

[Text version of database, created 1/05/2017].

Annotated Swadesh wordlists for the Slavic group (Indo-European family).

Languages included: Macedonian, Dihovo [slv-maw]; Cakavian, Orbanici [slv-orb]; Kajkavian, Burgenland [slv-brg]; Slovene, Ljubljana [slv-slo]; Belarusian, Turov [slv-tur]; Russian, Deulino [slv-deu].

DATA SOURCES

General.

Derksen 2007 = Derksen, R. *Etymological dictionary of the Slavic inherited lexicon*. Leiden / Boston: Brill. // *Brief dictionary of the Proto-Slavic roots and stems that are presumably of Indo-European origin. Mostly based on [Trubachev et al. 1974].*

Trubachev et al. 1974 = Трубачев, О. Н. и др. *Этимологический словарь славянских языков*. Москва, 1974-. Т. 1-39-. // *Extensive etymological dictionary of the Slavic languages. Ongoing edition.*

I. Dihovo Macedonian.

Evdokimova 2009 = Field records of Skopje koine (Macedonian language) by Aleksandra Evdokimova in Skopje, 2009.

Groen 1977 = Groen, B. M. *A structural description of the Macedonian dialect of Dihovo: phonology, morphology, texts, lexicon*. Lisse. // *Grammatical description of one of the Western Macedonian dialects. Supplemented with texts and a glossary.*

Hendriks 1976 = Hendriks, P. *The Radožda-Vevčani dialect of Macedonian: structure, texts, lexicon*. Lisse. // *Grammatical description of one of the Western Macedonian dialects. Supplemented with texts and a glossary.*

Lunt 1952 = Lunt, H. G. *Grammar of the Macedonian literary language*. Skopje. // *Reference*

grammar of Literary Macedonian.

Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963 = Толовский, Д.; Иллич-Свитыч, В. М. *Македонско-русский словарь*. Москва. // *Literary Macedonian-Russian dictionary, ca. 30 000 entries.*

II. Orbanići Čakavian.

Kalsbeek 1998 = Kalsbeek, J. *The Čakavian Dialect of Orbanići near Žminj in Istria*. Amsterdam – Atlanta: Rodopi. // *Description of a Čakavian dialect with texts and dictionary.*

III. Burgenland Kajkavian.

Houtzagers 1999 = Houtzagers, P. *The Kajkavian Dialect of Hidegség and Fertőhomok*. Amsterdam: Rodopi. // *Description of a Kajkavian dialect with texts and dictionary.*

IV. Ljubljana Slovene.

Ogrinc 2014, Uhlik 2016 = Information kindly provided by Mrs. Katarina Ogrinc and Mr. Tibor Uhlik, native speakers of Ljubljana Slovene.

Pretnar 1964 = Pretnar, J. *Rusko-slovenski slovar*. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije. // *Comprehensive Russian-Slovene dictionary.*

Dulichenko 2005 = Дуличенко, А. Д. *Словенский язык* [Dulichenko A. D. Slovene language]. In: *Языки мира. Славянские языки*. М.: Academia, pp. 198-233. // *Grammatical description of the Slovene language.*

V. Turov Belarusian.

Avanesaŭ 1964 = Аванесаў, Р. І. [рэд.] *Нарысы па беларускай дыялекталогіі* [*Sketches of Belarusian dialectology*]. Мінск: Навука і тэхніка. // *A description of Belarusian dialects.*

DABM 1963 = *Дыялекталагічны атлас беларускай мовы* [*Dialectal atlas of Belarusian*

language]. Мінск: Выдавецтва Акадэміі навук БССР. // *Dialectal atlas of Belarusian language containing phonetic, morphological and lexical maps.*

TS 1-5 = *Тураўскі слоўнік [Turov dictionary]*. Мінск: Навука и тэхніка, 1982-1987. // *Non-differential dialectal dictionary of the Turov region in five volumes.*

VI. Deulino Russian.

DS 1969 = *Словарь современного русского народного говора (д. Деулино Рязанского района Рязанской области) [Dictionary of the modern Russian folk dialect of the Deulino village, Ryazan' district]*. Москва: Наука. // *Differential dictionary of a southern Russian village.*

An audio example of the Deulino dialect can be found at:
<http://dialekt.rx5.ru/dialect/audio/072a.ogg>

NOTES

I. Dihovo Macedonian.

I.1. General.

The dialect of the village Dihovo (situated near Bitola) belongs to the Western dialectal group. The only source on the Dihovo dialect is [Groen 1977].

In the notes section, we quote lexical data from the Vevchani-Radozhda dialect (Western group) and the Skopje koine. Both are very close to Dihovo with minimal discrepancies (see 'bird', 'feather', 'neck', 'to see', 'smoke', 'to swim') in the Swadesh wordlist. The only source on Vevchani-Radozhda is [Hendriks 1976]. The main source on Skopje koine are the field records [Evdokimova 2009] (110-item wordlist, compiled in accordance with the GLD semantic specifications, Skopje, 2009); Skopje forms are accompanied with references to the dictionary of Literary Macedonian [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963] plus the literary grammar [Lunt 1952].

Three Dihovo Swadesh items are missing from [Groen 1977]: 'to kill', 'round', 'thin'. In

such cases, it seems sufficiently justified to fill the slot with the corresponding term from the Vevchani-Radozhda dialect.

I.2. Transliteration.

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources:

[Groen 1977]	[Hendriks 1976]	[Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963]	GLD
b	b	б	b
p	p	п	p
v	v	в	v
f	f	ф	f
d	d	д	d
t	t	т	t
dz	dz	с	ʒ
ts	ts	ц	c
z	z	з	z
s	s	с	s
dž	dž	џ	ž
tš	tš	ѡ	č
ž	ž	ж	ž
š	š	ш	š
gj	dj	ђ	d _ɸ
kj	tj	ќ	t _ɸ

[Groen 1977]	[Hendriks 1976]	[Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963]	GLD
g	g	г	g
k	k	к	k
	x	х	x
h			h
m	m	м	m
n	n	н	n
nj	nj	њ	ɲ
r	r	р	r
l	l	л	l
l'	l'	љ	ɭ
j	j	ј	y
Cj	Cj		C ^y
i	i	и	i
e	e	е	e
	ë		ɛ
a	a	а	a
ə		'	ə
o	o	о	o
	ö		ɔ
u	u	у	u
ǃ	ǃ	ǃ	ʋ

Note: Voiced obstruents become voiceless in the final position [Lunt 1952: 16]; this is not reflected either in the literary Cyrillic orthography or in the transcription in [Hendriks 1976].

II. Orbanići Čakavian.

II.1. *General.*

The Orbanići dialect was recorded by J. Kalsbeek, mainly from 1980 to 1984. Orbanići is a village with fewer than 100 inhabitants, situated near the town of Žminj.

II. 2. *Transliteration.*

The Orbanići dialect was recorded by J. Kalsbeek in standard Croatian orthography:

Croatian orthography	GLD
b	b
p	p
v	v
f	f
d	d
t	t
c	c
z	z
s	s
č	ç
ž	ʒ
š	ʃ
ć	ç
g	g
k	k
h	x
m	m
n	n
nj	ɲ
r	r
r between two consonants or before a consonant word- initially	r
l	l

Croatian orthography	GLD
lj	ʎ
j	y
i	i
e	e
ie	ye
a	a
o	o
uo	wo
u	u
ǃ	caron
inverted breve	circumflex
macron	:
double grave	˘

The Orbaníci dialect differentiates between long and short vowels. Short vowels can only take ictus, while long vowels can take rising (ǎ) and falling (â) stress. Long vowels can also occur in the pre-tonic position.

III. Burgenland Kajkavian.

III.1. *General.*

We present a list for the Kajkavian dialect, written down by P. Houtzagers in 1985-1994 in the Hungarian villages Hidegség and Fertőhomok, situated near the Austrian border and populated with descendants of Croatian migrants, who most probably originated from what is today Kraljeva Velika and Međurić [Houtzagers 1999: 20-25].

III. 2. *Transliteration.*

The transliteration of Houtzagers' system into GLD transcription is as follows:

Houtzagers	GLD
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Houtzagers	GLD
b	b
p	p
v	v
f	f
d	d
t	t
c	c
z	z
s	s
č	č
ž	ž
š	š
g	g
k	k
m	m
n	n
ŋj	ɲ
r	r
ɛr	ř
l	l
lj	ʎ
j	y
i	i
ê	ey
è	ye
unstressed e	ɛ
à, unstressed a	ɒ
ę	ä
ô	ow
ò	wo
unstressed o	ɔ
u	u

Houtzagers	GLD
â, î, û	V:
ì, à, ù	V

Notes:

- 1) In the Hidegség dialect, unstressed *o* is produced as *u* [Houtzagers 1999: 51].
- 2) Voiceless consonants (except for *h*) in the intervocalic position after a short stressed vowel (except for *ä*) are geminated [Houtzagers 1999: 58].
- 3) Word-final consonants are usually produced as voiced. The exceptions are *h*, *z* and *ž*, which are mostly pronounced as voiceless.

IV. Ljubljana Slovene.

IV.1. *General.*

IV.2. *Transliteration.*

The Slovene alphabet is transliterated as follows:

Slovene alphabet	GLD
b	b
p	p
v	v
f	f
d	d
t	t
c	c
z	z
s	s
č	č

Slovene alphabet	GLD
ž	ž
š	š
g	g
k	k
m	m
n	n
nj	ɲ
r	r
l	l
lj	ʎ
l, v in the final position	w
j	y
i	i:, i
e	e:, ε:, ε, ə
a	a:, a
o	o:, ɔ:, ɔ
u	u:, u

V. Turov Belarusian.

V.1. *General.*

The selected lect of Belarusian is the Turov dialect, recorded during expeditions to the neighbourhood of Turov (Southern Belarus) in the years 1967-1981 and reflected in the five-volume Turov dictionary [TS 1-5].

The following settlements were investigated: Azdamičy, Al'homieł', Al'piec, Al'shany, Veliamičy, Karocičy, Lutki, Vialikaje Maliešava, Mačuł', Ramiel', Rubiel', Siamhoscičy, Talmačava, Chotamiel', Cerabličy, Aziarany, Burazi, Biarežcy, Vierasnica, Dvarec, Zapiasočča, Liubavičy, Malaje Maliešava, Varonin, Pahost, Rydča, Ryčoŭ, Siamuradcy, Staražoŭcy, Turov (Turaŭ), Chil'čy, Černičy. In DABM, the Turov dialect is represented by Zapiasočča (point 808).

In the pioneer works of Ye. Karskiy, Turov and its neighbourhood were not included in the area of the Belarusian language. According to the later classification, it belongs to the Slutsk-Mazyr group within the South-Western Belarusian dialect [Avanesaŭ 1964: 402].

The Turov dialect lacks the *akanye* and *yakanye* typical of the Belarusian language, but reflects such innovations as the shift $\check{c} > \zeta$, depalatalization of r^y and affrication of t^y and $d^y > c^y$ and $ʒ^y$ (although some settlements lack the latter innovation).

V. 2. Transliteration.

The Turov dialect was recorded in the orthography of Standard Belarusian:

Turov dictionary	GLD
б	b
п	p
в	v
д	d
т	t
дз before и, е, я, ю, ё, ь	ʒ ^y
ц	c
з	z
с	s
ж	ʒ
ш	ʃ
дж	ʒ
ч	ʧ
к	k
г	ɣ
м	m
н	n
р	r

Turov dictionary	GLD
л	ɫ
ў	w
й	y
и	i
э	ɛ, e
е	yɛ, ye
ы	i
а	a
я	ya
о	ɔ, o
ё	yɔ, yo
у	u
ю	yu
consonant before и, е, я, ю, ё, ь	C ^y
acute sign	'V

Note: The Turov dialect belongs to the group of dialects in which close-mid and open-mid vowels are distinguished, cf. maps 34 and 35 in [DABM 1963]. Unfortunately, the dictionary does not mark this difference, so we transcribe them in the most plausible way: *o* stressed in newly closed syllables, *e* stressed in newly closed syllables and instead of etymological *ě*.

VI. Deulino Russian.

VI.1. *General.*

The lect analysed here is the Deulino dialect, written down during expeditions to the neighbourhood of Deulino (Ryazan region) in the years of 1960-1963 and reflected in the Deulino dictionary [DS 1969].

VI.2. *Transliteration.*

The Deulino dialect was written down in the Russian dialectological transcription:

Deulino dictionary	GLD
б	b
п	p
в	v
д	d
т	t
ц	c
з	z
с	s
ж	ʒ
ш	ʃ
ш'ш'	ʃʲ:
ч'	ʃʲ
к	k
γ	ɣ
х	x
м	m
н	n
р	r
л	l̥
ў	w
й	y
и	i
ь	ɪ
э	ɛ
ы	ɨ
ь	ə
а	a
о	ɔ

Deulino dictionary	GLD
y	u
'	C ^y
<i>acute sign</i>	V

Database compiled and annotated by:

Dihovo Macedonian: A. Kassian, August 2014.

Turov Belarussian, Deulino Russian: M. Saenko, August 2016.

Orbanici Cakavian: M. Saenko, September 2016.

Ljubljana Slovene: M. Saenko, October 2016.

Burgenland Kajkavian: M. Saenko, February 2016.

1. ALL

Dihovo Macedonian *si-DEF* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *sva* {svà} ~ *sa* {sà} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *vyes* {vès} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *vàs* {ves} (1), Turov Belarusian *uv^yes^y* {yвécь} ~ *v^yes^y* {вecь} ~ *us^y-'oy* {ycëŭ} ~ *us^y-'ey* {ycëŭ} (1), Deulino Russian *v^yes^y* {в'ec'} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 86. Plural form of *se-DEF* 'all'.

Vechni-Radozhda Macedonian: *si-DEF* [Hendriks 1976: 145]. Plural form of *se-DEF* 'all'.

Skopje Macedonian: *si-DEF* {сите} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 461; Lunt 1952: 46]. Plural form of *si-DEF* {сиот} 'all'.

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 555.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 331.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {vse zvezde} "all the stars", {vsa zemlja} "all the earth" [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {ves} [Pretnar 1964: 57].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 175, 211. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)'. Distinct from *c'et-i* {цэлы} ~ *c'at-i* {цáлы} (the second form is influenced by Polish {cały}) 'whole / intact, safe / very big' [TS 5: 282].

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 80. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)'.

2. ASHES

Dihovo Macedonian *pepel* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *p'opel* {pòpel} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *p'äpäl* {pèpèl} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *pep'e:w* {pepel} (1), Turov Belarusian *p'op^yet* {nón'el} (1), Deulino Russian *p'op^yit* {nón'ьл} ~ *p'op^yit* {nón'ул} ~ *p'op^yat* {nón'ал} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 272. Distinct from *žar* 'heat, ember' [Groen 1977: 295].

Vechni-Radozhda Macedonian: *pepel* [Hendriks 1976: 277]. Distinct from *žar* 'ashes, charcoal; heat' [Hendriks 1976: 302].

Skopje Macedonian: *pepel* {пепел} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 355]. Distinct from *spur-a* 'hot ashes' [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 480], ultimately borrowed from Romanian.

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 524. Distinct from *z=gor-en-ŭn-a* {zgorenina} 'ashes, burnt things, ruins / red inflamed or burnt spot (on the skin)' [Kalsbeek 1998: 591].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 294.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {pepel} [Pretnar 1964: 532, 245].

Turov Belarusian: TS 4: 166. There are two terms translated as 'ashes' in TS: *p'op^yet* {пóпел} [TS 4: 166] and *zot-a* {золá} [TS 2: 163]. Unfortunately, for the second term TS provides only two contexts, which does not allow us to find out the difference between these words: {золу беруць з печы} "ashes are taken from oven" [TS 2: 163], {Золою не ўгадаеш, колько трэба золіць кросна} "It is hard to estimate, how much ashes you need for bleaching linen in lye" [TS 5: 177].

However, taking into account the contexts for the first term, *p'op^yet* {пóпел} seems to be the more frequent and universal term, cf.: {Блошка напала на росаду, трэ попелом насыпаць} "fleas attacked seedlings, they should be powdered with ashes" [TS 1: 64]; {Поўна бочэчка мукі, а зверху жукі} "There is a barrel full of flour and there are beetles on it" (a riddle) – {попел і вуголь} "ashes and embers" (answer) [TS 1: 78]; {золото і ў попелі ззяе} "gold glitters even in ashes" [TS 2:

152]; {Золото і ў по́пелі блішчыць} "gold glitters even in ashes" [TS 4: 166]; {Бі попел на капустаці, то гусень будзе} "Looks like ashes on cabbage, it should be caterpillars" [TS 2: 182]; {то зоб'юць село, онно попел будзе} "they will ruin the village, leaving only ashes" [TS 2: 137]; {Толькі одна цэгла да одзін попел остаўса от хаты} "Only bricks and ashes remained from the house" [TS 3: 245]; {Одна цэгла да одзін попел буў у селі!} "there were only bricks and ashes in the village" [TS 4: 166]; {Попел со жлукта называюць пазолкі} "Ashes left in a tub after washing are called pazolki" [TS 4: 7]; {Позол, шчо выкінуць з жлукта попел} "pozol, this is when ashes, left in a tub after washing, are thrown away" [TS 4: 125]; {У жлукто ўсыплюць ведзер дзве попелу, шоб позолілосо полотно, да п'етнаццаць чугнуоу кіпетку ўзольюць} "About two buckets of ashes are poured into a tub for lye bleaching linen, and then fifteen pots of boiling water are added" [TS 4: 125]; {А ко́лісь як шо не было мыла, то бра́лі гэты попел, што топяць у пэчы да золілі гэтым попелом} "Formerly, if there was no soap, we used to take ashes from oven and boiled [clothes] in water with those ashes" [TS 4: 166]; {У руках плацьце ото́жмеш, а потым у жлукто да засыпалі попелом і лілі укρόп} "You wring out clothes by hand, then put it into a tub, sprinkle ashes and pour boiling water" [TS 5: 192]; {Розотрэш от тако́го велико́го карука ў попеле да начыніш мя́сам} "One rubs a big pig's stomach with ashes and fills it with meat" [TS 4: 306-307].

Deulino Russian: There are two probable candidates: *zet'-a* {зала́} and *p'op'yt* {по́п'ьл} ~ *p'op'yt* {по́п'ил} ~ *p'op'at* {по́п'ал}. They seem to be almost exact synonyms, cf. {А е́тъ, кане́шнъ, п'ьп'ало́к... зала́ адни́м сло́вам} "And this is, of course, "popyelok", or "zola", I mean" [DS 1969: 439]. However, available contexts lead us to the conclusion that the term {зала́} is applied to heavy fractions of oven ashes, especially used for washing and bleaching, while {по́п'ьл} is used for designation of volatile fractions.

Cf. the contexts for *zet'-a* {зала́}: {Д'е́вка, ты мн'е на́ чи́ста вы́мыла руба́ху-то, зала́, там п'ир'аи́с'т} "Girl you have not washed my shirt properly, ashes will eat it away" [DS 1969: 102]; {Ра́ншы ф'ст'рину́ мы́ль ни́ было́, ш'ш'о́лк д'е́льи, вот залы́ на́па́риш, ш'ш'о́лкым зал'ны́м и с'тира́иш} "Formerly, in old times there wasn't any soap, we made lye, one steams ashes and washes lye with this ash" [DS 1969: 201]. The derivatives *zal'-i-t'y* {зали́т} 'to boil with ashes' and *zal'-n'-by* {зал'но́й} 'intended for boiling with ashes' should be noted as well [DS 1969: 200-201].

The contexts for {по́п'ьл} are as follows: {З'м'ийа́ ч'ир'ис уар'ни́ пайд'о́т, ана́ по́п'ал ч'у́ствуит} "A snake would not crawl through a burnt-out place, it senses ashes"; {У йе́нтгв'ъ з'уар'е́ль, п'ришл'и́ на друго́й д'ен' - а там по́п'ьл} "That man's house was burnt down, we came there the next day, and there were ashes"; {Жыву́, живу́, на по́п'ьл сажу́т' ф'с'о} "One lives, but only ashes remain"; {быва́ит' замл'а́, а пато́м ана́ д'е́льицца на по́п'ил} [When charcoal is burnt] "There is earth, then it turns to ashes"; {Драва́ п'ьклада́йут' бал'шы́и, а а́го́н их ф'с'ех п'ир'иб'ир'е́т' на по́п'ил} "Large pieces of firewood are added, but fire burns it all to ashes"; {Ско́к'ъ ув'аз'ли́, а ско́к'ъ на по́п'ил с'е́ли... п'ьстай'т, п'ьстай'т и на по́п'ил с'а́д'ит} "Many (old houses) were driven away and many were turned to dust, it stands for a while, and then turns to dust" (literally "sits on ashes") [DS 1969: 439].

3. BARK

Dihovo Macedonian *kor-a* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *k'or-a* {kòra} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *k'wor-v* {kòra} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *l'u:b-y-ε* {lubje} (2), Turov Belarusian *kor-'a* {kopá} (1), Deulino Russian *skar-'a* {скарá} (3).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 261. Glossed as 'crust'.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *kor-a* [Hendriks 1976: 266]. Glossed as 'crust'.

Skopje Macedonian: *kor-a* {копа} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 225]. Polysemy: 'bark / rolled layer of pastry / noodles'.

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 469. Polysemy: 'bark / crust / peel (of fruit)'.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 265.

Ljubljana Slovene: Uhlik 2016. Distinct from *sk'o:r-y-a* {skorja} 'crust / peel' [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {skorja} [Pretnar 1964: 311].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 218. Polysemy: 'bark (of tree) / peel (of fruit or vegetable)'. Distinct from *tub* {лyб} 'bast' [TS 3: 46] and *t'ik-ɔ*

{лы́ко} 'willow or lime tree bast meant for bast shoes / bundle (of wood)' [TS 3: 52].

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 518. Polysemy: 'bark / willow'. The term *šk'ur-a* {шкура'} 'hide' can be sometimes used in the meaning 'bark' as well, we found two occurrences: {л'ес шкур'и м... а паг шкуро'й-тъ йес'т к'раие'т} "we peel wood... and under bark there are bark beetles" [DS 1969: 605]; {Ад дроф шкура' влап'и'лас, бал'ну'шк'и паш'ли} "The bark from firewood stuck [under my skin] and I got sores" [DS 1969: 62].

Distinct from *kar-la* {кара'} 'scab' [DS 1969: 239], which is used in the meaning 'bark' only once, probably under the influence of Standard Russian: {Кару' дубо'вайу, скару'-та йе'ту набра'т... кр'ваво'й пано'с астана'в'ливаит'} "Oak bark ("kora"), this bark ("skora") is gathered to stop bloody diarrhea" [DS 1969: 518].

Distinct from *kaz-ux-a* {къжуха'} 'peel' [DS 1969: 229] and from *tik-a* {ты'ка} 'young lime tree whose bast is used to make bast shoes' [DS 1969: 284].

The term *k'uz-a* {ко'жа} 'skin' is also glossed in the dictionary as 'bark', but this seems to be a mistake, the result of an inadequate explanation provided by the informant: {Ско'ру пр'яд'ира'ли, в'ит' он, куст, засо'хнит', йе'сли с н'аво'ко'жу с'нат' [– Что такое "кожа"?] – Йес' и н'ь лышад'а х ко'жа и карто'шк'и ч'и'с'тим – то'жа ко'жа... н'ь фс'а'кай ска'ти'ни йес' ко'жа... йе'та то'жа ко'жа ат в'атла' [показывает на кору дерева]... и у ч'илав'е'ка адна' ко'жа ап'гану'та... Хот' и у р'е'т'ки у го'р'кай то'жа ко'жа} "They barked it, but the bush would dry up, if it is skinned [Researcher' answer: - What is skin?] – Skin is on horses, and when we peel potatoes, it's skin too... on all cattle there is skin... it's willow's skin [points at tree bark]... and men are covered with skin... Even a radish has skin too" [DS 1969: 229].

4. BELLY

Dihovo Macedonian *mef* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *tr̥b'ux* {tr̥b'uh} (2), Burgenland Kajkavian *drowb* {dr̥ob} (3) / *t'erbuh* {t'rbuh} (2), Ljubljana Slovene *tr'e:bux* {trebuh} (2), Turov Belarusian *z'iv'ot* {жыво́т} ~ *z'v'ot* {жво́т} (4), Deulino Russian *z'iv'ot* {жыво́т} (4).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 265. Polysemy: 'belly / bellows'. Distinct from the Turkic loanword *škembe* 'tripe' [Groen 1977: 285].

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *mef* [Hendriks 1976: 270]. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'. A second candidate is the Turkic loanword *škembe* 'belly, stomach' [Hendriks 1976: 290].

Skopje Macedonian: *stomak* {стомак} [Evdokimova 2009]. Ultimately borrowed from Greek, probably via Romanian mediation. In the literary language, the main meaning of *stomak* {стомак} is 'stomach' [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 485], whereas the basic term for 'belly' is the inherited term *mef* {меb} with polysemy: 'belly / bellows / water-skin' [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 254].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 469: 572. Distinct from *čmār* {čmār} 'stomach' [Kalsbeek 1998: 429] and *št'omix* {št'omih} 'stomach' [Kalsbeek 1998: 563]. There is also another term *živ'ot* {živ'ot} which means 'lower part of the back / life' [Kalsbeek 1998: 597].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 244. A problematic item. Two terms can be found in the dictionary: *drowb* {dr̥ob} [Houtzagers 1999: 244] and *t'erbuh* {t'rbuh} [Houtzagers 1999: 325], both glossed as 'belly'. The only context for the first term is {čl'ovęg ima dr̥ob, a svinja ima čerēvu} "a human being has a belly, but a pig has paunch" [Houtzagers 1999: 227]. No contexts for the second term are available. Both terms can mean 'belly' in Serbo-Croatian dialects, see [OLA LS9, map 50]. In such a situation we have to include both terms into the list.

Distinct from *čär'ev-č* {čerēvo} 'paunch / belly (of an animal)' [Houtzagers 1999: 237]. Houtzagers 1999: 325.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {trebuh} [Pretnar 1964: 184].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 69. Distinct from *brux-t'č* {брухл'о} ~ *br'ux-č* {бр'ухо} 'big belly, paunch' (pejorative) [TS 1: 85], *t'el'nbux* {т'эльбух} 'man or animal paunch' (expressive) [TS 5: 171]. Distinct from *č'er'ev-č* {ч'эр'эво} 'big belly, paunch' (especially of a pregnant woman or about a belly swollen because of hunger or big amount of food) [TS 5: 313].

