

S T U D I A P H I L O L O G I C A



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ИНСТИТУТ ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЯ

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Настоящая монография представляет собой трехтомное посмертное издание труда выдающегося советского и российского лингвиста А. Б. Долгопольского, одного из крупнейших и всемирно признанных специалистов по сравнительно-историческому языкознанию и изучению дальнего родства языков. «Индоевропейский словарь с ностратическими этимологиями» составлен автором на основе главного труда его жизни — «Ностратического словаря», работу над которым А. Б. Долгопольский неотрывно и интенсивно вёл почти полвека.

Основной своей задачей автор считает определение и доказательство ностратических истоков индоевропейской лексики, поиск регулярных соответствий между лексическими единицами индоевропейских языков и языков других семей Старого Света. Словарь содержит 1397 вхождений, представляющих собой реконструированные корни индоевропейского праязыка с указанием их потомков в языках индоевропейской семьи и внешних соответствий в других семьях ностратических языков. Как по широте охвата лингвистического материала, так и по глубине разработки каждой словарной единицы словарь представляет собой уникальный материал для анализа и предназначен не только для лингвистов, изучающих индоевропейские языки, но и для специалистов по сравнительно-историческому изучению языков других семей.

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1293. (N 2507.) IE *weh-/*woh-/*wh- > NaIE *wā-/ *wō-/*wə- 'hit, wound' > Gk ἄάω (< ἄάω) 'hurt, damage', n. act. ἄτη < ἄάτη (Gk Ae ἀάτα) > Gk A ἄτη 'bewilderment, infatuation'] with a *-t-ext.: Gk οὔταω v. 'wound, hurt, hit', ὤτελλή n. 'wound' ||| Ltv vāts n. 'wound' ({EI} 'suppurating wound'), Lt vortis 'ulcer' ¶ WP I 211, P 1108, ≈σ EI 650 (?*weh_ht- '[suppurating] wound'), Ch. 3, Hofm. 27, F I 2, II 449-50, 1153, Frn. 1275 ||| **From N *w^ra¹qa** 'hit, hurt' > **HS**: S: Ar {Fr. ← [Qam.]} wāχχ- 'dolor' ¶ Fr. IV 446, BK II 1503 (Ar wāχχ- 'peine, fatigue') || Eg d. s-wχ² (caus. of ✓wχ²) vt. damage' ¶ EG IV 74 || **A**: Tg *wā- (< N *w^ra¹qa?) 'kill' > Ewk, Sln, Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk/KU wā-, Lm A wā-, WrMc ba-, Mc Sb wā-, Jrc wadula 'kill' ¶ STM I 127-8, Krm. 216, Vas. 77, On. 87, Z 1110, Kiy. 122 [no. 459] || **D** *vay- 'strike' > Kn bese 'strike with a whip', Knd vey- v. 'flog, beat', Kui vēpa (p. vē-t-) v. 'strike, beat', Ku ve'- 'beat' ¶¶ D no. 5555 ◇ IS MS 330 (*wā¹h¹ 'beat'), AD GD 5 ◇ Gr. II no. 435 (*wā 'wound') (IE, A + qu. Gil).

1294. (N 2557.) IE: [1] NaIE *wāy-/*wəy-/*wī- '(be) weak' > OI 'vāyati 'vanishes, becomes exhausted, is extinguished', Av frāyayōit 'es möge erlöschen' ||| Lt vójus adj. 'suffering, weak, ill', Ltv vājš (f. vāja) 'weak, feeble, lean' ||| ? Clt: W gwael 'poor, ill, base, vile', gwaelu 'to sicken' ||| ?? ON víl 'misery, need', AS wīl {Vr.} 'Bedrängnis, Kummernis', {P} 'Bedrängnis, Not' (absent in Ho. and Sw.) ¶ WP I 213-14, P 1111, M K III 189-90, M E II 538, Frn. 1272, YGM-1 252, Vr. 663-4 ||| [2] NaIE *weĵ(ə)-/*wī-, +exts: *wīt- (< *wi-Ht-), *weĵ-s '(make) wither' (× N *wiž² 'grey, [?] withered', q.v. × N *wan² 'squeeze, press', [→ 'weaken sth.'], q.v.) > NaIE *weĵ(ə)-/*wī-, +exts: wīt- (< wi-Ht-), *weĵ-s '(make) wither, weaken' > L viēsc-ō / -ēre 'fade, wither, shrink', viētus 'withered, shrunken' ||| Clt {Matas.} *wiwo- 'withered' (from NaIE *wī-wo-) > OIr [γ] feugud 'marcor' < OIr {LP, P} *feo 'withered', Mlr {Matas.} feo 'withered', W {YGM} gwyw id., 'feeble', gwywo v. 'wither, fade' ||| OHG wēsanēn 'to wither', MHG wesel 'schwach, matt', NE Δ weasel, weazen 'thin, lean', ON vesall

