## A GRAMMAR OF

## MODERN

## INDO-EUROPEAN

## First Edition

Language and Culture
Writing System and Phonology
Morphology

Syntax

# Modesní Sindhueurōpáī Grbhmńtikā 

Apo Kárlos Kūriákī̄̄ éti áliōs augtóres

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## PREFACE

This first edition of Dnghu's A Grammar of Modern Indo-European, is a renewed effort to systematize the reconstructed phonology and morphology of the Proto-Indo-European language into a modern European language, after the free online publication of Europaio: A Brief Grammar of the European Language in 2006.

Modern Indo-European is, unlike Latin, Germanic or Slavic, common to most Europeans, and not only to some of them. Unlike Lingua Ignota, Solresol, Volapük, Esperanto, Quenya, Klingon, Lojban and the thousand invented languages which have been created since humans are able to speak, IndoEuropean is natural, i.e. it evolved from an older language - Middle PIE or IE II, of which we have some basic knowledge -, and is believed to have been spoken by prehistoric communities at some time roughly between 3.000 and 2.000 B.C., having itself evolved into different dialects, some very wellattested branches from IE IIIa (Graeco-Armenian and Indo-Iranian), other well-attested ones from IE IIIb (Italo-Celtic, Germanic) and some possibly transition dialects (as Balto-Slavic), some still alive.

Proto-Indo-European has been reconstructed in the past two centuries (more or less successfully) by hundreds of linguists, having obtained a rough phonological, morphological, and syntactical system, equivalent to what Jews had of Old Hebrew before reconstructing a system for its modern use in Israel. Instead of some inscriptions and oral transmitted tales for the language to be revived, we have a complete reconstructed grammatical system, as well as hundreds of living languages to be used as examples to revive a common Modern Indo-European.

This grammar focuses still the European Union - and thus the Indo-European dialects of Europe -, although it remains clearly usable as a basic approach for an International Auxiliary Language. So, for example, specialized vocabulary of Modern Indo-European shown in this grammar is usually based on Germanic, Latin and Greek words, and often Celtic and Balto-Slavic, but other old sources - especially from Indo-Iranian dialects - are frequently ignored, if not through Western loans.

The former Dean of the University of Huelva, Classical Languages' philologist and Latin expert, considers the Proto-Indo-European language reconstruction an invention; Spanish Indo-Europeanist Bernabé has left its work on IE studies to dedicate himself to "something more serious"; Francisco Villar, professor of Greek and Latin at the University of Salamanca, deems a complete reconstruction of PIE impossible; his opinion is not rare, since he supports the glottalic theory, the Armenian Homeland hypothesis, and also the use of Latin instead of English within the EU. The work of Elst, Talageri and others defending the 'Indigenous Indo-Aryan’ viewpoint by N. Kazanas, and their support of an unreconstructable and hypothetical PIE nearest to Vedic Sanskrit opens still more the gap between the
mainstream reconstruction and minority views supported by nationalist positions. Also, among convinced Indo-Europeanists, there seems to be no possible consensus between the different 'schools' as to whether PIE distinguished between $\breve{\mathbf{o}}$ and $\breve{\mathbf{a}}$ (as Gk., Lat. or Cel.) or if those vowels were all initial $\breve{\mathbf{a}}$, as in the other attested dialects (Villar), or if the Preterites were only one tense (as Latin praeteritum) with different formations, or if there were actually an Aorist and a Perfect.

Furthermore, José Antonio Pascual, a member of the Royal Spanish Academy (RAE), considers that "it is not necessary to be a great sociologist to know that 500 million people won't agree to adopt Modern Indo-European in the EU" (Spa. journal El Mundo, $8^{\text {th }}$ April 2007). Of course not, as they won't agree on any possible question - not even on using English, which we use in fact -, and still the national and EU's Institutions work, adopting decisions by majorities, not awaiting consensus for any question. And it was probably not necessary to be a great sociologist a hundred years ago to see e.g. that the revival of Hebrew under a modern language system (an "invention" then) was a utopia, and that Esperanto, the 'easy' and 'neutral' IAL, was going to succeed by their first World Congress in 1905.

Such learned opinions are only that, opinions, just as if Hebrew and Semitic experts had been questioned a hundred years ago about a possible revival of Biblical Hebrew in a hypothetic new Israel.

Whether MIE's success is more or less probable (and why) is not really important for our current work, but hypothesis dealt with by sociology, anthropology, political science, economics and even psychology, not to talk about chance. Whether the different existing social movements, such as PanLatinism, Pan-Americanism, Pan-Sanskritism, Pan-Arabism, Pan-Iranism, Pan-Slavism, PanHispanism, Francophonie, Anglospherism, Atlanticism, and the hundred different pan-nationalist positions held by different sectors of societies - as well as the different groups supporting antiglobalization, anti-neoliberalism, anti-capitalism, anti-communism, anti-occidentalism, etc. - will accept or reject this project remains unclear.

What we do know now is that the idea of reviving Proto-Indo-European as a modern language for Europe and international organizations is not madness, that it is not something new, that it doesn't mean a revolution - as the use of Spanglish, Syndarin or Interlingua -nor an involution - as regionalism, nationalism, or the come back to French, German or Latin predominance -, but merely one of the many different ways in which the European Union linguistic policy could evolve, and maybe one way to unite different peoples from different cultures, languages and religions (from the Americas to East Asia) for the sake of stable means of communication. Just that tiny possibility is enough for us to "lose" some years trying to give our best making the (Proto-)Indo-European language as usable and as known as possible.

## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

According to Dutch sociologist Abram de Swaan, every language in the world fits into one of four categories according to the ways it enters into (what he calls) the global language system.

- Central: About a hundred languages in the world belong here, widely used and comprising about $95 \%$ of humankind.
- Supercentral: Each of these serves to connect speakers of central languages. There are only twelve supercentral languages, and they are Arabic, Chinese, English, French, German, Hindi, Japanese, Malay, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish and Swahili.
- Hypercentral: The lone hypercentral language at present is English. It not only connects central languages (which is why it is on the previous level) but serves to connect supercentral languages as well. Both Spanish and Russian are supercentral languages used by speakers of many languages, but when a Spaniard and a Russian want to communicate, they will usually do it in English.
- Peripheral: All the thousands of other languages on the globe occupy a peripheral position because they are hardly or not at all used to connect any other languages. In other words, they are mostly not perceived as useful in a multilingual situation and therefore not worth anyone's effort to learn.

De Swaan points out that the admission of new member states to the European Union brings with it the addition of more languages, making the polyglot identity of the EU ever more unwieldy and expensive. On the other hand, it is clearly politically impossible to settle on a single language for all the EU's institutions. It has proved easier for the EU to agree on a common currency than a common language.

Of the EU's current languages, at least 14 are what we might call a 'robust' language, whose speakers are hardly likely to surrender its rights. Five of them (English, French, German, Portuguese and Spanish) are supercentral languages that are already widely used in international communication, and the rest are all central.

In the ongoing activity of the EU's institutions, there are inevitably shortcuts taken - English, French and German are widely used as 'working languages' for informal discussions. But at the formal level all the EU's official languages (i.e. the language of each member state) are declared equal.

Using all these languages is very expensive and highly inefficient. There are now 23 official languages: Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Estonian, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Irish Gaelic, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Maltese, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Slovak, Slovene, Spanish and Swedish, and three semiofficial (?): Catalan, Basque and Galician. This means that all official documents must be translated into all the members'
recognized languages, and representatives of each member state have a right to expect a speech in their language to be interpreted. And each member state has the right to hear ongoing proceedings interpreted into its own language.

Since each of the twenty one languages needs to be interpreted/translated into all the rest of the twenty, $23 \times 22$ (minus one, because a language doesn't need to be translated into itself) comes to a total of $\mathbf{5 0 6}$ combinations (not taking on accound the 'semiofficial' languages). So interpreters/translators have to be found for ALL combinations.

In the old Common Market days the costs of using the official languages Dutch, English, French, and German could be borne, and interpreters and translators could be readily found. But as each new member is admitted, the costs and practical difficulties are rapidly becoming intolerably burdensome.

The crucial point here is that each time a new language is added, the total number of combinations isn't additive but multiplies: $506+$ one language is not 507 but 552, i.e. $24 \times 23$, since every language has to be translated/interpreted into all the others (except itself).

It is not hard to see that the celebration of linguistic diversity in the EU only lightly disguises the logistical nightmare that is developing. The EU is now preparing for more languages to come: Romanian and Bulgarian have been recently added, with the incorporation of these two countries to the EU; Albanian, Macedonian, Serbian, Bosnian and Croatian (the three formerly known as Serbo-Croatian, but further differentiated after the Yugoslavian wars) if they are admitted to the EU as expected; and many other regional languages, following the example of Irish Gaelic, and the three semiofficial Spanish languages: Alsatian, Breton, Corsican, Welsh, Luxemburgish and Sami are likely candidates to follow, as well as Scottish Gaelic, Occitan, Low Saxon, Venetian, Piedmontese, Ligurian, Emilian, Sardinian, Neapolitan, Sicilian, Asturian, Aragonese, Frisian, Kashubian, Romany, Rusin, and many others, depending on the political pressure their speakers and cultural communities can put on EU institutions. It will probably not be long before Turkish, and with it Kurdish (and possibly Armenian, Aramaic and Georgian too), or maybe Ukrainian, Russian and Belarusian, are other official languages, not to talk about the eternal candidates' languages, Norwegian (in at least two of its language systems, Bokmål and Nynorsk), Icelandic, Romansh, Monegasque (Monaco) and Emilian-Romagnolo (San Marino), and this could bring the number of EU languages over 40. The number of possible combinations are at best above 1000, which doesn't seem within the reach of any organization, no matter how well-meaning.

Many EU administrators feel that to a great extent this diversity can be canceled out by everincreasing reliance on the computer translation that is already in heavy use. It is certainly true that if we couldn't count on computers to do a lot of the translation 'heavy lifting', even the most idealistic administrator would never even dream of saddling an organization with an enterprise that would
quickly absorb a major part of its finances and energy. But no machine has yet been invented or probably ever will be that is able to produce a translation without, at the very least, a final editing by a human translator or interpreter.

The rapidly increasing profusion of languages in the EU is quickly becoming intolerably clumsy and prohibitively expensive. And this doesn't even count the additional expense caused by printing in the Greek alphabet and soon in the Cyrillic (Bulgarian and Serbian). Everyone agrees that all languages must have their 'place in the sun' and their diversity celebrated. But common sense suggests that the EU is going to be forced to settle on a very small number of working languages, perhaps only one, and the linguistic future of the EU has become the subject of intense debate.

Only in public numbers, the EU official translation/interpretation costs amount to more than 1.230 M€, and it comes to more than $13 \%$ of today's administrative expenditure of the EU institutions. There are also indirect costs of linguistic programmes aimed at promoting the learning of three or more languages since the Year of Languages (2001), which also means hundreds of millions of Euros, which haven't been counted in the EU's budget as linguistic expenditure, but are usually included in budget sections such as Cohesion or Citizenship. It is hard to imagine the huge amount of money (real or potential) lost by EU citizens and companies each day because of communication problems, not only because they can't speak a third party's language, but because they won't speak it, even if they can.

Preserving the strict equality is the EU's lifeblood, and it is a very disturbing thought that the strongest candidate for a one-language $E U$ is the one with an established dominance in the world, English, which is actually only spoken by a minority within Europe. Latin and Artificial languages (as Esperanto, Ido or Interlingua) have been proposed as alternatives, but neither the first, because it is only related to romance languages, nor the second, because they are (too) artificial (invented by one person or a small group at best), solve the linguistic theoretical problems, not to talk about the practical ones.

The Indo-European language that we present in this work, on the contrary, faces not only the addressed theoretical problems - mainly related to cultural heritage and sociopolitical proud - but brings also a practical solution for the European Union, without which there can be no real integration. European nations are not prepared to give up some of their powers to a greater political entity, unless they don't have to give up some fundamental rights. Among them, the linguistic ones have proven harder to deal with than it initially expected, as they are raise very strong national or regional feelings.

Indo-European is already the grandmother of the majority of Europeans. The first language of more than $97 \%$ of EU citizens is Indo-European, and the rest can generally speak at least one of them as second language. Adopting Indo-European as the main official language for the EU will not mean giving up linguistic rights, but enhancing them, as every other official language will have then the same status
under their common ancestor; it won't mean losing the own culture for the sake of unity, but recovering it altogether for the same purpose; and, above all, it will not mean choosing a lingua franca to communicate with foreigners within an international organization, but accepting a National Language to communicate with other nationals within the same country.

NOTE. The above information is mainly copied (literally, adjusted or modified) from two of Mr. William Z. Shetter Language Miniatures, which can be found in his website:

- http://home.bluemarble.net/~langmin/miniatures/Qvalue.htm
- http://home.bluemarble.net/~langmin/miniatures/eulangs.htm
- EU official expenditure numbers can be consulted here:
- http://europa.eu.int/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/o5/10\&type=HTML\&aged=o\&la nguage $=E N \& g u i L a n g u a g e=e n$
- http://europa.eu.int/comm/budget/library/publications/budget_in_fig/dep_eu_budg_2007_en.pdf
- Official information about EU languages can be found at:
- http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/policies/lang/languages/index_en.html
- http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/policies/lang/languages/langmin/euromosaic/index_en.html


## WHAT'S NEW IN THIS EDITION

This is A Grammar of Modern Indo-European, First Edition, with Modern Indo-European Language Grammatical system in Version 3, still in $\beta$ eta phase - i.e., still adjusting some major linguistic questions, and lots of minor mistakes, thanks to the contributions of experts and readers. The timetable of the next grammatical and institutional changes can be followed in the website of the Indo-European Language Association at www.dnghu.org.
"Modern Indo-European" 3.x (June 2007) follows the revised edition of V. 2.x, which began in March 2007, changing some features of "Europaio"/"Sindhueuropaiom" 1.x (2005-2006), in some cases coming back to features of Indo-European 0.x (2004-2005), especially:

1. The artificial distinction in "Europaiom" and "Sindhueuropaiom" systems (each based on different dialectal features) brings more headaches than advantages to our Proto-Indo-European revival project; from now on, only a unified "Modern Indo-European" is promoted.
2. Unlike the first simplified grammar, this one goes deep into the roots of the specific Indo-European words and forms chosen for the modern language. Instead of just showing the final output, expecting readers to accept the supposed research behind the selections, we let them explore the details of our choices - and sometimes the specifics of the linguistic reconstruction -, thus sacrificing simplicity for the sake of thorough approach to modern IE vocabulary.
3. The old Latin-only alphabet has been expanded to include Greek and Cyrillic writing systems, as well as a stub of possible Armenian, Arabo-Persian and Devanagari (abugida) systems. The objective is not to define them completely (as with the Latin alphabet), but merely to show other possible writing systems for Modern Indo-European.
4. The traditional phonetic distinction of palatovelars was reintroduced for a more accurate phonetic reconstruction of Late PIE, because of the opposition found (especially among Balto-Slavic experts) against our simplified writing system. Whether satemization was a dialectal and phonological trend restricted to some phonetic environments (PIE * $\boldsymbol{k}$ - before some sounds, as with Latin $c$ - before $-e$ and i), seemed to us not so important as the fact that more people feel comfortable with an exact - although more difficult - phonetic reconstruction. From versions 3.x onwards, however, a more exact reconstruction is looked for, and therefore a proper explanation of velars and vocalism (hence also laryngeals) is added at the end of this book - we come back, then, to a simplified writing system.
5. The historically alternating Oblique cases Dative, Locative, Instrumental and Ablative, were shown on a declension-by-declension (and even pronoun-by-pronoun) basis, as Late PIE shows in some
declensions a simpler, thus more archaic, reconstructable paradigm (as $\mathbf{i}, \mathbf{u}$ ) while others (as the thematic e/o) show almost the same Late PIE pattern of four differentiated oblique case-endings. Now, the 8 cases traditionally reconstructed are usable - and its differentiation recommended - in MIE.

The classification of Modern Indo-European nominal declensions has been reorganized to adapt it to a more Classic pattern, to help the reader clearly identify their correspondence to the different Greek and Latin declension paradigms.
5. The verbal system has been reduced to the reconstructed essentials of Late Proto-Indo-European conjugation and of its early dialects. Whether such a simple and irregular system is usable as is, without further systematization, is a matter to be solved by Modern Indo-European speakers.

The so-called Augment in é-, attested almost only in Greek, Indo-Iranian and Armenian, is sometimes left due to Proto-Indo-European tradition, although recent research shows that it was neither obligatory, nor general in Late PIE. It is believed today that it was just a prefix with a great success in the southern dialects, as per-in Latin or $g a$ - in Germanic.
6. The syntactical framework of Proto-Indo-European has been dealt with extensively by some authors, but, as the material hasn't still been summed up and corrected by other authors (who usually prefer the phonological or morphological reconstruction), we use literal paragraphs from possibly the most thorough work available on PIE syntax, Winfred P. Lehman's Proto-Indo-European Syntax (1974), along with some comments and corrections made since its publication by other scholars.

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## CONVENTIONS USED IN THIS BOOK

1. "Modern Indo-European" or MIE: To avoid some past mistakes, we use the term Europaiom only to refer to the European language system, or Europe's Indo-European, also Northwestern IndoEuropean. The suitable names for the simplified Indo-European language system for Europe are thus European language or European, as well as "Europaio(m)".
2. The roots of the reconstructed Proto-Indo-European language (PIE) are basic morphemes carrying a lexical meaning. By addition of suffixes, they form stems, and by addition of desinences, these form grammatically inflected words (nouns or verbs).

NOTE. PIE reconstructed roots are subject to ablaut, and except for a very few cases, such ultimate roots are fully characterized by its constituent consonants, while the vowel may alternate. PIE roots as a rule have a single syllabic core, and by ablaut may either be monosyllabic or unsyllabic. PIE roots may be of the following form
 laryngeal (or s). After Meillet, impossible PIE combinations are voiceless/aspirated (as in *teubh or *bheut), as well as voiced/voiceless (as in *ged or *deg). The following table depicts the general opinion:

| stops | - | $K-$ | $G-$ | $G^{h-}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| - | $[H R] e[R H]$ | $\mathrm{K}[R] e[R H]$ | $G[R] e[R H]$ | $G^{h}[R] e[R H]$ |
| $-K$ | $[H R] e[R H] K$ | - | $G[R] e[R H] K$ | $G^{h}[R] e[R H] K$ |
| $-G$ | $[H R] e[R H] G$ | $K[R] e[R H] G$ | - | $G^{h}[R] e[R H] G$ |
| $-G^{h}$ | $[H R] e[R H] G^{h}$ | $K[R] e[R H] G^{h}$ | $G[R] e[R H] G^{h}$ | $G^{h}[R] e[R H] \mathrm{G}^{h}{ }^{*}$ |

*This combination appears e.g. in bheudh, awake, and bheidh, obey, believe.
A root has at least one consonant, for some at least two (e.g. IE II * $\boldsymbol{h}_{1} \boldsymbol{e k}$ vs. Late PIE $\boldsymbol{e k}$ or $\boldsymbol{e k}$, "quick", which is the root for IE adj. ōkús). Depending on the interpretation of laryngeals, some roots seem to have an inherent $\boldsymbol{a}$ or $\boldsymbol{O}$ vowel, ar (vs. older * $h_{2}$ ar-), fit, onc (vs. older * $h_{3}$ engw) "anoint", ak (vs. older * $h_{2} e c$ ) "keen".

By "root extension", a basic CeC (with C being any consonant) pattern may be extended to CeC-C, and an smobile may extend it to s-CeC.

The total number of consonant, sonant and laryngeal elements that appear in an ordinary syllable are three i.e., as the triliteral Semitic pattern. Those which have less than three are called 'Concave' verbs (cf. Hes, Hei, $g^{w} \mathrm{em}$ ); those extended are called 'Convex' verbs (cf. Lat. plango, spargo, frango, etc., which, apart from the extension in $-\mathbf{g}$, contain a laryngeal); for more on this, vide infra on MIE Conjugations.
3. Verbs are usually shown in notes without an appropriate verbal noun ending - $\boldsymbol{m}$, infinitive ending $\boldsymbol{t u} /-\boldsymbol{t i}$, to distinguish them clearly from nouns and adjectives. They aren't shown inflected in $1^{\text {st }}$ P.Sg. Present either - as they should -, because of the same reason, and aren't usually accented.

NOTE. Ultimate PIE reconstructed verbal roots are written even without an athematic or thematic ending. When an older laryngeal appears, as in ${ }^{*}$ pelh $_{2}$, it is sometimes written, as in pela, or in case of ultimate roots with semivowel endings $[\mathbf{i}],[\mathbf{u}]$, followed by an older laryngeal, they are written with ending $\mathbf{- j}$ or $\mathbf{- w}$.
4. Adjectives are usually shown with a masculine (or general) ending -ós, although sometimes a complete paradigm -言, -óm, is also written.
5. Accentuated vowels and semivowels have a written accent; accented long vowels and sonants are represented with special characters. However, due to the limited UTF-8 support of some fonts, the old "Europaio" 1.x writing system, i.e. without non-English characters, is still usable.
6. For zero-grade or zero-ending, the symbol $\varnothing$ is sometimes used.
7. Proto-Indo-European vowel apophony or Ablaut is indeed normal in MIE, but different dialectal Ablauts are corrected when loan-translated. Examples of these are kombhastós, from Lat. confessus (cf. Lat. fassus sum), from IE bhā; MIE dhaklís/disdhaklís, as Lat. facilis/difficilis, from IE dhē; MIE sáliō/ensáliō/ensáltō, as Lat. saliō/insiliō/insultō, etc. Such Ablaut is linked to languages with musical accent, as Latin. In Italic, the tone was always on the first syllable; Latin reorganized this system, and after Roman grammarians' "penultimate rule", Classic Latin accent felt on the penultimate syllable, thus triggering off different inner vocalic timbres or Ablauts. Other Italic dialects, as Oscan or Umbrian, didn't suffered such apophony; cf. Osc. anterstataí, Lat. interstitae; Umb. antakres, Lat. integris; Umb. procanurent, Lat. procinuerint, etc. Germanic also knew such tone variations.
8. In Germanic, Celtic and Italic dialects the IE intervocalic -s- becomes voiced, and then it is pronounced as the trilled consonant, a phenomenon known as Rhotacism; as with zero-grade krs [krs] from PIE stem kers, run, giving 's-derivatives' O.N. horskr, Gk. -кovoos, and 'r-derivatives' as MIE kŕsos, wagon, cart, from Celtic (cf. O.Ir., M.Welsh carr, Bret. karr) and kísō, run, from Lat. currere. In light of Greek forms as criterion, monastery, etc., the suffix to indicate "place where" (and sometimes instrument) had an original IE $\mathbf{r}$, and its reconstruction as PIE $\mathbf{s}$ is wrong.
9. Some loans are left as they are, without necessarily implying that they are original Indo-European forms; as Latin mappa, "map", aiqi-, "(a)equi-, or re-, "re-", Celtic pen-, "head", Greek sphaira, "sphere", Germanic iso-, "ice", and so on. Some forms are already subject to change in MIE for a more 'purist' approach to a common IE, as ati- for Lat. re-, -tifor (Ita. and Arm.) secondary -tio(n), etc.
10. In Romance languages, Theme is used instead of Stem. Therefore, Theme Vowel and Thematic refer to the Stem endings, usually to the $\mathbf{e} / \mathbf{o}$ endings. In the Indo-European languages, Thematic roots are those roots that have a "theme vowel"; a vowel sound that is always present between the root of the word and the attached inflections. Athematic roots lack a theme vowel, and attach their inflections directly to the root itself.

NOTE. The distinction between thematic and athematic roots is especially apparent in the Greek verb; they fall into two classes that are marked by quite different personal endings. Thematic verbs are also called $-\omega$ (-ô) verbs in Greek; athematic verbs are $-\mu \iota(-m i)$ verbs, after the first person singular present tense ending that each of them uses. The entire conjugation seems to differ quite markedly between the two sets of verbs, but the differences are really the result of the thematic vowel reacting with the verb endings.

In Greek, athematic verbs are a closed class of inherited forms from the parent Indo-European language. Marked contrasts between thematic and athematic forms also appear in Lithuanian, Sanskrit, and Old Church Slavonic. In Latin, almost all verbs are thematic; a handful of surviving athematic forms exist, but they are considered irregular verbs.

The thematic and athematic distinction also applies to nouns; many of the older Indo-European languages distinguish between "vowel stems" and "consonant stems" in the declension of nouns. In Latin, the first, second, fourth, and fifth declensions are vowel stems characterized by $a, o, u$ and $e$, respectively; the third declension contains both consonant stems and $i$ stems, whose declensions came to closely resemble one another in Latin. Greek, Sanskrit, and other older Indo-European languages also distinguish between vowel and consonant stems, as did Old English.
11. The General form to write PIE $\mathbf{d}+\mathbf{t}, \mathbf{t}+\mathbf{t}, \mathbf{d h}+\mathbf{t}$, etc. should be normally MIE $\mathbf{s t}, \mathbf{s d h}$, but there are probably some mistakes in this grammar, due to usual (pure) reconstructions and to the influence of modern IE dialects. For those common intermediate phases, cf. Gk. st, sth (as pistis, oisqa), Lat. est ("come") and O.H.G. examples. Also, compare O.Ind. sehí<*sazdhi, 'sit!', and not *satthi (cf. O.Ind. dehí, Av. dazdi), what makes an intermediate -st (still of Late PIE) very likely.
12. PIE made personal forms of composed verbs separating the root from the so-called 'prepositions', which were actually particles which delimited the meaning of the sentence. Thus, a sentence like Lat. uos supplico is in PIE as in O.Lat. sub uos placo. The same happened in Homeric Greek, in Hittite, in the oldest Vedic and in modern German 'trennbare Verben'. Therefore, when we reconstruct a verb like MIE adkēptā, it doesn't mean it should be used as in Classic Latin (in fact its ablaut has been reversed), or indeed as in Modern English, but with its oldest use, separating ad from the root.
13. Reasons for not including the palatovelars in MIE's writing system are 1) that, although possible, their existence is not sufficiently proven (see Appendix II.2); 2) that their writing because of tradition or 'etymology' is not justified, as this would mean a projective writing (i.e., like writing Lat. casa, but Lat. $\hat{c} e n t u m, ~ b e c a u s e ~ t h e ~ k-s o u n d ~ b e f o r e ~-e ~ a n d ~-i ~ e v o l v e s ~ d i f f e r e n t l y ~ i n ~ R o m a n c e) . ~ T h e ~ p a i r s ~ g ̀ g ~ G ̧ ~ a n d ~ \underset{~}{\mathrm{k}} \underset{\sim}{\mathrm{K}}$, have been proposed to write them, for those willing to differentiate their pronunciation.

The following abbreviations apply in this book:

| IE | : Indo-European |
| :--- | :--- |
| PIE | $:$ Proto-Indo-European |
| IE I | $:$ Early PIE |
| IE II | $:$ Middle PIE or Indo-Hittite |
| IE III | $:$ Late PIE |
| MIE | : Modern Indo-European |


| I.-I. | : Indo-Iranian |
| :--- | :--- |
| Ind. | : Proto-Indo-Aryan |
| O.Ind. | $:$ Old Indian |
| Skr. | : Sanskrit |
| Hind. | $:$ Hindustani |
| Hi. | : Hindi |
| Ur. | $:$ Urdu |
| Ira. | : Proto-Iranian |
| Av. | $:$ Avestan |
| O.Pers. | $:$ Old Persian |
| Pers. | $:$ Persian |
| Kur. | $:$ Kurdish |
| Oss. | $:$ Ossetian |
| Kam. | $:$ Kamviri |


| Cel. | : Proto-Celtic |
| :--- | :--- |
| Gaul. | $:$ Gaulish |
| O.Ir. | $:$ Old Irish |
| Sco. | $:$ Scottish Gaelic |
| Ir. | $:$ Irish Gaelic |
| Bret. | $:$ Breton |
| Cor. | : Cornish |
| O.Welsh | $:$ Old Welsh |


| O.Gk. | : Old Greek |
| :--- | :--- |
| Gk. | : Greek |
| Phryg. | $:$ Phrygian |
| Thr. | $:$ Thracian |
| Dac. | $:$ Dacian |
| Ven. | $:$ Venetic |
| Lus. | $:$ Lusitanian |
| A.Mac. | : Ancient Macedonian |
| Illy. | $:$ Illyrian |
| Alb. | $:$ Albanian |


| Ita. | : Proto-Italic |
| :--- | :--- |
| Osc. | : Oscan |
| Umb. | $:$ Umbrian |
| Lat. | : Latin |
| O.Lat. | $:$ Archaic Latin |
| V.Lat. | $:$ Vulgar Latin |
| L.Lat. | $:$ Late Latin |
| Med.Lat. | $:$ Mediaeval Latin |
| Mod.Lat. | $:$ Modern Latin |
| O.Fr. | $:$ Old French |
| Prov | $:$ Provenzal |
| Gl.-Pt. | $:$ Galician-Portuguese |
| Gal. | $:$ Galician |
| Pt. | $:$ Portuguese |
| Cat. | $:$ Catalan |
| Fr. | $:$ French |
| It. | $:$ Italian |
| Spa. | $:$ Spanish |
| Rom. | $:$ Romanian |


| Gme. | : Proto-Germanic |
| :---: | :---: |
| Goth. | : Gothic |
| Frank. | : Frankish |
| Sca. | : Scandinavian (North Germanic) |
| O.N. | : Old Norse |
| O.Ice. | : Old Icelandic |
| O.S. | : Old Swedish |
| Nor. | : Norwegian |
| Swe. | : Swedish |
| Da. | : Danish |
| Ice. | : Icelandic |
| Fae. | : Faeroese |
| W.Gmc. | : West Germanic |
| O.E. | : Old English (W.Saxon, Mercian) |
| O.Fris. | : Old Frisian |
| O.H.G. | : Old High German |
| M.L.G. | : Middle Low German |
| M.H.G. | : Middle High German |
| M.Du. | : Middle Dutch |
| Eng | : English |
| Ger. | : German |
| L.Ger. | : Low German |
| Fris. | : Frisian |
| Du. | : Dutch |
| Yidd. | : Yiddish (Judeo-German) |


| Bl.-Sl. | : Balto-Slavic |
| :--- | :--- |
| Bal. | : Proto-Baltic |
| O.Lith. | : Old Lithuanian |
| O.Pruss. | : Old Prussian |
| Lith. | : Lithuanian |
| Ltv. | : Latvian |
| Sla. | : Proto-Slavic |
| O.C.S. | : Old Church Slavonic |
| O.Russ. | : Old Russian |
| O.Pol. | : Old Polish |
| Russ. | : Russian |
| Pol. | : Polish |
| Cz. | : Czech |
| Slo. | : Slovenian |
| Slk. | : Slovak |
| Ukr. | : Ukrainian |
| Bel. | : Belarusian |
| Bul. | : Bulgarian |
| Sr.-Cr. | : Serbo-Croatian |

## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. THE INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGE FAMILY

1.1.1. The Indo-European languages are a family of several hundred languages and dialects, including most of the major languages of Europe, as well as many in Asia. Contemporary languages in this family include English, German, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Hindustani (i.e., Hindi and Urdu among other modern dialects), Persian and Russian. It is the largest family of languages in the world today, being spoken by approximately half the world's population as first language. Furthermore, the majority of the other half


Figure 1. In dark, countries with a majority of IndoEuropean speakers; in light color, countries with Indo-European-speaking minorities. speaks at least one of them as second language.
1.1.2. Romans didn't perceive similarities between Latin and Celtic dialects, but they found obvious correspondences with Greek. After Roman Grammarian Sextus Pompeius Festus:

Suppum antiqui dicebant, quem nunc supinum dicimus ex Graeco, videlicet pro adspiratione


Such findings are not striking, though, as Rome was believed to have been originally funded by Trojan hero Aeneas and, consequently, Latin was derived from Old Greek.
1.1.3. Florentine merchant Filippo Sassetti travelled to the Indian subcontinent, and was among the first European observers to study the ancient Indian language, Sanskrit. Writing in 1585, he noted some word similarities between Sanskrit and Italian, e.g. deva/dio, "God", sarpa/serpe, "snake", sapta/sette, "seven", ashta/otto, "eight", nava/nove, "nine". This observation is today credited to have foreshadowed the later discovery of the Indo-European language family.
1.1.4. The first proposal of the possibility of a common origin for some of these languages came from Dutch linguist and scholar Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn in 1647. He discovered the similarities among Indo-European languages, and supposed the existence of a primitive common language which he called "Scythian". He included in his hypothesis Dutch, Greek, Latin, Persian, and German, adding later Slavic, Celtic and Baltic languages. He excluded languages such as Hebrew from his hypothesis.

However, the suggestions of van Boxhorn did not become widely known and did not stimulate further research.
1.1.5. On 1686, German linguist Andreas Jäger published De Lingua Vetustissima Europae, where he identified an remote language, possibly spreading from the Caucasus, from which Latin, Greek, Slavic, 'Scythian' (i.e., Persian) and Celtic (or ‘Celto-Germanic’) were derived, namely Scytho-Celtic.
1.1.6. The hypothesis re-appeared in 1786 when Sir William Jones first lectured on similarities between four of the oldest languages known in his time: Latin, Greek, Sanskrit and Persian:
"The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists: there is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and the Celtic, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanskrit; and the old Persian might be added to the same family"
1.1.7. Danish Scholar Rasmus Rask was the first to point out the connection between Old Norwegian and Gothic on the one hand, and Lithuanian, Slavonic, Greek and Latin on the other. Systematic comparison of these and other old languages conducted by the young German linguist Franz Bopp supported the theory, and his Comparative Grammar, appearing between 1833 and 1852, counts as the starting-point of Indo-European studies as an academic discipline.
1.1.8. The classification of modern Indo-European dialects into 'languages' and 'dialects' is controversial, as it depends on many factors, such as the pure linguistic ones - most of the times being the least important of them -, and also social, economic, political and historical considerations. However, there are certain common ancestors, and some of them are old well-attested languages (or language systems), such as Classic Latin for modern Romance languages - French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Romanian or Catalan -, Classic Sanskrit for some modern Indo-Aryan languages, or Classic Greek for Modern Greek.

Furthermore, there are some still older IE 'dialects', from which these old formal languages were derived and later systematized. They are, following the above examples, Archaic or Old Latin, Archaic or Vedic Sanskrit and Archaic or Old Greek, attested in older compositions, inscriptions and inferred through the study of oral traditions and texts.

And there are also some old related dialects, which help us reconstruct proto-languages, such as Faliscan for Latino-Faliscan (and with Osco-Umbrian for an older Proto-Italic), the Avestan language for a Proto-Indo-Iranian or Mycenaean for an older Proto-Greek.

NOTE. Although proto-language groupings for Indo-European languages may vary depending on different criteria, they all have the same common origin, the Proto-Indo-European language, which is generally easier to reconstruct than its dialectal groupings. For example, if we had only some texts of Old French, Old Spanish and Old Portuguese, Mediaeval Italian and Modern Romanian and Catalan, then Vulgar Latin - i.e., the features of the common language spoken by all of them, not the older, artificial, literary Classical Latin - could be easily reconstructed, but the groupings of the derived dialects not. In fact, the actual groupings of the Romance languages are controversial, even knowing well enough Archaic, Classic and Vulgar Latin...


Figure 2. Language families' distribution in the $20^{\text {th }}$ century. In Eurasia and the Americas, Indo-European languages; in Scandinavia, Central Europe and Northern Russia, Uralic languages; in Central Asia, Turkic languages; in Southern India, Dravidian languages; in North Africa, Semitic languages; etc.

### 1.2. TRADITIONAL VIEWS

1.2.1. In the beginnings of the Indo-European or Indo-Germanic studies using the comparative grammar, the Indo-European proto-language was reconstructed as a unitary language. For Rask, Bopp and other Indo-European scholars, it was a search for the Indo-European. Such a language was supposedly spoken in a certain region between Europe and Asia and at one point in time - between ten thousand and four thousand years ago, depending on the individual theories -, and it spread thereafter and evolved into different languages which in turn had different dialects.


Figure 3. Eurasia ca. 1500 A.D. This map is possibly more or less what the first Indo-Europeanists had in mind when they thought about a common language being spoken by the ancestors of all those Indo-European speakers, a language which should have spread from some precise place and time.
1.2.2. The Stammbaumtheorie or Genealogical Tree Theory states that languages split up in other languages, each of them in turn split up in others, and so on, like the branches of a tree. For example, a well known old theory about Indo-European is that, from the Indo-European language, two main groups of dialects known as Centum and Satem separated - so called because of their pronunciation of the gutturals in Latin and Avestan, as in the word kmtóm, hundred. From these groups others split up, as Centum Proto-Germanic, Proto-Italic or Proto-Celtic, and Satem Proto-Balto-Slavic, Proto-IndoIranian, which developed into present-day Germanic, Romance and Celtic, Baltic, Slavic, Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages.

NOTE. The Centum and Satem isogloss is one of the oldest known phonological differences of IE languages, and is still used by many to classify them in two groups, thus disregarding their relevant morphological and syntactical differences. It is based on a simple vocabulary comparison; as, from PIE kற̣tóm (possibly earlier *dkṃtóm, from dékṃ, ten), Satem: O.Ind. śatám, Av. satam, Lith. šimtas, O.C.S. sto, or Centum: Gk. غ̇katóv, Lat. centum, Goth. hund, O.Ir. cet, etc.
1.2.3. The Wellentheorie or Waves Theory, of J. Schmidt, states that one language is created from another by the spread of innovations, the way water waves spread when a stone hits the water surface. The lines that define the extension of the innovations are called isoglosses. The convergence of different isoglosses over a common territory signals the existence of a new language or dialect. Where isoglosses from different languages coincide, transition zones are formed.

NOTE. Such old theories are based on the hypothesis that there was one common and static Proto-IndoEuropean language, and that all features of modern Indo-European languages can be explained in such unitary scheme, by classifying them either as innovations or as archaisms of that old, rigid proto-language. The language system we propose for the revived Modern Indo-European is based mainly on that traditionally reconstructed Proto-Indo-European, not because we uphold the traditional views, but because we still look for the immediate common ancestor of modern Indo-European languages, and it is that old, unitary Indo-European that scholars had been looking for during the first decades of IE studies.


Figure 4. Indo-European dialects' expansion by 500 A.D., after the fall of the Roman Empire.

### 1.3. THE THEORY OF THE THREE STAGES

1.3.1. Even some of the first Indo-Europeanists had noted in their works the possibility of older origins for the reconstructed (Late) Proto-Indo-European, although they didn't dare to describe those possible older stages of the language.


Figure 5. Sample Map of the expansion of Indo-European dialects 4.000-1.0oo B.C., according to the Kurgan and Three-Stage hypothesis. Between the Black See and the Caspian See, the original Yamna culture. In colored areas, expansion of PIE speakers and Proto-Anatolian. After 2.ooo BC, black lines indicate the spread of northern IE dialects, while the white ones show the southern or Graeco-Aryan expansion.
1.3.2. Today, a widespread Three-Stage Theory depicts the Proto-Indo-European language evolution into three main historic layers or stages:

1) Indo-European I or IE I, also called Early PIE, is the hypothetical ancestor of IE II, and probably the oldest stage of the language that comparative linguistics could help reconstruct. There is, however, no common position as to how it was like or where it was spoken.
2) The second stage corresponds to a time before the separation of Proto-Anatolian from the common linguistic community where it coexisted with Pre-IE III. That stage of the language is called Indo-European II or IE II, or Middle PIE, for some Indo-Hittite. This is identified with the early Kurgan cultures in the Kurgan Hypothesis' framework. It is assumed by all Indo-European scholars that Anatolian is the earliest dialect to have separated from PIE, due to its peculiar archaisms, and shows therefore a situation different from that looked for in this Gramar.


Figure 6. Early Kurgan cultures in ca. 4.0oo B.C., showing hypothetical territory where IE II proto-dialects (i.e. pre-IE III and pre-Proto-Anatolian) could have developed.
3) The common immediate ancestor of the early IE proto-languages -more or less the same static PIE searched for since the start of Indo-European studies - is usually called Late PIE, also IndoEuropean III or IE III, or simply Proto-Indo-European. Its prehistoric community of speakers is generally identified with the Yamna or Pit Grave culture (cf. Ukr. яма, "pit"), in the Pontic Steppe. Proto-Anatolian speakers are arguably identified with the Maykop cultural community.

NOTE. The development of this theory of three linguistic stages can be traced back to the very origins of Indo-European studies, firstly as a diffused idea of a non-static language, and later widely accepted as a dynamic dialectal evolution, already in the $20^{\text {th }}$ century, after the discovery of the Anatolian scripts.
1.3.3. Another division has to be made, so that the dialectal evolution is properly understood. Late PIE had at least two main dialects, the Northern (or IE IIIb) and the Southern (or IE IIIa) one. Terms like Northwestern or European can be found in academic writings referring to the Northern Dialect, but we will use them here to name only the northern dialects of Europe, thus generally excluding Tocharian.

Also, Graeco-Aryan is used to refer to the Southern Dialect of PIE. Indo-Iranian is used in this grammar to describe the southern dialectal grouping formed by Indo-Aryan, Iranian and Nuristani dialects, and not - as it is in other texts - to name the southern dialects of Asia as a whole. Thus, unclassified IE dialects like Cimmerian, Scythian or Sarmatian (usually deemed just Iranian dialects) are in this grammar simply some of many southern dialects spoken in Asia in Ancient times.


Figure 7. Yamna culture ca. зооо B.C., probably the time when still a single Proto-Indo-European language was spoken. In two different colors, hypothetical locations of later Northern and Southern Dialects. Other hypothetical groupings are depicted according to their later linguistic and geographical development, i.e. $\boldsymbol{g}:$ Germanic, i-c:Italo-Celtic, b-s:Balto-Slavic, t:Tocharian, g$\boldsymbol{a}: G r a e c o-A r m e n i a n, ~ i-i: I n d o-I r a n i a n, ~ a m o n g ~ o t h e r ~ d e a t h ~ a n d ~ u n a t t e s t e d ~ d i a l e c t s ~ w h i c h ~ c o e x i s t e d ~$ necessarily with them.
1.3.4. As far as we know, while speakers of southern dialects (like Proto-Greek, Proto-Indo-Iranian and probably Proto-Armenian) spread in different directions, some speakers of northern dialects remained still in loose contact in Europe, while others (like Proto-Tocharians) spread in Asia. Those northern Indo-European dialects of Europe were early Germanic, Celtic, Italic, and probably BaltoSlavic (usually considered transitional with IE IIIa) proto-dialects, as well as other not so well-known dialects like Proto-Lusitanian, Proto-Sicel, Proto-Thracian (maybe Proto-Daco-Thracian, for some within a wider Proto-Graeco-Thracian group), pre-Proto-Albanian (maybe Proto-Illyrian), etc.

NOTE. Languages like Venetic, Liburnian, Phrygian, Thracian, Macedonian, Illyrian, Messapic, Lusitanian, etc. are usually called 'fragmentary languages' (sometimes also 'ruinous languages'), as they are languages we have only fragments from.


Figure 8. Spread of Late Proto-Indo-European ca. 2000 B.C. At that time, only the European northern dialects remained in contact, allowing the spread of linguistic developments, while the others evolved more or less independently. Anatolian dialects as Hittite and Luwian attested since 1900 B.C., and Proto-Greek Mycenaean dialect attested in $16^{\text {th }}$ century B.C.

Other Indo-European dialects attested in Europe which remain unclassified are Paleo-Balkan languages like Thracian, Dacian, Illyrian (some group them into Graeco-Thracian, Daco-Thracian or Thraco-Illyrian), Paionian, Venetic, Messapian, Liburnian, Phrygian and maybe also Ancient Macedonian and Ligurian.

The European dialects have some common features, as a general reduction of the 8 -case paradigm into a five- or six-case noun inflection system, the -r endings of the middle voice, as well as the lack of satemization. The southern dialects, in turn, show a generalized Augment in é-, a general Aorist formation and an 8-case system (also apparently in Proto-Greek).

NOTE. Balto-Slavic (and, to some extent, Italic) dialects, either because of their original situation within the PIE dialectal territories, or because they remained in contact with Southern Indo-European dialects after the first PIE split (e.g. through the Scythian or Iranian expansions) present features usually identified with Indo-Iranian, as an 8 -case noun declension and phonetic satemization, and at the same time morphological features common to Germanic and Celtic dialects, as the verbal system.


Figure 9. Eurasia ca. 500 B.C. The spread of Scythians allow renewed linguistic contact between Indo-Iranian and Slavic languages, whilst Armenian- and Greek-speaking communities are again in close contact with southern IE dialects, due to the Persian expansion. Italo-Celtic speakers spread and drive other northern dialects (as Lusitanian or Sicul) further south. Later Anatolian dialects, as Lycian, Lydian and Carian, are still spoken.

NOTE. The term Indo-European itself now current in English literature, was coined in 1813 by the British scholar Sir Thomas Young, although at that time, there was no consensus as to the naming of the recently discovered language family. Among the names suggested were indo-germanique (C. Malte-Brun, 1810), Indoeuropean (Th. Young, 1813), japetisk (Rasmus C. Rask, 1815), indisch-teutsch (F. Schmitthenner, 1826), sanskritisch (Wilhelm von Humboldt, 1827), indokeltisch (A. F. Pott, 1840), arioeuropeo (G. I. Ascoli, 1854), Aryan (F. M. Müller, 1861), aryaque (H. Chavée, 1867).

In English, Indo-German was used by J. C. Prichard in 1826 although he preferred Indo-European. In French, use of indo-européen was established by A. Pictet (1836). In German literature, Indo-Europäisch was used by Franz Bopp since 1835, while the term Indo-Germanisch had already been introduced by Julius von Klapproth in 1823, intending to include the northernmost and the southernmost of the family's branches, as it were as an abbreviation of the full listing of involved languages that had been common in earlier literature, opening the doors to ensuing fruitless discussions whether it should not be Indo-Celtic, or even Tocharo-Celtic.

### 1.4. THE PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN URHEIMAT OR 'HOMELAND'

1.4.1. The search for the Urheimat or 'Homeland' of the prehistoric community who spoke Early Proto-Indo-European has developed as an archaeological quest along with the linguistic research looking for the reconstruction of that proto-language.
1.4.2. The Kurgan hypothesis was introduced by Marija Gimbutas in 1956 in order to combine archaeology with linguistics in locating the origins of the Proto-Indo-Europeans. She named the set of cultures in question "Kurgan" after their distinctive burial mounds and traced their diffusion into Europe. According to her hypothesis (1970:
"Proto-Indoeuropean culture: the Kurgan culture during the $5^{\text {th }}$ to the $3^{\text {rd }}$ Millennium


Figure 10. Photo of a Kurgan from the Archaeology Magazine.
B.C.", Indo-European and Indo-Europeans, Philadelphia, 155-198), PIE speakers were probably located in the Pontic Steppe. This location combines the expansion of the Northern and Southern dialects, whilst agreeing at the same time with the four successive stages of the Kurgan cultures.
1.4.3. Gimbutas' original suggestion identifies four successive stages of the Kurgan culture and three successive "waves" of expansion.

1. Kurgan I, Dnieper/Volga region, earlier half of the $4^{\text {th }}$ millennium BC. Apparently evolving from cultures of the Volga basin, subgroups include the Samara and Seroglazovo cultures.
2. Kurgan II-III, latter half of the $4^{\text {th }}$ millennium BC. Includes the Sredny Stog culture and the Maykop culture of the northern Caucasus. Stone circles, early two-wheeled chariots, anthropomorphic stone stelae of deities.
3. Kurgan IV or Pit Grave culture, first half of the $3^{\text {rd }}$ millennium BC, encompassing the entire steppe region from the Ural to Romania.
$>$ Wave 1, predating Kurgan I, expansion from the lower Volga to the Dnieper, leading to coexistence of Kurgan I and the Cucuteni culture. Repercussions of the migrations extend as far as the Balkans and along the Danube to the Vinča and Lengyel cultures in Hungary.
$>$ Wave 2, mid $4^{\text {th }}$ millennium BC, originating in the Maykop culture and resulting in advances of "kurganized" hybrid cultures into northern Europe around 3000 BC - Globular Amphora culture, Baden culture, and ultimately Corded Ware culture. In the belief of Gimbutas, this corresponds to the first intrusion of IE dialects into western and northern Europe.
> Wave 3, 3000-2800 BC, expansion of the Pit Grave culture beyond the steppes, with the appearance of the characteristic pit graves as far as the areas of modern Romania, Bulgaria and eastern Hungary.


Figure 11. Hypothetical Homeland or Urheimat of the first PIE speakers, from 4.500 BC onwards. The Yamnaya or Jamna (Pit Grave) culture lasted from ca. 3.600 till 2.200. In this time the first wagons appeared. People were buried with their legs flexed, a position which remained typical for the Indo-Europeans for a long time. The burials were covered with a mound, a kurgan. During this period, from 3.600 till 3.000 IE II split up into IE III and Anatolian. From ca.30oo B.C on, IE III dialects began to differentiate and spread by 2500 west- and southward (European Dialects, Armenian) and eastward (Indo-Iranian, Tocharian). By 2000 the dialectal breach is complete.
1.4.3. The European or northwestern dialects, i.e. Celtic, Germanic, Italic, Baltic and Slavic, have developed together in the European Subcontinent but, because of the different migrations and settlements, they have undergone independent linguistic changes. Their original common location is usually traced back to some place to the East of the Rhine, to the North of the Alps and the Carpathian Mountains, to the South of Scandinavia and to the East of the Eastern European Lowlands or Russian Plain, not beyond Moscow.

This linguistic theory is usually mixed with archaeological findings:


Figure 15. ca 2.ooo B.C. The Corded Ware complex of cultures traditionally represents for many scholars the arrival of the first speakers of Northern Dialects in central Europe, coming from the Yamna culture. The complex dates from about 3.0oo-2.ooo. The Globular Amphorae culture may be slightly earlier, but the relation between these two cultures is unclear. Denmark and southern Scandinavia are supposed to have been the Germanic homeland, while present-day West Germany would have been the Celtic (and possibly Italic) homeland; the east zone, then, corresponds to the Balto-Slavic homeland. Their proto-languages certainly developed closely (if they weren't the same) until 2.ooo B.C.

## Kurgan Hypothesis \& Proto-Indo-European reconstruction

| ARCHAEOLOGY (Kurgan Hypothesis) |
| :--- | :--- |
| ca. 450O-4OOO. Sredny Stog, Dnieper-Donets and <br> Sarama cultures, domestication of the horse. |
| ca. 400o-350o. The Yamna culture, the kurgan |
| builders, emerges in the steppe, and the Maykop |
| culture in northern Caucasus. |
| ca. 350o-30oo. The Yamna culture is at its peak, |
| with stone idols, two-wheeled proto-chariots, animal |
| husbandry, permanent settlements and hillforts, |
| subsisting on agriculture and fishing, along rivers. |
| Contact of the Yamna culture with late Neolithic |
| Europe cultures results in kurganized Globular |
| Amphora and Baden cultures. The Maykop culture |
| shows the earliest evidence of the beginning Bronze |
| Age, and bronze weapons and artifacts are |
| introduced. |

3000-2500. The Yamna culture extends over the entire Pontic steppe. The Corded Ware culture extends from the Rhine to the Volga, corresponding to the latest phase of Indo-European unity. Different cultures disintegrate, still in loose contact, enabling the spread of technology.

2500-2000. The Bronze Age reaches Central Europe with the Beaker culture of Northern IndoEuropeans. Indo-Iranians settle north of the Caspian in the Sintashta-Petrovka and later the Andronovo culture.

2000-1500. The chariot is invented, leading to the split and rapid spread of Iranians and other peoples from the Andronovo culture and the BactriaMargiana Complex over much of Central Asia, Northern India, Iran and Eastern Anatolia. Greek Darg Ages and flourishing of the Hittite Empire. PreCeltics Unetice culture has an active metal industry.

1500-1000. The Nordic Bronze Age sees the rise of the Germanic Urnfield and the Celtic Hallstatt cultures in Central Europe, introducing the Iron Age. Italic peoples move to the Italian Peninsula. Rigveda is composed. The Hittite Kingdoms and the Mycenaean civilization decline.

1000-500. Northern Europe enters the Pre-Roman Iron Age. Early Indo-European Kingdoms and Empires in Eurasia. In Europe, Classical Antiquity begins with the flourishing of the Greek peoples. Foundation of Rome.

## LINGUISTICS (Three-Stage Theory)

Early PIE is spoken, probably somewhere in the Pontic-Caspian Steppe.

Middle PIE or IE II split up in two different communities, the Proto-Anatolian and the Pre-IE III.

Late Proto-Indo-European or IE III and Proto-Anatolian evolve in different communities. Anatolian is isolated south of the Caucasus, and have no more contacts with the linguistic innovations of IE III.

IE III disintegrates into various dialects corresponding to different cultures, at least a Southern and a Northern one. They remain still in contact, enabling the spread of phonetic (like the Satem isogloss) and morphological innovations, as well as early loan words.

The breakup of the southern IE dialects is complete. Proto-Greek spoken in the Balkans and a distinct Proto-Indo-Iranian dialect. Some northern dialects develop in Northern Europe, still in loose contact.

Indo-Iranian splits up in two main dialects, IndoAryan and Iranian. European proto-dialects like Germanic, Celtic, Italic, Baltic and Slavic differentiate from each other. A Proto-Greek dialect, Mycenaean, is already written in Linear B script. Anatolian languages like Hittite and Luwian are also written.

Germanic, Celtic, Italic, Baltic and Slavic are already different proto-languages, developing in turn different dialects. Iranian and other related southern dialects expand through military conquest, and Indo-Aryan spreads in the form of its sacred language, Sanskrit.

Celtic dialects spread over Europe. Osco-Umbrian and Latin-Faliscan attested in the Italian Peninsula. Greek and Old Italic alphabets appear. Late Anatolian dialects. Cimmerian, Scythian and Sarmatian in Asia, Paleo-Balkan languages in the Balkans.

### 1.5. OTHER LINGUISTIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL THEORIES

1.5.1. A common development of new theories about Indo-European has been to revise the ThreeStage assumption. It is actually not something new, but only the come back to more traditional views, by reinterpreting the new findings of the Hittite scripts, trying to insert the Anatolian features into the old, static PIE concept.
1.5.2. The most known new alternative theory concerning PIE is the Glottalic theory. It assumes that Proto-Indo-European was pronounced more or less like Armenian, i.e. instead of PIE $\boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{b}, \boldsymbol{b} \boldsymbol{h}$, the pronunciation would have been ${ }^{*} p{ }^{\prime}$, ${ }^{*} p,{ }^{*} b$, and the same with the other two voiceless-voiced-voiced aspirated series of consonants. The Indo-European Urheimat would have been then located in the surroundings of Anatolia, especially near Lake Urmia, in northern Iran, near present-day Armenia and Azerbaijan, hence the archaism of Anatolian dialects and the glottalics still found in Armenian.

NOTE. Such linguistic findings are supported by Th. Gamkredlize-V. Ivanov (1990: "The early history of IndoEuropean languages", Scientiphic American, where early Indo-European vocabulary deemed "of southern regions" is examined, and similarities with Semitic and Kartvelian languages are also brought to light. Also, the mainly archaeological findings of Colin Renfrew (1989: The puzzle of Indoeuropean origins, Cambridge-New York), supported by the archaism of Anatolian dialects, may indicate a possible origin of Early PIE speakers in Anatolia, which, after Renfrew's model, would have then migrated into southern Europe.
1.5.3. Other alternative theories concerning Proto-Indo-European are as follows:
I. The European Homeland thesis maintains that the common origin of the Indo-European languages lies in Europe. These thesis have usually a nationalistic flavour, more or less driven by Archeological or Linguistic theories.

NOTE. It has been traditionally located in 1) Lithuania and the surrounding areas, by R.G. Latham (1851) and Th. Poesche (1878: Die Arier. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Anthropologie, Jena); 2) Scandinavia, by K.Penka (1883: Origines ariacae, Viena); 3) Central Europe, by G. Kossinna (1902: "Die Indogermanische Frage archäologisch beantwortet", Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 34, pp. 161-222), P.Giles (1922: The Aryans, New York), and by linguist/archaeologist G. Childe (1926: The Aryans. A Study of Indo-European Origins, London).
a. The Old European or Alteuropäisch Theory compares some old European vocabulary (especially river names), which would be older than the spread of Late PIE through Europe. It points out the possibility of an older, pre-IE III spread of IE, either of IE II or I or maybe their ancestor.
b. This is, in turn, related with the theories of a Neolithic revolution causing the peacefully spreading of an older Indo-European language into Europe from Asia Minor from around 7000 BC, with the advance of farming. Accordingly, more or less all of Neolithic Europe would have been IndoEuropean speaking, and the Northern IE III Dialects would have replaced older IE dialects, from IE II or Early Proto-Indo-European.
c. There is also a Paleolithic Continuity Theory, which derives Proto-Indo-European from the European Paleolithic cultures, with some research papers available online at the researchers' website, http://www.continuitas.com/ .

NOTE. Such Paleolithic Continuity could in turn be connected with Frederik Kortlandt's Indo-Uralic and Altaic studies (http://kortlandt.nl/publications/) - although they could also be inserted in Gimbutas' early framework.
II. Another hypothesis, contrary to the European ones, also mainly driven today by a nationalistic view, traces back the origin of PIE to Vedic Sanskrit, postulating that it is very pure, and that the origin can thus be traced back to the Indus valley civilization of ca. 3000 BC .

NOTE. Such Pan-Sanskritism was common among early Indo-Europeanists, as Schlegel, Young, A. Pictet (1877: Les origines indoeuropéens, Paris) or Schmidt (who preferred Babylonia), but are now mainly supported by those who consider Sanskrit almost equal to Late Proto-Indo-European. For more on this, see S. Misra (1992: The Aryan Problem: A Linguistic Approach, Delhi), Elst's Update on the Aryan Invasion Debate (1999), followed up by S.G. Talageri's The Rigveda: A Historical Analysis (2000), both part of "Indigenous Indo-Aryan" viewpoint by N. Kazanas, the so-called "Out of India" theory, with a framework dating back to the times of the Indus Valley Civilization, deeming PIE simply a hypothesis (http://www.omilosmeleton.gr/english/documents/SPIE.pdf).
III. Finally, the Black Sea deluge theory dates the origins of the IE dialects expansion in the genesis of the Sea of Azov, ca. 5600 BC, which in turn would be related to the Bible Noah's flood, as it would have remained in oral tales until its writing down in the Hebrew Tanakh. This date is generally considered as rather early for the PIE spread.

NOTE. W.Ryan and W.Pitman published evidence that a massive flood through the Bosporus occurred about 5600 BC , when the rising Mediterranean spilled over a rocky sill at the Bosporus. The event flooded $155,000 \mathrm{~km}^{2}$ of land and significantly expanded the Black Sea shoreline to the north and west. This has been connected with the fact that some Early Modern scholars based on Genesis 10:5 have assumed that the 'Japhetite' languages (instead of the 'Semitic' ones) are rather the direct descendants of the Adamic language, having separated before the confusion of tongues, by which also Hebrew was affected. That was claimed by Blessed Anne Catherine Emmerich ( $18^{\text {th }} \mathrm{c}$.), who stated in her private revelations that most direct descendants of the Adamic language were Bactrian, Zend and Indian languages, related to her Low German dialect. It is claimed that Emmerich identified this way Adamic language as Early PIE.

### 1.6. RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER LANGUAGES

1.6.1. Many higher-level relationships between PIE and other language families have been proposed. But these speculative connections are highly controversial. Perhaps the most widely accepted proposal is of an Indo-Uralic family, encompassing PIE and Proto-Uralic. The evidence usually cited in favor of this is the proximity of the proposed Urheimaten of the two proto-languages, the typological similarity between the two languages, and a number of apparent shared morphemes.

NOTE. Other proposals, further back in time (and correspondingly less accepted), model PIE as a branch of Indo-Uralic with a Caucasian substratum; link PIE and Uralic with Altaic and certain other families in Asia, such as Korean, Japanese, Chukotko-Kamchatkan and Eskimo-Aleut (representative proposals are Nostratic and Joseph Greenberg's Eurasiatic); or link some or all of these to Afro-Asiatic, Dravidian, etc., and ultimately to a single Proto-World family (nowadays mostly associated with Merritt Ruhlen). Various proposals, with varying levels of skepticism, also exist that join some subset of the putative Eurasiatic language families and/or some of the Caucasian language families, such as Uralo-Siberian, Ural-Altaic (once widely accepted but now largely discredited), Proto-Pontic, and so on.
1.6.2. Indo-Uralic is a hypothetical language family consisting of Indo-European and Uralic (i.e. Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic). Most linguists still consider this theory speculative and its evidence insufficient to conclusively prove genetic affiliation.
1.6.3. Dutch linguist Frederik Kortlandt supports a model of Indo-Uralic in which the original IndoUralic speakers lived north of the Caspian Sea, and the Proto-Indo-European speakers began as a group that branched off westward from there to come into geographic proximity with the Northwest Caucasian languages, absorbing a Northwest Caucasian lexical blending before moving farther westward to a region north of the Black Sea where their language settled into canonical Proto-IndoEuropean.
1.6.4. The most common arguments in favour of a relationship between Indo-European and Uralic are based on seemingly common elements of morphology, such as the pronominal roots ( ${ }^{*} m$ - for first person; * $t$ - for second person; *i- for third person), case markings (accusative ${ }^{*}-m$; ablative/partitive *$t a$ ), interrogative/relative pronouns ( ${ }^{*} k^{w}$ - 'who?, which?'; ${ }^{* j-}$ 'who, which' to signal relative clauses) and a common SOV word order. Other, less obvious correspondences are suggested, such as the IndoEuropean plural marker *-es (or *-s in the accusative plural *-m-s) and its Uralic counterpart *-t. This same word-final assibilation of *- $t$ to *-s may also be present in Indo-European second-person singular *-s in comparison with Uralic second-person singular *-t. Compare, within Indo-European itself, *-s second-person singular injunctive, *-si second-person singular present indicative, *-tHa second-person singular perfect, *-te second-person plural present indicative, *tu 'you' (singular) nominative, *tei 'to you' (singular) enclitic pronoun. These forms suggest that the underlying second-person marker in Indo-European may be * $t$ and that the $* u$ found in forms such as *tu was originally an affixal particle.

A second type of evidence advanced in favor of an Indo-Uralic family is lexical. Numerous words in Indo-European and Uralic resemble each other. The problem is to weed out words due to borrowing. Uralic languages have been in contact with a succession of Indo-European languages for millenia. As a result, many words have been borrowed between them, most often from Indo-European languages into Uralic ones.

Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Uralic side by side

| Meaning | Proto-Indo-European | Proto-Uralic |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I, me | * $\boldsymbol{m e}$ 'me' [acc], <br> *mene 'my' [gen] | ${ }^{*} m V n V{ }^{\prime} I^{\prime}$ |
| you (sg) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *tu [nom], } \\ & \text { *twe [obj], } \\ & \text { *tewe 'your' [gen] } \end{aligned}$ | *tun |
| [demonstrative] | *so 'this, he/she' [animate nom] | *ša [3ps] |
| who? [animate interrogative pronoun] | ${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{k}^{\boldsymbol{w} \boldsymbol{i}-}$ 'who?, what?' <br> ${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{k}^{w} \boldsymbol{w}$ - 'who?, what?' | *ken 'who?' <br> *ku- 'who?' |
| [relative pronoun] | *jo- | *-ja [nomen agentis] |
| [definite accusative] | *-m | *- $m$ |
| [ablative/partitive] | ${ }^{*}$-od | *-ta |
| [dual] | ${ }^{*}-h_{1}$ | *-k |
| [Nom./Acc. plural] | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *-es [nom.pl], } \\ & { }^{*}-\boldsymbol{m}-\boldsymbol{s} \text { [acc.pl] } \end{aligned}$ | *-k |
| [Obl. plural] | *-i [pronominal plural] <br> (as in *we-i- 'we', *to-i- 'those') | *-i |
| [1ps] | *-m [1ps active] | *- $m$ |
| [2ps] | *-s [2ps active] | *-t |
| [stative] | ${ }^{*}$-s- [aorist], <br> *-es- [stative substantive], <br> *-t [stative substantive] | *-ta |
| [negative] | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *nei } \\ & { }^{*} \boldsymbol{n e} \end{aligned}$ | *ei- [negative verb] |
| to give | ${ }^{*}$ deh $_{3}{ }^{-}$ | * ${ }^{\text {orini- }}$ |
| to moisten, water | *wed- 'to wet', <br> * $\boldsymbol{w}$ ódr. 'water' | *weti 'water' |
| to assign, name | nem- 'to assign, to allot', * $\boldsymbol{h}_{1}$ nomn 'name' | *nimi 'name' |

### 1.7. INDO-EUROPEAN DIALECTS OF EUROPE



Figure 16. European languages. The black line divides the zones traditionally (or politically) considered inside the European subcontinent. Northern dialects are all but Greek and Kurdish (Iranian); Armenian is usually considered a Graeco-Aryan dialect, while Albanian is usually classified as a Northern one. Numbered inside the map, non-Indo-European languages: 1) Uralic languages; 2) Turkic languages; 3) Basque; 4) Maltese; 5) Caucasian languages.

## SCHLEICHER'S FABLE: FROM PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN TO MODERN ENGLISH

«The Sheep and the Horses. A sheep that had no wool saw horses, one pulling a heavy wagon, one carrying a big load, and one carrying a man quickly. The sheep said to the horses: "My heart pains me, seeing a man driving horses". The horses said: "Listen, sheep, our hearts pain us when we see this: a man, the master, makes the wool of the sheep into a warm garment for himself. And the sheep has no wool". Having heard this, the sheep fled into the plain.»
 $\mathrm{g}^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{rh}_{3}$ um wóghom wéghontm, $\mathrm{h}_{1}$ óinom-kwe mégeh ${ }_{2} \mathrm{~m}$ bhórom, $\mathrm{h}_{1}$ óinom-kwe dh $\mathrm{Hgh}^{\text {mónm }} \mathrm{h}_{1} \mathrm{oh}_{1} \mathrm{ku}$ bhérontm. $\mathrm{H}_{3}$ owis nu $h_{1}$ éku_obhinos ueukwét: kerd $h_{2}$ éghnutoi $h_{1}$ moí $h_{1}$ ékũoms $h_{2}$ égontm wiHrom wídñtei. $H_{1}$ ékưo(s)es tu ueukwónt:



IE IIIb, ca. 2.00o BC (as MIE, with Latin script): Ówis ékwōs-qe. Ówis, qésio wỊnā ne est, ékwoms spekét, óinom (ghe) crum wóghom wéghontm, óinom-qe mégām bhórom, óinom-qe dhghmónm óku bhérontm. Ówis nu ékwobh(i)os wewqét: krd ághnutoi moí, ékwoms ágontm wírom wídntei. Ékwōs tu wewqónt: Klúdhi, ówi! krd ághnutoi nsméi wídntbh(i)os: anér, pótis, ówjom-r wínām sébhi chermóm wéstrom qrnéuti. Ówjom-qe wỊnā ne ésti. Tod kékluwos ówis ágrom bhugét.

IE IIIa, ca. 1.500 BC (Proto-Indo-Iranian dialect): Avis ak'vasas-ka. Avis, jasmin varnā na āst, dadark'a ak'vans, tam, garum vāgham vaghantam, tam, magham bhāram, tam manum āku bharantam. Avis ak'vabhjas avavakat; k'ard aghnutai mai vidanti manum ak'vans ag'antam. Ak'vāsas avavakant: k'rudhi avai, kard aghnutai vividvant-svas: manus patis varnām avisāns karnauti svabhjam gharmam vastram avibhjas-ka varnā na asti. Tat k'uk'ruvants avis ag'ram abhugat.

| Proto-Italic, ca. 1.ooo BC | Proto-Germanic, ca. 50o BC | Proto-Balto-Slavic, ca. 1 AD |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Ouis ekuoi-kue | Awiz ehwaz-uh | Avis asvas(-ke) |
| ouis, kuesio ulana ne est, | awiz, hwesja wulno ne ist, | avis, kesjo vŭlna ne est, |
| speket ekuos, | spehet ehwanz, | spek'et asvãs, |
| oinum brum uogum ueguntum, | ainan krun wagan wegantun, | inam gŭrõ vezam vezantŭ, |
| oinum-kue megam forum, | ainan-uh mekon boran, | inam(-ke) még'am bóram, |
| oinum-kue humonum oku ferontum. | ainan-uh gumonun ahu berontun. | inam(-ke) zemenam jasu berantŭ. |
| Ouis nu ekuobus uokuet: | Awiz nu ehwamaz weuhet: | Avis nu asvamas vjauket: |
| kord áhnutor mihi uiduntei, | hert agnutai meke witantei, | sěrd aznutĕ me v̌̌dẽti, |
| ekuos aguntum uirum. | ehwans akantun weran. | asvãs azantŭ viram. |
| Ekuos uokuont: Kludi, oui! | Ehwaz weuhant: hludi, awi! | Asvas vjaukant: sludi, awi! |
| kord ahnutor nos uiduntbos: | kert aknutai uns wituntmaz: | sěrd aznutĕ nas vědŭntmas: |
| ner, potis, ulanam ouium | mannaz, fothiz, wulnon awjan | mãg, pat', vŭlnam avjam |
| kurneuti sibi fermum uestrum. | hwurneuti sebi warman wistran. | karnjauti sebi g'armam vastram. |
| Ouium-kue ulana ne esti. | Awjan-uh wulno ne isti. | Avjam(-ke) vŭlna ne esti. |
| Tod kekluuos ouis agrum fugit | That hehluwaz awiz akran buketh. | Tod sesluvas avis ak'ram buget. |

### 1.7.1. NORTHERN INDO-EUROPEAN DIALECTS

## A. GERMANIC

1.2.1. The Germanic languages form one of the branches of the Indo-European language family. The largest Germanic languages are English and German, with ca. 340 and some 120 million native speakers, respectively. Other significant languages include a number Low Germanic dialects (like Dutch) and the Scandinavian languages, Danish, Norwegian and Swedish.

Their common ancestor is Proto-Germanic, probably still spoken in the mid-1 ${ }^{\text {st }}$ millennium B.C. in Iron Age Northern Europe, since its separation from the Proto-Indo-European language around 2.000 BC . Germanic, and all its descendants, is characterized by a number of unique linguistic features, most famously the consonant change known as Grimm's Law. Early Germanic dialects enter history with the Germanic peoples who settled in northern Europe along the borders of the Roman Empire from the $2^{\text {nd }}$ century.


Figure 17. Expansion of Germanic tribes 1.200 B.C. - 1 A.D.

NOTE. Grimm's law (also known as the First Germanic Sound Shift) is a set of statements describing the inherited Proto-Indo-European stops as they developed in Proto-Germanic some time in the $1^{\text {st }}$ millennium BC. It establishes a set of regular correspondences between early Germanic stops and fricatives and the stop consonants of certain other Indo-European languages (Grimm used mostly Latin and Greek for illustration). As it is presently formulated, Grimm's Law consists of three parts, which must be thought of as three consecutive phases in the sense of a chain shift:
a. Proto-Indo-European voiceless stops change into voiceless fricatives.
b. Proto-Indo-European voiced stops become voiceless.
c. Proto-Indo-European voiced aspirated stops lose their aspiration and change into plain voiced stops.

The 'sound law' was discovered by Friedrich von Schlegel in 1806 and Rasmus Christian Rask in 1818, and later elaborated (i.e. extended to include standard German) in 1822 by Jacob Grimm in his book Deutsche Grammatik.

The earliest evidence of the Germanic branch is recorded from names in the $1^{\text {st }}$ century by Tacitus, and in a single instance in the $2^{\text {nd }}$ century BC, on the Negau helmet. From roughly the $2^{\text {nd }}$ century AD, some speakers of early Germanic dialects developed the Elder Futhark. Early runic inscriptions are also largely limited to personal names, and difficult to interpret. The Gothic language was written in the


Figure 18. Spread of Germanic languages

Gothic alphabet developed by Bishop Ulfilas for his translation of the Bible in the $4^{\text {th }}$ century. Later, Christian priests and monks who spoke and read Latin in addition to their native Germanic tongue began writing the Germanic languages with slightly modified Latin letters, but in Scandinavia, runic alphabets remained in common use throughout the Viking Age. In addition to the standard Latin alphabet, various Germanic languages use a variety of accent marks and extra letters, including umlaut, the B (Eszett), IJ, $\notin, ~ \AA, Ð$, and P , from runes. Historic printed German is frequently set in blackletter typefaces.

Effects of the Grimm's Law in examples:

| IE-Gme | Germanic (shifted) examples | Non-Germanic (unshifted) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{p} \rightarrow f$ | Eng. foot, Du. voet, Ger. Fuß, Goth. fōtus, Ice. fótur, Da. fod, Nor.,Swe. fot | O.Gk. лov́s (pūs), Lat. pēs, pedis, Skr. pāda, Russ. pod, Lith. péda |
| $t \rightarrow p$ | Eng. third, O.H.G. thritto, Goth. pridja, Ice. briðji | O.Gk. $\tau \rho i \tau 0 \varsigma$ (tritos), Lat. tertius, Gae. treas, Skr. treta, Russ. tretij, Lith. trys |
| $\mathbf{k} \rightarrow h$ | Eng. hound, Du. hond, Ger. Hund, Goth. hunds, Ice. hundur, Sca. hund | O.Gk. кúตv (kýōn), Lat. canis, Gae. cú, Skr. svan-, Russ. sobaka |
| $\mathbf{k}^{\mathbf{w} \rightarrow h w}$ | Eng. what, Du. wat, Ger. was, Goth. ha, Da. hvad, Ice. hvað | Lat. quod, Gae. ciod, Skr. ka-, kim, Russ. ko- |
| $\mathbf{b} \rightarrow p$ | Eng. peg | Lat. baculum |
| $\mathbf{d} \rightarrow t$ | Eng. ten, Du. tien, Goth. taíhun, Ice. tíu, Da., Nor.: ti, Swe. tio | Lat. decem, Gk. סغ́ka (déka), Gae. deich, Skr. daśan, Russ. des'at' |
| $\mathrm{g} \rightarrow k$ | Eng. cold, Du. koud, Ger. kalt | Lat. gelū |
| $\mathbf{g}^{\mathbf{w}} \rightarrow k w$ | Eng. quick, Du. kwiek, Ger. keck, Goth. qius, O.N. kvikr, Swe. kvick | Lat. vivus, Gk. $\beta$ ios (bios), Gae. beò, Lith. gyvas |
| $\mathbf{b}^{\mathbf{h} \rightarrow b}$ | Eng. brother, Du. broeder, Ger. Bruder, Goth. brobar, Sca.broder | Lat. frāter, O.Gk. $\varphi \rho \alpha \not \eta \dot{\rho} \rho(p h r a ̄ t e \bar{r})$, Skr. bhrātā, Lith. brolis, O.C.S. bratru |
| $\mathbf{d}^{\mathbf{h} \rightarrow d}$ | Eng. door, Fris. doar, Du. deur, Goth. daúr, Ice. dyr, Da.,Nor. dør, Swe. dörr | O.Gk. $\theta \dot{v} \rho \alpha$ (thýra), Skr. dwār, Russ. dver', Lith. durys |


| $\mathbf{g}^{\mathbf{h} \rightarrow g}$ | Eng. goose, Fris. goes, Du. gans, Ger. Gans, <br> Ice. gæs, Nor.,Swe. gås | Lat. anser < *hanser, O.Gk. $\chi \dot{\eta} v$ <br> hansa, Russ. (khēn), Skr. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathbf{g}^{\mathbf{w h} \rightarrow g w}$ | Eng. wife, O.E. wif, Du. wijf, O.H.G. wib, <br> O.N.vif, Fae.: vív, Sca. viv | Tocharian B: kwípe, Tocharian A: kip |

A known exception is that the voiceless stops did not become fricatives if they were preceded by IE $\boldsymbol{s}$.

| $\boldsymbol{P I E}$ | Germanic examples | Non-Germanic examples |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathbf{s p}$ | Eng. spew, Goth. speiwan, Du. spuien, Ger. speien, <br> Swe. spy | Lat. spuere |
| $\mathbf{s t}$ | Eng. stand, Du. staan, Ger. stehen, Ice. standa, <br> Nor.,Swe. stå | Lat. stāre, Skr. sta Russian: stat' |
| sk | Eng. short, O.N. skorta, O.H.G. scurz, Du. kort | Skr. krdhuh, Lat. curtus, Lith. skurdus |
| skw | Eng. scold, O.N. skäld, Ice. skáld, Du. Schelden | Proto-Indo-European: skwetlo |

Similarly, PIE $\mathbf{t}$ did not become a fricative if it was preceded by $\boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{k}$, or $\boldsymbol{k}^{\mathrm{w}}$. This is sometimes treated separately under the Germanic spirant law:

| Change | Germanic examples | Non-Germanic examples |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| pt $\rightarrow f t$ | Goth. hliftus "thief" | O.Gk. $\kappa \lambda$ ह̇л $\tau \eta \mathrm{C}$ (kleptēs) |
| $\mathbf{k t} \rightarrow h t$ | Eng. eight, Du. acht, Fris. acht, Ger. acht, Goth. ahtáu, Ice. átta | O.Gk. oкt ${ }^{\text {a }}$ (oktō), Lat. octō, Skr. asṭan |
| $\mathbf{k}^{\mathbf{w}} \mathbf{t} \rightarrow h(w) t$ | Eng. night, O.H.G. naht, Du.,Ger. nacht, Goth. nahts, Ice. nótt | Gk. nuks, nukt-, Lat. nox, noct-, Skr. naktam, Russ. noch, Lith. naktis |

The Germanic "sound laws", allow one to define the expected sound correspondences between Germanic and the other branches of the family, as well as for Proto-Indo-European. For example, Germanic (word-initial) $b$ - corresponds regularly to Italic $f$-, Greek $p^{h}$-, Indo-Aryan $b^{h}$-, Balto-Slavic and Celtic $b$-, etc., while Germanic ${ }^{*} f$ corresponds to Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, Slavic and Baltic $p$ - and to zero (no initial consonant) in Celtic. The former set goes back to PIE [b ${ }^{\mathbf{h}}$ ] (reflected in Sanskrit and modified in various ways elsewhere), and the latter set to an


Figure 19 The Negau helmet (found in Negova, Slovenia), ca. 400 $B C$, contains the earliest attested Germanic inscription (read from right to left). It reads harikastiteiva $\backslash \backslash \backslash \mathbf{i p}$, translated as "Harigast the priest", and it was added probably ca. 200 BC. original PIE [p] - shifted in Germanic, lost in Celtic, but preserved in the other groups mentioned here.

## B. ROMANCE

The Romance languages, a major branch of the IndoEuropean language family, comprise all languages that descended from Latin, the language of the Roman Empire. Romance languages have some 800 million native speakers worldwide, mainly in the Americas, Europe, and Africa, as well as in many smaller regions
 scattered through the world. The largest languages are Spanish and Portuguese, with about 400 and 200 million mother tongue speakers respectively, most of them outside Europe. Within Europe, French (with 80 million) and Italian (70 million) are the largest ones. All Romance languages descend from Vulgar Latin, the language of soldiers, settlers, and slaves of the Roman Empire, which was substantially different from the Classical Latin of the Roman literati. Between 200 BC and 100 AD, the expansion of the Empire, coupled with administrative and educational policies of Rome, made Vulgar Latin the dominant native language over a wide area spanning from the Iberian Peninsula to the Western coast of the Black Sea. During the Empire's decadence and after its collapse and fragmentation in the $5^{\text {th }}$ century, Vulgar Latin evolved independently within each local area, and eventually diverged into dozens of distinct languages. The oversea empires established by Spain, Portugal and France after the $15^{\text {th }}$ century then spread Romance to the other continents - to such an extent that about $2 / 3$ of all Romance
 speakers are now outside Europe.

Latin is usually classified, along with Faliscan, as another Italic dialect. The Italic speakers were not native to Italy, but migrated into the Italian Peninsula in the course of the $2^{\text {nd }}$ millennium BC, and were apparently related to the Celtic tribes that roamed over a large part of Western Europe at the time. Archaeologically, the Apennine culture of inhumations enters the Italian Peninsula from ca. 1350 BC , east to west; the Iron Age reaches Italy from ca. 1100

Figure 21. The 'Duenos' (Lat. 'buenus') Inscription in Old Latin, ca. $6^{\text {th }}$ century BC. BC, with the Villanovan culture (cremating), intruding north to
south. Before the Italic arrival, Italy was populated primarily by non-Indo-European groups (perhaps including the Etruscans). The first settlement on the Palatine hill dates to ca. 750 BC , settlements on the Quirinal to 720 BC, both related to the Founding of Rome.

The ancient Venetic language, as revealed by its inscriptions (including complete sentences), was also closely related to the Italic languages and is sometimes even classified as Italic. However, since it also shares similarities with other Western Indo-European branches (particularly Germanic), some linguists prefer to consider it an independent IndoEuropean language.

Italic is usually divided into:

* Sabellic, including:
- Oscan, spoken in southcentral Italy.
- Umbrian group:
- Umbrian
- Volscian
- Aequian
- Marsian, - South Picene
\& Latino-Faliscan, including:
- Faliscan, which was spoken in the area around Falerii Veteres (modern Civita Castellana) north of the city of Rome and possibly Sardinia


Figure 22. Iron Age Italy. In central Italy, Italic languages. In southern and north-western Italy, other Indo-European languages. Venetic, Sicanian and Sicel were possibly also languages of the IE family.

- Latin, which was spoken in west-central Italy. The Roman conquests eventually spread it throughout the Roman Empire and beyond.

Phonetic changes from PIE to Latin: $\mathbf{b}^{\mathbf{h}}>f, \mathbf{d}^{\mathbf{h}}>f, \mathbf{g}^{\mathbf{h}}>h / f, \mathbf{g}^{\mathbf{w}}>v / g, \mathbf{k}^{\mathbf{w}}>k w(q u) / k(c), \mathbf{p}>p / q u$.

Figure 23. The Masiliana tablet abecedarium, ca. 700 BC, read right to left: ABGDEVZH $\Theta$ IKLMN[ $\Xi] O P S$ SRSTUXФ $\Psi$.

The Italic languages are first attested in writing from Umbrian and Faliscan inscriptions dating to the $7^{\text {th }}$ century BC. The alphabets used are based on the Old Italic alphabet, which is itself based on the Greek alphabet. The Italic languages themselves show minor influence from the Etruscan and somewhat more from the Ancient Greek languages.

Oscan had much in common with Latin, though there are also some differences, and many common word-groups in Latin were represented by different forms; as, Latin uolo, uelle, uolui, and other such forms from PIE wel, will, were represented by words derived from gher, desire, cf. Oscan herest, "he wants, desires" as opposed to Latin uult (id.). Latin locus, "place" was absent and represented by slaagid.

In phonology, Oscan also shows a different evolution, as Oscan ' $p$ ' instead of Latin 'qu' (cf. Osc. pis, Lat. quis); 'b' instead of Latin ' $v$ '; medial ' $f$ ' in contrast to Latin ' $b$ ' or ' $d$ ' (cf. Osc. mefiai, Lat. mediae), etc.

Up to 8 cases are found; apart from the 6 cases of Classic Latin (i.e. N-V-A-G-D-Ab), there was a Locative (cf. Lat. proxumae


Figure 24. Forum inscription in Latin, written boustrophedon viciniae, domī, carthagini, Osc. aasai 'in $\bar{a} r \bar{a}$ ' etc.) and an Instrumental (cf. Columna Rostrata Lat. pugnandod, marid, naualid, etc, Osc. cadeis amnud, 'inimicitiae causae', preiuatud 'prīuātō', etc.). About forms different from original Genitives and Datives, compare Genitive (Lapis Satricanus:) popliosio valesiosio (the type in - $\bar{\imath}$ is also very old,


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## C. SLAVIC

The Slavic languages (also called Slavonic languages), a group of closely related languages of the Slavic peoples and a subgroup of the Indo-European language family, have speakers in most of Eastern Europe, in much of the Balkans, in parts of Central Europe, and in the northern part of Asia. The largest languages are Russian and Polish, with 165 and some 47 million speakers, respectively. The oldest Slavic literary language was Old Church Slavonic, which later evolved into Church Slavonic.


Figure 26. Distribution of Slavic languages in Europe now and in the past (in stripes).

There is much debate whether pre-Proto-Slavic branched off directly from Proto-Indo-European, or whether it passed through a Proto-Balto-Slavic stage which split apart before $1000 B C$.


Figure 27. Historical distribution of the Slavic languages. The larger shaded area is the Prague-Penkov-Kolochin complex of cultures of the sixth to seventh centuries, likely corresponding to the spread of Slavic-speaking tribes of the time. The smaller shaded area indicates the core area of Slavic river names.

The original homeland of the speakers of ProtoSlavic remains controversial too. The most ancient recognizably Slavic hydronyms (river names) are to be found in northern and western Ukraine and southern Belarus. It has also been noted that Proto-Slavic seemingly lacked a maritime vocabulary.

The Proto-Slavic language existed approximately to the middle of the first millennium AD . By the $7^{\text {th }}$ century, it had broken apart into large dialectal zones. Linguistic differentiation received impetus from the dispersion of the Slavic peoples over a large territory - which in Central Europe exceeded the current extent of Slavic-speaking territories. Written documents of the $9^{\text {th }}, 10^{\text {th }} \& 11^{\text {th }}$ centuries already show some local linguistic features.

NOTE. For example the Freising monuments show a language which contains some phonetic and lexical elements peculiar to Slovenian dialects (e.g. rhotacism, the word krilatec).

In the second half of the ninth century, the dialect spoken north of Thessaloniki became the basis for the first written Slavic language, created by the brothers Cyril and Methodius who translated portions of the Bible and other church books. The language they recorded is known as Old Church Slavonic. Old Church Slavonic is not identical to Proto-Slavic, having been recorded at least two centuries after the breakup of Proto-Slavic, and it shows features that clearly distinguish it from Proto-Slavic. However, it is still reasonably close, and the mutual intelligibility between Old Church Slavonic and other Slavic dialects of those days was proved by Cyril's and Methodius' mission to Great Moravia and Pannonia. There, their early South Slavic dialect used for the translations was clearly understandable to the local population which spoke an early West Slavic dialect.

As part of the preparation for the mission, the Glagolitic alphabet was created in 862 and the most important prayers and liturgical books, including the Aprakos Evangeliar - a Gospel Book lectionary containing only feast-day and Sunday readings - , the Psalter, and Acts of the Apostles, were translated. The language and the alphabet were taught at the Great Moravian Academy (O.C.S. Vel'komoravské učilište) and were used for government and religious documents and books. In 885, the use of the Old Church Slavonic in Great Moravia was prohibited by the Pope in favour of Latin. Students of the two apostles, who were expelled from Great Moravia in 886, brought the Glagolitic alphabet and the Old

Church Slavonic language to the Bulgarian Empire, where it was taught and Cyrillic alphabet developed in the Preslav Literary School.

Vowel changes from PIE to Proto-Slavic:

```
> i
> i2 < reduced *ai (*ăi/*ui) < PIE ai, oi;
>b<* i}<<\mathrm{ PIE i;
>}e<\mathrm{ PIE e;
>e<<PIEen,em;
> \check{e}
> \check{e}}2<<*ai < PIE ai, oi
> }a<\mp@subsup{}{}{*}\overline{a}<\operatorname{PIE }\overline{\boldsymbol{a}},\overline{\boldsymbol{o}}
> o * * < PIE a, o, **;
> }q< *an, *am < PIE an, on, am, om
> < < * }u<PIE\boldsymbol{u;
> }<<\operatorname{PIE}\overline{\boldsymbol{u}}
> u < *au < PIE au, ou.
```

NOTE 1. Apart from this simplified equivalences, other evolutions appear:

- The vowels $i_{2}, \check{e}_{2}$ developed later than $i_{1}, \check{e}_{1}$. In Late ProtoSlavic there were no differences in pronunciation between $i_{1}$ and $i_{2}$ as well as between $\check{e}_{1}$ and $\check{e}_{2}$. They had caused, however, different changes of preceding velars, see below.
- Late Proto-Slavic yers $\mathrm{b}, \mathrm{z}$ < earlier $i, u$ developed also from reduced PIE e, o respectively. The reduction was probably a morphologic process rather than phonetic.
- We can observe similar reduction of ${ }^{*} \bar{a}$ into ${ }^{*} \bar{u}$ (and finally $y$ ) in some endings, especially in closed syllables.
$\circ$ The development of the Sla. $i_{2}$ was also a morphologic phenomenon, originating only in some endings.
- Another source of the Proto-Slavic $y$ is ${ }^{*} \bar{o}$ in Germanic loanwords - the borrowings took place when ProtoSlavic no longer had $\bar{o}$ in native words, as PIE $\overline{\boldsymbol{o}}$ had already changed into * $\bar{a}$.
- PIE *a disappeared without traces when in a non-initial syllable.
- PIE eu probably developed into *jau in Early Proto-Slavic (or: during the Balto-Slavic epoch), and eventually into Proto-Slavic *ju.
 Proto-Slavic, namely they shortened in endings into simple *ei, *ai, *oi, *eu, *au, *ou but they lost their second element elsewhere and changed into ${ }^{*} \bar{e},{ }^{*} \bar{a},{ }^{*} \bar{o}$ with further development like above.

NOTE 2. Other vocalic changes from Proto-Slavic include *jo, *jъ, *jy changed into *je, *jь, *ji; *о, *ъ, *y also changed into ${ }^{*} \mathrm{e},{ }^{*} \mathrm{~b}$, *i after ${ }^{*} \mathbf{c}$, ${ }^{*} 3$, ${ }^{*}$ s' which developed as the result of the $3^{\text {rd }}$ palatalization; *e, *ě changed into *o, *a after *č, *̌̌, *š, *ž in some contexts or words; a similar change of *ě into *a after *j seems to have occurred in Proto-Slavic but next it can have been modified by analogy.

On the origin of Proto-Slavic consonants, the following relationships are regularly found:
$>p<\operatorname{PIE} \boldsymbol{p} ;$
$>b<\operatorname{PIE} \boldsymbol{b}, \boldsymbol{b}^{\boldsymbol{h}}$;
$>t<\operatorname{PIE} \boldsymbol{t}$;
$>d<\operatorname{PIE} \boldsymbol{d}, \boldsymbol{d}^{\boldsymbol{h}}$;
$>k<\operatorname{PIE} \boldsymbol{k}, \boldsymbol{k}^{\boldsymbol{w}}$;
○ $s<$ PIE ${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{k}^{j}$;
$>g<$ PIE $\boldsymbol{g}, \boldsymbol{g}^{\boldsymbol{h}}, \boldsymbol{g}^{\boldsymbol{w}}, \boldsymbol{g}^{\boldsymbol{w h}} ;$
$\bigcirc$ z $<$ PIE ${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{g}^{\boldsymbol{j}},{ }^{*} \boldsymbol{g}^{\boldsymbol{j} \boldsymbol{h}} ;$
$>s<\operatorname{PIE} \boldsymbol{s}$;
O $\boldsymbol{z}<$ PIE $\boldsymbol{s}$ [z] before a voiced consonant;

- $x<$ PIE $\boldsymbol{s}$ before a vowel when after $\boldsymbol{r}, \boldsymbol{u}, \boldsymbol{k}, \boldsymbol{i}$, probably also after $\boldsymbol{l}$;
> $m<$ PIE $\boldsymbol{m}$;
> $n<$ PIE $\boldsymbol{n}$;
$>l<\operatorname{PIE} \boldsymbol{l}$;
$>r<$ PIE $\boldsymbol{r}$;
$>v<\operatorname{PIE} \boldsymbol{w} ;$
$>j<\operatorname{PIE} \boldsymbol{j}$.
In some words the Proto-Slavic $x$ developed from other PIE phonemes, like $\boldsymbol{k H}, \boldsymbol{k s}$, sk.


Figure 29. Page from the Spiridon Psalter in Church Slavic, a language derived from Old Church Slavonic by adapting pronunciation and orthography, and replacing some old and obscure words and expressions by their vernacular counterparts.

About the common changes of Slavic dialects, compare:

1) In the $1^{\text {st }}$ palatalization,

- *k, *g, *x > *č, *̌̌, *š before *i1, *ě1, *e, *e, * ${ }^{*}$;
- next $\check{3}$ changed into ž everywhere except after z ;
- *kt, *gt > *tj before *i1, *ě1, *e, *e, *ь (there are only examples for *kti).

2) In the $2^{\text {nd }}$ palatalization (which apparently didn't occur in old northern Russian dialects)

- ${ }^{*} k,{ }^{*} g,{ }^{*} x>{ }^{*} c,{ }^{*} 3$, ${ }^{*} s$ ' before ${ }^{*} i_{2}$, ${ }^{*} \check{e}_{2}$;
- ${ }^{*} s$ ' mixed with $s$ or $s ̌$ in individual Slavic dialects;
- $*_{3}$ simplified into $z$, except Polish;
- also ${ }^{*} k v,{ }^{*} g v,{ }^{*} x v>{ }^{*} c v,{ }^{*} 3 v,{ }^{*} s^{\prime} v$ before ${ }^{*} i_{2}$, ${ }^{*} \check{e}_{2}$ in some dialects (not in West Slavic and probably not in East Slavic - Russian examples may be of South Slavic origin);

3) The third palatalization


- it was progressive contrary to the $1^{\text {st }}$ and the $2^{\text {nd }}$ palatalization;
- it occurred inconsistently, only in certain words, and sometimes it was limited to some ProtoSlavic dialects;
sometimes a palatalized form and a non-palatalized one existed side-by-side even within the same dialect (e.g. O.C.S. sikz || sicъ 'such');

In fact, no examples are known for the $3^{\text {rd }}$ palatalization after ${ }^{*} e e^{*} e$, and (few) examples after ${ }^{*}{ }_{o}$ are limited to Old Church Slavonic.

In Consonants $+\mathbf{j}$

- ${ }^{*} s j,{ }^{*} z j>{ }^{*}$ š, *ž;
- ${ }^{*} s t j,{ }^{*} z d j>{ }^{*} s ̌ c ̌, ~ * z ̌ z ̌ ; ~ ; ~$

- *skj, *zgj > *šč, *̌̌ž;
- *tj, *dj had been preserved and developed variously in individual Slavic dialects;
- ${ }^{*} r j$, *lj, $n j$ were preserved until the end of Proto-Slavic, next developed into palatalized ${ }^{*}$ r, *í, *ń;
- *${ }^{*} p j$, *bj, * $v j$, *mj had been preserved until the end of the Proto-Slavic epoch, next developed into ${ }^{*} p l$, *bí, *ví, *mí in most Slavic dialects, except Western Slavic.


## D. BALTIC



Figure 30. Distribution of Baltic languages today and in the past (in stripes)

The Baltic languages are a group of related languages belonging to the Indo-European language family and spoken mainly in areas extending east and southeast of the Baltic Sea in Northern Europe.

The language group is sometimes divided into two sub-groups: Western Baltic, containing only extinct languages as Prussian or Galindan, and Eastern Baltic, containing both extinct and the two living languages in the group, Lithuanian and Latvian - including literary Latvian and Latgalian. While related, the Lithuanian, the Latvian, and particularly the Old Prussian vocabularies differ substantially from each other and are not mutually intelligible. The now extinct Old Prussian language has been considered the most archaic of the Baltic languages.

Baltic and Slavic share more close similarities, phonological, lexical, and morpho-syntactic, than any other language groups within the Indo-European language family. Many linguists, following the lead of such notable Indo-Europeanists as August Schleicher and Oswald Szemerényi, take these to indicate that the two groups separated from a common ancestor, the Proto-Balto-Slavic language, only well after the breakup of Indo-European.

The first evidence was that many words are common in their form and meaning to Baltic and Slavic, as "run" (cf. Lith. bėgu, O.Pruss. bīgtwei, Sla. běgo, Russ. begu, Pol. biegnę), "tilia" (cf. Lith. liepa, Ltv. liepa, O.Pruss. līpa, Sla. lipa, Russ. lipa, Pol. lipa), etc.

NOTE. The amount of shared words might be explained either by existence of common Balto-Slavic language in the past or by their close geographical, political and cultural contact throughout history.

Until Meillet's Dialectes indo-européens of 1908, Balto-Slavic unity was undisputed among linguists as he notes himself at the beginning of the Le Balto-Slave chapter, "L'unité linguistique balto-slave est l'une de celles que personne ne conteste" ("Balto-Slavic linguistic unity is one of those that no one contests"). Meillet's critique of Balto-Slavic confined itself to the seven characteristics listed by Karl Brugmann in 1903, attempting to show that no single one of these is sufficient to prove genetic unity.

Szemerényi in his 1957 re-examination of Meillet's results concludes that the Balts and Slavs did, in fact, share a "period of common language and life", and were probably separated due to the incursion of Germanic tribes along the Vistula and the Dnepr roughly at the beginning of the Common Era. Szemerényi notes fourteen points that he judges cannot be ascribed to chance or parallel innovation:

- phonological palatalization
- the development of $i$ and $u$ before PIE resonants
- ruki Sound law (v.i.)
- accentual innovations
- the definite adjective
- participle inflection in -yo-
- the genitive singular of thematic stems in $-\bar{a}(t)-$
- the comparative formation
- the oblique $1^{\text {st }}$ singular men-, $1^{\text {st }}$ plural nōsom
- tos/tā for PIE so/sā pronoun
- the agreement of the irregular athematic verb (Lithuanian dúoti, Slavic datb)
- the preterite in $\bar{e} / \bar{a}$
- verbs in Baltic -áuju, Sla. -ujo
- the strong correspondence of


Figure 31 Baltic Tribes c. 1200 AD. vocabulary not observed between any other pair of branches of the Indo-European languages. - lengthening of a short vowel before a voiced plosive (Winter)

NOTE. 'Ruki' is the term for a sound law which is followed especially in Balto-Slavic and Indo-Iranian dialects. The name of the term comes from the sounds which cause the phonetic change, i.e. PIE $\boldsymbol{s}>\check{s} / r, u, K, i$ (it associates with a Slavic word which means 'hands' or 'arms'). A sibilant [s] is retracted to [ [] after $i, u, r$, and after velars (i.e. $k$ which may have developed from earlier $\boldsymbol{k}, \boldsymbol{g}, \boldsymbol{g h}$ ). Due to the character of the retraction, it was probably an apical sibilant (as in Spanish), rather than the dorsal of English. The first phase ( $\mathbf{s}>\boldsymbol{s}$ ) seems to be universal, the later retroflexion (in Sanskrit and probably in Proto-Slavic as well) is due to levelling of the sibilant system, and so is the third phase - the retraction to velar $[x]$ in Slavic and also in some Middle Indian languages, with parallels in e.g. Spanish. This rule was first formulated for the Indo-European by Holger Pedersen, and it is known sometimes as the "Pedersen law".

## E. CELTIC

The Celtic languages are the languages descended from Proto-Celtic, or "Common Celtic", a dialect of Proto-Indo-European.

During the $1^{\text {st }}$ millennium BC , especially between the $5^{\text {th }}$ and $2^{\text {nd }}$ centuries BC they were spoken across Europe, from the southwest of the Iberian Peninsula and the North Sea, up the Rhine and down the Danube to the Black Sea and the Upper Balkan Peninsula, and into Asia Minor (Galatia). Today, Celtic languages are now limited to a few enclaves in the British Isles and on the peninsula of Brittany in France.

The distinction of Celtic into different subfamilies probably occurred about 1000 BC . The early Celts are commonly associated with the


Figure 32. Distribution of Celtic languages in Europe, at its greatest expansion in 500 B.C. in lighter color, the so-called 'Celtic Nations' in darker color, and today's Celtic-speaking populations in the darkest color. archaeological Urnfield culture, the La Tène culture, and the Hallstatt culture.

Scholarly handling of the Celtic languages has been rather argumentative owing to lack of primary source data. Some scholars distinguish Continental and Insular Celtic, arguing that the differences between the Goidelic and Brythonic languages arose after these split off from the Continental Celtic languages. Other scholars distinguish P-Celtic from Q-Celtic, putting most of the Continental Celtic languages in the former group - except for Celtiberian, which is Q-Celtic.

There are two competing schemata of categorization. One scheme, argued for by Schmidt (1988) among others, links Gaulish with Brythonic in a P-Celtic node, leaving Goidelic as Q-Celtic. The difference between P and Q languages is the treatment of PIE $\boldsymbol{k}^{\boldsymbol{w}}$, which became ${ }^{*} p$ in the P-Celtic languages but * $k$ in Goidelic. An example is the Proto-Celtic verbal root * $k^{w} r i n-$ "to buy", which became pryn- in Welsh but cren- in Old Irish.

The other scheme links Goidelic and Brythonic together as an Insular Celtic branch, while Gaulish and Celtiberian are referred to as Continental Celtic. According to this theory, the ' P -Celtic' sound change of $\left[\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{w}}\right]$ to $[\mathrm{p}]$ occurred independently or areally. The proponents of the Insular Celtic hypothesis point to other shared innovations among Insular Celtic languages, including inflected prepositions, VSO word order, and the lenition of intervocalic [m] to [ $\beta$ ] , a nasalized voiced bilabial fricative (an extremely rare
sound), etc. There is, however, no assumption that the Continental Celtic languages descend from a common "Proto-Continental Celtic" ancestor. Rather, the Insular/Continental schemata usually consider Celtiberian the first branch to split from Proto-Celtic, and the remaining group would later have split into Gaulish and Insular Celtic. Known PIE evolutions into Proto-Celtic:

- $\boldsymbol{p}>\varnothing$ in initial and intervocalic positions
- ll $>$ /li/
- $\boldsymbol{r}_{\boldsymbol{o}}>/ \mathrm{ri} /$
- $\boldsymbol{g}^{\boldsymbol{w h}}>/ \mathrm{g} /$
- $\boldsymbol{g}^{\boldsymbol{w}}>/ \mathrm{b} /$
- $\overline{\boldsymbol{\sigma}}>/ \overline{\mathrm{a}} /, / \overline{\mathrm{u}} /$

Figure 33. Inscription CEГOMAPOC OYIム^ONEOC TOOYTIOYC NAMAYCATIC EI $\omega$ POY BHАH CAMI
NOTE. Later evolution of Celtic languages: $\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}$ COCIN NEMHTON, translated as "Segomaros, son of $>/ \overline{1} /$; Thematic genitive ${ }^{*} \bar{o} d /{ }^{*} \bar{\imath}$; Aspirated Voiced $>$ Voiced; Specialized Passive in $-r$. Uillo, toutious (tribe leader) of Namausos, dedicated this sanctuary to Belesama".

Italo-Celtic refers to the hypothesis that Italic and Celtic dialects are descended from a common ancestor, Proto-Italo-Celtic, at a stage post-dating Proto-Indo-European. Since both Proto-Celtic and Proto-Italic date to the early Iron Age (say, the centuries on either side of 1000 BC ), a probable time frame for the assumed period of language contact would be the late Bronze Age, the early to mid $2^{\text {nd }}$ millennium BC. Such grouping is supported among others by Meillet (1890), and Kortlandt (2007).
One argument for Italo-Celtic was the thematic Genitive in $i$ (dominus, domini). Both in Italic (Popliosio Valesiosio, Lapis Satricanus) and in Celtic (Lepontic, Celtiberian -o), however, traces of the osyo Genitive of Proto-Indo-European have been discovered, so that the spread of the $i$-Genitive could have occurred in the two groups independently, or by areal diffusion. The community of -ī in Italic and Celtic may be then attributable to early contact, rather than to an original unity. The $i$-Genitive has been compared to the so-called Cvi formation in Sanskrit, but that too is probably a comparatively late development. The phenomenon is probably related to the Indo-European feminine long $i$ stems and the Luwian $i$-mutation.

Another argument was the $\bar{a}$-subjunctive. Both Italic and Celtic have a subjunctive descended from an earlier optative in $-\bar{a}-$. Such an optative is not known from other languages, but the suffix occurs in Balto-Slavic and Tocharian past tense formations, and possibly in Hittite -ahh-.

Both Celtic and Italic have collapsed the PIE Aorist and Perfect into a single past tense.

## F. FRAGMENTARY DIALECTS

## MESSAPIAN

Messapian (also known as Messapic) is an extinct Indo-European language of south-eastern Italy, once spoken in the regions of Apulia and Calabria. It was spoken by the three Iapygian tribes of the region: the Messapians, the Daunii and the Peucetii. The language, a centum dialect, has been preserved in about 260 inscriptions dating from the $6^{\text {th }}$ to the $1^{\text {st }}$ century BC.

There is a hypothesis that Messapian was an Illyrian language. The Illyrian languages were spoken mainly on the other side of the Adriatic Sea. The link between Messapian and Illyrian is based mostly on personal names found on tomb inscriptions and on classical references, since hardly any traces of the Illyrian language are left.

The Messapian language became extinct after the Roman Empire conquered the region and assimilated the inhabitants.

Some phonetic characteristics of the language may be regarded as quite certain:

- the change of PIE short -o- to - $a$-, as in the last syllable of the genitive kalatoras.
- of final -m to $-n$, as in aran.
- of -ni- to -nn-, as in the Messapian praenomen Dazohonnes vs. the Illyrian praenomen Dazonius; the Messapian genitive Dazohonnihi vs. Illyrian genitive Dasonii, etc.
- of -ti- to -tth-, as in the Messapian praenomen Dazetthes vs. Illyrian Dazetius; the Messapian genitive Dazetthihi vs. the Illyrian genitive Dazetii; from a Dazet- stem common in Illyrian and Messapian.
- of -si- to -ss-, as in Messapian Vallasso for Vallasio, a derivative from the shorter name Valla.
- the loss of final -d, as in tepise, and probably of final -t, as in -des, perhaps meaning "set", from PIE dhe-, "set, put".
- the change of voiced aspirates in Proto-Indo-European to plain voiced consonants: PIE $\boldsymbol{d} \boldsymbol{h}$ - or $\boldsymbol{d h}$ - to $d$ - or - $d$-, as Mes. anda (< PIE en-dha- < PIE en-, "in", compare Gk. entha), and PIE bhor -bh- to b- or -b-, as Mes. beran (< PIE bher-, "to bear").
- -au-before (at least some) consonants becomes - $\bar{a}$-: Bāsta, from Bausta
- the form penkaheh - which Torp very probably identifies with the Oscan stem pompaio - a derivative of the Proto-Indo-European numeral penqe-, "five".

If this last identification be correct it would show, that in Messapian (just as in Venetic and Ligurian) the original labiovelars $\left(\boldsymbol{k}^{\boldsymbol{w}}, \boldsymbol{g}^{\boldsymbol{w}}, \boldsymbol{g}^{\boldsymbol{w h}}\right)$ were retained as gutturals and not converted into labials. The change of $o$ to $a$ is exceedingly interesting, being associated with the northern branches of Indo-

European such as Gothic, Albanian and Lithuanian, and not appearing in any other southern dialect hitherto known. The Greek Aphrodite appears in the form Aprodita (Dat. Sg., fem.).

The use of double consonants which has been already pointed out in the Messapian inscriptions has been very acutely connected by Deecke with the tradition that the same practice was introduced at Rome by the poet Ennius who came from the Messapian town Rudiae (Festus, p. 293 M).

## VENETIC

Venetic is an Indo-European language that was spoken in ancient times in the Veneto region of Italy, between the Po River delta and the southern fringe of the Alps.

The language is attested by over 300 short inscriptions dating between the $6^{\text {th }}$ century BC and $1^{\text {st }}$ century. Its speakers are identified with the ancient people called Veneti by the Romans and Enetoi by the Greek. It became extinct around the $1^{\text {st }}$ century when the local inhabitants were assimilated into the Roman sphere.

Venetic was a centum dialect. The inscriptions use a variety of the Northern Italic alphabet, similar to the Old Italic alphabet.

The exact relationship of Venetic to other Indo-European languages is still being investigated, but the majority of scholars agree that Venetic, aside from Liburnian, was closest to the Italic languages. Venetic may also have been related to the Illyrian languages, though the theory that Illyrian and Venetic were closely related is debated by current scholarship.

Some important parallels with the Germanic languages have also been noted, especially in pronominal forms:

Ven. ego, " $I$ ", acc. mego, "me"; Goth. ik, acc. mik; Lat. ego, acc. me.
Ven. sselboisselboi, "to oneself"; O.H.G. selb selbo; Lat. sibi ipsi.
Venetic had about six or even seven noun cases and four conjugations (similar to Latin). About 60 words are known, but some were borrowed from Latin (liber.tos. < libertus) or Etruscan. Many of them show a clear Indo-European origin, such as Ven. vhraterei < PIE bhraterei, "to the brother".

In Venetic, PIE stops bh, dh and $\boldsymbol{g h}$ developed to /f/, /f/ and /h/, respectively, in word-initial position (as in Latin and Osco-Umbrian), but to $/ \mathrm{b} /$, /d/ and $/ \mathrm{g} /$, respectively, in word-internal intervocalic position, as in Latin. For Venetic, at least the developments of $\boldsymbol{b} \boldsymbol{h}$ and $\boldsymbol{d} \boldsymbol{h}$ are clearly attested. Faliscan and Osco-Umbrian preserve internal /f/, /f/ and /h/.

There are also indications of the developments of PIE $\boldsymbol{g}^{\boldsymbol{w}_{-}}>w-$, PIE $\boldsymbol{k}^{\boldsymbol{w}}>{ }^{*} k v$ and PIE ${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{g}^{\boldsymbol{w} \boldsymbol{h}_{-}}>f$ - in Venetic, all of which are parallel to Latin, as well as the regressive assimilation of PIE sequence $\boldsymbol{p} \ldots \boldsymbol{k}^{\boldsymbol{w}} \ldots$ $>\boldsymbol{k}^{\boldsymbol{w}} \ldots \boldsymbol{k}^{\boldsymbol{w}} \ldots$, a feature also found in Italic and Celtic (Lejeune 1974).

## LIGURIAN

The Ligurian language was spoken in pre-Roman times and into the Roman era by an ancient people of north-western Italy and south-eastern France known as the Ligures. Very little is known about this language (mainly place names and personal names remain) which is generally believed to have been Indo-European; it appears to have adopted significantly from other Indo-European languages, primarily Celtic (Gaulish) and Italic (Latin).

Strabo states "As for the Alps... Many tribes (éthnê) occupy these mountains, all Celtic (Keltikà) except the Ligurians; but while these Ligurians belong to a different people (hetero-ethneis), still they are similar to the Celts in their modes of life (bíois)."

## LIBURNIAN

The Liburnian language is an extinct language which was spoken by the ancient Liburnians, who occupied Liburnia in classical times. The Liburnian language is reckoned as an Indo-European language, usually classified within the Centum group. It appears to have been on the same IndoEuropean branch as the Venetic language; indeed, the Liburnian tongue may well have been a Venetic dialect.

No writings in Liburnian are known however. The grouping of Liburnian with Venetic is based on the Liburnian onomastics. In particular, Liburnian anthroponyms show strong Venetic affinities, with many common or similar names and a number of common roots, such as Vols-, Volt-, and Host- (<PIE ghos-ti-, "stranger, guest, host"). Liburnian and Venetic names also share suffixes in common, such as -icus and -ocus.

These features set Liburnian and Venetic apart from the Illyrian onomastic province, though this does not preclude the possibility that Venetic-Liburnian and Illyrian may have been closely related, belonging to the same Indo-European branch. In fact, a number of linguists argue that this is the case, based on similar phonetic features and names in common between Venetic-Liburnian on the one hand and Illyrian on the other.

The Liburnians were conquered by the Romans in 35 BC . The Liburnian language eventually was replaced by Latin, undergoing language death probably very early in the Common era.

## LUSITANIAN

Lusitanian (so named after the Lusitani or Lusitanians) was a paleo-Iberian Indo-European language known by only five inscriptions and numerous toponyms and theonyms. The language was spoken before the Roman conquest of Lusitania, in the territory inhabited by Lusitanian tribes, from Douro to the Tagus rivers in the Iberian Peninsula.

The Lusitanians were the most numerous people in the western area of the Iberian peninsula, and there are those who consider that they came from the Alps; others believe the Lusitanians were a native Iberian tribe. In any event, it is known that they were established in the area before the $6^{\text {th }}$ century BC .

Lusitanian appears to have been an IndoEuropean language which was quite different from the languages spoken in the centre of the Iberian Peninsula. It would be more archaic than the Celtiberian language.

The affiliation of the Lusitanian language is still in debate. There are those who endorse that it is a Celtic language. This Celtic theory is largely based upon the historical fact that the only Indo-


Figure 34. Arroyo de la Luz (Cáceres) Inscription: ISAICCID. RVETI. PVPPID. CARLAE. EN ETOM. INDI. NA(.) (....) CE. IOM. M European tribes that are known to have existed in Portugal at that time were Celtic tribes. The apparent Celtic character of most of the lexicon -anthroponyms and toponyms - may also support a Celtic affiliation.

There is a substantial problem in the Celtic theory however: the preservation of initial $/ \mathrm{p} /$, as in Lusitanian pater or porcom, meaning "father" and "pig", respectively. The Celtic languages had lost that initial /p/ in their evolution; compare Lat. pater, Gaul. ater, and Lat. porcum, O.Ir. orc. However, the presence of this / p / does not necessarily preclude the possibility of Lusitanian being Celtic, because it could have split off from Proto-Celtic before the loss of /p/, or when /p/ had become / $\phi /$ (before shifting to $/ \mathrm{h} /$ and then being lost); the letter $p$ could have been used to represent either sound.

A second theory, defended by Francisco Villar and Rosa Pedrero, relates Lusitanian with the Italic languages. The theory is based on parallels in the names of deities, as Lat. Consus, Lus. Cossue, Lat. Seia, Lus. Segia, or Marrucinian Iovia, Lus. Iovea(i), etc. and other lexical items, as Umb. gomia, Lus. comaiam, with some other grammatical elements.

Inscriptions have been found in Spain in Arroyo de la Luz (Cáceres), and in Portugal in Cabeço das Fragas (Guarda) and in Moledo (Viseu).

## G. NORTHERN INDO-EUROPEAN IN ASIA: TOCHARIAN

Tocharian or Tokharian is one of the most obscure branches of the group of Indo-European languages. The name of the language is taken from people known to the Greek historians (Ptolemy VI, 11, 6) as the Tocharians (Greek Tóxapoı, "Tokharoi"). These are sometimes identified with the Yuezhi and the Kushans, while the term Tokharistan usually refers to $1^{\text {st }}$ millennium Bactria. A Turkic text refers to the Turfanian


Figure 35. Wooden plate with inscriptions in Tocharian. Kucha, China, $5^{\text {th }}-8^{\text {th }}$ century. language (Tocharian A) as twqry. Interpretation is difficult, but F. W. K. Müller has associated this with the name of the Bactrian Tokharoi. In Tocharian, the language is referred to as arish-käna and the Tocharians as arya.

Tocharian consisted of two languages; Tocharian A (Turfanian, Arsi, or East Tocharian) and Tocharian B (Kuchean or West Tocharian). These languages were spoken roughly from the $6^{\text {th }}$ to $9^{\text {th }}$ century centuries; before they became extinct, their speakers were absorbed into the expanding Uyghur tribes. Both languages were once spoken in the Tarim Basin in Central Asia, now the Xinjiang Autonomous Region of China.

Tocharian is documented in manuscript fragments, mostly from the $8^{\text {th }}$ century (with a few earlier ones) that were written on palm leaves, wooden tablets and Chinese paper, preserved by the extremely dry climate of the Tarim Basin. Samples of the language have been discovered at sites in Kucha and Karasahr, including many mural inscriptions.

Tocharian $A$ and $B$ are not intercomprehensible. Properly speaking, based on the tentative interpretation of twqry as related to Tokharoi, only Tocharian A may be referred to as Tocharian, while Tocharian B could be called Kuchean (its native name may have been kuśiññe), but since their grammars are usually treated together in scholarly works, the terms A and B have proven useful. The common Proto-Tocharian language must precede the attested languages by several centuries, probably dating to the $1^{\text {st }}$ millennium BC .

### 1.7.2. SOUTHERN INDO-EUROPEAN DIALECTS

## A. GREEK

Greek (Gk. E $\lambda \lambda \eta$ иıкá, "Hellenic") is an Indo-European branch with a documented history of 3,500 years. Today, Modern Greek is spoken by 15 million people in Greece, Cyprus, the former Yugoslavia, particularly the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Bulgaria, Albania and Turkey.

Greek has been written in the Greek alphabet, the first true alphabet, since the $9^{\text {th }}$ century B.C. and before that, in Linear B and the Cypriot syllabaries. Greek literature has a long and rich tradition.


Figure 36. Location of Ancient Greek dialects by 400 BC.

Greek has been spoken in the Balkan Peninsula since the $2^{\text {nd }}$ millennium BC. The earliest evidence of this is found in the Linear B tablets dating from 1500 BC. The later Greek alphabet is unrelated to Linear B, and was derived from the Phoenician alphabet; with minor modifications, it is still used today.

Mycenaean is the most ancient attested form of the Greek branch, spoken on mainland Greece and on Crete in the $16^{\text {th }}$ to $11^{\text {th }}$ centuries BC , before the Dorian invasion. It is preserved in inscriptions in Linear B, a script invented on Crete before the $14^{\text {th }}$ century BC. Most instances of these inscriptions are on clay tablets found in Knossos and in Pylos. The language is named after Mycenae, the first of the palaces to be excavated.

The tablets remained long undeciphered, and every conceivable language was suggested for them, until Michael Ventris deciphered the script in 1952 and proved the language to be an early form of Greek or closely related to the Greek branch of Indo-European.

The texts on the tablets are mostly lists and inventories. No prose narrative survives, much less myth or poetry. Still, much may be glimpsed from these records about the people who produced them, and about the Mycenaean period at the eve of the so-called Greek Dark Ages.

Unlike later varieties of Greek, Mycenaean Greek probably had seven grammatical cases, the nominative, the genitive, the accusative, the dative, the instrumental, the locative, and the vocative. The instrumental and the locative however gradually fell out of use.

NOTE. For the Locative in -ei, compare di-da-ka-re, 'didaskalei', e-pi-ko-e, 'Epikóhei', etc (in Greek there are syntactic compounds like puloi-genēs, 'born in Pylos'); also, for remains of an Ablative case in - $\overline{\boldsymbol{o} d}$, compare (months' names) ka-ra-e-ri-jo-me-no, wo-de-wi-jo-meno, etc.

Proto-Greek, a Centum dialect within the southern IE dialectal group (very close to Mycenaean), does appear to have been affected by the general trend of palatalization characteristic of the Satem group, evidenced for example by the (postMycenaean) change of labiovelars into dentals before $e$ (e.g. $k^{w} e>t e$ "and").


Figure 37 Linear B has roughly 200 signs, divided into syllabic signs with phonetic values and logograms (or ideograms) with semantic values

The primary sound changes from PIE to Proto-Greek include

- Aspiration of /s/ -> /h/ intervocalic
- De-voicing of voiced aspirates.
- Dissimilation of aspirates (Grassmann's law), possibly post-Mycenaean.
- word-initial $j$ - (not Hj -) is strengthened to dj - (later $\zeta$-)

The loss of prevocalic *s was not completed entirely, famously evidenced by sus "sow", dasus "dense"; sun "with" is another example, sometimes considered contaminated with PIE kom (Latin cum, ProtoGreek *kon) to Homeric / Old Attic ksun, although probably consequence of Gk. psi-substrate (Villar).

Sound changes between Proto-Greek and Mycenaean include:

- Loss of final stop consonants; final /m/ -> /n/.
- Syllabic /m/ and /n/ -> /am/, /an/ before resonants; otherwise /a/.
- Vocalization of laryngeals between vowels and initially before consonants to /e/, /a/, /o/ from $\mathrm{h}_{1}$, $h_{2}, h_{3}$ respectively.
- The sequence CRHC ( $\mathrm{C}=$ consonant, $\mathrm{R}=$ resonant, $\mathrm{H}=$ laryngeal) becomes CRēC, CRāC, CRo C from $\mathrm{H}={ }^{*} h_{1},{ }^{*} h_{2},{ }^{*} h_{3}$, respectively.
- The sequence CRHV ( $\mathrm{C}=$ consonant, $\mathrm{R}=$ resonant, $\mathrm{H}=$ laryngeal, $\mathrm{V}=$ vowel) becomes CaRV.
- loss of $s$ in consonant clusters, with supplementary lengthening, esmi -> èmi
- creation of secondary $s$ from clusters, ntia -> nsa. Assibilation $t i$-> si only in southern dialects.

The PIE dative, instrumental and locative cases are syncretized into a single dative case. Some desinences are innovated, as e.g. dative plural -si from locative plural -su.

Nominative plural -oi, -ai replaces late PIE - $\overline{\boldsymbol{o}} \boldsymbol{s},-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}} \boldsymbol{s}$.
The superlative on -tatos (PIE-tm-to-s) becomes productive.
The peculiar oblique stem gunaik- "women", attested from the Thebes tablets is probably ProtoGreek; it appears, at least as gunai- also in Armenian.

The pronouns houtos, ekeinos and autos are created. Use of ho, hā, ton as articles is post-Mycenaean.
An isogloss between Greek and the closely related Phrygian is the absence of $r$-endings in the Middle in Greek, apparently already lost in Proto-Greek.

Proto-Greek inherited the augment, a prefix é- to verbal forms expressing past tense. This feature it shares only with Indo-Iranian and Phrygian (and to some extent, Armenian), lending support to a Southern or Graeco-Aryan Dialect.

The first person middle verbal desinences -mai, -mān replace -ai, -a. The third singular pherei is an analogical innovation, replacing expected Doric *phereti, Ionic *pheresi (from PIE bhéreti).

The future tense is created, including a future passive, as well as an aorist passive.

The suffix $-k a$ - is attached to some perfects and aorists.

Infinitives in -ehen, -enai and men are created.

Figure 38. A ballot voting for Themistocles, son of Neocles, under the Athenian Democracy, ca. $470 B C$.


## B. ARMENIAN



Sparsely populated or uninhabited areas are shown in white.

Figure 39. Distribution of Armenian speakers in the $20^{\text {th }}$ Century.

Armenian is an Indo-European language spoken in the Armenian Republic and also used by Armenians in the Diaspora. It constitutes an independent branch of the Indo-European language family.

Armenian is regarded as a close relative of Phrygian. From the modern languages Greek seems to be the most closely related to Armenian, sharing major isoglosses with it. Some linguists have proposed that the linguistic ancestors of the Armenians and Greeks were either identical or in a close contact relation.

The earliest testimony of the Armenian language dates to the $5^{\text {th }}$ century AD , the Bible translation of Mesrob Mashtots. The earlier history of the language is unclear and the subject of much speculation. It is clear that Armenian is an IndoEuropean language, but its development is opaque. The Graeco-Armenian hypothesis proposes a close relationship to the Greek language, putting both in the larger context of Paleo-Balkans languages notably including Phrygian, which is widely accepted as an Indo-European language particularly close to Greek, and sometimes Ancient Macedonian -, consistent with Herodotus' recording of the Armenians as descending from colonists of the Phrygians.

In any case, Armenian has many layers of loanwords, and shows traces of long language contact with Hurro-Urartian, Greek and Iranian.

The Proto-Armenian sound-laws are varied and eccentric, such as *dw- yielding erk-, and in many cases still uncertain.

PIE voiceless stops are aspirated in Proto-Armenian, a circumstance that gave rise to the Glottalic theory, which postulates that this aspiration may have been sub-phonematic already in PIE. In certain contexts, these aspirated stops are further reduced to $w, h$ or zero in Armenian (as IE pods, supposed PIE *pots, into Armenian otn, Greek pous "foot"; PIE treis, Armenian erek', Greek treis "three").

The reconstruction of Proto-Armenian being very uncertain, there is no general consensus on the date range when it might have been alive. If Herodotus is correct in deriving Armenians from Phrygian stock, the Armenian-Phrygian split would probably date to between roughly the $12^{\text {th }}$ and $7^{\text {th }}$ centuries

BC, but the individual sound-laws leading to ProtoArmenian may have occurred at any time preceding the $5^{\text {th }}$ century AD. The various layers of Persian and Greek loanwords were likely acquired over the course of centuries, during Urartian (pre-6 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ century BC) Achaemenid (6 $6^{\text {th }}$ to $4^{\text {th }}$ c. BC; Old Persian), Hellenistic ( $4^{\text {th }}$ to $2^{\text {nd }} c$. BC Koine Greek) and Parthian ( $2^{\text {nd }} \mathrm{c} . \mathrm{BC}$ to $3^{\text {rd }}$ c. AD; Middle Persian) times.

The Armenians according to Diakonoff, are then an amalgam of the Hurrian (and Urartians), Luvians and the Proto-Armenian Mushki who carried their IE language eastwards across Anatolia. After arriving in its historical territory, Proto-Armenian would appear to have undergone massive influence on part the languages it eventually replaced. Armenian phonology, for instance, appears to have been greatly affected by Urartian, which


Figure 40 Armenian manuscript, ca. $5^{\text {th }}-6^{\text {th }} A D$ may suggest a long period of bilingualism.

Grammatically, early forms of Armenian had much in common with classical Greek and Latin, but the modern language (like Modern Greek) has undergone many transformations. Interestingly enough, it shares with Italic dialects the secondary IE suffix -tio(n), extended from -ti, cf. Arm polniu (t'youn).

## C. INDO-IRANIAN

The Indo-Iranian language group constitutes the easternmost extant branch of the Indo-European family of languages. It consists of four language groups: the Indo-Aryan, Iranian, Nuristani, and Dardic - sometimes classified within the Indic subgroup. The term Aryan languages is also traditionally used to refer to the Indo-Iranian languages.

The contemporary Indo-Iranian languages form the largest sub-branch of Indo-European, with more than one billion speakers in total, stretching from Europe (Romani) and the Caucasus (Ossetian) to East India (Bengali and Assamese). A 2005 estimate counts a total of 308 varieties, the largest in terms of native speakers being Hindustani (Hindi and Urdu, ca. 540 million), Bengali (ca. 200 million), Punjabi (ca. 100 million), Marathi and Persian (ca. 70 million each), Gujarati (ca. 45 million), Pashto (40 million), Oriya (ca. 30 million), Kurdish and Sindhi (ca. 20 million each).

The speakers of the Proto-Indo-Iranian language, the Proto-Indo-Iranians, are usually associated with the late $3^{\text {rd }}$ millennium BC Sintashta-Petrovka culture of Central Asia. Their expansion is believed to have been connected with the invention of the chariot.

The main change separating Proto-Indo-Iranian from Late PIE, apart from the satemization, is the collapse of the ablauting vowels $\boldsymbol{e}$, $\boldsymbol{o}, \boldsymbol{a}$ into a single vowel, Ind.-Ira. *a (but see Brugmann's law in Appendix II). Grassmann's law, Bartholomae's law, and the Ruki sound law were also complete in Proto-IndoIranian. Among the sound changes from Proto-IndoIranian to Indo-Aryan is the loss of the voiced sibilant ${ }^{*} z$, among those to Iranian is the de-aspiration of the PIE voiced aspirates.


Figure 41. Current distribution of IndoIranian dialects in Asia.

| Proto-Indo-Iranian | Old Iranian | Vedic Sanskrit |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *açva ("horse") | Av., O.Pers. aspa | aśva |
| *bhag- | O.Pers. baj- (bāji; "tribute") | bhag- (bhaga) |
| "bhrātr- ("brother") | O.Pers. brātar | bhrātr |
| "bhūmī ("earth", "land") | O.Pers. būmi | bhūmī |
| "martya ("mortal", "man") | O.Pers. martya | martya |
| "māsa ("moon") | O.Pers. māha | māsa |
| "vāsara ("early") | O.Pers. vāhara ("spring") | vāsara ("morning") |
| "arta ("truth") | Av. aša, O.Pers. arta | ṛta |
| "draugh- ("falsehood") | Av. druj, O.Pers. draug- | druh- |
| "sauma "pressed (juice)" | Av. haoma | soma |

## I. IRANIAN

## KURDISH

The Kurdish language (Kurdî in Kurdish) is spoken in the region loosely called Kurdistan, including Kurdish populations in parts of Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey. Kurdish is an official language in Iraq while it is banned in Syria. The number of speakers in Turkey is deemed to be more than 15 million.

The original language of the people in the area of Kurdistan was Hurrian, a non-IE language belonging to the Caucasian family. This older language was replaced by an Iranian dialect around 850 BC , with the arrival of the Medes. Nevertheless, Hurrian influence on Kurdish is still evident in its ergativic grammatical structure and in its toponyms.


Figure 42. Current distribution of Kurdishspeaking population in the Near East.

## OSSETIC

Ossetic or Ossetian (Ossetic Ирон æвзаг, Iron ævzhag or Иронау, Ironau) is an Iranian language spoken in Ossetia, a region on the slopes of the Caucasus Mountains, on the borders of the Russian Federation and Georgia.

The Russian area is known as North Ossetia-Alania, while the area in Georgia is called South Ossetia or Samachablo. Ossetian speakers number about 700.000, sixty percent of whom live in Alania, and twenty percent in South Ossetia

Ossetian, together with Kurdish, Tati and Talyshi, is one of the main Iranian languages with a sizeable community of speakers in the Caucasus. It is descended from Alanic, the language of the Alans, medieval tribes emerging from the earlier Sarmatians. It is believed to be the only surviving descendant of a Sarmatian language. The closest genetically related language is the Yaghnobi language of Tajikistan, the only other living member of the Northeastern Iranian branch. Ossetic has a plural formed by the suffix -ta, a feature it shares with Yaghnobi, Sarmatian and the now-extinct Sogdian; this is taken as evidence of a formerly wide-ranging Iranian-language dialect continuum on the Central Asian steppe. The Greek-derived names of ancient Iranian tribes in fact reflect this special plural, e.g. Saromatae ( $\Sigma \alpha \rho o \mu \alpha \dot{\tau} \tau \alpha)$ and Masagetae (Maoaүغ̇taı).

## II. INDO-ARYAN

## ROMANY LANGUAGES

Romany (or Romani) is the term used for the Indo-European languages of the European Roma and Sinti. These Indo-Aryan languages should not be confused with either Romanian or Romansh, both of which are Romance languages.

The Roma people, often referred to as Gypsies, are an ethnic group who live primarily in Europe. They are believed to be descended from nomadic peoples from northwestern India and Pakistan who began a Diaspora from the eastern end of the Iranian Plateau into Europe and North Africa about 1.000 years ago. Sinte or Sinti is the name some communities of the nomadic people usually called Gypsies in English prefer for themselves. This includes communities known in German and Dutch as Zigeuner and in Italian as Zingari. They are closely related to, and are usually considered to be a subgroup of, the Roma people. Roma and Sinte do not form a majority in any state.

Today's dialects of Romany are differentiated by the vocabulary accumulated since their departure from Anatolia, as well as through divergent phonemic evolutions and grammatical features. Many Roma no longer speak the language or speak various new contact languages from the local language with the addition of Romany vocabulary.

There are independent groups currently working toward standardizing the language, including groups in Romania, Serbia, Montenegro, the United States, and Sweden. A


Figure 43. First arrival of the Roma outside Berne in the $15^{\text {th }}$ century, described by the chronicler as getoufte heiden "baptized heathens" and drawn with dark skin and wearing Saracen-style clothing and weapons (Spiezer Schilling, p. 749). standardized form of Romani is used in Serbia, and in Serbia's autonomous province of Vojvodina Romani is one of the officially recognized languages of minorities having its own radio stations and news broadcasts.

A long-standing common categorization was a division between the Vlax (from Vlach) from non-Vlax dialects. Vlax are those Roma who lived many centuries in the territory of Romania. The main distinction between the two groups is the degree to which their vocabulary is borrowed from Romanian. Vlax-speaking groups include the great number of speakers, between half and two-thirds of all Romani speakers. Bernard Gillad Smith first made this distinction, and coined the term Vlax in 1915 in the book The Report on the Gypsy tribes of North East Bulgaria. Subsequently, other groups of dialects were recognized, primarily based on geographical and vocabulary criteria, including:

- Balkan Romani: in Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Serbia, Romania, Turkey and Ukraine.
- Romani of Wales.
- Romani of Finland.
- Sinte: in Austria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Serbia, Montenegro, Slovenia, and Switzerland.
- Carpathian Romani: in the Czech Republic, Poland (particularly in the south), Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Ukraine.
- Baltic Romani: in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Belarus, Ukraine and Russia.
- Turkish dialects:
- Rumeli (Thrace) dialect (Thrace, Uskudar, a district on the Anatolian side of the Bosphorus): most loanwords are from Greek.
- Anatolian dialect. Most loanwords are from Turkish, Kurdish and Persian.
- Posha dialect, Armenian Gypsies from eastern Anatolia mostly nomads although some have settled in the region of Van, Turkey. The Kurds call them Mytryp (settled ones).

Some Roma have developed Creole languages or mixed languages, including:

- Caló or Iberian-Romani, which uses the Romani lexicon and Spanish grammar (the Calé).
- Romungro.
- Lomavren or Armenian-Romani.
- Angloromani or English-Romani.
- Scandoromani (Norwegian-Traveller Romani or Swedish-Traveller Romani).
- Romano-Greek or Greek-Romani.
- Romano-Serbian or Serbian-Romani.
- Boyash, a dialect of Romanian with Hungarian and Romani loanwords.
- Sinti-Manouche-Sinti (Romani with German grammar).


### 1.7.3. OTHER INDO-EUROPEAN DIALECTS OF EUROPE

## A. ALBANIAN


#### Abstract

Albanian (gjuha shqipe) is a language spoken by over 8 million people primarily in Albania, Kosovo, and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, but also by smaller numbers of ethnic Albanians in other parts of the Balkans, along the eastern coast of Italy and in Sicily, as well other emigrant groups. The language forms its own distinct branch of the Indo-European languages.


The Albanian language has no living close relatives among the modern languages. There is no scholarly consensus over its origin and dialectal classification. Some scholars maintain


Figure 44. Albanian language and its dialects Gheg, Tosk (also Arbëreshë and Arvanitika) that it derives from the Illyrian language, and others claim that it derives from Thracian.

While it is considered established that the Albanians originated in the Balkans, the exact location from which they spread out is hard to pinpoint. Despite varied claims, the Albanians probably came from farther north and inland than would suggest the present borders of Albania, with a homeland concentrated in the mountains.

Given the overwhelming amount of shepherding and mountaineering vocabulary as well as the extensive influence of Latin, it is more likely the Albanians come from north of the Jireček line, on the Latin-speaking side, perhaps in part from the late Roman province of Dardania from the western Balkans. However, archaeology has more convincingly pointed to the early Byzantine province of Praevitana (modern northern Albania) which shows an area where a primarily shepherding, transhumance population of Illyrians retained their culture.

The period in which Proto-Albanian and Latin interacted was protracted and drawn out over six centuries, $1^{\text {st }} \mathrm{c}$. AD to $6^{\text {th }}$ or $7^{\text {th }} \mathrm{c}$. AD . This is born out into roughly three layers of borrowings, the largest number belonging to the second layer. The first, with the fewest borrowings, was a time of less important interaction. The final period, probably preceding the Slavic or Germanic invasions, also has a notably smaller amount of borrowings. Each layer is characterized by a different treatment of most vowels, the first layer having several that follow the evolution of Early Proto-Albanian into Albanian; later layers reflect vowel changes endemic to Late Latin and presumably Proto-Romance. Other
formative changes include the syncretism of several noun case endings, especially in the plural, as well as a large scale palatalization.

A brief period followed, between $7^{\text {th }} \mathrm{c}$. AD and $9^{\text {th }} \mathrm{c}$. AD , that was marked by heavy borrowings from Southern Slavic, some of which predate the "o-a" shift common to the modern forms of this language group. Starting in the latter $9^{\text {th }}$ c. AD, a period followed of protracted contact with the ProtoRomanians, or Vlachs, though lexical borrowing seems to have been mostly one sided - from Albanian into Romanian. Such a borrowing indicates that the Romanians migrated from an area where the majority was Slavic (i.e. Middle Bulgarian) to an area with a majority of Albanian speakers, i.e. Dardania, where Vlachs are recorded in the $10^{\text {th }} \mathrm{c}$. AD. This fact places the Albanians at a rather early date in the Western or Central Balkans, most likely in the region of Kosovo and Northern Albania.

References to the existence of Albanian as a distinct language survive from the 1300 , but without recording any specific words. The oldest surviving documents written in Albanian are the Formula e Pagëzimit (Baptismal formula), Un'te paghesont' pr'emenit t'Atit e t'Birit e t'Spirit Senit, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit", recorded by Pal Engjelli, Bishop of Durres in 1462 in the Gheg dialect, and some New Testament verses from that period.

## B. PALEO-BALKAN LANGUAGES



## PHRYGIAN

The Phrygian language was the Indo-European language spoken by the Phrygians, a people that settled in Asia Minor during the Bronze Age.

Phrygian is attested by two corpora, one, Paleo-Phrygian, from around 8oo BC and later, and another after a period of several centuries, Neo-Phrygian, from around the beginning of the Common Era. The Palaeo-Phrygian corpus is further divided (geographically) into inscriptions of Midas-city, Gordion, Central, Bithynia, Pteria, Tyana, Daskyleion, Bayindir, and "various" (documents divers). The Mysian inscriptions show a language classified as a separate Phrygian dialect, written in an alphabet with an additional letter, the "Mysian s". We can reconstruct some words with the help of some inscriptions written with a script similar to the Greek one.

The language survived probably into the sixth century AD, when it was replaced by Greek.

Ancient historians and myths sometimes did associate Phrygian with Thracian and maybe even Armenian, on grounds of classical sources. Herodotus recorded the Macedonian account that Phrygians emigrated into Asia Minor from Thrace (7.73). Later in the text (7.73), Herodotus states that the Armenians were colonists of the Phrygians, still considered the same in the time of Xerxes I. The earliest mention of Phrygian in Greek sources, in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, depicts it as different from Trojan: in the hymn, Aphrodite, disguising herself as a mortal to seduce the Trojan prince Anchises, tells him
"Otreus of famous name is my father, if so be you have heard of him, and he reigns over all Phrygia rich in fortresses. But I know your speech well beside my own, for a Trojan nurse brought me up at home". Of Trojan, unfortunately, nothing is known.

Its structure, what can be recovered from it, was typically IndoEuropean, with nouns declined for case (at least four), gender (three) and number (singular and plural), while the verbs are conjugated for tense, voice, mood, person and number. No single word is attested in all its inflectional forms.

Many words in Phrygian are very similar to the reconstructed Proto-Indo-European forms. Phrygian seems to exhibit an augment, like Greek and Armenian, c.f. eberet, probably corresponding to PIE *é-bher-e-t (Greek epheret).

A sizable body of Phrygian words are theoretically known; however, the meaning and etymologies and even correct forms of many Phrygian words (mostly extracted from inscriptions) are still being debated.

A famous Phrygian word is bekos, meaning "bread". According to Herodotus (Histories 2.9) Pharaoh Psammetichus I wanted to establish the original language. For this purpose, he ordered two children to be reared by a shepherd, forbidding him to let them hear a single word, and charging him to report the children's first utterance. After two years, the shepherd reported that on entering their chamber, the children came up to him, extending their hands, calling bekos. Upon enquiry, the pharaoh discovered that this was the Phrygian word for "wheat bread", after which the Egyptians conceded that the Phrygian nation was older than theirs. The word bekos is also attested several times in Palaeo-Phrygian inscriptions on funerary stelae. It was suggested that it is cognate to English bake, from PIE *bheh ${ }_{3} g$; cf. Greek phōgō, "to roast", Latin focus, "fireplace", Armenian bosor, "red", and bots "flame", Irish goba "smith", and so on.

Bedu according to Clement of Alexandria's Stromata, quoting one Neanthus of Cyzicus means "water" (PIE *wed). The Macedonians are said to have worshiped a god called Bedu, which they interpreted as "air". The god appears also in Orphic ritual.

Other Phrygian words include:

- anar, 'husband', from PIE *ner- 'man'; cf. Gk. anēr ( $\alpha v \dot{\eta} \rho$ ) "man, husband", O.Ind. nara, nr, Av. $n \bar{a} / n a r-$, Osc. ner-um, Lat. Nero, Welsh ner, Alb. njeri "man, person".
- attagos, 'goat'; cf. Gk. tragos ( $\tau \rho \dot{\alpha} y o \varsigma) ~ " g o a t ", ~ G e r . ~ Z i e g e ~ " g o a t ", ~ A l b . ~ d h i ~ " s h e-g o a t " . ~$
- balaios, 'large, fast', from PIE *bel- 'strong'; cognate to Gk. belteros ( $\beta$ ह́خ $\lambda \varepsilon \rho o s$ ) "better", Rus. bol'shói "large, great", Welsh balch "proud".
- belte, 'swamp', from PIE *bhel-, 'to gleam'; cf. Gk. baltos ( $\beta \dot{\alpha} \lambda \tau o \varsigma$ ) "swamp", Alb. baltë, "silt, mud", Bulg. blato (O.Bulg. balta) "swamp", Lith. baltas "white", Russ. bledny, Bulg. bleden "pale".
- brater, 'brother', from PIE *bhrater-, 'brother';
- daket, 'does, causes', PIE * $d^{h} e$-k-, 'to set, put';
- germe, 'warm', PIE *gwher-, 'warm'; cf. Gk. thermos ( $8 \varepsilon \rho \mu \mathrm{~g} \mathrm{~s}$ ) "warm", Pers. garme "warm", Arm. jerm "warm", Alb. zjarm "warm".
- kakon, 'harm, ill', PIE *kaka-, 'harm'; cf. Gk. kakós (какóৎ) "bad", Alb. keq "bad, evil", Lith. keñti "to be evil".
- knoumane, 'grave', maybe from PIE *knu-, 'to scratch'; cf. Gk. knaō ( $k v \alpha \dot{\alpha} \omega$ ) "to scratch", Alb. krromë "scurf, scabies", O.H.G. hnuo "notch, groove", nuoen "to smooth out with a scraper", Lith. knisti" to dig".
- manka, 'stela'.
- mater, 'mother', from PIE *mater-, 'mother';
- meka, 'great', from PIE *meg-, 'great';
- zamelon, 'slave', PIE * $d^{h} g^{h}$ om-, 'earth'; cf. Gk. chamelos ( $\chi \alpha \mu \eta \lambda o ́ \varsigma$ ) "adj. on the ground, low", Sr.Cr. zèmlja and Bul. zèmya/zèmlishte "earth/land", Lat. humilis "low".


