

APPENDIX B

LENGTHENED VOWELS IN SLAVIC ROOTS

Occurrences of IE lengthened grade are even harder to identify in Slavic than instances of IE laryngeals. The problem is that, -like in Baltic, the large majority of cases go back to a period posterior to the linguistic unity. The rise of new long vowels in derivatives was particularly productive in Baltic as well as in Slavic during the first millennium before our era.

According to the theory presented in the preceding chapters, the regular reflex of the lengthened grade is a circumflex in monosyllables and a long vowel in unstressed roots. A typical case is Ru. *žar*, *žará*, SCr. *žâr*, *žára*. The co-existence of the two stems points to the enlargement of an earlier consonant stem with different suffixes. The former word can only show accentual mobility because of Illič-Svityč's law (cf. section 3.4 above), and the latter has final accentuation in accordance with Dybo's law (section 3.6), cf. Ru. acc.sg. *žarú*. Czech *žár* has its long vowel from the compound *požár*, where length was regularly maintained in the posttonic syllable, cf. Ru. *požár*, with non-initial accentuation as a result of Dybo's law, and SCr. *põžâr*, with secondary mobility. If the lengthened grade would originally have yielded an acute intonation, neither the long root vowel in Cz. *požár*, SCr. *põžâr*, nor the final accentuation in Ru. *žará*, SCr. *žára* could be explained.

The instances where an apparent lengthened grade manifests an acute intonation must be explained differently. The case of Ru. *éla*, *séla*, *sékla*, *pribégla* was discussed above (section 3.2). A similar explanation is generally accepted for the apparent lengthened grade of the prefix in Ru. *pámjat'*, *práded*, SCr. *pãmět*, *práded*, which goes back to the old instrumental ending *-oH (Meillet 1934a:351, Beekes 1973:216). A third type is exemplified in the acute of Ru. *sláva*, SCr. *sláva*, for which we have Lith. *šlòvė* or *šlovė*, acc.sg. *šlòvę* or *šlòvę*. There were derivatives with and without a laryngeal from this root in Balto-Slavic, e.g. Lith. *klaũso* < **klausā* 'obeys' and *kláusia* < **klauHsia* 'interrogates' (cf. Meillet 1934b:164). When the laryngeal

lost its segmental status, the existence of such pairs gave rise to a metatonical relationship. The laryngealized root variant was generalized in Slavic, e.g. Ru. *slúšat'*, SCr. *slüšati* 'to listen'.

The evaluation of the material presented in this appendix requires a detailed chronological analysis, which remains a task for the future. Here again I have no pretension to exhaustiveness. I have concentrated upon roots which show transparent apophonic relationships and omitted clearly secondary cases.

