vadinas garvežỹs, s. LKŽ III 147) zusammenstellen. Doch damit geraten wir schon in andere Geleise!

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Murtzaner Ring 16, 2/3   Rainer Eckert
D-0-1140 B e r l i n

On certain Slavic and Baltic word–formation parallels (thematic verbal abstract nouns)

Maria Wojtyła–Świerzowska

(Kraków)

Abstract

The Balto–Slavic deverbal abstract nouns as semantically open structures are PIE heritage. The general, constant opposition within the inherited deverbative system: *abstractum verbale : adiectivum verbale*. Some common properties and differences in the domain of thematic deverbatives in the languages of both groups. The common heritage (paradigmatic type with -*o*-, -*ā*-, -*i*-, -*u*-) and the common new features (paradigmatic type with iota-themes: -*i̯o*-, -*i̯ā*-). The problem of so–called concretization of meaning, e.g. the tendency of abstracts to pass into the domain of the subject structures.

The principal topic of the present study are original verbal abstract nouns, which form part of the broadly conceived category of the onomatoidal type (Kotarbiński 1986), i. e. predicate structures of the type THE FACT THAT (Doroszewski 1962). They are among the most interesting categories because of their peculiar status within the naming system of languages. The onomasiological properties of all abstract nouns (both generally denominative and verbal – names of actions) stem from the originally empty semantic unit which indicates the closest environment (*genus proximum*) of the name (cf. the bipartite structure of the Indo–European word; Rozwadowski 1960). In this way, the abstract noun (in our case, the verbal abstract noun), though superficially remaining a noun, preserves verbal properties, including predicate–argument structure, in its internal structure. The so–called concretization of meaning, i.e. the tendency of abstracta to drift towards the

domain of the concrete and to adopt subject structures (THE ONE WHO, THAT WHICH), consists simply in the selection of one of the arguments from the deep structure of an abstract noun and its transformation into the core of the noun's lexical meaning. The complete lexicalization of meaning takes place only when the word loses touch with its motivating verb, its origin becomes obscure and the word hardens into a lexical unit in its own right. As long as the link with the verb is maintained, however, the nominal formation remains a semantically OPEN entity. Its meaning gets established individually for every utterance by its speech act, which is a unit superior to the sentence and sentential context.

Verbal abstract nouns, being superficially nominalized verbs, are perfectly suited for naming initially the SITUATION, the EVENT, and later on, its particular elements. They stand in a constant complementary opposition with regard to verbal adjectives, which, in turn, are carriers of activity or dynamism of someone (agent) or something (focus of the event).

This onomasiological principle constitutes a linguistic application of more general epistemological processes: the encounter of cognitive powers of the mind with a certain SITUATION, in which by means of repeated analytic acts man is able to identify individual elements, relations (first of all, subject and object relations), and the focus of events.

This character of cognitive processes is confirmed by the most general IE naming model, which reduces to the opposition "verbal abstract nouns : verbal adjectives (> *nomen agentis*)", and is best characterized by the simple relation between the Greek words τόμος 'a cut' : τομός 'cutting' (participle) : τέμνω 'I cut'. This is naturally a general principle, which in individual IE languages may turn out to vary.

IE languages possess an immense number of morphologically different types of verbal abstract nouns. This state of affairs can also be observed in Slavic and Baltic. In the abundance of types, forms with $-o-$, $-io-$, $-\bar{a}-$, $-i\bar{a}-$, $-i-$, and, in Slavic, with $-u-$ and $-\bar{u}-$ as well, have achieved a particularly prominent position. Even though genetically different, they make up a fairly uniform, typical group, due to their peculiar way of functioning and equally peculiar history within the word-formation system of both language groups.

All the forms, except those with $-io-$, have more or less salient counterparts in other IE languages, and thus are part of the Proto-IE heritage. Nonetheless, they have clearly developed their proper typological form only in the Balto-Slavic environment. It was when the entire morpho-phonological

system of those languages was being transformed as a result of the development of the palatalization correlation that the above-mentioned word-formation types underwent thematization, i. e. their membership in one inflectional paradigm (either hard or palatal) began to play a role in word formation.

A study of thematic verbal abstract nouns in the Balto-Slavic environment should always take into account a broader context of all thematic deverbative nouns as well as the fact that the latter derive from either original, proper abstract nouns or nominalized verbal adjectives. The development of the latter could proceed towards either *nomen agentis* or *nomen acti* (this was the case, e. g., in Greek), and thus was exactly the same as that of original abstract nouns, which were transformed by the concretization process. Therefore, only a detailed analysis of individual words is able to identify in the mass of thematic formations what initially belonged to the τόμος and τομός types.

