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5 GERMANIC LOANWORDS IN PROTO-SLAVIC

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter consists of an etymological description of 75 words that can be regarded as Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic. The words included in this chapter form the basis of chapter 7 *The origin of the loanwords* and chapter 8 *Accentological analysis of the material*. The entries are arranged according to their accentuation in Proto-Slavic (AP (a), (b) and (c), cf. chapter 2). The loanwords with AP (a) form §5.2. The loanwords with (b) are discussed in two separate sections: those with AP (b) and a heavy syllabic nucleus in §5.3 and those with AP (b) and a light syllabic nucleus in §5.4, because the distinction between heavy and light syllabic nuclei is accentologically important (cf. §8.3). §5.5 lists the (few) Germanic loanwords with AP (c) and §5.6 lists those with unknown or indeterminable accentuation.

I have tried to give all entries the same structure: after an overview of the attested Slavic and Germanic forms, the entries start with a discussion of the provenance of the Germanic word, followed by a discussion of the Proto-Slavic form and of the indications we have for establishing the exact Germanic donor language or dialect. The entries conclude with a discussion of irregularities in the individual Slavic languages.

5.2 LOANWORDS WITH AP (A)

PSl. **bljudo* ‘plate, dish’ (n. *o*-stem)

OCS *bljudo* n.; *bljudъ* (Supr.) m. ‘pan, dish’; **CS** *bljudъ* m., *bljudo* n., *bljuda* f.; **RCS** *bljudo* n. ‘dish’; *bljudy*, Gsg. *bljudve* f.; *bljudva* f. ‘basket’; **R** *bljúdo* n. ‘plate, dish’; **Ukr.** *bljúdo* n. ‘wooden barrel used in making cheese’; **US** *blido* n. ‘table’; **LS** *blido* n. ‘table’; **S/Cr.** *bljüdo* n.; *bljüda* f. ‘dish’; **Bg.** *bljúdo* n. ‘plate, table’²⁹

Accentuation: AP (a)

²⁹ OP *bluda* f. ‘wooden plate’ has repeatedly been cited in the literature, but the form is not included in the *Słownik Staropolski* (1953-2002).

PGmc. **beuda-* ‘plate, table’ (m. *a*-stem)

Goth. *biups*, Gsg. *biudis* m. ‘table’; **OHG** *biet* m. ‘table, plate’; **OE** *bēod*, *bēad* m. ‘table; (pl.) dishes’; **OS** *biod* m. ‘table’; **ON** *bjóð* n. ‘table, dish’

Etymology: PGmc. **beuda-* ‘plate, table’ is probably a derivative of the verb **beudan* ‘to offer’, which has been explained from PIE **b^heud^h-* ‘to be aware’ (cf. Skt. *bódhati* ‘to observe’, Gr. *πεύθομαι* ‘to examine’) (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *bieten*, Lehmann 1986: 74). In Germanic, the meaning of the derivation shifted from ‘to serve’ to ‘object on which something is served’ which caused the word to mean ‘table’ in Germanic next to ‘plate, dish’. Similar semantic shifts are found in the Proto-Slavic loanwords **dъska* ‘plank, plate’ (borrowed from Lat. *discus* ‘disc, dish’ or a reflex of NWGmc. **diska-*, cf. §6.1) and **misa* ‘table, plate’ (borrowed from VLat. *mēsa* ‘table’ < Lat. *mensa*). The primary meaning of PSl. **bljudo* is ‘plate, dish’, which is the original meaning of the Germanic word as well (Lehmann 1986: 74). Only in Sorbian, *blido* means ‘table’ and in Bulgarian, ‘table’ occurs as a secondary meaning of the word *bljúdo*. In Old Church Slavic, *bljudъ* ‘dish’ translates Gr. *πίναξ* ‘dish’, whereas Gr. *τράπεζα* ‘table’ remains untranslated in the Slavic text (Stender-Petersen 1927: 403).

The donor language of the borrowing into Slavic is likely to be Gothic because the attested forms in West Germanic could not phonologically have yielded the Slavic form **bljudo* (cf. Kiparsky 1934: 193 for literature). The Germanic diphthong **eu* was affected by the *a*-umlaut before **a* in a following syllable very early in Northwest Germanic, and it is unlikely that the umlauted reflex **eo* would have yielded PSl. **ju*.

Already the earliest attestations of the word in Slavic show variation in gender. In every Slavic language where the word is retained, except for Old Polish, it occurs as a neuter *o*-stem. Besides, the word occurs as a feminine *ā*-stem in Church Slavic and Serbian/Croatian, as a feminine *ū*-stem in Russian Church Slavic and as a masculine *o*-stem in Old Church Slavic. Because the word goes back to a masculine word in Germanic, it is possible that the word was initially masculine in Slavic (cf. OCS *bljudъ*) and became neuter in Proto-Slavic, as a result of a secondary development. The change of gender might be explained if the word was interpreted as a collective noun ending in *-a* with the meaning ‘plates, dishes’, after which a new singulative neuter was formed in *-o* to denote the single ‘plate, dish’. Skok suggests that the feminine forms developed in analogy to S/Cr. *zđjěla* ‘plate, dish’ (ERHSJ 1: 174-175), but this is questionable because it cannot be proven that the borrowing of S/Cr. *zđjěla*, Slov. *zđěla* ‘plate, dish’ < Lat. *scutella* ‘small bowl, dish’ can be dated to Proto-Slavic (the word occurs in South Slavic only).

Origin: Gothic.

PSl. **bukǔ* ‘beech’ (m. *o*-stem)

OR *bukǔ*; **R** *buk*, Gsg. *búka*; **Ukr.** *buk*; **P** *buk*; **Cz.** *buk*; **Slk.** *buk*; **US** *buk*; **LS** *buk*; **Plb.** *bauk*, *bojk*; **S/Cr.** *bǔk* (arch.);³⁰ **Bg.** *buk*

PSl. **buky* ‘beech(nut)’ (f. *ū*-stem)

RCS *buky*, Gsg. *bukǔve* ‘beech’; **P** *bukiew*, Gsg. *bukwi* ‘beechnut’; **Cz.** *bukvice* ‘beechnut; beech mast; *Stachys officinalis*’; **Slk.** *bukvica* ‘beechnut’; **US** *bukwica* ‘beechnut’; **Plb.** [*bǔkvoǐ* f. pl. ‘beechnuts’?];³¹ **S/Cr.** *bǔkva* ‘beech’; **Slov.** *búkev*, Gsg. *bǔkve* ‘beech’; *búkavca* ‘beechnut’

Accentuation: AP (a)

NWGmc. **bōkō* ‘beech’ (f. *ō*-stem)

OHG *buohha* (f. *n*-stem (and *ō*-stem?) EWA 1: 437) ‘beech’, also ‘oak; birch’; **MHG** *buoche*; **G** *Buche*; **OE** *bōc* f. (next to *bēce* < **bōkiōn*) f.; **OS** *bōka* f.; **Du.** *beuk*; **ON** *bók* f.

Cognates: Lat. *fāgus* ‘beech’, Gr. *φηγός* ‘oak’, Gaul. **bāgos* ‘beech’ (in French place-names) < PIE **b^heh₂g* (or **ǵ*)-*o*- ‘oak, beech’ (Pokorny 1959: 107, cf. De Vaan 2008: 199).³²

Etymology: Germanic **bōkō* ‘beech’ is related to Lat. *fāgus* ‘beech’, Gr. *φηγός* ‘oak’ < PIE **b^heh₂g-o* ‘oak, beech’ (cf. De Vaan 2008: 199).

PSl. **bukǔ* ‘beech’ has straightforward reflexes and a stable meaning in all Slavic languages. Next to PSl. **bukǔ*, we also find the feminine *ū*-stem **buky*. In Russian Church Slavic, Slovene, Old Czech and Polish, the reflex of this form means ‘beech’, whereas it means ‘beechnut’ or ‘letter’ (see below) in the other Slavic languages. The word could have been borrowed by the Slavs in connection to the writing on slabs of beech wood (see below). Alternatively, the borrowing might be connected to the spread of the Slavs from their original homeland to the west. The reach of the common beech (*Fagus sylvatica*) has been limited to central and western Europe, approximately to the west of the line Kaliningrad-Odessa, but possibly only as far as the river Elbe (Juškova 2006: 148, Birnbaum 1973: 407, cf. §4.1.4). The beech is supposed to be (almost) nonexistent in the area in which the Goths lived (EWA 1: 447), and for this reason, PSl. **bukǔ* and **buky* are more likely to derive from West Germanic.

³⁰ In Serbian/Croatian, the word for ‘beech’ is nowadays *bukva*, whereas *buk* has gone out of use.

³¹ SEJDP regards Plb. *bǔkvoǐ* ‘book; beechnuts’ as independent borrowings from MLG *bōk* n. ‘beechnut; (pl. also) book’, with the Slavic suffix **-ovy* because Plb. *ǔ* is the reflex of **o*, whereas **u* is reflected as Plb. *ai* or *au* (SEJDP 1: 61, Polański/Sehnert 1967: 24, 43).

³² De Vaan considers Alb. *bung* ‘kind of oak’ and PSl. **buzǔ*/**bǔzǔ* ‘elder’ unrelated (2008: 199).

Whereas the word in the donor language is feminine, it is masculine in Slavic. The masculine gender of **bukъ* might be secondary to other monosyllabic Proto-Slavic words for trees, e.g., PSl. **grabъ* ‘hornbeam’, **dъbъ* ‘oak’ and **klenъ* ‘field maple’ (REW 1: 139). On the etymology of the word, see below.

Origin: Probably West Germanic; the beech does not seem to have existed in the area in which the Goths lived.

PSl. **buky* ‘letter (sg.); book, document (pl.)’ (f. *ū*-stem)

OCS *buky* (Gsg. *bukъve*); **RCS** *bukvamъ* (Dpl.); **R** *búkva*; **Ukr.** *búkva*; **Plb.** [*bükvoj* f. pl. ‘book’ ? (cf. fn. 32)]; **S/Cr.** *bükva*; **Slov.** *bükbi* (dial. Gailtal (Pronk 2009: 204)) f. pl. ‘book’; **Bg.** *búkva*

Accentuation: AP (a)

PGmc. **bōk-* (root noun) ‘book, document, letter’

Goth. *boka* ‘letter’ f.; *bokos* ‘document, book’; **OHG** *buoh* f./n./m. ‘letter (sg.), book (sg./pl.)’; **MHG** *buoch* n.; **G** *Buch*; **OE** *bōc* f. (also n., originally a root noun) ‘book’; **OFri.** *bōk* f./n. ‘book; missal; Bible’; **OS** *bōk* f./n. ‘writing slate, book’; **Du.** *boek*; **ON** *bók* f. (originally a root noun) ‘embroidered cushion, book’.

Etymology: Fick/Falk/Torp reconstruct the Proto-Germanic form as a feminine *ō*-stem **bōkō* (1909: 271), but Kluge and Bammesberger reconstruct a root noun **bōk-*. The word is attested as a root noun in Gothic, and Old High German shows traces of a root noun as well (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Buch*, Bammesberger 1990: 197-198). The singular of the word meant ‘letter’ originally, and the plural ‘book, piece of writing’ (as is attested in Gothic, Old High German); this pattern corresponds to the use of Gr. *γράμμα* and Lat. *littera*, the singular of which denoted ‘letter’ and the plural ‘book, document’. West Germanic and Old Norse created a new singular form ‘book’, after which the element **staba-* ‘staff, stick’ was added if the meaning ‘letter’ was meant (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Buch*).

According to Fick/Falk/Torp, the original meaning of the word was ‘(tablet of) beech wood with inscribed runes’ (1909: 271), which enables a connection with NWGmc. **bōkō* ‘beech’. The Germanic words **bōkō* ‘beech’ and **bōk-s* ‘letter’ have often been connected. Beech bark is known to have been used by Indo-European peoples for writing, especially for the writing of religious texts (Mallory/Adams 1997: 58). Friedrich claims that “another source has it that the ancient [Germanic] runic tablets were made from slabs of beech wood” (1970: 110), but his source of information remains unfortunately unspecified. Kluge, on the other hand, rejects the connection between the two words because he finds no evidence for ancient Germanic writing (of runes) on beech wood (2002: s.v.

Buch). If, however, the tablets on which runes were written were indeed made of beech wood, the motive for the borrowing of the word by the Proto-Slavs would become clear: the specific use of beech wood tablets for writing would provide a motive for the borrowing of the word. Lloyd et al. reject the connection of the Germanic words for ‘beech’ and ‘book’ to the writing of runes and rather connect it to the writing of Latin, which was in use by the ruling classes of the Germanic peoples from very early onwards. Initially, people wrote on wooden slates, possibly made of beech wood because this wood splits easily and could therefore well be made into writing tablets. When writing was done on parchment rather than on wood, the covering plates were almost always made of beech wood until the 16th century. A similar example in which the word ‘book’ derives from the name of the material is Lat. *liber* ‘bark of a tree’ > ‘book’ (EWA 1: 447-448).

The Proto-Slavic loanwords **bukъ* and **buky* have been etymologised in many different ways. Kiparsky attributes the absence of a satisfying etymology to the fact that scholars tried to explain the forms from one or two borrowings, whereas Kiparsky proposes that apart from PSl. **bukъ*, the form **buky* was borrowed into Slavic on as many as three separate occasions (in different periods and from different Germanic dialects) in order to account for the diversity in form and meaning. He explains **bukъ* ‘beech’ as a West Germanic borrowing dating from the fifth century; **buky* ‘letter, book’, which is only attested in South Slavic and Russian Church Slavic, would be a loanword from Balkan Gothic and **buky* ‘beechnut’ an early borrowing “von den noch ziemlich unkultivierten Germanen Norddeutschlands”. He completely separates the borrowing of **buky* ‘beechnut’ from the borrowing of **bukъ* ‘beech’ and regards **buky* ‘beech’ as a very late borrowing from Old Saxon (1934: 218-219). This seems to be a rather uneconomical solution. It is more likely that the Germanic word for ‘beech’, with secondary meaning ‘letter, document’ was borrowed on only one occasion. It is impossible to decide on formal grounds from which Germanic dialect the words were borrowed, but if the word was borrowed together with PSl. **bukъ*, the origin is probably West Germanic.

Origin: Probably West Germanic if the word was borrowed together with PSl. **bukъ*; the beech does not seem to have existed in the area in which the Goths lived.

PSl. **duma* ‘advice, thought, opinion’ (f. *ā*-stem)

OR *duma* ‘advice, thought’; **R** *dúma* ‘thought, council’; **Ukr.** *dúma* ‘thought; folksong (originally ‘story’)’; **P** *duma* ‘pride, self-esteem; epic or elegiac song’; **Cz.** [*dumat* ‘to brood, ponder’ < P (Machek 1957: 134)]; **Slk.** [*duma* (dial.) ‘thoughtfulness, arrogance’, *dumat* ‘to think’ < P (Machek 1957: 134)]; **S/Cr.**

dŭma ‘thought’;³³ **Slov.** *dumati* ‘to think’ (verb only); **Bg.** *dúma* ‘word, thought, conversation’

Accentuation: AP (a)

PGmc. **dōma-* ‘judgement’ (m. *a*-stem)

Goth. *doms** m. ‘judgement, sense’; **OHG** *t(h)uom* m./n. ‘state, judgement, power’; **G** *-tum* (suffix to form abstract nouns); **OE** *dōm* m. ‘power, judgement, interpretation’; **E** *doom, to deem*; **OFri.** *dōm* m. ‘court of justice, judgement, decision’; **OS** *dōm* m. ‘court of justice, judgement, fame, honour’; **Du.** *-dom* (suffix to form abstract nouns); **ON** *dómr* m. ‘court of justice, judgement’

Cognates: Gr. *θωμός* ‘heap’; Lith. *domė, domesỹs* ‘attention, directing of the thought and will on something’ < PIE **d^hoh₁-mo-* (Pokorny 1959: 235-239).

Etymology: The Germanic forms derive from the PIE root **d^heh₁-* ‘to put’ with the suffix *-mo-*. In modern German and Dutch, the word has only been retained as suffix *-tum, -dom* that is used in the formation of abstract nouns. The word was probably used in legal contexts in Proto-Germanic times and might have referred to the actions of a Germanic legal assembly (Green 1998: 44-45).

On the basis of the attested Germanic forms it is impossible to establish the origin of the Slavic word. The semantic correspondence between Germanic and Slavic is not very straightforward; the word means ‘judgement’ in most of Germanic, but ‘advice, thought’ in Proto-Slavic. For this reason, Trubačev rejects the often advanced theory that the word was borrowed from Germanic, but rather follows Mladenov, who connects it to the roots **dux-*, **dyx-*, with a semantic shift ‘breathing’ > ‘word’ > ‘thought’ (cf. ÉSSJa 5: 155-156). Since the word was borrowed from Germanic in Finnish as well, as Fin. *tuomio* ‘judgement’, the Germanic word is likely to have represented an institution or a concept that was unknown to their neighbouring peoples (possibly a legal assembly as Green supposed), and was for that reason borrowed into Proto-Slavic and Finnish. The semantic shift would then have originated in Slavic.

The word is a feminine *ā*-stem in Slavic, whereas the word in Germanic is a masculine *a*-stem.

Origin: Cannot be specified.

³³ Skok cites only the verb *dŭmati, dŭmām* ‘to think’, which occurs dialectally in Serbian/Croatian. It is listed with this accent in RJA as well. Anić has *dŭmati, dŭmām* (2002: s.v. *dŭmati*), whereas the RSA cites *dŭmati*. Even though Skok claims that the corresponding noun is unattested, RSA lists the noun *dŭma*. In Croatian, the noun only occurs in the idiom *nemati blage dume* ‘to have no idea’.

PSl. **koldędźb* ‘well, spring’ (m. *jo*-stem < m. *o*-stem)

OCS *kladędźb*; **CS** *kladędźb*, *klad’azb*, *kladezb*; **RCS** *kladenъcb*, *kladecb*; **OR** *kolódjaz’*; **R** *kolódec*, *kolódjaz’*; **Ukr.** *kolódjaz’*; **S/Cr.** *klädenac*, *kladezb* (arch.);³⁴ **Slov.** [*klādez* < CS *kladęzb* (Pleteršnik 1894-1895, s.v. *klādez*, Kiparsky 1934: 38)], [*kladénac* < S/Cr. (ESSJ 2: 35)]; **Bg.** *klādenec*

Accentuation: AP (a) in Old Russian (Zaliznjak 1985: 132), and this is confirmed by the accentuation of S/Cr. *klädenac*. Because of early analogical adaptation to **koldenъcb*, there are no other sources than the East Slavic forms to determine the original AP.

OE [*celde* ‘spring’ (?)] (< ON ?); **ON** *kelda* ‘well, brook’; **Dan.** *Kolding* (place-name); **Sw.** *Kälðinge* (place-name)

Etymology: PSl. **koldędźb* had often been regarded as a borrowing from Germanic because of the suffix **-ędźb* (e.g., by Meillet 1905: 355, Stender-Petersen 1927: 277ff., Kluge 1913: 41). It has been observed that this suffix in Slavic occurs only in loanwords from Germanic (e.g., Meillet 1905: 355, cf. §7.3.2). The supposed Germanic donor would be a derivative from PGmc. **kalda-* ‘cold’, going back to the PIE root **gel-* ‘to be cold, freeze’ (Pokorny 1959: 365-366). A semantic parallel in which a Slavic word for ‘well, spring’ derives from ‘cold’ is found in, e.g., S/Cr. *studénac*, P *studnia* ‘well’ from PSl. **studenъ* ‘cold’.

A Germanic derivative **kalda-* ‘cold’ with the suffix *-inga-* is unattested in Germanic, which causes Kiparsky to reject the etymology (1934: 38). Trubačev, however, mentions toponyms in Scandinavia that go back to **kaldinga-*, namely *Kolding* in Denmark and *Kälðinge* in Sweden (ÉSSJa 10: 124). It is therefore attractive to regard the word as a loanword from Germanic after all, mainly because of the ‘Germanic’ suffix **-ędźb* (cf. §7.3.2).

The suffix **-bcb-* in Russian Church Slavic, Russian, Serbian/Croatian, Slovene and Bulgarian is probably analogous to PSl. **studenъcb* ‘well’.

Origin: Cannot be specified.

PSl. **lixva* ‘interest, usury’ (f. *ā*-stem)

OCS *lixva*; **R** *líxvá*; **Ukr.** *lýxvá*; **P** *lichwa*; **Cz.** *lichva*; **Slk.** *lichva* ‘cattle’; **US** *lichwa*; **S/Cr.** *lĭhva*; **Slov.** *lĭhva*; **Bg.** *lĭhva*

³⁴ S/Cr. *kladezb* stems, probably just as Slov. *klādez*, from Church Slavic.

Accentuation: AP (a); in modern Russian, the form has end stress. This stress pattern developed only in the 19th century. In the *Slovar' cerkovnoslavjanskogo i russkogo jazyka* (1847), the word has fixed initial stress (Kiparsky 1958: 20). This is consistent with the accentological evidence from other Slavic languages, e.g., the short falling accent of Serbian/Croatian and the neocircumflex of Slovene, which also point to AP (a).

PGmc. **leihva-* 'to lend (out)' (strong verb)

Goth. *leihvan* 'to borrow'; **OHG** *līhan*; **MHG** *līhen*; **G** *leihen*; **OE** *lēon*; **OS** *far-līhan*; **ON** *ljá, léa* (also substantive *leiga* f. 'rent')

Cognates: Skt. *rinákti* 'to leave, give up, release', Gk. *λείπω* 'to leave', Lat. *linquere*, OIr. *ar-léici* 'to release' also 'to borrow, lend', Lith. *likti* 'to remain' < PIE **leik^w-* 'to leave' (Pokorny 1959: 669-670).

Etymology: The verbal stem PGmc. **leihva-* 'to lend (out)' is attested in all branches of Germanic and derives from PIE **leik^w-* 'to leave'. The corresponding noun does not occur in West Germanic or Gothic (but Old Norse has *leiga* 'rent').

The Slavic forms show that the word was borrowed from a Germanic dialect that had retained the original Proto-Germanic labiovelar fricative **x^w* < PIE **k^w*. In West Germanic, PGmc. **x^w* was medially simplified to *-h-*. This development took place prior to the earliest attestations of West Germanic, for all attested West Germanic forms show the reflex *-h-* < **x^w* (Wright 1906: 44).

Gothic is often regarded as the donor (cf. Kiparsky 1934: 206 for references). This is likely because of the formal correspondences between the Gothic word and the Slavic reflexes but Gothic origin cannot be absolutely proven because the noun corresponding to the verb PGmc. **leihva-* 'to lend (out)' is largely unattested and because the development of PGmc. **x^w* in medial position to *-h-* in West Germanic is difficult to date.

The word has a constant meaning in all Slavic languages; the semantic shift from Germanic 'loan' to Proto-Slavic 'interest' is not difficult if one envisages the Germanic peoples as the lending party and Slavs as the borrowing party.

Origin: Possibly Gothic.

PSl. **lukǫ* 'chive, onion' (m. *o*-stem)

OCS *lukǫ*; **R** *luk*, Gsg. *lúka*; **OP** *luk*; **Cz.** *česnek luční* (arch.) 'field garlic', *luček* (dial.) 'leek'; **Plb.** *lauk* 'garlic'; **S/Cr.** *lùk*; (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *lùk*, Gsg. *lùka*; **Slov.** *lùk*, Gsg. *lúka*; **Bg.** *luk*

Accentuation: AP (a)

NWGmc. *lauka- ‘*Allium*, onion’ (m. *a*-stem)

OHG *louh* m.; **MHG** *louch*; **G** *Lauch* m.; **OE** *lēac* n. ‘garden herb, alliaceous plant, leek’; **OS** *-lôk* m.; **Du.** *look*; **ON** *laukr* m.

Cognates: Possibly OIr. *lus* ‘leek, herb, vegetable’ (cf. Hehn 1883: 168).

Etymology: The word is attested in North and West Germanic and has a possible cognate in OIr. *lus* ‘leek, herb, vegetable’ (Hehn 1883: 168). The further etymology of NWGmc. *lauka- is unclear; Kluge derives the word from the PIE root *h₂el- ‘to grow’ (2002: s.v. *Lauch*). Pokorny connects NWGmc. *lauka- to the root PIE *leug-* ‘to bend’ (1959: 685-686). The word has alternatively been explained as a regional substratum word (e.g., ERHSJ 2: 328, EWN: s.v. *look*).

According to Skok, cultivated plants are easily borrowed and he, therefore, does not consider the borrowing of the word from Germanic into Slavic unlikely (ERHSJ 2: 328). The phonological, morphological and semantic correspondence between the Slavic and Germanic forms does not pose any problems. In the etymological dictionaries, the word has most often been labelled as a loanword from ‘Germanic’, without speculation about the exact donor language (cf. Kiparsky 1934: 249 for references, ĚSSJa 16: 172).

Kiparsky considers the word to be of Old Saxon origin because Slavic does not show traces of the High German consonant shift and because the word is unattested in Gothic (1934: 249). Both arguments cannot be upheld: the absence of a word in the limited corpus of Gothic texts cannot prove that a word did not exist in Gothic and the word might also have been borrowed from a High German dialect because the High German consonant shift is usually not reflected in the Proto-Slavic borrowings (cf. §7.2.1.8). From a semantic viewpoint, the word is likely to stem from West Germanic because the words relating to fruit, garden vegetables and domestic products are mainly borrowed from West Germanic dialects (cf. §7.4.2.6).

Origin: Possibly West Germanic.

PSl. *nuta ‘cow, cattle’ (f. *ā*-stem)

CS *nuta*; **OR** *nuta* ‘cattle’; **R** *núta* (arch. and dial.) ‘cattle’, *nútnik* ‘butcher’; **US** *nuknica* (arch.) ‘stockyard, tenant farm’ (< *nutnica* ‘estate’); **LS** *nuta* (arch.) ‘herd’; **Plb.** *nõtŏ* (Asg.) ‘herd of cattle’; **Slov.** *núta* ‘herd of cattle’, *nútnjak* ‘bull’

Accentuation: AP (a)

NWGmc. *nauta- ‘cattle’ (n. *a*-stem)

OHG *nōz* n. ‘cattle’; **MHG** *nōz* n. ‘cattle’; **OE** *nēat* n. ‘cattle, cow, animal’; **E** *neat* ‘cow, cattle’; **OFri.** *nāt* m. ‘animal, partner’; **OS** *nôtil* n. ‘draught animal, cattle’; **ON** *naut* n. ‘cattle, cow’; *nautr* m. ‘valuable possession, partner, cattle’, *nauti* m. ‘partner’

Cognates: Lith. *naudà* ‘belongings’, Latv. *nauda* ‘money’ < PIE **neud-* “Erstrebtes ergreifen, in Nutzung nehmen” (Pokorny 1959: 768).

Etymology: The word is only attested in North and West Germanic. NWGmc. **nauta-* has been connected to PGmc. **neut-a* ‘to enjoy, use’ (DG 2: 20, Palander 1899: 16) and is thus related to, e.g., G *Nutzen* ‘use’ and *genießen* ‘to enjoy’. The original meaning of the word **nauta-* ‘cattle’ was then ‘useful animal’, cf. G *Nutztier* ‘useful animal’ as a covering name for livestock, dairy animals and draft animals.

In modern German and Dutch, the word is not attested, but the root has been retained in OS *ginôt*, OHG *g(i)nōz* (also G *Genosse* and Du. *genoot*) ‘partner, companion’, which thus originally meant ‘he with whom one shares his cattle’ (cf. Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Genosse*). Comparable compounds with the prefix **ga-* and the meaning ‘companion’ exist in Gothic, e.g., **ga-hlaiba-* literally ‘with whom one shares bread’, **ga-juk-* literally ‘with whom one shares a yoke’ (Lehmann 1986: 139, 141).

The meaning of the Proto-Slavic form corresponds to that of the attested Germanic forms. The origin of the word has been thought to be ‘Germanic’ without further specification, Proto-Germanic or West Germanic; Trubačev derives the word from Proto-Germanic (cf. Kiparsky 1934: 183 for literature, ÈSSJa 26: 48-49). The word is not likely to stem from Gothic because it is expected that the word or the compound **ganauta-* is attested if the word existed in Gothic.

Germanic **nauta-* is a collective neuter noun, which was borrowed as a collective neuter plural form into Proto-Slavic. The word was then reinterpreted as a feminine *ā*-stem, which frequently happens with words with a collective meaning, cf., e.g., S/Cr. *jětra* ‘liver’ < PSl. **ĕtro* n. sg. ‘liver’, which is female in the standard languages, but dialectally occurs as a neuter plural.

Origin: Probably West Germanic; a cognate in Gothic is expected to be attested if it had existed.

PSl. **orky* ‘box’ (f. *ū*-stem)

Ukr. *rákva* ‘butter dish’; **Cz.** *rakev* f. ‘coffin, grave’; **Slk.** *rakva* ‘coffin’; **Plb.** *râtâĭ* ‘box’ (< **orky* (SEJDP 4: 632)), *râkvaičâ* ‘box’; **Slov.** *rákav*, Gsg. *râkve* ‘grave, tomb’;

[**OR** *râkovina* ‘mother-of-pearl’; **R** *râkovina* ‘mussel; shell, clam’; **Cz.** *rakvice* ‘mussel; shell, clam’; **Bg.** *rakovína* ‘shell, clam’ (cf. ÈSSJa 32: 167-168) ?]

Accentuation: AP (a)

PSl. **orka* ‘tomb, reliquary’ (f. *ā*-stem)

OCS *raka* ‘tomb’; **OR** [*raka* ‘tomb’ < CS]; **R** [*ráka* ‘reliquary’ < CS], **Ukr.** [*ráka* ‘reliquary’ < CS]; **S/Cr.** *ràka* ‘tomb’; (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *ràka*, Gsg. *ràkē*; **Slov.** *ráka* ‘crypt, tomb’; **Bg.** *ráka* ‘reliquary’

PGmc. **arkō* ‘box, chest; ark’ (f. *ō*-stem)

Goth. *arka* ‘ark; bag, money box’; **OHG** *arc(h)a* ‘box, chest’; **MHG** *arche*; **G** *Arche* ‘ark’; **MLG** *arke* ‘boxlike channel in mills’ **OE** *earc(e)* f., *arc* m. ‘ark, chest’; **OFri.** *erke* ‘chest’; **Du.** *ark* ‘ark; chest’; **ON** *ørk* ‘box, chest’³⁵

Etymology: The Germanic word was borrowed from Lat. *arca* ‘chest, container’, which probably derives from the root of Lat. *arceō* ‘to contain’ (De Vaan 2008: 51). The word means ‘box, chest’ throughout the Germanic languages. In standard German, the word is only retained as referring to Noah’s ark, but different secular meanings are attested in German dialects: in hydraulic engineering, an *Arche* denotes a wooden drainage canal in, e.g., mills and ponds (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Arche*, DWb: s.v. *Arche*). In (Old) English, an *ark* was a measure of capacity, derived from the name of a chest to keep fruit or grain in (Zupko 1985: 10). Since the word is attested in all of Germanic, the borrowing from Latin is thought to have been early (cf. EWN: s.v. *ark*). Lloyd et al. also suppose that the word was a very early borrowing from Latin not only because of the extensive spread throughout Germanic but also because of the early borrowing of the word into Fin. *arkku* (EWA 1: 330). Jellinek, on the other hand, assumes a late borrowing into Gothic because the original Latin ending was retained (1926: 185).

Two forms of the same root can be reconstructed for Proto-Slavic: the feminine *ā*-stem **orka* ‘tomb, reliquary’ is only attested in South Slavic and in Old Russian, Russian and Ukrainian. According to Kiparsky, the East Slavic forms might well be Church Slavisms (1934: 252). The feminine *ū*-stem refers to box-like objects in Ukrainian and Polabian, but mean ‘coffin, grave’ in Czech, Slovak and Slovene.

In (Old) Russian, (Old) Czech and Bulgarian, possible reflexes of PSl. **orky* are attested that refer to shellfish. Trubačev separates these forms from PSl. **orky* and connects PSl. **orkovina* to PSl. **orkovъ* ‘of a crayfish’ (ĚSSJa 32: 168-169). PSl. **orkovъ* is semantically quite remote from the meanings of the attested forms, which primarily refer to mussels and shells. A parallel that perfectly matches the Slavic forms is the name of the ark clams (*Arcidae*, G

³⁵ According to Franck/Van Wijk, ON *ørk* means ‘coffin’, next to ‘box, chest’ (1912: 21), but this meaning is not mentioned by De Vries (1977: 688).

Archenmuscheln), a family of saltwater clams. A number of mussels in this family is native to the North Sea, Atlantic Ocean and Mediterranean Sea (one type of mussel being the *Arca noae*, G *Arche Noah-Muschel*).

The geographically limited attestation of **orka* might suggest a late and local borrowing, although the word clearly underwent the metathesis of liquid diphthongs in Slavic. Kiparsky might be right in supposing a double origin of the Slavic forms: PSl. **orky* ‘box’ is borrowed from Germanic, whereas **orka* ‘tomb’ is not (1934: 253). Kiparsky derives **orka* from Gr. ἄρκα ‘chest’, but I rather agree with those who regard the word a borrowing from Romance (e.g., Skok 1915 and recently M. Matasović 2011: 131-132): Skok observed that the meaning of the Latin word *arca* had narrowed from ‘chest, container’ to ‘tomb, grave’ in Vulgar Latin inscriptions in Dalmatia (1915: 83). This dialect of Romance could then be regarded as the source of the South Slavic form **orka*.³⁶ Whether PSl. **orky* stems from Gothic or West Germanic cannot be established on formal grounds.

