknut* 'run dry'
 W Cz. *sáknouti* 'ooze, trickle, wet'; Pl. *siąknąć* 'run dry'
 S Bulg. *sékna* 'stop, fade away'
 BSl. **se(n)k-*
 B Lith. *sėkti* 'subside (water), diminish (strength)'
 PIE **sek-*
 Cogn. Skt. *saścasi* (RV) 2sg. imper. act. 'dry out'; Gk. ἔσκετο φωνή (Hom.) 'his voice broke down'

See also: *sōčiti

***setjъ** adj. jo 'sensible, wise'

- CS CS *sęštъ* 'sensible, wise'
 BSl. **sint-* (**sent-*)
 B Lith. *sintėti* (Žem.) 'think'

For the root **sent-*, cf. Lat. *sentire* 'feel'.

***sīdlō** n. o (b) 'noose, snare'

- CS OCS *silo* (Supr.)
 E Ru. *siló* (dial.); *sílo* (dial.); ORu. *silo*
 W Pl. *sidło* 'snare, trap'
 B Lith. *ātsailė* f.(ē) 'cross-bar between beam and axle'; Latv. *saiklis* m.(io) 'string, band'
 Cogn. OHG *seil* n. 'rope, snare, fetter'

In view of the etymology discussed s.v. → **sętb*, we must in principle reconstruct **sh₂i-d^{hl}lóm*. Formally this is without problems. The stressed suffix was not affected by Hirt's law as well as Ebeling's law and the laryngeal was lost in pretonic position with compensatory lengthening. Nevertheless, a secondary full grade **seid-* cannot be excluded (see also → **sítō*).

***sijāti** v. 'shine'

- CS OCS *sijati*, 1sg. *sijajō*
 E Ru. *siját*', 1sg. *sijáju*
 S SCr. *sjāti*, 1sg. *sjām*; Čak. *sjāti se* (Vrg.), 3sg. *sjājē se*; Sln. *sijāti*, 1sg. *sijem*; Bulg. *sijája*

- PIE **sk̑Hi-*
 Cogn. Go. *skeinan*

In the position before **i*, PIE **sk* was realized as [s \acute{c}] > BSl. **ś*.

See also: *sěнь; *stěнь; *těнь

*sila f. ā (a) ‘strength, force’

- CS OCS *sila* ‘strength, force, miracle’
 E Ru. *sila*
 W Cz. *síla*; Slk. *síla*; Pl. *síla*
 S SCr. *sīla*; Sln. *síla* ‘force, mass, need’; Bulg. *síla*
 BSl. *séřila?
 B Lith. *siela* 1 ‘soul’
 OPr. *seilin* Asg. ‘diligence’

Etymology unknown.

*sito n. o (a) ‘sieve’

- E Ru. *síto*
 W Cz. *síto*; Slk. *síto*; Pl. *síto*
 S SCr. *sīto*; Čak. *sīto* (Vrg., Novi, Orb.); Sln. *síto*; Bulg. *síto*
 BSl. *séřito
 B Lith. *sietas* m.; Latv. *siēts* m.

The fixed root stress originates from Hirt’s law. The original form must have been *seh₁i-tó(d). The Latvian broken tone is explained by the fact that barytone neuter *o*-stems with an acute root became mobile in Latvian (see Derksen 1995).

See also: *prosējati; *sěti II

*sítъ m. o (b)

- W OCz. *sít* ‘twining’
 S Sln. *sít* m.(o) ‘rush’; *sít* f.(i) ‘rush’; *síta* f.(ā) ‘rush’
 B Lith. *siētas* m. 2 ‘tie’; *saītas* m. 2/4 ‘tie’; Latv. *saīte* f.(ē) ‘string, cord, tie, leash’
 OPr. *saytan* ‘strap, belt’

Cogn. OHG *seid* n. ‘cord’ (< *saiþa-)

A reconstruction *sh₂i-tóm (cf. → *sīdlò) seems possible, as there are indications that neuters in *-tò were productive anterior to the loss of the laryngeals in pretonic syllables, but we would have to assume that *-to was replaced by *-t̃v. This is not unprecedented in original neuters, however. Alternatively, we may posit a secondary *e*-grade *seitom (see → *sětv), cf the (rare) Lithuanian variant *seītas* 2. The Baltic and Germanic forms mentioned above point to *sh₂ói-tom, though for Baltic an oxytone neuter cannot be excluded.

*sivъ adj. o (a) ‘grey’

- E Ru. *sívyj*
 W Cz. *sivý*; Slk. *sivý*; Pl. *siwy*

- S SCr. *sǐv*; Sln. *siv*, f. *síva*; Bulg. *siv*
 BSL. **śířvos*
 B Lith. *šývas* 3 ‘light grey’
 OPr. *sijwan* ‘grey’
 PIE **kih₁-uó-*
 Cogn. Skt. *śyāvā-* ‘dark brown, dark’ (<**kieh₁-uó-*)

***skorà (skòra)** f. ā (b) ‘bast, skin’

- W Cz. *skůra* (obs., dial.) Npl. ‘(tanned) skin’; *skura* (obs., dial.) Npl. ‘(tanned) skin’; *skora* (obs., dial.) Npl. ‘(tanned) skin’; Pl. *skóra* ‘skin’; Slnc. *skōūrā* ‘skin, bast, leather’
 S Sln. *skōrja* ‘bark, crust’; *skōrja* ‘bark, crust’

As in the case of → **korà*, a number of forms behave as if they belong to the **vòlja* type, e.g. Sln. *skōrja*. According to Bulaxovskij (1953: 45), we must reckon with influence of the semantically similar **kòža*. The widely attested long *o* in the root may be somehow connected with the following *r* (cf. Zaliznjak 1985: 135-136).

See also: **korà*; **korica*; **korÿto*; **корѣць*

***skorda** f. ā ‘harrow’

- E Ru. *skorodá* (dial.) ‘harrow’
 BSL. **skord-*
 B Lith. *skardÿti* ‘dig up, crush’; Latv. *skārdīt* ‘pound, crush’
 OPr. *scurdis* ‘dibstone, mattock’
 PIE **skord^h-eh₂*
 See also: **oskъrdъ*

***slābъ** adj. o (a) ‘weak’

- CS OCS *slabъ*
 E Ru. *slábyj*
 W Cz. *slabý*; Slk. *slabý*; Pl. *slaby*
 S SCr. *slāb* ‘weak, bad’, f. *slāba*; *slāb* ‘weak, bad’, f. *slāba*; Čak. *slāb* (Vrg.) ‘weak’, f. *slābā*, n. *slābo*; *slāp* (Orb.) ‘weak, bad’, f. *slāba*, n. *slābo*; Sln. *slāb* ‘weak, bad’, f. *slāba*; Bulg. *slab* ‘weak, bad’
 B Lith. *slābnas* (Žem.); *slōbnas* (E. Lith.) {1}; Latv. *slābs*
 PIE **slob-o-*
 Cogn. MLG *slap* ‘weak, slack’

Though Latv. *slābs* matches the Slavic etymon perfectly, I am inclined to regard the Baltic forms as borrowings (cf. Derksen 1996: 83). Rasmussen (1992: 72) mentions *slābnas* as an example of his blocking rule, according to which Winter’s law did not operate for resonants. Since he also claims that Winter’s law applied exclusively to the

syllable immediately preceding the stress, his version of Winter's law cannot account for PSL. *slābъ (Derksen 2003: 9).

{1} According to Fraenkel (151), the vocalism of *slōbnas* may be due to an East Lithuanian development (cf. Zinkevičius 1966: 103).

*slāva f. ā (a) 'glory, fame'

CS OCS *slava* 'glory, fame, magnificence'

E Ru. *sláva*

W Cz. *sláva*; Slk. *sláva*; Pl. *slawa*

S SCr. *slāva*; Čak. *slāva* (Vrg., Orb.) 'glory'; Sln. *sláva*; Bulg. *sláva*

BSL. *slōu?

B Lith. *šlovė* f.(ē) 3/4 'honour, fame'; *šlovė* (Žem.) f.(ē) 1 'honour, fame'; Latv. *slava* f. 'rumour, reputation, fame'; *slave* f.(ē) 'rumour, reputation, fame'

PIE *klēu-

Cogn. Skt. *śrávas-* n. 'fame, honour'; Gk. κλέος n. 'fame'; OIr. *clú* f. 'fame, rumour'

The root-final laryngeal reflected in Baltic as well as Slavic is a Balto-Slavic innovation. We must assume an original root noun with lengthened grade.

See also: *slōvo; *slūxati; *slūxъ; *slūšēti; *sluti; *slŷšati

*slimakъ m. o 'snail'

E Ru. *slimák* (dial.) 'snail, slug'

W Cz. *slimák*; Slk. *slimak*; Pl. *ślimak*

PIE *sleh₁i-m-

Cogn. Gk. λείμαξ m. 'slug'; Lat. *limāx* m. 'snail, slug'

*slīna f. ā (a) 'saliva'

CS OCS *sliny* (Euch.) Npl.

E Ru. *slīna* (dial.); *sliná* (dial.)

W Cz. *slīna*; Slk. *slīna*; Pl. *ślina*

S SCr. *slīna*; Sln. *slīna*

BSL. *sle?ina?

B Latv. *slīēnas* Npl.

PIE *sleh₁i-n-eh₂

Cogn. OIc. *slím* m. 'slime'

*slīva f. ā (a) 'plum, plum-tree'

E Ru. *slīva* 'plum, plum-tree'

W Cz. *slīva* 'plum, plum-tree'; Pl. *śliwa* 'plum-tree'

S SCr. *šljīva* 'plum (tree)'; Čak. *slīva* (Vrg., Hvar) 'plum (tree)'; *slīva* (Orb.) 'yellow plum (tree)'; Sln. *slīva* 'plum'; Bulg. *slīva* 'plum, plum-tree'

For the root we may perhaps compare Lat. *livēre* ‘be livid, bluish’, OIr. *lí* ‘colour, pallor’. In that case the reconstruction would be *(s)liH-*u-*. Lith. *slyvā* 2 and *slyvas* (dial.) ‘plum, plum-tree’ are borrowings from Slavic.

***slǫvo** n. s (c) ‘word’

CS OCS *slovo* n.(s)

E Ru. *slóvo*

W Cz. *slovo*; Slk. *slovo*; Pl. *słowo*

S SCr. *slǫvo* ‘letter (of the alphabet)’; Čak. *slǫvo* ‘letter (of the alphabet)’; Npl. *slǫvǎ*, Npl. *slovǎ*; *slǫvo* (Orb.) ‘letter’, Npl. *slǫva*; Sln. *slovô* ‘good-bye, farewell’ n.(s), Gsg. *slovêsa*; *slǫvô* ‘letter (of the alphabet), word’, Gsg. *slóva*; Bulg. *slóvo* ‘word’

B Lith. *šlāvé* (E. Lith.) f.(ē) ‘honour, respect, fame’; Latv. *slava* f. ‘rumour, reputation, fame’; *slave* f.(ē) ‘rumour, reputation, fame’

PIE **k̑leu-os-*

Cogn. Skt. *śrávas-* n. ‘fame, honour’; Gk. κλέος n. ‘fame’; OIr. *clú* f. ‘fame, rumour’

See → *slāva.

***slǫka** f. ā (a) ‘snipe, woodcock’

E Ru. *slúka* ‘woodcock’

W Cz. *sluka* ‘snipe, (s. *lesní*) woodcock’; Slk. *sluka* ‘snipe’; Pl. *ślomka* ‘snipe’

S SCr. *šljǫka* ‘snipe, (*šumska š.*) woodcock’; Sln. *slǫka* ‘woodcock’

BSl. **slonka?*

B Lith. *slánka* 1, *slánkà* 4 ‘snipe’; Latv. *sluoka* ‘snipe’

OPr. *slanke* ‘snipe’

I have no explanation for the tonal difference between Slavic and the Latvian form (see Derksen 1996: 137 for a the complete Baltic material). In my dissertation I opted for a root **slonHk-*, even considering to give up the connection with Lith. *slīnkti* ‘sneak, crawl’, Latv. *slīkt* ‘lean over, be submerged, drown’. The snipe, however, is an extremely elusive bird and a name corresponding to OHG *slango* m. ‘snake’ would be entirely appropriate. I also failed to point out that Lith. *slánka* may very well show *métatonie rude*, cf. *pečialinda*, *pečialánda* ‘leaf-warbler’, from *pēčius* ‘oven’ and *līsti* ‘crawl’. The root is therefore to be reconstructed **slenk^{w-}* and the Slavic acute must be regarded as irregular.

***slǫxati** v. (a) ‘listen’

E Ukr. *slúxaty* ‘listen’

W Pl. *śluchać* ‘listen’

BSl. **klou(ǝ)š-*

B Lith. *kláusti* ‘ask’; *klausýti* ‘listen’, 3sg. *klaūso*

OPr. *klausiton* ‘hear’

See → *sluřšati.

***slŷxъ** m. o (c) ‘hearing, rumour’

CS OCS *sluxъ*

E Ru. *slux*

W Cz. *sluch*; Slk. *sluch*; Pl. *sluch*

S SCr. *slŷh*; *slŷh*; Sln. *slŷh*; Bulg. *slux*

PIE **klous-o-*

Cogn. Skt. *śrávas-* n. ‘fame, honour’; Gk. κλέος n. ‘fame’; OIr. *clú* f. ‘fame, rumour’

See → *sluřšati.

***sluřšati** v. (a) ‘listen’

CS OCS *sluřšati* ‘listen’, 1sg. *sluřšaję*

E Ru. *sluřřat* ‘listen’

W Cz. *sluřřeti* ‘become, befit’; Slk. *sluřřat* ‘become, befit’; Pl. *sluřřać* ‘listen to, obey’

S SCr. *slŷřšati* ‘listen’; Čak. *slŷřřati* ‘listen’; Sln. *sluřřati* ‘listen, follow’, 1sg. *sluřřam*; Bulg. *sluřřam* ‘listen, follow, obey’

BSL. **klouřř-*

B Lith. *kláusti* ‘ask’; *klausŷti* ‘listen’, 3sg. *klaŷso*

OPr. *klausiton* ‘hear’

PIE **klous-*

Cogn. Skt. *śróřati* ‘listen, obey’

Slavic *s- < *ř- was adopted from forms with *e*-grade. The acute of Lith. *kláusti* may originate from a desiderative **kleu-Hs-*. The question is if this is also the origin of the acute tone of **sluřřati*. As we have seen s.v. → **sláva*, the presence of a laryngeal is not limited to the root variant with *-s, at least not in Slavic.

See also: **sláva*; **slŷvo*; **slŷxati*; **slŷxъ*; **sluti*; **slŷřšati*

***sluti** v. ‘be called’

CS OCS *sluti* ‘be called’, 1sg. *slovę*

W Cz. *slouti* ‘be called, have a reputation (for)’, 1sg. *sluji*, (obs.) 1sg. *slovu*; OCz. *slúti* ‘be called, have a reputation (for)’, 1sg. *slovu*

S Sln. *slúti* ‘be famous (for), sound’, 1sg. *slŷvem*, 1sg. *slŷjem*

See → **sláva*, **sluřřati*.

***slŷřřati** v. (a) ‘hear’

CS OCS *slyřřati*, 1sg. *slyřřę*, 2sg. *slyřřiši*

E Ru. *slyřřat*’

W Cz. *slyřřeti*; Pl. *slyřřeć*

S SCr. *slŷřřati*; Čak. *slŷřřati* (Vrg.); Sln. *slŷřřati*, 1sg. *slŷřřim*

See → *slūšati.

***slyti** v. ‘have a reputation (for)’

E Ru. *slyt* ‘have a reputation (for)’, 1sg. *slyvú*, *slovú* (arch.), 3sg. *slyvët*

See → *slàva, *slūšati.

***směxъ** m. o (b (c)) ‘laughter, laugh’

CS OCS *směxъ* (Euch., Supr.)

E Ru. *smex*, Gsg. *sméxa*

W Cz. *smích*; Slk. *smiech*; Pl. *śmiech*

S SCr. *smijeh*, Gsg. *smijeha*; Čak. *smih* (Vrg.), Gsg. *smihâ*; *smⁱeh* (Vrg.), Gsg. *smⁱehâ*; Sln. *smêh*; Bulg. *smjax*

Derivative of → *smǫjati. The suffix *-xъ arose from *-so- as a result of the *ruki*-rule.

***smôrdъ** m. o (c) ‘stench’

CS OCS *smradъ* (Supr.)

E Ru. *smórod* (dial.); Bel. *smaród*; Ukr. *smórid*, Gsg. *smórodu*

W Cz. *smrad*; Slk. *smrad*; Pl. *smród*, Gsg. *smrodu*

S SCr. *smrâd*, Gsg. *smrâda*; Čak. *smrâd* (Vrg.), Gsg. *smrâda*; *smrâd* (Novi); *smrâd* (Orb.) ‘dirt, dust’, Gsg. *smrâda*; Sln. *smrâd*, Gsg. *smrâda*, Gsg. *smradû*; Bulg. *smrad*

BSL. **smorǝdos*

B Lith. *smardas* (Bretk.) ‘odour, stench’; Latv. *smarǝds* ‘smell, odour’

PIE **smord-o-s*

The glottal stop originating from Winter’s law was eliminated as a result of Meillet’s law.

See also: *smǫrděti

***smǫjati** v. (c) ‘laugh’

CS OCS *smijati se*, 1sg. *směǝ se*

E Ru. *smeját’sja*, 1sg. *smejús’*, 3sg. *směitsja*

W Cz. *smáti se*; OCz. *smieti se*; Slk. *smiat’ sa*; Pl. *śmiać się*, 1sg. *śmieję się*

S SCr. *smijati se*, 1sg. *smijem se*; Čak. *smijãti se* (Vrg.), 2sg. *smijěš se*; *smijãt se* (Hvar), 1sg. *smijěñ se*; *smejãt se* (Orb.), 1sg. *smejĩn se*; Sln. *smějati se*, 1sg. *smějem se*, *smějám se*; *smějãti se*, 1sg. *smějem se*, *smějám se*, *smějĩm se*; Bulg. *sméja se*

BSL. **smiǝ-*

B Latv. *smiêt* ‘laugh at, mock’; *smiêtiês* ‘laugh’; *smãĩdĩt* ‘mock’ (alongside E. Latv. *smãĩdinãt*); *smĩdinãt* ‘make smb. laugh’ (alongside W. Latv. *smĩdinãt*)

PIE **sm(e)i-*

Cogn. Skt. *smáyate* (RV) ‘smile’

Here, too, the Balto-Slavic laryngeal seems to be an innovation.

See also: *směxъ

***smьrděti** v. (c) ‘stink’

- CS OCS *smьrděti*, 1sg. *smьrѣždъ*, 2sg. *smьrѣžiši*
 E Ru. *smerdet’*, 1sg. *smeržú*, 3sg. *smerdit*
 W Cz. *smrděti*; Slk. *smrdieť*; Pl. *śmierdzieć*
 S SCr. *smřdjeti*, 1sg. *smřdím*; Čak. *smrděti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *smrdiš*; *smřdět* (Orb.), 2sg. *smřdiš*; Sln. *smrděti*, 1sg. *smrdím*; Bulg. *smărdjă*
 BSL. **smirʔd-eʔ-*
 B Lith. *smirdėti*, 3pres. *smirdi*; Latv. *smirdēt*

See also: *smōrdъ

***sněgъ** m. o (c) ‘snow’

- CS OCS *sněgъ*
 E Ru. *sneg*, Gsg. *snéga*; Bel. *sneh*, Gsg. *snéhu*; Ukr. *snih*, Gsg. *snihu*; *snih* (dial.), Gsg. *snihá*
 W Cz. *sníh*, Gsg. *sněhu*; Slk. *sneh*; Pl. *śnieg*; Slnc. *snjég*, Gsg. *snjiegu*
 S SCr. *snijeg*, Gsg. *snijega*; Čak. *snig* (Vrg.), Gsg. *sniga*; *snig* (Novi); *sn'ěh* (Orb.), Gsg. *sněga*; Sln. *sněg*, Gsg. *sněga*, Gsg. *snegâ*; Bulg. *snjag*
 BSL. **snoigos*
 B Lith. *sniegas* 4 (AP 2 is attested in dialects); Latv. *sniegs*
 OPr. *snaygis*
 PIE **snoig^{wh}-o-*
 Cogn. Go. *snaiws* m.

***snuti** v. ‘warp’

- CS RuCS *snuti* ‘warp’, 1sg. *snovъ*
 E Ru. *snovát’* ‘warp, dash about’, 1sg. *snujú*, 3sg. *snuët*
 W Cz. *snouti* ‘warp, spin, (lit.) prepare, plan’, 1sg. *snuji*, (rarely) *snovu*; *snovati* ‘warp, spin, (lit.) prepare, plan’, 1sg. *snuji*, (rarely) *snovu*; Slk. *snovať* ‘wind’; Pl. *snuć* ‘warp, spin’
 S SCr. *snòvati* ‘warp’, 1sg. *snŭjēm*; Sln. *snováti* ‘warp’, 1sg. *snújem*; Bulg. *snová* ‘warp’
 BSL. **snouʔ-*
 B Latv. *snaujis* m.(io) ‘noose’
 PIE **sneuH-*
 Cogn. Go. *snīwan* ‘hurry’; OIc. *snúa* ‘wind, twist, warp’
 See also: *osnòvā

*sn̥xà f. ā (b/c) ‘daughter-in-law’

- CS SerbCS *sn̥xa* ‘daughter-in-law’
 E Ru. *snoxá* ‘(father’s) daughter-in-law’, Asg. *snoxú*; ORu. *sn̥xa* ‘daughter-in-law’
 W Cz. *snacha* ‘daughter-in-law’ {1}
 S SCr. *snàha* ‘daughter-in-law’; Čak. *snah̃ä* (Novi) ‘daughter-in-law’, Asg. *snah̃ü*; Kajk. *snīeh̃ò* (Bednja), Asg. *snīeho*, Asg. *snehoû*; Sln. *snáha* ‘daughter-in-law, bride’; *snéha* ‘daughter-in-law, bride’; Bulg. *snaxá* ‘daughter-in-law, sister-in-law’
 PIE **snus-ó-*
 Cogn. Skt. *snuṣā-* (AV+) f. ‘daughter-in-law’; Gk. *νυός* f. ‘daughter-in-law’; Lat. *nurus* f. ‘daughter-in-law’; OE *snoru* f. ‘daughter-in-law’

The form **snus-ó-* was replaced by **snus-eh₂-* in many languages.

{1} A borrowing from Serbo-Croatian. The original designations *synová* and *nevěsta* (cf. Slk. *nevesta*) still occur in dialects.

*sočiti v. ‘indicate, accuse’

- CS SerbCS *sočiti* ‘indicate’
 E Ru. *sočit’* (Dal’) ‘look for, track down, summon’, 1sg. *sočú*; ORu. *sočiti* ‘look for, search for, conduct an action (leg.)’
 W Pl. *soczyć* ‘slander, abuse’
 S SCr. *sòčiti* ‘establish the guilt of, reveal, find’; Bulg. *sočá* ‘show, indicate’
 BSL. **sok-*
 B Lith. *sakýti* ‘say’; Latv. *sacīt* ‘say’
 PIE **sok^w-eie-*
 Cogn. OIc. *segja* ‘say, announce’
 See also: *sokъ I

*soxà f. ā (c) ‘forked stick’

- E Ru. *soxá* ‘(wooden) plough’, Asg. *soxú*; *soxá* (dial.) ‘(wooden) plough’, Asg. *sóxu*; ORu. *soxá* ‘stake, club, brace, plough’
 W Cz. *socha* ‘statue, sculpture’; Slk. *socha* ‘column’; Pl. *socha* ‘two-pronged fork’
 S SCr. *sòha* ‘forked stick’, Asg. *sòhu*; Čak. *sohà* (Vrg.) ‘forked stick’, Asg. *sòhu*; Sln. *sóha* ‘pole, pole with a cross-beam’; Bulg. *soxá* ‘forked stick’
 BSL. **śokʔaʔ*
 B Lith. *šakà* ‘branch’; *šākė* 2 ‘fork, pitchfork, dungfork’; *šākės* Npl. 2 ‘fork, pitchfork, dungfork’
 PIE **ḱok-(e)h₂-*
 Cogn. Skt. *śākhā-* (RV+) f. ‘branch, twig’; Go. *hoha* f. ‘plough’

The **x* arose in case-forms where the suffix had zero grade, e.g. Gsg. **ḱok-h₂-os*.

***sokъ I** m. o ‘accuser’

- CS RuCS *sokъ* ‘accuser’
 E ORu. *sokъ* ‘accuser’
 W Cz. *sok* ‘rival, opponent’; OCz. *sok* ‘plaintiff’; Slk. *sok* ‘rival, opponent’
 S SCr. *sōk* ‘accuser, prosecutor, witness’
 PIE **sokʷ-o-*
 Cogn. Lat. *inquit* 3sg. ‘says’; OHG *sagen* ‘say’
 See also: *sočiti

***sōkъ II** m. o (c) ‘juice’

- CS OCS *sokomъ* (Supr.) Isg.
 E Ru. *sok*, Gsg. *sóka*; Ukr. *sik*, Gsg. *sóku*
 W Cz. *sok* (dial.); Pl. *sok*
 S SCr. *sōk*, Gsg. *sōka*; Sln. *sōk*, Gsg. *sōka*, Gsg. *sokâ*; Bulg. *sok*
 BSl. **sokos*
 B Lith. *sakaī* Npl. 4 ‘resin, tar’
 PIE **sokʷ-o-*

***sōldъkъ** adj. o (a) ‘sweet’

- CS OCS *sladъkъ*
 E Ru. *solódkij* (dial.)
 W Cz. *sladký*; Slk. *sladký*; Pl. *śłodki*; USrb. *ślódki*
 S SCr. *slàtkī*; *slàdak*, f. *slàtka*, f. *slàtka*; Čak. *slakī* (Vrg.); *slàk* (Vrg.), f. *slakâ*, n. *slàko*; *slàtki* (Orb.), f. *slàtka*; Sln. *sládək*, f. *sládka*; Bulg. *sládäk* ‘sweet, tasty’
 BSl. **solʔdus*
 B Lith. *saldūs* 3; Latv. *sal̃ds*

The root is an enlargement of **sh₂el-* ‘salt’ (→**sōlb*), cf. Go. *salt* n. ‘salt’.

***sòlma** f. ā (a) ‘straw’

- CS CS *slama*
 E Ru. *solóma*
 W Cz. *sláma*; Slk. *slama*; Pl. *śloma*; USrb. *śloma*
 S SCr. *slāma*; Čak. *slāma* (Vrg., Novi, Orb.); Sln. *sláma*; Bulg. *sláma*
 BSl. **sólʔm-*
 B Latv. *saļms* m.
 OPr. *salme*
 PIE **kolh₂-m-*
 Cogn. Gk. *καλάμη* f. ‘stubble’; Gk. *κάλαμος* m. ‘reed’; Lat. *culmus* m. ‘stubble, stem (of wheat)’; OHG *hal(a)m* m. ‘stalk’

*solnà f. ā (c?) ‘hoarfrost’

- CS OCS *slana* (Ps. Sin.); RuCS *slana*
 S SCr. *slána*, Asg. *slānu*; Čak. *slānà* (Vrg.) ‘dew’; Sln. *slána*; Bulg. *slaná*
 BSl. **solʔnàʔ*
 B Lith. *šalnà* 4 ‘light frost’; Latv. *salna* ‘id.’
 PIE **kolH-n-eh₂*
 Cogn. OIc. *hēla* f. ‘hoarfrost’

*solnъ adj. o (c) ‘salt(y), salted’

- CS OCS *slanъ* (Euch., Supr.)
 E Ru. *sólonyj* (dial.); Ukr. *solónyj*
 W Cz. *slaný*; Slk. *slaný*; Pl. *stony*
 S SCr. *slānī*; *slān*, f. *slána*; Čak. *slānī* (Vrg.); *slān* (Vrg.), f. *slānà*; Sln. *slān*, f. *slána*

See → **sōlb*.

*sōlpъ m. o (c) ‘rapid, waterfall’

- W Cz. *slap* ‘(usu. pl.) rapid, waterfall’
 S SCr. *slāp* ‘waterfall, stream, wave’, Gsg. *slāpa*; Sln. *slāp* ‘waterfall, stream, wave’, Gsg. *slāpa*, Gsg. *slapû*
 BSl. **solpos*
 B Lith. *salpas* 2/4 4 ‘river cove, creek, backwater’; *salpà* ‘flood-land, river cove, creek, backwater’

Other ablaut grades of this root occur in RuCS *vъslěpati* ‘flow’, *slъpati* ‘flow, spout’.

*solvъ adj. o

- CS CS *slavoočije* n.(io) ‘state of having green eyes, glaucitas’
 E Ru. *solóvyj* ‘light bay’; *solovój* ‘yellowish grey’
 PIE **sal-uo-* (*solH-uo-?*)
 Cogn. OIc. *sōlr* ‘dirty yellow’; OHG *salwo* ‘dirty yellow’, Gsg. *sal(a)wes*; MoE *sallow* ‘sickly yellow, pale brown’; MoDu. *zaluw* ‘yellowish’; OIr. *salach* ‘dirty’

I suspect that we are dealing with a root **sal-* with “European *a*”. According to Schrijver (1991: 212-213), ablaut **solH-* : **slH* is an alternative solution.

See also: **solvъjъ*; **sol(o)vikъ*

*solvъjъ; *sol(o)vikъ m. io; m. o ‘nightingale’

- CS RuCS *slavii*
 E Ru. *solověj*, Gsg. *solov’já*; ORu. *solovii*
 W Cz. *slavik*; Pl. *słowik*; USrb. *sylobik*; *sołobik*

S SCr. *slàvŭj*, Gsg. *slavúja*; *slavŭj*, Gsg. *slavŭjä*; Sln. *slávæc*, Gsg. *slávca*; Bulg. *slávej*

BSl. **sal(V)w-*

B OPr. *salowis* (EV)

See → **solvz*.

***soltina** f. ā ‘salt marsh’

CS OCS *slatina* ‘salt-marsh’

E Ru. *solotína* (dial.) ‘sticky liquid, stagnant marsh’

W Cz. *slatina* ‘marsh’; Slk. *slatina* ‘marsh’

S SCr. *slătina* ‘mineral spring’; Sln. *slătina* ‘carbonic water’

See → **sôlb*.

***sôlb** f. i (c) ‘salt’

CS OCS *solb*

E Ru. *sol’*

W Cz. *sůl*; Slk. *soľ*; Pl. *sól*, Gsg. *solí*; USrb. *sól*, Gsg. *sele*; *sel* (dial.)

S SCr. *sô*, Gsg. *sôli*; Čak. *sô* (Vrg.), Gsg. *sôli*; *sól* (Novi, Hvar), Gsg. *sôli*; *s“ôl* (Orb.), Gsg. *sôli*; Sln. *sôľ*, Gsg. *solí*; Bulg. *sol* f.(i)

BSl. **sal-*; **sâl-*

B Latv. *sâls* f.(i)

OPr. *sal*

PIE **sh₂el-*

Cogn. Gk. ἄλς m.; Lat. *sāl* m./n.; OHG *salz* n.; OIr. *salann* n.

According to Kortlandt (1985: 119), the root shape **sh₂el-* originates from the Asg. of a hysterodynamic paradigm. Latv. *sâls* is supposed to reflect a Nsg. **sēh₂l-s*.

See also: **sôldъкъ*; **solnъ*; **soltina*

***sômъ** m. o (b) ‘sheat-fish’

E Ru. *som*, Gsg. *somá*; *som* (dial.), Gsg. *sóma*; Ukr. *som*, Gsg. *sóma*

W Pl. *sum*; OPl. *som*

S SCr. *sôm*, Gsg. *sóma*; Sln. *sòm*, Gsg. *sóma*; Bulg. *som*

BSl. **śomum*

B Lith. *šāmas* 2/4; Latv. *sams*

The sometimes advocated connection with Gk. καμασίην m. ‘a fish’ seems a shot in the dark.

***sovà** f. ā (b) ‘owl’

E Ru. *sová*

W Cz. *sova*; *sůva* (dial.); Slk. *sova*; Pl. *sowa*

S ScR. *sóva; sǒva* (Vuk); Čak. *sovǎ* (Orb.), Asg. *sovǒ*; Sln. *sóva; sǒva*; Bulg. *sóva*
 I find it tempting to seek a connection with Lat. *cavannus* (a borrowing from Celtic),
 W *cuan*, Bret. *kaouenn, kaouann* ‘owl’. According to Schrijver (1995: 99, 335), the
 Celtic forms may reflect either Proto-Celtic **kouanno-* or **kuuanno-*, which renders
 the **a* of *cavannus* somewhat enigmatic. I provisionally reconstruct **kou-*.

***sovati** v. ‘shove’

- CS OCS *sovaatǔ* (Supr.) 3sg. ‘overflows’
 E Ru. *sovát’* ‘shove, thrust’, 1sg. *sujú*, 3sg. *suët*
 W Cz. *souvati* (obs.) ‘shove’ (still common in prefixed verbs); OCz. *suvati*
 ‘shove’, 1sg. *suju*; Pl. *suwać* ‘shove, slide’
 S Sln. *suváti* ‘thrust, knock’, 1sg. *súvem*, 1sg. *sújem*; *súvati* ‘thrust, knock’, 1sg.
súvam; *sováti* ‘thrust, knock’, 1sg. *sújem*
 BSl. **šouH-*
 B Lith. *šáuti* ‘shoot’; Latv. *šāūt* ‘shoot’; *saūt* (E. Latv.) ‘shoot’

Only Balto-Slavic. Transposed to PIE, the root is **keuH-* (thus LIV: 330).

See also: **sunǫti*

***sq-** pref. ‘together’

- CS OCS *sq-*
 E Ru. *su-*
 W Cz. *sou-*; Slk. *sú-*; Pl. *sq-*
 S Sln. *so-*; Bulg. *sǎ-*
 BSl. **som*
 B Lith. *sam-* (*san-*, *sq-*)
 OPr. *sen-* (*san-*)
 PIE **som*
 Cogn. Skt. *sám* (RV+) prvr̥b./prep. ‘together, at the same time’

A nominal prefix.

See also: **sʔ(n)*

***sqčiti** v. ‘dry up, dry out’

- CS CS *sqčiti* ‘dry up, dry out’

See → **sęknǫti*.

***sǫdi** m. ī (b) ‘judge’

- CS OCS *sǫdi* (Zogr., Mar., Cloz., Sav., Supr., Ps. Sin.); *sǫdii* (Zogr., Mar., Ass.,
 Supr.)
 E Ru. *sud’já* m.(iǎ); Ukr. *suddjá* m.(iǎ)
 W Pl. *sędzia* m.(jǎ)

S SCr. *sùdija* m.(iā); Sln. *sǫdij* m.(io); *sǫdja* m.(jā); Bulg. *sǎdijá* m.(iā)

PIE **som-d^hh₁-ih₁*

Forms such as Ru. *sud'já* reflect **sǫdbjà* < **sǫdbja*. The prefix **sǫ-* < **som-* was already in pretonic position before the operation of Dybo's law and is therefore reflected as a short vowel. The root is **d^hh₁*.

See also: *sǫditi*; *sǫdъ*

***sǫditi** v. (b) 'judge'

CS OCS *sǫditi*, 1sg. *sǫždǫ*

E Ru. *sudít'*, 1sg. *sužú*, 3sg. *súdit*

W Cz. *souditi*; OCz. *súditi*; Pl. *sǫdzić*; *sędzić* (obs.)

S SCr. *súditi*, 1sg. *súdim*; Čak. *sūditi* (Vrg.), 2sg. *sūdiš*; Sln. *sǫditi*, 1sg. *sǫdim*; Bulg. *sǎdja* 'judge'

See the previous lemma.

***sǫdorga**; ***sǫdorgъ**; ***sǫdъrga** f. ā 'fine hail'

S Sln. *sǫdraga* f. 'fine hail, frozen grains of snow'; *sǫdrag* m. 'fine hail, frozen grains of snow'; *sǫdrga* f. 'fine hail, frozen grains of snow'

BSl. **dorǫga?*

B Lith. *dargà* f. 4 'bad, rainy weather, (dial.) retting'; *dárgana* f. 1 'bad, rainy weather'

See also: **padorga*

***sǫdъ** m. o (b) 'court of law, trial, verdict, judgment'

CS OCS *sǫdъ* 'court of law, trial, verdict, judgment'

E Ru. *sud* 'court of law, trial', Gsg. *sudá*

W Cz. *soud* 'court of law, trial, verdict, judgment'; Slk. *súd* 'court of law, trial, verdict, judgment'; Pl. *sąd* 'court of law, trial, verdict, judgment', Gsg. *sądu*; Slnc. *sōyd* 'court of law, trial', Gsg. *sōydu*

S SCr. *súd* 'court of law, trial, judgment, opinion', Gsg. *súda*; Čak. *sūd* (Vrg.) 'court of law, trial', Gsg. *sūdā*; *sūt* (Orb.) 'court of law'; Sln. *sǫd* 'verdict, court of law'; Bulg. *sǎd* 'court of law'

See → *sǫdì*.

***sǫkъ** m. o (c) 'bough, knot (in wood), splinter'

CS OCS *sǫkъ* (Sav.) 'splinter'

E Ru. *suk* 'bough, knot (in wood)', Gsg. *suká*; *suk* (arch.) 'bough, knot (in wood)', Gsg. *súka*; Bel. *suk* 'bough, knot (in wood)', Gsg. *suká*; *suk* 'bough, knot (in wood)', Gsg. *súka*; Ukr. *suk* 'knot (in wood)', Gsg. *suká*

- W Cz. *suk* 'knot (in wood)'; Slk. *suk* 'knot (in wood)'; Pl. *sęk* 'knot (in wood)'; Slnc. *sąk* 'knot (in wood)'
- S SCr. Kajk. *souk* (Bednja) 'knot (in wood)'; Gsg. *souka*; Sln. *sōk* 'twig, knot (in wood)'
- BSL. **sonk-*
- B Lith. *atšankė* f.(ē) 3^b 'barb, funnel-shaped part of a fishing-net, branch, bough'
- PIE **konk-u-s*
- Cogn. Skt. *śankú-* (AV+) m. 'peg, wooden nail'; OIc. *hár* m. 'thole pin'

*spěxъ m. o (c) 'haste'

- CS OCS *spěxъ* (Supr., Euch.) 'diligence, aspiration'
- E Ru. *spex* (coll.) 'haste'
- W Cz. *spěch* 'haste'; USrb. *spěch* 'haste'
- S Sln. *spěh* 'haste'; Gsg. *spěha*, Gsg. *spěhū*
- B Lith. *spėkas* 2/4 'power'; Latv. *spēks* 'power'
- Derivative in *-xъ of → *spěti, cf. OE *spōd* m. 'haste'.

*spěšiti v. 'hurry'

- CS OCS *spěšiti* 'strive, hurry'
- E Ru. *spešit'* 'hurry', 1sg. *spešú*, 3sg. *spešit*
- W Cz. *spíšiti* (obs.) 'hurry'; *spěšiti* (obs.) 'hurry'; OCz. *spěšiti* 'hurry'; Pl. *spieszyc* 'hurry'
- S Sln. *spěšiti* 'hurry, rush', 1sg. *spěšim*
- Derivative of → *spěxъ.

*spěti v. (a) 'advance, ripen, hurry'

- CS OCS *spěti* 'advance', 1sg. *spějō*
- E Ru. *spet'* 'ripen', 1sg. *spěju*
- W Cz. *spěti* 'hurry'; Slk. *spiet'* 'approach'
- S SCr. *dōspjeti* 'ripen, manage, succeed'; Sln. *spěti* 'hurry, increase, ripen', 1sg. *spějem*, 1sg. *spěm*
- BSL. **spéř-*
- B Lith. *spėti* 'be in time, guess'; Latv. *spēt* 'be able'
- PIE **speh₁-*
- Cogn. Skt. *sphirá-* (RV) adj. 'fat'; OE *spōwan* 'prosper, succeed'
- See also: *spěxъ; *spěšiti

*stādo n. o (a) 'herd, flock'

- CS OCS *stado*
- E Ru. *stádo*

- W Cz. *stádo*; Slk. *stádo*; Pl. *stado*
 S SCr. *stādo*; *stādo*; Čak. *stādo* (Vrg.); Bulg. *stādo*
 PIE **steh₂-dʰo-m*
 Cogn. OIc. *stóð* n. ‘stud-farm, herd’; OE *stōd* f. ‘stud-farm, herd’; OHG *stuot* f. ‘stud-farm, herd’

For the root, see → *stāti.

