# 100 SLAVIC BASIC ROOTS: ONCE AGAIN ON SLAVIC STO AND THE SLAVIC ETHNOGENESIS

**Sorin Paliga** University of Bucharest

#### Introduction

In a series of papers and other studies I tried to approach two major, and much debated, topics: the origin of Sl. *suto* (and of other much debated forms, the origin of which has been intensely debated), and a hopefully closer (and better) analysis of Slavic ethnogenesis. I shall not repeat, of course, what I wrote in those quoted papers, but would like to sum up the basic ideas, and to attempt some finetuning of relevant data. In the final part of this paper I shall present a selective list of 100 basic Slavic roots. The selection is subjective, but will hopefully show the relevant data for understanding the essential reference points in early Slavic history.

Our approach is mainly that of a linguist, without ignoring historical or archaeological data.

#### Once again on Sl. svto

In one of the quoted studies I advanced the hypothesis that Sl. *suto* is a borrowing from either a northernmost Thracian dialect or from Proto-Romanian. In the third, posthumous, volume of France Bezlaj's *Etimološki slovar slovenskega jezika*, letters P–S: 318 (dopolnila in uredila Marko Snoj in Metka Furlan) we may read:

"Še manj utemeljeno je mnenje, po katerem je psl. \*svto izposojeno iz dak. \* $su(m)to < *\acute{k}mt\acute{o}m$ , kar naj bi se ohranilo v rum.  $sut\breve{a}$  in trak. atpn.  $\Sigma ovv\tau ov\varsigma$  (Paliga, SR, XXXVI, 349 ss.)."

I hesitated for years to comment editors's view on my previous paper in *Slavistična Revija*. I shall perhaps disappoint both Prof. Snoj and Prof. Furlan, but I am compelled to add that, out of all the papers, studies or books dedicated to the complex topic of the numerals in the Indo-European languages, in general, and

Slavic, in particular, my paper is – I am afraid – the only one which is coherent and brings forth arguments that indeed Sl. sboto is a borrowing from either North Thracian or Proto-Romanian. I agree with the detail that in this study I concentrated mainly on the situation of Sl. sboto and just tangentially to other borrowings from North Thracian or Proto-Romanian into PES. I cannot present here the quite extensive list of such words, but some relevant data must be briefly analysed, first of all those which support and confirm that Thr. and/or Proto-Romanian u was reflected as PES boto. One example is obvious: colloquial Latin \*cumatra\* (classical commater) > Proto-Romanian cumătră > PES boto Normatra. The case of boto cumătră is relevant, because its clear origin helps reconstructing the details of phonetic evolution.

It would be of course interesting to compile a more comprehensive list of such early borrowings in PES. This is a task of another study, almost finished. Nevertheless, some essential points should be clarified now (even i repeating what already stated before). It is thus sufficient to have a brief look at the status of sbi to to to to to to to to to the the state of the state o

Slavic *svto* and Romanian *sută* are, ultimately, 'intrusive' in both Slavic and Romanian, respectively. It would be just simple ignorance to not note the obvious similarity of these situations. And we are again compelled to revert to Giuliano Bonfante's brilliant study on the earliest influence of Romanian (Proto-Romanian) on Proto-Slavic (initially published in 1966, then a chapter in his reference book *Studi Romeni*).

The overall situation of Sl. *sъto* would be of course much clearer if we tempted to analyse it in the context of the numerous Thracian and/or Proto-Romanian elements in Slavic. The epithet *numerous* may seem abusive, so I shall try to explain and clarify why I habe used this formula.

## The Slavic Homeland and Slavic Ethnogenesis

I shall attempt to only sum up the essential data of a still debated and debatable topic. A brief presenttion of the complex Slavic ethnogenesis is to date available in

electronic PDF format. I tried to resume there the numereous hypotheses, with variants and subvariants, of the Slavic ethnogenesis. Very briefly, our basic view is:

- 1. The Slavic ethnogenesis may be fairly well circumscribed to the interval from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Earlier archaeological data do not allow us to postulate a Slavic ethnic group as we know it from earliest historical documents.
- 2. The Slavic ethnogenesis should be analysed and considered in the light of a larger phenomenon of reshaping the linguistic and ethnic realities of that historical period. From this point of view, the Slavs were a component of the major and vast ethnolinguistic changes of the interval from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> century A.D.
- 3. Perhaps the oldest theory, namely the Balto-Slavic theory, is the best, with some corrections, allowed by the recent discoveries in this field. We assume that the interval circumscribed from the 4th to the 6th centuries A.D. witnessed a cohabitation, difficult to analyse in very detail, but clear enough by interdisciplinary analysis, of three satem groups, which later led to the Slavic *ethnicum*: South Baltic, West Iranic and North Thracian. We tried to prove that the Slavic nucleus is presented by the South Baltic component (and this is why we argumented that the oldest BaltoSlavic is basically the best one). To these three satem components, a Germanic component was later added, and THIS IS THE STAGE WE KNOW FROM EARLIEST HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS BEGINNING WITH THE 6<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY A.D. In the course of time, East Romance (Proto-Romanian) elements were also borrowed and integrated in the Slavic vocabulary.
- 4. Aleksandar Loma is the linguists who has lately brought forth the most decisive arguments that we should speak of Proto-Slavic A and Proto-Slavic B (Loma's paper for the International Congress of Slavicists, Ljubljana, August 2003). In Loma's view, we should approach Proto-Slavic (or, better perhaps, PES) as an agglutination of two satem idioms. This is, but otherwise put, what we have been argumenting over the last years: Proto-Slavic, which got its contours to an idiom we know from the second part of the 9<sup>th</sup> century A.D., is an amalgamation of THREE satem components: South Baltic, North Thracian and West Iranic, with its South Baltic component as, we may say, its basic nucleus, and with North Thracian and West Iranic components as secondary components. In traditional linguistic terms, South Baltic (or, hopefully clearer put, its more southern part of what was once defined as Balto-Slavic) is the stratum, and North Thracian and West Iranic represent the superstratum languages.
- 5. There is a third superstratum language, Germanic, which is also identifiable in a lingustic analysis.
- 6. And there was also the Uralic adstratum, loosely identifiable in some probably related forms like kъńiga, kńiga, Hung. könyv.

From the archaeological point of view, Godłowski is perhaps the most relevant in also contouring the idea that the Slavic ethnogenesis cannot be dated earlier than the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D., and which should be envisaged as a 'mobile ethnogenesis', i.e. the Slavic ethnogenesis consolidated and got its contours known from the earliest documents a short before and some time after the beginning of the expansion.

## Compiling a basic set of Protoslavic roots

The following lexicon of 100 Slavic roots is, inevitably, subjective. Nevertheless I have tried to work out a coherent set of rules to reflect:

- the basic vocabulary covering the essential activities of man in an archaic, traditional society;
- the main and secondary components of the Proto-Slavic vocabulary: South Baltic, North Thracian, West Iranic, Germanic and East Romance (Proto-Romanian).

