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RECONSTRUCTION OF PROTO-SLAVONIC VOCABULARY (SOME ADDITIONS TO ÈSSÁ AND SP)

Summary. The paper is devoted to filling out some lacunae in the rosters in the dictionaries of Proto-Slavonic vocabulary, i.e. the etymological dictionaries, intended: a) to single out and describe Proto-Slavonic lexical heritage in ancient and modern Slavonic languages; b) to figure out genesis of Proto-Slavonic words through defining their relationships to Indo-European cognates. Suggested paper sets the **goal** to slightly expand the corpus of Proto-Slavonic vocabulary, reconstructed in ÈSSÁ and SP. Achieving this goal involves addressing two **objectives**: 1) to fill out some lacunae in the known corpus of Proto-Slavonic lexemes; 2) to clarify (expand) geography of already reconstructed prototypes by introducing data of the languages, not counted during the etymologization. All the facts which are not counted in the dictionaries of Proto-Slavonic lexical reconstruction should be collected into a single corpus of additions for etymologies already known from ÈSSÁ and SP. Its building is a task for the future, therefore preparatory work on accumulation of the data will not lose **relevance** over a long period of time. **The object** of proposed study is inherited appellative and onomastic vocabulary are not involved in the analysis in ÈSSÁ and SP; this lexemes can be qualified as Proto-Slavonic heritage either because their morphological archaics or areals characteristics. **The subject** — etymological, phonetic, morphological, lexico-semantic features and the areal of historically attested words and reconstructed while the analysis prototypes. **The results** of the study: 1) the sum of ancient lexemes, which presumably belonged to Proto-Slavonic vocabulary, got etymological interpretation (**bajьkъjь*, **bebrišь* (**bebryšь?*), **bezmъdъjь*, **bezudъ*, **bukodьra*, **čekolsъ*, **emъlva*, **gъlyati*, **xlebezъ*, **xręstь*,

-i, *konobyľ, *koroborъ etc.); 2) it is clarified (expanded) geography of the reflexes of the prototypes early restored in the special literature; they represent the isoglosses of complex configuration. **Conclusions** summarize the results of the reconstruction of the Proto-Slavonic vocabulary elements, generalizing the achievements of the procedure of the reconstruction and the etymological interpretation of the material. **Prospects** for further research are obvious: it is necessary to continue forming the corpus of the etymologies (versions) for expansion of the roster of presupposed Proto-Slavonic words.

Key words: reconstruction, comparative-historical linguistics, prototype, etymology, derivative, word-formation, onomastics.

I. Introduction

Formulation of the problem. The theory and practice of the Proto-Slavonic language vocabulary reconstruction in the comparative-historical grammar and etymology have already long been linked firmly to two fundamental projects of the world Slavic studies. These are: 1) Moscow «Etymological Dictionary of Slavonic Languages: Proto-Slavonic Lexical Stratum» (acad. O. N. Trubachev, prof. A. F. Zhuravlev and J. J. Varbot were its editors at different times), which at the present time has been brought to the reconstruction of lexemes with the initial segment *pe- (published 42 volumes (1974–2021), finished with the prototype *perъ); 2) Krakow «Słownik prasłowiański» (editor — F. Sławski, and from 9 tome — M. Jakubowicz) with the last reconstructed vocabula *kyvati (it counts 11 (1974–2024) tomes). The lag behind the ESSĀ in SP was used for the critical reflection on the results of Moscow project (O. N. Trubachev). Thematically narrow-oriented two-volume Prague «Etymologický slovník slovanských jazyků: slova grammatická a zájmena» (1973–1980) by F. Kopečný and collective of the authors adjoins them. From the moment of the publication of the first issues/volumes of these fundamental reference books on (Proto)Slavonic etymology the gaps in reconstructed vocabulary became apparent. The work with that enormous amount of material, what the author collectives had to deal with, can not do without such lacunae. However, the lacunae in the rosters of ESSĀ and SP are explainable with the desire of the authors to give the etymological treatment of the really ancient lexemes, without the distraction of the reconstruction of the derivatives, whose Proto-Slavonic chronology at the time of drafting of the dictionaries card indexes was not obvious without the data of linguistic geography. Eventually *post factum* we have the gradual accumulation of the material, confirming the antiquity of many words, were not included in ESSĀ and SP, as well as giving reasons to consider that Proto-Slavonic units were derived according to the archaic, unproductive in historical times word-formation patterns.

The growing number of the potential extensions for the rosters of Proto-Slavonic vocabularies impelled some researchers to the idea about the special descriptions of previously unaccounted data. The result was series of works, where the additions for ESSĀ are summed up and get proper etymological assessment. Let's name, in my view, the most significant of these studies, oriented to address lacunae in the collection of the lexical isoglosses in ESSĀ and the critical parsing of the controversial reconstructions, cf.: Zhuravlev A. F. «On Clarification of Representations of Slavonic Isoglosses (Additions to the Lexical Materials of «Etymological Dictionary of Slavonic Languages»)». 1990. Parts I–II; *His own*. «Notes in the Margins of «Etymological Dictionary of Slavonic Languages»» I. *Etymology*. 1988–1990. 1992. P. 77–88; II. *Ad fontes verborum. Studies on the Etymology and Historical Semantics. 70th anniversary of Jeanne Jeanovna Varbot*. 2006. P. 140–147; *His own*. «Evolutions of Meanings». 2016. P. 311–320; Orel V. Ě. «On the Reconstruction of Proto-Slavonic Vocabulary». *Soviet Slavic Studies*. 1987. № 5. P. 73–79; *His own*. Reiviews of the: «Etymological Dictionary of Slavonic Languages: Proto-Slavonic Lexical Stratum». Vol. 13 (*kroměžirъ — *kyžiti). *Soviet Slavic Studies*. 1988. № 1. P. 104–106; Vol. 14 (*labati — *lěteplъjъ). *Soviet Slavic Studies*. 1988. № 2. P. 110–111; Vol. 15 (*lětina — *lokačъ). *Soviet Slavic Studies*. 1989. № 5. P. 102–103. Iliadi A. I. «On the Additions to «Etymological Dictionary of Slavonic Languages»». *Studia linguistica et juridica*. 2012–2013. Kirovograd, 2013. P. 16–39.

It is difficult to overestimate significance of introduced into scientific discourse dialectal and onomastic vocabulary for filling the gaps in already restored corpus of Proto-Slavonic words. For etymology and reconstruction of missed in ESSĀ and SP vocabulary the data of new (or still are published multivolume) etymological dictionaries of Slavonic Languages (for example, «Bulgarian Etymological Dictionary», «Serbian Etymological Dictionary» edited by A. Loma, «Russian Etymological Dictionary» by A. Ė. Anikin etc.) and the researches in the field of archaic Slavonic Onomastics (cf.: Казлова П. М. «Беларуская і славянская гідронімія. Праславянскі фонд (2000–2002)». Т. I–II; Vasiljev V. L. «Slavonic Toponymic Antiquities of Novgorod Land» (2012) etc.) are important to the same extent. The facts available in these sources should be collected into a single corpus of additions for etymologies already known from ESSĀ and SP. Its building is a task for the future, therefore preparatory work on accumulation of the data will not lose **relevance** over a long period of time.

