

THE BALTIC VERBAL ROOTS **l̥ǵ-*, **l̥ǵ̃-*

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The present paper attempts to shed additional light on a number of etymologies proposed for various Baltic (and related Slavic) verbal bases of the shape **l̥ǵ-*, **l̥ǵ̃-*. These include **leg-*, **leż-*, **lēg-*, **lēž-*, together with their ablaut derivatives, and reflect a range of meanings, among them 'lie (down); abate, subside (of weather, emotions); thaw; flat; crawl; fall ill'.

Several earlier approaches present **leż-*, **lēž-*, with their various semantics, as satəm reflexes of the familiar PIE base **leg^h-* (LIV² 398 'sich (hin)legen'),¹ while the forms **leg-*, **lēg-* with a velar reflex are seen as either centum treatments of the same base or (for Slavic) borrowings from Germanic.² Other sources, such as IEW, include the forms under several distinct lemmas,³ sometimes with overlapping semantics.

In an innovative approach, Merlingen (1978) starts from the semantic rather than the formal side. Noting (100) that in etymological dictionaries "allzu oft erscheint semantisch Gleichartiges zerstreut und Ungleichartiges zusammengestellt," he proceeds to regroup the above forms into semantic nests, together with a "Bedeutungsstammbaum" illustrating the development of various extended meanings (103, and in more detail for our set of roots, 53–56). Each semantic nest is provided with a reconstructed base, all of which are taken to derive from a single source of the shape **lV-* with various *Wurzelerweiterungen* and a core meaning of 'unten, niedrig, tief'. Nevertheless, formal issues involving length, tone, and ablaut remain, and suggest that it is worth reviewing the **l̥ǵ-*, **l̥ǵ̃-* sets, while keeping in mind the "branchings of meaning" (*Bedeutungsverzweigungen*) proposed by Merlingen.

Perhaps the most straightforward of the above sets are the reflexes of the PIE base **leg^h-* 'lie (down)', which show a short root vowel in various ablaut grades. The root has centum as well as satəm reflexes in Baltic.⁴ A satəm

¹ Thus PKEŽ III: 70–72, s.v. *lise*.

² Thus Vaillant 1966: 146, 182. For a summary and review of the literature, see Toporov 1990: 110–14, s.v. *lasinna*.

³ For example, IEW 658: **leg^h-* 'sich legen'; 660: **lēgh-*, **lāgh-* 'am Boden kriechen, niedrig'; 667: **leig-* 'dürftig, Elend; Krankheit, schlechtes Ergehen'; 959–60: *(s)*lēg-*, *(s)*lāg-*, *(s)*leg-* 'schlaff, matt sein'.

⁴ An explanation for the well-known fact of centum reflexes in Balto-Slavic may perhaps be found in Kortlandt's hypothesis (2018: 219–31) of an Indo-European substratum—on chronological grounds presumably a centum language—in Baltic and Slavic.

reflex (pointing to **leg^h-*) with *e*-grade is weakly attested in Baltic, the East Baltic inherited verb having been replaced by **gul-*: Lith. *gul̃ti/gul̃ėti*, Latv. *gul̃t/gul̃ēt* ‘lie down, lie (in bed)’. We apparently have just the LKŽ entry (*iš-*)*lēžti, leñža, lēžo* ‘lie withered, wilted’ and Latv. *lež(ņ)a* ‘eine Person, die immer zu liegen liebt, die Schlafmütze’ (ME II 455). An *o*-grade intensive is found in Lith. (*iš-, pa-*)*lažėti* ‘be bowed down/lodged (of crops)’ (PKEŽ III 45), *pālažas* (i.a.) ‘place where grain has been flattened’ (LED 678).