With these in view, we assume that this basic lexicon definitely confirms both Godłowski's archaeological analysis and also Aleksandar Loma's theory of Proto-Slavic A and Proto-Slavic B. In traditional linguistic terms, we assume that:

- The **Slavic stratum** is represented by a southern branch of the reconstructable Balto-Slavic common Indo-European heritage. This would roughly be Loma's Proto-Slavic A.
- The **substratum** is represented by certain elements the etymology of which is isolated, and may sometimes have associations with Fenno-Ugrian but also with older, Pre-Indo-European elements.
- The **superstratum** is represented by north Thracian and east Iranic elements; this latter component is Loma's Proto-Slavic B.
- The **adstratum** is represented by Germanic and Early Romance (i.e. Proto-Romanian) elements.

In Loma's terms, we assume therefore that there were at least three basic elements, which contoured Slavic as we know it from earliest documents: (1) the south component of the Balto-Slavic heritage = the stratum; (2) North Thracian and East Iranic elements = the superstratum; (3) Germanic and East Romance elements = the adstratum.

## 100 Slavic Roots

The list below, with its inevitable subjective character, aims at putting together 100 essential Slavic roots. Its main purpose is to show the three satem-type early components of PES, i.e.

- (a) a presumably basic nucleus of a satem idiom akin to Baltic (precursor of modern Lithuanian and Latvian, for convenience labelled **Proto-Slavic A**) but also to Iranic (**Proto-Slavic B**) and northern Thracian (**Proto-Slavic C**).
- (b) various influences may be observed in PES: Germanic, Iranic, Thracian and East-Romance (Proto-Romanian).
- (c) Late PES, which fused the three basic satem-type components mentioned above, was a language which took contours in the first centuries of the Christian era, probably between 4th to 6th centuries. It is difficult (read: impossible) to trace back ProtoSlavic before the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D.
- **1. ablo** 'apple'. Related to Lith. *abœolas*, German *Apfel*, English *apple*, Old Irish *abhall*, *ubhal*. The forms are spread only in Europe, so the origin may ultimately be Pre-Indo-European.
- **2. aje** 'egg'; in modern Slavic languages with either j and v and diminutival suffix -ce: jajca, vejce. IE \*  $\bar{o}v$ -o-jom and, according to some linguists, by the law of Vrddhi a derivative from 'bird' as Lat. avis. Other related forms are Arm. ju, Irish og but a common PIE form is difficult to reconstruct.
- **3. bojati sę** 'be afraid'. IE \**bhey*-, also preserved in Lith. *bijoti-s* 'be afraid', *bajus* 'frightening'.
- **4. baran, beran** 'he-sheep'. Old Pre-Indo-European word preserved in some isolated contexts, e.g. Rom. *b"r* 'calling a sheep' (also NL, NM *Bârsa*), Basque *baran*, same meaning as in Slavic.
- **5. bělb** 'white'. IE \**bhe* 'to shine; bright', Lith. *baltas* 'white', Latvian *balts* 'white', hence the name of the Baltic Sea. Related to Rom. *băl*, *bălan* 'blond, blond-haired', from Thracian, with a normal intervocalic *l* in an indigenous element.
- **6. berg**<sup>1</sup> 'river side; a peak'. Related to Arm. *berj* 'a peak', Germ. *Berg* 'a hill, mountain'. The expected reflex in Slavic would have been \**berž*<sub>b</sub>, so the word follows a centum influence or a centum borrowing, presumably Germanic. Cf. Rom. NM *Bârgău*.
- **7. bogb** 'god'. Seemingly borrowed from an eastern satem language which must be an Iranic (Scythian) idiom, cf. Neo-Persian  $ba\gamma$  'god', primitive meaning 'the one

who gives, is generous'. • **bogat**τ 'rich' is derived from the basic root. Reflects component B or PES.

- **8. bolto** 'a pond'. Related to Lith. *bala* 'marsh'; cf. *bělъ*. Final *-to* is unclear. Anyway, it is related to Rom. *baltă*, Alb. *baltë* 'a pond'. Borrowing from North Thracian or Proto-Romanian? Or should be assigned to component C of PES?
- **9. bratrъ**, **bratъ** 'brother'. IE \**bhrater*, hence Lat. *frater*, Eng. *brother*, Germ. *Bruder* etc. Old IE root specific for family relations; cf. *sestra*.
- **10. brazda** 'a furrow' (= a dig in the earth). Old European farm term, perhaps of Pre-Indo-European origin, cf. Lith. *biržis*, Latv. *birze* 'id.', Gallic *rica* 'id.'
- **11. buk**<sup>T</sup> 'the beech tree' (*fagus*). Considered an essential word for determining the Slavic homeland; present day distribution is west of the axis Kaliningrad-Danube Delta. Related to Germ. *Buche*, Eng. *beech*; some assume that the Slavs borrowed the word from Germanic.
- **12. byti** 'to be', primitive meaning probably 'to grow, to appear', related to Lat. *fuī*, Old Indian *bhāvati* 'happens, exists'.
- **13. bbrati** 'to take; carry'. IE \*bher- 'to carry', hence also Lat. fero, Arm. berem etc.
- **14. cěna** 'price', primitive meaning 'compensation for a wound or evil made to someone else', cf. Lith. dial. *kaina* 'revenge, penalty'.
- **15. čагь, čагъ** 'a charm, a magic'. Related to Lith. *keri, kereti* 'to charm someone with bad eye', IE \**ker* 'create, make'.
- **16. časъ** 'time; course of time-flow'. Seemingly related to *česati* 'to hasten, speed up'; otherwise the etymon is unclear.
- **17. čelo** 'forehead'. Origin unknown.
- **18. čытпъ** 'black'. Seemingly an old IE root for denoting dark colours, as in Rom. *cioară* 'a crow' (< Thracian), Alb. *sorrë* 'a crow' (Thraco-Illyrian).
- **19. dati** 'to give': *damb*, *dasi*, dastb, *damb*, *date*, *dadetb* 'I give, you give, etc.'. Related to a largely spread IE family with the same meaning, e.g. Lat. *do*, *dare* etc.
- **20.** dokti 'daughter'. Related to Eng. daughter, all from IE \*dhughoter-'daugher'.
- **21. dbnb**, gen. **dbne** 'day', initially 'the bright (= sunny) part of a day' (as opposed to night = the dark part of a day). The masculine gender of the (sunny) day is opposed to the feminine gender of *nocb* 'night' (as in German: *Tag* v. *Nacht*). Old IE root \**dei-eu*, \**dj-eu-* as in Lat. *dies* 'day'.
- **22. dьrzъ** 'bold, courageous'. Related to Lith. *drqs* 'bold', Av. *daršyu* 'bold, powerful', Gr.  $\delta \rho \alpha \sigma \dot{\nu} \zeta$  'bold'. The expected form would have been \**dьrsъ* which

would have resulted in \*dbrchb. The form may be of Thracian origin, cf. Thracian god-name *Derzelas* 'powerful (one)' and Rom. *dârz* 'powerful, bold', unjustly considered sometimes of Slavic origin. The situation seems rather reverse: a Thracian or Proto-Romanian influence in Proto-Slavic, as in sbto (see the list of numerals) and kbmotra.