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 168. Polysemy: 'belly / stoutness / life, period of life (rare) / set of settlement inhabitants or buildings (rare)'. Distinct from *baš'ar* {баша́р} 'paunch' [DS 1969: 50] and from *pəč'ir'ev-ak* {пѣчир'е́в'ак} 'big belly' [DS 1969: 452].

5. BIG

Dihovo Macedonian *golem* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *vê:l-i* {*vêli*} (2), Burgenland Kajkavian *v'äl-i* {*vëli*} ~ *v'äl:-i* {*vëlli*} ~ *v'äl-i-k* {*vëlik*} (2), Ljubljana Slovene *v'ε:lik* {*velik*} (2), Turov Belarusian *v'εl'ik'yi* {*вєлікі*} (2), Deulino Russian *bal'š-ʹy* {*бал'шо́й*} (3).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 255.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *golem* [Hendriks 1976: 260].

Skopje Macedonian: *golem* {голем} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 74].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 581. Comparative form is *v'et-i* {*věći*}.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 329-330.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016. The comparative form is *v'ε:č-y-i* {*večji*} [Uhlík 2016].

Standard Slovene: {*velik*} [Pretnar 1964: 36].

Turov Belarusian: TS 1: 110-111. The most common word for 'big'. However, the comparative form *b'ol'š-i* ~ *b'ol'š-ʹi* {*большы́*} 'bigger' in the feminine, neuter and plural forms may be used as positive degree form with stress shifted to the flexion, cf. some examples: {вода большая цепер} "there is a high water now", {муха біскае большая да не дае спаць} "A big fly buzzes and does not let you sleep", {малы́е дзеці спаць не даюць, а большы́е, то жыць} "small kids do not let you sleep, big ones do not let you live" (a proverb) [TS 1: 71], {у Любавічах і ў Церэблічах ветранікі булі, кры́ла большы́е, обшытыя полотно́м} "In Lyubovichy and Tsereblichy there were windmills with big linen-sheathed wings" [TS 1: 121], {от водзеча, водзішчэ большо́е} "there is a flood, high water" [TS 1: 131], {от дожджэча большая, на цэлы месяц занегодзіло} "there is a heavy shower, bad weather lasts for a full month" [TS 2: 27], {злódзей – е больша́я ганьба} "to be a thief is a big shame" [TS 2: 156].

Distinct from *max* {мах} ~ *max'ʹ-i* {*махі́*} ~ *m'ax'ʹ-in-i* {*ма́хіны*} 'very big' [TS 3: 68], *n'agt-i* {*на́глы*} 'big, tall / impudent', which in the first meaning is applied to flax ({*на́глы поро́с лён*} "it grew a tall flax"), pots ({*наглы горшчо́к на ка́шу*} "a big pot for porridge"), teeth ({*наглые такіе зу́бы, бы борона́*} "such big teeth, like a harrow") and fur coats ({*то буў кожушок на́глы, мо з поўпуда важыў*} "it was a big fur coat, it weighed about a half pood") [TS 3: 119] and *n'ε=εč'ot-n-i* {*нешчо́тны*} 'very big' [TS 3: 202].

Deulino Russian: The most common term. Some examples are: {Бал'ша́й бало́та, а то ма́лін'кі́й б'ялагі́ н'яч'кь} "'Boloto" is a big bog, while "bolotinochka" is a little bog" [DS 1969: 62]; {На́дъ ду́мат' а бал'шо́й ваде́, а н'и ма́лін'ка́й} "One should think about big water, not about small one (when a bridge is built)" [DS 1969: 64].

The old term *v'al'ik* {*в'али́к*} ~ *v'il'ik* {*в'или́к*} occurs only 6 times and always in the short form: {Сам'я́ дабр'е́ в'али́ка - ч'аты́рнацц'ьт' душ} "The family is very big: fourteen members" [DS 1969: 373]; {У не́й р'иб'е́нак, а ско́й в'али́к - на зна́йу} "She has a child, but I do not know how old it is" [DS 1969: 518]; {Када́ с'в'акры́ ум'арла́, ана́ ско́й в'или́ка́ была́?} "When her step-mother died, how old was she [a girl]?" [DS 1969: 518]; {Дъ их куст в'али́к} "Because their family is big" [DS 1969: 553]; {О, кака́й прара́мка у т'иб'е́... на пу́гав'ич'ку ана́ в'или́ка́ дабр'е́} "Oh, what a buttonhole you have... it is too big for the button" [DS 1969: 466]; {О́кны как'и́ лаба́стыи... уж бо́лнь в'ил'кі́} "Such big windows... They are a little too big" [DS 1969: 279].

There is also the term *tab'-ast-ay* {*лаба́стай*}, which seems to be a synonym of *bal'š-ʹy* {*бал'шо́й*} and is often used along with it: {Взала́ па́лку бал'шу́йу, лаба́стайу и дава́й майу́ с'в'ин'ю б'ит} "She took a big stick and started to beat my pig"; {Ло́шть у наво́ харо́шья, лаба́стыя, бал'ша́я} "He has a horse, good and big" [DS 1969: 279]. However, it is much less frequent than *bal'š-ʹy* {*бал'шо́й*}, so we do not include it into the list. Probably what is being observed here is the beginning of the replacement process.

6. BIRD

Dihovo Macedonian *piλ-e* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *t-it̩* {*t̩ic̩*} (2), Burgenland Kajkavian *t-ic-a* {*t̩ica*} (2), Ljubljana Slovene *pt-ič* {*ptič*} (2), Turov Belarusian *pt-aš-k-a* {*пташка*} ~ *pt-uš-k-a* {*птушка*} (2), Deulino Russian *pʰtʰ-ic-a* {*п'тч'уца́*} (2).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 272. Polysemy: 'chicken / bird'.

Vechani-Radozhda Macedonian: *pil-e* with polysemy: 'chicken / bird' [Hendriks 1976: 277].

Skopje Macedonian: *pt-ic-a* {птица} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 424].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 570.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 324.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. The form *pt-i:c-a* {*ptica*} corresponds to the literary standard [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {*ptica*} [Pretnar 1964: 692].

Turov Belarusian: TS 4: 266.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 471-472. Distinct from *pʰičʰ-uš-k-a* {п'ич'ушка} 'little bird' [DS 1969: 403].

7. BITE

Dihovo Macedonian *kās-a* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *gris* {*gr̩is*} (2), Burgenland Kajkavian *gris* {*gr̩is*} (2), Ljubljana Slovene *gr'i:s-ti* {*gristi*} (2), Turov Belarusian *kus-a-cʰ* {*куса́ць*} (1), Deulino Russian *kus-a-tʰ* {*куса́т'*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 262. Paradigm: *kās-a* [imperf.] / *kās-ni* [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to bite / to sting'. Distinct from *griz-i* 'to nibble' [Groen 1977: 255].

Vechani-Radozhda Macedonian: *kēs-at*, *kēs-nit* [Hendriks 1976: 264, 265]. Polysemy: 'to bite / to taste'. Distinct from *griz-it* 'to nibble' [Hendriks 1976: 260].

Skopje Macedonian: *kas-a*, *kas-ne* {каса, касне} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 209]. Distinct from *griz-e* 'to nibble', *griz-ne* 'to take a bite' [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 79].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 450. Distinct from *u=y'es* {ujēs} (imperfective form *u=yjed-a-t* {ujedät}) 'to bite / to sting', which is probably applied to insects [Kalsbeek 1998: 458].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 252. Polysemy: 'bite / gnaw'.

Ljubljana Slovene: Uhlik 2016. The perfective form is *u=gr'i:z-ni-ti* {*ugrizniti*} [Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {*gristi*} [Pretnar 1964: 333].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 254.

Deulino Russian: Since it is the same as in Standard Russian this term does not have its separate entry, but it occurs in examples: {куса́иш - фс'е зу'бы в'и'дна!} "when you bite it, all your teeth are seen" [DS 1969: 252]; {ан'и́ куса́йут, муравли́-та} "they bite, those ants" [DS 1969: 161]. Applied to insects, geese, pigs, snakes, humans and nettle. Perfective form is *u=kus-i-tʰ* {укуси́т}: {То́ка в л'ес в'айд'ош, абу́иша ла'пт'и, ка́бы з'ма'яа́'ни укуси́ла} "As soon as you enter the forest, you usually put bast shoes on your feet, so as not to be bitten by a snake" [DS 1969: 82]. The reflexive form {куса́цца}, like in Standard Russian, means 'to be able to bite / to have a propensity to bite': {я́а'п'ш'ирк'и у нас, е́ти'ни́ куса́йуцц'а} "those lizards we have, they do not bite" [DS 1969: 611].

Distinct from *gr̩is-tʰ* {грыс'т'} 'to nibble / to sting' [DS 1969: 130], *klʰav-a-tʰ* {к'лава́т'} 'to peck (of birds) / to bite (of fish) / to sting (of insects) / to bite (of snakes) / to crack (nuts, sunflower seeds, of people)' [DS 1969: 223], *tk-a-tʰ* {тка́т'} 'to prod / to

sting (of insects)' [DS 1969: 558].

8. BLACK

Dihovo Macedonian *cr̃n* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *čřn* {*čřn*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *čern* {*čřn*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *čarn* {*črn*} (1), Turov Belarusian *č'orn-i* {*ч'орны*} (1), Deulino Russian *č'orn-ay* {*ч'орнай*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 288.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *cern* [Hendriks 1976: 294].

Skopje Macedonian: *cr̃n* {*cr̃n*} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 524].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 430.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 238.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {*črn*} [Pretnar 1964: 945].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 296. Polysemy: 'black / dark, swarthy / dismal, depressed (about mood)'.
Deulino Russian: Does not have a separate entry, but frequently occurs in such examples as: {*У'гал' ж'у'о'ш, ч'о'рнай*

з'д'е'лайис'си, ад'ни' γла'ск'и тарч'а'т} "When you burn coal, you become black, only your eyes can be seen" [DS 1969: 111]; {*Буравы'йь γрыбы' - ан'и' б'е'лы'йь, то'лк'ъ шл'а'пк'ъ ч'о'рн'йь*} "Pine forest mushrooms are white, only their cap is black" [DS 1969: 129].

9. BLOOD

Dihovo Macedonian *křf* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *křf* {*křf*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *keru* {*křv*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *kri*: {*kri*} (1), Turov Belarusian *krow* {*кроў*} (1), Deulino Russian *krɔvʲ* {*кров'*} ~ *krɔfʲ* {*кроф'*} ~ *krɔy* {*крой*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 261.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *kerf* [Hendriks 1976: 264].

Skopje Macedonian: *křf* {*крв*} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 229].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 473.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 268.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {*kri*} [Pretnar 1964: 324-325].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 236.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 253. Polysemy: 'blood / blood relative'. Often used in plural.

10. BONE

Dihovo Macedonian *kos-k-a* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *kwôs* {*k^wôs*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *kows* {*kôs*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *ko:st* {*kost*} (1), Turov Belarusian *kosʲcʲ* {*косуц*}

(1), Deulino Russian *kosʹtʹy* {*кoc'м'*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 261. Final *-k-* is a diminutive suffix.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *kos-k-a* [Hendriks 1976: 266].

Skopje Macedonian: *kos-k-a* {*кocka*} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 226]. Polysemy: 'bone / stone of fruit'.

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 471.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 266.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {*kost*} [Pretnar 1964: 316-317].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 225.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 244. The term *mas'ot* {*масо'т*} ~ *masʹyʹ-ak* {*мас'я'к*} is used in the meaning 'bone' as well [DS 1969: 297], but it probably has a pejorative shade, as in Standard Russian.

11. BREAST

Dihovo Macedonian *grad-a* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *pʹrs-a* {*pʹrsa*} (2), Burgenland Kajkavian *pʹers-i* {*pʹrsi*} (2), Ljubljana Slovene *pʹars-i* {*prsi*} ~ *pʹars-a* {*prsa*} (2), Turov Belarusian *yrʹuzʹ-i* {*зрyдзи*} (1), Deulino Russian *yrutʹy* {*γpymʹ*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 255.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *grad-i* [Hendriks 1976: 260]. The plural form. Distinct from *bos-ic-a* 'female breast / nipple' [Hendriks 1976: 253].

Skopje Macedonian: *grad-i* {*гради*} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 77]. The plural form, meaning 'breast' in general. Distinct from literary singular *grad-a* [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 77] 'female breast' and *bos-k-a* 'female breast / nipple' [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 38].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 531. Another possible candidate, *sas-ac* {*sasàc*}, glossed as 'breast; nipple' in the dictionary [Kalsbeek 1998: 542], unfortunately does not occur in the texts, so we cannot specify its semantics more exactly and can only suppose that it probably means 'nipple' as do its cognates in other Slavic languages.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 301. Plural form.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Common term for both male and female breast. Distinct from *y'o:šk-ε* {*joške*} 'female breast' (familiar) [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {*prsi*}, {*nedra*} [Pretnar 1964: 136].

Turov Belarusian: TS 1: 229. Plural form. Distinct from *zʹyʹzʹ-a* {*дзідзя*} 'female breast' [TS 2: 18] and *pʹerscʹ-i* {*пéрсцi*} ~ *pʹerscʹ* {*пéрсць*} 'horse chest' (feminine in singular, masculine in plural), cf. {*персць у коня, дзе роздзяляецца грудзь*} "persts is a place on a horse body, where the chest is divided" [TS 4: 24].

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 129. Polysemy: 'breast / female breast (in plural)'. Distinct from *sʹisʹkʹ-a* {*сi'c'к'a*} 'nipple / dug / female breast / rubber nipple' [DS 1969: 515].

12. BURN TR.

Dihovo Macedonian *gor-i* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *pa:l-i-t* {*pālīt*} (2), Burgenland

Kajkavian *žg-v-t* {žgàt} (3), Ljubljana Slovene *žg-'a-ti* {žgati} (3), Turov Belarusian *pal^y-i-c^y* {паліць} (2), Deulino Russian *ze-č^y* {жеч'} (3).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 125, 255. Labile verb with polysemy: 'to burn [trans.] / to burn [intrans.]'. Distinct from transitive imperf. *pač-i*, glossed as 'to burn, light' [Groen 1977: 271], perf. *za=pač-i* 'to light, set afire' [Groen 1977: 294]. It seems that the basic meaning of transitive *pač-i*, *za=pač-i* is 'to light', cf. the example for *pač-i*: "to light a candle" [Groen 1977: 228].

Vechani-Radozhda Macedonian: *gor-it* [Hendriks 1976: 260]. Labile verb with polysemy: 'to burn [trans.] / to burn [intrans.]'. Distinct from *pal-it* [imperf.] / *za=pal-it* [perf.], glossed as 'to light, burn' [Hendriks 1976: 276].

Skopje Macedonian: *gor-i* {гори} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 75]. Labile verb with polysemy: 'to burn [trans.] / to burn [intrans.]'. A second candidate is *pal-i* {пали} 'to burn [trans.]' [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 351]. Both sources treat *gor-i* and *pal-i* as synonyms for 'to burn [trans.]', although according to [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963], the main meaning is *pal-i* is 'to light'.

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 513. Glossed in the dictionary as 'light, set fire to' [Kalsbeek 1998: 513], but means 'to burn (transitive)' as well, cf.: {Da so tò nèke vještice kríve, pak so pàfili žíveh, ti ljúdi} "There were some guilty witches, and they were burnt alive, by those men" [Kalsbeek 1998: 380].

Distinct from *gor-'e-t* {gorèt} 'to burn (intransitive)' [Kalsbeek 1998: 447-448].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 340. The following forms are attested: {žgàli} (l-participle, masc. pl.); {pòžgali} (l-participle, masc. pl.), {pòžgę} (present, 3rd sg.) 'burn, scorch'; {vùžgat} (inf.), {vùžgęš} (present, 2nd sg.), {vùžgal} (l-participle, masc. sg.), {vùžgaj} (imperative) 'burn, set fire to' [Houtzagers 1999: 340]. Another word translated by Houtzagers as 'burn' is *g'wor-i-t* {gòrit} ~ *z=g'wor-i-t* {zgòrit} [Houtzagers 1999: 250-251] Unfortunately, we did not find any contexts for it; most likely, it is used only as an intransitive verb, like in literary Serbo-Croatian and Slovene.

Ljubljana Slovene: Uhlik 2016. The perfective form is *sa=žg-'a-ti* {sežgati} [Uhlik 2016]. Distinct from *gor-'e-ti* {goretì} 'to burn (intransitive)' [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {žgati} 'to burn' (transitive) [Pretnar 1964: 183], {goretì} 'to burn (intransitive)' [Pretnar 1964: 130].

Turov Belarusian: TS 4: 9-10. Polysemy: 'to burn (transitive) / to burn down / to light a fire / to thirst (for something) / to clang / to shoot'. Unfortunately, TS does not provide the meaning 'to burn' in the entry itself, but we can easily find it in some contexts in other entries: {палілі ворох лапцей} "(we) were burning a heap of bast shoes" [TS 1: 108]; {Жукоў колорадскіх у газу кідаём да палімо} "We throw potato beetles into kerosene and burn them" [TS 1: 190].

Distinct from *γor-'e-c^y* {гор'ць} 'to burn (intransitive) / to get warm while rotting / to rot / to get warm from heat / to burn from bites or burns / to decay from heat / to flower (about cucumbers) / to have a very bright colour' [TS 1: 224].

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 167. Polysemy: 'to burn (transitive) / to cause smarting pain / to flash (about lightning)'. Distinct from *γar^y-e-t^y* {гар'е'т'} 'to burn (intransitive)': {Зимо'й на ф'с'ей но'чи агон' γар'и'т', а ш'м'ас н'ет} "In winter fire burns all night long, but now it does not" [DS 1969: 157].

13. NAIL

Dihovo Macedonian *nokt* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *n'ox-at* {nòhat} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *n'wovät* {nòvęt} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *no:xt* {noht} (1), Turov Belarusian *n'og-oc^y* {но́гоць} (1), Deulino Russian *k'og-at^y* {к'огат'} (2).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 268.

Vechani-Radozhda Macedonian: *nokt* [Hendriks 1976: 274].

Skopje Macedonian: *nokt* [Evdokimova 2009]; *nokot* {нокот} [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 315], polysemy:

'nail / claw'.

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 504. Polysemy: 'fingernail / toenail'.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 286.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016.

Standard Slovene: {noht} [Pretnar 1964: 448].

Turov Belarusian: TS 3: 211.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 229. Polysemy: 'claw / nail'. The term {но́гат} is perceived as literary: {Но́гат на́дат' зва́т, а мы - ко́гт'и} "They should be called 'nogti', but we call them 'kogti'" [DS 1969: 229]. The other examples are: {Я́а пашла́ - с'ида́т' ба́бы - ку́др'и наво́дут' дь ко́гт'и кра́сут' } "When I went [to the hairdresser's], there were women sitting, curling their hair and doing their nails"; {А вот па́льц, ко́гат' выпа́дывъйт', е́ть нъзыва́йиццъ вьласе́н' } "Here is a finger, the nail falls out, it is called whitlow" [DS 1969: 229]; {Д'в'ер' нъч'ала́ мыг' дь зьсади́ла сайе́ сто́пку пат ко́гат' - и нъхта́йе'ткъ } "[I] was washing the door and got a splinter under a nail and then [I got] a whitlow" [DS 1969: 94]; {У не́й нъ або́их в'ит' рука́х... И на йе́тай ко́гт'и как'и'и-та изв'ила́тъи } "She has on both hands... And on this hand her nails are kind of crooked" [DS 1969: 207].

14. CLOUD

Dihovo Macedonian *ob=lak* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *'ob=lak* {*ðblak*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *'wob=lvk* {*ðblak*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *ɔb=l'a:k* {*oblak*} (1), Turov Belarusian *рɔ=м'ау* {*пом'яг*} ~ *рɔ=ту'ау* {*ном'яг*} (2) / *р'ɔ=хмар-ɔк* {*пóхмарок*} (3), Deulino Russian *'ɔb=tək* {*облѣк*} (-1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 269. Initial *ob=* is the old spatial prefix 'around'.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *ob=lak* [Hendriks 1976: 274].

Skopje Macedonian: *ob=lak* {об.лак} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 318].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 507. Distinct from *magl-'in-a* {*magl'ina*} 'fog', cited in one of the contexts [Kalsbeek 1998: 581].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 287. Distinct from *m'yegl-v* {*m'egla*} 'fog' [Houtzagers 1999: 275].

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016. Distinct from *magl-'a* {*megla*} 'fog' [Uhlík 2016].

Standard Slovene: {oblak} [Pretnar 1964: 457].

Turov Belarusian: TS 4: 156. There are two terms for 'cloud': *рɔ=м'ау* {*пом'яг*} ~ *рɔ=ту'ау* {*ном'яг*} [TS 4: 156] and *р'ɔ=хмар-ɔк* {*пóхмарок*} [TS 4: 204]. Unfortunately, available contexts do not allow us to differentiate between them, so we can only make a suggestion that the difference lies in the sphere of geography, since the first term is attested in Siamihoscičy and Ма́чье, while the second one in Aehomiee and Turov. In this situation we have to include both terms in the list.

The contexts for *рɔ=м'ау* {*пом'яг*} ~ *рɔ=ту'ау* {*ном'яг*} are: {Хмар не було, а так пом'яг вийшоў, да бліснуло і забіло чловека} "There were no storm clouds, but then there appeared a cloud, lightning struck and killed a man"; {На не́бі красны́е пом'егі, то на негоду} "There are red clouds in the sky, it is likely the weather will get worse"; {Пом'ягі поцегло́ по чыстому небу} "clouds are going to be blown away with the wind in the clean sky"; {Пом'яжкі на не́бі — будуць гарбузы́ добры́е або гуркі} "There are clouds in the sky, there will be good pumpkins or cucumbers" [TS 4: 156].

The contexts for *р'ɔ=хмар-ɔк* {*пóхмарок*} are: {Як даў дождж з-под похмарка!} "The rain has poured from the cloud" [TS 2: 166]; {Кажуць, ек похмаркі, трэба посаджаць гарбу́зы} "They say that when there are clouds in the sky, you should plant pumpkins" [TS 4: 187]; {Похмаркі ідуць по небе} "Clouds are floating in the sky" [TS 4: 204]; {От велікі похмарок, і с такога похмарка пойдзе дождж} "There is a big cloud, it will rain from this cloud" [TS 4: 204].

Distinct from *t'uç-a* {*t'uča*} 'pouring rain / black rainy cloud' [TS 5: 167], from *xm'ar-a* {*xmápa*} 'rainy cloud / swarm of midges' [TS 5: 245] and from *p'a=xmur-ɔk* {*páxmurok*} 'a cloud in good summer weather' [TS 4: 18]. See also the map 313 in [DABM 1963] for use of {*t'uča*} and {*xmápa*} in the meaning 'rainy cloud'.

Distinct from *tum'an* {*tumán*} 'fog / ignorant man' [TS 5: 164]. TS 4: 204.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 353. A Church Slavonic borrowing.

Distinct from *tuč^y-a* {ту'ч'а} 'rainy cloud', cf. {Дъ ѿе'тъ нѣи ту'ч'а, а ту'ч'а прѣид'о'т', γром как уда'рѣт', зна'чѣт' ту'ч'а γро'знаѣтъ} "It is not a rainy cloud; when a rainy cloud comes, it will thunder, it means that it is a stormcloud" [DS 1969: 127].

15. COLD

Dihovo Macedonian *stud-en* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *xlâ:d-a-n* {hlâdan} (2), Burgenland Kajkavian *zdän* {zdëŋ} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *m'arz-aw* {mrzel} (3), Turov Belarusian *xat'od-n-i* {холóдны} (2), Deulino Russian *xat'od-n-ay* {халóднаѣ} (2).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 284. Final *-en* is an adjectival suffix. Two adjectives for 'cold' are documented in Dihovo: *stud-en* [Groen 1977: 284] and *lad-en* [Groen 1977: 262]. Both are only attested in application to weather. Cf. the examples for *stud-en*: "cold autumn" [Groen 1977: 48], "It is cold (weather)" [Groen 1977: 223, 229]. The examples for *lad-en*: "We used to go even if it was cold" [Groen 1977: 203], "To-day is colder (*po=lad-n-o*) than yesterday" [Groen 1977: 205], "Even if it were cold" [Groen 1977: 220]. We follow the Vevchani-Radozhda and Skopje evidence and suppose that the main Dihovo adjective for 'cold', applicable to objects, is *stud-en*.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *stud-en* [Hendriks 1976: 289]. Two adjectives for 'cold' are documented: *stud-en* and *lad-en*. Both are only attested in application to objects. Out of these, *stud-en* is apparently the basic one, since it is normally opposed to 'hot'. Cf. the examples for *stud-en*: "cold water" [Hendriks 1976: 98] (opposed to "hot water"), "cold sweat" [Hendriks 1976: 244] (opposed to "hot power"). Cf. the only example for *lad-en*: "It (a bottle of soft-drink taken out of the refrigerator) is cold" [Hendriks 1976: 224].

Skopje Macedonian: *stud-en* {студен} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 488]. The second candidate is literary *lad-en* {ладен} [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 236]. The exact difference between two adjectives in the literary language is unclear, but Evdokimova's data only contain *stud-en*.

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 453. Distinct from *led-e-n* {lèden} 'frozen, icy, cold' [Kalsbeek 1998: 479] and from *m'rz-a-l* {mřzal} 'cool, cold, cooled off' [Kalsbeek 1998: 496].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 336.

Ljubljana Slovene: Uhlik 2016. Distinct from *xlâ:d-en* {hladen} 'cold', which is more restricted in use and is often used in the figurative meaning ({hladen človek} 'cold man') [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {mrzel}, {hladen} [Pretnar 1964: 931].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 250.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 586. Polysemy: 'cold / reserved'. Distinct from *sur'ov-ay* {суро'ваѣ} 'cold (about weather or water) / hard (about water) / sullen' [DS 1969: 549].