***stān̥ m.** o (c)

- CS OCS *stanō* (Ps. Sin., En.) ‘camp’
 E Ru. *stan* ‘figure, torso, camp’
 W Cz. *stan* ‘tent’; Slk. *stan* ‘tent’; Pl. *stan* ‘state, condition’
 S SCr. *stān* ‘habitation, loom, (mil.) headquarters’; Sln. *stān* ‘building, habitation, enclosure’, Gsg. *stāna*, Gsg. *stanū*; Bulg. *stan* ‘loom, camp’
 BSL. **staŋnos*
 B Lith. *stōnas* ‘state, condition’
 PIE **steh₂-no-m*
 Cogn. Skt. *sthāna-* n. ‘abode, place’
 See also: *stādo; *stati; *staviti; *stojati

***stār̥ adj.** o (a) ‘old’

- CS OCS *starō* ‘old’
 E Ru. *stáryj* ‘old’; *star* ‘old’, f. *stará*, n. *staró* {1}
 W Cz. *stary* ‘old’; Slk. *stary* ‘old’; Pl. *stary* ‘old’
 S SCr. *stārī* ‘old’; *stār* ‘old’; Čak. *stārī* (Vrg.) ‘old’; *stār* (Vrg.) ‘old’, f. *starà*, n. *stàro*; *stōr* (Hvar) ‘old’, f. *stārà*, f. *stāra*; *stār* (Orb.) ‘old’, f. *stāra*, n. *stàro*; Sln. *stār* ‘old’, f. *stāra*; Bulg. *star* ‘old’
 BSL. **staŋros*
 B Lith. *stóras* 3 ‘thick, fat’
 PIE **steh₂-ro-*
 Cogn. OIc. *stórr* ‘big’
 {1} AP (a) in Zaliznjak (1985: 133).

***stāti v.** (a) ‘stand, become’

- CS OCS *stati* ‘stand, become’, 1sg. *stanŋ*
 E Ru. *stat* ‘stand, begin, become’, 1sg. *stānu*, 3sg. *stānet*
 W Cz. *stāti se* ‘happen, become’; Slk. *stat sa* ‘happen, become’; Pl. *stać się* ‘happen, become’, 1sg. *stanę się*
 S SCr. *stāti* ‘stand’, 1sg. *stānem*; Čak. *stāt* (Orb.) ‘stand, stay, halt, stop (intr.)’, 2sg. *stāneš*; Sln. *stāti* ‘stand, step, cost’, 1sg. *stānem*; Bulg. *stāna* ‘stand up, become, happen’
 BSL. **staŋ-*

B Lith. *stóti* ‘stand’; Latv. *stāt* ‘stand, stop, begin’
OPr. *postāt* ‘become’

PIE **steh*₂-

Cogn. Skt. *tíṣṭhati* ‘stand’; Gk. ἵστημι ‘place’; Lat. *stāre* ‘stand’

See also: *stādo; *stānъ; *staviti; *stojati; *stòlъ

***stāviti** v. (a) ‘place, put’

CS OCS *staviti* ‘place, put’, 1sg. *stavljō*

E Ru. *stávit* ‘place, put’, 1sg. *stávlju*, 3sg. *stávit*

W Cz. *staviti* ‘stop, halt, (obs.) prevent’; Slk. *staviť sa* ‘bet’; Pl. *stawić* ‘place, put’

S SCr. *stāviti* ‘place, put’, 1sg. *stāvīm*; Čak. *stāvit* (Orb.) ‘put, put on (clothes), place’, 2sg. *stāviš*; Sln. *stāviti* ‘place, put’, 1sg. *stāvīm*

BSl. **stāw*-

B Lith. *stovėti* ‘stand’; Latv. *stāvēt* ‘stand’

PIE **sth*₂-ēu-

Cogn. OE *stōwian* ‘keep from’

The acute must originate from forms with **ste/oh*₂- (Kortlandt 1989: 111). For the root, see → **stāti*.

***stegnò** n. o (b) ‘thigh’

ESSJa I 175-176, 179-180

CS OCS *stegno* (Supr.) ‘thigh’

E Ru. *stegnó* (obs., dial.) ‘thigh’

W Cz. *stehno* ‘thigh’; Slk. *stehno* ‘thigh’; Pl. *ścięgno* ‘tendon’

S SCr. *stegnò* ‘thigh’, Npl. *stègna*; Čak. *stegnò* (Vrg.) ‘thigh’, Npl. *stegnà*; *stegnò* (Novi) ‘thigh’, Npl. *stègna*; Sln. *stégnò* ‘thigh’

If we keep in mind that → **bedrò* may contain the root **b^hed^h*- ‘stab’ of → **bostì*, it does not seem far-fetched that **stegno* ‘thigh’ < **steg^h-nó-m* derives from a root meaning ‘stab’ as well, cf. Ru. *stegát* ‘quilt’, Oic. *stinga* ‘stab, thrust’.

***stenàti** v. ‘groan, moan’

CS OCS *stenati* (Supr.) ‘groan, moan’, 1sg. *stenjō*

E Ru. *stenát*’ (obs.) ‘groan, moan’, 1sg. *stenáju*

W Cz. *sténati* ‘groan, moan’; Slk. *stenat’* ‘groan, moan’

S SCr. *stènjati* ‘groan, moan’, 1sg. *stènjēm*; Čak. *stenjāti* (Vrg.) ‘groan, moan’, 2sg. *stènješ*; Sln. *stenjāti* ‘groan, moan’, 1sg. *stenjām*; Bulg. *sténa* ‘groan, moan’

BSl. **sten*-

B Lith. *stenėti* ‘groan, moan’

PIE **sten*-

Cogn. Gk. στένω ‘sigh, moan, bewail’; OE *stenan* ‘groan’

See also: *stónъ

***stergti** v. (c) ‘guard’

- CS OCS *strěšti*, 1sg. *strěgo*
 E Ru. *sterěč’*, 1sg. *steregú*, 3sg. *sterežët*
 W Cz. *střící*, 1sg. *střehu*; OCz. *střieci*, 1sg. *střěhu*; Pl. *strzec* ‘guard’, 1sg. *strzegę*
 S Sln. *strěči*, 1sg. *strěžem*
 BSl. **sterǵ-*
 B Lith. *sérgėti*, 3pres. *sérgi*, 3pret. *sérgėjo*
 PIE **sterg-*
 Cogn. Gk. *στέργω* ‘love, be content’

See also: *stôrzь

***stěnb** m. i / f. i (a) ‘shadow’

- CS OCS *stěnb* (Cloz., Supr.) m.(i) ‘shadow’
 E Ru. *sten’* (dial.) f.(i) ‘shadow’; *stin’* (dial.) f.(i) ‘shadow’; ORu. *stěnb* f.(i) ‘shadow, vision’
 W Cz. *stín* m.(o) ‘shadow’
 S Sln. *stěnj* m.(o) ‘wick’; *stěnj* m.(jo) ‘wick’

See → *sěnb. The anlaut may be explained by assuming contamination with → *těnb.

***stignoti** v. (a) ‘attain, reach, catch up with’

- CS OCS *postignoti* ‘attain, catch up with, grasp’
 E Ru. *postígnut’* ‘grasp, overtake’
 W Cz. *stihnouti* ‘catch up with, overtake’; Slk. *stihnút’* ‘catch up with, overtake’; Pl. *ścignąć* ‘chase’
 S SCr. *stignuti* ‘catch up with, reach, arrive’, 1sg. *stignēm*; Sln. *stigniti* ‘reach for, reach, arrive’, 1sg. *stignem*; Bulg. *stigna* ‘catch up with, reach, extend’
 PIE **steigh-*
 Cogn. Gk. *στείχω* ‘walk, march’; Go. *steigan* ‘climb’

See → *stigti.

***stigti** v. ‘attain, reach, catch up with’

- E Ru. *postíč’* ‘grasp, overtake’
 S SCr. *stíci* ‘catch up with, reach, arrive’, 1sg. *stignēm*
 BSl. **steig-*
 B Lith. *steigti* ‘organize, (Žem.) want, hurry’; Latv. *stèigt(iēs)* ‘hurry’
 PIE **steigh-*
 Cogn. Gk. *στείχω* ‘walk, march’; Go. *steigan* ‘climb’

See also: *stignoti; *stьdzà; *stьgna

***stogъ** m. o (b/c) 'stack, rick'

- CS OCS *stogъ* (SPbOkt.) 'haystack, rick'
 E Ru. *stog* 'haystack, rick', Gsg. *stóga*; *stog* (dial.) 'haystack, rick', Gsg. *stogá*; Bel. *stoh* 'haystack, rick', Gsg. *stóha*; Ukr. *stih* 'haystack, rick', Gsg. *stóhu*; *stih* (dial.) 'haystack, rick', Gsg. *stohá*
 W Cz. *stoh* 'stack, rick'; Slk. *stoh* 'stack, rick'; Pl. *stóg* 'stack, rick', Gsg. *stoga*
 S SCr. *stôg* (Vuk) 'haystack, pile', Gsg. *stòga*; *stôg* (Piva, Pocerje) 'haystack, pile', Gsg. *stòga*; Sln. *stòg* 'stack, rick, barn', Gsg. *stóga*
- BSl. **stag-*
 B Lith. *stāgaras* 3^b '(dry) stalk, switch'
 PIE **stogh^h-o-*
 Cogn. Gk. στόχος m. 'brick pillar'; OE *staca* m. 'stake'

***stojati** v. (c) 'stand'

- CS OCS *stojati*, 1sg. *stojŭ*
 E Ru. *stoját* 'stand, begin, become', 1sg. *stojú*, 3sg. *stoít*
 W Cz. *státi*, 1sg. *stojím*; Slk. *stát*, 1sg. *stojím*; Pl. *stać*, 1sg. *stoję*
 S SCr. *stájati*, 1sg. *stòjīm*; Čak. *stāti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *stojīš*; *stāt* (Orb.), 1sg. *stojīm*; Sln. *státi*, 1sg. *stojím*; Bulg. *stojá*
- PIE **stoh₂-*
 Cogn. Skt. *tīṣṭhati*; Gk. ἵστημι 'place'; Lat. *stāre*

For the formation, see Kortlandt 1989.

See also: *stādo; *stānъ; *stati; *staviti

***stōlъ** m. o (b) 'table'

- CS OCS *stol* 'throne'
 E Ru. *stol*, Gsg. *stolá*; Bel. *stol*, Gsg. *stalá*; Ukr. *stil*, Gsg. *stólu*
 W Cz. *stůl*; Slk. *stól*; Pl. *stół*, Gsg. *stołu*
 S SCr. *stō*, Gsg. *stòla*; Čak. *stō* (Vrg.), Gsg. *stolä*; *st^uōl* (Orb.), Gsg. *stolä*; Sln. *stòl* 'chair, table', Gsg. *stóla*; Bulg. *stol* 'chair'

- BSl. **stolos*
 B Lith. *stālas*
 OPr. *stalis* (EV); *stallan* (Ench.) Asg.

Cogn. Go. *stols* m. 'throne' (<*steh₂-lo-)

Derivative in *-lo- of the stem of → *stojati.

***stonъ** m. o 'moan, groan'

- E Ru. *ston*
 W Cz. *ston*; Slk. *ston*
 S Bulg. *ston*

PIE *ston-o-

Cogn. Gk. στόνος m. 'sighing, moaning'

See also: *stenàti

***stornà** f. ā (c) 'side, land'

CS OCS *strana* 'side, land, people'

E Ru. *storoná* 'side, land', Asg. *stóronu*

W Cz. *strana* 'side, page'; Slk. *strana* 'side, page'; Pl. *strona* 'side, page, region'; USrb. *strona* 'side'

S SCr. *strána* 'side', Asg. *strānu*; Sln. *strân* f.(i) 'side, area, land', Gsg. *stranî*; *strána* f.(ā) 'side, area, land'; Bulg. *straná* 'side, land'

Derivative of the root *sterh₃-, cf. Skt. *stṛṇāti* 'strew, spread', Gk. στόρνυμι 'strew, spread'.

See also: *prosterti

***stǫržь** m. jo (c) 'guard'

CS OCS *stražь* 'guard'

E Ru. *stórož* 'guard'

W Pl. *stróz* 'guard', Gsg. *stróža*

S Bulg. *straž* 'watchman, guard'

BSL. *storž-

B Lith. *sárgas* m. 'watchman, guard'; Latv. *saŕgs* m. 'watchman, guard'

See → *stergti.

***strigti** v. (c) 'cut, slip'

CS OCS *strišti* (Euch., Supr.), 1sg. *strigo*

E Ru. *strič*', 1sg. *strigú*, 3sg. *strižët*

W OCz. *střici*, 1sg. *střihu*; Pl. *strzyc*, 1sg. *strzygę*

S SCr. *strići*, 1sg. *strižëm*; Čak. *strići* (Vrg.), 2sg. *strižëš*; Sln. *strići*, 1sg. *strižem*; Bulg. *striža*

PIE *streig-

Cogn. Lat. *stringere* 'skim, scratch'; OE *strīcan* 'brush (past), rub, wander'

***strǫkъ** m. o 'pod'

E Ru. *struk*, Gsg. *struká*; Bel. *struk*, Gsg. *struká*; Ukr. *struk*, Gsg. *struká*

W Cz. *struk*; Slk. *struk*; Pl. *strąk*, Gsg. *strąka*

S SCr. *strúk* 'stem, Gsg. stalk', *strúka*; Sln. *stròk* 'pod, shoot, corn cob, clove of garlic', Gsg. *stróka*; Bulg. *strāk* 'stem, stalk, twig'

PIE *stronk-o-

Cogn. Lat. *truncus* m. 'tree-trunk'

***strujà** f. jā 'stream'

- CS OCS *struja* (Supr.)
 E Ru. *strujá* 'stream, jet'
 S SCr. *strúja* 'stream, current'; Sln. *strúja* 'arm of a river, canal, stream, current'; Bulg. *strúja* 'stream, jet'
 BSl. **srouja?*
 B Lith. *sraujà*; Latv. *strauja*

The root is the o-grade of **srou-* 'flow', cf. Gk. *ῥόος* m. 'stream', OIc. *straumr* m. 'id.'

See also: **ostrovъ*

***strúpъ** m. o (c) 'scab'

- CS OCS *strupō* 'wound'
 E Ru. *strup* 'scab', Gsg. *strúpa*; Bel. *strup* 'scab', Gsg. *strúpa*; Ukr. *strup* 'scab', Gsg. *strúpa*
 W Cz. *strup* 'scab'; Pl. *strup* 'scab, crust'; Slnc. *strāp* 'scab'
 S SCr. *strúp* 'scab', Gsg. *strúpa*; Sln. *strúp* 'poison'
 BSl. **(s)roupos*
 B Lith. *raupaī* Npl. m. 4 'smallpox'; Latv. *raupa* f. 'goose bumps'
 PIE **(s)roup-o-*

***strъjъ; *stryjъ; *stryсь** m. jo 'uncle'

- CS SerbCS *strōi* 'uncle'
 E Ru. *stroj* '(arch.?) father's brother, (dial.) cripple, beggar'; ORu. *strōi* 'uncle'; *stryi* 'uncle'; Bel. *stryj* 'uncle', Gsg. *strýja*; Ukr. *stryj* 'uncle', Gsg. *strýja*
 W Cz. *strýc* 'uncle, cousin'; Slk. *strýc* 'uncle'; Pl. *stryj* 'uncle', Gsg. *stryja*
 S SCr. *strīc* 'uncle (father's brother)', Gsg. *stríca*; Čak. *strīc* (Vrg.) 'uncle (father's brother)', Gsg. *strīcā*; Sln. *stríc* 'uncle (father's brother)'
 BSl. **strujos*
 B Lith. *strūjus* m. (ju) 'uncle, old man' (the existence of a variant *strūjus* is uncertain)
 PIE **stru-io-*
 Cogn. OIr. *sruith* adj. 'old, venerable'; OW *strutiu* m. 'old man'

The hypothesis that these words have **str-* < **ptr-* < **ph₂tr-* is unwarranted (Kortlandt 1982: 26).

***strъžъ; *strъža** m. jo; f. jā 'core, deepest spot of a river'

- E Ru. *strež* (dial.) 'centre and deepest spot of a river, strong current'; *strežá* (dial.) 'id.'
 W OCz. *strziess* 'charybdis'
 S SCr. *střž* 'core'; Sln. *střž* 'core'

See → *strъžbnъ, *strъženъ.

***strъžьnbъ; *strъženъ** m. jo ‘core’

CS	CS <i>strъžbnъ</i> ‘core’; RuCS <i>strъžbnъ</i> ‘core’
E	Ru. <i>strъžen’</i> ‘channel, main stream (of a river)’; <i>stéržen’</i> ‘pivot, core’; Bel. <i>strýžeň</i> ‘core of an abscess’; Ukr. <i>strýžen’</i> ‘core of a tree’
W	Cz. <i>stržeň</i> ‘core of an abscess’; Slk. <i>stržeň</i> ‘core of a tree, honeycomb’
S	Sln. <i>stržēn</i> ‘core of a tree or an abscess, current, path through a valley’
BSl.	* <i>strigen-</i>
B	OPr. <i>strigeno</i> ‘brain’

Since Winter’s law apparently did not affect this etymon, we must reconstruct **strigh^h-*. Sw. *streke* ‘main stream (of a river)’ seemingly points to **strig-*, but perhaps the **k* arose from Kluge’s law.

See also: *strъžь; *strъža

***studènъ** adj. o ‘cold’

CS	OCS <i>studenъ</i>
E	Ru. <i>studěnyj</i> ‘very cold, freezing’
W	Cz. <i>studený</i> ; Slk. <i>studený</i>
S	SCr. <i>stùden</i> (Vuk), f. <i>studèna</i> ; Čak. <i>studēn</i> (Vrg.), f. <i>studená</i> , n. <i>studenò</i> ; Sln. <i>studèn</i> , f. <i>studéna</i> ; Bulg. <i>studén</i>

Adjective in *-enъ*. See → *stûdъ.

***studiti** v. ‘cool’

E	Ru. <i>studít</i> ‘cool’, 1sg. <i>stužú</i> , 3sg. <i>stúdit</i> {1}
W	Cz. <i>studiti</i> ‘cool’; Slk. <i>studít</i> ‘cool’; Pl. <i>studzić</i> ‘cool’
S	SCr. <i>stúdit</i> (Vuk; W) ‘be cold’, 3sg. <i>stúdi</i> ; Sln. <i>stúdit</i> ‘treat with aversion’, 1sg. <i>stúdim</i>

See → *stûdъ.

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 140).

***stûdъ** m. o (c) ‘cold, shame’

CS	OCS <i>studъ</i> ‘shame’
E	Ru. <i>stud’</i> (NO dial.) f.(i) ‘cold’; <i>stúda</i> (Arx.) f.(ā) ‘cold’
W	Cz. <i>stud</i> ‘shame’
S	SCr. <i>stûd</i> f. ‘cold’; Sln. <i>stûd</i> ‘aversion’; Bulg. <i>stud</i> ‘cold’

In view of → **stydъ*, where **y* probably originates from Winter’s law, the root of **stydъ* is best reconstructed as **stoud-*. This is reminiscent of the more common root **steug-*, e.g. Gk. *στυγέω* ‘hate, abhor, fear’, Gk. *στύξ* f., ‘Styx, well of fatal coldness, hatred, abhorrence, (pl.) piercing chill’, Gsg. *στυγός*. A relationship is hard to demonstrate.

See also: *studenǝ; *studiti; *stydnoṭi; *styǝǝ; *stygnṭi

***stǝblò** n. o (b) ‘stem, stalk, trunk’

CS SerbCS *stǝblo* ‘stem, stalk’

E Ru. *stǝbló* (dial.) ‘stem, stalk’; ORu. *stǝblo* ‘stem, stalk’

W Cz. *stǝblo* ‘stalk, straw’; *zǝblo* (dial.) ‘stalk, straw’; OCz. *stǝblo* ‘stalk, straw’; Slk. *stǝblo* ‘stalk, straw’; Pl. *ǝǝzǝblo* ‘stalk, straw’; OPl. *ǝǝblo* ‘stalk, straw’; *ǝǝieblo* (Ps. Flor.) ‘stalk, straw’

S SCr. *stǝblo* ‘tree, tree trunk’; Čak. *stǝblò* (Vrg.) ‘tree, tree trunk’; *stǝblò* (Orb.) ‘tree, tree trunk’; Sln. *stǝblò* ‘stem, stalk, trunk’; *stǝblò* ‘stem, stalk, trunk’; Bulg. *stǝbló* ‘stem, stalk’

BSl. **stǝb-*

B Lith. *stǝbýna* f. 3 ‘shin, calf’; *stǝebas* m. 3 ‘stem, stalk, mast’; Latv. *stǝba* f. ‘staff, rod’

No certain etymology.

See also: *stǝblǝ

***stǝblǝ** m. jo ‘stem, stalk, trunk’

CS SerbCS *stǝblǝ* ‘stem, stalk’ (OCS *stǝblǝje* n. (Ps. Sin.) ‘straw’)

E Ru. *stǝbel’* ‘stem, stalk’; Gsg. *stǝblǝja*; ORu. *stǝblǝ* ‘stem, stalk’

S Sln. *stǝbǝl’* m.(o) ‘stem, stalk, trunk’

See → **stǝblo*.

***stǝdzǝ** f. jǝ ‘path’

CS OCS *stǝdzǝ* ‘path, street’; *stǝzǝ* ‘path, street’

E Ru. *stǝzǝjǝ* (rhet.) ‘path, way’; *stǝgǝ* (dial.) ‘path’

W Cz. *stǝzǝka* ‘path’; *stǝzǝka* ‘path’; *stǝz* (poet.) f.(i) ‘path’; OCz. *stǝzǝ* ‘path’; Pl. *ǝǝieǝka* ‘path’; OPl. *ǝǝdzǝ* (Ps. Flor.) ‘path’

S SCr. *stǝzǝ* ‘path, trail’; Čak. *stǝzǝ* (Vrg.) ‘path, trail’; *stǝzǝ* (Novi) ‘path, trail’; Asg. *stǝzǝ*, Asg. *stǝzǝ*; *stǝzǝ*, (rarely) *stǝzǝ* (Orb.) ‘path, trail, wooden board, used as a ruler when making barrels, etc.’; Sln. *stǝzǝ* ‘foot-path’

BSl. **stǝgǝ*

B Latv. *stǝgǝ* ‘path’

PIE **stǝgʰ-eh₂*

Cogn. OHG *stǝg* m. ‘path, small bridge’

See also: *stǝgnṭi; *stǝgti; *stǝgnǝ

***stǝgna** f. ǝ ‘path’

CS OCS *stǝgna* ‘street, (pl.) square’

E Ru. *stǝgna* (arch.) ‘street, square’

W Pl. *ǝǝiegnǝ* ‘pasture’; OPl. *ǝǝiegnǝ* ‘crossroads’

S Sln. *stəgnè* Npl. ‘path along which cattle is driven’, Gpl. *stəgàn*

Cogn. OHG *steg* m. ‘path, small bridge’

Derivative in *-*na*. See → **stbdzà*.

***st̥lati** v. (b) ‘spread’

CS OCS *st̥lati* (Supr.) ‘spread’, 1sg. *steljǫ*

E Ru. *stlat* ‘spread’, 1sg. *steljú*, 3sg. *stélet*

W Cz. *stláti* ‘make one’s bed’; OCz. *stláti* ‘make one’s bed’, 1sg. *stelu*

S Sln. *stláti* ‘strew’, 1sg. *stéljem*; Bulg. *stélja* ‘cover, spread’

B OPr. *stallit* ‘stand’

PIE **stel-/stl-*

Cogn. Gk. στέλλω ‘prepare, equip, array, send’; OHG *stellen* ‘array, establish, arrange’

***st̥dn̥oti** v. ‘cool’

E Ru. *stýnut* ‘cool, get cool’; *stýgnut* (dial.) ‘cool, get cool’; Bel. *stýgnuć* ‘cool, get cool’

W Cz. *stýdnouti* ‘cool down’; Slk. *stýdnút* ‘cool down’; Pl. *stygnać* ‘cool down’; OPl. *stýdnąć* ‘cool down’

See → **stúd̥b̥*.

***styd̥b̥** m. o ‘shame’

E Ru. *styd*, Gsg. *stydá*

W Pl. *wstyd*

S SCr. *stid̥*, Gsg. *stida*, Lsg. *stídu*; Čak. *stid̥* (Vrg.), Gsg. *stida*; Sln. *stid̥*

See → **stúd̥b̥*.

***sũxъ** adj. o (c) ‘dry’

CS OCS *suxъ*

E Ru. *suxój*

W Cz. *suchý*; Slk. *suchý*; Pl. *suchy*

S SCr. *sũh*; Čak. *sũh* (Vrg., Hvar), f. *sũhã*, n. *sũho*; *sũh* (Orb.), f. *sũhã*, f. *sũha*, n. *sũho*; Sln. *sũh*, Gsg. *sũha*; Bulg. *sux*

BSl. **soušos*

B Lith. *saūsas*; Latv. *sàuss*

OPr. *sausā* [*sausan*] Asg. f.

PIE **h₂sous-o-*

Cogn. Skt. *śúṣka-* (RV+) ‘dry, barren’; Gk. αῤος (Hom.) ‘dry’; OE *sēar* ‘dry’

Probably based on the perfect participle of the root **h₂s* (Lubotsky 1985), **h₂s-us-*. The *o*-grade must be secondary.

See also: *sušiti; *сѣхнѣти

***суѣ** adj. jo 'vain'

- CS OCS *suěa* (Ps. Sin.) Apl. n. 'vanities'
 E Ru. *súe* (eccl.) adv. 'in vain, idly'; ORu. *sui* 'empty, vain'
 PIE **ḱouH-io-*
 Cogn. Skt. *śūyá-* 'empty'

See also: *вѣсује

***sunѣти** v. 'shove, thrust'

- CS CS *sunѣti* 'pour out'
 E Ru. *súnut* 'shove, thrust', 1sg. *súnu*; ORu. *sunuti* 'throw'
 W Cz. *sunouti* 'shove'; Pl. *sunąc* 'shove, slide'
 S SCr. *súnuti* 'pour, strew', 1sg. *súnēm*; Sl. *súniti* 'thrust, knock', 1sg. *súnem*

See →*sovati.

***surovъ; *syrovъ** adj. o 'raw, severe, cruel'

- CS OCS *surovъ* (Supr.) 'severe'
 E Ru. *suróvyj* 'severe, stern, unbleached' {1}; *suvóryj* (dial.) 'severe, stern, peevish, angry'; ORu. *surovъ* 'raw, uncooked, cruel'
 W Cz. *surový* 'severe, cruel'; Slk. *surový* 'severe, cruel'; Pl. *surowy* 'severe'
 S SCr. *sřrov* 'raw, fresh', f. *sřrova*, n. *sřrovo*; Čak. *sřrov* (Vrg.) 'raw, fresh'; *sřrof* (Orb.) 'raw, fresh', f. *sřrova*, n. *sřrovo*; Sl. *surôv* 'raw, fresh'; *sirôv* 'raw, fresh', f. *sirôva*; Bulg. *surón* 'raw, rough'

- PIE **souH-ro-*
 Cogn. OIc. *saurr* m. 'damp earth, filth'
 {1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 138).

See also: *сѣгъ; *сыгъ

***sušiti** v. (c) 'dry'

- CS OCS *sušiti* (Euch., KF, Supr.) 'dry, exhaust'
 E Ru. *sušít*, 1sg. *sušú*, 3sg. *súšit*
 W Cz. *sušiti*; Slk. *sušit*; Pl. *suszyć*
 S SCr. *súšiti*, 1sg. *súšim*; Čak. *súšit* (Orb.), 3sg. *súši*; Sl. *sušiti*, 1sg. *sušim*; Bulg. *sušá*

- BSl. **souš-ei/i-*
 B Lith. *saūsinti*

LIV (285) equals **sušiti* with Skt. *śoṣáyati* (AV) 'let dry' < **h₂sous-eie-*, but it may be better to see them as independent formations.

See also: *сѣхъ; *сѣхнѣти

***suti** v. ‘pour, strew’

- W Cz. *souti* (obs.) ‘pour, strew’; Pl. *suć* (obs.) ‘pour, strew’
 S SCr. *sàsūti* ‘pour, strew’, 1sg. *sàspēm*; Sln. *súti* ‘pour, strew’, 1sg. *spēm*, *sūjem*
 B Lith. *sùpti* ‘rock, cradle’

For the root **soup-*, cf. Lat. *supāre* ‘throw’; Lat. *dissipāre* ‘scatter’

See also: **svepiti*; **сѣрѣ*; **sypati*

***svekrǫ** m. o ‘father-in-law (husband’s father)’

- CS CS *svekrǫ*
 E Ru. *svěkor*; ORu. *svekrǫ*
 W Cz. *svekr*; Slk. *svokor*; Pl. *świekr*
 S SCr. *svěkar* (Vuk), Gsg. *svěkra*; Čak. *s(v)ěkar* (Vrg.), *s(v)ěkra*; *svěkrf*, Gsg. *svekrǫ*; Sln. *svěkar*, Gsg. *svěkra*; Bulg. *svěkār*
 BSL. **swešuros*
 B Lith. *šėšuras* 3^b
 PIE **sueḱur-o-*
 Cogn. Skt. *śváśura-* (RV+) m.; Gk. *έκυρός* m.; Lat. *socer* m.; OHG *swehur* m.

In Slavic, **swešur-* was replaced by **svekr* < **sweḱr-* on the analogy of → **svekry*.

***svekry** f. ū ‘mother-in-law (husband’s mother)’

- CS OCS *svekry* (Mar., Zogr.) f.(ū), Gsg. *svekrǫve*
 E Ru. *svekrón’* f.(i); *svekrý* (dial.) f.(ū); ORu. *svekry* f.(ū)
 W OCz. *svekrev* f.(i)
 S SCr. *svěkrva* f.(ā); Čak. *sěkrva* (Vrg.) f.(ā); *svekrvǫ* (Novi) f.(ā), Asg. *svekrvǫ*; *svěkrva* (Orb.) f.(ā), Asg. *svěkrvo*; Sln. *svěkrva* f.(ā); *svěkrv* f.(i); Bulg. *svekářva* f.(ā)
 PIE **sueḱr-uH*
 Cogn. Skt. *śvaśrū-* (RV+) f. ‘mother-in-law’; Lat. *socrus* f. ‘mother-in-law’; OHG *swigar* f. ‘mother-in-law’

See also: **svekrǫ*

***svepiti** v.

- CS CS *svepiti se* ‘move, stir’

The root **suep-*, cf. OIc. *sófl* m. ‘broom’, has been connected with **soup-* in → **suti* by assuming *Schwebeablaut*.

***světjā** f. jā (b) ‘candle’

- CS OCS *svěšta* ‘light, candle’
 E Ru. *svečá* ‘candle’

- W Cz. *svíce* ‘candle’; OCz. *sviečë* ‘candle’; Pl. *świeca* ‘candle’
 S SCr. *svijěca* ‘candle’, Asg. *svijěcu*; Čak. *svičã* (Vrg.) ‘candle, light (on a boat)’, Asg. *svičũ*; *sv’ecã* (Orb.) ‘candle, light (also electric)’, Asg. *sv’ecõ*; Sln. *svěča* ‘candle’; Bulg. *svešt* f.(i) ‘candle, light’
 B Lith. *šviěsti* ‘shine’

Cf. Skt. *śvetá-* ‘white, bright’ (RV+). The root is **kwōit-*, but the *s- has been adopted from the zero grade, where depalatalization did not occur. The regular development of the anlaut is found in → **světъ*.

See also: *květъ; *kvisti; *světъ; *světěti

***světъ** m. o (c) ‘light, world’

- CS OCS *světъ* ‘light, world’
 E Ru. *svet* ‘light, world’
 W Cz. *svět* ‘world’; Slk. *svet* ‘world’; Pl. *świat* ‘world’; USrb. *svět* ‘world’
 S SCr. *svĭjet* ‘world, people’, Gsg. *svĭjeta*; Čak. *svît* (Vrg.) ‘world, people’, Gsg. *svîta*; *sv’êt* (Orb.) ‘world, people’; Sln. *svět* ‘world’, Gsg. *svetã*; Bulg. *svjat* ‘world’

BSl. **śwoit-*

B Lith. *šviěsti* ‘shine’

PIE **kwōit-o-*

Cogn. Skt. *śvetá-* ‘white, bright’ (RV+) adj.

See also: *květъ; *kvisti; *světjã; *světěti

***svędnŏti** v. ‘wither’

CS OCS *prisvęnŏti* (Zogr., Mar.) ‘wither’

W OCz. *svadnũti* ‘wither’

PIE *(s)u(e)ndh-

Cogn. OHG *swintan* ‘fade, pine away, wither’; OE *swindan* ‘subside, fade’

See also: *ŏditi; *uvędati; *vędnŏti

***svęťъ** adj. o ‘holy, sacred’

CS OCS *svęťъ*

E Ru. *svjatŏj*

W Cz. *svatý*; Slk. *svätý*; Pl. *święty*

S SCr. *svět*, f. *svéta*, n. *světo*; Čak. *svêt* (Vrg.), f. *světã*, n. *světo*; Sln. *svět*, f. *světa*; Bulg. *svet*

BSl. **śwentos*

B Lith. *šveñtas* 4; Latv. *svēts* (a borrowing from Slavic)

OPr. *swints*

PIE **kwēn-to-*

Cogn. Av. *spənta-*

***svinъ** adj. o 'pig-'CS OCS *svinъ* 'pig-'E Ru. *svinój* 'pig-'BSl. **swiŕnos*B Latv. *svīns* 'dirty'PIE **suH-iHn-o-*Cogn. Lat. *suīnus* adj. 'swine-'; Go. *swein* m. 'pig, swine'; OHG *swīn* m. 'pig, swine'

See also: *svinъjà

***svinъjà** f. iā (c) 'pig, swine'CS OCS *svinija*E Ru. *svin'já*W Cz. *svině*; Slk. *sviňa*; Pl. *świnia*S SCr. *svinja*; Čak. *sviňà* (Vrg.), Asg. *sviňu*; Sln. *svinja*; Bulg. *svinjá* 'pig, swine, sow'BSl. **swiŕn-*B OPr. *swintian*

See → *svinъ.

***svòrbъ** m. o (c) 'itch'E Ru. *svórob* 'itch, (dial.) rash'W Cz. *svrab* 'itch'; Slk. *svrab* 'itch'S SCr. *svrāb* 'itch'; Čak. *srāb* 'itch'; Gsg. *srāba*; Sln. *srāb* 'scabies'; *svrāb* 'scabies'PIE **suorb^h-o-*

See also: *svьrběti

***svòrka; *sòrka** f. ā (a) 'magpie'CS CS *svraka*E Ru. *soróka*W Cz. *straka*; OCz. *stráka*; Slk. *straka*; Pl. *sroka*; Slnc. *sārčkā*; USrb. *sroka*; *sróka* (dial.)S SCr. *svrāka*; Čak. *srāka* (Orb.); Sln. *sráka*; Bulg. *svrāka*BSl. **śórʔkaʔ*B Lith. *šárka*OPr. *sarke*

Etymology unclear. If the Baltic evidence were disregarded, the Proto-Slavic would best be reconstructed as *svòrka, with inconsistent loss of *v (cf. → *xvorъ). Apparently, the original form *sòrka was influenced by *svьrčati 'whistle', e.g. RuCS *svrěčati*. The connection with Skt. *śári-* (YV+) f.(i) 'a kind of bird' has nothing to recommend itself.

***svъrběti** v. 'itch'

- E Ru. *sverbét'* (coll.) 'itch, irritate', 1sg. *sverbljú*, 3sg. *sverbít*; Ukr. *sverbíty* 'itch'
 W Cz. *srběti* 'itch'; Slk. *srbiet'* 'itch'; Pl. *świerzbiec'* 'itch'
 S SCr. *svrbeti* 'itch', 1sg. *srbim*; Čak. *srbīti* (Vrg.) 'itch', 3sg. *srbī*; *srbēt* (Orb.) 'itch', 3sg. *srbī*; Sln. *srběti* 'itch', 1sg. *srbim*; Bulg. *sārbí* 'itch'
 B Lith. *skveřbti* 'pierce'
 PIE **surb^h-*

See also: *svōrbъ

***svbtěti** v. (c) 'shine'

- CS OCS *svbtěti sę* 'shine', 1sg. *svbštę sę*
 BSL. **świteř-*
 B Lith. *švitėti* 'shine, shimmer'
 PIE **kwit-o-*
 Cogn. Skt. *śvit-* 'become bright'

See also: *kvētъ; *kvisti; *světjā; *svētъ

***sъ(n)** prep./pref. 'from, with'

- CS OCS *sъ* prep. 'with'; *sъ-* pref. 'together'
 E Ru. *s(o)*
 W Cz. *s(e)*; Slk. *s(e)*; Pl. *z(e)*
 S SCr. *s(a)*; Sln. *s(ə)*; Bulg. *s(ās)*
 PIE **sṃ*
 Cogn. Skt. *sām* (RV+) prvr̥b./prep. 'together, at the same time'

It may not be necessary to reconstruct zero grade if we assume that **som* underwent the regular development of **om* in auslaut. As a prefix, **sъ-* could be analogical.

See also: *sǫ-

***sъdōrvъ** adj. o (a) 'healthy'

- CS OCS *sъdravъ*
 E Ru. *zdoróvyj*; *zdorón*, f. *zdorová*, n. *zdorovó* {1}; ORu. *zдорovъ*; *storovъ* (Novg.)
 W Cz. *zdravý*; Slk. *zdravý*; Pl. *zdrowy*; OPl. *strowy* (Gn.); USrb. *strowy*; LSrb. *strowy*
 S SCr. *zdrāv*; Čak. *zdrǎv*, f. *zdrǎva*, f. *zdravǎ*; *zdrǎf*, f. *zdrǎva*, n. *zdrǎvo*; Sln. *zdrāv*, f. *zdráva*; Bulg. *zdrav*
 PIE **h₁su-d^hor-uo-*
 Cogn. Skt. *dhruvā-* 'fixed, firm'; Av. *druua-* 'healthy'

A reconstruction **h₁su-dor(H)uo-* – with the root of → **dērvō* – would leave us with the problem why Winter's law did not affect the first member of the compound, cf.

Lith. *súdrus* ‘thick, dense’. It seems to me that Meillet’s etymology (Ét. II: 364), according to which **sǫdravǫ* is cognate with Skt. *dhruvā-* ‘firm, solid’ and Av. *druua-* ‘in good health’ is preferable. To explain the prosodic characteristics of the noun one could posit a *seǫ* variant **dʰorH-* (cf. Le Feuvre 2006: 240-241), but this is not necessary, as **sǫdǫrvǫ* may originate from **sǫdǫrvǫ* as a result of Dybo’s law, cf. Ru. *ogoród* ‘kitchen-garden’.

{1} AP (a) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 133).

***sǫxnǫti** v. ‘dry, wither’

CS	OCS <i>sǫxněaše</i> (Supr.) 3sg. impf. ‘dried’
E	Ru. <i>sóxnut’</i> ‘dry, wither’
W	Cz. <i>schnouti</i> ‘dry, become dry, pine away’; Slk. <i>schnúti</i> ‘dry, become dry’; Pl. <i>schnąć</i> ‘dry, become dry, wither, pine away’
S	SCr. <i>sǫhnuti</i> ‘dry’; Sln. <i>sǫhníti</i> ‘wither’, 1sg. <i>sǫhnem</i> ; Bulg. <i>sǫxna</i> ‘dry, wither’

Derivative in *-*nǫti* with zero grade of the root. See → **sǫxǫ*; **sušiti*.

***sǫlǫti** v. (b) ‘send’

CS	OCS <i>sǫlati</i> , 1sg. <i>sǫljǫ</i>
E	Ru. <i>slat’</i> , 1sg. <i>šlju</i> , 3sg. <i>šlēt</i> {1}
W	Cz. <i>slǫti</i> (obs., lit.), 1sg. <i>šlu</i> ; <i>poslǫti</i> , 1sg. <i>pošlu</i> ; Slk. <i>poslat’</i> , 1sg. <i>pošlu</i> ; Pl. <i>ślac</i> (lit.), 1sg. <i>ślę</i> ; <i>posłać</i> , 1sg. <i>poślę</i>
S	SCr. <i>slǫti</i> , 1sg. <i>šljēm</i> , 1sg. <i>šǫljēm</i> ; Čak. <i>slǫti</i> (Vrg.), 2sg. <i>šǫļeš</i> ; <i>slǫt</i> (Orb.), 1sg. <i>šǫlen</i> ; Sln. <i>poslǫti</i> , 1sg. <i>pǫšljem</i>

Verb with zero grade of a root **selH-*. It remains to be seen if this root is identical with LIV’s **selh₁-* ‘nehmen’, to which Gk. εἶλον 1sg. aor. ‘took’ and Go. *saljan* ‘sacrifice’ are considered to belong.

{1} AP (b) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 136).

See also: *sǫlǫ

***sǫlnьce** n. jo (c) ‘sun’

CS	OCS <i>slǫnьce</i>
E	Ru. <i>sólnce</i>
W	Cz. <i>slunce</i> ; Slk. <i>slnce</i> ; Pl. <i>słońce</i>
S	SCr. <i>súnce</i> ; Čak. <i>súnce</i> , Gsg. <i>súnca</i> , Npl. <i>suncǎ</i> ; <i>súnce</i> , <i>súnce</i> (Novi); <i>súnce</i> (Orb.), Gsg. <i>súnca</i> {1}; Sln. <i>sòlnce</i> ; Bulg. <i>slǎnce</i>
BSL.	* <i>saǫul-/</i> * <i>sǫul-</i>
B	Lith. <i>sáulė</i> f.(ė) 1 ‘sun’; Latv. <i>saūle</i> f.(ė) ‘sun’ OPr. <i>saule</i> ‘sun’
PIE	* <i>s(e)h₂-ul-</i>
Cogn.	Skt. <i>svār-</i> (<i>súvar-</i>) (RV+) n. ‘sun, sunlight’; Skt. <i>súrya-</i> (RV+) m. ‘sun, deity of the sun’; Gk. ἥλιος (Hom.) m. ‘sun’; Lat. <i>sōl</i> m. ‘sun’; Go. <i>sauil</i> n. ‘sun’

The long root vowel of the Serbo-Croatian forms results from the widespread lengthening of short vowels before resonants.