- **23. drěvo**, gen. *drěva* and *drěvese* 'wood'. Proto-form must have been \**dervo*, gen. *derva*, pl. *drъva*. Related to Lith. *dervà* 'wood of the plant *Vaccinium*', Goth. *triu* 'tree, wood', Eng. *tree* etc. IE proto-form probably was \**der-u-* or \**dor-u-*.
- **24 dobb** 'oak'. Related to Germanic \**tanw*ō 'fir-tree' and Finnish *tammi* 'oak'. All these forms must ultimately be of Pre-Indo-European origin or, in the light of Andreev's Proto-Boreal theory, of archaic 'Boreal' origin, and reflect indigenous European terms related to a specific flora.
- **25. duch** 'spirit, (holy) ghost' and **duše** 'soul'; also related **dychati** 'to breathe'. Old term related to the basic conception of life, spirit, breathing and, by opposition, death. The meaning and form 'spirit' is closely related to Lith. *dvãsas* 'id.', whereas the sphere 'soul' 'to breathe', IE proto-forms must have been \**dousos* and \**dous-jā* respectively. The Indo-Europeans seemingly had two conceptions: (1) 'soul, breathing' as in OHD \**ātum*, Lat. *anima* (hence Rom. *inimă* 'heart'), Gr.  $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ , and (2) 'spirit, ghost' as in German *Geist* and Hitt. *ištanza*. It is not clear to what extent the Hittite form may be related to Hungarian *Isten* 'god' (also the Christian supreme divinity).
- **26. gad**τ 'snake, serpent'. Related to many folk beliefs. Unclear, probably indigenous of Pre-Indo-European origin.
- **27. golva** 'head'. Related to Lith., Latv. *galva*, perhaps also Lat. *calva*. There is no other detectable relationship, possibly central-east European term of Pre-Indo-European origin.
- **28. ględo, ględěti,** iter. **ględajo, ględati** 'to look at, analyse by looking at'. Related to Latv. *glendēt* 'look at, for', Ir. *in-glennat* '(they) look for', M. Eng. *glenten* > *glean*. The archaic meaning must have been related to 'mental analysis by, through, after seeing', so the later developments preserved one of these basic meanings.
- **29. globok**<sup> $\mathbf{b}$ </sup> 'deep'. Development of type root + -ok<sup> $\mathbf{b}$ </sup> as in  $\check{sir}$ -ok<sup> $\mathbf{b}$ </sup> 'broad' and vys-ok<sup> $\mathbf{b}$ </sup> 'high', therefore suffix -ok<sup> $\mathbf{b}$ </sup> was related to the notion of 'vast, big, deep'. The only relation of Slavic root gl0p- may be Old Indian gambh- 'depth'.
- **30. gъnati, goniti** 'to run (fast)'. IE root \*gen- is weakened by τ not the usual δ. Related to Lith. genù, giñti 'to run', Latv. dzenu, dzìt and ganīt, also Old Prussian guntwei 'to run'.
- 31. gněvъ 'fury'. Unclear origin. Words in the semantic sphere 'fury' may be

related to the divine influence, malefic or benefic; see the discussion in Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*.

- **32. gora** 'hill, mountain'; sometimes 'forest'. The only related forms seem to be Old Indian *giri*, Av. *ga<sup>i</sup>ri* 'hill, mountain', Lith. *gìre*, *girià* 'forest'. On the other hand, there are Pre-Indo-European forms with root \**K-R-*, \**G-R-* which might be taken into consideration. Cf. Rom. *grui* 'a (low) hill' (frequent in place-names), PN *Gruia*.
- **33. gorěti** 'to burn'. Related to Gr.  $\theta \dot{\epsilon} \rho \rho \mu \alpha \iota$  'I warm up',  $\theta \dot{\epsilon} \rho \rho \varsigma$  'hot, warm' etc.
- **34. gospod**<sub>δ</sub> 'lord, master', in OCS '(My) Lord = God'. In some modern Slavic languages (South and East Slavic) 'Sir, Mr.' Seemingly a compound word from \*gosfrom \*ghosti- and pod<sub>δ</sub> from potis 'a master'; the proto-form probably was \*ghostispotis 'master of the guest'. IE \*ghostis meant 'foreigner' and 'guest'; later some IE languages "worsened" the meaning, and 'foreigner' resulted in 'enemy (foreigner)', then 'enemy' in general. Slavic gost<sub>δ</sub> 'guest' is related to Latin hostis 'enemy' (hence hostile), but English guest preserves the same meaning as in Slavic.
- **35. govedo** 'cattle'. Related to Lith. galvias 'cattle' and German Kalb 'calf'. The initial l of the root disappeared by disimilation: l-n > -n, whereas suffix -eqo is isolated and unclear. As in other cases, this was a collective noun with gramatically singular form and plural meaning, as tele, in the oblique cases in -eqo. It may be assumed that govbo '(animal) excrement' is derived from the same root gov, but not all the linguists agree with this view.
- **36. govb T g b vor b** 'noise' > 'speech'; **g b voriti**, **govoriti** 'to speak'. The archaic meaning was 'make a loud noise, to yell'; the Slavic form is isolated, maybe related to Gr. *thórybos* 'noise' from IE \* $gh^w$ orub-os; if so, with the alternance b/v in Slavic.
- 37. gord 'a fortress'; basic meaning: 'to surround with a fence, to make an encircled, protected place' as revealed in the verbs derived from this root (*o-graditi*, *pre-graditi*, *za-graditi*). Related to Hittite *gurta-* 'a fortress', AHD *garto*, modern German *Garten* 'garden', Lat. *hortus* 'a garden'. Rom. *gard* 'a fence' (hence also *a îngrădi* 'to make a pen, to encircle', *îngrăditură* 'a pen for cattle') is not borrowed from Slavic, as formerly held by some linguists, by reflects a parallel heritage from Thracian; also Alb. *gardh* 'a fence', closely related to Romanian.
- **38. gъrdlo** 'throat; neck'. Basic meaning must have been 'to eat' as in  $\check{z}br\varphi$ ,  $\check{z}r\check{e}ti$  'to eat', IE \*gwerə-; gъrdlo is thus derived with suffix -dlo from this root; the different phonetic treatment  $g \neg r v$ .  $\check{z}br\varphi$ ,  $\check{z}r\check{e}ti$  is due to the initial 'dark' vocalic component of r in PIE, preserved in Proto-Slavic.
- **39. gruša** 'a pare'. Related to Lith. *griaušė*, same meaning. No further identifiable relationship, probably an archaic Pre-IE element.