16. COME

Dihovo Macedonian *id-i-* (1) / *do=y-* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *pr-ĩ-t* {prĩt} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *dow=t* {dõt} ~ *dwoy=t* {dõjt} ~ *d'ow=ti* {dõtⁱ} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *pr=ⁱ-ti* {priti} (1), Turov Belarusian *pr=ⁱ-c^yi* {прѣцѣѣ} (1), Deulino Russian *pr^y=id^y-i-t^y* {np'ud'úm'} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 106, 132, 251, 256. Paradigm: *id-i-* [imperf.] / *do=y-* [perf.]. Both stems contain the same root. The

root variant =y- (*do=y-*) gradually supplants the more archaic variant =yd- (*do=yd-*) across the perfective paradigm. Initial *do=* is the directional prefix 'to'.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *id-e-* [imperf.] / *do=yd-* [perf.], both stems contain the same root [Hendriks 1976: 158, 182, 255, 261].

Skopje Macedonian: *do=ad-a* [доаѓа] [imperf.] / *do=yd-e* [дойде] [perf.], the stems contain two different roots [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 91, 95]. Perfective stem.

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 499. Polysemy: 'to come, arrive / to become'.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 255.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {přiti} [Pretnar 1964: 659].

Turov Belarusian: TS 4: 261.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 456.

17. DIE

Dihovo Macedonian *u=mr-i* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *u=mryě-t* {*umriět*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *mrey-t* {*mrêt*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *u=mr-'e-ti* {*umreti*} (1), Turov Belarusian *рэ=м^yер-с^yi* {*номэрицi*} ~ *u=m^yер-с^yi* {*умэрицi*} (1), Deulino Russian *рэ=м^yир^y-'ε-t^y* {*пэм'ир'эм'*} ~ *u=m^yир^y-'ε-t^y* {*ум'ир'эм'*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 290. Paradigm: *u-mir-a* [imperf.] / *u=mr-i* [perf.]. Initial *u=* is the resultative prefix.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *u-mir-a-t* [imperf.] / *u=mr-i-t* [perf.]. [Hendriks 1976: 296].

Skopje Macedonian: *u-mir-a* {умира} [imperf.] / *u=mr-e* {умре} [perf.]. [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 510, 511].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 495. Distinct from *c'rk-nu-t* {črknut} 'to die (miserably)' [Kalsbeek 1998: 426] and from *krep-'a-t* {krepät} (imperfective form *krep-yev-'a-t* {krep'evät}) 'to die (of animals)' of Romance origin [Kalsbeek 1998: 472].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 280. The unprefix stem is probably used in the infinitive and in the *l*-participles. In the present and in the *l*-participles prefixed stems are used as well: '*u=mrε-l-ɔ* {ümrelo} and '*z'a=mrε-l-ɔ* {zàmrelo} etc. [Houtzagers 1999: 151, 280]. Distinct from *c'erk-nɔ-t* {črknɔt} 'to die (of animal)' [Houtzagers 1999: 236].

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {umreti} [Pretnar 1964: 901].

Turov Belarusian: TS 4: 152; TS 5: 197. In the meaning 'to die' the same root is used with different prefixes.

Distinct from *z=m^yер-с^yi* {змэрицi} 'to die out' [TS 2: 158], from *s=kan-'a-с^y* {сканáць} 'to pass away' [TS 5: 39].

Distinct from a number of expressive verbs used in the meaning 'to die': *z=y^yir^y-i-с^a* {згiрдзiцц^a} [TS 2: 143], *рэ=y^yir^y-i-с^a* {погiрдзiцц^a} [TS 4: 89], *z'oxn-nu-с^y* ~ *z'oxn-n'u-с^y* {злóхнyць} [TS 2: 156], *k^yek-nu-с^y* {кéкнyць} [TS 2: 189], *рэ=р'уц-ва-с^a* {поопрyчв^aцц^a} [TS: 4: 164], *s=kopuc^y-i-с^a* {скопyцiцц^a} [TS 5: 46]; and from *v'u=sn-u-с^y* {вyснyць}, which is probably applied to mass deaths (pejoratively), cf.: {Тые немцы од морозу вуснулі, не прывуклі воны} "Those Germans died of the cold, they aren't used to it"; {Мой купiў таку пляшэчку, попрыскала, то ўсе мухі вуснулі} "My husband bought a bottle of it, I sprinkled [it], and all the flies died" [TS 1: 175-176].

Deulino Russian: Some examples are: {Када' с'вáкры' умáрла', ана' ской в'ил'ика' была?} "When her step-mother died, how old was she [a girl]?" [DS 1969: 518]; {Знаг' йаму' бох сул'ил тако'й с'м'е'р'т'иу п'эм'ир'е'т'} "Evidently such death was predestined for him by God" [DS 1969: 492]. Imperfective forms are *рэ=м^yир-'a-t^y* {п'эм'ира'т'} [DS 1969: 436] and *u=m^yир-'a-t^y* {п'эм'ира'т'}.

Distinct from *ata=yd^y-i-t^y* {áтайд'и'т'} ~ *ata=yd^y-i-t^y* {атайт'и'т'} 'to move away, to leave / to end (intransitive) / to die (probably about an extended process)' [DS 1969: 379], *r'aš-'i-с^a* {р'ашы'ццъ} 'to decide / to lose / to pass away' [DS 1969: 489] and *u=p'as-t^y* {упа'с'т'} 'to fall / to die (of animals) / to flow into (of river)' [DS 1969: 576].

18. DOG

Dihovo Macedonian *kuč-e* (-1), Orbanici Chakavian *brek* {brèk} (-1), Burgenland Kajkavian *c'uc:-äk* {cùček} ~ *c'u:c-äk* {cûček} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *pəs* {pes} (2), Turov Belarusian *sob'ak-a* {sobáka} (-1), Deulino Russian *sab'ak-a* {саба́ка} (-1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 262. A wandering Balkan word of unclear origin.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *kuč-e* [Hendriks 1976: 268]. Distinct from the inherited term *pes* 'sheep-dog' [Hendriks 1976: 277].

Skopje Macedonian: *kuč-e* [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 236]. Distinct from the more rare inherited term *pes* 'dog' [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 356].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 422. A Romance borrowing. The term {pas} is not attested.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 236.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016.

Standard Slovene: {pes} [Pretnar 1964: 805].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 67. Distinct from *c'uc'ya-a* {цўця} ~ *c'uc'ya-k-a* {цўцька} ~ *c'uc'ya-ik* {цўцік} used in baby talk or as an expressive word [TS 5: 284]. The term {пёс} is not attested.

Deulino Russian: Does not have a separate entry, but frequently occurs in examples: {ана́ зра́ ни́ браха́ла ни́ нъ каво́, ни́каво́, ни́ тро́гу́ла, саба́ка харо́шгыйъ} "it did not bark at anyone for nothing, it did not attack anyone, it was a good dog" [DS 1969: 66]; {Саба́ка ху́жы ко́шки, с'те́р'ву́ фсу́ йис'т', акьлава́тину́} "Dog is worse than cat, it eats all carrion" [DS 1969: 366]. The term {пёс} is not attested.

19. DRINK

Dihovo Macedonian *piy-e* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *pi-t* {pìt} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *pi-t* {pìt} ~ *pi:-t* {pît} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *pi':-ti* {piti} (1), Turov Belarusian *p^yi-c^y* {ниць} (1), Deulino Russian *p^yi-t^y* {n'um'} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 272.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *piy-e-t* [Hendriks 1976: 277].

Skopje Macedonian: *piy-e* {пие} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 357].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 519. Habitual form is *piy-a-t* {pījät} [Kalsbeek 1998: 518]. Distinct from *lok-a-t* {lokät} 'to drink (of animals)' [Kalsbeek 1998: 482], from *bū:mb-i-t* {būmbit} 'to drink' (pejorative) [Kalsbeek 1998: 424] and from *b'uj-i-t* {būnjit} 'to drink', used in baby talk [Kalsbeek 1998: 424].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 295-296. Perfective form: *s=pi-t* {spīt} ~ *s=pi-ti* {spīti}. Distinct from *žär-v-t* {žërat} 'to eat (of animals or, rude, of people) / to drink (alcohol, rude)' [Houtzagers 1999: 339].

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016.

Standard Slovene: {piti} [Pretnar 1964: 558].

Turov Belarusian: TS 4: 53. Polysemy: 'to drink / to peck out grain from an ear (about birds)'.

Deulino Russian: Occurs in examples: {Чем вино́ п'ит', лу́ч'чи́ пасла́жы п'и́с'} "It is better to eat something sweet than to drink wine" [DS 1969: 445]; {Што-тѣ́ на́ хо́ч'ицѣ́ п'ит'} "I am not really thirsty" [DS 1969: 514].

20. DRY

Dihovo Macedonian *suf* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *sû:x* {*sûh*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *su:h* {*sûh*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *su:x* {*suh*} (1), Turov Belarusian *sux^y-i* {*cyxi*} (1), Deulino Russian *sux-^oy* {*cyxóÿ*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 284.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *suf* [Hendriks 1976: 289].

Skopje Macedonian: *suf* {*cyb*} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 489].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 554.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 316. Polysemy: 'dry / skinny'.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {*suh*} [Pretnar 1964: 849].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 119. Polysemy: 'dry / lean'.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 550. Polysemy: 'dry / arid / lean / wasted (from illness) / withered (extremity) / unseasoned / lenten (food)'.

21. EAR

Dihovo Macedonian *uv-o* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *û:x-o* {*ûho*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *vuš-^oey-s-o* {*vušêso*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *ux-^o*: {*uho*} (1), Turov Belarusian *v^oux-^o* {*výxo*} ~ *vux-^o* {*vyxó*} (1), Deulino Russian *ux-^a* {*yxá*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 290. Paradigm: *uv-o* [sg.] / *uš-i* [pl.].

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *uš-e* [sg.] / *uš-i* [pl.], the sg. stem is a diminutive formation [Hendriks 1976: 296].

Skopje Macedonian: *uv-o* {*ybo*} [sg.] / *uš-i* {*yши*} [pl.] [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 507].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 577. Polysemy: 'ear / eye (of a needle)'.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 335.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {*uho*} [Pretnar 1964: 915].

Turov Belarusian: TS 1: 181. The form with the stress on the second syllable is less frequent. Polysemy: 'ear / loop, handle or other details similar to ear'.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 579. Feminine gender.

22. EARTH

Dihovo Macedonian *zem^y-a* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *zem^l-^a* {*zemljä*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *z^läm^l-v* {*zëmlja*} ~ *z^lämy-v* {*zëmjja*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *z^lε:m^l-a* {*zemlja*} (1), Turov Belarusian *z^yeml^y-^a* {*землја*} (1), Deulino Russian *z^yaml^y-^a* {*з'амл'á*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 295. Polysemy: 'earth, soil / country'.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *zem^y-a* [Hendriks 1976: 301].

Skopje Macedonian: *zemy-a* {земја} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 162]. Polysemy: 'earth, soil / country / Earth'.

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 591. Polysemy: 'earth, soil, ground / country'.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 336-337.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Distinct from the literary synonym *pørst* {prst} 'earth' [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {zemlja} [Pretnar 1964: 241].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 151. Polysemy: 'earth / soil'.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 198-199. Polysemy: 'earth / background of cloth coloration'.

23. EAT

Dihovo Macedonian *yay* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *yes* {jès} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *yey* {jês} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *y'e:s-ti* {jesti} (1), Turov Belarusian *y'es^y-c^{yi}* {écu*i*} (1), Deulino Russian *yēs^y* {üéc'} ~ *yis^y* {üú*c*'} ~ *yēs^y-t^y* {üec'm'} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 131, 257. Apparently the root variant *yay-* gradually supplants the more archaic variant *yad-* across the paradigm.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *yai-t* [Hendriks 1976: 181, 263]. Apparently the root variant *yai-* gradually supplants the more archaic variant *yad-* across the paradigm.

Skopje Macedonian: *yad-e* {јаде} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 200].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 458. Distinct from *pap-'a-t* {papàt} 'to eat', used in baby talk [Kalsbeek 1998: 513] and from *žer-'a-t* {žerät} (less common is the form *žryè-t* {žrèt}) 'to gulp, to bolt (food), to devour, to eat in an improper way / to eat (of animals)' [Kalsbeek 1998: 595].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 258-259. Perfective: *p'wo=yäs* {pöjēs}. Distinct from *žär-v-t* {žërat} 'to eat (of animals or, rude, of people) / to drink (alcohol, rude)' [Houtzagers 1999: 339].

Houtzagers also provides the term *k'uš-a-t* {küšat}, which he translates as 'eat; taste' [Houtzagers 1999: 269], but only two contexts for this word can be found in his book and they are not sufficient to define its meaning with greater precision. However, we suppose that it has some additional connotations.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {jesti} [Pretnar 1964: 178].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 53.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 162.

24. EGG

Dihovo Macedonian *yay-c-e* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *yâ:y-e* {jâje} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *y'vy-c-ä* {jâjce} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *y'a:y-c-ε* {jajce} (1), Turov Belarusian *y'ay-k-* *o* {ájko} ~ *yay-c-ε* {áj*č*é} ~ *yay-c-č* {áj*č*ó} (1), Deulino Russian *yay-c-č* {áj*č*ó} ~ *yiy-c-č* {áj*č*ó} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 257. Final *-c-* is a diminutive suffix.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *yay-c-e* [Hendriks 1976: 263].

Skopje Macedonian: *yay-c-e* {јайце} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 201].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 456.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 257.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {јайце} [Pretnar 1964: 974].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 362. Used also in the meaning 'perch spawn'.

Deulino Russian: Some examples are: {Йайцо́ но́ни с'насла́ ку́р'ица, йа слыха́ла - ку́та кч'ила} "A hen laid an egg today, I heard it cackling" [DS 1969: 264]; {Йе́ть гу́си'на, а йе́ть гу́са'к, гу́си'на, йа́йца н'исе́'т, а гу́са'к то'пч'ит} "This is a she-geese, and this is a he-geese, she-geese lays eggs, and he-geese covers her" [DS 1969: 133].

25. EYE

Dihovo Macedonian *ok-o* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *'ok-o* {*ðko*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *'wok:-o* {*ðko*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *ok-'o*: {*oko*} (1), Turov Belarusian *'ok-o* {*óko*} (1), Deulino Russian *γtas* {*γлас*} (2).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 270. Paradigm: *ok-o* [sg.] / *oč-i* [pl.].

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *ok-o* [sg.] / *oč-i* [pl.] [Hendriks 1976: 275].

Skopje Macedonian: *ok-o* {око} [sg.] / *oč-i* {очи} [pl.] [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 331].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 509.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 288.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {oko} [Pretnar 1964: 123].

Turov Belarusian: TS 3: 252. Polysemy: 'eye / beehive entrance / net mesh / loop on a thread / point (in a game)'. Plural form: *oč-i* {очы} ~ *'ok-a* {о́ка}.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 110-111. The term {ока} is not attested.

26. FAT N.

Dihovo Macedonian *mas* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *tû:k* {*tûk*} (2) / *mâ:s* {*mâs*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *ma:s* {*mâs*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *mašč-'o:b-a* {*maščoba*} (1), Turov Belarusian *zír* {*жыр*} (3), Deulino Russian *zír* {*жыр*} (3).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 55, 264. Polysemy: 'fat / butter'. Apparently this is the most generic term. Distinct from *loy* 'fat of cow/sheep, tallow' [Groen 1977: 15, 263] and *salo* 'fat of pig' [Groen 1977: 280].

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *mast* [Hendriks 1976: 270]. Polysemy: 'fat / oil'. Apparently this is the most generic term. Distinct from *salo* 'lard of pig' [Hendriks 1976: 285].

Skopje Macedonian: *mast* {маст} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 252]. Polysemy: 'fat / butter'.

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 575. There are two possible candidates: *tûk* {tûk}, glossed as 'fat', and *mâs* {mâs} 'fat, grease' [Kalsbeek 1998: 488] with its derivative *mas-n-'ot-a* {masnòca} 'fat' [Kalsbeek 1998: 488]. Since they are almost completely absent from texts, we cannot differentiate between them.

Distinct from *lwôj* {l'ôj} 'tallow, fat' [Kalsbeek 1998: 483]. Kalsbeek 1998: 488.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 274. Distinct from *lwoj* {lôj} 'pig fat' [Houtzagers 1999: 272].

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016. Distinct from *s'al-ɔ* {salo} 'pork fat' [Uhlík 2016].

Standard Slovene: {mast} ~ {maščoba} [Pretnar 1964: 186].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 71. Polysemy: 'nutrition / fat'. Generic term for 'fat', used in a wide range of contexts, and applied not only to animal fat, but also to human fat: {Поўзе штандарына, жыр эле цягне} "A fat woman is dragging her feet, she could hardly move her fat" [TS 5: 337]; {Ежову і собачы жыр от сухот пілі} "People used to drink hedgehog and dog fat as a remedy for tuberculosis" [TS 2: 51]; {Рыб'ячы жыр піла} "She drank fish oil" [TS 4: 340]; {Ек заб'еш свінча, то коло жэлудка такой сеткой жыр, чэпец; его перэтапливаюць і п'юць от сухот} "When you kill a pig, there is a net of fat near the stomach, it is called chepets, you can melt it and drink it as a remedy for tuberculosis" [TS 5: 310]; {оточыны – жыр на кішках} "otochyny is fat on guts" [TS 3: 85]; {Шмалец, то чысты жыр} "Lard is pure fat" [TS 5: 330]; {От жырное сало, натекло много жыру} "This pig's fat is so greasy, so much grease poured out" [TS 2: 72]; {Як пеку млінцы, то мажу скóвороду жыром, шоб воны отсталі} "When I fry pancakes, I spread some fat over the pan, so that they won't stick to it" [TS 3: 289]; {Жыром у дно заўсегда ўпаде хлеб} "Buttered bread always falls on the fat side" [2: 22].

There are also two terms denoting animal fat, especially the one used in cooking. The first one is *s'al-ɔ* {сáло} [TS 5: 10], applied to fat of pig, chicken, goose, fish and badger, cf. the following contexts: {Сало ў куры, сало і ў гусе, а ў козы, корову і овечкі – лой} "A chicken has salo, a goose has salo too, and a she-goat, cow and sheep have loy [TS 5: 10]; {Гусінэ сало не порціцца} "Goose fat never goes bad" [TS 1: 238]; {Сало было на долоню на ём, на кабану} "That boar had palm-thick fat [TS 5: 10]; {Борсуковое сало пілі от сухот} "Badger fat was drunk as remedy for tuberculosis" [TS 1: 75]; {Сом, у ём толькі хвост жырны, розрэж, то сало й польецца} "With the catfish, only the tail is fat; if you cut it, its fat will pour out" [TS 4: 144].

The term *loy* {лой} [TS 3: 40] is applied to goat, cow, sheep and bear fat. Cf. {От сы́тое цяля – лою багата!} "What a thick calf! It has a lot of fat!" [TS 3: 40]; {Як хто дэ́ржыць овечкі, то й лой е} "If you have sheep, you have fat" [TS 3: 40]; {А медзвэдзіца шчэ не набрала лою, шчэ ходзіць – оццерэгайса} "The bear has not yet accumulated fat, it is still awake – beware!" [TS 3: 40]; {На сенцэ – гной, то на короўку – лой} "With good manure in your hayfield, your cow will be fat" [TS 3: 40]; {Овечы лой под нёбом у роце закожавеў} "Sheep fat became hard under the palate in the mouth" [TS 2: 100]. However, in one case this word is also applied to human fat (possibly pejoratively): {У ёго лой скуру под'еў} "His fat eroded his skin" (about a fat man) [TS 5: 52]. Etymologically **lojb* meant 'rendered fat', since it is derived from the verb **liti* 'to pour', and in one collocation we can observe conservation of this meaning: {Заліць лою за шкúру} 'to punish, to beat up', literally 'to pour fat under skin' [TS 3: 40].

We consider the distinction between *s'al-ɔ* {сáло} and *loy* {лой} as a distinction between the slow hardening and the fast hardening types of fat.

Distinct from *ɔ='lɔç-in-i* {отóчыны} (plural) 'visceral fat' ({оточыны – жыр на кішках} "otochyny is fat on guts" [TS 3: 85]) and from *šmal'ec* {шмáлец} 'lard, rendered fat / nicotine tar' [TS 5: 330].

The term {тлушч} is not attested.

Deulino Russian: Does not have a separate entry, but occurs in examples: {В гýлав'е' у н'ей ад'н'и' ко'с'ти и жы'ру бал'шо'въ н'ет} "In its head there is nothing but bones, and not much fat (about a pike)" [DS 1969: 63]; {Хто жы'рнай – у таво' падбру'тки, а у каво' жы'ръ н'ет, у таво' падбру'тк'ф н'ет} "A fat man has a double chin, but the one who has no fat has no double chin" [DS 1969: 418]. Distinct from *b'el'v* {б'ел'в} 'pork fat' [DS 1969: 53].

27. FEATHER

Dihovo Macedonian *perduf* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *per-'o* {però} ~ *per-iy-'o* {perijò} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *p'är-ɔ* {pèro} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *per-'o*: {pero} (1), Turov

Belarusian *пуш-ін-а* {пушы́на} (2), Deulino Russian *п^yар-’о* {п’ар’о} ~ *п^yір-’о* {п’ир’о} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 272. Form of unclear structure, may originally contain the same root as the literary equivalent *per-o* 'feather'.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *perduf* [Hendriks 1976: 277].

Skopje Macedonian: *per-o* {перо} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 356]. Polysemy: 'feather / awn, beard'.

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 516.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 294. Collective form: *p^eyr-y-ä* {pêrjē} 'feathers' [Houtzagers 1999: 294].

Ljubljana Slovene: Uhlik 2016. Distinct from *puh* {puh} 'down' [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {pero} 'feather' [Pretnar 1964: 554], {puh} 'down' [Pretnar 1964: 696].

Turov Belarusian: TS 4: 275. The Turov dictionary provides two terms for 'feather': *пуш-ін-а* {пушы́на} [TS 4: 275] and *п^eр-ін-а* {перы́на} [TS 4: 25]. Dictionary contexts are not numerous, but *пуш-ін-а* {пушы́на} seems to be preferred, since it was used in the following sentences: {От пушына веліка ў того пеўня!} "That cock's feathers are so big!"; {Поплавок з пушыны зробіў дзед} "Grandfather made a float from a feather"; {Лёгкэ, ек пушынка} "Light as a plume let"; {Пушынкi ў пеўня махiнныe} "The cock has huge feathers" [TS 4: 275], while *п^eр-ін-а* {перы́на} is attested only in one context where it means 'leaf of onion': {дае ему перынку цыбулі} "(he) gives him a leaf of onion" [TS 4: 25]. With nothing but these data at our disposal, we include only *пуш-ін-а* {пушы́на} in the list.

The term *п^yар-’о* {пер’о} means 'blade of an oar / pinnate grass / fin (in plural)' [TS 4: 23].

Distinct from *пух* {пух} 'down' [TS 4: 115].

Deulino Russian: Some examples are: {Была́ ку́р’ица харо́шья, а т’ип’е’р’ ф’со бл’е’з’н’ит, бл’е’з’н’ит, п’е’р’яа л’е’зут} "It was a good hen, but now it gets bald, its feathers fall out" [DS 1969: 57]; {Как варо́на - так’и’и-та ро’стам, то’ка п’е’р’яа у них б’е’лаи} "It (seagull) is of the same size as crow, only its feathers are white" [DS 1969: 204].

28. FIRE

Dihovo Macedonian *ogan* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *ugǎ:n* {ugǎnj} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *ʷogǎ:n* {ðgɛnj} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *ʷ:ogɛ:n* {ogɛnj} (1), Turov Belarusian *аг’он^y* {агон’} (1), Deulino Russian *аг’он^y* {агон’} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 269. Polysemy: 'fire / fever'.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *ogan* [Hendriks 1976: 275]. Polysemy: 'fire / fever'.

Skopje Macedonian: *ogan* {оган} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 322].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 576. The term {vatra} is absent.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 288.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {ogɛnj} [Pretnar 1964: 474].

Turov Belarusian: TS 3: 242-243. Polysemy: 'fire / bonfire'. Distinct from *з’із-а* {жы́жа} 'fire / burn (subst.)' used in baby talk [TS 2: 70].

Deulino Russian: Occurs in numerous examples, cf. {З’имо́’й па ф’с’ей но’ч’и аг’он’ гар’и’т, а ш’ш’ас н’ет} "In winter fire burns all night long, but now it does not" [DS 1969: 157]; {абаж’ула́ там кы́п’атко́’м ил’ у аг’на – вот’и абжы́’га} "if your skin is burnt by boiled water or fire, you get a burn wound" [DS 1969: 352].

29. FISH

Dihovo Macedonian *rib-a* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *r'ib-a* {*rìba*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *r'ib-v* {*rìba*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *r'i:b-a* {*riba*} (1), Turov Belarusian *r'ib-a* {*рыба*} (1), Deulino Russian *r'ib-a* {*рыба*} ~ *r'ib-a* {*рыбѣ*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 212, 279.

Vechani-Radozhda Macedonian: *rib-a* [Hendriks 1976: 284].

Skopje Macedonian: *rib-a* {*риба*} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 448].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 538.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 305.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016.

Standard Slovene: {*riba*} [Pretnar 1964: 750].

Turov Belarusian: TS 4: 339.

Deulino Russian: Does not have a separate entry, but occurs in examples: {кара́с' жы́рнай, ску́сней йей ры́бы нет} "crucian carp is fat, it is the tastiest fish" [DS 1969: 63]; {брѣ́дѣнѣ - ры́бу лавѣ́т} "dragnet is for fishing" [DS 1969: 65]; {Када́ л'от зьсты́ва ит', чѣ́стай, бѣ́с снѣ́гу, ры́бѣ пла́выт па кра́йу - ийо́ вѣда́т} "When ice is frozen, when it is pure, without snow, fish is swimming near the edge, and it is seen" [DS 1969: 231].

30. FLY V.

Dihovo Macedonian *let-a* ~ *let-nuv-a* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *let-e-t* {*letèt*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *l'ät-i-t* {*lëtit*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *let-e:-ti* {*leteti*} (1), Turov Belarusian *l'ycʹ-e-cʹ* {*леце́ц*} (1), Deulino Russian *l'ytʹ-ε-tʹ* {*л'ум'эм'*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 263.

Vechani-Radozhda Macedonian: *let-a-t* [Hendriks 1976: 268].

Skopje Macedonian: *let-a* {*лета*} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 241].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 480.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 271. 3rd sg. present {*lëti*} and prefixed form {*odlëtit*} 'to fly away' are attested.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016.

Standard Slovene: {*leteti*} [Pretnar 1964: 342].