***sъlojь** m. jo 'layer'

- E Ru. *sloj* 'layer, coating', Gsg. *slója*; Ukr. *slj* 'vein', Gsg. *slojá*
 W Cz. *sloj* f.(i) 'layer'; Slk. *sloj* 'layer'; Pl. *slój* 'wooden bench, vein, stratum', Gsg. *slója*, Gsg. *sloju*
 S SCr. *slōj* 'layer', Gsg. *slōja*; Sln. *slòj* 'layer, flotsam, dirty pool', Gsg. *slója*; Bulg. *sloj* 'layer'

Prefixed deverbative noun. See → *sъ- and → *lōjь.

See also: *liti; *l̥jati

***sъlbь** m. o 'messenger'

- CS OCS *sъlbь* 'messenger, apostle'
 E ORu. *sъlbь* 'ambassador'
 S Sln. *səl* 'messenger', Gsg. *slà*

See → *sъlati.

***sъměti** v. (a) 'dare'

- CS OCS *sъměti* 'dare', 1sg. *sъmějō*
 E Ru. *smet'* 'dare', 1sg. *směju*
 W Cz. *směti* 'be allowed'; *smíti* (obs.) 'be allowed'; OCz. *směti* 'dare'; Slk. *smiet'* 'be allowed'; Pl. *śmieć* 'dare'
 S SCr. *smjěti* 'dare, be allowed, be permitted', 1sg. *smijem*; Čak. *smīti* (Vrg.) 'dare, be allowed, be permitted', 2sg. *smiš*; *smēt* (Orb.) 'dare', 1sg. *sm'ēn*; Sln. *směti* 'dare', 1sg. *smêjem*, 1sg. *smễm*; Bulg. *sméja* 'dare'

Cogn. Go. *moþs* m. 'courage, wrath'; OHG *muot* m. 'mind, courage, wrath'

Prefixed verb consisting of → *sъ- and *měti < *meh₁-.

***sъmьrtь** f. i 'death'

- CS OCS *sъmьrtь*
 E Ru. *smert'*, Gsg. *směrti*
 W Cz. *smrt*; Slk. *smrť*; Pl. *śmierć*
 S SCr. *smřt*, Gsg. *smřti*; Čak. *smřt* (Vrg., Orb.), Gsg. *smřti*; Sln. *smřt*, Gsg. *smřti*; Bulg. *smärt*

BSl. *mirtis

B Lith. *mirtis* 4

PIE *mr-ti-

Cogn. Lat. *mors* f.

Noun consisting of the prefix *sъ and *mьrtь < PIE *mr-ti-.

{1} AP (b) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 136).

See also: *mertī; *моръ; *мъртвъ

***сѣпъ** m. o (b) 'sleep, dream'

CS OCS *sěpъ*

E Ru. *son*, Gsg. *sna*

W Cz. *sen*; Slk. *sen*; Pl. *sen*; USrb. *són*, Gsg. *sona*

S SCr. *sān*, Gsg. *snā*; Čak. *sān* (Vrg.), Gsg. *snā*; *sán* (Novi), Gsg. *snā*; *sānj* (Orb.) 'sleep', Gsg. *snā*; Sln. *sən*, Gsg. *snā*; Bulg. *sān*

BSl. **su(o)pnum*

B Lith. *sāpnas* 2/4 'dream'; Latv. *sapnis* m.(io) 'dream'

PIE **sup-n-o-*

Cogn. Gk. ὕπνος m. 'sleep'

Cf. also Skt. *svárna-* m. 'sleep, dream', Lat. *somnus* m. 'id.', OIc. *svefn* m. 'id.', with full grade of the root.

See also: *сѣпати; *узѣпѣти

***сѣпати** v. 'sleep'

CS OCS *sěpati*, 1sg. *sěpljъ*

E Ru. *spat'*, 1sg. *spljú*, 3sg. *spit*

W Cz. *spáti*, 1sg. *spím*; Slk. *spat'*, 1sg. *spím*; Pl. *spać*, 1sg. *spię*

S SCr. *spāti*, 1sg. *spím*; Čak. *spāti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *spīš*; *spāt* (Orb.), 1sg. *spīn*; Sln. *spáti*, 1sg. *spím*; Bulg. *spja*

PIE **sup-*

Cogn. Skt. *svápati*; *svápiti*; Lat. *sōpīre* 'fall asleep'; OE *swefan*

See → *сѣпъ.

***сѣрогъ I** m. o 'conflict, dispute'

CS RuCS *sěporъ* 'conflict, dispute'

E Ru. *spor* 'dispute, argument'; Ukr. *spir* 'dispute'

W Cz. *spor* 'dispute'; Slk. *spor* 'dispute'; Pl. *spór* 'dispute'

S Sln. *spòr* 'dispute, conflict', Gsg. *spóra*; Bulg. *spor* 'dispute, discussion'

PIE **por-o-*

Cogn. Skt. *pṛt-* (RV) f. 'battle, strife, fight'

See also: *perti; *прати II; *прѣти; *прътъ

***сѣрогъ II** adj. o 'abundant'

CS CS *sporъ* 'abundant'

E Ru. *spóryj* (coll.) 'successful, profitable'

W Cz. *spory* 'substantial (food), stocky, (lit.) weak, sparse'; Pl. *spory* 'considerable'

S SCr. *spòr* ‘sluggish, slow’; Sln. *spòr* ‘abundant, nutritious’, f. *spóra*

Prefixed deverbative adjective with *o*-grade of the root. See → *perti*.

*сѣрѣ m. o ‘embankment’

E Ru. *sop* (dial.) ‘embankment’; ORu. *səpə* ‘embankment, hill, mountain’

S Sln. *sèp* ‘elevated border of a vineyard’, Gsg. *sépa*, Gsg. *sepû*

PIE **sup-o-*

Cogn. Lat. *supāre* ‘throw’; Lat. *dissipāre* ‘scatter’

See also: **suti*; **svepiti*; **sypati*

*сѣрѣsti v. ‘encounter’

CS OCS *səřesti* ‘encounter’, 1sg. *səřęštq*

W OPl. *pořześć* ‘encounter’

S SCr. *sręsti* ‘encounter’, 1sg. *sręť(n)ēm*; Sln. *sręsti* ‘encounter’, 1sg. *sretem*

BSl. *(*w*)*rēt*-/*(*w*)*ret*-?

B Lith. *suręsti* ‘seize’

Compound of → **sə* and **rēt*-. The Lithuanian form, which is important for Pokorný’s reconstruction **urēt*-, is rather obscure. It can be traced to *Bezenbergers Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprache* 26: 168.

See also: **obręsti*

*сѣsāti v. ‘suck’

CS OCS *səsati*, 1sg. *səsq*

E Ru. *sosát*’, 1sg. *sosú*, 3sg. *sosět*; *ssat*’ (dial.)

W Cz. *sāti*, 1sg. *saji*; OCz. *ssāti*, 1sg. *ssu*; Slk. *sat*’; Pl. *śac*, 1sg. *śę*

S SCr. *sāti*, 1sg. *sēm*; Sln. *səsāti*, 1sg. *səsām*

BSl. **suś*-/**suk*-

B Latv. *sūkt*

PIE **suĕk*-

The root **seuĕk*- seems to have a variant **seuĕg*-, cf. Lat. *sūcus* ‘juice’. Lat. *sūgere*; OIc. *súga*.

*сѣto num. (c) ‘hundred’

CS OCS *səto*

E Ru. *sto*

W Cz. *sto*; Slk. *sto*; Pl. *sto*

S SCr. *stô*; Čak. *stô* (Vrg., Hvar); Sln. *stô*; Bulg. *sto*

BSl. **śimto*

B Lith. *šimtas* 2/4; Latv. *simts*; *simt* ‘hundred’

PIE **dĕkmtóm*

The vocalism of the Slavic proto-form must be secondary (cf. Trautmann 1923b for a discussion of the apophonic patterns *eN : *iN and *oN : *uN).

Cogn. Skt. *śatām* (RV+); Gk. *ἑκατόν*; Lat. *centum*

See also: *desęť; *desęť

*sŷnǫ m. u (c) 'son'

CS OCS *synǫ*

E Ru. *syn*, Npl. *synov'já*

W Cz. *syn*; Slk. *syn*; Pl. *syn*

S SCr. *sĭn*, Gsg. *sĭna*; Čak. *sĭn* (Vrg., Hvar, Orb.), Gsg. *sĭna*; Sln. *sĭn*, Gsg. *sĭna*, Gsg. *sĭnŭ*; Bulg. *sin*

BSl. **sŷnŭs* (?)

B Lith. *sŷnŭs* m.(u) 3 (AP 1 is attested in Daukša's *Postilla* and the anonymous Catechism of 1605)

OPr. *sunun* (I) *Asg.*; *souns*

PIE **suH-n-ŷ-*

Cogn. Skt. *sŷnŷ-* m.; Go. *sunus* m.

In case-forms where the stress was on the second syllable, one expects initial stress as a result of Hirt's law. The final stress may have been restored analogically in Balto-Slavic times already, but cf. OLith. *sŷnŭs*.

*sŷpati v. (a) 'pour, strew'

ESSJa 'pour, strew'

E Ru. *sŷpat'*

W Cz. *sypati*; Slk. *sypat'*; Pl. *sypac'*

S SCr. *sŷpati* 'pour', 1sg. *sŷpām*, 1sg. *sŷpljēm*; Čak. *sŷpati* (Vrg.) 'pour', 2sg. *sŷpleš*; *sŷpat* (Orb.) 'pour, scatter', 1sg. *sŷpan*; Sln. *sĭpati*, 1sg. *sĭpam*, 1sg. *sĭpljem*; Bulg. *sĭpja*

B Lith. *sŷpoti* 'rock, cradle'

In spite of the acute roots of the Slavic and Baltic forms, it seems to me that the developments that generated this accentuation must be dated to the individual branches, cf. → **suti*. For the Baltic *métatonie rude*, cf. Derksen 1991: 303-308.

*sŷrǫ I m. o (a) 'cheese'

CS OCS *syrǫ* (Supr.)

E Ru. *syr*

W Cz. *sŷr*; Slk. *syr*; Pl. *ser*

S SCr. *sŷr*, Gsg. *sŷra*; Čak. *sŷr* (Vrg., Orb.), Gsg. *sŷra*; *sĭr* (Novi), Gsg. *sŷra*; Sln. *sĭr*, Gsg. *sĭra*

BSl. **sŷr(i)os*

B Lith. *sŷris* m.(io) 1

OPr. *suris*

PIE *suH-ro-
Cogn. OIc. *súrr* m. 'leaven'

See also: *surov̥b̥; *syṛb̥

***syṛb̥ II** adj. o 'damp, raw'

CS OCS *syr̥b̥* (Zogr., Mar.) 'damp, fresh'
E Ru. *syrój* 'damp, raw' {1}
W Cz. *syrý* 'damp, raw'
S SCr. *sīrov* 'raw, crude, damp'; Čak. *sīrov* (Vrg.) 'raw, crude, damp'; *sīrof* (Orb.) 'raw, uncooked'

BSL. **súṛros*

B Lith. *súras* 3 'salt, salty'; Latv. *sūrs* 'salt, salty, bitter'

PIE *suH-ro-
Cogn. OIc. *súrr* 'sour'

{1} AP (a) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 133).

See also: *surov̥b̥; *syṛb̥

***syṛt̥b̥** adj. o (a) 'satiated, full'

CS OCS *syta* (Supr.) Ndu. m. 'satiated'
E Ru. *sýtyj*
W Cz. *syty*; Slk. *sýty*; Pl. *syty*
S SCr. *sīt*; Čak. *sīt* (Vrg.), f. *sitā*, n. *sīto*; *sīt* (Hvar, Orb.), f. *sīta*, n. *sīto*; Sln. *sit*, f. *síta*; Bulg. *sit* 'satiated, full, filling'

BSL. **sáṛtos*

B Lith. *sótus* 3

PIE *s(e)h₂-to-
Cogn. Lat. *satis* adv. 'enough'; Go. *saps* 'satisfied, full'

The origin of the *y is obscure.

***sb̥** prn. 'this'

CS OCS *sb̥*, f. *si*, n. *se*
E Ru. *sej*, f. *sijá*, n. *sijé*; ORu. *sb̥*, f. *si*, n. *se*
S Sln. *sej*

BSL. **śis*

B Lith. *šis*, f. *ši*; Latv. *šis*, f. *ši*
OPr. *schis*

PIE **k̑i-*

Cogn. Hitt. *kās*; Go. *hina* Asg. m., *hina* Asg. n.

*sbcati v. 'piss'

- CS SerbCS *sbcati*, 1sg. *sbčŕ*, 2sg. *sbčiši*
 E Ru. *scat'* (dial.), 1sg. *scu*, 3sg. *scit*; Ukr. *scjáty*, 1sg. *scju*
 W Cz. *scáti*, 1sg. *štím*; *chcáti* (dial.); Pl. *szczać*, 1sg. *szczę*
 S Sln. *scáti*, 1sg. *ščím*, 1sg. *ščijem*
 PIE *sik^w-
 Cogn. Skt. *siñcáti* 'pour out'; OHG *sīhan* 'strain, drip'; OHG *seichen* 'piss'

*sbrďьce n. jo (c) 'heart'

- CS OCS *srbďьce*
 E Ru. *serďce*
 W Cz. *srdce*; Slk. *srdce*; Pl. *serce*; OPl. *sierce*
 S SCr. *sřce*, Gsg. *sřca*; C/ak. *sřce* (Vrg.), Gsg. *sřca*; Čak. *sřce* (Orb.) 'heart, heartwood, inner (middle) part (of a branch)', Gsg. *sřca*; Sln. *srcę*; Bulg. *sārcé*
 BSl. *šird-
 B Lith. *širdis* f.(i) 3; Latv. *siřds* f.(i)
 PIE *krd-
 Cogn. Skt. *hřd-* (RV+) n.; Gk. κήρ m.; Gk. καρδία f.; Arm. *sirt*
 See also: *serdā

*sbrna f. ā 'roe'

- CS RuCS *srōna* 'roe'
 E Ru. *serna* 'chamois'; ORu. *sbrna* 'roe'
 W Cz. *srna* 'roe'; Slk. *srna* 'roe'; Pl. *sarna* 'roe'
 S SCr. *sřna* 'roe'; Sln. *sřna* 'roe'; Bulg. *sārnā* 'roe'
 BSl. *širřna?
 B Lith. *stirna* 'roe'; Latv. *stiřna* 'roe'
 PIE *křh₂-neh₂

Other possible reconstructions are *křH-neh₂, with the root of Lith. *šėrnas* 'wild boar', *širvas* 'dapple-grey', and *srH-neh₂, cf. Lith. *sařtas* 'fox-red', Latv. *sārts* 'reddish'. The anlaut of the Baltic forms is problematic. The existence of a Latvian variant *sirna* is uncertain.

*sbršěňь m. jo 'hornet'

- CS CS *s(t)rbršěňь* m.(jo)
 E Ru. *šėrsen'* m.(jo); ORu. *sbršěňь* m.(jo); *šbršěňь* m.(jo)
 W Cz. *sršeň* m.(jo); Slk. *sršeň* m.(jo); Pl. *szerszeń* m.(jo); OPl. *sierszeń* m.(jo)
 S SCr. *sřšljěnj* m.(jo); Čak. *sřšen* (Orb.) m.(o) 'big wasp, hornet'; Sln. *sřšen* m.(o), Gsg. *sřšěna*
 BSl. *širřšen-
 B Lith. *širšuo* (OLith.) m.(n); *širšė* f.(ė); Latv. *siřsuonis* m.(io); *siřsnis* m.(io)

OPr. *sirsilis* m.(io)

PIE **krh₂s-en-*

Cogn. Lat. *crābrō* m.; OHG *hornuz* m.

*š

*ščenę n. nt ‘young animal’

CS CS *štenę* ‘young animal, cub’

E Ru. *ščenók* m. ‘puppy, whelp, cub’, Npl. *ščenjáta* (alongside *ščenkí*); *ščenjá* (dial.) ‘puppy, whelp, cub’

W Cz. *štěně* ‘young animal, cub’; Slk. *šteňa* ‘young animal, cub’; Pl. *szczenię* ‘young animal, cub’

S SCr. *štène* ‘puppy’; Sln. *ščenè* ‘puppy, piglet’, Npl. *ščenéta*

See → *čędo for the etymology of the root. The form *ščenę apparently has *s*-mobile.

*ščítь m. o (b) ‘shield’

CS OCS *štitǫ*

E Ru. *ščit*, Gsg. *ščítá*

W Cz. *štít* ‘shield, façade, top’; Slk. *štít*; Pl. *szczyt* ‘top, summit’; Sln. *ščít*

S SCr. *štít*, Gsg. *štíta*; Sln. *ščit*, Gsg. *ščíta*; Bulg. *štít*

BSL. **skeitum*; **skoitum*

B Lith. *skiėtas* 2 ‘reed (in a loom)’; Latv. *šķiėts*² ‘reed (in a loom)’

OPr. *staytan* [*scaytan*] ‘shield’

PIE **skei-to-m*

Cogn. Lat. *scūtum* n. ‘shield’ (**skoitom*?); OIr. *sciath* m. ‘shield’; W *ysgwyd* f. ‘shield’

*šęstь num. o (c) ‘sixth’

CS OCS *šestǫ*

E Ru. *šestój*

W Cz. *šestý*; *šęstý* (dial.); OCz. *šęstý*; Slk. *šiesty*; Pl. *szósty*; USrb. *šesty*

S SCr. *šęstī*; Čak. *šęstī* (Vrg.); *šęstī* (Orb.) ‘the sixth’; Sln. *šęsti*; Bulg. *šęsti*

BSL. **šęstos* (**ušto*s)

B Lith. *šęštas* 4; Latv. *šęstais*

OPr. *wuschts* (I); *usts* (II); *uschts* (III)

PIE **sueks-t(h₂)o-* (*suks-t(h₂)o-*)

Cogn. Skt. *šaṣṭhá-* (AV+)

The oldest Balto-Slavic form may have been **ušto*s < **šęšto*s < **sušto*s. The form **šęstos* may have arisen when the cardinal **šęs* was introduced into the ordinal. The initial **š* result from assimilation to **š* < **ks*.

See also: *šestъ

***šestъ** num. (c) ‘six’

CS	OCS <i>šestъ</i>
E	Ru. <i>šest’</i>
W	Cz. <i>šest</i> ; Slk. <i>šest</i> ; Pl. <i>sześć</i> ; Slnc. <i>šęsc</i> ; USrb. <i>šesć</i>
S	SCr. <i>šest</i> ; Čak. <i>šest</i> (Vrg.); <i>š’ēs</i> (Orb.); Sln. <i>šęst</i> ; Bulg. <i>šest</i>
BSL.	*šeš
B	Lith. <i>šeši</i> 4
PIE	* <i>sueks</i>
Cogn.	Skt. <i>śáṣ-</i> (RV+); Gk. <i>ἕξ</i>

The suffix *-tb* is secondary. See also → *šestъ.

***šibati** v. ‘whip’

CS	OCS <i>šibaaxъ</i> (Supr.) 3pl. impf. ‘whipped’
E	Ru. <i>šibat’</i> ‘throw, hit’, 1sg. <i>šibáju</i>
W	Slk. <i>šibat’</i> ‘beat’
S	SCr. <i>šibati</i> ‘flog, whip’, 1sg. <i>šibām</i> ; Sln. <i>šibati</i> ‘flog, whip’, 1sg. <i>šibam</i> ; Bulg. <i>šibam</i> ‘flog, whip’
PIE	* <i>ksueib-</i>
Cogn.	Skt. <i>kṣipāti</i> ‘swing, throw’; OIc. <i>sveipa</i> ‘sweep, swing’; OE <i>swāpan</i> ‘sweep, swing’; OHG <i>sweifan</i> ‘wind’

***šiti** v. (a) ‘sew’

CS	SerbCS <i>šiti</i> , 1sg. <i>šijъ</i> {1}
E	Ru. <i>šit’</i> , 1sg. <i>š’ju</i> , 3sg. <i>š’ët</i> ; Ukr. <i>šýty</i> , 1sg. <i>šýju</i>
W	Cz. <i>šiti</i> , 1sg. <i>šiji</i> ; Slk. <i>šit’</i> ; Pl. <i>szyc’</i> , 1sg. <i>szyję</i>
S	SCr. <i>šiti</i> , 1sg. <i>šijēm</i> ; Čak. <i>šiti</i> (Vrg.), 2sg. <i>šiješ</i> ; <i>šiti</i> (Hvar), 1sg. <i>šijen</i> ; <i>šit</i> (Orb.), 1sg. <i>šijen</i> ; Sln. <i>šiti</i> , 1sg. <i>šijem</i> ; Bulg. <i>šija</i>
BSL.	* <i>sjuʔ-</i>
B	Lith. <i>siūti</i> ; Latv. <i>šūt</i>
PIE	* <i>siuH-</i>
Cogn.	Skt. <i>śivyati</i> ; Lat. <i>suere</i> , ptc. pret. pass. <i>sūtum</i> ; Go. <i>siujan</i>

{1} In OCS, we find *nešъvenъ* (Zogr., Mar.) ‘without a seam’ (in John 19:23) and *šъvenъ* ‘embroidered’ in *zlatomъ šъvenyxъ rizъ* (Supr.).

See also: *podъšъva; *šъvъsъ

***šŭjъ** adj. jo (c) ‘left’

CS	OCS <i>šui</i>
S	Sln. <i>šuj</i> , f. <i>šúja</i>

PIE **seu-io-*
 Cogn. Skt. *savyá-*; Av. *haoya-*; MW *aswy*; MW *aseu*

*šulo n. o 'post, pole'

E Ru. *šúlo* (W. dial.) n. 'fence post'; *šúla* (Smol.) f. 'fence post'; Ukr. *šúla* f. 'fence post'

W OPl. *szulo* n. 'wooden pole'

S SCr. *šúlĵ* m. 'block'; Sln. *šúlĵ* m. 'sawn-off trunk, block'

B Lith. *šúlas* 4 'post, pole, stave' {1}
 OPr. *sulis* (EV) 'stave'

PIE **kseul-o-/*ksul-o-*

Cogn. Gk. ξύλον n. 'wood, beam'

Much has been said about the possibility of borrowing and the direction of borrowing (from Baltic into Slavic or vice versa, from Germanic into West Slavic, etc.). I prefer to treat the Baltic and Slavic forms as inherited.

{1} There is indirect evidence for AP 2, viz. *šúlinis*, *šúliné* 'well' (Illič-Svityč 1963: 35).

*šurb m. jo 'brother-in-law (wife's brother)'

CS CS *šurb*

E Ru. *šúrin*, Npl. *šur'já*; ORu. *šurinъ*, Npl. *šurjata*, *šur'ja*

W Pl. *szurzy*, Gsg. *szurzego*

S SCr. *šúra*; *šur(j)āk*, Gsg. *šur(j)āka*; Čak. *šurjāk* (Vrg.), Gsg. *šurjākä*; Sln. *šurják*; *šúrja*; Bulg. *šúrej*

The connection with Skt. *syālā-* 'wife's brother' is not really possible.

*šьvьcb 'tailor, shoemaker'

E Ru. *švec* '(obs.) tailor, (dial.) shoemaker', Gsg. *švecá*; ORu. *šьvьcb* 'tailor, shoemaker'; Bel. *švec* 'shoemaker', Gsg. *šovcá*; Ukr. *švec* 'shoemaker', Gsg. *ševcjá*

W Cz. *švec* 'shoemaker', Gsg. *ševce*; Slk. *švec* 'shoemaker'; Pl. *szewc* 'shoemaker'

S SCr. *šávac* (Vuk: Dubr.) 'tailor', Gsg. *šávca*

BSL. **sjuwikos*

B Lith. *siuvikas* (Ness., dial.) m.(o) 'tailor'; *siuvikis* (DP) m.(jo) 'tailor'
 OPr. *schuwikis* (EV) 'shoemaker'

Derivative in *-*bcv* of → *šiti* 'sow'. The root shape *š**ьv-** < **siuH-* is regular in antevocalic position.

*T

***tājati** v. (a) ‘melt’

- CS OCS *tajati* (Ps. Sin.) ‘melt’, 1sg. *tajǫ*; SerbCS *tajati* ‘melt, thaw’
 E Ru. *tajat’* ‘melt, thaw, dwindle’
 W Cz. *táti* ‘melt, thaw’; Pl. *tajać* ‘melt, thaw’
 S SCr. *tājati* ‘thaw’; Sln. *tājati* ‘melt, thaw’, 1sg. *tājam*; Bulg. *tája* ‘melt slowly’, 2sg. *táiš*
 PIE **teh₂-*
 Cogn. Gk. *τήκω* ‘melt’; Lat. *tābēre* ‘melt, dwindle’; W *tawdd* ‘dripping’

***tajiti** v. (c) ‘hide, conceal’

- CS OCS *taiti*, 1sg. *tajǫ*
 E Ru. *taít’*, 1sg. *tajú*, 3sg. *taít*
 W Cz. *tajíti*; Slk. *tajit’*; Pl. *taić*
 S SCr. *tājiti* ‘hide, conceal’, 1sg. *tájim*; Sln. *tajíti* ‘deny’, 1sg. *tajím*; Bulg. *tajá* ‘hide in one’s inner self’
 PIE *(s)*teh₂-*
 Cogn. Hitt. *tai-* ‘steal’

See also: *tatb

***tatb** m. jo ‘thief’

- CS OCS *tatb* m.(jo)
 E Ru. *tať* m.(jo)
 S SCr. *tât* m.(o); Sln. *tât* m.(o), Gsg. *tâta*, Gsg. *taťû*
 PIE *(s)*teh₂-ti-o-*
 Cogn. OIr. *táid* m. ‘thief’

One may also compare Skt. *tāyú-* (RV) m. ‘thief’.

See also: *tajiti

***tekti** v. (c) ‘flow, run’

- CS OCS *tešti*, 1sg. *tekǫ*
 E Ru. *teč’* 1sg. *tekú*, 3sg. *tečët*; ORu. *teči* ‘flow, move, run’, 1sg. *teku*
 W Cz. *téci*, 1sg. *teku*; Slk. *tiect’*, 1sg. *tečiem*; Pl. *ciec*, 1sg. *ciekę*
 S SCr. *tèci*, 1sg. *tèčëm*; Čak. *tèci* (Vrg.), 3sg. *tečë*; *tèc* (Orb.), 3sg. *tečë*; Sln. *téči*, 1sg. *téčem*; Bulg. *teká*, 2sg. *tečëš*
 BSl. **tek-*
 B Lith. *tekėti*, 3sg. *tēka*; Latv. *tecēt*, 1sg. *teku*
 PIE **tek^w-*
 Cogn. Skt. *tákti* ‘rush’; OIr. *techid* ‘flee’

***tekъ** m. o 'course'CS RuCS *tekъ* 'course'E Ru. *těk* 'source'S Sln. *těk* 'course'BSl. **tekos*B Latv. *tēks* m. 'foot-path'; *tēka* f. 'foot-path'PIE **tek^w-o-*Cogn. OIr. *intech* n. 'road'

See also: *tekti; *tokъ

***telkti** v. (c) 'pound'CS OCS *tlěsti* 'pound', 1sg. *tlōkq*E Ru. *tolóc'* 'pound', 1sg. *tolkú*, 3sg. *tolčēt*W Cz. *tlouci* 'pound', 1sg. *tluku*; Slk. *tlct'* 'pound', 1sg. *tlčiem*; Pl. *tluc* 'pound', 1sg. *tlukę*S SCr. *túci* 'beat, hit, (refl.) fight', 1sg. *túčēm*; Čak. *tūci* (Vrg.) 'beat, hit, (refl.) fight', 2sg. *tūčěš*; *tūc* (Orb.) 'beat, hit, (refl.) fight', 1sg. *túčēn*; Sln. *tléči* 'beat', 1sg. *tólčem*; *tólči* 'beat', 1sg. *tólčem*

It is unclear if **telkti* is in any way connected with → **tolka* and therefore with Lith. *talkà* 'unpaid work, party of workers' and *telkti* 'call together for unpaid work'.

tenetò** n. o (b) 'net, snare'CS RuCS *teneto* 'net, snare'; *tonoto* 'net, snare'E Ru. *teněto* 'snare'; *tenetó* (dial.) 'snare'W Cz. *teneto* 'net, snare'S Sln. *tenět* m. 'net'; *tenětva* f. 'net'B Lith. *tiñklas* m. 2/4 'net'; Latv. *tikls* m. 'net'A derivative of **ten-* 'stretch', cf. Skt. *tanóti* (< **tn-neu-*).teplъ** adj. o (b) 'warm'CS OCS *toplъ* {1}E Ru. *těplyj*; *těpel*, f. *teplá*, n. *tepló*W Cz. *teplý*; Slk. *teplý*; Pl. *ciepły*; USrb. *ćopły*; LSrb. *šopły*S SCr. *tōpao*, f. *tōpla*, f. *tōpla*, n. *tōplo*; Čak. *těpā* (Vrg.), f. *teplā*, n. *těplo*; *těpal* (Orb.), f. *těpla*, n. *těplo*; Sln. *tópəl*, f. *tópla*Cogn. Lat. *tepidus* 'lukewarm, warm'A *lo*-derivative of **tep-* 'be hot', cf. Skt. *tápati* 'burn, be hot'.{1} With *e*-grade we find *teplostijō* (Supr.) 1sg. 'warmth'.

See also: *topiti

***tèrti** v. ‘rub’

- CS SerbCS *trěti*, 1sg. *torę*
 E Ru. *terét’*, 1sg. *tru*, 3sg. *trèt*
 W Cz. *tříti*, 1sg. *třú*; *tříti* (arch.), 1sg. *tru*; Slk. *triet’*; Pl. *trzeć*, 1sg. *trę*
 S SCr. *třti*, 1sg. *trēm*; *třti*, 1sg. *tărăēm*; Čak. *třti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *tărăěš*; *třt* (Orb.), 1sg. *tären*; Sln. *trěti* ‘rub, crush’, 1sg. *trēm*, 1sg. *tárem*
- BSl. **ter’-/’tir’-*
 B Lith. *tirti* ‘investigate’
 PIE **terH-*
 Cogn. Gk. *τείρω* ‘oppress, distress, weaken’; Lat. *terere* ‘rub’; OHG *drāen* ‘turn’

***tesàti** v. (b) ‘hew’

- CS OCS *tesati* (Supr.), 1sg. *tešę*
 E Ru. *tesát’*, 1sg. *tešú*, 3sg. *téšet*
 W Cz. *tesati*; Slk. *tesat’*; Pl. *ciosac’*
 S SCr. *tēsati* ‘cut, trim, polish’, 1sg. *těšēm*; Čak. *tesàt* (Orb.) ‘cut, polish, hew, trim’, 1sg. *těšen*; Sln. *tēsati* ‘hew, chisel’, 1sg. *těšem*
- B Lith. *tašýti* ‘hew’
 PIE **tetk-*
 Cogn. Skt. *tákṣati* (RV+) 3pl. ‘cut, manufacture’
 See also: **tesla*; **teslò*; **tesъ*

***tesla; *teslò** f. ā; n. o ‘adze’

- CS RuCS *tesla* f.
 E Ru. *teslá* f.; *tesló* n.; Ukr. *tesló* n.
 W Cz. *tesla* f.; Pl. *ciosła* f.
 S SCr. *těsla* f.; Čak. (Vrg.) *těsla* f.; Sln. *tésla* f.; *téslo* n.; Bulg. *teslá* f.
- PIE **tetk-d^hlo-*
 Cogn. OIc. *þexla* f. ‘axe’; *dehsala* f. ‘axe, adze’
 See also: **tesàti*; **tesъ*

***tesъ** m. o ‘timber’

- E Ru. *těs* ‘boards, planks’
 W Cz. *tes* ‘timber’; Pl. *cios* ‘timber’

Derivative of → **tesàti*.

***teti** v. ‘beat’

- CS OCS *teti* ‘beat, flog, whip’, 1sg. *teęę*
 E Ru. *teptí*, *teťi* (dial.) ‘hew, cut, prod, hit’ (apparently influenced by **tęťi*); *tepstí* (dial.) ‘pull, drag’; *tępat’* (dial.) ‘hew, cut’

- W Cz. *tepati* ‘beat, hammer’, 1sg. *tepu*, 1sg. *tepám*; Slk. *tepat’* ‘beat’; USrb. *ćepać* ‘beat’; LSrb. *šepas’* ‘beat’
- S SCr. *těpsti se* ‘loiter’, 1sg. *těpēm se*; Sln. *těpsti* ‘beat, chastise, (se) loiter’, 1sg. *těpem*; Bulg. *těpam* ‘full, walk’
- BSL. **tep-*
- B Lith. *tėpti* ‘smear, grease, soil’, 1sg. *tepu*
- Only Balto-Slavic.

*tẽmę n. n (a) ‘sinciput, top of the head’

- E Ru. *témja*, Gsg. *témeni*
- W Cz. *těmě*; Slk. *temä*; Pl. *ciemię*
- S SCr. *tjěme*, Gsg. *tjěmena*; Čak. *tĩme* (Vrg.), Gsg. *tjĩmena*; Sln. *těme*, Gsg. *těmena*; Bulg. *těme* n.(nt)

A connection with → *tęti ‘chop, cut’ < *tmh₁-, does not seem implausible. A possible parallel is OHG *skeitila* ‘skull’, if cognate with *skeidan* ‘separate’. The root shape *tẽm- is not easy to explain, however. First, the lengthened grade is unexpected in an *n*-stem. Second, the acute tone must have been taken over from forms where the laryngeal regularly yielded an acute. This is not impossible (cf. → *sláva), but in this case it is puzzling.

*tẽnъ f. i ‘shadow’

- E Ru. *ten’* f.(i); Ukr. *tin’* f.(i)
- W Cz. *tín* (Mor. dial.) m.(o); *tiň* (Lach dial.) m.(jo); Slk. *tieň* m.(jo); Pl. *cień* m.(jo)
- S SCr. *těnja* f.(jā) ‘shadow (image)’

Probably a transformation of *sěnъ on the basis of → *tъma ‘darkness’, → *tъmъnъ ‘dark’.

*těsnъ adj. o (c) ‘narrow’

- CS OCS *těsnъ* ‘narrow’
- E Ru. *těsnjy* ‘crowded, narrow, tight’
- W Cz. *těsný* ‘narrow’; Slk. *tesný* ‘narrow’; Pl. *ciasny* ‘narrow’
- S SCr. *tijěsan* ‘tight, narrow’; Čak. *tisan* ‘tight, narrow’, f. *tisnā*, n. *tisno*; *t’ěsan* ‘tight, narrow’, f. *t’ěsna*, n. *t’ěsno*; Sln. *těsan* ‘narrow’, f. *těsna*; *tešan* ‘narrow’, f. *tešanā*; Bulg. *těsān* ‘narrow’, f. *tjāsna*

Adjective in *-no-. The stem is *těsk-, cf. → *tiskati.

*těsto n. o (c) ‘dough’

- E Ru. *těsto*
- W Cz. *těsto*; Slk. *cesto*; Pl. *ciasto*; USrb. *ćěsto*

S SCr. *tįjesto*, Gsg. *tįjesta*; Čak. *tisto* (Vrg., Hvar), Gsg. *tista*; *t'êsto*, Gsg. *t'êsta*; Sln. *testô*; Bulg. *testó*

Cogn. Gk. *σταῖς* (*σταῖς*) m. 'flour of spelt mixed and made into dough', Gsg. *σταιτός*; OHG *theismo* (*deismo*) m. 'leaven'; OIr. *táis* m. 'dough'; W *toes* m. 'dough'

Since a proto-form **teh₂i-s-tóm* would yield fixed stress on an acute syllable in Balto-Slavic, we may consider **th₂ei-s-tóm*. It is unclear to me why the etymon ended up as a mobile *o*-stem, however. Originally oxytone neuter *o*-stems with a first syllable closed by an obstruent typically belong to AP (b). I suspect that the suffix **-to* is secondary.

***tędzati; *tęgati** v. f. 'pull, extract'

CS OCS *tęzi* (Ps. Sin.) imper. 'try'; *tęžo* (Supr.) 1sg. 'inquire'

E Ru. *tjagát* 'pull, extract, elicit', 1sg. *tjagáju*

W Cz. *tázati se* 'ask, inquire'; Pl. *ciągać* 'pull'

S Sln. *tęzati* 'pull, torture', 1sg. *tęzam*, 1sg. *tęžem*

See → **tęgti*. In view of the reflex of the progressive palatalization **dz*, the root continues Balto-Slavic **ting-*.

***tęgъ; *tęga** m. o; f. ā 'traction, weight'

E Ru. *tjága* 'traction'

W Cz. *tíha* f. 'weight, burden'; Pl. *ciąg* f. 'traction, continuity', *ciągu*; OPl. *ciąg* f. 'traction, continuity', Gsg. *ciągu*

S SCr. *tęg* m. 'weight, traction, seed'; Sln. *tęg* m. 'traction, pull, burden, grain', Gsg. *tęga*, Gsg. *tegā*; Bulg. *tjága* f. 'traction'

Derivative of → **tęgti*.

***tęgnōti** v. (b) 'pull'

E Ru. *tjanút* 'pull', 1sg. *tjanú*, 3sg. *tjánet*

W Cz. *táhnouti* 'pull'; Slk. *tiahnout'* 'pull'; Pl. *ciągnąć* 'pull'

S Sln. *tęgniti* 'provide, stretch', 1sg. *tęgnem*

See → **tęgti*.

***tęgti** v. 'pull'

CS CS *rastęsti* 'tear apart', 1sg. *rastęgo*

BSL. **ting-* (**teng-*)

B Lith. *tingti* 'become slow', 3sg. *tingsta*; *tingėti* 'be lazy', 3sg. *tingi*

PIE **t(e)ng^h-*

Cogn. Olc. *þyngja* 'burden'

See also: **tędzati; *tęgati; *tęgъ; *tęga; *tęgnōti; *tęžъкъ; *tōgā; *tōgъ*

***tęti** v. 'cut, chop, beat'

- E Ru. *tjat'* (arch.) 'beat', 1sg. *tnu*; ORu. *tjati* 'chop, cut', 1sg. *tbnu*; Ukr. *tjátý* 'chop, cut, beat', 1sg. *tnu*
- W Cz. *títi* 'cut', 1sg. *tnu*; Pl. *ciąć* 'cut', 1sg. *tnę*
- S Sln. *tęti* 'chop', 1sg. *tnèm*
- BSL. **tin?*-
- B Lith. *tinti* 'whet'
- PIE **tmh₁*-
- Cogn. Gk. τέμνω 'cut'
- See also: *tēmę

***tęžькь** adj. o 'heavy'

- CS OCS *tęžькь* 'heavy, difficult, serious'
- E Ru. *tjážkij* 'heavy, severe'; Ukr. *tjažkýj* 'heavy'
- W Cz. *těžký* 'heavy'; Slk. *ťažký* 'heavy'; Pl. *ciężki* 'heavy'
- S SCr. *těžak* 'heavy, difficult, serious', f. *těška*; Čak. *těžak* (Vrg.) 'heavy, difficult, serious', f. *těškà*; *težāk* (Orb.) 'heavy, difficult, serious', f. *těška*; Sln. *těžak* 'heavy', f. *těžka*; *težāk* 'heavy'; Bulg. *těžāk* 'heavy, difficult, serious'
- BSL. **ting*-
- B Lith. *tingùs* 4 'lazy'
- PIE **tng^h*-
- Cogn. OIc. *þungr* 'heavy'
- See also: *tęgь; *tęga; *tęgnęti; *tęgti; *tęgà; *tęgь

***tiskati** v. (a) 'press, squeeze'

- CS CS *tiskati* 'press, squeeze'
- E Ru. *tiskat'* 'press, squeeze'
- W Pl. *ciskać* 'hurl'
- S SCr. *tiskati* 'press, squeeze'; Sln. *tiskati* 'press, print', 1sg. *tiskam*

The stem of this verb must contain the suffix *-sk-. The root must be *teiH- or *teh₁i-, neither of which can easily be linked to non-Slavic forms.

See also: *tęsnь

***tōkь** m. o (c) 'stream, current, course'

- CS OCS *tōkь* (Mar.) 'stream'
- E Ru. *tōk* 'current, course', Gsg. *tōka*; Bel. *tik* 'current, course', Gsg. *tōká*; Ukr. *tik* 'current, course', Gsg. *tōka*; *tik* (dial.) 'current, course', Gsg. *tōká*
- W Cz. *tōk* 'current, course'; Slk. *tōk* 'current, course'; Pl. *tōk* 'current, course'
- S SCr. *tōk* 'current, course', Gsg. *tōka*; Sln. *tōk* 'stream, current', Gsg. *tōka*; Bulg. *tōk* 'stream, current'

- BSL. *tokos
 B Lith. *tākas* 4 '(foot-)path'; Latv. *taks* '(foot-)path'
 PIE *tok^w-o-
 Cogn. Av. *taka-* m. 'course'
 See also: *tekti; *tekъ

*tōgā f. ā (b) 'sadness, melancholy'

- CS OCS *toga* 'confusion, melancholy, difficulties, misfortune'
 E Ru. *tugá* 'grief'; *túga* (dial.) 'grief'
 W Cz. *touha* 'longing, yearning, desire'; Slk. *túha* 'melancholy'; Pl. *tęga* 'melancholy'
 S SCr. *túga* 'sorrow, sadness, melancholy'; Čak. *tūgà* (Vrg., Novi) 'sorrow, sadness, melancholy'; *tūga* 'sorrow, sadness'; Sln. *tóga* 'slowness, unpleasantness, melancholy'; Bulg. *tǎgá* 'sorrow, sadness, hurt, desire'

See → *tęgti.