- **40. gvězda, zvězda** (OCS **dzvězda**) 'a star'. The modern Slavic languages preserved either forms beginning in gv- (in Czech and Slovak g turned to h, which notes a voiced glottal, opposed to ch, unvoiced) or in zv-: Czech hvězda, Slovak hviezda, Polish gwiazda; Russian  $zvezd\acute{a}$ , Ukrainian  $zvizd\acute{a}$ ; Bulgarian, Serbian and Slovene zvezda, Croatian zvijezda. Closely related to the Baltic forms represented by Lith.  $zvaigzd\acute{a}$ , Latvian zvaigzne, same meaning. The initial meaning was 'to shine, to glitter', lost in Slavic, but preserved in Lith. dvazgeti; hence was derived dvazgeti, then dvazgeti was shifted ("anticipated") in the first syllable (dvazgeti), followed by a change of the group dzeti0 getical dzeti1 group dzeti2 gvězda. In the eastern and southern group the second palatalisation occurred, and the group dzeti3 gvezda developed to dzveti4, and then again dzeti5 gvazidzi6 group dzii67 gvazidzii68 group dzii69 gvezda.
- **41. goldъ**, OCS **gladъ** 'hunger'. Considered related to *žlъděti*, S.-Cr. *žudim*, *žud(j)eti* 'look for, be greedy'; Gothic *grēdus* 'hunger' (related to Eng. *greed*) may belong to the same family. No other relationship is analysable outside Slavic and Germanic.
- **42. cholpъ** 'mature man; a man in general; young, powerful man'. In modern Slavic languages, the meanings vary: 'young man', but also 'mature man' dialectally (Czech), 'a peasant' (Polish), 'idiot' (Ukrainian). Etymon difficult to identify, possibly related to Old Norse *garpr* 'tüchtiger Mann', Icelandic *garpur* 'tüchtiger Kerl' as Machek assumes.
- **43. chlěbb** 'bread'. Borrowed from, or related to, Germanic \*hlaiba-, Gothic hlaifs, the South Germanic word for 'bread' against North Germanic Brot, Eng. bread. There is no decissive argument for/against borrowing from Germanic or for/against non-borrowing, but most linguists are inclined to consider the form as borrowed from Germanic. This would comply with other arguments regarding Slavic ethnogenesis.
- **44. chamel's** 'hops'; basic element for preparing beer. Some linguists assume that the term was borrowed from an Oriental or Caucasian language, spread maybe by the Turkic Bulgars to Europe; there are similar or identical forms in many European languages. A decisive answer to this problem may be offered by palaeobotanical investigations which would identify the homeland. The term might be Pre-IE, and also shared by some Oriental languages. There is no argument supporting the hypothesis that hops was brought to Europe by Oriental people; it may be rather included in the large category of botanical term specific to the European languages of the IndoEuropean family.
- **45. chodb** 'a walk', **choditi** 'to walk'. IE \*sod-o-s, from root \*sed- 'to go, walk', Gr. hodós, same origin and meaning; compare Gr. ex-odos and Slavic is-chod**b** 'exit'.

- **46. chorms** 'a cathedral; a solid building'. Seemingly related to Hittite *karimmi*, Genitive *karimnaš* 'a temple, a cult-place', Old Indian *harmyá* 'a solid building, a fortress'. Old Indian *h* and Hittite *k* may go back to an initial *gh* in PIE; the initial form in Proto-Slavic may have been \*gormb > \*chormb.
- **47. chot'**O<sub>o</sub> **chotěti** 'to wish (for), to want'. Related to Lithuanian ketù,  $ket\acute{e}ti$  'to have in mind, to plan' and Greek  $\chi\alpha\tau\acute{e}\omega$  (< \* $khatei\bar{o}$ ) 'to wish intensely'. Proto-Slavic form presumably was \* $kot\acute{e}ti$  and had a deep stressing meaning, so replaced the neutral meaning in vel- 'to want, to wish' (as in Latin volo, velle), hence voliti.
- **48. jar-** 'year; spring'. In modern Slavic languages of neutre or feminine gender. The archaic meaning was 'year', thus related to Germ. *Jahr*, Eng. *year* etc. < IE  $*j\bar{o}r$ -. The newer meaning 'spring' (as in Czech and Slovak) reflects the traditional, popular New Year which was on March 1st.
- **49. jeb**0, **\*jebti (jebati)** Usually held for vulgar, taboo word: 'to have sexual intercourse'; preserved in most Slavic languages, with this sense in Serbo-Croatian and Slovene; in Czech meant 'to curse, to swear (on)'. Spread at colloquial level, and thus largely used. Seemingly related to Greek  $oi\phi\omega$  'to have sexual intercourse with' (only about humans; referring to animals, the Greeks used  $o\chi \acute{e}v\omega$ ); similarly, formally and semantically, Skr.  $y\acute{a}bhati$ -.
- **50. jezero**, also **jezero** 'a lake'. Related to Lithuanian *exeras*, Latvian *ezers* 'a lake'; further relationship is unclear. A. Vaillant assumes that is derived from *jez* 'a levee', i.e. 'lakes are obtained by setting levees on a river', a particularly improbable explanation.
- **51. językъ** 'tongue', also 'language'. Loosely related or relatable to Latin *lingua*, but it is difficult to reconstruct the Proto-Slavic form. For the word in this category there presumably was tabooing, but we can refer to a primitive meaning 'narrow', in which case may be related to *ρzъkъ* 'narrow', but this may also be fortuitous.
- **52. jętro** 'liver'. Related to Old Indian *antrá* 'interior (parts)', Latin *interior*, Greek 'έντερα < IE \*en-tero-, \*entr- 'interior (part)' hence 'essential limb'.
- **53. j**<sub>b</sub>**do**, **iti** 'to walk'. Suffix -*d* probably reflects the archaic IE imperative \**i*-*dhi!*; IE root was \**ei/i*, \**ei-mi*, pl. \**i-mes*. Related to Lat. *eo*, *ire* etc.
- **54. jbgo** (from \*j**b**go) 'a yoke'. Archaic, essential term related to Lat. *jugum*, Gr.  $\xi v \gamma \delta v$ , Germ. *Joch* etc.  $\leq$  IE \*j*ug*-o-m, \* $\gamma e$ *ug*- $\gamma t$ 0 tether; to link'.
- **55. jьmę**, **jьmene** 'name'. Unclear relationship to other forms; Lat.  $n\bar{o}men$ , Old Indian  $n\bar{a}ma$  had root \* $n\bar{o}$ -, whereas Greek ' $\acute{o}vo\mu\alpha$  has prothetic o etc. Other forms of this category show that the origin may have been a verb with the supposed meaning 'to speak, to communicate, to discriminate by choosing a name', but these are only hypotheses.