Origin: PSl. **orky* ‘box’ stems from Germanic, but the donor language remains unclear. PSl. **orka* ‘tomb, reliquary’ is more likely to be a loanword from Latin.

PSl. **pěnědźb* ‘penny, coin’ (m. *jo*-stem < m. *o*-stem)

CS *pěnězъ, pěněgъ*; **RCS** *pěnjazъ* ‘money, (foreign) coin’; **R** *pěnjaz*’, Gsg. *pěnjazja* ‘small coin’; **Ukr.** *pínjaz* ‘0,5 Kreuzer’;³⁷ **P** *pieniądz*; **Cz.** *peníz* ‘coin, amount’; **Slk.** *peniaz* ‘coin, money’; **US** *pjenjez*; **LS** *pjenjez*; **Plb.** *paž* ‘pfennig’ (< **pędźb*); **S/Cr.** *pjěněz*, Npl. *pjěnězi* ‘money, coin’; **Slov.** *pěnez*; **Bg.** *pénez, pěnjaz* (arch.)

Accentuation: AP (a)

NWGMc. **pandinga-/pantinga-* (?) ‘penny’ (m. *a*-stem)

OHG *pfending*; **MHG** *pfenni(n)c*; **G** *Pfennig*; **OE** *pening, penning, pending, penig, pennig* ‘penny (other than English coinage)’; **OFri.** *penning, panning*; **OS** *penning*; **Du.** *penning*; **ON** [*pengr, penningr* < OE or OLG (De Vries 1977: 424)]

Etymology: The origin of the Germanic word is not entirely clear, but it might derive from Lat. *pondus* n. ‘weight, mass’. The word has also been connected

³⁶ Kiparsky claims that the fact that the word is an *ū*-stem in Slavic, indicates that it is a relatively young loanword from Germanic into Proto-Slavic (1934: 252), but this need not to be correct because the *ū*-stems seem to have become productive for Germanic as well as Romance loanwords in Proto-Slavic (cf. §7.3.4).

³⁷ The Kreuzer was a denomination for a coin and currency in the southern states of the Holy Roman Empire.

with PGmc. **pandan* ‘pledge’ (OFri. *pand*, *pond*, OS *pand*, OHG *pfant* ‘pledge’, also from Lat. *pondus*), but this etymology has been rejected because the forms without a medial stop seem to occur earlier. De Vries regards the Germanic forms without medial *-t-* or *-d-* as the older ones, on the basis of the fact that the borrowed forms in Slavic and Lithuanian do not show the reflex of a medial obstruent (De Vries/De Tollenaere 1997: 514, Franck/Van Wijk 1912: 496). This leaves two rather unsatisfying etymologies of the Germanic forms, either from PGmc. **panna* ‘pan’ (De Vries/De Tollenaere semantically explain the ‘penny’ as a ‘coin with a concave form’) or from PGmc. **pannus* ‘piece of cloth’ (because cloth was used as means of payment) (1997: 514). It seems better to assume that the word originally was **pandinga-* or **pantinga*, derived from Lat. *pondus*, and that the Slavic form was borrowed from a dialect that had lost the medial obstruent.

The word does not occur in Gothic, which has *skatts* for Gr. *δηνάριον*. In Old High German, the word *panding*, *pending* (in various forms) started to replace OHG *scaz* during the eighth century. The first occurrence of the word in Old Saxon dates from the tenth century (Von Schrötter 1930: 506).

PSl. **pěnědžb* was probably borrowed from West Germanic because the suffix *-(l)inga-/-(l)unga-* was productive in forming coin names in West (and North) Germanic, and much less so in Gothic (cf. Kluge 1926: 53-54 and §7.3.2). If the original Germanic form can indeed be reconstructed as **pandinga-* or **pantinga* with **a* in the initial syllable, then the majority of the attested Germanic forms, as well as PSl. **pěnědžb*, reflect the Germanic *i*-umlaut, which is another indication for a West Germanic donor of PSl. **pěnědžb* (cf. §7.2.1.3).

The **ě* in Slavic does not directly reflect the Germanic short *e*, because Gmc. *e* is reflected as PSl. **e* rather than **ě*. Meillet explains **ě* in this word as a result of lengthening of **e* before the double resonant *-nn-*; a similar case is the loanword S/Cr. *zdjěla*, Slov. *zděla* ‘plate, dish’ < Lat. *scutella* ‘small bowl, dish’ (via **skōdēla* < **skōdella*), which also has the reflex of **ě* from a short **e* before a double resonant (1902: 184).³⁸

³⁸ A parallel for the compensatory lengthening of **e* before *-nn-* in the first syllable is adduced by Kortlandt, who explains North Slavic **-ęn-* and South Slavic **-ěn-* in the Proto-Slavic suffix that is comparable to Lith. *-ingas* from compensatory lengthening of **-inn-* < **-ingn-* after the loss of **g*. The different reflexes in North Slavic and South Slavic can be explained from the fact that the loss of **g* has been dated earlier in South Slavic than in North Slavic (Kortlandt 2008b: 80). Note that this parallel has a bearing on the first syllable of PSl. **pěnědžb*; the similarity between the Proto-Slavic suffix **-ędžb* from Germanic **-inga-* and the Balto-Slavic suffix mentioned in this example is coincidental.

Origin: West Germanic; PSl. **pěnedźb* probably reflects the Northwest Germanic *i*-umlaut and it reflects the suffix *-(l)inga-/-(l)unga-* that was very productive in (North and) West Germanic.

PSl. **plugǔ* ‘plough’ (m. *o*-stem)

CS *plugǔ*; OR *plugǔ*; R *plug*; Ukr. *pluh*; P *plug*; Cz. *pluh*, *plouh* (dial.); Slk. *pluh*; US *pluh*; LS *plug*; Plb. *plaug*; S/Cr. *plùg*; Slov. *plùg*, Gsg. *plúga*; Bg. *plug*

Accentuation: AP (a)

NWGmc. **plōga-* ‘plough’ (m. *u* or *a*-stem (Orel 2003: 292))

OHG *phluog*; MHG *pfluoc*; G *Pflug*; OE *plōg* ‘plough, (plough of) land’; OFri. *plōch*; Du. *ploeg*; Lang. *plovum*; ON [*plógr* (later borrowing from another Germanic language (De Vries 1977: 426)]; Pliny *plaumorati*, ‘a new two-wheeled ploughing instrument in Gaul’³⁹

Etymology: The etymology of Germanic **plōga-* is unclear, but the word might be connected to the verb **plegan* ‘to do one’s best’ (De Vries 1977: 426). It is not certain whether Lang. *plovum* and the form *plaumorati* recorded by Pliny can be connected to NWGmc. **plōga-*. Baist suggested that the word *plaumorati* should be read as *ploum Raeti* ‘Rhaetic *ploum*’, which would enable a smooth connection to Lang. *plovum* (1886: 285-286).

In Gothic, the word is not attested; Wulfila’s Bible has *hoha* ‘plough’ (cf. also OHG *huohili* ‘small plough’). The absence of a reflex of PGmc. **plōga-* in Gothic cannot be used as a decisive argument against the existence of the word in Gothic because different types of ploughs might have existed next to each other. For Proto-Slavic, several words for (different types of) ploughs can be reconstructed as well. The Proto-Slavs used the ploughing instrument **ordlo* (and perhaps **soxa*, although Derksen reconstructs the Proto-Slavic meaning of **soxa* as ‘forked stick’ (2008: 458)).⁴⁰ Whereas the Proto-Slavic instrument **ordlo* was used for the ploughing of soft terrain, it has been assumed that the

³⁹ Pliny writes “non pridem inventum in Raetia Galliae duas addere tali rotulas, quod genus vocant plaumorati” (Not long ago, an invention was made in Gaulish Raetia by fitting a plough of this sort with two small wheels, which the people call a *plaumorati*) (*Naturalis Historia*: 18,48).

⁴⁰ Both words have an Indo-European origin: PSl. **ordlo* < PIE **h₂(e)rh₃-d^hlom* is related to Goth. *arjan*, Lat. *arare*, Gr. *ἀρόω* ‘to plough’. PSl. **soxa* is a cognate of Goth. *hoha* ‘plough’ and Skt. *śākhā-* ‘branch’; Derksen reconstructs ‘forked stick’ < PIE **k^hok-(e)h₂-* as the original Proto-Slavic meaning of **soxa* (2008: 458).

loanword **plugō* was a sturdier instrument for ploughing rougher terrain (ERHSJ 2: 690; also Gołąb 1991: 366).

The Germanic **plōga-* was thus a type of plough that was previously unknown to the Slavs. The phonological, morphological and semantic correspondence between the Slavic and Germanic forms does not pose any problems. The word has quite generally been regarded to stem from ‘Germanic’ or West Germanic (cf. Kiparsky 1934: 258, ESSlov. 3: 61-62 for literature). Schuster-Šewc supposes that the Germanic word originates in the Gaulish Roman area south of the Alps, from where it was taken over by the Langobards in the sixth or seventh century, after which the word spread from Langobardic to the other West Germanic languages. Schuster-Šewc dates the borrowing into Proto-Slavic shortly after the supposed borrowing from Langobardic into the other West Germanic languages (HEW 15: 1092). This is not a likely scenario, for if in Pliny’s time in the first century AD the Raeti or Gauls indeed invented a revolutionary new type of plough, the invention is likely to have spread to neighbouring people in a short period of time. According to De Vries, the word was introduced in England and Scandinavia at a later stage and he supposes that the word originated in the area west of the river Elbe (1977: 426). The word in any case seems to have originated in Raetia or in present-day central Germany, which makes West Germanic origin of the Proto-Slavic loanword attractive (but not imperative if the homeland of the Goths is to be located in southern Germany, cf. §4.1.2).

Origin: Probably West Germanic in view of the fact that the word is supposed to have originated in Raetia or in present-day central Germany.

PSl. **šelmō* ‘helmet’ (m. *o*-stem)

CS *šlěmō*; **OR** *šelomō*, *šolomō* ‘pointed helmet, in use in Rus’ in the Middle ages’; **R** [*šlem* ‘helmet’ < CS]; *šlóm*, Gsg. *šlóma* (dial.) ‘covering, roofing’; **Ukr.** *šólóm*; **OP** *szłom*; **Cz.** *šlem* (dial.) ‘headdress for women’; **S/Cr.** *šljēm*; **Slov.** *šlēm*, Gsg. *šléma*; **Bg.** *šlem*

Accentuation: AP (a)

PGmc. **helma-* ‘helmet’ (m. *a*-stem)

Goth. *hilms*; **OHG** *helm*; **MHG** *helm*; **G** *Helm*; **OE** *helm*; **OFri.** *helm*; **OS** *helm*; **Du.** *helm*; **ON** *hjalmr*

Cognates: Skt. *śárman-* ‘protection, shelter’, Lat. *cilium* ‘eye-lid’, OIr. *celim* ‘to hide’ < PIE **kel-* (Pokorny 1959: 553).

Etymology: The Germanic word **helma-* is a derivation with the suffix *-ma-* from the verb **hela-* ‘to conceal’, which continues PIE **kel-* ‘to

conceal'. The suffix **-ma-* < PIE **-mo-* forms substantives to verbs (EWN: s.v. *helm*).

PSl. **šelmǫ* cannot have been borrowed from Gothic because of the vocalism: PGmc. **e* became *i* in Gothic and this does not correspond to the **e* in Proto-Slavic **šelmǫ*. The word must, therefore, have been borrowed from West Germanic. The borrowing can be dated before the second palatalization of velar consonants in Slavic because South and East Slavic show the reflex of the first rather than the second palatalization of velar consonants (West Slavic is inconclusive because it has /š/ as a result of the first as well as of the second palatalization of **x*). Separate loans of the same Germanic form are found in SCS *xilemǫ* from Goth. *hilms* and in P and Cz. *helm* 'helmet' from MHG *hēlm* (Kiparsky 1934: 188). The word was also borrowed from Germanic into Lat. *helmus* 'helmet' (EWA 4: 945).

Origin: West Germanic because of the *e*-vocalism of PSl. **šelmǫ*.

PSl. **skrin(j)a* 'chest' (f. *a-* or *jā-*stem)

OCS *skrinja* 'ark, reliquary', *skrinica* 'small box'; **CS** *skrina*, *skrinja*; **OR** *skrina*, *skrinja*; **R** *skrin*, Gsg. *skrina*; *skrinja*, *skrinka* 'chest, shrine'; **Ukr.** *skrynja* 'chest for clothing and valuables'; **P** *skrzynia* 'box, (linen-)cupboard'; **Cz.** *skříň* 'cupboard, wardrobe', *skříňka* 'box, chest'; **Slk.** *skriňa* 'cupboard'; **US** *křinja* '(painted) blanket chest'; **LS** *kšinja*; **S/Cr.** *skrīnja*; (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *skrīnja*, Gsg. *skrīnjē* 'coffin, chest'; **Slov.** *skrinja* '(blanket) chest', *škrinja* 'shrine, cabinet, (blanket) chest', *krinja* 'flour bin'; **Bg.** *skrin* '(linen-)cupboard'⁴¹

Accentuation: AP (a)

WGmc. **skrin(i)a* 'shrine, chest, small box (especially for precious/religious objects)'

OHG *scrīni* m./n.; **MHG** *shrīn* m./n.; **G** *Schrein* m.; **OE** *scrīn*; **OFri.** *skrēn*, *skrīn*, *skrein*; **Du.** *schrijn*; **ON** [*skrin* < OE (De Vries 1977: 504)]

Etymology: The Germanic word was borrowed from Lat. *scrīnium* n. 'round chest, receptacle for letters or papers' and is only attested in West Germanic. The West Germanic forms might have been taken over from the Latin plural form *scrīnia*. De Vries distinguishes between two borrowings from Latin in Germanic: most Germanic forms derive from WGmc. **skrinia*, but OE *scrīn*

⁴¹ R *skrinka* and P *skrzynka* are derivations with a different suffix. Some languages show forms with initial š-: Cz. *škříně* 'chest, box', S/Cr. *škřinja* 'coffin, (painted) blanket chest'. These might be later borrowings from (High) German.

goes back to WGmc. **skrīna*, which De Vries/De Tollenaere consider to be the form taken over by the clergy (1997: 631). The Latin and Germanic words primarily refer to a small box used for the storage of precious and/or religious objects, although the words G *Schreiner*, Du. *schrijnwerker* ‘cabinetmaker’ suggest that the WGmc. **skrīn-* also referred to larger secular objects that were used as piece of furniture.⁴² PSl. **skrin(j)a* continues the latter Germanic meaning, being a relatively large object, albeit also for the storage of valuables as is suggested by the fact that it refers to a decorated blanket chest in several Slavic languages, e.g., Sorbian, Ukrainian and Serbian/Croatian. Skok rejects the etymology of the word as a Germanic loanword and derives the word directly from Lat. *scrīnium* (ERHSJ 3: 269-270), but on the basis of semantic evidence the word is more likely to derive from Germanic: the meaning of the Slavic forms corresponds better to that of the Germanic forms than to that of Lat. *scrīnium*. PSl. **skrin(j)a* must be a loanword from West Germanic because the word seems to be a late borrowing from Latin into West Germanic only.

The genders of PSl. **skrin(j)a* and the Germanic forms do not agree: the Germanic forms appear to go back to a neuter proto-form (which corresponds to the gender of the Latin donor form), but the Slavic forms go back to a feminine *a-* or *jā-*stem. The word is masculine and/or neuter in the earliest (High) German attestations.

Origin: West Germanic (High German); the word seems to be a late borrowing from Latin into West Germanic only. Because of the absence of early attestations in Low German, the word is likely to have been borrowed from High German.

PSl. **stōpa* ‘pestle, mortar’ (f. *ā*-stem)

CS *stupa*; **R** *stūpa*; **Ukr.** *stūpa*; **P** *stępa*; **Cz.** *stoupa* ‘pestle; stamp-mill’; **Slk.** *stupa* (arch.) ‘pestle; (pl.) stamp-mill’; **US** *stupa* ‘pestle; stamp-mill’; **LS** *stupa* ‘pestle; stamp-mill’; **Plb.** *stōpo*; **S/Cr.** *stūpa*; (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *stūpa* Gsg. *stūpē*; **Slov.** *stōpa*; **Bg.** *stāpa*

Accentuation: AP (a)

WGmc. **stampa-* ‘pestle, mortar’ (m. *a*-stem)

OHG *stampf*, *stampf* m. ‘pestle; barrel for grinding corn’; **MHG** *stampf* m.; **G** *Stampfe* f., *Stampf*, *Stampfer* m.; **OE** *stampe* f.; **OS** *stamp* m.; **MLG** *stampe* f.

⁴² In Dutch and English, the word nowadays has a religious meaning only, but G *Schrein* can refer to non-religious containers as well.

Etymology: The word is attested in West Germanic only and is explained as an instrument noun derived from the verb PGmc. **stampōn* ‘to stamp’ (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *stampfen*, EWN: s.v. *stampen*).

PSl. **stopa* has quite generally been regarded as a borrowing from Germanic (cf. Kiparsky 1934: 266 for literature). The donor of PSl. **stopa* is likely to be a High or Low German dialect, because the occurrence of the word is limited to West Germanic. The meaning of the Germanic and Slavic forms corresponds exactly.

The Slavic word is feminine, whereas it is masculine in most of the older Germanic languages, although Old English, Middle Low German and modern High German have feminine forms as well.

Origin: Probably West Germanic; the occurrence of the word is limited to West Germanic.

PSl. **tynǫ* ‘fence’ (m. *o*-stem)

CS *tynǫ* ‘wall’; **OR** *tynǫ*; **R** *tyn*, Gsg. *týna* ‘fence’; **Ukr.** *tyn* ‘wicker fence’; **P** *tyn* (dial.), *tynina* (dial.), *tyniec* (dial.) ‘fence made of pine branches’; **OCz.** *týn* ‘fence, fortification’; **Cz.** *týn* ‘fence, hedge’; **Slk.** *týň* ‘rod in a fence’; **Plb.** *vātājn*, *vātěn* ‘fence’; **S/Cr.** *tǐn* ‘partition wall’; **Slov.** *tín*, Gsg. *tína* ‘wall, partition’

Accentuation: AP (a)

NWGmc. **tūna-* ‘hedge(row), fence’ (m. *a*-stem)

OHG *zūn* m.;⁴³ **MHG** *zūn*, *zoun* m.; **G** *Zaun*; **OE** *tūn* m. ‘yard, manor, farm’; **E** *town*; **OFri.** *tūn* m. ‘fence, fenced area’; **MLG** *tūn* ‘fence’; **Du.** *tuin* m. ‘garden’; **ON** *tún* n. ‘fenced green, yard; town’

Cognates: NWGmc. **tūna-* can be connected to OIr. *dún* ‘fort, rampart’, OW *din* ‘castle’, Gaul. *dunum* (in Latin authors), *-dūnum* (in place names), but the origin of the word is unclear (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Zaun*).

Etymology: The Germanic word **tūna-* has been connected to the Celtic word **dūno-* ‘fort, rampart’, which derives from PIE **d^huHno-* ‘enclosure’ (Matasović 2009: 108). It is unclear whether the words are cognates or that Germanic **tūna-* has been borrowed from Celtic (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Zaun*), but the Germanic form has often been thought to be a loanword from Celtic (Pokorny 1959: 263, Orel 2003: 413).

⁴³ In Old High German, the word was a masculine *i*-stem originally, which had a plural in *-a*, next to a plural in *-i* (Braune/Reiffenstein: 2004: 202).

The original meaning of NWGmc. **tūna-* is ‘hedge(row), fence’; it developed into ‘enclosure, fenced area’ in Dutch, Old Norse, Old English and further into ‘town’ in English. The meaning ‘hedge(row), fence’ was retained in the southern dialects of Dutch (De Vries/De Tollenaere 1997: 753) and probably also in the dialect spoken on the island of Texel (in the Dutch province of North Holland), where a *tuunwol* refers to an (approximately one metre high) site-fencing made of turf. The Slavic loanword retained the primary Germanic meaning.

The Germanic reflexes of PGmc. **tūna-* are rather uniform. As a result of this, the exact donor of the Slavic word remains unclear. Because the word is not attested in Gothic, and Gothic has the word *fapa* for ‘hedge, fence’, PSl. **tynb* ‘fence’ might be considered to be a loanword from West Germanic. The Proto-Slavic vocalism *-y-* shows that the word was borrowed before the Slavic sound change *ū > y* took place.

Origin: Probably West Germanic; the word is not attested in Gothic, and Gothic has an alternative word for ‘hedge, fence’.

PSl. **vitędzb* ‘hero, knight’ (m. *jo*-stem < m. *o*-stem)

CS *vitezь, vitazь* ‘hero’; **R** *vítjaz* ‘hero, knight’; **Ukr.** *výtjaz* ‘hero, knight’; **OP** *wycięski* (adj.) ‘victorious’; **P** *zwycięski* (adj.) ‘victorious’; **Cz.** *vítěz* ‘winner, champion’; **Slk.** *vitaz* ‘winner, champion’; **US** *wicaz* ‘vassal, liegeman’; **S/Cr.** *vitěz* ‘hero, knight’; **Slov.** *vitez* ‘knight, soldier’; **Bg.** *vítec, víteg, vítek* ‘hero’

Accentuation: AP (a)

NWGmc. **wīkinga* ‘(?)’ (m. *a*-stem)

OHG *?wīhhing, ?wihhing* ‘?’; **G** *Wiking(er)* ‘Viking’; **OE** *wīcing* ‘pirate’; **OS** *wīking* ‘pirate’, *Wīking* (personal name); **Du.** [*viking* ‘Viking’ < probably E]; **ON** *vīkingr* ‘pirate’

Etymology: The origin of NWGmc. **wīkinga* is unclear. The earliest attestation of the word is OE *wīcing* ‘pirate’, which dates perhaps from the seventh century, i.e., before the presence of the Vikings in England (Hofstra 2003: 149, 156). Hofstra evaluates the most important etymologies that have been proposed for the word for Viking and regards the problem of the etymology of the name “probably insolvable” (2003: 148). The most convincing etymologies are the ones that derive the word from NWGmc. **wīk-*, a loanword from Latin *vīcus* ‘district of a town; minor settlement, village’ (OE *wīc* ‘dwelling place, village, lane’, Du. *wijk* ‘district in a town’), from NWGmc. **wīk-* ‘inlet, bay’ (ON *vīk* ‘bay’, OE *wīc* ‘bay, creek’) or alternatively from the name of the bay *Vīk* ‘Oslo Fjord’ (ibid.: 152-153).

Hofstra and De Vries (1977: 662) both mention the Old High German forms *wīhhing* and *wihhing*. About these Old High German forms, Hofstra remarks that they occur “in different spellings, already in the eighth century” (2003: 150); I have not been able to find these forms in any of the dictionaries available to me (Schützeichel's *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, the *Chronologisches Wörterbuch des deutschen Wortschatzes: Der Wortschatz des 8. Jahrhunderts (und früherer Quellen)* or *Idem: Der Wortschatz des 9. Jahrhunderts* (Seebold 2001 and 2008) and Köbler's dictionary of Old High German (1993)). Holthausen lists OS *Wiking* in his dictionary of Old Saxon, and derives the name from OS *wik* ‘dwelling place, village’ (1956: 87).

The suffix **-inga-* (or **-unga-*) is used to form masculine names of denominative origin. In this function, the suffix is only attested in Northwest Germanic, not in Gothic. The suffix denotes mainly persons with characteristics expressed by the preceding element, as well as belonging to a family or community, and patronymics (Kluge 1926: 11-16). As we see in other examples, to West Germanic **-ing* corresponds the Proto-Slavic suffix *-ędźb* (cf. §7.3.2). Because of the reflex of the Germanic suffix **-ing* in the Proto-Slavic borrowing, and because of the late and limited occurrence of the word in West Germanic, PSl. **vitędźb* must be regarded as a loanword from West Germanic.

The semantic connection between the Germanic and the Slavic forms is not as straightforward as it might seem at first glance. In the old sources from the Carolingian period, the Vikings from Scandinavia are not described in a particular sympathetic way (Hofstra 2003: 160). This differs significantly from the meaning that is attested in the Slavic languages that can be reconstructed as ‘hero, knight’. It is therefore not clear in what context the word was borrowed.

PSl. **vitędźb* can be reconstructed with **t* in the root, whereas the Germanic forms have *k* in this position. The same correspondence is found in PSl. **retędźb* ‘chain(s)’ and in the forms **stbłędźb*, **štōbłędźb* ‘coin’ next to **skbłędźb*. As with these other forms, the reflex **t* might be the result of dissimilation from ***vīcędźb* > **vitędźb*, with **c* resulting from the (second) palatalization of the velar **k* (REW 1: 206-207). Professor Kortlandt suggested to me that the Proto-Slavs might have heard Germanic *vīki-* as **vīti-*, which may alternatively explain **t* in PSl. **vitędźb* (and similarly in PSl. **retędźb* and **stbłędźb*, **štōbłędźb*).

In Bulgarian, the variants *viteg*, *vitek* are attested, the form *viteg* being a new Nsg. after the Npl. *vitezi*.

Origin: West Germanic; the suffix **-inga-* (or **-unga-*) to form masculine names of denominative origin is only attested in Northwest Germanic.

PSl. **volxъ* ‘Romance-speaking person/people’ (m. *o*-stem)

CS *vlaxъ*; **OR** *voloxъ*, pl. *volosi*; **R** *volóx* ‘Romanian, Moldavian’; **Ukr.** *volóx* ‘Rumanian’; **P** *wloch* ‘Italian’; **Cz.** *vlach* (arch.) ‘Italian’; **Slk.** *vlach* (arch.) ‘Italian’; **US** *włóski* (adj.) ‘Romance (Italian)’; **LS** *włoski* (adj.) ‘Romance (Italian)’, *wloch* (arch.) ‘Italian’; **S/Cr.** *vläh* ‘Romanian; (pej.) member of the Orthodox Church’; (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *vläh*, Gsg. *vlàha*; **Slov.** *läh*, *vläh* ‘Italian’; **Bg.** *vlax* ‘Romanian, Aromanian’

Accentuation: AP (a)

NWGmc. **walha-* ‘Celt, Roman, foreigner’ (m. *a*-stem)

OHG *wal(a)h*; **MHG** *Walch*, *Walhe*; **G** *welsch* (adj.); **OE** *wealh* ‘foreigner (Celt, Roman); slave’; **MLG** *wale* (adj.) ‘Welsh’; **Du.** *Waal(s)* ‘Wallonian’; **ON** *valir* ‘(Celtic) inhabitant of Northern France’; **Caesar** *Volcae Tectosages*, *Volcae Arecomigi* ‘Celtic tribes’

Etymology: In Germanic, reflexes of NWGmc. **walha-* denote foreign (Celtic or Roman) neighbouring tribes. Caesar mentions a Celtic tribe *Volcae Tectosages*, living in western Germania (*De bello gallico* 6.24). The name of this tribe might have been the origin of the word in the North and West Germanic languages. It has been supposed that the Celtic *Volcae* originally lived in southern Germany, despite of their later habitat in present-day France. The word was then possibly borrowed into Proto-Germanic around the fourth century BC, before Grimm’s law operated (Bandle 2002: 578-579).

In Slavic, **volxъ* almost exclusively refers to Romance-speaking people. This suggests that the word was borrowed from Germanic in a linguistic situation in which speakers of Germanic, Slavic and Romance interacted. The speakers of Germanic gave their appellation of the Romance neighbours to the Slavs. Skok suggests that the borrowing can be dated to the fourth or fifth century, when the Slavs first came into contact with Romans at the *limes* along the lower Danube (ERHSJ 3: 608).

Origin: Cannot be specified.

PSl. **xlěbъ* ‘loaf, bread’ (m. *o*-stem)

OCS *xlěbъ*; **R** *xleb*, Gsg. *xléba*; **Ukr.** *xlib*; **P** *chleb*; **Cz.** *chléb*; **Slk.** *chlieb*; **US** *chlěb*; **LS** *klěb*; **S/Cr.** *hlěb*, *hljěb*; (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *hlīb*, Gsg. *hlība*; **Slov.** *hlěb*, Gsg. *hlěba*; **Bg.** *hľab*

Accentuation: AP (a)

PGmc. **hlaiba-* ‘loaf, bread’ (m. *a*-stem)

Goth. *hlaifs*; **OHG** *leib* m.; **MHG** *leip*; **G** *Laib*; **OE** *hlāf*; **OFri.** *hlēf*, *lēf*; **ON** *hleifr*

Etymology: The origin of PGmc. **hlaiba-* is unclear; the word was either borrowed from an unknown language or constructed from native material in late Proto-Germanic. According to Kluge, the word probably referred to unleavened (non-sour) bread, whereas **brauda-* was the (more modern) soured bread (2002: s.v. *Laib*). PGmc. **hlaiba-* has been connected to Gr. κλίβανος ‘baker’s oven; pan with a lid for baking bread’, Gr. κλίβανίτης ‘bread baked in a *klibanos*’, which probably is a borrowing from an unknown substratum language (2002: s.v. *Laib*). The Germanic word might well have been borrowed from the same source.

The Proto-Slavic form **xlěbъ* corresponds phonologically, morphologically and semantically with the attested forms in the early Germanic languages. The time and place of the borrowing of the word into Proto-Slavic cannot be determined with absolute certainty, but Gothic *hlaifs* is generally regarded as the donor of this word (cf. Kiparsky 1934: 199 for references). Gothic has root final *-f-* in the NAsg. and *-b-* (phonetically probably [b]) in the oblique cases. The fricative was replaced by the labial stop *-b-* because Proto-Slavic did not have labial fricatives (cf. §7.2.1.7).

Origin: Probably Gothic.

PSl. **xyzъ/-a*, **xysъ/-a*, **xyžъ/-a*, **xyšъ/-a* ‘small house, cottage’

OCS *xyzъ* ‘house’; **CS** *xyzъ*, *xyza*, *xyža* ‘house’; **SCS and Cr.CS** *xiša*, *xisъ*; **RCS** *xyža*; **OR** *xyzъ*; **R** *xíža*, *xíza* (arch.) ‘hut’; **Ukr.** *xýža* ‘store room, hut, stable’; **P** *chyža*, *chyž*, *hyž*, *chyz*, *hyza* (dial.) ‘house, hut, stable’; **OCz.** *chyšě* ‘room (sg.), hut, house (pl.)’; **Cz.** *chýše* ‘hut, primitive house’; **Slk.** *chyža* ‘living room; hut’; **US** *chěža* ‘house’; **LS** *chyz* ‘house; storehouse/-room’, *chyža* ‘house, hut’; **Plb.** *χαιζνῆ* (adj.) ‘of/near a hut’; **S/Cr.** *hīža* (dial.) ‘house, (living) room’, *hisa*, *hiš* ‘house’; **Slov.** *hiz* ‘small wooden cellar or granary’, *híža* ‘house, (living) room’, *his*, *híša* ‘house’; **Bg.** *híža* ‘(mountain) hut’

Accentuation: AP (a)

PGmc. **hūsa-* ‘(one room?) house’ (n. *a*-stem)

Goth. *-hūs* (only in *gudhūs* n. ‘temple’), **Crim. Goth.** *hus*; **OHG** (*h*)*ūs* n. ‘house, family’; **MHG** *hūs* n.; **G** *Haus*; **OE** *hūs* n.; **OFri.** *hūs* n.; **OS** *hūs* n.; **Du.** *huis*; **ON** *hús* n.

Etymology: Many attempts have been made to etymologise PGmc. **hūsa-*, but no etymology has been commonly accepted. Orel explains PGmc. **hūsa-* as a borrowing from “a phonetically advanced East Iranian: **xuz* ~ **xud* < Iranian **kata-*, cf. Av. *kata-* ‘room, cellar’” (2003: 196). Kluge relates the word to modern G *Hütte* < PGmc. **hud-* and thus derives PGmc. **hūsa-* ‘house’ from earlier **hud-s-a-*, with compensatory lengthening of the stem vowel after the drop of

the *-d-* (2002: s.v. *Haus*). With this etymology, the word would be related to Gr. *κεῦθος* n. ‘hole, hiding place’ < PIE **(s)keudh-* ‘cover’. In Germanic, the word is quite uniform in form and meaning. In Gothic, the word occurs only in the compound *gudhūs* ‘temple’, whereas the normal word for ‘house’ is *gards*. In view of this, the Proto-Slavic word must have been borrowed from West Germanic.

The attested Slavic forms go back to a number of different forms: PSl. **xyzǔ/-a*, **xysǔ/-a*, **xyžǔ/-a*, **xyšǔ/-a* (HEW 6: 378-379). PGmc. **hūsa-* was not affected by Verner’s law. The Proto-Slavic forms with a root-final *-z-* probably go back to an innovation in Slavic.

The word occurs in the Slavic languages in masculine as well as in feminine forms, whereas the Germanic donor word was neuter. This divergence is consistent with the change of gender that is common to Germanic neuter nouns that were borrowed in Proto Slavic (cf. §7.3.3). Vasmer explains the feminine forms in Slavic as derivations that developed from PSl. **xyzǔ/*xysǔ* ‘house’ to which the suffix **-ja* was attached in analogy to PSl. **kǫtja* ‘house, cottage’ (REW 3: 240).

Origin: West Germanic; Gothic has *gards* for ‘house’.