*tōgъ adj. o (c) 'tight, solid, tough'

- CS CS *togъ* 'hard to retain'
 E Ru. *tugój* 'tight'
 W Cz. *tuhý* 'solid, tough'; Slk. *tuhý* 'solid, tough'; Pl. *tęgi* 'stout'
 S Sln. *tōg* 'tight, tough, strong', f. *tōga*

See → *tęgti.

*toliti v. 'calm, soothe'

- CS OCS *utoliti* 'convince', 1sg. *utoljъ*
 E Ru. *utolít* 'quench, satisfy, soothe', 1sg. *utoljú*, 3sg. *utolít*
 S SCr. *utòliti* 'calm down'; Sln. *tóliti* 'calm, soothe, quench', 1sg. *tòlim*

- BSL. *tol?-
 B Lith. *táldyti* (dial.) 'silence, soothe'
 PIE *tolH-

Cf. also Lith. *tílti*, 1sg. *tylù* 'fall silent'.

*tolkā f. ā (c) 'neighbourly help (of farmworkers)'

- E Ukr. *toloká* 'occasional help by fellow villagers, fallow land, pasture', Asg. *tóloku*
 W Pl. *łłoka* 'neighbourly help (of farmworkers), crowd'; *łłoka* (dial.) 'neighbourly help (of farmworkers)'; OPl. *łłuka* 'neighbourly help (of farmworkers)'; Slnc. *tlùokǎ* 'corvée'
 S SCr. *tláka* 'corvée'; Sln. *tláka* 'corvée'
 BSL. *tolka?

B Lith. *talkà* 4 ‘unpaid work, party of workers (called together for help)’; Latv. *tālka* ‘party of workers’

The proposed connection with Toch. B *telki* n. ‘sacrifice’ (cf. Adams 1999: 306) is interesting but highly speculative. See also → **telkti*.

***topiti I** v. ‘heat’

E Ru. *topít* ‘stoke, heat, melt’, 1sg. *topljú*, 3sg. *tópit*

W Cz. *topiti* ‘heat’; Slk. *topit* ‘melt’; Pl. *topić* ‘melt, fuse’

S SCr. *tòpiti* ‘melt’, 1sg. *tòpīm*; Čak. *se topīt* (Orb.) ‘melt’, 3sg. *se tòpi*; Sln. *topíti* ‘warm, heat, melt’, 1sg. *topím*; Bulg. *topjá* ‘melt’

PIE **top-eie-*

Cogn. Skt. *tāpáyati* ‘heat, torment’

See also: **teplǎ*

***topiti II** v. ‘drown’

CS OCS *potopiti* ‘drown, destroy’, 1sg. *potopljǫ*

E Ru. *topít* ‘sink, drown’, 1sg. *topljú*, 3sg. *tópit*

W Cz. *topiti* ‘drown’; Slk. *topit* ‘drown’; Pl. *topić* ‘sink, drown’

S SCr. *tòpiti* ‘flood’, 1sg. *tòpīm*; Čak. *se topīt* (Orb.) ‘drown’, 3sg. *se tòpi*; Sln. *topíti* ‘sink, immerse’, 1sg. *topím*; Bulg. *topjá* ‘dive, dunk’

Etymology unclear.

***trāvā** f. ā (b) ‘grass’

CS OCS *trava* (Ps. Sin.) ‘grass, plants’

E Ru. *travá* ‘grass’

W Cz. *tráva* ‘grass’; Slk. *tráva* ‘grass’; Pl. *trawa* ‘grass’

S SCr. *tráva* ‘grass, herb, plant, weed’, Asg. *trāvu*; Čak. *trāvā* (Vrg.) ‘grass, herb, plant, weed’, Asg. *trāvũ*; *trāvā* (Orb.) ‘grass, herb, plant, weed’, Asg. *trāvo*; *travā* (Orlec) ‘grass’, Asg. *travũ*; Sln. *tráva* ‘grass’; Bulg. *travá* ‘grass’

The lengthened grade is reminiscent of Lith. *žolė* ‘grass’, herb’, OPr. *soalis* (EV), *sālin* (Ench.) Asg. ‘id.’, which is an old root noun.

See also: **traviti*; **trēvā*; **trovati*; **truti*; **tryti*

***trāviti** v. (b)

CS OCS *traveštiima* (Supr.) Dpl. m. ptc. pres. act. ‘devouring’ (for *traveštiimǫ*)

E Ru. *trávít* ‘exterminate (by poisoning), (coll.) poison’, 1sg. *travljú*, 3sg. *trávit*

W Cz. *tráviti* ‘digest, consume, poison’; Pl. *trawić* ‘digest, spend (time), consume’

S SCr. *tráviti* ‘feed with grass’

A derivative of → **trāvā*.

***tretǔ** num. jo 'third'

CS	OCS <i>tretii</i>
E	Ru. <i>trétij</i>
W	Cz. <i>třetí</i> ; Slk. <i>tretí</i> ; Pl. <i>trzeci</i>
S	SCr. <i>trěćī</i> ; Čak. <i>trěćī</i> , <i>trětī</i> (Vrg.); <i>trětī</i> (Novi); <i>trėti</i> (Orb.); Sln. <i>trétji</i> ; Bulg. <i>tréti</i>
BSl.	* <i>tretios</i> (* <i>tirtios</i>)
B	Lith. <i>trėčias</i> ; Latv. <i>trešs</i> OPr. <i>tīrts</i>
PIE	* <i>tr-t-io-</i>
Cogn.	Skt. <i>ṭṛtīya-</i> (RV+); Lat. <i>tertius</i>

The original Balto-Slavic form **tirtios* was apparently replaced by **tretios* on the analogy of the cardinal **treies* (→ **trǫje*, **tri*).

***trěvā** f. ā (b) 'grass'

CS	OCS <i>trěva</i> 'grass, plants'
S	Bulg. <i>trevá</i> 'grass'

See → **trāvā*.

***tręsti** v. (c) 'shake (tr.)'

CS	OCS <i>tręsti</i> , 1sg. <i>tręsǫ</i>
E	Ru. <i>trjasí</i> , 1sg. <i>trjasú</i> , 3sg. <i>trjasět</i>
W	Cz. <i>třásti</i> , 1sg. <i>třesu</i> ; OCz. <i>třiesti</i> ; Slk. <i>triasť</i> , 1sg. <i>trasiem</i> ; Pl. <i>trząść</i> , 1sg. <i>trzęsę</i>
S	SCr. <i>trěsti</i> , 1sg. <i>trésem</i> ; Čak. <i>trěsti</i> (Vrg.), 2sg. <i>trěšěš</i> ; <i>trěsti</i> (Hvar), 1sg. <i>trěsěñ</i> ; <i>tr'ēs</i> (Orb.), 3sg. <i>tr'iesě</i> ; Sln. <i>tręsti</i> , 1sg. <i>tręsem</i> ; Bulg. <i>tresá</i>

Vasmer (s.v. *trjasú*) suggests that **tręs* represents a contamination of **tres-*, cf. Skt. *trásati* 'shiver', and **trem-*, cf. Gk. τρέμω, Lat. *tremō* 'id.'. This hypothesis is endorsed by LIV (651).

***trovati** v. 'poison'

S	SCr. <i>tròvati</i> , 1sg. <i>trǫjēm</i> ; Čak. <i>trovāti</i> (Vrg.), 2sg. <i>trǫjěš</i> ; <i>trovāt</i> (Hvar), 1sg. <i>trǫjen</i> ; <i>trovāt</i> (Orb.), 3sg. <i>trǫjě</i> ; Sln. <i>trovāti</i> , 1sg. <i>trǫjem</i>
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Verb in *-*ati* based on the stem **trov-* < **trouH-* (→ **truti*, **tryti*).

***trǫdǔ** m. o 'tree fungus, tinder, mould'

CS	OCS <i>trǫdǔ</i> 'illness'; CS <i>trǫdǔ</i> 'tree fungus'
E	Ru. <i>trut</i> 'tinder, amadou'; ORu. <i>trudǔ</i> 'tree fungus'
W	Cz. <i>troud</i> 'mould'; Pl. <i>trąd</i> 'leprosy', Gsg. <i>trądu</i>
S	SCr. <i>trūd</i> 'punk, tinder', Gsg. <i>trūda</i> ; Sln. <i>trǫd</i> 'punk, colic'
BSl.	* <i>trond-</i> ?

B Lith. *trandis* f.(i) 2/4 ‘woodworm, moth’; Latv. *trūdi* Npl. m.(o) ‘mould’

Etymology unknown.

***trǫtǣ** m. o ‘drone’

CS SerbCS *trutō* ‘wasp’

E Ru. *trúten*’ m.(jo) ‘drone, parasite’

W Slk. *trút* ‘drone’; Pl. *truteń* ‘drone’; *trut* ‘drone’; *træt* (obs.) ‘drone’; OPl. *trant* ‘drone’; Slnc. *trǔyd* ‘drone’

S SCr. *trūt* ‘drone’, Gsg. *trūta*; Sln. *trǫt* ‘drone, parasite’

BSL. **tron-*

B Lith. *trānas* ‘drone’; Latv. *trans* ‘drone’

Etymology unclear. The Balto-Slavic forms are strongly reminiscent of Germanic forms such as MoE *drone*, MoHG *Drohne*, which have a different anlaut.

***trudǣ** m. o (b/c) ‘labour, trouble’

CS OCS *trudǣ* ‘labour, work’

E Ru. *trud* ‘labour, work, difficulty, trouble’, Gsg. *trudá*

W Cz. *trud* ‘difficulty, trouble’; Slk. *trud* (eccl.) ‘pains, grief’; Pl. *trud* ‘trouble, labour, work, pains’; Slnc. *trǔd* ‘labour, trouble’, Gsg. *trǔdu*

S SCr. *trūd* ‘effort, labour, work’, Gsg. *trúda*; Čak. *trūd* (Vrg.) ‘effort, labour, work’, Gsg. *trūdā*; *trúd* (Novi, Hvar) ‘effort, labour, work’, Gsg. *trūdā*; *trūt* (Orb.) ‘work, labour, effort, fatigue’, Gsg. *trūdā*; Sln. *trūd* ‘effort, difficulty’; Bulg. *trud* ‘labour, work, effort’

B Lith. *triūšas* ‘work, effort, pains’

PIE **troud-o-?*

Cogn. OIc. *þraut* f. ‘trial of strength, distress’; MHG *drōz* m. ‘distress, burden’

On the whole, the accentual evidence is in favour of AP (b), which, if the root is **troud-*, would be in conflict with Winter’s law.

***trūpǣ** m. o (c) ‘trunk, corpse’

CS OCS *trupǣ* ‘corpse’

E Ru. *trup* ‘corpse, carcass’; ORu. *trupǣ* ‘tree-trunk, corpse, carnage’

W Cz. *trup* ‘trunk’; Slk. *trup* ‘trunk’; Pl. *trup* ‘corpse’

S SCr. *trūp* ‘trunk, corpse’, Gsg. *trūpa*; Čak. *trūp* (Vrg.) ‘trunk, corpse’, Gsg. *trūpa*; Sln. *trūp* ‘trunk, body, corpse, log’; Bulg. *trup* ‘trunk, body, corpse, carcass’

B OPr. *trupis* ‘log’

Only Balto-Slavic.

***truti** v.

CS	OCS <i>natruti</i> 'feed', 1sg. <i>natrovъ</i>
E	ORu. <i>truti</i> 'consume', 1sg. <i>trovu</i>
W	Pl. <i>truc</i> 'poison, disturb, torment', 1sg. <i>truję</i>
PIE	* <i>trouH-</i>

See → **tryti* for the justification of the laryngeal.

***trъstъ** f. i (c) 'reed'

CS	OCS <i>trъstъ</i> f.(i); <i>trъstъ</i>
E	Ru. <i>trost</i> 'cane'; <i>trest</i> (dial.)
W	Cz. <i>trest</i> (obs.); <i>trst</i> (obs.); OCz. <i>trest</i> ; <i>trest</i> ; Slk. <i>trst</i> ; Pl. <i>tręć</i>
S	SCr. <i>třst</i> ; Sln. <i>třst</i> , Gsg. <i>třsta</i> , Gsg. <i>trstú</i> ; <i>třst</i> , Gsg. <i>trstř</i> ; Bulg. <i>trăst</i>
BSL.	* <i>trus-</i>
B	Lith. <i>triušis</i> f.(i) 4; Latv. <i>trusis</i> m.(jo)

The connection with Gk. θρύον n. is dubious, if only because of the anlaut.

***tryti** v. 'rub'

CS	CS <i>tryti</i>
S	Bulg. <i>trija</i>
PIE	* <i>truH-</i>
Cogn.	Gk. τρώω 'use up'

See also: **trāvā*; **traviti*; **trēvā*; **trovati*; **truti*

***trъje**; ***tri** num. 'three'

CS	OCS <i>trije</i> , f./n. <i>tri</i>
E	Ru. <i>tri</i>
W	Cz. <i>tři</i> ; OCz. <i>třie</i> , f./n. <i>tři</i> ; Slk. <i>tri</i> ; Pl. <i>trzy</i>
S	SCr. <i>trî</i> ; Čak. <i>trî</i> (Vrg., Hvar, Orb.); Sln. <i>trijê</i> , f./n. <i>trî</i> ; Bulg. <i>tri</i>
BSL.	* <i>trejes</i>
B	Lith. <i>trỹs</i> 4
PIE	* <i>trei-es</i>
Cogn.	Skt. <i>tráyas</i> (RV+); Gk. τρεῖς; Lat. <i>trēs</i>

See also: **tretsъ*

***tučьnъ** adj. o 'fat, rich'

CS	OCS <i>tučьnъ</i> (Euch., Ps. Sin.) 'fat, rich'
E	Ru. <i>túčnyj</i> 'fat, rich, succulent'
W	Cz. <i>tučný</i> 'fat'; Slk. <i>tučný</i> 'fat'; Pl. <i>tuczny</i> 'fat'
S	Sln. <i>túčən</i> 'fat', f. <i>túčna</i> ; Bulg. <i>túčen</i> 'fertile, rich, succulent'
BSL.	* <i>touřkinos</i>

B Lith. *taūkinas* ‘fat’

Lith. *taūkinas* is a classic case of *métatonie douce* (Derksen 1996: 72). The Balto-Slavic evidence points to **touHk-*, which may be a contamination of **teuH* and **teuk-* or an enlargement of the former.

See also: *tūkъ; *tÿti

***tūkъ** m. o (c) ‘fat’

CS OCS *tukъ* (Ps. Sin. En.)

E Ru. *tuk*; ORu. *tukъ*

W Cz. *tuk*; Slk. *tuk*; Pl. *tuk*

S Čak. *tūk* (Novi, Orb.), Gsg. *tūka*

BSL. **touřkós*

B Lith. *taukaĩ* Npl. 3; Latv. *tàuki* Npl.
OPr. *taukis* ‘lard’

PIE **touHk-o-*

Cogn. OHG *dioh* m. ‘thigh’

See also: *tučъnъ; *tÿti

***tūrъ** m. o (c) ‘aurochs’

CS OCS *turomъ* (Supr.) Isg. ‘bull’

E Ru. *tur*, Gsg. *túra*; Ukr. *tur*, Gsg. *túra*

W Cz. *tur*; Slk. *tur*; Pl. *tur*

S SCr. *tūr*, Gsg. *túra*; Sln. *tūr*; Bulg. *tur*

BSL. **taurós*

B Lith. *taūras* 4; Latv. *tàurs*

PIE **th₂eu-ro-* (*tauro-*)

Cogn. Gk. ταῦρος m. ‘bull’; Lat. *taurus* m. ‘bull’

***tvârъ** f. i (c) ‘creation, creature’

CS OCS *tvarъ* ‘creation, creature’

E Ru. *tvar* ‘creature’, Gsg. *tvári*

W Cz. *tvář* ‘face, cheek’; Slk. *tvár* ‘face, cheek’; Pl. *twarz* ‘face, cheek’

S SCr. *tvâr* m.(o) ‘creation, creature’; Sln. *tvâr* ‘matter’, Gsg. *tvarî*; Bulg. *tvar* m.(o) ‘creature’

BSL. **twōr(ř)-*

B Lith. *tvorà* f. ‘fence’

PIE **tuōrH-*

The length attested in Czech and Slovak is irregular, cf. Cz. *tvar*, Slk. *tvar* ‘form’. The lengthened grade originated in a root noun.

See also: *tvoritĭ; *tvorьbь; *tvьrdьbь; *tvьrdь

***tvoritĭ** v. (c) 'make'

- CS OCS *tvoritĭ* 'do, make', 1sg. *tvorjĭ*
 E Ru. *tvorit'* 'create, do', 1sg. *tvorjŭ*, 3sg. *tvorit'*
 W Cz. *tvoritĭ* 'do, make'; Slk. *tvorit'* 'do, make'; Pl. *tworzyć* 'do, make'
 S SCr. *tvòriti* 'do, make', 1sg. *tvòrim*; Sln. *tvorĭti* 'form, make', 1sg. *tvorĭm*; Bulg. *tvorjǎ* 'create'
 BSL. **tworʔ-*
 B Lith. *tvėrti* 'seize, form'; Latv. *tveĭt* 'seize, hold'
 PIE **tuorH-*

See also: *tvārь; *tvorьbь; *tvьrdьbь; *tvьrdь

***tvōrьbь** m. o (c) 'creation, creature'

- CS OCS *tvorьbь* (Ps. Sin., Euch.) 'creation, ulcer'
 E ORu. *tvorьbь* 'appearance'
 W Cz. *tvor* 'creation, creature'; Slk. *tvor* 'creation, creature'; Pl. *twór* 'creation, creature', Gsg. *tworu*
 S Sln. *tvōr* 'creation, furuncle'
 BSL. **twor(ʔ)-o*
 B Lith. *āptvaras* 'fence'
 PIE **tuorH-o-*
 Cogn. Gk. σορός f. 'urn'

See also: *tvārь; *tvoritĭ; *tvьrdьbь; *tvьrdь

***tvьrdьbь** adj. o (c) 'hard, firm, solid'

- CS OCS *tvьrdьbь* 'firm, solid'
 E Ru. *tvěrdyj* 'hard, solid'; *tvěrd* 'hard, solid', f. *tverdá*, f. *tvěrdo*
 W Cz. *tvrdý* 'hard, solid'; Slk. *tvrdý* 'hard, solid'; Pl. *twardy* 'hard, solid'
 S SCr. *tvřd* 'hard, firm', f. *tvřda*; Čak. *tvřd* (Vrg.) 'hard, firm', f. *tvřdǎ*, n. *tvřdo*; *třd* (Orb.) 'hard, firm', f. *třda*, f. *třdǎ*, n. *třdo*; Sln. *třd* 'hard', f. *třda*; *tvřd* 'hard', f. *tvřda*; Bulg. *tvǎrd* 'firm, solid, hard'
 B Lith. *tvirtas* 3 'strong, firm, solid'; Latv. *tvīrts* 'strong, firm, solid'

The Slavic and East Baltic suffixes do not match.

See also: *tvārь; *tvoritĭ; *tvorьbь; *tvьrdьbь

***tvьrdьbь** f. i 'citadel, firmament'

- CS OCS *tvьrdьbь* 'base, citadel, firmament'
 E Ru. *tverd'* 'firmament (*nebesnaja t.*), earth (*zemnaja t.*)'; ORu. *tvьrdьbь* 'firmament, darkness'
 S Bulg. *tvǎrd* (arch.) 'citadel, earth, sky, firmament'

See → *tvōrdv̄.

***tъ** prn. ‘this, that’

- CS OCS *tъ*, f. *ta*, n. *to*
 E Ru. *tot*, f. *ta*, n. *to*; ORu. *tъ*, f. *ta*, n. *to*
 W Cz. *ten*, f. *ta*, n. *to*; Slk. *ten*, f. *ta*, n. *to*; Pl. *ten*, f. *ta*, n. *to*; USrb. *tón*, f. *ta*, n. *to*
 S SCr. *tāj*, f. *tâ*, n. *tô*; Čak. *tă*, *tâ* (Orb.), f. *tâ*, n. *tô*, n. *tò*; Sln. *tâ*, f. *tâ*, n. *tô*
 BSl. **tos*
 B Lith. *tàs*, f. *tà*, n. *taĩ*; Latv. *tas*, f. *tā*
 OPr. *stas* art./prn. ‘the, this, that’, *sta(i)* f., n. *sta*
 PIE **so*
 Cogn. Skt. *sá*, f. *sā*, n. *tád*

The PIE demonstrative pronoun **so*, f. **seh*₂, n. *tod* was remodelled to Balto-Slavic **tos*, **ta?*, **tod*.

***tъrgati** v. (a) ‘tear’

- E Ru. *rastorgát* ‘cancel, annul’; Ukr. *tórhaty* ‘tear, pull’
 W Cz. *trhati* ‘tear, pull’; Slk. *trhat* ‘tear, pull’; Pl. *targac* ‘tear, pull’
 S SCr. *třgati* ‘tear, pluck’; Čak. *třgati* (Vrg.) ‘pick grapes’, 2sg. *třgāš*; *třgat* (Orb.) ‘pick, (harvest) grapes’, 1sg. *třgan*; Sln. *třgati* ‘tear, pull’, 1sg. *třgam*; Bulg. *tārgam* ‘tear, pull’

This verb may be cognate with Lat. *tergō* ‘wipe’, but in that case the meaning has been totally obscured by the resemblance to **dvrgati*.

See also: *tъrzati

***tъščь** adj. jo (b) ‘empty’

- CS OCS *tōštъ* ‘empty’
 E Ru. *tōščij* ‘gaunt, empty, poor’; *tōšč* ‘gaunt, empty, poor’, f. *toščá*, n. *tōšče* {1}
 W OCz. *tští* ‘empty’; Pl. *czy* ‘empty’; OPl. *tszczy* ‘empty’
 S SCr. *tāšt* ‘empty, vain, conceited’; Čak. *tāšč* (Vrgada) ‘empty’, f. *taščá*, n. *tāščo*; Sln. *tāšč* ‘empty’, f. *tāščà*; *tāšč* ‘empty’

- BSl. **tusk(t)ios*
 B Lith. *tūščias* ‘empty’; Latv. *tukšs* ‘empty, poor’

- PIE **tus-sk-io-*
 Cogn. Skt. *tucchyá-* (RV) ‘empty, vain’

{1} AP (b) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 136).

***ty** prn. ‘you’

- CS OCS *ty*
 E Ru. *ty*
 W Cz. *ty*; Slk. *ty*; Pl. *ty*

S	SCr. <i>tī</i> ; Čak. <i>tī</i> ; <i>tí</i> (Hvar); <i>tī</i> (Orb.); Sln. <i>tī</i> ; Bulg. <i>ti</i>
BSl.	* <i>tu?</i>
B	Lith. <i>tù</i> ; Latv. <i>tu</i> OPr. <i>tou</i>
PIE	* <i>tuH</i>
Cogn.	Lat. <i>tū</i>

*t̥yl̥ m. o (a) 'back of the neck'

CS	SerbCS <i>tyl̥</i> m. 'neck'
E	Ru. <i>tyl</i> m. 'back'
W	Cz. <i>tyl</i> m. 'back of the neck, nape'; Slk. <i>tylo</i> n. 'back of the neck, nape'; Pl. <i>tył</i> m. 'back'
S	Sln. <i>tīl</i> m. 'back of the neck, nape, rear part', Gsg. <i>tīla</i> ; Bulg. <i>til</i> m. 'back of the neck, nape'
B	Lith. <i>tūlas</i> 3 'many' OPr. <i>tūlan</i> adv. 'much'
PIE	* <i>tuH-l-</i>
Cogn.	Skt. <i>tūla-</i> (AV+) n. 'tuft of grass or reeds, panicle of a flower or plant'; Gk. τύλη f. 'bulge, lump, hump'

It is very likely that we must reconstruct a neuter **túllum*, cf. Slk. *tylo*. The Baltic examples, which are semantically remote, derive from the same root **tuH-* 'swell, become fat, strong' (cf. → **t̥yti*). The etymological relationship with the Sanskrit and Greek forms is admittedly more uncertain.

*t̥ys̥q̥ti; *t̥ys̥q̥ti num. f. i (a) 'thousand'

CS	OCS <i>tysq̥šti</i> f.(ī); <i>tysq̥šti</i> f.(ī)
E	Ru. <i>tysjača</i> f.(jā)
W	Cz. <i>tisíc</i> m.(jo); Slk. <i>tisíc</i> m.(jo); Pl. <i>tysiąc</i> m.(jo)
S	SCr. <i>tīsuća</i> (dial.) f.(jā); Sln. <i>tisóča</i> f.(jā)
BSl.	* <i>tuʔsonti-</i>
B	Lith. <i>tūkstantis</i> m.(jo) 1; <i>tūkstantis</i> (dial.) f.(i) 1; Latv. <i>tūkstuōtis</i> m.(jo); <i>tūkstuōtis</i> m.(jo) OPr. <i>tūsimtons</i> Apl.
PIE	* <i>tuH-s-ont-</i> ; * <i>tuH-s-ent-</i>
Cogn.	Go. <i>þūsundi</i> f.

For the root, see → **t̥yti*. The exact formation is unclear.

*t̥yti v. 'become fat'

CS	RuCS <i>tyti</i>
W	Cz. <i>týti</i> ; Slk. <i>tyť</i>

- S SCr. *tīti*
 PIE **tuH-*
 Cogn. Skt. *tavīti* ‘be strong’
 See also: **tučьnъ*; **tūkъ*

***tǔlěti** v. ‘decay, smoulder’

- CS OCS *tǔlěti* ‘decay’, 1sg. *tǔlějǫ*
 E Ru. *tlet* ‘rot, decay, smoulder’, 1sg. *tléju*
 W Cz. *tlíti* ‘decay, rot, mould’; Slk. *tliet* ‘smoulder’; Pl. *tleć* ‘smoulder’, 1sg. *tleję*
 S Sln. *tlěti* ‘smoulder’, 1sg. *tlím*; Bulg. *tléja* ‘smoulder’
 BSL. **til(?)*-
 B Latv. *tīlt*² ‘become soft, become retted’

The connection with **utoliti* ‘quench, satisfy, relieve’ and Lith. *tylėti* ‘be silent, soothe’ is uncertain.

***tǔlò**; ***tǔla** n. o; f. ā (b) ‘ground’

- CS OCS *na tǔlěxъ* (Supr.) Lpl. n. ‘on the ground’
 E Ru. *tlo* (obs.) n. ‘foundation, bottom’; ORu. *tǔlo* n. ‘foundation, bottom’
 W Cz. *tlo* (dial.) f. ‘ceiling’; *tla* (dial.) f. ‘ceiling’; Pl. *tlo* n. ‘ground, background’
 S SCr. *tlò* n. ‘ground, earth, soil’, Gsg. *tlǎ*, Npl. *tlǎ*; *tlě* Npl. f. ‘soil, earth’; Čak. *tlòh* (Vrg.) m. ‘ground, earth, soil’, Gsg. *tlohǎ*; *tlǎ* (Novi) Npl. n. ‘ground, earth, soil’, Gpl. *tál*; *tlò* (Orb.) n. ‘ground, terrain’, Gsg. *tlǎ*, Npl. *tlǎ* (usually plural, except the Gsg. *tlǎ*); Sln. *tlà* Npl. n. ‘ground, earth’, Gpl. *tál*
 BSL. **til?*-
 B Lith. *tilės* Npl. f.(ē) ‘bottom of a barge, flooring’
 PIE **tlH-o-*

Cf. also Lith. *tiltas*, Latv. *tīlts* ‘bridge’.

***tǔma** f. ā ‘darkness’

- CS OCS *tǔma*
 E Ru. *t’ma*
 W Cz. *tma*; Slk. *tma*; Pl. *ćma*; USrb. *ćma*
 S SCr. *táma* ‘darkness, dusk, fog’; Sln. *tǎmà*; *tmà*; Bulg. *tǎmá*
 BSL. **tima?*
 B Latv. *tima*

Cogn. Skt. *támas-* n.

Substantive derived from the root **tǔm-* < **tǔmH-*.

See also: **tǔmьnъ*

***тъмьнѣ** adj. o (b/c) ‘dark’

- CS OCS *tǫmьnǫ*
 E Ru. *těmnyj*; *těmen*, f. *temná*, n. *temnó*
 W Cz. *temný*; Slk. *temný*; Pl. *ciemny*; USrb. *ćemny*
 S SCr. *táman*, f. *támna*, n. *támno*; *táman*, f. *támna*, n. *támno*; Čak. *táman* (Vrg.), f. *tāmñä*, n. *tāmno*; Sln. *təmən*, f. *təmñä*; Bulg. *támen*

BSl. **timǵ-/tomǵ-*

B Lith. *tamsùs* 3; Latv. *tùmsš*; *tìmsš*² (E. Latv.)

Adjective in *-*bnǫ*. The root is **tǫm-* < **tǫH-*.

See also: **тъма*

***тънѣкъ** adj. o (c) ‘thin’

- CS OCS *tǫnǫčaje* ‘thinner’ Nsg. n.
 E Ru. *tónkij* ‘thin, slender, fine’; *tónok* ‘thin, slender, fine’, f. *tanká*, n. *tónko*
 W Cz. *tenký* ‘thin, slender, fine’; Slk. *tenký* ‘thin, slender, fine’; Pl. *cienki* ‘thin, slender, fine’
 S SCr. *tànak* ‘thin, slender, fine’, f. *tànka*, f. *tánka*; Čak. *tànak* (Vrg.) ‘thin, slender, fine’, f. *tankä*, n. *tânko*; *tànak* (Orb.) ‘thin, slender, fine’, f. *tãnka*, n. *tãnko*; Sln. *tənək* ‘thin, meagre, exact’, f. *tənkä*; *tänki* ‘thin, meagre, exact’, f. *tãnka*; Bulg. *tǎnǎk* ‘thin, slender, fine’

BSl. **tinǵ-u-/tenǵ-u-*

B Lith. *tėvas* (Žem.) 3 ‘thin, fine’; Latv. *tiēvs* ‘thin, fine’

PIE **tnh₂-u-*

Cogn. Skt. *tanú-* (Br+) ‘thin, slender’; Gk. *ταναός* ‘outstretched’; Lat. *tenuis* ‘fine, thin’; OIr. *tanae* ‘thin, slender’

Adjective in *-*ǫkǫ*, cf. OCS *istǫnǫ* (Ps. Sin.) ‘I beat [them] fine’.

***търнѣ** m. o (b) ‘thorn’

- CS OCS *trǫnǫ* (Ps. Sin.)
 E Ru. *těrn* ‘blackthorn, sloe’; *těren* (dial.) ‘blackthorn, sloe’, Gsg. *těrna*; Ukr. *terén*, Gsg. *ternú*
 W Cz. *trn*; Slk. *trň*; Pl. *cierní* m.(jo); OPl. *tarn* m.(o); *cirń* m.(jo)
 S SCr. *třn*, Gsg. *třna*; Čak. *třń* (Vrg.), Gsg. *trńä*; *třn* (Orb.), Gsg. *třna*; Kajk. *těrn* (Bednja), Gsg. *ternä*; Sln. *třn* ‘thorn, thornbush, quill, hook’; Bulg. *trǎn* ‘thorn, thistle’

PIE **tr-no-m*

Cogn. Skt. *třna-* n. ‘grass, blade of grass’; Go. *þaurus* m. ‘thorn’; OIc. *þorn* m. ‘thorn’

***тъrzati** v. ‘tear, pull’

- CS OCS *trǫzati* (Supr.) ‘pull, tear’, 1sg. *trěžǫ*, 1sg. *trǫzajǫ*

- E Ru. *terzát* ‘tear apart, torment’, 1sg. *terzáju*
 S SCr. *třzati* ‘pull, jerk’; Čak. *třzat* ‘jerk, snatch, tug’, 2sg. *třzaš*; Sln. *třzati* ‘tear, pull out, pluck’, 1sg. *třzam*; Bulg. *tărzam* ‘tear, pull out, pluck’

See → **tbrgati*.

*U

*u prep./pref. ‘from, by, at, (pref.) away’

- CS OCS *u* ‘from, at’; *u-* ‘away’
 E Ru. *u* ‘by, at’; *u-* ‘away’
 W Pl. *u* ‘by, at’; *u-* ‘away’
 S SCr. *u* ‘by, at’; *u-* ‘away’; Sln. *u-* ‘away’; Bulg. *u* ‘by, at’; *u-* ‘away’

BSL. **au*

- B Lith. *au-* ‘away’; Latv. *au-* ‘away’
 OPr. *aumūsnan* Asg. ‘ablution’; *aulaūt* ‘die’

PIE **h₂eu*

- Cogn. Skt. *áva* (RV+) prvr̥b./prep. ‘off, away, down’; Lat. *au-* pref. ‘away’; OIr. *ó (úa)* prep. ‘from’

ubògъ adj. o ‘poor’

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- CS OCS *ubogъ* ‘poor, wretched’
 E Ru. *ubógij* ‘poverty-stricken, wretched’
 W Cz. *ubohý* ‘poor, wretched’; Slk. *úbohý* ‘poor, wretched’; Pl. *ubogi* ‘poor’
 S SCr. *ùbog* ‘poor’; Sln. *ubôg* ‘poor’

Compound of → **u* and → **bôgъ*.

***učiti** v. (c) ‘teach’

- CS OCS *učiti*, 1sg. *učŏ*
 E Ru. *učít*, 1sg. *učú*, 3sg. *účit* {1}
 W Cz. *učiti*; Slk. *učit*; Pl. *uczyć*
 S SCr. *ùčiti*, 1sg. *ùčim*; Čak. *učiti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *učiš*; Sln. *učíti*, 1sg. *učím*; Bulg. *úča*

BSL. **ou?k-*

- B Lith. *jaukinti* ‘tame, domesticate’; Latv. *jaúcêt* ‘accustom’
 OPr. *iaukint* ‘exercise’

PIE **h₁ouk-eie-*

- Cogn. Skt. *ucyati* ‘be accustomed to’ (**h₁uk-*); Go. *biuhts* adj. ‘accustomed to’ (**h₁euk-*)

The main problem with this etymology is the Balto-Slavic evidence for an acute. Kortlandt (1977b: 38) claims that initial **u* yielded PSl. acute **vy-* under the stress

and *v̥- pretonically. The East Baltic reflexes under the stress are Lith. *ú* and – surprisingly – Latv. *ú*. Since we have →*vyk̃ñti (a), it is possible to assume that the zero grade *uʔ- provided the basis for full grades *ouʔk- (<< *ouk- < *h₁ouk-) and *jouʔk- (<< *jouk- < *h₁euk-). We must keep in mind, however, that Winter's law has significantly reduced the evidence for the development proposed by Kortlandt. Note that the *j*- of the Baltic forms must be secondary.

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 140).

See also: *vyk̃ñti

***udariti** v. 'strike, hit'

CS OCS *udariti*, 1sg. *udarjō*

E Ru. *udárit'*, 1sg. *udárju*

S SCr. *ùdariti*, 1sg. *ùdarim*; Sln. *udáriti*, 1sg. *udârim*; Bulg. *udárja*

Prefixed verb with lengthened grade of the root. See → *derti.

***ùditi** v.

E Ru. *údit'* (Dal') 'ripen, fill (with)'

PIE *HouHd^h-

Cogn. Skt. *údhar-* n. 'udder'; OE *ūder* n. 'udder'

See also: *ṽmę

***ūxo** n. o (c) 'ear'

CS OCS *uxo* n. (s/o), Gsg. *ušese*, Gsg. *uxa*, Ndu. *uši*

E Ru. *úxo*, Npl. *úši*

W Cz. *ucho*; Slk. *ucho*; Pl. *ucho*

S SCr. *ùho*, Npl. f. *ùši*; *ùvo*, Npl. f. *ùši*; Čak. *ùho* (Vrg., Hvar), Gsg. *ùha*, Npl. m. *ùši*; *ùho* (Novi), Npl. *ùši*; *ùho* (Orb.), Gsg. *ùhã*, Npl. f. *ùši*; Sln. *uhō* n. (s), Gsg. *ušęsa*; Bulg. *uxó*, Npl. *uši*

BSl. *auš-

B Lith. *ausis* f. (i) 4; Latv. *àuss* f. (i)

OPr. *āusins* Apl.

PIE *h₂eus-

Cogn. Lat. *auris* f.; Go. *auso* f.; OIr. *áu* n.

***ujь** m. jo 'uncle on mother's side'

E Ru. *uj*, Gsg. *úja*; *vuj* (dial.)

W Cz. *ujec*; Slk. *újec*; Pl. *wuj*

S SCr. *ùjāk*; *ùjac*, Gsg. *ùjca*; Čak. *ùjac* (Vrg.), Gsg. *ùjca*; Sln. *újac*, Gsg. *újca*

BSl. *auʔ(i)o-

B Lith. *avýnas* m. 1

OPr. *awis* 'uncle'

PIE **h₂eu_h₂-i-o-*

Cogn. Hitt. *ḫuḫḫa-* c. ‘grandfather’; Lat. *avus* m. ‘grandfather’; Go. *awo* f. ‘grandmother’; Arm. *haw* ‘grandfather’; OIr. *ae* m. ‘grandson’

***ùlica** f. jā (a) ‘street’

E Ru. *ùlica* ‘street’; ORu. *ulica* ‘square, street, passage’

W Cz. *ulice* ‘street’; Slk. *ulica* ‘street’; Pl. *ulica* ‘street’

S SCr. *ùlica* ‘yard, street’; Čak. *ùlica* (Orb.) ‘street’; Sln. *ùlica* ‘alley, street’; Bulg. *ùlica* ‘street’

BSl. **aul-*

B OPr. *aulis* ‘shin’

PIE **h₂eul-*

Cogn. Gk. ἀύλος m. ‘pipe, flute’; ἀύλών m. ‘hollow, channel, strait’

Derivative based on the stem **ul-* < **h₂eul-* (→ **ulbj̥*).

See also: **ulbj̥*

***ulbj̥** m. io ‘(bee)hive’

CS RuCS *ulii* m.(io)

E Ru. *úlej*, Gsg. *úl’ja*

W Cz. *úl*; Slk. *úl*; Pl. *ul*

S Čak. *úlj* (Orb.), Gsg. *úljã*; Sln. *úlj* ‘hollow tree, (bee)hive’; Bulg. *úlej* ‘pipe, opening’

BSl. **aulios*

B Lith. *aulys* m.(io) ‘(bee)hive’; Latv. *aūlis* m.(io) ‘(bee)hive’

OPr. *aulis* ‘shin’

Cogn. Gk. ἀύλος m. ‘pipe, flute’; Gk. ἀύλών m. ‘hollow, channel, strait’; Nw. *aul* (dial.) m. ‘hollow stalk of angelica’

See also: **ulica*

***úm̥** m. o (b) ‘mind’

CS OCS *um̥*

E Ru. *um*

W Cz. *um* (lit.) ‘mind, skill’; Slk. *um*; Pl. *um*

S SCr. *úm*, Gsg. *úma*; Sln. *úm* ‘mind, wrath’; *ùm* ‘mind, wrath’, Gsg. *úma*; Bulg. *um*

BSl. **aum(en)-*

B Lith. *aumiō* m.(n) 3b

PIE **h₂eu-m-*

A derivative of the root **h₂eu*, which underlies such forms as Skt. *āvís* ‘evidently’ < **h₂ouis* and Gk. αισθάνομαι ‘perceive’ < **h₂euis-d^h*.

See also: *aviti; *avě; *авьпъ

*уѣъ adj. jo 'better'

CS OCS *un'ii* 'better', n. *unje*; *uněi* 'better', n. *uněje*; RuCS *unje* Nsg. n. 'better'

Etymology obscure. Semantically, the connection with Skt. *vanóti* 'defeat, conquer' is not unattractive, but we would have to assume *Schwebeablaut*. If the adjective contains an *n*-suffix, the root **h₁euH-* of Skt. *ávati* 'help, protect' is a candidate (cf. Meillet *Ét.* II: 435),

*ūslò(?) n. o (b) 'woven fabric on a loom'

E Ru. *uslò* (Kostrom.) 'woven fabric on a loom' {1}

The most plausible etymology for this obscure form involves a connection with Lith. *áusti* (1sg. *áudžiu*) 'weave'. Vasmer (s.v.) reconstructs the suffix as *-*slo*, but I find *-*tlo* more attractive. In this case, the correspondence between AP (b) in Slavic and an acute root in Baltic would not pose a problem because the glottal stop originating from Winter's law would be lost in pretonic position (see Derksen 1996: 105-111).

{1} As far as I know, this form has only been recorded by Dal', who adds a question mark. The word is illustrated by the sentence Сколь велико усло? Много ли наткала? See also Eckert 1970.

*ūstà Npl. n. o (b) 'mouth'

CS OCS *usta*

E Ru. *ustá* (obs., poet.)