- **56. kamy**, **kamene** 'stone'. The proto-form was \*- $m\bar{o}n$ , Gen. \*-men-es, with the archaic shift o/e, cf. Lith. akmu, Gen. ak-me-es, Latvian akmens, Old Indian asman, Avestan asman- 'stone', etc. The word must be archaic, and some meanings go back to the Neolithic. PIE root was \*ak-, so its preservation in the satem area must be explained as either an exception or the influence of the neighbouring a and m (which cannot be a decisive argument in itself).
- **57. kolěno** 'knee'. Related to Lith. *kelenas* 'knee', maybe also Irish *cenél* 'kneeing, veneration'. No further identifiable relationship.
- **58. koń** b 'horse'. Presumably abridged from an older form \*komońь, which in its turn may be related to Lat. *caballus* (with the alternance b/m). The word would be non-Indo-European or, at least, not from the PIE vocabulary stock (which resulted in Lat. *equus*, Gr.  $\delta^{11}$ ος, Lithuanian  $a\delta va$ , etc.
- **59. koza** '(she)-goat'. Sacred animal, preserved in seasonal rites until today in various parts of Europe. The word is possibly related to Old Indian  $aj\bar{a}$  'she-goat'; no other relationship has been identified or is identifiable.
- **60. kupiti, kupovati** 'to buy'. From Germanic \*kaupjan, German kaufen, in its turn derived from koufo 'businessman', Gothic kaupōn 'make business, be a merchant' < Latin caupō, -ōnis 'owner of a boutique, small merchant'. The word is ultimately of unknown origin, but reached the far north, as in Finnish kauppa, hence kaupunki 'town' (i.e. place of trade') and kauppala 'township', formerly 'a market place'.
- **61. kopati,** *kopo* 'to bathe'. Unknown origin, maybe related to root *kon* 'hemp'; this relation was suggested on the basis that the Scythians did not bathe, but used something related to the Finnish sauna in which they used hemp for certain bathing rites. This somewhat undecided explanation may be eventually replaced by another one, assuming that bathing had the sacred meaning of purification; the word might thus be of Pre-Indo-European origin.
- **62. kъmy, kъmene** 'a trunk; a family tree, an ethnic group'. The initial meaning seems to have been that reflected in IE \*teutā, preserved in Slavic too (see tudь, t'udь). This semantic sphere was replaced in Slavic by kъmy, kъmene and plemě. Related to Gr. kȳma from IE \*ku-mōn, with zero grade in Greek, \*ku-mṇ. Also related is, as often, Lithuanian kamenas, with the same meaning as in Slavic.
- **63. kъnędzь** 'princeps' (a typical term for the local local and military leader until, in some Slavic languages, was replaced by West European and Byzantine terminology). Borrowed from Germanic *kuning* (modern German *König*). The term was also borrowed in Finnish: *kuningas*.
- **64. kъńiga**, **kńiga** 'a book; a letter, something written'. Pan-Slavic, but obviously

not Proto-Slavic. Etymology difficult to determine, the only related form being Hungarian  $k \bar{s} n y v$  'a book'; OCS spelling  $k \bar{v} n$  is a mere graphic convention, as the group k n could not be spelled as such, but only as  $k \bar{v} n$ . • Given the etymological difficulties, some assume that the ultimate origin is Chinese k i n g, though this would be the unique case of a Chinese word in Slavic; the route would have been: Chinese > Proto-Bulgar (Turkic) > Hungarian > Slavic; the obvious relation with Hungarian  $k \bar{o} n y v$  would indicate an eastern origin, but this generic assumption is not sufficient. The simplified Chinese transcription k i n g may be misleading, as the pronounciation is t v n g.

- **65. ledτ** 'ice'. Related to Lith. *lēdas*, Latvian *ledus*. No other relationship outside Balto-Slavic.
- **66. lěsī** 'a forest, woods'. Old meaning seemingly was 'leaved culture, an area with many leaves', thus may be related to Latin  $l\bar{u}cus < IE *loik-o-s$ ; Lith.  $\dot{s}ilas$  may be derived from the same root, with metathesis \* $les-/le\dot{s}->\dot{s}il-$ ; may also be a simple hypothesis.
- **67. lěto** 'year; summer (< 'best part of the year'). Unknown origin, isolated form among the neighbouring languages.
- **68. lipa** 'lime, linden tree (Tilia)'. From  $*l\bar{e}ip\bar{a}$  the only relantionship may possibly be with Cymric *llwyf* 'elm-tree (Ulmus)'.
- **69. l'udъ, l'udъje** 'people; nation, people viewed as a collectivity'. The basic meaning must have been that preserved in Old Russian *ljudinъ* 'free man' as opposed to *knjaži muže* 'people in the service of the *kъnędzъ*'. The *l'udъje* must have been those free people; related to Lith. *liáudis* (fem. gender), Latvian *laudis* (masc. gender), OHD *liut* (German *Leute*), Lat. *līber* 'free', Greek ἐλεύτερος (e-leut-eros) 'free'. Seemingly the forms reflect an archaic opposition \*teutā 'man' (singular) \*leudh- 'people' (plural); see also s.v. tudъ, t'udъ.
- **70. med**<sub>δ</sub> 'bee-honey'. Old word, related to Old Indian  $m\acute{a}dhu$  'mead, hydromel', Gr. μέδυ 'alcoholic drink, wine', Lith.  $med\grave{u}s$ , Latvian medus. The initial meaning must have been 'hydromel, mead', and (from taboo reasons?) was transfered to 'honey'. The PIE word for 'bee-honey' is preserved in Latin mel and Greek μέλι. Similar forms in Finnish mete, Hungarian  $m\acute{e}z$ , Mordvinian m'ed', Lappish  $m\bar{\iota}tt$ . All these forms support Andreev's Proto-Boreal theory; the Uralic forms must not necessarily be explained as borrowings from PIE, but independently preserved from Proto-Boreal. Slavic medvěd 'bear' (lit. 'honey-eater'), eufemistic form for a tabooed animal.
- 71. melko 'milk'. Related to only Germanic: Eng. milk, German Milch. Maybe

borrowed from Germanic or rather a common indigenous form preserved in the two linguistic groups.