From the most general analysis of Baltic and Proto-Slavic thematic deverbatives the conclusion could be drawn that they combine very archaic proto-IE properties and new features, which came into existence owing to the modification of the entire morpho-phonological system in the Balto-Slavic epoch, and later development of the already independent language groups.

1. The comparison of both groups (the representative of the Baltic group will be Lithuanian) in the area of thematic deverbatives shows many common properties, but also a wide spectrum of differences. Lithuanian is apparently an example of a more archaic state. Thus, if we look at $-o-$ themes, Lithuanian has better preserved old verbal adjectives (of the τομός type) with a semantic range which is broad, but largely reducible to the active or passive basic participial value, cf. *trãkas* 'frenzied, fierce' : *trěkti, trěkia* 'to spoil, to foul', *paîkas* 'stupid' : *peîkti* 'to scold' (Otrębski 1963:30, henceforth: Otrębski). In the Slavic material verbal adjectives with $-ъ$ ($< *-o-s$) are recognizable either directly or in nominalized formations, but it is plausible that they had ceased to be a productive category already in the Proto-Slavic epoch. In any case, in the individual Slavic languages they are a relic from the epoch of the Proto-Slavic community, cf. the type *lǫkъ* 'curved, bent' : *lękti* 'to bend', *lǫgъ* 'flexible, supple' : *lęg-* 'to bend', *rǫgъ* 'flexible, slender' : *ręgati sę* 'to sway, to shake' (Boryś 1981:10); *grǫbъ, grǫb¦a* 'grave

(mound)' < *'that which has been heaped up' : *greti, grebǫ 'to rake up (Wojtyła-Świerzowska 1992:39).

In both groups, the initial, structurally transparent Proto–IE opposition of oxytonic verbal adjectives with -os and barytone abstract nouns had got under the influence of accentuation development rules. In Slavic languages there was a strong rule of oxytonic accent as an indicator of the productive, motivated character of a formation, and in Lithuanian, a tendency towards the mobility of stress. It should also be noted that both among adjectives and nouns with -o- there is a tendency to maintain the form of the base (the original apophony is not an active, relevant element accompanying the derivation, but one of the factors which used to contribute to both the τόμος and τομός types) and simultaneously a predictable tendency towards the concretization of meaning. It is not possible to distinguish those tendencies, common in the development of both types of languages, otherwise than at the level of individual words and by means of contrastive analysis of IE languages. Such a contrastive analysis should also take into account the fact that a certain word in a given language may represent only one of the two ancient contrasting units and the other may simply not have been preserved. Cf. Lith. gãnas, ganaĩ 'shepherd' (< *'drover'), most probably the original verbal adjective with respect to the Proto-Slavic *gonъ, gъ^lona 'driving, droving, running' – apparently abstract noun < IE *gᵘhen- 'to drive, to drove, to kill' (cf. Greek φόνος 'manslaughter', Sanskrit ghanáḥ 'club, stick' < *'killing').

The distinction between the two types is complicated further by the fact that in Balto–Slavic abstract nouns with -o- have absorbed part of the old proto–IE neuter abstracts with -om.

The history of action nouns with -o-s, though proceeding similarly in both language groups (abandoning the originally relevant typological properties such as accent and apophony for the sake of a single type indicator – the paradigm with -o-), has led to their total domination among deverbal masculines in Slavic only. The adjectives were abandoned (their function was taken over by strongly verbalized suffix–like derivatives with -ъnъ). Besides, towards the end of the proto–Slavic epoch, as a result of the merging of two initially separate masculine paradigms with -o- and with -u- into one with -o-, the few forms which originated from the old ones with -u-, e. g. PSl. *ědъ < *ēdu- 'venom' (see below), were also incorporated into the class of deverbal abstract nouns.

Thus, for the final period of the Proto-Slavic epoch, it could be assumed

that masculine nouns with -o-, derived deverbally in the paradigmatic mode, were exclusively abstract nouns > nomina rei.

The abstract nouns derived in this way turned out to be extremely productive in Slavic languages, esp. in the area of prefixed bases, which expressed various spatio–temporal relations, e. g., *dogonъ, *jъzgonъ, *otъgonъ, *pergonъ, *progonъ, *vygonъ, *zagonъ, etc.

In Baltic such an explosion of productivity is not to be observed.

