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### Balto-Slavic Accentology and Winter's Law

The problem of the Indo-European origin of the Lithuanian syllabic intonations (in the position of inner syllables) was first posited by F. F. Fortunatov in 1878 in the paper «Zur vergleichenden Betonungslehre der lituslavischen Sprachen» (published in 1880). Examining correspondences of Lithuanian diphthongal combinations with liquids to the OInd. reflexes of the syllabic liquids, he discovered two following series of correspondences:

- I. Lith. *-iř-*, *-iļ-* : OInd. *-r̥-* (Lat. *-or-*, *-er-*, *-ol-*; Grk. *-αρ-*, *-ρα-*, *-αλ-*, *-λα-*);
- II. Lith. *-ir-*, *-il-* : OInd. *-īr-*, *-ūr-* (Lat. *-rā-*, *-lā-*; Grk. *-ρω-*, *-λω-*).

#### I

1. Lith. *vil̃kas* 'wolf' ~ OInd. *vṛ̥kas* 'wolf';
2. Lith. *miřtas* 'dead', *miřti* 'to die' ~ OInd. *mṛ̥tás*, *mṛ̥tis* 'death';
3. Lith. *kiřtas* 'cut', *kiřsti* 'to cut' ~ OInd. *kṛ̥ttás* 'cut';  
etc.

#### II

1. Lith. *ilgas* 'long' ~ OInd. *dīrghá-* 'long';
2. Lith. *pilnas* 'full' ~ OInd. *pūrṇáh-* 'full';

3. Lith. *vilna* (1) 'wool' ~ OInd. *úrṇā* f. 'wool';
4. Lith. *pirmas* 'first' ~ OInd. *pūrvah* 'front, former, first';
5. Lith. *miltai* pl. 'flour' ~ OInd. *mūrṇá-* 'milled';
6. Lith. *tiltas* 'bridge' ~ OInd. *tīrthám* 'Stieg zum Wasser';
7. Lith. *žirmis* 'peas' ~ OInd. *jīrṇá-* 'pounded'.

Starting from such correspondences, Fortunatov draws a conclusion about the Indo-European character of Lithuanian syllabic intonations. This observation was developed by Fortunatov into the theory of two types of length in Indo-European: «protracted length» (= acute) and «interrupted length» (= circumflex).

But already in 1878 there appeared «Memoire» of F. de Saussure (the book was dated to the following 1879 year), which introduced the notion of short and long syllabic resonants (in accordance with which the series  $\bar{r}$ ,  $\bar{l}$  was reconstructed for the first series of correspondences,  $\bar{r}$ ,  $\bar{l}$ — for the second). It also proposed the new theory of ablaut, which allowed to greatly increase the corpus of correspondences that can illuminate the problem of the origin of Lithuanian syllabic intonations in the inner syllables. On 8<sup>th</sup> July, 1889 at the session of the Paris Linguistic Society de Saussure makes his report mostly devoted to the problem of the origin of Lithuanian syllabic intonations<sup>1</sup>. De Saussure is not in a hurry to publish his article, but in 1891 there appears the article of A. Bezzenger, where he states acute accent on the Lithuanian diphthongs and diphthongal combinations that are the reflexes of the Indo-European combinations *-eĭə-*, *-euə-*, *-erə-*, *-elə-*, *-emə-*, *-enə-* and the like. So in 1894 de Saussure publishes his general treatment of theory of the origin of the Lithuanian syllabic intonation of inner syllables.

Thus the problem of the Indo-European syllabic intonations put forward by Fortunatov seemed to disappear with the publishing of «Memoire» of de Saussure. De Saussure writes concerning this: «It is

<sup>1</sup> This report also contained the law of Saussure that has no bearing on this problem. The argumentation in favour of it did not appear in the article of 1894.

most important that as far as the intonation even indirectly corresponds to the opposition  $\bar{r} - r$ , this means that we get the data about the nature of the phenomenon in question. It stops being the fact important by itself and becomes the result. But then the whole problem becomes different; it has to be reformulated basically, *ab ovo*, and on a different basis. The task is now not to look anywhere for any traces, testifying to the existence of the intonation in the more or less distant past. The only task is now to uncover the reasons of this phenomenon before thinking about using it anyhow».

But Fortunatov did not accept de Saussure's explanation as well as his ablaut conception or his theory of the Indo-European root. He did not accept the reconstruction of disyllabic heavy bases, put forward by neo-grammarians either as he considered disyllabic reflexes of *seŕ*-roots to have arisen as the result of extracting an extra vowel out of the second part of the diphthong with protracted length. At the same time one should not think that Fortunatov did not accept new results of comparative studies in the sphere of Indo-European linguistics. On the contrary, he accepted them, but quite successfully inserted them in his own conception of two types of length in Indo-European:

— diphthongs, diphthongal combination and syllabic resonants with protracted length:  $e\bar{i}$ ,  $e\bar{u}$ ;  $e\bar{r}$ ,  $e\bar{l}$ ,  $e\bar{m}$ ,  $e\bar{n}$ ;  $\bar{a}\bar{r}$ ,  $\bar{a}\bar{l}$ ,  $\bar{a}\bar{m}$ ,  $\bar{a}\bar{n}$  (=  $ei\bar{\theta}$ ,  $eu\bar{\theta}$ ;  $er\bar{\theta}$ ,  $el\bar{\theta}$ ,  $em\bar{\theta}$ ,  $en\bar{\theta}$ ;  $\bar{r}$  or  $r\bar{\theta}$ ,  $\bar{l}$  or  $l\bar{\theta}$ ,  $\bar{m}$  or  $m\bar{\theta}$ ,  $\bar{n}$  or  $n\bar{\theta}$ );

— diphthongs, diphthongal combination and syllabic resonants with interrupted length:  $ei$ ,  $eu$ ,  $e\check{r}$ ,  $e\check{l}$ ,  $e\check{m}$ ,  $e\check{n}$ ;  $a\check{r}$ ,  $a\check{l}$ ,  $a\check{m}$ ,  $a\check{n}$  (=  $ei$ ,  $eu$ ;  $er$ ,  $el$ ,  $em$ ,  $en$ ;  $r$ ,  $l$ ,  $m$ ,  $n$ ).

The most important result of his work is formulated by de Saussure as follows:

«The segment, that existed primarily and constituted primarily a long monophthong (-[ā]-, -[ō]-, -[ē]-, -[ī]-, -[ū]-), is defined in Lithuanian ipso facto in its intonation (in the same way as it is defined, for example, in its *quantity* and *tembre*). The intona-

tion will always be *acute*, if only it has not changed due to some special circumstance.»

Comparisons quoted by de Saussure are:

-ā-

1. Lith. *mótė* f. 'wife, mother' ~ OInd. *mātā(r)* f. 'mother';
2. Lith. *brólis* m. 'brother' ~ OInd. *bhrātā(r)* m. 'brother';
3. Lith. *nósis*, gen. sg. *nósies* m. 'nose' ~ OInd. *nāsā* f. du. 'nose';
4. Lith. *rópė* f. 'turnip' ~ Lat. *rāpa* f. 'turnip';
5. Lith. *stóti* 'to become' ~ OInd. *sthā-* 'to stand, stay';
6. Lith. *jóti*, 1 sg. praes. *jóju* 'to ride' ~ OInd. *yā-* 'to go, come';
7. Lith. *kósėti*, 1 sg. praes. *kósiu* 'to cough' ~ OInd. *kās-* 'to cough';
8. Lith. *žióti*, 1 sg. praes. *žióju* 'to open wide, gape' ~ Lat. *hiātus* m. 'deep (gaping) opening, hole, crevice, ravine, abyss; crack; (animal) mouth; opening one's mouth; hiatus'.

-ē-

1. Lith. *vėjas* m. (1) 'wind' ~ OInd. *vāyús* m. 'wind, air, breath';
2. Lith. *mėnuo*, gen. sg. *mėnesio* m. (1) '(new) moon' ~ Goth. *mēna* m. 'σελήνη', 'moon' (the length of Goth. *e* is proved by correspondences in other Germanic languages: ON *māne*, OE *mōna*, OF *mōna*, OS *māno*, OHG *māno* m. 'Mond');
3. Lith. *žvėris*, acc. sg. *žvėrį* m. (3) 'beast' ~ Grk. θήρ, gen. sg. θηρός m. 'beast of prey (*esp.* a lion); living creature';
4. Lith. *dėti*, 1 sg. praet. *dėjau* 'to put, lay, place' ~ OInd. *dhā-* 'to put, place';
5. Lith. *spėti*, 1 sg. praes. *spėju* 'to have time, manage' ~ OInd. *sphā-* 'to grow fat; to increase';
6. Lith. *sėti*, 1 sg. praes. *sėju* 'to sow', *sėmenys* pl. 'flax seed' ~ Lat. *sēmen* n. 'seed, seeds';
7. Lith. *pėdà*, acc. sg. *pėdą* f. (3) 'foot(step); footprint; foot' ~ OInd. *pād* 'foot' (for the new explanation of the Balto-Slavic long monophong in this root see below, p. 405, No. 21);

8. Lith. *ėsti*, 3 sg. praes. *ėda* ‘to eat (of animals)’, *ėdžios* ‘crib (for cattle), trough’ ~ Eur. \**ēd-* ‘eat’ (for the new explanation of the Balto-Slavic long monophong in this root see below, p. 404, No. 19).

As will be shown below, two last cases, cited by de Saussure, do not meet his requirement: «constituting primarily a l o n g m o n o - p h t h o n g», and thus their prosodic explanation requires a special explanation.

-ī-

1. Lith. *výras* m. (1) ‘man; husband, spouse’ ~ OInd. *vīrás* m. ‘man; husband; hero’;

2. Lith. *gývas* (3) ‘alive’ ~ OInd. *jīvás* ‘living, alive’;

3. Lith. *lytùs*, acc. sg. *lýtu* ‘rain’ (thus Kurschat; the modern norm is 4 a. p., what is clearly secondary, cf. *lýtingas* ‘rainy’) ~ OInd. *rītis* f. ‘Strömen’ (the comparison is doubtful, cf. *реять, ринуть* etc.);

4. Lith. *lýsė* (1) ‘garden bed’, OPruss. *lijso* ~ Lat. *līra* ‘garden bed, furrow’;

5. Lith. *výtis* ‘vine’ (thus Kurschat; the modern norm is 4 a. p.) ~ Lat. *vītis* ‘grape vine; bush’;

6. Lith. *lýgti* ‘to even out, become even’, *lýgus* (3) ‘even’ ~ OHG *gilīh* ‘gleich’ (because of the existence in Lithuanian of the variant *liégus* ‘gleich’ Germ. \**lik* cannot guarantee primary IE \**ī*, rather than \**ei* in this form).

-ō-

1. Lith. *dúona* (1) ‘bread’ ~ OInd. *dhānās* pl. ‘Getreidekörner, Getreide’;

2. Lith. *aštúonios* f. (pl.) ‘eight’ ~ Grk. ὀκτώ ‘eight’;

3. Lith. *súodžiai* pl. ‘soot’, also *súodys* pl. ‘soot’ ~ ON *sōt* ‘soot’;

4. Lith. *dúoti* ‘to give’, *dóvana* ‘gift’ (the modern norm is 3 a. p.; -ō- is the result of dissimilation) ~ OInd. *dā-* ‘to give’;

5. Lith. *júosti* ‘to gird, engird(le)’, *júosta* (1) ‘belt’ ~ Grk. ζωστήρ ‘warrior’s belt; belt, girdle (in general)’;

6. Lith. *púota* ‘booze, drinking bout’ (thus Kurschat; the modern norm is 4 a. p.) ~ Lat. *pōtus* ‘drinking’.

-ū-

1. Lith. *sūnūs*, acc. sg. *sūnu* ‘son’ ~ OInd. *sūnús* ‘son’;
2. Lith. *dūmai* pl. ‘smoke’ ~ OInd. *dhūmás* ‘smoke; steam’;
3. Lith. *júšė* ‘fish soup’ ~ OInd. *yūṣam* ‘soup, broth’;
4. Lith. *tūkstantis* (1) ‘thousand’ ~ MLG *dūsunt* ‘thousand’;
5. Lith. *būti*, 1 sg. fut. *būsiu* ‘to be’ ~ OInd. *bhū-* ‘to be; to become’;
6. Lith. *pūti* ‘to become putrid’, *pūliai* pl. ‘decay’ ~ OInd. *pū-* ‘to become putrid, stinks’;
7. Lith. *siūti* ‘to sew’, *siūlas* (1) ‘thread’ ~ OInd. *syū-* ‘to sew; to join’;
8. Lith. *jūsų* ‘of you’ (gen. pl.) ~ OInd. *yūyam* ‘you’.

#### Long syllabic resonants

Starting from his ablaut theory, de Saussure also has the opportunity to greatly enlarge the material with the Lithuanian reflexes of long syllabic resonants supplementing Fortunatov’s examples with:

1. Lith. *girti* ‘to praise’, past part. *girtas* ‘laudatus’ (cf. also Latv. *dziŗtiŗs* ‘sich rŗhmen’) ~ OInd. *gŗrtás* ‘welcome, agreeable’, Lat. *grātus* ‘pleasant, deserving gratitude; grateful’ < IE \**gŗtos*;
2. Lith. *girtas* ‘drunk’ ~ Grk. βρωτός, OInd. *gŗr̥nas* ‘eaten, devoured’ (hence also Lith. *gurklỹs*, acc. sg. *gŗr̥kli* ‘crop, craw’ and *gŗr̥kšnis* ‘swallow’);
3. Lith. dial. *ŗŗŗuō*, acc. sg. *ŗŗŗeni* and *ŗŗŗlỹs*, acc. pl. *ŗŗŗlius* ‘hornet’ (de Saussure determines the accentuation of the last form according to Donelaitis despite Kurschat’s indication of circumflex<sup>2</sup>), *ŗŗŗė* f. 1 a. p. ‘hornet’ ~ Lat. *crābro* m. ‘hornet’ (primary stem \**kŗs-*);

<sup>2</sup> It should be noted, however, that de Saussure’s remark: «but he probably does not know this word»,— is not fair, as according to LKŹ XIV, 907, in Lith. dialects 4 a. p. is attested for this word beside 3 a. p.

4. Lith. *spirti* 'to hit with one's foot; to kick; to rest (against), prop up; to make smb. do smth., force smb. to do smth.' ~ the OInd. (RV) strong form in the aorist *spharī-s* (OInd. *iṣ*-aorist cannot probably serve as a serious argument in favour of the primary disyllabic «heavy base», but other data can be given to support the primary length of the syllabic resonant in this root, see below in the analysis of Latv. *speît* 'to hit, kick', below, p. 344, No. 46);

5. Lith. *pilkas* 'grey' ~ OInd. *palikni* f., *palitas* m. 'grey; hoary';

6. Lith. *irklas* 'oar', *irti* 'to row' ~ Grk. ἑρέτης 'rower', ἑρε-τιόν 'oar', OInd. *ari-tram* 'oar; rudder', Germ. *\*rōbra* 'oar; rudder', *\*rōjan* 'to row';

7. Lith. *girma* 'millstone' (cf. also Latv. *dziņnus*, *dziņnavas* and *dziīnas* f. pl.) ~ OInd. *grā-van-* 'stone for pressing out the Soma';

8. Lith. *pa-žintas* 'known', *pa-žistu* 'I know (smb.)' ~ Lat. *gnā-rus* 'versed (in), knowing, acquainted (with); known', OInd. *jā-nāmi* 'I know' («the form that arose due to the analogy of *\*jātas*»);

9. Lith. *timsras* 'deep-brown' ~ OInd. *tamisrā* 'a dark night, darkness', Lat. *tenebrae* f. pl. 'darkness';

10. Lith. *dūmti* 'to blow' ~ OInd. *dhmā-* 'blow; to blow up; to kindle by blowing';

11. Lith. *intė* 'sister-in-law (brother's wife)' ~ OInd. *yātā* 'sister-in-law (brother's wife)' (in OLith. eastern *intė* [Sirvyd] and western *jentė* [KG 54] neither the stress position nor its character is fixed, but one can restore for Baltic 1 a. p., i. e. immobile root acute stress: Baltic *\*jéntė*, gen. sg. *\*jénters* (1), cf. Latv. *iētaļa* f. 'wife of husband's brother', the sustained intonation points to 1 a. p.; Slavic *\*jětry* (a. p. *a*), cf. Russ. dial. *ятровь*, *ятровка*, *ятровья*; SCr. *jětrva* and Sloven. *jêtrva* can reflect the same a. p.; in other cases there is a transition into a. p. *b*, common for *ū*-stems in Slavic) || OInd. *yātar-* f. 'wife of husband's brother' (Uṇ. 2, 98); Grk. *\*ἐνάτηρ* f. 'wife of brother or husband's brother': Hom. εἰνάτηρ, it is established according to Herodianus: gen. sg. εἰνάτερος (Hdn.Gr. 2.747, alibi); voc. sg. εἴνατερ (Hdn.Gr. 1.419, alibi) is irrelevant in the respect of accentology. Hom. εἰνατέρες (χ473) is probably due to θυγατέρες, in all the rest of

cases Homerus attests only accentologically irrelevant form gen. pl. εἰνατέρων (Z 378, 383, Ω 769). Hom. εἰ- is due to metric lengthening; barytonic a. p. is also reflected in Afgh. *yōr* f. ‘wife of husband’s brother’).

**One can also add here:**

12. Lith. *būrti* ‘zaubern’, Latv. *buīt* ‘zaubern, hexen’ (< \**bh̥-ti*- < \**bhr̥-ti*-); Lith. *būrtas* (1) ‘lot; sorcery, enchantment’; Latv. *buīts* (the intonation apud Ērgemes vārdn. I, 198) ‘das Zeichen eines Zaubers, Wahrsagers; der Buchstabe’, *buītais* ‘mit Kerbschnitzerei, mit Streifen versehen’ (it is supposed that the primary meaning of the root is ‘kerben, schneiden’) ~ OInd. (Dhātup.) *bhṛṇāti* ‘versehrt’, ‘droht, schilt’ (< \**bhr̥-ne-ṅ-ti*); see Būga RR II, 252; Pok. 133—135; cf. Mayrhofer II, 533; WH II, 431—433; Fraenk. 67;

13. Lith. *dīrti* ‘to tear off, strip (off); to trash, flog, whip’ (< \**d̥-ti*- < \**d̥-ṅ-ti*-), secondary Lith. dial. (Žemaitic) *dīrti* ‘to strip the skin off’ || for external etymology (OInd. *dṛṇāti*) see below, p. 337, No. 35.

14. Lith. *stīrta* ‘haystack, rick’ (< \**st̥-tā* < \**st̥-tā*) || OInd. *stṛṇāti* ‘breitet aus, streut’ (< \**st̥-ne-ṅ-ti*), part. *stīrṇá-* ‘ausgebreytet, hingestreut’ (< \**st̥-nó-* < \**st̥-ṅ-nó-*), *stārī-man-* ‘Ausbreytung, Ausstreung’ (< \**ster̥-*); Grk. στρωτός ‘ausgebreytet’ (< \**st̥-to-*), στρωμα n. ‘Ausgebreytetes, Teppich, Lager’; Lat. *sternō*, *strāvī*, *strātum* ‘hinbreiten’, part. *strātus* (< \**st̥-to-*); Welsh *sarn* ‘flooring, planking; stretcher’, *ystarn* ‘pack-saddle’ (< \**starnos* < \**st̥nós* < \**st̥-no-* = OInd. *stīrṇáh*), for two reflexes of long syllabic liquids in Italo-Celtic and their positions see Дыбо, Сокращение долгот 9—34 (esp. 14—15); see Mayrhofer III, 517—518; WH II, 590—591; cf. Fraenk. 909—910;

15. Lith. *tinti*, praes. 1 sg. *tinstu* and *tīstu*, praet. 1 sg. *tinaū* ‘to swell (up)’; Latv. *tīt*, praes. 1 sg. *tinu* and *tiņu*, praet. 1 sg. *tinu* ‘winden, wickeln, flechten’ (< \**t̥-ti*- < \**t̥-ṅ-ti*-); probably hence Lith. *tánkus* ‘thick; dense; compact’ and the family of words connected with it || OInd. *tanóti* ‘dehnt, spannt, erstreckt sich, dauert’, *ut-tāna-* ‘ausgestreckt’ < \**-t̥-no-* < \**t̥-ṅ-no-*, *tani-man-* n. ‘Dünne’ (< \**ten̥-*); Avest. *ustāna-* ‘ausgestreckt’; Grk. τάνυμαι ‘strecke mich’, τάνυω



‘strecke’, *ταναός* ‘outstretched, tall’ < \**τεναφός* (with assimilation) (< \**tenəu-o-s*); probably the reflex of the long syllabic nasal is retained also in Welsh *tant* ‘Saite’; in all the rest of the cases the reflexes of IE -ə- are likely to have been lost; see also below, p. 347, Nos 53—54, p. 352, No. 9, p. 355, No. 11; see Pok. 1065—1066; Fraenk. 1099; Mayrhofer I, 475, 103; Frisk II, 851, 852—853, 863—865; WH II, 662—664;

16. Lith. *tinti* ‘(die Sense) durch Klopfen mittels eines Hammers schärfen, dengeln’ (< \**tímti* < \**tṃ̃-ti*- < \**tṃ̃ə-ti*-) || Grk. (Epic-Dor.-Ion.) *τάμνω* ‘to cut; wound, maim; prune (vines); cut down, fell’ (secondary thematisation of the stem \**ταμνᾶ*- < \**tṃ̃-nā*- < \**tṃ̃-ne-ə*-, what is also supported by the relic of the stem in Celtic: OIr. *tamnaid* ‘schneidet ab’ < \**tṃ̃-nā-ti*, where the length -ṃ̃- is secondarily restored after the forms like *t*-part.), perf. pass. *τέτμημαι* ‘to be cut’, verbaladj. *τμητός*, Dor. (Archim.) *τῃᾶτός* ‘cut, shaped by cutting’ (< \**tṃ̃-tó*- < \**tṃ̃ə-tó*-); see Fraenk. 1099; Frisk II, 874—876; Pok. 1062—1063;

17. Lith. *miltai* pl. ‘flour’, Latv. *mīlti* pl. ‘flour’ (< \**mḷ̥-to*- < \**mḷ̥ə-to*-) || OInd. *mṛṇāti* ‘zermalmt, mahlt’ (< \**mḷ̥-ne-ə-ti*), part. (AV) *mūrṇá-* (< \**mḷ̥-no*- < \**mḷ̥ə-no*-) ‘zermalmt’; Celtic \**blāto*- < \**mḷ̥-to*- < \**mḷ̥ə-to*- ‘flour’: MWelsh *blawt*, OCor. *blot*, Bret. *bleud*; see Pok. 716—718; Fraenk. 403—404; Mayrhofer II, 672—673; WH II, 104—106; Frisk II, 268—270;

18. Slav. \**tǔrti* ‘to rub’, Lith. *tirti* ‘to investigate; to study’ (< \**tṛ̥-ti*- < \**tṛ̥ə-ti*-) || Grk. *τέρετρον* ‘borer, gimlet’ (< \**terə-tro*-), verbaladj. *τρητός* ‘perforated’ (contrary to the common belief about the reflexes of long syllabic resonants in Greek, it most likely goes back to \**tṛ̥-to*- < \**tṛ̥ə-to*-); see Pok. 1071—1072; Fraenk. 1102, 1124—1125; Фасмер IV, 47—48; Frisk II, 885, 912—913, 879; WH II, 672—673;

19. Slav. \**žěti* ‘to reap’ (< \**gʰh̥-ti*- < \**gʰh̥ə-ti*-); Lith. *ginti* ‘to defend; prohibit’; Latv. *dzīt* (Pl., Gr.-Würzau, Nigr., Selg., Wandsen, Dond., Bauske, Ruj., Wolm., Salis) ‘treiben’, side by side with *dzīt* (PS., C., Serbigal, Jürg., N.-Peb., Neuenb.) with the same meaning; accentological variability probably points to the contamination of two stems, the collocations like *bardu dzīt* ‘to shave the beard’ and

*lielu, platu baru dzinu* ‘eine Schwade mähen’, ‘I mow in the large, wide meadow; I reap in the large, wide patch’ (< \**g<sup>u</sup>h<sub>2</sub>ti-* < \**g<sup>u</sup>h<sub>2</sub>t-*) testify to the semantic vicinity of the acute stem to the Slavic one; Lith. *gūndyti* ‘to tempt’ || the existence in Indo-Iranian of the variant going back to the IE «disyllabic heavy base» is supported by the long syllabic resonant in the zero grade of the root: OInd. (*go*)-*ghātá-* ‘(Kuh-)Töter’, *ghātuka-* ‘tötend’ (where *ghāt-* < \**g<sup>u</sup>h<sub>2</sub>t-* < \**g<sup>u</sup>h<sub>2</sub>t-*). The inf. *hanitum* (< \**g<sup>u</sup>henə-tum*) is less reliable. The relation to the «one-syllable» variant is unclear: Lith. *giñti* ‘chase’, Latv. *dzīt*, Slav. *гънѣти*, OInd. *hánti* ‘beat, kill’, Grk. *θείνω*, verbaladj. *φάτος* ‘to strike; forge; slay’; the contamination between two different IE roots is possible; see Pok. 491—493; Fraenk. 152—153; Mayrhofer III, 575—577; WH I, 332—333; Frisk I, 657—658;

20. Lith. *dirgti*, praes. 3 *dirgsta* ‘to get/become spoiled, naughty; (of the weather) get worse, foul; become wet’ (< \**dh<sub>2</sub>gh-ti-* < \**dh<sub>2</sub>gh-t-*) || for external etymology see below, p. 338, No. 36.

21. Slav. *jǐmę* < \**ǐn-men-* < \**ǐ<sub>2</sub>-men-* < \**ǐ<sub>2</sub>-men-* (Russ. *úмя*, gen. sg. *úмени*, Ukr. *ім’я*, gen. sg. *імені*, BRuss. *имя*, ORuss. *иѣ*, OCS. *иѣ*, Bulg. *úme*, SCr. *ǐmē*, gen. sg. *ǐмена*, Sloven. *imê*, gen. sg. *imêna*); a. p. *a* according to MBulg. texts, with what SCr. reflex is in agreement; the Slovenian reflex points to a. p. *c*, the same mobile a. p. show ORuss. data: acc. sg. *иѣ* | *ѣ* (Чуд. 64<sup>3</sup>), *ѣ* (49<sup>3</sup>), dat. sg. *пѣ* (46<sup>4</sup>), loc. sg. *ѣ* (47<sup>1</sup>); such an accentual fluctuation a. p. *a* ~ a. p. *c* is usually attested in the polysyllabic stems with variation of number of the syllables in the paradigm, where we should suppose Hirt—Illič-Svityč’s law operating; thus in all likelihood the Slav. data point out the primary recessive stem || OPruss. *emmens*, gen. sg. *emnes* ‘name’, Grk. *ὄνομα* n. ‘name’ < \**ǐ<sub>2</sub>-m<sub>2</sub>-* < \**ǐ<sub>2</sub>-m<sub>2</sub>-*<sup>3</sup>; Arm. *anun*, gen. sg. *anuan*, instr. sg. *anuamb* ‘name’ < \**anwun*, gen.

<sup>3</sup> There is probably no reason to separate the reflex of -ovo- (and even -ολι-) from such reflexes as -αα-, -αμα-, -αρα-, -αλα-, functioning as the prosodic «variants» of the reflexes of long syllabic resonants: -vā-, -mā-, -pō-, -lō-; the alternative solution, namely accepting «the first stem» of Benveniste simply isolates the Greek lexem as a derivational variant.

sg. \**anwan*, instr. sg. \**anwanb* < \**an-mōn*, gen. sg. \**an-wan-s*, instr. sg. \**an-wan-bi* < \**ṅ̃-mōn*, gen. sg. \**ṅ̃-mṅn-es*, instr. sg. \**ṅ̃-mṅ-bhi*; OIr. *ainm n-*, pl. *anmann*, OWelsh *anu*, pl. *enuein*, Welsh *enw*, Corn. *hanow*, MBrit. *hanff*, *hanu*, Bret. *ano* < \**anmen-* < \**ṅ̃-mèn-* < \**ṅ̃-men-* (with Celt. reflex of IE long resonant in the unstressed position), for the reflexes of long syllabic liquid and nasal resonants in Italo-Celtic in the prosodic context corresponding to Balto-Slavic recessiveness see Дыбо, Сокращение долгот 9—34 (esp. 14—15); Grk. ὄνομα, ὀνόματος (H. +) ‘name’ with different anlaut variants of the dialectal nature (ὄνο-, ὄνο-, ἐνο-) < \**ṅ̃-mṅ*; another degree of vocalism: OInd. *nāma*, Avest. *nāman-*, Lat. *nōmen* < \**neṅ-mṅ*, \**neṅ-men-* (or merely < \**noṅ-mṅ*, \**noṅ-men-*); the same degree is attested in Germ. \**nōmōn*, reflex of the virtual IE \**nōmōn* — the secondary *n*-stems of masc. gender (nom. sg. \**-ōn* < \**-on-s*), which replaced (as everywhere in Germ. languages) the old *n*-stems of neut. gender: Goth. *namo* n. ‘ὄνομα, Name’, ON *nafn* n., OE *nama* m., OF *nama*, *nama*, OS *namo*, OHG *namo* ‘name’; one should note the existence in Germanic of traces of barytonic morph of this root in the denominative verb \**nōm(n)ian*: OF *nōmia*, MHG *benuomen*, *benüemen*, MLG *nōmen*, Du. *noemen*,—what may point to the retention in Germanic of mobile accentuation in this root after the processes of restoration of the unity of the root; Hitt. *lāman*, dat.-loc. *lamni* n. ‘name’ (with dissimilation < \**naman* < IE \**nō*° or \**ṅ̃*°), plene-writing in nom.-acc. sg. *la-a-ma-an* attested in MHitt. texts can reflect accent on the first syllable (A. S. Kassian, pers. comm). For this treatment of Slavic forms see already Mikkola // BB, Bd. XXII, 247; cf. Brugmann Grdr.<sup>2</sup> I, 387; Pok. 321; Фасмер II, 129—130; Топоров Е—Н, 28—30; Frisk II, 396—397; Джаукян Гр. 36—37; Льюис—Педерсен 30; Falk—Torp I, 758; Feist 369—370;

Note. We should reconstruct IE oxytonic/mobile a. p. according to Slav. data, since Slav. dialects retain different reflexes of the mobile and immobile a. p.'s in the *men*-nomina of masc. or neut. genders. Other IE languages show accent unification: in Grk. and OInd. all *men*-nomina of neut. gender are secondary barytonic, while all *men*-nomina of masc. gender are oxytonic. Probaly Germ. data point out the same accentual unification: oxytonic masc. \**nōmōn* with shortening (> \**nōmōn*) vs. neut.

**\*\*nóm̃** without shortening retained in the denominative verb *\*nóm(n)ian*. Lat. *nōmen* does not show vowel shortening, thus it should go back to Proto-Lat. < *\*nó-men* — we can suppose similar barytonic accent unification in Proto-Lat. too. Shortening in Celt. point out Proto-Celt. oxytonic a. p. *\*ñ-mén-* and it can reflect primary IE accent.

22. Lith. *irti* ‘to fall to pieces, disintegrate, ruin; to be ripped (up)’; Latv. *īrt* ‘sich lostrennen’ (< *\*ī̃-ti-* < *\*ī̃̌-ti-*) (this stem should be separated from the group *erd-/ard-*, which refers to a different row of correspondences, see below) || Grk. ἐρήμος and Att. ἔρημος ‘desolate, lonely, solitary (of place, person or animal)’ < *\*erē-mo-* < *\*erẽ̌-mo-*; Lat. *rārus* ‘thin, not thick; rarified, loose; incompact; friable, porous; scattered, single; rare’ < *\*ī̃-ro-* < *\*ī̃̌-ro-*; probably, hence Grk. ἀραιός ‘thin, slender; narrow; meagre (of diet)’; Lat. *rēte* n. ‘fishing net, seine’ and Lith. *rė̃tis*, gen. sg. *rė̃čio* (2) ‘sieve’ (with the usual metatony in such *j*-derivatives); see Fraenk. 15—16; Pok. 332—333; Frisk I, 557; WH II, 418—419; cf Frisk I, 128;

23. Slav. *\*žǐrno* ‘grain, corn’ a. p. *a* < *\*ġī̃-no-* < *\*ġī̃̌-no-*; Lith. *žirnis*, nom. pl. *žirniai* m. 1 a. p. ‘peas; a pea’, Latv. *ziņnis* m. ‘Erbse’ < *\*ġī̃-n-īo-* < *\*ġī̃̌-n-īo-*; Prussian *syrne* f. ‘Korn’ || Lat. *grānum* ‘grain, seed’; OIr. *grān* ‘bread seed’, Welsh pl. *grawn* (sg. *gronyn*), OCorn. *gronen*, Bret. *greun* (sg. *greunenn*) < *\*ġī̃no-* < *\*ġī̃̌no-*, for the reflexation of long syllabic liquid and nasal resonants in Italo-Celtic in the prosodic context corresponding to Balto-Slavic dominance see Дыбо, Сокращение долгот 9—34 (esp. 14—15); Goth. *kaúr̃n* n. ‘σῖτος (Korn), Getreide, Weizen’, *kaúr̃no* f. ‘κόκκος, Korn’, ON *korn*, OE *corn*, OF *korn*, OS *korn*, OHG *corn*, *chorn* n. ‘Korn’, *īo*-stem: OS *hrēn-korni*, OHG *fol-curni* n. ‘Gekörne’; Afgh. *zəṛay*, *zəṇay* m. ‘seed; (fruit) stone; core’ (< *\*zár̃naka-* < *\*ġī̃̌noko-*); further a rather doubtful comparison with OInd. *jīr̃ṇáh̃* ‘gebrechlich, abgelebt, abgenutzt, verfallen’ and the corresponding verbal root *\*ġer̃-*; see Фасмер II, 95—96; Fraenk. 1314; Pok. 390—391; WH I, 618—619; Mayrhofer I, 439; Feist 309—310;

24. Lith. *kùrti*, praes. 3 *kùria*, praet. 3 *kúré* ‘to make (fire), kindle; to create’; Latv. *kuīt*, praes. 1 sg. *kuīu*, praet. 1 sg. *kūru* ‘Feuer anmachen, heizen’; Lith. *kár̃stas* 3 a. p. ‘hot; sultry; ardent’; Latv. *kaīsts*

‘heiß’, *kařst*, praes. 1 sg. *kařstu*, praet. 1 sg. *kařsu* ‘heiß werden, heiß sein, entbrennen, sich sehnen’; hence Lith. *kiřsti*, praes. 1 sg. *kiřtù*, praet. 1 sg. *kiřsau* and Lith. *kìřti*, praes. 1 sg. *kìřtu*, praet. 1 sg. *kìřsau* (J) ‘aufgebracht werden, in Zorn geraten’ (according to Būga II, 435 the circumflex in this verb is due to *keřstas* ‘Zorn, Rachendurst’, ‘revenge’ 2 a. p.) || OInd. *kūḍayati* ‘versengt, verbrennt’ < \**kūḍayati* < \**kīḍayati* < \**kṛḍ-d-*, OInd. *kúnḍate* ‘brennt’ is regarded as the secondary derivative from the previous word; Lat. *carbō*, gen. sg. *carbōnis* m. ‘Kohle’ < \**car-dhō* < \**kī-dhōn-*; Goth. *haúri* n. ‘Kohle’, pl. ‘Kohlenfeuer’ (only acc. pl. *haurja* J 18:18, R 12:20 ἄνθραξ, ἄνθρακιά), ON *hyrr* m. ‘Feuer’, Norw. *hyr* ‘Fünkchen’, Swedish dial. *hyr* ‘glühende Asche’ < \**hurja-* < \**kī-īo-*; ? Arm. *xaršem* ‘koche, brenne’, inf. *xaršel* ‘to scald, boil, burn’ (< \**khīš-*), *xorovel* ‘to roast, toast, fry, boil, burn’. The second stem can be seen in Slav. \**krasa*. Cf. Pok. 641—642, Fraenk. 319, where it is referred to the root \**k<sup>u</sup>er-* ‘machen, gestalten’. It is more probable, however, to suppose partial contamination with the forms of the last root with the generalisation of acute intonation.

25. Lith. *kùrpė* 1 a. p. ‘shoe’; Latv. *kuīpe* ‘Schuh’; SCr. *kīplje* f. pl. ‘alte Schuhe, Schneeschuhe’, Sloven. *kíplja* f. ‘der Schneeschuh’; Bulg. *кърпа* f. ‘kerchief, rag’, SCr. *kṛṇa* ‘rag, patch’, Sloven. *kípa* f. ‘der Flickklappen; der Leinwand-, Tuch- oder Lederfleck’ < \**kīp-ā* < \**kṛḗp-ā* || Lat. *carpisculum* ‘a kind of footwear’ < \**kīpī-* < \**kṛḗpī-*, OIr. *cairem* ‘shoemaker’ < \**karpimon-* < \**kīpī-* < \**kṛḗpī-*, see Дыбо, Со-кращение долгот 9—34 (esp. 14—15); the full degree of vocalisation is represented by Grk. κρηπίς, gen. sg. κρηπίδος f. ‘man’s high boot, half-boot; groundwork, foundation, basement’ < \**kreḗpī-*, if not < \**kīpī-* < \**kṛḗpī-*; see Pok. 581; Berneker I, 669—670; ЭССЯ 13, 237—238; Skok II, 210—211; WH I, 172; cf. Fraenk. 318; Frisk II, 16—17;

26. Lith. *kùlšis* (1 a. p.) f. ‘thigh’ (< \**kúlk-s-is* < \**kīk-s-i-* < \**kīk-s-i-*); Slav. \**kǔlkъ*, \**kǔlkā*; Bulg. dial. (Kičevsko) *кълк* ‘thigh’, (Strandža) *кълчек* ‘ankle’, SCr. *kùk* ‘thigh; thigh-bone’ (secondary gen. sg. *kùka*), Sloven. *kòlk*, gen. sg. *kólka* m. ‘die Hüfte, das Hüftbein’; Bulg.

кѣлка ‘thigh’ || Lat. *calx*, gen. sg. *calcis* f. (sometimes m.) ‘heel; lower part, foundation’ (< \**k̄l̄kl̄*-, for the reflexation of long syllabic liquid and nasal resonants in Italo-Celtic in the prosodic context corresponding to Balto-Slavic recessiveness see Дыбо, Сокращение долготы 9—34 esp. 14—15); the available materials do not allow in this case to distinguish the long syllabic resonant that is the result of reduction of Bezzenger’s combination (-*l̄ǝ*-), from the long syllabic resonant that is the result of the reduction of the long diphthong (-*ǝl̄*-), the first one (-*l̄ǝ*-) is accepted optionally; see Pok. 928, БЕР III, 190; Fraenk. 308; WH I, 144—145; Plet. 424;

27. Lith. *skirti*, praes. 1 sg. *skiriù*, praet. 1 sg. *skýriau* ‘to separate; to separate (from), sever (from); to distinguish’; Latv. *šķirt* ‘trennen, scheiden’ < \**sk̄-ti*- < \**sk̄ǝ-ti*-; Lith. *kerti*, praes. 3 *kēra*, praet. 3 *kēro* ‘to come off, get detached’; Latv. *kuņš* ‘deaf’; Slav. \**кънъ*, f. \**къна* ‘cut’ < \**k̄-no*- < \**k̄ǝ-no*- (Russian dial. *кóрныѣ* ‘short’, Sloven. *k̄n*, f. *k̄na* ‘verstümmelt’, PSlav. accentuation is well reflected in the derived verb as well: Sloven. *k̄niti*, praes. 1 sg. *k̄nem* ‘verstümmeln’; secondary SCr. *k̄n*, f. *k̄na* ‘broken, damaged; on the decline’, old accentual characteristics are probably reflected in such derivatives as *k̄nja* f., *k̄njav*, *k̄njavac*, *k̄njast*, *k̄njonos*, *k̄njourog*, see Skok II, 206—207) || OInd. *k̄nāti* < \**k̄-ne-ǝ-ti*, *k̄nóti* ‘verletzt, tötet’, part. *k̄rná-* ‘verletzt, getötet’, ‘wounded, killed’ < \**k̄-no*- < \**k̄ǝ-no*-, *ut-k̄r̄ṇa-* ‘ausgeschnitten, eingeritzt’; Lat. *carō*, gen. sg. *carnis* f. ‘Fleisch’, primarily ‘a cut, a piece (of meat)’ probably < \**k̄-n-ǝ*-, *carni-fex* m. ‘Scharfrichter, Henker’ (properly ‘Stückemacher’), pl. *carnēs* ‘Fleischstücke’, Umbr. *karu* ‘pars’, *karne* ‘carne, Stück Fleisch’, *kartu* ‘distribuito’, Osk. *carneis* ‘partis’; probably, «the second stem» is reflected in OIr. *scaraim* ‘trenne’ (\**sq̄r̄ā-*), if we do not deal here with the reflex of the long syllabic resonant in the context corresponding to Balto-Slavic dominance. All the rest of the correspondences either do not give enough material for reconstructing IE structure of the root, or show shortness of the syllabic resonant. See Pok. 938—940; Fraenk. 808; 245; Berneker I, 669; ЭССЯ 13, 236—237; Bezlaj II, 96; Mayrhofer I, 257; WH I, 170;

28. ? Lith. *rimti*, praes. 3 *rimsta*, praet. 3 *rimo* 'to subside, calm down, (become) quiet, stop'; Latv. *riņt*, praes. 1 sg. *riņstu* 'still, ruhig werden, sich zufrieden geben, schweigen, aufhören, lauwarm werden' (Mühl.—Endz. III, 526—527; Endz.—Haus. II, 372) < \**rīn̄-ti*- < \**rīn̄-ṭi*- || the principal indicator to the *seṭ*-root is OInd. *ramṇāti* (RV, YVm, B) < \**rem-ne-ṭ-ti* 'bringt zum stille stehen, macht fest, ergötzt', cf also late inf. *ramitum* (Ep.) < \**remə-tum*?; also Avest. *rāman-* n. 'Ruhe, Friede' < \**rīn̄-men-* < \**rīn̄-ṭ-men-*; cf. also Grk. ἡρέμᾶ adv. 'gently, softly'; this supposition is contradicted by OInd. aor. 4 med. *áramsta* (V), part. *ratá-* (AVP, YV) and deverbative nouns: *rāti-* f. (VS+) 'Rast, Ruhe; Lust', *rántar-* (RV) 'Verweiler, gern bleibend', etc.—in principle all these forms can be back-formations; see Pok. 864; Fraenk. 695—696; Frisk I, 643; cf. Mayrhofer III, 43—44;

29. Lith. *mūr̃ti*, praes. 3 *mūr̃sta*, praet. 3 *mūro* 'to soften, get soaked; to sink in, stick in' < \**m̃-ti*- < \**m̃-ṭ-ti*-, *mūr̃dyti*, praes. 3 *mūr̃do*, praet. 3 *mūr̃dé* 'to dip, immerse; to push in(to), shove in(to)' || Grk. βράσσω, Att. βράττω 'shake violently, throw up; winnow' (\**μῤῥᾱ-ἰω* < \**m̃dh-ḱo*- < \**m̃-ṭdh-ḱo*-), the comparison proposed by Bezzenberger // BB 27, 152 f. is extremely doubtful; see Fraenk. 472; Frisk I, 263; Pok. 738;

30. Lith. *minti*, praes. 1 sg. *minù*, praet. 1 sg. *mýniau* '(nieder-)treten, Flachs brechen'; Latv. *mīt*, praes. 1 sg. *minu* and *miņu*, praet. 1 sg. *minu* and *mīnu* 'treten'; Slav. \**měti*, l-part. *měľь*, *měľa*, *měľo* 'to rumple, crumple, knead'; Lith. *mĩnkyti*, praes. 1 sg. *mĩnkau* '(Teig) kneten', *mĩnkštas* 'weich', *mánkyti*, praes. 1 sg. *mánkau* 'to rumple, crumple, squeeze'; Latv. *mícīt* 'treten', *míksts* 'weich' || outside Balto-Slavic there are safe correspondences only in the Western part of the IE area: we can judge about the structure of the IE root only by Celtic correspondences — Gaul. *-mantalon* (\*gestampfter) 'Weg' in *Petro-mantalon* 'vierfache Straße', *Mantalo-magus* 'Straßenfeld', Bret. *mantra* and with the loss of *-n*- Welsh *mathru* 'mit Füßen treten', where *-an-* < \**ṇ* in the position of the IE pretonic syllable, see Дыбо, Сокращение долгот p. 10; correspondingly for the root \**menək-* cf. Irish *maistre* 'churn' < \**m̃kstrijā*, see Льюис—Педерсен, 32 and

Pedersen Kelt. Gr. I, 53, where the reflex *-an-* < *\*-ñ-* is also primary in the position of the IE pretonic syllable, see Дыбо, Сокращение долгот 10; MÍrish *men* f. ‘Mehl, Staub’ and Germ. *\*mangian* (OE *mengan*, OS *mengian*, MHG *mengen* ‘mischen’, proper ‘durcheinanderkneten’), seem to some extent to contradict the supposition of a long diphthong; contrary to Pok. 726, OÍnd. *carma-mnās* nom. pl. ‘Gerber’ does not relate here, see Mayrhofer I, 379; it is also doubtful to compare Grk. *ματέω* ‘treten’ (Frisk II, 184: «wenn nicht einfach Reimwort zu *πατέω*»); for the doubtfulness of comparing OÍnd. *mácate* see Mayrhofer II, 548; for Grk. *μάσσω*, that cannot be separated from *μαγίς*, *-ίδος* ‘geknetete Masse, Kuchen, Knettrog, Anrichtisch’ etc., there is a more natural direction of etymologizing leading to the IE root *\*maĝ-*, see Frisk II, 180—181; Фасмер II, 557—558; cf. Fraenk. 454—455;

31. Lith. *kinka* 1 a. p. ‘leg, thigh’; Latv. *ciñca* ‘Wade an Menschen und Tieren, unterer Hinterfuß des Schweines vom Mittelgelenk ab’, Latv. *ciñsla* ‘Sehne’ < *\*kñk-* || ON *\*há* (in *hámót* n. ‘Ferse, Fussgelenk’, *hásinar* ‘Hechse, Kniekehle’), OE *hóh* ‘Ferse, Kniekehle’ (< *\*hanha-*), OHG (Gl.) *haken* ‘calces’, ON *høkill*, MHG *hahse* ‘Kniegelenk des Hinterbeines’, ON *høkubein* ‘Kinnbein’; ON *hæll* m. ‘Ferse’ < *\*hanhila-*, OE *hōēla*, *hēla* ‘Ferse’; OÍnd. *kañkālaḥ* m., *kañkālam* n. ‘Gerippe’; cf. also Lith. *kenklė* 4 a. p. ‘Kniekehle’, ‘(a place) under the thigh’; the material does not indicate the structure of the IE root, the long syllabic resonant is reconstructed only on the basis of Baltic data; see Pok. 566; Fraenk. 239; de Vries 276; Mayrhofer I, 137;

32. Lith. *svilti*, praes. 1 sg. *svylù* (i. e. *\*svilù*), praet. 1 sg. *svilaū* ‘sengen, schwelen’, ‘to be/get burnt, burn slightly’, Žemaitic praes. 1 sg. *svilstu*, dial. (LKŽ XIV, 306) *svėlti*, praes. 3 *svėla*, praet. 3 *svilė* tr. ‘svilinti’, ‘to scorch, singe, burn’; Latv. *svīlt*, praes. 1 sg. *svilstu* ‘versengt werden, schwelen, glimmen, schnell und heller Flamme brennen’, *svēlt*<sup>2</sup> Bl., praes. 1 sg. *svēļu*, praet. 1 sg. *svēlu* ‘sengen’ || OÍnd. *svarati* (Kaus., Up.) ‘leuchten, scheinen’, part. *súrta-* ‘hell, erhellt, erleuchtet’ in *asúrte súrte* (RV 10, 82, 4); Grk. *ἔλη*, *εἴλη*, *εἴλη* f. ‘Sonnenwärme, Sonnenhitze; Sonnenlicht’, *ἀλέα* f. ‘Wärme’, espe-



cially ‘Sonnenwärme’, ἑλάνη ‘Fackel’, (Hsch.) ἑλένη · λαμπάς, δετή < \**suelə-nā*; but the most reliable and abundant material for this root is represented in Germanic — strong verb of IV class \**swelam-*: OE *swelan*, praet. *swæl*, pl. *swælon* ‘to burn’, ‘brennen’ (intrans.), (*wund ongon... swelan ond swellan* Beow. 2713 ‘the wound began to burn and swell’), *forswelan* ‘(ver)brennen, sich entzünden’, ‘to burn up, kindle’, ‘combūri’; OF *swela* ‘langsam brennen’ (given by de Vries 564; the source?); MLG *swelen* ‘sengen, dörren’ (here is often referred OF *swila* ‘Heu trocken’, Du. *zwelen* ‘to toss the hay’); weak verb of I class \**swæljan-*: ON *svæla* ‘qualmen, rauchen’; OE *swælan* ‘to burn’ (trans.), *beswælan* ‘to burn, sweal, scorch, singe’, ‘adurere, ustulare’ ‘verbrennen’ (trans.) (*glēdum beswæled* Beow. 3041 ‘scorched by gleeds’), *forswælan* ‘to burn, burn up, consume, scorch’, ‘ūrēre, exūrēre, combūrēre, concrēmāre, exaestuāre’, ‘verbranden’, ‘aufbrennen’, *geswælan* ‘to light, kindle’, ‘inflammare, accendere’; MLG *swēlen* ‘smeulen’, ‘to smoulder’ (sic Franck—van Wijk 839, it is not clear whether there is an indication of length in the sources, or if it is the researcher’s interpretation); it remains not clear, if in this case the long syllabic resonant is the result of reduction of Bezenberger’s combination or of a long diphthong, the materials pointing to the first solution being insignificant and unreliable (see Mayrhofer III, 495—496, 562—563 and Frisk I, 481), the Germanic verb of IV class may be the result of the rebuilding of the verb with the root \**swēl-* (for IV and V classes of verbs see CГЯ IV, 315—317), the length of the derivative «weak» verbs of the 1 class («causative?») also points to the same root, cf. also the attempts to connect the root in question with the stem \**sāuel-* ‘sun’; see Pok. 881, 1045; Fraenk. 951, 954; Frisk I, 65—66, 458—459; Franck—van Wijk 839; cf. Mayrhofer III, 495—496, 562—563; Bosworth—Toller 447, 319, 93; Toller 85; 253—254, 420, 716, 717; Holdhausen Beow. II, 74; Frisk I, 481, 631; cf. a different attitude to the primacy of the Baltic intonation in Fraenk. 954;

33. Lith. *gūrti*, praes. 1 sg. *gūrstu* ‘sich legen (vom Winde)’; Latv. *guīt*, praes. 1 sg. *guīstu* ‘matt, schwach werden, abnehmen; sich legen (vom Winde)’, *vējš gurst* ‘der Wind legt sich’ || Germ. \**kwerru-*

(< \**g<sup>u</sup>erə-ru-*): Goth. *qairrus* adj. ‘freundlich, sanftmütig’, ON *kvirr*, *kyrr* ‘still, ruhig, friedlich’, MLG *querre* ‘zahn’, MHG *kürre* ‘milde, zahm, kirre’; Grk. βαρύς ‘schwer’ (< \**g<sup>u</sup>r̥ə-u-*); OInd. *gurú-* ‘schwer; schwer im Magen liegend; gross; wichtig’ (< \**g<sup>u</sup>r̥ə-u-*), *garimá* m. (VādhūlaŚS., Pāṇ. and later) ‘Schwere’ (\**g<sup>u</sup>orə-*, if this late stem reflects old morphology); Lat. *gravis* ‘schwer, gewichtig’ < \**g<sup>u</sup>r̥ə-u-is*; see Pok. 476—477; de Vries 341; cf. Fraenk. 150, 179; Feist 386; WH I, 620—621; Mayrhofer I, 325, 340; Mayrhofer EWA I, 490—491;

Note. One should separate it from IE \**g<sup>u</sup>rd-* (> Latv. *guīds* ‘müde, matt’, etc.), for which see below, p. 450, No. 54. In Balt. language this two stems probably semantically merged.

34. Lith. *gùrti*, praes. 3 *gùra*, *gùrsta* ‘to be crumbled’, *gvérti*, praes. 1 sg. *gvērù* and dial. *gvérstu*, praet. 1 sg. *gveraũ* ‘to become loose, unsteady’, *gvéra* (1) ‘dawdle, gawk, muddler’ || Lith. *gurùs* (4) ‘friable; brittle, fragile; perishable’; Lith. *giáuré* (1) ‘kalkhaltiger Boden’ (Seireiskis: ‘cold soil’), Latv. *gaurs* ‘locker’; internal Lithuanian relations probably indicate that in this case the long syllabic resonant was the result of the reduction of the «long diphthong», the same solution can be achieved with the help of Fraenkel’s etymologisation: «zu Wz. \**geu-*, \**gou-* ‘konvex oder konkav gekrümmt sein’»; see Pok. 393; cf. Fraenk. 179;

35. Latv. \**zúlts* ‘bile’ (cf. *zultis* ‘die Galle’ [Marienhausen] Endz.—Haus. II, 812), secondary forms *zúlkts*, *žúlts* and *žúlkts* ‘die Galle’ < \**gh̥l̥ti-* < \**gh̥l̥əti-*; in Lith. *tulžis* (4) ‘Galle’ there is a metathesis and a change of a. p. (3 → 4) || For external etymology (OInd. *hárīta-* ‘fahl, gelblich, grün’, etc.) see below, p. 335, No. 31.

Here we can also add a number of Balto-Slavic stems with long *ī* and *ū* that are the result of reduction of long diphthongs:

36. Lith. *nýtis*, gen. sg. *nýties* f. ‘Weberkamm’, ‘reed (in loom)’, pl. *nýtys* ‘Weberkette’; Latv. *nīts*, usually pl. *nītis* ‘Weberheftel’; Slav. \**nǐť* ‘thread’ ~ OInd. *snāyati* ‘umwindet, bekleidet’, *snāyu-* ‘ligament, tendon; bow-string’, *nīví-* f. ‘ein umgebundenes Tuch, Schurz’ (? , doubtful, see Mayrhofer II, 174—175, also Mayrhofer III, 533—

534); Grk. *νέω*, 3 sg. *νή*, 3 pl. *νῶσι*, impf. *ἔ-ννη* (-*vv*- < -*sn*-) 'to spin', part. *ἐύ-ννητος* (-*vv*- < -*sn*-) 'gut gesponnen', *νήμα* n. 'thread, yarn', *νήσις* f. 'spinning'; Lat. *neō*, *nēvī*, *nētum*, -*ere* 'spinnē', 'webe'; OHG *nāu*, *nāan*, *nājan*, *nāwan* 'nähen', \**sni-*, probably in Celtic: MlIrish *snīid* 'spinnt, flickt; dreht sich, müht sich ab', Welsh *nyddu* 'spinnen'; the long diphthong seems to be primary, its reduction degree is  $\bar{i}$ ;

37. Lith. *rýtas* (3) 'morning'; Latv. *rīts* 'Morgen' || Latv. *riētēt* 'hervorkommen, hervorbrechen, aufgehen'; the Baltic word is connected with Slav. *řějati* and *rínqti*, whose corelation points to the long diphthong; the correspondence of accentual paradigms posits a problem; they should be kept apart from OInd. *riṅáti* 'läßt strömen, läßt laufen, entläßt' (with the root \**riə-*, not \**rəi-*);

38. Slav. \**pīti* (< \**pī-ti-*) 'to drink', cf. OInd. *pītí-* f. 'Trunk, das Trinken; Trank', part. *pīta-*, etc.; the zero grade of the base with a long diphthong \**pōi-*, usually functioning in separate IE languages as two different roots: \**pō-*, \**pī-*; -*i-* in the full grade is either removed, or incorporated into the stem-forming suffix; \*-*eḷ-* and \*-*ēḷ-* as the eventual sources of Slavic -*i-* are made improbable by the reconstruction of the root and do not actually occur in the comparative data;

39. Slav. \**tīna* (Russ. *му́на* 'slime, mud, ooze', also in the meaning 'water moss; potato tops', Ukr. *му́на*, ORuss. *ТИНА*, OCS *ТИНА* 'βόρβορος' (Supr.), Bulg. *му́ня* 'ooze, mud', OCzech *tina* 'quagmire, mud') ~ \**tīmnā* or \**tīnā*, cf. Slav. \**tīmy*, gen. sg. \**tīmene* (HSorb. *tymjo*, gen. sg. *tymjenja* 'bog', LSorb. *tyńe*, gen. sg. *tyńeńa* 'bog') and Slav. \**timěнь* (only in derivatives: Russ. ChSlav. *тумѣние* 'bog', ORuss. *ТИМѢНО*, *ТИМѢНИЕ* 'mud, ooze', OCS *ТИМѢНО*, *ТИМѢНИЕ* 'ίλύς' (Euch. Sin., Ps. Sin.)) — a relative adjective from Slav. \**tīmy*, gen. sg. \**tīmene* ~ OE *đīnan* 'feucht werden', 'to get wet', ON *þíðr* 'thaw (out)', *þíða* 'to thaw (out), melt'; this root \**tī-* is usually united with the root \**tā-* 'to melt' into the primary IE root in a long diphthong \**tāi-* 'id.': cf. Slav. \**tājati* 'melt', Osset. *tajyn* || *tajun* : *tad* || *tad* 'to melt, dissolve', Arm. *ʔanam* 'I moisten, wet' < ? \**tə-nā-mi*, Grk. *τήκω* 'to melt, melt down (of metals, *trans.*); dissolve, cause to waste or pine away' et sim.;

40. Slav. \*trǫti, praes. 1 sg. \*trǫjǫ, 3 sg. \*trǫjetь ‘to rub, pull about’ || the root is likely to be one of the enlarged variants of the IE base \*terǝ-, its zero grade is probably also represented in Grk. τρύω ‘reibe auf, erschöpfe’, τρύμα, τρύμη ‘Loch’; its full grade is contained in Grk. τρώω ‘to wound; damage, injure’ < \*τρω̯ω, as well as in Grk. τραῦμα and with the loss of the glide Ion. τῶμα n. ‘wound, hurt; hurt, damage; heavy blow, defeat’, τῶσις f. ‘wounding; injury (to a tree)’;

41. Lith. grūsti, praes. 1 sg. grūdžiu and grūdu, praet. 1 sg. grūdau ‘stampfen (Gerste zur Graupenbereitung)’, ‘to pound (groats); push (in); chase’, grūdas (3) ‘grain, seed’; Latv. grūst, praes. 1 sg. grūžu, praet. 1 sg. grūdu ‘stoßen, stampfen’, graūst ‘poltern, donnern’, graūds ‘Korn’ || OHG \*firgriozan, part. firgrozzen, MHG ver-griezen, durch-griezen ‘in kleine Teile zerreiben’ < Germ. \*-greutan; ON grautr m. ‘Grütze’ (‘grobgemahlenes’), OE grēat ‘grobkörnig, groß, dick’, OF grāt, OS grōt, OHG grōz ‘groß’, MHG also ‘grob, dick’ < Germ. \*grauta-; ON grjót n. ‘Stein, Grieb’, OE grēot n. ‘Sand, Staub, Erde’, OS griot n. ‘Sand, Ufer’, OHG grioz, MHG griez m., n. ‘Sandkorn, Sand, Ufergrieb’ < Germ. \*greuta-; Norw. grūt n. ‘Bodensatz’, OE grūt, dat. sg. grȳt f. ‘grobes Mehl, Treber’, Efris. grūt ‘Grieb, Bodensatz’, MLG grūt ‘Porsch als Gärungsmittel’, MHG grūz m. ‘Sand, Getreidekorn’ < Germ. \*grūta-; Grk. ἐγ-χράω ‘schlage hinein’, ‘to dash against’, \*χράω, only 3 sg. aor. conjct. χράσση ‘ritze, verletze’, ‘to scrape, graze, wound slightly’, Cypr. χράομαι, χράζομαι ‘stoße an, bin benachbart’, ἄ-χρᾶής ‘unberührt, rein’, χρώς (< \*ghrō[ǰ]s), gen. sg. χροός (< \*ghrəuós) m. ‘skin or flesh; the colour of the skin, complexion’, χροίζω, χροίζω ‘to touch the surface of the body’, χρώμα n. ‘skin; colour, complexion’, χροιά, Att. χρόα (the latter always in pl.) f. ‘skin; body’ < \*χρω̯-ǵā; Gaul. \*grava ‘Kies’, Welsh gro, OCorn. grou, MCorn. grow ‘Sand’; ON grjón n. ‘Grütze (< \*geschrotetes Korn)’, MHG grien m., n. ‘Kiessand, sandiges Ufer’, MLG grēn ‘Sandkorn’; Icel. grugg n. ‘Bodensatz’ < \*gruwwa-; Fraenk. I, 173—174; Frisk II, 1115—1116, 1120—1121; Pok. 460—462 (\*ghreu-d-, to \*grēu- ~ ghrəu- ~ ghrū- ‘scharf darüber reiben, zerreiben’);

42. Lith. *jūšė* 'Fischsuppe, schlechte Suppe' || OInd. *yúḥ* (*yúṣ-*) n. nom.-acc. sg., *yūṣṇáh* gen. sg. 'Suppe, Brühe', *yūṣá-* m., n. 'Fleischbrühe, Brühe', Lat. *jūs*, gen. sg. *jūris* n. 'soup, sauce; colouring matter of purple snail'; Grk. ζύμη f. 'leaven; beer-yeast' < \*ζῦμᾱ or \*ζῦμᾱ (Frisk accepts the first protoform; for the phonetic argumentation see Schwyzer 333); Germ. \**iūsta-* or early Proto North Germanic \**iūstaR* 'cheese' (⇒ Balto-Fennic \**jūsto*: Finn. *juusto* 'cheese', Est. *juust* 'cheese'); late Proto North Germanic \**ostaR* 'cheese' with the loss of \**j-*, shortening of *-ū-* before the consonant cluster and development \**-ǔ-* > *-o-* before the final *-a-* (⇒ Saam. L. *vuostā*, N. *vuos'ta* 'cheese'): ON *ostr*, Swed. *ost*, OGotl. *ustr* (with the development \**-ō-* > *-u-*), Danish *ost* 'cheese' (starting with XIV century there is some evidence for the vowel lengthening in some Swedish dialects before *-rm*, *-sk*, *-st*, see MSwed. *ooster* 'Käse', Noreen *AschwGr.* 123; established in Kock // *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* IX, 71 f., 236; that is why cited Swed. dial. *ōst* and *ūst* 'Käse' are irrelevant for the establishing of the vowel quantity for the first syllable of this word); Grk. ζωμός m. 'soup, sauce' < \*ζωσμος or \*ζωμος < \**iōusmos* or \**iōumos* (with the loss of the resonant element of the long diphthong); Alb. Tosk. *gjër* 'Suppe', Geg. *gjanë* 'Schmutz, Teich, Schwemme' < Proto-Alb. \**jausna*; ? Grk. ζῦθος m., n. 'an Egyptian kind of beer' (ζῦτος m. in the older Pap.); Gaul. \**iutā* (⇒ Lat. *iutta* 'Brühe'), OIrish *īth* 'Brei' (*ī* is due to the influence of *īth* 'Fett'), OWelsh *iot*, OCorn. *iot*, OBret. *iot*, Bret. *iod* 'Brei' < \**iūto-* or \**iūto-*; see Fraenk. I, 199; Mayrhofer III, 26; Frisk I, 616, 617; WH I, 734; Orel 135; Pok. 507.

43. Latv. *skūt*, praes. 1 sg. *skuvu* 'rasiere' ~ Grk. ξύω 'schabe, reibe, glätte', ξῦσις f. 'das Schaben, Kratzen, die Zerfressung', ξῦσμα n. 'filings, shavings', ξῦστρον n. 'scythe (fixed to chariots); scraper, rasp'; the probable indications to the primary long diphthong are: OInd. *kṣṇáuti* 'schleift, wetzt, schärft' (< \**ks-n-ēṽ-ti*, or, in laryngalist interpretation < \**ks-ne-Hṽ-ti*), part. praes. *kṣṇuvāná-*; Grk. (Hsch.) ξώστρα · ψήκτρις, ψήκτρια ('Striegel') < \**ksō(ṽ)-*; ON *snøgg* adj. 'kurzhaarig' (< \**snaṽṽ-* < \**snōṽ-* in the prosodic position corres-

ponding to the Balto-Slavic accentual mobility); but Grk. ξόανον ‘alles Geschnitzte’ goes back (according to Frisk I, 335) to ξέω (like ὄχανον < ἔχω, πλόκανον < πλέκω), not to ζύω, and thus cannot point to Bezenberger’s combination (like *\*\*ksouənom*); see Mayrhofer I, 292, 295; Mayrhofer EWA I, 435—436, 441; Frisk II, 340, 341—342; WH II, 178—179; Pok. 586; cf. de Vries 527—528.

#### BEZZENBERGER’S COMBINATIONS

F. de Saussure does not mention in his articles Bezenberger’s combinations, but they undoubtedly fit well his theory. However, the length of the diphthongs and diphthongal combinations that developed in Balto-Slavic out of Bezenberger’s combinations was not, strictly speaking, primary: it appeared as the result of the loss *\*-ə-*, but according to de Saussure’s theory both long syllabic resonants and long monophthongs were the result of an analogical process. The procedure of the establishment of Bezenberger’s combinations fully conforms to his ablaut theory; it is necessary and enough to find a reflex of *\*-ə-* in the root for their recognition in the position after a resonant; this reflex may be direct, but it may also reveal itself through «imposing» length on the preceding vowel. In the latter case the procedure works with certain limits: it is reliable enough under «the test of the ninth class of the OInd. verbs» (*-ə-* «imposes» length on *-e-* of the infix *-ne-*, which is inserted into the root before the resonant: *\*str-ne-ə-ti* > OInd. *strṇāti*) and for the «second stem» of Benvenist with the long final vowel: *\*dhmeə-* > OInd. *dhmā-*. The existence in the correspondences of the long syllabic resonant cannot by itself indicate Bezenberger’s combination as the long resonant may be the result of the «reduction» both of Bezenberger’s combination and a long diphthong (see below). One of the peculiarities of Bezenberger’s combination that distinguishes it from the long diphthong, is the fact that there is no transfer of stree onto it in forms with oxytonic accent according to Hirt—Illič-Svityč’s law, see

Иллич-Свитыч ИА, 78—83, 156, Дыбо СА, 17—18, 233—245<sup>4</sup>. We will give the full list of the roots with Bezzenger's combinations, established by the described procedure (the examples are subdivided according to the character of the glide, inside the groups they are arranged in the alphabetical order):

## (C)Vuə(C)-

1. Lith. *áusti*, praes. 3 *áudz̃ia* 'to weave'; Latv. *aúst*, praes. 1 sg. *aũžu* 'weben, wirken', Latv. *aūdi* pl. 'weft, woof' (< \**auəd-*) || Arm. *z-audem* 'I bind'; cf. «the second stem» in Germ. \**uēđ-* (< \**uēdh-* < \**ueadh-*): ON *váđ* f. 'gewebtes Zeug, einfacher Wollstoff; Segelbreite, Segeltuch', pl. *váđir* 'Gewänder, Kleider', OE *wāđ* f. 'garment, dress, clothing, streamer', 'Anzug' (< \**uēđi-*), *wāde* n., OF *wēđ(e)* n. 'Kleid, Gewand', OS *wādi* n. 'Kleidung', OHG *gi-wāti* n. 'Kleidung' (\**uēđ-ja-*); the root is an enlargement to IE «base» \**auē-* 'flechten, weben': OInd. praes. 3 sg. *váyati* 'webt', inf. (AV) *vátave*, part. *ūta-*, (*vāso-*)*vāyá-* '(Gewand) webend', beside inf. *ótum*, *ótave*, part. *utá-*; see Pok. 75—76; Fraenk. 26; de Vries 637; cf. Mayrhofer III, 147;

2. Lith. *áudra* (1) and *audrà* (4) 'storm' || Grk. *ἄόζω* 'hauche' (< \**ἄφάδ-ιω* < \**auəd-*); OInd. *ūdhar* n. 'Kälte', loc. *ūdhani* 'bei Kälte'; Avest. *aodar-* n. 'Kälte' (but OInd. has *-dh-*, if it is not due to the influence of *ūdhar-* 'udder; breast', which Mayrhofer supposes to explain heteroclis); cf. without the enlargement OInd. *ómā*, *omá* m. 'Kälte'; Avest. *aota-* adj. 'kalt'; maybe the same grade of the root (with the formant *-i-*) is represented in Lith. dial. *výdra* (1) 'storm,

<sup>4</sup> This is displayed in the nominal stems in the following way: in case of one-to-one morphemic correspondence of the Balto-Slavic stem to the stems of the other IE languages and when the latter demonstrate oxytonic accent, the Balto-Slavic stem display mobility, if it goes back to IE Bezzenger's combination; and it belongs to the immobile barytonic accentual paradigm, if it goes back to IE long diphthong. While using this rule it should be taken into consideration that OInd. demonstrates a number of accentual innovations, that are characterized by the transfer of many stems from the barytonic accentual type into the oxytonic one.

hurricane' and Pruss. *wydra* 'Wind' < \**uəi-d(h)rā*, where \**əi* > *ī*; cf. the form with the «second stem» \**uēd-* in OHG *wāzan*, *wiaz* 'wehen, blasen', MHG *wāz* 'starker Wind, Windstoß, Sturm; Atem, Hauch; Duft, Geruch'; cf. also Lith. *vėdinti* 'to air, refresh'; the root in the form of the «second stem» without any enlargements is contained in Lith. *vėtra* (1) 'storm, hurricane', OInd. *vāti* 'weht', Grk. ἄησι 'weht' etc.; see Pok. 83; Mayrhofer I, 115, 132; Frisk I, 26—27; Bartholomae 41, 42; cf. Endzelins IV, 2, c. 337, Fraenk. 6—7, 325, 1212, 1237—1238; Frisk I, 2;

3. Lith. *gąuti*, praes. 3 *gąuna* 'to get, obtain' < \**geuə-ti-* etc.; Latv. *gūt*, praes. 1 sg. *gūstu* 'fangen, haschen, greifen, erlangen, bekommen' < \**gū-ti-* < \**guə-ti-*; Lith. *gausūs* (4 a. p.) 'plentiful, abundant, generous, numerous', dial. (Šl.) *gąusus*, *-si*, OLith. *gąusus*, *-i* (1 a. p.) 'obfity, hojny', 'plentiful, generous' (*gąufi* nom. sg. f. DP 532<sub>15</sub>, *gąufi* nom. sg. f. DP 293<sub>4</sub>, 333<sub>42</sub>; *gąusi* nom. sg. f. DP 284<sub>20</sub>; *gąufi* nom. sg. f. DP 534<sub>46</sub>, 552<sub>32</sub>, 561<sub>19</sub>, *Gąufi* nom. sg. f. DP 627<sub>17</sub>; *gąufaus* gen. sg. m. DP 173<sub>34</sub>, *gąufaus* gen. sg. m. DP 595<sub>31</sub>, *gąufu* acc. sg. m. DP 169<sub>27</sub>, 487<sub>11</sub>; *gąufu* acc. sg. m. DP 486<sub>12</sub>; *ape gąufia* acc. sg. f. DP 292<sub>17</sub>; *gąufumi* instr. sg. m. DP 147<sub>43</sub>; *gąufaujp* allat. sg. m. DP 147<sub>11</sub>; *gąufias* acc. pl. f. DP 472<sub>29</sub>, 478<sub>47</sub>, *gąufes* acc. pl. f. DP 532<sub>27</sub>; *gąufiomis* instr. pl. f. DP 479<sub>14</sub>); Latv. *gaūss* 'verschlagsam, langsam zu Ende gehend, lange dauernd' < \**gouə-su-*; thus Fraenk. 141; Pok. 448 is unacceptable || Avest. praes. 3 sg. *gūnaoiti* 'verschafft', 'provides', aor.-inj. *gāuš* (see Kellens 20), Sogd. βγ'w 'increase'; Parth. *frayāw* 'wealth, treasure' (Ghilain 76, Boyce 187), Sogd. \**frayāw* (βγ'w) 'wealth' (Gramm. sogd. I, 19, 45, 72, 133); Avest. *gava* m. du., *gavō* m. acc. pl. 'Hände', *gaona-* m. 'Gewinn', 'acquirement, booty'; here refer also Osset. *qæwɣyn*, *ǰæwun* 'to be useful, be lack(ing)', *qawɣyn*, *ǰawun* 'to consume, spend', *fælgawɣyn* 'solicit, extort' < \**pari-gav-*; Khot.-Sak. *hagav-* 'to long' < \**ham-gav-*, Sogd. γw- 'manquer, falloir', Yaghnob. γau- 'to be useful, necessary'; Khwar. γau- 'to be necessary', Parth. *prg'w-* 'to lack'; Grk. ἐγγύη and ἐγγύη f. 'pledge put into one's hand, surety, security; betrothal', ἐγγυάω 'to give or hand over as a pledge; plight, betroth'; the only evidence in favour of the



*seṭ*-root is the length of *ū* in the reduction grade, but it may be the result of the reduction of the long diphthong, but the latter supposition is unlikely because of the usual «short-syllabic ablaut», reflected in the Iranian languages; see Pok. 403—404; Fraenk. 141—142; Bartholomae, 504—505, 482—483; Абаев I, 437; II, 368—369, 271—272, 301; Emmerick SGrSt, 144; cf. Kellens, 76;

4. Lith. *jáuti*, praes. 3 *jáuna* ‘to mix, stir’; Latv. (Lis., Druw.) *jaût* ‘mischen, (Teig) einrühren’ < \**ǰouə-ti-* (also Lith. *jaūti*, praes. 3 *jaūna* ‘to mix, stir’, probably due to the influence of *jaūkti*, praes. 3 *jaūkia* ‘to mix, stir; to mess’; also Latv. *jàut*, praes. 1 sg. *jàunu* ‘mischen, (Teig) einrühren’, also probably due to the influence of *jàukt*, praes. 1 sg. *jàucu* ‘mischen, mengen, wühlen, verwirren, verwischen; stören, vereiteln; den Teig einrühren’); Latv. *jūtis* pl. ‘Gelenk’ ← \*‘Verbindung’, ‘Scheideweg’ < \**ǰū-t-* < \**ǰuə-t-*; Lith. *jáutis* m. ‘Ochs’ < \**ǰouə-t-* || OInd. *yunáti* (Pāṇ.), *yunīte* (Dhātup.) ‘anziehen, anspannen; anbinden, festhalten’ < \**ǰu-ne-ə-ti*, *yūtí-* f. (Pāṇ.+) ‘Verbindung, Vereinigung’ < \**ǰuə-ti-*, *yūna-* n. (Sū.) ‘Band, Schnur’<sup>5</sup> (this comparison leads to the reconstruction of the root \**ǰeuə-*, what naturally excludes the immediate connection with the group *yūṣa-* m., n. ‘broth; sauce’, see Pok. 507); further investigation is required to clear its relation to the one-syllabic variant of the root in OInd. *yauti/yute* (AV+) ‘id.’, part. *yutá-* (RV+) and to the «enlarged» root \**ǰeug-* (OInd. *yunákti*); OInd. root *yū-* can be of the dialectal nature, but since it is known only in late attestations, it can be of course mere secondary; see Pok. 508; Fraenk. 191; Mühl.—Endz. II, 104; Mayrhofer III, 28—29; Mayrhofer EWA II, 402—403; I, 481; Whitney 131—132;

<sup>5</sup> Early attestation of this long root can be subst. *yūthá-* n. (RV+) ‘Schar, Herde’, but presently (e. g. Mayrhofer EWA) *yūthá-* is connected with \**yūti-* (in *gáv-yūti-* m. ‘Weideland, Rinderweide; Gebiet, Wohnplatz’ [RV+], *urú-gav-yūti-* ‘weites Gebiet habend [von Somal]’ [RV+]) and \**yavas-* (in *á-yavasa-* [RV+] ‘ohne Weide’, *sū-yávasa-* [RV+] ‘mit guter Weide’) — all three stems *yūthá-*, \**yūti-* and \**yavas-* are united into OInd. root \**yū-* ‘weiden’ (< virtual IE \**ǰeuə-*), which, however, remains without any external IE etymology.

5. Lith. *jáuja* f. (1) ‘barn for storing crops; threshing barn, threshing floor; flaxen drying room and brake’, *jáujas* m. (1) ‘barn for storing crops; threshing barn’ (LKŽ IV, 299—300); Latv. *jaūja* ‘die Riege’ < \**iouə-īā* || Lith. *jāvas* ‘cereal, bread grains’, pl. *javai* (4) ‘grain, corn’ < *jāvai* (2 a. p., see Иллич-Свитыч ИА 33); OInd. *yávaḥ* ‘Getraide; Gerste; Korn’; Grk. φυσί-ζοος (αῖα) ‘Getreide hervorbringend’, ζειά f. pl. ‘Ginkel, Spelt, Triticum monococcum’, later also sg. ζειά (Thphr.) and ζεά (ζέα), -η; ζεί-δωρος ‘zea-giving’ < \**ζεε-δωρος* < \**ζεφε-δωρος*, where pre-Grk. \**ζεφε-* < IE \**ieue-*, see Frisk I, 608—609, where this Proto-Greek reconstruction is preferred without its consequences for the IE root structure, see Иллич-Свитыч ИА 33, with the IE reconstruction \**íouHos* on the basis of the absence of lengthening of \*-o- in OInd. in the primary closed syllable and the acute intonation in Lith. *jáujas* ‘barn’; see Pok. 512; Fraenk. 192;

6. Lith. *jáunas* (3) ‘young’, Latv. *jaúns* ‘young’ < \**iouə-no-* || OInd. *yúvan-* (< \**yū-en-* < \**yūə-en-*, cf. Lat.), gen. sg. *yūnáḥ* (< \**yūə-n-es*), nom. sg. f. *yūnī* (< \**yūə-niə*), comp. *yavī-yān*, superl. *yáv-iṣṭhaḥ* ‘young; youth; young Mann’; Lat. *iuv-enis* ‘jung; Jüngling, Jungfrau’; see Pok. 510—511; Mayrhofer III, 23—24; WH I, 735—736; Fraenk. 190—191;

7. Lith. *jáura*, *jáuras* ‘sumpfige Stelle, Moorgrund’ < \**iouəṛā*; Lith. *júra* ‘Meer, See’ < \**iūṛā* || Grk. \**αῦρα* ‘Wasser, Quell’ in ἄναυρος ‘wasserlos, von Bächen’, ON *aurr* ‘Naß, Wasser’, ‘Feuchtigkeit, Nässe’, Nícel. *aur* m. ‘mud, ooze, silt’, Swed. dial. *örja* ‘Sumpf’, OE *ēar* m. ‘wave, sea, ocean’, ‘Woge, Meer’ (< \**eṛ(ə)r-*), «the second stem» in OInd. *vár* (*váar* in RV) n. ‘Wasser; Nass, Flüssigkeit, von der Milch’, *vári* n. ‘Wasser, Regen’; Avest. *vār-* m. ‘Regen’ < \**uēr-* or \**uōr-*, Sogd. \**wār* (*w’r*) ‘rain’, Chwar. *wār* ‘rain’; Avest. *vārənti* ‘wenn es regnet’; there is probably no basis for the reconstruction of the short-syllabic variant of the root \**uēr-*, MÍrish *feraim* ‘gieße’, *ferath* ‘hūmor’, Welsh *gweren* ‘liquāmen’ etc. are explained with the help of the Italo-Celtic shortening of IE long syllables in the pretonic position, see Дыбо, Сокращение долгот 9—23; ON *ver* n. ‘Meer, See’, *vari* m. ‘Flüssig-

keit, Wasser', OE *wær* 'the sea' may be immediately connected with the Indo-Iranian *\*vār-* 'water, liquid', whose mobile accentual paradigm is recorded in Vedic: *vārbhyás* dat. pl. VS. 22, 25 — what supposes oxytonic accent in the Germ. words, for length shortening in the pretonic position before the resonants in Germanic see Дыбо, Сокращение долгот 24—34; Avest. *vairi-* m. 'See; Bucht einer See' refers likelier to another root, see on this Mayrhofer III, 194; see Fraenk. 198; Pok. 80—81; Frisk I, 103—104; Mayrhofer III, 194; de Vries 20; WH II, 840; Bartholomae 1364—1365, 1410—1411; Grassmann 1260;

8. Lith. *ráuti*, praes. 1 sg. *ráuju* and *ráunu*, praet. 1 sg. *róviau* 'raufen, mit der Wurzel ausreißen, rupfen, abreißen, aushacken, hinwegraffen', 'to pull out; to pluck; to root out'; Latv. *raût*, praes. 1 sg. *raûju*, dial. *raûnu*, praet. 1 sg. *râvu* 'reißen, raufen, ziehen, rafften, stehlen'; Slav. inf. *\*ruti*<sup>6</sup>, praes. 1 sg. *\*rъvъ*, inf. *\*rъvъti*, praes. 1 sg. *\*rûjъ* 'to tear, rend' || OInd. *rávitṛ* (KS+) 'Verletzer' (not 'Schreier!'), cf. also aor. 5 (RV = AV, KS = MS): *rāviṣam*, *rāviṣta*, *t*-part., however, has a short vowel: *rutá-* (RV, AV, KauS); ON *rýja* 'den Schafen die Wolle ausreißen', 'Wolle abpflücken'; Norw. *rū* f. 'Winterwolle', 'lose Wolle, die Wolle, die in der Mauser von den Schafen losgeht'; OS *rūwi* f. 'rauhes Fell'; ON *rogg* f., *roggr* m. 'langes Haar, lange Wolle', 'eingewebte Wollflocke' (< *\*rawwō-* and *\*rawwa-*), ODan. *rag*, Swed. *ragg* 'nap; goat wool', Norw. *ragg* 'grobes, struppiges Haar an Tieren'; Swed. *rugg* 'zottiges Haar', 'matted nap' (< *\*ruwwa-*), see Дыбо, Герм.; Lat. *ruō* 'aufreißen' with part. *rūtus* 'gerissen'<sup>7</sup> — for Italo-Celtic shortening of IE long syllables in the pretonic position

<sup>6</sup> Strictly speaking, the prosodic characteristic of the Slav. inf. *\*ruti* remains not clear. One could expect *\*ruti* (with recessive root), but formally we could reconstruct *\*rūti*: Sloven. dial. *rūti* ~ Czech dial. *routi* 'to tear hair' ~ Slovak dial. *rut' sa*, but the process of generalization of shortness took place in Slovak in this type of infinitives, and it is not clear to what extent it influenced this dialect; Slovenian and Czech data may reflect both the old acute and the «new acute», and correspondingly the pretonic length.

<sup>7</sup> As opposed to part. *rūtus* 'gegraben' ~ Slav. *\*rŭti* 'to dig'.

see Дыбо, Сокращение долгот 9—34 (esp. 30—32); thus Mayrhofer's (EWA II, 440) reconstruction of the *anī-*root *\*re-* is based only on the Vedic part. *rūtá-* and in view of the rest of OInd. data (*rávī-*) as well as external parallels we can consider *rūtá-* to be secondary form and reconstruct *se-*root *\*re-*; see Fraenk. II, 708—709; Фасмер III, 452, 531—532; Pok. 868; Mayrhofer III, 63; Mayrhofer EWA II, 440; Trautmann BSW 247; WH II, 453—454; de Vries 455, 458; Falk—Torp II, 871, 915; cf. Franck—van Wijk 531—532;

9. Slav. *\*sŭjь* 'vain, waste, futile' < *\*kou̯io-*; see Дыбо CA, 122—125 || MĪr. *cūa* 'hohl' (< *\*kou̯io-* < *\*kou̯io-*), *cūass* 'Höhle', Bret. *kēo* 'Grotte' (< *\*kou̯io-* < *\*kou̯io-*); Lat. *cavus* 'empty, hollow'; Grk. *κόοι* · *τὰ χάσματα τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὰ κοιλώματα* (Hsch.), *κόϊλος, κοῖλος* 'hohl' (< *\*kófilos*), *κοίελος* · *τὸ ἐν τοῖς κυάμοις θηρίδιον* (Hsch.) (< *\*kou̯ielos* \*'Aushöhler') < *\*kou̯i-* < *\*kou̯e-*; OInd. *śúnām* n. 'Mangel', *śūnyáḥ* 'leer, öde, unbewohnt', *śūnáḥ* 'geschwollen, aufgedunsen' < *\*kū-n-* < *\*kū-n-*, from the root *\*keu(e)-*, *\*keuā-*, *\*kū-*: OInd. *śváyate* 'schwillt an, wird stark, mächtig' < *\*kū-je-*, *śvātráḥ* 'gedeihlich, kräftig' < *\*kūā-* < *\*kūe-* (cf. Grk. *πέ-πᾶ-μαι* 'besitze', *πᾶ-τήρ* 'Besitzer'), *śúraḥ* 'stark, tapfer, Held' < *\*kū-ro-* < *\*kū-ro-*, *śávīrah* 'stark, mächtig' < *\*kou̯e-ro-*, Celt. *\*kavarō-*: Gaul. *Καυαρος*, Welsh *cawr*, Corn. *caur* 'Riese', OIr. *caur* 'Held' < *\*kou̯e-ro-*; Grk. *κύαρ* n. 'Nadelöhr, Ohröffnung'; Avest. *sūra-* m. 'Loch, lacuna' < *\*kū-ro-* < *\*kū-ro-*, Arm. *sor* 'Loch', 'hole, cavity, burrow' (< *\*kou̯ro-* < *\*kou̯aro-*); see Pok. 592—594; Фасмер III, 797; WH I, 191—192; Frisk I, 891—892; II, 38, 507—508; Mayrhofer III, 399—400, 365, 403—404; Mayrhofer EWA II, 623—624;

10. Latv. *skaût* 'umarmen' (< *\*skou̯e-ti*); Lith. *kiáutas* (1) 'shell, rind' (< *\*keu̯e-to-*) || OInd. (Ep., Dhātup.) *skunāti*, *askunāt* 'bedecken' (< *\*sku-ne-*); Grk. *σκῦτος* n. 'skin, hide, esp. dressed or tanned hide'; Lat. *obskūrus* 'dark, dull; twilight; hidden; covered'; ON *skúr* n. 'Mandelkernhaut, was die Schale der Mandel umgibt', OF *skūre* 'Scheuer', MLG *schūr*, *schūre* 'Schutz, Schuppen', MDu. *schuur* 'shed, granary, barn', OHG *skūr* m. 'bedeckter Ort, Obdach', *scūra* 'Schutz, Schuppen'; MLG *schūm*, *schūme* 'Schaum, Metallschaum',

Du. *schuim* 'foam; slag', OHG *scūm* 'Schaum'<sup>8</sup>; here also: Lat. *cūtis* 'skin', Welsh *cwd* m. 'Tasche, Sack, Wanst, Hülse', Welsh *cwd* 'testis, testiculus', properly, 'scrotum' < \*'skin/leather bag' (for the Italo-Celtic length shortening in the unstressed position see Дыбо, Со-кращение долгот 14—15, 17—19, 20—24, esp. p. 12 about the reflex in this stem); OHG *hūt* 'Haut', OE *hȳd* (< \**hūbīs*, oxytonic accent, the Germanic position of the stress is established with the help of Werner's law); see Pok. 951—952, Falk—Torp II, 1039, 1040; de Vries 507, WH II, 196, I, 320; cf. Mayrhofer III, 508, Frisk II, 744—745;

11. Slav. \**sluti* < \**kleuə-ti-* || Avest. *srūta-*, *srūti-*, Germ. \**hlūda-*, Latv. *slūt*, Slav. *t*-part. \**slytь*, *l*-part. \**slylь*; OInd. *śṛṇviṣé* < \**k̑l-n-uə-sai* and Grk. κλειτός < \*κλεφετός < \**kleuə-to-* (see Дыбо СА, 235); cf. Pok. 605—607; Fraenk. 265—266; de Vries 238.