The aims and objectives of the study. Suggested paper sets the *goal* to slightly expand the corpus of Proto-Slavonic vocabulary, reconstructed in ESSĀ and SP. Achieving this goal involves addressing two *objectives*:

- 1) to fill out some lacunae in the known corpus of Proto-Slavonic lexemes;
- 2) to clarify (expand) geography of already reconstructed prototypes by introducing data of the languages, not counted during the etymologization.

The following **methods** are applied in the research: *comparative-historical, etymological, method of linguistic reconstruction, method of dictionary entries analysis*.

References to the previous studies. The referencies to the works of our precursors as well as the indication of the **material of the study**, are given in the title of suggested paper, and in the item «Formulation of the problem» (see above). Further in the text of the paper data such widely known sources as named above «*Etymological Dictionary of Slavonic Languages: Proto-Slavonic Lexical Stratum*» (short. — ESSĀ) and «*Dictionary of Russian Folk dialects*» (52 volumes), 1965–2021 (eds F. P. Filin, F. P. Sorokoletov, S. A. Myznikov; short. — SRNG) are used.

Analysis of the latest research and publications. By virtue of the practical specificity of the selected type of research, we provide a critical review of our predecessors' scientific versions directly in the process of work with every analyzed example, if necessary.

II. Corpus of reconstructions

**abolnica*: Old Maced. *Ѓбланица*, 1342, 1345 — village, Maced. *Јабланица* — village in Debarsky Drishkol [19, p. 56], Sloven. *Ablanica* — locality in Styria (see «Geographical Dictionary of West Slavonic and South Slavonic Lands and Adjacent Countries» by Ā. Golovatskij (1884), p. 1). The derivative with suff. *-ic-* from **abolnъ* 'plane tree' or **abolnъ* I 'apple tree' (see about them: ESSĀ 1: 47).

**bajъсь*: Sloven. *Bajec* — anthroponym (cf. surname of known Slovenian linguist Anton *Bajec*), Ukr. dial. (Low Dnieper) **баець* (or *байко!*) as a part of the derivative *баецьник* 'liar' [27, p. 58]. The deverbative with *-ъс-* from **bajati* or **bajiti* 'to talk, tell', 'to think up'. Comp. identical in the word-formation terms **боръсь* < **borti(se)*, **носъсь* < **nositi*.

**bajъкъзь*: Rus. dial. (Vologda) *байкый* 'talkative, loquacious' (see the first volume of «Dictionary of Vologda Dialects» (1983), p. 19). Adj. with suff. *-ък-* from the verb **bajati* or **bajiti*, analogous to *ломать* > *ломкий*, *шатать* > *шаткий*, *тонить* > *тонкий*, *ловить* > *ловкий* etc.

bebrішь* (bebryśъ*?): Bulg. *Бобріи* — name of the river, a tributary of the Iskar river, Belarus. *Бобріи* — lake in the former Vitebsk governorate. Perhaps, it is the genoem formation with the suff. *-іш-* from **bebrъ* 'beaver'. By virtue of convergence among Southern Slavs of the reflexes of the formants *-ушь* and *-ішь* Bulgarian form seems to be morphologically ambiguous, i.e. it is not excluded Proto-Slav. **bebryśъ*. In detail see: ([8, p. 395]: with literature).

**berstačъ*: Serb. *Брестач* — village (Vojvodina), Croat. *Brestač*, XIX century — community in Rumska podžupania (see the first volume of «Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia and Military Frontier» (1879) by L. V. Berezin, p. 41: *Брестач*), *Brestača* ([45, p. 228]: *brěstъ*), Rus. *Брестач* — microtoponym (the territory of Ukraine [16]). The derivative with the formant *-аць* from **berstъ* 'elm tree', 'Ulmus'.

berstēne*/berstjane*: Maced. *Брестани* — the Turkish village near the old fortress Kodžadžik, whose founders are Macedonians (firstly is attested around 1470 [19, p. 42]: the derivative with the formant *-јани* from the stem *брест*), Czech *Břešťanu*, Ukr. *Берестяни* (*Bereścianu*, *Berestianu*, *Берестяни*, 1629; Volyn) — oikonoms ~ *берестяни* 'inhabitants of the birch forest' [28, p. 12]. The derivative with the formant *-ēne/-јane* from **berstъ*.

**berzajъ*: Serb. *Брезај* — toponym (Kosovo), Old Rus. *Березай* («на реце на *Березаи*», «на мосту у *Березаи*»), Rus. *Березай* — lake, *Березай* — left tributary of Chagoda (Novgorod land), *Березай* — toponym (Tver region) ~ dial. (Novgorod) *березай* 'birch bolete' and *'birch forest' (see «Slavonic Toponymic Antiquities of Novgorod Land» (2012) by V. L. Vasiljev, where on pp. 563–565: as «a toponymic archaism *Березай*» [45, p. 229]: *brěza*), Old Ukr. *Березай*, 1688 — oikonym (Glukhov district; see volume V of «Historic Acts, Collected and Published by The Archeographic Commission» (1842), p. 289). The derivative with suff. *-ај-* from **berza*.

**berzolupъ*: Czech old *Brzezolupii* (*Březolupy*), 1597 — toponym [34, p. 82], Old Rus. *Березолупи*, 1453, «у *Березолупех*», 1524, Old Ukr. «з села *Березолупъ*», 1650 etc. ([28, p. 12]: «Formally it is the plural form from the anthroponym **Березолупъ*, derived in a similar way to Belarus. *Казалуп*, Czech *Kozolup*»). The composite is, probably, derived on the base of the word combination **berzъ lupiti* 'to tear off birch bark'.

**bezdzbnikъ*: Maced. *безденик* 'abyss, cleft', *Безденик* — toponym [2, p. 20], Pol. *Bezednik* — name of several water bodies [59, p. 47], Rus. dial. Arkhang. *бездѣнник* 'impassable swamp, covered with swamp plant', 'abyss, chasm' (SRNG 2: 189). The word-formation synonym with suff. *-ik-* to **bezdzbnica* (ESSĀ 2: 22).

bezmdzъjъ*: Ukr. *Безмѣди* — surname (village Ivanne of Dubnovsky district of Rovno region). The nominal derivative with pref. **bez-* from the somatic term **mdo*/mdъ* (see: [40, p. 18]).

**bezsolъjъ*: Old Rus. *Безсолое*, 1556 — settlement in Belozersky district (see the first volume of «Historic Acts, Collected and Published by the Archeographic Commission» (1841), p. 310), Rus. dial. Arkhang., Sverdlov., Tyumen *бессолый* 'unsalted, undersalted' (SRNG 2: 277) etc.). This adjective is derived by composition of the prefix **bez-* with the semantics of deprivation and the stem subst. **solъ* 'salt'. Antiquity of this formation stems from its elementary, suffixless morphology. About other examples of the implementation of **bezsolъjъ* in Eastern Slavonic onomastics see: [29: I, p. 38; 29: III, p. 341].

**bezudъ*: Pol. *Bezud* — surname. The prefixal noun (originally — adjective), derived from the somatic term **udъ* (see: [40, p. 18]). Comp. in ÈSSÂ prefixal-suffixal adjective **bezudъnъ(jь)*.