- **72. męso** 'meat'. Related to Gothic *mimz*, Latvian *miesa*, proto-forms \**mēs-ro*-and \**mems-ro*-.
- **73. mold**<sup>1</sup> 'young'. Old meaning was probably 'mild, fragile' (the IE word for 'young' was \*younos > Slavic jun<sup>2</sup>, Eng. young etc.), the opposite of star<sup>2</sup> 'old'. Related to Lat. mollis < IE \*mdv-i-s.
- **74. moljo, moliti** 'to pray (for oneself), to invoke the gods' will'; later the verb turned reflexive. Related to Lith. *melždi, melsti* 'to pray, to ask for something', *maldà* 'a pray', Hittite *malda(i)* 'to make a promise, to ask gods for something, to offer a sacrifice to gods'.
- **75. mysl** 'understanding, thoughts', hence **mysliti, myslěti** 'to think'. Seemingly related to Greek  $μ\tilde{v}θος$  'thinking', later 'word, story'.
- **76. mъlviti, mlъviti** 'to speak; to make noise'. Related to Old Indian *bravīti* '(he) speaks, says', PIE \**mlewa*-.
- **77. nagъ** 'nude, naked'. Related to Lith. *nuogas*, Latvian *nuôgs*, German *nackt*, Eng. *naked* etc., IE root \**nog* with various suffix developments.
- **78. nebo**, Gen. *nebese* 'sky; heaven'. Related to Hittite *nepis* 'sky', Old Indian *nábhas* 'sky; cloud; aeral place', Gr.  $\nu \epsilon \phi o \varsigma$  'cloudy sky, cloud'. After adoption of Christianity, the word was enriched with new meanings; cf. *rajb*.
- **79. noktь** 'night'. IE \*nogh-t-, \*nokt- as in Lat. nox, noctis, Gr. νύξ, νυκτός, Gothic nahts, Lith. naktìs, Latvian nakts.
- **80. noga** 'leg'. Isolated, possibly related to Old Norse *knakkr* 'table leg', Norse *knakk* 'animal leg'. The old IE root was preserved in Latin  $p\bar{e}s$ , Gr.  $\pi o \psi \varsigma$ , German  $Fu\beta$ , Eng. foot, feet, preserved in Slavic as an adverb:  $p\check{e}sb$ , seemingly from \* $p\check{e}s-jb$  'by foot' (to walk by foot' as opposed to 'ride a horse').
- **81. pьj** $\bar{\rho}$ **, piti** 'to drink'. Hence *pivo* 'beer'. Old IE root, reconstructable as \* $p\bar{o}$ -(Lat.  $p\bar{o}tus$  'a drink') and \* $p\bar{\iota}$  (Gr.  $\pi i \nu \omega$ ).
- **82. pl'ut'a** n. pl. 'lung(s)'. Modern Slavic languages preserved either the original plural form or simplified to singular. Related to Lith. *plaūčiai*, Latvian *plauši*, both masc. pl. Related to Gr.  $\pi\lambda\epsilon\dot{v}$ - $\mu\omega v$  and Lat.  $pulm\bar{o}$ , with the same meaning. These must be related to the root \*pneu- 'to breathe', therefore an alternance \*pleu-/ \*pneumust be accepted in prehistoric times.
- **83. plod**<sup>1</sup> 'offspring; fruit' (also figuratively). Related to Old English *bloed* 'fruit', MHD *blāt* 'harvest'; also French *blé* 'wheat' is from Frank (Germanic) \**blād*. There is no archaic IE root reconstructable, so these form must be accepted as indigenous Central-European, possibly of Pre-Indo-European origin.

- **84. plugъ** 'plough'. Similar forms are in Germanic (Germ. *Pflug*, Eng. *plough*), Baltic (Lith. *plūgas*) and Romanian (*plug*). Romanian form is traditionally held for Slavic, whereas the Slavic form would be borrowed from Germanic or is indigenous. The Slavic origin of Romanian *plug* is at least questionable, and rather reflects the linguistic stereotypes of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; Rom. *grapă* 'harrow' is indigenous Thracian (with Albanian parallel *grep*, *gërepë* 'fish hook') and *a ara* 'to plough' is of Latin origin. The Germanic, Slavic, Baltic and Romanian (< Thracian) forms rather reflect Central-European farm terminology; a North Thracian or Germanic origin of Slavic *plugъ* is possible, but is not necessary in order to explain the form; all may reflect old terms referring to agriculture. The ultimate origin is rather Pre-Indo-European, root \**P-L* 'stone, piece of stone', so the plough reminds the Neolithic and Chalcolithic stone ploughs.
- **85. pravъ** 'right; straight'. Also *pravda* 'truth', *praviti* 'do, say right'. Isolated forms, perhaps derived from an old root \* $pr\bar{o}$  'ahead, advanced; right away'.
- 86. **ріš** $\phi$ , **рьзаtі**, **ріsatі** 'to write'. Related to Lith. *pieši*, *piešti* 'to paint with colours, to draw with coal', Lat. *pingō* 'I paint' < IE \*peiḱ. In Slavic, associated with ber $\phi$ , berati 'to take, to carry' (against the expected piš $\phi$ , pisati).
- **87. rajs** 'paradise, Heavens'. Unclear origin, but Pre-Christian. The old meaning must have been 'blessed place in Heavens, where gods live'; cf. *nebo*, *nebese*. According to the traditional view, the word would be of Iranic origin, Avestan *ray* 'richness; happiness' (again traditionally, richness means happiness!), Latin *rēs* 'thing, property'.
- **88.** roka 'hand'. Only with Baltic parallels: Lith. rank', Latvian ruoka, Old Prussian rancko and the isolated Gallo-Romanic branca 'a paw', also pejoratively 'hand' (hence Romanian pe brânci 'on all fours', used especially about small babies learning to walk). The IE languages developed local forms for 'hand', a tabooed word. Slavic roka probably derives from IE\*wer-, \*wren-k- 'to curve, to bend'.
- **89. sěk**ǫ, **sěšti** 'to cut'; **sekyra** 'a hatchet'. Related to Old Lith. *isekti*, *iš-sekti* 'cut out, cut off' and Lat. *seco* 'I cut'. Other relationships are not clear.
- **90.** sěmę 'a seed' < IE  $*s\bar{e}$ -men, as in Lat.  $s\bar{e}$ men etc. Old IE term related to agriculture.
- **91. sestra** 'sister' from an older form \*sve-sr- $\bar{a}$  (with epenthetic t) < IE \*swe-s $\bar{o}(r)$ ; related to Lat. soror, Lith. sesu $\tilde{o}$ , gen. sesers etc. Epenthetic t in the sequence -sr- rather indicate a Thracian influence, where this is a normal phonetical feature. Cf. bratro, brato.
- **92. synъ** 'son'; related to Lith.  $s\bar{u}nus$ , Gothic sunus (German Sohn, Eng. son) < IE \* $s\bar{u}$ -nu-s.