12. Lith. *táukas* 'Fettstück', pl. *taukai* 'Fett, Schmer, Mark in den Knochen, Schmalz' < \**tuə-ko-* (see. Илич-Свитыч ИА 151—152; Latv. *tàuks* 'fat, feist', *tàuki* pl. 'das Fett' are secondary), Slav. \**týti*, praes. 1 sg. \**týjo*, 3 sg. \**tyjèť* 'to grow fat, stout, plump' (Ukr. dial. *múmu*, praes. 1 sg. *múio*, 2 sg. *muєu*; SCr. *mūmu*, praes. 1 sg. *mūjēm*; OCr. *Тѣм* (Гр. 84<sup>1</sup>), *Тѣм* (Гр. 84<sup>2</sup>), *Утѣм* (Гр. 214), with the secondary inf. *Тѣти* (Гр. 89<sup>2</sup>) 'grow fat', see Дыбо 1983, 3—67, esp. 46; Czech *týti*, praes. 1 sg. *tyji*, Slovak *tyť*) < \**tū-ti-* < \**tuə-ti-* and < \**tū-je-* < \**tuə-je-*; Latv. *tūkt*, *tūkst*, *tukšt* 'schwellen, fettwerden', 'to swell', Lith. *tūkti*, praes. 3 *tuñka*, praet. 3 *tūko* 'to grow fat, plump' is secondary || OInd. *tavīti* 'ist stark, hat Macht', *taviṣá-* 'stark' < \**teuə-*, *tūya-* 'stark, geschwind' < \**tūjo-* < \**tuə-jo-*; «the second stem» \**tūō-* in Grk. σῶμα 'Leib' (< \**tūō-mŋ*) (probably here also refers Lith. *twóti*, praes. *twóju* 'schlagen, prügeln, klopfen', (cf. Russ. *взгуть* lit. 'to blow up, whirl up' → 'to thrash, give a hiding/thrashing (to)')?, see Būga RR I, 290); see Pok. 1080—1085; Fraenk. 1066, 1136; Фас-

<sup>8</sup> The source of the following words is unclear: ON *skúme* 'dunkel' (cited in WH II, 196), and ON *skúm* 'Schaum' (cited in WH II, 196 and in Kluge<sup>7</sup> 392); I know only Du. *skum* 'foam; scum', Swed. *skum* 'foam; scum', Norw. dial. *skūm* and Icel. *skúm* 'dust and web, mould' and Swed. *skum* 'dark, dim', Norw. dial. *skum* 'halbdunkel!'

мер IV, 116, 133; Frisk II, 842—843; Mayrhofer I, 490—491; WH II, 715—716;

(C)  $V_i\bar{o}(C)$ -

13. Lith. *iena* (1) ‘shaft’ < \**ainā* < \**oiθ-nā* || cf. OInd. *iṣā* f. ‘pole, shafts of a carriage’ (< \**iṣā*); Grk. \**oi(σ)ā* (< \**oisā* < \**oiəsā*) in Hom. οἰήϊον n. ‘rudder, helm’, Att. οἶαξ, gen. sg. οἶακος, Ion. οἶηξ, gen. sg. οἶηκος m. ‘handle of rudder, tiller; helm of government; rings of the yoke’; Slav. *ōje*, gen. sg. \**ōjese* > *ojěse* ‘pole’ (a. p. d, variant of a. p. b: Russ. dial. *воё*, Ukr. *воё*, SCr. *óje*, Sloven. *ojê*, gen. sg. *ojêsa*) < \**oiθ-o/es-*; it is possible to regard the vocalism in this root as a long diphthong, especially if we view Hitt. *ḫišša-* ‘pole, shaft’ not as a loan from Mittanni Aryan, but as an aboriginal (in this case: OInd. *iṣā* f., Grk. \**oi(σ)ā*, Balt. \**aisa*<sup>9</sup> < \**aisā*, as well as Avest. *iṣti-* ‘Gut, Reich-tum’; Germ. \**aihti-* < \**aiĥ-ti-*; OInd. *íse*, *iṣte* ‘hat zu eigen, besitzt, beherrscht’, Avest. *iše* ‘ist Herr über etwas’; Germ. \**aigan* < \**aiĥ-*; see Pok. 298—299<sup>10</sup>); Fraenk. 3; Mayrhofer I, 97; Frisk II, 356; Фасмер I, 331;

14. Slav. \**glíva* (Russ. *глѹба*, Ukr. *глѹба* ‘tree-fungus, Agaricus’; SCr. *глѹба* ‘tree-fungus, tinder, Agaricus’; Sloven. *glíva* f. ‘mush-room, tree-fungus; gland, tonsils’; OCzech *hlívy* pl. f. ‘pustea’, Czech

<sup>9</sup> Borrowed in Finn., Udm. and other as *aisa* ‘Stange der Gabeldeichsel’.

<sup>10</sup> But just in Balto-Slavic the reflexes of these two roots probably differ, cf.: OInd. *iṣte* ‘hat zu eigen, besitzt, beherrscht’, Avest. *ište* || Germ. \**aigan*: Goth. praes. 1. sg. *aih*, 1. pl. *aihum*, *aigum* ‘haben, besitzen’, ON *eiga* ‘besitzen’, OE *āgan*, OF *āga*, OS *ēgan*, OHG *eigan*; OInd. *iṣitar-* m. ‘Herr, Besitzer’; Avest. *aiw-iṣtar-* m. ‘Eigner, Besitzer, Herr’ || Germ. \**aihtēr-* ‘Besitzer’ (cf. Germanic loanword in Sam. *aitâr*); Avest. *iṣti-* ‘Gut, Reichtum’ || Germ. \**aihti-*: Goth. *aihts* ‘Eigentum’, ON *ætt*, *ätt* ‘Geschlecht; Himmelsgegend’, OE *æht*, OHG *ēht* ‘Besitz, Eigentum’; OInd. part. *iṣita-*, Avest. *iṣta-* || Latv. *īsts* ‘real, true’; Slav. *īstь* ‘real, the same, own’, subst. *īsto* n. ‘property, capital’; see Bartholomae 26, 95, 376—377; Mühl.—Endz. I, 838; Mayrhofer I, 96; Feist 20—21; de Vries, 95—96; concerning the etymology of Slav. \**īstь* cf. Фасмер II, 144, ЭССЯ 8, 266—267 and Stang 1949, 343—351 (though after Stang’s paper the discussion about the etymology of this word is strictly speaking senseless: all the etymologies except Stang’s one are phonetically unacceptable, but the correction of the Stang’s reconstruction itself remains possible).

*hlíva* f. ‘mushroom (Pleurotus); knob, excrescence’; Slovak *hlíva* f. ‘mushroom (Pleurotus); knob, abscess’) < \**gl̥i̯ə-vā-* : Lith. *glėivos* pl. (1) ‘slime, mucus’ < \**gl̥i̯ə-vā-*, cf. also Lith. *glėivės* pl. ‘slime, mucus’ (also *glėivės* pl. ‘slime’, with the generalization of metatony of *j*-stems); Lith. *glytūs* ‘glatt, eben’ (4 a. p. < \*3 a. p.) < \**glī-tū-* < \**gl̥i̯ə-tu-* : Latv. *glīts* (Serbigal, Preili, Nerft, AP., Wolm., Kl.) ‘sauber, hübsch, sauber und sorgfältig gemacht, fein, passend’ < \**glī-tū-* < \**gl̥i̯ə-tu-*, *glīts* (Lin., Nigr., Rutzau, Ruj.) ‘glatt, nett, zierlich’ < \**glī-tu-* < \**gl̥i̯ə-tu-* (Mühl.—Endz. I, 627); probably this adjectival stem served as the basis for the derivation of Slav. \**glīstъ* m., \**glīsta* > *glīstá* f., both variants belong to a. p. *b* (Russ. *глѹcm*, gen. sg. *глѹcmá* m., SCr. *glŭcm*, OCzech *chlíst* m., Czech *hlíst*, *hlíšt*’ m. ‘helminth, earthworm’; Russ. *глѹcmá*, acc. sg. *глѹcmý*, SCr. *glŭcma* f., Sloven. *glísta* f., Czech *hlísta*, Slovak *hlísta* ‘helminth, earthworm’) from *glī̯t-* + the suffix *-t̥-* or *-st̥-*, with the regular metatony and the transition into the immobile accentual type; Lith. *glėimės* pl. ‘slime’, *glėimos*, gen. pl. *glėimų* ‘Schleim’ (Būga II, 479) : Latv. *gliēme* ‘die Schnecke, Muschel’, *gliēmīš*, *gliēmīs* ‘ein Wurm; Schnecke, Muschel’ (Mühl.—Endz. I, 628, 629); Slav. \**glīna* (Russ. *глѹна*, Ukr. *glŭna*, BRuss. *glina*, Bulg. *глѹна* f. ‘clay’, dial. *гнѹла* f.; SCr. *гнѹла* f. ‘clay’, Sloven. *glína* f. ‘clay’; Czech *hlína* f., Slovak *hlína* f. ‘clay’) < \**glīnā* < \**gl̥i̯ə-nā-* probably = the late Grk. γλίνη (Suid.), γλίνα (Hsch.), γλήνη (Hdn.Gr.), ‘any glutinous substance, gum’, more archaic γλινώδης (Arist., etc.), γληνώδης (Geoponica) ‘glutinous’ (the postclassical writing with η indicates the historical length of ī); Latv. *glēvs* (Kl.), *glē̯vs* (Kreuzb., C., Arrasch, Neuenb., AP., Nerft) ‘wie dicker Schleim sich ziehend’ U.; ‘weich, schlüpfrig, wässerig’; ‘schlaff, weichlich, gefährlich, zur Erkrankung geneigt’; ‘schlaff, indolent, energielos’; ‘zart, gefährlich, zerbrechlich’ (with the unclear reflexation of the diphthong) : Slav. \**glěvъ* (Russian *глев* m. ‘fish mucus’), \**glěvъ* adj. in \**glěvъkъ*, f. \**glěvъkā*, with the regular loss of the reflex of acute in the a. p. *c* (Russ. dial. *глѹвкѹѣ* ‘raw, half-baked (of bread)’, Ukr. *глевкѹѣ* ‘viscous, sticky, half-baked (of bread)’, dial. *глѹвкѹѣ*; LSorb. *glěwki* ‘soft’) : Grk. γλοιός ‘any glutinous substance’ < \*γλοιός; OHG *klēo*,

gen. sg. *klēwes* ‘Klee’ < \**klaiwaz* || OIr. *glenim* < \**gli-nā-mi* < \**gli-ne-ə-*, Welsh *glynaf* ‘bleibe hängen’; OHG *klenan* ‘kleben, schmieren’ (according to Braune 307 it is a verb of IV/V class, i. e. it was restructured after *e/o*-ablaut out of the thematic verb with the nasal suffix, which was in its turn the result of thematisation of the athematic verb with the nasal infix, corresponding to the OInd. IX class) < \**gli-nā-mi* < \**gli-ne-ə-*, the reflection of the zero grade of the root can be seen in OE *ætclīðan* ‘anhangen, ankleben’<sup>11</sup> (Sievers 321 refers it to the I class, the verb is, however, recorded probably only in the form of part. praes.: *æt-clīðende* ‘glosses aderentem’ Toller 21), from the derivational point of view this verb is probably connected with OE *clīpa* ‘cataplasma, medicamentum’ (Toller 129) or directly with the corresponding *t*-part.; according to the vocalism of the root the following words are compared with the OHG form: Swed. *klena* and ODan. *klēne* ‘kleben, schmieren’ (thus de Vries 317); in ON *klína* ‘stain’ the length of root *-ī-* is due to the influence of the forms like *t*-part., here probably refers Icel. *klína*, Farer. *klína*, Norw. *klina*, Swed. dial. *klina*, Dan. *kline*, see de Vries 317; according to Hellquist I, 465, Swed. *klena* ‘smear; glue’ (I conj.) = Swed. dial. *kläina*, Norw. dial. *kleina*, ODan. *klene*, with the Germanic reconstruction \**klain-*, in this case we deal with a denominative verb, derived from a noun of the type of Slavic \**glĕnъ* (Russ. ChSlav. *гльѣнъ* ‘φλέγμα’, ‘slime, viscous liquid’; Sloven. *glĕn* m. ‘slime; sediment, dregs; silt, ooze; clay’); indirect evidence for IE *-ə-* can be seen in Germ. \**klaiia-* < \**gloiǵo-*: Dan. *klæg* ‘zäher, fetter, lehmiger Schlamm’, adj. ‘kläbrig, klitschig’; OE *clæg* m.<sup>2</sup> ‘clay, Samia terra’, Engl. *clay*, OF *klāy* (*klai*) ‘Klei, Boden’; MLG *klei* ‘Schlamm, Lehm, feuchte Erde’, Du. *klei* f. ‘clay; clay earth’; here Slav. \**glъjъ* ‘clay’ < \**glejǵo-* (Russ. dial. *глѣjъ* m. ‘clay, clay earth, ooze’, Ukr. *глѣjъ* m. ‘sticky, wet clay; ooze’, BRuss. *глѣjъ* m. ‘ooze’; SCr. *глѣjъ* m. ‘a kind of clay’; Czech dial. *gl’ej* m. ‘glue, gum of the fruit trees’, *glej* m. ‘glue, gum of the trees’, Slovak *glej* m. ‘joiner’s

<sup>11</sup> This verb was used for the characteristic of Balto-Slavic forms by Trautmann (BSW 92) with reference to Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. 174..



glue'; Polish *glej* m. 'clay earth')<sup>12</sup>; see Pok. 362—364; Фасмер I, 412; ЭССЯ 6, 120—122, 128—130, 125—126, 162; Frisk I, 312—313; WH I, 611—612; Trautmann BSW 92; de Vries 317; Falk—Torp I, 532; Hellquist I, 465; for Lith. *glitùs* 'sticky, slimy', Latv. *glits* 'schlüpfrig, weich' with shortening see below, p. 503, No. 1;

15. Latv. *miêts* [Kr., Kl.] 'der Tausch', pl. *miēti* ([Kr.], U.), *miētus* (PS., C., [Serbigal]) 'der Tausch, der Wechsel, die Veränderung der Dienstboten', *miētuôt*<sup>2</sup> [Bl.] 'tauschen'; *mīts* (Warkh.), pl. *mīti*, *mītus* (Spr.) 'der Tausch, Wechsel', *mītuôt* (Preekuln, Gold., Spr.) 'tauschen, wechseln', the vocalism is likely to have been transformed after the vocalism of inf. *mīt* (see below); *mītavas* 'der Tausch, Wechsel, der Tauschschmaus; der Ort, wo getauscht wird'; *mītuve* 'der Ort, wo ein Wechsel stattfindet', *mītenis* '[ein eingetaushtes Pferd (Lis.)]; die Schindmähre'; *mītības* (Spr., Burtn.) 'die Veränderung, der Tausch'; derivatives from the verb *mīt*, praes. 1 sg. *miju* 'tauschen'; Latv. *maīna* (Gr.-Buschhof, Kr.), *maīņa* (Kr.), *maīna* (Drosth.), *maīņa* 'Tausch, Wechsel', *maīnīt* (Kr.), *maīnīt* [auch Iwanden, Wohlf., Wolm., PS., C., Neu-Salis] 'tauschen' (sustained tone primarily characterized the verb, the broken one was characteristic for the nouns); Russ. *мѐна*, dial. *менá*, acc. sg. *менý* 'deception' (levelling of the mobile a. p.); Ukr. *міна*, Bulg. *мѝна*; but the Bulgarian variant *менá*, SCr. *mijěna* (with the phonetic loss of the traces of acute in the primarily mobile a. p.); Lith. *atmainà* 'change, changing', *mainas* 'exchange' (with the morphological loss of acute in the mobile a. p.); the primary mobile accentual type is indicated by the accentuation of the Slavic denominative *\*mĕnĭti*, praes. sg. 1 *\*mĕnĭo*, 3 *\*mĕnĭtĭ* (with the phonetic loss of acute in the mobile a. p.); the root *\*meĭə-* 'to change' is not usually separated from the IE root *\*meĭə-* 'to go,

<sup>12</sup> The circumflex of the Lith. verb with this root (Lith. *gliēti*, praes. 1. sg. *gliejù*, ELith. dial. *glejù*, 3. *gliēja*, praet. 1. sg. *gliejaũ*, ELith. dial. *glējaũ* 'to putty, paste up') is explained by the regular *j*-metatony, while various derivatives with the short zero grade rather often appear in heavy disyllabic bases, if the categories like the OInd. ninth class or Balto-Slavic metatoned verbal categories go with them into one system of verbal forms.

pass', long reflex with acute accent is attested in Slav. *\*mīmo*, the length was also «restored» in Slav. *\*minqti*, praes. sg. 1 *\*mīnq*, 3 *\*minèť*, where the loss of acute in the mobile a. p. took place; cf. also Czech *míjeti*, praes. 1 sg. *míjím* 'to pass' || OInd. praes. *vīmayante* (RV X, 40, 10; the same prs. stem in MS, MBh., Pāṇ.) 'tauschen, wechseln, täuschen', *mināti* (RV I, 124, 3 [?]; III, 30, 12; V, 80, 4) < *\*mi-ne-ə-ti*, part. praes. act. *minán*, *minatís* (RV), pass. praes. 2 sg. *ná pramíyase* (RV V, 79, 10) 'die Gestalten wechseln' (Grassman), probably also 3 sg. *ná mīyate* (RV II, 8, 3) with similar meaning, part. *mīta-* in *á-mīta-varṇa-* (RV IV, 51,9) 'von unveränderter (unverwischter) Farbe' (Mayrhofer's translation [EWA II, 316] 'von unverminderter Farbe' does not fit the context); in all likelihood ger. *apa-mítya-* (AV, AVP), *apā-mítya-* (KS, MS, TB) with short vowel should be analysed as early back-formation from etymologically regular prs. *máyati*, late nomina *ni-mātavayās* (MaS) and *ni-māna-* (Pāṇ.) are clearly secondary; the OInd. data point to *\*meḷə-*, but one should note that the solution is complicated by the clear contamination at least of two primarily different roots here — 'to change' and 'to damage', for the latter see next entry); Grk. *μοῖτος* m. 'χάρις, Dank, Vergeltung' (Frisk II, 249 supposes the possibility of borrowing from Old Latin or Italic *\*moitos* 'Tausch', cf. Latv. *miētus* m. 'Tausch, Wechsel' etc. in 2. *meit(h)-* 'wechseln, tauschen' in Pok. 715); the position of the factor generating length is established also in the root *\*meḷə-* 'to go' with the help of «the test of the ninth class»: MWelsh *mynet* 'gehen', Corn. *tremene*, MBret. *tremen* 'passieren' < *\*-mīnā-mi* < *\*mī-ne-ə-mi*; see Fraenk. I, 395—397; Фасмер II, 597—598, 608, 622, 624, 628; Trautmann BSW 175—177; WH I, 254—255; II, 73, 137—138; Mayrhofer II, 635—636; Frisk II, 249; Pok. 710; cf. Mayrhofer EWA II, 316—317 with unlikely morphological analys.

16. Lith. *máila* 'etwas Kleines, Unbedeutendes, insbesondere Bez. kleiner Fische', Latv. *maīle* 'Weißfisch, Löffelfisch, Grundling, kleiner Fisch' (< *\*moḷə-l-*); Slav. *\*mělьkь*, *\*mělьko*, *\*mělьka* 'little' a. p. *a*, see Дыбо СА, 94—107, specially on the reconstruction of the a. p. of this noun see p. 101, these words should be separated from Slav.

\**mělti* 'to grind', with which a rapprochement probably took place in all the Slavic languages, it was not, however, fully completed; now we can add the relic of the suffixless adjective Slav. \**měľь* + *jь*: Czech *měľý* 'small, petty' (a. p. *a* or *c*); Russ. dial. (Pskov) *мѣлуѣ* 'small, petty' (a. p. *a* or *b*), Ukr. *міло* adv. 'fine' (a. p. *a* or *c*), see ЭССЯ 18, 168; in Lith. dial. *maĩlius* 'small fry' we deal with the generalisation of the metatony of *i*-stems || OInd. *mináti* (RV) < \**mine-ə-* (secondary *mīnāti* [Ep., Pāṇ., etc.]) 'mindert, schädigt, hindert', prs. *mīyáte* (ŚB, Ep.), late *minóti* (Ep., Gramm.), part. *mítá-* (V+), also with short vowel *pra-míyam* 'zu schmälern' (RV IV, 55,7), *pra-míye* 'zu beeinträchtigen' (RV IV, 54,4); according to the OInd. data, \**meiə-* (or even \**meiH<sup>u</sup>-* if late *minóti* is not secondary); cf. also ON *mær*, *mjár*, *mjór* 'schmal, schlank' < \**maiwaR*; Toch. B *maiwe* 'klein, jung'; see Pok. 711; Fraenk. 395; Miklosich 195; Trautmann BSW 165; Mühl.—Endz. II, 550; WH II, 92—93; de Vries 399; cf. Berneker II, 48; Фасмер II, 526; Mayrhofer EWA II, 316—317;

17. Lith. *píenas* 1 a. p. 'milk'; Latv. *piēns* 'Milch' (< \**peiəno-* or \**poiəno-*), Lith. *pýti*, praes. 1 sg. *pyjù*, praet. 1 sg. *pijaũ* 'melk werden, Milch bekommen (von Kühen), feucht und weich werden (vom Erdboden)', 'to soak, swell; to get filled with milk' < \**pī-ti-* < \**piə-ti-* || OInd. *páyate* (RV, AV, AVP) 'schwillt, stotzt, macht schwellen, strotzen', «the second stem» is attested in OInd. *pyáyate* (RV+) 'schwillt, stotzt' < \**piē-* < \**pieə-*, the zero grade — in *pīná-* 'fett, feist, dick' < \**piə-no-*; cf. also OInd. *páyas-* n. 'Saft, Wasser, Milch', Avest. *payah-* n. 'Milch', *paēman-* n. 'Muttermilch'; see Pok. 793—794; Fraenk. 585, 599; Mayrhofer II, 212, 349; Mayrhofer EWA II, 83—84;

## (C)Vlə(C)-

18. Lith. *álkti* 'hungern', *álkanas* 'hungrig'; Latv. *álkt* 'hungern' < \**olək*-<sup>13</sup> || OHG *ilgi* 'Hunger', 'fames, stridor dentium'; in the closest

<sup>13</sup> In the Slavic parallels fluctuations between a. p. *a* and a. p. *b* are probably connected with metatony of recessive acute roots in *j*-praesentia verbs.

comparative material there is no indication of the root structure; further cognates are Lat. *ulcīscor* ‘revenge, chastise’ (cf. however WH II, 810—811) and Grk. ὀλέκω ‘to ruin, destroy, kill’, pass. ‘to perish, die’; the latter is a derivative from Grk. ὄλλωμι ‘to destroy, make an end of’, med. ‘to perish, come to an end’ < \*ὄλ-v̄-μι, whose disyllabic character of the root is seen in the forms like: ὀλέ-σθαι, ὄλε-θρος, ὀλε-σαι; see Pok. 307, 306, 777; Fraenk. 8; Фасмер II, 452; Frisk II, 378—379;

19. Lith. *gėlti*, praes. 3 *gėlia* ‘to sting, bite; to hurt, ache’; Latv. *dzēlt* ‘stechen, brennen, beissen’ < \**g<sup>u</sup>elə-ti-* || OIr. *at-baill* ‘stirbt’ < \**ess-baln-* (< \**g<sup>u</sup>l̄-nl̄-*), *atrubalt* ‘mortuus est’ (< \**g<sup>u</sup>l̄-tó-*), MWelsh *aballu* (\**ad-ballu*) ‘umkommen’, *ballu* ‘sterben’ (< \**g<sup>u</sup>l̄-nl̄-*), Lat. *val-lessit* ‘perierit’ (< \**g<sup>u</sup>l̄-nl̄-*); for two reflexes of long syllabic liquid resonants in Italo-Celtic and their positions see Дыбо, Сокращение долгот 10, 14—15, 17—19, 20—24, especially for this stem see p. 22; perhaps here also belongs OInd. *gúryate* (Dhātup. 26, 45) ‘verletzen; gehen’ and maybe with *ava-*prefix ‘mit Drohungen auf Jmd. losfahren’: *avā-gurat* (BhāgaP 10, 9, 11), opt. *ava-guret* (Manu 4, 169), part. pass. *ava-gūrṇa-* (Pāṇ. 8, 2, 77), see BR II, 766—767; V, 1383; the supposition about the reduction of the long diphthong is refuted by the Armenian and Germanic correspondences: Arm. *kelem* ‘quäle, plage’; OE *cwelan* ‘sterben’; OHG *quelan* ‘Schmerzen leiden’ and causatives: ON *kvelia* ‘peinigen’, OE *cwellan* ‘töten’, OS *quellian*, OHG *quellen*, cf. also Grk. βελόνη f. ‘needle; pipe-fish, garfish’; but OS *quāla* ‘Qual, Marter’; Lith. *gėlà* 4 ‘aching; pain; sorrow’, OCS жаль ‘Schmerz’, what should probably be explained by the lengthened grade in the primary root (?) noun; the root \**g<sup>u</sup>elə-* restored as the result of this procedure is actually identical to the root \**g<sup>u</sup>elə-* ‘werfen’<sup>14</sup> in Grk. βάλλω ‘to throw’, most likely < \*βαλ-v-ə-ω from

<sup>14</sup> In Pok. 471—472 this root is given as ‘herabträufeln, überrinnen, quellen; werfen’; however, this is likelier to be the result of uniting a number of primarily different roots. It is proved by their clear distinction in OInd. and Greek: OInd. *galati* ‘träufelt herab, fällt herab’, part. pass. *galitá-* ‘verschwunden, gewichen’; Grk. βλώω ‘quelle hervor’ (-v- is due to the influence of φλώω); OHG *quellan* ‘hervorquellen, schwellen’.

athem. \*βάλ-νη-μι < \*g<sup>u</sup>l-ne-ə-mi, aor. ἔβλην; OInd. *guráte*, *gūráyate*, *goráyate* 'hebt empor', *ud-gūrṇa-* 'emporgehoben'; Avest. *ni-grāire* 'sie werden niedergeschleudert'; but semantic reasons prevent from uniting them; see Pok. 470—471; WP I, 691; Fraenk. 145—146; WH II, 729—730; Mühl.—Endz. I, 541; Mayrhofer I, 340;

20. Lith. *gélbėti*, praes. 1 sg. *gélbu*, *gélbiu*, OLith. praes. 3 sg. *gelbti* 'helfen' (< \*gelabh-); *gĩlbtĩ*, praes. 1 sg. *gĩlbstu* 'sich erholen, genesen' (thus Fraenk. 144 and ЯВН. Гр. 187; DLKŽ and Lyberis: *gĩlbtĩ*, praes. 3 *gĩlbstu* 'to get well, recover', see also Būga RR II, 435, 437) || Lith. *glėbti*, praes. 3 *glėbia* 'to clasp (in)', *glóbtĩ*, praes. 3 *glóbia* 'to wrap (up); embrace, enfold; support by charity', 'umarmen; unterstützen'; Latv. *glēbt*, praes. 1 sg. *glēbju*, praet. 3 sg. *glēbu*, 'retten, schützen'; *glābt*, praes. 1 sg. *glābju*, praet. 3 sg. *glābu* 'retten, schützen'; OF *kleppa* 'umarmen', *biklappa* 'umarmen, umfassen', OE *clyppan* 'umarmen' (< \*klupjan mit -lu- als Tiefstufe von -le-, Pok. 359), OHG *klāftra* f. 'Maß der ausgespannten Arme, Klafter' (< \*glēbh- < \*gleabh-); see Pok. 359—360; WH I, 606—607, 577—578; cf. Fraenk. 144, 156;

21. Lith. *kálti* 'to forge; to emboss, engrave; to hammer in; to hollow', Latv. *kaļt* 'schmieden; schlagen; beschlagen'; Slav. \*kólti 'to stub, prick' < \*kólə-ti-; cf. also Lith. *kùlti* 'thresh'; Latv. *kuļt* 'schlagen; prügeln; dreschen' || cf. Grk. *κολάπτω* 'to peck (of bird); carve, engrave', which is regarded as the result of restructuring under the influence of the verbs like *σκάπτω*, *δαρδάπτω*, *κόπτω* etc. of the root verb with the disyllabic root *κολα-* < IE \*kolə-, see Frisk I, 896—897, or as a denominative verb from *κόλαφος* m. 'buffet, knuckle' < \*koləbho-, traced to the same type of root; «the second stem» is probably present in Lat. *clādēs* f. 'misfortune, disaster, damage; mutilation; scourge, terror, destroyer; defeat', Welsh *clawdd*, Corn. *claud*, Bret. *kleuz* 'Graben' (< \*klādo-), Slav. \**kladivo* 'hammer' is connected with the same stem; the short reflex in Celtic correspondences: MĪr. *klaidim* 'I dig', Welsh *claddu* 'I dig', Bret. *klaza* etc.— is probably explained by the shortening of IE lengths in Italo-Celtic languages in the pretonic position, see Дыбо, Сокращение долгот 9—23; it is

more difficult to explain such reflexes as Grk. κλάδᾱρός ‘quivering, «whippy» in the shaft; wavy», κλαδάσαι · σεῖσαι (Hsch.), κλάδος m. ‘branch, shoot (of a tree); twig’ and κλάω ‘to break (off)’, κλάσις f. ‘breaking, fracture’, for which we have to posit the reflex  $-\ddot{a}-$  <  $-\varepsilon-$  next to consonantic  $-l-$  in the positions where one could expect the reflex of  $-\bar{i}-$  (on this type of reflexation of the cluster «resonant +  $\varepsilon$ » cf. p. 336, No. 31 and p. 348, No. 58), but the Greek special reflexation of this root is supported by lengths in such correspondences as Grk. κλήμα n. ‘twig or branch; vine-twig; vine-switch, cane’, κλήρος, Dor. κλάρος m. ‘lot; casting/drawing of lots’ (properly ‘Steinscherbe, Holzstückchen’), κλωμαξ m. ‘heap of stones, rocky place’, ἀπόκλωμα · ἀπολογία ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον (Hsch.); see Pok. 545; Fraenk. 211—212; Фасмер II, 296; Frisk I, 896—897, 864—865, 866—867, 872—873, 879; WH I, 225—226, 135—136;

22. Lith. *kėlti*, praes. 3 *kėlia*, praet. 3 *kėlé* ‘to raise; to elevate, ennoble’; Latv. *celt* ‘heben’ < *\*kelə-ti-*; Lith. *kálnas*, 3 a. p., Latv. *kaľns* ‘mountain’ < *\*kolə-no-* || Ir. *coll* ‘Haupt, Führer’ (< *\*kolnos* < *\*kolanos*) and Grk. κολωνός m., κολώνη f. ‘hill’ are probably the result of the analogical restructuring of primary *\*κολανός* < IE *\*kolənos* and *\*κλώνη* < IE *\*kľnā* < *\*kľnā*. Cf. also *i*-stems: Lat. *collis* ‘hill’ (< *\*kolnis* < *\*kolənis*), OE *hyll* m., f. (< *\*kľnis* < *\*kľnis* < *\*kľənis*) etc.; see Pok. 544; Fraenk. 237—238; WH I, 245; Frisk I, 906—907;

23. Lith. *mąlti* ‘to grind, mill’, Latv. *mālt* ‘mahlen, drehen, schwatzen’ < *\*molə-ti-*; Slav. *\*mělti* ‘to mill’ < *\*mélə-ti-* || OInd. *mṛṇāti* ‘grinds’ (< *\*mṛ-ne-ṛ-ti*), part. *mūrṇā-* (< *\*mṛ-no-* < *\*mṛə-no-*); Celtic *\*blāto-* ‘flour’: MWelsh *blawt*, OCorn *blot*, Bret. *bleud* < *\*mṛ-to-* < *\*mṛə-to-*, for the reflexes of long syllabic liquid and nasal resonants in Italo-Celtic in the prosodic context corresponding to Balto-Slavic dominance see Дыбо, Сокращение долгот 9—34 (esp. 14—15); cf. also Lith. *miltai* pl. ‘flour’, Latv. *mīlti* pl. ‘flour’ (< *\*mṛ-to-* < *\*mṛə-to-*); see Pok. 716—717; Fraenk. 403—404; Фасмер II, 597; Mayrhofer II, 672—673, 665; WH II, 104—106;

24. Latv. *meľns* ‘black’ < *\*melə-no-* || OInd. *malināḥ* (< *\*melə-no-s*), f. *malinī* (< *\*melə-niṛ*) ‘black, dark’ (only late attestations: Yajñ., Ep.,

Pāṇ., etc.), Grk. μέλας, f. μέλαινα (< \**melə-n̥iə*) 'black, dark'<sup>15</sup>; «the second stem» is in OInd. *mlā-na-* 'schwarz, dunkelfarbig' < \**mleṛ-no-*; see Pok. 720—721; Frisk II, 198—199; WH II, 122—123; cf. Mayrhofer II, 598—599, 698—699; Fraenk. 430—431;

25. Slav. \**pōlti* 'to wave, shake, winnow; beat (of heart)' || Grk. πάλλω 'to poise, sway; sway, brandish', med. 'to swing; quiver, leap'. Semantically and formally the Greek form is identical to the Slav. one; Grk. α < IE «residual» \**a*. The indication of a disyllabic root (= disyllabic «heavy base») is probably contained in the Homeric forms πεπαλάσθαι ι 331, πεπάλασθε Η 171 'to draw lots' (reduplicated athem. med. aor.? Cf. Frisk II; 469, Chantrain, Gramm. hom. I, 396); as Lat. *pellō* 'to beat, push; to shake; to drive, chase' also refers here (< \**pel-n-ō*, with the secondary thematization < \**pl̥-ne-ṛ-* and with the restoration of the full grade of the root), the indication of the disyllabic «heavy base» can be found in the Celtic forms connected with the Latin word. They demonstrate the «second stem» in OIr. fut. of *agid* 'drives': *eblaid* (< \**pi-plā-s-e-ti*), if *-lā-* is not the reflex of *-l̥-* (under the stress), for the reflexes of long syllabic liquid and nasal resonants in Italo-Celtic in the prosodic context corresponding to Balto-Slavic dominance and recessiveness see Дыбо, Со-кращение долгот 9—34 (esp. 10, 14—15, 17—19); see Дыбо СА, 250; Дыбо 1982, 214, 242, 244; cf. Pok. 800—802; Frisk II, 469; WH II, 276—277;

<sup>15</sup> It is a characteristic example of an accentual innovation in Old Indic. As a rule, in such cases the Balto-Slavic accentuation corresponds to the Ancient Greek one. An attempt to explain this correlation was made by S. L. Nikolaev (see ОСА Словарь, 53—74). The material of modern Indo-Iranian languages retaining the ancient Indo-Iranian accent (Shina, Pushto) probably confirms his conclusion about the fact that the Ancient Greek distribution of the accentual types was more archaic in this group of stems and allows to suggest some corrections: the accentual innovations are more characteristic for Vedic, on the contrary Shina material (being a constituent part of the words investigated by Nikolaev) to some degree conforms to the Ancient Greek data, in its turn Pushto retained the primary system of accentual types of adjectives better than Vedic.

26. Slav. *\*pǒlти* ‘to burn (tr., intr.)’ (< *\*pólə-ti-*; or *\*pálə-ti-*, with the «residual» IE *\*a*) || Disyllabic «heavy base» is supported by the «second stem» in the Germanic languages: ON *flōr* ‘warm’ (< Germ. *\*flō-wa-* < *\*ploǝ-uo-*), Du. *flouw*, NHG *flau* ‘weak, slack’ (< *\*plē-uo-* < *\*pleǝ-uo-*); see Дыбо СА, 250 and Дыбо 1982, 214; cf. Pok. 805; Фасмер III, 192—193, 273, 308; de Vries 133;

27. Lith. *šilti*, praes. sg. 1 *šilù* (spelling *šylù*), dial. (Žemaitic) *šilstu*, praet. 3 *šilo* ‘to get warm, warm (up)’; Latv. *sīlt*, praes. sg. 1 *sīlstu*, praet. 1 sg. *silu* ‘warm werden’ < *\*kī̄-ti-* < *\*kļə-ti-*; unexpected tone show Lith. *šiltas* (4) ‘warm’ ~ Latv. *silts* ‘warm’, see below p. 355, No. 1 || Lat. *caleō*, *calēre* ‘to be warm, hot’, *calēscō* ‘to become warm’; «the second stem» in Germ. *\*hlē-w-* < *\*kleǝ-ǝ-*: ON *hlǣr* ‘milde, warm’ < *\*hlēwja-*, ODu. *laa* ‘lauwarm’; MLG *lauw*; OHG *lāo*, gen. sg. *lāwes*, *lāwēr* < *\*hlāwa-* < Germ. *\*hlēwa-*, ON *hlána* ‘lauer, milde werden’ < *\*hlēwanōn* (Bavar. *läunen* ‘tauen’), ON *hláka* f. ‘Tauwetter’; the ON word is often supposed to have been borrowed into Baltic-Fennic: Finn. *lievä*, *liepä* ‘lose, leicht, sanft’, Est. *leev*, *leeb* ‘gelind, mild’, what is doubtful because of the possible connection of the Baltic-Fennic word with Ch. *лэ́бе*, Ch. M. *лúбы* ‘warm’ (dial.: Kosmod. *li·βə*, Urzum *lè·βə̂*, Birk *leβe*). However, the adjective with this root shows Baltic circumflex and IE short syllable: Lith. *šiltas* (4) ‘warm’ ~ Latv. *silts* ‘warm’ ~ the short resonant in Welsh *clyd* ‘warm, wärmend’ < *\*kļ̥-to-*. This circumstance made Buga explain acute in the Baltic verb as coming from the presence with the suffix *-sta*, see Būga II, 437, the same in Būga II, 248. Probably in this case we deal with an IE phenomenon that requires special study; see Pok. 551—552; Fraenk. II, 984; WH I, 137; Falk—Torp I, 664 (sub *Lunken*), 672 (sub *Læ*); de Vries 241, 235; Kluge<sup>7</sup> (sub *lau*); Toivonen II, 290, 291—292;

28. Latv. *saīms* ‘Strohalm’; Slav. *\*sōlmā* (< *\*koləm-* or *\*kaləm-*) || Grk. *κάλαμος*, *καλάμη* ‘Rohr’ < *\*kaləm-*, Lat. *culmus* ‘Halm’ < *\*kolmo-* < *\*koləmo-*; OHG *halm*, *halam*, ON *halmr*, OE *healm* ‘Halm’ < *\*kolmo-* < *\*koləmo-*; see Pok. 612; Фасмер III, 713; de Vries 206; Frisk I, 760—761; WH I, 303—304;



29. Lith. *vėlti*, praes. 1 sg. *veliù*, praet. 1 sg. *vėliau* ‘walken, wälzen, schlagen; krenpeln; verwirren, verschlingen’; Latv. *veĻt*, praes. 1 sg. *veĻu*, (praet. 1 sg. *vėlu*, Ērgemes vārdn. 3, 700) ‘wälzen, walken, schlagen’; Latv. *viĻnis* ‘Welle, Woge’, in Lith. *vilnis* f. ‘wave’ we deal with the usual transfer of the *i*-stem from 3 a. p. into 4 a. p. || OInd. *ūrmí-* m., f. ‘Woge, Welle’ < \**ǔ̯-mi-* is probably one of the roots with final *-uə-*, see Дыбо CA, 240—243, cf. OInd. *vṛṇóti*, *ūrṇóti* ‘umhüllt, bedeckt, umschließt, umringt, hemmt, wehrt’, *varútram* n. ‘Obergewand’; Grk. εἰλέω ‘drehe, winde’ (< \**fel-v-éō*), Epic εἰλώω ‘umwinde; umhülle’ (< \**felnúō*), ἔλυτρον ‘Hülle, Behälter’ etc.; see Pok. 1140—1143, Fraenk. 1221; Mayrhofer III, 245—246; Frisk I, 457—458; WH II, 832—834.

30. Lith. *pavėlti*, praes. 1 sg. *pavėlmi*, 3 sg. *pavėlt* ‘wünschen, lieber wollen, erlauben’ < \**-uelə-ti-* etc. || OInd. *vṛṇíté* (RV+), a later form is *vṛṇáti* ‘wählt, zieht vor, liebt, wünscht, wirbt’ < \**ǔ̯-n-ə-* and < \**ǔ̯-ne-ə-*, secondary part. *vṛtá-* (RV+); the disyllabic «heavy base» is also supported by «the second stem» Grk. λη- < \**flη-* < \**ulē-* < \**uleə-* in Grk. λῶ, λῆς, λη, λῶμες etc. ‘to wish, desire’ (*j*-praesentia or a restructuring of athem. \**ulēmi* (?)), λῆμα n. ‘Wille, Entschlossenheit, Mut, Verwegenheit’, see Pok. 1137, Fraenk. 1220, Mayrhofer III, 244—245; Frisk II, 150; cf. also WH II, 828—830;

31. Lith. *žėlti*, praes. 3 *žėlia*, praet. 3 *žėlé* ‘to come up, sprout, grow; become covered with vegetation; be overgrown’, *želmuō*, acc. sg. *žėlmenį* (3<sup>a</sup>) ‘sprout’; Latv. *zeĻt* ‘grünen, frisch wachsen, gedeihen, emporkommen’, Latv. *zeĻme* ‘grünendes Gras od. Getreide; kräftiger, üppiger Wuchs’, *zeĻmenis* ‘eingegrastes Roggenfeld; Eingegrastes, junge Triebe’; unexpected tone show Lith. *žėlvas*, *žalvas* ‘grünlich’ and *žėltas* ‘golden’, see below p. 356, Nos 2—3 || OInd. *hárita-*, f. *háriṇī* ‘fahl, gelblich, grün’, Avest. *za’rita-* ‘gelb’ (< \**ghelə-to-*)<sup>16</sup>; «the second stem» \**ghlē-*: ON *glámr* m. ‘Name für Mond, Riese, Bei-

<sup>16</sup> OInd. *háriḥ* ‘fahl, gelblich, grünlich’ can be analysed analogically to OInd. *kravīḥ* ‘rohes Fleisch’ ~ Grk. κρέας ‘Fleisch’ (< \**kreuəs-*) with the further transition into *i*-stems.

name', Icel. *glámur* 'Pferd mit weisser Stirnflecke', ON *glámsýni* 'Gesichtstäuschung'; «the second stem» in the *o*-grade — \**ghlō*-. OE *glōm*, *glōmung* 'Dämmerung, Zwielflicht'; in Grk. *χλωρός* 'greenish-yellow, pale green; pale; fresh'; ON *fagrglór* adj. 'helleuchtend', *eldsglór* n. 'Feuerglanz' < \**ghlō-ro*- < \**ghlo̯-ro*-; Grk. *χλόη*, Ion. *χλοίη* f. 'the first green shoot of plants; young green corn or grass; young verdure, foliage; etc.' < \**χλο̯ᾱ* probably < \**ghl̥ə-uā* (on this type of reflexation of the cluster «resonant + ə» cf. p. 332, No. 21 and p. 348, No. 58); see Pok. 429—431; Fraenk. 1297, 1138; Frisk II, 1104—1106; 1109—1110; Mayrhofer III, 581; de Vries 175;

32. Latv. *zveĭt*, praes. 1 sg. *zveĭu* 'to roll, to tilt', *zvaĭns* 'schwankend, wackelig, unschlüssig', *zvaĭstītiēs* 'wanken, schwanken'; Lith. *pažvilti*, praes. 3 *pažvỹla* 'to bend, incline (*intr.*)', *ižulnūs* (4) 'slanting, oblique', *nuožulnūs* (4) 'slanting, sloping', *pažulnūs* (4) 'slanting, sloping'; Lith. *atžūla* (1) 'rude person', *atžūlėlis*, -ė (1) 'rude person', *atžūlus* (3) 'rude, impudent, insolent', Lith. dial. Žemaitic (Vit.) *atžūlus*, -i adj. (1) 'atšiaurus, stačiokiškas'; *atžūlti* 'hartherzig, eifersüchtig, kalt, mitleidslos, gleichgültig sich zeigen', *ižūlėlis*, -ė 'impudent fellow, cheeky fellow, cheeky woman', *ižūlus* (4) 'impudent, impertinent, insolent', OLith. *ižūlas* (1) 'nieprawy; złośliwy' (*ižūla* instr. sg. f. DP 96<sub>2</sub>, *ižūlu* gen. pl. DP 27<sub>11</sub>, *ižūtomis* instr. pl. f. DP 349<sub>40</sub>), OLith. *ižūlei* adv. 'niezbożnie' DP 122<sub>3</sub>, Lith. dial. (Šl.) *ižūlas*, -à and *ižūlus*, -i 'uprzykrzony, natrętny, bezczelny; nieobyczajny' || OInd. *hvarate* 'von der geraden Richtung abbiegen, schief gehen, krumme Weg machen; sich beugen, umfallen; niederbeugen', *hruṇāti* 'geht irre' < \**hurṇāti* < \**hṛṇāti* < \**ghṛṇ-ne-ə-ti*, *hūrchatī* 'geht schief, gleitet, schwankt, fällt', part. *hruṭáh* (secondarily after *hruṇāti*); Avest. *zbarəmnā*- 'krumm gehend', *zūrah*- 'Unrecht, Trug', OPers. \**zūrah*- in *zūrakara*- 'evildoer, villain', Pers. *zūr* 'false; lie', Osset. *ævzær* 'bad; evil', *zūl/zol* 'slanting, sloping'; Grk. *φῆλος* 'deceitful', *φηλόω* 'cheat, deceive', *φιλότης*, *φηλήτης* m. 'thief', ? *ἀπο-φώλιος* 'trügerisch', 'empty, vain, idle'; Lat. *fallō* 'to mislead, delude, deceive; knock down, make slide; to drop, let fall; fail to fulfil, do not perform, do not keep, break; to forge, falsify' < \**falnō* < \**ghṛṇnāti* < \**ghṛṇ-ne-ə-ti*;

the choice between two possibilities (\**ǵhuǵ-* and \**ǵhuǵʹ-*) is carried out with the help of the IX class test; see Fraenk. I, 23—24; Фасмер II, 99; Pok. 489—490; WH I, 447—449; Mayrhofer III, 619—620; Абаев I, 210—211; IV, 316; Frisk II, 1008—1009, I, 126.

## (C)Vrə(C)-

33. Lith. *bárti* ‘schelten, schmähen’, Latv. *bārt* ‘schelten’; Slav. \**bórti* ‘kämpfen’ (< \**bhorə-ti-* or < \**bharə-ti-*) || OInd. (Gramm.) *bhṛṇāti* ‘versehrt’ (= Pers. *burraδ* ‘schneidet’), (Dhātup.) *bhṛṇāti* ‘droht, schilt’ (< \**bhṛ-ne-ə-ti*); ON *berja* ‘schlagen, stoßen’, *berjask* ‘kämpfen’, OHG *berjan* ‘schlagen, klopfen, kneten’; see Pok. 133—135; WH I, 481—482; Mayrhofer II, 532—533; Fraenk. 35—36; Фасмер I, 197; de Vries 33;

34. Lith. *bėržas* (1) ‘birch’, Latv. *bērzs* ‘birch’; Slav. \**bērza* ‘birch’ < \**bherəǵ-*; cf. with a zero grade Lith. *biržis* ‘birch grove’; Lith. *biržs* ‘der Birkenhain, das Birkengehege, ein Hain, ein Laubwäldchen überhaupt’ < \**bhṛǵ-* < \**bhṛəǵ-* || OInd. *bhūrjáh* ‘eine Art Birke’ < \**bhṛǵo-* < \**bhṛəǵo-*; OHG *birihha* ‘birch’ < \**bherəǵā*, probably with the reflex of IE -ə-; «the second stem» is probably contained in OInd. *bhrājatē* ‘glänzt, strahlt’ < \**bhreəǵ-etai*; cf. also Lat. *farnus* ‘Esche’ (< \**bhṛǵ-snó-s*), Lat. *frāxinus* ‘Esche’ (< \**bhṛǵ-senos*), for two reflexes of long syllabic resonants in Italo-Celtic see Дыбо, Сокращение долгот 10, 14—15, 17—19, 20—24; see Pok. 139; Fraenk. 40—41; Фасмер I, 154; Mayrhofer II, 514—515, 529—531; WH I, 458, 544;

35. Lith. dial. *dėrti* ‘to rook, fleece, rob, to make someone pay through the nose, charge too much’ (Jušk. I, 315), Slav. *dertī* (< \**derə-ti-*, without the stress shift according to Hirt—Illič-Svityč’s law); cf. Lith. *dirti* ‘to tear, strip off; thrash, whip’ < \**dṛ-ti-* < \**dṛə-ti-* || OInd. *dṛṇāti* (opt. *ava-dṛṇīyāt* ŚB) ‘birst, macht bersten, sprengt, zerreißt’ (< \**dṛ-ne-ə-ti*), part. *dīrṇá-* (B+; < \**dṛ-no-* < \**dṛə-no-*), *dārīman-* ‘Zerspaltung, Zerschmetterung’ (< \**derə-*); Welsh *darn*, Corn. *darn*, Bret. *darn* ‘piece’ (< \**darnos* < \**dṛnós* < \**dṛə-no-* = OInd. *dīrṇá-ḥ*), for two reflexes of long syllabic liquid resonants in Italo-Celtic see

Дыбо, Сокращение долгот 10, 14—15, 17—19, 20—24; dialectal (Greek-Indo-Iran.) *aniṭ*-variant of this root (as well as all other similar cases) requires a special study, cf.: OInd. prs. 2 *dárṣi*, *dárt* (RV), *dṛti*- (RV+) ‘Balg, Schlauch’, nom. ag. *dartí/dárti* (RV, AV) and *darmán*- (RV+) ~ Grk. δρατός, δαρτός, δάρσις, δέρμα etc. from δέρω; see Pok. 206—208; Mayrhofer II, 59; Fraenk. 96—97; Фасмер I, 504—505; Būga RR II, 429; Frisk I, 368—370; cf. Mayrhofer EWA I, 701—703;

36. Lith. *dérgti*, praes. 3 *dérgia* (*dérgti*), praet. 3 *dérgé* ‘to foul, soil, stain; to slander; to defile’ (< \**dherəgh-ti*-); 3 sg. *dérgia* ‘it slits’ (< \**dherəgh-jo*-); *dīrgti*, praes. 3 *dīrgsta* ‘to get/become spoiled, naughty; (of the weather) get worse, foul; become wet’ (< \**dhīgh-ti*- < \**dhīgh-ti*-); *dīrginti* ‘to irritate, stimulate’; *drēgti*, praes. 3 *drēgsta* ‘to become humid, wet’ (< \**dhrēgh-ti*- < \**dhreəgh-ti*-); *drēgnas* (3) ‘wet, humid’, Latv. *drēgnis* ‘feucht’ (< \**dhrēgh-no*- < \**dhreəgh-no*-) || MHG *terken*, *derken* ‘dunkel machen, besudeln’, ‘foul, soil’ (\**dher(ə)g*-); OE *deorcian*, praet. *-ode*, part. *-od* ‘to darken, to grow dark’; ‘obscurāre, obscurē facere’, *deorc* ‘dark’, ‘obscure, gloomy, sad’, ‘tenebrōsus, obscurus’, ‘dunkel’ || Grk. θράσσω, Att. θράττω ‘to trouble, disquiet; disturb’ (< \*θράχ-jo- < \**dhīgh-jo*- < \**dhīgh-jo*-), τάρασσω, Att. τάράττω ‘to stir, trouble; mix; trouble, agitate, disturb’, τάρᾶχή ‘disorder; disturbance, upheaval’ (< \**dhīgh-jo*-, \**dhīgh-ā*- or \**dharəgh-jo*-, \**dharəgh-ā*), τράχῦς, Ion. τρηχῦς ‘jagged, rugged; rough, harsh, savage’ (< \**dhīghV*- < \**dhīghV*-); the semantic connection with Greek words can be seen through the meaning of Lith. *dīrgti* ‘in Unordnung geraten’ and the causative *dīrginti* ‘irritate, agitate’; see Fraenk. 103; WH I, 538—539; Frisk I, 679—680; Pok. 251—252 (see also Young, 148, where Lith. *dārgana*, *dārga* ‘quatschiges, schlechtes Wetter; schmutzig werden’ is also cited).

Note. If we start from the meaning ‘trüber Bodensatz’, we will actually get another etymology: Norw. dial. *dragen* ‘Feuchtigkeit, Dunst’; Slav. \**drozga* from \**drog-ska* (Sloven. *drōzga* ‘malt-water’), Slav. \**drožžlje* (Russian *грóжжи*, gen. pl. *грóжжéй*, Ukr. *гружжji*, *грíжji*, OCS (Ps. Sin.) *дрóжжѣ* pl., Bulg. *грóжжue*, SCr. *gròžjga* f., Czech *droždí* ‘yeast’, Slovak *droždie* pl., Polish *drożdże*, HSorb. *droždže*, LSorb. *droždzeje*); OLith. *dragès* pl. ‘yeast’, Latv. *dradži*, OPruss. *dragios*, ON *dregg* f. ‘Hefe’,

'yeast' (< Germ. \**dragjō*), OE *dræst*, *dærst* 'sediment, yeast', OHG *trestir* (Germ. *Trester* 'marc') (< \**drahst-*), Lat. *fracēs*, -um f. pl. 'oil sediment' (< \**dhṛak-s* to the root \**dhṛagh-*), but according to WH I, 539 < \**dhṛək-s*, where -ə- is established exclusively under the influence of the reconstruction of the root \**dherēgh-*; see Fraenk. 103; WH I, 538—539; Frisk I, 679—680.

37. Slav. *dōrga* 'road; valley': Russ. *gopóra*, OSerb. *допрга* 'valley', SCr. *gpàra* 'gorge, ravine'; dial. 'arm, firth (of sea)', Sloven. *dràga* 'ravine, hollow; drain on the meadow'; OCzech *dráha* 'road; communal pasture; pastures near roads' || cf. «the second stem» in Germ.: Goth. *dragan* (only praes. 3 pl.) 'tragen, aufladen', ON *draga*, praet. *dró*, part. praet. *drógom* (and ONorw. *dragit*) 'ziehen', OE *dragan*, praet. *drōg* 'ziehen', 'to pull, draw; to go, move', ME 'to draw, carry', OF *drega*, praet. *drōg*, OS *dragan*, praet. *drōg* (C *druog*), part. praet. *drōgun* (C *druogun*), OHG *tragan*, praet. *truog* 'tragen'; here also refers Swed. *dråg* 'long narrow hollow in the earth, low place, depression, valley'; see Pok. 257; Falk—Torp I, 150—151; Feist 123; de Vries 80; cf. Фасмер I, 530; ЭССЯ 5, с. 74—75; Berneker I, 212;

38. Lith. *gérti* 'to drink; to absorb', Latv. *dzeft* 'trinken, saufen, zechen'; Slav. \**žerti* (< \**g<sup>u</sup>erə-ti-*, without the stress shift according to Hirt—Illič-Svityč's law) 'drink, swallow' || OInd. *gṛṇāti* 'he swallows' (< \**g<sup>u</sup>ṛ-ne-ə-ti*), part. *gṛṇá-* (< \**g<sup>u</sup>ṛ-nó-* < \**g<sup>u</sup>ṛə-nó-*); Grk. βιβρώσκω 'verzehre', βρωσις 'Speise', βρωτός 'eßbar' (< \**g<sup>u</sup>ṛ-tó-* < \**g<sup>u</sup>ṛə-tó-*); βάραθρον, Ion. βέρεθρον, Ark. ζέρεθρον n. 'Schlund, Abgrund' probably from \**γέρεθρον* (< \**g<sup>u</sup>erə-*); MWelsh *breuad* 'Totenwurm', *breuan* 'Aaskrähe' < Proto-Celtic \**brāvato-*, \**brāvanā*; see Pok. 474—476; Fraenk. 148—149; Фасмер II, 62—63; Mayrhofer I, 335; Frisk I, 235—236, 219;

39. Latv. *gārme* 'eine (geringe) Wärme' (< \**gorə-m-*) || «the second stem» in Slav. \**grěti* 'to warm'; Alb. *ngroh* 'wärme' < Proto-Alb. \**en-grāja* < \**en-g<sup>u</sup>hrē-je-*; Latv. *grēmens* 'das Sodbrennen', 'heartburn', *grēmas* (Dond., Grünh.) 'das Sodbrennen', *grēmeles* (Riga), *grēmes* (N.-Peb., Sissegal), *grēms* (N.-Peb., Grünh.) 'das Sodbrennen' < \**g<sup>u</sup>hrē-* < \**g<sup>u</sup>hreə-*; here refers also OInd. *ghraṁsáḥ*, *ghraṁs-* m. 'Sonnenglut'; OIr. *grís* 'Feuer', Welsh *gwrēs* 'Hitze', Bret. *groez*, *grouez* 'Sonnenhitze' < \**g<sup>u</sup>hrēnso-* < \**g<sup>u</sup>hrēnso-*; the relation of this root to

its widely spread one-syllabic variant remains not clear; see Pok. 493—495; Fraenk. 134—135; Berneker I, 351; Фасмер I, 456; Orel 296; Mühl.—Endz. I, 652; WH I, 532—534; Mayrhofer I, 364, 360; Frisk I, 664—666;

40. Slav. \**gǫrxъ* ‘peas’ (a. p. *a*): Lith. dial. *gáršva* (1) ‘aegopodium podagraria, angelica sylvestris, archangelica officinalis’ LKŽ III, 145 (secondary Lith. standard *garšvą* 4 a. p. ‘aegopodium’), Latv. *gārša* ‘Giersch’, ‘aegopodium’; Lith. dial. *gīrsa* ‘Trespe’, ‘bromus’ (cf. Pok. 445, 446): Latv. *dzirši* ‘Trespen’, ‘bromus’ (but Latv. *dirši* (*diršas* Rūhental, Budberg, Tirsens, Für.) ‘die Trespe’, ‘bromus’ corresponds to Lith. *dirsa*, *diršė* ‘Trespe’, ‘panicum sylvestre, milium agreste’, and this group is connected with OS *durđ*, OHG *turd*, *turth*, *durt* ‘Dort, Durt, Trespe, ein Unkraut im Getreide’); in *garštis* (2) ‘Kerbel’, ‘anthriscus sylvestris’ and *garšvé* (2) ‘aegopodium podagraria’ we deal with the metatony typical for *j*-stems; the intonation in Lith. *gāršas* (4) ‘aegopodium podagraria’ is also probably secondary, see Būga RR I, 603, II, 215; probably an earlier form of this word is attested in the Sirvyd’s dictionary: *garβwas* ‘Gierß’, ‘olus atrum, apium agr.’ (SŽ 35 (96)) || OHG *gers*, *gires*, *girst* ‘Giersch’<sup>17</sup>; the reduced «second stem»: Lat. *grāmen*, gen. sg. *grāminis* n. ‘grass; weed’ < \**ghrās-men-*; Goth. *gras* n. ‘χόρτος, λάχανον’, ‘Gras, Kraut’; ON *gras* n. ‘Gras, Unkraut’, OE *zræs* n. ‘grass, plant’ (Bosworth—Toller 486), OF *gres* (in compound words) ‘Gras’, OS *gras*, OHG *gras* < \**ghrāso-*; the full grade of the «second stem» is attested in MHG *gruose* f. ‘Keim’, MLG *grôse* ‘Pflanzensaft’, MDu. *groese*, *gruese* ‘jong groen, graszode, weiland, afgesneden gras’ as well as in the verb: ON *gróa* ‘wachsen, grünen’, OE *grōwan* ‘wachsen, ausschlagen’, OF *grōwa*, *grōia*, MLG *grōien* ‘wachsen, zunehmen’, MDu. *groeyen*, OHG *gruoan*; see

<sup>17</sup> Due to metathesis of *-r-* in English, Frisian and Low German dialects the corresponding forms of this stem are probably mixed with the continuant of the stem \**grasa-*/\**grasja-*, cf. OE *zærs*, *zers* n. ‘a blade of grass, herb, hay’ (Bosworth—Toller 357), OF *gers* ‘Gras’; MDu. *gars*, *gers*, *gors* ‘gras, grasspriet, grasveld’ (traditionally all these forms are considered to be the proximate successors of \**gras-* with the metathesis).

Mühl.—Endz. I, 618—619; Būga RR, I, 603; II, 215. The following words remain outside of these correspondences: OInd. *gharṣati* 'reibt', *ghṛṣṭa-h* 'gerieben', the root etymology based on the comparison with this verbal root has difficulties in its «*aniṭ*-structure» (cf.: Pok. 440: «die sl. Intonation — aus einer dehnst. Grundf. \**ghōrso-s* oder aus \**ghorāsos*»); introducing forms like Grk. *χέρᾱδος* n. 'silt, gravel, rubbish (brought down by torrents)', \**χεράς*, gen. sg. *χεράδος* 'id.', etc. does not allow to rehabilitate this etymology in full; outside the proposed etymology remains also the IE group of words for 'barley': OHG *gersta* f., MHG *gerste* f., OLG *gersta* f., MLG *gerste* f., Du. *gerst* f. 'barley' < \**gherzdā*, Lat. *hordeum* 'Gerste', 'barley' < \**horzdejom* < \**ghṛzdejom* \*'Grannengetreide' from \**ghṛzdā* 'Granne'; Alb. *driθ*, *driθe* m., n. 'Getreide; Gerste' < \**ghṛzdh-*; Grk. *κῑ* n. (only nom. and acc. sg) 'barley' < \**κῑθ*, *κῑθή* f. 'barley' (direct reconstruction \**ghṛzdh-* is difficult for the phonetic reasons); further to Lat. *horreo* 'to stick up, bristle, stand on end; become numb, be cold; shudder, shiver', OInd. *hārṣate*, *hṛṣyati* 'wird starr, sträubt sich, schaudert'; besides the «*aniṭ*-structure» of the root we also deal here with different initial consonants, see WH I, 659, 413—414, 643, 649—651, 656—657; Falk—Torp I, 355—356, 349; Feist 220; de Vries 185, 190; Franck—van Wijk 211—212, 216, 217; cf. Фасмер I, 444; Sławski I, 346—347; ЭССРЯ 7, 45; Pok. 439—440, 445, 446; 457, 460—462; Frisk 1087—1088.

41. Latv. *gaînis* 'Reiher, Storch' (Lith. *garnỹs* 'Reiher, Storch', secondary 4 a. p. < \*3 a. p.) (< \**gorə-njo-*); Lith. *gėrvė* (1) 'crane', Latv. *dzērve* 'crane' (< \**gerə-uē*); Lith. *gėrsė* 'Kranich, Reiher'; in connection with dial Žemaitic *gėnsė*, *gėšė*, *gėžė* 'Reiher', we can mention: Latv. *dzēse*, *dzēsis*, *dzēsnis* 'schwarzer Storch', *dzēse* (Ruj.) 'der Reiher', Pruss. *geeyse* 'Reiher', *geasnis* 'Schnepfe', these words are most likely the result of the contamination between *gėrvė* and *gėnsė* || Grk. *γέρην* · *γέρανος* (Hsch.) (probably < \**γερᾱν* < \**gereə-n-*), *γέρᾱνος* f. 'crane' (< \**gerə-nV-*); Gaul. *tri-garanos* (in *tarvos trigaranos*, the inscription above the ox with three birds on its back, the god *Tarvos* epithet), Welsh, Corn., Bret. *garan* 'Kranich' (< \**gerə-n-*,

with the assimilation to the vowel of the next syllable); OE *cran*, OS *krano*, MLG *krane*, MHG *krane* m. ‘Kranich’ (< \**granon-*); OE *cranoc*, *cornuc*, MLG *krane*, OHG *kranh-* (< \**grānug-*); MHG *kruon* m. ‘Kranich’ (< \**grān-* < \**grēn-*) || Slav. \**žeravъ* ‘crane’: ORuss. **ЖЕРАВЬ**, Ukr. dial. (Miklosich) *žeravъ*, BRuss. *жораў*, Bulg. *жерав*, SCr. (Бук) *жѣрāv* m., Polish *zóraw*, Slowinish *žǰeravъ*, gen. sg. *žǰeravjǎ*, *žǰeravǎ*, gen. pl. *žǰerāvjoŭ*, *žǰerāvōŭ* (besides the accent on the first syllables, a. p. c is proved by the accentuation of the possessive adjective in the Славинецкий—Корецкий-Сатановский’s dictionary: *Жоравіў птэнцы* ‘Vipiones’, p. 447), and Slav. \**žerāvъ* or \**žǰerāvъ*: Russ. *журавль*, gen. sg. *журавля*, ORuss. **ЖЕРАВЬ**, Ukr. *журавель*, gen. sg. *журавля*, BRuss. *журавель*, gen. sg. *жураўля*; SCr. (Бук) *жгрâл*, nom. pl. *жгрâлови*, also with a clearly secondary transition into the mobile accentual type: *жгрâо*, *жгрâл*, gen. sg. *жгрâла*, pl. *жгрâлови*, gen. pl. *жгралóвâ*; Sloven. *žerjav*, gen. sg. *žerjava*, OCzech *žeřáb*, *žeřáv*, Slovak *žerjav* ‘crane’ (a. p. b according to East Slavic data; SCr. and Czech-Slovak data agree with them; the reflexation in Slovenian seems to be secondary; metatony and the transition into the immobile accentual type, characteristic for *-jo-* stems) (< \**gerā-u-* < \**gereǰ-u-*) || Lat. *grūs*, gen. sg. *grūis* f., m. ‘crane’ (< \**grū-* < \**grē-u-*), Arm. *krunk* ‘crane’ (< \**kəruk* < \**gerəu-n-g*<sup>18</sup>); cf. also Iran. data which point out IE \**ǵ-* (as opposed to Balto-Slav. and Arm.): Osset. *zærnyg*, Afgh. *žáṇay* (*zaṇa*, dial. *zōṇyē*, *zúṇiye*)<sup>19</sup> || the words are usually regarded as nomina agentis derived from the verb: OInd. *járata* ‘rauscht, tönt, knistert, ruft’; OE *ceorran* ‘knarren’;

<sup>18</sup> The restoration of the vowel between *k-* and *-r* is dictated by the absence of metathesis, what testifies to the nonprimary character of the consonant cluster at the beginning of the word; the usual restorations are *ē* or *ō*, which give in Armenian *i* and *u* (reduction in the unstressed position), but the vowel length in this word (long grade?) is extremely doubtful from the point of view of morphological characteristics of the reconstructed IE stem; usually restored *-e-* is a stable phoneme in Armenian, it is not, as a rule, dropped in the unstressed position, but in the position before *l* and *r* there are some cases of its dropping: *asehn* ‘needle’ ~ gen. sg. *astan*, *t-it-er̄n* ‘butterfly’ ~ *t-it-iran*.

<sup>19</sup> Afgh. accent can directly corresponds to Latv. *gāinis*.



OHG *cherran* 'schreien, knarren', MLG *kerren* 'knarren'; ON *kurra* 'knurren, murren', Engl. dial. *curr*, MHG *kurren*, MDu. *curren* 'knurren, murren'; Lith. *gùrti* 'gellen' (Ruhig; the accentuation apud Pok. 383, the source of accent — ?); «the second stem» is represented in Slav. *\*grǎjati*, OHG *krāen*, OE *crāwan*; Fraenk. 137; also OInd. *gṛṇāti* 'ruft an, singt' (< *\*gʷr-ne-ə-ti*), *jaritá* 'Sänger' (< *\*gʷerə-ter-*); but the latter comparison leads to another root: *\*gʷerə-*, what is phonetically unacceptable, see the reflexation in Grk., Lat., Celtic, Germanic; see Mühl.—Endz. I, 548; Endz.—Haus. I, 357; Топоров Е—Н, 178—180, 184—186; Miklosich 410; Plet. 959; Славинецкий—Корецкий—Сатановский 447; Вук; Lexers 114, 117; Machek 176; Lorentz SW II, 1456; Pok. 383—384; Fraenk. 137—138; Фасмер II, 67—68; Skok III, 672; WH I, 624, 583; Frisk I, 299;

42. Lith. *kárti*, praes. 3 *kāria*, praet. 3 *kóré* 'to hang, hang out, hang under/on/up'; Latv. *kārt*, praes. 1 sg. *kaŗu*, praet. 1 sg. *kāru* 'hängen, behängen' (< *\*korə-ti-*) || Grk. κρημνός m. 'overhanging bank; bank, edge'; κρήμνημι 'to hang up', κρήμναμαι 'to hang, be suspended' (Grk. forms with the stem κρεμᾶ- probably < *\*kreǵmə-* as the result of an internal Greek process); further comparisons also include Goth. *hramjan* (only 2 pl. imp. *hramjip* J 19,6), *us-hramjan* 'σταυροῦν, kreuzigen', OE *hremman* 'einengen, behindern', Du. *remmen* 'bremsen, (das Rad) hemmen', what complicates the problem of the structure of the root. The comparison with Lat. *cardo* 'Türangel' and ON *hjarri* m. 'Türangel' are ruled out because of the semantic reasons: the door was not hung, but was set on the bearing (Stehzapfen); see Pok. 573; Fraenk. 224—225; Frisk II, 13—14, 15—16; Feist 270; WH I, 166—167; de Vries 232;

43. Lith. *kérti*, praes. 3 *kēra*, praet. 3 *kēro* 'to come off, get detached' < *\*kerə-ti-* || possible correspondences (OInd. *kṛnāti*) are cited in the previous section, p. 308, No. 27;

44. Lith. *kárvė* 1 a. p. 'cow'; Slav. *\*kǫrva* 'cow' < *\*korəu-* || Grk. κεραός 'gehört' (< *\*κεραϝο-* < *\*k̑erəu-*); Lat. *cervus* 'Hirsch' < *\*keru-* < *\*kerəu-*; Welsh *carw*, Corn. *carow*, Bret. *karo* 'Hirsch' < *\*k̑r̥u-* < *\*k̑r̥əu-*, for two reflexes of long syllabic liquid resonants

in Italo-Celtic see Дыбо, Сокращение долгот 10, 14—15, 17—19, 20—24; in spite of the possibility of borrowing the Balto-Slavic word from a centum language, Bezzenberger's cluster is established by the direct comparison; see Pok. 574—577; Fraenk. 225; Фасмер II, 331—332; Frisk I, 825—826; WH I, 208;

45. Slav. \**pórti* 'to undo, unpick, rip' < \**pórə-ti-* || probably it belongs to the family: Grk. \**πόρω* 'to furnish, offer', 3 sg. pass. perf. *πέπρωται* 'it has been fated', τὸ πεπρωμένον and ἡ πεπρωμένη 'fate', Lat. *pars*, gen. sg. *partis* 'part; participation, share' (< \**p̄-ti-* < \**p̄ǵ-ti-*), OInd. *pūrti-* f. 'Geschenk, Belohnung' (< \**p̄-ti-* < \**p̄ǵ-ti-*), OIr. *ern(a)id* 'grants', fut. *ebraid* < \**pi-prā-s-e-ti*, with «the second stem», if it is not the reflex of IE *-ǵ-* in the stressed position, for the reflexation of long syllabic liquid and nasal resonants in Italo-Celtic in the prosodic context corresponding to Balto-Slavic dominance and recessiveness see Дыбо, Сокращение долгот 9—34 (esp. 10, 14—15, 17—19). Here probably belongs Hitt. *par-š-* 'to break' with the meaning close to the primary one; cf. Фасмер III, 332; Pok. 816—817, 817; WH II, 257—259; Frisk II, 579—580; Mayrhofer II, 324;

46. Latv. *speŗt* 'to hit; kick'; Slav. \**perti* 'rest (against), retain' (< \*(s)*perə-ti-*, without the stress shift according to Hirt—Illič-Svityč's law); cf. Lith. *spirti* 'to to give a kick; to support, prop up; to make (smb. do smth.), force' < \**sp̄-ti-* < \**sp̄ǵ-ti-* || OInd. *sp̄ṛṇāti* 'tötet' (< \**sp̄-ne-ǵ-ti*), *sphurāti* 'stößt mit dem Fuße weg, tritt, schnell, zuckt, zittert, zappelt' (< \**sph̄ǵ-e-ti*), *sphūrti-* f. 'Zucken, Zittern, Erscheinen' (< \**sph̄-ti-* < \**sph̄ǵ-ti-*), as well as the reflexes of «the second stem» in Lat. *sp̄rnō* (probably with the secondary thematisation and the restoration of the full grade of the root < \**spor-nā-* < \**sp(h)̄-ne-ǵ-*), praet. *sp̄rē-vī*, sup. *sp̄rē-tum* 'to reject, turn down; to remove; to despise, neglect' (where *sp̄rē-* < \**sp̄reǵ-*, i. e. «the second stem» according to Benveniste), OInd. strong form in the aorist *spharī-s-*; see Pok. 992—993; Fraenk. 873—874; Фасмер III, 240—241; Mayrhofer III, 544; WH II, 572—573; cf. Mayrhofer III, 538—539;

47. Lith. *šerti*, praes. 1 sg. *šeriù*, praet. 1 sg. *šeriau* 'füttern (das Vieh, Pferde, vulgär auch Menschen)' < \**kerə-ti-* || Grk. *ἐκόρε-σα*,

κορέ-σω, κορέννυμι 'sättige' < \**korə-*; «the second stem» is in Lat. *creō* 'I create', a denominative from \**krē-īā* 'Wachstum', *crēscō* 'to grow', *crēber* 'thick, bushy' < \**krē-dhro-s* 'Wachstum habend, dicht wachsend' < \**krē-* < \**kreə-*; Pok. 577, WH I, 288—289, 204—205, 286; Frisk I, 918—919; Fraenk. 975.

48. Lith. *šármas* 'alkaline solution, alkali', '(Aschen)lauge'; Latv. *sārms* 'alcali solution; alkali', 'Lauge (aus Birkenasche)' (< \**kórmō-s* < \**korə-mō-s*) || Grk. κέραμος m. 'potter's earth, potter's clay' (< \**kérə-mō-s*) (Илич-Свитыч ИА, 68); here probably belongs OHG *haran* 'Harn', MHG *harm*, *harn* 'Harn', maybe also MHG *hurmen* 'düngen' with the zero grade of the root, cf. OPruss. Voc. 554 *sirmes* 'Lauge'; further correspondences: ON *skarn* n., OE *scearn* 'Kot' and MHG *hurve* 'Kot'; cf. Pok. 615, Frisk I, 823—824; Fraenk. 965 with references to Schulze Kl.Schr. 113<sup>3</sup> [= Berl. Sitzungsber, 1910, S. 790], Solmsen Beitr. I, 161<sup>2</sup>, Trautmann BSW 300; differently: Reichelt KZ 39, S. 21; Prellwitz Wrth.<sup>2</sup> 237; Leskin Abl. 348.

49. Lith. *vėrti*, praes. 1 sg. *veriù*, praet. 1 sg. *vėriau* 'to thread (a needle); to open; to lock, close'; Latv. *vērt*, praes. 1 sg. *veŗu*, praet. 1 sg. *vėru* 'aufreihen, einfädeln, sticken, nähen, flechten; auf- und zutun, (die Tür) aufmachen' || OInd. *apa-vṛṇóti* 'öffnet, deckt auf, enthüllt', *api-vṛṇóti* 'verschließt, bedeckt, verhüllt'; *vṛṇoti*, *vṛṇīte* 'verhüllt, bedecktschließt, hemmt, wehrt' (these stems may partly represent also the root \**ueluə-* 'drehen'), *várū-tham* 'Wehr', *varū-tár-m.* 'Schützer, Schirmer'; Grk. ἔρῶ-μαι 'wehre ab, rette', ῥυτήρ 'saviour, guard, defender'; Lat. *aperiō* 'I open', *operiō* 'I lock' (the root can provisionally be reconstructed as \**ueruə-*); see Pok. 1150—1151, Fraenk. 1229—1230, WH I, 56—57, Frisk I, 568—569, also Frisk I, 23—24 with doubts concerning the possibility of comparing with Grk. αείρω.

## (C)Vm/nə(C)-

50. Lith. *kásti*, praes. 1 sg. *kándu* 'beißen'; Latv. *kuóst*, praes. 1 sg. *kuōžu*, *kuódu* 'beißen; scharf sein; scheiden' < \**kanəd-* || Grk.

κάναδοι · σιαγόνες, γνάθοι (Hsch.) < \*kanəd-; «the second stem» in Grk. κνώδων, gen. sg. κνώδοντος ‘sworth’, pl. ‘(two) projecting teeth (on the blade of a hunting spear)’ < \*knōd- < \*knoəd-; here also probably belongs OInd. *khādati* (RV+) ‘kaut, zerbeißt, ißt’ < \*khñd-e-ti < \*k(h)ñəd-; Khot.-Sak. *khāysa* ‘Speise’ (i. e. χάζα- < \*khād-s- < \*khñd-s- = Slav. \*kqsъ < \*kund-so- < \*kñd-so-); but there is another possibility to etymologize the Indo-Iranian stem: OInd. *khādati* (RV+), Khot.-Sak. *khāysa*- and Parth. x’z- ‘verschlingen’ ~ Arm. *xacanem* ‘bite’, *xaci* ‘bit’ (< \*khād-s-); the absence of the reflex of -ñ- in Armenian prevents us from uniting these strikingly similar families; see Pok. 560; Fraenk. 227; Frisk I, 887—888; Фасмер II, 431; Mayrhofer EWA I, 451—452, 454—455; Bailey Dict. 74, 72, 70; cf. Mayrhofer I, 308, 309;

51. ? Lith. *skambėti*, praes. 3 sg. *skamba* (Kurschat) ‘tönen, klingeln, läuten lassen’; but praes. 3 sg. *skamba* (Dusetos) || ? Grk. κωνᾶβέω ‘to resound, clash, ring’, κόναβος ‘Klang, Lärm’; Fraenk. II, 795; Frisk I, 910; Pok. 525—526.

52. Lith. *tėmti*, praes. 3 sg. *tėmsta*, praet. 3 *tėmo* ‘get dark’ < \*temə-ti-, \*temə-sto-; but Latv. (Adsel, Kl.) *tūmst* ‘dunkel werden’; modern Lith. *tamsūs* (4 a. p.) ‘dark’; dial. (Šl.) *támsus*, -si and *tamsūs*, -si ‘ciemny; nieuczony’; OLith. *támsus*, -i 1 a. p. ‘ciemny; zewnętrzny’ (*tóm|saus* gen. sg. m. DP 33<sub>14—15</sub>, *támfiōs* gen. sg. f. DP 556<sub>39</sub>, *támfiā* instr. sg. f. DP 88<sub>28</sub>, *támfiōfiōs* nom. pl. f. DP 45<sub>6</sub>, *támfiūmus* dat. pl. m. DP 156<sub>49</sub>, *támfiūs* acc. pl. m. DP 15<sub>14</sub>) with the variant of 4 a. p. (*támfiūs* nom. sg. m. DP 556<sub>37</sub>, 559<sub>45</sub>, *támfiáfēs* acc. pl. f. DP 33<sub>2</sub>) < \*tomə-su- (but Latv. *tūmšs*, *tūmss*<sup>2</sup> ‘dunkel, finster, unklar’, with the extension of the circumflex reflex onto all the derivatives from this root) || OInd. *tamisrāḥ* pl. ‘Dunkel, Nacht’ < \*temə-srā-, *timirāḥ* ‘dunkel, finster’, where the first -i- is a possible Prakritism; Lat. *tenebrae*, -ārum ‘Fisternis’ (< \*temefrā (\*temafrā) as the result of the dissimilation -n- -f- < -m- -f-) < \*temə-srā-; the loss of the reflex of IE -ə- is observed in OInd. as well; see Pok. 1063—1064; Fraenk. 1080; Mayrhofer I, 479, 502; WH II, 664.

53. Lith. *tánkus* (3) ‘close, thick; dense’, DLKŽ: *tankùs* (3) and *tánkus* (1), dial. Šl. *tánkus*, *-ki* ‘gęsty’; OLith. *tánkus*, *-i* (1) ‘gęsty; pilny; częsty’ (*tákauš* gen. sg. m. DP 313<sub>33</sub>, *tákumi* instr. sg. m. DP 367<sub>28</sub>, *tákus* nom. pl. m. DP 318<sub>18</sub>; *tákumis* instr. pl. m. DP 9<sub>11</sub>), the variant of 3 a. p. *tankùs*, *-i* (*takiú* gen. pl. m. DP 228<sub>11</sub>), the comparative indicates that 1 a. p. was primary: *tákiafnio* gen. sg. m. DP 293<sub>43</sub>, *tákefnes* nom. pl. f. DP 293<sub>49</sub>; this adj. and his word-formative family (as well as Lith. *tinti* ‘to swell’) belong to the root *\*tenə-*, the structure of which was analysed in the preceding section, see p. 302, No. 15.

54. Lith. *tévas* (3) ‘thin’, Latv. *tiēvs* ‘thin’ (< *\*tēnvas*<sup>20</sup> < *\*tenə-uo-s*) || Grk. *ταναός* ‘outstretched, tall’ (with assimilation) < *\*τεναρός* < *\*tenə-uo-s*; further see above, p. 302, No. 15; see Pok. 1065—1066; Frisk II, 851, 853, 863—865; Mayrhofer I, 103, 475; Mayrhofer EWA I, 213; WH II, 662—664, 664—665, 665—666; Fraenk. 1086.

55. Lith. *vėmti*, praes. 1 sg. *vemiù*, praet. 1 sg. *vėmiau* ‘Erbrechen haben’, ‘to vomit’; Latv. *veimt*, praes. 1 sg. *vemju*, praet. 1 sg. *vėmu* ‘sich erbrechen, vomiren’ < *\*uemə-ti-* || OInd. *vāmi-ti* ‘speit aus’ < *\*uemə-ti-*, part. *vānta-* ‘ausgespien’ < *\*uṃ-ṭo-* < *\*uṃ-ṭo-*; Grk. *ἔμετος* m., *ἔμεσις* f. ‘vomiting’ < *\*ἔμεε-τ-* < *\*uemə-t-*, *ἐμέω* from *\*ἔμε-μι* ‘to vomit, throw up’ < *\*uemə-*; Lat. *vomit*, *vomimus* ‘to vomit’; see Fraenk. 1222; Pok. 1146; Mayrhofer III, 146, Frisk I, 504—505, WH II, 835.

56. Lith. *žėnklas* (3 < 1) ‘sign’ (< *\*ġenə-tlo-*), *pažintas* ‘bekannt’ (< *\*ġn̄-to-* < *\*ġn̄-ṭo-*), Lith. *pa-žinti* ‘to know smb., be acquainted with smb.; to recognize’, Latv. *pa-zīt* ‘to know smb., smth.; to be acquainted with smb.; to find out, recognize’ (< *\*ġn̄-ti-* < *\*ġn̄-ṭi-*) || Avest. *zanā-t̄*, *zanqn*, Afgh. *péžani* ‘knows, recognizes’; OIr. *itar-gninim*, *asa-gninim* ‘sapio’ < *\*ġn̄-nā-mi* < *\*ġn̄-ne-ṭ-mi*<sup>21</sup> (the long

<sup>20</sup> The sign  $\acute{}$  denotes the acute intonation of the recessive syllable.

<sup>21</sup> The Celtic reflex *-ni-* < IE *-n̄-* (paralleled by *-ri-* < *\*-r̄-*, *-li-* < *\*-l̄-*) is traditionally considered to be anomalous. It aroused special attempts to clarify these forms, see Pokorny // IF 35, 338 f.; Marstrander Prés. nas. 23.

root *-ā-* of in OInd. *jānāmi* ‘ich weiß’ etc. and in the Avest. variant *paiti-zānanti* ‘sie nehmen sich jemandes an’, *paiti-zānatā* ‘ihr erkennt an, nehmt auf’ is restored after such forms as OInd. *jñātāḥ* ‘bekannt’, or even after the unattested form *\*jātāḥ*, as supposed de Saussure); Lat. *gnārus* ‘knowledgeable, versed (in), acquainted (with); known’ (< *\*ġn̄-ro-* < *\*ġn̄-ro-*); OIr. *gnāth* ‘known, familiar’, Welsh *gnawd* ‘habit, custom’ (< *\*ġn̄-to-* < *\*ġn̄-to-*) = Germ. *\*kúnþa-*: Goth. *kunþs*, ON *kunnr*, OE *kūþ*, OHG *kund* ‘known, familiar’), for the reflexes of long syllabic liquid and nasal resonants in Italo-Celtic in the prosodic contexts corresponding to Balto-Slavic dominance and recessiveness see Дыбо, Сокращение долгот 9—34 (esp. 10, 14—15, 17—19); «the second stem» in Grk. γι-γνώσκω, Epir. γνώσκω ‘erkenne’, Lat. *nōscō*, OLat. *gnōscō* ‘erkenne, identifiziere; lerne kennen; erkenne an, lasse gelten’, as well as (with another vocalic grade?) in Alb. *nōh* ‘kenne’ (< *\*ġnē-skō*), Germ. *\*knēwan-*: ON *kná* ‘kann’, OE *cnāwan*, *zecnāwan* ‘erkennen’, OHG *int-chnāan* ‘erkennen’, *knāen* ‘kennen’ (*\*ġnē-* < *\*ġnē-*); Lat. *nōta*, *-ae* ‘sign, mark’ (< *\*ġnōtā*), *nōtāre* ‘to note, mark’, as well as probably *cognitus* ‘known, familiar’, *āgnitus* ‘acknowledged’ imply OLat. *\*gnōtus* (< *\*ġnōtos*) ‘known’ (= OInd. *jñātāḥ*, Grk. γνώτός ‘known’), with the Italo-Celtic shortening in the pretonic position, see Дыбо, Сокращение долгот 9—34 (esp. 13, 30—33); see Pok. 376—378; Fraenk. 1300—1301; Frisk I, 308—309; WH I, 613—614; II, 176—178.

57. Lith. *žéntas* (1) ‘son-in-law, brother-in-law’ (< *\*ġenə-to-*); Slav. *\*zěť* (SCr. *zět*, etc.) ‘son-in-law, brother-in-law’ (< *\*ġenə-ti-*) || cf. «the second stem» in Latv. *znuōts* ‘Schwiegersohn; Schwager, Schwagermann’; Grk. γνώτός, -ή ‘kinsman, kinswoman; esp. brother, sister’ (cf.: OInd. *janitār-* m. ‘Erzeuger, Vater’, Grk. γενετήρ, γενέτωρ m. ‘begetter, ancestor’, Lat. *genitor* m. ‘Erzeuger, Vater’ < *\*ġenə-ter-*); see Pok. 373—375; Fraenk. 1301; Frisk I, 306—308; WH I, 590—591, 591, 597—600.

58. Lith. *žándas* (3) ‘cheek’; Latv. *zuóds* ‘Kinn, scharfe Kante’ < *\*ġonədhō-s* || Grk. γναθμός m. ‘jaw’, γνάθος f. ‘jaw; cheek’ < *\*ġnədh-* or < *\*γνᾱθ-* < *\*ġñdh-* < *\*ġnədh-*, this case demonstrates the same

type of reflexation of the cluster «resonant + ə», which was observed above, p. 332, No. 21 and p. 336, No. 31; Hsch. (Macedon.? cf. Frisk I, 316, w. lit.) κάναδοι · σιαγόνες, γνάθοι; Arm. *cnaut* ‘Kinnbacke, Wange’; see Pok. 381—382; Fraenk. 1289—1290; Frisk I, 316.