Reflecting a lengthened grade derivative with the same semantics is Lith. *ložė* ‘(a place with) lodged crops’; the vocalic lengthening here follows the model of *žalias* ‘green’ : *žolė* ‘grass’. In turn, *ložė* serves as the model for the long vowel of *ložėti* ‘be bowed down/lodged (of crops)’. Old Prussian also shows an expected *o*-grade in its causative *lasinna* [lazina] ‘place, lay, 3 sg.’, *lassinnuns ast* ‘has placed’. While occasionally treated as a remodelled borrowing from Polish *łóżyć* (thus Smoczyński 2005: 218; see Schmid 1958: 221 for history), Mažiulis (PKEŽ III 45), following Schmid (1958: 223), notes that there is no reason to consider it a Slavicism, since the base exists in the native OPr. *lasto* ‘bed’ (**laž-tā*), a formation parallel to *sosto* ‘bench’, Lith. *sostas* ‘seat’: **sēd-*. Baltic **laž-* is also found in Latv. *laža* (**laž-īā*) ‘die Schlafbank, die Bettstelle, das Lager; Lagerung’ (ME II 433).

While the centum treatment of **leg^h-* is in fact the only reflex found in Slavic (OCS *lešti, lęgo* ‘lie down’; causative *ložiti, ložō* ‘place, put down’), it is, like **lež-/laž-*, weakly represented in Baltic,⁶ which (as noted above) has replaced PIE **leg^h-* with an innovative **gul-*. Here we find Latv. *lagaža/lagača* ‘das Lager, Bett’ (ME II 399) and its diminutive *lagažiņa* ‘кровать, постель’, the latter Būga’s suggested addition (Būga RR I 454) to the entry **logv* in Berneker’s Slavic etymological dictionary (Berneker 1908–13). Matching Slavic **logv*, which includes meanings such as ‘ravine, gully; lair, den’ (Derksen 2008: 283), Karulis (1992 II 12–13, s.v. *palags*) proposes a Latvian base **lags* ‘sleeping place, depression’, found in topographic names such as *Ladzes, Ladzes pļava, Lagasts, Lagates purvs, Lagažas/Lagažu purvs*. Karulis (loc. cit.) would add Latv. *palags* ‘bedsheet’ here, but the latter is generally held to be a Slavic borrowing (LED 652, s.v. *lagamīnas*).⁷ Smoczyński (LED 652) also finds the Baltic *o*-grade **lag-* in Lith. *lagamīnas* ‘(travelling) chest, trunk, suitcase; (Žem.) ‘linen, clothes, one’s things (put in a suitcase or thrown on a pile)’, ultimately from a participial form **lagamas* ‘put, put into’ to an unattested **lagoti, *laga*

⁵ One would expect **lēža*.

⁶ According to Skardžius (RR IV: 688), the centum variant is not found at all in Baltic, just the satəm forms.

⁷ Schmid (1958: 227), however, considers Latv. *palags* to be native.

‘go to bed’. Lith. *logà* (~ *lōga*: Kurschat 1876: 269) ‘things laid in one place; heap; turn, order, sequence’ and Latv. *lāga* (*lāgs*) ‘layer; order, sequence’ would then represent a lengthened grade of this **lag-* (LED 720–21). Būga (Būga RR I 450), in his additions to the entry *lagoda* in Berneker 1908–13, notes the corresponding verb Lith. *logóti* ‘складывать’, with the example *Jynai logója kraiti*, t. y. *kráuna ĭ vieną logą* ‘она приводит в порядок своё приданое’.