- **93. sblnbce** 'sun', of neuter gender; related to Lith. *saulė*, fem., Latvian *saule*, Lat.  $s\bar{o}l$ , masc. The neuter gender in Slavic may be explained by assuming that Proto-Slavs venerated Sun as a divinity of either masculine or feminine character.
- **94. sьrebro** 'silver'; related to Lith. *sid<br/>\text{bras}* and Gothic *silubr* (Germ. *Silber*, Eng. *silver*). Further relationship unclear.
- **95. tudь**, **t'udь** 'foreign'. Derived with suffix -*j*<sub>b</sub> from an IE root \**tautā*, \**teutā* 'nation, ethnic group; foreigner', hence also Lith. *tautà* 'nation', Oscian *touto* 'a tribe, a group', and of course the name of the Teutons.
- 96. **tъргъ** 'a market place'. Lith. *turgs*, Latvian *tirgus* and Rom. *târg* are held for Slavic borrowings, but the situation seems more complex. The oldest attested similar forms are in Illyrian *Tergeste*, hence *Tergitio*. As a direct borrowing from Illyrian is impossible (Illyrian became extinct in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.) the only reasonable explanation is to assume a Thracian form akin to Illyrian, hence Romanian form as a direct follower of Thracian, and Slavic as a late Thracian or Proto-Romanian borrowing. Baltic forms (Lithuanian and Latvian) may be assumed as borrowed from Slavic. The ultimate, archaic root may be Pre-IE \**T-R* 'a stone, cliff', well represented in southeast European place-names.
- **97. ucho**, dual form *uši* 'ear'. Old IE form spread in various languages, e.g. Gothic *ausō*, gen. *ausins* < IE \**aus*, \**ous*.
- **98. usta** 'mouth' (neutre plural). Standard IE form spread as a gramatically neutre in Indo-Iranic and Italo-Celtic branch as Lat.  $\bar{o}s$  and Old Irish  $\dot{a} < IE * \bar{o}s$ .
- **99. večer** 'evening'. Related to Lith. *vãkaras* (< \*wekeros) and Arm. *gišer*, but Lat. *vesperos*, Gr. 'έσπερος and Cymric *ucher* would require a proto-form \*wesperos as opposed to \*wekeros. There probably was an IE parallel which may lead to \*we-kseper-o-s, hence either \*wekeros or \*wesperos.
- **100. viděti** 'to see'. Old IE root \*weid-, \*wid- 'to see', hence also 'to know' in Slavic **věděti** 'to know'.

#### The Slavic Numerals

- **jedьнъ, jedinъ** There seemingly was no unified word for 'one' in PIE, therefore the IE languages often derived local forms starting from old, basic forms. The primitive construction interpreted 'one' as 'one part/component of a pair', at a time when grammatically the dual was opposed to both 'one' and 'more than two'. The Slavic form resides on a previous construction \*ede-inъ, hence j-ed-inъ. The first part of the compound, -ed-, is seemingly related to Lat. -dam in forms like quidam, idem.
- **dъva**, **dъvě** 'two' (masculine and feminine respectively). PIE  $*d(u)v\bar{o}$ , cf. Gr.  $\delta \dot{v}\omega$ , Lat. *duo*, *duae*, Eng. *two* etc. The numeral was closely associated with the dual form of nouns and verbs, usual with all the IE languages, lost meanwhile in almost all the IE family. As an exception, Slovene still preserves the dual as a vivid form.
- **trъje, tri** 'three'. PIE \**tr-ei-es*, Old Indian *tráyas*, Lat. *trēs*, Eng. *three*, *Germ. drei*. **čtyr-** 'four'. PIE \**kwet-wor-es*, Gr. τέτταρες, Lat. *quattuor* etc.
- **pętь** 'five'. PIE \*penkwe, hence Gr. πέντε, Arm. hing, whereas Lat. quinque has quunder the influence of the subsequent -qu-; Goth. fimf (Germ. fünf, Eng. five) has second f under the influence of the first.
- šestь 'six'. The initial form would have been \*kseksti, cf. Lith. šēstas; also Lat. sex, Ir. sé, Goth. saíhs. According to the laryngeal theory, the proto-form could be \*s-Hwe-ks, where H notes the laryngeal; s- is fluctuant; k(e)s could mean 'three'; Hwe meant 'two, pair'. As a whole, PIE form meant 'two threes'. There is a long discussion regarding the laryngeals; in this very case, the reconstruction is not the most convincing, which does not mean that the laryngeal theory should be rejected as a whole.
- sedmь PIE \*septm 'seven', hence Old Indian sapta, Lat. septem, Ir. secht.
- **osmь** 'eight'. PIE \* $ok't\bar{o}(u)$  'eight', Old Indian  $a\bar{s}t\bar{a}$ ,  $a\bar{s}t\bar{a}u$ , Av.  $a\bar{s}ta$ , Lat.  $oct\bar{o}$  etc. Some assume that the ending  $\bar{o}(u)$  is the same as in nom.-acc. dual, so the form would be an archaic 'tetraedric dual', i.e. 'two times four', PIE reconstructed form \*ambhi-kt $\bar{o}(u)$ , in rapid speech reducted to \* $okt\bar{o}(u)$ .
- **devętь** 'nine'. IE \*neun, hence Old Indian náva, Lat. novem, which is seemingly related to \*newos 'new', i.e. 'nine' is the first numeral after 'two times four' (see above under osmb). The archaic Slavic form was probably \*devę.
- **desets** 'ten'. Basic numeral of IE origin, Eng. *ten*, Lat. *decem*, etc. The phonetic evolution in Slavic shows it as a genuine old numeral, unlike *sъto* '100', of north Thracian or Proto-Romanian origin. For PIE we may reconstruct \**de-k'mt--m*

#### **ROMANOSLAVICA 40**

- '10' and \*k'mt-m '100'. In Slavic and Germanic, '1000' is derived from '100' and probably meant 'a big hundred'. There is no reconstructable PIE root for '1000', each language or linguistic family having developed local forms.
- **ѕъто** 'one hundred'. The expected form would have been \*sętь, if compared to '10' (see), which probably existed before it was replaced by a north-Thracian (or Proto-Romanian) form, cf. Rom. sută '100', incorrectly considered of Slavic origin in Romanian. The only Slavic numeral with noun aspect, included in the category of neuters in -o. Slavic səto behaves like a noun, as in Romanian and Albanian, where the numerals for '10', '100' and '1000' behave like nouns, a system radically different from Slavic, with the exception of the 'intrusive' səto.
- tysešta, tysešta 'one thousand'. As in Germanic, '1000' was considered a 'big, expanded hundred', and is formed by the prefix \*tu- > Sl. \*ty- + the numeral '100'. This Slavic numeral preserves the old form \*setb, with epenthetic š not properly explained, preceded by the prefix ty-. Both the forms for '10' and '1000' clearly show that the form '100' is "intrusive", borrowed.

#### References

Beranová, Magdalena 1988. Slované. Praha: Panorama.

**Bezlaj, France** 1961. Die vorslavischen Schichten im slovenischen Namen- und Wortschatz. *VI. Internationaler Kongress für Namenforschung*, München 24.–28. August 1958, hgg. von Karl Puchner, vol. 2: 148–153.