The roots, which have to be reconstructed as the disyllabic «heavy bases» according to the Baltic and Slavic facts, while there are no data from other IE languages to establish the IE root structure:

1. Lith. *grémžti*, praes. 3 *grémžia* ‘to scrape, scratch’, *grámdyti*, praes. 3 *grámdo* ‘to scrape, scratch’; Latv. *greĩzt*, praes. 1 sg. *greĩžu* ‘nagen, beißen’, *graĩstīt* ‘zusammenraffen’ || Goth. *gramsta* dat. sg. ‘Holzsplitter’; ON *gróm* n. ‘Schlamm, Bodensatz’, *grómr* m. ‘schmutzige Person’; EFrís. *grum* ‘Bodensatz, Schmutz’; Lat. *frendere* ‘knirschen’; OE *grindan* ‘zerreiben, zermalmen, schärfen’, NHG *grand* ‘Sand’; there are no data for the root structure; see Pok. 458; Fraenk. I, 167 (*grésti*); WH I, 545—546.

2. Lith. *grésti*, praes. 3 *gréndžia* and *grénda* ‘to scrape, scratch’, *grándyti*, praes. 3 *grándo* ‘to scrape, scratch’ || Lat. *frendō* ‘zerreiben; die Zähne knirschen’, Grk. χόνδρος m. ‘granule or lump (of salt); groats of wheat or spelt; gristle, cartilage’ < \*χρόνδ-ρος, Alb. *grundë*, *krundë* ‘clover’; the Germanic correspondences demonstrate mostly -dh-: OE *grindan* ‘zerreiben, zermalmen’; OHG *in grente* ‘in argillosa terra’, ON *grandi* m. ‘Sandbank, Kies’, LG *grind* f. ‘Kieselsand; Schorf’, Du. *grind*, *grint* ‘grobes Mehl, grober Sand’, OHG *grint* ‘Grind, Schorf’; see Pok. 459; Fraenk. I, 167; WH I, 545—546.

3. Lith. *lémti*, praes. 3 *lēmia*, praet. 3 *lémė* ‘to judge; to decide, determine’, *lìmti*, praes. 3 *lìmsta*, praet. 3 *lìmo* ‘to break, crack’; Latv. *leĩt* ‘bestimmen, urteilen’ || Slav. subst. \**lomъ*, verb. \**lomāti*, \**lomīti* with primary meaning ‘to break’; OE *lama*, OS *lamo*; OF *lam*, OS *lam*, OHG *lam*; ON *lami* adj. ‘gelähmt, gebrechlich’, *lemja* ‘lähmen’, OE *lemman*, OF *lemma*, OS *lemmian*, OHG *lemmem*; ? Grk. *ωλεμέος*, *ωλεμέως* adv. ‘without pause, unceasingly’ < *v(ε)* + \**ǵ-λεμος* n. <

\*-lemə-os- and < v(ε) + \*ǫ-λεμη-ς < \*-lemeə-s; see Pok. 674; de Vries 335, 352, 368; Frisk II, 331; Fraenk. I, 354—355, 338, 373; WH I, 760 (sub *laniō*).

4. Lith. dial. *sálti* ‘fließen’, praes. 3 *sāla*, praet. 3 *sālo* ‘tekėti, tvinti’, ‘to flow, flood’, *atsálti* ‘atitekėti’, ‘to flow to’ (*vanduo atsālo iki vartų*, LKŽ XII, 86; *vanduō lig vārtų at-sālo* ‘the water was nearly square with the gate’, Būga RR II, 554)<sup>22</sup>; Lith. *salà* 4 a. p. ‘island’, Latv. *sala* ‘Insel, Holm, eine Höhe im Morast’ || the usual comparison with OInd. *ucchalati* ‘schnell empor’; Grk. ἄλλομαι ‘springe, hüpfen’; Lat. *saliō*, *salīre* ‘springen, hüpfen’ is probably unwarranted. The comparison put forward by Blesse (apud Fraenkel) is worthy of notice — Germ. \**swel-/swal-*: ON *svella* ‘schwellen’, OE *swellan*, OF *swella*, OS *swellan* ‘schwellen, aufwallen’, OHG *swellan*, *widerswalm* ‘Strudel’, NHG *Wasserschwall* — with the natural change of the direction of etymologizing; Grk. σάλος m. ‘unruhige Bewegung des Meeres, Wogenschwall’, probably < \**suļəo-*, but it is doubtful that the Greek word is an aboriginal; Lat. *salum* ‘Strömung, unruhiger Seegang, hohe See; Meer’ (most likely a loan-word) etc; see Fraenk. II, 758; de Vries 567; WH II, 471; Frisk II, 673—674; cf. Pok. 899.

5. Lith. *sémti*, praes. 3 *sēmia*, praet. 3 *sémé* ‘to draw (*water, etc.*); to fill’ || Grk. ἀμάομαι ‘sammeln, häufen’, ἄμα, Dor. ἀμα ‘zusammen, zugleich’ < \**sṃə*; Grk. ἄμός ‘τις’ = OInd. *simáh* ‘selbst’ < \**sṃəo-*; Grk. ὁμός ‘ein und derselbe, gleich, eben’ = OInd. *samáh* ‘gleich, gleichartig, derselbe, gleichmäßig, eben’, OPers. *hama-* < \**soməo-* (the absence of the development IE \*-o- > Indo-Iranian -ā- according to Brugmann’s law is supposed to indicate \*-ə-, see Mayrhofer III, 437 w. lit.); ON *samr*; the stem is connected with IE \**sem-* ‘eins’ and ‘in eins zusammen, einheitlich, samt, mit’, which yields Lith. prefixes with the acute intonation: cf. Lith. *sándrauga* 1 a. p. ‘cummunity’,

<sup>22</sup> It is not clear if the following words belong here: *selėti*, praes. 3 *sēla* (*sēli*, *selėja*), praet. 3 *selėja* ‘tykoti, sélinti’, ‘to be on the watch (for), be in wait (for), steal/sneak up (to)’ (LKŽ XII, 352); praes. 1 sg. *selù* ‘I go stealthily, quietly unmarked’ (Būga RR I, 333).



*sámygis* 1 a. p. 'deep night sleep', *sámpyna* 1 a. p. 'interlacing', *sám-pjova* 1 a. p. 'hay harvest, hay-crop', *sásiuva* 1 a. p. 'lacing, sewing together'; long grade: Slav. \**samъ* 'self', OE *sōm* f. 'Einigkeit, Versammlung'; see Fraenk. II, 774—775; Frisk I, 88—89, 83, 85; II, 390; WH II, 514—515, 511—512, 538—540; Mayrhofer III, 436—437; cf. Pok. 901—905.

6. Lith. *sénti* (< \**senə-ti-*), praes. 3 *sénsta*, praet. 3 *sēno* 'to become old' || OInd. *sána-* 'alt', Grk. ἔνος 'alt, vom vorigen Jahre'; Lat. *senex*, *senis* adj. 'old; elderly; ancient; mature'; m., f. 'an old person'; Goth. *sineigs* adj. 'πρεσβύτερης, πρεσβύτερος', 'alt'; outside of Balt., there are no indications of the root structure; see Pok. 907—908; Fraenk. II, 775; WH II, 513—514; Frisk II, 522—523; Mayrhofer III, 426; Feist 422—423.

7. Lith. *skélti*, praes. 1 sg. *skeliù*, praet. 1 sg. *skéliau* 'spalten'; Latv. *šķélt*, praes. 1 sg. *šķeļu*, praet. 1 sg. *šķēlu* 'spalten, der Länge nach teilen' < \**skelə-ti-*; Lith. *skilti*, praes. 1 sg. *skylù* and dial. *skilstu*, praet. 1 sg. *skilaū* 'sich (ab)spalten, einen Spalt, einen Riß bekommen, zerspringen, (übertr.) abtrünnig werden, aufspringen (von Bruteiern), ausschlüpfen, sprühen (von Feuer, Funken beim Anschlagen des Feuersteins)', Lith. *skilti*, praes. 1 sg. *skyliù*, praet. 1 sg. *skýliau* 'Feuer schlagen, zum Brennen bringen, zu bringen versuchen'; Latv. *šķīlt* 'Feuer anschlagen', *malku šķīlt* 'Holz spalten', *šķīlt* and *šķīltiēs* 'sich aus dem Ei herauschälen lassen, sich aus der Puppe herausmachen' < \**skl̥-ti-* < \**skl̥ə-ti-* || Grk. σκάλλω 'to stir up, hoe' (< \**skl̥[ə]-iō*), σκύλλω 'to tear, rend apart; to maltreat, molest' (< \**sk<sub>o</sub>l[ə]iō*); ON *skilja* 'trennen, unterscheiden, (ent)scheiden', OE *āscielian* 'trennen', *scielian* 'teilen, entfernen', OF *skilla* 'streiten', MHG *schelen* 'trennen, unterscheiden', MDu. *schillen* 'sich unterscheiden'; here also probably belongs Goth. *skilja* m. 'Fleischer'; the length is probably secondary in Lith. *kuōlas* 'Pfahl'; Grk. σκῶλος 'Spitzpfahl'; Alb. *hell* 'spear, spit'; there are practically no reliable data to specify the IE root structure; see Pok. 923—927; Fraenk. II, 800, 806—807; Fraenk. I, 312, 211—212; Frisk II, 715—716, 742, 745—746; de Vries 492; Feist 432—433; Orel 145.

8. Lith. *skelėti*, praes. 1 sg. *skeliù* ‘schuldig sein’, *skilti*, praes. 1 sg. *skylù* (= \**skilù*) ‘in Schulden geraten’ < \**sk̃l̃-ti-* < \**sk̃l̃ə-ti-* || Goth. *skulan* ‘ὀφείλειν’, ‘schuldig sein, müssen’; ON *skulu* part. praes. ‘sollen’; OE *sculan*, OF *skela*; OS *skolan*, OHG *solan* ‘schuldig sein, müssen, sollen’; there are no data to specify the IE root structure; see Pok. 927; Fraenk. II, 799—800; Feist 435—436; de Vries 507.

9. Lith. *sténgti*, praes. 1 sg. *sténgiu*, praet. 1 sg. *sténgiau* ‘sich anstrengen, (*refl.*) sich widersetzen’, ‘to struggle (*against smth.*), resist; to be able, can’, Lith. *stíngti*, praes. 1 sg. *stíngstu*, praet. 1 sg. *stíngau* ‘fest werden (von einer geschmolzenen Masse); starr, steif werden (vor Kälte), erfrieren, gerinnen, dick werden, erstarren, stocken’ ~ Latv. *stiņgt* (C., PS.), *stiņgt* (Kl., Gr.-Buschh.), praes. 1 sg. *stingstu*, praet. 1 sg. *stingu* ‘star, steif werden’; Lith. *stingrùs* (4) and *stingrus* (1) ‘stangrus’ (LKŽ XIII, 787) ~ Latv. *stiņgrs* (C., Wolm.), *stiņgrs* (Kl.) ‘stramm, starr, zusammenhaltend, gespannt, steif; streng; biegsam, elastisch’ (Mühl.—Endz. III, 1070, 1070—1071); Lith. dial. *stengrùs* (4) ‘stangrus’ (LKŽ XIII, 748) ~ Latv. *stēņgrs* (Iw. n. FBR VI, 51; Schlehk n. FBR VII, 40, Dunika, Turlau, Gramsden) ‘kräftig, stark, prall, straff; streng, trotzig’ (Mühl.—Endz. III, 1061—1062); Lith. *stangùs* (4) ‘resilient; tight’, adv. *staņgiai* and *stángus* (3) (Kv, Slnt) ‘widerspenstig’, ‘resilient; tight’, adv. *stángiai* (Būga RR II, 262, 424; Явн. Гр. 96; LKŽ XIII, 664—665); *stangrùs* (4) ‘resilient; tight’, ‘hartelastisch, spann-, schnellkräftig, fest, unerschütterlich, beharrlich’; ‘fest, dicht, kompakt, straff’; *stangà* (4), dial. *stánga* (1) ‘effort, travail’ (LKŽ XIII, 662) || Slav. \**tęgnōti*, praes. 1 sg. \**tęgnǫ*, 3 sg. \**tęgnety* (a. p. b, metatony of the recessive acute root): Russ. *тянуть*, praes. 1 sg. *тяну́*, 3 sg. *тяне́т* ‘to pull, draw’; Bulg. *мѣгна* ‘I gravitate (towards), weigh’; SCr. *натѣгнути*, praes. 1 sg. *натѣгнѣм* ‘to stretch; strain’; Sloven. *tęgniti se*, praes. 1 sg. *tęgnem se* ‘to stretch, lengthen out (*intr.*)’; Czech *táhnouti* ‘to draw, pull’, Slovak *tiahnut’* ‘to pull’; Polish *ciągnąć* ‘to draw, pull’; Slav. subst. \**tęgъ* (a. p. c, with the loss of the reflex of acute): Ukr. *тяг*, gen. sg. *тя́гу* ‘air draught’, adv. (Желеховский) *тягóм* ‘immerfort, immerwährend’; SCr. *mêr* ‘heavi-

ness'; Sloven. *têg*, gen. sg. *têga*, *tegâ* m. 'der Zug; das Tagewerk; die Last; das Getreide'; Slav. adj. \**têgъ* in \**têgъкъ* (Дыбо СА, 94—107, esp. 102); Slav. adj. \**tôgъ* (a. p. c, with the loss of the reflex of acute): Russ. *мырôû* 'tight', Ukr. *мыруї* 'tight; thick, dense'; Sloven. adj. *tôg*, f. *tôga* 'straff, steif, starr; fest, stark'; Czech *tuhý*, Slovak *tuhý*; Polish *tęgi* 'firm, tight'; Slav. \**tôžiti*, praes. 3 sg. \**tôžiti*: Russ. *мужúть*, praes. 3 sg. *мýжум* 'to grieve (for)', Ukr. *мужúти*, praes. 1 sg. *мужú*, 2 sg. *мýжуи* 'to lament, wail'; SCr. *мýжуми*, praes. 1 sg. *мýжум*; Sloven. *tôžiti*, praes. 1 sg. *tôžim* 'klagen, jammern'; Czech *toužiti*, Slovak *túžit* 'to long (for), be sad'; Polish *tążyć* 'to long (for), be sad, miss'; its deverbative: Slav. \**togá* (a. p. b?): Russ. dial. *мыра́* 'grief, sorrow, melancholy, sadness, worry' [and a. p. a: (South, West) *мы́ра* (Даль) ~ Ukr. (Гринченко) *мы́ра* f. 'grief, sadness', see below], Ukr. West. (Желеховский) *мыра́* 'Traurigkeit, Gram, Kummer'; Bulg. *мъра́* 'grief, depression'; SCr. *мы́ра* 'sorrow, misfortune'; Sloven. *tôga* f. 'die Trägheit; die Beschwerlichkeit, die Verdrießlichkeit; die Schwermuth, die Traurigkeit'; Czech *touha* 'yearning for smth., desire of smth., aspiration for smth.', Slovak *túha* 'yearning for, disire of smth.'; Slav. \**tôžiti*: Russ. *мýжить* 'to stretch, strain', refl. *мýжиться*, BRuss. *мýжыць* 'to stretch tightly', refl. *мýжыцца*; Czech *tužiti* 'to strengthen', Slovak *tužit* 'to strengthen'; Polish *teżyć* 'to strengthen; to strain, tense'; and its deverbative: Slav. \**tôga* (a. p. a?): Russ. dial. (South, West) *мы́ра* 'grief, sorrow, melancholy, sadness, worry' (Даль), Ukr. (Гринченко) *мы́ра* f. 'grief, sadness', Ukr. West. (Желеховский) *мы́ра* (and *мыра́*) 'Spannung; Festigkeit, Energie'; Sloven. *tôga* f. 'die Trägheit; die Beschwerlichkeit'; Polish *tega* 'żądanie' («wielmi mi *tega* po tobie», Maćczyński 1664 r.) Brückner 570 || Avest. *θanǰ-asānte* 'sie sollen ziehen', iter. *θanǰayeiti* '(den Wagen) ziehen, (den Strang) anziehen, (am Strang) ziehen, (den Wagen) lenken; (das Schwert, den Dolch) zücken', part. praet. pass. *θaxta-*; Osset. *тынзун* : *тыгд* | *итинзун* : *итигд* 'to spread, stretch out, extend, open widely' < \**vi-θanǰ-aya-*, *iv-тынзун* | *ev-тинзун* 'harness; charge' < \**aibi-θanǰ-aya-*, Sogd. \**par-θinǰ-* (*prdynč-*), \**paθ-θēnǰ-* (*pd̄dynč-*, *pd̄ynč-*), Khot.-Sak. *thamǰ-* 'to pull, stretch'; Rush., Huf. *tāž-* : Rush.

*tēžt*, Huf. *tīžt* ‘to pull, draw’, Sarik. *tož-* : *tižt* ‘to pull, draw, drag; put off (clothes, shoes)’; MPers. *ahanjītan*, *āhixtan* ‘to pull (out), draw’, Pers. *tanjīdan* ‘to squeeze, shrink’ < \**tanj-*, *āhanjīdan* ‘to draw, pull out’ < \**θanj-*; Baluchi *tajēnag* ‘spannen, dehnen’, aor. *tajēnīt* (Geiger Bal., 148); Osset. *tyng* | *iting* ‘spread, stretched, drawn; very, greatly’ < \**vi-θanga-* or \**vi-θangu-*; Ishk. *ṭəng* ‘tight’, Sarik. *teng* ‘hard; tight’, Wakhi *ṭung* ‘hard; tight’; Orm. *ṭing* ‘tight’; Pers. *tang* ‘cramped, narrow; tightly’, Kurd. *teng* ‘narrow, cramped’; Osset. \**tong* ‘belt’ in *æxtong* ‘saddle-girth’ and *dym-ī-tong* ‘crupper’, Afgh. *ta-tang*, *tang* ‘saddle-girth’; Pers. *tang* ‘saddle-girth, strap’, Kurd. *tang* (Kurmanji *məng*, *məng*, *teng*; Sorani *tenge* ‘saddle-girth’); ON *þungr* adj. ‘schwer’; Arm. *tanʒr* ‘thick, dense’; Tokh. A *tānki*, B *tañki* ‘very; greatly; fully’; there is no reliable etymology, all the attempts at a root etymology either deal with two root groups, which are reconstructed in Pok. 1014—1015 as 1. \*(s)*teg-* ‘Stange, Pfahl, Stock, Knüttel, Balken’ and 2. \**stegh-*, nasal. \**stengh-* ‘stechen; Stange, Halm, Spitzes, Steifes’ (acute is probably due to the contamination with \*(s)*teg-* ‘Stange’) or are connected with the group which is reconstructed in Pok. 1067 as \**tengh-* ‘ziehen, dehnen, spannen’, the latter is probably to be preferred because of the cited Slavic correspondences («mit der Intonation einer schweren Basis») — if so, then in all likelihood we deal with the enlarged variant of the IE base \**tenə-* ‘thin, etc.’, see p. 302, No. 15; see Fraenk. II, 895—896, 901—902, 906; Фасмер IV, 113—114, 114, 139—140, 140; Miklosich 350—351; Trautmann BSW, 285, 318; Абаев I, 222—223, 382; III, 300—301, 337—338, 339—340; Bailey Dict. 148; Emmerick SGrSt 42; Pok. 1014—1015 (Pok. 1014: \**stengh-* to \**stegh-* ‘stechen; Stange’).

10. Lith. *šalti*, praes. 1 sg. *šalù*, 3. *šāla* (dial. praes. 1 sg. *šalstu*), praet. 3 *šālo* ‘to freeze, feel chilly; to get cold, frozen’; *šaltas* 3 a. p. ‘cold; freezing, frosty’; Latv. *saļt*, praes. 1 sg. *saļstu* ‘frieren’, *saļts* ‘kalt’; Lith. *šalnà* f. (4) ‘frosts’ = Latv. *saļna* ‘Frost, Reif’ || the primary status of the mobile accentual paradigm is confirmed by Afgh. *sōr*, f. *saṛá* ‘cold, cool’; Avest. *sarəta-* ‘kalt’, Pers. *sald* ‘cold’, Khot-Sak. *sāḍa-* ‘cold’, Osset. *sald* ‘frozen’ (-*l-* is from the presence), with the

retention of the conjugated forms only in New and Middle Iranian languages: Wakhi *wa-ser-* 'be cold', Yaghnob. *āsīr-* 'be cold' < \**ā-sī̄a-*, Osset. *sælyn/sælnun* 'be cold' < Iran. \**sī̄ia-*; *o*-vocalism: Lith. *pāšalas* 3<sup>b</sup> a. p. 'frozen ground', 'gefrorene Erde', Du. *hal* n. 'gefrorener Boden'; zero grade: OInd. *śísira-* 'die kühle Jahreszeit; Kälte, Frost; kühl, kalt' < \**ki-kr̥o-* (but there are other ways to etymologize this stem, see Mayrhofer III, 345—346), ON *hēla* 'Reif' < \**hi-hl-ōn*, ? Slav. \**slota* 'bad weather' (Russ. ChSlav. *слота* 'bad weather, heavy rain or snow, slush', ORuss. *слота* 'bad weather', *слотъ* 'sleet (?)', Serb. ChSlav. *слота* 'hiems', SCr. *clōma* 'sleet', Czech *slota* 'bad weather', Polish *slota* 'drizzle'); see Pok. 551—552; Fraenk. II, 960—961; Абаев III, 27, 28, 64; Franck—van Wijk 226; WH I, 137 (sub *caleō*); Mayrhofer III, 345—346; Bailey Dict. 424.

11. Lith. *tingùs* (4) 'träge, faul, lässig, langsam bei der Arbeit'; Lith. *tingėti*, praes. 1 sg. *tingiu* 'träge, unlustig sein', 'to be lazy', *tingti*, praes. 1 sg. *tingstu* 'träge werden', 'to get lazy' || ON *þungr* adj. 'schwer'; Avest. *θanjayeiti* '(den Wagen) ziehen'; an enlarged variant of the IE base \**tenə-* 'thin. etc.', see p. 302, No. 15; see Fraenk. II, 1097—1098, 1098; Фасмер IV, 113—114, 114, 139—140, 140; Trautmann BSW, 318; de Vries 626—627; Falk—Torp II, 1299; Pok. 1067 (\**tŋghu-* 'schwer', \**tengh-* 'ziehen').

### Exceptions

There is a limited number of words, where contrary to the undertaken procedure of determining the IE «disyllabic heavy base», we find in Balto-Slavic surely reconstructed circumflex intonation. These are the following stems:

1. Lith. *šiltas* (4) 'warm' ~ Latv. *silts* 'warm' || the short resonant is according to Welsh *clyd* 'warm, wärmend' < \**kl̥-to-*. This stem belongs to the root \**kelə-*, which yields Baltic verb with the expected acute intonation, and in Germanic the forms of the «second stem», see the analysis in the section «Bezenberger's combinations», above, p. 334, No. 27.

Two following stems are connected with the root *\*ghelə-*, which yields Baltic verb with the expected acute intonation, and shows the reflexes of the «disyllabic heavy base» in a number of IE languages, see the analysis in the section «Bezzenberger's combinations», above, p. 335, No. 31.

2. Lith. *žėlvas* 'grünlich, gelblich', *žalvas* 'grünlich, gelb' || Lat. *helvus* 'honiggelb, isabellfarben'; OE *geolo*, OS *gelo*, MDu. *gelu*, *geel*, OHG *gelo*, gen. sg. *gelwes* 'gelb'; ON *gulr* 'gelb' < *\*gula-* or *\*gulwa-*; «the second stem» *\*ghlē-*: ON *glámr* m. 'Name für Mond, Riese, Beiname', Icel. *glámur* 'Pferd mit weisser Stirnflecke', ON *glámsýni* 'Gesichtstäuschung'; OE *glōm*, *glōmung* 'Dämmerung, Zwielflicht'; see Pok. 429—434; Fraenk. II, 1297; de Vries 194, 172, 153; WH I, 639.

3. Lith. *žėltas* 'golden, goldgelb, blond'; Latv. *zēlts* 'Gold', adj. 'golden, goldig' || Slav. *\*zolto* n. 'gold', *\*zoltъ* 'golden' (of course Slavic forms are irrelevant for the reconstruction of the Balto-Slavic intonation) || Germ. *\*gulpa-* n. 'gold': Goth. *gulþ* 'Gold', ON *gull*, *goll*, OE *zold*, OF *gold*, OS *gold*, OHG *gold* n. 'gold'; see Pok. 429—434; Fraenk. II, 1296—1297; Фасмер II, 103—104; Feist 224—225; de Vries 194.

4. Lith. *geĩtas* 'gelb, blond', *geĩsvas* 'gelbblond, isabelfarben, (fahl)gelb', *geltonas* 'gelb', *geĩsti*, praes. 1 sg. *gelstũ*, praet. *geltaũ* 'gelb werden' : Latv. *dzeĩtans* (Warkh., Wessen, Skaista, Kaltenbr., Warkl.) 'gelb', *dzeĩtāt* (Warkh., C.) 'gelb werden' : Slav. *\*žьltъ* (or *\*žьltъ?*), f. *\*žьltā* (Russ. *жѣлтый*, *жѣлт*, f. *желтá*, n. *жѣлто* and *желтó*; Ukr. *жóвтий*; Slovak. *žltý*, but there are traces of a. p. *b* of the primary adjective in the derivative: *žltok*; Polish *zółty* || it is connected with the root *\*gelə-* or *\*ghelə-*, but in both cases the absence in Balto-Slavic of the *satəm*-reflexes of guttural slightly hinders such a way of etymologizing, so there are continuous attempts to reconstruct a separate IE root *\*g<sup>h</sup>hel-* or *\*ghel-* based on Lat. *fel*, *fellis* n. 'gall-bladder, gall (in the gall-bladder)' : Germ. *\*gallōn-* < IE *\*ghol-n-* (ON *gall* n. 'Galle, bitteres Getränk, Gift'; OE *gealla* m., OS *galla* f.,

OHG *galla* f.) : Avest. *gərəδō-kərəta-* ‘die Galle herausschneidend’ (Bartholomae, 523); Slav. \*žlčь (Russ. жѣльчъ, Ukr. жовч, BRuss. жолуць; Bulg. жлъч, SCr. жѣч, gen. sg. жѣчу, Sloven. žōlč m., f. ‘die Galle’; Czech žluč, Slovak žlč f. ‘gall’; Polish żółć, HSorb. žōlč, LSorb. žōlc), supposed as a Proto-Slavic variant beside \*zylčь (OCS зльчъ [Mar., Ass., Sav., Ps.Sin., Euch.Sin., Supr.], зльчъ [Zogr., Supr.] ‘χολή, gall, bile’, ORuss. зльчъ); cf. p. 312, No. 35 (Latv. \*zuļts) and p. 335, No. 31 (Lith. žēlti); one also refers to this root Grk. χόλος m. ‘gall, bile; gall, bitter, anger; snake’s venom’, χολή f. (mostly in Ion.-Att.) ‘gall, bile; gall-bladder (pl.); bitter anger, wrath; venom’, that naturally corresponds to Avest. *zāra-* m. ‘Galle’ (Bartholomae, 1690); this allows us (resorting to the guttural variation) to include the discussed stems into the correspondences uniting stems of Nos. 2 and 3; see Fraenk. I, 145; Фасмер II, 43—44, 45; Pok. 429—434; de Vries 153—154; WH I, 473—474; cf. Pok. 367.

### Special cases

There is another series of roots functioning in Balto-Slavic as «disyllabic heavy bases», with their usual reflexation in other IE languages as disyllabic roots with the second short vowel. As a rule they are characterized by Schwebeablaut. Their second consonant is normally represented as -u-, the usual structure being: C-u-C. The specific character of these roots requires a separate study. In this case we limit ourselves to their cursory survey:

1. Latv. *kvēpt* ‘qualmen’, *kvēpes* pl. ‘Hauch, Qualm, Ruß’, *kvēpēt* ‘räuchern’, *kūpēt*, -u ‘rauchen, dampfen, stäuben’; Lith. *kūpėti*, *kūpū* ‘seethe, foam, overflow’; Slav. \**kypěti*, praes. 1 sg. \**kypjq* (Russ. *купеть*, praes. 1 sg. *куплю*, Ukr. *kunímu* ‘to boil, seethe’; OCS *кѣпѣти*, praes. 1 sg. *кѣпѣж* ‘to boil, seethe’; Bulg. praes. 1 sg. *kuná* ‘to boil, seethe; to ferment (of wine), to rise (of dough, bread)’; SCr. *kípjeti*, praes. 1 sg. *kípim* ‘to boil, seethe, overflow’, Sloven. *kipěti*, praes. 1 sg. *kipím* ‘to boil, seethe, overflow; to rise (of dough); to

swell', Czech *kypěti* 'to boil, seethe, overflow; to abound (in)', Slovak *kypiet'* 'to boil, seethe, overflow; to abound (in)', Polish *kipieć* 'to boil, seethe', HSorb. *kipjeć*, LSorb. *kípeš*); Slav. \**kvāpiti* (Russ. dial. *квāпиться* 'to look at smb. with envy, longing', Ukr. *квāпиту* 'to be in a hurry, to hurry; to aspire, strive; to be tempted by, covet' (Гринченко), BRuss. *квāпiць* 'to arouse desire, set on', *квāпiцца* 'to covet, envy', Bulg. *кван* 'haste, hurry', Czech *kvapiti* 'to be in a hurry, to hurry', dial. *kvapit* 'to pester, bother', Polish *kwapić* 'to be in a hurry, to hurry'), cf. also Czech *kyprý* 'diligent, industrious' || but with a short vowel: Lith. *kvāpas* m. 'Hauch, Dunst, Wohlgeruch', *kvepėti*, praes. 1 sg. *kvepiù* 'duften', *kvèpti*, praes. 1 sg. *kvempù* 'Geruch bekommen', *kvèpti*, praes. 1 sg. *kvepiù* and *kvèpiù* 'hauchen' (with analogical -é-); Slav. \**корьтъ* 'soot, lamp-black' (Russ. *кóпоть*, gen. sg. *кóпоту*, verbs *контiть*, *контiть*, Ukr. *кóпоть*, gen. sg. *кiнту*, BRuss. *кóпoць*, Czech *kopet*, gen. sg. *koptu*, Polish *kopeć*, gen. sg. *kopcia*, HSorb. *kopć*, LSorb. *kopś*) || OInd. *kúpyati* (E.) 'gerät in Wallung, zürnt', part. *kupita-* (RV); Lat. *cūpiō*, -ēre 'to wish, desire, demand'; Goth. *af hvapjan* 'ersticken, auslöschen', *af hvapnan* 'erlöschen', NHG *verwepfen* 'to grow musty (of wine)'; Alb. *kapitem* 'I pant, puff', *kem*, *kjem* 'incense'; ? OInd. *kapi-* (Lexicogr.) '(Namen einer Pflanze:) Emblica officinalis, etc.; Weihrauch'; ? Grk. *κάπος*, *κάφος* (Eustathius Episcopus) 'breath', *κάπος* · *πνεῦμα*, *κάπος* · *ψυχή*, *πνεῦμα* (Hsch.), *καπνός* 'smoke'; ? Latv. *skapstēt* 'beatmen, durch warmen Hauch beschlagen, von Kälte anlaufen' < *nūo-s-kapstēt* 'beschlagen, anlaufen, verrostet'; see Fraenk. I, 325—326; Фасмер II, 217, 235—236, 319; Pok. 596—597; WH I, 312; II, 732—733; Frisk I, 781—782; Mayrhofer I, 156, 230, 401;

2. Slav. \**kýsnoti*, \**kysati*, \**kysěti* (Russ. *кiснуть*, praes. 1 sg. *kiсну*, Ukr. *кiснути* 'to turn sour', OCS *въ(с)кыснѣти*, *въ(с)кысѣти* 'ζυμοῦσθαι', Bulg. praes. 1 sg. *kiсна* 'to wet; to turn sour, become wet', Scr. *kūснути*, praes. 1 sg. *kūснѣм* 'to turn sour, become wet', Sloven. *kisniti*, praes. 1 sg. *kisnem*, Czech *kysnouti* 'to turn sour', *kysati* 'to ferment, rise (of dough)', Slovak *kysnúť* 'to turn sour', *kysat'*, Polish *kisnąć*, *kisac'* 'to ferment, become rotten, decay',



HSorb. *kisnyć, kisać*, LSorb. *kisnyś, kisaś*) < \**kūt-s-*; Slav. \**kŷslъ* ‘sour’ (Russ. *кислый*, Ukr. *кислий*, Russ. ChSlav. *кыслъ, кыселъ*, Bulg. *кисел*, f. *кисела*, SCr. *kũceo*, f. *kũcela*, dial. *kũcao*, f. *kũcla*, Sloven. *kíseľ*, f. *kísela*, dial. *kísəľ*, f. *kísła*, Czech *kyselý*, Slovak *kyslý*, Polish *kisły*, HSorb. *kisaty*) — *l*-part. from Slav. \**kŷsnqti* ~ Latv. *kūsāt* (< \**kūt-s*) ‘to boil (*intr.*)’; Slav. \**kvasъ* (Russ. *квас*, gen. sg. *кв́аса* ‘kvass’, Ukr. *квас* ‘acid, kvass, ferment’, BRuss. *квас* ‘kvass’, OCS *квасъ* ‘ζύμη’, ‘ferment, barm, yeast’, Bulg. *квас*, with the article *квас-ѣм* ‘kvass, barm, yeast, ferment’, SCr. *кв́ас* ‘ferment, barm, yeast’, Sloven. *kvás* ‘ferment, barm, yeast’, Czech *kvas* ‘ferment, kvass; fermentation’, Slovak *kvas* ‘ferment, kvass; fermentation; (*arch.*) carousal’, Polish *kwas* ‘acid, kvass, ferment’, HSorb. *kwash* ‘wedding’, LSorb. *kwash* ‘ferment; wedding feast’) < \**kuāt-s-* ~ Lat. *cāseus* ‘cheese’<sup>23</sup>, -*eo*-formation from \**cāso-* ‘Gärstoff’ < \**kuāt-so-*, Alb. *kos* ‘sour sheep milk’ (< \**kvātjo-* or borrowed from SCr. and Bulg.) || OInd. *kváthati* ‘siedet, kocht’, *kvāthayati* ‘macht sieden’, OInd. *kvāthá-* m. ‘Dekokt’; *kúthyati* ‘stinkt’, *kōthayati* ‘läßt verwesen’; Goth. *hvaþjan* ‘schäumen’, *hvaþō* ‘foam, spume’; see Фасмер II, 218, 239—240; Pok. 627—628; Mayrhofer I, 228, 283; WH I, 176—177; Feist 283;

3. Slav. \**kŷdnqti*, iterative \**kŷdati*: Russ. *кинуть*, praes. 1 sg. *кину*, Ukr. *кинути* ‘to throw, hurl’; Bulg. praes. 1 sg. *кина* ‘I tear, rend’, SCr. *kũdnuti*, praes. 1 sg. *kũdnēm* ‘to run away, make off’, Sloven. *pre-kíniti*, praes. 1 sg. *pre-kînem* ‘to interrupt, stop’, *skíniti*, praes. 1 sg. *skînem* ‘povesiti’, *ukíniti* ‘to cancel, stop’, Czech *kydnouti* ‘to throw, hurl’, Slovak *kydnút’* ‘to throw, hurl; strike, hit’, OPolish and modern dial. *kinąć* ‘to throw, hurl’, HSorb. *kinyc* ‘to pour out, shake out’, LSorb. *kinus* ‘to pour out, shake out’; Russ. *кугáть*, Ukr. *кугáму* ‘to throw, hurl’, OCS *нскыдати* ‘to throw out’, SCr. *kũgamu*, praes. 1 sg. *kũgām* ‘to tear; to interrupt; to clean dung out’, Sloven. *kídati*, praes. 1 sg. *kîdam* ‘to rake, shovel up (*snow, etc.*)’, Czech *kydati* ‘to clean a cattle-shed’, Slovak *kydat’* ‘to throw’, Polish *kidać*

<sup>23</sup> Borrowed into WGerm. \**kāsjo* (OE. *cēse, cīese, cŷse*, OS *kāsi*, OHG *kāsi, chāsi*) and Irl. *cāise*.

‘to throw out, away’, HSorb. *kidać* ‘to pour (in, into)’, LSorb. *kidas* ‘to pour, spill’) ~ Latv. *kūdīt, kūdināt* ‘to drive (on), urge (on)’ || OInd. *cōdati, cōdāyati* ‘(an)treibt’; ? Grk. κυδίας · τὰ ἄνθη τῶν ὀδόντων ‘Zahnkeim’ (Hsch.); ? Alb. *heth* ‘werfe, worfle’ (instead of \**hedh* from \**skoudeiō* ?); ON *skjöta*, OE *scēotan* ‘schleudern, stoßen, schießen’, OHG *sciozan* ‘schießen, werfen, schnellend bewegen’; OHG *scoz* ‘Geschloß, Schößling’, *scuz* ‘Schuß, Wurf, Schnelligkeit’; ON *skaut* n. ‘Zipfel, Ecke, Schoß, Vorsprung’, OHG *scōz* ‘Zipfel, Kleiderschoß, Rockschoß’; MLG *schott* ‘(vorgeschobener) Riegel, Verschuß’, whence *schutten* ‘abdämmen, hindern, schützen’, MHG, NHG *schützen*; without *s-*: MHG *hossen, hotzen* ‘schnell laufen’, NHG dial. *hutzen* ‘antreiben, hetzen; stoßen’; with Schwebelaut: ON *hváta* ‘stossen, stechen’, OE *forhwātan*, OHG *farhwāzan* ‘verstossen, verfluchen’; see Fraenk. II, 820—821; Фасмер II, 230; Mayrhofer I, 400—401; de Vries 269—270; Pok. 955—956 (\**(s)keud-* ‘werfen’); for Lith. *skudrūs, skaudrūs*; Latv. *skaudrs, skudra* where Winter’s law did not operate see below, p. 497, No. 5.

4. Slav. \**kýla* f., \**kylъ* m. (Russ. *ки́ла* ‘rupture, tumour, tumour on the tree’, Ukr. *кі́ла* ‘rupture’, Russ. ChSlav. *кыла*, Bulg. *кі́ла*, SCr. *kūla*, Sloven. *kíla*, Czech *kýla*, Slovak *kyla*, Polish *kiła* || Russ. dial. *кил* ‘tumour, abscess’, Czech *kýl* m. ‘rupture’) ~ Lith. *kúla* ‘tumour, lump’, *kúlas* ‘umbilical hernia’, Grk. Ion. *κήλη*, Att. *κάλη* (prob. -*á-*) ‘tumour, rupture, hernia; hump’ (< \**kāfelā* or \**kāfelā* ?), ON *haull* m., OE *hēala* m., OHG *hōla* f. ‘fracture, rupture’ (< Germ. \**haura(n)-*, \**haulō(n)-*); see Фасмер II, 232; Fraenk. I, 306; Pok. 536—537; Frisk I, 839—840; de Vries 214.

5. Slav. \**kýť* f., \**kýta* f. (Russ. dial. *куть* f. ‘braid, plait of hay, grass, etc.’ (Pskov), ‘headgear, embroidered in gold’, Polish dial. *kić* f. ‘pod, flight, flock’, HSorb. *kić* f. ‘bunch (of grapes)’; Russ. *ку́ма* ‘stalk with leaves, wisp of hay, bunch of flowers’, Ukr. *ку́ма* ‘cluster, bunch’, BRuss. *кі́мка*, Bulg. *ку́мка* ‘tuft, cluster, bunch’, *ку́мъ* ‘I tie into a bundle, decorate, wind round’, SCr. *kūma* ‘cluster, bunch’, *kūtiti, kūtīm*, Sloven. *kíta* ‘plait (of hair); braid, plait of hay; sinew; bough, branch; bunch (of flowers), bundle; line (of flying birds)’),

*kítiti, kítim* 'to tie a bunch, decorate') ~ Lith. *kútis* 'Haarzotte'; the old etymology is rejected: < \**kūp-tā*, ON *skúfr* 'cluster, bunch', OHG *scoub* 'bottle of hay'; see Фасмер II, 240;

Slav. \**kýstь* (Russ. *кусть*, gen. sg. *кúстѹ* 'brush; tassel; cluster, bunch; hand', Ukr. *кусть*, SCr. *kũcm* m. 'brush', Slovak *kyst', kystka* 'brush'; Polish *kiść, kistka* 'cluster, bunch', LSorb. *kistka* 'handful of (wheat, etc.) ears; tail, brush' ~ \**kūt-ti-* from Slav. \**kýť* f., \**kýta* f.;

6. Slav. \**kũka* (Russ. *кўка* 'fist', BRuss. *кўка* 'fist', ORuss., Russ. ChSlav. *кѡконосъ* 'hawk-nosed', Bulg. *кўка* 'hook', SCr. *кўка* 'hook') ~ Latv. *kaũka* 'Schopf', 'forelock' in the expression: *aiz kaukas ņemt* 'beim Schopf nehmen'; Slav. \**kýka* (Russ. dial. *кўка* 'a kind of female head-dress, *kička*', ORuss., Russ. ChSlav. *кыка, кника* 'head hair; bandage; festive head-dress of married women', OCS *кыка* 'κόμη, coma', 'tuft of hair', *кыкъ* m. 'coma', Bulg. (Gerov) *кўка* 'plait (of hair)', SCr. *kũka* 'plait (of hair), lock; ear, panicle; crown of the head, head', Sloven. *kika* 'a tuft of hair; pip (of bird)', Czech *kyka* 'cap, *čepec*; round plait of the *čepec*'); with Schwebeablaut: Slav. \**kváka* (Maced. *кѡака* f. 'door handle', SCr. *кѡака* f. 'door handle; hook, catch', Sloven. *kváka* f. 'hook; door handle; staple', Slovak *kvaka* f. 'crooked stick, crutched stick', dial. 'hook on the shadoof', 'hook; boat-hook; handle, staff', 'knee-joint of the horse hind leg', HSorb. *kwaka* f. 'hook, boat-hook; yoke; door handle') ~ Lith. *kúoka* 'cudgel', *kúokas* 'club', Latv. *kũoks* 'cudgel, stick; tree' || Slav. \**kučera* (Russ. dial. (Kursk) *кўчери* pl. 'curls', Ukr. *кўчери* pl. 'curls', Czech *kučera* 'lock', Slovak *kučera*) ~ Lith. *kaũkaras* (3<sup>b</sup>) 'hill, mound; top of a mountain'; Slav. \**кўкъ* m., \**кўка* f. (Serb. ChSlav. *кыкъ* 'κόμη', Sloven. *kêka* 'fluffy head hair', *kêčka* 'plait (of hair)', Czech *kštice, kštíce* 'tuft of hair', OCzech *kčice* 'tuft of hair, plait', OPolish *kszczyca*) ~ Lith. *kũkis* 'hook, hammer, stick', Latv. *kukurs* 'pip'; Lith. *kũkti*, praes. 3 sg. *kuũka*, praet. 3 sg. *kũko* 'sich bücken', Latv. *kukt*, praes. 1 sg. *kukstu*, praet. 1 sg. *kuku* 'krumm werden' || OInd. *kucáti, kuñcatē* 'sich zusammenziehen, sich krümmen', *kucitá-* 'bemessen, umschrieben, begrenzt'; see Фасмер II, 403—404, 438; Fraenk. I, 229—230, 306; Pok. 589; Mayrhofer I, 219, 269, 393;

7. The following word probably also belong to the same group: Lith. *tvėrti*, praes. 1 sg. *tveriù*, praet. 1 sg. *tvėriau* ‘to ceize, take’, ‘to enclose, fence; to bandage, tie up; to attach, insert’; Latv. *tveřt*, praes. 1 sg. *tveřu*, praet. 1 sg. *tvėru* ‘greifen, fassen, halten, fangen, hinreichen, genügen’; Lith. *tvirtas* (3) ‘firm, strong; solid, hard; healthy’; Latv. *tvirts* ‘stark, fest, prall, drall’; Lith. *tvartas* ‘abgezäunter Stall, Stallung; Einzäunung, Verschlag, Hürde’, ‘cattle-barn’, *tvárstis* ‘bandage, band’ || Grk. *σειρά*, Ion. *σειρή*, Dor. *σηρά* f. ‘cord, rope; trace; cord or line with a noose, lasso’ < \**t̥uer-īā*, *σορός* f. ‘cinerary urn’ < \**t̥uoros* and perhaps *σωρός* m. ‘heap (esp. of corn); heap, quantity’ and *σώρακος* m. ‘basket or box’, *σαργάνη* f. ‘plait, braid; basket’. See Pok. 1101; Frisk II, 687, 754, 843—844, 677; Fraenk. 1152, 1154—1155, 1151.

#### LONG DIPHTHONGS

One of the peculiarities of IE long diphthongs is the fact that they are directly reflected only in Balto-Slavic. Their regular Baltic reflex is acute, in Slavic this acute is retained in the immobile accentual type. In Baltic long diphthongs also differ from short ones probably by their segmental reflexation, see Stang VGBS, 51—82. An important feature of the long diphthongs is the fact that they are subject to Hirt—Illič-Svityč’s law like IE long monophthongs (this is their difference from Bezenberger’s clusters)<sup>24</sup>. In all the rest of IE languages (probably except Albanian) the reflexes of long diphthongs coincided with those of short diphthongs. This also holds good for Indo-Iranian: to all appearance, the long grade of diphthongs and diphthongal combinations has no direct relation to long diphthongs. However, it is possible to discover some traces of long diphthongs outside Balto-Slavic. As the IE diphthong represents a combination

<sup>24</sup> All the cases of the appearance of the acute intonation of non-final syllables in the mobile accentual type in Proto-Slavic are in the syllables that received their accent as the result of the retraction of the stress according to Hirt—Illič-Svityč’s law.

of a vowel with a resonant in a tautosyllabic position, it is easily found when its resonant element becomes the consonantal element of the next syllable, in this case we observe alternation of the kind *Coi-C ~ Cō-ia*. In a number of cases the analyses starting from the alternations of this kind is difficult as the vocalic element coincided with the morphological formant of a certain grammatical category, in this case another peculiarity of long diphthongs becomes useful. In the zero grade the long resonant functioned as a tautosyllabic combination of the type *-ai-*, which yields IE long syllabic resonant (*-ī-* in this case). In many stems in the available material there are actually root doublets of the kind *\*pō- ~ \*pī-* 'to drink', *\*tā- ~ \*tī-* 'to melt, become wet', the presence of which gives us the grounds to reconstruct roots with long diphthongs *\*pōi-* 'to drink', *\*tāi-* 'to melt, become wet' etc. In tautosyllabic position long diphthongs are shortened or lose their vocalic element. Probably such a loss happens more often when it corresponds to the place of articulation of the vowel (*-i-* is usually lost after *ē*, *-u-* — after *ō*).

Perhaps purely morphological reasons lead to a considerable frequency of short reflexes of the zero grade of long diphthongs in the comparative material (in any case it is still impossible to firmly establish the phonetic positions of short reflexation).

1. Slav. *\*děverь* (a. p. a) 'brother-in-law (husband's brother)'; Lith. *dīeveris* (1) 'brother-in-law (husband's brother)', Latv. *diēveris* 'brother-in-law (husband's brother)' < *\*dāiūē* < *\*dāiūēr* with stress shift according to Hirt—Illich-Svityč's law and restoration of *-r-* after the obl. cases || OInd. *devā* 'des Mannes Bruder (*insbes.* ein jüngerer)' (< *\*dāiūé* < *\*dāiūēr*), Grk. *δαῖρ* 'brother-in-law (husband's brother)' < *\*dāiūr*; Lat. *lēvir* 'brother-in-law (husband's brother)'; see Иллич-Свитыч ИА, 77, 154; Фасмер I, 491; ЭССЯ 5, 19; Fraenk. I, 94; Pok. 179; WH I, 787—788; Trautmann BSW 43.

2. Lith. *giedóti*, praes. 1 sg. *giedu* and *giestu* 'to sing' : Latv. *dziēdāt* 'singen'; Lith. *pragýsti*, praes. 1 sg. *pragýstu* 'zu singen beginnen', *gáida* (1) 'Singweise, Melodie'; Lith. *giesmė*, acc. sg. *giesmę*

f. (3) ‘feierliches, geistliches Lied’: Latv. *dziēsme, dziēsma* f. ‘das Lied, das geistliche Lied’; Lith. *gaidỹs* ‘rooster, cock’ (4 < \*3 ?) : Latv. *gāilis* ‘der Hahn’ (Mühl.—Endz. I, 584—585) || OInd. *gáyati, gāti* ‘singt’, *gītá-* ‘gesungen’, *gātú-, gīti-* ‘Gesang’; ORuss. *ГЛАГТИ* ‘to caw’, Russ. dial. *ráyть* ‘to yawn’, ‘to open the mouth’, ‘to speak’, ‘to cry, make noise’, ‘to scold, abuse’, ‘to chase an animal with cries’; Czech dial. *hájit* ‘to peep, squeak pitifully (of birds)’; Russ. dial. *ráumь* ‘to cry, make noise’, ‘to shout to one another, halloo to one other’, ‘to weep’; Fraenk. I, 150; Trautmann BSW 76; ЭССЯ 6, 84, 85; Mayrhofer I, 334; Pok. 355.

3. Lith. *gomurỹs* (3<sup>a</sup>) ‘palate’; Latv. *gāmurs* ‘Kehlkopf, Luftröhre’ (probably with an early loss of the vocalic element of the long diphthong, see the correspondences) || OHG *goumo* ‘Gaumen’ < \**ghōu-men-*; OHG *giumo* ‘Gaumen’ < \**ghēu-men-*; ON *gómr* m. ‘Zahnfleisch, Gaumen, Kiefer’, OE *góma*, OHG *guomo* ‘Gaumen’ < \**ghō-men-* < \**ghōu-men-* (with the loss of the vocalic element of the long diphthong); Alb. *gomën* ‘Abgrund, Tiefe, Schlund, Kehle’; Grk. *χαῦνος* ‘gaffend, gähnend’, *χάος*, gen. sg. *χάεος* n. ‘Schlund, Kluft’ < \**χαϜος*; see Fraenk. 161; de Vries 182; Frisk II, 1072—1073; 1076—1077 (sub v. *χάσκω*); Pok. 449.

4. Lith. dial. *gũlta* ‘bed, couch; lair’; Latv. *guĩta* ‘Bett’; Lith. *gũltas* (1) ‘plank-bed; berth’, dial. ‘animal resting-place’ < \**g(u)ōl-ta-* or \**g(u)ĩ-ta-* || Germ. \**kúlpaz* (< IE \**g(u)ĩ-to-*); OSwed. *kolder*, Swed. *kull* m. ‘youngs of the same litter’; Latv. *guōlis* ‘Lagerstätte, Schlafstätte’, *guōļa* ‘Nest, Lager’ (there is generalization of the metatony of *-io-* stems in Lith. *guōlis* 2 ‘bed; lair’<sup>25</sup>); Grk. *γωλεός* m. ‘Schlupfwinkel, Höhle, Lager des Wildes’, < \**gōlei-ós* < \**gũōl-*, probably the Baltic

<sup>25</sup> In the secondary literature there exists Lith. *gvalis*, usually with reference to Sirvyd’s dictionary (see Fraenk. I, 176; Pok. 402; Trautmann BSW 93), but in the phototype edition of Sirvyd’s dictionary in the corresponding place (Sirvyd 72 [167]) stands regular *guolis*. Buga refers to DP while citing this form (Būga RR II, 456). In Daukša’s text loc. pl. *gwalūfę* is really attested (DP 41<sub>3g</sub>), but it can be interpreted both as *gvalis*, and as Kudzinowsky’s *gvalas* ‘lózko’. Although the existence in Lithuanian of some stem of a similar kind with a *gval-*variant of this root seems warranted, it

stem is identical to the Greek one, and its primary a. p. 1 is the result of the stress retraction according to Hirt—Illich-Svityč's law; there is a zero grade in Lith. *gvalà*, *gvalù* adv. 'without getting up, side by side, in a row, flatwise' (Jušk. I, 501) < \**gval-*, this same grade is contained in Grk. γύλλον n. 'hollow (of breast- or back-piece of the cuirass, of a vessel, of a rock, etc.); hollow ground, vales, dells' < \**gualo-*, which is often compared with Grk. γωλέος, and in Arm. *kalat* 'Höhle, Schlupfwinkel oder Lager wilder Tiere' < \**g(u)al-*; the primary distribution of the variants \*-*al-* > -*al-* and \*-*al-* > \*-*ī-* > -*ul-* is obscured by the later morphological processes, probably it was greatly helped by the presence of the preceding -*u-* in this root, cf. Lith. *guščias/guščias* 4 'lying; horizontal' and *gvalščias* 'recumbent, lying without getting up' Jušk. I, 501<sup>26</sup>; see Иллич-СВИТЫЧ ИА, 68—69; Fraenk. I, 175—176; Frisk I, 336, 330—331; Pok. 402; Trautmann BSW 93—94; Falk—Torp I, 591—592; Būga RR I, 458—459; II, 261, 456; Būga Aist. st. 186.

5. Lith. *galvà*, acc. sg. *gálvą* (3) 'head', Latv. *galva* 'der Kopf, das Haupt (körperlich)'; Slav. \**golvá*, acc. sg. \**gōlvq* 'head', a. p. c, with the loss of the reflex of Balto-Slavic acute in the mobile accentual paradigm || Arm. *glux* 'head' < \**gulux* < \**gōlu-kh* (if we accept the identity of the root in Armenian and Balto-Slavic, the Balto-Slavic reconstruction should be \**gōlvā*; but the absence of the stress retraction according to Hirt—Illich-Svityč's law contradicts it, probably reconstruction \**ghōlāuā* will remove this difficulty); see Фасмер I, 429; ЭССЯ 6, 221—222; Berneker I, 323—334; Fraenk. I, 131—132; Trautmann BSW 77; cf. Pok. 349—350.

should be separated from *guolis* and viewed together with the forms reflecting the grade \**gual-*, see below.

<sup>26</sup> Probably this analysis by itself does not hinder the comparison of this root to Grk. βάλλειν 'to throw' (cf. Fraenk. I, 175—176) on the basis of the semantic parallel Lat. *iacēre* 'to lie' ~ *iacēre* 'to throw', but it will require for Grk. βάλλειν different reconstruction of the IE root: \**guel-* (Grk. β- and δ- < IE \**gū-* in the corresponding positions), as well as reinterpretation of a number of reflexes and explanation of the forms reflecting IE -*al-* of the end of the root.

6. Lith. *griáuti*, praes. 3 *griáuna* ‘to fell, destroy’, *griúti*, praes. 1 sg. *griuvù* (spelling praes. 3 *griūva*), praet. 1 sg. *griuvaũ* ‘to fall; to ruin; to fail’; Lith. *grėva*, *grėvelis* ‘unsauberer Mensch’ (here probably also belongs Lith. *griáusti*, praes. 1 sg. *griáudžiu* ‘donnern’, *griáuti*, praes. 1 sg. *griáuju*, praet. 1 sg. *grióviau* ‘niederbrechen (*trans.*, *intr.*); donnern’ ~ Latv. *graúst*, praes. 1 sg. *graužu*, praet. 1 sg. *graudu* ‘poltern, donnern’, *grāūt*<sup>27</sup> (tr.) ‘stürzen, schleudern, zertrümmern, zerstören’, *grūt* (*intr.*) ‘einstürzen, zusammenfallen’) || Grk. Hom. *χράω*, only aor. *ἔχραον* ‘to fall upon, attack, assail’, *ἔχραε* ‘überfiel, bedrängte’, *ζαχρηής* ‘heftig andrängend, ungestüm’ (< *-χρᾶτ-ής*); Lat. *ingruō*, *ingruere* ‘to rush in(to), intrude (into); to fall on, attack’, *congruō*, *congruere* ‘to meet, encounter; to correspond; to fit, suit’; see Fraenk. I, 171, 168; Frisk II, 1114; WH I, 700—701; Pok. 460 (\**ghrēu-* ~ \**ghrəu-* ~ \**ghrū-*);

7. Lith. *káimas* (1) ‘village’, *káima* ‘(Bauern)dorf, Land im Gegensatz zur Stadt’ || Grk. *κώμη* ‘unwalled village; quarter, ward’, *κῶμος* ‘revel, carousal, merry-making’; Goth. *haims* ‘Dorf, Flecken’, OE *hám* ‘Haus, Dorf, Heim’; the relation of Lith. *kiēmas* (4) ‘yard’ ~ Latv. *ciems* ‘village’ to these stems is not clear; see Fraenk. I, 251; Frisk II, 61, 62; Feist 233—234; Pok. 540.

8. Lith. *káina* (1) ‘price’, *káiné* (1) ‘price’, (Žemaitic) *kánė*, Lith. *káiningas* ‘kostbar, nützlich’, *káininti* ‘schätzen’, dial. *kainà*, gen. sg. *kainōs*, acc. sg. *kainą* (4) ‘price’, Latv. *ciens* ‘Ehre, Würde, Achtung’ (Mühl.—Endz. I, 394—395), *ciena* f. ‘Achtung’ (Endz.—Haus. I, 277); Lith. *kainà* (4) is probably secondary, falling tone in Latv. *ciens* is also unclear; Slav. \**kěná*, acc. sg. \**kěnq* ‘price’ || Slav. praes. sg. 1 \**kájō*, 3. \**kájety*, inf. \**kájati* ‘to reproach (with), blame (for)’; OInd. *cáyate* ‘rächt, straft’ < \**kəjetai*<sup>27</sup>, but Avest. *čikayat* ‘let him punish, take revenge’ (Bartholomae 464, sub v. *kāy-*), that is probably a conjunctive from \**čikaēti*, an athematic verb with the loss of the length of the diphthong [cf. not related OInd. *cikéti* ‘bemerkt, nimmt wahr’

<sup>27</sup> For the palatalization before *a* < IE \**ə* cf. the analogical process before *a* < IE \**ṛ*.



(the long diphthong was shortened, but its trace was retained in the zero grade: imper. sg. 2 AV *cikīhi?*), see below for *\*k<sup>u</sup>ēi-/k<sup>u</sup>ī-* > OInd. *cāyati* ‘nimmt wahr’; Avest. *kaēnā* f. ‘punishment, revenge’ < *\*k<sup>u</sup>ōinā*; Grk. *τίϋμα* (< *\*k<sup>u</sup>ī-nu-* < *\*k<sup>u</sup>ēi-nu-*) ‘to punish, chastise; to avenge, take vengeance for; to repay (of the punisher); to repay (in good sence); to pay (penalty)’, *τιμή* f. ‘worship, esteem, honour(s); honour, dignity, lordship; worth, value, price; compensation, satisfaction, penalty’, *τιμός* m. ‘worth, value, price’, *ποινή* f. (< *\*k<sup>u</sup>ōinā*) ‘blood-money, were-gild, fine; price paid, satisfaction, requital; recompense, reward for; redemption, release’; the IE root *k<sup>u</sup>ōi-/k<sup>u</sup>ī-* is restored, which is usually not separated in the etymological literature from the root *\*k<sup>u</sup>ēi-/k<sup>u</sup>ī-*.<sup>28</sup> OInd. *cāyati* ‘nimmt wahr, beobachtet, hat Scheu, hat Besorgnis’; Slav. praes. 1 sg. *\*čājō*, 3 sg. *\*čajèť*; with the loss of the second part of the diphthong: Grk. *τηρός* ‘schützend, während’ (probably here also belongs OInd. *cāra-* ‘Kundschafter, Späher’, see Pok. 636, but Mayrhofer I, 383—384 refers it to OInd. *carāḥ* ‘nachgehend’), Slav. *\*čāsъ* (< *\*kē[i]so-*) ‘hour’, Alb. *kohë* (< *\*kē[i]sā*) ‘Zeit’; see Fraenk. I, 203; Фасмер II, 216; IV, 298, 321; Berneker I, 124—125, 133—134, 134 (sub v. *čakajō*), 137, 469; Trautmann BSW 113, 124, 138; Mayrhofer I, 376, 383, 385; Frisk II, 573—574, 884 (τετίημα), 901, 902—903, 906—907; WH II, 329—330 (sub v. *poena*); Pok. 636—637; cf. Бенвенист 273—276; Schulze Qu.ep. 355—356.

9. Slav. praes. 1 sg. *\*čūjō*, inf. *\*čūti* ‘to feel, hear’ || OInd. *kavī-* ‘klug, weise; Seher, Dichter’, *ā-kúvate* ‘beabsichtigt’, Avest. aor. med. 1 sg. *čəvīš-ī* (j. *čivīš-ī*) ‘ich versehe, erhoffte’, *čəvīš-tā* (j. *čivīš-tā*) ‘es wurde gehofft’ (see Bartholomae 442 and 598), probably *ā-kúvate* and *čəvīš-* < *\*kəu-*; OInd. *á-kūta-* n., *á-kūti-* f. ‘Absicht’; Grk. *κοέω* ‘merke, höre’ (a denominative verb from *\*kouis* or *\*kouos*), *κοῖον*, *κόϊον* · *ἐνέχυρον*, *κοῦα*, *κῶα* · *ἐνέχυρα* (Hsch.) (the variation o ~ ω is characteristic for these forms); Slav. *\*čúdo*, gen. sg. *\*čúdesē*, nom. pl.

<sup>28</sup> The traditional unification of this group with the root *\*k<sup>u</sup>ēit-/k<sup>u</sup>īt-* is less warranted.

\**čúdesa* ~ Grk. κῦδος, gen. sg. κῦδεος n. ‘Ruhm’ (identically derived forms with different vocalic grades); Grk. κῦδρός, κῦδιστος ‘(sehr) berühmt’; OE *hāwian* ‘schauen’ (this form corresponds to Slav. \**въз-čaviti*, which is reconstructed on the basis of Czech *navštívit* ‘to visit’, OCzech *vš-čieviti*, *na-vš-čieviti*<sup>29</sup>); with «s-mobile» Germ. \**skawwōn*: OE *scēawian* ‘schauen’, OF *skāwia*, OS *skauwōn*, OHG *scouwōn* ‘schauen’ (from \**skāwā-* with the shortening of \**ā* and lengthening of the resonant in the pretonic position, i. e. in the prosodic context corresponding to Balto-Slavic mobility of the stress, see Дыбо, Герм. 16—18; cf. Дыбо, Сокращение долгот 24—29); with the \*s-enlargement: Grk. ἄ-κούω ‘höre’ < Proto-Grk. \**a-kous-īō*; Germ. \**hausjan*: Goth. *hausjan*, *hausjon* ‘hören’, ON *heyra*, OE *hieran*, *hȳran*, OF *hēra*, *hōra*, OS *hōrian*, OHG *hōran* (if we start from the correspondence of the Avestian stem to the Germanic and Slavic stems, we can firmly enough reconstruct the root with the long diphthong, the Greek forms with -ō- turn out to have been restructured, cf. variants with -ω-, cited by Hesychius; probably, OInd. *kavi-* was also restructured; Lat. -ā- in *caveō*, *cavēre* ‘to be wary, careful, alert’ can be viewed as the normal reflex of IE \*-ə-); see Фасмер IV, 390; ЭССЯ 4, 134—136, 99—100; Сл. праш. 2, 295—297; WH I, 186—187; Mayrhofer I, 70, 187—188; Frisk I, 57—58, 893—894; Pok. 587—588; Falk—Torp II, 1036—1037 (sub v. *Skue*); cf. Machek 320.

10. Lith. *káuti*, praes. 1 sg. *káuju*, praet. 1 sg. *kóviau* ‘to beat, forge’, Latv. *kaût*, praes. 1 sg. *kaûju* ‘to beat, strike’, Slav. inf. \**kūti* < \**kāu-ti-*, praes. 1 sg. \**kōvq* < \**kəu-e-*; inf. \**kovāti* < \**kəu-ā-ti-*, praes. 1 sg. \**kūjq* < \**kāu-je-* (Russ. *ковать*, praes. 1 sg. *куют*, Ukr. *ковати*, praes. 1 sg. *кую* ‘to forge’; OCS *ковати*, praes. 1 sg. *куют* ‘τεκταίνειν’ (Supr.), SCr. *kovati*, praes. 1 sg. *кѹѣм*, Sloven. *kovati*, praes. 1 sg. *kújem*; Czech praes. 1 sg. *kuji*, Slovak *kovat*; Polish praes. 1 sg. *kuje*,

<sup>29</sup> The form Slav. \**čevěti* or \**čeviti* ‘to keep watch, keep vigil, be awake’, reconstructed on the basis of BRuss. (dial.?) *чѣвѣць* ‘id.’, cannot be directly connected with the Czech word because of the short root vowel (pace Trubačev); in the best case it can be a special verb of state with the zero grade of the same root and the generalization of the first palatalization.

HSorb. *kować*, LSorb. *kowaś* ~ Bulg. *ковá* 'I forge', Sloven. dial. (Prekmur.) *kuti*, praes. 1 sg. *kovém*) || ON *hoggva*, Swed. *hugga*, Danish *hugge*, OE *hēawan*, OHG *houwan* 'to hew, strike' < Germ. \**hǣmu-a-* < \**kāu-ó-*, i. e. in the prosodic context corresponding to the Balto-Slavic accentual mobility, see Дыбо, Герм. 16—18; cf. Дыбо, Сокращение долгот 24—29; Lith. dial. *kóna* (1) 'walka' (Šl. 182), 'struggle' (standard *kovà* 'struggle' 4 a. p. < \*3 or 1 a. p., with the restoration of accentual mobility after the verb); zero grade in Slav. \**kǔjь* (Russ. *куй*, gen. sg. *куя* [borrowed from the south. dialects? the regular Russ. form should be \**коў*, \**коя*] '(billiard) cue', dial. 'wooden hammer, pestle', Ukr. *куй*, BRuss. *киў* 'stick, cudgel', Russ. ChSlav. **кѹи** 'hammer, cudgel', Bulg. *куяк* 'weight (e. g. set of weights, etc.)', SCr. *kǔjāk* 'cudgel', Sloven. *kīj*, Czech *kyj* '(billiard) cue, stick', Slovak *kyj* '(billiard) cue, stick', Polish *kij* 'stick, staff', HSorb. *kij*, LSorb. *kij*) ~ Lith. *kújis* 'hammer', *kúja* 'stilt', Latv. *kūja* 'stick, cudgel'; cf. Lat. *cūdō* 'to beat, strike; to forge', but it is usually considered that in Lat. *cūdō* monophthong *-ū-* comes from the compounds instead of the primary \**caudō* with a diphthong, as well as in Lat. *incūs*, gen. sg. *incūdis* f. 'anvil'; see Дыбо СА, 237—239; Фасмер II, 270; ЭССЯ 12, 10—11; Fraenk. I, 232; Trautmann BSW 123; Pok. 535; WH I, 300—301, 692.

11. Lith. *káulas* (1) 'bone; stalk, stem; staff'; Latv. *kaūls* 'bone' < \**káulas* < Balt. \**káulam* n., cf. Pruss. *caulan* n. 'Knochen, Bein' || Grk. *καυλός* 'stem (of a plant); spear-staff; of various tubular structures in animals; vegetable of the cabbage kind; membrum virile' < \**kāulós*; Lat. *caulis* m. 'stalk, stem (mostly of cabbage), cabbage-stump; shank, pivot; membrum virile'. The forms with the zero grade are not reliable (OInd. *kulyam* n. 'Aufbewahrungsort für die Knochen eines verbrannten Leichnams'; cf. Mayrhofer I, 242—243: «Nur bei Lexikographen kommt die Bedeutung 'Knochen' (neben 'Fleisch') vor, auf der die Verknüpfung von *kulyam* mit lit. *káulas* 'Knochen', an. *holr* (\**kul-*) 'hohl' usw. beruht: vgl. WP I 332, P. 537. Es ist freilich nicht ausgeschlossen, daß sich in dem Lexikonwort ein \**kúlya-* 'Knochen' erhalten habe, zu dem \**kulyá-* 'Knochenstätte' eine Ableitung wäre,

es bleibt aber zu erwägen, ob das Wort für ‘Aufbewahrungsort der Knochen’ nicht ursprünglich ‘einer Sippe eigene Knochenstätte’ (: *kulya*- ‘einer Sippe zugehörig’, vgl. *kúlam*) bedeutet habe, und *kulyam* ‘Knochen’ dann nichts als eine gelehrte Folgerung aus diesem Worte wäre»). See Иллич-Свитыч ИА, 74; Pok. 537 and 588—592; Fraenk. I, 230; Trautmann BSW 122; WH I, 188—189.

12. Lith. *kliáutis*, praes. 3 *kliáujasi*, praet. 3 *kliónési* ‘to rely on smb./smth., trust smb.’, *kliáutis*, gen. sg. *kliáuties* m. ‘cavil, cause’, *kliúti*, praes. 3 *kliūva*, praet. 3 *kliuvo* ‘to brush against *smb.*, *smth.*; to catch on *smth.*; to find oneself; to prevent, interfere; to catch it (hot), get it (hot)’, *kliútis*, gen. sg. *kliúties* f. ‘obstacle, difficulty, hindrance’; Latv. *kļāūt* ‘neigen, schmiegen’, *kļāūtiēs* ‘sich schmiegen, sich anlehnen, sich biegen’, *kļūt* ‘unwillkürlich geraten, werden’; Slav. \**kljǔvǫti*, praes. 1 sg. \**kljǔjǫ* or \**kljǔjǫ* ‘to peck, pick’, \**kljǔka* ‘crooked object (e. g. crutched stick, hook)’, ‘trickery, trick’ || Grk. Ion. (Hom.+) κληΐς, gen. sg. κληΐδος [i], Dor. κλαΐς, gen. sg. κλαΐδος [i and i] ‘bar, bolt; door catch, hook; clasp hook, tongue; collar-bone; rowing bench (in a ship)’ < \*κλαΐς; Lat. *clāvis* f. ‘key; bar, bolt’, *claudō*, *claudere* ‘to lock’; Ir. *cló*, pl. *clóí* ‘nail’; Fraenk. I, 274; Фасмер II, 245, 257 (sub v. κλυκά I, II), 258 (sub v. κλυχ); Berneker I, 527—528, 528—529; Trautmann BSW 137—138; Frisk I, 867—868; WH I, 229—231; Pok. 604—605.

13. Latv. *kniēbt*, praes. 1 sg. *kniēbju*, *kniēbu* ‘zwicken’ < \**knāǰb-* (with the metatony in Lith. *kniēbti*, praes. sg. 1 *kniebiù* ‘leise kneifen’ typical for *j*-stem) || a derivative from the «heavy base» \**kenə-*, \**knā-*: Grk. praes. 1 sg. κνῶ (κνᾶῶ), 3 sg. Att. κνη, inf. κνᾶν, Att. κνην ‘to scrape, grate; to scratch; to itch; to tickle’; Germ. \**hnōjan*: OHG *nuoen*, MHG *nüezen* ‘durch Schaben glätten, genau zusammenfügen’; Ml. *cnāim* ‘verzehre, nage’; the following words also belong to the same «base»: Grk. κνήθω ‘schabe, kratze; jucke’; κνήφη ‘Krätze, Räude’. Here also belongs Latv. *knaūsis* ‘kleine Mücke’, Pok. 563; see Pok. 560—561; Frisk I, 880—881; cf. Fraenk. 277—278.

14. Lith. *kráuti*, praes. 1 sg. *kráunu* and *kráuju*, praet. 1 sg. *króviau* ‘to lay together; to pile, heap; to load, lade’; Latv. *kraūt*,

praes. 1 sg. *kṛāūju* and *kṛāūnu*, praet. 1 sg. *kṛāvu* ‘häufen, laden, packen, fleihen’ || Slav. \**kṛýti*, praes. 1 sg. \**kṛýjǫ* ‘to cover’; \**krovъ* ‘roof’ < \**kṛəuos* (Pok. 616); OIr. *cráu*, *cró* m. ‘Stall, Hütte, Verschlag’, Welsh *craw* m. ‘Stall’, Corn. *crow*, Bret. *kraou* ‘Stall’ < \**kṛəuos*; ON *hraun* n. ‘Steinhaufen, steinerner Grund’; without the resonant *-u-*: Latv. *krāt*, praes. 1 sg. *krāju* ‘sammeln; erwerben, sparen’, *krāsns* ‘Ofen’; Lith. *krósnis*, gen. sg. *krósnies* f. ‘stove’ (Jušk.: ‘pile, heap; a pile of stones; a stone stove; a brick stove’); see Fraenk. I, 291; Фасмер II, 390; Berneker I, 632—633; Trautmann BSW 139, 140; Pok. 616—617.

15. Latv. *kraūka* (Wend., PS.), pl. *kraūkas* (Sassm.) ‘Auswurf, Speichel’ (Mühl.—Endz. II, 262 sub v. *kraukaļas*) < \**krāukā* < \**krāukā* (according to Hirt—Illič-Svityč’s law) || Germ. \**hrōzō* (OE *hrōg* f. ‘snivel, snot’; see Pok. 571: *hrog* ‘Nasenschleim’, the source?) < \**krāukā* (with the loss of the second element of the long diphthong); see Иллич-Свитыч ИА, 73; Pok. 571.

16. Slav. *līti* ‘to pour’ < \**lēi-ti-*, inf. of the full grade vs. presence of the zero grade \**lj-eti*, the doublet verb with the reverse distribution of grades has the following forms: inf. \**lj-ati* vs. praes. \**lěj-eti*, with the clearing of the long nature of the diphthong *-ēi-* (note a simple thematic presence in *-e-* vs. *j-*presence in *-j-e-* in case of *snovāti* ~ *snujèť* [below, No. 32] and *trovāti* ~ *trujèť* [below, No. 37]); cf. Lith. *līeti*, Latv. *liēt*, in OLith. the long *-é-* was retained not only in the preterite (dial. *lějo*), but also in the presence: praes. 1 sg. *lěju* (Universitas Linguarum Litvaniae, 1737 A. D.). The OInd. form *vi-lināti* ‘zergeht, löst sich auf’ (Pok. 664), which serves as the basis for the reconstruction \**leiǰ-* ‘pour’ probably did not exist, the necessary meaning is well attested for the stem *vi-liyate*<sup>30</sup>; the stem *lināti* ‘sich Etwas anheften’ (from Classical Skr. on) is connected with the root \**lejǰ-* ‘stick’; see Дыбо СА, 203—207, 237; Дыбо 1982, 44, 50, 66—67 (cf. Дыбо, Сокращение долгот 11); Фасмер II, 504,

<sup>30</sup> Cf. also in this meaning (‘schmelzen’) Pāṇini’s caus. with long *-ī-*: *vi-līnayati ghṛtam*.

Fraenk. I, 368; Trautmann BSW 156; Pok. 664—665, sub v. 4. *lěi-* (cf. Pok. 662—664, sub v. 3. *lei-*); WH I, 794—795.

17. Latv. West. *liēmenis*<sup>2</sup> (N.-Peb.), East. *liemenis*<sup>2</sup> (Sessw.) ‘moist low place’ (Mühl.—Endz. II, 503) < \**liēmenis* < Balt. \**liemuo* < \**lēmó(n)* (with stress shift according to Hirt—Illič-Svityč’s law) || Grk. λειμών ‘any moist, grassy place, meadow’ < \**lēmón* ‘moist place’, belongs to the same IE root \**lēi-*, as the previous word; see Иллич-Свитыч ИА, 76; Frisk II, 97—99; cf. Pok. 309.

18. Lith. *léisti*, dial. *láisti* ‘lassen, loslassen, frei lassen, ausströmen lassen, in Bewegung setzen, treiben’, intens. *láidyti*, *laidà* (4) ‘Untergang’; dial. *láidas* ‘Unterpfand, Bürge, Geisel’, (Šl.) *láidas* (3) ‘poręka, gwarancja, zakładnik’; *láidoti* ‘zu Grabe geleiten, begraben, bestatten, beerdigen’; *laidùs* (4) ‘geneigt, schräg, schief, schlüpfrig, glatt’; *láimė* ‘Glück’; *lýsti*, praes. 1 sg. *lýstu*, praet. 1 sg. *lýdau* ‘nachlassen, nachgeben’; *lydėti* ‘begleiten, geleiten’ ~ Latv. *laíst* ‘lassen’; *laīma*, *laīme* ‘Glück’; *laidis* ‘Reihe, Haufen, Flug, Galopp’; *laidis* ‘faul, träge’; *laīda* ‘Reihe, Strich, Streifen, Haufe, Flug’ || Grk. λαιδρή · θρασεία (Hsch.); ON praet. *leit* from ON *lāta* < \**lelaita* and with the loss of the glide in the long diphthong: Grk. ληδεῖν · κοπιᾶν, κεκμηκένοι (Hsch.); Alb. *l’oθ* ‘mache müde’ < \**lėdō*; Goth. *letan*, praet. 3 sg. *lailot*, 3 pl. *lailotun* ‘ēāv, ἀφιέναι’, ‘lassen’; ON *lāta*, OE *lāetan*, OF *lēta*, OS *lātan*, OHG *lāzan* ‘lassen’; see Fraenk. I, 351—352; Feist 329—330.

19. Lith. *liáutis*, praes. 1 sg. *liáujuos*, praet. 1 sg. *lióviaus* ‘to stop, cease’; Latv. *ļāūt*, praes. 1 sg. *ļāūju*, praet. 1 sg. *ļāvu* ‘zulassen, gestatten, erlauben, einräumen’; Pruss. *au-lāut* ‘to die’ (usually emended to *au-laūt*) || Slav. \**lěvъ* (Ukr. dial. *livúŭ* ‘untrammelled, free’), \**lěvíti* (Ukr. dial. *livúmu* ‘nachgeben, nachlassen’; Czech *leviti* ‘to ease, moderate’); Goth. *lėw* ‘Gelegenheit’, *lėwjan* ‘preisgeben, verraten’, OE *lāewan* ‘verraten’, OHG *gilāwen*, *firlāen* ‘verraten’; see Fraenk. I, 362—363; Топоров А—Д, 154—156; Mažiulis 1, 117—118; Berneker I, 715; ECUY 3, 256; Machek 265; Trautmann BSW 161; Feist 330; Pok. 682—683.

20. Lith. *máuti*, praes. 1 sg. *máuju*, standard *máunu* ‘aufstreifen, anstreifen’; Latv. *maût* ‘anziehen, aufziehen, zäumen’ || OInd. *mívati*

‘schiebt, drängt, beveget’, part. *-mūtá-*, *káma-mūta-* ‘von Liebe bewegt’, *mūrá-* ‘drängend, eilend’; Avest. *ava-mīvāmahi* ‘wir beseitigen, nehmen weg’, *a-muyamnō* ‘unbeweglich, wovon nicht abzubringen’; Grk. ἀμύνω ‘to keep off, ward off; to requite, repay’ (the zero grade of the root), with the full grade and the shortening of the long diphthong: Grk. ἀμεύομαι (only aor. ἀμεύσασθαι and fut. ἀμεύσεσθαι) ‘to surpass, outstrip; to pass over; to acquire by exchange’; Lat. *moveō*, *mōvī* (\**mouī-ūai*), *mōtum* (\**mouitum*), *-ēre* (short root vowel in *moveō* is probably secondary); in accordance with the usual structure of the roots of this kind one should reconstruct the root \**mīēu-*/*\*mīū-*/*\*mīū-* (with \**mī* > *m* in some IE dialects); see Fraenk. I, 421; Trautmann BSW 172; Mayrhofer II, 645; WH II, 116; Frisk I, 92, 97; Pok. 743.

21. Slav. *nīŕā* ‘(corn-)field’ (Russ. *нύба*, SCr. *њѫба*, Sloven. *njīva*, Czech *níva*, Slovak *niva*); Lith. *néivoti* ‘to abuse, revile’; Latv. *niēva* ‘reviling, contempt’, *niēvāt* ‘schmähen, herabsetzen, verächtlich behandeln, unterdrücken’ < \**nēiūā-* with the stress shift according to Hirt—Illič-Svityč’s law || Grk. *νειός* f. ‘Feld, Flur’, *νειά* ‘Brachfeld, Brachland’ < \**νειφος*, \**νειῤῥᾶ* < \**nēiūV-*; all these stems are derived from \**ni-* ‘bottom, lower part’ with long variant \**nī-*:

**zero grade:** root adjective — Avest. *nī* ‘nieder(wärts)’; OInd. *nīpas* ‘tiefliegend’ (it is explained from *ni* + *ap-* ‘Wasser’); Latv. toponym *Nī-gale*; the derivative with the *-k-* suffix — OInd. *nīcas* ‘niedrig’, *nīcā* ‘unten, nach unten, nieder’, *nīcāt* ‘von unten’, *nīcāiḥ* ‘unten’, nom. sg. f. *nīcī*; since Brugmann and Osthoff, Grk. *νίκη*, Dor. *νίκα* f. ‘victory’ is also referred here as back-formation from *νικάω*, *собственно*, ‘niedermachen, niederkriegen’ (the latter is derived from adj. \**νίκος* ‘nach unten gerichtet’); Latv. *nīca*<sup>2</sup> f. ‘der Ort stromabwärts’, adv. *nīcām* ‘stromabwärts’, toponym *Nīca* ‘Niederbartau’, in Slavic there is probably \**nīcъ* ‘underside’, ‘low’ and its denominative \**(-)nīknōti* ‘to get in, out’; other derivatives — Slav. \**nīzъ* ‘lower part’, and probably Pruss. *etnīstin* acc. sg. ‘mercy’, *etnīwings* ‘merciful’;

**the full grade:** Grk. *νήϊστος* is in *νήϊστα · ἔσχατα. κατώτατα* (Hsch.), and probably in *Νήϊσται πύλαι* from Thebes; among other

forms of superlative there are traces of the long diphthong also in Ark. νήατος ‘unterster, äußerster’;

see Фасмер III, 72, 73, 76; Fraenk. I, 479—480, 503; Trautmann BSW 196; Frisk II, 297—298, 320—321; Mayrhofer II, 157, 171, 182; Pok. 312—313.

22. Slav. \**pěti*, 1 sg. \**pǝjǝ*, 3 sg. \**rojěť* ‘to sing’ (in the stem of the infinitive \**pāi-* or \**pē-*, in the presence stem \**pǝi-* or \**pǝ-*) || Toch. B *pi-* ‘to sing’ (*pīyam* ‘they sing’, *pyoyem* ‘they can sing’, *pāyāsta* ‘you sang’ [?], *pāyalñe* ‘singing’), the interpretation of the texts requires further confirmation (Krause Wtoch.Gr. I, 261, «?»; Adams, No. 2068); the possibility of the comparison was pointed out to me by J. Reinhart; cf. Фасмер III, 350.

23. Lith. *piemuō*, acc. sg. *piemeni* m. (3 a. p. < 1 a. p.; DP: 1 a. p.) ‘herdsman’ < Balt. \**pōimōn* or \**pēimōn* || Grk. ποιμήν ‘herdsman’ < \**pōimén* (cf. OInd. *pāyú-* ‘Hüter’; Grk. πῶϋ ‘flock’); see Иллич-Свистыч ИА, 76; Fraenk. I, 585; Trautmann BSW 204; Pok. 839; Frisk II, 573; Mayrhofer II, 256.

24. Lith. *pieva* (1) ‘meadow’; Latv. *piēva* < Balt. \**pōiūā* ‘water-meadow’ || Grk. Att. πόα, Ion., Hom. ποίη, Dor. ποιά ‘grass; herb; plant; grassy place’ < \**pōiūā*; it may be referred to the same IE root as the previous word; see Иллич-Свистыч ИА, 68; Trautmann BSW 228; Frisk II, 568—569; cf. Fraenk. I, 588; Pok. 793; Schulze Qu.ep. 45, Anm. 2.

25. Lith. *pùlti*, praes. 3 *púola*, praet. 3 *púolé*, dial. *púolo* ‘to fall’; Latv. *pult*, praes. 1 sg. *puolu*, praet. 1 sg. *pulu* ‘to fall’ (only in OLatv. texts: Manzel, Fürecker, Glück). Lith. -*ùl-* < \**-úol-* in tautosyllabic position, see Būga RR I, 293 (= PФВ LXVI, 218 (25)), Endzelins I, 262 (= BB XXVII, 329). Latv. -*u-* in the preterite is transferred from the infinitive stem, see Wiedemann Prät., 80; the same in Endzelins II, 103 (= KZ XLIII, 14); Endz. Lett. Gr. 570 = Endz. Latv. val. gr. 738 || ? Grk. σφάλλω ‘to make to fall, overthrow, trip up by wrestling; to cause to fall, overthrow’, in pass. ‘to be tripped up; to be overthrown, fall; to baffle, balk, frustrate; to be balked of, foiled in’; aor. pass. ἐ-σφάλην (< \**sphal-ē-*); Arm. *p<sup>c</sup>ul* ‘fall, crumbling; phase’ <



\**(s)phōlo-*, *p<sup>c</sup>lanim* ‘I fall, collapse; come down, ruin’ (aor. *p<sup>c</sup>l-ay*, inf. *p<sup>c</sup>lanil*) < \**(s)phul-an-i-* < \**(s)phōl-ṅn-λ-* (\*-ṅn- < \*-n-, according to Sievers—Edgerton’s rules) || Germ. \**falla-* ‘to fall’ < \**falna-* < \**pōlno-* < \**(s)phōl-nλ-* (with the regular shortening of the first part of the long diphthong combination): ON *falla* ‘to fall, dash down; to perish (*in the battle*), starve, die from plague; to come out (*of hair*); to calm down (*of wind*); to befall; to happen, take place’; OE *feallan* (Angl. *fallan*) ‘to fall, perish, fail; to ruin, disintegrate’; OF *falla* ‘to fall; to rush; to go down; to befall; to happen’, NF *falle* ‘to fall; to go down, lower; to perish’; OS *fallan* ‘to fall’; OLFrank. *fallon*, MDu., NDu. *vallen* ‘to fall; to go down; to perish; to take place’; OHG *fallan* ‘to fall’, MHG *vallen*, NG *fallen* ‘to fall, ruin; to perish (*in the battle*); to die (*of animals*); to go down (*of prices*)’; praet. sg.: OF *fol* (i. e. *fōl*); OE *fēol* < \**fefōl*. See in detail Иллич-Свитыч III, 98—105; cf. Fraenk. II, 666; Frisk II, 827—828; Pok. 851; Trautmann BSW 229.

26. Slav. \**rjǔti* < \**rēṭi-*, praes. 1 sg. \**rǔvq*, 3 sg. \**rověť* ‘to roar’ < \**rǔe-* || OInd. *rāuti*, *ruvāti* ‘brüllt, lärmt, dröhnt’, aor. *arāvīt*, *arāvīṣuḥ* (RV); Grk. ὠ-ρῦομαι ‘heule, brülle, stoße einen Schrei aus’, ὠ-ρῦδόν adv. ‘mit Gebrüll’; Lat. *rāvus* ‘heiser’ < \**rǔo-*, *rāvis* ‘Heiserkeit’, *raviō*, *ravīre* ‘sich heiser reden’; OE *rýn* ‘roar’; *rýn*, *rýan* ‘to roar’, MLG *rūien* ‘to roar’; the root is probably an enlargement of the IE «base» \**rē-/rē(i)* ‘schreien, brüllen, bellen’ (Pok. 859); see Фасмер III, 456; Mayrhofer III, 82; WH II, 421, 450—451 and 420 (sub v. *raucus*), 447 (sub v. *rūdō*), 449 (sub v. *rūgiō*); Trautmann BSW 241; Falk—Torp II, 883 (sub v. *Raute*), 919—920 (sub v. *Rumle*), 925 (sub v. *Ry* I), 928 (sub v. *Ræbe*); Pok. 867 and 859 (sub v. 3. *rei-*, *rē(i)-*).