B1. NOUNS

- Ru. *val*, SCr.Sln. *vâl*; Lith. *volẽ*, Latv. *vàle*, Lat. *volvere*, ON. *valr*.
 Ru. *var*, SCr.Sln. *vâr*, Cz.Slk. *var*; Lith. *varùs*, Dutch *warm*.
 Ru. *vedró*, SCr. *vjèdro*, Sln. *védro*, Cz. *vědro*, Slk. *vedro*; ON. *vátr*, Ru. *vodá*.
 Ru. *véno*, Cz. *věno*, Slk. *veno*.
 Ru. *gal*; Latv. *gàle*, OHG. *kalo*, Ru. *gólyj*.
 Ru. *gar'*, *razgár*, *ugár*, SCr. *gâr*, *gára*; Skt. *hárah*, Gr. *théros*, Ru. *gorét'*.
 Ru. *gran'*, SCr. *grána*, OCz. *hrano*, Cz.Slk. *hrana*, Po. *grań*; OHG. *grana*.
 Ru. *davnó*, SCr. *dâvno*, Sln. *dávno*, Cz. *dávný*, Slk. *dávny*; Skt. *dūrah*, Arm. *tev*, Lat. *dūdum*.
 Ukr. *dirá*, Sln. *děra*, Cz. *díra*, Slk. *diera*; Skt. *drñāti*, Gr. *dérō*, Ru. *drat'*.
 Ru. *žal'*, SCr. *žào*, Sln. *žâl*, Cz. *žal*, Slk. *žial*; Lith. *gėlà*, OHG. *quāla*.
 Ru. *žar*, *požár*, *žará*, SCr. *žâr*, *põžâr*, *žára*, Sln. *žâr*, *požâr*, Cz. *žár*, *požár*, Slk. *žiar*, *žiara*; Skt. *hárah*, Gr. *théros*, Ru. *gorét'*.
 Ru. *zar'*, *zarjá*, Sln. *zárja*, Cz. *zář*, *záře*; Lith. *žerėti*, *žarà*, Ukr. *zorjá*, SCr. *zòra*, Sln. *zórja*, Cz. *zoře*, Slk. *zora*.
 Ru. *zver'*, SCr. *zvijer*, Sln. *zvêr*, Cz. *zvěř*, Slk. *zver*; Lith. *žvèris*, Gr. *thêr*, Lat. *ferus*.
 Ru. *izgága*, Sln. *izgâga*, OCz. *zháha*, Slk. *žháha*; Lith. *dègti*, Skt. *dáhati*, Ru. *žeč'*.
 Ru. *kal*, SCr. *kào*, Sln. *kâl*, Cz.Slk. *kal*.
 Ru. *kára*, SCr.Sln. *kâr*, Cz.Slk. *kára*; Latv. *karinât*, Lat. *carināre*, Ru. *korít'*.
 Ru. *krasá*, SCr. *krâs*, *krása*, Sln. *krâs*, Cz.Slk. *krása*; ON. *hrósa*.
 Ru. *len'*, SCr. *lîjen*, Sln. *lên*, OCz. *lěň*, Slk. *lieň*; Lith. *lėnas*, *lėnas*, Latv. *ļēns*, Lat. *lēnis*.
 SCr. *mâr*, *nēmâr*, Sln. *mâr*, *nēmar*; Skt. *smárati*, Lat. *memor*.
 Ru. *mel*, Sln. *mêl*, Cz. *měl*, Slk. *mel'*; Lith. *smėlỹs*, Ru. *molót'*.

- Ru. *mjáso*, SCr. *mêso*, Sln. *mesô*, Cz. *maso*, Slk. *mäso*; Lith. *mësà*, Latv. *mīesa*, Skt. *māmsám*, *māḥ*, Arm. *mis*, Goth. *mimz*.
- Ru. *reč*, SCr. *rjěč*, Sln. *rěč*, Cz. *řeč*, Slk. *reč*; Lith. *rėkti*, Latv. *rēkt*, Skt. *racáyati*, Goth. *ragin*.
- Ru. *sam*, SCr.Sln. *sām*, Cz.Slk. *sám*; Skt. *samāḥ*, Gr. *homós*, Goth. *sama*.
- Ru. *sap*, Sln. *sápa*; Skt. *śápati*, Ru. *sopét'*.
- Ru. *svára*, Sln. *svâr*, Cz.Slk. *svár*; Lat. *sermo*, ON. *svara*.
- Ru. *slep*, SCr. *sljěp*, Sln. *slěp*, Cz.Slk. *slepý*; Lith. *slėpti*, Latv. *slēpt*.
- Ru. *tvar'*, SCr.Sln. *tvâr*, Cz. *tvář*, *tvar*, Slk. *tvár*, *tvar*; Lith. *tvorà*, Ru. *tvorit'*.
- Ru. *travá*, SCr.Sln. *tráva*, Cz.Slk. *tráva*; Gr. *tróō*, SCr. *tròvati*.
- Ru. *tresk*, *treská*, SCr. *trjěsak*, *trěska*, Sln. *trěsk*, *trěska*, Cz. *třesk*, *tříska*, Slk. *tresk*, *trieska*; Lith. *treškėti*, Cz. *troska*.
- Ru. *udár*, SCr. *ūdār*, Sln. *udâr*, Cz.Slk. *úder*; Ru. *drat'*.
- Ru. *úžas*, SCr. *ũžās*, Cz.Slk. *úžas*; Lith. *gėsti*, Gr. *sbénnūmi*, Ru. *gasít'*.
- Ru. *xvalá*, SCr.Sln. *hvála*, Cz.Slk. *chvála*; ON. *skvala*.
- Ru. *čáry*, Ukr. *čará*, SCr. *čâr*, Sln. *čâr*, *čára*, Cz. *čár*, *čára*, Slk. *čary*; Lith. *kerėti*, Skt. *krṇóti*.
- Ru. *ščap*, SCr. *štâp*, Sln. *ščáp*, Cz. *štěp*, Slk. *štep*; Latv. *šķēps*, OHG. *skaft*, Ru. *ščepá*.
- Ru. *jaz*, SCr. *jâz*, Sln. *jêz*, Cz. *jez*, Slk. *jaz*; Lith. *ežė*, Latv. *eža*, Arm. *ezr*.
- Ru. *jajcó*, SCr. *jáje*, Sln. *jájce*; Gr. *ōión*, Lat. *ōvum*, OHG. *ei*.