Turov Belarusian: TS 3: 26-27. Polysemy: 'to fly / to move fast'. Durative / habitual form is *l'ycʹ-a-cʹ* {*лѣта́ц*} ~ *l'ycʹ-a-cʹ* {*лѣта́ц*} ~ *l'at-a-cʹ* {*лѣта́ц*} ~ *l'ot-a-cʹ* {*лѣта́ц*} [TS 3: 24-25]. The form *l'at-a-cʹ* {*лѣта́ц*} came from Polish or the literary Belarusian language.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 273. Polysemy: 'to fly / to run or ride fast'. Durative / habitual form is *l'atʹ-a-tʹ* {*л'ата́т'*} [DS 1969: 273].

31. FOOT

Dihovo Macedonian *nog-a* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *nog-a* {*nogà*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *n'wog-v* {*nðga*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *n'ɔ:g-a* {*noga*} (1), Turov Belarusian *nɔʹ-a*

{нога́} (1), Deulino Russian *пaγ-'a* {пaγá} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 268. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *nog-a* with polysemy: 'foot / leg' [Hendriks 1976: 274].

Skopje Macedonian: *nog-a* {нога} with polysemy: 'foot / leg' [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 314].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 504. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 285-286. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'. Distinct from *stop-'a:l-ɔ* {stopalo} 'foot', which is marked. Standard Slovene: {noga} [Pretnar 1964: 448].

Turov Belarusian: TS 3: 210-211. Polysemy: 'foot / leg / support'.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 346.

32. FULL

Dihovo Macedonian *poln* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *pŷ:n* {pŷn} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *pun* {pŷn} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *po:wɔn* {poln} (1), Turov Belarusian *p'ɔwn-i* {пóўны} (1), Deulino Russian *p'ɔtn-ay* {пóлна́й} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 274.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: not documented.

Skopje Macedonian: *poln* {полн} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 373].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 533.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 302.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {poln} [Pretnar 1964: 599].

Turov Belarusian: TS 4: 201-202.

Deulino Russian: Polysemy: 'full / corpulent'. Occurs in examples, cf. {У м'ин'а' наб'и'льс' по'льн' сна'с'т'} "I had a tackle full of fish" [DS 1969: 603]; {н'бл'ава'л по'лна́й тас} "he threw up a full basin of vomit" [DS 1969: 306]; {Ма'т у не́й харо'ш'я́а, по'льн'я́а, зро'сла́яа} "Her mother is good, corpulent and tall" [DS 1969: 83].

33. GIVE

Dihovo Macedonian *day* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *da-t* {dât} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *dv-t* {dât} ~ *da:-t* {dât} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *d'a:-ti* {dati} (1), Turov Belarusian *da-c^y* {дацѣ} (1), Deulino Russian *da-t^y* {дам'} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 131, 251. Paradigm: *dav-a* [imperf.] / *day* [perf.]. The root variant *day-* has already supplanted the more archaic variant *dad-* in all perfective forms except for the aorist.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *dav-a-t* [imperf.] / *dai-t* [perf.] [Hendriks 1976: 157, 181, 254]. The root variant *dai-* has already supplanted the more archaic variant *dad-* in all perfective forms except for the aorist.

Skopje Macedonian: *dav-a* {дава} [imperf.] / *dad-e* {даде} [perf.] [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 82, 83].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 432. Imperfective form is *da-v'a-t* {dāvāt} [Kalsbeek 1998: 432].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 239.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {dati} [Pretnar 1964: 139-140].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 8. The imperfective form is *da-v'a-cʹ* {даваць} [TS 2: 6].

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 136.

34. GOOD

Dihovo Macedonian *dober* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *d'obār* {dōbar} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *d'wobār* {dōbēr} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *d'o:ber* {dober} (1), Turov Belarusian *d'obr-i* {дóбры} (1), Deulino Russian *har'čs-ay* {харóшай} (2).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 251.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *dobor* [Hendriks 1976: 255].

Skopje Macedonian: *dobar* {добар} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 91].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 436. Polysemy: 'good / kind / tasty'. Comparative form is *b'o:li-i* {bōljji}.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 242.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. The comparative form is *b'o:li-š-i* {boljši} [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {dober} [Pretnar 1964: 932].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 23. Distinct from *γ'arn-i* {гáрны} 'good / pleasant / beautiful' [TS 1: 196]. The comparative forms, mentioned in the TS, are {лепшы} *lʹepš-i* [TS 3: 23] and {лучы} *lʹučy-i* [TS 3: 51].

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 587-588. Polysemy: 'good / healthy / beautiful'. Some examples are: {Са възл'а́ да ч'и́лав'е́ ка́ узна́иш, како́й харо́шай, како́й плахо́й... Фс'е́ л'у́д'и ра'зна́й} "Upon first sight you can understand if a person is good or bad... All people are different" [DS 1969: 82]; {Ма́т' у не́й харо́шья́, по́льня́я, взро́сла́я} "Her mother is good, corpulent and tall" [DS 1969: 83]; {Бы́ла ку́рица харо́шья́, а г'ип'е́р' фс'о́ бл'е́з'нит', бл'е́з'нит', п'е́р'я́ л'е́зут'} "It was a good hen, but now it gets bald, its feathers fall out" [DS 1969: 57]; {С'е́ ма́ кано́пня́я с'е́ил'и... ды́ кака́йя с'е́ма́ бы́ла харо́шья́} "We sowed hemp seeds... and that seed was so good" [DS 1969: 237].

The comparative form is *lʹučy-i* {лучы}: {Ч'ем в'ино́ п'ит', л'у́чч'и́ пасла́жы́ п'аи́с} "It is better to eat something sweet than to drink wine" [DS 1969: 445].

The term *d'obr-ay* {до́брай} 'kind / festive / having good qualities, respectable (of person) / of full value / healthy' can be used in the meaning 'good' as well: {Как'и́ г'ип'е́р' карто́шки, н'и адно́й карто́шки до́брай не́ту: то́ чо́рнай, то́ никака́й} "There are no good potatoes now: some are black, some are bad"; {С'ьпау́и́ на́ до́бры́, св'ал'ал пло́ха... плахи́и, на́ до́бры́} "The boots are not good, he made them bad... bad, not good" [DS 1969: 144].

35. GREEN

Dihovo Macedonian *zel-en* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *z'el-en* {zēlen} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *z'älän* {zēlęn} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *zel'en* {zelen} (1), Turov Belarusian *zʹelʹy-ʹzn-i* {зелёны} (1), Deulino Russian *zʹilʹy-n-ay* {з'ил'óнай} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 295. Final *-en* is an adjective suffix.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *zel-en* [Hendriks 1976: 301].

Skopje Macedonian: *zel-en* {зелен} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 161].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 591.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 336. Neuter form {zèļeno} is attested.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {zelen} [Pretnar 1964: 240].

Turov Belarusian: The most common form, according to available contexts. It might seem strange that only the forms *zʲelʲ-en-i* {зелёны} and *zʲalʲ-en-i* {зялёны} are listed in the dictionary entry [TS 2: 150]. Absence of the shift *e > o* in stressed position in the first form is the reason why we consider it a borrowing, probably from Ukrainian. The second form in its turn reflects "yakanye", which is not typical of the Turov dialect.

Deulino Russian: Occurs in numerous examples, cf.: {тpавa' зилó'нъйтъ, а папа'ль пат со'ньшкь и загълуби'льс} "Grass had been green, but it became bluish under sun rays" [DS 1969: 179]; {куз'наца' зилó'нава пайма'ла} "(My cat) caught a green grasshopper" [DS 1969: 262].

36. HAIR

Dihovo Macedonian *kos-a* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *vlâs* {*vlâs*} (2), Burgenland Kajkavian *l'a:s-i* {*lâsi*} (2), Ljubljana Slovene *las-y-'e*: {*lasje*} (2), Turov Belarusian *k'os-i* {*кóсы*} (1), Deulino Russian *vʲisk-i* {*в'иск'и*} (3) / *v'otas-i* {*вóласы*} ~ *v'otás-i* {*вóльсы*} ~ *votas-a* {*въласá*} (-1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 261. Glossed as 'hair', apparently meaning 'hair (collective), head hair'. Distinct from *vlak-n-o*, glossed as 'hair' in [Groen 1977: 292], apparently meaning 'a single hair'.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *kos-a* 'hair (collective), head hair' [Hendriks 1976: 97, 266]. Distinct from *vlak-n-o*, glossed as 'hair' in [Hendriks 1976: 298], apparently meaning 'a single hair'.

Skopje Macedonian: *kos-a* {*коса*} 'hair (collective), head hair' [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 226]. Distinct from *vas* {*влас*} with polysemy: 'a single hair / combed wool' [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 56], *vlak-n-o* {*косма*} 'a single hair / fibre' [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 56], *kosm-a* {*косма*} 'wool' [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 226].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 584. Another term, *dl'ak-a* {*dlàka*}, glossed as 'hair' in the dictionary, does not occur in the texts, but in a different part of the source it is translated as 'body hair' [Kalsbeek 1998: 435], which seems to be a more exact translation of *dl'ak-a* {*dlàka*}.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 270. Plural form. Distinct from {*dlaka*} (accusative form *dl'ak-u* {*dlàku*} is attested) 'body-hair / beard (in plural)' [Houtzagers 1999: 242].

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Plural form. The form used for a single hair is *las* {*las*}. Distinct from *dl'ak-a* {*dlaka*} 'body hair' [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {*las*}, {*kocina*}, {*dlaka*} [Pretnar 1964: 79-80].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 223. Plural form. In the singular means 'scythe / spit (land projecting into the river) / spleen / sun ray / strip of rain / plait / bunch (of straw) / wreath'. Distinct from *k'otun-i* {*коўтуны*} 'hair' [TS 2: 228] and *k'udl-i* {*кўдлы*} 'hair' [TS 2: 247], both with expressive shades. Distinct from *v'otas* {*вóлас*} 'animal hair / hair worm / whitlow' [TS 1: 136-137].

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 86. There are two terms: *vʲisk-i* {*в'иск'и*} and *v'otas-i* {*во'ласы*} ~ *v'otás-i* {*во'льсы*} ~ *votas-a* {*въласá*}. As

the following context shows us, the first term replaced the second in the meaning 'hair', but then *v'otas-i* {во'ласы} ~ *v'otas-i* {во'льсы} ~ *v'otas-a* {въласа} was probably reintroduced from the literary language: {Ра'ншъ бы'ли в'иски': - Што рьскуд'е'лиль в'иски'! А ш'ш'ас: Пъдб'ир'и'т'а въласа'} "Earlier there was "viski": "Why did you tousle your hair (viski)!" And now: "Tuck your hair (volosa)"" [DS 1969: 86]. Both terms are relatively frequent, so we include them in the list, marking the second one as borrowing.

Some further examples for *v'isk-i* {в'иски} are: {Бе'лыйь в'иски'-тъ, как сн'и'уавыйь л'ажа'т'} "White hair is of snow colour (about dead man's hair)" [DS 1969: 457]; {Вада' ма'хкыйь, в'иски' ма'хкийь, ф кало'ццъ вада' г'ру'быйь, в'иски' нъ раш'и'ге'шыш} "If water is soft, hair is soft too, but if water in a well is hard, it is difficult to comb hair" [DS 1969: 128]. Some examples are: {Въласа' дъ кал'е'н} "Hair down to one's knees" [DS 1969: 133]; {Мой д'ет жыл сто г'адо'ф, во'ласы бы'ли до'лг'аи, ку'рчи} "My husband lived for a hundred years, he had long hair, with curls" [DS 1969: 263].

37. HAND

Dihovo Macedonian *rak-a* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *rʷok-a* {*rʷokà*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *r'owk-a* {*rōka*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *r'ɔ:k-a* {*roka*} (1), Turov Belarusian *ruk-a* {*рукá*} (1), Deulino Russian *ruk-a* {*рукá*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 278. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *rək-a* with polysemy: 'hand / arm' [Hendriks 1976: 284].

Skopje Macedonian: *rak-a* {*пака*} with polysemy: 'hand / arm' [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 435].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 540. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'. Distinct from *pyês* {*piês*} 'handful / hand, palm' [Kalsbeek 1998: 517].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 306.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'.

Standard Slovene: {*roka*} [Pretnar 1964: 748-749].

Turov Belarusian: TS 4: 334-335. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 495. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'.

38. HEAD

Dihovo Macedonian *glav-a* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *glav-a* {*glāvà*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *gl'av-v* {*glāva*} ~ *gl'v-v* {*glāva*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *gl'av-a* {*glava*} (1), Turov Belarusian *γ'āv-a* {*голавá*} (1), Deulino Russian *γ'āv-a* {*γ'лавá*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 254.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *glav-a* [Hendriks 1976: 259].

Skopje Macedonian: *glav-a* {*глава*} with polysemy: 'head / chapter / riverhead / head of the bed / chief / nave, hub' [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 71].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 445.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 249.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {glava} [Pretnar 1964: 127].

Turov Belarusian: TS 1: 211-212. Polysemy: 'head / mind / front or upper part of something (raft, beehive etc.) / married woman's headdress / peninsula, riverbank prominence / master of the house'. Distinct from a wide range of expressive and pejorative terms: *bašk-a* {башка} 'head' [TS 1: 44], *makat-ovš-a* {макатоўша} 'head' [TS 3: 61], *mōsk-ot-own^y-a ~ mōsk-ot-own^y-a* {мозкогóўня} ~ *mōsk-ot-own^y-a* {мошкогóўня} 'head' [TS 3: 85], *mak-ot-c^yor* {макоцёр} 'pot for poppyseed grinding / head' [TS 3: 62], *mōrm'uz-a* {мормуза} 'head / muzzle' [TS 3: 90], *čak-ux-a* 'mallet / head' [TS 5: 287].

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 118. Polysemy: 'head / (mushroom) cap / the highest sheaf in a sheaf pile'. Distinct from *bašk-a* {башка} 'head' [DS 1969: 50], which probably has a pejorative shade of meaning.

39. HEAR

Dihovo Macedonian *sluš-a* (1) / *čuy-e* (2), Orbanici Chakavian *ču-t* {čùt} (2), Burgenland Kajkavian *ču-t* {čùt} ~ *č'u-ti* {čùti} (2), Ljubljana Slovene *sl'iš-a-ti* {slišati} (1), Turov Belarusian *ču-c^y* {чуцц} (2), Deulino Russian *st'iš-a-t^y* {слышам} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 107, 282, 289. Suppletive aspectual paradigm: *sluš-a* [imperf.] / *čuy-e* [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen'.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *sluš-a-t* [imperf.] / *čuy-e-t* [perf.] with polysemy: 'to hear / to listen / to obey' [Hendriks 1976: 158, 287, 295].

Skopje Macedonian: *sluš-a* {слуша} [imperf.] / *čuy-e* {чuye} [perf.] with polysemy: 'to hear / to listen / to obey' [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 468, 530]. Perfective stem.

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 430. Polysemy: 'hear / taste / smell'. Distinct from *sl'uš-a-t* {slùšat} 'to listen' [Kalsbeek 1998: 548].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 239. Distinct from *pos=sl'uš-v-t* {poslušat} 'to listen' [Houtzagers 1999: 312].

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Distinct from *pos=sl'uš-a-ti* {poslušati} 'to listen' [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {slišati} [Pretnar 1964: 797].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 303-304. The term {слышаць} is not attested. Distinct from *st'ux-a-c^y* {слухаць} 'to listen' [TS 5: 58].

Deulino Russian: Occurs in examples, cf.: {Вот уж на е'ть у'хъ л'а'гу, тада' стуч'и', бун'и' йа н'ич'аво' н'а слы'шу} "When I lie on this ear, you can knock [at the door], but I will hear nothing" [DS 1969: 69]; {Йа слы'шала в'иск, с'в'ин'йа' в'иш'ш'е'ла} "I heard a squeal, a pig was squealing" [DS 1969: 86]. The term *čuy-a-t^y* {ч'у'йт} 'to feel / to catch the smell' can be sometimes used in the meaning 'to hear' as well [DS 1969: 601-602].

Distinct from *st'ux-ot-t^y* {слу'хът} 'to listen / to obey' [DS 1969: 525] and from *st'uš-ot-t^y* {слу'шът} 'to listen' ({Иес'т' ч'илав'е'к' үалд'ли'вай, балта'йт', а йийо' н'ихто' н'ь слу'шайит'}) "There is a talkative woman here, she chatters, but nobody listens to her" [DS 1969: 106]).

40. HEART

Dihovo Macedonian *sřc-e* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *sřc-e* {sřce} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *s'erc-ä* {sřce} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *sərc-^le*: {srce} (1), Turov Belarusian *s^yerc-ε* {сэрца} (1), Deulino Russian *s^yer^yc-ə* {с'ер'ц'а} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 283.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *serc-e* [Hendriks 1976: 285].

Skopje Macedonian: *sr̥c-e* {срце} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 482].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 550. Polysemy: 'heart / heartwood, inner (middle) part (of a branch)'.
Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 313.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {srce} [Pretnar 1964: 776].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 30-31. Polysemy: 'heart / core'.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 509-510. Polysemy: 'heart / anger / middle, core'.

41. HORN

Dihovo Macedonian *rok* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *rwôx* {*r^wôh*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *rwog* {*ròg*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *ro:k* {*rog*} (1), Turov Belarusian *rok* {*por*} (1), Deulino Russian *рox* {*pox*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 280.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *rok* [Hendriks 1976: 284].

Skopje Macedonian: *rok* {*por*} with polysemy: 'horn / prong' [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 449].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 540.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 306.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {*rog*} [Pretnar 1964: 743].

Turov Belarusian: TS 4: 290-291. Polysemy: 'horn / narrow end of field, meadow or village / corner of a building / corner of a roof or haystack / corner of a sack / pitchfork nozzle / awn / shepherd's horn / ergot'.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 489. Polysemy: 'horn / bump (on head) / feeding bottle'.

42. I

Dihovo Macedonian *yas* (1) / *mene* (2), Orbanici Chakavian *yǎ:* {*jǎ*} (1) / *man'-e* {*manè*} (2), Burgenland Kajkavian *ya:* {*jâ*} (1) / *m'än-ä* {*mëne*} (2), Ljubljana Slovene *yas* {*jaz*} (1) / *m'ɛn-ɛ* {*mene*} (2), Turov Belarusian *ya* {*я*} (1) / *m'ɛn^y-ɛ* {*мене*} (2), Deulino Russian *ya* {*úa*} (1) / *m^yin^y-a* {*м'ин'á*} ~ *m^yin^y-ɛ* {*м'ин'é*} ~ *m^yan^y-a* {*м'ан'á*} (2).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 79. Paradigm: *yas* [nom.] / *mene* [acc.].

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *ya* ~ *yasa* [nom.] / *mene* [acc.] [Hendriks 1976: 141].

Skopje Macedonian: *yas* {*jac*} [nom.] / *mene* {*мене*} [acc.] [Evdokimova 2009; Lunt 1952: 37]. Accusative form.

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 456. Paradigm: *yǎ:* {*jâ*} ~ *yǎ:s* {*jâs*} (emph.) [nom.] / *man'-e* {*manè*} ~ *me* {*me*} (encl.) [gen.] / *man'-e* {*manè*} ~ *mi* {*mi*} (encl.) [dat.] / *man'-e* {*manè*} ~ *me* {*me*} (encl.) [acc.] / *m'an-on* {*mǎnon*} [ins.] / *man'-e* {*manè*} [loc.].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 105, 257. Paradigm: *ya:* {*jâ*} [nom.] / *m'än-ä* {*mëne*} [gen.] / *m'än-i* {*mëni*} ~ *m'än-ä* {*mëne*} (Hidegség) ~ *mi* {*mi*} (clitic) [dat.] / *m'än-ä* {*mëne*} ~ *mi* {*mi*} (clitic) [acc.] / *m'än-um* {*mënum*} (Hidegség) ~ *m'än-om* {*mënom*} (Fertóhomok) [ins.] / *m'än-i* {*mëni*} [loc.].

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016; Dulichenko 2005: 224. Paradigm: *yas* {jaz} [nom.] / *m'ɛn-ɛ* {mene} ~ *mɛ* {me} (clitic) [gen.] / *m'ɛn-i* {meni} ~ *mi* {mi} (clitic) [dat.] / *m'ɛn-ɛ* {mene} ~ *mɛ* {me} (clitic) [acc.] / *mɛn-ɔy* {menoj} ~ *ma:n-ɔ* {mano} [ins.] / *m'ɛn-i* {meni} [loc.].

Standard Slovene: {jaz} [Pretnar 1964: 972].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 358. Paradigm: *ya* {я} [nom.] / *m'yɛn'y-ɛ* {мене} [gen.] / *mn'y-e* {мне} [dat.] / *m'yɛn'y-ɛ* {мене} [acc.] / *mn-ɔyu* {мною} ~ *mn-ɔy* {мною} [ins.] / *mn'y-e* {мне} [loc.]. Examples are: {Не стой коло мене, не глядзі на мене} "Don't stand near me, don't look at me" [TS 1: 202]; {Баценько, дай мне на чоботы грошэй} "Daddy, give me money to buy shoes" [TS 1: 45]; {Вон бежыць позаду зо мною} "He's running after me" [TS 4: 120]; {Там доярка дзеўка бегла зо мной поруч} "A milker ran beside me" [TS 4: 186]; {Усе бачаць, што на мне, а не бачаць, што во мне} "All of them can see what is on me, but they cannot see what is inside of me" [TS 1: 45].

Deulino Russian: Paradigm: *ya* {я} [nom.] / *m'yin'y-a* {м'ин'я} ~ *m'yin'y-ɛ* {м'ин'е} ~ *m'an'y-a* {м'ан'я} ~ *m'n'y-ɛ* {м'н'е} [gen.] / *mn'y-ɛ* {мн'е} ~ *m'yin'y-ɛ* {м'ин'е} [dat.] / *m'yin'y-a* {м'ин'я} ~ *m'yin'y-ɛ* {м'ин'е} ~ *m'an'y-a* {м'ан'я} [acc.] / *mn-ɔy* {мно'й} [ins.] / *mn'y-ɛ* {мне} [loc.].

Some examples are: {Ан'и' л'ажа'т, и йа л'ажу', ан'и' з'в'иш'ш'а'т, йа фстайу'} "They (piglets) lie, and I lie too, they start to squeal and I get up" [DS 1969: 176]; {Мам, у м'ин'я м'а'са фс'а дахо'д'ит} "Mom, I'm running out of meat" [DS 1969: 151]; {п'р'ишл'а дамо'й – у м'ин'е' и ру'ки, и но'г'и, и йазы'к – фс'о уш у м'ин'е' аг'нал'о'с} "I came home and my arms, legs and tongue, all grew numb" [DS 1969: 165]; {У м'ан'я' г'лад'и'-ка како'й с'ин'я'к, фч'ара' до'хнула'с} "Look, such a bruise I have, I fell down yesterday" [DS 1969: 151]; {У на'о' свайа' уса'д'ба, у йе'т'в'ь вот у са'с'е'да, а у м'н'е свайа' уса'д'ба} "She has her strip of earth, my neighbour has his own, and I have mine" [DS 1969: 578]; {Д'е'вка, ты мн'е на' ч'и'ста вы'мыла руба'ху-то, зала', там п'ир'аи'с'т} "Girl, you have washed my shirt badly, ashes will eat it away" [DS 1969: 102]; {Рашшы' бл'и но'гу-та м'ин'е'} "They hurt my leg" [DS 1969: 48]; {ты м'ин'я' угада'ла ал' н'ет?} "Did you recognize me?" [DS 1969: 46]; {Уш бо'льн'я ан'и' м'ин'е' растро'ива'ют} "They upset me so much" [DS 1969: 62]; {Пу'с'т ан'и' м'ан'я' ру'га'ют, а мн'е их жа'лка...} "Though they outrage me, I pity them" [DS 1969: 165]; {Жы'во'т вот сын са мно'й, а пато'м же'н'ицца} "My son lives with me, but later he will marry" [DS 1969: 398]; {ва мн'е ад'и'н пако'р, йа г'лухо'й} "I have one defect: I am deaf" [DS 1969: 429].

43. KILL

Dihovo Macedonian *u=bij-e-* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *u=b'i-t* {ubìt} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *u=bit* {ùbit} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *u=b'i-ti* {ubiti} (1), Turov Belarusian *za=b'y-i-c'y* {заб'іць} ~ *u=b'y-i-c'y* {уб'іць} (1), Deulino Russian *u=b'y-i-t'y* {уб'і́м'} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Hendriks 1976: 296. This is actually a form from the Vevchani-Radozhda dialect, since Dihovo expressions for 'to kill' are not documented in [Groen 1977]. Initial *u=* is the resultative prefix.

Skopje Macedonian: *u=biv-a* [imperf.] / *u=bij-e* [perf.] [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 506].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 418. Imperfective form is *u=bij-a-t* {ubijät}. Another possible candidate is *kla-t* {klät}, glossed as 'kill, slaughter' in the dictionary [Kalsbeek 1998: 466]. However, *kla-t* {klät} does not occur in the texts, while *u=b'i-t* {ubìt} is very frequent.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 230. Distinct from {umòrit} ~ {zmořit}, which Houtzagers translates as 'kill, liquidate' [Houtzagers 1999: 279]. Unfortunately, there are no contexts for these forms, so we cannot verify this translation, but we can suppose that it rather means 'to murder', as in literary Serbo-Croatian and Slovene.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {ubiti} [Pretnar 1964: 886].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 80; TS 5: 172-173. In the meaning 'to kill' the same root is used with different prefixes. The first form has the following polysemy: 'to kill / to mutilate / to wedge / to board up / to find a person during hide-and-seek' [TS 2: 80]. The second form's polysemy is: 'to kill / to trample down / to stick' [TS 5: 172-173].

Distinct from *u=k'ox-a-cʸ* {укохаць} [TS 5: 191] and *u=xorm-iç-i-cʸ* {ухормічыць} [TS 5: 221], which have expressive shades, and from *u=l'azʸ-i-cʸ* {уладзіць}, which is a euphemism [TS 5: 193-194].

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 569. Polysemy: 'to kill / to strike'.

44. KNEE

Dihovo Macedonian *kolen-o* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *kol'en-o* {kolèno} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *kəl'än-ɔ* {kolèno} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *kəl'e:n-ɔ* {koleno} (1), Turov Belarusian *kəlʸ'en-ɔ* {колéно} (1), Deulino Russian *kalʸ'en-k-a* {кал'énка} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 260.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *kolen-o* [Hendriks 1976: 266].