27. Lith. *ráišas* (DP: 1 a. p.), the dial. variant *rūišas* ‘lame, limping’ (< ‘crooked, mutilated’) < \**uróikō-*; *ráišis* (1) ‘a lame person’, the dial. variant *rūišis* ‘kulawiec’ (Būga RR I, 302); Lith. *ráišti*, praes. 1 sg. *ráištu*, praet. 1 sg. *ráišau* ‘to become lame’, the dial. variant *rūišti* ‘kulawiec’ (Būga RR I, 302); dial. *rýšti*, praes. 1 sg. *rýštu*, praet. 1 sg. *rýšau* ‘chromieć, utykać’, ‘to become lame’ Šl. 414; for the origin of Lith. *-ui-* from \**-ōi-* see Būga RR I, 458—460; Stang VGBS, 70—73; Lith. dial. *riėša* f. (1), standard *riėšas* m. (3) ‘wrist (*rankos*), tarsus

(*kojos*) < \**urēikā-*, \**urēiko-* || Germ. \**wráihaz* (Swed. dial. *vrå* ‘unfriendly, gloomy’, OE *wrāh* ‘obstinate, stubborn’ < \**uraiha-*), cf. MLG *wriċh* ‘verbogen, verdreht, verrückt, trotzig’, Engl. *wry* probably < \**urīko-*; OE *wrīgian* ‘gehen, sich wenden, streben’, ME *wriēn* ‘to turn, twist’, OF *wrīgia* ‘sich beugen’ (probably a denominative verb); Grk. *ροικός* ‘crooked’, cf. Grk. *ρικνός* ‘shrivelled with cold; shrivelled with old age, shrunk, contracted’; OHG *rīho* ‘Kniekehle, Wade’, MHG *rīhe* ‘Rist des Fußes’, MDu. *wrīghe* ‘Rist’ < \**urēikā-* < \**urēikā-*; see Иллич-Свитыч ИА, 69; Būga RR I, 302, 458—460; II, 466; Stang VGBS, 70—73; Fraenk. II, 690, 730—731; Trautmann BSW 236; Frisk II, 656; Pok. 1158—1159; Falk—Torp II, 1397.

28. Lith. *sáulė* 1 a. p. ‘sun’; Latv. *saūle* ‘Sonne’ < \**sāueliā-*; Slav. \**sъlnьce* < \**sŭln-iko-* || Grk. Hom. *ἥλιος*, Att. *ἥλιος*, Dor. *ἄέλιος*, *ἄλιος*, Aeol. *ἀέλιος*, *ἄλιος*, Arc. *ἀέλιος*, Cret. *ἀβέλιον* · *ἥλιον* (Hsch.; = \**ἄφέλιος*) ‘sun’; Lat. *sōl*, *-is* m. ‘Sonne’ (\**sāol* < \**sāuol* < \**sāuel*); Welsh *haul*, OCorn. *heuul*, MCorn. *heul*, *houl*, Bret. *heol* ‘Sonne’ (\**sāuel-*); Goth. *sauil* n. (\**sōwila-*), ON *sōl* f. (\**sōwulā*) ‘Sonne’; OInd. *svār*, gen. sg. *sūrah* n. ‘Sonne, Licht, Himmel’, *sūrya-* m., *sūra-* m. ‘Sonne’; Avest. *hvarə*, gen. sg. *h̥vāng* (metrically \**huvāng*; «heteroclitic») and *hūrō* («regular»); OIr. *sūil* f. ‘Auge’ (< \**sŭli-*), Alb. *hül*, *ül* ‘Stern’ (< \**sŭlo-* or \**sŭli-*); the root \**sāuel-/sŭl-*; see Fraenk. II, 765—766; Фасмер I, 710—711; Trautmann BSW 251; Mayrhofer III, 496, 566—567; Frisk I, 631—632; WH II, 553—554; Pok. 881—882.

29. Lith. *sietas* (1) ‘sieve’; Latv. *siēts* ‘Sieb, Weberkamm’; Slav. \**sŭto* ‘sieve’ < \**sēito-* or \**sĭāito-*; Slav. \**sějŭ* ‘I sift’ < \**sjājŭ* (Russ. *сѣять*, praes. 1 sg. *сѣю* ‘to sift (*flour*)’; OCS *сѣти* and *сѣати*: *дѣ би сѣль* (Mar.), *бѣ сѣль* (Zogr.), *прѣсѣати* (Supr.); SCr. *sějati*, praes. 1 sg. *sějēm* and *sĭjati*, praes. 1 sg. *sĭjēm*) || Grk. \**σάω* ‘to sift, bolt’, only praes. ind. 3 pl. *σῶσι* and probably aor. *σῆσαι*, Att. *δια-τάω* ‘to sift, riddle’, *σήθω* ‘to sift, bolt’, here refers the «synonym» *ἡθέω* ‘to sift, strain’; Alb. *shosh* ‘sieve’ < \**sjā-*; in Baltic there was levelling after another stem: Lith. *sijóti*, *sijóju* ‘to sift, bolt’, Latv. *sijāt* ‘to sift, bolt’ (< \**sj-ā-* < \**sī-ā-*; the Baltic stem has the same relation to the Slav. one as Slav. \**zъjǎ-ti-* to \**zěj-ŭ* [< \**zĭāj-e-*] ~ Lith. *žióju*); cf. Fraenk. II,

783, 784; Фасмер III, 615, 628; Skok III, 230—231; Trautmann BSW 254; Frisk I, 386, 624; II, 695; Orel 427; Pok. 889.

30. Lith. *siekti*, praes. 3 *siekia*, praet. 3 *siekė* 'to get, try to get, reach; to strive, achieve, obtain', *sieksnis* 1 a. p. 'sazhen' (< \**sēik-*) || Grk. ἵκω 'to come; to attain to, reach' (a zero grade), ἦκω 'to have come, be present; to have reached a point; to have come back, returned; to have come to be' (a full grade with the loss of the second element of the long diphthong); see Fraenk. II, 781; Trautmann BSW 252; Frisk I, 628, 719—720; Pok. 893.

31. Latv. *smiēt*, praes. 1 sg. *smeju*, praet. 1 sg. *smēju* 'lachen, verlachen, spotten', *smaīds* and *smaīds* 'das Lächeln', *smaīdīt* and *smaīdīt* 'lächeln; verlachen machen, zum Gegenstand des Spottes machen; schmeicheln', probably with the unification of originally different intonations of the noun and verb; Slav. \**smьjāti* (*se*) (< \**smjā-*), praes. 1 sg. \**smějō* (*se*), 3 sg. \**smějěť* (*se*) 'to laugh' || except Balto-Slavic the reflexes of the long diphthong in all the rest of the IE languages were probably almost entirely lost: OInd. *smáyate* 'lächelt, lächelt verschämt, errötet' < \**sməj-e-*, perf. *suṣmiyāná-*, part. *smíta-* 'lächelnd', *smera-* 'lächelnd, freundlich, aufgeblüht', *smáyam* n 'Stauen, Stolz, Hochmut'; Grk. μεῖδος · γέλως (Hsch.), φιλομμειδής (-μμ- from \*-*sm-*) 'gern lächelnd', μειδάω, μειδιάω 'lache'; Lat. *mīrus*, f. *mīra* 'wonderful, remarkable, unusual; quaint, strange' (= OInd. *smera-*); OIr. *míad* 'Ruhm' < \**meido-*, *móidid* 'rühmt sich' < \**moiditi*; see Фасмер III, 688; Trautmann BSW 270—271; Mayrhofer III, 548; Frisk II, 193—194; WH II, 94—95; Pok. 967—968.

32. Slav. \**snǔti* (Ukr. [Желеховский] *снǔту*; Sloven. dial. *snúti*, Czech *snouti*, Slovak *snut'*) < \**snōu-ti-* or \**snēu-ti-*, the full grade in the infinitive with the zero grade in the presence \**snovetъ* < \**snəu-eti*; the doublet verb with the reverse distribution of grades has the following forms: *snováti* < \**snəu-ā-ti-* ~ *snujěť* < \**snōu-j-eti* or \**snēu-j-eti* || OInd. *snávan-* n. 'Band, Sehne', *a-snāvirá-* 'ohne Sehne'; Avest. *snāvarə* 'Sehne, Schnur' etc.; the zero grade in ON *snúa* 'winden, zwirnen, wenden', *snúdr* m. 'Schlinge' and 'Schnelligkeit', OE *snūd* m. 'Eile' with the full *o*-grade in ON. *snoggr* 'schnell' < Germ.

\**snauu-* < \**snōu-ú-*, i. e. in the prosodic context corresponding to Balto-Slavic accentual mobility, see Дыбо, Герм. 16—18; cf. Дыбо, Сокращение долгот 24—29; in Germ. \**sneuan* (Goth. *sniwan* ‘eilen; kommen über’) the shortening of \**ē* took place under the same conditions with the following simplification of long *-uu-*. The root is probably an enlargement of the IE base \*(*s*)*nē-*; see Фасмер III, 699; Mayrhofer III, 533—534; Trautmann BSW 272; de Vries 526, 527; Feist 441; Pok. 977 and 973.

33. Lith. *spjáuti*, praes. 1 sg. *spjáunu* and dial. *spjáuju*, praet. 1 sg. *spjóviau* ‘to spit (out)’; Latv. *spļaut*, praes. 1 sg. *spļauju*, praet. 1 sg. *spļāvu* ‘speien’; Slav. \**рѣуати* < \**рѣуати*, praes. 1 sg. \**рѣуѣ*, 3 sg. \**рѣуѣтъ* ‘to spit (out)’ || OInd. *ṣṭhīvati* ‘spuckt, speit aus’, part. *ṣṭhīvāta-* ‘gespuckt, gespien’; Grk. πτύω ‘spucke’; Lat. *spuō*, *spuere*, *spūtum* ‘speien, spucken’; Goth. *speiwan*, ON *spýja*, OE *spīwan*, OS *spīwan*, OHG *spīwan* ‘speien’ (in accordance with the common structure of such roots one has to reconstruct the root \**spīāu-/spīu-/spīū-*); see Fraenk. II, 866—867; Фасмер III, 291; Trautmann BSW 276; Mayrhofer III, 409—410; Frisk II, 617—618; WH II, 580—581; Feist 444—445; de Vries 539; Pok. 999—1000.

34. Lith. *šjáurė* f. (1) ‘North’ || Slav. \**šěverъ* ‘North’, Lat. *caurus* ‘Nordwestwind’ (traditionally < \**k̂əu(e)ro-*); Hirt // IF 37 (1916—1917), 224; < \**k̂āu(e)ro-*, where \**ā* < \**ē*; if we accept Zubatý’s law it is possible to trace all the forms back to \**k̂jāu(e)ro-*, in Latin *j* is not reflected in such cases, in Lith. the vowel of the second syllable is normally dropped, there also took place a derivational restructuring of the stem, Slavic retains the most archaic structure of the stem with the development \**-jā-* > \**-ě-* according to Zubatý’s law; see Fraenk. II, 978; Фасмер III, 588—589; Trautmann BSW 303—304; WH I, 190; Pok. 597.

35. Slav. \**šūrъ*, \**šūrinъ* (< \**sjōuro-* < \**sjōuró-*, with the stress transfer according to Hirt—Illič-Svityč’s law) ~ OInd. *syālā-* ‘Bruder der Frau, Schwager’ (< \**sjō(u)ró-*, with the loss of the second element of the long diphthong); see Фасмер IV, 488; Trautmann BSW 261; Mayrhofer III, 551—552.

36. Lith. *šárka* 1 a. p. 'magpie'; Slav. *\*s(y)órka* 'magpie' (-y-, postulated for Proto-Slavic probably appeared secondarily in separate Slavic dialects) || OInd. *śāri-* f. 'ein Vogel', *śārikā* and *sārikā* f. 'die indische Elster'<sup>31</sup>; OInd. -i-, is probably not from IE \*ə, but an element of the *k*-suffix (this -i- usually occurs in case of derivation from *i*-stems or athematic stems), thus one can simply suggest for Balto-Slavic *\*kōrkā* or *\*kūōrkā*; Alb. *sorrë* 'crow' (< *\*kūērnā*, acc. to Jokl) that was formerly compared with the root is presently rejected by Orel who reconstructs Proto-Alb. *\*tšārsnā* (on the basis of the Rumanian loan-word *cioarǎ* 'crow'), connecting this stem with IE *\*krsno-* 'black'; see Фасмер III, 723; Fraenk. II, 964; Trautmann BSW 299; Mayrhofer III, 327, 328; Orel 399; Pok. 569.

37. Slav. *trúti* < *\*trōu-ti-*, the full grade in the infinitive with the zero grade in the presence: *\*trov-etъ* < *\*trəu-eti*, the doublet verb with the reverse distribution of grades has the following forms: *\*trovāti* < *\*trəu-ā-ti-* ~ *trujèтъ* < *\*trōu-j-eti*. The reconstruction of the root *\*trōu-* agrees with the evidence of other IE languages, cf. Grk. τρώω 'verwunde', Germ. *\*prōu-* ~ *\*prāu-* in OE *drōwigean*, OHG *drauwen* etc. The root is probably one of the enlarged variants of the IE base *\*terə-*, its zero grade is probably represented in Grk. τρώω (fut. τρώσω, pf. pass. τέτρῶμαι) 'to wear out, distress' and in Slav. *\*trýti*, which, however, as well as the verb *\*tǔrti*, belonged to the immobile accentual type; see Дыбо СА, 238; Фасмер IV, 91—92, 92, 111, 47—48; Frisk II, 938; Fraenk. II, 1132 (sub v. *trūnĕti*), 1114 (sub v. *tráunyti*); Trautmann BSW 327, 330; Pok. 1072—1073, 1071—1072.

38. Slav. *\*žúti* < *\*ziǔti*, praes. 3 pl. *\*žijotъ* < *\*ziyǔonti* 'to chew' (Ukr. *жýту*; OCzech *žúti*, *žíti*, Slovak *žut'*; MBulg. praes. 3 sg. *жнѣтъ* [Ps. Bolon.]); Lith. *žiáunos* pl. f. (1) 'gills'; Latv. *žāunas* pl. f. 'Kiefer, Kinnladen, Kiemen' ~ Bulg. *жýна* f. 'lip' || Germ. *\*kiujja-* (ON *tyggja*, *tyggva* 'kauen, essen'), Germ. *\*k(i)eiua-* (OHG *kiuuan*, OE *cēowan* 'kauen, beißen', OHG *kio*, *kiuua* 'Kinnbacke') < *\*kiēu-* < IE *\*ǵiēu-*, the shortening of \*ē and the lengthening of the resonant in

<sup>31</sup> Cf. also *śārgáḥ* m. 'ein bestimmter Vogel', *śāriṅga-* m., *śāriṅgī* f. 'ein Vogel'.

the prosodic context corresponding to the Balto-Slavic accentual mobility, see Дыбо, Герм. 16—18; cf. Дыбо, Сокращение долгот 24—29; for the structure of the root cf. also Lat. *gin-gīva* f. ‘gum(s)’; Afgh. *žōvəl* and other Iranian (Iran. *\*jyāu-*, the full grade of the root represented in the Iranian presence stem: NPers. *žāw-*, Tat. *ǰou-*, Baluchi *ǰāy-*, Kurd. *ǰû-*, Tâleši *ǰû-*, Afgh. *žōw-* — and the zero grade Iran. *\*jyū-* represented in MPers. Manichaean part. *ǰwwd*); see Дыбо СА, 238; Дыбо 1983, 46, 50; Фасмер II, 39—40; БЕР 1, 559; Fraenk. II, 1302—1303; Trautmann BSW 372; de Vries 602; Pok. 400; cf. WH I, 601.

39. Lith. *žiedėti* ‘become stale; mouldy (of bread)’, *žiedas* (3) ‘flower’, dial. *žáidas* ‘Blüte’ (Būga RR II, 463, 560) : Latv. *ziédēt*, praes. 1 sg. *ziēdu*, *ziēžu*, praet. 1 sg. *ziédēju* ‘Blüten treiben, blühen; bunt sein, schimmeln’, *ziēds* ‘Blume, Blüte, Blütezeit; Erstlingsfrüchte; Spende, Brautgeschenk’; Lith. *žydėti*, praes. 3 *žydi* ‘to flower, bloom’, dial. (Šl. 603) *žýsti*, praes. 3 *žýsta*, praet. 3 *žýdo* ‘rozkwitać’ || Goth. *keinan* (only praes. 3 sg. *keinip*), *us-keinan* (praes. 3 pl. *us-keinand*, weak praet. *us-keinoda*) ‘keimen’, *miþ-us-keinan* (only part. praes. nom. pl. m. *miþ-us-keinandans*) ‘mit hervorkeimen’, without the presence *-n-*: part. praet. nom. sg. n. *us-kijanata* ‘hervorgekeimt’; OE *cīnan* ‘bersten, offen stehen’ (strong, I cl.); OS *kīnan* (strong, I cl.), OHG *kīnan* (strong, I cl.) ‘hervorkeimen’, OE *cīþ* ‘Keim, junger Schöbling’, OS *kīd* ‘Keim, junger Trieb’, OHG *frumikīdi* n. ‘primum germen’, ‘erster Trieb’ (NHG dial. *keide*); OS *kīmo*, OHG *kīmo* (*chīmo*) and *kīm* (Germ. *Keim*); the Baltic material permits the reconstruction of the root in the shape of *\*ǵēī-* and *\*ǵēīǝ-*, if we accept the primacy of the Germ. nasal presence the second variant is removed (the peculiarities of the Goth. verb definitely point to the type corresponding to the ninth OInd. class, the length of Proto-Germanic root *-ī-* is confirmed by the regular transfer of the verb into the first ablaut class<sup>32</sup>, but primary *ī* < *\*iǝ* lacks in this type of verbs; as their primary grade of the root is a zero one we are left with only the

<sup>32</sup> If *-i-* was short we would expect the transition into the IV ablaut class.

variant  $\bar{i} < *əi$ , since in case IE  $*iə$  of one could expect Germ.  $\bar{i}$  in  $n$ -verb); the choice of the first variant is supported also by OLatv. (Lange) *ziet, zieties*, praes. 1 sg. *zeju, zejuos* 'hervorblühen, zum Vorschein kommen' (Mühl.—Endz. IV, 744), if we interpret  $-e-$  in the presence as a long vowel (thus in Pok. 356); the following words are not relevant for determining the prosodic structure of the root because of the possible Germ. shortening before the resonant in the unstressed position: OE *cinu* 'Ritze, Spalte' (but Bosworth—Toller 155: *cínu* f. 'a chink, fissure'), Du. (dial.?) *keen* 'Spalte, Keim' (MDu. *kēne*, but MLG *kīne*), Danish dial. *kin* 'Spalte'; see Fraenk. II, 1305; Feist 310; Falk—Torp I, 508—509 (sub v. *Kime*); Franck—van Wijk 305 (sub v. *Kiem*); Pok. 355—356.

40. Lith. *žáisti*, praes. 1 sg. *žáidžiu*, praet. 1 sg. *žáidžiau* 'to play, frolic, amuse oneself', 'spielen, sich vergnügen, sich belustigen, vergnügt sein' || Lat. *haedus* m. 'Böckchen, junger Ziegenbock'; Goth. *gaitis* 'goat', ON *geit* f., OE *gāt* f., OS *gēt* f., OHG *geiz* f. 'Ziege'; OInd. *jihīte* 'springt auf, fliegt', *háyaḥ* 'Roß', Slav. *\*žájěcъ* 'hare' (Russ. *заяц*, gen. sg. *зáйца*, Ukr. *зáяць*, BRuss. *зáяц*, Russ. ChSlav. **ЗАЯЦЬ**, Bulg. *зáец*, *зáек*, SCr. *зêц* [the result of contraction], Sloven. *zâjěc*, gen. sg. *zâjca* [regular «new circumflex»], Czech *zajíc*, Slovak *zajac*, Polish *zajac*); Lith. dial. *zuikis* 'Hase' < *\*zuojekas* ( $z$ - and probably root vocalism are explained by the borrowing from Kuršian); if we accept all the correspondences we have to suppose a long diphthong; Fraenk. II, 1285—1286, 1281; WH I, 632; Фасмер II, 84; Mayrhofer I, 426, III, 578, 595—596; Mayrhofer EWA II, 802—803, 803, 813—814; Pok. 409 (*\*ghaido-* ~ *\*ghaido-* 'Ziegenbock, Ziege').

41. Lith. *žarnà*, acc. sg. *žárna* (3) 'gut, bowel', dial. *žárna* (1); Latv. *zârna* f. 'Darm', pl. 'Eingeweide' < IE *\*ghōrnā* (with the dialectal relic of the stress shift according to Hirt—Illič-Svityč's law) || the traditional analysis of the correspondences: ON *gorn* f., pl. *garnar* 'Darm', pl. 'Eingeweide' < *\*garno* < IE *\*ghorēnā*, OE *micgern* n. 'arvina', OHG *mitti(la)-garni*; ON *garn* n. 'Garn, Faden', OE *gearn*, MLG *garn*, OHG *garn*; Lat. *haro-* in *haruspex* m. 'Darmschauer' and OInd. *híraḥ* m. 'Band', *hirá* f. 'Ader' < *\*ghr̥ə-* and *\*ghr̥ā-*; in Grk.  $\chi\rho\rho\delta\acute{\eta}$  f.

‘Darm, Darmsaite, Wurst’ it is supposed that a morphonological restructuring with the replacement of -v- for -δ- (cf. Pok. 443) took place; but Lat. *hīra* f. (Plautus, etc.) ‘Leerdarm’, pl. ‘Eingeweide’, *hīllae* pl. ‘kleinern vordern Därme’, where dial. -ī- instead of -ē- (in WH I, 649 [with reference to Ernout’s «Les éléments dialectaux du vocabulaire latin»] the Sabinian origin is assumed) probably allows to radically change the analysis of vocalism in this root: Lat. *haro-* in *haruspex* m. ‘Darmschauer’ = OInd. *hīraḥ* m. ‘Band’, *hirá* f. ‘Ader’ < \**ǵhəro-* and \**ǵhəṛā*; and tempting Alb. *zorrë* f., pl. *zorrë* ‘gut’ (if we should manage to overcome the difficulties with the reflection of IE \**ǵh-*<sup>33</sup>) < Proto-Alb. *džārnā* < IE \**ǵhörnā*; ON *gorn* f., pl. *garnar* ‘Darm’, pl. ‘Eingeweide’ < \**garno* < IE \**ǵhörnā*, OE *micgern* n. ‘arvina’, OHG *mitti(la)-garni*; ON *garn* n. ‘Garn, Faden, OE *gearn*, MLG *garn*, OHG *garn*; Grk. χορδή f. ‘Darm, Darmsaite, Wurst’, where a morphonological restructuring with the change of -v- for -δ- is supposed < IE \**ǵhörnā*; see Pok. 443; Fraenk. II, 1291; WH I, 623, 635—636, 649; de Vries 199, 157; Orel 525—526; Mayrhofer III, 599—600; Frisk II, 1111—1112.

42. the long diphthong that appeared as the result of adding the IE prefix. Slav. *ǫrtь* ‘battle, war’ < \**ǫr-ti-* || usually it is referred to OInd. *ṛṇóti* ‘erhebt sich, bewegt sich’, *íy-ar-ti* ‘setzt in Bewegung’, med. *irte*; Grk. ὄρνυμι ‘to stir, stir up; to urge on, incite; to make to arise, call forth; to excite’; Lat. *orior* ‘to stand up; to rise, appear; to begin; to grow; to arise; to happen; to be born’; all these stems demonstrate a one-syllable root; this root is really connected with a number of correspondences with similar semantics: OInd. *sam-ará-* m., *sam-áraṇa-* n. ‘Kampf, Wettstreit’, Avest. *ham-arəna-*, OPers. *ham-arana-* n. ‘feindliches Zusammentreffen, Kampf’; OInd. *ṛ-tí-*,

<sup>33</sup> Orel considers Alb. *z-* in this word to be the result of the palatalisation of IE *g<sup>h</sup>-*, connecting this word with the IE root \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>erə-* ‘to eat, devour’, but in this case it cannot be compared with Baltic where the reflex *g-* would be expected. Without the direct comparison of Alb. word with Baltic we will have the usual root etymology without any direct correspondences in other IE languages and, moreover, semantically unconvincing.



*ǵ-ti-* f. ‘Angriff, Streit’, Avest. *-əṛəti-* ‘Energie’, *arənu-* m. ‘Kampf, Wettkampf’; as well as with the thematic variant of the root: OInd. *rāṇa-* m., n. ‘Kampf’, Avest. *rāna-* n. ‘Treffen, Kampf, Streit’; ON *ern* adj. ‘tüchtig, energisch’; OHG *ernust* ‘Kampf, Ernst’, OE *eornost* ‘Ernst, Eifer’; ON *jara* ‘Streit’, runic Swed. gen. sg. *iaru*; OCS *рѣтъ* f. ‘discord, contention, strife; competition, contest’, ORuss. *рѣтъ* f. ‘fer-  
vour, zeal; competition, contest’; only in one stem we find a disyllabic root: Grk. *ἐρέ-θω* ‘to stir to anger, provoke’, *ἐρε-θίζω* ‘to rouse to anger, rouse to fight, provoke’, probably here also belongs \**ῥορθος* in *ῥορθύνω* ‘to stir, rouse, urge on’; it should be noted that roots with the vocalic Anlaut are subject to the influence of proclitic and other preceding elements, the results of this influence are often undistinguishable from the reflexes of a disyllabic or long root: OInd. *īṛṇá-* ‘bewegt, erregt’, *ī* is from *īṛta-* (where *ī-* is the effect of the reduplication), OInd. *árta-* ‘betroffen, versehrt, bedrängt’, *árti-* f. ‘Unheil, Leiden’, where *ā-* is the result of the merging with the *ā-* prefix<sup>34</sup>. As the traces of this prefix can be found in Slavic (\**a-skodb*, \**a-brědb*, \**a-padb*) and OInd. *ṛ-tí-*, *ǵ-ti-* in its turn can be directly compared with OCS, ORuss. *рѣтъ* f., we have to accept the fact that the Slavic stem \**örtb* can be directly compared with OInd. *árti-*, i. e. \**örtb* goes back to IE \**ō-* + *ṛti-*; see Фасмер III, 448; Pok. 326—332; Mayrhofer I, 122, 123, 90; III, 436, 36—37; Frisk I, 550—551; II, 422—424, 424; WH II, 222—223; de Vries 105, 290.

The cases when the choice between the long diphthong and Bezenberger’s combination is difficult:

43. Balt. \**áiškus* ‘clear, light, bright’ < \**āi-sk-* or \**āidh-sk-* (here apparently *iesmé* ‘Brennholz’, see below): Lith. *aiškùs* (3) and *áiškus* (1) ‘clear, light, bright; distinct, clear’ (thus DLKŽ; Lyberis gives *áiškus* 3); WLith. dial. (Šl.): *áiškus*, *-ki*, *áiškiai* ‘jasny, wyraźny; -nie’, OLith. *áiškus*, *-i* (1) (and *aiškùs*, *-i* (3)) ‘jawnny, jasny’: *áibkus* nom. sg.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. OInd. *ā-t-taḥ* ‘empfangen’ (part. from *ā-* + *dā-* ‘in Empfang nehmen’): Grk. *χηρωστής* (\*-ω-δ-τᾱ).

m. DP 254<sub>4</sub>, *áibki* nom. sg. f. DP 88<sub>18</sub>, 88<sub>50</sub>, 249<sub>41</sub>, *áibki* nom. sg. f. DP 88<sub>49</sub>, *áifzhi* nom. sg. f. DP 79<sup>6</sup>, *áibku* acc. sg. m. DP 164<sub>41</sub>, *áibku* acc. sg. m. DP 187<sub>24</sub>, *áibkius* acc. pl. m. DP 330<sub>29</sub> (the variant of 3 a. p.: *aibkús* nom. sg. m. DP 2<sub>17</sub>, *aibkúmi* instr. sg. m. DP 476<sub>37</sub>, cf. also the form with two stresses — *áibkús* nom. sg. m. DP 2<sub>20</sub>); Lith. *ýskus* ‘clear’; Slav. \**ěsnъ*, f. \**ěsna* ‘clear’ (< \**óis(k)-nā* < \**āi-sk-* or \**āidh-sk-*): Russ. *ясный*, Ukr. *ясний*; Bulg. *ясен*, f. *ясна*; SCr. *jāsan*, f. *jāсна*; Sloven. *jásen*, f. *jásna*; Czech *jasný*, Slovak *jasný*; Slav. \**ískra* ‘spark’: Russ. *искра*; Bulg. *искра*; SCr. *üскра*; Sloven. *iskra* || IE \**āiē-/āje-* ‘to burn, shine’ > ‘to dawn’: \**āiē-r-/āje-n-* ‘dawn, morn, day’ — Grk. (Hom.) *ἠέριος* ‘früh, morgendlich’; Avest. (g., j.) *ayar-* / (j.) *ayan-* n. ‘Tag’, (j.) *aiara-* m. pl. ‘Name der Gottheiten der Tage’; Goth. *air* ‘πρωί, früh’; ON *ār* ‘früh’; OE *ǣr*, OS *ēr*, OHG *ēr* ‘vorher, ehe’ || IE \**aidh-* ‘brennen’. There are not reliable form in OInd. to determine the root quantity: part. *iddhá-* (V+) can be back-formation from praes. *inddhé* ‘entzündet, entflammt’; subst. *idhmá-* m. (V+) ‘Brennholz’ is in all likelihood an Indo-Aryan stem, which secondarily replaced corresponding Aryan word with the full frade, retained in Iran. \**aid-ma-(ka-)* (MPers. Manichaean *’ymg [ēmay]*, Class. Pers. *hēmah* ‘fuel’, Gilānī *himə* ‘firewood’); cf. OInd. forms with *vi-* prefix, which cannot validate the root quantity: *vīdhráḥ* ‘rein, klar’ [only loc. sg. *vīdhré* ‘bei heiterem Himmel’] (AV, Kāṭh.), then *vīdhra-samṛddha-* ‘bei heiterem Himmel gediehen’, *vīdhra-bindu-* ‘bei Sonnenschein gefallener Tropfen’) and *vīdhrya-* ‘zum heiteren Himmel gehörig’ (VS) < \**vi + īdh-ra-*; the only OInd. form with *ī* is attested only in slightly doubtful *īdhríya-* (TS) — *varia lectio* for *vīdhrya-* (VS), but *ī* is supported by other Indo-Iranian data: Proto-Indo-Aryan \**īdhara-* ‘belonging to the clear sky’ (Kati *īra*, *īr*, Waigalī *īrə*, Paśāī *īr* m. ‘clear (sky), sunshine’, G. *īra* ‘brightness’, see Turner CDIAL, 73, No. 1612; Morgensterne IIFL III, 15<sup>35</sup>), cf. also Iran. \**īdra-(ka-)* (Osset. *ird*

<sup>35</sup> In these three Dardic languages \**v-* before \**ī* and \**i* regularly yields *w-*, that’s why we cannot trace the quoted forms back to \**vīdhrya-*. OInd. *ī* and *i* in these languages develop differently. In Kati and Paśāī (according to Turner CDIAL) Indo-Aryan \**ī* > *ə* and \**ī* > *i*. In Waigalī the qualitative difference is probably absence (or is less

‘clear, light’ < \**īdra*-<sup>36</sup>, *irdgæ* | *irdgæ*, *ærdkæ* ‘severe cold, hard frost’, ‘cold morning or evening wind’ < \**īdra-ka*, Yidgha *lārōyo* ‘clear sky’ < \**īdra-ka* with a metathesis, see Morgenstierne IIFL II, 224<sup>37</sup>); Grk. αἴθω ‘anzünden’, αἰθήρ f., m. ‘(reine) Luft, (klarer) Himmel’, αἶθος m. ‘Feuerbrand’, αἴθριος ‘heiter (vom Wetter)’, the only Grk. form testifying to the root quantity is ἰθαρός with short *ī* in all the attestations (Callimachus, *Cer.* 132; id. *Fragm.* 85, 15; Simias, *Fragm.* 25, 6 = Anth. 15, 22, 6; Alcaeus, *Fragmenta* 58, 18) ‘cheerful, glad; clear’, that contradict the Indo-Aryan cognate, but the Grk. stem is too scanty attested; Lat. *aedēs* and *aedis* f. sg. ‘Tempel’, pl. ‘Haus’, probably primarily ‘Feuerstätte, häuslicher Herd’, *aestus*, gen. sg. *aestūs* m. ‘Hitze, Glut, Brandung’, *aestās*, gen. sg. *aestātis* f. ‘warme Jahreszeit, Sommer’; OIr. *aed* ‘Feuer’, Welsh *aidd* ‘Hitze, Eifer’, Bret. *oaz* ‘Eifersucht’; OE *ād* ‘Scheiterhaufen’, OS *ēd* ‘Feuer, Scheiterhaufen’, OHG *eit* m. ‘Glut, Scheiterhaufen’;

Lith. *iesmé* ‘Brennholz’ (Pok. 12), *iesmė̃* (4) dial. ‘faggot of fire wood’ (Lyberis 217), *iesmė̃*, acc. sg. *iesmę̃* ‘portion of fire wood necessary to heat the stove once’ (Būga RR I, 594) [the same in LKŽ III, 14: *iesmė̃* (3), *iesmé* (1)] || Aryan \**aidhзма-* < IE \**āidh-s-mo-*: Avest. *aēsma-* m. ‘Brennholz’; MPers. (an Avest. loan) *hēsma* (*hsm*) ‘fuel’, Class. Pers. (from North-West) *hēzum*, Afghan Persian *hēzom*, Pers. *hizom*, Tajik *hezum* ‘fire-wood’; North-West: Awromani *hezim*, Tâleši *ezym*, Gilānī *hezám*, Sīwandī *hizúm/hizóm*, Sangesari *izúm*, Woni-shuni *izma*, Kohrudi *hēzém*, Keshei *ēzém*, Zefrei, Sedei, Gazi *ezmé*, Meimei *ezmä*, Farizandi *izóm*, Soi *hezām*, Nayini *izóm* ‘fire-wood’; EIran.: Sogd. (Čilhudžra) ‘zm-, Buddh. *zmy* [əzm-, zme] ‘fire-wood,

evident), but the quantitative difference is noted e. g. by A. L. Grünberg in his Kati study. For reflexes of Indo-Aryan \**ī* and \**i* in Kati, Waigali, and Pašai see the following Turner’s etymologies: CDIAL, 677 [No. 11616]; 683 [No. 11738]; 690 [No. 11906]; 694–695 [No. 12011]; 689 [No. 11895]; 426 [No. 7563]; 425 [No. 7552]; 332 [No. 5839]; 523 [No. 9250]; 687 [No. 11840].

<sup>36</sup> Абаев I, 547: «regularly goes back to Iran. \**idra-* or \**vidra-* (the latter with usual loss *v* before *i*)». But reconstruction of \**vidra-* is unwarranted in view of Yidgha data.

<sup>37</sup> Parāci *īra* ‘lightness, clarity’ is in all likelihood borrowed from Pašai (IIFL I, 235).

fuel' (< \**aizma*-(*ka*-)), Yaghnob. *ízim*, *izm* 'fire-wood, fuel', Khwar. 'zm, zm 'fire-wood, fuel', Low Munjī *ízmo*, High *yízmā*, *yázma*, Yidgha *izmā*, *izəmə* 'firewood' (Morgenstierne IIFL II, 196) || Aryan \**aidhziā*- < IE \**āidh-s-jo-*: Ishkāshmi *yūz*, Sanglechi *yōz*, *yūz*, *yu* 'fire-wood, fuel', Wakhi (y)*iz̄* 'tamarisk'; ON *eisa* f. 'glühende Asche, Feuer' < \**aidh-s-ōn-*, MLG *ēse* f. 'Esse';

thus outside Balt-Slavic the only reliable indication of the root quantity are OInd. *īdhriya-* and Indo-Aryan \**īdhara-* vs. Grk. ἰθρόος;

see Fraenk. I, 182; Фасмер II, 140; IV, 565—566; Trautmann BSW, 3—4; Mayrhofer I, 88, 95, 128; III, 237; Абаев I, 547—548; Frisk I, 37, 37—38; WH I, 15—16, 20; de Vries 97—98, 98; Pok. 11—12, 16—17; ЭСИА I, 120—121; 144—145; 147—149; cf. Mayrhofer EWA I, 205; II 568—569.

44. Lith. *dárbas* (3) 'work; occupation, business', *dīrbti* 'to work; to be occupied (with); to labour; to do; to produce; to cultivate'; Latv. *darbs* 'Arbeit, Werk, Tat', dial. *dīrbt* 'arbeiten' || OE *deorf* 'Arbeit, Mühsal, Gefahr', *deorfan* 'sich anstrengen, arbeiten, in Gefahr sein', OF *forderva*, MLG *vorderven*, MHG *verterben* 'verderben, umkommen' (there is no material for the determination of the IE root structure); see Fraenk. I, 82; Pok. 257.

45. Lith. *gráužti*, praes. 3 *gráužia* 'to gnaw, nibble; to eat; to grate'; Latv. *grāūzt* 'nagen, (wund)reiben'; Slav. \**grýzti*, praes. 1 sg. \**grýzo*, 3 sg. \**gryzèť* (a. p. c) 'to gnaw, nibble'; NB: short reflex of the zero grade in Lith. *sugrūžinti* 'vernichten' || Grk. βρόχω, βρόκω 'to eat greedily, gobble; to gnash, snap'; Proto-Celtic \**brūgnos*: OIr. *brōn* 'Kummer', Welsh *brwyn* 'stechender Schmerz'; the materials for distinguishing the long diphthong \*-ōu- from the combination \*-ouə- are actually missing (the choice of the long diphthong is preferable because of the frequent short reflexes of the zero grade); Фасмер I, 466; Fraenk. I, 164—165; Trautmann BSW 100; Frisk I, 272—273, 273, 274; Pok. 485—486.

46. Lith. dial. *ieva* (1) 'bird-cherry tree' (standard Lith. *ieva* 4 a. p.); Latv. *iēva* 'bird-cherry tree, Prunus padus'; Slav. *īva* < \**ōiūā* or \**ēiūā* 'tree with thin branches' || Grk. ὄα, ὄη, οὔη, οὔη f. (Thphr.) 'service-

tree, *Sorbus domestica* (< \**óiuā*), *ѡов* n. 'sorb-apple, service-berry', pl. *ѡiá, ѡá* (Plato), *ѡŷα* (Hr., Thphr.); Lat. *ūva* f. 'cluster, grapes cluster'; ? Arm. *aigi* 'Weinstock'; see Иллич-Свитыч ИА, 67—68, 150; Fraenk. I, 183; Фасмер II, 113; ЭССЯ 8, 248—249; Trautmann BSW 68; Pok. 297—298; Frisk II, 343; WH II, 349.

47. Lith. dial. *líebas* 'mager, dünn' (Mariampol, Būga RR I, 332), *láibas* (3) 'zart, dünn, schlank', *laibėti* 'to become thin' ~ Latv. *laibs* 'dünn, schwächlich (*von Menschen*)' (Mühl.—Endz. II, 401) ~ Slav. \**libъ* (or \**libъ*, but the latter is less likely because of the accentual relations in the derivatives): OCzech *libí* = *libivý* (Gebauer II, 248), OPolish *luby* 'thin, puny', Slowinish *lābí* 'biegsam, schwach'; Slav. \**libavъ*: Bulg. dial. (K'ustendil) *лúбаф* 'thin (*of cloth*)'; Maced. dial. *лубав* 'weak, infirm'; SCR. *лúбав*, f. *лúбава*, n. *лúбаво* 'flexible' (PCA XI, 402); Slav. \**libivъ*, f. \**libiva*: Russ. dial. *лúбув*, f. *лúбува*, with «the article» *лúбувый* 'thin, weak' (СРПГ 17, 40; with variations in the stress placement probably due to the influence of other adjectives with the -ав-suffix); Russ. ChSlav. *либѣвъин* 'thin, skinny', 'λεπτός, gracilis' (Библ. 1499, Gen. 41:4); OCzech *libivý* 'not fat, thin' (Gebauer II, 248); Slav. \**liběvъ*: Bulg. dial. *лúбѣŷ* 'not fat (*of meat*); thin, weak, skinny (*of man, animal*)'; Russ. ChSlav. *либѣвъин* 'skinny, thin', 'λεπτός, gracilis' (XIV A. D., Gen. 41:3, 4); OCzech *liběvy* 'not fat, thin' (Gebauer II, 248) || Lith. *líesas* (3) 'mager', *líesti, lýsti*, praes. 3 *lýsta*, praet. 3 *lýso* 'mager werden' ~ Latv. *liēss* 'mager, hager', *liēst*, praes. 1 sg. *liēstu*, praet. 1 sg. *liēsu* 'mager werden' (Mühl.—Endz. II, 505); but Lith. *leītas* 'schlank', *leīnas* (4) 'thin; flexible' (LKŽ VII, 241), 'not salient, not strong, weak' (Būga I, 332) ~ Latv. *leīns* (Ruj., N.-Peb.), *lèins* (PS.) 'schiefeinig, auswärts gedreht' (Mühl.—Endz. II, 446); Lith. *leīlas* 'thin, svelte' (LKŽ VII, 240), *leilùs* 'laibas, lieknas, plonas; gailingas' (LKŽ VII, 241), *lielas* 'didelis' (Als., Jd. 1022<sub>1</sub> — Skardžius ŽD, 163), *liēlas* 'didelis' (LKŽ VII, 420) ~ Latv. *liēls* 'groß' (\*'schlank') (Mühl.—Endz. II, 500—502, Endz.—Haus. I, 755) || OInd. *líyate* 'verschwindet', 'löst sich auf, zergeht, schmilzt' (< \**liṅ-īe-* or \**liṅ-īe-*), *lináti* (Dhātup.) 'sich ducken, sich verstecken, kauern, sich anschmiegen' (< \**li-ne-ṅ-ti*; to this root?), *pra-līna-* 'verschwunden,

aufgelöst' (< \*-liǵ-no- or \*-lǵi-no-); cf. also OInd. absol. *lāyam* 'geduckt (?)' (RV X, 42, 1; Elizarenkova: 'sending (an arrow)'), *lāpayate* 'hintergeht'; Grk. λιμός 'Hunger' < \*liǵ-mo-; λίναμαι · τρέπομαι (Hsch.; < \*li-n-ǵ-), aor. pass. λιασθῆναι; Goth. *af-linnan* 'ἀποχωρεῖν', 'weggehen'; ON *linna* 'ablassen, ruhen', OE *linnan* 'abstehen', OHG *bi-linnan* 'weichen, aufhören, nachlassen' (< \*lī-nuǵ-); OE *lēf* 'weak, injured, infirm', OF *lēf* 'schwach, krank'; OS *lēf* 'schwach' < \*lē₂ǵa- < \*lēibho- (Germ. \*ē₂ is probably connected with some types of secondary lengthening but cannot serve as the firm evidence for the IE long diphthong); ON *lǣ* n. 'Schaden, Verlust; List, Betrug (poet.)' < Germ. \*laiwa-; OE *lǣw* and *lǣw* f. 'injury, weakening'; OHG *lēwes* 'leider'; see Fraenk. I, 329—330; Преображенский I, 451; Фасмер II, 492; БЕР 3, 386; ЭССЯ 14, 173—174; Skok II, 293; Bezlaj II, 139; Machek 267; Sławski IV, 218—219, 220—221, 221—222; Berneker I, 716; ЭССЯ 15, 70, 70—71, 72, 73, 74, 74—75; Trautmann BSW, 154; Mayrhofer III, 59—60, 102—103; Mayrhofer EWA II, 474—475; Frisk II, 119, 120; Feist 8; de Vries 371; Falk—Torp I, 629; Pok. 661—662 (\**leibho-* 'schwach', \**lei-no-* 'matt', \**lei-ro-* 'schlank', \**leis-* to \**lei-*₂ 'eingehen, abnehmen').

48. Lith. *míelas, mýlas* 'lieb, liebenwürdig, zärtlich, lieblich', *méilė* 'Liebe, Bewirtung'; Latv. *mīļš* 'lieb', *mīlīgs* 'lieblich, freundlich, angenehm'; Slav. \**mīlь* || OInd. *máyas-* n. 'Labsal, Lust, Freunde' (< \**māios-* ?); Lat. *mītis, mīte* 'weich (von Früchten)', 'locker (von der Erde)', 'mild, sanft, friedsam' < \**mēi-* or \**mī-*; but OIr. *mīn* 'sanft, glatt, fein, klein' < \**mī-*; the traditionally reconstructed root is \**mēi-*/\**mī-*, although there are no reliable reasons for the choice between this reconstruction and the «disyllabic heavy base» \**meiǵ-*; the most argumentative attempt of this choice is connected with the comparison of Grk. (τὰ) μείλια (Ep. +) 'erfreuliche Gaben', μείλιχος (Ep. +), μειλίχιος (Ep. +, Ion., Att.), μιλίχιος (Att.), μελίχιος (Ion., Arc.), Cret. μηλίχιος 'freundlich, liebevoll' (< \**μελν-*, which is probably in its turn from \**mēln-* — the result of the early loss of *-i-* in the long diphthong *-ēi-*) with Lith. *malónė* 'mercy, favour, condescension; pardon', *malonėti* 'to favour; caress', where *-a-* may be traced to IE \**-ǵ-*, which

as the result of the (secondary) ablaut refers to *-ē-* in *\*mēl-* < *\*mēil-* (thus WH II, 97, in Walde 389 there is not yet any indication of the secondary character of such a modification and ablaut); see Fraenk. I, 449, 402—403; Фасмер II, 622; Trautmann BSW 174—175; Mayrhofer II, 585—586; WH II, 96—97; Frisk II, 194—195; Pok. 711—712.

49. Lith. *spáiné* ‘Schaumstreifen auf dem Wasser, Schaum’, secondary *spainé*; Slav. *\*pěna* and *\*spěna* ‘foam, spume’ (Russ. *пéна*, Ukr. *пíна*, BRuss. *пéна*, Bulg. *пýна*, SCr. *пjěna* and dial. Dalmat. *spjěna*) || OInd. *phénaḥ* m. ‘Schaum’ and once *sphena-* (Mantra-Pāṭha; Renou, Véd. 61), Osset. Digor. *finkæ*, Iron. *fynk* ‘Schaum’; the other correspondences with the reflection of suffixal *-m-*: Lat. *spūma* f. ‘foam’; OE *fām*, OHG *feim* m. ‘Feim’; Sogd. *pym'kh* ‘Schaum’; there are no indications to either the long diphthong or to the «Bezzenberger’s combination», the choice between them is not clear, the only indication of the long diphthong would be Avest. *spāma-* m. ‘Speichel, schleimiger Auswurf, Schleim’, where in this case we would deal with the loss of the second element of the diphthong; the evidence for the retention of the variant with the suffix *-m-* in Iranian is Sogd. *pym'kh* ‘Schaum’; the semantic parallelism is demonstrated by NPers. *fīn* ‘Rotz’, *fīnfīnī* ‘rotzig; durch die verstopfte Nase röchelnd’; the traditional connection with the root *\*spīāu-* (Bartholomae 1618; WH II, 581; Pok. 999) is not reliable (but there are other alternatives, see Mayrhofer III, 146); see. Fraenk. II, 858; Фасмер III, 231; Trautmann BSW 227—228; Mayrhofer II, 399; WH II, 580; Pok. 1001.

50. Lith. *añkštas* (4) ‘schmal, eng’ (< *\*anž(a)s-tas* with epenthetic *-k-*); Slav. *\*ǫžъ* in *\*ǫžъкъ*, see Дыбо СА, 94—107; Slav. *\*ǫža*: Russ. *ýза*, pl. *ýзы* ‘bonds, ties’, dat. *ýзам*, instr. *ýзаму*, loc. *ýзах*; OCS *ꙗꙗꙗ*, *ꙗꙗꙗ* ‘δεσμός’ (Supr.); Slav. *\*ǫžlъ* ‘knot’: Bulg. *вѣзел*, SCr. *ꙗꙗꙗ*, gen. sg. *ꙗꙗꙗ*, Sloven. *óžal*, *vóžal*, gen. sg. *ózla*, *vózla*, Polish *węzeł*, gen. sg. *węzła* ~ Lith. *ážuolas* ‘oak’, Latv. *uózuóls* ‘oak’ (< ‘knotty tree’) || Lat. *angustus* ‘narrow, tight’ < *\*angos-tos*, *angor*, gen. sg. *angōris* m. ‘Würgen, erstickende Beklemmung, Angst’; OInd. *amhú-* ‘eng’, *ámhas-* ‘Enge, Bedrängnis, Not’; Grk. *ἄγγι* adv. ‘near’, *ἀγγό-θι* adv. ‘near’, *ἀγγό-θεν* adv. ‘from near at hand’, *ἀγγού* adv. ‘near’, cf. comp.

ἄσσον ‘nearer’ < \*ἄγγιον; Goth. \**aggwus* (only nom. sg. n. *aggwu*) ‘στενός’, ‘narrow’; ON *øngr*, *qngr* (*w*-stem), OE *enȝe*, OS *engi*, OHG *angi*, *engi* (*ja*-stem); but Avest. *qzanhē* ‘zu bedrängen’, zero grade: *ny-āzata* ‘sie schnürt sich’, *ny-āzayən* ‘sie sollen hineinzwängen’ (< \*-ṅgh-), Pers. *niyāz* ‘Mangel’ (Bartholomae 352); Grk. ἄγγω ‘zu schnüren, erdrosseln’; Lat. *angō*, *anctus*, *angere* ‘to squeeze, press; to smother; to hamper, trouble, depress’; the zero grade is reliably represented only in Avestan; the secondary character of the length is not confirmed by anything, the long diphthongal combination \*-ān- is most likely for the full grade; the Slavic and Baltic stems with circumflex are the result of metatony; if Slav. \**uęzāti*, praes. sg. 1 \**uęzjǫ*, 3 \**uęzjetь* ‘to tie’ belongs to this root, it also represents the case of metatony; Fraenk. I, 11, 28; Фасмер IV, 152, 154; Trautmann BSW, 11; Mayrhofer I, 14; Frisk I, 17, 17—18; WH I, 47, 49; Pok. 42 (\**anĝhos-*, \**anĝhes-* ‘Beklemmung’ to \**anĝh-* ‘eng’).

51. Slav. \**mýslь* < \**mūd-sl-i-*: Russ. *мысль*, gen. sg. *мысли*, gen. pl. *мыслеў*; a long diphthong and *j*-metatony in Lith. *maūsti*, praes. 1 sg. *maudžiù* ‘sehnlich verlangen, sich sehnen nach’ || μῦθος m. ‘Rede’, μῦθέομαι ‘rede, überlege’; Goth. *maudjan*, *ga-maudjan* ‘jemanden erinnern’; see Фасмер III, 25; Trautmann BSW, 171—172; Feist 350; Pok. 743 (\**məudh-* (*mēudh-*, *mūdh-*) ‘sehnlich verlangen’); cf. Fraenk. I, 420; Frisk II, 264—265; WH II, 139.

52. Lith. *stáibis* (1) ‘leg, shank, shin’, pl. *stáibiai* ‘Schienbeine’; *stíebas* ‘Stock, Stab, Pfeiler, Mast’ [~ Latv. *stiebrs* ‘der Halm (jeder runde Halm); die Binse (*scirpus* L.), die Simse (*juncus* L.), das Schilf, See-Binse (*scirpus lacustris* L.), Schierling (*conium maculatum*); das Rohr; Flintenlauf; der Rüssel (?)’; probably, one of the words that served as the basis for the contamination of two primarily different word-building families] || Lat. *tibia*, gen. sg. *tibiae* f. ‘Schienbein; Pfeife, Flöte’; Grk. *στειβώ* ‘mache dicht, trete fest, betrete’, *στοιβή* ‘das Stopfen’, *στιβαρός* ‘fest’; Arm. *stipem* ‘dränge, zwinge’ < \**steibe-*, *stēp* ‘frequent; hurry’ < \**steibo-*; OF *stipe* ‘Pfahl’; see Fraenk. II, 892, 903—904; Фасмер III, 750, 759; Frisk II, 781—782; Джаукян Гр. 49, 66; WH II, 680; Pok. 1015 (*stěib(h)-*, *stīb(h)-*).



53. Lith. *pláusti*, praes. 1 sg. *pláudžiu* ‘spülen, waschen, reinigen’, Latv. *plaûst*, praes. 1 sg. *plaužū*, praet. 1 sg. *plaûdu* ‘waschen, reinigen’; Lith. *plústi*, praes. 1 sg. *plústu*, praet. 1 sg. *plúdau* ‘strömen, fluten, überfließen’, Latv. *plûst*, praes. 1 sg. *plûstu*, praet. 1 sg. *plûdu* ‘sich ergießen, überströmen, überschwemmen’ || ON *fljóta* ‘fliessen’ (II cl.: *flaut*, *flutom*, *flotenn*), OE *flēotan* ‘fliessen’ (II cl.: *flēat*, *fluton*, *floten*), OF *fliāta* ‘fliessen’ (II cl.), OS *fliotan* ‘fliessen’ (II cl.), MDu. *vlieten*, OHG *fliozan* ‘fließen, schwimmen, flüssig sein’; OE *flota* ‘Schiff’; the Baltic verb with the *o*-grade (Lith. *pláusti*) can be regarded as a causative from the exact correspondence to the Germanic verb and its prosody can be explained by Winter’s law; the root variant without the *\*-d-* enlargement is retained in Baltic and Germanic, it demonstrates the long diphthong: Lith. *pláuti*, praes. 1 sg. *pláuju*, praet. 1 sg. *plóviau* ‘waschen, spülen’ || OHG *fleuuen*, *flouuen* ‘spülen’, MHG *vlæjen*, *vlæen*, *vlæn*, *vlouwen*, *vlöun* ‘spülen, waschen, säubern’, a weak verb in *\*-jan*, a causative from the Germanic verb, reflected in the correspondences: ON *flóa* ‘fließen, strömen’ (< Germ. *\*flōwēn*), OE *flówan* ‘überfließen’ (a reduplicated verb: praet. *fleów*, pl. *fleówon*, part. praet. *flówen*), MLG *vlōien*, MDu. *vloyen*, *vloeyen* ‘fliessen’; Fraenk. I, 609—610; EWD I, 449—450; Franck—van Wijk 749, 750; de Vries 132; Bosworth—Toller 295; Pok. 835—837 (*\*pleu-d-* to *\*pleu-*).

Although de Saussure himself in his article did not analyse the reflexation of the IE long diphthongs in the Lith. accentual system, considering them to be extremely rare: «Such very rare primary diphthongs as *-|ēr|*-, *-|ēi|*- will remain beyond the scope of our study»,—his theory holds good for the analysis of this phenomenon. Not only an IE long monophthong, but also a diphthong whose initial element was an IE long vowel (or a vowel, the length of which is uncovered by the procedure accepted by us) received acute intonation in Lithuanian. As we have seen such cases are rather numerous and they cannot be regarded as «very rare». It follows from this that de Saussure’s statement, that it is necessary for an IE element corres-

ponding to the Lithuanian (and Balto-Slavic) syllable-building segment to be a single segment for the Lithuanian acute intonation to appear, is wrong. Thus the only source from which Lithuanian (and Balto-Slavic) acute originates remains the prototype known in the comparative procedure as the reflex of length or as the reflex of the factor generating length<sup>38</sup>. The second important result of the above analysis of the reflexation of long diphthongs is the discovery of the obvious insufficiency to establish the segmental / prosodic characteristics of an IE diphthong (i. e. short diphthong vs. long diphthong vs. Bezenberger's combination with \*ǝ) only by the direct comparison of Baltic (Balto-Slavic) correspondence to the other IE one. Such comparison is relevant only in case of IE zero-grade, when Balto-Slavic diphthongal combinations with narrow vowels (i. e. Balto-Slav. \*ir, \*ur, \*il, \*ul, \*in, \*im) correspond in some IE languages to different reflexes of short and long syllabic resonants (but the choice between long diphthong vs. Bezenberger's combination is impossible all the same). In case of IE full grade such comparison is fruitless because of the shortening of long diphthongs in all the IE languages; two prosodic types of Balto-Slavic diphthongs and diphthongal combinations (i. e. with acute tone vs. circumflex tone) will have the same correspondence in all the rest of the IE languages, except for cases where we see the direct reflexation of \*ǝ [that points out Bezenberger's combination] or where we see the reflex of long monophthong instead of diphthong [that points out IE long diphthong]. To establish the segmental/prosodic characteristics of an IE diphthong, corresponding to a Balto-Slavic diphthong, surely we will have to include it into the system of the IE ablaut, having established its reflexation in the zero grade as well as its reflexation in heterosyllabic and tautosyllabic position.

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<sup>38</sup> This actually means that de Saussure's attempt to strictly connect Lith. prosodic phenomena with the segmental relations of his IE reconstruction failed while Fortunatov's reconstruction remains as an alternative one.

### WINTER'S LAW

But one group of facts showing in Balto-Slavic acute was overlooked by de Saussure. These are the cases when instead of the expected circumflex we come across acute in the Lithuanian material, which can be referred to certain morphological models with difficulties (for the connection of the change of syllabic intonations with some morphological patterns see below). Later scholars encountered them. Fortunatov even noticed their Balto-Slavic character (he wrote in such cases: «obtained from the Balto-Slavic language with protracted length»). But until work was begun at full reconstructions of accentual systems these facts probably did not cause either «hard» problems or the urge to explain them systematically. Presently with the discovery of Winter's law there is the possibility to explain this group of facts as well. Below we will place the cases of functioning of this law for IE short monophthongs and short syllabic resonants -*ĩ*- and -*ũ*- in the separate section. (Actually the law was demonstrated by the author himself only for the cases of IE short monophthongs.) Only then we will try to define if the law operates for diphthongs and diphthongal combinations.

In 1976 W. Winter demonstrated that IE short monophthongs in the position before IE voiced unaspirated consonants regularly correspond to long monophthongs in Baltic and Slavic languages. His article (Winter 1978) extremely concisely written did not meet the understanding it deserved. The majority of reactions to the article consisted in the search for new examples or in the explanation of some exceptions and to the phonetic interpretation of the law itself; in the cases when a scholar rejected this law there always was a possibility to refer the corresponding facts to the long grade and select a certain number of similar forms where the secondary length is not connected with the position before the IE voiced unaspirated consonants. But the most natural reaction of the scholar wishing to check the relevance of this law for Balto-Slavic should be consisted

in the necessity to check the reflexation of IE «short» diphthongs and diphthongal combinations and, correspondingly, short syllabic resonants in the position in which this law operates. The strict connection between the IE length or the factor generating length with the Balto-Slavic acute (see above)<sup>39</sup> dictated this very direction of research. Thus I have carried out the complete (as far as possible) revision of the etymological material and was convinced of the relevance of Winter's law for quite a considerable layer of Balto-Slavic (correspondingly Baltic and Slavic) proto-vocabulary<sup>40</sup>. Thus there is now the possibility of a fairly complete reconstruction of the system of generation of tonal oppositions in Balto-Slavic.

Winter's law in the present-day interpretation should be formulated as follows: any IE short syllable-forming element, i. e. short monophthongs, simple short diphthongs (as opposed to long diphthongs and short diphthongs in combination with ə) and short syllabic resonants, yields Balto-Slavic reflex of the corresponding IE long syllable-forming element (i. e. Balto-Slavic syllable-forming element with acute intonation) in position before the IE voiced unaspirated occlusive consonant (IE \*b, \*d, \*g, \*ĝ, \*gʷ). This rule does not apply to the position before IE clusters «s + voiced unaspirated», «voiced unaspirated + s» and «voiced unaspirated + resonant (\*n, \*m, \*r, \*l)» — in all these positions IE short syllable-forming element yields Balto-Slavic syllable-forming element with circumflex or short intonation. Moreover there is an additional position, where in all likelihood we see the results of Winter's law operating. Before we formulate this position it is necessary to make one remark concerning the IE phonotactics in general. There is some evidence that in IE

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<sup>39</sup> For the loss of the reflex of the Balto-Slavic acute in the mobile accentual paradigm in Slavic see Дыбо МПАС I, ch. 1, esp. pp. 64—65.

<sup>40</sup> I communicated this result to Prof. Fr. Kortland and also noted this phenomenon in Дыбо CA 40, fn. 30. St. R. Young's paper «Baltic Diphthongal Bases and Winter's Law» (Young 1990), that appeared later naturally coincides with in the main points with my preliminary study both in the material and in the conclusions.

proto-language voiced aspirated consonants in clusters «voiced aspirated + \*n» (i. e. \*bhn, \*dhn, \*ghn, \*ġhn, \*g<sup>h</sup>hn) tended to lose their aspiration and yielded phonemes coinciding with the reflexes of the corresponding IE voiced unaspirated consonants in known to us IE languages<sup>41</sup> (of course if aspirated consonant was not restored due to analogy). It is surprising enough that Winter's law applies to IE syllable-forming element in this position (i. e. before IE \*bhn, \*dhn, \*ghn, \*ġhn, \*g<sup>h</sup>hn > \*b<sup>(h)</sup>n, \*d<sup>(h)</sup>n, \*g<sup>(h)</sup>n, \*ġ<sup>(h)</sup>n, \*g<sup>u(h)</sup>n), for these cases see p. 396, No. 2 (Slav. \*ǣgъцьсѣ 'lamb' < IE \*ag<sup>u(h)</sup>nos), p. 406, No. 23 (Slav. \*věno 'dowry' < IE \*ǣed<sup>(h)</sup>no-), p. 413, Nos 32—33 (Balt. \*ūdn- 'water' < IE \*ud<sup>(h)</sup>n-).

### Winter's law in IE monophthongs, IE syllabic resonants -ǣ-, -ĩ-, and IE diphthongs

#### I. Winter's law in IE monophthongs

Slav. *ā*, Balt. *ā* < IE *ǣ*

1. ChSlav. *лѣзъно* 'Haut, Leder', Russ. ChSlav. *лѣзъно* 'hide, leather'; Serb. ChSlav. *лѣзъно* 'hide, leather' || OInd. *ajīnam* n. 'Fell'; Фасмер IV, 550; Mayrhofer I, 23; Pok. 7;

Lith. *ožỹs*, gen. sg. *óžio* (3) 'Ziegenbock' (< \*ǣġios), *ožkà*, acc. sg. *óžkà* (3) 'Ziege'; Latv. *āzis* 'Ziegenbock'; OPruss. *wosee* 'Ziege', *wosux* 'Ziegenbock'; ? Slav. \**āzъ* 'ide': Russ. *язъ*, gen. sg. *язя́*; Ukr. *язъ*, gen. sg. *язя́*; SCr. *jâz* m. 'ide'; Sloven. *jêz* m. 'idus melanotus; leuciscus idus'; Polish *jaź* 'ide', 'leuciscus idus'<sup>42</sup> || OInd. *ajáh* m.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Brugmann Grdr.<sup>2</sup> I, 634, § 704, Anm.

<sup>42</sup> Formally perfect comparison, the semantic transfer onto the fish is justified by the presence of an essential feature — big feelers, what is reflected e. g. in a number of Germ. nominations: HGerm. *Bartkarpfen* 'ide', *Barbe* 'ide', Swed. *skeggkarp*, cf. an analogous transfer onto a similar kind of fish in German: *Ziege* 'pelecus cultratus'.

‘Ziegenbock’, *ajǎ* ‘Ziege’, MPers. *azak* ‘Ziege’; Ir. *ag* ‘Bock’; Alb. *dhí* ‘Ziege’ (< \**adzijā* ?); Fraenk. I, 519; Фасмер IV, 551; Bezlaj I, 231; Sławski I, 532—533; Mayrhofer I, 23; Pok. 6—7; cf. Orel 83.

2. Slav. \**ǎgnьсь*, \**ǎgnę* ‘lamb’ || Grk. *ἀμνός* m., f., *ἀμνή* f. ‘Lamm’ < \**ἄβνος*, \**ἄβνᾶ* < \**ag<sup>u</sup>nos* / \**ag<sup>u</sup>nā* < \**ag<sup>u</sup>(h)n-* < \**ag<sup>u</sup>hn-*; Lat. *agnus*, -ī m. (in OLat. also f.), f. -a ‘Lamm’; OIr. *úan*, Welsh *oen*, OCorn. *oin*, MCorn. *oan*, *on*, NCorn. pl. *ean*, *ennes*, Bret. *oan*, pl. *ein* ‘lamb’ < Proto-Celtic \**ognos* < IE \**og<sup>u</sup>hnos*, where \**o* is due to the influence of \**owis* (Ir. *oí*) ‘sheep’, \*-*g<sup>u</sup>hn-* is traditionally reconstructed as IE \**g<sup>u</sup>n-* gives Celtic \**bn-* > \**mn-*, cf. OIr. gen. sg. *mnā* < \**bnās* (OIr. *ben* ‘Frau’ : Goth. *qinō* : Arm. *kin* : Pruss. *genna* : OCS жѣна), there is however one example (Ir. *nigim* ‘I wash’ < \**nig<sup>u</sup>ietī*), implying merging of the reflexes of \**g<sup>u</sup>* and \**g<sup>u</sup>h* inside the word (between vowels), but it is usually regarded as the loss of labialisation before \**i*; inside the word, after the consonant -*n-* (-*ŋ-*) the reflexes of \**g<sup>u</sup>* and \**g<sup>u</sup>h* are kept apart (concerning the reflexes \**g<sup>u</sup>* and \**g<sup>u</sup>h* see Brugmann Grdr.<sup>2</sup> I, 589—591 (§§ 653—654), 605—606 (§§ 670—671) and Льюис—Педерсен, 62—63, §§ 38—41), this traditional reconstruction (IE \**ag<sup>u</sup>hnos*) is also supported by the Germ. data; Germ. \**aunōjan*: OE *éanian* ‘yeañ’, Engl. *yeañ* (< *ge-éanian*) ‘lammen’, WF *eandje*, *eandzje*, *eande*, *eanje* ‘lammeren werpen’; Du. dial. *oonen*, Swed. (Gotland) *oyna*, Danish (Bornholm) *öna* (these forms are also the basis for the reconstruction of IE \**ag<sup>u</sup>hn-os* > Germ. \**aʒwn-* > \**awn-* ≥ \**aun-*); for IE loss of aspiration before \**n* see p. 394—395; Фасмер IV, 544—545; Berneker I, 24—25; ЭССЯ 1, 54—55; Trautmann BSW 2; Frisk I, 93—94; WH I, 23; Thurneysen Gr. 137; Льюис—Педерсен 63; Skeat 619—620; Pok. 9.

Note. The Germanic reflexation, strictly speaking, may reflect not only IE \**ag<sup>u</sup>hn-os*, but also IE \**ak<sup>u</sup>n-os*; IE \**ag<sup>u</sup>n-os* in the case of the loss of labialisation usual for this position should have given Germ. \**akn-* or \**akk-* (cf. Germ. \**lukk-*: ON *lokkr*, OE *loc(c)*, OHG *loc* ‘lock, curl’ < IE \**lugnos*, cf. Lith. *lūgnas* ‘flexible, supple’ etc., Pok. 685—686).

3. Slav. \**ǎblьko*, \**ǎbolь* etc.; ELith. *obuolỹs* ‘apple’, Latv. *ābuolis* ‘apple’ (-*iō*-stem); WLith. *óbuolas*, Latv. *ābuols* ‘apple’ (-*o*-stem);

Lith. *obelis* ‘apple-tree’ (f., -i-stem), Latv. *âbels* (-i-stem), *âbele* (-e-stem) ‘apple-tree’; OPruss. *woble* f. (\**âbl-*) ‘Apfel’, *wobalne* (\**âboln-*) f. ‘Apfelbaum’ || Lat. *Abella* (Osk. town in Campania); Gaul. *avallo* ‘poma’, OIr. *ubull* (\**ablu-*) n. ‘Apfel’, NWelsh *afal*, pl. *afalau*, Corn., Bret. *aval* m. ‘Apfel’; Mŕ. *aball* (< \**abalnā*) f. ‘Apfelbaum’, OWelsh *aball* etc. ‘Apfelbaum’; Crimean Goth. *apel*, OHG *apful*, *afful*, MHG *apfel*, OE *æppel*, ON *epli* n. ‘Apfel’ (Germ. \**ap(a)la-*, \**aplu-*) etc.; Фасмер IV, 539—540; Fraenk. I, 515; Trautmann BSW 2; ЭССЯ 1, 41, 42—43, 44, 44—47, 47; WH I, 3; Feist 54; de Vries 103, 11; Pok. 1—2.

4. Lith. *bróžti*, praes. 3 *bróžia*, praet. 3 *bróžė* ‘wischen, streifen, hingeleiten, kratzen, schrammen, ritzen’; Latv. *brāzt* (Bl., Bächhof, Grünwald), *brāzt* (Kr., Kl., Salisb., Ermes, Muremois, Stockm., C., PS., Warkhof), praes. 1 sg. -žu, praet. 1 sg. -zu ‘brausen, toben, lärmen’<sup>43</sup> || Lat. *frangō*, -ere, *frēgi*, *frāctum* ‘brechen, zerbrechen, beugen’, *fragilis* ‘zerbrechlich’, *fragor* m. ‘das Zerbrechen, Krachen, Getöse’; Goth. *brikan* (4 cl.) ‘κλᾶν, brechen, πορθεῖν, zerstören; ἀθλεῖν, kämpfen’, OE *brecan*, OF *breka* (4 cl.); OS *brekan* (4 cl.) ‘brechen’, OHG *brehhan* (4 cl.) ‘brechen’; ON *braka* ‘krachen, lärmen’; OS *brakōn*, MLG *braken* ‘krachen’; in Mayrhofer EWA II, 277 the comparison with OInd. (RV) *giri-bhraj-* ‘Steifheit wie Berge habend’ (more likely than ‘aus den Bergen hervorbrechend’) is refuted; cf. Mayrhofer II, 527; see Fraenk. I, 35; WH I, 539—540, 541; Feist 105—106; de Vries 53; Pok. 165; cf. Pok. 167.

Note. Here also belong Balt. stems with *sC*-suffixes, where Winter's law should not have operated, but where we see acute vowel — probably due to analogy with the primary stem: Lith. *brózdauti* ‘to make a low noise’, *brozdėti* ‘poltern, fahren, gehen, niederfallen’, caus. *brózdinti*; Latv. *brāz(d)ēt* ‘poltern, sausen, krachen, stürmen’, probably from something like \**bhraġ-zd(h)-*; Latv. *brākšķēt*, *brākšēt* ‘to crack, crackle, creak’, from something like \**bhraġ-sk-*; for correct Lith. *braškėti* ‘to crack, crackle, creak’ and Latv. *brakšķēt* ‘id.’ without lengthening see below, p. 491, No. 15.

5. Slav. \**mázjō*, 3 sg. \**mázjetь*; inf. \**mázati* ‘to smear’ (well attested acute intonation of the root syllable refutes the supposition about

<sup>43</sup> Maybe here also belongs the group: Lith. *brėžti* ‘to draw, scratch, to strike (a match)’, *brúožti* ‘to scratch, tear; to go fast’, etc.

its morphological lengthening, see Дыбо СА, 210; cf. ЭССЯ 18, 24); ? Latv. (*iz*)*muôzêt* ‘narrieren, quälen, überlisten; durchprügeln’ (the semantic parallel: ‘anshmieren’), *muôzêt* ‘to eat a lot, greedily; to fool, to torment, to beat, drub’, *muôzêt* ‘to fool’ (Шмидт, Тр. д. 30); cf. Trubačev’s doubts about the possibility of this comparison in ЭССЯ 18, 24—25; ? Lith. *mėžti* ‘to manure, dung’, Latv. *mēzt* ‘to clean dung, sweep’ (but cf. Trautmann BSW 185—186) || Grk. μάσσω (Att. μάπτω), -ομαι, aor. ἔμαξα, pass. aor. ἐμάγην, ἐμάχθην, perf. pass. μέμαγμαι ‘to knead, press into a mould; to wipe’, μᾶζα, μάζα ‘barley-cake; lump, mass, ball’ (long  $\bar{\alpha}$  is probably secondary, cf. Frisk II 158—159); ? Arm. *macanim*, *macnum* ‘I stick; I thicken’; ? Bret. *meza* ‘kneten’, Welsh *maeddu* ‘kämpfen, stossend durcheinandermischen’ (< \**maged-*); OHG *mahhôn* ‘compōnere, iungere, instituere’, OS *makôn* ‘machen, errichten, bauen’, OE *macian* ‘to make, cause, do, arrange’, OF *makia* ‘machen, bauen; setzen, festsetzen’ (through the meaning ‘kneten, formen’); see Фасмер II, 557—558; Endzelins II, 398 (= KZ XLIV [1911], 66); Trautmann BSW 173; Frisk II, 180—181, WH II, 2—3; Pok. 696—697; cf. ЭССЯ 18, 23—25.

Slav. \**māzь*, loc. sg. \**na mazi* ‘ointment’ (Russ. мазь, adv. (loc. sg.) на мазу; Ukr. мазь, loc. sg. на мазі ‘lubricant, ointment, (wheel-)grease’; Sloven. *māz*, gen. sg. *mazi* f. ‘das Schmierer; die Schmiere’) || Grk. μᾶγίς, gen. sg. -ίδος f. ‘geknetete Masse, Kuchen’; see Pok. 696; ЭССЯ 18, 34; Frisk II, 180—181.

Note. The introduction of the Baltic words into this comparison besides semantic difficulties brings about the problems connected with the vocalism and ablaut: the correspondences outside Baltic point to IE *-a-*, that is outside the ablaut system, while the Baltic material introduced the normal ablaut *-ē-* : *-ō-*, it considerably strengthens the alternative solution: to accept the archaic character of the Baltic situation and to regard all the rest (not Slavic) material as reflecting IE *-ə-*. This solution, however, does not exclude the possibility of the direct comparison of the Slavic stems with the Greek ones; only in this case we will have to accept that Slav. \**-ā-* in these forms < early Balto-Slavic *-ǣ-* < IE *-ə-*.

6. Slav \**pādq*, 3 sg. \**pādetь*; inf. \**pāsti* ‘to fall’ || OInd. *pādyati* ‘geht, fällt’; Avest. *paideiti* ‘bewegt sich nach abwärts, legt sich nieder’; OE \**ge-fetan* ‘to fall’, only the form of praet. 3 pl. *gefetun*



‘they fell (*of seeds*)’ (in the glosses R<sup>1</sup>, 2×) (= \**gefētun*, V cl.); OHG *fëzzan*, *gi-fëzzan* ‘to fall’ (V cl.), only the praet. forms are attested: 3 sg. *faz* ‘(door) fell, was ruined’, 3 sg. *ge-uaz* ‘fell (*of lot*)’, *ni gi-faz* ‘did not go out (*of brains*)’, 3 pl. *ana-ge-facen* ‘they fell (on/to) (*of misfortunes*)’ (< \**ana-ge-fāzzun*), *auur-ki-fazzun* ‘they fell (on/to) (*of misfortunes*)’; ON *feta* (praet. sg. *fat*, pl. *fātu*, V cl.) ‘to find (way)’; the detailed analysis, material and bibliography in Иллич-Свитыч III, 84—89, esp. IE data: 85—88.

Slav. \**na-pastъ* (Russ. *напáсть* ‘misfortune, trouble’; Ukr. *на́насть* ‘cavil; misfortune; fine, penalty’; ORuss. *НАПАСТЬ* ‘misfortune; temptation’, OCS *НАПАСТЬ* ‘συμφορά, ἐπὴρεια, ἐπιβουλή, περίστασις, ἀνάγκη’; Bulg. *háпact* ‘disaster, misfortune’, SCr. *háпact* ‘disaster, fortune’, Sloven. *napâst* ‘der Anfall, der Angriff; die Gefahr; das Unglück; der Elementarschaden; die Versuchung, die Anfechtung; die Bosheit, der Muthwille’; Czech *nápast* ‘misfortune’, Polish *napaść* ‘disaster; attack, incursion, raid, foray’ || OInd. *ā-patti* ‘Unfall, Unglück, Noth’; Фасмер III, 43, 184; Pok. 791f.

Cf. also the following Baltic stems:

7. Lith. *stógas* (3) ‘roof, roofing’, dial. *stógas* (1) (LKŽ XIII, 834 [Ndž, Dt]), Latv. *stāgs*<sup>2</sup> ‘das Dach’, OPruss. *stogis* ‘Dach’ (Voc. 204) || IE \*(s)*togom*: ON *þak* n. ‘Dach’, OE *ðæc*, OHG *dah* n. ‘roof’; Welsh *to* ‘roof’ (< \**togo-*) ‘Dach’; cf. also IE \*(s)*tegos-*: Grk. *στέγος*, (Hom. +) *τέγος* n. ‘Dach, Haus’; OIr. *tech*, *teg* n. ‘Haus’, OWelsh *tig* ‘Haus’ (< \**tegos-*); Trautmann BSW 288; de Vries 605; Frisk II, 780—781; Pok. 1013—1014; cf. Fraenk. 911.

For Lith. *stiegti* ‘ein Dach eidecken’ see below, p. 407, No. 25.

8. Latv. *blāzt* ‘schimmern’ (Mühl.—Endz. I, 313) || Grk. *φλέγω* ‘brenne, senge, zünde an’.

Latv. *blāzma* and *blāzma* (< \**blāgmā*) ‘der Schimmer, Glanz, der Widerschein, die Röte vom Licht und Feuer’ (Mühl.—Endz. I, 312; Endz.—Haus. I, 227; Ērgemes vārdn. I, 175) || Lat. *flamma* f. ‘Flamme’ (< \**flagmā*); Grk. *φλέγμα* n. ‘Brand; Entzündung; Schleim’, *φλογμός* ‘Flamme’; WH I, 513; Frisk II, 1022—1024; Pok. 124—125.

9. Lith. *blóđėti* ‘schwätzen, Unsinn reden, ausgelassen, übermütig sein’; Latv. *blāst*, praes. 1 sg. *blāžu*, praet. 1 sg. *blādu* ‘schwätzen’, *blādēt* ‘Unsinn schwätzen, faseln’ || Grk. φλέδων m. and f. ‘Schwätzer’, φλεδών f. ‘Geschwätz’; φληδώντα · ληροῦντα (Hsch.; a participle from \*φληδάω ‘schwätze’, grammatical lengthening?); \*φλάζω (aor. 3 pl. ἔφλαδον) ‘to be rent with a noise’; παφλάζω, Aeol. παφλάσδω ‘to boil, bluster; to splutter, bluster’; Fraenk. I, 50—51; Frisk II, 1024—1025; WH I, 515, 518; Pok. 155.

10. Lith. *dróžti*, praes. 3 *dróžia* ‘to plane, shave; to cut out, carve; to repair; to sharpen; to go quickly; to strike, hit; eat with gusto’<sup>44</sup>; Latv. *drāzt*, praes. 1 sg. *drāzu* and *drāžu* ‘schnitzen (*drāzt*), prügeln, schelten (*drāzt*); schnell wohin sich begeben, laufen (*drāzt*), schnell fahren (*drāzt*)’ (Mühl.—Endz. I, 495) || OInd. *dhrájati* ‘gleitet dahin, bewegt sich, fliegt’, ‘to walk; to glide; to fly (*of birds*); to blow (*of wind*)’, *dhrāj-* f. ‘Zugkraft’, *dhráji-* (RV) ‘Streichen des Windes’ and *dhrājí-* f. ‘Zug, Trieb’; ON *drák*, *dráka* f. ‘Streifen’; Germ. stem evidently goes back to an athematic noun and the long vowel is to be explained as a long grade of this athematic noun (the same applies to OInd. *dhráji-*, *dhrājí-*); Mayrhofer does not accept this comparison because of impossibility to derive the OInd. semantics from the meaning ‘to pull’, but the main meaning of Balt. words is ‘to scrape, cut off’, i. e. ‘to cut gliding on the surface’; Fraenk. 106; Mayrhofer II, 115; de Vries 80; Falk—Torp I, 151 and 152; Pok. 273.

Slav. *ā*, Balt. *uo* < IE *ō*

11. Slav. \**-āgā*: Serb. ChSlav. *внпѣга* ‘βότρυς’, SCr. *внѣга* ‘wild grapes’; Sloven. *vinjāga* f. ‘die wilde Weinrebe’ (cf. however, Sadnik—Aizenmüller’s and Trubačev’s objections against such analysis of South Slav. \**vinjaga*, see ЭССЯ 1, 58); Slav. \**āgodā* ‘berry, soft fruit’: OCS *лгѡла* ‘καρπός’ (Sav.), Russ. *ягога*, Ukr. *ягога*; Bulg. *ягога*

<sup>44</sup> The source of Lith. *drežóti* ‘glattstreichen’ (cited in Pok. 273) is not known to me.

‘wild strawberries’; SCr. *jãroga* ‘wild strawberry, strawberry’; Sloven. *jãgoda* ‘die Beere’; Czech *jahoda* ‘berry (of strawberry, blueberry)’, Polish *jagoda* ‘berry’; Lith. *ũoga* (1) ‘Beere’, dial. ‘Kirsche’, Latv. *uõga* ‘die Beere’ (the accentual-intonational relations are characteristic for formerly neuter gender) || Goth. *akran* n. ‘καρπός, Frucht’, ON *akarn* n. ‘Frucht wildwachsender Bäume’, OE *æcern* n. ‘wilde Baumfrucht’, MHG *ackeran*, *eckern* n. ‘wilde Baumfrucht, bes. Eichel, Buchecker’; Ir. *áirne* ‘sloe’, Welsh *aeron* ‘berries’, *airin* ‘plums’, MBret. *irin*, Bret. *hirin* ‘sloe’; Toch. A *oko*, pl. *okonta* m. ‘fructus, fruit’ (Poucha 43—44; Adams No. 656); Фасмер IV, 545—546; Bezljaj I, 217; Trautmann BSW 202; WH II, 849; Feist 32—33; de Vries 4; Falk—Torp I, 16; Льюис—Педерсен 59; Pok. 773; cf. Berneker I, 25; ЭССЯ 1, 57—59; Fraenk. II, 1165.

12. Slav. *\*adati*: OCzech *jadati* ‘forschen, untersuchen’ (< *\*aus-schnüffeln*); Lith. *ũosti*, praes. 1 sg. *ũodũiu* ‘to smell, scent’, Latv. *uõst*, praes. 1 sg. *uõũu* ‘to smell, scent’ || Grk. praes. 1 sg. *õζω* ‘rieche, dufte’, *õδμῆ* f. ‘Geruch, Duft’; Alb. *amë* ‘unangenehmer Geruch’ (< IE *\*od-mã*); Lat. *odor* (OLat. *odõs*), gen. sg. *odõris* m. ‘Geruch’, *olõ*, *olui*, *olõre* ‘rieche, dufte’ (Sabin. development *d* > *l*); Arm. *hot* ‘Duft, Geruch’, *hotim* ‘rieche’; the root clearly belongs to the series of short-syllabic roots, the length is found only in some morphological and wordbuilding categories: Grk. perf. *õδ-õδα* and compounds: *δũσ-õδης* ‘ill-smelling, stinking’, *ẽb-õδης* ‘sweet-smelling, fragrant’, Arm. *hr-ut* = Grk *πυρ-õδης* ‘like fire, fiery’ with compound lengthening (maybe contamination with *πυρο-ẽιδης* from *ẽĩδομαι*); one also refers to the same root NGerm. *\*õsa-* < *\*õd-so-*: Swed. *os* ‘Geruch, erstickendes Gas’, Norw. *os*, Danish *os* ‘Dunst, erstickender Dampf’,—but the latter probably has another, more reliable direction of etymologizing: Falk—Torp I, 802—803, Fraenk. II, 1231, 1232; Pok. 83; see Berneker I, 24; Fraenk. II, 1167—1168; Trautmann BSW 202; Frisk II, 353—355; WH II, 203, 206; Pok. 772—773; ЭССЯ 1, 52.

13. Lith. *uodegã*, dial. *vuodegã* ‘Stengel, Stiel; Schwanz’; Latv. *uodega* ‘Schwanz’ (here also probably belongs with the metathesis

Slav. *\*agodica* ‘buttock’<sup>45</sup> || OInd. *ádgaḥ* (AV) m. ‘Rohrstab, Stengel (vom Bambus)’; ? OIr. *odb* m. ‘Knoten, Auswuchs’, Welsh *oddf* ‘Knoten’ (< *\*od(e)g<sup>u</sup>o-*?); Fraenk. II, 1164—1165; Mayrhofer I, 29; Pok. 773; but cf. Mayrhofer EWA I, 63.

14. Slav. *\*nâgъ* ‘naked, nude’ (the reflex of the acute is lost in the mobile accentual paradigm): Russ. *наго́й*, Ukr. *нагу́й*; SCr. *nâg*, f. *nâga*; Sloven. *nâg*, f. *nâga*; Czech *nahý*, Slovak *nahý*; Polish dial. (małopolsk.) *naǰi* (Kucala 204); Lith. *núogas* (3) ‘naked, nude’; Latv. dial. *nuôgs* ‘nackend, nackt; arm’ || ON *nøkkva* ‘nackt machen’; OInd. *nagnâḥ* ‘nackt’, Avest. *maṇa-* (probably < *\*naṇa-*); Lat. *nūdus* ‘bloß, nackt; leicht bekleidet; ungeschminkt’ < *\*nou(e)dos* < *\*nog<sup>u</sup>edhos* or *\*nog<sup>u</sup>odhos*; OIr. *nocht*, Welsh *noeth* ‘nackt’; Goth. *naqaps* ‘γυμνός, nackt’, ON *nøkkveðr*, *nekþer*, OE *nacod*, OF *nakad*, MLG *naket*, OHG *naccod*, *nahhut*, Germ. *nackt* ‘naked’; with the *-no-* suffix: ON *nakenn*, OF *naken*, MLG *naken* ‘nackt’; Hitt. *negu-mant-* ‘naked’; Фасмер III, 36—37; ЭССЯ 22, 70—72; Fraenk. I, 511—512; Trautmann BSW 201; Mayrhofer II, 126—127; WH II, 185; Feist 370; de Vries 404, 414; Pok. 769.

Cf. also the following Baltic stems:

15. Lith. *púodas* (1) ‘pot, jug’, Latv. *puôds* m. ‘Topf’ (probably, a former neuter noun, what is indicated by the characteristic accentual-intonational correspondence, see Иллич-Свитыч ИА, 154—155 and 82) || ON *fat* n. ‘Gefäß, Kleid’; OE *fæt* n. ‘Gefäß, Faß’; OS *fat* n. ‘Gefäß’, OHG *vazz* n. ‘Behälter, Kasten’; Fraenk. II, 668; Trautmann BSW 227; de Vries 113; Feist 148—149; Pok. 790.