We now move on to the centum and satəm bases with a long root vowel: **lěz-*, **lēg-*, together with their ablaut alternations. These have occasionally been treated as lengthened grade variants of the corresponding short-vowel bases **leż-*, **leg-*, ultimately to PIE **leg^h-*; Pokorny directly asks “Ist *lēgh-* eine Variante von *leg^h-* ‘liegen’?” (IEW 660, s.v. 2. *lēgh-*). According to Vaillant (1966: 145–46), for example, Slavic **lězti*, **lěze-* ‘crawl, climb’ and OPr. *līse* (**lěz-*) ‘crawls’ reflect PIE **leg^h-*, with vowel length from an unattested perfect. He adduces as analogous formations Slavic *pad-*, *sēd-*, *ēd-* together with the Lithuanian acute bases *áug-*, *jùng-*, *úod-*, *skíed-*, *bég-* (79). But as we now know, the acuted length in these cases results from the operation of Winter’s Law. This removes the purported parallels to **lěz-*, where the long vowel now appears to be unmotivated. Unless we wish to invoke an arbitrary lengthened grade here,⁸ the only alternative is to establish a distinct etymon, following LIV² 400 **leh₁g^h-* (thus Derksen 2008: 276 and LED 683, s.v. *lėkštas*). Among the East Baltic cognates here are Latv. *lězēt*, *-ēju* ‘langsam, lauernd gehen’ (ME II 464); Latv. *lěz(e)ns* ‘flach, eben, nicht steil’ (ME II 465), *lězēns*² ‘niedrig’ (EH I 740); and Lith. *lėkšnas/lėkštas* (< **lěz-tas*) ‘level, flat’.

Formally—but not semantically—matching Slavic **lězti* ‘crawl’ and its East Baltic cognates is Lithuanian *lėžti* (variant *lėžti*), *lėžta*⁹ (i.e., intransitive/inchoative **lěz-st-a*), *lėžō*, glossed by LED (692) as ‘subside, ...; let up (of frost); and [with preverb *at-*] ease, abate, subside’. Smoczyński leaves the word without an etymology, but finds “some merit” in a recent proposal by Elwira Kaczyńska (2013 and 2016: 14), who argues that Lith. *lėžti* in the meaning ‘thaw’, with the satəm reflex of a palatovelar, supports a PIE root **leǵ-* ‘to trickle, drop, drip, leak, melt etc.’. Kaczyńska’s palatovelar base would then replace Pokorny’s lemma **leg-* ‘tröpfeln, sickern, zergehen’ (IEW: 657) and point to **leǵ-* alone for the LIV² doublet **leg-/leǵ-* ‘löst sich auf, schmilzt’ < *‘zerfließt’ (397). In this approach, the core meaning of the Lithuanian verb is taken to be “thaw,” deriving from the semantics of “drip, dissolve, melt,” for which there is apparently evidence in Celtic and Germanic.

⁸ Thus PKEŽ III: 70–72, s.v. *līse*; and ESSJa 15: 36–37, s.v. **lězti*.

⁹ Assuming the primacy of *lėžti*, with acute vocalism, possibly *métatonie douce* of a *-sta* present (on which see Derksen 1996: 166–68 and Derksen 2011).

But a look at the full semantic nest of *lėžti/lėžti*, where “thaw” represents a peripheral meaning,¹⁰ suggests a different solution. If we turn to the LKŽ, we find *lėžti* glossed as ‘tilti, rimti [moderate, let up, calm down]’, illustrated by Juškevič’s *Šaltis lėžta (mažėja)* ‘the cold is letting up/abating/subsiding’; *atlėžti* ‘atsileisti, nurimti, atlyžti [weaken, calm down, die away, thaw]’. The same range of meanings is found in the zero grade formation (LED 692) (*at*) *lyžti* ‘abate, subside (of anger), calm down; . . ., let up (of cold weather, rain); become softened’ (glosses adapted from LED). Note further NSB (I 51): *atlyžti, -ta* ‘nachlassen, verrauchen (vom Zorn), milder werden’. The simplex *lyžti* is glossed in the LKŽ as (1) ‘silpnėti, atsileisti (apie pyktį) [abate, subside (of anger)]’, (2) ‘mažėti, liautis (apie šaltį) [subside, cease (of cold weather)]’, (3) ‘netekti noro, pamėgimo (ką daryti) [lose the desire to do something, lose interest in]’. Reflecting similar semantics is the deverbal *ātlyža* (LKŽ) ‘šalčio kritimas, atodrėkis [subsiding of cold weather, thaw]’, with the illustration *Lauke jau ātlyža*, t. y. šaltis atsileidžia [the cold is letting up].