Skopje Macedonian: *kolen-o* {колeно} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 219].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 468.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 264. Polysemy: 'knee / generation / degree of kinship'.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {koleno} [Pretnar 1964: 301].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 205. Polysemy: 'knee / bend (of the river)'.

Deulino Russian: Occurs in examples, cf.: {Йа ат кал'е'нк'и пр'а'ма кр'ич'у'} "I really cry from [pain in my] knee" [DS 1969: 228]; {Фс'е кал'е'нк'и п'ямаро'з'ила} "I've got both knees frostbitten" [DS 1969: 223]. The old form *kalʸ'en-a* {кал'е'на} remains in combinations with prepositions ({дъ кал'е'н}, {ф кал'е'на}, {пъ кал'е'на}) as a measure of height, cf. {Въласа' дъ кал'е'н} "Hair down to one's knees" [DS 1969: 133].

45. KNOW

Dihovo Macedonian *znay* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *zna-t* {znàt} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *znv-t* {znàt} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *v'ed-ε-ti* {vedeti} (2), Turov Belarusian *vʸed-a-cʸ* {вэдацʸ} (2) / *zna-cʸ* {знацʸ} (1), Deulino Russian *zna-tʸ* {знам'ʸ} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 295.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *znai-t* [Hendriks 1976: 183, 301].

Skopje Macedonian: *znay-e* {знае} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 164].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 593.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 337-338. Polysemy: 'to know / to be able / to have the habit of'.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Distinct from *zn'a-ti* {znati} 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted' [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {znati}, {vedeti} [Pretnar 1964: 244-245].

Turov Belarusian: TS 1: 108. Both basic Proto-Slavic terms for 'to know' are reflected in the Turov dialect as *vʸed-a-cʸ* {вэдацʸ} [TS 1: 108] and *zna-cʸ* {знацʸ} [TS 2: 160]. According to the inherited distribution preserved in the West Slavic languages, *znati is used with the accusative case (except for some words, such as 'all', 'this', 'many', 'something', 'nothing'), *vĕděti is used for all other cases. In the Turov dialect this distribution has changed in favour of *zna-cʸ* {знацʸ}, which can be used when it is not in the accusative case: {Балдэшка старá, памеці нема, не знаеш, шо гэто!} "Old blockhead, you have a poor memory, you don't know what it is" [TS 1: 40]; {Коліся чoлoвeк знaў, шчo гoвopaць кyры, птaшкi} "Man used to

understand what hens and birds were talking about" [TS 1: 208]. However, it can also work in the opposite direction: {Hy, ведаеше ву копцель?} "So, do you know harvester-stacker?" [TS 1: 254]. Quite a typical context is the following: {He ведаю і не знаю, як гэта ў іх получылося} "I don't know how they managed to do it" [TS 1: 108], in which both verbs are used as synonyms. In this situation we think that the most plausible decision is to include both terms in the list. TS 2: 160.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 200. Polysemy: 'to know / to be conscious of / to have an idea about / to be able to / to occupy oneself with / to practice sorcery / to feel / it is noticeable (when used in the infinitive)'. The term {в'е'дат'} is not attested.

46. LEAF

Dihovo Macedonian *liš* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *lî:s {lîs}* (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *l'i:šč-ä {l'iščę}* (1), Ljubljana Slovene *li:st {list}* (1), Turov Belarusian *lʲist {licm}* (1), Deulino Russian *lʲist {l'ucm}* (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 263.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *list* [Hendriks 1976: 268].

Skopje Macedonian: *list* {лист} with polysemy: 'leaf / calf (of leg)' [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 243].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 481.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 271. Collective form. Unfortunately, only the collective form is attested; however, we have no reason to doubt that the singulative is derived from the same root.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {list} [Pretnar 1964: 344].

Turov Belarusian: TS 3: 33.

Deulino Russian: Some examples are: {Ис-пат ко'р'на рас'то'т бы'лач'ка, а на н'их л'ист} "From under the root grows a blade of grass, on which there is a leaf" [DS 1969: 71]; {м'ѣкр'ада'-та вон кака'й'тъ, н'а д'е'ржыт' л'ист} "The weather is damp, [trees] do not hold leaves" [DS 1969: 294].

47. LIE

Dihovo Macedonian *lež-i* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *lež-'a-t {ležät}* (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *l'äž-v-t {l'ěžat}* (1), Ljubljana Slovene *lež-'a-ti {ležati}* (1), Turov Belarusian *lʲež-'a-tʲ {l'ážam}* (1) ~ *lʲiž-'a-tʲ {l'ujám}* (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 263. Distinct from paronymous *leḡ-n-i* 'to lie down' [Groen 1977: 263].

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *lež-i-t* [Hendriks 1976: 268].

Skopje Macedonian: *lež-i* {лежи} with polysemy: 'to lie / to be imprisoned' [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 240].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 480. Distinct from *le-ṭ* {lêč} 'to lie down' [Kalsbeek 1998: 479].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 271. L-participle {l'ěžal} and present 3rd sg. {leži} are attested. Distinct from *läč* {lëč} ~ *läč-t* {lëčt} 'to lie down' [Houtzagers 1999: 270].

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Distinct from *u=l'e:č-i-se* {uleči se} 'to lie down' [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {ležati} 'to lie' [Pretnar 1964: 339], {legati}, {vleči se}, {leči} 'to lie down' [Pretnar 1964: 348].

Turov Belarusian: TS 3: 18. Polysemy: 'to lie / to be ill'. Distinct from *л'єγ-ц'и* {л'єццi} 'to lie down' [TS 3: 17].

Deulino Russian: Occurs in examples, cf.: {Ан'и' л'ажа'т, и йа л'ажу', ан'и' зъвиш'и'а'т, йа фстайу'} "They (piglets) lie, and I lie too, they start to squeal and I get up" [DS 1969: 176]; {То вр'е'м'ам н'ич'аво', а то р'язбал'и'цц'ь... йе'с'ли йа н'и с'тану' γо'льву, то н'и мауу' н'и с'иде'т, н'и л'ажа'т'} "Sometimes it is all right, but sometimes it starts hurting... if I do not tighten my head, I cannot sit or lie" [DS 1969: 96]. Distinct from *л'а-ц'и* {л'ац'} 'to lie down' [DS 1969: 286].

48. LIVER

Dihovo Macedonian *срн žiger* (-1), Orbanici Chakavian *yǔǝtr-a* {j'ǝtra} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *y'e:tr-a* {jetra} (1), Turov Belarusian *р'у'εε-εп'у* {п'εчэнь} (2), Deulino Russian *р'у'εц'у-ин'у* {п'εч'ин'у} ~ *р'у'иц'у-он-к-а* {п'иц'онка} (2).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 253. Literary 'black žiger', cf. *bel žiger* 'lungs', literary 'white žiger'. The noun *žiger* as well as the semantic pattern are borrowed from Turkic.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: not documented.

Skopje Macedonian: two expressions for 'liver' are quoted in [Evdokimova 2009], *žiger* and *срн drop* {цигер, црн дроб}, the latter literarily means 'black entrails'. Similarly in the literary language, for which two expressions with the meaning 'liver' are documented in [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 102, 532]: *срн-и-от drop* {црниот дроб} 'black entrails' and *срн žiger* {црн цигер} 'black žiger'. The noun *drop* 'entrails' is inherited.

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 458. Plurale tantum.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Not attested.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Neuter plural form.
Standard Slovene: {jetra} [Pretnar 1964: 556].

Turov Belarusian: TS 4: 50. Masculine. At least in Zapiasočca the term *ваγк-уε-а* {ваγк'уша} [TS 1: 102] or *в'азк-оуε* {в'ажкое} (literary 'heavy') [TS 1: 103] can be used to denote animal liver, cf. {У кобана печэнь – важкое} "boar's liver is vashkoye" [TS 1: 103].

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 401 Polysemy: 'liver / clot of blood'.

49. LONG

Dihovo Macedonian *dolk* ~ *dok* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *dǔ:x* {dǔh} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *d'owg-i* {dōgi} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *do:wk* {dolg} (1), Turov Belarusian *d'owγ^y-i* {dōγzi} ~ *dowγ^y-i* {dōγzi} (1), Deulino Russian *d'otγ^y-ay* {dólγ'ū} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 252.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *dolk* [Hendriks 1976: 255].

Skopje Macedonian: *dolk* {долг} with polysemy: 'long (spatial) / long (temporal)' [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 96].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 439. Polysemy: 'long / far'. Comparative forms are *d'aλ-i* {dālji} and *d'uyž-a* {dūž'a}.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 242-243.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.
Standard Slovene: {dolg} [Pretnar 1964: 152].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 35.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 147. Polysemy: 'long (in space) / long (in time)'. The term {д'ли'ннай} occurs only three times, including two times in the meaning 'tall': {У нас адна' д'ли'нн'яа, крас'и'в'яа, а н'ич'о' йей ла' д'иг'} "We have one (woman), tall, beautiful, but nothing becomes her" [DS 1969: 267]; {Хто д'ли'ннай, а хто ч'уп'и'т'ышнай, кара'вай} "Some people are tall and some are tiny, short" [DS 1969: 239]; {Йес' з'м'ийа' - удаф, он д'ли'ннай-пр'ид'ли'ннай} "There is a snake called the boa; it is long, very long" [DS 1969: 228].

50. LOUSE

Dihovo Macedonian *voš-k-a* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *š-en-'ac* {š^{en}ac} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *vu.š* {v^uš} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *u:š* {uš} (1), Turov Belarusian *вoш* {*voш*} (1), Deulino Russian *вoш* {*voш*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 292. Final *-k-* is a diminutive suffix.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *voš-k-a* [Hendriks 1976: 299].

Skopje Macedonian: *voš-k-a* {вошка} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 62].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 558. Probably goes back to Proto-Slavic {*vъšь} with the widespread suffix *-en-ac* added.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 335.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {uš} [Pretnar 1964: 86].

Turov Belarusian: TS 1: 147. Polysemy: 'louse / plant louse'.

Deulino Russian: Some examples are: {Тады' клапы' бы'ли, т'рака'н'яа, фшы в'али'с'а, а ш'ш'ас н'и в'аду'цца, фшей н'а в'и'д'има} "Earlier there were bugs, cockroaches, lice, and now there are none of them, lice do not appear" [DS 1969: 80]; {Што, фшы з'в'али'с'а?} "Did you become infested with lice?" [DS 1969: 141]. The collective noun *fš-a* {фша} is used as well [DS 1969: 98].

51. MAN

Dihovo Macedonian *maš* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *muš-k-î:* {muš^{kî}} (-1), Burgenland Kajkavian *moš* {m^oš} ~ *m^oš-k-i:* {moš^{kî}} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *m^o:š-k-i* {moš^{kî}} (1), Turov Belarusian *muš-ç-'in-a* {мужчына} (1), Deulino Russian *muž-'ik* {мужык} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 264. Polysemy: 'man / husband'.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *m^oš* with polysemy: 'man / husband' [Hendriks 1976: 272].

Skopje Macedonian: *maš* {маж} with polysemy: 'man / husband' [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 248].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 497. Root vocalism indicates borrowing from Standard Croatian. Distinct from *m^oš* {m^oš} 'husband' [Kalsbeek 1998: 495].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 279-280. The term {m^oš} has polysemy: 'man / husband'. The term {moš^{kî}} is the adjective 'masculine', which can be used as substantive in the meaning 'man'.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Distinct from *mo:š* {mož} 'husband' [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {možak}, {moš^{kî}} 'man', {mož} 'husband' [Pretnar 1964: 383].

Turov Belarusian: For some unknown reason, TS does not provide a separate entry for this word, in spite of its high frequency. TS mentions the meaning 'man' only in the entry of the related word *muž-ik* {мужы́к} 'peasant / man' [TS 3: 97-98]. We suppose that the last word belongs to the low style lexicon, as it does in literary Russian and Belarusian. In addition, *muž-ik* {мужы́к} occurs in the meaning 'man' much less frequently than *muž-č-in-a* {мужчына}. Anyway, the following contexts clearly show that *muž-č-in-a* {мужчына} is the most plausible candidate for our list: {Жонкі зовуць ветка, а мужчыны — рамённік тэ зелье} "Women call it vetka, and men call this plant ramyonnik (water avens) [TS 1: 120]; {Жонкі поюць, а мужчыны сядзяць нішком, не болбóчуць} "Women are singing, and men are sitting still, they aren't talking" [TS 1: 69]; {За гэтым буськовым молаком до нас прыезджаў адзін урач, воно мужчынам помогае} "A doctor visited us to collect cypress spurge, it helps men" [TS 1: 98].

Distinct from *muž-ic-ít-č* {мужычы́ло} ~ *muž-ic-in-a* {мужычы́на} 'man (pejorative)' [TS 3: 98].

Distinct from *muž* {муж} 'husband' [TS 3: 97] and *čtčv^uek* {чоловѣк} 'man / person / husband' [TS 5: 293].

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 300. Polysemy: 'man / husband'. The term *muš^y-in-a* {муш'ш'и'на} is more rare.

52. MANY

Dihovo Macedonian *mnog-u* ~ *nog-u* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *č'ud-a* {č'ùda} (2) / *p'un-o* {p'ùno} (3), Burgenland Kajkavian *č'ud-v* {č'ùda} (2), Ljubljana Slovene *vel-ik-č* {veliko} (4), Turov Belarusian *mn'čy-č* {мнóго} (1) / *bač'at-č* {багáто} (5), Deulino Russian *mn'čy-a* {мнóга} ~ *mn'čy-a* {мнóгуб} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 265. Polysemy: 'many / much'.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *mnog-u* with polysemy: 'many / much / very' [Hendriks 1976: 271].

Skopje Macedonian: *mnog-u* {многу} with polysemy: 'many / much / very' [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 261].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 430. There are two possible candidates: *č'ud-a* {č'ùda} and *p'un-o* {p'ùno}; both are very frequent in the texts, and we did not manage to find any difference. The comparative form is *vet* {vèč} [Kalsbeek 1998: 152; 581].

Distinct from *v'flex* {v'fleh} 'many, much', which is much more restricted in use [Kalsbeek 1998: 586]. Kalsbeek 1998: 533.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 239.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. The term {mnogo} is not used [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {mnogo} [Pretnar 1964: 375].

Turov Belarusian: TS 3: 84. There are two main terms for 'many': *mn'čy-č* {мнóго} [TS 3: 84] and *bač'at-č* {багáто} [TS 1: 34]. We did not find any difference in semantics or geography. As for frequency, in available contexts *mn'čy-č* {мнóго} occurs 62 times, while *bač'at-č* {багáто} is only slightly more frequent: 84 times. In this situation we include both terms in the list.

A third possible candidate, *šmat* {шмат} [TS 5: 330-331], does not occur anywhere except for the dictionary entry, so it cannot be regarded as typical for the Turov dialect.

There is also a wide range of terms that can, to some extent, occasionally be used in the meaning 'many': *v'al^y-ev-č* {вáлево} ~ *v'al^y-iv-č* {вáліво} ~ *val^y-ev-a* {валевá} [TS 1: 104], *v'at-čm* ~ *vat-čm* {вáлóm} [TS 1: 105], *na=v'at-čm* {навáлом} [TS 3: 111], *γ^yib^yε^y* {гібель} [TS 1: 199], *za=v'oz-n-č* {завóзно} [TS 2: 86-87], *m'as-a* {мáса} [TS 3: 66], *prax* {прах} [TS 4: 215], *sad* {сад} [TS 5: 8], *saran-a* {саранá} [TS 5: 14], *sv^yet* {свет} [TS 5: 18], *s^yit-a* {сі́ла} [TS 5: 33-34]. TS 1: 34.

Deulino Russian: Occurs in examples, cf.: {Ш'ш'ас мно'га бо'йных даро'х} "Now there is a lot of beaten tracks" [DS 1969: 61]; {Мно'губ л'уде'й по'марль нь майи'х гада'х} "A lot of people died within my lifetime" [DS 1969: 117].

53. MEAT

Dihovo Macedonian *meso* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *myês-o* {m'êso} (1), Burgenland

Kajkavian *m'ej̥s-ɔ* {*m̥eso*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *mes-'o*: {*meso*} (1), Turov Belarusian *my'as-ɔ* {*m'j̥sɔ*} (1), Deulino Russian *mʲas-a* {*m'asa*} ~ *mʲas-ə* {*m'asv*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 265.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *meso* [Hendriks 1976: 270].

Skopje Macedonian: *meso* {*meco*} with polysemy: 'meat / pulp of fruit' [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 256].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 490.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 276.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {*meso*} [Pretnar 1964: 386].

Turov Belarusian: TS 3: 105. Polysemy: 'meat / pulp of a fruit or vegetable'.

Deulino Russian: Some examples are: {Мам, у м'ин'а м'а'са ф'са дахо'д'ит'} "Mom, I'm running out of meat" [DS 1969: 151]; {Каро'ву заре'жыш, п'сал'и'ш – вот ана' к'рав'а'тина, м'а'са} "You slaughter a cow, then you salt it - that is beef, meat" [DS 1969: 241].

54. MOON

Dihovo Macedonian *mesēč-in-a* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *m'es-ec* {*m̥esec*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *l'u:n-a* {*luna*} (2), Turov Belarusian *mʲesʲec* {*m̥ecej*} (1), Deulino Russian *mʲesʲic* {*m'éc'ic*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 265. Distinct from the suffixless *mesec* 'month' [Groen 1977: 265].

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *mesēč-in-a* [Hendriks 1976: 270].

Skopje Macedonian: *mesēč-in-a* {*месечина*} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 256]. In the literary language, the suffixless word *mesec* {*месец*} 'moon / month' is also present [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 256].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 489. Polysemy: 'moon / month'. Distinct from *lu:n-a* {*lunà*} 'full moon' [Kalsbeek 1998: 483] and from *š̥ap* {*šč̥ap*} 'full moon' [Kalsbeek 1998: 557].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Not attested.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. The term *m'es:ec* {*mesec*} in the meaning 'moon' corresponds to high literary style [Uhlik 2016]. Distinct from *m'es:ec* {*mesec*} 'month' [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {*luna*}, {*mesec*} [Pretnar 1964: 351].

Turov Belarusian: TS 3: 76. Polysemy: 'moon / month / kind of dance / kind of wedding loaf in the shape of crescent'. The term {*луна*} is not attested.

Deulino Russian: Polysemy: 'moon / month'. Some examples for the first meaning are: {М'е'с'иц исхо'д'ит: то с'в'е'тит, а то с'в'ат'и'т' н'а'бу'д'ит'} "The moon wanes, now it shines, then it will not shine" [DS 1969: 209]; {Ана' инаг'да' м'е'с'ишнь'и'т' н'оч', м'е'с'иц с'в'е'тит' - в'и'дна, ф'ско'ч'им и п'айд'о'м} "Sometimes on a moonlit night the moon is shining, everything is seen clearly, we wake up and go [pick up mushrooms]" [DS 1969: 293].

The term *lun-'a* {*луна*} occurs only twice, once in the meaning 'heat lightning': {Н'оч' н'ана'снь'и'т', то'мнь'и'а, ана' адна' луна' истуха'ит', друг'а'и'т' з'ьг'ара'ит'} "The night is foul, dark, one heat lightning dies out, another one lights up" [DS 1969: 213] and once as a synonym of {*m'éc'ic*}, probably intended as an explanation for Standard Russian speakers: {Ш'ш'ас м'е'с'иц ф'ста'нит', он п'рим'арка'ит', а в'и'дна, ш'ш'ас т'о'мна, а то п'в'идн'еит'... Луна' п'рим'арка'ит'} "Soon the moon will come out, it grows dim, but one could still see, now it is dark, but then it will become light... The

moon will come out" [DS 1969: 457].

55. MOUNTAIN

Dihovo Macedonian *plan-in-a* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *gor-'a* {*gorà*} (2) / *vřx* {*vřh*} (3), Burgenland Kajkavian *breyg* {*brêg*} (4), Ljubljana Slovene *g'or-a* {*gora*} (2), Turov Belarusian *γor-'a* {*gorá*} (2), Deulino Russian *γar-'a* {*γapá*} (2).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 273.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *plan-in-a* [Hendriks 1976: 278]. Attested in a number of examples: "He came down from the mountain" [Hendriks 1976: 201], "Vevčani lies at the foot of the mountain" [Hendriks 1976: 203], "Over the mountain" [Hendriks 1976: 204], "There is a cabin on the mountain" [Hendriks 1976: 205]. Distinct from the more marginal Turkish loanword *orman* 'mountain' [Hendriks 1976: 275] (this word actually looks like an erroneous gloss for the expected 'forest, grove').

Skopje Macedonian: *plan-in-a* {планина} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 359].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 447. There are two possible candidates: *gor-'a* {*gorà*} 'mountain' [Kalsbeek 1998: 447] and *vřx* {*vřh*} 'top, tip, point / mountain' [Kalsbeek 1998: 586]. Since none of these terms occur in texts, we cannot differentiate between them and have to include both terms in the list. Kalsbeek 1998: 586. Polysemy: 'top, tip, point / mountain'.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 234.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {*gora*} [Pretnar 1964: 129].

Turov Belarusian: TS 1: 218. It should be noted that there are no mountains in the neighborhood of Turov (and the highest mountain of the Gomel region is 220 meters above sea level). This is probably the reason why the authors of TS translated this word as 'гарышча / узвышша, пагорак' ('attic / hill') [TS 1: 218].

However, there is a context which allows us to assert that the Turov dialect distinguishes between two height levels of relief, higher and lower, and *γor-'a* {*gorá*} is used to denote higher forms: {От этое горы́ дáleй пагурок, урочышчы Лiмкi} "Farther from this mountain there is a hill, a place called Lipki" [TS 4: 6]. Cf. also {Вусока гора, шо му попобралiса на ту гору} "A high mountain which we were climbing" [TS 4: 170] and {Не зроўняй, божа, горú з долино́ю} "Do not compare mountain with valley" (a proverb) [2: 167]. The term *γor-'a* {*gorá*} is relatively frequent: it is used in the meaning 'mountain / hill' almost 30 times in the TS, very often in riddles or proverbs. Since the difference between mountains and hill is relative, we regard *γor-'a* {*gorá*} as the main designation for 'mountain' in the Turov dialect, despite the fact that it is usually applied to objects considered as 'hills' by the native speakers of some other lects.

Deulino Russian: Although there are no mountains near Deulino, we believe that we can include the term {γapa} in the list; it is probably used to denote relatively higher uplands: {Вот р'ака́ ста́райа, а п'яд γарой ана́ праби́ла но́вуйу} "Here is an old river, and under the mountain it has carved a new one [riverbed]" [DS 1969: 464]; {А мы стаймо́к и с'ижмо́к ката́имси пр'ам з γары́} "We toboggan from the mountain upright and while sitting"; {Їа з γары́ ката́лси стаймо́к} "I tobogganed from the mountain upright" [DS 1969: 542]. Lower uplands are designated as *буγор* {*buγop*} [DS 1969: 67].

56. MOUTH

Dihovo Macedonian *ust-a* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *ǔ:st-a* {*ǔsta*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *z'owb-i* {*zôbi*} (2), Ljubljana Slovene *'u:st-a* {*usta*} (1), Turov Belarusian *rot* {*rom*} (3), Deulino Russian *рот* {*rom*} (3).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 290.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *ust-a* [Hendriks 1976: 296].

Skopje Macedonian: *ust-a* {устра} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 513].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 578. Plurale tantum.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 338. Plural form.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {usta} [Pretnar 1964: 747].

Turov Belarusian: TS 4: 329-330. Polysemy: 'mouth / slot in the short logs, used for making of piers / gap between upper and lower warp threads'. The term {устра} is not attested.

Deulino Russian: Occurs in numerous examples, cf. {Зъсвѣит'отъ рѣбоунакъ, ротъ унавоу бѣлай бѣваит', гурѣди саау тѣнизла'}
"When a kid's mouth comes out in a rash, turns white, he must not suck the breast" [DS 1969: 192]; {Йамуу калѣнула
зѣмаѣау балшоу паулац, а он ѣавоу – в ротъ} "The snake bit his thumb, and he put it in his mouth" [DS 1969: 235].

57. NAME

Dihovo Macedonian *ime* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *'ime* {ime} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *'imä* {ime} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *im'e*: {ime} (1), Turov Belarusian *imy-a* {им'я} ~ *mya* {м'я} (1), Deulino Russian *'im^{ya}a* {им'я} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 256.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *ime* [Hendriks 1976: 239].

Skopje Macedonian: *ime* {име} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 183].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 455.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 256.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {ime} [Pretnar 1964: 264].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 173.

Deulino Russian: Some examples are: {Анѣиу нѣ адноу вродѣи им'я} "They seem to have the same name" [DS 1969: 293]; {Йей два
им'я – исакау и рѣзѣика} "It (Carex acutiformis) has two names: "isaka" and "rezika" [DS 1969: 488].

58. NECK

Dihovo Macedonian *šiy-a* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *vrât:t* {vrât} (2), Burgenland Kajkavian *gowt* {gôt} (3), Ljubljana Slovene *vra:t* {vrat} (2), Turov Belarusian *š'iy-a* {ш'ія} (1), Deulino Russian *š'ey-a* {ш'ея} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 285. The word *vrat* is not documented in [Groen 1977].

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *šiy-a* [Hendriks 1976: 290] and *vrat* [Hendriks 1976: 299], both forms are glossed as 'neck' without further specifications.

Skopje Macedonian: *vrat* {врат} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 63]. In literary language, the

word *šiy-a* {шija} is also present [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 534].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 585.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 251.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016.

Standard Slovene: {vrat} [Pretnar 1964: 959].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 353. Polysemy: 'neck / space between the chimney and the wall / a narrow gap on a hayfield'. The term *stowp* {сроўп} ~ *stowb* {сроўб} 'post, pole' can be sometimes used in the meaning 'neck' as well [TS 5: 102].

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 604.

59. NEW

Dihovo Macedonian *nof* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *nwoǫf* {*n^uǫf*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *nowv* {*nǫv*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *nɔw* {*nov*} (1), Turov Belarusian *n'ɔv-u* {*нóву*} (1), Deulino Russian *n'ɔv-au* {*нóвай*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 268.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: not documented.

Skopje Macedonian: *nof* {нов} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 314].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 505.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 286. The neuter form {*nǫvo*} and the masculine plural form {*nǫvi*} are attested [Houtzagers 1999: 138].