Note. Lith. *pėdas* (3) ‘Garbe’, ‘sheaf’ and Latv. *pēda* ‘Handvoll, Armvoll’ are usually referred to the same root as the previous word; Lith. *pėdas* and Latv. *pēda* can be compared with the Germ. root *\*fēt-/fat-* < IE *\*pēd-/pəd-* ‘to grasp, seize’ || Germ. *\*fētjan-* (weak I cl.): Goth. *fetjan* (*e = ē*) ‘to decorate, adorn’; ON *fæta* (*æ = ǣ*) ‘schön tun; mit etw. zu tun haben’; OE *fætan* ‘to put as a load, load, put; to decorate’, *ǵe-fætan* ‘to put as a load, burden; to inflict, impose; to pack up’; Germ. *\*fatōn-* (weak II cl.): Far. *fata* ‘to grasp, seize, understand, perceive’, late ON *fata* ‘to connect un-

<sup>45</sup> The comparison was suggested by V. N. Terentjev (pers. comm).

steadily, loosely', 'to be a pot-boiler'; OE *fætian*, *fetian* (*feččan*) 'to deliver, bring', *fætian wīfo* 'to get married' (weak verb with the contamination of stems of II and III cl.); OF *fatia* 'to seize, grasp; load', *bi-fatia* 'to be occupied with smth., have smth. to do with smth.'; OHG *fazzon* 'to load (a pack animal), dress; to pack', *sih fazzon* 'to gather'; but the relation of this root to the analysed name of the vessel is probably secondary; see Bosworth—Toller 285, 389; Toller 203, 322; Steinmeyer AhdWb. III 670—671, 789—790; Pok. 790; but cf. Fraenk. I, 563.

16. ? Lith. *gúogė* (1) 'Kohlkopf, Kopf, Dickschädel', *gógė* (1) 'Kopf' || Icel. *kaka* 'Kuchen', Norw. *kaka*, Swed. *kaka* 'kleines, rundes und flaches Brot' (the comparison is not reliable because of the descriptive character of the word; there is also a long variant in Germanic: Norw. *kōk* 'Klumpen', Swed. *koka* 'Scholle, Erdscholle', dial. *kōke*, OHG *kuocho* 'rundes Brot, Kuchen'); see Pok. 349; cf. Pok. 394; Fraenk. I, 175.

17. Balto-Slavic presence stem *\*dō-d-* < *\*dō-d-* 'to give', the result of the reduplication of the IE root *\*dō-*: Slav. praes. sg. 1 *\*dad-mь*, 2 *\*dad-si*, 3 *\*dad-tь*, pl. 1 *\*dad-mь*<sup>46</sup>; Balt. praes. sg. 1 *\*dōd-mie*, 2 *\*dōd-sie*, 3. *\*dōd-ti*; pl. 1 *\*dōd-mē*, 2 *\*dōd-tē*<sup>47</sup> || OInd. *dādāti*, Avest. *dadāiti*; this stem is nicely opposed to the Balto-Slavic presence stem with short vowel *\*dē-d-* < *\*dhē-dh-* 'to place', the result of the reduplication of the IE root *\*dhē-*: Slav. praes. sg. 1 *\*ded-jō*, 2 *\*ded-ješi*, etc.<sup>48</sup>; Balt. praes. sg. 1 *\*dēd-mie*, sg. 2 *\*dēd-sie*, 3 *\*dēd-ti*; pl. 1 *\*dēd-mē*, 2 *\*dēd-tē*<sup>49</sup> || OInd. *dādhāti* 'legen, setzen, sitzen machen, schaffen', Avest. *dadāiti* 'setzen, legen'; the explanation on the basis of Winter's law was first put forward by T. Shintani (?); independently this possibility was also pointed out to me by S. G. Bolotov (pers. comm); see Fraenk. I, 111—112 and 91—92.

<sup>46</sup> OCS sg. 1 *дѡмѣ*, 2 *дѡш*, 3 *дѡстѣ*, pl. 1 *дѡмѣ*, 2 *дѡстѣ*, 3 *дѡдѡстѣ*, du. 1 *дѡбѣ*, 2 *дѡста*, 3 *дѡстѣ*, etc.

<sup>47</sup> OLith. praes. sg. 1 *dūmi* (DP 41<sub>9</sub>), sg. 2 *dūsi* (DP 420<sub>13</sub>), 3 *dūst* (DP 19<sub>20</sub>); pl. 1 *dūme* (DP 242<sub>43</sub>), 2 *dūstę* (DP 284<sub>17</sub>), standard Lith. praes. 3 *dūoda*; Latv. 1 sg. *duomu*, *duodu*.

<sup>48</sup> OCS praes. 1 sg. *вѣзѡвѣжѡ* (Ps. 62:5), 2 *вѣзѡвѣжѡши* (John 21:18); pl. 1 *ѡвѣжѡмѡ* *сѡ* (Matt. 6:31), 3 *ѡвѣжѡстѡ* *сѡ* (Ps. 108:29).

<sup>49</sup> OLith. praes. 3 *dēst* (DP 35<sub>18</sub>), pl. 1 *dēmę* (DP 10<sub>1</sub>), standard Lith. praes. 3 *dēda*.

## Slav. ě, Balt. ē &lt; IE ǣ

18. Slav. \**bĕgŏ*, praes. 3 sg. \**bĕžítŭ*, 3 pl. \**bĕgŏtŭ* ‘to run’; Lith. *bĕgti*, praes. 1 sg. *bĕgu* ‘to run’; Latv. *bĕgt*, praes. 1 sg. *bĕgu* ‘to run’ || Grk. *φέβομαι* ‘to be put to flight, to flee in terror’ (IE root \**bhegʷ-*); in New Indian there is a number of forms that can be traced back to this root (Hindi *bhāg-* ‘fliehen’); Фасмер I, 143; Berneker I, 54—55; Fraenk. I, 38; Trautmann BSW 29; Frisk II, 998—999; Turner CDIAL 532 (№9361); Pok. 116.

Slav. \**bĕgŏ* ‘run’: ORuss. *бѣгъ* ‘flight, run’, Russ. *бег*, loc. sg. *на беры́*; Ukr. *біг*, gen. sg. *бігу*, loc. sg. *на бігу́*; Bulg. *берѣм*; SCr. *bŭjer*; Sloven. *bĕg* m. ‘die Flucht’ ~ Lith. dial. *bĕgas* ‘run, flight, escape’ (Nes-selm.); Фасмер I, 141; Fraenk. I, 38; Trautmann BSW 29; Pok. 116.

19. Slav. \**ĕsti*, praes. 1 sg. \**ĕdmŭ* ‘to eat’: Russ. *есть*, *ем*, Ukr. *ї́сти*, *ї́м*; OCS *ѣсти*, *ѣмъ*, Bulg. *ям*; SCr. *jĕcti*, *jĕm*; Sloven. *jĕsti*, *jĕm*; Czech *jísti*, *jím*; Lith. *ĕsti*, praes. 1 sg. *ĕmi*, *ĕdu*, praet. 1 sg. *ĕdžiau* ‘fressen’; Latv. *ĕst*, praes. 1 sg. *ĕdu* ‘essen, fressen, verzehren’ || OInd. 1 sg. *admi*, 3 sg. *átŭti* ‘to eat’, Avest. conj. 3 sg. *adāiti*; Grk. *ἔδω*, inf. *ἔδμεναι*; Lat. *edō*, *ēdī*, *ēsum*, *ēsse*; Goth. *itan*, praet. 3 pl. *etun* (= \**ētun*), OHG *ezzan*, praet. *āz*, *āzum*; Hitt. praes. 3 pl. *adanzi* ‘they eat’, etc.; Фасмер II, 18; Fraenk. I, 124—125; Trautmann BSW 66; Pok. 287—289.

20. Slav. \**glĕziti*, praes. 1 sg. \**glĕzjŏ*, 3 sg. \**glĕzitiŭ* (or the same with the \**ĕ* vocalism?): Bulg. *глѣзя*, aor. *глѣзих* ‘to please smb., coddle, pamper, care for, cherish, pet; to caress’, secondary (Gerov) *глѣзѹль*, dial. (Trojansko) *глѣзъ* ‘to indulge, spoil smb.’, (Novo selo, Vidinsko) *глѣzum* ‘cherish, indulge’, Maced. *глѣзу* ‘to indulge’ || ON *kløkk* ‘schwach, erschöpft’ (Germ. \**klenkwa-*), LGerm. *klinker* ‘weich, zart, schwach’; Danish *klynke*, ODanish *kliunka*, Swed. *kläcka*, Norw. dial. *kløkka* ‘zusammenfahren, bewegt werden’, ON *kløkkva* ‘stark bewegt werden, wimmern’ (Germ. \**klenkwan* ‘weich werden’), causat. ON *kløkkva* ‘weich machen (z. B. Erde)’ (Germ. \**klankwjan* ‘weich machen’); Hitt. *kalanka-* (< \**klanka-*) ‘to soothe, satisfy’; Fraenk. I, 157; БЕР 1, 248; Berneker I, 302; ЭССЯ 6, 118; Pok. 401; Puhvel IV,

18—20; for related Lith. *glėžti* (praes. 3 *glėžta*) ‘weich, schlaff werden’ and *glėžnas* ‘zart, weich’ showing non-acute intonation see below, p. 493, No. 17 and p. 498, No. 7.

21. Slav. \**pěšь* (Russ. *нёшуъ*, *new*, *нёша*, *нёше* ‘pedestrian, unmounted’ [dial. also *нёшуъ*, standard colloquial also adv. *нёхом* ‘on foot, afoot’], ORuss. *ꙗꙗꙗꙗ*, Ukr. *нішуъ*, BRuss. *нёшы*, OCS *ꙗꙗꙗꙗ* ‘πεζός’, Bulg. *new*, *newu*, SCr. *ꙗꙗꙗꙗ* ‘on foot, afoot’, Sloven. *pěšji*, Czech *pěší* [and also *pěchý*], Slovak *pěší*, Polish *pieszy*, HSorb. *pěši*, LSorb. *pěšy*)<sup>50</sup> ~ Lith. *pėščias*, *pėkščias* ‘pedestrian’ (\**pėd̥tios* < \**pedtios*) || OInd. *pattīḥ* m. ‘Fußgänger, Fußsoldat, Infanterist’, OPers. *pastiš* ‘Fußsoldat’. Vasmer explains the Slavic form as \**pēd-s-ijos* (i. e. < \**ped-s-ijos*), Fraenkel and following him Mayrhofer — as \**pēd-t-ijos* (i. e. < \**ped-t-ijos*); Fraenkel’s reconstruction is a single possible for Balt. forms (and is supported by Indo-Iran. parallels), while Vasmer’s one fits Slav. data; probably we have to assume the non-standard development of this unique cluster in Slav.: \**tti* > \**š*; Fraenk. I, 561—563; Фасмер III, 257; Mayrhofer II, 201—202.

Lith. *pėdà* (3) ‘foot, sole; footprint, footstep; foot (*a measure*)’, dial. *pėdas* ‘Fuß, Fußsohle, Fußspur’, Latv. *pēda* ‘Fußsohle, Fußstapfe, Spur, Fuß, Schuh als Längenmaß’, *pēds* ‘Fußstapfe, Spur’ || OInd. *padá-* n. ‘Schritt, Tritt, Fußstapfe’, Avest. *pada-* n. ‘Spur’ (und ‘Fuß als Maß’); Hitt. *pēdan* ‘Platz, Stelle’; Grk. *πέδον* ‘Fuß-, Erdboden, Boden’; Arm. *het*, gen. sg. *hetoy* ‘Fußspur’; Lat. *peda*, *-ae* f. ‘Fußspur’, Umbr. *peřum* ‘Boden’; Mlr. *ined* (< \**eni-pedo-*) ‘Spur (der Füße); Ort’; OIr. *ed* n. ‘Zeitraum’; ON *fet* n. ‘Schritt; Fuß als Maß’; Fraenk. I, 561—563; Trautmann BSW 209—210; Mayrhofer II, 204—205; Frisk II, 485—486; WH II, 293—295; de Vries 118; Pok. 790—792.

Lith. *lengva-pėdis* (2) ‘leisefüßig; lightminded’ || Lat. *acu-pedius* ‘schnellfüßig’; Norw. dial. *fior-fit* ‘Eidechse’ (τετραπέζος) (Pok. 791 f.).

Note. Slav. \**podъ* (Russ. *nog*, *-a* ‘bottom, lower part’, Ukr. *nig*, gen. sg. *nógy* ‘lower part of the haystack’, BRuss. *nog* ‘lower part; foot of a mountain’, ORuss. *ꙗꙗꙗꙗ*

<sup>50</sup> Russ. and Czech forms in \*-x (and even with -ě- in Russian) are back-formations.

‘foundation, base’, MBulg. *пoдъ* ‘foundation, base’, Bulg. *nog* ‘floor’, SCr. *nōgъ* ‘tier, layer, flooring, planking’; Sloven. *pòd, pòda* ‘floor; threshing-floor’) ~ Lith. *pādas* ‘Fuß-, Schuhsohle, Schienenfuß, Dreschboden, Dreschtenne, Ofen, Herd’ (Lyberis: ‘foot; threshing-floor; bottom, lower part’), Latv. *pads* ‘floor’ (Mühl.—Endz.: ‘der Estrich’ = ‘flooring, planking, stone floor’) || most likely < \**po-dho-*, cf. Lith. *padėti* ‘unterlegen’; for morphological pattern cf. Slav. \**zadъ* < pref. \**ǵhō-* + \**-dh-*, \**nadъ* < pref. \**nō* + \**-dh-*; traditional connections are probably wrong: OInd. *pāt*, gen. sg. *padás*, acc. sg. *pādám* ‘foot’; Grk. *πούς*, gen. sg. *ποδός*, Dor. *πός*; Lat. *pēs*, gen. sg. *pēdis* ‘foot’; Goth. *fōtus* ‘foot’, ON *fōtr*;

Slav. \**podjъ* ‘foundation, base’ (ORus. *пожь*, Russ. ChSlav. *пожаь* ‘bottom, lower part; ground, soil; foundation; bed, couch’) ~ Lith. *pādžiai* ‘Schragen, Untergestell von Tonnen, Backtrögen etc.’ the same direction of comparison, but cf. Fraenkel’s note: «falls letztes nicht zu *padėti* ‘unterlegen’ gehört».

22. Slav. \**sěsti*, \**sěděti* ‘to sit’; Lith. \**sėdmi* (*sėdžiu*, inf. *sėdėti*; *sėdu*, inf. *sėsti*) || OInd. *sad-* (*sātsi*, *ásadat*); Grk. *ἕζομαι*, Lat. *sedeō*, *sēdī*, *sessum*, *-ēre*; Goth. *sitan*, praet. 1 sg. *sat*, 3 pl. *setun* (= \**sētun*) etc.; Fraenk. II, 769, 777; Pok. 884—887.

23. Slav. \**věno* ‘Mitgift; Zahlung für Braut’: ORuss. *вѣно* ‘id.’, Ukr. *bíno* ‘dowry’, Czech *věno* ‘dowry’, Polish *wiano* ‘dowry’ || Grk. *ἔδνον*, pl. *ἔδνα* ‘Brautgabe’ < \**ued-no-*, with prothesis Hom. *ἔδνα* < \**εφεδνα*; Germ. \**wet-man-* < IE \**ued-mon-*: OE *weotuma*, *wituma*, *wetma* m. ‘Kaufpreis der Braut’, OF *wetma*, *witma* ‘Kaufpreis der Braut’; but MLG *wēdem(e)*, *wēme*, MDu. *wēdeme*, *wēdem*, *wēdom*; OHG *widamo* m. (IX A. D.), *widomo*, *widemo* m. ‘Mitgift’, MHG *widem(e)*, *widen* m., f. ‘Gabe des Bräutigams (zuweilen auch des Brautvaters) an die Braut bei Eheschließung’<sup>51</sup>; cf. OS *wīðumlik* ‘zur Mitgift gehörig’ (is usually explained by the analogy of the stems with the *tum*-suffix); Pok. 1115—1116; Mayrhofer III, 136—137; Mayrhofer EWA II, 497—498; Frisk I, 442—443; Kluge<sup>7</sup> 497; Kluge—Seebold 796b (WGerm. \**wet-mōn*); EWD III, 1985; cf. Фасмер I, 291.

Note. IE \**ued-no-*/*\*ued-mon-* is a derivative from the stems with the root \**uedh-*: OInd. *vadhūh* ‘Braut, junge Frau’, Avest. *vaδū* ‘Weib, Frau’; Latv. *vēdama* ‘die (zu füh-

<sup>51</sup> It should be noted that only Ingvaemonic forms can be regarded as reflecting directly IE \**ued-mon-*, all the rest of West Germanic forms should go back strictly phonetically to IE \**uet-mon-* or \**uedh-mon-*.



rende) Braut', which is connected with \**uedh-* 'führen, heiraten': Avest. *vad-* 'führen', *upa-vad-* 'zur Ehe führen', *us-vad-* '(eine Frau) entführen, rauben'; Lith. *vèsti*, praes. 1 sg. *vedù* 'leiten, führen, heiraten (vom Manne)'; Latv. *vest* 'fahrend führen, führen, leiten; (die Braut) führen, heiraten (von Seiten des Mannes)',— the usual explanation of this variation is the development *-dh-* > *-d-* before *-n-*, but there has recently appeared a tendency to regard *-d-* in this root as primary and to explain *-dh-* as the result of a certain process (e. g., a laryngal metathesis), see Mayrhofer III, 136—137; Mayrhofer EWA II, 497—498; for IE loss of aspiration before \**n* see above, p. 394—395.

Cf. also the following Baltic stems:

24. Lith. dial. (BzBkVI240, BIV261; Rg, K) *strėgti*, praes. 3 *strėgia*, praet. 3 *strėgė* 'salti, stingti', 'erstarren, zu Eis werden' (LKŽ XIII, 944); Latv. *strēgt*, praes. 1 sg. *strēgu* or (Lasd.) *strēdzu*, *strēdzu* 'einschiessen, einsinken, (im Sumpf) stecken bleiben', praet. 1 sg. *strēgu* 'sich anstauen' (*strēgu* Saikava), *strēgele* 'der Eiszapfen' (Mühl.—Endz. III, 1087); Slav. \**strāxь* < \**strōg-so-* < \**strōg-so-* 'fear, terror' < \*'numbness': Russ. *cmpax*, gen. sg. *cmpáxa*; Ukr. *cmpax*, gen. sg. *cmpáxy* and *cmpaxý*, pl. *cmpaxú*, gen. pl. *cmpaxíb*; Bulg. *cmpax*, with the article *cmpaxá*; SCr. *cmpâx* m.; Sloven. *strâh*, gen. sg. *strâha*, *strahû* || OE *streccan* 'ausstrecken' OHG *strecchan*, *strecken* 'ausstrecken, gerade machen'; OE *strec*, *stræc* 'starr, fest, streng, heftig', MLG *strak* (-ck-) 'steif, straff, gerade emporgerichtet; störrig', MHG *strac* (-ck-) 'straff, gestreckt, gerade'; Фасмер III, 772; Mühl.—Endz. III, 1080 (sub v. *stragns*); Pok. 1023 (\**(s)tre-g-*).

25. Lith. *stiegti*, praes. 1 sg. *stiegiu* 'ein Dach eidecken' (anomalous development, it normally should be \**stėgti*; the form *stėgti* quoted in the Kurschat's German-Lithuanian dictionary, was called in question by Buga; Fraenkel's attempt to give another etymology (Fraenk. II, 904) is clearly implausible; currently the most likely supposition is that of Trautmann about the influence of semantically close *striėgti*, *striėgti* 'to get on, haft; to cover (the roof)' on the vocalism of discussed verb, see Trautmann BSW 288) || OInd. *sthaḡati* 'verhüllt, verbirgt', Grk. στέγω 'decke, schütze', Lat. *tegō*, *tēxī*, *tēctum*, -ere 'decken, bedecken'; ON *þekja* 'decken'; Trautmann BSW 288; WH II, 654—655; de Vries 605; Frisk II, 780—781; Pok. 1013—1014; cf. Fraenk. 904.

26. Lith. *vėđaras* ‘Eingeweide der Fische, Eingeweide; Wurstmagen’, [Sereiskis: ‘wurst, sausage; gut, stuffed with potatoes, flour, blood; (sheep) stomach’], dial. (Tv.) *vėđeras* ‘Magen’; Latv. *vėđers, vėđars* ‘der Bauch’, cf. also in the zero grade: Lith. *pa-údrė* ‘epiploon (of pig)’ || OInd. *udáram* (and late *udarám*) ‘der hohle Leib, Bauch; Wasserbauch; Anschwellung des Leibes’, Avest. *udara-* in *udarō.θrąsa-* ‘auf dem Bauch sich bewegend, kriechend’ (von Schlangen); Grk. ὕδερως m. ‘dropsy’ (and ὄδερως · γαστήρ ‘belly’ Hsch. < the full grade \*ἤδερως, or = ὕδερως with the dialectal o for υ) <sup>52</sup>; Lat. *uterus*, -ī m. ‘belly, maw, abdominal cavity; womb’ (-t- < -d- before r); Fraenk. II, 1210—1211; Trautmann BSW 343—344; Mayrhofer I, 104; Frisk II, 956; WH II, 846; Pok. 1104.

Slav. *ā* < IE *ǎ* or *ǝ* and other unclear cases

27. ? Slav. \**čādъ* ‘fumes, smoke’ < \**kēdo-* < \**kědo-*: Russ. *чaг*, gen. sg. *чáгa*, loc. sg. *в чaгý*; Ukr. *чaг*, gen. sg. *чáгy*, loc. sg. *в чaгý*; SCr. *чàг*; Sloven. *čād* m. ‘der Rauch, der Dunst’; Slav. \**čadīti*, praes. sg. 1 \**čādjo*, 3 \**čadítъ* ‘to emit fumes, to smoke’: Russ. *чaгúть*, praes. 3 sg. *чaгúт*; Bulg. *чaгя́*; Sloven. *čadíti*, praes. 1 sg. *čadím* ‘Dunst erzeugen’; Slav. \**kadīti*, praes. sg. 1 \**kādjo*, 3 \**kadítъ*: Russ. *kaгúть*, praes. 3 sg. *kaгúт* ‘to cense, burn incense’; Bulg. *kaгя́*; Sloven. *kadíti*, praes. 1 sg. *kadím* ‘einen Rauch machen, räuchern’; OPruss. *accodis* ‘flue’ < \**at-kōdis* || OInd. *kádruh*, f. *kadrúh* ‘rötlichbraun’, Khovar *kadur* ‘clayish, muddy’, *khadur* ‘dirty’; Pers. *kahar* ‘hellbraun’; Grk. PN Κόδρος — the last king of Athens (probably with colour semantics as his father’s name Μέλανθος), κέδρος f. ‘Wacholder, Juniperus’, later ‘Zeder’; the comparison with the word for juniper is based on the role of this plant in fumigation; but the attempts to connect the Greek word for juniper with the Baltic one: Lith. *kadagys, kadugys*, Latv. *kadags, kadaks, kadeģs*, Pruss. *kadegis* ‘Wacholder’, — are probably implausible, as the latter is most likely a loan-

<sup>52</sup> Etymological connection between ὕδερως and ὕδωρ is unlikely, see esp. Frisk.

word from Balto-Fennic: Est. *kadakas*, Finn. *kataja*, Karel. *kadaja*, Veps. *kadag*, *kadagi*, Liv. *kadàg*, *gadàg*; Saam. Norw. *gaskas*; Komi. dial. *kařš-pomol'* 'juniper', probably also Cher. Mount. *lūmegož* 'juniper'; Фасмер II, 156; Топоров А—D, 70; Fraenk. I, 201—202; Trautmann BSW 123—124; Mayrhofer I, 150; Mayrhofer EWA I, 295; Frisk I, 808; Pok. 537; Toivonen I, 170; Лыткин—Гуляев 118.

28. Slav. *\*рахъ* < *\*pāg-su-* < *\*pog-su-*: Russ. *пах*, gen. sg. *пáха*, loc. sg. *в пахý* 'groin', Czech *pach* 'groin', HSorb. *podpach* 'armpit'; *\*раху* < *\*pāg-sy* < *\*pog-sū*: Russ. dial. *пахá*, West. (Даль) *пахвá* 'armpit'; Ukr. *пахá*, *пахвá* 'armpit', WUkr. *пáха*, *пáхва*, BRuss. *пахвá*, Polish *pacha* 'armpit', *pachwina* 'groin', Kashub *рoxa* 'armpit'; Slav. *\*paga* and *\*paža* < *\*pagja*: Czech *paže* 'Arm', *podpaží*, *podpaždí* 'armpits', Slovak *podpažie* 'armpit'; OHSorb. *podpaha* 'armpit'; LSorb. *pódpaža* 'armpit'; [but there is also a Slav. variant without lengthening *\*poxy* < *\*pog-sū* ~ Latv. *paksis* 'corner of the house' — see below, p. 486, No. 9] || OInd. *pákṣa-* m. 'Schulter, Flügel'; Osset. *faxs* 'side, flank of hill', *ævfaxs* / *ænvaxs* adj. 'close', adv. 'near, not far' < *æm* + *faxs* / *æn* + *faxs* = OIran. *\*ham-paxša-*, OInd. *\*sam-pakṣa-*, literally 'having a common side with smth.', adjoining to a side of smth.; similar, but different by the character of the guttural consonant OInd. *pájas-* n. 'surface, face (?)', *pājasyà-* n. 'Bauchgegend (*des Thiers*), Weichen'; Khot.-Sak. *pāysa-* 'face', 'surface' (Bailey Dict. 229); 'breast, front part of the body' (Bailey KhT VI, 179—180), Sogd. *\*pāz-* (*p'z-*) 'face'; Osset. *faz* / *fazæ* 'half, side', Wakhi *пыз* 'breast, sternum, breast part (of an animal carcass)', Munji, Yidgha *fiz*, *fuz* 'sternum (of an animal)'; Zaza *pīze* 'belly'; even if we accept the relationship of these Indo-Iranian stems, the quantitative correlation in Indo-Iranian cannot be explained by the primacy of length (in this case one would expect not *-ā-*, but the normal reflex of «šva indogermanicum»), that is why Indo-Iranian *-ā-* should be explained as the usual word-building *vṛddhi*; in the Slavic and Baltic correspondences one has to start from the primary short vowel, which is lengthened in the position before IE *-g-* according to Winter's law; note that in principle the position before the combina-

tion \*-g-s- is one of the positions of the ban on Winter's law, which is sometimes, however, not kept (due to analogy) if forms without \*-s- are available; Фасмер III, 220; БЕР 5, 104—105; Miklosich 229, 230; Дыбо А. В. 1996, 95—96; Mayrhofer II, 184, 244—245; Mayrhofer EWA II, 62; Абаев I, 426, 206; Стеблин-Каменский ЭСВЯ 286; Рок. 792.

29. Slav. \*azь/\*jazь (\*ězь) < \*ǣǵōm/\*ǣǵōm ʾʾ: OCS азь, and ѣзь (Mar.); Russ. ChSlav. азь, ѣзь; Bulg. аз, dial. ес, язе; Maced. јас; SCr. dial. jǎz; Sloven. jǎz; OCzech jáz; OPolish jaz; Polab. joz; Slav. \*a/\*ja < \*ǣǵ/\*ǣǵ (?): OCS а ʾʾ (Ps. Sin.); Russ. ChSlav. ѡ; Russ. я, Ukr. я, BRuss. я; Bulg. dial. я, ѡа; SCr. jâ; Sloven. dial. jâ (Pleteršnik), jâ (Bezljaj); Czech já, Slovak ja; Polish ja; HSorb. ja, LSorb. ja, Polab. jo || Grk. ἐγώ, ἐγών; Lat. egō; Germ. \*eka < \*ekō: Run. (in the preposition) eka (Ellestad, I, 18), (in the postposition) hat-eka (Lindholm, I, 51)<sup>53</sup>; Goth. ik, ON ek, OE ic, OFrank., OS ik, OHG ih, ihha; Germ. disyllabic form exactly corresponds to the Greek one: the final -a in Germ. is from the long -ō; the Baltic quantitative deviation can be referred to the variant with -ǵh-, as for its syllabic reflection the Baltic form more likely corresponds to the Slavic monosyllabic form: Lith. àš, OLith. aš and eš; Latv. es; OPruss. as and es || OInd. ahám, Avest. azām, azəm, Khot.-Sak. aysu, Tumshuk-Saka azu, OPers. adam 'ich'; ? Venet. exo; the emergence of the variant with -ǵh- is frequently attributed to the influence of the following laryngeal: IE \*eǵhóm probably < \*(h<sub>1</sub>)eǵ-h<sub>2</sub>-óm ~ \*(h<sub>1</sub>)eǵ-oh<sub>2</sub> > Grk. ἐγώ, Lat. egō etc. (Mayrhofer EWA I, 155); thus the primary distributed variation \*-ǵ- ~ \*-ǵh- with further levelling in the dialects is very likely: in Baltic the variant \*(h<sub>1</sub>)eǵ-h<sub>2</sub> > \*(h<sub>1</sub>)eǵh (without case ending! cf. Germ. monosyllabic forms above) prevailed, in Slavic both variants existed, but the vocalism of the monosyllabic one (< \*(h<sub>1</sub>)eǵh) was levelled after the disyllabic one (< \*(h<sub>1</sub>)eǵ-oh<sub>2</sub>); why Slav. disyllabic form is \*azь, not \*\*aza (as one could expect from IE \*(h<sub>1</sub>)eǵ-oh<sub>2</sub>) is unclear and probably we should suppose merely IE \*(h<sub>1</sub>)eǵ-om here; the deviations of the anlaut vocalism were con-

<sup>53</sup> The numbers and titles of runiv texts are given according to Макаев 1965.

ditioned by the general Balto-Slavic tendency to change the initial *e-* to *a-* (see Machek 168); ESJS 53—54; Фасмер IV, 538; Berneker I, 35; ЭССЯ 1, 100—103; Fraenk. I, 18; Топоров А—D, 113—116; Skok I, 741—742; Bezlaj I, 222—132; Machek 168; Mayrhofer I, 68; Mayrhofer EWA I, 155; Frisk I, 441; WH I, 395—396; Feist 291—292; Pok. 291.

30. Slav. \**pǎziti*, praes. 1 sg. \**pǎzjo*, 3 sg. \**pǎziti* (a. p. a): Ukr. *názumu*, praes. 1 sg. *názju*, 2 sg. *názum* ‘to take trouble over, busy oneself with, take care of’; OCS *пазѣти, пажѣ* ‘achten auf’, *пазѣти сѧ* ‘sich hüten’; Bulg. *názja* ‘to guard; to keep; to be careful; to be on the watch, lie in wait for’; SCr. *nǎzumu*, praes. 1 sg. *nǎzūm* ‘to be careful, look closely; to observe, spy, look after; to take care, keep’; Sloven. *páziti*, praes. 1 sg. *pázim* ‘achtgeben, aufmerksam sein, aufpassen’ || ON *spakr* ‘klug, ruhig, sanft’, *speki* f. ‘Verstand, Weisheit’, *spekt* (< \**spakipō*) f. ‘Weisheit’, *spekja* ‘weismachen, besänftigen’ || the comparison with the group Grk. *πήγνυμι* ‘to stick, fix in/on/upon; to fasten together, fit together; to make solid, make stiff, freeze’ is possible according to Toporov, although there are serious semantic difficulties; see de Vries 531, 533; Pok. 981 (\**speĝ-* oder \**spōĝ-*); cf. Топоров 1970, 39—41; БЕР 5, 11—12.

## II. Winter's law in IE syllabic resonants -ǔ- and -ǖ- <sup>54</sup>

Slav. *y*, Balt. *ū* < IE \*ǔ

31. Slav. \**dǔbь* (a. p. c): Russ. *встать гы́бом* adv. (⇐ instr. sg. m.) ‘to stand on end’, *встать на гы́бы* adv. (⇐ acc. pl. m.) ‘to rear, prance’, dial. *гы́бокѡм*, ORuss. (XVII A. D.) *скоуѣти на дьбкѣ* ‘to leap/

<sup>54</sup> As IE -ǔ- and -ǖ- are the zero grade of the corresponding diphthongs, the forms with their long reflexes will also occur in the material devoted to the demonstration of the behaviour of diphthongs and diphthogal combinations in the position of the operation of Winter's law; this section contains mostly the cases when the IE languages demonstrate identical or similar forms with these vowels.

spring to one's feet'; Ukr. *губом* adv. (← instr. sg. m.) 'on end, erect, upright', *на губу* adv. (← acc. pl. m.), *на губки ставати*, *губка* adv.; BRuss. *губам* adv. (← instr. sg. m.), *губка* adv.; Polish dial. *dybkiem* 'na palcach, cichuteńko'; Slav. \**dybǎti* — a denominative verb from this stem: Russ. *губать* 'to stand on tiptoe', ORuss. **ДЫБАТИ** 'to go by stealth, to tiptoe', Ukr. *губати* 'to trip, mince'; SCR. dial. *díbati se*, praes. 1 sg. *dībām se* 'chwiać się, kołysać się; wahać się, zastanawiać się'; Slovak *dibat'* 'to tiptoe'; Polish *dybać* 'to steal/sneak up', Kashub *dəbac*, praes. 1 sg. *dībaiq* (Lorentz PW) 'lauern, schleichen'; the denominative *i*-verb from the same noun is also attested — \**dybǐti*, praes. 3 sg. \**dybǐtь*: Russ. (Даль) *нагубиться* 'to stand on end; to persist, jib'; Ukr. (Гринченко) *губитися* 'to stand on end'; Bulg. *губу* 'to rear, prance'; Kashub *dībici* 'auf etwas lauern'; here also probably belongs Slav. \**dǔba* f. (a. p. *a*; the accentual correlation with the previous noun are the same as in *вóрон ~ ворóна* < \**vōrnъ ~ \*vōrna*) — 'a device for raising smth. or smb. or (sometimes) the object itself that is raised and put on end': ORuss. **ДЫБА** '(an instrument of torture)', Russ. dial. *губа* 'the pole on which the shadoof is fixed; shadoof', (Даль) 'trestle, saw-horse; scaffolding for raising smth. heavy; gallows, gibbet'; dial. (Pskov.) — about a child, starting to walk; Ukr. (Гринченко) *губи* f. pl. 'stilts', dial. *губи* f. pl. 'a tripod for hanging the cradle'; BRuss. *губа* f. 'stilt'; Polish *dyba* 'pillory'; a derivative from this stem is probably \**dǔbati*, usually with the meaning 'to stagger, to stand on the feet groggily', what is probably connected with the meaning \*'to walk on stilts', cf. Ukr. (Гринченко) 'to walk on stilts; to walk slowly and clumsily'; this verb naturally contaminates with the verb \**dybǎti*, cf. Russ. dial. *губаться* and *губаться* 'to sway, reel, oscillate', *губать* 'to swing (back and forth)', *губать* 'to make efforts, try to stand on end', (Даль) *губать* and *губать* 'to stand on tiptoe, tiptoe' || Germ. \**tuppa*-.: ON *toppr* m. 'Spitze; aufgebundenes Haar', OE *topp* 'Gipfel', OF *top* 'Büschel', MLG *top* 'Zopf, äußerste Spitze, höchstes Ende, Baumwipfel', MDu. *top* 'Spitze, Scheitel, Kopfhaar', OHG *zoph* 'Haarlocke, Haarbüschel', MHG *zopf, zoph*, (MGerm.) *zop* 'Haarflechte, hinterstes Ende,

Schwanz, Zipfel'; Фасмер I, 557; БЕР I, 381; Berneker I, 248—249; ЭССЯ 5, 197—198; Sł. prasł. 5, 196—198; de Vries 595; EWD III, 2042—2043; Pok. 227.

Note. Probably here does not still belong Slav. \**dŷbati* 'to care about smb./smth.; to encroach, covet', usually \**nadŷbati* 'to find, obtain': Russ. dial. *гы́бюм* 'they care' (СРНГ 8, 289, sub v. *гы́буть*)<sup>55</sup>, (Даль) *нагы́бать* 'to overtake, catch up; to find after walking around, find, catch'; Ukr. (Гринченко) *нагы́бати* 'to find, to come across'; Polish *gybac* 'to encroach, covet'; this stem can be explained as an iterative from Slav. \**dŷbati* 'to care, pay attention; to obtain' with the iterative root lengthening: -ь- > -y-, this -y- received the acute intonation, see Дыбо МПАС I, 381—384.

32. Latv. *ūdens* m., f. 'Wasser', dial (Kurš. spit) *uodens*, pl. *ūdeņi* 'Gewässer'; Lith. *vanduō*, -eñs, acc. sg. *vándenį*, dial. *vánduo*, (Tw.) *unduō*, (Žemaitic) *unduō* and *únduo* (with metathesys) || OInd. loc. sg. *udán(i)*, gen. sg. *udnáḥ*, nom.-acc. pl. *udá* 'Wasser'; Grk. ὕδωρ, gen. sg. ὕδατος (< \*υδ-η-τος) 'Wasser'; Lat. *undā* f. 'Welle, Woge'; Goth. *watō*, dat. pl. *watnam* 'Wasser', ON *vatn* n. 'Wasser'; Fraenk. II, 1194—1195, I, 516, II, 1176—1177; de Vries 648; Pok. 78—81 (\**uédōr*, \**uódōr* ~ loc. sg. \**udán(i)*).

Slav. \**vědró* (a. p. b) 'pail, bucket': Russ. *ведро́*, Ukr. *відро́*; OCS *ѡѣдрѡ* 'στάμνος' (Supr., Euch. Sin.); Bulg. *ведро́*; SCr. *vjèdro*; Sloven. *vědro* n. 'der Eimer'; Czech *vědro*, Slovak *vedro*; Polish dial. (małopolsk.) *vádno* (Kucala 140) — the stem presents numerous difficulties from the point of view of word-building: according to the quantitative correlations the accentuation cannot be traced back to \**vědro* (what could be in the case of the dominant thematic vowel and recessive root, but in this case SCr. and West Slav. would give the reflex of the PSlav. lengthened vowel), otherwise in the case of the IE length of the root vowel the result would be \**vědro* (either directly due to barytonic accent, or due to Hirt—Illič-Svityč's law in the case of a primary oxytonic accent); the reflexation, that is actually available, indicates the IE character of oxytonic accent and the Balto-Slavic character of length (Hirt—Illič-Svityč's law did not operate in the case of the length that arose due to Winter's law).

<sup>55</sup> *Хозявы-то гы́бют наг ними* (коровами).

Probably, it is most realistic to suppose the thematisation of the stem \**ued-r-*, with the transition into the adjective \**uedro-* ‘water, aquatic’, and then substantivation of the forms of neuter gender: \**uedròm* ‘Wassereimer’ (cf. similarly with a zero grade Lat. *uter*, gen. sg. *utris* m. ‘water-skin, wine-skin’). Lengthening according to Winter’s law produces \**uēdròm* > Slav. \**vědrò*. Under such analysis Slav. \**vědrò* is regularly included into the corpus of neuter stems, analysed by Illič-Svityč in § 48 of his book (Иллич-Свитыч ИА, 120—123).

Note. This IE heteroclitic stem is probably derived from the root \**wedh-* (with IE voiced aspirated \**dh*), as it arises from the following correspondences (for IE loss of aspiration before \**n* see p. 394—395):

Slav. \**vodá*, acc. sg. \**vòdǫ* (a. p. c) ‘water’: Russ. *vogá*, acc. sg. *vógy*; Bulg. *vogá*; SCr. *vòga*, acc. sg. *vògy*; Czech *voda*; ? Lith. *vādaksnis* ‘Flußeinbuchtung, die sich bei Überschwemmung mit dem Flußlauf vereinigt und sehr häufig eine trockene Abflußstelle besitzt’ and ‘feuchte, nasse, ertragreiche Wiese an Strömen’ || Lat. *vadum* n., *vadus* m. ‘shoal, shallow water; bottom, the deeps; waters; river; sea’; OE *wæd* n. ‘Wasser, See’; ? ON *vað* n. ‘Furt, untiefe Stelle’; ? OHG *wat* ‘Furt’; these forms are derived from the same IE root.

Lat. *vadum* n. is considered to be a deverbal derivative, but the verb *vadāre* ‘to wade’ is clearly derived from the noun itself, the verb *vādēre* ‘to walk (resolutely), make one’s way (to); to move, rush’ is too far semantically to produce a deverbative with such a meaning. All the semantic difficulties are solved much easier, if we accept that *vadāre* is a denominative from the noun *vadum* with the meaning ‘water’, its primary meaning being ‘to go through/across water’, back influence of the verb took place with the tendency to specify the meaning of the noun. Probably something similar took place in the Germ. languages: OE *wadan* ‘to go, pass, proceed’; OF *wada* ‘gehen, waten’; OHG *watan*, MHG *waten*, *waden* ‘schreiten, gehen, dringen, waten; durchdringen, durchwaten’; ON *vaða* ‘gehen, sich bewegen, mit schweren Schritten gehen, (mühsam) stapfen, vorwärtsdringen, (durch)-waten’ (all the verb are strong verbs of VI cl.) — the primary meaning is ‘to go with difficulty overcoming resistance’ (≈ Russ. *блещму*); the Germ. verb is probably related to Lat. *vādere* and it could derive the deverbative with the meaning ‘wade’, but in early OE texts we come across *wæd* only in the meaning ‘Wasser, See, Flut’, it is characteristic that the meaning ‘waten’ is not attested for OE *wadan* either<sup>56</sup>. Thus the correlation of the OE situation

<sup>56</sup> The meaning ‘Furt’, ‘ford’ is attested for OE *ge-wæd* n., this is clearly a deverbative from the verb *ge-wadan* ‘to wade, go; vadere, ire; to perwade, go through’, which virtually means ‘to pass, cross’, and its deverbative — ‘passage, crossing’.



and that of the other ancient Germ. languages testifies more likely in favour of the existence in Proto-Germanic of the word *\*waða-* n. 'Wasser, See, Flut', which was then overridden by a deverbative from the verb *\*waðan-* 'to go, pass, proceed' → 'to wade'. This conclusion is supported by Lat. *vadum* n. with the meaning 'aqua, mare, flūmen', which cannot be explained as «synecdochisch» by origin, cf. WH II, 724.

The variability of the final dental of this root is also proved by the following Germ. correspondences: Germ. *\*unþjō* 'Welle': ON *uðr*, pl. *unnir* f. 'Welle'; OE *ýð* f. 'wave, flood', OS *ūdea*, OHG *undea* 'Woge, Welle, Flut' (cf. Lat. *undā* f. 'Welle, Woge'); OE *wapum* (*wadum*), gen. pl. *wapema* m. 'wave, water, flood, sea', 'Woge, Flut, Strom, Meer', where following the traditional procedure one has to restore the IE root *\*uet-* or *\*uedh-*<sup>57</sup> 'water'; Фасмер I, 330; WH II, 724; de Vries 637; Pok. 80 (*\*uet-*).

33. Slav. *vŕdra* 'otter'; Lith. *údra* (1) 'otter', dial. *údras*, pl. *ūdraĩ* (3) 'Fischotter'; Latv. *údrs* and *údris* 'Fischotter' || OInd. *udráḥ* m. 'ein Wassertier', Avest. *udra-* m. 'Otter, Fischotter'; Grk. *ύδροϲ*, *ύδρᾱ* 'Wasserschlange'; Lat. *lutra* 'river otter'; ON *otr*, OE *oter*, *otor*, MLG *otter*, OHG *ottar*; Фасмер I, 367; Fraenk. II, 1157—1158; Trautmann BSW 334.

Cf. also the following Baltic stems:

34. Lith. *būgti*, praes. 1 sg. *būgstu*, praet. 1 sg. *būgau* intr. 'erschrecken, in Schrecken geraten, Furcht bekommen' (in Lith. *baugùs* (4) 'baikštus, bailus; baisus'; ELith. (Šl.) *baugùs*, *-gì* (4) 'lękliwy' one could suppose the transition from 3 a. p. into 4 a. p., as probably all the Lith. adjectives in *-u-* from 3 a. p. were transferred into 4 a. p., but in Old Lithuanian this word demonstrates 2 a. p. (not 1 a. p.): *baūgas*, *-ì* (2) 'straszny, straszliwy'<sup>58</sup>,— what testifies more likely in favour of the metatony before the dominant word-building suffix; probably other cases of emergence of circumflex are explained by the metatony and its generalisation in this root: Lith. *baūgas* 'bug-

<sup>57</sup> For the reconstruction with *\*-dh-* it is necessary to suppose that in case of Germanic gemination the reflexes of IE *\*-d-* and *\*-dh-* did not coincide (at least in some prosodic positions), i. e. IE *\*-d-* yielded Germ. *\*-tt-* while IE *\*-dh-* yielded Germ. *\*-dd-* with unvoicing > *\*-þ-* and further shortening after the long vowels > *\*-p-*, etc.

<sup>58</sup> *báuqufsís* voc. sg. m. (DP 10<sub>51</sub>); *baugīii* nom. sg. f. (DP 544<sub>39</sub>); *báugios* gen. sg. f. (DP 7<sub>46</sub>, 545<sub>40</sub>); variant 4 a. p.: *baugiú* gen. pl. f. (DP 544<sub>37</sub>).

bear, spectre', *baugesỹs* 'fear', *baugétis*, praes. 3 *baūgisi* 'to fear') || Lat. *fugiō, fūgī, -ere* 'fliehe, enteile, verschmäche'; Grk. φεύγω, aor. ἔφυγον, perf. πέφευγα 'to flee, flight; to flee, avoid, escape', φύζα f. '(wilde) Flucht, Panik', φύγή f. 'Flucht, Verbannung'; with the meaning 'biegen' (root *\*bheug-*): OInd. *bhujāti* 'biegt, schiebt weg', *bhuktá-ḥ, bhugná-ḥ* 'gebogen'; root *\*bheugh-*: Goth. *biugan*, nur praes. 1 sg. *biuga*, 3 sg. *biugiþ*, OE *būzan* '(sich) beugen, fliehen', OS *būgan* 'sich neigen', MLG *būgen* 'biegen'; OHG *biogan* 'biegen'; Fraenk. I, 37; Trautmann BSW 39; Frisk II, 1005—1007; WH I, 556—557; Pok. 152 (*\*bheug-<sub>1</sub>* 'fliehen'; *\*bheug(h)-<sub>2</sub>* '(intr.) sich retten').

35. Lith. *slúgti*, praes. 1 sg. *slúgstu*, praet. 1 sg. *slúgau* 'herabfallen, sich senken, abnehmen, kleiner werden'; Latv. *slaūgans* 'schlaff, erschlafft' || ON *slokinn* 'gelöscht', *slokna* 'erlöschen, sterben', *slökkva* 'löschen, töten'; Norw. *sloka* 'faul sein'; Du. *slokeren* 'schlaff sein, schlottern'; cf. also Norw. *slauk* 'schlaffer Mensch', LGerm. *slūk* 'schlaff', Du. *sluik*; stems with the root *\*(s)leug-* contaminated in Germ. languages with the stems with the root *\*(s)lēg-* (on this root see Pok. 959—960); see Fraenk. II, 835; de Vries 517, 518; Falk—Torp II, 1068; de Vries NEW 653; Pok. 962 (*\*(s)leug-*); cf. below, p. 429, No. 10.

36. Lith. *stúgti*, praes. 1 sg. *stúgstu*, praet. 1 sg. *stúgau* 'in die Höhe stehen (z. B. von Ohren eines Hasen)'; Slav. *\*stýgnqti*, praes. 1 sg. *\*stýgnq* 'abkühlen, kalt werden': Russ. *стыгнуть*, praes. 1 sg. *стыгну*, BRuss. *стыгнуць*, Polish *stygnać* || Grk. στύγω, aor. ἔστυξα and ἔστυγον 'hasse, verabscheue, fürchte', στύγος n. 'sullenness, gloom; object of hatred, abomination', Στύξ, gen. sg. Στύγος f. 'Styx (i. e. the Hateful)'; MHG, NHG *stocken* 'steif werden', (semantically on the basis of the meaning 'to become tight, numb'); the rest of the comparisons accepted by Pok. 1032—1033 are hard to motivate semantically: OInd. *tujāti, tuñjāti, tunákti* 'drängt, stößt'; MLG *stoken* 'stechen, stochern', Engl. dial. *stoke* 'das Feuer schüren'; Norw. *stauka* 'stoßen, hacken; langsam gehen, insbesondere miteinem Stock gehen', cf. also LGerm. *stoekeren* 'herumschleichen und alles durchsuchen', MDu., NLG *stūken* 'stoßen, aufschichten, erstaunen',

EPruss. *stúken* ‘wiederholt abwärts stoßen, drücken, stampfen’; Fraenk. II, 928—929; Фасмер III, 789; Frisk II, 812—813; Pok. 1032—1033 (\**(s)teu-g-*).

37. Lith. *gūžis*, gen. sg. *gūžies* ‘cabbage-head’, ELith. *gūžis*, gen. sg. *gūžies* ‘crop, craw’ (Būga RR I, 589), ‘gardziel ptasi’ (Šl.), also (Salantaī) *gūžis*, gen. sg. *gūžio* ‘crop, craw’ (Būga RR I, 589), and *gūžė* ‘crop, craw; cabbage-head’, ‘Kohlkopf’ (standard Lith. *gūžė* 2 ‘cabbage-head’, the result of the generalisation of metatony in the contracted *-iā*-stems?), *gūžys* (4) ‘crop, craw; Adam’s apple’, (Žemaitic) *gūnžis* ‘Kropf der Vogel’, OPruss. *gunsix* ‘Beule’ ~ Latv. *gūža* ‘Hüfte, Lende, Keule’ ~ Slav. \**gŷžā* < \**gŷžjā*, a. p. *a* (Bulg. *ружа* f. ‘vine (*i. e.* *grape*); stub of the cut vine’, dial. *ръжа* f. ‘sapling, a cut switch of vine that is used for transplanting vines’, MBulg. *ръжа* ‘ὄμφοξ, uva immatura’ (Иоан екз. Шест., 1263 A. D.), SCr. dial. *гүжа*, *гүца* f. ‘stub of a vine’; OCzech *hýžě* ‘Hüfte, Oberschenkel’, Czech *hyže* ‘head of shinbone’ (Kott I, 517); OPolish *giza* ‘palm branch; part of the leg of a swine or cattle’); Slav. \**gōza* and \**gūza*, a. p. *a* (Russ. dial. *рыза* ‘crease, fold, gathering’; SCr. *гүза* (Lika) ‘psovka za žensku debele guzice’ (RJA III, 518; Skok I, 640); Sloven. *gōza* f. ‘der Hinterbacken, der Hintere’ and *gūza* ‘der Hintere; der Höcker’; Czech *huza* f. ‘coccyx’ (Kott V—VI, 397); Slav. *gōzъ* and \**gūzъ*, a. p. *c*, with the loss of the reflex of acute in the mobile accentual paradigm (Russ. *рыз* ‘lower part of a sheaf, butt (*of tree*)’; Bulg. *ръз*, with the article *ръзѣм* ‘buttocks, anus; belly, womb’, SCr. *ръз* m. ‘buttocks; big end (*of egg*)’, Polish *guz* ‘lump, bump’) || Germ. \**keukōn* f. ‘Knorren’ (Fick Wrtb. III<sup>4</sup>, 46); ON *kjúka* f. ‘Klumpen’, Icel. *kjúka* ‘phallanx of a finger’, Norw. *kjuka* ‘runder Klumpen, Klotz, Knorren’, *kokle*, *kukle* ‘Klumpen’; see Sławski I, 281; Фасмер I, 471; БЕР I, 241; Skok I, 561, 640; Machek 153; ЭССЯ 7, 224; Trautmann BSW 102; de Vries 312; Jóhannesson 310.

38. Latv. *gņūzt* ‘eckig biegen, zusammenknicken’, *sagnūzt* ‘sich krümmen’, *sagnūzt* (*sagnūst*<sup>2</sup>) ‘zusammenknicken’ (Mühl.—Endz. I, 634; III, 627) (a clear restructuring after the model of infixed verbs in Lith. *gniūžti*, praes. 3 *gniūžta*, praet. 3 *gniūžo* ‘to contract, shrink; to

bend (*intr.*); to sink, go down', below, p. 493, No. 18); cf. the full grade in Lith. *gniáužti*, praes. 1 sg. *gniáužiu* 'to squeeze, compress; to pinch, nip, jam'; Latv. *gnaūzt*<sup>2</sup> 'mit der Hand fassen, drücken' || for external etymology see above, p. 424, No. 3 (Lith. *gniáužti*).

Slav. *i*, Balt. *ī* < IE \**ī*

39. Slav. inf. \**strići* < \**strīg-ti*, praes. 1 sg. \**strīgō*, 3 sg. \**strižèť* 'to shear, trim, cut' (a. p. c, the reflexd of the acute is retained in the infinitive and in a number of forms from the stem of the infinitive; in the presence and in the forms from the presence the reflex of acute was lost because of the mobile character of a. p.): Russ. *спручь*, praes. 1 sg. *спручь*, 3 sg. *спружém*; Ukr. *спру́ми*, praes. 1 sg. *спру́ч*, *спруж́*; SCr. *спр̀у̀ху*, praes. 1 sg. *спру́жэм* || Lat. *striga* 'Strich, Schwade; Zeltreihe, Längsfurche'; *stringō*, -ere 'to reap, mow; to tear off, away; to tighten, draw/pull tight' (in this verb there is a contamination of two roots, \**streig-* and \**streng-*, the meaning 'to tighten' belongs to the second root, see WH II, 604—605); *strigilis* f. 'Schabeisen'; OE *strīcan* (I cl.) 'streichen, reiben, sich bewegen, gehen', OHG *strihhan* (I cl.) 'streichen'; Goth. *striks* m. 'κεράία, Strich', ON *striks* n. 'gestreiftes Zeug', OHG *strih* (X A. D.), MHG *strich* m. 'Strich, Streifen, Strecke Wegs, Strich Landes'; OE *strica* m. 'Streifen'; ? Grk. *σπρίγξ*, gen. sg. \**σπριγγός* in *ξέσπριγγος κριθῆ* · ἡ *ἐξάστιχος*. *Κνίδιοι* (Hsch.); *Фасмер III, 778*; Trautmann BSW 289; Frisk II, 335; WH II, 603, 604—605; Feist 457; de Vries 553; EWD III, 1742—1743; Pok. 1028—1029 (\**streig-*). Cf. also below, p. 437, No. 28.

40. Slav. \**gnīda* 'nit' (a. p. c): Russ. *гн́уга*, Ukr. *гн́уга*; Bulg. *гн́уга*; SCr. *гн̀у̀га*; Lith. *glinda* (1) 'Nisse, Lausei', Latv. *gnīda* 'Nisse, Lausei' || ON *gnit* f. 'Lauseier', Norw. dial. *gnit* f., OSwed. *gnether*, Swed. *gnet*, Danish *gnid*; WGerm. forms with IE \**k-*: OE *hnitu* 'Niß'; MLG *nete*, *nit*, MDu. *neet*, OHG (*h*)*niz* (IX A. D.), MHG *niz*, *nizze* f. 'das Lausei, die Nisse'; the same \**k-* in Grk. *κονίς*, -ίδος 'eggs of lice, fleas, and bugs, nits' (the presence of vowel between two first con-

sonants remains without explanation; due to contamination with κόνις ‘dust’ vel sim.??) — the variation of the anlaut consonant can be explained by *s*-mobile, cf.: Mlr. *sned* f. ‘Nisse’, Welsh pl. *nedd*, NCorn. *neđ*, Bret. *nez* ‘Nisse’ (< \**s(k)nīdā*); here probably also belongs Lat. *lēns*, gen. sg. *lēndis* ‘Nisse, Lausei’, if *lend-* is due to the dissimilation out of \**nend-* < \**nind-*; because of the Anlaut it is difficult to compare Alb. *thëri* ~ *thëni* ‘louse’ < Proto-Alb. \**tsanidā*; in all the comparisons we find shortness corresponding to the Balto-Slavic acute length, and IE *-d-* at the end of the root; Фасмер I, 421; ЭССЯ 6, 173—174; Fraenk. I, 157—158; Trautmann BSW 93; de Vries 179—180; EWD II, 1172; Frisk I, 912—913; WH I, 783—784; Orel 476; Pok. 437, 608.

41. Latv. *blīst*, praes. 1 sg. *blīstu* and *blīžu*, praet. 1 sg. *blīdu*, also *blīzt*, praes. 1 sg. *blīstu*, praet. 1 sg. *blīzu* ‘schnell zunehmen, quellen, aufdunsen, dicker werden’; *bliēst*, praes. 1 sg. *bliēžu*, praet. 1 sg. *bliēdu* and *bliēzu* ‘dick werden, schwellen, aufdunsen; dick tun, sich brüsten, sich aufblähen’ || Grk. φλιδάω ‘fließe von Feuchtigkeit über, schwelle davon auf’, φλοιδέω, -ιάω ‘gären, brausen’; ἔφλιδεν · διέρρηεν, ἐρρήγγυεν (Hsch.), φλιδάνει · διαπίπτει, διαρρεῖ (Hsch.), φλιδιόωντο · διέποντο, ἐτέμνοντο (Hsch.), διαπέφλοιδεν · διακέχεται (Hsch.), πεφλοιδένας · φλυκτανοῦσθαι (Hsch.); ? Engl. *bloat* (< \**blaitōn* = φλοιδάω); Mühl.—Endz. I, 316; Frisk II, 1027—1028; Pok. 156.

42. Latv. *svīst*, praes. 1 sg. *svīstu* ‘schwitzen’, *svīdēt* ‘schwitzen machen’ || OInd. *svīdyati*, *svédate* ‘to sweat’, perf. *siṣvide*, (RV) *siṣvidāná-* ‘schwitzend’, aor. *svīdyāt*, *asvidat*, *asisvidat*, part. (AV) *svinná-* ‘in Schweiß gebracht’, *svéda-* m. ‘Schweiß’; Avest. *xvīsa-* ‘zu schwitzen anfangen, in Schweiß geraten’ (< \**sūit-sk(h)e-*), *xvāēda-* m. ‘Schweiß’ (Bartholomae 1860), Khot.-Sak. *ā-hus-* ‘to sweat’ (< \**ā-hvid-s-*), *hvī* ‘sweat’ (< \**hvaida-*); Buddh. Sogd. *γwyst* ‘sweats’; Grk. ἰδρώς, gen. ἰδρωτός m. (Hom. +) ‘sweat’, ἰδίω (Hom. +) ‘to sweat’ = \**eiðō*<sup>59</sup> instead of \**éiðō* (= OInd. *svédate*), ἰδος n. ‘sweat; warmth’ (Emp., Hes., D.P.) with the Ionic psilosis and ι-spelling (maybe due to the in-

<sup>59</sup> Stem formatting after κηκίω, etc.

fluence of ἰδρώς) = εἶδος (Call.) = εἶδος · καῦμα (Hsch.), ἡεἶδος · πνῖγος (Hsch.), the same type of spelling is attested in ἀν-ἰδίτι adv. (Plato) ‘without sweat or toil’; Lat. *sūdor*, gen. sg. *sūdōris* m. ‘sweat’ < \**sūoidōs* (contamination with the stem \**sūoido-*), *sūdō*, *sūdāvī*, *sūdātum*, *sūdāre* ‘schwitze’ (a denominative from an -o-stem?); Welsh *chwys*, Corn. *whys* m. ‘Schweiß’; OE *swāt*, OS *swēt*, OHG *sweiz* (< Germ. \**swaita-*) ‘Schweiß’, *swizzen* (IX A. D.) ‘schwitzen’ (< \**switjan* = OInd. *svídyati*); Trautmann BSW 295; Mayrhofer III, 570; Bailey Dict. 30; Emmerick SGrSt 13; Frisk I, 709—710, 710—711; WH II, 623—624; EWD III, 1592—1593, 1599; Pok. 1043. See also below, p. 438, No. 30

43. Latv. *nīst*, praes. 1 sg. *nīstu* ‘verachten’, *nīdēt*, praes. 1 sg. *nīdu* ‘scheel ansehen, nicht leiden, hassen’; here also belongs Latv. *naīds* ‘Haß, Feindschaft’, *naīdus* ‘Haß, Feindschaft’; Lith. *nīdēti* ‘to despise, hold in contempt’ || OInd. *nīndati*, pass. *nīdyātē* ‘schmähen, tadaln, verachten’, aor. part. *nīdāná-* ‘getadelt’; *nīd-* f. ‘Spott, Schmähung, Verachtung’, *nīdā*, *nīdā* ‘Schmähung, Verachtung’, *nīndā* ‘Schmähung, Tadel, Verachtung’; Avest. *naēd-* (*nāismi*) ‘schmähen’; Grk. ὄνειδος ‘Vorwurf, Schmach’; Goth. *ga-naitjan* ‘schmähen’; a variant of the root \**neit-*: Goth. *neip* n. ‘φθόρος, Neid’; ON *níð* n. ‘Hohn, Schmach’, OE *níð* m. ‘Feindschaft, Kampf’, OF *nīth* ‘Streben, Feindseligkeit, Bosheit’; OS *nīð* m. ‘Eifer, Hass, Feindschaft’; OHG *nīd* m. ‘Kampfeifer, Eifersucht, Zorn, Neid’; OIr. *nīth* ‘Kampf, Elend’; Fraenk. I, 501; Trautmann BSW 193; Frisk II, 394; Feist 194—195, 374; Pok. 760 (\**neid-*).

44. Lith. *gnýbti*, praes. 1 sg. *gnýbu*, praet. 1 sg. *gnýbau* ‘kneifen’, iterat. *gnáibyti*, praes. 1 sg. *gnáibau* ‘(mit den Fingern oder einer Zange) kneifen’, Lith. *žnýbti*, praes. 1 sg. *žnýbu* and *žnýbiu* praet. 1 sg. *žnýbau* and *žnýbiau* ‘id.’ || MLG *knīp*, NHG dial. *kneipf* ‘Messer’, Norw. dial. *knīpa* ‘kneifen’, MLG *knīpen* ‘kneifen’, Du. *knijpen* (I cl.) ‘to squeeze, press; to pinch’; but also with -bh-: Grk. γνίφων ‘Knicker, Geizhals’; Fraenk. I, 159; Trautmann BSW 93; EWD II, 862—863, 863; de Vries NEW 337; Frisk I, 885; Pok. 370—371 (\**gn-eibh-*).

Lith. *gniáubti* ‘umfassen, umarmen’, *gniùbti* ‘Festigkeit verlieren, sich senken’; or from *gniáužti* (p. 424, No. 3) under the influence of *gnýbti* ? || Pok. 372 (\**gnēubh-*).

45. ELith. dial. (Š, NdŽ) *svýsti*, praes. 3 *svýsta*, praet. 3 *svýdo* ‘zu glänzen beginnen’, ‘švisti, žibėti’, *svydėti* (Kùpiškis, Pānevėžio apsk., see Skardžius ŽD 523<sup>60</sup>; DLKŽ), *svydėti, svýdi, svydėjo* (LKŽ), Latv. *svíst, svístu, svídu* ‘an-, her-, vordringen (von Licht), tagen’ [Lith. and Latv. lengthening in *-st*-praes. is secondary due to analogy]; Russ. *свигу́на* ‘Cornus sanguinea’, etc. || Avest. *xvaēna-* ‘glühend, lohend’ (< \**xvaēdna-*); Lat. *sīdus, -eris* ‘Gestirn’, *considerāre* ‘betrachten’, *dēsiderāre* ‘verlangen’ (with contraction < \**s̥eid-/s̥uid-*); OE *svitol* ‘klar, offenbar’ < \**svīt-* < \**suīd-*; cf. also with the \**t*-enlargement: ON *svíða*; OHG *swīdan* ‘brennen’ < IE \**s̥eit-*; see Fraenk. II, 952—953; WH II, 534; Фасмер III, 577; Pok., 1042 (\**s̥eid-* ‘glänzen, schimmern’); for Lith. *svísti* (1 sg. praes. *svindù*) ‘zu glänzen beginnen’, *svidėti* ‘glänzen’, etc. without lengthening see below, p. 495, No. 26, p. 502, No. 19, p. 505, No. 5.

46. ? Lith. *dýgti*, praes. 1 sg. *dýgstu*, praet. 1 sg. *dýgau* ‘to grow, shoot, sprout; to cut, come through’; Latv. *dīgt*, praes. 1 sg. *dīgstu*, praet. 1 sg. *dīgu* ‘keimen’; Lith. *dīegas* (3) ‘sprout’, pl. ‘shoots, sprouts’, Latv. *diēgs* ‘Zwirn, Keim’; Lith. *dīegti* ‘to plant (seedlings, saplings)’, Latv. *diēgt* ‘stechen, schlagen, nähen, trakeln, heften’ || Lat. *fīgō* ‘to drive in, stick; to pierce, stab’; ON *dīki*, OE *dīc* ‘dike’, ‘Abzugsgraben, Kanal’, OF *dik* (*dīc*) ‘Damm’, NF *dijck* ‘vallum’, MHG *tīch*; one can also restore in this root a long diphthong or Bezenberger’s combination, there is not enough material for the final solution; Fraenk. I, 93; Trautmann BSW 49—50; Pok. 243—244 (\**dhēig<sup>u-</sup>* : \**dhōig<sup>u-</sup>* : \**dhīg<sup>u-</sup>* ‘stechen, stecken, festsetzen’).

47. Lith. *dýžti, dīežti*, praes. 1 sg. *dýžiu* ‘schinden’; Latv. *dīžāt* ‘mit den Füßen stampfen, tänzeln, trippeln, unruhig, ungeduldig sein’, *dīža* ‘der nie ruhig ist’ || Grk. θγγάωνω ‘to touch, handle; to take hold

<sup>60</sup> Skardžius’s reference to DP 542<sub>4</sub> *fwidēs* is unwarranted: there is no indication of the length of the root syllable in the Daukša’s form.

of; to touch, attempt; to reach, win', aor. θυγεῖν (Lacon. συγῆν); Lat. *fingerō, finxī, fictum, fingere* 'to touch, stroke, caress; to form, model; to shape, depict; to put in order; to smooth' (Lat. *-ng-* < \**-nġ-* or \**-nġh-*); MHG *tichen* 'schaffen', OHG *tihōn* 'schreiben, ersinnen' (see WH I, 502 on the root \**dheig-* [taking into consideration the Baltic facts the correct reconstruction is \**dheiġ-*], parallel to the root \**dheiġh-*); Fraenk. I, 98; Φαμερ II, 89; Frisk I, 674—675; WH I, 501—502; Falk—Torp I, 141—142; Pok. 244—245, 243—244.

### III. Winter's law in diphthongs and diphthongal combinations

Below the material is divided according to the glide character of the diphthongs and diphthongal combinations. First the diphthongs in *-u-* and *-i-* are given, then the sections with the diphthongal combinations in *-l-*, *-r-* and nasal resonants. Inside the sections the material is arranged alphabetically.

#### Diphthongs with *-u-*

1. Lith. *áugti*, praes. 1 sg. *áugu* 'wachsen, größer werden', *pa-ūgėti* 'heranwachsen' ~ Latv. *aūgt* 'wachsen', *aūdzēt* 'wachsen lassen', *aūdzināt* || OInd. *ugrá-* 'gewaltig' (cf. comp. *óġīyas-*, superl. *óġiṣṭhaḥ*), *ojas-* n. 'Kraft'; Avest. *ugra-* 'stark, kräftig' (cf. comp. *aoġyah-*, superl. *aoġiṣtō*), *aoġō*, *aogō* 'Kraft'; OInd. *úkṣati* 'wächst', perf. *vavákṣa*, Avest. *uḥšyeiti* and *vaḥšaiti* 'wächst'; Grk. ἀύξω 'to increase; to increase in power, strengthen; to grow, increase'; Lat. *augeō, -ēre* 'vermehren'; Goth. *aukan, auknan* 'sich mehren', OHG *auhhōn*, OS *ōkian* 'vermehren', OE *ēacian* 'zunehmenen', *īecan* 'mehren', ON *auka* 'vermehren'; also with Schwebelaut: OInd. *vakṣáyati* 'wachsen lassen', Avest. *vaxš-* 'wachsen (lassen)'; Goth. *wahsjan* 'wachsen', ON *vexa* 'wachsen machen' and ON *vaxa*, OE *weaxan*, OF *waxa*, OS *wahsan*, OHG *wahsan* 'wachsen'; also dissyllable: Grk. ἀέξω (H. +;



< \* $\acute{\alpha}\mathcal{F}\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega$ ) 'to increase, foster; to exalt, glorify; to grow, increase'; see Fraenk. I, 24; Trautmann BSW 17; Frisk I, 187—188; WH I, 82—83; Feist 67, 541; de Vries 19, 648, 658; Pok. 84—85.

Lith. *áukštas* (3) 'high' ~ Latv. *aúkstš* 'hoch' || Lat. *augustus* 'erhaben'; see Fraenk. I, 24, 25; Trautmann BSW 17; WH I, 83; Pok. 85.

Lith. *áugumas* 'height; age', Latv. *aúgums* 'Wachstum', 'height; figure, stature' || OInd. *ojmán-* m. 'Kraft, Stärke'; Lat. *augmen(tum)* 'Zuwachs'; see Fraenk. I, 24; Trautmann BSW 17; Pok. 85.

Note. The reference to the disyllabic root (Grk. \* $\acute{\alpha}\mathcal{F}\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega$ ) does not give an alternative explanation of the Baltic length, cf. the analogous root \**ages-*, that does not give length in Baltic: Lith. *aušrà* (4) 'Morgenröte', Latv. *àustra* f. 'Morgendämmerung'; Lith. *aūšta* 'es tagt', Latv. *àust* ds. 'es tagt'; Latv. *àustrums* m. 'Osten', pl. 'east'; see Fraenk. I, 27; Trautmann BSW 19; Pok. 86—87.

1a. Slav. \**úgъ* (SCr. *jŷr* 'South; southern wind'; Sloven. *jùg*, gen. sg. *júga* 'warm wind; South'; Czech *jíh* 'South; southern wind'; Russ. *юг*, gen. sg. *ióra* 'South'); here also belong Slav. \**úžinъ* m., \**úžina* f. 'afternoon snack': Russ. *úжин* 'supper', dial. *úжина*, ORuss. *ЎЖИНА* 'afternoon snack'; Bulg. *úжина*, *júжина*; SCr. *ŷжина* 'supper'; Sloven. *júžina* 'dinner, supper'; Polish dial. (Kraków) *juzyna* 'afternoon snack' || there are several etymologies: **I.** OInd. *ójas* n. 'power, might', Avest. *aogah-*, *aojah-* n. 'power, might', Grk.  $\alpha\upsilon\acute{\zeta}\omega$ ,  $\alpha\upsilon\acute{\zeta}\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ , \* $\acute{\alpha}\mathcal{F}\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega$ ; Lat. *augeō*, *-ēre* 'to grow, increase', *augustus* 'high, elevated'; Ir. *óg* 'unharméd'; Goth. *aukan* 'to grow'; Lith. *áugti* 'to grow', Latv. *aúgt* 'to grow' — see the previous entry; **II.** Grk.  $\alpha\upsilon\gamma\acute{\eta}$  f. 'light of the sun; East; dawn, day break; any bright light' (the primary quantity of the diphthong is not clear); Alb. *ag* m., pl. *agje* 'twilight, dusk', *agóje-* 'to dawn', *agume* f. 'dawn, day break, morning'; **III.** Grk.  $\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\rho\acute{\omicron}\zeta$  'wet, moist, fluid'; Lat. *ūvidus* 'wet, moist' (< \**oug<sup>u</sup>-*); ON *vōkr*, acc. sg. *vōkvan* 'feucht, naß' (< \**uog-uō-* or \**uog<sup>u</sup>-o-*); OInd. *ukṣáti* 'besprengt, befeuchtet', perf. *vavákṣa* could belong here also; all the three comparisons imply the reconstruction of the voiced unaspirated guttural consonant in the Auslaut; Фасмер IV, 528; Frisk I, 183—184; II, 955—956; Orel, 2; WH II, 849; Mayrhofer I, 98; de Vries 673; Pok. 87 (II); 84—85 (I); 1118 (III).

2. Latv. *duōbs*, *duōbs*, *duōbjš* ‘tief, hohl’; Lith. *dúobti* ‘aushöhlen, (einen Weg) ausfahren’<sup>61</sup>, *duobà* ‘Höhlung in einem Baumstamm’; why Latv. and Lith. both have *uo* (that points to Proto-Balt. \**ō*) instead of \*\*(*i*)*au* is unclear (it is very tempting to suppose that IE short diphthong \**ōu* applied by Winter’s law yielded long diphthong \**ōu*, which in its turn can develop in the same way as a proper long diphthong, i. e. [sporadically] lose its non-syllabic element and yield Proto-Balt. \**ō*<sup>62</sup>); cf. Lith. *duobė* (4) ‘Grube, Loch’ and Latv. *dùobe* ‘Grube’ with *j*-metatony and the secondary mobility; unclear Lith. *daubà* (4) ‘ravine, gully’; Lith. *dauburỹs* (3<sup>b</sup>) ‘Schlucht’; morphologically unclear Lith. *dumbrùs* (4) ‘feucht, naß’ ~ Latv. *duĩbrs* ‘moorig, einschließend’ || Germ. \**deupaz*: Goth. *diups*, ON *djúpr*, OE *dēop*, OF *diāp*; OS *diop*, *diap*, OHG *tiof*, *tiuf* ‘tief’; ? Grk. δύβρις · κατὰ γλῶσσαν θάλασσα ‘sea’ (Scholia vetera in Theocritum 1, 118a&118c, as a possible source of river name Θύβρις, gen. Θύβριδος) — maybe Illyric; see Fraenk. I, 108—109; Фасмер I, 490, 519; ЭССЯ 5, 176—177; Feist 121; Pok. 267—268 (*dheub-* ‘tief, hohl’); for related Slav. \**dъbrь* ‘cleft, gully’, Slav. \**dъно* ‘bottom’ and Lith. *dùbti* ‘to sink into’ (praes. 3 *duĩba*) without lengthening see below, p. 496, No. 2, p. 498, No. 9, p. 499, No. 11.

3. Lith. *gniáužti*, praes. 3 *gniáužia*, praet. 3 *gniáužė* ‘to squeeze, press; to pinch’, intentive *gniáužyti*, praes. 3 *gniáužo*, praet. 3 *gniáužė* ‘to squeeze, press, crumple’ ~ Latv. *gnaūzt*<sup>2</sup>, praes. 1 sg. *gnaūžu*<sup>2</sup>, praet. 1 sg. *gnaūzu*<sup>2</sup> [WLatv.: Bl.] ‘mit der Hand fassen, drücken’, *gnaūzīt*, praes. 1 sg. *gnaūzu*, praet. 1 sg. *gnaūziju* [Nigr.] ‘drücken, quetschen, knittern, knillen, auswinden’; Lith. *gniáužtas* (1) ‘fist’, pl. ‘vice’; *gniūžtė* (1) ‘lump; snowball; bunch, tuft’; cf. also Lith. *gniūžis* (2) ‘lump; snowball; bunch’ with *j*-metatony; for related Lith. *gniūžti* (praes. 1 sg. *gniūžtù*) ‘to shrink, sink’ without Winter’s

<sup>61</sup> Given by Kurschat. Regular Lith. forms are *duōbti*, praes. 3 *duōbia*, praet. 3 *duōbé* with spreading of *j*-metatony from praes. stem into inf. and praet. stems; the same in Latv. *dùobt* (*duōbt*<sup>2</sup>), praes. 1 sg. *dùobiu* ‘aushöhlen’.

<sup>62</sup> Alternatively: Stang (VGBS 75—77) explains this process as a sporadic metathesis \**ōu* > Lith.-Latv. *uo*.

lengthening see below, p. 493, No. 18 || ON *knykill* m. 'kleiner Knoten', OE *cnucel*, Engl. *knuckle*, OF *knokel*, MLG *knökel*, MDu. *cnockel*, MHG *knüchel* 'Knöchel'; Norw. dial. *knjuka*, *knoka* 'Knöchel', MLG *knoke* m. 'Knochen', MHG *knoche* 'Knochen, Knorren, Bündel'; and probably ON *knoka* 'mit dem Fingerknöcheln schlagen', Danish *knuge* 'drücken', Danish dial. *knoge*, Swed. dial. *knoka* 'herunterdrücken', Norw. dial. *knoka* 'pressen, drücken'; OE *cnocian*, *cnucian* 'an eine Tür klopfen, im Mörser stoßen'; MHG *knochen* (Low Rhine) 'pressen, drücken' (Lexers 111); see Fraenk. I, 159; Falk—Torp I, 551, 554; Pok. 372 (\**gn-eu-ĝ-*); cf. de Vries 321.

4. Lith. dial. (East Lith.) *jáugti*, praes. 3 *jáugia*, praet. 3 *jáugé* 'jochen, ins Joch spannen' (LKŽ IV, 298), Lith. *jùngti*, praes. 1 sg. *jùngiu* 'ins Joch spannen, verbinden, vereinigen' ~ Latv. *jùgt*, praes. 1 sg. *jùdzu* 'to harness' || OInd. praes. 1 sg. *yunájmi*, 3 sg. *yunákti*, 3 pl. *yuñjanti*, *juñjati*, *sayúj-* 'durch Feundschaft oder Verwandtschaft verbinden'; Grk. ζεύγνυμι 'to yoke, put to; to bind fast; to join together; to join in wedlock', aor. ἐζύγην; deverbatives: ὑπο-ζυγή, ἀνα-ζυγή, παρα-ζυγή, ἀπο-ζυγή, in the late papyri also merely ζυγή 'pair', root deverbatives: ἄ-ζυξ, ὀμό-ζυξ, παρά-ζυξ, σύ-ζυξ; Lat. *jungō*, *-ere* 'to unite, combine, bind fast; to harness; to join in wedlock', root deverbative *con-iux* 'Gattin; Gatte'; see Fraenk. I, 196; Trautmann BSW 109; Mayrhofer III, 20—21; Frisk I, 609—610; WH I, 730—731; Pok. 508—510.

Latv. *jūdziens* 'das einmalige Angespanthaben; die in einem Anspann geleistete Arbeit od. zurückgelegte Strecke Weges', *jūdze* 'die Meile, eine Meile Weges' || OInd. *yojanam* 'Anspannung; in einer Anspannung durchlaufene Fahrt; ein Wegmaß'; see Mühl.—Endz. II, 120, 121; Pok. 508—510.

Slav. \**jǔgo* 'yoke' (a. p. *a* is established from the MBulg. texts), Lith. *jūngas* (1) 'yoke (in direct and metaphorical meaning)', Latv. *jūgs* 'Joch' || OInd. *yugá-m*, *-h* 'Joch; Paar'; Grk. ζυγόν, -ός 'yoke (in direct and metaphorical meaning); crossbar, etc.'; Hitt. *iugan* n. 'Joch'; Lat. *jugum* 'joke; pair (of oxen, horses); couple, spouses; ties, bonds, burdens'; Goth. *juk* (only acc. pl. *juka*) n. 'ζεύγος, Gespann';

see Fraenk. I, 196; Trautmann BSW 109; Mayrhofer III, 19; Frisk I, 615—616; WH I, 728—729; Pok. 508—509.

5. Lith. *káugé* (1) ‘shock, pile’, *kūgis* (1) ‘stack, rick, shock; cone’; Latv. *kāudze* ‘großer, runder Heu- oder Kornschober, Spitze, Haufe’ (in Latv. the word is probably the result of the generalisation of metatony in the contracted *-iā*-stems) || ON *hokinn* ‘gekrümmt’, part. from *hūka* ‘kauern, hocken’ (a weak verb), what probably tetifies in favour of the primary I cl. of this verb; MHG *hūchen* (a weak verb) ‘kauern, sich ducken’, NHG *hocken*; Swiss *hock* m. ‘Haufe’, Tirol. *hocken* m. ‘Haufe Heu’; the comparison with the following words is clearly implausible: ON *haugr* ‘Hügel’, OHG and MHG *houc*, gen. sg. *houges* ‘Hügel’, OSwed. *hugli*, NHG *Hügel*; see Fraenk. I, 229; de Vries 265—266; EWD II, 698, 712; Pok. 589.

6. Lith. *láužti*, praes. 1 sg. *láužiu*, praet. 1 sg. *láužiau* ‘brechen’, intensive *láužyti* ‘brechen’; *lúžti*, praes. 1 sg. *lúžtu*, praet. 1 sg. *lúžau* ‘entzweigen, brechen’ ~ Latv. *laūzt*, praes. 1 sg. *laūžu* ‘brechen’, intensive *laūzīt* ‘wiederholt brechen, peinigen, foltern’; *lūst*, praes. 1 sg. *lūstu* ‘to break (*intr.*)’ || OInd. *rujāti* ‘zerbricht, peinigt, bereitet Schmerzen’, *ruj* ‘zerbrechend, Schmerz, Krankheit’; Grk. ἀλυκτοπέδαι ‘shackles, fetters’ (i. e. \*‘unbreakable bonds’), λυγρός (λύγρός according to Pindarus and Moschus) ‘jämmerlich, betrübt, traurig, elend’; Arm. *lucanem* ‘löse los, breche auf’; Lat. *lūgeō*, *lūgō*, *lūxī*, *lūctum*, *-ēre* ‘trauern’<sup>63</sup>; OIr. *lucht* ‘Teil’; ON *ljúka* ‘schliessen; öffnen; einhegen; obmachen, bezahlen’; OHG *liochan* ‘vellere; raufen, ziehen’, MHG *liechen* ‘ziehen, rupfen, reißen’ (as well as in other similar cases the Germ. forms of II cl. \**lūkan*<sup>64</sup> cannot serve as evidence for a heavy base or a long diphthong: Goth. *galūkan* ‘einschließen’, *uslūkan* ‘aufschließen’; ON *lúka* ‘schliessen; öffnen; einhegen; obmachen, bezahlen’; OE *lūcan*, OF *lūka*, OS *lūkan*, OHG *lūhhan* ‘schliessen’, *antlū-*

<sup>63</sup> In the praes. forms *-ū-* < \**-ou-*, in the forms of sup. and part. *-ū-* < \**-ū-* according to Lachmann’s law.

<sup>64</sup> On the problem of the origin of the long grade in this group of verbs (belonging to II class) see СГЯ II, 250—252; IV, 304—307.

*hhan* ‘aufschließen, öffnen’); in OInd. two IE roots contaminated: \**leuġ-* ‘to break’ and \**leug-* ‘to bend’, but they are probably both with short diphthongs pace Дыбо, Сокращение долгот 12 with fn. 10, as the length for the root \**leuġ-* ‘to break’ is observed only in Balto-Slavic and here it can be explained now by Winter’s law; see Fraenk. I, 347; Trautmann BSW 152—153; Mayrhofer III, 64—65; WH I, 830—831; de Vries 368, 370, Pok. 686.

Lith. *láužas* (3) ‘windfall, wind-fallen trees; a pile of branches; bonfire’; Latv. dial. *laūzs* ‘the place in the forest with wind-fallen trees’ || OInd. *logáh* (RV) ‘Erdkloss, Scholle’; see Fraenk. I, 347; Trautmann BSW 152—153; Pok. 686.

7. Lith. *naudà* (3) ‘use, profit, benefit’, *panūsti*, praes. 1 sg. *-nūstu*, praet. 1 sg. *-nūdau* ‘gelüsten’, ‘to feel desire, want’<sup>65</sup>; Latv. *naūda* ‘money’; Slav. \**nūditi*, praes. 1 sg. \**nūdjo* ‘to make/force smb. to do smth.’ (Bulg. *nyġja* ‘to force’, SCr. *nyġumu*, praes. 1 sg. *nyġūm* ‘to suggest, charge with’, Sloven. *nūditi*, praes. 1 sg. *nūdim* ‘to make smd. do smth.’), subst. \**nudā*, acc. sg. \**nūdjo* with the loss of the reflex of the root acute in the mobile accentual paradigm || Goth. *niutan* ‘erreichen’, ON *njōta*, OE *nēotan*, OF *niāta*, OS *niotan*, OHG *niozan* ‘benutzen, geniessen’; Goth. *nuta* ‘Fischer’, ON *not* n. pl. ‘Nutzen, Vorteil’, OE *notu*, OF *note* ‘Ertrag’, OHG *nuz* ‘Gebrauch, Nutzen, Einkommen’; ON *nyt* f., OE *nytt*; ? OInd. *nudāti* ‘stößt, treibt an, vertreibt, entfernt’; cf. Fraenk. I, 487, 513; Фасмер III, 88; Trautmann BSW 194; Feist 379, 380; de Vries 406, 408, 410, 412, 413; Mayrhofer II, 176; Pok. 768.

8. Lith. *raudóti*, praes. 1 sg. *ráudu* (dial. and OLith. *ráudmi*), praet. 1 sg. *raudóju* ‘to weep, lament’, East Lith. dial. (Šl.) *ráuda* (1) ‘płacz, lament, opłakiwanie, pieśń lamentowa’, OLith. nom. sg. *ráuda* DP 33<sub>2</sub> (stand. Lith. *raudà* 4 a. p. < \*3 a. p.?) ~ Latv. *raūdāt*, praes. 1 sg. *raūdu* ‘to weep’, *raūda* ‘groan, weeping’; Lith. *rūsti*, praes. 1 sg. *rūstu*, praet. 1 sg. *rūdau* ‘zu weinen anfangen’, *ap-si-rūstu*, *rūstas* ‘mürrisch,

<sup>65</sup> The comparison with Goth. *naups* ‘Not’, Pruss. *nauti-* ‘Not’, Czech *nut* ‘Zwang’ proposed in Fraenk. I, 513 does not fit for phonetic reasons.

grimmig'; Slav. \*rydati 'to weep, lament' (SCr. *pùgamu*, praes. 1 sg. *pùgām*, Czech *rydati*, etc.), \*ruditi (OCzech *ruditi* 'betrüben', HSorb. *zrudzić* 'to offend (smb.), hurt smb.'s feelings', LSorb. *zružís* 'betrüben') || OInd. *rudāti* 'jammert, weint', aor. *á-rudaḥ*, *róditi* 'jammert, weint'; Avest. *raod-* 'weinen'; Lat. *rūdō*, *-ēre*, *-īvi* 'schreien; brüllen' (-*ū*- Vergilius, Ovidius; -*ū*- Persius, the same -*ū*- in the Provencal successor; perhaps \**eu/u* Ablaut in the old athematic verb?); OHG *ruzzi*, OE *rute*; ON *rjóta* 'dumpf klingen (?)' (probably a strong verb of II cl., a single attestation in the poetry), OE *rēotan* (II cl.) 'klagen, weinen', MLG *rēten* 'lärmen, schreien', OHG. *riozan* (IIb cl.) 'weinen'; Ablaut: ON *rauta* 'brüllen', Bavar. *rotzen* 'weinen'; see Fraenk. II, 704, 752; Фасмер III, 526—527; Trautmann BSW 239—240; Mayrhofer III, 77; WH II, 447; de Vries 435—436, 449, 456; Pok. 867.

9. Lith. *ráugas* (3) 'ferment, leaven' ~ Latv. *raúgs* 'Sauerteig, Hefe, Gerberbeize, Hefepilz'; Lith. *ráugti*, praes. 1 sg. *ráugiu*, praet. 1 sg. *ráugiau* 'to make sour; to pickle; to tan' ~ Latv. *raúgt* 'einsäuern', *raúgtiês*<sup>2</sup> 'rülpsen'; Lith. *ráugėti*, praes. 1 sg. *ráugėju*, dial. *ráugiu*, OLith. and dial. *ráugmi*, praet. 1 sg. *ráugėjau* 'to belch, eructate', the variant *riáugėti*, praes. 1 sg. *riáugėju*, *rjáugmi* (also *raugiù*, *rúgiu* are attested) 'rülpse, habe saures Aufstoßen' ~ Latv. *raúdzēt*, praes. 1 sg. *raúdzēju* 'säuren, in Gärung bringen'; Lith. *rúgti*, praes. 1 sg. *rúgtu* 'to become sour, turn sour; to ferment (*intr.*)' ~ Latv. *rúgt* 'säuern, aufgehen, gären, aufstoßen, aufsteigen (vom Rauch), rauchen'; *išrūgos* pl. f. 'Molken', 'whey'; Slav. \**rygati* 'to belch, vomit' (Russ. *рыгáть*, Ukr. *purámu*; SCr. *pùramu*, praes. 1 sg. *pùrām* ~ BRuss. *рыгаць*, Bulg. *púram*, Sloven. *riḡati*, praes. 1 sg. *riḡam*), \**rjugati* 'id.' (Czech *říhati*; also Polish *rzygáć*—result of the contamination between \**rzugać* and \**rygáć*) || Grk. ἐρέυομαι, aor. ἤρῳγον 'speien aus, erbrechen sich', ἐρυγγάνω 'rülpsen', ἐρυγή 'Aufstoßen, Rülpsen'; Lat. *ē-rūgō*, *-ere*, *rūctum*<sup>66</sup> 'ausrülpsen', *rūctō*, *-āre* 'rülpsen, ausspeien'; OE *rocettan* 'rülpsen' (< Germ. \**rūkatjan*), *edroc* 'das Wiederkauen';

<sup>66</sup> In the praes. forms -*ū*- < \**-eu-* (-*rūgō* = ἐρέυομαι), in the form of sup. -*ū*- < \**-ū*- according to Lachmann's law.