**bobrava*: *Боборава* — the river in Central Albania, Pol. *Bobrawa* — name of three water bodies in the basin of the Oder river. An addition to the corresponding dictionary entry in ÈSSÂ (2: 144), where Balcan and Polish reflexes are absent. In detail see: [8, p. 395].

**bobrovъсь*: Slovak *Bobrovec*, cf. in Hungarian documents «populi ville *Bobrowch*» [60, p. 40], Pol. *Bobrowiec* — hydronym [59, p. 51], Rus. old *Бобровец* — oikonym (Novgorod land; see «Slavonic Toponymic Antiquities of Novgorod Land» (2012) by V. L. Vasiljev, p. 329). The derivative with the formant *-сь* from adj. **bobrovъ(jь)*, about of which see: ÈSSÂ (2: 144–145).

**bobrovъnikъ*: Slovak *Bobrovník* [60, p. 42], Pol. dial. *bobrownik* = *bobrowe ziele* ‘Herba trifolii fibr.’ [42, p. 94], *Bobrownik* — hydronym [59, p. 51], Rus. old *Бобровники* — oikonym (Novgorod land; see «Slavonic Toponymic Antiquities of Novgorod Land» (2012) by V. L. Vasiljev, p. 329). An addition to the item in SP [55: I, p. 290]: Slovak reflex here is absent.

**bobrovъnjъ*: Pol. *Bobrówny*, Rus. *Бобровный* — modern surnames. Secondary adjective with *-ъn-* from **bobrovъ(jь)*.

**bolna*: Maced. dial. *блана* ‘plot of land, spaded together with grass’ [2, p. 21]. An addition to the list of reflexes of **bolna* in ÈSSÂ (2: 175) and (SP 1: 308–309), where Macedonian material is not presented. This also includes: *Blana* — name of a tribute of the Drava river (basin of the Sava river [33: I, p. 54]), Pol. *Błonia* — hydronym (basin of the Vistula river [59, p. 50]), Ukr. (Lemkian) *Bółonia* — name of a pasture (= Pol. *łłonia*, cf. [*na Bwońiu*]) [58, p. 12].

**boltina*: Maced. dial. *блатина* ‘swampy place’, *Блатина* — toponym [2, p. 21]. An addition to the list of reflexes of **boltina* in ÈSSÂ (2: 179) and ([55: I, p. 310]; see also the work «On Clarification of Representations of Slavonic Isoglosses» by A. F. Zhuravlev, Part 1, p. 29–30), where Macedonian material is not presented.

**bolъnъ*: Rus. dial. (Novgorod) *болозень* ‘callus’, *бóлозень*, *бóлезень* ‘the same’, pl. Novgor., Arkhang., North *бóлозни*, Olonets *бóлузни* ‘the same’ (semantically — ‘pillow» on the hands or feet’ ~ Prussian *balsinis* ‘pillow’ = **balzin-*; see fourth volume of «Russian Etymological Dictionary» by acad. A. È Anikin, pp. 23–24: **bolъnъ*). This word is etymologically identical to Proto-Slav. **bolzina*, **bolъna*, **bolъno* (see about these words: ÈSSÂ 2: 183–184), from which it differs by grammatical gender and semantics: the mentioned words are the technical terms (denominations of the details of millstone, rafters, girder under the floor, details of constructions of sleigh, plow, sokha), while **bolъnъ* — name of swelling, chafe on the skin. Summary parsing of Rus. *болозень* and other Slavonic words with the stem **bolz-* as related forms against the background of Baltic and Old Indian cognates see already at A. Brückner [31, p. 32]. In later literature: (see the second tome of «Etymological Dictionary of the Iranian Languages» by V. S. Rastorgueva and D. I. Edelman, p. 123: Iranian **barz-* ‘nubbin, swelling’: Rus. *бóлозень* ‘callus, bump’). The authors of SP give Rus. *бóлозень* < **bolъnъ* = Prus. *balsinis* within the dictionary entry **bolъno* [55: I, p. 314].

**borovъje*: Sloven. *Borovje* (Karinthia), Ukr. dial. (Poltava) *борóвля* ‘pine forest’ [16]. An addition to the item in SP [55: I, p. 330], where Ukr. reflex is not presented.

**borovъnica*: Serb. *Боровница* — hydronym (basin of the Drina river [17, p. 43]), Sloven. *Borovnica* — toponym [50, p. 144], *Borovnica* (Krajna), *Braunitzen* (Karinthia), Czech *Borovnice*, Pol. *Borowica* — toponyms ([45, p. 226]: *borъ*; [59, p. 52]), Rus. dial. *боровница* ‘medicinal plant, growing along the banks of lakes near the pine forests and hollows [...]’ (SRNG 3: 105) etc.), Ukr. dial. *боровниця* ‘pine forest’ [12: I, p. 200]. The derivative with suff. *-ic-* from adj. **borovъnъ* ‘linked to pine forest’. An addition to the lexical entry in SP [55: I, p. 327].

**borovъnjъ(jь)*: Czech *Borovno*, *Borovná*, Pol. *Borowno*, *Borowna*, Rus. *Боровна* — toponyms ([45, p. 227]: *borъ*; [59, p. 52]), Old Rus. *Боровно* — name of the lake in Novgorod land (see «Slavonic Toponymic Antiquities of Novgorod Land» (2012) by V. L. Vasiljev, p. 429, 571). The adjective, derived from **borovъ(jь)* ‘pine’, about of which see: (ÈSSÂ 2: 210–211). An addition to the dictionary entry in SP [55: I, p. 329].

**brъzga*: Maced. dial. *бризга* ‘jet of water’ [2, p. 24]. An addition to ÈSSÂ (3: 66) and SP [55: I, p. 406], where are present Slovenian, Kashubian and Eastern Slavonic reflexes only.

**brъnъje*: Maced. dial. **брне*, *брње* ‘mud’ [2, p. 25]. An addition to the corresponding item in ÈSSÂ (3: 70) and SP [55: I, p. 396], where no Macedonian examples.

**bukodъra*: Sorab. *Bukodry* — toponym ([35, p. 53]: comparison with Slav. **dъrati* ‘to tear off’). Nominal composite **buko-dъra* formed with the stem **bukъ* ‘beech tree’ and nominal derivative from **dъrati*. Structurally it stands alongside the **lyko-dъra* (see below), and also **laxy-dъra*, **mъxy-dъra*.

**bukovъсь*: Bulg. *Буковец*, Serb., Croat. *Bukovec* — toponyms ([8, p. 146]: according to M. Vasmer), Serb. *Буковац* — hydronym [17, p. 52], Ukr. *Буковець* — oikonym (Transcarpathia), *Буковець* — name of the streams in the basins of the Tissa, Dnestr rivers [21, p. 75]. Derivative with suff. *-сь-*, which is variant to **bukovica*, of which see: ÈSSÂ (2: 89).