## THRACIAN

Excluding Dacian, whose status as a Thracian language is disputed, Thracian was spoken in substantial numbers in what is now southern Bulgaria, parts of Serbia, the Republic of Macedonia, Northern Greece - especially prior to Ancient Macedonian expansion -, throughout Thrace (including European Turkey) and in parts of Bithynia (North-Western Asiatic Turkey).

As an extinct language with only a few short inscriptions attributed to it (v.i.), there is little known about the Thracian language, but a number of features are agreed upon. A number of probable Thracian
words are found in inscriptions - most of them written with Greek script - on buildings, coins, and other artifacts.

Thracian words in the Ancient Greek lexicon are also proposed. Greek lexical elements may derive from Thracian, such as balios, "dappled" (< PIE *bhel-, "to shine", Pokorny also cites Illyrian as a possible source), bounos, "hill, mound", etc.

Most of the Thracians were eventually Hellenized - in the province of Thrace - or Romanized - in Moesia, Dacia, etc. -, with the last remnants surviving in remote areas until the $5{ }^{\text {th }}$ century.

## DACIAN

The Dacian language was an Indo-European language spoken by the ancient people of Dacia. It is often considered to have been a northern variant of the Thracian language or closely related to it.

There are almost no written documents in Dacian. Dacian used to be one of the major languages of South-Eastern Europe, stretching from what is now Eastern Hungary to the Black Sea shore. Based on archaeological findings, the origins of the Dacian culture are believed to be in Moldavia, being identified as an evolution of the Iron Age Basarabi culture.

It is unclear exactly when the Dacian language became extinct, or even whether it has a living descendant. The initial Roman conquest of part of Dacia did not put an end to the language, as Free Dacian tribes such as the Carpi may have continued to speak Dacian in Moldavia and adjacent regions as late as the $6^{\text {th }}$ or $7^{\text {th }}$ century AD , still capable of leaving some influences in the forming Slavic languages.


Figure 47. Theoretical scenario: the Albanians as a migrant Dacian people

- According to one hypothesis, a branch of Dacian continued as the Albanian language (Hasdeu, 1901);
- Another hypothesis considers Albanian to be a Daco-Moesian Dialect that split off from Dacian before 300 BC and that Dacian itself became extinct;

The argument for this early split (before 300 BC ) is the following: inherited Albanian words (e.g. Alb. motër 'sister' < Late PIE māter 'mother') shows the transformation Late PIE $\overline{\mathbf{a}}>$ Alb. /o/, but all the Latin loans in Albanian having an /a:/ shows Lat. /a:/ > Alb. /a/. This indicates that the transformation P-Alb. /a:/ > P-Alb. /o/ happened and ended before the Roman arrival in the Balkans. On the other hand, Romanian substratum words shared with Albanian show a Romanian /a/ that correspond to an Albanian /o/ when both sounds source is an original common /a:/ (mazãre/modhull<*mādzula 'pea'; rațã/rosë<*rātja: 'duck') indicating that when these words have had the same Common form in PreRomanian and Proto-Albanian the transformation P-Alb. /a:/ > P-Alb. /o/ had not started yet. The correlation between these two facts indicates that the split between Pre-Romanian (the Dacians that were later Romanized) and Proto-Albanian happened before the Roman arrival in the Balkans.

## ILLYRIAN

The Illyrian languages are a group of Indo-European languages that were spoken in the western part of the Balkans in former times by ethnic groups identified as Illyrians: Delmatae, Pannoni, Illyrioi, Autariates, Taulanti. The Illyrian languages are generally, but not unanimously, reckoned as centum dialects.

Some sound-changes and other language features are deduced from what remains of the Illyrian languages, but because no writings in Illyrian are known, there is not sufficient evidence to clarify its place within the Indo-European language family aside from its probable centum nature. Because of the uncertainty, most sources provisionally place Illyrian on its own branch of Indo-European, though its relation to other languages, ancient and modern, continues to be studied and debated.

Today, the main source of authoritative information about the Illyrian language consists of a handful of Illyrian words cited in classical sources, and numerous examples of Illyrian anthroponyms, ethnonyms, toponyms and hydronyms.

A grouping of Illyrian with the Messapian language has been proposed for about a century, but remains an unproven hypothesis. The theory is based on classical sources, archaeology, as well as onomastic considerations. Messapian material culture bears a number of similarities to Illyrian material culture. Some Messapian anthroponyms have close Illyrian equivalents.

A relation to the Venetic language and Liburnian language, once spoken in northeastern Italy and Liburnia respectively, is also proposed.


Figure 48. Territories where the different PaleoBalkan languages were spoken.

A grouping of Illyrian with the Thracian and Dacian language in a "Thraco-Illyrian" group or branch, an idea popular in the first half of the $20^{\text {th }}$ century, is now generally rejected due to a lack of sustaining evidence, and due to what may be evidence to the contrary.

A hypothesis that the modern Albanian language is a surviving Illyrian language remains very controversial among linguists. The identification of Illyrian as a centum language is widely but not unanimously accepted, although it is generally admitted that from what remains of the language, centum examples appear to greatly outnumber Satem examples. One of the few Satem examples in Illyrian appears to be Osseriates, probably from PIE *eghero-, "lake". Only a few Illyrian items have been linked to Albanian, and these remain tentative or inconclusive for the purpose of determining a close relation.

Only a few Illyrian words are cited in Classical sources by Roman or Greek writers, but these glosses, provided with translations, provide a core vocabulary. Only four identified with an ethnonym Illyrii or Illurioí; others must be identified by indirect means:

- brisa, "husk of grapes"; cf. Alb. bërsi.
- mantía, "bramble bush"; cf. Alb. (Tosk) mën "mulberry bush", (Gheg) mandë.
- oseriates, "lakes"; akin to O.C.S. ozero (Sr.-Cr. jezero), Lith. ẽžeras, O.Pruss. assaran, Gk. Akéroun "river in the underworld".
- rhinos, "fog, cloud"; cf. O.Alb. ren, mod. Alb. re "cloud".
- sabaia, sabaium, sabaius, "a type of beer"; akin to Eng sap, Lat. sapere "to taste", Skr. sabar "sap, juice, nektar", Av. višāpa "having poisonous juices", Arm. ham, Greek apalós "tender, delicate", O.C.S. sveptŭ "bee's honey".
 "pike"; an Illyrian word according to Festius, citing Ennius; is compared to Gk. ovß $\quad$ 甲 $\eta \eta$, "flute case", found in Aristophanes' Thesmophoriazusai; the word appears in the context of a barbarian speaking. Akin to Persian zôpîn, Armenian savīn "spit".
$\bullet$ tertigio, "merchant"; O.C.S. trĭgı̆ (Sr.-Cr. trg), Lith. tirgus (Alb. treg "market" is a borrowing from archaic Slavic *trŭgŭ)

Some additional words have been extracted from toponyms, hydronyms, anthroponyms, etc.:
-loúgeon, "a pool"; cf. Alb. lag "to wet, soak, bathe, wash" (< PA *lauga), lëgatë "pool" (< PA.
*leugatâ), lakshte "dew" (< PA *laugista); akin to Lith. liúgas "marsh", O. Sla. luža "pool"

- teuta < from the Illyrian personal name Teuta< PIE *teuta-, "people"
- Bosona, "running water" (Possible origin of the name "Bosnia", Bosna in Bosnian)


## PAIONIAN

The Paionian language is the poorly attested language of the ancient Paionians, whose kingdom once stretched north of Macedon into Dardania and in earlier times into southwestern Thrace.

Several Paionian words are known from classical sources:

- monapos, monaipos, a wild bull.
- tilôn, a species of fish once found in Lake Prasias (Republic of Macedonia).
- paprax, a species of fish once found in Lake Prasias; masc. acc. pl. paprakas,

A number of anthroponyms (some known only from Paionian coinage) are attested, several toponyms (Bylazora, Astibos) and a few theonyms (Dryalus, Dyalus, the Paionian Dionysus), as well as:

- Pontos, affluent of the Strumica River, perhaps from *ponktos, "wet" (cf. Ger. feucht, "wet");
- Stoboi (nowadays Gradsko), name of a city, from *stob(h) (cf. O.Pruss. stabis "rock", O.C.S. stoboru, "pillar", O.Eng. stapol, "post", O.Gk. stobos, "scolding, bad language");
- Dóberos, other Paionian city, from *dheubh- "deep" (cf. Lith. dubùs, Eng. deep);
- Agrianes, name of a tribe, from *agro- "field" (cf. Lat. ager, Gk. agros, Eng. acre).

Classical sources usually considered the Paionians distinct from Thracians or Illyrians, comprising their own ethnicity and language. Athenaeus seemingly connected the Paionian tongue to the Mysian language, itself barely attested. If correct, this could mean that Paionian was an Anatolian language.

On the other hand, the Paionians were sometimes regarded as descendants of Phrygians, which may put Paionian on the same linguistic branch as the Phrygian language.

Modern linguists are uncertain on the classification of Paionian, due to the extreme scarcity of materials we have on this language. However, it seems that Paionian was an independent IE dialect. It shows a/o distinctiveness and does not appears to have undergone Satemization. The Indo-European voiced aspirates bh, dh, etc., became plain voiced consonants, /b/, /d/, etc., just like in Illyrian, Thracian, Macedonian and Phrygian (but unlike Greek).

## ANCIENT MACEDONIAN

The Ancient Macedonian language was the tongue of the Ancient Macedonians. It was spoken in Macedon during the $1^{\text {st }}$ millennium BC. Marginalized from the $5^{\text {th }}$ century BC, it was gradually replaced by the common Greek dialect of the Hellenistic Era. It was probably spoken predominantly in the inland regions away from the coast. It is as yet undetermined whether the language was a dialect of Greek, a sibling language to Greek, or an Indo-European language which is a close cousin to Greek and also related to Thracian and Phrygian languages.

Knowledge of the language is very limited because there are no surviving texts that are indisputably written in the language, though a body of authentic Macedonian words has been assembled from ancient sources, mainly from coin inscriptions, and from the $5^{\text {th }}$ century lexicon of Hesychius of Alexandria, amounting to about 150 words and 200 proper names. Most of these are confidently identifiable as Greek, but some of them are not easily reconciled with standard Greek phonology. The 6,000 surving Macedonian inscriptions are in the Greek Attic dialect.

The Pella curse tablet, a text written in a distinct Doric Greek idiom, found in Pella in 1986, dated to between mid to early $4^{\text {th }}$ century BC, has been forwarded as an argument that the Ancient Macedonian language was a dialect of North-Western Greek. Before the discovery it was proposed that the Macedonian dialect was an early form of Greek, spoken alongside Doric proper at that time.

NOTE. Olivier Masson thinks that "in contrast with earlier views which made of it an Aeolic dialect (O.Hoffmann compared Thessalian) we must by now think of a link with North-West Greek (Locrian, Aetolian, Phocidian, Epirote). This view is supported by the recent discovery at Pella of a curse tablet which may well be the first 'Macedonian' text attested (...); the text includes an adverb "opoka" which is not Thessalian." Also, James L. O'Neil states that the "curse tablet from Pella shows word forms which are clearly Doric, but a different form of Doric from any of the west Greek dialects of areas adjoining Macedon. Three other, very brief, fourth century inscriptions are also indubitably Doric. These show that a Doric dialect was spoken in Macedon, as we would expect from the West Greek forms of Greek names found in Macedon. And yet later Macedonian inscriptions are in Koine avoiding both Doric forms and the Macedonian voicing of consonants. The native Macedonian dialect had become unsuitable for written documents."


Figure 49. The Pella katadesmos, is a katadesmos (a curse, or magic spell) inscribed on a lead scroll, probably dating to between 380 and 350 BC. It was found in Pella in 1986.

From the few words that survive, a notable sound-law may be ascertained, that PIE voiced aspirates appear as voiced stops, written $\boldsymbol{\beta}, \mathbf{\gamma}, \boldsymbol{\delta}$ in contrast to Greek dialects, which unvoiced them to $\boldsymbol{\varphi}, \chi, \boldsymbol{\theta}$.

- Mac. $\delta a v o ́ s ~ d a n o ́ s ~(' d e a t h ', ~ f r o m ~ P I E ~ * ~ d h e n h 2-~ ' t o ~ l e a v e '), ~ c o m p a r e ~ A t t i c ~ \theta a ́ v a t o s ̧ ~ t h a ́ n a t o s . ~$
- Mac. áßpoũtec abroûtes or áßpoũFec abroûwes as opposed to Attic ó $\varphi \rho$ м̧̃ ophrûs for 'eyebrows'.
 ('bright weather'), compare Attic ai $\theta$ pia aithría, from PIE * $h_{2}$ aid ${ }^{h}$-.
- $\beta$ áokıo báskioi ('fasces'), from PIE *bhasko.
- According to Hdt. 7.73 (ca. 440 BC ), the Macedonians claimed that the Phryges were called Brygoi before they migrated from Thrace to Anatolia ca. 1200 BC.
- $\mu \alpha \dot{\alpha} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon}$ роц̧ mágeiros ('butcher') was a loan from Doric into Attic. Vittore Pisani has suggested an ultimately Macedonian origin, cognate to $\mu \alpha \dot{\chi} \alpha \iota \rho \alpha$ mákhaira ('knife', <PIE *magh-, 'to fight').

The same treatment is known from other Paleo-Balkan languages, e.g. Phrygian bekos, "bread", Illyrian bagaron, "warm", but Gk. $\varphi \dot{\omega} \gamma \omega$ ( $p h \bar{o} g o ̄$ ), "roast", all from IE * $b^{h} e h_{3} g$-. Since these languages are all known via the Greek alphabet, which has no signs for voiced aspirates, it is unclear whether deaspiration had really taken place, or whether $\beta, \delta, \gamma$ were just picked as the closest matches to express voiced aspirates.

If yotáv (gotán), "pig", is related to IE * $g^{w}$ ou ('cattle'), this would indicate that the labiovelars were either intact, or merged with the velars, unlike the usual Gk. ßoũৎ (boûs). Such deviations, however, are not unknown in Greek dialects; compare Doric Spartan $\gamma \lambda \varepsilon \pi$ - (glep-) for common Greek $\beta \lambda \varepsilon \pi$ - (blep-), as well as Doric $\gamma \lambda \hat{\alpha} \chi \omega \nu$ (gláchōn) and Ionic $\gamma \lambda \lambda \dot{\eta} \chi \omega v$ (glēchōn) for common Greek $\beta \lambda \hat{\eta} \chi \omega v$ (blēchōn).

A number of examples suggest that voiced velar stops were devoiced, especially word-initially; as in кávaסol (kánadoi, from PIE *genu-), "jaws"; кó $\mu \beta$ ous (kómbous, from PIE *gombh-), "molars"; within words, as in ápkȯv (arkón) vs. Attic ápүós (argós); the Macedonian toponym Akesamenai, from the Pierian name Akesamenos - if Akesa- is cognate to Greek agassomai, agamai, "to astonish"; cf. the Thracian name Agassamenos.

In Aristophanes' The Birds, the form кєß $\boldsymbol{\eta} \boldsymbol{\eta} \tau \cup \rho ı \varsigma ~(k e b l e ̄ p y r i s), ~ " r e d-c a p ~ b i r d ", ~ s h o w s ~ a ~ v o i c e d ~ s t o p ~$ instead of a standard Greek unvoiced aspirate, i.e. Macedonian $\kappa \varepsilon \beta(\alpha) \lambda \eta$ (kebalē) vs. Greek $\kappa \varepsilon \varphi \alpha \lambda \eta \quad$ (kephalē), "head".

### 1.7.4. ANATOLIAN LANGUAGES

The Anatolian languages are a group of extinct Indo-European languages, which were spoken in Asia Minor, the best attested of them being the Hittite language.

The Anatolian branch is generally considered the earliest to split off the Proto-Indo-European language, from a stage referred to either as Middle PIE (also IE II) or "Indo-Hittite", typically a date in the mid- $4^{\text {th }}$ millennium BC is assumed. In a Kurgan framework, there are two possibilities of how early Anatolian speakers could have reached Anatolia: from the north via the Caucasus, and from the west, via the Balkans.

Attested dialects of the Anatolian branch are:

- Hittite (nesili), attested from ca. 1900 BC to 1100 BC , official language of the Hittite Empire.
- Luwian (luwili), close relative of Hittite


Figure 50. Maximal extent of the Hittite Empire ca. 1300 BC is shown in dark color, the Egyptian sphere of influence in light color. The approximate extent of the Hittite Old Kingdom under Hantili I (ca. 1590 BC) in darkest. spoken in adjoining regions, sometimes under Hittite control .

- Cuneiform Luwian, glosses and short passages in Hittite texts written in Cuneiform script.
- Hieroglyphic Luwian, written in Anatolian hieroglyphs on seals and in rock inscriptions.
- Palaic, spoken in north-central Anatolia, extinct around the $13^{\text {th }}$ century BC, known only fragmentarily from quoted prayers in Hittite texts.
- Lycian, spoken in Lycia in the Iron Age, a descendant of Luwian, extinct in ca. the $1^{\text {st }}$ century BC, fragmentary language.
- Lydian, spoken in Lydia, extinct in ca. the $1^{\text {st }}$ century BC, fragmentary.
- Carian, spoken in Caria, fragmentarily attested from graffiti by Carian mercenaries in Egypt from ca. the $7^{\text {th }}$ century BC , extinct ca. in the $3^{\text {rd }}$ century BC.
- Pisidian and Sidetic (Pamphylian), fragmentary.
- Milyan, known from a single inscription.

There were likely other languages of the family that have left no written records, such as the languages of Mysia, Cappadocia and Paphlagonia.

Anatolia was heavily Hellenized following the conquests of Alexander the Great, and it is generally thought that by the $1^{\text {st }}$ century BC the native languages of the area were extinct.

Hittite proper is known from cuneiform tablets and inscriptions erected by the Hittite kings. The script known as "Hieroglyphic Hittite" has now been shown to have been used for writing the closely related Luwian language, rather than Hittite proper. The later languages Lycian and Lydian are also attested in Hittite territory. Palaic, also spoken in Hittite territory, is attested only in ritual texts quoted in Hittite documents.

In the Hittite and Luwian languages there are many loan words, particularly religious vocabulary, from the non-Indo-European Hurrian and Hattic languages. Hattic was the language of the Hattians, the local inhabitants of the land of Hatti before they were absorbed or displaced by the Hittite invasions. Sacred and magical Hittite texts were often written in Hattic, Hurrian, and Akkadian, even after Hittite became the norm for other writings.

The Hittite language has traditionally been stratified into Old Hittite (OH), Middle Hittite (MH) and New or NeoHittite (NH), corresponding to the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms of the Hittite Empire, ca. 1750-1500 BC, 1500-1430 BC and 1430-1180 BC, respectively. These stages are differentiated partly on linguistic and partly on paleographic grounds.

Hittite was written in an adapted form of Old Assyrian cuneiform orthography. Owing to the predominantly syllabic nature of the script, it is difficult to ascertain the precise phonetic qualities of a portion of the Hittite sound inventory.

Hittite preserves some very archaic features lost in Figure 51. Hittite pictographic writing other Indo-European languages. For example, Hittite was directly derived from Old Assyrian has retained two of three laryngeals, word-initial $h_{2}$ and $h_{3}$. These sounds, whose existence had been hypothesized by Ferdinand de Saussure on the basis of vowel quality in other Indo-European languages in 1879, were not preserved as separate sounds in any attested Indo-European language until the discovery of Hittite. In Hittite, this phoneme is written as $h$.

Hittite, as well as most other Anatolian languages, differs in this respect from any other IndoEuropean language, and the discovery of laryngeals in Hittite was a remarkable confirmation of Saussure's hypothesis.

The preservation of the laryngeals, and the lack of any evidence that Hittite shared grammatical features possessed by the other early Indo-European languages, has led some philologists to believe that the Anatolian languages split from the rest of Proto-Indo-European much earlier than the other divisions of the proto-language. In Indo-European linguistics, the term Indo-Hittite (also IndoAnatolian) refers to the hypothesis that the Anatolian languages may have split off the Proto-IndoEuropean language considerably earlier than the separation of the remaining Indo-European languages. The majority of scholars continue to reconstruct a single Proto-Indo-European, but all believe that Anatolian was the first branch of Indo-European to leave the fold.

NOTE. The term is somewhat imprecise, as the prefix Indo- does not refer to the Indo-Aryan branch in particular, but is iconic for Indo-European (as in Indo-Uralic), and the -Hittite part refers to the Anatolian language family as a whole.

As the oldest attested Indo-European languages, Hittite is interesting largely because it lacks several grammatical features exhibited by other "old" Indo-European languages such as Sanskrit and Greek.

The Hittite nominal system consists of the following cases: Nominative, Vocative, Accusative, Genitive, Allative, Dative-Locative, Instrumental and Ablative. However, the recorded history attests to fewer cases in the plural than in the singular, and later stages of the language indicate a loss of certain cases in the singular as well. It has two grammatical genders, common and neuter, and two grammatical numbers, singular and plural.

Hittite verbs are inflected according to two general verbal classes, the mi-conjugation and the hi-conjugation. There are two voices (active and mediopassive), two moods (indicative and imperative), and two tenses (present and preterite). Additionally, the verbal system displays two infinitive forms, one verbal substantive, a supine, and a participle. Rose (2006) lists 132 hi -verbs and interprets the $\mathrm{hi} / \mathrm{mi}$ oppositions as vestiges of a system of grammatical voice, i.e. "centripetal voice" vs. "centrifugal voice".


Figure 52. Broken door jamb inscribed in raised Hittite hieroglyphs, c. 900 BC ; in the British Museum.

## 1.8. 'EUROPAIOM' OR 'SINDHUEUROPAIOM'

1.8.1. Modern Indo-European, for which we use the neutral name Dńghūs (also dialectally extended in - $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$, Ita.-Cel., Ger. dńghwā), "the language", is therefore a set of grammatical rules - including its writing system, noun declension, verbal conjugation and syntax -, designed to systematize the reconstructed Late Proto-Indo-European language, to adapt it to modern communication needs. As PIE was spoken by a prehistoric society, no genuine sample texts are available, and thus comparative linguistics - in spite of its 200 years' history - is not in the position to reconstruct exactly their formal language (the one used by learned people), but only approximately how the spoken, vulgar language was like, i.e. the language that evolved into the different attested Indo-European dialects and languages.

NOTE. Reconstructed languages like Modern Hebrew, Modern Cornish, Modern Coptic or Modern IndoEuropean may be revived in their communities without being as easy, as logical, as neutral or as philosophical as the million artificial languages that exist today, and whose main aim is to be supposedly 'better', or 'easier', or 'more neutral' than other artificial or natural languages they want to substitute. Whatever the sociological, psychological, political or practical reasons behind the success of such 'difficult' and 'non-neutral' languages instead of 'universal' ones, what is certain is that if somebody learns Hebrew, Cornish, Coptic or Indo-European (or Latin, German, Swahili, Chinese, etc.) whatever the changes in the morphology, syntax or vocabulary that could follow (because of, say, 'better' or 'purer' or 'easier' language systems recommended by their language regulators), the language learnt will still be the same, and the effort made won't be lost in any possible case.
1.8.2. We deemed it worth it to use the Proto-Indo-European reconstruction for the revival of a complete modern language system, because of the obvious need of a common language within the EU, to substitute the current deficient linguistic policy. This language system, called European or European language (Eurōpáiom), is mainly based on the features of the European or northwestern dialects, whose speakers - as we have already seen - remained in loose contact for some centuries after the first PIE migrations, and have influenced each other in the last millenia within the European subcontinent.

NOTE. As Indo-Europeanist López-Menchero puts it, "there are three Indo-European languages which must be clearly distinguished: 1) The Proto-Indo-European language, spoken by a prehistoric people, the so-called Proto-Indo-Europeans, some millennia ago; 2) The reconstructed Proto-Indo-European language, which is that being reconstructed by IE scholars using the linguistic, archaeological and historical data available, and which is imperfect by nature, based on more or less certain hypothesis and schools; and 3) The Modern Indo-European language system(s) which, being based on the later, and trying to come near to the former, is neither one nor the other, but a modern language systematized and used in the modern word". We should add that, unlike artificial languages, Indo-European may not be substituted by different languages, although - unlike already systematized languages like Classic Latin or English - it could be changed by other dialectal, older or newer versions of it, as e.g. 'Graeco-Aryan', i.e. a version mainly based on the Southern Dialect, or 'Indo-Hittite', a version using laryngeals, not separating feminines from the animates, and so on.

NOTE 2. A Modern PIE is probably the best option as an International Auxiliary Language too, because a) French, German, Spanish, and other natural and artificial languages proposed to substitute English dominance, are only supported by their small cultural or social communities, while the communities of IE speakers make up the majority of the world's population, being thus the most 'democratic' choice for a language spoken within international organizations and between the different existing nations; and b) only a major change in the political arena could make a language different than English succeed as a spoken IAL; if the European Union makes Modern Indo-European its national language, it would be worth it for the rest of the world to learn it as second language and use it as the international language instead of English.
1.8.5. Words to complete the MIE vocabulary (in case that no common PIE form is found) are to be taken from present-day IE languages. Loan words - from Greek and Latin, like philosophy, hypothesis, aqueduct, etc. -, as well as modern Indo-European borrowings - from English, like software, from French, like ambassador, from Spanish, like armadillo, from German, like Kindergarten, from Italian, like casino, from Russian, like icon, from Hindi, like pajamas, etc. - , should be used in a pure $I E$ form when possible. They are all Indo-European dialectal words, whose original meaning is easily understood if translated; as, e.g. Greek loan photo could appear in Modern Indo-European either as $\boldsymbol{p h} \boldsymbol{o ̂ t o s}$ ['p'o-tos] or ['fo-tos], a loan word, or as bháutos ['bhau-tos], a loan translation of Gk. "bright", IE bháuesos, from genitive bhauesós, from PIE verb bhā, to shine, which gives in Greek phosphorus and phot. The second, translated word, should be preferred. ${ }^{2}$ See §2.9.4, point 4.
1.8.6. A comparison with Modern Hebrew seems adecuate, as it is one successful precedent of an old, reconstructed language becoming the living language of a whole nation.

| HEBREW REVIVAL | INDO-EUROPEAN REVIVAL |
| :---: | :---: |
| ca. 300o BC: Proto-Aramaic, Proto-Ugaritic, and other Canaanite languages spoken. | ca. 3000 BC: Middle Proto-Indo-European dialects, Pre-IE III and Pre-Proto-Anatolia, spoken. ca. 2.50o BC: Late PIE spoken. |
| ca. 1000 BC: The first written evidence of distinctive Hebrew, the Gezer calendar. | ca. 160o BC:first written evidence, Hittite and Luwian tablets (Anatolian). ca. 1500 BC: Linear B tablets in Mycenaean Greek. |
| Orally transmitted Tanakh, composed between 1000 and 500 BC . | Orally transmitted Rigveda, in Vedic Sanskrit, (similar to older Indo-Iranian), composed in parts, from 1500 to 500 BC . Orally transmitted Zoroastrian works in Avestan (Iranian dialect), from 1000 to 700 BC. Homeric works dated from ca. 700 BC. Italic inscriptions, $700-500$ BC. |
| Destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians | Italics, Celtics, Germanics, Baltics and Slavics |
| under Nebuchadnezzar II, in 586 BC. The | are organized mainly in tribes and clans. |
| Hebrew language is then replaced by Aramaic | Expansion of the great Old Civilizations, such as |
| in Israel under the Persian Empire. | the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans. |
| Destruction of Jerusalem and Expulsion of Jews by the Romans in 70 AD. | Behistun Inscription, Celtic inscriptions ca 500 BC; Negau Helmet in Germanic, ca. 20o BC. |


| 7o-195o AD. Jews in the Diaspora develop | Expansion of the renowned Antique, Mediaeval <br> different dialects with strong Hebrew <br> influence, with basis mainly on Indo-European <br> (Yiddish, Judeo-Spanish, Judeo-Italian, etc.), <br> as well as Semitic languages (Judeo-Aramaic, <br> Byzantines, the Franks, the Persians, the Spanish <br> and Portuguese, the Polish and Lithuanians, the <br> Judeo-Arab, etc.) |
| :---: | :---: |
| French, the Austro-Hungarians and Germans |  |
| and the English among others. |  |

NOTE. Even though it is clear that our proposal is different from the Hebrew language revival, we think that: a) Where Jews had only some formal writings, with limited vocabulary, of a language already dead five centuries before they were expelled from Israel, Indo-European has hundreds of living dialects and other very old dead dialects attested. Thus, even if we had tablets of PIE written in some dialectal predominant formal IE language (say, from pre-Proto-Indo-Iranian), the current PIE reconstruction would probably still be used as the main source for PIE revival today. b) The common culture and religion was possibly the basis for the Hebrew language revival in Israel. Proto-Indo-European, whilst the mother tongue of some prehistoric tribe with a common culture and religion, spread into different peoples, with different cultures and religions. There was never a concept of "Indo-European community" after the migrations. But today Indo-European is the language spoken by the majority of the population - in the world and especially within Europe - , and it is therefore possible to use it as a natural and culturally (also "religiously") neutral language, what may be a significant advantage of IE.
1.7.7. The noun Eurōpáios comes from adjective eurōpaiós, from special genitive europai of Old Greek Eủpஸ́лๆ (Európē), Eủpف́ла (Eurốpā), both forms alternating already in the oldest Greek, and both coming from the same PIE feminine ending $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$ (see § 4.9.3). The Greek ending -ai-o- (see § 4.7.8 for more on this special genitive in -ai) turns into Latin -ae-u-, and so Europaeus. The forms Eurốpā and Eurōpaiós are, then, the 'correct' ones in MIE, as they are the original Classic forms - other dialectal variants, as Eurōpás, Eurōpaís, Eurōpaikós, Eurōpaiskós, etc. could be also used.
NOTE 1. For Homer, Európē was a mythological queen of Crete - abducted by Zeus in bull form when still a Phoenician princess -, and not a geographical designation. Later Europa stood for mainland Greece, and by 500 B.C. its meaning had been extended to lands to the north. The name Europe is possibly derived from the Greek words عupús (eurús, "broad", from IE ${ }^{*} h_{1} u r h u$-) and $\omega \psi$ (ops, "face", from IE ${ }^{*} h_{3} e k w^{-}$), thus maybe
reconstructable as MIE $\overline{\boldsymbol{U}} \mathbf{r} \boldsymbol{o ́ q} \boldsymbol{q} \overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ - broad having been an epithet of Earth in PIE religion. Others suggest it is based on a Semitic word cognate with Akkadian erebu, "sunset" (cf. Arabic maghreb, Hebrew ma'ariv), as from the Middle Eastern vantage point, the sun does set over Europe. Likewise, Asia is sometimes thought to have derived from a Semitic word such as the Akkadian asu, meaning "sunrise", and is the land to the east from a Middle Eastern perspective, thus maybe MIE Erốbā. In Greek mythology 'E $\rho \varepsilon$ ßos (Erebos, "deep blackness/darkness or shadow") was the son of Chaos, the personification of darkness and shadow, which filled in all the corners and crannies of the world. The word is probably from IE * $h_{1}$ regwos (cf. O.N. roekkr, Goth. riqis, Skr. rajani, Toch. orkäm), although posibly also a loan from Semitic, cf. Hebrew erebh and Akkadian erebu, etc.

NOTE 2. 'Europe' is a common evolution of Latin a-endings in French; as in 'Amerique' for America, 'Belgique’ for Belgica, 'Italie' for Italia, etc. Eng. Europe is thus a French loan word, as may be seen from the other continents' names: Asia (not *Asy), Africa (not *Afrik), Australia (not *Australy), and America (not *Amerik).

NOTE 3. Only Modern Greek maintains the form Evрळ́лๆ (Európi) for the subcontinent, but still with adjective $\varepsilon \cup \rho \omega \pi \alpha \ddot{\kappa o}$ (europaikó), with the same old irregular a-declension and IE ethnic ending -iko-. In Latin there were two forms: Europa, Europaeus, and lesser used Europe, Europensis. The later is usually seen in scientific terms.

NOTE 4. For adj. "European", compare derivatives from O.Gk. eurōpai-ós (< IE eurōp-ai-ós), also in Lat. europaé-us -> M.Lat. europé-us, in turn giving It., Spa. europeo, Pt., Cat. europeu; from Late Latin base europé(< IE eurōp-áii-) are extended *europe-is, as Du. europees; from extended *europe-anos are Rom. europene, or Fr. européen (into Eng. european); extended *europe-iskos gives common Germanic and Slavic forms (cf. Ger. Europäisch, Fris. europeesk, Sca. europeisk, Pl. europejski, common Sla. evropsk-, etc.); other extended forms are Ir. Eorpai-gh, Lith. europo-s, Ltv. eiropa-s, etc. For European as a noun, compare, from *europé-anos, Du., Fris. europeaan, from *europé-eros, Ger. Europäer, from ethnic *-ikos, cf. Sla. evropejk-, Mod.Gk. europai-kó, etc.

The regular genitive of the word Eurốpā in Modern Indo-European is Eurốpās, following the first declension. The name of the European language system is Eurōpáiom, inanimate, because in the oldest IE dialects attested, those which had an independent name for languages used the neuter, cf. Gk. n.pl. ع $\lambda \lambda \eta \nu \iota \kappa \alpha \dot{d}$ (ellēniká), Skr. n.sg. संस्कृतम् (saṃskrtam), also in Tacitus Lat. uōcābulum latīnum.

In other languages, however, the language name is an adjetive which defines the noun "language", and therefore its gender follows the general rule of concordance; cf. Lat. f. latina lingua, or the Slavic examples ${ }^{3}$; hence MIE eurōpaiấ dńghūs or eurōpaiá dńghwā, European language.
1.7.8. Sindhueurōpáiom (n.) means Indo-European (language). The term comes from Greek 'Ivóos ${ }^{( }{ }^{h}$ Indos), Indus river, from Old Persian Hinduš - listed as a conquered territory by Darius I in the Persepolis terrace inscription.

NOTE. The Persian term (with an aspirated initial [s]) is cognate to Sindhu, the Sanskrit name of the Indus river, but also meaning river generically in Indo-Aryan (cf. O.Ind. Saptasindhu, "[region of the] seven rivers"). The Persians, using the word Hindu for Sindhu, referred to the people who lived near the Sindhu River as Hindus, and their religion later became known as Hinduism. The words for their language and region, Hindī or Hindustanı and Hindustan, come from the words Hindu and Hindustan, "India" or "Indian region" (referring to the Indian subcontinent as a whole, see stā) and the adjectival suffix -ī, meaning therefore originally "Indian".

## 2．LETTERS AND SOUNDS

## 2．1 THE ALPHABETS OF MODERN INDO－EUROPEAN

2．1．1．Unlike other languages reconstructed in the past，Indo－European doesn＇t have an old writing system to be revived with．Indo－European dialects have adopted different alphabets during the last millennia，and all of them should be usable today－although the main alphabet for today＇s European Union is clearly the Latin one．

2．1．2．This is a summary table of Proto－Indo－European phonemes and their regular corresponding letters in MIE alphabets：Greek，Latin，Cyrillic，Perso－Arabic and（alphasyllabary）Devanāgarī．

## A．VOWELS AND VOCALIC ALLOPHONES

| Phoneme | Greek | Latin | Persian | Armenian | Cyrillic | Devan． |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ［a］ | A a | A a |  | U． u | A a | अ |
| ［e］ | E $\varepsilon$ | E e |  | もも | Ee | ए |
| ［0］ | O o | Oo |  | n n | Oo | ओ |
| ［a：］ | Ā $\bar{\alpha}$ | Ā ā | 1 | U． u | Ā ā | आ |
| ［e：］ | H | Ēē |  | Łち | Ēè | ऐ |
| ［0：］ | $\Omega \omega$ | Ō ō |  | П n | Ō ō | औ |


| ［i］ | 11 | Ii |  | F h | Ии | इ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ［i：］ | Ti | Tī | $\checkmark$ | F h | $\overline{\text { й }}$ | ई |
| ［u］ | Y u | U |  | F ı | Уy | 3 |
| ［ $\mathbf{u}$ ：］ | $\overline{\mathrm{Y}}$ | Ū ū | 9 | F L | $\overline{\text { y y }}$ | ऊ |


| ［r］ | P $\rho$ | R r | J | กn | P p | \＃（\％） |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ［1］ | $\wedge \lambda$ | LI | J | L L | Лл | लु（드） |
| ［m］ | M $\mu$ | M m | P | U u | M м | म |
| ［n］ | N v | N n | ن | U 4 | H | ण |

## B. CONSONANTS AND CONSONANTAL SOUNDS

| Phoneme | Greek | Latin | Persian | Armenian | Kyrillik | Devan. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [p] | Пп | P p | پ | $T \mathrm{u}_{1}$ | Пп | प |
| [b] | Mп $\mu$ m | B b | ب | $\mathrm{f}_{\mathrm{F}}$ | Б б | ब |
| [ ${ }^{\text {b }}$ ] | B $\beta$ | Bh bh | ب\% | fh ph | Бь бь | भ |
| [t] | T T | T t | - | S un | T T | त |
| [d] | Nt vt | D d | $د$ | $\mathrm{Y}_{7}$ | Дд | द |
| [d'b] | $\Delta \delta$ | Dh dh | j | १.h nh | Дь дь | ध |
| [k] | K K | K k | $\checkmark$ | ч 4 | Кк | क |
| [g] | Гү YY | G g | $\checkmark$ | ¢ q | Гг | ग |
| [gh] | $\Gamma Y$ | Gh gh | З | 4h qh | Гь гь | घ |
| [ $\mathbf{k}^{\mathbf{w}}$ ] | K к ( O ¢ ) | Q q | ق | $\mathrm{f}_{\mathrm{p}}$ | К' к' | क |
| [gw] | Гк үк | C c | غ | २. $\eta$ | $\Gamma^{\prime} \Gamma^{\prime}$ | ग |
| [ ${ }^{\text {wh }}$ ] | ГX YX | Ch ch | 2 $\dot{\chi}$ | २.h ๆh | Гь' гь' | घ |


| [i] | 11 | Jj, Ii | ¢/j | $3 \mathrm{j}, \mathrm{Fh}$ | $\breve{И ̆ ~ и ̆ ~(J ~ j), ~ И и ~}$ | य |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [u] | Y U ( Ff ) | W w, U u | 9 | h ı | У y | व |
| [r] | P $\rho$ | R r | J | n n | P p | र |
| [1] | $\wedge \lambda$ | LI | J | L L | Лл | ल |
| [m] | M $\mu$ | M m | ? | U u | M м | म |
| [ n ] | N v | N n | ن | し¢ | H | न |
| [s] | $\Sigma \sigma S$ | S s | U | U u | C c | स |

2.1.2. The Latin Alphabet used for Modern Indo-European is similar to the English, which is in turn borrowed from the Late Latin abecedarium. We also consider some digraphs part of the alphabet, as they represent original Proto-Indo-European sounds, in contrast to those digraphs used mainly for transcriptions of loan words.

NOTE 1. The Latin alphabet was borrowed in very early times from a Greek alphabet and did not at first contain the letter G . The letters Y and Z were introduced still later, about 50 BC

NOTE 2. The names of the consonants in Indo-European are as follows - B, be (pronounced bay); Bh, bhe ( $b^{h} a y$ ); C, ce ( $g^{w} a y$ ); Ch, che ( $g^{w h} a y$ ); D, de (day); Dh, dhe ( $d^{h} a y$ ); F, ef; G, ge (gay); Gh, ghe ( $g^{h} a y$ ); H, ha; K, ka; L, el; M, em; N, en; P, pe; Q, qu; R, er; S, es; T, te; V, ve; W, wa; X, xa (cha); Z, zet.
2.1.3. The Latin character $\mathbf{C}$ originally meant [g], a value always retained in the abbreviations $C$. (for Gaius) and Cn. (for Gnaeus). That was probably due to Etruscan influence, which copied it from Greek $\boldsymbol{\Gamma}$, Gamma, just as later Cyrillic $\boldsymbol{\Gamma}$, Ge .

NOTE 1. In early Latin C came also to be used for [k], and K disappeared except before in a few words, as Kal. (Kalendae), Karthago. Thus there was no distinction in writing between the sounds [g] and [k]. This defect was later remedied by forming (from C , the original [g]-letter) a new character $\mathbf{G}$. Y and Z were introduced from the Greek about 50 B.C., and occur mainly in loan words in Modern Indo-European.

NOTE 2. In Modern Indo-European, $\mathbf{C}$ is used (taking its oldest value) to represent the Indo-European labiovelar [gw] in PIE words, while keeping its different European values - [k], [ts], [ce], [tch], etc. - when writing proper names in the different modern IE languages.
2.1.4. The Latin [u] sound developed into Romance [v]; therefore V no longer adequately represented [ $\mathbf{u}]$ and the Latin alphabet had to develop an alternative letter. Modern Indo-European uses $\mathbf{V}$ mainly for loan words, representing [v], while $\mathbf{W}$ is left for the consonantal sound [u].

NOTE. V originally denoted the vowel sound [u] (oo), and F stood for the sound of consonant [ú] (from Gk. f, digamma). When $F$ acquired the value of our [ $f$ ], $V$ came to be used for consonant [ $u$ ] as well as for the vowel [ $u$ ].
2.1.5. The consonant cluster [ks] was in Ancient Greece written as Chi 'X' (Western Greek) or Xi ' $\Xi$ ' (Eastern Greek). In the end, Chi was standardized as [kh] ([x] in modern Greek), while Xi represented [ks]. In MIE, the X stands for [x], as in the Greek and Cyrillic alphabets, and not as in English.

NOTE. The Etruscans took over X from Old Western Greek, therefore it stood for [ks] in Etruscan and then in Latin, and also in most languages which today use an alphabet derived from the Roman, including English.


Figure 53. Writing systems of the world today.

### 2.2. Classification of Sounds

2.2.1. The Vowels are $\mathbf{a}, \mathbf{e}, \mathbf{i}, \mathbf{o}, \mathbf{u}$, and $\overline{\mathbf{a}}, \overline{\mathbf{e}}, \overline{\mathbf{i}}, \overline{\mathbf{o}}, \overline{\mathbf{u}}$. The other letters are Consonants. The proper IndoEuropean Diphthongs are ei, oci, ai, $\overline{\mathbf{e}}, \overline{\mathbf{o}} \mathbf{i}, \overline{\mathbf{a} i}$, and $\mathbf{e u}, \mathbf{o u}, \mathbf{a u}, \overline{\mathbf{e} u, \bar{o} u, \overline{\mathbf{a} u} \text {. In these diphthongs both }}$ vowel sounds are heard, one following the other in the same syllable.
2.2.2. Consonants are either voiced (sonant) or voiceless (surd). Voiced consonants are pronounced with vocal cords vibration, as opposed to voiceless consonants, where the vocal cords are relaxed.
a. The voiced consonants are $\mathbf{b}, \mathbf{b h}, \mathbf{d}, \mathbf{d h}, \mathbf{g}, \mathbf{g h}, \mathbf{c}, \mathbf{c h}, \mathbf{l}, \mathbf{r}, \mathbf{m}, \mathbf{n}, \mathbf{z}$, and $\mathbf{j}, \mathbf{w}$.
b. The voiceless consonants are $\mathbf{p}, \mathbf{t}, \mathbf{k}, \mathbf{q}, \mathbf{f}, \mathbf{h}, \mathbf{s}, \mathbf{x}$.
c. The digraphs $\mathbf{b h}, \mathbf{d h}, \mathbf{g h}$ and $\mathbf{c h}$ represent the prope Indo-European voiced aspirates, whereas $\mathbf{p h}$, th, and $\mathbf{k h}$ are voiceless aspirates, mostly confined to foreign words, usually from Greek. They are equivalent to $p+h, t+h, k+h$, i.e. to the corresponding mutes with a following breath, as in English loophole, hot-house, block-house.
d. The consonants $\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{l}, \mathbf{m}, \mathbf{n}$, and the semivowels $\mathbf{j}$ and $\mathbf{w}$, can function both as consonants and vowels, i.e. they can serve as syllabic border or center. There is a clear difference between the vocalic allophones of the semivowels and the sonants, though: the first, $\mathbf{i}$ and $\mathbf{u}$, are very stable as syllabic center, while $\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{l}, \mathbf{m}, \mathbf{n}_{\mathbf{o}}$ aren't, as they cannot be pronounced more opened. Hence the big differences in their evolution, depending on the individual dialects.
2.2.3. The Mutes are also classified as follows:

| Labials | $\mathbf{p}, \mathbf{b}, \mathbf{b h}$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Dentals | $\mathbf{t}, \mathbf{d}, \mathbf{d h}$ |
| Velars | $\mathbf{k}, \mathbf{g}, \mathbf{g h} ; \mathbf{q}, \mathbf{c}, \mathbf{c h}$ |

2.2.4. The Liquids are $\mathbf{l}, \mathbf{r}$. These sounds are voiced. The group $\mathbf{r h}$ represents the aspirated [r], mainly in words of Greek origin. Other groups include $\mathbf{r r}$, the alveolar trill, and its aspirated counterpart $\mathbf{r r h}$. There is also $\mathbf{l} \mathbf{j}$, the palatal lateral approximant.
2.2.5. The Nasals are $\mathbf{m}, \mathbf{n}$. These are voiced. The pair $\mathbf{n j}$ represents the palatal nasal (similar to the [n] sound in English onion or canyon).
2.2.6. The Fricatives are $\mathbf{s}, \mathbf{h}$. These are voiceless, but for the $s$ before voiced consonants, where it is usually voiced. It is also possible to write - mainly for loan words - voiceless and voiced pairs: labiodentals, $\mathbf{f}$ and $\mathbf{v}$; dentals, th and dh; post-alveolar $\mathbf{s h}$ and $\mathbf{z h}$. And also the alveolar voiced $\mathbf{z}$, and the dorsal voiceless $\mathbf{x}$.
2.2.7. The Semivowels are found written as $\mathbf{i}, \mathbf{j}$ and $\mathbf{u}, \mathbf{w}$. These are voiced.

NOTE. The semivowels are usually written with $\mathbf{i}$ and $\mathbf{u}$ when using the Latin alphabet. Only Proto-IndoEuropean roots and their derivatives have $\mathbf{j}$ and $\mathbf{w}$; as in wĺqos, wolf, wérdhom, verb, jugóm, yoke, or tréjes, three. When there is a consonantal sound before a sonant, it is always written $\mathbf{j}$ or $\mathbf{w}$; as in néwn ['ne-uñ], nine. For more on this, see § 2.9.4.
2.2.8. There are also some other frequent compounds, such as $\mathbf{k s}, \mathbf{t s}, \mathbf{d z}, \mathbf{t s h}, \mathbf{d z h}, \ldots$

| Phonet. System | Labials | Coronals | ${ }^{*}$ Palatovelars | Velars | Labiovelars | ${ }^{*}$ Laryngeals |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Voiceless | $\mathbf{p}$ | $\mathbf{t}$ | ${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{k}^{\boldsymbol{j}}$ | $\mathbf{k}$ | $\mathbf{k}^{\mathbf{w}}$ |  |
| Voiced | $\mathbf{b}$ | $\mathbf{d}$ | ${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{g}^{\boldsymbol{j}}$ | $\mathbf{g}$ | $\mathbf{g}^{\mathbf{w}}$ |  |
| Aspirated | $\mathbf{b}^{\mathbf{h}}$ | $\mathbf{d}^{\mathbf{h}}$ | ${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{g}^{\boldsymbol{j} \boldsymbol{h}}$ | $\mathbf{g}^{\mathbf{h}}$ | $\mathbf{g}^{\mathbf{w h}}$ |  |
| Nasals | $\mathbf{m}$ | $\mathbf{n}$ |  |  |  |  |
| Fricatives |  | $\mathbf{s},(\mathbf{z})$ |  |  |  | ${ }^{{ }^{\mathbf{*}} \boldsymbol{h}_{\mathbf{1}},{ }^{*} \boldsymbol{h}_{\mathbf{2}},{ }^{*} \boldsymbol{h}_{\mathbf{3}}}$ |
| Liquids |  | $\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{l}$ |  |  |  |  |
| Approximant | $\mathbf{u}$ |  | $\mathbf{i}^{2}$ |  |  |  |

NOTE 1. [z] was already heard in Late Proto-Indo-European, as a different pronunciation of [s] before voiced consonants, and because of that it is an alternative writing in MIE, as in PIE nízdos (for ní-sd-os), nest, which comes from PIE roots ni, down, and zero-grade of sed, sit.

NOTE 2. The existence of a distinctive row of PIE 'satemizable' velars, the so-called palatovelars, has been the subject of much debate over the last century of IE studies. Today the question is, however, usually deemed solved, with a majority of scholars supporting only two types of velars - generally Velars and Labiovelars, although other solutions have been proposed. The support of neogrammarians to the 'palatals', as well as its acceptance in Brugmann's Grundriss and Pokorny's Lexikon, has extended the distinction to many (mainly etymological) works, which don't deal with the phonological reconstruction problem directly. For more on this, see Appendix II.2.

NOTE 3. The symbols $h_{1}, h_{2}, h_{3}$, with cover symbol $H$ (traditionally $\partial_{1}, \partial_{2}, \partial_{3}$ and $\partial$ ) stand for three hypothetical "laryngeal" phonemes. There is no consensus as to what these phonemes were, but it is widely accepted that $\mathrm{h}_{2}$ was probably uvular or pharyngeal, and that $h_{3}$ was labialized. Commonly cited possibilities are $\rho, \varsigma, \varsigma^{w}$ and $x, \chi \sim \hbar$, $x^{w}$; there is some evidence that $h_{1}$ may have been two consonants, $\rho$ and $h$, that fell together. See Appendix II. 3 .

### 2.3. SOUNDS OF THE LETTERS

2.3.1 The following pronunciation scheme is substantially that used by those who spoke the Proto-Indo-European language within Europe in the end of the so-called III Stage, at the time when the phonetic trends usually called satemization were probably spreading.

NOTE. MIE cannot permit dialectal phonetic differences - like the palatalization of velars in the Satem group -, because systematization in the pronunciation is especially needed when targeting a comprehensible language.

## 2．3．2．Vowels：

| $[\mathbf{a}:]$ as in father | $[\mathbf{a}]$ as in idea |
| :--- | :--- |
| $[\mathbf{e}:]$ as in they | $[\mathbf{e}]$ as in met |
| $[\mathbf{i}:]$ as in meet | $[\mathbf{i}]$ as in chip |
| $[\mathbf{0}:]$ as in note | $[\mathbf{o}]$ as in pot |
| $[\mathbf{u}:]$ as in rude | $[\mathbf{u}]$ as in put |

NOTE 1．Following the laryngeals＇theory，Proto－Indo－European knew only two vowels，e and o，while the other commonly reconstructed vowels were earlier combinations with laryngeals．Thus，short vowels $\boldsymbol{a}<{ }^{*} h_{2} e, \boldsymbol{e}<$ ${ }^{*}\left(h_{1}\right) e, \boldsymbol{o}<{ }^{*} h_{3} e$ and $\left(h_{1}\right) o$ ，long vowels $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}<{ }^{*} e h_{2}, \overline{\boldsymbol{e}}<{ }^{*} e h_{1}, \overline{\boldsymbol{o}}<{ }^{*} e h_{3}$ and ${ }^{*} o h$ ．The output of ${ }^{*} h_{2} o$ was either $\boldsymbol{a}$ or $\boldsymbol{o}$ ， after the different schools．Short and long vowels $\check{\overline{\boldsymbol{i}}}$ and $\check{\overline{\boldsymbol{u}}}$ are just variants of the semivowels＊$j$ and＊$w$ ．

NOTE 2．The sonants may have been lengthened too（usually because of compensatory lengthenings），especially in the conjugation of verbs，giving thus［r：］，［l：］，［m：］，［n：］，written as $\overline{\mathbf{r}}_{0}, \mathbf{\mathbf { l } _ { 0 }}, \mathbf{m} \mathbf{m}, \mathbf{\mathbf { n } _ { 0 }}$ ．The semivowels can also have a prolonged pronunciation，giving allophones $\mathbf{i j}$ and uw．For more details on this see $\S$ 2．7．2．

NOTE 3．It is recommended to mark long vowels with a macron，－，and stressed vowels with a tilde，＇，and reduplicated stems without an original vowel are represented with an apostrophe，＇（as in Greek q＇qlos，see qel）．

2．3．3．Falling Diphthongs and equivalents in English：

| $\overline{\text { éi }}$ as in vein | ё̀u $e(m e t)+u(p u t)$ |
| :---: | :---: |
| ¢̆¢i as in oil | $\overline{\mathbf{0} u}$ as ow in know |
| ב̆⿳亠二口欠i as in Cairo | $\overline{\mathbf{a} u}$ as ou in out |

NOTE．Strictly speaking，j $\breve{\overline{\mathbf{e}}}, \mathbf{j} \check{\overline{\mathbf{o}}}, \mathbf{j} \overline{\mathbf{a}}$, as well as w $\mathbf{\overline { \mathbf { e } }}, \mathbf{w} \overline{\overline{\mathbf{O}}}$ ，w $\check{\overline{\mathbf{a}}}$（the so－called rising diphthongs）aren＇t actually diphthongs，because $\boldsymbol{j}$－and $\boldsymbol{w}$－are in fact consonantal sounds．Nevertheless，we consider them diphthongs for syntax analysis；as in Eu－rō－pa－io－，where the adjectival ending－io／io／is considered a diphthong．

## 2．3．4．Triphthongs：

There are no real triphthongs，as a consequence of what was said in the preceding note．The
 wă̄u；and none can be named strictly triphthong，as there is a consonantal sound［i］or［u＿］followed by a diphthong．The rest of possible formations are made up of a diphthong and a vowel．

NOTE．Triphthong can be employed for syntax analysis，too．But a semivowel surrounded by vowels is not one． Thus，in Eurōpáiom，［eu－ro：－＇pa－iom］，European（neuter noun），there aren＇t any triphthongs．

## 2．3．4．Consonants：

1． $\mathbf{b}, \mathbf{d}, \mathbf{h}, \mathbf{k}, \mathbf{l}, \mathbf{m}, \mathbf{n}, \mathbf{p}$ ，are pronounced as in English．

3

There are several ways to generate breathy-voiced sounds, among them:

1. To hold the vocal cords apart, so that they are lax as they are for [h], but to increase the volume of airflow so that they vibrate loosely.
2. To bring the vocal cords closer together along their entire length than in voiceless [h], but not as close as in modally voiced sounds such as vowels. This results in an airflow intermediate between [h] and vowels, and is the case with English intervocalic [h].
3. To constrict the glottis, but separate the arytenoid cartilages that control one end. This results in the vocal cords being drawn together for voicing in the back, but separated to allow the passage of large volumes of air in the front. This is the situation with Hindustani.
4. n can also be pronounced as guttural [ y$]$ when it is followed by another guttural, as English sing or bank.
$3 . \mathbf{t}$ is always a plain $t$, never with the sound of $s h$, as in English oration or creation.
5. $\mathbf{g}$ always as in get. It had two dialectal pronunciations, simple velar and palatovelar. Compare the initial consonants in garlic and gear, whispering the two words, and it will be observed that before $e$ and $i$ the $g$ is sounded farther forward in the mouth (more 'palatal') than before $a$ or $o$.
$5 . \mathbf{c}$ is pronounced similar to [g] but with rounded lips. Compare the initial consonant in good with those of the preceding example to feel the different articulation. The voiceless $\mathbf{q}$ has a similar pronunciation to that of $\mathbf{c}$, but related to [k]; as $c$ in cool.
6. $\mathbf{j}$ as the sound of $y$ in yes, $\mathbf{w}$ as $w$ in will.
7. Proto-Indo-European $\mathbf{r}$ was possibly slightly trilled with the tip of the tongue (as generally in Romance or Slavic languages), but other usual pronunciations of modern Indo-European languages have to be admitted in the revived language, as French or High German $r$.
8. $\boldsymbol{s}$ is voiceless as in sin, but there are situations in which it is voiced, depending on the surrounding phonemes. Like the aforementioned [r], modern speakers will probably pronounce [s] differently, but this should not usually lead to misunderstandings, as there are no proper IE roots with original $\mathbf{z}$ or $\mathbf{s h}$, although the former appears in some phonetic environments, v.s.
9. bh, dh, gh, ch are uncertain in sound, but the recommended pronunciation is that of the Hindustānī's "voiced aspirated stops" $b h, d h, g h$, as they are examples of living voiced aspirates in an Indo-European language (see note). Hindustānī is in fact derived from Sanskrit, one of the earliest attested dialects of Late PIE.
10. $\mathbf{x}$ represents [x], whether with strong, 'ach-laut', such as $k h$ in Russian Khrushenko, or ch in Greek Christós, or soft, with 'ich-
laut', such as ch in German Kirche or Lichtenstein; but never like $k s, g z$, or $z$, as in English.
11. $\mathbf{z}, \mathbf{v}, \mathbf{f}, \mathbf{s h}$, are pronounced as in English.
12. zh is pronounced as in English leisure.
13. $\mathbf{t s h}$ corresponds to English ch in chain, and tzh to $j$ in jump
14. The aspirates $\mathbf{p h}, \mathbf{k h}$, th are pronounced very nearly like the English stressed $p, c, t$.
15. There is also another value for th, which corresponds to English th in thing, and for dh, which sounds as th in this.
16. $\mathbf{r h}, \mathbf{r r}$ and $\mathbf{r r h}$ have no similar sounds in English, although there are examples of common loan words, such as Spanish guerrilla, or Greek rhotacism or Tyrrhenos.
17. The pronunciation of $\mathbf{n j}$ is similar to English onion or canyon; and that of $\mathbf{l} \mathbf{j}$ to English million.
18. Doubled letters, like $\mathbf{l l}, \mathbf{m m}, \mathbf{t t}$, etc., should be so pronounced that both members of the combination are distinctly articulated.

### 2.4. SYLLABLES

2.4.1. In many modern languages, there are as many syllables in a word as there are separate vowels and diphthongs. This is not exactly so in Modern Indo-European. It follows, indeed, this rule too:

## Eu-rō-pa-iós, wér-dhom ${ }^{4}$, né-wās ${ }^{6}$, ju-góm ${ }^{5}$.

NOTE. The semivowels [u] and [i] are in general written $\mathbf{i}$ and $\mathbf{u}$, as we already said, when they are used in the formation of new words, i.e., when they are not derived from PIE roots. That is why the adjective European is written Eurōpaiós, not Eurōpajés, and so its derived nominalized inanimate form, n. Eurōpáiom, the European (language), or Itália, Italy and not Italja. In Proto-Indo-European stems and in words derived from them they are written with $\mathbf{j}$ and $\mathbf{w}$; as, tréjes ${ }^{155}$, three, néwos ${ }^{6}$, new, dńghuwes ['dn-ghu-ües], languages, etc.
2.4.2. Indo-European has also consonant-only syllables. It is possible to hear a similar sound in spoken English or German, as in Brighton ['brai-tn] or Haben ['ha-bñ], where the final $n$ could be considered vocalic. In this kind of syllables, it is the vocalic sonant (i.e. [r], [l], [m] or [n]) the one which functions as syllabic centre, instead of a vowel proper:

NOTE 1. Words derived from these vocalic consonants differ greatly in modern Indo-European languages. For example, dńghwā ['dn-ghuna:] (see dńghū-) evolved in Proto-Germanic as tungō(n), and later English tongue or German Zunge, while in archaic Latin it was pronounced dingwa, and then the initial $d$ became $l$ in Classic Latin lingua, which is in turn the origin of Modern English words "linguistic" and "language".

NOTE 2. We maintain the old, difficult and somehow unstable vocalic sounds in search for unity. As such a phonetic system is not easy for speakers of modern Indo-European languages, the proposed alternative pronunciation is to add, if needed, an auxiliary schwa [ ${ }^{2}$ ] before or after the sonant. The schwa we are referring to is an unstressed and toneless neutral vowel sound. There are usually two different possible pronunciations, depending on the position of the schwa; as in wĺqos, which can be pronounced ['u ${ }^{\rho} \mathrm{l}-\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{w}} \mathbf{O S}$ ], the way it probably evolved into Proto-Germanic *wulfaz, and ['ull${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{Os}$ ], similar to Proto-Greek * $(w) l u k o s$. Other possible examples are dékm ['de-k²m] (cf. Lat. decem, Gmc. tekham), and nṑmn ['no(:)-mn] (cf. Lat. nōmen, Gmc. namon).
2.4.3. In the division of words into syllables, these rules apply:

1. A single consonant is joined to the following vowel or diphthong; as né-wos ${ }^{6}$, mé-dhjos ${ }^{7}$, etc.
2. Combinations of two or more consonants (other than the vocalic ones) are regularly separated, and the first consonant of the combination is joined to the preceding vowel; as ók-tō, eight, pén-qe, five, etc. but á-gros ${ }^{8}$, field, s-qá-los ${ }^{9}$, squalus.
3. In compounds, the parts are usually separated; as Gmc. loan-translation aqā-léndhom (áqi $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}^{10}+$ léndhom ${ }^{11}$ ), island ("water thing+land"), as Gmc. aujō landom (cf. O.E. igland, ealand), or Celtic ambh-ágtos (ámbhi ${ }^{12}+\boldsymbol{a g}^{13}$ ), ambassador ("about+lead"), as Lat. ambactus, "servant".

### 2.5. QUANTITY

2.5.1. Syllables are distinguished according to the length of time required for their pronunciation. Two degrees of Quantity are recognized, long and short.

NOTE. In syllables, quantity is measured from the beginning of the vowel or diphthong to the end of the syllable.
2.5.3. A syllable is long usually,
a. if it contains a long vowel; as, mā-tér ${ }^{14}$, mother, dń-ghūs ${ }^{3}$, language
b. if it contains a diphthong; as, Eu-rṓ-pā, Europe, léuk-tom ${ }^{15}$, light
c. if it contains any two non-syllabic consonants (except a mute with $\boldsymbol{l}$ or $\boldsymbol{r}$ )
2.5.4. A syllable is short usually,
a. if it contains a short vowel followed by a vowel or by a single consonant; as, číwós ${ }^{16}$ [gwi(:)'unos], alive, or léus $\overline{\mathbf{o}}^{17}$, loosen.
b. if it contains a vocalic sonant; as, ŕtkos ${ }^{18}$ ['rt-kos], bear, nōmn ${ }^{19}$ ['no:-mn], dékm ['de-km].
2.5.5. Sometimes a syllable varies in quantity, viz. when its vowel is short and is followed by a mute with $\mathbf{l}$ or $\mathbf{r}$, i.e. by $\mathbf{p l}, \mathbf{k l}, \mathbf{t l} ; \mathbf{p r}, \mathbf{k r}$, $\mathbf{t r}$, etc.; as, ágrī $^{8}$. Such syllables are called common. In prose they are regularly short, but in verse they might be treated as long at the option of the poet.

NOTE. Such distinctions of long and short are not arbitrary and artificial, but are purely natural. Thus, a syllable containing a short vowel followed by two consonants, as ng, is long, because such a syllable requires more time for its pronunciation; while a syllable containing a short vowel followed by one consonant is short, because it takes less time to pronounce it.

### 2.6. ACCENT

2.6.1. There are stressed as well as unstressed words. The last could indicate words that are always enclitic, i.e., they are always bound to the accent of the preceding word, as $-\mathbf{q e}^{20}$, and, $-\mathbf{r}^{21}[r]$, for; while another can be proclitics, like prepositions. The accent position can thus help to distinguish words.
2.6.2. In Modern Indo-European, each non-clitic word has one and only one accent. The possibility of secondary accents depends on the pronunciation.

Verbs in Main Sentences, as well as Vocatives, appear to have had also different, not fixed accents.
NOTE 1. The attested stress of Indo-European dialects shows a great diversity: Germanic and Old Irish stressed the first syllable, Slavic and Greek had a 'semifree' accent, Latin and Armenian (as Albanian) stressed usually the penultimate, etc.

NOTE 2. Baltic and Slavic dialects still show a Musical accent, while Greek and Sanskrit vocabulary seems to show remains of an old Musical accent. In Proto-Indo-European (as in Latin) there are clear traces of syncopes and timbre variations of short vowels near the accentuated ones, what suggests that Indo-European maybe changed a Musical accent for an Intensive one.
2.6.4. The Stress is free, but that does not mean anarchy. On the contrary, it means that each word has an accent, and one has to know - usually by way of practice - where it goes.

NOTE. Unlike Latin (which followed the 'penultimate rule'), or French, in which the last syllable is usually accentuated, or Polish, Finnish, etc. Indo-European stress is (at least partly) unpredictable. Rather, it is lexical: it comes as part of the word and must be memorized, although orthography can make stress unambiguous for a reader, and some stress patterns are ruled out. Otherwise homophonous words may differ only by the position of the stress, and therefore it is possible to use stress as a grammatical device.
2.6.5. Usually, adjectives are accentuated on the ending; as in Eurōpaiós, European, Angliskós ${ }^{22}$, English, etc., while nouns aren't; as, Eurōpáios (maybe 'purer PIE' Eurốpaios, with root accent), European, Ángliskos, English(man). There are some other rules to be followed in the declension of nouns and in the conjugation of verbs, which will be later studied.

### 2.7. VOWEL CHANGE

2.7.1. Syllable creation is the most common of the various phonetic changes that modern IndoEuropean languages have undergone all along these millennia of continuated change. Anaptyxis is a type of phonetic epenthesis, involving insertion of a vowel to ease pronunciation. Examples in English
are ath-e-lete, mischiev-i-ous, or wint-e-ry. It usually happens by adding first a supporting vowel or transition sound (glide or Gleitlaut). After this, in a second stage, the added vowel acquires a fix tone, becoming a full vowel.
2.7.2. The sonants form unstable syllables, and thus vowel epenthesis is very common. For example, dń-ghwā becomes tun-gō- in Germanic and din $n$-gua in archaic Latin, while wí-qos ${ }^{23}$ was pronounced wul-qos (later wulfaz) in Proto-Germanic and wlu-qos (later lukos) in Proto-Greek.

The semivowels [i], [u] are more stable than sonants when they are syllable centres, i.e. [i] or [u]. But they have also some alternating pronunciations. When they are pronounced lento, they give the allophones [ii] and [uu_], always written $\mathbf{i j}$ and uw. Alternating forms like médhijos (which gives Lat. medius), and médhjos (which gives O.Ind. mádhjas or Gk. $\mu \dot{\varepsilon} \sigma \sigma o \varsigma)$, probably coexisted already in Late Proto-Indo-European.

NOTE. With the creation of zero-grade stems, vocalization appears, as the original radical vowels disappear and new ones are added. That happens, for example, in the PIE root bhr ${ }^{24-}$ [b${ }^{\text {hr }}$ ], carry, (cognate with English bear), which can be reconstructed from IE languages as bher-, bhor- or bhr-. The same can be said of the semivowels [i] and [u] when they are syllable edges, being syllable centres [u] and [i] in zero-grades.
2.7.3. Laryngeals were probably aspirated phonemes (reconstructed as three to nine different sounds) that appear in most current reconstructions of Middle Proto-Indo-European - i.e. the one including the Anatolian subbranch. Some laryngeals are apparently directly attested in the Anatolian inscriptions. In the other Indo-European dialects known - all derived from IE III -, their old presence is to be seen mostly through the effects they had on neighboring sounds, and on patterns of alternation that they participated in.

NOTE. Because such phonemes weren't probably heard in Late Proto-Indo-European, and because their original phonetic values remain controversial, we don't deem it useful to write them in a Modern Indo-European language system, but for the explanation of some alternating Late PIE roots or stems.
2.7.4. Another vocalizations appear in PIE dialects in some phonetic environments, as two occlusives in zero-grade, impossible to pronounce without adding a vowel; as e.g. skp, which evolved as Lat. scabo or Got. skaban. Although the dialectal solutions to such consonantal groups aren't unitary, we can find some general PIE timbres. As $\mathbf{a}, \mathbf{i}$ with a following dental (especially in Gk . and Bal.-Sla.) or $\mathbf{u}$, also considered general, but probably influenced by the context, possibly when in contact with a labial, guttural or labiovelar, as in Greek reduplicate $\boldsymbol{q}$ 'qlos ${ }^{25}$ [' $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{w}}$ - $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{los}$ ], circle, wheel, from qel, move around, which is usually pronounced qúqlos.
2.7.5. Vocalic prothesis (from Gk. $\pi \rho o-\theta \varepsilon \sigma ı \mathrm{~s}$, pre-putting), is the appending of a vowel in front of a word, usually to facilitate the pronunciation. Prothesis differ, not only among PIE dialectal branches, but also frequently within the same language or linguistic group. Especially before [r], and before [l] $]$, [ m ], $[\mathrm{n}]$ and [ud, more or less systematically, a vowel is added to ease the pronunciation; as, ŕtkos ${ }^{18}$ (maybe originally ŕtgos), bear, which gives Lat. ursus (cognate with Eng. ursine), Gk. аркто̧ (as in Eng. Arctic) or Welsh arth (as in Eng. Arthur). The timbre of the added vowel is related neither to a linguistic group or individual language, nor to a particular phonetic or morphological environment.

NOTE 1. It is therefore not a good practice in Modern Indo-European to add such vowels in front of words, but, as seen in §2.4.2., an additional auxiliary schwa ${ }^{[\rho]}$ could be a useful way to facilitate pronunciation.

NOTE 2. The different dialectal evolution of old difficult-to-pronounce words (like ŕtkos or wíqos) can be explained without a need for more phonemes, just accepting that phonetic changes are not always due to an exact pattern or 'sound law'.
2.7.6. Syllable losses are often observed in Indo-European languages. Syncope refers to the loss of an inner vowel, like brief vowels in Gothic; as, gasts from ghóstis ${ }^{26}$. Also after [u], long vowel, diphthong or sonant in Latin; as, prudens for prowidens, corolla for coronala, or ullus instead of oinolos.

Haplology, which consists of the loss of a whole syllable when two consecutive (identical or similar) syllables occur, as Lat. fastidium instead of fastitidium, or Mycenaean aporeu instead of apiporeu.

### 2.8. CONSONANT CHANGE

2.8.1. The so called s-Mobile (mobile pronounced as in Italian; the word is a Latin neuter adjective) refers to the phenomenon of alternating word pairs, with and without $\mathbf{s}$ before initial consonants, in stems with similar or identical meaning. This "moveable" prefix $\boldsymbol{s}$ - is always followed by another consonant. Typical combinations are with voiceless stops (s)p-, (s)t-, (s)k-, with liquids and nasals, (s)l-, (s)m-, (s)n-; and rarely (s)w-.

For example, Proto-Indo-European stem (s)táuros ${ }^{27}$, perhaps originally meaning bison, gave Greek тavoos (tauros) and Old English steor (Modern English steer), both meaning bull. Both variants existed side by side in Late PIE, but whereas Germanic (aside from North Germanic) has preserved the form with the $s$ mobile, Italic, Celtic, Slavic and others all have words for bull which reflect the root without the sibilant.

Such pairs with and without $\mathbf{s}$ are found even within the same language, as Gk . (s)tégos, "roof", (s)mikrós, "little", O.Ind. (s)tr., "star", and so on.

| IE stem | Meaning | Example with -s | without -s |
| :--- | :---: | :--- | :--- |
| (s)kap- | tool | Gk. skeparnion | Lat. capus |
| (s)kel- | crooked | Ger. Schielen | Gk. kolon |
| (s)kep- | cut, scrape | Eng. scab | Lat. capulare |
| (s)ker- | cut | Eng. shear, sheer | Lat. curtus |
| (s)ker- | bend | Eng. shrink | Lat. curvus |
| (s)kleu- | close | Ger. schließen | Lat. claudere |
| (s)qalo- | big fish | Lat. squalus | Eng. whale |
| (s)leg- | slimy | Eng. slack | Lat. laxus |
| (s)lei- | slimy | Eng. slime | Lat. linere |
| (s)mek- | chin | Ir. smeach | Lat. maxilla |
| (s)melo- | small animal | Eng. small | Gae. mial |
| (s)neu- | tendon, sinew | Gk. neuron | Skr. snavan |
| (s)peik- | magpie | Ger. Specht | Lat. pica |
| (s)pek- | spy, stare | O.H.G. spehon | Alb. pashë |
| (s)plei- | split | Eng. split, splinter | Eng. flint |
| (s)perg- | sparrow | O.Eng. spearwa | Lat. parra |
| (s)tea- | stand | Lat. sto, Eng. stand | Ir. ta |
| (s)ten- | thunder | O.H.G. donar | O.Sla. stenjo |
| (s)twer- | whirl | Eng. storm | Lat. turba |

NOTE 1. For (s)ten, compare O.Ind. stánati, Gk. sténō, O.Eng. stenan, Lith. stenù, O.Sla. stenjo, and without sin O.Ind. tányati, Gk. Eol. ténnei, Lat. tonare, O.H.G. donar, Cel. Tanaros (name of a river). For (s)pek, cf. O.Ind. spáśati, Av. spašta, Gk. skopós (<spokós), Lat. spektus, O.H.G. spehon, without s-in O.Ind. páśyati, Alb. pashë. For PIE (s)ker, cf. O.Ind. ava-, apa-skara-, Gk. skéraphos, O.Ir. scar(a)im, O.N. skera, Lith. skiriù, Illyr. Scardus, Alb. hurdhë (<*skrd-), without s-in O.Ind. kṛnáti, Av. karəntaiti, Gk. keíro, Arm. kcorem, Alb. kjëth, Lat. caro, O.Ir. cert, O.N. horund, Lith. kkarnà, O.Sla. korŭcŭ, Hitt. kartai-, and so on.

NOTE 2. Some scholars believe it was a prefix in PIE (which would have had a causative value), while others maintain that it is probably caused by assimilations of similar stems - some of them beginning with an $\boldsymbol{s}$-, and some of them without it. It is possible, however, that the original stem actually had an initial $\boldsymbol{s}$, and that it was lost by analogy in some situations, because of phonetic changes, probably due to some word compounds where the last $-\boldsymbol{s}$ of the first word assimilated to the first $\boldsymbol{s}$ - of the second one. That helps to explain why both stems (with and without $s$ ) are recorded in some languages, and why no regular evolution pattern may be ascertained (Adrados).
2.8.2. Before a voiced or aspirated voiced consonant, $\mathbf{s}$ was articulated as voiced, by way of assimilation; as, nízdos ${ }^{28}$ ['niz-dos], nest, or mízdhos ['miz-d ${ }^{\text {h }}$ os], meed, salary. When $\mathbf{s}$ forms a group with sonants there is usually assimilation, but such a trend is sometimes reversed by adding a consonant; as Lat. cerebrum, from kerésrom ${ }^{29}$.
2.8.3. The $\mathbf{s}$ between vowels was very unstable in PIE, evolving differently in individual dialects; as, snúsos ${ }^{30}$, daughter-in-law (cf. Lat. nurus, O.H.G. snur). The most common examples of these phonetic changes appear in PIE $\boldsymbol{s}$ stems, when followed by a vowel in declension; as nébhōs ${ }^{31}$, cloud, which gives O.C.S. nebesa, Gk. nعøغ́̀ $\eta$, or génōs ${ }^{32}$, race, stock, kind, which gives Lat. genus, generis.
2.8.4. A sequence of two dentals - as ${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{t} \boldsymbol{t},{ }^{*} \boldsymbol{d t},{ }^{*} \boldsymbol{t d h},{ }^{*} \boldsymbol{d} \boldsymbol{d} \boldsymbol{h}$, etc. - was eliminated in all Indo-European dialects, but the process of this suppression differed among branches, some earlier dialects (as Vedic) showing no change, some others an st or $\boldsymbol{s d h}$, and others ss. This trend began probably in Middle PIE, and thus Late PIE speakers knew such evolutions, which we sum up into a common intermediate stage * $\boldsymbol{s t}$, ${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{s} \boldsymbol{d} \boldsymbol{h}$, which was followed in early IE dialects, and probably known to the rest of them.

Examples in MIE are e.g. forms derived from PIE root wéid ${ }^{33}$, know, see, (cf. Lat. vidēre, Gmc. wītan, Eng. wite); as, p.p. w(e)istós, known, seen, from * $\boldsymbol{w}(\boldsymbol{e}) \mathbf{i d}-\boldsymbol{t} \boldsymbol{o ́}^{-}$, (cf. O.Ind. vitta-, but Gmc. wīssaz, Lat. vīsus, Gk. ä-(f)ıđtos, Av. vista-, O.Pruss. waist, O.Sla. veštъ, O.Ir. rofess, etc.), which gives e.g. Latin ad wístom, advice (Lat. ad visum), or wístion, vision (Lat. vīsiō), in turn giving qēlewístion ${ }^{34}$,
 wistoríā, history, from Gk. ítopia (historía); imperative wéisdhi!, see!, as O.Lith. weizdi (from * wéid-dhi, cf. O.C.S. infinitive viždo), Sla. eghwéisti, certainly, as O.C.S. izvě̌tz, etc.
2.8.5. The manner of articulation of an occlusive or sibilant usually depends on whether the next phoneme is voiced or voiceless. So e.g. voiced ag ${ }^{35}$, carry, gives voiceless ágtos ['akt-os] (not reflected in MIE writings), cf. Gk. aктos (aktos) or Lat. actus. The same happens with voiced aspirates, as in legh ${ }^{36}$, lie (cognate to Eng. log), giving Gk. $\lambda \varepsilon \kappa \tau \rho o v$ (lektron), Lat. lectus, O.H.G. Lehter; also, compare how voiceless $\mathbf{p}$ - becomes -b, when pōds ${ }^{37}$, foot, is in zero-grade -bd-, as in Gk. $\varepsilon \pi \jmath \beta \delta \alpha$ (epibda).
2.8.6. Some difficult consonantal compounds may be so pronounced in Modern Indo-European as to avoid them, imitating its modern use; as, klus(sk) $\overline{\mathbf{o}}^{38}$ ['lu-s(k)o:], listen (cf. Gmc. hluza, O.Ind. śrớsati, O.Ir. cluas, Arm. lur, Toch. A klyoṣ, Lith. kláusît, O.Bul. slušati, etc.), from IE klew, hear;

 loan-translation of Gk. $\sigma \cup \mu \beta$ oú $\lambda 1 o v, ~ s u m b o u l i o n), ~ g n a ̆ ́ t i o ̄ n ~ 41 ~[n a:-' t i o n], ~ n a t i o n ~(a s ~ L a t . ~ n a t i o), ~$ prksk $\mathbf{o ́}^{42}$ [prs-'ko:/pors-'ko:/pos-'ko:], ask, demand, inquire (cf. Skr. pṛcchati, Av. parasaiti, Pers. pursēdan, Lat. poscere, O.H.G. forskōn, Lith. peršù, O.Ir. arcu, Toch. pärk), etc.

NOTE. Verbs like *klusinā, a loan translation of English 'listen' (from IE klu-s-, listen, from klew, hear), should be avoided if possible in Modern Indo-European, for the sake of proper communication, if there is another common PIE verb with the same meaning; in this case, the verb is cognate with other IE verbs derived directly from $\mathbf{k l u s}(\mathbf{s k}) \overline{\mathbf{o}}$, and therefore it is unnecessary to use the English tertiary formation shown. Such forms are too derived to be considered an Indo-European term proper; it would be like using Romance *māturikāmi, get up early, loan-translating Spanish "madrugar".

### 2.9. PECULIARITIES OF ORTHOGRAPHY

2.9.1. Indo-European words may show a variable orthography.
2.9.2. In many words the orthography varies because of alternating forms that give different derivatives; as in dốmos ${ }^{43}$, house, but demspóts ${ }^{44}$ [des-‘po-ts], master, lord, despot, as Gk. סعблótทs (despótēs), Skr. dampati, Av. də̣̣g patōiš, (with fem. demspótnia, [des-'po-nia]) or démrom, timber, as Gmc. temran, all from PIE root dem-/dōm-, house.

NOTE. The forms shown, Greek dems-pót- $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$, as well as Indo-Iranian dems-pót-is, are secondary formations derived from the original Proto-Indo-European form; compare, for an original PIE ending $\boldsymbol{t} \boldsymbol{t}$ in compounds, Lat. sacerdōs<*-ōts, O.Ind. devastút-, "who praises the gods", etc.
2.9.3. In other situations, the meaning is different, while the stems are the same; as, gher ${ }^{45}$, enclose, grasp, which gives ghórdhos/ghórtos, garden, enclosure, town (cf. Gmc. gardon, Lat. hortus, Gk. khortos, Phry. -gordum, O.Ir. gort, Lith. gardas, O.C.S. gradu, Alb. garth, etc.), and gher ${ }^{46}$, bowels, fig. like, want, giving ghrédhus, hunger, etc.
2.9.4. In some cases, however, the grammatical rules of Modern Indo-European affect how a word is written. For example, the word Spánīā ${ }^{140}$, Spain, could have been written Spámjē $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$, or Brittániā, Britain, Brittanj$\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$; but we chose to maintain the letter -i when possible. We write $\boldsymbol{- j}$ or $-\boldsymbol{w}$ only in some specific cases, to differentiate clearly the Proto-Indo-European roots from its derivatives:

NOTE. Modern English Britain comes from O.Fr. Bretaigne, in turn from L.Lat. Britannia, earlier Lat. Brittania, itself from Brítton, Briton, from Lat. Britto, Brittonem, from the Celtic name given to the Celtic inhabitants of Great Britain before the Anglo-Saxon invasion, MIE Britts, Briton. A more Germanic noun in Modern Indo-European would be Brittonléndhom, as it was known in Old English, Breten-lond, similar to the MIE term for "England", Angloléndhom, v.s.

1. In PIE roots and its derivatives; as, tréjes (possibly from earlier tri-), three, jugóm ${ }^{5}$ (from jeug), yoke, sấwel ${ }^{68}$, sun, néwos, new, (probably from nu, now), etc. Therefore, PIE roots with different articulations of the semivowel [u], [i] can be written differently; as, neu-/nou-, shout, but part. now-ént- "announcing" (not nouent-), giving nówentios ['no-uen-tios], messenger, or nówentiom,
 ['gwio:-iom], being, animal, as Gk. 了'̆ov (zōon); it also gives variant cio- (and not eje-), as in cíos, life,
from Gk. $\beta \iota o s$, and hence ciologíā [gwio-lo-‘gi-a], biology, (in compound with lógos ${ }^{134}$, from Gk. $\lambda o ́ \gamma o s)$, and not ejolegíā.

NOTE. This rule is also followed in declension; as, Nom. ówis ${ }^{149}$, Gen. owjós or Nom. pék $\breve{\mathbf{u}}^{150}$, Gen. pékwos.
2. In traditionally reconstructed stems with a semivowel; as serw, protect, (possibly from ser-48), which gives extended sérwā, keep, preserve, and sérwos, slave, servant, or cei(w), live, from which zero-grade cĭ́wós, alive, living; but cf. man ${ }^{49}$, man, which gives common mánus, and Gmc. mánuos, man, not manwes, and adjective manuiskós, human; or Latin sítus, place (possibly but unlikely from PIE suffixed * tki-tus ${ }^{77}$ ), is sitū , locate, situate, and not sitw$\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$, etc.

NOTE. This rule is followed because of a) scarcely attested roots, whose origin is not straightforward - as serw-, which could be from PIE ser-, but could also be just an Etruscan borrowing, and b) Indo-European tradition.
3. In metathesized forms; as PIE neu ${ }^{50}$, tendon, sinew, which gives stems neuro-, and nerwo-, i.e. néurom, neuron, from Gk. veũpov (as in abstract collective neurắ), and nérwos, nerve, from Lat. neruus, possibly from Italic neurus.

NOTE. Following these first three rules, semivowels from Proto-Indo-European roots (whether inflected or not) should be clearly distinguished from the semivowels of derivatives extended in -uo-, -io-, -nu-, and so on.
4. When there is a consonantal sound before or after a sonant, whether a PIE root or not; as, néwn, nine; stấjr! ${ }^{51}$, fat, pấwr $\mathbf{r}^{52}$, fire, prōwós ${ }^{155}$, first, perwṇtós ${ }^{53}$, rocky, etc. Also, in vowel+glide; as in bháwtos ['b ${ }^{\mathrm{h}}$ aư-tos], a Greek loan translation (also as loan word phốtos), whose original IE (genitive) form is bhauesós->bhau(e)tós->phōtós), hence Gk. $\varphi \omega ̃ \varsigma$, $\varphi \omega \tau$ ¢́s (phōs, phōtós).

NOTE. Graeco-Latin loans like bháwtos, photo, pórnos, porn, from pornogrbhós, pornograph, from pornắ, prostitute; rewolútion, revolution, from O.Fr. revolution, itself from L.Lat. reuolutiō, for which Latin had originally res nouae; or ghostâlis, hotel, from Fr. hôtel, from L.Lat. hostalis, "guest-house", from hostis, "guest", for which Latin used deuersorium; etc. Such loan words are common to most modern IE languages, especially within Europe, and may therefore be left so in MIE, instead of trying to use another common older Proto-Indo-European terms.
5. When the semivowel -i- is followed or preceded by another $\boldsymbol{i}$, or the semivowel $\boldsymbol{- u}$ - is followed or preceded by another $\boldsymbol{u}$; as, dréuwos ${ }^{54}$, confidence, léuwā ${ }^{55}$, lag, bolijós ${ }^{56}$, big, etc.

NOTE. This happens usually in inflected forms of nouns and verbs ending in [i:] or [u:]; as, dńghuwes, languages, bhruwés, of the brow, etc.
6. As a general exception, none of these rules should be followed in compounds, when the semivowel is the last sound of the first word; e.g., for triấthlōn (from Gk. athlon, "contest"), triathlon, we won't


NOTE. In Modern Indo-European, compounds may be written with and without hyphen, as in the different modern Indo-European languages; for Sindhueurōpaiom/Sindhu-Eurōpaiom, compare Eng. IndoEuropean, Ger. Indoeuropäisch, Fr. Indo-européen, It., Sp. indoeuropeo, Gal.-Pt. Indo-européu, Cat. indoeuropeu, Du. Indo-Europees, Pol. indoeuropejski, Lit. indoeuropiečǐu, Ir. Ind-Eorpach, Russ. индоевропейский, Gk. ıбסoعv $\rho \omega \pi \alpha і ̈ к \grave{\prime}$, Ira. هندو اروپٌ ای ى, Hin. हिन्द-यूरोपीय, etc.
2.9.5. What many old PIE books reconstruct as [ $\partial$ ] or schwa is generally written and pronounced in Modern Indo-European with a simple a; as, patérr ${ }^{57}$, father, for ${ }^{*} p h_{2}$ ter-, bhátis ${ }^{58}$, appearance, for ${ }^{*} b^{h} h_{2} t i s$, or ána ${ }^{59}$, breath, for ${ }^{*} a n h_{2}$ - from which derivatives MIE ánamālis, animal, as Lat. animalis (affected by Ablaut because of the 'penultimate rule' of Classic Latin), MIE ánamos, wind, as Gk. a̋ve $\mu \mathrm{os}$, MIE ánati, he breathes, as Skr. aniti, and so on.

NOTE. Academic works use traditionally this Schwa Indogermanicum to represent vowels of uncertain quality (and not neutral vowels) in Late PIE. It was observed that, while for the most part [a] in Latin and Ancient Greek corresponded to $a$ in Sanskrit, there were instances where Sanskrit had [i] while Latin and Greek had [a], such as Skr. pitar vs. Lat. pater and O.Gk. ла́ $\tau \varepsilon \rho$. These findings evolved into the theory of the so-called laryngeals. Most scholars of Proto-Indo-European would now postulate three different old phonemes rather than a single indistinct schwa. Some scholars postulate yet more, to explain further problems in the Proto-Indo-European vowel system. Most reconstructions of *-z- in older literature would correspond to ${ }^{*}-h_{2}$ - in contemporary notation, and usually to -a- in Modern Indo-European simplified (Northwestern dialectal) writing and phonological system. See Appendix II. 3 for more details on the reconstructed PIE laryngeals.
2.9.6. The forms with the copulative -qe $\mathbf{e}^{20}$, and, and disjunctive -w $\check{\mathbf{e}}$, or, are usually written by adding it to the preceding word, as in Latin -que, but with a hyphen.
2.9.7. The capital letters are used at the beginning of the following kind of words:
a. the names of days ${ }^{60}$, months ${ }^{61}$, seasons ${ }^{62}$ and public holidays; as, Januários, January, Sem, Summer, Newóm Jérom, New Year, etc.
b. the names of people and places, including stars and planets; as, Sá́wel, Sun, Djé́us, God63, Teutiskoléndhom, Germany (loan-translated O.Ger. Diut-isk-lant, v.i. Compound Words §4.10). c. people's titles, as Prōbhastórr ${ }^{64}$, Professor, Kolumnélis ${ }^{65}$, Colonel, Disrēgtốr ${ }^{66}$, Director, etc. d. with Nítos or Skéuros, North ${ }^{67}$; Súntos or Déksinā, South ${ }^{68}$; Áustos, East ${ }^{69}$ and Wéstos, West ${ }^{70}$ and its derivatives. Also adjectives Nrtrós, Northern, Suntrós, Deksiós, southern, Austrós, eastern, Westrós or Wesperós, West.
e. in official or well-established place names; as Kolossé́om, Coliseum (from Lat. Colossēum, in turn from kolossós, Gk. ко入ooбós), Pláteiā¹, the Square (from Lat. platea, from PIE pel, flat), etc.
2.9.8. The vocallic allophones [r], [l] $]$, [m], [n] may be written, as in Latin transliterations of Sanskrit texts, as $\boldsymbol{r}, \underline{l}, \boldsymbol{m}$, and $\boldsymbol{n}$, to help the reader clearly identify the sonants; therefore, alternative writings ṇmṛtós, inmortal, ḳ̣tóm, hundred, wódṛ, water, etc. are also possible.

### 2.10. KINDRED FORMS

Compare the following Proto-Indo-European words and their evolution in Germanic dialects and in Latin, with their common derivatives in Modern English.

| PIE | Proto-Gmc. | Gothic | O.Eng. | Latin | English (Lat.) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| pater | fader | fadar | fæder | pater | father (paternal) |
| septm | sebun | sibun | seofon | septem | seven (September) |
| treb | thurpa- | baurp | borp | trabēs | thorp (trabecula) |
| leb | lepjon | lep | lippa | labium | lip (labial) |
| bhrater | brothar | bropar | bropor | frater | brother (fraternal) |
| bher | beron | bairan | bera | ferre | bear (infer) |
| wert | werthaz | wairpan | weard | uertere | -ward (versus) |
| trejes | thrijiz | breis | brēo | tres | three (trinity) |
| dekm | tekhan | taihun | ten,tien | decem | ten (decimal), |
| ed | etanan | itan | etan | edere | eat (edible) |
| dhē | dōn | gadeths | dōn/do | facere | do (factor), |
| dhers | ders | gadars | dearr | festus | dare (manifest) |
| leuk | leukhtam | liuhap | lēoht | lux | light (lucid) |
| kerd | khertan | hairto | heorte | cor(d) | heart (core) |
| aug | aukon | aukan | eacien | augere | eke (augment) |
| gnō | kunnan | kunnan | cunnan | (g)noscere | can (notice) |
| ghostis | gastiz | gasts | gæst, giest | hostis | guest (hostile) |
| bhergh | burgs | baurgs | burg, burh | fortis | borough (force) |
| leiq | laikhwnjan | leihwan | lænan | linquere | lend (relinquish) |
| qi/qo | khwi/khwa | hwi/hwa | hwilc/hwæt | qui/quo | why/what (quote) |
| cem | kuman | qiman | cuman | uenire | to come (venue) |
| cīwos | kwi(k)waz | quis | cwicu | uīuus | quick (vivacity) |
| lech | līkhtaz | leihts | līht, lēoht | leuis | light (levity) |
| cher | brennan | brinnan | beornan | fornus | burn (furnace) |

## 3. WORDS AND THEIR FORMS

### 3.1. THE PARTS OF SPEECH

3.1.1. Words are divided into eight Parts of Speech: Nouns, Adjectives (including Participles), Pronouns, Verbs, Adverbs, Prepositions, Conjunctions, and Interjections.
3.1.2. A Noun is the name of a person, place, thing or idea: as, Angloléndhom, England (cf. O.E. Engla land, "land of the Angles"); wérdhom7, verb; márkiā73, mare, baktếriom74, n.pl. baktéria.
Names of particular persons and places are called Proper Nouns; other nouns are called Common. NOTE. An Abstract Noun is the name of a quality or idea. A Collective Noun is the name of a group or a class.
3.1.3. An Adjective is a word that attributes a quality; as, patrióm ${ }^{57}$, parental, bheláz5, bright, Teutiskós ${ }^{76}$, German, entergnationālís ${ }^{77}$, international.

NOTE 1. A Participle is a word that attributes quality like an adjective, but, being derived from a verb, retains in some degree the power of the verb to assert.
NOTE 2. Etymologically there is no difference between a noun and an adjective, both being formed alike. So, too, all names originally attribute quality, and any common name can still be so used. Thus, Régiāa ${ }^{66}$ (or Cénis ${ }^{78}$ ) Elísabhet II, Queen Elizabeth II (or Elízabhet, as Gk. Eגı$\sigma(\sigma) \alpha \beta \varepsilon \tau$, from Hebrew Eli-sheva, "God is an oath"), distinguishes this Elizabeth from other Elizabeths, by the attribute expressed in the name Régiā/Cénis, Queen.
3.1.4. A Pronoun is a word used to distinguish a person, place, thing or idea without either naming or describing it: as, egó ${ }^{161}, I ;$ twos $^{163}$, your; wéi ${ }^{162}$, we.

Nouns and pronouns are often called Substantives.
3.1.5. A Verb is a word capable of asserting something: as, bhérō, I carry, bear; bháti, it shines.

NOTE. In English the verb is usually the only word that asserts anything, and a verb is therefore supposed to be necessary to complete an assertion. Strictly, however, any adjective or noun may, by attributing a quality or giving a name, make a complete assertion; as, wíros ${ }^{79}$ dwenós ${ }^{80}$ (ésti), the man (is) good, unlike dwenós wíros, the good man; or áutom ${ }^{81}$ ghōdhóm (ésti), the car is good, unlike ghōdhóm áutom, the good car. In the infancy of language there could have been no other means of asserting, as the verb is comparatively of late development.
3.1.6. An Adverb is a word used to express the time, place, or manner of an assertion or attribute: as, per $^{82}$, in front, épi ${ }^{83}$, near, ánti ${ }^{84}$, opposite.
NOTE. These same functions are often performed in Indo-European by cases of nouns, pronouns and adjectives, and by phrases or sentences.
3.1.7. A Preposition is a word which shows the relation between a noun or pronoun and some other word or words in the same sentence; as, e.g., ad ${ }^{85}$, at, to, $\mathbf{a l}^{86}$, beyond, de ${ }^{87}$, from, $\mathbf{k o m}^{88}$, with, eghs $^{89}$, out, upo ${ }^{90}$, up, and so on.
3.1.8. A Conjunction is a word which connects words, or groups of words, without affecting their grammatical relations: as, -qe, and; -w $\overline{\mathbf{e}}^{91}$, or, -ma, but, -r, for.
3.1.9. Interjections are mere exclamations and are not strictly to be classed as parts of speech, and may vary among IE dialects; as, hej, haj, (á)hoj (greeting), hállo, hólla, (on the telephone); $\overline{\mathbf{o}}$ (vocative); oh (surprise); ha ha (laugh); áu(tsh) (pain); etc.

NOTE. Interjections sometimes express an emotion which affects a person or thing mentioned, and so have a grammatical connection like other words.

### 3.2. INFLECTION

3.2.1. Indo-European is an inflected language. Inflection is a change made in the form of a word to show its grammatical relations.

NOTE. Some modern Indo-European languages, like most Germanic and Romance dialects, have lost partly or completely their earliest attested inflection systems - due to different simplification trends - , in nominal declension as well as in verbal conjugation.
3.2.2. Inflectional changes sometimes take place in the body of a word, or at the beginning, but oftener in its termination:
bhábhā $\bar{a}^{92}$, the or a bean; snichés ${ }^{93}$, of the snow; (egố) wégh $\bar{o}^{94}$, I ride; trātóme ${ }^{95}$, we crossed over; dáte ${ }^{96}$, give! (pl.)
3.2.3. Terminations of inflection had possibly originally independent meanings which are now obscured. They probably corresponded nearly to the use of prepositions, auxiliaries and personal pronouns in English.

Thus, in bháres-m97, the barley (Acc.), the termination is equivalent to "the" or "to the"; in bhléti9 ${ }^{8}$
 signifies a change in the mood.
3.2.4. Inflectional changes in the body of a verb usually denote relations of tense or mood, and often correspond to the use of auxiliary verbs in English:
(tu) déresi ${ }^{99}$, (thou) tear or are tearing; dóre, he tore; (gí)gnōsketi ${ }^{100}$, he knows, gégona, I knew (see Verbal Inflection for Reduplication and its meaning)
3.2.5. The inflection of Nouns, Adjectives, Pronouns and Participles to denote gender, number and case is called Declension, and these parts of speech are said to be declined.

The inflection of Verbs to denote voice, mood, tense, number and person is called Conjugation, and the verb is said to be conjugated.

NOTE. Adjectives are often said to have inflections of comparison. These are, however, properly stemformations made by derivations.
3.2.6. Adverbs, Prepositions, Conjunctions and Interjections are not inflected, and together form the group of the so-called Particles.

### 3.3. ROOT, STEM AND BASE

3.3.1. The body of a word, to which the terminations are attached, is called the Stem. The Stem contains the idea of the word without relations; but, except in the first part of compounds (cf. Niteroléndhom ${ }^{101}$, the Low Land or Netherland, klaustrobhocía ${ }^{102}$, claustrophobia, etc.), it cannot ordinarily be used without some termination to express them.
Thus the stem ka(u)put ${ }^{103-}$ denotes head, hence also "main"; káput (without ending) means a head or the head, as the Subject or Agent of an action or as Vocative, as well as to a head or to the head, as the Direct Object; with -os it becomes kaputós, and signifies of a head or of the head, and so on.

NOTE. In inflected languages like Indo-European, words are built up from Roots, which at a very early time were possibly used alone to express ideas. Roots are then modified into Stems, which, by inflection, become fully formed words. The process by which roots are modified, in the various forms of derivatives and compounds, is called stem-building. The whole of this process is originally one of composition, by which significant endings are added one after another to forms capable of pronunciation and conveying a meaning.
3.3.2. A Root is the simplest form attainable by analysis of a word into its component parts. Such a form contains the main idea of the word in a very general sense, and is common also to other words either in the same language or in kindred languages.

NOTE. The reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European language looks for a very old language, and this has an obvious consequence on the general assertion that roots don't mean anything. In fact, many reconstructed PIE roots mean something, even without adding a single ending. So, for example, the English word 'special' has a root *spec (also root of words like speculate or species) which expresses vaguely the idea of looking. In Modern IndoEuropean, however, the (Latin) adjective spekiālís, special, coexists with its original PIE root, the verb spek(ī̄), observe. Language evolution blurs the original meanings, and many roots had possibly ceased to be recognized as such before IE III - although less so than in modern languages. Consequently, sometimes (not very often) the reconstructed PIE roots which we use as independent words in Modern Indo-European actually lacked a proper meaning already in Late PIE; they are used because sometimes a common IE form is needed and only different words from the same root have been attested.

For example, the root of verb démō, domesticate, is dem-104 (or strictly *demh ${ }_{2}$ ), which does not necessarily mean to domesticate, or I domesticate, or domesticating, but merely expresses vaguely the idea of domesticating, and possibly cannot be used as a part of speech without terminations - in fact, dem- (strictly [dem]) is another PIE root which means house, but is unrelated to the verb, at least in this IE III stage. With the ending -tiit becomes démeti, he/she/it domesticates.
3.3.3. The Stem may be the same as the root; as, sal- $\mathbf{s}^{105}$, salt, bhléig-e-ti ${ }^{106}$, he/she/it shines; but it is more frequently formed from the root.

1. By changing or lengthening its vowel: from root bhēl ${ }^{107}$, blow, swell, bhốl-os, ball, or bhól-ā, bullet, and bhí-os, bowl. Also dā ${ }^{108}$, divide, gives dái-mōn, demon (from older Gk. daimon, divider, provider), and dí-mōn, time, period (from Gmc. tīmōn, which gives O.Eng. tīma, O.N. timi, Swe. timme; unrelated to Lat. tempus, MIE loan word témpōs).
2. By the addition of a simple suffix; as, bhér- $\overline{\mathbf{a}}^{109}$, bear, lit. "brown animal", líno-m ${ }^{110}$, flax.
3. By two or more of this methods: chn-tó-s, (chen ${ }^{111}$ in zero-grade, with participial ending -to, and masculine ending), beaten, gón-iā-s, angles (genus ${ }^{112}$, knee, in o-grade with ending -io-, feminine in $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$, plural in $-\boldsymbol{s}$ ).
4. By derivation and composition, following the laws of development peculiar to the language, which we will see in the corresponding chapters.
3.3.4. The Base is that part of a word which is unchanged in inflection: as, cherm- ${ }^{113}$ in chermós, warm, eus- ${ }^{114}$ in éusō, burn; noch- ${ }^{115}$ in nochetós, naked, etc.
a. The Base and the Stem are often identical, as in many consonant stems of nouns (as cer-in cers ${ }^{166}$, mount). If, however, the stem ends in a vowel, the latter does not appear in the base, but is variously combined with the inflectional termination. Thus the stem of cóns ${ }^{117}$, cow, is cou-; that of ármos ${ }^{118}$, arm, is armo-.
3.3.5. Inflectional terminations are modified differently by combination with the final vowel or consonant of the Stem, and the various forms of Declension and Conjugation are so developed.

### 3.4. GENDER

3.4.1. The Genders distinguished in Modern Indo-European are three: Masculine, Feminine (both are referred to as Animate) and Neuter or Inanimate.
3.4.2. The gender of Indo-European nouns is either natural or grammatical.

The masculine functions as the negative term in the opposition, i.e. when the gender is not defined, the masculine is used. This is a grammatical utility, one that is only relevant for concordance, and which has to do with the evolution of the language and its inflection.

The earliest PIE had probably no distinction of gender; when the inanimate appeared, it was marked by a different inflection, and the animates remained as the negative term in the opposition. After that, probably at the same time as the thematic declension (in -e/o) appeared, the feminine was differentiated from the remaining animates, with marks like the different stem vowel (usually -a) or vowel length (as $-\overline{\mathbf{i}},-\overline{\boldsymbol{u}}$ ). Therefore, the feminine is the positive term of the opposition within the animates, because when we use it we reduce the spectrum of the animates to the feminine, while the masculine still serves as the negative (non-differentiated) term for both, the general and the animates, when used in this sense, i.e. when not differentiating the masculine from the other genders.
a. Natural Gender is distinction as to the sex of the object denoted: bhrắtēr ${ }^{119}$ (m.), brother; cénā ${ }^{120}$ (f.), woman, wife.

NOTE. Many nouns have both a masculine and a feminine form to distinguish sex: as, eurōpáios, eurōpáiā, European (nominalized adjectives), or ékwos, ékwā, horse, mare. ${ }^{121}$

NOTE 2. Names of classes or collections of persons may be of any gender. For example, ármatā (f.), army; from PIE ar, fit together (as in ármos, arm, upper arm, shoulder, cf. Gmc. armaz, Lat. armus, Gk. àpuós); also ghóros (m.), choir, chorus, dancing ground, from PIE gher, grasp, enclose - loan translated from Gk. रopós, originally "an special enclosure for dancing" in its origin, cf. Gmc. gardaz, ghórdhos, or Lat. hortus, ghórtos, both meaning garden, yard, enclosure. ${ }^{122}$
b. Grammatical Gender is a formal distinction as to sex where no actual sex exists in the object. It is shown in the form of the adjective joined with the noun: as swādús ${ }^{123}$ nóqtis ${ }^{124}$ (f.), a pleasant night; mreghús ${ }^{125}$ kántos ${ }^{126}$ (m.), brief song ("singing"). The gender of the adjective is simply a gender of concordance: it indicates to which noun of a concrete gender the adjective refers to.
3.4.3. The neuter or inanimate gender differs from the other two in inflection, not in the theme vowel. The gender of the animates, on the contrary, is usually marked by the theme vowel, and sometimes by declension, vocalism and accent.
3.4.4. The neuter does not refer to the lack of sex, but to the lack of liveliness or life. Sometimes, however, animates can be designated as inanimates and vice versa.

While the distinction between masculine and feminine is usually straightforward, sometimes the attribution of sex is arbitrary; thus, different words for "ship" ${ }^{127}$ or "war" ${ }^{128}$ are found as feminine (as nấus or wérsā), masculine (as bhóids, or Greek loan pólemos), and neuter (wáskolom or crígā).
3.4.5. The animate nouns can have:
a. An oppositive gender, marked:
I. by the lexicon, as in patér-mātếr, father-mother, bhrátēr ${ }^{119}$-swésōr ${ }^{129}$, brother-sister, súnus ${ }^{130-d h u ́ g(a) t e ̄ r}{ }^{131}$, son-daughter, etc. ${ }^{132}$
II. by the theme vowel, as in ékwos-ékwā ${ }^{121}$, horse-mare, wíqos-wíqia ${ }^{23}$, wolf-she-wolf.
III. by both at the same time, as in wíros ${ }^{79}$-cén $\bar{a}^{120}$, male-female.
b. An autonomous gender, that does not oppose itself to others, as in ná́us (f.), ship, pōds (m.), foot, egnís (m.), fire, ówis (f.), sheep, jéwos ${ }^{133}$ (n.) or lēghs (f.), law. ${ }^{134}$
c. A common gender, in nouns that are masculine or feminine depending on the context; as, dhesós, god/goddess (cf. Gk.Hom. Evós), cốus, cow or bull (cf. Gk. accompanied by táuros, as Scient. Eng. bos taurus), náutā, sailor, djousnalístā, journalist, stúdents ${ }^{135}$, student, etc.
d. An epicene gender, which, although being masculine or feminine, designates both sexes: as the feminine sūs ${ }^{136}$, pig, or masculine kákk $\overline{\mathbf{a}}^{137}$, shit (as an insult).
3.4.6. The gender of a noun can thus be marked by the stem vowel (or sometimes by inflection), or has to be learnt: it is a feature of a word like any other. In its context, concordance is a new gender mark; a masculine noun has a masculine adjective, and a feminine noun a feminine adjective. However, not all adjectives differentiate between masculine and feminine, a lot of them (those in -i-s, -u-s, -ēs, $-\overline{\boldsymbol{o}} \boldsymbol{n}$, and many thematic in -os) are masculine-feminine: only the context, i.e. the noun with which they agree, helps to disambiguate them. This happens also in nouns with a common gender.
3.4.7. Most endings do not indicate gender, as in patér and mātếr. Only by knowing the roots in many cases, or by the context in others, is it possible to determine it. Some of the suffixes determine, though, totally or partially if they are masculine or feminine. These are the following:

1. -os marks masculine when it is opposed to a feminine in - $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ or $-\overline{\boldsymbol{\imath}} /-\mathbf{i} \overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$, as in ékwos-ékwā, wíqoswíqiă̆, djé́us-djéwī, etc. This happens also in adjectives in the same situation, as in néwos-néwā. In isolated nouns, -os is generally masculine, but some traces of the old indistinctness of gender still remained in the third stage of the Proto-Indo-European language, as in the names of trees (among others). In adjectives, when the ending -os is not opposed to feminine, concordance decides.
2. $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ marks the feminine in oppositions of nouns and adjectives. It is usually also feminine in isolated nouns, in the first declension. But there are also traces of masculines in - $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$, as, ōságā (or as Latin partial loan $\overline{\boldsymbol{o}} r \underline{1} \boldsymbol{g} \overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ ), charioteer, driver (from $\overline{\mathbf{o}} \mathbf{S}^{116}$, mouth, and $\mathbf{a g}^{13}$, drive), Lat. auriga; náutā, "sailor", as Gk. vaútņ; or slúgā, servant, as O.Sla. slŭga, Lith. slauga "service", O.Ir. sluag, "army unit", etc.
3. $-\overline{\boldsymbol{i}} /-\boldsymbol{i} \breve{\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}}$, is systematically feminine. It is used in nouns, and often in adjectives.
4. Finally, the roots ending in long vowels $-\overline{\mathbf{1}}$ and $-\overline{\mathbf{u}}$ are always feminines.

### 3.5. GENERAL RULES OF GENDER

3.5.1. Names of Male beings, and of Rivers, Winds, Months, and Mountains are masculine:
patếr ${ }^{57}$, father, Kárlos ${ }^{1}$, Charles, Réin ${ }^{138}$, the Rhine, Áustros ${ }^{69}$, south wind, Mágios ${ }^{61}$, May, Uráles, the Urals.

NOTE. The Urals’ proper name is Uraliskás Corấs, Lat. Uráles Móntes, "Urals' Mounts", Ural Mountains, cf. Russ. Ура́льские го́ры (Uralskiye gory).
a. A few names of Rivers ending in - $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ (as Wólgā), and many Greek names ending in $-\bar{e}(s)$, which usually corresponds to IE $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$, are feminine; others are variable or uncertain, generally retaining their oldest attested IE gender in MIE.

NOTE. The Russian hydronym Во́лга is akin to the Slavic words for "wetness, humidity" (cf. Russ. влага, волога), maybe from the same root as PIE base wed, wet, easily borrowed in MIE from Slavic as Wólgā.
b. Some names of Mountains are feminines or neuter: as, Álpes (f. pl.), the Alps

NOTE. Álpes, from Latin Alpes, may have been related originally to the source of adjectives albhós ${ }^{139}$ (white, cf. Hitt. alpas, v.i.) or altós (high, grown up, from IE al79), possibly from a Celtic or Italic dialect.
3.5.2. Names of Female beings, of Cities, Countries, Plants, Trees and Gems, of many Animals (especially Birds), and of most abstract Qualities, are feminine:
mātếr ${ }^{14}$, mother, Djówiliā̄${ }^{63}$, Julia, Fránkiāā ${ }^{140}$, France, Rốmā, Rome, pínus ${ }^{141}$, pine, sanipríjos, sapphire (Gk. sáppheiros, ult. from Skr. sani-priyah, lit. "sacred to Saturn"), wērós ${ }^{128}$, true.
a. Some names of Towns and Countries are masculine: as, Oinitós (from óinos, one, or 'purer' IE Jugtós, "joined") Gningodhốmos ${ }^{142}$, United Kingdom, Montinécros ${ }^{143}$, Montenegro; or neuter, as, Sweorếgiom ${ }^{144}$, Sweden, Finnléndhom ${ }^{145}$, Finland.
b A few names of Plants and Gems follow the gender of their termination; as, kmtáuriom (n.), centaury, ákantos (m., Gk. a̋каvӨos), bearsfot, úpolos (m.), opal, from PIE upo, up from under.

NOTE. The gender of most of the above may also be recognized by the terminations, according to the rules given under the different declensions.
3.5.3. Indeclinable nouns, infinitives, terms or phrases used as nouns, and words quoted merely for their form, are neuter:
press ${ }^{146}$, traffic in, sell, Eurōpáio, european (n.n.), néhīlom, nothing, kómmi/gúmmi, gum.

NOTE 1. Latin nehilum, "nihil, nil", comes from hīlum" small thing, trifle" hence "not even a small thing, nothing", of unknown origin, therefore MIE hálom.

NOTE 2. Eng. gum comes from O.Fr. gomme, from L.Lat. gumma, from Lat. gummi, from Gk. kommi, from Coptic kemai, hence MIE loans Lat. gúmmis, or Gk. kómmis.
3.5.4. Many nouns may be either masculine or feminine, according to the sex of the object. These are said to be of Common Gender: as, eksáliom ${ }^{147}$, exile; cốus ${ }^{117}$, ox or cow; párents ${ }^{148}$, parent.

NOTE. Several names of animals have a grammatical gender, independent of sex. These are called epicene. Thus, $\mathbf{s u} \mathbf{u}^{136}$, swine, and wípēs ${ }^{23}$, fox, are always feminine.
3.5.5. Nouns, Pronouns, Adjectives and Participles are declined in MIE in two Numbers, singular and plural - PIE had also a possibly dialectal dual - and up to eight cases, Nominative, Vocative, Accusative, Genitive and Oblique - which is found subdivided into combinations of Dative, Locative, Instrumental and Ablative.

NOTE 1. European dialects show around six cases, but most of the oldest attested ones (Ind.-Ira., P.-Gk., Ita.) and Balto-Slavic show remains of up to eight original cases, although the situation has evolved differently due to migrations and linguistic contacts. Traditional theories maintain that the original common PIE situation is a complex system of eight noun cases. On the contrary, a five-case system is for other scholars the oldest situation (of Middle PIE, as Anatolian dialects seem to show), later changed by some dialects by way of merging or splitting the five original cases. It would have been, then, an innovation of individual dialects, just as the phonetic satemization. It is thus a general opinion that in IE III both dialectal trends (split and convergence of Obliques) coexisted. In this Grammar we follow the general Northern trend, i.e. a general six-case inflection, presenting also the other two cases as they are usually reconstructed for Late PIE, when common endings exist.

NOTE 2. In the number we use singular and plural, and not dual, not only because of its doubtful existence in IE II and the objections to its reconstruction for Late PIE, but because it is also more practical in terms of modern Indo-European languages.
I. The Nominative is the case of the Subject of a sentence.
II. The Vocative is the case of Direct Address.
III. The Accusative is the case of the Direct Object of a verb. It is used also with many prepositions.
IV. The Genitive may generally be translated by the English Possessive, or by the Objective with the preposition of.
V. The Obliques might be found as:
a. The Dative, the case of the Indirect Object. It may usually be translated into English by the Objective with the preposition to or for.
b. The Locative, the place where.
c. The Instrumental, the thing with.
d. The Ablative, usually the Objective with from, by, with, in or at. It is often found with prepositions.

NOTE. The oblique cases appear in the English pronoun set; these pronouns are often called objective pronouns; as in she loves me (accusative), give it to me (dative) or that dirt wasn't wiped with me (instrumental), where $m e$ is not inflected differently in any of these uses; it is used for all grammatical relationships except the genitive case of possession and a non-disjunctive nominative case as the subject.

### 3.6. VOWEL GRADE

1. The vowel grade or Ablaut is normally the alternation between full, zero or lengthened grade vocalism. Proto-Indo-European had a regular ablaut sequence that contrasted the five usual vowel sounds called Thematic, i.e. e/ $\mathbf{\mathbf { e }} / \mathbf{o} / \overline{\mathbf{o}} / \emptyset$. This means that in different forms of the same word, or in different but related words, the basic vowel, a short /e/e could be replaced by a long / $\overline{\mathbf{e}} /$, a short /o/ or a long $/ \overline{\mathbf{o}} /$, or it could be omitted (transcribed as $\varnothing$ ).

NOTE. The term Ablaut comes from Ger. Abstufung der Laute, "vowel alternation". In Romance languages, the term Apophony is preferred.
2. When a syllable had a short $\mathbf{e}$, it is said to be in the "e-grade"; when it had no vowel, it is said to be in the "zero-grade", when in $\mathbf{o}$, in "o-grade", and they can also be "lengthened". The e-grade is sometimes called "full grade".

A classic example of the five grades of ablaut in a single root is provided by the following different case forms of IE patér, father, and ụpatốr, fatherless (possibly originally PIE Nom. ph $h_{2}$ ter-s $>p h_{2} t \bar{e} r$ ):

| Ablaut grade | MIE | Greek |  | Case |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| e-grade or full grade | pa-tér-m | $\pi \alpha-\boldsymbol{\tau} \dot{\boldsymbol{\varepsilon}} \boldsymbol{\rho}-\alpha$ | pa-tér-a | Accusative |
| lengthened e-grade | pa-tér | $\pi \alpha$-тй $\boldsymbol{\rho}$ | pa-tếr | Nominative |
| zero-grade | pa-tr-ós | $\pi \alpha-\tau \rho-o ́ S$ | pa-tr-ós | Genitive |
| o-grade | n-pa-tốr-m | $\dot{\alpha}-\pi \dot{\alpha}-\boldsymbol{\tau} \boldsymbol{\rho}$ - $\alpha$ | a-pá-tor-a | Accusative |
| lengthened o-grade | n-pa-tốr | $\dot{\alpha}-\pi \dot{\alpha}-\boldsymbol{\tau} \boldsymbol{\omega} \boldsymbol{\rho}$ | $a$-pá-tōr | Nominative |

3. Late PIE had ablaut differences within the paradigms of verbs and nouns that were probably significant secondary markers. Compare for example for an original PIE pértus, passing, passage, (from IE verb pérō, go through):

|  | PIE | root (per-) | suffix (-tu) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Nominative | pér-tu-s | e-grade | zero-grade |
| Accusative | pér-tu-m | e-grade | zero-grade |
| Genitive | pr-téu-s | zero-grade | e-grade |
| Dative | pr-t(eu)-ei | zero-grade | e-grade |

4. Some common examples of different vowel grades (including their lengthened form) as found in Proto-Indo-European are the following:

| Vowel Grade | Full (F) | Zero (ø) | Lengthened (L) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\boldsymbol{e} / \boldsymbol{o}-\varnothing-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}} / \overline{\boldsymbol{o}}$ | ped, dom | pd, dm | pēd, dōm |
| $\boldsymbol{i e} / \mathbf{i o}-\boldsymbol{i}-\boldsymbol{i} \overline{\boldsymbol{e}} / \mathbf{i o}$ | djeus | diwos/djus | $\boldsymbol{d j} \bar{e}^{-}$ |
| ие/ио-и-ие̄/ио̄ | kwon | kun- | kwōn |
| ei/oi-u/i- $\overline{\mathbf{e} i / \bar{o} \boldsymbol{i}}$ | bheid | bhid | bhēid |
| eu/ou-u/i- | bheud, ous | bhud, us | bhēud, ōus |
| $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}} / \overline{\boldsymbol{e}} / \overline{\boldsymbol{o}}-\boldsymbol{a}-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}} / \overline{\boldsymbol{e}} / \overline{\boldsymbol{o}}$ | bhle, bha, | bhla, bha, aku | bhlē, bhā, |
| $\boldsymbol{a u} / \boldsymbol{a i}-\boldsymbol{u} / \boldsymbol{i}-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}} \boldsymbol{u} / \overline{\mathrm{a}} \boldsymbol{i}$ | bhau, aik | bhu | bhāu, $\bar{a} \boldsymbol{i k}$ |
| $\overline{\boldsymbol{e}} \mathbf{i} / \overline{\boldsymbol{o}} \boldsymbol{i}-\overline{\mathbf{u}} / \overline{\mathbf{z}}-\overline{\mathbf{e}} \mathbf{i} / \overline{\boldsymbol{o}} \boldsymbol{i}$ | po(i) | pi | $\boldsymbol{p o ̄ i}$ |

3. There are also some other possible vowel grade changes, as a-grade, i-grade and u-grade, which usually come from old root endings, rather than from systematized phonetic changes.

NOTE. The alternation e/ø was apparently in older stages of PIE dependent on the accent. Compare kléwos/klutós, eími/imés, patérm/patrós, etc., where the unaccented morpheme looses its vowel. This happened only in the oldest formations, though, as IE III had probably already lost this morphological pattern, freezing the older alternations into a more or less stable vocabulary without changes in vowel grade.

### 3.7. WORD FORMATION

3.7.1. Word Formation refers to the creation of new words from older ones. Indo-European scholars show an especial interest in Derivational Affixes (most commonly Suffixes), i.e. morphemes that are attached to a base morpheme, such as a Root or a Stem, to form a new word. The main affixes are:
A. Athematic suffixes,
a. The most simple is the zero-ending, i.e. root nouns like dem-s (Gk. des-), house, in consonant, as neq-t-s (Hitt. nekuz), night, or men-s (Av. maz-), mind, in -r, as ghés-ōr (Hitt. kiššar), hand, with apophony, Ac. ghes-ér-m (Hitt. kiššeran), Loc. ghés-r-i (Hitt. kišri, Gk. kheirí), with ending -n, as $\boldsymbol{o r}-\overline{\boldsymbol{o}} \boldsymbol{n}$ (Hitt. hara[š], stem haran-, from PIE * $h_{3}$ or-o-, cf. O.H.G. aro, Eng. erne, Gk. or-n-[is]), eagle. Common examples include rē̆gs, as Lat. rex, Cel. ri, Gmc. rīh, Skr. rāt, cốus, as Lat. bou, Cel. bó, Gmc. ko, Skr. gáu/go, mūs, Lat. mūs, Gk. $\mu \mathrm{u} \mathrm{c}$, Gmc. $m \bar{u} s$, Sla. $m y s$, Skr. $m \bar{u}$, etc.
b. Also, the stem $\mathbf{r} / \mathbf{n}$, with -r-in 'strong' cases (Nom-Acc.) and -n-in the Obliques, is well represented in Anatolian; see Variable Nouns in the next chapter for more on these heteroclites.
c. An old stem in -u- appears e.g. in the words gón-u, knee, dór-u, wood, and ój-u, "lifetime", cf. Av. zānū, dārū, āiiū, Skr. já́nu, dấru, á́yu, Gk. góny, dóry, ou(kí), "no", etc. Apophonic variants are found as full-grade génw-, dérw-, éjw-, cf. Hitt. genu-, Lat. genu-, Sla. dérw-o, Gk. ai(w)-eí, etc., and as zero-grade $\boldsymbol{g n}$-éw, dr-éw, (a)j-éw-, as in Goth. kniu, Av. yaoš, Hitt. ganu-t, etc. Such zerogrades are found within Declension, in Composition (cf. Skr. jñu-bādh-, "kneeled", Gk. dru-tómos, "timber-cutter"), and in Derivation, as e.g.ju-wén-, vigorous, young (cf. Skr. yuván-, Lat. iuuen-is).
d. A suffix -it-, which refers to edible substances, as mel-it, honey (cf. Gk. mélit-, Hitt. milit, Luw. mallit, Gmc. mil-), sép-it, wheat (cf. Hitt. šeppit, Gk. álphit), etc.
B. Feminine and Abstract (Collectives),
a. A general suffix *-(e) $h_{2}$ is found in Feminine, as in sén $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}-$, old ( ${ }^{*}$ senah $_{2}$, cf. Gk. hénē, Skr. śanā-, Lith. senà), swekrū́s, husband's mother (*swekrúh ${ }_{2}-$, cf. O.Sla. svekrŭ, Lat. socrus, O.H.G. swigar), in Abstract Collectives, as in Gk. tomáa, cut, or neurấ, rope made from sinew (IE néurom), etc., and in the Nom.-Acc. Neuter singular of the collective that functions as Nom.-Acc. Plural (cf. Skr. yugá, Gk. zygá, Lat. iuga, Goth. juka, "jokes", Hitt. -a, Pal. -a/- $\bar{a}$, etc.).
b. It is also very well attested a Feminine and Abstract Collective - $\overline{\mathbf{i}}$, PIE *-ih ${ }_{2}$, with variant $\mathbf{- i} \overline{\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}}$, PIE *-jah ${ }_{2} /-j e h_{2}$, cf. Skr. deví (Gen. dévyās), "goddess", vṛkīs (Gen. vṛkías), "she-wolf", etc.
C. Thematic Suffixes, the most abundant affixes found in Nominal and Adjectival derivation,
a. A simple -o-, which appears in some primary and secondary old formations, as wíq-o-s, wolf, ŕtk-o-s, bear, neutersjug-ó-m, joke, wérg-o-m, work, adjectives sén-o-, old, néw-o-, new, etc.

NOTE. The Distinction into primary and secondary is not straightforward, unless there is an older root attested; compare e.g. éku-o-s, horse, which is usually deemed a derivation from quick, IE ōkús.

Accented -ó- is deemed a secondary suffix which marks the possession of the base, as well as
 "that has a bow's string"), as Gk. biós, or swekurós (> swékuros), husband's father, from swekrū́s, husband's mother, deiwós, from djếus, etc.
b. About the Root Grade, o-grade roots are found in two thematic types, barytone Action Nouns (cf. Gk. tómos, "slice"), and oxytones Agent Nouns and Adjectives (cf. Gk. tomós, "who cuts, acute"), both from IE tem, cut; zero-grade in neuters jug-óm, joke, from jeug, join, and in second elements of compounds like ni-sd-ós, nest, from sed, sit, or newo-gn-ós, "newborn", as Gk. neognós.
c. Adjectival suffixes -jo- and -ijo- have a relational sense, as in cow-jós, "of a cow/ox", from cow-, cow, ox, as in Av. gaoya-, Skr. gavyá or gávya, Gk. hekatóm-boios, "that costs a hundred cows", Arm. kogi (<cow-ijo-), "derived from the cow", O.Ir. ambuæ (< $\boldsymbol{n}$-cow-ijo-, as in Skr. ágos, Gk. aboútē̄), "man without cows", or e.g. patriós, paternal, pediós, "of the foot", etc. As a nominal suffix, cf. Lat. ingenium, officium, O.Ir. cride, setig, Skr. vairya, saujanya, Sla. stoletie, dolia, etc.
d. Verbal adjectives in -tó- (Ind.-Ira. -nó-), with zero-grade verbal root, are common in secondary derivation, as in klu-tós, heard, famous, from kleu, hear, cf. Skr. śrutá-, Av. sruta-, Gk. klytós, Lat. in-clitus, M.Ir. rocloth, O.H.G. Hlot-, Arm. lu, etc. They were incorporated to the Verbal inflection as participles and gerunds. For nouns in -to-, -no-, -ti(j)-o-, -ni(j)-o-, -tu(w)-o-, -nu(w)-o-, etc. cf. Skr. svápn(i)ya, prāvīnya, Lat. somnium, dominium, O.Ir. blíad(a)in, Sla. sunie, cozarenie, etc.
e. Other common thematic suffixes include -nó-, -ro-, -mo-, and diminutives in -ko-, -lo-, -isko-, etc. which may also be participial, ordinal or adjectival (from nouns) lengthenings. They are usually preceded by a vowel, as in -e/onó-, -e/oro-, and so on. Compare for example from cher, warm, adjective cher-mós, warm, cf. Skr. gharmá, Av. garama-, Gk. thermós, Toc. A. särme, Phryg. Germiai, Arm. jerm, Alb. zjarm, or o-grade Gmc. warmaz, Lat. formus (<chor-mos). -bhó- gives names of animales, as e.g. Gk. éribhos, "kid".
f. A secondary suffix -tero-/-toro- marks the opposition of two notions, and is found in Anatolian (cf. Hitt. nun-taras, Adv. gen. "from now"), en-terós/al-terós (or anterós), "the other (of two)" (cf. Goth. anpar, Skr. ántaras, Lat. alter, etc.) opposed to a simple "other", aliós (cf. Skr. anyás, Lat. alius, Gk. állos, Goth. aljis). This suffix is also found in some syntactic formations, as Gk. deksiós -aris-terós, skaiós - deksi-terós, both meaning "right-left" (Benveniste 1948).
g. The suffix -wó- is particularly found in words for "alive", as čī-wó- (cf. Skr. jīvás, Lat. uīuos, O.Ir. béo, Welsh buw, Goth. qius) and "death", as mr-wó- (cf. O.Ir. marb, Welsh marw, and also Lat. mortuos, Sla. mŭrtvŭ, where the -t- was possibly inserted influenced by mr-tós, "mortal").
h. There are some instrumental suffixes, as -tro-, -tlo-, -klo-, -dhro-, -dhlo-, as Lat. -trum, $c(u) l u m,-b r u m,-b u l u m$, etc.; e.g. ára-trom, plough, cf. Gk. árotron, Lat. aratrum, O.Ir. arathar, Welsh aradr, Arm. arawr, Lith. árklas, etc.; also, Gk. báthron, O.Ind. bharítram, Goth. fōdr, etc.
i. Other common suffixes (also participial) are -mēn-, -mon-, -mn-, with secondary -mn-to-, $\boldsymbol{m e n}-\boldsymbol{o}-$, -men-t- (and -wen-t-), etc., cf. Lat. augmentum, or Goth. hliumant, equivalent to O.Ind. śrómatam, both meaning "reputation", from klew, hear, and so on.

## 4. NOUNS

### 4.1. DECLENSION OF NOUNS

4.1.1. Declension is made by adding terminations to different stem endings, vowel or consonant. The various phonetic changes in the language have given rise to the different declensions. Most of the caseendings, as shown in this Modern Indo-European grammar, contain also the final letter of the stem.

Adjectives are generally declined like nouns, and are etymologically to be classed with them, but they have some peculiarities of inflection which will be later explained.
4.1.2. Nouns and adjectives are inflected in four regular Declensions, distinguished by their final phonemes - characteristic of the Stem -, and by the opposition of different forms in irregular nouns. They are numbered following Graeco-Latin tradition: First or a-Declension, Second or oDeclension, Third or $\mathbf{i} / \mathbf{u}$-Declension, fourth or Consonant Declension, and the variable nouns.

NOTE. The Second or o-Declension is also the Thematic Declension, opposed to the rest - and probably older in the evolution of PIE nominal inflection -, which form together the Athematic Declension.

| Decl. | Stem ending | Nom. | Genitive |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | $\overline{\mathbf{a}}, \mathbf{i} \mathbf{i} / \overline{\mathbf{1}} / \mathbf{i} \mathbf{i} \mathbf{a}(\overline{\mathbf{e}}, \overline{\mathbf{o}})$ | -б | -s |
| 2. | e/o (Thematic) | -S | -os, -os(i)o, (-ī) |
| 3. | i, u and Diphthong | m., f.-s, n.-Ø | -e/ois, -e/ous, -(t)ios, -(t)uos |
| 4. | Sonants \& Consonants | -s, -б | $-(e / o) s$ |
| (5) | Heteroclites | -Ø, -r | -(e)n |

The Stem of a noun may be found, if a consonant stem, by omitting the case-ending; if a vowel stem, by substituting for the case-ending the characteristic vowel.

NOTE. Most Indo-Europeanists tend to distinguish at least two major types of declension, Thematic and Athematic. Thematic nominal stems are formed with a suffix -o- (in vocative -e), and the stem does not undergo ablaut. The Athematic stems are more archaic, and they are classified further by their ablaut behaviour: acrodynamic, protero-dynamic, hystero-dynamic and holo-dynamic, after the positioning of the early PIE accent (dynamis) in the paradigm.
4.1.3. The following are General Rules of Declension:
a. The Nominative singular for animates ends in $-\boldsymbol{s}$ when the stem endings are $\mathbf{i}, \mathbf{u}, \overline{\mathbf{1}}, \overline{\mathbf{u}}$, Diphthong, Occlusive and Thematic (-os), or $-\varnothing$ in $\overline{\mathbf{a}}, \mathbf{a}$, Sonant and $\mathbf{s}$; while in the plural -es is general, $\boldsymbol{- s}$ for those in $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$, and -os for the Thematic ones.
b. The Accusative singular of all masculines and feminines ends in - $\boldsymbol{m}$; the Accusative plural in - $\boldsymbol{m} \boldsymbol{s}$.
c. The Vocative singular for animates is always - $\varnothing$, and in the plural it is identical to the Nominative.
d. The Genitive singular is common to animates and inanimates, it is formed with -s:-s, -es, -os. A very old alternative possibility is extended -os-(i)o. The Genitive plural is formed in - $\overline{\boldsymbol{o}} \boldsymbol{m}$ (also - $\overline{\mathbf{e}} \boldsymbol{m}$ ), and in - $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}} \boldsymbol{m}$ in a-stems.
e. The Obliques singular end usually in $-\mathbf{i}$ : it can be $-\mathbf{i},-\boldsymbol{e} \boldsymbol{i},-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}} \boldsymbol{i},-\boldsymbol{o} \boldsymbol{i},-\overline{\boldsymbol{o}} \boldsymbol{i}$ or $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}} \boldsymbol{i}$. In the plural, there are two series of declensions, with -bh- (general) and -m- (only Gmc. and Sla.), generally -bhi, -bhis, bhios, -bhos, and (Gmc., Bal.-Sla.) -mis, -mos, and also some forms in -si (plural mark -s- plus oblique mark -i), found mainly in Graeco-Aryan dialects.
f. Inanimates have a syncretic form for Nom.-Ac.-Voc. in -ø in Athematic, or -m in Thematic. The plural forms end in $-\boldsymbol{a}$ or $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$.
g. All Animates have the same form in the plural for Nom.-Voc., in -es.
4.1.4. The so-called Oblique cases - opposed to the Straight ones, Nom.-Acc.-Voc - , are Genitive and the Obliques, i.e. Dative, Locative, Instrumental and Ablative. However, the Ablative seems to have never been independent, but for thematic stems in some dialectal areas. The other three cases were usually just one local case in different contexts (what we call the Oblique), although Late PIE clearly shows an irregular Oblique declension system.

Note 1. There are some traces - in the Indo-European proto-languages which show divided Oblique cases - that could indicate a possible first division - from a hypothetical five-case-IE II- between a Dat. and a Loc.-Ins., and then another, more recent between Loc. and Ins (see Adrados). Languages like Sanskrit or Avestan show 8 cases, while some Italic dialects show up to 8 (cf. Osc. Loc. aasai 'in $\bar{a} r \bar{a}$ ', or Ins. cadeis amnud, 'inimicitiae causae', preiuatud 'prīuātō', etc.), while Latin shows six and a semisystematic Locative notion; Slavic and Baltic dialects show seven, Mycenaean Greek shows at least six cases, while Koiné Greek shows five, just as Germanic dialects.

Note 2. We know that the splitting and merging processes that affected the Obliques didn't happen uniformly among the different stems, and it didn't happen at the same time in plural and singular. Therefore, there was neither a homogene and definite declension system in IE III, nor in the dialects and languages that followed. From language to language, from stem to stem, differences over the number of cases and its formation developed. Firstly syncretism obscured the cases, and thereafter the entire system collapsed: after the time when cases broke up in others, as in most modern Slavic languages, another time came when all cases merged or were completely lost: so today in Romance languages, in Germanic like English, or in Slavic like Bulgarian. However, Modern Indo-European needs to systematize to some extent this diversity, based on the obvious underlying old system, which usually results in 6 -case paradigms (normally with Dat.-Abl. and Loc.-Ins.) in most inflected forms.

Nominal Desinences (Summary)

|  | Singular | Plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM. | -s, - $\varnothing$, ( $n$. Them -m) | m., f. -es, $n .-\overline{\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}}$ |
| ACC. | -m/-m | m., f. -ms/-ms; $n$. - $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ |
| VOC. | -Ø | $m ., f .-e s, n .-\overline{\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}}$ |
| GEN. | $-(\boldsymbol{e} / \boldsymbol{o}) \mathrm{s} ;-(\boldsymbol{e} / \boldsymbol{o}) \mathbf{s}(\boldsymbol{i}) \mathrm{o}$ | -¢̆̈m (dial -ēm) |
| OBL. | -i- (general Obl. mark) | -bh-i-, (dialectal -m-i-); -s-i/u |
| DAT. | -ei | -bh(i)os, (dial. -mos) |
| LOC. | -i | -su/i |
| INS. | -e, -bhi | -bhis, (dial. -mis);-ōis (Them.) |
| ABL. | $-(e / o) s ;-\bar{e} d /-\bar{o} d /-\bar{a} d$ | -bh(i)os, (dial. -mos) |

### 4.2. FIRST DECLENSION

### 4.2.1. FIRST DECLENSION

1. They are usually Animate nouns and end in $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$, and $\mathbf{i a} / \overline{\mathbf{1}} / \mathbf{i} \overline{\mathbf{a}}$, and also rarely in $\overline{\mathbf{e}}, \overline{\mathbf{o}}$. Those in $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$ are very common, generally feminine in nouns and always in adjectives. Those in $\mathbf{i a} / \overline{\mathbf{1}} / \mathbf{i} \overline{\mathbf{a}}$ are always feminine and are also used to make feminines in the adjectival Motion. Those in $\overline{\mathbf{0}}$ and $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$ are feminine only in lesser used words. Those in a are etymologically identical to the Neuter plural in Nom.-Acc.-Voc.
a-Declension Paradigm

|  | Animate | Inanimate |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM. | -Ø | -Ø |
| ACC. | -m |  |
| VOC. | -Ø |  |
| GEN. | -s |  |
| DAT. | -i [<**i] |  |
| LOC. | -i |  |
| INS. | -Ø, -bhi, (-mi) |  |
| ABL. | $-\bar{a} d,(-s)$ |  |

MIE First Declension corresponds loosely to the Latin First Declension (cf. Lat. rosa, rosae, or puella, puellae), and to the Ancient Greek Alpha Declension (cf. Gk. $\chi \dot{\omega} \rho \overline{\mathrm{a}}, \chi \dot{\omega} \rho \overline{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{s}$, or $\tau \bar{\mu} \mu \dot{\eta}, \tau \bar{\mu} \mu \tilde{\eta} \varsigma)$.

NOTE. The entire stem could have been reduced to IE $\mathbf{a}$, because this is the origin of the whole stem system before IE III, with an original ending *-(e) $\boldsymbol{h}_{\mathbf{2}}$.
3. It is therefore identical to those nouns in $\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{n}, \mathbf{s}$ of the Fourth Declension, but for some details in vocalism: the Gen. has an -s and not -es/-os; the difference between Nom. and Voc. is that of - $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ and $\boldsymbol{a}$. The zero-grade of the Nom.-Acc.-Voc. in $\mathbf{i a} / \overline{\mathbf{1}}$ stems is different from the Gen. in $-\mathbf{i} \overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$.

### 4.2.2. FIRST DECLENSION IN EXAMPLES

1. Nominative Singular in - $\varnothing$; as, ékw $\overline{\mathbf{a}}^{73}$, mare, sén $\overline{\mathbf{a}}^{79}$, old.

Example of ia/ī stems are pótniă/pótnī44, lady, wíqī̆̄̆/wíq̄̄, she-wolf, djéwī̆̄̆/djéwī, goddess (maybe also Lat. gallī in the later extended gallīna, rēgī in regīna, etc.), as well as Pres.Part. feminines, as príjontiă/príjontī, "who loves", friend, wésntiă/wésntī, "who drives", driver, etc.

Those in $\overline{\mathbf{e}}, \overline{\mathbf{o}}$, which aren't found very often, can present an -s as well; as in Latin bhídhēs (Lat. fides, but also O.Lat. fidis), trust, spékiēs, species, etc.

Nouns in $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$ can also rarely present forms in $\boldsymbol{a}$; as in Gk. Lesb. Dika.
2. Accusative Singular in -m; as, ékwām, pótniằm/pótnīm, bhídhēm.
3. Vocative Singular in -ø. It is normally identical to the Nominative, but disambiguation could happen with distinct vowel grades, i.e. Nom. in $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$, Voc. in $-\boldsymbol{a}$.
4. Genitive Singular in -s; as, ékwās, sénās.

The theme in ia/ī/īā produces a Genitive Singular in -ās; as, pótniās.
5. Dative-Ablative Singular in $\boldsymbol{-} \overline{\boldsymbol{a}} \boldsymbol{i}$, probably from an original Dat. -ei ending.

There is also a form -ei for themes in $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$ and in iā.
6. Locative in $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}} \boldsymbol{i}$, Instrumental in $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}},-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}-\boldsymbol{b} h i,-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}-\boldsymbol{m i}$.

|  | f. ekwwā | f. potnia/potn̄̄ | f. spekiē- | adj.f. cowij$\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM. | ékwā | pótniā/pótnī | spékiēs | cowijấ |
| ACC. | ékwām | pótniăm/pótnīm | spékiēm | cowijấm |
| VOC. | ékwă | pótniă/pótnī | spékiē | cowijá |
| GEN. | ékwās | pótniās | spékiēs | cowijấs |
| DAT. | ékwāi | pótniāi | spékiei | cowijấi |
| LOC. | ékwāi | pótniāi | spékiei | cowijáa |
| INS. | ékwā | pótniā | spékiē | cowijá |
| ABL. | ékwād | pótniās | spékiēd | cowijấd |

### 4.2.3. THE PLURAL IN THE FIRST DECLENSION

1. The following table presents the plural paradigm of the $a$-Declension.

| NOM. | $\boldsymbol{s}\left[<^{*}\right.$-es $]$ |
| :---: | :---: |
| ACC. | $-\boldsymbol{m s}$ |
| VOC. | $-\boldsymbol{s}$ |
| GEN. | $-\boldsymbol{m}$ |
| DAT.-ABL. | $-\boldsymbol{b h}(\mathbf{i}) \boldsymbol{o s}(-m o s)$ |
| LOC. | - su $/ \mathbf{i}$ |
| INS. | -bhis $(-m i s)$ |

2. The Nominative-Vocative Plural in -s: ékwās, néwās, cowijấs.

This form could obviously be confused with the Genitive Singular. In equivocal contexts we change preferably the accent (ekwấs, ekwấms, ekwấm).
3. The Accusative Plural in -ms: ékwāms, néwāms.
4. The Genitive Plural in -m: ékwām, newấm.
5. The Dative and Ablative Plural in -bhos, -bhios (dial. -mos); as, ékwābh(i)os, ékwāmos.
6. The Locative Plural in -su (also -si, -se); as, ékwāsi, ékwāsu.
6. The Instrumental Plural in -bhis (dial. -mis); as, ékwābhis, ékwāmis.

The Obliques have also special forms Gk. -āisi, -ais, Lat. -ais; as, Lat. rosils<*rosais.

|  | $f$ f. ékwā | f. potnia/potnī |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM. | ékwās | pótnias/pótnīs |
| ACC. | ékwāms | pótniams/pótnīms |
| VOC. | ékwās | pótnias/pótnīs |
| GEN. | ekwắm | potniấm |
| DAT. | ékwābhios | pótniabhios |
| LOC. | ékwāsi | pótniasu |
| INS. | ékwābhis | pótniabhis |
| ABL. | ékwābhios | pótniabhios |

### 4.3. SECOND DECLENSION

### 4.3.1. SECOND DECLENSION

1. The Stem of nouns of the Second Declension ends in $\mathbf{e} / \mathbf{o}$, and they are usually called Thematic. They can be animates and inanimates, as well as adjectives. The inanimates have an ending -m only in Nom.-Acc.-Voc. The animates, with a Nominative in -s, are generally masculine in nouns and adjectives, but there are also feminine nouns and animate adjectives in -os, probably remains of the old indistinctness of declension.
2. MIE Second Declension is equivalent to the Second Declension in Latin (cf. Lat. dominus, dominī, or uinum, uin̄̄), and to the Omicron Declension in Greek (cf. Gk. $\lambda o ́ \gamma o s, ~ \lambda o ́ \gamma o v, ~ o r ~ \delta \tilde{\omega} \rho o v, ~ \delta \tilde{\omega} \rho o v$ ).