Now our satəm *lėžti, lyžti* has a centum-reflex counterpart in a set represented in LED (680) under *olėgti*, with the same range of meanings: *atlėgti, -lėgsta, -lėgo* ‘let up, ease (of cold weather, pain)’, with the illustrative footnote *Šaltis jau lėgsta, t.y. lyžta, atsileidžia* ‘The frost abates’; ‘abate, cool (of desire, enthusiasm)’, with a derivative *atlėgà* ‘thaw’. Compare NSB (I 51) *atlėgti, -sta*, ‘ablassen, nachlassen’: *Spėigas atlėgo* ‘der Frost hat nachgelassen’. Paralleling the above lengthened zero-grade derivative in (satəm) *atlyžti*, we have the centum analog *atlygti, -lygsta, -lygo* ‘become warmer (of weather)’, together with its nominal derivatives *atlygà* ‘spring thaw’, *ātlaiga* or *atlaigà* ‘thaw’. Under the headword *olėgti* Smoczyński (SEJL: 640; LED: 680) does not repeat the suggestion (found under *lėžti*) of a connection with the satəm forms, but tentatively suggests that **lėg-* is a reflex of PIE *(s)leh₁g- ‘stand still, come to an end’, LIV² 565 *sleh₁g-/ *sleh₁g- ‘ans Ende kommen’ (which does not mention *lėgti*) = IEW 959 *(s)lėg-, (s)lėg-, (s)lėg- ‘schlaff, matt sein (aus ‘loslassen’)’. Assuming Kaczyńska’s proposal for *lėžti*, we would be dealing here with two distinct roots, *lėžti* (< PIE **lėg-*, following Kaczyńska) and *lėgti* (< PIE *(s)leh₁g-, following Smoczyński) that remarkably happen to share the same ablaut grades and the same semantics.

The above glosses suggest that the core meaning for the entire formally and semantically related set *lėžti, lyžti; lėgti, lygti* is “abate, subside, slacken, weaken” (of weather, emotions), with “thaw” a peripheral meaning derived from “subside (of cold weather).” Kaczyńska has seemingly elevated

¹⁰ The usual root for ‘thaw, melt’ in Lithuanian is *tiūp-*, in Latvian *kus-*.

a peripheral meaning of the set *lēžti/lēžti* (= *lēgti*) to a core meaning and assigned it to a lemma (IEW 657 **leg-*) with a different semantic range (“drip, ooze, flow out”), an approach which Jēgers (1966: 9) cautions against: “Außerdem haben die Etymologen ein baltisches Wort in der Regel nur in derjenigen Bedeutung herangezogen, die den Bedeutungen der zu vergleichenden Wörter anderer Sprachen am besten entsprach ...” In sum, if we are to maintain a formal and semantic connection between *lēžti/lēžti* and *lēgti*, with the **lēž-* set representing a satəm doublet of the centum **lēg-* set, it follows that both should be assigned to PIE *(s)*leh₁g-*, as Smoczyński had suggested for *lēgti*.