2. With regard to -io- stems, to which we will now turn, there is a considerable divergence between Baltic (Lithuanian) and Slavic, although there is no doubt that verbal abstracts of this type must have emerged in the epoch of the Balto–Slavic community under the simultaneous influence of two principal factors:

– the formation of a palatal masculine noun paradigm with -io- (parallel to -o-);

– the absorption by them of part of the old neuter abstract nouns with -(i)iom.

The abstracts with -io- don't have clear counterparts in other IE languages. It is well known that iota–initial suffixes occur in the IE word–formation systems as indicators of adjectivity. Since for them it is a primary function, they have been incorporated into the lexical repertoire of particular IE language families as having that function.

In deverbal derivation (through verbal adjectives) the forms with -io- may obviously yield agent nouns, which historically have behaved similarly to those with -o-. Adjectives (and agent nouns) of this type are abundant in Lithuanian, although not productive, cf. sraũjas 'flowing fast' : sravéti 'to flow, to trickle', žãlias 'green' : žélti 'to grow, to yield greenery'; agent nouns – gaidỹs 'cock, rooster' : giedóti 'to sing (Otrębski: 63–9). In Slavic languages similar adjectives and agent nouns do occur, though rarely, cf. PSl. *lъžъ 'having the inclination to lie' : lъgati 'to lie', *prъčъ 'buck, he–goat' : *prъkati 'coitum appetere' (Wojtyła-Świerzowska 1974:27).

Action nouns with -io- can be distinguished as a separate type, with their own vocalic and prosodic patterns, only in Lithuanian. They are again abundant but no longer productive there. In Slavic languages, however, they are very rare, they lack their own typological characteristics, and thus are better treated as a morphological variant of -o- types. In Proto–Slavic the reconstructible forms are, e. g., *olčь 'hunger, want of food' : *olkati 'to be

hungry' = Lith. *alkis* 'hunger' and **plačь* 'a loud, mournful cry, weeping' : IE **plāk–, plag–* 'to beat, to hit'.

3. A large separate group is formed by deverbal feminine nouns with *–ā*. Characteristically bi–functional (they indicate the grammatical feminine gender as well as abstractness), they constitute, in Baltic and Slavic, the direct continuation of an IE heritage (cf. the Greek type *τομή* 'a cut'), including their most characteristic property – the oxytonic accent and the apophony of the root vowel. Nonetheless, similarly as in the case of the *–o–* type, they manifest the already proto–IE tendency to duplicate the shape of the base in the derived form. In both language groups we could also identify the tendency, inherited from the epoch of the IE community, to withdraw the accent on the root syllable. This process accompanies the concretization of meaning, cf. Greek *ἁρπαγή* 'a snatch' : *ἅρπαγη* 'grapnel, a rake'; Lith. *dangà : dánga* 'cover', 'roof, thatched roof', 'overcoat' = PSl. **dǫg|a : *d|ǫga* 'a bend, curve, curvature' and 'rainbow' : IE **dhengh–* 'to press, to bend, to curve', 'to cover' (Kuryłowicz 1958:116, 185, 238–9).

In Lithuanian there are not too many examples of this phenomenon. The majority of concrete nouns which derive from earlier abstracts have preserved the accent unchanged (Otrębski: 39). What is worth noting, however, is that in Lithuanian the withdrawal of the stress in original oxytones has been adopted as a characteristic feature of the class of pejorative agent nouns of the type *dylà* 'a bore' : *dìlti* 'to waste time, to bore', which are precisely original action nouns, but with personal denotation.

The change of semantic value from feminine abstract noun > masculine or common gender agent is both predictable and widespread in IE languages. It may bring about an additional formal indicator of change (like the masculinization in Greek which takes place by the attachment of final sigma, cf. the type with *–της*), but not necessary (as in Slavic, cf. the **vojevoda, *sluga* type; Wojtyła–Świerzowska 1974:31–4). The Slavic material (particularly the dialects), however, seems to display a fairly well preserved tendency towards the polarization of meanings by means of accentuation differences: the abstract = oxytone, the concrete = accent withdrawal, cf. above **dǫg|a : *d|ǫga, *mor|a* 'difficulty, breathing, torture' : **m|ora* 'nightmare' (Wojtyła–Świerzowska 1992:119).

The loss of abstract value and consequently the passage into the domain

of the concrete, which are so typical of all abstracts and at the same time are correlated with the loss of an active link with the motivating verb, cause the continuous need for the renewal of abstract structures. The thematic derivation both in Baltic and Slavic shows the tendency to link abstract meaning with the feminine grammatical gender. In Lithuanian the morpheme *–ė–*, which has taken over the function of forming feminines, have also started serving the category of action nouns. In Slavic deverbatives the general feminine noun paradigm (i.e. *–ā–, –iā, –i–, –u–*) has incorporated abstracts, i.e. in the deverbal derivation mode of feminines, derivatives are automatically classified as action nouns.