> o-Declension Paradigm

|  | Animate | Inanimate |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM. | -os | -om |
| ACC. | -om |  |
| VOC. | -e |  |
| GEN. | -os, -os(i)o, (-ī) |  |
| DAT. | - $\overline{\boldsymbol{o}}$ [<**oei] |  |
| LOC. | -ei/-oi |  |
| INS. | $-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}} /-\overline{\boldsymbol{o}}$ |  |
| ABL. | $-\bar{e} d /-\bar{o} d$ |  |

NOTE. This model could indeed have been written without the initial vowel -o-, given that the probable origin of this vowel is the ending vowel of some thematic stems, while other, primitive athematic stems were reinterpreted thereafter and this vowel was added to stem by way of analogy. So, for thematic stems, as wlqo-, this paradigm could be read Nom. -s, Acc. -m, Voc. -e, Gen. -s, -sio, - -so, $-\mathbf{i}$, and so on.
3. The Nominative and the Genitive in -os can be confused. This can only be solved with lengthenings, as in Gen. -os-io or os-o.

### 4.3.2. SECOND DECLENSION IN EXAMPLES

1. Nominative Singular Animate in -os; as in wíqos, wolf, dómūnos, lord, adj. cĭwós, alive.
2. Accusative Singular Animate in -om; as in wíqom, dómūnom, cĭwóm.
3. Vocative Singular Animate in -e; as in wíqe, dómūne, cĭwé.
4. The Nom.-Acc.-Voc. Sg. Inanimate in -om; as in jugóm ${ }^{5}$, joke, adj. néwom, new, mrwóm, dead.
5. Genitive Singular in -os, -osio, -e/oso (also -ī); as in wĺqosio, mrwós, dómūn̄̄.

NOTE. The original form -os is rare, as the Genitive had to be distinguished from the Nominative. This disambiguation happens, as already said, by alternatively lengthening the ending or changing it altogether. The oDeclension is probably recent in IE III - even though it happened already in Anatolian - and that's why it is homogeneous in most IE dialects, without variations in vocalism or accent.
6. Dative Singular in -ōi, -ō: wíqōi, dómūnōi, néwōi, mrwó.
7. Locative Singular in -oi, -ei: wíqoi, dómūnoi, néwoi, mrwói.
8. Instrumental Singular in -̄̄: wíqō, cīwō, néwō, mrwô.
9. The Ablative Singular is formed in -ōd, and sometimes in -ēd: wíqōd, cī̃wốd, néwōd.

|  | $m$. wlqo | $n$. jugo |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM. | wíqos | jugóm |
| ACC. | wíqom | jugóm |
| VOC. | wíqe | jugóm |
| GEN. | wíqosio | jugós |
| DAT. | wíqōi | jugối |
| LOC. | wíqoi | jugói |
| INS. | wíqō | jugố |
| ABL. | wíqōd | jugód |

4.5.3. THE PLURAL IN THE SECOND DECLENSION

1. The Thematic Plural system is usually depicted as follows:

|  | Animate | Inanimate |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM. | - $\overline{\boldsymbol{o}}$ [ [<*-oes], (-oi) | $-\breve{\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}}$ |
| ACC. | -oms |  |
| VOC. | -ōs, (-oi) |  |
| GEN. | -о̄m, (-ēm) |  |
| DAT.-ABL. | -obh(i)os, (-omos) |  |
| LOC. | -oisu/i |  |
| INS. | -Ŏ̈is |  |

NOTE. The ending - $\overline{\boldsymbol{o} s}$ is usually considered as derived from the plural ending -es, i.e. ${ }^{*}$-o-(s)-es $>$ - $\overline{\boldsymbol{o}} \boldsymbol{s}$.
2. The Nominative-Vocative Animate Plural in -ōs; as, wíqōs, dómūnōs, wírōs.
3. The Accusative Animate Plural in -oms; as, wíqoms, dómūnoms, mrtóms.
4. The Nom.-Voc.-Acc. Inanimate Plural in - $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}},-\boldsymbol{a}$; as, jugá/jugá, néwa, mrwá.
5. The Genitive Plural in -ōm/-om (and -ēm); as, wíqōm, dómūnōm, ceiwốm, jugốm.
6. The Instrumental-Locative Plural in -ois/-oisi; -ōis/-ōisi, and also, as in the other declensions, Obliques in -bhis, -bhos, -bhios (-mis, -mos); as, wíqō̄isi, wírōis, néwoisu, mrwóis.

|  | $m$. wlqo- | $n$. jugo- |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM. | wíqōs | jugá |
| ACC. | wĺqōms | jugá |
| VOC. | wíqōs | jugá |
| GEN. | wíqōm | jugốm |
| DAT. | wíqobhios | jugóbhios |
| LOC. | wíqōisi | jugóisu |
| INS. | wíqōis | jugóis |
| ABL. | wĺqobhios | jugóbhios |

### 4.4. THIRD DECLENSION

### 4.4.1. THIRD DECLENSION PARADIGM

1. Third Declension nouns end in $\mathbf{i}, \mathbf{u}$ (also $\overline{\mathbf{1}}, \overline{\mathbf{u}}$ ) and Diphthong. The Nominative ending is $-\boldsymbol{s}$.
2. This declension usually corresponds to Latin nouns of the Third Declension in -i (cf. Lat. ciuis, ciuis, or pars, partis), and of the Fourth Declension in $-u$ (cf. Lat. cornū, cornūs, or portus, portūs).

## i/u-Declension Paradigm

|  | Animate | Inanimate |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM. | $-\mathbf{s}$ |  |
| ACC. | $-\boldsymbol{m}$ | $-\varnothing$ |
| VOC. | $-\varnothing$ |  |
| GEN. | $-\mathbf{s}$ |  |
| DAT. | $-\boldsymbol{e i}$ |  |
| LOC. | $-\varnothing,-\boldsymbol{i}$ |  |
| INS. | $-\overline{\mathbf{z}} /-\overline{\mathbf{u}},(-\boldsymbol{b h i})$ |  |
| ABL. | $\mathbf{- s}$ |  |

NOTE. Reduplication or combination with the alternating endings $-\mathbf{i},-\boldsymbol{e i} /-\boldsymbol{o i}$ and $-\boldsymbol{u},-\boldsymbol{e u} /-\boldsymbol{o u}$, was a common resort in the attested dialects that distinguished Dat. and Loc. in this declension, as in -i-ei, -ei-ei, -eu-ei, and so on, to distinguish similar forms. A common distinction of Loc. -i, Dat. -ei, was known to most dialects of Late PIE, while a general Instrumental in lengthened $-\overline{\boldsymbol{i}},-\overline{\boldsymbol{u}}$ (from Ins. ending *-e- $h_{1}$ ) was commonly used; the Ablative, when it appears, shows the same declension as the Genitive.
3. The animates in $\mathbf{i}$ and $\mathbf{u}$ are masculine or feminine (indifferent to the distinction in adjectives); those in $\overline{\mathbf{1}}$ and $\overline{\mathbf{u}}$, always feminine.
4. The -s can indicate Nominative and Genitive: the distinction is made through the full-grade of the vowel before the declension, i.e. Gen. -ei-s for $\mathbf{i},-\boldsymbol{o u}-\boldsymbol{s}$ for $\mathbf{u}$ - but for those in -ti, -tu (type II), v.i.

NOTE. The Vocative of the animates is the same as the Nom.-Acc.-Voc. of the inanimates. In nouns differentiation isn't necessary, because they have different stem vowels; in adjectives, however, a Vocative singular animate -i can be an homophone with Nom.-Acc.-Voc. singular neuter -i; as e.g. m.Voc. albhí, n.Acc. albhí. This is, though, a rare case, in which the context is generally enough for disambiguation.

### 4.4.2. IN I, U

1. Nominative Singular Animate in -s; as in ówis ${ }^{149}$, ewe, nóqtis ${ }^{124}$, night, ghóstis ${ }^{26}$, guest, sû́nus ${ }^{130}$, son (cf. also Gk. sújus), médhus, mead, egnís, fire, mánus, hand, adj. swādús, sweet, etc.
2. Accusative Singular Animate in -m; as in ówim, nóqtim, ghóstim, sû́num, mánum, etc.
3. Vocative Singular Animate in -ei or -i, -eu or -u; as in ówei-ówi, sû́neu/sû́nou-súnnu, sometimes the same Nominative form, as systematically in Latin (cf. Lat. hostis).
4. The Nom.-Acc.-Voc. Singular Inanimate in $-\mathbf{i},-\boldsymbol{u}$; as in móri, pék $\bar{u}^{150}$, médhu, swādún ${ }^{123}$.
5. Genitive Singular in -eis (-ois) or -(t)ios, -eus (-ous), -(t)uos; as in egnéis ${ }^{151}$, sû́nous, owéis (also dial. ówios), mánous, pékwos, adj. swādéus.
6. Dative Singular in -(ej)ei, -(ew)ei, -ou, also with long vowel, -ēi, -ōu, egnéi, nóqtei, owéi, etc.
7. Locative Singular in -(柕i, $-(\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}) \boldsymbol{u}$, Instrumental in $-\overline{\mathbf{i}},-\overline{\boldsymbol{u}}$ or dial. -bhi; as sū́n( $\overline{\mathbf{e}}) \mathbf{u}$, owí, owí, etc.

|  | Type I |  | Type II |  | Neuter |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | m. sūnu- | f. owi- | f. noq-ti- | m. senā-tu- | $n$. peku- | n. mori- |
| NOM. | sû́nus | ówis | nóqtis | senắtus | péku | móri |
| ACC. | súnum | ówim | nóqtim | senátum | péku | móri |
| VOC. | sú́nu | ówi | nóqti | senátu | péku | móri |
| GEN. | súnous | owéis | nóqtios | senátuos | pékeus | mórois |
| DAT. | súnou | owéi | nóqtei | senátou | pékou | moréi |
| LOC. | sūnú | owí | noqtí | senátu | pekú | morí |
| INS. | sú́nū | owí | nóqtī | senátū | pékū | mórī |
| ABL. | sû́nous | owéis | nóqtios | senátuos | pékeus | mórois |

## THE STRONG TYPE

1. Its inflection is similar to that of $\mathbf{i}, \mathbf{u}$, but they have no alternating vowels before the declension, and the $\overline{\mathbf{1}}$ and $\overline{\mathbf{u}}$ are substituted before vowel by -ij, $-\boldsymbol{u} \boldsymbol{w}$. They are always feminine, and they cannot be inanimates nor adjectives. They are mostly PIE roots, and found mainly in Indo-Iranian.

|  | $f$. bhrū-152 | $f$. dnghū- ${ }^{3}$ | $f$ f. swekrū- ${ }^{132}$ | $f$. dhī- |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM. | bhrūs | dńghūs | swekrū́s | dhīs |
| ACC. | bhrūm | dńghūm | swekrú́m | dhíjm |
| VOC. | bhrū | dńghū | swekrū́ | dhī |
| GEN. | bhruwés | dnghuwós | swekruwés | dhijós |
| DAT. | bhruwéi | dnghuwóu | swekruwéi | dhijjéi |
| LOC. | bhruwí | dnghuwí | swekruwí | dhijí |
| INS. | bhrú́(bhi) | dnghū́(bhi) | swekrú(bhi) | dhijíi(bhi) |
| ABL. | bhruwés | dnghuwós | swekruwés | dhijós |

### 4.4.3. IN DIPHTHONG

1. There are long diphthongs $\overline{\mathbf{a} u}, \overline{\mathbf{e} u}, \overline{\mathbf{o}} \mathbf{u}, \overline{\mathbf{e}} \mathbf{i}$, which sometimes present short vowels, as well as other endings without diphthong, i.e., $\overline{\mathbf{a}}, \overline{\mathbf{e}}, \overline{\mathbf{o}}$.

NOTE. The last are probably remains of older diphthongs, from IE II. Therefore, even though from the point of view of Late Proto-Indo-European there are only stems with variants $\overline{\mathbf{a} u}, \overline{\mathbf{e} u}, \overline{\mathbf{e}}$, etc, these can all be classified as Diphthong endings, because the original stems were formed as diphthongs in the language history. This kind of irregularities is usual in today's languages, as it was already four millennia ago.

In zero grade Genitives there are forms with $\mathbf{- i}$ - or $\mathbf{- i j}$ - or $-\boldsymbol{u}$ - or $\mathbf{- u \boldsymbol { w }}$-, depending on the diphthongs.

|  | $m$. cōu-117 | m. djēu-63 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM. | cóus | djé́us |
| ACC. | cōm | djēm/dijé́m |
| VOC. | cóu | djéu |
| GEN. | cóus | diwós |
| DAT. | cowéi | diwéi |
| LOC. | cowí | djéwi/diwí |
| INS. | cóū | djéū |
| ABL. | cóus | diwós |

NOTE. These are some IE words, usually secondary formations - especially found in Greek - in -eus, -euos, as in Av. bāzāus, Arm, Gk. Basileus, which are also so declined.

### 4.4.4. THE PLURAL IN THE THIRD DECLENSION

1. The following table depicts the general plural system, common to the Fourth Declension.

|  | Animate | Inanimate |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM. | -es | $-\breve{\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}}$ |
| ACC. | -ms |  |
| VOC. | -es |  |
| GEN. | -й̈m, (-èm) |  |
| DAT.-ABL. | -bh(i)os, (-mos) |  |
| LOC. | -su/i |  |
| INS. | -bhis, (-mis) |  |

NOTE. The inanimate plural forms, $-\boldsymbol{a}$ and $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$, correspond to an older stem vowel of an earlier stage of the language, namely ${ }^{*}-h_{2}$ and ${ }^{*}-e h_{2}$, following the Laryngeals' Theory.
2. Unlike in the Singular, in which only some Nominatives have an -s, in Nom.-Voc. Plural the -s is general, and there is always one fix-grade vowel, e. So, the opposition Singular-Plural in -s/-es is actually a $\varnothing / \mathbf{e}$ distinction. This opposition has also sometimes another mark, the vowel before the ending (see § 4.7).
3. The Nom.-Voc. Plural Animate is normally in -es; as in cówes, ówes, sû́nes, etc.

There are forms in -ei-es for $\mathbf{i}$ stems, as in owéjes; in -eu-es for $\mathbf{u}$ stems, as in sūnéwes; in ijes, uwes for $\overline{\mathbf{1}}, \overline{\mathbf{u}}$; as in bhrúwes; etc.
4. The Accusative Plural Animate is in -ms: ówims, súnnums, cōms/cóums.

NOTE. Some scholars reconstruct for IE III the accusative plural ending -ns, because most of the attested protolanguages show either -ns (as some endings in Sanskrit or Germanic) or long vowel, sometimes with -s. Most of them also admit an original, older -ms form (a logical accusative singular -m- plus the plural mark $-\boldsymbol{s}$ ), but they prefer to reconstruct the attested -ns, thus (implicitly) suggesting an intermediate phase common to all protolanguages, i.e. IE II *-ms > IE III ${ }^{*}-\boldsymbol{n s} \boldsymbol{>}$ proto-languages -[n]s. We don't know if such an intermediate phase happened, and if it did, if it was common to all languages, or if it was common only to those languages which present in some declensions -ns, and in other declensions another endings. What we do know with some certainty is that the form -ms existed, and at least since IE II, as the Anatolian dialects show.
5. Nom.-Voc. Acc. Plural Inanimate in - $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}},-\boldsymbol{a}$ : pékwā, mórja, médhwā, swādwá, etc.
6. Genitive Plural Animate in -om/-̄̄m (and Gmc. -ēm): ówjom, nóqtjom, sứnuwēm/sứnuwom, cówōm, etc.

NOTE. The - $\boldsymbol{m}$ of the Acc. sg. Animate, Nom.-Acc.-Voc. sg. Inanimate and this case could sometimes be confused. It is disambiguated with the vocalic grade of the Genitive, full or lengthened, as the singular is always $\emptyset$.

|  | $f$. owi- | $m$. sūnu- | $f$. bhrū̄- | $m$. cou- |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM. | ówes | sứnes | bhrúwes | cówes |
| ACC. | ówims | sû́nums | bhrūms | cóums |
| VOC. | ówes | sū́nes | bhrúwes | cówes |
| GEN. | ówjom | sû́nuwēm | bhrúwōm | cówōm |
| DAT. | ówibhios | súnumos | bhrúbhos | cóubhios |
| LOC. | ówisi | súnnusu | bhrú́se | cóusi |
| INS. | ówibhis | súnumis | bhrúbhis | cóubhis |
| ABL. | ówibhios | súnumos | bhrứbhos | cóubhios |

7. The Obliques are generally divided into two groups, in -bh- (that of Lat., Gk., I.-I., Arm., and Cel.) and in -m- (that of Gmc. and Bal.-Sla.). There are, thus, -bhis, -bhos, -bhios, -bhi , and -mis, -mos; as, sū́nubhis, sû́nubhos, sû́nubhios, sū́numis, sū́numos.

There is also another ending possible, that in -s-i, -s-u, s-e, generally Locative (in I.-I. and Bal.-Sla.), but also possibly general Dat.-Loc.-Ins. (as in Greek); as, sú́nusi, sû́nusu, súnuse.

In the Oblique Plural specialized system, which is a common feature of Proto-Balto-Slavic and Proto-Indo-Iranian dialects, (and, to some extent, of Proto-Greek and Proto-Armenian), the Instrumental was probably formed adding the plural mark -s to the Instrumental Singular of the Second Declension, bhi, -mi. The Dat.-Abl. was then opposed in vowel stem to the Instrumental: -bhos or -mos against bhis or -mis. The Locative was made with an $-\boldsymbol{s}$ marking the plural, and an $\boldsymbol{- i}$ which is the Loc. mark.

NOTE. Its origin is probably the plural mark $-\boldsymbol{s}$-, to which the local case ending $\boldsymbol{- i}$ is added. This is a general oblique ending in the thematic declension.

### 4.5. FOURTH DECLENSION

### 4.5.1. THE PARADIGM

1. The Stem of Nouns of the Second Declension ends in Consonant or Sonant, i.e. -n, -r, -s, Occlusive (especially $-\boldsymbol{t}$ ), and rarely $-\boldsymbol{l},-\boldsymbol{m}$. The inflection of animates is essentially the same as that of the Second or Thematic Declension.
2. Nouns of the Fourth Declension in MIE correspond to Latin nouns of First Declension in -r (cf. Lat. magister, magistrī), and Third Declension in consonant (cf. Lat. prīnceps, prīncipis, phoenīx,
phoenīcis, cōnāmen, cōnāminis, etc.), and to the Ancient Greek Labial and Velar declension (cf. Gk. "A $\rho \alpha \psi, ~ " А \rho \alpha \beta o s, ~ o r ~ Ф \rho u ́ \xi, ~ Ф \rho u ү o ́ s) . ~$

The Nominative ending is $\boldsymbol{- \boldsymbol { s }}$ (with Occlusive, $-\boldsymbol{m},-\boldsymbol{l}$ ), but there is also a Nominative Sg. with pure stem vowel (desinence - $\varnothing$ and lengthened ending vowel), so that the full-grade Vocative is differentiated. And there is no confusion in Nom./Gen., as -s has a different vowel grade (Nom. -s, Gen. -es or -os).

## Consonant-Declension Paradigm

|  | Occlusive, -m, -l | -r, -n, -s |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM. | -S | -Ø (long vowel) |
| ACC. | -m [mı] |  |
| VOC. | -Ø | -Ø (full grade) |
| GEN.-ABL. | -e/os |  |
| DAT. | -ei |  |
| LOC. | -i |  |
| INS. | -bhi, (-mi) |  |

NOTE. These specialized Oblique endings were probably already splitting in Late PIE, at least in a dialect-todialect basis. Compare Indo-Iranian Dat. -ei, Loc. -i; Italic Dat. -ei, Loc.-Inst.-Abl. -i; Greek Inst. -bhi; in BaltoSlavic Inst. -mi, and so on. There is no exact original pattern that includes every dialect, but we may reliably imply an original Oblique declension -i, which had split into -i(Loc.) and -ei (Dat.) already in Late PIE.
3. Inanimates have pure vowel stems with different vocalic grades. In nouns there should be no confusion at all, as they are different words, but neuter adjectives could be mistaken in Nominative or Vocative Animate. Distinction is thus obtained with vocalism, as in Animate - $\overline{\boldsymbol{o}} \boldsymbol{n}$ vs. Inanimate -on, Animate - $\overline{\boldsymbol{e} \boldsymbol{s}}$ vs. Inanimate -es (neuter nouns in -s are in -os).

### 4.5.2. IN OCCLUSIVE, M, L

1. Nominative Sg.Animates in -s; as, dốms, house, pó́ds ${ }^{37}$, foot, bhŕghs ${ }^{128}$, bury, dốnts ${ }^{173}$, tooth.
2. Accusative Singular Animate in -m [m]; as, dómm, pốdm, bhŕghm, dốntm.
3. Vocative Singular Animate in -ø; a sin pōd, bhrgh, dōnt.
4. The Nom.-Acc.-Voc. Singular Inanimate in - $\varnothing$, with various vocalisms; as in $\mathbf{k r d}{ }^{153}$
5. Genitive Singular in -es/-os; as in péd(e)s/pedés, dént(e)s/dentés, dém(e)s/demés.
6. Dative Singular in -ei: pedéi, dontéi, bhrghéi, etc.
7. Locative Singular in -i: pedí/pédi, dốnti, bhrghí, etc.

|  | $m$. ped- | $m$. dōnt- | $n$. krd- |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM. | pōds | dōnts | krd |
| ACC. | pódm | dốntm | krd |
| VOC. | pōd | dōnt | krd |
| GEN. | pedés | dentós | krdós |
| DAT. | pedéi | dentéi | krdéi |
| LOC. | pedí | dentí | krdí |
| INS. | pedbhí | dentmí | krdbhí |
| ABL. | pedós | dentós | krdós |

4.5.3. IN R, N, S

1. Nominative Singular Animate in -ø with lengthened vowel; as in mātér/mátēris, mother, kwōn ${ }^{154}$, dog, ghésōr, hand (cf. Hitt. kiššar, Gk. kheirí), órōn ${ }^{139}$, eagle.

Stems in s, ndher-genếs, degenerate, génōs ${ }^{32}$, kin, áusōs ${ }^{69}$, dawn, nébhōs ${ }^{31}$, cloud.
2. Accusative Sg . Animate in -m; as in mātérm, kwónm, ndheregenésm, áusosm, ghesérm.
3. Vocative Singular Animate in -ø with full vowel; as in mātér, kúon, áusos.
4. The Nom.-Acc.-Voc. Singular Inanimate in - $\varnothing$; as in nómn, génos.

The adjectives in -s have the neuter in -es: (a)sugenés (cf. Gk. eugenes, O.Ind. suganaḥ)
5. Genitive Singular in -es/-os; as in mātrés/mātrós (also mātŕs, patŕs, bhrátrs, etc.), kunés/kunós, nomnés/nomnós, ornés.

Nouns and adjectives in -s have an $\boldsymbol{e}$, not an $\boldsymbol{o}$, as the final stem vowel: genesés, ausosés.
6. Dative Singular in -ei, Locative Singular in -i: mātérei, mātéri, kwónei, ausoséi, ghésri etc.
8. Instrumental Singular in -bhi (dialectal-mi): mātrbhí, kunbhí, ausosbhí, etc.

|  | m. kwon | $f$. māter | $n$. genos | $n$. nomn | adj. m. ndhergenes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM. | kwōn | mātér | génōs | nómn | ndhergenés |
| ACC. | kwónm | mātérm | génōs | nómn | ndhergenésm |
| VOC. | kwon | mātér | génōs | nómn | ndhergenés |
| GEN. | kunés | mātrós | genesós | nomnós | ndhergenéses |
| DAT. | kunéi | mātréi | geneséi | nomnéi | ndhergenései |
| LOC. | kwóni/kuní | māt(é)rí | genesí | nomní | ndhergenési |
| INS. | kunmí | mātrbhí | genesmí | nomnbhí | ndhergenésmi |
| ABL. | kunós | mātrós | genesós | nomnós | ndhergenésos |

### 4.5.4. THE PLURAL IN THE FOURTH DECLENSION

With a paradigm common to the Third Declension, here are some inflected examples.

|  | m. kwon | f. māter | $n$. genos | $m$. dōnt- | $n$. nomn- |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM. | kwónes | mātéres | génesa | dốntes | nómna |
| ACC. | kwónms | mātíms | génesa | dốntms | nómna |
| VOC. | kwónes | mātéres | génesa | dốntes | nómna |
| GEN. | kunóm | mātrốm | genesốm | dōntóm | nōmnóm |
| DAT. | kunmós | mātrbhiós | genesbhós | dōntbhiós | nōmnbhiós |
| LOC. | kunsú | mātrsú | genessí | dōntsí | nōmnsí |
| INS. | kunmí | mātrbhís | genesbhís | dōntbhís | nōmnbhís |
| ABL. | kunmós | mātrbhiós | genesbhiós | dōntbhiós | nōmnbhiós |

### 4.6. VARIABLE NOUNS

4.6.1. Many nouns vary in Declension, and they are called Heteroclites.

Note. i.e., "nouns of different inflections" ( $\varepsilon \tau \varepsilon \rho o \mathrm{c}$, "another", $\kappa \lambda \imath v \omega$, "to inflect")
4.6.2. Heteroclitic forms are isolated and archaic, given only in Inanimates, as remains of an older system, well attested in Anatolian.
4.6.3. They consist of one form to mark the Nom.-Acc.-Voc, and another for the Obliques, as e.g.
a. Opposition ø-n: dérus, drunós ${ }^{54}$, tree; $\overline{\text { oss }}$, $\overline{\text { ossónos, }}$, mouth.
b. Opposition $\boldsymbol{r}$-(e)n: ághōr, aghnós ${ }^{60}$, day; bhếmōr, bhēm(e)nés thigh, jē̌qr(t), jĕ̃qn(t)ós, liver, wódōr, wodonós (cf. Got. wato/watins), údōr, udn(t)ós (cf. Gk. údōr, údatos), water, etc.

NOTE. For PIE root bhed(h), cf. Slav. bedro, Lat. femur, feminis/femoris; for PIE jēqr, cf. Gk. hēpar, Lat. iecur, Av. yākara, for jeqr cf. Ved. yákrt, and compare its Obl. Skr. yakn-ás, Gk. hếpat-os<*hēpñ(t).
4.6.4. The Heteroclites follow the form of the Genitive Singular when forming the Obliques. That is so in the lengthening before declension, vocalism, and in the accent too.

### 4.7. VOCALISM BEFORE THE DECLENSION

4.7.1. The Predeclensional vowel is that which precedes the ending, even the $\varnothing$ ending; i.e., we say that Nom. patér ${ }^{57}$ (< older *patér-s) has a long predeclensional vowel; that the Vocative patér has a full one, and that patŕs has it $\varnothing$. Other examples of the three possibilities are pōd, pod and -pd-.

NOTE. The vocalic changes in timbre and grade aren't meaningful by themselves, they are multifunctional: they can only have meaning in a specific declension, and it is not necessarily always the same. They are thus disambiguating elements, which help distinguish homophones (i.e., words that sound alike).
4.7.2. Two kinds of nominal inflection have no alternating vowel: that in $\mathbf{i}, \mathbf{u}$, and that of the participles of Reduplicates.
4.7.3. Stems in $\mathbf{r}$ and $\mathbf{n}$ have two possibilities, both with a Nom. sg. in - $\varnothing$ and lengthened vowel.

1. Nom. with lengthened vowel, Acc., Voc. with full vowel, and Gen. -ø. The timbre can be $\boldsymbol{e}$ or $\boldsymbol{o}$, depending on the words.
a. In $\mathbf{r}$, as in Nom. mātếr (< older *mātér-s), Acc. mātérm, Voc. mātér, Gen. mātrós.
b. In n, in PIE root stems, as in dog: Nom. kwōn/kuwón (< older ${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{v} \boldsymbol{n} \boldsymbol{n}$-s), Acc. kwónm/kuwónm, Voc. kúon/kúwon, Gen. kunós.
2. Sometimes, the Genitive has a full grade as the Accusative and the Vocative. This grade is redundant, not necessary for the disambiguation of the Genitive from the Nominative. There are, as above, different timbres $\boldsymbol{e}$ and $\boldsymbol{o}$, sometimes $\boldsymbol{o}$ in Nom.-Acc.-Voc., and $\boldsymbol{e}$ in Gen., sometimes $\boldsymbol{o}$ in Acc.-Voc.-Gen. and $\boldsymbol{e}$ in Obl.
4.7.4. There is usually the same vocalism in nouns ending in Occlusive.

An exception is made in the adjectives and participles in -nt, which present long vowel in the Nominative, full vowel in Accusative and Vocative, and zero-grade in the Genitive; cf. bherốnts/bheróntm/bherntós or bherếnts/bheréntm/bherntós.

NOTE. There are remains of what seems to be an older alternating vocalism in monosyllabics. The variants ped/pod, neqt/noqt, etc. suggest an original (i.e. IE II) paradigm Nom. pōd-s, Acc. pōd-m, Gen. ped-ós. This is, again, mostly irrelevant for Modern Indo-European, in which both alternating forms may appear in frozen vocabulary, either with $\mathbf{O}$ or $\mathbf{e}$.
4.7.5. Stems in $\mathbf{s}$ do not present a zero-grade. Animates, as already said, oppose a lengthened-vowel Nominative to the other cases, which have full vowel, i.e., Nom. -ès, rest -es, Nom. - $\overline{\boldsymbol{o} s}$, rest -os.
4.7.6. We know already what happens with stems in $\mathbf{i}, \mathbf{u}$, which have two general models:

1. Nom. -i-s, Acc. -i-m, Voc. -ei or -i, Gen. -i-os / Nom. -u-s, Acc. -u-m, Voc. -ei or -i, Gen. -u-os
2. Nom. -i-s, Acc. -i-m, Voc. -eu or -u, Gen. -ei-s/Nom. -u-s, Acc. -u-m, Voc. -eu or -u, Gen. -eu-s

NOTE. This is an inversion of the normal situation: the Nom.-Acc.-Voc. has zero-grade (but for some Voc.), the Gen. $\varnothing$ or full. Distinction is obtained through alternating forms; as in Voc., in which the ending eei distinguishes it from Neuters in $\mathbf{- i}$; or with changes of $\boldsymbol{e} / \boldsymbol{o}$.
4.7.7. Those in Long Diphthong alternate the diphthong (or long vowel) with $\boldsymbol{j}$ or $\boldsymbol{w}$, which represents the $\varnothing$-grade; as in djé́us ${ }^{63}$, djēm, diwós; or nấu-s $\mathbf{s}^{127}$, naw-ós. Uniform vocalism (i.e., no vowel change) is generalized, though.

NOTE. These diphthongs reflect a possibly older situation, of a vowel plus a laryngeal (as *-eh ${ }_{2}$ ) and they are probably related to nouns in $\mathbf{a}$, and also to those in $\mathbf{e}$ and $\mathbf{o}$.
4.7.8. Stems in $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$ usually maintain an uniform vocalism: Nom.-Voc. $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$, Acc. $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}} \boldsymbol{m}$, Gen. $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}} \boldsymbol{s}$. But those in $\mathbf{i} \overline{\mathbf{a}} / \overline{\mathbf{1}}$ may alternate Nom.-Voc. -i$\overline{\boldsymbol{a}} /-\overline{\mathbf{z}}$, Gen. -īās.

There are also remains of - $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ in Voc. (and even Nom.), as well as -ai, cf. Gk. $\gamma$ үvaı (gunai, an example also found in Armenian), Gk. Evpఉлаı (Eurōpai) and other forms in -ai in Latin (as rosae<-*rosai), Old Indian and other IE dialects. The - $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$ and $-\overline{\mathbf{o}}$ endings have also traces of alternating phonetic changes.

NOTE. In O.Gk. Eúрळ́лๆ (Eurōpē), Eủpف́ла (Eurōpā), the Genitive is Eurōp-ai, which gives also the thematic adjective Eurōpai-ós, hence Modern Indo-European adjective Eurōpaiós, Eurōpaiá, Eurōpaióm, and nominalized forms (with accent shift) Eurōpáios/Eurốpaios, -om, - $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$. In Latin this -ai-o- corresponds to -ae-$u$-, and so Europae-us, $-a,-u m$. See also § 1.7.5.
4.7.9. Finally, the Neuter stems distinguish the Nom.-Acc.-Voc. forms by having a predeclensional vowel, normally $\varnothing$ (the ending is also $\varnothing$, but for thematic stems), as we have seen in nouns ending in $\mathbf{i}, \mathbf{u}$, $\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{n}$ and Occlusive; as mádhu, nō̆mn, krd. There are exceptions, though:

1. Nouns with lengthened or full vowel; as, Gk. údōr ${ }^{61}$ (from údros, cf. also O.Ind. áhar)
2. Nouns in $\mathbf{s}$ cannot have - $\varnothing$-, they have -o- in nouns, -e- in adjectives; as in génōs, race; adj. eugenés, of good race.
3. Finals $\mathbf{e} / \mathbf{o}$ have a uniform predeclensional vowel, normally $\boldsymbol{o}$, plus Nom.-Acc.-Voc ending -m.

NOTE 1. In the Oblique cases, neuters are declined like the animates.
NOTE 2. There are no neuters in -a, but for those which became common plural nouns, as e.g. n. Búbliă, Bible, lit."the books", from Gk. búbliom, book.

### 4.8. VOCALISM IN THE PLURAL

4.8.1. Vocalism in the Plural is generally the same as in the Singular. In Nominative-Vocative and Accusative, the straight cases, the full vowel grade is general (there is no Nominative with lengthened vowel), and in the Genitive the zero-grade is general. But there are also some special situations:

1. There are examples of full vowel in Nom.-Voc.; stems in -ei-es and -eu-es (in i, u stems); in -er-es, -or-es; -en-es, -on-es; -es-es.
2. Sometimes, the vowel timbre varies; as, ákmōn/ákmenes, (sharp) stone, which gives Lith. akmuö/akmenes, O.C.S. kamy/kamene, and so on.
3. There are also some zero-grades; cf Gk. óies. Also some analogical forms, as Gk. kúnes, Lat. carnes.
4.8.2. The ø-grade, an exception in the Nom.-Voc., is usual in Accusative Plural in i, u stems; as in derivatives with forms -i-ns, -u-ns.

As a general rule, then, the Plural has a full vowel: ákmenes, mātéres, etc.
4.8.3. The stems in $\mathbf{s}$ of Inanimates in the Nom.-Acc.-Voc. Plural present -es-a, -es- $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ : they follow the vowel timbre in the whole inflection, but for the Nom.-Acc.-Voc. Singular in -os. The rest are in - $\varnothing$.
4.8.4. The general vocalism of the Genitive Plural is $\varnothing$. But the full grade is sometimes found, too; as in ákmenom. The most common stems in which the full grade can be found are $\mathbf{n}$ and sometimes $\mathbf{r}$; as in mātrốm, which could also be mātérōm.

To sum up, Nominative Plural is usually opposed to Nominative Singular, while Genitive and Accusative tend to assimilate Singular and Plural. When the last are the same, full vowel is found in the Accusative, and $\varnothing$ in the Genitive.
4.8.5. In the Obliques, where there is a distinction, the form is that of the Nominative Singular Animate or Nom.-Acc.-Voc. Singular Inanimate; and when, in any of them, there is a distinction between full- and $\varnothing$-grade, they take the last. An example of Animates is pod, which gives Nom. pōds, Gen. pedós, Obl. Plural podbhís. In Inanimates it happens with $\mathbf{s}$ stems which have -os in Nom.-Acc. and -es in the other cases; as in génōs, genesí, genesbhós. And in Heteroclites that oppose an -n in the cases that are not Nom.-Acc.-Voc. with $\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{s}$ or $\varnothing$.

The zero-grade in the predeclensional syllable is very common, whether it has the Genitive vocalism or the full one; as, kwōn/kunsí. This $\varnothing$-grade is also found in $\mathbf{r}$ stems, as in patrós, patrbhiós. And so in $\mathbf{i}, \mathbf{u}$, stems too, in Nom. and Acc. Sg., while $\boldsymbol{e}$ is otherwise found (in Nom. Pl., and sometimes in Gen. Sg. and Pl.). The Obliques Plural have ø; as, egníbhios, egnísi, egníbhis; ghóstibhis, etc.

### 4.9. ACCENT IN DECLENSION

4.9.1. Just like vocalic grades, the accent is used (normally redundantly) to oppose the Straight cases (Nom.-Acc.-Voc.) to the Oblique ones.
NOTE. This is one of the worst reconstructed parts of Proto-Indo-European, as each language has developed its own accent system. Only Vedic Sanskrit, Greek and Balto-Slavic dialects appear to have more or less retained the oldest accent system, and even these have undergone different systematizations, which obscure still more the original situation in Proto-Indo-European
4.9.2. In monosyllabics, the alternating system is clearly observed:

Nom. pōds, Acc. pốdm, Gen. pedés.
Nom. kwōn, Acc. kwónm, Gen. kunós.
4.9.3. In polysyllabics, there is e.g. dhúg(a)tēr ${ }^{131}$, dhug(a)trós, etc., but also bhrắter, bhrắtrs (cf. Skr. bhartuḥ, O.N. bróðor), or mātŕs (cf. O.Ind. matứr), patŕs (cf. Got. fadrs), and so on.

1. Stems in i, u, had probably a root accent in Nom.-Acc., and a Genitive with accent on declension, as in the rest of examples.
2. Those in $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$ are not clearly reconstructed, therefore the alternating system is maintained.
3. The Vocative could be distinguished with the accent. The general rule, observed in Skr., Gk. and O.Sla., is that it is unstressed, but for the beginning of a sentence; in this case, the accent goes in the first syllable, to differentiate it from the Nominative with accent on declension.

NOTE. The accent in the Vocative is also related to the intonation of the sentence.
4.9.4. In the Plural system no general accent pattern can be found. Each Indo-European dialect developed its own system to distinguish the homophones in Singular and Plural. In the Obliques, however, the accent is that of the Genitive, when it is opposed to the Nom.-Acc; as in patrbhiós, mātrbhís, etc.

NOTE. The so-called qetwóres-rule had been observed by earlier scholars, but has only recently attracted attention. It is a sound law of PIE accent, stating that in a word of three syllables $\boldsymbol{e}-\boldsymbol{o}-\boldsymbol{X}$ the accent will be moved to the penultimate, e-ó- $\boldsymbol{X}$. Examples include qetwóres $<\boldsymbol{q}$ étwores, four, singular accusatives of r-stems (cf. swesórm<swésorm, sister), of r/n-heteroclitica (cf. ghesórm<ghésorm, hand), of s-stems (cf. IE ${ }^{*} h_{2}$ ausósm<*$h_{2} e ́ u s o s m$, dawn). This rule is fed by an assumed earlier sound law that changes ${ }^{*} \mathbf{e}$ to IE $\mathbf{o}$ after an accented syllable, i.e. qetwóres<qétwores<*qétweres. Rix (1988) invokes this rule to explain why in the PIE Perfect the o-grade root is accented, e.g. gegón-/gégn- < gégen-/gégn, created, engendered.

### 4.10. COMPOUND WORDS

4.10.1. Nominal Compositum or nominal composition is the process of putting two or more words together to form another word. The new word, called a Compound Word, is either a Noun or an Adjective, and it does not necessarily have the same meaning as its parts.
4.10.2. The second term of a Compound Word may be
a) a Noun (Gk. akró-polis, "high city, citadel")
b) an Adjective (Gk. theo-eikelos, "similar to the gods") or
c) a Noun adapted to the adjectival inflection (Gk. arguró-tozos, "silver arc")

NOTE. Sometimes a suffix is added (cf. Gk. en-neá-boios, "of nine cows"), and the Compound Noun may have a different gender than the second term (cf. Lat. triuium, "cross roads", from trēs and uia).
4.10.3. The first term is a Pure Stem, without distinction of word class, gender or number. It may be an Adverb, a Numeral (Gk. trí-llistos, "supplicated three times", polú-llistos, "very supplicated") or a

Pronoun (cf. O.Ind. tatpuruṣa, "that man"), as well as a Nominal-Verbal stem with Nominal (Gk. andra-phónos, "who kills a man"), Adjetival (Gk. akró-polis), or Verbal function (Gk. arkhé-kakos, "who begins the evil"), and also an Adjective proper (Gk. polú-tropos, "of many resources").
4.10.4. Usually, the first term has zero-grade, cf. O.Ind. ṇr-hán, Gk. polú-tropos, Lat. aui-(caps), etc. Common exceptions are stems in -e/os, as Gk. sakés-palos, "who shakes the shield" (Gk. sákos, "shield"), and some suffixes which are substituted by a lengthening in -i, cf. Gk. kudi-áneira, "who glorifies men" (Gk. kudrós), Av. bərəzi-čaxra-, "of high wheels" (Av. bərəzant-).

In Thematic stems, however, the thematic -e/o appears always, as an oif Noun or Adjective (Gk. akró-polis), as an $\boldsymbol{e}$ if Verb (Gk. arkhé-kakos).
4.10.5. The first term usually defines the second, the contrary is rare; the main Compound types are:
A. Formed by Verbs, cf. O.Ind. ṇr-hán, Gk. andra-phónos (Gk. andro- is newer) Lat. auceps, O.Sla. medv-ĕdǔ, "honey-eater", bear, and also with the second term defining the first, as Gk. arkhé-kakos.
B. Nominal Determiners (first term defines the second), with first term Noun (cf. Gk. mētro-pátōr, "mother's father", Goth. piudan-gardi, "kingdom"), Adective (cf. Gk. akró-polis, O.Sla. dobro-godŭ, "good time", O.Ir. find-airgit, "white plant", Lat. angi-portus, "narrow pass"), or Numeral (cf. Lat. triuium, from uia, Gk. ámaza, "chariot frame", from ázōn).
C. Adjectival Determiners (tatpuruṣa- for Indian grammarians), with first term Noun (cf. Gk. theoeíkelos, Goth. gasti-gods "good for the guests"), Adverb (cf. O.Ind. ájñ̄ātas, Gk. ágnotos, "unknown", phroudos, "who is on its way", from pró and odós).
D. Possessive Compounds (bahu-vrihi-, "which has a lot of rice", for Indian grammarians), as in Eng. barefoot, "(who goes) with bare feet", with the first term Noun (cf. Gk. arguró-tozos, O.Sla. črŭnovladŭ, "of black hair"), Adjective (cf. Lat. magn-animus, "of great spirit"), Adverb (cf. O.Ind. durmanắs, GK. dus-menés, "wicked").

The accent could also distinguish the Determiners from the Possessives, as in O.Ind. rāja-putrás, " $a$ king's son", from O.Ind. rajá-putras, "who has a son as king, king's father".

## 5. ADJECTIVES

### 5.1. INFLECTION OF ADJECTIVES

5.1.1. In IE III, the noun could be determined in three different ways: with another noun, as in "stone wall"; with a noun in Genitive, as in "the father's house"; or with an adjective, as in "paternal love". These are all possible in MIE too, but the adjective corresponds to the third way, i.e., to that kind of words - possibly derived from older Genitives - that are declined to make it agree in case, gender and number with the noun they define.
5.1.2. The adjective is from the older stages like a noun, and even today Indo-European languages have the possibility to make an adjective a noun (as English), or a noun an adjective (stone wall). Furthermore, some words are nouns and adjectives as well: wŕsēn ${ }^{79}$, male, man, can be the subject of a verb (i.e., a noun), and can determine a noun.
Most of the stems are actually indifferent to the opposition noun/adjective, and even most of the suffixes. Their inflection is common, too, and differences are normally secondary. This is the reason why we have already studied the adjective declensions; they are the same as the noun's.
5.1.3. However, since the oldest IE language there were nouns different from adjectives, as wíqos or pōds, and adjectives different from nouns, as rudhrós ${ }^{61}$, solwós, etc. Nouns could, in turn, be used as adjectives, and adjectives be nominalized.

NOTE. There were already in IE II some trends of adjective specialization, with the use of suffixes, vocalism, accent, and sometimes inflection, which changed a noun to an adjective and vice versa.

### 5.2. THE MOTION

5.2.1. In accordance with their use, adjectives distinguish gender by different forms in the same word, and agree with the nouns they define in gender, number and case. This is the Motion of the Adjective.
5.2.2. We saw in § 3.4. that there are some rare cases of Motion in the noun. Sometimes the opposition is made between nouns, and this seems to be the older situation; as, patér-mātér, bhrấtēr-swésōr.

But an adjective distinguishes between masculine, feminine and neuter, or at least between animate and neuter (or inanimate). This opposition is of two different kinds:
a. Animates are opposed to Inanimates by declension, vocalism and accent; as, -os/-om, -is/-i, -nts/$\boldsymbol{n t},-\bar{e} s /-e s$.
b. The masculine is opposed to the feminine, when it happens, by the stem vowel; as, -os/- $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}},-\boldsymbol{n t s} /-$ ntia (or -ntī), -us/-ū̄.

The general system may be so depicted:

|  | Animates |  | Inanimates |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Maskuline | Feminine | Neuter |
| 1. | -os | $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ | -om |
| 2. | -is | -is | -i |
| 3. | -nts | -nti $\overline{\widetilde{a}}^{\mathbf{/}}$-ntī | -nt |
| 4. | - $\overline{\mathbf{e}} \boldsymbol{s}$ | - $\overline{\mathbf{e}} \boldsymbol{s}$ | -es |
| 5. | -us | -uī | -u |

NOTE. The masculine-feminine opposition is possibly new to Late PIE, IE II -as the Anatolian dialects show had probably only an Animate-Inanimate opposition. The existence of this kind of adjectives is very important for an easy communication as, for example, the adjectives in - $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ are only feminine (unlike nouns, which can also be masculine). An $\boldsymbol{o}$ stem followed by an $-\boldsymbol{s}$ in Nom. Sg. is animate or masculine, never feminine only, whilst there are still remains of feminine nouns in -os.
5.2.3. Compare the following examples:

1. For the so-called thematic adjectives, in -ós, -̄́a, -óm, cf. kaikós, -áa, -óm, blind (cf. Lat. caecus, Gk. каıкia, a north wind), akrós, --̄́a, -óm, sour, newós, -ā, -om, new, rudhrós, -ā, -om, red, koilós, -ắ, -óm, empty (cf. Gk. кoخ入òs, maybe also Lat. caelus, caelum), elnghrós, - -á, -óm, light (cf. Gk. غ̇ $\lambda \alpha \varphi \rho o ̀ ̧), ~ e t c . ~$
2. For adjectives in -ús, -uî́, -ú, cf. swādús, -uí, -ú, sweet, mreghús, -uî, -ú, brief, lchús, -uî́, -ú, light, tnús, -uî, -ú, stretched, mldús, -uî, -ú, soft, ōkús, -uî, -ú, quick. Other common examples include āsús, good, bhanghús, dense, gherús, small, bad, car(āw)ús, heavy, dalkús, sweet, dansús, dense, dhanghús, quick, laghús, light, maldús, soft, pnghús, thick, tegús, fat, dense, tanghús, fat, obese, udhús, quick, immediate, etc.

### 5.3. ADJECTIVE SPECIALIZATION

5.3.1. The specialization of adjectives from nouns is not absolute, but a question of grade, as e.g.

1. Stems in -nt are usually adjectives, but they were also assimilated to the verb system and have become (Present) Participles.
2. Words in -ter are nouns, and adjectives are derived usually in -triós and others.
3. Nouns in -ti have adjectives in -tikós, which usually has an ethnic meaning.
4. Sometimes distinction is made with alternating vowels: neuters in -om and adjectives in -ếs, -és.

The accent is normally used to distinguish thematic nouns in -os with adj. in -ós (mainly -tós, -nós).

NOTE. There are sometimes secondary processes that displace the accent from an adjective to create a noun; cf. Gk. leukós, "white", léukos, "white spot". These correlations noun-adjective were often created, but from some point onward the derivation of adjectives was made with suffixes like -ment (-uent), -jo, -to, -no, -iko, etc. There are, however, abundant remains of the old identity between noun and adjective in IE III and therefore in Modern Indo-European. An example of the accent shift is that of Eurōp-ai-o-, which as an adjective is Eurōpaiós, Eurōpaiá, Eurōpaióm, while as a noun the accent is shifted towards the root.

### 5.4. COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES

5.4.1. In Modern Indo-European, as in English, there are three degrees of comparison: the Positive, the Comparative and the Superlative.

NOTE. There weren't degrees in the Anatolian dialects, and therefore probably neither in Middle PIE. It is therefore an innovation of IE III, further developed by each dialect after the great IE migrations.
5.4.2. The Comparative is generally formed by adding -ió-, which has variants -ijó- and -ison; as in sen-iós (Lat. senior), older, meg-iós, bigger (cf. "major"), etc.
5.4.3. The same suffix is the base for the Superlative -istó- (from -is-to-); as in mreghwistós, briefest, newistós, newest, etc.

Other dialectal Superlative suffixes include: O.Ind. and Gk. -tero-, Gk. -tm-to- (Gk. tato, cf. O.Sla., O.Ind. *prījótmos) O.Ind. -tmo-, Ita. and Cel. -mo-, -smo-, -tmo-, and extended -is-smo-, -uper-mo-, Lat. summus < súp-mos; Skr. ádhamas, Lat. infimus < ńdh-mos; lat. maximus < mág-s-mos; lat. intimus (cf. intus)< én-/n-t-mos, innermost. These are all derivatives of the suffix -mós, i.e., [mos] or [mos]. The suffix is also present in other adjectives, but it took usually the Superlative degree.
5.4.4. It is interesting to point out that both suffixes, -io- (also -tero-) and -is-to-, had probably an original nominal meaning. Thus, the elongations in -ios had a meaning; as in Latin, where junióses and senióses were used for groups of age; or those in -teros, as mātérter $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$, aunt on the mother's side, ekwáteros, mule.

NOTE 1. Probably forms like junióses are not the most common in IE, although indeed attested in different dialects; actually adjectival suffixes -iós, -istós are added to the root (in e-grade) without the initial suffixes, while -teros and -tmós are added with the suffixes. Compare e.g. O.Ir. sír, cp. sía <sēiós, 'longus, longior’; lán (plēnus cf. lín 'numerus'), cp. lia < plēiós (Lat ploios, Gk. pléos); cf. Lat. ploirume, zero-grade Lat. maios, O.Ir. mía. So, for júwenes we find Umb. cp. jovie <*jowiē-s, O.Ir. óac ‘iuuenis’, óa 'iunior'; óam 'iuuenissimus', O.Ind. yúva(n)- (yứnaḥ), cp. yávīyas-, sup. yáviṣta-ḥ.

NOTE 2. In Latin (and Germanic), as already said, the intervocalic -s-becomes voiced, and then it is pronounced as the trilled consonant, what is known with the name of rhotacism. Hence Lat. iuniores and seniores.

### 5.5. NUMERALS

## 5•5.1. CLASSIFICATION OF NUMERALS

Modern Indo-European Numerals may be classified as follows:
I. Numeral Adjectives:

1. Cardinal Numbers, answering the question how many? as, óinos, one; dwo, two, etc.
2. Ordinal Numbers, adjectives derived (in most cases) from the Cardinals, and answering the question which in order? as, pṛ్우os, first; álteros, second, etc.
3. Distributive Numerals, answering the question how many at a time? as, sémni, one at a time; dwíni (also dwísnoi), two by two, etc.
II. Numeral Adverbs, answering the question how often? as, smís, once; dwis, twice, etc.

## 5•5.2. CARDINALS AND ORDINALS

1. These two series are as follows, from one to ten: ${ }^{155}$

|  | Cardinal | Eng. | Ordinal | Eng. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | óinos, óinā, óinom | one | prówós | first |
| 2. | dwó, dwắ, dwói | two | alterós $($ dwoterós) | second |
| 3. | tréjes, tresrés/trisóres, trī | three | triós, trit(i)ós | third |
| 4. | qétwor (qetwóres, qetwesóres, qetwốr) | four | qturós, qetwrtós | fourth |
| 5. | pénqe | five | pnqós, penqtós | fifth |
| 6. | s(w)eks (weks) | six | (*suksós), sekstós | sixth |
| 7. | séptm/septı́n | seven | septmós | seventh |
| 8. | óktō(u) | eight | oktōwós | eighth |
| 9. | néwn | nine | nownós, neuntós | ninth |
| 10. | dékm/dekı́n | ten | dekmós, dekmtós | tenth |

NOTE. The Ordinals are formed by means of the thematic suffix -o, which causes the syllable coming before the ending to have zero grade. This is the older form, which is combined with a newer suffix -to. For seven and eight there is no zero grade, due probably to their old roots.
2. The forms from eleven to nineteen were usually formed by copulative compounds with the unit plus -dekm, ten. ${ }^{156}$ Hence Modern Indo-European uses the following system:

|  | Cardinal | Ordinal |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 11. | óindekm | oindekm(t)ós |
| 12. | dwódekm | dwodekm(t)ós |
| 13. | trídekm | tridekm(t)ós |
| 14. | qetwŕdekm | qeturdekm(t)ós |
| 15. | penqédekm | penqedekm(t)ós |
| 16. | séksdekm | seksdekm(t)ós |
| 17. | septı́dekm | septmdekm(t)ós |
| 18. | oktốdekm | oktōdekm(t)ós |
| 19. | newńdekm | newndekm(t)ós |

3. The tens were normally formed with the units with lengthened vowel/sonant and a general $\boldsymbol{k m t} \overline{\boldsymbol{a}} /-\boldsymbol{k o m t}(\boldsymbol{a})^{157}$, "group of ten", although some dialectal differences existed. ${ }^{158}$

|  | Cardinal | Ordinal |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 20. | (d)wīkńtī | (d)wīkmt(m)ós |
| 30. | trīkómt( ${ }_{\text {a }}$ ) | trīkomtós |
| 40. | qetwrịkómt(言) | qetwṛ̂komtós |
| 50. | penqékómt(気) | penqēkomtós |
| 60. | s(w)ekskómt( $\overline{\mathbf{a}}^{\text {a }}$ ) | sekskomtós |
| 70. | septīkómt( $\mathbf{a}_{\text {a }}$ ) | septmikomtós |
| 80. | oktōkómt( ă $_{\text {a }}$ ) | oktōkomtós |
| 90. | newnkómt( $(\overline{\mathbf{a}})$ | newnkomtós |
| 100. | (sm)kmtóm | kmtom(t)ós |
| 1000. | túsntī, (sm)ghéslo- | tusntitós |

4. The hundreds are made as compounds of two numerals, like the tens, but without lengthened vowel. The thousands are made of the numerals plus the indeclinable túsntī:

|  | Cardinal | Ordinal |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 200. | dwokńtī | dwokmtós |
| 300. | trikńtī | trikmtós |
| 400. | qetwrkńtī | qetwrkmtós |
| 500. | penqekńtī | penqekmtós |
| 600. | sekskńtī | sekskmtós |
| 700. | septmkńtī | septmkmtós |
| 800. | oktōkńtī | oktōkmtós |


| 900. | newnkḿtom | newnkmtós |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2000. | dwo/dwéi/dwō <br> túsntī | dwo tusntitói, dwéi <br> tusntitấs, dwō tusntitóm |
| 3000. | tréjes/trisóres/trī <br> túsntī | tréjes tusntitói, trisóres <br> tusntitás, trī tusntitóm |

NOTE 1. These MIE uninflected cardinals are equivalent to most European forms; as, for two hundred, Lat. quingenti, Gk. лєvтакóбıа, and also Eng. five hundred, Ger. fünfhundert, Russ. nяmьcom, Pol. pięćset, Welsh pum cant, Bret. pemp-kant. Inflected forms, such as modern Indo-European dialectal Da. fem hundrede, Fr. cinq cents, It. cinquecento, Spa. quinientos, Pt. quinhentos, Sr.-Cr. petsto (f. pet stotina), etc. are left for the ordinals in this Modern Indo-European system.

NOTE 2. In Germanic the hundreds are compounds made of a substantive "hundred", MIE kи́nt(m)-radhom, Gmc. khund(a)-ratham, v.s., but we have chosen this - for us more straightforward - European form, found in Italic, Balto-Slavic and Greek.
5. The compound numerals are made with the units in the second place, usually followed by the copulative -qe:

## f. (d)wīkńtī óinā(-qe), twenty (and) one; m. trikómta qétwor(-qe), thirty (and) four; etc.

NOTE. Alternative forms with the unit in the first place are also possible in Modern Indo-European, even though most modern European languages think about numeric compounds with the units at the end. In fact, such lesser used formation is possibly the most archaic, maybe the original PIE form. Compare e.g. for "twenty-one" (m.):

MIE (d)wīkńtī óinos(-qe), as Eng. twenty-one, Swe. tjugoett, Nor. tjueen, Ice. tuttugu og einn, Lat. uiginti unus (as modern Romance, cf. Fr. vingt-et-un, It ventuno, Spa. veintiuno, Pt. vinte e um, Rom. douăzeci şi unu), Gk. сі́кобı $\dot{\varepsilon} v$, Ltv. divdesmit viens, Russ. двадцать один, Pol. dwadzieścia jeden, etc.

For óinos(d)wīkńtìqe, maybe the oldest form, compare Gmc. (as Ger. einundzwanzig, Du. eenentwintig, Fris. ienentweintich, Da. enogtyve), and Lat. unus et uiginti, Skr. ékaviniśati, Bret. unan-warn-ugent, etc.
6. In compounds we find:
$\boldsymbol{s m}-$, one-; $\boldsymbol{d u}$ - (or duv- followed by vowel), duvi-, two-; tri-, three-; $\boldsymbol{q}(\boldsymbol{e})$ tur-, four-

## 5•5.3. DECLENSION OF CARDINALS AND ORDINALS

Of the Cardinals only óinos, dwo, tréjes (and dialectally qétwor), as well as (sm)gheslós, are declinable.
a. The declension of óinos, $-\overline{\mathbf{a}},-\mathbf{o m}$ has often the meaning of same or only. The plural is used in this sense; but also, as a simple numeral, to agree with a plural noun of singular meaning. The plural occurs also in phrases like óinoi alterói-qe, one party and the other (the ones and the others).
b. The declension of sem- (and o-grade sōm-), one, is as follows:

| PIE sem-/som-, one |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM. | sems | sōms |
| ACC. | sémm | só́mm |
| GEN. | smós | somós |
| D.-A. | sméi | soméi |
| L.-I. | smí, sémi | somí/sốmi |

c. Dwo, two, and tréjes, three, are thus declined:

|  | dwo |  |  | trejes |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $m$. | $n$. | $f$. | $m$. | $f$. | $n$. |
| NOM. | dwo | dwói | dwā | tréjes | trī |  |
| ACC. | dwom | dwói | dwām | trims |  | trī |
| GEN. | dwósio | dwésās | tríjom |  |  |  |
| D.-A. | dwósmei | dwésiāi $\left(>^{*}-e i\right)$ | tríbhios |  |  |  |
| LOC. | dwósmi | dwésiāi | trísu |  |  |  |
| INS. | dwósmō | dwésiā | tríbhis |  |  |  |

NOTE. ámbho, both, is sometimes declined like dwo, as in Latin.
d. Túsntī , a thousand, functions as an indeclinable adjective:
túsntī módois, in a thousand ways. kom túsntī wīrōis, with a thousand men
e. The ordinals are adjectives of the Fourth and Third Declensions, and are regularly declined.
6.3.2. Cardinals and Ordinals have the following uses:
a. In numbers below 100, if units precede tens, the number is generally written as one word; as in f . dwā(d)wīkńtīqe, twenty one; otherwise it is separated: (d)wīkńtī dwā(-qe).
b. In numbers above 100 the highest denomination generally stands first, the next second, etc., as in English; as, 1764, túsntī septmkńtī sekskómta qétwor(-qe), or túsntī septmkńtī qétworsekskómtqe.

NOTE. Observe the following combinations of numerals with substantives:
wīkńtī óinos(-qe) wírōs, or wīkńtī wírōs óinosqe, 21 men.
dwo túsnti penqekńtī trídekm cénās, 2513 women.
c. The Proto-Indo-European language had no special words for million, billion, trillion, etc., and these numbers were expressed by multiplication. In Modern Indo-European they are formed with IE common loan from Italic smghéslī (cf. Ita. $\left.{ }^{*}(s) m^{i} g h e ̄ l \imath ̄ ~>~ O . L a t . ~ m i ̄ h i ̄ l i ̄ ~>~ L a t . ~ m i l l e\right), ~ a ~ d e r i v a t i v e ~ o f ~$ sm+ghéslos meaning "a thousand"; as, smghésliōn, million, dwighésliōn, billion, trighésliōn, trillion, etc. For the word milliard, one thousand million, smghesliárdos can also be used.
d. Fractions are expressed, as in English, by cardinals in the numerator and ordinals in the denominator. The feminine gender is used to agree with pártis, part, either expressed (with adjective) or understood (nominalized): two-sevenths, dwá séptmāi (or duvá séptmáí pártes); three-eighths, tréjes októwāi (or tréjes oktowấi pártes).

## One-half is (dwi)medhjá pártis or (dwi)médhjom.

NOTE. When the numerator is one, it can be omitted and pártis must then be expressed: one-third, tritá pártis; one-fourth, qetwrtấ pártis.

## 5•5.4. DISTRIBUTIVES

1. Distributive Numerals are usually formed with the zero-grade forms and the suffix -ni.

NOTE. These answer to the interrogative qóteni?, how many of each? or how many at a time?

| 1. | sémni, one by one | 20. | (d)wikńtīni |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2. | dwí(s)ni, two by two | 21. | (d)wikḿtīni sémni-qe, etc. |
| 3. | trí(s)ni, three by three | 30. | trīkńntni |
| 4. | qtúrni | 40. | qetwrkńtni |
| 5. | pnqéni | 50. | penqekńtni |
| 6. | sék(s)ni (older *suksni) | 60. | sekskńntni |
| 7. | septḿni | 70. | septmkńntni |
| 8. | októni | 80. | oktōkńtni |
| 9. | néwnni | 90. | newnkḿntni |
| 10. | dékmni | 100. | kmtḿni |
| 11. | sémni dékmni | 200. | dukmtḿni |
| 12. | dwíni dékmni | 1.000 | túsntīni |
| 13. | tríni dékmni | 2.000 | dwíni túsntīni |
| 14. | qtúrni dékmni, etc. | 10.000 | dékmni túsntīni |

NOTE 1. The word for "one by one" can also be sémgoli, one, individual, separate, as Lat. singuli, from semgolós, alone, single, formed with suffixed sem-go-lo-, although that Lat. $-g$ - is generally believed to be a later addition, i.e. proper MIE sémoli, from sem-o-lós.

NOTE 2. Suffixed trísni, three each, is found in Lat. trīni, Skr. trịṇi, giving derivative trísnos, trine, as Lat. trinus, as well as trísnitā, trinity.
2. Distributives are used mainly in the sense of so many apiece or on each side, and also in multiplications.

## 5•5.5. NUMERAL ADVERBS

The Numeral Adverbs answer the question how many times? how often?, and are usually formed with $\mathbf{i}$ and sometimes a lengthening in -s.

| 1. | smís, once | 20. | (d)wīkńtīs |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2. | dwis, twice | 21. | (d)wīkńtī smis-qe, |
| 3. | tris, thrice | 30. | trīkómti |
| 4. | qéturs, qétrus | 40. | qetwrkómti |
| 5. | pénqei | 50. | penqekómti |
| 6. | sék(s)i | 60. | sekskómti |
| 7. | séptmi | 70. | septmkómti |
| $8:$ | óktōi | 80. | oktōkómti |
| 9. | néwni | 90. | newnkómti |
| 10. | dékmi | 100. | kmtómi |
| 11. | óindekmi | 200. | dukmtómi |
| 12. | dwódekmi | 1.000 | túsntīs |
| 13. | trídekmi | 2.000 | dwis túsntīs |
| 14. | qetúrdekmi, etc. | 10.000 | dékmi túsntīs |

5•5.6. OTHER NUMERALS

1. The following adjectives are called Multiplicatives, formed in PIE with common suffix -io, and also dialectally in compound with PIE root pel ${ }^{159}$, as Greek and Latin zero-grade suffixed with -plos, or Germanic full-grade compound with -póltos, fold:
semiós, sem(g)olós, single, oinikós, unique; dwoiós, dwiplós/duplós, double, dwopóltos, twofold; treijós, triplós triple; trejespóltos, threefold; qetworiós, qeturplós, quadruple, qetworpóltos, fourfold, etc.; mltiplós, mltipléks, multiple, monoghopóltos ${ }^{160}$, manifold, etc.

NOTE. For óinikos, any, anyone, unique, compare Gmc. ainagas (cf. O.S. enig, O.N. einigr, O.E. ænig, O.Fris. enich, O.H.G. einag, Du. enig, Eng. any, Ger. einig), Lat. unicus. Compare also O.Ir. óen into Sco. aon, from óinos, as Welsh un.
2. Other usual numerals (from Latin) are made as follows:
a. Temporals: dwimós, trimós, of two or three years' age; dwiátnis, triátnis, lasting two or three years (from átnos ${ }^{62}$ ); dwiménstris, triménstris, of two or three months (from mēns ${ }^{61}$ ); dwiátniom, a period of two years, as Lat. biennium, sṃgheslátniom, millenium.
b. Partitives: dwisnắsios, trisnấsios, of two or three parts (cf. Eng. binary).
c. Other possible derivatives are: óiniōn, unity, union; dwísniōn, the two (of dice); prwimanos, of the first legion; prwimāsiós, of the first rank; dwísnos (distributive), double, dwisnāsiós, of the second rank, tritāsiós, of the third rang, etc.

NOTE 1. English onion comes from O.Fr. oignon (formerly also oingnon), from Lat. unionem (nom. unio), colloquial rustic Roman for a kind of onion; sense connection is the successive layers of an onion, in contrast with garlic or cloves.

NOTE 2. Most of these forms are taken from Latin, as it has influenced all other European languages for centuries, especially in numerals. These forms are neither the only ones, nor are they preferred to others in this Modern Indo-European system; they are mainly indications. To reconstruct every possible numeral usable in Indo-European is not the aim of this Grammar.

## 6. PRONOUNS

### 6.1. ABOUT THE PRONOUNS

6.1.1. Pronouns are used as Nouns or as Adjectives. They are divided into the following seven classes:

1. Personal Pronouns: as, eg(系), $I$.
2. Reflexive Pronouns: as, $\mathbf{s}(\mathbf{w}) \mathbf{e}$, himself.
3. Possessive Pronouns: as, mos, my.
4. Demonstrative Pronouns: as, so, this; i, that.
5. Relative Pronouns: as, qis, who.
6. Interrogative Pronouns: as, qis?, who?
7. Indefinite Pronouns: as, áliqis, some one.
6.1.2. Pronouns have a special declension.

### 6.2. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

6.2.1. The Personal pronouns of the first person are $\mathbf{e g}(\hat{\mathbf{o}}), I$, wé(i), we; of the second person, tu, thou or $y o u, \mathbf{j u}(\mathbf{s})$, you. The personal pronouns of the third person - he, she, it, they - are wanting in IndoEuropean, an anaphoric (or even a demonstrative) being used instead.

NOTE. IE III had no personal pronouns for the third person, like most of its early dialects. For that purpose, a demonstrative was used instead; as, from ki, id, cf. Anatolian ki, Gmc. khi-, Lat. cis-, id, Gk. ekeinos, Lith. sis, O.C.S. si, etc. It is this system the one used in Modern Indo-European; although no unitary form was chosen in Late PIE times, the general pattern (at least in the European or Northwestern dialects) is obvious.
6.2.3. The Personal Pronouns (Non-Reflexive) are declined as follows:

FIRST PERSON

|  | Singular eg-, me ${ }^{-161}$ | Plural we--, ns $^{-162}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM. | eg, egô, $I$ | we, wéi, we |
| ACC. | me, me | nōs, nsmé, $u s$ |
| GEN. | méne, méi, of me | ns(er)óm, of $u s$ |
| DAT. | méghi(o), mói | nsméi |
| LOC.-INS. | moí | nsmí |
| ABL. | med | nsméd |

SECOND PERSON

|  | Singular tu-, te $^{-163}$ | Plural ju-, ws- ${ }^{164}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM. | tu, thou | ju, jus, you |
| ACC. | te, thee | wos, usmé, you |
| GEN. | téwe, téi, of thee | jus(er)óm, of you |
| DAT. | tébhi, tói | usméi |
| LOC.-INS. | toí | usmí |
| ABL. | twed | usméd |

NOTE. Other attested pronouns include $1^{\text {st }}$ P. Nom. eg(h)óm (cf. O.Ind. ahám, Av. azəm, Hom.Gk. $\varepsilon \gamma \underline{\omega} v$, Ven. ehom); Dat. sg. méghei, tébhei, sébhei in Osco-Umbrian and Slavic; -es endings in Nom. pl., nsmés, jusmés, attested in Att.-Ion. Gk. and Gothic. Also, Osco-Umbrian and Old Indian show variant (tonic or accented) series of Acc. Sg. in -m, as mēm(e), twēm, tewe, usóm, s(w) $\boldsymbol{w} \boldsymbol{m}$. The $1^{\text {st }}$ Person Dative form is often found reconstructed as mébhi/mébhei, as in the $2^{\text {nd }} \mathrm{P}$. Sg. form.

For the Personal Pronouns of the third person singular and plural, the demonstrative $\mathbf{i}$ is used. See $\S 6.5$ for more details on its use and inflection.
a. The plural wé(i) is often used for the singular $\mathbf{e g}(\overline{\mathbf{o}})$; the plural $\mathbf{j u}(\mathbf{s})$ can also be so used for the singular tu. Both situations happen usually in formal contexts.
b. The forms nsóm, jusóm, etc., can be used partitively:
óinosqisqe nsóm, each one of us.
jusóm ópniom, of all of you.
c. The genitives méi, téi, nsóm, jusóm, are chiefly used objectively:
es mnámōn nsóm, be mindful of us.

### 6.3. REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

6.3.1. Reflexive Pronouns are used in the accusative and the oblique cases to refer to the subject of the sentence or clause in which they stand; as, $\mathbf{s}(\mathbf{w}) \mathbf{e}$ lubhéieti, he/she loves himself/herself; séwe bhámi, I talk about (of) me, and so on.
a. In the first and second persons, the oblique cases of the personal pronouns were also commonly used as Reflexives: as, me widéiō (for se widéiō), I see myself; nos perswādéiomos (for swe perswādéiomos), we persuade ourselves, etc.
b. The Reflexive pronoun of the third person has a special form used only in this sense, the same for both singular and plural. It is thus declined:

Swe ${ }^{165}$

| ACC. | $\mathbf{s}(\mathbf{w}) \mathbf{e}$, myself, yourself, himself/herself/itself, ourselves, yourselves, themselves. |
| :---: | :---: |
| GEN. | séwe, of myself, yourself, himself/herself/itself, ourselves, yourselves, themselves. |
| DAT. | sébhi, s(w)ói, to myself, yourself, himself/herself/itself, ourselves, etc. |
| LOC.-INS. | $\mathbf{s}(\mathbf{w}) \mathbf{o 1}$, in/with myself, yourself, himself/herself/itself, ourselves, etc. |
| ABL. | swed, by/from/etc. myself, yourself, himself/herself/itself, ourselves, etc. |

### 6.4. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

6.4.1. The main Possessive pronouns in Modern Indo-European are:

| $\mathbf{1}^{\text {st }}$ PERSON | mos, my | nsós, our |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2 $^{\text {nd }}$ PERSON | twos, thy, your | usós, your |
| REFLEXIVE | swos, my, your, his/her/its, our, your, their |  |

These are really adjectives of the first type (-ós, -áa, -óm), and are so declined.
NOTE 1. IE swos is used only as a reflexive, referring to the subject. For a possessive pronoun of the third person not referring to the subject, the genitive of a demonstrative must be used. Thus, (i) swom patérm chénti, (he) kills his [own] father; but (i) patérm éso chénti, (he) kills his [somebody (m.) else's] father.

NOTE 2. Other common Proto-Indo-European forms were méwijos/ménjos, téwijos, séwijos. Forms for the first and second persons are sometimes reconstructed as emós, tewós.
A. There are older Oblique singular forms which were assimilated to the thematic inflection by some Indo-European dialects, as mói, tói, sói, and its derivatives with -s, -os, -w-, etc
B. Forms with adjectival suffixes -teros, -eros, were not general in Late PIE, although the forms are common to many European languages; as, nserós/nsterós, userós/usterós, etc.
6.4.3. Other forms are the following:
a. A possessive qosós, -á, -óm, whose, is formed from the genitive singular of the relative or interrogative pronoun ( $\mathbf{q i} / \mathbf{q} \mathbf{o}$ ). It may be either interrogative or relative in force according to its derivation, but is usually the former.
b. The reciprocals one another and each other may be expressed with PIE meitós (cf. Goth. missō, O.Ind. mithá́-, Lat. mūtuus, Gk. нoĩтos, Bal-Sla. meitu-, etc.) or other common expressions, as Lat. énter $\boldsymbol{s}(\boldsymbol{w})$ e or álteros...álterom, Gmc. óinos...álterom (cf. Eng. one another, Ger. einander), etc.
álteros álterī áutoms déukonti ${ }^{166}$ (or óinos álterī áutoms déukonti), they drive each other's cars (one... of the other);
énter se lubhéionti (or lubhéionti álteros álterom), they love one another (they love among themselves); and so on.

### 6.5. ANAPHORIC PRONOUNS

6.5.1. Anaphora is an instance of an expression referring to another, the weak part of the deixis. In general, an anaphoric is represented by a pro-form or some kind of deictic. They usually don't have adjectival use, and are only used as mere abbreviating substitutes of the noun.

NOTE. The old anaphorics are usually substituted in modern Indo-European dialects by demonstratives.
They are usually integrated into the pronoun system with gender; only occasionally some of these anaphorics have been integrated into the Personal Pronouns system in Indo-European languages.
6.5.2. Modern Indo-European has a general anaphoric pronoun based on PIE root i. It can also be added to old $\mathbf{e}$ forms, hence éi.

NOTE. This root $\mathbf{i}$ is also the base for common IE relative $\mathbf{j o}$.
6.5.3. The other demonstrative, so/to, functions as anaphoric too, but tends to appear leading the sentence, being its origin probably the relative. They are also used for the second term in comparisons.

NOTE. Modern IE languages have sometimes mixed both forms to create a single system, while others maintain the old differentiation.

### 6.6. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

6.6.1. The Demonstrative Pronouns so, this, and $\mathbf{i}$, that, are used to point out or designate a person or thing for special attention, either with nouns, as Adjectives, or alone, as Pronouns, and are so declined:

$$
\text { so/to }{ }^{167} \text {, this }
$$

|  | Singular |  |  | Plural |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $m$. | $n$. | $f$. | $m$. | $n$. | $f$. |  |
| NOM. | so | tod | sā | tói | tā | tāi/sāi |  |
| ACC. | tom | tod | tām | toms | tā | tāms |  |
| GEN. | tósio | tésās | tésom |  | tésom |  |  |
| DAT. | tósmōi | tésiāi $\left[>^{*}-\right.$ ei] | tóibh(i)os (-mos) | tábh(i)os (-mos) |  |  |  |
| LOC. | tósmi |  | tésiāi | tóisu |  | tásu |  |
| INS. | toi |  |  |  | tóibhis $(-m i s) ~$ | tábhis $(-m i s) ~$ |  |
| ABL. | tósmōd |  |  |  | tóios |  |  |

NOTE. Different variants are observed in the attested dialects: 1) Nom. so is also found as sos in Old Indian, Greek and Gothic, and as se in Latin (cf. Lat. ipse). 2) Nom. sā is found as sī in Gothic and Celtic, also as sjā in Germanic. 3) Nom. Pl. tāi is general, while sāi is restricted to some dialects, as Attic-Ionic Greek. However, linguists like Beekes or Adrados reconstruct the Nominative form in $\boldsymbol{s}$ - as the original Proto-Indo-European form. 4) Oblique forms in $\boldsymbol{- b} \boldsymbol{h}-/-\boldsymbol{m}$ - are sometimes reconstructed as $\boldsymbol{- m}$ - only (Beekes).
$\mathbf{i}^{168}$, that

|  | Singular |  |  | Plural |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $m$. | $n$. | $f$. | $m$. | $n$. | $f$. |
| NOM. | i | id | i | éi | $\overline{1}$ | íes |
| ACC. | im | id | īm | ims | $\overline{1}$ | íms |
| GEN. | éso, éjos |  | ésās | ésom |  |  |
| DAT. | ésmoi |  | ésiāi [ $\left.>^{*}-e i\right]$ | éibh(i)os (-mos) |  |  |
| LOC. | ésmi |  | ésiāi | éisu, - -si |  |  |
| INS. | é |  |  | éibhis (-mis) |  |  |
| ABL. | ésmōd |  |  | éios |  |  |

Deictic particles which appear frequently with demonstrative pronouns include ko, ki ${ }^{169}$, here; en, e/ono ${ }^{170}$, there; e/owo, away, again.

NOTE. Compare for PIE is, se, he, Lat. is, O.Ind. sah, esah, Hitt. apā, Goth. is, O.Ir. (h)í; for (e)ke, ghei-(ke), se, ete, this (here), cf. Lat. hic (<*ghe-i-ke), Gk. ovtos, O.Ind. ay-am, id-am, esah, Hitt. kā, eda (def.), Goth. hi-, sa(h), O.Ir. sin, O.Russ. сей, эmom; for oise, iste, ene, this (there), cf. Lat. iste, Gk. olos (<*oihos), O.Ind. enam (clit.); for el-ne, that, cf. Lat. ille (<*el-ne), ollus (<*ol-nos), Gk. ekelvos, O.Ind. $a$-sau, u-, Goth. jains

### 6.7. INTERROGATIVE AND INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

### 6.7.1. INTRODUCTION

1. There are two forms of the Interrogative-Indefinite Pronoun in Modern Indo-European, and each one corresponds to one different class in our system, qi to the Substantive, and qo to the Adjective pronouns.

| SUBSTANTIVE | ADJECTIVE |
| :--- | :--- |
| qis bhéreti? who carries? | qos wíros bhéreti? what man carries? |
| qim widéiesi? what/who do you see? | qom áutom widéiesi? which car do you see? |

NOTE 1. In the origin, qi/qo was possibly a noun which meant "the unknown", and its interrogative/indefinite sense depended on the individual sentences. Later both became pronouns with gender, thus functioning as interrogatives (stressed) or as indefinites (unstressed).

NOTE 2. The form $\mathbf{q i}$ is probably the original independent form (compare the degree of specialization of $\boldsymbol{q} \boldsymbol{o}$, further extended in IE dialects), for which qo could have been originally the o-grade form (see Beekes, Adrados) hence our choice of clearly dividing a Substantive-qi from an Adjective-qo in this Modern Indo-European system. Some Indo-European dialects have chosen the o-stem only, as Germanic, while some others have mixed them together in a single paradigm, as Indo-Iranian, Balto-Slavic or Italic. Compare Gmc. khwo- (cf. Goth. hwas, O.N.
hverr, O.S. hwe, O.E. hwā, Dan. hvo, O.Fris. hwa, O.H.G. hwër), Lat. qui, quae, quod; quis, quid, Osc. pisi, Umb. púí, svepis, Gk. tis, Sktr. kah, Av. ko, O.Pers. číy, Pers. ki, Phryg. kos, Toch. kus/kŭse, Arm. ov, inč', Lith. kas, Ltv. kas, O.C.S. kuto, Rus. kto, Pol. kto, O.Ir. ce, cid, Welsh pwy, Alb. kush, Kam. kâča; in Anatolian, compare Hitt. kuiš, Luw. kui-, Lyd. qi-, Lyc. tike, and Carian kuo.
2. The Substantive Interrogative Pronoun qi-? who?, what?, is declined in the Singular as follows:

|  | Singular |  |  | Plural |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $m$. | $f$. | $n$. | $m$. | $f$. | $n$. |
| NOM. | qis |  | qid | qéi(es) |  | qī |
| ACC. | qim |  |  | qims |  |  |
| GEN. | qés(i)o, qéios |  |  | qéisom |  |  |
| DAT. | qésmei, |  |  | qéibh(i)os (-mos) |  |  |
| LOC. | qésmi |  |  | qéisu, -si |  |  |
| INS. | q(esm)í |  |  | qéibhis (-mis) |  |  |
| ABL. | qósmōd |  |  | qéibh(i)os (-mos) |  |  |

3. The Adjective Interrogative Pronoun, qo-?, who (of them)? what kind of? what? which? is declined throughout like the Relative:

|  | Singular |  |  | Plural |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $m$. | $f$. | $n$. | $m$. | $f$. | $n$. |
| NOM. | qos | q $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$ | qod | qoi | qās | qā |
| ACC. | qom | qām |  | qoms | qāms |  |
| GEN. | qóso, qósio |  |  | qósom |  |  |
| DAT. | qósmōi |  |  | qóibh(i)os (-mos) |  |  |
| LOC. | qósmi |  |  | qóisu, -si |  |  |
| INS. | q(osm)í |  |  | qóibhis (-mis) |  |  |
| ABL. | qósmōd |  |  | qóibh(i)os (-mos) |  |  |

Qóteros?, who of two? is derived from the stem $\boldsymbol{q} \boldsymbol{o}$ with the suffix -tero.
4. The Indefinite Pronouns $\mathbf{q i} / \mathbf{q o}$, any one, any, are declined like the corresponding Interrogatives.

| SUBSTANTIVE | qis, any one; qid, anything |
| :--- | :--- |
| ADJECTIVE | qos, qā, qod, any |

5. The Adverbial form of the Indefinite-Interrogative pronoun is $\mathbf{q u}$.

### 6.7.2. COMPOUNDS

1. The pronouns $\mathbf{q i}$ and $\mathbf{q o}$ appear in various combinations.
a. The forms can be repeated, as in substantive qisqis, qidqid, or adjective qosqos, qāqā, qodqod; with an usual meaning whatever, whoever, whichever, etc.
b. In some forms the copulative conjunction -qe is added to form new pronouns (both as substantives and as adjectives), usually universals; as, qisqe, every one: qoterqe, each of two, or both. Qisqe is declined like the interrogative qi: substantive, qisqe, qidqe, adjective, qosqe, qāqe, qodqe
c. Other forms are those with prefixes - deemed more modern -, like aliqis (substantive), some one, aliqod (adjective), some.
d. Forms with the numerals oino-, sem-, one, are also frequently pronouns; as in óinos, óinā, óinom, and sēms (gen. semós), some, somebody, someone.
óinosqisqe, each one
c. The negatives are usually composed with negation particles, as ne or modal mē. As in néqis, néqos, méqis, n(ढ्̄े)óin(os) (cf. Eng. none, Ger. nein, maybe Lat. nōn), nóin(o)los (Lat. nullus).

In the compound óinosqísqe, each one, every single one, both parts are declined (genitive óinosoqéisoqe), and they may be separated by other words:
ne en óinō qísqis qósqe, not even in a single one.
h. The relative and interrogative have a possessive adjective qósos (-̄à, -om), whose.
i. Other Latin forms are qấmtos, how great, and qấlis, of what sort, both derivative adjectives from the interrogative. They are either interrogative or relative, corresponding respectively to the demonstratives tấmtos, tấlis, from to. Indefinite compounds are qấmtoskomqe and qấliskomqe.
j. It is also found as in compound with relative jo, as in jos qis, jod qid, anyone, anything.
h. An interrogative mo- is also attested in Anatolian and Tocharian.

### 6.7.3. CORRELATIVES

1. Many Pronouns, Pronominal Adjectives and Adverbs have corresponding demonstrative, relative, interrogative, and indefinite forms in most Indo-European languages. Such parallel forms are called Correlatives. Some of those usable in Modern Indo-European are shown in the following table.

NOTE. Other common PIE forms include (sol)wos, all, cf. Gk. òol, O.Ind. visva, sarva, Hitt. hūmant-, O.Ir. $u(i) l e ; ~ q a ̄ q o s, ~ e a c h ~ o n e, ~ c f . ~ G k . ~ \varepsilon к \alpha \tau \varepsilon \rho o \varsigma, ~ \varepsilon к \alpha \sigma \tau о ৎ, ~ O . I n d . ~ p r a t i e k a, ~ H i t t . ~ k u i s s a, ~ G a u l . ~ p a p o n, ~ O . I r . ~ c a ́ c h, ~ R u . ~$ какой, Goth. ainhvabaruh; qisqis, anyone, cf. Gk. $\tau \iota \varsigma$, ootıৎ, O.Ind. kacit, kaścana, kopi, Hitt. kuis kuis, kuis-as kuis, Lat. quisquis, quïlĭbĕt, quīvis, Goth. hvazuh, hvarjïzuh; qiskomqe, qisimmoqe, whoever, cf. Gk. $\tau \iota \varsigma \alpha v, \tau \iota \varsigma$
$\varepsilon \alpha v$, O.Ind. yaḥ kaś cit, yo yaḥ, yadanga, Hitt. kuis imma, kuis imma kuis, kuis-as imma (kuis), Lat. quiscumque, Goth. sahvazuh saei, Ger. wer auch immer, O.Ir. cibé duine, Russ. кто бы ни; qéjespeioi, some, cf. Gk. oıtıves, O.Ind. katipaya, Hitt. kuis ki, Russ. несколько; (ed)qis, some(one) among many, cf. Gk. $\tau \iota \varsigma, ~ O . I n d . ~ a n y a t a m a, ~$ Hitt. kuis ki, Lat. ecquis, quis, aliquis, Goth. hvashun, Russ. edvá, O.Ir. nech, duine; enis, certain, cf. Gk. evıavtov, O.Ind. ekaścana Lat. quīdam; somós, the same, cf. O.Ind. sama, Goth. sama, Russ. самый; se epse, epe, $\mathbf{s}(\mathbf{w}) \mathbf{e l}(\mathbf{e}) \mathbf{p e},(h i m) s e l f$, cf. Hitt. apāsila, O.Lat. sapsa, sumpse, ipse, Goth. silba, O.Ir. fessin, fadessin (>féin), Russ. сам, neqis, nоone, cf. Gk. ovסءıৎ, O.Ind. na kah, Hitt. UL kuiski, Goth. (ni) hvashun, Gaul. nepon, O.Ir. ní aon duine, Lat. nec quisquam, Russ. никто; álteros, ónteros, the other, álios, onios, some other, etc.

| Demonstrative | Relative | Interrogative | Indefinite Relative | Indefinite |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| i | qis | qis? | qísqis | aliqís |
| that | who? what? | who? what? | whoever, whatever | some one, something |
| tấmtos | qấmtos | qắmtos? | qấmtoskomqe | aliqắmtos |
| so great | how (as) great | how great? | however great | some/other |
| tális/swo | qális | qális? | qấliskomqe | - |
| such, so, this way | as | of what sort? | of whatever kind | - |
| tom/tóeno | qom/qíeno | qấmdō/qíeno? | qắmdōkomqe/éneno | aliqấmdō |
| then ('this there') | when | when? | whenever | at some/other time |
| tótrō(d) | qítro | qítro? | qítrqíter | aliqíter |
| thither | whither | whither? | whithersoever | (to) somewhere |
| i | qā | qā? | qấqā | aliqá |
| that way | which way | which way? | whithersoever | (to) anywhere |
| tóendes | qíendes | qíendes? | qíendekomqe | aliqíende |
| thence | whence | whence? | whencesoever | from somewhere |
| qídhei ${ }^{\text {i } / \text { tóko }}$ | qódhei/qísko | qódhei/qísko? | qódheiqisqe | aliqídhei/aliqódhei |
| there ('this here') | where | where? | wherever | other place/somewhere |
| tot | qot | qot? | qótqot | aliqót |
| so many | as | how many? | however many | other, some, several |
| tótients | qótients | qótients? | qótientskomqe | aliqótients |
| so often | as | how often? | however often | at several times |
| so | qos | qos | qósqos | aliqós |
| this | who? which? | who? which? | whoever, whichever | some (of them) |

${ }^{i}$ Latin (c)ibī, (c)ubī is frequently reconstructed as a conceivable PIE *qibhi, * $\boldsymbol{q} \boldsymbol{*}$ bhi, but it is not difficult to find a common origin in PIE qi-dhei, qo-dhei for similar forms attested in different IE dialects; cf. Lat. ubī, Osc. puf, O.Ind. kuha, O.Sla. kude, etc.

### 6.8. RELATIVE PRONOUNS

6.8.1. There are two general pronominal stems used as relative pronouns, one related to the anaphorics and one to the interrogative-indefinites.
6.8.2. Relative Pronoun jo, the o-stem derivative from i. It is inflected like so/to and qo.

|  | Singular |  |  | Plural |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $m$. | $n$. | $f$. | $m$. | $n$. | $f$. |
| NOM. | jos | jod | jā | jói | jā | sá́i |
| ACC. | jom | jod | jām | joms | jā | jāms |
| GEN. | jósio |  | jésās | jésom |  |  |
| DAT. | jósmōi |  | jésiāi $\left[>^{*}-e i\right]$ | jéibh(i)os (-mos) |  |  |
| LOC. | jósmi |  | jésiāi | jéisu, -si |  |  |
| INS. | jeíl |  |  | jéibhis (-mis) |  |  |
| ABL. | jésmōd |  |  | jéios |  |  |

6.8.3. qo/qi, who, which, has its origin in the interrogative pronouns, and are declined alike.

NOTE. Relative pronoun jo-, maybe from an older * $h_{i} j o-$, is found in Gk. hós, Skr. yá-, Av. ya-, Phryg. ios, Cel. io. Italic and Germanic dialects use qo- as relative, in compound with -qe in Germanic. In Balto-Slavic, this pronouns is suffixed in some adjectives to create indefinites. It is also found as indefinite in compound with qi/qo, as in jós qis,jód qid, anyone, anything, as Gk. hóstis hótti, Skr. yás cit, yác cit.

### 6.9. IDENTITY PRONOUNS

6.9.1. With Identity pronoun we are referring to the English self, which is formed differently in most Indo-European dialects. The different possibilities are:

1. Those which come from a Pronoun, which are only valid for the third person, formed basically by the anaphoric pronoun lengthened with another particle:
a. Greek autós, as Gk. aútós, from adverb áu, newly, and the anaphoric to.
b. Latin identity ídem formed by id and ending -em.
2. Those formed from a Noun, with the sense equal, same, able to modify demonstrative or personal pronouns, and even having an autonomous pronominal use, with a pronoun declension:

The common Indo-European form is derived from adjective somós, same, similar.
NOTE. Common adjective somós, same, and different derivatives from PIE root sem, give Gmc. samaz (cf. O.S., O.H.G., Goth. sama, O.N. sómr, O.E. same, O.H.G. samant, Ger. samt, Du. zamelen), Lat. similis, (IE smilís) Gk. ó óg, ó $\mu$ ои̃, ó $\mu$ д $\lambda$ ós, Skr. samaḥ, Av. hama, O.C.S., O.Russ. camz, Pol. sam, sama, O.Ir. som, sāim (from IE sōmi).

### 6.10. OPPOSITIVE PRONOUNS

6.10.1. There are two forms to express the opposition of two deictic or anaphoric pronouns.
6.10.2. The first type of opposition is made with the same word, meaning what is different. This is the same as the English either...either sentences.
6.10.3. Modern Indo-European has also terms itself oppositives, apart from the correlation sentences:
a. Derived from the oppositive suffix -tero:
sńteros, different, from which Gmc. suntar, Ger. sonder, Gk $\alpha \tau \varepsilon \rho$ (cf. Gk. ह̈tع $\rho \circ \varsigma$, "other, different, uneven"), Lat. sine, "without", O.Ind. sanutar, O.Sla. svene, O.Ir. sain 'uariē'.
qóteros, either (of two), and qúteros (as Lat. uter), formed with adverb qu (from interrogativeindefinite $\mathbf{q i} / \mathbf{q o}$ ). The later appears also in common Indo-European loan from Lat. neuter, MIE neqúteros, "neither one nor the other".

NOTE. The oldest interrogative form is probably qóteros?, who of two?, attested in different IE dialects. álteros, the other, already seen.

NOTE. Another form is that of the deictic en-/eno- and -teros, as in enteros, also anteros (influenced by alteros), found in Germanic and Balto-Slavic dialects.
b. The Stem al-, ali- is very common in Modern Indo-European, the -i being a characteristic lengthening of the pronouns and not an adjectival one. Some usual forms are álios, álidhei (sometimes reconstructed as *álibhi, but cf. Lat. alibi, Gk. $\alpha \lambda \lambda v \delta \iota \varsigma$, Goth. aljap, etc.), áliqis, etc.

## 7. VERBS

### 7.1. INTRODUCTION

### 7.1.1. VOICE, MOOD, TENSE, PERSON, NUMBER

1. The inflection of the Verb is called its Conjugation.
2. Through its conjugation the Verb expresses Voice, Mood, Tense, Person and Number.
3. The Voices are two: Active and Middle (or Mediopassive).
4. The Moods can be four: Indicative and Imperative are the oldest ones, while Subjunctive and Optative, which are more recent, are not common to all Indo-European dialects.
5. The General Tenses are three, viz.:
a. The Present
b. The Past or Preterite.
c. The Future

NOTE. The Future Stem is generally believed to have appeared in Late PIE, not being able to spread to some dialects before the general split of the proto-languages; the distinction between a Present and a Future tense, however, is common to all IE languages.
6. The Aspects were up to three:
a. For continued, not completed action, the Present.
b. For the state derived from the action, the Perfect.
c. For completed action, the Aorist.

NOTE 1. There is some confusion on whether the Aorist (from Gk. aooıotos, "indefinite or unlimited") is a tense or an aspect. This reflects the double nature of the aorist in Ancient Greek. In the indicative, the Ancient Greek aorist represents a combination of tense and aspect: past tense, perfective aspect. In other moods (subjunctive, optative and imperative), however, as well as in the infinitive and (largely) the participle, the aorist is purely aspectual, with no reference to any particular tense. Modern Greek has inherited the same system. In Proto-IndoEuropean, the aorist was originally just an aspect, but before the split of Late PIE dialects it was already spread as a combination of tense and aspect, just as in Ancient Greek, since a similar system is also found in Sanskrit.

NOTE 2. The original meanings of the past tenses (Aorist, Perfect and Imperfect) are often assumed to match their meanings in Greek. That is, the Aorist represents a single action in the past, viewed as a discrete event; the Imperfect represents a repeated past action or a past action viewed as extending over time, with the focus on some point in the middle of the action; and the Perfect represents a present state resulting from a past action. This
corresponds, approximately, to the English distinction between "I ate", "I was eating" and "I have eaten", respectively. Note that the English "I have eaten" often has the meaning, or at least the strong implication, of "I am in the state resulting from having eaten", in other words "I am now full". Similarly, "I have sent the letter" means approximately "The letter is now (in the state of having been) sent". However, the Greek, and presumably PIE, perfect, more strongly emphasizes the state resulting from an action, rather than the action itself, and can shade into a present tense.

In Greek the difference between the present, aorist and perfect tenses when used outside of the indicative (that is, in the subjunctive, optative, imperative, infinitive and participles) is almost entirely one of grammatical aspect, not of tense. That is, the aorist refers to a simple action, the present to an ongoing action, and the perfect to a state resulting from a previous action. An aorist infinitive or imperative, for example, does not refer to a past action, and in fact for many verbs (e.g. "kill") would likely be more common than a present infinitive or imperative. In some participial constructions, however, an aorist participle can have either a tensal or aspectual meaning. It is assumed that this distinction of aspect was the original significance of the Early PIE "tenses", rather than any actual tense distinction, and that tense distinctions were originally indicated by means of adverbs, as in Chinese. However, it appears that by Late PIE, the different tenses had already acquired a tensal meaning in particular contexts, as in Greek, and in later Indo-European languages this became dominant.

The meanings of the three tenses in the oldest Vedic Sanskrit, however, differs somewhat from their meanings in Greek, and thus it is not clear whether the PIE meanings corresponded exactly to the Greek meanings. In particular, the Vedic imperfect had a meaning that was close to the Greek aorist, and the Vedic aorist had a meaning that was close to the Greek perfect. Meanwhile, the Vedic perfect was often indistinguishable from a present tense (Whitney 1924). In the moods other than the indicative, the present, aorist and perfect were almost indistinguishable from each other. The lack of semantic distinction between different grammatical forms in a literary language often indicates that some of these forms no longer existed in the spoken language of the time. In fact, in Classical Sanskrit, the subjunctive dropped out, as did all tenses of the optative and imperative other than the present; meanwhile, in the indicative the imperfect, aorist and perfect became largely interchangeable, and in later Classical Sanskrit, all three could be freely replaced by a participial construction. All of these developments appear to reflect changes in spoken Middle Indo-Aryan; among the past tenses, for example, only the aorist survived into early Middle Indo-Aryan, which was later displaced by a participial past tense.
7. There are four IE Verbal Stems we will deal with in this grammar:
I. The Present Stem, which gives the Present with primary endings and the Imperfect with secondary endings.
II. The Aorist Stem, always Past, with secondary endings, giving the Aorist, usually in zero-grade, with dialectal augment and sometimes reduplication.
III. The Perfect Stem, giving the Perfect, only later specialized in Present and Past.
IV. The Future Stem, an innovation of Late PIE.

NOTE. Under the point of view of most scholars, then, from this original PIE verbal system, the Aorist merged with the Imperfect Stem in Balto-Slavic, and further with the Perfect Stem in Germanic, Italic, Celtic and Tocharian dialects. The Aorist, meaning the completed action, is then reconstructed as a third PIE tense-aspect, following mainly the findings of Old Indian, Greek, and also - mixed with the Imperfect and Perfect Stems Latin.
8. The Persons are three: First, Second, and Third.
9. The Numbers in Modern Indo-European are two: Singular and Plural, and it is the only common class with the name. It is marked very differently, though.

NOTE. The Dual, as in nouns, whether an innovation or an archaism of Late Proto-Indo-European dialects, is not systematized in Modern Indo-European.

### 7.1.2. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE FORMS

1. The following Noun and Adjective forms are also included in the inflection of the Indo-European Verb:
A. Verbal Nouns existed in Proto-Indo-European, but there is no single common prototype for a PIE Infinitive, as they were originally nouns which later entered the verbal conjugation and began to be inflected as verbs. There are some successful infinitive endings, though, that will be later explained.

NOTE 1. It is common to most IE languages that a special case-form (usually dative or accusative) of the verbal nouns froze, thus entering the verbal inflection and becoming infinitives. Although some endings of those successful precedents of the infinitives may be reproduced with some certainty for PIE, the (later selected) dialectal case-forms may not, as no general pattern is found.

NOTE 2. A common practice in Proto-Indo-European manuals (following the Latin tradition) is to name the verbs conjugated in first person present, e.g. ésmi, $I$ am, for the verb es, to be or "being", or bhérō (also probably older Athematic bhérmi), I carry, for the verb bhértu, to carry, or bhérom, carrying.
B. The Participles are older adjectives which were later included in the verbal inflection.
I. The oldest known is the Present Participle, in -nt.
II. The Perfect Participle, more recent, shows multiple endings, as -ues, -uos, -uet, -uot.
III. Middle Participles, an innovation in Late PIE, end in -meno, -mōno, -mno; and also some in -to, -no, -lo, -mo, etc.
C. The Gerund and the Absolutive, not generalized in Late PIE, indicated possibility or necessity.
2. The Participles are used as follows:
A. The Present Participle has commonly the same meaning and use as the English participle in -ing; as, woqá́nts, calling, légents ${ }^{134}$, reading.
B. The Perfect Participle has two uses:
I. It is sometimes equivalent to the English perfect passive participle; as, tektós ${ }^{34}$, sheltered, adkēptós, accepted, and often has simply an adjective meaning.
II. It is used with the verb es, to be, to form the static passive; as, i woqātós ésti, he is called.

NOTE 1. Some questions about the participles are not easily conciled: in Latin, they are formed with e ending and are stems in $\mathbf{i}$; in Greek, they are formed in $\mathbf{o}$ and are consonantal stems. Greek, on the other hand, still shows remains of the thematic vowel in participles of verba vocalia -äjont- -ējont-, etc. Latin doesn't.

NOTE 2. The static passive is a new independent formation of many Indo-European dialects, not common to Late PIE, but probably a common resource of the European dialects, easily loan translated from Romance, Germanic and Balto-Slavic languages into Modern Indo-European as auxiliary verb to be + perfect participle.
C. The Gerundive is often used as an adjective implying obligation, necessity, or propriety (ought or must); as, i awisdhíjendhos ésti, he must be heard.

NOTE. The verb is usually at the end of the sentence, as in Latin, Greek and Sanskrit. In Hittite, it is behind the particles (up to seven in succession). In Old Irish it was either at the beginning of the sentence or in second place after a particle. For more on this, see PIE Syntax in Appendix I.

### 7.1.3. VOICES

1. In grammar, Voice is the relationship between the action or state expressed by a verb and its arguments. When the subject is the agent or actor of the verb, the verb is said to be in the Active. When the subject is the patient or target of the action, it is said to be in the Passive.
2. The Active and Middle (or Mediopassive) Voices in Modern Indo-European generally correspond to the active and passive in English, but:
a. The Middle voice often has a reflexive meaning. It generally refers to an action whose object is the subject, or an action in which the subject has an interest or a special participation:
(i) wértetoi, she/he turns (herself/himself).
(éi) wésntoi, they dress (themselves).
NOTE. This reflexive sense could also carry a sense of benefaction for the subject, as in the sentence "I sacrificed a goat (for my own benefit)". These constructions would have used the active form of "sacrificed" when the action was performed for some reason other than the subject's benefit.
b. The Mediopassive with Passive endings (in $\boldsymbol{- r}$ ) is reserved for a very specific use in Modern IndoEuropean, the Dynamic or Eventive passives; as
(egó) bhéromar 20 ${ }^{\text {tós }}$ Djówilioi, I became born on July $20^{\text {th }}$ (or $\mathbf{2 O}$ Djówilī̄, "20 of July").
móiros ${ }^{171}$ píngetor ${ }^{172}$, the wall is being painted or someone paints the wall, lit. "the wall paints (impersonal mark)".

NOTE 1. The dynamic passive usually means that an action is done, while the static or stative passive means that the action was done at a point in time, that it is already made. The last is obtained in MIE (as usually in Germanic, Romance and Balto-Slavic dialects) with a periphrasis, including the verb es, be. Following the above examples:
(egô) gn(a)tấ/bh(e)rtấ ésmi 2ós Djówilios, $I(f$.) was born on July 20.
móiros pigtós ${ }^{i}$ (ésti), the wall (is) [already] painted.
${ }^{i}$ The infix -n is lost outside the Present Stem; thus, the Participle is not pingtés, but pigtós. Nevertheless, when the $\mathbf{n}$ is part of the Basic Stem, it remains. See the Verbal Stems for more details on the Nasal Infix.

NOTE 2. The Modern Indo-European Passive Voice endings (in -r) are older Impersonal and Late PIE Middle Voice alternative endings, found in Italic, Celtic, Tocharian, Germanic, Indo-Iranian and Anatolian, later dialectally specialized for the passive in some of those dialects. The concepts underlying modern IE Passives are, though, general to the Northern dialects (although differently expressed in Germanic and Balto-Slavic), and therefore MIE needs a common translation to express it. For the stative passive, the use of the verb es, to be, is common, but dynamic passives have different formations in each dialect. The specialized Mediopassive dialectal endings seems thus the best option keeping thus tradition and unity. See §§ 7.2.2 and 7.2.7.3.
c. Some verbs are only active, as, ésmi ${ }^{44}$, be, édmi ${ }^{173}$, eat, or dốmi ${ }^{96}$, give
d. Many verbs are middle in form, but active or reflexive in meaning. These are called Deponents: as, kéjai ${ }^{77}$, lay; séqomai ${ }^{60}$, follow, etc.

### 7.1.4. MOODS

1. While IE II had possibly only Indicative and Imperative, a Subjunctive and an Optative were added in the third stage of Proto-Indo-European, both used in the Present, Perfect and Aorist. Not all dialects, however, developed those new formations further.
2. The Imperative is usually formed with a pure stem, adding sometimes adverbial or pronominal elements.
3. Some common Subjunctive marks are the stem endings $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}},-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}$, and $-\boldsymbol{s}$, but it is more usually formed with the opposition Indicative Athematic vs. Subjunctive Thematic, or Indicative Thematic vs. Subjunctive Thematic with lengthened vowel.
4. The Optative is differentiated from the Subjunctive by its characteristic suffix $-\mathbf{i} \overline{\boldsymbol{e}} /-\overline{\mathbf{z}}$; in thematic Tenses it is -oi, i.e. originally the same Subjunctive suffix added to the thematic vowel -o.
5. The Moods are used as follows:
a. The Indicative Mood is used for most direct assertions and interrogations.
b. The Subjunctive Mood has many idiomatic uses, as in commands, conditions, and various dependent clauses. It is often translated by the English Indicative; frequently by means of the auxiliaries may, might, would, should; sometimes by the (rare) Subjunctive; sometimes by the Infinitive; and often by the Imperative, especially in prohibitions.
c. The Imperative is used for exhortation, entreaty, or command; but the Subjunctive could be used instead.
d. The Infinitive is used chiefly as an indeclinable noun, as the subject or complement of another verb.

### 7.1.5. TENSES OF THE FINITE VERB

1. The Tenses of the Indicative have, in general, the same meaning as the corresponding tenses in English:
a. Of continued action,
I. Present: bhér $\overline{\mathbf{o}}^{24}$, I bear, I am bearing, I do bear.
II. Imperfect: bheróm, I was bearing.
III. Future: bhérsō, I shall bear.
b. Of completed action or the state derived from the action,
IV. Perfect: (bhé)bhora, I have borne.
V. Aorist: (é)bheróm, I bore.

NOTE. Although the Aorist formation was probably generalized in Late PIE, Augment is a dialectal feature only found in Ind.-Ira., Gk., Arm and Phryg. It seems that the great success of that particular augment (similar to other additions like Lat. per- or Gmc. ga-) happened later in the proto-languages. Vedic Sanskrit shows that Augment was not obligatory, and for Proto-Greek, cf. Mycenaean do-ke/a-pe-do-ke, Myc. qi-ri-ja-to, Hom. Gk. л $\quad$, $\alpha \tau o$, etc.

### 7.2. FORMS OF THE VERB

### 7.2.1. THE VERBAL STEMS

1. The Forms of the verb may be referred to four basic Stems, called (1) the Present, (2) the Aorist, (3) the Perfect and (4) the Future.

NOTE. There are some forms characteristic of each stem, like the suffix -n- or -sko, which give generally Present stems. Generally, however, forms give different stems only when opposed to others.
2. There are some monothematic verbs as ésmi, to be, or édmi, eat - supposedly remains of the older situation of IE II. And there are also some traces of recent or even nonexistent mood oppositions. To obtain this opposition there are not only reduplications, lengthenings and alternations, but also vowel changes and accent shifts.
3. There are also some other verbs, not derived from root words, the Denominatives and Deverbatives. The first are derived from nouns; as, strówiō, strew, sprinkle, from stróu-, structure; the last are derived from verbs, as, wédiō, inform (from weid-33, know, see), also guard, look after.

NOTE. It is not clear whether these Deverbatives - Causatives, Desideratives, Intensives, Iteratives, etc. - are actually derivatives of older PIE roots, or are frozen remains, formed by compounds of older (IE II or Early PIE) independent verbs added to other verbs, the ones regarded as basic.
5. Reduplication is another common resource; it consists of the repetition of the root, either complete or abbreviated; as, sísdō, sit down, settle down (also sízd̄̄, as Lat. sisto, Gk. hidzein, found in nísdos/nízdos, nest, all from sed-44, sit), gígnoskō, know (as Gk. gignosko, from gnō-100), mímnāskō, remember (from men- ${ }^{178}$, think), etc.
6. The Stem Vowel has no meaning in itself, but it helps to build different stems, whether thematic or semithematic (those which can be thematic and athematic), opposed to athematics. Thus, It can be used to oppose a) Indicative Athematic to Subjunctive Thematic, b) Present Thematic to Imperfect Athematic, c) Active to Middle voice, etc. Sometimes an accent shift helps to create a distinctive meaning, too.
7. Stems are inflected, as in the declension of nouns, with the help of lengthenings and endings (or "desinences").

### 7.2.2. VERB-ENDINGS

1. Every form of the finite verb is made up of two parts:
I. The Stem. This is either the root or a modification or development of it.
II. The Ending or Desinence, consisting of:
a. The signs of Mood and Tense.
b. The Personal Ending.

Thus in the verb bher-se-ti, he will carry, the root is bher-, carry, modified into the thematic future verb-stem bher-s-e/o-, will carry, which by the addition of the personal primary ending -ti becomes the meaningful bhérseti; the ending -ti, in turn, consists of the (probably) tense-sign -i and the personal ending of the third person singular, $-\boldsymbol{t}$.
2. Verbal endings can thus define the verb Stem, Tense and Mood.

The primary series indicates present and future, and -mi, -si, -ti, and $3^{\text {rd }} \mathbf{P l}$. -nti are the most obvious formations of Late PIE. The secondary endings indicate Past; as, -m, -s, -t and $3^{\text {rd }} \mathrm{Pl}$. -nt. The subjunctive and optative are usually marked with the secondary endings, but in the subjunctive primary desinences are attested sometimes. The imperative has $\varnothing$ or special endings.

NOTE. Although not easily reconstructed, Late Proto-Indo-European had already independent formations for the first and second person plural. However, there were probably no common endings used in all attested dialects, and therefore a selection has to be made for MIE, v.i.

They can also mark the person; those above mark the first, second and third person singular and third plural. Also, with thematic vowels, they mark the voice: -ti Active Prim. <-> -toi Middle Prim. <-> -tor Passive, and so on.
3. The Augment was used in the southern dialects - i.e. Indo-Iranian, Greek \& Armenian - to mark the Past Tense (i.e., the Aorist and the Imperfect). It was placed before the Stem, and consisted generally of a stressed $\boldsymbol{e}$-, which is a dialectal Graeco-Aryan feature in Modern Indo-European.

NOTE. Some common variants existed, as lengthened $\overline{\hat{\boldsymbol{e}}}$-, cf. Gk. $\eta<\overline{\mathbf{e}} / \overline{\mathbf{a}}$ and $\omega<\overline{\mathbf{o}}$, the so-called Wackernagel contractions of the Augment and the beginning of the verbal root, which happened already by 2000 BC . These are different from those which happened in Attic Greek by 1000 BC.
4. Modern Indo-European verbal endings, as they are formed by the signs for mood and tense combined with personal endings, may be organized in five series.

|  |  |  |  | MID | $E$ (or Mid | Passive) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Primary | Secondary | Primary | Secondary | Passive-only |
| Sg. | 1. | -mi | -m | -(m)ai | -ma | -(m)ar |
|  | 2. | -si | -s | -soi | -so | -sor |
|  | 3. | -ti | -t | -toi | -to | -tor |
| Pl. | 1. | -mes/-mos | -me/-mo | -mesdha | -medha | -mosr/-mor |
|  | 2. | -te | -te | -dhe | -dhue | -dhuer |
|  | 3. | -nti | -nt | -ntoi | -nto | -ntor |

NOTE. The Middle is easily reconstructed for the singular and the third person plural of the secondary endings. For the rest of the Primary Endings there is no consensus as how they looked like in PIE. What we do know is:
1.that the Southern and Anatolian dialects show Middle Primary Endings in -i, and second plural forms in medha (or ${ }^{*}$ med $^{h} h_{2}$ ), -mesdha (or ${ }^{*} m e s d^{h} h_{2}$ ), which may be also substituted by the common IE forms in -men-, which is found as Gk. -men, Hitt. -meni.
2. that Latin, Italic, Celtic and Tocharian had Mediopassive Primary Endings in -r, whilst in Indo-Iranian and Anatolian, such endings coexisted with the general thematic -oi.
3. that therefore both Mediopassive endings ( $-\boldsymbol{r}$ and -oi) coexisted already in the earliest reconstructable Proto-Indo-European; and
4. that the Middle endings were used for the Middle Voice in Graeco-Aryan dialects, while in the Northern dialects they were sometimes specialized as Passives or otherwise disappeared.

Thus, following the need for clarity in Modern Indo-European, we reserve the PIE endings in $\boldsymbol{- r}$ for the dynamic passive, and keep those in -i for the original Middle Voice.
5. The Perfect endings are as follows:

|  |  | Perfect |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | 1. | $-\boldsymbol{a}$ |
|  | 2. | -ta |
|  | 3. | -e |
| $p l$. | 1. | $-\boldsymbol{m e ́}$ |
|  | 2. | $-\boldsymbol{t e ́}$ |
|  | 3. | $-(\overline{e ́}) \mathbf{r}$ |

6. The Thematic and Athematic endings of Active, Middle and Passive are:

| Active |  | Athematic |  | Thematic |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Primary | Secondary | Primary | Secondary |
| sg. | 1. | -mi | -m | - $\overline{\boldsymbol{o}}$, -omi | -om |
|  | 2. | -si | -s | -esi | -es |
|  | 3. | -ti | -t | -eti | -et |
| $p l$. | 1. | -mes/-mos | -me/-mo | -omes/-omos | -ome/-omo |
|  | 2. |  |  |  |  |
|  | 3. | -nti | -nt | -onti | -ont |

NOTE. Athematic Desinences in *-enti, as found in Mycenaean and usually reconstructed as proper PIE endings, weren't probably original PIE forms. Compare Att.Gk. -aasi (<-ansi<-anti), or O.Ind. -ati, both remade
from an original zero-grade < -nti. In fact, Mycenaean shows some clearly remade examples, as Myc. e-e$e s i<* e s e n t i(c f . ~ I o n . ~ \varepsilon \omega v)$, or ki-ti-je-si (<ktíensi)

| Mediopass. |  | Athematic |  | Thematic |  | PASSIVE* $^{*}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Primary | Secondary | Primary | Secondary | Athematic | Thematic |
| sg. | 1. | -mai | -ma | -ai, -omai | -oma | -mar | -ar, -omar |
|  | 2. | -soi | -so | -esoi | -eso | -sor | -esor |
|  | 3. | -toi | -to | -etoi | -eto | -tor | -etor |
| $p l$. | 1. | -mesdha | -medha | -omesdha | -omedha | -mo(s)r | -omo(s)r |
|  | 2. | -dhe | -dhue | -edhe | -edhue | -dhuer | -edhuer |
|  | 3. | -ntoi | -nto | -ontoi | -onto | -ntor | -ontor |

a. The secondary endings are actually a negative term opposed to the primaries. They may be opposed to the present or future of indicative, they may indicate indifference to Tense, and they might also be used in Present.

NOTE 1. It is generally accepted that the Secondary Endings appeared first, and then an $\boldsymbol{- i}$ (or an -r) was added to them. Being opposed to the newer formations, the older endings received a Preterite (or Past) value, and became then Secondary.

NOTE 2. Forms with secondary endings - i.e. without a time marker -i or -r (without distinction of time) - not used with a Preterite value, are traditionally called Injunctives, and have mainly a modal value. The Injunctive seems to have never been an independent mood, though, but just another possible use of the original endings in Proto-Indo-European.
b. The Middle-Active Opposition is not always straightforward, as there are only-active and onlymiddle verbs, as well as verbs with both voices but without semantic differences between them.

### 7.2.3. THE THEMATIC VOWEL

1. Stem vowels are - as in nouns - the vowel endings of the Stem, especially when they are derivatives. They may be $\mathbf{i}, \mathbf{u}, \overline{\mathbf{a}}, \overline{\mathbf{e}}$ (and also $\overline{\mathbf{o}}$ in Roots). But the most extended stem vowel is $\mathbf{e} / \mathbf{o}$ (also lengthened $\overline{\mathbf{e}} / \overline{\mathbf{o}})$, called Thematic Vowel, which existed in PIE before the split of the Anatolian dialects, and which overshadowed the (older) athematic stems by Late PIE. The thematization of stems, so to speak, relegated the athematic forms especially to the aorist and to the perfect; most of the old athematics, even those in $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ - and $-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}-$, are usually found extended with thematic endings -ie- or -io-in IE III.

NOTE. The old thematics were usually remade, but there are some which resisted this trend; as bhérō, I bear, dō, I give, or i!, go!.

The stem vowel has sometimes a meaning, as with $-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}$ - and $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$-, which can indicate state. There are also some old specializations of meanings, based on oppositions:
a. Thematic vs. Athematic:

- Athematic Indicative vs. Thematic Subjunctive. The contrary is rare.
- Thematic Present vs. Athematic Aorist, and vice versa.
- Thematic $1^{\text {st }}$ Person Sg. \& Pl. and $3^{\text {rd }}$ Person Pl., and Athematic the rest.
- It may also be found in the Middle-Active voice opposition.
b. Thematic stem with variants:
- The first person, thematic in lengthened - $\overline{\boldsymbol{o}}$.
- Thematic $\mathbf{o}$ in $1^{\text {st }}$ Person Sg. \& Pl. and $3^{\text {rd }}$ Person Pl.; e in $2^{\text {nd }}$ and $3^{\text {rd }}$ Person Sg. and $2^{\text {nd }} \mathrm{Pl}$. There is also an archaic $3^{\text {rd }}$ Person Pl. in e, as in sénti, they are.
c. Opposition of Thematic stems. This is obtained with different vowel grades of the root and by the accent position.

2. In the Semithematic inflection the Athematic forms alternate with Thematic ones.

NOTE. The semithematic is for some an innovation of Late PIE, which didn't reach some of the dialects, while for others it represents a situation in which the opposition Thematic-Athematic and the Accent Shifts of an older system have been forgotten, leaving only some mixed remains.

### 7.2.4. VERB CREATION

1. With Verb Creation we refer to the way verbs are created from Nouns and other Verbs by adding suffixes and through reduplication of stems.
2. There are generally two kinds of suffixes: Root and Derivative; they are so classified because they are primarily added to the Roots or to Derivatives of them. Most of the suffixes we have seen (like $\mathbf{- u}, \mathbf{- i}$, $-\boldsymbol{n},-\mathbf{s}$, etc.) is a root suffix.

Derivative suffixes may be:
a. Denominatives, which help create new verbs from nouns; as, -ie/-io.
b. Deverbatives, those which help create new verbs from other verbs; as, -ei- (plus root vocalism o), -$\boldsymbol{i}-,-\boldsymbol{s}-,-\boldsymbol{s k} \boldsymbol{-},-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}-,-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}$ - etc.
3. Reduplication is usual in many modern languages. It generally serves to indicate intensity or repetition in nouns; in the Proto-Indo-European verb it had two uses:
a. It helped create a Deverbative, opposed to root verbs, generally in the Present, especially in intensives; as, bhérbher- from bhér-, carry, or gálgal- (cf. O.C.S. glagolja) from gál-174, call; etc.

NOTE. It is doubtful whether these are remains of an older system based on the opposition Root/Deverbative, prior to the more complicated developments of Late PIE in suffixes and endings, or, on the contrary, it is the influence of the early noun derivations.
b. Essentially, though, reduplication has lost its old value and marks the different stems, whether Present, Aorist or Perfect. There are some rules in reduplication:

- In the Present, it can be combined with roots and accent; as, bhíbher-mi, gígnō-mi, etc.
- In the Perfect, generally with root vocalism and special endings; as, bhébhor-a, gégon-a, etc.

NOTE. Reduplicated Perfects show usually o-grade root vowel (as in Gk., Gmc. and O.Ind.), but there are exceptions with zero-grade vocalism, cf. Lat. tutudi, Gk. mémikha, tétaka, gégaa.

- Full reduplications of intensives (cf. bher-bher-, mor-mor-) are different from simple reduplications of verbal Stems, which are formed by the initial consonant and $\mathbf{i}$ in the Present (cf. bhi-bher-, mi-mno-, pí-bo-), or $\mathbf{e}$ in the Perfect and in the Aorist (cf. bhe-bher-, gé-gon, ké-klow-).

NOTE. In other cases, reduplicated stems might be opposed, for example, to the Aorist to form Perfects or vice versa, or to disambiguate other elements of the stem or ending.

### 7.2.5. SEPARABLE VERBS

1. A Separable Verb is a verb that is composed of a Verb Stem and a Separable Affix. In some verb forms, the verb appears in one word, whilst in others the verb stem and the affix are separated.

NOTE. A Prefix is a type of affix that precedes the morphemes to which it can attach. A separable affix is an affix that can be detached from the word it attaches to and located elsewhere in the sentence in a certain situation.
2. Many Modern Indo-European verbs are separable verbs, as in Homeric Greek, in Hittite, in the oldest Vedic and in modern German 'trennbare Verben'.

Thus, for example, the (Latin) verb supplakáiō, beg humbly, supplicate (from suppláks, suppliant, from PIE plă̄k, be flat), gives sup wos (egố) plakáiō (cf. O.Lat. sub uos placō), I entreat you, and not (eḡ́) שors supplaké̂itē, as Classic Lat. uos supplicō.

NOTE. German is well known for having many separable affixes. In the sentence Ger. Ich komme gut zu Hause an the prefix an in the verb ankommen is detached. However, in the participle, as in Er ist angekommen, "He has arrived", it is not separated. In Dutch, compare Hij is aangekomen, "He has arrived", but Ik kom morgen aan, I shall arrive tomorrow.

English has many phrasal or compound verb forms that act in this way. For example, the adverb (or adverbial particle) $u p$ in the phrasal verb to screw up can appear after the subject ("things") in the sentence: "He is always screwing things up".

Non-personal forms, i.e. Nouns and Adjectives, formed a karmadharaya with the preposition, as O.Ind. prasādaḥ, "favour", Lat subsidium, praesidium, O.Ind. apaciti, Gk. apotisis , "reprisal", etc.

NOTE. There are, indeed, non-separable verbs, as e.g. all those with non-Indo-European prefixes, viz. Lat. re-, aiqi-, Gk. haimn-, etc.

### 7.3. THE CONJUGATIONS

7.3.1. Conjugation is the traditional name of a group of verbs that share a similar conjugation pattern in a particular language, a Verb Class. This is the sense in which we say that Modern Indo-European verbs are divided into twelve Regular Conjugations; it means that any regular Modern Indo-European verb may be conjugated in any person, number, tense, mood and voice by knowing which of the twelve conjugation groups it belongs to, and its main stems.

NOTE. The meaning of Regular and Irregular becomes, thus, a matter of choice, although the selection is obviously not free. We could have divided the verbs into ten conjugations, or twenty, or just two (say Thematic and Athematic), and have left the less common types within them for a huge group of irregular verbs. We believe that our choice is in the middle between a simplified system (thus too artificial), with many irregular conjugations - which would need in turn more PIE data for the correct inflection of verbs -, and an extensive conjugation system - trying to include every possible inflection attested in Late PIE - , being thus too complicated and therefore difficult to learn.

It is clear that the way a language is systematized influences its evolution; to avoid such artificial influence we try to offer verbal groupings as natural as possible - of those verbs frequent in the Late Proto-Indo-European verbal system -, without being too flexible to create a defined and stable (and thus usable) system.
7.3.2. Modern Indo-European verbs are divided into two Conjugation Groups: the Thematic, newer and abundant in Late PIE, and the (older) Athematic Verbs. These groups are, in turn, subdivided into eight and four subgroups respectively.

NOTE. It is important to note that the fact that a root is of a certain type doesn't imply necessarily that it belongs to a specific conjugation, as they might be found in different subgroups depending on the dialects (for Eng. love, cf. Lat. lubet, Skr. lubhyati, Gmc. liuban), and even within the same dialect (cf. Lat. scatō, scateō). That's why Old Indian verbs are not enunciated by their personal forms, but by their roots.

Verbs cannot appear in different Conjugation Groups; they are either Thematic or Athematic.
NOTE 1. Some verbs (mainly PIE roots) are believed to have had an older Athematic conjugation which was later reinterpreted as Thematic, thus giving two inflection types and maybe the so-called Semithematic inflection (v.i.). Therefore, old root verbs like bher-, carry, may appear as bhérsi or bhéresi, you carry, and so on.

NOTE 2. Instead of this simple classification of verbs into modern groupings (the MIE Conjugations), from §7.2.6. on, a common, more traditional approach is used to explain how Proto-Indo-European verbs and verbal stems were usually built from roots and regularly conjugated.

## I. THE THEMATIC CONJUGATION

The First or Thematic Conjugation Group is formed by the following 8 subgroups:

1) Root Verbs with root vowel $\mathbf{e}$ in the Present and $\mathbf{o}$ in the Perfect:

- Triliteral: déikō, dikóm, dóika, déiksō, show, etc.
- Concave: téq̄̄, teqóm, tóqa/tóqqa, téqsō, escape, séqomai, follow, etc.

NOTE. For IE téqō, cf. O.Ir. téchid/táich(<e/̄̄).
2) Concave Root Verbs with non-regular Perfect vocalism. Different variants include:
lábhō, lắbha, take; láwō, lấwa, enjoy, slábai, sláboma, fall (Middle Voice); áidai, praise.
NOTE. Compare Gk. $\alpha \iota \delta o \mu \alpha \iota$, O.ind. ile, Gmc. part. idja-. The first sentence of the Rigveda may already be translated to Modern Indo-European with the aforementioned verbs.

- káno, kékana/kékāna, sing.
- légō, lếga, join, read, decide.
- lówō, lówa, wash.
- rấdō, rấda, shuffle, scrape, scratch.
- rếpō, rếpa, grab, rip out.
- rốdō, rốda, excite.

3) Verba Vocalia (i.e., extended forms -ấ-io-, -(̂́-io-, -í-jo-, -र्ú-io-)
amáiō, love.

- lubhếiō, love, desire.
- sāgíjō, look for, search.
- argúiō reason, argue (cf. Lat. arguō, Hitt. arkuwwai).

4) Verbs in -io:

- Triliteral: kúpiō, kup(i)óm, kóupa, kéupsō, be worried.
- Concave: jákiō, jéka, throw.
- Lamed-he: páriō, pépra/péprōka, produce.
- Reduplicated Intensives: kárkariō, proclaim, annоuпсе (cf. Gk. ка $\kappa \alpha \dot{\rho} \rho \omega$, but Skr. carkarti)

NOTE. Examples of thematic reduplicated intensives include also common forms like Greek лор $\varphi v \rho \omega, \pi \alpha \mu \pi \alpha \iota v \omega$, $\gamma \alpha \rho \gamma \alpha \iota \rho \omega, \mu о \rho \mu о \rho \omega, \mu \varepsilon \rho \mu \eta \rho \iota \zeta \omega, \kappa \alpha \gamma \chi \alpha \lambda \alpha \omega, \mu \alpha \rho \mu \alpha \iota \rho \omega, \delta \varepsilon v \delta \Delta \lambda \lambda \omega, \lambda \alpha \lambda \varepsilon \omega$, and, in other IE dialects, Slavic glagoljo, Latin ('broken' reduplication with different variants) bombico, bombio, cachinno, cacillo, cracerro, crocito, cucullio, cucurrio, curculio, didintrio, lallo, imbubino, murmillo, palpor, pipito, plipio, pipio, tetrinnio, tetrissito, tintinnio, titio, titubo, and so on.
5) Intensives-Inchoatives in -sko.

- Of Mobile Suffix: swédhskō, swēdhióm, swếdhua, swêdhsō, get used to.
- Of Permanent Suffix: prkskó, inquire.

6) With nasal infix or suffix.

- Perfect with o vocalism: júngō, jugóm, jóuga, jéugsō, join.
- Reduplicated Perfect: túndō, tét(o)uda/tút(o)uda, strike.
- Convex: bhrángō, bhréga, break.
- Nasal Infix and Perfect with o root: gúsnō, góusa (cf. Lat. dēgūnō, dēgustus)
- Nasal Infix and Reduplicated Perfect: cf. Lat. tollō, sustulii (supsi+tét-), lift.

7) With Reduplicated Present

- Sísō, séwa, sow.
$\circ$ gígnō, gégna, gégnāka, produce.

8) Other Thematics:

- pídō, pép(o)la,
- w(e)idéiō, wóida,
o etc.


## II. THE ATHEMATIC CONJUGATION

Verbs of the Second or Athematic Conjugation Group may be subdivided into:

1) Monosyllabic:

- In Consonant: ésmi, be, édmi, eat, ésmai, find oneself, be.
- In $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$ (i.e. PIE ${ }^{*} h_{2}$ ): snấmi, swim, bhámai, speak.
- In $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$ (i.e. PIE ${ }^{*} h_{1}$ ): bhlé́mi, cry, (s)rémai, calculate.
- With Nasal infix: leiq- (linéqti/linqńti), leave, klew- (klnéuti/klnúnti), hear, pew(punấti/punấnti), purify, etc.
- Others: eími, go, etc.

2) Reduplicated:

- ( $\mathbf{s i ́ ) s t a ̄ m i , ~ s t a n d . ~}$
- (dhí)dhēmi, set, place, jíjēmi, throw.
- (dí)dōmi, give.
- (bhí)bheimi, fear.
- kíkumi/kuwóm/kékuwa, strengthen.

3) Bisyllabic:

- wémāmi, vomit.

NOTE. Possibly Latin forms with infinitive - $\bar{a} r e$, Preterite -ui and participle -itus are within this group; as, crepō, fricō, domō, tonō, etc.

- bhélumi, weaken, (cf. Goth. bliggwan, "whip")

NOTE. This verb might possibly be more correctly classified as bheluiō, within the Verba Vocalia, type 3) in -uio of the Thematic Group.
4) Suffixed:

○ In nā (i.e. PIE *neh ${ }_{2}$ : pérnāmi, grant, sell (cf. Gk. $\pi \varepsilon \rho v \eta \mu \iota$, O.Ir. ren(a)id, etc.), qrínāmi, buy (cf. O.Ind. krīnāti, O.Ind. cren(a)im, gr. л $\boldsymbol{i}^{\alpha} \mu \mu \alpha$, etc).

- In nu: árnumi/órnumi, rise (up).

NOTE. For these verbs Old Indian shows zero-grade root vowel and alternating suffixes. Greek shows the opposite behaviour, which should be preferred in Modern Indo-European because of its ease of use.

### 7.4. THE FOUR STEMS

### 7.4.1. THE FOUR STEMS

1. The Stems of the Present may be:
I. Roots, especially Thematic, but also Athematic and Semithematic.
II. Reduplicated Roots, especially Athematic.
III. Consonantal stems, all Thematic. They may end in occlusive, or -s and its lengthenings, like $\boldsymbol{s k e} / \boldsymbol{o}$; as, prk-skó-, ask for, inquire, from zero-grade of prek, ask.
IV. In Vowel, Thematic in -i-, -u-, and Athematic in $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}},-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}$.
V. In Nasal, Thematic and Athematic (especially in -neu/-nu, -n̄̄/-na).
2. The Aorist Stem is opposed to the Present:
A. Aorist Athematic Roots vs. Present Roots and Reduplicates.
B. Aorist Thematic Roots vs. Athematic Presents.
C. Aorist Thematic Reduplicated Roots vs. Athematic Reduplicated Present.
D. Aorist with -s and its lengthenings, both Thematic \& Athematic.
E. Aorist with - $\boldsymbol{t}$ and $-\boldsymbol{k}$ are rare, as Lat. feci.
F. Aorist with $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}},-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}$, and $-\mathbf{i},-\boldsymbol{u}$, \& their lengthenings.
3. The Stems of the Perfect have usually root vowel $-\overline{\mathbf{\sigma}} /-\varnothing$, with dialectal reduplication - mainly IndoIranian and Greek -, and some especial endings.
4. Modern Indo-European uses a general Future Stem with a suffix -s-, usually Thematic.

NOTE. The future might also be formed with the present in some situations, as in English I go to the museum, which could mean I am going to the museum or I will go to the museum. The Present is, thus, a simple way of creating (especially immediate) future sentences in most modern Indo-European languages, as it was already in Late PIE times.
5. To sum up, there are four inflected Stems, but each one has in turn five inflected forms (Indicative, Imperative, Subjunctive, Optative and Participle), and one not inflected (Verbal Noun). Verbal inflection is made with desinences (including $ø$ ), which indicate Person, Time and Voice. The person is thus combined with the other two.

NOTE. The imperfect stem had neither a subjunctive nor an optative formation in Late PIE.
An example of the four stems are (for PIE verbal root léiq- ${ }^{-156}$, leave) léiqe/o- (or nasal linéqe/o-) for the Present, (é)liqé/ó- for the Aorist, (lé)lóiq- for the Perfect, and léiqse/o- for the Future.

### 7.4.2. THE PRESENT STEM

## I. PRESENT STEM FORMATION PARADIGM

1. Verbal Roots (Athematic, Semithematic and Thematic) were not very common in Late PIE. They might have only one Stem, or they might have multiple Stems opposed to each other.
2. Reduplicates are usually different depending on the stems: those ending in occlusive or -u- are derived from extended roots, and are used mainly in verbs; those in $\boldsymbol{-} \boldsymbol{s}$ and $-\boldsymbol{u}$ are rare, and are mainly used for the remaining stems.
3. The most prolific stems in Late PIE were those ending in $\boldsymbol{- i},-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}$ and $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$, closely related. Athematics in $-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}$ and - $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ have mostly Present uses (cf. dhe $\overline{\mathbf{e}}^{134}$, put, do, c$\overline{\mathbf{a}}^{82}$, go), as Thematics in -ske/o (as gnō-sko-, know, prk-skó-42, inquire) and Athematics or Thematics with nasal infix (i.e. in -n-, as li-n-eq-, leave, from leiq, or bhu-n-dho-, make aware, from bheudh ${ }^{60}$ ).

## II. PRESENT ROOT STEM

1. A pure Root Stem, with or without thematic vowel, can be used as a Present, opposed to the Aorist, Perfect and sometimes to the Future Stems. The Aorist Stem may also be Root, and it is then distinguished from the Present Stem with 1) vowel opposition, i.e., full grade, o-grade or zero-grade, 2) thematism-athematism, or 3) with secondary phonetic differentiations (as accent shift).

Present verbal roots may be athematic, semithematic and thematic. The athematics were, in Late PIE, only the remains of an older system, and so the semithematics.
2. In Monosyllabic Roots ending in consonant or sonant, the inflection is usually made:
a. in the Active Voice Sg., with root vowel $\boldsymbol{e}$ and root accent
b. in the Active and Middle Voice Pl., root vowel $\varnothing$ and accent on the ending.

The most obvious example is that of es, be, which has a singular in es- and plural in $\boldsymbol{s}$-. There are also other monosyllabic verbs, as chen ${ }^{111}$, strike, ed ${ }^{173}$, eat. Other roots, as $\mathbf{e i}^{61}$, go, follow this inflection too.

|  |  | ed, eat | chen, $k n o k$ | eí, $g o$ | es, , $e$ | dhē, $s e t, p u t$ | dō, $g i v e$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | 1. | édmi | chénmi | eími | ésmi | (dhí)dhếmi | (dí)dómi |
|  | 2. | édsi | chénsi | eísi | éssi | (dhí)dhési | (dí)dósi |
|  | 3. | ésti ${ }^{i}$ | chénti | eíti | ésti | (dhí)dhéti | (dí)dóti |
| $p l$. | 1. | dmé | chnmés | imés | sme | (dhí)dhames | (dí)dames |
|  | 2. | dté | chnté | ité | ste | (dhí)dhate | (dí)date |
|  | 3. | dénti | chnónti | jénti | sénti | (dhí)dhanti | (dí)danti |

${ }^{\text {i }}$ MIE ésti < PIE *édti
NOTE. Most verbs are usually reconstructed with a mobile accent (as in Sanskrit), but we preserve the easier Greek columnar accent; it usually reads dhidhamés, dhidhaté, dhidhánti, or didamés, didaté, didánti.
3. There is also another rare verbal type, Root Athematic with full or long root vowel and fixed root accent, usually called Proterodynamic. It appears frequently in the Middle Voice.
4. Monosyllabic Roots with Long Vowel (as dhē and dō) are inflected in Sg . with long vowel, and in Pl. and Middle with -a. They are rare in Present, usually reserved for the Aorist.
5. Disyllabic Roots which preserve an athematic inflection have the Present in full/ $\varnothing$-vowel. The alternative $\varnothing /$ full-vowel is generally reserved for the Aorist.
6. In the Semithematic Root Stem, the $3^{\text {rd }}$ Person Pl. has often an ending preceded by Thematic e/o. That happens also in the $1^{\text {st }}$ Person Sg., which often has -o or -o-m(i); and in the $1^{\text {st }}$ Person Pl., which may end in -o-mos, -o-mo.

NOTE. In an old inflection like that of the verbal root es, i.e. ésmi-smés, sometimes a Semithematic alternative is found. Compare the paradigm of the verb be in Latin, where zero-grade and o vowel forms are found: s-ómi (cf. Lat. sum), not és-mi; s-ómes (cf. Lat. sumus), not s-me; and s-ónti (cf. Lat. sunt), not s-énti. Such inflection, not limited to Latin, has had little success in the Indo-European verbal system, at least in the dialects that have been attested. There are, however, many examples of semithematic inflection in non-root verbs, what could mean that an independent semithematic inflection existed in PIE, or, on the contrary, that old athematic forms were remade and mixed with the newer thematic inflection (Adrados).
7. Thematic verbal roots have generally an -e/o added before the endings. Therefore, in Athematic stems e/o may be found in the $3^{\text {rd }}$ P.Pl., in Semithematics in the $1^{\text {st }}$ P.Sg. and Pl., and in Thematic it appears always.

Thematic inflection shows two general formations:
a. Root vowel $\boldsymbol{e}$ and root accent; as in déiketi, he/she/it shows.
b. Root vowel $\varnothing$ and accent on the thematic vowel, as in dikóm he/she/it showed.

The first appears usually in the Present, and the second in the Aorist, although both could appear in any of them in PIE. In fact, when both appear in the Present, the a-type is usually a Durative - meaning an action not finished -, while b-type verbs are Terminatives or Punctuals - meaning the conclusion of the action. This semantic value is not general, though, and is often found in Graeco-Aryan dialects.

NOTE. The newer inflection is, thus (in a singular/plural scheme), that of full/full vocalism for Present, $\varnothing / \varnothing$ for Aorist. The (mainly) Root Athematic - and Semithematic - inflection in full/ø appears to be older than the Thematic one. The Thematic inflection probably overshadowed the Athematic and Semithematic ones in IE III, and there are lots of examples of coexisting formations, some of the newer being opposed to the older in meaning.

## III. PRESENT REDUPLICATED STEM

1. Depending on its Formation, present stems may have either Full Reduplication, sometimes maintained throughout the conjugation, or Simple Reduplication, which normally consists of the initial consonant of the root followed by -i-.

Depending on its Meaning, reduplication may have a general value (of Iteration or Intensity), or simply opposed values in individual pairs of Basic Verb-Deverbative. Therefore, it helps to distinguish the verb in its different forms.
2. How Reduplication is made:
I. Full Reduplication, normally found in the Present Stem, repeats the Root or at least the group consonant/sonorant+vowel+consonant/sonorant; as, gal-gal-, talk, bher-bher-, endure, mor-mor-/mur-mur-, whisper, etc.

Full reduplication is also that which repeats a Root with vowel+consonant/sonorant; as, ul-ul-, cry aloud (cf. Lat. ululāre).
II. Simple Reduplication is made:
a. With consonant $+\boldsymbol{i}$,

- in Athematic verbs; as, bhi-bher, carry (from bher),
- in Thematic verbs; as, gi-gnō-sko-, know (from gnō), etc. si-sdo-, sit down, settle (from zerograde of sed, sit),
- Some Intensives have half full, half simple Reduplication, as in dei-dik-, show (from déik).
- There are other forms with -w, -u, as in leu-luk-, shine (from leuk, light).
- There are also some Perfect stems with $\boldsymbol{i}$.
b. With consonant $+\boldsymbol{e} / \overline{\mathbf{e}}$, as dhe-dhē-, de-d̄- - etc.

Simple Reduplication in $\boldsymbol{e}$ appears mainly in the Perfect, while $\boldsymbol{i}$ is characteristic of Present stems. Reduplication in $\boldsymbol{e}$ is also often found in Intensives in southern dialects.

NOTE. Formal reduplication in $\boldsymbol{- i}$ is mainly optional in Modern Indo-European, as it is mostly a Graeco-Aryan feature; as, gignōskō/gnōskō, did̄//dō, pibō/pō(i) ${ }^{155}$, etc.
NOTE. Reduplication doesn't affect the different root vowel grades in inflection, and general rules are followed; as, bíbherti-bibhrmés, (s)ístāmi-(s)istamés, etc.
3. The different Meaning of Reduplicates found in PIE are:

- Indo-Iranian and Greek show a systematic opposition Basic Verb - Deverbative Reduplicated, to obtain an Iterative or Intensive verb.
- Desideratives are Reduplicates with $\boldsymbol{i}+$ Root $+\boldsymbol{- s e} / \boldsymbol{o}$, as e.g. men vs. mi-mn-so-, think. Such Reduplicates are called Terminatives.

NOTE. Although the Iterative-Intensives, Desideratives and sometimes Terminatives did not succeed in the attested European dialects, we consider it an old resource of Late PIE, probably older than the opposition PresentPerfect. We therefore include this feature in the global MIE system.

## IV. PRESENT CONSONANT STEM

1. Indo-European Roots may be lengthened with an occlusive to give a verb stem, either general or Present-only. Such stems are usually made adding a dental $-\boldsymbol{t},-\boldsymbol{d},-\boldsymbol{d h}$, or a guttural $-\boldsymbol{k},-\boldsymbol{g},-\boldsymbol{g h}$ (also $-\boldsymbol{k}$, $-\boldsymbol{g},-\boldsymbol{g h})$, but only rarely with labials or labiovelars. They are all Thematic, and the lengthenings are added to the Root.

NOTE. Such lengthenings were probably optional in an earlier stage of the language, before they became frozen as differentiated vocabulary by Late PIE. Some endings (like -sko, -io, etc.) were still optional in IE III, v.i.
2. Here are some examples:

- $\boldsymbol{t}$ : plek-tō, weave, kan-tō, sing; klus-tiō, hear, listen, etc.
- d : sal-d̄̄, to salt, ekskel-d̄̄, be eminent, pel-d̄̄, beat, etc.

NOTE. The lengthening in -d sometimes is integrated completely to the root (cf. Lat. stridō, tendō), or it appears only in some tenses, cf. Lat. pellō/pepuli/pulsus, but frec. pulsō \& pultō,-āre.

- dh : ghr-dhiō, gird, gawi-dhē, rejoice; wol-dhō, dominate, etc.
- $\boldsymbol{k}$ : ped-kā, stumble, pleu-kō, fly, gel-kiō, freeze, etc.
- $\boldsymbol{g}: \mathbf{t m} \overline{\mathbf{a}}-\mathbf{g} \overline{\mathbf{o}}$, from tem, cut, etc.
- $\boldsymbol{g h}$ : smē-ghō, nē-ghō, negate, stena-gh $\overline{\mathbf{o}}$, etc.
- p : wel-p̄̄, wait, from wel, wish, will, etc.
- bh : gnei-bhō, shave (cf. gneid, scratch), skre(i)-bhō, scratch to write (from sker, scratch, scrape), ster-bhō, die (from ster, get stiff), etc.