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016.

Standard Slovene: {nov} [Pretnar 1964: 448].

Turov Belarusian: TS 3: 210.

Deulino Russian: Occurs in examples, cf. {дом был ста'рай, лахмо'тай, а тап'е'р' но'вай паст'гнав'и'л'и} "The house was old, ramshackle, and now a new one was built" [DS 1969: 447]; {Вот р'ака' ста'райа, а п'д γарой ана' праб'и'ла но'вуйу} "Here is an old river, and under the mountain it has carved a new one [riverbed]" [DS 1969: 464].

60. NIGHT

Dihovo Macedonian *noʔ* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *nwoʔ* {*n^uǫʔ*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *nowč* {*nǫč*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *no:č* {*noč*} (1), Turov Belarusian *noç* {*ноч*} (1), Deulino Russian *nɔč^y* {*ноч'*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 268.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *noʔ* [Hendriks 1976: 274].

Skopje Macedonian: *noč* {ноч} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 315].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 505.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 285.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016.

Standard Slovene: {noč} [Pretnar 1964: 450].

Turov Belarusian: TS 3: 214-215.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 348.

61. NOSE

Dihovo Macedonian *nos* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *νωὸς* {*n^uōs*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *nowos* {*nōs*} ~ *nows* {*nōs*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *no:s* {*nos*} (1), Turov Belarusian *nos* {*нос*} (1), Deulino Russian *нос* {*нос*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 268.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *nos* [Hendriks 1976: 274].

Skopje Macedonian: *nos* {нос} with polysemy: 'nose / cape, promontory' [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 315].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 505-506. Polysemy: 'nose / nozzle (on a jug or a pair of bellows)'.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 286.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {nos} [Pretnar 1964: 449].

Turov Belarusian: TS 3: 213. Polysemy: 'nose / beak'.

Deulino Russian: Polysemy: 'nose / beak / bow (of a boat)'. Some examples are: {В'ес' нос ф крав'е'} 'His nose is fully covered with blood' [DS 1969: 549]; {У н'аво' нос зъварно'сай кв'е'р'ху'} 'He has a turned-up nose' [DS 1969: 177].

62. NOT

Dihovo Macedonian *ne* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *ne* {*nè*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *nā* {*nē*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *ne* {*ne*} (1), Turov Belarusian *n^ye* {*не*} (1), Deulino Russian *n^ya* {*н'а*} ~ *n^yi* {*н'и*} ~ *n^yl* {*н'л*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 175 et passim. This proclitic expresses both negation of assertion and prohibitive.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: the proclitic *ne* expresses negation of assertion and prohibitive [Hendriks 1976: 273].

Skopje Macedonian: the proclitic *ne* {не} expresses negation of assertion and prohibitive [Evdokimova 2009; Lunt 1952: 23, 102, 234].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 501. Used in the prohibitive function as well: {Ne rābi plākat za nič} "You should not cry for no reason".

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 283.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Used in the prohibitive function as well, cf. {ne hodi} / {ne pojdi} "Don't go" [Uhlik 2016].

Turov Belarusian: TS 3: 176-177. Used in the prohibitive function as well: {Не стой коло мене, не гледзі на мене} "Do not stand near me, do not look at me" [TS 1: 202].

Deulino Russian: Occurs in examples, cf. {м'ьк'рада'-та вон кака'й'ь, н'а д'е'ржыт' л'ист} "There is damp weather, [trees] do not hold leaves" [DS 1969: 294]; {Д'е'вка, ты мн'е н'а ч'и'ста вы'мыла руба'ху-то, зала', там п'ир'аи'с'т} "Girl, you have washed my shirt badly, ashes will eat it away" [DS 1969: 102].

Used in the prohibitive function as well: {Н'и хад'и' к'ьсамо'м, а то в у'шы наду'ит'} "Do not walk bareheaded, or you

will get inflammation of the ear" [DS 1969: 243].

63. ONE

Dihovo Macedonian *eden* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *yedǎ:n {jedǎn}* (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *y'ädän {jǝdǝn}* (1), Ljubljana Slovene *'e:dən {eden}* (1), Turov Belarusian *эдз'ін {одз'ін} ~ адн-'іу {одн'ій}* (1), Deulino Russian *ад'ін {ад'ін}* (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 89.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *eden* [Hendriks 1976: 147].

Skopje Macedonian: *eden* {еден} [Evdokimova 2009; Lunt 1952: 48].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 457.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 258.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Before substantives, the form *en* {en} is used [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {eden} [Pretnar 1964: 475].

Turov Belarusian: TS 3: 245.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 364.

64. PERSON

Dihovo Macedonian *čoyek* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *čov'ek {čovèk}* (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *č'woväk {člǝvøk}* (1), Ljubljana Slovene *č'l:vɛk {človek}* (1), Turov Belarusian *чэ'тэ'в'ек {чолов'ек}* (1), Deulino Russian *ч'илав'ек {ч'илав'ек}* (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 289. Paradigm: *čoyek* [sg.] / *čoyec-i ~ čud-e* [pl.].

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *čvek* [sg.] / *čud-e* [pl.] [Hendriks 1976: 295].

Skopje Macedonian: *čovek* {човек} [sg.] / *čud-e* {луѓе} [pl.] [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 530].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 429. A less common form is *čov'ik* {čov'ik}. The form *šlov'ek* {šlovèk} is obsolescent [Kalsbeek 1998: 429]. The dictionary also contains the form *peršwōn-i* {perš'ōni} (G. sg.) 'person' of Romance origin [Kalsbeek 1998: 516], which does not occur elsewhere.

Plural form is *čūd-i* {jūdi} [Kalsbeek 1998: 484].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 238. Plural form: *čūd-i* {jūdi} ~ *y'ud-i* {jūdi} [Houtzagers 1999: 272].

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {človek} [Pretnar 1964: 942].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 293. Polysemy: 'man / person / husband'.

Deulino Russian: The plural form is *л'уд'и* {л'уд'и}: {Ино'й рас сълав'е'й пайо'т – ска'жыш ч'илав'ек' гута'р'ит'} "Sometimes when a nightingale is singing, you might think it's a person speaking" [DS 1969: 133]; {Са възл'а'да ч'илав'е'ка узна'иш, како'й харо'шай, како'й плахо'й... Фс'е л'уд'и ра'знаи'} "At first sight you can understand if a person is good or bad... All people are different" [DS 1969: 82]; {Мно'гь л'уд'е'й по'марль нъ майи'х гада'х'} "I saw a lot of people die" [DS 1969: 117].

65. RAIN

Dihovo Macedonian *doš* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *dă:š* {dăš} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *g'wod-in-v* {gòdina} (2), Ljubljana Slovene *dəš* {dež} (1), Turov Belarusian *дожж* {дождж} (1), Deulino Russian *дош':* {дош'у'} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 252.

Vechani-Radozhda Macedonian: *došt* [Hendriks 1976: 256].

Skopje Macedonian: *došt* {дожд} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 94].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 432.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 250.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {dež} [Pretnar 1964: 156].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 26.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 145. The form *дошт'* {дошт'}, of Standard Russian origin, is attested as well: {Фгир'от в'е'гир был, ураган, а пато'м дошт'} "First there was wind, a hurricane, then it rained" [DS 1969: 96].

66. RED

Dihovo Macedonian *çv-en* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *křv-ă:v-i* {křvāvi} (2), Burgenland Kajkavian *č'eryän* {čřjēn} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *rd'eč* {rdeč} (3), Turov Belarusian *kr'as-n-i* {красны} (4) / *ç'irv-ən-i* ~ *ç'irv'-ən-i* {чырвоны} (-1), Deulino Russian *kr'asn-ay* {краснай} (4).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 288. Final *-en* is an adjective suffix.

Vechani-Radozhda Macedonian: *çrv-en* [Hendriks 1976: 294].

Skopje Macedonian: *çrv-en* {çрвен} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 523].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 475.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 238. Neuter {čřjēno} and feminine {čřjēna} forms are attested.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {rdeč} [Pretnar 1964: 320].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 234. Polysemy: 'red / beautiful'. We did not find any difference between the inherited term *kr'as-n-i* {красны} and the Polonism *ç'irv-ən-i* ~ *ç'irv'-ən-i* {чырвоны}, so we include both terms in the list. TS 5: 306. Borrowed from Polish {czerwony} 'red'.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 249. Polysemy: 'red / too bright (colour) / sunny (day) / beautiful (rare)'. Cited in the dictionary entry as {кра'сный}, but in the examples it occurs in a more natural form {кра'сней}.

67. ROAD

Dihovo Macedonian *pat* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *č'est-a* {čësta} (2), Burgenland Kajkavian *st'yez-v* {stèza} (3), Ljubljana Slovene *po:t* {pot} (1), Turov Belarusian *дар'ыг-a* {дарога} (4), Deulino Russian *dar'ыг-a* {дарога} (4).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 272. Polysemy: 'road / time (i.e., occasion, occurrence)'.
Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *pat* [Hendriks 1976: 280]. Glossed as 'road, path'.

Skopje Macedonian: *pat* {пат} with polysemy: 'road / journey, trip / time (i.e., occasion, occurrence)' [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 353].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 428. Distinct from *puđt* {пуđт} 'road, way, path (narrower than *česta*; lined by low walls (*zidići*)' [Kalsbeek 1998: 526]. Distinct from *švālt* {švālt} 'paved road, asphalt road' [Kalsbeek 1998: 565].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 315.

Ljubljana Slovene: Uhlík 2016. This is the term with the broadest meaning. Distinct from *cest-a* {cesta}, usually restricted to asphalted roads [Uhlík 2016].

Standard Slovene: {cesta}, {pot} [Pretnar 1964: 162].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 31-32. Polysemy: 'road / journey / Milky Way / flour covering / two threads together in a linen'.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 149. Distinct from *putʹ* {пу́тʹ} 'way', which can be of masculine and feminine gender [DS 1969: 473].

68. ROOT

Dihovo Macedonian *koren* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *k'oren* {kòren} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *k'worän-v* {kòrəna} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *koren-ì:n-a* {korenina} (1), Turov Belarusian *k'orenʹ* {кóрəнʹ} (1), Deulino Russian *k'orʹinʹ* {кóрʹинʹ} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 261.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *koren* [Hendriks 1976: 266].

Skopje Macedonian: *koren* {корен} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 225].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 470.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 265. Collective form: {korênje}.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016.

Standard Slovene: {koren} ~ {korenina} [Pretnar 1964: 312].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 222. Polysemy: 'root (of a tree, tooth or a fungus) / seedling'. Distinct from *bur-ak* {бура́к} 'beet / main root of a tree' [TS 1: 94] and *lap-a* {ла́па} 'paw / lateral root of a tree' [TS 3: 11].

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 239-240. Polysemy: 'root / bogbean'.

69. ROUND

Dihovo Macedonian *terkal-est* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *o=krÿ:g-al* {okrÿgal} (2) / *twōnt* {tʷōnt} (-1), Burgenland Kajkavian *kr'owp-i* {krôpi} (2), Ljubljana Slovene *ɔ=kr'o:g-əw* {okrogel} (2), Turov Belarusian *kr'uy-t-ì* {krÿglÿ} (2), Deulino Russian *kr'uy-t-ay* {krÿglai} (2).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Hendriks 1976: 292. Apparently with polysemy 'round 3D / round 2D'. This is actually a form from the

Vevchani-Radozhda dialect, since no Dihovo expressions for 'round' are quoted in [Groen 1977]. Derived from a noun, documented as Dihovo & Literary Macedonian *trkalo* 'wheel, circle' [Groen 1977: 287; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 501].

Skopje Macedonian: *kruž-en* {кружен} and *za=obl-en* {заоблен} are quoted in [Evdokimova 2009] as synonyms, both with polysemy: 'round 3D / round 2D'. The latter is the passive participle from the verb *za=obl-i* 'to make round'. For the literary language, several terms with the meaning 'round' are documented: *trkal-est, trkal-ez-en* {тркалест, тркалезен} [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 501], *krug-ol, kruž-en* {кругол, кружен} [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 233], *za=obl-en* {заоблен} [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 137].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 509. There is no inherited term for 'round'. Instead, we find two borrowings: *o=krū:g-al* {okrūgal} (the masculine form is not attested, but based on analogy with *byēl* [b'èl] 'white' we think that it ends in -l) from Standard Croatian {okrugao} and *twōnt* {tuōnt}, of Romance origin. One would think that the context {"tuōndo" rečemo onēmu, ča je "okruglo"} "what is round we call tuōndo" [Kalsbeek 1998: 171] should mean that *twōnt* {tuōnt} is a more common term; however, in texts *o=krū:g-al* {okrūgal} occurs 4 times, while *twōnt* {tuōnt} occurs only 3 times. Under these circumstances we have to include both terms in the list. Kalsbeek 1998: 572.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 268.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D' [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {okrogel} [Pretnar 1964: 326].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 237.

Deulino Russian: Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D': {Куку'шкѣ, е'тъ, пахо'щ, ѳлаза' у нѣй кру'ѳлыи} "It seems to be a cuckoo, it has round eyes" [DS 1969: 451]; {Лицо'та кру'ѳлайа, а то пѣдлин'нѣ'й} "She has a round face, and that one is oblong" [DS 1969: 422].

70. SAND

Dihovo Macedonian *pes-ok* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *sablwōn* {sabl^uōn} ~ *šablwōn* {šabl^uōn} (-1), Burgenland Kajkavian *p'eyśāk* {pêśək} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *p'ē:sek* {pesek} (1), Turov Belarusian *p^yes'ok* {неc'ок} (1), Deulino Russian *p^yis-'ok* {н'ис'ок} ~ *p^yas-'ok* {н'ас'ок} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 272.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *pes-ok* [Hendriks 1976: 277].

Skopje Macedonian: *pes-ok* {песок} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 356].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 541. Borrowed from some Romance source. This term is applied to fine sand. A later borrowing from Italian, *šâ:biy-a* {šâbija}, is used for the designation of sea sand [Kalsbeek 1998: 557].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 294.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {pesek} [Pretnar 1964: 554].

Turov Belarusian: TS 4: 46.

Deulino Russian: Some examples are: {Нѣ р'ик'ѣ' ид'о'ш - п'ис'ок пр'а'ма ту'та... ѳѣ'та кас'и'ца} "When you go along the river, there is sand just here... it's a sand bank"; {П'ас'ок кас'и'цы нѣмыва'ит} "Sand deposits banks" [DS 1969: 243].

71. SAY

Dihovo Macedonian *veĥ-i* (1) / *reč-i* (2), Orbanici Chakavian *re-ḥ* {rèč} (2), Burgenland Kajkavian *răč* {rëč} ~ *răč-t* {rëčt} ~ *r'ăč-ti* {rëčti} (2) / *văy-'i:m* {vejîm} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *r'ē:či* {reči} (2), Turov Belarusian *s=kaz-'a-c^y* {сказ'а'ц'ь} (3), Deulino Russian *s=kaz-'a-t^y*

{сказám'} (3).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 107, 279, 291. Suppletive aspectual paradigm: *veʎ-i* [imperf.] / *reč-i* [perf.]. Distinct from perfective *kaž-i*, glossed as 'to say, tell' [Groen 1977: 259].

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *vel-i-t* [imperf.] / *reč-i-t* [perf.] [Hendriks 1976: 158, 284, 297]. Distinct from perfective *kaž-i*, glossed as 'to say, tell' [Hendriks 1976: 264].

Skopje Macedonian: *veli* {вели} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 49]. For the literary language, the perfective counterpart *reč-e* {рече} is also documented [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 448]. Perfective stem.

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 536-537. Distinct from *govor-i-t* {govorīt} ~ *gʷor-i-t* {gʷorīt} 'to speak, to talk, to say' [Kalsbeek 1998: 448].

Distinct from the verb *dyê-n* {d'ên} 'I say' [Kalsbeek 1998: 434], which has only the present form and is usually used to introduce direct speech.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 304. Present paradigm: {vejîm} 'I say' / {vejîš} 'you say' / {vejî} 'he says' / {vejîmo} 'we say' / {vejîte} 'you say' / {vejê} (Hidegség and Fertóhomok) ~ {vejîdu} (Hidegség) 'they say'. Forms with *-lj-* are less frequent than forms with *-j-*. Sometimes forms derived from {rêč}: {rêčš} 'you say', {rêčš} 'he says' are used. The first person forms {rêko} (Fertóhomok) and {rêku} (Hidegség) are used as historic present [Houtzagers 1999: 330, 151]. All the other forms are derived from {rêč}: 1-participles {rêkel} (masc.), {rêkla} (fem.), {rêkli} (masc. pl.), past participle {rêčeno} (neut.), imperative {rêči} ~ {rêci} [Houtzagers 1999: 304].

Distinct from *pov=vey-m* {povêm} 'I say, tell, announce' [Houtzagers 1999: 331]. Houtzagers 1999: 330. The present stem.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {reči} [Pretnar 1964: 781].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 37-38.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 515.

72. SEE

Dihovo Macedonian *puʎ-i* (1) / *vid-i* (2), Orbanici Chakavian *v'id-e-t* {vìdet} (2), Burgenland Kajkavian *v'id-ä-t* {vìdêt} ~ *v'id-ä-ti* {vìdêti} ~ *v'id-i-t* {vìdit} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *v'i:d-ε-ti* {videti} (2), Turov Belarusian *b'ač-i-cʷ* {бáчыцʷ} (-1), Deulino Russian *vʷidʷ-i-tʷ* {в'úд'um'} (2).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 107, 278, 291. Suppletive aspectual paradigm: *puʎ-i* [imperf.] / *vid-i* [perf.]. Distinct from *gʎed-a* 'to look' [Groen 1977: 254].

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *gled-a-t* [imperf.] / *vid-i-t* [perf.] [Hendriks 1976: 158, 259, 298]. Distinct from *pil-i-t se* 'to look' [Hendriks 1976: 282].

Skopje Macedonian: *gled-a* {гледа} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 72]. For literary language, the perfective counterpart *vid-i* {види} is also documented [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 52]. Perfective stem.

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 583. Distinct from *gʎed-a-t* {glêdat} 'to look / to see to something' [Kalsbeek 1998: 445-446].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 331-332. Distinct from *gl'äd-v-t* {glêdat} 'to look' [Houtzagers 1999: 249].

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Distinct from *gl'e:d-a-ti* {gledati} 'to look' [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {videti} 'to see' [Pretnar 1964: 65]; {gledati} 'to look' [Pretnar 1964: 801].

Turov Belarusian: TS 1: 45-46. A Polonism. Apart from this term, there is also the inherited item *vʷižʷ-ε-cʷ* {вiдзeць} ~ *vʷižʷ-i-cʷ* {вiдзиць} [TS 1: 125], but it seems to be very rare, as we found only four occurrences (excluding predicative {вiдно}): {Я

відзела, ек жабу шлі з одное болоцвіны ў другую) "I saw frogs going from one bog to another" [TS 1: 71]; {Што відзіў, то й брыдзіў} "what he saw, he spoiled" (proverb) [TS 1: 125]; {Тумно, тумно, только відзен зелёны дубочок} "It is dark, it is dark, only a green oak can be seen" (from a song) [TS 5: 164]; {Я не віджу, шо ўжэ рэхта} "I can't see if it is done" [TS 4: 349].

Distinct from *vu=zʹir-'a-cʹ* {вузіраць} 'to look out / to look' [TS 1: 161], *ʹlʹεʹzʹ-e-cʹ* {гледзэць} 'to look / to take care of' [TS 1: 202] and *ʹiʹoʹ-'i-ca* {дзівіцца} 'to look' [TS 2: 18].

Deulino Russian: Occurs in examples: {Хто йаво' ви'дал, сьмал'от'?' "Who saw it, that airplane?" [DS 1969: 116]; {А вы йаво' на ви'дили?} "Have you seen him?" [DS 1969: 108]. Distinct from *ʹlʹad-a-tʹ* {ґла'дат} and *ʹlʹidʹ-ε-tʹ* {ґлид'е'т'} ~ *ʹlʹadʹ-ε-tʹ* {ґлад'е'т'} 'to look' [DS 1969: 114] and from *smatrʹ-ε-tʹ* {смагр'е'т'} 'to look' ({Смагр'и' в акно'} "Look out of the window" [DS 1969: 89]).

73. SEED

Dihovo Macedonian *seme* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *s'emen* {*sèmen*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *s'yemä* {*sème*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *s'e:mε* {*seme*} (1), Turov Belarusian *sʹemyε* {*cém'e*} (1) / *na=sʹen-y-ε* {*насэньε*} (-1), Deulino Russian *sʹemʹa* {*cém'a*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 281.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *semen-k-a* [Hendriks 1976: 285].

Skopje Macedonian: *seme* {*seme*} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 459].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 544.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 309.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {*seme*} [Pretnar 1964: 775].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 28. Apart from the inherited term *sʹemy-ε* {*cém'e*}, there is also the Polonism *na=sʹen-y-ε* {*насэньε*} 'seed / eggs (of insects)' [TS 3: 159-160]. Since we did not manage to find any difference between these terms, we include both in the list. TS 3: 159-160. Polysemy: 'seed / eggs (of insects)'.

Deulino Russian: Some examples are: {Бир'о'ш до'ску бал'шу'я и бир'о'ш - так'и вал'ки' бы'ли - зач'не'ш йаво' к'лаг'и'т'... и йе'та с'е'ма-та, ана' ф'са аткала ч'ива'ицца ат на'во', ат е'тва л'на'-г'ь} "You take a big board and a beetle (hammer) which we used to have and then you start to batter it [flax], and this seed, it is all knocked out from flax" [DS 1969: 196]; {С'е'ма кан'пн'яа с'е'ил'и... ды кака'яа с'е'ма была' харо'ш'яа} "We sowed hemp seeds... and that seed was so good" [DS 1969: 237].

74. SIT

Dihovo Macedonian *sed-i* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *sed-'e-t* {*sedèt*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *s'yed-i-t* {*sèdit*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *sed-'e:-ti* {*sedeti*} (1), Turov Belarusian *sʹεʹzʹ-'e-cʹ* {*сэдзэць*} (1), Deulino Russian *sʹidʹ-ε-tʹ* {*c'ud'ém'*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 281. Polysemy: 'to sit / to live, stay'.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *sed-i-t* [Hendriks 1976: 285].

Skopje Macedonian: *sed-i* {*седи*} with polysemy: 'to sit / to live, stay' [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-

Svitych 1963: 458].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 543. Distinct from *ses* {sěs} (habitual form *s'ed-uv-a-t* {sěduvat} ~ *se=s'ed-uv-a-t* {se sěduvat}) 'to sit down' [Kalsbeek 1998: 543-544].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 309. L-participle {sědil} and present 3rd sg. {sěđi} are attested. Distinct from *sās-t* {sěšt} 'to sit down' [Houtzagers 1999: 309-310].

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Distinct from *u=s'e:s-ti-sε* {usesti se} 'to sit down' [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {sedeti} [Pretnar 1964: 779]; {sedati}, {sesti}, {usesti se} [Pretnar 1964: 753].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 24-25. Polysemy: 'to sit / to be unmarried'. Distinct from *s^yes-c^yi* {cécii} 'to sit down' [TS 5: 32].

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 512-513. Polysemy: 'to sit / to be situated / to grow somewhere (about plants) / not to grow up (about plants) / to be employed / to look after / to live somewhere'. Distinct from *s^yes-t^y* {c'ecr'} 'to sit down' [DS 1969: 511].

75. SKIN

Dihovo Macedonian *kož-a* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *k'ož-a* {kòž-a} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *k'wož-v* {kòž-a} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *k'o:ž-a* {kož-a} (1), Turov Belarusian *k'oz-a* {kóža} (1) / *sk'ur-a* {ckýpa} (-1), Deulino Russian *k'oz-a* {kóža} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 261.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *kož-a* [Hendriks 1976: 267].

Skopje Macedonian: *kož-a* {кожа} with polysemy: 'human skin / animal hide / peel of fruit' [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 217].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 471. Polysemy: 'skin / hide / leather'. Distinct from *ru:n-o* {rūnò} 'skin, fleece' [Kalsbeek 1998: 541].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 266. Polysemy: 'skin / leather'.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {koža} [Pretnar 1964: 299].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 202. Besides the inherited term *k'oz-a* {kóža}, the Polonism *sk'ur-a* {ckýpa} is attested as well [TS 5: 52]. We include both terms in the list. TS 5: 52.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 229. Polysemy: 'skin / peel'.

76. SLEEP

Dihovo Macedonian *spiy-e* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *sp-a-t* {spât} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *sp-a:-t* {spât} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *sp-'a:-ti* {spati} (1), Turov Belarusian *sp-a-c^y* {cnaub} (1), Deulino Russian *spa-t^y* {cnam'} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 283.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *spiy-e-t* [Hendriks 1976: 288].

Skopje Macedonian: *spiy-e* {спиe} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 477].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 549. Habitual form is *sp-yev-'a-t* {sp'evàt} [Kalsbeek 1998: 550].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 313.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {spati} [Pretnar 1964: 821].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 81.

Deulino Russian: A good example is {Їез'ли ѡа када' ла'гу спат' дн'о'м, но'ч'ѳу н'а сг'ѳу} "If I go to bed during the day, I can't sleep at night" [DS 1969: 415].

77. SMALL

Dihovo Macedonian *mal* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *mâ:l-i* {*mâli*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *mb̩l* {*mâl*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *m'a:uxen* {*majhen*} (1), Turov Belarusian *mat'-i* {*малы́*} (1), Deulino Russian *m'al^y-in^y-k-au* {*мáл'ин'каѳ*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 264.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *mal* [Hendriks 1976: 269].

Skopje Macedonian: *mal* {мал} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 249].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 486. Comparative form is *m'aj-i* {*mãnji*}. Distinct from *mî:t-i* {*mîci*} '(very) small, tiny' [Kalsbeek 1998: 490].

There is also the term *m'ij-i* {*mĩnji*} which is glossed as 'small, little' in the dictionary [Kalsbeek 1998: 491]. There are examples of such use ({ovò je je p̩išlo mĩnjo} "this [piece of clothing] has become too small for her" [Kalsbeek 1998: 491]), but in most cases it means 'small' while speaking of age. Typical examples are: {dòkle je mĩnji je p̩plic̩, p̩kle je pulàštar} "as long as it is small it is a chick, after that it is a pullet" [Kalsbeek 1998: 436]; {kat so bìli d̩ca mĩnji} "when they were little children" [Kalsbeek 1998: 372].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 273.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016. The definite form is *m'a:l-i* {*mali*} [Dulichenko 2005: 215]. Comparative form is *m'a:ŋ-š-i* {*manjši*} [Uhlík 2016].