**bunъka*: Maced. dial. *бунка* ‘mountain, elevation’, ‘hill, mound’ ([2, p. 26]; [55: I, p. 448]: in the item **bunčati*). An addition to the dictionary entry in ÈSSÂ (3: 96) and (the work «On Clarification

of Representations of Slavonic Isoglosses» by A. F. Zhuravlev, Part 1, p. 38–39), where Macedonian lexemes are absent.

**čekolsъ*: Bulg. dial. (obsolete word) *чѣклас* ‘a kind of cereal plant’ [14, p. 680], Serb. dial. *čeklas* (Serbia, Niš), *чѣклас* (Serbia), *čaklās, čaklas* (Kosmet), *čiklāsa* (Kosmet, Drsnik) ‘grass, similar to wheat, *Triticum villosum*’, ‘a kind of wheat (bot. *Triticum villosum*)’ ([53, p. 290], the last example is from «The Differential Serbian-Russian Dictionary. Geographical Names» by L. A. Mičatek, p. 647), Slovak **čuklas* (it is phonetically advanced dial. form to **čeklas*), saved in the stem of Slovak toponym *Čuklasovce* [49, p. 52].

St. Mladenov, giving Bulg. *чѣкласъ*, limits himself to comparison this word to *класъ* (about *zhito*, wheat) [14, p. 680], while P. Skok speaks out quite definitely, seeing in Serbian forms primordial **čel-klas* (with dissimilative loss the first *l*), that is as the collapsed syntagma *čelni klas*. In his opinion, the etymom **čel-* is indicated by dial. *čelđvina* (Drsnik) — a synonym to *čeklas*. Vocalism of *čaklas* is explained through assimilation *e-ā > a-ā* [53, p. 290]. Slovak nomen remained unknown for both scientists.

The etymology by P. Skok is generally permissible for Serbian forms, although anlaut of *čiklāsa* phonetically is slightly consistent with the presupposed **čel-*. For other correspondences such a treatment is far from obvious because of the lack of Bulgarian and Slovak data about the construction, similar to Serb. *čelni klas*. I think, all listed words are more likely to explain as the reflexes of Proto-Slav. formation with pref. **če-* from the noun **kolsъ*. It is about the known word-forming pattern with pronominal prefix **če-*, represented in the dialects with variants *če-*, *ča-*, *či-*, *ču-*. It has evaluative, expressive semantics, giving the derivatives the meaning ‘what a...’ (in essence — ‘similar to something’), that is **če-kolsъ* ‘what a spikelet!’, ‘a plant, similar to spikelet’.

**čelorekъ*: Maced. dial. *челонек* ‘place, located in the sun; steep slope of the mountain’ [2, p. 172], *Чолонек* — mountain [19, p. 465]. An addition to the entry in *ESSĀ* (4: 47): Macedonian material here is absent.

**četerъnъ(jъ)*: Ukr. (Rusnak) *Чемерне* (*Varannó-Cseternye*) — oikonym (former Zemplin county [4, p. 34]). It is onymisation of adj. neutr. An addition to the item in *ESSĀ* (4: 54) and [55: II, p. 139], where Ukrainian reflexes are absent. In SP Ukrainian deriv. *чѣмерник* is only present.

**dobajъ*: Old Sloven. **dobaj* (see next).

**dobajъna*: Old Sloven. *Dobajna* — toponym [43: I, p. 106]. Substantivisation of feminine form of the adjective **dobajъnъ*, derived from **dobajъ* < **dobъ* ‘oak’. It cannot be ruled out an ancient local innovation based on Proto-Slav. **dobajъ*.

**dobovjane*: Maced. *Добовјани* [19, p. 355], Rus. *Дубовляны* (Orshanskij district of the Mari El Republic), Belarus. *Дубайляны* (Minsk region) — names of the villages and hamlets. The plural form of naming persons at the place of residence, derived with suff. *-jane* from adj. **dobovъ(jъ)* ‘oaken’, that is ‘inhabitants of the area, overgrown with oak’ or ‘people from the area *Дубовая/Дубовый*’, cf., for example, the case with Rus. *Дубовляны*: this hamlet was founded in the early XIX century by settlers from the hamlet *Дубовая* on the river Nemda. Thus, Slavonic languages save word-formation pair *дубовый, -ая, -ое > дубовляны*.

dreždъnikъ*/dreždъnica*: Bulg. *Дрежница* — hydronym (basin of the Vardar river [55: IV, p. 228]), *Drežnica* — name of the river (and one more geographical object) in Herzegovina, Croat. *Drežnik* (*Dresnik*, 1261, *Dresnek*, *Dereznek*, *Dresnik*, 1292) — the river (basin of the Sava river [33: I, p. 106–107]: **Drežg-ъnikъ* ~ Serb., Croat. *drēzga* ‘*Nasturtium officinale*’), Sloven. *Drežnik*, *Drežnica* ([50, p. 244, 283, 333]: from **drežgъniko-* ~ *drēzga*), Old Sorb. *Drieschnitz* < **Dreždъnica* ([36, p. 62]: to Rus. *дрязг* ‘trees broken by the wind; brushwood’), Lower Sorb. *Drežnica*, *Drežnice* [55: IV, p. 228] — toponyms. The derivatives with suff. *-ik-*, *-ica-* from the adjective **dreždъnъ* (see next). The data from SP is given in the entry **dreždъnъ*, a special dictionary item for suffixal derivatives here is absent.

dreždъnъ(jъ)*: Sloven. **drežni* (restored on the base of derived toponyms *Drežnik*, *Drežnica*, see above), Pol. *Drzeźna* — hydronym [59, p. 74] — substantivisation of feminine form of the adjective. It is the adjective with *-ъn-* from **drēzga*/drēzga*, comp. OCS *дрязга* ‘wood, shrub’, Pol. dial. *drzeźgi* pl. t. ‘ringing’, ‘chatter’, Rus. dial. *дрязга* ‘woodland, marshland’ (*ESSĀ* 5: 113–114). An addition to the dictionary entries **dreždъna*, **dreždъnъ* in SP [55: IV, p. 227–228].

drъvodělъ*/drъvodělъ*: Czech *drvoděl* ‘a kind of insect’ ([41, p. 489]: *drvoděl*), Old Rus. *Дроводѣл*, 1615 — toponym (the example is from «The history of land ownership in Belozero region in XV–XVI centuries» by A. I. Kopanев, p. 214); *Дроводѣл* — oikonym in Jablanitskiy county of Serbia. The composite, which arose on the base of the word combination **drъvo dělati* ‘to cut down trees’, ‘to adze, process logs’, comp. Czech dial. *dělad’ drva* ‘to cut down trees’ and also Bulg. *дѣлам* ‘to adze’, Maced. *дела* ‘to adze, whittle’ (*ESSĀ* 4: 231: **dělati*). Czech insectonym denotes a bug, dwelling in tree bark («woodworm»). For geographical names is acceptable the explanation as ‘place of tree felling’ or ‘place of treatment of wood’. An addition to the dictionary entry in SP [55: V, p. 22–23].