B2. VERBS

- SCr. *bádati*, Cz. *bádati*.
- Ru. *valít'*, Sln. *valíti*, Cz. *valiti*.
- Ru. *varít'*, SCr. *váriti*, Sln. *varíti*, Cz. *vařiti*.
- Ru. *gadát'*, Sln. *gádati*, Cz. *hádati*; Lith. *guōdas*, Latv. *gūods*, ON. *gáta*.
- Ru. *gálit'*, SCr. *gálit*.
- SCr. *gánjati*, Sln. *gānjati*.
- Ru. *gasít'*, SCr. *gásiti*, Sln. *gasíti*, Cz. *hasiti*; Lith. *gėsti*, Gr. *sbénnūmi*.
- Ru. *davít'*, SCr.Sln. *dáviti*, Cz. *dáviti*; ON. *deyja*.
- Ru. *drápat'*, SCr.Sln. *drápati*, Cz. *drápati*; Gr. *drépō*.
- Ru. *žalét'*, SCr. *žàlit*, Sln. *žálit*, Cz. *želeti*; Lith. *gėlti*, OHG. *quēlan*.
- Ru. *žárit'*, SCr. *žáriti*, Sln. *žaríti*.
- Ru. *zárit'*, Cz. *zářiti*; Lith. *žerėti*.

- Ru. *karát'*, SCr.Sln. *kárati*, Cz. *kárati*.
- Ru. *krákat'*, Sln. *krâkati*, Cz. *krákati*; Lith. *krõkti*, Latv. *kràkt*, Gr. *krôzō*, Lat. *crôcīre*.
- SCr. *lijègati*, Sln. *légati*, Cz. *lehati*.
- Ru. *letát'*, SCr. *lijètati*, Sln. *lètati*, Cz. *létati*; Lith. *lěkti*, Latv. *lèkt*.
- SCr. *máriti*, Sln. *mâрати*.
- Sln. *méniti*, Cz. *miniti*; OHG. *meinen*.
- Ru. *palít'*, SCr.Sln. *páлити*, Cz. *páлити*; Lith. *pelenāi*.
- Ru. *parít'*, SCr. *páriti*, Cz. *páriti*; Goth. *faran*.
- Ru. *ráčit'*, SCr.Sln. *ráčiti*, Cz. *ráčiti*; Skt. *racáyati*, Goth. *rahnjan*.
- Sln. *rékati*, Cz. *říkati*.
- Ru. *sadít'*, SCr. *sáđiti*, Sln. *sadíti*, Cz. *saditi*; Lith. *sođinti*, Goth. *satjan*.
- Sln. *sápati*, Cz. *sápati se*.
- Ru. *svarít'sja*, Sln. *svaríti*, Cz. *sváriti se*.
- Ru. *skakát'*, SCr.Sln. *skákati*, Cz. *skákati*; ON. *skaga*.
- Ru. *tákat'*, SCr. *tákati*, Sln. *tâkati*; Lith. *tekėti*.
- Sln. *tvârjati*, Cz. *tvářeti*; Lith. *tvėrti*.
- Sln. *tékati*, Cz. *těkati*; Lith. *tekėti*.
- Ru. *travít'*, SCr. *tráviti*, Cz. *tráviti*; Gr. *trôō*.
- Ru. *xvalít'*, SCr.Sln. *hváliti*, Cz. *chváliti*; ON. *skvala*.
- Ru. *čápat'*, Sln. *čápati*, Cz. *čapati*; Lat. *capere*, Goth. *hafjan*.
- Ru. *šalít'*, Sln. *šáлити se*, Cz. *šáлити*.

B3. SIGMATIC AORIST

OChSl. *basъ, bljusъ, věsъ, vlěxъ, vrěsъ, grěsъ, ěsъ, jaxъ, žaxъ, lęxъ, męsъ, něsъ, rěxъ, sěxъ, těxъ, třesъ, cvisъ, čisъ*.