'poor, miserable'; ON *visinn* 'withered' (prtc. of **wisann*); $\rightarrow$ Gmc **wis-n-ōn* ~ *-ēn* > ON *visna*, NNr *visna*, Sw *vissna*, Dn *visne*, AS *wisnian* 'to dry up, to wither' || Lt *vyŕsti* (p. *vyŕtau*), Ltv *vīst* 'to fade, to wither, to droop', Lt *vyŕtinti* (1s pres. *pa-vaitinũ*), Ltv *vītināt* 'to make [sth.] fade', Ltv *vietēt*, *vītēt* id. ¶ WP I 227-8, P 1123, WH II 787-8, LP § 95.3, YGM-1 277, Vr. 657, 668, Hlq. 1359-60, Ho. 39, Kb. 1184, OsS 1131, Frn. 1265, Matas. E 425, YGM-1 252, 277 ||| **From N** **wahy* ∇ '(to be) weak' > HS: S **✓why* > Ar *✓why* G (ip. *-whay-*) {Hv.} 'be weak\frail', 'be rent' (clothes), 'break asunder' (skin, rope), {BK} 'être faible\débile; être crevé\déchiré; se détraquer, se déranger, tomber en morceaux' ¶ BK II 1618-19, Hv. 899 || **A**: Tg **b'a'y-* > Lm KO *bäyay-* 'scanty (скудный)' ¶ STM I 79.

1295. (N 2555.) IE: [1] IE **wej-* 'we' pl. > Ht *wēs* 'we' || NaIE **wej-* 'we' pl. > OI *va'yam*, Av *vaēm*, OPrs *vayam* 'we' ({M}: *-am on the analogy of other personal pronouns [those represented by OI *a'ham* 'I', *t'vām* 'thou']) || Gt *weis*, ON *vérr*, OSw *wī(r)*, OSx *wi, we, wir*, OHG, NHG *wir*, AS *wē* 'we', NE *we* || pTc {Ad.} **wes* > Tc: B *wes*, A *was* 'we' ||| The cd **wej-* + **dwo* 'two' underlies pronouns of 1st pers. du.: Lt *ve-du*, Gt, AS, OSx *wit*, ON *vit* ||| [2] NaIE **wē* 'we' du. nom. for nomina animata (< N **w∇y* ∇ 'h'æ, with N ? **h'æ* [an ancient marker of dual], q.v. ffd.) > Vd *vām* nom. 'we' du. (on OI *ā'vām* accus. and *ā'vām* nom. 'we' du. see N **ñ* ∇ 'we' excl.), OAv *vā* 'we' du. nom. ||| OCS *ѡѣ ѡѣ* 'we' du. ¶¶ Brg. KVG 410-13 (with a table), WP I 220, P 1114, EI 454-5 (**wej* 'we', emph. **we'yom*), Mn. 1505, 1524, M K III 147, M E II 508, Ad. 265-6, Bks 208-9, Fs. 560, 568-9, StSS 164 ||| **From N** **w∇y* ∇ 'we' > HS: SOm: Hm {Ldl} *wō* 'we' (general form), *wosi*, *wodi* (aut. prn.), *wōn* (dependent) 'we', *wō-no* / *wō-ntia* / *wō-nna* / *wō-nno* 'our', Ari {Hw.} *wō'(:)* 'we' (basic form), *wō'(:)tá* 'we' (aut. prn.), *wō'(:)-m* 'us' (-m is a marker of accus.), *wō'(:)ntén* 'our', Ari G {Bnd.} *wota*, *wōte*, Dm {Fl.} *watu* / *woto* 'we' (abs.), accus. *wōn-im* 'us', *wō* (with postpositions, e.g. *wō gišō* 'because of us'), *wō-kō* 'our', {Bnd.} *wō(:)t*, Ari U/B {Fl.}