Bezlaj, F. 1976 sq. Etimološki slovar slovenskega jezika. Ljubljana.

Bezlaj, F. 1969. Das vorslawische Substrat im Slowenischen. *Alpes Orientales* 5. *Acta Quinti Conventus de Ethnographia Alpium Orientalium Tractantis Graecii Slovenorum* 29. *III – 1.IV.* 1967. Redegit Niko Kuret. Ljubljana.

**Bonfante, Giuliano** 1966. Influences du protoroumain sur le protoslave? *Acta Philologica* 5: 53–69.

**Duridanov, Ivan** 1952. *Mestnite nazvanija ot Lomsko*. Sofia: Bălgarskata Akademija na Naukite.

Duridanov, Iv. 1960. Der thrakische Einfluss auf die bulgarische Anthroponymie. *Linguistique Balcanique* 2: 69–86.

Duridanov, Iv. 1969. Thrakisch-dakische Studien, I. Linguistique Balkanique 13, 2.

Duridanov, Iv. 1975. *Die Hydronimie des Vardar-systems als Geschichtsquelle*. Köln-Wien: Böhlau Verlag.

Duridanov, Iv. 1986. Pulpudeva, Plovdiv, Plovdin. *Linguistique Balkanique* 29, 4: 25–34.

Duridanov, Iv. 1989. Nochmals zum namen PL&PDIV&, PLOVDIV. Linguistique Balkanique 32, 1: 19–22.

Duridanov, Iv. 1991. Die Ältesten slawishen Entlehnungen im Rumänischen. *Linguistique Balkanique* 34, 1–2: 3–19.

Gimbutas, Marija 1971. The Slavs. London: Thames & Hudson.

Godłowski, Kazimierz 2000. *Pierwotne siedziby Słowian*. Wybór pism pod redakciją Michała Parczewskiego. Kraków: Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

**Grafenauer, Bogo** 1979. Slovani pred prihodom na Balkanski polotok. *Zgodovina Slovencev*, ed. by Meta Sluga. Ljubljana: Cankarjeva Založba.

**Kondratieva, Tamara** 2000. *Vechea Rusie*. București: Corint. (French original: Tamara Kondratieva, *La Russie ancienne*, PUF, 1996).

**Meillet, Antoine.** 1902–1905. *Etudes sur l'étymologie et le vocabulaire du vieux slave,* 2 vols. Paris: *f*mile Bouillon.

#### **ROMANOSLAVICA 40**

- Meillet, A. 1922. *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., Paris.
- **Mihăilă, Gheorghe** 1971. Criteriile determinării mprumuturilor slave în limba română. *Studii și cercetări lingvistice* 22, 4: 351–366.
- **Oppermann, Manfred** 1984. *Thraker zwischen Karpatenbogen und Ägäis*. Leipzig-Jena-Berlin: Urania.
- **Paliga, Sorin** 1988. Slovansko \**sъto* izzivalen problem? (in Slovene with an English abstract: Slavic \**sъto* a challenging problem?). *Slavistična Revija* 36,4: 349–358.
- Paliga, S. 1991. Aperu de la structure étymologique du roumain. *Linguistica* 31: 99–106 (Paulo Tekavčić sexagenario in honorem oblata).
- Paliga, S. 1992. Ali obstajo 'urbske' prvine v slovanskih jezikih? (in Slovene with an English abstract: Are there 'Urbian' elements in Slavic?). *Slavistična Revija* 40, 3: 309–313.
- Paliga, S. 1993. Slovani, Romunci in Albanci v 1. tisočletju. *Slavistična Revija* 41, 2: 237–243.
- Paliga, S. 1997. *Influențe romane și preromane în limbile slave de sud*. București: Lucretius Publishers.
  - Paliga, S. 1999. Thracian and Pre-Thracian Studies. București: Lucretius Publishers.
  - Raevskij, N.D. 1988. Contactele romanicilor răsăriteni cu slavii. Chișinău: Știința.
- **Rusu, Mircea** 1979. Aspecte ale relațiilor dintre romanitatea orientală și slavi. *Acta Musei Napocensis* 16: 189–200.
- Sanie, Silviu 1981. Civilizația romană la est de Carpați și romanitatea pe teritoriul Moldovei, secolele II î.e.n.–III e.n. Iași: Junimea.
- **Sîrbu, Valeriu** 1993. Credințe și practici funerare, religioase și magice în lumea geto-dacilor (pornind de la descoperiri arheologice din Câmpia Brăilei). Galați: Porto Franco.
- **Šaur, Vladimír** 1975. Etymologie slovanských příbuzenských termínů. Praha: Academia.
- **Tăpkova-Zaimova, V.** 1962. Sur les rapports entre la population indigène des régions balkaniques et les "barbares" du VI°–VII° siècle. *Byzantinobulgarica* 1: 67–78.
- Tăpkova-Zaimova, V. 1972. La compétence des sources byzantines sur la survivance de l'ethnie thrace. *Thracia* 1: 223–230.
- **Teodor, Dan Gh.** 1981. Romanitatea carpato-dunăreană și Bizanțul, secolele V–XI e.n. Iași: Junimea.
- Teodor, D. Gh. 1984. Continuitatea populației autohtone la est de Carpați. Așezările din secolele VI–XI e.n. de la Dodești-Vaslui. Iași: Junimea.
  - Trautmann, Reinhold 1970. Baltisch-slavisches W\u00e4rterbuch. G\u00f6tingen: Vandenhoeck

& Ruprecht (first edition: 1923).

Váňa, Zdeněk 1983. Svět dávných Slovanů. Praha: Artia.

Vasmer, Max 1924. Iranisches aus Südrussland, în Streitberg Festgabe. Leipzig.

**Velkov, Velizar** 1962. Les campagnes et la population rurale en Thrace au IV<sup>e</sup>–VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. *Byzantinobulgarica* 1: 31–66.

Velkov, V. 1972. Thrakien in der Spätantike (IV-VI Jhdt.). Thracia 1: 213-222.

#### **REZUMAT**

# 100 de rădăcini slave esențiale: încă o dată despre sl. *sъto* și despre etnogeneza slavă

Autorul revine asupra unor probleme abordate anterior privind situația formei soto, dar și asupra altor forme vechi românești cum ar fi rom. cumătră. Lexiconul de 100 rădăcini slave esențiale confirmă atât analizele anterioare ale autorului cât și ipotezele relativ recente, datorate lui Kazimierz Godłowski și lui Aleksandar Loma privind etnogeneza slavilor, cu argumente atât arheologice cât și lingvistice. Astfel, fondul arhaic slav este reprezentat de un strat balto-slav, apoi de un adstrat nord tracic și est iranic precum și de un substrat, reprezentat de câteva forme izolate, uneori având corespondențe în fondul ugro-finic, precum și de vechile elemente germanice.