W Cz. *ústa*; Slk. *ústa*; Pl. *usta*

S SCr. *ústa*; Čak. *ūstā*; *ūsta*; Sln. *ústa*; Bulg. *ustá* Npl. n. 'mouth, opening'; *ustá* f. 'mouth, opening'

BSL. **oust-* (**aust-*?)

B Lith. *úostas* m. 1 'port, harbour, (dial., arch.) mouth of a river' {1}; Latv. *uōsta* f. 'port, harbour, mouth of a river' {1}

OPr. *austo* (EV) 'mouth'; *āustin* (Ench.) Asg. 'mouth'

PIE **Hous-t-* (*h_{2/3}eus-t-*?)

Cogn. Skt. *oṣṭha-* (RV+) m. '(upper) lip'

The vocalism of the East Baltic forms may have been adopted from **h₃oh₁-(e/o)s-* 'mouth', cf. Lat. *ōstium* 'mouth of a river' (EIEC 387, Derksen 2002: 40-41).

See also: *naustiti; *ustiti; *ustъje; *ustъna; *ūzdà

*ustiti v.

CS OCS *ustiti* (Supr.) 'incite, persuade'

S Sln. *ústiti* 'say, talk, agitate', 1sg. *ústim*

BSL. **oust-* (**aust-*?)

B Lith. *áusčioti* 'gossip, talk nonsense'; Latv. *aūšât* 'chatter, talk nonsense'

Derivative of → **ūstā*.

***ustǫje** n. io ‘mouth, estuary’

E Ru. *úst'e* n.(io) ‘mouth, estuary, orifice’; ORu. *ustbe* n.(io) ‘mouth, estuary’

W Cz. *ústí* n.(io) ‘estuary’; Slk. *ústie* n.(io) ‘estuary’; Pl. *ujście* n.(io) ‘estuary’

S Sln. *ústje* n.(io) ‘estuary’; Bulg. *ústie* n.(io) ‘estuary, opening’

Derivative of → **ūstā*.

***ustǫna** f. ā ‘lip’

CS OCS *ustǫna* f. ‘lip, mouth’ (usually dual or plural)

E Ru. *ustná* (dial.) Npl. n. ‘lip’

S Sln. *ústna* f. ‘lip’; Bulg. *ústna* f. ‘lip’

Derivative of → **ūstā*.

***usǫnǫti** v. ‘fall asleep’

CS OCS *usǫnǫti*, 1sg. *usǫnǫ*

E Ru. *usnúť*

W Cz. *usnouti*; Slk. *usnúť*; Pl. *usnąć*

See → **u* and → **sǫpati*.

***ǫtro** n. o (a) ‘morning, dawn’

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CS OCS *utro* ‘morning, dawn’; *jutro* ‘morning, dawn’; *utro* adv. ‘in the morning, tomorrow’; *jutro* ‘in the morning, tomorrow’; *utrě* adv. ‘tomorrow’; *jutrě* (Mar.) adv. ‘tomorrow’; *zautra* adv. ‘in the morning’ {1}

E Ru. *útro* ‘morning’; *závtra* adv. ‘tomorrow’; ORu. *utro* ‘morning, dawn’; *zautra* adv. ‘tomorrow’

W Cz. *jitro* ‘morning’; *jutro* (dial.) adv. ‘tomorrow’; *zitra* adv. ‘tomorrow’; Slk. *zajtra* adv. ‘tomorrow’; Pl. *jutro* ‘morning’; *jutro* adv. ‘tomorrow’ {2}

S SCr. *jǫtro* ‘morning’; Čak. *jǫtro* (Vrg., Novi, Orb.) ‘morning’; *sǫtra* adv. ‘tomorrow’; *sjǫtra* adv. ‘tomorrow’; *sǫtra* (Vrg., Hvar) adv. ‘tomorrow’; *jǫtre* (Orb.) adv. ‘tomorrow’; Sln. *jǫtro* ‘morning, East’; *jǫtri* adv. ‘tomorrow’; *jutre* adv. ‘tomorrow’; *zǫjtra* adv. ‘tomorrow morning’; *zǫjtrę* adv. ‘tomorrow morning, tomorrow’; *zǫjtrę* adv. ‘tomorrow morning, tomorrow’; *zǫutra* adv. ‘early in the morning’; Bulg. *útro* ‘morning’; *útre* adv. ‘tomorrow’

BSl. **aus(t)ro*

B Lith. *ausrà* f. 2/4 ‘dawn’; *ausrà* (dial.) f. 4 ‘dawn’; Latv. *àustra* f. ‘dawn’; *aūstra* f. ‘dawn’

PIE **h₂eus-rom*

Cogn. Gk. *αὔριον* adv. ‘tomorrow’; Lat. *auster* m. ‘south wind’; OIc. *austr* m. ‘East’

The traces of *s* in this etymon are too many to be ignored. It must be admitted, however, that the loss of *s* in PSl. **justro* is irregular. According to Nieminen (1956), the *s* was lost as a result of dissimilation in syntagms such as **za ustra* and **sǫ ustra*.

The main problem of the etymology **h₂eus-ro-* is not the absence of *s* but the PSl. acute intonation of the root. I suspect that we are dealing with an instance of contamination here, but for the time being a proper candidate seems to be lacking. Here Kortlandt's theory that **(H)u-* yielded **u[?]-* comes to mind. The zero grade form which the acute would have spread is not attested, however.

{1} In the Psalterium Sinaiticum there is a single occurrence of *zaustra* 'in the morning'. In view of Bulg. *zástra*, Mcd. *dzástra*, this is unlikely to be a writing error. {2} In Old Polish we find such forms as *justrzejszy* 'tomorrow's', *justrozenka* 'dawn'.

***uvędati** v. 'fade, wither'

CS OCS *neuveđajōštiiimō* (Supr.) Isg. m. ptc. pres. act. 'unfading'

E Ru. *uvjadát* 'fade, wither'

W Cz. *uvadati* 'fade, wither'

See → **svędnōti*.

***uvęsti** v.

CS OCS *uvęsti* (Supr.) 'tie (to, around), crown', 1sg. *uvęzō*

See → **vęzati*.

***ūzdā** f. ā (b) 'bridle'

CS OCS *uzda* (Ps. Sin., Supr.)

E Ru. *uzdá*

W Cz. *uzda*; OCz. *úзда*; Slk. *uzda*; Pl. *uzda*

S SCr. *ūzda*; *ūzdā* (Čak.); Čak. *ūzda* (Orb.) 'bit (of a bridle)'; Sln. *úzda*

Derivative of → **ūstā*. The suffix **-da* may contain **-dh₁-* 'put'.

***užasō** m. o 'amazement, horror'

CS OCS *užasō* 'ecstasy, horror'

E Ru. *úžas* 'horror'

W Cz. *úžas* 'amazement, horror'; Slk. *úžas* 'amazement, horror'

S Bulg. *úžas* 'dismay, dread, horror'

See → **žasiti*.

***v**

***vabiti** v. 'lure'

CS OCS *vabimo* (Supr.) Nsg. n. ptc. pres. pass. 'being lured'

E Ru. *vábít* 'lure, decoy'

W Cz. *vábíti* 'lure'; Slk. *vábít* 'lure'; Pl. *wabíc* 'lure'; Sln. *vābjíc* 'lure, invite', 1sg. *vāubjā*

- S SCr. *vábiti* 'lure, attract', 1sg. *vâbim*; Sln. *vábiti* 'lure, invite', 1sg. *vábim*
 Cogn. Go. *wopjan* 'call out'; OHG *wuoffen* 'bewail'; *wuofen* 'whine'; OE *wēpan* 'weep'

The West and South Slavic evidence points to AP (b) and therefore to lengthened grade of the root, in which case we may reconstruct **uōb-* (with loss of *? after a long vowel in BSL. **uō?b-* from Winter's law?). If the East Slavic accentuation is old, however, the root may have been **ueh₂b-* or **ueh₃b-*.

***vaditi** v.

- CS OCS *vaditi* (Zogr., Mar., Supr.) 'accuse', 1sg. *važďo*, 2sg. *vadiši*
 E Ru. *vádit'* (arch., dial.) 'slander, lure, spend time, deceive'; *vádit'* (Novg.) 'lure, spend time, deceive'
 W Cz. *vaditi* 'hamper, (v. se) quarrel'; Slk. *vadiť* 'hamper'; Pl. *wadzić* (obs.) 'annoy, hamper'; Sln. *vāžic* 'hamper'
 S Sln. *váditi* 'report (someone), charge, (v. se) quarrel', 1sg. *vādim*
 B Lith. *vadinti* 'call'
 Cogn. Skt. *vádati* 'speak, talk'; Hitt. *uātarnahh-* 'order, instruct'

If we derive **vaditi* from **h₂uedh₂* (cf. Skt. *vad'* 'speak, talk'), the **a* can be attributed to Winter's law. This would rule out a connection with Lith. *vadinti* 'call', which is best derived from **uedh-* 'lead'; cf. Latv. *vināt* 'lead, accompany, urge, lure', *vedināt* 'urge, lure' (cf. Trautmann 1923a: 337, Būga RR II: 642). It seems to me that Ru. *vádit'* (Novg.) 'lure, spend (time), deceive' cannot be separated from *vodít'* 'lead' (Baltic influence?) and therefore does not belong to our etymon **vaditi*.

***variti** v. (c (b?)) 'boil, cook'

- CS OCS *variti* (Supr.) 'cook'
 E Ru. *varít'*, 1sg. *varjú*, 3sg. *varít* {1}
 W Cz. *vařiti*; Slk. *varit'*; Pl. *warzyć*
 S SCr. *várity*, 1sg. *vârim*; Čak. *vāřiti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *vāřiš*; *vōřit* (Hvar), 1sg. *vórin*; Sln. *variti*, 1sg. *varim*; Bulg. *varjá*
 BSL. **wōr-ei/i-*
 B Latv. *vārīt*

Causative with lengthened grade of the root **uerh₁₋*, cf. Hitt. *u(a)rāni* 'burns (intr.)'.
 {1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 139).

See also: **vārǣ*; **virǣ*; **vǣrǣti*

***vārǣ** m. o (c)

- CS OCS *varǣ* 'heat'
 E Ru. *var* 'pitch, (dial.) boiling water, heat'
 W Cz. *var* 'boiling'; Slk. *var* 'boiling'; Pl. *war* 'boiling water, heat'
 S SCr. *vâr* 'heat'; Sln. *vâr* 'solder'

B Lith. *varūs* 4 ‘simmering’

PIE **uōrH-o-*

See → **variti*.

***vasǫ** prn. ‘you (pl.)’

CS OCS *vasǫ* GALpl.

E Ru. *vas* GALpl.

W Cz. *vás* GALpl.; Pl. *was* GALpl.

S SCr. *vās* GApl.; *vas* GApl. encl.; Čak. *vǎs* (Vrg.) GApl.; *vās* (Orb.) GApl.; *vas* GApl. encl.

B OPr. *wans* Apl.

The form **vasǫ* goes back to **uōs* plus the Gpl. ending *-*om*.

See also: **vy*

***věčerǫ** m. o (c) ‘evening’

CS OCS *věčerǫ*

E Ru. *véčer*, Gsg. *véčera*; Bel. *véčar*, Gsg. *véčera*; Ukr. *véčir*, Gsg. *véčera*

W Cz. *večer*; Slk. *večer*; Pl. *wieczór*; USrb. *wječor*

S SCr. *věčē*, Gsg. *věčera*; Čak. *věčēr* (Vrg.) f.(i), Gsg. *věčeri*; *věčer* (Hvar) f.(i), Gsg. *věčeri*; Sln. *večēr*; Bulg. *véčer*

BSl. **wekeros*

B Lith. *vākaras*; Latv. *vakars*

PIE **uekspero-*

Cogn. Gk. ἔσπερος m.; Lat. *vesper* m.; MW *ucher* m.; Arm. *gišer*

See also: **vьčera*

***vedro** n. o ‘nice weather’

CS OCS *vedro* (Zogr., Mar.) ‘nice weather’

E Ru. *vědro* (obs., coll.) ‘nice weather’

W Cz. *vedro* ‘sweltering heat’

PIE **ued^hrom*

Cogn. OIc. *veðr* n. ‘weather’; OHG *wetar* n.

See also: **vedrǫ*

***vedrǫ** adj. o ‘clear’

CS CS *vedrǫ* ‘clear’

S SCr. *vědar* ‘clear, serene, cheerful’; Čak. *vědar* (Vrg.) ‘clear, serene, cheerful’; f. *vedrà*, f. *vědra*, n. *vědro*; Sln. *vědar* ‘clear (sky), without rain’; f. *vědra*, *vedrô* n.; Bulg. *vědār* ‘clear, fresh’

See → **vedro*.

***velěti** v. (c) ‘want, order’

- CS OCS *velěti* ‘want, order’, 1sg. *veljǫ*
 E Ru. *velět* ‘want, order’, 1sg. *veljú*, 3sg. *velít*
 W Cz. *veleti* ‘command, order’
 S SCr. *velīm* 1sg. ‘say’; *velju* (S. dial.) 1sg. ‘say’; Čak. *velī* (Vrg.) 3sg. ‘says’; Sln. *velěti* ‘want, order, say’, 1sg. *velím*; Bulg. *velja* ‘say’
 BSl. **wel(ǝ)-*
 B Lith. *velti* (OLith.) ‘allow’, 1sg. *velmi*
 PIE **uelh₁-*
 Cogn. Lat. *velle* ‘want’; Go. *wiljan* ‘want’

See also: *dovylěti; *velikъ; *velькъ; *velь; *velьmi; *voliti; *vòla

***velikъ** adj. o ‘big, great’

- CS OCS *velikъ* ‘big, great, strong’
 E Ru. *velikij* ‘great, big’
 W Cz. *veliký* ‘great, big’; Slk. *veliký* ‘great, big’
 S SCr. *vělikī* ‘big, strong, intense, great’, f. *vělikā*, n. *vělikō*; Čak. *vělik* (Vrg.) ‘big, strong, intense, great’, f. *velikā*, n. *velikō* (the definite form *vělikī* is more common); Sln. *velik* ‘big, great’, f. *velika*; *věliki* ‘big, strong’, f. *vělika*; Bulg. *velik* ‘great, big’

The root **vel-* of various Slavic adjectives meaning ‘big, great’ is **uelh₁-*, cf. Lat. *valeō* ‘be strong, well’.

See also: *velькъ; *velь; *velьmi

***velkti** v. ‘drag’

- CS OCS *vlěšti*, 1sg. *vlěkǫ*
 E Ru. *volóč* (coll.), 1sg. *volokú*, 3sg. *voločět*; *vleč*’, 1sg. *vlekú*, 3sg. *vlečět*; ORu. *voloči*, 1sg. *voloku*
 W Cz. *vléci*, 1sg. *vleku*; Slk. *vliect*, 1sg. *vlečiem*; Pl. *wlec*, 1sg. *wlokę*
 S SCr. *vúci*, 1sg. *vúčem*; Čak. *vūci* (Vrg.), 2sg. *vūčěš*; *vūc* (Orb.), 1sg. *vūcèn*; Sln. *vlěči*, 1sg. *vlěčem*; Bulg. *vleká*, 2sg. *vlečěš*
 BSl. **welk-/wilk-*
 B Lith. *vilkti*, 3pres. *velka*, 3pret. *vilko*; Latv. *vilkt*, 1sg. *vēlku*

In LIV (289-290), the root is reconstructed as **h₂uelk-*, where the laryngeal is based on Gk. αῦλαξ ‘furrow’, ὄλκα (Hom.) Asg. ‘id.’. The etymological relationship with the Greek forms is not without problems, however, cf. the existence of a variant ἄλοξ. The only other suggested cognates outside Balto-Slavic are a limited number of forms from Avestan (see LIV: l.c.). I conclude that the Indo-European background of our Balto-Slavic root is far from solid.

See also: *obolkъ; *volkā; *vōlkъ

***velb** adj. jo 'big, great'

- CS RuCS *velii* 'big'
 E Ru. *velij* (obs.) 'big'
 W OCz. *velí* 'big'
 S SCr. *věljī* 'great, big, large', f. *věljā*, n. *věljō*; Čak. *věli* (Novi) 'great, big, large', f. *vělā*, n. *vělō*; *věli* (Orb.) 'great, big, large', f. *věla*, n. *vělo*; Sln. *věli(i)* 'big, great', f. *věla*; Mcd. *vělij* 'big'

See → **velikō*.

***velьkь** adj. o 'big, great'

- W Cz. *velký*; Slk. *velký*; Pl. *wielki*

See → **velikō*.

***velьmi** adv. 'very'

- CS OCS *velьmi*
 E Ru. *vel'mí* (obs.)
 W Cz. *velmi*; Slk. *velmi*

Originally an Ipl. in **-miHs.* (→ **velb*).

***veprь** m jo '(wild) boar'

- CS OCS *veprь* (Ps. Sin.) 'boar'
 E Ru. *vepr* 'wild boar', Gsg. *věprja*
 W Cz. *vepř* 'pig'; Pl. *wieprz* 'pig'
 S SCr. *věpar* m.(o) 'boar', Gsg. *věpra*; Sln. *věp̃ar* m.(o) 'boar'
 BSL. **weprios*
 B Latv. *vepris* m.(io) 'castrated boar'

Cogn. Lat. *aper* m. 'wild boar'; OHG *ebur* m. 'wild boar'; OE *eofor* m. 'wild boar'

It can hardly be doubted that this etymon has Italic and Germanic cognates, but the reconstruction of the anlaut presents difficulties.

***vergti** v. 'throw'

- CS OCS *vrěšti* 'throw', 1sg. *vrьgo*
 W OCz. *vrci* 'throw', 1sg. *vrhu*
 S SCr. *vřci* 'put, throw', 1sg. *vřgnēm*; Čak. *vřć* (Vrg.) 'put, throw', 2sg. *vřžeš*; *vřć*, *vřć* (Orb.) 'put, throw', 1sg. *vřžēm*; *vřć* (Orlec) 'throw away', 1sg. *vřžen*; Sln. *vřěci* 'throw', 1sg. *vřžem*

PIE **uergʷ-*

Cogn. Go. *wairpan* 'throw'

LIV (689) suggests that in Germanic **w - kʷ > *w - p*, cf. **wulfa-*.

See also: **vьrgnōti*

***vermeḡ** n. n 'time'

- CS OCS *vrěmę*
 E Ru. *vrémja* (a Church Slavicism); ORu. *veremja*; Bel. *véreme*; Ukr. *véremje*
 S SCr. *vrijěme*, Gsg. *vrěmena*; Čak. *vríme* (Vrg., Novi, Hvar), Gsg. *vrìmena*; *vriěme* (Orb.), Gsg. *vrěmena*; Sln. *vréme* 'weather, cause', Gsg. *vreměna*; *vréme* 'weather, cause'; Bulg. *vréme*

PIE *uert-men-

Cogn. Skt. *vartman-* n. 'track, course'

See also: *verteno; *vorta; *vortiti; *vbrsta; *vbrstva; *vbrtėti

***vertenò** n. o (b) 'spindle'

- CS CS *vrěteno* (Parim.) 'spindle'
 E Ru. *veretenó* 'spindle, axle'
 W Cz. *vřetenó* 'spindle'; Slk. *vreteno* 'spindle'; Pl. *wrzeciono* 'spindle'; USrb. *wrjećeno* 'spindle'
 S SCr. *vrètèno* 'spindle'; Čak. *vretenò* (Orb.) 'spool, spindle'; Sln. *vřetěno* 'spindle'; Bulg. *vrètèno* 'spindle'

PIE *uert-en-om

Cogn. Skt. *vartana-* n. 'rotation, rolling'

See also: *vermeḡ; *vorta; *vortiti; *vbrsta; *vbrstva; *vbrtėti

***verslò** n. o (b?)

- E Ukr. *veréslo* 'gourd stalk'
 W Cz. *povřísló* 'binder'
 S SCr. *vrijěslo* 'kettle hook'

PIE *uerǵh-s-lóm

Cogn. OS *wurgil* m. 'snare'

See also: *otъverzti; *povorzъ; *pavorzъ

***vêrsъ; *vêrskъ** m. o (c) 'heather'

- E Ru. *véresk*; *véres*
 W Cz. *vřes*; Slk. *vres*; Pl. *wrzos*; USrb. *wrjós*, Gsg. *wrjosa*; *wrěs* (dial.)
 S SCr. *vriřjes*; Sln. *vrěs*

BSL. *werʔž-/ *wirʔž-

B Lith. *viržis* m.(io); Latv. *viřzis* m.(io); *viřsis* m.(io)

Etymology uncertain. The variants with *s may originate from forms with a suffix *-(s)k-, cf. also Latv. *viřksne* 'potato-stalks'.

***veslò** n. o (b) 'oar'

- CS OCS *vesla* (Supr.) Npl. 'oars'
 E Ru. *vesló* 'oar'

- W Cz. *veslo* ‘oar’; Slk. *veslo* ‘oar’; Pl. *wiosło* ‘oar’
 S SCr. *věslo* ‘oar’; Čak. *veslò* ‘oar’, Npl. *věslā*; *veslò* (Novi) ‘oar’, Npl. *věsla*; Sln. *véslò* ‘oar’; Bulg. *vesló* ‘oar’

An alternative for a reconstruction **ueǵh-s-lom* would be **ueǵh-tlom*.

See also: **voziti*; **vōzъ*

***vesnà** f. ā ‘spring’

- CS OCS *vesnŏ* (Ps. Sin.) Asg.
 E Ru. *vesná*, Asg. *vesnú* {1}
 W Cz. *vesna*; Pl. *wiosna*
 S SCr. *věsna*; Sln. *věsna*
 BSl. **wes-n/(e)r-*
 B Lith. *vāsara* ‘summer’; Latv. *vasara* ‘summer’
 PIE **ues-r/n-*
 Cogn. Skt. *vasantá-* (RV+) m. ‘spring’; Skt. *vasar-* (RV) adv. ‘in the early morning’;
 Gk. *ἔαρ* n. ‘spring’; Lat. *uēr* n. ‘spring’

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 138).

***vestì** v. (c) ‘lead, conduct’

- CS OCS *vesti*, 1sg. *vedŏ*
 E Ru. *vestí*, 1sg. *vedú*, 3sg. *vedět*
 W Cz. *vésti* ‘lead, conduct’, 1sg. *vedu*; Slk. *viest*; Pl. *wieść*
 S Sln. *vésti*, 1sg. *vědem*
 BSl. **wed-*
 B Lith. *vėsti* ‘lead’, 3sg. *vėda*
 PIE **uedh-*
 Cogn. OIr. *fedid* ‘go, bring’

See also: **voditi*

***vetъxъ** adj. o ‘old, ancient’

- CS OCS *vetъxъ* ‘old, ancient’
 E Ru. *vétxij* ‘old, ancient, decrepit’; *vetx* ‘old, ancient, decrepit’, f. *vetxá*, n. *vétxo*
 W Cz. *vetchý* ‘feeble, decrepit’
 S Bulg. *vétxi* ‘old’; *vext* ‘old’
 BSl. **wetušos*
 B Lith. *vėtušas* (obs.) ‘old, archaic’
 Cogn. Lat. *vetus* ‘old’

In view of Lat. *vetus*, Gsg. *veteris*, the Balto-Slavic adjective is a thematized form **uet-us-o-* (Beekes 1985: 59-61).

***vezti** v. (c) ‘cart, lead, convey’

- CS OCS *vesti* (Supr.) ‘cart, lead, convey’, 1sg. *vezp*
 E Ru. *vezti* ‘cart, convey’, 1sg. *vezú*, 3sg. *vezët*
 W Cz. *vézti* ‘lead, convey’, 1sg. *vezu*; Slk. *viezt’* ‘lead, convey’, 1sg. *veziem*; Pl. *wieżć* ‘lead, convey’, 1sg. *wiozę*
 S SCr. *vèsti* ‘lead, convey’, 1sg. *vèzēm*
 BSL. **vež-*
 B Lith. *vèžti* ‘lead, convey’
 PIE **ueǵʰ-*
 Cogn. Skt. *váhati* ‘carry, drive, lead’; Lat. *vehere* ‘drive, lead’; OIc. *vega* ‘move, swing, lift’

See also: **veslò*; **voziti*; **vôzъ*

***věděti** v. ‘know’

- CS OCS *věděti*, 1sg. *věmъ*, 1sg. *vědě*, 3sg. *věstъ*
 E Ru. *védat’* ‘manage, (obs.) know’
 W Cz. *věděti*; Slk. *vedet’*; Pl. *wiedzieć*, 1sg. *wiem*
 S Sln. *věděti*, 1sg. *vēm*
 BSL. **woiǵd-*
 OPr. *waist*
 PIE **uoid-* (pf.)
 Cogn. Skt. *véda* 3sg. pf.; Gk. *οἶδα* 3sg. pf.; Go. *wait* 3sg. pf.

See also: **vidēti*; **vidъ*

***vědro** n. o (b) ‘bucket’

- CS OCS *vědro* (Euch., Supr.) ‘barrel’
 E Ru. *vedró*
 W Cz. *vědro*; Slk. *vedro*; Pl. *wiadro*
 S SCr. *vjèdro*; *vijèdro* (Montenegro); Čak. *vǐdro* (Vrg.); Sln. *vědro*; Bulg. *vedró*
 BSL. **weǵd(e)ro*
 B Lith. *vėđaras* m. 3^a ‘sausage, (dial.) belly, intestines’; Latv. *vėđars* m. ‘belly’
 OPr. *weders* (EV) ‘belly, stomach’
 PIE **ued-róm*
 Cogn. Skt. *udāra-* n. ‘belly, womb’; Gk. ὕδρος m. m. ‘dropsy’; Gk. ὄδρος ‘γαστήρ’ (Hes.) m.; Lat. *uterus* m. ‘lower abdomen, belly, womb’ (with unclear *-t-*)

There are basically two etymologies for this noun. According to, among others, Meillet (Ét. II: 407-408) and Vasmer (s.v. *vedró*), **vědro* derives from the root of **uod-r/n-* ‘water’ (→ **vodā*), cf. Gk. ὕδρῖα ‘water-pot, pitcher, vessel’. The other option is to connect the word for ‘bucket’ with forms meaning ‘womb, belly’. The former etymology offers a much better explanation for the full grade of the Balto-Slavic

forms. In both cases the long vowel of the root can be attributed to Winter's law, which at first sight is incompatible with AP (b). In my framework, however, it is possible to assume that in Proto-Slavic the reflex of the laryngeal was lost in pretonic position (the sequence *-dr-* prevented the Balto-Slavic retraction of the stress from final open syllables). The remaining problem is the fact that the evidence points almost exclusively to a short root vowel, as words of the aforementioned type as a rule appear to have escaped the pretonic shortening that took place before Dybo's law.

***vĕja** f. jā 'branch'

CS	OCS <i>vĕja</i> 'branch'
S	Sln. <i>vĕja</i> 'branch, twig, foliage'
PIE	* <i>uoHi-eh₂</i>
Cogn.	Skt. <i>vayā-</i> f. 'branch, twig'

Skt. *vayā-* f. 'branch, twig' points to **uoiH-eh₂*, while for Slavic a root **uoHi-* would be preferable (→ **viti*).

***vĕjati** v. (a) 'blow (of wind), winnow'

CS	OCS <i>vĕjati</i> (Supr.) 'blow (of wind)', 1sg. <i>vĕjŕ</i> , 3sg. <i>vĕjetŕ</i>
E	Ru. <i>vĕjat</i> 'winnow, blow (of wind)', 1sg. <i>vĕju</i> , 3sg. <i>vĕet</i>
W	Cz. <i>váti</i> 'blow (of wind)', 1sg. <i>vĕji</i> ; OCz. <i>váti</i> 'blow (of wind)', 1sg. <i>vĕju</i> ; <i>viati</i> 'blow (of wind)', 1sg. <i>vĕju</i> ; Slk. <i>viat</i> 'blow (of wind)'; Pl. <i>wiac</i> 'blow (of wind)'
S	SCr. <i>vĕjati</i> 'winnow, fall heavily (snow)', 1sg. <i>vĕjēm</i> ; Čak. <i>vĕjati</i> (Vrg.) 'rise (steam), winnow', 2sg. <i>vĕješ</i> ; <i>vĕjat</i> (Orb.) 'sieve, winnow', 3sg. <i>viĕje</i> ; Sln. <i>vĕti</i> 'blow (of wind), winnow', 1sg. <i>vĕjem</i> ; <i>vĕjati</i> 'winnow, blow (of wind)', 1sg. <i>vĕjam</i> , 1sg. <i>vĕjem</i> ; Bulg. <i>vĕja</i> 'blow (of wind), blow away, winnow'

PIE	* <i>h₂ueh₁-</i>
Cogn.	Skt. <i>vāti</i> 'blow (of wind)'; Gk. ἄησι (Hes.) 3sg. pres. 'id.'; OHG <i>wāen</i> 'id.'

See also: *vĕtrŕ

***vĕko** n. o (a) 'lid, eyelid'

CS	OCS <i>vĕkoma</i> (Ps. Sin.) Ddu. 'eyelids'
E	Ru. <i>vĕko</i> 'eyelid, (dial.) cover of a bast basket or punnet'
W	Cz. <i>viko</i> 'lid'; OCz. <i>vieko</i> 'lid'; Slk. <i>veko</i> 'lid'; Pl. <i>wieko</i> 'lid'
S	Sln. <i>vĕka</i> f. 'lid, eyelid'; <i>vĕko</i> n. 'eyelid'
BSL.	* <i>vó?ko</i> ; * <i>vé?ko</i>
B	Lith. <i>vókas</i> m. 1/3 'eyelid, envelope'; Latv. <i>vāks</i> m. 'lid, eyelid'

Etymology unclear.

***vĕno** n. o (c?) 'bride-price'

E	Ru. <i>véno</i> 'bride-price'; ORu. <i>vĕno</i> 'bride-price'
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- W Cz. *věno* ‘bride-price’; Slk. *veno* ‘bride-price’; Pl. *wiano* ‘bride-price’; USrb. *wěno* ‘dowry’
 S SCr. *vijěno* (arch., dial.) ‘wedding, bride-price’ {1}
 PIE **h₁ued-no-m*
 Cogn. Gk. ἔδνα Npl. n. ‘bride-price, wedding-gifts’; OE *weotuma* m. ‘bride-price’
 {1} According to Hamp (1968, 1970b), the SCr. form adopted the accentuation of *vijěnac* ‘wreath’, which came to mean ‘wedding’.

***věra** f. ā (a) ‘faith, belief’

- CS OCS *věra*
 E Ru. *véra*
 W Cz. *víra*; Slk. *viera*; Pl. *wiara*
 S SCr. *vjěra*; Čak. *vīra* (Vrg.); *věra* (Orb.); Sln. *věra*; Bulg. *vjára*
 PIE **ueh₁-r-eh₂*
 Cogn. Lat. *vērus* adj. ‘true’; OHG *wāra* f. ‘treaty, loyalty, protection’

***větjati** v. ‘say’

- CS OCS *věštati* ‘say’, 1sg. *věštajō*
 E Ru. *veščát* ‘broadcast, (obs.) prophesy, (coll.) pontificate, lay down the line’, 1sg. *veščájū* (A Church Slavicism)
 W OCz. *věcěch* (*vecěch*, *vecech*) 1sg. aor. ‘said’, *věcě* (*vecě*, *vece*) 3sg. aor. ‘said’
 S SCr. *vijěcati* ‘deliberate’, 1sg. *vijěcām*; Bulg. *veštája* ‘proclaim, prophesy’
 BSL. **woitia?*
 OPr. *waitiāt* ‘say’

To my knowledge, the root is only Balto-Slavic.

See also: *obětjati; *ot(ъ)větjati

***větrъ** m. o (a) ‘wind’

- CS OCS *větrъ*
 E Ru. *véter*
 W Cz. *vítr*; Slk. *vietor*; Pl. *wiatr*; Slnc. *vjätěr*; USrb. *wětr*
 S SCr. *vjětar*, Gsg. *vjětra*; Čak. *vītar* (Vrg.), Gsg. *vītra*; *větār* (Novi); *větar* (Orb.); Sln. *větər*, Gsg. *větra*; Bulg. *vjátăr*
 BSL. **ue?tr-*
 B Lith. *vėtra* f. ‘storm’; *vėjas* m. ‘wind’; Latv. *vētra* f. ‘storm’

See → *vējati.

***vēdnōti** v. (a) ‘fade, wither’

- E Ru. *vjánut*’
 W Cz. *vadnouti*; Slk. *vädnúť*; Pl. *więdnąć*

S SCr. *věnuti*; Čak. *věnuti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *věneš*; *věnut* (Hvar), 1sg. *věnen*; Sln. *věniti*

See → *svędnęti.

*vęzàti v. (b) ‘tie’

CS OCS *vęzati* ‘tie, join’, 1sg. *vęžq*, 1sg. *vęzajq*

E Ru. *vjazát* ‘tie, bind, knit’, 1sg. *vjažú*, 3sg. *vjázet*

W Cz. *vázati* ‘tie, bind’; Slk. *viazat* ‘tie, bind’; Pl. *wiązać* ‘tie, bind’

S SCr. *vězati* ‘tie, connect, bind’, 1sg. *vězēm*; Čak. *vězàti* ‘tie, connect, bind’, 2sg. *věžeš*; *vězàt* (Hvar) ‘tie, connect, bind’, 1sg. *véžen*; *vⁱezàt* (Orb.) ‘tie, connect, bind’, 1sg. *vⁱéžen*; Sln. *vězati* ‘tie, bind’, 1sg. *véžem*; Bulg. *véza* ‘stitch’

PIE **h₂mǵh-*

Cogn. Hitt. *hamank* ‘tie, betroth’ (**h₂m-(o)n-ǵh-*); Gk. ἄγχω ‘squeeze, strangle’; Lat. *angere* ‘strangle, choke’

The origin of the initial **v* remains unclear.

See also: *qziti; *qzlъ; *qzъkъ; *uvęsti

*viděti v. (a) ‘see’

CS OCS *viděti*, 1sg. *viždq*, 3sg. *viditъ*

E Ru. *videt*’, 1sg. *vižu*, 3sg. *vidit*

W Cz. *viděti*; Slk. *videt*; Pl. *widzieć*

S SCr. *vidjeti*, 1sg. *viđim*; Čak. *viti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *viđiš*; *viđit* (Novi), 2sg. *viđiš*; *viđit* (Hvar), 1sg. *viđin*; *viđet* (Orb.), 1sg. *viđin*; Sln. *vidęti*, 1sg. *viđim*; Bulg. *vidja*

BSL. **weiʔd-*

B Lith. *veizdęti* (Žem.) ‘look, look for’

PIE **ueid-*

Cogn. Gk. εἶδον 1sg. aor. ‘saw’; Lat. *videre* ‘see’; Go. *witan* ‘observe’

See also: *vędęti; *vīdъ

*vīdъ m. o (c) ‘sight, view, appearance’

CS OCS *vidъ* ‘sight, view, appearance’

E Ru. *vid* ‘appearance, species, sort’

W Cz. *vid* ‘appearance’; Slk. *vid* ‘appearance’

S SCr. *vid* ‘sight, appearance’, Gsg. *vīda*; Čak. *vid* ‘sight, appearance’, Gsg. *vīda*; Sln. *vid* ‘sight, appearance’; Bulg. *vid* ‘sight, appearance’

BSL. **weiʔdos*

B Lith. *vėidas* 1/3 ‘face’; Latv. *veīds* ‘form, external appearance’

PIE **ueid-o-*

Cogn. Skt. *vėdas-* n. ‘knowledge, insight’; Gk. εἶδος n. ‘appearance’

See → *vidēti.

***vixъrъ** m. o ‘whirlwind’

- E Ru. *vixr’* m.(jo) ‘whirlwind’; *vixór* m.(o) ‘forelock’; *vixor* (dial.) m.(o) ‘whirlwind’; *vixór* (dial.) m.(o) ‘whirlwind’; ORu. *vixъrъ* m.(jo) ‘whirlwind’
- W Cz. *vichr* m.(o) ‘stormwind’; Slk. *víchor* m.(o) ‘stormwind’; Pl. *wicher* m.(o) ‘whirlwind, storm’; USrb. *wichor* m.(o) ‘storm’; LSrb. *wichor* m.(o) ‘storm’; *wichar* (arch.) m.(o) ‘storm’
- S SCr. *vihār* m.(o) ‘whirlwind’; Sln. *vihar* m.(o) ‘storm, lock of hair’; Gsg. *vihra*; *vihár* m.(jo) ‘storm’; Gsg. *vihárja*; *vihra* f.(ā) ‘storm’; Bulg. *vixār* m.(o) ‘stormwind’
- BSl. **weʔišur/los*
- B Lith. *viśulas* m.(o) 3^a ‘whirlwind’; *viśula* f. 1 ‘whirlwind’; Latv. *viēsulis* m.(io) ‘whirlwind’; *viēsuls* m.(o) ‘whirlwind’
- PIE **ueh₁i-s-*
- Cogn. Lat. *viēre* ‘wind, bend’

The root is **ueh₁i-* ‘twist’ (→ **viti*). Here we find **ueh₁i-s-*.

***virъ** m. o ‘whirlpool’

- E Ru. *vir* ‘whirlpool, deep spot in a river or a lake’
- W Cz. *vir* ‘whirlpool’; Slk. *vir* ‘whirlpool’; Pl. *wir* ‘whirlpool’
- S SCr. *vir* ‘whirlpool, deep spot in a river’; Gsg. *víra*; Sln. *vir* ‘source, whirlpool’; Bulg. *vir* ‘deep spot in a river, pond’
- B Lith. *výris* m.(io) ‘whirlpool’; *výrius* m.(ju) ‘whirlpool’
- See also: **variti*; **vârъ*; **vbrēti*

***viti** v. ‘twist, wind’

- CS OCS *viti*, 1sg. *vbjǫ*
- E Ru. *vit’*, 1sg. *v’ju*, 3sg. *v’ët*
- W Cz. *víti*; Slk. *viť*; Pl. *wić*
- S SCr. *vǐti*, 1sg. *vǐjēm*, 1sg. *vǐjem*; Sln. *víti*, 1sg. *víjem*; Bulg. *víja*
- BSl. **wʔi-*
- B Lith. *výti*; Latv. *vīt*
- PIE **uh₁i-*
- Cogn. Lat. *viēre* ‘wind, bend’

For the position of the laryngal, see Schrijver 1991: 245.

See also: **vēja*; **vity*

***vitъ** f. i

- E Ru. *vit’* ‘something that has been plaited’

- W Sln. *vjic* ‘pole of willow wood for tying up a thatched roof’
 S SCr. *pàvit* ‘vine’; Sln. *vít* ‘screw, turn’
 BSL. **wřitis*
 B Lith. *vytis* f.(i) 4 ‘twig’
 PIE **uHi-ti-*
 Cogn. Av. *vaēti-* ‘willow’
 See also: **vēja*; **viti*

***voda** f. ā (c) ‘water’

- CS OCS *voda*
 E Ru. *vodá*, Asg. *vódu*
 W Cz. *voda*; Slk. *voda*; Pl. *woda*
 S SCr. *vòda*, Asg. *vòdu*; Čak. *vodã* (Vrg., Novi, Hvar), Asg. *vòdu*; *vodã* (Orb.), Asg. *vòdo*; Sln. *vóda*; Bulg. *vodá*
 BSL. **wondōr*, Gsg. **undnes*
 B Lith. *vanduō* m.(n) 3^a; Latv. *ūdēns* m.
 OPr. *wundan*; *unds*

The origin of **voda* is the heteroclitic noun **uod-r/n-* ‘water’. The fact that the etymon was not affected by Winter’s law calls for an explanation. Kortlandt (1979: 60-61, cf. 1988: 388-389) claims that the vocalism of **voda* continues the Gsg. *(*v*)*undnes* of a Balto-Slavic noun **wondōr*, with a nasal infix originating from a suffix, as in Lat. *unda* (cf. Thurneysen 1883). The sequence **ndn* blocked Winter’s law (cf. the regular acute in Lith. *vanduō*). The vocalism **vod-* arose in Proto-Slavic when **un* was lowered before a tautosyllabic stop, which development was followed by the dissimilatory loss of the **n* (cf. → **ogŋv*).

- Cogn. Skt. *udán-* (RV+) n.; Hitt. *uātar* n., Gsg. *uētenas*; Gk. *ῥδωρ* n.; Lat. *unda* f. ‘wave’; Go. *wato* n.; OS *watar* n.; OIc. *vatn* n.

See also: **výdra*

***voditi** v. (b) ‘lead, conduct’

- CS OCS *voditi*, 1sg. *voždq*
 E Ru. *vodít’*, 1sg. *vožú*, 3sg. *vódit*
 W Cz. *voditi*; Slk. *voditi*; Pl. *wodzić*
 S SCr. *vòditi*, 1sg. *vòdīm*; Čak. *vòditi* (Vrg.), 1sg. *vòdīm*; Sln. *vódit*, 1sg. *vódim*; Bulg. *vódja*
 BSL. **vod-ei/i-*
 B Lith. *vadyti* ‘lead’; Latv. *vadīt* ‘lead’
 PIE **uod^h-*
 Cogn. OIr. *fedid* ‘go, bring’

See → **vesti*.