Introducing another complication, the LED lemma ^o*lēgti* (680) also includes a *palēgti*, *-lēgstu*, *-lēgau* ‘take to one’s bed because of illness, fall ill’, together with a zero-grade **lig-* of *ligà* ‘illness’ and a “new *e*-grade” derivative *liēgti* ‘be bedridden, be confined to bed’. Interestingly, while the nominal derivatives *pālēgis*, *palēgys*, *paligys* ‘confinement to bed’ are found in Kurschat 1883: 290, the accompanying verbs are missing. And while the LKŽ does record both *palēgti* and *nulēgti*, citing Fraenkel LEW, it directs us to *paliegti* and *nuliegti* (headword *liēgti*) respectively (see also ALEW, s.v. *ligà*, which characterizes the LKŽ forms with *-lēg-* as ‘ohne aussagekräftige Belege’). Moreover, among Kurschat’s nominal forms, the LKŽ records only *paligys* (there is no **palēg-*), with the note “see *paliegis*,” under which we find *pāliegis*, *paliegys* ‘sunki, neišgydoma liga, ilgas sirgimas [severe, incurable disease; lengthy illness]’. Similarly, NSB II 234 records a *nulēgti*, which refers us to *nuliegti* ‘(ganz) erschöpft, müde werden, ermatten’ and a *palēgti* (III 453), which sends us to *paliegti* ‘schwächlich, kränklich werden’, but lacks a headword **lēgti*; there is only *liēgti -gstu*, *-gau* ‘schwer krank sein, siechen’ (II 31).

The primacy of *lieg-* over *lēg-* in the above account casts doubt on the legitimacy of the latter in the sense of ‘fall ill’, while (as we have seen) *lēg-* in the sense of ‘abate, subside’ is part of a distinct semantic nest which includes (*at*)*lēžti*, (*at*)*lyžti*. In fact, it seems to have escaped scholarly attention that as early as 1930 Kazimieras Būga had identified ^o*lēg-* ‘fall ill’ as a non-existent form represented in Kurschat’s dictionary (1883: 290) as *pālēgis*, *palēgys* (Būga RR I 596–97; II 187–88 and 711, in a list of corrupted Lithuanian forms which have appeared in the literature). Kurschat had set off the lemma in square brackets, indicating that he could not guarantee its authenticity. The source of the form, according to Būga, was Mielcke’s 1800 revision and substantial expansion of Philipp Ruhig’s 1747 dictionary. In Mielcke (repeating entries from Ruhig), we find (I 150–51, s.v. *liggà* ‘die Krankheit’) *pālēgis* ‘die

Bettl[ä]g[e]rigkeit, lange Krankheit'¹¹ and a participial form *nulėgēs* (II 336, s.v. *matt*), suggesting a verb **nulėgti*, which happens not to be recorded. Būga notes that Mielcke's *pālėgis* should be transcribed as *pāliegis* and goes on to give several examples of the actually attested ^o*lieg-*.

The forms *pālėgis*, *nulėgēs* of Ruhig and Mielcke in turn reflect a dialectal confusion of *é/ie* and the parallel back-vowel set *o/uo* occasionally found among writers of East-Prussian Lithuania Minor, with *é* usually replacing *ie* and *o* for *uo*.¹² Note the following (among many such examples) in Mielcke (I): *Dėweris* (51) 'des Mannes Bruder' for *dieveris*, *Lėpa* (149) 'eine Linde' for *liepa*, *Lėtuwa* (150) 'Littauen' for *Lietuwa*, *Snėgas* (251) 'der Schnee' for *sniegas*; both *Oβwis* (186) 'der Schwieger-Vater' and (listed separately) *Ūβwis* (308) = *uošvis*, *Ūda* (305) 'die Haut' for *oda*, *Ūras* (307) 'das Wetter' for *oras*, *Uzot* (309) 'lieber' for *užuot*. Exceptionally, historical *ie* is preserved as such in *Giedmi* (75) 'ich singe', *Diewas* (50) 'Gott', *ziema* (340) 'der Winter' and a few others.