NOTE. These lengthenings are considered by some linguists as equally possible root modifiers in Proto-IndoEuropean to those in $-\boldsymbol{s},-\boldsymbol{s k},-\boldsymbol{n}-,-\boldsymbol{n u},-\boldsymbol{n} \overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$, etc. However, it is obvious that these ones (vide infra) appear more often, and that they appear usually as part of the conjugation, while the former become almost always part of the root and are modified accordingly. Whatever the nature and antiquity of all of them, those above are in Modern Indo-European usually just part of existing stems (i.e., part of the IE morphology), while the following extensions are often part of the conjugation.
3. Imperfect Stems in $\mathbf{- s}$ and its derivatives, as $\boldsymbol{- s} \boldsymbol{k}$ - and -st-, are almost all Thematic.

NOTE. Thematic suffix -ste/o has usually an Expressive sense, meaning sounds most of the times; as, bresto, tremble, bhresto, burst, break, etc.
4. Stems in -s have a common specialized use (opposed to Basic stems), marking the Preterite, the Future, and sometimes the Subjunctive.

NOTE 1. Aorist stems in -s are usually Athematic.
NOTE 2. Because of its common use in verbal inflection, deverbatives with a lengthening in -s-aren't generally opposed in Meaning to their basic stems. There may be found some individual meanings in such opposed stem pairs, though, already in Late PIE; as, Insistents or Iteratives (cf. wéid-s-o, "want to see, go to see", hence "visit", as Lat. vīsere, Goth. gaweisōn, O.S. O.H.G. wīsōn, vs. Pres. w(e)id-é-io, see, know, as Lat. vidēre), Causatives, and especially Desideratives (which were also used to form the Future stem in the Southern Dialect). There is, however, no general common meaning reserved for the extended stem in -s. Compare also Lat. pressī <* pres-sai vs. Lat. premō; Lat. tremō vs. a Gk. $\tau \rho \varepsilon \omega<$ *tre-sō, O.Ind. trásate, 'he is frightened'.

## PRESENT CONSONANT LENGTHENINGS

A. Thematic suffix -ske/o is added to Roots in zero-grade, especially to monosyllabics and disyllabics; as, prk-skóo (from prek ${ }^{42}$ ), $\mathbf{c m}-\mathbf{s k} \overline{\overline{0}}$, (from $\mathbf{c e m}^{82}$ ), gnṓ-sk̄ (from $\mathbf{g n} \overline{\mathbf{o}}^{100}$ ). It can also be added to Reduplicated stems, as dí-dk-skō (from dek ${ }^{89}$ ), gí-gnō-skō, and to lengthened Roots, especially in $\overline{\mathbf{1}}$, $\mathbf{u}, \overline{\mathbf{e}}, \overline{\mathbf{a}}$, as krée-skō (from ker ${ }^{175}$ ).

Sometimes these Deverbatives show limited general patterns, creating especially Iteratives, but also Inchoatives, Causatives, and even Determinatives or Terminatives.

This lengthening in -sk- seems to have been part of Present-only stems in Late PIE; cf. Lat. flōrescō/flōrū̄, Gk. кıкд $\quad \sigma \kappa \omega / \kappa \varepsilon \kappa \lambda \eta \kappa \alpha$, and so on.

NOTE 1. Cases like IE verb prkskó, ask, demand (cf. O.H.G. forscōn, Ger. forschen, Lat. poscō>por(c)scō, O.Ind. precch, Arm. harc'anem, O.Ir. arcu), which appear throughout the whole conjugation in different IE dialects, are apparently exceptions of the Late Proto-Indo-European verbal system; supporting a common formation of zero-grade root Iterative presents, compare also the form (e)skó- (<h $h_{1}$ skó), the verb es- with 'existencial’ sense, as O.Lat. escit, "is", Gk. ẽske, "was", Hom. Gk. éske, Pal. iška, etc.

NOTE 2. Supporting the theory that -sk has a newer development than other lengthenings is e.g. the Hittite formation duskiski(ta) (cf. O.Ind. túsyate, 'silenter', O.Ir. inna tuai 'silentia'), which indicates that in Anatolian (hence possibly in IE III as well) such an ending - unlike the other endings shown - is still actively in formation.
B. Stems in -n are said to have a nasal suffix or a nasal infix - if added within the root. They may be Athematic or Thematic, and the most common forms are -n, -neu/-nu, -nā: as in str-neu/ster-nu, spread; li-n-eq/li-n-q, leave; ml-nā, tame; dhre-n-g, drink; pu-n-g, prik; bhu-n-dh, be aware, pla-n-tā, plant; etc. These verbs can be found also without the nasal suffix or infix, viz. streu, leiq, demā, dhreg, peug, plat.

There are other, not so common nasal formations; as, -ne/o, i.e. -[no] or -[n-o], and (possibly derived from inflected -neu and -nei ) the forms -nue/o, -nie/o.

NOTE. These formations are very recent to Late Proto-Indo-European. Some examples of the above are sper$\mathbf{n o}$, scatter, $\mathbf{p}(\mathbf{e}) \mathbf{1}-\mathbf{n} \overline{\mathbf{o}}$, fill. In Greek it is frequent the nasal suffix -an. Others as -nue/o, and -nie/o appear often, too; as Gk. phthínuo, Goth. winnan (from *wenwan); Gk. iaíno, phaínomai, (see bhā) and Old Indian verbs in niati.

## V. PRESENT VOWEL STEM

1. Some roots and derivatives (deverbatives or denominatives) form the Thematic verb stems with $\boldsymbol{i e} / \boldsymbol{o}$, and Semithematics in $-\overline{\mathbf{i}}$, usually added to the stem in consonant .

The preceding vowel may be an $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}-,-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}-,-\boldsymbol{i}-$ or $-\boldsymbol{u}-$, sometimes as part of the root or derivative, sometimes as part of the suffix. Possible suffixes in -io are then also (the so-called Verba Vocalia) -ấio, -éio, -íjo and -úio.

NOTE 1. Verbs in -io are usually classified as a different type of deverbatives (not included in verba vocalia); in these cases, the Root grade is usually $\varnothing$; as, bhúdhiō, wake up, from bheudh; but the full grade is also possible, as in spékiō, look.

NOTE 2. Deverbatives in -io give usually Statives, and sometimes Causatives and Iteratives, which survive mainly in the European dialects (but cf. Gk. $\omega \theta \varepsilon \omega$, O.Ind. vadhayati, etc), as the especial secondary formation Causative-Iterative, with o-grade Root and suffix -ӗ̈e/o, cf. from wes, dress, Active wosếieti (cf. Hitt. waššizzi, Skr. vāsáiati, Ger. wazjan, Alb. vesh), from leuk, light, Active loukéieti (cf. Hitt. lukiizzi, Skr. rocáyati, Av. raočayeiti, O.Lat. lūmina lūcent), etc. There are also many deverbatives in -io without a general meaning when opposed to its basic verb.

NOTE 2. The Thematic inflection of these verbs is regular, and usually accompanied by the Semithematic in the Northern dialects, but not in the Southern ones, which don't combine them with $-\mathbf{i}-,-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}-$, nor $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}-$.
 may be deverbatives - normally Iteratives or Causatives - or Denominatives.

NOTE. They served especially to form verbs from nouns and adjectives, as wesnóm, price, and wesneió, value (cf. Skr. vasna-yá), nómn, name, nómniō, name (cf. Got. namnjan), or mélit, honey, mlítī̄, take honey from the honeycomb (as Gk. blittō), etc.

The deverbative inflection could have -io, -éeio, or its semithematic variant.
NOTE 1. The State or Status value of these verbs is a feature mainly found in Balto-Slavic dialects, with verbs in $\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}$ and $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$, whose inflection is sometimes combined with thematic -ie/o.

NOTE 2. About the usual distinction -éiē/-éiō, it is apparently attested in Anatolian, Indo-Iranian, Greek and Armenian (cf. Arm. Gen. siroy, "love", sirem, "I love" <* kejre-ié-); Greek loses the $\boldsymbol{- j}$ - and follows (as Latin) the rule 'uocālis ante uocālem corripitur', what helps metrics. However, Greek had probably a present with long $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$ (as in non-liquid future and perfect). Mycenaean doesn't clarify the question; moreover, it is often accepted that forms like O.Ind. in -ayati are isolated. For pragmatic purposes, Modern Indo-European prefers to follow always an ending - $\overline{\mathbf{e} i \bar{O}}$, which fits better into Western poetry, which follows the Classical Greek and Latin metrics - it is not so easy to include lubhéieti (with three syllables) in the common classic hexameter...
3. Stems in $-\boldsymbol{u}$ are rarely found in the Present, but are often found in the Preterite and Perfect stems.

NOTE. Stems in -u have, thus, an opposed behaviour to those in -i, which are usually found in Present and rarely in Preterite and Perfect.

In Present stems, $-\boldsymbol{u}$ is found in roots or as a suffix, whether thematic or athematic (but not semithematic), giving a stem that may normally appear as the general stem of the verb. It is therefore generally either part of the root or a stable lengthening of it.

NOTE. Common exceptions to this general rule concerning Late PIE verbs in -u, usually general stems, are different pairs gheu-ghō, pleu-plō, etc.
4. Root or stems in $-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}$, Athematic or mixed with $-\boldsymbol{i}$. Sometimes the $-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}$ is part of the Root, sometimes it is a suffix added or substituting the $-\boldsymbol{e}$ of the Stem.

They may be verbs of State; as, albhéiō, be white, with a stative value. There are also IterativeCausatives; Denominatives are usually derived from thematic adjectives in e/o.

NOTE. These are probably related with stems in -i (i.e., in -ēie/o) as in albhêiō, be white, monếiō, remind, advise, senếiō, be old.

Athematic examples are lubhếiō, be dear, be pleasing; rudhếiō, blush, redden; galéiō, call (not denominative).
5. Roots or stems in $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$, Athematic or mixed with -i-. They are spread throughout the general Verb system; as, bhắ(iō), draw; dukấ(ī̄), drag, draw; amā́(ī̄), love, etc.

NOTE. Some find apparently irregular formations, mixed with -i्-, as Lat. amō, "I love", from an older amáá-ī̄, but sometimes reconstructed as from *am̄̄, i.e. in -ā without ending (cf. Lat. amas, amat,...); against it, compare common IE formations as Umb. subocau 'invocō', Russ. délaiu, and so on.

About their Meaning, they may be (specially in Latin) Statives or Duratives, and sometimes Factitives opposed to Statives in -ē (cf. Hitt. maršah-marše-, Lat. clarāre-clarēre, albāre-albēre, nigrārenigrēre, liquāre-liquēre). But there are also many deverbatives in -ā without a special value opposed to the basic verb.

Stems in - $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$ help create Subjunctives, Aorists, and Imperfectives. The use of - $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$ to make Iterative and Stative deverbatives and denominatives is not so common as the use - $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$.

NOTE. There is a relation with verbs in -i- (i.e. in - $\overline{\boldsymbol{a} i o}$ ), as with stems in $-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}$.

### 7.4.3. THE AORIST STEM

## I. AORIST STEM FORMATION PARADIGM

1. The Aorist describes a completed action in the past, at the moment when it is already finished, as e.g. Eng. I did send/had sent that e-mail before/when you appeared.

NOTE. As opposed to the Aorist, the Imperfect refers to a durative action in the past (either not finished at that moment or not finished yet), as e.g. Eng. I sent/was sending the e-mail when you appeared.
2. The Aorist is made usually in $\varnothing / \varnothing$, Secondary Endings, Augment and sometimes Reduplication; as, $1^{\text {st. }}$. P.Sg. (é)bheróm.

NOTE. Augment was obviously obligatory neither in Imperfect nor in Aorist formations in Late PIE (cf. Oldest Greek and Vedic Sanskrit forms), but it is usually shown in this grammar because IE studies' tradition has made Augment obligatory, and because a) the Aorist is mostly a litterary resource, b) only Greek and Sanskrit further specialized it, and c) these dialects made Augment obligatory. It is clear, however, that for a Modern IndoEuropean of Europe it would be better to select an 'Augment' in pro-, as in Celtic, in kom-, as in Germanic, or in $\boldsymbol{p e r}$ - as in Latin, instead of the Graeco-Aryan Augment in é-.
3. The opposition of Present and Preterite stems is made with:
a. Present Reduplicated Root vs. Aorist Basic Root; as, sí-stā-mi, I stand, vs. stā-m, I have stood.
b. Thematic Present vs. Athematic Aorist in -s; as, léiq-ō, I leave, lếiq-s-m, I was leaving.
c. Both stems Thematic, but with different vowel degrees; as, léiq- $\mathbf{0}$, I leave, liq-óm, I have left.

NOTE. Every stem could usually be Present or Aorist in PIE, provided that they were opposed to each other. And there could be more than one Present and Aorist stem from the same Root; as, for Thematic Present léiq- $\overline{\mathbf{o}}, I$ leave, which shows two old formations, one Athematic extended léiq-s-m (the so-called sigmatic Aorist), and other Thematic zero-grade liq-óm.
4. There was a logical trend to specialize the roles of the different formations, so that those Stems which are rarely found in Present are usual in Aorists. For example, Thematic roots for the Present, and Aorists extended in (athematic) -s-.

NOTE. In fact, there was actually only one confusion problem when distinguishing stems in Proto-IndoEuropean, viz. when they ended in $-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}$ or $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$, as they appeared in Presents and Aorists alike. It was through oppositions and formal specializations of individual pairs that they could be distinguished.

## II. AORIST ROOT STEM

1. Athematic Aorist Root stems were generally opposed to Athematic Reduplicated Present stems, but it wasn't the only possible opposition in PIE.

NOTE. Such athematic Root stems aren't found with endings in consonant, though.
2. Monosyllabic Root Aorists are usually opposed to Presents:
a. In -neu; as, klnéuō, from klew, hear, or qrnéuō, from qer, make, do; etc.
b. Reduplicated or in -sko, -io; as, camskṓ, from cem, come, or bhésiō, from bhes, breathe; etc.
c. Thematic Present; as, ghéwō, from ghew, pour; bháwō, from bhā, proclaim.
3. Disyllabic Root Presents show a similar opposition pattern; as, gígnōskō-gnō, bháliō-bhlē, etc.

The thematic vowel is the regular system in inflection, i.e. Present Sg. Active with full vowel, and $\varnothing$ in the rest.

NOTE. It seems that Proto-Indo-European disyllabic roots tended to generalize a unique form, disregarding the opposition pattern; as, gnō-, bhlē-, etc.
4. Thematic Aorist stems are the same ones as those of the Present, i.e. full-grade and zero-grade, e.g. leiq- and liq-, always opposed to the Present:
a. The liqé/ó- form (i.e. zero-grade) is usually reserved for the Aorist stem;
b. The leiqe/o-form (i.e. full-grade) is rarely found in the Aorist - but, when it is found, the Present has to be logically differentiated from it; e.g. from the Imperfect with Augment, viz. from bhertu, to carry, Pres. bhéreti/bhérti, he carries, Imperf. bherét/bhert, he was carrying, Aorist ébheret/ébhert, he carried.

## III. AORIST REDUPLICATED STEM

1. Aorist Reduplicated stems - thematic and athematic - are found mainly in Greek and Indo-Iranian, but also sporadically in Latin.

NOTE. Southern dialects have also (as in the Present) a specialized vowel for Reduplicated Aorists, v.i., but in this case it is unique to them, as the other dialects attested apparently followed different schemes. In Modern Indo-European the attested dialectal schemes are followed.
2. Aorist Thematic Reduplicates have a general vowel $\boldsymbol{e}$ (opposed to the $\boldsymbol{i}$ of the Present), zero-grade root vowel (general in Aorists), and sometimes also accent before the ending; as, chéchn̄̄, I killed, from chen.

In roots which begin with vowel, reduplication is of the type vowel+consonant.
NOTE. This resource for the Aorist formation seems not to have spread successfully outside Graeco-Aryan dialects; however, the opposition of Present Reduplication in $\boldsymbol{i}$, Preterite Reduplication in $\boldsymbol{e}$ (cf. Perfect Stem) was indeed generalized in Late Proto-Indo-European.
3. Some roots which begin with vowel form also Reduplicated Aorists; as ágagom (as Gk. $\eta \gamma \alpha \gamma o v$, where $\eta<\bar{a}<\dot{e}+\mathbf{a}-$ Wackernagel, hence *é-agagom)
4. Also, Causatives form frequently Reduplicated Aorists, cf. Lat. momorit, totondit, spopondit, etc., or O.Ind. atitaram, ajijanam, etc.

## IV. AORIST CONSONANT STEM

1. As we have seen, Present Thematic stems in -s- are often Desideratives (also used as immediate Futures). The same stems serve as Aorists with secondary endings, usually reserved for the Aorist, generally called the Sigmatic Aorist (from Gk. oi $\gamma \mu \alpha$, "sigma", i.e. $\Sigma, \sigma$ or $\varsigma$ ).

NOTE. Forms in -so are often found in Slavic; as, vedu-veso, reco-reso, etc.
2. The -s-is added:
a. to a Consonant ending and lengthened root vowel, in contrast with the Present in full vowel.
b. to a vowel $\overline{\mathbf{a}}, \overline{\mathbf{e}}, \overline{\mathbf{0}}$, with the same stem as the Present, or to the noun from which the verb is derived. Those in $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$ and $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$ must have $\varnothing$ root grade.

There is also a second Aorist mark: an -e-before the -s- (possibly an older Aorist mark, to which another mark was added); as, álk̄̄, alkesó, grow, from al; mńiō, mnesṓ, be mad, from men; etc.

NOTE. Thematic Aorist stems are mostly used as Presents in Indo-Iranian, Greek, Slavic, and Latin (cf. Lat. dīx̄̄).
3. Athematic stems in -s- are widespread in Late PIE. They were formerly added to the Root, whether monosyllabic or disyllabic, in consonant or vowel, opposed thus to the Present.

Monosyllabic or Disyllabic Aorist root stems in $\mathbf{i}, \mathbf{u}, \overline{\mathbf{a}}, \overline{\mathbf{e}}, \overline{\mathbf{o}}$, have a fixed vowel grade (like most Athematic Root Aorists); e.g. the $3^{\text {rd }}$ P.Pl. plēnt, from redupl. pí(m)plēmi, fill (i.e. in zero-/full-grade), or $3^{\text {rd }}$ P.Pl. pewisnt from pōnā, purifie (i.e. in full-/zero-grade).

The most frequent Aorist stems in PIE were monosyllabic roots ending in consonant or sonant.
NOTE 1. They usually have in Graeco-Aryan lengthened root vowel in the active voice, and zero-grade in the rest; as, leiq-, leave, from which liq- \& lēiq-s-m; so too from qer-, make, giving qēr-s-o; or from bher-, carry, bhēr-s-o, etc. Such lengthened vocalism in sigmatic aorists is probably an innovation in Late PIE.

NOTE 2. Aorists in -s- are then a modern feature of Late PIE, found in all its dialects (as Imperfects or Perfects in European dialects), but for Germanic and Baltic, possibly the dialects spoken far away from the remaining PIE core, still in close contact after the migrations. Aorist stem formation in $-\boldsymbol{i}-,-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}-,-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}-$ are still more recent, appearing only in some proto-languages.
4. Some other common dialectal formations in -s-:
a. in -is (Latin and Indo-Aryan), -es (Greek); as, genis- from gen, beget; wersis- from wers-, rain; also, cf. Lat. amauis (amāuistī and amāuerām<*-uisām), etc.
b. in -sa, attested in Latin, Tocharian and Armenian.
c. in -sē, -sie/o, etc.
5. Stems in -t-function usually as Aorists opposed to Present stems, especially in Latin, Italic, Celtic and Germanic.

NOTE. While the use of $\boldsymbol{t}$ for persons in the verbal conjugation is certainly old, the use of an extension in $\boldsymbol{- t}$ - to form verbal Stems seems to be more recent, and mainly developed by European dialects.
6. Stems in - $\boldsymbol{k}$ - are rare, but there are examples of them in all forms of the verb, including Aorists.

## V. AORIST VOWEL STEM

1. Aorists in $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}, \overline{\boldsymbol{e}}$, are very common, either as pure stems with Athematic inflection, or mixed with other endings, as e.g. -u-.

NOTE. Stems extended in -u- are rarely found in Present stems, but are frequent in Preterites, and the contrary has to be said of stems in -i-. For more on this formations, vide supra the Present Vowel Stem section.

When opposed to a Present, stems extended in $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}},-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}$, are often Aorists.
2. A common pattern in the opposition Present Stem vs. Aorist Vowel Stem is:
A. Present in -i- (thematic or semithematic) vs. Aorist in - $\overline{\boldsymbol{e}},-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$; as, mńiō-mnē, be mad, álkiōalkā, be hungry.
B. Present Thematic (in -e/o) vs. Aorist in - $\overline{\boldsymbol{e}},-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$; as, lege-legē, collect, speak, gnte-gntāu, know.
3. The use of stems in $\boldsymbol{- u}$ - is usually related to the Past and sometimes to the Perfect. Such endings may appear as -u, - $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}} \boldsymbol{u},-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}} \boldsymbol{u},-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}} \boldsymbol{u} \overline{\boldsymbol{e}},-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}} \boldsymbol{u} \overline{\boldsymbol{a}},-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}} \boldsymbol{u} \overline{\boldsymbol{a}},-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}} \boldsymbol{u} \overline{\boldsymbol{e}}$.
4. Stems in $\mathbf{- i} /-\mathbf{i}$ are scarcely used for Aorists, cf. awisdhíjō-awisdhíū̄, hear, Lat. audĭo, audĭui.

Aorist stems are often lengthened in -e- or $\mathbf{- i} \mathbf{-}$, to avoid the loss of consonants when extended in -s-.

### 7.4.4. THE PERFECT STEM

The Perfect stem (opposed to the Present) has $\overline{\overline{\mathbf{O}}}$ or lengthened root vowel and special Perfect endings, Sg. -a, -ta, -e; $3^{\text {rd }}$ Pl. -r. In Gk. and Ind.-Ira., the stem was often reduplicated, generally with vowel $\boldsymbol{e}$.

NOTE. Originally the Perfect was probably a different Stative verb, which eventually entered the verbal conjugation, meaning the state derived from the action. PIE Perfect did not have a Tense or Voice value; it was opposed to the Pluperfect (or Past Perfect) and became Present, and to the Middle Perfect and became Active.
 mé, know; bhíndh-̄̄, bhóndh-a, bhndh-mé, bind; bhéudh-ō, bhóudh-a, bhudh-mé, bid;

But for different formations, cf. kán-̄̄, (ké)kán-a, kn-mé, sing; (for subgroups of conjugations, v.s.)
NOTE 1. Compare O.Ir. cechan, cechan, cechuin (and cechain), cechnammar, cechn(u)id, cechnatar. For examples of root vowel $\overline{\mathbf{a}}, \mathrm{cf}$. Lat. $s c \bar{a} b \bar{\imath}$, or Gk. $\tau \varepsilon \theta \eta \lambda \alpha$, and for examples with root vowel $\mathbf{a}, \mathrm{cf}$. Umb. procanurent (Lat. 'procinuerint', see ablaut) - this example has lost reduplication as Italic dialects usually do after a preposed preposition (cf. Lat. compul̄̄, detinū̄), although this may not be the case (cf. Lat. concinū̄).

NOTE 2. There are also (dialectal) Perfects with lengthened Root vowel; as, from Latin sedée-iō, séd-a, sit; éd$\overline{\mathbf{o}}$, ếd-a, eat; cém-iō, cếm-a, come; ág-ō, ág-a, act; from Germanic, sléb-̄̄, séslēb-a, sleep; etc.
II. The Endings of the Perfect are -a, -ta, -e, for the singular, and -mé, $-(\boldsymbol{t}) \dot{\boldsymbol{e}},-(\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}) \boldsymbol{r}$, for the plural.
III. Reduplication is made in $\boldsymbol{e}$, and also sometimes in -i and -u.

NOTE. Apparently, Indo-Iranian and Greek dialects made reduplication obligatory, whereas European dialects didn't. Thus, as a general rule, verbs are regularly reduplicated in Modern Indo-European if the Present Stem is a reduplicate; as, Present bhi-bher-, Perfect bhe-bhor-, etc. Such a general rule is indeed subjected to natural exceptions; cf. Gk. $\varepsilon \not \subset v o \kappa \alpha$, Lat. sēū̄ (which seems old, even with Goth. saiso), etc. Also, cf. Lat. sed $\bar{\imath}$, from sede $\bar{o}$ and sīdo, which don't let reconstruct when is *sesdai and when * sēdai.
7.4.5. THE FUTURE STEM

1. Future stems were frequently built with a Thematic -s- ending, although not all Indo-European dialects show the same formations.

NOTE. The Future comes probably from PIE Desiderative-Causative Present stems, usually formed with extensions in -s-(and its variants), which probably became with time a regular part of the verbal conjugation in some dialects, whilst disappearing in others. In fact, whether using this formation or not, all Indo-European languages tended to differentiate the Present from the Future Tense. Usual resources found in Indo-European languages to refer to the future are 1) the Present as Immediate Future, 2) the Present Subjunctive or Aorist with prospective value, 3) different Desiderative formations in Present, and 4) Verbal Periphrasis.

Future stems were usually made in Proto-Indo-European dialects:
a. With a simple Athematic -s, or with extended Thematic -so, -sio, or -seio.
b. With root vowel $\boldsymbol{e}$, i.e. in full-grade.
c. With or without reduplication.

NOTE. Compare, for a common origin of the future in -s-, Sanskrit (and Baltic) futures in -sia (cf. Skr. $d a-s y \bar{a}-$ mi, Lith. dou-siu, "I will give"), Doric Greek in -seo, -sio, Classical Greek and Archaic Latin in -so (cf. O.Lat. faxo, *dhak-so, "I will make", O.Lat. peccas-so, from peccāre, Lat. erō, "I will be", from *esō, from IE es, etc.), and Old Irish common Desideratives in -s. Also, some more dialectal additions are found appearing before the -sedings; as, -i-s-in Indo-Iranian and Latin, -e-s-in Greek and Osco-Umbrian.
2. In Modern Indo-European, the Future is regularly made by adding a Thematic -so, -sio (or even seio), following if possible the attested common vocabulary.

NOTE. The Future stem in -s is found neither in Germanic and Slavic dialects, nor in Classic Latin, which developed diverse compound futures. However, Indo-Iranian, Greek and Baltic show almost the same Future stems (along with similar formations in Archaic Latin, Oso-Umbrian and Old Celtic dialects), what means that the Future stem had probably a common (but unstable) pattern already developed before the first migrations; apparently, Germanic and Slavic dialects, as well as the systematized Classic Latin, didn't follow it or later substituted it with their own innovative formations. We use it in Modern Indo-European, though, because a regular Future formation is needed.

For Germanic future compounds, compare general Gmc. werthan, "become, turn into" (cf. Goth. wairpan, O.S., O.Du. werthan, O.N. verða, O.E. weorðan, O.Fris. wertha, O.H.G. werdan, Eng. worth, Ger. werden), from IE wer, turn. Also, Gmc. skulan, "owe, be under obligation" (cf. Goth. skulan, O.S. sculan, O.N., Swed. skola, O.H.G. solan, M.Du. sullen, Eng. shall, Ger. sollen), with a dialectal meaning shift from 'obligation' to 'probable future', related to O.E. scyld "guilt", Ger. Schuld, also in O.N. Skuld; cf. O.Prus. skallisnan, Lith. skeleti "be guilty", skilti, "get into debt". Also, for Eng. "will", from Gmc. welljan, "wish, desire", compare derivatives from PIE wel.

In Osco-Umbrian and Classic Latin, similar forms are found that reveal the use of compounds with the verb bhew ${ }^{130}$, be, exist, used as an auxiliary verb with Potential-Prospective value (maybe in a common Proto-Italic language), later entering the verbal conjugation as a desinence; compare Osc.,Umb. -fo-, (cf. Osc.,Umb. carefo, pipafo), or Lat. -bo-, -be- (cf. Lat. ama-bo, from earlier *amáí bhéwō, or lauda-bo, from *laudâí bhewō).

The common Slavic formation comes also from PIE bhew, be, exist, grow, with zero-grade bhútiō, come to be, become, found in Bal.-Sla. byt- (cf. O.C.S. бzimи, Russ. бытъ, Cz. býti, Pol. być, Sr.-Cr. bíti, etc.), and also in Lith. bū́ti, O.Ind. bhūtíṣ, and O.Ir buith. Also, with similar meanings and forms, compare Gmc. biju, "be", (cf. Eng. be, Ger. bin), or Lat. fui, "was", also in bhutús, "that is to be", and bhutüros, future, as Lat. futūrus, or Gk. $\varphi$ v́o $\mu \alpha$; also, cf. Goth. bauan, O.H.G. buan, "live".
3. Conditional sentences might be built in some Proto-Indo-European dialects using common Indicative and Subjunctive formations. In Modern Indo-European, either such archaic syntax is imitated, or an innovative formation is used, viz. the Future Stem with Secondary Endings.

NOTE. MIE offers a new conditional inflection using the Future Stem, with a mainly temporal use, often for expressing a "future in the past" tense, made with "a past form of the Future stem", i.e. - applying this modern formation to the PIE verbal system - using the Future Stem with Secondary Endings. However, conditional sentences may be made with the available verbal conjugation, using periphrasis with Indicative and Subjunctive (as Classic Latin), or with the Subjunctive and Optative (as Classical Greek), etc. Whether MIE speakers prefer to use the Conditional Inflection or different periphrasis of PIE indicatives, subjunctives and optatives, is a practical matter outside the scope of this grammar.

In Sanskrit, the Conditional was built using the Future Stem with Secondary Endings; as, Skr. daa-sya-ti, "he will give", vs. daa-sya-t, "he would give", from IE d̄̄, or Skr. abhavi-sya-mi, "I will be", abhavi-sya-m, "I would be", from IE bhew. In Classical Greek,

In Germanic dialects, the conditional is usually made with a verbal periphrasis, consisting of the modal (future) auxiliary verb in the past, i.e. would (or should, also could, might), and the infinitive form of the main verb, as in I will come, but I would come; compare also Ger. (fut.) Ich werde kommen, (cond.) Ich würde kommen.

While Latin used the indicative and subjunctive in conditional sentences, Romance languages developed a conditional inflection, made by the imperfect of Lat. habēre, cf. V.Lat. (fut.) uenire habeo, "I have to come", V.Lat. (cond.) uenire habēbam, "I had to come", as in Fr. (fut.) je viendr-ai, (cond.) je viendr-ais, Spa. (fut.) yo vendr-é, (cond.) yo vendr-ía, etc., cf. also the Portuguese still separable forms, as e.g. Pt. fazê-lo-ia instead of "o fazería". Modern Italian has substituted it by another similar ending, from the perfect of Lat. habēre.

Full conditional sentences contain two clauses: the Protasis or condition, and the Apodosis or result, although this is a matter studied in detail by Indo-European Syntax.

## MIDDLE PERFECT AND PAST PERFECT

a. It was a common resource already in Proto-Indo-European to oppose a new Perfect formation to the old one, so that the old became only Active and the newer Middle. Such formations were generalized in the southern dialects, but didn't succeed in the northern ones.

The new Perfect Middle stem was generally obtained with the Perfect stem in zero-grade and middle endings.
b. The Past Perfect or Pluperfect was also a common development of some dialects, opposing the new Perfect with secondary endings to the old Perfect, which became then a Present Perfect.

## THE COMPOUND PAST

A special Past or Preterite is found in IE dialects of Europe (i.e., the northwestern dialects and Greek), sometimes called Future Past, which is formed by two elements: a verbal stem followed by a vowel ( $-\overline{\mathbf{a}},-$ $\overline{\mathbf{e}},-\overline{\mathbf{i}},-\overline{\mathbf{o}}$ ), and an auxiliary verb, with the meanings be (es), become (bhew), do (dhē), or give (d̄̄).

NOTE. Although each language shows different formations, they all share a common pattern and therefore have a common origin traceable to Late PIE, unstable at first and later systematized in the individual proto-languages.

The Compound Past may be studied dividing the formation in three main parts: the forms of the first and second elements and the sense of the compound.

1. The First Element may be
a. A Pure Root.
b. Past Stem with the same lengthening as the rest of the verb.
c. Past Stem lengthened, but alternating with the Present stem, i.e. normally Present zero-grade vs. Past in full-grade.
d. Past Stem lengthened vs. Thematic Present (and Aorist).

NOTE. Originally, then, Compound Pasts are derived from a root or a stem with vowel ending, either the Present or the Aorist Stem. They are, then, Pasts similar to the others (i.e. Imperfects and Aorists), but instead of receiving secondary endings, they receive a secondary stem (like the Perfect).
2. The second element is an auxiliary verb; as, dhē in Greek and Germanic, bhew in Latin and Celtic, and dō in Balto-Slavic.
3. Their specifical Past meaning could vary according to the needs of the individual dialects.

### 7.5. MOOD STEMS

### 7.5.1. INDICATIVE

The Indicative expresses the Real Action, in contrast to the other moods, which were specialized in opposition to the basic Indicative mood. It appears in the Four verbal Stems.

### 7.5.2. IMPERATIVE

The Imperative had probably in IE II the same basic stem of the Indicative, and was used without ending, in a simple Expressive-Impressive function, of Exclamation or Order. They were the equivalent in verbal inflection to the vocative in nominal declension.

Some Late PIE dialects derived from this older scheme another, more complex Imperative system, with person, tense and even voice.

NOTE. In Late PIE, only the person distinctions appear to have been generalized, and we have included only these known common forms in this MIE grammar.

It is also old, beside the use of the pure stem, the use of the Injunctive for the Imperative in the second person plural; as, bhére!, carry! (thou), bhérete!, carry! (you).

The Injunctive is defined as the Basic Verb, with Secondary Endings, without Augment. It indicated therefore neither the present nor the past, thus easily indicating Intention. It is this form which was generally used as the Imperative.

1. The Basic Stem for the Imperative $2^{\text {nd }} P$.Sg. is thus general;
2. The Injunctive forms the $2^{\text {nd }} P . P l$.; and
3. the $3^{\text {rdP }}$. Sg. and the $3^{\text {rdP }}$.Pl. show a special ending -tōd.

NOTE. This general ending is usually explained as the introduction into the verbal conjugation of a secondary Ablative form of the neuter pronoun to, this. They were further specialized in some dialects as Future Imperatives.

The Imperative in Modern Indo-European is made with the Present Stem and Secondary Endings, and is thus generally divided into two main formations:
a. The old, athematic Imperatives; as in í!, go!, from eí; or es!, be!; etc.

NOTE 1. In old Root Athematic verbs, the plural forms show - $\varnothing$ vowel and accent on the ending; as, s-éntōd!, be they!.

NOTE 2. Some scholars reconstruct for the $2^{\text {nd }}$ P.Sg. Athematic, along with the general zero-ending, a common dhi ending, which seems to be very old too.
b. Thematic Imperatives; as bhére!, carry!, or áge!, do!, act!, etc.

| Imperat. |  | Athem. | Them. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | 2. | -Ø, (-dhi) | -e |
|  | 3. | -t̄̄d | -et̄̄d |
| $p l$. | 2. | -te | -ete |
|  | 3. | -ntōd | -ontōd |

NOTE. An ending -u, usually *-tu, is sometimes reconstructed (Beekes); the inclusion of such an ending within the verbal system is, however, difficult. A common IE ending -tōd, on the other hand, may obviously be related to an older ablative of the demonstrative so/to, a logical addition to an Imperative formation, with the sense of 'here', hence 'now', just as the addition of -i, 'here and now' to oppose new endings to the older desinences.

### 7.5.3. SUBJUNCTIVE

1. The Subjunctive is normally Athematic, usually in $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}},-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}$ and sometimes $-\overline{\boldsymbol{o}}$, always opposed to the Indicative. There are also Subjunctives in -s, probably newer than those in $-\overline{\boldsymbol{e}},-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$.

NOTE. It is a known feature of Balto-Slavic dialects that no subjunctive is attested, which could mean that it was an innovation of Late PIE that didn't spread to all dialects before the first migrations.
2. The Subjunctive Stem is made opposing it to the Indicative Stem, usually following these rules:
a. Indicative Athematic vs. Subjunctive Thematic; as, Ind. ésmi, I am, Sub. ésō, (if) I be.
b. Indicative Thematic vs. Subjunctive with Lengthened Thematic Vowel (not root vowel!); as, Ind.
bhéresi, you carry, Sub. bhérēs, you may carry, (if) you carried.
3. In Thematic Verbs the Subjunctive is made from the Present Stem, but in Athematic Verbs it is usually made from the Basic Stem; as, from jeug, join, $1^{\text {st }}$ P.Pres. júngō, Subj. júngōm; from kleu, hear, $1^{\text {st }}$ P.Pres. klnéumi, Subj. kléwōm, not klnéwōm.

### 7.5.4. OPTATIVE

1. The Optative mood is a volitive mood that signals wishing or hoping, as in English I wish I might, or I wish you could, etc.
1) The Athematic Optative has an alternating suffix -iē (-ije after long syllable), usually in the singular, and zero-grade - $\overline{\boldsymbol{i}}$, usually in the plural.
2) The Thematic Optative has a regular -oi. (probably the thematic-o-plus the reduced Opt. -i)

NOTE. Only Albanian, Avestan, Ancient Greek, Sanskrit, and to some extent Old Church Slavonic kept the subjunctive and optative fully separate and parallel. However, in Sanskrit, use of the subjunctive is only found in the Vedic language of earliest times, and the optative and imperative are in comparison less commonly used.
2. The Optative is built with Secondary Endings, and usually with zero-grade root vowel.
3. The Present Optative formations have usually root accent, while the rest show accent on the Optative suffix.

### 7.6. THE VOICE

### 7.6.1. ACTIVE VOICE

1. The characteristic Primary Endings are -mi, -si, -ti, $3^{\text {rd }}$ Pl. -nti, while the Secondary don't have the final -i, i.e. -m, -s, -t, $3^{\text {rd }}$ Pl. -nt.
NOTE. The secondary endings are believed to be older, being originally the only verbal endings available. With the addition of a deictic $-\boldsymbol{i}$, which possibly indicated originally "here and now", the older endings became secondary, and the newer formations became the primary endings.
Compare a similar evolution in Romance languages from Lat. habere, giving common Fr. il y a, "there (it) is", or Cat. $\underline{i} h a$, "there is", while the Spanish language has lost the relationship with such older Lat. $i$, "there", viz. Spa. hay, "there is" (from O.Spa. ha+i), already integrated within the regular verbal conjugation of the verb haber.
2. These Desinences are used for all verbs, whether Athematic or Thematic; as, ésti, he is, or bhéreti, he carries. However, in the $1^{\text {st }} \mathrm{P}$.Sg., many Thematics end in $-\overline{\boldsymbol{o}}$; as, bhérō.

NOTE. These endings in - $\overline{\boldsymbol{o}}$ are probably remains of an older situation, in which no ending was necessary to mark the 1st P.Sg. (that of the speaker), and therefore, even though a desinence -m became general with time, some irregular older formations prevailed, in some cases even along with the newer Thematic-o-mi.

| Active |  | Athematic |  | Thematic |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Primary | Secondary | Primary | Secondary |
| $s g$. | 1. | -mi | -m | - $\overline{\mathbf{o}},-\mathbf{o m i}$ | -om |
|  | 2. | -si | -s | -esi | -es |
|  | 3. | -ti | -t | -eti | -et |
| $p l$. | 1. | -mes, -mos | -me, -mo | -omes, -omos | -ome, -omo |
|  | 2. |  |  |  |  |
|  | 3. | -nti | -nt | -onti | -ont |

NOTE. The forms of the first person plural are not easily reconstructed (as every Indo-European dialect has developed its own endings) but they were usually formed with $-\boldsymbol{m e}-/-\boldsymbol{m o}-+\varnothing /$ Consonant $(-\boldsymbol{s},-\boldsymbol{n}$ or $-\boldsymbol{r}$ ).
7.6.2. MIDDLE VOICE

1. The Middle Endings are generally those of the Active voice with a characteristic Middle voice -o (sometimes -e), in which the Primary Endings have an additional -i.

| Middle |  | Primary | Secondary |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | 1. | $-(\boldsymbol{m}) \boldsymbol{a i}$ | $-(\boldsymbol{m}) \boldsymbol{a}$ |
|  | 2. | -soi | -so |
|  | 3. | -toi | -to |
| $p l$. | 1. | -mesdha | -medha |
|  | 2. | -dhe | -dhue |
|  | 3. | -ntoi | -nto |

2. In the Moods, the endings attested in PIE are usually the same, but there were some exceptions; as,

- Indicative Middle -a-vs. Subjunctive Middle - $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$,
- Subjunctive $1^{\text {st }}$ P.Sg. -ai (and not -ma).

Generally, though, the adding of Middle Voice regular Secondary Endings in MIE is enough.

### 7.6.3. PASSIVE VOICE

1. The Passive voice didn't exist in the attested Proto-Indo-European language; it seems nevertheless useful to develop a common modern Indo-European grammatical formation, based on old PIE endings.
2. The -r ending was usual in the Middle formations of some early Indo-European dialects, and it had also a specific impersonal value. The $-\mathbf{r}$ has therefore two uses in Indo-European:
a. The $-\mathbf{r}$ After the Stem had usually in PIE an impersonal value, and it was also found lengthened as -ro, -roi, -renti, -ronti, -rontoi, etc.

NOTE. The $-\boldsymbol{r}$ was used in the $3^{\text {rd }}$ P. Sg. \& Pl., and it was extended in -nt- when necessary to distinguish the plural, giving initially the impersonal forms e.g. $3^{\text {rd }}$ P.Sg. déidiktor, "it is indicated, you indicate", and $3^{\text {rd }}$ P.Pl. dídkntor, "they are indicated, they indicate", with the impersonal ending $-\mathbf{r}$ which was later generalized in some dialects, spreading as Mediopassives in Hittite, Italic, Celtic, Latin and Tocharian. also, when a Middle form was needed, a Middle ending -o was added. The primary marker -i was used apparently with the same aim.
b. The -r After the Ending was usual in forms related to the so-called PIE Mediopassive Voice, attested in Latin, Osco-Umbrian, Celtic and Tocharian, as well as in Germanic, Indo-Iranian and Anatolian dialects. In Celtic, Osco-Umbrian and Latin, they replaced the Middle Primary Endings, and acquired a Passive value.

NOTE 1. The oldest meaning traceable of the endings in $-\boldsymbol{r}$ in Proto-Indo-European, taking the Anatolian examples, show apparently the same common origin: either an impersonal subject or, at least, a subject separated from the action, which is a meaning very closely related to the later dialectally specialized use of a Passive Voice.

NOTE 2. There are no distinctions of Primary-Secondary Passive Endings, as the Secondary formations are the same oldest Medioppasive -o Endings. The newer -i (Middle) and -r (Impersonal) endings were added later and spread on a dialect-to-dialect basis, some of them using and/or mixing both of them, all specializing its use.

| Passive |  | Athematic | Thematic |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| sg. | 1. | -mar | -ar, -omar |
|  | 2. | -sor | -esor |
|  | 3. | -tor | -etor |
| pl. | 1. | -mosr/-mor | -omosr/-omor |
|  | 2. | -dhuer | -edhuer |
|  | 3. | -ntor | -ontor |

### 7.7. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE FORMS

### 7.7.1. INFINITIVES

1. The Infinitives are indeclinable nouns with non-personal verbal functions, which can be in some dialects as many as inflection, voice, aspect and even time.

NOTE. Infinitives are, thus, old nouns reinterpreted as forming part of the verbal conjugation.
2. The older Infinitives are the Verbal Nouns, casual forms inflected as nouns, sometimes included in the verbal inflection. A Verbal Noun is a declinable substantive, derived from the root of a verb.

NOTE. The difference in the syntax is important; the verbal noun is constructed as a substantive, thus - for example - with the object in the genitive; as, wírī chénom, the killing of a man, opposed to an infinitive with an accusative; as, chéntu wírom, to kill a man, v.i.
3. Verbal Nouns were, thus, the normal way to express the idea of a modern Infinitive in Proto-IndoEuropean. They were usually formed in PIE with the verbal stem and a nominal suffix if Athematic, and is usually formed in MIE with the verbal stem plus neuter -om if Thematic; as, bhér-om, carrying.

NOTE. Each Indo-European dialect chose between some limited noun-cases for the Infinitive formation, generally Acc., Loc., Abl.; compare Lat. -os (sibilant neuter), Gmc. -on-om (thematic neuter), etc. General IE infinitive suffixes include -tu as Lat. (active \& passive supine) -tum (acc.) -tū (dat.-loc.) -tui (dat.), Skr. -tus, -tum (acc.), Av. -tos (gen.), -tave, -tavai (dat.), -tum, Prus. -twei (dat.) -tun, -ton (acc.), O.Sla. -tŭ (supine), Lith. -tų, etc.; for -ti, cf. Ved. -taye (dat), Bal.-Sla., Cel. -ti (loc.), Lith. -tie (dat.), etc.; also, in -m, cf. Skr. -mane, O.Gk. $\operatorname{men}(a i)$, etc. Also, a common ending -dhuāi/-dhiāi (Haudry) added to the Basic Verbal Stem, possibly originally related to the forms -tu, -ti, is the basic IE form behind Ved. -dhyai, Gk. Middle - $\sigma \theta \alpha \iota$, Toch. -tsi, as well as Latin gerunds. Other forms include -u, -er/n, $-(\boldsymbol{e}) \mathbf{s}$, extended -s-, -u-, -m-, also Gmc. -no (as Goth. itan), Arm. -lo, etc.
4. In Modern Indo-European, two general infinitive (neuter) suffixes may be used, -tu and -ti. Such formations convey the same meaning as the English infinitive; as, bhértu/bhérti, carrying.
7.7.2. PARTICIPLES

1. The Participles are adjectives which have been assimilated to the verbal system, having thus verbal inflection.

NOTE. The reconstructed Proto-Indo-European shows an intense reliance on participles, and thus a certain number of participles played a very important role in the language.
2. Those in -nt are the older ones, and are limited to the Active voice and to the Present, Imperfect and Future; as, bheront-/bherent-, who carries.
3. The Perfect active has a suffix -ues, -uos ( $\varnothing$-grade -us), or -uet, -uot; as, widuot, widuos, eduos, etc.

NOTE. Both the Present and Perfect participles are indeed inflected following the second declension; as, Nom. -nts, -uos, Acc. -ntm, -uosm, Gen. -ntos, -usos, Nom. pl. -ntes, -uoses, etc.
4. The Middle Participles have a common suffix -meno-/-mēno-/-mno- (originally probably adjectival) as; álomnos79, "who feeds himself", student, (as Lat. alumnus, from al), dhếmnā, "who suckles", woman, (as Lat. femina, from dhēi ${ }^{120}$ ).
5. The Participles have been also developed as Passives in some languages, and are also used in static passive formations in Modern Indo-European. They are usually formed with the Basic or Preterite Stem with the following suffixes:
a. -tó-; as, altós, grown; dhetós, placed; kaptós, taken; etc.

NOTE. The adjectives in -to imply reference to a Noun. They had usually zero-grade root vowel; as liqtós, left, pigtós, painted, and so on.
b. -nó- and its variants; as, bheidhnós, parted, bitten; wrgnós, worked; delānós, made.

NOTE. Compare with adjectives in -n, as in pl(e)nós (cf. Goth. fulls, Eng. full, Lat. plenus), from pel.
c. -mó-; as, prwimós, foremost, first (cf. Toch. parwät/parwe, Lith. pirmas, O.C.S. pı̆rvŭ, etc.), see ordinal "first".

NOTE. Latin prīmus is usually reconstructed as preismós, or maybe pristmós, in any case (as the rest of IE words for 'first') from IE per; for its derivation from IE prwimós, see Adrados.
d. -ló-; see next section.

NOTE. All these Passive participles follow the first-type adjective declension, i.e. -os, $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}},-\boldsymbol{o m}$, and were usually accentuated on the ending.

### 7.7.3. GERUNDIVES AND ABSOLUTIVES

1. Verbal Adjectives are not assimilated to the verbal system of Tense and Voice. Those which indicate need or possibility are called Gerundives.

NOTE. Verbal Adjectives and Adjectives (as Verbal Nouns and Nouns) cannot be easily differentiated.
2. Whereas the same Passive Participle suffixes are found, i.e. -tó-, -nó-, -mó-, there are two forms especially identified with the Gerundives in Late PIE dialects:
a. -ló- and -lí- are found in Armenian, Tocharian and Latin; as, ṇbherelós, unbearable, ghabhilís, able (as Lat. habilis), etc.

NOTE. The suffix -lo-, as already stated, was probably originally a participle suffix, cf. Russ. videlŭ, Lat. credulus, bibulus, tremulus, etc.
b. -ió- (a common lengthening to differentiate adjectives) is sometimes a gerundive of obligation, as well as -tu-, -ti-, -ndho-, etc.; as, dhrsiós, visible; gnotinós, that has to be known; seqondhós, second, that has to follow; gnaskendhós, that has to be born; and so on.
c. -mō̃n, with a general meaning of 'able'; as, mnấmōn, mindful.

NOTE. For the "Internal Derivation" (after the German and Austrian schools) of this PIE suffix -mn > -mon, cf. Gk. mnẽma >mń-mn, "reminder", MIE mnámn, into Gk. mnémon > mnā-món, "who remembers"; compare also Skr. bráhman, "prayer", Skr. brahmán, "brahman", etc.
3. The adverbial, not inflected Verbal Adjectives are called Absolutives or Gerunds. They were usually derived from the older Gerundives.

NOTE. Speakers of Modern Indo-European have to use verbal periphrasis or other resources to express the idea of a modern Gerund, as there is no common reconstructable PIE gerund. As the Verbal Nouns for the Infinitives, the Verbal Adjectives or Gerundives might be a good starting point to translate a modern IE Gerund.

A common Future or Obligation Passive Absolutive ending, -téu(ij)os, may also be used in Modern Indo-European; as, legtéu(ij)os, which has to be said, read or gathered.

NOTE. For this PIE ending, cf. Gk. - $\tau \varepsilon \circ \varsigma$, O.Ind. -tavya, O.Ir. -the, etc.
Because of its Passive use, it may be used only with transitive verbs.

### 7.8. CONJUGATED EXAMPLES

### 7.8.1. THEMATIC VERBS

## I. PRESENT STEM

lówom ${ }^{176}$, washing
PRESENT STEM low-o-
ACTIVE

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative | Imperative |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | lówō | lówōm | lówoim | lówe |
|  | lówesi | lówēs | lówois | lówetōd |
|  | lóweti | lówēt | lówoit | - |
| $p l$. | lówomes | lówōme | lówoime | lówete |
|  | lówete | lówēte | lówoite | lówontōd |
|  | lówonti | lówōnt | lówoint | - |

MIDDLE-PASSIVE

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative | PASSIVE* |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | lówai | lowá | lówoia | lówar |
|  | lówesoi | lowéso | lówoiso | lówesor |
|  | lówetoi | lowéto | lówoito | lówetor |
| $p l$. | lówomesdha | lowómedhā | lówoimedha | lówomor |
|  | lówedhe | lowédhue | lówoidhue | lówedhuer |
|  | lówontoi | lowốnto | lówojnto | lówontor |

IMPERFECT

|  | ACTIVE | MIDDLE | PASSIVE* |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | lowóm | lowá | lowár |
|  | lowés | lowéso | lowésor |
|  | lowét | lowéto | lowétor |
| $p l$. | lowóme | lowómedha | lowómor |
|  | lowéte | lowédhue | lowédhuer |
|  | lowónt | lowónto | lowóntor |

déikom, showing
PRESENT STEM deik-o-

ACTIVE

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative | Imperative |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | déikō | déikōm | déikoim | déike |
|  | déikesi | déikēs | déikois | déiketōd |
|  | déiketi | déikēt | déikoit | - |
| $p l$. | déikomes | déikōme | déikoime | déikete |
|  | déikete | déikēte | déikoite | déikontōd |
|  | déikonti | déikōnt | déikoint | - |

MIDDLE-PASSIVE

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative | PASSIVE* |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | déikai | déikā | déikoia | déikar |
|  | déikesoi | déikēso | déikoiso | déikesor |
|  | déiketoi | déikēto | déikoito | déiketor |
| $p l$. | déikomesdha | déikōmedhā | déikoimedha | déikomor |
|  | déikedhe | déikēdhue | déikoidhue | déikedhuer |
|  | déikontoi | déikōnto | déikojnto | déikontor |

IMPERFECT

|  | ACTIVE | MIDDLE | PASSIVE* |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | deikóm | deiká | deikár |
|  | deikés | deikéso | deikésor |
|  | deikét | deikéto | deikétor |
| $p l$. | deikóme | deikómedha | deikómor |
|  | deikéte | deikédhue | deikédhuer |
|  | deikónt | deikónto | deikóntor |

wéidom, seeing, knowing
PRESENT STEM w(e)id-é-io- (Verba Vocalia)
ACTIVE

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative | Imperative |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | weidéiō | weidéiōm | weidéioim | weidéie |
|  | weidéiesi | weidéiēs | weidéiois | weidéietōd |
|  | weidéieti | weidéiēt | weidéioit | - |
| $p l$. | weidéiomes | weidéiōme | weidéioime | weidéiete |
|  | weidêiete | weidếiēte | weidêiioite | weidéiontōd |
|  | weidéionti | weidêiōnt | weidếioint | - |

MIDDLE

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative | PASSIVE* |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | weidếiai | weidếiā | weidé́ioia | weidêiar |
|  | weidéiesoi | weidéièso | weidếioiso | weidéiesor |
|  | weidếietoi | weidétiēto | weidéioito | weidéietor |
| $p l$. | weidéiomesdha | weidếiōmedhā | weidếioimedha | weidéiomor |
|  | weidéiedhe | weidêiēdhue | weidếioidhue | weidéiedhuer |
|  | weidétiontoi | weidếiōnto | weidé́iojnto | weidéiontor |

IMPERFECT

|  | ACTIVE | MIDDLE | PASSIVE* |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | weidēióm | weidēiá | weidēiár |
|  | weidēiés | weidēiéso | weidēiésor |
|  | weidēiét | weidēiéto | weidēiétor |
| $p l$. | weidēióme | weidēiómedha | weidēiómor |
|  | weidēiéte | weidēiédhue | weidēiédhuer |
|  | weidēiónt | weidēiónto | weidēióntor |

NOTE. Verba Vocalia in -ếjō, if they are not Causatives, have usually zero-grade, as in this example widéiō; cf.Lat. vǐdĕō, stŭpĕō, stŭdĕō, etc., as in derivatives in-n- or -jo. However, without this sense they have usually fullgrade, cf. Gk. $\varepsilon \iota \delta \omega$, Rus. vižu, and so on.
II. AORIST STEM
lówom, washing
AORIST STEM lou-s- (Sigmatic Aorist)
ACTIVE

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | lóusm | lousóm | lousíjēm |
|  | lóus(s) | lousés | lousíjès |
|  | lóust | lousét | lousíjēt |
| $p l$. | lóusme | lousóme | lousîme |
|  | lóuste | louséte | lousíte |
|  | lóusnt | lousónt | lousíjnt |

MIDDLE

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | lóusma | lóusa | lousíjā |
|  | lóus(s)o | lóuseso | lousíso |
|  | lóusto | lóuseto | lousíto |
| $p l$. | lóusmedha | lóusomedhā | lousímedha |
|  | lóusdhue | lóusedhue | lousídhue |
|  | lóusnto | lóusonto | lousíjnto |

déikom, showing
AORIST STEM dik-ó- (zero-grade)
ACTIVE

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | dikóm | dikố | dikóim |
|  | dikés | diké́s | dikóis |
|  | dikét | dikết | dikóit |
| $p l$. | dikóme | dikốme | dikóime |
|  | dikéte | dikéte | dikóite |
|  | dikónt | dikốnt | dikóint |

MIDDLE

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | diká | diká | dikóia |
|  | dikéso | dikéso | dikóiso |
|  | dikéto | dikéto | dikoito |
| $p l$. | dikómedha | dikómedhā | dikóimedha |
|  | dikédhue | dikédhue | dikóidhue |
|  | dikónto | dikốnto | dikójnto |

wéidom, seeing, knowing
AORIST STEM wid-ó- (zero-grade)

ACTIVE

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | widóm | widó | widóim |
|  | widés | widés | widóis |
|  | widét | widét | widóit |
| $p l$. | widóme | widốme | widóime |
|  | widéte | widéte | widóite |
|  | widónt | widốnt | widóint |

MIDDLE

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | widá | widá | widóia |
|  | widéso | widéso | widóiso |
|  | widéto | widéto | widoito |
| $p l$. | widómedha | widómedhā | widóimedha |
|  | widédhue | widédhue | widóidhue |
|  | widónto | widốnto | widójnto |

## III. PERFECT STEM

lówom, washing
PERFECT STEM lōw-/lou-

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative | PAST** | MIDDLE* |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$ | lốwa | lốwō | lōwóim | lōwóm | lốwā |
|  | lốuta | lốwes | lōwóis | lōwés | lóweso |
|  | lốwe | lốwet | lōwóit | lōwét | lốweto |
| $p l$ | loumé | lôwome | lōwóime | lōwóme | lôwomedha |
|  | louté | lówete | lōwóite | lōwéte | lówedhue |
|  | lowŕ | lốwont | lōwóint | lōwónt | lówonto |

déikom, showing
PERFECT STEM doik-/dik-

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative | $P A S T^{*}$ | $M I D D L E^{*}$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$ | dóika | dóikō | doikóim | doikóm | dóikā |
|  | dóikta | dóikes | doikóis | doikés | dóikeso |
|  | dóike | dóiket | doikóit | doikét | dóiketo |
| $p l$ | dikmé | dóikome | doikóime | doikóme | dóikomedha |
|  | dikté | dóikete | doikóite | doikéte | dóikedhue |
|  | dikér | dóikont | doikóint | doikónt | dóikonto |

wéidom, seeing, knowing
PERFECT STEM woid-/wid-

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative | PAST** | MIDDLE* $^{*}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$ | wóida | wóidō | woidóim | woidóm | wóidā |
|  | wóista $^{i}$ | wóides | woidóis | woidés | wóideso |
|  | wóide | wóidet | woidóit | woidét | wóideto |
| $p l$ | widmé | wóidome | woidóime | woidóme | wóidomedha |
|  | wistéii $^{\text {ii }}$ | wóidete | woidóite | woidéte | wóidedhue |
|  | widér | wóidont | woidóint | woidónt | wóidonto |

${ }^{\text {i }}$ From * $\boldsymbol{w o ́ i d t a . ~}{ }^{\text {ii From }}$ * widté.

## IV. FUTURE STEM

lówom, washing
FUTURE STEM lou-s-io-

|  | Future | Conditional* $^{*}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$ | lóusiō | lóusiom |
|  | lóusiesi | lóusies |
|  | lóusieti | lóusiet |
| $p l$ | lóusiomes | lóusiome |
|  | lóusiete | lóusiete |
|  | lóusionti | lóusiont |

déikom, showing
FUTURE STEM deik-s-o-

|  | Future | Conditional $^{*}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$ | déiksō | déiksom |
|  | déiksesi | déikses |
|  | déikseti | déikset |
| $p l$ | déiksomes | déiksome |
|  | déiksete | déiksete |
|  | déiksonti | déiksont |

wéidom, seeing, knowing
FUTURE STEM weid-s-o-

|  | Indicative | Conditional* $^{*}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$ | wéidsō | wéidsom |
|  | wéidsesi | wéidses |
|  | wéidseti | wéidset |
| $p l$ | wéidsomes | wéidsome |
|  | wéidsete | wéidsete |
|  | wéidsonti | wéidsont |

## I. PRESENT STEM

es, being
PRESENT STEM es-/s-

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative | Imperative | IMPERFECT |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | ésmi | ésō | síēm | - | ésm |
|  | éssi | éses | síēs | es (sdhi) | és(s) |
|  | ésti | éset | siēt | éstōd | ést |
| $p l$. | smés | ésome | síme | - | ésme |
|  | sté | ésete | síte | (e)sté | éste |
|  | sénti | ésont | síjent | séntōd | ésent |
| Participle: sonts, sontia, sont |  |  |  |  |  |

NOTE. Proto-Indo-European verb es, $b e$, is a copula and verb substantive; it originally built only a durative aspect of present, and was therefore supported in some dialects (as Gmc., Sla., Lat.) by the root bhew, be, exist, which helped to build some future and past formations.

For cognates of the singular forms and the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person plural, compare Gmc. ezmi, ezzi, esti, senti (cf. Goth. im, is, is, sind, O.N. em, est, es, O.E. eom, eart, ist, sind/sint, O.H.G. --,, ist, sind, Eng. am, art, is, -), Lat. sum (<ésomi), es(s), est, sunt (<sónti), Gk. $\varepsilon \mu i$, $\varepsilon i ̃$, $\varepsilon \sigma \tau i$, عió' (Dor. ḱvi), O.Ind. ásmi, ási, ásti, sánti, Av. ahmi (O.Pers. amiy), -, asti, hanti, Arm. em, es, ē, -, O.Pruss. asmai, assai, est, Lith. esmí, esì, ésti, O.C.S. jesmı, jesi, jestъ, sottъ (<sónti), Russ. ecмъ, еси, есть, суть (<sónti), O.Ir. am, a-t, is, it (cf. O.Welsh hint) Alb. jam,-,-, etc.

$$
\mathbf{k l e w}^{38} \text {, hearing }
$$

PRESENT STEM klneu-/klnu- (with Nasal Infix)
ACTIVE

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative | Imperative |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | klnéumi | kléwō | klnwíjēm | - |
|  | klnéusi | kléwes | klnwíjēs | klnéu(dhi) |
|  | klnéuti | kléwet | klnwījēt | klnéutōd |
| $p l$. | klnúmes | kléwome | klnwíme | - |
|  | klnúte | kléwete | klnwíte | klnéute |
|  | klnúnti | kléwont | klnwíjnt | klnéwntōd |

NOTE. Indicative forms may usually be read klnumés, klnuté, klnúnti, as in Vedic.

MIDDLE-PASSIVE

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative | PASSIVE* |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | klnéumai | kléwā | klnwíma | klnéwar |
|  | klnéusoi | kléweso | klnwíso | klnéwesor |
|  | klnéutoi | kléweto | klnwíto | klnéwetor |
| $p l$. | klnéumesdha | kléwomedhā | klnwîmedha | klnéwomor |
|  | klnéudhe | kléwedhue | klnwídhue | klnéwedhuer |
|  | klnéwntoi | kléwonto | klnwíjnto | klnéwontor |

NOTE. Athematic Optatives form the Present with zero-grade; cf. Lat. siēm, duim, Gk. $\iota \tau \tau \alpha \iota \eta v, \delta \iota \delta o \imath \eta v, \tau \iota \theta \varepsilon ı \eta v$, O.Ind. syaam (asmi), dvisyām (dvesmi), iyām (emi), juhuyām (juhkomi), sunuykām (sunomi), rundhyām (runadhmi), kuryām (karomi), krīnīyām (krīnāmi), etc. Exceptions are Lat. uelim (not uulim), Goth. (concave) wiljau, wileis, etc.

IMPERFECT

|  | ACTIVE | MIDDLE | PASSIVE* |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | klnéwm | klewá | klnewár |
|  | klnéus | klewéso | klnewésor |
|  | klnéut | klewéto | klnewétor |
| $p l$. | klnéume | klewómedhā | klnewómor |
|  | klnéute | klewédhue | klnewédhuer |
|  | klnéwnt | klewónto | klnewóntor |

stā ${ }^{62}$, standing
PRESENT STEM (si)stā-/(si)sta-
ACTIVE

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative | Imperative |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | (sí)stāmi | stáiō | (si))staíjēm | - |
|  | (sí)stāsi | stâies | (si)staíjēs | (sí)stā(dhi) |
|  | (sí)stāti | stā́iet | (si)staíjēt | (sí)stātōd |
| $p l$. | (sí)stames | stấiome | (si)staîme | - |
|  | (sí)state | stấiete | (si)staíte | (sí)state |
|  | (sí)stanti | stáiont | (si)staíjnt | (sí)stanti |

NOTE. Indicative forms may usually be read sistamés, sistaté, sistánti, as in Vedic.

MIDDLE-PASSIVE

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative | PASSIVE* |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | (sí)stāmai | stâiā | (si)staî́ma | (sí)stāmar |
|  | (sí)stāsoi | stâieso | (si)staíso | (sí)stāsor |
|  | (sí)stātoi | stâieto | (si)staíto | (sí)stātor |
| $p l$. | (sí)stāmesdha | stáiomedha | (si)staímedha | (sí)stāmor |
|  | (sí)stādhe | stâiedhue | (si)staídhue | (sí)stāsdhuer |
|  | (sí)stāntoi | stấionto | (si)staíjnto | (sí)stāntor |

IMPERFECT

|  | ACTIVE | MIDDLE | PASSIVE* |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | (si)stấm | (si)stắma | (si)stámar |
|  | (si)stắs | (si)stấso | (si)stấsor |
|  | (si)stất | (si)stắto | (si)stấtor |
| $p l$. | (si)stấme | (si)stấmedha | (si)stấmor |
|  | (si)státe | (si)stádhue | (si)stádhuer |
|  | (si)stánt | (si)stánto | (si)stántor |

## II. AORIST STEM

es, being (only Active)
AORIST STEM es-/s- (ēs-/es-)

| sg. | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ésm/ēsm | ēsóm | (é)síèm |
|  | és(s)/ēs(s) | ēsés | (é)síēs |
|  | ést/ēst | ēssét | (é)síēt |
| $p l$. | ésme/ésme | ĕsóme | (é)sî́me |
|  | éste/éste | ē̈séte | (é)síte |
|  | ésnt/ésnt | ĕsónt | (é)síjent |

NOTE. The Aorist was built with the regular Aorist Stem and dialectal Augment, viz. $\overline{\mathbf{e}} \boldsymbol{s}$-(>é+es-), adding Secondary Endings. Compare Old Indian Sg. ásam, ās, ās, Pl. ấsma, ásta, ásan, Gk. Hom. 1. Sg. $\tilde{\eta} \alpha, 2 . \mathrm{Sg} \mathrm{hom}$.

bhew, being, existing
AORIST STEM bhū- or bhuw-

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | bhūm | bhuwóm | bhuwījēm |
|  | bhūs | bhuwés | bhuwíjēes |
|  | bhūt | bhuwét | bhuwíjēè |
| $p l$. | bhứme | bhuwóme | bhuwíme |
|  | bhứte | bhuwéte | bhuwíte |
|  | bhứnt/bhúwnt | bhuwónt | bhuwíjent |
| Pres. Part. bhwonts, bhuwntia, bhuwont |  |  |  |

NOTE. The Verb es, $b e$, has been sometimes substituted or mixed in its conjugation (specially in past and future forms) by IE bhew, be, exist, compare Gmc. bu-, "dwell" (cf. Goth. bauan, "live", O.E., O.H.G. būan, O.E. bēon, in bēo, bist, bib, pl. bēop, or Ger. bin, bist, Eng. be), Lat. fui, "I was", and futurus, "future", Gk. $\varphi v{ }^{\prime} o \mu a t, ~ O . I n d . ~$ bhávati, bhưtíṭ, bhūtíṣ, Lith. bứti, O.C.S. бъimu, Russ. быть, был, Pol. być, O.Ir. buith. ${ }^{177}$
klew, hearing
AORIST STEM klū-/kluw-

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| sg. | klwóm | klwó́m | klwíjēm |
|  | klwés | klwés | klwíjēs |
|  | klwét | klwét | klwíjèt |
| $p l$. | klwóme | klwốme | klwîme |
|  | klwéte | klwéte | klwíte |
|  | klwónt | klwốnt | klwíjent |

MIDDLE

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | klwómā | klwốma | klwíjā |
|  | klwéso | klwéso | klwî́so |
|  | klwéto | klwéto | klwíto |
| $p l$. | klwómesdha | klwốmedha | klwímedha |
|  | klwédhue | klwếdhuer | klwídhue |
|  | klwónto | klwốnto | klwíjnto |

stā, being, existing
AORIST STEM (é)stā-

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | stām | stāió́ | stāíjēm |
|  | stās | stāiés | stāījēs |
|  | stāt | stāiét | stāījēt |
| $p l$. | stamé | stāióme | stāīme |
|  | staté | stāiéte | stāíte |
|  | stánt | stāiónt | stāíjnt |

MIDDLE

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$. | stấma | stāiáa | stāíjā |
|  | stáso | stāiéso | stāî́so |
|  | státo | stāiéto | stāīto |
| $p l$. | stấmedha | stāiómedha | stāîmedha |
|  | stấdhue | stāiédhue | stāîidhue |
|  | stấnto | stāiónto | stāíjnto |

III. PERFECT STEM
bhew, being, existing
PERFECT STEM bhū-i- (Pres. - Jasanoff 2003)

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative | PAST** | MIDDLE* |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| sg | bhứia | bhứiō | bhūjíjēm | bhūióm | bhưioa |
|  | bhứita | bhứiowes | bhūjíjēs | bhūiés | bhứieso |
|  | bhứie | bhứiowet | bhūjíjēt | bhūiét | bhứieto |
| $p l$ | bhūimé | bhứiowom | bhūjīme | bhūióme | bhứiomedha |
|  | bhūité | bhứiowete | bhūjíte | bhūiéte | bhưiedhue |
|  | bhūiếr | bhứiowont | bhūjíjnt | bhūiónt | bhưionto |

klew, hearing
PERFECT STEM kéklou-

|  | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative | $P A S T^{*}$ | $M I D D L E^{*}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$ | kéklowa | kéklowō | keklowíjēm | keklowóm | kéklowā |
|  | kéklouta | kéklowes | keklowíjēs | keklowés | kékloweso |
|  | kéklowe | kéklowet | keklowíjēt | keklowét | kékloweto |
| $p l$ | keklumé | kéklowome | keklowîme | keklowóme | kéklowomedha |
|  | kekluté | kéklowete | keklowíte | keklowéte | kéklowedhue |
|  | keklwếr | kéklowont | keklowíjnt | keklowónt | kéklowonto |

IV. FUTURE STEM
bhew, being, existing
FUTURE STEM bheu-s-o-

|  | Future | Conditional* |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$ | bhéusō | bhéusom |
|  | bhéusesi | bhéuses |
|  | bhéuseti | bhéuset |
| $p l$ | bhéusomes | bhéusome |
|  | bhéusete | bhéusete |
|  | bhéusonti | bhéusont |

klew, hearing
FUTURE STEM kleu-s-o-

|  | Future | Conditional* $^{*}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s g$ | kléusō | kléusom |
|  | kléusesi | kléuses |
|  | kléuseti | kléuset |
| $p l$ | kléusomes | kléusome |
|  | kléusete | kléusete |
|  | kléusonti | kléusont |

### 7.8.3. OTHER COMMON PIE STEMS

## I. THEMATIC VERBS

## ROOT

- Present lówō, I wash, Imperfect lowóm, Aorist (é)lousm.
- Present sérpō, I crawl, Imperfect serpóm, Aorist (é)srpom.
- Present bhérō, I carry, Imperfect bheróm., Aorist (é)bherom.
- Present bhéugō, I flee, Imperfect bheugóm, Aorist (é)bhugom.
- Present bhéidhō, I believe, persuade, Imperfect bheidhóm, Aorist (é)bhidhom.
- Present wéq̄̄, I speak, Imperfect weqóm, Aorist (Them. Redupl.) (é)wewiqom
- Present trémō, I tremble, Imperfect tremóm, Aorist (é)trmom.

NOTE. A particular sub-class of Thematic Presents without suffix is of the tipe Skr. tudati, which have Present Stems with zero-grade root-vowel, as glubhō/gleubhō, skin.

## REDUPLICATED

There are many reduplicatd thematic stems, analogous to the athematic ones:

- Present gígnō, I generate, (from gen), Imperfect gignóm, Aorist (é)genom, (é)gnom, Perfect gégona, P.Part. gn(a)tós (cf. O.Ind. jatá, Lat. nātus).
- Present píbō, I drink (from *pípō, from pō) Imperfect pibóm.
- Present mímnō, I remember, (from men ${ }^{178}$ ), Imperfect mimnóm.
IN -IO

Some of them are causatives.

- Present spékiō, I watch, Imperfect spekióm, Aorist (é)speksm, P.Part. spektós.
- Present téniō, I stretch, Imperfect tenjóm, Aorist (é)tnom/(é)tenóm, Perfect tétona, P.Part. tntós.


## VERBA VOCALIA

- Present bhorếiō, I make carry, from bher, carry.
- Present w(e)idếiō, I see, I know, Imperfect w(e)idēióm, Aorist (é)widóm, Perfect wóida P.Part. wistós (<* widtós).
- Present monếiō, I make think, remember, as Lat. moneo, from men, think.
- Present troméiō, I make tremble, from trem, tremble.
IN -SKO

Verbs built with this suffix have usually two main functions in the attested Proto-Indo-European verbs:

- Durative action, Intensive or Repetitive (i.e., Intensive-Iterative), as attested in Greek;
- Incompleted action, with an Inchoative value, indicating that the action is beginning.

Common examples include:

- Present prkskó, I ask, demand, inquire (cf. Lat. posco, Ger. forschen, v.i.) from prek, ask.
- Present gnńskai/gnáskai, I am born (cf. Lat. gnascor) from zero-grade gnn-sko-, lit. "I begin to generate myself", in turn from reduplicated verb gign̄̄, generate.
- Present gnóskō, gígnōskō, I begin to know, I learn, from gnō, know.

WITH NASAL INFIX

- Present jungo, join (from jeug), Imperfect jungóm, Aorist jēugsm.
 そ̧үๆval; O.Ind. yunákti (3. Pl. yuñjánti = Lat. jungunt), yunjati, full-grade yōjayati (<jeugejeti); Av. yaoj-, yuj-; Lit. jùngiu, jùngti, etc. For Past Participles (with and without Present infix -n-), compare O.E. geoht, iukt, Lat. junctus, Gk. סعлӨŋóo, O.Ind. yuktá-, Av. yuxta-, Lit. jùngtas, etc.


## II. ATHEMATIC VERBS

## ROOT

They are the most archaic PIE verbs, and their Present conjugation is of the old type Singular root vowel in full-grade, Plural root vowel in zero-grade.

- Present ésmi, I am, vs. Imperfect ésm, I was/have been.
- Present eími, I walk, vs. Imperfect eím, I walked/have walked.
- Present bhắmi, I speak, vs. Imperfect bhām, I spoke/have spoken.
- Present ấmi, I talk, vs. Imperfect ām, I talked/have talked.

NOTE. The verb talk is sometimes reconstructed as PIE ${ }^{*} \overline{\boldsymbol{a}} \boldsymbol{m i}$; for evidence of an original ${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{a g}(\boldsymbol{h})-\boldsymbol{j} \overline{\boldsymbol{o}}$, compare Lat. $a i \bar{o}, \mathrm{Gk} . \eta v$, Umb. aiu, Arm. asem. Thus, this paradigm would rather be Thematic, i.e. Present $\mathbf{a g}(\mathbf{h}) \mathrm{i} \overline{\mathbf{o}}, I$ talk, vs. Imperfect ag(h)ióm, I talked/have talked.

- Present édmi, I eat, vs. Imperfect édm, I ate/have eaten.

NOTE. Note that its Present Participle dōnts/dents, "eating", might be used as substantive, meaning "tooth".
$\circ$ Present wélmi, I want, vs. Imperfect wélm, I wanted/have wanted.

## REDUPLICATED

- Present sístāmi (from stā, stand), Imperfect (si)stām, Aorist (é)stām, P.Part. statós.
- Present déidikmi (from deik, show), Imperfect deidíkm, Aorist (é)dēiksm, Perfect dédoika, P.Part. diktós.
- Present dhídhēmi (from dhē, do, make), Imperfect dhidhếm, Aorist (é)dhēm, P.Part. dhatós.
- Present dídōmi (from dō, give), Imperfect didốm, Aorist (é)dōm, P.Part. datós.
- Present jíjēmi, throw, Imperfect jijếm, Aorist (é)jem.

NOTE. For evidence on an original PIE jíjiēmi, and not *jíjiàmi as usually reconstructed, cf. Lat. pret. $i \bar{e} c \bar{i}$, a form due to its two consecutive laryngeals, while Lat. iaciō is a present remade (Julián González Fernández, 1981).

## WITH NASAL INFIX

- klnéumi, hear (from kleu), Imperfect klnéwm, Aorist (é)klwom, Perfect kéklowa, P.Part. klutós, meaning "heard" and also "famous".
- punémi, rot (from pew), Imperfect puném, Aorist (é)pēwsm.


## 8. PARTICLES

### 8.1. PARTICLES

8.1.1. Adverbs, Prepositions, Conjunctions and Interjections are called Particles. They cannot always be distinctly classified, for many adverbs are used also as prepositions and many as conjunctions.
8.1.2. Strictly speaking, Particles are usually defined as autonomous elements, usually clitics, which make modifications in the verb or sentence, but which don't have a precise meaning, and which are neither adverbs nor preverbs nor conjunctions.
8.1.3. Indo-European has some particles (in the strictest sense) which mark certain syntax categories:
a. Emphatics or Generalizers: they may affect the whole sentence or a single word, usually a pronoun, but also a noun or verb. The particle ge/gi,ghe/ghi, usually strengthens the negation, and emphasizes different pronouns.
NOTE 1. The origin of this particle is probably to be found in PIE -qe, acquiring its coordinate value from an older use as word-connector, from which this Intensive/Emphatic use was derived. Compare O.Ind. gha, ha, hí, Av. zi, Gk. ge, -gí, -xí, Lith. gu, gi, O.Sla. -go, že, ži, Also, compare, e.g. for intensive negative neghi, O.E. nek, O.Ind. nahí, Balt. negi.

NOTE 2. Also, if compared with Gk. dé, O.Ind. ha, O.Sla. že, a common PIE particle che may be reconstructed.

## b. Verb Modifiers:

I. The old -ti had a Middle value, i.e. Reflexive.

NOTE. This is a very old value, attested in Anatolian, cf. Hitt. za, Pal. -ti, Luw. -ti, Lyd. -(i)t, Lyc. -t/di.
II. The modal -man, associated with the Indicative, expresses Potentiality (when used in Present) and Irreality (in the Past).

NOTE. It is probably the same as the conjunction man, $i f$, and closely related to -ma, but.
III. The negative particle mes, associated with the Indicative or forms indifferent to the Moods.
c. Sentence categorizers: they indicate the Class of Sentence, whether negative or interrogative.
I. Absolute Interrogatives were introduced in European dialects by special particles, generally (a)n.

NOTE. The origin could be the "Non-Declarative Sense" of the sentence, so that it could have been derived originally from the negative ne/n.
II. Negation has usually two particles, etymologically related:

- Simple negation is made by the particle ne, lengthened in some dialects with $-\mathbf{i},-\boldsymbol{n},-\boldsymbol{d}$, etc.
- Mood negation or prohibitive is the particle mē (also nē).

NOTE. For PIE mē, compare Gk. $\mu$ ', O.Ind.,Av.,O.Pers. $m \bar{a}$, Toch. mar/mā, Arm. $m i$, Alb. mos, and probably from Indo-European into Altaic (cf. Turkic -ma-, Tungus -me, Korean mō-t, Japanese -ma-), and compare also Arabic ma. In other IE dialects, it was substituted by nē, cf. Goth. ne, Lat. nē, Ira. ni. It is not clear whether Hitt. $l \bar{e}$ is ultimately derived from $\mathbf{m} \overline{\mathbf{e}}$ or $\mathbf{n} \overline{\mathbf{e}}$.
d. Sentence Connectives: they introduce independent sentences or connect different sentences, or even mark the principal sentence among subordinates.
I. so and to, which are in the origin of the anaphoric pronoun we studied in $\S 6.5$.
II. nu, which has an adverbial, temporal-consecutive meaning.
III. An introductory or connective $\mathbf{r}$, which is possibly the origin of some coordinate conjunctions.

### 8.2. ADVERBS

8.2.1. There is a class of invariable words, able to modify nouns and verbs, adding a specific meaning, whether semantical or deictic. They can be independent words (Adverbs), prefixes of verbal stems (Preverbs) - originally independent but usually united with it - and also a nexus between a noun and a verb (Appositions), expressing a non-grammatical relationship, normally put behind, but sometimes coming before the word.

NOTE. In the oldest PIE the three categories were probably only different uses of the same word class, being eventually classified and assigned to only one function and meaning. In fact, Adverbs are generally distinguished from the other two categories in the history of Indo-European languages, so that they change due to innovation, while Preverbs and Appositions remain the same and normally freeze in their oldest positions.
8.2.2. Adverbs come usually from old particles which have obtained a specific deictic meaning. Traditionally, Adverbs are deemed to be the result of oblique cases of old nouns or verbal roots which have frozen in IE dialects, thus loosing inflection.

### 8.3. DERIVATION OF ADVERBS

8.3.1. Adverbs were regularly formed in PIE from Nouns, Pronouns and Adjectives as follows:

## A. From Pronouns:

I. With a nasal lengthening, added systematically to zero-grade forms, which gives adverbs in -am; as, tam, qam (from Latin), or peram (as Gk. peran)

NOTE. They are usually interpreted as bein originally Acc. Sg. fem. of independent forms.
II. An -s lengthening, added to the adverb and not to the basic form, giving sometimes alternating adverbs; as, ap/aps, ek/eks, ambhi/ambhis, etc.
III. An -r lengthening; as, qor, tor, kir, etc. which is added also to other derived adverbs. It is less usual than the other two.

NOTE. Compare for such lengthenings Goth. hwar, her, (O.E. where, hier), Lat. cur, O.Ind. kár-hi, tár-hi, Lith. kur, Hitt. kuwari. Also, IE qor-i, tor-i, cir-i, etc. may show a final circumstancial -i, probably the same which appears in the Oblique cases and in the Primary Verbal Endings, and which originally meant 'here and now'.

Some older adverbs, derived as the above, were in turn specialized as suffixes for adverb derivation, helping to create compound adverbs from two pronoun stems:
i. From the pronoun de, the nasalized de-m gives adverbs in -dem, -dam; as, ídem, qídam, etc.
ii. From root dhē, put, place, there are two adverbs which give suffixes with local meaning, from stems of Pronouns, Nouns, Adverbs and Prepositions:
a. an Adverb in -m, dhem/dhm; as, endhem, prosdhm, etc.
b. an Adverb in -i, dhi, as in podhi, autodhi, etc.

NOTE. Compare from IE de, Lat. idem, quidam, O.Ind. idān-im; from dh(e)m, dhi, Gk. -then, -tha, -thi.
iii. From PIE root te, there are some adverbial suffixes with mood sense - some with temporal sense, derived from the older modal. So ta; as, ita or itadem, ut(a), prota, auta, etc; and t(e)m, utm, item, eitm, etc.

NOTE. Compare from IE ta (PIE *th $)$, Lat. iti-dem, ut(i), ita, Gk. protí, au-ti, O.Ind. iti, práti; from t(e)m, Lat. i-tem, Gk. ei-ta, epei-ta, O.Ind. u-tá.
B. From Nouns and Adjectives (usually Neuter Accusatives), frozen as adverbs already in Late PIE. The older endings to form Adverbs are the same as those above, i.e. generally -i, -u and -(e)m, which are in turn originally Adverbs. Such Adverbs have normally precise, Local meanings, not merely Abstract or Deictic, and evolve then usually as Temporals. Endings -r, nasal -n and also -s, as in the formation of Pronouns, are also found.

NOTE 1. It is not uncommon to find adverbs derived from nominal stems which never had inflection, thus (probably) early frozen as adverbs in its pure stem.

NOTE 2. From those adverbs were derived Conjunctions, either with Temporal-Consecutive meaning (cf. Eng. then, so) or Contrastive (cf. Eng. on the contrary, instead).

Adverbs may also end:
In -d: cf. Lat. probee, Osc. prufēd; O.Ind. pascāt, adharāt, purastāt.
In -nim: cf. Osc. enim 'and’, O.Ind. tūsnim ‘silently', maybe also idānim is *idā-nim, not *idān-im.
In -tos: cf. Lat. funditus, diuinitus, publicitus, penitus; O.Ind. vistaratah 'in detail', samksepatah, prasangataḥ 'occasionally', nāmattah 'namely', vastutaḥ 'actually', mata 'by/for me'

In -ks: cf. Lat. uix, Gk. лع $\rho \iota$, O.Ind. samyak 'well', prthak ‘separately’, Hitt. hudak 'directly'.

### 8.4. PREPOSITIONS

8.4.1. Prepositions were not originally distinguished from Adverbs in form or meaning, but have become specialized in use.

They developed comparatively late in the history of language. In the early stages of the Proto-IndoEuropean language the cases alone were probably sufficient to indicate the sense, but, as the force of the case-endings weakened, adverbs were used for greater precision. These adverbs, from their common association with particular cases, became Prepositions; but many retained also their independent function as adverbs.
8.4.2. Most prepositions are true case-forms: as the comparatives ekstrós (cf. external), ndhrós (cf. inferior), suprós, and the accusatives kikrom, koram, etc.
8.4.3. Prepositions are regularly used either with the Accusative or with the Obliques.
8.4.4. Some examples of common PIE adverbs/prepositions are:
ámbhi, ḿbhi, on both sides, around; cf. O.H.G. umbi (as Eng. by, Ger. bei), Lat. am, amb-, Gk. amphi, amphis, O.Ind. abhí.
ána, on, over, above; cf. Goth. ana, Gk. ánō, aná, O.Ind. ána, O.C.S. na.
ánti, opposite, in front; cf. Goth. and, Lat. ante, Gk. antí, O.Ind. ánti, átha, Lith. añt; Hitt. hanti.
ápo, po, out, from; cf. Goth. af, lat. ab, abs, Gk. apo, aps, apothen, O.Ind. ápa.
$\mathbf{a u} / \mathbf{w e}$, out, far; cf. Lat. au-, uē-, Gk. au, authi, autár, O.Ind. áva, vi-, Toc. -/ot-, O.C.S. u.
ébhi, óbhi, bhi, around, from, to, etc.; cf. Lat. ob, "towards, to", O.Ind. abhi, Av. aiwi, Goth. bi, én(i)/n, in; cf. Goth. in, Lat. in, Gk. en, ení, O.Ind. ni, nis, Lith. in, O.C.S. on, vŭ.
 O.Ind. ápi, Av. áipi, Arm. ev, Lith. ap-, O.Ir. iar, ía-, ei-, Alb. épërë, etc.
ét(i), óti, also, even; áti, beyond, past; over, on the other side; cf. Goth. ip, Lat. et, Gk. eti, O.Ind. áti, átah, at, O.C.S. otu.
ndhí, more, over, ndher(í), down; cf. Gmc. under-, Lat. infra, Gk. éntha, O.Ind. ádhi, ádhaḥ.
per, pr, in front, opposite, around; cf. Goth. fra, faúr, faúra, Lat. pro, prae, per, Gk. perí, pará, pros, O.Ind. pári, práti, pra, Lith. per, Ltv. prett', O.C.S. prĕ.
$\mathbf{q u}$, from interrogative-indefinites $\mathbf{q i} / \mathbf{q o}$;
ter, tr, through, cf. Gmc. thurkh (cf. Goth. pairh, O.S. thuru, O.E. purh, O.Fris. thruch, O.H.G. thuruh, M.Du. dore, Ger. durch), Lat. trans, O.Ind. tirah., Av. taro, O.Ir. tre, Welsh tra.
upo, under, down; uper(í), up; cf. Goth. uf, ufar (as Eng. up, over, Ger. auf, über), Lat. sub, super, Gk. upó, upér, O.Ind. úpa, upári.

| ad to, near, | perti through, otherwise |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| aneu without | pos/posti/pósteri behind |
| apóteri behind | poti toward |
| dē/dō to | pósteri/postrōd behind |
| ek/eksí out | prāi in front, ahead |
| ektós except | práiteri along(side) |
| entós even, also | prȫ(d) ahead |
| kamta downward | próteri in front of |
| kom near | prota against |
| nī down | rādí because (of) |
| obhi on, over | ani/santeri separately |
| olteri beyond | úperi/upsí on, over |
| para next to | ut/utsí up, out |
| paros ahead | wī separately |

### 8.5. CONJUNCTIONS

8.5.1. Conjunctions, like prepositions, are closely related to adverbs, and are either petrified cases of nouns, pronouns and adjectives, or obscured phrases: as, qod, an old accusative. Most conjunctions are connected with pronominal adverbs, which cannot always be referred to their original case-forms.
8.5.2. Conjunctions connect words, phrases or sentences. They are divided in two main classes, Coordinate and Subordinate:
a. Coordinates are the oldest ones, which connect coordinated or similar constructions. Most of them were usually put behind and were normally used as independent words. They are:
I. Copulative or disjunctive, implying a connection or separation of thought as well as of words: as, qe, and; we, or; neqe, nor.

NOTE. For PIE neqe, compare Lat. ne-que, Gk. oüte, Arm. oc, O.Ir. nó, nú, Welsh ne-u, O.Bret. no-u, Alb. a-s, Lyc. ne-u, Luw. napa-wa, and for PIE mēqe, in Greek and Indo-Iranian, but also in Toch. ma-k and Alb. mo-s. The parallel newē is foun in Anatolian, Indo-Iranian, Italic and Celtic dialects.
II. Adversative, implying a connection of words, but a contrast in thought: as, ma, but.

NOTE. Adversative conjunctions of certain antiquity are at(i) (cf. Goth. adh-, Lat. at, Gk. atár), (s)ma/(s)me (cf. Hitt.,Pal. ma, Lyd. -m, Lyc. me, Gk. má, mé, Messap. min), auti (cf. Lat. autem, aut, Gk. aute, authis, autis, autár), ōd, "and, but" (cf. O.Ind. $\bar{a} d$, Av. ( $\bar{a}$ )at, Lith. o, Sla. $a$ ), etc. In general, the oldest IE languages attested use the same Copulative pospositive conjunctions as Adversatives, their semantic value ascertained by the context.
III. Causal, introducing a cause or reason: as, nam, for
IV. Illative, denoting an inference: as, igitur, therefore.

NOTE. Newer particles usually are usually put before, and some of them are general, as the Copulative eti, and (as Lat. et, Gk. eti, nasalized nti in Germanic, as Goth. and), and Illative $\overline{\mathbf{o} d, ~ c e r t a i n l y ~(c f . ~ O . I n d . ~ a ́ d, ~ L i t h . ~ o, ~}$ O.Sla. a), or ōdqe in Latin. Others were not generalized before the first PIE split, but could nevertheless be used in Modern Indo-European.
b. Subordinates connect a subordinate or independent clause with that on which it depends. They are:
I. jo, which has general subordinate value, usually Relative, Final or Conditional.

NOTE. For common derivatives of PIE jo, probably related to the relative pronoun, compare Hitt. -a/-ya, Toch. -/yo, and possibly Goth. -ei, Gk. eí, Gaul. -io. It was probably replaced by -qe.
II. Conditional, denoting a condition or hypothesis; as, man, if; neman, unless.
III. Comparative, implying comparison as well as condition; as, man, as if.
IV. Concessive, denoting a concession or admission; as, qamqam, although (Lit. however much it may be true that, etc.).
V. Temporal: as, postqam, after.
VI. Consecutive, expressing result; as, ut(ei), so that.
VII. Final, expressing purpose; as, ut(ei), in order that; ne, that not.
VIII. Causal, expressing cause; as, $\mathbf{q j a}$, because .

Conjunctions are more numerous and more accurately distinguished in MIE than in English.

## APPENDIX I. PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN SYNTAX

I.1. THE SENTENCE

A Sentence is a form of words which contains a Statement, a Question, an Exclamation, or a Command.
a. A sentence in the form of a Statement is called a Declarative Sentence: as, the dog runs.
b. A sentence in the form of a Question is called an Interrogative Sentence: as, does the dog run?
c. A sentence in the form of an Exclamation is called an Exclamatory Sentence: as, how fast the dog runs!
d. A sentence in the form of a Command, an Exhortation, or an Entreaty is called an Imperative

Sentence : as, go, run across the Alps; or let the dog run.
NOTE. After Lehman (1974), "The fundamental order of sentences in PIE appears to be OV. Support for this assumption is evident in the oldest texts of the materials attested earliest in the IE dialects. The fundamental order of sentences in these early dialects cannot be determined solely by frequency of sentence patterns. For, like other linguistic constructions, sentence patterns manifest marked as well as unmarked order. Marked order is expected in literary materials. The documents surviving from the earliest dialects are virtually all in verse or in literary forms of prose. Accordingly many of the individual sentences do not have the unmarked order, with verb final. For this reason conclusions about the characteristic word order of PIE and the early dialects will be based in part on those syntactic patterns that are rarely modified for literary and rhetorical effect: comparative constructions, the presence of postpositions and prepositions, and the absence of prefixes, (...)".
Lehman is criticized by Friedrich (1975) who, like Watkins (1976) and Miller (1975), support a VO prehistoric situation, probably SVO (like those found in 'central' IE areas), with non-consistent dialectal SOV findings. In any case (viz. Lehman and Miller), an older IE I or IE II OV (VSO for Miller) would have been substituted by a newer VO (SOV for Miller, later SVO through a process of verb transposition) - thus, all Indo-European dialects attested have evolved (thus probably from a common Late PIE trend) into a modern SVO.

Modern Indo-European, as a modern IE language, may follow the stricter formal patterns attested in the oldest inscriptions, i.e. (S)OV, as in Vedic Sanskrit, Ancient Greek, Old Latin and Avestan. A newer, general (S)VO order (found in Greek, Latin, Avestan, Germanic, etc.), which reveals the change from OV in Early PIE towards a VO in Late PIE for the spoken language of Europe - and even some forms of litterary uses, as e.g. journalism - could be used in non-formal contexts.

## I.1.1. KINDS OF SENTENCES

PIE sentences were either Nominal, i.e. formed by nouns, or Verbal, if they included a verb.
I. A Subject and a Predicate. The Subject of a sentence is the person or thing spoken of. The Predicate is that which is said of the Subject.
a. The Subject is usually a Noun or Pronoun, or some word or group of words used as a Noun.
b. The Predicate of a sentence may be a Verb (as the dog runs), or it may consist of some form of es and a Noun or Adjective which describes or defines the subject (as It is good). Such a noun or adjective is called a Predicate Noun or Adjective.
II. In Proto-Indo-European, simple sentences may be composed of only one word, a noun or a verb; as, God!, or (it) rains.

NOTE 1. Nominal sentences of this type are usually Interjections and Vocatives. Verbal sentences of this type include Imperatives (at least of $2^{\text {nd }}$ P.Sg.) and impersonal verbs, which had never a subject in the oldest dialects attested; as, for Eng. (it) rains, cf. Goth. rigneib, Lat. pluit, Gk. üعl, Skt. várṣati. It is believed that when IE dialects became SVO in structure, so that a subject was required, the third singular anaphoric pronoun, corresponding to it, German es, French il, etc., was introduced as subject in such sentences. Such pronouns were introduced because SVO languages must have subjects in sentences, as do intransitive verbs in any OV language. Such verbs could be supplemented by substantives in various cases, among them the accusative. These constructions are especially prominent for verbs referring to the emotions; as, Lat. miseret, pudet, taedet, Skr. kitavám tatāpa. Compare also Cicero's Lat. eōrum nōs miseret, or O.H.G. thes gánges thih nirthrúzzi. In PIE sentences various case forms could be used with verbs. The simplest sentences may consist of verbs accompanied by nouns in seven of the eight cases; only the vocative is not so used. The nouns fill the role of objects or, possibly better stated, of complements.

NOTE 2. Besides the simple sentence which consists only of a verb, a simple sentence in the early dialects and in PIE could consist of a verb accompanied by a noun or pronoun as complement. A subject however wasn't mandatory. Nor were other constructions which may seem to be natural, such as indirect objects with verbs like 'give'. The root * $d \bar{o}$ - or in its earlier form * $d e H$ - had in its simplest sense the meaning 'present' and was often unaccompanied by any nominal expression (Lehman).

## I.1.2. NOMINAL SENTENCE

Nominal sentences, in which a substantive is equated with another substantive, an adjective, or a particle, make up one of the simplest type of sentence in PIE.

NOTE 1. Such a type of sentence is found in almost every IE dialect; cf. Hitt. attaš aššuš, "the father (is) good", Skr. tváṃ váruṇa, "you (are) Varuna", O.Pers. adam Dārayavauš, "I (am) Darius", Lat. omnia praeclara rara, "all the best things (are) rare", etc. In all dialects, however, such sentences were restricted in its use to a especially formal use or, on the contrary, they are found more often than originally in PIE. Thus, in Latin and Germanic
dialects they are found in proverbs and sayings, as in Old Irish; in Greek it is also found in epic and poetry. However, in Balto-Slavic dialects the pure nominal sentence has become the usual type of nominal sentence, even when the predicate is an adverb or an adverbial case. However, such a use, which is more extended in modern dialects (like Russian) than in the older ones (as Old Slavic), is considered the result of Finno-Ugrian influence.

NOTE 2. In the course of time a nominal sentence required a verb; this development is in accordance with the subjective characteristic of PIE and the endings which came to replace the individual qualifier markers of early PIE. The various dialects no longer had a distinct equational sentence type. Verbs might of course be omitted by ellipsis. And, remarkably, in Slavic, nominal sentences were reintroduced, as Meillet has demonstrated (19061908). The reintroduction is probably a result of influence from OV languages, such as the Finno-Ugric. This phenomenon illustrates that syntactic constructions and syntactic characteristics must be carefully studied before they can be ascribed to inheritance. In North Germanic too an OV characteristic was reintroduced, with the loss of prefixes towards the end of the first millennium A.D. (Lehmann 1970). Yet in spite of these subsequent OV influences, nominal sentences must be assumed for PIE.
A. There are traces of Pure Nominal Sentences with a predicate made by an oblique case of a noun or a prepositional compound, although they are not common to all Indo-European dialects.

NOTE. Apart from Balto-Slavic examples (due to Finno-Ugric influence), only some isolated examples are found; cf. Skr. havyaír Agnír mánuṣa īrayádhyai, "Agni must be prayed with the sacrifices of men", Gk. pàr hépoige kaì hálloi oi ké mé timésousi, "near me (there are) others who [particle] will praise me" (Mendoza).
B. In addition to such expansions by means of additional nouns in nonrequired cases, sentences could be expanded by means of particles.

NOTE. For Lehman, three subsets of particles came to be particularly important. One of these is the set of preverbs, such as $\bar{a}$. Another is the set of sentence connectives, such as Hitt. $n u$. The third is the set of qualifier expressions, e.g., PIE mé '(must) not'. An additional subset, conjunctions introducing clauses, will be discussed below in the section on compound clauses.

Preverbs are distinctively characterized by being closely associated with verbs and modifying their meaning. In their normal position they stand directly before verbs (Watkins 1964).

Generally, thus, Concordance governed both members of the Pure Nominal Sentence.
NOTE. Unlike the personal verb and its complements (governed by inflection), the Nominal Sentence showed a strong reliance on Concordance between Subject and Predicate as a definitory feature: both needed the same case, and tended to have the same number and gender.

## THE COPULATIVE VERB

The copulative verb es is only necessary when introducing late categories in the verbal morphology, like Time and Mood. Therefore, when the Mood is the Indicative, and the Time is neuter (proverbs without timing, or Present with semantic neuter) there is no need to use es.

NOTE 1. The basic form of nominal sentences has, however, been a matter of dispute. Some Indo-Europeanists propose that the absence of a verb in nominal sentences is a result of ellipsis and assume an underlying verb es'be' (Benveniste 1950). They support this assumption by pointing to the requirement of such a verb if the nominal sentence is in the past tense; cf. Hitt. ABU.İA genzuualaš ešta, "My father was merciful". On the contrary, Meillet (1906-1908), followed by Lehman and Mendoza, thought that nominal sentences did not require a verb but that a verb might be included for emphasis. This conclusion may be supported by noting that the qualifiers which were found in PIE could be used in nominal sentences without a verb. As an example we may cite a Hittite sentence which is negative and imperative, 1-aš 1-edani menahhanda lē idāluš, "One should not be evil toward another one". Yet, if a passage was to be explicit, a form of es could be used, as in Skr. nákir indra tvád úttaro ná jyáayān asti, "No one is higher than you, Indra, nor greater".

NOTE 2. On the original meaning of es, since Brugmann (1925) meant originally "exist" hence its use as a copulative verb through constructions in which the predicate express the existence of the subject, as in Hom. Gk. eím Oduseús Laertiádes, "I am Odisseus, son of Laertes" (Mendoza). In PIE times there were seemingly other verbs (with similar meanings of 'exist') which could be used as copulatives; compare IE bhū, "exist, become, grow" (cf. O.Ind. bhávati, or as supletives in Lat. past fui, O.Ir. ba, O.Lith. búvo, fut. bùs, O.C.S. impf. bease, etc.), Germanic wes, 'live, dwell'.

## I.1.3. VERBAL SENTENCE

The most simple structure of the common Indo-European sentence consists of a verb, i.e. the carrying out of an action. In it, none of the verbal actors (Subject and Object) must be expressed - the subject is usually not obligatory, and the object appears only when it is linked to the lexical nature of the verb.

NOTE. The oldest morphological categories, even time, were expressed in the PIE through lexical means, and many remains are found of such a system; cf. Hitt. -za (reflexive), modal particles in Gk. and O.Ind., modal negation in some IE dialects, or the simple change in intonation, which made interrogative or imperative a declarative sentence - in fact, the imperative lacks a mark of its own.

The relationship between the Subject and the Object is expressed through the case.
There is no clear morphological distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs in Proto-IndoEuropean.

NOTE. Some Indo-European dialects have specialized some verbal suffixes as transitives (causatives) or intransitives, as Gk. -en, Gmc. -io, Lat. - $a$, etc., while in some others a preverb combined with a verbal root makes the basic verb transitive or intransitive.

When subjects are explicitly expressed, the nominative is the case employed.
NOTE. Expression of the subject is the most prominent extension of simple sentences to include more than one substantival expression. Besides such explicit mention of the subject, predicates may consist of verbs accompanied by two or more nouns, in cases which supplement the meanings of the verbs (v.i.). Such constructions must be distinguished from the inclusion of additional nouns whose case forms indicate adverbial use.

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Few verbs are mandatorily accompanied by two nouns.

1. the use of the dative in addition to the accusative, as in Skr. tábhiām enaṃ pári dehi, 'Give him over to those two'.
2. the instrumental and ablative, as Skr. áhan vṛtrám ... indro vájreṇa, 'Indra killed ... Vrtra with his bolt'. Skr. tváṃ dásyūmřr ókaso agna ājaḥ, 'You drove the enemies from the house, O Agni.'

NOTE. While the addition to these sentences which is indicated by the nouns in the instrumental and the ablative is essential for the meaning of the lines in their context, it does not need to be included in the sentence for syntactic reasons.
3. The causative accompanied by two accusatives, as Skr. deván uśatah pāyayā havíh ' 'Make the desiring gods drink the libation'.

In such sentences the agent-accusative represents the object of the causative element: as Arthur A. Macdonell indicated (1916), in a corresponding simple sentence this noun would have been given in the nominative, as Skr. devá havíh pibanti, 'The gods drink the libation'.

Accordingly a simple verb in PIE was at the most accompanied by one substantive, unless the additional substantive was complementary or adverbial.

## LOCAL CASES: PREDICATES WITH TWO OR MORE SUBSTANTIVES

Nonmandatory case forms are found in great variety, as may be determined from the studies of substantival inflections and their uses. Five groups of adverbial elements are identified: (1) circumstance, purpose, or result; (2) time; (3) place; (4) manner; (5) means.

1) Additional case forms may be used to indicate the Purpose, Result, or Circumstance of an action.

So e.g. the Instrumental in Skr. mṛláyā naḥ suastí, 'Be gracious to us for our well-being'.
The Dative was commonly used in this sense, as in the infinitival form Skr. prá ṇa áyur jīváse soma tārīh 'Extend our years, soma, for our living [so that we may live long].',

NOTE. Cf. Hitt. nu-kan ${ }^{m}$ Nana-Luin kuin DUMU.LUGAL ANA ${ }^{m}$ Nuwanza haluki para nehhun, 'and the prince NanaLUiš whom I sent to Nuwanza to convey the message' where Hittite dative noun haluki. (Raman 1973).

When an animate noun is involved, this use of the dative has been labeled the indirect object; as, Skr. rị̣ákti krṣṇ̂i raṛuṣáya pánthām, 'Black night gives up the path to the red sun'.

NOTE. As these examples may indicate, the dative, like the other cases, must be interpreted with reference to the lexical properties of the verbal element.
2) A further adverbial segment in sentences indicates the Time of Occurrence. The cases in question are various, as in Skr. dívā náktaṃ śárum asmád yuyotam, 'By day and during the night protect us from the arrow'.

NOTE. The nominal form div $\bar{a}$, which with change of accent is no longer an instrumental but an adverbial form outside the paradigm, and the accusative náktaṃ differ in meaning. The instrumental, like the locative, refers to a point in time, though the "point" may be extended; the accusative, to an extent of time. Differing cases accordingly provide different meanings for nouns marked for the lexical category time.
3) Nouns indicating Place also differ in meaning according to case form:
A. The Accusative indicates the goal of an action, as in Lat. Rōmam īre 'go to Rome', Hitt. tuš alkištan tarnahhe 'and those (birds) I release to the branch' (Otten and Souček 1969:38 § 37).
B. The Instrumental indicates the place "over which an action extends" (Macdonell 1916: 306): sárasvatyā yānti 'they go along the Sarasvatī.
C. The Ablative indicates the starting point of the action: sá ráthāt papāta 'he fell from his chariot'; and the following example from Hittite (Otten and Souček 1969): iššaz (š)mit lālan AN.BARaš [d]āi, 'He takes the iron tongue out of their mouths.'
D. The Locative indicates a point in space, e.g., Skt. diví 'in heaven' or the locative kardi in the following Hittite example (Otten and Souček): kardi-šmi-ía-at-kán dahhun, 'And I took away that [illness which was] in your heart'.

Nouns with lexical features for place and for time may be used in the same sentence, as in Skr. ástam úpa náktam eti, 'He goes during the night to the house'. Although both nouns are in the Accusative, the differing lexical features lead to different interpretations of the case. In this way, inflectional markers combine with lexical features to yield a wide variety of adverbial elements.
4) Among the adverbial elements which are most diverse in surface forms are those referring to Manner. Various cases are used, as follows.
A. The Accusative is especially frequent with adjectives, such as Skt. kṣiprám 'quickly', bahú 'greatly', nyák ‘downward’.
B. The Instrumental is also used, in the plural, as in Skt. máhobhih 'mightily', as well as in the singular, sáhasā 'suddenly'.

Similar to the expression of manner is the instrumental used to express the sense of accompaniment: Skr. devó devébhir ágamat, 'May the god come [in such a way that he is] accompanied by the other gods'.
C. The Ablative is also used to express manner in connection with a restricted number of verbs such as those expressing 'fear': réjante víśvā kṛtrímāṇi bhīṣá, 'All creatures tremble fearfully'.
5) Adverbial expressions of Means are expressed especially by the instrumental; as, Skr. áhan vrttrám ... índro vájreṇa, 'Indra killed ... Vrtra with his bolt.' The noun involved frequently refers to an instrument; cf. Hitt. kalulupuš šmuš gapinit hulaliemi, 'I wind the thread around their fingers'.

Animate nouns may also be so used. When they are, they indicate the agent: agnínā turváṣaṃ yáduṃ parāváta ugrấ devaṃ havāmahe, 'Through Agni we call from far Turvasa, Yadu, and Ugradeva'. This use led to the use of the instrumental as the agent in passive constructions.

## I.2. SENTENCE MODIFIERS

## I.2.1. INTONATION PATTERNS

The sentence was characterized in PIE by patterns of Order and by Selection.
A. Selection classes were determined in part by inflection, in part by lexical categories, most of which were covert.

NOTE. Some lexical categories were characterized at least in part by formal features, such as abstract nouns marked by -ti-, nouns in the religious sphere marked by -u-and collectives marked by *-h.
B. In addition to characterization by means of order and categories of selection, the sentence was also delimited by Intonation based on variations in pitch.

To the extent that the pitch phonemes of PIE have been determined, a high pitch may be posited, which could stand on one syllable per word, and a low pitch, which was not so restricted.

NOTE. The location of the high pitch is determined by Lehman primarily from the evidence in Vedic; the theory that this was inherited from PIE received important corroboration from Karl Verner's demonstration of its maintenance into Germanic (1875). Thus the often cited correlation between the position of the accent in the Vedic perfect and the differing consonants in Germanic provided decisive evidence for reconstruction of the PIE pitch accent as well as for Verner's law, as in the perfect (preterite) forms of the root deik-, show.

|  | PIE | Vedic | O.E | O.H. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | dedóik | didéśa | tāh | zēh |
| 1 | dedik | didiśi | tig | zigu |

Words were characterized on one syllable by a high pitch accent, unless they were enclitic, that is, unmarked for accent.

Accented words could lose their high pitch accent if they were placed at specific positions in sentences.
A. Vocatives lost their accent if they were medial in a sentence or clause; and finite verbs lost their accent unless they stood initially in an independent clause or in any position in a dependent clause in

Vedic. These same rules may be assumed for PIE. On the basis of the two characteristic patterns of loss of accent for verbs, characteristic patterns of intonation may also be posited for the IE sentence.

Judging on the basis of loss of high pitch accent of verbs in them, independent clauses were characterized by final dropping in pitch. For in unmarked order the verb stands finally in the clause.

Clauses, however, which are marked either to convey emphasis or to indicate subordination, do not undergo such lowering. They may be distinguished with final

NOTE. The intonation pattern indicated by apparently conveyed the notion of an emotional or emphatic utterance or one requiring supplementation, as by another clause. These conclusions are supported by the patterns found in Germanic alliterative verse. For, as is well known, verbs were frequently placed by poets in the fourth, nonalliterating, metrically prominent position in the line: beodcyninga prym gefrūnon, of-people's-kings glory we-heard-of, 'We heard of the glory of the kings of the people'. This placing of verbs, retained by metrical convention in Germanic verse, presumably maintains evidence for the IE intonation pattern. For, by contrast, verbs could alliterate when they stood initially in clauses or in subordinate clauses; egsode eorlas, syððan $\bar{æ} r e s t$ wearð, he-terrified men since first he-was, 'He terrified men from the time he first was [found]'. benden wordum wēold wine Scyldinga, as-long-as with-words he-ruled the-friend of-the-Scyldings. The patterns of alliteration in the oldest Germanic verse accordingly support the conclusions that have been derived from Vedic accentuation regarding the intonation of the Indo-European sentence, as do patterns in other dialects.

Among such patterns is the preference for enclitics in second position in the sentence (Wackernagel 1892). Words found in this position are particles, pronouns, and verbs, which have no accent in Vedic texts. This observation of Wackernagel supports the conclusion that the intonation of the sentence was characterized by initial high pitch, with the voice trailing off at the end. For the enclitic elements were not placed initially, but rather they occupied positions in which unaccented portions of words were expected, as in Skr. prāvepá mā bṛható mādayanti, 'The dangling ones of the lofty tree gladden me'. The pronoun mā 'me', like other such enclitics, makes up a phrase with the initial word; in this way it is comparable to unaccented syllables of individual words, as in Skr. pravātejá írine várvṛtānāh, ‘[born] in a windy place, rolling on the dice-board'

A simple sentence then consisted not only of a unit accompanied by an intonation pattern, but also of subunits or phrases. These were identified by their accent and also by patterns of permitted finals.

## I.2.2. SENTENCE DELIMITING PARTICLES

The particles concerned are PIE nu, so, to, all of them introductory particles.
NOTE. Their homonymity with the adverb nu, nun and the anaphoric pronoun was one of the reasons earlier Indo-Europeanists failed to recognize them and their function. Yet Delbrück had already noted the clauseintroducing function of Skr. sa (1888), as in Skr. tásya tấni ŝirrṣạṇi prá cicheda. sá yát somapắnam ása tátaḥ kapiñjalaḥ sám abhavat, 'He struck off his heads. From the one that drank soma, the hazel-hen was created'. Delbrück identified $s a$ in this and other sentences as a particle and not a pronoun, for it did not agree in gender with a noun in the sentence. But it remained for Hittite to clarify the situation.

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In Hittite texts the introductory use of the particles is unmistakable (J.Friedrich 1960); ta and šu occur primarily in the early texts, $n u$ in the later, as illustrated in the following Old Hittite example (Otten and Souček 1969): GAD-an pešiemi šu- uš LÚ-aš natta aušzi 'I throw a cloth over it and no one will see them'.

Besides such an introductory function (here as often elsewhere translated 'and'), these particles were used as first element in a chain of enclitics, as in n-at-ši 'and it to-him', nu-mu-za-kan 'and to-me self within' and so on.

NOTE 1. In Homeric Greek such strings of particles follow different orders, but reflect the IE construction, as in: oudé nu soí per entrépetai phílon êtor, Olúmpie, 'But your heart doesn't notice, Zeus'. As the translation of per here indicates, some particles were used to indicate the relationships between clauses marking the simple sentence.

NOTE 2. Many simple sentences in PIE would then be similar to those in Hittite and Vedic Sanskrit, such as those in the charming story taken by Delbrück from the Śatapathabrāhmana. Among the simplest is Skr. tám índro didveṣa, 'Indra hated him'. Presumably tam is a conflated form of the particle ta and the enclitic accusative singular pronoun; the combination is attested in Hittite as ta-an (J. Friedrich 1960). Besides the use of sentencedelimiting particles, these examples illustrate the simplicity of PIE sentences. Of the fifteen sentences in the story, only two have more than one nominal form per verb, and these are adverbial as observed above. Similar examples from the other early dialects could be cited, such as the Italic inscription of Praeneste, or the Germanic Gallehus inscription: Ek HlewagastiR HoltijaR horna tawido, 'I, Hlewagastir of Holt, made the horn'. In these late texts, the subject was mandatory, and accordingly two nominal forms had come to be standard for the sentence. If however the subject is not taken into consideration, many sentences contained only one nominal element with verbs, in the early dialects as well as in PIE.

## I.3. VERBAL MODIFIERS

## I.3.1. DECLARATIVE SENTENCES

The Injunctive has long been identified as a form unmarked for mood and marked only for stem and person. It may thus be compared with the simplest form of OV languages.

By contrast the Present indicative indicates "mood". We associate this additional feature with the suffix $\mathbf{- i}$, and assume for it declarative meaning.

NOTE 1. Yet it is also clear that, by the time of Vedic Sanskrit and, we assume, Late PIE, the injunctive no longer contrasted directly with the present indicative. We must therefore conclude that the declarative qualifier was expressed by other means in the sentence. We assume that the means of expression was an intonation pattern. For, in normal unmarked simple sentences, finite unaccented verbs stood finally in their clause, as did the predicative elements of nominal sentences; Delbrück's repeatedly used example may be cited once again to illustrate the typical pattern: víśaḥ kṣatríyāya balị̣́ haranti, 'The villagers pay tribute to the prince'. Since the verb haranti was unaccented, i.e., had no high pitch, we may posit for the normal sentence an intonation pattern in which the final elements in the sentence were accompanied by low pitch.

NOTE 2. Lehman supports this assumption by noting that a distinctive suprasegmental was used in Vedic to distinguish a contrasting feature, interrogation or request (Wackernagel 1896). This marker, called pluti by native grammarians, consisted of extra length, as in ágnā3i 'O fire' (3 indicates extra length). But a more direct contrast with the intonation of simple sentences may be exemplified by the accentuation of subordinate clauses. These have accented verbs, as in the following line from the Rigveda: antáś ca prágā áditir bhavāsi, 'If you have entered inside, you will be Aditi'. As the pitch accent on ágā indicates, verbs in subordinate clauses maintained high pitch, in contrast with verbs of independent clauses like bhavāsi. We may conclude that this high pitch was an element in an intonation pattern which indicated incompleteness, somewhat like the pattern of contemporary English.

Evidence from other dialects supports the conclusion that, in late PIE, Declarative sentences were indicated by means of an intonation pattern with a drop in accentuation at the end of the clause.

NOTE. In Germanic verse, verbs of unmarked declarative sentences tend to occupy unaccented positions in the line, notably the final position (Lehmann 1956). Although the surface expression of accentuation patterns in Germanic is stress, rather than the pitch of Vedic and PIE, the coincidence of accentuation pattern supports our conclusions concerning PIE intonation.

## I.3.2. INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES

The Interrogation was apparently also indicated by means of Intonation, for some questions in our early texts have no surface segmental indication distinguishing them from statements, for example, Plautus Aulularia 213, aetatem meam scis, 'Do you know my age?'

NOTE. Only the context indicates to us that this utterance was a question; we may assume that the spoken form included means of expressing Int., and in view of expressions in the later dialects we can only conclude that these means were an intonation pattern.

Questions are generally classified into two groups:
A. Those framed to obtain clarification (Verdeutlichungsfragen), and
B. Those framed to obtain confirmation (Bestätigungsfragen). This feature accompanies statements in which a speaker sets out to elicit information from the hearer.

NOTE. It may be indicated by an intonation pattern, as noted above, or by an affix or a particle, or by characteristic patterns of order, as in German Ist er da? 'Is he here?' When the Interrogative sentence is so expressed, the surface marker commonly occupies second position among the question elements, if the entire clause is questioned. Such means of expression for Int. are found in IE languages, as Lat. -ne, which, according to Minton Warren "occurs about 1100 times in Plautus and over 40 times in Terence" (1881). Besides expressions like Lat. egone 'Me?', sentences like the following occur (Plautus Asinaria 884): Aúdin quid ait? Artemona: Aúdio. 'Did you hear what he is saying? Artemona: yes'

Other evidence for a postponed particle for expressing Int. is found in Avestan, in which -na is suffixed to some interrogatives, as in Av. kas-nā 'who (then)?'; and in Germanic, where na is found finally in some questions in Old High German. Old Church Slavic is more consistent in the use of such a particle than are these dialects, as in chošteši li ‘Do you wish to?' This particle is also used in contemporary Russian.

The particle used to express Interrogation in Latin, Avestan, and Germanic is homophonous with the particle for expressing negation, PIE ně.

NOTE. It is not unlikely that PIE ne of questions is the same particle as that used for the negative. As the interrogative particle, however, it has been lost in most dialects. After Lehman (1974), its loss is one of the indications that late PIE was not a consistent OV language. After Mendoza, the fact that such Interrogatives of a yes/no-answer are introduced by different particles in the oldest attested dialects means that no single particle was generalized by Late PIE; cf. Goth. u, Lat. -ne, nonne, num Gk. ŋ̃, vú, Skr. nu, Sla. li. However, the common findings of Hittite, Indo-Iranian, Germanic and Latin are similar if not the same. In any case, for most linguists, rather than a postposed particle, 1) Intonation was used to express the Interrogatives, as well as 2) Particles that were placed early in clauses, often Initially.

The partial Interrogative sentences are those which expect an aclaratory answer; they are introduced in PIE by pronominal or adverbial forms derived from interrogative $\mathbf{q i} / \mathbf{q} \mathbf{o}$, always placed initially but for marked sentences, where a change in position is admited to emphasize it.

NOTE. In some languages, Interrogatives may be strengthened by the addition of posposed particles with interrogative sense, as in Av. kaš-na. Such forms introduce indirect interrogatives when they ask about a part of the sentence. Indirect interrogatives in the form of Total interrogatives (i.e., not of yes/no-answer) are introduces by particles derived from direct interrogative particles (when there are) or by conditional conjunctions; as Hitt. man.

## I.3.3. NEGATIVE SENTENCES

Indications of Negation, by which the speaker negates the verbal means of expression, commonly occupies third position in the hierarchy of sentence elements.

We can only posit the particles nĕ and mē, neither of which is normally postposed after verbs.
NOTE 1. For prohibitive particle mē, compare Gk. $\mu$ ', O.Ind.,Av.,O.Pers. mā, Toch. mar/mā, Arm. mi, Alb. mos. In other IE dialects it was substituted by nē, cf. Goth. ne, Lat. n $\bar{e}$ (also as modal negation), Ira. ni. It is not clear whether Hitt. lē is ultimately derived from mē or nē. PIE nĕ is found as Goth.,O.H.G. ni, Lat. nĕ- (e.g. in nequis) O.Ind. ná, O.Sla. ne, etc. Sometimes it is found in lengthened or strengthened forms as Hitt. natta, Lat. non, Skr. ned, etc. A common PIE lengthened form is nei, which appears in Lat. ni, Lith. neî, Sla. ni, etc., and which may also ultimately be related to Proto-Uralic negative *ei- (Kortlandt, v.s.).

NOTE 2. In the oldest languages, negation seems to have been preverbal; Vedic nákis, Gk. oú tis, mé tis, Lat. nēmo, OHG nioman 'no one', and so on. The negative element ne was not used in compounding in PIE
(Brugmann 1904); $\mathbf{n}$ - had this function. Moreover, there is evidence for proposing that other particles were placed postverbally in PIE (Delbrück 1897). Delbrück has classified these in a special group, which he labels particles. They have been maintained postpositively primarily in frozen expressions: $\bar{e}$ in Gk . egṓnē, ge in égōge ' $T$ (Schwyzer 1939). But they are also frequent in Vedic and early Greek; Delbrück (1897) discusses at length the use of Skt. gha, Gk. ge, and Skt. sma, Gk. mén, after pronouns, nouns, particles, and verbs, cf. Lat. nōlo < ne volo, Goth. nist< ni ist, and also, negative forms of the indefinite pronoun as O.Ind. máákis, ná-kis, Lat. ne-quis, etc. which may indicate an old initial absolute position, which could be also supported by the development of corrleative forms like Lat. neque, etc., which combine negation and coordination. Lehman, on the contrary, believes in an older posposed order, characteristic of OV languages (i.e. a situation in IE II), because of the usually attributed value of emphasis to the initial position of negation, postverbal negation examples (even absolute final position in Hittite and Greek), the old existence of the form nei, as well as innovative forms like Lat. ne-quis or Gk. oú-tis.

NOTE 3. In Modern Indo-European, thus, negation should usually be preverbal, as in modern Romance languages (cf. Fr. n'est, Spa. no es, etc.), but it can be postponed in emphatic contexts, as it is usual in modern Germanic languages (cf. Eng. is not, Ger. ist nicht, etc.), as well as in very formal texts, thus imitating some of the most archaic findings of early PIE dialects.

## I.4. NOMINAL MODIFIERS

## I.4.1. ADJECTIVE AND GENITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

## 1. Proto-Indo-European Attributive Adjectives were normally preposed.

NOTE. Delbrück summarizes the findings for Vedic, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, and Germanic, giving examples like the following from Vedic: śvetấḥ párvatāḥ, 'white mountains' (1900). Lehman (1974) adds an example of Hitt. šuppi watar, 'pure water'.

In marked constructions Adjectives might be postposed, as in áśvaḥ̣ śvetáḥ, 'a white horse, a gray'.
2. The position of the Attributive Genitive is the same as that of the Attributive Adjective.

NOTE. A striking example is given from the Old English legal language (Delbrück 1900): ōdres mannes hūses dura, 'the door of the house of the other man'.

Like the adjective construction, the attributive-genitive construction may have the modifier postposed for marked effect, as is sómasya in SB 3.9.4.15 (Delbrück 1878): kíṃ nas tátaḥ syād íti? prathamabhakṣsá evá sómasyará jña íti, 'What might then happen for us?' 'The first enjoyment of [Prince] Soma'.

NOTE 1. The relatively frequent marked use of the genitive may be the cause for the apparently free position of the genitive in Greek and Latin. The ambivalent order may also have resulted from the change of these languages toward a VO order. But, as Delbrück indicates, the preposed order is well attested in the majority of dialects. This order is also characteristic of Hittite (J. Friedrich 1960). We may therefore assume it for PIE.

NOTE 2. In accordance with Lehman's views on syntactic structure, the attributive genitive, like the attributive adjective, must be derived from an embedded sentence. The sentence would have a noun phrase equivalent with that in the matrix sentence and would be a predicate nominal sentence. Such independent sentences are attested in the older dialects. Delbrück gives a number of examples, among them: asṭaú ha vaí putrá ádites, 'Aditi had eight sons'. áhar devấnām ásīt, 'Day belonged to the gods'. These sentences accordingly illustrate that the genitive was used in predicate nominative sentences to convey what Calvert Watkins has labeled its primary syntactic function: the sense "of belonging". When such a sentence was embedded in another with an equivalent NP, the NP was deleted, and the typical genitive construction resulted. Hittite also uses $\boldsymbol{s}$ as a genitive as well as a nominative marker. For "genitives" like haššannaššaš '(one) of his race' can be further inflected, as in the accusative haššannaš-šan '(to one) of his race' (J. Friedrich).

## I.4.2. COMPOUNDS.

1. In the derivation of compounds special compounding rules apply.

The verbal compounds in a language observe the basic order patterns, For PIE we would expect an older OV order in compounds, as e.g. Skt. agnídh- 'priest' < agni 'fire' + idh 'kindle.'

NOTE. A direct relationship between compounds and basic syntactic patterns is found only when the compounds are primary and productive. After a specific type of compound becomes established in a language, further compounds may be constructed on the basis of analogy, for example Gk. hippagros 'wild horse', in contrast with the standard productive Greek compounds in which the adjectival element precedes the modified, as in agriókhoiros 'wild swine' (Risch 1944-1949). Here we will consider the primary and productive kinds of compounds in PIE.
2. Two large classes and other minor types are found:
A. the Synthetics (noun+noun), which make up the majority of the PIE compounds,
a. Pure Synthetics, i.e. noun+noun.
b. Sinthetics in which the first element is adverbial, i.e. adverb+noun.
B. The Bahuvrihis.
C. Adjective + Nouns, apparently not so productive in PIE as in its dialects.
D. A small number of additive compounds.

## SYNTHETICS

Synthetics consist of a nominal element preceding a verbal, in their unmarked forms, as in Skt. agnídh-, 'priest'. As in this compound, the relation of the nominal element to the verbal is that of target.

The particular relationship of nominal and verbal elements was determined by the lexical properties of the verb; accordingly, the primary relationship for most PIE verbs was that of target. But other nominal categories could also be used with verbs.
3. Kinds of Relationships:

1) The Receptor relationship, as Skr. devahéḍana, 'angering the gods'.
2) The Instrument or Means relationship; as Skr. ádrijūta, 'speeded by the stones',

The compound ṛtajā of this passage may illustrate the Time relationship.
3) The Source relationship, as Skr. aṅhomúc, 'freeing from trouble'.
4) The Place relationship, as Skr. druṣád, 'sitting in a tree'.
5) The Manner relationship; as, Skr. îśānakŕt, 'acting like a ruler'.

These compounds exhibit the various relationships of nominal constituents with verbal elements, as in Skr. tvấ-datta, 'given by you'.

NOTE. Synthetics attested in the Rigveda accordingly illustrate all the nominal relationships determinable from sentences. Synthetics are frequently comparable to relative constructions, as in the following sentence: ágnír agāmi bhấrato vṛtrahấ purucétaṇaḥ, 'Agni, the god of the Bharatas, was approached, he who killed Vṛtra, who is seen by many'.

Besides the large number of synthetics of the NV pattern, others are attested with the pattern VN. These are largely names and epithets, such as púsți-gu, a name meaning 'one who raises cattle' (RV 8.51.1.), and sanád-rayi ‘dispensing riches'.

## BAHUVRIHIS

The second large group of PIE compounds, Bahuvrihis, are derived in accordance with the sentence pattern expressing Possession. This pattern is well known from the Latin mihi est construction (Bennett 1914; Brugmann 1911): nulli est homini perpetuom bonum, "No man has perpetual blessings".

Lehman accounts for the derivation of bahuvrihis, like Lat. magnanimus 'great-hearted', by assuming that an equational sentence with a noun phrase as subject and a noun in the receptor category indicating possession is embedded with an equivalent noun, as in the following example ('great spirit is to man' = 'the man has great spirit'):

On deletion of the equivalent NP (homini) in the embedded sentence, a bahuvrihi compound magnanimus 'greathearted' is generated. This pattern of compounding ceased to be primary and productive when the dialects developed verbal patterns for expressing possession, such as Lat. habeo 'I have'.

Bahuvrihis may be adjectival in use, or nominal, as in the vocative use of sūnari 'having good strength' (made up of su 'good' and *xner- '(magical) strength') in Slr. víśvasya hí prấnanaṃ jívanà̀ tvé, ví yid uchási sūnari, 'For the breath and life of everything is in you, when you light up the skies, you who have good strength'. The Greek cognate may illustrate the adjectival use: phéron d' euénora khalkón 'They carried on board the bronze of good strength'. The bahuvrihis are accordingly similar to synthetics in being comparable to relative clauses.

NOTE. Although the bahuvrihis were no longer primary and productive in the later dialects, their pattern remained remarkably persistent, as we may note from the various philo- compounds in Greek, such as philósophos, 'one who holds wisdom dear', philoinos, 'one who likes wine', and many more. Apart from the loss of the underlying syntactic pattern, the introduction of different accentual patterns removed the basis for bahuvrihis. As Risch pointed out, Greek eupátōr could either be a bahuvrihi 'having a good father' or a tatpurusha 'a noble father'. In the period before the position of the accent was determined by the quantity of final syllables, the bahuvrihi would have had the accent on the prior syllable, like rája-putra 'having kings as sons', RV 2.27.7, in contrast with the tatpurusha rája-putrá 'king's son', RV 10.40.3. The bahuvrihis in time, then, were far less frequent than tatpurushas, of which only a few are to be posited for late PIE. An example is Gk. propátōr 'forefather'. If the disputed etymology of Latin proprius 'own' is accepted, *pro-p(a)triós 'from the forefathers', there is evidence for assuming a PIE etymon; Wackernagel (1905) derives Sanskrit compounds like prá-pada 'tip of foot' from PIE. Yet the small number of such compounds in the early dialects indicates that they were formed in the late stage of PIE (Risch).

NOTE 2. Dvandvas, such as índrāviṣ’ ṇu and a few other patterns, like the teens, were not highly productive in PIE, if they are to be assumed at all. Their lack of productiveness may reflect poorly developed coordination constructions in PIE (Lehmann 1969). Besides the expansion of tatpurushas and dvandvas in the dialects, we must note also the use of expanded root forms. Thematic forms of noun stems and derived forms of verbal roots are used, as in Skt. deva-krta, 'made by the gods'. Such extended constituents become more and more prominent and eventually are characteristic elements of compounds, as the connecting vowel -o-in Greek and in early Germanic; Gk. Apolló-dōros 'gift of Apollo' (an $n$ - stem) and Goth. guma-kunds 'of male sex' (also an $n$ - stem). Yet the relationships between the constituents remain unchanged by such morphological innovations. The large number of tatpurushas in the dialects reflects the prominence of embedded-modifier constructions, as the earlier synthetics and bahuvrihis reflected the embedding of sentences, often to empty noun nodes. As noted above, they accordingly have given us valuable information about PIE sentence types and their internal relationships.

## I.4.3. DETERMINERS IN NOMINAL PHRASES.

Nouns are generally unaccompanied by modifiers, as characteristic passages from an Archaic hymn of the Rigveda and from an Old Hittite text may indicate.

Demonstratives are infrequent; nouns which might be considered definite have no accompanying determinative marker unless they are to be stressed. The Demonstrative then precedes.

The relationship between such Demonstratives and accompanying Nouns has been assumed to be Appositional; it may be preferable to label the relationship a loose one, as of pronoun or noun plus noun, rather than adjective or article plus noun.

NOTE. In Homer too the "article" is generally an anaphoric pronoun, differing from demonstratives by its lack of deictic meaning referring to location (Munro). Nominal phrases as found in Classical Greek or in later dialects are subsequent developments; the relationship between syntactic elements related by congruence, such as adjectives, or even by case, such as genitives, can often be taken as similar to an appositional relationship (Meillet 1937).
To illustrate nominal phrases, cf. Vedic eṣām marútām, "of-them of-Maruts". The nominal phrase which may seem to consist of a demonstrative preceding a noun, eṣām marútām, is divided by the end of the line; accordingly eṣām must be interpreted as pronominal rather than adjectival.

The following Hittite passage from a ritual illustrates a similar asyndetic relationship between the elements of nominal phrases (Otten and Souček 1969): harkanzi- ma -an ${ }^{d}$ Hantašepeš anduhšaš harša[(r)] -a gišŠUKUR ${ }^{\text {hi.a }}$, But the Hantašepa-gods hold heads of men as well as lances. In this sentence the nouns for 'heads' and 'lances' supplement ' $i t$ '. Moreover, while the meaning of the last word is uncertain, its relationship to the preceding elements is imprecise, for it is a nominative plural, not an accusative. Virtually any line of Homer might be cited to illustrate the absence of close relationships between the members of nominal phrases; cf. Odyssey nēuŝ dé moi héd' héstēken ep' agroûnósphi pólēos, en liméni Rheíthrōi hupò Nēiōi huléenti, 'My ship is berthed yonder in the country away from the city, in a harbor called Rheithron below Neion, which is wooded'. The nouns have no determiners even when, like nēus, they are definite; and the modifiers with liméni and Neíoi seem to be loosely related epithets rather than closely linked descriptive adjectives.
The conclusions about the lack of closely related nominal phrases may be supported by the status of compounds in PIE. The compounds consisting of Descriptive Adjectives + Noun are later; the most productive are reduced verbal rather than nominal constructions. And the bahuvrihis, which indicate a descriptive relationship between the first element and the second, support the conclusion that the relationship is relatively general; rājá-putra, for example, means 'having sons who are kings' rather than 'having royal sons'; gó-vapus means 'having a shape like a cow', said of rainclouds, for which the epithet denotes the fructifying quality rather than the physical shape.

Accordingly, closely related nominal expressions are to be assumed only for the dialects, not for PIE. Definiteness was not indicated for nouns. The primary relationship between nominal elements, whether nouns or adjectives, was appositional.

The syntactic patterns assumed for late PIE may be illustrated by narrative passages from the early dialects. The following passage tells of King Hariśchandra, who has been childless but has a son after promising Varuna that he will sacrifice any son to him. After the birth of the son, however, the king asks Varuna to put off the time of the sacrifice, until finally the son escapes to the forest; a few lines suffice to illustrate the simple syntactic patterns.
AB 7.14.

| athainam | uvāca | varuṇam | rājānam |  | upadhāva | putro |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| then-him | he-told | Varuna | king |  | you-go-to | son |
| Acc. sg. | Perf. 3 sg. | Acc. sg. | Acc. sg. |  | Imper. 2 sg . | Nom. sg. |
| me jāy | jāyatām | tena | tvā |  | yajā |  |
| to-me le | let-him-be-born | with- | you |  | I-worship |  |
|  | Imper. 3 sg. | Inst. sg. | Acc. sg. |  | d. Pres. |  |
| iti. | tatheti. | sa | varuṇam |  |  |  |
| end-quotation | $n$ indeed-end | d 'he' |  | Varu |  |  |
|  | (<tathā iti) | 3 sg. Nom. |  |  |  |  |
| rājānam | upasasāra | putro | me | jāya |  | tena |
| king | went-to | son | to-me | let-h | -be-born | with-him |
|  | Perf. 3 sg. |  |  |  |  |  |


| tvā | yajā | iti. | tatheti. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| you | I-worship | end-quotation | indeed-end-quotation |


| tasya | ha | putro | jajñe | rohito | nāma. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| his, of-him | now | son | he-was-born | Rohita | name |
| Gen. sg. m. | Ptc. |  | Mid. Perf. 3 sg. |  |  |
| tam | hovācājani |  | te | vai | putro |
| him | Ptc.-he-told-he-was born | to-you | indeed | son |  |
| Acc. sg. | Aor. Pass. 3 sg. Ptc. |  | Ptc. |  |  |
| yajasva | māneneti. |  | sa |  |  |
| you-worship | me-with-him-end-quotation | 'he' |  |  |  |
| Mid. Imper. $\mathbf{2}$ sg. | Acc. sg.-Inst. sg. |  |  |  |  |


| hovāca | yadā | vai | paśur | nirdaśo |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Ptc.-he-told | when | indeed | animal | above-ten |
|  | Conj. | Ptc. | Nom. sg. m. | Nom. sg. m. |


| bhavatyatha | sa | medhyo | bhavati. | nirdaśo |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| he-becomes-then | he | strong | he-becomes | above-ten |  |
| Pres. 3 sg.-Ptc. |  | Nom. sg. m. |  |  |  |
| 'nvastvatha | tvā | yajā | iti. |  |  |
| Ptc.-let-him-be-then | you | I-worship | end-quotation |  |  |
| Imper. 2 sg. | Acc. sg. |  |  |  |  |
| tatheti. | sa | ha | nirdaśa | āsa |  |
| indeed-end-quotation | he | now | above-ten | he-was |  |

Then he [the Rishi Narada] told him [Hariśchandra]: "Go to King Varuna. [Tell him]: 'Let a son be born to me.

With him I will worship you [= I will sacrifice him to you] ."'
"Fine," [he said].

He went to King Varuna [saying]: "Let a son be born to me. I will sacrifice him to you."
"Fine," [he said]

Now his son was born. Rohita [was his] name.
[Varuna] spoke to him. "A son has indeed been born to you. Sacrifice him to me."

He said thereupon: "When an animal gets to be ten [days old], then he becomes strong [= fit for sacrifice]. Let him be ten days old; then I will worship you."
"Fine," he said.

He now became ten.
As this passage illustrates, nouns have few modifiers. Even the sequence: tasya ha putro, which might be interpreted as a nominal phrase corresponding to 'his son', consists of distinct components, and these should be taken as meaning: "Of him a son [was born]". As in the poetic passage cited above, nouns and pronouns are individual items in the sentence and when accompanied by modifiers have only a loose relationship with them, as to epithets.

## I.4.4. APPOSITION

Apposition is traditionally "when paratactically joined forms are grammatically, but not in meaning, equivalent".

NOTE. Because of the relationship between nouns and modifiers, and also because subjects of verbs were only explicit expressions for the subjective elements in verb forms, Meillet (1937) considered apposition a basic characteristic of Indo-European syntax. As in the previous passage, subjects were included only when a specific meaning was to be expressed, such as putra 'son'. The element sa may still be taken as an introductory particle, a sentence connective, much as iti of tathā iti, etc., is a sentence-final particle. And the only contiguous nouns in the same case, varunam rājānam, are clearly appositional.

A distinction is made between Appositional and Attributive (Delbrück); an appositional relationship between two or more words is not indicated by any formal expression, whereas an attributive relationship generally is.

NOTE. Thus the relationships in the following line of the Odyssey are attributive: arnúmenos hến te psukhến kaì nóston hetairōn, lit. "striving-for his Ptc. life and return of-companions". The relationship between hén and
psukhén is indicated by the concordance in endings; that between nóston and hetairōn by the genitive. On the other hand the relationship between the two vocatives in the following line is appositional, because there is no mark indicating the relationship: tôn hamóthen ge, theá, thúgater Diós, eipè kaì hēmin, 'Tell us of these things, beginning at any point you like, goddess, daughter of Zeus'. Both vocatives can be taken independently, as can any appositional elements.

Asyndetic constructions which are not appositive are frequently attested, as Skr. té vo hṛdé mánase santu yajñáa, 'These sacrifices should be in accordance with your heart, your mind'. Coordinate as well as appositive constructions could thus be without a specific coordinating marker.

Comparable to appositional constructions are titles, for, like appositions, the two or more nouns involved refer to one person.

NOTE. In OV languages titles are postposed in contrast with the preposing in VO languages; compare Japanese Tanaka-san with Mr. Middlefield. The title 'king' with Varuna and similarly in the Odyssey, Poseidáōni ánakti, when ánaks is used as a title. But, as Lehman himself admits, even in the early texts, titles often precede names, in keeping with the change toward a VO structure.

Appositions normally follow, when nouns and noun groups are contiguous, as in the frequent descriptive epithets of Homer: Tòn d' ēmeíbet' épeita theá, glaukopis Athénē, 'Him then answered the goddess, owl-eyed Athene'.

To indicate a marked relationship, however, they may precede (Schwyzer 1950). But the early PIE position is clear from the cognates: Skt. dyaus pitā, Gk. Zeûpáter, Lat. Jūpiter.

## I. 5. MODIFIED FORMS OF PIE SIMPLE SENTENCES

## I.5.1. COORDINATION.

While coordination is prominent in the earliest texts, it is generally implicit.
The oldest surviving texts consist largely of paratactic sentences, often with no connecting particles.
New sentences may be introduced with particles, or relationships may be indicated with pronominal elements; but these are fewer than in subsequent texts.

Similar patterns of paratactic sentences are found in Hittite, with no overt marker of coordination or of subordination. J. Friedrich states that "purpose and result" clauses are not found in Hittite (1960), but that coordinate sentences are simply arranged side by side with the particle $n u$, as in the Hittite Laws. Conditional relationships too are found in Hittite with no indication of subordination ( J . Friedrich 1960).

NOTE. The subordinate relationships that are indicated, however, have elements that are related to relative particles. Accordingly the subordination found in the early dialects is a type of relative construction. As such
examples and these references indicate, no characteristic patterns of order, or of verb forms, distinguish subordinate from coordinate clauses in PIE and the early dialects. Hermann therefore concluded in his celebrated article that there were no subordinate clauses in PIE (1895). For Lehman (1974), the paratactic arrangement which he assumed for PIE, however, is characteristic of OV languages. Hypotaxis in OV languages is often expressed by nonfinite verb forms and by postposed particles.

The arrangement of sentences in sequence is a typical pattern of PIE syntax, whether for hypotactic or for paratactic relationships.

Expressions for coordination were used largely for elements within clauses and sentences. When used to link sentences, conjunctions were often accompanied by initial particles indicating the beginning of a new clause and also indicating a variety of possible relationships with neighboring clauses.

NOTE. Sentence-connecting particles are, however, infrequent in Vedic and relatively infrequent in the earliest Hittite texts; Lehman concludes that formal markers of sentence coordination were not mandatory in PIE.

The normal coordinating particle in most of the dialects is a reflex of PIE -qe.
This is postposed to the second of two conjoined elements, or to both.
NOTE. Hittite $-a$, -i ${ }^{2} a$ is used similarly, as in attaš annaš a 'father and mother' (J. Friedrich 1960).
The disjunctive particle PIE -w $\overline{\overline{\mathbf{e}}}$ is also postposed
NOTE 1. In Hittite, however, besides the postposed disjunctive particles $-k u \ldots-k u$ 'or', there was the disjunctive particle našma, which stood between nouns rather than after the last. This pattern of conjunction placement came to be increasingly frequent in the dialects; it indicates that the conjunction patterns of VO structure have come to be typical already by IE II.