5.3 LOANWORDS WITH AP (B) AND A HEAVY SYLLABIC NUCLEUS

PSl. **česarǔ*, **cesarǔ* ‘(Roman) emperor’ (m. *jo*-stem)

OCS *česarǔ*; **CS** *česarǔ*, *cesarǔ* [*kěsarǔ*’*ǔ*, *kěsarǔ* < Byzantine Greek (ERHSJ 1: 258)]; **OR** *česarǔ*, *cesarǔ*; **R** *česar*’; **Ukr.** *čisar*, *česar*; **P** *cesarz*; **OCz.** *ciesarǔ*; **Cz.** *čisarǔ*; **Slk.** [*cisar* < Cz]; **Plb.** [*čajzâr* < MLG *keiser* (SEJDP 5: 865)]; **S/Cr.** *česar* ‘absolute sovereign’, (Čak. dial. Vodice) *cesâr*; **Slov.** *česar*, Gsg. *cesárja*

PSl. **cǫsarǔ* ‘(Roman) emperor, (Russian) tsar’ (m. *jo*-stem)

CS *cǫsarǔ*, *carǔ*; **OR** *cǫsarǔ* ‘Byzantine emperor (11th century)’, *carǔ* ‘sovereign, monarch; Tatar khan (13th century)”; **R** *car*’, Gsg. *carjá* ‘tsar’; **Ukr.** *car* ‘tsar’; **P** [*car* ‘Russian tsar, Turkish emperor’ < R]; **Cz.** [*car* < R]; **US** [*car* < G < R (HEW 2: 93)]; **S/Cr.** *câr*; **Slov.** [*câr*, Gsg. *cârja* ‘tsar’ < R]; **Bg.** *car*

Accentuation: AP (b)

PGmc. **kaisar* ‘emperor, Caesar’ (m. *a*-stem)

Goth. *kaisar**; **OHG** *k(h)eisur*; **MHG** *keiser*; **G** *Kaiser*; **OE** *Cāsere*; **OS** *kêsur*; **Du.** *keizer*;

Etymology: The word derives from Caesar, the name of G. Julius Caesar (ca. 100 BC - 44 BC) that (together with *Augustus*) became part of the Roman

emperor's title from the reign of Claudius I. The meaning of the word had broadened in Germanic from 'Roman emperor' to 'emperor' in general. Kluge regards **kaisar* as one of the earliest borrowings from Latin in Germanic. The diphthong [ai] and the retention of *k-* before a front vowel indicate that the word was borrowed from classical Latin (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Kaiser*, also Lehmann 1986: 214). The articulation of Latin /ae/ as a diphthong was considered to be the urban Roman articulation, whereas the monophthongised reflex, which is attested in Latin texts and inscriptions from the last centuries BC onwards, was perceived as rural (Adams 2007: 78-88). The title was introduced in the German lands by Louis the German (Ludwig II, der Deutsche) in 843 as a title for the emperors of the Frankish empire (EWN: s.v. *keizer*).

The Slavic form and its relation to the donor form is highly complicated. The word was probably borrowed from a Germanic language and Goth. *kaisar* has frequently been regarded as the donor (e.g., by REW 3: 283, ESSlov. 1: 62, Lehmann 1986: 214).

The Proto-Slavic form has most often been reconstructed as **česarb*, but in fact, the vocalism in the initial syllable of the Slavic form is uncertain. The attested forms appear to reflect original **česarb*, **cesarb* and **cbsarb*. In Old Church Slavic, the forms *česarb* and *cesarb* are attested. The same forms are found in Church Slavic, but there, *cbsarb* and *carb* are also attested. The long *-í-* in Czech reflects a long PS. **ě*, and the *i*-vocalism of Ukr. *cisar* also derives from PS. **česarb*.

S/Cr. *česar*, on the other hand, does not derive from **česarb* because the form does not show the expected reflex *-je-* or *-ije* from a (short or long) PS. **ě*. In addition to this, there is no form ***cisar* attested in the Ikavian dialects of Serbian/Croatian (ERHSJ 1: 258); S/Cr. *česar* must thus go back to **cesarb*. This form might also be the basis of Slov. *česar* because the Slovene form does not have the closed *ɛ*-vowel from PS. **ě*. P. *cesarz* does not derive from PS. **česarb* either.

From the 11th century, *cbsarb* is attested in Russian, Serbian and Bulgarian. The form **cbsarb* consequently yielded **carb*, which was borrowed from Russian into a number of other Slavic languages (Kiparsky 1934: 194, ESSlov. 1: 62, HEW 2: 93). In Bulgarian, *car* seems to be the original form (ERHSJ 1: 259). S/Cr. *cār* has been considered the direct reflex of PS. *cbsarb* rather than a loanword from Russian (Gluhak 1993: 159, ERHSJ 1: 258). If PS. **cbsarb* with a jer in the initial syllable indeed originated in the South Slavic area, perhaps R. *carb* 'tsar' must be considered to be a Church Slavonicism. The form **cbsarb* has been explained by the circumstance that forms of address of (high placed) persons are often shortened, cf. E. *king*, Sw. *kung* < **kuninga-*, E. *miss* < *mistress* (REW 3: 283, Gluhak 1993: 159).

The suffix that is attested in the Germanic forms does not formally correspond to the Slavic suffix. The forms in Old High German and Old Saxon

seem to occur primarily with the suffix *-ur* (cf. Seebold 2008: 461), which fits less well to the Proto-Slavic forms than the suffix of Goth. *kaisar*. The Gothic suffix does, nevertheless, not formally match the Proto-Slavic suffix either because Germanic **ǣ* regularly yields **o* in Slavic (cf. Kiparsky 1934: 194). In Proto-Slavic, the suffix could, however, have been analogically adapted to other *nomina agentis* ending in the suffix **-ārb*, which had become a productive suffix. PSl. **-ārb*, that itself was borrowed from Goth. *-āreis* or Latin *-ārius*, has a long vowel (e.g., S/Cr. *řibār* ‘fisherman’, *vrātār* ‘doorkeeper’, Cz. *rybář*). The Proto-Slavic suffix **-ārb* is attested in OCS already and denotes people practicing a profession, e.g., OCS *rybarjъ* ‘fisherman’, *vratarjъ* ‘doorkeeper’ (Meillet 1905: 211, cf. REW 3: 283). In the case of PSl. **česarb/*cesarb/*cbsarb*, however, the vowel in the suffix is reflected as short. This short suffix is directly attested in Cz. *císarř* (as opposed to Cz. *rybář*). The suffix in Slk. *cisár*, which must be a loanword from Czech because of the *-i-* (< long **ě*) in the initial syllable, is reflected as long, but this might well be analogical to the other *nomina agentis* ending in **-ārb*. The initial stress of the Slovene Nsg. *česar* (Gsg. *cesárja*) indicates that the vowel in the suffix was short because in Slovene, the stress retracted from final short vowels. The short *-a-* in the suffix can alternatively be the regular reflex if we were to assume that the word was a late borrowing dating from after the rise of the new timbre distinctions, which has been dated after the seventh century (cf. Kortlandt 2002a: 13, 2003b: 4, cf. §7.2.2.2). A late date of borrowing of the word would exclude Gothic as the donor language because the Goths lost their dominance in the Pontic region around the fifth century (cf. §4.1.2).

The forms deriving from original PSl. **česarb* are predominantly attested in the northern part of the Slavic territory. PSl. **cesarb* seems to be the basis of the Serbian/Croatian and Slovene forms, whereas the Bulgarian form is thought to derive from PSl. **cbsarb*. Whether the variety in the vocalism of the initial syllable of PSl. **česarb/*cesarb/*cbsarb* results from a late borrowing into a stage of Proto-Slavic that had already begun to develop into different dialects or whether the diversity in forms can be attributed to multiple borrowings cannot be established with certainty.

The forms **česarb/*cesarb/*cbsarb* are in any case most likely to have been borrowed prior to the rise of the new timbre distinctions, and analogically received the suffix **-ārb* in Proto-Slavic (instead of **-or*). According to Dybo’s law, the suffix received the stress in all case forms, yielding a long falling tone on the suffix throughout the paradigm. Consequently, Stang’s law operated only in the Nsg., whereas the other case forms retained the accent on the suffix because Dybo’s law operated only on final syllables (not counting final jers). The long stressed falling vowel in the oblique case forms was subsequently shortened (cf. Kortlandt 2002a: 17). This chain of events explains the short reflex of the suffix that is reflected in most Slavic languages, as well as the initial accent of S/Cr.

cēsar and the dialectal form *cesār* (the suffix stress in the latter form is then analogical to the oblique case forms).

Origin: Unknown; often thought to be Gothic, but this idea cannot be substantiated.

PSl. **cbrky* ‘church’ (f. *ū*-stem)

OCS *crbky*; **RCS** *crbky* (also *krbky*⁴⁴); **OR** *cbrky*; **R** *cérkov*’, Gsg. *cérkvi*; **Ukr.** *cérkva*; **OP** *cyrkiew*, *cerkiew*, *cerki*; **P** *cerkiew* ‘Greek Orthodox church’; **OCz.** *cierkiev*; **Cz.** *církev* ‘congregation’; **Slk.** *cirkev* ‘congregation’, *cerkev* ‘Orthodox church’; **US** *cyrkej*; **LS** *cerkwja*; **Plb.** *cartaj*, *cartèv* ‘church, cemetery’; **S/Cr.** *crkva*; (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *críkva*, Gsg. *crīkvē*; **Slov.** *cérkav*, Gsg. *cérkve* (*Freisinger Denkmäler circuvah* Lpl. f.); **Bg.** *cárkva*, *čérkva*

Accentuation: AP (b), as is suggested by the long vocalic reflexes in a number of the attested Slavic forms, as well as by the neo-acute in South Slavic. The attested forms point to fixed initial stress in late Proto-Slavic. For this reason, AP (a) has repeatedly been suggested (Lehr-Spławiński 1929: 707, Zaliznjak 1985: 133), but this cannot be correct. The original paradigm of the *ū*-stems was, e.g., PSl. **svekry* ‘mother-in-law’ (< **uH-s*), Gsg. **svekrøve* (< **uH-es*), Asg. *svekrovb* (< **euH-m*) (cf. Kortlandt 1997: 160). The fixed initial stress of PSl. **cbrky* results from retraction of the stress from the weak jer in the second syllable of the oblique case forms. The word was likely to be originally borrowed as **círky* (see below), which underwent Dybo’s law in all case forms. In the oblique case forms, the stress subsequently retracted from the medial jer to the initial syllable again, and the stress then analogically retracted in the nominative and accusative singular as well.

Illič-Svityč reconstructs PSl. **cbrvkŷ*, Gsg. **cbrvkøve* with fixed stress on the suffix and *v*-vocalism in the first and second syllables (1961: 30). This reconstruction is attractive in view of the attested Germanic forms, which are also trisyllabic with **i* in the first and second syllables (deriving from WGmc. **kirikō*). The attested Slavic forms point, however, to the absence of a jer between the *r* and *k* and do thus not corroborate the reconstruction of PSl. **cbrvkŷ*.

⁴⁴ Two RCS attestations show the forms *krvkøvb* (Asg.) and *krvkvi* (Vsg.). These forms are attested in two different menologies from the 13th and 15th centuries and go back to **krvky*. This shows that the RCS texts in which the forms are recorded must have originated in North Russia, where the second palatalization of velar consonants did not operate. One of the menologies was indeed kept in the library of the *Sofijskij sobor* in Novgorod (MSDJ 1: 1341).

According to Snoj, part of the material (e.g., MBg. NAsg. *crkǫwъ*, Gpl. *crkǫwъ*, Belarusian *carkvá*) point to the “progresivno-premični NV tipa **l'ûby* [progressive-mobile accentuation type **l'ûby*],” which implies AP (c), whereas Serbian and Croatian material points to a neo-acute on the root syllable (1994: 512-513).⁴⁵

WGmc. **kirikō* ‘church’ (f. *ō*-stem)

OHG *kiriha*, *ckīlihha*, (dial. Bav.) *chirha*; MHG *kirche*; G *Kirche*; OE *cirice*; OFri. *tzerke*, *tzereke*; OS *kirika*; Du. *kerk*

Etymology: The Germanic word is attested in West Germanic only. De Vries regards it an early borrowing from Latin into Germanic from a Greek model *κυρικόν*, which derives from the Vulgar Greek adjective *κυριακός* ‘belonging to the lord’. The form **kirikō* would have spread from the imperial Roman residence of Trier to the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons, together with the spread of Christianity around the fourth century (De Vries/De Tollenaere 1997: 312, Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Kirche*). In Gothic, the word is not attested. In view of the fact that Gothic has *aikklesjo* ‘house of God, congregation’ from Gr. *ἐκκλησία* as well as *gudhūs* ‘house of God, Jewish temple’, it is unclear whether the word **kirikō* or **kyrikō* ever existed in Gothic (cf., e.g., Snoj 1994: 511).⁴⁶ The word can, furthermore, be expected to be attested in Gothic if it had existed in the language.

The older West Germanic languages point to an original form **kirik-* with *i*-vocalism in the second syllable as well. The second *-i-* is not reflected in Slavic, which is shown among other things by the fact that the Polish and Czech forms do not have a soft *-r-* (Kiparsky 1934: 245).

The forms in the different Slavic languages cannot be derived from a single proto-form. The vocalism of the attested forms points to four different vowels in the initial syllable: **cbr-*, **cir-* **cer-* and **cēr-*. Forms pointing to *-b-* in the initial syllable are, for example, attested in (Old) Church Slavic, Old Russian *cbrky*, S/Cr. *cřkva*, Bg. *cărkva*. The East Slavic forms can also be derived from PSl. **cbrky*. The Polabian forms are indecisive and might reflect **b* or **i* (cf. Polański/Sehnert 1967: 24-26). Forms with original *-i-* in the initial syllable are attested, for example, in Old Church Slavic (Gsg. *cirǫkǫve* and Nsg. f. (adj.) *cirkǫnaě* in the *Kiever Blätter* and forms in the *Psalterium Sinaiticum*), in

⁴⁵ PSl. **ljuby* has alternatively been regarded as a AP (b)-noun (cf. Dybo 1981: 187). Derksen notes PSl. **ljuby* without an accent paradigm (2008: 281).

⁴⁶ Gothic *aikklesjo*, however, did not mean ‘church building’ (as did the Latin word *ecclesia* after the third century) but ‘congregation’ (Lehmann 1986: 15).

dialects of Croatian (e.g., Kajkavian, Prigorje, *círka*) (Snoj 1994: 509-510, Schaeken 1987: 123-124). Dialectal forms in Slovene, as well as Bg. *čérka*, point to a full vowel **i* or **e* in the initial syllable (Snoj 1994: 509-510), as well as US *cyrkej*. Dialectal East Lower Sorbian (e.g., Megiser *cyrkwja*) and the Old Polish forms with initial *cyr-* must go back to **cir-* (HEW 2: 105). Čakavian Croatian dialect forms, e.g., Vrgada *críkva*, Orbanići *crĭkva*, point to initial *-er-* (cf. Jurišić 1973: 34, Kalsbeek 1998: 426). OCz. *cierkiev* and Cz. *církev* derive from initial **cĕr-*.

All in all, the forms deriving from an initial syllable with **b* and **i* are more frequent than the forms with **e* or **ě* and there seems to be a certain geographical distribution of the forms over the Slavic languages. The forms that seem to go back to original **b* are centred in East Slavic and the southern parts of South Slavic, whereas the forms deriving from **i* occur mainly in West Slavic and in the northern areas of South Slavic.

All attested forms likely to go back to forms with an original initial syllable **cbr-* or **cir-*: Snoj supposes that the forms pointing to **ě* in the initial syllable analogically replaced the *i*-vowel in the initial syllable because the anlaut **cĕ-* was much more common in Proto-Slavic than **ci-* (1994: 512-513), but it can alternatively be assumed that the forms with *e*-vocalism result from lowering of PSl. **i* before *r*, a development that is not infrequent in Slavic (cf. Vondrák 1906: 31-32). In this case, the forms with **cer-* (in dialectal forms in Čakavian and perhaps Slovenian and Bulgarian) go back to earlier **cbr-* and forms with **cĕr-* (in Czech) go back to earlier **cir-*.

Nahtigal supposed that the word was borrowed twice into Proto-Slavic. He assumed that PSl. **cirky* (which became PSl. **cirŏky* in accordance with the Proto-Slavic syllabic structure) was borrowed from Bavarian German, possibly in Slavic Carantania. The form **cbrky* would have entered Slavic along with the mission of Cyril and Method and has been thought to derive from Crimean Gothic originally (1936: 18). The division between PSl. **cirky* from the north and **cbrky* from the south would seem to be corroborated by the distribution of the reflexes over the Slavic languages.

Brückner assumes that the word was borrowed in the seventh century in Bavaria or around Salzburg, and spread throughout the Slavic language area along with the mission of Cyril and Method (1927: 59). Snoj also departs from one borrowing and derives all Slavic forms from (unattested) Old Middle German **kírka*, with supposed compensatory lengthening in the initial syllable due to the loss of the vowel in the original second syllable. He dates the borrowing to the eighth century and supposes that the word was initially borrowed into the western part of the Slavic language area. The borrowing of the word might well be located to Slavic Carantania, as Nahtigal suggested, because the Slavs in Carantania are known to have conversed to Christianity at an early stage (cf. §7.4.2.5). Snoj thinks the word was originally borrowed as PSl. **cirky*

and that the problem of the closed syllable in the NAsg. was solved in two different ways, by inserting a jer (**cirŏky*) and by metathesis (**criky*) after which different forms of analogical levelling took place in the individual Slavic languages (1994: 512-513).

The word is in any case likely to be a late borrowing; the occurrence of **c* suggests that the word was borrowed before the second palatalization of velar consonants had ceased to be active, but after the first palatalization had finished.⁴⁷

Origin: West Germanic; the word is unattested in Gothic.

PSl. **grędelb* ‘plough-beam, axis’ (m. *jo*-stem)

R [*grjadíl*, *gredíl*, *gradíl*] ‘plough-beam’ < Ukr.]; **Ukr.** *hrjadíl*, *hradíl* ‘plough-beam’; **P** *grzǫdziel* ‘pole on a plough’; **OCz.** *hřiedel* ‘axis, pivot’; **Cz.** *hřídel* ‘axis, pivot’; **Slk.** *hriadel* ‘pivot, cylinder’; **S/Cr.** *grédelj* ‘plough-beam’; **Slov.** *grédal*, Gsg. *grédlja* ‘pole, plough-beam’; **Bg.** *gredá* ‘beam’, *gredél* ‘pole, plough-beam’

Accentuation: AP (b)

NWGMc. **grindila-*, **grandila-* ‘bar, bolt’ (m. *a*-stem)

OHG *grintil* ‘bar, bolt, plough-beam’; **MHG** *grintel*, *grindel* ‘bolt, beam’; **G** *Grindel* m. ‘plough-beam’; (dial. Carinth.) *grintl*, (dial. Hess.) *grindel*; **OE** *grindel* m. ‘bar, bolt’; **OS** *grindil* ‘bolt, bar’, *grendil* ‘plough tail’;⁴⁸ **MLG** *grindel*, *grendel* ‘bar, bolt, plough-beam’; **MDu.** *grendel* ‘crossbeam, bolt’, *grindel* ‘beam, axis’; **Du.** *grendel* ‘bolt’; **ON** *grind* f. ‘fence, frame’;

Cognates: Lat. *grunda* ‘roof (trusses)’, Lith. *grindis* ‘floor plank’, OPr. *grandis* ‘ring on a plough-beam to connect the plough-beam with the front part of the plough’, R *grjadá* ‘bed (of flowers), row’, S/Cr. *gréda* ‘balk, beam’, Cz. *hřada* ‘shaft, pole’ < European IE **g^hrend^h-* ‘beam’ (Pokorny 1959: 459).

Etymology: For Proto-Germanic, the forms **grandila-* (Swiss German *grendel*, MDu. *grendel* ‘crossbeam, bolt’, OS *grendil* ‘plough tail’) and PGmc.

⁴⁷ Skok rejects the Germanic origin of the Slavic word and thinks both Slavic and Germanic are borrowed directly from Greek because he can better explain the forms with a vowel pointing to **ě* from Vulgar Gr. *κυρικόν* than from Germanic (ERHSJ 1: 275), but this etymology is equally difficult and it is easier to derive the Czech forms with a reflex of **ě* from earlier **i*.

⁴⁸ According to the EWN, OS *grendil* ‘plough tail; bolt, bar’ is an isolated attestation, whereas the normal form in Old Saxon is *grindil* (EWN: s.v. *grendel*). Tiefenbach lists both forms, and according to him, the forms differ in meaning (2010: 137-138).

**grindila-* (MDu. *grindel*, OS *grindil* ‘bolt, bar’, OHG *grintil*, OE *grindel* ‘beam, axis’) can be distinguished (e.g., De Vries/De Tollenaere 1997: 219). In some Germanic languages or dialects in which the two forms occur next to each other, a difference in meaning can be observed, e.g., in Swiss *grendel* ‘fencing’ against *grindel* ‘plough-beam’, although Grimm/Grimm consider it on the basis of modern German impossible to distinguish different meanings for PGmc. **grandila-* and **grindila-* (DWb: s.v. *Grindel*). Forms going back to initial *grin-* or *gren-* are attested with the meaning ‘plough-beam’ or ‘plough-tail’ throughout the High and Low German language area (EWA 4: 628). The vowel in the first syllable of PGmc. **grandila-* was fronted to *-e-* as a result of the *i*-umlaut. In Old High German, the forms with *-i-* in the initial syllable were initially the most frequent, whereas forms with *-e-* (< **a*) occurred only occasionally; the forms with *-e-* seem to have their origin in the western dialects of the German language area (DWb: s.v. *Grindel*).

PSl. **grędelb* is a technical borrowing from a West Germanic dialect. It might have been borrowed from a reflex of either PGmc. **grandila-* (after the *i*-umlaut) or from PGmc. **grindila-*. The word was borrowed into Proto-Slavic as **grędelb*, where the nasal vowel in the first syllable can continue both Germanic **-en-* and **-in-*. The Germanic *i*-umlaut probably reached the High and Low German language area in the seventh or eighth century (cf. §7.2.1.3), so if the word was borrowed from the umlauted reflex of PGmc. **grandila-* it must be a relatively late borrowing.

The word ends in a soft **-ljb* in Proto-Slavic, and this might well be the Slavic interpretation of the German auslaut. A similar case would then be PSl. **korljb* (see below).

Origin: West Germanic.

PSl. **korljb* ‘king’ (m. *jo*-stem)

CS *kralb*; **R** *koról*, Gsg. *koroljá*; **Ukr.** *koról*; **P** *król*, Gsg. *króla*; **OCz.** *král*; **Cz.** *král* ‘king, prince’; **Slk.** *král*; **US** [*kral* < Cz. (HEW 9: 663)]; **LS** [*kral* < Cz. (HEW 9: 663)], *krol* (arch., dial., Mucke 1891: 35); **Plb.** [*tarl*, *tarâl* < MLG *kerl* (SEJDP 5: 866)]; **S/Cr.** *krâlj*, Gsg. *králja*; (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *kr°ãļ*, Gsg. *kr°ãļä*; **Slov.** *kráľj*; **Bg.** *kral*

Accentuation: AP (b)

Etymology: PSl. **korljb* is without any doubt the most famous Germanic loanword in Slavic. The word seems to be borrowed from *Karl*, the name of Charlemagne (742-814). He was of great importance to the Slavs living in the western part of their expansion area, for they were subjected to the Frankish rule (cf. §4.3).

If PSl. **korljb* indeed derives from *Karl* ‘Charlemagne’, it is the only loanword in Proto-Slavic that can actually be dated, thus giving important indications about the absolute dating of phonological developments in Proto-Slavic. The circumstance that **korljb* clearly belongs to the Proto-Slavic period (it is represented in all three branches of Slavic and it underwent regular Proto-Slavic sound laws) is one of the reasons to date the end of Proto-Slavic to the ninth century (cf. §1.2.2.1). This may be perceived as counter-intuitive because it implies that the Proto-Slavic period ended only about a century before the first Old Church Slavic manuscripts were written. For this reason, scholars have tried to find other etymologies for the word. Holzer suggested that the word was borrowed as the name of Charles Martel (688-741) rather than that of Charlemagne (2005: 46). Charles Martel was ruler of the Franks. He fought the Saxons and subjugated Bavaria and Alemannia, but acquired his greatest fame by defeating the Moorish army at the Battle of Poitiers in 732. This etymology of the word is attractive because it would place the borrowing of the word earlier (albeit half a century), but Charles Martel was less directly important to the western Proto-Slavs than Charlemagne was. Stender-Petersen derives the word from Germanic **karla-* ‘free man’ (e.g., in OHG *karl* ‘man’) (1927: 206ff.). Although Stender-Petersen regards the semantic shift of this etymology as a “sehr einfache Verschiebung”, it obviously fits less well than the derivation of PSl. **korljb* ‘king’ from *Karl* ‘Charlemagne’, who was after all ‘king’ of (among others) the Slavs, and, although perhaps to a lesser degree, the derivation from *Karl* ‘Charles Martel’.

Contrary to the Germanic donor word, PSl. **korljb* is a masculine *jo*-stem and not an *o*-stem, as one might expect. This has been explained as the result of analogical replacement after the example of either the *nomina agentis* ending in **-telb* or other words denoting leaders as PSl. **cěsarb* and **kǫnędžb* (Schenker 1995: 161). According to Holzer, the word has a *j*-suffix resulting from a substantivized possessive adjective (2007: 107). The word might alternatively have final **-ljb* because the Proto-Slavs perceived the German final consonant as soft, as possibly also happened in PSl. **grędelb* (see above).

Origin: West Germanic (High German); the word was borrowed from the name of the Frankish king Charlemagne (or alternatively from the name of Charles Martel).

PSl. **kupiti*: **kupl’ǫ* ‘to buy’

OCS *kupiti*, *kuplǫ*; **R** *kupit’*, *kupljú*, *kúpis’*; **Ukr.** *kupyty*; **P** *kupić*, *kupię*; **Cz.** *koupit*; **Slk.** *kúpiť*; **US** *kupić*; **LS** *kupis*; **Plb.** *ťajpě* (3sg.); **S/Cr.** *kúpiti*, *kūpīm* (1sg.); (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *kūpiti*, *kūpīš* (2sg.); **Slov.** *kúpiti*; **Bg.** *kúpja*

Accentuation: AP (b)

PGmc. **kaupjan*, **kaupōn* ‘to buy, trade’ (weak verb)

Goth. *kaupon*; **OHG** *koufen*; **MHG** *koufon*, *koufen*, *keufen*; **G** *kaufen*; **OE** *cýpan*, *cípan* ‘to sell’; *cēapjan* ‘to bargain, trade’; **OFri.** *kāpia*, *kēpia* ‘to buy’; **OS** *kōpian* ‘to purchase, buy’, *kōpon* ‘to buy, trade; to suffer for’; **Du.** *kopen*; **ON** *kaupa* ‘to buy, trade, change’

Cognates: A cognate of the Latin forms *caupōnāri* ‘to haggle’, *caupo* ‘innkeeper, small tradesman’ is Gr. *κάπηλος* ‘huckster, innkeeper’. The Latin and Greek forms have been regarded as loanwords from an unknown, possibly Mediterranean, language (De Vaan 2008: 100).

Etymology: Kluge derives the verb **kaupjan*, **kaupōn* ‘to trade, buy’ from the Latin verb *caupōnāri* ‘to haggle’ (2002: s.v. *kaufen*). Green objects to this derivation because the verb *caupōnāri* apparently did not occur in Gaul, but mainly in the southern provinces of the Roman Empire (1998: 225). He rather considers the Proto-Germanic verb a new formation after the noun **kaupo* ‘trader’ that was borrowed from Lat. *caupo* ‘innkeeper, small tradesman’. The Slavic word is generally regarded as a borrowing from Goth. *kaupon* ‘to trade’ (cf. Kiparsky 1934: 204 for literature).

Origin: Generally regarded as Gothic.

PSl. **kusiti*: **kusjǫ* ‘to try, taste’

OCS *vǫkusiti* ‘to taste’, *o-*, *po-*, *izvǫkusiti* ‘to try’; **OR** *kusiti*; **Ukr.** *kusýty*; **P** *kusić*, *kuszę* (arch.); **Cz.** *okusit* ‘to try’; **Slk.** *okúsiť* ‘to try, taste’; **US** *skušować* (arch.) ‘to elicit, worm’; **LS** (dial. East Lower Sorbian) *skušyc* ‘to try, taste; to keep’; **Plb.** *řausot*, *řaj̣sot* ‘to taste’; **S/Cr.** *kùsiti* (arch.);⁴⁹ **Slov.** *iskústiti*, *kúšati*; **Bg.** *kúsam*, *kúsvam*

Accentuation: AP (b)

PGmc. **keus-a-* ‘to sample, choose’ (weak verb)

Goth. *kiosan* (causative *kausjan*); **OHG** *kiosan*; **MHG** *kiesen*; **G** *kiesen*; **OE** *cēosan*; **OFri.** *kiāsa*, *tziāsa*; **OS** *kiosan*; **Du.** *kiezen*; **ON** *kjósa*

Cognates: Goth. *kausjan* is structurally identical with Skt. *joṣáyate* ‘to caress, take delight in’ (Orel 2003: 211); further cognates are, e.g., Gr. *γεύομαι* ‘to taste, enjoy’, Lat. *gustus* ‘taste’, OIr. *do-goā* ‘he chooses’ < PIE **ǵeus-* ‘to taste, enjoy’ (Pokorny 1959: 399-400).

⁴⁹ The word is attested from the 16th to 18th century (RJA 5: 827).

Etymology: The Germanic forms ultimately derive from PIE **ǵeus-* ‘to taste, enjoy’ (Pokorny 1959: 399-400, Lehmann 1986: 219). In Germanic, as well as in Celtic, the root acquired the meaning ‘to sample, choose’.

The Slavic word is generally regarded as a borrowing from Goth. *kausjan* ‘to experience, taste’, which is a causative-iterative derivation from PGmc. **keusanan* ‘to test, choose’ (Orel 2003: 211, 213).⁵⁰ The Slavic word cannot have been borrowed from (a reflex of) PGmc. **keusa-* because the diphthong **eu* is reflected as a *iu* in Gothic or *io* in the West Germanic languages (e.g., Goth. *kiusan*, OHG *kiosan*, OS *kiosan*). The diphthong was affected by the *a*-umlaut in Northwest Germanic and its reflexes are not expected to give PSl. **u*. Goth. *iu* gives **ju* in Proto-Slavic, as it did in PSl. **bljudo*.

In a number of Slavic languages, PSl. **kusiti* merged phonologically with the reflex of PSl. **kpsiti* ‘to bite’, which consequently led to a semantic merger as well (Kiparsky 1934: 204).

Origin: Gothic; Goth. *kausjan* ‘to experience, taste’ is the only attested Germanic form that formally corresponds to PSl. **kusiti*.

PSl. **lagy* ‘bottle, cask’ (f. *ū*-stem)

RCS *lagva*, *lagvica* ‘cup’; **R** *lagóvka* (dial. Kazan) ‘milk jug’; *lagvica* (arch.) ‘cup’; **P** *lagiew*, Gsg. *lagwi* ‘cup’; *lagwica* ‘small barrel’; **Cz.** *láhev*, Gsg. *lahve* ‘bottle, jar’; **US** *lahej* ‘bottle’; **LS** *lagwja* ‘bottle’; **S/Cr.** *lágav* m.; *lagva* f. ‘barrel’, *lágvić* ‘small barrel’; **Slov.** *lágav*, Gsg. *lágve* f. ‘bottle’; *lágav*, Gsg. *lágva* m. ‘barrel’

Accentuation: AP (b)?; secondary developments make it difficult to establish the original accentuation type. Cz. *láhev* can be AP (a) or (b). The South Slavic forms are most easily explained from AP (b), while they can hardly be explained from AP (a) and (c).

WGmc. **lāgel(l)a* ‘bottle, cask’ (f. *ō*-stem)

OHG *lāgel(l)a* ‘cask for liquid’, *lāgel(la)* f. ‘bottle’, *lagen* (dial.); **MHG** *lāgel(e)*, *lægel(e)* f.; **G** *Lägel* (also *Legel*) ‘small barrel’; **MDu.** *lagel(e)*, *legel(e)*

Etymology: The Germanic word is a borrowing from Lat. *lagoena*, *lagōna* f. ‘bottle with narrow neck and broad body’. The Latin word itself is a borrowing from Gr. *λάγυνος* m. (later also f.) ‘flask’, which is of unknown origin (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Lägel*). In different dialects of German, the word

⁵⁰ In West Germanic, the root has forms that underwent rhotacism, e.g., OHG *korōn* ‘to try, examine’.

denotes different kinds of containers: it often refers to a wine jar, but also designates a broad, round wooden barrel used for transporting fluids and ironwork (DWb: s.v. *Lägel*, Heyse/Heyse 1849: 5).

Kiparsky explains PSl. **lagy* as a borrowing from OHG *lāge* (1934: 247), which would be attractive had this form indeed been attested in Old High German. The Old High German documents however always show *lāgela* or *lāgella*. Germanic *-l-* instead of Latin *-n-* is according to the “übliche Suffixersatz” (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Lägel*), by which Latin loanwords in Germanic receive an *l*-suffix (as in, e.g., PGmc. **asil-* from Lat. *asinus* ‘donkey’, cf. §7.3.2). In High German dialects, the form *lagen* with the original final *-n* from Latin is also attested. Neither the Germanic suffix nor the original Latin suffix are attested in the Proto-Slavic borrowing.

Because the occurrence of the word is limited to West Germanic, the borrowing from Latin was probably relatively late, West Germanic only. PSl. **lagy* therefore is likely to stem from a West Germanic dialect.