The noun *Palėgis* [i.e., *palėgis*], *-io* 'Bettlägerigkeit, lange Krankheit' is also found in Nesselmann's German-Lithuanian dictionary (1851: 276), which, like Mielcke, lacks the corresponding verbs. Nesselmann's form may in fact conceal a "*paliėgis*," since (following the Tilsit dialect), he explicitly replaces *ie* with *é* (p. x): "... so habe ich alle dorthier . . . auf die in Preußisch-Littauen übliche Orthographie reducirt. In dieser letzteren habe ich mir nur eine Ausmerzung erlaub[t], nämlich die Verbindung *ie* für den Laut, der fonst und gewiß beffer durch *ē* [i.e., <è>] ausgedrückt wird ...; da die Verbindung *ie* zur Bezeichnung dieses Lautes ganz unnatürlich ist, außerdem aber auch beide Schreibarten in gedruckten Büchern wie in Handschriften sehr häufig vertaucht werden (man schreibt ebenfo oft *Dėw's* wie *Diew's* u. f. w.), so habe ich durchaus nur *ē* geschrieben."

Būga (RR II 187–88) faults Leskien for propagating the corrupted (actually dialectal) *pālėgis* through his influential *Die Bildung der Nomina im Litauischen* (1891: 288, where we find reference to both Kurschat and Mielcke). The form has since become established in a number of etymological dictionaries, among them IEW 658–59, Berneker 1908–13: 708, Bender 1921: 181, Lehmann 1986: 233, and Fraenkel LEW 350–51, s.v. (*pa*)*lėgti*. The verbal roots *palėg-*, *nulėg-* were presumably backformed along the way from *pālėgis*; as noted above, they do not appear in Mielcke (except for the

¹¹ Note also the proverb, repeated from Ruhig 1747: II 236, "Diewe duok Pāvargi, ne Pālėgi" 'God grant [me] poverty, [but] not confinement to bed' (Mielcke II 215, s.v. *Lagerhaftigkeit* [i.e., Bettlägerigkeit]).

¹² Note Kurschat (1870 vii): "In den mehr westlich liegenden Gegenden, z. B. in der Tilsiter Niederung, gehen die Mischlaute *ie* und *ū* ... durchweg in *é* und *o* über." See also Buch 1998: 140, with reference again to the Tilsit dialect.

participle *nulėgęs*), Nesselmann, or Kurschat. And while Fraenkel includes *palėgti*, *nulėgti* in his etymological dictionary, he does not indicate the source, but it would seem to be NSB's *nu-*, *pa-lėgti*, noted above.

From the etymological dictionaries, these forms have at least on one occasion been adduced for linguistic arguments, for example the following apparent exception to Winter's Law (repeated in Kortlandt 2009: 58). Drawing on Fraenkel, Werner Winter (1988: 433, 435, 443) cites *(pa)lėgti* 'lie (lay) down (433)' and 'put down (443)',¹³ *(nu)lėgti* 'become tired' as counterexamples to his rule that a "Proto-Indo-European sequence of short vowel plus voiced stop was reflected by lengthened vowel plus voiced stop, while short vowel plus aspirate developed into short vowel plus voiced stop" (439). Assuming as cognates Gk. *λέχεται* 'lies' and OCS *lešti* 'lie down' (both representing PIE **leg^h-*), Winter concludes that Lith. *-lėgti* "contains an irregular long vowel" (443). But as we have seen, *(pa)lėgti* is in fact a spurious form.

With *lėg-* in the sense of "fall ill" removed from consideration, there is no longer a compelling reason to follow Smoczyński (LED 680) in maintaining a connection between *lėgti* 'fall ill', together with the associated zero-grade doublet *(su)līgti* (LKŽ) and noun *līgà* 'illness', and the base **lėg-* 'abate, subside'.¹⁴ Remaining more convincing on both semantic and formal grounds is Bezenberger's original connection (1878: 332) between *līgà* and Gk. *λοιγός* 'Verderben, Unheil, Untergang, Tod', supplemented by Alb. *līgë* 'calamity, illness', pointing to a PIE **h₃loig-*: Derksen 2015: 283, s.v. *liegti*.¹⁵

The analysis presented above leads to these conclusions: formal considerations prevent us from trying to reduce all bases of the shape *lVg-*, *lVz-* to a PIE etymon **leg^h-* 'lie (down)', as has sometimes been attempted in the literature. At least four formally similar bases are at play here: **leg^h-* (Derksen 2008: 270), **sleh₁g-* (LIV² 565) = **(s)lēg-* (IEW 959), **leh₁g^h-* (Derksen 2015: 543),