Standard Slovene: {majčken} [Pretnar 1964: 299].

Turov Belarusian: TS 3: 63. The comparative form is *m^yenš-i* {мэншы} ~ *m^yen'š-i* {мэньшы} [TS 3: 74].

Deulino Russian: Occurs in examples: {Бал'ша'ѳь бало'та, а то ма'л'ин'к'ѳѳь б'лат'и'н'ч'к'ь} "'Boloto' is a big bog, while 'bolotinochka' is a little bog" [DS 1969: 62]; {На'д'ь ду'мат' а бал'шо'ѳ вад'е', а н'и ма'л'ин'ка'ѳ} "One should think of big water, not of small water (when a bridge is built)" [DS 1969: 64]. The form {ма'нин'ка'ѳ} is used as well [DS 1969: 289]. The comparative form is *m^yen^y-i* {м'е'н'ь} ~ *m^yen^y-au* {м'е'н'а'ѳ} [DS 1969: 292].

78. SMOKE

Dihovo Macedonian *čat* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *d̩:m* {*d̩m*} (2), Burgenland Kajkavian *di:m* {*d̩m*} ~ *dim* {*d̩m*} (2), Ljubljana Slovene *dim* {*dim*} (1), Turov Belarusian *d̩m* {*дым*} (2), Deulino Russian *d̩m* {*дым*} (2).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 288. The word *dim* is not quoted in [Groen 1977].

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *čat* [Hendriks 1976: 294]. The word *dim* is not quoted in [Hendriks 1976].

Skopje Macedonian: *dim* {дим} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 89]. For the literary language, the synonym *čat* {чад} 'smoke' is also documented [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 525].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 435.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 242.
Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016.
Standard Slovene: {dim} [Pretnar 1964: 173].
Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 49.
Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 159.

79. STAND

Dihovo Macedonian *stoy* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *stǎ:-t {stât}* (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *sta:-t {stât}* (1), Ljubljana Slovene *st'a:-ti {stati}* (1), Turov Belarusian *stoy-'a-c^y {сто́ўць}* (1), Deulino Russian *stay-'a-t^y {смаі́ам}* (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 284.
Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *stoi-t* [Hendriks 1976: 288].
Skopje Macedonian: *stoi* {стои} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 485].
Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 552. Polysemy: 'to stand / to be located / to be / to live, dwell / to suit, to fit'. Distinct from *se=st'a-t* {se stât} 'to stand up' [Kalsbeek 1998: 552].
Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 315. Polysemy: 'to stand / to live'. Distinct from *st'v-t-sǎ* {stât se} ~ *st'a:-t-sǎ* {stât se} 'to rise / to stand up / to go and stand somewhere'. The particle {se} can be elided [Houtzagers 1999: 314].
Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016. Distinct from *f=st'a:-ti* {vstati} 'to stand up' [Uhlík 2016].
Standard Slovene: {stati} 'to stand' [Pretnar 1964: 839], {vstati} 'to stand up' [Pretnar 1964: 93].
Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 103. Polysemy: 'to stand / to be situated / to stay without changes'. Distinct from *u=st'a-c^y* {устáць} 'to stand up' [TS 5: 213].
Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 543-544. Polysemy: 'to stand / to be situated / to hold on (about weather) / to stay invariable / to hold office / to rent a flat'. Distinct from *f=sta-t^y* {фста́т} 'to stand up / to take up (a position) / to make a decision' [DS 1969: 97].

80. STAR

Dihovo Macedonian *zvezd-a* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *zvyezd-'a {zv'ezdǎ}* (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *zv'eyzd-v {zvêzda}* (1), Ljubljana Slovene *zv'e:zd-a {zvezda}* (1), Turov Belarusian *z'or-k-a {зóрка}* (2), Deulino Russian *zv^yazd-'a {з'в'азда}* (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 253.
Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *zvezd-a* [Hendriks 1976: 257].
Skopje Macedonian: *zvezd-a* {свезда} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 165].
Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 594.
Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 338.
Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016.
Standard Slovene: {zvezda} [Pretnar 1964: 237].
Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 165. The term *zor-a* {зopá} 'star / dawn' can be used as well [TS 2: 164].
Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 196. Polysemy: 'star / wall-eye'.

81. STONE

Dihovo Macedonian *kamen* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *gr'ot-a* {*gròta*} (-1) / *k'ami-k* {*kàmik*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *k'owmän* {*kòtmen*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *k'a:men* {*kamen*} (1), Turov Belarusian *k'am^yen^y* {*ка́мень*} (1), Deulino Russian *k'am^yin^y* {*ка́м'ин'*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 258.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *kamen* [Hendriks 1976: 263].

Skopje Macedonian: *kamen* {камен} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 206].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 450-451. There are two terms glossed as 'stone' in the dictionary: *gr'ot-a* {*gròta*} of Romance origin and *k'am-ik* {*kàmik*} [Kalsbeek 1998: 461]. In the texts only the first term occurs, but we cannot be sure that it has already replaced the inherited *k'am-ik* {*kàmik*}, since the text corpus is too small. Thus we have to include both terms in the list.

Distinct from *k'am-en* {*kàmen*} 'rock' [Kalsbeek 1998: 461], *krùx* {*krùh*} 'big stone, rock (in a field) / circle' [Kalsbeek 1998: 474] and *u=pl'as* {*uplàs*} 'stone, rock in a ploughing field' [Kalsbeek 1998: 578]. Kalsbeek 1998: 461.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 264.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016.

Standard Slovene: {*kamen*} [Pretnar 1964: 280].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 180.

Deulino Russian: We found only three contexts: {йе́та испо́дник, ка́мин' тако́й-тъ} "It is a nether millstone, a kind of stone" [DS 1969: 78]. In plural the form {кам'е́н'я} is used: {шп'алка́л па кры́шы, йа ду́м'яла - кам'е́н'я} "Hail snapped on the roof, I thought that it was stones" [DS 1969: 608]; {Лук п'ясади́ла, ани́ па́лак, кам'е́н'яв н'браса́ли, в'ес' приката́ли лук} "I planted onions, they threw some sticks and stones about and pressed down all the onions" [DS 1969: 457].

82. SUN

Dihovo Macedonian *son-c-e* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *s̃.nc-e* {*sūnce*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *s'ownc-ä* {*sònce*} ~ *s'wonc-ä* {*sònce*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *s'o:nc-ε* {*sonce*} (1), Turov Belarusian *s'ɔnc-ε* {*со́нцэ*} (1), Deulino Russian *s'ɔn^y-a* {*со́н'ца*} ~ *s'ɔn^y-ə* {*со́н'цə*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 283. Final *-c-* is a diminutive suffix.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *sen-c-e* [Hendriks 1976: 285].

Skopje Macedonian: *son-c-e* {сонце} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 474].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 554.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 313. The first form is used in Hidegség, while the second one is widespread in Fertőhomok.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016.

Standard Slovene: {*sonce*} [Pretnar 1964: 812].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 73.

Deulino Russian: Some examples are: {Глаза́ ат со́нцə γа́д'уццə} "Eyes begin to ache from the sun" [DS 1969: 105]; {Када́

со'нца-та прип'ик'е'т' "When the sun is rather hot" [DS 1969: 481]. Diminutives like {со'лнышкъ}, {со'лнушкъ}, {со'нышкъ} are common as well: {трава' з'ил'о'н'г'йъ, а папа'ль пат со'нышкъ и за'у'луби'льс'} "Grass had been green, but it became bluish under sun rays" [DS 1969: 179].

83. SWIM

Dihovo Macedonian *kap-i* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *pl'iv-a-t* {*pl'ivat*} (2), Burgenland Kajkavian *pлу:-t* {*pljût*} ~ *pyu:-t* {*pjût*} (2), Ljubljana Slovene *pl'av-a-ti* {*plavati*} (2), Turov Belarusian *pl'us-c'yi* {*плысц'і*} (2), Deulino Russian *pl'is^y-t^y* {*плыс'т'*} (2).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 258.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: not documented.

Skopje Macedonian: *pliv-a* {плива} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 360]. Distinct from *kap-e* {капе} 'to bathe [trans.]' [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 207].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 521. Glossed only as 'to float' in the dictionary, but we suppose that it also means 'to swim', which is typical of Slavic languages.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 297.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Distinct from *pl'u:-ti* {pluti} 'to float' [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {plavati}, {pluti} [Pretnar 1964: 559].

Turov Belarusian: TS 4: 62. Durative / habitual form is *pl'av-a-c^y* {плáваць} [TS 4: 54].

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 405. Durative / habitual form is *pl'av-a-t^y* {пла'ват'}, cf. {Када' л'от зъстыва'ит', ч'и'стай, б'ис' с'не'гу, ры'бъ пла'в'ит' на кра'йу – и'йо' в'ида'т'} "When ice is frozen, when it is pure, without snow, fish is swimming on the verge, and it is seen" [DS 1969: 231]; {Йа' фс'а'гда' зъ р'аку' взат-наза'т пла'в'йу} "I always swim across the river back and forth" [DS 1969: 171].

84. TAIL

Dihovo Macedonian *opaš-k-a* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *ryěp* {*riěp*} (2), Burgenland Kajkavian *reyp* {*rěp*} (2), Ljubljana Slovene *rep* {*rep*} (2), Turov Belarusian *xvost* {*хвост*} (3), Deulino Russian *xvost* {*хвост*} (3).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 270. Final *-k-* is a diminutive suffix.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *opaš-k-a* with polysemy: 'tail / end of a meadow' [Hendriks 1976: 275].

Skopje Macedonian: *opaš-k-a* {опашка} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 334].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 538. Polysemy: 'tail / handle / leaf stalk'.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 305.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {rep} [Pretnar 1964: 926].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 236. Polysemy: 'tail / domestic animal / edge of an earth strip / rye siftings / thrums (in plural)'.

Deulino Russian: Occurs in examples: {Ду'мъл наступ'и'т' на' у'ль'г'ву, а нъступ'и'л на хвост} "He thought that he would tread on [the snake's] head, but he trod on its tail" [DS 1969: 235]; {Ни'тк'и, кък' кан'и'най хвост в'ис'и'т'} "Threads are hanging like a horse tail" [DS 1969: 236].

85. THAT

Dihovo Macedonian *on-* (1) / *t-* (2), Orbanici Chakavian *on-i* {*onì*} (1) / *ta* {*tâ*} ~ *tâ:* {*tâ*} (2), Burgenland Kajkavian *tey* {*tê*} ~ *ta:* {*tâ*} (2) / *own* {*ôn*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *t'i:st-i* {*tisti*} (2), Turov Belarusian *t-oy* {*тоў*} (2), Deulino Russian 'ε*n-tat* {*έντατ*} ~ *y'εn-tat* {*ϋέντατ*} ~ 'ε*n-tat* {*έντᾶτ*} ~ *y'εn-tat* {*ϋέντᾶτ*} (2).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 84. As described in [Groen 1977], the Dihovo system of demonstrative attributive pronouns is ternary: *ov-ay* ~ *ov-oy* 'this (near the speaker)' / *on-ay* ~ *on-oy* 'that (far from the speaker)' / *t-oy* 'this, that (neutral)'.

The status of the third member, *t-*, is not entirely clear from [Groen 1977: 51-52, 84]; *t-* may be used in place of both *ov-* 'this' and *on-* 'that', but it is unknown which way is more common. Provisionally we treat *ov-* & *t-* as synonyms for 'this' and *on-* & *t-* as synonyms for 'that'.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *ov-oy* 'this (near the speaker)' / *on-oy* 'that (far from the speaker)' / *t-oy* 'this, that (neutral)', i.e., the same system as in Dihovo [Hendriks 1976: 142-144].

Skopje Macedonian: In [Evdokimova 2009], the slots for 'this' and 'that' are both filled with the pronoun *t-oy*, which might be an inaccuracy. For the literary language, the ternary system is described in [Lunt 1952: 40-41; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 559]: *ov-oy* 'this (near the speaker)' / *on-oy* 'that (far from the speaker)' / *t-oy* 'this, that (farther than *ov-*, closer than *on-*)'.

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 170. Medial demonstrative. Kalsbeek 1998: 170. Distal demonstrative.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 110. Medial demonstrative. The form *tey* {*tê*} is used in Fertóhomok, while *ta:* {*tâ*} is widespread in Hidegség. Houtzagers 1999: 110. Distal demonstrative. More rare are such forms as *oni:* {*onì*} ~ *ni:* {*nì*} ~ *na:* {*nâ*} (Hidegség) [Houtzagers 1999: 111].

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {*oni*}, {*tisti*} [Pretnar 1964: 272].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 139.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 609. Some examples are: {Вы како'й бу'диг'а суп х'лаба'т, е'таг и'ли е'нтат?} "Which soup do you want to eat: this one or that one?"; {Е'нги по'сли акаги'лис' йауна'ты, и то вон как'и'и, а е'ти ху'жы} "Those lambs were born later, and they are better, and these are worse"; {Сто тр'и'ццат' шес'т' е'н'тим'и дан'га'м'и п'л'учи'ла, а е'т'им'и тр'ина'ццат'} "I received 136 roubles in that currency, and 13 in this one" [DS 1969: 609].

86. THIS

Dihovo Macedonian *ov-* (1) / *t-* (2), Orbanici Chakavian *ov-i* {*ovì*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *ovv* {*ôv*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *ta:* {*ta*} (2), Turov Belarusian *y'εt-oy* {*зэтоў*} ~ *y'εt-i* {*зэты*} ~ 'ε*t-oy* {*этоў*} ~ 'ε*t-i* {*эты*} ~ *y'εt-oy* {*эмоў*} ~ *y'εt-i* {*эты*} (2), Deulino Russian 'ε*-tat* {*этам*} ~ *y'ε-tat* {*ϋэтам*} ~ 'ε*-tat* {*эτᾶт*} ~ *y'ε-tat* {*ϋэτᾶт*} (2).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 84. See notes on 'that'.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: See notes on 'that'.

Skopje Macedonian: See notes on 'that'.

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 170.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 110. More rare is *ovi*: {ovî} [Houtzagers 1999: 111].

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {ta} [Pretnar 1964: 970].

Turov Belarusian: TS 1: 240. DABM, however, mentions only variants with initial *γ* (map 49).

Deulino Russian: See the examples for 'that'.

87. THOU

Dihovo Macedonian *ti* (1) / *tebe* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *tî*: {tî} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *ti*: {tî} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *ti*: {ti} (1), Turov Belarusian *tî* {mbl} (1), Deulino Russian *tî* {mbl} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 79. Paradigm: *ti* [nom.] / *tebe* [acc.].

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *ti* ~ *tisi* [nom.] / *tebe* [acc.] [Hendriks 1976: 141].

Skopje Macedonian: *ti* {ти} [nom.] / *tebe* {тебе} [acc.] [Evdokimova 2009; Lunt 1952: 37]. Accusative form.

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 570. Paradigm: *tî*: {tî} [nom.] / *teb-è* {tebè} [gen.] / *teb-e* {tebè} ~ *ti* {ti} (encl.) [dat.] / *teb-e* {tebè} ~ *te* {te} (encl.) [acc.] / *tob-on* {töbon} [ins.] / *teb-e* {tebè} [loc.].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 105, 323-324. Paradigm: *ti*: {tî} [nom.] / *täb-ä* {tëbë} ~ *täb-ä* {tëbë} (clitic) [gen.] / *täb-i* {tëbi} ~ *ti* {ti} (clitic) [dat.] / *täb-ä* {tëbë} ~ *tä* {të} (clitic) [acc.] / *täb-um* {tëbum} (Hidegség) ~ *täb-om* {mënom} (Fertóhomok) [ins.] / *täb-i* {tëbi} ~ *täb-i* {tëbi} (clitic) [loc.].

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016; Dulichenko 2005: 224. Paradigm: *ti*: {ti} [nom.] / *tɛ:b-ɛ* {tebe} ~ *tɛ* {te} (clitic) [gen.] / *tɛ:b-i* {tebi} ~ *ti* {ti} (clitic) [dat.] / *tɛ:b-ɛ* {tebe} ~ *tɛ* {te} (clitic) [acc.] / *tɛb-ɔ:y* {teboj} ~ *tab-ɔ* {tabo} [ins.] / *tɛ:b-i* {tebi} [loc.].

Standard Slovene: {ti} [Pretnar 1964: 883].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 168. Paradigm: *tî* {ты} [nom.] / *cʲɛbʲ-ɛ* {цебе} [gen.] / *tɔbʲ-ɛ* {тобе} [dat.] / *cʲɛbʲ-ɛ* {цебе} [acc.] / *tɔbʲ-ɔy* {тобою} ~ *tɔbʲ-ɔy* {тобой} [ins.] / *tɔbʲ-ɛ* {тобе} [loc.]. Examples: {У тебе тухлі ўсе ў гразе} "Your shoes are all covered with dirt" [TS 5: 167]; {Хто тебе даў гэтых зернеў?} "Who gave you these sunflower seeds?" [TS 5: 168]; {я тебе не знаю} "I don't know you" [TS 5: 294]; {Нашыя мацэрэ родныя, а мы с тобою ужэ стрэднякі} "Our mothers are siblings and we are cousins" [TS 5: 109]; {Піліп с тобой адногодок?} "Is Pilip of the same age as you?" [TS 3: 247]; {твое дзеточкі по тебе плачуць} "your kids are crying for you" [TS 5: 416].

Deulino Russian: Paradigm: *tî* {ты} [nom.] / *tʲibʲ-ɛ* {тѣбѣ} ~ *tʲibʲ-а* {тѣбѣ} ~ *tʲabʲ-а* {табѣ} [gen.] / *tʲibʲ-ɛ* {тѣбѣ} ~ *tabʲ-ɛ* {табѣ} [dat.] / *tʲibʲ-ɛ* {тѣбѣ} ~ *tʲibʲ-а* {тѣбѣ} ~ *tʲabʲ-а* {табѣ} ~ *tʲabʲ-ɔy* {табоѣ} [ins.]. We did not find the locative form.

Some examples are: {Дѣвка, ты мнѣ нѣ чѣмъ ста вымыла рубаху-то, зала, там пѣрѣаи́сѣт} "Girl, you have washed my shirt badly, ashes will eat it away" [DS 1969: 102]; {У тѣбѣ кваску нѣ ту?} "Do you have kvass?" [DS 1969: 135]; {у тѣбѣ го́лас харо́шай} "you have a good voice" [DS 1969: 182]; {Ох, но́уи какѣи у тѣбѣ шгълуди́ выйи} "Oh, your legs are so scabby" [DS 1969: 603]; {Спра́шывай, ѣа бу́ду тѣбѣ выка́зывает} "Ask, I will tell you" [DS 1969: 101]; {Чо́ ѣа табѣ сказа́л?} "What did I say to you?" [DS 1969: 484]; {А тѣбѣ, дѣѣк, в лѣс атпра́вит} "[speaking to cat] And you, girl, should be driven out to the forest" [DS 1969: 138]; {ѣѣли он тѣбѣ уку́сѣт, шы́шкѣ възду́ицѣ как твайѣ кнѣишкѣ} "If it [mosquito] bites you, there will appear a lump as big as a book" [DS 1969: 156]; {ѣа тѣбѣ ка́жнѣй дѣнѣ ви́жу} "I see you every day" [DS 1969: 111]; {Ана́ ни ува́жит тѣбѣ} "She will appease you" [DS 1969: 571]; {Вот та́х-тѣ пѣрууа́лисѣ мы с табѣѣ} "That's the way I broke off with you" [DS 1969: 373].

88. TONGUE

Dihovo Macedonian *yazik* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *zayik* {zajik} (1), Burgenland

Kajkavian *y'üzik* {jžezik} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *y'ε:zik* {jɛzik} (1), Turov Belarusian *yaz'ik* {язы́к} (1), Deulino Russian *yaz'ik* {язы́к} ~ *yiz'ik* {иизы́к} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 257. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *εzik* with polysemy: 'tongue / language' [Hendriks 1976: 258].

Skopje Macedonian: *yazik* {язык} with polysemy: 'tongue / language' [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 201].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 589. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 259. Houtzagers translates this term only as 'language', but we suppose that it means both 'language' and 'tongue', as is usually the case in Slavic languages.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Polysemy: 'tongue / language' [Uhlik 2016].
Standard Slovene: {jɛzik} [Pretnar 1964: 973].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 361. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

Deulino Russian: Occurs in examples: {пр'ишла́ дамо́й – у м'инё́ и ру́к'и, и но́γ'и, и йазы́к – ф'о́о уш у м'инё́ аг'на́ло'с} "I came home and my arms, legs and tongue, all grew numb" [DS 1969: 165]; {в'ит' ана́ йазыко́м йис} "it eats with its tongue (about a tongue)" [DS 1969: 267].

89. TOOTH

Dihovo Macedonian *zap* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *zwôp* {z'ôp} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *zowb* {zôb} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *zo:p* {zob} (1), Turov Belarusian *zub* {зуб} (1), Deulino Russian *zup* {зун} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 294.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *zep* ~ *zop* [Hendriks 1976: 301].

Skopje Macedonian: *zap* {заб} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 114].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 593.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 338.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.
Standard Slovene: {zob} [Pretnar 1964: 246-247].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 168. Polysemy: 'tooth / sharp protuberance'.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 201.

90. TREE

Dihovo Macedonian *dr̥v-o* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *dryêv-o* {driêvo} (2), Burgenland Kajkavian *dr'eyv-o* {drêvo} (2), Ljubljana Slovene *drɛv-o*: {drevo} (2), Turov Belarusian *z'ʲɛrɛv-o* {džépevo} (2), Deulino Russian *dʲɛrʲiv-a* {d'ép'usa} (2).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 252. Polysemy: 'tree / firewood' (the two meanings are morphologically discriminated in the plural).

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *dero-o ~ dry-o* [Hendriks 1976: 255, 256].

Skopje Macedonian: *drv-o* {дрво} with polysemy: 'tree / log' (the two meanings are morphologically discriminated in plural) [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 101].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 438. Polysemy: 'wood, lumber / tree'. Other terms, glossed as 'tree' in the dictionary, seem to have a slightly different meaning: *dû:* {dû} 'tree; oak' [Kalsbeek 1998: 440], *pîn* {pîn} 'tree' [Kalsbeek 1998: 519], *stabl-o* {stablò} 'tree, tree trunk' [Kalsbeek 1998: 551].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 244. Polysemy: 'tree / wood'. Distinct from *d'erv-v* {dřva} (plural) 'wood, timber' [Houtzagers 1999: 245].

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Distinct from *les* {les} 'wood' [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {drevo} [Pretnar 1964: 148].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 15. Polysemy: 'tree / wood (as material)'. Distinct from *strom* {стром} 'a tree which was sawn down, but did not fall' [TS 5: 106].

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 140. Polysemy: 'tree / wood'. The Church Slavonic borrowing *dr^yev-a* {др'е'ва} can be sometimes used as well [DS 1969: 152].

91. TWO

Dihovo Macedonian *dv-a* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *dvâ:* {dvâ} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *dva:* {dvâ} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *dv-a:* {dva} (1), Turov Belarusian *dv-a* {два} (1), Deulino Russian *dv-a* {два} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 89.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *dv-a* [Hendriks 1976: 147].

Skopje Macedonian: *dv-a* {два} [Evdokimova 2009; Lunt 1952: 48].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 440.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 245.

Ljubljana Slovene: Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {dva} [Pretnar 1964: 141].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 9.

Deulino Russian: Occurs in examples: {Ией два и'ма – исака' и р'аз'и'ка} "It (*Carex acutiformis*) has two names: "isaka" and "rezika" [DS 1969: 488]; {Дв'е но'ч'и н'и спала'} "I have not slept for two nights" [DS 1969: 461].

92. GO

Dihovo Macedonian *oy-* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *pow-ṭ* {p^uōć} (1) / *gryě-n* {grⁱēn} (2), Burgenland Kajkavian *pow-t* {pôt} ~ *p'ow-ti* {pôti} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *'i-ti* {iti} (1), Turov Belarusian *i-c^yi* {iūi} (1), Deulino Russian *id^y-i-t^y* {ud'úm'} ~ *it^y-i-t^y* {um'úm'} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 132, 270. The root variant *oy-* gradually supplants the more archaic variant *od-* across the paradigm. Distinct from *ov-i* 'to go, walk' [Groen 1977: 293].

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *od-*, 3 sg. prs. *oy-t* [Hendriks 1976: 182, 275].

Skopje Macedonian: *od-i* {оди} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 326].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 498. Suppletive verb. Paradigm: {gr'ēn} 'I go' / {gr'ēš} 'you go' / {gr'ē} 'he goes' / {gr'ēmo} 'we go' / {gr'ète} 'you go' / {gr'èdo} 'they go' / {hò} 'go (2sg imperative)' / {šā} (msg 1-participle) / {šlā} (fsg 1-participle) / {p'ōć} (infinitive) [Kalsbeek 1998: 251]. Infinitive and present singular forms can be used as clitics.

Distinct from the habitual verb *xod-i-t* {hodīt} [Kalsbeek 1998: 453].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 255. Durative / habitual form is *h'wod-i-t* {hòdit} [Houtzagers 1999: 254].

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {iti} [Pretnar 1964: 250].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 75.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 205. Polysemy: 'to go / to breed'.

93. WARM (HOT)

Dihovo Macedonian *topol* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *t'epal* {tèpal} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *t'wopel* {tòpel} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *t'ɔ:p-el* {topel} (1), Turov Belarusian *c'ɔpt-i* {цэпты} ~ *c'ɔpt-i* {цэпты} (1), Deulino Russian *t'ɔpt-ay* {т'оплай} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 287. Distinct from *vrel* [Groen 1977: 292], *žez-ok* [Groen 1977: 295].

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *topol* [Hendriks 1976: 293]. Distinct from *mlak* 'tepid, lukewarm' [Hendriks 1976: 271], *gor-ešt* [Hendriks 1976: 260], *vrut* [Hendriks 1976: 299].