**drъvъno*: Old Russ. (Novgorod) *дровно* ‘wooden block, log’ (this example is taken from «Old Novgorodian Dialect» (1995) by acad. A. A. Zalizn’ak, p. 203). Old Russian addition to the lexical en-

try **drъvъnъ(jъ)* in ÈSSĀ (5: 143–144) and (the work «On Clarification of Representations of Slavonic Isoglosses» by A. F. Zhuravlev, Part 1, p. 58). It is substantivisation of the neuter form of the adjective, cf. Pol. old *drewno* ‘wood material’, Rus. dial. (Kaluga, Oryol) *дровно́* ‘scaffold, wooden block’.

**dъlgačъ*: Maced. dial. *долгач* ‘long stone, long hill’ [2, p. 52], Rus. dial. (Novgorod) *долгач* ‘logs five meters in length’ («Novgorod Regional Dictionary» (2010), p. 223), Ukr. **Долгач* — personal name, saved in the stem of hydronym *Долгачевка, Долгачева* [21, p. 177]. The derivative with suff. *-ač-* from adj. **dъlgačъ(jъ)*. An addition to SP ([55: III, p. 253–254]: **dъlgačъ*), where Ukrainian example is absent.

**dъlgašъ*: Maced. dial. *долгаш* ‘long hill’ [2, p. 52], Croat. *Dolgaš* — anthroponym [44, p. 135], Pol. *Długasz* — modern surname [56, p. 2037], Rus. **Долгаш* — anthroponym, motivating the modern surname *Долгашов*. The derivative with the formant *-ašъ* from adj. **dъlgačъ(jъ)* ‘long’.

**dъlgošъ*: Old Pol. *Długosz* — personal name (*Długoss*, 1317, Erga *Długosz* de Rószcowo, 1396 [61: I, p. 475]), Pol. *Długosz* — surname [56, p. 2040], Ukr. **Довгош* — personal name, motivating for the surname *Довгошенко*. The derivative with suff. *-oš-* from adj. **dъlgačъ(jъ)*. An addition to the dictionary entry of SP ([55: III, p. 260]: **dъlgošъ*): without Ukr. example.

**emъlva*: Ukr. *Ямолва* — surname, dial. steppe *ємолва́* ‘mute person’, ‘man of few words’. The derivative with the prefix **ε-* (its meaning is deprivation and negation) from subst. **mъlva* ‘language’, ‘speech’, ‘noise’. According to this word-forming pattern Lat. *in-fāns* ‘mute’, ‘nonspeaking’, ‘speechless’, ‘deprived of a gift of words’ is derived, that is *in-* (< **en-*) & *fāns* — part. praes. to *for* ‘to say’. See: [40, p. 19].

**gojъ*: Belarus. dial. *зoў* ‘fat, obese’, ‘big’ [11, p. 284]. An addition to the lexical entry in ÈSSĀ (6: 197), where Belarussian material is presented with *зоў* ‘tall’, ‘brave, hero’ only, which is semantically more distant from **gojъ* ‘feed’, ‘care’, ‘abundance’ (in SP [55: VIII, p. 26–27] Belarussian forms are absent).

**gobašъ*: Pol. *Gębas* — modern surname, Old Rus. *Губасъ* — anthroponym (this example is from the second volume of «Acts, Published [Archeographic] Commission, Highest Established for review of Ancient Acts in Vilna», p. 559). Derivative with suff. *-as-* from **goba* ‘lip’.

**gъlgati*: Slovak *glgat’* ‘to mutter’, ‘to grouch’. F. Bezlej compares this verb with Latv. *gulgāt* ‘to burble’, ‘to gurgle’, New High German *kolken* ‘to scream’, ‘to burp’ etc. [30, p. 159] within the dictionary entry, set aside for analysis of Sloven. *gólša* ‘goiter’, *gólšec* ‘Mercurialis’ etc. < **gъlax-* ~ **gъlg-*. However, Slovenian material, clearly going back to IE. etymon **gel-* ‘to compress’, ‘lump’, should be separated from mentioned verbs, having onomatopoeic nature, which at one time was underlined by V. Machek (his point of view is mentioned in: [30, p. 159]). Proto-Slav. **gъlgati* contains the stem, motivating the intensive **gъlg-otati* (in ÈSSĀ 7: 190–191 word-forming verb here is not indicated, the comparison with **gъlkъ* is given only).

**gъrbolъ*: Bulg. *Гърбелъо* — name of hill [20, p. 147], Pol. *Garbol* [56, p. 2938], Rus., Ukr. *Горболь* — modern surnames. The derivative with suff. *-ol-* from **gъrbъ* ‘back’, ‘hump’, (figuratively) ‘hump’, ‘hill’. Vocalism *e* in the suffix of Bulgarian reflex is secondary, being caused with palatalisation of *л*. About the formant see: [54: I, p. 109].

**gъrnъkъ*: Czech *hrnek* ‘pot’, Slovak *hrnok*, gen. *-nka*, Polab. *gornāk* ‘pot for milk’, Pol. *garnek* ‘pot’, ‘saucerpan’, ‘mug’ (ÈSSĀ 7: 211), Ukr. dial. *горнок* ‘gallipot’ [1, p. 99]. The diminutive with suff. *-ъk-* to **gъrnъ*, **gъrno*. Western Slavonic forms in ÈSSĀ do not constitute a separate dictionary entry, but given under **gъrnъ/gъrno*.

**gybava*: Ukr. dial. *Гыбава* — microtoponym (Eastern Slovakia [6, p. 326]). Adj. fem. with suff. *-av-* from the stem **gyb-* ~ **gybati*, **gybiti* ‘to bend, to flex’. The antiquity of this formation is indicated with the preservation of the stem **gybav-* as a part of the derivative **gybavica*, attested in Serbs, Croats and Eastern Slavs (see next).

**gybavica*: Croat. *gibavica* ‘sweet dish from the dough (baked), nowadays — from very thin, rolled up dough’, Serb. *Gibavica* — toponym (county Smederevski) [51, p. 130–131, 132], Eastern Slav. *Губавица* — oikonym (Ostrozhsky Majorat; see «Ostrozhsky Majorat and its Peasants» (1859) by V. Veshn’akov, p. 3). The derivative with suff. *-ic-* from adj. **gybavъ*, that is its substantivisation.

**gybina*: Croat. *Gibina*, 1875 — oikonym (Međimurje [51, p. 132]), (deriv.) Rus. dial. (Smolensk) *зубинка* ‘bend of something; hollow’ (SRNG 6: 168). The derivative with the formant *-ina* from the stem of **gybati*, **gybiti*.

**gyzda*: Serb., Croat. *гузда* ‘female head decoration, hairstyle’ [9, p. 85], Sloven. *gizda* ‘hubris, conceit’, ‘luxury in a dress’ (see «Slovinian-Russian Dictionary» (1901) by M. Hostnik, p. 35). The grammatical variant to **gyzdъ* (see below).

**gyzdavъ(jъ)*: Old Serb. *гуздавъ* ‘dressy’, ‘beauty’ [5, p. 248], (deriv.) «а се писахъ на а Вѣкашинъ Гуздавићъ», 1487 [32, p. 52]. Old Serbian additions to the dictionary entry with the mentioned prototype in ÈSSĀ (7: 223).