NOTE 2. With the change in coordinating constructions, new particles were introduced; some of these, for example, Lat. et, Goth. jah, OE and, have a generally accepted etymology; others, like Gk. kaí, are obscure in etymology. Syntactically the shift in the construction rather than the source of the particles is of primary interest, though, as noted above, the introduction of new markers for the new VO patterns provides welcome lexical evidence of a shift. The syntactic shift also brought with it patterns of coordination reduction (Ersparung) which have been well described for some dialects (Behaghel). Such constructions are notable especially in SVO languages, in which sequences with equivalent verbs ( $\mathrm{S}, \mathrm{V}, \mathrm{O}$, Conj., $\mathrm{S}_{2}, \mathrm{~V}_{1}, \mathrm{O}_{2}$ ) delete the second occurrence of the verb , as M.H.G. daz einer einez will und ein ander ein anderz, 'that one one-thing wants and another an other'.

Reduction of equivalent nouns in either S or O position is also standard, as in Beowulf.
NOTE. But in the paratactic structures characteristic of Hittite, such reduction is often avoided. In an SVO language the second memiias would probably not have been explicitly stated, as in: 'now my speech came to be halting and was uttered slowly'. The lack of such reduction, often a characteristic of OV languages, gives an impression of paratactic syntax. Another pattern seeming to be paratactic is the preposing of "subordinate clauses," either with no mark of subordination or with a kind of relative particle, as in the concluding passage of

Muršilis Sprachlähmung (Götze and Pedersen 1934). The second from last clause has no mark to indicate subordination; the earlier clauses contain a form of relative particle.

| IŠTU | GIšBANŠUR-ma | a-za-kán | kuizza | azikinun |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| from table | table-but-Refl. | -Ptc. | from-which | I-was-accustomed-to-eat |  |  |  |
| IŠTU | GAL-ia-kán | kuizza |  | akkuškinun |  |  |  |
| from | beaker-and-P | c. from-which |  | I-was-accustomed-to-drink |  |  |  |
| šašti-ia-za | -za-kán | kuedani | šeškeškinun |  | IŠTU |  |  |
| in-bed-a | and-Refl.-Ptc. | in-which | I-was-accustomed-to-sit |  | from |  |  |
| URUD $^{\text {D }} \mathrm{U}_{10}$ | $\mathrm{I}_{10} \mathrm{xA}$-ia-za-kán | kuizza | arreškinun |  |  |  |  |
| basin-and-Refl.-Ptc. |  | from-which I |  | I-was-accustomed-to-wash |  |  |  |
| kuit-ia | imma | ÚNUTU | anda | ueriian | ešta | nu | UL |
| what-and | nd else | utensil | Adv.-Ptc. | mentioned | it-was | now | not |
| kuitki | dattat | IŠTU | DINGIR ${ }^{\text {L }}$ | QATAMMA | SIxDI-at |  |  |
| any | it-was-taken | from | god | likewise | it-was-d | termin |  |

'The god also determined that nothing more should be used of the table from which I was accustomed to eat, of the beaker from which I was accustomed to drink, of the bed in which I was accustomed to sleep, of the basin in which I was accustomed to wash, and of whatever other article was mentioned'

In an SVO language like English, the principal clause, which stands last in Hittite, would be placed first. The interpretation of the preceding clause as a result clause is taken from Götze and Pedersen. The initial clauses contain relative particles which indicate the relationship to kuitki of the second-from-last clause; they also contain coordinating particles: $a$, i̇ $a$. In this passage the clauses, whether coordinate or subordinate from our point of view, are simply arrayed in sequence. Each concludes with a finite verb which provides no evidence of hypotaxis. The sentence connectives which occur-repeated instances of $a / i a-$ heighten the impression of coordination.

The absence in Hittite of verb forms - which are cognates of the Vedic and Greek optative and subjunctive - which came to be used largely to indicate subordination is highly consistent in its OV patterning, as such verb forms were not required.

Hittite however did not forego another device, which is used to indicate subordinate relationship in OV as well as VO languages, the so-called nonfinite verb forms. These are used for less explicit kinds of complementation, much the way relative constructions are used for more explicit kinds.

## I.5.2. COMPLEMENTATION.

## Compound sentences may result from the embedding of nominal modifiers.

NOTE. In VO languages embedded nominal modifiers follow nouns, whereas in OV languages they precede nouns. This observation has led to an understanding of the Hittite and the reconstructed PIE relative constructions. if we follow the standard assumption that in relative constructions a second sentence containing an NP equivalent to an NP in the matrix sentence is embedded in that matrix sentence, we may expect that either sentence may be modified. A sentence may also be embedded with a dummy noun; the verb forms of such embedded sentences are commonly expressed with nominal forms of the verb, variously called infinitives, supines, or participles. In OV languages these, as well as relative constructions, precede the verb of the matrix sentence.

An example with participles in the IE languages is Skr. vásānaḥ in the last lines of the following Strophic hymn: rúśad vásānaḥ sudṛ́sikarūpaḥ, "brightly dressing-himself beautifully-hued".

It may also have "a final or consequential sense", as in the following Strophic hymn: tvám indra srávitavá apás kaḥ, 'You, O Indra, make the waters to flow.' Also in the poetic texts such infinitives may follow the main verb, as in ábodhi hótā yajáthāya deván, lit. "he-woke-up priest for-sacrificing gods", 'The priest has awakened to sacrifice to the gods'.

NOTE. The postposed order may result from stylistic or poetic rearrangement; yet it is also a reflection of the shift to VO order, a shift which is reflected in the normal position for infinitives in the other IE dialects. In the Brahmanas still, infinitives normally stand directly before the verb, except in interrogative and negative sentences (Delbrück). On the basis of the Brahmanic order we may assume that in PIE nonfinite verbs used as complements to principal verbs preceded them in the sentence. Hittite provides examples of preposed complementary participles and infinitives to support this assumption (J. Friedrich). Participles were used particularly with har(k)'have' and eš-' 'be', as in ueriịan ešta 'was mentioned'; the pattern is used to indicate state.

## INFINITIVES

1. Infinitives could indicate result, with or without an object (J. Friedrich 1960): 1-aš 1-an kunanna lē šanhanzi, lit. "one one to-kill not he-tries", i.e. 'One should not try to kill another'.
2. Infinitives could be used to express purpose, as in the following example, which pairs an infinitive with a noun (J. Friedrich): tuk-ma kī uttar ŠÀ-ta šiiianna išhiull-a ešdu, lit. "to-you-however this word in-heart for-laying instruction-and it-should-be", i.e. 'But for you this word should be for taking to heart and for instruction'.
3. The Infinitive could be loosely related to its object, as in examples cited by Friedrich, such as apāš-ma-mu harkanna šan(a)hta, lit. "he-however-me for-deteriorating he-sought", i.e. 'But he sought to destroy me'.
4. The complementary infinitive indicates the purpose of the action; as Friedrich points out, it is attached to the verb šanhta plus its object $m u$ in a construction quite different from that in subsequent dialects.

NOTE. These uses are paralleled by uses in Vedic, as may be noted in the work of Macdonell (1916), from which some examples are taken in Lehman (1974). On the basis of such examples in Vedic and in Hittite, he assumes that infinitive constructions were used to indicate a variety of complements in PIE.

Hittite and Sanskrit also provide examples of Participles functioning appositionally or as adjectives indicating state (J. Friedrich 1960): ammuk-uar-an akkantan IQ.BI, lit. to-me-Pte-indicating-quotation-him dying he-described, i.e. 'He told me that one had died.'

NOTE. This pattern had been noted by Delbrück for the Rigveda, with various examples (1900:327), as śisīhí mā śiśayám tvā śṛ̣omi, 'Strengthen me; I hear that you are strong.' The adjective śsiśayá 'strengthening' is an adjective derived from the same root as śisīhí. Delbrück also noted that such "appositives" are indicated in Greek by means of clauses. Greek represents for Lehman accordingly a further stage in the development of the IE languages to a VO order. Yet Greek still maintained preposed participles having the same subject as does the principal verb, as in: tè̀n mèn idö̀n géthēse, lit. "it Ptc. seeing he-rejoiced"
This pattern permits the use of two verbs with only one indicating mood and person; the nonfinite verb takes these categories from the finite.

Participles were thus used in the older period for a great variety of relationships. though also without indicating some of the verbal categories.

Dependent clauses are more flexible in indicating such relationships, and more precise, especially when complementary participles and infinitives follow the principal verb.

## I.5•3. SUBORDINATE CLAUSES.

Indo-Europeanists have long recognized the relationship between the Subordinating Particles and the stem from which Relative Pronouns were derived in Indo-Iranian and Greek.

NOTE. Thus Delbrück has pointed out in detail how the neuter accusative form of PIE jo- was the basis of the conjunction jod in its various meanings: (1) Temporal, (2) Temporal-Causal, (3) Temporal-Conditional, (4) Purpose. He also recognized the source of conjunctional use in sentences like Skr. yáj jáyathās tád áhar asya kấme 'ňśọh pīyū'ṣam apibo girisṭthấm, 'On the day you were born you drank the mountain milk out of desire for the plant'.

1) Relative clauses must have stood Before the Main Clause originally and
2) The earliest type of subordinate jo- clauses must have been the Preposed Relative constructions.

NOTE. This conclusion from Vedic receives striking support from Hittite, for in it we find the same syntactic relationship between relative clauses and other subordinate clauses as is found in Vedic, Greek, and other early
dialects. But the marker for both types of clauses differs. In Hittite it is based on IE qid rather than jod; thus, Hittite too uses the relative particle for indicating subordination. The remarkable parallelism between the syntactic constructions, though they have different surface markers, must be ascribed to typological reasons; we assume that Hittite as well as Indo-Aryan and Greek was developing a lexical marker to indicate subordination. As does yad in Vedic, Hitt. kuit signals a "loose" relationship between clauses which must be appropriately interpreted.

As J. Friedrich has stated (1960), kuit never stands initially in its clause. Sentences in which it is used are then scarcely more specifically interconnected than are conjoined sentences with no specific relating word, as in examples cited by Friedrich (ibid.): nu taškupāi nu URU-aš dapiizanzi išdammašzi, lit. Ptc. you-shout Ptc. city whole it-hears, 'Now cry out [so that] the whole city hears'. Like this example, both clauses in a kuit construction generally are introduced with $n u$ (J. Friedrich 1960). We may assume that kuit became a subordinating particle when such connections were omitted, as in Friedrich's example. These examples illustrate that both yád and kuit introduce causal clauses, though they do not contain indications of the origin of this use.

It is therefore generally believed that Subordinates originated in Relative sentences, as Vedic, Old Irish, Avestan and Old Persian illustrate. Proverbs and maxims are a particularly conservative field in all languages, and even etymologically there are two series which especially often; namely, qo-...to-, and jo-...to-.

NOTE 1. For IE qo-..to-, cf. Lat. cum...tum, qualis...talis, quam...tam, or Lith. kàs...tàs, kòks...tàs, kaîp...taîp, kíek...tíek, etc., and for jo-...to-, Ved. yás...sá tád, yáthā...táthā, yắvat...távat, Gk. oios...toios, ósos...tósos, O.Pers. haya (a compound from so+jo, with the same inverse compound as Lat. tamquam, from two correlatives), etc.

NOTE 2. For Haudry this correlative structure is the base for subordination in all Indo-European languages. Proto-Indo-European would therefore show an intermediate syntax between parataxis and hypotaxis, as the correlative structure is between a 'loose' syntax and a 'locked' one.

Lehman assumes that the use of Skr. yád, Hitt. kuit, and other relative particles to express a causal relationship arose from subordination of clauses introduced by them to an Ablative; cf. Skr. ácittī yát táva dhármā yuyopimá (lit. unknowing that, because your law, order we-have-disturbed), má nas tásmād énaso deva rīriṣah (lit. not us because-of-that because-of-sin O-god you-harm), 'Do not harm us, god, because of that sin [that] because unknowingly we have disturbed your law'.

As such relationships with ablatives expressing Cause were not specific, more precise particles or conjunctions came to be used. In Sanskrit the ablatival yasmāt specifies the meaning 'because'.

Further, yadá and yátra specify the meaning 'when'. In Hittite, mān came to be used for temporal relationships, possibly after combined use with kuit; kuitman expressed a temporal relationship even in Late Hittite, corresponding to 'while, until', though mahhan has replaced mān (J. Friedrich 1960 gives further details). The conjunction mān itself specifies the meanings 'if' and 'although' in standard

Hittite. In both Hittite and Vedic then, the "loose" relative-construction relationship between subordinate clauses and principal clauses is gradually replaced by special conjunctions for the various types of hypotactic relationship: Causal, Temporal, Conditional, Concessive.

Just as the Causal relationship developed from an Ablative modified by a Relative construction, so the Temporal and Conditional relationship developed from a clause modifying an underlying Time node.

The less differentiated and less precisely related subordinate clauses are often still evident, however, as in yád clauses of the Archaic hymn, Rigveda 1.167. For conciseness, only yád clauses will be cited here, with Hoffmann's interpretation of each; the entire stanzas and their translations are given by Hoffmann (1967).

| RV 1.167.5. | jóșad | yád | ìm | asuryä̀ | sacádhyai |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | she-desires | when | them | Asuryan | to-follow |

'when the Asuryan will desire to follow them'

| RV | arkó | yád | vo | maruto | havíṣmān |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | song-of-praise | whenever, | for-you | Maruts | accompanied-by-libations |

'if the song of praise accompanied by libations is designed for you, Maruts'

| $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { RV } \\ & 1.167 .7 . \end{aligned}$ | sácā together | yád <br> because | īm <br> them | vṛ̛́amaṇā manly-minded | aham̀yú proud |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | sthirá <br> rigid | cij <br> though | jánīr women | váhate she-drives | gắh <br> avored |

'because the manly minded, proud, yet stubborn [Rodasi] brings along other favored women'
In these three stanzas yad introduces subordinate clauses with three different relationships: Temporal, Conditional, Causal. Such multiple uses of yad belong particularly to the archaic style; subsequently they are less frequent, being replaced by more specific conjunctions.

In addition to the greater specificity of subordinate relationship indicated by particles, the early, relatively free hypotactic constructions come to be modified by the dominant subjective quality of the principal verb. The effect may be illustrated by passages like the following from a Strophic hymn, in which the verb of the principal clause is an optative:

RV 1.38.4.

| yád | yūyám | prṛnimātaro |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| if, when | you | having-Prsni-as-mother |


| mártāsaḥ | syắtana |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mortals | you-would-be |  |  |
| stotá | vo | amṛtaḥ | syāt |
| singer | your | immortal | he-would-be |

'Your singer would be immortal if [= in a situation when] you Maruts were mortals.' (That is, if our roles were reversed, and you were mortals, then you would wish me to be immortal.)

This passage illustrates how the use of the Optative in the principal clause brings about a Conditional relationship in the Subordinate clause (see also Delbrück 1900). Through its expression of uncertainty the Optative conveys a Conditional rather than a Temporal meaning in the yad clause.

NOTE. Lacking verb forms expressing uncertainty, Hittite indicates conditional relationships simply by means of Particles (J. Friedrich 1960). Although several particles are used in Hittite to indicate various types of conditional clauses-man ... mān for Contrary-to-Fact, takku and man for Simple Conditionals-Hittite did not develop the variety of patterns found in other dialects. These patterns, as well described in the handbooks, are brought about not only by differing particles but also by the uses of the various tense and mood forms. Constructions in the dialects which have developed farthest from those of PIE are those in which the tense, mood, or person is modified in accordance with rules based on the verb form of the principal clause. Such shifts are among the most far-reaching results of the subjective quality of the Indo-European verb (Delbrück 1900).

Differences between the constructions in the various dialects reflect the changes as well as the earlier situation. In Homer, statements may be reported with a shift of mood and person, as in:

| Odyssey | líssesthai | dé | min | autós, | hópōs | nēmertéa | eípēi |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | request | Ptc. | him | self | that | true-things | he-may-say |

'You yourself ask him so that he tells the truth.'
The form eipēi is a third-person aorist subjunctive. If the statement were in direct discourse, the verb would be eipe, second-person imperative, and the clause would read: eipe nēmertéa 'tell the truth'. Such shifts in person and mood would not be expected in an OV language; in Vedic, for example, statements are repeated and indicated with a postposed iti. The shifts in the other dialects, as they changed more and more to VO structure, led to intricate expression of subordinate relationships, through shifts in person, in mood, and in tense, as well as through specific particles indicating the kind of subordination. The syntactic constructions of these dialects then came to differ considerably from that even in Vedic.

The earliest poems of the Vedas are transparent in syntax, as may be illustrated by Stanzas 9 and 10 of Hymn 1.167:

RV 1.167.9.

| nahí́ | nú | vo | maruto | ánty | asmé |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| never | Ptc. | your | Maruts | near | from-us |
| ārăttāc | cic | chávaso | ántam | āpúḥ |  |
| from-far | or | of-strength | end | they-reached |  |
| té | dhṛṣṇ́nā | śávasā | śuśuváñsó |  |  |
| they | bold | power | strengthened |  |  |
| 'rṇo | ná | dvéṣo | dhṛ̣̣atá | pári | sṭthuḥ |
| flood | like | enmity | bold | against | they-stand |

'Never have they reached the limit of your strength, Maruts, whether near or far from us. Strengthened by bold power they boldly oppose enmity like a flood.'

RV 1.167.10.

| vayám | adyéndrasya | préṣṭhā |  | vayám |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| we | today-Indra's | most-favored |  | we |  |  |
| śvó | vocemahi |  |  |  | samaryé |  |
| tomorrow | we-wish-to-be-called | in-battle |  |  |  |  |
| vayám | purá | máhi | ca | no | ánu | dyŭ́n |
| we | formerly | great | and | us | through | days |


| tán | na | rbhukṣạ́ | narắm | ánu | syāt |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| that | us | chief | of-men | to | may-he-be |

'We today, we tomorrow, want to be called Indra's favorites in battle. We were formerly. And great things will be for us through the days; may the chief of men give that to us'.

Although the hymn offers problems of interpretation because of religious and poetic difficulties, the syntax of these two stanzas is straightforward; the verbs in general are independent of one another, in this way indicating a succession of individual sentences. Such syntactic patterns, though more complicated than those of prose passages, lack the complexity of Classical Greek and Latin, or even Homeric Greek. These early Vedic texts, like those of Old Hittite, include many of the syntactic categories found in the dialects, but the patterns of order and relationship between clauses had already changed considerably from the OV patterns of Middle PIE.

## I.6. SINTACTIC CATEGORIES

## I.6.1. PARTICLES AS SYNTACTIC MEANS OF EXPRESSION

Noninflected words of various functions were used in indicating relationships between other words in the sentence or between sentences.

1. Some were used for modifying Nouns, often indicating the relationships of nouns to verbs. Although these were generally placed after nouns and accordingly were Postpositions, they have often been called Prepositions by reason of their function rather than their position with regard to nouns (Delbrück).
2. Others were used for modifying Verbs, often specifying more precisely the meanings of verbs; these then may be called Preverbs.
3. Others, commonly referred to as Sentence Connectives, were used primarily to indicate the relationships between Clauses or Sentences (Watkins 1964; Lehmann 1969).

### 5.5.1. POSTPOSITIONS.

Postpositions in the various dialects are found with specific cases, in accordance with their meanings.
Yet in the Old Hittite texts, the Genitive rather than such a specific case is prominent with Postpositions derived from Nouns, such as piran '(in) front' (Neu 1970):

| kuiš | LUGAL-ua-aš | pira | ēšzi |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| who | king's | fron | he-sits |
| 'whoever | sits before the king' |  |  |

Such postpositions came to be frozen in form, whether unidentifiable as to etymology; derived from nouns, like piran; or derived from verbs, like Skr. tirás (viz. Lehman). Further, as the language came to be VO, they were placed before nouns.

As case forms were less clearly marked, they not only "governed" cases but also took over the meanings of case categories. The preposition tirás (tiró), derived from the root *tr- 'cross', illustrates both the etymological meaning of the form and its eventual development as preposition:

| RV <br> 8.82.9. | yáṃ | te | śyenáh | padábharat |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | what | for-you | eagle | with-foot-he-bore |
|  | tiró | rájāñsy | áspṛtam |  |
| crossing, through | skies | not-relinquishing |  |  |
| píbéd [<píba íd] | asya | tvám | íśsise |  |
|  | you-drink-indeed | of-it | you | you-are-master (for-your-benefit) |

'What the eagle brought for you in his claws, not dropping it [as he flew] through the skies, of that drink. You control [it for your own benefit]'.

The syntactic use of such particles with nouns is accordingly clear.

### 5.5.2. PREVERBS.

1. Rather than having the close relationships to nouns illustrated above, particles could instead be associated primarily with Verbs, often the same particles which were used as Postpositions.
2. Such combinations of particles and verbs came to be treated as units and are found repeatedly in specific uses (Delbrück 1888).
A. Preverbs might occupy various positions:
3. If unmarked, they are placed before the verb;
4. If marked, they are placed initially in clauses (Watkins 1964).

NOTE. In the course of time the Preverbs in unmarked position came to be combined with their verbs, though the identity of each element is long apparent in many of the dialects. Thus, in Modern German the primary accent is still maintained on some verbal roots, and in contrast with cognate nouns the prefix carries weak stress: erteílen 'distribute', Úrteil 'judgment'. The steps toward the combination of preverb and verbal root have been described for the dialects, for example, Greek, in which uncombined forms as well as combined forms are attested during the period of our texts.
B. In the attested IE dialects:
a. Preverbs which remained uncombined came to be treated as Adverbs.
b. Combinations of Preverbs plus Verbs, on the other hand, eventually came to function like unitary elements.

The two different positions of preverbs in early texts led eventually to different word classes.
5.5.3. SENTENCE PARTICLES.

1. Particles were also used to relate sentences and clauses (J. Friedrich 1959:18, § 11):

| takku | LÚ.ULÙ ${ }^{\text {LU }}$-an | $E L . L U M$ | $Q A . A Z . Z U$ | naš | GÌR-ŠU | kuiški |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| if | man | free | his-hand | or | his-foot | someone |


| tuưarnizzi | nušše | 2 | GÍN | KUBABBAR | paai |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| he-breaks | Ptc.-to-him | 2 | shekels | silver | he-gives |

'If anyone breaks the hand or foot of a freeman, then he must give him twenty shekels of silver.'

Particles like the initial word in this example indicate the kind of clause that will follow and have long been well described．The function of particles like $n u$ is not，however，equally clear．

NOTE．Dillon and Götze related $n u$ and the use of sentence connectives to similar particles in Old Irish（Dillon 1947）．Such particles introduce many sentences in Old Irish and have led to compound verb forms in this VSO language．Delbrück had also noted their presence in Vedic（1888）

Since introductory šu and ta were more frequent than was $n u$ in the older Hittite texts，scholars assumed that sentences in IE were regularly introduced by these sentence connectives．And Sturtevant proposed，as etymology for the anaphoric pronoun，combinations of so－and to－with enclitic pronouns， as in the well－known Hittite sequence ta－at，cf．IE tod，and so on（see Otten and Souček 1969 for the use of such particles in one text）．

It is clear that sentence connectives were used in Hittite to indicate continued treatment of a given topic（Raman 1973）．It is also found with Hittite relative constructions，a function which may also be ascribed to Vedic sá and tád．

NOTE．For Lehman（1974），since this use may be accounted for through post－PIE influences，sentence connectives may have had a minor role in PIE．

2．Other particles，like Hitt．takku＇if，probably had their counterparts in PIE，even if the surface forms were completely unrelated．This is also true for Emphatic Particles like Skr．íd；they were used after nouns as well as imperatives．Such emphatic particles combined with imperatives suggest the presence of Interjections，which cannot usually be directly reconstructed for PIE but are well attested in the several dialects．

3．A coordinate sentence connective－qe can clearly be reconstructed on the basis of Goth．$u(h)$ ，Skr． $c a, \mathrm{Gk} . t e$ ，Lat．que，and so on．But its primary function is the coordination of elements in the sentence rather than clauses or sentences．

NOTE．Moreover，when $c a$ is used to connect verbs in the Vedic materials，they are parallel（Delbrück 1888）； Delbrück finds only one possible exception．In an OV language the relating of successive verbs is carried out by means of nonfinite verbs placed before finite．We may then expect that coordinating particles had their primary use in PIE as connectors for sentence elements rather than for sentences．

Another such particle is－w⿳亠二口्е＇or＇．Like－qe，the particle indicating disjunctive＇or＇was postposed，in retention of the original pattern as late as Classical Latin．
4. Particles in PIE may also have corresponded to verbal qualifiers.
a. The most notable of these is mē, which carried a negative modal meaning.
b. There is indication of such uses of particles in other patterns, for example, of Vedic purá 'earlier' to indicate the past, as apparently Brugmann was the first to point out (Delbrück 1888), and also Vedic sma, to indicate repeated action in the past (Hoffmann 1967). It is curious that sma is also found after má in Vedic (Hoffmann 1967).

NOTE. Lehman suggested that such mood- and tense-carrying particles may have been transported from a postverbal to a preverbal position. Some particles may accordingly have been equivalent in an earlier stage of PIE to elements used after verbs to indicate verbal categories.

## I.6.2. MARKED ORDER IN SENTENCES.

1. Elements in sentences can be emphasized, by Marking; the chief device for such emphasis is Initial Position.

Other sentence elements may also be placed in initial position for marking.
2. In unmarked position the preverb directly precedes the verb. Changes in normal order thus provide one of the devices for conveying emphasis.

Other devices have to do with Selection, notably particles which are postposed after a marked element. 3. Emphasis can also be indicated by lexical selection.
4. Presumably other modifications might also be made, as in Intonation.

The various syntactic devices accordingly provided means to introduce marking in sentences.

## I.6.3. TOPICALIZATION WITH REFERENCE TO EMPHASIS.

Like emphasis, Topicalization is carried out by patterns of arrangement, but the arrangement is applied to coequal elements rather than elements which are moved from their normal order.

Topicalization by arrangement is well known in the study of the early languages, as in the initial lines of the Homeric poems. The Iliad begins with the noun mênin 'wrath', the Odyssey with the noun ándra 'man'. These, to be sure, are the only possible nouns in the syntactically simple sentences opening both poems: ménin áeide 'Sing of the wrath' and ándra moi énnepe 'Tell me of the man'. Yet the very arrangement of moi and other enclitics occupying second position in the sentence, in accordance with Wackernagel's law, indicates the use of initial placement among nominal elements for topicalization.

The use of topicalization may be illustrated by a more complex set of sentences, such as the first address of Zeus in the Odyssey. Only the first lines of this will be quoted; but these indicate a shift in topic from the 'gods' to 'men', then to a particular man, Aegisthus, then to Agamemnon, and subsequently to Orestes (Lehman 1974).

Ơ pópoi, hoion dénu theoùs brotoì aitióōntai; eks hēméōn gár phasi kák' émmenai, hoi dè kaì autoì, spheỉsin atasthaliēisin hupèr móron álge' ékhousin, hōs kaì nûn Aígisthos hupèr móron Atreídao, gêm' álokhon mnēstến, tòn d'éktane nostésanta,
'Alas, how the mortals are now blaming the gods. For they say evils come from us, but they themselves have woes beyond what's fated by their own stupidities. Thus Aegisthus beyond what was fated has now married the wedded wife of Agamemnon, and killed him on his return.'

As this passage and many others that might be cited illustrate, the basic sentence patterns could be rearranged by stylistic rules, both for emphasis and for topicalization. In this way the relatively strict arrangement of simple sentences could be modified to bring about variety and flexibility.

## APPENDIX II: PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN PHONOLOGY

## II.1. PHONETIC RECONSTRUCTION

## II.1.1. PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN SOUND LAWS

A few sound-laws can be reconstructed that may have been effective prior to the final breakup of PIE by internal reconstruction.

- Sievers' Law (Edgerton's Law, Lindeman's option)
- Grassman's Law
- Bartholomae's Law


## A. SIEVERS' LAW

Sievers' Law in Indo-European linguistics accounts for the pronunciation of a consonant cluster with a glide before a vowel as it was affected by the phonetics of the preceding syllable. Specifically it refers to the alternation between ${ }^{*} i j$ and ${ }^{*}$, and possibly ${ }^{*} u w$ and ${ }^{*} u$, in Indo-European languages. For instance, Proto-Indo-European *kor-jo-s became Gothic harjis "army", but PIE *kerdh- jo-s became Proto-Germanic *herdijas, Gothic hairdeis [herdĩs] "shepherd". It differs from an ablaut in that the alternation is context-sensitive: PIE *ij followed a heavy syllable (a syllable with a diphthong, a long vowel, or ending in more than one consonant), but ${ }^{*} j$ would follow a light syllable (i.e. a short vowel followed by a single consonant). This was first noticed by Germanic philologist Eduard Sievers, and his aim was to account for certain phenomena in the Germanic languages. He originally only discussed ${ }^{*}$ in medial position. He also noted, almost as an aside, that something similar seemed to be going on in the earliest Sanskrit texts (thus in the Rigveda dāivya- "heavenly" actually had three syllables in scansion (dāiviya-) but say satya- "true" was scanned as written). After him, scholars would find similar alternations in Greek and Latin, and alternation between * $u w$ and ${ }^{*} u$, though the evidence is poor for all of these. Through time, evidence was announced regarding similar alternations of syllabicity in the nasal and liquid semivowels, though the evidence is extremely poor for these, despite the fact that such alternations in the non-glide semivowels would have left permanent, indeed irreversible, traces.

The most ambitious extension of Sievers' Law was proposed by Franklin Edgerton in a pair of articles in the journal Language in 1934 and 1943. He argued that not only was the syllabicity of prevocalic semivowels by context applicable to all six Indo-European semivowels, it was applicable in all positions in the word. Thus a form like *djēus, "sky" would have been pronounced thus only when it happened to follow a word ending with a short vowel. Everywhere else it would have had two syllables, *dijēus.

The evidence for alternation presented by Edgerton was of two sorts. He cited several hundred passages from the oldest Indic text, the Rigveda, which he claimed should be rescanned to reveal hitherto unnoticed expressions of the syllable structure called for by his theory. But most forms show no such direct expressions; for them, Edgerton noted sharply skewed distributions that he interpreted as evidence for a lost alternation between syllabic and nonsyllabic semivowels. Thus say śiras "head" (from *śṛros) has no monosyllabic partner *śras (from *śros), but Edgerton noted that it occurred $100 \%$ of the time in the environments where his theory called for the syllabification of the * $\boldsymbol{r}$. Appealing to the "formulaic" nature of oral poetry, especially in tricky and demanding literary forms like sacred Vedic versification, he reasoned that this was direct evidence for the previous existence of an alternant *śras, on the assumption that when (for whatever reason) this *śras and other forms like it came to be shunned, the typical collocations in which they would have (correctly) occurred inevitably became obsolete pari passu with the loss of the form itself. And he was able to present a sizeable body of evidence in the form of these skewed distributions in both the 1934 and 1943 articles.

In 1965 Fredrik Otto Lindeman published an article proposing a significant modification of Edgerton's theory. Disregarding Edgerton's evidence (on the grounds that he was not prepared to judge the niceties of Rigvedic scansion) he took instead as the data to be analyzed the scansions in Grassmann's Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda. From these he concluded that Edgerton had been right, but only up to a point: the alternations he postulated did indeed apply to all semivowels; but in word-initial position, the alternation was limited to forms like *djēws/dijēws "sky", as cited above-that is, words where the "short" form was monosyllabic.

## B. GRASSMANN'S LAW

Grassmann's law, named after its discoverer Hermann Grassmann, is a dissimilatory phonological process in Ancient Greek and Sanskrit which states that if an aspirated consonant is followed by another aspirated consonant in the next syllable, the first one loses the aspiration. The descriptive (synchronic) version was described for Sanskrit by Panini.

Here are some examples in Greek of the effects of Grassmann's Law:

- [thu-o:] ${ }^{\mathbf{h}} \mathbf{v} \omega$ 'I kill an animal'
- [e-tu-the:] हैtu $\begin{aligned} \text { n } \\ \text { 'it was killed' }\end{aligned}$
- [thrik-s] $\theta \rho \dot{\prime} \xi^{\prime} ' h a i r^{\prime}$
- [trikhe-es] т $\rho>x$ és 'hairs'
- [thap-sai] $\theta \dot{\alpha} \psi a \imath^{\prime}$ 'to bury (aorist)'

- [tap ${ }^{\mathbf{h}}$-os] đáqoç 'a grave'


In the reduplication which forms the perfect tense in both Greek and Sanskrit, if the initial consonant is aspirated, the prepended consonant is unaspirated by Grassmann's Law. For instance [ $\mathbf{p}^{\mathbf{h} u-o:] ~ \varphi v ́ \omega ~ ' I ~}$ grow' : [pe-phui-ka] лє甲uка 'I have grown'.

## DIASPIRATE ROOTS

Cases like [thrik-s] ~ [trik $\left.{ }^{\mathrm{h}}-\mathrm{es}\right]$ and [thap-sai] $\sim$ [tap ${ }^{\mathrm{h}}$-ein] illustrates the phenomenon of diaspirate roots, for which two different analyses have been given.

In one account, the "underlying diaspirate" theory, the underlying roots are taken to be $/ \mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{rik}^{\mathrm{h}} /$ and /thaph ${ }^{\mathrm{h}}$. When an /s/ (or word edge, or various other sounds) immediately follows, then the second aspiration is lost, and the first aspirate therefore survives ([ $\left.t^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{rik}-\mathrm{s}\right]$, [ $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ap-sai]). If a vowel follows the second aspirate, it survives unaltered, and therefore the first aspiration is lost by Grassmann's Law ([trik $\left.{ }^{\mathrm{h}}-\mathrm{es}\right],\left[\operatorname{tap}^{\mathrm{h}}-\mathrm{ein}\right]$ ).

A different analytical approach was taken by the ancient Indian grammarians. In their view, the roots are taken to be underlying / $\operatorname{trik}^{\mathrm{h}} /$ and $/ \operatorname{tap}^{\mathrm{h}} /$. These roots persist unaltered in [trik ${ }^{\mathrm{h}}$-es] and [tap ${ }^{\mathrm{h}}$-ein]. But if an /s/ follows, it triggers an "aspiration throwback" (ATB), in which the aspiration migrates leftward, docking onto the initial consonant ([thrik-s], [ $\left.{ }^{\text {ha }} a p-s a i\right]$ ).

Interestingly, in his initial formulation of the law Grassmann briefly referred to ATB to explain these seemingly aberrant forms. However, the consensus among contemporary historical linguists is that the former explanation (underlying representation) is the correct one.

In the later course of Sanskrit, (and under the influence of the grammarians) ATB was applied to original monoaspirates through an analogical process. Thus, from the verb root gah 'to plunge', the desiderative stem jighak ${ }^{h} a$ - is formed. This is by analogy with the forms bubhutsati (a desiderative form) and bhut (a nominal form, both from the root budh 'to be awake', originally PIE *[b $\left.b^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{dd}^{\mathrm{h}}-\right]$ ).

## C. BARTHOLOMAE'S LAW

Bartholomae's law is an early Indo-European sound law affecting the Indo-Iranian family, though thanks to the falling together of plain voiced and voiced aspirated stops in Iranian, its impact on the phonological history of that subgroup is unclear.

It states that in a cluster of two or more obstruents ( $s$ or a stop (plosive)), any one of which is a voiced aspirate anywhere in the sequence, the whole cluster becomes voiced and aspirated. Thus to the PIE root *bheudh "learn, become aware of" the participle *bhudh-to- "enlightened" loses the aspiration of the first stop (Grassmann's Law) and with the application of Bartholomae's Law and regular vowel changes gives Sanskrit buddha-"enlightened".

A written form such as -ddh- (a literal rendition of the devanāgarī representation) presents problems of interpretation. The choice is between a long voiced stop with a specific release feature symbolized in transliteration by $-h$-, or else a long stop (or stop cluster) with a different phonational state, "murmur", whereby the breathy release is an artifact of the phonational state. The latter interpretation is rather favored by such phenomena as the Rigvedic form gdha "he swallowed" which is morphologically a middle aorist (more exactly 'injunctive') to the root ghas- "swallow", as follows: ghs-t-a > *gzdha whence $g d h a$ by the regular loss of a sibilant between stops in Indic. While the idea of voicing affecting the whole cluster with the release feature conventionally called aspiration penetrating all the way to the end of the sequence is not entirely unthinkable, the alternative-the spread of a phonational state (but murmur rather than voice) through the whole sequence-involves one less step and therefore via Occam's Razor counts as the better interpretation.

Bartholomae's Law intersects with another Indic development, namely what looks like the deaspiration of aspirated stops in clusters with $s$ : descriptively, Proto-Indo-European *leig'h-si "you lick" becomes *leiksi, whence Sanskrit lekși. However, Grassmann's Law, whereby an aspirated stop becomes non-aspirated before another aspirated stop (as in the example of buddha-, above), suggests something else. In late Vedic and later forms of Sanskrit, all forms behave as though aspiration was simply lost in clusters with $s$, so such forms to the root dugh- "give milk" (etymologically *dhugh-) show the expected devoicing and deaspiration in, say, the desiderative formation du-dhuks-ati (with the root-initial $d h$ - intact, that is, undissimilated). But the earliest passages of the Rigveda show something different: desiderative dudukṣati, aor. dukṣata (for later dhukṣata) and so on. Thus it is apparent that what went into Grassmann's Law were forms like *dhugzhata, dhudhugzha- and so on, with aspiration in the sibilant clusters intact. The deaspiration and devoicing of the sibilant clusters were later and entirely separate phenomena - and connected with yet another suite of specifically Indic sound laws, namely a 'rule conspiracy' to eliminate all voiced (and murmured) sibilants. Indeed, even the example 'swallowed' given above contradicts the usual interpretation of devoicing and deaspiration: by such a sequence, *ghs-to would have given, first, *ksto (if the process was already Indo-European) or *ksta (if Indo-Iranian in date), whence Sanskrit *kta, not gdha.

## II.1.2. CONSONANTS

[^0]| PIE | Skr. | Av. | OCS | Lith. | Arm. | Toch. | Hitt. | Gk. | Lat. | O.lr | Gmc. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| *p | p [p] | p [p] | p [p] | p [p] | h [h]; w | p [p] | p [p] | p [p] | p [p] | $\varnothing ;$ ch [x] ${ }^{2}$ | *f; * ${ }^{\text {3 }}$; |
| *t | t [t] | t [t] | t [t] | t [t] | $\mathrm{t}^{\text {c }}$ [ $\left.\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{n}}\right]$ | t [t]; c | t; $z^{5}$ | t [t] | t [t] | $\mathrm{t}[\mathrm{t}]$; th [ $\mathrm{\theta}$ ] | * $\theta$; * ${ }^{\text {² }}$ |
| *K | st [6] | s [s] | $\begin{array}{\|ll\|} \hline \mathrm{s}[\mathrm{~s}] \\ \hline \mathrm{k}[\mathrm{k}] ; & \mathrm{č} \\ \text { [t] }{ }^{5} ; & \mathrm{c} \\ {[\mathrm{ts}]^{10}} & \\ \hline \end{array}$ | š [] | s [s] | $\mathrm{k} ; \text { ś [¢] }$ | k [k] | k [k] | k [k] | $\begin{aligned} & c \quad[\mathrm{k}] ; \mathrm{ch} \\ & {[\mathrm{x}]^{8}} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { *x; * } \gamma^{3 ;} \\ & \text { k }^{4} \end{aligned}$ |
| *k | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{k}[\mathrm{k}] ; \\ & \mathrm{c}[\mathrm{c}]^{5} \end{aligned}$ | k [k]; c [ t$]{ }^{5}$ | k [k]; č <br> [t] 5; c <br> $[t \mathrm{~s}]{ }^{10}$ |  | $\mathrm{k}^{\text {c }}\left[\mathrm{k}^{\dagger}\right]$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *kw |  |  |  |  |  |  | ku [kw] | $\mathrm{p} ; \mathrm{t}^{5} ; \mathrm{k}^{6}$ | qu [k"]; c <br> $[k]^{7}$ | $\begin{aligned} & c[k] ; \text { ch } \\ & {[\mathrm{x}]^{8}} \end{aligned}$ |  |
| *b | b [b] | b [b] | b [b] | b [b] | p [p] | p [p] | p [p] | b [b] | b [b] | b [b] | *p |
| *d | d [d] | d [d] | d [d] | d [d] | t [t] | ts [ts]; | $t[t]$ | d [d] | d [d] | d [d]; dh | *t |
| *ĝ | j [f] | z [z] | z [z] | ž [3] | c [ts] | $\mathrm{k}[\mathrm{k}]$; ś <br> [द] ${ }^{9}$ | k [k] | g [g] | g [g] | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{g}[\mathrm{~g}] ; \mathrm{gh} \\ & {[\mathrm{y}]^{8}} \end{aligned}$ | *K |
| *g | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{g}[g] ; \\ & \mathrm{j}[\mathrm{f}]^{5} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{g}[\mathrm{~g}] ; \mathrm{j} \\ & [\mathrm{~d}]]^{5} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { g [g]; ž } \\ & \text { [3] }{ }^{5 ;} \text { dz } \\ & \text { [dz] }{ }^{10} \end{aligned}$ | g [g] | k [k] |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *g* |  |  |  |  |  |  | ku [ $\mathrm{k}^{\text {w }}$ ] | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{b}[\mathrm{~b}] ; \mathrm{d}[\mathrm{~d}] \\ & 5 ; \mathrm{g}[\mathrm{~g}]^{6} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{u}[\mathrm{w}] ; \mathrm{gu} \\ & {\left[\mathrm{~g}^{\mathrm{w}}\right]{ }^{15}} \end{aligned}$ | b [b]; m, bh [w] ${ }^{8}$ | *k ${ }^{\text {w }}$ |
| *b ${ }^{\text {n }}$ | bh | b [b] | b [b] | b [b] | b [b]; w | p [p] | p [p] | ph [ $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ] | $\mathrm{f}[\mathrm{f}] ; \mathrm{b}^{8}$ | b [b]; m, | * $\beta$ |
| *d ${ }^{\text {n }}$ | dh | d [d] | d [d] | d [d] | d [d] | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{t}[\mathrm{t}] ; \mathrm{c} \\ & \hline \mathrm{k}[\mathrm{k}] ; \text { ś } \\ & \text { [c] }^{5} \end{aligned}$ | t [t] | th [ $\mathrm{t}^{\text {n }}$ ] | $\mathrm{f}[\mathrm{f}] ;{ }^{\text {8 }}$; b | d [d]; dh | * |
| * ${ }^{\text {n }}$ | h [ h ] | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \mathrm{z}[\mathrm{z}] \\ \hline \mathrm{g}[\mathrm{~g}] ; \mathrm{\jmath} \\ {[\mathrm{dz}]} \end{array}$ | z [z] | ž [3] | j [dz]; z | k [k]; ś <br> [c] ${ }^{5}$ | k [k] | ch [ $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{n}}$ ] | h [h]; h <br> $[\mathrm{h}] / \mathrm{g}[\mathrm{g}]^{9}$ | g [g]; gh $[8]{ }^{5}$ | * $\gamma$ |
| * $\mathrm{g}^{\mathrm{h}}$ | gh [ ${ }^{\text {n }}$ ]; <br> h [h] <br> 5 | g [g]; j$[\mathrm{d} 3]^{5}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{g}[\mathrm{~g}] ; \text { ž } \\ & \text { [3] } 5 ; \mathrm{dz} \\ & \text { [dz]] } 10 \end{aligned}$ | g [g] | g [g]; ј <br> [d3] ${ }^{5}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| * $\mathrm{g}^{\text {wh }}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  | ku [kw] | ph [ $p^{\mathrm{h}}$ ]; th <br> [ $\left.\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{n}}\right]{ }^{5}$; ch $\left[\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{n}}\right]$ <br> 6 | f [f]; g [g] <br> / u [w] ${ }^{8}$; <br> gu [gw] ${ }^{15}$ | g [g] | * $\gamma^{*}$ |
| *S | s [s]; | h [h, x]; | s [s]; x | s [s]; š []] | h [h]; s | s [s]; ṣ | š [s] | h [h]; s [s] | s [s]; r [r] | s [s] | *S; *z ${ }^{3}$ |
| *m | m [m] | m [m] | m [m]; . | m [m]; n | m [m]; | m [m]; | m [m]; | m [m]; n [n] | m [m] | b [b]; m, | *m; Ø ${ }^{13}$ |
| *n | n [ n ] | n [ n ] | n [n] | n [ n ] | n [ n ] | n [n]; ñ | n [ n ] | n [ n ] | n [ n ] | n [ n ] | *n |
| * | r [r] | r [r] | 1 [1] | 1 [1] | 1 [l], + [ + | 1 [1] | 1 [1] | 1 [1] | 1 [1] | 1 [1] | * |
| *r | r [r] | r [r] | r [r] | r [r] | r [1] | r [r] | r [r] | r [r] | r [r] | r [r] | *r |
| *i | $y[j]$ | $y[j]$ | j [j] | j [j] | $\varnothing$ | $y[j]$ | $y[j]$ | z [?zd/dz > <br> z] / h [h]; Ø | $\mathrm{i}[\mathrm{j}] ; \varnothing^{8}$ | $\varnothing$ | * |
| * ${ }_{0}$ | v [ U ] | v [w] | v [v] | v [u] | g [g] / <br> w [w] | w [w] | w [w] | $\begin{aligned} & \text { w > h / Ø } \\ & {[w>h /-]} \end{aligned}$ | $\mathrm{u}[\mathrm{w}>\mathrm{v}]$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{f}[\mathrm{f}] ; \varnothing / \mathrm{w} \\ & {[\mathrm{w}]^{8}} \end{aligned}$ | *w |

## II.1.3. VOWELS AND SYLLABIC CONSONANTS

| PIE | Skr. | Av. | OCS | Lith. | Arm. | Toch. | Hitt. | Gk. | Lat. | O.Ir | Gmc. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| *e | a | a | e | e | e | ä | e, i | e | e | e | i; ai $[\varepsilon]^{2}$ |
| *a |  |  | o | a | a | $\overline{\mathrm{a}}$ | ha, a | a | a | a | a |
| *0 |  |  |  |  | o, a | a, e | a | o | o | o |  |
|  | $\mathrm{a}, \overline{\mathrm{a}}^{4}$ | $\mathrm{a}, \overline{\mathrm{a}}^{4}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *ə | i | i, $\varnothing$ | $\varnothing$ | $\varnothing$ | a, $\varnothing$ | $\overline{\mathrm{a}}$ | a | e | a | a | $\mathrm{a}, \varnothing$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | h | a |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | o |  |  |  |
| *- | $\varnothing$ | $\varnothing$ |  |  | e (a?) | $\varnothing$ | a | e (0) | $\varnothing$ | $\varnothing$ | $\varnothing$ |
|  |  |  |  |  | a |  | ha | a |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | a |  | a, ha | o |  |  |  |
| *ē | ā | $\overline{\mathrm{a}}$ | ě | è | i | a/e?; ${ }^{\text {a }}{ }^{8}$ | e, i | $\overline{\mathrm{e}}$ | $\overline{\mathrm{e}}$ | ī | $\overline{\mathrm{e}}$ |
| *ā |  |  | a | 0 | a | a/o? | a, ah | $\overline{\mathrm{a}}>\overline{\mathrm{e}}$ | $\overline{\mathrm{a}}$ | $\overline{\mathrm{a}}$ | $\overline{\mathrm{a}}$ |
| *̄̄ |  |  |  | uo | u | $a / a \bar{a} ;{ }^{\text {u }}{ }^{\text { }}{ }^{8}$ | a | ō | ō | ā; ${ }^{\text {u }}$ |  |
| *i | i | i | b | i | i | ä | i | i | i | i | i |
| * | $\overline{\text { i }}$ | $\overline{\text { i }}$ | i | y [i:] |  | i |  | i | ī | ī | ei [i:] |
|  |  |  |  |  | i or ( ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ? ${ }^{7}$ | yā |  | $\bar{i}$ or ()ā? ${ }^{7}$ |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | ī or ${ }^{(1)}{ }^{\text {ob }}$ ? ${ }^{7}$ |  |  |  |
| *ei | $\overline{\text { è }}$ | ōi, aē <br> 4 |  | ei, ie ${ }^{5}$ | i | e | ei | ī | $\overline{\mathrm{i}}$, $\overline{\mathrm{e}}^{6}$ |  |  |
| *oi |  |  | ě | ai, $\mathrm{ie}^{5}$ | e |  | oi | ū | oe | ai |  |
| *ai |  |  |  |  |  |  | ay | ai | ae |  | ae |
| *ēi | āi; ${ }^{\text {a }}{ }^{8}$ | āi; ā(i)$8$ | i |  |  |  |  | āi > ēi | i? |  | ai |
| *ōi |  |  | y; u ${ }^{8}$ | ai; ui ${ }^{8}$ |  |  | ai | $\overline{\text { ài }}>{ }^{\text {ēi }}$ | ō | u 8 |  |

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| *āi |  |  | ě |  |  |  |  | āi > ēi | ae |  | ai |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| *u | u | u | b | u | u | ä | u | u | u | u; $0^{1}$ | $\mathrm{u} ; \quad \mathrm{au}$ |
| *ū | ū | ū | y | ū |  | u |  | ū | ū | ū | ū |
|  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{u} \text { or }{ }^{(w)} \mathrm{a} \text { ? } \end{aligned}$ | wā |  | ū or ${ }^{(w)}{ }^{\text {a }}$ ? ${ }^{7}$ |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | $\overline{\mathrm{u}}$ or ${ }^{(w)}{ }^{\text {o }}$ ? ${ }^{7}$ |  |  |  |
| *eu | ō | ə̄u, ao | ju | iau | oy | u | u | eu | ū | ūa; $\mathrm{o}^{9}$ | iu |
| *ou |  |  | u | au |  | o, au |  | ou |  |  | au |
| *au |  |  |  |  | aw |  |  | au | au |  |  |
| *ēu | āu | āu | u | iau |  |  |  |  | $\bar{u}$ ? |  | au |
| *ōu |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | ō |  |  |  |
| *m. | a | a | e | im̃; uñ ${ }^{14}$ | am | äm | am | a | em | em am | um |
| * $\overline{\text { m }}$ | $\overline{\mathrm{a}}$ | $\overline{\mathrm{a}}$ |  | ìm;ùm ${ }^{14}$ | ama | mā |  | mē, mā, | mā | mā |  |
| *mım | am | am | bm/ım | im;um ${ }^{14}$ | am |  |  | am | em | am |  |
| *n | a | a | ę | iñ;uñ ${ }^{14}$ | an | än | an | a | en | en an | un |
| *ก̊ | $\overline{\mathrm{a}}$ | $\overline{\mathrm{a}}$ |  | ìn; ùn ${ }^{14}$ | ana | nā |  | nē, nā, nō | nā | nā |  |
| *!n | an | an | bn/bn | iñ; uñ ${ }^{14}$ | an |  |  | an | en | an |  |
| * | ! | ərə | $\mathrm{l} / \mathrm{l} \mathrm{l}$ | î; ưl ${ }^{14}$ | al | äl | al | la | ol | Ii | ul |
| ${ }^{1}$ | īr; ūr | arə |  | ìj; ùl ${ }^{14}$ | ala | lā |  | lē, lā, lō | lā | lā |  |
| *ll | ir; ur | ar | ы/b | il; ul ${ }^{14}$ | al, la |  |  | al | el | al |  |
| * ${ }^{\text {r }}$ | r | ərə | $\mathrm{rb} / \mathrm{rb}$ | iř; ữ ${ }^{14}$ | ar | är | ar | ra | or | ri | aur |
| * | ìr; ūr | arə |  | ìr; ùr ${ }^{14}$ | ara | rā |  | rē, rā, rō | rā | rā |  |
| *rr | ir; ur | ar | $\mathrm{br} / \mathrm{br}$ | ir; ur ${ }^{14}$ | ar |  |  | ar | ar | ar |  |

${ }^{1}$ Before wa. ${ }^{2}$ Before $r, h .{ }^{3}$ The existence of PIE non-allophonic $a$ is disputed. 4 In open syllables (Brugmann's law). 5 Under stress. ${ }^{6}$ Before palatal consonants. ${ }^{7}$ The so-called breaking is disputed (typical examples are *proti-
 $\sim$ Arm. erkar, Gk. $\delta \eta \rho o ́ \varsigma)^{8}$ In a final syllable. ${ }^{9}$ Before velars and unstressed ${ }^{10}$ Before $\bar{a}$ in the following syllable. ${ }^{11}$ Before $i$ in the following syllable. ${ }^{12}$ In a closed syllable. ${ }^{13}$ In the neighbourhood of labials. ${ }^{14}$ In the neighbourhood of labiovelars.

## II.2. DORSALS: THE PALATOVELAR QUESTION

1. Direct comparison in early IE studies, informed by the Centum-Satem isogloss, yielded the reconstruction of three rows of dorsal consonants in Late Proto-Indo-European by Bezzenberger (1890), a theory which became classic after Brugmann (Grundriss, 1879) included it in its $2^{\text {nd }}$ Edition. The palatovelars $\left[\boldsymbol{k}^{\boldsymbol{j}}\right],\left[\boldsymbol{g}^{\boldsymbol{j}}\right]$, and $\left[\boldsymbol{g}^{\boldsymbol{j} \boldsymbol{h}}\right]$ were supposedly $[\mathbf{k}]$ - or $[\mathbf{g}]$-like sounds which underwent a characteristic phonetic change in the satemized languages - three original "velar rows" had then become two in all Indo-European dialects attested.

NOTE. It is disputed whether Albanian shows remains of two or three series (cf. Ölberg 1976, Kortlandt 1980, Pänzer 1982), although the fact that only the worst known (and neither isolated nor remote) IE dialect could be the only one to show some remains of the oldest phonetic system is indeed very unlikely.

After that original belief, then, The centum group of languages merged the palatovelars [ $\left.\boldsymbol{k}^{j}\right],\left[\boldsymbol{g}^{\boldsymbol{j}}\right]$, and $\left[\boldsymbol{g}^{\boldsymbol{j} \boldsymbol{h}}\right]$ with the plain velars $[\mathbf{k}],[\mathbf{g}]$, and $\left[\mathbf{g}^{\mathbf{h}}\right]$, while the satem group of languages merged the labiovelars $\left[\mathbf{k}^{\mathbf{w}}\right],\left[\mathbf{g}^{\mathbf{w}}\right]$, and $\left[\mathbf{g}^{\mathbf{w h}}\right]$ with the plain velars $[\mathbf{k}],[\mathbf{g}]$, and $\left[\mathbf{g}^{\mathbf{h}}\right]$.

NOTE. Such hypothesis would then support an evolution $\left[\boldsymbol{k}^{\boldsymbol{j}}\right]>[\boldsymbol{k}]$ of Centum dialects before $\mathbf{e}$ and $\mathbf{i}$, what is clearly against the general tendence of velars to move forward its articulation and palatalize in these environments.
2. The existence of the palatovelars as phonemes separate from the plain velars and labiovelars has been disputed. In most circumstances they appear to be allophones resulting from the neutralization of the other two series in particular phonetic circumstances. Their dialectal articulation was probably constrained, either to an especial phonetic environment (as Romance evolution of Latin [k] before [e] and [i]), either to the analogy of alternating phonetic forms. However, it is difficult to pinpoint exactly what the circumstances of the allophony are, although it is generally accepted that neutralization occurred after $\boldsymbol{s}$ and $\boldsymbol{u}$, and often before $\boldsymbol{r}$.

Many PIE linguists still believe that all three series were distinct in Late Proto-Indo-European, although newest research show that the palatovelar series were a later phonetic development of certain Satem dialects, later extended to others; this belief was originally articuled by Antoine Meillet in 1893, and was followed by linguists like Hirt (1899, 1927), Lehman (1952), Georgiev (1966), Bernabé (1971), Steensland (1973), Miller (1976), Allen (1978), Kortlandt (1980), Shields (1981), Adrados (1995), etc.

NOTE. There is, however, a minority who consider the labiovelars a secondary development from the pure velars, and reconstruct only velars and palatovelars (Kuryłowicz), already criticized by Bernabé, Steensland, Miller and Allen. Still less acceptance had the proposal to reconstruct only a labiovelar and a palatal series (Magnusson).
3. The original (logical) trend to distinguish between series of "satemizable" dorsals, called 'palatovelars', and "non-satemizable" dorsals, the 'pure velars', was the easiest explanation found by
neogrammarians, who apparently opened a different case for each irregularity they found. Such an initial answer should be considered erroneous today, at least as a starting-point to obtain a better explanation for this "phonological puzzle" (Bernabé).

NOTE. "Palatals" and Velars appear mostly in complementary distributions, what supports their explanation as allophones of the same phonemes. Meillet (1937) establishes the contexts in which there are only velars: before $\mathbf{a}, \mathbf{r}$, and after $\mathbf{s}, \mathbf{u}$, while Georgiev (1966) states that the palatalization of velars should have been produced before $\mathbf{e}, \mathbf{i}, \mathbf{j}$, and before liquid or nasal or $\mathbf{w}+\mathbf{e}, \mathbf{i}$, offering statistical data supporting his conclusions. The presence of palatalized velar before $o$ is then produced because of analogy with roots in which (due to the apophonic alternance) the velar phoneme is found before e and o, so the alternance ${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{k j} \boldsymbol{j} / * \boldsymbol{k o}$ would be leveled as ${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{k j e} /{ }^{*} \boldsymbol{k j o}$.

Arguments in favor of only one series of velars include:
A) The existence of vacillating results between different so-called "Satem dialects", as e.g.:

- ak/ok, sharp, cf. Lith. akúotas, O.C.S. ostru, O.Ind. asrís, Arm. aseln, but Lith. asrùs.
- akmn, stone, cf. Lith. akmuõ, O.C.S. kamy, O.Ind. áśma, but Lith. âsmens.
- keu, shine, cf. Lith. kiáune, Russ. kuna, O.Ind. Svas, Arm. sukh.
- bhleg, shine, cf. O.Ind. bhárgas, Lith. balgans, O.C.S. blagu, but Ltv. blâzt.
- gherdh, enclose, O.Ind. grhá, Av. $g^{o} r^{o} d a$, Lith. gardas, O.C.S. gradu, Lith. zardas, Ltv. zârdas.
- swékuros, father-in-law, cf. O.Sla. svekry, O.Ind. śvaśru.
- etc.
B) The existence of different pairs ("satemized" and "not-satemized") in the same language, as e.g.:
- selg, throw, cf. O.Ind. srjáti, sargas
- kau/keu, shout, cf. Lith. kaukti, O.C.S. kujati, Russ. sova (as Gk. kauax); O.Ind. kauti, suka-.
- kleu, hear, Lith. klausýti, slove, O.C.S. slovo; O.Ind. karnas, sruti, srósati, śrnóti, sravas.
- leuk, O.Ind. rokás, ruśant-.
- etc.

NOTE. The old argument proposed by Brugmann (and later copied by many dictionaries) about "Centum loans" is not tenable today. For more on this, see Szemerény (1978), Mayrhofer (1952), Bernabé (1971).
C) Non-coincidence in periods and number of satemization stages; as, Old Indian shows two stages, 1) PIE $\mathbf{k}>$ O.Ind. $s$, and 2) PIE qe, qi $>$ O.Ind. $k e, k i$, \& PIE ske, ski > O.Ind. $c$ (cf. cim, candra, etc.). In Slavic, however, three stages are found, 1) PIE $\mathbf{k}>\mathrm{s}$, 2) $\mathbf{q e}, \mathbf{q i}>$ č (čto, čelobek), and 3) qoi>koi>ke gives ts (as Sla. tsená).
D) In most attested languages which present aspirated as result of the so-called "palatals", the palatalization of other phonemes is also attested (e.g. palatalization of labiovelars before e, i, etc.), what may indicate that there is an old trend to palatalize all possible sounds, of which the palatalization of velars is the oldest attested result.
E) The existence of 'Centum dialects' in so-called Southern dialects, as Greek and some Paleo-Balkan dialects, and the presence of Tocharian, a 'Centum dialect', in Central Asia, being probably a northern IE dialect.
4. It is generally believed that Satemization could have started as a late dialectal 'wave' (although not necessarily), which eventually affected almost all PIE dialectal groups. The origin is probably to be found in velars followed by $\boldsymbol{e}, \boldsymbol{i}$, even though alternating forms like $\boldsymbol{g e n} / \boldsymbol{g o n}$ caused natural analogycal corrections within each dialect, which obscures still more the original situation. Thus, non-satemized forms in so-called Satem languages are actually non-satemized remains of the original situation, just as Spanish has feliz and not *heliz, or fácil and not hácil, or French uses facile and nature, and not *fêle or *nûre as one should expect from its phonetic evolution. Some irregularities are indeed explained as borrowings from non-satemized dialects.
5. Those who support the model of the threefold distinction in PIE cite evidence from Albanian (Pedersen) and Armenian (Pisani) that they treated plain velars differently from the labiovelars in at least some circumstances, as well as the fact that Luwian apparently had distinct reflexes of all three series: ${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{k}^{\boldsymbol{j}}>z$ (probably [ts]); ${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{k}>k$; ${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{k}^{\boldsymbol{w}}>k u$ (possibly still [ $\left.k^{w}\right]$ ) (Craig Melchert).

NOTE. Also, one of the most difficult problems which subsist in the interpretation of the satemization as a phonetic wave is that, even though in most cases the variation ${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{k}^{\boldsymbol{j}} / \boldsymbol{k}$ may be attributed either to a phonetic environment or to the analogy of alternating apophonic forms, there are some cases in which neither one nor the other may be applied. Compare for example $\boldsymbol{\operatorname { o k s t }} \boldsymbol{\operatorname { o }}(\boldsymbol{u})$, eight, which presents k before an occlusive in a form which shows no change (to suppose a syncope of an older *okiitō, as does Szemerényi, is an explanation ad hoc). Other examples in which the palatalization cannot be explained by the next phoneme nor by analogy are swekrū-, husband's mother, akmon, stone, peku, cattle. Such (still) unexplained exceptions, however, are not sufficient to consider the existence of a third row of 'later palatalized’ velars (Bernabé, Cheng \& Wang), although there are still scholars who come back to the support of the three velar rows' hypothesis (viz. Tischler 1990).
6. A system of two gutturals, Velars and Labiovelars, is a linguistic anomaly, isolated in the PIE occlusive subsystem - there are no parallel oppositions $b^{w-b}, p^{w}-p, t^{w}-t, d^{w}-d$, etc. Only one feature, their pronunciation with an accompanying rounding of the lips, helps distinguish them from each other. Labiovelars turn velars before $-\boldsymbol{u}$, and there are some neutralization positions which help identify labiovelars and velars; also, in some contexts (e.g. before -i, -e) velars tend to move forward its articulation and eventually palatalize. Both trends led eventually to Centum and Satem dialectalization.

## II.3. THE LARYNGEAL THEORY

1. The laryngeal theory is a generally accepted theory of historical linguistics which proposes the existence of a set of three (or up to nine) consonant sounds that appear in most current reconstructions of the Proto-Indo-European language (PIE). These sounds have since disappeared in all existing IndoEuropean languages, but some laryngeals are believed to have existed in the Anatolian languages, including Hittite.

NOTE. In this Modern Indo-European grammar, such uncertain sounds are replaced by the vowels they yielded in Late PIE dialects (an -a frequently substitutes the traditional schwa indogermanicum), cf. MIE patér for PIE ${ }^{*} p h_{2} t e ́ r$, MIE $\overline{\boldsymbol{o}} \boldsymbol{k} t \overline{\boldsymbol{o}}(\boldsymbol{u})$, eight, for PIE ${ }^{*} h_{3}$ ekteh ${ }_{3}$, etc. Again, for a MIE based on the northwestern dialects, such stricter reconstruction would give probably a simpler language in terms of phonetic irregularities (ablaut or apophony), but also a language phonologically too different from Latin, Greek, Germanic and Balto-Slavic dialects. Nevertheless, reconstructions with laryngeals are often shown in this grammar as 'etymological sources', so to speak, as Old English forms are shown when explaining a Modern English word in modern dictionaries. The rest of this chapter offers a detailed description of the effects of laryngeals in IE phonology and morphology.
2. The evidence for them is mostly indirect, but serves as an explanation for differences between vowel sounds across Indo-European languages. For example, Sanskrit and Ancient Greek, two descendents of PIE, exhibit many similar words that have differing vowel sounds. Assume that the Greek word contains the vowel [e] and the corresponding Sanskrit word contains [i] instead. The laryngeal theory postulates these words originally had the same vowels, but a neighboring consonant which had since disappeared had altered the vowels. If one would label the hypothesized consonant as [h $h_{1}$, then the original PIE word may have contained something like [ $\mathrm{eh}_{1}$ ] or [ih ${ }_{1}$ ], or perhaps a completely different sound such as [ah ${ }_{1}$ ]. The original phonetic values of the laryngeal sounds remain controversial (v.i.)
3. The beginnings of the theory were proposed by Ferdinand de Saussure in 1879, in an article chiefly devoted to something else altogether (demonstrating that ${ }^{*} a$ and ${ }^{*} o$ were separate phonemes in PIE). Saussure's observations, however, did not achieve any general currency until after Hittite was discovered and deciphered in the early $20^{\text {th }}$ century. Hittite had a sound or sounds written with symbols from the Akkadian syllabary conventionally transcribed as $h$, as in te-ih -hi, "I put, am putting". Various more or less obviously unsatisfactory proposals were made to connect these (or this) to the PIE consonant system as then reconstructed. It remained for Jerzy Kuryłowicz (Études indoeuropéennnes I, 1935) to propose that these sounds lined up with Saussure's conjectures. Since then, the laryngeal theory (in one or another form) has been accepted by most Indo-Europeanists.
4. The late discovery of these sounds by Indo-Europeanists is largely due to the fact that Hittite and the other Anatolian languages are the only Indo-European languages where at least some of them are attested directly and consistently as consonantal sounds. Otherwise, their presence is to be seen mostly
through the effects they have on neighboring sounds, and on patterns of alternation that they participate in; when a laryngeal is attested directly, it is usually as a vowel (as in the Greek examples below). Most Indo-Europeanists accept at least some version of laryngeal theory because their existence simplifies some otherwise hard-to-explain sound changes and patterns of alternation that appear in the Indo-European languages, and solves some minor mysteries, such as why verb roots containing only a consonant and a vowel have only long vowels e.g. * dō- "give"; re-reconstructing *deh ${ }_{3}$ - instead not only accounts for the patterns of alternation more economically than before, but brings the root into line with the basic consonant - vowel - consonant Indo-European type.
5. There are many variations of the Laryngeal theory. Some scholars, such as Oswald Szemerényi, reconstruct just one. Some follow Jaan Puhvel's reconstruction of eight or more (in his contribution to Evidence for Laryngeals, ed. Werner Winter). Most scholars work with a basic three:

- *h $\boldsymbol{h}_{1}$, the "neutral" laryngeal
-     * $\boldsymbol{h}_{\mathbf{2}}$, the "a-colouring" laryngeal
-     * $\boldsymbol{h}_{\mathbf{3}}$, the "o-colouring" laryngeal

Many scholars, however, either insist on or allow for a fourth consonant, ${ }^{*} h_{4}$, which differs from ${ }^{*} h_{2}$ only in not being reflected as Anatolian $b$. Accordingly, except when discussing Hittite evidence, the theoretical existence of an ${ }^{*} h_{4}$ contributes little. Another such theory, but much less generally accepted, is Winfred P. Lehmann's view that * $h_{1}$ was actually two separate sounds, due to inconsistent reflexes in Hittite. (He assumed that one was a glottal stop and the other a glottal fricative.)

Some direct evidence for laryngeal consonants from Anatolian:
PIE * $a$ is a rarish sound, and in an uncommonly large number of good etymologies it is word-initial. Thus PIE (traditional) anti, in front of and facing > Greek antí "against"; Latin ante "in front of, before"; (Sanskrit ánti "near; in the presence of"). But in Hittite there is a noun hants "front, face", with various derivatives (hantezzi "first", and so on, pointing to a PIE root-noun *heent- "face" (of which ${ }^{*} h_{2} e n t i$ would be the locative singular).

NOTE. It does not necessarily follow that all reconstructed PIE forms with initial ${ }^{*} a$ should automatically be rewritten as PIE ${ }^{*} h_{2} e$.

Similarly, the traditional PIE reconstruction for 'sheep' is *owi-, whence Skt ávi-, Latin ovis, Greek óis. But now Luvian has hawi-, indicating instead a reconstruction ${ }^{*} h_{3}$ ewi-.

But if laryngeals as consonants were first spotted in Hittite only in 1935, what was the basis for Saussure's conjectures some 55 years earlier? They sprang from a reanalysis of how the patterns of vowel alternation in Proto-Indo-European roots of different structure aligned with one another.
6. A feature of Proto-Indo-European morpheme structure was a system of vowel alternations christened ablaut ('alternate sound') by early German scholars and still generally known by that term, except in Romance languages, where the term apophony is preferred. Several different such patterns have been discerned, but the commonest one, by a wide margin, is e/o/zero alternation found in a majority of roots, in many verb and noun stems, and even in some affixes (the genitive singular ending, for example, is attested as -es, -os, and -s). The different states are called ablaut grades; $\boldsymbol{e}$-grade or "full grades", o-grade and "zero-grade".

Thus the root sed-, "to sit (down)" (roots are traditionally cited in the $e$-grade, if they have one), has three different shapes: *sed-, *sod-, and *sd-. This kind of patterning is found throughout the PIE root inventory and is transparent:

- *sed-: in Latin sedeō "am sitting", Old English sittan "to sit" < *set-ja- (with umlaut) < *sed-; Greek hédrā "seat, chair" < *sed-.
- *sod-: in Latin solium "throne" (Latin $l$ sporadically replaces $d$ between vowels, said by Roman grammarians to be a Sabine trait) = Old Irish suiden /suð'e/ "a sitting" (all details regular from PIE *sod-jo-m); Gothic satjan = Old English settan "to set" (causative) < *sat-ja- (umlaut again) < PIE *sod-eje-. PIE *se-sod-e "sat" (perfect) > Sanskrit sa-sād-a per Brugmann's law.
$\bullet$ *sd-: in compounds, as *ni- "down" $+{ }^{*} s d-={ }^{*} n i s d o s " n e s t ":$ English nest < Proto-Germanic *nistaz, Latin nīdus < *nizdos (all regular developments). The 3pl (third person plural) of the perfect would have been ${ }^{*} s e-s d-r_{0}$ whence Indo-Iranian ${ }^{*} s a z d r$, which gives (by regular developments) Sanskrit sedur /sēdur/.

Now, in addition to the commonplace roots of consonant + vowel + consonant structure there are also well-attested roots like * $d^{h} \bar{e}-$ "put, place": these end in a vowel, which is always long in the categories where roots like *sed- have full grades; and in those forms where zero grade would be expected, before an affix beginning with a consonant, we find a short vowel, reconstructed as * $\boldsymbol{\partial}$, or schwa (more formally, schwa primum indogermanicum). The cross-language correspondences of this vowel are different from the other five short vowels.

NOTE. Before an affix beginning with a vowel, there is no trace of a vowel in the root, as shown below.
Whatever caused a short vowel to disappear entirely in roots like ${ }^{*}$ sed-/* $s o d-/{ }^{*} s d-$, it was a reasonable inference that a long vowel under the same conditions would not quite disappear, but would leave a sort of residue. This residue is reflected as $i$ in Indic while dropping in Iranian; it gives variously $e, a, o$ in Greek; it mostly falls together with the reflexes of PIE * $\boldsymbol{a}$ in the other languages (always bearing in mind that short vowels in non-initial syllables undergo various adventures in Italic, Celtic, and Germanic):

- *dō- "give": in Latin dōnum "gift" = Old Irish dán / dān/ and Sanskrit dâna- ( $\hat{a}=\bar{a}$ with tonic accent); Greek dí-dō-mi (reduplicated present) "I give" = Sanskrit dádāmi. But in the participles, Greek dotós "given" = Sanskrit ditá-, Latin datus all < *dz-tó-
- *stā- "stand": in Greek hístēmi (reduplicated present, regular from *si-stā-), Sanskrit $a$-sth $\bar{a}-$ $t$ aorist "stood", Latin testāmentum "testimony" < *ter-stā- < *tri-stā- ("third party" or the like). But Sanskrit sthitá-"stood", Greek stasís "a standing", Latin supine infinitive statum "to stand".

Conventional wisdom lined up roots of the *sed- and *dō- types as follows:

| Full Grades | Weak Grades |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| sed-, sod- | sd- | "sit" |
| $\boldsymbol{d} \overline{\text { o }}-$ | $\boldsymbol{d o}-$, d- | "give" |

But there are other patterns of "normal" roots, such as those ending with one of the six resonants (* $\boldsymbol{j}$ $\boldsymbol{w} \boldsymbol{r} \boldsymbol{l} \boldsymbol{m} \boldsymbol{n})$, a class of sounds whose peculiarity in Proto-Indo-Eruopean is that they are both syllabic (vowels, in effect) and consonants, depending on what sounds are adjacent:

## Root * $b^{h}$ er-/b $b^{h}$ or- $/ b^{h} r_{-} \sim \mathrm{b}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{r}$ - "carry"

- *b ${ }^{h}$ er-: in Latin ferō = Greek phérō, Avestan barā, Old Irish biur, Old English bera all "I carry"; Latin ferculum "bier, litter" < *b ${ }^{h}$ er-tlo- "implement for carrying".
- *b ${ }^{h}$ or-: in Gothic barn "child" (= English dial. bairn), Greek phoréó "I wear [clothes]" (frequentative formation, *"carry around"); Sanskrit bhâra- "burden" (*b ${ }^{h}$ or-o- via Brugmann's law).
- *b ${ }^{h} r_{o}$ - before consonants: Sanskrit bhr-tí- "a carrying"; Gothic gabaurps /gabor日s/, Old English gebyrd /yebürd/, Old High German geburt all "birth" < *gaburdi- < *b ${ }^{h} r_{o}$-tí-
- *b $b^{h} r$ - before vowels: Ved bibhrati 3pl. "they carry" < *b $b^{h} i-b^{h} r$-ñti; Greek di-phrós "chariot footboard big enough for two men" < *dwi-b ${ }^{h} r$-o-

Saussure's insight was to align the long-vowel roots like *d $\bar{o}-$-, *st $\bar{a}$ - with roots like * $b^{h}$ er-, rather than with roots of the *sed-sort. That is, treating "schwa" not as a residue of a long vowel but, like the *r of ${ }^{*} b^{h} e r-/{ }^{*} b^{h}$ or-/** $b^{h} r_{0}$-, an element that was present in the root in all grades, but which in full grade forms coalesced with an ordinary $\boldsymbol{e} / \boldsymbol{o}$ root vowel to make a long vowel, with 'coloring' (changed phonetics) of the $e$-grade into the bargain; the mystery element was seen by itself only in zero grade forms:

| Full Grades | Zero Grade |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\boldsymbol{b}^{\boldsymbol{h}}$ er-, $\boldsymbol{b}^{\boldsymbol{h}} \boldsymbol{o r}_{-}$ | $\mathbf{b}^{\boldsymbol{h}} \boldsymbol{r}_{-} / \boldsymbol{b}^{\boldsymbol{h}} \boldsymbol{r}_{-}$ | "carry" |
| deX, doX- | $\boldsymbol{d}_{\mathbf{X}}-/ \boldsymbol{d X}-$ | "give" |

* $\dot{\mathbf{X}}=$ syllabic form of the mystery element

Saussure treated only two of these elements, corresponding to our ${ }^{*} h_{2}$ and ${ }^{*} h_{3}$. Later it was noticed that the explanatory power of the theory, as well as its elegance, were enhanced if a third element were added, our ${ }^{*} h_{1}$. which has the same lengthening and syllabifying properties as the other two but has no effect on the color of adjacent vowels. Saussure offered no suggestion as to the phonetics of these elements; his term for them, "coéfficiants sonantiques", was not however a fudge, but merely the term in general use for glides, nasals, and liquids (i.e., the PIE resonants) as in roots like * $b^{h} e r$-.

As mentioned above, in forms like ${ }^{*} d w i-b^{h} r-o-$ (etymon of Greek diphrós, above), the new "coéfficiants sonantiques" (unlike the six resonants) have no reflexes at all in any daughter language. Thus the compound *mns-dheh- "to 'fix thought', be devout, become rapt" forms a noun *mnss-dhh-oseen in Proto-Indo-Iranian *mazdha- whence Sanskrit medhá- /mēdha/ "sacrificial rite, holiness" (regular development as in sedur < *sazdur, above), Avestan mazda- "name (originally an epithet) of the greatest deity".

There is another kind of unproblematic root, in which obstruents flank a resonant. In the zero grade, unlike the case with roots of the ${ }^{*} b^{h} e r$ - type, the resonant is therefore always syllabic (being always between two consonants). An example would be * $b^{h} e n d^{h-}$ "tie, bind":
-* $b^{h} e n d^{h}$-: in Germanic forms like Old English bindan "to tie, bind", Gothic bindan; Lithuanian beñdras "chum", Greek peĩsma "rope, cable" /pēsma/ < *phenth-sma < * $b^{h}$ end ${ }^{h}$ smñ.

- *b ${ }^{h}$ ond $^{h}$-: in Sanskrit bandhá- "bond, fastening" (* ${ }^{h}{ }^{h}$ ond $^{h}-o-$; Grassmann's law) $=$ Old Icelandic bant, OE bænd; Old English bænd, Gothic band "he tied" < *( $\left.b^{h} e\right) b^{h} O n d^{h}-e$.
$\bullet{ }^{*} b^{h} \eta_{o} d^{h}-:$ in Sanskrit baddhá- < *b ${ }^{h} n_{o} d^{h}-t o ́-$ (Bartholomae's law), Old English gebunden, Gothic bundan; German Bund "league". (English bind and bound show the effects of secondary (Middle English) vowel lengthening; the original length is preserved in bundle.)

This is all straightforward and such roots fit directly into the overall patterns. Less so are certain roots that seem sometimes to go like the ${ }^{*} b^{h} e r$ - type, and sometimes to be unlike anything else, with (for example) long syllabics in the zero grades while at times pointing to a two-vowel root structure. These roots are variously called "heavy bases", "dis(s)yllabic roots", and "set roots" (the last being a term from Pāṇini's grammar. It will be explained below).

For example, the root "be born, arise" is given in the usual etymological dictionaries as follows:

> A. *gen-, *gon-, *gñ-
> B. *genə-, *gonə-, *gñ- (where $\overline{0}$ = a long syllabic ñ)

The (A) forms occur when the root is followed by an affix beginning with a vowel; the (B) forms when the affix begins with a consonant. As mentioned, the full-grade (A) forms look just like the *bher- type, but the zero grades always and only have reflexes of syllabic resonants, just like the * $b^{h} e n d^{h}$ - type; and unlike any other type, there is a second root vowel (always and only * $\partial$ ) following the second consonant:

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*gen(ә)-
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- PIE *genos- neut s-stem "race, clan" > Greek (Homeric) génos, -eos, Sanskrit jánas-, Avestan zanō, Latin genus, -eris.
- Greek gené-tēs "begetter, father"; géne-sis < *gena-ti- "origin"; Sanskrit jáni-man-"birth, lineage", jáni-tar-"progenitor, father", Latin genitus "begotten" < genatos.
*gon(e)-
- Sanskrit janayati "beget" = Old English cennan /kennan/ < *gon-eje- (causative); Sanskrit jána-"race" (o-grade o-stem) = Greek gónos, -ou "offspring".
- Sanskrit jajāna 3sg. "was born" < *ge-gon-e.
*gnn-/*gñ-
$\bullet$ Gothic kuni "clan, family" = OE cynn /künn/, English kin; Rigvedic jajanúr 3pl.perfect < *ge-gnn- (a relic; the regular Sanskrit form in paradigms like this is jajñur, a remodeling).
- Sanskrit jātá- "born" = Latin nātus (Old Latin gnātus, and cf. forms like cognātus "related by birth", Greek kasí-gnētos "brother"); Greek gnếsios "belonging to the race". (The $\bar{e}$ in these Greek forms can be shown to be original, not Attic-Ionic developments from Proto-Greek * $\bar{a}$.)

NOTE. The Pāninian term "set" (that is, sa-i-t) is literally "with an /i/". This refers to the fact that roots so designated, like jan- "be born", have an /i/ between the root and the suffix, as we've seen in Sanskrit jánitar-, jániman-, janitua (a gerund). Cf. such formations built to "aniṭ" ("without an /i/") roots, such as han- "slay": hántar- "slayer", hanman- "a slaying", hantva (gerund). In Pāṇini's analysis, this /i/ is a linking vowel, not properly a part of either the root or the suffix. It is simply that some roots are in effect in the list consisting of the roots that (as we would put it) 'take an -i-‘.

The startling reflexes of these roots in zero grade before a consonant (in this case, Sanskrti $\bar{a}$, Greek $n \bar{e}$, Latin $n \bar{a}$, Lithuanian ìn) is explained by the lengthening of the (originally perfectly ordinary) syllabic resonant before the lost laryngeal, while the same laryngeal protects the syllabic status of the preceding resonant even before an affix beginning with a vowel: the archaic Vedic form jajanur cited above is structurally quite the same ( ${ }^{*} g e-g n_{o} h_{1}-r_{o}$ ) as a form like * $d a-d r$ ŕs $u r$ "they saw" < *de-drork-r.

Incidentally, redesigning the root as *genh- has another consequence. Several of the Sanskrit forms cited above come from what look like o-grade root vowels in open syllables, but fail to lengthen to $-\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ per Brugmann's law. All becomes clear when it is understood that in such forms as *gonh- before a vowel, the ${ }^{*} o$ is not in fact in an open syllable. And in turn that means that a form like O.Ind. jajāna "was born", which apparently does show the action of Brugmann's law, is actually a false witness: in the Sanskrit perfect tense, the whole class of set roots, en masse, acquired the shape of the anit 3 sing. forms.

There are also roots ending in a stop followed by a laryngeal, as *pleth $2^{-} /{ }^{*} p l l_{0} h_{2}$ " spread, flatten", from which Sanskrit pṛthú- "broad" masc. (= Avestan pərə $\theta u-$ ), pṛthivī- fem., Greek platús (zero grade); Skt. prathimán- "wideness" (full grade), Greek platamón "flat stone". The laryngeal explains (a) the change of ${ }^{*} t$ to *th in Proto-Indo-Iranian, (b) the correspondence between Greek -a-, Sanskrit -iand no vowel in Avestan (Avestan parəOwī "broad" fem. in two syllables vs Sanskrit prthivī- in three).

Caution has to be used in interpreting data from Indic in particular. Sanskrit remained in use as a poetic, scientific, and classical language for many centuries, and the multitude of inherited patterns of alternation of obscure motivation (such as the division into seṭ and anit roots) provided models for coining new forms on the "wrong" patterns. There are many forms like trṣita- "thirsty" and tániman"slendernes", that is, seṭ formations to to unequivocally aniṭ roots; and conversely anit forms like píparti "fills", pṛta-"filled", to securely seṭ roots (cf. the 'real' past participle, pūrṇá-). Sanskrit preserves the effects of laryngeal phonology with wonderful clarity, but looks upon the historical linguist with a threatening eye: for even in Vedic Sanskrit, the evidence has to be weighed carefully with due concern for the antiquity of the forms and the overall texture of the data.

Stray laryngeals can be found in isolated or seemingly isolated forms; here the three-way Greek reflexes of syllabic ${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{h}_{\mathbf{1}},{ }^{*} \boldsymbol{h}_{\mathbf{2}},{ }^{*} \boldsymbol{h}_{\mathbf{3}}$ are particularly helpful, as seen below.

-     * $\boldsymbol{h}_{1}$ in Greek ánemos "wind" (cf. Latin animus "breath, spirit; anger", Vedic aniti" breathes") < *anz- "breathe; blow" (now ${ }^{*} h_{2} e n h_{1}$-). Perhaps also Greek híeros "mighty, super-human; divine; holy", cf. Sanskrit iṣirá- "vigorous, energetic".
-     * $\boldsymbol{h}_{\mathbf{2}}$ in Greek patếr "father" = Sanskrit pitár-, Old English fæder, Gothic fadar, Latin pater. Also *megh ${ }_{2}$ "big" neut. > Greek méga, Sanskrit máhi.
$\bullet * \boldsymbol{h}_{3}$ in Greek árotron "plow" = Welsh aradr, Old Norse arðr, Lithuanian árklas.
The Greek forms ánemos and árotron are particularly valuable because the verb roots in question are extinct in Greek as verbs. This means that there is no possibility of some sort of analogical interference, as for example happened in the case of Latin arātrum "plow", whose shape has been distorted by the verb arāre "to plow" (the exact cognate to the Greek form would have been *aretrum). It used to be
standard to explain the root vowels of Greek thetós, statós, dotós "put, stood, given" as analogical. Most scholars nowadays probably take them as original, but in the case of "wind" and "plow", the argument can't even come up.

Regarding Greek híeros, the pseudo-participle affix *-ro- is added directly to the verb root, so *ish ${ }_{1}$-ro> *isero- > *ihero- > híeros (with regular throwback of the aspiration to the beginning of the word), and Sanskrit iṣirá-. There seems to be no question of the existence of a root *ejsh- "vigorously move/cause to move". If the thing began with a laryngeal, and most scholars would agree that it did, it would have to be ${ }^{*} h_{1^{-}}$-, specifically; and that's a problem. A root of the shape ${ }^{*} h_{1} e j s h_{1^{-}}$is not possible. Indo-European had no roots of the type *mem-, *tet-, * $d^{h} r e d^{h}$-, i.e., with two copies of the same consonant. But Greek attests an earlier (and rather more widely-attested) form of the same meaning, híaros. If we reconstruct ${ }^{*} h_{1} e j s h_{2^{-}}$, all of our problems are solved in one stroke. The explanation for the híeros/híaros business has long been discussed, without much result; laryngeal theory now provides the opportunity for an explanation which did not exist before, namely metathesis of the two laryngeals. It's still only a guess, but it's a much simpler and more elegant guess than the guesses available before.

The syllabic ${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{h}_{\mathbf{2}}$ in ${ }^{*} p h_{2}$ ter- "father" is not really isolated. The evidence is clear that the kinship affix seen in "mother, father" etc. was actually ${ }^{*}-h_{2}$ ter-. The laryngeal syllabified after a consonant (thus Greek patér, Latin pater, Sanskrit pitár-; Greek thugátēr, Sanskrit duhitár- "daughter") but lengthened a preceding vowel (thus say Latin māter "mother", frāter "brother") - even when the "vowel" in question was a syllabic resonant, as in Sanskrit yātaras "husbands' wives" < *jñ t- < *jn -h $h_{2}$ ter-).

## INFLUENCE IN MORPHOLOGY

Like any other consonant, Laryngeals feature in the endings of verbs and nouns and in derivational morphology, the only difference being the greater difficulty of telling what's going on. Indo-Iranian, for example, can retain forms that pretty clearly reflect a laryngeal, but there is no way of knowing which one.

The following is a rundown of laryngeals in Proto-Indo-European morphology.
${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{h}_{\boldsymbol{1}}$ is seen in the instrumental ending (probably originally indifferent to number, like English expressions of the type by hand and on foot). In Sanskrit, feminine $i$ - and $u$-stems have instrumentals in $-\bar{\imath},-\bar{u}$, respectively. In the Rigveda, there are a few old $a$-stems (PIE $o$-stems) with an instrumental in $-\bar{a}$; but even in that oldest text the usual ending is -en $\bar{a}$, from the $n$-stems.

Greek has some adverbs in $-\bar{e}$, but more important are the Mycenaean forms like e-re-pa-te "with ivory" (i.e. elephantē? -ě?)

The marker of the neuter dual was *-ih, as in Sanskrit bharatī "two carrying ones (neut.)", nāman̄̄ "two names", yuge "two yokes" (< yuga-i? *yuga-iे?). Greek to the rescue: the Homeric form ósse "the (two) eyes" is manifestly from ${ }^{*} h_{3} e k^{w-i} h_{1}$ (formerly ${ }^{*} o k^{w-i}$ ) via fully-regular sound laws (intermediately $\left.{ }^{*} o k^{w} j e\right)$.
*-eh $\boldsymbol{h}_{1}$ - derives stative verb senses from eventive roots: PIE *sed- "sit (down)": *sed-eh $h_{1-}$ "be in a sitting position" (> Proto-Italic *sed-ē-je-mos "we are sitting" > Latin sedēmus). It is clearly attested in Celtic, Italic, Germanic (the Class IV weak verbs), and Baltic/Slavic, with some traces in Indo-Iranian (In Avestan the affix seems to form past-habitual stems).

It seems likely, though it is less certain, that this same ${ }^{*}-h_{1}$ underlies the nominative-accusative dual in $o$-stems: Sanskrit vṛkā, Greek lúkō "two wolves". (The alternative ending - $\bar{u} u$ in Sanskrit cuts a small figure in the Rigveda, but eventually becomes the standard form of the $o$-stem dual.)
 (root *gwhen-, Sanskrit han- "slay"). This is the source of Greek future tense formations and (with the addition of a thematic suffix *-je/o-) the Indo-Iranian one as well: bhariṣyati "will carry" < *bher- $h_{1} s$ $j e-t i$.
${ }^{*}-\boldsymbol{j} \boldsymbol{e} \boldsymbol{h}_{\mathbf{1}^{-}} /{ }^{*} \boldsymbol{i}_{\boldsymbol{i}_{\mathbf{1}}}$ - is the optative suffix for root verb inflections, e.g. Latin (old) siet "may he be", simus "may we be", Sanskrit syāt "may he be", and so on.
${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{h}_{\boldsymbol{2}}$ is seen as the marker of the neuter plural: ${ }^{*}-\boldsymbol{h}_{\boldsymbol{2}}$ in the consonant stems, ${ }^{*}-\boldsymbol{e} \boldsymbol{h}_{\boldsymbol{2}}$ in the vowel stems. Much leveling and remodeling is seen in the daughter languages that preserve any ending at all, thus Latin has generalized ${ }^{*}-\bar{a}$ throughout the noun system (later regularly shortened to $-a$ ), Greek generalized -ă < *- $\boldsymbol{h}_{\mathbf{2}}$.

The categories "masculine/feminine" plainly did not exist in the most original form of Proto-IndoEuropean, and there are very few noun types which are formally different in the two genders. The formal differences are mostly to be seen in adjectives (and not all of them) and pronouns. Interestingly, both types of derived feminine stems feature ${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{h}_{\mathbf{2}}$ : a type that is patently derived from the o-stem nominals; and an ablauting type showing alternations between *-jeh $\boldsymbol{h}_{\mathbf{2}}$ - and ${ }^{*} \mathbf{i}_{\boldsymbol{i}}^{\boldsymbol{\boldsymbol { h } _ { \mathbf { 2 } }} \text {. Both are peculiar in }}$ having no actual marker for the nominative singular, and at least as far as the *-eh鲠- type, two things seem clear: it is based on the $o$-stems, and the nom.sg. is probably in origin a neuter plural. (An archaic trait of Indo-European morpho-syntax is that plural neuter nouns construe with singular verbs, and quite possibly *jugeh ${ }_{2}$ was not so much "yokes" in our sense, but "yokage; a harnessing-up".) Once that much is thought of, however, it is not easy to pin down the details of the " $\bar{a}$-stems" in the IndoEuropean languages outside of Anatolia, and such an analysis sheds no light at all on the *-jeh $\boldsymbol{h}_{\mathbf{2}}-/{ }^{*}-\boldsymbol{i}_{\boldsymbol{h}_{\mathbf{2}}}$ -
stems, which (like the ${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{e} \boldsymbol{h}_{\mathbf{2}}$-stems) form feminine adjective stems and derived nouns (e.g. Sanskrit devī-"goddess" from deva-"god") but unlike the " $\bar{a}$-stems" have no foundation in any neuter category.
${ }^{*}-\boldsymbol{e} \boldsymbol{h}_{2^{-}}$seems to have formed factitive verbs, as in *new-eh $2^{-}$"to renew, make new again", as seen in Latin novāre, Greek neáō and Hittite ne-wa-ah-ha-an-t- (participle) all "renew" but all three with the pregnant sense of "plow anew; return fallow land to cultivation".
${ }^{*}-\boldsymbol{h}_{\mathbf{2}^{-}}$marked the $1^{\text {st }}$ person singular, with a somewhat confusing distribution: in the thematic active (the familiar -ō ending of Greek and Latin, and Indo-Iranian $-\bar{a}(m i)$ ), and also in the perfect tense (not really a tense in PIE): *- $\boldsymbol{h}_{2} \boldsymbol{e}$ as in Greek oîda "I know" < *wojd- $h_{2} e$. It is the basis of the Hittite ending $b h i$, as in da-ab-bi "I take" < *-ha-i (original *-ha embellished with the primary tense marker with subsequent smoothing of the diphthong).
${ }^{*}-\boldsymbol{e} \boldsymbol{h}_{3}$ may be tentatively identified in a "directive case". No such case is found in Indo-European noun paradigms, but such a construct accounts for a curious collection of Hittite forms like ne-pi-ša "(in)to the sky", ták-na-a "to, into the ground", a-ru-na "to the sea". These are sometimes explained as o-stem datives in $-a<{ }^{*}-\bar{o} j$, an ending clearly attested in Greek and Indo-Iranian, among others, but there are serious problems with such a view, and the forms are highly coherent, functionally. And there are also appropriate adverbs in Greek and Latin (elements lost in productive paradigms sometimes survive in stray forms, like the old instrumental case of the definite article in English expressions like the more the merrier): Greek ánō "upwards", kátō "downwards", Latin quō "whither?", eō "to that place"; and perhaps even the Indic preposition/preverb $\hat{a}$ "to(ward)" which has no satisfactory competing etymology. (These forms must be distinguished from the similar-looking ones formed to the ablative in *-ōd and with a distinctive "fromness" sense: Greek ópō "whence, from where".)

## APPENDIX III: THE PROTO-INDO-EUROPEANS

## III.1. PEOPLE

The Proto-Indo-Europeans are the speakers of the reconstructed Proto-Indo-European language, a prehistoric people of the Chalcolithic and early Bronze Age. They are a group of people whose existence from around 4000 BCE is inferred from their language, Proto-Indo-European.

Some things about their culture can be determined with confidence, based on the words reconstructed for their language:

- They used a kinship system based on relationships between men.
- The chief of their pantheon was djé́us patếr (lit. "sky father") and an earth god.
- They composed and recited heroic poetry or song lyrics, that used stock phrases like undying fame.
- The climate they lived in had snow.
- They were both pastoral and nomadic, domesticating cattle and horses.
- They had carts, with solid wheels, but not yet chariots, with spoked wheels.
- What is known about the Proto-Indo-Europeans with any certainty is the result of comparative linguistics, partly seconded by archaeology. The following traits are widely agreed-upon, but it should be understood that they are hypothetical by their reconstructed nature.
- The Proto-Indo-Europeans were a patrilineal society, probably semi-nomadic, relying on animal husbandry (notably cattle and sheep). They had domesticated the horse (ékwos). The cow (cốus) played a central role, in religion and mythology as well as in daily life. A man's wealth would have been measured by the number of his animals (péku, the word for small livestock, acquired a meaning of "value" in both English fee and in Latin pecunia).
- They practiced a polytheistic religion centered on sacrificial rites, probably administered by a priestly caste. The Kurgan hypothesis suggests burials in barrows or tomb chambers. Important leaders would have been buried with their belongings, and possibly also with members of their household or wives.
- There is evidence for sacral kingship, suggesting the tribal king at the same time assumed the role of high priest. Many Indo-European societies know a threefold division of a clerical class, a warrior class and a class of peasants or husbandmen. Such a division was suggested for the Proto-IndoEuropean society by Georges Dumézil.
- If there had been a separate class of warriors, then it would probably have consisted of single young men. They would have followed a separate warrior code unacceptable in the society outside their peer-
group. Traces of initiation rites in several Indo-European societies suggest that this group identified itself with wolves or dogs (cf. Berserker, werewolf).
- Technologically, reconstruction suggests a culture of the early Bronze Age: Bronze was used to make tools and weapons. Silver and gold were known. Sheep were kept for wool, and weaving was practiced for textile production. The wheel was known, certainly for ox-drawn carts, and late ProtoIndo European warfare may also have made use of horse-drawn chariots.
- The native name of this people cannot be reconstructed with certainty. Aryo-, sometimes upheld as a self-identification of the Indo-Europeans, is attested as an ethnic designation only in the IndoIranian subfamily, while téuta, "people", seems to have been lost in some dialects.
- The scholars of the $19^{\text {th }}$ century that originally tackled the question of the original homeland of the Indo-Europeans (also called Urheimat after the German term), were essentially confined to linguistic evidence. A rough localization was attempted by reconstructing the names of plants and animals (importantly the beech and the salmon) as well as the culture and technology (a Bronze Age culture centered on animal husbandry and having domesticated the horse). The scholarly opinions became basically divided between a European hypothesis, positing migration from Europe to Asia, and an Asian hypothesis, holding that the migration took place in the opposite direction.

NOTE. However, from its early days, the controversy was tainted by romantic, nationalistic notions of heroic invaders at best and by imperialist and racist agendas at worst. It was often naturally assumed that the spread of the language was due to the invasions by some superior Aryan race. Such hypotheses suffered a particularly severe distortion for purposes of political propaganda by the Nazis. The question is still the source of much contention. Typically, nationalistic schools of thought either claim their respective territories for the original homeland, or maintain that their own culture and language have always been present in their area, dismissing the concept of Proto-Indo-Europeans altogether.

## III.1.1. ARCHAEOLOGY

There have been many attempts to claim that particular prehistorical cultures can be identified with the PIE-speaking peoples, but all have been speculative. All attempts to identify an actual people with an unattested language depend on a sound reconstruction of that language that allows identification of cultural concepts and environmental factors which may be associated with particular cultures (such as the use of metals, agriculture vs. pastoralism, geographically distinctive plants and animals, etc).

In the twentieth century Marija Gimbutas created a modern variation on the traditional invasion theory, the Kurgan hypothesis, after the Kurgans (burial mounds) of the Eurasian steppes, in which the Indo-Europeans were a nomadic tribe in Eastern Ukraine and southern Russia and expanded on horseback in several waves during the $3^{\text {rd }}$ millennium BC. Their expansion coincided with the taming of the horse. Leaving archaeological signs of their presence, they subjugated the peaceful European

Neolithic farmers of Gimbutas's Old Europe. As Gimbutas's beliefs evolved, she put increasing emphasis on the patriarchal, patrilinear nature of the invading culture, sharply contrasting it with the supposedly egalitarian, if not matrilinear culture of the invaded, to a point of formulating essentially feminist archaeology.

Her theory has found genetic support in remains from the Neolithic culture of Scandinavia, where bone remains in Neolithic graves indicated that the megalith culture was either matrilocal or matrilineal as the people buried in the same grave were related through the women. Likewise there is evidence of remaining matrilineal traditions among the Picts. A modified form of this theory by JP Mallory, dating the migrations earlier to around 4000 BC and putting less insistence on their violent or quasi-military nature, is still widely held.

Colin Renfrew is the leading propagator the "Anatolian hypothesis", according to which the IndoEuropean languages spread peacefully into Europe from Asia Minor from around 7000 BC with the advance of farming (wave of advance). That theory is contradicted by the fact that ancient Anatolia is known to be inhabited by non-Indo-European people, namely the Hattians, Khalib/Karub, and Khaldi/Kardi. However, that does not preclude the possibility that those people in some way contributed to the proto-Indo-Europeans, especially since they were in close proximity to the early Kurgan cultures.

Yet another theory is connected with the Black Sea deluge theory, suggesting that PIE originated as the language of trade between early Neolithic Black Sea tribes. Under this hypothesis University of Pennsylvania archaeologist Fredrik T. Hiebert hypothesizes that the transition from PIE to IE dispersion occurred during an inundation of the Black Sea in the mid $6^{\text {th }}$ millennium BC.

## III.1.2. GENETICS

The rise of Archaeogenetic evidence which uses genetic analysis to trace migration patterns also added new elements to the puzzle. Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza, one of the first in this field, in the 1990s used genetic evidence to combine, in some ways, Gimbutas's and Colin Renfrew's theories together. Here Renfrew's agricultural settlers, moving north and west, partially split off eventually to become Gimbutas's Kurgan culture which moves into Europe.

In any case, developments in genetics take away much of the edge of the sometimes heated controversies about invasions. They indicate a strong genetic continuity in Europe; specifically, studies by Bryan Sykes show that about $80 \%$ of the genetic stock of Europeans goes back to the Paleolithic, suggesting that languages tend to spread geographically by cultural contact rather than by invasion and extermination, i.e. much more peacefully than was described in some invasion scenarios, and thus the genetic record does not rule out the historically much more common type of invasions where a new
group assimilates the earlier inhabitants. This very common scenario of successive small scale invasions where a ruling nation imposed its language and culture on a larger indigenous population was what Gimbutas had in mind:

The Process of Indo-Europeanization was a cultural, not a physical transformation. It must be understood as a military victory in terms of imposing a new administrative system, language and religion upon the indigenous groups.

On the other hand, such results also gave rise to a new incarnation of the "European hypothesis" suggesting the Indo-European languages to have existed in Europe since the Paleolithic (the so-called Paleolithic Continuity Theory).

A component of about $28 \%$ may be attributed to the Neolithic revolution, deriving from Anatolia about 10,000 BCE. A third component of about $11 \%$ derives from Pontic steppe. While these findings confirm that there were population movements both related to the beginning Neolithic and the beginning Bronze Age, corresponding to Renfrew's and Gimbutas's Indo-Europeans, respectively, the genetic record obviously cannot yield any information as to the language spoken by these groups.

The spread of Y-chromosome DNA haplogroup R1a1 is associated with the spread of the IndoEuropean languages. Its defining mutation (M17) occurred about 10,000 years ago, before the PIE stage, so that its presence cannot be taken as a certain sign of Indo-European admixture.

## III.1.3. GLOTTOCHRONOLOGY

Even more recently, a study of the presence/absence of different words across Indo-European using stochastic models of word evolution (Gray and Atkinson, 2003) suggests that the origin of IndoEuropean goes back about 8500 years, the first split being that of Hittite from the rest (the so-called Indo-Hittite hypothesis). Gray and Atkinson go to great lengths to avoid the problems associated with traditional approaches to glottochronology. However, it must be noted that the calculations of Gray and Atkinson rely entirely on Swadesh lists, and while the results are quite robust for well attested branches, their calculation of the age of Hittite, which is crucial for the Anatolian claim, rests on a 200 word Swadesh list of one single language and are regarded as contentious. Interestingly, a more recent paper (Atkinson et al, 2005) of 24 mostly ancient languages, including three Anatolian languages, produced the same time estimates and early Anatolian split.

A scenario that could reconcile Renfrew's beliefs with the Kurgan hypothesis suggests that IndoEuropean migrations are somehow related to the submersion of the northeastern part of the Black Sea around 5600 BC : while a splinter group who became the proto-Hittite speakers moved into northeastern Anatolia around 7000 BC , the remaining population would have gone northward, evolving
into the Kurgan culture, while others may have escaped far to the northeast (Tocharians) and the southeast (Indo-Iranians). While the time-frame of this scenario is consistent with Renfrew, it is incompatible with his core assumption that Indo-European spread with the advance of agriculture.

## III.1.4. GEOGRAPHY

The Proto-Indo-European homeland north-east of the Black Sea has a distinctive climate, which largely results from the area being inland. The region has low precipitation, but not low enough to be a desert. It gets about 38 cms ( 15 inches) of rain per year. The region has a high temperature difference between summer and winter of about $33^{\circ} \mathrm{C}\left(60^{\circ} \mathrm{F}\right)$.

## III.2. SOCIETY

The society of the Proto-Indo-Europeans has been reconstructed through analyses of modern IndoEuropean societies as well as archaeological evidence. PIE society was most likely patrilineal, and probably semi-nomadic, relying on animal husbandry.

The native name with which these people referred to themselves as a linguistic community, or as an ethnic unity of related tribes cannot be reconstructed with certainty.

There is evidence for sacral kingship, suggesting the tribal chief at the same time assumed the role of high priest. Many Indo-European societies still show signs of an earlier threefold division of a clerical class, a warrior class and a class of farmers or husbandmen. Such a division was suggested for the Proto-Indo-European society by Georges Dumézil.

If there was a separate class of warriors, it probably consisted of single young men. They would have followed a separate warrior code unacceptable in the society outside their peer-group. Traces of initiation rites in several Indo-European societies suggest that this group identified itself with wolves or dogs.

The people were organized in settlements (IE wéiks, English -wick "village"), probably each with its chief (IE rēgs). These settlements or villages were further divided in households (IE dómos), each headed by a patriarch, IE dems-póts, "house-master", cf. Gk. despotes, Skr. dampati, also found as IE weiks-póts, "clan-master", landlord, both compounds similar to IE ghos-póts, "guest-master", host, in turn similar to the term "aryan", IE alienós, originally "stranger", hence "guest", later used (with a semantic evolution) for "host, master", by Indo-Iranians to refer to themselves.

## III.2.1. TECHNOLOGY

Technologically, reconstruction suggests a culture of the Bronze Age: Words for Bronze can be reconstructed (ájos) from Germanic, Italic and Indo-Iranian, while no word for Iron can be dated to the proto-language. Gold and Silver were known.

An nsis was a bladed weapon, originally a dagger of Bronze or in earliest times of bone. An íkmos was a spear or similar pointed weapon. Words for axe are ácsī (Germanic, Greek, Italic) and pélekus (Greek, Indo-Iranian); these could have been either of ston or of bronze.

The wheel, qéqlos or rótā, was known, certainly for ox-drawn carts. Horse-drawn chariots developed after the breakup of the proto-language, originating with the Proto-Indo-Iranians around 2000 BC.

Judging by the vocabulary, techniques of weaving, plaiting, tying knots etc. were important and welldeveloped and used for textile production as well as for baskets, fences, walls etc. Weaving and binding also had a strong magical connotation, and magic is often expressed by such metaphors. The bodies of the deceased seem to have been literally tied to their graves to prevent their return.

## III.2.2. SUBSISTENCE

Proto-Indo-European society depended on animal husbandry. Cattle (cóus, stáuros) were the most important animals to them, and a man's wealth would be measured by the number of cows he owned. Sheep (ówis) and goats (gháidos) were also kept, presumably by the less wealthy. Agriculture and catching fish (pískos) were also practiced.

The domestication of the horse may have been an innovation of this people and is sometimes invoked as a factor contributing to their rapid expansion.

## III.2.3. RITUAL AND SACRIFICE

They practiced a polytheistic religion centered on sacrificial rites, probably administered by a class of priests or shamans.

Animals were slaughtered (chntós) and dedicated to the gods (djécus) in the hope of winning their favour. The king as the high priest would have been the central figure in establishing favourable relations with the other world.

The Kurgan hypothesis suggests burials in barrows or tomb chambers. Important leaders would have been buried with their belongings, and possibly also with members of their household or wives (human sacrifice, sati).

## III.2.4. NAMES

The use of two-word compound words for personal names, typically but not always ascribing some noble or heroic feat to their bearer, is so common in Indo-European languages that it seems certainly inherited. These names are often of the class of compound words that in Sanskrit are called bahuvrihis, already explained.

They are found in in Ger. Alf-red, "elf-counsel", O.H.G. Hlude-rīch, "rich in glory", O.Eng. God-gifu, "gift of God" (Eng. Godiva), Gaul. Orgeto-rix, "king who harms", Gaul. Dumno-rix, "king of the world", Gaul. Epo-pennus, "horse's head", O.Ir. Cin-néide (Eng. Kennedy) "ugly head", O.Ind. Asvaghosa, "tamer of horses", O.Ind. Asvá-medhas, "who has done the horse sacrifice", O.Pers. Xša-yāršā (Gk. Xérxēs) "ruler of heroes", O.Pers. Arta-xšacā, "whose reign is through truth/law", Gk. Sō-krátēs, "good ruler", Gk. Mene-ptólemos, "who faces war", Gk. Hipp-archus, "horse master", Gk. Cleo-patra, "from famous lineage", Gk. Arkhé-laos, "who governs the people", O.Sla. Bogu-milŭ, "loved by god", Sla. Vladi-mir, "peaceful ruler", from volodi-mirom, "possess the world".

Patronymics such as Germanic Gustafson, "son of Gustav", Romance Gonzales, "(son) of Gonzalo", Gaelic McCool, Slavic Mazurkiewicz, etc. are also frequently encountered in Indo-European languages.

## III.2.5. POETRY

Only small fragments of Proto-Indo-European poetry may be recovered. What survives of their poetry are stock phrases of two or three words, like undying fame and immortal gods, that are found in diverse ancient sources. These seem to have been standard building blocks for song lyrics.

Inferring chiefly from the Vedas, there would have been sacrificial hymns, creation myths, such as the common myths of a world tree, and hero tales, like the slaying of a serpent or a dragon (qromis) by a heroic man or god.

Probably of the greatest importance to the Indo-Europeans themselves were songs extolling great deeds by heroic warriors. In addition to perpetuating their glory (kléwos), such songs would also temper the warriors' behavior, since each needed to consider whether his undying fame would be honorable or shameful.

## III.2.6. PHILOSOPHY

Some words connected with PIE world-view:

- ghosti-, concerned mutual obligations between people and between worshipers and gods, and from which guest and host are derived. Cf. also alieno-, foreigner and host, in Ind.-Ira. 'arya-'.
- $\boldsymbol{r}_{0}$-tu-, $\boldsymbol{r}_{-}-\mathbf{t o}-$, "fitting, right, ordered", also "right time, ritually correct", related to the order of the world (Avestan asha, Vedic rta-, rtu-), cf. reg-tó-, as in Germanic right, Lat. (de-)rectus.
-ap-, aqa- and wodr-, pawr- and egní-, reveal a diffrentiated concept of water as an inanimated substance and as an animated being.


## III.3. RELIGION

The existence of similarities among the deities and religious practices of the Indo-European peoples allows glimpses of a common Proto-Indo-European religion and mythology. This hypothetical religion would have been the ancestor of the majority of the religions of pre-Christian Europe, of the Dharmic religions in India, and of Zoroastrianism in Iran.

Indications of the existence of this ancestral religion can be detected in commonalities between languages and religious customs of Indo-European peoples. To presuppose this ancestral religion did exist, though, any details must remain conjectural. While similar religious customs among Indo-European peoples can provide evidence for a shared religious heritage, a shared custom does not necessarily indicate a common source for such a custom; some of these practices may well have evolved in a process of parallel evolution. Archaeological evidence, where any can be found, is difficult to match to a specific culture. The best evidence is therefore the existence of cognate words and names in the Indo-European languages.


Figure 54. Ancient anthropomorphic Ukrainian stone stela (Kernosovka stela), possibly depicting a Late PIE god, most likely Djeus

## III.3.1. PRIESTS

The main functionaries of the hypothetical Proto-Indo-European religion would have been maintained by a class of priests or shamans. There is evidence for sacral kingship, suggesting the tribal king at the same time assumed the role of high priest. This function would have survived as late as $11^{\text {th }}$ century Scandinavia, when kings could still be dethroned for refusing to serve as priests. Many IndoEuropean societies know a threefold division of a clerical class, a warrior class and a class of peasants or husbandmen. Such a division was suggested for the Proto-Indo-European society by Georges Dumézil.

Divination was performed by priests, e.g. from parts of slaughtered animals (for animal sacrifice, cf. Lat. haruspex). Birds also played a role in divination, as Lat. augur, language of the birds.

Examples of the descendants of this class in historical Indo-European societies would be the Celtic Druids, the Indian Brahmins, the Latin Flamines and the Persian Magi. Historical Indo-European religions also had priestesses, either hierodoules (temple prostitutes), dedicated virgins, or oracles, e.g. the Roman Vestal Virgins, the Greek Sibyls or the Germanic Völvas.

## III.3.2. PANTHEON

Linguists are able to reconstruct the names of some deities in Proto-Indo-European language (PIE) from names occurring in widely spread, old mythologies. Some of the proposed deities are more readily accepted among scholars than others.

The Proto-Indo-Europeans may have distinguished between different races of gods, like the Aesir, and Vanir of Norse mythology and the Titans and Olympians of Greek mythology. Possibly, these were the Djeus, literally "celestial, those of the sky/daylight" (cf. Deus, Zeus, Deva, Tiw) and the Ansu-, literally "spirits, those with vital force" (cf. Aesir, Asura, Ahura).

## WIDELY ACCEPTED DEITIES

- Djé́us Patếr is believed to have been the original name of God of the Daylight Sky and the chief god of the Indo-European pantheon. He survives in Greek Zeus (genitive case Diòs), Latin Jupiter, Sanskrit Dyaus/Dyaus Pita, Baltic Dievas, Germanic Tiwaz (ON Tyr, OHG Ziu), Armenian Astwatz, and the Gaulish Dispater (c.f. also deus pater in the Vulgate, e. g. Jude 1:1).
- Pltawí Mātếr (Dhghōm) is believed to have been the name of an Earth Mother goddess, Skr. Prthivi. Another name of the Indo-European Mother-Earth would be Dhghōm Mātér, as in Albanian Dhe Motë, Avestan Zamyat, Slavic Mati Zemlja, Lithuanian Žemyna, Latvian Zemes Mate, maybe Greek Dēmēter.
- A Thunder God, possibly associated with the oak, and in some traditions syncretized with Djéus. A name Pérqunos root per-q- or per-g- is suggested by Balto-Slavic *Perkúnos, Norse Fjörgyn, Albanian Perëndi and Vedic Parjanya. An onomatopoeic root tar is continued in Gaulish Taranis and Hittite Tarhunt. A word for "thunder" itself was (s)tene-, continued in Germanic *Punraz (thunder personified), and became Thor.
- Áusōs is believed to have been the goddess of dawn, continued in Greek mythology as Eos, in Rome as Auror-a, in Vedic as Ushas, in Lithuanian mythology as Aušra or Auštaras, in Armenian as Astghik and possibly also in Germanic mythology as Eastre.


## SPECULATIVE PROPOSALS

Additional gods may include:

- Greek Poseidon was originally a chthonic god, either a god of the earth or the underworld, from poti daon "lord of Da", cf. Demeter from Da mater "Mother Da". Another etymology may be proposed, don referring to "the waters", as the Vedic goddess of the rivers, Danu, who shares a name with the Celtic mother god. Poseidon being "the master of the waters", more conform to the functions of a god of the sea (and possibly also the supposed celestial ocean or watery abyss).
- Wélnos, maybe a god of the night sky, or of the underworld, continued in Sanskrit Varuna, Greek Uranos (which is also a word for sky), Slavic Veles, Armenian Aray and Lithuanian Velnias.
- Divine twins, brothers of the Sun Maiden or Dawn goddess, sons of the Sky god.
- There may have been a sea-god, in Persian and Vedic known as Apam Napat, in Celtic as Nechtan, in Etruscan as Nethuns, in Germanic as Njord and in Latin as Neptune, possibly called Néptonos (originally from neq-t-?). This god may be related to the Germanic water spirit, the Nix.
- The Sun, Sá́wel, and the Moon Ménōts/Men- deities, possibly twin children of the supreme sky-god Djé́us, continued in Hindu religion as Surya and Mas, in Iranian religion as Hvar and Mah, in Greek as Helios and Selene (these were later pushed out by imported Anatolian deities Apollo and Artemis), in Latin mythology as Sol and Luna, in German mythology as Sol and Mani, in Baltic mythology as *Saule and *Mēnō. The usual scheme is that one of these celestial deities is male and the other female, though the exact gender of the Sun or Moon tend to vary among subsequent Indo-European mythologies.


## FANTALOV'S REDUCTION

According to the Russian scholar Alex Fantalov, there are only five main archetypes for all gods and goddesses of all Indo-European mythologies. He also proposes that these five archetypes were possibly the original deities of the pre-PIE pantheon. These, according to Fantalov, are:

- God of the Sky
- God of Thunder
- God of the Earth/Underworld
- Cultural hero
- Great goddess

The sky and thunder gods were heavenly deities, representing the ruling class of society, and in subsequent cultures they were often merged into a single supreme god. On the other hand, the Earth god and the Cultural Hero were earthly gods, tied to nature, agriculture and crafts, and in subsequent cultures they were often split into more deities as societies grew more complex. And while it seems there existed some enmity between the Thunderer and the God of the Earth (which may be echoed in myths about battle of various thunder gods and a serpentine enemy, v.i.), the Cultural Hero seems to be a sort of demigod son of either the sky god or the thunder god, and was considered to be the ancestor of the human race, and the psychopomp. Together with the character of Great goddess, who was a wife of the ruling sky god, the cultural hero thus balanced between the heavenly god of the sky/thunder and the more chthonic god of the earth/underworld.

## III.3.3. MYTHOLOGY

There seems to have been a belief in a world tree, which in Germanic mythology was an ash tree (Norse Yggdrasil; Irminsul), in Hinduism a banyan tree, in Lithuanian mythology Jievaras, and an oak tree in Slavic mythology, and a hazel tree in Celtic mythology. In classical Greek mythology, the closest analogue of this concept is Mount Olympus; however, there is also a later folk tradition about the World Tree, which is being sawed by the Kallikantzaroi (Greek goblins), perhaps borrowed from other peoples.

One common myth which can be found among almost all Indo-European mythologies is a battle ending with the slaying of a serpent, usually a dragon of some sort: examples include Thor vs. Jörmungandr, Sigurd vs. Fafnir in Scandinavian mythology; Zeus vs. Typhon, Kronos vs. Ophion, Apollo vs. Python, Heracles vs. the Hydra and Ladon, Perseus vs. Ceto in Greek mythology; Indra vs. Vritra in the Vedas; Perun vs. Veles, Dobrynya Nikitich vs. Zmey in Slavic mythology; Teshub vs. Illuyanka of Hittite mythology; ©raētaona, and later Kərəsāspa, vs. Aži Dahāka in Zoroastrianism and Persian mythology.

There are also analogous stories in other neighbouring mythologies:

- Anu or Marduk vs. Tiamat in Mesopotamian mythology;
- Baal or El vs. Lotan or Yam-Nahar in Levantine mythology;
- Yahweh or Gabriel vs. Leviathan or Rahab or Tannin in Jewish mythology;
- Michael the Archangel and, Christ vs. Satan (in the form of a seven-headed dragon),
- Virgin Mary crushing a serpent in Roman Catholic iconography,
- Saint George vs. the dragon in Christian mythology.

The myth symbolized a clash between forces of order and chaos (represented by the serpent), and the god or hero would always win. It is therefore most probable that there existed some kind of dragon or serpent, possibly multi-headed (cf. Śeṣa, the hydra and Typhon) and likely linked with the god of underworld and/or waters, as serpentine aspects can be found in many chthonic and/or aquatic IndoEuropean deities, such as for example the many Greek aquatic deities, most notably Poseidon, Oceanus, Triton, Typhon (who carries many chthonic attributes while not specifically linked with the sea), Ophion, and also the Slavic Veles. Possibly called qrmis, or some name cognate with Welnos or the root wel- (cf. Skr. Varuna, who is associated with the serpentine naga, Vala and Vrtra, Sla. Veles, Bal. velnias), or "serpent" (Hittite Illuyanka, Skr. Ahis, Ira. azhi, Gk. ophis and Ophion, and Lat. anguis), or the root dheubh- (Greek Typhon and Python).

Related to the dragon-slaying myth is the "Sun in the rock" myth, of a heroic warrior deity splitting a rock where the Sun or Dawn was imprisoned. Such a myth is preserved in Rigvedic Vala, where Ushas and the cows, stolen by the Panis were imprisoned, connected with other myths of abductions into the netherworld such as the mysteries of Eleusis connected with Persephone, Dionysus and Triptolemus.

There may have been a sort of nature spirit or god akin to the Greek god Pan and the Satyrs, the Roman god Faunus and the Fauns, the Celtic god Cernunnos and the Dusii, Slavic Veles and the Leszi, Vedic Pashupati, Prajapati and Pushan, the Germanic Woodwose, elves and dwarves.

There may also have been a female cognate akin to the Greco-Roman nymphs, Slavic vilas, the Huldra of Germanic folklore, the Hindu Apsaras, the Persian Peri. A possibly similar type of spirit may be found in Jewish mythology, Azazel and the Se'irim, as well as in Arabic mythology, the Jinn.

There may have been a savage dog or wolf guarding the underworld, as Greek Kerberos, Norse Garm.
It is also likely that they had three fate goddesses, see the Norns in Norse mythology, Moirae in Greek mythology, Sudjenice of Slavic folklore and Deivés Valdytojos in Lithuanian mythology.

The first ancestor of men was called Mánus, cf. Germanic Mannus, Hindu Manu.
The Sun was represented as riding in a chariot.

## APPENDIX IV. PIE REVIVAL FOR A COMMON EUROPE

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Academia Biblos, S.L.U., which supports our private research with continuated donations.

## IV.1. MODERN INDO-EUROPEAN OR THE REVIVED PIE LANGUAGE

The idea arose in Easter 2004. I was studying at the Public Library of Badajoz with Mayte and some friends, and I kept reading some books about the Pre-Roman peoples of the Iberian Peninsula. The Lusitanians draw my attention, not only because they lived in our southwestern Iberian lands some millennia before us, but also because their old inscriptions were easily understood for somebody with little knowledge of Latin, and still it was classified as a "Celtic-like Indo-European dialect" by the author. I took some more books about Proto-IndoEuropean history, culture and language, and made my first notes about how could it be to inflect nouns and


Figure 55. European Union depicted as a single country. conjugate verbs in such an old language... and it didn't sound that strange.

Three years later, after months of (irregular) study and work, the enterprise I eventually decided to undertake is finished, the basis for a complete grammatical system is more or less done, and the websites are working. It doesn't matter whether Indo-European revival succeeds or not, my personal objective is achieved; at least the farthest I've been able to carry it.

However, I can't stop thinking about how to make good use of this work, how to benefit those who worked, work and will work on this project, as well as the European Union, turning this personal project into different not-for-profit businesses (job-maker corporations, so to speak), e.g. in the Badajoz-Elvas Eurocity, mainly for specialized workers, philologists, translators and interpreters, computer engineers, etc. I can only imagine two possible situations of success for the Indo-European language revival: either some regional, national or European public or private institutions support the project, and it is implemented and institutionalized in order; or, as it was originally planned, this turns to be an Open Source social movement, and consequently everyone tries to make a better project, with many different independent groups - institutions or individuals with limited resources -, which somehow manage to lead a disorderly revival.

I think that, if it eventually succeeds, and if Europe manages to profit from these first confusing moments to keep all possible niches of this future market of Modern Indo-European, the output could be a radical change in the situation of the European economy in relation with the United States and other English-speaking countries, and especially a change in the perception that Europeans have of their Community and its peoples.

If we had to compare this project with traditional investments, we should say that, while the investment of public institutions in agrarian and industrial projects - or the investing of time and efforts of an individual in public competitions to become a civil servant - is like a guaranteed fixed deposit; to bet on this project - as an individual or an institution - is like investing in tiny and risky securities of a local Asian Stock Exchange. In the first case, the benefit is certain and well-known, whilst the second is a lottery, in which the amount invested can be completely lost or doubled with apparently - the same probability.

The only reason why people would invest in such a lottery is because it is not only a matter of chance. We at Dnghu have believed in it, and still believe, investing a lot of time and money. I hope you believe in it too.

## Carlos Quiles



Figure 56. Real knowledge of English within the European Union. Differently as what happens in Israel or the United States, the "common" language studied in almost every school and high school within the EU, English, is not learned as well as the own language. Whatever the sociological, cultural, anthropological, political and/or psychological reasons behind such behaviour, it is clear that Latin or artificial languages as Esperanto couldn't solve this situation, either. Modern Indo-European, on the other hand, is a new possibility which could change completely our concept of a united Europe.

## IV.2. EUROPEAN UNION INEFFICIENCIES



Figure 57. Simplified Cause and Effect Diagram of Present-Day European Union Problems'

Some of the problems derived from the lack of one national language for the EU can be seen in this cause and effect diagram. This inefficient situation, already pointed out long ago, hadn't until recently any stable solution.

The revival of the Proto-Indo-European language makes it possible, with adequate linguistic policy and planning, to put an end to many of these problems and to open a new horizon for integration and collaboration between the citizens and regions of the European Union.

Since the very beginnings of the EEC, the three main languages (working languages), English, French and German, were used for every communication, while English was unofficially the lingua franca used by all in direct conversations and other immediate communication needs.

This model, the most logical and simple in the initial small European Community after WWII, has become obsolete, with the increase in the number of official languages and, at the same time, the growth of political demands for more presence in European institutions among defenders of national and regional or co-official languages.

It seems today that every hope of achieving a USA-like system - where English is the only official language for the Federation - is discarded: while in US history English has won in every Federal State

- although there is also co-officiality in some of them, like Spanish in New Mexico or French in Louissiana -, in Europe the Union does not lay its foundations on some English-speaking colonies of immigrants. On the contrary, the only reason why English is spoken as the European Union lingua franca is the predominant position of the United States within the international community since the foundation of the ECSC until today.


Figure 58. In the beginnings of the EEC, English as a lingua franca was the best linguistic policy.

The choice of English as the only official language for a future EU Federation is discarded; countries like France or Germany - and possibly Spain, Italy or Poland -, among others, would not accept it, as it would mean to abandon legitimate lingusitic rights in favour of other States, without a sufficient justification in terms of population, political or economical relevance. The existence of a Nation with at least 25 official languages where none is over the others is a beautiful idea, and also an obvious utopia. At present, 23 languages - and four at least to come - are official, some semi-official (like Basque or Catalan), 3 of them working languages - i.e., officiously more important than the rest-, and one, English, serves (unofficially) for general communication. This does not seem the best of the possible solutions: it lacks the European spirit necessary for correct integration between the different nations in a common country, and is clearly inefficient.

To date, only some isolated proposals had claimed to be intermediate solutions, as the adoption of Latin, or the use of supposedly 'neutral' invented languages (as Esperanto, Ido, Interlingua, etc.). In both cases, the main supposed advantage consists in not being any of the present European Union languages and, because of that, not having theoretical cultural barriers for its acceptance. Latin has been Europe's lingua franca for centuries - before being substituted by French in the $18^{\text {th }}$ century - , while Volapük and its following clones and remakes (as Esperanto and the like) were invented by individuals with an international vocation, aimed at (above all) being easy to learn. However, as both solutions are not living languages, and because they are obviously unable to become EU's national language, the Europeans' answer has been at best of indifference to such proposals, thus accepting the defficient linguistic statu quo.

## MODERN HEBREW AND THE LAND OF ISRAEL

The language of Israel is Modern Hebrew: it is not their only language, as many old Israelis still speak better their old languages - like Judeo-Spanish or Yiddish (Judeo-German) - than modern Hebrew, and it is certainly not a very practical language from an international point of view. However, the Land of Israel needed a language, and even though they also had the possibility of choosing between different alternatives, as international languages (like French, English or Turkish), death languages (like Latin or its equivalent to Hebrews, Aramaic), or even artificial language systems (as Volapük or Esperanto), they chose the historical language of Israel, Hebrew, a language dead 2.500 years before - after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Nebuchadnezzar II -, and transmitted and very formal 500 years older. Hebrew limited exactitude, and at was generalized, mainly but, in practice, it was a and ease of use and learning, learn today) the sacred texts European countries still have subjects in High School.
 Babilonians under whose texts, mainly orally religious writings, are deemed could only be reconstructed with first opposition to the language because of religious concerns; language that united tradition as many jews learned (and still in old Hebrew, just as many Latin and Greek as obligatory

Figure 59. $11^{\text {th }}$ century Targum. Mediaeval remains are the oldest writings of Old Hebrew.
decision. We don't have to defend more European integration; the current customs union is maybe all we can achieve in our Union of countries, just a supranational entity with some delegated legislatory powers. But if we want, as it seems, to achieve a Confederation-like State (like Switzerland) or even a European Federation (as the US or Germany), then the only linguistic non-utopic solution, which unites tradition and ease of use and learning, is Modern Indo-European or the revived Proto-Indo-European language, because it is the grandmother of the languages of almost all citizens of the EU. Modern Indo-European is free of regional meaning -that could hurt the national proud of the others -, and, at the same time, full of European common significance.
${ }^{i}$ Before the Jews were expelled from their homeland, they spoke Aramaic, which substituted Old Hebrew after the fall of Jerusalem.

## IV.3. MORE THAN JUST A LINGUA FRANCA, EUROPE'S NATIONAL LANGUAGE

The game theory is a branch of applied mathematics that studies strategic situations where players choose different actions in an attempt to maximize their returns. It studies optimal strategies of foreseen and observed behaviour of individuals in such games; it studies, then, the choice of the optimal behaviour when costs and benefits of each option are not fixed, but depend on the choice of the other players.

The following table is based on "Special Eurobarometer 243" of the European Commission with the title "Europeans and their Languages" (summary), published on February 2006 with research carried out on November and December 2005. The survey was published before the 2007 Enlargement of the European Union, when Bulgaria and Romania acceded. This is a poll, not a census. 28,694 citizens with a minimum age of 15 were asked in the then 25 member-states as well as in the then future member-states (Bulgaria, Romania) and the candidate countries (Croatia, Turkey) at the time of the survey. Only citizens, not immigrants, were asked.

The first table shows what proportion of citizens said that they could have a conversation in each language as their mother tongue and as a second language or foreign language (only the languages with at least $2 \%$ of the speakers are listed):

| Language | Mother Tongue | Not Mother Tongue | Total Proportion |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| English | $13 \%$ | $38 \%$ | $51 \%$ |
| German | $18 \%$ | $14 \%$ | $32 \%$ |
| French | $12 \%$ | $14 \%$ | $26 \%$ |
| Italian | $13 \%$ | $3 \%$ | $16 \%$ |
| Spanish | $9 \%$ | $6 \%$ | $15 \%$ |
| Polish | $9 \%$ | $1 \%$ | $10 \%$ |
| Dutch | $5 \%$ | $1 \%$ | $6 \%$ |
| Russian | $1 \%$ | $6 \%$ | $7 \%$ |
| Swedish | $2 \%$ | $1 \%$ | $3 \%$ |
| Greek | $3 \%$ | $0 \%$ | $3 \%$ |
| Czech | $2 \%$ | $1 \%$ | $3 \%$ |
| Portuguese | $2 \%$ | $0 \%$ | $2 \%$ |
| Hungarian | $2 \%$ | $0 \%$ | $2 \%$ |
| Slovak | $1 \%$ | $1 \%$ | $2 \%$ |
| Catalan | $1 \%$ | $1 \%$ | $2 \%$ |

Languages spoken within the European Union (more than 2\%). Data for EU25.

The European Union's Linguistic Policy game is depicted here in extensive form, with a decision tree, where each vertex (or node) represents a point of choice for a player. The player is specified by a number listed by the vertex. The lines out of the vertex represent a possible action for that player. The payoffs are specified at the bottom of the tree.

In this simplified game there are 2 players. Player 1, who represents any linguistic community within the EU, moves first and choose between two options; one, (E) Egoistical, consists in favouring the own language, and the other (R), consists in Renouncing the own language in favor of any other option. Player 2, who represents other linguistic community within the EU, sees the move of player 1 and choose in turn E or R. For example, if player 1 chooses E and then player 2 chooses R, player 2 obtains 2 points and player 1 obtains 5 points; if he chooses E, both obtain 3 points each. The payoff of being able to speak the own language with better status than the other is then 5 -due to, say, national proud-, and the contrary -for the same reason- has a value of 2 , while speaking both languages at the same level has a payoff of 3 .

This - simplistically depicted - game is constantly played within the EU by the different linguistic communities: UK and Ireland for English, Germany and Austria mainly for German, France and Belgium for French,etc.


Figure 60. Present Situation of the linguistic policy in the EU, without Modern Indo-European.

The equilibrium obtained in this game is always the same, as every pair of players has in the Egoistic the best of their possible decisions. Player 1, which is the first to decide - let's say he decides first because he represents an important linguistic community, like the English, or a majority, like the German - obtains 5 or 3 points if he behaves Egoistically, but 3 or 2 points if he Renounces his linguistic rights. The first option (underlined) is the best in any of the possible events. For the second player, the payoff of behaving Egoistically is 3 or 5, while Renouncing his rights would give him 2 or 3 points. Again, the Egoistical behaviour is the best.

It is obvious, however, that this output $(3,3)$ is inefficient for the EU, which would benefit from the sacrifice of some linguistic communities to obtain a better situation, although none is prepared to give up. Hence the unstable equilibrium, where everybody has an interest in changing the final output, in negotiations where the EU looks for the optimal punctuation of the scheme (7 points), with less languages - in the real world the EU chooses unofficially English as lingua franca and French and German for some other working issues -, while every community has an incentive to behave Egoistically to be, in a hypothetical situation, the one to enjoy the maximum output of 5 points.

After the introduction of Modern Indo-European (a systematized Proto-Indo-European), the payoff of the option in which both players renounce their linguistic rights change, but the solution of the game (at


Figure 61. European Union linguistic policy after the introduction of Modern Indo-European
least in theory), paradoxically, not.
The payoff of behaving Egoistically for both players is 3 or 5 points, while that of Renouncing is 2 or 5 . Then, even after the introduction of Europaio as the alternative, the output of the game will still be the Egoistic one.

The global situation is completely different, though, as the equilibrium sought by the European Union is that which will give the maximum global payoff, 10 ; once obtained this equilibrium, no player will have incentives to change his decision, because his situation will not be better off. The game has, then, only one Nash Equilibrium, Pareto optimal, and the players (which are, in general, rational) will choose the strategies that agree with it.


Figure 62. The European Parliament. Can you imagine how European Parliamentary sessions are driven and followed by its multilingual members without a common national language? How can we expect a more democratic Europe without a common language for the Legislative, for the Executive, for Justice, for the Administration?

## IV.4. DNGHU, THE INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION

Language planning refers to the deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of language. Typically it will involve the development of goals, objectives and strategies to change the way language is used. At a governmental level, language planning takes the form of language policy. Many nations have language regulatory bodies which are specifically charged with formulating and implementing language planning policies.

Language planning can be divided into three sub-dimensions:
Corpus planning refers to intervention in the forms of a language. This may be achieved by creating new words or expressions, modifying old ones, or selecting among alternative forms. Corpus planning aims to develop the resources of a language so that it becomes an appropriate medium of communication for modern topics and forms of discourse, equipped with the terminology needed for use in administration, education, etc. Corpus planning is often related to the standardization of a language, involving the preparation of a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a speech community. Efforts at linguistic purism and the exclusion of foreign words also belong to corpus planning, and for a previously unwritten language, the first step in corpus planning is the development of a writing system.

Status planning refers to deliberate efforts to allocate the functions of languages and literacies within a speech community. It involves status choices, making a particular language or variety an 'official language', 'national language', etc. Often it will involve elevating a language or dialect into a prestige variety, which may be at the expense of competing dialects. Status planning is part and parcel of creating a new writing system since a writing system can only be developed after a suitable dialect is chosen as the standard.

Acquisition planning concerns the teaching and learning of languages, whether national languages or second and foreign languages. It involves efforts to influence the number of users and the distribution of languages and literacies, achieved by creating opportunities or incentives to learn them. Such efforts may be based on policies of assimilation or pluralism. Acquisition planning is directly related to language spread. While acquisition planning is normally the province of national, regional, or local governments, bodies such as the British Council, Alliance française, Instituto Cervantes and Goethe-Institut are also very active internationally promoting education in their respective languages.

The main objective of the Dnghu Association is exactly to make use of its pioneering role in reviving the Indo-European language to become the reference institution for the development of Modern IndoEuropean or the revived Proto-Indo-European language, a set of grammatical rules necessary for proper communication in present-day Europe. This role includes:
A. Administering a group of experts in Indo-European linguistics, who should develop thoroughly the Corpus linguistics of Modern Indo-European, through a Consortium of universities and other renowned linguistic institutions, establishing guidelines and recommendations to be accepted by all. The Consortium should be located in some clearly Europeanist city, like Brussels, Strasbourg, Bologna, or otherwise where the first important university of Central Europe joins.
B. Also, as many resources as possible should be used to promote the birth of a social movement for revival: we called those projects "Europaio" - which is the easily recognizable name of the language system -, comprising Open Source software and other works and Wiki websites' content under Copyleft licenses, to attract everyone to participate and join; and also - being consistent with real Copyleft premises - allowing everyone to develop their own projects in case they don't like ours. This way, Indo-European revival is the only secured beneficiary of the community efforts (whether united or dispersed), and Indo-European has a bigger chance to become the future official language of the EU.
C. Lastly, incorporating a legal framework, the


Figure 63. Knowledge of French in the European Union. Along with the knowledge of German, Spanish or Russian, all those who know at least English and French have it easier to learn the reconstructed Proto-Indo-European. If they learn Latin and Greek, they will have it still easier.

Indo-European Language Association, to manage and administer the aforementioned projects of language planning, dividing its activities into different zones, and trying to:

1. Publish grammars, referente guides, dictionaries, specialized reviews in Indo-European linguistics, collaborating with experts in Proto-Indo-European, and also arranging conferences and workgroups. Dnghu would be, then, a reference for works in or about the Indo-European language.
2. Publish learning methods, whether official or not, either free or proprietary, like manuals for school, high school or university students; CD-ROMs and other multimedia learning tools; distance courses through e-learning; translation software for individuals and professionals, etc.
3. Translate literary works, promote literary or general artistic creations, work in subtitles and dubbing of films, and all kinds of promotional activities addressed to the public, with a market of more than 400 million Europeans.
4. Organize language courses for individuals and companies, taught in every Dnghu center, with some special locations for intensive and summer courses under a only-Indo-European-spoken-here rule.
5. Broadcasting of news, television and radio programs in Indo-European, making use of the Internet and new multimedia technologies, trying to become a reference source for independent news, the way the BBC and the Deutsche-Welle are in their languages.
6. Receive public subsidies from the EU and the regions that host the Indo-European revival projects. Promote donations of individuals as a logical means to fund new technologies and free licences.
7. Function as Think Tank in Brussels, influencing the policies of the European Union with legal and legitimate means, pushing for a more pro-Europeanist approach and the Indo-European language adoption as the national language.

Figure 64. However detailed the European Union budget is, one cannot actually calculate the annual costs of not having a common national language as Modern Indo-European.

EU budget 2007 in figures

| Expenditure estimates for EU policies (in billion EUR) | Budget 2007 | Change from 2006 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sestainable growth | 54.9 | 15.4\% |
| Compeititeness indoriny: | 9.4 | 18.6\% |
| Efuxation and traing | 0.9 | 31.0\% |
| Reseach | 5.5 | 3.1\% |
| Compettiveness and imoration | 0.4 | 53.6\% |
| Erengy and tranport netweds | 1.0 | 32.9\% |
| Socal policy agenda | 0.2 | 8.6\% |
| (chesisn, hiduring: | 45.5 | 14.8\% |
| Comergence | 35.3 | 168\% |
| Reginal (ompetikeness and employment | 9.8 | 11.5\% |
| Ierimotial cospention | 1.1 | -11.7\% |
| Natural resources, including: | 56.3 | 1.0\% |
| twiormeet | 0.2 | 17.9\% |
| Igriuturd expendifue and divect aits | 4.7 | 0.5\% |
| Burd devebpment | 12.4 | 3.0\% |
| Freedem, security and justice <br> (indouding fundamental ingts and jistike, security and Iberties, migation flows) | 0.6 | 12.8\% |
| Citizenship <br> (indoding cukture, media, piblichealth and consumer petection) | 0.6 | 0.8\% |
| EV as a global player, induding: | 6.8 (') | 4.5 \%(9) |
| Pre-acession | 1.3 | 165\%17 |
| Euopean neyditsurtood | 1.4 | 11.1\% |
| Dextopneme coppentice | 2.2 | . $5.4 \% 17$ |
| Humanitarian aid | 0.7 | 3.1\% |
| Demosrecy and luman ifituts | 0.1 | 9.6\% |
| Commen forivi and secrity psiky | 0.2 | 55.2\% |
| Statility instrumert | 0.1 | 143.5\% |
| Adminisistation, indiading: | 6.9 | 5.1\% |
| Eumpean Commission | 3.3 | 5.3\% |
| Other issthusions | 2.6 | 48\% |
| Compensations to new EU countries (\%) | 0.4 | .58.6\% |
| Total | 126.5 | 5.0\% |
|  <br>  <br>  <br> MArmenfudtheym: |  |  |

## EUROPEAN UNION EXPENDITURE

The actual costs that the European Union bears because of not having a common national language (apart from some officiously selected lingua franca) is incalculable; just compare how businesses, politics, students and people behave within the United States, and how they function within the EU. Without a common language, the Union is nothing more than a customs union, whatever the intention of its member states. There are some limited and intentionally obscure statistics, though, as to how the direct expenditure of the EU institutions are:

Beginning with the Lingua programme in 1990, the European Union invests more than $€_{30}$ million a year (out of a $€ 120$ billion EU budget) promoting language learning through the Socrates and Leonardo da Vinci programmes in: bursaries to enable language teachers to be trained abroad, placing foreign language assistants in schools, funding class exchanges to motivate pupils to learn languages, creating


Figure 65. Expenses related to the lack of a common language are impossible to ascertain. new language courses on CDs and the Internet and projects that raise awareness of the benefits of language learning.

Also, $13 \%$ of the annual budget for administration ( $6 \%$ of the European Union total) is dedicated to translation and interpretation, with more than 2.000 public employers working to translate and interpret - whether immediatly or not - the most they can to every language pair. Recent statistics talk about 1.123 million euros invested in translation and interpretation, a total of $1 \%$ of the total budget, " 2,28 euros per capita", as the European Union likes to point out, i.e., 1 of each 100 euros that we pay in taxes for the Union is dedicated exclusively to the translation of papers, websites, to the Europarliament sessions, etc. Furthermore, we are paying 25 million euros for each language made official; however, only English is really promoted within the institutions, French is sometimes also used, and Germans complaint because they want their language to be at least as important as French... And all this for "just 2,28 euros per capita" annually; wow, what a bargain!

François Grin, specialist in economics of linguistics and linguistic policy, published in 2005 a report in which he pointed out that Great Britain, because of the predominance of its language within the Union, had between 17.000 y 18.000 million euros a year for language learning, thus profiting from the need of the other member states (imposed by our public institutions) to learn English. Not to talk about the
other English-speaking countries (as the US, Canada, Australia, South Africa, etc.), which profit from Europeans because of our own choice.