OHG *it-ruchen*, MHG *iterücken* 'wiederkauen', *iteroche* f. 'Schlund bei Wiederkäuern'; see Fraenk. II, 705—706; Фраенк III, 526; Trautmann BSW 244—245; Frisk I, 554; Pok. 871—872.

10. Latv. *slaūgans* 'schlaff, erschlafft'; Lith. *slūgti*, praes. 1 sg. *slūgstu*, praet. 1 sg. *slūgau* 'herabfallen, sich senken, abnehmen, kleiner werden' || ON *slokna* 'erlöschen, sterben', Danish *slukne*, Swed. *slockna* 'to go out (of fire)', ON part. praet. *slokinn* 'gelöscht'; the analysis of the Germanic material is difficult because of the contamination of two IE roots: *\*slug-* and *\*(s)leg-*; Germ. strong verb *\*slekwan* had the present suffix *\*-w-*, which was transferred into the causative *\*slakwian* > ON *slökkva* 'löschen' (cf. WGerm., where there is no such transfer: OE *slacian* 'schwach werden', *ge-sleccan* 'schwächen'; OS *sleckian* 'stumpf machen'); this strong verb (IV cl.?) is probably not attested in the ancient texts (its reflex is seen in MNorw. dial. *slökka* intr. 'erlöschen'), but its part. praet. *slokinn* 'erlöschen, ausgegangen' is attested in ON; as verbs with the suffix *-na* were derived from strong participles II, ON *slokna* is regarded as the result of this derivational system; it should, however, be born in mind that verbs with the suffix *-na* are not secondary in reference to the participles II, and the IE root *\*slug-* is also attested in a number of other Germ. derivatives: Norw. *sloka* 'faul sein', Du. *sluik* 'mager, hager, glatt', LGerm. *slūk* 'schlaff', Engl. *slouch* 'den Kopf hängen, träge und nachlässig gehen'; Fraenk. 835; Mühl.—Endz. III, 918; Falk—Torp II, 1066; de Vries 517; de Vries NEW 653; Onions 836; Pok. 962—963 (*\*(s)leug-* to *\*(s)leu-* 'schlaff herabhängend'); cf. above, p. 416, No. 35.

11. Lith. *smáugti*, praes. 1 sg. *smáugiu*, praet. 1 sg. *smáugiau* 'ersticken (ursprüng. durch Rauch), erwürgen; quälen, peinigen, drosseln', intensive *smáugyti* and *smáugioti* 'strangle'; Russ. смѣглыѣ 'swarthy' || two variants of the root: 1. *\*smūg-*: Grk. σμυγ- (= σμύχω 'to burn with a slow fire') in postclassical texts — praes. σμύγω and σμύζω (*Epitome veterum grammaticorum ad Homerum*, III A. D., ad σμῦξαι I 653), aor. 2 ἔσμυγα, ἔσμυγον (Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, ad σμῦξαι I 653; idem, *Commentarii ad Homeri*

*Odysseam*, ad ἐπισμυγεῖν Γ 195), part. perf. κατ-εσμυγμένον (Heliandus Scriptor Eroticus, *Aethiopica* 7, 21), ?? part. praes. pl. ἀποσμυγέντες (emended; Lucianus, *DMort.* 6, 3)<sup>67</sup> — these forms are usually regarded as back-formations from Grk. σμύχω ‘to burn with a slow fire’, which, however, represents another variant of the root, see below; Arm. *murk*, gen. *mrk-oy* ‘sengend’ < IE \*(s)mugro-; OE *smēocan* ‘rauchen’ (II cl.), MDu. *smieken*, but also: *smuiken*; o-grade: MHG *smouch* ‘smoke’; the zero grade: OE *smoca* m. ‘smoke’ < IE \*smug-on-, *smocian* ‘smoke’; Welsh *mwg* ‘Feuer’; 2. \*smūkh- (with dialectal IE \*-kh-); Grk. σμύχω ‘to burn in a slow, smouldering fire, to make smth. smoulder away’; Arm. *muχ*, gen. sg. *mχoy* ‘smoke’; OIr. *múch* ‘smoke’ (the regularity of this series is broken by Arm. *moyg* ‘dunkel, braun’ < IE \*(s)mougho-, but this has no bearing on the characteristics of the first series, with which the Balto-Slavic stems should be connected); see Fraenk. II, 841; Фасмер III, 693; Frisk II, 752; Pok. 971.

12. ? Lith. *snáusti*, 1 sg. praes. *snáudžiu* ‘to doze, slumber’ ~ Latv. *snaüst*, praes. 1 sg. *snaūžu*, praet. 1 sg. *snaūdu* ‘schlummern, schlafen’; Lith. *snústi*, 1 sg. praes. *snústu*, 1 sg. praet. *snúdau* ‘einschlummern’; Lith. *snaudà* 4/2 (LKŽ XIII, 243) ‘Schlummern, Säumen, Langsamsein’ ~ Latv. *snaūda* ‘Schlummer, Halbschlaf, Schlafmütze, Schläfrige(r)’; ELith. (Šl.) *snaudulỹs* (*snáu*° 3<sup>a</sup>) ‘drzemka, ospałość’, but standard Lith. *snaudulỹs*, gen. sg. *snaūdulio* (3<sup>b</sup>) ‘drowsiness’ || Grk. νυστάζω (-ῶ-?) ‘to be half asleep, doze’; see Fraenk. II, 852—853, 854; Frisk II, 329—330; Pok. 978 (\*sneud(h)-).

13. ? Lith. *spáusti*, praes. 1 sg. *spáudžiu* ‘to press, push; to press to/on, clasp to; to compress, squeeze’, intensive *spáudyti* ‘to compress, squeeze’, *spaudmuō*, gen. sg. *spaudmeñs*, pl. *spáudmenys* ‘Druckschrift, Schriftsatz’; *spūdėti*, praes. 3 sg. *spūdi* ‘sich zusammengedrückt, geduckt aufhalten, sich quälen, sich bemühen’ (the generalisation of circumflex in the verbs with -ėti with the long monophthong in the root? Cf. Būga RR II, 461—462), *spaūstas* (2)

<sup>67</sup> Varia lectio for aor. 2 pass. ἀπ-ἐσμύγην?



‘Druckknopf, Käsepresse’ (a regular metatony in the recessive acute root with a dominant suffix) || Grk. *σπεύδω* ‘to set going, urge on, hasten (*tr.*); to seek eagerly, strive after; to press on, hasten (*intr.*)’, *σπευστός* ‘eilig’; ? Alb. *punë* ‘Arbeit, Geschäft’ (< \**spud-nā*); the long diphthong is not excluded; see Fraenk. II, 862—863; Trautmann BSW 273—274; Frisk II, 765; Pok. 998—999; cf. Orel 349—350.

14. Lith. *spráusti*, praes. 1 sg. *spráudžiu*, praet. 1 sg. *spráudžiau*, (also *spríausti*) ‘to press into, squeeze into, shove in’ ~ Latv. *spraúst*, praes. 1 sg. *spraûžu*, praes. 1 sg. *spraûdu* ‘einstecken’; Lith. *sprústi*, praes. 1 sg. *sprústu*, praet. 1 sg. *sprúdau* ‘gleiten, schlüpfen, ausgleiten’ ~ Latv. *sprúst* ‘klemmen, eingeklemmt werden, stecken bleiben’; Lith. intensive *spráudyti* ‘to squeeze into, shove into’ ~ Latv. *spraûdīt* ‘bestecken’ || Welsh *ffrwst* ‘Hast’; Goth. *sprauto* adv. ‘schnell, ohne Zögern’; LGerm. *sprütten* ‘spritzen’, MHG *sprützen* ‘sprießen, spritzen’; ON *sproti* m. ‘junger Schößling an einem Baum, Stecken’ etc. (Pok. 994—995). Cf. also OE \**sprūtan* ‘to sprout’, ‘sprießen’ (II cl.; only part. praet. *āsprotene* is attested), OF *sprūta*, ODu. *ūt-sprūtan*; see Fraenk. II, 878, 879, 883, 884; Pok. 994—995.

#### Diphthongs with -i-

15. Lith. *áikštis* ‘Leidenschaft, Glut, Hitze’, ‘whim, caprice’ (Jušk.: ‘passion’), *áikštytis* ‘ausgelassen sein, indem man sich gegenseitig schlägt, Kapricen zeigen, Launen haben’, ‘to be capricious’; Latv. *aikstītiēs* ‘schreien, lärmern’, ‘to yell, make noise’ || OInd. *éjati* ‘rührt sich, bewegt sich, erbebt’, *íngati*, *íngate* ‘regt sich, bewegt sich’; ON *eikinn* ‘wild, wütend’; ? *ἐπ-αἰγίζω* (H. +) ‘to rush upon (*of a stormy wind, of a stream*)’, derived from *αἰγίς* whose meaning ‘rushing storm, hurricane’ (Aeschylus, Pherecrates) seems to be secondary (here also belongs Hesychius’ *αἰγες* · τὰ κύματα ‘Wellen’); Fraenk. I, 2—3; Фасмер II, 116 (Slav. \**ǰьgra*); Mayrhofer I, 126, 95, 85; Mayrhofer EWA I, 264, 50—51; Frisk I, 32—33, 41—42; de Vries 96; Pok. 13—14 (\**aig-*); cf. also below, p. 461, No. 74 (Lith. *éngti*, praes. 3 *éngia* ‘würgen, bedrängen’).

16. Lith. dial. (Slnt.) *giedras* 'rein, hell, klar' (Būga RR II, 421), (Slnt. and Donel.) *añt giedros*, nom. sg. *giedra* (Būga RR II, 185) 'serene, fine weather' ~ Latv. *dzīdrs* 'azurblau; hell, klar', *dziedrs*<sup>2</sup> (Kreuzb.) 'klar, frisch, etwas kühl' (Mühl.—Endz. I, 556, 562); note that in principle Winter's law does not operate in position before *r*, cf. more frequent *gaidrūs* (4), *giēdras*, etc., for which see below, p. 497, No. 3; for related Lith. *gaīsas* (4) 'glow, gleam', Latv. *gāiss* 'Luft' also without lengthening see below, p. 486, No. 10 || Grk. φαιδρός 'klar, hellglänzend, leuchend, heiter, vergnügt', φαίδιμος 'glänzend, stattlich' (Fraenk. I, 128 and Pok. 488 supposes a long diphthong, but there are no data confirming this except Baltic); see Fraenk. I, 128; Frisk II, 981; Pok. 488—489.

17. Lith. *gnábyti*, praes. 3 *gnáibo* 'to pinch, nip'; *gnýbti*, praes. 1 sg. *gnýbu*, praet. 1 sg. *gnýbau* 'kneifen', stand. Lith. praes. 3 *gnýbia* 'to pinch, nip'; *žnábyti*, praes. 3 *žnáibo* 'to pinch, nip', *žnýbti*, praes. 1 sg. *žnýbiu*, praet. 1 sg. *žnýbiau* 'mit dem Schnabel beißen; kneifen', stand. Lith. praes. 3 *žnýbia* 'to pinch; to nip, hurt' ~ Latv. *zniēbt*<sup>2</sup>, praes. 1 sg. *zniēbju*<sup>2</sup>, praet. 1 sg. *zniēbu*<sup>2</sup> 'stark drücken, würgen; stibitzen; heimlich fliehen', *žniēbt* (Jāsmuiža) 'stibitzen', *žņiēbt* (Kalz.) 'töten', (N.-Peb.) 'schlagen', (Lubn.) 'heimlich fliehen', (Serben) 'laufen'; *žņāibīt*, praes. 1 sg. *žņāibu*, praet. 1 sg. *žņāibiju* (Adl., Prl., Selsau, Sessw., Tirs.) 'drücken, knutschen'; Lith. *gnýbtas* (1) 'clamp, clutch, clip'; Latv. *gnībeklis* 'ein am unteren Ende gespaltener Stecken, eine Holzgabel zum Krebsfangen od. um damit eine Schlange einzuklemmen' || Norw. dial. *knīpa*, MLG *knīpen* 'kneifen', Du. *knijpen* (I cl.) 'kneifen, zwicken'; and with *-bh-*: Danish *knibe* 'to pinch, nip; to be stingy, niggardly'; see Fraenk. I, 159; II, 1321; Trautmann BSW 93; Franck—van Wijk 325; Pok. 370—371.

18. Lith. *liēgti* 'schwer krank sein, siechen', *nuliegti* 'erschöpft, müde werden', praes. 3 *nuliegsta*, praet. 3 *nuliego*; *paliegti* 'schwächlich, kränklich werden', praes. 3 *paliegsta*, praet. 3 *paliego* || Grk. λωγός m. 'Verderben, Unheil, Untergang, Tod', ὀλίγος 'wenig, gering, klein'; Alb. *l'ik* 'böse, mager', *l'igε* 'Bosheit, Übel'; see Fraenk. I, 370; Trautmann BSW 161; Frisk II, 134, 376; Pok. 667 (\**leig-*); for

Lith. *ligà* (4) 'Krankheit', Latv. *liga* 'id.' without lengthening see below, p. 505, No. 6.

19. ? Lith. *láigyti* 'to run, jump, frisk' || Pers. *ā-lēxtan* 'springen, ausschlagen', Kurd. *līzim* 'spiele', *be-lezium* 'tanze'; Goth. *laiks* 'Tanz', *laikan* 'hüpfen, springen', ON *leika* 'spielen', *leikr*, OE *lác* 'Spiel', *lácán* 'spielen'; (??) Grk. *λίγυς* 'clear, shrill (of sound)', adv. *λίγᾶ* 'in loud, clear tone', *λιγαίνω* 'rufe laut, singe, tanze', *λιγάνταρ* (= *λιγαντήρ*) · *εἶδος τέττιγος*. *Λάκωνες* (Hsch.); the only indication of the root quantity could be Greek forms; because of the palatal character of the guttural consonant one should separate OInd. *réjate* 'hüpft, bebt, zittert, zuckt'; Khot-Sak. *rīys-* 'zittern', Osset. *rīzim* : *ryzt* || *rezun* : *rizt* 'tremble, shiver, shake', as well as the reduplicated stem: MPers. *rarz-*, Pers. *larzidan* 'tremble', Parth. *larz-*, *wi-larz-* 'tremble', Sogd. *\*wi-rarz-* 'tremble'; Grk. *ἐλελίζω* 'mache erzittern, schwinde'; see Fraenk. I, 330—331; Mayrhofer III, 72; Mayrhofer EWA II, 458; Абаев II, 417—418; Frisk I, 488—489, II, 121—122; Feist 319—320; Pok. 667—668.

20. Lith. *laigōnas*, dial. *láigonas* 'Bruder der Frau' || Russ. dial. *лугозуть* 'to tangle threads while weaving'; Ukr. *лу́гати* 'to throw a rope onto the ox horns', *по́лу́гати* 'to get in touch with smb.', *за́лу́гати* 'to tie, bind', *на́лу́гати* 'to bridle, tie, hobble'; Grk. *λοιγώντιαν* · *φρατρίαν* (Hsch.); Alb. *lidh* 'to tie'; Lat. *līgō*, *līgāre* 'binden' (Meyer-Lübke REW, Nr. 5024); MLG *līk* 'Band', Du. *lijk* 'rope, which is used to edge the sail'; Fraenk. I, 331; Фасмер II, 494; ECYM 3, 229—230; ЭССЯ 15, 87; WH I, 800; Orel 226—227; de Vries NEW 401; Pok. 668 (*\*leig-*, *\*leiġ-* 'binden').

21. Lith. *nīdėti* 'to despise, scorn'; Latv. *nīst* (Wolm.), *nīst* (Iw., Bl.) 'verachten', *nīdēt* (Wolm., Nigr., Lautb., PS., Ruj.), *nīdēt* (Iw., Bl., Gr.-Essern) 'scheel ansehen, nicht leiden, hassen'; Latv. *naīds* 'hostility, hatred', *naīdus* 'Haß, Feindschaft', *naīdēt* and *naīdētiēs* 'in Feindschaft leben, sich anfeinden' || OInd. *nīndati*, pass. *nidyāte* 'schmähen, tadeln, verachten'; athem. «aor.» part. *nīd-ānā-* 'getadelt'; *nīd-* 'Spott, Schmähung, Verachtung; Spötter, Verächter', *nīdā*, *nīdā́* 'Schmähung, Verachtung', *nīndā́* 'Schmähung, Tadel, Ver-

achtung'; Avest. *naēd-* (*nāismi*) 'schmähen'; Grk. ὄνειδος 'Vorwurf, Schmach'; Goth. *ga-naitjan* 'schmähen, beschimpfen', OHG *neizzan* 'plagen, quälen, betrüben'; see Fraenk. I, 501; Trautmann BSW 193; Mayrhofer II, 163—164; Frisk II, 394; Feist 194—195; Pok. 760—761.

22. ? Slav. \**pěgъ* adj., \**pěga* subst. f. (Russ. *néruŭ* 'skewbald'; Bulg. *néra* 'freckle', SCr. *něra*, *pjěga* 'freckle', *pjěgav*, *pjěgast* 'spotty, freckled', Sloven. *pěga* 'spot, freckle', *pěgav* 'spotty', Czech *píha* 'freckle', Slovak *peha* 'freckle') < \**pōig-* < \**pōig-* || OInd. *piṅga-*, *piṅgalá-* 'rötlich, braun', *piṅjārah* 'rötlich gelb, goldfarben'; ? Grk. πύγαλος · χαλκίς '(a kind of lizard)' (Hsch.); Lat. *pingo* 'sticke mit der Nadel; male'; Germ. dial. (Westfall.) *finke* 'Fleckchen'; cf. Φασμερ III, 225, 251, 266; Trautmann BSW 210—211; Frisk II, 532—533; WH II, 305—306; Pok. 794—795.

23. Lith. *riebùs* (3) 'fett, feist, dick, wohlgenährt, fruchtbar, ergiebig' (OLith. *riebùs*, -i (3) 'łusty; wytuczony': *riebáus* gen. sg. m. DP 595<sub>31</sub>; *riébiq* acc. sg. f. DP 134<sub>48</sub>), *riebalas* 'Fettauge (in der Suppe), Fettstück'; Latv. *riēbt*, praes. 1 sg. *riēbju*, praet. 1 sg. *riēbu* 'ekeln, zuwider sein', *raība*, *raībs* 'Ekel, Widerwille' || Norw. *rīpa* 'ritzen', OE (Angl.) *reopan* (Vesp. ps.), *hriopan* (R<sup>1</sup>), (*h*)*rioppa* (L), (WSax.) *rīpan* (I cl.) 'ernten' (Engl. *reap*), OE *rīpe* 'reif' (Engl. *ripe*), OS *rīpi*, OHG *rīfi*; Fraenk. II, 728; Pok. 858, 857—859 (\**reib*, a labial enlargement from \**rei*-<sub>1</sub> 'ritzen, reißen, schneiden').

24. ? Lith. *réižtis*, praes. 1 sg. *réižiuos* 'sich brüsten', (Sereiskis: 'to exert oneself, strain oneself'); iterative *ráižytis*, praes. 1 sg. *ráižaus* 'sich wiederholt recken'; Latv. *riēzt*, praes. 1 sg. *riēžu*, praet. 1 sg. *riēzu* 'emporstrecken' (the Latv. form is, however, ambiguous as Latv. -ie- may go back to both -ei- and -en-, see below, p. 464, No.83) || Grk. ὀριγνᾶομαι 'sich recken, sich strecken'; Ir. *rigim* 'strecke'; OIr. *riag* (< \**riga*) 'Tortur', *ringid* 'foltert, peinigt'; Germ. \**raikjan* (OE *rāecan* 'ausstrecken, reichen, darbieten', OF *rēka*, *rēza*, MLG *rēken*, *recken*, MDu. *reiken*, OHG *reichen* 'erreichen, (er)langen, darreichen, sich erstrecken'); ON *reik* f. 'Scheitel im Haar'; see Fraenk. II, 715; Trautmann BSW 242; Frisk II, 412—413; de Vries 438; Pok. 862.

25. Lith. *skiesti*, praes. 1 sg. *skiedžiu*, praet. 1 sg. *skiedžiau* ‘trennen, scheiden’ ~ Latv. *šķiēst*, praes. 1 sg. *šķiēžu*, praet. 1 sg. *šķiēdu* ‘verstreuen, schleudern, vergeuden, vertun’; Lith. iter. *skáidyti* ‘to decompose’ ~ Latv. *skaidīt* ‘dünn machen, schwächen (von Getränken)’; Lith. *paskýsti* ‘sich zerstreuen’, ‘to become diluted; to grow soft’ ~ Latv. *šķīst*, praes. 1 sg. *šķīstu*, praet. 1 sg. *šķīdu* ‘auseinanderfallen, auseinandergehen; zergehen, zerschellen; (nach allen Seiten hin) spritzen, sprühen’; Lith. *skiedà*, acc. sg. *skiedà* (3) ‘Span, Splitter’, *skiedrà* (3) ‘chip, sliver, splinter’ ~ Latv. *skāida* ‘(Holz)span’, *šķiēdra* ‘Holzfaser’; OLith. *skáistus*, -i (1 a. p.) and *skáistas*, -a (1 a. p.) ‘šliczny; świetny; gładki’ (1: *fkáiftumi* instr. sg. m. DP 332<sub>42</sub>; 2: *fkáifsta* nom. sg. f. DP 615<sub>42</sub>, *fkáifti* nom. pl. m. DP 558<sub>39</sub>; the same accentual type is reflected in the forms of the comparative and superlative: *fkáifstefne* nom. sg. f. DP 92<sub>15</sub>, 458<sub>29</sub>, *fkáifceufēii* acc. sg. f. DP 161<sub>9</sub>; in modern Lith. the word has passed into 4 a. p.) ~ Latv. *skāists* ‘schön, schmuck; rot’ ~ Slav. adj. \**cěstь* ‘clean, pure, clear’ (reconstruction is based on Slav. \**cěsta* f. ‘road’ < \*‘stubbed up, levelled’: Russ. ChSlav. *чѣста*, SCr. dial. *cěsta*, Sloven. *cěsta*, Czech & Slovak *cesta*, Polish dial. *cesta*, and denom. verb \**cěstiti*: Russ. ChSlav. *чѣстити* ‘to clean’, Sloven. *cěstiti* ‘castrieren’); Lith. *skýstas* (3 < \*1) ‘thin, watery; scanty’ ~ Latv. *šķīsts* (secondary variant *šķīsts*) ‘dünnflüssig; dünn (vom Gewebe); rein, klar; sauber, keusch’ ~ Slav. \**čistь* ‘clean, pure, clear’ (Russ. *чúсмь*, etc.) || OInd. praes. 1 sg. *chi-na-d-mi*, 3 sg. *chi-na-t-ti*, 3 pl. *chi-n-d-ánti*, themat. 3 sg. *chindati* ‘schneidet ab, spaltet’, *chitti-* ‘das Spalten’, iter. *chedayati*; Avest. *saēd-* ‘spalten’, *avahisiδyāt* ‘er möge zerspalten’, ‘er hätte vernichtet’ (Burg 1888), *a-sista-* ‘nicht gespalten’; Grk. *σχίζω* ‘to split, cleave; to part, separate, divide’, part. *σχιστός* ‘geteilt, getrennt; teilbar’, *σχίζα* ‘piece of wood cut off, lath, splinter’, *ἀ-σχιδής* ‘uncloven, undivided’, *σχίδαξ* ‘piece of wood cut off, lath, splinter’; Arm. *çtim* ‘ritze mich, zerkratze mir mit den Nägeln die Haut’ (< \**c̣itim*); Lat. *scindō*, *scididī*, *scindere*, *scissum* ‘schlitzen, zerreißen, spalten’; ON *skīta* (I cl.), OE *scītan* (I cl.), OHG *scīzan* (XI A. D.; Ia cl.) ‘schießen’ (< \*‘ausscheiden’); iter. Goth. *skaidan*; if we exclude the Baltic and Slavic data, the restora-

tion of the long diphthong is based only on the anomalous ablaut in the following Indo-Iranian stems and their correspondences: OInd. *chyati* ‘schneidet ab’, part. *chātaḥ*, secondary after the presence form *chitáḥ*, OInd. *pra-cchānam* ‘das Verwunden, Wundmachen’; Avest. *fra-sānəm* n. ‘Zerstörung’, Baluchi *sāy-* ‘rasieren, scheren’; OInd. caus. *chāyāyati*; Grk. *σχάω* ‘ritze’; Lat. *sciō*, *scīvī* and *sciū*, *scītum*, *scīre* ‘habe in Erfahrung gebracht, weiß’; ON *skeggja* ‘Beil’ (< \**skajjá* < \**skōjá*, in the prosodic context corresponding to the Balto-Slavic mobile stress), but in this group we deal with a special root the relation of which to the root in question requires a special study, so pace Brugmann Grdr.<sup>2</sup> I, 205 there is no firm ground for the reconstruction in this root a long diphthong; see Fraenk. II, 805—806; Фасмер IV, 295, 301, 366—367; Trautmann BSW 263—264; Mayrhofer I, 407, 410; Frisk II, 838—840; WH II, 493—494, 495—496; Pok. 919—921.

Note. For related Latv. *šķidrs* ‘dünnflüssig, dünn’ without lengthening see below, p. 497, No. 4.

The following Baltic stem that has an alternative etymology must have been so closely connected with this word-building family, that its prosodic characteristics can be of course secondary: Lith. dial. (Slnt) *skáidrus* ‘transparent, light’ (Būga RR II, 424; III, 708) (a relic of 1 a. p., in modern Lith. the word has passed into 4 a. p.); Latv. *skaidrs* ‘hell, klar durchsichtig, undicht’ ~ Germ. \**haidra-*: ON *heidr* ‘heiter, unbewölkt’, OE *hādor* ‘heiter’, OS *hēdar* ‘heiter’, OHG *heitar* ‘heiter, glänzend (ursprüngl. vom wolkenlosen Himmel)’; OInd. *ketú-* m. ‘Helle, Licht, Bild, Gestalt’ ~ Goth. *haidus* m. ‘τρόπος, Art und Weise’, ON *heidr* m. ‘Würde’, OE *hād*, *hæd*, OS *hēd*, OHG *heit* m. ‘Stand, Rang’; see Fraenk. II, 791; Trautmann BSW 263—264; Фасмер IV, 295; Feist 231; Falk—Torp I, 446; de Vries 217; Mayrhofer I, 265; Pok. 916—917.

26. Latv. *skliēst*, praes. 1 sg. *skliēžu*, praet. 1 sg. *skliēdu* ‘ausbreiten, umblättern’, Latv. *sklaīdīt* ‘blättern’; Lith. *skleisti*, praes. 1 sg. *skleidžiū*, praet. 1 sg. *skleidžiaū* ‘ausbreiten, umblättern’, *sklaidyti*, praes. 1 sg. *sklaidaū* ‘hin und her blättern’ ~ Lith. *klėisti*, praes. 1 sg. *klėidžiu*, praet. 1 sg. *klėidžiau* ‘squander, waste’, Lith. *klýsti*, praes. 1 sg. *klýstu*, praet. 1 sg. *klýdau* ‘sich verirren’ ~ Latv. *kliēst*, praes. 1 sg. *kliēžu*, praet. 1 sg. *kliēdu* ‘ausbreiten, ausstreuen; zerstreuen, entfernen’; Latv. *klīst*, praes. 1 sg. *klīstu*, praet. 1 sg. *klīdu* ‘irren, um-

herirren, auseinandergehen, sich verlaufen'; Lith. *klaidà* (4) 'mistake', *kláida* (1) 'vagabond, vagrant' ~ Latv. *klaída* 'die Irre, der Irrtum, Fehler' || ON *slīta* (I cl.) 'zerreißen, zerstören, verbringen', *slit* 'Schlitz, Riß, Abnützung'; OE *slītan* (I cl.) 'zerreißen', *geslit* 'das Bersten'; OS *slītan* (I cl.) 'schleißen, spalten', OHG *slīzan* (Ia cl.) 'spalten, reißen, aufbrauchen', *sliz* 'Schitz'; Fraenk. I, 272—273, II, 809—810, 811; Pok. 926—927 (\**sklei-d*, to \*(s)*kel-* 'schneiden').

27. Latv. *sprīēst*, praes. 1 sg. *sprīēžu*, praet. 1 sg. *sprīēdu* 'drücken, drängen, versperren', *spraīds* 'eine Stelle, wo Leute zusammengedrängt stehen (*lēdus sprāīdi*, zu einem Haufen zusammengedrängtes Eis); ein zwischen den Vorderbeinen eines Schweins angebrachter Knüppel, der es am Laufen hindert; Bretter unter einem zu mauernenden Gewölbe, die nachher, sobald das Gemauerte hart und fest geworden ist, entfernt werden; ein Hölzchen in der Weberspule, um welches das Garn gewickelt ist'; Lith. *spraīnas* (4) 'starrend (vom Auge)' (LKŽ XIII, 484) < \**spraid-nas* (4 a. p. < \*3 a. p., it is typical for adjectives of the mobile accentual type) || OHG *sprīzan*, *spreiz* (I cl.) 'in Stücke splintern, spritzen', ON *sprita* (a weak verb) 'auseinander sperren', Norw. *sprita* 'spritzen'; pace Brugmann Grdr.<sup>2</sup> I, 205—206 there is no reason to reconstruct a long diphthong in this root; see Fraenk. II, 880—881; de Vries 538; Pok. 994.

28. Slav. \**strīci* (< \**strīg-ti-*), praes. 1 sg. \**strīgŏ*, 3 sg. \**strīžěť* (< \**strēig-e-* < \**streig-e-*) 'to shear, trim, cut' (Russ. *спручь*, praes. 1 sg. *спурý*, 3 sg. *спужém*, Ukr. *спурми*, 1 sg. *спурý*, *спужý*; SCr. *спрùћu*, praes. 1 sg. *спрúжэм*; Sloven. *strīci*, praes. 1 sg. *strížem*) || for the etymology see above, p. 418, No. 39

29. Lith. *strīegti*, praes. 1 sg. *strīegiu* '(eine Angel) beködern', *stráigyti* (BŽ 570, NdŽ, KŽ) 'to put on, haft'; dial. (Šl.) *stráigas* (3) 'kól, tyczka, palik z tynu, gruby kij', Lith. *strīegti* 'mit Stroh decken', *srīegti* '(eine Schraube) drehen', *sráigas* 'Pfahl oder Stecken zur Bezeichnung der Wiesengrenze', *sráigė* (dial. *stráigė*) 'Schnecke'; Latv. *striegt* 'einsinken', *strīēgt*<sup>2</sup>, praes. 1 sg. *strīēdzu*<sup>2</sup> 'Lockspeise auf Angelhaken legen' ~ Polish *zastrzyc* 'to lodge, stick, be stuck, be locked', Russ. *застрýть* 'id.', praes. 1 sg. *застрýну*, dial. *застрýгнуть*,

praes. 1 sg. *zastřǣgnu*, impf. *zastřǣgátŭ* (СРНГ 11, 70); Ukr. (Гринченко) *zastřǣvátŭ* and *zastřǣgátŭ*, *zastřǣtŭ*, *zastřǣnú* and *zastřǣgtŭ*, *zastřǣgnu*, (Желеховский) *zastřǣga* f. ‘Sumpf, Morast’ || Lat. *strigō*, *strigāre* ‘stehenbleiben, innehalten (besonders von Zugtieren)’; Norw. *strika* (\**striḱōn* = *strigāre*) ‘einhalten, stoppen’; Fraenk. 886, 887, 921, 922; Brückner 522; Trautmann BSW 290; WH II, 604; Pok. 1036 (\**streig-*); for related Lith. *strigti* (praes. 1 sg. *stringù*) ‘to stick; to sink’ without lengthening see below, p. 502, No. 18.

30. Latv. *swiēdri* pl. ‘sweat’; *svīst*, praes. 1 sg. *svīstu*, praet. 1 sg. *svīdu* ‘to sweat’; *svīdēt* ‘schwitzen machen, in Schweiss treiben’; *svēidēt* ‘in Schweiss bringen, schwitzen machen’ || for etymology see above, p. 420, No. 42

31. Lith. *sviesti*, praes. 1 sg. *sviedžiu* ‘to throw, toss, hurl’, *sviesti ratùs* ‘(ein Rad) schmieren’ (Šiauliai, see Būga RR I, 370; see also Būga RR II, 314: *ratùs sviesti* (*sviedžia*, *sviedė*), *pasviesti* ‘tepti, patepti ratus’ (Šiauliai) — confirming the connection with *sviestas* and the corresponding Latv. forms and rejecting the comparison with Avest. *xšvīd-* m. ‘Milch’), intens. *sváidyti* ‘werfen, schleudern’ ~ Latv. *sviēst*, praes. 1 sg. *sviēžu* ‘werfen, schmeißen’; Latv. *svaīdīt* ‘wiederholt werfen, schleudern; salben, schmieren’; Lith. *sviestas* (1) ‘Butter’ ~ Latv. *sviēsts* ‘Butter’, in the dialects also *sviēksts* ‘Butter’ || OInd. (Dhātup.) *kṣvīdyati*, *kṣvédate*, *kṣvédate* ‘wird feucht, schwitzt aus, entläßt einen Saft’; Avest. *xšvīd-* m. ‘Milch’, «überhaupt ‘flüssige Nahrung’ im Gegensatz zu fester» (Bartholomae 562; Pok. 1043)<sup>68</sup>; Fraenk. II, 953; Pok. 1042, 1043; cf. Mayrhofer I, 295.

32. Lith. *sviegti*, praes. 1 sg. *sviegiu* ‘werfen, schleudern, schlagen’; Latv. *svaīgslis* ‘Unsteter, Flatterhafter’, *svaīgslīgs* ‘unstet, flat-

<sup>68</sup> For the semantic difficulties in Lithuanian cf. also the similar situation in Iranian: Afgh. *šaudá*, *šōdá* m. (pl. tantum?) and *šodá* f. ‘milk’, Buddh. Sogd. *ʾγšyβbt*, Manichaean *xšyβt* ‘milk’, Yagnob. *xšīft*, *xīšīft* ‘milk’, Khot-Sak. *švīdā* ‘milk’, Shughni *šūvd*, Sarik. *šēvd*, Yazgh. *šūovd* ‘milk’, Parth. *šyft* (< \**xšvīpta-* ‘Melkmilch’) : ? OInd. *kṣiptá-* ‘thrown, out, driven out’ (RV I, 129, 8), *kṣīpyati* ‘to throw, toss’ (Bartholomae 562: *xšvīpta-* eig. ‘herausgeschnellte’, d. i. ‘gemolkene’, OPers. *σιπτα-* in *σιπτα-χορα*, Ctesias glosses it with *γλυκύ, ἡδύ*).



terhaft'; here also belongs Slav. words with *e-* and *o-*grades of the root diphthong: Russ. dial. *cburámь* 'to walk, roam; hurry, run', Sloven. *végati*, praes. 1 sg. *végam* 'schwanken', *věžan* 'gebogen', *vêg*, *véga* adj. 'verbogen', note that some Sloven. forms can point to old a. p. *a*<sup>69</sup> || OInd. *vějate*, *vijáte*, part. *vikta-*, *vigna-* 'vor etwas zurückfahren, davoneilen', *pra-vij-* 'Einsturz drohen', *abhi-vij-* 'umkippen', *vēga-* m. 'Zittern, heftige Bewegung, Andrang'; Avest. *vaēg-* (*vaējə-*) '(ein Geschoß) schwingen', *vaēya-* m. 'Anprall, Schlag, Streich', Osset. *wīgyn* : *wyǰd* | *weǰun* : *wiǰd* 'erschüttern, bewegen', Baluchi *gējag* 'schwingen, schleudern'; ON *vīkva*, *ękva* (*w*-praes.), *vīkja*, praet. *veik* (I cl.) 'von der Stelle rücken, (sich) bewegen, sich wenden', ONorw. *vīka* (I cl.); OE *wīcan* (I cl.) 'weichen, zusammenfallen'; OS *wīkan* (I cl.) 'weichen', OHG *wīhhan* (Ia cl.) 'eine Richtung nehmen, weichen' and the derivatives: Germ. dial. *wicken* 'to rush about, beat about', Swed. *vicka* 'to sway, dangle'; ON *svīkva*, *sýkva* (*u*-praes.), *svīkja* (I cl.) 'betrügen, verraten', OE *swīcan* (I cl.) 'verlassen, betrügen', poet. 'fortgehen, wandern', OS *swīkan* (I cl.) 'verlassen, im Stiche lassen, betrügen', 'ermatten', OHG *swīhhan* (Ia cl.) 'verlassen, im Stiche lassen; ermatten, nachlassen'; and the derivatives: OE *swician* 'schweifen, wandern, betrügen'; OHG *swihhōn* 'wander'; the following Lith. words are belonging to this group but showing circumflex: *svaigti*, praes. 3 *svaigsta* 'Schwindel bekommen' and *vigrūs* 'prompt',—are treated below in the section «Exceptions from Winter's law», p. 494, No. 25, p. 497, No. 6; see Fraenk. II, 947, 953; Falk—Torp II, 1215—1216; Pok. 1042 (*sueig-*) || There is also a variant *ueik-*; see Fraenk. II, 953; Абаев IV, 108—109; Falk—Torp II, 1376—1377; Pok. 1130—1131 (*ueik-*, *ueig-*).

33. ? Lith. *trīesti*, praes. 1 sg. *trīedžiu* 'habe Durchfall', praet. 1 sg. *trīedžiau* 'starken Durchfall haben', *trýsti*, praes. 1 sg. *trýstu*, praet. 1 sg. *trýdau* 'Durchfall bekommen', *traidà*, pl. *traídos* 'Durchfall, Diarrhöe', *traidžioti* 'Durchfall haben', usually explained as \**tr-i-d-*;

<sup>69</sup> SSKJ V: *vējiti se*, praes. 1 sg. *vějīm se* 'postajati vegast, kriv'; Pl.: *vėgniti se*, praes. 1 sg. *vėgnem se* 'kippen; sich werfen, schief werden'.

the analysis of the following word should be analogous: Lith. *tren-dėti*, praes. 1 sg. *trėndu* ‘von Motten, Würmern zerfressen werden’ < \**tr-n-d-* || OInd. *tr̥ṇátti* (< \**tr̥-ne-d-ti*), pf. *ta-tárda*, themat. stem *tardati*, caus. *tardayati* ‘durchbohren, spalten’, *tárdman-* n. ‘Loch, Öffnung’, *tardáh* m. ‘ein Insekt (?)’, *pra-tr̥d-* ‘aufspießend’, *á-tr̥ṇṇah* ‘gespalten’, *tr̥diláh* ‘zersprengend’ or ‘durchbohrt’<sup>70</sup>, *tradáh* ‘einer der (durch Bohren) eröffnet’; Proto-Indo-Aryan \**triḍḍa-* ‘locust, grasshopper’ (Turner CDIAL and Add., No. 6024); Welsh *trwyddo* ‘bohren’; see Fraenk. II, 1122, 1108, 1117—1118; Mayrhofer I, 521—522, 486, 523, 530; Mayrhofer EWA I, 633—634, 665, 674; Pok. 1076; cf. WH I, 529.

34. Latv. *viēbt*, 1 sg. praes. *viēbiu*, 1 sg. praet. *viēbu* ‘(das Gesicht) verziehen’, *viēbties* ‘sich drehen, verdrehen; das Gesicht verstellen, Grimassen schneiden’ and ‘sich verkleiden’; Lith. *vỹburti*, 1 sg. praes. *vỹburiu* and *vỹburioti*, 1 sg. praes. *vỹburioju* ‘wedeln’ || Lat. *vibrō* ‘to put in motion, stir, sway, shake; (med.-pass.) tremble’; Goth. *weipan* (I cl.) ‘στεφνοῦν, bekränzen’, *wipja* f. ‘Kranz’, *waips* m. ‘στέφανος, Kranz’, *faúr-waipjan* ‘verbinden’, ON *veipr* ‘Kopfbinde, Kopftuch’, *veipa* ‘weibliche Kopftracht’, Norw. dial. *veipa* ‘wickeln, eine Peitsche schwingen’; OE *wīpian* ‘wischen’; MLG *wīpen* ‘schleudern’, OHG *weif* ‘Binde, Kopfbinde’, MHG *weifen* (a weak verb) ‘schwingen, haspeln’, *wīfen* (Ia cl.) ‘schwingen, winden’; Fraenk. II, 1236—1237, 1242—1243; WH II, 780—781; Feist 559—560; Pok. 1131—1132 (\**ueib-*, \**ueip-*).

35. Lith. *vėidas* (3) ‘face; face, look, appearance’, pl. ‘cheeks’, Šl. *vėidas* (3) ‘twarz’, *veidai* ‘policzki’, OLith. *vėidas* ‘twarz, oblicze, obliczność’ (1 a. p.: instr. sg. *wėidu* DP 489<sub>54</sub>, *wėidu* DP 29<sub>25</sub>, 32<sub>8</sub>, 106<sub>28</sub>, 161<sub>50</sub>, 229<sub>17</sub>, 430<sub>18</sub>, 538<sub>6</sub>, 617<sub>21</sub>, *wė[i]du* DP 427<sub>6</sub>, nom. pl. *wėidai* DP 356<sub>29</sub>) ~ Latv. *veīds* ‘Form, Aussehen’; Lith. *veizdėti*, praes. 1 sg. *vėizdmi*, *vėizdžiu* ‘sehen, schauen, nach etw. sehen’ ~ Latv. *viēdēt* (Selsau, Setzen), *viēdēt* (Bauske, Nigr., Serbigal) ‘sehen, Sehvermö-

<sup>70</sup> The latter translation is preferred by Mayrhofer (EWA I, 665), the former one was suggested by Geldner and was accepted by Elizarenkova in her translation of Rigveda.

gen besitzen; mit Mühe sehen, wahrnehmen'; Lith. *išvysti*, praes. 1 sg. *išvystu*, praet. 1 sg. *išvystau* 'to sea', *pavydėti* 'to envy, be jealous' ~ Latv. *vidēt* 'gönnen' ~ Slav. \**viděti*, praes. sg. 1 *vīdjo*, 3 *vīdītь* 'to see' (Russ. *búgemь*, praes. 1 sg. *búжу*, Ukr. *búgimu*; SCr. *bùgjemu*), *věděti* 'to know' (ORuss. *вѣдѣти* [Чуд. 128<sup>1</sup>, 133<sup>4</sup>, 140<sup>4</sup>, 162<sup>4</sup>], Sloven. *védȇti* 'wissen'); Slav. \**vīdъ* 'look(s), appearance, view, etc.', \**věstь* 'news, message' with the loss of the reflex of acute in the mobile accentual paradigm || OInd. *védas* 'Kenntnis, Umsicht', Avest. *vaēdah-* 'Besitz'; Grk. *εἶδος* n. 'form, shape; form, kind, nature'; OInd. *vetti*, *vidmási*, *vidánti* 'wissen', perf. *véda*, pl. *vidmá*, inf. *vidmáne* (= Grk. *ἴδμεναι*) 'wissen', Avest. (Gath.) *vīdvanōi*; Grk. *εἶδομαι* 'to see, perceive, behold; to experience', perf. *οἶδα*, pl. *ἴδμεν* 'ich weiß', *ἰδέα* 'speciēs', *ἴστωρ* 'wissend, Zeuge', *ἴδρις* 'kundig'; Lat. *videō*, *-ēre*; ON *vit* 'weise, klug'; Goth. *witan* (praet. *witaida*) 'auf etw. sehen, beobachten', ON *vita*, OE *be-witian* 'beobachten, bestimmen', OHG *gi-wizzēn*, *ir-wizzēn* 'acht geben'; see Fraenk. II, 1212—1213, 1214—1216; Фасмер I, 312, 283, 304; Trautmann BSW 357—358; Mayrhofer III, 214; Frisk I, 451—452, 708, 710, II, 357; WH I, 784—785; Feist 569; Pok. 1125—1127.

Diphthongal combinations with *-l-*

36. Lith. *álksna* 'Lache, Sumpf' < \**olg-snā* || OInd. *ḡjīṣá-ḡ* 'klebrig, glatt, schlüpfrig'; Lat. *algā* f. 'Seegras, Seetang'; Norw. dial. *alka* 'suedeln, sauen', LGerm. *alken* 'in unreinen Sachen rühren, in Schmutz treten'; Norw. dial. *ulka* 'Schimmel, Schleim; unreinliches Weib', *ulka* 'eiern, ekeln', *olga* 'ekeln'; cf. dial. North Russ. *о́льра* 'bog' (see Фасмер III, 137; a loan-word, but from what source? Finn. *alho* 'hollow, lowland' (?); cf. Būga RR I, 472); Fraenk. I, 8; Mayrhofer I, 120—121; WH I, 28—29; Pok. 305.

37. ? Lith. *bélsti*, praes. 1 sg. *béldžiu* 'to knock, rap', coll. 'to tell/talk quickly, with animation', Latv. *bełzt*<sup>71</sup>, praes. *beļžu* 'schlagen';

<sup>71</sup> Back-formation: *-z-* instead of *-s-* because of mixing of the ablaut rows — Latv. *ž* < \**dj* and \**zj*.

Lith. *bildėti*, praes. 1 sg. *bildu* ‘poltern, rumpeln’ || Norw. dial. *bolta* ‘poltern, vorwärtsstürmen’, ODan. *bolte* ‘sich rollen’, Swed. *bulta* ‘klopfen’; Lat. *fullō*, gen. sg. *fullōnis* m. ‘fuller, felter’, *fullāre* (Gl.) ‘mit den Füßen austreten, walken’ from *\*bhǵdō* (or *\*bhǵdo-* ‘Stößel’ = *Bolz* etc.)<sup>72</sup>; ON *boltr* m. Bn. (anorw.), Nlcel. *bolti* ‘Ball, Eisennagel’, MLG *bolte*, OE *bolt*, OHG *bolz* ‘Bolzen’ (< *\*bhǵdo-*); see Fraenk. I, 39; WH I, 560—561; Pok. 124.

38. Latv. *baļgans* ‘weißlich’ || OInd. *bhārgas-* n. ‘strahlender Glanz’ (*\*bhelgos-*), *Bhṛgavaḥ* pl. ‘mythische Priester des Blitzfeuers’; see Mayrhofer II, 479—480, 517—518; Pok. 124.

39. ? Lith. *dilgti* ‘von Nesseln verbrannt werden’, dial. ELith. (Šl.) *dilgti*, praes. 1 sg. *dilgstu*, praet. 1 sg. *dilgau* ‘parzyć się pokrywą’, Lith. *dilgė* ‘Nessel, Brennessel’ || Ir. *delg* ‘Dorn, Tuchnadel’; ON *dálkr* ‘Nadel zum Befestigen des Mantel; Dolch, Messer’, OE *dalc* m. ‘Spange’; ?? Lat. *falx*, gen. sg. *falcis* ‘Sichel, Sense, Winzermesser’ is viewed as a back-formation from *falcula* f. ‘a small sickle or a garden knife’, what is borrowed from Ligur. (?) *\*đalkla* < *\*dhal-tla* or, as is supposed in Pok. 247, < *\*dhalg-tlā*; because of the unclear quantitative relations in the root vowel the possibility of the long diphthong is not excluded; see Fraenk. I, 81; WH I, 449—450; de Vries 72; Pok. 247 (*\*dhelg-*).

40. Slav. *\*dǫlga* f. (Bulg. dial. *glára* f. ‘splint (medical)’, Czech *dláha* f. ‘splint’, ‘bearded beam in the floor, in the bridge flooring, etc.’, dial. *dláha* f. ‘bearded beam’, Slovak *dlaha* f. ‘splint’; SCr. dial. [Čak.: Vodice, Istra] *dlāžica* f. ‘dašćica za uravnavanje slomljenih kostiju’; SCr. (PCA) *glâr* m. ‘id.’; probably a. p. c with the natural loss of the reflex of acute, in SCr. (PCA) *glára* there is an accentual innovation connected with the accentuation of the masculine stem) || OIr. *dluigim* ‘spalte’, *dluige* (< *\*dlogjo-*) ‘das Spalten’; ON *talkn* n. ‘Fischbein, Walbarte’, Nlcel. *tálkn* n. ‘gill’, Norw. *tōkn*, dial. *tolkn* ‘Fischkiemen’, properly ‘das gespaltene’; Swed. *tolk* ‘Keil’, MHG *zolch* ‘Klotz, Lümmel’; all the cited forms point to the IE root *\*delg-*

<sup>72</sup> For the assimilation *-ld-* > *-ll-* in Lat., cf. *percellō* < *\*perceldō*.

or can go back to this root; in this case the following verbal stem with the \*-gh-enlargement does not belong here: ON *telgja* (a weak verb) 'behauen, zuschneiden, schnitzen, schneiden', *talga* f. 'das Schneiden', *talga* (a weak verb) 'schneiden, hauen',—on which all the reconstruction of the IE root \**delgh-* is based; see Skok I, 416—417; ЭССЯ 5, 61; Fraenk. I, 81; de Vries 581, 586; Pok. 196 (\**del-gh-*, \**dl-egh-*, \**dolgho-*).

41. Slav. \**mělzti*, praes. 1 sg. \**mьlzq* (ORuss. *мѣлзти, мѣлзѣ* 'to churn butter', Russ. ChSlav. *мѣлѣти, мѣлзѣ* 'to milk (a cow, etc.)', Bulg. *мѣлзѣ, мѣлзѣх* 'id.', SCr. *mùsti*); \**mělzivo* 'colostrum, foremilk' (a. p. a: Russ. *молóзиво*, Ukr. *молóзиво*, etc.; Sloven. *mlézuvo* n., *mlézuva* f.) ~ Lith. *mélžti, milžti*, praes. 1 sg. *mélžiu* 'to milk (a cow, etc.)'; *malži* (4 < \*3) adj. f. 'good milch, milk-producing (of cow)'; iter. *málžyti* 'to milk' || Grk. *ἀμέλω* 'to milk (a cow, etc.)'; to suck up, drink; to squeeze out like milk, press out', *ἀμολγεύς* m. 'milk-pail', *ἀμόλγιον* n. 'a small milk pail', *ἰππ-ημολγοί* 'Stutenmelker', *ἀμολγός* m. 'time of evening twilight or morning twilight (< \*'milking-time'?)'; milker, exploiter'; Mlr. *bligim* 'ich melke' (-I-), *mlicht, blicht* 'Milch' (Pok. 723: < \**młg-tu-s*, WH II, 121: < \**młg-tis*), Welsh *blith* m. 'Milch; milchgebend' < \**młg-ti-*; Lat. *mulgeō, mulsī*, part. *mulsus, mulgēre* 'to milk (a cow, etc.)' < \**młgēiō* or < \**molgēiō* (iter.); OE *melcam*, OHG *melchan* 'melken'; probably the following word does not belong to this root: OInd. *mārṣti, mārjati, mṛjāti* 'wischt, reibt ab, reinigt', it is well connected with Grk. *ὀμόργνυμι* 'to wipe', etc., the semantic relation 'milk' < 'erase' being not obligatory; see Fraenk. I, 434—435; Фасмер II, 644—645; Trautmann BSW 178; Frisk I, 91, 94, 91—92; II, 389—390; WH II, 121, 76; Pok. 722—723, 738; Mayrhofer II, 670—671.

42. Lith. *saldùs* (3) 'sweet'; dial. *sáldus*, f. *sáldi* (1?) (LKK VII, 183) ~ Latv. *sal̃ds* 'süß'<sup>73</sup>; the verbal forms showing circumflex intonation

<sup>73</sup> Latv. *sāls* (*i*-stem, m./f.) 'Salt' with abnormal falling tone of the long monophthong cannot be considered to be a Slavic loan-word, since this word is too widespread in the dialects (Mühl.—Endz. III, 802—803; Endz.—Haus. II, 470). Latv. *sāls* is the direct successor of the IE athematic noun for 'salt' (see Note below) and Latv. *ā*

are analysed below, p. 494, No. 22 and p. 500, No. 15; Slav. \**sôldьkь*, \**soldьkà*, \**sôldьko* ‘sweet’ a. p. c (Дыбо СА 94—107, esp. p. 102) with the loss of the reflex of acute || Lat. nom. sg. *sāl* (in all likelihood < \**sald*, not from \**sāld*<sup>74</sup>), gen. sg. *sālis* ‘salt’; *sallō*, -*ěre* ‘to salt’ (< \**saldō*), *salsus* ‘salty’ (< \**sald-tos*); Arm. *alt* (< \**sald*) ‘salt’ in топониму, i. e. ‘alkali soil, saline land’ (Джаукян Очерки 235; Туманян 219); Germ. \**salt* n.: Goth. *salt*, ON *salt*, OE *sealt*, OS *salt*, OHG *salz* ‘Salz’; adj. ON *saltr*, OE *sealt*, OF *salt* ‘salzig’; Goth. *saltan*, OE *sealtan* (praet. *seólt*, part. praet. *sealten*) ‘to salt’, OHG *salzan* (praet. *sialz*) ‘salzen’; OS *sultia*, OFrank. *sulta* ‘sea-water’, MDu. *sult*, *sulte*, *silte* ‘pekel, gezouten spijs’, OHG *sulza* ‘Salzwasser, Sulzwürst’; MLG *sole* ‘Salzwasser’ ⇒ early NHG *sul*, *sol* ‘Salzwasser, Salzbrühe’; Fraenk. 752; Mühl.—Endz. III, 669, 802, 802—803; WH II, 465—466; Frisk I, 78—79; Toller 700; EWD III, 1470—1471, 1649, 1762; de Vries NEW 871, 872; Falk—Torp II, 946, 1226; Pok. 879, 878—879 (\**sal-d-* to \**sal-* ‘Salz’).

Note. Above I follow the traditional analysis of Lat. nom. *sāl* as \**sald* (accepted e. g. in WH), but probably more natural way is to reconstruct IE athematic noun \**sāl-s* > \**sāl*, acc. \**sāl-ṃ*, gen. \**sāl-os/es* ‘salt’ yielding Lat. *sāl*, *sālem*, *sālis* and Grk. ἅλας (analogical), acc. ἅλα, gen. ἅλος ‘salt’. As usually this athematic stem can be replaced by an *i*-stem in some languages (Slav. \**solь* ‘salt’, Latv. *sāls* ‘id.’, Arm. *at* ‘id.’, Lat. archaic [Enn.] *sale* ‘id.’, Grk. ἅλι- in ἅλιος, ἕλινος, etc.). Probably *d*-suffix primarily formed an adjective stem \**sal-d-* ‘sweet’/‘salty’ (Balto-Slav. \**saldu-*; Lat. denom. *sallō*; Arm. *alt* [*i*-stem]), while substantive meaning of Germ. \**salt* n. is secondary.

43. Latv. *spuļgs* ‘glänzend, leuchtend, schimmernd’, *spuļguôt* ‘glänzen, funkeln’, *spuļģis* ‘der Funkelnde = der Morgenstern’,

goes back to the long grade of this noun. As for accent, in all likelihood we have to assume now that the IE «anorganic» long vowels in the athematic nouns (i. e. long grade) regularly yield circumflex tone (not acute!) in Balto-Slavic. It is verified not only by Latv. *sāls* and *gūovs* ‘Kuh’, but also by the Lith. forms like: *šuō*, *duktē*, *sesuō*, *dubuō*, *vanduō*, *piemuō*, *akmuō*, etc.

The strange correspondence Lith. dial. *sólymas* (1) ‘sūrymas’ (LKŽ XIII, 289) ~ Latv. *sālīms*<sup>2</sup> (Kurs.) ‘die Salzlake’ in all likelihood is explained as borrowing of Latv. *sālījums* (thus Būga RR II, 418) or Latv. \**sālīms* into Lithuanian.

<sup>74</sup> I accept the explanation of the long grade put forward by Szemerényi as the best grounded at present time; see Семереньи ВСЯ<sup>1</sup>, § 2.7.1 ff.

*spuīgans*, *spiīgans* ‘schillernd, glänzend’ (Mühl.—Endz. III, 1028, 1029) || OInd. *phalgúḥ* ‘rötlich, rot, hellfarben’, *phálgunaḥ* ‘rötlich, rot, hellfarben’; Germ. \**flinka-* ‘flimmernd, auch von rascher Bewegung’ with the nasal infix: NHG *flink* ‘rasch, schnell’, *flinkern* ‘glänzen, schimmern’, MHG *kupfervlinke* ‘Kupfererz’; NHG *flunkern* ‘flimmern; einem etwas vormachen’; an attempt to connect OInd. *phalgúḥ* with Lat. *fulgēre* ‘to flash, sparkle, shine’ (Krček 1914, 246 f.) is rejected in WH I, 511, where the reconstruction of the root of the Latin verb is given as \**bhl̥g-*, but this does not actually exhaust the problem, as according to the results of Th. Siebs’ study, when *s* mobile was present (in this case we definitely deal with this element) the inlaut voiced consonant became voiceless, i. e. \**bh-* > \**ph-*; see Fraenk. II, 858; Mayrhofer II, 395—396; Mayrhofer EWA II, 202—203; WH I, 510—511; Pok. 987 (\**(s)p(h)elg-*).

Latv. *plaīnga* (Salis, Ruj., Widdrisch, Zögenhof) ‘eine Blatter (U.), eine Blase (wie von Spanisch-Fliegen-Pflaster oder wie am abgeriebenen Fusse); ein roter Ausschlag mit grossen Flecken (U.)’, *plūnga* (Karls., Ruj.) ‘eine Blase an den Händen von harter Arbeit’, *pleīnga* (Wolmarshof) ‘eine Brandblase’ (Mühl.—Endz. III, 319, 357, 336) || OInd. *spḥuliṅga-* m. ‘Funke’; see Fraenk. II, 858; Pok. 987; Mayrhofer III, 545.

44. Latv. *stuībs* (Saikava) ‘ein Haus ohne Dach’, *stuībs* ‘betäubt, verblüfft’, *stiībs* ‘Schienbein’ ~ Latv. *stūl̥bs*, Lith. dial. (Žemaitic) *stuības* (2) ‘Pfosten’ (LKŽ XIII, 1021); Slav. \**stǔlbъ*: Russ. *cmóлб*, gen. sg. *cmóлбá*, SCr. *stūb*, gen. sg. *stúba* m. ‘stup, stožer’ (Byk and RJA XVI, 791—792); Sloven. *stólb* m. ‘der Pfahl, die Saule’; Slav. \**stǔlbā*: Ukr. *cmóвба* f. ‘Pfughaupt’; Bulg. *cmǔлба* f. ‘ladder’, (Gerov) *cmǔлба* f. ‘ladder; step, rung; branch, twig’; SCr. *cmǔба* f. ‘die Baumleiter (aus einem nicht knapp behauenen Baumstamm)’ (Byk), *cmǔбе* f. pl. ‘stairs’; Sloven. *stólba* f. ‘die Stufe, die Staffel; (pl.) die Stiege’; ? Slav. \**stǔlbъ*: Sloven. *stòlb*, gen. sg. *stólba* m. ‘die Stufe’; Balto-Slav. forms showing circumflex (Latv. *stūl̥bs*, Lith. dial. *stuības* [2], Slav. \**stǔlbъ*) are probably result of the contamination with the parallel formation in *-p*: Latv. *stūlps*, Lith. *stuīpas* (4 < \*2?) ‘columna, turris’,

Slav. \**stьlъpъ* ‘id.’ || ON *stolpi* m. ‘Pfeiler, Säule’, ME *stulpe*, MLG *stolpe* ‘Balken, Pfosten’; de Vries 551; Pok. 1020, 1019—1020 (\**stelb-*, \**stelp-* ‘Pfosten’ to \**stel-* ‘stellen’).

45. Lith. *vilgyti*, praes. 1 sg. *vilgau*, praet. 1 sg. *vilgiau* ‘to wet, moisten’; *vilgti*, praes. 1 sg. *vilgstu*, praet. 1 sg. *vilgu* ‘feucht, naß werden’ ~ Latv. *vilgt*, praes. 1 sg. *vilgstu*, praet. 1 sg. *vilgu* ‘feucht werden’; Lith. *válgyti* ‘essen’ ~ Latv. *vaígs* ‘feucht’, *valdzítiés* ‘feucht werden’; Slav. \**vólga* (Russ. dial. *волóра* ‘liquid, liquid fat as a seasoning; dish, food; boiled beef, fish and in general seasoning to shchi or fish-soup, also boiled liquid food’, Ukr. *волóра* ‘fat liquid’; Bulg. *влáра* ‘humidity, dampness; liquid; rain’, SCr. *влàра* ‘moisture, dampness’, Sloven. *vlága*; Czech *vláha*, Slovak *vlaha*; HSorb. *wlóha* [Дыбо 1963, 66]), \**vólžiti* (Russ. dial. *волóжить*, praes. sg. 1 *волóжу*, 2 *волóжишь* ‘to wet, moisten; season food with *волóра* (fat, butter, sour-cream); to butter; put shortening in the dough’, Ukr. *волóжуму* ‘to wet, moisten’; SCr. *влàжуму*, praes. 1 sg. *влàжум* ‘to wet, moisten; to irrigate’, Sloven. *vlážiti*, praes. 1 sg. *vlážim* ‘feucht machen, befeuchten’); \**vólgnoti* (Russ. *во́лгнуть*; SCr. *вѣ́гнуми*, praes. 1 sg. *вѣ́гнѣм* ‘to become wet’, Sloven. *odvólgniti*, praes. 1 sg. *odvólgnem* [SSKJ III, 329] <sup>75</sup>; Slovak *vlnút*), \**vólga* (Sloven. *vóthək*, f. *vóthka*; Slovak *vľhký*, *vľhko* adv.) || all the group belongs to the IE root \**uelg-*: OE *wolcen* ‘Wolke’, OS *wolkan* n., OHG *wolkan* n. ‘cloud’; OHG *welc* ‘feucht, milde, welk’; ME *welkin* ‘welken’, MDu. *welken* ‘fade’, OHG *wēlkēn*, *vēlchēn*; there is probably a secondary variant \**uelk-*: Ir. *folcaim* ‘bade, wasche’, Welsh *golchi* ‘wash’, Corn. *golhy*, Bret. *gwalc’hi* ‘waschen’; Ir. *folc* ‘Wasserflut’; OHG *welh* ‘feucht, milde, welk’, (*ir*)*welhēn* ‘weich, schwach werden’, MLG *welen* ‘welken’; Lith. *valkà*, gen. sg. *valkōs*, acc. sg. *valkq* (4) ‘puddle’ (Būga RR I, 492; II, 152), ELith. (Šl.) *valkà* (4) ‘kałuža’; WLatv. *vaľka*<sup>2</sup> ‘eine morastige Wiese; eine Waldwiese; eine nasse Stelle in einer Wiese (hier auch: eine solche im Morast); ein nierig gelegener, feuchter Ort’, *vaľks*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>75</sup> In Plet. I, 794; II, 784: *odvólgniti*, *vólgniti*, without any indication of the new circumflex metatony in the presence of this verb, what can be explained by a mere error.



subst. ‘ein Waldbächlein, ein kleiner Bach, ein Regenbach (der bei warmem Wetter austrocknet), ein mit Gras verwachsenes Flüsschen; ein Bach, der durch einen Morast fließt; eine Wiese, durch die ein Bach fließt; ein Wiesenstreifen am Bachufer; eine morastige Wiese; ein Morast; ein niedrig gelegener, feuchter Ort; ein feuchter Ort, durch den ein Bach fließt’ and *valks* ‘feucht’, one should probably reconstruct circumflex for Baltic in this variant; the minimal distinction between these variants makes the supposition about as long diphthong or a heavy disyllabic base doubtful (cf. Trautmann BSW 359) for the explanation of the Balto-Slavic acute in the derivatives with the first variant of the root <sup>76</sup>; see Fraenk. II, 1189—1190, 1251, 1191; Фасмер I, 337, 340; Trautmann BSW 358—359; Franck—van Wijk 785; Pok. 1145—1146.

46. (?) Lith. *žvilgėti*, praes. 1 sg. *žvilgiu*, 3 sg. *žvilgi* ‘kurz hinblicken’, *žvilgėti*, praes. 3 sg. *žvilga* ‘glänzen, flimmern’; ELith. dial. (Šl.)

<sup>76</sup> OInd. (RV) *vṛjaní-* cited by Vasmer (and following him BEP I, 160) with translation ‘cloud’ is a result of the direct acceptance of Sāyaṇa’s interpretation. The form in question, loc. pl. *vṛjaníṣu* in RV 1, 164, 9b is explained as ‘in der Wolke’ by Sāyaṇa, but *vṛjaní-* in this meaning remains unparalleled in OInd. texts and it seems to be more naturally to interpret this form merely as a feminine variant of the well-attested *vṛjána-* ‘enclosure, settlement, community’ with the same meaning (thus Oldenberg and Elisarenkova) or as an adj. from this noun, i. e. ‘being in an enclosure (in a pen)’ (thus Елизаренкова Гр., 40), but cf. the doubts in Mayrhofer III, 243; stress shift *vṛjána-* ~ *vṛjaní-* is paralleled by m. *kalyána-* ~ f. *kalyānī-*, m. *púruṣa-* ~ f. *puruṣī-*. Note that *vṛjaní-* is not a hapax in OInd.: except for late lexicographers (Hemacandra, Śabdakalpadruma) who translate *vṛjaní-* as ‘eine Böse That, Sünde’, this word (instr. pl. *vṛjaníbhīḥ*) is attested also in AV 7, 50, 7. The context AV 7, 50, 7 ... *árisṭāso vṛjaníbhīr jayema* run parallel to RV 10, 42, 10 *vayám rájabhiḥ prathamá dhánāny asmákēna vṛjánēnā jayema* ‘may we win ... together with the kings, together with the members of our community’ (i. e. instr. pl. *vṛjaníbhīḥ* corresponds to instr. sg. *vṛjánēnā* from *vṛjána-*), but traditional translation of *vṛjaníbhīḥ* is ‘Ränke, Tücke’, i. e. ... *árisṭāso vṛjaníbhīr jayema* is translated as ‘durch Ränke nicht versehrt...’ or similarly ‘may we, unharmed, win ... by a trick’; however, the mere translation of *vṛjaní-* as ‘vṛjána-’ is also possible here: ‘may we, unharmed, win ... together with the members of our community’.

In any case, being disputable RV *vṛjaní-* cannot validate the structure of the root.

*žvālgai*, gen. *žvālgu* pl. ‘zwiady’, *žvālgas* (1) ‘obserwator, wywiadowca’ (variant *žvaīlgas* 4) || Grk. θέλγω ‘bezaubern, betören, täuschen, beschwichtigen’, (Pok. 490; Frisk I, 658—659: as an obscure word); see Fraenk. II, 1325, 1326—1327; Frisk I, 658—659; Pok. 490.

## Diphthongal combinations with -r-

47. ? Latv. *īrbs* ‘Stricknadel’, *īrbulis* ‘Pflöckchen, Griffel’; Lith. *ūrbinti* ‘to bore, drill; to hollow out, gouge’ ~ Latv. *ūrbīnāt* ‘fortwährend, wiederholt bohren, durchlöchern’; if we accept a genetic connection between these two words the circumflex intonation in Lith. *ūrbti*, praes. 1 sg. *urbiù*, praet. 1 sg. *urbiaū* ‘bohren’ ~ Latv. *ūrbt*, praes. 1 sg. *ūrbju*, praet. 1 sg. *ūrbu* ‘bohren’ is explained by the *j*-metatony || Grk. ἄρβηλος ‘rundes Schustermesser’ (Frisk I, 130: «Fremdwort unbekanntem Ursprungs»); see Fraenk. II, 1169—1170; Pok. 333 (\**ereb-*, \**orob-*, \**rōb-*).

48. ? Latv. *īrbe* in *meža īrbe* ‘Haselhuhn’, *lauka-īrbe* ‘Feldhuhn’; Lith. dial. *īrbé* ‘Haselhuhn’, *īerbé* ‘Haselhuhn’ || ON *jarpi* m. ‘Haselhuhn’, MLG and MDu. *erpel* ‘Enterich’ (in the contrast to the light-coloured hen); ON *jarpr* adj. ‘braun’, OE *eorp*, *earp* ‘dunkelfarbig, schwärzlich’, OHG *erpf* ‘fuscus; dunkelfarbig’; but Grk. ὀφινός ‘finster, dunkel, dunkelfarbig, dunkelbraun’, likelier to Arm. *arjn* ‘dunkelbraun’ < IE \**org<sup>h</sup>hen-*; there is no indication of the root structure, another lengthening factor is not excluded for Baltic forms; see Fraenk. I, 193—194; Trautmann BSW 104—105; Frisk II, 431—432; de Vries 291; Pok. 334.

49. Lith. *érdéti*, praes. 3 *érdéja* ‘to ravel out (*intr.*)’; *árda* (LKŽ I, 292) and the secondary standard variant *ardà* (4) ‘quarrel, discord’; Lith. dial. (Jušk.) *árdus*, *árdžiai* (LKŽ I, 296) ~ Latv. *ārdīt* (Salis, Matk.) ‘Zusammengefügtes trennen; Zusammengelegtes auseinanderbreiten, spreiten; etw. Aufgebautes auseinandernehmen, niederreißen; übertr., zerstören; Geläufigkeit, Gewandtheit der Rede verleihen; geschwind, gewandt etw. verrichten’ || OInd. *árdati*, *ṛdāti* ‘zerstiebt’, ‘fließt, löst sich auf’, caus. *ardáyati* ‘macht fließen, löst auf,

bedrängt, quält', ? *rdū-* 'Feuchtigkeit'; Grk. ἄρδᾶ 'Schmutz'; Germ. \**artian* (ON *erta* 'aufreizen, necken'); see Fraenk. I, 15—16; Mayrhofer I, 51, 123; Frisk I, 134; de Vries 105; Pok. 334.

50. ? Lith. *burgėti*, praes. 3 *būrga* 'to spout, boil over, seethe', (Žemaitic) 'brummen, zanken, unfreundlich sein' ~ Lat. *biŕga* 'Dunst, Qualm'; but Lith. *biŕgelas* 'dünnes Bier' (see Būga II, 700, 723), also *biŕgalas* and *biŕgelis* (1) (LKŽ I, 842, 843) — probably the result of metatony, cf. the immobile accentual type side by side with the mobile verbal stress in Lith. and broken tone in Latvian || OInd. *bhurájanta* 'kochend' (RV), *bhrjjáti* 'röstet', *bhrṣṣtaḥ* 'geröstet, gebraten', *bhrāṣṣtraḥ* 'Röstpfanne', *bhraj(j)ayati* 'röstet, brät', *bharjanaḥ* 'röstend, bratend', *bharjana-* n. 'Röstpfanne', *bhjjana-* n. 'Röstpfanne', MPers. *barštan* 'braten', MPers. *brišt*, Pers. *birišt* 'gebraten', Baluchi *briḡag*, *brēḡag* 'rösten'; Lat. *fertum* 'eine Art Opferkuchen', OLat. *ferctum*, part. praet. pass. from \**fergō* 'backe'; OIr. *bairen* 'Brot'; Fraenk. I, 44, 66; WH I, 486—487; Mayrhofer II, 520—521 and 507—508; Mayrhofer EWA II, 278; Pok. 137 (\**bhereg-* 'rösten, backen', to \**bher-*<sub>6</sub> 'brummen').

51. ? Latv. *baīgs* 'streng, barsch, hart, heftig, unfreundlich, zornig' || Arm. *bark* 'herb, scharf, heftig, zornig'; OIr. *borb*, *borp* 'töricht', MÍr. *borb* 'roh, unwissend', NÍr. *borb* 'barsch'; Swed. dial. *bark* 'eigensinniger unfreundlicher Mensch', *barkun* 'rauh, barsch'; Mühl.—Endz. I, 263—264; Trautmann BSW 27; Джаукян Гр. 183; Pok. 163 (\**bhorg<sup>u</sup>V-s* 'barsch, unfreundlich'); the comparison itself does not give enough material for the analysis of the vocalic structure of the root; this material can, however, be obtained if we return to Bezenberger's and Fick's comparison: OE *beorcan* 'bellen', 'bark' (III,3 cl.), *borcian* 'to bark'; ON *berkja* 'toben; prahlen'; Lith. *burgėti*, praes. 3 *būrga* 'spout, seethe', (Žemaitic) 'brummen, zanken, unfreundlich sein' and the cognates cited in the previous entry<sup>77</sup>; see Bezenberger // BB

<sup>77</sup> The following words are often referred here: SCr. *брѣлати* 'to chatter, talk unceasingly; to talk nonsense; to mutter', *брѣлати* (Вук) 'говорити брзо да се не може разумјети, schnell und unverständlich sprechen, blatero'; cf. SCr. *брѣлати* 'to chatter, talk unceasingly; to talk nonsense; to mutter', Lith. *burbėti*, praes. 1 sg. *burbiu*

XXVI, 167; Fick Wrtb. III<sup>4</sup>, 568; Mühl.—Endz. I, 263—264; de Vries 33; Pok. 138—139.

52. ? Lith. *gárbana* 1 a. p. 'lock, curl', *gárbanotas* 'lockig, kraus', *gárbanoti* '(Haare) in Locken legen, kräuseln'; Slav. \**gǫrba* (SCr. *gǫrba* f. 'Buckel, Höcker', слов. *gr̥ba* f. 'der Höcker, der Buckel; die Runzel; die Spannerraupe; die Barbe') || Nicel. *korpa* f. 'Runzel, Falte', Icel. *korþna* 'sich zusammenziehen, zusammenschrumpfen, (ON) hinschwinden'; Ir. *gerbach* 'runzelig'; with the nasal infixation: Germ. \**krampian* > ON *kreppa* 'klemmen, zusammendrücken, krümmen', MHG *krempfen* 'zusammenziehen'; see Fraenk. I, 135; Trautmann BSW 78; Skok I, 610; Jóhannesson 351; Pok. 387.

53. ? Lith. *gĩrgždėti*, praes. 1 sg. *gĩrgždžiu* 'knarren' || OInd. *garjati* 'tost, brüllt, brummt'; Arm. *karkač* 'Lärm'; OE *cracian*, *cearcian* 'erschallen', OHG *krāhhon* 'krachen'; cf. also Grk. γαργαρίζω 'to gurgle', Lat. *gurgēs* 'Strudel, Wirbel'; see Fraenk. I, 136, 137; Trautmann BSW 87, 92; Mayrhofer I, 327; WH I, 583, 601—602, 615, 624; Pok. 384—385.

54. Lith. *gurdūs* 'slow, sluggish' (4 < \*3 a. p. as everywhere in adj. *u*-stems); Latv. *guŗds* (Arrasch) 'müde, matt', *guŗdas* (Ruj.) 'das Ermatten', *guŗdēns* 'müde, matt; lau (vom Wasser)', *guŗdenība* 'die Mattigkeit, Müdigkeit, Flauheit', *guŗdēnums* 'die Mattigkeit, Müdigkeit, Ermattung' < \**g<sup>u</sup>rd-* || Grk. βραδύς 'langsam, träge, saumselig'; see Fraenk. I, 178; Frisk I, 262—263; cf. WH I, 627; for related Lith. *guŗsti* (praes. 3 *guŗsta*) 'to weaken, grow sickly' (< \**g<sup>u</sup>rd-st-*) without Winter's lengthening see below, p. 493, No. 19.

Note. One should separate it from IE \**g<sup>u</sup>rd-* (> Latv. *guŗt* 'matt, schwach werden', etc.), for which see above, p. 312, No. 33. In Balt. language this two stems probably semantically merged.

55. ? Lith. *kĩrba* 'sumpfige Stelle, Moorgrund'; *kĩrbėti*, praes. 1 sg. *kĩrba* 'zittern, beben' || OInd. *karbú-*, *karburá-*, *karbará-* 'bunt, gefleckt, gesprenkelt'; Grk. Κέρβερος 'Cerberus'; OIr. *coirbim* 'besude-

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'brummen; brodeln (vom siedenden Wasser)'; see Trautmann BSW 39—40; Fraenk. I, 43—44.

le, beflecke'; Fraenk. I, 256; Pok. 578 (\**kerbero-*, *kerbero-* 'scheckig'); Mayrhofer I, 175 (as Austrones. loan, cf. Santāli *kab'ar* 'gesprenkelt').

56. ? Lith. (Žemaitic) *pakirsti*, praes. 1 sg. *pakirstu*, praet. 1 sg. *pakirdau* 'aus dem Schlaf auffahren; wach werden, die Augen aufschlagen', ELith. (Šl.) *pakirsti*, praes. 1 sg. *pakirstu*, praet. 1 sg. *pa-kirdau* 'obudzić ś., ocknać ś.' || Grk. κῤῥᾶδι f. 'Schwinge, Wipfel', κῤῥᾶδάω 'schwinge, schwanke', κῤῥᾶδαίνω 'schwinge, schwanke', κῶρδαξ 'wilder Tanz'; OIr. *fo-cerdaim* 'werfe', Welsh *cerddaf* 'wandle', OBret. *credam* 'vado'; ON *hrata* 'fallen, schwanken, eilen', OE *hratian* 'fallen, schwanken, eilen'; MHG. *scherzen* 'fröhlich springen, sich vergnügen'; the following words point to a long syllabic resonant: Lat. *cardō*, gen. sg. *cardinis* m. (OLat. also f.) 'Türangel, Wendepunkt', properly 'Drehpunkt' and OInd. *kūrdati*, perf. *cukūrda* 'springt, hüpf' (Persson Beitr. 555, 753), but the latter is not reliable because of the variable consonantism: *khūrdate*, *gūrdate*, what probably indicates a loan from Dravidian<sup>78</sup>; the common analysis of this root as an enlargement of the primary root by the determinative *-d-* introduces the row: Grk. σκαίρω 'to skip, dance, frisk', (ᾶ)σκαρίζω 'to jump, throb, palpitate' ~ OInd. *kirāti* / *kiraté* 'streut aus, vergießt, wirft, schleudert', perf. *cakāra* / *cakré*, aor. *ākārīt*, pass. *kīryáte*, part. *kīrná-*, what supports the supposition about the primary character of the long syllabic resonant (the result of the reduction of Bezzenger's combination or a long diphthong), but makes this comparison even more doubtful; the alternative solution put forward by Fraenk. II, 221 sub v. *kaīdas* is even less satisfactory; see Fraenk. I, 259 and 221, II, 801—802; Фасмер III, 654; de Vries 252; WH I, 166—167; Mayrhofer I, 254—255 and 211; Frisk II, 1—2, 714—715; Pok. 933—935.

57. Lith. *mirgėti*, praes. 1 sg. *mirgu*, praet. 1 sg. *mirgėjau* 'flimmern', *mārgas* (3) 'bunt', *mārgis*, *mārgé* 'mottled, speckled animal or bird'; Latv. *miīdzēt*, praes. 1 sg. *miīdzu*, praet. 1 sg. *miīdzēju* 'schim-

<sup>78</sup> Burrow 1947, 375 compares it with Tamil. *kuti*, Kann. *gudi* (\**kurd/gurd*) 'springen', cf. also Kirfel // Lexis 3, 276.

mern, flimmern, funkeln; fein regnen', *mīrgt* 'blinken'; *mīrdzināt* 'schimmern; schimmern lassen, machen; fein regnen'; Lith. *mirksėti*, praes. 3 *mirksi*, praet. 3 *mirksėjo* 'to blink, wink; to shimmer, twinkle' ~ Latv. *mīrkšēt*, *mīrkšķēt* 'mit den Augen blinzeln'; Lith. *mirgúoti*, praes. 3 *mirgúoja*, praet. 3 *mirgāvo* 'to twinkle, shimmer; to be flashy, gaudy, dazzled' ~ Latv. *mīrguôt*, *mīrgât* 'schimmern, flimmern, funkeln, leuchten; fein regnen'; Latv. *mēřguôt* 'sanft regnen', *mēřga*, *mārga*, *mařga* 'sanfter Regen' ~ Slav. \**merci* < \**mergti*: Czech dial. *mřec'* 'to screw up (one's eyes)'; Slav. \**měrgъ* adj.: Ukr. *мереуї* 'brown with dark stripes (of horse coat)'; Slav. \**měrga* f.: Bulg. dial. *мр'ера* 'morning and evening vapour/fume in good weather'; Slav. \**měřiti*: Russ. dial. *мерэжумь* 'to seem (to), appear (to)', 'to dance/flash before one's eyes; to dawn'; Ukr. *мерэжуму* 'to beat, strike' < \*'to make notches, incisions'; BRuss. dial. *мерэжыць* 'to drizzle (down)', *мерэжыцца* 'it seems (to), appears (to)' (Турэўскі слоўнік III, 76); Czech *mřezit se* 'to flash dance/flash before one's eyes in slumber'; Slav. \**mьržiti*, praes. sg. 1 \**mьržjǫ*, 3 \**mьržitъ* (a. p. b, metatony in *i*-iteratives?): Russ. dial. *моржумь* 'wrinkle, knit' (generalisation of the barytonesis of presence?), Sloven. *mřiti se*, praes. 1 sg. *mřim se* (?), 3 sg. in *koruza se mři* 'der Mais rührt sich aus'), Czech *mřúiti* 'to blink, wink', Slovak *mřúiti sa* 'to screw up one's eyes', Polish dial. *mrużyc*, *mrużyc się* (*o oczach*) 'to screw up one's eyes', Slowinish *mružac* 'to blink, wink', praes. *mřúži*, *přamřúži*, *zmrúži*, *l*-part. *zamřúžω*, *zmrúžω*, n. *vamřúžəto*, pl. *přamřúžələ*, *zamřúžələ* (Lorentz PW I, 515); Slav. \**mьrgolěti*, praes. 3 sg. \**mьrgolitъ*: Sloven. *mrgolěti*, praes. 1 sg. *mrgolím* 'wimmeln; flimmern', Czech *mřholiti* 'to drizzle, stream', Slovak *mřholit'* 'to drizzle, stream'; here also belong Slav. \**mьrgāti* 'to wink, blink', Russ. *моромá* 'stuffy air, fog', *морóтнѣй* 'unpleasant, disgusting', *морготь* f. 'vapour, fumes'; pace Fraenk. I, 410—411 it is impossible to separate either in Baltic or in Slavic the stems designating intermittent atmospheric precipitates, from the stems designating light, colour and optic intermittent phenomena || ON *mjǫrkvi*, *myrkvi*, *mǫrkvi* m. 'thick fog', *myrkr*, acc. sg. *myrkvan* adj. 'finster' < Germ. \**merkwiā-*, Danish

*mørk* ‘dark, gloomy; dim’, *mørke* ‘darkness’; OE *mirce* ‘dark, murky’ (Bosworth—Toller 689), OS *mirki* ‘dunkel’; ? Grk. (Nicander) ἀμωρβαῖος ‘dark (?)’ (with Aeol. ωρ- < \*-αρ-?); Pokorny’s reconstruction \**meregh-* ‘benetzen’ is based on Grk. βρέχω ‘benetze, regne, überströme’, βροχή f. ‘Regen, Bewässerung, Überschwemmung’, βροχετός ‘Regen’, what should be kept apart from this comparison for semantic and morphological reasons, cf. Frisk I, 267; see Fraenk. I, 410—411; Φασμερ II, 652, 656—657, 657—658; Bezlaj II, 201; ЭССЯ 18, 98; 20, 5—7; 21, 11; Falk—Torp I, 750 and 104; de Vries 390, 398, 400; Pok. 734, 738 (\**meregh-* ‘benetzen’); cf. Trautmann BSW, 182; Pok. 738; Frisk I, 94—95, 267; for related Lith. *maĩgti* (praes. 1 sg. *margstù*) ‘bunt werden, flimmern’ without Winter’s lengthening see below, p. 493, No. 21.

58. ? Slav. \**mǫrзь* ‘frost, freeze’ (Russ. мороз, gen. sg. морóза, SCr. mpǎz, Sloven. mràz, gen. sg. mráza, Czech mráz, gen. sg. mrazu, Slovak mráz<sup>79</sup>, Polish mróz, gen. sg. mrozu, HSorb. mróz, gen. sg. mróza; Slav. \**mǫrznǫti* ‘to be cold, freeze’ (Russ. мёрзнуть, praes. 1 sg. мёрзну, Ukr. мёрзнути, Bulg. мръзна, SCr. mǫrznuti se, praes. 1 sg. mǫrznēm, Sloven. (Plet.) mǫrzniti, -nem ‘frieren, zu Eis werden’<sup>80</sup>, Czech mrznouti, Slovak mrznút’, praes. 3 sg. mrzne, Polish dial. mażnóć, l-part. f. zamażua (Kucała, 39, 173)) || Alb. *marth* m. ‘starker Frost’, *mardhem* ‘I shiver with cold, I am cold’; OIr. *meirc* ‘Rost’ (< \**mergi-*); MHG *murc* ‘morsch, welk’, ON *morkna* ‘morsch werden, verwelken’ (the traces of the heavy base are considered to be due to the influence of OHG *bruoh* ‘Moorboden, Sumpf’, NHG *Bruch* ‘moor, marsh, fen’, MLG *brōk*, Du. *broek* ‘marshland’, here belongs rarely cited OE *brōc*, Engl. *brook*; but there is an exact external correspondence for this Germ. word: Grk. βράγος · ἔλος ‘bog’ (Hsch.),

<sup>79</sup> With unclear length that is not, however, reflected in the derivatives.

<sup>80</sup> Pleteršnik does not record the transition of acute into the new circumflex, but the verbs with prefix regularly demonstrate it: *namǫrzniti*, praes. 1 sg. *namǫrznem*, *omǫrzniti*, praes. 1 sg. *omǫrznem*, *pomǫrzniti*, praes. 1 sg. *pomǫrznem*, *premǫrzniti*, praes. 1 sg. *premǫrznem*, *primǫrzniti*, praes. 1 sg. *primǫrznem*, *umǫrzniti*, praes. 1 sg. *umǫrznem*, *zmǫrzniti*, praes. 1 sg. *zmǫrznem*, *zamǫrzniti*, praes. 1 sg. *zamǫrznem*.

which although does not exclude decisively comparison of Germ. forms with the Slav. and Alb. words cited above, makes it very doubtful; cf. Pok. 740); see Фасмер II, 656; Trautmann BSW 187; Orel 245; Pok. 740.