**gyzdъ*: Bulg. **Гузѡ* — personal name, from which the toponym *Гузѡво* in Kasantijsko was derived [26, p. 161]. Bulgarian addition to the dictionary entry **gyzdъ* in ÈSSĀ (7: 223): Bulgarian examples here are absent.

gyzdьnica*: Bulg. *Гызденица* — name of the meadow in the district of the Čepinska river. G. Khris-tov considers the nomen to be derived from the lost personal name **Гызден* [26, p. 161], however this assumption just goes against the rules of derivation of toponyms from anthroponyms. Here we deal with a reflex of the appellative **гызденица* whether word-formation with *-ица* from the mycrotoponym **Гыздено*. Proto-Slav. **gyzdьnica* is derived with suff. *-ic-* from adj. **gyzdьnъ* < **gyzda*/gyzdъ* (see above).

**xlebezъ*: Ukr. dial. (Polesia) *хл'ебест* 'thin rail, long thin board' [15, p. 85]. The written form reflexes the change of the end of the word under the influence of the derivatives from the expressive verbs with *-естати* (cf. Ukr. dial. *хлебестати* 'to beat, to whip' [12: VI, p. 179], but comp. also the case of the alteration of the end of the word *-ъ* as *-st* (with nonetymological *t*) in Czech dial. *kříst* (alongside with *křís*) < Old Czech *křéz* < Proto-Slav. **krězъ* (ESSA 12: 141). In short, it is the matter of the derivative with suff. *-ez-* from the lost verb **xlebti* 'to saw at an angle', 'to broach, to trim' (?), cf. its etymological correspondence in Lith. *sklembti, sklembiù* 'to hack diagonally, to hew, cut, saw, to dig (for example, trench with the sloping walls), to cut diagonally' — infixed form **skle-m-bu* to **skleb-/sklab-* (about Lith. verb see: [57, p. 1553; 37: II, p. 810]). Suff. *-ezъ* thus formed the deverbative **xlebezъ*, derivationally close to Rus. dial. *рубѣз* 'galloon, a narrow band, detached, cut off the cloth [...] < *рубумъ* (see «Suffix *oz/ez/vz* in Slavonic Languages» by G. A. Iliinskij (1911), p. 15; here see about this formant in detail). As regards genetical correlation in the anlaut of Lith. *sk-* (archaism) VS Proto-Slav. **x-* (innovation) comp. Lith. *sklendžiù, sklēsti*: Proto-Slav. **xlędnoti*; Lith. *sklandà*: Proto-Slav. **xlodъ* etc. [37: II, p. 810], and also ESSA (8: 37–38).

**xolujь*: Old Rus. *Холуй*, 1609 — city on the river Klyazma («на Холую»; see the second volume of «Historic Acts, Collected and Published by Archeographic Commission» (1841), p. 198), Rus. *Холуй* — river in former Vologda governorate, (deriv.) *Холуица* (*Chotujca, Chatujca, Chołwica, Chatwica, Chatwica, Chatunica* [63: V, p. 50]). The additions to the lexical entry in ESSA (8: 65).

xręstъ*: Rus. dial. (Novgorod) *xpęctи*, pl. 'dorsal vertebrae' (see «Novgorod Regional Dictionary» (2010), p. 1256). If it is not late form to **xpęctи* (with simplification of the auslaut *umiu* > *ctи*), then we deal with the suffixless derivative (*ъ*-stem) from **xręstati*, comp. suffixal derivatives **xręst-ъkъ* > Rus. dial. *xpęctокъ* 'cartilage', **xręščъ* (xręst-ъbъ*) > Rus. *xpъц* with a wider areal in ESSA (8: 95, 96).

**xvorstava*: Old Slav. *Crostaу, Khróstava* (= *chrastava*), *Chrastava* — the geographical name in Slavonic population of Saxony, deriv. *Crostewitz* (= *chrastovice*), *Crostawitze*, 1144 — mountain ([39, p. 244]: correlated with OCS *xpъctъ*, Czech *chrast*) also belong here, Upper Sorb. *Krostau* (*Khróst*), *Khróstava*, Czech *Chrastavo, Chrastava*, deriv. *Chrastavec, Chrastavice* — toponyms ([45, p. 254]: *hvrastъ*). The derivative with the formant *-ava* from **xvorstъ* 'bush', 'shrub, thickets', 'brush-wood'.

xyša*: Old Czech *Chyše*, XVI [47, p. 166], *Chýš*, 1639 [48, p. 119] — toponym. Old Czech addition to the dictionary entry **xyšъ*/xyša* in ESSA (8: 159).

**ъbzlektъ*: Rus. dial. *узлѣкъ* 'node' (SRNG 12: 142). The suffixless derivative from **ъbzlekti* 'to bend', 'to arch' ~ Lith. *išleñkti* 'to arch' [57, p. 899].

ъbnadъjati*/ъbnadъjati* (?): Rus. dial. *снаживать* 'to accustom to each other, set someone up with someone' (SRNG 39: 83) < **снажати*, Ukr. dial. *знажати* (= *принаджувати*) 'to cause the appearance of somebody in some way', 'to spark interest with one's own positive qualities' (this example is from «Variants of Ukrainian Literary Language» by I. G. Matvijas (1998), p. 74). Because of the features of the anlaut development it is not always possible to differ the forms with prefixes **ъbz-* and **ъbn-* (they often coincide semantically also), therefore both prototypes are likely. The iterative-causative with *-jati* to **ъbnaditi*/**ъbnaditi*. Regarding to **naditi* see: ESSA (22: 8–9).

ъbzsojica*: Maced. *Исоица* — mycrotoponym [19, p. 371]. Phonetics of this word is ambiguous (c from s or here is cc < zs), whence is variance of the reconstruction its presupposed Proto-Slavonic prototype. It is permissible to talk about both **ъbzsoj-ica*, derived from **ъbzsoja* < **ъbz-sъjati* (comp. with another prefixation **ob-soja*/-e/-ъ* (: Maced. *окој* 'humid, dark place') ~ **obsъjati* 'to shine'; ESSA (29: 251–252)), as well as **ъbz-soj-ica*, derived from **ъbz-soja* — the word, formed with pref. **ъbz-* and the root noun **soja* ~ **sъjati*.

**ъbztariti*: Croat. dial. *starýt* 'to wipe', 'to wipe off' [38, p. 177]. The prefixed verb **ъbz-tariti* with the root *tar-* < **tōr-* < **tor-* ~ **terti*, **tъrъ*. Cf. with another prefix **obtariti se* in ESSA (30: 158).

**kalъnikъ*: Croat. old *Kalnik* — the mountain (see «Croats» by A. L. Lipovskij (1900): *Кальникъ*), Ukr. *Кальник* — name of several settlements in Vinnitsa and Transcarpathian regions ([21, p. 232]: *Кальничка*). The derivative with the formant *-ikъ* from adj. **kalъnъ*(*ъ*), cf. the correlate **kalъnica* 'swampy soil' (cf.: ESSA 9: 129).

**kamorъ*: Old Slav. *Komor* (Saxony), Sorb. *Komor* ([39, p. 102, 103]: to Old Bulg. *комаръ*) — toponyms, Pol. *Komar* — hydronym (the basins of the Vistula and Oder rivers [59, p. 144]). The lexemes, expanding presupposed areal of Proto-Slav. **kamorъ*, reconstruction of which in ESSA (9: 137) based on the only example — Slovin. old *kamor* 'stone'. Root vocalism *o* is the result of later regressive assimilation, while for Pol. *Komar* the dialect vocal mutation is permissible, as in the case of Pol. *komar* 'mosquito' alongside with dial. *kamor* (diametrically opposite change of vowels).