Both especialized industries, of translating-interpreting in Brussels, and of language teaching and learning in the UK, could adapt themselves and profit from the increase of businesses and jobs based on Indo-European language translation and learning needs.

The loss of thousands of jobs of EU's translators and interpreters, as well as the decrease in UK's GDP because of the adoption of MIE, are then not only avoidable, but even just another excuse - they are in fact in a better position to handle such a change than other national companies and institutions within the EU. It is, then, a question of willingness (of Brussels and England) to adopt a common natural language, beyond almost every other consideration.

## IV.5. CONCLUSION

As a conclusion, we can only say that, paradoxically, even if this simple study was correctly made, there are three main factors which have determined the success of the Hebrew language revival, whilst other revival attempts, as that of Latin or Coptic, or artificial language adoptions (as Esperanto, Ido, Interlingua, Lojban, etc.) have completely failed:

1. The real necessity of a common language (not just a lingua franca) among tiny workgroups - as in the first schools of Israel, which needed a common language other than English or French to teach to multilingual pupils. Such immediate necessity could show the real need for a common language in Europe, and help boost the Indo-European language revival. As an example, compare that, even if mobile phones seem to be now a need for most people, fifteen years ago it was a luxury good, only owned by those who needed it the most, as brokers; it was because of that first step - with big economic efforts for a then still inaccurate technology - of those who needed it the most, that the rest of us realized the advantages of the new technology, and that it spread to reach everyone.

NOTE. As a first step toward the realizing of such actual need, we are currently implementing a change in European education for the next years - beginning with the Spanish education system in the $11^{\text {th }}$ and $12^{\text {th }}$ year - , namely the promotion of the teaching of a more general subject in the high school, "European Languages", to substitute the current traditional optative/obligatory subjects "Latin", "Greek" or "Classical Culture", as well as third languages like "French", "German", "Russian", "Italian", etc.

The learning of such a subject (which would mainly give general notions on Proto-Indo-European and IE dialects of Europe like Latin, Germanic, Greek, Balto-Slavic, Celtic and Albanian) could easily demonstrate how those students who have passed it show 1) a greater understanding of foreign Indo-European languages of Europe, and especially 2) how they learn other European languages more easily, compared to those students who have
learnt merely a third IE language (either dead or alive), apart from the obligatory national and/or co-official and the second language.
2. The individual will of people to learn such a language. Unlike Esperanto, Latin, French or English, the Jews of Palestine learnt the reconstructed Modern Hebrew as an own language, not because of some external imposition, but mainly because of the thousands who (one-by-one or group-by-group) decided freely to learn it and use it openly with others. After more than a century of unending invented languages, there are still people who think that a language can be imposed by way of asserting the social advantages of its adoption - viz. ease of use, cultural 'neutrality', or even supposed "number of speakers". However, their obvious lack of success, along with the boom of national and regional languages' revival during the same period, shows that - whatever the underlying sociological and psychological foundations for such a behaviour -, it is not only cold reason and perfect philosophy what makes people learn and adopt a language as an own one, but also passion and desire, love for the own, interest for the old, maybe also fear for the foreign, etc.
3. The support of public institutions, from some point on, will also be necessary. However, we are convinced about its secondary role in the adoption of Modern Indo-European in Europe. With the television, the Internet, and other modern technologies, as well as libre culture and licences - and maybe also the growing culture of small private donations - , the support of the institutions of the European Union is not necessary in these first steps of the linguistic revival, until it becomes a language really used by young people within the Union.

## NOTES

Vocabulary is one of the best reconstructed parts of the Proto-Indo-European language. Indo-European studies have extensively dealt with the reconstruction of common PIE words and its derivatives, and lots of modern dictionaries of IE languages as Latin, English, German, Greek, Sanskrit, etc. already give etymologies in PIE roots apart from the oldest forms in their languages.

These notes are not intended to substitute the existing reference works, and indeed not to substitute the common PIE vocabulary to be used in Modern Indo-European, but just to facilitate the comprehension of Proto-IndoEuropean roots in light of their derivatives (and related to the vocabulary used in this grammar), showing also IE forms based on the common English vocabulary.

Many reconstructed derivatives are then from Germanic or from international words of Graeco-Latin origin, but this doesn't imply we recommend their use over other common PIE words: for example, Latin loans gnātionālís, national, or gnātionắlitā, nationality, are not used in some Germanic and Slavic languages, and should maybe be substituted by other, 'purer' or 'less biased' Proto-Indo-European terms. Also, non-IE suffixes Lat. aiqi-, re-, Gmc. iso-, "ice", Gk. geo-, haimn-, could be substituted by common PIE formations, as e.g. Lat. re- could be replaced by a 'purer' IE ati-, and suffix -ticould be used instead of secondary Ita., Arm. -tio(n), etc.

1. Carlos Quiles, translated as Indo-European Kárlos Kūriákī:
a. Carlos is a popular Spanish name derived from Germanic karlaz, kerlaz (cf. O.N. karl, O.E. ćeorl), maybe originally "common person, free man", Modern Indo-European Kárlos. In Norse mythology, Karl was the name of the first free peasant, the son of Rig and Amma. Rig was the human form taken by the god Heimdall when he produced the progenitors of the three social classes (thralls, peasants and nobility) with three different women. In the Scandinavian languages, Karl retains its meaning "man". In German, the origin of the name Karl can be traced to the word Kerl which is still used to describe somewhat rough and common men. As in the words churl and churlish in English.
b. Quiles is a genitive, and means "(son) of quili" (cf. Spa. Quílez, Cat. Quilis, Ast. Quirós, Gal-Pt. Quiris). It comes, from mediaeval noun Quirici->Quili (shortened and with $r->l$ ), a loan word from Gk. Kvpıккоৎ (IndoEuropean kūriákos), from which It./Spa. Quirico, Gl.-Pt. Queirici, Cat. Quirce, Fr. Quirice, O.N. kirkja, Eng. church, Scots kirk or Ger. Kirche. PIE root kew means swell. IE kúrios means master, lord, as Gk. кvpıoৎ, and adjective Kyriakos was used as Roman cognomen Cyriacos. Kūriákī should then be the proper genitive of the MIE loan-translated Greek term.
2. For PIE root bhā (older * $b^{h} e h_{2}$ colored into ${ }^{*} b^{h} a h_{1}$ ) compare modern derivatives: zero-grade (bha) suffixed bháuknos, beacon, signal, as Gmc. bauknaz (cf. O.E. beacen, O.Fris. bacen, M.Du. bokin, O.H.G. bouhhan, O.Fr. boue, "buoy"), bhásiā, berry ("bright-coloured fruit"), as Gmc. bazjo (cf. O.E. berie, berige, O.H.G. beri, Frank. bram-besi into O.Fr. framboise, "raspberry", MIE bhrambhásiā); bhánduos, banner, identifying sign, standard, hence "company united under a particular banner" as Gmc. bandwaz (cf. Goth. banwa, also L.Lat.

common borrowings bhawtogrbhíā (see gerbh), photography, shortened bháwtos, or bháuesphoros/phósphoros, bringing light, morning star, phosphorus. See bhā for more IE derivatives.
3. Modern derivatives from IE dńghū-, language, are usually feminine (as general dńghwā), but for extended Slavic dńghwiks, which is masculine (cf. Russ. язык, Pl. język, Cz. jazik, Sr.-Cr.,Slo. jezik, Bul. език). Compare, for the noun of the English (language), modern Indo-European words: neuter O.E. Englisc, Ger. Englisch, Du. Engels, Gk. n.pl. $A \gamma \gamma \lambda \iota \kappa \alpha \dot{c}$; masculine is found in Scandinavian engelsk, in Romance - where the neuter merged with the masculine - Fr. anglais, It. inglese, Spa. inglés, Pt. inglese, as well as alternative Lat. sermō latīnus, and Slavic (following the masculine of the word "language"), Russ. английский [язык], Pol. język angielski, Bul. английски [език], Sr.-Cro. engleski [jezik] etc.); feminine (following the gender of "language") Lat. anglica [lingua], Rom. [limba] engleză, or Slavic Cz. angličtina, Slo. angleščina, Bel. англійская; or no gender at all, as in Arm. angleren [lezu].
4. PIE root wéro, speak, (or * werh ${ }_{3}$ ), gives MIE wŕdhom, word, as Gmc. wurdam, (cf. Goth. waurd, O.N. orð, O.S., O.Fris., O.E. word, Du. woord, O.H.G., Ger. wort), and wérdhom, word, verb, as Lat. uerbum, as in adwérdhiom, adverb, or prōwérdhiom, proverb; also wério, say, speak, metathesized in Greek, as in
 wrếmn, rheme. Compare also Umb. uerfalem, Gk. $\varepsilon \rho \omega$, Skr. vrata, Av. urvāta, O.Pruss. wīrds, Lith. vardas, Ltv. vārds, O.C.S. vračĭ, Russ. врать, O.Ir. fordat; Hitt. ueria.
5. PIE base jeug, join (probably from a root jeu), evolved as O.H.G. [untar]jauhta, Lat. jungō, Gk. گeúpvv̄ $\mu$ O.Ind. yunákti, yōjayati (IE jeugeieti), Av. yaoj-, yuj-, Lith. jùngiu, jùngti; gives common derivatives jugóm, joining, yoke; cf. Gmc. jukam (cf. Goth. juk, O.N. ok, O.S. juk, O.E. geoc, Dan. aag, M.Du. joc, Du. juk, O.H.G. juch, Ger. Joch), Lat. iugum, Gk. ̧uyov, O.Ind. yugám, Skr. yogah, Arm. luc (with $-l$ influenced by lucanem, "unyoke"), Toch. yokäm, O.C.S. igo, Russ. obža, Cz. jho, Welsh iau, O.Cor. ieu, Bret. ieo; Hett. yugan; jéugos, yoke, as Goth. jukuzi, M.H.G. jiuch, Lat. jūgerum (from Lat. jūgera, IE jóugesa), Gk. 弓eũyos, O.C.S. ižesa;
6. PIE adjective néwos, - $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$, -om, gives Germanic newjaz, (cf. Goth. niujis, O.N. nýr, O.Eng. niowe, O.Fris. nie, O.H.G. niuwi, Du. nieuw, Dan., Swed. ny), Lat. nouus, Osc. núvellum, Gk. véo̧, O.Ind. návas, návyas, Skr. navah, Av. nava-, O.Pers. nau, Toch. ñu/ñuwe, Thrac. neos, Arm. unp, O.Pruss. nauns (due to analogy with jauns), O.Lith. navas, Lith. naũjas, Ltv. nàujš, O.C.S. novŭ, O.Russ. новъ, Polish nowy, Gaul. Novio-, O.Ir. nüë, Welsh newydd, O.Bret. neuued, Kamviri nuĩ, Kashmiri nōv, O.Osset. nog; Hitt. newash, Luw. nāw.
It was probably a full grade of nu, now, as Gmc. $n u$ (cf. Goth. $n u$, O.N. $n \bar{u}$, O.E. $n \bar{u}$, O.Fris. $n u$, O.Ger. $n u$, Du. $n u$, Ger. nun), Lat. nunc, Gk. $v v, v v v$, O.Ind. $n \bar{u}$, Av. $n u$, O.Pers. $n \bar{u} r a m$, Toch. nuṃ/nano, O.Pruss. teinu, Lith. $n \bar{u}$, Ltv. nu, O.C.S. nune, O.Ir. nu-, Alb. tani; Hitt. nuwa, Luw. nanun.
7. Indo-European médhjos (from PIE me, v.i.) gives Gmc. medjaz (cf. Goth. midjis, O.N. miððr, O.S. middi, O.E. midd, O.Fris. midde, O.H.G. mitti), Lat. medius, Osc. mefiaí, Gk. $\mu$ ह́бooৎ, O.Ind. mádhjam, Skt. mádhjah, Av. maidja-, Pers. mēān, Illyr. metu, O.Arm. mēj, O.Pruss. median, Lith. medis, Ltv. mežs, O.C.S.. mežda, O.Russ. межу, Polish między, Gaul. Mediolānum, O.Ir. mid, Welsh mewn, Kamviri pâmüč. West Germanic dialects have a common dimminutive medhjolós, middle, as Gmc. middilaz (cf. O.E. middel, M.L.G., Du. middel, Ger. Mittel); Latin derivatives include medhjālís, medial, medhjáliā, medal, medhjā, mediate, médhjom, medium, entermedhjā, intermediate, medhjaiwālís, medieval, medhitersaniós, mediterranean, etc.

PIE me, in the middle of, gives suffixed formes médhi-, among, with, as Gmc. mid-, and méta-, between, with, beside, after, as Gk. meta.

For PIE áiw-, also ájus, vital force, life, long life, eternity, compare Gmc. aiwi (as in O.N. ei, Eng. aye, nay), suffixed áiwom, age, eternity, in medhjáiwom, Middle Ages, medhjaiwālís, mediaeval, prwimaiwālís, primeval, dhlongháiwotā, longevity; further suffixed áiwotā, age, and aiwoternós, eternal, as Lat. aeternus, in aiwotérnitā, eternity; suffixed áiwēn, age, vital force, eon, Gk. aiōn; zero-grade compound júcjēs, "having a vigorous life", healthy (from cei, live), as Gk. hugiēs, in jucjésinā (téksnā), "(art) of health", hygiene, as Gk. hugieinē (tekhnē); o-grade ójus, life, health, as Skr. āyuh, or Gk. ouk, from (ne) ojus (qid), "(not on your) life", in ojutópiāa, from Gk. oú, no, and tóлos, a place that doesn't exist. See also jeu, vital force, youthful vigor.
8. PIE ágros, field, also pasture, land, plain, gives Gmc. akraz (cf. Goth. akrs, O.N. akr, O.E. æcer, O.Fris. ekkr, O.H.G. achar. Eng. acre), Lat. ager, Umb. ager (both from earlier Italic agros, district, property, field), Gk. $\alpha \gamma \rho o ́ s$, Skr. ajras, O.Arm. art.
9. Indo-European sqálos, squalus, shark, (cf. Lat. squalus) is probably cognate with qálos, whale, as in Gmc. khwalaz (cf. O.S. hwal, O.N. hvalr, O.E. hwæl, M.Du. wal, O.H.G. wal), possibly from an original (s)qalos, with a general meaning of "big fish", then constrained in its meaning in individual dialects. See S-Mobile in § 2.8 for more on such related words.
10. Indo-European áqiā, "thing on the water", "watery land", island, is the source for Gmc. aujō, island (cf. Goth. ahwa, O.N. á, O.E. ìeg, O.H.G. aha, O.Is. ey, M.H.G. ouwe, Eng. is[land]), as may be seen on Skandináqiā, Scandinavia L.Latin mistaken form of Skadináqiā, Scadinavia, "south end of Sweden", loantranslation of Gmc. skadinaujō, "danger island" (cf. O.E. Scedenig, O.N. Skaney); first element is usually reconstructed as IE skátom, as in Gmc. *skathan, meaning danger, scathe, damage (Goth. scapjan, O.N. skaða, O.E. sceapian, O.Fris. skethia, M.Du. scaden, O.H.G. scadon), which could be related to Greek $\alpha-\sigma \kappa \eta \theta \eta \mathrm{S}$ ( $a-$ skēthēs), unhurt. The source for áqiā is PIE root áqā, water, cognate with Lat. aqua, Russ. Oká (name of a river) and, within the Anatolian branch, Hitt. akwanzi, Luw. ahw-, Palaic aku-.
English writing "island" was influenced by French isle, from Lat. insula, itself from MIE énsalā (from ensalos, "in the sea", from sálom, sea, v.i.), giving derivatives ensalarís, insular, ensalanós, islander, ensalínā, insuline, etc.
11. IE léndhom, land, soil, country, region, gave Gmc. landom (cf. Goth.,O.N., O.E., O.Fris., Du., Ger. land), and is derived from PIE lendh, with the meaning of land, steppe; compare O.Pruss. lindan, O.C.S. ledina, Russ. ljada, Polish ląd, Gaul. landa, O.Ir. land, Welsh llan, Bret. lann.
12. For PIE root (á)mbbhi, around, about, compare Gmc. (um)bi (cf. O.N. um/umb, O.E. be/bi, ymbe, M.Du. bie, O.H.G. umbi, bi, Du. bij, Ger. um, bei), Lat. ambi, amb, Gk. á $\mu \varphi \mathrm{l}$, Skr. abhi, Celt. ambi. It is probably derived from ant(i)-bhi, lit. "from both sides", hence older IE *ngbhi. For PIE ánti, front, forehead, compare Gmc. andja (end, originally "the opposite side", cf. Goth. and, O.N. endr, O.E. ende, O.Fris. enda, O.H.G. endi), Lat. antiae, Osc. ant, Gk. ávtl, Toch. ānt/ānte, Lith. ant, O.Ir. étan. Anatolian Hitt. hanta, Luw. hantili, Lyc. xñtawata support the hypothesis of an earlier locative * $h_{2}$ ént-i - see ant and ambhi.
13. Proto-Indo-European ag, drive, draw, move, do, act, compare Lat. agere, Gk. $\alpha \gamma \varepsilon \iota v$, O.Ir. Ogma, from which agtiós, weighty, as Gk. $\alpha \xi \xi$ los, ágrā, seizing, as Gk. $\alpha \gamma \rho \alpha$, and ágtos, in ambhágtos, one who goes
around, from Lat. ambactus, a loan word from Celtic. Other common derivatives include agtēiuós, active, agtuālís, actual, agtuariós, actuary, agtuā, actuate, agénts, agent, agilís, agile, agitā, agitate, ambhaguós, ambiguous, komágolom, coagulum, ekságiom, essay, eksagtós, exact, eksago, demand, ekságmn, swarm, later exam, eksagmnā, examine, eksagénts, exigent, eksaguós, exiguous, nawagā, navigate (from nấus), dhūmagā, fumigate, (from dhúmos, smoke) fustagā, fustigate (from Lat. fustis, "club"), transago, compromise, ṇtransagénts, intransigent (from n-, un-, see ne), litagā, litigate (from Latin loan litágiom, litigation), prōdago, drive away, to squander, (from prō-d-es, be good), prōdagós, prodigal, redago, redact, retrōago, drive back, retrōagtēiuós, retroactive, transago, transact; Greek agogós, drawing off, in agógos, -agogue ("leading, leader"), as in dāmagógos, "popular leader", demagogue (from dá́mos, people), supnagogikós, hypnagogic (from swep, sleep), pawidagógos, pedagogue, protagonístā, protagonist (Gk $\pi \rho \omega \tau \alpha ү \omega \vee \iota \tau \eta \dot{\varsigma})$, komagógā, synagogue; suffixed agtiós, "weighty", as in agtiós, worth, worthy, of like value, weighing as much, as in agtiómā, axiom, Gk. áگ゙ $\omega \mu \alpha$, agtiologíā, axiology; suffixed ágrā, driving, pursuing, seizing, as in Gk. agrā, in podágrā.

For PIE dhúmos, smoke, Lat. fumus, Gk. thymos, Skt. dhumaḥ, O.Prus. dumis, Lith. dumai, O.C.S. dymu, M.Ir. dumacha.

Indo-European swep, sleep, gives swópōs, deep sleep, as Lat. sopor, in compound swoposidhakós (from dhak), soporific; swópnos, sleep, as Lat. somnus, swópnolénts, somnolent, or ṇswópniom, insomnia; zerograde suffixed súpnos, Gk. hypnos, and in supnótis, hypnosis, supnotikós, hypnotic.

For Indo-European root pau, few, little, compare derivatives pawós, Gmc. fawaz (cf. Goth. fawai, O.N. far, O.E. feawe, Dan. faa, O.Fris.fe, O.H.G.foh) or paukós, as Lat. paucus; suffixed metathesized form parwós, little, small, neuter parwom, little, rarely; compound pauparós, producing little, poor (IE parós, producing), as in depauparā, depauparate, and empauparā, impoverish; suffixed zero-grade púlā, young of an animal, as Gmc. fulōn (cf. Goth.,O.E. fula, O.N. foli, O.H.G. folo, O.Fris. fola, M.H.G. vole, Eng. foal, Ger. Fohlen); extended suffixed pútslos, young of an animal, chicken, as Lat. pullus, and diminutive putslolós, Lat pusillus, in putslolanamós, pusillanimous; also, for words meaning "boy, child", compare suffixed púeros, as Lat. puer,

 education" (see IE en, q'qlos) meaning "a general knowledge".
For IE pero, produce, procure, older * $\operatorname{perh}_{2}$ (closely related to pero, both from per), compare Latin par- (from zero-grade), in parā, try to get, prepare, equip, in adparā, prepare, adpáratos, apparatus, apparel, enparā, command, enparātốr, emperor, imperator, enparatēiuós, imperative, preparā, prepare, reparā, repair, separā, separate, sever; suffixed pario, get, beget, give birth, p.part. partós, in partosiénts, parturient, pártom, birth, repario, find out, repartóriom, repertory; parallel suffixed participial form parénts, parent, as Lat. parēns; suffixed form -parós, producing.
Indo-European pero, grant, allot (reciprocally, to get in return), gives derivatives as pártis, a share, part, as Lat. pars (stem part-), in partio, divide up, share, partitós, divided, share, partítos, division, party, partíkolā, particle (with dim. partikillā, parcel), dwipartitós, bipartite, kompartio, compart, enpartio, impart, repartio, repart, pártiōn, portion, a part, Lat. portiō, in prō partioní, in proportion, according to
each part, into prōpártiōn, proportion; pār, equal, as in pấritā, parity, kompārā, comapare, ṇpấritā, imparity, etc.
14. PIE mātếr (also mấtēr) gave Gmc. mōdar, (cf. ON móðir, O.E. mōdor, O.S. modar, O.H.G. muoter, M.Du. moeder), Lat. māter, Osc. maatreís, Umb. matrer, Gk. $\mu \eta \dot{\tau} \eta \rho$, O.Ind. mātā, Skr. mātár-, Av. mātar-, Pers. mādar, Phryg. mater, Toch. mācar/mācer, Arm. ưun (mair), Alb. motër, O.Pruss. mūti, Lith. móté, Ltv. māte, O.C.S., O.Russ. мати, Polish matka, Gaul. mātir, O.Ir. máthir, Welsh modryb, Kamviri motr, Osset. madæ.

IE ending -ter usually indicates kinship (see also pa-ter, bhrā-ter, dhuga-ter, jena-ter), whilst ma(earlier IE * $\mathrm{mah}_{2}{ }^{-}$) is a baby like sound found in the word for "mother" in non-Indo-European languages; as, Estonian ema, Semitic ${ }^{c} u m m$, Chinese māma, Apache, Navajo -ma, Vietnamese ma, Korean eomma, Malayalam amma, Zulu umama, Basque ama, Hawaiian makuahine, etc.; also, compare IE-related Hitt. anna, Hung. anya.
Compounds include māternós (or Lat. māternālís), maternal, mātérnitā, maternity, mātríkolā, list, register, and verb mātríkolā, matriculate, má́trīks, matrix, mātrimốniom, matrimony; also, mātérīā, tree trunk (<"matrix", the tree's source of growth), hence "hard timber used in carpentry", hence (calque of Gk. hūlē, "wood, matter"), substance, stuff, matter, as in mātériālis, material; mātrópolis (from pólis), metropolis, as Gk. $\mu \eta \tau \rho o ́ \pi o \lambda \iota \varsigma$, as well as Greek goddess of produce (especially for cereal crops) Demeter, from dē-māter , which have been related to IE de, da, or don.
English "wedding" comes from O.E. weddian "pledge, covenant to do something" from Gmc. wadjan (cf. Goth. ga-wadjon, O.N. veðja, O.Fris. weddia, Ger. Wette), from PIE base wadh- "to pledge, to redeem a pledge", as Lat. vas (gen. vadis), "bail, security", Lith. vaduoti "to redeem a pledge". Development to "marry" is unique to the English language.
15. PIE root leuk-/louk- means bright, light, brightness. Compare léuktom, light, as Gmc. leukhtam (cf. Goth. liuhap, O.N. leygr, O.E. lēoht, O.Fris. liacht, M.Du. lucht, O.H.G. lōh, O.Ice. lōn), or léuktio, make light, as Gmc. leukhtjan (cf. O.E. līhtan); léuks, light, as lat. lūx, as in leukíbheros, "light-bearer", Lucifer (from bher, carry, as Greek bhóros, by samprasarana the initial desinene is lost, cf. Lat. uir<wiros, Lat. sacer<sakros in lapis níger, etc.); suffixed léuksmen, light, opening, as Lat. lūmen, for common derivatives adj. léuksmenónts(ós), luminous, enléuksmenā, illuminate, etc.; léuksnā, moon, as Lat. lūna, as in leuksnālís, lunar, leuksnātikós, lunatic, etc.; suffixed léukstrom, purification, as Lat. lūstrum; leukstrā, purify, illuminate, as Lat. lustrare, as in enleukstrā, illustrate; leukodhrā, work by lamplight, hence lucubrate, as Lat. lūcubrāre, as in eghleukodhrā, lucubrate, (see eghs) and eghleukodhrắtiōn, elucubration; suffixed leukós, clear, white, as Gk. $\lambda \varepsilon u k o ́ s ;$ o-grade loukē, shine, as Lat. lūcēre, in loukénts, lucent, loukeitós, lucid, ekloukeitā, elucidate, reloukē, shine, reloukénts, relucent, transloukénts, translucent; zero-grade suffixed lúksnos, lamp, as Gk. lukhnos; and also attributed by some to this root nasalized zero-grade Gk. $\lambda$ úץ $\xi$, - $ү$ кós, "lynx", in any case MIE lunks. Common IE derivatives include Lat. lux, lucere, Osc. lúvkis, Umb. vuvçis, Gk. $\lambda \varepsilon v \kappa o ́ s, ~ O . I n d . ~ r o k a ́-, ~ A v . ~$ raočant, Toch. luk, Arm. lois, lusin, Lith. laukas, Ltv. lauks, O.C.S. luci, Russ. lug, Gaul. leux, O.Ir. luchair, Welsh llug, Kamviri luka; Hitt. lukezi, Lyc. luga, Luw. luha-,
For PIE root lech, light, having little weight, compare Gmc. likhtaz (cf. Goth. līhts, O.N. léttr, O.E. lēoht, O.H.G. līht, Swed. lätt, O.Fris., M.Du. licht, Ger. leicht, Eng. light), Lat. levis, Gk. غ̇خaxv́s, Skr. laghúṣ, raghús, Av. raghu-, rəvī (from *raghvī), Kashmiri lo.t, Toch. -/lankŭtse, O.Pruss. lāngiseilingins, Lith. lengva, Ltv. liegs, Sla. lıgъkъ
（cf．O．C．S．，O．Russ．лъгъкъ，Russ．лёгкий，Pol．lekki，Cz．lehký，Sr．－Cr．лаїк），O．Ir．lugu，laigiu（from＊lagiōs）， Welsh llai，Alb．lehtë．Common MIE derivatives include suffixed léchtos，light，and lechtio，lighten，as Gmc． likhtjan；lechús，light（extended in－is in Lat．leuis）into lechuā，lighten，raise，Lat．leuāre，as in léghuitā， levity，adlechuā，alleviate，eklechuā，elevate，relechuā，relieve，relechuánts，relevant；variant lachs，small， as O．Ir．lū－；nasalized zero－grade lńchs，lung，＂light organ＂，as Gmc．lungz（cf．O．N．lunge，O．E．，O．Fris．lungen， M．Du．longhe，Ger．lunge）．

16．Adjective cĭwós，alive，from zero－grade ${ }^{*} g^{w i H}$ ，is the source for Gmc．kwikwaz（cf．Goth．quis，O．N．kvikr， O．E．cwicu，O．Fris．quik，O．H．G．quec，Ger．keck，possibly also O．E．cwifer，Eng．quiver），lat．uīus，Osc．bivus， O．Ind．jīvati，Av．ǰvaiti，O．Pruss．giwa，Lith．gyventi，Ltv．dzīvs．It comes from PIE root cei，live，compare Gk． ßios（bios），〕மウ́（zoé），Pers．gaithā，Toch．śo／śai，O．Arm．keam，O．C．S．жити，Russ．жить，Polish żyć，Gaul． Biturīges，O．Ir．bethu，Welsh byd．

17．PIE root léus，loosen，divide，cut apart，gives extended verb luso，lose，forfeit，Gmc．lausan（cf．O．N．los， O．E．losian，O．Is．lyja，Swe．sofve），with zero－grade part．lusonós，Gmc．luzanaz，（O．E．，Du．loren，Ger． ［ver］loren），leusós，loose，untied，Gmc．lausaz（cf．Goth．laus，O．N．lauss，O．E．leas，Dan．løs，M．Du．，Ger．los）． Compare also Lat．luēs，Gk．$\lambda \dot{v} \omega$ ，Skr．lunáti，Toch lo／lau，O．Ir．loë，Alb．laj；Hitt．luzzi．It is derived from PIE leu．

18．For Indo－European（á）ŕtkos，bear，big animal，from older ${ }^{*} h_{2}$（é）rtcos or $h_{2}$（é）rtgos，（cf．Hitt．bartagga）， compare Lat．ursus（from Ita．orcsos），Gk．apктos，Skr．ṛkṣa，Av．aršam，Pers．xers，Arm．arj，Gaul．Artioni，Welsh arth，Alb．ari，Kamviri ic，Osset．ærs．Common Modern borrowings include Latin rtkinós，ursine，Artkikós， Arctic（from＊Arktikós），Antartkikós，Antartic（see ánti，opposite，in front），Welsh Artkór（i）os，Arthur．

19．Modern Indo－European nō̄mn，name，from an older IE II ${ }^{*} h_{1} n o h_{3} m n$ ，compare Gmc．namōn（cf．Goth． namō，O．N．nafn，O．E．nama，O．Fris．nama，O．H．G．namo，Du．naam），Lat．nōmen，Umb．nome，Gk．ovo $\mu$ ， O．Ind．nä́ma，Skr．nāman，Av．nąman，O．Pers．nāma，Toch．ñom／ñem，Arm．winkí（anun），O．Pruss．emmens （from emnes），Sla．јътę－јътепе（cf．O．C．S．imę，Rus．имя，Polish imię）Alb．emër／emën，O．Ir．ainmm，O．Welsh $a n u, ~ O . C o r n . ~ h a n o w, ~ B r e t . ~ a n o, ~ K a m v i r i ~ n o m ; ~ H i t t . ~ l a ̄ m a n . ~ C o m m o n ~ m o d e r n ~ w o r d s ~ i n c l u d e ~ L a t i n ~(f r o m ~ n o m e n, ~$ ＂name，reputation＂），nomnālís，nominal，nomnā，nominate，dwinomniālís，binomial，komnốmn， cognomen，denomnā，denominate，ṇnómniā，ignominy，nomnklatốr，nomenclator，prāinốmn，praenomen， prōnṓmn，pronoun，renṓmn，renown；from Greek are nomnstikós，onomastic，－nomn，－onym，ṇnomnós， anonymous，antinomnsíā（from anti），antonomasia，eponomnós，eponymous，（a）sunomnós，euonymus， snteronomnós，heteronymous，somonomnós，homonymous，mātronomnikós，matronymic， patronomnikós，patronymic，nomntoqoiweíā，anomatopoeia，paronomnós，paronimous，pseudonómn， pseudonym（from Gk．pseudes，＂false＂）komnómn，synonym．

For PIE qéi，pile up，build，make，compare o－grade qóios，body（as in Eng．cheetah），as Skr．kāyaḥ；suffixed qoiwós，making，（after Pokorny Gk．＊лoı－fó－s）in verb qoiweio，make，create，as Gk．лоıモ̃v，qoiwéitis，making， and as Greek suffix－qoiweitis，－poiesis，Gk．лоíךбıs，also from Lat．qoiweitíā，poesy，qoíweimn，poem（Gk． $\pi о i ́ \eta \mu \alpha$ ），qoiwéitā，poet（Gk．лоוך七ŋ́ऽ），qoiweitikós，poetic，epoqoiwéiā，epopee，etc．．

Similar root PIE qéi, pay, atone, compensate, gives Gk. time, Skr. cinoti, Av. kaena, O.C.S. cena, Lith. kaina, as well as common MIE o-grade qoiná, fine, penalty, as Gk. poinē into Lat. poena, as in qoinālís, penal, qoinálitā, penalty, ṇqóinitā, impunity, qoinologíā, penology, qoinitosiós, punitory, supqoiná, subpoena.
20. For -qe, enclitic "and", compare Goth, O.N. $-u(h)$, Lat. -que, Gk. - $\tau \varepsilon$, Messap. $t i$, si, O.Ind., Ira. -ca, Phryg. $k e$, Ven. kve, Gaul. -c, O.Ir. -ch-; Hitt., Luw. -ku, Lyc. -ke.

For MIE non-clitic words meaning "and", compare especially MIE éti, "out, further", also "and", as Goth. ip, O.N. i, O.E. edw, O.H.G. ita-, Lat. etiam, et (cf. Fr. et, It. ed, Spa.,Ca., i, Gl.-Pt. e, Rom. şi), Gk. eti, O.Ind. ati, Av. aiti, O.Pers. atiy, Phryg. eti, Toch. atas, aci/, O.Pruss. et-, at-, Gaul. eti, etic, O.Bret. et-, O.Welsh et-, at-.

Common Germanic untha (cf. O.N. enn, O.E. and, ond, O.S. endi, O.Fris. anda, M.Du. ende, O.H.G. enti, Ger. und), reconstructed as MIE ńti, is generally said to be ultimately from PIE ánti, in front, although more conceivably a zero-grade form of nasalized *énti, from the aforementioned PIE éti (Adrados). Also, O.E. eac, "also" (as Eng. eke), Ger. auch, are used as the common conjunction in Da.,No. og, Swe. och, from aug, increase.

Slavic " $a$ " comes from IE adverb ad, (older * $h_{1} d$ ), "and, then", as Skr. fat, "afterwards, then, so", Av. fat, "afterwards, then", while Slavic "(h)i" comes from IE conjunction ei, and, if, as in Gk. e.
21. IE -r, enclitic "for", cf. Gk. ar, ara, rá (Cypriot er), O.Ind. -r, Lith. ir, "and, also", ar (interrogative).
22.The Angles are members of a Germanic tribe mentioned by Tacitus, O.E. Angeln, from Lat. Anglii, lit. "people of Angul" (cf. O.N. Öngull), a region in what is now Schleswig-Holstein, in Northern Germany. The adjectives for the older inhabitants could then be reconstructed as Modern Indo-European Angliós. Modern adjective English is a common Germanic formation, derived from IE suffix -isko-; as, Angliskós, Germaniskós, Teutiskós (along with ‘Classic’ Graeco-Latin Anglós, Anglikós, Germanós, Germanikós, Teutón, Teutonikós), etc.
The noun Germániā is from unknown origin. The Oxford English Dictionary records theories about the Celtic root gair. Another theory suggests gar, while the one that derive it from Gmc. gaizo- (cf. O.N. geirr, O.H.G. ger, O.E. gar, Ger. Ger) is one of the oldest theories proposed. It is still a common word in modern languages; as, Nor. germansk, Gk. Гє $\rho \mu \alpha$ ós, Rom. german, Ir. Gearmáinis, Sco. Gearmailtis, Arm. germaneren, Hindi Jarman, Alb. gjermanishte, etc. also in Non-Indo-European languages, like Maltese $\dot{\text { Germaniz}, ~ H e b r e w ~ g e r m a n i, ~ G e o r g i a n ~}$ germanuli, Indonesian, Malay, Tagalog, Thai, Xhosa, Jerman, Amharic järmän.
23. For Indo-European wíqos, wolf (fem. wíqiă̄/wíqī), compare Gmc. wulfaz (cf. Goth. wulfs, O.S. wulf, O.N. ulfr, O.Fris., Du., O.H.G., Ger. wolf,), Lat. lupus, Gk. $\lambda$ v́кoc, Skt. vrkas, Av. vehrka-, O.Pers. Varkana- (Hyrcania, "wolf-land", district southeast of the Caspian Sea), Albanian ulk, Lith. vilkas, O.C.S. вълкъ; Rus. волк, Ukr. вовк. Closely related PIE words are wail, wolf, cf. O.Arm. gayl, O.Ir. fáel, and wípēs, fox, cf. Lat. uulpēs, Gk. a $\omega \omega \pi \eta \zeta$, Skr. lopāśá, Av. urupis, raopis, Pers. rōbāh, Arm. aluēs, lit. lãpé, Ltv. lapsa. Such animals are also a symbol of lust in many old Indo-European dialects.
24.PIE root bher, bear, carry, also bear children, gave Gmc. beranan (cf. Goth. bairan, O.N. bera, O.E., O.H.G. beran), Lat. fero, Umb. fertu, Gk. 甲ép $\omega$, O.Ind. bhárati, Av. baraiti, O.Pers. baratuv, Phryg. ber, Toch. pär, O.Arm. berel, Lith. beriù, Ltv. beŕu, O.C.S. бърати, Rus. беру, Polish biorę, O.Ir. berim, Welsh cymmeryd, Alb. bie, Kamviri bor. With the meaning of give birth, compare Eng. birth, Goth. baurbei, Ger. Geburt, Lat. fors, O.Ind bhṛtíṣ, bibhrāṇas, O.Ir. brith, O.C.S. бъранъ. Modern derivatives include bhérrā, bier, Gmc. bērō (cf. O.N. bara, O.E. ber, O.Fr. biere, O.H.G. bara, O.Fris. bere, M.Du. bare, Eng. bier); o-grade bhórnom, child, Gmc. barnam
(cf. O.E. bearn, Scots bairn); suffixed zero-grade (kom)bhŕtis, birth, as Gmc. (ga)burthiz (cf. Goth. gabaurps, O.N. byrðr, O.E. gebyrd, Ger. geburt, Eng. birth), bhŕtinios, burden, as Gmc. burthinjaz (cf. Goth. baurbei, O.N. byrðr, O.S. burthinnia, O.E. byrðen, Ger. bürde); compound root bhrenko, bring (from bher+enk, reach), as Gmc. brengan (cf. Goth. briggan, p.t. brohte, pp. broht, O.Fris. brenga, O.E. bringan, M.Du. brenghen, O.H.G. bringan); from Latin ferre are common MIE -bher, -fer, bhertilís, fertile, adbherénts, afferent, kikrombheréntiā, circumference, kombhero, confer, kombheréntiā, conference, debhero, defer, disbhero, differ, ekbherénts, efferent, enbhero, infer, obhbhero, offer, prāibhero, prefer, probhero, proffer, rebhero, refer, supbhero, suffer, transbhero, transfer, woqibherā, vociferate; prefixed and suffixed zero-grade próbhrom, reproach, in obhpróbhriom, opprobrium; suffixed zero-grade bhŕtus, chance (from "a bringing, that which is brought"), as in bhrtuitós, happening by chance, fortuitous, bhrtū́nā, chance, good luck, fortune; lengthened o-grade bhōr, thief, as in bhortēiuós, furtive, bhorónkolos, furuncle; from Greek pherein are o-grade noun bhóros, carrying, -bhorā, -phore, -bhoretis, -phoresis, -bhoros, -phorous, am(bh)bhorā, (from Lat., from Gk. ambhibhoreus), anábhorā, diabhorétis, (a)subhoríā, euforia, metábhorā, peribhéreiā, bheromónā, etc.; suffixed bhérnā, dowry ("something brought by a bride"), as in parabhernáliā.

IE nek, reach, attain, gives o-grade prefixed (with intensive kom-) komnóko, suffice, as Gmc. ganakh- (cf. Goth. ganohs, O.N. gnogr, O.E. genog, O.Fris. enoch, Ger. genug); variant Greek enk, carry, gives o-grade noun ónkos, burden, mass, hence a tumor, as Gk. őүко̧, Skr. aṃśaḥ, as in onkogénetis, onkologīā; and Germanic bhrénko, bring, v.s.

Greek eu is usually compared with Hittite $a s s u<^{*} e h_{2} s u$ " good", hence MIE asu, usually su- in compounds, cf. O.Ind. su-. The fact that all Greek dialects show the same evolution in this Indo-European root is considered a rare phenomenon.
25. Attested derivatives include zero-grade Greek q'qlos/qúqlos, circle, cycle, Gk. кúк $\lambda$ os, (from which L.Lat. cyclus, Eng. cycle), Toch. kukäl/kokale, e-grade qéqlos, wheel, as Gmc. khwewlaz (cf. O.N. hvel, O.E. hwēol, hweogol, O.S. hiughl, O.Fris. hwel, M.Du. weel), and Lith. kãklas, or neuter qéqlom, chakra, circle, wheel, as O.Ind. cakram, Av. čaẋra, also found as metathesized qélqos, charkha, as Old. Pers. čarka-, or Osset. calx. Other derivatives from PIE verbal root qel, meaning revolve, move around, sojourn, dwell, include Lat. colere, "till, cultivate, inhabit", not originally o-grade in PIE (from basic form PIE qelo- -> Lat. cole-), as in qélōnos, setler, qélōniā, colony, qeltós, cultivated, qéltos, worship, cult, qeltēiuós, tilled, qeltēiuā, cultivate, qéltosā, culture, ṇqeltós, incult, ṇqélinos, inquiline, etc; suffixed qélōs, "completion of a cycle", consummation, perfection, end, result, telos, gives Gk. té $\lambda$ os, $-\varepsilon$ os (remember that PIE [kw] becomes Gk. [ $p$ ] or [ $t$ ] before certain vowels), giving qeliós, perfect, complete, from which qeliologíā, teleology, qéliom, telium, qelio, consacrate, fulfill, in turn giving qelésmn, consecration ceremony, from which qelesmán (through Arabic tilasm, then It. talismano or Spa. talismán into Fr. talisman); from o-grade qólso-, "that on which the head turns", neck, hals,
 which derivatives qolsấr, collar, deqolsā, decollate, behead, etc.; suffixed -qolā, -colous, and enqolā, inhabitant a Lat. -cola, incola; ánqolos, "one who bustles about", servant, as Lat. anculus, giving dim. f.
anqíllā，maidservant；qólos，axis of a sphere，pole，as Gk．лó̀os，also－qólos，herdsman，as couqólos， cowherd，（from cōus，cow），as Gk．ßoukódos，giving couqolikós，bucolic；also，qólōs，wheel，as Slavic kolo， koles（cf．O．C．S．коло，Russ．колесо，Pol．koło）；suffixed o－grade qólenos，traffic，as O．Ira．－carana，as in wésāqólenos，＂sale－traffic＂，bazaar，as O．Ira．vahacarana（see wes），Pers．bāzār，hence also MIE partial loan wesấr or loan bazắr，bazaar．Compare also O．N．hjōl，Skr．cárati，Av．caraiti，Old Prussian－kelan，Lith．kelias， O．Ir．cul，Alb．sjell；Luw．kaluti－；zero－grade variant qíin，again，as Gk．лà入ıv，as in qlíndromos（from Gk．－ ठ $о$ ó $\mu$ о̧，racecourse），palindrome，qlínpsēstos，palimpsest，Gk．ла入i $\mu \psi \eta \sigma \tau o \varsigma ~(f r o m ~ G k . ~ p s e ̄ n, ~ " s c r a p e ") . ~$

A common word for wheel is rótā，from which Gmc．radō（cf．ON roðull，O．E．rodur，O．H．G．rad），Lat．rota，Skr． ratha，Av．radha，Lith．ratas，Ltv．rats，Gaul．Roto－，Ir．rath，Welsh rhod，Alb．rrath．Known modern derivatives are Celtic loan word to－wó－rets，formed by IE＂do－upo－réts＂，＂a running up to＂，which gives Mod．Eng．tory， from O．Ir．tōir，＂pursuit＂；also，retondós，rolling，which gave rotondós，round，rotund，as Lat．rotundus．

26．Compare for PIE ghóstis，stranger，guest，Gmc．gastiz（cf．Goth．gasts，O．N．gestr，O．E．gæst，O．Fris．jest， O．H．G．gast），Lat．hostis，hospes（hostis－potes）O．C．S．gosti，OCS gostŭ，Russ．2ocmı，Polish gość；Luw．gaši． Compound ghospóts，host，（Lat．hospes，guest，originally host，＂lord of strangers＂），gives MIE ghospotālís， hospitable，and also ghospotális，hospital（from M．Lat．hospitale，meaning inn，large house，＂guest house＂）， reduced as ghostális，hostel，from O．Fr．hostel，in turn from Lat．hos（pi）tale．For Hotel，a more international borrowing from the same word，it could be used either as ghostấlis，or as a French loan word ghostél／ghotél； compare words with slightly different meanings：Eng．hostel－hotel，Ger．Gasthaus－Hotel，Swe．gstgiveri－hotel，Ice． gistihtel，Spa．hostal－hotel，It．ostello－hotel，Pt．hotel，Russ．гостиница（gostinitsa），Uk．готел（gotel），Pol．hotel， Cz．hostinec，Pers．hotel，Ind．hotel，and also in non－Indo－European languages，as Finnish hotelli，Japanese ホステル（hosuteru）－ホテル（hoteru），Korean 호텔（ho－t＇el），Thai โฮเต็ล（hō－ten），etc．The word for＇hotel＇in Latin， however，was deuersorium，from the same root as Eng．divert．
27．More PIE derivatives related to stáuros，（also stéuros，both from PIE ster）are Germanic（s）teuraz（cf． Goth．stiur，O．S．stior，O．N．stjórr，O．E．steor，O．H．G．stior，M．Du．，Du．stier；Dan．tyr，Swed．tjur），Lat．taurus， Osc．turuf，Gk．tavoos，Av．staora，O．Pruss．tauris，Lith．tauras，Ltv．tauriņš，O．C．S．turu，Rus．tur，Pol．tur，Gaul． tarbos，Welsh tarw，O．Ir．tarb，Oscan turuf and Alb．taroç．
28．Indo－European nízdos，nest，resting place，is a secondary PIE root，from ni－，down，＋sed，sit．Compare Gmc．nistaz，Lat．nidus，O．Ind．nidas，Skr．nị̣̄á，Arm．nist，O．C．S．гньздо，Russ．гнездо́，Polish gniazdo，O．Ir．net， Welsh nyth，Bret．nez．For mízdhos，compare Gmc．mizdō（Goth．mizdō，O．E．mēd，O．S．mēda ，O．H．G．mieta）， Gk．$\mu \iota \sigma \theta$ ós，Skr．mīdhá，Av．mïžda，Pers．muzd，meed，O．C．S．mĭzda，Russ．мздá．

29．PIE ker，horn，head，gave derivatives kínos，horn，Gmc．khurnaz（cf．Goth．haurn，O．E．horn，Ger．Horn， Du．horen），Lat．，Celt．cornū（＜＊kórnus，a blending with variant o－grade kórus，as in Gk．koru－）；kéruīks，neck， from Lat．cervīx；kérudos，male dear，hart，from Gmc．kherutas（cf．O．H．G．hiruz，O．N．hjörtr，O．E．heorot， M．Du．hert，Ger．Hirsch）；kéruos，deer，as Lat．ceruus，Welsh carw；kŕsniom，Gk．кpaviov，Lat．cranŭum； k＇́snotom，hornet as Gmc．khurznutu－（cf．O．E．hyrnetu，hurnitu，Du．horzel）；kerésrom［ke－＇rez－rom］，brain， as Lat．cerěbrum（compare also O．N．hjarni，O．H．G．hirni，Ger．Hirn）；other derivatives include Gk．кaןๆ，Skr．
śiras, srngam, Av. sarah, Pers. sar, Toch. krāñi, Arm. sar, O.Pruss. kerpetis, Lith. szirszu, Ltv. šk̨irpta, O.C.S.

30.For PIE snúsos, daughter-in-law, compare Gmc. snusaz (cf. Goth. schuos, O.N. snor, O.E. snoru, O.H.G. snur), Lat. nurus, Gk. vvos, Skr. snuṣā, Arm. nu, OCS snŭxa, Russ. сноха, Polish snecha, Alb. nuse.
31. PIE nébhōs, cloud, evolved as Skr. nábhas, Av. nabah, Lith. debesis, Ltv. debess, O.C.S. nebo, Russ. nebo, Polish niebo, O.Ir. nem, Cor. nef, Kamviri niru; Hitt. nepiš, Luw. tappaš-, Lyc. tabahaza. Suffixed nébhelā gives Gmc. nibila (cf. O.N. niflhel, O.E. nifol, O.H.G. nebul, also found in MIE patronymic Nebhelńkos, Gmc. Nibulunkhaz, as O.H.G. Nibulunc, Nibulung), also Welsh niwl, Lat. nebŭla, as in nebhelós, nebulous, and Gk. nephelē, as in nebhelínā, nepheline, nebhelométrom, nephelometer; suffixed nebhologíā, nephology; nasalized némbhos, rain, cloud, aura, as Lat. nimbus.
For PIE mē, measure, compare derivatives suffixed mélos, meal "measure, mark, appointed time, time for eating, meal", as Gmc. melaz (v.s.); suffixed métis, wisdom, skill, as Gk. mētis, further suffixed metio, measure, as Lat. mētīrū, in nasalized p.part. mensós, measured, mensósā, measure, mensosālis, mensural, kommensosā, commensurate, disménsiōn, dimension, ṇmensós, immense; métrom, measure, rule, length, proportion, poetic meter (referred by some to IE med-), as Gk. $\mu \varepsilon ́ \tau \rho o v, ~ i n ~ m e t r i k o ́ s, ~ m e t r i c a l, ~ d i a m e t r o ́ s, ~$ diameter, geometríā, geometry, wiswometrikós, isometric, metrologíā, metrology, kommetríā, symmetry; extended and suffixed forms ménā, month, moon, as Gmc. mēnōn (cf. O.E. mona), Gk. mēn, mēnē, in derivatives mēnopáusā, menopause, ṇmēnosréwiā, amenorrhea, etc.; for month, compare also mếnōts, as Gmc. mēnōth- (cf. Goth. menops, O.N. manaðr, O.E. mōnath, M.Du. manet, O.H.G. manod, Du. maand, Ger. Monat), and Latin ménsis, as in menstruā, menstruate, menstruālís, menstrual, dwiménstris, bimester, dwimenstriālís, bimestrial, seksménstris, semester, triménstris, trimester, etc. (see also zero-grade suffix $\mathbf{m}(\mathbf{n s}) \mathbf{r i s}$, month).
PIE mē referred also to certain qualities of mind, as suffixed o-grade mốtos, mind, disposition, as Gmc. mothaz (cf. Goth. mops, O.N. moðr, O.Fris. mod, M.Du. moet, O.H.G. muot, Du. moed, Ger. Mut), and Latin mōs, wont, humor, manner, custom, as in loan words (affected by rhotacism) mosālís, moral, mósōs, custom, mosónts(ós), morose.
Also, PIE mē, big, gives suffixed comparative méisīā, greater, more, as Gmc. maizōn (cf. O.S. mera, O.N. meiri, O.Eng. O.Fris. mara, O.H.G. mero, M.Du. mere, Ger. mehr), Osc. mais, Gk. -moros, Av. mazja, O.Ir. mor; also, superlative mēistós, most, Gmc. maistaz; (Lat. maes, "more", comes from meg).
IE med, take appropriate measures, measure, gives Gmc. metan (cf. Goth. mitan, O.E. metan, O.Fris., O.N. meta, Du. meten, Eng. mete, Ger. messen), also (kom)médā, measure, Gmc. (ga)mætijaz (cf. O.N. mætr, O.E. gemæte, O.H.G. gimagi, Eng. meet, Ger. gemäß); medio, look after, heal, cure, as Lat. medērī, in medikā, medicate, medikínā, medicine, medikós, medical, remédiom, remedy; meditā, think about, consider, reflect, meditate; suffixed medes-, giving (influenced by Lat. modus) modestós, "keeping to the appropriate measure", moderate, ṇmodestós, inmodest; modesā, "keep within measure", moderate, control, ṇmodesatós, inmoderate; medóntiā, Medusa, from Gk. medein, "rule"; suffixed o-grade módos, measure, size, limit, manner, harmony, melody, mood, as in módā, mode, modélos, model, modesnós, modern, modidhakā, modify, modolā, modulate, módolos, module, modulus, kommodā, commode, kommóditā,

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commodity, adkommodā, accomodate; suffixed o-grade módios, a measure of grain; lengthened o-grade mōds, ability, measure, as in mōdo, have occasion, to be permitted or obliged, as Gmc. mōtan (cf. Goth. gamotan, O.Fris. mota, O.E. motan, M.L.G. moten, Du. moeten, Ger. müssen, Eng. must from O.E. part. moste).
32.PIE verb gen, give birth, beget, produce, is a well-attested root which gives derivatives referring to aspects and results of procreation and to familial and tribal groups, e.g. génōs, race, stock, kind, gender, as Lat. genus, generis, Gk. үદ́vos, Skr. janaḥ, giving derivatives genesā, generate, genesấlis, general, genesátiōn, generation; alternate base gńa, giving cognate gńtis, natural, native, clan, kin, race, as Gmc. kundiz (cf. O.E.

 gnāsko, be born, from Lat. gnāscī, as in gnātós, born, gnātēiuós, native, gnắtiōn, nation, gnấtosā, nature, komgnātós, cognate; prāignánts, pregnant; génios, procreative divinity, inborn tutelary spirit, innate quality; engenuós, born in (a place), native, natural, freeborn, then ingenuous, and genuīnós, genuine; engéniom, inborn character, later engine, and engeniónts(ós), ingenious; endogenā, native, indigen; génmēn, germen, as in genmenā, germinate, genmenālís, etc. Compare also Gmc. kunjam, Osc. genetaí, Umb. natine, Skr. janati, Pers. zāēdan, Phryg. cin, Thrac. zenis, Toch. kän, Arm. cnanim, Lith. gimdyti, Ltv. znots, OCS zęť̌, Russ. зять, O.Ir. ro-genar, Welsh geni, Alb. dhëndër/dhândër, Kam. zut; Hitt. genzu.
33.From PIE root weid, woid, see, know, compare Gmc. wītan (Goth. weitan, O.N. vita, O.S., O.E. witan, O.H.G. wizzan), Lat. uidēre, Gk. ıঠeıv, $\varepsilon \iota \delta o o, ~ o ı \delta \alpha, ~ D o r i c ~ G k . ~ w o i d a, ~ S k r . ~ v e ̄ d a h, ~ A v . ~ v a e ̄ d a, ~ P h r y g . ~ w i t-, ~ A r m . ~$ gitem, O.Pruss. widdai (from vidā̀iet), Lith. véizdmi, O.C.S. видьти, Pol. widzieć, Rus. ви́деть, Gaulish vindos, O.Ir. ro-fetar, Welsh gwyn, Breton gwenn, Kashmiri vūčhūn. Derivatives include wéistos (<* wéidtos), learning, wisdom, knowledge, appearance, form, manner, as Gmc. wissaz (cf. O.N. viss, O.S., O.Fris., O.E. wīs, O.H.G. wiz, O.Fr. guise, Du. wijs, Ger. weise, Eng. wise); suffixed wéidōs, form, shape, as Gk. eidos, in wéidolom, idol, eidolon, as Gk. عौठ $\delta \omega \lambda$ ov; zero-grade form wídiom, knowledge, understanding, intelligence, mind, as Gmc. witjam (cf. O.N. vit, O.S. wit, O.Fris. wit, O.H.G. wizzi, O.E. wit, Dan. vid, Swed. vett, Ger. Witz), also ṇwídiom, ignorance (cf. Goth. unwiti); from zero-grade widē, see, look, as Lat. uidēre, are wistós (<* widtós, uisós in Latin), seen, as in wístā, visa, wístiōn, vision, wistitā, visit, wístōs, visor, adwístom, advice, adwistā, advise, enwídiā, envy, ekwidénts, evident, prowidē, foresee, prowistós, foreseen, ṇprowistós, unforeseen, nprowistā, improvise, enterwidē, interview, enwidiónts(ós), invidious, prāiwidē, previse, prowidē, provide, prowidénts, prudent, rewidē, review, rewistā, revise, superwistā, supervise, survey; suffixed widésiā, appearance, form, idea, as Gk. íća; suffixed wistốr (<* widtór), wise, learned, learned man, Gk. histōr, in wistoríā; Ńwidā, Hades, the underworld, perhaps "the invisible", as Gk. Haidēs/Aidēs; suffixed o-grade wóidos, knowledge, as Skr. vedaḥ.
34.Indo-European qēl, far, gives prefixes qēle-, far off, from Gk. $\tau\rceil \lambda \varepsilon$ - (related to qēleos, Gk. $\tau \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon o \varsigma$, end, goal, result), and qlài-, long ago, Eng. paleo-, from qlaiós, old, ancient, Gk. ла入aıós. This PIE base is possibly related (as a lengthened form) to qel, move around; cf. Skr. caramah, Welsh pellaf, Bret. pell.
It is discussed whether television was formed in Eng. or borrowed from Fr. télévision, in either case from Gk. tele-, "far off, afar, at or to a distance", and Lat. vision. Other proposals for the name of this then-hypothetical
technology were telephote (1880) and televista (1904). The technology was developed in the 1920 and ' 30 . Loan-translated in Ger. as Fernsehen.

English technology comes from PIE teks, weave, also fabricate, plait, cf. O.N. pexla, O.H.G. dehsa, Lat. textō, Gk. tektōn, Skr. takṣati, Av. tašaiti, O.Pers. ustašana, Pers. taš, Lith. tašau, Ltv. tešu, OCS tešo, Russ. tesla, Ir. tál; Hitt. takš. Common derivatives include tékstos, text, komtékstos, context, prāitékstos, pretext; suffixed tékslā, web, net, warp of a fabric, also weaver's beam (to which the warp threads are tied), also found in adj. suptekslís, thin, fine, precise, subtle (<*sup-tékslā, "thread passing under the warp", the finest thread); suffixed téksōn, weaver, maker of wattle for house walls, builder, tekstór, builder, tékstōn, carpenter, builder, as in tekstonikós, tectonic, or arkhitékstōn, architect (from Gk. arkhein, "begin, rule"); téksnā, art, craft, skill, as Gk. tekhnē, in teksnikós, technical, teksnologíā, technology.
Another common PIE verbal root for "weave" was webh, as in Gmc. webanan (cf. O.N. vefa, O.E. wefan, O.H.G. weban, M.L.G., M.Du., Du. weven, Eng. weave, Ger. weben), Gk. huphē, Skr. ubhnāti, Av. ubdaēna, O.Pers. baftan, Pers. bāfad, Toch. wäp/wāp, Alb. vegjë. A common MIE word is o-grade wóbhiom, web, fabric, as Gmc. wabjan (cf. O.S. webbi, O.N. vefr, O.E. webb, O.H.G. weppi, Du. webbe, Ger. gewebe), also as English loan word simply webh, as in Wíralts Witá Webh, World Wide Web, WWW; also, wobh(i)o, move back and forth as in weaving, as Gmc. wab- (cf. O.N. vafra, O.E. wafian, wæfre, M.E. waveren, M.H.G. waben, L.Ger. wabbeln); suffixed zero-grade form úbhā, web, as Gk. huphē.
Proto-Indo-European wi, apart, away, is the source for adj. witós, wide, as Gmc. withas (cf. O.S., O.E., O.Fris. wid, O.N. viðr, Du. wijd, O.H.G. wit, Eng. wide, Ger. weit), and also for wit(e)ros/m, against, lit. "more apart", as Skr. vitaram, Gmc. withros (cf. Goth. wipra, O.S. withar, O.N. viðr, O.E. wið, O.H.G. widar, M.Du., Du. weder, Du. weer, Eng. with, Ger. wieder). Compare other derivatives as Skr. vi, Av. vi-, Hitt. na-wi "not yet", O.C.S. vutoru, "other, second", as Russ. второй.
35. PIE root ag, drive, draw out or forth, move, set in motion, gives O.N. aka, Lat. agere, actus, Osc. acum, Gk. a̋ $\gamma \omega$, Skr. ájati, ajiráh, Av. azaiti, Toch. āk, Arm. acem, O.Ir. ad-aig, āin, O. Welsh agit; probably Hitt. aggala-, "furrow". For more on ag, v.i.
36.For root legh, lie down, rest, gave Gmc. ligjan (cf. Goth. ligan, O.N. liggja, O.E. licgan, O.Fris. lidzia, M.Du. ligghen, O.H.G. liggan), Lat. lectus, Gk. $\lambda \varepsilon \chi \omega$, Toch. lake/leke, Lith. at-lagai, Ltv. lagača, O.C.S. lego, Russ. лежа́ть, Polish leżéć, Gaul. legasit, O.Ir. lige, Welsh gwal; Hittite lagi.
37. PIE root peds, foot, is the source for Gmc. fōts (cf. Goth. fōtus, O.N. fōtr, O.E. fōt, O.H.G. fuoz, Du. voet), Lat. pedis, Umb. peři, Gk. $\pi \varepsilon \zeta o ́ s, ~ D o r . ~ \pi \omega ́ s, ~ S k r . ~ p a d a ́ m, ~ A v . ~ p a ̂ d a-, ~ P e r s . ~ p a, ~ A r m . ~ h e t, ~ T o c h . ~ p e m ̣ / p a i y y e, ~ L i t h . ~$ pédą, Ltv. pęda, O.C.S. пьшь, Russ. néшuй, Pol. pieszy, Alb. poshtë, Osset. fad; Hitt. pata, Lyc. pede-, Luw. pati-.
38.The common verb $\mathbf{k l u s}(\mathbf{s k}) \mathbf{o}$, listen, comes from zero-grade of PIE klew, hear, and it has derivatives refer also to fame, word or loud, as in Gmc. khlusinōn, 'listen' (cf. O.E. hlysnan, O.H.G. hlosen, Eng. listen), khlūdaz, ‘loud’ (cf. Goth. hliup, O.N. hljóðr, O.N. hlud, O.H.G. hlut), Lat. cluēre, Gk. к $\lambda v \omega$, к $\lambda \dot{\varepsilon} \circ \mathrm{o}$ (as in 'Нрак $\lambda \tilde{\wedge} \varsigma, ~ H e r a k l e s), ~$ Skr. śru, srnoti, çrāváyati Av. sraota-, surunaoiti, sravayeiti, M.Pers. srod, Pers. sarāyīdan, Illyr. cleves, Toch. klyos, klāw, Arm. lu, O.Lith. šlãvè, šlovẽ, Lith. klausau, šlóvé, Ltv. klausīt, slava, slave, O.C.S. slusati, slava, slovo, Russ. слово, сла́ва, Pol. stowo, stawa, Gaul. clu, O.Ir. clunim, Welsh clywaf, Alb. quhem.

The common Slavic word to define themselves, O.C.S. словъне, словъньскъ, reconstructed as an older base [kilou-], if ultimately Indo-European (cf. for klutós, "heared, famous", Skr. śrutá-, Av. sruta-, Gk. lytós, Lat. inclitus, M.Ir. rocloth, O.H.G. Hlot-hari, Arm. lu), is a demonym whose first reference is probably found in Ptolemy, who identified tribes called Stavanoi and Soubenoi, then translated (6 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ century) as M.Lat. Sclaueni/Sthlaueni, M.Gr. $\Sigma \kappa \lambda \alpha \beta \eta v o i / \Sigma \theta \lambda \alpha \beta \eta v o i$. It is thus probably related to either slava, fame, (as slaviane), thus "glorious people", or from slovo, speach, (as slověne), therefore originally meaning "member of the speech community" (cf. Albanian noun for themselves, shqipetár, derived from shqipónj, understand), in contrast with the Germans, who were in O.C.S. nemici, related to nemu 'dumb'. Compare with the Greek custom of using $\beta \alpha \rho \beta \alpha \rho o s$ to mean "foreign, strange, ignorant" (derivatives are Lat. barbărus, Eng. barbarian) from PIE base barbar-, echoic of unintelligible speech, like that of foreigners (cf. Skt. barbara-, stammering, also "non-Aryan"). Therefore, a proper MIE reconstruction for such Slavic term is Klówenos, Slav, for словьне, and Kloweniskós, Slavic, for словъньскъ, but - because the reconstruction is uncertain, and modern crossed borrowings are usual-, modern loan words Slawénos, Slaweniskós should be preferred.
For common MIE terms - which could be also written with initial klo- instead of slo-/sla-, compare: Slawénos, Slav; Slaweniskós, Slavic; Slowéniskā, Slovakia; Slowéniā, Slovenia; Sloweniskós, Slovak; Slowenikós, Slovene; Augosláwiā, Yugoslavia. The later is a compound of MIE reconstructed augs, southern, from ug- (proper IE reconstruction of Slavic jug-), originally referring to a southern wind, possibly ultimately from PIE root aug, with derivatives meaning increase, enlarge, as already seen.
39.PIE root bhes breathe, blow, gave Skr. bhas-, Gk. $\psi v \chi \varepsilon ו v$, and is probably of imitative origin. Its zero-grade bhs- gives supposedly ${ }^{*} \boldsymbol{b} \boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{s} \boldsymbol{g} \boldsymbol{g} \boldsymbol{h} \hat{\boldsymbol{a}}^{\text {[ }}$ ( $\left.\mathrm{b}^{\mathrm{h}}\right)$ su:-kha:], spirit, soul, originally breath, life, "the invisible entity behind the physical body" (personified as Psykhe, the lover of Eros), a MIE loan word (bhsūgho- in compounds) from Gk. $\psi v \times$ ń, with an unreconstructed Greek ending -kh-, probably PIE -gh-. In light of O.Ind. bábhasti, some would rather reconstruct a metathesized PIE spu-, hence MIE psūghắ.
40. Usually reconstructed preposition and preverb *ksun, with, together, as Gk. $\xi \cup v$, is explained as kom via Greek-psi substratum (Villar). Slavic $s u-$, $s o / s$, normally compared with the Greek form, could in turn come from zero-grade sm (see sem, one), as O.Ind. sa. Then compound smwídus, council, from Slavic so-vetu, is also formed by O.C.S. вьть, counsel, advice (a loan-translation in Gk. $\beta$ оv $\lambda^{\eta}$ in ' $\sigma v \mu$ - $\beta о \dot{\prime} \lambda ı o v$ '), which comes from PIE root weid, know (see Consonant Change in § 2.8.4), also found with this broader sense of speak, "share knowledge", in Baltic, cf. O.Pruss waitiāt, Lith. vaitenù.
41. IE gnấtiōn, nation, stock, race, lit. "that which has been born", is a Latin loan from gn(̄̄))tós, past part. of gnásko, be born, as Lat. natiōnis, natus, gnasci (ultimately from gen). Political sense has gradually taken over from racial meaning "large group of people with common ancestry", and common derivatives include gnātionālís, national, or gnātionắlitā, nationality, or gnātēiuós, native, "innate, produced by birth", etc.
42.PIE root for prkskó is prek, ask, entreat, pray, and is cognate with Gmc. frēkhnan (cf. Goth. fraíhnan, O.N. fregna, O.E. frignan, O.H.G. frāga), Lat. prex, Osc. aparsam, Umb. pepurkurent, Skr. prac̨nás, prāś, Av. frāsa, Toch. prak/prek, Arm. harçanem, Lith. prašaũ, Ltv. prasu, O.C.S. npocumu, Russ. npocúmb, Pol. prosić, Welsh archaf, Ir. arco, M.Bret. archas. Common MIE derivatives include preks, prayer, as Lat. prex, and verb prekā, entreat, pray, as Lat. precāri, in prekāsiós, precarious (a purer IE word is dúsopis, cf. O.Ir. domme 'poor'
<*dus-op-smjo, Lat. inops, O.Ind. durāpah 'hard to obtain', etc), deprekā, deprecate, enprekā, imprecate; from prkskó is extended $\mathbf{p}(\mathbf{o}) \mathbf{r s}(\mathbf{k}) \mathbf{s t o l a ̄}$, ask, request, postulate, as Lat. postulāre.
43.Modern Indo-European words for "house":
A. Derivatives from an original PIE root dem- are dómos/démos, house, 'shelter', are Lat. domus, Umb. dâmoa, Gk. Só $\mathrm{Hos}, ~ \delta \tilde{\eta} \mu \mathrm{os}$ (deme), O.Ind. dámas, Av. dąm, Toch. tam/täm, Arm. tun, Lith. namas, Ltv. nams, O.C.S. домъ, Rus. дом, Pol. dom, Welsh tŷ. Also common for lord, 'house-master', is dómūnos, cf. Skr. dámūnas, Lat. dominus (see Latin ablaut). From IE dốmn is Gk. $\delta \tilde{\sim} \mu \alpha$, dome. Probably from same root is base demo, build, giving démrom, timber, Gmc. temran (cf. Goth. timrjan, O.N. timbr, O.E. timber, O.Fris. timber, O.H.G. zimbar, Ger. Zimmer); also verb demrio, build, Gmc. timrian (build, cf. O.E. timbran, Du. timmeren, Ger. zimmern) and compare also Gmc. tumfetiz, (Eng. toft, from O.N. topt), Gk. $\delta \dot{\alpha} \pi \varepsilon \delta o v, ~ L i t h . ~ d i m s t i s . ~$
B. For 'house' in Germanic languages MIE reconstructs a common kúsom, dwelling, shelter, from Gmc. khusam (cf. Goth. -hus, O.N., O.E., O.Fris. hus, Du. huis, Ger. Haus), probably related to PIE root (s)kéu, cover, conceal. Compare in kéudh(i)o, hide, conceal, Gmc. kluthjanan (O.E. hyde), Gk. кعúध $\omega$, and other derivatives like kéudhis, covering, Gmc. khudiz (cf. O.N. huð, O.E. hyd, O.Fris. hed, M.Du. huut, Ger. Haut), skéuiom, cloud, cloud cover, as Gmc. skeujam (cf. Goth. skuggwa, O.N. scy, skuggi, O.E. sceo, scua, O.S. scio, O.H.G. scuwo, scūr, O.Ice. skāli, skjōl, M.H.G. hode, Ger. Scheuer), Lat. cutis, scutum, ob-scurus, Gk. кúto̧, Skr. kostha, skunati, Arm. cim, Lith. kẽvalas, Ltv. skura, Rus. kishka, O.Ir. cūl, Welsh cuddio.
C. PIE root kat, hut, shed is probably the source of Romance kasā (thus older PIE kátiā) as in Gmc. kha- (cf. O.E. heaðor), Lat. catena, cassis, castrum, Av. kata-, Pers. kad, O.C.S. kotici, kotú, O.IR. cathir, Welsh cader. The different warlike meanings found are explained by confusion with a similar PIE root, kats, troop, battle, cf. O.N. hođ, O.E. heapu, O.H.G. hathu, Skr. śātayati, Toch. /keta, O.C.S. kotora, Gaul. catu, O.Ir. cath, Welsh cad.

Compare also from other works, Swe. kåta, Nor. kota/kote/kåte (probably borrowed from Uralic kota, as Finnish koti, Est. kodu, Hung. ház), and also Skr. cātvāla-, Av. čāiti, Toch B kotai-, Alb katua, as well as other unexplained words like Bul. къща, Srb.-Cro. kuča, Slovene hiša, all meaning hut, shed, house, or hole, prison, some of them reconstructed as derived from PIE root ket, storage pit (Mallory-Adams).
D. Old Greek oĩko̧ (oíkos), house, comes from IE wóikos, which gave also Gk. oikia, house, and Gk. oikŋoıs, dwelling, administration, and Gk. oiкптós, inhabitant; in MIE, it has universal loan-translations like woikonomíà, economy, originally "household, management", from woikonómos, econome, "manager, steward", woikologíā, ecology, woikosōménos, world, inhabited world (into Proto-Greek woikohōmeno--> Att. Gk. оiко৩цદ́vๆ [ $\gamma \eta ̃]$, "inhabited [land]"). It is the o-grade form of wéikos, village, dwelling, "group of houses", (cf. Lat. uīcus, Skr. vesaḥ), as in wéikinos, neighbour, weikínitā, neighborhood, or loan word wīllā (from It. villa, country house, villa, farm, from Lat. villa, in turn from PIE wéikslā). The noun is derived from PIE root weiks, clan, village, "social unit above the household"; compare Goth,O.H.G. weihs, O.E. wic, Skr. viś, Av. vīs, O.Pers. vitham, Toch. īke, Lith. viešas (cf. also O.Pruss. waispattin, Lith. viešpats, MIE weikspóts,"clanmaster", landlord, a compound equivalent to dems-póts, "house-master", landlord, and similar to ghos-póts, "guest-master", host), Ltv. viesis, OCS vĭš̆, Russ. ves', Pol. wieś, Alb. vis.
MIE suffix -nomíā, -nómos come from IE nómos, custom, law, usage, method, Gk. vó $\mu$ os, in turn from PIE base nem, allot, distribute, divide, manage; cf. Gmc. niman (cf. Goth. niman, O.N. nema, O.E. naemel, numol,
O.H.G. nëman, Eng. numb, nim, Ger. nehmen), Gk. vé $\mu \varepsilon ı v, ~ A v . ~ n o m a h, ~ T o c h . ~ n ̃ e m e k, ~ L i t h . ~ n u o m a s, ~ L t v . ~ n o m a, ~$ Russ. nemoj, O.Ir. nem. Other known derivatives include nómesos, number, division, as Lat. numerus, nomesālís, numeral, etc. nómā, pasturage, grazing, hence "a spreading, a spreading ulcer", noma, from which nómads is derived (Lat. nomas); also, nomismátis, Lat. numismatis, in nomismátikā, numismatics, from nómismn, current coin, custom (from O.Gk. vó $\mu \mathrm{\sigma} \mu \mathrm{\alpha}$, lit. "what has been sanctioned by custom or usage"), from IE verb nomiso, "to hold or own as a custom, usage, to use customarily, practise, to be used to a thing" (as Gk. vo $\mu \mathrm{i} \zeta \omega$, in turn from vó $\mu \mathrm{o}$ ). Also, Németis, Gk. goddess of vengeance, from Gk. Né $\mu \varepsilon \sigma ı s, ~ " i n d i g n a t i o n, ~$ jealousy, vengeance" lit. "distribution, partition".
E. For Indo-Aryan ghar, compare a comon IE root ghers, court, yard.
44.For PIE base pótis, powerful, able, capable; also lord, master, compare poto, "be able", (from Lat. potere), from which poténts (Lat. pres.p. potens) and poténtiā; cf. also Gk. posis, Skt. patih, Lith. patis. Also found in compounds posso, be able, (Lat. posse, from pó[ti]s, able, and [e]s, be), as in possibhilís, possible, "that can be done", and possedē, possess (from Lat. possidēre, from po[ti]s, "as master", and sédē, sit), which gives posséstiōn (<*possedtion), possession, forms which are properly expressed by potéio, as O.Lat. potēō, a verb usual in modern Romance through a V.Lat. potere (cf. Fr. pouvoir, Ita. potere, Pt., Spa. poder, Rom. putere, etc.).

For PIE es (older ${ }^{*} h_{1} e s$ ), be, compare Goth. ist, O.N. es, O.E. is, O.H.G. ist, Lat. est, Osc. súm, Umb. sent, Gk. esti, Skr. asti, Av. asti, O.Pers. astiy, Toch. șe/ṣei, Arm. ē, O.Pruss. asmai, Lith. esmi, Ltv. esmu, O.C.S.jesť̆, Russ. есмь, Polish jest, O.Ir. am, Alb. është/âsht; Hitt. asa, Lyc. es, Luw. as, Lyd. e-, Palaic aš-. Its origin is traced by some linguists to a dialectal pronunciation of $\boldsymbol{e g}$-, " $\Gamma$ ", in some early (influencial) Satem dialect; compare O.Ind. ásmi, "I am" (<PIE és-mi, from IE II *eg"?->*es, cf. Skr. áham, "I", from eghóm), or Lat. sum, "I am" (from PIE esóm, cf. Ven. ehom, " $I$ ", from eghóm). Such explanation from Pokorny is possibly out-dated today in light of the newest findings on the so-called palatovelars, v.s.
a. A proper Indo-Euroepan word meaning "owe" was PIE verb áik, be master of, possess, and áikos, master, owner; as Gmc. aiganan (cf. Goth. aigan, O.Fris. aga, O.N. eiga, O.E. āgan, O.H.G. eigan, Eng. ought), Skr. īṣte, iṣah, Avestan īšti, išvan-.

A similar IE root forms áiks, meaning spear, pike; compare O.N. eigin, Lat. īcō, Gk. $\alpha \iota \kappa \lambda o s$, Av. išarə, O. Pruss. aysmis, Lith. iešmas, Ltv. iesms, O.C.S. igla, Russ. иглa, Pol. igła.
b. For PIE sed, sit, compare derivatives sedio, Gmc. sitjan (cf. Goth. sitan, O.S. sittian, O.N. sitja, O.E. sittan, O.Fris. sitta, M.Du. sitten, O.H.G. sizzan, sezzal); sédlos/sédlā, seat, position, as Gmc. setlaz (cf. Goth. sitls, M.L.G., M.Du. setel, O.E. setl, Du. zetel, Ger. Sessel), Lat. sella, O.C.S. sedlo, O.E. sadol; suffixed stative sedē, sit, as Lat. sedēre, with p.part. sestós (<* sedtós), sat, giving sedentasiós, sedentary, séstiōn, session, sédikom, siege, (from L.Lat. sedicum, although besiege from Lat. is sitū , possibly from IE tkei), dissedē, disagree, dissedénts, dissident, adsedē, asist, assess, help, adseduós, assiduous, prāisedo, preside, resedo, reside, supsédiom, subsidy (but supsisdo, v.i.); Greek $\varepsilon$ ह́ $\rho$ a is IE sedrā, chair, throne, face of a geometric solid, hence loan translations komsedrós, sitting in council, komsédriom, council (from which Hebrew sanhedrīn, from Gk. ovvéSpıov), eksedrā, exedra, kátsedrā, cathedra, katsedrális, cathedral, bishop's see, qetrasédrom, tetrahedron; Also, from Latin sédēs, see, seat, residence, sēdā, sedate, settle, calm down; prefixed and suffixed pisedio, sit upon (pi, from epi); cf. also Umb. sersitu, Gk. ह̌弓o $\mu a 1$, Skr. sad, Av. nišaðayeiti,
O.Pers. niyašayadan, Pers. nešastan, Toch. sätk, Arm. nstil, O.Pruss. sīdons, Lith. sėdėti, sėdžiu, sėsti, sėdu Ltv. sēdēt, sēdu, Slav. sěděti, sědiç (O.C.S. сьдьти, съждж, Russ. сиде́ть, сесть Pol. siedzieć), sěsti, sędo (cf. O.C.S. състи, сждж, O.Russ. състи, сяду, Pol. siąść, siądę), Gaul. essedum, O.Ir. saidim, Welsh seddu, Ir. suidh.
45. For PIE gher with the sense of enclose, compare Gmc. gardaz (cf. Goth. gards, O.N. garðr, O.E. geard, O.Fris. garda, Du. gaard, O.H.G. gart), also Lat hortus, cohors, Osc. herííad, Gk. ұoptos, Skr. gṛhá-, Phrygian gordum, Lith. žardas, Ltv. zārds, Gaul. gorto, O.Ir. gort, Welsh garth, Bret. garz, Alb. garth-; Hitt. gurtas. BaltoSlavic terms related to this root and beginning with [g] - as Lith. gardas, O.C.S. gradu, Rus. gorod, -grad, etc. are own developments not affected by satemization, sometimes explained as borrowings from Gmc.
46.IE ghrédhus, hunger, gives Gmc. grēduz (cf. Goth. gredus, O.E. grædum, cognate with Skt. grdh, Gk. gyros) and adjective ghrēdhighós, hungry, as Gmc. grēdigaz (cf. O.S. gradag, O.N. graðr, O.Eng. graedig, Eng. greedy). From the same PIE root is ghŕtā, urge on, encourage (from Lat. hortārī, giving eksghŕtā, exhort), ghŕis, grace, favor (from Gk. $\chi \alpha \rho ı \varsigma$, which gives ghrísmā, charism, or (A)sughristíā, Eucharist), ghrē, it is necessary (from Gk. $\chi \rho \eta$, which gives ghrēstós, useful, and ghrēstomńdhia, chrestomathy). With the possibly older - sense of bowels, compare Gmc. gernjan (O.N. gorn, O.Eng. gearn, O.H.G. garn, Eng. yarn), O.E. gorst, Lat. hernia, horrēo, Gk. $\chi о \rho \delta \dot{\eta}, ~ \chi \dot{\varepsilon} \rho \sigma o s, ~ S k r . ~ h i r a h, ~ h a r s ̣ a t e, ~ A v . ~ z a r s ̌ a y a m n a, ~ A r m . ~ d z a r, ~ L i t h . ~ z ̌ a r n a, ~ L t v . ~$ zarna, Russ. 3op, O.Ir. garb, Welsh garw, Alb. derr; Hitt. karat.
47. PIE root cei(w), live, oldest ${ }^{*} g^{w}$ eih $h_{3}$, with metathesized variant cjo- (older ${ }^{*} g^{w j e h} h_{3}$, coloured to ${ }^{*} g^{w j o h_{3}}$ ) gives derivatives zero-grade č̌̌wós, living, alive, as Gmc. kwi(k)waz (cf. Goth. quis, O.N. kvikr, O.E. cwicu, O.Fris. quik, O.H.G. quec, Ger. keck, Eng. quick), Lat. uīus; verb cīwo, live, as Lat. uīuere; cīwoparós, viviparous, living, alive, as Lat. vivipărus, and shortened cī(wo)párā, viper, "bearing live young", from Lat. vipĕra (both from IE parós, v.s.) and further suffixed form cíl(wo)tā, life, Lat. vita, in cī(wo)tālís, vital. Compare also O.E. cwifer, Lat. uīuō, Osc. bivus, Gk. ßiouaı, Skr. јīvaiti, Av. gaēthā, jig̈gēsa, O.Pers. gaithā, Pers. zēstan, Toch. śo/śai, Arm. keam, O.Pruss. giwa, giwāntei, Lith. gýti, gyventi, Ltv. dzīvs, dzīt, O.C.S. живж, жити, Russ. жить, жив ${ }^{\prime}$, Polish żyć, żyję, Gaul. Biturīges, O.Ir. bethu, Welsh byd.

For another common PIE adjective meaning "lively", compare bherếs, as Lith. bruzdu, O.C.S. brŭzŭ, Russ. borzoj, Pol. bardzo, Gaul. brys, Ir. bras, and possibly Lat. festīnō (but cf. dhes).
48.PIE root ser- gives sérōs, "guardian", heroe, Gk. $\eta ้ \omega \varsigma$, and general verbal base serw, guard, protect, in sérwā, keep, preserve, Lat. seruāre, sérwio, serve, as Lat. seruīre, and sérwos, slave, servant, Lat. seruus (forms also found in other Italic dialects, cf. Osc. serevkid, 'protection', ooserclom, usually considered borrowings from Etruscan); cf. also O.Ind. Av. haraiti, (pasuš)haurvō, "shepherd", Gmc. sarwia, Bal. serg-, Sla. stergt.
49.To refer to a person, man, PIE had root man, extended as Indo-Iranian mánus, Germanic mánuos and Balto-Slavic o-grade móng(i)os. Compare Gmc manwaz/mannaz (cf. Goth. manna, O.N. maðr, O.E. mann, O.S., O.H.G. man, Ger. Mann), Skr. manuḥ, Av. manu-, Pers. mærd, Kurd. mêr, Lith. žmogus, O.C.S. mož̌̆, Russ. муж, Polish mąż, Kamviri mânša. Compare also with Ger. Mensch, Du. mens, Nor.,Da. menneske, Swe. människa, Ice. manneskja, from Gmc. manniskaz, IE mánuiskos, person, human (cf. Romany manush, from Skr. manuḥ). A common European borrowing is mbhudhománu(o)s, from compound ḿ(bhi)+bhúdhom
(from Gmc. budam, O.N. bodh, "command") + mánuos, ombudsman (with the exception of some regionally translated terms, as Fr. médiateur, Spa. defensor del pueblo, etc).
Some names for 'German', 'Germany’, (Fr. allemand, Spa. alemán, Pt. alemão, Cat. alemany, Celtic, like Welsh Almaeneg, Bret. Alaman, Indo-Iranian, as Pers. almani, Kurd. elman; and even non-IE, as Turkish Alman, Arabic almanya, Azeri Alman, Basque alemanera, Guarani Alemaniagua, Malagasi alema, Khmer alaman, Tagalog Aleman), in turn a loan word from the tribal name that the neighboring Alamanni used for themselves. The term comes from Gmc. compound Ala-manniz, PIE reconstructed Alománuis, with first word from PIE root al-, therefore originally meaning lit. "all men".
PIE al, all, is attested in Germanic and Celtic. Germanic derivatives include alnós, all, as Gmc. allaz (cf. Goth. alls, O.N. allr, O.E. all, eall, eal-, O.Fris., O.H.G. al), and alo- in compounds.
50.PIE stem (s)neu- (cf. Skr. snavan-, Arm. neard) is an extension of (s)nē, spin, sew. It gives derivatives nétlā, needle, (with instrumental suffix -tlo-), as Gmc. nēthlō (Goth. nēpla, O.S. nathla, O.N. nál, O.E. n̄̄ððlæ, O.Fris. nedle, O.H.G. nādala), snotấ, snood, as Gmc. snōdō, or nếmn, thread, as Gk. v $\eta \mu \alpha$. Compare also Lat. neō, Gk. veıv, v $\eta \omega \omega$, Skr. snājati, Ltv. snāte, O.C.S. niti, Russ. нить, O.Ir. snáthat, Welsh nyddu, nodwydd.
51. For derivatives of PIE root stấi, hide, stone, also thicken, stiffen, compare stóinos, stone, Gmc. stainaz (cf. Goth. stains, O.N. steinn, O.E. stan, O.H.G., Dan. steen, Ger. Stein), and stắjr, solid fat, from Gk. $\sigma \tau \varepsilon \alpha \rho$; compare also Gk. stia, stion, Skr. stjajat, Av. staj, O.C.S. stena.
52. PIE root pūr/pắwr, fire, bonfire, is probably derived from an older *peh ${ }_{2} w r$ (cf. Hitt. pabhur) and has an irregular Genitive pūnós. Compare Goth. fōn, Gk. $\pi v \rho$, Osc. purasiai, Umb. pir, Skr. pu, Toch. por/puwār, Arm. hur, O. Pruss. panno, Polish perz, Cz. pýrr. The suffixed form púris, fire, gave Gmc. füris (cf. O.N. fúrr, O.E. fȳr, O.Fris. fiur, M.Du. vuur, O.H.G. fiur).
53.IE per means lead, pass over, as in adj. perwntós, rocky, noun pérwntos, mountain, as Skr. parvatah; pertā, cliff, rock (possibly earlier "bedrock", "what one comes through to"), as Lat. petra, Gk. лह́трa (both dissimilated as *pétrā, which means 'feather' in MIE, v.i., pértus, place for crossing over, ford as Gmc. ferthuz (cf. O.N.fjörðr, Eng. firth) or peritós, experienced (from Lat. peritus). Other derivatives include o-grade poro, journey, travel, as Gmc. faranan (cf. Goth. faran, O.E. fara, Ger. fahren, Eng. fare); póros, journey, passage, way, as Gk. лópos; pórṇā/pórṇom, feather, as Gmc. farnō (cf. O.E. fearn, M.Du. varn, Ger. Farn, Eng. fern), Skr. parñam.; also, pōrio, lead, lead across, bring to safety, as Gmc. förjan (cf. O.E. gefera, O.H.G. fuoren, M.E. fere, Ger. führen). With zero-grade, common IE words are prtús, going, entrance, passage, modern ford, harbor, port, as Gmc. furthuz (cf. O.Fris. forda, O.E.ford, O.H.G. furt, Ger. Furt), Lat. portus, O.Welsh rit, Welsh rhyd; and prtá́, meaning "gate" as fem. noun and "carry" as a verb, as in Lat. porta and portāre respectively.
The name Portugal is MIE Prtukálē, Port of "Kale", as Lat. Portucale, with the second term of uncertain origin, although some relate it to PIE sources akin to Lat. Gallus, "Gallic", Lat. calĭdus, "warm", or Lat. calx, "lime".
54.English word "true" comes from O.E. triewe (W.Saxon), treowe (Mercian), faithful, trustworthy, from Gmc. treuwjaz (cf. Goth. triggws O.N. tryggr, O.Fris. triuwi, Du. getrouw, O.H.G. gatriuwu, Ger. treu), ultimately from adj. drewiós, related to dréwom, tree, oak, wood, Gmc. trewan (cf. Goth. triu, O.N. tré, O.S. trio, O.E. trēow, O.Fris. tre), both then alternative forms of deru-, giving dórus (Gen. derwós), tree, oak, fig. firm, strong, as in Lith. drútas, Welsh drud, O.Ir. dron. Compare other IE derivatives from deru-, also drew-: Lat.
durus, Gk. $\delta \rho v \varsigma, \delta o ́ \rho v$, Skr. dru, dáru, Av. dāuru, O.Pers. duruva, Pers. deraxt, Toch. or, Arm. tram, caŕ, O. Pruss. drawine, Lith. derva, Ltv. dreve, O.C.S. дрвво, О.Rus. дрова, Rus. дерево, Pol. drwa, Gaul. Dervus, O.Ir. daur, derb, Welsh derwen, Alb. drusk, dru/drû, Kam. dâa; Hitt. ta-ru, Luw. tarweja-, and also A.Mac. darullos.
55. For IE root leu, loosen, divide, cut apart, compare léuwā, Gmc. lawwō (Swe. lagg, Eng. lag). For zero-grade forms, compare lwo, loosen, release, untie, from Gk. $\lambda$ úcıv, lúēs, plague, pestilence (< "dissolution, putrefaction"), from Lat. luēs, and also selwo, loosen, untie, as Lat. soluere (from PIE s(w)e-lwo-).
56.PIE bélis, power, strength, gives O.H.G. pal, O.Fris. pall, Lat. dē-bŭlis, Gk. $\beta \varepsilon \lambda \tau i \omega \omega v$, Skr. bálīyān, báliṣthas, bálam, Phryg. balaios, O.Ir. adbal, M.Ir. bolg, Welsh balch, Kamviri bâlim. O.C.S. бол̃ии, бол̃ьши, болю, Russ. болъшо'й, Ukr. білъший, Bulg. бо́ле.
57. Indo-European father, patér, is possibly an earlier compound formed by baby-speak sound like pa (compare modern baby words in your language beginning with $p+v o w e l$ ), probably earlier ${ }^{*} p h_{2^{-}}$, and IE common suffix for relatives -ter, a pattern followed in "mother" and other family members, too. It evolved as Gmc. fader (cf. Goth. fadar, O.N. fað̈r, O.E. fæder, O.H.G. fater), Lat. pater, Osc. patír, Umb. pater, Gk. латท̇ $\rho$, Skr. pitár-, Av. pitar-, O.Pers. pitā, Pers. pedar, Toch. pācar/pācer, Arm. hair, Gaul. ātir, O.Ir. athir, Welsh gwaladr, Kashmiri petū́r, Osset. fyd.
58.Indo-European bhátis, appearance, phase, gives Greek páбıs (phasis). It is derived from bhanio, "bring to light", cause to appear, show, as Gk. paıveıv (phainein), from PIE base bhā, shine. It gives also derivatives bhantós, visible, bhántom, phantom, bhantasíā, fantasy, énbhatis, emphasis, enbhatikós, emphatic, epibhánia, epiphany, bhaniómenom, occurrence, circumstance, also phenomenon, from Lat. phaenomĕnon, in turn from Gk. paivó $\mu \varepsilon v o v$, etc.
59.For PIE ana, breathe, blow, spirit, compare Goth. uzanan, andi, O.N. anda, önd O.E. eđian, ōpian, Lat. animus, Osc. anamum, Gk. anemos, Skr. ānas, aniti, Av. åntya, Toch. āñcäm/āñme, Arm. anjn, hov, Lith. anuoti, O.C.S. vonja, Russ. von', O.Ir. anál, animm, Welsh anysbryd, anadl, Alb. ajë/âj.
60. The reconstruction of common words for each day in a Seven-Day Week is almost impossible, if not through the adoption of numbers, from one to seven, like that used by the Roman Catholic Church (Lat. Feriae, used in Portuguese, see dhēs), Armenia, Greece, Iran, as well as in Arabic, Georgian and Hebrew. However, there seems to be a common old (pagan) pattern, followed in Greek (and partly in Sanskrit), and loan-translated from it in Latin and from this in Germanic.

PIE dhès (possibly an extension of dhè, set) is the reconstructed base for words applied to various religious concepts, as zero-grade dhesós, god, Gk. Өcós, in apodhesótis, apotheosis, ṇdhesós, atheistic, ṇdhesísmos, atheism, endhesosiasmós, enthusiasm (Gk. ह́vӨovoıaouós), pántdhesiom, pantheon, Gk. ПávӨcıov; fullgrade dhésiās, holidays, Lat. fēriae, (O.Lat. fēsiae), dhéstos, festive, Lat. fēstus, in dhēstēiuós, festive, dhéstēiuālis, festival; also, zero-grade dhásnom, temple, as Lat. fānum, in dhasnatikós, fanatic, prodhasnós, profane.
NOTE. In Latin, the $\mathbf{s}$ before $\mathbf{m}, \mathbf{n}, \mathbf{l}$, disappears, and the preceding vowel shows a compensatory lengthening; cf. Duenos: cosmis > cōmis; Columna Rostrata -resmom > rēmum; fasnom > fānum, *habēsna > habēna, * catēsna > catēna; candēsla > candēla, *quaisēsla > querēla. , etc.

For PIE "feast", a more common verbal root wes was used, cf. Goth. wisan, ON vist, O.E. wesan, O.H.G. wist, Lat. vescor, Skr. anuvāvase, Av. vastra, Lith. švest, Pol. wesele, O.Ir. fíach, Welsh gwest, Hitt. weši.
A. The word for "day" (as opposed to "night") in Indo-European comes usually from a common dínom, originally "daylight", derived from PIE root diw-, shine, and it is still found in Eng. lent, from Gmc. compound langa-tinaz, (probably lit. "longer daylight", cf. Goth. sintīns, O.S. lentin, O.E. lencten, M.Du. lenten, O.H.G. lenzo); compare also Lat. nin-dinae (also general diēs, as in Eng. diurnal, from base *djeu-), Skr. dinam, O.Pruss. deinan, Lith. diena, Ltv. diena, O.C.S. дънъ, Russ. денъ, Pol. dzień, O.Ir. denus, día, Welsh dydd, Alb. gdhin.
B. Germanic 'day' comes from old PIE agh-, day, older ${ }^{*} h_{2} e g^{h}$, considered as a span of time, hence " 24 hours", cf. Skr. ahar, from IE ághōr, Av. azan, from IE ághōn, and Gmc. dagaz, reconstructed as MIE (dh)aghos, with first $\boldsymbol{d h}$ - of uncertain origin, although some relate it to PIE root dhech, burn, (which gave derivatives with the sense of "hot season", "summer", thus maybe mixed with -agh- in Germanic to mean "hot part of the day", daylight); cf. Lat. fovēre, Gk. $-\pi \tau \alpha v o s, ~ S k r . ~ d a h a t i, ~ d a h, ~ A v . ~ d a z ̌ a i t i, ~ P e r s . ~ d a ̄ g, ~ T o c h . ~ t s a ̈ k / t s a ̈ k, ~ O . ~ P r u s s . ~ d a g i s, ~$ Lith. dagas, degti, Ltv. degt, OCS žešti, Russ. sžigat', žgučij, Polish żgę, Ir. daig, Alb. djek.

Here is a brief explanation of possible loan-translations of the names of week days into Modern Indo-European in three different calendars, Pagan (like Greek, Roman and Germanic, as well as Sanskrit calendars, the last followed in Indian timekeeping, i.e., modern Hindi, Telugu, Gujarati, Bengali, and even Tamil and Malayalam, beginning in Monday), International (beginning in Monday, similar to the traditional Slavic one), and Christian (counting in Dhésiās, feasts, from Ecc.Lat. Feriae, see dhēs), viz:
I. Monday should be Mntós (déinos), "(day) of the moon". Compare Gmc. Monan-dagaz, L.L. Lunæ dies, Gk. $\eta \mu \varepsilon \rho \alpha \Sigma^{\Sigma} \lambda \eta v \eta \varsigma$, and Skr. Soma vāsara (Beng. Shombar). Also, 'neutral’ Prwóm (déinom), "First (day)", and Christian Seqondhá (Dhésiā), "Second (Feast)", i.e. "Feast following Sunday".

PIE seq, follow, gives derivatives Gmc. sekw- (cf. ON seggr, O.E. secg, O.H.G. beinsegga), Lat. sequor, Gk. hepomai, Skr. sacate, Av. hačaitē, O.Pers. hačā, Toch. säk/, Lith. sekti, Ltv. sekt, Ir. sech Welsh hep. Common modern MIE words include Latin derivatives séqtā, sect, séqelā, sequel, seqéntiā, sequence, komseqénts, consequent, ekseqo, carry out, accomplish, ekseqotós, accomplished, carried out, ekseqotā, execute, obhséqiom, present, obhseqiós, obsequious, perseqio, persecute, proseqio, prosecute, supseqio, follow immediatly, supseqénts, subsequent; seqestér, "follower", mediator, depositary, seqestrā, kidnap, séqestrom, sequestrum, kidnapping; seqós, following, along, alongside of, as in ekstrīnseqós, from outside, extrinsic, entrīnseqós, from inside, intrinsic; séqnom, identifying mark, sign (from "standard that one follows"), Lat. signum, also séqnā, sign, adseqnā, assign, komseqnā, consign, deseqnā, designate, design, reseqnā, return, give back; suffixed sóqios, ally, companion ("follower"), in soqiabhilís, sociable, soqiālís, social, sóqietā, society, soqio-, socio-, adsoqiā, associate, komsoqiā, consociate, dissoqī̄, dissociate.
II. Tuesday is Eiserós (déinos), "(day) of the anger", as it is the day of the gods of war; cf. Gmc. Tiwaz-dagaz, (althoug Tiw, from PIE deiw-, thus, is in fact etymologically related to Gk. Zeus and Lat. Iove, v.i.), loantranslated from L.L. Martis dies, $\eta \mu \varepsilon \rho \alpha A \rho \varepsilon \omega \varsigma$, "day of Ares", and compare also Skr. Mangala vāsara (Beng. Monggolbar), identified with Karttikeya, the god of war. Compare for PIE eis, originally maybe denoting
 Asmodeus, v.i.). English "iron" comes from Gmc. īsarnan (cf. O.S. isarn, O.N. isarn, O.E. isærn, M.Du. iser,
O.H.G. isarn), borrowed from Celtic isarnon (cf. O.Ir. iarn, Welsh haiarn), from IE ájos (gen. ájesos, PIE root $\boldsymbol{a j o s}$-, older $h_{2} e i o s$ ), originally metal ("vigorous, powerful material"); compare also Gmc. ajiz, (cf. Goth. aiz, O.N. eir, O.E. ār, O.H.G. ēr, ehern), Lat. aes, Umb. ahesnes, Skr. ayaḥ, Av. ayañh, Pers. āhan, Gaul. Isarnodori, O.Ir. iarn, Welsh haearn. Also, Alteróm (déinom) or Christian Tritiá (Dhésiā).
III. Wednesday comes from North Gmc. Wodenaz-dagaz, "day of Odin" (cf. O.N. Ōðinsdagr, O.S. odensdag, O.E. Wōd(e)nesdæg, O.Fris. wōnsdei, M.Du. Wudensdach; but, from uncertain origin, compare O.Fris. wērendei, Du. wonseldach, South. Ger. guotentag, and even Eng. Wednesday and Du. waansdei, as well as Low Ger. and Du. dial. with initial $g$-), loan-translated originally from L.L. dies Mercurii, "day of Mercury", in turn from Gk.
 mérkātos, market, or merk $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$, buy) and Gk. 'E $\rho \mu n ̃ \varsigma$, (also from unknown origin, with some relating it to है $\mu \mu \mathrm{a}$, a square pillar), both equivalent to Skr. Budha vāsara (Beng. Budhbar), "day of Budha", the name of the planet Mercury, a son of Chandra, the moon, in Hindu mythology, but the three are unrelated to the Nordic concept of Odin, the "sky-god", equivalent to Lat. Jupiter or Gk. Zeus.
III.A. Indo-Aryan term Budha (and also Buddha) comes from IE zero-grade verb budho, O.Ind. bodhati, budhjate, budhanta, "wake, observe, perceive, enlighten", and noun búdhis, intelligence, reason, from Skr. bodhih, and *budhtós (MIE bustós) awaken, enlightened, from Skr. buddhaḥ, all from PIE root verb bhéudh, wake, rise up, be aware, and also make aware; compare also Gmc. biudanan (cf. Goth. anabiudan, O.N. bjóða, O.E. bēodan, O.H.G. biotan), Lat. fidere, foedus, Gk. peithein, pistis, Av. buidjeiti, Pers. bēdār-šudan, O.Pruss. budē, Lith. budinti, Ltv. budīt, O.C.S. beda, bljudo, Russ. бyдem, Pol. budzić, O.Ir. buide, Welsh bodd, Kamviri bidi. Due to the common meaning of anounce, hence message, messenger, herald, a concept akin to Sanskrit and Germanic sources (exactly the role of loan-translated Mercurius and Hermes), a good possibility for Wednesday in a pagan week would be Budhonós (déinos), "messenger/message's (day)", búdhōn, message, messenger, bode, as in Gmc. budōn (cf. O.N. boð, O.E. boda, bodian, O.S. gibod, O.H.G. gibot).
III.B. The new, non-pagan model (cf. M.H.G. mittewoche, M.L.G. middeweke, Du.dial. Midswiek, Fris. metswik, Norw. dial. mækedag, Mod.H.G. dial. Mittag, Eng.dial. Mid-week, and also unrelated Ice. priðjudagur, "thirdday"), influenced by Gothic, was probably adopted from Gk. or Lat. missionaries, avoiding the old pagan week, and is also found in Slavic - and Hungarian - srēda, lit. "middle" (cf. O.C.S. srĕda, Rus. sreda, Pol. sroda), loantranslated from Lat. media hebdomas, itself a loan word from Gk. $\varepsilon \beta \delta o \mu \alpha \dot{\alpha} \alpha$, from $\dot{\varepsilon} \beta \delta o \mu a ́ s$, seven, from PIE séptm (->Gk. 'hebdom', seven, "period of seven days or years"), which was translated in L.Lat. as septimāna, from Lat. septem; compare also words for "week" in Srb. седмица, Cro. sedmica, Bulg. седмица, Bret. sizhuп, Lith. savaité, Hindi haftā, Hung. hét (from an Iranian source, cf. Kurdish heft, "seven"). Then, Medhjá (Séptmā), "mid-week", as well as 'neutral' Tritióm (déinom) or Christian Qetwrtá (Dhésiā).

Other Indo-European terms for common periods of days:
III.B.1. From IE wíkom comes Eng. week, Gmc. wikon (cf. Goth. wikon, O.N. vika, O.E. wice/wican, O.Fris. wike, M.Du. weke, O.H.G. wecha, Ice. vika, even Finnish viikko), originally "a turning" or "succession", from PIE $\boldsymbol{w e i k} / \boldsymbol{w e i g}$, bend, wind; cf. Gmc. wik- (e.g. Eng. wicker), waikwaz (Eng. weak), Lat. uix, uicia, Skt. visti.
III.B.2. Other common word for "week" in Slavic is O.C.S. ten dzień (cf. Pol. tydzień, Slovak týždeň, Slovene teden, Ukr. тиждень, Cz. týden), translated as MIE tod déinom, "this day".

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III.B.3. Ltv. nedèlèa is a loan word from Rus. неделя (nedélja), originally Sunday in Slavic languages, IE Nedhélā, Russ. не-делать, "no-work(ing day)", composed of:

For PIE ne, no, compare Gmc. ne-, na-, (cf. Goth. ni, ON né, O.E. ne, O.H.G. ne, Eng. no), Lat. nē, ne-, Osc. ne, Skr. na, Av. na, O.Pers. na, Pers. ن, O.Pruss. ne, Lith. ne, Ltv. nē, Russ. не, нет, Polish nie, O.Ir. ní, Welsh ni, na, Alb. nuk, Hitt. natta, Luw. ni-, Lyc. ni-, Lyd. ni-; also common is zero-grade suffix $\mathbf{n -}$ [n], as Gmc. un-, Lat. in-, Umb. an-, Gk. $a$-, an-, Skr. $a$-, an-, Toch. an-/en-, Arm. an-, frequently found in common IE compounds, as ṇcowijós, "man without cows" (cf. Skr. ágos, Gk. aboútē̄, O.Ir. ambuæ), ṇmrtós, inmortal (cf. O.Ind. amŕta-, Av. aməša-, Gk. ä $\mu \beta \rho o \tau o \varsigma), ~ n ̣ u d r o ́ s, ~ w i t h o u t ~ w a t e r ~(c f . ~ S k r . ~ a n u d r a ́ s, ~ G k . ~ a ́ n y d r o s), ~ n ̣ g n o ̄ t o ́ s, ~ u n k n o w n ~(c f . ~ S k r . ~$ ájñātas, ágnōtos), ṇgn(a)tós, unborn, etc. A common derivative is MIE nóin, no, none, originally "not one, not any" (from n(e)-óinos), giving Gmc. nean (cf. O.S., M.L.G. nen, O.N. neinn, M.Du., Du. neen, O.H.G., Ger. nein), maybe analogous to Lat. nōn, non- (although probably a nasal extension of o-grade negative particle nē).
PIE root dhē, set, put, place, (see dhē for MIE derivatives) gives Gmc. dēdiz (Eng. deed, Ger. Tat), dōn (Goth. gadēbs, O.E. dōn, O.H.G. tuon, O.N. dalidun, O.S. duon, O.Fris. dua, M.E. de, Ger. tun), Lat. faciō/fēcī, facilis,
 adadā, Phryg. dak-, Toch. täs/täs, Thrac. didzos, Arm. ed, Lith. dedù, détis, Ltv. dēt, O.C.S. благодьт, дьти, дълати, Russ. деть, делать, Pol. dziać; działać, Gaul. dede, Welsh dall, Alb. ndonj; Hitt. dai, Lyc. ta-.
IV. Thursday is, after the Greek and Roman calendars, a day consacrated to Zeus and Jupiter respectively; cf. Gk. $\eta \mu \varepsilon \rho \alpha \Delta \iota o \varsigma(G k$. Zeus has gen. Dios), Lat. Iovis dies, both the "sky-gods" - compare also Hindu Guru vāsara, "day of the preceptor", for Vjasa, the supreme preceptor of mankind, and Beng. Brihoshpotibar, "day of Brihoshpoti" (equivalent to Jupiter), the guru of the Devas and the arch-nemesis of Shukracharya, the guru of the Danavas. In loan-translated Gmc. thonaras-dagaz (cf. O.N. Porsdagr, O.E. Purresdæg, O.Fris. thunresdei, M.Du. donresdach, Du. donderdag, O.H.G. Donares tag), the day is dedicated to a Germanic god whose name is related to PIE root (s)téna, resound, thunder, as in Lat. tonāre, Skr. tánjati, Pers. tundar, Pashto tạ̣ā; compare for IE tńros, thunder, Gmc. thunraz (cf. O.N. porr, O.E. punor, O.Fris. thuner, M.Du. donre, O.H.G. donar). Therefore, Diwós (déinos), "sky-god's (day)", Qturóm (déinom), "fourth (day)" or Penqtấ (Dhếsiā), "fifth (Feast)".
V. Friday is "Frigga's day", wife of Odin in Germanic mythology, goddess of heaven and married love, loantranslation of Lat. Ueneris dies, "day of (planet) Venus", in turn translated from Gk. $\eta \mu \varepsilon \rho \alpha ~ A \varphi \rho o \delta ı \tau \eta s, ~ " d a y ~ o f ~$ Aphrodite", the goddesses of love, lust and beauty; also, Skr. Shukra vāsara (Beng. Shukrobar), where Shukra is the name for Venus, one of the Navagrahas, a male planet for the Hindus and named after the Guru Shukracharya. A $1 \varphi \rho o \delta i t \eta$ comes from Phoenician cAštart, "Astarte", influenced by Gk. àpoós, foam, having parallels to IndoEuropean "dawn" god(desse)s, as Vedic Skr. Ushas, Lat. Aurora (reinterpreted as a-Decl. *Ausós-ā), IE Áusōs. Latin Venus comes from wénos, love, sexual desire, loveliness, beauty, charm, from PIE wen, strive for, desire; as wenuo, Gmc. winnwan ("seek to gain", O.E. wynn, Eng. win), wnē [‘unn-e:], as Gmc. wunēn, ("become accustomed to, dwell", cf. O.E. wunian, Ger. wohnen, Eng. won), wonēio, as Gmc. wanian ("accustome, train", cf. O.E. wenian, Eng. wean), wnsko, as Gmc. wunskan ("desire", cf. O.E. wyscan, Ger. Wünsch, Eng. wish); or wenésnom, Lat. uenēnum, "venom". Compare also Lat. uenia, uēnāri, Skr. vanas-, vanam, vanati, vanik, vanijah, Av. vanaiti, Toch. wani/wna, wins-/winsk, Arm. gun, Cel. wenj (cf. O.Ir. fine, O.Bret. coguenou, Welsh gwen, Bret gwenn); Hitt. wen-, went- (for more on this root v.i. Sla. voin', "soldier"). For Frigg, compare Gmc.

Frije-dagaz (cf. O.N. frijadagr, O.E. frigedæg, O.Fris. frigendei, M.Du. vridach, Du. vrijdag, Ger. Freitag), from IE príjā, woman, wife - also Freya, goddess of love and beauty in Norse mithology - Gmc. Frijō (cf. O.N. Freyja, O.E. frea, O.S. frua, M.Du. vrouwe, Ice. Freyjudagr, Ger. Frau, Eng. Freya), itself from PIE root prai, like, love, which gave prijós, noble, dear, beloved, as Gmc. frijaz (cf. Goth. freis, O.E. freo, M.H.G. vri, Ger. frei, Du. vrij), and other derivatives related to free, love, friend, like prítus, peace as Gmc. frithuz (O.H.G. fridu, L.Lat. exfredāre, Eng afraid), príjonts, "beloved", friend, as Gmc. frijands (cf. Goth. frijonds, O.N. frændi, O.E. frēond, O.Fris. friund, M.H.G. friunt, Ger. Freund); also, compare Gk. $\pi \rho \alpha o \varsigma, ~ S k r . ~ p r i y a h, ~ p r i ̣ ̣ a ̄ t i, ~ A v . ~ f r a ̄, ~ L t v . ~ p r i e k s, ~$ O.C.S. prëjati, prïjatelji, Russ. приятель, Polish przyjaźń, sprzyjać, O.Ir. ríar, Welsh rhydd; therefore, Ausosés (déinos), "dawn's day", Penqtóm (déinom), "fifth (day)", Sekstấ (Dhếsiā), "sixth (Feast)".
VI. Saturday is a partial loan-translation from Lat. Saturni dies, "day of Saturn" (where Saturnus was an Italic god of agriculture, poss. a borrowing from Etruscan), itself translated from Gk. $\eta \mu \varepsilon \rho \alpha$ Kpovov, "day of Cronus"; compare also Skr. Shani vāsara (Beng. Shonibar), from Sani, one of the nine Navagraha or primary celestial beings, embodied in the planet Saturn, MIE Satúrnos. Compare O.E. Sæterdæg/Sæternesdæg, Du. zaterdag, O.Fris. saterdi, M.L.G. satersdach; Ir. dia Sathuirn, Welsh dydd Sadwrn. However, an ancient Nordic custom is preserved in O.N. laugardagr, Dan. lordag, Swed. lördag, lit. "bath day" (cf. O.N. laug, "bath"). Ger. Samstag (from O.H.G. sambaztag) appears to be from Vulg. Lat. sambatum, from Gk. *sambaton, a colloquial nasalized variant of sabbaton "sabbath", also attested in Slavic (cf. O.C.S. sabota, Rus. subbota, simbata) and even Hung. szombat; also Romance (cf. Fr. samedi, It. sabato, Spa. sábado, Pt. sabado). The sabbath is observed by the Jews as a day of rest, and comes from Hebrew shabbath, prop. "day of rest", from shabath "he rested". Hence, only two names appear to be correct for MIE, IE pagan Satúrni (déinos), and Christian Sabbátom.
VII. Sunday, the last day of the week - first according to religious tradition -, is the "day of the sun", Lat. dies solis, loan-translated from Gk. $\eta \mu \varepsilon \rho \alpha$ H $\lambda \iota o v$, compare also Skr. Ravi vāsara (Beng. Robibar); according to Hinduism, Ravi is Surya, the Sun. Therefore, the pagan version should be Sāwlós (déinos), "Sun's day", gen. of Sấwel, sun, v.i., and in Christian tradition, following Lat. dominicus dies, Gk. Kvрıккоৎ, (from Gk. кvpıos, lord, with a different IE base), Kuriakós/Domūnikós (déinos).
Indo-European root kew, swell, also vault, hole, gives o-grade kówos, hollow, as Lat. cauus, as in kówā (as V.Lat. cova), cave, kowésna, cavern, kówitā, cavity, komkowós, concave, ekskowā, excavate; kówilos, hollow, kowiliā, belly, as Gk. коіخía, and kówilom, coelom, as in Eng. derivatives -cele, celiac, -coel; kówos, hollow place, cavity, as in kówodeiā, poppy head, Gk. кஸ́8єıa, which gives kowodeínā (-ínā, "alkaloid"), codeine; zero-grade shortened kúmolos, heap, mass, cumulus, as Lat. cumulus, kumolā, cumulate, or adkumolā, accumulate; zero-grade kūrós, "swollen", strong, powerful, hence kúrios, master, lord, as Gk. кvpıos, as in kūriakós, "of the lord", as in MIE Kūriakóm [dốmn], Lord's [dome] (from "house", see dem-), as Late Greek kūriakon [dōma] (cf. Med. Gk. kūrikon, into W. Gmc. kirika, as O.E. ciricem, Eng. church, Ger. Kirche), used for houses of Christian worship since c.300, especially in the East, though it was less common in this sense than ekklēsíā (from Gk. ekklesía, see kela) or basílikā (from loan adj. basiliká, royal, Gk. $\beta$ aṑıń, from basiliós, king); kūweio, swell, and derivative kúmn, a swelling, wave, with Greek derivatives as Eng. cyma, cyme, cymo-, kymo-; enkūiếnts, pregnant, as Lat. inciēns (as Eng. enceinte).

Indo-European kela, shout, older * kelh $_{2}$, gives verb klāuo (from *klah ${ }_{2}$ ), roar, low, as Gmc. khlōwan (cf. O.E. hlōwan, M.Du. loeyen, O.H.G. hluoje); suffixed klāmā, call, cry out, claim, as Lat. clamāre, as in klāmấnts, clamant, klắmōr, clamor, adklāmā, acclaim, deklāmā, declaim, eksklāmā, exclaim, proklāmā, proclaim, reklāmā, reclaim; kolā, call, as Gmc. khalōn (cf. M.Du. halen, Frank. halon, O.Fr. haler, M.E. halen, maybe also O.E. geholian); komkáliom (from kom-, together, and zero-grade *kíh->IE kalio), meeting, gathering, council ("a calling together"), komkaliā, conciliate, rekomkaliā, reconcile; kálendās, calends, from Lat. kalendae (first day of the month, when it was publicly announced on which days the nones and ides of that month would fall), giving kalendásiom, calendar; kalo (variant klē), call, as in ekkalo, summon forth, which gives ekklēsíā, assembly, church, as Gk. غ̇ккえךбía; kalā, call, call out, as Lat. calāre, as in enterkalā, intercalate, nomnklātốr, nomenclator; suffixed klārós (from zero-grade *kíh), bright, clear, as in deklārā, declare; zerograde klástis, summons, division of citizens for military draft, hence army, fleet, from Lat. classis, also class.
61. MIE Januários is probably from IE jános, Lat. Janus, ancient Ita. deity, guardian god of portals, patron of beginnings and endings, lit. "gate, arched passageway" from PIE é́, go (cf. Skt. janah). Other Roman months are Februários (pl. of Lat. februum, purifications, unkn. origin), Mártios, (from Ita. god Mars, Mamers in Oscan, borrowed from the Etruscan deity Mariś as a war/agricultual god Mars and equated with Greek Ares by interpretatio romana), Aprílis (from Ita. godd. Venus, Etruscan Apru, possibly from Gk. aphrodite), Mágios (from Lat. Maia, from PIE meg, great), Júnios (from Lat. Juno, related to Eng. young), Djówilios (from Lat. Iūlius Caesar, from djeus, god), Augústos (from Lat. Augustus Caesar, from aug), Septŕmris, Oktốmris, Nowńmris, Dekńmris, all from IE numbers following the Roman calendar (which began in March) and adj. suffix -m(ns)ris, Lat. -bris, from PIE base mēn-, month.
a. For PIE eí, go, walk, compare Goth. iddja, O.E. ēode, Lat. ire, iter, Umbrian ier, Oscan eítuns, Gk. عıui, íwv, Skr. ēti, imas, ayanam, Av. aēiti, O.Pers. aitiy, Toch. i, O.Pruss. eit, Lith. eiti, Ltv. iet, O.C.S. iti, ido Rus. uдmu, Polish isś, Gaulish eimu, O.Ir. ethaim, Kamviri ie; Luw. i-.
b. For PIE meg, great, compare derivatives mégos (Skr. maha-, Gk. $\mu \varepsilon ́ \gamma a \varsigma$, Phryg. meka-, Pers. meh), megilós ("much", as Gmc. mekilaz, cf. Goth. mikils, O.E. micel, O.N. mikill, O.H.G. mihhil, M.E. muchel), magiós (as Lat. major), magnós (Lat. magnus); cf. Skr. mahayati, mahat-, Av. mazant, Illyr. mag, Toch. $m a ̄ k / m a ̄ k \bar{a}, ~ A r m . ~ m e c, ~ G a u l . ~ M a g i o r i ̄ x, ~ O . I r . ~ m o c h t a e, ~ W e l s h ~ M a c l g w n, ~ A l b . ~ m a d h, ~ K u r d . ~ m e z i n ; ~ H i t t . ~ m a k k e s . ~$
c. PIE root jeu, "vital force, youthful vigor", and its suffixed zero-grade juwen- (cf. Skr. yuván-, Lat. iuuĕn-is), give júwntis, youth, as Gmc. juwunthiz/jugunthiz (cf. Goth. junda, O.S. juguth, O.E. geogu, O.Fris. jogethe, M.Du. joghet, O.H.G. jugund), and juwnkós, young, as Gmc. juwungaz/jungaz, (Goth. juggs, O.S., O.Fris. jung, O.N. ungr, O.E. geong, M.Du. jonc, O.H.G. junc) and Celtic yowankos (cf. Gaul. Jovincillus, O.Ir. ac, Welsh ieuanc); compare also Umb. iuengar, Av. javan, Pers. javān, Lith. jaunas, Ltv. jauns, Slavic junz, junъсь (cf. O.C.S. юнъ, O.Rus. оунъ, O.Bulg. юн, юне́ц, юне́, O.Cz. junec, junoch, Pol. junosza, junoch).
d. PIE aug, increase, gives Gmc. aukan ("eke", cf. Goth. aukan, O.N. auka, O.E. eacan O.Fris. aka), Lat. augere, Umb. uhtur, Gk. aú $\omega \omega$ v, aúgáveıv, Skr. ojas-, ugra, Toch. ok/auk, O.Pruss. auginnons, Lith. augu, aukstas, Ltv. augt. Common modern derivatives include augonốmn, nickname, as Gmc. aukanamon); augméntom, increase, augment, áugtiōn, auction, from Lat. augere; augē, create, from L.Lat. augēre, which gives augtós, created, áugtos, creation, augtốr, author, creator, and augtoritiā, authorize; augū́r, diviner (<
"he who obtains favorable presage", from "divine favor, increase"), from Lat. augur, as in enaugurā, inaugurate; augsíliom, aid, support, assistance, from Lat. auxilium, and augsiliāsiós, auxiliary. Also, variant metathesized form weg-, o-grade and extended with -s, wógso, grow, Gmc. wakhsan (O.S., O.H.G. wahs, O.N. vax, O.E. weaxan, Du. was, Ger. Wachs, Eng. wax), and wógstus, waist, Gmc. wakhstus (cf. Goth. wahstus, O.N. vaxtr, Swed. vstm, O.H.G. wahst); from the same IE base, cf. Lith. vakas, O.C.S. vasku, Rus. vosk, Pol. wosk.
e. Compare for MIE mēns (gen. mntós), moon, month, cf. Lat. mēnsis, Gk. $\mu \eta v$, Skr. māsah, Av. maoǹh, Pers. māh, Toch. mañ/meñe, Arm. amis, O. Pruss. menig, Lith. ménuo, Ltv. meness, O.C.S. meseci, Russ. mesjac, Pol. miesiąc, O.Ir. mí, Welsh mis, Alb. muaj, Kurd. mang, Kamviri mos, Osset. mæj. In Germanic, "month" comes from IE ménōts, Gmc. mænoth- (Goth. menops, O.N. manaðr, O.E. monað, M.Du. manet, Du. maand, O.H.G. manod), "moon" from IE mếnōn, Gmc. menon-, (cf. Goth. mena, O.N. mani, O.E. mōna, O.S., O.H.G. mano, O.Fris. mona, Du. maan). See also Proto-Indo-European mē, measure.
62.For season, year, time, PIE had different words
A. From root jēr-, as jérom, year, season, cf. O.Pers. (duši)jaram, Gmc. jæram ("year, season" cf. Goth. jer, O.S., O.H.G. jar, O.N. ar, O.E. gंēar/gēr, Dan. aar, O.Fris. ger, Du. jaar, Ger. Jahr); jṓrā, hour, season, from Gk. $h \omega ' \rho \alpha$ ("hour, season, year" as in Mod.Eng. horoscope, hour); also, compare Lat. hornus, Av. jare, O.C.S. jaru, probably originally "that which goes a complete cycle", from older verbal root *h2eí, go, v.s.
A.a. The best option for "season" in MIE would be to use jērós dáitis, "year-time", loan-translated from IE compounds like Ger. Jahreszeit, Fris. jiertiid, Du. jaargetijde, Swe.,Da. årstid, Rom. anotimp, Lith. metų laikas, Russ. время года, Pol. pora roku, Cz. roční období, Slov. letni čas, Bret. koulz-amzer, etc., as a compound from gen. of jérom, followed by d(á)itis, time, as Gmc. tidiz "division of time" (cf. O.S. tid, Du. tijd, O.H.G. zit, Ger. Zeit), suffixed form of IE dā, divide, cut up; cf. dá́mos, Gk. $\delta \tilde{\eta} \mu \mathrm{\mu}$, , also Skr. dati, O.Ir. dam. and Gmc. tīmōn.
A.b. Greek word for "season" is IE epsoghắ, Gk. єлохウ́, epoch, from PIE roots epi, on, at, and sogh, o-grade of $\mathbf{s e g h}$, hold, as in Gk. $\varepsilon \chi \varepsilon \iota v$, Skr. saha-, sahate; other derivatives are séghōs, victory (<"a holding or conquest in Battle"), as Gmc. sigiz- (cf. O.N. sigr, O.E. sige, O.H.G. sigu, sigo, as in Siegfried, M.Du. seghe), seghús,

A.c. Also, MIE sátiōn, sowing, season, from L.Lat. sessīōnis (O.Fr. seison, Eng. season, Du. seizoen, Rom. sezon), from Lat. satiō, "a sowing", from pp. satum of verb siso, Lat. serere, a reduplicate verb from IE sē, sow, as Gmc. sēanan (Goth. saian, O.N. sá, O.E. sāwan, M.Du. sayen, O.H.G. sāen), Skr. sāyaka, Toch. sāry, Lith. seju, sėti, Ltv. sēt, sĕti, O.C.S. sejo, sejati, Russ. ceяmb, Pol. siać, Welsh hil, O.Ir. sí, and Hitt. sai. It gave also sếmēn, seed, semen, sperm (cf. Lat. semen, Umb. semenies, O.H.G. samo, O.Prus. semen, O.C.S. seme, Rus. семя, Ger. Samen, even Finn. siemen), and sétis, seed, as in Gmc. sēdiz (cf. O.N. sað, O.S. sad, O.Fris. sed, M.Du. saet, O.H.G. sat, Ger. Saat).
A.d. Other word is státiōn, from Lat. statīōnis (cf. Spa. estación, Pt. estação, Cat. estació), from IE sta(n)t-, giving Gmc. standan (cf. O.S., Goth.,O.E. standan, O.N. standa, O.H.G. stān, Swed. stå, Du. staan), and other derivatives like IE statós, L. status, Gk. $\sigma \tau \alpha \tau o ́ s, ~ L i t h . ~ s t a t a u, ~ u l t i m a t e l y ~ f r o m ~ P I E ~ s t a ̄, ~ s t a n d, ~ w i t h ~ d e r i v a t i v e s ~$ meaning "set down, make or be firm" and "place or thing that is standing", as in IE stōdh̄̄, stallion, studhorse, steed, from Gmc stōdō (cf. O.N. stoð, O.H.G. stuot, O.E. stod, M.H.G. stud, M.L.G. stod, Ger. Stute, and also O.C.S. stado, "herd", Lith. stodas, "a drove of horses"); compare L. sistere, stō (from older stāī̄) Umb. stahmei,

Osc. staíet, Gk. ÏбtaбӨaı, İбtós, $\sigma \tau u ̃ \lambda o s, ~ S k t . ~ t i s ̣ t ̣ h a t i, ~ A v . ~ h i s ̌ t a i t i, ~ O . P e r s . ~ a i s ̌ t a t a, ~ P e r s . ~ i s t a ̄ d a n, ~-s t a n ~(c o u n t r y, ~ l i t . ~$ "where one stands"), Phryg. eistani, Toch. ștām/stām, Arm. stanam, O. Pruss. postāt, stacle, Lith. stojus, Ltv. stāt, O.C.S. стояти, стољ, stanu, staru (old, lit. "long-standing"), O.Russ. стати, стану, Pol. stoję, stać, O.Ir. táu (from older stāī̄), sessam, Welsh gwastad, Alb. shtuara; Hitt. išta, Luw. išta-, Lyc. ta-
 season, time.
B. Romance languages have words derived from PIE átnos, year (from "a period gone trough"), which gave Germanic and Italic words, cf. Goth. apnam, Lat. annus (modern Romance Fr.,Rom. an,It. anno, Pt. ano, Spa. año, Cat. any), Osc.,Umb. akno-, from IE at, go, as in Skr. atati.
C. Modern Slavic languages have different words for "year, season".
C.a Some dialects have IE o-grade ghodhós, originally fit, adequate, belonging together (v.i. for Eng. good), which developed into O.C.S. годъ, time, "pleasing time", giving O.Rus. годъ, Cro. godina, Bulg. година (cf. Ukr. годi, Pol. gody, Cz. hod, Bulg. годé, Srb. го̂д, Slov. gôd), also adopted in Ltv. gads (cf. 'proper' Latvian derivatives, gadigs, gadit), ultimately from PIE base ghedh, unite, "be associated, suitable", also with the meaning of "good".
C.b. Another common Slavic word is Pol., Cz., Slovak rok, Ukr. рік (also, cf. Russ. с-рок), from O.C.S. ржка, arm, hand (cf. Russ. рука, Ukr.,Bel. рукá, Slov. róka, Pol. ręka), also found in Lith. rankà (gen. rañka), Ltv. rùoka, "hand" (cf. Russ. rancko, gen. rānkan, Lith. renkù, rinkaũ, riñkti, parankà) with the year as a notion of a "cubit measurement of time"; the word is believed to be ultimately from a source akin to a nasal extended IE wrnkā ['wr-n-ka:], from PIE wer, turn, bend (maybe through O.Ind. vrag, "corner, angle", vrangr, "scythe").
C.c. Finally, compare Slovene leto, Russ.pl. лет, Pol. lata, Cz., Slovak. leto (cf. also Russ. лето, Pol. lato, "summer"), possibly cognate with O.Ir. laithe, day, reconstructed as common PIE létom.
D. In Celtic, a common isolated root is found, MIE bhled-, cf. O.Ir. bladain, Ir. bliain, Sc. bliadhna, Welsh blwyddyn, Bret. bloaz, Corn. bledhen.
E. For "year" in modern Iranian languages, compare Av. sarəd, O.Pers. ýâre, Persian سال (sâl), Kurdish sal, Pashto $k \bar{a} l$, Zazaki serre, all from PIE jēr-, already seen. Also borrowed in Hindustani as sāl (Urdu سال , Hindi साल), although some Indo-Aryan languages derive it from Skr. वर्षम् (varsham, as Marathi वर्ष, varsha, and Malayalam varsham), "year, summer, rain season", a word which some derive from the sound of the rain, from a Dravidian source.
F. Another PIE word with a similar meaning is wet-, year, age, (cf. Alb. vit), which gives derivatives wétrus, yearling, as Gmc. wethruz (wether, cf. Goth. wier, O.S. wethar, O.H.G. widar, Ger. Widder), wétōs, year, age, old, as Lat. vetus, veteris or Gk. हैtoc; wétolos/m, yearling, as Lat. vitulus and Gk. हैं $\alpha \lambda$ ov; cf. Skr. vatsah., Osc. vezkeí, O.Lith. vetušas, O.C.S. vetŭсй, Russ. ве́чный, Pol. wiotchy, O.Ir. fethim, Corn. guis, Alb. vjet; Hitt. witt.

## I For Summer:

I.a. PIE root séma, summer, gives Sḿaros, and also sémā, season; compare Gmc. sumaraz (cf. O.N.,O.S. sumar, O.E. sumor, O.F. sumur, M.Du. somer, O.H.G. sumar), Skr. samā, Av. hama, Toch. ṣme/ṣmāye, Arm. amaŕ, Kurdish havîn; it is also a common Celtic word, cf. O.Ir. samain, samuin, samfuin, Ir. Samhain, Sc. Samhradh, O.Welsh ham, Welsh haf, Bret. hañv.
I.b. For Lat. aestātis (cf. Fr. été, It. estato, Cat. estiu, also secondary Spa. estío, Pt. estio) a MIE Aistā (< $\left.{ }^{*} \boldsymbol{a i d h t}(\boldsymbol{o})-\boldsymbol{t} \overline{\boldsymbol{a}}\right)$ is reconstructed, from common PIE root aidh, burn, illuminate; cf. Lat. aedēs, Gk. ai $\theta \omega$, O.Ind. šṭakā, índdhé (nasalized form), Av. aēsma-, Lith. íesmé, O.Cz. niestejejě, Slov. istéje.
I.c. Another common form is derived from Wésr, spring (vide infra), as Lat. veranum (tempus), "(time) of spring" (cf. Spa. verano, Pt. verão, Rom. vară), Lith.,Ltv. vasara, Alb. verë.
I.d. For the common Slavic word, MIE reconstructs n. Létom (cf. Russ. лemo, Pol. lato, Cz. léto, Srb.-Cro. ljeto). II. MIE has for Autumn, Fall, different Indo-European words referring to "harvest".
II.a. Kérpistos, harvest, Gmc. *kharbistas (cf. Goth. haírban, O.N. hverfa, O.S. hervist, O.E. hærfest, O.H.G. hwerban, Du. herfst, Ger. Herbst), from PIE kerp, pluck, gather, harvest (cf. Lat. carpere, Gk. ка $\rho \pi о \varsigma, ~ S k r$. krpana-, Toch. kārp/kärp, Lith. kerpu, O.Ir. carr, M.Ir. cerbaim, Welsh par).
II.b. Ósōn (Gen. Osnós), from older ${ }^{*} h_{3} e s h_{3} e n$, harvest, as in Balto-Slavic, giving O. Pruss. assanis, Rus. осень, Ukr. осінь, Pol. jesień, Srb.-Cro. jesen, Slovak jeseň, and also osnoio, earn, from Gmc. aznojanan (cf. Goth. asans, O.N. önn, O.E. earnian, esne, O.H.G. aran, Ger. Ernte); cf. also Lat. annōna, Gk. oл $\omega \rho$, Arm. ashun.
II.c. Autúmnos (Lat. Autumnus, of Etruscan origin), is the common word in Romance languages and English.
II.d. In Baltic 'autumn' is found as Ltv. rudens, Lith. ruduo, originally "red season", derived from PIE reudhós, red, ruddy. Compare Gmc. rauthaz (cf. Goth. raups, O.N. rauðr, O.E. rēad, Dan. rød, O.Fris. rad, M.Du. root, O.H.G. rōt), Lat. ruber, (Lat.dial. rufus), Osc. rufriis, Umb. rufru, Gk. ह́pvӨ ${ }^{\prime}$, S; Skr. rudhira-, Av. raoidita-, Toch. rtär/ratre, O.C.S. rudru, Rus. pдеть, румяный, Pol. rumiany; Lith. raudas, Ltv. ruds, Gaul. Roudos, O.Ir. ruad, Welsh rhudd, Bret. ruz.
III. For MIE Winter.
III.a. There is a common PIE base Ghéimn, snow, winter; compare O.N. gói, Lat. hiems (from alternative IE ghjéms), Gk. $\chi \varepsilon \not \mu \alpha$ (Mod. Gk. $\chi \varepsilon \iota \omega \dot{v} \alpha \varsigma)$, Skr. heman, Av. zimo, Pers. زد د تان (zemestān), dai, Toch. śärme/śimpriye, Arm. dzmeŕ, Old Prussian semo, Lith. žiema, Ltv. ziema, OCS zima, Russ. зима, Polish zima, Gaul. Giamillus, Ir. gaimred, Sc. Geamhradh, Welsh gaeaf, geimhreadh, Bret. goañv, Alb. dimër/dimën, Kurdish zivistan, zistan, Kamviri zẽ; Hittite gimma-. From the same root, compare ghéimrinā, hibernate, from Lat. hibernāre, from which also (témpōs) ghéimrinom, Lat. (tempus) hibernum, "time of winter" (cf. Fr. hiver, Ita.,Pt. inverno, Spa. invierno, Rom. iarnă), or ghímriā ['ghi-mr-ia], chimera, from Gk. хípaıpa.
III.b. In Germanic, however, the word comes from Gmc. wentruz (cf. Goth. wintrus, O.N. vetr, O.E., O.Fris., Du. winter, O.S., O.H.G. wintar, Ger. winter, Dan., Swed. vinter), thus IE Wéndrus, "watery season", from PIE root $\boldsymbol{w e d}-/ \boldsymbol{w} \boldsymbol{\sigma} d-/ \mathbf{u d}-$, wet, water. Compare for IE general wódr/údr (or nasalized wóndr/úndr), Gmc. watar, (cf. Goth. watō, O.N. vatn,O.E. wæter, O.H.G. wazzar, O.Fris. wetir, Du. water), Lat. unda, Umb. utur, Gk. v́ $\delta \omega \rho$, Skr. udan, Toch. wär/war, Phryg. bedu, Thrac. udrēnas, Arm. get, O. Pruss. wundan, Lith. vanduo, Ltv. ūdens, O.C.S., O.Russ. вода, Pol. woda, O.Ir. uisce, Welsh gwer, Alb. ujë, Kashmiri odūr; also, Hitt. watar, and Ancient Macedonian bedu. And for alternate form údros, water, "water-creature", otter, cf. Gmc. utraz (cf. O.N. otr, O.E. oter, O.H.G. ottar, Swed. utter, Dan. odder, Du. otter,), Lat. lutra, Gk. úSpos, Skr. udra, Av. udra, Lith. ūdra, O.C.S. vydra, Russ. vydra, O.Ir. uydr, odoirne Ir. odar, Osset. wyrd; also, derivative ú(n)deros, belly, compare Ger. wanast, Lat. uterus, uenter, Skr. udara, Av. udaras, Lith. vėdaras, Ltv. vēders. As with IE "fire" (pā́wregnís), Indo-European had two different roots for "water", one inanimate, referring to an inanimate substance,
and the other, apos, water (animate), referring to water as a living force (cf. Sk. apah), which comes probably from an older IE II root ${ }^{*} h_{2} p$-, giving PIE pískos, fish, older ${ }^{*} h_{2} p$-isko-, cf. Gmc. fiskaz (cf. Goth. fisks, O.N. fiskr, O.E. fisc, O.H.G. fisc, Du. vis, Ger. Fisch), Lat. piscis, Russ. peskar', Polish piskorz, O.Ir. asc, Welsh pysgodyn.
IV. For Modern Indo-European Spring:
IV.a. The common PIE word was Wesr [we-sri]; compare O.N. var, Swe. vår, Lat. vēr, from which L.Lat. prima vera (cf. Spa.,Pt.,It. primavera, Rom. primăvară), Gk. غं $\alpha \rho$, Skt. vasantah, Pers. ب (bāhār), Kur. bihar, Lith. vasara, Lith.,Ltv. pavasaris, O.C.S. vesna, Russ. весна, Pol. wiosna, Gael. Earrach, and even Turkish ilkbahar, bahar, a borrowing from Iranian.
IV.b. The spring is usually considered the first season, hence the common resource of taking words for 'fore' or 'early' followed by 'year', as MIE Prōjếrom/Prājếrom; cf. Dan. forår, Du. voorjaar, Ger. Frühjahr, Bul. пролет, Srb.-Cro. proljeće, Slovene pomlad, Alb. pranverë, originally lit. "fore-year"; also, Ger. Frühling, from M.H.G. vrueje, or Cz. jaro, Slovak jar, from jérom. Also, in French, the older primevère was substituted in the $16^{\text {th }}$ c. for printemps, O.Fr. prin tans, tamps prim, from Lat. tempus primum, lit. "first time, first season", which also influenced Mid.Eng. prime-temps; cf. also Faer. maitiid. For "fore" in compounds, there is IE prā [pr- $\overline{\mathrm{a}}$ ], before, as Gmc. fura (cf. Goth. faiura, O.N. fyrr, O.E. fore, O.Fris. fara, O.H.G. fora, Ger. vor-), Gk. лápos, Skr. purā, Av. paro, Hittite para-, as well as IE pro-/prō, before, in front of, as Gmc. fra- (cf. Goth. fram, O.N. frā, O.E. fram, Scots fro, Ger. vor-), Ita. pro-, Gk. л $\rho o-$, Ind. pra-, Slav. pra-, Celt. ro-; although Eng. "fore" itself comes from PIE per/pr-, base of prepositions with meanings like forward, through, and other extended senses.
IV.c. Another common Germanic term is Dlonghodéinos, as Gmc. langa-tinaz, lit. "long-day", (cf. O.S. lentin, O.E. lencten, M.Du. lenten, O.H.G. lenzo, Eng. Lent, Du. lente, Ger. Lenz), from dlo(n)ghós - maybe an older common, difficult-to-pronounce dlnghós [dl-n.-'ghos] -, long, as Gmc. lanngaz (cf. Goth. laggs, O.N. langr, O.E.,O.H.G. lang, M.Du. lanc), Lat. longus, Gk. סòıxós, Skr. dīrgha, Av. daraga, O.Pers. darga, Pers. derāz, O.Pruss. ilgi, Lith. ilgas, Ltv. ilgs, OCS dlŭgŭ, Russ. dolgij, Pol. długi, Gaul. Loggostalētes, O.Ir. long, Welsh dala, Alb. gjatë, Kashmiri dūr, Hitt. dalugaes; and IE déinos, a root meaning "day", vide infra. The compound probably refers to the increasing daylight in Spring.
63. Indo-European Djéus, Déiwos (the later formed by e-insertion of zero-grade diw-), means originally shine, usually sky, heaven, hence sky god; cf. Gmc. Tiwaz (O.N. Tyr, Eng. Tiu, also in Tuesday), Lat. deus, Iovis, as in Iuppiter (from older Djóus patér, "o father Iove" cf. O.Ind. devah pitar, Gk. Zeus pater), Gk. Zevंs, gen. $\Delta \mathrm{lo}$, Skr. devaḥ (as in Devanāgarī), O.Pers. daēva-(as in Asmodeus), O.C.S. deivai, Lith. devas. From zero-grade djóus is extended djówis, Lat. Iouis, "Jupiter", as adjective djowiliós, "descended from Jupiter", Lat. Iūlius (name of a Roman gens), into Djówilios, July. The form déiwos, as Gmc. tīwaz, Lat. deus, gives deiwísmos, deism, déiwitā, deity, deiwidhakós, deific, addéiwos, bye ("I commend you to God", cf. Fr.,Eng.,Ger. adieu, It. addio, Spa. adiós, Pt. adeus, Cat. adeu, Nor. adjø, Swe. adjö, Gk. avtio, Slo. adijo, Lux. äddi, Papiamento ayo, etc.); also, from Lat. dīuus, loan words dîwos, famous artist (fem. dîw $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$, diva), and deiwinós, divine; déiwēs, rich ("fortunate, blessed, divine"), as Lat. diues; diwiós, heavenly, as in Diwiánā, Diana, as Lat. Diāna, moon goddess; variant djé́us (from Lat. djē-), day, as in djewālís, daily, dial, djewāsiós, diary, djétā, daily routine, diet, national or local legislative assembly (alteration influenced by djē from díaitā, way of living, diet, from Gk. סíaıta into Lat. diaeta), djousnós, diurnal, "of the day", daily, as in djousnālís, diurnal, daily, hence as
noun＂breviary，journal＂（as Fr．journal），and also＂salary＂（as Prov．jornal），djóusnom，day，djousnắtā，day， day＇s travel，journey，medhīdjếus，midday（from medhiei djééus，from locative of médhjos，middle），midday， which gives medhīdjewonos，＂of or at midday＂，also meridian，and adjective，medhīdjewonós，＂of or relating to a meridian，meridional＂from Lat．merīdiānus，qōtidjewonós，quotidian；dejalós，clear，evident，as Gk．$\delta \hat{\prime} \lambda \eta$ ，as in psūghodej（a）likós，psychedelic，（see bhes）an English loan word using Greek loan words．Also， with the sense of shining，clear，day，compare Goth．sinteins，Lat．diēs，Gk．$\delta \dot{\eta} \lambda o s$, Skt．diva，O．Ind．dinam，Welsh diw，Bret．deiz，Arm．tiw，Prus．deinan，Lith．，Latv．diena，O．C．S．дънь，Pol．dzien，Ukr．，Rus．день，etc．
The origin of Germanic word for＂God＂is probably Gmc．guthan（cf．Goth．gup，O．E．god，O．N．guð，Du．god， Ger．Gott），from zero－grade ghútom，God，＂the invoked＂（cf．Skr．huta－，invoked，an epithet of Indra），from PIE ghwa，call，invoke，although some trace it to ghúde＂poured，libated＂，from PIE root gheu，pour，pour a libation； as Gmc．giutan（cf．Goth．giutan，ON gjta，O．E．guttas，O．H．G．giozan，Ger．giessen，Eng．gut），Lat．fūtis，Gk．$\chi$ عıı， Skr．juhoti，Av．zaotar，Pers．zōr，Toch．ku，Phryg．Zeuman，Arm．dzulel．Originally neutral in Gmc．，the gender of ＂God＂shifted to masculine after the coming of Christianity．Following Watkins，＂（．．．）given the Greek facts，the Germanic form may have referred in the first instance to the spirit immanent in a burial mound＂，therefore O．E． god was probably closer in sense to Lat．numen，a Latin term for the power of either a deity or a spirit that informs places and objects．A better word to translate Deus might have been Esir，Gmc．ansuz（cf．O．N．Ás，O．E．Ós），a name for the principal gods of the pantheon of Norse mythology，but it was never used to refer to the Christian God．It survives in English mainly in the personal names beginning in Os－（cf．Oswin，Oswald，Osborn，etc．）．The Germanic noun is believed to be derived from PIE（á）ńsus＇breath，god＇related to Skr．asura and Av．ahura，with the same meaning；though in Sanskrit asura came to mean＇demon＇．v．i．for more on meaning shift for substituted deities in IE languages．Ánsus is in turn related to ána，breathe，v．s．
64．Prōbhastốr comes from Lat．professor，agent noun from profitieri，from Lat．pro－，＂forth＂，and bháto （p．part．bhastós＜＊bhattós），＂acknowledge，admit，confess＂，as Lat．fateri（pp．fassus），zero－grade from PIE roots bhā，speak，and pro－，already seen，also from Late Latin prōbhastā，profess，kombhastā，confess，etc．

65．MIE Kolumnélis，Colonel，comes from It．colonnella＂commander of a column of soldiers at the head of a regiment＂，from compagna colonella，＂little column company＂from IE kólumnā，Lat．columna，＂projecting object，pillar，column＂，from o－grade of PIE kel，be prominent，also hill．Column comes in turn from o－grade kól（u）men，top，summit，from Lat．culmen，which gives verb kol（u）menā，culminate，raise，lift up，from L．Lat． culmināre．Other derivatives from the same root are kolobhṓn，summit，end，colophon，from Gk．ко入о甲ผ́v；zero－ grade kínis，hill，as Gmc．khulniz（cf．O．N．hallr，O．E．hyll，M．Du．hill，L．Ger．hull），kímos，islet in a bay， meadow，as Gmc．khulmaz（cf．O．N．holmr，O．E．holm），extended form ekskeldo（compound of PIE eks－and extended form keld－），raise up，elevate，also＂be eminent，excel＂，from Lat．excellere．Compare also Goth．hallus， Lat．collis，celsus，Gk．ко入ovos，Skt．kutam，Lith．kalnelis，kelti．
66．Indo－European reg meant originally probably straight line，hence＂move or direct in a straight line＂，rule， guide，lead．Compare common derivatives like verb reg，rule，lead straight，put right，as Lat．regere，Gk．opeүعıv， Av．razeyeiti；rē̆gtós，right，straight，upright，righteous，wise，true，as Gmc．rekhtaz（cf．Goth．raihts，O．N．rettr， O．E．riht，O．H．G．，O．Swed．reht，Ger．recht，Eng．right，straight），Lat．rectus，Gk．ó $\rho \varepsilon \kappa \tau$ ȯs，O．Pers．rahst－，aršta－， Pers．rahst，Lith．teisus，O．Ir．recht，Welsh rhaith，Breton reiz；rēgs，ruler，leader，king，as in rēgiós，royal，from

Celtic (cf. Gaul. -rix, O.Ir. ri, gen. rig, Gael. righ) into Gmc. rīkjaz, "rich, wealthy", (cf. Goth. reiks, O.N. rikr, O.E. rice, O.H.G. rihhi, O.Fris. rike, Du. rijk, Ger. Reich, Eng. rich); rēgs, king, leader, as Lat. rēx, regis, which gives rēgālís, royal, kingly, regal; régēn, king, rajah, and verb rule, from Skr. rājā, rājan-, and rājati.; régolā, straight piece of wood, rod, hence "rule", and as verb "regulate", from Lat. rēgula and L.Lat. rēgulāre; o-grade rogā, ask (<"stretch out the hand"), from Lat. rogāre; and lengthened rōgio, from Gmc. rōkjan - rakjan (cf. O.N. rækja, O.E. reccan, O.H.G. giruochan, Ger. geruhen, Eng. reck). Derivatives from Lat. rēctus include régtom, rectum, rēgénts, regent, régimēn, régiōn, disrēgo, (compound with Lat. dis-, "apart") to direct, disrēgtós, direct, komrēgo, to correct, komrēgtós, correct, rēgtór, rector, disrēgtór, director, etc.
67.North: from PIE root ner- below, under, also on the left, hence, "with an eastward orientation", north, as north is to the left when one faces the rising sun, giving Nŕtos as Gmc. nurthaz, O.N. norðr, O.E. norð; cf. Skt. narakah, Gk. enerthen, O.U. nertrak.