w3ta, Hm B w3di ¶ Hz. PO and Fl. OO reconstructed pSOm *w3t
 'we', probably on the basis of early descriptions (Bnd. etc.) and
 of the verbal sxs of 1p: Gll -ot, Dm -t. Alternatively, the element
 *t∇ in the SOm prn may go back to the HS accusative ending *-
 t∇ (F N *t∇, marker of accusative) ¶ Ldl H 414-15, Hw. NAL
 448-52, Fl. D 521-5, Fl. OO 315, Hz. PO 110-12, Bnd. AL 161 ||
 ?? Eg wu 'I' (dependent) (× N *H2ouy∇ 'by me, my') ¶ Ed. 75, EG I
 270-1 || K *čwen-i 'our' > OG čuēni [čweni], G čvenī, Mg
 čk3n-i ~ čkin-i, Lz čkun-i ~ čkin-i ~ škun-i ~ škin-i 'our', Sv UB
 {GP} gu-šgwe(y), {TK} gwišgwey ~ gušgwey, LB gwi-šgwe ~
 gušge 'our' incl., UB {GP} ni-šgwe(y), {TK} nišgwey, LB
 nišg(w)e 'our' excl. (gu- is the marker of 1p incl., ni- is that of
 1p excl.), L gušgwe, Ln guškwe 'our'; GZ *čwen-i 'our' → GZ
 *čwen 'we' > OG čuēn čwen, G čven, Δ čon, Mg čk3-, čki-, Lz
 čku(n)-, čkin-, šku- 'we' ¶¶ K 219-20, FS K 388-9, FS E 436-7, Fn.
 GAS 72, Ser. 194, TK 183, GP US 45, Tt. 18-19, Dn. s.v. gušgve
 ¶¶ K *čwen- 'our' is analyzable as *č- (marker of poss. pronouns
 < N *č'u' 'that of ..., that which' [cp. *če-m-i 'my', *šeni < **č-
 sen-i 'thy']) + *we- (< N *wuy∇ 'we') + *-n- (< N *nu, marker
 of gen.) + *-i (pK marker of nom.)..

1296. (N 2558.) IE *weǵh- > NaIE *weǵa- / *wī- 'strength,
 force' > OI 'vayas 'energy, strength, power' ||| Gk ἰς (with a
 long ī) 'strength, force', [Hs.] ἰς ('ἰσχύς) 'strength (of body)'
 (ἰς = *F īς), Gk ἰ-φλ adv. 'by force\might' ('with strength')
 (*wī + *b^hi-, pc. of instr.) ||| L vī-ς (accus. vim) 'force,
 strength, power' ¶ The NaIE √ may have contaminated with
 homonymous *weǵ(a)-roots (< N *way∇ 'want, wish, strive
 for' and N *xawi_l∇ 'drive, chase, pursue') ¶ The IE Ir.*weǵh-
 is still to be explained, because it cannot go back to N ¶ ≈ P
 1123-4, M K III 147-8, F I 735-6, WH II 800-1, EI 209 and 548
 (*weǵhs 'vital force' < *weǵh- 'be strong') ||| **From N**
***woy'h'ê** 'be strong, be able\capable' > **HS:** S *°✓ wʔy > Ar
 waʔy- 'strong beast', ✓ wʔy G (pf. واأى waʔā, 3m ip. يأى ya-ʔī,
 n. act. waʔy-) 'promise, threaten' ¶ BK II 1474, Hv. 846 ||| **U:** FU
 *woye- 'be able, (?) be strong' > F vōi-, Es vōi- 'be able', F vōi-
 ma, Es vōim 'power, might' || ? Z † ойѳс оу-3S 'strength' ||| OHg