***vojъ; *vojnъ** m. jo; m. o ‘soldier’

CS	OCS <i>voi; vojnъ</i>
E	Ru. <i>vóinъ</i> ‘soldier, warrior’; ORu. <i>vojnъ</i> , Npl. <i>voi</i>
W	Cz. <i>vojín; voják</i> ; Slk. <i>vojín; voják</i> ; Pl. <i>wojak</i>
S	SCr. <i>vòjnīk</i> ; Sln. <i>vojník</i> ; Bulg. <i>vojnik</i>

For the etymology of the root, see → **povinoti*. The formation of **vojъ* is **uoih₁-o-*.

***vojъna** f. ā ‘war’

E	Ru. <i>vojná</i>
W	Cz. <i>vojna</i> ; Slk. <i>vojna</i> ; Pl. <i>wojna</i>
S	SCr. <i>vòjna</i> (obs.); Sln. <i>vójna</i> ‘war, army’; Bulg. <i>vojná</i>

See the previous lemma.

***voldēti; *voldati** v. ‘rule’

CS	CS <i>vladēti</i> ‘rule’
E	Ru. <i>vladēt</i> ‘own, control, wield’; <i>volodēt</i> (dial.) ‘own, control, wield’
W	Slk. <i>vládat</i> ‘be able’; Pl. <i>władać</i> ‘rule, reign’; OPl. <i>włodać</i> ‘rule, reign’
S	SCr. <i>vládati</i> ‘rule’, 1sg. <i>vládam</i> ; Čak. <i>vládati</i> (Vrg.) ‘rule’, 1sg. <i>vládam</i> ; <i>vlādāti</i> (Vrg.) ‘rule’, 2sg. <i>vlādaš</i> ; Sln. <i>vládati</i> ‘lead, direct, rule, own’, 1sg. <i>vládam</i> ; <i>ládati</i> ‘lead, direct, rule, own’, 1sg. <i>ládam</i>

BSl. **wolʔd-*

B Lith. *valdyti* ‘rule, govern, wield’, 3pres. *valdo*, 3pret. *valdė*; Latv. *vāldīt* ‘rule, govern, wield’

PIE **uolH-d^h-*

Cogn. Go. *waldan* ‘rule’; OHG *waltan* ‘rule’

Apparently, the (present-)suffix **-d^h* became part of the root. The basic root is usually reconstructed with a laryngeal (cf. LIV: 676), which is apparently present in Lith. *vėldėti* ‘rule’, cf. OIr. *follnaitir* ‘rule’. The Baltic forms with *o*-grade, e.g. Latv. *vāldīt* and Latv. *vālstis* f.(i) ‘state, realm’, point to a circumflex syllable, however.

See also: **volsti*; **volstъ*

***vōlga** f. ā (a) ‘moisture, liquid food’

CS	OCS <i>vloga</i> ‘moisture’
E	Ru. <i>volōga</i> (dial.) ‘moisture, liquid food, additional ingredients, side-dish, butter, bacon, fat’; <i>vōloga</i> (dial.) ‘moisture, liquid food, additional ingredients, side-dish, butter, bacon, fat’; ORu. <i>vologa</i> ‘liquid food or additions to it, butter, fat’
W	Cz. <i>vláha</i> ‘moisture’; Slk. <i>vlaha</i> ‘moisture’; USrb. <i>włoha</i> ‘humidity’
S	SCr. <i>vlāga</i> ‘moisture, dampness’; Čak. <i>vlāga</i> (Vrg., Orb.) ‘moisture, dampness’; Sln. <i>vlāga</i> ‘moisture, rain, soup’; Bulg. <i>vlāga</i> ‘moisture’

BSl. **wolʔga?*

- B Lith. *valgà* (E. Lith.) f. ‘food, victuals’; *pavalgà* f. ‘food, victuals, additional ingredient’; Latv. *pavalģa* f. ‘additional ingredient, side-dish’; *pavalgs* m. ‘additional ingredient, side-dish’
OPr. *welgen* (EV) [‘snuppe’] ‘cold’

PIE **uolg-eh₂*

Cogn. OHG *wolchan* n. ‘cloud’

The semantic aspects of this etymology were discussed by Eckert (1982-1983).

See also: *volžiti; *vьlgъkъ

***voliti** v. ‘wish, choose’

CS OCS *voliti* ‘want, wish’, 1sg. *voljŭ*

W Cz. *voliti* ‘choose’; Slk. *volit’* ‘choose’

S Sln. *vóliti* ‘choose, wish, bequeath, prefer’, 1sg. *vólím*

PIE **uel(H)-*

See also: *dovylěti; *velěti; *vòļa

***vòļa** f. jā (b) ‘will, wish’

CS OCS *volja*

E Ru. *vólja* ‘will, wish, freedom’

W Cz. *vůle*; Slk. *vôľa*; Pl. *wola*; OPl. *wolâ*; USrb. *wola*; LSrb. *wola*

S SCr. *vòlja*; Čak. *vòļa* (Vrg., Novi) ‘wish, desire’; *vòlja* (Orb.); Sln. *vólja*; Bulg. *vólja*

BSl. **wólei?*; **wolj-*

PIE **uol(H)-(e)ih₁*

Cogn. OHG *wala* f. ‘choice’

According to Kortlandt (1997c: 162), we may be dealing with a proterodynamic *ih₁*-stem.

See also: *dovylěti; *velěti; *voliti

***volkā** f. ā (b)

E Ru. *volóka* (dial.) ‘part of a field, measure of an area’; Ukr. *volóka* ‘part of a field, measure of an area’

W Pl. *włóka* (dial.) ‘pasture’

S Čak. *vlākà* (Novi) ‘lumber road’, Asg. *vlākù*; Sln. *vláka* ‘tugging, harrowing’

BSl. **wólka?*

B Lith. *valkā* (dial.) 2 ‘draught’; Latv. *vālka*² ‘draught’

See → **vólkv̥*

***volknò** n. o (b) 'fibre'

- E Ru. *voloknó*
 W Cz. *vlákno*; Slk. *vlákno*; Pl. *włókno*
 S SCr. *vlákno*; Sln. *vláknò*; Bulg. *vlaknó*
 PIE **uolk̥-nom*
 Cogn. OE *wlōh* m. 'fibre, fringe'

An instance of depalatalization before a resonant, cf. → **vōls̥*.

***vōlk̥** m. o (c)

- E Ru. *vólok* 'portage', Gsg. *vóloka*; Ukr. *volóka* f. 'part of a field, measure of an area'
 W Cz. *vlak* m. 'drag-net'; *vlaka* (Mor. dial.) f. 'drag-net'; Slk. *vlak* 'drag-net'; Pl. *włok* 'seine, sweep-net'; *włók* 'seine, sweep-net'
 S SCr. *vlāk* 'portage'; Sln. *vlāk* 'tug, drag-net'; Bulg. *vlak* 'train'
 BSl. **wolkos*
 B Lith. *valkā* (dial.) f. 2 'draught'; Latv. *vālka*² f. 'draught'
 PIE *(*h*₂)*uolk-o-*
 Cogn. Gk. *ὄλκός* m. 'windlass'

See also: **velkti*; **volkā*

***volsti** v. 'rule'

- CS OCS *vlasti* 'rule', 1sg. *vlado*
 W Cz. *vlásti* (obs.) 'rule'

See → **volděti*, **voldati*

***vōlst̥** f. i 'rule'

- CS OCS *vlast̥* 'power, sovereignty, rule'
 E Ru. *vólost* 'volost (smallest administrative unit in Tsarist Russia)'; *vlast* 'power, authority'
 W Cz. *vlast* 'homeland'; Slk. *vlast* 'homeland'; Pl. *włóść* 'farmstead, village'
 S SCr. *vlāst* 'rule'; Sln. *lāst* 'property'; *vlāst* 'property'; Bulg. *vlast* 'power, authority'
 BSl. **wolstis*
 B Latv. *vālstis* f.(i) 'state, realm'

A deverbative in *-*ti* (→ **volděti*, **voldati*, **volstī*).

***vōlst̥** m. o (c) 'hair'

- CS OCS *vlas̥*
 E Ru. *vólos*, Gsg. *vólosa*; Bel. *vólas*, Gsg. *vólasa*; Ukr. *vólos*, Gsg. *vólosa*
 W Cz. *vlas*; Pl. *włos*; USrb. *włós*, Gsg. *włosa*

S SCr. *vlās*, Gsg. *vlāsa*; Čak. *vlās* (Vrg.), Gsg. *vlāsa*; *vlās* (Novi, Orb.), Gsg. *vlāsa*; Kajk. *lāos* (Bednja), Gsg. *lāosa*; Sln. *lās*, Gsg. *lāsa*, Gsg. *lasû*; *lās*

PIE **uol̥k-o-*

Cogn. Skt. *vālśa-* (RV, AV+) m. ‘sprout, twig’; LAv. *varāsa-* m. ‘hair (on the head)’

See also: *volknò

***volžiti** v. ‘wet, moisten’

E Ru. *voložít’* (dial.) ‘wet, become wet, pour’

W Cz. *vlažiti* ‘wet, moisten’

S Sln. *vlážiti* ‘wet, moisten’, 1sg. *vlážim*

BSL. **wol̥g-ei/i-*

B Lith. *válgyti* ‘eat’; Latv. *val̥gīt* ‘eat in a hurry, gobble’ (according to ME, a borrowing from Lithuanian)

PIE **uolg-*

Within Slavic, Ru. *voložnič’at’* (dial.) ‘eat something filling, tasty, live in luxury’ is semantically close to the Baltic forms.

See also: *vōlga; *vylgъkъ

***vōŋa**; ***vōŋь** f. jā; f. i (b) ‘smell’

CS OCS *vonja* ‘smell’

E Ru. *von’* ‘stench’; ORu. *vonja* ‘fragrance, smell’

W Cz. *vůňe* ‘fragrance, smell’; Slk. *vôňe* ‘smell’; Pl. *woń* ‘smell’; USrb. *wón* ‘smell’

S SCr. *vōnj* ‘smell, odour, stench’, Gsg. *vōnja*; *vōnja* ‘smell, odour, stench’; Čak. *vôń* (Vrg., Hvar) ‘smell, odour’, Gsg. *vōŋa*; *vón* (Novi) ‘smell, odour’, Gsg. *vōŋa*; *v’ōnj* (Orb.) ‘smell’, Gsg. *vōnja*; Sln. *vōnj* ‘smell’, Gsg. *vōnja*; *vōnja* ‘smell’; Bulg. *vonjá* ‘stench’

This etymon may be a *jā*-stem derived from the root **h₂en_h1-* ‘breathe’, cf. Gk. ἀνεμος ‘wind’, Lat. *animus* ‘spirit, soul’.

***vōrgъ** m. o (c) ‘foe’

CS OCS *vragъ* ‘foe’

E Ru. *vórog* (folk poet.) ‘foe, fiend’

W Cz. *vrah* ‘foe’; Slk. *vrah* ‘murderer’; Pl. *wróg* ‘foe’, Gsg. *wroga*; USrb. *wróh* ‘murderer’, Gsg. *wroha*

S SCr. *vrâg* ‘devil’, Gsg. *vrâga*; Čak. *vrâg* (Vrgda) ‘devil’, Gsg. *vrâga*; *vrâh* (Orb.) ‘devil’, Gsg. *vrâga*; Sln. *vrâg* ‘devil’; Bulg. *vrag* ‘enemy’

BSL. **wor̥gós*

B Lith. *vařgas* 2/4 ‘hardship, misery’; Latv. *vārgs*² (dial.) ‘misery’; *vārgs* ‘pining, miserable’

OPr. *wargan* Asg. ‘misery, suffering, danger’; *wargs* adj. ‘evil’

PIE *(*h*₁)*uorg-o-*

Cogn. Go. *wrikan* ‘persecute’

The reconstruction of an initial laryngeal hinges on Gk. εἶργω ‘shut in, shut out’, which may or may not be cognate (cf. Derksen 1996: 73-74). I now believe that the Baltic *o*-stem substantive mentioned above was an end-stressed neuter at the time when the East Baltic retraction of the stress from word-final **-a* operated, causing metatony. The Slavic form, which obviously was not neuter, cannot be regarded as a barytone masculine *o*-stem that became mobile as a result of Illič-Svityč’s law because the root was originally acute (this is a correction to o.c.: 74). It is therefore an original mobile noun that underwent Meillet’s law. The acute originates from Winter’s law.

*vòrna f. ā (a) ‘crow’

CS RuCS *vrana*

E Ru. *voróna*

W Cz. *vrána*; Slk. *vrana*; Pl. *wrona*; USrb. *wróna*

S SCr. *vràna*; Čak. *vràna* (Vrg., Novi, Orb.); Sln. *vrána*; Bulg. *vrána*

BSl. *wór?na?

B Lith. *várna*; Latv. *vārna*

OPr. *warne*

This is a perennial example of Balto-Slavic *métatonie rude* resulting from vřddhi (e.g. Pedersen 1933: 55). Kortlandt (1985b: 121) draws a comparison with Gk. κόραξ : κορώνη and Lat. *corvus* : *cornix* (both ‘raven’ : ‘crow’) and assumes that in Balto-Slavic the root **kor-* ‘burn’ was replaced with the synonymous **wor-*. The metatony is attributed to the fact that the suffix of **wor-?n-a?* ‘crow’ contained a laryngeal, while the word for ‘raven’ originally had a suffix **-wos*. This ingenious explanation has met with scepticism because of its ad hoc character. I would argue, however, that a unique case of Balto-Slavic metatony calls for a unique explanation.

See also: *vòrnъ I; *vòrnъ II

*vòrnъ I m. o (c) ‘raven’

CS OCS *vranъ*

E Ru. *voron*

S SCr. *vrân*; Čak. *vrân* (Vrg.) ‘a kind of dark-coloured fish’; Sln. *vrân*

BSl. *worwos

B Lith. *vařnas*

OPr. *warnis* (EV)

PIE *uor-uo-

See also: *vòrna; *vòrnъ II

*vòrnъ II (c) ‘black’

CS RuCS *vrانъ* (Hval., Rumj.); *vranyi*

E Ru. *voronój*; ORu. *voronyi*
 S Sln. *vrân*, f. *vrána*; Bulg. *vrán*

BSL. **worwos*

See → **vòrna*.

***vorta** Npl. n. o (b/c) ‘door, gate’

CS OCS *vrata* Npl. n. ‘gate, door’

E Ru. *voróta* Npl. n. ‘gate’; *vorotá* Npl. (coll.) n. ‘gate’

W Cz. *vrata* Npl. n. ‘gate’; *vráta* (dial.) Npl. n. ‘gate’; Slk. *vráta* Npl. n. ‘gate’; Pl. *wrota* Npl. n. ‘gate’; USrb. *wrota* Npl. n. ‘gate’

S SCr. *vráta* Npl. n. ‘door, gate’; Čak. *vrātā* Npl. (Vrg.) n. ‘door, gate’; *vrāta* (Orb.) Npl. n. ‘door, gate’; Sln. *vráta* Npl. n. ‘door, gate’; Bulg. *vratá* f. ‘door, gate’

BSL. **worta?*

B Lith. *vārtai* Npl. m. ‘gate’; Latv. *vārti* Npl. m. ‘gate’
 OPr. *warto* (EV) ‘gate’

See also: **verme*; **verteno*; **vortiti*; **v̅rsta*; **v̅rstva*; **v̅rtēti*

***vortiti** v. (b) ‘turn, return’

CS OCS *vratiti se* ‘return, turn’, 1sg. *vraštŏ se*

E Ru. *vorótít* ‘bring back, turn aside’, 1sg. *vorochú*, 3sg. *vorótít*

W Cz. *vrátiti* ‘return, send back’; Slk. *vrátit* ‘return, send back’; Pl. *wrócić* ‘return’

S SCr. *vrátiti* ‘return’, 1sg. *vrātīm*; Čak. *vrāṭiti* (Vrg.) ‘return’, 2sg. *vrāṭiš*

BSL. **wort-ei/i-*

B Lith. *vartýti* ‘turn, turn over’; Latv. *vārtīt* ‘turn, turn over’
 OPr. *wartint* ‘turn’

PIE **uort-eie-*

Cogn. Skt. *vartáyati* ‘turns’

See also: **verme*; **verteno*; **vorta*; **v̅rsta*; **v̅rstva*; **v̅rtēti*

***voskъ** m. o (b?/c) ‘wax’

CS OCS *voskъ* (Ps. Sin., Supr.)

E Ru. *vosk*, Gsg. *vóska*; Ukr. *vísk*, Gsg. *vósku*

W Cz. *vosk*; Slk. *vosk*; Pl. *wosk*

S SCr. *vōsak*, Gsg. *vōska*; Čak. (*v*)*ōsak* (Vrg., Orb.), Gsg. (*v*)*ōska*; Sln. *vōsāk*, Gsg. *vōska*; *vōsk*; Bulg. *vōsāk*

BSL. **wosko*

B Lith. *vāškas* 4; Latv. *vasks*

PIE **uoks-ko-m?*

Cogn. OIc. *vax* n.; OHG *wahs* n.; OE *weax* n.; Fi. *vaha*; Est. *vaha*

***voziti** v. (b) ‘cart, lead, convey’

- CS CS *voziti sę* (Christ.) ‘sail, 1sg. *vožř sę*
 E Ru. *vozít* ‘cart, convey’, 1sg. *vožú*, 3sg. *vózit*
 W Cz. *voziti* ‘lead, convey’; Slk. *vozít* ‘lead, convey’; Pl. *wozić* ‘lead, convey’
 S SCr. *vòziti* ‘lead, convey’, 1sg. *vòzim*; Čak. *voziti* (Vrg.) ‘lead, convey’, 2sg. *vòziš*; Sln. *vóziti* ‘cart, drive’, 1sg. *vózim*; Bulg. *vózja* ‘cart, drive’

BSl. **vož-*

B Lith. *važióti* ‘lead, convey’

PIE **uoǵʰ-eie-*

Cogn. Gk. ὀχέομαι ‘drive, ride’

See also: *veslò; *vezti; *vôzъ

***vôzъ** m. o (c) ‘cart’

- CS OCS *vozy* (Supr.) Apl.
 E Ru. *voz*, Gsg. *vóza*; Bel. *voz*, Gsg. *vóza*; Ukr. *viz*, Gsg. *vóza*
 W Cz. *vůz*; Slk. *voz*; Pl. *wóz*, Gsg. *wozu*; USrb. *wóz*, Gsg. *woza*
 S SCr. *vôz*, Gsg. *vôza*; Čak. (*v*)^u*ôz* (Orb.) ‘waggon, cart’, Gsg. *vôza*; Sln. *vôz*

PIE **uoǵʰ-o-*

Cogn. Gk. ὄχος m.

See also: *veslò; *vezti; *voziti

***vъ(n)** prep., pref. ‘in(to)’

- CS OCS *vъ(n)* ‘in(to)’
 E Ru. *v(o)* ‘in(to)’; *vn-* ‘in(to)’
 W Cz. *v* prep. ‘in(to)’; *v(n)-* ‘in(to)’; Slk. *v(o)* ‘in(to)’; Pl. *w(e)* ‘in(to)’; *wn-* ‘in(to)’
 S SCr. *u* ‘in(to)’; *va-* ‘in(to)’; Sln. *v* ‘in(to)’; Bulg. *v* ‘in(to)’

BSl. **in*

B Lith. *i* ‘in(to)’

PIE **h₁η*

There are basically two views on the origin of **vъ(n)*. It is either regarded as zero grade or as an *o*-grade of PIE **h₁en* ‘in’. In the latter case, the development to **vъ(n)* must have occurred in word-final position. I prefer the hypothesis that **vъ(n)* is to be identified with Lith. *i* < **h₁η*. The unexpected reflex of **un* may be explained in the same way as in the case of → **svto*.

***vъnûkъ** m. o (a) ‘grandchild, grandson’

- E Ru. *vnúk*, Gsg. *vnúka*; *unúk* (dial.); ORu. *vъnukъ*; Bel. *unúk*; Ukr. *onúk*
 W Cz. *vnuk*; Slk. *vnuk*; Pl. *wnuk*; OPl. *wnęk*

- S ScR. *ùnuk*, Gsg. *ùnuka*; Čak. *unük* (Vrg., Hvar), Gsg. *unüka*; Sln. *vnúk*; *vnük*, Gsg. *vnúka*; Bulg. *vnuk* ‘grandchild, grandson, descendant’; *unúk* (coll.) ‘grandchild, grandson, descendant’
- B Lith. *anūkas* m. 2; *unūkas* (dial.) m. 2 (the Lithuanian forms are borrowings from East Slavic)

The root *vōn- may continue the zero grade of *h₂en- in Lith. *anýta* ‘mother-in-law’, Lat. *anus* ‘old woman’, etc.

***vъnoziti** v. ‘thrust’

CS OCS *vъnozišę* (Supr.) 3pl. aor. ‘thrust’

PIE *h₁noǵ^h-eie-

See also: *nōžь; *vъnъziti; *vъnъznōti; *vъnъziti

***vъnъ** adv. ‘outside, away’

CS OCS *vъnъ* adv./prep. ‘outside, away, out of’

E Ru. *von* adv. ‘away, off’; *vne* prep. ‘outside, out of’

W Cz. *ven* adv. ‘away, out’

S ScR. *vān* adv./prep. ‘out, out of, except, besides’; *vān* adv./prep. ‘out, out of, except, besides’; Čak. *vān* (Novi, Orb.) adv./prep. ‘out, except, besides’; Sln. *vān* adv. ‘out, away’; *vānē* adv. ‘outside, on the outside’; *vnē* prep./adv. ‘outside (of)’; Bulg. *vān* adv. ‘out, outside’

PIE *unH-o-m?

Cogn. Skt. *vāna-* (RV+) n. ‘tree, wood, forest’; LAv. *vanā-* f. ‘tree’

With respect to the semantic aspects of the etymology, Vasmer (s.v. *von*) mentions Lith. *laukañ* ‘outside, away’, which is a petrified illative of *laukas* ‘field’. This is not a perfect parallel, however. Nevertheless, I consider this etymology the best solution.

***vъnъziti** v. ‘plunge, thrust’

E Ru. *vonzít* ‘plunge, thrust’, 1sg. *vonžú*, 3sg. *vonzít*

See → *vōnъziti.

***vъnъznōti** v. ‘drive into’

CS OCS *vъnъznōti* (Supr.) ‘drive into’

See → *vōnъziti.

***vъnъziti** v.

CS OCS *vъnъzi* (Zogr., Mar. Ass.) imper. ‘put up’; *vonъze* 3sg. aor. (Ps. Sin.) ‘pierced’ (the SJS classifies these forms under “*vъnisti* vel *vъnъzōti*”)

PIE *h₁nǵ^h-

See also: *nōžь; *vъnoziti; *vъnъziti; *vъnъznōti

***vъpiti** v. 'cry out'

- CS OCS *vъpiti* 'call, cry out', 1sg. *vъpījō*, 2sg. *vъpiješi*
 E Ru. *вopít* 'cry out, wail', 1sg. *вopljú*, 3sg. *вopít*
 W Cz. *úpěti* 'wail, howl'; OCz. *úpiti* 'wail, howl'
 S SCr. *vàpiti* 'cry out, summon', 1sg. *vàpījēm*; *ùpiti* 'cry out, summon', 1sg. *ùpījēm*; Čak. *văpiti* (Vrg.) 'summon', 2sg. *văpīš*; Sln. *vpíti* 'cry out, call', 1sg. *vpíjem*

BSl. **up-*B Latv. *ūpēt* 'howl'; *ūpuôt* 'howl'Cogn. Av. *ufyeimi* 'call out'

Verb in *-iti from the zero grade *vъp- < *up-.

See also: *vypъ

***vъsuje** adv. 'in vain'CS OCS *vъsuje* 'in vain'E Ru. *vsúe* 'in vain'

Compound of → *vъ and → *sujb.

***vъšb** f. i (c) 'louse'E Ru. *воś*, Gsg. *vši*; ORu. *vъšb*W Cz. *veš*; Slk. *voš*; Pl. *wesz*; USrb. *woš*S SCr. *vâš*, Gsg. *vâši*; *ûš*, Gsg. *ûši*; Sln. *ûš*, Gsg. *uši*; *ûš*B Lith. *utėlė* f.(ē) 3^b; *utis* (Žem.) f.(i) 4; Latv. *uts* f.(i)

It is unclear if and how Slavic *vъšb and Baltic *ut- are related. The forms may have been distorted for reasons of taboo. It cannot be excluded that OHG *lūs* f. 'louse' also belongs here.

***vъtorъjъ** num. o 'second, secondary'CS OCS *vъtorъ* {1}E Ru. *vtorój* {2}; Ukr. *vtóryj*W Pl. *wtóry* (arch.)S Sln. *vtóri* 'second'PIE *(h₁)ui-tor-o-Cogn. Skt. *vitaram* (RV) adv. 'again, further'; YAv. *vitarəm* adv. 'further'

The PIE form may have had initial *h₁- < *d- as a result of dissimilation before a following dental. It is not very likely that the PIE form was *n-toro-, with an unparalleled zero grade of the root reflected in Lith. *añtras* 'second', etc.

{1} The variant *vъtor-* only occurs in the Codex Suprasliensis, where we have *vъtorčēmb* Lsg. m. against 12 occurrences of *vъtor-*. In the Codex Assemanianus, there are two occurrences of *vъtoricejō* 'for the second time'. {2} AP (a) – *vъtórъjъ* – in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 133).

***вѣторѣникъ; *вѣторѣкъ** m. o 'Tuesday'

CS	OCS <i>vѣtorѣnikъ</i> {1}
E	Ru. <i>vtórník</i>
W	Cz. <i>úterý</i> ; Slk. <i>utorok</i> ; Pl. <i>wtorek</i>
S	Sln. <i>vtórak</i> , Gsg. <i>vtórka</i> ; Bulg. <i>vtórník</i>

Derivatives of → **vѣtorѣjb*.

{1} The variant *vѣtor-* only occurs in the Codex Suprasliensis, where we have *vѣtorěmb* Lsg. m. against 12 occurrences of *vѣtor-*.

***вѣз** prep., pref. 'in return for, (pref.) up, back'

CS	OCS <i>vѣz</i> 'instead of, in return for'; <i>vѣz-</i> 'up, back'
E	Ru. <i>vz(o)-</i> , <i>voz-</i> 'up, back'
W	Cz. <i>vz(e)-</i> 'up'; Slk. <i>vz(o)-</i> 'up'; Pl. <i>wz(e)</i> 'up'
BSL.	* <i>uz</i>
B	Lith. <i>už</i> 'at, within, instead of, in return for'; Latv. <i>uz</i> 'on, to'

Etymology disputed. A proto-form **ups*, cf. OIc. *upp* 'up', might work for Slavic (regular loss of the labial stop and generalization of the sandhi-variant with **z*), but I fail to see how it could account for the Baltic facts.

***vy** prn. 'you (pl.)'

CS	OCS <i>vy</i>
E	Ru. <i>vy</i>
W	Cz. <i>vy</i> ; Slk. <i>vy</i> ; Pl. <i>wy</i>
S	SCr. <i>vī</i> ; Čak. <i>vī</i> (Vrg.); <i>vī</i> (Hvar); <i>vī</i> ; Sln. <i>vī</i>
BSL.	* <i>juŕ(s)</i>
B	Lith. <i>jūs</i> ; Latv. <i>jūs</i> OPr. <i>iouš</i>
PIE	* <i>iuH</i>
Cogn.	Skt. <i>yūyám</i>

The anlaut of the pronoun was apparently remodelled after the oblique cases. This must have occurred before the delabialization of *ü*, which was an allophone of /u/ after a preceding **j*.

See also: **vasъ*

***vy-** pref. 'out'

CS	OCS <i>vy-</i>
E	Ru. <i>vy-</i>
W	Cz. <i>vy-</i> ; Slk. <i>vy-</i> ; Pl. <i>wy-</i>
PIE	* <i>(H)ud</i>
Cogn.	Skt. <i>úd</i> (RV+) prvr. 'up, away, out of'; Go. <i>ut</i> prep. 'from, out of'; OIc. <i>út</i> prep. 'from, out of'

The *y results from Winter's law.

***vȳdra** f. ā (a) 'otter'

E Ru. *vȳdra*

W Cz. *vydra*; Slk. *vydra*; Pl. *wydra*

S SCr. *viđra*; Sln. *viđra*; Bulg. *viđra*

BSl. *úřdra?

B Lith. *údra*

OPr. *wudro*

PIE *ud-r-eh₂

Cogn. Av. *udra-* m. 'otter'; Gk. ὕδροϋς m. 'watersnake'; ὕδρα f. 'watersnake'; OHG *ottar* m. 'otter'

See also: *vodà

***vȳgъnъ; *vȳgъna** m jo; f jā 'forge'

W Cz. *výheň* f.(i/jā) 'forge, hearth, blazing heat'; Slk. *vyhňa* f.(jā) 'forge, hearth'; USrb. *wuheň* m.(jo) 'chimney, stove-pipe'

S SCr. *vīganj* m.(jo) 'forge'; Sln. *vīganj* m.(jo) 'forge, hearth, sledge-hammer'

The root *vyg- reflects *unřg < *h₁ngʷ-. Here Winter's law was not blocked by a cluster *ngn, nor was the root affected by lowering (→ ὀgnъ, *ṓglb). There is no reason to assume that the initial *v is the preposition 'in', cf. *vȳdra.

***vȳknōti** v. (a) 'get used to, accustom oneself'

CS OCS *vyknōti* 'get used to, accustom oneself', 1sg. *vyknō*

W Cz. *vyknouti* 'get used to, accustom oneself' (usually preceded by another prefix, e.g. *přivyknouti* 'make smb. get used to, accustom'); USrb. *wuknyć* 'learn'

S SCr. *vīknuti* 'get used to'

BSl. *unřk-

B Lith. *jūnkti* 'get used to'; Latv. *jūkt* 'get used to'

Cogn. Skt. *ucyati* 'be accustomed to'; Go. *biūhts* adj. 'accustomed to'

See → *učiti. Here, too, the j- of the Baltic forms must have been adopted from forms with e-grade. In this case the acute of both the Lithuanian and the Latvian verb may be assumed to have originated in the *sta*-present, but we have already seen that the problem of the intonation seems to be more general in this root.

***vȳmę** n. n (a) 'udder'

E Ru. *výmja*, Gsg. *výmeni*; ORu. *vymja*, Gsg. *vymene*

W Cz. *výmě* (obs.); *výmeno* (obs., dial.) n.(o); *vemeno* n.(o); Slk. *vemä*; *vemeno* n.(o); Pl. *wymię*

S SCr. *vìme*, Gsg. *vìmena*; Čak. *vìme* (Vrg., Hvar), Gsg. *vìmena*; Sln. *víme*, Gsg. *vímena*; Bulg. *víme*

PIE *H(o)uHd^h-r/n-

Cogn. Skt. *údhār-* n., Gsg. *údhnas-*; Gk. οὔθαρ n.; OE *ūder* n.

The Slavic form apparently replaced the suffix *-en- by *-men-. The root has zero grade, cf. Lith. *pa-údrė* ‘underbelly of a sow’.

See also: *úditī

*vурь f. i

CS CS *vypľb* ‘seagull’

E Ru. *vyp’* ‘bittern’

BSL. *uřp-

B Latv. *ūpis* m.(io) ‘eagle owl’ (there are many attestations of the accentual variants *ūpis*² and *ūpis*²)

Cogn. OIc. *úfr* m. ‘owl’; OHG *ūvo* m. ‘eagle owl’

The long root variant *ūp- may be of onomatopoeic origin.

See also: *vьpiti

*vysòkь adj. o ‘high, tall’

CS OCS *vysokъ*

E Ru. *vysókij*; *vysók*, f. *vysoká*, n. *vysokó*

W Cz. *vysoký*; Slk. *vysoký*; Pl. *wysoki*

S SCr. *visok*, f. *visòka*, n. *visòko*; Čak. *visòk* (Vrg.), f. *visokā*, n. *visokò*; *visòk* (Orb.), f. *visòka*, n. *visòko*; Sln. *visòk*; Bulg. *visòk*

Cogn. Gk. ὑψηλός ‘high’; OIr. *úasal* ‘high, lofty’

For the suffix *-okъ, cf. → *gl̥pòkъ, *dalèkъ. The suffix is absent in the comparative, e.g. Ru. *výše*, SCr. *višē*, Sln. *vīše*, where we also find the original acute tone. The root is usually reconstructed as *ūps-, cf. Gk. ὑψηλός ‘high’. Kortlandt (1977b) has argued that in Balto-Slavic initial *u yielded acute “long” *u (Lith. *ú*, PSl. *vy) under the stress and short *u in pretonic position. The acute variant is supposed to have originated from a Balto-Slavic prothetic laryngeal. The Slavic situation regarding initial *u undeniably resembles the situation regarding initial *i, where I have claimed (2003) that stressed *i- yielded *(j)i under the stress, but *jb in unstressed position. In my opinion, it is likely that the reflex *vy- originated in stressed position, cf. *vysъ* and the comparative *výše*.

*vysь f. i ‘height’

E Ru. *vys’* f.(i) ‘height, (usu. pl.) summit’

S SCr. *vis* m.(o) ‘height, summit’

See → *vysòkъ*.

*vьčera adv. 'yesterday'

CS	OCS <i>vьčera</i>
E	Ru. <i>včera</i>
W	Cz. <i>včera</i> ; Slk. <i>včera</i> ; Pl. <i>wczoraj</i>
S	SCr. <i>jùčē; jùčēr(a)</i> ; Čak. <i>učēr(a), jučēr</i> (Vrg.); <i>čera</i> (Novi); <i>č'ēr(a)</i> (Orb.); Sln. <i>včéra; včéraj</i> ; Bulg. <i>včera</i>

See → *věčērǝ.

*vьdovà f. ā (b) 'widow'

CS	OCS <i>vьdova; vьdovica</i> (variants with <i>ь</i> are rare in both <i>vьdova</i> (1 : 12) and its more frequent synonym <i>vьdovica</i> (3 : 35)).
E	Ru. <i>vdová, Asg. vdovú</i>
W	Cz. <i>vdova</i> ; Slk. <i>vdova</i> ; Pl. <i>wdowa</i>
S	SCr. <i>udòvica</i> ; Čak. <i>udov'ica</i> (Vrg., Orb.); Sln. <i>vdòva</i> ; Bulg. <i>vdovica</i>
BSl.	*wideuH OPr. <i>widdewū</i>
PIE	* <i>h₁uid^hh₁-(e)uh₂-</i>
Cogn.	Skt. <i>vidhāvā-</i> (RV+) f.; Gk. ἡίθεος m. 'unmarried youth'; Lat. <i>uidua</i> f.; OIr. <i>fedb</i> f.; Go. <i>widuwo</i> f.

According to Kortlandt (1997: 161), this etymon continues a hysterodynamic *uh₂-* stem (see also Beekes 1992: 184). In his view, the *e*-grade of the Asg. must have spread to the Nsg. at an early stage of Balto-Slavic, i.e. before the development **eu* > **ou* before a vowel, because otherwise the medial front vowel of OPr. *widdewū* is hard to explain. For the initial laryngeal, cf. also Lubotsky 1994, where it is argued that the adjective on which the word for 'widow' is based ultimately goes back to **dui-d^hh₁-u*.

*vьlgъkъ adj. o 'moist'

CS	RuCS <i>vьlgъkъ</i>
E	Ru. <i>vólgkij</i> (dial.); Ukr. <i>vóhkyj</i>
W	Cz. <i>vłhký</i> ; Slk. <i>vłhký</i> ; Pl. <i>wilgi</i> (from * <i>vьlgъ</i>)
S	Sln. <i>vólgak, f. vólhka; vólhak, f. vólhka; vołgāk, f. volhkà</i>
BSl.	* <i>wilǵ-</i>
B	Lith. <i>vilgšnas</i> (Žem.) 3; Latv. <i>vilgans</i>
PIE	* <i>ulg-</i>
Cogn.	OHG <i>welc</i> 'moist, mild, withered'

See also: *vòlga; *volžiti

*vьlkъ m. o (c) 'wolf'

CS	OCS <i>vьlkъ</i>
E	Ru. <i>volk, Gsg. vólka</i>

- W Cz. *vlk*; Slk. *vlk*; Pl. *wilk*
 S SCr. *vŭk*, Gsg. *vŭka*; Čak. *vŭk* (Vrg., Hvar), Gsg. *vŭka*; (v)*ŭk* (Orb.), Gsg. (v)*ŭka*; Sln. *vôlk*, Gsg. *vôlka*, Gsg. *voškâ*; Bulg. *vălk*
- BSl. **wilkós*
 B Lith. *vilkas* 4; Latv. *vilks*
 OPr. *wilkis*
- PIE **ulkw-o-s*
 Cogn. Skt. *vřka-*; Gk. *λύκος*; Go. *wulfs*

The oxytone accentuation of the Balto-Slavic form hinges on the absence of Lithuanian forms belonging to AP (2), the Slavic evidence being inconclusive due to the generalization of accentual mobility in masculine *o*-stems. The evidence from other branches of Indo-European points to an original barytone.

***vblna** f. ā (a) ‘wool’

- CS OCS *vlbna*
 E Ru. *vólna* (dial.); *volná* (dial.); Ukr. *vóvna*
 W Cz. *vlna*; Slk. *vlna*; Pl. *welna*
 S SCr. *vŭna*; Čak. (v)*ŭna* (Vrg., Orb.); Sln. *vólna*; Bulg. *válna*
- BSl. **wilřna?*
 B Lith. *vilna* 1; Latv. *vilna*
 OPr. *wilna* ‘skirt’
- PIE **Hulh₁-neh₂*
 Cogn. Skt. *úrṇā-*; Lat. *lāna*; Go. *wulla*

***vblnā** f. ā (c) ‘wave’

- CS OCS *vlbna*
 E Ru. *volná*, Asg. *volnú* {1}
 W Cz. *vlna*; Pl. *welna*
 S Bulg. *válnā*
- BSl. **wilřn-*
 B Lith. *vilnis* f.(i) 4; *vilnià* (E. Lith., DP) f.(i) 2; Latv. *vilņa* (E. Latv.) f.(i) 4
- PIE **ulH-n-*
 Cogn. Skt. *úrmí-* m.

{1} In Old Russian usually AP (c), occasionally (b) (Zaliznjak 1985: 138).

***vbrěti** v. ‘boil’

- CS OCS *vbręštę* (Supr.) Npl. f. ptc. pres. act. ‘boiling’
 E Ru. *vret’* (dial.) ‘sweat profusely’, 1sg. *vřéju*
 W Cz. *vříti* ‘boil’; Slk. *vriet’* ‘boil’; Pl. *wrzić* ‘boil’
 S SCr. *vřěti* ‘boil’, 1sg. *vřím*; Sln. *vřěti* ‘boil, gurgle’, 1sg. *vřém*; Bulg. *vřja* ‘boil, seethe’, 2sg. *vřiš*

BSL. *wirʔ-
 B Lith. *virti* ‘boil’, 3sg. *véřda*; Latv. *viřt* ‘boil’, 3sg. *vęřd*

PIE *urH-
 Cogn. Hitt. *urāni* ‘burns’

See also: *variti; *vārb; *virb

***v̥brgnōti** v. ‘throw’

E Ru. *otvéřgnut* ‘reject, turn down’; ORu. *v̥brgnuti* ‘throw’

W Cz. *vrhnouti* ‘throw’; Slk. *vrhnút* ‘throw’

See → *vergti.

***v̥brx̥b** m. u (b) ‘top, upper part’

CS OCS *vr̥xb̥* m.(u) ‘top’

E Ru. *verx*, Gsg. *véřxa*, Lsg. *verxú* {1}; Bel. *verx*, Gsg. *véřxu*; *verx* (dial.), Gsg. *verxú*; Ukr. *verx*, Gsg. *verxú*

W Cz. *vrch*; *vřch* (dial.); Slk. *vrch*; Pl. *wierzch*; Slnc. *vjěřx*

S SCr. *vřh*, Gsg. *vřha*; Čak. *vřh* (Vrg., Novi), Gsg. *vrhâ*; *vřh* (Orb.) ‘top, tip, point (of a plant, a needle, etc.), mountain’, Gsg. *vrhâ*; Sln. *vřh*, Gsg. *vřha*, Gsg. *vrhâ*; Bulg. *vrăx* ‘top, tip’

BSL. *wir̥su(s)

B Lith. *viršùs* m.(u) 4 ‘top, addition, victory, cover’; *viršus* m.(u) 2 ‘id.’; Latv. *viršus* m.(u) ‘upper part, top’

PIE *urs-u-

Cogn. Skt. *vár̥ṣman-* m. ‘height top’

{1} AP (b) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 134).

***v̥brsta**; ***v̥brstva** f. ā ‘row, line, age, kind’

CS OCS *vr̥bsta* (Euch., Supr.) ‘age, generation’

E Ru. *verstá* ‘verst’; ORu. *v̥brsta* ‘age, pair, person of the same age, verst’

W Cz. *vrstva* ‘layer’; Slk. *vrstva* ‘layer’; Pl. *wrstwa* ‘row, layer’

S SCr. *vřsta* ‘kind, species’; Čak. *vrstâ* (Vrg.) ‘kind, species’; *vřsta* (Orb.) ‘kind, species’; Sln. *vřsta* ‘row, line, sort, age’; *vrstâ* ‘row, line, sort, age’; *vřst* f.(i) ‘row, sort, age’, Gsg. *vrstí*

B Lith. *vařstas* m. ‘turn of the plough’

OPr. *ainawarst* adv. ‘once’

PIE *urt-

A cognate outside Balto-Slavic is Lat. *versus* m. ‘furrow, row, line’, which reflects *urt-to-.