¹³ Assuming that the base is the same as that of *nulėgti*, which Winter also cites, the meaning should be 'fall ill', rather than 'lay down, put down'. Winter is undoubtedly relying here on Fraenkel's distinct *palėgti* in the unexpectedly transitive meaning 'niederlegen', but this is a borrowing from East-Prussian German and not an inherited form: Senn 1958. That the stem *lėg-* is otherwise intransitive is clear from the present-tense formant *-st-*, which marks inchoative/intransitive verbs.

¹⁴ Merlingen 1978: 55 suggests that the meaning 'fall ill' developed within Lithuanian from the sense 'abate, subside', but he is relying here on the spurious *nulėgti*, *palėgti* in comparison with *lėgti* 'sich legen (von Frost oder Schmerz)'. Further, he suggests that the set belongs to the same base as Old Irish *lesc* 'piger', Welsh *llesg* 'infirmus, languidus', but these show a short root vowel (ultimately reflecting **leg^h-*) and are thus incompatible with the acuted length of Lith. *lėgti*.

¹⁵ The acuted base of *lėgti* reflects Winter's Law; on the development of the zero grade of *līgti*, *līgà*, see Young 2008: 209–10.

*h₃loig- (Derksen 2015: 283), showing both satəm and centum treatments in Baltic and Slavic (with centum reflexes more robust in Slavic) and reflecting the following distinct semantic nests: “lie (down) (*leg^h-),” “abate, subside (of weather, emotions), with an extended meaning ‘thaw’ (*(s)leh₁g-/*(s)leh₁g^h-),” “crawl, flat (*leh₁g^h-),” “fall ill, illness (*h₃loig-).” Finally, as Būga has indicated, a base of the shape lēg- in the sense of “fall ill” is a spurious form which has unfortunately become established in the etymological literature.

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KOPSAVILKUMS

Baltu verbu saknes *Iṽg-, *Iṽž-

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Rakstā aplūkotas vairākas etimoloģijas, kas piedāvātas dažādām baltu un slāvu valodu saknēm, kuru modelis ir *Iṽg-, *Iṽž-, ieskaitot *leg-, *lež-, *lēg-, *lēž-, kā arī atvasinājumus no tām. Autors secina, ka formāli apsvērumi neļauj mēģināt apvienot visas šīs formas līdz etimonomam *leg^h- ‘gulēt’, kā tas dažreiz tiek mēģināts literatūrā. Drīzāk, kā reizēm tiek atzīts, nepieciešami četri formāli līdzīgi etimoni. Daži no tiem rāda gan *satəm*, gan *centum* reflexus baltu un slāvu valodās un atspoguļo četras atšķirīgas semantiskās līgzdas: 1) ‘gulēt; mazināt’; 2) ‘norimt (par laika apstākļiem, emocijām)’ ar tālāku nozīmi ‘atkusnis’; 3) ‘rāpot, plakans’; un 4) ‘saslimt, slimība’. Visbeidzot, kā norādījis Kazimiers Būga, (*nu-*, *pa-*) *lēg-* (infinitivs (*nu-*, *pa-*) *lēgti*; atvasināts lietvārds *palégys* u. c.) ar nozīmi ‘nopietni saslimt; smaga slimība’ ir bojāta forma, kas diemžēl tagad ir nostiprinājusies valodniecības literatūrā. Šīs formas, kas izsekojamas bijušās Austrumprūsijas 18. un 19. gadsimta lietuviešu–vācu vārdnīcās, būtu jāparraksta kā citviet apliecinātā *lég-*. Forma ar mainītu saknes vokālismu radusies dažu lietuviešu patskaņu sajaukšanas dēļ izlokšnēs, kas reiz runātas šajā reģionā.