For semantic reasons, the word must be regarded as a borrowing through a Germanic intermediary, rather than as a loanword directly from Latin: the Slavic meaning of the word corresponds better to that of the Germanic form than of the Latin form, for in Germanic as well as in Slavic the word refers to a larger vessel of glass, wood or earthenware, and includes barrels, whereas Lat. *lagoena* primarily seems to refer to a (smaller) glass vessel.

Origin: West Germanic (High German); the word is a late Latin loanword in West Germanic. The word must derive from High German because it is not attested in Low German.

PSl. **lěkъ* ‘medicine’ (m. *o*-stem)

OCS *lěčьba* ‘cure’; **CS** *lěčьba*, *lěkъ*; **R** *leká*; **Ukr.** *lik*; **P** *lek*; **Cz.** *lék*; **Slk.** *liek*; **US** *lěk*; **Plb.** *lekār* ‘doctor’; **S/Cr.** *lijek*, Gsg. *lijèka*; (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *līk*, Gsg. *līka*; **Slov.** *lěk*; **Bg.** *lek*

PSl. **lěčiti* ‘to cure’

CS *lěčiti*; **R** *lečitъ*; **Ukr.** *ličiti*; **P** *leczyć*; **Cz.** *léčiti*; **Plb.** *lecě* (3sg.); **S/Cr.** *lijèčiti*, *lijèčim* (1sg.); (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *līčiti*, *līčiš* (2sg.)

Accentuation: AP (b)

PGmc. **lēkja-* ‘doctor’ (m. *ja*-stem)

Goth. *?lekeis** m.; **OHG** *lāhhi*; **OE** *læce*, *læca*; **E** *leech* (arch.) ‘doctor; bloodsucker’; **OFri.** *lētza*, *leitza*; **MDu.** *lāke* ‘leech’; **ON** *læknir*

PGmc. **lēkinōn-* ‘to cure’

Goth. *lekinon*; **OHG** *lāhhenōn*; **OE** *læcnian*; **OS** *lāknon*; **ON** *lækna*

Etymology: The Germanic word has often been explained as a borrowing from Celtic **lēgi* ‘physician’ (cf. OIr. *liaig*, Gsg. *lego* ‘doctor’). The Celtic word possibly derives from **lēpagi-* ‘charmer’ (Lehmann 1986: 232, Pokorny 1959: 658, 677).

The Proto-Slavic reflex **ě* in the initial syllable shows that the word was borrowed from a Germanic form with **ē* rather than **ā*. For this reason, it is very probable that the Slavic form is a borrowing from Gothic, since PGmc. **ē₁* is reflected as *ē* in Gothic and as **ā* or **æ* in North and West Germanic (cf. §7.2.1.1).

The Germanic origin of PSl. **lěkъ*, **lěčiti* has been doubted, however, by Gołab and Matasović, primarily because no form in Germanic exactly corresponds to PSl. **lěkъ* ‘medicine’. They regard PSl. **lěk-* as an inherited root going back to PIE **leik^w-* ‘to leave’ (Gołab 1991: 372, Matasović 2000: 132).⁵¹ Gołab considers the correspondence of Gothic **ē* to Slavic **ě* to be “exceptional” (ibid.), but **ě* (< earlier PSl. **ē*) is in fact the expected reflex of Germanic **ē* in Proto-Slavic.

Because of the semantic agreement between the Germanic and the Slavic forms, a borrowing from Germanic is more likely than a derivation from the root PIE **leik^w-*, with a semantic shift from ‘to leave’ to ‘to cure’ in Proto-Slavic. Kiparsky suggests that the Slavs borrowed only the root **lěk-* from Gothic, after which the derivations **lěčbba* ‘medicine’, **lěkārъ* ‘doctor’, **lěčiti* ‘to cure’ were made in Slavic (1934: 205).

Origin: Gothic; the Proto-Slavic reflex **ě* indicates that the vowel in the donor language was **ē* rather than **ā*.

PSl. **lugъ* ‘lye, caustic soda’ (m. *o*-stem)

R *lúga*; *lug* (dial.) ‘lye’; **Ukr.** *luh*; **P** *lug*; **OCz.** *lúh*; **Cz.** *louh*; **Slk.** *lúh*; **US** *luh*; **LS** *lug*; **Plb.** *laug*; **S/Cr.** *lûg*, Gsg. *lúga*; (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *lûg*, Gsg. *lûgà*, Lsg. *u lûgû*; **Bg.** *lugá*

Accentuation: AP (b)?; the long reflex of **u* in Cz. *louh* suggests AP (b) and the long falling accent of S/Cr. *lûg* excludes AP (a).

NWGMc. **laugō* ‘bath, lye’ (f. *ō*-stem)

OHG *louga*; **MHG** *lauge*; **G** *Lauge*; **OE** *lēah*; **MLG** *lōge*; **Du.** *loog*; **ON** *laug* ‘(warm) bath’

⁵¹ With this etymology, the word is thought to derive from PIE **loik^wó*, a *nomen agentis* from the root PIE **leik^w-* ‘to leave’. The meaning of this word would be ‘decoction remaining in the vessel from brewing medicinal herbs’ (Gołab 1991: 372).

Cognates: OE *lauþr*, ON *lauðr* 'lather, foam, washing soda'; Gaul. *lautro* 'bath', Breton *ludu* 'ashes', Lat. *lavāre* 'to wash', Gr. *λούω* 'to take a bath', Arm. *loganam* (1sg.) 'to wash' < European IE **leuh₃-/*louh₃-* 'to wash, bathe' (Pokorny 1959: 692, De Vaan 2008: 330-331).

Etymology: The Germanic form, which is attested in West and North Germanic, is derived from European IE **leuh₃-/*louh₃-* 'to wash, bathe'. The word is a technical term; lye is a caustic solution that one gets by extracting substances like ash or ore. In the Middle Ages, lye soap was a cheap, harsh soap that was produced at home from lye made of wood ashes and lard (rendered animal fat); it was also used as a laundry detergent (Newman 2001: 151-152).

Apart from the difference in gender, the formal and semantic correspondence between the Germanic and Slavic forms is flawless. The word is a masculine *o*-stem in Slavic, whereas the Germanic forms are generally feminine. Only in Russian and Bulgarian is the word feminine, but in Russian, the word occurs next to a dialectal form *lug*. The distribution of the masculine forms over the entire Slavic language area suggests that the word was masculine in Proto-Slavic already.

Origin: Probably West Germanic; the occurrence of the word is limited to West and North Germanic.

PSl. **myto* 'toll, payment' (n. *o*-stem)

OCS *myto* 'reward, profit'; **OR** *myto* 'toll, tribute'; **R** *myto* (arch.) 'toll', *myt* (dial.) 'lease'; **Ukr.** *mýto* 'toll'; **P** *myto* 'payment, toll, reward'; **Cz.** *mýto* 'toll, tollhouse'; **Slk.** *mýto* 'toll, tollhouse'; **US** *myto* 'pay; prize, reward'; **LS** *myto* 'pay; prize, reward'; **Plb.** *mojtě* 'reward'; **S/Cr.** *mít*, Gsg. *míta*, *míto* 'bribe'; (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *mītò*, Gsg. *mītà*; **Slov.** *mító* n. 'bribe, gift (for bribery)', *míta* f. 'toll, bribe';⁵² **Bg.** *míto* 'toll, bribe'

Accentuation: AP (b) (cf. Zaliznjak 1985: 135); although this word has fixed initial stress in Russian, older forms of Russian point to end stress, which is attested in, e.g., *Domostroj* (16th century) and *Uloženiye* (1649) (Kiparsky 1958: 22). The end stress corresponds to the end stress in Serbian/Croatian, which points to AP (b).

⁵² Slovene *míta* f. 'toll, miller's pay' is a later borrowing from High German.

PGmc. (?) **mōta* or **mūta* ‘toll’ (f. *ō*-stem)

Goth. *mota* ‘toll’; **OHG** (dial. Bav.) *mūta* ‘toll, toll post’; **MHG** (dial. Bav.) *maut*; (late MHG, dial. Bav.) *muoze* ‘miller’s pay’; **G** *Maut* ‘toll, toll post’; **MDu.** (dial. Flanders) *mute* ‘toll’; **OE** (dial. Northumberland) *mōt* ‘tax’; **ON** *múta* ‘charge, bribe’

Etymology: The Germanic word has been connected to (reconstructed?) Medieval Latin **mūta* ‘toll, tax’, that would derive from the verb Lat. *mūtāre* ‘to (ex)change, replace’, cf. Lat. *mūtātūra* ‘the exchange of money’ (LEW 2: 137). Lehmann regards the Germanic word as a borrowing from Latin (1986: 259). De Vries, on the other hand, rejects the connection of Lat. **mūta* with *mūtāre* and considers Lat. **mūta* to be a borrowing from East Germanic (1977: 397).

The word is attested in the eastern (Bavarian) dialects of High German from the ninth century onwards. The Bavarian form has often been explained as a borrowing from Gothic, which has been dated to the end of the fifth century or the early sixth century, when the Ostrogothic king Theodoric the Great is said to have imposed taxes upon West Germanic peoples (Lehmann 1986: 259). In Old High German, the word is reflected as *mūta* with /ū/ rather than /ō/ as in Gothic. It has been concluded on the basis of *mūta* in Old High German that in late Ostrogothic (which was presumed to be the donor language of the Old High German form), the phoneme /ō/ was phonetically closer to [ū] than to [ō] (Jellinek 1926: 46).

ON *múta* ‘charge, bribe’ has been explained as a loanword from Gothic (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Maut*) or directly from Latin (De Vries 1977: 397; the latter explanation is, however, difficult because there do not seem to be many loanwords directly from Latin into Old Norse). In view of the occurrence of the word in Middle Dutch and Old English, it is nevertheless difficult to see the word as a regional loanword from Gothic in eastern Old High German at the beginning of the sixth century. The distribution of the word over the Germanic languages would rather suggest that we are dealing with a Proto-Germanic word, possibly an early borrowing from Latin. The vocalism of the original form of the word is unclear: Old English and Gothic point to original **ō*, whereas the High German, Middle Dutch and Old Norse forms go back to **ū*.

In the Proto-Slavic form **myto*, **y* goes back to earlier Proto-Slavic **ū*, and corresponds to **ū* in Germanic (cf. §7.2.1, §7.2.2.2). On the basis of this, the Slavic word has often been regarded as a loanword from OHG *mūta*. A borrowing from the attested Gothic form *mota* would have given PSl. ***muta*. There are two possible scenarios: if the word was pan-Germanic (albeit with unexplained variation of **ō* next to **ū*), then PSl. **myto* was probably borrowed from a Germanic donor form with *ū*-vocalism, e.g., High German. If **ō* in late Ostrogothic had indeed narrowed to *ū* and had been borrowed as *mūta* into Old High German, there is, nevertheless, no objection to derive PSl. **myto* directly

from Gothic and to date the borrowing to the same time as the presumed borrowing of the word into Old High German. If the Ostrogoths under Theodoric the Great controlled the trade routes near Bavaria and imposed taxes on traders, the Slavs certainly were affected by these measures as well, and if the Gothic word could have been borrowed with *ū* into Old High German, the same could have happened in Proto-Slavic. The Germanic origin of the word thus remains unclear.

The borrowing into Slavic can in either case be dated to the time before the unrounding of Proto-Slavic **ū* to **y* or while the development was still operative; this development has been dated to approximately 300 to 600 (Kortlandt 2002a: 12; 2003b: 4).

The word means ‘toll’ or ‘payment’ throughout the Slavic languages. In South Slavic, the meaning of **myto* has broadened to include ‘bribe’ as well. The word is neuter in Slavic, whereas it derives from a feminine Germanic form. This might be due to the fact that the Germanic word was interpreted as a collective neuter plural form in Proto-Slavic, which later became a feminine singular form.

Origin: Cannot be specified.

PSl. **ǫborǫ(kǫ)* ‘bucket, quantity of grain’ (m. *o*-stem)

OR *uborokǫ* ‘measure of capacity’; **P** *węborek*, (dial. Poznań) *wębor* ‘bucket’; **Cz.** *úborek* (arch.) ‘basket’; **Slk.** *úborka* (arch.) ‘basket’; **LS** [*zbórk/zbork*, *bórk/bork* ‘(well) bucket’?];⁵³ **Plb.** *vǫbǫrǫk* ‘(milk) bucket’; **S/Cr.** *ùborak*, Gsg. *ùbǫrka* ‘quantity of grain’; **Slov.** *obǫrǫk*, Gsg. *obǫrka* ‘quantity of grain’

Accentuation: AP (b)

NWGmc. **aimbara-* ‘bucket’ (n. (or m.?) *a*-stem)

OHG *eimbar* m./n., *eimberi* n., (?) *ambar**; **MHG** *eimer*, *eimber*, *einber*; **G** *Eimer* m.; **OS** *êambar*, *emmar*; **OE** *āmber*, *ōmber*, *ōmbor* m./n.(?) ‘dry measure (of four bushels)’; *amber* m./f./n. ‘vessel; measure’; **MDu.** *eemer*, *emmer*, *eimer*; **Du.** *emmer*; **N** *ambar*, *ember*; **Sw.** *ämbar*, **Dan.** *ember*

Etymology: The Germanic word was borrowed from Lat. *amphora* f. ‘vessel with two handles’, which itself stems from Gr. ἀμφορεύς (< earlier ἀμφιφορεύς ‘two-handled jug’, a compound of ἀμφι ‘both’ and φέρειν ‘to carry’). It has been

⁵³ LS *bórk* is usually included in the list of reflexes of PSl. **ǫborǫ(kǫ)* ‘bucket, quantity of grain’, but Schuster-Šewc derives LS *zbórk/zbork* and *bórk* from PSl. **čǫbǫrǫ* ‘tub’ (HEW 23: 1741).

assumed that the Proto-Germanic form was reinterpreted by folk etymology as **ein-bar*, a compound of **eins* 'one' and **beran* 'to carry' because the function of the container was taken over by a bucket with one handle (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Eimer*). A formation similar to NWGmc. **ein-bar* and Gr. ἀμφι-φορεύς is found in OHG *zubar*, *zwibar* 'tub' (G *Zuber*), which is a compound of the numeral 'two' and the verb **beran* (cf. §6.3, s.v. PSl. **čьbьrь*). The Scandinavian forms are borrowed from Middle Low German, obviously before the assimilation of *-mb-* to *-m-* (RGA 6: 582). The forms without *-b-* are attested from the 12th century (EWA 2: 986).

The Old High German form *ambar* appears not infrequently in dictionaries (e.g., Franck/Van Wijk 1912: 155, Köbler 1993: 47, REW 3: 169, De Vries/De Tollenaere 1997: 157). Kiparsky adds that *ambar* is the form that occurs in the oldest Old High German sources of the eighth century, whereas *eimbar* is found in younger texts (1934: 255). Yet I am unsure as to whether OHG *ambar* is really attested because the form is not listed in Schützeichel's *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch* (2006), the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (DWb), the *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Althochdeutschen* (EWA 2) nor in the *Chronologisches Wörterbuch des deutschen Wortschatzes: Der Wortschatz des 8. Jahrhunderts (und früherer Quellen)* or *Idem: Der Wortschatz des 9. Jahrhunderts* (Seebold 2001 and 2008).

In all probability, the form **ambar* did exist in Germanic: the form **ampar* or **ambar* (with voicing of Lat. *p*) is the expected Germanic reflex of a borrowing of Lat. *amp(h)ora* and corresponds from a phonological viewpoint exactly to PSl. **ǫborь*. Furthermore, *amper* 'bucket' occurs in modern Austrian German and *emper* is attested in the Bavarian dialect of Gottschee in Slovenia (Schröer 1870: 78). The Austrian German *amper* is a tall wooden vessel with one handle on the side that was used to carry water, wine or beer, whereas the *emer* (< **eim(b)er*), which occurs next to *amper* in Austrian, is a round vessel with a handle that is used to draw and carry water (Höfer 1815: 27). The Old High German derivation *ampri*, attested in a ninth-century gloss, also indicates that OHG **ambar* existed (EWA 2: 987).

PSl. **ǫborь(kь)* must be regarded as a loanword from Germanic, rather than as a loanword directly from Latin because the meaning of the Slavic word corresponds exactly to that of the Germanic forms. The meaning of the Germanic forms differs from that of the Latin donor word: in Germanic, the word came to denote a vessel with one handle (viz., a bucket), whereas the Roman *amphora* was an (earthen) vessel with its well known form with two handles, small neck and round body. The Roman *amphora* was also used to carry and store, for example, water or grain.

Already in Proto-Slavic, a variant existed with the suffix *-ьkь*, which is attested in almost all of Slavic.

Origin: West Germanic (High German); the word is a late Latin loanword in West Germanic.

PSl. **pǫlkъ* ‘regiment, crowd’ (m. *o*-stem)

OCS *plǫkъ* ‘battle array, wedge’; **CS** *plǫkъ* ‘crowd, people’; **OR** *pǫlkъ*, *pǫlǫkъ*, *plǫkъ*, *polkъ* ‘regiment, battle, campaign, people, crowd’; **R** *polk*, Gsg. *polká* ‘regiment, crowd’; *polók*, Gsg. *polká* (dial.) ‘flock (of girls)’; **Ukr.** *polk* ‘regiment’; **P** *pulk* ‘regiment’, *peik* (arch.); **OCz.** *plk*; **Cz.** *pluk* ‘group; regiment’; **Slk.** *pluk* ‘regiment’; **US** *polk* ‘regiment’; **S/Cr.** *pŭk* ‘people, crowd’; (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *pŭk*, Gsg. *pŭka*; **Slov.** [*pôtk* < R or another Slavic language (ESSlov. 3: 82, Pleteršnik 1894-1895: s.v. *pôtk*)]; **Bg.** *plāk*, *pālk* [*polk* < R]; **Late PSl. personal name** **Svętopǫlkъ* ‘Svatopluk’, ruler of Great Moravia in the second half of the ninth century (in contemporary documents also *Zwentibald*, *Zuendibolch*)

Accentuation: AP (b); on the basis of material from the 16th century *Sinodal’nyj sbornik*, in which the word has stem stress, Kiparsky thinks that the word originally had fixed initial stress and that the end-stressed forms are the result of a more recent analogical development (1958: 20-21). This cannot be the case, for the long falling stem vowel of Serbian/Croatian excludes AP (a). The (dialectal) Russian forms Nsg. *polók*, Gsg. *polká* point to AP (b) as well.

PGmc. **fulka-* ‘people, multitude, army’ (n. *a*-stem)

EGmc. **fulk-* (in personal names, e.g. West Gothic *Fulgaredus*, Herulic Φούλκαρις); **OHG** *folk* n./m.; **MHG** *volc* n./m. ‘multitude, people, infantry’; **G** *Volk* ‘people’; **OE** *folc* n. ‘crowd, people’; **OFri.** *folk*, *fulk* n.; **OS** *folk* n.; **Du.** *volk* ‘people’; **Lang.** *fulc-* (*fulcfree* ‘free (highest degree of freedom a former slave could obtain)’); **ON** *folk* n. ‘army, crowd, people’

Etymology: In Germanic as well as in Slavic, the word means ‘multitude, large amount (of people)’ as well as ‘regiment, army’; in many languages these concepts go hand in hand, cf. the English words *legion*, *army* and *battalion*, which all have a connotation ‘multitude, large amount’ besides their military meaning. The meaning ‘host, army’ that is attested in a number of older Germanic languages, and is the main meaning of not only the Proto-Slavic loanword, but also of borrowings of the Germanic word in northern dialects of French, is probably original. This meaning is retained in Du. *voetvolk* ‘infantry’ (EWN: s.v. *volk*).

The attestation *fulcus** in the late eighth-century *Reichenauer Glossen* (which were written in north-western France) have been regarded as Gothic (e.g., Kluge 1913: 17). Lloyd et al. consider the form rather to be a borrowing from OLF **fulk* because of the limited geographic distribution of the word in Romance (it only occurs in OFr. *folc*, *fouc*, Provençal *folc* and Piemontic *folc*)

(EWA 3: 451-452). The form with retained *-u-* is, nevertheless, not attested in Franconian. Due to the **a* in the second syllable of the word, **u* in the stressed syllable of PGmc. **fulka-* was lowered to **o*. The *a*-umlaut took place very early in Northwest Germanic (cf. §7.2.1.3). The *u*-vocalism is, nevertheless, attested in the Langobardic form *fulcfree* ‘free (highest degree of freedom a former slave could obtain)’ because Langobardic has *u* instead of expected *o* before an *l* in closed syllables (Bruckner 1895: 80-85). The vocalism of PSl. **pǫlkǫ* suggests that the word was borrowed from a Germanic form with **u* in the root rather than with **o* and therefore, East Germanic **fulk-* and Langobardic are attractive candidates as the donor form of the Slavic word.

The Latinised attestation in the *Reichenauer Glossen* seems to imply a masculine form, but the other Germanic languages show that the original gender was neuter (cf. §7.3.3). PGmc. **fulka-* is a collective neuter noun, which became masculine in Proto-Slavic. Given the fact that this word occurs in the ninth-century late-Proto-Slavic personal name **Svętopǫlkǫ* ‘Svatopluk I’, the word must have been borrowed relatively early.

Origin: Gothic or Langobardic due to the absence of the reflex of the *a*-umlaut.

PSl. **skutǫ* ‘hem; clothing covering the legs’ (m. *o*-stem)

CS *skutǫ* ‘hem’; **OR** *skutǫ*, *skutǫ*, *skudǫ* ‘cloth, outerwear’; **R** *skut* (dial.) ‘leg covering (the strips of cloth wrapped round the foot when wearing bast shoes)’ [*skut* ‘hem, seam’ < CS? (Kiparsky 1934: 221)]; **LS** *skut* (arch., only found by Chojnan) ‘piece of cloth, hem’; **S/Cr.** *skūt*, Gsg. *skúta* ‘hem, skirt, coat-tail’; **MBg.** *skutǫ* ‘coat’; **Bg.** *skut* ‘part of the body between the arms and the knees of a sitting person; front part of a shirt or trousers’, *skúta* ‘apron, lower front part of a skirt or dress’

Accentuation: AP (b)?; S/Cr. *skūt*, Gsg. *skúta* points to AP (b), and there are few other indications for the accentuation of the word.

PGmc. **skauta-* ‘(hem of a) skirt, coat-tail’ (m. or n. *a*-stem)

Goth. *skauts** m. or *skaut** n. (attested Dsg. *skauta*, masculine according to Lehmann 1986: 311) ‘hem’; **OHG** *scōz* m., *scōzo* m. ‘lap, skirt, coat-tail’; **MHG** *schōz* m./n., *schōz(e)* f.; **G** *Schoß* ‘lap, skirt, coat-tail’; **OE** *scēat* ‘corner, lap, bosom, garment’; **E** *sheet*; **OFri.** m. *skāt* ‘lap, part of a skirt’; **MLG** *schōt* ‘coat-tail; bay; back part of a church’; **Du.** *schoot* ‘lap, skirt’; **ON** *skaut* n. ‘corner, headscarf, lap, skirt’, *skauti* m. ‘cloth, scarf’

Etymology: The origin of PGmc. **skauta-* is unclear, but the word has been connected to PIE **(s)keud-* ‘to throw, shoot’ (Lehmann 1986: 311), although Franck/Van Wijk call this connection improbable (1912: 592). It has been suggested that PGmc. **skauta-* originally meant ‘angle, corner’ (as in OE *scēat*)

or '(something) triangular' and related to the triangular area between the thighs and the lower part of the body (Riecke 2004: 231). In North and West Germanic the word refers to different kinds of clothing and to the extremities of parts of clothing, as, for example, in the meaning 'coat-tail'. Goth. *skauts* is attested with the meaning 'hem, seam of garments' only.

The Proto-Slavic form has usually been regarded as a loanword from Gothic (e.g., ERHSJ 3: 275), but there is no compelling formal reason not to derive the word from West Germanic: the monophthongization of PGmc. **au* before alveolars has been dated to the eighth century in Old High German and the reflexes of the High German consonant shift are not generally attested in the loanwords (§7.2.1.8). Although the word means 'hem' in several Slavic languages, as it does in Gothic, the word also refers to different kinds of clothing covering the legs (viz., coat(-tail), skirt, puttee) and this rather corresponds to the West Germanic meaning of the word. For this reason, the Proto-Slavic form might go back to a double borrowing from West Germanic and from Gothic, or, more probably, that the meaning of Goth. *skaut(s)** included 'clothing covering the legs' as well.

The word has been supposed to be limited to South Slavic (e.g., by Kiparsky 1934: 221, ERHSJ 3: 275), but the attestation of the word in Old Russian proves that the word existed in East Slavic as well. Kiparsky explains R *skut* 'hem' as a Church Slavonicism (1934: 221, which is questioned by Vasmer (REW 2: 655)), but the meaning of the word in Old and dialectal Russian proves that this cannot be correct: dialectal R *skut* 'leg covering for bast shoes' can hardly be attributed to Church Slavonic influence. The borrowing can thus be dated to Proto-Slavic.

The attestation in Lower Sorbian is the only indication that the word existed in West Slavic. Yet LS *skut* occurs only in the works of the Jan Chojnan. In his discussion of the etymology of US/LS *smokwa*, Schuster-Šewc remarks that Chojnan spent some time in the Balkans and may have taken over the word *smokwa* there (HEW 17: 1321-1322, cf. §6.2, s.v. PSl. **smoky*). The same might be true for LS *skut*.

Origin: Cannot be specified.

PSl. **trǫba* 'trumpet' (f. *ā*-stem)

OCS *trǫba* 'trumpet'; **R** *trubá* 'tube, chimney'; **Ukr.** *trubá* 'trumpet, trombone; tube'; **P** *trǫba* 'trumpet, tube'; **Cz.** *trouba* 'old wind instrument; oven'; **Slk.** *trúba* 'old wind instrument; oven'; **US** *truba* 'stovepipe; trumpet, trombone'; **LS** *tšuba* 'tube; French horn, trombone'; **Plb.** *trǫbǝ* 'hank of tow'; **S/Cr.** *trúba* 'trumpet, role'; **Slov.** *trǫba* 'trumpet, tube'; **Bg.** *trǎbá* 'trumpet, tube'

Accentuation: AP (b)

NWGmc. *trumba ‘trumpet’ (f. *ō*-stem)

OHG *trumba*; **MHG** *trum(m)e*, *trumbe*; **G** *Trommel*; **MDu.** *trumme*; **Du.** *trommel*; **ON** *trumba*

Etymology: The Germanic word is attested in West and North Germanic only and does not have an etymology (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Trommel*).⁵⁴ The same word is attested in the Romance languages (It. *tromba*, Fr. *trompe*, Sp. *trompa*, Prt. *trompa*) and Franck/Van Wijk explain these forms as borrowings from Germanic (1912: 710). A reflex of the word might not have existed in Gothic, for Gothic has *þuthaurn** for ‘trumpet’.

The sequence *-mb-* became *-mm-* or *-m-* by assimilation in most Germanic languages (as in MHG *eimber* > *eimer*), but in older attested forms of Germanic, the medial sequence *-mb-* is retained. The Slavic word *trǫba was borrowed from a (West Germanic) form that still had *-b-*, but the exact donor cannot be established.

Origin: West Germanic; the occurrence of the word is limited to Northwest Germanic and Gothic has an alternative word for ‘trumpet’.

PSl. *vino ‘wine’ (n. *o*-stem)

OCS *vino*; **R** *vinó*; **Ukr.** *vynó*; **P** *wino*; **Cz.** *víno*; **Slk.** *víno*; **US** *wino*; **LS** *wino*; **Plb.** *vaj̃nə* (Gsg.); **S/Cr.** *vino*; (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *vīnǎ*, Gsg. *vīnǎ*, Npl. *vīnǎ̃*; **Slov.** *vínō*; **Bg.** *víno*

Accentuation: AP (b)

PGmc. *wīnan ‘wine’ (n. *a*-stem)

Goth. *wein* n.; **OHG** *wīn* m.; **MHG** *wīn*; **G** *Wein*; **OE** *wīn* n.; **OFri.** *wīn* m.; **OS** *wīn* m./n.; **Du.** *wijn*; **ON** [*vín* n. < OE or MLG (De Vries 1977: 664)]

PSl. *vinogordǫ ‘vineyard’ (m. *o*-stem)

OCS *vinogradǫ*; **R** [*vinograd* ‘grapes’ < CS]; **Ukr.** [*vynohrad* < CS?]; **P** *winogród* (dial.), [*winohrad*, *winograd* < Cz.]; **Cz.** *vinohrad* (arch.); **Slk.** *vinohrad*; **S/Cr.** *vinogrād*; (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *vinǎgrad*; **Slov.** *vinógrad*; **Bg.** *vinogrād*

Accentuation: AP (b)

⁵⁴ NWGmc. *trumba did not participate in the Northwest Germanic *a*-umlaut because the umlaut did not operate before a nasal cluster (Braune/Reiffenstein 2004: 35).

PGmc. *wīnan ‘wine’ and PGmc. *gardōn m. ‘garden, yard’

Goth. *weinagards**;⁵⁵ **Crimean Gothic** *wingart*; **OHG** *wīngarto*; **MHG** *wīngart(e)*; **G** *Weingarten*, *Wingert* (dial.) ‘vineyard’; **OE** *wīngeard* ‘vineyard; vine’; **OS** *wīngardo*; **Du.** *wijngaard* ‘vineyard’, *wingerd* ‘vine’

Cognates: Gr. *οἶνος*, Arm. *gini*, Alb. *verë*, Hitt. *wiyan-* ‘wine’ < PIE *ueih₁-. This form might derive from PIE *ueih₁- ‘to weave, wrap’ (the ‘vine’ was then referred to as ‘the weaving one’) (Beekes 1987: 24-25, cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 1012, De Vaan 2008: 680).

Etymology: The Germanic oenological terminology stems from Latin and PGmc. *wīnan is an early borrowing from Latin *vīnum* (Lehmann 1986: 399, Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Wein*). The Romans first introduced viticulture in the Alsace in the first century AD and about a century later in the Rheinpfalz and the Mosel valley (Green 1998: 211). Philippa et al. connect the borrowing of Germanic *wīnan to the time when the Romans introduced viticulture in Northwest Europe (EWN: s.v. *wijn*), but the Germanic people probably became acquainted with wine through trade with the Romans even earlier, so we might suppose that the borrowing of the word goes back to Proto-Germanic.

There has been some debate about the question whether PSl. *vino stems directly from Romance or was borrowed through a Germanic language. Matasović regards PSl. *vino as a borrowing directly from Vulgar Latin. He thinks it is improbable that the word stems from Gothic “because the genders do not agree (the Slavic words belong to the neuter gender, while the Germanic words are masculine as a rule)” (2007: 109, cf. also 2000: 132). Since the change of gender from masculine in Germanic to neuter in Proto-Slavic does not occur in other loanwords, this could be considered a very strong argument for the Romance origin of PSl. *vino. It is, however, by no means certain that the gender of the Germanic etymon was originally masculine. The word is masculine in most modern Germanic languages, but neuter in Gothic, Old English and possibly Old Saxon (the form in Old Norse was probably borrowed from Old English or a Low German dialect and should therefore be left out of consideration.). According to Kluge, the attested forms go back to an original neuter proto-form and he reconstructs PGmc. *wīnan (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Wein*). Since the word is attested as neuter in early Germanic languages and derives from a Latin neuter donor form, the reconstruction of the Proto-Germanic form as a neuter seems to be justified. The masculine gender can be

⁵⁵ The word does not occur in the Nsg. in Gothic, but it is amply attested in the Gsg., Dsg. and Asg.

regarded as an innovation in a part of West Germanic. PSl. **vino* can therefore be derived from a neuter Germanic donor form without formal obstacles.

The Proto-Slavic loanwords that are borrowed from Germanic neuters regularly seem to change gender in Proto-Slavic (cf. §7.3.3). It is therefore unexpected that PSl. **vino* remained neuter. The neuter gender of PSl. **vino* might have been retained in Slavic under influence of the Proto-Slavic compound **vinogordǔ* ‘vineyard’ in which the medial **o* is a regular reflex of the Gothic medial *a* (see below, and cf. §7.3.3).

The existence of PSl. **vinogordǔ* ‘vineyard’ speaks for Germanic rather than Romance origin of PSl. **vino*. The neuter gender of PSl. **vino* cannot be regarded as an argument in favour of Romance origin instead of Germanic origin because Latin loanwords into Proto-Slavic mainly change their gender into masculine (or occasionally feminine) as well (M. Matasović 2011: 277). The formation PSl. **vino-gordǔ* corresponds exactly to Goth. *weinagards** (Kiparsky 1934: 224). Bezlaj explains PSl. **vinogordǔ* as a native compound with PSl. **gordǔ* ‘fortification, town’ or **gorditi* ‘to fence off’ (ESSlov. 4: 319-320, also ERHSJ 3: 595), but in view of the exact formal and semantic correspondence with Gothic and the meaning ‘fortification, town’ that has been reconstructed for PSl. **gordǔ* (cf. Derksen 2008: 178), this is a less likely scenario.⁵⁶

Origin: Gothic; PSl. **vino* and **vinogordǔ* are likely to be borrowings from Gothic, because of the exact phonological correspondence between Goth. *weinagards* and PSl. **vinogordǔ*.