See also: *verme; *verteno; *vorta; *vortiti; *v̥brtēti

***vbrša** f. jā (a) ‘fishing-basket, fishing-trap made of osiers’

E Ru. *véřša*

W Cz. *vřše*; Pl. *wiersza*

S SCr. *vřša*; Čak. *vřša* (Vrg.); Sln. *vřša*

B Lith. *váržas* m. 1/3; Latv. *vařza* f.

PIE **urǵ-*

Cogn. OHG *werc* n. ‘work’; OHG *wirken* ‘manufacture by sowing, stitching or weaving’

The fact that Slavic has *š may be explained by assuming a suffix starting with *s. This is obviously not an ideal solution.

See also: *vēršb; *vērskb

***vbrtēti** v. (c) ‘turn’

CS OCS *vrbtitō sę* (Supr.) 3sg.

E Ru. *vertét*’, 1sg. *verčú*, 3sg. *vértit* {1}

W Cz. *vrtěti*; Slk. *vrteť*; Pl. *wiercić*

S SCr. *vrtjeti*, 1sg. *vrtīm*; Čak. *vrtiti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *vrtiš*; *vrtět* (Orb.), 2sg. *vrtiš*; Sln. *vrtěti*, 1sg. *vrtīm*; Bulg. *vārtjá*

BSl. **wirt-*

B Lith. *virsti* ‘fall, collapse, turn into’

OPr. *wirst* 3sg. ‘becomes’

PIE **urt-*

Cogn. Skt. *vārtate* ‘turn, roll’ (with *e-grade*)

{1} AP (c) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 139).

See also: *vermę; *verteno; *vorta; *vortiti; *vbrsta; *vbrstva

***vbsb** f. i ‘village’

CS OCS *vbsb*

E Ru. *ves*’ (obs.), Gsg. *vési* {1}

W Cz. *ves*; Slk. *ves*; Pl. *wieś*; Slnc. *vjēs*; USrb. *wjes*, Gsg. *wsy*

S Sln. *vās*, Gsg. *vasi*

BSl. **wiš-*

B Lith. *višpats* m.(i) ‘lord’

OPr. *waispattin* (EV) Asg. ‘housewife’

PIE **uik-*

Cogn. Skt. *viś-* (RV+) f. ‘settlement, community, tribe’; Gk. οἶκος m. ‘house’; Lat. *vīcus* m. ‘neighbourhood, street, village’; Go. *weihs* n. ‘village’

The evidence points to an Indo-European root noun, cf. also Gk. οἰκαδε ‘homeward’.

{1} In Old Russian both AP (b) and (c) are attested (Zaliznjak 1985: 136, 138).

***VBSĚ** prn. 'all'

- CS OCS *vbsb*, f. *vbsja*, n. *vbsē*
 E Ru. *ves'*, f. *vsja*, n. *vsě*; ORu. *vxu* (Novg.) Asg. f., *vxe* (Novg.) Npl. m.
 W OCz. *veš*, f. *všě*, n. *vše*; OPl. *wszy*, f. *wsza*, n. *wsze*
 S SCr. *sāv*, f. *svā*, n. *svě*; Čak. *svās* (Vrg.), f. *svā*, n. *svě*; *vās* (Hvar), f. *svā*, n. *svě*;
s(v)ā (Orb.) 'all, the whole', f. *svā*, n. *svō*; Sln. *vàs*, f. *vsà*, n. *vsè*

BSl. **wišos*

B Lith. *visas*; Latv. *viss*
 OPr. *wissa-*

PIE **uiso-*Cogn. Skt. *viṣu-* 'in all directions' (only in compounds)

The origin of this etymon may be a Lpl. **uiṣu*. In Lithuanian, the *š* < **ṣ* may have been replaced with *s* when the variant *-su* of the Lpl. was generalized (F. Kortlandt, p.c.). Slavic generalized the ending *-xō* < **-ṣu* in the Lpl., which is why the pronoun has **ś* < **x* as a result of the progressive palatalization. In North Russian, we still find forms with *x* (cf. Vermeer 2000: passim).

Z**za** prep. 'behind, beyond, after, for'

- E Ru. *za* 'behind, beyond, after, for'
 W Cz. *za* 'behind, after, for, by, during'; Slk. *za* 'behind, after, for, by, during'; Pl. *za* 'behind, after, for, by, during'
 W SCr. *za* 'behind, after, for, to, during'; Sln. *za* 'behind, after, for, to, during'; Bulg. *za* 'at, for, to'
 B Lith. *ažù* (E. Lith.) 'behind, after, for, beyond'; *až* (E. Lith.) 'behind, after, for, beyond'; Latv. *aiz* 'behind, beyond'; *az* (*āz*, *āz*) (E. Lith.) 'behind, after, for, beyond'

I have no explanation for the *a-* of the East Baltic forms. The element common to Baltic and Slavic may be reconstructed as BSl. **žo?*.

***zabordlo** n. o

- E Ru. *zaborólo* 'rampart'; *zabráló* 'beaver, visor, upper part of a rampart'; ORu. *zaborolo* 'wooden city-wall'; *zabralo* 'fortification'; Bel. *zabráló* 'beaver, visor, upper part of a rampart'
 S SCr. *zàbralo* 'rampart, bulwark'; Bulg. *zabráló* 'fortification'
 PIE **b^horH-d^hlom*

Compound of *za- and a derivative in *-dlo < *d^hlom (→ *bortī). Cz. *zábradlí*, Slk. *zábradlie* ‘railing, balustrade’, derives from *b^hrati ‘take’. The East Slavic forms containing -ra- are obviously of Church Slavic origin.

See also: *borna II; *bōrnъ; *bortī

***zařà** f. jā ‘dawn, aurora’

- CS OCS *zarja* (Supr.) ‘dawn, shine, ray’
 E Ru. *zarjá* ‘dawn, sunset, reveille, retreat’, Asg. *zarjú*, Asg. *zórju*, Npl. *zóri* (the spelling *a* for unstressed *o* is purely orthographical).
 W Cz. *záře* ‘shine’; OPl. *zarza* ‘dawn, daybreak’
 S Sln. *zárja* ‘redness of the sky’

See → *zořà. The root seems to have lengthened grade, but perhaps this is due to influence of → *žarǔ.

***zaverti** v. ‘close, enclose’

- CS OCS *zavъri* 3sg. aor. ‘closed’
 E Ru. *zaverét*’ (dial.) ‘mend, patch, wrap, roll up’, 1sg. *zavrú*, 3sg. *zavrět*
 W Cz. *zavřítí* ‘close, lock, incarcerate’; Slk. *zavriet* ‘close, lock’; Pl. *zawrzeć* ‘contain, enclose, (dial.) close’
 S SCr. *zàvrijeti* ‘hide’, 1sg. *zàvrēm*; Čak. *zavríti* (Vrg.) ‘hide’, 2sg. *zàvreš*; Sln. *zavrėti* ‘detain, obstruct’, 1sg. *zavrèm*

BSL. *werǔ-

B Lith. *vėrti* ‘pierce, string’; Latv. *vērt* ‘open, close’

Cogn. Skt. *apivṛṇóti* ‘close, cover’

Compound of → *za and *verti < *uerH-. See → *otǔverti.

See also: *obora; *otǔverti; *otǔvoriti; *proverti

***zelěňъ** adj. o (b) ‘green’

- CS OCS *zelenǔ* (Zogr., Mar., Supr.)
 E Ru. *zelěnyj*
 W Cz. *zelený*; Slk. *zelený*; Pl. *zielony*
 S SCr. *zèlen*, f. *zelèna*, *zelèno*; Čak. *zelēn* (Vrg.), f. *zelenà*, *zelenò*; *zèlen* (Hvar), f. *zelenà*, *zèleno*; *zèlen*, f. *zèlena*, *zèleno*; Sln. *zelèn*, f. *zeléna*; Bulg. *zelén*

BSL. *želǔ-

B Lith. *žālias* 4 ‘green’; *žėlvas* 4 ‘greenish’; *žėlvas* (dial.) 3 ‘greenish’

PIE *ǵ^helh₃-

Cogn. Skt. *hāri-* ‘fallow, yellowish, greenish’; Gk. *χλωρός* ‘pale green, greenish yellow’; Lat. *helvus* ‘yellowish’; OHG *gelo* ‘yellow’

See also: *zelъje; *zǔlto; *zъlčъ; *zъlčъ

***zěl̥je** n. io ‘greens, herbs’

CS	OCS <i>zeliĵe</i> n.(io) ‘vegetables, greens, herbs’
E	Ru. <i>zél’e</i> n.(io) ‘potion, poison’
W	Cz. <i>zeli</i> n.(io) ‘cabbage’; Pl. <i>ziele</i> n.(jo) ‘herb, weed’
S	SCr. <i>zěl̥je</i> n.(jo) ‘greens, sorrel, dock’; Čak. <i>zěl̥ē</i> n.(jo) ‘mangel (type of beet)’; Gsg. <i>zěl̥ā</i> ; Sln. <i>zěl̥je</i> n.(jo) ‘cabbage’

Derivative containing *zel- < *ǵ^helh₃-.

See also: *zelenъ; *zölto; *zylčъ; *žyltъ

***zeml̥a** f. jā (b/c) ‘earth, land’

CS	OCS <i>zemlja</i>
E	Ru. <i>zemljá</i> , Asg. <i>zémľju</i> {1}; Ukr. <i>zemljá</i> , Asg. <i>zémľju</i>
W	Cz. <i>země</i> ; <i>zem</i> f.(i/jā); Slk. <i>zem</i> f.(i/jā); Pl. <i>ziemia</i>
S	SCr. <i>zēmľja</i> , Asg. <i>zēmľju</i> ; Čak. <i>zeml̥ā</i> (Vrg.), Asg. <i>zēmľu</i> ; <i>zeml̥ä</i> (Novi), Asg. <i>zēmľju</i> ; <i>zeml̥ä</i> (Orb.) ‘earth, soil, ground, country’, Asg. <i>zēmľju</i> ; Kajk. <i>zāmljō</i> (Bednja), Asg. <i>zāmljū</i> ; Sln. <i>zémľja</i> ; Bulg. <i>zemjā</i>
Bsl.	*žem-
B	Lith. <i>žēmė</i> 2; Latv. <i>zeme</i> OPr. <i>semmē</i>
PIE	*d ^h ǵ ^h -em-
Cogn.	Skt. <i>kṣám-</i> (RV+) f. ‘earth’; Gk. <i>χθών</i> f. ‘earth’; Hitt. <i>tēkan</i> m. ‘earth’, Gsg. <i>taknas</i>

The Balto-Slavic forms are based on the Asg. stem of the PIE hysterodynamic *m*-stem. Illič-Svityč (1963: §41) suggests that in the larger part of the Slavic territory the original AP (b) was ousted under the influence of an *i*-stem *zem̥b, cf. Kortlandt 1975b: 410, where it is argued that the Freising Fragments also offer evidence for AP (b).

{1} In Old Russian, both AP (b) and (c) are attested (Zaliznjak 1985: 138).

***zēnica** f. jā ‘pupil (of the eye)’

CS	OCS <i>zēnica</i>
E	Ru. <i>zeníca</i>
W	Pl. <i>żrenica</i>
S	SCr. <i>zjēnica</i> ; Sln. <i>zēnica</i> ; Bulg. <i>zeníca</i>

The Polish form was influenced by the verb ‘see’ (→ *zvrēti I). The etymon has been connected with → *zēvati.

***zēvati** v. ‘yawn’

CS	RuCS <i>zēvati</i>
E	Ru. <i>zevát’</i> ‘yawn, (dial.) shout, cry’, 1sg. <i>zevájū</i>
W	Cz. <i>zívatí</i> ; Slk. <i>zívať</i> ; Pl. <i>ziewać</i>

S SCr. *zìjèvati*, 1sg. *zìjevām*; Čak. *zìhàti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *zìšeš*; *z'ehät* (Orb.), 1sg. *z'èšen*; Sln. *zèvati* 'yawn, cry', 1sg. *zèvam*

B Lith. *žióvauti*; Latv. *žāvât*²

Cogn. OHG *giwēn*

See → **zìjati*, **zìjati*.

See also: **zìnqti*

***zèbnqti I v.** 'suffer from cold'

E Ru. *zjábnut'*

W Cz. *zábnouti*; Slk. *ziabnut'*; Pl. *ziębnąć*

Derivative in **-nqti*. See → **zėti*.

***zèbnqti II v.** 'germinate'

CS OCS *prozèbnqti* 'germinate'

E ORu. *zjabnuti* 'germinate'

B Lith. *žémbėti* 'germinate, sprout'

Cogn. Lat. *gemma* f. 'bud, precious stone'

Possibly from **gemb-* (Schrijver 1991: 434), but note that from an Indo-European point of view the root structure is impossible.

***zėti v.**

CS OCS *zèbomi* (Supr.) Npl. m. ptc. pres. pass. 'being pulled out'

W Cz. *zábsti* 'suffer from cold, freeze'

S SCr. *zèpsti* 'freeze', 1sg. *zèbēm*; Čak. *zèsti* 'freeze', 2sg. *zèbèš*; *z'èš* 'freeze, be very cold'; 3sg. *z'èbè*; Sln. *zèbsti* 'freeze', 3sg. *zèbe*

BSl. **zemb-*

B Lith. *žėmbti* 'cut slantwise, sharpen'

PIE **gemb^h-*

Cogn. Skt. *jámbhate* 'snatch'; Skt. *jámbhayati* 'crush'

The semantic development is made plausible by expressions such as "frostbite".

See also: **zèbnqti*; **zqbъ*

***zětъ m. i (a)** 'son-in-law'

CS OCS *zětъ* m.(i) 'bridegroom'

E Ru. *zjat'* m.(i) 'son-in-law, brother-in-law (sister's husband or husband's sister's husband)'

W Cz. *zèt* m.(jo) 'son-in-law'; OCz. *zět* m.(i) 'son-in-law'; Slk. *zat'* m.(jo) 'son-in-law'; Pl. *zięc* m.(jo) 'son-in-law'

S SCr. *zèt* 'son-in-law, brother-in-law (sister's husband)'; Gsg. *zèta*; Čak. *zèt* (Vrg., Hvar) 'son-in-law, brother-in-law (sister's husband)'; Gsg. *zèta*; Sln.

zèt ‘son-in-law’, Gsg. *zěta*; Bulg. *zet* ‘son-in-law, brother-in-law (sister’s husband)’

BSl. *žénʔtis; *žénʔtos

B Lith. *žentas* 1 ‘son-in-law’

Since Latv. *znuōts* ‘son-in-law, sister’s husband, wife’s brother’ seems to reflect *ǵneh₃-to-, we might consider a reconstruction *ǵneh₃-ti-.

***zidъ; *zъdъ** m. o; f. i ‘wall’

CS OCS *zъdě* (Ps. Sin.) Lsg. m.

W Cz. *zed’* f.(i) ‘stone wall’, Gsg. *zdi*

S SCr. *zid* m., Gsg. *zida*; Čak. *zid* (Vrg.) m., Gsg. *zida*; žit (Orb.) m., Gsg. *zida*; Sln. *zid* m., Gsg. *zida*, Gsg. *zidû*; Bulg. *zid* m. ‘stone wall’

BSl. *žeid-

OPr. *seydis*

The root may be a metathesized variant of *d^heiǵ^h- ‘knead clay, coat with loam’.

See also: *děžā; *zъdati

***zijati; *zъjati** v. ‘open (one’s mouth), gape, be wide open’

CS OCS *zijati* (Supr.) ‘open (one’s mouth)’, 1sg. *zějō*, 1sg. *zijajō*

E Ru. *ziját’* ‘yawn, gape’, 1sg. *zijáju*, 1sg. *zijajō*

W Cz. *zeti* ‘gape, be wide open’, 3pl. *zejí*; *záti* ‘gape, be wide open’, 3pl. *zejí*; OCz. *zieti* ‘gape’, 1sg. *zeju*; Pl. *ziac’* ‘exhale’, 1sg. *zieję*

S SCr. *zijati* ‘yawn, shout’, 1sg. *zijām*; *zjāti* ‘yawn, shout’, 1sg. *zjām*; Čak. *zijati* (Vrg.) ‘gape, yawn, cry, shout’, 1sg. *zijan*; Sln. *zijáti* ‘yawn, gawk, shout’, 1sg. *zijām*, 1sg. *zijem*; *zījati* ‘yawn, gawk, shout’, 1sg. *zījam*; Bulg. *zēja* ‘be wide open, yawn’, 2sg. *zėješ*

BSl. *žiaʔ-

B Lith. *žióti* ‘open (one’s mouth)’

PIE *ǵ^h₁i-eh₂-

Cogn. Lat. *hiō* ‘yawn, be wide open’

The present has *e*- grade.

See also: *zěvāti; *zinŋti

***zimà** f. ā (c) ‘winter’

CS OCS *zima*

E Ru. *zimá*, Asg. *zímu*

W Cz. *zima*; Slk. *zima*; Pl. *zima*

S SCr. *zima*, Asg. *zímu*; Čak. *zīmà* (Vrg., Novi), Asg. *zímu*; *zīmà* (Orb.), Asg. *zīmo*; Sln. *zima* ‘winter, cold’; Bulg. *zima*

BSl. *žeimaʔ

B Lith. *žiemà* 4; Latv. *ziema*

PIE *ǵ^hei-m-eh₂

Cogn. Skt. *hímā-* (RV+) f.; LAV. *ziiā* m., Gsg. *zimō*; Gk. *χειμών* m.; Lat. *hiems* f.

Originally a hysterodynamic *m*-stem.

*zīnōti v. (a) ‘open (one’s mouth), gape’

CS OCS *zīnōti* (Supr.) ‘open (one’s mouth)’, 1sg. *zīnō*

E Ru. *razīnuti* ‘open wide (one’s mouth), gape’

W OCz. *pozīnūti* ‘swallow up’

S SCr. *zīnuti* ‘open (one’s mouth), yawn’, 1sg. *zīnēm*; Čak. *zīnuti* (Vrg.) ‘open (one’s mouth), yawn’, 2sg. *zīneš*; *zīnuti* (Hvar) ‘open (one’s mouth), yawn’, 1sg. *zīnen*; Sln. *zīniti* ‘open (one’s mouth)’, 1sg. *zīnem*; Bulg. *zīna* ‘open one’s mouth, yawn’

Cogn. OIc. *gīna* ‘yap, yawn’; OIc. *gīne* ‘be wide open’; OHG *ginēn* ‘be wide open’; OIc. *gīna* ‘yawn’

See → *zījati, *zījati. I am not convinced that the nasal present reconstructed by LIV (173, cf. the Germanic forms mentioned above) applies to *zīnōti.

*zmъjā f. iā ‘snake’

CS OCS *zmija* ‘serpent’

E Ru. *zmejā* ‘snake’, Npl. *zméi*

W Cz. *zmije* ‘adder’; Slk. *zmija* ‘adder’; Pl. *zmija* ‘(venomous) snake, adder’

S SCr. *zmija* ‘snake’; Čak. *zmijā* (Vrg.) ‘snake’; *zmija* (Novi, Orb.) ‘snake’; Bulg. *zmijā* ‘adder’, Npl. *zmii*

A derivative of the zero grade of the word for ‘earth’, *d^hǵ^h-m-.

*zmъjъ m. io ‘snake, dragon’

CS OCS *zmii* ‘serpent, dragon’, Gsg. *zmija*

E Ru. *zmej* ‘dragon, (obs., coll.) snake’, Gsg. *zméja*; *zmij* (arch.) ‘serpent, dragon’, Gsg. *zmija*

S SCr. *zmāj* ‘dragon, tapeworm’; Sln. *zmāj* ‘dragon’; Bulg. *zmej* ‘dragon, tapeworm, (arch.) snake’

See the previous lemma.

*znamenъje n. io ‘sign’

CS OCS *znamenie* n.(io) ‘sign’

W Cz. *znamení* n.(io) ‘sign’; Slk. *znamenie* n.(io) ‘sign’

S SCr. *znāmēnje* n.(jo) ‘sign, symbol, omen’; Čak. *znam’ēnje* (Orb.) n.(jo) ‘traces, trail’; Sln. *známenje* n.(jo) ‘sign’

A derivative based on the stem of → *znàmę.

See also: *znati

***znàṃę** n. n (a) 'sign'

- CS CS *znamę* 'sign'
 E Ru. *známja* 'banner, standard'
 W OCz. *znamě* 'sign'; Pl. *znamię* 'sign'
 S SCr. *znāmēn* n.(o) 'sign, symbol, omen'; Bulg. *známe* 'flag, banner'
 PIE **ǵneh₃-men-*
 Cogn. Gk. γνώμα n. 'sign, symptom'
 See also: *znamenъje; *znati

***znàti** v. (a) 'know'

- CS OCS *znati*, 1sg. *znaję*
 E Ru. *znat'*, 1sg. *znájju*
 W Cz. *znáti*; Slk. *znat'*; Pl. *znac'*
 S SCr. *znàti*, 1sg. *znâm*; Čak. *znàti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *znâš*; *znât* (Hvar), 1sg. *znôn*; *znât* (Orb.), 1sg. *znân*; Sln. *znáti*, 1sg. *znâm*; Bulg. *znam*, 2sg. *znáeš*; *znája*, 2sg. *znáeš*
 BSL. **zn-*/**zin-*
 B Lith. *žinóti* 'know'; Latv. *zinât* 'know'
 OPr. *posinnat* 'confess'
 PIE **ǵneh₃-*
 Cogn. Skt. *jānāti* 'know'; Gk. γιγνώσκω 'perceive, realize'; Go. *kunnan* 'know'
 See also: *znamenъje; *znameę

***znōjъ** m. jo 'heat'

- CS OCS *znoi* 'heat'
 E Ru. *znoj* 'intense heat, sultriness', Gsg. *znója*
 W Cz. *znoj* (poet., arch.) 'sweat, heat'; Pl. *znoj* 'toil, sweat, (obs.) heat', Gsg. *znoju*
 S SCr. *znōj* 'sweat', Gsg. *znōja*; Sln. *znōj* 'heat, sweat'; *znōj* 'heat, sweat'; Bulg. *znoj* 'heat'

See → *znvjati.

***znъjati** v. 'smoulder, burn'

- E Ru. *zniját'* (Dal': Tver', Psk.) 'smoulder, burn (without flames)'; *znéjat'* (Dal': Arx.) 'smoulder, burn (without flames)'; *znét'* (Arx.) 'shine, flame, become red'
 W Cz. *znát* (dial.) 'shine, burn'; *zněť* (dial.) 'shine, burn'

The question is if this root is to be identified with the root of → **ǵniti* 'rot' and → *ǵnōjb* 'pus, manure'. Semantically the connection does not seem implausible to me, while the variation *gn-* : *zn-* may originally have been conditioned by the following vowel.

See also: *znôjъ

***zobàti** v. 'peck'

- CS OCS *ozoba* (Ps. Sin.) 3sg. aor. 'devoured'; *izoba* (Supr.) 3sg. aor. 'ate'
 E Ru. *zobát'* (dial.) 'peck, swallow, eat greedily, devour'; ORu. *zobati* 'eat'
 W Cz. *zobati* 'peck'; *džobač* (Lach dial.) 'peck'; Slk. *zobať* 'peck'; Pl. *dziobać* 'peck' (originally an East Polish form); OPl. *zobać* 'peck'
 S SCr. *zòbati* 'peck, (Vuk) eat grains', 1sg. *zòbljēm*; Čak. *zobàti* (Vrg.) 'peck', 2sg. *zòbļeš*; *zobât* (Orb.) 'peck, eat, nibble (grapes, berries, etc.)', 1sg. *zòbljen*; Sln. *zòbati* 'peck, eat (berries, cherries, etc.), eat grains', 1sg. *zòbljem*; Bulg. *zóbam* 'eat berries one by one'
 BSl. **zob-*
 B Lith. *žėbti* 'eat dry substances, gobble, crave for, covet'

It is doubtful if there are cognates outside Balto-Slavic.

See also: *zòbъ; *zòbъ

***zòbъ; *zòbъ** f. i; m. o (c)

- E Ru. *zob* m. 'crop, goitre', Gsg. *zòba; zob'* (N. dial.) f.(i) 'food, grub'
 W Cz. *zob* m. 'birdseed'; Pl. *dziób* m. 'beak, bill', Gsg. *dzioba* (since the 18th century for *nos*).
 S SCr. *zòb* f.(i) 'oats', Gsg. *zòbi*; Čak. *zòb* (Vrg.) f.(i) 'oats', Gsg. *zòbi*; Sln. *zòb* f.(i) '(solid) fodder, grain', Gsg. *zobî*; Bulg. *zob* f.(i) 'fodder (grain)'

See the previous lemma.

See also: *zobàti

***zòlto** n. o (c) 'gold'

- CS OCS *zlato*
 E Ru. *zólotó*
 W Cz. *zlato*; Slk. *zlato*; Pl. *złoto*; USrb. *zloto*
 S SCr. *zlâto*; Čak. *zlâto* (Vrg.); *zlâto* (Novi, Orb.); *zlôto* (Hvar); Sln. *zlatô*; Bulg. *zlâto*
 B Latv. *zēlts* m.
 PIE **ǵʰolh₃-to-*
 Cogn. Skt. *híraṇya-* (RV+) n. 'precious metal, gold'; Go. *gulþ* n.

Like the Latvian and Germanic words for 'gold', the Slavic etymon is a *to*-derivative. Slavic has an *o*-grade **ǵʰolh₃-*, however, whereas Latvian and Germanic have *e*-grade and zero grade, respectively.

See also: *zelenъ; *zelyje; *zylčъ; *zyltъ

***zòrdъ** m. o (a) ‘hay-stack’

E Ru. *zoród* ‘hay-stack, enclosure for a hay-stack’; *zaród* ‘hay-stack, enclosure for a hay-stack’

BSl. **zorъdos*

B Lith. *žárdas* 1 ‘rack for drying flax’; Latv. *zārdš* ‘rack for drying flax’
OPr. *sardis* ‘fence’

Despite the semantic proximity, I do not agree with the prevailing view that *zòrdъ is cognate with → *gòrdъ, which has a circumflex root (cf. Lith. *gārdas*) and probably initial *g^h.

See also: *ozòrdъ

***zoriti** v. ‘ripen (tr.)’

CS OCS *sъzori* (Supr.) 3sg. aor. ‘ripened (tr.)’

E Ru. *zorít*’ (dial.) ‘make (berries) ripen by spreading (them) on a mat’

W OCz. *szoříti* ‘ripen (tr.)’

S SCr. Čak. *zorīt* (Orb.) ‘ripen’, 3sg. *zorī*; Sln. *zoríti* ‘ripen (tr.)’, 1sg. *zorím*

PIE **gorh₂-eie-*

Cogn. Skt. *járati* ‘make old, let smth. reach an old age’; Gk. γήρας n. ‘old age’

See also: *zbrěti II; *zbrno

***zora** f. jā (o) ‘dawn, aurora’

CS OCS *zorję* (Ps. Sin., Supr.) Npl. ‘dawn’

E Ru. *zarjá* ‘dawn, sunset, reveille, retreat’, Asg. *zarjú*, Asg. *zórju*, Npl. *zóri*; *zorjá* (arch., poet.) ‘dawn, sunset, reveille, retreat’, Asg. *zórju*, Asg. *zorjú*; Ukr. *zorjá* ‘star’

W Cz. *zora* ‘dawn, aurora’; *zoře* (arch., eccl.) ‘dawn, aurora’; Slk. *zora* ‘dawn, aurora’; Pl. *zorza* ‘dawn, daybreak’; Opl. *zorza* ‘dawn, daybreak’

S SCr. *zòra* ‘aurora’, Asg. *zòru*; Čak. *zorà* (Vrg.) ‘aurora’, Asg. *zòru*; *zorà* (Orb.) ‘aurora’, Asg. *zòro*, Asg. *zorò*; Sln. *zórja* ‘aurora, redness of the sky’; *zòrja* ‘aurora, redness of the sky’; *zòra* ‘aurora’; *zòra* ‘aurora’; *zòr* m.(o) ‘shine, daybreak, East’, Gsg. *zóra*; *zòr* m.(o) ‘shine, daybreak, East’; Bulg. *zora* ‘aurora, daybreak’

BSl. **zori?*

B Lith. *žarà* ‘dawn, sunset, hot coal’; Lith. *žarijà* ‘hot coal’

OPr. *sari* ‘glow’

Derivative of the root of → *zbrěti I ‘see’. The original meaning of the root may have been ‘shine’.

See also: *zòrkъ; *zbrěti I

***zòrkъ** m. o (c) ‘sunbeam, look, appearance’

CS OCS *zrakъ* ‘look, appearance, countenance’

- E Ru. *zórok* (dial.) 'look, glance, appearance'
 W Cz. *zrak* 'face'; Slk. *zrak* 'face'
 S SCr. *zrâk* 'sunbeam, air'; Čak. *zdrâk* (Vrg.) 'air', *zdrâka*; *zrâk* (Orb.) 'air', *zrâka*; Sln. *zrâk* 'beam, air'; Bulg. *zrak* 'light, vision'

See the previous etymon.

See also: *zařà; *zbrěti I

***zǫbrъ** m. o 'wisent'

- E Ru. *zubr* 'wisent', Gsg. *zúbra*
 W Cz. *zubr* 'wisent'; Slk. *zubor* 'wisent'; Pl. *źubr* 'wisent'; OPL. *zǫbr* m.(o) 'wisent'; *zǫbrz* m.(jo) 'wisent'; *zubr* m.(o) 'wisent' {1}
 B Lith. *stuñbras* 2 'wisent, aurochs'; Latv. *suñbrs* 'aurochs'; *stumbr(i)s* 'aurochs'; *sūbrs* 'aurochs'
 OPr. *wissambs*' (EV) 'aurochs' {2}

A connection with the root *ǵomb^h- of PS1. *zǫbъ, Latv. *zùobs* 'tooth' cannot be ruled out, but it is possible that we are dealing with a migratory term, cf. Osset. *dombaj* 'bison'.

{1} Variants with a nasal are also attested in placenames, e.g. *Zębrzyce*. {2} The meanings of *wissambs*' 'Ewer' and *tauris* 'Wesant' are seemingly reversed (cf. Young 1998). Young (o.c.) connects the element *wis-* with OPr. *wissene* 'wild rosemary' and OHG *wisa* 'meadow'.

***zǫbъ** m. o (c) 'tooth'

- CS OCS *zǫbъ*
 E Ru. *zub*, Gsg. *zúba*; Ukr. *zub*, Gsg. *zúbu*
 W Cz. *zub*; Slk. *zub*; Pl. *zǫb*, Gsg. *zębu*
 S SCr. *zûb*, Gsg. *zûba*; Čak. *zûb* (Vrg., Novi, Hvar), Gsg. *zûba*; *z^uôp* (Orb.), Gsg. *z^uôba*; Sln. *zǫb*, Gsg. *zǫba*, Gsg. *zobû*; Bulg. *zǫb*
 BSL. **zombos*
 B Lith. *žam̃bas* 'sharp edge'; Latv. *zùobs* 'tooth'
 PIE *ǵomb^h-o-
 Cogn. Skt. *jámbha-* m. 'tooth'; Gk. γόμφος m. 'pin, nail'; OIc. *kambr* m. 'comb, jagged edge'

See also: *zębnǫti; *zęti

***zvěrb** m. i (c) 'wild animal'

- CS OCS *zvěrb* m.(i)
 E Ru. *zver'* m.(jo)
 W Cz. *zvěř* f.(i); Slk. *zver* m.(o); *zver* f.(i) 'game'; Pl. *zwierz* m.(jo) 'wild animals (coll.), big animal'
 S SCr. *zvŕjer* f.(i); Čak. *zvŕr* (Vrg.) f.(i), Gsg. *zvŕiri*; Sln. *zvēr* f.(i), Gsg. *zverŕi*; Bulg. *zvjar* m.(o)

- BSL. **žweʔrís*
 B Lith. *žvėris* m.(i) 3; Latv. *zvērs* m.(o)
 OPr. *swīrins* Apl.
 PIE **ǵʰueh₁r-*
 Cogn. Gk. *θήρ* m. 'wild animal'; Lat. *ferus* adj. 'wild'

The problem connected with the reconstruction presented above is the fact that Hirt's law apparently did not operate. Kortlandt (1975a: 54) assumes lengthened grade for this etymon, suggesting that the Baltic acute may be an instance of metatony resulting from a retraction of the stress in a form corresponding to Gk. *θηρίον*. I find that hard to believe, in particular because the Latvian form has a broken tone, which in Kortlandt's theory is the reflex of an unstressed acute. Perhaps one might combine the reconstruction of a lengthened grade as well as a laryngeal and assume loss of the laryngeal in a monosyllabic form. **ǵʰuēh₁r*. The forms with an acute root may reflect the ful grade of other case-forms.

***zvegti v.**

- CS OCS *zveġoma* (Supr.) Gsg. ptc. pres. pass. 'being told'
 E Ru. *zvjač'* (dial.) 'bark continually, scold', 1sg. *zvjaġú*, 3sg. *zvjažět*
 BSL. **žwenʔg-*
 B Lith. *žvėngti* 'neigh', 3pres. *žvėngia*.

Only Balto-Slavic. The root may be an enlargement of the root found in → **zvōnǫ*.

***zvōnǫ m. o. (c) 'sound'**

- CS OCS *zvonǫ* (Supr.) 'noise'
 E Ru. *zvon* '(ringing) sound'
 W Cz. *zvon* 'bell'; Slk. *zvon* 'bell'; Pl. *dzwon* 'sound'; OPl. *zwon* 'sound'
 S Sln. *zvōn* 'bell, sound', Gsg. *zvōna*, Gsg. *zvonā*

Pokorny (IEW: 491) reconstitutes the root as **ǵʰuon-*, cf. Alb. *zë* m. 'sound', Arm. *jain* 'id.'. The hypothesis that Slavic **zvōnǫ* continues PIE **suonh₂-* (e.g. Meillet 1934: 30), cf. Lat. *sonus* 'sound', must be considered a serious alternative, however. The anlaut may have been influenced by → **zǫnati*.

See also: **zvbǫnėti*

***zvbǫnėti v. 'ring, clank'**

- CS OCS *zvbǫnėti*
 E Ru. *zvenět'*, 1sg. *zvenjú*, 3sg. *zvenít*
 W Cz. *zníti*; OCz. *zvnieti*; Slk. *zniet'*
 S Sln. *zveněti*, 1sg. *zvením*

See → **zvōnǫ*.

*zьlьb adj. o ‘bad, evil, wicked’

CS	OCS <i>zьlьb</i>
E	Ru. <i>zloj</i> ‘bad, evil, wicked’; <i>zol</i> ‘angry’, f. <i>zla</i> , n. <i>zlo</i>
W	Cz. <i>zły</i> ; Slk. <i>zlý</i> ; Pl. <i>zły</i>
S	SCr. <i>zào</i> , f. <i>zlä</i> , n. <i>zlò</i> ; Sln. <i>zòl</i> , f. <i>zlà</i> ; <i>zàl</i> ; Bulg. <i>zäl</i>
BSl.	* <i>žulʔ-</i>
B	Lith. <i>atžūlus</i> (Žem.) 1, <i>atžūlūs</i> (Žem.) 3 ‘rude’

The Lithuanian forms may be cognate with *pažvilti* ‘bend, stoop’. The vocalism *žūl-* could be a lengthened zero grade of an acute root **žulʔ-*, cf. *įžulnūs* alongside *įžvilūs* and *įžvilnas* ‘slanted, diagonal’. The root has been connected with Skt. *hvarate* ‘go crookedly’.

*zьly f. ū ‘sister-in-law (husband’s sister)’

CS	CS <i>zьlva</i> (Mikl.) f.(ā)
E	Ru. <i>zolónka</i> f.(ā); <i>zólva</i> (dial.) f.(ā) ‘sister-in-law (husband’s sister), daughter-in-law’; <i>zolóna</i> (dial.) f.(ā); <i>zolónv</i> (dial.) f.(i); <i>zólovica</i> (dial.); <i>zolónica</i> (dial.)
W	OCz. <i>zělva</i> f.(ā) ‘sister-in-law (husband’s sister), daughter-in-law’; Slk. <i>zolvica</i> ; OPl. <i>zlew</i> f.(i) ‘sister-in-law (husband’s sister), daughter-in-law’; <i>zělw</i> f.(i) ‘sister-in-law (husband’s sister), daughter-in-law’ {1}
S	SCr. <i>zāovna</i> f.(ā); <i>zāva</i> (Vojv.) f.(ā); Sln. <i>zālva</i> f.(ā); <i>zāva</i> f.(ā); <i>zòlva</i> f.(ā); Bulg. <i>zälva</i> f.(ā)

PIE **ǵlh₂-u-*

Cogn. Gk. γάλωξ ‘husband’s sister’ f.; Lat. *glōs* f. ‘sister-in-law’

For the PIE origin of this etymon, see Beekes 1976: 13–16, Schrijver 1991: 131.

{1} The material presented in the *Słownik staropolski* seems to point to a paradigm *zlew*, Gsg. *zělwi* < **zьlьvь*, Gsg. *zьlьvi*. In that case the vocalism of *zělw* must be analogical.

*zьvati v. (c) ‘call’

CS	OCS <i>zьvati</i> , 1sg. <i>zovø</i>
E	Ru. <i>zovát</i> , 1sg. <i>zovú</i> , 3sg. <i>zovět</i>
W	Cz. <i>zvāti</i> ‘call, invite’; Slk. <i>zvat</i> ‘call, invite’; Pl. <i>zwać</i>
S	SCr. <i>zvāti</i> , 1sg. <i>zòvēm</i> ; Čak. <i>zvāti</i> (Vrg.), 2sg. <i>zověš</i> ; <i>zvāt</i> (Orb.), 1sg. <i>zověñ</i> ; Sln. <i>zvāti</i> , 1sg. <i>zòvem</i>

PIE **ǵ^huH-e-/ǵ^houH-e-*

Cogn. Skt. *hávate* ‘invoke’

*zьdati v. ‘build’

CS	OCS <i>zьdati</i> ‘build’, 1sg. <i>ziždø</i>
E	ORu. <i>zьdati</i> ‘build’, 1sg. <i>zižu</i>

S SCr. *zidati* ‘build’, 1sg. *zidām*; Čak. *zidāt* (Orb.) ‘build, lay bricks’, 1sg. *zidan*; Sln. *zidati* ‘build a wall’, 1sg. *zidam*; Bulg. *zidam* ‘lay bricks’

BSL. *z(e)id-

B Lith. *žiēsti* ‘form (from clay)’, 3sg. *žiēdžia*; Latv. *ziest* ‘coat with clay’

PIE *ǵʰidʰ-

A metathesized variant of *dʰeiǵʰ- ‘knead clay, coat with loam’.

See also: *dēžā; *zidь; *zьdь

*zьlčь f. i ‘bile’

CS OCS *zlъčь* f.(i); *zlъčь* (Zogr., Supr.) f.(i)

E Ru. *žělč’* f.(i), Gsg. *žělči*

W Cz. *žluč* f.(i); Slk. *žlč* f.(i); Pl. *zólč* f.(i)

S SCr. *žuč* f.(i), Gsg. *žūci*; Čak. *žuč* (Vrg.) f.(i), Gsg. *žūci*; *žuč* (Hvar) f.(i), Gsg. *žūci*; *žuč* (Orb.) f.(i)/m.(jo), Gsg. *žūci*, Gsg. *žūča*; Sln. *žolč* f.(i), Gsg. *žolči*; *žolč* m.(jo); Bulg. *zláč* f.(i)

BSL. *zulʔ-

B Lith. *tulžis* f.(i) 4 (with metathesis); Latv. *žul(k)ts* f.(i); *zul(k)ts* (dial.) f.(i)

PIE *ǵʰlʰ₃-

Cogn. Gk. *χολή* f. ‘bile’; Lat. *fel* n. ‘bile, gall-bladder’

The forms with *ž-* may have arisen under the influence of *žьltь ‘yellow’, but it should be noted that *ž-* < *g- is in fact what we would expect before a syllabic *l. The East Baltic forms rather seem to agree with Old Church Slavic, though the situation has been obscured by various developments.

See also: *zelenь; *zelyje; *zolto; *zьltь

*zьrěti I v. ‘see, look at’

CS OCS *zьrěti* ‘see, look at’, 1sg. *zьrjō*

E Ru. *zret’* (obs.) ‘behold, gaze’, 1sg. *zrju*, 3sg. *zrit*

W Cz. *zřítí* ‘see’; Slk. *zriet’* ‘see’; OPl. *zrzec’* ‘see’

S SCr. *zrěti* (obs.) ‘watch’, 1sg. *zrēm*; Sln. *zrěti* ‘look (at)’, 1sg. *zrēm*; Bulg. *zra* ‘look (at)’

B Lith. *žėrėti* ‘shine, sparkle’

The reconstruction of the root is uncertain. One might posit *ǵʰ(H)r(H)-.