4. The feminines with *–iā* and *–i–* proved particularly productive. The abstract nouns with *–iā*, although they have various counterparts in other IE languages (Gr. *ἐπιδημία*, Lat. *furia*, Old Indian *ityā* 'gait'), probably did not come into being as a type until the epoch of the Balto–Slavic community. In their history, it was not unimportant that the secondary abstract with *–iā* preserved a typological continuity (cf. Lith. *kalčià, –ios* 'guilt' : *kaltas* 'guilty', PSl. **suša* 'draught : **suchъ* 'dry') and that they behaved analogously to the themes with *–ā*, where the opposition "hard : palatal" (so evident in masculine themes with *–o–/–io–*) exerts a symmetrizing influence, particularly in the post–verbal system.

In this case, as well as in the cases discussed so far, the peculiar vocal qualities, which make the derivative differ still further from the base, are relics of older processes and not an active phenomenon, cf. Lith. (with apophony and a circumflex): *klojà, –õs, klõjǫ* 'season and place of laying out flax' : *klóti* 'to lay out', *lojà, –õs, lõjǫ* 'slander' : *lóti* 'to bark, to scold' (Otrębski: 70); Slavic languages with relics of apophony and sometimes the oxytonic accent: **vol'a : **velěti* 'to order', **svět'a* 'a candle' : **svьtnǫti*. Normally, derivatives duplicate the form of the base.

Among Lithuanian derivates of this group (as well as the form with *–ā*), there is a category of pejorative names of agents of the type *ėdžia* 'oppressor' : *ėsti* 'to eat'. In Slavic languages, on the other hand, the use of abstracts with *–iā* with reference to individuals has yielded the ordinary, completely non–productive agent nouns: **dervoděl'a* 'woodcutter' (by analogy to the hard type **sluga*).

To express the pejorative function, Slavic languages also use feminine abstracts, but those of the suffixal type, with the special element *–g–*: *–ǫga,*

-ęga, -aga, -uga.

5. Both language groups which are of interest here have inherited from proto-IE the deverbative type with *-i-*. With the exception of Old Indian, it is not particularly productive anywhere (the Greek type φρόνις f. 'common sense', δῆρις f. 'war, combat', Lat. *scobis* f. 'shavings, sawdust').

In Slavic there are traces of the ancient division into feminine abstract nouns and verbal adjectives (masc. > agent nouns), cf. **bolь* f. 'suffering, illness', **bolь* adj. msc. 'ill' : **bolěti* 'to fall ill' (SP 1974:315), **molь* f. 'sth. small, fine' < 'grinding' (gerund) : **molь* msc. 'Tinea' < **'grinding' (participle) : **melti* 'to grind' (Wojtyła-Świerzowska 1974:41).

The Balto-Slavic contrastive analysis of action nouns has shown the existence of certain structurally identical properties, such as the tendency towards apophonic or quantitative variation of the vocalism of the derivative in relation to the base: Lith. *dalìs, -iẽs* (PSl. **dolь* 'pars') 'part' : *dìlti, dỹla* (dial. *dẽla*) 'to wear off, to decrease, to disappear', *súodys* 'soot' : *sė́sti* 'to sit' = PSl. **sadъ* 'orchard'; PSl. **tvarь* 'face' : **tvoriti* 'to form', **sěčь* 'cutting down' (gerund), 'sth cut down' : **sekti* 'to cut down', **žalь* 'regret, sadness' : **žel-*. There are only few such examples. Here as well as in other types, the apophonic and prosodic relations belong already to the past. The large majority of derivatives are not dissimilar in their form to their bases.

However, in contrast to Baltic (Lithuanian), where the type is no longer productive, Slavic has delegated the function of the principal indicator of general abstract sense, both in the primary and secondary derivation mode, to the formant *-i-*. A word possessing the property *-i-* f. is automatically attributed an abstract sense. Notably, a great number, if not the majority, of complex suffixes which have specialized in forming abstracts work on the basis of feminine themes with *-i-*: *-ežь, -lь, -ělь, -nь, -enь, -ěnь, -snь, -znь, -tь, -ostь*. The abstractness of those forms, which stems from both the function of their suffixes and their belonging to particular themes, is so strong that the process of its attrition to the advantage of concreteness does not take place so easily. With regard to this very property of categorial clarity, the abstracts with *-i-* are comparable only to the above-mentioned type with *-i̯ā-*.