PSl. **xlěvǔ* ‘cattle shed, stable’ (m. *o*-stem)

OCS *xlěvǔ* ‘cattle shed, lodgings, house, cellar’; **R** *xlev*, Gsg. *xléva*; **Ukr.** *xliv*; **P** *chlew* ‘pigsty’; **Cz.** *chlév* ‘cattle shed, stable’; **Slk.** *chliev* ‘pigsty’ (sometimes also

⁵⁶ According to Mallory/Adams, the occurrence of OCS *vinjaga*, S/Cr. *vinjaga* and Slov. *vinjága* ‘grape, wild vine’, “would strengthen the case for inheritance rather than borrowing” (1997: 644). PSl. **vinjaga* has been regarded as a compound of **vino* and **(j)agoda* ‘berry’ (ESSJ 4: 319), but the form must be a late formation because the second element of the compound has a prothetic glide *j* (cf. Kortlandt 2002: 11). The exact same formation is found in Lith. *vỹnuogė* ‘grape, wild vine’, which is a compound of *vỹnas* and *úoga* ‘berry’ (LitEW 2: 1165, 1255-1256). Because the word for wine is not Balto-Slavic, this cannot go back to an old Balto-Slavic formation (ESSJ 4: 319). Derksen considers South Slavic *vinjaga* a “derivation[s] of *vino* rather than a compound containing **jaga*” (2008: 27), but with what kind of suffix the word was derived remains unexplained. The compound of ‘wine’ and ‘berry’ for ‘vine’ might well be independent formations in Baltic and Slavic, cf. also Du. (dial) *wijnbes*, G *Weinbeere* ‘grape’.

shed for other small animals, as rabbits or geese)'; **US** *chlěw* 'stable, pigsty'; **LS** *klěw* 'stable, sheep house'; **Plb.** *xlev*; **S/Cr.** *hljjev*; **Slov.** *hlév*; **Bg.** *hljav*

Accentuation: AP (b)

PGmc. **hlew(j)a-* 'cover (against the weather)' (n. *wa*-stem)

Goth. *hlija* m./n. 'cabin, shack' (attested as Apl. *hlijans*);⁵⁷ **MHG** *lie*, *liewe* f. 'bower'; **G** *Lee* 'lee side'; **OS** *hleō*, *hleu* m./n. 'shelter, screen (against the weather)', *hleā* f. 'idem'; **OE** *hlēo(w)* n. 'cover, screen'; **OFri.** *hlī* m. or n. 'shelter, screen'; **Du.** *lij* 'lee side'; **ON** *hlé* n. 'shelter, lee side'

PGmc. **hlaiwa-* 'burial mound, grave' (n. or m. *a*-stem)

Goth. *hlaiw* n. 'grave'; **OHG** (*h*)*lēo* m. 'grave, burial mound'; **OE** *hlāw*, *hlāw* m. 'rising ground, burial mound, tomb stone'; **OS** *hlēu* m. 'grave, burial mound'; **MDu.** *lē* 'hill' (cf. *Heiligerlee* 'holy hill' (MNW: s.v. *lee* 1)); **Old Runic** *hlaiwa* 'grave'

Cognates: Skt. *śráyati* 'to lean', Lat. *clīvus* 'hill', Gr. *κλισία* 'cottage, tent', Arm. *learn* 'mountain' < *PIE *klei-* 'to lean' (Pokorny 1959: 601, Lehmann 1986: 186).

Etymology: The origin of PSl. **xlěvъ* has most often been sought in Goth. *hlaiw* 'grave'. This is the etymology adhered to, for example, by Kiparsky, Vondrák and Stender-Petersen (cf. Kiparsky 1934: 176 for an overview and literature, also REW 3: 245-246, Stender-Petersen 1927: 237). The semantic correspondence between the Gothic and Proto-Slavic forms is difficult to say the least. PGmc. **hlaiwa-* was the original Proto-Germanic designation for a burial mound. The original meaning of **hlaiwa-* might have been 'house, chamber that was partly built undergrounds' and thus included underground burial chambers in burial mounds (Lehmann 1986: 186). The root often occurs in toponyms; because of the relative large number of toponyms built on **hlaiwa-* in southern Germany, Udolph concludes that the word had become "besonders produktiv" in that area (1994: 863-866).

Goth. *hlija* has been mentioned as a possible alternative donor of PSl. **xlěvъ* (e.g., ESSlov. 1: 197, Machek 1957: 199). This idea was proposed in the 19th century by J. Schmidt and Miklošič (see Kiparsky 1934: 176 for references). PSl. **xlěvъ* can, of course, not formally be derived from Goth. *hlija* (or Goth. **hliwa*, if *hlija* is indeed a scribal error, cf. fn. 60). However, Goth. *hlija* is a reflex of PGmc. **hlew(j)a* 'cover'. West Germanic reflexes of this Proto-Germanic form would fit quite well as donor forms of PSl. **xlěvъ*, and this etymology fits much

⁵⁷ It has been thought that the Gothic form is a scribal error for *hliwa* (cf. Lehmann 1986: 188 for references).

better semantically than a derivation of the word from Goth. *hlaiw* ‘grave’. With this etymology, the *ě in Slavic requires an explanation because a short Germanic *e is not expected to result in PSl. *ě. There are, however, West Germanic forms attested with a long vowel. A reflex of PGmc. **hlew(j)a-* in High German is attested from Middle High German onwards, which might exclude (Old) High German as the donor. Apart from that, the meaning of OS *hleō*, *hleu* ‘shelter, screen (against the weather)’ fits better semantically to PSl. **xlěvъ* than the meaning of the attested High German forms. For this reason, Old Saxon or another Low German dialect could be supposed to be the donor language.

Origin: West Germanic (Low German), borrowed from a reflex of **hlew(j)a* ‘cover’. Goth. *hlija* can be excluded as the donor because it reflects the Gothic raising of PGmc. *e. OS *hleō*, *hleu* ‘shelter, screen (against the weather)’ fits well semantically.

PSl. **xqsa* ‘robbery, trap’ (f. *ā*-stem)

SCS *xusarъ*, *xusъnikъ* ‘robber’; **RCS** *xusiti* ‘to rob’, *xusovati* ‘to take hostage’, *xusa* ‘trap’; **OP** *chqsa*, *chqza* ‘band of robbers’; *chqśba*, *chqźba*, *chqđźba* ‘robbery, theft’; **S/Cr.** *husa* (arch.) ‘trap, invasion, plundering’; **Bg.** *Χονσά* ‘παρὰ Βουλγάροις οἱ κλεπταί (with the Bulgarians the thieves)’ (attested in the *Suda*)⁵⁸
Accentuation: AP (b)?; the reflex of length in Polish might point to AP (b). Dybo also suggests AP (b) on the basis of OR *xúlnci* (1981: 187).

PGmc. **hansō* ‘band of warriors, cohort’ (f. *ō*-stem)

Goth. *hansa* ‘troop, cohort, retinue’; **OHG** *hansa* ‘cohort’; **MHG** *hans(e)* ‘merchant’s guild’; **G** *Hanse* ‘Hanseatic League’, *Hans(e)* (dial. Carinth.) ‘chatter’; **OE** *hōs* ‘band, troop’; **MLG** *hanse* ‘merchant’s guild’

Etymology: The attested Germanic forms go back to PGmc. **hansō*, which is supposed to have originally meant ‘band of warriors’. The meaning ‘economic organisation’ (as in the famous Low German *Hanse* ‘Hanseatic League’) developed later in West Germanic. The further etymology of PGmc. **hansō* is unclear (Lehmann 1986: 177).

The word was borrowed from Germanic into Finnish as *kansa* ‘people, society’ (Lehmann 1986: 177). The Germanic **hansō* apparently made a less

⁵⁸ The *Suda* (Σοῦδα, *Lexicon Suidae*) is a large Byzantine encyclopaedic lexicon dating from the tenth century.

favourable impression on the Proto-Slavs, for the word has a predominantly negative connotation in Slavic. The word was borrowed into Proto-Slavic as *xǫsa ‘robbery, trap’. The phonological correspondence between the Slavic and Germanic forms is flawless. Semantically, the connection is clear if we envisage the Germanic *hansō as a band of warriors who went on marauding expeditions among the Proto-Slavs. There is no phonological indication as to the exact donor of PSl. *xǫsa.⁵⁹

Origin: Cannot be specified.

PSl. *xǫlmǫ ‘hill’ (m. *o*-stem)

OCS *xlǫmǫ* ‘hill, mountain, forest’; **OR** *xǫlǫmǫ*, *xǫlmǫ* ‘hill, dam’; **R** *xolm*, Gsg. *xolmá* ‘hill’; *xolóm*, Gsg. *xolmá* (dial.); **Ukr.** *xolm*; **OCz.** *chlm*, *chlum*; **Cz.** *chlum* ‘hurst’; **Slk.** *chlm* ‘hill’; **US** *chołm*; **S/Cr.** *hŭm*, Gsg. *húma*; **Slov.** *hòtm*, Gsg. *hólma* ‘hill, mountain top’; **Bg.** *hǎlm*

Accentuation: AP (b); most Old Russian forms point to AP (c), but there are also forms that point to AP (b) (Zaliznjak 1985: 137).

PGmc. *hulma- ‘hill, elevation in the water’ (m. *a*-stem)

G *Holm* ‘islet’;⁶⁰ **OE** *holm* m. ‘wave, water, sea’ (the secondary meaning ‘land rising from the water, island’ is thought to derive from Old Norse (Bosworth/Toller 1898: 551)); **OS** *holm* m. (n.?) ‘hill’;⁶¹ **ON** *holmi* m. ‘island’, *holmr* m. ‘island’

Cognates: Lat. *columen* ‘point, top, pillar’, Lat. *collis* ‘hill’, Gr. *κολωνός* ‘hill’, Lith. *kálnas* ‘mountain’, *kalvà* ‘small hill’, Latv. *kálns* ‘mountain’, *kalva* ‘hill, islet in a river’ < European IE *kel- ‘elevation, hill, island’ (Pokorny 1959: 544).

⁵⁹ One of the derivations of PSl. *xǫsa is *xǫsarǫ (SCS *xusarǫ*). This word was borrowed into Hungarian, *huszár* ‘hussar’, and subsequently borrowed back into Slavic through German *Husar* (R *gusár*, P *husarz*, Cz. *husar*, Slk. *husár*, S/Cr. *hūsār*, Slov. *huzār* ‘hussar, light cavalry’) (Snoj 2003: 215). S/Cr. *gūsār*, Slov. *gūsar* ‘privateer, pirate’ are not related but rather borrowed from dialectal Italian *gorsar* (It. *corsaro*) ‘privateer’ (ibid.: 196).

⁶⁰ Although G *holm* means ‘islet’ in modern German, Grimm’s dictionary lists ‘hill’ as primary meaning of G *Holm*, and adds that this word was taken over in High German from Low German dialects. In view of the absence of the word in Old and Middle High German, a late borrowing from Low German into High German is quite possible (DWb: s.v. *Holm*).

⁶¹ Neuter according to Kluge (2002: s.v. *Holm*), masculine according to Holthausen (1954: 35) and Tiefenbach (2010: 175).

Etymology: The Germanic forms appear to go back to PGmc. **hulma-* ‘hill, elevation in the water’. From the original meaning derived the connotation ‘island, islet’ in different Germanic languages.

In West and North Germanic, the stressed vowel was affected by the *a*-umlaut, which caused a lowering from PGmc. **hulma-* to **holm-*. PSl. **xǫlmǫ* might be a borrowing from Gothic (even though the word is not attested in Gothic) because the *a*-umlaut took place very early in West Germanic. Bruckner connects the first member of the Langobardic personal names *Ulmaricus*, *Ulmaris* to the same root (1895: 269). If this connection is correct, then the Slavic word could also have been borrowed from a form of Langobardic before the loss of initial PGmc. **h-* (cf. §7.2.1.3). Old Saxon is closest to the Slavic word from a semantic viewpoint.

Because of the wide spread of the word in Slavic, e.g., in place-names near Archangelsk, Kiparsky suggests that the word was borrowed very early. According to his dating, the word was borrowed from late PGmc. **hulma-* (1934: 179). The view that the word was borrowed extremely early is not necessarily correct because a borrowing into Proto-Slavic does not exclude the occurrence of toponyms in northern Russia. The word cannot have been borrowed from Proto-Germanic because Slavic and Germanic tribes were not likely to be in contact with one another before the fourth century (cf. §4.1).

Origin: Cannot be specified. The word was borrowed from a form of Germanic that had not undergone the *a*-umlaut. Possibly Gothic, even though a reflex of the word is unattested in Gothic, or Langobardic.

5.4 LOANWORDS WITH AP (B) AND A LIGHT SYLLABIC NUCLEUS

PSl. **brǫnja* ‘harness, suit of armour’ (f. *jā*-stem)

OCS *brǫnję* f. pl. ‘coat of mail’; OR *brǫně* pl. ‘breastplate’; R *brónjá*, *bron’* f. ‘coat of mail, harness’; Ukr. *brónjá* ‘suit of armour’; OP *broń*, *bronia*; OCz. *brně* (pl.) ‘plate armour’; S/Cr. *břnjica* ‘muzzle (device); (ear)ring, buckle’, *břnja* ‘patch of colour on a goat’s or sheep’s snout’; Bg. *brǎnka* ‘(iron) ring’

Accentuation: AP (b); this is a feminine *jā*-stem of the so-called ‘*volja*-type’ and has fixed root stress on the (non-acute) root (cf. §2.3.3). In Russian, the word can have fixed stem stress as well as end stress. Evidence from the other Slavic languages shows that the end stress must be secondary.

PGmc. **brunjō-* ‘harness, breastplate’ (f. *jō*-stem)

Goth. *brunjo* f.; OHG *brunna*, *brunia*; MHG *brünne*, *brünje* ‘harness, coat of mail’; G *Brünne*; OE *byrne* f.; OS *brunnia* f.; ON *brynja* f.

Etymology: The word was originally borrowed from Celtic into Proto-Germanic in the last centuries before Christ, when Celtic craftsmen were known to have worked with iron in northern and western Europe. Lehmann supposes that PGmc. **brunjō-* was borrowed from Gaul (where the form is not attested) and connects the word to Celtic forms like OIr. *bruinne*, OW *bronn*, Breton *bronn* ‘chest, breast’ (1986: 81-82). Kluge rejects this etymology because Celtic has a geminate *-nn-*, which is not expected to have shortened in Germanic, and because the attested Celtic words deriving from PCelt. **bruson-* mean ‘abdomen, breast’ rather than ‘harness’. He therefore derives the word directly from PIE **b^hren-d^(h)-* ‘breast’ (2002: s.v. *Brünne*, cf. Matasović 2009: 81). From a cultural-historical viewpoint, Celtic origin is more attractive.

The word did not participate in the Northwest Germanic *a*-umlaut because the umlaut did not operate before a nasal cluster (Braune/Reiffenstein 2004: 35). In West Germanic, the medial *-n-* has been geminated to *-nn-* under the influence of the following *-j-*. This development has been dated to the period between 150 and 450 (Nielsen 1985: 176). The absence of the geminate consonant itself in the Proto-Slavic reflex of the word does not give clues about the origin of the borrowing because Germanic geminate consonants yielded the corresponding single consonants in Proto-Slavic (as in, for example, PSl. **skotǫ* deriving from a reflex of PGmc. **skatta-*). The fact that the word is a *jā*-stem in Proto-Slavic might nevertheless indicate that the word was borrowed from a dialect of Germanic that had not (or not yet) undergone gemination of *-n-* because the *-j-* often disappeared by assimilation from the geminated High German forms (although OHG *brunia* is also attested, but OHG *brunna* seems to be the most frequent form) (cf. Braune/Reiffenstein 2004: 99). The early dating of the gemination of consonants before *-j-* in West Germanic seems to rule out Old High German as the donor language. The word might have been borrowed from Gothic, where the gemination did not take place, or from Low German dialects, which retained the *-i-* after the gemination, as in OS *brunnia* (cf. Gallée 1910: 205).

In his description of the Sclaveni and the Antae in his work *Wars* (ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων λόγοι, book VII. 14. 25-26), Procopius mentions that these tribes did not have breastplates when fighting.⁶² But even if the Slavs did not have breastplates in the sixth century, when Procopius wrote his work, the Slavs could

⁶² “When they enter battle, the majority of them go against their enemy on foot carrying little shields and javelins in their hands, but they never wear corselets. Indeed, some of them do not wear even a shirt or a cloak, but gathering their treads up as far as to their private parts they enter into battle with their opponents.” (Dewing 1962: 271).

well have become acquainted with them in this period. Brückner dates the borrowing of the word to as late as the eighth century, when Charlemagne is reported to have forbidden the trade of cuirasses into the Slavic lands (1929: 138).

In Old Church Slavic, Old Russian and Old Czech the word occurs as a *plurale tantum*. In South Slavic, the meaning of the word narrowed from 'coat of mail' through 'ring on a coat of mail' to 'ring' (ERHSJ 1: 215).

Origin: Cannot be specified.

PSl. **gonoziti* 'to save'

OCS *gonoziti* 'to save, salvage'; **CS** *gonoziti* 'to keep, cure'; **Cr.CS** *goneziti* 'to save oneself'; **RCS** *gonesti, gonbsti* 'to be saved'; **OCz.** /Honezovice/ (place-name)

PGmc. **(ga)nazjan-* 'to save, guard'

Goth. *ganasjan, nasjan* 'to save, heal'; **OHG** *ginerien, nerren* 'to heal, save, keep'; **G** *nähren* 'to feed, keep'; **OE** *generian, nerian* 'to save, liberate, protect'; **OFri.** *nera* 'to keep, feed'; **OS** *ginerian* 'to save, cure'; **MDu.** *ghenēren* 'to save, keep, feed, cure'

PSl. **goneznŋti* 'to recover'

OCS *goneznŋti* 'to recover, save oneself'; **Cr.CS** *goneznuti, gonesti* 'to save oneself'; **RCS** *gonbznuti, gonznuti, goneznuti* 'to recover'

Accentuation: AP (b)? (Zaliznjak 1985: 137).

PGmc. **ganesa-* 'to cure, recover'

Goth. *ganisan*; **OHG** *ginesan*; **MHG** *genesen*; **G** *genesen*; **OE** *genesan* 'to be saved, to escape from'; **OS** *ginesan* 'to cure, recover; to be saved'; **Du.** *genezen*

Cognates: Skt. *násate* 'to reunite, join', Gr. *véομαι* 'to return home' and possibly Toch. A *nas-*, Toch. B *nes-* 'to be' < PIE **nes-* 'to join, return' (Pokorny 1959: 766-767, Kluge/Seebold 2002, Lehmann 1986: 146).

Etymology: The Germanic verb **ganesa-* 'to cure, recover' derives from PIE **nes-* 'to join, return' (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *genesen*, EWN: s.v. *genezen*). The corresponding causative is PGmc. **(ga)nazján-* 'to save, guard', with **z* from **s* resulting from Verner's law.

The form and meaning of the Slavic forms indicates that we are probably dealing with two borrowings: one from a reflex of the Germanic causative **(ga)nazján-* and one from a reflex of PGmc. **ganesa-*. It is likely that the Proto-Slavic forms **gonoziti* and **goneznŋti* stem from the same donor language. PSl. **gonoziti* and **goneznŋti* seem to derive from the Germanic stems **ganaz-* and **ganez-*, respectively. The *e*-vocalism in the second syllable of PSl. **goneznŋti* is

confirmed by OCS *goneznŋti*, which is attested ten times in the Codex Suprasliensis, both in the first part and in the second part of the manuscript. The first part of the Codex Suprasliensis sometimes has <e> for /b/ in closed syllables in all positions of the word, but in the second part of the manuscript this only occurs in final syllables (Leskien 1962: 31-32). Since the form is written with <e> throughout the manuscript, /e/ must be the original vocalism of OCS *goneznŋti*. This excludes Gothic as a donor language (pace, e.g., REW 1: 292, Vaillant 1974: 631, Kiparsky 1934: 175-176) because the Slavic form does not reflect the general raising of PGmc. *e to i in Gothic. It follows that the donor PSl. **gonoziti* and **goneznŋti* must probably be sought in West Germanic.

Trubačev thinks that the word was borrowed from a West Germanic reflex of PGmc. **ganesa-* in which the intervocalic s had become voiced. He therefore dates the borrowing to after the seventh or eighth centuries (ĖSSJa 7: 21). This leaves rather a narrow gap because the Proto-Slavic forms must have been borrowed before the rhotacism, before the change of the prefix **ga-* to *gi-* (which has been dated to the eighth or ninth century) and before the *i*-umlaut that raised **a* in the second syllable to *e* (in the eighth century, cf. §7.2.1.3). The forms might alternatively be earlier borrowings from West Germanic, with **z* in PSl. **gonoziti* regularly reflecting Verner's law in Germanic. In PSl. **goneznŋti*, **z* might be secondary to PSl. **gonoziti*.

The form is attested in Old Church Slavic and through Old Church Slavic in Russian Church Slavic. The Old Czech toponym /Honezovice/ (attested *Honezowiz*, *Honezouici*, *Gonezouicih* (locative) 12th and 13th centuries) has been connected to this word (Kiparsky 1934: 174, cf. Erben 1855: 733), which is the only evidence that the word existed in West Slavic as well.

Origin: West Germanic; the *e*-vocalism of PSl. **goneznŋti* excludes Gothic as a donor language.

PSl. **kotvľb* 'kettle' (m. *o*-stem)

OCS *kotvľb*; **OR** *kotvľb*; *kotvľb*; **R** *koťel*, Gsg. *koťlá*; **Ukr.** *koťel*, Gsg. *koťlá*; **P** *kocioł*, Gsg. *koťla*; **Cz.** *koťel*, Gsg. *koťla*; **Slk.** *kotoľ*; **US** *kotoľ*, Gsg. *kóťla*, *kotoľa*; **LS** *košel*; **Plb.** *řütäl* 'large kettle'; **S/Cr.** *kòtao*, Gsg. *kòtla*; (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *koťã*, Gsg. *koťlä*; **Slov.** *kótäl*, Gsg. *kóťla*; **Bg.** *koťel*

Accentuation: AP (b); for the question as to whether the accentuation of PSl. **kotvľb*, **kǫbvlb* and **osvľb* indicates that the words were borrowed directly from Latin, as, for example, Meillet suggested (1902: 186), cf. §8.3.2.

PGmc. **katila-* ‘kettle’ (m. *a*-stem)

Goth. *katil-** (attested Gpl. *katile*);⁶³ **OHG** *chezzil, kezzīn*;⁶⁴ **MHG** *kezzel*; **G** *Kessel*; **OE** *cytel, citel, cetel*; **OFri.** *tzetel, tzitel*; **OS** *ketil*; **Du.** *ketel*; **ON** *ketill*

Etymology: Germanic **katila-* has generally been regarded as a loanword from Latin. Lat. *catīnus* ‘bowl, dish’ has been connected with Gr. *κοτύλη* ‘bowl; measure of capacity’ and the Latin word might be a borrowing from Greek (De Vaan 2008: 98). Already before the Roman period, kettles were imported from southern Europe into the Germanic speaking areas in northern Europe (Lehmann 1986: 215). Kluge regards the borrowing into Germanic from Latin to have taken place early (2002: s.v. *Kessel*). This can be concluded on the basis of the spread of the word throughout the Germanic language area and because the medial voiceless stop in Latin was not reflected as voiced. The exact Latin donor form of the Germanic word is disputed: PGmc. **katila-* might be a loanword from Lat. *catīnus* ‘deep vessel, bowl, dish’ which received a different suffix in Germanic, or alternatively from the diminutive form Lat. *catillus* ‘bowl, dish’ (Stender-Petersen 1927: 400, Lehmann 1986: 216, De Vries/De Tollenaere 1997: 314, Franck/Van Wijk 1912: 302). In view of the absence of any other ground for the assumption of the borrowing of PGmc. **katila-* from a Latin diminutive form and in view of the correspondence with other Proto-Germanic loanwords from Latin that also have a suffix built on *-l-* rather than *-n-* (cf. §7.3.2), Lat. *catīnus* is to be preferred as the donor of the Germanic forms. However, if kettles were imported into northern Europe already long before the Roman period, we might alternatively suppose a more direct link with Gr. *κοτύλη*.

PSl. **kotьlь* is generally regarded as a borrowing from Gothic (cf. Kiparsky 1934: 203 for references), probably on the basis of the fact that the North Germanic and West Germanic forms are affected by the *i*-umlaut. The *i*-umlaut is thought to have reached Old Saxon and Old High German only in the eighth century (Nielsen 1985: 89ff., cf. §7.2.1.3). There are, therefore, no formal reasons to reject the idea of PSl. **kotьlь* as an early borrowing from West Germanic.

For semantic reasons, PSl. **kotьlь* must be regarded as a loanword from Germanic rather than directly from Latin: whereas Lat. *catīnus* and *catillus* mean ‘bowl, dish’, the word denotes the same type of iron vessel, viz., a kettle, in Germanic as well as in Slavic. Furthermore, Lat. *catīnus* has *ī*, which does not yield PSl. **ь*.

⁶³ This form might point to an *a*-stem, but also to an *u*-stem, which is the declination that is often followed by Germanic loanwords from Latin or Greek (Stender-Petersen 1927: 399-400).

⁶⁴ OHG *kezzīn* seems to be borrowed from Lat. *catīnus* and shows the original Latin suffix.

Origin: Generally thought to be Gothic.

PSl. **kǫbǫlǫ* ‘tub; quantity of grain’ (m. *o*-stem)

CS *kǫbǫlǫ*, *koblǫ*, *kobelǫ* ‘bin, bucket; a certain quantity’; **R** *kóbel*, *kobl* (arch.) ‘quantity of grain’; **OP** *gbel* ‘tub’; **Cz.** *kbel* ‘container; liquid measure’, *kbelík* ‘tub, bucket’, *dbel* (dial.), *gbel* (dial.) ‘well bucket’; **Slk.** *gbel* ‘water bucket; measure of capacity’; **S/Cr.** *kàbao*, Gsg. *kàbla* ‘water bucket’; (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *kab^oã*, Gsg. *kablã*; **Slov.** *kǫbǫl*, Gsg. *kǫblã*; *kǫbǫl*, Gsg. *kǫbla* ‘tub, quantity of grain’; **Bg.** *kóbel* ‘bucket, trough’

Accentuation: AP (b)?, cf. §8.3.2.

WGmc. **kubil-* ‘tub; unit of measure (of, e.g., grain, coal)’ (m. *a*-stem)

OHG *-kubil(i)* (attested as *miluh-chubili*, *milich-chubili* ‘milk pail’);⁶⁵ **MHG** *kubbel*, *kübbel*, *kübel* ‘tub; unit of measure’; **G** *Kübel* ‘large wooden vessel’; **OE** *cyfel* or *cýfel* (?) ‘tub’;⁶⁶ **Du.** (dial. Limburg) *kiebel* ‘tub; cage used in a mine shaft’

Etymology: The form **kubil-* was borrowed from (Medieval) Lat. *cūpella* or *cūpellus* ‘small vat, cask’, also ‘quantity of grain’ (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Kübel*). The Latin forms are diminutives of Lat. *cūpa* ‘vat, cask’, which was also borrowed in Germanic, e.g., OE *cýf(e)*, Du. *kuip*, OS *kōpa* ‘idem’ and Scandinavian forms as Sw. *kopp* and Ic. *koppur* ‘idem’. Lat. *cūpa* probably is a loanword from a non-Indo-European language, and was also borrowed into Greek, cf. Gr. *κύπελλον* ‘beaker’, Gr. *κύπρος* ‘corn measure’ (De Vaan 2008: 155). The voiced reflex of the medial stop in Germanic shows that the Latin word was a late borrowing into Germanic, and therefore limited to West Germanic. Unlike in other examples (cf. §5.4, s.v. PSl. **kotǫlǫ*, *osǫlǫ*), WGmc. **kubil-* is likely to be borrowed from the diminutive form of the Latin donor word: the Lat. *cūpella* or *cūpellus* had a different function than the Lat. *cūpa* and the use of these two containers in Latin and Germanic corresponds to one another.

Dialectal Dutch *kiebel* denotes a container that was used in mining (Weijnen 1996: 92-93) and this practice is also mentioned by Grimm/Grimm, who note that the G *Kübel* served “zum fördern der gesteine aus dem schachte” (DWb: s.v. *Kübel*). This is probably part of the original meaning of the word because the

⁶⁵ The word is attested as *milichchubili* n., which is a diminutive form of unattested OHG **-chubil*. Kluge also lists OHG *kubilo* (2002: s.v. *Kübel*), but I have been unable to find this form elsewhere.

⁶⁶ It is unclear whether the initial vowel in Old English is long: Bosworth/Toller note *cyfel* or *cýfel*? (1921: 140).

Latin *cūpella* was used in the processing of metal too: in a *cūpella*, noble metals such as gold and silver were separated from base metals in a process called ‘cupellation’ (Mantello/Rigg 1996: 493).

PSl. **kǫbǫlǫ* formally corresponds to the form that can be reconstructed for Old High German before the operation of the High German sound shift. The metallurgical connotation of the Latin and Germanic forms is not reflected in Slavic, but the two other semantic aspects of the Germanic donor word, viz., ‘tub’ and ‘quantity of grain’, are.

Origin: West Germanic (High German); the Latin word was a late borrowing into West Germanic.

PSl. **kǫnędźb* ‘prince, ruler’ (m. *jo*-stem < m. *o*-stem)

OCS *kǫnędźb* ‘prince, ruler’; **CS** *kǫnegǫb* ‘prince, ruler’; **OR** *knjazb* ‘prince, bridegroom’; **R** *knjaz* ‘prince, bridegroom’; **Ukr.** *knjaz* ‘prince, bridegroom’; **P** *ksiądz*, Gsg. *księdza* ‘ruler (arch.); priest’; **Cz.** *kněz* ‘prince (arch.); priest’; **Slk.** *kňaz* ‘priest’; **US** *knjez* ‘sir, priest’; **LS** *kněz*; **Plb.** *t’ēnqz* ‘nobleman, king; moon’;⁶⁷ **S/Cr.** *kněz* ‘prince’; **Slov.** *kněz* ‘count, ruler’; **Bg.** *knez* ‘ruler, elder, bailiff’

Accentuation: Probably AP (b) (cf. §8.3.1), although the word is often thought to have AP (c) (Zaliznjak 1985: 137, Dybo 1981: 171).

NWGmc. **kuninga-* ‘king, ruler’ (m. *a*-stem)

OHG *kuni(n)g*; **MHG** *kūnic, kūnec* (Gsg. *kūneges*); **G** *König*; **OE** *cyni(n)g, cyng*; **OFri.** *kining, kening*; **OS** *kuning*; **Du.** *koning*; **ON** *konungr*

Cognates: Lat. *genus* ‘race, sort’, Gr. *γένος* ‘clan, sort’, Skt. *jānas* ‘race, class of beings’ < PIE **ǵenh₁-* ‘to give birth, bring forth’ (Pokorny 1959: 373-375, EWN: s.v. *koning*).

Etymology: NWGmc. **kuninga-* derives from PGmc. **kunja-* ‘family, lineage’ which goes back to PIE **ǵenh₁-* ‘to give birth, bring forth’ (EWN: s.v. *koning*). NWGmc. **kuninga-* thus originally denoted a ‘man of (noble) lineage’. The word is reflected as an early borrowing into Finnish and Estonian as *kuningas* ‘king’. There is no cognate in Gothic; in Wulfila’s Bible, the noun *þiudans* ‘monarch’ is used.

The Germanic suffix *-inga-/-unga-* denotes family names and objects and persons belonging to the etymon and this use is limited to West Germanic (cf. §7.3.2). PSl. **kǫnędźb* must therefore be a loanword from West Germanic.

⁶⁷ The meaning ‘moon’ for this word is also found in P *księżyc* ‘moon’.

In (Middle) High German, the suffix *-ing* dissimilated to *-ig* because of the *-n-* in the stem (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *König*). The Slavic form was obviously borrowed from a form of Germanic that preserved the original shape of the word.

Origin: West Germanic; the use of the Germanic suffix *-inga-/-unga-* to denote family names etc. is limited to West Germanic, and Gothic has another word for ‘monarch’.

PSl. **lbvǔ* ‘lion’ (m. *o*-stem)

OCS *lbvǔ, levǔ*; **R** *lev*, Gsg. *l’va*; **Ukr.** *lev*, Gsg. *léva*; **P** *lew*, Gsg. *lwa*; **Cz.** *lev*; **Slk.** *lev*, Gsg. *leva*; **US** *law*; **LS** *law*; **Plb.** *lǎv*; **S/Cr.** *lǎv*; **Slov.** *lèv*, Gsg. *léva*; **Bg.** *lǎv, lev* (arch.)

Accentuation: AP (b) (Zaliznjak 1985: 134)

(N)WGmc. **le(w)o* ‘lion’

OHG *le(w)o*, Gsg. *leuuen, lewo, louwo*; **MHG** *lewe*, Gsg. *lewen, leu, louwe*; **G** *Löwe*; **OE** *lēo*; **MLG** *lēwe*; **MDu.** *leeuwe, lewe, le(e)u*; **Du.** *leeuw*; **ON** [*leó(n)* < OE (De Vries 1977: 353)]

Etymology: (N)WGmc. **le(w)o* is borrowed from Lat. *leō*, Gsg. *leōnis* ‘lion’, which itself is a borrowing from Gr. *λέων* ‘lion’. The Greek word might stem from Semitic languages, cf. Assyrian *labbu*, Egyptian *labu*, Hebrew *layiš* ‘lion’, but Philippa et al. regard these forms too deviant to have yielded the Greek form (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Löwe*, EWN: s.v. *leeuw*, Franck/Van Wijk 1912: 376).