**klusakъ*: Czech old *Klusák*, XVI — anthroponym [47, p. 167], Ukr. Lemk. *клубак* ‘pacer; trotting horse’ [18, p. 162]. The derivative from **klusati* (: Czech *klusati* ‘to trot, to jog’) or **klusъ* (: Czech *klus* ‘horse trot’), on which see: (ĚSSĀ 10: 59–60, 78).

**kokava*: Slovak old *Kokava* (twice) — toponym [49, p. 58], (deriv.) Pol. *Kokawka* — hydronym [59, p. 144]. The derivative with suff. *-ava* from **kokъ* (: Sloven. *kok* ‘top of the mountain’, Pol. dial. *kok* ‘bend’, ‘elbow’), on which see [10, p. 96].

kokola*/kokolъ*: Old Rus. *Какола* — oikonym < **Кокола*; Old Rus. *Коколь*, 1603 — oikonym. These are the variant derivatives with suff. *-ol-* from **kokъ* (see above). In detail see: [8, p. 110].

**koldorobъ*: Maced. old *Кладораби* — oikonym (see «Essay of Travel to European Turkey» (1877) by V. I. Grigorovich, p. 179). The Macedonian addition to the dictionary entry of ĚSSĀ (10: 125), where presented Serbian, Old Czech and Czech data only.

**konobyль*: Ukr. *Конобиль* [конобиль] — microtoponym [22, p. 359]. The compound word formed with composition of **копь* ‘horse’ and **быль* ‘plant’ similar to **цьрно-быль* (see about it: ĚSSĀ 4: 153).

**konotorъ*: Slovak «per rivulum *Сопотора*» — a river (the basin of the Ezernica river [60, p. 55–56]), Ukr. *Конотоп* [конот’ип], [канатоп], [кунотоп] — the river, in which horses drowned (the village Novyj Dvir [22, p. 359]. An addition to the dictionary entry in ĚSSĀ (10: 193–194): Slovak material is not presented here.

**korenyъzъ*: Sloven. *Koreno* — toponym = *koren les* ‘trees with strong roots’ < **korenyъzъ* [50, p. 93, 334]. An addition to the dictionary entry in ĚSSĀ (11: 66–67), where Slovenian vocabulary is absent.

koroborъ*: Rus. **Коробор* is saved as a part of derived oikonym *Короборская* (former Vyatka governorate [52: IV, p. 416]). Proto-Slav. **koroborъ* arose on the basis of the phrase **korъ беръ* (byrati*) ‘to take (I take) the tree bark’ with regular model of isolation of apophonia in derived noun. The likely semantics of composite is ‘place in the forest, where the tree bark is ripped’ or ‘one, who harvests the bark’ (in this case *Короборская* < **Короборы* is onymised plural form of the name of a person by the nature of activity).

**korytina*: Serb. *Коритина* — river (the basin of the Kolubara river [17, p. 170]), Croat. *Koritina* — toponym ([45, p. 266]: *koryto*), Rus. dial. (Vladimir) *корытина* ‘trough-shaped deepening’, (Pskov) ‘deepening, long pit at the bottom of the pond’ (SRNG 15: 36). The derivative with *-ina* from **koryto* ‘gutter’, ‘riverbed’, ‘ditch’ (about etymology and semantics see: ĚSSĀ 11: 121–126).

**korytnica*: Serb. *Коритница*, Czech *Korytnice* — geographical names [45, p. 266], Pol. *Korytnica* — hydronym [59, p. 146], Ukr. *Коритниця*, *Корытниця* — a stream, tributary of the Uzh river [21, p. 271]. The derivative with suff. *-ic-* from adj. **korytъnzъ* (its substantivation).

**korytnikъ*: Serb. *Коритник* — a mountain valley [7, p. 75], *Коритник* — a stream in the Drina river basin [17, p. 170], Pol. *Korytnik* — hydronym (basin of the Vistula river [59, p. 146]), Ukr. old *Коритники* pl. t. — toponym [45, p. 266]. It is the derivative with suff. *-ik-* from adj. **korytъnzъ* (its substantivation). In the case of the pair **korytnica* : **korytnikъ* we not always can talk about onymisation of corresponding appellatives, because the late toponymic derivation is very likely, that is, derivativeness of the nomen with *-ica* : *-ikъ* from the name of the contact geographical object with *-n-*, cf. Pol. hydronyms *Korytno* and *Korytnica* in the basin of one river, Ukr. *Коритниця* — the river near the village *Коритне* in Chernovtsy region [21, p. 271] etc.

**korytъnzъ(jъ)*: Croat. *Koritno*, *Koritna*, Czech *Korytná* — toponyms [45, p. 266], Pol. *Korytno* — name of a water body [59, p. 146], Ukr. *Коритна*, *Корытная*, *Корытна* — name of the hydro objects in the basin of the Don, Dnestr, Dnieper rivers, *Коритный* — stream (Transcarpathia) [21, p. 271], Rus. *Корытной* — hydronym (the Oka river basin). Adj. with *-ъn-* from **koryto* ‘gutter’, ‘riverbed’, ‘ditch’. All the forms of the adjective are implemented in the geographical nomenclature.

**kotъcakъ*: Bulg. dial. *кочак* ‘pigsty made of racks or boards’, ‘walled off place in the herding hut, where newborn lambs are held’, ‘cattle pen with the canopy’ ([3, p. 985, 686]: from *коч* ‘pigsty’ with suff. *-ак*), Serb. dial. (Timok) *кочак* ‘partition (made of boards) in the house, where usually lambs, calvs, baby goats are held’ [23, p. 184]. The derivative with suff. *-ак-* from **kotъcъ* < **kotъc-jъ* (cf. Bulg. *коч* from **котъчъ* in: [3, p. 985]). It is also perhaps a local innovation.

**koželipa*: Serb., Croat. *koža-lipa*, Sloven. *koža-lipa*, Czech *kůže-lipa*. In according to N. S. Trubetskoj, it is from **koža* and **lipa* [62, p. 302].

**krajъna*: Lower Sorb. old *Крауна* (*Крајна*) — toponym ([46, p. 64]: to *крај*). This is an addition to the dictionary entry of ĚSSĀ (12: 91), where data of Sorbian languages are not presented.

**kujoba*: Belarus. dial. **куjoba* ‘care, careful attitude’, being restored on the base of the desubstantive verb *куjobиць* in a lamentation for the dead «А я маленька, неразумненъкая, / А хто ж мяне будзець *куjobиць*?» [25, p. 211]. It is an addition to corresponding lexical entry in ĚSSĀ (13: 90), where the only dialect words of Russian and Ukrainian languages are present.