Skopje Macedonian: *topol* {топол} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 498]. For the literary language, several additional terms are documented: *yuz-ov-en* 'warm (of weather)' [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 202], *mlak* 'warm, warmish' [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 260]. Several literary words with the gloss 'hot' are attested: *vrut* {вруќ} [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 66], *gor-ešt* {горешт} [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 75], *žez-ok* {жежок} [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 111].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 568. Distinct from *mĭā:ç-an* {mljāčan} 'lukewarm' [Kalsbeek 1998: 493], *vrūt* {vrūt} 'hot' [Kalsbeek 1998: 586] and *vrjēl* {vrjēl} 'very hot, boiling' [Kalsbeek 1998: 586].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 325. The neuter form {tòplo} is attested.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Distinct from *vroč* {vroč} 'hot' [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {topel} [Pretnar 1964: 862].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 272-273. Absence of the shift *e > o* in stressed position in the second form gives us a reason to consider this a Polishism.

Deulino Russian: Some examples are: {Ча́шку-ть нѣ атмо́иш, ана́ фса са́лнѣй, на́дъ къп'ато́к, а то́плай вадо́й нѣ атмо́иш} "This cup is hard to wash, it is greasy, it should be washed in boiled water, warm water is not enough" [DS 1969: 593]; {Зима́ ны́нѣ то́пльѣя} "The winter is warm this year" [DS 1969: 349]. Distinct from *γar'ac'ay* {γap'ч'ай} 'hot / hot-tempered' and *ayn'-an-ay* {ayн'а́най} ~ *ayn'-an-ay* {ayн'а́ннай} 'of fire / very hot / having fever / of fire colour / agile in work / intensive' [DS 1969: 361].

94. WATER

Dihovo Macedonian *vod-a* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *vod-a* {vodā} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *v'wod-v* {vòda} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *v'ɔ:d-a* {voda} (1), Turov Belarusian *vod-a* {vodá} (1), Deulino Russian *vad-a* {vadá} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 292.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *vod-a* [Hendriks 1976: 298].

Skopje Macedonian: *vod-a* {вода} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 58].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 584.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 332.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {voda} [Pretnar 1964: 72-73].

Turov Belarusian: TS 1: 130-131. Polysemy: 'water / current / water body / flood / liquid'.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 90.

95. WE

Dihovo Macedonian *niye* (1) / *nas* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *mî:* {mî} (1) / *na-s* {nàs} (2), Burgenland Kajkavian *mi:* {mî} (1) / *na:-s* {nâs} (2), Ljubljana Slovene *mi:* {mi} (1) / *na-s* {nas} (2), Turov Belarusian *mu* {му} (1) / *na-s* {нас} (2), Deulino Russian *mî* {мы} (1) / *na-s* {нас} (2).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 79. Paradigm: *niye* [nom.] / *nas* [acc.] / *nam* [dat.].

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *niye* [nom.] / *nas* [acc.] / *nam* [dat.] [Hendriks 1976: 141]. Note the retention of the nominative form in *m-*.

Skopje Macedonian: *niye* {ние} [nom.] / *nas* {нас} [acc.] / *nam* {нам} [dat.] [Evdokimova 2009; Lunt 1952: 37]. Accusative form.

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 490. Paradigm: *mî:* {mî} [nom.] / *na-s* {nàs} ~ *na-s* {nas} (encl.) [gen.] / *nâ-n* {nân} ~ *na-n* {nan} (encl.) [dat.] / *na-s* {nàs} ~ *na-s* {nas} (encl.) [acc.] / *n'a-mi* {nâmi} [ins.].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 106, 276-277. Paradigm: *mi:* {mî} [nom.] / *na:-s* {nâs} ~ *na-s* {nas} (clitic) [gen.] / *now-m* {nôm} ~ *na-m* {nam} (clitic) [dat.] / *na:-s* {nâs} ~ *na-s* {nas} (clitic) [acc.] / *now-mi* {nômi} [ins.] / *na-s* {nas} [loc.].

Ljubljana Slovene: Uhlik 2016; Dulichenko 2005: 224. Paradigm: *mi:* {mi} (masc.) ~ *me:* {me} (fem.) [nom.] / *na-s* {nas} ~ *na-s* {nas} (clitic) [gen.] / *na-m* {nam} ~ *na-m* {nam} (clitic) [dat.] / *na-s* {nas} ~ *na-s* {nas} (clitic) [acc.] / *na-mi* {nami} [ins.] / *na-s* {nas} [loc.].

Standard Slovene: {mi} [Pretnar 1964: 385].

Turov Belarusian: TS 3: 97. Paradigm: *mu* {му} [nom.] / *na-s* {нас} [gen.] / *na-m* {нам} [dat.] / *na-s* {нас} [acc.] / *n'a-m'yi* {намі} [ins.].

The locative form is not attested. Examples: {Захворэла ў нас кобула} "Our mare fell ill" [TS 3: 56]; {Не мешай нам гаворыць} "Do not disturb us when we're talking" [TS 3: 79]; {Воны обогнали нас на дарозі} "They overtook us on the road" [TS 3: 231]; {Вон з намі за стол не сядзе} "He will not sit with us at the table" [TS 1: 229].

In fact both pronunciations, *mî* {мы} and *mu* {му}, are attested in the Turov area [DABM 1963, map 37]; it is also mentioned in the dictionary, but for reasons of uniformity we include in the list only the form with the shift *i > u* after labials.

Deulino Russian: Paradigm: *mi* {мы} [nom.] / *na-s* {нас} [gen.] / *na-m* {нам} [dat.] / *na-s* {нас} [acc.] / *n'a-m'yi* {на'ми} [ins.] / *na-s* {нас} [loc.].

Some examples are: {Но'хг'и на'дат' зва'т, а мы - ко'хг'и} "They should be called "nogti", but we call them "kogti" [DS 1969: 229]; {У нас адна' дли'нн'яа, краси'в'яа, а н'ич'о' йей ла'дит'} "We have one [woman], tall, beautiful, but nothing becomes her" [DS 1969: 267]; {Он к нам н'и хад'ил} "He did not visit us" [DS 1969: 148]; {Ад'и'н рас нас

зъхват'и'ла ба'ба, стъражо'ва жана' } "Once a woman, the watchman's wife, caught us" [DS 1969: 195]; {Сад'и'с' с на'м'и палу'днават' } "Sit down to lunch with us" [DS 1969: 434]; {А рабо'тал'и в лапг'а'х: сы'ра, з'имо'й маро'с, ф'со на нас зьдуб'е'ла } "We worked in bast shoes, it was damp, in winter it was freezing, all our clothes became stiff" [DS 1969: 181].

96. WHAT

Dihovo Macedonian *šo* ~ *štɔ* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *ča* {čǎ} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *kvy* {kǎj} ~ *käy* {kǝj} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *ka:y* {kaj} (1), Turov Belarusian *ɣɔ* {шɔ} ~ *ɣɔɔ* {шчɔ} (1), Deulino Russian *ɕtɔ* {што} ~ *čʹɔ* {ч'о} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 84.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *što* [Hendriks 1976: 144].

Skopje Macedonian: *što* {што} [Evdokimova 2009; Lunt 1952: 43].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 427.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 112-113, 260. The first form is used in Fertóhomok, while the second one is widespread in Hidegség and Fertóhomok.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Distinct from the relative pronoun *ka-r* {kar} 'what' [Uhlik 2016].
Standard Slovene: {kaj} [Pretnar 1964: 95].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 333. See also map 63 in [DABM 1963].

Deulino Russian: Occurs in examples: {Дъ што ты и'ш'ш'иш на н'ом?} "What do you expect from him?" [DS 1969: 211]; {Ну, што д'е'льг'т?} "So, what shall I do?" [DS 1969: 216]; {Ч'о' йа таб'е' сказа'л?} "What did I say to you?" [DS 1969: 484].

97. WHITE

Dihovo Macedonian *bel* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *byêl* {b'êl} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *beyl* {bêl} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *be:w* {bel} (1), Turov Belarusian *bʹɛt-ɨ* {б'элы} (1), Deulino Russian *bʹɛt-ay* {б'элай} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 249.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *bel* [Hendriks 1976: 54].

Skopje Macedonian: *bel* {бел} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 28].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 417.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 229.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {bel} [Pretnar 1964: 22].

Turov Belarusian: TS 1: 52. Polysemy: 'white / bright'.

Deulino Russian: Some examples are: {Буравы'йь урыбы' - ан'и' б'е'льийь, то'лк'ъ шла'пкъ ч'о'рн'ийь} "Pine forest mushrooms are white, only their cap is black" [DS 1969: 129]; {Вот л'ата'ит' б'е'льйа - йе'тъ цы'б'ик, п'ич'у'шка, но'γ'и до'лγ'и, то'нк'ийи, но'с'ик то'нкай} "There flies a lapwing, a small bird, it has long thin legs, a thin little nose" [DS 1969: 591].

98. WHO

Dihovo Macedonian *koy* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *ki: {kî}* (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *kow {kô}* (1), Ljubljana Slovene *gdo: {kdo}* (2), Turov Belarusian *xtô {xmo}* (2), Deulino Russian *xtô {xmo}* (2).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 85.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *koy* [Hendriks 1976: 144].

Skopje Macedonian: *koy* {koj} [Evdokimova 2009; Lunt 1952: 43].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 464-465.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 112-113, 263.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Distinct from the relative pronoun *gdo:-r* {kdor} 'who' [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {kdo} [Pretnar 1964: 329].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 258-259.

Deulino Russian: Occurs in examples: {А хто до́ма?} "Who is at home?" [DS 1969: 62]; {Хто йаво́ в'и́д'ал, сьмал'о́т?} "Who saw it, that airplane?" [DS 1969: 116]. The form *kto* {кто}, probably influenced by Standard Russian, is much less frequent.

99. WOMAN

Dihovo Macedonian *žen-a* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *žyěn-sk-a {ž'ěnska}* (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *ž'yen-v {ž'ěna} ~ ž'yen-sk-v {ž'ěnska}* (1), Ljubljana Slovene *ž'e:n-sk-a {ženska}* (1), Turov Belarusian *ž'on-k-a {жонка}* (1), Deulino Russian *ž'ep-š':-in-a {жéниш'ина} ~ ž'ep-š':-in-a {жéниш'инъ}* (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 295. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *žen-a* with polysemy: 'woman / wife' [Hendriks 1976: 302].

Skopje Macedonian: *žen-a* {жена} with polysemy: 'woman / wife' [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 111].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 596. Distinct from *žen-a* {ženà} 'wife' [Kalsbeek 1998: 595].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 339. The term {ž'ěna} has polysemy: 'woman / wife'. The term {ž'ěnska} is the adjective 'female', which can be used as a substantive in the meaning 'woman'.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Distinct from *ž'en-a* {žena} 'wife' [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {žena} ~ {ženska} 'woman'; {žena}, {soproga} 'wife' [Pretnar 1964: 182].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 63. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. Another derivate from the same root, *žon'-bč-in-a* {жонóчына}, can be sometimes used as well [TS 2: 63].

Deulino Russian: The most plausible candidate for the list: {Бас'и́цца – е́та л'ач'и́цца хо́д'ут у нас мъжук'и́ и́ли же́нш'и́ны} "To get under the spell [against illness] is when men and women go to be cured" [DS 1969: 49]; {Бр'и́гади́рка на́р'а́т дай'о́т и́ мужука́м, и́ же́нш'и́нам} "Team leader gives orders to both men and women" [DS 1969: 66]. Almost synonymous in this meaning is the term {ба́ба} [DS 1969: 47], cf. {Же́нш'и́нь даде́'лисг'и́ь, ф'с'о зна́йит', рабо́таит' с'ил'но́'... даде́'лисг'и́ь ба́ба} "She is an able woman, she knows everything, she works hard...An able woman" [DS 1969: 145], but we suppose that it has a slightly lowbrow shade of meaning, as in Standard Russian. Distinct from *žan-a* {жана} 'wife' [DS 1969: 166].

100. YELLOW

Dihovo Macedonian *žolt* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *žû:t* {*žû:t*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *žowt* {*žôt*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *rum'en* {*rumen*} (2), Turov Belarusian *z'owt-i* {*жóўты*} (1), Deulino Russian *z'ott-ay* {*жóлмаӱ*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 296.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *žolt* [Hendriks 1976: 302].

Skopje Macedonian: *žolt* {*жолт*} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 113].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 598.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 340.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {*rumen*} [Pretnar 1964: 182].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 65.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 165-166.

101. FAR

Dihovo Macedonian *daĭ-ek-o* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *d'ug-o* {*dũgo*} (2), Burgenland Kajkavian *d'a:lk-o* {*dâlko*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *d'a:l-ěč* {*daleč*} (1), Turov Belarusian *dal^y-'ek-o* {*дал'эка*} (1), Deulino Russian *dal^y-'ok-a* {*дал'ока*} ~ *dal^y-'ok-a* {*дал'ока*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 251.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *dal-ek-u* [Hendriks 1976: 254]. Glossed as 'far (away)'. Distinct from the adverb *u=prek-u* 'far away' [Hendriks 1976: 296].

Skopje Macedonian: *dal-ek-u* {*далеку*} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 83].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 439. Polysemy: 'long / far'. Comparative form is *d'už-e* {*dũže*}

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 239.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {*daleč*} [Pretnar 1964: 140].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 7. The place of stress has changed; originally, the stress was on the flexion. See also map 33 in [DABM 1963] for the place of stress. Distinct from *dal^y-'ezn-o* {*далэзно*} 'very far' [TS 2: 7].

Deulino Russian: Some examples are: {*Дал'о'къ Л'ин'инура'т, ка'бы Масква'... ана' вон пр'а'мъ нъ зада'х*} "Leningrad is far [from here], but Moscow is just near" [DS 1969: 180]; {*Пако'с дал'о'ка был, к'ило'м'итраф за' д'ис'ат' л'ата'иш...*} "The meadow was far, we had to go about ten kilometers" [DS 1969: 273].

The form *dal^y-'ěč^y-i* {*дал'е'ч'ь*} [DS 1969: 135], derived from the same root, is much less frequent.

102. HEAVY

Dihovo Macedonian *tež-ok* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *t'ež-ak* {*těžak*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *t'äž-äk* {*tëžek*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *t'ě:ž-ek* {*težek*} (1), Turov Belarusian *v'az-k^y-i*

~ *vaz-k^y-i* {βαζκί} (2), Deulino Russian *č^yiz'ot-ay* {ч'ижóлаў} ~ {ч'ижéлаў} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 287. Polysemy: 'heavy / difficult, hard'.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *teš-k-i* with polysemy: 'heavy / difficult, hard' [Hendriks 1976: 292].

Skopje Macedonian: *tež-ok* {тежок} with polysemy: 'heavy / difficult, hard' [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 494].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 569. Polysemy: 'heavy / difficult / serious'.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 323. Polysemy: 'heavy / difficult'.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016.

Standard Slovene: {težek} [Pretnar 1964: 885].

Turov Belarusian: TS 1: 103.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 592. Polysemy: 'heavy / difficult / rude'. Much less frequent is the term *t^yaš-k-ay* {та'шкай} 'heavy / unpleasant (smell)' [DS 1969: 568].

103. NEAR

Dihovo Macedonian *bliz-u* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *blīz-u* {blīzu} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *bl'iz-u* {blīzu} ~ *bl'i:z-u* {blīzu} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *bl'i:z-u* {blizu} (1), Turov Belarusian *bl^y'iz-k-ɔ* {бл'ізко} (1), Deulino Russian *bl^y'is-k-a* {бл'иска} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 249. As in the example "The farm is near Dihovo" [Groen 1977: 188].

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *bliz-u* [Hendriks 1976: 253].

Skopje Macedonian: *blis-k-u* {блиску} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 35]. For the literary language, the synonym *bliz-u* {близу} is also documented [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 35].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 419.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 232.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016.

Standard Slovene: {blizu} [Pretnar 1964: 32].

Turov Belarusian: TS 1: 62.

Deulino Russian: Occurs in examples: {Яа бл'і'ска йаво' н'и в'ида'ла, а так издал'а' йаво' в'и'д'ила} "I did not see him from near, only from afar" [DS 1969: 208]; {Рака' бл'і'скы, н'ис, у н'их а'гур'цы' харо'шыи бу'дут} "The river is near, there is a low place, they will have good cucumbers" [DS 1969: 343]. The form *v=bl^y'iz^y-e* {вбл'изе'}, derived from the same root, is less frequent: 5 occurrences vs. 12 occurrences of {бл'і'ска}.

104. SALT

Dihovo Macedonian *sol* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *swôl* {s^uôl} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *sowy* {sôj} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *so:l* {sol} (1), Turov Belarusian *sol^y* {соль} (1), Deulino Russian *sol^y* {сол'} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 283.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *sol* [Hendriks 1976: 287].

Skopje Macedonian: *sol* {сол} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 474].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 549.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 313.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016.

Standard Slovene: {sol} [Pretnar 1964: 812].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 72.

Deulino Russian: Some examples are: {У м'ин'е' сол' йес'т' ф' платк'е' в узалк'е' зав'а'з'на} "I have salt in the kerchief tied in a knot" [DS 1969: 574]; {Зъсыпа'им сол', пр'ам сал'и'м йи'ха} "We put salt, we salt them [mushrooms]" [DS 1969: 225].

105. SHORT

Dihovo Macedonian *kus* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *krâ:t-ak* {*krâ:tak*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *kr'a:tk-i* {*krâtki*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *kr'a:t-ek* {*kratek*} (1), Turov Belarusian *kor'ot-k^y-i* {*корóткi*} (1), Deulino Russian *kar'ot-k-ay* {*карóткай*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 262.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *kus* [Hendriks 1976: 267].

Skopje Macedonian: in both sources, *kus* {кус} and *krat-ok* {краток} are quoted as synonyms for 'short' [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 235].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 472.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 267.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016.

Standard Slovene: {kratek} [Pretnar 1964: 314].

Turov Belarusian: TS 2: 220.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 241.

106. SNAKE

Dihovo Macedonian *zmiy-a* (1) / *smok* (2), Orbanici Chakavian *zm'iy-a* {*zmi'ja*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *k'a:č-a* {*kača*} (3), Turov Belarusian *vuz* {*вуж*} (4), Deulino Russian *z^ym^yay-'a* {*з'м'ауá*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 295. Two generic words for 'snake', *zmiy-a* & *smok*, are quoted in [Groen 1977] without further specifications. We treat them as synonyms.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *zmeŕ* ~ *zmiy-a* and *smok* are glossed with the generic meaning 'snake' in [Hendriks 1976: 127, 287, 301].

Skopje Macedonian: *zmiy-a* {змија} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 163]. Distinct from *smok* {смок} 'grass snake' [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 470]. Groen 1977: 282.

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 592. Distinct from *g'ad-in-a* {gädina} 'snake (pejorative) / disgusting animal' [Kalsbeek 1998:

444].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Not attested.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016.

Standard Slovene: {kača} [Pretnar 1964: 244].

Turov Belarusian: TS 1: 159.

Deulino Russian: Occurs in examples: {То́ка в ле́с взыд'ош, абу́иша ла́пт'и, ка́бы з'ма́йя'ни укуси́ла} "As soon as you enter the forest, you usually put bast shoes on your feet, so that a snake don't bite you" [DS 1969: 82]; {Йа́му' калну́ла з'ма́йя' балшо́й па'лац, а он йаво́ – в рот} "The snake bit his thumb, and he put it in his mouth" [DS 1969: 235].

107. THIN

Dihovo Macedonian *tan-ok* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *t'an-ak* {*tānak*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *t'eyn-äk* {*tēnək*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *t'a:n-ek* {*tanek*} (1), Turov Belarusian *t'on-k^y-i* {*mónki*} (1), Deulino Russian *t'on-k-ay* {*mónkay*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Hendriks 1976: 291. This is actually a form from the Vevchani-Radozhda dialect, since no Dihovo expressions for 'thin' are documented in [Groen 1977]. Distinct from Dihovo *slap* 'weak' [Groen 1977: 282], Vevchani-Radozhda *slap*, glossed with polysemy: 'weak / bad / thin' in [Hendriks 1976: 286] (apparently this is not the main word for 'thin' in Vevchani-Radozhda).

Skopje Macedonian: *ten-ok* {*тенок*} and *slap* {*слаб*} are quoted in [Evdokimova 2009] as synonyms, both with polysemy: 'thin 2D / thin 1D'. In the literary language, only *ten-ok* ~ *tan-ok* means 'thin (2D / 1D)' [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 492, 495], whereas *slap* is glossed as 'weak / lean, skinny' in [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 466].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 567. The Romance borrowing *fi:n* {*fīn*} is glossed as 'fine, thin / well-behaved / tasty, delicious' in the dictionary [Kalsbeek 1998: 442], but we did not find any good examples with the meaning 'thin' in the texts. Distinct from *mřš-af* {*mřšaf*}, glossed as 'thin' in the dictionary [Kalsbeek 1998: 495]; however, available examples clearly show that it means 'lean' (of both man and meat): {Pòkle je ta vòjska bila ne mòren mèšo nikakòvo. Ku ne sàmo mřšavo, ma màlo màlo i takò ot pràsca} "After the war I can't eat any meat. Only if it is not lean, but just a little and only pork" [Kalsbeek 1998: 401]; {i mřšavèji čùda je bì} "and he was a lot thinner" [Kalsbeek 1998: 430]; {kat je onako mřšaf bì} "when he was that thin" [Kalsbeek 1998: 51].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 323. Polysemy: 'thin / skinny'.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlík 2016.

Standard Slovene: {tenek} [Pretnar 1964: 869].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 141.

Deulino Russian: Some examples are: {Вот л'ата'ит' б'е'л'ья – йе'тъ цы'б'ик, п'ич'у'шка, но'у'и до'л'у'би, то'нк'ийи, но'с'ик то'нкай} "There flies a lapwing, a small bird, it has long thin legs, a little thin nose" [DS 1969: 591]; {ан'и' пад'ы'сп'ят' накла'ли то'л'стых, а на'в'ер'х – то'нк'их} "they laid thick [firewood] down, and thin firewood up" [DS 1969: 212].

108. WIND

Dihovo Macedonian *veter* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *v'etar* {*vètar*} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *v'yetär* {*vèter*} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *v'e:ter* {*veter*} (1), Turov Belarusian *v^yec^yor* {*véuëp*} (1), Deulino Russian *v^yet^yar* {*é'm'ap*} ~ *v^yet^yir* {*é'm'up*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 291.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *vetar* [Hendriks 1976: 297].

Skopje Macedonian: *vetar* {ветар} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 50].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 582. Distinct from the designations of particular wind directions: *b'ur-a* {b'ura} 'northeast wind' [Kalsbeek 1998: 425], *y'ug-o* {j'ugo} 'south wind' [Kalsbeek 1998: 458], *lev'ant* {lev'ant} 'east wind' [Kalsbeek 1998: 480].

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 331.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {veter} [Pretnar 1964: 58].

Turov Belarusian: TS 1: 122.

Deulino Russian: Occurs in examples: {Йес'т' з'и'мн'ий в'е'т'ар, йес'т' ас'е'н'най в'е'т'ир, а то в'е'шн'ий в'е'т'ир} "There is winter wind, autumn wind and spring wind" [DS 1969: 81]; {Фп'ир'о'т в'е'т'ир был, ураг'ан, а пато'м дошл} "First there was wind, a hurricane, then it rained" [DS 1969: 96].

109. WORM

Dihovo Macedonian *črv-ec* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *čřf* {čřf} (1), Burgenland Kajkavian *červ* {čřv} (1), Ljubljana Slovene *čarv* {črv} (1), Turov Belarusian *červ'-ak* {чэрв'як} ~ *čery'-ak* {чэр'як} (1), Deulino Russian *č'ery'if* {ч'ер'иф} ~ *č'ery'av* {ч'ер'ав} ~ *č'arv'-ak* {ч'арв'як} ~ *č'ar'v'-ok* {ч'ар'в'ок} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 288. Generic term, distinct from *glis* 'intestinal worm, helminth' [Groen 1977: 254].

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *červ-ec* 'worm (in general)' [Hendriks 1976: 295], *glis-t-a* 'earthworm' [Hendriks 1976: 259].

Skopje Macedonian: *čřf* {чрв} is a generic term for 'worm' including 'earthworm' [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 523]; the suffixed variant *črv-ec* {чрвек} is also used [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 524]. For the literary language, there is additionally *glis-t-a* {глиста} with polysemy: 'helminth / earthworm', as documented in [Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 72].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 429-430. There are two terms translated as 'worm' in the dictionary: *čřf* {čřf} [Kalsbeek 1998: 429-430] and *glis* {glis} ~ *glis-t-a* {glista} [Kalsbeek 1998: 446]. Unfortunately, we have not found any examples and cannot differentiate between them, so both have to be included in the list. Distinct from *břš* {břš} 'wood worm' Kalsbeek 1998: 423.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 238.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016. Distinct from *džž'-ev-nik* {deževnik} 'earthworm' [Uhlik 2016].

Standard Slovene: {črv} 'worm', {deževnik} 'earthworm' [Pretnar 1964: 943].

Turov Belarusian: TS 5: 311, 315.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 594; 595. The collective form is *č'ar'v'-a* {ч'ар'ва} ~ *č'ery'v-a* {ч'е'р'ва} [DS 1969: 594].

109.

Orbanici Chakavian *glis* {glis} ~ *glis-t-a* {glista} (2).

References and notes:

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 446.

110. YEAR

Dihovo Macedonian *god-in-a* (1), Orbanici Chakavian *l'et-o* {*lèto*} (2), Burgenland Kajkavian *l'yet-ǝ* {*lèto*} (2), Ljubljana Slovene *l'e:t-ǝ* {*leto*} (2), Turov Belarusian *γod* {*zod*} (1), Deulino Russian *γɔt* {*γom*} (1).

References and notes:

Dihovo Macedonian: Groen 1977: 254.

Vevchani-Radozhda Macedonian: *god-in-a* [Hendriks 1976: 260].

Skopje Macedonian: *god-in-a* {година} [Evdokimova 2009; Tolovski & Illich-Svitych 1963: 74].

Orbanici Chakavian: Kalsbeek 1998: 480. Polysemy: 'summer / year'.

Burgenland Kajkavian: Houtzagers 1999: 271. Polysemy: 'summer / year'.

Ljubljana Slovene: Ogrinc 2014; Uhlik 2016.

Standard Slovene: {leto} [Pretnar 1964: 126].

Turov Belarusian: TS 1: 208-209.

Deulino Russian: DS 1969: 116-117. The genitive plural *l'et* {лет} is used with numerals higher than 4, cf. {Чилав'е'к да во'с'имд'ис'ат л'ет жыв'о'т} "Man lives up to 80 years" [DS 1969: 130].