Mallory/Adams do not consider PSl. **lbvǔ* to be a Germanic loanword, but rather suppose an opposite borrowing by assuming that the Germanic word originally stems from Slavic (1997: 356). The word would have spread from Proto-Slavic to Gothic, where it remained unattested, and through Gothic to Old High German. The reason for this assumption is that lions are known to have lived in the Balkans and western Ukraine until the bronze age (Herodotus, for example, makes note of lions in Thrace). Mallory/Adams connect the Slavic form with Gr. *λίς* and tentatively reconstruct (dialectal) Indo-European **li(u)-* (1997: 356).⁶⁸ The idea of a Gothic borrowing into West Germanic is unlikely to be correct because a supposed Gothic form would have had *i*-vocalism, whereas the West Germanic forms have **e*.

⁶⁸ The connection between Gr. *λέων* ‘lion’ and *λίς* ‘lion’ is unclear (cf. Beekes 2009: 854).

The majority of scholars believe PSl. **lbn̄b* to be a Proto-Slavic loanword from Germanic (see below for references), although Kiparsky remains uncertain about the origin of the word to such an extent that he does not include the word in his main corpus of Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic (1934: 275). The Germanic donor language is disputed (cf. ĚSSJa 17: 105-107). PSl. **lbn̄b* has been explained as a borrowing from OHG *lewo* (e.g., by REW 2: 23, HEW 11: 804-805), but other scholars suppose unattested Goth. **liwa* to be the donor (e.g., Brückner 1927: 297, Stender-Petersen 1927: 361). Gothic origin of the word is attractive because this would explain the jer in the first syllable of PSl. **lbn̄b*, which remains unexplained if the word was borrowed from West Germanic.

R *lev* might be a Church Slavonicism because the expected reflex is R ***lěv* (which is, nevertheless, attested in Russian dialects) (ĚSSJa 17: 105-107, REW 2: 23). Since the reflex of PSl. **b* in Upper Sorbian is /e/ and in Lower Sorbian /'a/, US and LS *law* do not derive from PSl. **lbn̄b* (Mucke 1891: 64). Schuster-Šewc considers the words to be later loanwords from Middle German dialects (with supposed *au* instead of *eu*) (HEW 11: 804-805, also Schaarschmidt 1997: 61). Mucke, on the other hand, thinks US and LS *law* are secondary under influence of the German adjective *lauen-* 'of a lion' (cf. *Lauengasse/Lawska hasa*, a street name in Bautzen) (1891: 64).

Origin: Probably (unattested) Gothic; PSl. **lbn̄b* indicates that the donor language had *i*-vocalism.

PSl. **nebožz̄b*/**nabozžz̄b* 'wood drill' (m. *o*-stem)

P *niebozas* (dial.); **Kash.** *ńeb"òzwař*; **Slnc.** *ńebũozorř*; **OCz.** *nebožez*, *neboziez*; **Cz.** *nebozez*, (dial.) *nábosez*; **Slk.** *nebožiec*; **US** *njeboz*; **LS** *njabozac*; **Plb.** *nebũžâr*; **Slov.** *nabôžz̄ac*, *nabôžž̄ac*

Accentuation: AP (b)

NWGmc. **nabagaiza-* 'auger, drill' (m. *a*-stem)

OHG *nabagēr*, *nabagēr(o)*; **MHG** *nabegēr*; **G** *Naber*, *Näber*; **OE** *nafugār*; **OS** *navugēr*; **MLG** (*n*)*evegēr*, *never*; **Du.** *avegaar*, *agger*; **ON** *nafarr*

Etymology: NWGmc. **nabagaiza-* is composed of PGmc. **nabō* 'wheel hub' and **gaiza-* 'spear'.⁶⁹ The drill served primarily to bore hubs (G *Nabe* 'hub') in wheels etc., and relates to the craft of the cartwright.

⁶⁹ PGmc. **nabō-* derives from PIE **h₃nebʰ-* and is related to, e.g., Gr. *ὀμφαλός* 'navel', Lat. *umbō* 'shield boss', *umbilicus* 'navel'. PIE **ǵʰaisó-* 'javelin, (throwing-)spear' has been reconstructed on the basis of PGmc. **gaiza-*, Proto-Celtic **gaiso-* and Lat. *gaesum*, but the Celtic word was

The word falls in the range of technical terms that the Proto-Slavs borrowed from Germanic. Kiparsky reconstructs PSl. **nobožězъ*, but this reconstruction is influenced by the form that has been reconstructed for Northwest Germanic: the attested Slavic forms point to an initial syllable **ne-* (West Slavic) or **na-* (Slovene). Trubačev, therefore, departs from an original **nebožězъ* and **nabožězъ* (ÉSSJa 21: 216, 24: 106). The original form was probably early adapted analogically to the existing Proto-Slavic prefixes **ne-* and **na-*.

Because of the occurrence of final *-z* in Slavic, it has been thought that the word was an early borrowing before the rhotacism in Germanic took place (ÉSSJa 21: 216, 24: 106, Kiparsky 1934: 182, cf. §7.2.1.4). The Czech forms (and perhaps the dialectal Polish form as well) supposedly reflect original NWGmc. **nabagaiza-* before the rhotacism operated. In US *njeboz*, the ending of the Germanic donor has dropped. In Proto-Slavic, the word received the suffix **-bcb* which replaced the original ending (ÉSSJa 21: 216, 24: 106). This suffix is attested in Slovak, Lower Sorbian and Slovene. The word is attested with stem-final *-r* in Polabian, Kashubian and Slovincian. Because of this stem-final *-r*, which seems to reflect the Germanic rhotacism, Trubačev supposes that the borrowing in these languages took place later than in the other Slavic languages (ÉSSJa 21: 216). This cannot be excluded, especially in view of the geographic location of these languages in the immediate vicinity of the German language area. Because of the diversity in the attested forms, it is difficult to reconstruct the original final consonant and to substantiate the claim that the word was borrowed before the Germanic rhotacism. The same Germanic word was also borrowed into Finnish: *napakaira* 'large drill', which might be an argument in favour of original stem-final *-r* in Proto-Slavic as well.

PSl. **nebožězъ*/**nabožězъ* underwent the second palatalization of velar consonants in Proto-Slavic: **-božě-* < **-bogai-*. The fact that the word underwent the second palatalization in Proto-Slavic (and not the first palatalization) indicates either that the word was borrowed at the time when the diphthong **ai* in the Germanic donor form was still retained, or that the word was a relatively late borrowing. The attested Germanic forms already show the monophthongized reflex *ē* of PGmc. **ai*. In Old High German, the monophthongization (only before *r*, *h*, and *w*) has been dated to the seventh century. PGmc. **ai* had monophthongized in Old Saxon in all positions before the earliest texts were written and is therefore difficult to date (cf. §7.2.2.1).

probably borrowed from Germanic and the Latin word from Celtic (EWN: s.v. *geer* 1, Pokorny 1959: 410).

Origin: Probably West Germanic; the word is unattested in Gothic and some of the Slavic forms might reflect the West Germanic rhotacism. The technical terminology that was borrowed from Germanic into Proto-Slavic seems mainly to stem from West Germanic dialects (cf. §7.4.2.3).

PSl. **osbl̥* ‘donkey’ (m. *o*-stem)

OCS *osbl̥*, *os̥bl̥*; **R** *osěl*, Gsg. *oslá*; **Ukr.** *osél*, Gsg. *oslá*; **P** *osioł*, Gsg. *osła*; **Cz.** *osel*; **Slk.** *osol*; **US** *wosoł*; **LS** *wosol*; **S/Cr.** *òsao*; **Slov.** *ósəł*, Gsg. *ósła*; **Bg.** *osél*⁷⁰

Accentuation: AP (b), cf. §8.3.2.

PGmc. **asil-* ‘donkey’ (m. *a*-stem or *u*-stem)

Goth. *asilus* m. *u*-stem; **OHG** *esil*; **MHG** *esel*; **G** *Esel*; **OE** *e(o)sol*; **OS** *esil*; **Du.** *ezel*; **ON** [*asni* < OFr. *asne* (De Vries 1977: 16)]

Etymology: The Germanic word was borrowed from Lat. *asinus* ‘donkey’ or a late Latin diminutive form *asellus* (Lehmann 1986: 45). Lat. *asinus*, as well as Gr. *ὄνος* ‘donkey’, are possibly independent borrowings from an unknown substrate language (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Esel*). The derivation of PGmc. **asil-* from Lat. *asinus* is more generally adhered to, and seems to be more plausible as well: when Lat. *asinus* was borrowed into Germanic, the suffix was replaced by the Germanic suffix *-il-* or *-l-* (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Esel*, Green 1998: 204, Franck/Van Wijk 1912: 161). Among the words discussed in the present work, there are quite a few where the Germanic form has *-l-*, whereas the Latin donor word has *-n-* in the stem. Since there is in most cases hardly a reason why the words should have been borrowed in the diminutive form, we are likely to deal with a general change of suffix (cf. §7.3.2).

The donkey, as well as its name, originally stems from Asia Minor (Franck/Van Wijk 1912: 161). The word for donkey was borrowed from Latin into Germanic in relation to trade because the Romans used donkeys (as well as mules) to transport their wares overland and in that way they introduced the donkey into northern Europe (Green 1998: 204).

The Proto-Germanic form **asil-* has been affected by the *i*-umlaut in West Germanic, which raised the initial *a-* to *e-*; afterwards, the *-i-* in the second stem syllable became *-e-* because it stood in unaccented position (cf. Braune/Reiffenstein 2004: 67). The Slavic word must have been borrowed from

⁷⁰ The Bulgarian form occurs in the literary language only and might have been taken over from Old Church Slavic or be a borrowing from Russian (BER 4: 937).

a Germanic donor form **asil-*. The word was probably borrowed from Gothic, as is generally assumed (cf. Kiparsky 1934: 208 for references). It might, nevertheless, alternatively derive from West Germanic before the above-mentioned sound changes took place (cf. §7.2.1.3).

Origin: Generally thought to be Gothic.

PSl. **ovotjb*, **ovotje* ‘fruit’ (m. *jo*-stem; n. *jo*-stem)

OCS *ovošte* n.; CS *ovoštb*; R [óvošč’ ‘vegetable’ < CS]; Ukr. *óvoč*, [óvošč (arch.) < CS]; P *owoc* m. ‘fruit, berries’; Cz. *ovoce* n. ‘fruit; result’; Slk. *ovocie* n. ‘fruit; result’; S/Cr. *vöće* n.; Slov. *ovôčje* n.; Bg. *ovóšte*, *ovóštie* n.

Accentuation: AP (b); PSl. **ovotjb*, **ovotje* belongs to AP (b), but has fixed stem stress on the second syllable because Dybo’s law applied in all case forms. The initial stress of Ukr. *óvoč* is incompatible with AP (b).

WGmc. **uba-ēta-* ‘side dish, fruit’ (m. *a*-stem)

OHG *obaz*; MHG *obez*, *obz*; NHG (dial. Bav.) *owes*, *obs*, (dial. Carinthian) *oubas*, *oubes*; G *Obst*;⁷¹ OE *ofet*, *ofæt*; NFri. *oefte* ‘something nice to eat’; MLG *ovet*, *avet*, *aves*, *oves*, *ovest*; NLG *owest*, *ovst*, *awet*, *aawt*; ODu. *ovit*; MDu. *oefst*, *oft*, *oofst*, *ovet*; Du. *oofst* (arch.) ‘fruit, especially from fruit trees’⁷²

Etymology: The Germanic forms might derive from a Proto-Germanic compound **uba-ēta-* ‘something that is eaten on the side, side dish’ from PGmc. **uba-* ‘at, over’ and **eta-* ‘to eat’ (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Obst*). The Proto-Germanic noun **ēta-* ‘dish, course’ has a lengthened grade, which can be explained if the word derives from an original root noun (Bammesberger 1990: 62). The meaning of the compound narrowed from ‘side dish’ to ‘fruit’ in most Germanic languages.

The final *-z/-s* in the High German forms developed from *-t* in the (first stage of the) High German consonant shift; the beginning of the High German consonant shift cannot be dated with certainty but can probably be placed in the first half of the first millennium AD (cf. §7.2.1.8). The Old High German form can be reconstructed as **obat-*, which has initial *ob-* from PGmc. **ub-* as a result of the *a*-umlaut. The connection between this form and the reconstructed Proto-Slavic form is very difficult because Germanic **o-* is expected to yield **a-* in Proto-Slavic and Germanic **-b-* is expected to be retained as such.

⁷¹ The final *-t* in G *Obst* developed in the 16th century (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Obst*).

⁷² Some of the German forms are taken from Pritzel/Jessen (1882: 282), the DWb and Dähnert (1781).

Vasmer, therefore, thinks the word is not to be regarded as a loanword from Germanic at all (REW 2: 250). It is, however, easier to derive PSl. **ovotjb* from the forms attested in the Low German dialects. In Low German, the word is generally attested with a medial fricative and has forms with initial *a-* next to forms with initial *o-*.

Origin: West Germanic (Low German); the Slavic form reflects initial *ob-* from PGmc. **ub-* as a result of the *a*-umlaut. The medial fricative *-v-* corresponds to that in Low German dialects.

PSl. **petblja* ‘noose, snare’ (f. *jā*-stem)

RCS *petlja* ‘noose, snare’; **OR** *petlja*; **R** *pétljá* ‘loop, noose’, *pétel’ka* ‘eyelet’; **Ukr.** *petljá* ‘loop, noose’; **P** *peṭla* ‘(poacher’s) trap, snare’, *peṭlica* (earlier also *petlica*) ‘(poacher’s) trap, snare; loop-shaped clasp or embroidery on the traditional costume’; **Cz.** *petlice* ‘bolt, latch’; **S/Cr.** *pětlja* ‘bow, snare’; **Slov.** *pétlja* ‘noose’; **Bg.** *pětlja* ‘buttonhole, noose’

Accentuation: AP (b); Kiparsky thinks that this word originally had acute intonation, which he bases on the stem stressed forms in *Učenije i xitrost’ ratnago stroenija pëxotnyxъ ljudej* (1647) (1958: 22). This is impossible given the fact that the syllabic nucleus of PSl. **petblja* is light, whereas words with acute intonation always have heavy syllabic nuclei. The word belongs to AP (b). As a result of Dybo’s law, the stress shifted to the medial jer. When the jer lost its stressability, the stress retracted to the previous syllable. This is reflected by the stem stress in the Russian and Serbian/Croatian forms. Slov. *pétlja* is difficult because the vowel *é* instead of *ě* indicates that the form goes back to earlier end stress, which rather points to AP (c).

NWGmc. **fatila-* ‘fetter, band’ (m. *a*-stem)

OHG *fezzil* m. ‘fetter’, *fezzeros* m. pl., *fezzara* f., *fazza* f.; **MHG** *vezzel* m.; **G** *Fessel* m./f./n. ‘fetter, chain’; **OE** *fetel* m. ‘girdle, belt’; **MLG** *vetel* ‘band, lace, chain’; **MDu.** *vetel* ‘fetter, chain’; **ON** *fetill* m. ‘chain, sling’

Cognates: From PIE **ped-/pod-* ‘foot’ also derive, e.g., Lat. *pedica* ‘fetter, shackle’, Lat. *compēs* ‘fetter’, Lat. *impedire* ‘to hinder’, Gr. *πέδη* ‘fetter’, Gr. *πηδάω* ‘to chain’, Av. *bi-bda* ‘double fetter’ (Pokorny 1959: 790-792, De Vaan 2008: 462).

Etymology: Germanic **fatila-* ‘fetter, band’ has been connected to PGmc. **fetura-* m. ‘chains’, which derives from PIE **ped-/pod-* ‘foot’ (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Fessel*).

PSl. **petblja* must be a late borrowing from West Germanic. A reflex of PGmc. **fatila-* is not attested in Gothic, but even if the word existed in Gothic, it could not have been the source of the Slavic form because PSl. **petblja* reflects the Germanic *i*-umlaut, which raised *a* in the initial syllable to *e*. The borrowing

must, therefore, be dated after the operation of the *i*-umlaut, which is supposed to have taken place in the eighth century in Old Saxon and Old High German (Nielsen 1985: 89ff., and cf. §7.2.1.3). PSl. **petblja* was, on the other hand, obviously borrowed from a dialect of Germanic that had not undergone or phonemicised the High German consonant shift, which yielded medial -zz- < *-t-. Since this stage of the High German consonant shift has been dated earlier than the occurrence of the *i*-umlaut in High German, PSl. **petblja* is likely to have been borrowed from a Low German dialect.

The Polish forms *pȩtla*, *pȩtlica* with a nasal vowel in the initial syllable are secondary to **pȩti* ‘to stretch’; the older attested form of the word is *petlica* (cf. Kiparsky 1934: 256).

Origin: West Germanic (Low German); PSl. **petblja* reflects the Germanic *i*-umlaut, but not the High German consonant shift.

PSl. **popъ* ‘clergyman, (Orthodox) priest’ (m. *o*-stem)

OCS *popъ*; **R** *pop*, Gsg. *popá*; **Ukr.** *pip*, Gsg. *popá* ‘Orthodox priest’; **P** *pop* ‘pope, Orthodox priest’; **Cz.** *pop* ‘pope, (Orthodox) priest’; **Slk.** *pop* ‘Orthodox priest’; **US** *pop* ‘priest, protestant clergyman’; **LS** *pop* ‘priest, clergyman’; **Plb.** *püp* ‘priest, schoolteacher’; **S/Cr.** *põp*, Gsg. *põpa*; (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *põp*, Gsg. *popã*; **Slov.** *põp*, Gsg. *põpa* ‘pope’; **Bg.** *pop* ‘priest, schoolteacher’

Accentuation: AP (b)

PGmc. **papa-* ‘clergyman, priest’ (m. *a*-stem)

Goth. *papa**; **OHG** *phaffo*; **MHG** *phaffe*, *pfaffe*; **G** *Pfaffe*; **MLG** *pape*; **MDu.** *pape*
Du. *paap*

Etymology: The Germanic word was borrowed from Gr. *παπᾶς* ‘clergyman, priest’ rather than from Gr. *πάπας*, Lat. *papa* ‘pope’. The latter words denoted higher clergy such as bishops, and from the fifth century onwards mainly the bishop of Rome, viz., the pope. Gr. *παπᾶς*, on the other hand, referred to the lower clergy, just as the Germanic (and Slavic) forms (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Pfaffe*).

From a phonological point of view, PSl. **popъ* can be borrowed either from Gothic or from West Germanic. Kiparsky rejects direct Greek origin of the word because in that case the expected reflex would be PSl. ***papá* (1934: 259).

Origin: Cannot be specified.

PSl. **postǫ* ‘fast, Lent’ (m. *o*-stem)

OCS *postǫ*; **R** *post*, Gsg. *postá*; **Ukr.** *pist*, Gsg. *póstu*; **P** *post*; **Cz.** *půst*; **Slk.** *pôst*; **US** *póst*; **LS** *spot*, Gsg. *spotu*; **S/Cr.** *pôst*, Gsg. *pòsta*; (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *pôst*, Gsg. *pòsta*; **Slov.** *pòst*, Gsg. *pósta*; **Bg.** *post*

PGmc. **fast-* ‘fast, Lent’

Goth. *fastubni* n.; **OHG** *fasta* f., *fasto* m.; **MHG** *vaste*; **G** *Fasten* pl.; **OE** *fæsten* n.; **OFri.** *feste*, *-faste*; **OS** *fasta* f., *fastunn* f.; **MDu.** *vastene* f.; **Du.** *vasten* pl.; **ON** *fasta* f.

PSl. **postiti se* ‘to fast’

OCS *postiti se*; **R** *postítvsja*; **Ukr.** *postýtysja*; **P** *pościć (się)*; **Cz.** *postit se*; **Slk.** *postit sa*; **US** *pościć (so)*; **S/Cr.** *pòstiti pòstīm* (1sg.); (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *pòstiti*, *pòstiš* (2sg.); **Slov.** *póstiti*; **Bg.** *póstja (se)*

Accentuation: AP (b). The Serbian/Croatian forms follow AP (c).

PGmc. **fastē-* ‘to fast’ (weak verb)

Goth. (*sik*)*fastan* ‘to fast; to hold on to’; **OHG** *fastē(n)*; **MHG** *vasten*; **G** *fasten*; **OE** *fæstan* ‘to fast; to hold on to’; **OFri.** *festia*; **Du.** *vasten*; **ON** *fasta*

Etymology: The root **fasta-* ‘fast, Lent’ probably derives from PIE **ph₂s-tó-*, which is a verbal adjective to PIE **peh₂(s)-* ‘to guard’ (EWN: s.v. *vast*). The original and literal meaning of the word is ‘to hold on to’. This developed into the metaphorical use ‘to observe, comply (with rules etc.)’. Because the literal meaning of the word is retained only in Gothic and Old English, it has been supposed that the word in its religious sense was borrowed from Gothic into the other Germanic languages (EWA 3: 84-85, EWN: s.v. *vast*).

The Proto-Slavic forms **postǫ* and **postiti se* can from a phonological point of view be borrowed either from West Germanic or from Gothic. Kiparsky suggests that, if one assumes that PSl. **postiti se* was a separate borrowing rather than being a Slavic derivative from the noun, the fact that the verb is reflexive both in Gothic and in Slavic speaks for Gothic origin of the forms (1934: 261). This idea has been rejected by Lloyd et al., who state that the Gothic expression *fastan sik silban* means ‘to keep oneself’ rather than ‘to fast (religiously)’ (EWA 3: 84). The Proto-Slavic noun cannot have been borrowed from Goth. *fastubni* or OS *fastunn* (attested *fastunnea*, *fastonnea*), which are both formed with the productive suffix **-umnija-* (with PGmc. **-um-* from a zero grade of the suffix **-men-*) (Bammesberger 1990: 90). OHG *fasto* corresponds best to the Proto-Slavic noun because the genders agree (Kiparsky 1934: 261).

Both the verb and the noun occur equally early in Slavic and it is unclear whether the verb and the noun were borrowed into Proto-Slavic together or if one of the forms was borrowed and the other form is a Proto-Slavic derivation.

The exact Germanic origin of PSL. **postō* and **postiti sę* remains therefore undecided.

Origin: Cannot be specified.

PSL. **redьky*/**rьdьky* ‘radish, *Raphanus sativus*’ (f. *ū*-stem)

CS *redьky*, *rьdьky*; **SCS** *redьky*, *rьdьky*, *rьdьkva*; **OR** *redьkovь*, *retьka*; **R** *red’ka*; **Ukr.** *red’ka*; **P** *rzodkiew*; **Cz.** *ředkev* ‘wild radish (*Raphanus raphanistrum*)’, *ředkvička* ‘radish’; **Slk.** *redkev* ‘Raphanus’; **US** *rjetkej*; **LS** *rjatkej*; **S/Cr.** [*rōtkva*, *rōkva* <?]; **Slov.** *ředkav* f., *ředkva* f.

Accentuation: AP (b); the word has fixed initial stress in Russian, Serbian/Croatian and Slovene. The fixed initial stress results from retraction of the stress from the medial jer (which had received the stress by Dybo’s law), when the latter lost its stressability.

WGmc. **radik-* ‘radish, *Raphanus sativus*’ (m. *a*-stem)

OHG *ratih*, *retih* m.; **MHG** *rætich*, *retich* m.; **G** *Rettich* m.; **OE** *rædic* (or *rædic* (?)) (Bosworth/Toller 1898: 783) m.; **MLG** *redik*, *redich*; **MDu.** *radic*, *redic*

Etymology: The Germanic word derives from Lat. *rādīx*, Gsg. *-īcis* f. ‘root’. The word is neither attested in Gothic nor in Old Norse, which might suggest that the word is a borrowing from Latin that was restricted to West Germanic. The Romans had taken over the radish from Syria (Lat. *radix Syria*) around the turn of the millennium and subsequently introduced it in northern Europe (Hehn 1883: 405). The long root vowel of the Latin donor was shortened in High and Low German (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Rettich*).

Kiparsky remains undecided about the origin of the Slavic word and therefore does not list the word in his corpus of Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic (1934: 276). The word is nevertheless more likely to be a borrowing from Germanic than from Latin because the Slavic forms are phonologically hard to explain from the ultimate Latin donor and because PSL. **redьky* reflects the West Germanic *i*-umlaut. The attested Slavic forms go back to PSL. **redьky* or **rьdьky*. Vasmer and Kiparsky assume that the divergence in forms may be due to popular etymology (REW 2: 504, Kiparsky 1934: 276). Vasmer traces the Polish and Sorbian forms back to **redьky*, but Ukrainian to **rьdьky* (REW 2: 504). Skok thinks S/Cr. *rōtkva*, *rōkva* are borrowed directly from Latin; the vocalism of S/Cr. *rōtkva*, *rōkva* points to original **ra-* in the initial syllable (1910: 474). Maja Matasović, on the other hand, rather derives the Serbian/Croatian forms from Germanic as well (from a form not affected by the *i*-umlaut) because the Lat. *ī* in the second syllable of Lat. *rādīx* is not expected to develop into **v* in Proto-Slavic. She alternatively cites the reconstructed Romance form **rādica* with initial stress and shortening of the *i* in the second syllable (which yielded It.

radica), which might formally be the donor of the Serbian/Croatian forms as well (2011: 242-243).

PSl. **redьky/*rьdьky* must have been borrowed from a Germanic dialect that had retained the medial voiced *d* of the Latin donor and thus excludes post-sound shift Old High German. Since the Slavic forms point to a front vowel in the initial syllable, the word is likely to be a late borrowing from a Germanic dialect that underwent the *i*-umlaut (§7.2.1.3). This combined makes Low German origin of PSl. **redьky/*rьdьky* attractive.

Origin: West Germanic (Low German); the word is a late Latin loanword into West Germanic.

PSl. **skotь* ‘cattle’ (m. *o*-stem)

OCS *skotь*; **OR** *skotь* ‘cattle, property’, (dial. Novgorod) *skotь* ‘money’ (Zaliznjak 2004: 798); **R** *skot*, Gsg. *skotá*; **Ukr.** *skot*, Gsg. *skotá*, *skótu*; **P** *skot* (arch.) ‘cattle; Polish coin (12th-14th century)’; **OCz.** *skuot*; **Cz.** *skot*; **US** *skót*; **LS** *skot*; **Plb.** *sřöt*; **S/Cr.** *sköt*; (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *skôt*, Gsg. *sköti* f.; **Slov.** *skôt*, Gsg. *skóta* ‘young of an animal’; **Bg.** *skot*

Accentuation: AP (b)

PGmc. **skatta-* ‘money, property’ (m. *a*-stem)

Goth. *skatts* ‘coin, money’; **OHG** *scaz*, Gsg. *scazzes* ‘denarius, money, wealth’; **MHG** *schaz*, Gsg. *schatzes* ‘coin, property, treasure, value’; **G** *Schatz* ‘treasure’; **OE** *sceatt* ‘property, treasure, tax, bribe, unit of money’; **OFri.** *sket* ‘money, treasure, cattle’; **OS** *skatt* ‘coin, property, cattle (?)’; **Du.** *schat* ‘treasure’; **ON** *skattr* ‘tax, money, wealth’

Etymology: The origin of the Germanic word is entirely unclear. It is an isolated formation and might be a borrowing from a non-Indo-European language (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Schatz*, EWN: s.v. *schat*).

The semantic relation between the Germanic and Slavic forms is difficult: the primary meaning of the attested Germanic forms is ‘property, money’, which is in Slavic only reflected in OR *skotь* ‘cattle, property, money’ and P *skot* ‘medieval Polish coin’. In Slavic, the word has a rather uniform meaning ‘cattle’, which is in Germanic only found as one of the meanings of OFri. *sket*. Tiefenbach adds this meaning for OS *skett* with a question mark (2010: 340). Cattle and property are semantically connected because of the fact that in many communities one’s property (mainly) consisted of one’s cattle. Similar examples

are found in other languages, the most famous being Lat. *pecūnia* ‘money, wealth’, literally ‘property in cattle’, which derived from Lat. *pecū* ‘cattle, herd’.⁷³ Germanic etymologists suggested on the basis of PSl. **skotǔ* that the original meaning of the Proto-Germanic word was ‘cattle’ as well (e.g., EWN: *schat*, Franck/Van Wijk 1912: 575). It is attractive to assume that the Slavs borrowed PSl. **skotǔ* from Germanic when the Germanic word retained the supposed original meaning ‘cattle’. On the other hand, both the West Germanic forms and Goth. *skatts* uniformly refer to ‘money, property’, which indicates that this was at least part of the original Proto-Germanic meaning of the word. It can therefore be supposed that PGmc. **skatta-* meant ‘money, property’ as well as ‘cattle’ originally and the latter meaning then disappeared in all of Germanic except for Old Frisian.

It has been suggested that the word was borrowed from Proto-Slavic into Germanic (e.g., Radić 1898: 17-23, Martynov 1963: 183ff.). Stankiewicz also explains PSl. **skotǔ* as a native formation. He derives the word from PSl. **skopiti* ‘to castrate’, a variant with *s*-mobile of PSl. **kopiti* ‘to castrate’ (Stankiewicz 1986: 443-446, cf. ESSlov. 3: 245). Comparative evidence shows that languages often derive their designations for castrated animals from verbs and that these words are often late formations (Stankiewicz 1986: 445). PSl. **skotǔ* would then go back to **skop-tǔ*, in which the cluster *-pt-* simplified to *-t-*, as in, e.g., PSl. **potǔ* ‘sweat’ < PIE *pokʷ-to*. The word would have originally referred to an ox (a castrated bovine animal) and presupposes a broadening of meaning from ‘ox’ to ‘cattle’ (ibid.: 446). Stankiewicz explains Goth. *skatts* (leaving aside the reflexes in the other Germanic languages) as a borrowing from Proto-Slavic and explains the geminate *-tt-* in Gothic as a reflex of a supposed geminate *-tt-* in Proto-Slavic, which would have been a medial stage in the simplification of *-pt-* to *-t-* (1986: 446). The supposed borrowing of the word from Proto-Slavic into Gothic does not explain the occurrence of the word in West and North Germanic, and with this etymology, the origin of the geminate in Germanic remains highly speculative. It is therefore more attractive to assume that PSl. **skotǔ* was borrowed from a reflex of PGmc. **skatta-* ‘money, property’, and that the original meaning of the Germanic etymon included ‘cattle’ as well.

Origin: Cannot be specified.

⁷³ From the same Proto-Indo-European root **peǵ-u-* ‘cattle’ derives PGmc. **fehu* ‘cattle, property’ which is reflected by E *fee*.

PSl. **stǔklo* ‘glass(ware)’ (n. *o*-stem)

OCS *stǔklěnica*, *stǔklbnica* ‘cup’; **CS** *stǔklo* ‘glass’; **R** *stekló*; *sklo* (dial., poet.) ‘glass(ware)’; **Ukr.** *sklo* ‘glass(ware)’; **P** *szkło* ‘glass(ware)’; **OCz.** *stǔklo*; **Cz.** *sklo* ‘glass(ware)’; **Slk.** *sklo* ‘glass(ware)’; **US** *škla* ‘bowl’, *škleńca* ‘glass(ware); window pane’; **LS** *škla* ‘bowl’, *šklanica* ‘window pane’; **S/Cr.** *stǔklo* ‘glass(ware)’; (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *staklǔ*, Gsg. *staklǎ*; **Slov.** *stǔklǔ* ‘glass(ware)’; **Bg.** *stǔklǔ* ‘glass’
Accentuation: AP (b)

PGmc. **stikla-* ‘(object with) pointed end’ (m. *a*-stem)

Goth. *stikls* ‘beaker, goblet’; **OHG** *stehhal* ‘goblet’

Etymology: The Germanic forms are derivatives from PGmc. **stikila-* ‘prickle’, which derive from PIE **(s)teig-* ‘prick’ (cf., e.g., OHG *stichil*, OE *sticel* ‘prickle’ and ON *stikill* ‘pointed end of the horn’). The semantic shift went from ‘(something) pointed’ to ‘pointed end of a drinking horn’ (as is attested in Old Norse) to ‘drinking horn, goblet’ in general (Kiparsky 1934: 210).

The direction of the borrowing is not uniformly agreed upon. It has been supposed that the word was borrowed from Proto-Slavic into Gothic because the Slavic word refers to the material glass, whereas the Germanic word denotes a concrete glass object. The semantic shift from a ‘concrete object’ to a ‘material’ occurs less frequently than a change the other way round (cf. Kiparsky 1934: 210 for references). This objection against the borrowing of PSl. **stǔklo* from Goth. *stikls* is quite unnecessary because if the Slavs became acquainted with glass and glassware through contacts with the Goths, they might well have adopted the Gothic designation for the glass goblet for the material ‘glass’ in general.

If this is indeed so, this would make PSl. **stǔklo* one of the technological loanwords from Germanic. Unlike the other technological loanwords from Germanic in Proto-Slavic, PSl. **stǔklo* clearly derives from Gothic: the West Germanic forms were very early affected by the *a*-umlaut, which lowered **i* in the initial syllable to *e* and yielded OHG *stehhal* (cf. §7.2.1.3).

In Germanic, the word is a masculine *a*-stem, whereas it became a neuter *o*-stem in Slavic. According to Stender-Petersen, this might have been caused by the change in meaning in Slavic from ‘the name of the glass vessel’ to ‘the name of the material’ in analogy to other names for materials as PSl. **želězo* ‘iron’, **zolto* ‘gold’, **sǔrebro* ‘silver’ (1927: 397).

Origin: Gothic because of the absence of the *a*-umlaut.