Originally PIE had (s)kew(e)ros, north, northwind, cf. W.Gmc. skūraz (cf. Goth. skura, O.N. skúr, O.S., O.H.G., O.E. scūr, Ger. Schauer, Eng. shower), Lat. caurus, Arm. c'urt/c'urd, Lith. šiaurus, šiaurys, šiaure, O.C.S. severu, Russ. sever.
I. Other IE derivatives for "left" are:
I.1. Indo-European laiwós, left, as Gmc. laewaz (cf. ON lǽn, O.E. lǣw. O.H.G. lēwes), Lat. laevus, Gk. laios, Illyr. Levo, Lith. išlaivoti, O.C.S. lěvŭ, Russ. levyj, Polish lewy. English "left" is maybe also derived from the same root, through an extended laiwt-, although probably from a source meaning "weak"; cf. O.E. lyft, E.Fris. luf, Du. dial. loof, M.Du., Low Ger. luchter, luft.

Common Germanic vocabulary include Ger. link, Du. linker, from O.H.G. slinc, M.Du. slink, related to O.E. slincan "crawl", Swe. linka "limp", slinka "dangle".
I.2. PIE seujós, left, was the source for Skr. savya, Av. haoya, Toch. -/saiwai, OCS šuǰ̆, Russ. šuj, Welsh aswy.
I.3. A reconstructed IE sen is in the origin of Romance senesterós, left, on the left side, as Lat. sinister (opposite of dexter), meaning prop. "the slower or weaker hand" [Tucker], but Buck suggests it's a euphemism, connected with the root of Skt. saniyan "more useful, more advantageous".

Spa. izquierda, Gl.-Pt. esquerda, Cat. esquerra are late borrowings from Basque ezkerra.
II. Indo-European derivatives for "right":
II.1. The opposite of ner in PIE was probably deks, right, hence Deksinā/Deksiós south (facing east), giving Goth. taíhswa, O.H.G. zeso, Lat. dexter, Oscan destrst, Umb. destrame, Gk. $\delta \varepsilon \xi ̌ ı o ́ \varrho, ~ S k r . ~ d a k s ̣ i n a, ~ A v . ~ d a s ̌ i n a, ~$ Kashmiri dạchūn, Toch. täk/, Lith. dešiné, OCS desnaya; desnŭ, Russ. десница, Gaul. Dexsiva, O.Ir. dech, Welsh deheu, Alb. djathtë. Common derivatives from Latin are deksterós, right, on the right side, hence skilful, dexter, as, as in dekstéritā, dexterity, or ambhideksterós, ambidextrous.
II.2. The usual derivative for right (in both senses, direction and "straight, just") in modern Romance and Germanic languages is still made from oldest rē̈gtós (cf. Eng. right, Ger., Du. recht, Da.,Nor. rett, Swe. rätt, Spa. recto, Pt. reto), ultimately from PIE reg, although a usual Romance derivative comes from prefixed deregtós, as Lat. directus (cf. Fr. droit, Spa. derecho, It. diritto, Pt. direito, Rom. drept, Cat. dret), and a usual Germanic one is suffixed regtikós, as Gmc. rektikhaz (cf. Ger. richtig, Da. rigtig, Nor.,Swe. riktig); also found in both, Lat. and Gmc. is adj. komregtós, correct (as Ger.,Da. korrekt, Fr.,Du. correct, Spa. correcto, Pt. corretto).
II.3. Another usual word in Slavic languages comes from PIE verbal root bhew (older *bheuh ${ }_{2}$ ), be, exist, grow, (see more on bhew), as zero-grade reduced suffixal form -bhw-, as in probhwós, "growing well or straightforward", hence right, upright, correct, as Slavic prōvos (cf. O.Russ., O.C.S. npabz, Pol. prawy, Cz.,Slk. pravý, Sr.-Cr.,Slo. pràv), Lat. probus, O.Ind. prabhúṣ.
68.South: related to base of Gmc. sunnon, from súnom, sun, (swén-/sún- are alternate nasalized roots for PIE sấwel) with the sense of "the region of the sun", Ger. Süd, Süden are from a Du. pronunciation. O.Fr. sur, sud (Fr. sud), Sp. sur, sud- are loan words from Gmc., perhaps from O.N. suðr. Compare Gmc. sawel/sunnon (Goth. sauil, sunno, O.N. sól, sunna, O.Eng. sigel, sunne, O.H.G. sunna) Lat. sōl, Gk. $\dot{\lambda} \lambda l o \varsigma, ~ S k r . ~ s u ̄ r a s, ~ A v . ~ h v a r a, ~ P e r s . ~-~$ farnah-, Kamviri su, Toch. swāñce/swāñco, Alb. (h)yll, O. Pruss. saule, Lith. saulè, O.C.S. slunice, O.Russ. сълньце, Pol. stońce, Welsh haul, O.Ir. súil.
69.The East is the direction in which the Sun breaks, from PIE aus, dawn; cf. Gmc. austo/austraz (O.N. austr, O.E. ēast, O.H.G. ōstra, Du. oost, Ger. Osten), Lat. aurōra, auster, Gk. avpıov (aurion), $\eta \omega s$ (ēōs), Skr. uṣās, Av. ušastara, Lith. aušra, Ltv. ausma, Russ. yтpo, O.Ir. usah, fáir, Welsh gwawr. For Modern Indo-European we will use generally Áustos as Gmc. East, and Austrós as Gmc. Eastern (austraz) and for Lat. auster; as, Austrorégiom, Austria (cf. Gmc. austro+rikjan, Ger. Oesterreich), Austráliā (from Lat. Terra Australis, MIE Austrá(lís) Térsā, Southern Land), etc.
70.West: Pie root wes- is root for words meaning evening, west, as west(e)ros/wesperos/weskeros Gmc.
 Welsh ucher, O.Ir. fescor, perhaps an enlarged form of PIE base we-, to go down (cf. Skt. avah), and thus lit. "direction in which the sun sets".
71. Lat. platea: courtyard, open space, broad street, comes from Gk. plateia (hodos), broad (way), fem. of pĺtus, broad, Gk. $\pi \lambda \alpha \tau v \varsigma$, from PIE stem plat, spread out, broad, flat. Cf. Gmc. flataz; Lat. planta; Skt. prathati, Gk. pelanos, Hitt. palhi; Lith. platus, plonas; O.Ir. lethan. Related to plāk, to be flat; cf. Gmc. flakaz (Eng. flake), Lat. plācāre, Gk. plax. Both extended forms of PIE base píā ['plo-a:] (from pel), flat, spread; cf. Gmc. felthuz (Eng. field), Lat. plānus, Gk. plassein, Sla. polje, etc.
IE plat is an extension of PIE root pel, flat, and spread. Compare péltus, flat land, field, as Gmc. felthuz (cf. O.Fris. feld, O.E. feld, M.H.G. velt, Ger. Feld, Eng. field, even Finnish pelto, "field", from Proto-Germanic), plấrus, floor, ground, as Gmc. flōruz (cf. O.N., O.E. flor, M.H.G. vluor, M.Du. vloer, Ger. Flur, Eng. floor) or Welsh llawr, plānós, flat, level, even, plain, clear, from Lat. plānus; pímā, palm, as Lat. palma; plānétā, "wandering", planet, as Gk. $\pi \lambda \alpha v \eta$ ŋ́tns, from plānā, wander (<"spread out"), from Gk. $\pi \lambda \alpha v a \sigma \theta \alpha 1$; also zerograde pladhio, mold, "spread out", as Gk. л $\lambda \alpha \sigma \sigma \varepsilon ı v ~(p l a s s e i n), ~ h e n c e ~ p l a s t i k o ́ s ~(<* p l a d h t i k o-), ~ p l a ́ d h m a ̄, ~-~$ pladhia, plastós(<*pladhto-), etc. In Slavic there are o-grade polís, open, and pólā, broad flat land, field.
The old territory of the tribe of Polans (Polanie), MIE Polános, had a name which became that of the Polish state in the $10^{\text {th }}$ century. MIE Póliskā, Pol. Polska (Eng. Poland, "land of the Poles"), expressed both meanings, and comes from IE adjectival suffix -isko-, as in poliskós, polish, Póliskos, Pole, f. Poliská dńghūs or n. Póliskom, polish language. The name of the tribe comes from a PIE source akin to Polish pole, "field, open field"), from IE pólā.
72. PIE wer, speak, is the source of zero-grade wŕdhom, word, as Gmc. wurdan (cf. Goth. waurd, O.N. orð, O.S., O.E., O.Fris. word, Du. woord, O.H.G. wort), full-grade wérdhom, verb, from Lat. verbum (originally "word"), as in adwérdhiom, adverb, and prōwérdhiom, proverb, prāiwérdhiom, preverb; wério, say, speak, as Gk. عı $\rho \varepsilon$, from which werionéīa, irony, as Gk. عipตveía; wrētốr, public speaker, rhetor, as Gk.
 with the sense of speak, command, agree, call, summon, lie, etc., Umb. uerfalem, Skr. vrata-, Av. urvāta, Old Prussian wīrds, Lith. vardas, Ltv. vārds, OCS vračĭ, Russ. врать, O.Ir. fordat, Hitt. ueriga.
73. Indo-European ékwos, ékwā, and kŕsos, have also another synonym in Celtic and Germanic - maybe a borrowing from Gaulish -, márkiā, mare, as Gaul. markan, O.Ir. marc, Welsh march, Bret. marh, and Gmc. markhjon, cf. O.N. marr, O.E. mearh, also fem. O.S. meriha, O.N. merr, O.E. mere/myre, O.Fris. merrie, O.H.G. marah, Eng. mare, Ger. Mähre.
74. PIE root bak, used for "staff", is the source for bákolom, rod, walking stick, as Lat. baculum, and diminutive bákillom, staff, bacillum, and possibly nbakillós, imbecile, weak, feeble. Also, for báktrom, rod, from Gk. ßáкт $\rho o v$, and its diminutive baktériom, bacterium, little rod, for Gk . ßaктпрıov. French loan words débâcle (MIE debákolā) and baguette (from It. bacchetta, from bacchio, in turn from Lat. baculum) are also modern derivatives. Compare also Lith. bakstelėti, Ltv. bakstīt, O.Ir. bacc, Welsh bach.
75. For Indo-European bhel, light, bright, also gleam, compare Gmc. blaik- (cf. Goth. bala, O.N. bāl, blár, bleikr, O.E. blæcern, blǣcan, blǣwen, O.H.G. blecken, bleich, blāo), Lat. flagrāre; flāvus, Oscan Flagiúi; Flaviies, Gk. $\varphi \lambda \varepsilon \gamma \varepsilon \iota v ; ~ \varphi \alpha \lambda o \varsigma, ~ S k r . ~ b h a r g a ; ~ b h a ̄ l a m, ~ P h r y g . ~ f a l o s, ~ T o c h . ~ p a ̈ l k / p a ̈ l k, ~ I l l y r . ~ b a l t a, ~ T h r a c . ~ b a l i o s, ~ A r m . ~ b a l, ~$ O.Pruss. ballo, Lith. blagnytis, baltas, Ltv. balts, Russ. belyj, Polish biaty, Gaul. Belenos, Ir. beltene, blár, Welsh bal, blawr, Alb. ballë. Thus e.g. Modern Indo-European Bhaltikós, Baltic, Bhelārús, Belarus, "White Ruthenia", and possibly Bhélgiā/Bhélgikā, from the Celtic tribe of the Bhélgās, Belgae for the Romans.
76.IE téuta means originally people, tribe; as Gmc. theudo (cf. Goth. piuda, O.N. pjóð, O.E. peoð, O.H.G. diutisc, M.Du. duitsch, Eng. Dutch, Ger. Deutsch, Ice. Pýska , L.Lat. theodice, It. tedesco), Osc. touto, Umb. totam, Illyr. teuta, O.Prus. tauto, Lith. tauta, Ltv. tauta, Gaul. teuto, O.Ir. tath; Hitt. tuzzi. Lyc. tuta. Today the Germanic adjective equivalent to MIE Teutiskós is mainly used to describe Germans (also in a wider sense of Germanspeaking people) and Germany (cf. Dan., Nor, Swe. tysk, Du. Duits, Ice. Pýskur, Lat. theodisco, It. tedesco, Rum. tudestg, even Chinese dŭ, Japanese doitsu, Korean dogeo, or Vietnamese Đức), hence Téutiskom, German language, Teutiskoléndhom, Germany, from O.H.G. Diutisklant, Ger. Deutschland.
Finnish and Estonian derivatives are from loan word saksa, MIE Sáksōn, from L.Lat. Saxō, Saxonēs, in turn from West Germanic tribal name Saxon, traditionally regarded as from sóksom, Germanic sakhsam, "knife", (cf. O.E. Seaxe, O.H.G. Sahsun, Ger. Sachse), therefore 'Saxon' could have meant lit. "warrior with knifes", "swordsmen", related to sók̄̄̄, cutting tool, saw, as Gmc. sagō (cf. O.E. seax, secg, O.N. sõg, Norw. sag, Dan. sav, M.Du. saghe, Du. zaag, O.H.G. saga, Ger. Säge), from PIE root sek, cut. Athematic sekā, as Lat. secāre, gives common derivatives like séktiōn, section, sekméntom, segment, enséktom, insect, sektốr, sector, dissekā, dissect, etc. Other derivatives include skend, peel of, flay, and skends, skin, as Gmc. skinths (cf. O.N. skinn, O.H.G. scinten, Ger. schinden, Flem. schinde); sáksom, stone (maybe from "broken-off piece"), from Lat. saxum; sékitā, sickle, scythe, as Gmc. segithō (cf. O.S. segasna, O.E. sigði, M.L.G. segede, M.Du. sichte, O.H.G. segensa,

Ger．Sense）．Compare also Lat．sacēna，Slavic sěko，sěkti（cf．O．C．S．ськж，сьшти，O．Rus．ськy，сьчи，Pol．siec， siecę，Srb．－Cro．sijecem，sijehi），O．Lith．įsekti，išsekt，O．Ir．doescim，Ir．ésgid，Bret．scant，Alb．shat．
77．Adjective entergnationālís comes from enter＋gnationalis，and is a usual modern loan word（from Lat． terms inter＋natio）in Romance and Germanic languages，as well as in Celtic and South Slavic．In some Slavic modern languages，even though the same Latin borrowings exist（cf．Russ．нация，интернационал－，Pol．пасја， internacjonal－，etc．），the usual compound is made by medhjonorodhós（cf．Russ．между＋народный，Pol． między＋narodowy，etc．）from PIE médhjos，middle，and nórodhs，nation．

Indo－European énter，between，among，gave Lat．inter，and is found in common loan words enteriós，interior， enternós，intern，and enternālís，internal．Also，compare other similar derivatives like ént（e）ro，as in éntrō， inward，within，from Lat．intrō，as in entroduko，introduce，entrospeko，＂look inside＂，introspect（see spek）； or éntrā，inside，within，from Lat．intrā，as in verb entrā，enter，or suffix entra－，intra－；also found in énterim， （with ablative suffix－im），entrīnseqós（from énterim and séqos，alongside），and entmós，innermost，intime， and its verb entmā，intimate，with－mo－being a superlative suffix．Similar IE words include entós，within，from Gk．\＆vtós，énterom，intestine，enteron，from Gk．हैvtepov，and Skr．antara－．
The previous derivatives are ultimately derived from PIE root en，in，which gives Gmc．in（nan）（cf．Goth．in， O．N．，O．Swe．i，O．E．inn，inne，O．Fris，O．H．G．M．Du．，Eng．in），Lat．in，Gk．$\varepsilon v$ ，Skr．an－，O．Pruss．en，Lith．i，Ltv． $i e k s ̌ a ̄, ~ O . C . S . ~ o n-, ~ O . I r . ~ i n, ~ W e l s h ~ y n-, ~ L u w . ~ a n d a . ~$

Other common derivatives include enerós，inner，further in，from Gmc．comparative innera；Gk．and Lat． endós，inner，within，which gives endostruós，diligent，industrious，from Lat．industrius（O．Lat．indostruus）， thus éndostruā，industry，and Lat．loan word endogénts，indigent．Extended ens，into，as Gk．عıऽ（eis），which gives epensódiom，episode，from IE epi and ensódios，entering，from Gk．عıoóסıos（eisodios）．Further suffixed ensō，within，gives ensoterikós，esoteric，and ensotropikós，esotropic，from Greek $\varepsilon$ ह́ow．
B．Common IE words for people，race，men，nation，apart from téuta，génos，man，wīros：
B．1．For Balto－Slavic rodhs，kind，sort，genre，family，clan，and nórodhs，people，nation－look at the parallelism with génōs and gnátiōn－，compare Lith．rasmé，Ltv．rads，rasma，raža（from older rádhī̄）， O．C．S．，O．Russ．poдъ，Russ．род，народ，Pol．ród，naród，etc．It is deemed to be o－grade form of PIE redh，rise out， extend forth，an Indo－European base akin to PIE verb wrōdh，grow up，and also high，steep；compare Skr． várdhati，Av．varait，Alb．rit，and（doubtfully）Arm．ordi，＂son＂，Lat．arbor，＂tree＂（possibly but unlikely PIE ＊ $\boldsymbol{w r} \boldsymbol{r} \boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{o} \boldsymbol{r}$ ，maybe better MIE Lat．loan árbōr），Hitt．hardu．A common derivative is zero－grade suffixed wrdhuós，straight，with MIE comp．elem．wrdho－，as Gk．ó $\rho \theta_{0}-$ ，Eng．ortho－．
A common Indo－European preposition is reconstructed as PIE an⿳亠二口亍，on，as Lat．in－（in some cases，and also an－）， Gk．ává，a̋v由，Av．ana，also on，up，upon，as Gmc．ana，anō（cf．Goth．ana，O．N．á，O．E．an，on，a，O．H．G．ana，Du． aan），and variant Balto－Slavic form no，as Slavic na（cf．O．C．S．нa，Ukr．，Bul．，Russ．нa，Cz．，Pol．na），O．Pruss．no， na，Lith．nuõ，Ltv．nùo．

B．2．Tucker suggests from the same PIE base redh a common Romance rádhios，staff，spoke of a wheel，beam of light，as Lat．radius，which gives rádhiā，race，from L．Lat．radia into It．razza，Fr．，Eng．race，Spa．raza，Pt． raça．In any case，whether originally related or not，both words are written this way in Modern Indo－European．
B.3. A common Germanic word is pígom, people, men, from Gmc. folkam (cf. O.N. folk, O.E. folc, O.Fris. folk, M.Du. volc, Ger. Volk), which is usually compared with Lith. pulkas, O.C.S. pluku, both believed to have been borrowed from Proto-Germanic. It is related to plédhūs, people, multitude, as Lat. plēbs, plēbēs, and plédhuos, multitude, as Gk. $\pi \lambda \dot{\eta} \theta o s$, all from PIE root pel, fill, be full. Other derivatives include plnós, full, as Gmc. fulnaz, fullaz (cf. Goth. fulls, O.N. fullr, O.E. full, O.Fris. ful, O.H.G. fol, Ger. voll); plío, fill, as Gmc. fulljan (cf. O.S. fulljan, O.N. fylla, O.E. fyllan, O.Fris. fella, Du. vullen, Ger. fïllen ); lengthened plē, fill, and plēnós, filled, full; plaús, plus, from Lat. plūs (earlier O.Lat. plous); o-grade polús, much, many, from Gk. лoגús; verb plēdhuo, be full, as in plédhuōrā, plethora, from Gk. $\pi \lambda \eta \theta \dot{\omega} \rho a$; adjective plērós, full, as $\mathrm{Gk} \pi \lambda \eta \rho \eta$ §; plēiōn, more, as Gk . $\pi \lambda \varepsilon \tilde{0}$ v; or pleistós (superlative), most, as Gk. $\pi \lambda \varepsilon \tilde{\sigma} \sigma \tau o s$.
B.4. Latin populus, "people", is usually seen as a borrowing from Etruscan. It is reconstructed as MIE pópolos, therefore maybe a secondary root derived from o-grade of pel-, full, already seen in Germanic folk and Latin plebs. Known derivatives are popolālís, public, popular, and poplikós, public, from O.Lat. poplicus, which was influenced by Lat. pubes, "adult", into Lat. publicus, and thus also MIE publikós, which is a common Latin loan word today.
B.5. Indo-European lúdhis, people, is found in Gmc. liudi (cf. Goth. liudan, O.N. ljēeod, O.H.G. liut, Ger. Leute, also found in Ger. Lette, Eng. Lett, mediaeval noun for Latvian), Osc. Lúvfreís, O. Pruss. ludis, Lith. liaudis, Ltv. l̦audis, OCS ljudĭje, Russ. люди, Pol. lud, O.Ir. luss, Welsh llysiau, Alb. lind. It comes from PIE verb léudh, mount up, grow - compare the parallelism with genōs/gnatiōn, wrōdh/redh -, as Skr. rodhati, Av. raodha. Also, leudherós, free, maybe originally "belonging to the people, public" (although the semantic development is obscure), as in Lat. līber, Gk. $\varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon v \theta \varepsilon \rho o \varsigma, ~ a n d ~ c o m m o n ~ d e r i v a t i v e s ~ l i k e ~ l e u d h e r a ̄ l i ́ s, ~ l i b e r a l, ~ l e u d h e r a ̄, ~ l i b e r a t e, ~$ léudhertā, liberty, deleudherā, deliver, etc.
B.6. Another PIE common root is kei, lie, bed, couch, beloved, dear; as kéiuom, members of a household, hind, O.E. hīwan; kéiuidhā, measure of land, household, hide, O.E. hīgid, hīd; kéiuis, citizen, member of a household, Lat. ciuis, as in keiuikós, civic, keiuilís, civil, or kéiuitā, city; kéilijos, companion, as Eng. ceilidh, from O.Ir. céle; koinắ, cradle, from Lat. cunae; koimā, put to sleep, and also kóimā, village, as in Gk. ко„ $\eta$-,
 zero-grade kiuós, auspicious, dear, as in Skr. śiva-; kéims, person, servant, and kéimiā, household, domestic servants, family, as O.C.S. сьмь, съмиа, O.Russ. сьмиаа, съмьца, Ukr. сім'я, Bulg. семейство, O.Pruss. seimins, Lith. šeimà, šeimýna, Ltv. sàime. Also, compare Lith. kaimas, "village".
It gives secondary root ( $\mathbf{t}$ )kei (from ad+kei), settle, dwell, be home, as in ( $\mathbf{t}$ )kóimos, home, residence, village, from Gmc. khaimaz (cf. Goth. haims, O.N. heimr, O.E. hām, O.Fris. hem, M.Du hame, O.H.G. heim), which gives koimghórdhos, shelter, hangar, from Gmc. haimgardaz into O.Fr. hangard; tkiso, found, settle, metathesized form from Gk. ктi̧cıv; also probably Italic suffixed sítus (from older metathesized *ktítus), location, situs, and $\boldsymbol{s i t u a ̄}$, situate, locate; compare also Skr. kṣeti, Av. šaēiti, Arm. šēm.
B.7. Common PIE wel, crowd, throng, is reconstructed for MIE wólgos, common people, multitude, crowd, as in Lat. uulgus, and adjective wolgālís, "of or pertaining to the common people, common, everyday, ordinary", then extended with time as pejorative vulgar; cf. Skr. vargah., "division, group", and also Gk. $\varepsilon \lambda \lambda \varepsilon ו v$, M.Bret. gwal'ch, Welsh gwala.
B.8. Another MIE common loan translation is swédhnos, band of people living together, nation, people, from Gk. है $\theta$ vos (ethnos), lit. "people of one's own kind" from PIE reflexive $\mathbf{s}(\mathbf{w}) \mathbf{e}$ - Compare also derivatives swedhnikós, ethnic, swédhniā, ethnia, race.
B.9. Latin persónā, person, (from Etruscan phersu, "mask", and this from Gk. л $\rho o ́ \sigma \omega \pi о v$ ), and famíliā, family, household, from Lat. fámolos, "servant", (compare parallelism with Balto-Slavic pair keims/kéimiā), both of uncertain etymology, are left as loan words in Modern Indo-European.
78. MIE rếgios, king, régiă, queen, are Germanic loans from Celtic, in turn derived from PIE lengthened base $\mathbf{r e ̄ g}$, a common Indo-European word for the tribal king. The correct Latin loan-translations are rēgs, king, rếgīnā, queen (possibly suffixed earlier rếgī-), while those from Sanskrit are rếgēn, raja, rếgenis, rani; IndoEuropean rếgiom is the Celtic source for Germanic words meaning realm, kingdom, empire, as Gmc. rikjam (cf. O.N. rīki, O.E. rīce, O.H.G. rihhi, Ger. Reich).

English "queen", from O.E. cwen, "queen, female ruler", also "woman, wife" comes from Gmc. kweniz, ablaut variant of kwenō (source of Mod.Eng. quean), from PIE cénā, "woman, wife", vide infra. Indo-European languages have usually the same words for King and Queen, using the feminine marker when necessary. English, however, had a meaning (and phonetic) shift that could be used in Modern Indo-European - as with "Chancellor" instead of "Prime Minister" for Germany and Austria - to remember this peculiarity of the English language, hence Cénis between parenthesis.
79. For wíros, man, freeman, as in Eng. were-wolf. Compare Gmc. weraz (cf. Goth. wair, O.E. wer, O.N. verr), Lat. uir, Umb. viru, Skr vīra, Av. vīra, Toch. wir, O.Pruss. wirs, Lith. vyras, Ltv. vīrs, Gaul. uiro-, O.Ir. fer, Wel. gwr. Usual derivatives are wīrīlís, virile, wîrtūts, manliness, excellence, goodness, virtue, wīrtuónts(ós), virtuous, skilled, of great worth, virtuoso, dekmwírōs, decemvir (commission of ten men), or komwíriā, "men together", curia, court. It is found in compound wirwíqos (from shortened wíros), werewolf, as Gmc. werwulfaz (cf. O.E. werewulf, O.H.G. werwolf, M.Du. weerwolf, Swed. varulf, and also Frank. wer-wulf into O.Fr. garoul, then leu-garoul, from Lat. lupus, itself from wíqos, hence Eng. loup-garou, lit. "wolf-werewolf"), and wíralts, world, v.i.

Common IE words for man, male, apart from mánus:
I.The common Romance word comes from Lat. homō (cf. Fr. homme, It. uomo, Spa. hombre, Pt. homem, Cat. home), in turn from IE (dh)ghómōn, man, "earthling", human being, (cf. Arm. unquúupq, dghamard, "man"), which gives derivatives ghomonidós, hominid, dim. ghomonkolós, homuncule, ghomokídiom, homicide, ghomonấtiōn, homage (from Oc. homenatge), closely related with (dh)ghōmá́nos, human, kind, humane, both related with MIE (dh)ghómos, earth, ground, soil, as Lat. humus, (cf. Osc. huntruis, Umb. hondomu) which gives common derivatives as ghomilís, low, lower, humble, and ghomílitā, humility, ghomiliā, humiliate, eksghomā, exhume, enghomā, inhume, transghomā, move livestock seasonally, as in Eng. transhumance. They all come from PIE root dhghem, earth, (as in Pers. zamīn, Kashmiri zamin), which gives common IE dhghōm [gho:m] (gen. dhghmós [gh $\mathrm{g}_{\mathrm{o}}{ }^{\text {'os }} \mathrm{os}$ ]), earth, and other derivatives as (dh)ghḿnōn ['gh m-on], man, "earthling", in Gmc. gumōn (cf. Goth. guma, O.N. gumi, O.E. guma, O.H.G. gomo, found in Eng. bridegroom, Ger. Bräutigam; Mod. Eng. groom was altered $16^{\text {th }} \mathrm{c}$. by folk etymology after groom "boy, lad", itself from a source akin to verb grow); metathesized as ghdhōm, Gk. $\chi \theta \dot{\omega}$, as in autoghdhốm, autochthon; zero-
grade (dh)ghm [ghm], on the ground, as Gk. $\chi \alpha \mu \alpha \mathrm{l}$, as in ghmléōn, chameleon ("ground-lion", lizard, léōn is from Semitic origin adopted in Greek and Latin), ghmmélōn, chamomile ("ground-melon", from Lat. loan word mélōn, melon, short for Gk. mēlo-peppōn, "apple-gourd"); the common Balto-Slavic words come from IE (dh)ghémiā, land, earth, as O.Pruss. same, Lith. žemé, Ltv. zeme, O.Russ. zemi, Pol. ziemia, Cz. země, also found as zemlja, in O.C.S., Russ., Srb.-Cro., etc. Other common IE derivatives are Skr. kṣa, Phryg. zemelo; zamelon, Thrac. semele; semela, Toch. tkam/kem, O.Ir. du, Welsh dyn, Alb. dhè, Osset. zæxx; Hitt. tekan, Luw. dakam-,
I.1. Common words for earth, land, apart from dhghōm, polā, and léndhom:
I.1.a. Germanic "world" comes from wíralts, "life or age of man", as Gmc. wirald- (cf. O.N. verold, O.S. werold, O.E. woruld, worold, O.Fris. warld, O.H.G. weralt, Du. wereld, Ger. Welt, Sca. jord), a compound of wīros, man, (cf. Hebrew adam, "man", and adamah, "earth" and the opposite with Lat. homō, "earthling", already seen), and altós, grown up, hence old, adult, and tall, high, deep, as Gmc. althaz (cf. (cf. Goth. albeis, O.E. eald, O.Fris. ald, Du. oud, Ger. alt), Lat. altos, as in eksaltā, exalt, or altitúddōn, altitude.

Adjective altós comes from PIE root al, grow, nourish, found in almós, nurturing, nourishing (as in almáa mātếr, "nourishing mother", university); Latin verb alo, nourish, from which pres.part. alomnós, being nourished (from which álomnos, fosterling, step-child, alumnus, student), alobhilís, alible, aloméntom, aliment, as well as suffixed compound adalesko, grow up, as in adaleskénts, adolescent, or part. adaltós, grown up, adult; suffixed causative compound apaleio, retard the growth of, abolish; compound prôlēs (from pro-alēs), offspring; and extended aldho, get well, as in Gk. à $\lambda \theta$ aía.
The proper IE word for old is senós, cf. Goth. sineigs, ON sina, Lat. senex, Gk. henos, Skr. sana, Av. hana, Arm. hin, Lith. senas, Ltv. sens, Gaul. Senognatus, O.Ir. sen, Welsh hyn. It is found (from Lat. senex, MIE sénēks, an elder), in senắtus, senate, senilís, senile, seniós, older, as in Latin sénios, senior, señor, signore, sir, sire, senéktūts, senectitude, etc. A common fem. sénā is attested as Gk. hénē, Skr. śanā-, Lith. senà, Lyc. lada.
I.1.b. Romance terra, "earth, Earth", comes from PIE térsā, "dry land", in derivatives like tersấnos, terrain, suptersaniós, subterranean, tersaqiós (from térsa+áqa), terraqueous, etc. PIE ters, dry, which gives tŕstus, dryness, thirst, Gmc. thurstuz (cf. O.E. thurst), trskós, dried, as Gmc. thurskaz (cf. O.N. thorskr, O.E. cusk); torsē, dry, parch, burn, as Lat. torrēre, also as loan word in torsénts, torrent, or torsidós, torrid, p.part. torstós, burnt, into torstā, toast, and noun torstátā; zero-grade tísos, tarsos, frame of wickerwork (originally for drying cheese), hence a flat surface, sole of the foot, ankle, Gk. tapoós.
I.1.c. English "earth" comes from Gmc. erthō (cf. Goth. airba, O.N. jörð, O.E. eorðe, M.Du. eerde, O.H.G. erda), hence MIE ertā, "ground, soil, dry land", also used for the "physical world" (as opposed to the heavens or the underworld), from PIE root er-.
I.1.d. Latin mundus, "universe, world", lit. "clean, elegant" is from unknown origin, hence loan wod MIE móndos, which gives mondānós, mundane, "belonging to the world", (as distinct from the Church), used as a translation of Gk. кóouos (MIE loan word kósmos) in its Pythagorean sense of "the physical universe" (the original sense of the Gk. word was "order, orderly arrangement"). L. mundus also was used of a woman's "ornaments, dress", and is related to the adj. mondós, clean, elegant.
Proto-Indo-European had a common root wes, for dress, clothe, compare Gmc. wazjan (cf. Goth. gawasjan, O.N. verja, O.E. werian, O.H.G. werian, Eng. wear, Ger. Wehr), Lat. uestire, Gk. hennynai, Skr. vaste, Av. vastē,

Toch. wäs/wäs, Arm. zgenum/zkenum, Welsh gwisgo, Bret. gwiska, Alb. vesh; Hittite waš-. Common Latin derivatives are wéstis, garment, in dewestio, devest, enwestio, invest, transwestio.
I.1.e. Greek gè, earth, (m. $\gamma \tilde{\eta}$, f. $\gamma \alpha i ̃ a)$ is also from unknown origin, and is left so in derivatives, as gē̄-.
I.1.f. English "ground" comes from Gmc. grunduz (cf. O.N. grunn, O.E. grund, O.Fris. grund, Du. grond, Ger. Grund), of unknown origin, MIE grúndus, foundation, ground, surface of the earth, originally deep place, bottom, bottom of the sea.
I.2. English "bride" comes from Gmc. bruthiz (cf. Goth. brups, O.E. bryd, O.Fris. breid, Du. bruid, O.H.G. brut, and from this into Mid.Lat. bruta, and from this into O.Fr. bruy), possibly originally daughter-in-law, later also "woman being married", bride. In ancient IE custom, the married woman went to live with her husband's family, so the only "newly-wed female" in such a household would be the daughter-in-law. Reconstructed as MIE bhrútis, it is probably derived as zero-grade from PIE verb bhrew, boil, bubble, effervesce, burn, with derivatives referring to cooking and brewing, as bhrútom, broth, from Gmc. brutham (cf. O.E. brop, V.Lat. brodum). Other derivatives include extended bhréuwo, brew, as Gmc. breuwan (cf. O.N. brugga, O.E. breowan, O.Fris. briuwa, M.Du. brouwen); bhréutom, cooked food, leavened bread, as Gmc. brautham (O.E. brēad, O.N. brot, Dan. brød, Ger. Brot); variant lengthened bhrēto, warm, giving o-grade denominative bhrōtá, " $a$ warming", hatching, rearing of young, brood, as Gmc. brōdō, and verb bhrōtio, rear young, breed, as Gmc. brōdjan, roast flesh, or bhrétōn, roast flesh, as Gmc. brēdōn (cf. O.H.G. brāto, O.Fr. braon); bhrésā, burning coal, ember, hence (from O.Fr. brese) braise, breeze, braze; bhérmōn, yeast, as Gmc. bermōn (cf. O.E. beorma, M.L.G. barm, Du. berm), or further suffixed bherméntom, yeast, ferment, as Lat. fermentum; extended bherwè, be boiling or fermenting, as Lat. feruēre, as in bherwénts, fervent, bherwốr, fervor, eghbherwesko, effervesce, etc.; and, as very archaic words for spring, compare bhrúnōn, as Gmc. brunnon, and suffixed bhré́wr, as Gk. $\varphi \rho \varepsilon ́ \alpha \rho$, as in bhrewtikós, phreatic. From an original PIE root bher- are also Skr. bhurati, Gk. phurdēn-migdēn, Gaul. Voberā, O.Ir. bréo, M.Ir. berbaim, Welsh beru, Alb. burmë, and also probably lengthened bhrē, smell, breathe, from which bhrétos, odor, exhalation, breath, as Gmc. brēthaz (cf. ON bráðr, O.E. brǣeb, O.H.G. brādam, Ger. Brodem).
II. A form almost restricted to West Germanic is koirós, gray, hence "gray-haired", venerable, old, as Gmc. khairaz (cf. O.E. hār, O.H.G. her, comp. herro, "noble", Ger. Herr, Du. heer, MIE kóireros), from PIE koi, shine.
III.A Greek form comes from IE * $h_{2}$ ner, man, with basic sense of vigorous, vital, strong, as in (a)nérr, Gk. ávخ̀ $\rho$ ( $a n \bar{e} r$ ), and zero-grade in compounds as anr-, andro-, -anros, -androus, "having men", -anriā, -andry, etc.
 cf. אדם (adam), which is the origin of the Biblical name Adam.
V. A curious form is Romanian bărbat (MIE bhardhátos), "bearded", from Lat. barba, from Italic farba (cf. Celtic barfa, as in Welsh barf), a metathesized form of PIE bhárdhā, beard, attested in European dialects. Compare Gmc. bardō (also "hatchet, broadax", cf. O.H.G. barta, as in halmbarta, into M.Fr. hallebarde, Eng. halberd), O.Pruss. bordus, Lith. barzdà, Ltv. barzda, bärda, O.C.S. брада, Russ. борода, Polish broda. English "beard" comes from bhárdhos, Gmc. bardaz (cf. Goth. bars, O.N. barðr, O.E. beard, M.Du. baert, O.H.G. bart),

8o. Dwenós, good (< "useful, efficient, working"), as Lat. bonus, comes from PIE dew, do, perform, show favor; also, adverbial form dwénē, well, as in dwenēdéiktiōn, benediction, dwenēdhaktór, benefactor, etc.; diminutive dwenelós, handsome, pretty, fine, as Lat. bellus; dwēio, make blessed, as Lat. beāre, in dwēiatós, blessed, dwēiatidhakā, betify, etc.; also possibly but unlikely related to dunamikós, dynamic (from dúnamis, Gk. úvalıs, $^{\prime}$ force). The Germanic word for good is gōdaz (cf. O.Eng. gōd, O.N. gōðr, Du. goed, O.Ger. guot, gigat, Goth. gōps, gadilings, Ger. gut, gätlich), from Modern Indo-European ghōdhós, which comes from PIE root ghedh, to unite, join, fit. Compare Skr. gadhjas, Lith. guõdas, Ltv. gads, gùods, Alb. ngeh, ngae, O.C.S. godŭ, Russ гoдъ, Polish gody, Toch. kātk/kātk.
81. Áutom, auto, is a diminutive of automóghwibhili, automobile, from Gk aúto- self, one's own, (in turn from aútos, self, same, from IE au) and PIE meghw, move, in moghwē, cf. Lat. mouēre (cf. also Lat. uoueō <* $^{*} \boldsymbol{w o g h} \boldsymbol{w}$ - $\overline{\boldsymbol{e}} \boldsymbol{j} \overline{\boldsymbol{o}}$ ), Hitt. mugawar; it is usually reconstructed as from PIE mew, move, as PIE zero-grade noun motós, moved, movement, (cf. Lat. motus, Gk. ameusasthai, amuno, Skt. -muta, mivati, Lith. mauti, etc.). The words kísos (or kárros) and kísom (or kárrom), from Celtic and Latin (in turn from PIE kers, run) cognate with Modern English car, mean in Modern Indo-European charriot, cart, wagon, originally "wheeled vehicle".
For PIE kers, compare zero-grade krso, run, as Lat. currere, giving modern derivatives as kŕsos, course, krsénts, current, krsốr, cursor, komkrso, concur, komkísos, concurso, diskrso, think up, diskŕsos, discourse, ekskísiōn, excursion, enkrso, incur, enterkrso, mingle with, enterkísos, a running between, interposition, obhkrso, occur, rekrso, recur, etc.; kísos, or as loan word kárros, two-wheeled wagon, giving derivatives as krsáriā, career, krsikā, carry, charge, diskrsikā, discharge, krsikatósā (or karikatúrā, from Italian), etc., and krspéntom, two-wheeled carriage, from which krspentấsios, carpenter. See also a possible Germanic cognate kŕsos, horse.
82.PIE per is the root for particles and words meaning "forward, through", and a wide range of extended senses such as "in front of, before, early, first, chief, toward, against, near, at, around". Derivatives include péri, Gmc. fer-, far- (cf. Eng. for-, Du.,Ger. ver-), which is used as intensive prefix denoting destruction, reversal or completion; its superlative is per(e)ro, farther away, far, as Gmc. fer(e)ra (cf. O.N. fjarre, O.E. feorr, Du. ver, Ger. fern); per, per-, through, for, as Lat. per; péri, around, near, beyond, over, as Gk. лعрı, Skr. pari, O.Iran. pari; per-, around, again, as Slavic per-. Also, zero-grade pr, before, in, Gmc. fur, as Eng. for; prt, forward, as Gmc. furth, Eng. forth; pŕtero, farther away, Gmc. furthera, Eng. further; pr, por, forth, forward, as Lat. por-; pŕsōd, forward, parget, as Lat. porrō; prmós, Gmc. fruma/furma, Eng. former; prmistós, foremost, Gmc. frumista/furmista; pristós, first, foremost, Gmc. furista; prówariā, "forward part of a ship", prow, from Gk. $\pi \rho \omega ́ \rho a ;$ prowtós, first, foremost, as Gk. л $\rho \omega \tau$; pŕa, before, fore, as Gmc. fura; pára, beside, alongside of, beyond, as Gk. лара; prō, forward, away from, as Gmc. fra; prómo, from, as Gmc. fram; prốwā, lady, Gmc. frōwō, from prówom, lord, Gmc. frawan; prōwós, true, as Slavic pravu; pro, before, for, instead, as Lat. pro; pronos, leaning, forward, as Lat. pronus; proqe, near, as Lat. prope; proqinqós, near, as Lat. propinquus; proq(i)smós, nearest, as Lat. proximus, as in verb adproqsmā, approximate; probhwós (bhweo--, grow, from PIE root bhew), growing well or straightforward, upright, good, virtuous, as Lat. probus; pro, before, forth, in front, forward, as Gk. л $\rho$, Skr. pra-; proteros, before, former, as Gk. лротع $\rho \circ$; ( $\mathbf{p}$ )ro, intensive prefix as Celtic ro; extended forms prāi, prei, before, as Lat. prae; préijos, former, higher, superior, as Lat. prior;
preiwós, single, alone ("standing in front", "isolated from others"), as Lat. priuus, as in preiwtós, private; maybe *propreiwós, but more likely prop(a)triós, one's own, particular, as Lat. proprius; preismós, first, foremost, as Lat. prīmus; préismkaps (from preismós+kaps), leader, chief, emperor, as Lat. prīnceps (analogous to Ger. fürsten, from the same source as Eng. first); preistanós, former, earlier, as Lat. prīstinus; préscus, old, old man, (cu-, "going", from verb cā, go), as in Gk. $\pi \rho \dot{\varepsilon} \sigma \beta v \varsigma$; próti/pros, against, toward, near, $a t$, as Gk. $\pi \rho o \varsigma$. Other derivatives include Skr. prā, Lith. per, pro, Hitt. per.

For IE cā, go, come, and cem, come, compare Gmc. kuman (cf. Goth. quiman, O.E. cuman, Ger. kommen, Eng. come), as in bhicem, become, as Gmc. bikuman (from ámbhi); cémōn, "he who comes", guest, in welcémōn, welcome, "a desirable guest" (from PIE wel, wish, will), as Gmc. wilkumōn; suffixed cemio, come, as Lat. uenīre, in adcemio, advene, adcémtos, advent, adcemtósā, adventure, adcemtā, avenue, kikromcemio, circumvent, komtrācemio, contravene, komcemio, convene, komcémtos, convent, komcémtiōn, convention, ekcémtos, event, ekcemtuālís, eventual, entercemio, intervene, encemio, invent, encemtósiom, inventory, prāicemio, prevent, procemio, come from, recemio, return, supcemio, souvenir, supcémtiōn, subventio, supercemio, supervene; suffixed cmio, as Gk. bainein, go, walk, step, with cátis, basis, a stepping, tread, base, and -catos, going, and -catā, agential suffix, "one that goes or treads, one that is based", as in akrocátā, acrobat, as Gk. áк $о$ ßátทs, anacátis, diacátis, acátiā, diacmio, go through, in diacátā, diabetes; also cắmā, step, seat, raised platform, as Gk. bēma.
From PIE wel, wish, will, are derivatives wel(l)io, desire, as Gmc. wil(l)jan (cf. Goth. wiljan, O.S. willian, O.N. vilja, O.E. wyllan, O.Fris. willa, O.H.G. wellan, Du. willen, Ger. wollen), also wéliā, desire, will, power, as Gmc. wiljōn, and wélā, well-being, riches, wealth, as Gmc. welōn; o-grade wolio, choose, as Gmc. waljan (cf. Goth. waljan, Ger. wählen), also wolós, good, well, as Frank. walaz, into wolā, take it easy, rejoice, as Frank.Lat. ualāre (then O.Fr. galer), as in wolấnts, gallant, also from Frankish wolopā, gallop, wallop, from O.Fr. galoper (O.N.Fr. waloper); from basic form wel(l)o, wish, desire, as Lat. uelle (present stem o-grade Lat. uol-), as in weleitā, velleity, wolítiōn, volition, wolontāsiós, voluntary, dwenēwolénts, benevolent, maliwoléntiā, malevolence; probably extended adjetive welpís, pleasing, in adverb wólup, with pleasure, into wolúptā, pleasure, as Lat. uoluptās, into woluptuónts(ós), voluptuous. Compare also Gk. elpis, Skt. vrnoti, varyah, varanam, Av. verenav-, Lith. velyti, O.C.S. voljo, voliti "will", and veljo, veleti, " command", Welsh gwell.
83.Indo-European épi, ópi, near, at, against, is the base for op (and reduced prefixal op-), "before, to, against", as Lat. ob, ob-, also "on", as O.C.S. ob; epi, "on, over, at", as Gk. غ̇лl, or opisten, "behind, at the back", as Gk. opisthen; zero-grade pi, on, in Gk. piezein (see sed); and ops, extra on the side, with, as ópsom, condiment, cooked food, as in opsóniom, supply, as Gk. ó $\psi \omega$ vivov.
84.Proto-Indo-European root ánt, front, forehead, had a common derivative ánti, against, and also in front of, before, end; ántia, end, boundary, as Gmc. andja (cf. Goth. and, O.N. endir, O.E. ende, O.Fris. enda, O.H.G. endi); Lat. ante, as in antiénts, ancient, antiriós, anterior, etc.; enantios, opposite, as Gk. evavtıo̧; antiqós, "appearing before, having prior aspect" (in compound with PIE oq-, see), former, antique, as Lat. antiquus; ńti, away from, until, unto, as Gmc. und; ántos, end, as Skr. antah. Other IE derivatives attested are Osc. ant, Toch. $\bar{a} n t / \bar{a} n t e$, Lith. ant, O.Ir. étan, Hitt. hanta, Luw. hantili, Lyc. xñtawata.

The former particle builds a common compound, probably a plural (see plural declension), ánt-bhi, "from both sides", giving PIE ámbhi (earlier ${ }^{*} h_{2} n$-bhi), around, as Gk. á $\mu \varphi$ í, both, both sides, which gives ambhícios, $^{h}$, amphibious, as Gk. áppißıos, or ambhithéatrom, amphitheatre, from Lat. amphitheatrum, itself from Gk. á $\mu \varphi 1 \theta$ źat $\rho o v ;$ MIE ambhi, ambh, "around, about", as in Latin, gives ambholā, go about, walk, ambulate, ambholấntiā, ambulance, prāiambholós, walking in front, prāiámbholom, preamble; also, Gmc. umbi (cf. O.N. um, umb, O.E. bi, be, ymbe, Du. bij, O.H.G. umbi, bi, Ger. um,bei, Eng. by,but); from Celtic, ambhágtos, embassador, sevant, vassal, and ambhágtiā, embassy, from Lat. ambactos, from Celt. amb(i)actos. Also, in other IE languages, Skr. abhitaḥ, Av. aiwito, aibi, O.Pers. abiy, Toch. āmpi, Lith. abu, O.C.S. oba, Gaul. ambi-, O.Ir. imb-, Ir. um, Welsh am.
85.PIE ad, to, near, at, toward, by, gives Gmc. at (cf. O.N., Goth. at, O.E. æt, O.Fris. et, O.H.G. az), Lat. ad, Osc. adpúd, Umb. ař, Skr. adhi, Phryg. addaket, Gaul. ad, O.Ir. ad, Welsh add, and Ancient Macedonian addai.
86.Compare for PIE root al, beyond, as in olse-, olsos, as O.Lat. ollus, ols, which gives olteriós, ulterior, oltmós, last, oltmā, ultimate, etc. Also, suffixed forms with adj. comp. -tero-, alterós, and alternative anterós, "the other of two", second, other, cf. Lat. alter, adulterāre, Gmc. antharaz (Goth. anpar, O.S. athar, O.N. annarr, O.E. oper, Ger. ander), Skr. antarah, Lith. antras, see dwo. Other derivatives are aliós, alnós, else, otherwise, "other of more than two", as well as alienós, alenós, foreign, alien; compare Gmc. aljaz (Goth. aljis, O.N. allr, elligar, O.E. elles, el-lende, O.H.G. all, eli-lenti), Lat. alius, aliēnus, Osc. allo, Gk. $\dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda o s$, Skr. anja, áraṇa-, Av. anja-, airjō, O.Pers. ārija, Toch. alje, ālak/allek, Phryg. alu-, Arm. ail, Gaul. alla, O.Ir. oll,aile, Welsh allan,ail; Lyd. àaś, probably Hitt. uli-, aluś.
Compare also MIE terms alienós, foreign, but loan words Ariánom (from PIE gen.pl. Alienóm), Iran, and Arianós (from PIE Alienós), Iranian, also ‘aryan’, from Skr. ārjah, "noble, honorable, respectable", the name Sanskrit-speaking invaders of India gave themselves in the ancient texts, originally "belonging to the hospitable" from O.Ind. arjas, PIE álios, lord, hospitable lord, originally "protecting the stranger" from aliós, stranger. Ancient Persians gave themselves the same name (cf. O.Pers. arija-, Pahlavi ry'n, Parthian aryān); in Ardashir's time $\bar{e} r a ̄ n$ (from Avestan gen. pl. Aryānām) retained this meaning, denoting the people rather than the state.
87.PIE de is the base of different prepositions and adverbs; as, o-grade lengthened dō, to, toward, upward, Gmc. tō (cf. O.S., O.Fris. to, O.E. tō, Du. too, O.H.G. zuo, ze Ger. zu); compound qaámdo (from qo), as Italic quando; de, from, out of, as deterós, and deteriốs, worse, which gives deteriosā, deteriorate. Also, compare Lat. donec, Gk. suffix -de, Lith. da-, O.C.S. do, Celtic dī, O.Ir. do.
88. Preposition kom, beside, near, by, with, is attested as Latin cum (O.Lat. com), co-, Slavic (cf. O.C.S. kŭ, Russ. к, ко, ко-, O.Pol. $k$, ku), also Gk. kata, Hitt. katta (< zero-grade km-ta), in Germanic as participial, collective and intensive prefix $g a$ - (cf. Goth., O.H.G. ga-, O.N. $g$-, O.E. ge-), "together, with", also marker of the past participle, and in Celtic kom-, O.Ir. cét-, Welsh cant/gan. Other derivatives include Latin kómtrā, against, opposite, as komtrāsiós, contrary; also, compare usually reconstructed IE *ksun, as Gk. छ७v, which is deemed a greek-psi substrate (Villar) from kom, also in metathesized komiós, common, shared, as Gk. kolvós, hence Komiá, Koine, from Gk. кoıvń. Also, the -m is usually lost in final syllables before vowel (as in metric), cf. Lat. animum aduertere>animaduertere. In Modern Indo-European, the -m is always written, although it may be pronounced without it.
89.For PIE eghs, out, and variant form eks, compare Lat. ex, Oscan eh-, Umbrian ehe-, Gk. eks, Old Prussian is, Lith. iš, iž, Ltv. is, iz, O.C.S. iz, izz, is, Russ. iz, Gaul. ex-, O.Ir. ass, Welsh a, Alb. jashtë. For verbal compounds
 O.Ir. as-biur, or eksei, go out (from eí, go), cf. Gk. $\varepsilon \xi \xi-\varepsilon \not \mu$, Lat. ex-eō, Lith. iš-eĩti, O.C.S. iz-iti. Derivatives include eks, eks-, out of, away from, as Lat. ex, ex-; eks, ek, out of, from, as Gk. ex, ek, as in ekso-, exo-, eksotikós, exotic, eksoterikós, exoteric, komekdoká́, synecdocha (see dek), from Gk. бuveкסoxウ́; suffixed comparative variant ekstrós, outward (feminine ekstrā, on the outside), as in ekstrāniós, extrange, ekstrnós, ekstriós, exterior, ekstrnālis, external, etc; ekstmós, outermost, extreme (-mo- functioning as superlative, see comparison of adjectives), cf. entmós, but also ekstrēmós, as Lat. extrēmus; eghskmtós, outermost, last, Gk. है $\sigma \chi \alpha \tau \circ \varsigma$, as in eghskmtologíā, eschatology; Celtic eks, out (of), or Balto-Slavic iz, from, out of.

For PIE dek, take, accept, compare dekē, be fitting (from "be acceptable"), Lat. decēre, as in dekénts, decent; suffixed causative o-grade dokè, teach (from "cause to accept"), as Lat. docere, as in derivatives dokénts, dokilís, docile, doktốr, doktrínā, dokoméntos, etc.; doko, appear, seem, think (from "cause to accept or be accepted"), as in dókmn, dogma, dokmntikós, dogmatic, doktologíā, doxology (from leg), parádoktos, conflicting with expectation, as Gk. ларáסoگos (from para-, beside, see per) as in parádoktom, paradox, as Lat. paradoxum, or wrdhodoktíā (see wrdho-, straight), orthodoxy, wrdhódoktos, orthodox, as Gk.
 seemliness, elegance, beauty, dekosós, decorous; deknós, worthy, deserving, fitting, deign, déknitā, dignity, komdeknós, condign, deknidhakā, dignify, disdeknā, disdain, endeknā, indign, endeknấnts, indignant; reduplicated didksko, learn, Lat. discere, as in loans di(dk)skípolos, disciple, di(dk)skiplínā, discipline; Greek words include pandéktās, as Gk. лavס́́ктаı, ekdeko, understand, komekdeko, take on a share of, as Gk. $\sigma v \vee \varepsilon \kappa \delta \varepsilon ́ \chi \varepsilon \sigma \theta \alpha 1$, and komekdoká, synecdoche, as Gk. $\sigma v v \varepsilon \kappa \delta o \chi \eta ́ ; ~ a l s o, ~ o-g r a d e ~ s u f f i x ~ d o ́ k o s, ~ b e a m, ~ s u p p o r t, ~$ as Gk. סoкós, in dwiplodókos, diplodocus (see dwo).
90. For PIE upo, under, up from under, over, compare Gmc. upp (cf. Goth. iup, O.E. up, uppe, O.H.G. uf, M.L.G. up, Ger. auf); uponos, "put or set up", open, as Gmc. upanaz (cf. O.N. opinn, O.E. open, O.H.G. offan, Swed. öppen, Dan. aaben, O.Fris. epen); suffixed upt(o), frequently, as Gmc. uft(a) (cf. Goth. ufta, O.N. opt, O.Fris. ofta, Dan. ofte, Ger. oft); variant sup, as Lat. sub, in súpter, secretly, as Lat. subter, and súpo, as Gk. บ่ло-; variant upso (cf. also Hitt. upzi), as Greek úpsos, height, top; from compound upo-sto- (for st- see stā), "one who stands under", servant, young man, as Cel. wasso-, into V.Lat. uassus, hence MIE upóstos, vassal; úpolos, opal, Skr. upalaḥ, variant of uperós, lower, as Skr. upara- (from upo, Skr. upa, "below"), later borrowed as Gk. opallios, Lat. opalus. Compare Gmc. upp, Ita. sub/sup, Gk. hupo, Ind.-Ira. upa, Toch. /spe, Bal.Sla. po, Cel. wo (cf. Gaul. Vo-, O.Ir. fo, Welsh go).

92.PIE bhábhā, bean, broad bean, as Lat. faba, O.Pruss. babo, Russ. боб, Pol. bób, Welsh ffâen, Alb. bathë; also variant forms bháunā, as Gmc. baunō (cf. O.N. baun, O.E. bēan, O.H.G. bona, Ger. Bohne), and bhákos, lentil, as Gk. بакós.
93.Indo-European snéich, snow (and noun snéichs, snow), as Skr. snēha, Av. snaēža, Toch. śiñcatstse, O.Pruss. snaygis, Lith. sniegas, Ltv. sniegs, O.C.S. snegu, Russ. снег, Polish śnieg, O.Ir. snechta, Welsh nyf. Other
derivatives are o-grade snóichos, as Gmc. snaiwaz (cf. Goth. snaiws, O.N. snjór, O.E. snāw, O.S., O.H.G. sneo, O.Fris., M.L.G. sne, M.Du. snee, Du. sneeuw), and zero-grade snichs, as Lat. nix, niuis, and sníchā, as Gk. vt $\varphi \alpha$. 94.Verb wegh, go, transport in a vehicle, move, is attested as "have weight, lift, carry" in Gmc. wegan (cf. Goth. gawigan, O.S. wegan O.N. vega, O.E. wegan, O.Fris. wega, Du. wegen, O.H.G. [bi]wegan, Ger. bewegen, wiegen), Lat. vehō, Osc. veia, Umb. ařveitu, Gk. ekhos, Skr. vahati, Av. vazaiti, Toch. wkämं/yakne, O.Pruss. vessis, Lith. vežu, Ltv. vest, O.C.S. vesti, Russ. vezti, Polish wieźć, Gaul. Uecturius, O.Ir. fecht, fén, Welsh gwain, Alb. vjedh, udhë. Common derivatives include wéghā, weight, unit of weight, wee, from Gmc. wēgō; wéghtis, weight, as Gmc. (ga)wikhtiz (cf. O.N. vætt, O.E. gewiht, O.Fris. wicht, M.Du. gewicht); wéghos, way, course of travel, as Gmc. wegaz (cf. Goth. wigs, O.E., O.S., Du., O.H.G. weg, O.N. vegr, O.Fris. wei); o-grade wóghnos, wagon, as Gmc. wagnaz (cf. O.N. vagn, O.E. wægn, O.S., O.H.G. wagan, O.Fris. wein, Eng. wain); wóghlos, populace, mob, multitude (<"moving mass"), as Gk. oछ $\lambda o \varsigma$; from Lat. uehere is p.part. weghtós, carried, giving weghtôr, vector, wegheménts, vehement, wéghikolom, vehicle, komwéghtiōn, convection, etc.; wéghiā, way, road, as Lat. uia, giving weghiátikom, voyage, travel, Lat. uiaticum, weghiātikālís, viatical, komweghiā, convey, and komwóghis, convoy (loan-translated from Fr. convoier, variant of conveier), deweghiā, deviate, obhweghiā, obviate, obhweghiós, obvious, prāiweghiós, previous, weghiādéuktos, viaduct, etc.; also, weghsā, agitate (from "set in motion"), as Lat. uexāre; also, komweghsós, convex, ("carried or drawn together to a point"), from Lat. conuexus.
95. Originally PIE root ter, over, gives verb tero, cross over, pass through, overcome, as Skr. tirati, tarati; also contracted as athematic trā, as probable O.Lat. trāre, which gave tran(t)s, across, over, beyond, through, as Lat. trans. Other derivatives include zero-grade tŕilos, hole (<"a boring through"), as Gmc. thurilaz (cf. O.E. pyrel, M.H.G. dürchel, Eng. thrill); tŕqe, through, as, Gmc. thurkh/thurukh (cf. Goth. paírh, O.S. thuru, O.E. purh, O.Fris. thruch, M.Du. dore, Du. door, O.H.G. durh); also, in néktār, nectar, drink of gods, from nek, death, and -tar, overcoming, as Gk. véкта , and derivative nektarínā; verb trāio, protect, as Iranian thrāja-; extended truks, savage, fierce, grim (from "overcoming, powerful"), as Lat. trux, as trukulénts, truculent; and therefore also nasalized extended trunks, trunk, deprived of branches or limbs, mutilated (from overcome, maimed), Lat. truncus. Compare all IE derivatives meanig through, beyond: Gmc. thurkh, Lat. trans, Umb. traf, Gk. tar, Skr. tiras, Av. tara, O.Ir. tre, Welsh tra.
For neks, death, dead person, murder, violent death, compare ON Naglfar, Lat. nex, Toch. näk, Lith. našlys, Ir. éc, Welsh angeu. Derivatives include nekrós, dead, corpse, as Gk. veк $\rho$ óg; verb nekio, injure, harm, as Skr. naśyati, Av. nasyeiti, and its o-grade nokē, as Lat. nocēre, giving common derivatives as nokénts, nocent, or ṇnokénts, innocent, or nokuós, nocuous; also o-grade noksá, injury, hurt, damage, as Lat. noxa, in noksiós, harmful, noxious, and obhnoksiós, obnoxious.
96.Indo-European verb dō, give, evolved (outside Germanic languages) as Lat. dare, Osc. dede, Umb. dadad, Gk. $\delta i \delta \omega \mu \iota$, Skr. dā, dádāti, Av. dadāiti, Pers. dadātuv, Pers. dādan, Phryg. dadón, Arm. tal, O.Pruss. dātwei, Lith. dúoti, Ltv. dot, deva, O.C.S. дати, Russ. дать, Pol. dać, Gaul. doenti, O.Ir. dán, Welsh dawn, Alb. dhashë, (Tosk dhënë, Geg dhąnë), Osset. daettyn, Kashmiri dÿyūn; Hitt. dā, Luw. da-, Lyd. da-, Lyc. da. Derivatives include zero-grade (as Lat. dare) datós, given, from which dátā, date (The Roman convention of closing every article of correspondence by writing "given" and the day and month, meaning "given to messenger", led to data,
"given (pl.)"becoming a term for "the time and place stated"), datéiuos, dative ("the case of giving"), dátom, datum, trade, transdo, (from trans+da), deliver, hand over, trade, part. transdatós, delivered, handed over, from which transdátiōn, delivery, surrender, a handing over/down, meaning both in Romance languages and English, as Lat. traditio, which gave O.Fr. tra(h)ison (Anglo-Fr. treson, Eng. treason, cf. It. tradimento, Spa. traicio), and O.Fr. tradicion (Eng. tradition, Fr. tradition, It. tradizione, Spa. tradicio); perdo, do away with, destroy, lose, throw away, as in perdátiōn, ruin, destruction, perdition; redo, give back, return, restore, giving part; redatós, rendered, and derivative redátā, rent, payment for use of property (Romance rendita through V.Lat. reddita, influenced by Lat. vendita, "sold", or maybe Lat. prendita, "taken"); wesnomdo, (from wésnom, v.i.), sell, praise, as Lat. uendere (contacted from Lat. uendumare, from older uēnumdare); also dónom, gift, as in dōnốr, donor, dōnā, give, present, donate, komdōnā, condone, dōnā́tiōn, donation, dōnatéiuos, donative, perdōnā, grant, forgive, pardon; dótis, dowry, marriage, portion, as Lat. dos, also Slavic dōtiá, gift, dacha, as Russ. dacha; dórom, gift, as Gk. $\delta \omega \rho o v ;$ part. dótis, something given, as Greek Sóoıs, giving antídotom, antidote, lit. "given against", anékdotā, anecdote, apódotis, apodosis, etc.

For PIE wes, buy, compare wésnom, sale, from Lat. uēnum, as in wesnālís, venal; suffixed wosno, buy, as in wosnắ, buying, opswosn, cooked food, opswosno, buy food, hence opswósniom, purchasing of provisions, as Gk. óyஸ́vıov, from which monopswósniom, monopsony; wésā, sale, which gives Eng. bazaar (see qel); suffixed weslís, cheap, base, hence worthless, vile, as Lat. uīlis, with derivatives like weslidhakā, hold cheap, vilify, weslipendo, vilipend (from (s)pen).

From PIE root wes, live, dwell, pass the night, compare Germanic derivatives meaning to be, as o-grade was (as O.E. wæs), lengthened wēz (cf. O.E. wære), or wesan (cf. O.N. vesa, vera, "be"), or Lat. Vesta, household goddess, wástus, town, "place where one dwells", from Gk. astu, into Lat. skill, craft (practiced in a town), as in wastutós, astute; also, wésenom, house, as Pers. vahanam, as in diwésenom/diwáñ, divan, from O.Ira. dipivahanam, "document house", from dipī-, writing, document, from Akkadian tuppu.

Indo-European (s)pen, draw, stretch, spin, gives spenuo, spin, as Gmc. spinnan (cf. Goth. spinnan, O.N., O.Fris. spinna, O.H.G. spinnan, Dan. spinde, Du. spinnen, Ger. spinnen), from which spéntrā, "spinner", spider, as Gmc. spinthrō (cf. O.E. spīpra, Dan. spinder, and other cognates M.L.G., M.Du., M.H.G., Ger. spinne, Du. spin); extended pendē (intransitive), hang, and pendo, cause to hang, weigh, p.part. penstós (<*pendto-), with frequentative penstā, weigh, consider, as Lat. pensāre, as in pendénts, pendant, péndolom, pendulum, pénstiōn, pénstom, weigh, peso, adpende, append, adpéndīks, appendix, kompendiā, compend, kompéndiom, compendium, kompenstā, compensate, dependē, depend, dependo, pay, expend, ekspendo, expend, enpendo, inpend, propendē, propend, rekompénstā, recompense, supspendo, suspend, etc.; suffixed péniā, lack, poverty (<"a strain, exhaustion"), as Gk. лعvıa, usually found as suffix peniā; peno, to toil, and o-grade pónos, toil, verb pono, toil, as in geoponikós, geoponic, lithoponos (from Gk. loan word líthos, stone), lithopone; o-grade (s)pon-, as in spono, span, stretch, bind, as Gmc. spannan (cf. O.E. spannen, O.H.G. spannan, M.Du. spannen), sponā́, span, Gmc. spanō (cf. O.E. spann; Gmc. word was borrowed into M.L. spannus, hence It. spanna, O.Fr. espanne, Fr. empan "distance"); also, spongá, clasp, spangle, from Gmc. spangō (cf. M.Du. spange); póndos, weight, giving Latin expression líbra póndō, "balance by weight" (borrowed into Gmc. punda, "pound", cf. Goth. pund, O.Fris., O.N. pund, O.H.G. pfunt, Ger. Pfund,
M.Du. pont); póndōs, weight, giving derivatives (affected by rhotacism, cf. Lat. pondus, ponder-), pondesā, weigh, ponder, as in prāipondesā, preponderate; also, compare sponde, "of one's own accord", as Lat. sponte (maybe from Gmc. spanan, "entice"), as in spondaniós, spontaneus.
97.Indo-European bháres-/bhars-, spelt, barley, grain, is the root for Gmc. bariz/barz (cf. Goth. barizins, O.N. barr, and also O.E. bær-lic, i.e. "barley-like"), Lat. far (stem farr-), Osc.,Umb. far, Phryg. brisa, OCS brašino, Welsh bara. Latin derivatives include bhar(s)ínā, farina, bhar(s)inākiós, farinaceous, bharsấgō, farrago, medley, mix of grains for animal feed.
98.PIE verb bhél means thrive, bloom, sprout, as in bhóliom, leaf, as Lat. folium, Gk. $\varphi v \lambda \lambda o v$, as in eksbholiā, exfoliate, debholiā, defoliate, perbholiā, perfoliate, prtbhóliom, portfolio, etc; suffixed o-grade bhlōuo, to flower, blow, as Gmc. blōwan (cf. O.E. blawan, O.H.G. blaen), bhlốmōn, flower, blossom, as Gmc. blōmōn (cf. Goth. blōma, O.S. blomo, O.N. blómi, Du. bloem, O.H.G. bluomo, Eng. bloom); bhlōs, flower, blossom, as Gmc. bhlōs- (cf. O.E. blōstm, blōstma, Eng. blossom), Lat. flōs (stem flōr- due to rhotacism), as in bhlōsá, flora, bhlōsālís, floral, etc.; bhlótom, blood, as Gmc. blōthan (cf. Goth. blop, O.N. blóð, O.E.,O.Fris. blōd, M.Du. bloet, O.H.G. bluot), bhlōdio, bleed, as Gmc. blōthjan (cf. O.N. blæða, O.E. blēdan, Ger. bluten), bhlōtisā, bless, lit. "treat or hallow with blood", (originally a blood sprinkling on pagan altars, this word was chosen in O.E. Bibles to translate Lat. benedicere and Gk. eulogein, and is not found with this sense in other Germanic dialects); bhlótos, blade, leaf, from Gmc. blathaz (cf. O.N. blad, O.Fris. bled, Ger. blatt). Other derivatives include Oscan Fluusaí,Toch. pält/pilta, O.Ir. bláth, Welsh blawd.
 kravíṣ, Av. $\dot{x} \bar{u}-$, ẋūm, O.Pruss. krawian, Lith. kraujas, Ltv. krevele, OCS кръвъ, O.Pol. kry, Russ. кровъ, O.Ir. cró, Welsh crau. A common adjective is o-grade krowós, raw, uncooked, "bloody", as Gmc. khrawaz (cf. O.N. hrár, O.E. hrēaw, M.Du.rau, O.H.G. hrāo, Eng. raw, Ger. roh), Lat. crudus, O.Ind. kruras, Av. ẋrūra-.
99. IE verb der, split, peel, flay, as Gmc. teran (cf. Goth. gatairan, O.E. teran, O.S. terian, M.Du. teren, O.H.G. zeran), Gk. $\delta \varepsilon \rho \varepsilon \iota v$, Skr. darati, Arm. terem, O.C.S. dera, and dérom, piece, as Bret. darn; dŕtom, "something separated or discarded", turd, Gmc. turdam (cf. O.E. tord, O.N. tord-, M.Du. torde, Du. tort-); der(r)is, leather


English "tear" (drop from eye), comes from PIE dákrus, attested as Gmc. takhruz (cf. Goth. tagr, O.N. tár, O.Fris. tar, O.E. tēahor, O.H.G. zahar), Lat. lacrĭma (from suffixed dákru-mā, O.Lat. dacruma, compare with evolution of O.Lat. dingua $\rightarrow$ Lat. lingua), Gk. $\delta \dot{\alpha} \kappa \rho v$, Skr. aśru, Av. asrūazan, Toch. ākär/akrūna, Arm. arc'unk', Lith. ašara, Ltv. asara, O.Ir. dér, Welsh deigryn.
100. PIE root gno, know, gives derivatives gnēuo, as Gmc. knēew)an, (cf. O.E. cnāwan, O.H.G. bichnaan, irchnaan), gṇo, know, know how to, be (mentally) able to, Gmc. kunnan (cf. Goth. kannjan, O.N. kenna, O.E. cunnan, O.Fris. kanna, O.H.G. irchennan), o-grade causative gónio, make known, declare, as Gmc. kannjan (cf. O.N. kenna, O.E. cennan, Eng. ken), gntós, known, well-known, usual, excellent, familiar, as Gmc. kunthaz (cf. O.E. cūth, Eng. couth), gńtitā, knowledge, acquaintance, friendship, kinfolk, as Gmc. kunthithō (cf. O.E. cyththu); gnōsko, komgnōsko, get to know, get acquainted with, as in gnōtítiā, notice, gnốtiōn, notion, gnōtosiós, notorious, komgnítiōn, cognition, rekomgnōsko, recognize, etc.; suffixed -ro-, as nggnōrā, not to know, disregard, ignore, or gnấros, knowing, expert, and verb gnar(r) $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$, tell, relate, narrate; gnōdhlís,
knowable, known, famous, noble, as Lat. nōbilis; part. gnōtós, known, noun gnốtis, knowledge, inquiry, gnốmōn, judge, interpreter, prognốtis, diagnốtis, agnốtiā, etc., as Gk. $\gamma v \omega ̃ \sigma ı \varsigma, ~ \gamma v \omega ́ \mu \omega v ; ~ g n ́ t i s, ~ k n o w l e d g e, ~$ as Av. zainti-; also probably gnốtā, note, mark, sign, cypher, as Lat. nota, as in adgnōtā, annotate, komgnōtā, connote, etc., and also gnórmā, carpenter's square, rule, pattern, precept, norm, as in gnormālís, normal, apgnormālís, abnormal, eghnormís (from eghs+gnorm-), irregular, extraordinary, very large, possibly a borrowing from Etruscan through Greek gnốrmōn, $\gamma v \omega \dot{\mu} \mu \omega \mathrm{v}$, carpenter's square, rule. For IE derivatives, compare Lat. nōscō/cognōscō, Umb. naratu, Gk. $\gamma \iota \gamma v \omega \sigma \kappa \varepsilon \iota v, ~ S k r . j a \bar{a} n a ̈ t i, ~ A v . ~ p a i t i z a ̄ n ə n t i, ~ O . P e r s . ~ x s ̌ n a ̄ s a ̄ t i y, ~$ Toch. knān/nān, Arm. canot', O.Pruss. posinnāts, Lith. žinóti, žinaũ, Ltv. zināt, zinu, O.C.S.,O.Russ. знати, знањ, Russ. знать, Polish znać, Ir. gnath, Welsh gnawd, Alb. njeh, Kashmiri zānun Osset. zon; Hitt. kanes.
101. PIE root ni, down, below, gives derivatives Skr. ni, Gk. neiothen, O.C.S. nizu, Russ. низ. A common derivative is nitero-, down, downwards, below, beneath, as niteros in Gmc. nitheraz (cf. O.S. nithar, O.N. niðr, O.E. nipera, neobera, O.Fris. nither, Du. neder, Ger. nieder), or niterom in Skr. nitaram.

For PIE ńdher, under, also possibly derived from ni, compare Gmc. under (cf. Goth. undar, O.N. undir, O.Fris. under, Du. onder, O.H.G. untar), Pers. zēr, Arm. ĕndhup; also, compare ńdhos, below, as Skr. adhah; ndhrós, lower, as Av. aðara-, Lat. īnferus, and ndhriós, inferior; ndhŕnos, lower, inferno, and ndhrnālís, infernal; ńdhrā, infra, below.
English hell, a translation of Lat. infernus, comes from an o-grade noun derived from PIE kel, cover, conceal, save, (cf. Skr. cala, O.Ir. cuile), viz. koliắ, the underworld (from "concealed place"), Gmc. khaljō (cf. O.N. hel, O.E., O.Fris. helle, Ger. Hölle, Goth. halja; Eng. hell may be from O.N. Hel, the underworld, goddess of death, another transfer of a pagan concept and its word to a Christian idiom); kol(l)áa, covered place, hall, as (dialectally geminated) Gmc. khallō (cf. Goth. halja, O.N. höll, O.E. heall, O.H.G. halla, Du. hal); suffixed koleiós, sheath, as Gk. кo入cós; zero-grade kíos, hole, hollow, as Gmc. khulaz (cf. Goth. us-hulon, O.N. holr, O.Fris., O.H.G. hol, O.E. hol, hulu, M.Du. hool, Ger. hohl, Eng. hole, hull); extended klām, in secret, as Lat. clam, in klamdestēinós, clandestine (possibly a merge of klam-de- and entestēinós, internal, from entos, within, which gives pl. entestéina, intestine), kalupio, cover, conceal, as Gk. kaluptein, part. kaluptós, covered, as in (a)sukalúptos, from Lat. eucalyptus, and MIE apokalúptis, revelation, from Gk. à apocalypsis, from Church Lat. apocalypsis; kélmos, helmet, helm, "protective covering", as Gmc. khelmaz (cf. Frank. helm, O.E. helm, O.H.G. helm, M.Fr. helmet, dim. of helme); obhkolo, cover over, and part. obhkoltós, covered, occult, from which obhkoltā, to occult; suffixed kólōs, from Lat. color; kélnā, storeroom, chamber, cellar, as Lat. cella; kéliom, lower eyelid, cilium; lengthened-grade kēlā, hide, like in komkēlā, conceal.
102. A Proto-Indo-European stem (s)klau, hook, crooked or forked branch (used as a bar or bolt in primitive structures) is reconstructed for kláustrom, bar, bolt, barrier, as Lat. claustrum, and kláustrā, dam, wall, barricade, stronghold, for Lat. claustra; kláwos, nail, for Lat. clauus; kláwis, key, for Lat. clauis; skláuso, close, Gmc. skhleusan (cf. O.E. beclysan, O.H.G. sliozan, Ger. schlieel); also, compare Gk. kleidos, klobos, Lith. kliuti, kliaudziu, kliuvu, O.C.S. kljucu, kljuciti, O.Ir. clo, M.Ir. clithar.
PIE verb bhec, run, flee, is attested in Balto-Slavic as Lith. begu, O.C.S. begu, bezati; also bhécios, stream, (possibly from an unattested verb bhécio) in Gmc. bakjaz (cf. O.N. bekkr, Eng. beck); and in Greek with the
meaning of flee in terror，also o－grade verb bhoco，put to flight，frighten，and noun bhócos，panic，flight，fear， as Gk．甲óßos（hence－bhocíā，Gk．－甲оßía）．

103．For PIE ka（u）put，head，and also fig．top，upper end，chief person，leader，compare Gmc．khaubuthan （Goth．haubip，O．N．haufuð，O．E．heafod，O．H．G．houbit，O．Fris．haved，Ger．Haupt），Skr．kapucchala，Lat．caput． 104．PIE verb dem，domesticate，gives o－grade domio，tame，domesticate，as Gmc．tamjan（cf．Goth． gatamjan，O．E．temja，O．E．tem，O．H．G．zemmen）；domós，domesticated，tame，Gmc．tamaz（cf．O．N．tamr，O．S．， O．Fris．，M．L．G．，M．Du．，O．E．tam，O．H．G．zam，Ger．zahm）；domā，tame，subdue，as Lat．domāre；dḿno，tame，as Gk．$\delta a \mu \alpha v$ ，with derivative ndmánts［n－dm－‘ants］，not malleable，adamant，（lit．＂not domesticable＂）and also diamond，from Vulg．Lat．diamas，－antis，altered from Lat．adămas，－antis，from Gk．áSá ${ }^{\prime}$ as．Other derivatives include Skr．dāmyati，Av．dam，Pers．dām，O．Ir．damnaim，Welsh addef，Osset．domun；Hitt．damaašzi．

For spek，observe，look at，compare spékōn，watcher，spy，as Gmc．spekhōn（cf．Frank．spehon，O．H．G． spehon，M．Du．spien，Ger．spähen，Spion，Eng．spy）；from Lat．specere are spékimēn，spéktrom，spekolā， especulate，spékolom，adspéktos，aspect，ekspektā，expect，perspektéiuā，perspective，respektā，look， respect，supspektā，suspect，etc．；spékiēs，seeing，sight，form，species，as in spekiālís，special；speks， watcher，＂he who sees＂，in Lat．compounds；dēspekā，despise，look down on；metathesized Grek forms as spekio（Gk．skepio），examine，consider，as in spektikós，skeptic，Gk．бкєлtıкós；or o－grade spókos（Gk． skopos），one who watches，or object of attention，aim，target，（as Eng．scope）and verb spokē，see，as in modern jorospókos，horoscope，lit．＂time－watcher＂，from Gk．ஸ́робкóлоऽ，qēlespókiom，from Mod．Lat．telescopium，or epispókos，overseer，bishop（Eng．bishop comes from O．E．bisceope，itself from Vulgar Latin ebiscopus）， epispokālís，episcopal，etc．－the change spek－＞skep happened comparatively late in Greek to be reconstructed in a proper common IE language．
105．For PIE sals，salt，compare Lat．sāl，Umb．salu，Gk．hals，Skr．salila，Illyr．Salapia，Toch．sāle／sālyiye，Arm． $a \dot{g}$, O．Pruss．sal，Lith．saldus，Ltv．sāļš，OCS soli，Russ．coль，Polish sól，O．Ir．salann，Welsh halen，Alb．gjelbson． It gives derivatives as sáldom，Gmc．saltom（cf．O．S．，O．N．，O．Fris．，Goth．salt，O．E．sealt，O．H．G．salz，Du．zout）， zero－grade sídiā，salt，salt marsh，souse，as Gmc．sultjō（cf．M．E．cylte，Dan．，Nor．sylt，Eng．silt，and O．Fr．sous， into Eng．souse），saldo，to salt，as Lat．sallere，and p．part．salstós（＜＊saldtós），as in sálstā，sauce，salsa；from Lat．sāl is salásiom，salary，salátā，salad，or salámis；it gives also words for sea，from＂salty water＂，as in Greek，or in Latin sálom．

PIE root sol（or＊solh ${ }_{2}$ ）means whole，and is attested in common derivative soluós，whole，intact，uninjured，as Gk．ò $\bar{\circ} \mathrm{os}$（Ion．oũ $\lambda o \varsigma), ~ S k r . ~ s a r v a h, ~ A v . ~ h a u r v a, ~ O . P e r s . ~ h a r u v a, ~ g i v i n g ~ m o d e r n ~ w o r d s ~ l i k e ~ s o l u o k a ́ u s t o m, ~$ holocaust（from neuter Lat．holocaustum，itself from Gk．ò ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{c}_{\mathrm{k} \alpha v \sigma \tau о \varsigma, ~ " b u r n e d ~ h o l e "), ~ s o l u o g r a b h i k o ́ s, ~}^{\text {，}}$ holographic（for gerbh－，v．i．A），or katsoluikós，universal，catholic（as Lat．catholĭcus，Gk．каӨo入ıós，for kat， v．i．B）．Also，compare solidós，solid，in komsolidā，consolidate，solidāsiós，jointly liable（source akin to Eng． soldier），sol（i）dátos，soldier，from Lat．solidātus（from sólidos，a Roman gold coin，also salary，lit＂one having pay＂，cf．It．soldato，Fr．soldat，Spa．，Pt．soldado，Swe．，Nor．，Ger．soldat，Du．soldaat，Russ．，Ukr．coлдат etc．）； sólos，whole，entire，unbroken，as solikitós，solicit，solicitous，or solemnís，solemn，from Lat．（dialectal geminated form）sollus；as zero－grade sálūts，health，as in salutā，greet；also in saluós，whole，safe，healthy， uninjured，from Lat．salvus（into O．Fr．sauf，and then to Eng．safe）．

A．For PIE gerbh，scratch，compare Gmc．kerban（cf．O．E．ceorfan，O．H．G．kerban，Eng．carve，Ger．kerben）； zero－grade gŕbhis，a cutting（off），as Gmc．kurbiz（O．E．cyrf，Eng．kerf）；o－grade gróbhis，edible crustacean，as Gmc．krabiz／krab（b）（cf．O．E．crabba，O．N．krafla，O．H．G．kerbiz，L．Ger．krabben，Eng．crab，crayfish，crawl）； grbho，scratch，draw，write，as gŕbhmn［＇grob ${ }^{\mathrm{h}}-\mathrm{mn}_{0}$ ］，picture，letter，piece of writing，and gŕbhmā，line，with derivatives as（loan words）grbhmntikấ，grammar，from Gk．ү $\rho \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau \kappa \eta$ ，and ghŕbhikos，graphic， anágrbhmn，anagram，epígrbhmn，epigram，ṇghrbhíā，agraphia，epigrbhá，epigraph，as Gk．દ่лıүра甲ர́， parágrbhos，paragraph，prógrbhmn，programme，etc；also，W．Gmc．grafa，＂count＂（cf．M．Du．graave，M．L．G． grave，Ger．graf，Eng．－grave），possibly a borrowing from grbhéus，Gk．grapheus，＂scribe＂．For other IE derivatives，compare O．Pruss gīrbin，Ltv．grīpsta，O．C．S．žrěbŭ，Russ．žrebij，Arm．kerel／gerel，Alb．gërvish．

B．For PIE kat－，down，compare Greek kata，down，and suffixed form kátolos，young puppy，young of animals（＂dropped＂），as Latin catulus．；also found in Ice．haðna，M．H．G．hatele，Sla．kotiti sę（cf．Russ．kotítbsja）， dial．kótıka，Sr．－Cr．kot，Pol．wy－kot

106．For Indo－European bhlēig，shine，compare Gmc．blīkh（j）an（cf．O．N．blíkja，O．Ice．bleikr，O．H．G．blīhhan， bleih，О．E．blīcan，Ger．Blech），Lith．blaikštaũs，blaikštýtis，blyškéti，Ltv．bližğēt，blaiskums，О．C．S．блъскъ， блисцати，Russ．blesk，Pol．blask．
107．PIE verb bhel，blow，swell，inflate，is the root for various derivatives including round objects and the notion of tumescent masculinity；as，bhíā，round vessel，rounded object，bowl，bole，boll，as in Gmc．bullō（cf． O．N．bolle，bolr，O．E．，O．H．G．bolla，M．H．G．bole，M．Du．bolle，bille）；zero－grade and bhīōn，fuller，as Lat．fullō； bhíōnos，bull，as Gmc．bullōnaz（cf．O．N．boli，O．E．bula，M．Du．，Ger．bulle），bhíokos，bull，as Gmc．bullukaz（cf． O．E．bulluc），bhínos，phallus，as Gk．pa入入ós；o－grade（dialectally geminated－l in Germanic）bhól（l）os，ball， bhól（l）̄̄a，ball，bullet，round roll，bhól（l）ikos，testicles，bollix（cf．O．E．beallucas）；bholtós，bold，from Gmc． balthaz（cf．Goth．balbei，O．N．ballr，baldr，O．E．bald，beald，O．H．G．bald）；suffixed bhólnis，bellows，inflated ball，as Lat．follis（cf．Eng．follicle，folly，fool）；possibly bhálaniā，whale，from Gk．pá ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ，
108．MIE dímōn，time，is a loan translation from Germanic tīmōn，（cf．O．Eng．tīma，O．N．timi，Swe．timme）， and is derived from PIE root dā，divide，as in dấmos，people，land（from＂division of society＂），from Gk．$\delta \eta \mu \circ$ ， as in dāmokratíā，democracy v．i．，dāmogrbhíā，demography，epidāmíā，pandāmíā，dāmagốgos，etc．； alternative root dajo，divide，as in geōdáisia，earth division，geodesy；dáimōn，divider，provider，hence divinity，later＂demon，daimon＂，v．i．；d（á）itis，division of time，time，season，as Gmc．tīdiz（cf．O．S．，O．E．tid，Du． tijd，O．H．G．zīt，Ger．Zeit，Eng．tide），and verb dītio，happen，from＂occur in time＂，Gmc．tīdjan（cf．O．E．tīdan）．

It is unrelated to Lat．tempus，which has an unknown origin．For the Latin word and its derivatives，Modern Indo－European uses loan word témpōs；as，komtemposāsiós，contemporary；témposā，temple（cf．Lat． tempora $>$ V．Lat．tempula）；tempesā，temper，moderate，regulate；tempositī̄，temporize，etc．

PIE krátos，power，strength，（like Gk．крátos）gives suffix－kratía，power，rule，as Gk．－к $\rho a \tau i ́ a$ ，adjective kratús，strong，as Gk．kpaivs or alternative kartús，hard，as Gmc．kharthus（cf．Goth．hardus，O．N．harðr，O．E． heard，O．H．G．harto，Du．hard），maybe from PIE root kar－．
Greek $\delta \alpha \mu \omega v$ meant divinity．For Greeks and Romans dæmons were supernatural beings＂replete with knowledge＂，＂divine power＂，＂fate＂or＂god＂，not necessarily evil．Within the Christian tradition，ideas of ＂demons＂derived as much from the literature that came to be regarded as apocryphal and even heretical as it did

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from the literature accepted as canonical. It happened more or less like with PIE djéus (originally meaning heaven, sky, hence sky-god, cf. O.E. Tig, Lat. deus, Gk. Zzv́ৎ, Skr. devah, Lith. devas, O.C.S. deivai), reduced in its Persian meaning as a special (bad) kind of divinity, giving daēva-, "spirit, demon", so in Asmodeus, Old Persian Eshma, later Æshmadæva.
109. PIE root bher-, with derivatives meaning brown, shining, gives bhrūnós, brown, shining, as Gmc. brūnaz (cf. O.E. brūn, O.N. brúnn, M.Du. bruun, adopted into Romance languages through M.L. brunus, cf. It., Sp. bruno, Fr. brun); reduplicated bhébhrus, brown animal, beaver, as Gmc. bebruz (cf. O.E. beofor, O.H.G. bibar, Low Ger. bever), Lith. bebrus, Cz. bobr, Welsh befer; bhérā/bhérnus, bear, lit. "brown animal" (as O.E. bera, O.H.G. bero, from Gmc. berō, or O.N. björn, from Gmc. bernuz). Compare Lat. fiber, Gk. phrynos, Skr. bhallas, babhrus, Av. bawra, Toch. parno/perne, paräṁ/perne, O.Pruss. bebrus, Ltv. bērs, bebrs, Lith. bėras, bebras, Russ. bobr, Gaul. Bibrax, Welsh befer.
110. Indo-European línom, flax, although sometimes considered a borrowing from a non-Indo-European language, is found in many IE dialects; as, Gmc. linam (cf. Goth. lein, O.E. lin, O.H.G. lin, O.N. lín, Ger. Leinen, Eng. linen), Lat. līnum, Gk. linon, O.Pruss. linno, Lith. linas, Ltv. lini, O.C.S. lĭnŭ, Russ. lën, Polish len, O.Ir. lín, Welsh llin, Alb. liri/lini.
For PIE wínā, wool, compare Gmc. wulnō (cf. Goth. wulla, O.N. ull, O.E. wull, O.Fris. wolle, M.Du. wolle, O.H.G. wolla, Du. wol, Ger. Wolle), Lat. lāna, uellus, Gk. lēnos, Skr. ūrṇā, Av. varənā, Pers. gurs, O.Pruss. wilnis, Lith. vilna, Ltv. vilna, O.C.S. vlŭna, Russ. volna, Pol, wetna, Lith. vilna, O.Ir. olan, Welsh gwlan; Hitt. hulana.
 guntwei, gunnimai, Lith. genù, giñti, ginù, gìnti, Ltv. dzęnu, dzit, О.C.S. гънати, женж, O.Russ. гънати, жену, Cz. hnáti, ženu, Polish gnać, O.Ir. gonim, Ir. gandr, gonadh, Alb. gjanj; Hitt. kwen, Lyd. qẽn-; Slavic gznanz, which stands out in a Satem dialect, appears to be from a source akin to O.Ind. ( $\bar{a}$ )ghnānás, Av. avag̈nāna-, an original ghn- form, which didn't undergo the satemization trend. It gives derivatives as o-grade chónōn, slayer, cause of ruin or destruction, as Gmc. banōn (cf. Goth. banja, O.N. bani, O.E. bana, O.Fris. bona, O.H.G. bana), which gives also MIE loan word chonắ, way, road, as in autochonắ, Autobahn, cf. M.H.G. ban, bane, Ger. Bahn, "way, road" (from "strike" in a technical sense like "swath"); suffixed chńtiā, war, battle, as Gmc. gundjō (cf. O.Ice. gandr, O.E. gūp, O.N. gunnr into O.E. gunne, giving Mod. Eng. gun), also in chntiāpánōn, standard, "battle flag", as O.H.G. gundfano, It. gonfalone (for pan-, v.i.); suffixed form chend, giving prefixed verbs in Latin as dēchendo, ward off, defend, and obhchendo, strike against, be offensive, offend; also, suffixed zerograde chńtros, poison, as Pers. zahr, O.Ira. jathra-.
112. PIE génus, knee, perhaps originally angle, gives Lat. genū, Gk. gonu, Skr. jānu, Av. znum, Pers. zānu, Illyr. Genusus, Toch. kanwem/kenine, Arm. cunr, Russ. звено; Hitt. genu, Palaic ginu-. Variants include Greek o-grade forms, as gónus, knee, which gives polúgonom, polygonum, and gốniā, angle, corner, which gives gonós, angled, and derivative neuter suffix -gonom, Eng. -gon; also, alternate form gnew-, giving neuter noun gnéwom, knee, as Gmc. knewam (cf. Goth. kniu, O.N. kne, O.E. cnēo[w], O.Fris. kni, M.Du. cnie, O.H.G. kniu), and extended verb gnewio, kneel, "with bent knee", as Gmc. knewjan (cf. Goth. knussjan, O.E. cneow[l]ian, Eng. kneel), or Gk. $\gamma v v \xi$.

Another meaning for PIE génus is jawbone, cheek, jaw. Compare Gmc. gennuz (from variant génwus, cf. Goth. kinnus, O.N. kinn, O.E. cin, O.H.G. chinni, Eng. chin, Ger. Kinn), Lat. gena, Gk. genus, Skr. hanu (from alternative form ghénus), Av. zanu, Pers. goune(h), Phryg. azon, Toch. śanwem, Arm. cnaut, Lith. žandas, Ltv. zods, Welsh genou, O.Ir. gin, and Ancient Macedonian kanadoi. A common derivative is zero-grade alternative gńdhos, $j a w$, from Greek.
113. PIE chers, heat, warm, gives common derivatives as Germanic alternative forms chrenuo, burn, be on fire, intransitive, as Gmc. brennan (cf. Goth. brinnan, O.N. brenna, O.E. beornan, byrnan O.H.G. brinnan), and chrenuio, burn, kindle, transitive, as Gmc. brannjan (cf. O.E. bærnan); chróndos, burning or flaming torch, hence also sword, as Gmc. brandaz (cf. O.E. brand, brond, Du. branden, also Frank. brand, into O.Fr.,O.Prov. brand); chermós/chormós, warm, hot, and chérmā, heat, neuter chérmom, giving -chermiā, Eng. thermy, as Gk. $\theta \varepsilon \rho \mu o s$. Also, Lat. chórkaps, (-kaps is Lat. agential suffix, -keps, "-taker", from PIE kap), forceps; chórnos, oven, as Lat. furnus; chórniks, arch, vault (from "vaulted brick oven"), as in chornikā, fornicate; chŕtom, clarified butter, ghee, as Skr. ghṛtam. Other known derivatives are Skr. ghṛ̣a, Av. garama, O.Pers. garmapada, Pers. garm, Phryg. germe, Thrac. germas, Arm. jerm, O.Pruss. goro, Lith. garas, Ltv. gars, Russ. žar, O.Ir. fogeir, Welsh gori, Alb. zjarr, Kashmiri germi, garū'm; Hitt. war.
114. Indo-European verb éus, burn, is attested in Gmc. uzjan (cf. ON usli, and in compound [aim]uzjo, cf. as
 Lith. usnis, Ltv. usna, Alb. ushël.
115. PIE root noch-, naked, gives nochetós/nochotós, as Gmc. nakwethaz/nakwathaz (cf. Goth. naqabs, O.N. nökkviðr, O.Swed. nakuper, O.E. nacod, O.Fris. nakad, O.H.G. nackot, M.Du. naket), nochedós, as Lat. nūdus, nochmós, metathesized in Gk. $\gamma v \mu v o s ~(g u m n o s), ~ a s ~ i n ~ n o c h m a s i ́ a ̄, ~ g y m n a s t i c s, ~ n o c h m a ́ s t a ̄, ~ g y m n a s t, ~$ from Gk. үv Ltv. nogs, OCS nagŭ, Russ. nagoj, Polish nagi, O.Ir. nocht, Welsh noeth, Kashmiri nañgay, Hitt. nekumant.
116. Indo-European cer, mount, gives also corắ, mountain; cf. Hom.Gk. $\beta$ opéņ, Att.Gk. $\beta$ opéā̧, $\beta$ op $\rho a ̄ \varsigma, ~$ O.Ind. girís, Av. gairi-, O.Pers. gar, gīr, Arm. ler, O.Pruss. garian, Lith. girià, guras, O.C.S. гора, горъ, Russ. zopa, Pol. góra, Alb. gur.
English word "mount" comes from Anglo-Fr. mount, itself from O.Fr. mont and O.E. munt, both from Lat. mons, montis, MIE móntis, mountain, (cf. Welsh mynydd), which gives montanós, mountanious, móntaniā, mountain (from V.Lat. montanĕa, feminine noun of V.Lat montaneus, in turn from Lat. montanus), montíkolos, monticule, montā, go up, ascend, climb, mount, as in admontā, amount. It is derived from PIE base men, stand out, project, source of some Western Indo-European words for projecting body parts, as zerograde mńtos, mouth, Gmc. munthaz (cf. Goth. munps, O.N. munnr, O.E. mup, O.Fris. muth, M.Du. mont, Ger. Mund), or méntom, chin, as Lat. mentum; mńā, projecting point, threat, Latin minae, giving mnắkiā, menace, prōmnā, drive (animals) onward, (from prō, forth, and mnā, drive animals with shouts), as in prōmnâtā, promenade; mnē, project, jut, threaten, as ekmnē, stand out, giving ekmnénts, eminent, enmnē, overhang, giving enmnénts, inminent, or promnē, jut out, as in promnénts, prominent, or promntósiom, promontory, from p.part. promntós.

A proper PIE word for "mouth" is $\overline{\mathbf{o} s}$, as in O.E. $\bar{o} r$, ON oss, Lat. $\bar{o} s$, Skr. $\bar{a} s, ~ o s ̣ t h a, ~ A v . ~ a o s t a, ~ O . P r u s s . ~ a u s t o, ~$ Lith. uosta, Ltv. osta, Russ. usta, Kamviri âša, Hitt. aiš. Derivatives affected by rhotacism are usually from Lat. stem ōr-, as in ōsālís, oral, ōsidhákios, orifice, but most are not affected, as dim. ốskillom, swing (from "small mask of Bacchus"), giving verb ōskillā, oscillate, and noun ōskillắtiōn, oscillation; also, ốskolom, osculum, giving enōskolā, provide with an opening, inosculate, and also ốstiom, door, ostium, giving ōstiásios, doorkeeper, ostiary (M.Eng. hostiary), etc.
117. PIE root cốus, fem. cow, or masc. bull, ox, perhaps ultimately imitative of lowing (cf. non-IE Sumerian $g u$, Chinese ngu, ngo), gives Gmc. kōuz (>kūz, cf. O.N. kú, O.E. cū, O.H.G. cuo, Eng. cow, Ger. Kuh), Lat. bōs (stem bou-), Gk. bous, Skr. gauḥ. Derivatives include coukánā, horn, trumpet, "bellower" (compound with kan-, singer, v.i.), coukanatốr, buccinator; cóucalos, gazelle (orig. "wild cow"), later buffalo, as Gk. ßoúßa入os (compare with Lat. būbulus, and as alternative cówalos with Skr. gavalah, all referring to wild animals); suffixed cóunos, ox, as Pali goṇa-; cóuros, wild ox, as Skr. gauraḥ; zero-grade suffixed cwā, as in compound $\mathbf{s m k m t o ́ m c w a ̄}$, hecatomb, "sacrifice of a hundred oxen" (see sem, one, kmtóm, hundred), Gk. غ̇катó $\beta \boldsymbol{\eta}$. Compare all IE derivatives: Gmc. kōuz, Lat. bōs, Osc. buv-, Umb. bum, Gk. ßov̧, Skr. gaus, Av. gáus, Pers. gāv, Thrac. bonassos, Toch. ko/keŭ, Arm. kov Ltv. govs, Russ. govjado, O.Ir. bó, Welsh buw, Kamviri go, Kashmiri gāv, Osset. gal.
118. Noun ármos, arm, upper arm, earlier ${ }^{*} h_{2} r m o-$, is attested as Gmc. armaz (cf. Goth. arms, O.N. armr, Eng. earm, O.H.G. aram, O.S., M.Du., arm, O.Fris. erm), Lat. armus, Gk. àpuós, Skr. irmas, Arm. armunk, O.C.S. ramo, O.Prus. irmo Osset. arm. Interesting derivatives include árma, (pl. of ármom), tools, arms, armatós, armed, armátā, army, armátolos, armadillo, armatósā, armature, loan word alármā (from O.It. allarme, from all'arme, "to arms", which could be loan-translated as ad armā), disarmā, disarm, loan word gendárme ("mounted soldiers, men-at-arms", from O.Fr. gent-d'armes, which could be loan-translated as gntármā); armoníā, from Gk. áphós, joint, shoulder. Base arm- comes ultimately from PIE root ar-, which gives derivaitves like ártis, art, skill, craft, from Lat. ars, as in verb artio, instruct in the arts, as Lat. artīre, and its p.part. artitós, skilled in the arts, which gives artitiấnos, artisan (from It. artigiano, from V.Lat. artitiānus), artístā, lettered person, artist, from Med.Lat. artista; further suffixed artiós, fiting, even, as Gk. âptoo̧; ártus, joint (Lat. artus, translation of Gk. arthron, v.i.) as in artíkolos, joint, article; artós, tight, as in artā, compress, and komartā, coarctate; árdhrom, joint, from Gk. a̋p $\theta \rho o v$, as in ardhrótis, enardhrótis, komardhrótis, etc.; suffixed superlative aristós, best, as in aristokratíā, aristocracy, from Gk. ápıoтократía.
Probably from the same root are (then o-grade suffixed form) ōrdhio, begin to weave, as Lat. ōrdīī; further suffixed órdhōn, order (originally a row of threads in a loom), from Lat. ōrdō, as in loan words ōrdhonā, order, $\overline{\text { ördhonatós, }}$ ordinate, orderly, komōrdhonā, coordinate, supōrdhonā, subordinate, enōrdhonā, inordinate, ōrdhonāsiós, ordinary, etc.; or differently suffixed ōrnā, adorn, ornate, as Lat. ōrnāre.
Also variant form rē, consider, reckon, confirm, ratify, as Lat. rērī, as in ratós, calculated, which gives rátiōn, calculation, ration, ratio, reason, or rátā, rate, (Med. Lat. rata, from Lat. prō ratā parte, "according to a fixed part", MIE prō rátā párti); suffixed redho, advise, explain, counsel, and rédhos, counsel, opinion, as Gmc. redan, redaz (cf. Goth. rapjo, O.N. radan, redan, O.Fris. reda, Du. raden, O.H.G. radja, reda, ratan, Eng. read,
rede, dread, Ger. reden, Rede, raten), as in redhislio, riddle, Gmc. redisljan (cf. O.E. rædels, O.S. radisli, M.Du. raetsel, Du. rakadsel, O.H.G. radisle, Ger. Rätsel, Eng. riddle).
119. For PIE bhrátēr, brother, compare Gmc. brothar (cf. Goth. brōpar, ON bróðir, O.E. brōpor, O.H.G. bruoder), Lat. frāter, Osc. fratrúm, Umb. fratrom, Gk. $\varphi \rho \bar{̄} \tau \eta \rho$ (phrātēr), Skr. bhrātr, Av. brātar, O.Pers. brātar, Pers. barādar, Kurd. bra, Phryg. brater, Illyr. bra, Toch. pracer/procer, Arm. tinfuin (ełbayr <*erbair), O.Pruss. brāti, bratrīkai, Lith. broterẽlis, brolis, Ltv. brātarītis, brālis, OCS бpampъ, бpamъ, Russ. бpam, Polish brat, Gaul. brātir, O.Ir. bráthir Welsh brawd, Kamviri bṛo, Kashmiri boy, Osset. ærvad Lyd. brafr-, Venetic vhraterei,. Derivatives include common bhrātríā, brotherhood ,phratry, as O.Cz. bratřie, O.Pol. braciá, Gk. $\varphi \rho \bar{a} \tau \rho i \alpha ;$ O.Ind. bhrātryam; also, Latin derivatives bhrā, fra, monk, bhrāternālís, fraternal, bhrātérnitā, fraternity, bhrāternitiā, fraternize, kombhrấtēr, confrere, bhrātrikídiom, fratricide (the killing), bhrātrikídā, fratricide (the killer) .
120. For cénā, woman, wife, originally maybe "honoured woman", compare Gmc. kwenōn (cf. Goth. qino, O.N. kona, O.S. quan, O.E. cwene, O.H.G. quena, Eng. quean), Gk $ү v v \eta$, O.Ind. janis, gnā, Av. jainish, gənā, Pers. ز (zæn), Phryg. bonekos, Toch. śäṁ/śana, Arm. kin, O.Pruss. genno, O.C.S. žena, Russ. žena, Polish żona, Alb. zonjë, O.Ir. ben, Welsh benyw; Luw. wanatti. Derivatives include West Gmc. cénis, woman, wife, queen, as Gmc. kwēniz (cf. Goth. qéns, O.E. cwen, see "queen"), and Greek cńā [ $\left.{ }^{\mathrm{w}}{ }^{n} \mathrm{n}_{0}-\bar{a}\right]$, giving -cnā, -gyne, cno-, gyno-, -cnós, gynous, -cnia, -gyny, and derivatives with cnai-ko- (see a-declension in nouns for more on this special derivative, which appears also in Armenian, and which gives Mod.Gk. $\gamma v v \alpha i k \alpha$ ), gyneco-, as cnaikokratíā, gynecocracy, cnaikologíā, gynecology, etc., as well as V.Gk. $\gamma v v v i ́$, effeminate, etc.

For other IE derivatives meaning "woman, wife" compare:
I. Latin has:
I.A. From PIE dhē(i), suck, suckle, (also "produce, yield"), as dhémnā, woman, lit. "she who suckles", as Lat. femina (cf. Fr. femme, Rom. femeie, as Mod.Eng. female), dhēmnāinós, feminine, ekdhēmnā, effeminate, similar to dhélus, female, fruitful as Gk. $\theta \dot{\eta} \lambda v \varsigma$. Other derivatives from the same root include dhétos, pregnancy, childbearing, offspring, with adj. dhētós, -(á, -óm, pregnant; suffixed reduced dhēkuondós, fruitful, fecund; dhénom, hay (from "produce"), as Lat. fēnum, faenum; dhēl(l)ā, suck, as in dhēl(l)átiōn, fellatio; dhēlíks, fruitful, fertile, lucky, happy, as Lat. felix, as in dhēlīkitā, happiness, felicity, ṇdhēlīkitā, unhappiness, infelicity, dhēlīkitā, felicitate; dhēlá, mother's breast, nipple, as Gk. $\theta \eta \lambda \eta$, hence endodhēlā, endothelium, epidhēlá, epithelium, medhjodhēlá, mesothelium. Other derivatives include Gmc. dē-/dā- (Goth. daddjan, O.Swed. dia, O.H.G. tila), Skr. dhayati, dhayah, O.C.S. dojiti, dojilica, deti, Russ. demb, Pol. dzieję, O.Prus. dadan, Lith. dele, O.Ir. denaim, dinu.
I.B. From dómūnos, lord (cf. O.Ind. damūnas, Lat. dominos), is dómūnā, woman, woman in charge, lady, Lat. domina (cf. It. donna, Cat. dona, also found as Fr. dame, Spa. doña/dueña, Pt. dona), derived from dốmos, house, already seen. From Fr. dame are loan words as Nor. dame, Ger. Dame, etc. as well as Eng. madame, madam, ma’am, from O.Fr. ma dame, lit. "my lady", from L. mea domina (cf. It. madonna), MIE mā dómūn̄̄.
I.C. Lat. mulier (cf. Spa. mujer, Pt. mulher, Rom. muiere) is reconstructed as MIE mliếr. Although probably unrelated, compare melg, to milk (in parallel with the pair dhē-dhémnā), as in zero-grade mígè, to milk, as Lat. mulgēre; full grade mélg, to milk, as Gmc. melkan (cf. O.N. mjolka, O.E.,.O.H.G. melcan Du., Ger. melken),
and mélugs, milk, as Gmc. meluks (cf. Goth. miluks, O.N. mjölk, O.E. meoluc, milc, O.H.G. miluh, Du. melk, Ger. Milch); compare Lat. mulgeō, Gk. amelgō, Skr. marjati, Toch. malke/malkwer, Lith. melžti, Russ. molozivo, O.Ir. bligim, Welsh blith, Alb. mjelalso. Also, variant melks, milk, compare Gk. á $\mu \dot{\lambda} \lambda \gamma \omega$, Lith. malkas, melzu, Ltv. malks, O.C.S. млько, Russ. молоко, Polish mleko.
A similar (maybe related through an earlier zero-grade *-(m)ík-t-) PIE word is (ga)lakts, milk, as Gk. galakt-, Lat. lact-, also Hitt. galank, found in (ga)laktiós, milky, galaktikós, galactic, galáktiā, galaxy, etc.

PIE mélits (early ${ }^{*}$ mélh $_{1}-i t-$ ), honey, could be also originally related; compare Gmc. miliths (cf. Goth. milip, Eng. mildēaw, O.H.G. milltou, Eng. mildew, Ger. Mehltau), Lat. mel, Gk. melitos, Arm. metr, Gaul. Melissus, O.Ir. mil, Welsh,Cor. mel, Alb. mjal; Hitt. milit, Luw. mallit-, Palaic malit-.

And all the aforementioned PIE bases may have been originally (but unlikely) derived from root mel/mol (from older ${ }^{*}$ melh $_{1}$ ), to grind, rub, crush, with derivatives referring to various ground or crumbling substances. Common derivatives include méluōn, flour, meal, as Gmc. melwan (cf. Goth. malan, O.N. mala, O.E. melu, O.H.G. malan, Eng. meal, Ger. malen), mídā, soil, earth, as Gmc. muldō (cf. Goth. mulda, O.N. mold, O.Fris.,O.E. molde, O.H.G. molta); molá, millstone, mill (coarse meal customarily sprinkled on sacrificial animals), as in Lat. molere, which gives molāsís, molar, molínom, mill, moulin, enmolā, immolate, ekmolo, grind out, as in ekmoloméntom, emolument, gain, originally a miller's fee for grinding grain; suffixed mélijom, millet, as Lat. milium; suffixed variant málnios, hammer, mallet, Lat. malleus; zero-grade Greek míā, míos, millstone, mill; extended mlínos, pancake, as O.Russ. blinu. Also, compare Umb. kumaltu, Toch. malyw-/mely-, Arm. malem, Lith. malti, Ltv. malt, OCS melje, Russ. melju, Polish mleć, O.Ir. melim Welsh malu, Alb. miell; Hitt. mallanzi.

PIE root mel means also:
a. IE (s)mel, "soft", with derivatives referring to soft or softened materials of various kinds. Extended as meldo, melt, as Gmc. meltan; meldio, milt, as Gmc. miltja (cf. O.E., M.Du. milte), móldos, malt, as Gmc. maltaz (cf. O.N. malt, O.E. malt, mealt, Ger. Malz); suffixed variant mlédsnos, slime, as Gk. blennos; mldús, soft, as Lat. mollis; nasalized variant mlandós, smooth, caressing, flattering, soft-spoken, as Lat. blandus; variant form smeld, smelt, as Gmc. smelt (cf. O.E. smelt, smylt, O.H.G. smalz, M.Du, M.L.G. smelten, Ger. Schmelz, and O.Fr. esmail), also loan word (from a Gmc. source into It. smalto or Prov. esmalt), smáldos, smalt, enamel, glaze; extended meldhiós, mild, as Gmc. mildjaz (cf. Goth. mildiba, O.N. mildr, O.E. milde, O.Fris. milde, O.H.G. milti, Du. mild); máldhā, mixture of wax and pitch, as Gk. maltha; mélskos, mild, mellow, as Gmc. milskaz (cf. O.E. melisc, mylsc, Eng. mulch), mlakos, soft, as Gk. mlakós [ml-a-‘kos], soft, as Gk. $\mu \alpha \lambda \alpha \kappa o ́ s$, as in mlakologíā, malacology, osteomlákiā; Celtic móltōn, sheep, as O.Fr. moton into Eng. mutton; zerograde mlús, blunt, dull, dim, as Gk. amblus. Other derivatives include Skr. mrduh, Lat. molere, Gk. myle, O.C.S. mlato, also borrowing Finnish mallas.

English "soft" comes from O.E. softe "gentle, easy, comfortable", from W.Gmc. samfti, MIE from Gmc. samftijaz "level, even, smooth, gentle, soft" (cf. O.S. safti, O.H.G. semfti, Ger. sanft, M.Du. sachte, Du. zacht), MIE sombhtís, sombhtijós, from IE base som- "fitting, agreeable", as in modern English compound sombhtoworá, software.

For PIE wer, perceive, watch out for, compare (kom)worós, watchful, aware, alert, wary, as Gmc. (ga)waraz (cf. Goth. wars, O.N. varr, O.S. giwar, O.E. (ge)wær, O.H.G. giwar, M.Du. gheware, Eng. wary, Ger. gewahr); suffixed wórtos, guard, watching, keeper, as Gmc. wardaz (cf. O.S. ward, O.N. vörðr, O.E. weard, O.H.G. wart, also Fr.,Da. garde, Spa.,Pt. guarda, also into Eng. 'lord' and 'steward'), and wortā, guard, ward, as Gmc. wardōn (cf. O.N. varða, O.S. wardon, O.E. warian, wearian, O.Fris. wardia, O.H.G. warten, M.Du. waerden Ger. warten, O.N.Fr. warder, O.Fr. guarder); worắ, goods, protection, ware, as Gmc. waro (cf. O.E. waru, O.Fris. were, M.Du. were, M.H.G., Ger. ware, Du. waar, Swed. vara, Dan. vare), as in English loan translations sombhtoworấ, software, and kartuworấ, hardware (see kratós); also, suffixed wóruos, guard, as Gk. ouros; variant sworā, see, as Gk. horān, in panswóramn, panorama; suffixed werē, respect, feel awe for, as Lat. uerērī, in rewerē, revere.
b. MIE mel, strong, great, meliós, better (originally "stronger"), as Lat. melior, in meliosā, meliorate; suffixed zero-grade mltos, much, many, as Lat. multus; compare also Osc. moltam, Umbr. motar, mutu, Gk. mela, Ltv. milns.
c. IE mel, false, bad, wrong, gives Latin mális, ill, malós, bad, (< mali-chnós, harmful, from IE chen), as in malghábitos, malady, from mali-ghabitós, in poor condition (see ghabh), malấria, "bad air", malaria (from malấ-ấweriā), malidhaktốr, malefactor, malidhakós, malefic, etc.; zero-grade mls, into mlsbhāmós, "speaking evil", blaspheme (from bhā, speak); meliós, treacherous, as Av. mairiia-, into Eng. 'markhor'.

## II. Germanic has:

II.A. English "wife" is possibly from PIE nominal root ghwībhs, shame, pudenda, as Toch. kip/kwipe, "female pudenda", giving (gh)wíbhom, woman, wife, (with semantic weakening from the original meaning) from Gmc. wībam (cf. O.N. vif, O.S., O.Fris., O.E. wif, Dan., Swed. viv, M.Du. wijf, O.H.G. wib, Ger. Weib). Some reconstruct this root as ultimately from the same source as general IE cénā, woman.
English "woman" is an especial compound restricted to English and Dutch, lit. "woman-man", O.E. wīfmann, from wīf ('adult female', Eng. wife) and mann, later wimman (pl. wimmen), as Du. vrouwmens, "wife"; it was originally opposed to wæpen-mann, "weapon-man", male, with clear sexual overtones.
MIE wébnom, weapon, is the regular IE reconstruction of Gmc. wepnam (cf. O.S. wapan, O.N. vapn, Dan. vaaben, O.Fris. wepin, M.Du. wapen, O.H.G. waffen, Ger. Waffe), without known derivatives outside Germanic.
II.B. Indo-European prốwā, mistress, woman, gives Gmc. frawō (cf. O.H.G. frouwa, M.H.G. vrouwe, Ger. Frau, Du. vrouw, Yiddish froy), and comes from PIE per.
III.Common Hindustani aurat (cf. Urdu عورت, Hindi औ) comes from Pers. عورت, in turn from Arabic عَوْرت (imperfection), although the usual Persian word is zæn, from Indo-European cénā.
121. Proto-Indo-European ékwos may have been a suffixed form $\boldsymbol{e k u}$ - akin to the lengthened o-grade adjective ōkús, swift, fast (as Lat. ocior, ocius, Gk. ف̀kùs, Skr. āśús); compare Gmc. ekhwaz (cf. Goth. aiha, O.N. iór, O.Eng. eoh) Lat. equus, Gk. iлло̧, Skt. aśva, Av. asva-, Phryg. es', Pers. aspa/asb, Kamviri ušpa, Toch. yuk/yakwe; Old. Pruss. awinan, Lith. ašva, Gaul. epos, O.Ir. ech/each; Welsh ebol; Arm. ēš, Thrac. esvas, Venetic ekvon; Hitt. aśuwas Lyc. esbe-. Common words derived from Greek are ekwopótmos, hippopotamus (from Gk. pótmos, river, from pet, v.i.), lit. "river-horse", ekwokámpos, hippocampus, ekwodrómos (from Gk. סоó $\frac{1}{}$, racecourse), hippodrome, ekwogrū́ps, hippogriff(from It. grifo, Lat. gryphus, Gk. grūps).

For PIE pet, rush, fly, compare derivatives pétrā, feather, as Gmc. fethrō (cf O.N. fjöðr, O.E. feðer, M.Du. vedere, Ger. Feder), peto, go toward, seek, as Lat. petere, as in petítiōn, petolánts, petulant, adpeto, strive after, adpetítos, strong desire, appetite, kompeto, compete, enpeto, attack, énpetus, impetus, enpetuós, impetuous, repeto, repeat; pétnā, feather, wing, as Lat. penna, pinna, as in diminutive petnákolom, pinnacle; propetiós (in compound with pro-, forward), favorable, gracious, propitious, originally a religious term meaning "falling or rushing forward", hence "eager," "well-disposed" said of the gods; also, from alternative root pte-, ptérōn, feather, wing, and ptérūks, wing, as Gk. $\pi \tau \varepsilon \rho o v$, as in compounds ptero- and -pteros, pterūks; ptílōn, soft feathers, down, plume; pténos, winged, flying; reduplicate pipto, fall, and verbal adjective ptōtós, falling, fallen, and nominal derivatives ptótis, fall, ptosis, and ptốmn, a fall, fallen body, corpse, as in kompipto, converge, coincide, from which komptōtós, intersecting, and ṇkomptōtós, not intersecting, asymptote, and also kómptōmn, a happening, symptom of a disease; o-grade pótmos (in compound with Gk. suffix -amo-), "rushing water", river; péttrom, feather, leaf, as Skr. pattram.
Modern English "horse" comes from Gmc. khursaz (cf. O.Eng. hors, O.N. hross, O.Fris. hors, M.Du. ors, Du. ros, O.H.G. hros, Ger. Ro $\beta$ ), which has an uncertain origin; following Germanic phonetic changes it should be translated as MIE kŕsos, which is possibly related with PIE kers, run (cf. O.N. horskr, Lat. currere, Lith. karsiu, Celtic karr), hence maybe originally the same PIE word kŕsos, giving Celtic kárros, wagon.
122. For PIE gher, grasp, enclose, compare derivatives as verb ghrdhio, gird, girt, and noun ghrdhs, girdle, girth, as Gmc. gurd- (cf. O.N. gjördh, O.E. gyrdan, gyrdel); suffixed o-grade ghórtos (or Gmc. ghórdhos), enclosure, hence garden, pasture, field, as Gmc. gardaz (cf. Goth. gards, O.N. garðr, O.E. geard, O.Fris. garda, O.H.G. garto, Du. gaard), Lat. hortus, Gk. khortos, O.Ir. gort, Bret. garz, and also, with a wider meaning of house, village, town, city, compare Goth. garps and O.Ice. gerði, Phryg. -gordum, Gk. ко $\theta i \lambda \alpha \iota, ~ A l b . ~ g a r t h, ~-d h i, ~$ Toch. kerciye (from ghórdhiom), and (not satemized) O.Ind. gṛhás, Av. gərəđō, Lith. gar̃das, gardinỹs, O.C.S. градъ, Rus. город, -град, Pol. gród, hence Proto-Balto-Slavic gardŏs, suggesting an irregular evolution (for satemized Baltic forms, cf. O.Pruss. sardis, Ltv. zardi). Also, prefixed and suffixd zero-grade komghŕtis, enclosure, yard, company of soldiers, multitude, cohort, as Lat. cohors, cohortis, or cors, cortis, hence also court, as in komghrtisíā, courtesy, curtsy, or komghrtítiā, cortege, komghrtitiấnos, courtier, (from It. cortigiano) and komghrtitiấnā, courtesan; and Greek ghóros, dancing ground, dance, dramatic chorus, as in ghorấlis, choral, chorale (for Med.Lat. cantus chorālis, MIE ghorālís kántos), or ghorístā, chorister, etc.
123. Adjective swādús, sweet, pleasant, is the origin of Gk. ウंסvs, Skr. svādu, Av. $x^{w} \bar{a} s t a$, Toch. swār/swāre, Lith. sūdyti, Polish stodki, Gaul. Suadu, O.Ir. sant, Welsh chwant, and even of further suffixed *swāduís, delightful, as Lat. suāuis. Also, compare derivatives from PIE root swād-, as swādiós, sweet, as Gmc. swotijaz (cf. Goth. sutis, O.N. sötr, O.S. swoti, O.E. swēte, O.H.G. suozi, M.Du. soete, Eng. sweet, Ger. süß); swādē, advise, urge (<"recommend as good"), as in modern derivatives swấstiōn (<** swādtio-), advice, disswādē, perswādē; also, swấdōs, pleasure, aedes, as Gk. ضंסos, and further suffixed swādonā, pleasure, as Gk. ŋंסovń, giving modern derivatives swādonikós, hedonic, and swādonísmos, hedonism.
124. PIE root neqt- comes probably from an older verbal root nec, be dark, be night. Common words attested are usually from o-grade nóqts/nóqtis (but compare older Hitt. nekuz, maybe from IE II néqus), as Gmc. nakhts (cf. Goth. nahts, O.N. natt, O.E. niht, neaht, O.H.G. naht, O.Fris., Du., Ger. nacht), Lat. nox (stem noct-),

Gk. vvگ, Skr. nakti, Toch. nakcu/nekcīye, Old Prussian naktin, Lith. naktis, Ltv. nakts, O.C.S. nosti, Russ. ночь, Polish noc, O.Ir. innocht, Welsh nos, Alb. natë. Derivatives include nóqtuā, night owl; and suffixed plain verbal root necrós, black, as Lat. niger, as in denecrā, blacken, soil, hence denigrate.
125. For PIE mreghús, brief, compare zero-grade mrghijós, "short-lasting", hence pleasant, as Gmc. murgijaz (cf. Goth. gamaurgjan, O.E. myrige, O.H.G. murgi, Eng. merry), or extended *mreghuís, as Lat. brevis; compare also Gk. brakhus, Av. mərozujiti.
126. Indo-European kan, sing, gives Gmc. khannjo (cf. O.E. hana, O.H.G. henna, M.Du. henne), khan(e)nī (cf. O.E. hen, henn), Lat. canere, frequentative kantā, as Lat. cantāre, as in kantā́tā, adkántos, accent, enkantā, enchant, enkantắtiōn, incantation, enkántēiuos, incentive; suffixed kánā, singer; opskan, "one that sings before the augurs", as Lat. oscen, a singing bird used in divination; kánmēn, song, poem, charm, Lat. carmen. 127. Different PIE words for "ship, nave":
I.For Indo-European nấus/náwis, ship, nave, possibly from an earlier verbal root nau, swim, compare O.E. nōwend, ON nōr, Lat. nauis, Gk. vavs, Skr. nāu, Av. navāza, O.Pers. nāviyā, Arm. nav, Ir. nau, Welsh noe, Alb. anije, Osset. nau. Common derivatives include nawālís, naval, nawigā, navigate, náwigiom, ship, (pl. náwigia, ships, from which Eng. navy); from Gk. vavs, vaútŋs, are MIE náutā, sailor, mariner, nautikós, nautical, nautílos, sailor, nautilus, āweronáutā, aeuronaut (see wer, air), aqanáutā, aquanaut (see aqā, water), astronáutā, astronaut (see astér, star), kosmonáutā, cosmonaut (from Gk. kósmos, cosmos).
I.1. The English term "mariner" comes from PIE móris, sea, lake, pond, as Gmc. mariz (cf. Goth. marei, O.N. marr, O.E. mere, O.H.G. marī, M.Du. meer, Ger. Meer), Lat. mare, Skr. maryādā, O.Pruss. mary, Lith. marios, Ltv. mare, O.C.S. morje, Russ. more, Polish morze, Gaul. (Are)morici, O.Ir. muir, Welsh môr, Alb. përmjerr; giving derivatives móriskos, marsh, water-logged land, as Gmc. mariskaz (cf. O.E. mersc, merisc, O.Fr. maresc, mareis, Du. mars, Ger. Marsch); morinós, marine, moriqéltosā, mariculture, oltrāmorinós, ultramarine.
I.2. For IE áwis (earlier *h $\left.h_{2} e w i s\right), ~ b i r d, ~ c o m p a r e ~ L a t . ~ a v i s, ~ U m b . ~ a v i f, ~ G k . ~ a e t o s, ~ S k r . ~ v i s, ~ A v . ~ v i ̄ s ̌, ~ A r m . ~ h a v, ~ L i t h . ~$ višta, Ltv. vista, Ir. aoi, Welsh hwyad; derivatives include awiāsiós, aviary, awiqéltosā, aviculture, awiátiōn, aviation, and MIE loan word for aeroplane, awión (cf. Fr. avion, Spa. avión, Pt. avião, Rom.,Slo. avion); awispéks, augur, auspice ("observer of birds", see spek, observe).
Possibly from o-grade are ówjom, egg (alsoa alternative form ójjom, both from earlier ${ }^{*} h_{1} o ́ h_{2} w i o m$ ), as Gmc. ajjam (cf. Goth. ada, O.N. egg, O.E. $\bar{æ} g, ~ O . H . G . ~ e i, ~ E n g . ~[c o c k n] e y) ~ L a t . ~ o ̄ u u m, ~ G k . ~ o ̄ i o n, ~ P e r s . ~ x a ̄ y a h, ~ K u r d . ~ h e ́ k, ~$ Arm. dzu, O.C.S. ajǐse, Rus. jajco, Ir. ubh, Welsh $\hat{w} y$, Bret. ui, Alb. ve,vo. From Latin are owjalís, oval, ówjolos, ovule, ovolo, or owjásios, ovary; from dim. owjókos, O.Ira. āvyakah, are MIE 'partial' loan word owjá́r or 'full' loan word kawjáar, caviar, from M.Pers. khāvyar, through Turkish into French caviar.

For "aeroplane", different words exist in MIE, as loan words (from English using Latin words) āweroplánom, from áàèr+plánom (cf. Lat. aeroplanum, Eng. airplane, Gk. aع $\rho o \pi \lambda \alpha \dot{\alpha} v o$, It.,Spa.,Pt. aeroplano, Lith. aeroplanas, Russ. аэроплан, Pol. aeroplan, Alb. aeroplan, even Saami jarplan, Hebrew ăvirōn, etc.), Germanic pleukomāghanā, from pléuk+māghanā (cf. Ger. Flugmaschine, Da. flyvemaskine, flyver, Swe. flygmaskin, Fris. fleanmasine) or plánom (cf. Swe. [flyg]plan, Eng. plane), Balto-Slavic [somo]lékts (m., cf. Lith. lèktuvas, Russ. самолёт, Ukr. літак, Pol. samolot, Cz. letadlo, letoun, Slk. lietadlo, Bulg. самолет, Slo. letalo).

An Indo-European root (á)wer, raise, lift, hold suspended, older ${ }^{*} h_{2} w e r$, is reconstructed for different Greek derivatives: awero, raise, and awrtériā, windpipe, artery, also metáworos, meteor, "lifted in the air" (from méta-, meta-, and -aworós, lifted), Gk. $\mu \varepsilon \tau \varepsilon ́ \omega \rho \circ \varsigma$; áwēr, air (from lengthened āwer-), as in āweriālís, aerial, or maláááweriā, malaria, lit. "bad air" (see Lat. malós, bad); zero-grade áurā, breath, vapor, aura.

For Indo-European pleu, flow, compare metathesized Lat. pluere, rain, as in plewiós, rainy, pluvious, plewiālís, pluvial; Greek pléutis, sailing, pleusis; zero-grade suffixed plúos, trough, basin, dissimilated in Greek pyelos; suffixed pléumōn, "floater", lung, as Lat. pulm (from plumon), Gk. pneumōn (influenced by pneu, "breath"), Skr. kloman, O.Pruss. plauti, Lith. plaučiai, Ltv. plaušas, Russ. pljuče, Serb. pluća, as in pleumonós/pleumonāsiós, pulmonary, or pleumoníā, pneumonia; o-grade plóutos, wealth, riches (<"overflowing"), as in ploutokratíā, plutocracy (see kratos), as Gk. ллочтократía; o-grade lengthened plōwo, flow, as Gmc. flōwan (cf. O.N. floa, O.E. flōwan, O.H.G. flouwen, Du. vloeien), suffixed plốtus, flowing water, deluge, flood, as Gmc. flōthuz (cf. Goth. fiodus, O.N. floð, O.E. flōd, O.Fris. flod, M.Du. vloet, Ger. Flut); extended pleuko, soar through air, fly, also swim, as Gmc. fleugan (cf. O.N. flügja, O.E. flēogan, O.H.G. fliogan, M.Du. vlieghen, Ger. fliegen), Lith. plaukiu, and pléukā, fly, flying insect, as Gmc. fleugōn (cf. O.S. fleiga, O.N. fluga, O.E. flēoge, M.Du. vlieghe, Ger. Fliege), and also maybe pleuko, flee, take flight, as Gmc. fleukhan (cf. O.N. flöja, O.E. flēon, O.H.G. fliohan, Du. vlieden, Ger. fliehen, although sometimes reconstructed as Gmc. thleukhan, as Goth. pliuhan, then later influenced by this root), causative ploukio, put to flight, as Gmc. flaugjan (cf. O.E. flygan, flegan, Eng. fley), pléukikā, arrow, from Gmc. fleugika (cf. Frankish into O.Fr. flèche, It. freccia, Spa.,Pt. flecha); zero-grade plúktis, flight, as Gmc. flugtiz (cf. O.E. flyht, fluht, Low Ger. flugt, Ger. Flucht); also plúgos, bird, dissimilated as Gmc. fuglaz (cf. Gothic fugls, O.E. fugol, O.N. fugl, M.Du. voghel, Ger. vogel, Goth. fugls), also in plúgilos, wing, as Gmc. flugilaz (cf. M.H.G. vlügel, Ger. Flügel); extended pleudo, float, swim, as Gmc. fleutan (cf. O.E. flēotan), and pléutos, fleet, swift, as Gmc. fleutaz (cf. O.N. fljōtr, O.E. fleot), also as zero-grade plud(i)o, float, as Gmc. flotōn (cf. O.E. flotian, Fr. flotter, Spa. flotar, also from same root Lith. plaukti, Du. vloeien),

PIE pneu, breath, is probably an imitative root, which appears in pneuso, sneeze, as Gmc. fneusan (cf. O.N. fnysa, O.E. fnēosan, O.H.G. fnehan, Eng. sneeze), zero-grade pnus(k)o, sneezing, snore, as Gmc. fnus(k)an (affected by rhotacism, cf. O.E. fnora, similar to M.H.G. snarchen, Du. snorken, Ger. schnarchen, Swed. snarka), and variant pneso, snort, gnash one’s teeth, as Gmc. fnesan (cf. O.E. fnæ̈ran, Eng. sneer). Modern Greek derivatives include o-grade pnówiā, -pnowiā, breathing, and pnowá, breath, as in ṇpnówiā, apnea, (a)supnówiā, eupnea, superpnówiā, hyperpnea, supopnówiā, hypopnea, etc.; also, pnéumn, breath, wind, spirit, as in pneumo-, pneumnto-.

Also, a Modern Indo-European reconstructed lúptus, air, sky, is the source of Gmc. luftuz (cf. Goth. luftus, O.E. lyft, O.N. lopt, O.H.G. luft, Du. lucht).

For magh, be able, have power, compare Gmc. magan (cf. Goth. magan, O.N. mega, O.E. magan, O.H.G. magan, Ger. mögen, Eng. may, also into V.Lat. exmagāre, MIE [d]eksmaghā, "deprive of power", frighten, O.Fr. esmaier, Anglo-Norman desmaiier, Eng. dismay, Spa. desmayar), Att.Gk. $\mu \tilde{\eta} \chi o s$, Dor.Gk. $\mu a ̃ \chi o s, ~ S k r$. magha, Toch. mokats, Arm. mart'ans, Lith. mãgulas, magùs, mégstu, mégti Ltv. megt, Sla. mogo, mogti, (cf. O.C.S. могж, мошти, O.Russ. могу, мочи, Russ. мочъ, Pol. móc, moge, Sr.-Cr. могy, моћи, Cz. mohu, můžeš,
moci); mághtis, power, as Gmc. mahtiz (cf. Goth. mahts, O.N. mattr, O.E. miht, meaht, O.Fris., M.Du. macht, Ger. Macht, Eng. might), mághinom, power, strenght, as Gmc. maginam (cf. O.E. mægen, O.N. megenn, Eng. main); suffixed lengthened māghaná, machine, device, "that which enables", from Att.Gk. $\mu \eta \chi \alpha v \eta$, Dor.Gk.
 $\boldsymbol{m a ̄} \boldsymbol{g h a n o -}$; suffixed mághus, magus, member of a priestly caste, magician, (from "mighty one"), as O.Pers. maguš (said by ancient historians to have been originally the name of a Median tribe, borrowed into Gk. $\mu \mathrm{a} \gamma \mathrm{y}$ and then into Lat. magus), as in maghikós, magic, or mághikā, sorcery, magic, (as O.Fr. magique, from Lat. magice, from Gk. magikē, fem. of magikos) or Mághes, Magi.