See also: *zara; *zora; *zorkь

*zьrěti II v. ‘ripen’

CS OCS *zьrělv* (Supr.) ‘ripe’; CS *zьrěti*

E Ru. *zret’*, 1sg. *zréju*

W Cz. *zráti*; Slk. *zriet’*; Pl. *zrzec’*

S SCr. *zrěti*; Sln. *zrěti*, 1sg. *zrějem*, 1sg. *zrēm*; Bulg. *zreja*

PIE *ǵr_h₂-

Cogn. Skt. *járati* ‘make old, let smth. reach an old age’; Gk. γραῦς f. ‘old woman’

See also: *zoriti; *zǫrno

*zǫrno n. o (a) ‘grain’

CS OCS *zrǫno*

E Ru. *zernó*

W Cz. *zrno*; Slk. *zrno*; Pl. *ziarno*

S SCr. *zǫrno*, Gsg. *zǫrna*; Čak. *zǫrno* (Vrg.), Gsg. *zǫrna*; *zǫrno* (Hvar), Gsg. *zǫrna*; *zǫrno* (Vrg.) ‘grain, kernel, bead’, Gsg. *zǫrna*, Npl. *zǫrna*; Sln. *zǫrno* ‘(single) grain, tree-fruit’; Bulg. *zǫrno* ‘(single) grain, bean, berry’; *zǫrnó* ‘(single) grain, bean, berry’

BSL. *zǫr_n-

B Lith. *žirnis* m.(io) ‘pea’; Latv. *ziņnis* m.(io) ‘pea’

OPr. *syrne* ‘grain’

PIE *ǵr_h₂-no-

Cogn. Lat. *grānum* n.; Go. *kaurn* n.; OIr. *grán* n.

See also: *zoriti; *zǫrėti II

Ž

*žaba f. ā (a) ‘frog, toad’

CS OCS *žaba* (Ps. Sin.) ‘frog’; *žěba* (Ps. Sin.) ‘frog’

E Ru. *žába* ‘toad, quinsy’

W Cz. *žába* ‘frog’; Slk. *žaba* ‘frog’; Pl. *żaba* ‘frog’

S SCr. *žába* ‘frog’; Čak. *žába* (Vrg.) ‘frog, turtle’; *žába* (Orb.) ‘frog’; Sln. *žába* ‘frog’; Bulg. *žába* ‘frog, (*krastava ž.*) toad’

B OPr. *gabawo* (EV) ‘toad’

Cogn. Lat. *būfō* m. ‘toad’; OS *quappa* f. ‘eel-pout’; MoDu. *kwab* f. ‘lobe’

The Slavic form seems to reflect *g^web-eh₂, but the presumed cognates do not fit this reconstruction. I suspect a substratum origin.

*žalbь f. i ‘grief, regret, pity’

CS OCS *žalbь* (Zogr.) ‘tomb’

E Ru. *žal’* ‘pity’

W Cz. *žal* ‘grief, pain’; Slk. *žial* ‘grief’; Pl. *żal* ‘grief’; Sln. *žāļ* m.(o) ‘grief, regret’, Gsg. *žāļú*

S SCr. *žào je* + Dat adv. ‘feel sorry, be angry, suspect’; Čak. *je žāl* + Dat (Orb.) adv. ‘feel sorry, care, mind’; *je žāl* + Dat (Orlec) adv. ‘feel sorry’; Sln. *žàł* ‘grief, pain’, Gsg. *žāli*; Bulg. *žal* ‘grief, pity’

- BSL. *gēl-
 B Lith. *gėlà* f. 4 ‘acute pain’
 PIE *g^wēlH-
 Cogn. OHG *quāla* f. ‘violent death’; OS *quāla* f. ‘pain, torture’

The evidence points to an original root noun (cf. Kortlandt 1985b: 117).

See also: *želēti I; *žeļa; *žėdlo; *žьlna

*žarъ m. o (b/c) ‘glow, heat’

- E Ru. *žar* ‘heat’; Gsg. *žára*, Gsg. *žáru*, Lsg. (o) *žare*, (v) *žarú*
 W Cz. *žár* ‘heat’; Slk. *žiar* ‘heat’; Pl. *žar* ‘glow’
 S SCr. *žâr* ‘live coals, ardour, zeal’; Čak. *žâr* (Orb.) ‘live coals’; Sln. *žâr* ‘glow, heat’; Bulg. *žar* f.(i) ‘glow’; *žar* m.(o) ‘fire, passion’

According to Kortlandt (1975a: 72), we must reconstruct a root noun *g^whēr-, for which the coexistence of *žarъ and *žarà, cf. Ru. *žarà*, SCr. *žára*, may count as an argument.

See also: *gorēti; *gorьbъ; *gorьkь; *goře; *grě(ja)ti; *gьrnidlo; *gьrnъ; *gьrno; *žeravъ

*žasiti v. ‘frighten’

- CS CS *žasiti* ‘frighten’

It is uncertain if *žasiti is cognate with → *gasiti ‘extinguish’, in which case the root would reflect *g^wēs-. Semantically the etymology is not convincing. The connection with Go. *usgaisjan* ‘frighten’, on the other hand, is obviously convincing as far as semantics is concerned, but the vocalism does not match.

See also: *užasъ

*že ptcl.

- CS OCS *že* emphatic particle
 E Ru. *že* conj. ‘but, and, after all’; *že* emphatic particle
 W Cz. *že* ‘that, since, because’ conj.; *že* emphatic particle; Pl. *że* conj. ‘that, since, because’; *że* emphatic particle
 PIE *g^(w)he
 Cogn. Skt. *ha* (RV+) emphatic ptcl.

*žegti v. (c) ‘burn’

- CS OCS *žešti*, 1sg. *žegō*, (Supr.) *žogō*
 E Ru. *žeč’*, 1sg. *žgú*, 3sg. *žžět*
 W Cz. *žéci*, 1sg. *žehu*; Pl. *żec*, 1sg. *żge*
 S SCr. *žěci*, 1sg. *žěžēm*
 BSL. *deg-
 B Lith. *dėgti* ‘burn, light’, 3pres. *dėga*, 3pret. *dėgė*; *dėgti* ‘burn’, 3pres. *deŋga*, 3pret. *dėgė*; Latv. *degt* ‘burn, light’

PIE **d^heg^{wh}-*

Cogn. Skt. *dāhati* ‘burn’; Av. *dažaiti* ‘burn’; Lat. *foveō* ‘warm, cherish’

Most probably from **d^heg^{wh}-* > **geg-* as a result of assimilation.

***želdь**; ***želdica** m. o; f. jā ‘glazed frost, sleet’

CS CS *žlédica* f.(jā) ‘sleet’

E Ru. *óželed’* (dial.) f.(i) ‘glazed frost, crust of ice over snow’; *oželéd’* (dial.) f.(i) ‘glazed frost, crust of ice over snow’; *óželed’* (Tersk.) f.(i) ‘crust of ice on trees’; *oželédica* f.(jā) ‘glazed frost’; *oželédica* (S. dial.) f.(jā) ‘black ice, thin crust of ice over snow’; Ukr. *óželed’* f.(i) ‘glazed frost’; *oželéda* f.(ā) ‘glazed frost’; *oželédica* f.(jā) ‘glazed frost’

W Pl. *žlód* (obs.) m.(o) ‘sleet’; *žlódz* (obs.) f.(i) ‘glazed frost, sleet’; Sln. *zlóuz* f.(i) ‘icicle’, Gsg. *zlúozü*; Plb. *zlád* m.(o) ‘hail’

S Sln. *žléd* m.(o) ‘glazed frost, sleet’; *žlédica* f.(ā) ‘glazed frost’

PIE **g^helh₂d-*

Cogn. Gk. *χάλαα* f. ‘hail’; MoP *žāla* f. ‘hail, hoarfrost’

***želěti I** v. ‘regret’

CS RuCS *želěti* ‘regret, grieve’

W Cz. *želeti* ‘regret’

See → **žalb*. The verb has an e-grade **g^welH-*.

***želěti II**; ***želàti** v. (a) ‘wish, want’

CS OCS *želěti* ‘wish, want’, 1sg. *željō*; *želati* ‘wish, want’, 1sg. *želajō*

E Ru. *želát’* ‘wish, want’

S SCr. *željēti* ‘wish, want, desire’, 1sg. *želim*; Čak. *željiti* (Vrg.) ‘wish, want, desire’, 2sg. *željīš*; *željīt* (Hvar) ‘wish, want, desire’, 1sg. *željīn*; Čak. *željēt* (Orb.) ‘wish, want, desire’, 1sg. *željīn*; Sln. *želěti* ‘wish, want’, 1sg. *željīm*; Bulg. *želāja* ‘wish, want’

PIE **g^whel-*

Cogn. Gk. *θέλω* ‘wish, want’

AP (a) applies to the present in *-*ajō*. The Serbo-Croatian and Slovene *i*-presents are mobile.

See also: **žela* II

***želězo** n. o (a) ‘iron’

CS OCS *želězo*

E Ru. *želězo*; *zelězo* (dial.); *zjalězo* (dial.); Bel. *zelězo*; *zalezo*; Ukr. *zalizo*; *želizo*

W Cz. *železo*; Slk. *železo*; Pl. *żelazo*

S SCr. *željēzo*; Čak. *želězo* (Orb.); Sln. *želězō*; Bulg. *željāzo*

BSL. **gelež-*; **gelěz-*

- B Lith. *geležis* f.(i) 3^b; *gelžis* (Žem.) f.(i); Latv. *dzēlzs* f.(i); *dzelezs* (E. Latv.) f.(i)
OPr. *gelso*

***žela I** f. jā ‘grief’

- CS OCS *žela* (Supr.)
E ORu. *žela*

See → *žalb.

***žela II** f. jā ‘wish, desire’

- CS RuCS *žela* ‘wish’
S SCr. *želja* ‘wish, desire’, Asg. *željju*; Čak. *željä* (Vrg., Novi) ‘wish, desire’; *žëlja*, *željä* (Orb.) ‘wish, desire’, Asg. *željjo*; Sln. *želja* ‘wish, desire’

PIE *g^{wh}el-ieh₂

See also: *želēti II; *želati

***želodъkъ** m. o ‘stomach’

- CS RuCS *želudъkъ*
E Ru. *želúdok*
W Cz. *žaludek*; *žaloudek* (arch., dial.); Slk. *žalúdek*; Pl. *żołądek*
S SCr. *želudac*; Čak. *želüdec* (Orlec); Sln. *želôdăc*, Gsg. *želôdca*; *želôdăk*, Gsg. *želôdka*

In view of Gk. *χολάδες* Npl. f. ‘intestines’, *želod- reflects *g^hel-ond-. The Greek form must reflect *g^hol-nd-.

***želodъ** m. jo (c) ‘acorn’

- CS RuCS *želudъ* m.(jo)
E Ru. *žëludъ* m.(jo)
W Cz. *žalud* m.(o); Slk. *žaludъ* m.(jo); Pl. *żołądz* f.(i), Gsg. *żołądzi*
S SCr. *žëlūd* m.(o); *žëljūd* m.(o); Čak. *želüđ* (Vrg.) m.(o), Gsg. *želüđa*; *žëlüđ* (Novi) m.(o); *želđt* (Orb.) m.(o), Npl. *želđdi*; Sln. *želod* m.(o), Gsg. *želóđa*; Bulg. *žělăđ* m.(o) ‘acorn, beech-nut’

BSl. *gel-/ *gil-

- B Lith. *gile* f.(ē) 2; *gylė* (dial.) f.(ē) 4; Latv. *zīle* f.(ē); *zile* f.(ē); *dzīle* f.(ē) (forms preserving the original anlaut dz- are very rare)
OPr. *gile* ‘acorn, oak’

PIE *g^w(e)lh₂-

Cogn. Gk. *βάλανος* m.; Lat. *glāns* f.

Kortlandt (1985b: 120) reconstructs *g^welh₂-s, Gsg. *g^wlh₂-os.

***želsti** v. ‘repay, pay for’

- CS OCS *žlěsti* (Supr.), 1sg. *žlědŏ*; *žlasti* (Supr.), 1sg. *žladŏ*

E ORu. *želesti*, 1sg. *želedu*

Cogn. Go. *fragildan* ‘repay’; OHG *geltan* ‘pay, repay, sacrifice’; OSw. *gjalla* ‘pay, repay’ (the Germanic evidence points to a suffix *-t-)

Probably a borrowing from Germanic.

***žely I** f. ū ‘tumour, fistula’

E Ru. *žělvák* m.(o) ‘tumour’; *žolv’* (Dal’) f.(i) ‘tumour’; *žělvi*, *želví* (dial.) Npl. m.(i) ‘abscesses, lumps, bumps’; *žělvi* (dial.) Npl. m.(i) ‘swollen glands on the neck’

W Cz. *žluva* (Kott) f.(ā) ‘soft tumour (in horses)’; *žuva* (dial.) f.(ā) ‘swelling on the udder of a cow’; Pl. *žółwi* (dial.) Npl. m.(i) ‘abscess on the ear’; *žółwie* (dial.) Npl. m.(i) ‘boils on the legs of a cow’

S Čak. *žělva* (Cres) f.(ā) ‘tumour’; Čak. *žōtva* (Vis) f.(ā) ‘scrofula’; Sln. *žętva* f.(ā) ‘fistula’

BSL. **gelu?*-

B Latv. *dzēlva* f. ‘(slight) swelling on the skin’

Possibly etymologically identical with *žely II.

See also: *želza

***žely II** f. ū ‘tortoise’

CS RuCS *žely* f.(ū), Gsg. *želove*

E Ru. *žolv’* f.(i); ORu. *žely* f.(ū), Gsg. *želove*

W Cz. *želva* f.(ā); Pl. *žółw* m.(jo), Gsg. *žółwia*

S SCr. *žělva* f.(ā); Sln. *žętva* f.(ā)

PIE **g^hel(H)-uH-*

Cogn. Gk. *χέλυς* f.; Gk. *χελώνη* f.

***želza** f. ā (b?) ‘gland’

CS CS *žlěza* ‘gland’

E Ru. *železá* ‘gland’, Npl. *žélezy*; *žélezo* n.(o) ‘tumour (neck, throat, groin)’; *žélezy* (dial.) Npl. f.(ā) ‘glands’; *zolozá* (dial.) ‘gland, tumour on the neck’; *zolóza* ‘gland’; Bel. *zalóza* ‘gland’; Ukr. *záloza* ‘gland’

W Cz. *žláza* ‘gland’; OCz. *žlěza* ‘gland’; *žláza* ‘gland’; Slk. *žlaza* ‘gland’; Pl. *zotzy* Npl. ‘scrofula, strangles (*adenitis equorum*)’; USrb. *žatza* ‘gland, (pl.), glandular disease’; LSrb. *zatza* ‘gland, (pl.), glandular disease’; *žatza* ‘gland, (pl.), glandular disease’

S SCr. *žlijězda* ‘gland’; Sln. *žlěza* ‘gland’; Bulg. *žlezá* ‘gland’

BSL. **gelž-*

B Lith. *gėležuonys* Npl. m. ‘submaxillary gland, strangles (*adenitis equorum*)’

PIE **g^helg^h-eh₂*

Cogn. Arm. *geljk* ‘glands’

The Polish and Sorbian forms seem to reflect a zero grade.

***ženà** f. ā (b) ‘woman, wife’

- CS OCS *žena* ‘woman, wife’
 E Ru. *žená* ‘wife, (poet., obs.) woman’
 W Cz. *žena* ‘woman, wife’; Slk. *žena* ‘woman, wife’; Pl. *żona* ‘wife’
 S SCr. *žèna* ‘woman, wife’, Asg. *žènu*; Čak. *ženà* (Vrg., Novi, Hvar) ‘woman, wife’, Asg. *ženü*; *ženà* (Orb.) ‘wife’, Asg. *ženò*; Sln. *žéna* ‘woman, wife’; Bulg. *žená* ‘woman’
 BSl. **géna?*
 OPr. *genno* Vsg. ‘woman’
 PIE **g^wen-eh₂*
 Cogn. Skt. *jáni-* (RV+) f. ‘woman, wife’; Go. *qino* f. ‘woman’; OIr. *ben* f. ‘woman’

***žeravъ** adj. o ‘burning, scorching’

- CS RuCS *žeravъ*
 E ORu. *žeravъ*
 W Cz. *žeravý* (lit.); *žeřavý* (lit.); *řeřavý*; Slk. *žeravý*
 S SCr. *žèrāv* f.(i??) ‘live coal’; *žèrava* (u Grblju) m. ‘live coal’; *žèravica* f.(jā) ‘live coal’; Čak. *žeràva*, *ževàra* (Vrg.) m. ‘live coal’; Sln. *žerāvica* f.(jā) ‘heartburn’

Derivative in **-avъ*. The root is **g^wher-*.

See also: **gorèti*; **gorǫjъ*; **gorǫkъ*; **goře*; **grě(ja)ti*; **gъrnidlo*; **gъrnpъ*; **gъrno*; **žarъ*

***žeravъ** m. jo ‘crane’

- E Ru. *žurávl’*; *žuravél’* (dial.); *žórav* (dial.); ORu. *žeravlb*; Bel. *žuravél’*; *žóraŭ* m.(o); Ukr. *žuravél’*
 W OCz. *žeráv*; *žeráb*; Slk. *žeriav*; Pl. *żuraw*
 S SCr. *žèrāv* m.(o); Sln. *žerjāv* m.(o), Gsg. *žerjáva*; Bulg. *žerav* m.(o)
 BSl. **gerǫ(ō)u-*
 B Lith. *gėrvė* f.(ė) 1; Latv. *dzērve* f.(ē)
 OPr. *gerwe*
 PIE **đerh₂-ōu*
 Cogn. Gk. γέρανος m.; Lat. *grūs* f.; OHG *kranuh* m.

Kortlandt (1985b: 120) reconstructs **đerh₂-ōu*, Gsg. **đerh₂-u-os*. The Balto-Slavic **g* (instead of **ž*) must have originated in the zero grade.

***žerbyjъ** m. io ‘lot, fate’

- CS OCS *žrěbii* m.(io) ‘lot’
 E Ru. *žrěbij* m.(jo) ‘lot, fate’
 W Cz. *hřeb* m.(o) ‘nail’; OCz. *hřebí* m.(jo) ‘nail’

- S SCr. *ždrijeb* m.(o) ‘nail’; Sln. *žrēb* m.(o) ‘nail’; Bulg. *žrēbie* n.(io) ‘nail’
 B OPr. *gīrbin* Asg. ‘number’
 PIE **gerb^h*-
 Cogn. Gk. γράφω ‘carve, write’; OE *ceorfan* ‘carve, cut, strike down’

*žerdlò n. o (b) ‘mouth, gorge’

- E Ru. *žerelò* (dial.) ‘mouth, orifice’; ORu. *žerelo* ‘throat, mouth, orifice’
 W Cz. *žřídlo* ‘source’; Slk. *žriedlo* ‘source’; Pl. *źródło* ‘source’
 S SCr. *ždrijèlo* ‘ravine, gorge’; Sln. *žrělo* ‘gorge, abyss, hole’; Bulg. *žreló* ‘gorge, source’
 BSL. **gerʔtló*
 B Lith. *gerklė* f.(ē) 3 ‘throat, larynx’

The *e*-grade of the Balto-Slavic form, which formally derives from **g^werh₃-tlóm* must be an innovation.

See also: *gʔrdlo; *žerti

*žerti v. (c) ‘devour, eat (of animals)’

- CS OCS *požrěti* (Ps. Sin., Hil., Supr.) ‘swallow, devour’, 1sg. *požbrę*
 E Ru. *žrat’* ‘eat (of animals), gobble’, 1sg. *žru*, 3sg. *žrět*; ORu. *žbrati* ‘eat (of animals), gobble’, 1sg. *žbru*
 W OCz. *žrieti* ‘eat (of animals), gobble’, 1sg. *žru*; Pl. *żreć* ‘eat greedily’, 1sg. *żrę*
 S Sln. *žrěti* ‘eat (of animals), gobble’, 1sg. *žrēm*
 BSL. **gerʔ-*
 B Lith. *gėrti* ‘drink’; Latv. *dzeīt* ‘drink’
 PIE **g^werh₃-*
 Cogn. Skt. *girāti* ‘devour’; Gk. βιβρώσκω ‘eat, digest’; Lat. *vorāre* ‘devour, eat greedily’

See also: *gʔrdlo; *žerdlo

*žezlъ; *žьzlъ; *žezlò m. o; m. o; n. o (b) ‘stick, staff’

- CS OCS *žьzlъ* m. ‘stick, staff, sceptre’; *žezlъ* m. ‘stick, staff, sceptre’
 E Ru. *žezl* m. ‘stick, staff, crozier’, Gsg. *žezlá* {1}; *žezél’* (dial.) f.(i) ‘short stick to which draught dogs are tied’
 W Cz. *žezlo* n. ‘sceptre’; OCz. *žezl* m. ‘sceptre’; *žezlo* n. ‘sceptre’
 S SCr. *žèzlo* n. ‘sceptre’; *žèželj* (Vuk) m.(jo) ‘ein Anbindstock für die Schaffhunde’; Sln. *žézlo* n. ‘sceptre’; Bulg. *žézál* m. ‘staff, sceptre’
 Cogn. OHG *kegil* m. ‘nail, peg’

The connection with OHG *kegil* ‘nail, peg’, etc., which would point to **geǵ^h-l-* is uncertain. The variant with **ь* results from raising of **e* in a pretonic syllable in a palatal environment, which occurred prior to Dybo’s law (Kortlandt 1984-1985). The

noun was oxytone due to the fact that it had escaped Ebeling's law, which states that the stress was not retracted from open final syllables to a syllable closed by an obstruent (Derksen forthc. a).

{1} In Old Russian, both (a) and (b) are attested (Zaliznjak 1985: 134, 137).

***žėdàti** v. (b) 'wish, desire'

- CS OCS *žędati* 'wish, long for, desire', 1sg. *žęždę*
 E Ru. *žadát'* (dial.) 'thirst for', 1sg. *žadájju*
 W Cz. *žadati* 'ask, demand'; Slk. *žiadat'* 'ask, demand'; Pl. *żadać* 'demand'; USrb. *žadać* 'wish, desire, demand'; LSrb. *žedaś* 'demand'
- BSL. **gend-*
 B Lith. *pasigęsti* 'miss', 3pres. *pasigęnda*.

The nasal of the Slavic root must have originated from a nasal present, cf. Lith. *-gęnda*. The PIE root is **g^whed^h-*, cf. Gk. *θέσσασθαι* 'pray for'; *ποθέω* 'desire'.

See also: *žėdja; *žėdъnъ

***žėdja** f. jā (b) 'wish, desire'

- CS OCS *žažda* (Euch., Supr.) 'thirst, desire'
 E ORu. *žaža* 'thirst, drought'
 W OCz. *žáda* 'wish, desire, request', Lsg. *žiedě*; OPl. *žadza* 'wish, desire, request, avarice'
 S SCr. *žęda* 'thirst'; Čak. *žęda* (Vrg.) 'thirst'; *žęja* (Novi) 'thirst'; *ž'ęja* (Orb.) 'thirst'; Sln. *žęja* 'thirst'

A *ja*-derivative of → *žėdàti.

See also: *žėdъnъ

***žėdlo** n. o (a?) 'sting'

- CS OCS *žęlo* 'sting'
 E Ru. *žálo* 'sting, point (of a needle, etc.)'
 W Pl. *žadło* 'sting'
 S Sln. *žęlo* 'prickle, sting'
 B Lith. *gęlà* f. 4 'acute pain'

Apparently with dissimilation of the first *l* to *n*. In Indo-European terms, the proto-form is **g^wlH-d^hlom*.

See also: *žalbъ; *želęti I; *žęla; *žьlna

***žėdъnъ** adj. o 'avid, greedy'

- E Ru. *žadnyj* 'greedy, avaricious'; *žáden* 'greedy, avaricious', f. *žadná*, n. *žadno*
 W Cz. *žadný* (obs.) 'avid'; Pl. *žadny* 'eager, anxious'

- S SCr. *žedan* ‘thirsty’, f. *žédna*, n. *žédno*; Čak. *žēdan* (Vrg.) ‘thirsty’, f. *žēdnà*, n. *žēdno*; Sln. *žédan* ‘thirsty’; Bulg. *žáden* ‘thirsty’; *žáden* ‘thirsty’; *žéden* (dial.) ‘thirsty’

See → *žēdàti.

***žęti I v. (b) ‘press, squeeze’**

- CS SerbCS *žęti*, 1sg. *žbmǫ*
 E Ru. *žat’*, 1sg. *žmu*, 3sg. *žmět*
 S SCr. *žęti*, 1sg. *žmēm*

PIE *g(e)m-

Cogn. Gk. γέντο (Il.) 3sg. aor. med. ‘grasped’; Nw. *kumla* ‘knead, squeeze’

The primary meaning of Latv. *gūmt* ‘seize’ seems to be ‘bend, stoop’. I wonder if this verb belongs here (pace LIV: 186).

***žęti II v. (b) ‘reap, mow’**

- CS OCS *žęti*, 1sg. *žbnjo*, 1sg. *žbnǫ* (Sav.)
 E Ru. *žat’*, 1sg. *žnu*, 3sg. *žnět*
 W Cz. *žiti*, 1sg. *žnu*; Slk. *žat’*, 1sg. *žnem*; Pl. *żąć*, 1sg. *żnę*
 S SCr. *žęti*, 1sg. *žànjēm*; Čak. *žęti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *žęņeš*; *žęt* (Hvar), 1sg. *žâņem*; *žęt* (Orb.), 1sg. *žàņjen*; Sln. *žęti*, 1sg. *žánjem*; Bulg. *žána*

BSL. *genʔ-/*ginʔ-

B Lith. *genęti* ‘prune, hem’; Latv. *dzenēt* ‘id.’

LIV (215) suggests that *žęti goes back to a nasal present of the root ‘live’, which is reconstructed as *g^wieh₃. I consider this unlikely. I prefer a connection with the above-mentioned Baltic forms, even though these words are usually assigned to the root *g^{wh}en- ‘strike’, which would be in conflict with the tone of the Slavic root.

See also: *žętva

***žętva f. ā (a) ‘harvest’**

- CS OCS *žętva*
 E Ru. *žátva*
 W Cz. *žatva*; Slk. *žatva*
 S SCr. *žętva*; Čak. *žętva* (Vrg., Hvar, Orb.); Sln. *žętva*; *žętav* f.(i), Gsg. *žętve*; Bulg. *žátva*

See → *žęti II.

***žica f. jā (a) ‘thread, wire’**

- E Ru. *žica* (dial.) ‘coloured woollen yarn’
 S SCr. *žica* ‘wire, rope, thread’; Čak. *žica* (Vrg., Novi, Orb.) ‘wire, rope, thread’; Sln. *žica* ‘thread, wire’; Bulg. *žica* ‘thread, wire’

B Lith. *gija* 4 ‘thread (in warp)’; Latv. *dziņa* ‘thread’

See → *žila.

*židьkь adj. o ‘liquid, watery’

CS CS *židьkь* ‘watery’

E Ru. *židkij* ‘liquid, watery’; *židok* ‘liquid, watery’, f. *židká*, n. *židko*

W Cz. *židký* ‘liquid, watery’

S SCr. *židak* ‘liquid, watery’; Sln. *židak* ‘liquid, fluid, flexible, weak’, f. *židka*

The etymological connection with Gk. δέισα f. ‘slime, filth’ does not seem very likely. A better candidate is perhaps Arm. *gēj* ‘moist’ < **g^hoid^h*-.

*žila f. ā (a) ‘vein, sinew, tendon’

CS OCS *žila* ‘vein, sinew, tendon’

E Ru. *žila* ‘vein, sinew, tendon’

W Cz. *žila* ‘vein’; Slk. *žila* ‘vein’; Pl. *żyła* ‘vein’

S SCr. *žila* ‘tendon, vein, root’; Čak. *žila* (Vrg., Hvar) ‘tendon, vein, root’; *žila* (Orb.) ‘vein, root’; Sln. *žila* ‘vein, sinew’; Bulg. *žila* ‘vein, sinew’

BSL. **giʔ(s)laʔ*

B Lith. *gýsla* ‘vein’; Latv. *dzi(k)sla* ‘vein’

OPr. *pettegislo* ‘Rückenader’

If **žila* is cognate with Lat. *filum* n. ‘thread’, Arm. *jił* ‘sinew’, we may reconstruct **g^{wh}iH-l(-eh₂)*. There is an alternative etymology, according to which **žila* is cognate with Skt. *jiyā*, *jiā* f. ‘bow-string’, Av. *jiia* f. ‘bow-string’, Gk. βίός m. ‘tendon, bow-string’, MW *gieu* Npl. ‘sinews, tendons’, which have a root **g^wiH-*. The presence of *-l- makes the former option more attractive.

See also: *žica

*žiti v. (c) ‘live’

CS OCS *žiti*, 1sg. *živŏ*

E Ru. *žit’*, 1sg. *živú*, 3sg. *živět*

W Cz. *žiti*; Slk. *žit’*; Pl. *żyć*

S SCr. *živjeti*, 1sg. *živim*; Čak. *živiti* (Vrg.), 2sg. *živěš*; *živět* (Orb.), 1sg. *živèn*; Sln. *živéti*, 1sg. *živím*

BSL. **giʔi(w)-*

B Lith. *gyvėnti*; Latv. *dzīvuôt*

OPr. *giwīt*

PIE **g^wh₃i(-u)-*

Cogn. Skt. *jīvati*; Lat. *vīvō*

See also: *gojiti; *gōjь; *žito; *živica; *životь; *živь

The position of the laryngeal is based on end-stressed forms such as Ru. *žila* f. ‘lived’.

***žito** n. o (a) 'grain, corn'

- CS OCS *žito* 'corn, fruits'
 E Ru. *žito* 'corn'; Ukr. *žyto* 'rye'
 W OCz. *žito* 'corn'; Pl. *żyto* 'rye'
 S SCr. *žito* 'corn, wheat'; Čak. *žito* (Vrg.) 'barley'; *žito* (Orb.) 'grain'; *žito* (Cres) 'wheat'; Sln. *žito* 'corn'; Bulg. *žito* 'corn'

- BSl. **geit-*
 OPr. *geytye* (EV), *geits* (Ench.) 'bread'

PIE **g^weHi-to-*

Cogn. W *bwyd* 'food, meat'

In view of the Old Prussian and Welsh forms (note that in this case the vocalism of Old Prussian forms cannot reflect **i* because <ei> is also found in the vocabularies), we must reconstruct **e*-grade. Since in an *o*-stem neuter fixed root stress must result from Hirt's law, we are confronted with the problem that **g^weHi-to-* is impossible because of the *o*-colouring laryngeal of the root for 'live' (see also Derksen 1996: 117). If we wish to maintain *e*-grade, there are several options. First, we may reconstruct a full grade **g^weih₃-to-* based on a metathesized variant of the root (cf. → **gojiti*). Second, we may assume that the full grade was created after the Balto-Slavic the merger of the laryngeals, thus abandoning the direct connection with Welsh. Third, the root may be considered to be a variant with **h₁*, for which there is evidence in Greek (cf. Beekes 1969: 248-249).

See also: **gōjь*; **žiti*; **živica*; **životь*; **živъ*

***živica** f. *jā*

- E Ru. *živica* 'soft resin'; Ukr. *žyvycja* 'soft resin'
 W Cz. *živice* 'bitumen'; Slk. *živica* 'resin'; Pl. *żywica* 'resin'
 Cogn. OIr. *bí* 'pitch'; Arm. *kiw* 'tree pitch, mastic, chewing gum'

A derivative of **g^wh₃i-u-* 'live'. See also EIEC: 500a.

See also: **gojiti*; **gōjь*; **žiti*; **žito*; **životь*; **živъ*

***živòť** m. o (b) 'life'

- CS OCS *životь* 'life, living creature'
 E Ru. *živót* 'belly, stomach, (arch.) life, (obs., dial.) animal'
 W Cz. *život* 'life'; Slk. *život* 'life'; Pl. *życie* 'life'
 S SCr. *život* 'life, scrotum', Gsg. *živòta*; Čak. *živòt* (Vrg.) 'body', Gsg. *živòtā*; *živòt* (Orb.) 'lower part of the back, life', Gsg. *živòta*, Gsg. *živòtā*; Sln. *živòt* 'life, body', Gsg. *živòta*; Bulg. *živót* 'life'

BSl. **g[?]iwot-*

- B Lith. *gyvatà* f. 2 'life'
 OPr. *giwato* (EV) 'life'

A derivative of **g^wh₃i-u-* 'live'.

See also: *gojiti; *gōjъ; *žiti; *žito; *živica; *živъ

*ŽĪVŦ adj. o (c) ‘alive’

CS OCS *živъ*

E Ru. *živój*

W Cz. *živý*; Slk. *živý*; Pl. *żywy*

S SCr. *živ*, f. *žíva*; Čak. *živ* (Vrg.), f. *živà*, n. *živo*; Sln. *živ*, f. *žíva*; Bulg. *živ*

BSl. *gřiwós

B Lith. *gývas*; Latv. *dzīvs*

OPr. *gijwans* Apl.

PIE *g^wh₃i-u-ó-

Cogn. Skt. *jīvā-*; Lat. *vīvus*

See also: *gojiti; *gōjъ; *žiti; *žito; *živica; *životъ

*žūna f. ā (a)

S Bulg. *žúna* ‘lip’

BSl. *žjóuřnař

B Lith. *žiáuna* 1 ‘jaw, jaw-bone, gill’; Latv. *žaūnas* Npl. 1 ‘jaw’

See → *žbvati.

*žuriti v. ‘rage’

E Ru. *žurít* (coll.) ‘reprove, scold’, 1sg. *žurjú*, 3sg. *žurít*; *žurít’sja* (dial.) ‘grieve, quarrel’, 1sg. *žurjúš*, 3sg. *žurít’sja*

W Cz. *zuřiti* ‘rage, be furious’ {1}; Slk. *zúrit* ‘rage, be furious’ {1}; Pl. *żurzyć się* (obs.) ‘be angry, rage’; LSrb. *zuriš* ‘make sour, embitter’

S SCr. *zúriti se* ‘hurry, (dial.) complain’, 1sg. *žúrīm se*; Sln. *žúriti se* ‘hurry’, 1sg. *žúrim se*

PIE *g^heuro-

Cogn. Skt. *ghorá-* (RV+) ‘terrible, terrifying’; Go. *gaurs* ‘sad’ (both with *o*-grade)

According to Young (2002: 111-114), the West Slavic forms continue a denominative verb based on an unattested adjective corresponding to Lith. *žiaurūs* ‘cruel, savage’, which he assumes to have the same root as Lith. *žvėris* ‘wild animal’ (*g^heuhr-?). Like Vasmer and others, he connects the East and South Slavic forms with Skt. *ghorá-* ‘terrible, terrifying’ and Go. *gaurs* ‘sad’. Since the meaning of the West Slavic forms may have been influenced by German *sauer* ‘sour, angry’ (perhaps through association with West Slavic *žurъ ‘sour mass used for soup or bread’, which is regarded as a borrowing), I wonder if it is necessary to assume a different origin for the West Slavic forms on the one hand and the East and South Slavic forms on the other.

{1} With dissimilation of *žur- to zuř- in Czech (Machek 1971: s.v.). The Slovak form may be a borrowing from Czech.

***žьdàti** v. (c) ‘wait, await’

CS OCS *žьdati*, 1sg. *židŏ*, 1sg. *žьdŏ*

E Ru. *ždat’*, 1sg. *ždu*, 3sg. *ždět*

W OCz. *ždàti*, 1sg. *ždu*

S Sln. *ždēti*, 1sg. *ždīm*

BSl. *g(e)id-

B Lith. *geĩsti* ‘long for, desire’, 3sg. *geĩdžia*; Latv. *gàidīt* ‘wait’

OPr. *g(i)ēide* 3pl. ‘wait’

PIE *g^hid^h-

Cogn. OHG *gīt* m. ‘greed, desire’

***žьlděti** v. ‘desire’

CS RuCS *žьlděti* ‘desire’

S SCr. *žúdjeti* (Vuk: SW) ‘desire’, 1sg. *žúdíim*

See → *gōldŏ.

***žьlna** f. ā ‘woodpecker’

E Ru. *želná* (dial.) ‘black woodpecker’

W Cz. *žluna* ‘(ž. *zelená*) green woodpecker’; Slk. *žlna* ‘(ž. *zelená*) green woodpecker’; USrb. *žolma* ‘(čorna ž.) black woodpecker, (*zelena ž.*) green woodpecker’

S SCr. *žúna* ‘(*crna ž.*) black woodpecker, (*zelena ž.*) green woodpecker’; *žúnja* ‘(*crna ž.*) black woodpecker, (*zelena ž.*) green woodpecker’; *žúja* ‘(Srijem) oriole, (Bačka) woodpecker’; Kajk. *žōūnò* (Bednja) ‘woodpecker’; Sln. *žólna* ‘(*črna ž.*) black woodpecker, (*zelena ž.*) green woodpecker’

BSl. *gil?na?

B Lith. *gilnà* (BŽ) ‘black woodpecker, blackbird’; Latv. *dzilna* ‘(*mēlnā dz.*) black woodpecker, (*zaļā dz.*) green woodpecker’

The root is *g^welH- ‘torment, sting’, cf. → *žèdlo and Lith. *gélti* ‘sting, hurt’.

See also: *žalbь; *želěti I; *žela

***žьltь** adj. o ‘yellow’

E Ru. *žěltyj*; *žělt*, f. *želtá*, n. *žělto*, n. *želtó* {1}

W Cz. *žlutý*; Slk. *žltý*; Pl. *żółty*

S SCr. *žút*, f. *žúta*; Čak. *žút* (Vrg., Hvar, Orb.), f. *žūtà*, n. *žúto*; Sln. *žòlt*, f. *žólta*; Bulg. *žàlt*

BSl. *gil?-

B Lith. *gełtas* 4; Latv. *dželts* (dial)

PIE *g^hlh₃-

Cogn. Skt. *hári-* ‘fallow, yellowish, greenish’; Gk. *χλωρός* ‘pale green, greenish yellow’; Lat. *helvus* ‘yellowish’; OHG *gelo* ‘yellow’

While → **zelenō* ‘green’ has *z- < *ǵ-, **žbltō* has *ž < *g- as a result of the first palatalization. The depalatalized velar must originate from the zero grade, where it was followed by a syllabic resonant. This suggests that the *e*-vocalism of the East Baltic forms is secondary (Kortlandt 1978b: 240).

{1} AP (b) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 136).

See also: *zelъje; *zòlto; *zьlčь

***žьrny** f. ū ‘millstone’

CS OCS *žrōny* f.(ū) ‘millstone’; *žrōnovō* m.(o) ‘millstone’

E Ru. *žěrnov* m.(o) ‘millstone’, Npl. *žernová*

W Pl. *żarna* f.(ā) ‘handmill’

S SCr. *žrvānj* m.(jo) ‘handmill’; Sln. *žřnāv* f. ‘handmill’, Gsg. *žřnve*

BSL. **girʔnuʔ*

B Lith. *girna* f.(ā) 1 ‘millstone’; Latv. *dziřnas* Npl. f.(ā) ‘millstone’; *dziřnus* Npl. f.(u) ‘millstone’; *dziřnavas* Npl. f.(ā) ‘millstone’
OPr. *girnoywis* (EV) ‘handmill’

PIE **gʷr̥h₂-n-uH-*

Cogn. Skt. *grāvan-* (RV+) m. ‘pressing-stone’; Go. *asilu-qairnus* ‘donkey-mill’

***žьrti; *žerti** v. ‘sacrifice’

CS OCS *žrbti*, 1sg. *žbrō*; *žrěti*, 1sg. *žbrō*

E ORu. *žeretī*, 1sg. *žbru*; *žreti*, 1sg. *žbru*; *žrbti*, 1sg. *žbru*

BSL. **girʔ-*

B Lith. *girt* ‘praise’; Latv. *dziřt* ‘praise, (-iēs) swank, boast, intend long for’ (usually reflexive)

OPr. *girtwei* ‘praise’

PIE **gʷr̥H-*

Cogn. Skt. *gr̥ṇāti* ‘greet, praise’

See also: *gornъ; *žьrcь; *žьrtva

***žьrtva** f. ā ‘sacrifice’

CS OCS *žrbtva* ‘sacrifice’

E Ru. *žěrtva* ‘sacrifice, victim’

S Sln. *žřtva* ‘sacrifice’; *žřtāv* f.(i) ‘sacrifice’, Gsg. *žřtve*

Noun in *-tva derived from → **žbri*.

See also: *gornъ; *žьrcь; *žьrti

***ЖРЬСЬ** m. jo ‘priest’

CS OCS *žrbcb* ‘priest’

E Ru. *žrec* ‘priest (of a pagan religion)’, Gsg. *žrecá*

S Bulg. *žrec* ‘priest’

Agent noun in *-*bcb* derived from → **žvrti*.

See also: **gornъ*; **žrti*; **žrtva*

***žbvàti** v. (c) ‘chew’

CS SerbCS *žbvati*, 1sg. *žuju*; RuCS *žbvati*, 1sg. *žuju*, 1sg. *žvǫ*

E Ru. *ževát’*, 1sg. *žujú*, 3sg. *žuět*

W Cz. *žváti* (dial.), 1sg. *žvu*; OCz. *žváti*, 1sg. *žuju*; Slk. *žuť*, 1sg. *žujem*; Pl. *żuć*, 1sg. *żuję*

PIE **ǵieuH-*

Cogn. Toch. B *śuwaṃ* ‘eat’; OHG *kiuwan* ‘chew’

See also: **žùna*

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