**kučava*: Bulg. *Кичава* (this example is from «Essay of Travel to European Turkey» (1877) by V. I. Grigorovich, p. 178), Serb. *Кичава* (Montenegro) — oikonyms. The derivative with the formant *-ava* from root stem **кучъ-* (~ **кук-*), cf. deriv. Serb., Croat. *кичер* ‘protruding cliff’ (ĚSSĀ 13: 250).

lykoderъ*/lykodyra*: Serb. *Ликодер* — anthroponym ([13, p. 691]: *Лик-*), *Ликодра* — river, left tributary of the Jadar river in the Drina river basin. It is about Serbian reflexes of Proto-Slavonic dialect

lexemes, which up to now have been attested only in Czech (*lykodra* ‘tree is similar to elm [...]’) and Eastern Slavonic areals (Rus. *лыккодѣр* ‘who trades with tearing the bast of trees’, Ukr. *лыккодѣр* ‘who tiers the bast’ (ESSĀ). In more detail see: [8, p. 286].

**maky*, -*zve*: Serb. *Makva* — name of a river and a stream in the northern part of Metohija [24, p. 167, 230]. This is an ancient *ū*-stem ~ **makati*, **močiti* ‘to wet’ as a variant form for restored in ESSĀ **moky*, -*zve* (ESSĀ 19, 149: it is attested only in a part of Western and Eastern Slavs). It does not exclude the secondary nature of the form with *a*-vocalism regarding to **moky*, -*zve* as a result of influence of **makati*.

**melьць*: Pol. *Mielec* — modern surname [56, p. 7165]. It is an addition to corresponding lexical entry in ESSĀ (18: 93: only Old Rus. and Rus. dial.), where Polish reflexes are absent.

**močeordz* or **močeradz*: Pol. *Moczerad*, *Moczurad* — surnames [56, p. 7349, 7351]. It is an addition to the entry **močeradz* in ESSĀ (19: 77–78), where Polish reflexes are absent.

**mьstibogz*: Old Belarus. (deriv.) *Мстубогово*, 1567 — name of a village in Wilno governorate (see XIV volume of «Acts, Published [Archeographic] Commission, Highest Established for review of Ancient Acts in Vilna», p. 182). It is an addition to corresponding lexical entry in ESSĀ (21: 168–169: Czech and Old Rus. forms).

III. Conclusions

Overviewed above lexical units fill out the lacunae in a comparatively small segment (from the words with initial *a-* to *m-*) that Proto-Slavonic vocabulary, which was already reconstructed in ESSĀ and SP. Certainly it is difficult to assess the real volume of the words, which up to now has not been an object of Proto-Slavonic lexicography, it is clear only that their parsing will require a multi-volume scientific edition, which should be carried out in parallel to publication of ESSĀ. The reconstructive potential of the described above units is enough illustrative:

1) in terms of filling out the omissions (**bajьkьzь*, **bebrišь* (**bebryšь?*), **bezmodzь*, **bezudzь*, **bukodbra*, **čekolsz*, **čmьlva*, **gьbasz*, **gьlgati*, **xlebezь*, **xrěstь*, -*i*, **konobyль*, **koroborz*, **maky*, -*zve* etc.);

2) in the configuration clarifying aspect. Cf.: **bajьць* (Slovenian-Ukrainian), **berstačь* (Serbian-Croatian-Russian), **berstěne*/**berstjane* (Macedonian-Czech-Ukrainian), **berzajь* (Serbian-Eastern Slavonic), **berzolupь* (Czech-Old Russian), **bezdzьbnikъ* (Macedonian-Polish), **bobrovьnzь* (Polish-Russian), **bryzga* (Macedonian-Slovenian-Kashubian-Eastern Slavonic), **čekolsz* (Bulgarian-Serbian-Slovak), **dobovjane* (Macedonian-Russian, Belarussian), **dreždžьnica* (Southern Slavonic-Sorbian), **dьlgašь* (Macedonian-Croatian-Polish-Russian), **gьrboль* (Bulgarian-Polish-Russian, Ukrainian), **gybavica* (Serbian-Croatian-Eastern Slavonic), **gybina* (Croatian-Russian), **klusakъ* (Czech-Ukrainian), **koldorobь* (Macedonian-Serbian-Czech), **koželipa* (Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian-Czech), **kukoba* (Russian-Ukrainian-Belarussian), **lykodерь* (Serbian-Ukrainian), **melьць* (Polish-Old Russian, Russian), **mьstibogz* (Czech-Old Russian, Belarussian old).

The data of historical and dialectal onomastics has played a significant role in the reconstruction of mentioned Slavonic protoforms.

Prospects for further research are obvious: it is necessary to continue forming the corpus of the etymologies (versions) for expansion of the roster of presupposed Proto-Slavonic words.

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РЕКОНСТРУКЦІЯ ПРАСЛОВ'ЯНСЬКОЇ ЛЕКСИКИ (ДЕЯКІ ДОПОВНЕННЯ ДО ËSSÂ TA SP)

Анотація. Статтю присвячено заповненню деяких лакун у реєстрах словників праслов'янської лексики, тобто етимологічних словників, призначених: а) виокремити й описати праслов'янську лексику спадщину в давніх і сучасних слов'янських мовах; б) з'ясувати генезис праслов'янських слів через установлення їхніх зв'язків зі спорідненими індоєвропейськими формами. **Мета** дослідження полягає в тому, щоби певною мірою розширити корпус реконструйованої в ËSSÂ та SP праслов'янської лексики. Досягнення мети зумовлює розв'язання двох завдань: 1) ліквідувати деякі пропуски у відомому зібранні праслов'янської лексики; 2) уточнити (розширити) ареал уже реконструйованих прототипів за рахунок уведення лексики мов, не врахованих при етимологізації. Необхідність створення єдиного корпусу доповнень до праслов'янського вокабуляря, реконструйованого в ËSSÂ та SP, зумовлює **актуальність** дослідження. **Об'єкт** дослідження становить не задіяна в ËSSÂ та SP питома апелятивна й ономастична лексика, яка може бути кваліфікована як праслов'янська або через ознаки морфологічної архаїки, або через ареальні характеристики. **Предмет** — етимологічні, фонетичні, морфологічні, лексико-семантичні властивості й ареал залучених до аналізу історично

засвідчених слів і реконструйованих під час аналізу прототипів. **Результати** дослідження: 1) дістала етимологічну інтерпретацію сума давніх лексем, які, гадаю, належать до праслов'янського словника (**baǰkǫǰь*, **bebrišь* (**bebryšь?*), **bezmodǫǰь*, **bezudь*, **bukodьra*, **čekolsь*, **čmьlva*, **gьlgati*, **xlebezь*, **xręstь*, -i, **konobyль*, **koroborь* etc.); 2) уточнено (розширено) географію рефлексів уже відновлених прототипів; вони репрезентують ізоглоси складної конфігурації. **Висновки** підбивають ризик під результатами реконструкції елементів праслов'янського словника, узагальнюючи досягнення процедури реконструкції та етимологічної інтерпретації матеріалу. **Перспективи** подальших досліджень очевидні: необхідно продовжувати формування корпусу етимологій, аби розширити реєстр праслов'янських слів, для яких передбачається праслов'янський вік.

Ключові слова: реконструкція, порівняльно-історичне мовознавство, прототип, етимологія, дериват, словотвір, ономастика.

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