6. Finally, let us pass to themes with *-u-*. As it is generally known, Slavic has abandoned the *-u-* paradigm, which was incorporated into the masculine forms with *-o-*, but not without imprinting them with a peculiar

stamp of its own. Deverbal nouns, for which one could postulate the old *-u-* theme (e.g. PSl. **-ědъ* 'venom, poison') on the evidence of extant traces (Eckert 1962:85) and on confrontation with other, etymologically identical formations in other languages, have not been inherited by Proto-Slavic as a coherent set of forms, but as a group of individual words. The situation in other IE languages looks similar – nowhere do they emerge as a morphological type. In the Baltic group, closest to Slavic, the state of affairs is identical in this respect, cf. the exceptional *dangùs* : *dángus* 'firmament, sky, palate, covering' : *deñgti* 'to hide', *gė́dus* 'shame' : *gė́sti* 'to blush with shame' (Leskien 1891:240).

What is characteristic about Lithuanian, however, is that the adjective category has been immensely developed there. This is particularly true of deverbal adjectives with *-u-*, some of which express the primaeval, participial value (*alsùs* 'tiring, heavy (about air)' : *il̃sti* 'to lose breath, to get tired', *marùs* 'mortal, quickly dying, quickly causing death' : *mir̃ti* 'to die') or, more frequently, the inclination to perform certain actions (*badùs* 'pricking' : *badýti* 'to prick', Otrębski: 56–61).

Slavic has not preserved such adjectives. They can be found only in the complex structures *-u-k-o- > -ъkъ*. It is here that agent nouns with *-ъkъ* might have originated: **svědъkъ* 'witness' : **svěděti* 'to know', the Polish type *modlek* 'inclined to pray', *płaczek* 'crybaby, a person inclined to cry', and also the Southern Slavic pejorative forms with *-ъko* (: *-ьko*, which are clearly related to Lithuanian forms with *-ukas*). The latter denote persons who tend to perform some actions, and structurally stand next to the adjectives with *-us*, cf. *kertùkas* 'swashbuckler' : *kertùs* (Otrębski: 282).

PSl. verbal abstract nouns may also be hidden in complex structures, e.g. in the type **gadъka* 'chattering, gabbing' : **gadati*, **gonъka* 'rushing about, drive' : **gъnati*, **goniti*.

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Instytut Slawistyki PAN
Pracownia Słownika Prasłowiańskiego
ul. Piłsudskiego 6
PL–31–109 K r a k ó w

Maria Wojtyła–Świerzowska

Zu den südslavisch–baltischen lexikalischen Verknüpfungen

Wiesław Boryś

(Kraków)

Abstract

The article presents an analysis of a South Slavic word family e. g. Slovenian *vêg* 'bent, uneven', Serbo-Croatian *vȅgav* 'crooked', Bulgarian *veg, vegav*, Macedonian *vegaf* 'cross-eyed'. These words are continuations of Proto-Slavic *$*vęgъ$* 'crooked' (an adjective found only in South Slavic languages) cognate to Lithuanian *véngti* 'avoid, by-pass' and its word family. The Slavic and Baltic words analysed belong to the Indo–European heritage, continuing IE *$*ueng(h)$-* 'to bend'. The adjective *$*uing-ro$-* may be considered a Balto-Slavic innovation, as indicated by Lithuanian *vingrus* 'winding, twisting, clever', Latvian *viñgrs* 'elastic, strong, quick, agile', Slovenian *végrast* 'swaying, uneven' and the Old Ukrainian hydronym *Vjagr* (> Polish *Wiar*).

1. Die Forschung der slavischen und baltischen Lexik hat eine lange Tradition. Einen besonderen Platz nimmt hier das im Jahre 1923 herausgegebene *Baltisch–Slavisches Wörterbuch* von R. Trautmann ein. Innerhalb der fast siebzig Jahren, die seit der Herausgabe dieses bis heute unschätzbaren Werkes verflossen sind, wurde die Materialbasis für die Untersuchung der Lexik beider Sprachgruppen stark erweitert. Die slavistische und baltistische etymologische und lexikologische Forschung ging voran, und in der Erschließung des urslavischen Wortschatzes wurden mittlerweile ebenfalls beachtliche Fortschritte erzielt. In der einschlägigen wissenschaftlichen Literatur wurden zahlreiche baltisch–slavische lexikalische Gleichsetzungen und Parallelen, die Trautmann noch unbekannt waren, ausgesondert und