59. Slav. \**рьrděti*, 3 sg. \**рьrditъ* ‘pedere’ (Russ. *пергѣть*, Ukr. *пергіму*, BRuss. *пергзѣць*, Bulg. *пъргя*, SCr. *пргјemu*, *пргјѹm*, Sloven. *prděti*, *prđim*, Czech *prděti*, *prđim*, Slovak *prđ(i)et’*, Polish *pierdzieć*, HSorb. *pjerdzjeć*, LSorb. *đerzės*) with the loss of the reflex of the acute of the root in the mobile accentual paradigm ~ Lith. *pérsti*, praes. 1 sg. *pérdžiu* ‘furzen’ ~ Latv. *pīrst*, praes. 1 sg. *peřdu*, praet. 1 sg. *piřdu* ‘furzen, stänkern’ || OInd. (Dhātup.) *párdate* ‘furzt’, ‘pedit’, Avest. *pərədaiti*; Grk. *πέρδω*, praes. 1 sg. *πέρδομαι*, aor. *ἔπαρδον* (< \*-ř-), fut. *παρδήσομαι* (< \*-ř-), perf. *πέπορδα* ‘furzen’, *πράδησις* f. ‘das Furzen’ (< \*-ř-); OE *feortan*, OHG *ferzan* ‘pedere’; Alb. *pjerth* ‘pedo’; Welsh *rhech* ‘Furz’ < \**rikkā* < \**řđ-kā*; see Fraenk. I, 577; Фасмер III, 235—236; Mayrhofer II, 225; Frisk II, 511—512; WH II, 273—274; Pok. 819.

60. ? Slav. *пóргъ* ‘(a part of door construction)’ (a. p. a: Russ. *но-рór*, gen. sg. *норóra*, Ukr. *нопíр*, gen. sg. *нопóры*; Bulg. *пpáг*, with the article *пpáгъm*, SCr. *пpǎг*, Sloven. *pràg*, gen. sg. *prága*; Czech *práh*, Slovak *prah*; Polish *próg*, gen. sg. *progu*), Lith. *pérgas* ‘Fischerkahn’ (< \*‘Einbaum’), ‘Einbaum, Nachen, aus einem ausgehöhlten Baumstamm hergestellter Fischerkahn’ (Sereiskis: ‘dug-out, canoe; ferryboat’), ELith. (Šl.) *pérgas* (3) ‘czółno’ || ON *forkr* m. ‘mit Eisen beschlagene Stange zum Abstossen eines Schiffes’, NSwed. dial. *fork* ‘Tragstange’ (\*ř); Lat. *pergula* ‘annex, shed; hovel, hut; shop’, a diminutive from \**pergā* ‘Gebälk’; the forms are referred to the root \**perg-* ‘schlagen’: Arm. *harkanem*, aor. *hari* ‘schlagen, (Holz) zerhauen’; OIr. *oirggim*, *airrgim* ‘vernichte, zerstöre, töte’; see Fraenk. I, 572; Фасмер III, 329—330; WH II, 288; de Vries 138; Pok. 819—820.

61. ? Slav. \**stercí* < \**sterg-tí*, praes. 1 sg. \**stêrgo* ‘to guard; to watch for’, a. p. c, absence of the stress retraction in inf. \**stercí* (according to Hirt—Illič-Svityč’s law) may also point to Bezenberger’s combination; Lith. *sérgėti*, praes. 1 sg. *sérgiu*, praet. 1 sg. *sérgėjau*



‘guard’, OLith. praes. 1 sg. *sérgmi* ‘I guard’, Lith. *sárgas* (3) ‘guard’ ~ Latv. *saŕgs* ‘guard’; Slav.—Balt. anlaut correspondence is of course irregular || Grk. *στέργω* ‘to love, feel affection’, perf. *ἔστοργα* (Hdt.); see *Φαμερ* III, 757, 768; *Fraenk.* II, 763, 776—777; *Trautmann BSW* 257—258; *Pok.* 1032 (\**sterg-*/\**sterk-*).

62. ? Lith. *skérdėti*, praes. 1 sg. *skérdžiu* ‘Risse bekommen’, ‘to crack (*intr.*), burst’ || OIr. *scerdid* ‘kratzt ab’; OHG *scherze*, *scherzel* ‘abgeschnittenes Stück’, OHG *scurz* ‘kurz’, OE *scort* ‘kurz’; ON *skorta* ‘fehlen, mangeln’, OE *scortian*, ‘kürzer werden, fehlen, mangeln’, MDu. *schorten* ‘kürzer werden, machen, fehlen’; ON *skort* n., *skotr* m. ‘Mangel’; see *Fraenk.* II, 801, 803; *de Vries* 500; *Pok.* 940—941 ((*s*)*ker-d-*).

63. Lith. *smirdėti*, WLith. praes. 1 sg. *smirdžiu*, 3 sg. *smirdi*, ELith. praes. 1 sg. *smirdu*, 3 sg. *smirda* ‘stinken’ ~ Latv. *smīrdēt*, praes. 1 sg. *smīrdu* ‘riechen, stinken’; Lith. *smirsti*, praes. 1 sg. *smirstu*, praet. 1 sg. *smirdau* ‘stinkend, übelriechend werden, anfangen zu stinken’ ~ Latv. *smīrst*, praes. 1 sg. *smīrstu*, praet. 1 sg. *smīrdu* ‘stinkend werden’; Lith. *smárdas* ‘Geruch, Gestank’ (1 a. p. according to LKŽ XIII, 114, maybe < \*3 a. p.?) ~ Latv. *smārdas* ‘Geruch, Duft’ ~ Slav. *smōrdъ* ‘stink, heavy smell’, a. p. c (with the loss of the reflex of acute in the mobile accentual paradigm: Russ. *сморог*, Ukr. *смópig*, gen. sg. *смóꝑogy*; Bulg. (with the article) *сmpaгáм*, SCr. *сmpâg*, gen. sg. *сmpâga*; Sloven. *smrâd*, gen. sg. *smrâda*, *smradû*, etc.); Lith. *smar[d]ve* ‘stinking’, also *smársas* ‘stinking’; Russ. *сморо́гуна* ‘currant(bush)’ || Grk. (Hsch.) *σμóρδωνες* · ὑποκοριστικῶς ἀπὸ τῶν μορίων, ὡς πόσθωνες<sup>81</sup>; *σμορδοῦν* · συνουσιάζειν; *σμάρδικον* · στρουθίον; *σмаρδικοπῶλαι* · οἱ τοὺς στρουθοὺς πωλοῦντες; Lat. *merda* ‘Unrat, Kot (des Leibes); Exkremente’ (< \**smerdā*) (WH II, 74 f.); further comparisons for this row: Lat. *mordeō*, *momordī* (< *memordī*), *morsum*, *mordēre* ‘beiße (auch von Hitze und Kälte); kaue, esse’; OInd. *mṛdnāti* ‘drückt, reibt, reibt auf’; Grk. *ἀμέρδω* ‘beraubt; blende, verdunkelt’, etc.; see *Fraenk.* II, 840, 847—848; *Φαμερ* III, 684—685, 685, 691—692; *Trautmann*

<sup>81</sup> *Pok.* 970: pl. ‘Stänker’.

BSW 271; Frisk II, 751, 747; 748—749; WH II, 74—75; 111—112; Pok. 970.

64. ? Lith. *snarglỹs*, gen. sg. *snárglio* and *snaĩrglio* ‘Nasenschleim’, *sniurglỹs*, gen. sg. *sniùrglio* ‘Nasenschleim, flüssiger Nasenrotz’, also *sniùrglis*; Latv. *nĩrguõtiẽs* ‘höhnisch lachen’, *ņũrgt* ‘die Zähne zeigen’ || Norw. *snerka* ‘schnarchen’, Norw. dial. *snerka*, *snarka* ‘prusten’, Swed. *snerka* ‘prusten, schnarchen’; MLG *snorken*, *snarken* ‘schnarchen, schnauben’, MHG *snarchen*; Norw. *nurka* ‘knarren, knurren’, Du. *nurken* ‘brummen, nörgeln’; Fraenk. II, 852, 854; Pok. 975 (\**sner-g-*).

65. Lith. *širdis*, acc. sg. *širdį* f. (3) ‘heart’ ~ Latv. *sĩrds* ‘Herz, Mut, Zorn’; Pruss. *seyr* ‘heart’ (< \**sēr* < IE nom.-acc. \**kērd*); ELith. dial. (Šl.) *šerdis*, gen. sg. *šerdiẽs*, acc. sg. *šerdi* (3) ‘rdzeń (w drzewie, roślinie, piórze); serce dzwonu’ (the same in Dusetos according to Būga RR II, 563), dial. (Slavikai) *šerdis* (back-formation after acc. sg., Būga RR I, 318, RR II, 563), standard *šerdis* (4) ‘center, core, heart, pith; clapper, tongue’; dial. (Dysnà, Dusetos) *šerdẽ*, acc. sg. *šerdę* ‘center, core, heart, pith’ (Būga RR II, 563) ~ Latv. *seĩde* ‘center, core, heart, pith’; the group of forms where the circumflex was generalised in Lithuanian while the reflex of acute was retained in Latvian: Lith. *širdai* (4) ‘quarrel, brawl; anger’, dial. ELith. (Šl.) *širdai* (3) ‘klótnia’; Lith. *šĩrsti*, praes. 1 sg. *šĩrstù*, praet. 1 sg. *širdaũ* ‘to be annoyed, vexed; to be indignant, angry’ (var. *šĩrsti* LKŽ XIV, 905), *šĩrdinti* ‘to make angry’ (var. *šĩrdinti* LKŽ XIV, 850, with reference to KŽ), *šĩrdyti* ‘to make angry’ (var. *šĩrdyti* and *širdýti* LKŽ XIV, 898), *šĩrdytis* ‘to be angry’ ~ Latv. *sĩĩties*, praes. 1 sg. *sĩĩu* or *sĩĩstuõs*, praet. 1 sg. *sĩĩuõs* ‘sich ärgern, zürnen; erschrecken (intr.)’ (with secondary root auslaut formation), *iesĩĩst*, praes. 1 sg. *iesĩĩstu*, praet. 1 sg. *iesĩĩdu*, also refl. *iesĩĩstiẽs* ‘zornig, böse werden’, *sĩĩdĩt*, praes. 1 sg. *sĩĩdu*, praet. 1 sg. *sĩĩdiju* ‘erzürnen’; for Baltic forms with circumflex intonation quoted above see below, p. 495, No. 27 || the primary IE ablaut paradigm nom.-acc. \**kērd* > \**kēr*, obl. cases \**kĩrd-* ‘heart’ was retained in Hitt.: nom.-acc. *kir*, in the oblique cases *kart-* ‘heart’; in other IE languages we find the results of the secondary influence of nom.-acc. on the

oblique cases or vice versa: OInd. nom.-acc. sg. *hárđi* (RV), acc. sg. *hārdim* (AV), nom.-acc. sg. *hṛt* (TS, TB), in the oblique cases *hṛd-* (*hṛdā, hṛdé, hṛdás, hṛdás, hṛdí, hṛdbhís, hṛtsú*); Lat. *cor* (two morae in Plautus; probably back-formation after oblique cases for \**cēr* < \**kēr* < \**kerr* < \**kěrd*), gen. sg. *cordis* (< \**kṛd-*); Grk. κῆρ (< \**kēr* < \**kerr* < \**kěrd*), dat. κῆρι (already in Hom.) ‘heart’, καρδίᾱ (Hom. +), κρᾶδίᾱ (Hom.), Cypr. κορδίᾱ ‘heart’ etc.; OIr. *críde* n. (< \**kṛd-*); Goth. *hairto*, OHG *herza*, OE *heorte*, ON *hjarta*; see Fraenk. II, 986—987; WH I, 271—272; Pok. 579—580; Puhvel IV, 189—191.

66. Slav. praes. 1 sg. \**vǔrgo*, 3 sg. \**vǔrżetŷ*; inf. \**vǔrci* (Ukr. *верéчу*, praes. sg. 1 *вёржу*, 2. *вёржеш* ‘to throw’, OCS *врѣштн*, praes. 1 sg. *врѣжѣ* ‘βάλλειν’ (Supr.), SCr. *врѣћу*, praes. 3 sg. *врѣгнѣм* ‘to throw, cast; put (in); to give; to move up, move away’), Latv. *savērgt* ‘eintrocknen, einschrumpfen’ (Mühl.—Endz. III, 784; Endz.—Haus. II, 465) || OInd. *vṛṇákti, vṛṇjati* ‘to turn’, *vṛktá-*, *vṛjináh* ‘krumm, falsch, ränkevoll’; Lat. *vergō, -ere* ‘to bend, turn (*intr.*)’; see Фасмер I, 294—295; Mayrhofer III, 243—244; WH II, 758—759; Pok. 1154, 1181.

67. Lith. *vérgas* (3) ‘slave’, Latv. *vērģs* ‘Sklave’; Lith. *vérgti*, praes. 3 *vérgia*, praet. 3 *vérgé* ‘to enslave’ (but ELith. (Šl.) *veṛgti*, praes. 1 sg. *vergiù*, praet. 1 sg. *vergiaũ* ‘ujarzmiać, podbijać’), etc.; Latv. *vārgs* (AP., Arrasch, C., Jürg., Pankelhof, PS., Salis, Siuxt, Widdrisch) adj. ‘siech; elend’, but Lith. *vargùs* (4) ‘hard, difficult’, OLith. *vaṛgas, -i* (2) ‘nedzny; trudny’<sup>82</sup>; *vaṛgas* (4) ‘Not, Elend’, OLith. *vaṛgas* (2/4)<sup>83</sup>,

<sup>82</sup> *wárgus* nom. sg. m. (DP 296<sub>6</sub>); *wárgus* nom. sg. m. (DP 162<sub>12</sub>, 262<sub>4</sub>, 333<sub>7</sub>); *wár|gus* nom. sg. m. (DK 115<sub>2-3</sub>), *wâr|gus* nom. sg. m. (DK 112<sub>7-8</sub>), *wárgaus* gen. sg. m. (DP 618<sub>38</sub>); *wárgaus* gen. sg. m. (DP 93<sub>26</sub>, 186<sub>6</sub>); *wárgios* gen. sg. f. (DP 216<sub>49</sub>); *wárgēi* dat. sg. f. (DP 106<sub>28</sub>); *wárgu* acc. sg. m. (DP 30<sub>53</sub>); *wárgiā* acc. sg. f. (DP 217<sub>19</sub>); *wárgus* nom. pl. m. (DP 221<sub>14</sub>); *wárgiús* acc. pl. m. (DP 451<sub>1</sub>); *wárgias* acc. pl. f. (DP 517<sub>30</sub>, with stress retraction and short vowel in the final syllable); variant 4 a. p.?: *wárgiús* nom. sg. m. (DP 342<sub>26</sub>).

<sup>83</sup> 2 a. p.: nom. pl. *wárgai* (DP 583<sub>24</sub>, 615<sub>49</sub>, DK 18<sub>30</sub>), gen. pl. *wárgu* (DP 82<sub>7</sub>, 140<sub>39</sub>, 526<sub>21</sub>), instr. pl. *wárgais* (DP 454<sub>21</sub>), loc. pl. *wár|gūfe* (DP 300<sub>25-26</sub>), *wárgūfia* (DP 597<sub>21</sub>), *wárgūfē* (DK 39<sub>21</sub>) // 4 a. p.: pl. nom. *wárgái* (DP 542<sub>23</sub>), gen. *wárgú* (DP 420<sub>42</sub>), dat. *wárgāmus* (DP 619<sub>11</sub>), instr. *wárgáis* (DP 8<sub>4</sub>, 463<sub>10</sub>).

Lith. *vaĩgti* ‘Not leiden’ ~ Latv. *vārgti*, praes. 1 sg. *vārgstu*, praet. 1 sg. *vārgu* ‘siechen, quienen, elend sein, an Kräften abnehmen’; Slav. \**vōrgь* ‘enemy; devil’ a. p. c, with the loss of the reflex of acute in the mobile accentual paradigm (Russ. *вóрог* ‘enemy; devil’, Ukr. *вóрог*; Bulg. *вpár*, with the article *вpарá*, pl. *вpаровé* m. ‘enemy; crafty person; devil, demon’, SCr. *вpár* m. ‘devil’, Sloven. *vrâg* m. ‘der Teufel’; Czech *vrah* m. ‘murderer’, Slovak *vrah* m. ‘murderer’; Polish *wróg*, gen. sg. *wroga* m. ‘enemy’) || OInd. *vrájati* ‘schreitet, geht’, RV *parāvīj-* ‘Verstoßener, Auswürfling’; Goth. *wrikan* ‘verfolgen, peinigern’, *wraks* m. ‘Verfolger’, ON *reka* ‘treiben, jagen, rächen’, OE *wrecan*, OF *wreka* ‘treiben, rächen’; OS *wrekan*, OHG *rehhan* ‘strafen, rächen’ etc.; see Fraenk. II, 1225; Фасмер I, 352; Trautmann BSW 342; WH II, 839—840; Feist 574, 573; de Vries 440; Pok. 1181.

68. Lith. *váržas* ‘Fischreuse’, *várža* (1) ‘Fischreuse’ ~ Latv. *vaĩza* (Salis, Kosenhof), *vaĩza* (AP. [but AP.: *vaĩža* «pišanās»], Bers., Borchow, Drosth., Golg., Jürg., Kalz., Kokn., Oknist, Prl., Ronneb., Sausen, Stockm., C., Nötk., Gr.-Buschh., Kl., Druw.) ‘Fischwehr’ (Mühl.—Endz. IV, 481—482)<sup>84</sup> ~ Ukr. *вopóза* ‘string, twine’; Latv. *viržīt* (A.-Ottenhof, C., Wolmarshof), *viržīt* (Arrasch, Jürg., N.-Wohlfahrt, Prl., Selsau, Trik.) ‘bewegen, rücken, richten’, *viržītiēs* U. ‘sich bewegen’ (Mühl.—Endz. IV, 620) (~ Russ. *вёрзумь* ‘to do or talk stupidly, to lie?’); Slav. \**veržti*, praes. 1 sg. \**vǫržq*, 3 sg. \**vǫržetъ* with the loss of the reflex of acute in the mobile accentual paradigm: Russ. dial. (Даль) *верзумú* ‘to do smth. for a long time, stupidly; to talk nonsense or smth. inappropriate’, Ukr. *верзумú*, praes. 1 sg. *верзý*, 2 sg. *верзéш* ‘to talk nonsense, chatter, twaddle’; OCS aor. 3 sg. *отверъзе* (Euch.), 2 pl. *отверъте ца* (Mar., Ass.), 3 pl. *отверъца ца* (Mar., Ass.), *отверъца ца* (Sin.) ‘to open’, part. praet. *поверъзе же* ‘to tie’, *оуверъзе*, *оуверъзе* (Supr.) ‘to open slightly’; SCr. *вpсти се*, praes. 1 sg. *вpзém се*

<sup>84</sup> Metatony before the dominating suffixes and its generalisation in the related derivatives Lith. *veĩžti*, praes. 1 sg. *veĩžiù* ‘einengen, pressen’ ~ Latv. *vērzt*<sup>2</sup>, praes. 1 sg. *vērzu*<sup>2</sup>, praet. 1 sg. *vērzu*<sup>2</sup> Karls. ‘wenden’ (Mühl.—Endz. IV, 569), Lith. *viržėti*, praes. 3 *virží*, praet. 3 *viržėjo* ‘binden’, *viržis* m. ‘Strick’.

‘to whirl, spin on the spot’, *заврѣти*, praes. 1 sg. *заврѣѣм* ‘to tie’ || IE root \**uerǵ-*, \**ureǵ-*: OInd. *vrajá-* m. ‘Hürde, Umhegung’, *vijána-* n. ‘Umhegung, Umfriedigung’, Avest. (j.) *varəz-* ‘absperren’ (opt. *varəzyan* ‘sie sollen absperren’), (g.) *varəzəna-*, (j.) *varəzāna-* n., (g.) *varəzənā-* f. ‘Gemeinde’, OPers. *vardana-* n. ‘Gemeinwesen’ (Bartholomae 1378, 1424—1425; Kent 207); Grk. Ep., Ion. ἔργω, Ep. ἐέργω, Att. εἴργω/εἴργω, also Ep. ἐέργυνμι, Ion. -ἐργυνμι, Hsch. ἐργύνω ‘to shut in, shut up, shut out’ < \**εφεργ-/φεργ-*; OIr. *fraig* ‘Wand’, Ir. *fraigh* ‘Wand aus Flechtwerk, Dach, Hürde’ < \**uregi-*; ? OE *wrenc* ‘Krümmung, Ranke’, *wrencan* ‘drehen’, *wrincl* ‘Runzel’, OHG *renken*; the words with the voiced aspirated consonant and the general meaning ‘to press’ probably do not belong here: Lat. *urgeō* ‘to squeeze, press; to oppress; to adjoin, border; to besiege, attack’; ON *urga* ‘drücken, reiben’, *yrjja* ‘würgen’, OE *wyrgan*, OF *wergia* ‘töten’, MHG *er-wergen* ‘würgen’ and OHG *wurgen* ‘würgen’; see Fraenk. II, 1230—1231; Фасмер I, 298, 299; Преображенский I 75—76; Trautmann BSW, 355; Mayrhofer III, 243, 277; Frisk I, 465—466; WH II, 758—759, 839—840; Pok. 1168 (\**uerǵ-*, \**ureǵ-*), cf. Pok. 1154—1155 (\**uer-ǵh-*).

69. Lith. *žvirblis* ‘Sperling, Spatz’ ~ Latv. *zviļbul(i)s* ‘Sperling’; Slav. \**worb-* ‘sparrow’: Russ. *воробѣй*, ORuss. *воробѣни*, Russ. ChSlav. *вробѣни*; Sloven. *vrábelj*, Polish *wróbel*, OHSorb. (XIX c.) *wróbel* (Дыбо 1963, 61), LSorb. *robel* || Grk. (Hsch.) *ρόβιλλος* · *βασιλίσκο*ς ὄρνις; according to the Greek data the short syllabic resonant is more likely; in Baltic the contamination with the words beginning with *ž-/z-* took place (cf. Latv. *zviļgurs* ‘sparrow’); Фасмер I, 352; Fraenk. II, 1328; Frisk II, 660.

#### Diphthongal combinations with nasal resonants

70. Lith. *įščios* pl. ‘womb, belly’ < \**inst̥io-* < \**ind-t̥io-* < \**nd-t̥io-*, Lith. *inkstas* (1) ‘kidney’, Latv. *īkstis*, OPruss. *instixs* (Voc. 114) < \**ind-to-* < \**nd-to-* and < \**ind-ti-* < \**nd-ti-*, Latv. *īstri* pl. ‘kidneys’, OPruss. *instran* ‘Schmer’ (Voc. 133) < \**ind-t(e)r-* < \**nd-t(e)r-*; here also probably belongs Slav. \**īsto* ‘kidney’ with the loss of nasalisa-

tion as in a number of similar cases: SCr. dial. (Čak., Cres) *jŕsto* n., Sloven. *obŕstje* ‘die Nieren’, adj. *obŕstan*, (f.) *obŕstna* ‘Nieren-’ (the normal positions of new circumflex intonation), the form of sg. *obŕst* f. ‘die Niere’ was clearly extracted from the collective noun, but its accentuation can be explained by the generalisation of the new circumflex from the paradigmatic forms, where it was positionally motivated || MLG *inster* ‘Eingeweide des geschlachteten Tiers’, ON *ístr* ‘das die Eingeweide umgebende Fett’; Grk. (Hom.) ἔνδινα ‘die Eingeweide’, ἔνδον ‘inside’; Mlr. *inne* ‘die Eingeweide’ (< \**end-ĭo-*); Lat. *endo*, *indu* ‘in’; cf. the derivatives with \**en-* without *-d-*: OInd. *antrám* n. ‘insides, guts’; Grk. ἔντερα pl. n. ‘guts, bowels’; ON *íðrar* pl. ‘Eingeweide’; Slav. \**ętró*, pl. \**ętrā* > \**ętrā* ‘liver’, \**q̄trobā* > \**q̄tróba* ‘insides’; see Fraenk. 188; Trautmann BSW 69—70, 105; Иллич-Сви-тыч ИА 122; Pok. 314 and 182; cf. ЭССЯ 8, 242—243.

71. ELith. *ánglis* (1) ‘coal’ (stand. *anglis*, gen. sg. *angliēs* f. ‘coal’, 4 a. p., dial. [Śl.] *añglis*, gen. sg. *añglio*; Latv. *ùogle* ‘coal’; in all these cases the change of the intonation is connected with the generalisation of metatony in the contracted *-ĭo-* and *-ĭā-* stems); Slav. \**ǫgь* ‘coal’, a. p. *a* (Russ. *ýголь*, *ýгль*; SCr. *ùgalj*, gen. sg. *ùglja*; Polish *węgiel*) || OInd. *ánḡāra-* m. ‘Kohle’; Gael., Nlr. *aingeal* ‘Licht, Feuer’; see Fraenk. I, 10; Фасмер IV, 146; Būga RR II, 226; Trautmann BSW 8; Mayrhofer I, 21; Pok. 779.

72. ? Slav. \**ǫgьль* ‘corner’, a. p. *a*: Ukr. *вúгол*, gen. sg. *вúгла*; SCr. dial. *ŕгал*, gen. sg. *ŕгла*; Sloven. *vôgəł*, gen. sg. *vôgla* (new circumflex); Czech *úhel*, gen. sg. *úhlu*; Slovak *uhol*; Polish *węgiel*, gen. sg. *węgla*; modern Russ. *ýгол*, gen. sg. *угла́* (a. p. *b* is after the pattern of other nouns with the submorph *-l-*), but in Old Russian probably a. p. *a* was retained, cf. в главѣ ѡгль (Чуд. 22<sup>3</sup>) || Lat. *angulus* ‘Winkel, Ecke, entlegene Gegend’; OInd. *ánḡa-m* n. ‘Glieder’, *aṅgúli-h* ‘Finger, Zehe’; see Фасмер IV, 145; WH I, 48—49; Mayrhofer I, 21; Pok. 46—47.

73. ? Lith. *ùngti*, praes. 1 sg. *ùngstu*, praet. 1 sg. *ùngau* ‘wimmern wie ein Hund’ || Mlr. *ong* ‘Stöhnen, Seufzer, Wehklage’ (probably also OIr. *ennach* < \**eng-n-ākā* ‘Krähe’); Norw. dial. *ank* ‘Gewimmer, Seufzen, Kummer, Reue’, Danish *ank*, *anke* ‘Klage, Beschwerde’,

MLG *anken* ‘stöhnen, seufzen’<sup>85</sup>; Fraenk. II, 1163—1164; Falk—Torp I, 30 (Germ. \**ang-* ‘eng sein’); de Vries 99; Pok. 322 (\**ṅg-*, \**eng-*, \**ong-*); cf. Фасмер IV, 542—543, 543.

74. Lith. *éngti*, praes. 3 *éngia*, praet. 3 *éngé* ‘würgen, bedrängen, drücken, quälen’; *íngti* ‘verarmen’; ELith. (Šl.) *ingėti*, praes. 1 sg. *ingiu*, praet. 1 sg. *ingėjau* ‘lenić się’; *ingis* m., *ingė* f. (1) ‘Faulenzer’, *ingas*, *angùs* ‘faul, träge’ ~ Latv. *igt*, praes. 1 sg. *igstu*, ‘innerlichen Schmerz haben, verdrießlich, mürrisch sein’, *ignēt* ‘einen Ekel haben’, *ignis* ‘mürrischer Mensch’; probably here also belongs Slav. \**jęga*, \**jęža*: Russ., BRuss. *баба-яга* ‘witch, Baba-Yaga’, Ukr. *язя* ‘witch’, OCS *ѡꙗꙗ* f. ‘illness’, Bulg. *ezá* ‘anguish, torment’, SCr. *jéza* ‘horror’, Sloven. *jéza* ‘fury’, Polish *jędza* ‘witch, Baba-Yaga, an angry woman’, OCzech *jězě* ‘Lamia’) || ON *ekki* ‘Schmerz, Kummer’ = OE *inca* ‘Schmerz, Verdacht, Streit’, OF *inc* (d. i. *jinc*) ‘erzürnt’; the forms without nasal are also referred here: Lat. *aeger*, *aegra*, *aegrum* ‘ill; on the decline, deranged; bad, shattered; weak, unsteady; agonizing, complicated, hard; sad, unhappy, depressed’, united sub the root \**aig-* ~ \**ing-*; OInd. *yákṣmaḥ* m. ‘Krankheit’ also belongs here if we accept the disyllabic character of the root \**aieg-*; the semantically less plausible comparison with the group of stems united sub the root \**aig-* ‘(sich) heftig bewegen, schwingen, vibrieren’ is also possible: ON *eikinn* ‘wild, wütend’, OE *ācol* ‘erschrocken’; Grk. *αἰγίς* ‘Sturmwind; Ziegenfell’; OInd. *éjati* ‘regt sich, bewegt sich’, reduplicated med. RV *ījate*, part. *ījamāna-* ‘in Bewegung setzen, treiben’, plusquamperf.(?) *āijijat* — see above, p. 431, No. 15 (Lith. *áikštis* ‘Leidenschaft, Glut, Hitze’); see Fraenk. I, 10; Фасмер IV, 542—543, 543; Trautmann BSW 70; Mayrhofer I, 126; Frisk I, 32, WH I, 16; de Vries 99, 96; Pok. 13 (\**aig-/ing-*), 13—14 (\**aig-*); cf. Mayrhofer I, 95.

75. ? Slav. \**gǫba* ‘(tree-)fungus’, a. p. *a* (Ukr. *рѣба* ‘tree-fungus’, Bulg. *ръба* ‘mushroom; tree-fungus; tinder, amadou; leprosy’, OCS

<sup>85</sup> According to Falk—Torp I, 30 here also belong ON *ekki* m. ‘Schmerz, Kummer’ < Germ. \**inkan*, OE *inca* ‘Beschwerde, Groll, Zweifel, Verdacht’, OF *jink* ‘erzürnt’; Slav. \**jęža*; Lith. *éngiu*; what, however, erroneously unites this group with the next group No. 74.

ΓΑΒΑ ‘σπόγγος’ (Supr., Ostr.), SCr. rǫba ‘leprosy’, Sloven. góba ‘tree-fungus’; Czech *houba* ‘(tree-)fungus’) ~ Latv. *guība* ‘Geschwulst, Erhöhung, Haufe’; ELith. (Šl.) *gúmbas* (3) ‘guz, grudka, szyszka’ || ON *kumpr* ‘Klumpen’, Norw. dial. *kump* ‘Klumpen, Kloß, halbkugelförmige Erhöhung am Erdboden’, *kamp* ‘(rundlicher) Stein, Bergknollen, Stumpf von Stöcken’; see Фасмер I, 468—469; Fraenk. I, 176; ЭССЯ 7, 78—80; Trautmann BSW 101.

76. ? Lith. *gùnga* (1) ‘Buckel, Ball, Klumpen’, *gùngti*, praes. 1 sg. *gùngu* ‘sich krümmen’, *gùnginti* ‘langsam gehen, von einem gekrümmt gehenden Menschen’ || Grk. γόγγρος m. ‘Auswuchs am Stamm von Ölbäumen; Meeraal’, γογγρόνη f. ‘angeschwollene Halsdrüse’, γογγύλος ‘round’; ON *kokkr* ‘Ball’ (< \**gongu-s*), *vatn-kakki* m. ‘Wassereimer’; MLG *kinke*, Norw. dial. *kink(e)* ‘Windung bei einem Tau’, *kink* ‘kleine Biegung, verächtliche Bewegung des Kopfes’; Norw. dial. *kank* ‘Drehung, Knoten im Faden, Unwilligkeit’; here also belong according to Fraenkel the forms with the metatony under the conditions of the dominante suffix: Lith. *gũžti*, praes. 3 *gũžia*, praet. 3 *gũžė* ‘mit etwas Warmen zudecken, warm betten’, ‘to cover with the wings’, Lith. *gũžtis*, praes. 3 *gũžiasi*, praet. 3 *gũžėsi* ‘to shrivel, shrink (*intr.*)’; cf. Pok. 450; see Fraenk. I, 175, 179; Фасмер I, 471—472; Skok I, 640; Trautmann BSW 101—102; WH I, 601; Pok. 379—380; 450.

77. ? Lith. *grėsti*, praes. 1 sg. *grėndu*, *grėndžiu* ‘to scrape, scratch’ || Lat. *frendō*, *frendere* ‘zermalmen, die Zähne knirschen’; Grk. χόνδρος m. ‘Graupe, Korn’ (dissimilation from \*χρόνδ-ρος); but Germanic shows *-dh-*: OE *grindan* ‘zerreiben, zermalmem’; see Fraenk. I, 167; WH I, 545; Pok. 459.

78. ? Lith. *kánduolas* ‘Kern’ || OInd. *kanda-* m. ‘Knollenwurzel’, *kandúka-* m. ‘Spielball’, *kanduka-* n. ‘Kissen’; Grk. κόνδοι · κεραῖαι. ἀστράγαλοι (Hsch.), κόνδυλος ‘Knochengelenk der Finger, Knebel, Faust, Ohrfeige, Wulst des Zahnfleisches’, κονδύλωμα ‘Geschwulst’; Fraenk. I, 227 (to *kásti* ‘beißen’); Mayrhofer I, 152, 152—153 (supposes a Dravidian source); Frisk I, 911; Pok. 558—559 (\**kondo-* ‘Geballtes’, to \**ken-* ‘zusammendrücken’).



79. ? Lith. *lėngė* 1 a. p. 'valley, hollow', *lingúoti* 'to sway, rock (*tr.*)' ~ Latv. *līguôt* 'schwanken, sich schaukeln' || OInd. (late, rare) *raṅgati* 'sich hin und her bewegen'; the primary quantity of the diphthong is not clear; see Fraenk. I, 355; Pok. 676; Mayrhofer III, 33.

80. ? Lith. *nėndrė* 'Schilfrohr' ~ Latv. *nīedre* 'Rohr, Schilf' (cf. also Latv. *našļi* 'das Schilf, Rohr' < \**nadslis* ?); ELith. (Šl.) *míndrė* (1) and *mindrė̃* (3) 'trzcina' (with dissimilation  $n-n > m-n$ ) || Balt. forms can be considered to be *e*-grade and zero grades of the stem whose zero grade \**n̄ndr-* is also retained in Indian: OInd. *naḍáh* (*naḷáh*) m. 'Schilf, Schilfrohr' (RV+), *naḷáh* m. 'Schilf, Schilfrohr', Pali *naḷa-*, Prakr. *ṇaḍa-*, *ṇala-*, Hindi *naṛ* 'Schilf' (cf. also Afgh. *nāra* f. 'peduncle; stem (of a tree)') — development of the cluster \**n̄dr*/\**ndr* is the same as in OInd. *āṇḍa-* n. 'Ei', du. 'Hoden' < \**āndra-* (*r* is restored from Dardic and Nuristani parallels: Kalasha *ōṇḍrak* 'egg', dial. Urtsun *hāṭrak*, Pashai *ōluk* 'testicles' < \**āndruk* — and in North-Western group: Lahndā *aṇḍra* 'egg, eyeball', borrowed into Munda: Kharia *eṇḍa* 'Ei', Sora *adre* 'Ei' ~ Slav. \**jědro* > \**jědrò*; see Mayrhofer EWA I, 162; Turner CDIAL and Turner Add. (No. 1111), Фасмер IV, 547), if of course OInd. *naḍáh* does not originate from Dravidian, cf. Kann. *nallu* 'reed', but it is not very likely since Kann. stem goes back to Proto-South-Drav. \**nāṇal-* (DED<sup>2</sup>, No. 2909) (direct borrowing from Kann. into OInd. is also unlikely); however, these Indic forms hardly can be analysed in isolation from IE \**nedo-*, \**nodo-* with the same meaning: OInd. *nadá-* m. 'Schilfrohr' (RV 1, 32, 8), Avest. *naḍa-* 'Rohr', MParth. *nd* 'Flöte', MPers. *n'y* 'Flöte', Pers. *nay*, *nay* 'Rohr, Flöte', dial. *nad* 'Schilf', Afgh. *nāl* 'Arundo Donax'<sup>86</sup>, Arm. *net* 'Pfeil', Hitt. *nada-*, *nadi* 'Schilfrohr; Trinkrohr; Pfeil', *nadant-* 'Trinkrohr' (for possibility of two parallel formations see Mayrhofer EWA, II 7); see Fraenk. I, 493 (\**ned-*, \**nod-* 'binden, knüpfen'); Mühl.—Endz. II, 749; Mayrhofer II, 127—129, 129; Turner CDIAL and Add. (No. 6936); Bailey Dict. 175; Джаукян Гр. 43; Pok. 759 (\**nedo-* 'Schilf?').

<sup>86</sup> Iranian word was borrowed in Hung. *nad* 'Rohr'.

81. ? Latv. *puõga* ‘der Knopf; die Schelle; Gewicht bei einer kleinen Wage; (pl.) Korallen; die Samenkapsel des Flachses; das Hopfenköpfchen’; Slav. \**põgy*: Russ. *пуговица, пуговка* ‘button’; Ukr. *пуговиця*; ORuss. *пõгы* (gen. sg. *пõгыъве*), *пõгыъница* ‘ροῖσκος’; Serb. ChSlav. *пжгы* (gen. sg. *пжгыъве*) ‘ροῖσκος’; Sloven. *põglica* f. ‘die Stecknadel; die Heftel’; Polish dial. *pagwica, pagawica, pegwica* ‘button; bulge on the neck of a goat, crop’ || ? OInd. *puñjaḥ* m. ‘Haufen, Masse, Menge’, *puṅga-* m., n. ‘Haufe, Menge’; Mühl.—Endz. III, 454; Фасмер III, 400—401; Bezlaj III, 74; Mayrhofer II, 299; WH II, 248; Pok. 789 (\**pank-*, \**pang-* ‘schwellen’).

82. Lith. *rumbti*, praes. 1 sg. *rumbstu*, praet. 1 sg. *rumbau* ‘to become seamed, covered with scars’ (Būga RR II, 540); Lith. dial. *rumbas* (3), stand. Lith. *ruṁbas* (4) ‘Narbe’, ‘hem, scar; edge, border’; *rėmbėti* ‘Narben bekommen’; Latv. *rūobs* ‘Kerbe’ || the most acceptable correspondences are found in WP II, 373 and Pok. 864—865: Icel. *rumpr* ‘Steiß’; MLG *rump* ‘Körper, längliches Gefäß, Bienenkorb, Leibchen; Rumpf’ (\*‘abgehacktes Stück’), MHG *rumph* m. ‘Rumpf; Leib; grosse hölzerne Schüssel’, Germ. dial. (Bavar.) *rampf* ‘als Gefäß gebrauchter Baumstumpf’, MDu. *rompe, romp, rump* m. ‘Leib, Gefäß aus Rinde, Leibchen’; the correspondences suggested by E. Fraenkel are not convincing: ON *ram(m)r* ‘scharf, bitter’, *rimma* ‘Streit, Kampf, Überfall’, OHG *ramft*, MHG *ranft* ‘Einfassung, Rand, Brotrinde’; see Fraenk. II, 696 (\**remb(h)-*, \**romb(h)-*); Mühl.—Endz. III, 575—576; Trautmann BSW 236; Falk—Torp II, 920; EWD III, 1453—1454; de Vries NEW 588; Pok. 864—865 (\**remb-*, \**romb-* ‘hacken, kerben’).

83. Lith. *rėžtis*, praes. 1 sg. *rėžiuos* ‘sich recken’; intensive *ražyti* ‘straffen, recken’, *ražytis*, praes. 3 *rāžosi*, praet. 3 *rāžėsi* ‘to stretch oneself’ (but ELith. dial. [Šl.] *rāžytis*, praes. 1 sg. *rāžaus*, praet. 1 sg. *rāžiaus* ‘przeciagać ś., pociagać ś., wypręzać ś. (po śnie, po zasiedzeniu ś.)’); Latv. *riēztiēs* ‘sich ausrecken’, intensive *ruōzīt* ‘strecken, recken, dehnen, wiederholt krümmen’ || OInd. *ḥjyati, ṛñjāti* ‘streckt sich, eilt’; Avest. *rāzayeiti*; Grk. ὀρεγνῶμι, ὀρέγω ‘to reach, stretch (out)’, med.&pass. ‘to stretch oneself out; to reach after, grasp at, yearn for’; Lat. *regō, -ere, rēctum* ‘to govern, rule, direct, drive’ (-ē- <

\*-ě- according to Lachmann's law); OIr. *reg-*, *rig-* 'ausstrecken (z. B. die Hand)'; Goth. *rikan* (only 2 sg. praes. *rikis*) 'σωρεύειν, anhäufen', OF *reka*, MLG *reken*, OHG *rechan* 'rechen, harken'; causative: Goth. *uf-rakjan* 'ausstrecken', ON *rekja* 'aufwickeln, entwickeln', OE *reccan* 'ausstrecken, leiten, erklären', OF *reza*, OS *rekkian* 'erklären, erörtern', OHG *recchen* 'ausstrecken, erklären'; see Fraenk. II, 711, 726; Mayrhofer I, 121; Frisk II, 412—413, 513; WH II, 426—427; Feist 397—398; Pok. 854—857.

84. Slav. \**sěgnōti*: SCr. *cěrhnytu ce*, praes. 1 sg. *cěrhēm ce* 'to reach for smth., reach out one's hand for smth.' (impf. *cězamu ce*, praes. 1 sg. *cěžēm ce* 'id.>'); Sloven. *sěgniti*, praes. 1 sg. *sěgnem* 'den Arm nach einem Ziele ausstrecken, langem'; Polish *sięgnąć* 'to reach, touch' (also Slav. thematic \**segti*, \**sego*, a. p. *c* with the regular loss of the reflex of acute) || OInd. *sájati* 'er hängt an' (< \**sng-*), perf. *sasañja*, OPers. *frāhanjati* 'er henkt'.

Note. The connection of the following Baltic stems with this group is doubtful: Lith. *sėgti* 'to button up, pin up; to shoe', *sagyti* 'to button up', *sagà* (4) 'button'; Latv. *segt* 'decken, hüllen, bedecken, aufdecken, überdecken; schnallen, einstecken', *sēga* '(leinen) Decke' || Mlr. *sēn* 'Fangnetz (zum Vogelfang)' (< \**seg-no-*), Ir. *suanem* 'Seil, Tau' (\**sogn-*); cf. Fraenk. II, 770; Фасмер III, 825; Trautmann BSW 252; Feist 407, 442; Mayrhofer III, 419; Mayrhofer EWA II, 688—689; Pok. 887—888 (*seg-*), 876—877.

The following words also do not belong here: Goth. *sakan* (VI cl.: praet. 3 pl. *sokun*) 'μάχεσθαι, streiten, ἐπιτιμᾶν, schelten', OE *sacan* 'streiten' (VI cl.: praet. sg. *sōc*, pl. *sōcon*, part. praet. *sacen*), OF *seka* 'streiten' (VI cl.: praet. *sōk-*), OS *sakan* 'schelten, tadeln' (VI cl.), OHG *sahhan* 'streiten, zanken' (VI cl.), ON *saka* 'anklagen, streiten', see Pok. 876—877.

85. Lith. *skilāndis* 'Wurst-, Schwartenmagen, Magenwurst'; Slav. \**želōdъkъ* 'stomach': Russ. *желýгок*; Bulg. *желýгък*; SCr. *želygaci*; Sloven. *želōdac*, gen. sg. *želōdca m.*, *želōdak*, gen. sg. *želōdka m.* 'der Magen' (the reflex of the new circumflex is regular for such derivatives) || Grk. *χολάδες* f. pl. 'Eingeweide, Gedärm'; Fraenk. 806; Фасмер II, 44; Trautmann BSW 82; Specht 208; Pok. 435 (\**ghel-ond-*, \**ghol-nd-* 'Magen, Gedärm').

86. Lith. *spīsti*, praes. 1 sg. *spīstu*, praet. 1 sg. *spīndau*, 'erglänzen' (dial. var. *spīsti*, praes. 1 sg. *spīstù* [LKŽ XIII, 452] without lengthen-

ing, see below, p. 494, No. 23), *spindēti*, praes. 1 sg. *spindžiu*, ‘glänzen’ [Lyberis: praes. 3 *spiñdi*] ~ Latv. *atspīst* ‘wieder erglänzen’ (*spīst* ‘scheinen, leuchten, glänzen’), *spīdēt* ‘glänzen, leuchten’; *spuōžs* ‘glänzend, hell, leuchtend’, subst. ‘der Glanz, das Leuchten’, *spuōds* ‘id.’ (Mühl.—Endz. III, 1034) < \**spandus*, *spuōdrs* ‘blank, glänzend, sauber, rein, hell’ < \**spandras* || OInd. *spandatē* ‘zuckt, schlägt aus’, *spanda-* m. ‘Zucken, Bewegung’; Grk. σφενδόνη ‘Schleuder’, σφᾶδάζω (< -ῥ-) ‘zucke, zapple, bewege mich heftig’ (thus Pok. 989, via the meaning ‘flackern’); here also probably belongs Grk. σπινθήρ, gen. sg. σπινθηρός m. ‘spark’ < \*σπινσθήρ (with the dissimilatory loss of -σ-) < \*σπινδ-θηρ (with secondary -ι-, see Frisk II, 768); see Fraenk. II, 870—871, 874; Trautmann BSW 275; Mayrhofer III, 536—537; Frisk II, 768, 825; Pok. 989.

87. ? Lith. *spēsti*, praes. 1 sg. *spéndžiu* ‘einen Fallstrick legen (spannen)’, *spástas* (1) ‘Falle’ ~ Latv. *spiēst* ‘drücken, zwingen’, *spuōsts* ‘Fallstrick, Falle’; OLith. *spándau*, -yti ‘spannen’; Slav. \**pêdъ* ‘die Spanne’ (OCS *пѣдѣ*; SCr. *nêg*, gen. sg. *nêgu*; Sloven. *pêd*, gen. sg. *pêdî*, etc.), ? \**podīti*, praes. 1 sg. \**podjō*, 3 sg. \**podítъ* ‘to pursue, chase, to drive, to frighten, to impel’, a. p. c with the regular loss of acute, maybe a. p. a is reflected in Bulg. and ESlav. (Russ. dial. *nýgúmъ*, Ukr. *nýgumu*, BRuss. *nýgzuць*; MBulg. *пѣдѣтъ*, Bulg. *nýgя*; SCr. *nýgumu*, praes. 1 sg. *nýgūm*, Sloven. *podíti*, praes. 1 sg. *podím*, Czech *puditi*, praes. 1 sg. *pudím*, Polish *pędzić*) || Lat. *pendeō*, *pendī*, *pēnsūm*, *pendēre* ‘hänge, schwebe; bin unentschieden, zweifelhaft; bin abhängig, beruhe auf’, *pendō*, *pendī*, *pēnsūm*, *pendēre* ‘wäge, erwäge; schätze, zahle, leide; wiege’; the root is analysed as the result of the enlargement of the IE root \*(s)pen- ‘ziehen, spannen’, which is reconstructed using the different combinations of the material usually including North-West IE root with the meaning ‘spinnen’: πάτος · ή πεπατημένη και λεωφόρος ὁδός. και ἔνδυμα τῆς Ἡρας. και κόπρος (Hsch.) < \**pη-tos*, MĪr. *ētim* ‘kleide’<sup>87</sup>;

<sup>87</sup> Pace Lagercrantz (see WH II, 247) one should not refer here Grk. Hom. ἔπασσε ‘webte’, see Frisk II, 478.

Grk. σπινδεῖρα · ἄροτρον (Hsch.); Pamir. (?) *spundr* 'Pflug'; see Fraenk. II, 865—866; Фасмер III, 422—423, 402; Trautmann BSW 219; WH II, 247—248, 278—280; Pok. 988.

88. ? Lith. *spingėti*, 1 sg. praes. *spingiu* and *spingiù*, dial. *spingu*, 3 sg. praes. *spingi*, *spīngi*, *spinga* 'glänzen', 'schwach leuchten, flimmern, flackern, glitzern'; Latv. *spīgana* 'eine Lufterscheinung, Drache, Hexe', *spīgans* 'id.', *spīganis* 'Irrlicht', *spīgulis* 'Johanneswürmchen' (Mühl.—Endz. III, 1002—1003) || ? IE \**spheng-*: Grk. φέγγος n. 'Licht, Schein', φέγγω 'leuchte, erhelle'; OE *spincan* 'Funken sprühen' (the source?), ? Engl. *spunk*; ME *fonke*, OHG *funko*; see Fraenk. II, 871; Pok. 989—990 (\**sp(h)eng-* 'glänzen'); Frisk II, 999; EWD I, 487; Onions 381, 858; Skeat 511; Zupitza Germ. Gutt. 162.

89. Lith. *sprėsti*, praes. 1 sg. *sprėndžiu*, praet. 1 sg. *sprėndžiau* 'spanne mit der Hand' ~ Latv. *sprīest* in the meaning 'spannen, drängen, ausmessen' ~ Slav. \**prěsti*, praes. 1 sg. \**prēdq*, 3 sg. \**prēdětъ* 'to spin (thread, etc.)' (SCr. *npěcmu*, praes. 1 sg. *npégēm*; Sloven. *prěsti*, praes. 1 sg. *prėdem*); Lith. *sprindis* 'span' ~ Latv. *sprīdis* 'die Breite der ausgespannten Hand; die Spanne vom Daumen bis zum Mittelfinger; Länge vom Daumen bis zum Mittelfinger nebst Zugabe des ersten Mittelfingergelenkes (zum Abmessen der Pastellänge)' ~ Slav. \**prēdъ* 'lock, strand' || we can probably return to the old analysis of this root as the nasalised variant of No. 27, above, p. 437 (Latv. *sprīest*, praes. 1 sg. *sprīēžu* 'drücken, drängen', *spraids* 'eine Stelle, wo Leute zusammengedrängt stehen'): \**pri-n-d-*, contrary to Persson Beitr. 874, fn. 1; does OE *sprindel* 'Vogelschlinge, Spannhaken' belong here?; see Fraenk. II, 880—881; Фасмер III, 394; Trautmann BSW 278; Pok. 994; cf. Преображенский II, 144—145.

90. ? Lith. *sprėngėti*, praes. 1 sg. *sprėngu* 'ersticken (an etwas), würgen (an etwas)'; *sprengsėti* (with a variant *sprėngsėti*), praes. 1 sg. *sprėngsiu*, 3 *sprėngsi* 'husten, sich räuspern (von einem, dem etwas in der Luftröhre steckengeblieben ist); husteln, den Husten haben'; but Lith. *spreñgti*, praes. 1 sg. *sprengiù* 'to press into, squeeze into, cram into', *sprīñgti*, praes. 1 sg. *springstù* 'to choke with (*intr.*)' (*spreñgti*, *sprengiù* can be explained by the *j*-metatony; for *sprīñgti*,

praes. 1 sg. *springstù* see below, p. 494, No. 24); Latv. *spraņgāt* ‘einschnüren’, *spreņgt*, praes. 1 sg. *spreņdzu* ‘fest zuschnüren, klemmen, eingeklemmt und gedrückt schmerzen’, *spreņdzēt* ‘zuhaken, zuknöpfen, zuschnallen, fest zuschnüren’ (Lithuanian or Kuršian loans without loss of nasal); Latv. *spruōga* ‘(Haar)locke, Floche’; Slav. \**pręg-*, \**prog-*: SCr. dial. [Kosmet, ŽK] *prëzat*, praes. 1 sg. *prëžem*; Czech *spřahati* ‘to harness, tie up’; Polish *sprzęgac* ‘to link, couple, tie up’, *zaprzęgac* ‘to harness’; SCr. *npÿr*, f. *npÿra*, n. *npÿro* ‘stretched, extended’, *npÿžumu* ‘to draw’; Polish *prężyć* ‘to strain’ || ? Grk. \**σπάργω* ‘einwickeln’ (only aor. 3 pl. *σπάρξαν* [Hymni Hom.] ‘sie wickelten (das Kind) ein’), *σπαργάναω*, -όω ‘id.’, *σπάργανον* ‘band for swathing infants’; or (??) Germ.: ON *springa* ‘hervorbrechen, quellen’, *spraka* ‘knistern, prasseln, krachen’; OS *springan*, OHG *springan* ‘hervorspringen, hervorsprießen’, caus. *sprengan* ‘sprengen, springen machen’; see Fraenk. II, 879—880; Skok III, 31—32; Frisk II, 757—758; Pok. 992.

91. ? Lith. *trendėti* (Žemaitic *tréndėti*), praes. 1 sg. *trėndu* and *trėndžiu*, praet. 1 sg. *trendėjau* ‘faulen, von Motten oder Würmern zerfressen werden’, with another vocalism Lith. *trandėti* ~ Latv. *trūdēt*, praes. 1 sg. *trūdu* ‘modern, verwittern, faulen’; Slav. \**trōdъ* with the loss of the reflex of acute in the mobile accentual paradigm || OInd. *tr̥ṇāti* ‘spaltet, öffnet, durchbohrt, zerhaut’, perf. *tatarā*, caus. *tardayati* ‘durchbohren’; see Fraenk. II, 1117—1118; Trautmann BSW 328; Pok. 1076.

92. Lith. *vanduō*, -ėn̄s, acc. sg. *vāndenį*, Latv. *ūdens* m., f. ‘Wasser’ (cf. Slav. \**vědro* ‘pail’, but Slav. \**voda*) || OInd. loc. sg. *udán(i)*, gen. sg. *udnāḥ*, nom.-acc. pl. *udā* ‘Wasser’; Grk. *ὔδωρ*, gen. sg. *ὔδατος* n. ‘Wasser’; Lat. *undā* f. ‘Welle, Woge’; Goth. *watō* n. ‘Wasser’, ON *vatn* n., OSwed. *Vætur*, OE *wæter*, OF *water*, *weter*, OS *watar*, OHG *wazzar*, *wazar* n. ‘Wasser’; see Fraenk. II, 1194—1195; further see above, p. 413, No. 32.

93. Lith. *vėngti*, praes. 1 sg. *vėngiu*, praet. 1 sg. *vėngiau* ‘meiden, vermeiden’ (eigentlich ‘ausbiegen’); *vīngis* (1) ‘Bogen, Krümmung’, *vīnguoti* ‘Bogen, Umwege machen’ || OInd. (Dhātup.; Gramm.) *vāngati* ‘geht, hinkt’; OE *wincian* ‘winken, nicken, Augen schließen’; MLG

*winken* ‘winken, nicken, Augen schließen’; OHG *winchan*, MHG *winken* ‘schwanken, winken’; (*i*-St.) OS *vēnkian* ‘wanken’, etc.; Germ. \**wankōn*: ON *vakka* ‘umhertreiben’, Norw. dial. *vakka*, stand. Norw. *vanka*, OS *wankōn* ‘wanken’, MLG *wanken*, MDu. *wanken*, OHG *wankōn* ‘wanken, schwanken’; Lat. *vagus* ‘umherschweifend; unstet; ungebunden’, *vagor*, *vagātus sum*, *vagāri* ‘umherschweifen, sich ausbreiten’; see Fraenk. II, 1223, 1256—1257; WH II, 726—727; Pok. 1148—1149; cf. Mayrhofer III, 124.

94. ? Lith. *vīnkšna* ‘Rüsterbaum, Ulme, *ulmus campestris*’, Latv. *vīksna*, *vīksne*, *vīksnis* ‘Ulme, Rüster’ < \**vinšknā* < \**vinž-knā* Būga RR II, 653; Slav. \**уѣзьъ*, a. p. *a* or \**уѣзьъ*, a. p. *c*, with the loss of the reflex of acute in the mobile accentual paradigm (a. p. *c* may be secondary under the influence of the deverbative \**уѣзьъ* from \**уѣзьати* ‘to tie’, attested in all Slavic languages): Russ. *вяз*, gen. sg. *вяза*, nom. pl. *вязаы*, gen. pl. *вязов* ‘*ulmus campestris*’, Ukr. *в’яз*, gen. sg. *в’яза*, pl. *в’язу́*, gen. pl. *в’язів*, du. *два в’язи*, BRuss. *вяз*, gen. sg. *вяза*, nom. pl. *вязаы*, gen. pl. *вязаў*; Bulg. dial. *вез*, *вѐза* ‘*ulmus effusa*’ (БЕР I, 128); SCr. *вѐз*, gen. sg. *вѐза* ‘die Ulme, *ulmus*’ (Бук, with the note: «у Барањи»; abnormal development of quantity, in all likelihood a. p. *b* is secondary); Sloven. *věz* m. ‘eine Art Ulme’; Czech *vaz* ‘druh jilmu’, Slovak *věz*; Polish *wiąz*) || IE \**uīnǵ-* and \**ueiǵ-* (\**uiǵ-*) ‘Ulme’: OE *wice* (and *wic*?) ‘a witch-elm’ (Bosworth—Toller 1213), ME *wiche* ‘wych-elm’, ‘*ulmus*’ (Stratmann—Bradley 682), Engl. *wych-elm*, *witch-elm* (pace Pok. 1177, there is no ground for the restoration of long *-ī-* in OE), LGerm. *wīke* ‘Ulme’ (thus Pok. 1177; WP I, 314: *wieke*, a lengthened vowel in the Westfallen? Cf. *siekr* ‘sicher’ [Osnabrück], see Жирмунский НД, 242); Alb. *vidh*, pl. *vidha* m. ‘Ulme’ < Proto-Alb. \**wīdza*, see Orel 507 and XVII, § 3 & 7; Kurd. *viz* ‘eine Art Ulme’, Kurd. Sorani *wuzm* ‘elm’, Tāleši *вызм* (*везм*) ‘elm’, Bakhtiari *gzəm* ‘elm’ (< \**-ī-*); see Fraenk. II, 1257; Būga RR II, 653; Фасмер I, 374; БЕР I, 128; Trautmann BSW 360; Skeat 613; Orel 507; Henning // Asia Major 10, 68—72; Pok. 1177.

95. ? Lith. *žįsti*, praes. 1 sg. *žindu*, 3 *žinda*, praet. 1 sg. *žindau*, 3 *žindo* ‘saugen’; caus. *žindyti*, praes. 1 sg. *žindau*, praet. 1 sg. *žindžiau*

‘säugen, saugen machen’ ~ Latv. *zīst*, praes. 1 sg. *zīžu*, 3 *zīd*, praet. 1 sg. *zīdu* ‘saugen’; caus. *zīdīt*, praes. 1 sg. *zīdu*, praet. 1 sg. *zīdīju* ‘säugen’ || Grk. νεο-γυλλός/νεο-γιλός (Hom. +) ‘new-born, young (of animals)’ (< \**der* neulich (seit kurzem) saugt’) < \*νεφο-γῖδος; the primary quantity of the root is not clear; see Fraenk. I, 1314, 1309—1310; Pok. 356.

### Exceptions from Winter's law

The greatest number of stems that are presented as exceptions from the law considered above most likely represent erroneous etymologies connecting them with the roots ending in IE voiced unaspirated consonants. The cases of Slav. \**podъ*, \**voda* and the related were given above in the notes (see p. 405, No. 21; p. 414, No. 32). We can add to them the following group:

#### Alternative voiced (or voiceless) aspirated consonant

1. Slav. \**qžь* ‘little snake’ (Sloven. *vqž* m. ‘die Äsculapschlange’ [Plet.], Polish *wqż*, gen. sg. *wqża* and \**qžь*<sup>88</sup> (Russ. *уж*, gen. sg. *ужá*, Ukr. *вуж*, gen. sg. *вужá*, BRuss. *вуж*, gen. sg. *вужá* and *вўжа*, pl. *вужы́*, gen. *вужо́ў*; SCr. dial. (Čak.) *vūž*, gen.sg. *vūžã* [Skok I, 640—641], Sloven. dial. *gqž* m. ‘die Natter’ [Plet.], *qž* m. ‘die Ringelnatter’ [Plet.]) ~ Lith. *angis*, acc. sg. *añgi* (4) ‘Schlange, Natter’ (LKŽ I, 136—137); ? Latv. *ùodzs*<sup>2</sup>, *uòdze* ‘Kreuzotter (vipera berus)’, OPruss. *angis* ‘Schlange’ || a great number of similar words is present in the IE dialects:

Lat. *anguis*, -is m. ‘Schlange’; Arm. *awj* ‘snake’ (< \**augʰi*-<sup>89</sup> < \**augʰi*- < \**angʰi*-), *iž* ‘viper’ (< \**ēgʰi*-) and *ozni* ‘hedgehog’ (corresponds to Grk. *ἐχῖνος*); OInd. *áhi*- m., Avest. *aziš* ‘Schlange’,

<sup>88</sup> Maybe eventual \**qžjь* with *j*-metatony?

<sup>89</sup> Palatalisation after Arm. -*u*-, see Джаукян 57, 43.



MPers. *až* 'Drache'; Grk. ἔχις 'viper' (ἐχῖνος m. 'hedgehog', corresponds to Arm. *ozni*<sup>90</sup>) and ὄφις m. 'serpent'; Hsch. ἄβεις · ἔχεις (< \**ng<sup>u</sup>i-*)<sup>91</sup>; OHG *unc* m. (VIII A. D.) 'Schlange, Natter', *unko* m. (XI A. D.) 'Schlange', MHG *unc*, *unke* m. 'Schlange, Basilisk', German *Unke* f., MDu. *unc*, *unck* 'Eidechse, Chamäleon'; OS *euuidehsa*, *egithassa* f., MLG *ēgedisse*, OHG *ewidehsa*, *egidehsa* (VIII A. D.), MHG *eidehse*, *egedehse* f. 'Eidechse' < Germ. \**agwi-* + *pahsjō(n)* 'Spindel'; Mlr. *esc-ung* 'Aal' (\*'Wasserschlange', *esc-* 'Wasser'); Cymr. *euod* 'Schafwürmer', *euon* 'Pferdewürmer' (< Celt. \**eg<sup>u</sup>hi-*); see Фасмер IV, 150—151; Джаукян Гр. 43, 59, 124; Mayrhofer I, 68; Mayrhofer EWA I, 156; EWD I, 334—335; III, 1875; Pok. 43—44; WH I, 48 (Grdf. \**ang<sup>u</sup>hi-*); Frisk I, 453, 602;

all these forms can be summarized under the 4 following IE stems:

* <i>ng<sup>u</sup>i/o-</i> (* <i>ang<sup>u</sup>i-</i> )	* <i>ang<sup>u</sup>hi-</i> , * <i>ng<sup>u</sup>hi-</i>	* <i>og<sup>u</sup>hi-</i> , * <i>eg<sup>u</sup>hi-</i>	* <i>oǵhi-</i> , * <i>eǵhi-</i>
Slav. * <i>qǝb</i> , Lith. <i>angis</i>			
Lat. <i>anguis</i>			
OInd. <i>áhiḥ</i> , Avest. <i>ažiš</i>			
Hsch. ἄβεις		Grk. ὄφις	Grk. ἔχις, ἐχῖνος
	Arm. <i>awj</i>	Arm. <i>iž</i>	Arm. <i>ozni</i>
Mlr. <i>esc-ung</i>		Cymr. <i>euod</i> , <i>euon</i>	
OHG <i>unc</i>		Germ. * <i>agwi-</i>	

<sup>90</sup> Frisk (I, 602) accepts direct comparison of ἔχις and ἐχῖνος m. with Arm. *ozni*, and further: ON *ígull* m. 'Igel' (side by side with *ígull*), OE *igil*, *igl*, *il*, OS *igil*, MLG *ēgel*, MDu. *ēghel*, *īgel*, *eyghel*, Du. *egel*, OHG *igil*; Slav. \**ežb* < \**ežb* 'Igel'; Lith. *ežys* 'Igel', dial. ELith. (Šl.) *ēžis* 'jež', Latv. *ezis* 'der Igel, Schweinigel'. In all likelihood Grk. ἔχις 'viper' can be compared only with Germ. forms: OHG *egala* f. (VIII A. D.) 'Egel', MHG *egel(e)* f., German *Egel* m., OS *egela* f., MLG *ēgel(e)*, *eyle*, *il(e)*, MDu. *echel*, *egele*, *eggel*, dial. South Du. *echel* (*ch-l* < \**-yl-*). See Fraenk. II, 1330; Mayrhofer EWA I, 156; Frisk I, 602; II, 453; EWD I, 329; II, 727; Franck—van Wijk 150; de Vries NEW 148, 152; Pok. 44—45.

<sup>91</sup> Hesychius' form is of unknown dialectal origin, Frisk (after Bonfante, etc.) accepts an Illyrism.

Thus the Balto-Slav. protoform can be considered to be going back to IE *\*ang<sup>u</sup>hi-*, not *\*ang<sup>u</sup>i-*; more clear situation with the following Balto-Slav. derivatives, where Grk. and Germ. data point out rather IE *\*-g<sup>u</sup>h-* than *\*-g<sup>u</sup>-*:

Slav. *\*ôgъль* m. (probably eventually *i*-stem, cf. hard *-r* in Ukr., BRuss., Czech and Polish) ‘worm, grub, maggot; comedo’: Russ. *ýгорь*, gen. sg. *угря́* ‘comedo’, BRuss. *вугóръ*, gen. sg. *вугра́* ‘id.’, Ukr. *вугóръ*, gen. sg. *вугря́* ‘id.’ (Желеховский *вýгор*, gen. sg. *вýтра* ‘Finne’) (ESlav. forms belonging to a. p. *b* are probably secondary<sup>92</sup>; old accent can be retained in Russ. nom. *ýгорь* and in Желеховский’s *вýгор*, gen. sg. *вýтра*); Czech *uher*, gen. *uhru*, Slovak *uhor* ‘comedo’, Polish *wągr*, pl. *węgry* ‘comedo (*med.*); cysticercus (*zool.*)’ (WSlav. data point out a. p. *c* or a. p. *a*, but the latter is refuted by the SSlav. correspondences); South ChSlav. nom. pl. *и оугрѣе* ‘κέλυφον’ (Am. 55<sup>25</sup>), Croatian dial. *ugar*, gen. sg. *ugara* ‘morski puž, grč, grk, ugrc, ogrc, nanara, nanarica, nanarić, narikla, mareļka, bobuļak’, (Brač) *ugar*, but with suffixed pl. *ugarci* (RJA XIX, 284); SSlav. *\*ôgъль* in SCr. *ýrop* m. ‘little pimple’ (and ‘eel’, below; *-o-* under the influence of *ýrop* ‘eel’) and (according to the rule of the choice of the accentual type in derived stems) in SSlav. *\*ogъльсь*, gen. sg. *\*ogъльсá*: Bulg. *въгърѣц*, *въгáрец* ‘worm, larva’; SCr. (Бук) *ýрк* ‘worm, larva’, (Smokvica, Korčula) *ògrc*; Sloven. *ogrc*, gen. sg. *grca* (*grcá*) ‘die Made der Dasselfliege, der Engerling; die Finne, der Mitesser, die Hautblüte’<sup>93</sup>;

Slav. *\*ôgorjъ* > *\*ogòrjъ*, gen. sg. *\*ôgorja* > *\*ogòrja* ‘eel’ (reconstruction of the *j*-stem is supported by Lith. data, below): Russ. *ýгорь*, gen. sg. *угря́* ‘eel’, Ukr. *вугóръ*, gen. sg. *вугра́* m. ‘anguilla anquilla’, (Желеховский) *ýгор*, gen. sg. *ýтра* m. ‘Flussaal’, BRuss.

<sup>92</sup> In all likelihood under the influence of *\*ôgorjъ* > *\*ogòrjъ*, gen. sg. *\*ôgorja* > *\*ogòrja* ‘eel’ (see below) ESlav. word for ‘worm’ was reshaped as nom. *\*ogъr(j)ъ* > *\*ugòr(’)*, while accent on the second syllable in the obl. cases (gen. *\*ugr(’)á*, etc.) was levelled after this form of nom.

<sup>93</sup> Secondary Sloven. *ôgrc* (probably under the influence of Sloven. unattested *\*ôgr*).

*vygór*, gen. sg. *vygrá* ‘anguilla’; South ChSlav. gen. sg. *ογγορα* ‘ἔγγελος’ (Am. 342<sup>13</sup>), SCr. *ȳrop* m. ‘eel’ (and ‘little pimple’, above), Sloven. *ogór*, gen. sg. *ogórja* ‘der Aalfisch’; Czech *úhoř*, gen. sg. *úhoře* m. ‘eel’, Slovak *úhor*, gen. sg. *úhora* ‘eel’; Polish *węgorz*; Slav. segmental and accentual reconstruction is based on Sloven. and WSlav. data; ESlav. dialects show a contamination with the word for ‘worm, comedo’, SCr. accentuation has the same nature ~ Lith. *ungurỹs*, gen. sg. *uñgurio* ‘eel’ < \**angurja-*, assimilation? (cf. loan in Finn. *ankerias*); Pruss. *angurgis* m. ‘eel’ (-*rg-* = [r]);

|| Lat. *anguilla* f. ‘Aal’ is still probably a restructuring from \**angulla* < \**angur-la* (thus Muller Ait.Wb. 30); Grk. *ἔγγελος* and *ἔγγελος* f. ‘eel’ (there is a supposition about a contamination with Grk. *ἔχις*, which is probably unnecessary); OHG *angar* (XI A. D.) ‘bread worm’, MHG *anger*, *enger*; OHG *engiring* (X A. D.), *engerling* (XI A. D.) ‘Made, Wurm, Finne’; Grk. and Germ. forms go back to IE \*-*g<sup>u</sup>h-*, but cf. Hsch. *ἰμβηρις* · *ἔγγελος*. *Μηθυμναῖοι* < \**eng<sup>u</sup>-* (Aeol. development of IE *g<sup>u</sup>*; Bonfante and Barić accept an Illyric origin); Фасмер IV, 146, 146—147; ЕСУМ I, 436; ЭСБМ 2, 208; Skok III, 537, 538; Bezljaj II, 244; Топопов А—D, 88—89, 96; WH I, 48; Frisk I, 439—440; EWD I, 360; Vaillant Gr. IV, 643, 650.

2. Russ. *бѣбѣн*, gen. sg. *бѣбѣна* ‘tambourine’, SCr. *бѣбањ*, gen. sg. *бѣбања* ‘id.’, etc. : Lith. *baĩbalas* ‘Hummel, Maikäfer’, Latv. *baĩbals* ‘Käfer’; Lith. *baĩbti*, praes. 1 sg. *bambiũ* ‘to grumble, grouse’, *biĩbilas* ‘gadfly, horsefly’, Latv. *biĩbals* ‘Bremse; Kind, das immer weint’ || Grk. *βόμβος* ‘booming, humming’, *βομβέω* ‘to make a booming noise (also of bees, mosquitoes, etc.)’, *βομβύλιός* ‘humble-bee; cocoon of the silk-worm; narrow-necked vessel’ || Grk. *πεμφορηδών* ‘(a kind of wasp)’; OInd. *bambharas* ‘bee’; Фасмер I, 226; Fraenk. I, 33—34; Mayrhofer II, 410; Frisk I, 250; II, 504; Pok. 93—94.

3. Lith. *bangà* (2) ‘Welle, Menge, Platzregen’, *prabangà* ‘Übermaß’; Latv. *buõgs*<sup>2</sup> ‘dichte Menge’ (Latv. *baĩga* ‘die Welle, Masse’ is borrowed from Kuršian), Lith. dial. *beĩgti*, praes. 3 *beĩgia* ‘to finish, end, complete’; *bangũs* (4) ‘rasch, heftig’ || OInd. *bhanákti* ‘bricht, zerbricht’, part. *bhagna-* ‘gebrochen, zerbrochen’, *bhaĩgá-* m. ‘Zer-

brechen, Abbrechen, Bruch; Ruin, Fall, Verfall; Welle'; Arm. *bek* 'zerbrochen', *bekanem* 'breche' || Germ. \**bang-* 'schlagen': ON *banga* 'schlagen', *bang* 'Lärm', Engl. *bang* 'klopfen, schlagen', LGerm. *bangen* 'klopfen, schlagen'<sup>94</sup>; see Fraenk. I, 34; Trautmann BSW 26; Mayrhofer II, 469; de Vries 25; Pok. 114—115.

4. Slav. \**bygati* (Russ. *бгать* 'to bend (*tr.*)', Ukr. *бгáту* 'to bend, crumple', BRuss. *бгaць* 'to bend, crumple'; iter. Russ. *обыгáть* 'wind round, wrap, muffle', deverb. *обы́ра* 'warm clothes, coverlet') || OInd. *bhujáti* 'he bends' || Goth. *biugan* (II cl.) 'bend', dat. pl. part. praet. *ga-buganaim*, ON *bjúga* (II cl.), attested only praet. 3 pl. *bugu* and part. praet. *bogenn*, OHG *biogan* (II cl.) 'bend' (Germ. < IE \**bheugh-*); see Фасмер I, 400; Mayrhofer II, 504—506; Feist 96; de Vries 40—41; Pok. 152—153.

5. Slav. \**dъcí*, gen. sg. \**dъćere* 'daughter' (Russ. *гóчь*, gen. sg. *гóчери*, Ukr. *гоч*, gen. sg. *гóчери*, ORuss. *доуи* (< \**дъуи*), OCS *дъци*, gen. sg. *дъцере*, Bulg. *гъцeрjá*, SCr. *кћû*, gen. sg. *кћѣри*, Sloven. *hčî*, gen. sg. *hčêre*, OCzech *dci*, Czech *dcera*, Slovak *dcéra*, Polish *cora*, *córka*) ~ Lith. *duktė*, gen. sg. *dukteš*, OPruss. *duckti* 'daughter' || OInd. *duhitár* (*d-* < \**dh-* according to Grassmann's law), Avest. (g.) *dugədar-*, (j.) *duγdar-* f. 'Tochter' (< \**dughter-* according to Bartholomae's law) || Grk. *θυγάτηρ*, Goth. *daúhtar* (*au* = *o*); the IE reconstruction of the stem: \**dhug(h)ater*; see Fraenk. I, 110; Фасмер I, 533; Mayrhofer II, 56; Mayrhofer EWA I, 737—738; Frisk I, 690; Feist 116; Pok. 277.

6. Lith. *drebėti*, praes. 1 sg. *drebù* 'zittern, schlottern, beben'; Russ. dial. *гробѣть* 'to become hesitant, timid', *угробúться* 'to get frightened'; Slav. \**drobíti*, praes. 1 sg. \**drǫbjǫ* 'to crush, splinter, grind': Russ. *гробúть*, praes. 1 sg. *гроблю́*; Bulg. *гробя́*, SCr. *грòбити*, praes. 1 sg. *грòбѹм* and *грòбѹм* 'brocken, bröckeln, bröseln, abbröckeln' || OE *treppan* 'treten' (< \**trapjan*); MLG *trappen*, Du. *trappen* 'stampfen' || Goth. *gadraban* 'ἀατομεῖν, aushauen' (only n. sg. part. praet. *gadraban*); ON *draf* n. 'Abfall, Brocken'; OE *dræf* 'Abfall'; see

<sup>94</sup> ON *bingr* 'Haufen' to \**bhengh-*, \**bhnggh-* 'diek, dicht, feist', Pok. 127—128.

Fraenk. I, 102—103 (unites with Slav. \**drobīti*, \**drōbь*); Фасмер I, 539; Преображенский I, 194, 195—196; Feist 179 (\**dhrebh-* ‘zerbrechen’); Berneker I, 225, 226; ЭССЯ 5, 105—106, 119—122; de Vries 79; de Vries NEW 745; Pok. 204 (*dreb-*), 272—273 (\**dhrebh-* ‘zerbrechen, zermalmen’).

7. Lith. *kabėti*, praes. 1 sg. *kabù* ‘(herunter)hangen’, *kalbùs* (4) ‘tenacious, strong’, *kālbė* (2) ‘hook; clasp, buckle; staple, crampon’; Latv. *kaba*, *kabe* ‘rafter’; Russ. dial. *кобѣня* ‘hook in the wall for hanging of smth.’ (Даль), [Perm., MUrал., Vlad., Kostrom.] ‘poseur, affected person’ (СРНГ 13, 357) || Various suggestions: OIr. *cob* ‘Sieg’; Welsh *cefn* ‘Rücken’; ON *happ* ‘Glück’, Engl. *hap*, OE *zēhaep* ‘passend’; also with the root \**skābh-*, \**skobh-* ‘schaben, kratzen’ (Fraenk. I, 200); Фасмер II, 267; Pok. 610 (\**kob-*), 931 (\**skobh-*, \**skābh-*).

8. Lith. *reñgti*, praes. 1 sg. *rengiù*, praet. 1 sg. *rengiaũ* ‘(vor)bereiten, zubereiten, rüsten, herrichten, mit Kleidung ausrüsten, schön kleiden, aufputzen, ankleiden, bzw. auskleiden’, *reñgtis* ‘sich bereiten, sich vorbereiten, sich rüsten, sich an- bzw. auskleiden, sich schön kleiden, sich aufputzen’, Lith. *reñgtis* ‘sich schwerfällig bücken, krümmen’; ? OCS *оружие*, Russ. *оружие* (← ChSlav.), *ружьѣ* || IE \**wreng-*: OE *wrenc* ‘artifice, trick’, *wrencan* ‘to twist, turn, play, tricks’, OHG *renken*, MHG *renken* ‘drehend hin- und herziehen’, OHG (*w*)*rank(i)* ‘verdreht, gekrümmt, krumm’, OE *wrinkle* (Engl. *wrinkle*) ‘Runzel’ || but also IE \**wrengh-*<sup>95</sup>: OE *wringan* ‘ausdrücken, pressen’, OS *wringan* ‘fest zusammendrehen, winden, auswinden’, MLG *wringen* ‘zusammendrehen, winden, drücken, pressen’, MDu. *wringhen* ‘durch Drehen pressen, drücken’; MHG *ranc*, gen. sg. *ranges* ‘schnelle, drehende Bewegung’; Goth. *wruggo* ‘Schlinge’; Fraenk. 719; Feist 575; EWD III, 1992—1993; Pok. 1154.

<sup>95</sup> There are no evidences of reconstruction \**wreng̃h-*. Auslaut \**-gh-* is reconstructed in Pok. 1155 apparently because of suppositional connection with the root \**wergh-*. For my assumption concernig the latter root see above, p. 457, No. 66, p. 458, No. 68.

9. ? Lith. *skiēbti*, 1 sg. praes. *skiebiù* ‘auftrennen, ein Loch machen’, the variant *skiēpti*, 1 sg. praes. *skiepiù*, 1 sg. praet. *skiepiaũ* ‘trennen, eine Öffnung machen’; Latv. *šķibīt* ‘hauen, schneiden, ästeln’ || Slav. \**ščipāti*, 1 sg. praes. \**ščipjǫ*; Russ. *цунать*, 1 sg. praes. *цунлю́*, 3 sg. *цунлет*; SCr. *штупати*, 1 sg. praes. *штупљем*, Sloven. *ščipati*, 1 sg. praes. *ščipljem*; Russ. *цено́ть*, *цѣно́ть* (\**ščьp-*) || ON *skipa* ‘zuteilen, bestimmen, ordnen’; Fraenk. II, 805 (the root \**skeip-*); Фасмер IV, 503, 507; de Vries 493; Pok. 922 (*skei-b-* from *skēi-* ‘schneiden, trennen, scheiden’).

10. Lith. *skōbti*, 1 sg. praes. *skobiù* and *skabiù* ‘aushöhlen’, *nuskōbti* ‘abpflücken’, *skabyti* ‘Blumen, Blätter usw. abpflücken, zupfen, rupfen, zerreißen, (vom Tode) dahinraffen’, *skābti*, 1 sg. praes. *skambù* ‘rupfen, zupfen’ || OInd. *avaskabnāti* ‘bricht ab’, Lat. *scabō*, *scabere* ‘kratzen, reiben’; Goth. *gaskapjan* ‘erschaffen’, ON *skara*, praet. *skōp*; OE *scieppan*, OF *skeppa*; OS only praet. *gi-skōp*, part. *arm-scapan* ‘elend’ || Goth. *skaban* ‘scheren’; Fraenk. II, 791, 812 (\**skabh-*); Feist 200—201, 426; Pok. 930—931 ((*s*)*kēp-*, (*s*)*kōp-* etc.).

11. Lith. *smaguriāi* ‘Leckerbissen’, *smaguriāuti* ‘naschen’, *smagūris* ‘Zeigefinger’ (properly ‘Naschfinger, Näscher’) || MHG *smach* ‘Geschmack, Geruch’, MLG *smak(e)* ‘das Schmecken, Geschmack, Geruch’; MLG *smaken*, OF *smakia*, ME *smakin* ‘schmecken’; with *-kk-*: OHG *smac* (*-ckes*) m. ‘Geschmack’, *smecken* trans. and intrans. ‘schmecken’; OE *smæcc* ‘Geschmack, Geruch’, Icel. *smekkr* ‘Geschmack, Geruch’ || with *-g-* (< \**-gh-*): OHG *gismagmo* ‘Geschmack’, *gismag*, *gismah* ‘schmackhaft’; Pok. 967 (\**smeg(h)-*).

12. Slav. \**vьrba* ‘(pussy-)willow’: stand. Russ. *вѣрба*, Ukr. *верба́*, SCr. *врба*, acc. sg. *врбѣ*, Slovak *vřba*, etc.; Lith. *viřbas* (4) ‘twig, stalk, stem’, ‘vine, birch-rod, (long) switch’, Latv. *viřbs* ‘stick, twig’, *virba* ‘twig; spear’ || Grk. *ῥάβδος* ‘rod, wand (magic wand, fishing rod, shaft of a hunting spear, etc.); young shoot of some trees; streak, stripe of the skin of animals’, Lat. *verbēna* ‘laurel leaves and sprouts’, *verbera* ‘beating, blows’ (< ‘birches, switches’) || but: Grk. *ῥάφίς* (Dor. *ῥάπις*) ‘needle; garfish, *Belone acus*’, *ῥάφή* ‘a large kind of radish’ (Fraenk. 1259: «wohl mit sekundärem φ und nicht auf \**uerbh-* hinweisend,

s. Verf. ZslPh. 22, 392»), it belongs to ῥᾶφ- (ῥάπτω, aor. ἔρραφον, ἐρράφην) 'to sew together, stitch' (-φ- in all Grk. forms may be secondary for \*-π-), Lith. *veĩpti* 'to spin (of thread, etc.)', Hitt. *ḫurpaš-ta(n)*- 'leaf, peel' (Puhvel 3, 406); Fraenk. 1259; Фасмер I, 293; Pok. 1153 (*uer-b-* and *uer-bh-*).

13. Lith. (Žemaitic) *slaugýti*, *slaugaũ* 'unterstützen, helfen', *slaugà* (4) 'das Dienen', *pāslauga* 'Hilfe, Hilfeleistung' (Lyberis: *paslaugà* (3<sup>b</sup>) 'service, favour'); OCS *слуга* m. 'Diener', *служити*, *служа* 'dienen' || OIr. *slōg*, *slūag* m. 'Heer, Schaar', *teg-lach* (< \**tego-slougo-*) 'Hausgenossenschaft, Familie'; Welsh *llu* 'Heer' (as the reflexes of IE *gh* and *g* cannot be distinguished in Celtic, the reconstruction \**slougo-* can be mistaken); see Fraenk. II, 827—828; Фасмер III, 676; Pok. 965 (\**slougo-*); Льюис—Педерсен 55—59.

14. Slav. \**kobь* (ORuss. *кобь* f. (Аввакум) 'ornithomancy, prediction, sorcery, prophecy', OCS *кобь* (Supr.) 'οἰωνοσκοπία', Bulg. *κόβα* 'presentiment, foreboding', SCr. *кѡбъ* 'favourable omen, auspices', Sloven. *kóbniti* 'nastati, napočiti' (Bezljaj II, 51), OCzech *pokobiti se* 'to manage, succeed in', *koba* 'success', Polab. *kúobé* pl. 'ghost, spirit') ~ ON *happ* n. 'happiness', Norw. *heppen* 'happy, favourable', *heppa* 'to happen', Engl. *hap*, *to happen*; OIr. *cob* 'victory'. The Germ. gemination does not allow to establish the character of the IE voiced obstruent; see de Vries 209; Pok. 610.

15. Russ. *cmor* 'Schober', Serb. ChSlav. *cmopъ* 'θημών', etc.; Lith. *stāgaras*, *stegerỹs* 'dürrer langer Stengel'; OCS *cmepъ* 'ἔδραϊωμα', Russ. *cmожáр* 'Stange', SCr. *stǫžer* 'Baum auf der Dreschtenne', HSorb. *sčěžor* 'Mast', etc. || Latv. *stēga* f., *stēgs* m. 'lange Stange, langer Stock, Spieß', OCS *cmepъ* 'Fahne', SCr. *cműjer* 'banner, standard', OSerb. *cmepъ* 'vexillum' || ON *stakkr* 'haystack', MLG *stack* 'Damm von schrägen Pfählen'; ON *staki* 'pole, spear'; The germanic gemination does not allow to establish the character of the IE voiced obstruent; see Fraenk. II, 891—892; Фасмер III, 752, 763, 764; Trautmann BSW 285; de Vries 542; Falk—Torp II, 1146; Pok. 1014 (\**(s)teg-* 'Stange').

16. Slav. \**kogьть* 'claw' || is compared with Germ. \**hakuda-* m. 'Hecht': OE *hacod*, OS *hacud* m., and with Germ. \**hakida-* m. 'id.':

OE *hacid* m., MLG *heket*, OHG *hahhit* (X A. D.), *hachit*, *hechit*, NHG *Hecht*; which as well as the Slavic word is considered to be a derivative from the word with the meaning ‘hook, claw’, but the Slav. word is not identical to the Germ. one either formally or especially semantically, thus it can be compared directly only with the following Germ. word: Icel. *haki* m. ‘hook; pick, hoe’ (attested in ON as a proper name — *Haki*)<sup>96</sup>; OE *hóc* m. ‘hook’, *hæcce* f. ‘Krummstab’; OHG *hāggo*, *hācko*, *hāko* (ca 800 A. D.) retains the traces of Germ. consonantal gemination after the long vowel; OHG *hakô* ‘hook’; but Lith. *kéngé* f. ‘Haken, Klinke’ (Fraenk. 239: «Lehnwort»; cf. EPruss. *kennig* ‘Stange, an der Strickbrett und Schar am Pfluge befestigt sind’, MLG *henge* (*henk*) ‘Hänge, woran man etwas aufhängt’; Latv. *ķeņķis* ‘Haken’ < LGerm. *könke* ‘Haken’); Фасмер II, 275; Fraenk. 239; Trautmann BSW 112; de Vries 203; EWD II, 632, 624, 660; Pok. 537—538 (*keg-*, *keng-* and *kek-*, *kenk-*).

Three last comparisons are interesting as regards the presence of Germanic gemination, which can hardly be traced back to the cluster with nasal. There is a tendency to regard it as a peculiarity of expressive and vulgar (folk) vocabulary. Without going into this disputable question we may note that as will be shown below in the positions where gemination or an analogous phenomenon probably appeared, i. e. if in the position of voiced unaspirated before liquid and nasal resonants Winter’s law did not operate, it probably did not operate before the following «expressive» geminates.

Some words are likely to be explained as loan-words:

1. Slav. *\*bǫgъ* (a. p. c) ‘god’ (Russ. *бог*, gen. sg. *бо́га*, gen. pl. *бого́в*, Ukr. *бiр*, gen. sg. *бо́ра*; SCr. *бог*, gen. sg. *бо́ра*; Sloven. *bôg*, gen. sg. *bogâ*) is a possible borrowing from Iranian<sup>97</sup> || OInd. *bhâgas*

<sup>96</sup> Cited in this row ON *hākr* m. ‘Frechling’ more likely belongs to the family of OHG *huoh* ‘Hohn, Spott’, see de Vries 203.

<sup>97</sup> For the detailed accentological analysis of the Slavic word see OCA Словарь, 155—161; see *ibid.* for the supposition that a cause of the lack of accentual corres-



‘lord, «dispenser» (*epithet of gods, esp. of Savitar*)’, OPers. *baga-*, Avest. *baya-* ‘god’ from OInd. *bhájati, bhájatē* ‘divides, distribues, receives, enjoys’, Avest. *baχšaiti* ‘participates’; Grk. φαγεῖν ‘to eat, devour’; see Fraenk. I, 29; Фасмер I, 181—182; Trautmann BSW 23; Pok. 107.