>XIV $\text{v} \acute{\text{r}} \text{-}$, Hg $\text{v} \acute{\text{r}} \text{v-}$ v. 'fight, struggle with' ¶ UEW 579, LG 204, SK 1805-6, EWU 1648 || **A**: NaT $*\text{u}_{\text{L}}\text{-}$ or $*\text{u}_{\text{L}}\text{-y-}$ > OT {Cl., Rs.} $\bar{\text{u}}\text{-}$ 'be able\capable' $\rightarrow$ OT, OOSm $\text{u-}\bar{\text{x}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}$ 'allmighty, God', Osm {Rl.} اويغان $\text{uy}\bar{\text{g}}\text{an}$ id. (?) [{Rl.} 'allgegenwärtig', an epitheton of God], XwT XIII, MQp Δ XIII $\text{u}\bar{\text{x}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}$, Chg XV $\text{u}\bar{\text{x}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}$ 'God' ¶ Rs. LTS 193, Rs. MIFTJ 167, Rl. I 970-1, Cl. 2 ◇ The discrepancy between Ar ? (in $\text{✓w}\text{?y}$) suggesting N $*\text{?}$ and IE $*\text{H}$ (that cannot go back to N $*\text{?}$) may be resolved by reconstructing N $*\text{woyhe}$ with S $*\text{?}$ from N $*\text{h}$ (a rather common phonetic change: loss of N $*\text{h}$ in a S word, followed by introducing a hiatus-filling $*\text{?}$) |||| This pN word may be the source of a marker of passivity\intransitivity in descendant lges: **HS** $*\text{w}\nabla\text{-}$ $\sim$ $*\text{-u}_{\text{L}}\text{-}$ > Eg $\text{-}\omega$, verbal suffix of the passive form ¶ Ed. 261-9 || S: [1] $*\text{w-}$ as the additional first radical of verbs of state and quality: $*\text{✓w|y}\text{t}\bar{\text{b}}$ 'be good' (> BHb, BA, JA $\text{✓y}\text{t}\bar{\text{b}}$); cp. $*\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\text{b-}$ 'good' (> BHb $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{b}}$ id. etc.); [2] $*\text{-u-}$ $\sim$ $*\text{-}\bar{\text{u-}}$ as an apophonic prefix\infix of ps.: CS $*\text{y-u-12a3-}$ 3m ps. of the *G*-stem (> Ar y-u-qtal-u 'he is\will be killed'), $*\text{y-u-}\check{\text{s}}\text{a-12a3-}$ 3m ps. of the caus. *Sh*-stem (> BHb יְשַׁלַּם $\text{y-}\check{\text{s}}\text{lam}$ 'it will be completed\restituted', Ar y-u-slam-u 'he will be kept safe'), pS ps. verbal adj. of the *D*-stem $*\text{1u22}\nabla\text{3-}$ (> Ak adj. 1u22u3 , Ar 3m pf. 1u22i3a , BHb 3m pf. $\text{1u2}^{\text{1}}\text{2a3}$), pS ps. verbal adj. of the causative *Sh*-stem $*\check{\text{z}}\text{u12}\nabla\text{3-}$ (> Ak adj. $\check{\text{z}}\text{u12u3}$, BHb 3m pf. $\text{h}\check{\text{u}}\text{1}^{\text{1}}\text{2a3}$, Ar 3m pf. ?u12i3a), BHb ps. adj. of the *G*-stem $\text{1}\bar{\text{a}}^{\text{1}}\text{2}\bar{\text{u}}\text{3}$ ($\text{s}\bar{\text{a}}^{\text{1}}\text{g}\bar{\text{u}}\text{r}$ 'closed') ¶ Ptrc. IF IV 602ff., KB 354-6, 390-1, BL H 378 || pB {Pr.} $*\text{tiwi-}$ / $*\text{-ttiwi-}$ (> Tw tw- / ttw- , NrB ttw-), px of the ps. verb stems (< combination of the HS reflexive px $*\text{t-}$ and the passive $*\text{w-}$): imv. $*\text{tiwi-kraz}$ / 3m pf. $*\text{yittiwi}\text{kraz}$ > Tw imv. $\text{tw}\check{\text{a}}\text{kr}\check{\text{a}}\text{h}$ / 3m pf. $\text{itt}\check{\text{w}}\check{\text{a}}\text{kr}\check{\text{a}}\text{h}$ 'être acquis' ¶ Pr. M VI-VII 56, 63, as well as 88-267 (on the ps. forms of different conjugations), Cadi 45-72 || ? EC: Sml $\text{-}\bar{\text{o}}\omega\text{-}$, sx of verbs of state and quality (denom. inchoative verbs): $\text{?}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{l}}\text{-}\bar{\text{o}}\omega\text{-}$ 'become hostile' $\leftarrow$ $\text{?}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{l}}$ 'enemy', $\text{?add-}\bar{\text{o}}\omega\text{-}$ 'become white' $\leftarrow$?ad 'white', Sml C {Mrn.} $\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{x}}\bar{\text{o}}\omega\text{-}$ 'become old' $\leftarrow$ $\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{x}}$ 'old man', Af {Hw.} $\text{-}\bar{\text{o}}\omega\text{e}$, derivational sx of inchoative verbs ($\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\text{gidd-}\bar{\text{o}}\omega\text{e}$ 'become busy' $\leftarrow$ $\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\text{gid}$ 'matter, affair') ¶ Mrn. SS 97, 267, ZMO 53-4, 70, Hw. MVEC, PH 245 ¶¶ Kln. PSK 26 || **U**: FU $*\text{-}\omega\nabla\text{-}$ ($\sim$ $*\text{w}\nabla\text{y-}$?), passivizing and intransitivizing verbal sx: F $\text{-}\bar{\text{u-}}/\text{-}\bar{\text{y-}}$ ($\text{n}\bar{\text{ä}}\text{ky-}$ 'be