PSl. **velǔblǔdǔ* ‘camel’ (m. *o*-stem)

CS *velǔbǔdǔ*, *velǔblǔdǔ*; **OR** *velbludǔ*, *velbudǔ*, *velǔbludǔ*, *verǔbludǔ*; **R** *verbljúd*; **Ukr.** *verbljúd*; **P** *wielblǔd*, *wielbrǔd*; **Cz.** *velbloud*; **US** [*wjelblǔd* < Cz. (HEW 21: 1611)] ; **Slov.** *velblǔd*, Gsg. *velblǔda*

Accentuation: AP (b), but with columnal stress on the second root syllable after Dybo's law. Dybo's law must have operated when the original form of the word was retained, before the popular etymology from **vǫlb(l)ǫdǫ* to **velǫblǫdǫ*: PSl. *vǫlbǫdǫ* > *vǫlbǫdǫ*, otherwise the stress would have moved to the jer in the second syllable of PSl. **velǫblǫdǫ*.

Gmc. **ulband-* 'camel' (m. *a* or *u*-stem)

Goth. *ulbandus** m. *u*-stem (attested Dsg. *ulbandau*, Gsg. *ulbandaus*); **OHG** *olbenta* f.; **MHG** *olbende*; **OE** *olfend* m.; **OS** *olvundio* m.; **ON** *ulfaldi* m.; **Osw.** *ulvande*

Etymology: The Germanic word was borrowed from a (Vulgar) Latin form that derives from Lat. *elephas* (Asg. *elephantēs*) 'elephant'. Lat. *elephas* itself is a borrowing from Gr. *ἐλέφας* (Gsg. *ἐλέφαντος*) 'ivory, elephant'. The word is likely to originally come from Asia Minor and has been connected to Old Egyptian *āb(u)* 'ivory, elephant' und Hamitic *ēlu* 'elephant' (De Vries 1977: 632, Lehmann 1986: 375, Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Elefant*).

The Slavic word has commonly been regarded as a loanword from Goth. *ulbandus* 'camel' (cf. Kiparsky 1934: 213 for literature). The Goths became acquainted with tame camels in the Lower Danube region in the fourth century and subsequently introduced them in neighbouring areas. The reflexes of the word in Slavic as well in West and North Germanic would thus stem from Gothic (RGA 7: 141-142). In the West Germanic forms, the *a*-umlaut lowered the initial **u* to *o*.⁷⁴

Phonologically, Goth. *ul-* cannot yield *velǫ-* in Proto-Slavic. The regular reflex of the word is expected to be PSl. **vǫlbǫdǫ*. The vocalism of the initial syllable has been explained as the result of change from original **vǫlb(l)ǫdǫ* to **velǫblǫdǫ*, due to popular etymology to **velijǫ* 'great' (REW 1: 184). Since all Slavic languages seem to go back to **velǫblǫdǫ*, this popular etymology must have operated in Proto-Slavic already, but only after the operation of Dybo's law (see above). In Russian and Ukrainian, the first *-l-* dissimilated to *-r-* and the same happened to the second *-l-* in P *wielbrǫd*.

Origin: Probably Gothic; Proto-Slavic initial **velǫ-* (resulting from popular etymology from earlier ***vǫl-*) can better be explained from Goth. *ul-* than from West Germanic *ol-*.

⁷⁴ ON has *ulfaldi*, and De Vries supposed that the word came "auf östlichem wege" to Scandinavia (1977: 632).

PSl. **xrvstǔ* ‘cross, Christ, baptism’ (m. *o*-stem)

OCS *xrist(os)ǔ*, *xrvst(os)ǔ* ‘Christ’; **CS** *xrvstǔ* ‘cross’; **OR** *xrvstǔ* ‘cross’; **R** *xrĕst* (dial.) ‘cross’; **Ukr.** *xrest*, Gsg. *xrestá* ‘cross’; **S/Cr.** *hrst* (14th century) ‘Christ’
Accentuation: AP (b)

PSl. **krvstǔ* ‘cross, Christ, baptism’ (m. *o*-stem)

OCS *krvstǔ* ‘cross(, Christ)’; **OR** *krvstǔ* ‘cross’; **R** [*krest* ‘cross’ < CS (REW 1: 661)]; **OP** *chrzest*, *krzest* ‘baptism’; **Cz.** *křest*, Gsg. *křestu* ‘baptism’; **Slk.** *krst*; **S/Cr.** *křst*, Gsg. *křsta* ‘Christ’, (Gr. cath.) cross, baptism’; [**US** *křest* ‘baptism’];⁷⁵
Slov. *křst*, Gsg. *křsta* ‘baptism’; **Bg.** *kräst* ‘cross’

Goth. *Xristus*; **OHG** *Christ*; **OE** *Crist*, *Krist*; **OS** *Krist* ‘Christ’

Etymology: The name of Christ was borrowed into Germanic from Lat. *Christus*, which itself stems from Gr. *Χριστός*. Gr. *Χριστός* means ‘the anointed’ and is derived from the verb Gr. *χρίειν* ‘to anoint’, which is a loan translation from Hebrew *Mashiah* ‘Messiah’ (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Christ*). The declination of (*Iesus*) *Xristus* as an *u*-stem in Gothic points to Latin origin, as well as the oblique case forms of Goth. *Iesus* (Gsg. *Iesuis*, Dsg. *Iesua*, next to *Iesu*) and the accentuation pattern *Iesús Xristus* (Jellinek 1926: 189-190, Kortlandt 2002b: 3-4).

Kiparsky and Stender-Petersen derive PSl. **xrvstǔ* from Old High German, in which the reflex of the High German consonant shift is attested. Stender-Petersen regards PSl. **krvstǔ* as a loanword from Gothic, whereas Kiparsky considers the form to be an older borrowing from Old High German (Stender-Petersen 1927: 420, Kiparsky 1934: 234-236). Vasmer supposes that the forms were borrowed from OHG *krist*, *christ* in the original meaning ‘Christ’, after which the word became to mean ‘cross’ in Slavic as well (REW 1: 661-662).

Origin: PSl. **xrvstǔ* stems from West Germanic (High German). PSl. **krvstǔ* could be West Germanic or Gothic.

⁷⁵ US *křest* ‘baptism’ is a later formation, dating from the 19th century, after Cz. *křest* (HEW 10: 696).

5.5 LOANWORDS WITH AP (C)

PSl. **dǫlgǫ* ‘debt’ (m. *o*-stem)

OCS *dlǫgǫ*; OR *dolǫv*, *dǫlgǫ*, *dǫlǫgǫ*; R *dolg*, Gsg. *dólga*; Ukr. *dovh*; P *dlug*; Cz. *dluh*; Slk. *dlh*; US *doth*; LS *dlug*; Plb. *dâug*; S/Cr. *dûg*, Gsg. *dûga*; Slov. *dôlg*, Gsg. *dołgâ*; Bg. *dǎlǎg*

Accentuation: AP (c)

Goth. *dulgs** m. ‘debt’ (attested Gsg. *dulgis*)

Etymology: Gothic is the only Germanic language in which the word is attested. Goth. *dulgs* has been explained as a borrowing from Celtic and this borrowing falls in a row of legal terms that were borrowed from Celtic into Germanic (Lehmann 1986: 97).

The connection between Goth. *dulgs* and PSl. **dǫlgǫ* ‘debt’ fits phonologically and semantically very well, but Gothic origin of the word has nevertheless frequently been doubted or rejected (e.g., by Kiparsky 1934: 25, Snoj 2003: 117, REW 1: 359).

From the attested Slavic forms it is not clear that the word must be reconstructed as PSl. **dǫlgǫ* with a *ǫ*-vowel in the root. Vasmer reconstructs PSl. **dǫlgǫ* (REW 1: 359), which enables the connection of the word to PSl. **dǫlgǫ* ‘long’. Trubačev also regards this connection to be attractive (ĖSSJa 5: 179ff.). The semantic connection between PSl. **dǫlgǫ* ‘long’ and ‘debt’ is explained by describing debt as something that a creditor is being kept waiting for (ibid.). From a semantic viewpoint, it is much more attractive to regard the word as a loanword from Gothic because the meanings of the Slavic and Germanic words are identical and there are a large number of Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic relating to money, trade, etc. Stender-Petersen therefore regards the word to be a likely loanword (1927: 319ff.). In the Old Church Slavic manuscripts, *dlǫgǫ* and its derivative *dlǫžbnikǫ* ‘debtor’ are consistently written with the vowel *ǫ*, which strongly indicates that this was the original vowel.

The main ground for Vasmer to reject the etymology of PSl. **dǫlgǫ* (**dǫlgǫ*) as a loanword from Gothic is the mobile accentuation of the word in Slavic: AP (c) is not an accentuation type that regularly occurs with Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic (REW 1: 359, cf. §8.3.1). The idea that the word is inherited and related to PSl. **dǫlgǫ* ‘long’ is, on the other hand, difficult from an accentological point of view as well because PSl. **dǫlgǫ* ‘long’ has AP (a). Because of the exact formal and semantic correspondence between the Germanic and Slavic forms, PSl. **dǫlgǫ* is likely to be a Germanic loanword. The accentuation of the word can be explained if we were to assume that the word became a masculine *u*-stem in Proto-Slavic (cf. §8.3.1).

Origin: Gothic; this is the only Germanic language in which the word is attested.

PSl. **jbstōba* '(heated) room' (f. *ā*-stem)

CS *istōba* 'tent'; **OR** *istobka* 'house, bathroom', *istōba*, *izba* 'house, building'; **R** *izbá* 'peasant's log hut'; **P** *izba*, *jizdba* (dial.), *zdba* (dial.), *žba* (dial.) 'room'; **OCz.** *jistba*, *jizdba*, *jizba* 'room; pillar, flying buttress (architecture)'; **Cz.** *jizba* 'living room'; **Slk.** *izba* 'living room'; **US** (*j*)*stwa* 'room'; **LS** *špa* 'room'; **Plb.** *āzba* 'living room; public building in a village where the youth gathers'; **S/Cr.** *izba* 'small room, cellar'; **Slov.** *izba*, *išpa* (dial.), *jězba* (dial.), *jispa* (dial.) 'room'; **Bg.** *izba* 'cellar, mud hut'

Accentuation: AP (c)

(N)WGmc. **stubō* 'heated room' (f. *ō*-stem)

OHG *stuba* 'bathroom, heated room'; **MHG** *stube*; **G** *Stube* 'room'; **OE** *stofa* m. 'bathroom'; **MLG** *stove(n)* m. 'heated room'; **MDu.** *stove* 'room with fireplace, bathroom'; **Du.** *stoof* 'foot stove'; **ON** [*stofa* 'sitting-room, house' < MLG (?)] (De Vries 1977: 550)]

Etymology: The origin of the Germanic word is not entirely clear, but it has often been connected to VLat. **extūfāre* 'to emanate, evaporate'. The word is not attested in Latin, but can be reconstructed on the basis of, e.g., Sp. *estufar*, It. *stufare*, OFr. *estuver* and has been derived from reconstructed VLat. **tūfus* 'vapour' < Gr. τῦφος m. 'vapour'. The corresponding reconstructed Vulgar Latin noun **extūfa* is attested in Sp. *estufa* 'stove, warm room', It. *stufa*, Fr. *étuve* 'steam bath'. The original meaning of the word seems to be 'steam bath', from which developed the meaning '(heated) room' (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Stube*, EWN: s.v. *stoof*). Franck/Van Wijk derives the Germanic forms from PGmc. **stūban-*, **steuban-* 'to vaporise, steam' (1912: 670-671).

Lith. *stubà* 'room in a farmhouse', OPr. *stubo* 'room' stem from Old High German (LitEW 2: 928). According to Bezlaj, Latv. *istaba* '(bath)room, apartment' would also be a loanword from Germanic (ESSlov. 1: 215), but Karulis derives the word from Slavic (1992: 346).

The phonological relation between the Romance, Germanic and Slavic forms remains very difficult and it is probably impossible to decide in which direction the borrowings in the different languages took place. The Germanic forms have most often been explained to stem from Romance. This would also fit well from a cultural point of view because the Romans introduced steam baths and heated bathhouses to the Germanic tribes (EWN: s.v. *stoof*).

Although the predominant meaning in the living Slavic languages is 'room', the original meaning was (also) 'bathroom', as we know from the *Primary*

Chronicle and from the chronicles of Ibrahim ibn Yaqub. This goes back to the original meaning of the word, which can be reconstructed as '(heated) room'.⁷⁶

PSl. **jbstōba* has been thought to be of Romance origin, because of the anlaut of the word which is hard to explain from Germanic (Gołab 1991: 387, Machek 1957: 230).⁷⁷ Yet the Vulgar Latin word that has been reconstructed as **extūfa* 'heated room, steam bath' does not formally correspond to the Slavic word either because the Proto-Slavic initial **i-* cannot be explained from Vulgar Latin **e-*, and Vulgar Latin **-ū-* is not expected to yield **-ǔ-* in Proto-Slavic.

Martynov suggests that the word was borrowed from Proto-Slavic into Germanic (1963: 120). This etymology does not explain the absence of the initial vowel in Germanic.

Nevertheless, most scholars regard the word a loanword from Germanic (cf. Kiparsky 1934: 237-239 for references, M. Matasović 2011: 238). Bezljaj regards the Germanic origin of the Slavic word to be impossible (ESSlov. 1: 215). Although both the Romance and the Germanic etymologies of PSl. **jbstōba* have their advantages, neither of them can fully explain the shape of the Proto-Slavic form. The reflexes from WGmc. **stubō* correspond to PSl. **jbstōba* with respect to phonological shape and meaning of the word, except for the initial **jb-*, which remains unexplained if the word was borrowed from Germanic. Stender-Petersen notes that sometimes loanwords starting with a sibilant *s* or *z* receive an initial *i-* in Slavic (1927: 247). A small number of examples for Slavic, as well as for Baltic, can be found, e.g., R *izumrūd* 'emerald' from Turkic *zümürüt*; R *iz'jan* 'damage, loss' from Turkic/Tatar *zyjan* and R *ispolín* 'giant', which has been connected with a tribe mentioned by Pliny called *Spalaei* (ibid.). The initial **i-* in Slavic also reminds of Hungarian, where initial consonant clusters were resolved by the placement of a prothetic vowel, cf. Hg. *István* < *Stephanus*. PSl. **jbstōba* is however not likely to be a Hungarian loanword, firstly because the Magyars first arrived in central Europe in the early tenth century which is too late for loanwords to have a Proto-Slavic distribution and secondly because there does not seem to be a modern Hungarian cognate of PSl. **jbstōba* '(heated) room'.

Origin: West Germanic; the word seems to be a late Latin loanword into West Germanic.

⁷⁶ Ibrahim ibn Yaqub was a traveller and merchant, who traveled through central and eastern Europe in the 960's and 970's and later published memoirs of these travels. Although Stender-Petersen writes that he was an Arab (1929: 248), he actually was a Sephardic Jew called Abraham ben Jacob, who became known under his Arabic name.

⁷⁷ Machek derives the Slavic word from Lat. *aestuāre* 'to heat' (1957: 230).

PSl. **l̥bstv* ‘cunning (trick)’ (f. *i*-stem)

OCS *l̥bstv*, *l̥stv* ‘fraud, deceit’; **OR** *l̥bstv* ‘deceit, trick, flattery, evil’; **R** *lest’*, Gsg. *lesti* ‘flattery, cajolery’; **Ukr.** *léstošči* f. pl. ‘flattery’; **P** *leść* (arch.) ‘treachery, hypocrisy’; **Cz.** *lest*, Gsg. *l̥sti* ‘trick’; **Slk.** *lest’*, Gsg. *lesti/l̥sti* ‘trick’; **US** *leść* ‘trick’; **LS** *lasć* ‘trick’; **S/Cr.** *l̥st*, Gsg. *l̥sti* ‘deceit’; **Slov.** *l̥st*, Gsg. *l̥stī*; **Bg.** *l̥st* f. ‘flattery, seduction’; *lest* ‘deceit, cajolery’

Accentuation: AP (c), as is reflected by the long falling vowel in the Nsg. *l̥st* in Serbian/Croatian and the reflex of the progressive accent shift in the Slov. Gsg. *l̥stī*. In this specific case, the fact that the word follows AP (c) need not surprise us because *i*-stems are almost always mobile and the word might therefore analogically have joined AP (c) (cf. Zaliznjak 1985: 132-140, Kapović 2009: 236-243 and cf. §8.3.1).

PGmc. **listi-* ‘cunning (trick), clever(ness)’ (f. *i*-stem)

Goth. *list** f. ‘trick, cunning’ (attested as Apl. *listins*); **OHG** *list* m./f. ‘wisdom, clever(ness)’; **MHG** *list* m. ‘trick, skill, wisdom’; **G** *List* f. ‘cunning (trick)’; **OE** *list* f.; **OFri.** *list* f. ‘reason, cunning’; **OS** *list* m./f. ‘wisdom, clever(ness)’; **Du.** *list* ‘cunning (trick)’; **ON** *list* f. ‘art, craft’

Etymology: PGmc. **listi-* is a verbal abstract from the zero grade of the Proto-Germanic root **lais-* ‘to know, learn’ with the suffix **-ti-*. There are no semantically related forms outside Germanic. The root has been connected to the homophonous root PIE **leis-* ‘furrow’, attested in Germanic in, e.g., OHG *leist* ‘track, trace; (cobbler’s) last’, Goth. *laists* ‘track, trace’ (cf. EWN: s.v. *list*, Pokorny 1959: 671-672), but this connection is semantically difficult.

The word can be reconstructed as a Proto-Germanic feminine *i*-stem, but appears in High German and Old English in masculine forms as well. PSl. **l̥bstv* was probably borrowed from a Germanic feminine *i*-stem because the word follows the *i*-stem declension in Slavic as well.

Many etymologists explain PSl. **l̥bstv* as a borrowing from Gothic (cf. Kiparsky 1934: 207 for references). There is no formal reason why the word cannot have been borrowed from West Germanic, but on semantic grounds, a borrowing from Gothic is more likely: both Gothic and Slavic share the meaning ‘trick, cunning’, whereas the Old High German and Old Saxon forms mean ‘wisdom, clever(ness)’.

Origin: Gothic because this fits better semantically.

5.6 LOANWORDS WITH AN UNKNOWN AP

PSl. **bǫdǫnja* ‘tub’ (f. *jā*-stem); **bǫdǫnjъ* ‘idem’ (m. *jo*-stem)

R [*bódnja* (dial.) ‘small lockable drum’ < Ukr.]; **Ukr.** *bódnja* ‘lockable basket or bee hive’; **P** *bednia* (dial.) ‘tub’; [*bodnia* < Ukr.]; **Cz.** *bedna* ‘tub’; **Slk.** *debna* ‘(usually wooden) tub; measure of capacity’; **Plb.** [*badān* ‘cask, tub’ < MLG *boden/bodden* (SEJDP 1: 24)]; **S/Cr.** *bàdanj*; Gsg. *bádnja* ‘tub, barrel’; (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *bad’āń*, Gsg. *bad’ā̃*; **Slov.** *bādanj*, Gsg. *bādnja*; *bādənj*, Gsg. *bādñjà* ‘tub’; **Bg.** *bādān* (dial.), *bādné* (dial.)

Accentuation: AP (b) or (c): on the basis of the attested forms, it is difficult to reconstruct the AP.

NWGmc. **budina* ‘tub’ (f. *ō*-stem)

OHG *butin*, *butin(n)a* f.; **MHG** *büt(t)e*, *büten* f. ‘tub’; **G** *Bütte*; **OE** *byden* f. ‘bushel, barrel’, *bytt* f. ‘leather bag’; **E** *butt* ‘beer, water, wine butt’; **Du.** *but* (arch.) ‘large beer mug, ration of beer on a ship’; **OS** *budin* f.; **MLG** *bodene*, *budde*, *butte* f. ‘cask’; **ON** [*bytta* f., *bytti* n. ‘tub, barrel’ < OE or OLG (De Vries 1977: 68)]

Etymology: NWGmc. **budina* is regarded as a borrowing from (Middle) Lat. *butina* ‘bottle, vessel’, which itself is a loanword from Gr. *βυτίνη, πωτίνη* ‘wicker wine jug’. The intervocalic voiceless stops became voiced in (Middle) Latin, which caused the word to be borrowed as **budin-* in Germanic. In Old English and Low German, the Latin voicing of intervocalic stops is directly reflected and the Old High German forms also go back to a pre-sound shift form **budin-*. The Latin word, which is only retained in southern Italian dialects and possibly in Romanian, is first attested in the fifth or sixth century. Wollmann dates the borrowing of the word into Old English to the fifth century because the form reflects the Northwest Germanic *i*-umlaut and because the attestation of the Latin word is dated rather late (1993: 23). The word probably entered the other Germanic languages at the same time as in Old English. The spread of the word to northern Europe has been connected to the spread of viticulture (Wollmann 1993: 23).

Just as the Germanic forms, PSl. **bǫdǫnja*/**bǫdǫnjъ* reflects the voicing of the Latin intervocalic stops. For this reason, the word must be borrowed from a Germanic dialect that retained the voiced reflex of the medial consonant.

Because the earliest attestation of the root refers to the ‘cooper’ rather than the ‘tub’ itself (i.e., OCz. *bednář*, attested from the 14th century onwards),

Kiparsky supposes that the word ‘cooper’ was the original loanword (cf. MHG *bütenaere* ‘cooper’) and that the words reflecting **bǫdbnja/*bǫdbnjь* were later derivatives (1934: 232).⁷⁸ This would imply that the attested forms for ‘tub’ do not go back to PSl. **bǫdbnja/*bǫdbnjь*, but are new formations in the individual Slavic languages. The late attestation of the etymon in Slavic is no argument against an early, Proto-Slavic borrowing of **bǫdbnja/*bǫdbnjь* ‘tub’ or **bǫdbnārь* ‘cooper’ because both forms are attested in all branches of Slavic. In view of the fact that the Slavs borrowed a large number of designations for different types of vessels (§7.4.2.4), but, on the other hand, no other occupational names, the borrowing of PSl. **bǫdbnja/*bǫdbnjь* ‘tub’ from Germanic is most likely. It is, furthermore, likelier that the Slavs derived the name of the cooper from the name of the vessel than the other way round.

Origin: West Germanic; the word is a late Latin loanword in West Germanic.

PSl. **gobina/*gobino* ‘wealth, abundance’ (n. *o*-stem)

OCS *gobino, gobina* (Supr.); **CS** *gobina, gobino*; **RCS** *gobino, gobьь*; **OR** *gobino, gobina, gobьь*; **S/Cr.** *gobino* (arch.) ‘spelt, *Triticum spelta*’

PSl. **gobьdzьb* ‘wealthy, abundant (adj.); wealth, abundance’ (m. *o*-stem)

OCS *gobьdzije*; **RCS** *gobьzьb, gobьzyi*; **OR** *gobьzьb, gobьzyi*; **R** *gobzá* (dial.) ‘abundance’; **OCz.** *obih* (< **gobigьb* ‘abundance’ (ÉSSJa VI 185)), *hobezný*;

Accentuation: AP unknown; because the word almost does not occur in living Slavic languages, the accentuation cannot be established.

PGmc. **gabī-* ‘wealth’, **gabīga-/gabīga-* ‘wealthy’

Goth. *gabei* ‘wealth, abundance’; *gabeigs, gabigs* (adj.) ‘wealthy’; **OE** *gifig* (adj.) ‘possessing as the result of a gift/grant’; **ON** *gofugr* (adj.) ‘noble’

Etymology: The Germanic forms have been explained as derivatives from the verbal root PGmc. **geba-* ‘to give’ (Lehmann 1986: 134, De Vries 1977: 160, 198). Philippa et al. call the connection of Goth. *gabei* to PGmc. **geba-* ‘to give’ unclear (EWN: s.v. *geven*).⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Also, e.g., R *bondar*, Ukr. *bondar*; P *bednarz*; Cz. *bednář*; US *bětnar*; LS *bjatkař*; S/Cr. *báčvār* ‘cooper’. The medial voiceless *-t-* in the Sorbian forms indicate that the word was a later borrowing from High German (HEW 1: 29).

⁷⁹ Kortlandt rejects the usual connection of PGmc. **geba-* ‘to give’ to, e.g., Lat. *habēō* ‘to have, hold’ and Ir. *gaibid* 3sg. ‘takes’ because the vocalism is incompatible: the Latin and Celtic forms derive from PIE **g^heh₁b^(h)-* ‘to have, take’ (cf. De Vaan 2008: 277), but the Germanic form cannot derive from a root with a laryngeal. In addition, Goth. *grob* from *graban* ‘to dig’ < PIE

Gothic is often cited as the donor of the Slavic forms (ÉSSJa 6: 185-186, Derksen 2008: 171-172). This is indeed very attractive because of the exact formal correspondence between the Gothic and the Proto-Slavic forms, although an early borrowing from West Germanic cannot be ruled out either. The Slavic forms probably go back to several parallel borrowings: one from a reflex of the noun PGmc. **gabī-*, another from a reflex of the adjective PGmc. **gabīga-/gabiga-*. It has been supposed that PSl. **gobina/gobino* was borrowed from Goth. **gabein-* ‘wealth’ (Kiparsky 1934: 198-199, ÉSSJa 6: 185), but this formation is unattested in Gothic. PSl. **gobina/gobino* is more likely to be a Slavic derivative with the suffix *-*ina-*, which formed abstract nouns from adjectives, cf. PSl. **brōzina* ‘speed’, **čistina* ‘purity’, **širina* ‘width’ (cf. Vaillant 1974: 355-356), with **gobino* as a secondary neuter.

Both in Germanic and in Slavic, the word generally means ‘wealth, abundance’ (or ‘wealthy, abundant’). Stender-Petersen remarks that in a number of languages the Slavic form has a connotation ‘good crop, rich harvest’ (for example, OR *damō gobi na zemli na umnoženie plodovō zemnyxō* ‘I give wealth on the earth for the increase of the fruits of the earth’ (cf. ÉSSJa 6: 185)). Stender-Petersen, therefore, relates the borrowing of the word to the cult of mother goddesses practiced by Celtic and Germanic tribes. A number of statues of *Matrona Gabiae* or *Alagabiae* (‘the giving one’) have been found in Germany, and Stender-Petersen supposes that this mother goddess was the one that was called upon for rich harvests (1927: 315ff.).⁸⁰ This may very well be true, since in statues, *Matrona Gabiae* is equipped with a plough (Hoffmann-Krayer/Bächtold-Stäubli 1935: 1719).

OCz. *obih* from PSl. **gobigō* is a remarkable form, not only because it seems to reflect Germanic **ī* rather than **i* in the second stem syllable, but mainly because the expected reflex of the progressive palatalization is absent. Trubačev does not provide an explanation for this form (ÉSSJa 6: 185).

Origin: Probably Gothic.

**g^hrob^h-* is written with final *-b*, whereas the preterite of Goth. *giban* ‘to give’ has the form *gaf*. Kortlandt therefore analyses PGmc. **geba-* as the Proto-Germanic prefix **ga-* with a root **ep-* ‘to reach’ that is also found in, e.g., Hitt. *epzi* ‘seizes’ (1992a: 104-105).

⁸⁰ This mother goddess is also known in Celtic, as *Ollagabiae*, and in Lithuanian *Matergabia* (Hoffmann-Krayer/Bächtold-Stäubli 1935: 1719).

PSl. **gorazdъ* ‘experienced, able’ (adj.)

OCS *Saint Gorazd* (personal name), a disciple of Cyril and Method in Great Moravia (ninth century); **RCS** *gorazdъ* ‘experienced, agile’; **OR** *gorazdo* ‘perfectly, well, quite’, *gorazdyj* ‘well done’; **R**, *gorázd*, *gorázdij* ‘experienced, agile’, *gorázdo*, *gorázno* ‘much, (by) far’; **Ukr.** *harázd* ‘good, happy’; **OP** *gorazdy* ‘successful, happy, agile’; **Cz.** *horazd* ‘big’ (arch.), [*horazdit* ‘to rage, scold’ < Hg. (Machek 1957: 149, 176)]; **Slk.** [*garazda* ‘shouting, disturbance, noise’ < Hg. (Machek 1957: 149)];⁸¹ **Late PSl. personal name** *Gorazd* (also *Carast*, *Karastus* in contemporary documents), a duke of Carantania (died ca. 751)

Accentuation: AP unknown; the absence of the word in South Slavic makes it difficult to establish the accent paradigm. In R *gorázdij*, the stress is fixed on the second root syllable. This might point to AP (b); the word underwent Dybo’s law in all case forms and received fixed stress on the second syllable in Slavic.

PGmc. **ga-* and **razdō* ‘sound, speech, tongue’

Goth. *razda* ‘speech, dialect’; **OHG** *rarta*; **OE** *reord*; **ON** *rōdd*

Etymology: The compound of the Proto-Germanic noun **razdō* ‘sound, speech, tongue’ with the prefix **ga-* is unattested in the Germanic languages. The origin of PGmc. **razdō* is unclear (Lehmann 1986: 283, De Vries 1977: 457).

The etymology of PSl. **gorazdъ* as a loanword from Germanic has not been universally accepted. Kiparsky rejects the idea of the borrowing from Germanic because the correspondence between Germanic *a* and PSl. **a* is difficult and because the compound is not attested in Germanic (1934: 28). The reflex **a* in the second stem syllable of PSl. **gorazdъ* is indeed difficult to explain and is not treated by Trubačev (ĚSSJa 7: 31-33), Vasmer (REW 1: 293-294) and Mel’nyčuk (ESUM 1: 470), who on the other hand all regard the word to be a borrowing from Germanic.⁸²

The absence of the compound in the attested Germanic languages is no prohibitive objection: the prefix **ga-* is widely used in Germanic and was especially productive in Gothic (Lehmann 1986: 132). The semantic shift from ‘(being) with speech’ to ‘able, agile’ is not hard to picture. Furthermore, the verbs *rantjan* and *garertjan*, which derive from PGmc. **razdō*, are attested in Old High German (cf. Graff 1836: 534-535). Forms of the verb *garertjan* compare to Latin meanings as *collatus* ‘brought together’, *consonus* ‘sounding together’, *institutus*

⁸¹ Hg. *garázda* ‘quarrelsome, peevish, shrewish’ was probably itself a borrowing from Slavic (Machek 1957: 149).

⁸² Brückner does not regard the word as a borrowing from Germanic but rather connects it to PSl. **golsъ* ‘voice’ (1927: 151).

‘instituted, built’ and *modulatus* ‘measured’ (cf. Köbler 2003: s.v. *reften*) and these meanings are quite close to some of the Slavic meanings. The word is therefore likely to be a loanword from Germanic, but the correspondence between Germanic *a* and PSl. **a* remains an unsolved problem.

The origin of the borrowing is unclear and the donor language cannot be established with certainty. The compound in Proto-Slavic does not reflect the (North and) West Germanic rhotacism and therefore might be regarded as a borrowing from Gothic or as an early borrowing from West Germanic. The word is reflected in the name of the Carantanian duke Gorazd. This means that either the word was a relatively early borrowing into Proto-Slavic, or that the name of the duke triggered the spread of the word in the meaning ‘experienced, able’ throughout Slavic.

Origin: Cannot be specified.

PSl. **likǫ* ‘choir (?)’ (m. *o*-stem)

OCS *likǫ* ‘choir’, *likovati* ‘to dance, clap’; **RCS** *lěkǫ* ‘kind of game (?)’;⁸³ **OR** *likǫ* ‘number, choral dance, chorus’; *likovati* ‘to dance, sing’; **R** *lik*, Gsg. *líka* (arch.) ‘choir’; [*likovátv* ‘to cheer, rejoice’ < CS]; **Ukr.** *lyk* ‘gathering, crowd of angels, saints, etc., on religious paintings’;⁸⁴ **S/Cr.** [*lĭk* ‘chorus’ < CS] *líka* (obs.) ‘pleasure, delight’;⁸⁵ **Bg.** [*lik* ‘choir’ < CS]

Accentuation: Unclear; in few languages we find indications for reconstructing the AP. S/Cr. *lĭk* indicates AP (a), but this is inconclusive because the word seems to have been borrowed from Church Slavic (according to Kiparsky 1934: 219). S/Cr. *líka*, on the other hand, excludes AP (a).

PGmc. **laika-* (or **laiki-*) ‘dance, game’ (m. *a*-stem (or *i*-stem))

Goth. *laiks** (Apl. *laikins*) m. ‘frolic, dance’; **OHG** *leih* ‘melody, tune’; **MHG** *leich* m./n. ‘game, melody, song’; **G** *Leich* m. ‘lai, lay’;⁸⁶ **OE** *lāc* n. (also m./f.) ‘struggle; offering, gift’; **ON** *leikr* m. ‘game, satire’

⁸³ Miklosich suggests a kind of dance, but this interpretation seems to have been influenced by the meaning of Gothic *laiks**; Sreznevskij suggests a game of dice. A dice game seems more probable on the basis of the attested passages (cf. MSDJ 2: 71).

⁸⁴ The semantic shift went from ‘(religious) choir’ to ‘gathering of people in a religious painting’.

⁸⁵ S/Cr. *líka* is a hapax attested in a Montenegrin folk song.

⁸⁶ The *lai* (G. *leich*) was a song form that was in use in Northern Europe (mainly France and Germany) from the 12th to the late 14th century.

Cognates: Skt. *rėjati* ‘to cause to hop, tremble’, Kurdish *līzim* ‘to play’, Lith. *láigyti* ‘to frolic, frisk about’, Gr. *ἐλελίζω* ‘to cause to shake’ < PIE **h₁leig-* ‘to hop, jump’ (Beekes 2009: 406, Pokorny 1959: 668).