2. OCS *ХОЛЪ* ‘motion, walk, run’, *ХОЛНТИ*, part. praet. act. *ШЕЛЪ* ‘to go, walk’, the same in all the rest of Slav. dialects || Grk. ὁδός ‘Weg’, ὀδίτης ‘Wanderer’, ὀδεύω ‘wandere’; OInd. *sādá-* ‘Reiten’, *sādín-* ‘Reiter’, *ā-sad-* ‘hintreten, hingehen, gelangen’, *ut-sad-* ‘sich zur Seite begeben, verschwinden’; Фасмер IV, 252—253; Mayrhofer III, 472—474; Mayrhofer EWA II, 692—693; Frisk II, 349—350; Pok. 887 (*sed-* ‘gehen’); Grk. ὁδός ‘Weg’ and OInd. *sādá-* ‘Reiten’, as well as the corresponding verbal forms cannot be separated from OInd. *sad-* ‘sitzen’ (detailed argumentation in Mayrhofer EWA II, 692—693; see also Mayrhofer III, 472—474), thus the Slavic stem cannot be directly compared with the OInd. and Greek ones directly. The only possibility to save this comparison is to suppose that the Slavic root is an Iranian borrowing.

3. Slav. *\*koža* ‘she-goat’, *\*kožььь* ‘he-goat’ || is connected with Alb. *kedh* m., pl. *kedhë, kedha* ‘kid’ (IE *\*-ĝ-* or *\*-ĝh-*); with Germ. OE *hæccen* n. ‘junge Ziege’, MLG *hōken* n. ‘Böckchen’; and with Germ. Goth. *hakuls* m. ‘cloak’, ON *hokull* ‘outdoor clothes, cloak’, OE *hacole, hacele, hæcele* ‘cloak’, but the connection between the two Germ. words is postulated only on the basis of typological considerations: Slav. *\*koža* ‘goat’ ~ *\*koža* (< *\*kožja*) ‘hide’ and Balt. *\*āžīs* ‘he-goat’ ~ Slav. *\*ažьььno* ‘hide’, while there are no indications of either the material of the cloak or the problem of the incongruent vocalism; thus the Slavic word can be compared only with the first Germ. lexeme and the Germ. deviation will have to be explained as the result of removing gemination after the long vowel in case of the reliable solution of the vocalism problem because of the Slavic data;

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pondence between Slav. and OInd. (in Slavic a. p. *d* would be expected) is borrowing from Iranian.

here we may deal with a migratory term; OInd. *chāgas* ‘he-goat’, Osset. *sæǧ* | *sæǧæ* ‘she-goat’ do not correspond to the Slavic word as regards consonantism; Фасмер II, 277; Mayrhofer I, 406; Mayrhofer EWA I, 558—559; Абаев III, 58—59; Pok. 517—518.

However, there are some special positions, where Winter’s law really did not operate, they are: **I.** clusters «s + voiced unaspirated»; **II.** clusters «voiced unaspirated + s»; **III.** clusters «voiced unaspirated + resonants».

I. IE clusters «s + voiced unaspirated»  
(\**-zg-*, \**-zd-* < \**-sg-* and \**-sd-*)

1. Lith. *mazgóti* ‘waschen’; Latv. *mazgāt* ‘waschen’ (Russ. dial. [Ostzej.] *mazráť* ‘to wash’ (CPHG 17, 295), a likely borrowing from Baltic) || OInd. *májjati* ‘sinkt, geht unter, geht zugrunde’; Lat. *mergō*, *mergere* ‘tauche, tauche ein, versenke; verberge’, *mergus* m. ‘der Taucher (Wasservogel)’; Fraenk. I, 421; Trautmann BSW, 173; Mayrhofer II, 549; WH II, 76—77; Pok. 745—746.

2. Lith. *mėgzti*, praes. 1 sg. *mezgù*, praet. 1 sg. *mezgiaũ* ‘knoten, knüpfen, stricken’, *mezgà* ‘Strickerin’, *māzgas* (4) ‘Knoten, zugezogene Schlinge’; Latv. *megzt*, praes. 1 sg. *megžu*, praet. 1 sg. *megzu* ‘stricken’, *mežga* ‘der Mischmasch, ein schlechtes Gewebe’, *mazgs* ‘der Knoten’; Russ. dial. *mezrúpъ* and *mozrúpъ* ‘spider’ (CPHG 18, 154, 201—202 [the rest of the forms are not phonetically primary; cf. ЭССЯ 18, 226—227]) || ON *mozkvi* m. ‘Masche’, swed. *maska* ‘mesh (stockings), cell’; OE *max* n. ‘mesh, net, toil’ (< \**mask*), OS *maska*, OHG *masca* (IX A. D.) ‘mesh’; Fraenk. I, 426—427; Trautmann BSW 172; de Vries 402; EWD II, 1069; Pok. 746.

Note. Fraenkel’s attempt to connect with this root Slav. \**mozgъ* ‘brain’, as well as its derivatives is implausible. As was shown above, the root \**mezg-* ‘to knit, weave’ ends in the IE cluster \**-zg-*, what is consequently reflected in Germ., while the row of Slav. \**mozgъ* gives in Germ. the reflexes that can be traced back most convincingly to IE \**-zgh-*, the contradiction on the part of OInd. can be considered now to be sham after the study of New Indic reflexes. Slav. *mozgъ*: Russ. *mozr*, gen. sg. *mózra*, Ukr.

мóзok, gen. sg. мóзку, (Гринченко) мíзok, gen. sg. мízку, ORuss. мoзгъ; Bulg. мóзък, SCr. мoзак, gen. sg. мoзга; Sloven. mōzg, mōzəg, gen. sg. mōzga m. 'das Knochenmark'; OCS мoжданъ adj. 'cerebral' (< \*mozg-ĕn-); Lith. smāgenės, smāgenos 'Knochenmark', Latv. smadzenes, -is 'Gehirn, Mark in den Knochen', Pruss. musgeno 'Mark' (in East Baltic there is a metathesis of \*-s-, explained by different reasons) || OInd. majján- m. 'Mark (des Knochens, der Pflanze), majjá f. 'Mark', Avest. mazga- 'Mark', Afgh. māzyə, māyzə m. 'brain'; ON *mergr* 'Mark im Knochen', OE *mearg*, OF *merg*, OS *marg*, OHG *marg* (IX A. D.), MHG *marc*, *march* 'Knochenmark' — in the Germ. group either \*-zgh- or \*-sk- is seen; OInd. shows in this stem the cluster \*-zg-, but a number of New Indian languages reflect the aspirated character of the auslaut: Panjabi (dial.?) *mijjh*, *miñjh* m., f. 'Mark, Gehirn', Lahndā dial. (Awāṅkārī) *mijh*, *mijh* 'marrow' — others demonstrate the reflexation of the Anlaut testifying to the metathesis of aspiration (\**majjh-* > \**mhajj-*): Hindi *bhejā* m. 'Hirn', Gujarati *bhejū* n. 'Mark', Panjabi *bhejjā* m. 'brain, warrow'. Thus on the basis of New Indian data one should probably view the absence of indication of aspiration in Vedic as a dialectal phenomenon, most likely as the result of the metathesis of aspiration (there was no graphic means to reflect the result of this process) and restore for IE the combination \*-zgh-; see Фасмер II, 638; ЭССЯ 20, 94—97; Fraenk. II, 837; de Vries 385; EWD II, 1064; Mayrhofer II, 549—550; Mayrhofer EWA II, 291—292; Turner CDIAL 555 (No. 9712); Дыбо 1974, 83; Pok. 750 (\**moz-g-o-*, \**moz-g-en-*, \**mos-k-o*); cf. also Fraenk. I, 426—427.

3. Slav. \**ròzgā* (probably secondary form < \**ròzgvā* < \**rozgy*): Russ. *рoзra* 'birch-rod', Ukr. *рiзка*, BRuss. *рoска*, ORuss. рoзга; OCS рoзга (Zogr., Mar., Ostr.), Bulg. *pozá*, SCr. *pōzra* f. 'peg, perch, a prop for a vine' and *pōzra* f., Sloven. *rōzga* f. 'der Weinrebenzweig; die Weinrebe' and *rōzgvā* («new circumflex»), OCzech *rózha*, Czech *růzha* 'twig, branch', Slovak *rázga* 'dry branch, stick'<sup>98</sup>, Polish *rózga*,

<sup>98</sup> Slovak *rázga* is definitely not a loanword, as some scholars suppose: «in view of the presence of *g* instead of *h* in this form» (Фасмер III, 495); -*zg-* is a regular reflex of the Proto-Slavic combination \*-*zg-* in Slovak: cf. Slovak *mozog*, *mozgový*; *bryzg*, *bryzgat*; *druzg*, *drúzgat*; *miazga*, etc. As regards the supposition about the influence of the prefix \**orz-* on this stem in order to explain the reflex *rá-*, in all likelihood it is not necessary: in the dialects in which the auslaut length shift (riding on the accentological facts) onto the syllable \**ro-* coincided with restructuring of the length in the metathesis process \**or-* > \**rā-*, \**ró-* (that arose as the result of the length shift) could be restructured into \**rā-*. On the auslaut length shift and the prosodic processes connected with it see Дыбо МПАС I, 21—37.

Kashub *rózga* f. ‘Zweig, Ast; Trieb; Rute, Stock’, Slowinish *róuzgã* f. ‘Zweig, Rute’; Lith. *rėgzti*, praes. 1 sg. *rezgù* and *rezgiù*, praet. 1 sg. *rezgiaũ* ‘to knit, weave’, *rėgztis* (2) ‘net, hammock’; Latv. *režģīt* ‘verwickeln, verwühlen’, *režģis* ‘Flechtwerk, Geflecht, Verworrenes, Wirrsal, von Binsen geflochtene Decke, Heunetz’, *režga* ‘Verwicklung, Schwierigkeit’ || OInd. (RV, AV, etc.) *rájjuḥ* f. ‘Seil, Strick’, (RV) *a-rajjú-* ‘nicht mit Stricken versehen’, (ŚB) *rajjavya-* n. ‘Seilzeug’, Sogd. *ryzy* (*rayzi*) ‘ein (Woll<sup>2</sup>-)Stoff’, Yidgha *royz* ‘woman’s cloak’; Lat. *restis* ‘Strick, Seil’ < *\*rezgtis*; OE *resc*, *resce* ‘reed’, variants: *risc*, *rysce*, *risc*, *risce*, modern Engl. *rush*, dial. *resh*, *rish*; Фасмер III, 495; Skok III, 161; Bezlaj III, 201; Fraenk. II, 713; Trautmann BSW 245; Mayrhofer III, 35; Mayrhofer EWA II, 427; WH II, 431; Onions 778; Pok. 874.

4. Slav. *\*pъzděti* and probably *\*pezděti* ‘to break wind’: Russ. *бзгѣмь*, praes. 3 sg. *бзгѣм* (apparently Russ. vulgar *незгѣмь*, praes. 3 sg. *незгѣм* ‘to talk on sense, lie’, known to me only in the *i*-pronunciation, belongs to the same stem), Ukr. *незгіму*, *бзгіму*, praes. 1 sg. *бзгю*, 2 sg. *бзгуш*; Bulg. *пъзгя*, dial. *бъзгя* and *незгя* (see БЕР 5, 126, sub v. *незгрованка*), SCr. *бъзгјети*, praes. 1 sg. *бъзгјѣм*, dial. (ŽK) *pazditi*, Sloven. *pəzděti*, praes. 1 sg. *pəzdím*, Czech *bzdíti*, OCzech part. praes. *pzdě*<sup>99</sup>, Polish *bździeć*; Lith. *bezděti*, praes. 1 sg. *bezdù*; Latv. *bezdēt*; the existence of the variant stem with the root vocalism *-e-* in Proto-Slavic is supported by ESlavic—Bulgarian correspondence, it is also required by the stability of the voiceless anlaut *p-*; similarly, the explanation of the Baltic anlaut *b-* is difficult without reconstructing the zero grade of the root, if we do not insist, of course, on the rather doubtful supposition about borrowing Baltic words from Ukrainian || Lat. *pēdo* ‘furzen’ (< *\*pesdō*), *pōdex* m. ‘Hinterer’ (< *\*pozd-ek-s*); Grk. βδέω (< *\*bzdejō*) ‘to break wind’; the comparison, put forward by Vasmer, with NHG dial. coll. *fisten* ‘to break wind’, *Fist* m. ‘wind (in the intestines)’, contrary to the long tradition

<sup>99</sup> MastMuz 155, and the deverbative: acc. sg. *za pefd* (MastMuz 77), v *pezd* (MastDrk 181), gen. sg. *pzda* (MastDrk 332) ‘Arsch’.

rejecting it is still quite plausible, cf. MHG *visten* (swv.) ‘fisten’, *vist* m. ‘Fist’, MLG *vīsten*, *vīst*, MDu. *veesten* (swv.), *veest* m., Du. *veesten*, *veest*, also Engl. *fist* ‘breaking wind’ (Onions 358) — we should, however, bear in mind the fact that there was an early contamination with the Germ. strong verb of I cl. *\*fisan-* (ON *fīsa* (stv.) ‘furzen’; MHG *vīsen*, *veysen* ‘furzen’, MDu. *vesen* (swv.) ‘flüsteren’), the result of this contamination was the appearance of the strong verb of I cl. *\*fīstan-* and corresponding deverbatives with the long vowels (NHG dial. *feist* ‘Fist’, MHG *vīsten* (stv.) ‘fisten’, *vīst* m. ‘Fist, crepitus’, MDu. *vijsten* (swv.), *vijst*; OE *fīsting* f. ‘breaking wind (silently)’); see Fraenk. I, 42; Фасмер I, 163; БЕР 1, 97; 5, 126; Skok I, 125—126; Sławski I, 54; Miklosich 271; Trautmann BSW 221; Frisk I, 230; WH II, 273—274; Kluge<sup>7</sup> 137; de Vries 121; Falk—Torp I, 220—221; Franck—van Wijk 726; de Vries NEW 768; Onions 358; Pok. 829.

5. Slav. *\*ozdъ* ‘Malzdarre’: OCzech *ozd* m. ‘sušárna, zařízení opatřené zděnou pecí k sušení obilí, zvl. při výrobě sladu, hvozd, popř. pec sama’, *ozdnice* f. ‘sušárna, zvl. k výrobě sladu, hvozd’, *ozditi*<sup>100</sup>, later *hvozditi*; Czech *hvozd* ‘sladovna’; OPolish *ozd* ‘Malzdarre’, *oździć* ‘suszyć’, *ozdownia* or *oźnica* (Rej) ‘suszarnia słodu’; Sloven. *ozditi*, praes. 1 sg. *ozdím* ‘darren’, *ozdica* f. ‘die Darre, die Malzdarre’; Ukr. (Гринченко) *озніця* f. ‘hole in the roof for smoke; drying room for drying garden vegetables, made partly in earth, partly above it’; (Желеховский) *возніця* f. ‘Darrhaus’ (is the second one borrowed from Polish?) || Grk. *ἄζω* ‘to dry up, parch’, *ἄζα* f. ‘heat, dryness; dirt, mould; dry sediment’; Germ. *\*astaz*: Du. dial. *ast*, MDu. *ast* ‘drying oven’, OE *ast* ‘kiln’, Engl. *oast* ‘oven for drying hop or malt’ (Late OE *āst* — the result of the contamination with the reflex of Germ. *\*aistaz*); further correspondences imply the root *\*as-* with the *-d-*enlargement: Lat. *āreō* ‘to be dry’, *ārēscō* ‘to become dry’, *āridus* ‘trocken’, *āra* ‘Altar’, Osk. *aasaí* ‘in āra’; OInd. *ásah* ‘Asche, Staub’; Hitt. *ḫaš* c. ‘ash(es), soda ash, soap’, *ḫašša-* c. ‘fireplace, hearth, brazier, fire-

<sup>100</sup> In OCzech texts the word is attested only in the form of pass. past part. *oždžený*, *ožděný* ‘usušený, sušený’.

altar'; and the enlargements with the guttural determinatives: Goth. *azgo* f. 'Asche'; ON *aska*, OHG *aska* 'Asche'; Machek 152; Holub—Kopečný 137; Brückner 388; Bezlaj II, 263; Miklosich 229; Skeat 353; Onions 619; Van Wijk 149; WH I, 65; Frisk I, 25—26; Mayrhofer I, 83; Mayrhofer EWA I, 182—183; Feist 72; Pok. 68—69.

6. Slav. \**brъzgnŏti*, \**brězgnŏti* 'to become sour', \**brězgvъ* 'tart, sour taste': Russ. ChSlav. *обръзгнѣти* 'to turn sour', Slovak *brznút'* 'to turn sour (of milk)'; Russ. ChSlav. *обрѣзгнѣти* 'to turn sour', Russ. dial. *брѣзгнуть* 'to become spoiled, mouldy', Polish *obrzazgnąć* 'to become sour'; Czech *břesk* 'tart taste', Polish *brzazg* 'tart taste'; Slav. \**brězgati* 'to be fastidious, squeamish about' also can be referred here (?) || Norw. *brisk* 'bitter taste', *brisken* 'bitter, tart'; see Фасмер I, 211; ЭССЯ 3, 18—19, 73; Pok. 172.

7. Lith. *žaizdà*, gen. sg. *žaizdōs*, acc. sg. *žaizdą* (4) 'wound', dial. (N, K) *įžaizdus* (1), (Š) *įžaizdūs* (4) 'kenksmingas, pražūtingas; įžeidžiantis' || OE *gāst*, OS *gēst*, MLG *gēst*, OHG *geist* (VIII A. D.) 'Geist', this subst. is regarded as the deverbative primarily expressing the emotional state of the person coming across an irreal phenomenon: 'Ekstase' (EWD I, 525), the primary meaning is retained in OE adj. *zǣstlic* 'appalling, terrible' and in the OE verb *zǣstan* 'in Schrecken versetzen', also probably in the ME subst. *gāst* 'terror'; OIr. *gōite* 'vulneratus', Mlr. *goet* 'Wunde', *ro-gaet* 'wurde verwundet', *gāetas* 'qui occidit' (< \**ghoizd-*); Avest. (j.) *zōiždišta-* adj. superl. 'der schauderhafteste, abscheulichste', probably, here also belongs OInd. *hīd-/heḍ-* 'zürnen' < \**ghis-d-/gheis-d-* and its New Indian continuants; variant of the root without the dental enlargement: Goth. *usgeisnan* (intr.) 'sich entsetzen, erstaunen', *us-gaisjan* (tr.) 'erschrecken' (only part. praet. *usgaisips ist* 'ἐξέστη', 'in furorem versus est'); Avest. (j.) *zaēša-* adj. 'schauderhaft', (j.) *zōišnav-*, (g.) *zōišənav-* 'zusammenschreckend, schaudernd, bebend', Khot.-Sak. *ysäṣṭa-* 'hateful, hostile', *ysaiṣaga-* 'full of hate', Buddh. Sogd. *zyštḱ*, Manichaean *zyšt'wč*<sup>101</sup>,

<sup>101</sup> In Paroza, frg. 65, 6: Buddh. *zyšt'wc* 'hatred, anger'; in frg. 69, 17: *zyšty* 'hateful'.

MParth. (Turf.) *zyštyft*, MPers. *zišt*, *zišt-tar*, *zištīh*, Pers. *zišt* ‘ugly; bad, evil, nasty, disgusting’, in Indo-Aryan this root is represented without any enlargements in OInd. *heṣas-* n. ‘wound’, *hinásti*, *himśati* ‘verletzt, schädigt, zerstört’ and probably in Lendi dial. (Poṭhwārī) *hisṇā* ‘to be extinguished, be withered’, Nepal. *hissinu* ‘to be baffled’; probably, all the semantic difficulties are overcome if we accept the meaning of the kind ‘to strike, wound’ as primary || Lith. *žeisti*, praes. 3 *žeidžia*, praet. 3 *žeidė* ‘wound’, starting from the stem of this verb as primary Buga suggested an internal etymology of the noun cited above: *žaidzà* < *\*žaid-da* (Būga RR I, 292); this etymology was accepted by Skardžius (ŽD 99, 462) and Fraenkel (Fraenk. II, 1285); as this etymology does not have any external grounds (fairly exact correspondences that were suggested turn out to be refuted in case of such an approach), it remains simply outside our analysis; one should just note that Buga’s etymology retains its alternative character: it is equally possible that under the conditions of constant contacts with *-t-* and *-j-*formants the verbal stem was restructured in the way natural for this situation; see Mayrhofer III, 595, 601—602; Mayrhofer EWA II, 819; Turner CDIAL 816, 818; Bailey Dict. 353, 355; Feist 531—532; EWD I, 525—526; Pok. 425 (*\*gheis-* ‘verwunden’); Pok. 427; cf. Fraenk. II, 1285.

II. IE clusters «voiced unaspirated + s»  
(voiced unaspirated + *\*-s-*, *\*-zd-*, *\*-sk-*, *\*-st-*)

8. Slav. *\*owǫsъ* (a. p. b) ‘oats’: Russ. *овѣс*, *овца́*, ORuss. *овѣць*, SCr. *òvac*, *òvca* (probably < *\*awǫz-so-* < *\*auǫg-so-*); Lith. *avižà* (3b) ‘Haferkorn’ (segmentally it goes back to *\*auǫg-*, but absence of lengthening force us to suppose the contamination with the *\*s-*enlarged variant, lost in Modern Lithuanian,— cf. two Prussian forms below), Pruss. (E) *wyse* ‘Hafer’ (< *\*wǫze* < *\*auǫg-*) and (Grunau) *wisge* (< *\*wǫzge* < *\*auǫg-s-*), cf. also Lith. dial. (giving by Dovkont) *wizges* || Lat. *avēna* ‘Grasart, Hafer, in Italien nur als Viehfutter gebaut’, perhaps *\*avīna* with secondary *-ēna* (contamination with *arēna*) < *\*avig-snā*; ? Grk.

αἰγίλωψ, gen. -πος ‘haver-grass, Aegilops ovata; Turkey oak; ulcer in the eye, lachrymal fistula’ (\*αφιγι-?; Pedersen // IF 5, 42 f.); see Fraenk. I, 28; Фасмер III, 113; Trautmann BSW 21; WH I, 81; Frisk I, 31—32; Pok. 88.

9. Slav. \**poxy* < \**pog-sū*: Ukr. *níxvu* pl. ‘scabbard’, SCr. *пòву* pl. ‘tail strap (an element of harness)’, Czech *pochva* ‘scabbard’, *pochvy* pl. ‘horse harness’, Polish *pochwa* ‘scabbard; tail strap (an element of harness)’, Lith. *paksis* ‘corner of a house’ || Slav. \**paga* and \**paža* < \**pagja* ‘Arm’ (see above, p. 409, No. 28) || for external etymology (OInd. *pákṣa-* ‘Schulter, Flügel’, etc.) see above, loc. cit.; though the position before the combination \*-g-s- is one of the positions where Winter’s law did not operate, this interdiction is sometimes violated if there are forms without \*-s-, cf. with the long vowel Slav. \**paхь* ‘groin’ < \**pāg-su-* < \**pog-su-* and Slav. \**paху* ‘armpit’ < \**pāg-sy* < \**pog-sū* (see above, loc. cit.); Фасмер III, 220; БЕР 5, 104—105; Miklosich 229, 230; Дыбо А. В. 1996, 95—96; Mayrhofer II, 184, 244—245; Mayrhofer EWA II, 62; Абаев I, 426, 206; Стеблин-Каменский ЭСВЯ 286; Pok. 792.

10. Lith. *gaīsas* (4) ‘glow, gleam’, Latv. *gāiss* ‘Luft’ < \**gʰhaid-so-* || Lith. dial. *giedras* ‘hell, klar’, Latv. *dzīdrs* ‘id.’; the same root but with Winter’s lengthening — for external etymology see above, p. 432, No. 16.

11. ? Slav. \**loza* (< \**lozda* < \**loĝ-zdā*): Russ. *лоза́* f. ‘bush of some kinds of willows; vine; a long resilient stalk or branch of some bushes (esp. of willow, vine)’, OUkr. *лоза* ‘willow bush’, Ukr. *лоза́* ‘rod; birch-rod; broom, *Salix viminalis*’, ORuss. ChSlav. *лоза́* f. ‘vine; willow bush’, OCS *лоза́* f. ‘ἄμπελος, ἀναδενδράς, κλημα, κληματίς’, Bulg. *лоза́* f. ‘vine; a long thin twig’, dial. ‘bine of pumpkin, melon, etc.’, Maced. *лоза* ‘vine; twig, bine, creeping stalk’, SCr. *лòза* f. ‘vine, *Vitis vinifera*; *Clematis vitalba*; navel-string (of animal)’, archaic *loza* f. ‘vitis’, dial. *loza*, *lòza* ‘forest’, Sloven. *lóza* f. ‘tendrill, sprout; vine, *Vitis vinifera*; forest, grove, esp. underbrush’, dial. *lóza* f. ‘grove, forest’, OCzech *loza* ‘trunk of a tree (?)’, Czech dial. *loza* f. ‘vine’, Slovak *loza* f. ‘vine; sapling’, dial. *lodza*, OPolish *łozą* f. ‘*Salix cinerea*



L.; branches, rods'; Polish *łozą* f. 'willow, pussy-willow; twig, switch, rod; vine; birch-rod'; Lith. *lazdà* 'stick, stalk; hazel', dial. *lagzdà*, South-Eastern Žemaitic *lazà* 'stick' (Būga RR I, 273), South Žemaitic *lazà* (4) 'lazda; riešuto medis' (Vitkauskas 170); Latv. *lagzda*, *lazds*, *ļegzda*, *ļegzds* 'Hasele'; Pruss. *laxde* 'Hasele' < \**loġ-zdā* || Grk. ὀλόγινον · ὀζῶδες συμπεφυκός (Hsch.) 'twig, sprout', κατά-λογον · την μύρτον (Hsch.); Pers. *raz* 'vine; grapes; vineyard', Tajik *raz* 'vine; vineyard', Vanj. *raz* 'grove'; Kurd. *rāz*, *rez* 'garden, vineyard', Zaza *rāz* 'vineyard'; MPers. *raz*, pl. *razān* 'vineyard', Parth. *razpan* 'vineyard keeper', *razēpatē* 'vineyard owner', *razkar* 'wine-maker'; OPers. \**raza-* (in Elamite transcription *ra-ša-*) 'vineyard', \**razakara-* (Elam. *ra-ša-qa-ra*) 'wine-maker', Avest. *razura-* 'grove'; ? Arm. *lasteni* 'alder-tree', *last* '(Holz)floß, Nachen, Schiff'; the combination with an obstruent probably did not hinder Winter's law: Slav. \**lěžkà* < \**lěžka* < \**lěž-kā* < \**lěž-kā* < \**lěž-kā* (with abnormal vocalization -*zg-* for expected -*sk-* in some Slav. dialects): Late ORuss. (XVII A. D.) лѣзковы орѣхи (Алф., 128); Russ. лещобый орех, лещина, West. dial. (Даль) лязгá, лязговина, лязговина f. 'hazel', лязговый 'of the hazel', Ukr. лиска f. 'hasel; twig, stick' (contamination with Ukr. лиска f. 'wattle-fence; wattle gate; fishing wicker-work'), лискови́й 'made of hazel', личина; Bulg. лещка́ 'hazel'; SCr. лижеска f. 'hazel'; Sloven. lěska f. 'die Haselnußstaude'; Czech *líška*, *leština*, Slovak *lieska*; Polish *laska* 'stick, staff', dial. (małopolsk.) *laska*, gen. pl. *tyg\_lązek* 'kij do obracania kamienia w żarnach' (Kucała 135), *lyska*, *lyzecka*, gen. pl. *tyg\_lyzek* 'leszczyna', *lysk<sup>u</sup>ovy* 'leszczynowy' (Kucała 64); there are a number of attempts to connect this group or some of its components with certain verbal roots, but they did not lead so far to any convincing results, Slawski's direction of search being the most reasonable semantically; see Fraenk. I, 348; Топоров 1990, 47—50; Фасмер II, 476, 486, 512—513; Sławski IV, 56—59; V, 239—241; ЭССЯ 16, 118—120; Trautmann BSW 153; Абаев II, 398—399; Pok. 660, 691.

Note. Slav. \**lěsā* 'wicker-work, net-work, grating' cannot be directly connected with \**lěžka* > \**lěžkà* because of prosodic differences. Slav. \**lěžka* > \**lěžkà*, as can be seen from the given material, demonstrates reliably a. p. b, what is possible only in

case of a dominant circumflex root or primarily acutized, but recessive root (via metatony). Slav. \**lěsā* ‘wicker-work, net-work, grating’ is surely reconstructed with a. p. *a*: Ukr. *līca*, gen. sg. *līcu* ‘wattle fence of withe or reed; grating from wooden sticks (in the drying room for vegetables), on which the fruits are strewn’, Bulg. dial. (Smolsko, Pirdopsko) *лѣса* ‘плетеница от прѣти за ограждане, преграждане и др.’, (White Osm, Trojansko) ‘част от чепкало-плоскост от кръстосани летвички’, (Strandža; Kodža Bunar) ‘рибарска решетка от лескови прѣчки, с която се лови риба на бързей’, (Plevna, Dramsko) ‘врата на гумно, направена от храсти’, (Strandža) ‘под на кола, изплетен от липови кори’; (Brusen, Galata, Tetevensko) ‘тепсия за сушене на сливи’, (Trojan) ‘дървена скара за сушене на сливи в сушилия; дървено приспособление за ловене на риба’; SCr. (Бук) *ljěsa*, dial. (Kosmet) *lěsa*, (Imotski) *līsa* ‘vrata od plotu, načinjena od tanjeg pruća prevučenog preko debelih pritaka; pleter koji služi za sušenje voća, kukuruza’, demin. (Бук) *ljěsica*; Sloven. *lěsa* f. ‘eine aus Ruthen geflochtene Wand, die Hürde; die gewöhnlich aus Ruthen geflochtene Zauntür; Flechtwerk zur Ueberbrückung eines Morastes; die Dörrhürde; ein aus Wieden geflochtener Käsebehälter; die Wagenflechte’, dial. *lěisa*, *lěisa*, *lějska*; Czech *lisa* ‘deska upletená z proutí, sloužící na sušení ovoce, jako vrátka v plotě, jako dílec plotu a pod.’, Slovak *lesa* ‘wicker fence’; Polish dial. (małopolsk.) *lasa*, *laska* ‘furtka’, ‘siatka w ramkach, na której suszy się owoce’ (Kučała 135, 142). No tracing of Slav. \**lěsā* to \**uloiskā* is possible. Slav. \**lěžka* > \**lěžkā* could be traced back to \**uloiskā*, but Russian dialects and Polish dialects (małopolsk.) point more more likely to \**lěžka* > \**lěžkā*, so one has to follow the traditional often doubted comparison (in its favour we can also cite the fact that the phonetic difficulties connected with them are now comparatively easily overcome thanks to Winter’s law); see ЭССЯ 14, 232—235; БЕР 3, 368; Skok II, 335—336; Bezlaj II, 135; Machek 271; Sławski IV, 56—59;

12. Slav. \**gvězdā* > \**gvězdā̃*, acc. sg. \**gvězdq* ‘star’ (a. p. *b* of the type \**vōljā* > \**voljā*, acc. sg. \**vōljq*): Russ. *звез́га*, acc. sg. *звезгу́*, pl. *звѣзгы*, Ukr. dial. (Transcarpathian, Peremyšl’, see ЗНТШ XXVII 27; XXXV—XXXVI, 4) *звізга́*, *звізгу́*, *звізгу́*, commonly, however, *звізга́*, *звізгу́*, pl. *звізгу*, cf. nom. pl. *звѣзды* in the text of XVI A. D. (Беселовська ВУ 46); SCr. (standard) *звѣзга*, acc. sg. *звѣзгу*, pl. *звѣзге*, dial. *zvězdā*, *zvězdū*, *zvězdī* (Istra, see SAW CL [533]), *zviyezdā*, *zviyezdū*, *zviyezdē* (Prčanj, see Reš. 94), *gzvezgá*, *gzvezgý* (North Timok, see СДЗБ II, 397); Slovak *hviezda*; Polish dial. (małopolsk.) nom. pl. *gvázdzy* (Kučała 40), Kashub *gówzda*, acc. sg. *gówzda*, nom. pl. *gówzda*, Slowinish *gvjāuzdā* f. ‘Stern’; but ORuss. (Чуд.) *звѣзла* (159<sup>1</sup>), *звѣзла бо* (115<sup>2</sup>), gen. sg. *звѣзлы* (115<sup>2</sup>), acc. sg. *звѣзлѣ* (3<sup>4</sup>),

nom. pl. *звѣзды* (92<sup>3</sup>), gen. pl. *звѣзды* (149<sup>2</sup>, 150<sup>1</sup>), *звѣзды* (152<sup>3</sup>),  
 dat. pl. *нн звѣздамъ* (78<sup>4</sup>); SCr. dial. (NČak.) *zvězdā, zvězdu, zvězde*  
 (Novi, see ИОРЯС XIV, 2, 228), (SČak.) *zvīezdā, zvīezdu, zvīezde*  
 (Susak, see HDZb I, 111—112), (NKaik.) *zvīēzdō, zvīezdu* (Bednja,  
 see HDZb I, 302); Czech *hvězda*; such variety of accentuations in E  
 and SSLav. and specific reflexation in South Čakavian give us enough  
 ground for reconstructing a special variant of a. p. *b*; Lith. *žvaigždė,*  
*žvaigždė*, dial. *žvaizdė* (4), but in OLith. there is a variant of 2 a. p.:  
 OLith. nom. sg. *žváyзде* (DP 59<sub>17</sub>), *žwáizde* (DP 400<sub>8</sub>), gen. sg. *ant'*  
*žwáizdės* (DP 400<sub>23</sub>), *nūg | žwáizdės* (DP 429<sub>20—21</sub>), gen. pl. *žwáizdžiū*  
 (DP 590<sub>16</sub>) (but 4 a. p. has much more attestations in Daukša's texts;  
 in the last case there are clearly two signs of stress, the dot above -ė  
 (nom. sg.) can also be interpreted as a sign of stress<sup>102</sup>, nevertheless  
 2 a. p. is supported by the accentuation of the derivative *žwáyzdini-*  
*kay* nom. pl. DP 60<sub>3</sub>), ELith. dial. (Šl.) *žvaigždė* and *žvaigždė*, in ac-  
 cordance with *žvaigždininkas* and *žvaigždiniņkas* (2 a. p. is recorded  
 in Kupiškis, Dusetos, Linkmenis, see Doritsch CCXXXVI; ЯВН. Гр.  
 104; LKK II, 170); Latv. *zvāigzne* f. 'Stern'; Pruss. *svāistan* acc. sg.  
 'shining, light, glitter' < \**ghuoig*<sup>u</sup>- + \*-*zdā*<sup>103</sup> || Latv. *zvaigala* 'lauka

<sup>102</sup> Thus Kudzinowski II, 482.

<sup>103</sup> Fraenk. II, 1324: Lith. *žvaigždė* < *ghvaig*<sup>u</sup>(e)s + *dhē* or *ghvaid*(e)s + *dhē*,  
 what is seen by me as detalisation without enough grounds. Fraenkel proposes an old  
 compound with the verbal root \**dhē*-. The actual absence of primary -*d*- and -*dh*-  
 suffixes in the South IE languages (on which the IE reconstruction is based) could  
 speak in favour of Fraenkel's supposition. But note that these relic siffixes are present  
 in a number of Balto-Slavic stems.

-*d*[*h*]-(*ā*)-suffix: 1. Lith. dial. (Jušk.) *kardā* f. 'large bark piece, bast' (from *kérti* 'to  
 come off, come apart, peel off', cf. with another suffix: *karnā* 'bast'); 2. Lith. *kliūda* f.  
 'defect, flaw, blemish' (*kliūti* 'to brush against, be caught in'); 3. лит. *žaidā* 'wound'  
 (p. 484, No. 7); 4. Slav. \**krida* f. (only Sorb.) 'sieve' (< \**kreidā*, cf. Slav. \**krojiti* 'to dis-  
 joint'; with another suffix: Lat. *cribrum* 'Sieb, Durchschlag' < \**krei-dhrom*, etc.). With  
 the same siffix Slav. deverbative neutra \**stado*, \**čudo* and similar Balt. stems are  
 formed.

Side by side with primary -*d*[*h*]-(*ā*)-suffix composite -*zd*[*h*]-(*ā*)-suffix is attested  
 (which sometime alternates with the former one, cf. Slav. \**bor-da* ~ Lith. *bar-zdā*):

karvė, Lith. dial. (Žemaitic) *žvygulỹs* ‘połysk’ (Būga RR II, 156), Latv. *zvīgulis* ‘etwas Glänzendes in Form eines Tropfens, einer Kugel’, *zvīguļūdt* ‘schimmern, glänzen, funkeln’ — the same root but in the position where Winter’s law operated; Grk. φοῖβος ‘rein glänzend’, ἀφικτός, ἀφικτρός ‘unrein’ (< \**ǵhūig*<sup>u-</sup>); another comparison of Greek forms in Pok. 118 is implausible; see Иллич-СВИТЫЧ ИА, 105—106; Fraenk. II, 1324; Фасмер II, 85—86; Trautmann BSW 373—374; Pok. 495 (*ǵhūoig*<sup>u-</sup> ‘leuchten, Schein’).

13. Slav. \**blěskъ* < \**bloig-sk-* (a. p. c, thus the word is irrelevant for establishing the vocalic structure of the root): SCr. *bljjesak*, gen. sg. *bljjeska*, Sloven. *blěsk* m. ‘der Glanz, der Schimmer’, Czech *blesk* m. ‘lightning; lustre’, Slovak *blesk* m. ‘lightning; lustre’, Polish dial. (małopolsk.) *blasz* ‘blasz’ (Kucała 49), etc.; \**blšćati*, praes. 1 sg. \**blšćjo*, 3 sg. *blšćiti* < \**blig-sk-*: Ukr. *блищати*, praes. 1 sg. *блищý*, 2 sg. *блищúш* ‘to glitter’; OCS *блѣщати* сѧ ‘ἀστράπτειν, fulgere, to shine, glitter’ — part. praes. *блѣщашъ* acc. sg. m. (Supr.), *блѣщашѣ* loc. pl. f. (Zogr., Mar., Ass.), MBulg. impf. 3 sg. *блѣщашѣ* сѧ (Ман. xp.); Bulg. *блещá*, dial. *блещá* ‘glitter, shine’; Sloven. *bošćati*, praes. 1 sg. *bošćím* ‘glotzen’; OCzech *blšćieti se*, praes. 1 sg. *blšću se* ‘glänzen, blitzen’, dial. *blštěti*; Polish dial. *psceć* (< \**blsceć*) ‘glänzen’;

1. Slav. \**jā-zda* > \**jazdā* f. ‘riding’ (from \**jati*, praes. 1 sg. \**jadq* ‘to ride’); 2. Slav. \**ū-zda* > \**uzdā* f. ‘bridle’ (\**-uti*, praes. 1 sg. \**-ujq* ‘to put shoes on’; with another suffix: Pruss. *auclo* f. ‘halter’, Latv. *āukla* ‘cord, string’, Lith. *aūklė* ‘string’; cf. also Russ. dial. *обумь* ‘halter’); 3. Slav. \**boř-zda* f. ‘furrow’ (with another suffix: Slav. \**bor-na* ‘harrow’ f.; both stems go back to IE verbal root retained in Grk. φάρω ‘to plough’, φάρος n. ‘Pflug’, φάρος m. ‘Furche’).

Since this stems often alternate with the stem in \*-*dhl*-/\*-*dhr*- (cf. Pruss. *auclo*, Lat. *cribrum*, Slav. \**sta-dlo*), one can think that Balto-Slav. -*d[h]*-(*ā*)-suffix goes back to IE \*-*dh*- (this supposition is also supported by the direct comparison of alternating Slav. \**bor-da* ~ Lith. *bar-zda* with Lat. *barba*). As for \*-*z*- in Balto-Slav. \*-*zd*-(*ā*), in all likelihood this element goes back to IE primary \*-*s*-suffix, attested in similar function: 1. IE \**ǵobh-sā* ‘wasp’ ← ‘weaving’ (cf. OHG *weban* ‘to weave’); 2. Slav. \**rend-sā* > *resa* ‘adornment’ (cf. Slav. \**ređiti*, Latv. *rist*, praes. 1 sg. *riedu* ‘to to put in order’); 3. Grk. δόξα ‘opinion’ (δοκέω ‘to seem, appear’); 4. Lith. *tamsā* ‘darkness’ (Lith. *tėmti* ‘to become dark’). It suggests that Balto-Slav. \*-*zd*-(*ā*) < IE \*-*s-dh*-(*ā*); see Sł. prasł. 1, 63; 2, 32.

Slowinish *blǎščec*, praes. 1 sg. *blǎščca*, 2 sg. *blǎščičš* ‘blitzen, funkeln’; Slav. \**blǎstěti*, praes. 1 sg. \**blǎstjǫ*, 3 sg. *blǎstītŭ* (< \**blīġ-st-?*): Russ. *блестѣть*, praes. 3 sg. *блестѣтъ*, Ukr. *блистѣти*, Russ. ChSlav. *блѣстѣти* ‘στίλβειν, splendere, fulgere, to shine’; Bulg. *блестѣ*; Sloven. *blǎstěti*, praes. 1 sg. *blǎstím* ‘glänzen, gleißen, strahlen’; Czech *blstěti se* ‘to glitter’ ~ Lith. *blizgėti*, praes. 1 sg. *blizgù* ‘to glitter, shine; to be glossy’; Latv. *blizġēt* ‘flimmern’ and parallelly Lith. *bliskėti* ‘glänzen, funkeln’; Balt. stems go back to \**blīġ-sk-* || ON *blīkja* (I cl., praet. pl. *blīkom*) ‘erscheinen, glänzen, leuchten’, *blīk* n. ‘Glanz’; OE *blīkan* (I cl.) ‘bleich werden’, OF *blīka* (I cl.) ‘sichtbar sein’; OS *blīcan* (I cl.) ‘glänzen’, OHG *biblihhan* (VIII A. D.) ‘erstrahlen, erglänzen’, *blīhhan* (I cl.) ‘bleich werden’; see Fraenk. I, 46; Фасмер I, 173—174; БЕР 1, 55—56, 58; ЭССЯ 2, 113—114, 116—117, 130—132; Berneker I, 63—64; Trautmann BSW 34; de Vries 44; EWD I, 187; Falk—Torp I, 80; Pok. 156—157.

14. Lith. *blōkšti*, praes. 1 sg. *blaškiù*, praet. 1 sg. *blaškiaũ* ‘zur Seite hin- und herschleudern’, ‘to throw, toss, hurl’ (probably a secondary levelling of vocalism in the finite stem has taken place: *blōkšti*, praes. 3 *blōškia*, praet. 3 *blōškė* ‘to throw, toss, hurl; to beat out, knock out’); Lith. *blaškýti*, praes. 3 *blāško*, praet. 3 *blāškė* ‘to throw, toss, hurl; to drive (away); to scutch, swingle; to scatter, waste’ (Pokorny: «-šk- aus -ġ-sq-») || ON and Norw. dial. *blaka*, *blakra* ‘vor und zurück schlagen, fächeln, flattern’, ON *blaka* f. ‘Schlag; Fächer; Vorhang, Schleier’, ON *blekkja* (\**blakjan*) ‘schlagen’ (Norw. ‘flackern’), Swed. dial. *bläkkta* (\**blakatjan*), MLG *blaken* ‘fächeln, flattern, schottern’; Lat. *flagrum* n. ‘Geißel, Peitsche, Dreschflegel, Weinranke’; see Fraenk. I, 51; de Vries I, 42, 43; Falk—Torp I, 80; WH I, 511—512; Pok. 154.

15. Lith. *braškėti*, praes. 1 sg. *braškù*, 3. *brāška* ‘to crack, crackle, creak’; Latv. *brakšġēt*, *brakstēt*, *brakšēt* ‘id.’ (also *brākšġēt*, *brākšēt* — spread of the length from the stems without the -sk-suffix) || Lith. *bróžti* (praes. 3 *bróžia*, praet. 3 *bróžė*) ‘wischen, streifen, hingleiten, kratzen, schrammen, ritzen’, Latv. *brāzt*, *brāzt* ‘brausen, toben, lärmen’ — the same root but in the positions where Winter’s law operated; for external etymology see above, p. 397, No. 4.

## -st- and -n-st-stems

In this section the verbs with praes. in -st- and -n-st- are analysed. In all these paradigms usually we did not find vowel lengthening in preat. and inf. stems too — in all likelihood the result of the secondary levelling after the praes. stem.

16. Lith. *gižti*, praes. 3 *gỹžta* (i. e. *gĩžta* < \**gi-n-ġ-st-*), praet. 3 *gižo* ‘to turn sour’ (in ELith. dial. (Šl.) the praes. stems was levelled after preat. and inf.: *gỹžti*, praes. 1 sg. *gỹžtu*, praet. 1 sg. *gỹžau* ‘obrzyz-gać’); *gaižti* ‘bitter, herb werden’, *gaižėti*, praes. 3 *gaižėja* ‘to become rancid (tart)’ (Fraenk. 129: *gáižėti* ‘ranzig, muffig, bitter, herb, mürrisch, launisch werden’), *giēžti*, praes. 3 *giēžia* ‘to tickle, scratch; to feel bitterness in one’s mouth; to bear malice to smb., be vexed by smb./smth.’; Lith. *gaižūs* (4) ‘ranzig, muffig, bitter, herb, mürrisch, launisch’ — all these Lith. forms with the reflexes of short vowels should be interpreted results of levelling after *gižti*, praes. 3 *gỹžta*; on the contrary ELith. *gỹžti* and Fraenkel’s *gáižėti* show vowel lengthening according to Winter’s law; Latv. *gàizs*<sup>2</sup> ‘unangenehm bitter’ (Endz.—Haus. I, 379) || Osset. *æŋq̄izyn* : *æŋq̄yzt* | *æŋġezun* : *æŋġizt* ‘to ferment (intr.)’, *æŋq̄izæn* ‘leaven, ferment, yeast’, Pers. *angīz-* : *angīxt-* ‘to excite’, Sogd. \**anġiznīk* (*‘nyyznik*) ‘emetice, puke’; ? Arm. *k’c’anem* ‘I prick; I bite’, *k’c’u* ‘bitter, ranzig’<sup>104</sup>; OIr. *gēr* ‘scharf, sauer’ < \**giġ-ro-*; Alb. *gjize* ‘Ziger, Käse’ (but see Orel 136); cf. also Lith. *āpmaudą giēžti* ‘Groll hegen’, *giežiúos* ‘heftig verlangen’ compared with OInd. *jēh-* in *jēhamāna-h* ‘gähnend, den Mund aufsperrend, klaffend, lechzend’, Goth. *faihu-geigan* ‘begehren’, *ga-geigan* ‘gewinnen’ (Pok. 427: *gheiġh-* ‘begehren, gierig sein’), the OInd. correspondence being very doubtful, see Mayrhofer I, 444, Mayrhofer EWA I, 598; the character of the final consonant of the

<sup>104</sup> But Джаукян 61: «\**gidjo* > *kic-*, *kcanem* ‘I bite’, *kcu* ‘spicy’ (cf. ON *kitla* ‘tickle’); on p. 179 Džauk’an returns to the etymology of Liden: «*kcanem* (with *kcem*) ‘I bite’ from *kic-* < *giġ-* (\**geiġ-* ‘to prick, sting, bite’))», the same etymology is on p. 60, there is also endnote 80 on p. 217 about the alternative character of both etymologies.

root remains not established (*ĝ* or *ĝh*); see Fraenk. I, 129; Feist 181; Orel 136; Pok. 356, 427.

17. Lith. *glèžti*, praes. 3 *glèžta* ‘weich, schlaff, hinfällig werden’ < \**gle-n-ĝ-st-*, praet. 3 *glėžo* || Slav. \**glěziti*, praes. 1 sg. \**glězjq*; the same root but in the position where Winter's law operated — for external etymology see above, p. 404, No. 20.

18. Lith. *gniūžti*, praes. 1 sg. *gniūžtù* (3 *gniūžta* orthographically for \**gniūžta*) ‘to contract, shrink; to bend (*intr.*); to sink, go down’ < \**gnu-n-ĝ-st-* || Lith. *gniáužti*, praes. 1 sg. *gniáužiu* ‘die Hand fest schließen’, Latv. *gnaūzt*<sup>2</sup> ‘mit der Hand fassen, drücken’; the same root but in the positions where Winter's law operated — for external etymology see above, p. 424, No. 3.

19. Lith. *guřsti*, praes. 3 *guřsta* ‘to weaken, grow sickly, wither; to delay, lose time’ < \**g<sup>u</sup>rd-st-* || Latv. *guřds* (Arrasch) ‘müde, matt’; the same root but in the positions where Winter's law operated — for external etymology see above, p. 450, No. 54.

20. Lith. *liūsti*, praes. 1 sg. *liūstù* ‘traurig sein’ (‘gedrückt sein’) (orthographically for \**liūstù*) < \**lu-n-d-st-* (such forms as: *liūdėti*, 1 sg. praes. *liūdžiù* ‘traurig sein, trauern’, *liūdnas* ‘sad, sorrowful, mournful, regrettable’ are derived from the stem of this primary verb); OPruss. *laustinti* ‘demütigen’ || Slav. \**ludъ* ‘stupid, weak-headed’, a. p. c: Russ. ChSlav. *лудъ*, Bulg. *лыг*, SCr. *лыг*, f. *лыга*, Sloven. *lūd*, f. *lūda*, etc. (no indication to the vowel quantity in a. p. c) || Goth. *liuts* ‘heuchlerisch’, *lutōn* ‘betrügen’; ON *lútr* ‘gebeugt, erniedrigt, demütig’, *lúta* (II cl.) ‘sich neigen, niederbeugen, sich vorüberbeugen, sich in Ehrfurcht verneigen’; OE *lútan* (II cl.: praet. *leát*, pl. *lutan*, part. praet. *loten*) ‘sich beugan, fallen’; see Fraenk. I, 378—379; Фасмер II, 528; Trautmann BSW, 151; de Vries 369; Pok. 684 (\**leud-*).

21. Lith. *maĩgti*, praes. 1 sg. *margstù* ‘bunt werden, flimmern’ < \**morg<sup>u</sup>-st-* (cf. *maĩgis* 2 a. p. ‘motley, diversity of colours’ — metatony before the dominant *j*-suffix) || *márgas* (3) ‘variegated, dappled’, *mirgėti*, praes. 1 sg. *mirgu*, praet. 1 sg. *mirgėjau* ‘to twinkle, shine, flash; to be dazzled’; Latv. *miřdzēt*, praes. 1 sg. *miřdzu*, praet. 1 sg.

*mīrdzēju*; the same root but in the positions where Winter's law operated — for external etymology see above, p. 452, No. 57.

22. Lith. *saĩsti*, praes. 3 *saĩsta* 'to become sweet' < \**sald-st-*, as the result of levelling, the accentuation of the infinitive and praet. 3 *saĩdo* (there are also systems with another direction of development: Lith. *sálti*, praes. 3 *sálsa*, praet. 3 *sálo* (*sālē*) 'to become sweet' (LKŽ XII, 84) — levelling of the presence after the infinitive and the restructuring of the infinitive after the preterite stem) || Lith. *saldùs* (3) 'sweet'; Latv. *saĩds* 'süß'; the same root but in the position where Winter's law operated — for external etymology see above, p. 443, No. 42.

23. Lith. dial. var. *spĩsti*, praes. 1 sg. *spĩstù* 'erglänzen' < \**sp̃nd-st-*, as the result of levelling praet. 1 sg. *spindaũ* (LKŽ XIII, 452) (the contrary result of levelling is represented in standard *spĩsti*, praes. 1 sg. *spĩstu*, praet. 1 sg. *spĩndau*) || *spĩdėti*, praes. 1 sg. *spĩndžiũ* 'glänzen' [Lyberis: praes. 3 *spĩñdi*] ~ Latv. *atspĩst* 'wieder erglänzen' (*spĩst* 'scheinen, leuchten, glänzen'), *spĩdēt* 'glänzen, leuchten'; *spuõžs* 'glänzend, hell, leuchtend', *subst.* 'der Glanz, das Leuchten', *spuõds* 'id.' (< \**spandùs*), *spuõdrs* 'blank, glänzend, sauber, rein, hell' (< \**spandras*); the same root but in the position where Winter's law operated — for external etymology see above, p. 465, No. 86.

24. ? Lith. *spriĩgti*, praes. 1 sg. *springstù* 'to choke with (*intr.*)' (< \**spr̃ng-st-*) || *sprėngėti*, praes. 1 sg. *sprėngu* 'ersticken (an etwas), würgen (an etwas)'; Latv. *spruõga* '(Haar)locke, Floche'; the same root but in the position where Winter's law operated — for external etymology see above, p. 467, No. 90.

25. Lith. *svaiĩgti*, praes. 1 sg. *svaiĩgstù* 'to drive hither and thither, go round; to feel dizzy' < \**suoig-st-*, praet. 1 sg. *svaigaũ*; *svaiĩginėti* 'to loaf' (a contrary result of levelling is in Latv. *svaiĩgslis* 'Unsteter, Flatterhafter', *svaiĩgslĩgs* 'unstet, flatterhaft') || Lith. *svĩegti*, praes. 1 sg. *svĩegiu* 'werfen, schleudern, schlagen'; the same root but in the position where Winter's law operated — for external etymology see above, p. 439, No. 32.



26. Lith. *svīsti*, praes. 3 *svýsta* (Kos. <sup>105</sup>; i. e. *svīsta*) ‘švīsti, žībėti’ < \**svi-n-d-st-*, 3 *svīdo* (another direction of levelling in the dial. variant *svýsti*, praes. 3 *svýsta*, praet. 3 *svýdo* ‘švīsti, žībėti’ [LKŽ XIV, 379] and in Latv. *svīst*, praes. 1 sg. *svīstu*, praet. 1 sg. *svīdu* ‘anvorbrechen, hervorbrechen [vom Licht], tagen’) || Lith. *svydėti*, *svỹdi*, *svydėjo*; the same root but in the position where Winter's law operated — for external etymology see above, p. 421, No. 45.

27. Lith. *šīrsti*, praes. 1 sg. *šīrstù* (< \**ķīrd-st-*), praet. 1 sg. *šīrdaū* ‘to be annoyed, vexed; to be indignant, angry’ (expected accentuation of inf. we find in the dial. variant *šīrsti* [LKŽ XIV, 905], its praes. and praet. forms remain, however, unknown), *šīrdinti* ‘to make angry’ (var. *šīrdinti* [LKŽ XIV, 850, with reference to KŽ]), *šīrdyti* ‘id.’ (var. *šīrdyti* and *šīrdýti* [LKŽ XIV, 898]), *šīrdytis* ‘to be angry’ ~ Latv. *sīrties*, praes. 1 sg. *sīru* or *sīrstuôs*, praet. 1 sg. *sīruôs* ‘sich ärgern, zürnen; erschrecken (intr.)’ (with secondary root auslaut formation), *iesīrst*, praes. 1 sg. *iesīrstu*, praet. 1 sg. *iesīrdu*, also refl. *iesīrstiês*, ‘zornig, böse werden’, *sīrdīt*, praes. 1 sg. *sīrdu*, praet. 1 sg. *sīrdiju* ‘erzürnen’, Lith. *šīrdis*, acc. sg. *šīrdį* (3) f. ‘heart’ ~ Latv. *sīrds* ‘Herz, Mut, Zorn’; Pruss. *seyr* ‘heart’ (< \**sēr* < \**ķerr* < \**ķērd*); ELith. dial. (Šl.) *šerdis*, gen. sg. *šerdiês*, acc. sg. *šerdi* (3) ‘rdzeń (w drzewie, roślinie, piórze); serce dzwonu’ (the same in Dusetos according to Būga RR II, 563), dial. (Slavikai) *šerdis* (back-formation after acc. sg., Būga RR I, 318, RR II, 563), standard *šerdis* (4) ‘center, core, heart, pith; clapper, tongue’; dial. (Dysnà, Dusetos) *šerdē*, acc. sg. *šerde* ‘center, core, heart, pith’ (Būga RR II, 563) ~ Latv. *seīde* ‘center, core, heart, pith’ || Lith. *šīrsti*, *šīrdinti*, *šīrdyti* and *šīrdýti*, *šīrdis* (3), *šerdis* (3), *šerdis*, *šerdē* (3), Latv. *sīrties* (praes. 1 sg. *sīrstuôs*), *iesīrst* (praes. 1 sg. *iesīrstu*, praet. 1 sg. *iesīrdu*), *iesīrstiês*, *sīrdīt* (praes. 1 sg. *sīrdu*, praet. 1 sg. *sīrdiju*), *sīrds*, *seīde* — these forms quoted above repres-

<sup>105</sup> In LKŽ XIV the form of the presence is given as follows: «*svīnda* (*svýsta*; DP610, Kos54)»; but in DP610 there is no stem of presence *svýsta-*, there is only part. praes. *fwindanczeis* (DP 610<sub>46</sub>), i. e. only the stem *svinda-*; one can suppose that the stem *svýsta-* is attested in Kos54, but I could not verify this supposition.

ent the same root but in the position where Winter's law operated; for external etymology see above, p. 456, No. 65.

### III. IE clusters «voiced unaspirated + resonant»

Absence of lengthening  
before the clusters \*-br-, \*-dr-, \*-gr-

1. ? Slav. \**dobrъ* 'good' (OCS *Добръ*, etc.) < \**dhab-ro-* || Lat. *faber*, gen. sg. *fabrī* 'Handwerker, Künstler', adv. *fabrē* 'handwerksgemäß, kunstgerecht, schlau'; ON *dapr* 'traurig, betrübt', MLG *dapper* 'schwer, gewichtig, gewaltig, ausdauernd, furchtlos', MDu. *dapper* 'stark, kräftig, tüchtig', OHG *tapfar* 'schwer, stark; tapfer' (modern *tapfer* 'brave, bold, courageous', archaic 'good, efficient; thorough; honest, conscientious'); the Slavic and Latin stems are traditionally compared with Arm. *darbin* 'blacksmith'<sup>106</sup> and the group of Slav. \**doba* 'das Passen, Zutreffen, Gelegenheit', \**dobiti* 'bring to conformity with smth'; Latv. *dabļš, dābļs* 'stark, üppig'; Goth. *ga-daban* 'sich ereignen, eintreffen'; Brugmann combines this group (Slav. \**doba* — Goth. *ga-daban*) with Germ. \**dapraz* (explicated above) sub the root \**dhab(h)-*; in modern etymological literature there is a prevailing tendency to separate the Germanic correspondence from the Slav., on the basis of the semantic differences, what does not, however, seem grounded enough for the stems \**dobrъ* ~ \**dapraz*; Фасмер I, 520—525; ЭССЯ 5, 45—46; Trautmann BSW 43; WH I, 436—437; de Vries 73; EWD III, 1782—1783; Pok. 233—234.

2. Slav. \**dъbrъ*/*dьbrъ* (soft variant — probably via the vowel harmony): OCS *Дьбрь* 'φάραγξ, cleft, ravine, gully', Polish *debra, dziebra*, etc.; Latv. *dubra* 'pool, slough, a marshy place' (cf. also Latv. *duņ-*

<sup>106</sup> Which is more naturally explained as a successor of Mesopotamian and Asia Minor cultural term of Hurrian origin: Hurr. *tabiri-* 'blacksmith', Sum. *tabira/tibira* 'id.' (of course, if Sum. reading is correct).

*br(i)s* ‘Sumpf, Moor’, *duṁbrs* ‘moorig, einschließend’) || Latv. *duōbs*, *duōbs*, *duōbjš* ‘tief, hohl’; the same root but in the position where Winter’s law operated — for external etymology (Germ. \**deupaz*; ? Grk. δούρις) see above, p. 424, No. 2.

3. Lith. *gaidrūs* (4) ‘hell, heiter (vom Wetter)’, *giēdras* (4) ‘clear, light’, *giedrūs* (4) ‘clear, light’, *gaidrà* and *giedrà* (4) ‘clear weather’ || Lith. dial. *giedras* ‘hell, klar’, Latv. *dzīdrs* ‘id.’; the same root but with Winter’s lengthening — for external etymology see above, p. 432, No. 16.

4. Latv. *šķīdrs* ‘dünnflüssig, dünn; undicht, undicht gewebt’ || OInd. *chidrā-* ‘zersplittert, durchlöchert’; OHG *scētar* ‘dünn, lückenhaft’; further: Lith. *skīesti* (praes. 1 sg. *skiedžiu*) ‘trennen, scheiden’, Latv. *šķiēst* (praes. 1 sg. *šķiēžu*) ‘verstreuen, schleudern’, the same root but with Winter’s lengthening — for etymology see above, p. 435, No. 25.

5. Lith. *skudrūs* ‘hasty, prompt; agile; sharp’, *skaudrūs* ‘flink’; Latv. *skāudrs* (Arrasch.) ‘flink’, *skudra* ‘Ameise’ || OCS *искъдати* ‘herauswerfen’, Latv. *kūdīt*, *kūdināt* ‘to drive (on), urge (on)’; the same root but in the position where Winter’s law operated — for external etymology see above, p. 360, No. 3.

6. Lith. *vigrūs*, *vikrūs* (4) ‘prompt, agile, deft’, *vīglas* (4) ‘rasch, gewandt’; Latv. *vīgls* ‘leicht’ || Lith. *sviegti*, praes. 1 sg. *sviegiu* ‘werfen, schleudern, schlagen’; the same root but in the position where Winter’s law operated — for external etymology see above, p. 439, No. 32.

#### Absence of lengthening

before the clusters \*-ḡn-, \*-gn-, \*-bn-

As I have tried to show, all the cases of Winter’s law operating before the IE clusters «voiced occlusive + nasal consonant (scil. \*n)» occur in the roots where we suspect a primary voiced aspirated consonant at the end of the root (see above p. 394—395), on the contrary we see the absence of results of Winter’s law operating in cases of the IE clusters «voiced unaspirated + nasal consonant (scil. \*n)».

7. Lith. *glėžnas* (4) ‘zart, weich, schlaff, etc.’, Latv. *glēzns* ‘widerstandslos, empfindlich; zart, nett, zierlich’ (? Slav. \**glezna* / *glezno* / *gleznъ* ‘ankle, ankle-bone; joint, elbow joint’) || Slav. \**glěziti*, praes. 1 sg. \**glězjǫ*; the same root but in the position where Winter’s law operated — for external etymology see above, p. 404, No. 20.

8. Lith. *lūgnas* ‘resilient, supple’ || Grk. λύγος ‘biegsamer Zweig zum Flechten, Rute, Gerte’, λῦγίζω ‘biegen, wenden, drehen’, λύγινος ‘geflechten’; ON *lykna* ‘to bend the knees’; see Fraenk. I, 347; Frisk II, 141; de Vries 368, 370, Pok. 685.

9. Slav. \**дъно* ‘bottom’ < \**dŭb-no-* (Russ. *дно*, *дна*, *гónуе*, Ukr. *дно*, Russ. ChSlav. *дъно*, Bulg. *гъно*, SCr. *гнѡ*, Sloven. *dnò*, Czech *dno*, Slovak *dno*, Polish *dno*, HSorb. *dno*, LSorb. *dno*) ~ Lith. *dūgnas* ‘bottom’ < \**dubna-* || Latv. *duōbs*, *duōbs*, *duōbjš* ‘tief, hohl’; the same root but in the position where Winter’s law operated — for external etymology see above, p. 424, No. 2.

10. Slav. *òгнѣ*, gen. sg. \**òгнѣ* > *огнѣ* m. (a. p. b) ‘fire’; Lith. *ugnis*, gen. sg. *ugniēs* (4) ‘fire’, ELith. (Šl.) dial. *ùgnis*, gen. sg. *ùgnies* (2 a. p.) ‘ogień’, OLith. 2 a. p. *úgnis* (DP 8<sub>27</sub>, 10<sub>44</sub>, 15<sub>2</sub>, 147<sub>40</sub>, 251<sub>7</sub>, 251<sub>10</sub> etc.), gen. sg. *úgnies* (DP 11<sub>22</sub>, 11<sub>25</sub>, 23<sub>3</sub>, 81<sub>36</sub>, 81<sub>38</sub>, 83<sub>34</sub> etc.); OLith. also *ungnis* ‘fire’ (Bretkūnas); Latv. *uguns* ‘fire’ || OInd. *agnís* m. ‘fire’ (< \**ṛgni-*), *aṅgatis* m. ‘fire’; Lat. *ignis* m. ‘fire’, OLat. (epigraphic) *ingnis* (< \**ṛgnis*); see Fraenk. II, 1158—1159; Фасмер III, 118—119; Pok. 293; Иллич-Свитыч I, 245—246.

( $\sqrt{-n-}$ )-stems from ( $\sqrt{\quad}$  + *-n*-suffix)-stems

In a number of Lith. verbs forming praes. stems with *n*-infix and also Slav. verbs with *n*-praes. (of different kinds) we see the absence of results of Winter’s law operating. In all likelihood we should reconstruct this praes. stems as stems with *n*-suffix which levelled after pattern with *n*-infix usual for Lith.

In all paradigms listed below we did not find vowel lengthening in preat. and inf. stems too — in all likelihood the result of the secondary levelling after the praes. stem.

11. Lith. *dùbti* 'to sink, plunge into; to become hollow, sink in; to wear through (of clothes)', praes. 3 *duĩba* < \**dub-n-*, praet. 3 *dùbo*; Lith. *dubùs* 'deep' with short root vowel — probably secondary back-formation from *dùbti*; unexpected short vowel in Latv. *dubt*, praes. 1 sg. *dubu*, praet. 1 sg. *dubu* 'einsinken, einfallen, hohl werden' (only two attestations in Mühl.—Endz.) || Latv. *duõbs*, *duõbs*, *duõbjš* 'tief, hohl'; the same root but in the position where Winter's law operated — for external etymology see above, p. 424, No. 2.

12. ? Slav. \**gь(b)nqti* 'to bend' ~ Lith. *gùbti*, praes. 3 *guĩba* 'to bend, sag' < \**ghub-n-*, praet. 3 *gùbo*; levelled accent in Lith. *gaũbti* 'to arch, make convex'; Latv. *gubt*, praes. 1 sg. *gubstu* 'to bend, droop' — absent of lengthening before *st*-suffix || OE *gēap* 'krumm, listig', *gēopan* (II cl.) 'to take up, take to oneself, receive; accipere'; ON *gaupn* f. 'hohle, gekrümmte Hand', OHG *goufana* 'die hohle Hand'<sup>107</sup>; Icel. *goppa* 'hüpfen', Swed. *guppa* 'to rock; to leap, bounce', NHG dial. *gupfen* 'auf- und niederhüpfen, schaukeln' < \**gheub-/gheub-/ghub-* || Grk. *κύπτω*, perf. *κέκῶφα* 'to bend forward, stoop', *κῦφος* 'hump, hunch', *κῦφός* 'bent forwards, stooping', *κύβ-δᾶ* adv. 'with the head forwards, stooping forwards' < \**ghūbh-*; see Фасмер I, 422—423, 404; Fraenk. I, 140; Trautmann BSW 100—101; de Vries 159; Falk—Torp I, 321; Jóhannesson 321; Pok. 449, 450 (\**gheub(h)*- 'biegen, bücken, bewegen').

13. ? Lith. *gùgti*, praes. 3 *guĩga* < \**gug-n-*, praet. 3 *gùgo* 'to bend, stoop (*intr.*)'; levelled accent in: *gugà* (4) 'little hump, hunch', ELith. (Šl.) *gugà*, gen. sg. *gùgos* (2) 'wypuklina, garbek', *gùgė* 'Stock mit umgebogenem Ende, Buckel, Höcker, Hügelchen'; *gaũgaras* (3<sup>b</sup>) 'crest of a mountain' (another direction of levelling in the dialect variant Lith. *gùngti*, praes. 1 sg. *gùngu* 'sich krümmen', *gùnga* 'kl. Buckel, Knäuel') || ON *kjúka* f. 'Klumpen', Norw. *kjuka* 'kleiner Klumpen, Klotz' < \**-g-* || MHG *kugel(e)* 'ball', MLG *kogel*, Du. *kogel* 'bullet, cannon-ball, ball' < \**-gh-*; see Fraenk. I, 175; de Vries 312; EWD II, 940—941; Pok. 379—380.

<sup>107</sup> Comparison of this stem with Lith. *žĩupsnis* (2) 'pinch' is absolutely unconvincing both phonetically and morphologically as well as semantically.

14. Lith. *ràsti*, 1 sg. praes. *randù* < \**rad-n-*, 1 sg. praet. *radaū* ‘finden’ (← \**in-venire*); Latv. *rast*, 1 sg. praes. *rùodu* and *ruonu*, 1 sg. praet. *radu* ‘finden’ || Goth. *wraton* ‘wandern, reisen’, ON *rata* ‘wandern, umherschweifen, reisen, treffen, finden’, MHG *razzeln* ‘wenden, drehen’, OHG *rāzi* ‘vagans, rapax’; Grk. ῥάδινός, Aeol. βράδινος (i. e. φράδινος) ‘schwank, schlank, flink’, ῥοδάνη (Hsch.: ῥαδάνη) ‘der gedrehte Faden, Einschlag’, ῥαδαλός ‘schlank, aufgeschossen’; OInd. perf. *ávradanta* (RV) ‘mürbe werden’ and probably with *n*-infix adj. *vrandín-* (RV) ‘schlaff werdend’; this etymology is semantically slightly difficult, but meaning shift ‘schwank, schlaff werdend’ (Grk., OInd.) → ‘wandern’ (Germ.) → ‘finden’ (Germ., Balt.) is possible; Фасмер III, 490—491; Frisk I, 638; Mayrhofer III, 279, Mayrhofer EWA II, 595—596; Pok. 1153 (*u(e)r-ed-*); cf. Fraenk. 700—701 <sup>108</sup>.

15. Lith. *sálti*, praes. 3 *sāla*, *sāla* [Rdn, Ub], praet. 3 *sālo* (*sālė*) ‘to become sweet’ (LKŽ XII, 84); probably the older state is also attested: *sálti*, praes. 3 *saīna*, *suīna* (?) <sup>109</sup>, praet. 3 *sālo* (*sālė*) ‘id.’ (LKŽ XII, 84), praes. 3 *sāina* and *suīna* (both are cited by Zinkevičius LD 337); expected inf. *sálti* with Winter’s lengthening, but with loss of *-s-* (due to analogy with praes.) < \**sálsti* < \**sald-ti*; praet. are levelled after praes.; the praes. form *sāla* should be analysed as restructuring of the verbal stem with the *n*-suffix into the infixated one, i. e. [\**sald-n-a* >] \**sal-n-a* > \**sanl-a* > *sāla* (praes. form *sāla* may be the same with regular loss of nasalisation), if praes. *saīna* from Mežiškiai is real, it represents an older state \**sal-n-a* without infixation and

<sup>108</sup> Fraenkel accepts as the most plausible the comparison with Latv. *rads* ‘Verwandter, Geschlecht, Stamm’ (pl. *radi* ‘relatives’), *radīt* ‘gebären, hervorbringen, hervorrufen, (er)schaffen’, Slav. \**rodъ* ‘Geschlecht’, \**roditi* ‘gebären, erzeugen’. Here also belong Lith. *rasmė* ‘harvest’, Latv. *rasma* ‘prosperity, fertility, harvest’, *ražā* (< \**radjā*) ‘abundant harvest; numerous family’. All the words belong to the stem of OInd. *várdhati*, *várdhate*, *vṛdhati* ‘grows’, Avest. *vərəda’ti*, *varḍaitē* ‘grows’ (Liden’s law).

<sup>109</sup> Both praes. forms are cited in LKŽ with reference to LKK II, 152, in fact, however, forms in question are absent in this source. Probably — mere mistake in a reference, there are no grounds to doubt presence of these forms in the Lithuanian dialects, cf. Zinkevičius’ data.

with expected circumflex, Zinkevičius' praes. *sq̃l̃na* and *sũl̃na* go back to *\*sanl-n-a* with both infix and suffix (dialectally *-a- > -u-*) || Lith. *saldùs* (3) 'sweet'; Latv. *sal̃ds* 'süß'; the same root but in the position where Winter's law operated — for external etymology see above, p. 443, No. 42.

16. Lith. *sprùgti*, 1 sg. praes. *sprungù* 'entfliehen, entschlüpfen, sich losreißen' (< *\*sprug-n-*), 1 sg. praet. *sprugaũ* (cf. also the variant *sprùkti*, 1 sg. praes. *sprunkù*, 1 sg. praet. *sprukaũ* 'id.')

<sup>110</sup>; probably, the primary situation is reflected in Serb. ChSlav. *испрыгнути* 'hervortreten, -springen' || Latv. *spraũga* f. 'Lücke, Ritze, Spalte; offene Stelle im Zaun', *spraũgt*, praes. 1 sg. *spraũdzu*, praet. 1 sg. *spraũgu* 'grob mahlen, (vorzüglich Grütze) schroten', with nasal infix: *spruĩga* 'Klemme', *spruĩgis* 'Knebel'; Russ. *прыгать, -аю* 'springen, hüpfen' (with derivatives *прыгнуть, прыжок*, etc.) is ambivalent — maybe regular iterative lengthening || NHG *spriegel, sprügel, sprugel, sprogel* 'Schnellbogen; gespannter Bogen zu einer Überdeckung; Sprenkel beim Vogelfang', Luxemb. *spriegel* 'Sperrholz zum Auseinanderspinnen' < *\*spreu-k-* (cf. Lith. *sprùkti*); see Fraenk. II, 883; Фасмер III, 390—391; Pok. 995 (*spreu-g-, -k-*).

17. Lith. *stìgti*, 1 sg. praes. *stìngù* 'auf einer Stelle ruhig weilend aushalten, sich ruhig verhalten, ruhig bleiben, stillhalten, -stehen' (< *\*stìg-n-*), 1 sg. praet. *stìgaũ*; Latv. *stìgt* 'einsinken' (another direction of levelling is in the variant Lith. *stýgti*, praes. 3 *stýgsta*, praet. 3 *stýgo* 'to stand quietly in one place, behave quietly') || OInd. *tējatē* 'ist scharf, schärft', caus. *tējáyati* 'schärft; stachelt an'; Grk. *στίζω* 'steche, tätowiere'; Lat. *instīgō* 'anspornen, anstacheln, anreizen, aufreizen'; Goth. *stiks* 'Stich, Punkt', OHG *stih*, OS *stiki*, MLG *steke*, OE *stice* m. 'Stich, Punkt'; OE *stician* tr. 'stechen, durchstoßen; to stick, stab, pierce, prick', intr. 'steckenbleiben, fest bleiben; to stick, re-

<sup>110</sup> The accentuation in OLith is not clear: *sprùgti*, 1 sg. praes. *sprùgstu*, 1 sg. praet. *sprùgau* 'entspringen, entwischen', but judging by the character of the distribution of lengths it is possible to put forward levelling after the forms where Winter's law operated.

main fixed', MLG *sticken* 'stechen, sticken, anzünden, ersticken', OHG *sticken* 'stechen, sticken', *ir-sticken* 'ersticken', MHG *stecken, stechen* (swv.) tr. refl. 'stecken, stechend befestigen, fest heften', intr. 'stechend festsitzen, festhaften, weilen'; OHG *steckēn*, 'festsitzen', etc. < IE *\*stig-*; all Germ. forms are derived from a strong verb retained (but with contamination of two IE roots *\*stig-* and *\*steg-*, cf. Фасмер III, 751 s. v. *cmerámь*) in OHG *stehhan* (IV cl., ca 800 A. D.), OS *stekan* (IV cl.), MLG *stēken*, MDu. *stēken*, Du. *stēken* (IV cl.) 'to stick into, poke; to sting; to leister', intr. 'to stick up; to be, to be situated, located', this forms go back to IE *\*steg-*, but *\*stig-* is seen in its relic causative: ON *steikja* 'braten' → 'an den Bratspieß stechen, festmachen', OHG *gisteihhan* 'festmachen'; see Feist 453, 448—449; de Vries 545, 548; EWD III, 1704, de Vries NEW 695; Mayrhofer I, 525—526; Mayrhofer EWA I, 668—669; Frisk II, 797—798; WH I, 706—707; Pok. 1016—1017 ((s)teig-); cf. Fraenk. II, 905, 899; Фасмер III, 751.

18. Lith. *strigti*, praes. 1 sg. *stringù* 'to stick; to sink' (< *\*strig-n-*) || Lith. *striegti*, praes. 1 sg. *strégiu* '(eine Angel) beködern'; the same root but in the position where Winter's law operated — for external etymology see above, p. 438, No. 29.

19. Lith. dial. *svisti*, 1 sg. praes. *svindù* 'zu glänzen beginnen, anbrechen (von Licht)' (< *\*suid-n-*), 1 sg. praet. *svidaũ*; another direction of levelling in the ELith. dial. variant *svýsti*, praes. 3 *svýsta*, praet. 3 *svýdo* (Š, NdŽ) 'švisti, žibėti' and in Latv. *svîst*, praes. 1 sg. *svîstu*, praet. 1 sg. *svîdu* 'anvorbrechen, hervorbrechen (vom Licht), tagen' || Lith. *svydėti*; the same root but in the position where Winter's law operated — for external etymology see above, p. 421, No. 45.

Probably, there is another position in Slav. and Balt. languages that is not actually the position where Winter's law does not operate, but this is the position where quantitative differences of the vocalic resonants are weakened, long syllabic resonants can (sporadically?) be shortened in it. In all likelihood normal long resonants also tend to be shortened in this position. As the material is not numerous, it is



impossible to establish more exact conditions of this shortening now. It is important, however, that in all these similar cases we deal with the primarily recessive acute syllable.

Weak position of length:

\*CRī/ūC > \*CRĩ/ũC

This position is characterized by *u*-, *l*-, *r*- before *ī*, *ū*. In these cases we see sporadic shortening of *ī* and *ū*; maybe this process is connected with the syllabic «repartition» between two adjacent resonants. Below I list some stems (not all!) showing this phenomenon.

1. Lith. *glītūs* (4) 'sticky, slimy; slippery', Latv. *glīts* 'schlüpfrig, weich; schliefig, glitschig' (< \**glī-tu-* < \**glīǵ-tu-*) || cf. with a long vowel: dial. ELith. (Šl.) *glytūs* 'śliski; gładki, lepki', Latv. *glīts* (Serbigal, Preili, Nerft, AP., Wolm., Kl.) 'sauber, hübsch, sauber und sorgfältig gemacht, fein, passend' (< \**glī-tū-* < \**glīǵ-tu-*), *glīts* (Lin., Nigr., Rutzau, Ruj.) 'glatt, nett, zierlich' (Mühl.—Endz. I, 627); for external etymology see above, p. 324, No. 14.

2. Slav. \**rbzǣti*, praes. 3 sg. \**rbzǣtĭ* 'to neigh' (OCS part.  $\rho\beta\kappa\kappa\text{-}\omega\tau\tau\epsilon$ , SCr. *řžē, řžati*, etc.) || Grk.  $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ , aor.  $\eta\rho\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu$  (Hom.), part.  $\epsilon\rho\upsilon\gamma\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$  (Hom.) 'to bellow, roar',  $\epsilon\rho\upsilon\gamma\mu\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  'brüllend (vom Stier)'; Lat. *rūgiō* 'brüllen (bes. vom Löwen)' (*ū* can be from \**ōu*);  $\Phi\alpha\sigma\mu\epsilon\pi$  III, 480—481; Pok. 867: b (\**reuǵ-* as an enlargement of the root \**reu-*, *rēu-*, *rǔ* 'brüllen, heisere Laute ausstoßen', cf. Grk.  $\omega\rho\upsilon\gamma\acute{\eta}$ ,  $\omega\rho\upsilon\gamma\mu\alpha$ ,  $\omega\rho\upsilon\gamma\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  'Gebrüll, Geheul').

3. IE \**slid-* in the zero grade. With Winter's lengthening: Lith. *slýsti*, praes. 1 sg. *slýstu*, praet. 1 sg. *slýdau* 'gleiten' || without Winter's lengthening: Lith. dial. *slìsti*, praes. 3 *slīñda*, praet. 3 *slido* 'darytis slidžiam' (LKŽ XIII, 29); Latv. *slist* (with long doublets, see the next forms) || with Winter's lengthening: Latv. *slīst* (*slīst* Bers., Warkl.) 'gleiten, ausgleiten' (Mühl.—Endz. III, 933; Endz.—Haus. II, 527); Lith. *slydėti*, praes. 3 *slýdi*, *slydėja*, praet. 3 *slydėjo* 'slystelėti' (with short doublet, see the next forms), Latv. *slīdēt* (C., Wolm., Kl.,

Prl.) ‘rutschen, (aus)gleiten, glitschen’ (with short doublet, see the next forms) || without Winter’s lengthening: Lith. *slidėti*, praes. 3 *slidėja*, praet. 3 *slidėjo* ‘slysti; darytis slidžiam’, Latv. *slidēt* (U) ‘rutschen, gleiten, auf dem Eise glitschen’ || without Winter’s lengthening: Lith. *slidùs* ‘glatt, schlüpfrig’, *slidybė* (also N.—S.—B. *slidybė*), *slidumà*, *slidumas* ‘slipperiness’, *slidinėti* ‘öfters gleiten, schlittern, gleitend fahren, gehen’, for long doublets of these forms see below; Latv. *slids* ‘glatt, schlüpfrig; schräge’, *slidināt* (U) ‘gleiten machen’, for long doublets see below || the following forms with lengthening are also attested in the Baltic dialects: Lith. (Žemaitic) *slydùs* ‘glatt, schlüpfrig’, dial. *slydybė* (N.—S.—B.), *slydumà* (N.—S.—B.), *slydumas* (N.—S.—B.) ‘Glatteis, glatte Stelle, Glätte’, *slydinėti* ‘ausgleiten, glitschen’, (also ‘beim Gehen öfters ein wenig ausgleiten, -rutschen, (hin und her) gleiten’; Latv. *slídums* ‘das (einmalige) Gleiten’, *slídēns* (Wolm., Ermes, Jürg., Arrasch) ‘glatt, schlüpfrig; gleitend’, *slidināt*, *slidinēt* ‘gleiten lassen’;

IE \**sleid-* in the full grade. With Winter’s lengthening: Latv. *slaīds* ‘schief liegend, abschüssig, glatt, schlank, langgestreckt, gefügig’; *slīēde* (Karls., Ruj., Salis, Widdrisch, Siuxt, Selg., Kandau, Nigr., Kursiten, Tr., Degalen, Dobl., Kolberg, Lemb., Luttr., Nikrauzen, Pankelhof, Sessau), but with short doublet, see the next form || without Winter’s lengthening: Latv. *sliede* (C., PS., Wolm., Arrasch, Jürg., Ermes, AP., N.-Peb.) ‘die Spur’ (this form is also given by Būga II, 436: *sliede* ‘Spur’)

|| external parallels (i. e. Germ. data) point out short root vowels: ? OInd. *srédhati* ‘geht fehl, irrt’, aor. *sridhat*; Grk. ὀλισθάνω, aor. ὀλισθον ‘gleite’, ὀλισθηρός ‘schlüpfrig’, ὀλισθος m. ‘Glätte, Schlüpfrigkeit’; OE *slīdan* (I cl.), MHG *slīten* (I cl.) ‘gleiten, rutschen’; OE *slide* m. ‘Ausgleiten, Fall’, OHG *slito*, ON *sleði* ‘Schlitten’; OE *slidor* ‘schlüpfrig, glatt’, *slidrian* ‘ausgleiten’, LGerm. *slidderen*, NHG *schlittern*; cf. also *n*-praes., where IE root \**sli-* shows two different dental determinatives — 1. \**sli-n-dhō*: Goth. *fra-slindan* ‘verschlingen’ (i. e. ‘gleiten lassen’), OHG *slintan* ‘verschlingen’, MHG *slint*,

*slunt* 'Schlund'; Du. *slinderen* 'gleiten'<sup>111</sup>; 2. \**sli-n-dō*: ON *sletta*, *slatt* 'sinken, gleiten, hängen' < \**slintan*, ON *sletta* 'schlagen, werfen, spritzen' < \**slantjan*, Swed. *slinta* 'fallen, gleiten'; Swed. dial. *släntra*, LGerm. *slentern*, Du. *slenteren*, NHG *schlenzen* 'schlendern'; ablaut: Norw., Danish *sluntre* 'unordentlich sein', LGerm. *sluntern* 'unordentlich sein', German *schlunzen*; IE root \**slī-dh-*, \**slī-d-*<sup>112</sup>; the latter is surely attested in Germ. *n*-stem. In all likelihood Balt. forms go back to the same IE variant in *-d* with regular lengthening according to Winter's law, regular absence of lengthening in the verbal *st-* and *-n*-stems and subsequent spread of the short vowel in the derivatives of these stem (cf. relics of the primary distribution in Lith.); see Fraenk. II, 833; Фасмер III, 668; Mayrhofer III, 558; Frisk II, 377; Feist 164—165; Pok. 960—961 (\**(s)leidh-* 'schlüpfrig, gleiten'), also 662—664 (\**lei-*).

4. Slav. \**slъzъkъ*: Russ. *слъзкуѣ* 'covered with slime; slippery', Ukr. *слизькѣ* 'slippery'; OCS *слизькѣ* 'γλίσχρος'; Sloven. *slizak*, f. *slizka* 'schlüpfrig'; Czech *slzký*, *slizký* 'covered with slime; slippery', *slznouti* 'to become slimy', Slovak *slizký* 'slippery', Polish *ślizki* 'slippery' || ON *slíkr* 'smooth', OHG *slíhhan* 'schleichen', MLG *slík* 'ooze'; Grk. adv. *λίγδην* 'oberflächlich berührend, streifen'; OIr. *ad-*, *fo-slig-* 'frotter, enduire, séduire'; NPers. *lēzīdan* 'labi in lubrico'; Hitt. *šaliga-* (< *šliga-*) 'to touch (defiling something)'; Фасмер III, 671—672; de Vries 515; Pok. 663—664.

5. Lith. *svidùs* 'blank, glänzend', *svidėti*, *svidù* 'glänzen' || Lith. *svydėti*; the same root but with Winter's lengthening — for external etymology see above, p. 421, No. 45.

6. Lith. *ligà* (4) 'Krankheit, Seuche'; Latv. *liga* 'Krankheit, Malheur, Unglück, Schicksal, Verhängnis' || Lith. *liegti* 'schwer krank

<sup>111</sup> Lith. *līsti*, praes. 1 sg. *lendù*, praet. 1 sg. *lindaũ* 'kriechen, hineinschlüpfen' ~ Latv. *list*, praes. 1 sg. *lienu*, praet. 1 sg. *lidu* 'id.' probably do not belong here for phonetic (loss of *-s*) and semantic reasons. Maybe it should be connected with MHG *lendern* 'schlendern', Du. *lunderen* 'zaudern'?

<sup>112</sup> Probably it does not have anything to do with the IE base \**leiə-* (OInd. *lināti*, 'schmiegt sich an', etc.), for which see above, p. 387, No. 47.

sein, siechen?; the same root but with Winter's lengthening — for external etymology see above, p. 432, No. 18.

\* \* \*

Besides these cases without the results of the operation of Winter's law one can find a great number of lexemes which demonstrate circumflex instead of the expected acute. But these are cases of metatony recessive acut → dominant circumflex, which acute roots of any origin are liable to. Positions of this metatony were demonstrated in the works by S. L. Nikolaev and me, their fuller analysis should be the subject of a separate paper.

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