Etymology: PGmc. **laika-* is a derivative of the strong verb PGmc. **laika-* ‘to play’ < PIE **leig-* ‘to hop, jump’.

The word is not very well attested in Slavic. RCS *lěkъ* has a *jať*, but the other forms in Slavic point to an original *-i-*. The word has been explained as a borrowing from Gothic, but this is formally difficult because Goth. *ai* is expected to yield PS. **ě* (as in PS. **xlěbъ* < Goth. *hlaifs*), which fits in well with the Russian Church Slavic form, but not with the cognates in the other Slavic languages.

Origin: Cannot be specified.

PS. **pergynja* ‘impenetrable covert (?)’ (f. *ja*-stem)

OCS *prěgynji*, *prěgynja* ‘impenetrable covert (?)’; OR *peregynja*, *pereginja* ‘thicket, covert’; Ukr. *Perehynško* (place-name) ; P *Przebinia* (place-name, Małopolska province).

Accentuation: AP unknown

PGmc. **fergunjō* ‘mountain range’

Goth. *fairguni* ‘mountain, mountain range’ (n. *ja*-stem); OHG *Fergunna*, *Firgunnea* ‘Erzgebirge, Fichtelgebirge’, *Virgundia/Virgunnia waldus* ‘range of hills in southern Bavaria’; MHG *Virgunt* f. ‘Schwarzwald’; OE *firgen*, *fyrgen* n. ‘mountain, mountain-woodland’

Etymology: PGmc. **fergunjō* is supposed to be a loanword from PCelt. **perkuniā* (< PIE **perk^w-unjo-*) before the loss of initial **p-* in Celtic (Lehmann 1986: 104-105). Celtic *erkuniā* is attested, for example, by Caesar in *Hercynia silva*, denoting the dense forests that ranged from the Black Forest to the Ardennes (Matasović 2009: 178). In Old High German, derivations of PGmc. **fergunjō* only denote existing ranges of mountains, whereas Goth. *fairguni* is a general name for a mountain or mountain range. The same general meaning is attested in Old English.

Although PS. **pergynja* has often been regarded as a loanword from Germanic (cf. Kiparsky 1934: 185), Vasmer considers the word to be native and reconstructs PS. **per-gybni* ‘hilly area’, which he derives from PS. **gъnъti* ‘to bend, bow’ (REW 2: 338). This etymology is less convincing (thus also Stender-Petersen 1927: 268ff.).

The Proto-Slavic reflex **y* in the second stem syllable might indicate that the Germanic donor form had a **ū*, even though the attested Germanic forms seem

to have a **u* in this position. The word might alternatively have been adapted to the productive Proto-Slavic suffix *-*ynja*. Vaillant supposes that PSl. **pergynja* is a regular reflex of a Gothic donor form, and that the Proto-Slavs borrowed the suffix *-*ynja* from Germanic (cf. also RCS *opynja* ‘ape’, §6.2) (1974: 385-388). The word might alternatively have been borrowed from West Germanic because West Germanic forms are feminine, whereas the word is neuter in Gothic.

Origin: Cannot be specified, possibly West Germanic.

PSl. **pila* ‘saw, file’ (f. *ā*-stem)

OCS *pila* ‘saw’; **R** *pilá* ‘saw’, *pilka* (dim.) ‘file’; **Ukr.** *pylá* ‘saw’; **P** *pila* ‘saw, file’; **Cz.** *pila* ‘saw; (arch.) ‘file’; **Slk.** *pila* ‘saw’; **US** *pila* ‘saw; sawmill’, *pila* ‘file’; **LS** *pila* ‘saw’, *pilka* ‘file’; **S/Cr.** *pila*, Asg. *pīlu* ‘saw, file’; (Čak. dial. Vrgada) *pīlā*, Asg. *pīlu*; **Slov.** *pīla* ‘saw, file’; **Bg.** *pilá* ‘saw, file’

Accentuation: Unclear; Serbian/Croatian (including Čakavian) points to AP (c). In Russian, the singular has end stress whereas the entire plural has initial stress. This type continues AP (b) (Vermeer 2001b: 23). Old Russian points to AP (b) or (c) (Zaliznjak 1985: 135).

PGmc. **finh(a)lō* or **finhilō* ‘(iron) file’ (f. *ō*-stem)

OHG *fihala*, *fihila*; **MHG** *vīle*; **G** *Feile*; **OE** *fēol*; **OS** *fīla*; **MLG** *vīle*; **Du.** *vijl*; **ON** *þél*; **OSw.** *fāēl*;⁸⁷

Cognates: Gr. *πικρός* ‘sharp, pointed’, Skt. *piṃśati* ‘hews out, carves’, PSl. **pisati* ‘to write’ < PIE **peik-* ‘to cut’ (Pokorny 1959: 794-795, EWN: s.v. *vijl*).

Etymology: The attested Germanic forms derive from PGmc. **finh(a)lō* (Fick/Falk/Torp 1909: 241) or PGmc. **finhilō* ‘(iron) file’. Philippa et al. reconstruct PGmc. **finhilō*, with the suffix *-*ilō*- because this suffix denotes instruments (EWN: s.v. *vijl*, cf. Kluge 1926: 48). The root **finh-* might derive from a nasalised zero grade of PIE **peik-* ‘to cut’ (EWN: s.v. *vijl*, Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Feile*).

PSl. **pila* is not likely to have been borrowed from Old High German because the word is attested only as *fihala* in Old High German in the eighth and ninth centuries (cf. Seebold 2001: 126, 2008: 295). OS *fīla* fits phonologically

⁸⁷ If the Old Norse form is to be connected with the other Germanic forms, we have to assume a change from **f* to *þ*. A similar alternation is found in ON *þél* ‘buttermilk’ next to N *file*, Sw. (dial.) *fil* ‘cream’. De Vries regards this etymology of the word as one out of three possible explanations of the origin of ON *þél* (1977: 608).

very well as donor of the Proto-Slavic form. The initial fricative was replaced by *p* in Slavic because Proto-Slavic did not have the phoneme /f/ (cf. §7.2.1.7).

Matasović questions this etymology and suggests that **pila* might be an inherited word in Slavic, related to Lith. *peilis* ‘knife’ (2000: 132). Given the fact that we are dealing with a technical term, with exactly corresponding meanings in Slavic and Germanic, the word seems more likely to be a borrowing.

Schuster-Šewc explains the alveolar *l* in US *pila* ‘file’, next to *pila* ‘saw; sawmill’ as secondary to the younger German loanword *fila* ‘file’ or the derivation *pilnik* ‘file’ (HEW 14: 1063).

Origin: West Germanic (Low German). The attested Low German form exactly corresponds to PSl. **pila*.

PSl. **retędzь* ‘chain(s)’ (m. *jo*-stem < m. *o*-stem)

RCS *retezь*; **R** *rétjaz*; **Ukr.** *rétjaz* ‘chain, string’; **P** *wrzeciądz*, *rzeciądz* (arch.), *rzejcuż* (dial.), *rzecoz* (dial.), *recuz* (dial.) ‘(door) chain, bolt’; **Kash.** *řecoz*; **Cz.** *řetěz*; **Slk.** *reťaz*; **US** *rječaz*; **LS** *rješaz*

Accentuation: Unclear; Russian has fixed stem stress, which in this case does not point to AP (a) because the syllabic nucleus is light.

NWGmc. **rakend-*, **rekend-* ‘(neck) chain(s), fetter’

OHG *rahhinza* f.; **OE** *racente* f. (*n*-stem); **ON** *rekendi* n.; *rekendr* f. pl. ‘chains’

Etymology: The origin of the Germanic forms is not entirely clear. De Vries and Franck/Van Wijk connect these forms to the nautical term ON *rakki* m., OE *racca* m., Du. *rak* n. ‘truss’, which might derive from PGmc. **rek-* ‘to stretch, straighten’ < PIE **h₃reǵ-* ‘to stretch’ (De Vries 1977: 432, 440, Franck/Van Wijk 1912: 532).

It is unclear which Germanic dialect was the donor of PSl. **retędzь*. A number of attempts have been made to etymologise the word, but none very convincing (cf. Kiparsky 1934: 262-264 for an overview). Kiparsky holds Knutsson’s etymology the most plausible; Knutsson derives PSl. **retędzь* from Germanic **reking*, which would derive from the root PGmc. **rek-* ‘to stretch, straighten’ (Knutsson 1926: 134, cited by Kiparsky 1934: 262-264). This etymology presupposes the change of Germanic *k* to PSl. **t*. As with PSl. **vitędzь*, this reflex has been explained through dissimilation from ***recędzь* > **retędzь*, with **c* resulting from the (second) palatalization of the velar **k* (REW 2: 516, cf. §5.2, s.v. PSl. **vitędzь*). PSl. **t* for Gmc. **k* is also found in PSl. **stbędzь*, **štbędzь* (s.v. PSl. **skbędzь*, **stbędzь*, **štbędzь* below). The fact that no reflex of **reking* ‘chains’ is attested in Germanic is more problematic (but compare a similar case in PSl. **koldędzь* ‘well, spring’ which is supposed to stem from Germanic, although no formally corresponding form in Germanic exists).

The word might have been borrowed from West Germanic because the suffix *-inga-* was especially productive in Northwest Germanic.

Origin: Probably West Germanic; the Slavic form reflects the West Germanic productive suffix *-inga-*.

PSl. **skvĕdǫb*, **stvĕdǫb*, **štĕdǫb* ‘coin’ (m. *jo*-stem < m. *o*-stem)

OCS *skvĕdǫb*; SCS *sklezv*; RCS *skl'azv*, *stvĕgl'azv*, *stvĕl'azv*; OR *ščĕblĕgъ*, *štl'agъ*, *štl'azv*, *stl'azv*; OCr. (Brač, Vrbnik, Senj) *clez*

Accentuation: AP unknown. It is impossible to reconstruct the accent paradigm because the word is only attested in Church Slavic, Old Russian and Old Croatian.

Germanic **skillinga-* ‘(golden) coin’ (m. *a*-stem)⁸⁸

Goth. *skilliggs**; OHG *scilling*; MHG *schillinc*; G *Schilling*; OE *scilling*; E *shilling*; OS *skilling* ‘shilling; dozen’; Du. *schelling*; ON *skillingr*

Etymology: Germanic **skillinga* was the name for the Byzantine *solidus*, a gold coin that was introduced by emperor Constantine I in the beginning of the fourth century to replace the earlier *aureus*. The Gothic form is attested in the Naples Deed of 551. The coin was in use in the Germanic empires of the Middle Ages: the Vandali in Africa, the Ostrogoths, the Visigoths, the Langobards, the Burgundi and the Franks each minted their own gold *solidi* (called *skilling*), but these Germanic currencies were subordinate to the Byzantine *solidus*. The coin remained in use until the 13th or 14th century (Von Schrötter 1930: 599ff.). The etymology of Germanic **skillinga-* is disputed and many different etymologies have been proposed: **skillinga-* has, for example, been supposed to go back to **skild-lings* ‘small shield’ or be a derivative from PIE **(s)kel-* ‘to cut’ (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Schilling*, Lehmann 1986: 312).⁸⁹

The attested Slavic forms seem to go back to three Proto-Slavic forms: **skvĕdǫb*, **stvĕdǫb*, **štĕdǫb*. For this reason, it has been supposed that the word was borrowed three times (Stender-Petersen 1927: 380ff., Kiparsky 1934: 265). Meillet supposes that PSl. **štĕdǫb* was borrowed before the first palatalization (more strictly speaking, before the first palatalization ceased to operate): PSl. **štĕ-* < **ščĕ-* < **skĕ-*, whereas PSl. **skvĕdǫb* is a late borrowing after the palatalizations (1902: 110). Kiparsky, on the other hand, regards PSl.

⁸⁸ Even though the word exists in all branches of Germanic, it obviously cannot go back to Proto-Germanic because the coin was only introduced in the fourth century.

⁸⁹ In a similar way, Gr. *κέρυα* ‘coin’ derives from *κείρω* ‘to shear, cut’.

**štblędźb* as the youngest form because OR *ščblęgv*, *štlągō* does not show the reflex of the progressive palatalization (1934: 265), but these forms might alternatively stem from North Russian dialects (e.g., Novgorod), which did not participate in the progressive palatalization of velar consonants. PSl. **skblędźb* is not likely to be a late borrowing dating from after the palatalizations because the suffix does show palatalization. The *k* in this form might alternatively have been restored under the influence of lasting contact with the donor language. Whether the variation in forms can be attributed to several borrowings or to a late borrowing into a form of Proto-Slavic that had begun to develop into different dialects cannot be established with certainty.

Origin: Cannot be specified.

PSl. **userędźb* ‘earring’ (m. *jo*-stem < m. *o*-stem)

CS *useręzb*, *useręgv*, *usiręzb*, *usirezv*, *usorezb*, *userizv*, *userugv*, *useręga*, *vbseręzb*, *vserezb*; **RCS** *serjazv*, *serazv*; **OR** *userjazv* (11th century, 12th century), [*ser’ga* (14th century) < Turkic? (REW 2: 617)]; **R** [*ser’gá*, *isergá* (dial.) < Turkic? (REW 2: 617)]; **Ukr.** [*sérha* < Turkic? (REW 2: 617)]; **OCr.** *userez* (arch., attested Ipl. *userezmi*)

Accentuation: AP unknown

PGmc. **auzō* ‘ear’ and **hringa* ‘ring’

MHG *ōrrinc*, *ōrinc*; **G** *Ohrring*; **OE** *ēarhring*; **Du.** *oorring*,⁹⁰

Etymology: PSl. **userędźb* ‘earring’ is a borrowing from a Germanic compound of PGmc. **auzō*- ‘ear’ and **hringa*- ‘ring’ (Kiparsky 1934: 223). Because Proto-Slavic has a voiceless sibilant *-s-* in the root, the word might be a borrowing from Gothic because this is the only Germanic languages in which PGmc. **auzō* ‘ear’ is reflected with a voiceless fricative. The other Germanic languages are reconstructed with **z* resulting from Verner’s law, which developed into *r* in the attested North and West Germanic languages. PGmc. **hringa* ‘ring’ is not attested in Biblical Gothic. Gothic has *figgragulþ* (lit. ‘finger gold’) for ‘(finger) ring’. The existence of the word in East Germanic can

⁹⁰ Goth. *ausō*; OHG *ōra*; G *Ohr*; OE *ēare*; OFri. *āre*; OS *ōra*; Du. *oor*; ON *eyra* < PGmc. **auzō* ‘ear’, which goes back to PIE **h₂eus-* and is related to, e.g., Lat. *auris*, Lith. *ausis*, PSl. **uxo* ‘ear’; Crimean Gothic *rinck*, *ringo* (Pokorny 1959: 785, Lehmann 1986: 285); OHG (*h*)*ring*; G *Ring*; OE *hring*, *hrincg*; OFri. *hring*; OS *hring*; ON *hringr* < PGmc. **hringa* ‘ring’. PGmc. **hringa* (from earlier **hrenga-*) is related to PSl. **krōgv* ‘circle’, but has no other Indo-European cognates (EWN: s.v. *ring*, Derksen 2008: 251, 507).

nevertheless be ascertained on the basis of the existence of the word in Crimean Gothic, where it is attested as *rinck*, *ringo*.

It is uncertain whether (O)R *serġa* and Ukr. *serha* belong to the same group. They might alternatively have been borrowed from a Turkic language, e.g., Proto-Chuvash **šürüy* ‘ring’ (REW 2: 617).

Origin: Gothic; PSl. **userędźb* indicates that the donor language had a voiceless sibilant in the first member of the compound, which excludes the attested West Germanic languages.

PSl. **užasb* (m. *o*-stem) ‘horror, amazement’

OCS *užasb*; **OR** *užasb*; **R** *úžas*; **Cz.** *úžas* ‘amazement, surprise’; **Slk.** *úžas* ‘amazement, surprise’; **S/Cr.** [*ŭžās* < R)];⁹¹ **Bg.** *úžas*

PSl. *(*u-*)*žasnŋti* ‘to terrify, frighten’

OCS *užasnŋti*, *užasati* ‘to be astonished’; **CS** *žasiti* ‘to frighten’; **R** *užasnút*, *užasát* ‘to terrify, frighten’; **P** *przežasnąć się* (obs.) ‘to be astonished’; **Cz.** *užasnout* ‘to be astonished’, *žasnout* to frighten’; **Slk.** *užasnút* ‘to be astonished’, *žasnút* to frighten’; **S/Cr.** [*užàsnuti* ‘to terrify, frighten’ < R]

Accentuation: unknown

Goth. *usgaisjan* ‘to terrify, frighten’

Etymology: Goth. *usgaisjan* (also Goth. *usgeisnan* ‘astonished’) has been connected to, e.g., ON *geiskafullr* (adj.) ‘full of fear’, OHG *geis(t)* ‘ghost, spirit’ from PGmc. **gais-* ‘supernatural being’ < PIE **ǵ^heis-/ǵ^hois-* ‘to be frightened, shocked’ (Lehmann 1986: 382, Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Geist*, EWN: s.v. *geist*).

The etymology of PSl. **užasb* and *(*u-*)*žasnŋti* has not been agreed upon. The forms have tentatively been connected to PSl. **gasiti* ‘to extinguish’, but this connection is semantically difficult (Derksen 2008: 554, REW 3: 175). A number of etymological dictionaries mention Goth. *usgaisjan*, which corresponds very well to the Slavic forms from a semantic viewpoint, but the dictionaries add that the vocalism of the Slavic and Gothic forms does not match (Derksen 2008: 554, REW 3: 175, Lehmann 1986: 382). This objection is, in fact, incorrect and PSl. **užasb* and *(*u-*)*žasnŋti* can well be explained as loanwords from Germanic: the Gothic writing <ai> does probably not denote a diphthong, but rather a long or short monophthong [æ] (cf. §1.2.1.2). PSl. **xlěbŋ* ‘loaf, bread’, which was

⁹¹ S/Cr. *ŭžās* is a later loanword from another Slavic language, probably Russian, and is attested from the 19th century onwards (cf. RJA 20: 462).

borrowed from Goth. *hlaifs* ‘loaf, bread’, shows that Goth. <ai> was borrowed into early Proto-Slavic as **ē* > late Proto-Slavic **ě*. Goth. *-gais-* would thus in early Proto-Slavic be reflected as **-gēs-*, regularly yielding PSl. **-žas-* after the first palatalization. This would make the etymology of PSl. **užasъ* and *(*u-*)*žasnъti* as a loanword from Goth. *usgaisjan* very attractive because it fits well both formally and semantically (Pronk 2012 forthc.). It can be supposed that the Slavs identified the Gothic prefix **us-* ‘out’ with the Proto-Slavic prefix **u-*, which explains the absence of *s* in the initial syllable, as well as the occurrence of Slavic forms prefix-less forms like CS *žasiti* ‘to frighten’, and, e.g., P *przežasnąć* in which the Proto-Slavic prefix **u-* was replaced by another prefix (Pronk 2012 forthc.).

Origin: Gothic; Gothic is the only Germanic language in which the verb is attested.

PSl. **vaga* ‘weight; scales’ (f. *ā*-stem)

OR *vaga* ‘weight’; **R** *vága* (dial.); **Ukr.** *vahá*; **P** *waga*; **Cz.** *váha*; **Slk.** *váha*; **US** *waha*; **LS** *waga*; **S/Cr.** *vâga* ‘scales’; **Slov.** *vâga*

Accentuation: Unclear; the original situation must have been blurred by secondary developments. Russian has fixed initial stress. The long falling accent of Serbian/Croatian *vâga*, in contrast, precludes AP (a) and (b). Czech shows length, which precludes AP (c). The accentuation of Slov. *vâga* either points to AP (c) or a recent borrowing from Germanic. The long vowel of Czech and Slovak may also be secondary under the influence of Germanic. The best way to establish the accentuation pattern is thus the accentuation of the adjective. Here, the long vowel in Cz. *vážný*, Slk. *vážny* points to AP (b).

NWGmc. **wēgō* ‘scales’ (f. *ō*-stem)

OHG *wāga*; **MHG** *wāge*; **G** *Waage*; **OE** *wæg(e)* ‘weight’; **OFri.** *wāch*; **OS** *wāga*; **Du.** *waag* ‘scales, weigh house’; **ON** *vág*

Etymology: Germanic **wēgō* is derived from the verb **weg-a-* ‘to move, weigh’ < PIE **ueǵʰ-*, **uoǵʰ-* ‘to transport’ (EWN: s.v. *wegen*, Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Waage*, *wāgen*).

The origin of the Slavic word must be sought in a dialect in which PGmc. **ē*₁ developed into **ā* (cf. §7.2.1.1). The word stems, therefore, in all probability from High or Low German, with the oldest attested forms of which PSl. **vaga* literally corresponds. The word has been regarded as a late borrowing into Slavic (Kiparsky 1934: 267-268).

From PSl. **vaga* also derives the adjective R *vážnyj*, P *wážny*, Cz. *vážný*, Slk. *vážny*, S/Cr. *vážan*, Slov. *vážan* ‘weighty, important’, Bg. *váža* ‘be worth, important’. The Russian form has been explained as a borrowing from Polish

(REW 1: 162), the Serbian/Croatian form as a borrowing from Russian or Czech (ERHSJ 3: 559). The Slovene etymologists, on the other hand, do not regard Slov. *vážan* as a borrowing, but rather as a native derivative from Slov. *vâga* (ESSlov. 4: 274, Snoj 2003: 808).

Origin: West Germanic; PSl. **vaga* reflects the West Germanic development of PGmc. **ē_i* into **ā*.

PSl. **vřrtogordъ* 'garden' (m. *o*-stem)

OCS *vřrtogradъ, vřrtogradъ*; **OR** *vřrtogradъ, vřrtogradъ, vertogradъ*; **R** [*vertograd* < CS]; **Slov.** *vrtógrad* (dial.) 'fenced garden'

Accentuation: Unclear, but might be AP (b); Kortlandt assumes an acute root and thus AP (a) (1975: 70). The accent of Slov. *vrtógrad*, however, points to AP (b), where *ř* received the stress as a result of Dybo's law. After Dybo's law, the stress became fixed on this syllable throughout the paradigm. Synchronically speaking, the word can, therefore, be categorised as AP (a), but historically it belongs to AP (b) (cf. §2.3). The accentuation of Slov. *vrtógrad* is the only indication that the word might belong to AP (b), but it cannot be excluded that this accentuation is secondary after Slov. *vinógrad* 'vineyard'.

PGmc. **wurti*- f. 'herb, root' and **gardōn* m. 'garden, yard'⁹²

Goth. *aurtigards* 'garden'; **MHG** *wurzegarte, wurzgarte* 'herb garden'; **OE** *ortgeard* 'orchard (earlier also 'vegetable garden'), garden', *wyrtgeard* 'kitchen garden'; **MLG** *wortegarde*; **Sw.** *örtagård*

Etymology: Lehmann explains the first element of Goth. *aurtigards* as a borrowing from VLat. **orto* 'garden', after which the native element **gards* 'house, family' was added. He supposes that the English and Swedish forms were borrowed independently from Gothic (from a Vulgar Latin donor?) (1986: 51, cf. also Feist 1939: 68). This cannot be correct, for Sw. *ört* regularly derives from PGmc. **wurti*- (ON *urt*) (De Vries 1977: 636), which means that Sw. *örtagård* must be etymologically connected to High German *wurzegarte, wurzgarte* and Low German *wortegarde* 'herb garden'. These forms go back to a compound of

⁹² Goth. *waurts*; OHG *wurz*; G *Wurz*; OE *wyrt*; E *wort*; OS *wurt*; ON *urt* < PGmc. **wurti*- from PIE **urh₂d-i*, related to, e.g., Lat. *rādix* 'root', W *gwraidd* 'roots' (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Wurz*, De Vaan 2008: 512). Goth. *gards*; OHG *gart*; G *Garten*; OE *geard*; OS *gard*; Du. *gaard*; ON *gardr* < PGmc. **garda*- 'yard, enclosure' from PIE **g^hor-d^h*- 'enclosure', related to, e.g., Lat. *hortus* 'garden', Skt. *gṛhā*- 'house', PSl. **gordъ*, Gr. *χόρτος* 'barn' (Kluge/Seebold 2002: s.v. *Garten*, EWN: s.v. *gaard*).

PGmc. **wurti-* ‘herb, root’ and **gardōn* ‘garden, yard’. Lehmann does not mention the possibility of a connection between this Northwest Germanic compound and Goth. *aurtigards* (cf. 1986: 51). The formal correspondence between Goth. *aurtigards* ‘garden’, OE *ortgeard* (E *orchard*) and the other Northwest Germanic forms is admittedly somewhat problematic: PGmc. **wurti-* is regularly reflected as Goth. *waurts* and OE *wyrt*. Both in the Gothic and in the Old English form, the initial *w-* has been retained and OE *wyrt* has a front vowel resulting from the *i*-umlaut. One might nevertheless wonder whether the Gothic and English forms are not in some way derived from the compound of PGmc. **wurti-* and **gardōn* as well. This etymology might also explain the medial *-i-* in the Gothic compound *aurtigards*, which Lehmann calls “noteworthy” (1986: 51).⁹³ In addition, it fits better semantically to assume that the compound was formed when the second element *-gards* retained the original Proto-Germanic meaning ‘yard, enclosure’, rather than being a compound of VLat. **orto* and Goth. *gards* ‘house, family’. The element *-gards* might alternatively have been added in analogy to the compound PGmc. **win(a)gard-* ‘vineyard’.

PSl. **vǔrtogradъ* seems to have been borrowed from the Germanic compound of PGmc. **wurti-* and **gardōn* and has often been regarded to be of Gothic origin (e.g., Stender-Petersen 1927: 370). From a phonological viewpoint, Gothic origin is unnecessary, or perhaps even more difficult than West Germanic origin: it is easier to derive PSl. **vǔrtogradъ* from a West Germanic donor form with initial *w-* than from initial Gothic /ɔr-/ (but cf. **velbblōdъ* ‘camel’, which has PSl. ***vǔl-* from Goth. *ul-*) and the medial **-o-* in the Proto-Slavic compound is hard to explain from Goth. *aurtigards*. It is thus easier to derive PSl. **vǔrtogradъ* from a pre-sound shift form of Old High German or from Low German.

Kiparsky rejects the idea that PSl. **vǔrtogradъ* ‘garden’ was borrowed from Germanic, but rather connects the word to **vǔrtō* ‘garden’ (1934: 57-58). He considers PSl. **vǔrtō* to be an inherited formation after PSl. **-verti* (as in *otǔverti* ‘to open’, *zaverti* ‘to close’), the semantic connection being a ‘garden’ as an ‘enclosed yard’. PSl. **vǔrtō* is nevertheless more likely to stem from Latin (M. Matasović 2011: 108-109).

Origin: West Germanic fits better phonologically.

⁹³ Lehmann assumes analogy to PIE *ti-* stems or from the genitive **orti* from VLat. **orto* (1986: 51).

PSl. **xǫdogǫ* ‘skill (?)’ (m. *o*-stem)

OCS *xǫdožbstvo* ‘wisdom; cunning craft’, *xǫdožbstvje* ‘art, skill’; **CS** *xudogǫ* ‘experienced, wise, cunning’; **R** *xudóga* ‘art’; **P** *chędogi* (arch.) ‘elegant, decorated, clean’, *chędożycz* ‘to clean’

Accentuation: AP unknown; Russian has fixed stress on the medial *o*, which might result from Dybo’s law after an earlier stage with fixed initial stress. This would then point to AP (b). This is, however, not consistent with the short stem vowel in P *chędogi* and *chędożycz*, which precludes AP (b).

PGmc. **handu/a/īga*

Goth. *handugs* ‘wise’; **OHG** *hantego* (adv.) ‘sharply, vehemently’, *handeg* ‘sharp(ness), severe’;

To be separated from derivatives of PGmc. **handu-* ‘hand’ (f. *u*-stem)

MHG *handec, hendec* ‘skilful’; **OE** (*list*)*hendig* ‘having skilful hands’; **MLG** *handich* ‘skilful’; **Du.** *handig* ‘skilful’; **Dan.** *hændig* ‘skilful’

Etymology: Goth. *handugs*, OHG *hantego*, *handeg* should probably be separated from MHG *handec, hendec*, MLG *handich* and the other Northwest Germanic cognates meaning ‘skilful’ which derive from PGmc. **handu-* ‘hand’. Lehmann, for example, thinks that the connection of the Gothic and Old High German forms to PGmc. **handu-* is “less credibl[e]” than a derivation from PIE **kent-* (cf. Gr. *κεντέω* ‘to prick’) (1986: 176, cf. EWA 4: 819). Lloyd et al. also reject the connection between Goth. *handugs*, OHG *hantego*, *handeg* and the forms attested in the other Northwest Germanic languages. It is supposed that the Gothic and Old High German forms are derived from PGmc. **handu/a/īga* from PGmc. **hanþa-* ‘sharp’ with a voiced obstruent resulting from Verner’s law from PIE **kent-* ‘to pierce, prick’ (EWA 4: 817-819). A semantic parallel for this derivation is E *sharp* ‘clever’ (1986: 176). Franck/Van Wijk, however, allows for the possibility that Goth. *handugs* is derived from PGmc. **handu-* as well (1912: 229-230).

The origin of PSl. **xǫdogǫ* is not entirely clear, despite the fact that it has often been connected to Goth. *handugs* ‘wise’. The attested Slavic forms encompass the meaning ‘wise, sharp, clever’ which is reflected in the Gothic and Old High German forms, on the one hand, but also the meaning ‘skilful, elegant’ that is attested in the other Northwest Germanic forms. The word is formally most easily derived from a pre-sound shift form of OHG *hantego*, but the meaning of this adverb does not correspond very well to that of the attested Slavic forms.

Brückner regards PSl. **xǫdogǫ* as a native word from a root **skond-* and relates it to Lith. *skanùs* ‘tasty’ (1927: 178-179); this etymology is less credible and rejected by Kiparsky (1934: 200) and Vasmer (REW 3: 276).

Origin: Possibly West Germanic; PSl. **xǫdogō* can formally well be derived from a reflex of PGmc. **handu/a/iġa*. The vocalism of the second syllable matches that of Old High German.

PSl. **xula* ‘abuse, revile’

OCS *xula* ‘abuse’; OR *xula*; R *xulá*; Ukr. *hulá*; S/Cr. *hŭla* ‘blasphemy’; Slov. *húla* ‘abuse, ridicule’

PSl. **xuliti* ‘to abuse, revile’

OCS *xuliti* ‘to abuse, insult’; R *xulít*; Ukr. *hulýty*; S/Cr. *hŭliti*, 1sg. *hŭlīm* ‘to blaspheme’;⁹⁴ Slov. *húlati*, *húli* ‘to abuse, ridicule’; Bg. *húlja*

Accentuation: AP unknown. OR *xula* belongs to AP (a), but has forms that point to AP (b) (Zaliznjak 1985: 132). Dybo considers PSl. **xula* to be a word of AP (b) (1981: 78, 187).

PGmc. **hōlōn*, **hōlian*

Goth. *holon* ‘to slander’; OHG *huolan*, *huolian* ‘to deceive’; OE *hōlian*, *helan* ‘to slander’; ON *hœla* ‘to praise, boast’

Cognates: Lat. *calvor* ‘to deceive’, *calumnia* ‘deceit, slander’, Gr. *κηλέω* ‘to bewitch, cast a spell’ < PIE **keh₂l-* ‘to deceive, bewitch’ (Pokorny 1959: 551, Lehmann 1986: 189, De Vries 1977: 247, 278, De Vaan 2008: 85)

Etymology: The Germanic forms derive from PIE **keh₂l-* ‘to deceive, bewitch’ (Lehmann 1986: 189, De Vries 1977: 247, 278).

Meillet was the first to regard PSl. **xula* and **xuliti* as borrowings from Germanic. He derives the forms from Old High German (1905: 252). The etymology of PSl. **xula*, **xuliti* has been complicated by the supposed cognates in Czech and Slovak: OCz. *chúlost* ‘shame’, Slk. *chúlit sa* ‘to curl up’, Slk. *chúlostivý* ‘shy, sensible’. These forms give the impression to derive from the same root, but are different in meaning. For this reason, Vasmer rejects the etymology of PSl. **xula*, **xuliti* as a Germanic loanword and connects the etyma to PSl. **xylō*, **xyliti* ‘to bend’ < PIE *(s)*keuh₂* ‘to bend’ (REW 3: 277-278, cf. Snj 2003: 214, ESSlov. 1: 193).⁹⁵

The attested Slavic forms deriving from PSl. **xula* and **xuliti* correspond semantically much better to the Germanic forms than to the reflexes of PSl.

⁹⁴ Anić lists the word with different accentuation: Cr. *húli*, 1sg. *húlīm* (2002: s.v. *húli*).

⁹⁵ Attested forms are, e.g., R *xilyj* ‘sickly, under grown’, Slov. *hiľ* ‘crooked, bent’, *híli* ‘to bend’, Cz. *chýli*, P *chylic* ‘to bend’.

**xylǔ*, **xyliti*. For this reason, Seldeslachts, probably correctly, separates the Czech and Slovak forms from the East and South Slavic forms and connects the former to PSl. **xylǔ*, **xyliti*, whereas he considers the latter to be loanwords from Germanic. Because the Slavic forms are most easily derived from a Germanic *jan*-verb, he, just as Meillet, derives PSl. **xula* and **xuliti* from an early stage of West Germanic, probably High German (1991: 256-258).

Origin: Possibly West Germanic because the Slavic forms would be most easily derived from a Germanic *jan*-verb.