Common MIE lekto, fly (cf. O.C.S. летьти, лештж, Russ. лететь, Pol. lecieć, lecę, also O.C.S. льтати, Russ. летать Pol. latać), and noun lekts, "flyer", airplane, (cf. Russ. лëm, Sr.-Cr.,Slo. lèt, Pol. lot, Cz. let) is reconstructed for Balto-Slavic common words, cf. Lith. lekiù, lẽkti, lakstýti, Ltv. lèkt, lęcu, lècu, lękat; compare also O.H.G. lecken, Nor. lakka, Ger. löcken, Lat. lōcusta, Gk. $\lambda \eta \kappa a ̃ v, ~ \lambda \dot{a} \xi, ~ \lambda \alpha \kappa \tau i \zeta \omega . ~$
I.3. PIE (a)stếr, earlier ${ }^{*} h_{2} s t e r$, is found in Gk. áotń ${ }^{\prime}$, asterískos, asterisk, asterowéidà, asteorid (in compound with Gk. -o-عı$\delta \eta s$, IE -o-weid $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$, from wéidos, shape, form, from weid, see, know) as Gk. áбтє $\rho о \varepsilon \imath \delta$ ńs, astro-, as Gk. áo兀 $\rho o-$, astrālís, astral, ástrom, as Gk. astron, into Lat. astrum, as in disástrom, disaster; suffixed stersā, Gmc. sterzōn (cf. Goth. stairno, O.S. sterro, O.N. stjarna, O.E. steorra, O.Fris. stera, O.H.G. sterro, Du. ster, Ger. Stern), stérlā, as Lat. stēlla, as in sterlalís, stellar, komsterlátiōn, constellation. Also, compare Skr. tāras, stṛbhis, Pers. setāre, Kurd. stérk/estére, Oss. sthaly, Toch. śre/śćirye, Arm. astl, Welsh seren, Kam. ṛâšto, Hitt. šittar.
II. Indo-European bheid, split, as Gmc. bītan (cf. Goth. beitan, O.E. bītan, O.Fris. bita, M.Du. biten, Ger. beissen), zero-grade bhídis, bite, sting, as Gmc. bitiz (cf. O.E. bite), or bhídā, bit, a pice bitten off, as Gmc. bitōn (cf. O.N. biti, O.E. bite, bita), bhidhrós, bitter, sharp, as O.E. bit(t)er, bhoidhio, harass or hunt with dogs, as Eng. bait or abet , Gmc. baitjan (cf. O.N. beita, O.Fr. beter), bhóids, boat (<"dugout canoe" or "split planking"), as Gmc. bait- (cf. O.E. bāt, Ger., Du. boot, Da.,Nor.,Swe. båt, also O.Fr. batel, Fr. bateau, It. battello, Spa. bote, Sco. bàta, Welsh bad, Hi. pot, even Estonian paat, Japanese bōto, etc.); also nasalized zero-grade bhindo, split, as Lat. findere, with p.part. bhistós (<* bhidto-) giving bhístiōn, fission, bhistṓsā, fissure.
III.Greek baris "Egyptian boat", from Coptic bari "small boat", was adopted as bár(i)kā in Latin, as O.Fr. barge (from M.L. barga, and into Bret. bag, Eng. barge), Gk. $\beta \dot{\alpha} \rho \kappa \alpha$, It. barca, Spa., Pt. barco, barca, Rom. barcă, Alb. varkë, Slo. barka.
IV. Germanic "ship" is reconstructed as MIE skibs, ship, boat, from Gmc. skip- (cf. O.N., O.S., Goth. skip, O.E., M.Du. scip, O.H.G. skif, Dan. skib, Swed. skepp, Du. schip, Ger. Schiff, Yid. shif), possibly a zero-grade extended derivative from skei (in turn derived from PIE sek), cut, split, giving suffixed skéinā, shin, shinbone, (as O.E. scinu), or ekskéinā, backbone, chine, as O.Fr. eschine; from Lat. scire, "know" (from "separate one thing from nother, discern"), are MIE skejéntia, knowledge, learning, science, komskejéntiā, conscience, inchoative skeisko, vote for, giving skéitom, decree, from which pledhuweskéitom, plebiscite (see plēdhūs, people); skíjenā, knife, as O.Ir. scīan, Eng. skean; skeido, separate, defecate, as Gmc. skītan (cf. O.N. skīta, O.E. scītan, O.H.G. skīzzan, Eng. shīt); skidio, split, as (aspirated) Gk. $\sigma \chi \iota \zeta \varepsilon \imath$, found in skísmn, schism, skidio-, schizo-; nasalized zero-grade skindo, split, as Lat. scindere, p.part. skistós (<* skidto-), in skístiōn, scission, also in
ekskindo, exscind, prāiskindo, prescind, reskindo, rescind; extended skeito, separate, as Gmc. skaithan (cf. Goth. skaidan, O.S. skethan, O.E. scēadan, scadan, O.Fris. sketha, M.Du. sceiden, O.H.G. sceidan, Du. scheiden, Ger. scheiden), skéitom, log, stick, snowshoe, hence ski, as O.N. skīdh, from Gmc. skīdam, also as MIE loan word $\boldsymbol{s k i}(\boldsymbol{t})$; skóitom, shield (<"board"), as Lat. scūtum; extended skeipo, slice, split, as Gmc. skīfan, as in O.N. skïfa, M.E. sheve, M.L.G. schever, Eng. sheave, skive, shiver.
V. For Slavic "lod-" (cf. O.C.S. алъдии, ладии, O.Russ. лодъя, лодъка, Ukr. лодъ, Bel. ло́дка, Pol. łódź, Cz. lod’, lodí, Sr.-Cr. lađa, Slo. ládja, Bul. лádr) a common Slavic oldī, MIE óldīs, is reconstructed (cf. Lith. aldijà, eldijà), also attested as O.E. ealdođ, "alviolum", Swe. ålla, Da. aalde, olde, Nor. olda, dial. olle.
VI.Common Greek loan words for "boat", also "crab, beetle", are karábiōn, as Gk. kapá $\beta$ ıov, borrowed in O.C.S., Russ. кораблъ, O.Pol. korabia, Ukr. корабелъ, Slk. koráb, Sr.-Cr. korab, корабаљ, also Rom. caraban, also kárabos, as Gk. kápaßos, borrowed in Lat. carabus (cf. Fr. caravelle, It. caravella, Spa. carabela, Pt. caravela,), Alb. karabishte, even Arab qārib, as well as (probably) skarabáios, scarab, as V.Lat. scarabaius (cf. Fr. scarabée, It. scarabeo, Spa. scarabajo, Pt. escaravelho, also in Gk. Гка $\alpha \beta \alpha i o \varsigma, ~ R u s s ., B u l . ~ с к а р а б е и ̆, ~ S r .-C r . ~$ skarabej, etc.). Probably unrelated to Eng. "crab", from IE gerbh, "scratch".
 Indo-Iranian kath, "wood", MIE kadh, kástis (<** kadhti-), possibly non-IE, but maybe a secondary root derived from an earlier * $\boldsymbol{k a}$-, related to forest, wood; compare with Indo-European roots kat- ("hut", cf. Lat. casa, Av. kata-, Pers. kad, v.s.), kaito- ("forest", v.i) and kald- ("wood", as O.C.S. klada "beam, timber", Gk. klados "twig", O.Ir. caill "wood", and zero-grade kídom, Gmc. khultam, cf. O.E.,O.Fris., M.Du. holt, O.H.G. holz)
Indo-European root kaito-, forest, uncultivated land, also wood, is attested (in Celtic and Germanic) as Gaul. kaito-briga (Lat. cēto-briga), O.Welsh coit, O.Cor. cuit, Bret. coet, and also from káitis, Gmc. khaithis (cf. Goth. haipi, O.N. heiðr, O.E. hæðð, O.H.G. heida, Eng. heath, Ger. heide), and loan-translated Germanic káitinos, heathen, as Gmc. khaithinaz (cf. Goth. haipnō, O.N. heiðinn, O.E. hæððen, O.H.G. heidan), from Lat. paganus, from Lat. pagus, "land".
Proto-Indo-European pag, also pak, fasten, gives pakio, join, fit, as gmc. fōgjan (cf. O.E. fêgan, Eng. fay), nasalized panko, seize, as Gmc. panhan (cf. O.E. fang, feng, Du. vangen, O.H.G. fangen), and pango, fasten, as Lat. pangere, as in enpango, impinge, or loan words kompagtós, compact, enpágtos, impact; pāks, peace (from "a binding together by treaty or agreement"), as Lat. pax, in pakidhakā, pacify, pakidhakós, pacific; pakisko, agree, as Lat. pacīscī, as paktós, agreed, páktom, pact; pákslos, stake (fixed in the ground), pole, as Lat. pālus, in MIE pákslikiā, palisade (from V.Lat. pāl̄̄cea, into Prov. palissada, Fr. palissade, Spa. palizada), enpakslā, impale, tripaksliā, work hard (from tripáksliom, instrument of torture, from tri-paksli, having three stakes, Lat. tripaliāre, Fr. travailler, It. travagliare, Spa. trabajar, Pt. trabalhar, Cat. treballar, Filipino trabaho, etc., also Eng. travel, from Fr. travail); loan pákslā, spade, as Lat. pāla; lengthened-grade pắgos, "boundary staked out on the ground," district, village, country (cf. Fr. pays, It. paese, Pt.,Spa.,Cat. país, Rom. pajais), as in pāgānós, country-dweller, civilian, then extended as pagan, and pāgénts, inhabitant of a district (as Lat. pāgēnsis, M.Fr. paisant, Eng. peasant, Spa. paisano, Cat. pagès, etc.), pắginā, "trellis to which a row of vines is fixed", hence (by metaphor) column of writing, page, as Lat. pāgina; prōpāgā, propagate (from "fix
before", with prō-, before); pagno, fasten, coagulate, as in pāgtós, coagulated, Gk. лךктós, or pāgtinā, pectin, and págos, mass, hill.
VIII.Common Slavic word cheln, "boat", (cf. Russ. челн, Ukr. човен, Cz. člun, Slk. čln, Slo. čoln), MIE tsheln, was the name used by the Cossacks of Zaporizhian Sich within the first military campaigns of the Russian Navy against the Tatars and Turks, using sailboats and rowboats, in the $16^{\text {th }}-17^{\text {th }}$ centuries.
IX.Persian qayeq and Greek кגïкı, "boat", are from a source akin to French caique, It. caicco, i.e. probably Turkish kayik, O.Turkish qayghug, maybe from an old Turkic (or otherwise old Asian) word, possibly related to American Indian kayak, and American Spanish cayuco. Hence, MIE kájik, boat, caique, kájak, kayak.
A PIE root similar (but unrelated) to these non-IE words is kaikós, blind, as Goth. haihs, Lat. caecus, Gk. kaikias, Skr. kekara, Lith. keikti, Polish Kajko, O.Ir. caech, Welsh coeg.
A common Iberian word for "bat" is MIE kaikomūs, "blind mouse" (cf. Gl.-Pt. morcego, Spa. murciégalo, Cat. muricec), from PIE mūs, mouse, Gmc. mūs (cf. O.N.,O.Fris., M.Du., O.E., O.H.G. mūs, Eng. mouse, Ger. Maus),
 mysz, Alb. mi, Kamviri musa. Compare for MIE pleukomūs, lektomūs, "flying mouse", as Da. flagermus, Nor. flaggermus, Swe. fladdermus, Fae. flogmús, Du. vleermuis, Ger. Fledermaus, Russ. летучая мышь, Bel. лятучая мыщ,; cf. also Sr.-Cr. slepi miš, šišmiš, etc. Also, cf. words for night, Gk. vvұтєpißa, Lat. uespertilio.
X. Persian jahāz, also found in Hindustani (cf. Hi. जहाज, जहाज़, Ur. جهاز), is of Arabic origin.
XI.English vessel comes from O.Fr. vessel, in turn from V.Lat. uascellum "small vase or urn", also "a ship" (cf. Fr. vaisseau, It. vascello, Cat. vaixell, Spa. bajel, and, from Lat. pl.n. uascēlla, Spa. vajilla, Pt. baixela), dim. of uasculum, itself a dim. of uās "vessel" (cf. Fr. vase, It.,Spa.,Pt. vaso, Cat. vas), hence MIE loan words wās, vessel, vase, wáskolom, vessel, ship.
128. Indo-European words for "war, battle":
I.A common PIE word seems to have been kóros, war, strife, as O.Pers. kāra, Pers. kārzār, Kurd. šer, O.Pruss. kargis, Lith. karas, Ltv. kaŗš, Russ. кapa, Pol. kara; with derivatives kórios, armed force, war-band, host, army, troop, as Gmc. kharjaz (cf. Goth. harjis, O.N. herr, O.E. here, O.H.G. heri, Eng. heriot, Ger. Heer), Lith. karias, Gaul. [Tri]corii,O.Ir. cuire; koriános, ruler, leader, commander, as Gk. koiranos; koriobhérghos, "army hill", hill-fort, later shelter, lodging, army quarters, as Gmc. kharjabergaz (cf. O.N. herbergi, O.E. herebeorg, Du. herberg, Ger. Herberge, Swedish härbärge; meaning shift in Eng. harbor, into Welsh harbwr, see bhergh, v.i. for Germanic haven, "harbour"); koriowóldhos, army-commander, herald (woldho, rule, power, see wal), as Gmc. kharja-waldaz (cf. Anglo-Norman herald, Ger. [Wappen]herold, Fr. héraut, It. araldo, Spa. heraldo, Pt. arauto, etc.), korionéstom, "army provisions", harness (from néstom, food for a journey, see nes), as Gmc. kharja-nestam (cf. O.Fr. harneis, Eng. harness); denominative korio, harry, ravage, plunder, raid, as Gmc. kharjōn (cf. O.E. hergian); korikrénghos, "host-ring", assembly, public square (krénghos, ring, see sker), as Gmc. kharihring (cf. O.It. aringo, arringa, Prov. arenga, Eng. harangue, Spa. arenga, etc.).
I.1. PIE wal, be strong, is found as suffixed stative walē, Lat. ualēre, as in walós, strong, wálōs, strength, komtrāwálōs, countervail, walénts, brave, valiant, waléntiā, valence, ambhiwaléntiā, ambivalence, walidós, valid, ṇwalidós, invalid, adwális, avail (from Fr. aval), komwalēsko, convalesce, ekwaluā, evaluate, prāiwalē, prevail, walideiko, say farewell, (see deik, show), walidéiktiōn, valediction, aiqiwalē,
have equal force (as Lat. aequi-, Eng. equi-), aiqiwalénts, equivalent; extended o-grade woldho, rule, govern, as Gmc. waldan (cf. O.S., Goth. waldan, O.N. valda, O.E. wealdan, wieldan, O.Fris. walda, O.H.G. waltan, Ger. walten, Eng. wield), and suffixed wólstis (<* wold-ti-), rule, as Sla. volstъ (cf. O.C.S. vlasti, Russ. волость, власть), as in opwólstis, oblast, Sla. ob- volstь (cf. O.C.S. область, O.Russ. оболость, Cz. oblast, etc.).
PIE verbal root deik, show, pronounce solemnly, gives Lat. dīcere, say, tell, as in borrowings déiktiōn, diction, deiktā, dictate, déiktātos, dictate, déiktom, dictum, addeiktós, addict, dwenideiko (see dwenós, good), bless, dwenēdéiktiōn, benediction, komdéikiōn, condition, komtrādeiko, contradict, ekdeiko, edict, enterdéiktom, interdict, jowosesdeikós, juridicial, (Lat. iūs, iūris, corresponds to MIE jówos, jowosés, see rhotacism), jowosesdéiktion, jurisdiction, malideiko, maledict, prāideiko, predict, wērideiko, "tell the truth" (see wērós, true), wērideikós, veridical, wēridéiktos, verdict; suffixed zero-grade verb dikā, proclaim, Lat. dicāre, as in apdikā, abdicate, dedikā, dedicate, prāidikā, predicate; agential sufix -dik-, in éndiks, index, indicator, forefinger, endikā, indicate, also jówosdiks, judge, Lat. iūdex, jowosdikiālís, judicial, prāijowosdikā, prejudge, prāījowosdíkiom, prejudice; wíndīks, surety, claimant, avenger, as Lat. uindex, as in windīk̄̄, vindicate, avenge, take revenge; deikno, show, déikmn, sample, pattern, as in deíktis, deixis, deiktikós, deictic, paradéikmn, paradigm, apódeiktis, proof, demonstration, policy (cf. Gk. áлóסcıక̆૬, into Lat. apodixa, "receipt", then It. polizza, into Fr. police, Spa. póliza, etc.); zero-grade díkā, justice, right, court case, as in komdikós, syndic, as Gk. oúvסıкos, dhesodíkā, theodicy, and diko, throw (from "direct an object"), as in dikskos, disk, Gk. סírkos; o-grade doikuā, toe ("pointer"), as Gmc. taihwo (cf. O.N. ta, O.E. tahe, O.Fris. tane, O.H.G. zecha, M.Du. te). Variant form deig- gives o-grade doigio, show, instruct, as Gmc. taikjan (cf. Goth. ga-teihan, O.E. tǣcan, O.H.G. zihan, Eng. teach, Ger. zeihen), dóignom, mark, sign, token, as Gmc. taiknam (cf. Goth. taikns, O.S. tekan, O.N. teikn, O.E. tācen, tācn, O.H.G. zeihhan, O.Fris., M.Du. teken, Du. teken, Ger. zeichen), zero-grade dígitos, finger (from "pointer, indicator").
Indo-European wērós (earlier *werh ${ }_{1}-O_{-}$), true, trustworthy, and wérā, faithfulness, faith, hence pledge, agreement, promise, treaty, gives Gmc. wēro- (cf. O.E. w̄̄̄r, O.Du., O.H.G. war, Du. waar, Ger. wahr), Lat. verax (cf. O.Fr. verai, Anglo-Fr. verrai, O.E. verray, Eng. very), O.C.S. въра, Russ. вера, Pol. wiara, Bul. вяра, Welsh gwyr, O.Ir. fir. Derivatives include wēráks, truthful, veracious, wéritā, verity, wēridhakā, verify, etc.
I.2. PIE nes, turn out well, rest, return safely home, gives O.Gk. nehomai (*ninsomai), O.Ind. nasate, Toch. nas-/nes-; also, suffixed néstom, food for a journey, as Gmc. nestam (cf. O.E., O.H.G., O.N. nest), as in korionéstom, harness (for kóros, war, v.s.); o-grade nóstos, a return home, as Gk. vóotos, found in common nostalgíā, in compound with Gk. borrowing -algíā, Gk. a $\lambda$ yía, from álgos, pain, Gk. ä $\lambda$ yos.
I.3. PIE (s)ker, turn, bend, gives Germanic nasalized extended skreng, wither, shrivel up, as Gmc. skrink, kréngā, a crease, fold, (cf. O.N. hrukka, Eng. ruck), and krengio, wrinkle (cf. Frank. hrukjan, O.Fr. fronce, Eng. flounce), as Gmc. khrunk-; nasalized extended krénghos, circle, something curved, ring, as Gmc. khringaz, (cf. O.E. hring, O.N. hringr, O.Fris. hring, M.Du. rinc, Ger. Ring), also found in O.Fr. renc, reng, "line, row", which gives loan words krenghs, rank, range, adkrengho, arrange; extended kreukios, back, as Gmc. khrugjaz (cf. O.N. hryggr, O.E. hrycg, O.Fris. hregg, O.S. hruggi, O.H.G. hrukki, Du. rug, Eng. ridge, Ger. Rücken); suffixed variant kurwós, bent, curved, as Lat. curuus, as in kúrwā, curve, kurwatós, curved, or kurwatósā, curvature; suffixed extended krísnis, hair, as Lat. crīnis, krístā, tuft, crest, as Lat. crista, kripsós, curly, as
metathesized Lat. crispus, hence MIE krispós, crisp; expressive krisā, wiggle the hips during copulation, as Lat. crīsāre, in krísom, crissum; reduplicated kíkros, ring (metathesized as *kirkos in Latin), also circus, kíkrolos, circle, kikrom-, circum-, kíkrā, go around, hence search, rekikrā, research; suffixed o-grade korōnós, curved, as in korốnā, anything curved, kind of crown; variant kurtós, convex, as in kurtósis.
Another similar PIE root is (s)ker, cut, also "shear, separate" as in Gmc. skeran (cf. O.E. scieran, sceran, Low Ger.,Du. scheren, Eng. shear, sheer), Gk. keirein, Skr. krnati, krntati, Lith. skiriu, O.Ir. scaraim, Welsh ysgar, ysgyr, Hitt. karsh; skéros, share, portion, division, as Gmc. skeraz (cf. O.N. skör, O.E. scēar, scearu, scaru, O.H.G. scara , Ger. Schar); skérā, scissors, as O.E. scēar, in skērbhérghs, "sword protector", scabbard, as Gmc. skerberg (cf. O.H.G. scarberc, O.Fr escauberc, see bhergh); skŕā, notch, tally, score, from Gmc. skuro (cf. O.N. skor, O.E. scoru); skóriom, low reef ("something cut off"), as Gmc. skarjam (cf. O.N sker, Eng. scar, skerry), skórpos, diagonally-cut end of a board, as Gmc. skarfaz (cf. O.N. skarfr, Eng. scarf), suffixed o-grade skórdos, cut, notch, as Gmc. skardaz (cf. O.E. sceard, Eng. shard); skrdós, short, and skídos, skirt, shirt ("cut piece"), as Gmc. skurtaz (cf. O.N. skyrta, Swed. skjorta, O.E. scort, sceort; scyrte, M.Du. scorte, M.H.G. schurz, Du. schort, Ger. Schurz); extended skermo, protect, as Gmc. skirman (cf. O.H.G. skirmen, O.Fr. eskermir), as in MIE skérmā, skirmish (cf. Eng. skirmish, Du. schermutseling, Swe. skärmytsling, O.It. scaramuccia, Spa. escaramuza, etc.), skérmos, shield; variant form kórōn, flesh, as Lat. caro (stem carn-), as in koronālís, carnal, koronátiōn, carnation, koron(es)lechális, carnival, (cf. O.It. carnevale, haplology from Lat. carneleuare) also MIE partial loan karnichális, koroniuorós, carnivorous; kóriom, leather (from "piece of hide"), as Lat. corium; krtós, short, as Lat. curtus; Greek kórmos, trimmed tree trunk, kóris, bedbug (from "cutter"); skŕā, shore, as Gmc. skurō (cf. O.E. scora, M.L.G. schor, M.Du. scorre); kórteks, bark ("that which can be cut off"); kértsnā, meal ("portion of food), as Lat. cēna; skerbhós, cutting, sharp, as Gmc. skarpaz (cf. Goth. skarp-, O.S. scarp, O.N. skarpr, O.E. scearp, O.Fris. skerp, Du. scherp, Ger. scharf), skróbā, "pieces", remains, as Gmc. skrapo, skróbho, scrape, as Gmc. skraban, skróbis, trench, dith, as Lat. scrobis, or skrốbhā, a sow (from "rooter, digger"), as Lat. scrōfa; extended suffixed epikrsiós, at an angle, slanted, "biased", as Gk. epikarsios (cf. Fr. biais, Eng. bias).
I.4. Germanic "haven" comes from IE kápnā, harbour, perhaps "place that holds ships", from P.Gmc. *khafnō (cf. O.N. hofn, O.E. hæfen, M.L.G. havene, Ger. Hafen, also O.N. haf, O.E. hæf, "sea"), from PIE kap, grasp (compare with ghabh) cf. Skr. kapati, Gk. kaptein, Ltv. kampiu, O.Ir. cacht, Welsh caeth. Common derivatives include káptiom, handle, as Gmc. khaftjam (cf. O.E. hæft, O.H.G. hefti, Du. hecht, Eng. haft, Ger. Heft); basic form kap, have, hold, as Gmc. khabb- (cf. Goth. haban, O.N. hafa, O.S. hebbjan, O.E. habban, O.Fris. habba, Eng. have, Ger. haben); kapigós, "containing something", having weight, heavy, as Gmc. khafigaz (cf. cf. O.N. hebig, O.E. hefig); kápokos, hawk, as Gmc. khabukaz (cf. O.N. haukr, O.E. h[e]afoc, M.Du. havik, Ger. Habicht, compare with Russ. kobec); -kaps, "taker", as Lat. -ceps; kapio, take, seize, catch, lift, as Gmc. hafjan (cf. Goth. hafjan, O.N. hefja, O.E. hebban, Du. heffen, Ger. heben), Lat. capere, as in kapắks, capable, capacious, káptiōn, caption, kaptēiuā, captivate, kaptēiuós, captive, kaptós, captive, kaptốr, captor, kaptosā, capture, antikapio, anticipate, komkapio, conceive, dekapio, deceive, ekskapio, except, enkapio, incept, enterkapio, intercept, preismkáps, prince, moineskáps, citizen, moineskápiom, city, municipality,
obhkapā, occupy, partikapā, participate, perkapio, cerceive, rekapio, receive, recover, recuperate, supkaptibhilís, susceptible; variant Greek kōpắ, oar, handle.
PIE ghabh, also ghebh, give or receive, has derivatives as Gmc. geban (cf. Goth. giban, O.N. gefa,O.E. giefan, O.H.G. geban, Eng. give, Ger. geben), Lat. habēre, Oscan hafíar, Umbrian habe, Skr. gabhasti, Lith. gabana, Ltv. gabana, O.C.S. gobino, Gaul. gabi, O.Ir. gaibid, Welsh gafael, Alb. grabit/grabis. Common derivatives include perghebho, give away, give up, leave off, remit, as Gmc. fargeban (cf. Eng. forgive, Du. vergeven, Ger. vergeben); ghébhtis, something given (or received), gift, as Gmc. giftiz (cf. O.N. gipt, gift, O.Fris. jefte, M.Du. ghifte, Ger. Mitgift), ghóbholom, something paid (or received), tribute, tax, debt, as Gmc. gabulam (cf. O.E. gafol, M.H.G. gaffel, Eng. gavel, Ger. dial. gaffel); ghabhē, hold, possess, have, handle, and ghabitā, dwell, as Lat. habēre, habitāre, in ghabhilís, habile, able, ghábitos, habit, ghabhitābhilís, habitable, ghabhitắnts, habitant, ghábhitā, habitat, eksghabhē, exhibit, enghabē, inhibit, proghabē, prohibit; deghabhe, owe, as Lat. debere, as in deghabitós, due, deghábhitom, debit, deghábhita (n.pl), debt.

The proper PIE term for debt seems to be deléghlā, cf. O.Ir. dligim, Goth. dulgs, O.Sla. dlıgz, and also Lat. indulgeō, Gk. ह̇v-ס̌גعХńs, Alb. glatë, etc., presumably from extended d(e)legh-, from del, long, see dlongho-.
I.5. For PIE bhergh, hide, protect, compare Gmc. bergan (cf. Goth. bairgan, O.N. bjarga, O.H.G. bergan, Ger. bergen), OCS brĕgq, Russ. bereč', as in zero-grade bhrghio, bury, Gmc. burgjan (cf. O.E. byrgan, Eng. bury).
Related PIE bhergh, high, with derivatives referring to hills and hill-forts, gives Lat. fortis, Skr. barhayati, Av. barəzant, Pers. burj, Thrac. bergas, Illyr. Berginium, Toch. pärk/pärk, Arm. bardzut'iun, Russ. bereg, Gaul. Bergusia, O.Ir. brí, Welsh bre, bera, Alb. burg; Hitt. parku, Lyc. prije;pruwa, A.Mac. Berga. Common MIE derivatives include borrowing isobhérghs, iceberg (for MIE loan iso-, Gmc. isa-, "ice", cf. O.N. iss, O.E. is, O.Fris. is, Du. ijs, Ger. Eis), zero-grade bhrghs, hill-fort, castle, hence fortified town, city, as Gmc. burgs (cf. Goth. baurgs, O.N. borg, O.E. burg, burh, byrig, O.H.G. berg, Eng. borough, Ger. Burg, into Lat. burgus, O.Fr. burg, O.Spa. burgo, etc.), bhrghwórōn, "city protector", townsman, as Gmc. burg-warōn (see wer, cf. O.H.G. burgari, Eng. burgher); suffixed zero-grade bhrghtís, strong, bhŕghtiā, force, as Lat. fortis, fortia (some relate it to dher), in ekbhŕghtis, effort, enbhrghtiā, enforce, bhrghtidhakā, fortify, reenbhrghtiā, reinforce, etc.
The proper IE word for "ice" is jeg, which gives Lith. iža, Ltv. ieze, Russ. ikra, O.Ir. aig, Welsh ia, and suffixed jégilos, ice, icicle, glacier, as Gmc. jekilaz (cf. O.N. jaki, dim. jökull, O.E. gicel, O.H.G. ichil, M.E. [is]ykle, Ger. gicht, oighear, Eng.dial. ickle, Eng. [ic]icle).
PIE root gel-, cold, gives Lat. gelū, Oscan gelan, Lith. gelmenis, Gk. gelandron; extended adjective goldós gives Gmc. kaldaz (cf. Goth. kalds, O.N. kaldr, O.E. cald, ceald, O.H.G. kalt), O.C.S. hlad, Pol. chłód.
PIE dher, hold firmly, support, gives dhermós, firm, strong, as Lat. firmus, in addhermā, affirm, komdhermā, confirm, ṇdhermós, infirm, ill, ṇdhermāríā, infirmary; suffixed zero-grade dhrónos, seat, throne (from "support"); suffixed dhérmn, statute, law, as Skr. dharma ("that which is established firmly"); suffixed dhérenā, a holding firm, Prakrit dharana; dhóros, holding, as Ira. dāra-, Pers. -dār.
IE wer, cover, gives wériā, defence, protection, as Gmc. werjōn (cf. Goth. warjan, O.N. ver, O.E. wer, O.Fris., M.Du. were, O.H.G. wari, Eng. weir, Du. weer, Ger. Wehr); compound apwerio, open, uncover, (ap-, off, away, see apo), as Lat. aperīre, as in apwertós, opened, overt, apwertósā, aperture, overture; opwerio, cover (op-,
over, see epi), as Lat. operire, as in komopwerio, cover; wértros, enclosure, as Skr. vatah; o-grade wornio, take heed, warn, as Gmc. warnōn (cf. O.E. warenian, O.N. varna, O.H.G. warnon, Eng. warn, Ger. warnen), in worónts, warrant, authorization, (cf. O.N.Fr. warant, O.Fr. garant), worontíā, warranty, guaranty (cf. O.N.Fr. warantir, Fr. garantie), woro, guard, protect (cf. O.Fr. garer, guerrer), in worótikom, garage, worio, defend, protect (cf. O.Fr. guarir), wórisōn, garrison, wornio, to equip (cf. O.Fr. guarnir).

Derivatives of PIE apo, or ap-, off, away, are Gmc. af- (cf. Goth.,O.N. af, O.E. of, $æ f$, O.Fris. $a f$, of, O.H.G. $a b$, $a b a$, Eng. of, off, Du. $a f$, Ger. $a b$ ), Lat. $a b$, Gk. $a p o$, I.-I. $a p a$, Bl.-Sl. po. Common MIE words include apton, behind, as Gmc. aftan (cf. O.E. æftan, Eng. aft, abaft), aptero, after, behind, as Gmc. aftar (cf. O.E. æfter), apuko, turned backward, as Gmc. afugo (cf. O.N. öfugr, O.E. awk); variant po-, on, in, as Balto-Slavic po, Latin extended post, also in verb posino (from Lat. pōnere, from po+sinere, "leave, let", of obscure origin), p.part, positós, both giving common MIE pógrom, posteriós, posterior, postmŕtim, (see PIE mer), postmortem, positósā, posture, posítiōn, adposine, adposítiōn, komposino, compose, komposítiōn, komtrāpositós, deposino, depositós, disposino, dispose, eksposino, expose, enposino, impose, enpositós, imposed, enpósitom, impost, enterposino, interpose, obhposino, oppose, obhposítiōn, supposino, suppose, supposítiōn, supposition, transposino, transpose, etc.
For PIE mer, rub away, harm, compare morấ, goblin, incubus, as Gmc. marōn (cf. O.E. mare, mære, Eng. [night]mare), O.Ir. Morri[gain], Bulg., Serb., Pol. mora, Fr. [cauche]mar; mŕo, waste away, wither, as in
 extended mordē, bite, as Lat. mordēre, as in mordáks, mordacious, remordē, remorse, etc.; suffixed mórbhos, disease, as Lat. morbus, in morbhidós, morbid. Probably the same root is mer, die (cf. Hitt. mer), with derivatives mŕtrom, murder, as Gmc. murthra- (cf. Goth maurbr, O.N. morð, O.E. morðor, O.Fris. morth, M.Du. moort, Ger. Mord, also in M.Lat. murdrum, O.Fr. mordre), mŕtis, death, as Lat. mors, O.Ind. mṛtiṣ, Lith. mirtìs, Ltv. miřte, Sla. тьrtь (cf. O.C.S. [съ]мрьть, sъ from svo-, reflexive swe-, Russ. смерть, O.Slo. smr̂ti, Pol. śmierć, Cz. smrt, etc.), with common Latin derivatives mrtālís, mortal, mrtidhakā, mortify, admortisā, amortize; mrio, die, with irregular p.part. mrtuós, death, as Lat. morire, mortuus, in mrtuāsiós, mortuary, mribhundós, moribund, mrtuótikom, mortgage (from O.Fr. mort and gage, "pledge", from Frank. wadja, "pledge", IE wotio); common adjectives mrwós, death, mrtós, mortal, as Gk. $\beta \rho o \tau o s, ~ n ̣ m r t o ́ s ~[n ̃-m r-' t o s], ~$ inmortal, undying, hence also divine, as Lat. inmortalis, Gk. a̋ $\mu \beta \rho o \tau o s, ~ S k r$. amrtam; mortiós, mortal, as O.Pers. martiya, into Gk. manticore. Other IE derivatives include Skr. marati, Av. miryeite, O.Pers. amariyata, Pers. mordan, Kurd. mirin, Arm. memiil, Lith. mirti, Ltv. mirt, O.C.S. mrĭtvŭ, Russ. meret', Pol. mord, umrzeć, Gaul. marvos, O.Ir. marb, Welsh marw, Kamviri mre, Osset. maryn.
MIE assassinós via Fr. and It., from Arabic hashishiyyin "hashish-users" pl. of hashishiyy, from hashish (Arabic hashish "powdered hemp", lit. "dry herb", from hashsha "it became dry, it dried up"). A fanatical Ismaili Muslim sect of the time of the Crusades, with a reputation for murdering opposing leaders after intoxicating themselves by eating hashish. The pl. suffix -in was mistaken in Europe for part of the word (cf. Bedouin).
II. IE wers, confuse, mix up, (compare with IE ers), gives common wérsos, confusion, and loan word fem. MIE wérsā (see rhotacism), both from Gmc. werzaz (cf. O.S. werran, O.H.G. werran, Ger. verwirren; Eng. war is from O.E. wyrre, werre, from O.N.Fr. were, from Frank. werra, as O.H.G. werra, strife, borrowed in Fr.
guerre, It.,Spa.,Pt,Cat. guerra); comparative wersiós, worse, and superlative wersistós, worst, as Gmc. wersizōn, wersistaz (cf. Goth. wairsiza, O.S. wirs, wirsista, O.N. verri, verstr, O.E. wyrsa, wyrsta, O.Fris. wirra, wersta, O.H.G. wirsiro, wirsisto); wŕstis, sausage (from "mixture"), as Gmc. wurstiz (cf. O.H.G. wurst)
PIE ers, be in motion, gives variant rēs, rushing, race, as Gmc. rēsan (cf. O.N. rás, O.E. ræs, M.Du. rasen, Ger. rasen); suffixed ersā, wander, Lat. errāre, as in ersātikós, erratic, ersấta, errata, ersāniós, erroneous, ersốr, error, apersấtiōn, aberration; zero-grade ŕsis, poet, seer, Skr. rsiḥ.
III.Indo-European wen, strive after, wish, desire, be satisfied, is the source for wóinos, soldier, and wóinā, war, as Sla. voin' (O.C.S., O.Russ. воинъ, Ukr. воїн, Sr.-Cr., Slo.,Bul. vojnik, Cz.,Slk. vojin) and vojna; with similar meanings of hunt, chase, pursue, cf. O.N. veiðr, O.E. wap, O.H.G. weida, Lat. venāri, Gk. ॥̋ $\varepsilon \mu a 1$, O.Ind. vēti, Av. vayeiti, Lith. vejù, výti, O.Ir. fíad. Other IE derivatives include wénos, desire, as Skr. vanas; wénuo, win, Gmc. winn $(w)$ an (cf. f. Goth. gawinnen, O.S. winnan, O.N. vinna, O.E. winnan, O.Fris. winna, O.H.G. winnan, Du. winnen), suffixed zero-grade wńīā, pleasure, joy, as Gmc. wunjō (cf. O.E. wen, wynn, Ger.Wonne); stative wnē, be content, rejoice, extended as be accustomed to, dwell, as Gmc. wunēn (cf. O.E. wunian, O.S. wunon, O.Fris. wonia, O.H.G. wonen, Eng. wont); suffixed causative o-grade wonē, accustom, train, wean, as Gmc. wanjan (cf. O.N. venja, O.E. wenian, Du. vennen, O.H.G. giwennan, Ger. gewöhnen); wếnis, hope, and verb wēnio, expect, imagine, think, as Gmc. wēniz and wēnjan (cf. Goth. wenjan, O.S. wanian, O.N. væna, O.E. wenan, O.Fris. wena, O.H.G. wanen, Ger. wähnen, Eng. ween); suffixed zero-grade wnsko, desire, wish, wńskos, wish, as Gmc. wunskan, wunskaz (cf. O.N. æskja, O.E. wyscan, M.Du. wonscen, O.H.G. wunsken); wénōs, love, giving wenesā, worship, venerate, wenesiós, venereal, etc., with rhotacism as Lat. uenus, ueneris; wenésnom, poison (originally love poison), as Lat. uenēnum, wéniā, favor, forgiveness, Lat. uenia; wenā, hunt, from Lat. uēnārī; wénom, forest, as Skr. vanam.
IV.Indo-European cer- (or ${ }^{*} g^{w} e r h_{2}$ ), heavy, gives crús, heavy, venerable, as Goth. kaurus, Gk. $\beta a \rho u ́ s$, Skr. guruh, cṛuspháirā, barysphere (from Gk. spháirā, sphere), cṛ́tonos, baritone, and extended Lat. *g $g^{w r u i ́ s, ~}$ heavy, weighty, grave, as Lat. gravis, cŕuitā, gravity, cruā, burden, adcruā, aggravate, etc.; cŕōs, weight, heaviness, as Gk. ßápos, as in wiswocŕōs, isobar (from Gk. īsós, equal, probably either from widwós, who has seen, from weid, know, see, or wiswós, all, as O.Ind. visvaḥ); udcri (see ud); crūtós, heavy, unwieldy, dull, stupid, brutish, as Lat. brūtus; crígos, strenght, vigor, crígā, strife, as in crīgátā, brigade, found in Celt. brīgo (cf. Prov. briu, Spa. brío), Gmc. krīg (cf. O.H.G. krēg, chrēg, M.H.G. kriec, Sca. krig, Ger. Krieg), Cel. brīgā (cf. O.Ita. briga, Fr. brigade); cérnā, millstone, as Gmc. kwernōn (Goth. quirnus, O.N. kvern, O.E. cweorn, O.Fris. quern, O.H.G. quirn, Eng. quern, Ger. Querne), Skr. grava, Arm. erkan, O.Pruss. girnoywis, Lith. girna, girnos, Ltv. dzirnus, O.C.S. zrunuvi, Russ. žërnov, Pol. żarno, O.Ir. braó, Welsh brevan.
V. Indo-European dwéllom, war, also duel (O.Lat. duellum, Lat. bellum), is maybe cognate with O.Ind. dunoti, duta-, O.Gk. du, duero, Alb. un, from a PIE verbal root du meaning torment, pain; common Latin loans include dwelligeránts, belligerent (from Lat. dwelligerā, make war, from Lat. gerere, "wage"), kástos dwélli, casus belli (see kad).
For PIE kad, fall, befall, also die, compare Lat. cadere, O.Ind. sad, Arm. chacnum, M.Ir. casar, Welsh cesair, Corn. keser, Bret. kasarc'h; Latin derivatives include kadáuēr, cadaver, kadénts, cadent, kadéntiā, cadence, chance, adkado, happen, adkadénts, accident, enkado, happen, enkádents, incident, dekado, decay,
obhkado, fall, obhkádents, occident, and from p.part. kastós (<* kadto-), giving kastkátā, cascade, kástos, case, kastuālís, casual, kastuístā, casuist, obhkástos, sunset, obhkástiōn, occasion, etc.;

A similar but probably unrelated PIE root is dheu (older *dheuh ${ }_{2}$ ), die, also dhwei, found as dhoutós, dead, Gmc. dauthaz (cf. O.E. dēad), o-grade dhóutus, death, (with suffix -tus indicating "act, process, condition"), as Gmc. dauthuz (cf. O.E. dēath); suffixed o-grade dhowio, die, as O.N. deyja; extended zero-grade dhwino, diminish, languish, as Gmc. dwinan (cf. O.E. dwinan, Du. dwijnen, Eng. dwindle). The verb comes probably from dhew, close, finish, come full circle; cf. Lat. funus, -eris, Arm. di (gen. diog), Cel. dwutu- (cf. OIr duth). Derivatives include suffixed zero-grade dhứnos, enclosed, fortified place, hill-fort, as Gmc. dūnaz (cf. O.E. dūn, M.Du. dūne, Eng. down, dune); also, from the same source is Celtic dūnos, "hill, stronghold", borrowed in Gmc. tūnaz (cf. O.E. tun, Eng. town); dhū́nōs, funeral, as Lat. fūnus.

The same IE root dhew means also "run, flow", as in Gmc. dauwaz, (cf. O.E. deaw, M.Du. dau, Eng. dew), Skr. dhautih, M.Pers. davadan; and also "shine, be light", as O.Gk. theousan, O.Ind. dhavala-, Av. fraavata.
VI. Common Greek loans are pólemos, war, Gk. лó̀ $\varepsilon \mu \circ \varsigma$, giving polemikós, hostile, hence polemic.
129. For PIE swésōr, (possibly from reflexive swe, and ésōr, woman, then lit. "woman of one's own kin group" in an exogamous society, see also swe-kuro-), with zero-grade alternative swésr, compare Gmc. swestr(cf. Goth. swistar, O.N. systir, O.S. swestar, O.E. sweostor, swuster, O.Fris. swester, M.Du. suster, O.H.G. swester, Du. zuster, Eng. sister, Ger. Schwester), Lat. soror, O.Gk. eor, Skr. svasr, Av. xvañhar, Pers. xāhar, Toch. ṣar/ṣer, Arm. k'uyr, O.Pruss. swestro, Lith. sesuo, O.C.S. sestra, Russ. cecmpa, Pol. siostra, Gaul. suiior, O.Ir. siur, Welsh chwaer, Kamviri sus. It gave common derivatives latin swesrikídiom, sororicide, swesorālís, sororal, suffixed swesrínos, cousin, from Lat. sobrīnus, "maternal cousin".
130. For PIE súnus, also súnjus, son, compare Gmc. sunuz (cf. Goth. sunus, O.N. sonr, O.E. sunu, O.S., O.Fris. sunu, O.H.G. sunu, M.Du. sone, Dan. søn, Swed. son, Du. zoon, Ger. Sohn), Gk. huios, Skr. sunus, Av. hunush, Arm. ustr, Lith. sunus, O.C.S. synu, Rus., Pol. syn, from PIE root su, give birth, Skr. sauti, O.Ir. suth.
I.For Romance words from Lat. filius, MIE dhếilios, "suckling", son, and dhếiliā, daughter, as in dhēiliālís, filial, addheiliā, affiliate; probably from PIE dhēi, suck, although some relate it to PIE bhew, be, exist (in both IE $\boldsymbol{d h}$ - and bh- evolved as Lat. $f$-), thus maybe IE *bhílios - but, v.i. for Slavic derivative 'diti' meaning "child, son", from the same root dhēi.
For IE bhew, be, exist, grow, and common derivative bhwijo, be, become, give Gmc biju (cf. O.E. beon, O.H.G. bim, bist, Eng. be), Skt. bhavah, bhavati, bhumih, Lat. fieri, fui, Gk. phu-, Lith. bu'ti, O.C.S. byti, O.Ir. bi'u, Rus. быть; bhowo, live, dwell, as Gmc. bowan (cf. O.N. bua, buask, O.H.G. buan, Eng. bound, husband, Ger. bauen); zero-grade bhútlos, dwelling, house, from Gmc. buthlaz (cf. O.E. bold, byldan, M.Du. bodel, Eng. build), bhwo, bring forth, make grow, as Gk. phuein, as in bhútos, bhútom, plant, and bhútis, growth, nature, as in bhútikā, physics, bhutikós, physic, epíbhutis, epiphysis, diábhutis, diaphysis, supóbhutis, hypophysis, etc.; suffixed bhutús, "that is to be", and Lat. bhutū́ros, future; zero-grade bhû́rom, dweller (especially farmer), gives Gmc. buram (cf. O.E. bur, Eng. bower, Ger. Bauer), kombhúrom, dweller, peasant, (cf. O.E. gebur, M.Du. gheboer, ghebuer, Eng. neighbor, Du. boer, boor), bhứriom, dwelling, as Gmc. burjam (cf. O.E. byre), or bhứwis, settlement (cf. O.N. byr, Eng. by[law]); bhū́lom, tribe, class, race, Gk. púخov, and bhū́lā, tribe, clan, as in Eng. phylum, phyle, phylo-; zero-grade reduced suffixal form -bhw- in Lat. compounds
dubhwiós, doubtful (from zero-grade of dwo, two), Lat. dubius, dúbhwitā, doubt, Lat. dubitāre, probhwós, upright, Lat. probus, "growing well or straightforward", superbhwós, superior, proud, "being above", as Lat. superbuus; bhóumos, tree ("growing thing"), as Gmc. baumaz (cf. O.E. beam, M.Du. boom, Eng. beam).
II. Slavic "diti", "child, son", comes from Slavic děte, dětь (cf. O.C.S. дъти, S.C.S. дtть, Russ. дumя, Pol. dziecię, Cz. dítě, Bul. дemé), MIE dhếitis, "suckling", child, (see also Lat. filius), from PIE dhēi, also found in Lat. fēlāre, fēmina, Gk. $\theta \dot{\eta} \sigma \alpha \tau o, ~ \theta \eta \lambda \dot{\eta}$, O.Ind. dhắtavē, Lith. dèlẽ, O.Ir. dínim.
III.Germanic "maiden" comes from Indo-European mághotis, maid, young womanhood, sexually inexperienced female, virgin (dim. mághotinom, "little maid"), as Gmc. magadinam (cf. O.E. mægeð, mægden, O.S. magath, O.Fris. maged, O.H.G. magad, Ger. Magd, Mädchen), from mághus, young person of either sex, unmarried person, cf. O.E. magu, Avestan magava, O.Ir. maug.
131. Indo-European dhúg(a)tēr, older *dhug( $h_{2}$ )ter, daughter, Gmc. dukter (cf. Goth. dauhtar, O.N. dóttir, O.E. dohtor, O.H.G. tohter, Scots, Du. dochter, Swe. dotter), Osc. fútir, Gk. Өvүaøخُ (thugatēr), Skr. duhitr, Av. duydar, Pers. doxtar, Toch. ckācar/tkacer, Arm. dustr, O.Pruss. duckti, Lith. duktè, O.C.S. dŭšti, Russ. дочъ, dočer', Gaul. duxtīr, Kamviri jü; Hitt. duttariyatiyaš, Luw. duttariyata.
132. Other PIE common words referring to relatives, apart from patér, mātếr, bhrátēr and snúsos are:
A. IE jénatēr (older *jenh ${ }_{2}$ ter), brother-in-law's wife, gives Lat. ianitrīcēs, Gk. einatēr, Skr. yātar, Phryg. ianatera, Arm. ner, Lith. jentė, Ltv. ietere, Russ. jatrov', Pol. jątrew, Kamviri iâri.
B. IE dáiwēr (older *deh ${ }_{2}$ iwer), husband's brother, O.E. tācor, O.H.G. zeihhur, Lat. lēvir, Gk. dāēr, Skr. devar, Kurd. diš/héwer, Arm. taygr, Lith. dieveris, Ltv. dieveris, OCS dĕverĭ, Russ. dever', Pol. dziewierz.
C. A comon gálōus (PIE *gh2lōus) gave Gk. galōs, Phryg. gelaros, O.C.S. zlŭva, Russ. zolovka, Pol. zetwa.
D. For PIE áwos, áwjos, paternal grandfather, maternal uncle (originally ${ }^{*} h_{2} e u h_{2} O s$, an adult male relative other than one's father), compare Gmc. awaz (cf. Goth. awó, O.E. ēam, O.H.G. ōheim, Ger. Oheim), Lat. avus, avunculus, Gk. aia, Arm. hav, O.Pruss. awis, Lith. avynas, O.C.S. uy, Russ. uj, Pol. wuj, Gaul. avontīr, O.Ir. aue, Welsh ewythr; Hitt. huhhas. Also found in feminine áwjā, grandmother (cf. Lat. avia).
E. IE népōts (gen. neptós), grandson, nephew, gives Gmc. nefat- (cf. O.E. nefa, O.H.G. nevo, Eng. nephew, Ger. Neffe), Lat. nepōs, Gk. anepsios, Skr. napāt, Av. napāt, O.Pers. napā, Pers. nave, Lith. nepuotis, O.C.S. nestera, Russ. nestera, Pol. nieściora, Gaul. nei, OIr. necht, níath, Welsh nai, Kamviri nâvo, Alb. nip.
F. PIE swékuros, father-in-law, give Gmc. swikhura- (cf. Goth. swaíhrō, O.N. svǽra, Eng. swēor, O.H.G. swehur, swagur), Gk. hekuros, Skr. śvaśura, Av. xvasura-, Arm. skesur, Lith. šešuras, O.C.S. svekŭrŭ, Russ. svekrov', Pol. świekra, Welsh chwegr, Alb. vjehërr, Kamviri č.uč. probably ultimately derived from fem. swekrū́s, mother-in-law, as O.H.G. swigar, Ger. Schwieger, Lat. socrus, Skr. śvaśrū, O.Sla. svekry, etc.
133. PIE jéwos, norm, right, law (possibly from PIE jeu, bind), as in O.Ind. yōh, Av. yaožda, refers in MIE to the body of rules and standards to be applied by courts; jówos, law, as Lat. iūs, iūris (O.Lat. ious), and jowosā, swear, Lat. jūrō (O.Lat. iouesat, see rhotacism), p.part. jowosātós, sweared, giving Latin common borrowings jowosístos, jurist, apjowosā, abjure, adjowosā, adjure, komjowosā, conjure, jówosātos, jury, enjowosā, injury, perjowosā, perjure, jowoseskomséltos, jurisconsult, jowosesproweidéntiā, jurisprudence (from proweidéntiā, from IE per and weid); Italo-Celtic jowest(i)ós, just, as Lat. iustus, O.Ir. huisse (<*justjos).

MIE komselo, counsel, call together, deliberate, consider, as Lat. consulere, found in Lat. consulere senatum, MIE komséltu senátum, "to gather the senate (to ask for advice)", from kom- "with" + selo "take, gather together" from PIE base sel- "to take, seize" .
134. For "law" as a written or understood rule or the body of rules from the legislative authority, i.e. the concept of Lat. lex, MIE has different words:
I.Latin lex, legis, comes possibly from PIE lengthened *lēgs, hence lit. "collection of rules" (see PIE leg, collect), although it is used as Modern Indo-European lēghs (both IE $\boldsymbol{g}$ and $\boldsymbol{g} \boldsymbol{h}$ could evolve as $g$ in Latin), from PIE legh, lie, lay, because its final origin remains uncertain, and this root gives also Germanic o-grade lóghom, law, "that which is set or laid down", Gmc. lagam (cf. O.N.,O.E. lagu, lag-, O.H.G. lāga, Eng. law, Sca. lov, Ger. Lage), with common derivatives lēghālís, legal, lēghitimā, legitimate, lēghiālís, loyal, lēgheslatốr, legislator, preiwoléghiom, privilege ("a law affecting one person", from preiwós, private), and from Latin denominative léghā, depute, commision, charge, legate ("engage by contract"), as Lat. legāre, are lếghātom, legacy, komlếghā, colleage, komlēghiālís, collegial, delếghātos, delegate, relēghā, relegate. Other known derivatives include léghio, lay, as Gmc. lagjan (cf. Goth. lagjan, O.S. leggian, O.N. leggja, O.E. lecgan, O.Fris. ledza, O.H.G. lecken, M.Du. legghan, Eng. lay, Ger. legen, Du. leggen), suffixed léghros, lair, bed, as Gmc. legraz (cf. O.E. leger, O.H.G. legar, M.Du. leger, Eng. lair), and léghtos, bed, as Lat. lectus; o-grade Greek lóghos, childbirth, place for lying in wait. Cf. Gk. lekhesthai, Toch. lake/leke, Lith. at-lagai, lagaminas, Ltv. lagača, O.C.S. lego, ležati, Russ. ležat', Pol. leżeć, Gaul. legasit, O.Ir. lige, Welsh gwely, Hitt. laggari.
For the same sense of "that which is set or laid down", compare IE statútom, Lat. statutum, "statute", from Lat. statuere, "establish" or statúmos, Lith. istatymas, from istatyti "set up, establish" (from IE stā, stand, set down); also, Ger. Gesetz (from O.H.G. gisatzida, IE kom+sedio, set).
For PIE stā, stand, "place or thing that is standing", compare common derivatives stấlos, stool, as Gmc. stōlaz (cf. Goth. stols, O.N. stoll, O.E. stōl, O.H.G. stuol, O.Fris. stol, Ger. Stuhl), stắntiā, stance, stage, stātēiuós, stative, kikromstấntiā, circumstance, komstắnts, constant, komtrāstā, contrast, di(s)stā, distấnts, distant, ekstấnts, enstắnts, obhstắkolos, obhstātrikós, obstetric, supstấntiā, substance; stấmēn, thread of the warp (a technical term), stamen; stấmōn, thread, as Gk. stēmōn; starós, old, "long-standing", as Slavic staru; zero-grade nasalized extended stanto, stand, as Gmc. standan (cf. O.N. standa, O.E.,O.S., Goth. standan, O.H.G. stantan, Swed. stå, Du. staan, Ger. stehen), as in ndherstanto, stand under, stántkarts (see kar-, hard), standard; suffixed stámnis, stem, as Gmc. stamniz (cf. O.N. stafn, O.S. stamm, O.E. stemn, stefn, O.H.G. stam, Dan. stamme, Swed. stam, Ger. Stamm); státis, place, as Gmc. stadiz (cf. Goth. staps, O.S. stedi, O.N. staðr, O.E. stede, O.H.G. stat, Swed. stad, Du. stede, Ger. Stadt), Lat. státim, at once, stat, státiōn, a standing still, station, armistátiom, armistice, sāwelstátiom, solstice; Greek státis, standing, stanstill, statós, placed, standing as Gmc. stadaz (cf. O.N. stadhr, Eng. bestead), Gk. statos, as in -stat, statikós, static; dekstanā, make firm, establish, destine, obhstanā, set one's mind on, persist; státus, manner, position, condition, attitude, with derivatives statúrā, height, stature, statuo, set up, erect, cause to stand, and superstáts (Lat. superstes), witness, "who stands beyond"; stádhlom, stable, "standing place", as Lat. stabulum; stadhlís, standing firm, stable, stadhlisko, establish; Greek -statās, -stat, one that causes to stand, a standing; zero-grade reduplicated sisto, set, place, stop, stand, as Lat. sistere, in komsisto, consist, desisto, desist, eksisto, exist, ensisto, insist,
entersistátiom, interstice, persisto, persist, resisto, resist, supsisto, subsist, and from Gk. histanai, with státis, a standing, as in apostátis, katastátis, epistátis, epistấmā, knowledge ( Gk . غ̇лlotńuŋ), epistāmologíā, supostátis, hypostasis, ikonostátis, wiswostátis, metastátis, próstatā, komsto, establish, komstámn, system; sistos, web, tissue, mast ("that which is set up"), Gk. iбtós, sistoghŕbhmn, histogram, etc.; compound pórstis, post, "that which stands before" (por-, before, forth, see per), Lat. postis; extended stau, "stout-standing, strong", as stấuā, place, stow, Gmc. stōwō; o-grade Greek stốuiā, porch, in stōuikós, stoic; suffixed extended stáuros, cross, post, stake (see also stáuros, bull), enstaurā, restore, set upright again, restaurā, restore, rebuild, restaurấnts, restaurant; zero-grade extended stū́los, pillar, as in epistūlos, supostūlos, oktōstūlos, peristū́los, prostūlos; steuirós, thick, stout, old, as Skr. sthaviraḥ; suffixed secondary form steu-, suffixed stéurā, steering, as Gmc. steurō, and denominative verb steurio, steer, as Gmc. steurjan (cf. Goth. stiurjan, O.N. styra, O.Fris. stiora, O.E. steran, stieran, O.H.G. stiuren, Du. sturen, Ger. steuern), a verb related to stéuros, large domestic animal, ox, steer (see stáuros), and stéurikos, calf, stirk. Derivatives include Gmc. standan, Lat. stare, Osc. staíet, Umb. stahmei, Gk. histami, Skr. tiṣṭhati, Av. hištaiti, O.Pers. aištata, Pers. istādan, Phryg. eistani, Toch. ṣtām/stām, Arm. stanam, O.Pruss. stacle, Lith. stoti, Ltv. stāt, O.C.S. stati, Russ. stat', Polish stać, O.Ir. tá, Welsh gwastad, Alb. shtuara; Hitt. išta, Luw. išta-, Lyc. ta-.
II. PIE leg, collect, with derivatives meaning speak, gives Lat. legere, "gather, choose, pluck, read", Gk. legein, "gather, speak", from which MIE légtiōn, lection, lesson, legtós, read, legtósā, lecture, legéndā (from a gerundive), leyend, legibhilís, legible, légiōn, komlego, gather, collect, komlégtiōn, collection, dislego, esteem, love, dislegénts, diligent, eklego, elect, eklégtiōn, election, enterlego, choose, enterlegē, perceive, enterlegénts, intelligent, ne(g)lego, neglect, prāilego, prelect, sakrilegós, one who steals sacred things, sakrilégiom, sacrilege (see sak), selego, select, sortilégos, diviner (see ser) sortilégiom, sortilege; légsikom, lexicon, -logos, -logue, -logíā, -logy, katalego, to list, katálogos, catalogue, dialego, discourse, use a dialect, dialogue, dialégtos, dialect, légtis, speech, diction, dislegtíā, dyslexia, eklegtikós, eclectic, etc.; légnom, wood, firewood ("that which is gathered"), as Lat. lignum; lógos, speech, word, reason, as Gk. $\lambda o ́ \gamma o s$, as in lógikā, logic, logikós, logic, logístikā, logistic, análogos, analogous, apologíā, apology, epílogos, epilogue, komlogísmos, syllogism, prólogos, prologue.
For PIE sak, sanctify, gives sakrós, holy, sacred, dedicated, as Lat. sacer (O.Lat. saceres), in sakrā, make sacred, consecrate, sakristános, sacristan, komsakrā, consecrate, eksakrā, execrate; compound sakrodhốts, priest, "performer of sacred rites" (for dhōt, doer, see dhē), as Lat. sacerdōs, in sakrodhōtālís, sacerdotal; nasalized sankio, make sacred, consacrate, with p.part. sanktós, sacred, as Lat. sancire, sanctus, as in sanktidhakā, sanctify. Compare also Osc. sakrim, Umb. sacra, and (outside Italic) maybe all from IE *saq, bind, restrict, enclose, protect, as IE words for both "oath" and "curse" are regularly words of binding (Tucker).
Also, with the meaning of "holy", PIE root kwen, gives suffixed zero-grade kwńslom, sacrifice, as Gmc. khunslam (cf. Goth. hunsl, O.N. hunsl, O.E. hūsl, hūsel, Eng. housel), Av. spanyah, O.Pruss. swints, Lith. šventas, Ltv. svinēt, O.C.S. svętŭ, Russ. sujatoj, Polish święty.
PIE ser, line up, gives Lat. serere, "arrange, attach, join (in speech), discuss", as in sériēs, adsero, assert, desertós, desert, dissertā, dissertate, eksero, put forth, stretch out, ensero, insert; sérmōn, speech,
discourse, as Lat. sermō; sŕtis, lot, fortune (perhaps from the lining up of lots before drawing), as in srtiásios, sorcerer, komsítis, consort ("who has the same fortune"); sérā, lock, bolt, bar, (perhaps "that which aligns").
III.For PIE dhē, set, put, place, gives some common terms referring to "(divine) law, right, fate" (cf. Eng. doom), cf. Gmc. dōn (cf. Goth. gadeths, O.N. dalidun, O.E. dōn, O.H.G. tuon, Eng. do, Ger. tun) Lat. faciō, Osc. faciiad, Umb. feitu, O.Gk. tithēmi, Skr. dadhāti, Av. daðaiti, O.Pers. adadā, Phryg. dak-, Thrac. didzos, Toch. täs/täs, Arm. ed, Lith. dėti, Ltv. dēt, Russ. det'; delat', Polish dziać; działać, Gaul. dede, Welsh dall, Alb. ndonj, Hitt. dai, Lyc. ta-. Common MIE words include dhētós, set down, created, as O.Ira. datah; suffixed dhếtis, "thing laid down or done", law, deed, Gmc. dēdiz (cf. O.E. d̄̄æd, Eng. deed); dhékā, receptacle, Gk. Өŋ́кך, Eng. theca, as in apodhékē, "store, warehouse", then extended as pharmacy (and also to Spa. bodega and Fr. boutique, both left as MIE loans), as in apodhēkấrios, apothecary, apodhékiom, apothecium, bubliodhékā (from Greek loan búbliom, book, from the Greek name of the Phoenician city Gubla, Búblos or Cúblos, Gk. $\beta \dot{v} \beta \lambda o s$, as in n.pl. Búblia, bible, lit. "the books"), library, ambhidhékiom, amphithecium, endodhékiom, endothecium, peridhékiom, perithecium; o-grade dhō, do, as Gmc. dōn; suffixed and prefixed apdhốmēn, belly, abdomen, Lat. abdōmen, perhaps "part placed away, concealed part"; suffixed dhốmos, judgement, "thing set or put down", and dhōmio, judge, as Gmc. dōmaz, dōmjan (cf. Goth. dōms, O.N. dōmr, O.E. dōm, dēman, Eng. doom, deem; also into Russ. Duma, from a Germanic source), also as abstract suffix dhốmos indicating state, condition, power (cf. O.N. -domr, O.E. -dom, Du. -dømme, Eng. -dom); zero-grade komdho, put together, establish, preserve, as Lat. condere, in apskomdho, abscond, rekomdhitós, recondite, and suffixed komdhio, season, flavor, as Lat. condīre, in komdhiméntom, condiment; suffixed zero-grade form dhakio, do, make, as Lat. facere, usually found as Latin combining form -dhaks, Lat. -fex, "maker", dhakiom, Lat. -ficium, "a making", both Eng. -fice, and -dhakā, Lat. -ficāre, -dhakio, Lat. -facere, both normally Eng. -fy; some common words include -dhakients, -facient, dháktos, fact, dháktiōn, faction, dhaktốr, factor, dhaktoríā, factory, addhaktā, affect, addháktiōn, affection, amplidhakā, aplify, artidháktos, artifact, artidhákiom, artifice, dwēiatidhakós, beatific, komdháktiōn, confection, komdhaktionā, confect, dedhakio, fail, dedhakiénts, deficient, nisdodhakio, nidify (see nisdos, nest), aididhakā, edify (from Lat. aidis, a building), aididhákiom, edifice, ekdháktos, effect, endhaktā, infect, jowostidhakā, justify, malidhaktốr, malefactor, manudhaktósā, manufacture (see mánus, hand), modidhakā, modify, gnotidhakā, notify, opidháks, workman (see op, work), opidhákiom, service, duty, business, occupation, performance of work, (from Lat. opificium, later officium), op(i)dhakínā, office, (cf. Lat. opificina, later officina), perdhakio, finish, perdhaktós, perfect, ōsidhákiom, orifice (see ōs, mouth), ekdhakio, accomplish, ekdháktos, effect, ekdhakiénts, efficient, ekdhakáks, efficacious, endhaktā, infect, pontidháks, pontifex (see IE pent), prāidháktos, prefect, prodháktos, profit, prodhakiénts, profiting (Eng. "proficient"), putridhakio, putrify (see pu, rot), qālidhakā, qualify (see qo), pertidhakā, petrify, rāridhakā, rarefy (from borrowing rārós, rare, Lat. rārus), regtidhakā, rectify (see regtós, right, straight), redhakio, feed, refect, redhaktóriom, refectory, reudhidhakio, redden, reudhidhakiénts, rubefacient, (see reudhós, red), sakridhakā, sacrify, satisdhakio, satisfy (see sā), supdhakio, suffice, supdhakiénts, sufficient; from Lat. dhákiēs, shape, face ("form imposed on something"), are dhakiālís, facial, superdhákiēs, surface; further suffixed dhaklís, feasible, easy, as Lat. facilis (from O.Lat. facul), as in
dháklitā, ability, power, science, also noun dhaklís, with the sense of faculty, facilities, disdháklitā, difficulty; dhās, divine law, right, as Lat. fas; reduplicated Greek dhidho, put, Gk. tithenai, as in dhátis, a placing, Gk. Өźors, also thesis, and adjective dhatós, placed, as in dhatikós, thetic, anadhámn, anathema, antidhátis, diadhasis, epidhátos, supodhakā, hypothecate, supodhátis, hypothesis, metadhátis, par(a)endhidho, insert, parendhátis, parenthesis, prosdhátis, prothesis, prosthesis, komdhátis, synthesis; dhámn, "thing placed," proposition, theme, Gk. өॄ́ $\mu \mathrm{a}$, as in dhamntikós, thematic; reduplicated Sanskrit dhedhē, place, Skr. dadhāti, p.part. dhatós, placed, Skr. -hita-.
In Proto-Indo-European, another common verb meaning "make" existed, qer, as Skr. karoti, "he makes", as in Sómsqrtom, Sanskrit, Skr. saṃskṛtam; also, common derivatives Greek qéras, monster, or dissimilated qélōr, monster, peloria; also, suffixed qérmn, act, deed, as Skr. karma.
III.1. Indo-European op, work, produce in abundance, include ópōs, work, Lat. opus, with denominative verb opesā, operate, as Lat. operārī, as in óperā, opera (affected by Lat. rhotacism), komopesā, manuopesā, maneuver; openentós, rich, wealthy, opulent, as Lat. dissim. opulentus, ópnis, all (from "abundant"), Lat. omnis, as in ópnibhos, omnibus; optmós, best ("wealthiest"), as Lat. optimus; komópiā, profusion, plenty, also copy, as in komopionts(ós), copious.
III.2. For PIE pent, tread, go, compare Gmc. finthan, "come upon, discover" (cf. Goth. finpan, O.N. finna, O.E. find, O.S. findan, M.Du. vinden, Ger. finden); suffixed póntis, way, passage, found in Lat. pōns, "bridge" (earliest mening of "way, passage" preserved in priestly title pontidháks, pontifex, "he who prepares the way"), also found in Russ. nymb, "path, way" (as in 'sputnik', fellow traveler, which could be translated as MIE "kompontinikós"); zero-grade pnto, tread, walk, in peripntetikós, peripatetic, Gk. лعрıлатпtıкós; suffixed pńtos, from Iranian (cf. Av. panta (nominative), p $\alpha \theta \alpha$ (genitive) way, Old Persian pathi-), into W.Gmc. through Scythian, as Gmc. patha- (cf. O.E. pap, pæp, Fris. path, M.Du. pat, O.H.G. pfad, Eng. path, Du. pad, Ger. Pfad).
III.3. For PIE pu, rot, decay (from older *puh, it becomes pū, puw- before vowels), compare pūlós, rotten, filthy, as Gmc. fūlaz (cf. Goth. füls, O.N fúll, O.E. fūl, O.H.G. fül, M.Du. voul, Ger. faul), pūtrís, rotten, as Lat. puter, púwos/m, pus, as Lat. pūs, Gk. puon, puos, also in enpuwo, suppurate, as in enpuwémn, empyema.
III.4. Indo-European root man-, hand, gives Lat. mánus, with derivatives manudiā, manage (from V.Lat. manidiāre, into O.It. maneggiare, Fr. manager, Eng. manage, Spa. manejar, etc.), manuālís, manual, manúdhriom, handle, manubrium (from instr. suffix -dhro-), manteno, maintain (see ten), manikóisā (from Lat. cura, Archaic Latin koisa, "cure"), manighestós, caught in the act, blatant, obvious, (see chedh), manuskreibhtós, handwritten (see skreibh), manuskréibhtom, manuscript; manúpolos, handful (for polos, full, see pel), manupolā, manipulate; mankós, maimed in the hand; mankáps, "he who takes by the hand" purchaser, (-ceps, agential suffix, "taker"; see kap), in ekmankapā, emancipate; mandā, "to put into someone's hand," entrust, order, from Latin compound mandāre, (-dare, "to give", see d̄̄, although possibly from "put", see dhē), mandấtom, mandate, kommand̄a, command, entrust, commend, kommándos, commando, komtrāmandā, countermand, demandā, demand, rekommandā, recommend.
III.4.a. PIE ten, stretch, gives derivatives suffixed tendo, stretch, extend, as Lat. tendere, in adtendo, attend, komtendo, contend, detendo, detent, distendo, distend, ekstendo, extend, entendo, intend, prāitendo, pretend, suptendo, subtend; portendo, portend ("to stretch out before", a technical term in augury, "to
indicate, presage, foretell"); suffixed tenio, Gk. teinein, with o-grade ton- and zero-grade tńtis, a stretching, tension, intensity, as in katatóniā, entńtis, entasis, epitńtis, epitasis, supotenióntiā (Gk. ن่ hypotenusa, protńtis, protasis, komtonikós, syntonic, etc.; reduplicated zero-grade tétnos ['te-tñ-os], stiff, rigid, as Gk. 九と́tavos, also tetanus; suffixed téntrom, loom, as Skr. tantram (cf. Pers. tār); stative tenē, hold, keep, maintain (from "cause to endure or continue, hold on to"), as lat. tenēre, in tenáks, tenacious, tenor, apstenē, abstain, komtenē, contain, komtenuós, continuous, komtenuā, continue, detenē, detain, entertenē, entertain, tenánts, holder, tenant, lieutenant, manutenē, maintain, obhtenē, obtain, pertenē, pertain, pertenáks, pertinacious, retenē, retain, suptenē, sustain; derivatives meaning "stretched", hence "thin" include tnús, as Gmc. thunniz, thunwiz (cf. O.N. bunnr, O.E. thynne, W.Fris. ten, O.H.G. dunni, M.L.G. dunne, Du. dun, Ger. dünn, Eng. thin), tenús, thin, rare, fine, as Lat. tenuis, in adtenuā, attenuate, ekstenuā, extenuate, tenrós, tender, delicate, as Lat. tener, (en)tenresko, touch, intenerate; derivatives meaning "something stretched or capable of being stretched, a string" include Greek ténōn, tendon, o-grade suffixed tónos, string, hence sound, pitch, tone, and suffixed zero-grade tńia, band, ribbon.
III.4.b. PIE chedh, ask, pray, gives suffixed chedhio, pray, entreat, Gmc. bidjan (cf. O.E. biddan, Ger. bitten, O.E. bid), chédhom, entreaty, as Gmc. bidam (cf. Goth. bida, O.E. bedu, gebed, O.H.G. beta, M.Du. bede, Eng. bead, Ger. bitte); chestós (<* chedhto-), into Lat. -festus, giving ṇchestós, hostile (from "inexorable"), manuchestós, manifest, caught in the act.
Some assign Lat. -festus to a common PIE dhers, dare, be bold, as Gmc. derzan (cf. Goth. gadars, O.E. dearr, durran, Eng. dare), Gk. thrasys, Skt. dadharśa, O.Pers. darš-, O.C.S. druzate.
III.4.c. PIE skreibh, cut, separate, sift (an extension of sker), used as scratch, incise, hence write, as Lat. scrībere, giving skreibhtós, written, skréibhā, scribe, skréibhtos, script, skreibhtóriom, scriptorium, skréibhtā/skreibhtósā, scripture, adskreibho, ascribe, kikromskreibho, circumscribe, komskreibho, conscript, deskreibho, describe, enskreibho, inscribe, prāiskreibho, prescribe, proskreibho, proscribe, reskreibho, rescript, supskreibho, subscribe, superskreibho, superscribe, tran(s)skreibho, transcribe; from Greek is skréibhos, scratching, sketch, pencil, as Eng. scarify.
III.5. Common PIE sā, satisfy, as zero-grade satós, sated, satiated, as Gmc. sathaz (cf. Goth. sabs, O.N. saðr, O.H.G. sat, M.Du. sat, Eng. sad, Ger. satt, Du. zad), verb satio, satisfy, sate, as Gmc. sathōn (cf. O.E. sadian, Eng. sate); suffixed zero-grade saturós, full (of food), sated, as Lat. satur, in sáturā, satire, Lat. satyra, and saturā, saturate, Lat. saturā; satís, enough, sufficient, as Lat. satis, satiā, satisdhakio, satisfy, satiatā, satiety; sadrós, thick, as Gk. hadros.
135. Indo-European root (s)teu, push, stick, knock, beat, is behind suffixed studo, be diligent ("be pressing forward"), Lat. studere, giving stúdiom, eagerness, then "study, application", as in studiā, study, M.L. studiāre; other derivatives include extended (s)teupo, push, stick, knock, beat, as Gk. typtein, typos, Skt. tup-, tundate, Goth. stautan "push", O.N. stuttr, and common Germanic steupós, high, lofty, as Gmc. staupaz (cf. O.E. steap, O.Fris. stap, M.H.G. stouf, Eng. steep).
136. PIE sūs, pig, swine, and derivatives swīnos/-m, give Gmc. swinam (cf. Goth. swein, O.S., O.Fris. M.L.G., O.H.G.,O.E. swin, M.Du. swijn, Du. zwijn, Ger. Schwein), súkā, sugō (cf. O.N. sýr, O.E. sū, O.S., O.H.G. su, Du.
zeug, Eng. sow, Ger. Sau), cf. Lat. sūs, suinus, Umb. sif, Gk. hūs, Skr. sūkara, Av. hū, Toch. -/suwo, Ltv. sivēns, O.C.S. svinija Russ. svin, Polish świnia, Celtic sukko (cf. O.Ir. socc, Welsh hwch, O.E. hogg), Alb. thi.

Related Indo-European pórkos, young or little pig, gives Gmc. farkhaz (cf. O.E. fearh, M.L.G. ferken, O.H.G. farah, M.Du. varken, Ger. Ferkel, Eng. farrow), Lat. porcus, Umb. purka, Gk. porkos, Kurd. purs, O.Pruss. parstian, Lith. paršas, Russ. porosja, Polish prosię, prosiak, Gaul. orko O.Ir. orc, Lusitanian porcos.
137. PIE kákkā, shit, excrement, and verb shit, cf. Ger. Kacke, Lat. cacāre, Gk. kakkaō, Pers. keke(h), Arm. k'akor, Lith. kaka, Russ. kakat', O.Ir. cacc, Welsh cach.

Other words for "shit" are Gmc. skitan, from PIE skeit-, "split, divide, separate", and Lat. ekskreméntom, from ekskerno, "separate", therefore both revealing an older notion of a "separation" of the body.
For IE krei, sieve, discriminate, distinguish, compare kéidhrom/kéitrom, sieve, as Gmc. khrithram (cf. O.E. hridder, hriddel, Eng. riddle), Lat. crībrum; suffixed kréimēn, judgment, crime, as Lat. crīmen, as in kreimenālís, criminal, rekreimenā, recriminate, diskréimēn, distinction, diskreimenā, discriminate; suffixed zero-grade krino, sift, separate, decide, as metathesized Lat. cernere, in p.part kritós, (Lat. *kirtos) certain, komkrino, concern, komkrítos, concert, dekrítos, decree, diskrino, discern, diskomkritā, disconcert, ekskrino, separate, ekskritós, separated, purged, ekskritā, excrete, ekskriméntom, excrement, krititúdōn, certitude, ṇkrititúdōn, incertitude, swekrino, secern, swekritā, secret, swekrítarios, secretary; suffixed zero-grade krinio, separate, decide, judge, explain, as Gk. кpiveıv, in krítis, crisis, kritikós, critic, kritériōn, criterion, diakritikós, diacritic, endokrinós, endocrine, eksokrinós, exocrine, supokritíā, hypocrisy, krítā, judge, haimntokrítā, hematocrit (MIE haimn-, haimnto-, blood, are loan words from Gk. वíu $\alpha,-\alpha \tau o \varsigma$, usually MIE *saimn).
a. For Indo-European méigh, urinate, sprinkle, hence "mist, fine rain", also "mix" cf. Gmc. mihstu- (cf. Goth. maihstus, O.N. míga, O.E. miscian, mistel, O.H.G. miskan, Du.dial. mieselen, Swed. mäsk, Ger. mischen), maisk(cf. O.E. māsc, meox Swed. mäsk, Ger. Maisc, Eng. mash), Lat. mingere, meiere, Gk. omeikhein, Skr. mehati, Av. maēsati, Kurd. méz, Gk. omeihein, Toch. -/miśo, Arm. mizel, Lith. myžti, Ltv. mīzt, Russ. mezga, Pol. miazga. Latin micturire comes from suffixed míghtus, in mightusio, want to urinate, micturate.
b. PIE wem, vomit, gives O.N. váma, Lat. vomere, Gk. emeso, Skr. vamiti, Av. vam, Pers. vātāk, O.Pruss. wynis, Lith. vemti, Ltv. vemt.
c. PIE sp(j)ew, spit, gave Gmc. spjewan (cf. Goth. spiewan, ON spýja, O.E. spiwan, O.H.G. spīwan, Eng. spew, Ger. speien), Lat. spuere, Gk. ptuein, Skr. șṭivati, Av. spāma, Pers. tuf, Arm. t'us, Lith. spjauti, Ltv. spḷaut, O.C.S. pljujo, Russ. pljuju, Pol. pluć, Osset. thu,
d. kwas, cough, gave Gmc. hwostan (cf. O.N. hósta, O.E. hwōsta, O.H.G. huosto, Ger. Husten, Skr. kasāte, Toch. /kosi, Lith. kosėti, Ltv. kāsēt, Russ. kašljat', Pol. kaszleć, Ir. casachdach, Welsh pas, Alb. kollje, Kam. kâsa.
138. The name of the Rhine comes from Ger. Rhine, in turn from M.H.G. Rin, ultimately from an IE dialect, originally lit."that which flows", from PIE rej, flow, run, as Gk. rhein, with derivatives including suffixed rinuo, run, as Gmc. rinwan, rinnan, (cf. Goth., O.S., O.E. O.H.G., rinnan, O.N. rinna, M.Du. runnen, Ger. rinnen), Gmc. ril- (cf. Dutch ril, Low German rille, Eng. rill); suffixed réiwos, stream, river, as Lat. rīuus.
139. IE albhós, white, gives derivatives Lat. albus, Umb. alfu, Gk. alphos, Russ. lebed', Lyc. alb-. Other derivatives are álbhos, álbhis, "white thing", elf (from "white ghostly apparition"), as Gmc. albaz, albiz (cf.
O.N. alfr Eng. ælf, Gm. Alps, Eng. elf, also in Welsh elfydd, and in Álbherōn, Oberon from a Germanic source akin to O.H.G. Alberich, into O.Fr. Auberon), and fem. álbhiniā, elfin; Latin derivatives include albhinós, albino, álbhom, album, álbhomōn, albhómonā, albumen.

MIE Albhániā, Albania, comes from M.Gk. A $\lambda \beta \alpha v i \alpha$. Although the name of Albania in its language is different (Alb. Shqipëria, "Land of the eagles"), it appeared only after the Turkish invasions, and the name Albhániā is internationally used today. Probably the terms for Albanian speakers of Greece and Italy (as Arvanite, Arber, Arbëreshë, etc.) are also derived from this older noun.
A proper IE word for "eagle" is órōn (from older *h $h_{3}$ oron, cf. Hitt. harā-), as Gmc. arnuz (cf. Goth. ara, O.N. ari, O.E. earn, O.H.G. arn, Eng. erne, Ger. Aar), órnis, bird, as in Gk. ornitho-, and other derivatives from PIE root or-, large bird, cf. Gk. orneon, Arm. arciv, Old Prussian arelis, Lith. erelis, Ltv. ērglis, Russ. orel, Pol. orzel, O.Ir. irar, Welsh eryr, Alb. orë.

Álbhā, Scotland, is a Scots- and Irish-Gaelic name for Scotland, as well as Álbhiōn, Albion, which designates sometimes the entire island of Great Britain and sometimes the country of England. The "white" is generally held to refer to the cliffs of white chalk around the English town of Dover, in the south of Great Britain.
Common MIE names are Skotts, Scot, Skott(isk)léndhom, Scotland, and Germanic Skottiskós, scottish.
For "white, shining", compare also PIE argós, argís, as Goth. unairkns, O.E.. eorcnan(stān), Lat. arguō, Osc. aragetud, Gk. arguros, erchan, Skr. arjuna, Av. arəzah, Phryg. arg, Thrac. arzas, Toch. ārki/arkwi, Arm. arcat', Gaul. Argentoratum, O.Ir. argat, Welsh ariant, Hitt. harkiš. Common derivatives include Latin argéntom, silver, argent, argentinā, argentine; Greek argil(l)os, white clay, argil, argúros, silver, arginouís, brilliant, bright-shining; IE argús, brilliant, clear, in argúio, make clear, demonstrate, argue, Lat. arguere; suffixed argrós, white, Gk. argos.
140. Frankish loan words frankós, frank, and Fránkos, freeman, a Frank, (cf. O.E. Franca, O.H.G. Franko, M.L. Franc, Eng. Frank, Lith. franču, etc.), and Frankiskós, Frankish (cf. O.E. frencisc, Eng. French, Swe. Fransk, Du. frans, etc.), gives Fránkiā, France (as Fr. France, and not Frankē, which would be like Fr. Franche), and Frankiakós, or maybe secondary Frankosiskós (or Frankosistós), French, cf. Ger. Französisch, Rom. franțuzeşte, Russ. франиузский, Pol. francuski, etc. - the common Romance adj. from Lat. Francensis (cf. Fr. français, It. franzese, Spa. francés, etc.), *frankénts(is)? seems too a secondary formation.
Other country names in MIE:
a. Spain: Phoenician/Punic ‘Î-šəpānîm "the isle of hares" (where initial "hi" is a definite article). The Phoenician settlers found hares in abundance, and they named the land in their Canaanite dialect. The Latinspeaking Romans adapted the name as Hispania. The Latin name was altered among the Romance languages through O.Fr. Espagne and espaignol (through M.L. Hispaniolus), and entered English from Norman French, hence MIE Hispániā, Hispania, and Hispanós, Hispaniard, Hispanikós, Hispanic, and modern European words Spániā, Spain, Spanós, Spanish, cf. Lat. hispānus, Gk. ispanós.
b. Greece: From Gk. Граıкoi, Lat. Graecus (claimed by Aristotle to refer to the name of the original people of Epirus) is the general international name, hence MIE Graikós, Greek, Gráikiā, Greece. However, the proper old name is Sewlēnós, Hellene, Greek, (possibly from "luminary, bright"), as Gk."E $\lambda \lambda \eta$ vos, Sewlēnikós, Hellenic,
and Sewlás or Sewládā, Hellas/Ellas/Ellada, Greece, a word possibly related to Gk. غ̀̀- (hel-) "sun, bright, shiny", (cf. Gk. helios, "sun", from IE sāwel), in turn possibly related to the tribe of the Selloi, Gk. $\Sigma \varepsilon \lambda \lambda \lambda^{\prime}$ i.
c. Denmark: The Dhánes, Danes (Lat. Dani), were the dominant people of the region since ancient times. The origin of their tribal name is unknown, although it could be a Latin borrowing from a Germanic name, and as Gmc. dan- is IE dhen-, it is possibly related to PIE dhen, "low, flat", in reference to the lowland nature of most of the country (cf. etymology of Poland and Netherland). Dhan(ēm)márg(̄̄), Denmark, ("the March of the low landers"), with Gmc. gen. - $\overline{\mathbf{e}} \boldsymbol{m}$, is then from compound Dhan (in gen.pl) + marg, boundary, border.
PIE marg, boundary, border, gives derivatives marg(s), Gmc. mark-, "boundary, border territory", also "landmark, boundary marker", and "mark in general" (and in particular a mark on a metal currency bar, hence a unit of currency), cf. Goth. marka, O.N. mörk, O.E. mearc, merc, O.Fr. marc, O.Fris. merke, Du. merk, Ger. Mark, Sca. mark, and margio, note, notice, Gmc. markjan (cf. O.N. merki, O.H.G. merken, O.E. mearcian), in remargio, remark; also, derived from Germanic, compare fem. márgā, "mark out, mark", Gmc. markōn (cf. Frank. markōn, O.It. marcare), and "border country, march, marc", Gmc. markō (cf. O.Fr. marche, M.Lat. marca), and. Other derivatives include márgōn, border, edge, margin, as Lat. margo, in (ek)margonā, emarginate; Celtic variant mrógis, territory, land, mrógos, district, (cf. O.Ir. mruig, bruig, Welsh bro, Corn. bro, Bret. broin), in compound from British Celtic Kommrógos, Welsh, "fellow countryman" (cf. Welsh Cymro), as in Kommrógiā, Wales, Welsh Cymru.
d. Rōmaníā, Romania, comes from Rốmā, Rome, hence the same MIE adjective Rōmānós for (ancient and modern) Roman and Romanian people (cf. Rom. români), although modern borrowings MIE Rōmāniós/Rōmānianós and Rōmānistós (cf. common endings Rom. -eană, -eşte) could be used for Romanian. Older variants of the name were written with -u, as Eng. Rumania (probably a French-influenced spelling, from Fr. Roumanie), as Rom. rumâni.
141. From PIE pej, be fat, swell, are derivatives zero-grade pítuitā, moisture exuded from trees, gum, phlegm, as in pītuitáriā, pituitary; pínus, pine tree (yielding a resin), as Lat. pīnus, in píniā, pine, piña, píniōn, piñon; suffixed pî́wōn, fat, as Skr. pîvan, Gk. pīōn; suffixed pīweriós, fat, fertile, as Skr. pîvarī, Gk. pîeira, in Pî́weriā, "fertile region", cf. O.Ir. Īweriū (Ir. Eire, M.Welsh Iwerydd, Iwerddon, also in O.E. Īras, Eng. Ire[land]), Gk. Pièriā (a region of Macedonia, cf. Eng. Pierian Spring); extended o-grade póitos, plump, fat, in verb póitio, fatten, Gmc. faitjan, p.part. poiditós, fattened, giving póiditos, fat, as Gmc. faitithaz (cf. O.N. feitr, O.E. fætt, Du. vet, Ger. fett). Compare also Lat. pinguis (a mix of Lat. finguis, Gk. pakhus, and Lat. opīmus, Gk. pimelh). Gk. pitys, Skr. pituh, pitudaruh, payate, Lith. pienas.
"Pine tree" in PIE is gelunā, found in O.N. giolnar, Gk. kheilos, Arm. jelun/čelun, Lith. pušis, Ir. giúis.
142. IE reconstructed gńingos, "leader of the people", king, as Gmc. kuningaz (cf. O.N. konungr, O.H.G. kuning, O.E. cyning, Du. koning, Dan. konge, Ger. könig), is related to O.E. cynn, "family, race", Mod. Eng. kin (see gen); O.C.S. kunegu "prince" (cf. Rus. knyaz, Boh. knez), Lith. kunigas "clergyman", and Finnish kuningas "king", are deemed loans from Germanic. MIE neuter gningodhó́mos is a loan translation of Eng. king-dom, Du. konge-dømme (see dhē), as gningorếgiom is for Gmc. kuninga-rikjam (cf. Du. koninkrijk, Ger. Königreich, Da. kongerige, Swe. kungarike, Nor. kongerike). However, note that the proper O.E. word for "kingdom" was simply rīce, as PIE and MIE rếgiom.
143. The international name Montinécros, from necrós móntis, black mount(ain) (after the appearance of Mount Lovćen or its dark coniferous forests), was given by Italian conquerors, possibly from Venice. The term was loan-translated in Slavic (substituting their older name, Sla. Zeta) as Krsnấ Corấ (or Krsnocóriā), from krsnós, black (cf. Sla. čurnu, O.Pruss. kirsnan, Lith. kirsnas, Skr. kṛsna, from PIE kers), and corá́, mount(ain). PIE nominal root kers, heat, fire, gives kértā, hearth, "burning place", as Gmc. kherthō (cf. O.E. heorð, O.Fris. herth, M.Du. hert, Ger. Herd); zero-grade kídhōn, charcoal, ember, carbon, as Lat carbō (in light of Gmc. kherth-, O.Ind. kūdayāti), extended kremā, burn, cremate, as Lat. cremāre; sufixed extended Greek kerámos, potter's clay, earthenware, as in keramikós, ceramic; and in colour (apart from krsnós, black), compare extended verb krāso, color, as Russ. krasit'.
144. MIE Swéones (maybe orig. Swíonis), Suiones, from Swéōn, swede, is a proper reconstruction for Gmc. swioniz, (cf. O.E. Sweon, Sweonas); in O.N. svear/sviar, the $n$ disappeared in the plural noun, still preserved in the old adjective Swe. suensk, MIE Sweoniskós, swedish. The name became part of a compound, MIE Sweotéutā, "The Suione People" (see teutā), as O.N Svípjóð, O.E. Sweoðeod (cf. Ice. Svípjóð, Eng. Sweden, Ger. Schweden, Du. Zweden). The only Germanic nation having a similar naming was the Goths, who from the name Gmc. Gutans (cf. Suehans, "Swedes") created the form gut-piuda. The name Swethiuth and its different forms gave rise to the different IE names for Sweden (cf. M.Lat. Suetia, Gk. Dovnסia, Hi. Suī.dan, Pers. Sued, Lith. Švedija, Russ. Швеция, Pol. Szwecja, even Maltese Svezja, Heb. Shvedia, Jap. Suwēden, Kor. Seuweden, etc). Another modern (Scandinavian) compound comes from MIE Sweorếgiom, "The Realm of the Swedes", cf. O.N. Svíariki, O.E. Swēorïce (cf. Swe. Sverige, Da.,Nor. Sverige, Fae. Svøríki, Ltv. Zviedrija, Saami Sveerje, Svierik). Another Germanic compound that has not survived into modern times is Sweoléndhom, "The Land of the Swedes", as O.E. Swēoland.
145. Germanic Finnléndhom, "Land of the Finns", comes from the Norsemen's name for the Sami or Lapps, Finn or Finnós, Finn (cf. O.N. finnr, O.E. finnas). The word may be related to Eng. fen or find.
English "fen" is probably from an original IE pánio-, "marsh, dirt, mud", as Gmc. fanja- (cf. Goth. fani, O.E. fen, fenn, O.Fris. fenne, Du. veen, Ger. Fenn), borrowed in It., Sp. fango, O.Fr. fanc, Fr. fange; compare also Skr. pankah, O.Prus. pannean, Gaul. anam.
146. A PIE base per-, traffic in, sell ("hand over, distribute", see per), is behind enterpreso, negotiate, as in enterpréts, go-between, negotiator, interpret, verb enterpretā, interpret; prétiom, price, Lat. pretium, in pretiōsós, precious, adpretiā, appreciate, depretiā, depreciate; perno, sell, as in pornắ, prostitute, as Gk. $\pi о \rho v \eta$, in pornogrbhós (or abb. pornós), pornographic, porno.
Other meanings of IE base per- (from per, see also verb pero), are try, risk (from "lead over", "press forward"), and strike. Compare from the first meaning extended péros, danger, as Gmc. fêraz (cf. O.S.,O.N. fár, O.E. ff̄̄r, Ger. Gefahr Eng. fear); suffixed perítlom, danger, peril, as Lat. perīclum; suffixed and prefixed eksperio, try, learn by trying, as in ekspertós, tried, ekspértos, experienced, expert, eksperiméntom, experiment, eksperiéntiā, experience; périā, trial, attempt, as Gk. $\pi \varepsilon \iota \rho \alpha$, in periắtā, pirate, as Gk. лعוратńs, emperiākós, empiric. From the second meaning is extended Latin pre-m-, pre-s, as in premo, press, presós, pressed, giving présiōn, pressure, depremo, depress, deprésiōn, depression, ekspremo, express, ekspresós, express, eksprésos, espresso, enpremo, impress, enpremtós/enpresós, impressed, enpremtā,
imprint, obhpremo, oppress, obhpresós, oppressed, repremo, repress, represós, repressed, reprementā, reprimand, suppremo, suppress, suppresós, suppressed.
147. Latin eksáliom, exilium, "banishment", comes from eksál, Lat. exul, "banished person", from eks, "away", and PIE al, "wander", as in Gk. alasthai.
148. MIE parénts, father or mother, ancestor, as Lat parens, comes from verb paro, bring forth, give birth to, produce, Lat. parere, from PIE base per-, bring forth, as in parā, make ready, in prāiparā, prepare; for IE derivatives referring to young animals, cf. O.E. fearr, "bull", O.H.G. farro, Ger. Farre, Gk. poris, Skr. prthukah, Lith. pariu, Cz. spratek.
149. Indo-European ówis (older * $h_{2}$ owi-), sheep, gives Gmc. awiz (cf. Goth. awēpi, ON ǽr, O.E. ēow, O.H.G. ouwi, M.Du. ooge, Eng. ewe, Ger. Aue), Lat. ovis, Umbrian uvem, Gk. oı̧, Skr. avika, Toch. āuw, Arm. hoviv, O. Pruss. awins, Lith. avis, Ltv. avs, Russ. oвц, Polish owca, O.Ir. ói, Welsh ewig, Hitt. hawi, Luw. hāwi-, Lyc. xabwa. A common Latin derivative is owinós, ovine.
150. PIE root pek, pluck, gives pék $\overline{\mathbf{u}}$, cattle; compare Gmc. fehu (Goth. faihu, O.N. fé, O.E. feoh, O.H.G. fihu, Eng. fee, fellow, Ger. Vieh), Lat. pecu, pecū, Gk. лєк $\omega$, Skr. paśu, Av. pasu, Arm. asr, O. Pruss. pecku, Lith. pekus, Alb. pilë. Common derivatives include pékudom, feudal estate, feud, from Med.Lat. feudum, from Gmc. fehu; pekū́niā, property, wealth, as Lat. pecunia, gives pekūniāsiós, pecuniary, ṇpekūniós, impecunious; and suffixed pekúliom, riches in cattle, private property, gives pekūliālís, peculiar, and pekulā, peculate.
151. PIE egnís, fire, referred to fire as a living force (compare áqā-após), different to the inanimate substance pắwr, and gave known IE derivatives as Lat. ignis, Skr. agni, Lith. ugnis, Ltv. uguns, OCS ognĭ, Russ. огонъ, Polish ogień, Alb. enjte; Hitt. agniš. However, in Modern Indo-European (due to the disappearance of such old distinctions) both words have usually come to mean the same, with many dialects choosing only one as the main word for a general "fire".
152. Proto-Indo-European bhrūs, brow, is found in Ger. brū- (O.E. brū, Nor. brún, Ger. Braue, Eng. brow), Gk. oبpós, Skr. bhrus, Pers. abru, Toch. pärwāṃ/pärwāne, O.Pruss. wubri, Lith. bruvis, O.C.S. bruvi, Russ. бровь, Polish brew, Cel. briva (>bhrếwā, bridge), O.Ir. bru; Ancient Macedonian abroutes.
153. For Indo-European kerd, heart (old inflection Nom. kerds, Acc. kérdm, Gen. krdós, cf. Anatolian karts), compare suffixed kérdōn, as Gmc. khertōn (cf. Goth. hairto, O.S. herta, O.N. hjarta, O.E. heorte, O.H.G. herza, Du. hart, Eng. heart, Ger. Herz), Lat. cor (stem cord-, from krd), Gk. kardia, Skr. hṛdaya, Av. zərədā, Arm. sird/sirt, O. Pruss. seyr, Lith. širdis, Ltv. sirds, O.C.S. srǐdǐce, sreda, Russ. serdce, Pol. serce, O.Ir. cride, Welsh craidd, Bret. kreiz, Kamviri zâra. Common MIE words are from Latin zero-grade krdiālís, cordial, adkrdā, accord, komkrdā, concord, diskrdā, discord, rekrdā, record; further suffixed zero-grade Greek kŕdiā, heart, also stomach, orifice, gives krdiakós, cardiac, endokŕdiom, endocardium, epikŕdiom, epicardium, megalokŕdiā, perikídiom, pericardium; from compound kred-dha-, "to place trust" (an old religious term, from zero-grade of dhē, do, place), is kreddho, believe (a separable verb) as Lat. credere (cf. Fr. croire, It. credere, Spa. creer, Pt. acreditar, crêr, Rom. crede), in kredhénts, credence, kredhibhilís, credible, krédhitos, credit, kred dhō, "I believe", credo, kredholós, credulous.
West Germanic "believe" comes from IE komloubhio, "to hold dear", esteem, trust, as Gmc. galaubjan (cf. O.E. geleafa, ge-lēfan, gelyfan, Du. geloven, Ger. glauben), from PIE verbal root leubh, care, desire, love, as L.
lubet (later libet), Osc. loufit, Skt. lubhyati, Lith. liaupsė, O.C.S. ljubŭ, Pol. lubić, Alb. lum. Common derivatives include leubhós, dear, beloved, as Gmc. leubaz (cf. Goth. liufs, O.N. ljutr, O.E. leof, O.Fris. liaf, O.H.G. liob, Eng. lief, Ger. lieb), also o-grade lóubhā, permission, as Gmc. laubō (cf. O.E. leafe, Eng. leave); from zero-grade lúbhā, love, is Gmc. lubō (cf. Goth. liufs, O.N. ljúfr, O.E. lufu, O.Fris. liaf, O.H.G. liob, Eng. love, not found elsewhere as a noun, except O.H.G. luba, Ger. Liebe); also zero-grade stative lubhē, be dear, be pleasing, as Lat. libēre (O.Lat. lubēre); also, lúbhīdōn, pleasure, desire, as Lat. libīdō.

North Germanic verb "tro" comes from IE deru, faith, trust, as Eng. trust.
Slavic verb for believe, werio, comes from werós, true, cf. Russ. вepumb, Pol., wierzyć, Sr.-Cr. vjerovati, Slo. verovati, etc.
154. IE kwōn, $d o g$, gives derivatives Gmc. khundas (from kun(t)ós, originally Genitive, cf. Goth. hunds, O.E. hund, O.N. hundr, O.H.G. hunt, Eng. hound, Ger. Hund), Lat. canis, Gk. kuōn, Skr. śvan, Av. spā, Pers. sag, Phryg. kunes, Thrac. dinu-, Dacian kinu-, Toch. ku/ku, Arm. šun, O.Pruss. sunis, Lith. šuo, Ltv. suns, Russ. suka, Pol. suka, Gaul. cuna, O.Ir. cū, Welsh ci, Alb. shakë; Hitt. śuwanis, Lyd. kan-. Derivatives kwonikós, cynic, from Gk. кuvıкós; variant Lat. kánis gives kanāsiós, pertaining to dogs, kanários, canary, kaninós, canine.
155. Compare the well-attested derivatives of PIE numerals from one to ten:
I.The usual IE word for one is óinos, (earlier ${ }^{*} h_{1}$ oinos) one, only, attested as Gmc. ainaz (cf. Goth. ains, O.N. einn, O.E. ān, O.H.G. ein, Dan. een, O.Fris. an, Du. een), Lat. ūnus (O.Lat. oinus), Osc. uinus, Umb. uns, Gk. oi̋vŋ, O.Pruss. aīns, Lith. vienas, Ltv. viens, O.C.S., (юд)инъ, ино-, O.Russ. [од]инъ, [од]ина, Polish [јеd]en, Gaul. oinos, O.Ir. óin, Welsh un, Kamviri ev, Alb. një/nji, Osset. иу (iu). Slavic prefix ed-comes from IE ek, "out".

PIE root oi-, earlier * $h_{1}$ ói, (which gives oinos) had other rare compounds, as óiwos, one alone, unique, as Gk. oi(w)os, Av. aēva, O.Pers. aiva, óikos, (maybe óiqos) one, as Hitt. aika-, O.Ind. éka-, Hindi एक (ek), Urdu (ik), Rro. yek, Pers. s (yek), Kashmiri akh. It had also vowel grades ei-, i-, as in ijo-, Gk. iō.

Derivatives include alnóinos, "all one", alone, from alnós óinos, as W.Gmc. all ainaz (cf. Eng. alone, Ger. alleine, Du. alleen), nóin(os), "not one", none, from ne óinos, as Gmc. nain-az (cf. O.S., M.L.G. nen, O.N. neinn, O.E. nan, M.Du., Du. neen, O.H.G., Ger. nein, Eng. none), Lat. nōn (cf. also Lat. nec unus in It. nessuno, Spa. ninguno, Pt. ninguém); from Latin are óiniōn, union, oinio, unite, oinitós, united, óinitā, unity, oinitā, unite, adoinā, join, komadoinā, coadunate, oinanamós, unanimous, oinikórnis, unicorn, oiniwérsos, universe; suffixed oinikós, one, anyone, and sole, single, as Gmc. ainigaz (cf. O.S. enig, O.N. einigr, O.E. ænig O.Fris. enich, Du. enig, Ger. einig, Eng. any), Lat. ūnicus, also in óinkiā, one twelfth of a unit, as Lat. ūncia.

For ordinal MIE prwós [pr:-wós], first, also dialectal preismós, prowtós, pristós [pr-is-‘tos] (see more derivatives from per, forward, through, in front of, before, early, hence "foremost, first", cf. Hitt. para, Lyc. pri), compare Gmc. furistaz (cf. O.N. fyrstr, O.E. fyrst, O.H.G. furist, fruo, Eng. first, Ger. Fürst, früh), Lat. primus, Osc. perum, Umb. pert, Gk. prōtos, Skr. prathama, Av. paoiriia, pairi, Osset. fyccag, farast, Toch. parwät/parwe, O.Pruss. pariy, Lith. pirmas, Ltv. pirmais, O.C.S. pı̆rvŭ, Russ. pervyj, Polish pierwszy, O.Ir. er, Welsh ar, Alb. i parë, Kam. pürük.

PIE root sem-, one, together, united (Nom. séms/sōms, Gen. s(e)mós/somós, and as prefix sme), which refers to the unity considered as a whole, and appears usually in word compounds, as in seme, at once, at the
same time, sémel, one time, as Lat. simul, ensémel, at the same time, ensemble; sémele, formerly, once, etc. Compare Gmc. sam- (cf. Goth. sama, O.N. sami, O.E. sum, O.H.G. saman, Eng. some, Ger. [zu]sammen), Lat. semel, Gk. heis, Skr. sakṛt, Av. hakeret, O.Pers. hama, Toch. sas/ṣe, Arm. mi, Lith. sa, Russ. cam, O.Ir. samail, Welsh hafal, Alb. gjithë, Kam. sâ~; Hitt. san, Lyc. sñta.

Derivatives include Greek full grade semdekmkomlabikós, hendecasyllabic (from MIE borrowing kómlabā, syllable, Gk. sullambanein, to combine in pronunciation, from kom and Gk. lambanein, to take), semodhesísmos, henotheism (see dhēs), suposem, hyphen (see supo); smkmtóm, see kmtóm, hundred; suffixed sémel, at the same time, Lat. simul, as in semeltaniós, simultaneous, adsemelā, assemble; sem(g)olós, alone, single, Lat. singulus; compound sémper (see per), always, ever ("once and for all"), Lat. semper; o-grade som, together, Skr. sam, and zero-grade extended sḿmn, together with, at the same time, as Gk. hama; o-grade suffixed somós, same, as Gmc. samaz (cf. O.N. samr, Eng. same), Gk. homos, in somo-, homo-, somio-, homeo-, sómilos, crowd, somiliā, discourse, homily, Gk. ó $\mu \lambda i ́ a ;$ somlós, like, even, level, in ṇsomlós, anomalous, somlogrbhikós, homolographic; lengthened sōmís, fitting, agreeable, (< "making one", "reconciling"), as Gmc. somiz (cf. O.N. soemr, Eng. seem, seemly), also in sōmo-, self, Russ. sam(o); zerograde $\boldsymbol{s m}$-, as Gk. ha-, a-, "together" (the ' $a$ copulativum', ' $a$ athroistikon') as e.g. in $a$-delphos "brother", from sm-celbhos literally "from the same womb" (cf. Delphi), cognate to English same (cf. Symbel), or Skr. saṃ-, present e.g. in the term for the language itself, viz. s(o)ms-qrtā, Skr. saṃ-s-krtā "put together"; smplós, simple, Lat. simplus, Gk. haploos, haplous, also smpléks, "one fold", simple, as Lat. simplex, in smplếkitā, simplicity; suffixed sḿmos, one, a certain one, also -smmos, like, as Gmc. sumaz (cf. O.E. sum, -sum, Eng. some, -some); smmlós, of the same kind, like, similar, as Lat. similis, adsmmlā, assimilate; usually reconstructed *śmteros, one of two, other, as Gk. heteros (older hateros), although sńteros (cognate with Lat. sine) should be used.

Compare also sé́mi, half, generally as first member of a compound, as Gmc. sēmi- (cf. O.E. sām-, in compounds samblind, samlæred, "half-taught, badly instructed", samstorfen), Gk. hēmi, and Lat. semi- and sémis, half.
II. The forms for "two" alternate dwo/do, with duw-/du-, cf. Gmc. two- (cf. Goth. twai, O.N. tveir, O.E. $t w \bar{a}$, O.H.G. zwene, Eng. two, Ger. zwei), Lat. duo, Osc. dus, Umb. tuf, Gk. סv́o, Skr. dva, Av. duua, Pers. duva, Pers. do, Toch. wu/wi, Arm. erku, O.Pruss. dwāi, Lith. du/dvi, Ltv. divi, O.C.S. dŭva, Russ. dвa, Pol. dwa, Gaul. vo, O.Ir. dá, Welsh dau, Kamviri dü, Alb. dy; Hitt. dā-, Lyc. tuwa. See also ámbhos, both.

Common PIE "second" was alterós (from PIE al, beyond) and anterós, "the other of the two, the second, other", cf. Gmc. antharaz (cf. O.S. athar, O.N. annarr, Ger. ander, Goth. anpar), Lat. alter, Lith. antras, Skt. antarah, both senses still found in some modern languages, cf. Da. anden, Swe. andra, Nor. andre, Ice. annar.

To avoid ambiguity, some languages have renewed the vocabulary, as in suffixed participial Lat. seqondós, following, coming next, second (from PIE seq, follow), borowed in English second, while others have made compounds imitating the general ordinal formation in their dialects (cf. Ger. zweite, Du. tweede, Gk. סevite Skr. dvitīya, Fr. deuxième, Ir. dóú, Bret. daouvet, etc.), hence MIE dwoterós, dwitós, dwiós, etc.
Slavic languages have undergone a curious change, retaining the same words for "other" and "second" (and therefore the ambiguity), but using a word for "friend" (hence "other"), from IE deru, be firm, solid (hence also "be trustworthy"), compare O.Sla. дpoyzъ, giving Russ. дpyz, O.Pol. drug, Sr.-Cr., Slo. drûg, Cz., Slk. druh,
O.Pruss. draugiwaldūnen, Lith. draũgas, sudrugti, Lath. dràugs, and even Germanic (cf. verbs Goth. driugan, O.N. draugr, O.E. dréogan, Eng. dial. dree, "endure", and as noun Goth. gadraúhts, O.H.G. trucht, truhtin).
III.For PIE root tri- trei- (cf. Hitt. tri-, Lyc. trei), giving IE tréjes, three, compare Gmc. thrijiz (cf. Goth. preis, O.N. prír, O.E. brēo, O.H.G. drī, Eng. three, Ger. drei), Lat. trēs, Umb. trif, Osc. trís, O.Gk. $\tau \rho \varepsilon i ́ ̧$, Gk.Cret. $\tau \rho \varepsilon ́ \varepsilon \varsigma$, Gk.Lesb. $\tau \rho \tilde{\eta}$, Skr. tráyas, tri, Av. thri, Phryg. thri-, Illyr. tri-, Toch. tre/trai, Arm. erek', O.Pers. çi, Pers. se, O.Pruss. tri, Lith. trỹs, Ltv. trīs, Sla. trbje (cf. O.C.S. trĭje, O.Russ. mpue, O.Cz. třie, Polish trzy), Gaul. treis, O.Ir. treí, Welsh tri, Alb. tre. Modern derivatives include zero-grade trístis (from tri+st, see stā), "third person standing by", witness, as Lat. testis, in trístā, witness, trístāments, testament, tristíkolos, testicle, adtristā, attest, komtristā, contest, detristā, detest, obhtristā, obtest, protristā, protest, tristidhakā, testify; suffixed o-grade form trójā, group of three, gives Russian tróikā.
For ordinal trit(i)ós, trtijós, compare Gmc thridjaz (cf. Goth. pridja, O.N. priðe, O.E. pridda, O.Fris. thredda, O.S. thriddio, O.H.G. dritto, M.L.G. drudde, Du. derde, Ger. dritte), Lat. tertius, Gk. tritos, Skt. tritiyas, Avestan thritya, Lith. trecias, O.C.S. tretiji, O.Ir. triss, with common derivatives including trítiom, tritium.
IV. Alternating forms of four are qetwor, qtwor, qetur, qetr, qetwr. Unlike one, two, three, the inflected forms of "four", i.e. m. qetwóres, f. qetwesóres, n. qetwốr, are not common to all IE dialects; compare Gmc. fe(d)wor (cf. Goth. fidwor, O.N. fjórir, O.S. fiwar, O.Fris. fiuwer, Frank. fitter-, O.E. fēower, O.H.G. feor, Eng. four, Ger. vier Dan. fire, Sw. fyra), Lat. quattuor, Osc. petora, Umb. petor, Gk.Hom. $\tau \varepsilon \dot{\sigma} \sigma \alpha \rho \varepsilon \varsigma, ~ \pi i \sigma v \rho \varepsilon \varsigma, ~ G k . I o n . ~$ $\tau \varepsilon ̇ \sigma \sigma \varepsilon \rho \varepsilon \varsigma, ~ G k . D o r . \tau \varepsilon ́ \tau o \rho \varepsilon \varsigma, ~ O . I n d . ~ c a t v a ̄ r a s, ~ c a t u ́ r a s, ~ A v . ~ c ̌ a t h w a r, ~ c ̌ a t u r a m, ~ P e r s . ~ c ̌ a h a ̄ r, ~ K u r d . ~ c ̌ w a r, ~ T h r a c . ~$ ketri-, Toch. śtwar/śtwer, Arm. č'ork', O.Pruss. keturjāi, Lith. keturì, O.Ltv. cetri, O.C.S. četyri, Russ. четыре, Pol. cztery, Gaul. petor, O.Ir. cethir, Welsh pedwar, Bret. pevar, Alb. katër, Kam. što; Lyc. teteri.

For ordinal adjective qeturós, qetwrtós (also qeturtós), compare Gmc. fedworthaz (cf. O.E. fēortha, fēowertha, O.H.G. fiordo, M.Du. veerde, Ger. vierte, Eng. fourth), Lat. quārtus, Lith. ketvirtas, Russ. четвёртый, Cz. čtvrtý, Ir. ceathrú, Welsh pedwaredd.
V. For Indo-European pénqe, five, compare Gmc. finfe (cf. Goth. fimf, O.S. fif, O.N. fimm, O.E. fif, O.H.G. funf), Lat. quinque, Osc. pompe, Umb. pumpe, Gk. $\pi \varepsilon ́ v \tau \varepsilon, ~ S k r . ~ p a n ̃ c a, ~ A v . ~ p a n ̣ c ̌ a, ~ O . P e r s . ~ p a n c ̌ a, ~ P h r y g . ~ p i n k e, ~$ Toch. päñ/piś, Arm. hing, O.Pruss. pēnkjāi, Lith. penki, Ltv. pieci, O.C.S. pętĭ, Russ. nяmъ, Polish pięć, Gaul. pempe, O.Ir. cóic, Welsh pump, Alb. pesë, Kam. puč; Luw. panta.

For ordinal penqtós, compare Gmc. finfthaz (cf. Eng. fifth, Du. vijfde, Ger. fünfte, Sca. femte, etc.), Lat. quintus, Gk. лغ́ $л \tau \tau о \varsigma, ~ L i t h . ~ p e n k t a s, ~ R u s s . ~ п я т ы и ̆, ~ C z . ~ p a ́ t y ́, ~ I r . ~ c u ́ i g i u ́, ~ W e l s h ~ p u m e d, ~ B r e t . ~ p e m p v e t, ~ e t c . ~$
VI. For PIE "six", sweks and seks (also weks in Arm. vec', originally then probably PIE *sweks), compare Gmc. sekhs (cf. Goth. saihs, O.S. seks, O.N., O.Fris. sex, O.E. siex, O.H.G. sēhs, M.Du. sesse), Lat. sex, Osc. sehs, Umb. sehs, Gk. $\dot{\varepsilon} \xi$, Skr. șaṣ, Av. khšwuaš, Pers. šeš, Osset. æxsæz, Illyr. ses-, Toch. ṣäk/ṣkas, O.Pruss. usjai, Lith. šeši, Ltv. seši, O.C.S. šestǐ, Russ. wecmı, Polish sześć, Gaul. suex, O.Ir. sé, Welsh chwech, Alb. gjashtë, Kam. ṣu.

For $\mathbf{s}(\mathbf{w}) \mathbf{e k s t o ́ s , ~ c o m p a r e ~ G m c . ~ s e k h s t h a z ~ ( c f . ~ O . E . ~ s i e x t a , ~ F r i s . , G e r . ~ s e c h s t e , ~ D u . ~ z e s d e , ~ D a . ~ s j e t t e ) ~ L a t i n ~ s e x t u s , ~}$ Gk. غ̇ктоৎ, Lith. šeštas, Russ. wecmoŭ, Cz. šestý, Sr.-Cr.,Slo. šesti, Ir. séú, Welsh chweched, Bret. c'hwec'hvet, etc.
VII. For PIE séptm, septı́n, seven, compare Gmc. sebun (cf. O.S. sibun, O.N. sjau, O.E. seofon, O.Fris. sowen, siugun, O.H.G. sibun, Du. zeven), Lat. septem, Oscan seften, Gk. غ̇лtá, Skr. saptá, Av. hapta, Pers. haft, Osset.
avd, Toch. ṣpät (ṣäpta-)/ṣukt, Arm. evt'n, O. Pruss. septīnjai, Lith. septynì, Ltv. septin̨i, O.C.S. sedmŭ, O.Russ. семъ, Polish siedem, Gaul. sextan, O.Ir. secht. Welsh saith. Alb. shtatë (from septmtí-), Kamviri sut; Hitt. šipta-.
For ordinal septm(m)ós, compare Gmc. sebunthaz (cf. Eng. seventh, Ger. siebente, Du. zevende, Da. syvende, Swe. sjunde), Lat. septimus, Gk. غ̇ßסo $\quad$ оц, Lith. sekmas, Russ. седьмой, Ir. seachtú, Welsh seithfed, Bret. seizhvet.
VIII.For PIE óktō(u), eight, older ${ }^{*} h_{3}$ ekteh $_{3}$, compare Gmc. akhto(u) (cf. Goth. ahtau, O.N. átta, O.E. eahta, O.H.G. ahto), Lat. octō, Osc. uhto, Gk. oкtผ́, Skr. aṣṭa, Av. ašta, O.Pers. ašta, Toch. okät/okt, Arm. ut', O.Pruss. astōnjai, Lith. aštuoni, Ltv. astoṇi, OCS osmй, Russ. восемъ, Polish osiem, Gaul. oxtū, O.Ir. ocht, Welsh wyth, Alb. tëte, Kam. ușṭ; Lyc. aitãta-.
For common ordinal oktowós, or newer imitative formations oktotós, oktomós, compare Gmc. akhtothaz (cf. Eng. eighth, Ger. achte, Du.,Fris. achtste, Swe. åttonde), Lat. octavus (but cf. Fr. huitième), Gk. ógdoos, Russ. (в)осьмой, Cz. osmý, Ir. ochtú, Welsh wythfed, Bret. eizhvet.
IX.PIE néwn (older *h2néwn), nine, gave Gmc. niwun (cf. Goth.,O.H.G. niun, O.Fris. niugun, O.N. níu, O.E. nigon), Lat. novem, Osc. nuven, Umb. nuvim, Gk. ह́vvéa, Skr. nava, Av. nauua, O.Pers. nava, Pers. noh, Toch. $\tilde{n} u$, Arm. inn, O.Pruss. newīnjai, Lith. devynì, Ltv. deviņi, O.C.S. devęť̆, Russ. девять, Polish dziewięć, Gaul. navan, O.Ir. nói, Welsh naw, Alb. nëntë/nândë, Kam. nu; Lyc. ñuñtãta-. Slavic common form devętb, from PIE néwntis, is also found in O.N. niund, Gk. (f.) ह̇vveás, O.Ind. navatís, Av. navaiti-. For ordinals nown(n)ós, neuntós, compare Gmc. niunthaz (cf. Eng. ninth, Ger. neunte, Du. negende, Da. niende, Swe. nionde), Lat. nonus, nouenus, (but Fr. neuvième), Gk. ह́vatoৎ, Russ. девятый, Cz. devátý, Ir. naoú, Welsh nawfed, Bret. navvet.
X. For PIE dékm(t) [‘de-km], also dekḿ, ten, compare Gmc. tekhun (cf Goth. taihun, O.S. tehan, O.N. tíu, O.Fris. tian, O.E. tīen, O.Du. ten, O.H.G. zēhen), Lat. decem, Osc. deken, Umb. desem, Gk. ס̇́ka, Skr. daśa, Av. dasa, Pers. datha, Dacian dece-, Toch. śäk/śak, Arm. tasn, O.Pruss. desīmtan, Lith. dešimt, Ltv. desmit, O.C.S. desętř, Russ. десять, Polish dziesięć, Gaul. decam, O.Ir. deich, Welsh deg, Alb. dhjetë/dhetë, Kam. duc.
For ordinal dekm(m)ós, dekmtós, compare Gmc. tekhunthaz (cf. O.E. teogopa, Ger. zehnte, Du.,Da. tiende, Swe. tionde, Eng. tithe, tenth), Lat. decimus, Gk. dékatos, Lith. dešimtas, Russ. десятый, Cz. desátý, Ir. deichiú, Welsh degfed, Bret. dekvet.
156. This is the general situation in PIE (cf. e.g. for "twelve", Ved.Skr. dvádaśa, Lat. duodecim, Gk. $\delta \dot{\delta} \delta \varepsilon \kappa \alpha$, Ir. dó dheag, etc.), although some dialectal differences are found:
a. In Slavic and dialectal Baltic, a peculiar form -nódekm (-pódekm), lit. "on ten", is used, e.g. $\boldsymbol{q e t w r n o ́ d e k m ~ ( q e t w r p o ́ d e k m ) ~ " f o u r ~ o n ~ t e n " , ~ а s ~ R u s s . ~ ч е т ы р н а д ц а т ь , ~ i . е . ~ ч е т ы р е + н а + д ц а т ь , ~ ( L t v . ~}$ četrpadsmit, i.e. četri+pad+desmit), cf. Pol. czternaście, Cz. čtrnáct, Sr.-Cr. četrnaest, etc.
b. Germanic and dialectal Baltic use compounds with MIE -liq(a), left over (see leiq), in Germanic only óinliq(a), "one left (beyond ten)", as Gmc. ain-lif (cf. Goth. ain-lif, O.E. endleofan, O.H.G. elf, Eng. eleven), Lith. vienio-lika, dwóliq(a), "two left (beyond ten)", as Gmc. twa-lif (cf. Goth. twalif, O.S. twelif, O.N. tolf, O.E. O.E. twelf, O.Fris. twelef, M.Du. twalef, O.H.G. zwelif), Lith. dvy-lika; also, compare Lithuanian try-lika, "thirteen", keturio-lika, "fourteen", etc.
For PIE leiq, leave, compare Gmc. laikhwnjan (cf. Goth. leihaan, O.N. ljá, O.E. l̄̄nan O.H.G. līhan, Eng. lend, Ger. leihen), Lat. linqū̄, Gk. leipō, Skr. riṇakti, Av. raexnah, Pers. rēxtan, Arm. lk'anem, O.Pruss. polijcki, Lith. likti, Ltv. likt, Russ. olek, O.Ir. léicid. Common derivatives include ekléiqtis, eclipse, ellipsis, Gk. ह̈ $\lambda \lambda \varepsilon \varepsilon \psi ı$; o-
grade lóiqnis, loan, as Gmc. laikhwniz (cf.O.N. lān, Eng. loan), loiqnio, lend, as Gmc. laikhwnjan, ; nasalized linqo, leave, as Lat. linquere, in delinqénts, delinquent, relinqo, relinquish, relíi(n)qua, relic, etc.
c. It is believed that in some Germanic dialects an inflected form of -dekm- was possibly used (cf. O.E. -tēne, tīne, -týne, Eng. -teen), maybe IE *-dekmis.
157. The suffix -k(o)mtă̈, ten times, comes probably ultimately from zero-grade PIE * $d k m t H$, from dékm(t), ten, and is found as Lat. -gintā, Gk. -konta; it is also found in Germanic full-grade dekmtós, tenth, Gmc. teguntha- (cf. O.E. teogotha, tēotha, Eng. tenth, tithe).
Germanic suffix -tig, "group of ten", representing "ten" in cardinal numbers (as Eng. sixty, seventy, etc.), possibly an independent Gmc. root (cf. O.E., Du. -tig, O.Fris. -tich, O.N. -tigr, O.H.G. -zig, -zug), existed as a distinct word in Goth. tigjus, O.N. tigir, "tens, decades". Germanic retains traces of an old base-12 number system, as the words eleven, "leave one", and twelve, "leave two", show, v.s. Old English also had hund endleofantig for 110 and hund twelftig for 120 . One hundred was hund teantig. O.N. used hundrað for 120 and pusend for 1,200. Tvauhundrað was 240 and priuhundrað 360.
Balto-Slavic dialects use the forms that MIE reserves for the tens (due to their different formation), i.e.
 trzydzieści, Sr.-Cr. trideset, etc.
158. For IE (d)wīkńtī, twenty, originally then *dwi-dkomt-, compare Lat. vīgintī, Gk. cíкool, Skr. viñ́śati, Av.
 njëzet/njizet, Kamviri vici. For newer formations in Balto-Slavic, as MIE dwo+dekm, cf. Lith. divdesmit, Russ. двадцать, Pol. dwadzieścia, Cz. dvacet, Sr.-Cr., Bul. dvadeset, Slo.,Slk. dvajset, Rom. douăzeci.
Indo-European tens are generally found in the oldest - or more archaic - attested dialects as compounds of zero-grade numbers with -dkomt-, as trikómt( $(\stackrel{\overline{\mathbf{a}}}{ })$ (Lat. trīgintā, Gk. triákonta, Ir. tríocha, Skr. triñśat), qetwrkómt( $(\breve{\mathbf{a}})$ (cf. Lat. quadrāgintā, Gk. tessarákonta, Skr. catvāriñśat), penqekómt( ${ }_{\text {ä }}$ ) (cf. Lat. quinquāgintā, Gk. pentêkonta, Ir. caoga, Skr. pañcāśat), s(w)ekskómt(्̄̆̄) (cf. Lat. sexāgintā, Gk. exêkonta, Ir. seasca, Skr. şaștiḥh), septmkómt(̄̆̄̆) (cf. Lat. septuāgintā, Gk. heptákonta, Ir. seachtó, Skr. saptatiḥ), newnkómt( $(\overline{\mathbf{a}})$ (cf. Lat. nonāgintā, Gk. ennenêkonta, Ir. nócha, Skr. navatiḥ).
For PIE kmtóm, hundred, (probably from *dkmtóm, a zero-grade suffixed form of dékm, ten), compare Gmc. khunda (cf. Goth. hund, O.H.G. hunt), Lat. centum, Gk. عкатóv, Skr. śata, Av. satem, Pers. sad, Toch. känt/kante, O.Lith. šim̃tas, Ltv. simts, O.C.S. sŭto, Russ. cmo, Pol. sto, Gaul. cantam, O.Ir. cét, Welsh cant. Also, West Germanic dialectal MIE kḿtt(m)-radhom (for rádhom, number, see ar), khund(a)-ratham, as O.N. hundrað, O.E. hundred, Ger. hundert, Eng. hundred.

A general Proto-Indo-European inflected noun for "thousand" was (sm)ghéslos, -om, - $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$, (one) thousand, as Skr. sahasram, Av. hazaram, Pers. hāzar, Toch. wälts/yaltse, Russ. число, Cz. číslo. Common MIE derivatives include ghéslioi, thousand, as O.Gk. xìıoı, in gheslo-, kilo-, and Latin derivatives from mïlle, O.Lat. mī $h \bar{\imath}) \bar{\imath}$, in turn from an older PIE suffixed sm-ghesl-i.
The usual (uninflected) Germanic and Balto-Slavic common form túsntī, "massive number" hence "thousand", gave Gmc. thusundi (cf. Goth. pusundi, O.N. púsund, O.E. pūsunt, O.Fris. thusend, O.H.G. pūsunt, Du. duizend),

Toch. tumane/tmām, Lith. tūkstantis, Ltv. tūkstots, OCS tysø̨̌ti, Russ. тысяча, Polish tysiąc. It is possibly related to PIE tew, swell, and some consider it an older *tūs-kmtī->*túsmtī/túsomtī, "swollen hundred".
159. For IE verb pel, fold, compare o-grade nouns póltōn, fold, as Gmc. falthan (cf. Goth. falban, O.N. falda, O.E. faldan, fealdan, M.L.G. volden, Ger. falten), and combining forms -póltos, as Gmc. -falthaz (cf. Goth. falbs, O.N. -faldr, O.E. -feald, -fald, Ger. -falt), and -plos, as Lat. -plus, Gk. $-\pi \lambda o \varsigma$, $-\pi \lambda$ óos, also as Gk. лo $\lambda \dot{\prime}$, still used in modern Greek. Extended IE base pleks, plait, gives o-grade plóksom, flax, as Gmc. flakhsam (cf. O.E. fleax, O.Fris. flax, Ger. Flachs), full-grade -pleks, -fold, in compounds such as dupleks, tripleks, mltipleks, etc., and as verb plekā, fold, plicate, Lat. plicāre, in adplekā, apply, komplekā, complicate, kómpleks, complice, eksplekā, deploy, deeksplekā, deploy, display, enplekā, involve, implicate, employ, enplekitós, implicit, replekā, replicate, reply; suffixed plekto, weave, plait, entwine, as Lat. plectere, p.part. plekstós (from *plekttos), as in plékstos, plexus, amplekstos, amplexus, komplekstio, entwine, komplekstós, complex, perplekstós, confused, perplexed; Greek plektós, twisted.
160. For PIE mónoghos (root menegh-), much, many, compare Gmc. managaz (cf. Goth. manags, O.S. manag, O.E. monig, manig, O.Fris. manich, Swed. mången, Du. menig, Ger. manch), O.C.S. munogu, Russ. много, Cz. mnoho, O.Ir. menicc, Welsh mynych. The compound monoghopóltos, manifold, is common to Germanic dialects, cf. Goth. manag-falps, O.E. monigfald (Anglian), manigfeald (W.Saxon), O.Fris. manichfald, M.Du. menichvout, Swed. mångfalt, etc.
161. For PIE first person eg, egố, (and Indo-Iranian egóm), compare Gmc. ek (cf. Goth. ik, O.Fris. ik, O.E. Ic, O.N. ek, O.H.G. ih, Norw. eg, Dan. jeg, Eng. I, Ger. ich), Lat. ego, Umb. eho, Gk. $\dot{\varepsilon} \gamma \overline{\text { é, Av. azzm, O.Lith. eš, }}$ O.Pruss.,Ltv. es, O.C.S. aзъ, O.Russ. язъ, O.Pol. jaz, Kam. õc; Hitt. uk, Carian uk. Dialectal Skr. aham, Ven. exo, could show a variant form * $\boldsymbol{e g h o ́}(\boldsymbol{m})$, while Slavic $a z ъ$ and Anatolian ug forms show maybe another old o-grade variant * $\boldsymbol{O}$ go, although this is disputed. Derivatives from inflected me(ghi) include Gmc. me(ke) (cf. O.N., Goth. mik, O.E. me, mec, O.H.G. mih), Lat. me, Umb. mehe, Ven. mego, Gk. eme, Skt. mam, Av. mam, Russ. mne, O.Ir. mé, Welsh mi, Alb. mua, etc.
162. For PIE we(i), we, compare Gmc. wiz (cf. Goth. wit, weis, O.S. wi, O.N. vit, vér, O.E. wē, O.Fris. wi, O.H.G. wir, Dan. vi, Du. wij), Skr. vayam, Av. vaēm, O.Pers. vayam, Toch. was/wes, Lith. vedu, Hitt. wēs. For inflected IE ns-, nos, compare Gmc. uns- (cf. Goth. unsar, ugkis, ON oss, okkr, O.E., us, uncer, O.S., O.Fris. us, O.H.G. unsih, unser, Swed. oss), Lat. nōs, Gk. no, Skr. nas, Av. nō, O.Pers. amaxām, Toch. nás, O.Pruss. noūson, Lith. nuodu, Russ. nas, Polish nas, O.Ir., Welsh ni, Alb. ne; Hitt. anzās.
163. For Indo-European tu, you (sg.), compare Gmc. thu (cf. Goth. pu, O.N. pú, O.E. pu, O.H.G. thu, Eng. thou, Ger. $d u$ ), Lat. $t \bar{u}$, Osc. tuvai, Umb. tu, Gk. su, Skr. tvam, Av. $t \bar{u}$, O.Pers. tuva, Toch. tu/tuwe, Arm. tu, O.Pruss. toū, Lith. tu, Ltv. tu, O.C.S.,Russ. ty, Polish ty, O.Ir. tú, Welsh ti, Alb. ti, Kam. tü; Hitt. tuk.
164. PIE ju(s), you (pl.), gives Gmc. iuwiz (cf. Goth. jus, O.N. yor, O.S. iu, O.E. [g]ē-ow, O.Fris. iu-we, M.Du. u, O.H.G. ir, iu-wih), Gk. humeis, Skr. yūyam, Av. yūžəm, Toch. yas/yes, Arm. dzez, O.Pruss. ioūs, Lith. jūs, Ltv. jūs. For wos, us-, compare Lat. vōs, Umb. uestra, Skr. vas, Av. vō, O.Pruss. wans, Russ. vy, vas, Polish wy, was.
165. Indo-European reflexive $\mathbf{s}(\mathbf{w}) \mathbf{e}$ gave Goth. sik, O.N. sik, O.H.G. sih, Ger. sich, Lat. sē, sibi, Oscan sífeí, Umbrian seso, Gk. heos, Skr. sva, Av. hva, Phryg. ve, Arm. ink's, O.Pruss. sien, sin, Lith. savo, Ltv sevi, O.C.S. se, Russ. sebe, -sja, Alb. vetë; Carian sfes, Lyd. śfa-. Derivatives include suffixed sélbhos, self, Gmc. selbaz (cf. Goth.
silba, O.N. sjalfr, O.E. seolf, sylf, O.Fris. self, Du. zelf, O.H.G. selb), s(w)ebh(ó)s, "one's own", blood relation, relative, as Gmc. sibjas (cf. Goth. sibja, O.S. sibba, O.E. sibb, O.Fris., M.Du. sibbe, O.H.G. sippa, Eng. sib, Ger. Sippe); suffixed swóinos, "one's own (man)", attendant, servant, also sheperd, as Gmc. swainaz (cf. O.N. sveinn, O.E. swan, O.S. swen, O.H.G. swein, Eng. swain); suffixed $\boldsymbol{s}(\boldsymbol{u}) \boldsymbol{w}-$-, as in suwikīdā, sucide, and swốmis, "one's own master", owner, prince, as Skr. svāmī; extended sed, sē, without, apart (from "on one's own"); suffixed o-grade sōlos, by oneself alone, Lat. sōlus, as in sōlitāsiós, solitary, desōlā, desolate; suffixed swēdhsko, accustom, get accustomed, as Lat. suēscere, as in komswēdhsko, accustom, p.part. komswēstós (<* komswēdh(sk)to-), in komswēstū́dōn, consuetude, custom, deswēstū́dōn, desuetude, manswèstúdōn, mansuetude; suffixed extended swetrós, comrade, companion, as O.Gk. hetaros; suffixed form sweinós, self, as O.Ir. féin, as in Sinn Fein; suffixed swétos, from oneself.

Some linguists connect the pronoun to an older PIE root swe- meaning family, in turn related with su, be born, which would have frozen in ancient times through composition in words like sw-esōr, lit. "woman of the own family" (from sw-, "family, own" and ésor-, woman), as opposed to the generic ésōr or cénā, woman.
166. For PIE deuk, lead, also "pull, draw", compare Gmc. teuhan (cf. O.E. tēon, O.H.G. ziohan, Eng. tug, Ger. ziehen, Zug), M.Welsh dygaf, Alb. nduk; zero-grade suffixed dúkā, draw, drag, Gmc. tugōn (cf. O.E. togian, Eng. tow), and prefixed ekdukā, lead out, bring up, educate, in Lat. ēducāre; suffixed o-grade doukē, bind, tie; dóukmos, descendant, family, race, brood, hence "team", as Gmc. tauhmaz, O.E. tēam, and denominative verb doukmio, beget, teem, as Gmc. taukhmjan, O.E. tēman, tīeman; basic form gives Latin derivatives déuks, duke, apdeuko, $a b d u c t$, addeuko, $a d d u c e$, aqādéuktos, $a q u e d u c t$, kikromdéuktiōn, circumduction, komdeuko, conduce, conduct, dedeuko, deduce, deduct, ekdeuko, educe, endeuko, induce, entrodeuko, introduce, prodeuko, produce, redeuko, reduce, sedeuko, seduce, supdeuko, subdue, transdeuko, traduce.
167. For PIE so, this, as O.E. se (later replaced by th-, in the), Gk. ho, he, Skt. sa, Avestan ha, O.Ir. so, had also a Germanic feminine sjā, "she", Gmc. sjō, as O.E. sēo, siee. A common loan word is variant form sei- in compound with ki, here, giving séiki, thus, so, in that manner, as Lat. sīc (cf. for Romance "yes", Fr. si, It. sì, Spa.,Cat. sí, Pt. sim). From inflected form to are Gmc. thē (cf. O.E. the, M.Du. de, Ger. der, die), L. ta[lis], Gk. to, Skr. ta-, Bal.Sla. to, also alternative Greek borrowing tmto-, tauto-; from neuter tod is Gmc. that; from accusative tām are adverbial Latin tấmdem, at last, so much, tandem, and tấmtos, so much, and from its reduced form t $\overline{\boldsymbol{a}}$ - is suffixed tális, such.
168. From PIE i are derivatives jénos (see éno), that, yon, as Gmc. jenaz (cf. Goth. jains, O.N. enn, O.Fris. jen, O.H.G. ener, M.Du. ghens, O.E. geon, Ger. jener), and as extended jend-, jéndonos, yond, yonder, beyond, as Gmc. jend(anaz), O.E. geond(an); extended form jấi gives O.E. gēa, Ger., Dan., Norw., Sw. ja, Eng. yeah; relative stem jo plus particle gives jóbho, "doubt", if, as Gmc. jaba (cf. O.E. gif, O.N. ef, if, O.Fris. gef, O.H.G. ibu, iba, Ger. $o b$, Du. of); basic form i, Lat. is, neuter id, it, and ídem, same, as in idemtikós, identical, idémtitā, identity, idemtidhakā, identify; suffixed íterom, again, iterā, iterate, reiterā, reiterate, ítem, thus, also.
For MIE reconstructed lìg, body, form, like, same, compare Germanic derivatives komlígos, "like", having the same form, lit. "with a corresponding body", as Gmc. galikaz (cf. Goth. galeiks, O.S. gilik, O.N. glikr, O.E. gelic, Du. gelijk, Ger. gleich), analogous, etymologically, to MIE kombhormís, Lat. conform; verb līgio, please, as Gmc. likjan (cf. Goth. leikan, O.N. lika, O.E. lician, O.Fris. likia, O.H.G. lihhen).

For MIE reconstructed bhórmā, form, compare Lat. forma, "form, mold, shape, case", and Greek $\mu о \boldsymbol{\varphi} \eta$, "form, shape, beauty, outward appearance", equivalent to IE mórbhā, hence both possibly from a common PIE root merbh-/bherm, "form".
169. For ko, ki, here, compare as Gmc. khi- (cf. Goth. hita, ON hér, O.E. hit, he, her, O.H.G. hiar, Eng. it, he, here), Lat. cis, Lith. šis; Hitt. kāš, Luw. zaš. Also, a common particle ke is found, as in O.Lat. hon-ce (Lat. hunc), Gk. keinos (from ke-eno), also Hitt. ki-nun, "now".
170. PIE éno, there, gave Gmc. jenos (in compound with i), Skr. ena-, anena, O.C.S. onu, Lith. ans.
171. Common loan word Latin murus, "wall", comes from O.Lat. moiros, moerus, i.e. MIE móiros, with common derivatives moirālís, of a wall, and n.pl. moirấlia, as Fr. muraille, Spa. muralla, Eng. mural. This word is used normally in modern Indo-European languages to refer to an "outer wall of a town, fortress, etc.", as Ger. Mauer, Du. muur, Sca. mur, Fr. mur, It.,Spa.,Pt. muro, Ca. mur, Lith. muras, Pol. mur, Ir. mur, Bret. mur, Alb. mur, etc., while most IE languages use another word for the "partition wall within a building", as MIE wállom, wall, rampart, row or line of stakes, a collective from wállos, stake, as Lat. uallum, uallus (cf. O.E. weall, O.S., O.Fris., M.L.G., M.Du. wal, Swe. vall, Da. val, Ger. Wall), MIE pariéts, as Lat. paries, parietis (cf. It. parete, Spa. pared, Pt. parede, Rom. perete), MIE stấinā (cf. O.C.S. stena, Russ. стена, Sr.-Cr.,Slo. stena, Cz. stěna, Pol. ściana, also compare loans Ltv. siena, Lith. siena, Finn. seinä, Est. sein). IE móiros comes from PIE mej, strengthen, pole, as in Gmc. mairja- (cf. O.Eng. mæَre, gemæَre "limit, boundary", O.Ice. landa-mæَri), O.Ind. mití-, Pers. mēx "peg, plug, nail" (<*maixa), O.Ir. [-tuid]men, and extended Lith. mita, Sla. moisto or meisto (from PIE *me/o-itto), as in O.Bulg. město, Ser.-Cr. mjësto, Cz. místo, etc.
For Indo-European root stāi-, stone, compare Slavic stấinā, wall, and o-grade stóinos, stone, as Gmc. stainaz (cf. Goth. stains, O.N. steinn, O.E. stan, O.H.G. stein, Da. steen); suffixed stắjr, solid fat, suet, as Gk. otéap, in stājrikós, stearic, etc; cf. also Gk. stia, stion, "pebble", Skr. styayate "curdles, becomes hard", Av. stay- "heap".
172. For PIE peig, also peik, cut, mark (by incision), compare derivatives péik(o)lā, cutting tool, file, saw, as Gmc. fikh(a)la (cf. O.E. feol, fil, O.H.G. fila, M.Du. vile, Eng. file, Ger. Feile), Lith. pela, O.C.S. pila; nasalized zero-grade pingo, embroider, tattoo, paint, picture (presumably from "decorate with cut marks" to "decorate" to "decorate with color"), as Lat. pingere, in p.part. pigtós, painted, pigtósā, painting, picture, pigmńtom, pigment, depingo, depict; suffixed zero-grade form pikrós, sharp, bitter, as Gk. pikros; o-grade poikilós, spotted, pied, various, as Gk. poikilos. Compare, with the sense of "mark, decorate", Skr. pingah, pesalah, pimsati, O.C.S. pisati, pegu, "variegated", O.H.G. fehjan "adorn", Lith. piesiu "write".
173. For PIE ed, eat, originally bite, compare Gmc. (pro)etan (cf. Goth. itan, ON eta, O.E. etan, fretan, O.H.G. ezzen, frezzan, M.Du. eten), Lat. edere, as in edibhilís, edible, komedo, comedo, Lat. comedere, p.part. komestós, (<* komedto-) as in komestibhilís; compound prám(e)diom, "first meal", lunch (from prām, first), as Lat. prandium; suffixed edunā, pain (from "gnawing care"), as Gk. odunē. Compare Lat. edō, Osc. edum, Gk. edō, Skr. ad, Av. ad, Thrac. esko-, Toch. yesti, Arm. utel, O.Pruss. ist, Lith. èsti, Ltv. ēst, Russ. jest', Polish jeść, O.Ir. esse; Hitt. at, Luw. ad-, az-, Palaic ata-.
Proto-Indo-European donts (old gen. dentós), tooth, originally present participle *hdent, "biting", gives Gmc. tanth-tunth (cf. Goth. tunpus, O.E. tōð , pl. teð, cf. O.N. tönn, O.S. tand, O.Fris. toth, O.H.G. zand, Dan., Swed., Du. tand, Ger. Zahn), Lat. dentis, Gk. odous/donti, Skr. dantam, Pers. dandān, Lith. dantis, Russ. desna, O.Ir.
dét, Welsh dant, Kam. dut. Modern derivatives include Germanic dńtskos, canine tooth, tusk (cf. O.E. tux, tusc, O.Fris. tusk), Latin dentālís, dental, dentístā, dentist, endentā, indent, tridénts, trident, and Greek -donts, donto-, as Gk. odōn, odous, in dontologíā, odontology, etc.
174. Proto-Indo-European gal, call, shout, gave expressive gallo, as Gmc. kall- (cf. O.N. kalla, O.E. ceallian, O.H.G. halan, Eng. call), also found in Latin noun gállos, cock (<"the calling bird"), as Skr. usakala, "dawncalling", M.Ir. cailech, (but also associated with Gallus, Gallic, as if to mean "the bird of Gaul"), in gallinakiós, gallinaceous; gálsos, voice, as O.C.S. glasŭ, as in glasnost; also, reduplicated gálgalos, word, as O.C.S. glagolu. Also found in Gk. kaleo, kelados, Lith. kalba, "language".
175. For Proto-Indo-European verbal root $\mathbf{p o ̄}(\mathbf{i}), d r i n k, ~ c o m p a r e ~ c o m m o n ~ d e r i v a t i v e s ~ L a t . ~ p o ̄ t a ̄ r e, ~ p o ̄ t u s, ~ b i b o ̄, ~$
 pītás, pītís, also páti, pāyáyati, páyatē, Thrac. pinon, Arm. ampelik', O.Pruss. poutwei, poieiti, Lith. puotà, Sla. pī- (cf. O.C.S. pitijı̆, piju, O.Russ. numu, Pol. pić, pïu, Cz. píti, piji, Sr.-Cr. nümu, nü̈êM, Slo. píti, píjem, etc.), O.Ir. ibim, Welsh yfed, Alb. pi (aor. pīva); Hitt. pas. For MIE common words, compare pōtós, drunk, as Lat. pōtus, in pōtā, drink, Lat. pōtāre; suffixed zero-grade pótis, drink, drinking, in kompótiom, "with drinking", feast, banquet, symposium, as Gk. $\sigma v \mu \pi$ óбıov, and further suffixed Latin pótiōn, a drink, potion, as Lat. pōtiō, or; zero-grade píros, feast, as O.C.S. pirŭ (cf. also general zero-grade pī, Sla. pij-, "drink"); suffixed nasal pīno, drink, as Gk. pīnein; suffixed pótlom, drinking vessel, cup, bowl, as Skr. pātram; suffixed reduplicated zerograde pipo-, whence pibo, drink, as O.Ind. píbati, Sla. pivo, also in Lat. bibere, where it is assimilated to *bibo.
A common term for "beer", thus, could be Modern Indo-European neuter píbom, as both common European words are derived from PIE reduplicated verb pibo, compare Lat. bibere (cf. O.E. beor, O.N. bjórr, Du.,Fris.,Ger. bier, Ice. bjór, Fr. bière, It.,Cat. birra, Rom. bere, Gk. $\mu \pi i \rho \alpha$, Pers. abejo, Bul. бupa, Ir. beoir, Welsh bîr, Bret. bier, Alb. birrë, also Hebrew bîrah, Turkish bira, Arabic bīra, Jap. bīru, Chinese píjiǔ/bihluh, Maori pia, Thai biya, Malay bir, Indonesian bir, Swahili, Vietnamese bia), and Slavic pivo (cf. Russ.,Ukr. nubo, Pol. piwo, Cz.,Sr.Cr. pivo, Bel. niва, Мас. пиво, also Mongolian пиво, Azeri pivo, etc.). For other terms, compare MIE áluts, ale, as Gmc. aluth (cf. O.E. ealu, O.S. alo, O.N.,Sca. øl, Ice. öl, Ltv.,Lith. alus, O.C.S. olu, Slo. ol, Rom. olovină, also Est. õlu, Finn. olut), perhaps from a source akin to Lat. alumen, "alum", or to PIE root alu, a root with connotations of "sorcery, magic, possession, intoxication". Another term comes from Cel.-Lat. cerevisia -> cervesia (cf. Spa. cerveza, Pt. cerveja, Occ.,Cat. cervesa, Gal. cervexa, Filipino, Tagalog servesa, Ilongo serbisa, Cebuano sirbesa, Tetum serveja, etc.), in turn from agricultural Goddess Lat. Ceres, from PIE ker, grow, and possibly Lat. vis, "strength", from IE wíros, man.
For PIE ker, grow, compare kérès, as Lat. Cerēs, goddess of agriculture, especially the growth of grain, in kereális, cereal; extended form krē-, in krēio, bring forth, create, produce (<"to cause to grow), create, as Lat. crēāre, also in prōkrēiā, procreate, krēiátiōn, creation; suffixed krēsko, grow, increase, as Lat. crēscere, in krēskénts, crescent, komkrēsko, grow together, harden, p.part. komkrētós, in komkrētā, concrete, adkrēsko, accrue, dekrēsko, decrease, enkrēsko, increase, rekrēsko, increase, also recruit, ekskrēsko, grow out, in ekskrēskéntiā, excrescence, p.part. ekskrētós, grown out, in ekskrētā, separate, purge; suffixed o-grade kórwos, "growing", adolescent, boy, son, and korwá, girl, as Gk. kouros, koros, and korē; compound smkērós, "of one growth", sincere (from zero-grade sm-, same, one), as Lat. sincērus.
176. For PIE root lew, wash, cf. Lat. lauāre, Gk. louein, Gaul. lautro, Arm. loganam/lokanam, O.Ir. lóathar, Welsh luddw, Hitt. lahhuzzi. Compare derivatives lóukā, as Gmc. laugō (cf. O.N. laug, O.E. lēðran, O.H.G. louga, Eng.lather, Ger. Lauge); from Latin variant lawo, zero-grade -lwo in compounds, are dislúwiom, deluge, adlúwiōn, alluvion, komlúwiom, colluvium, eklúwiom, eluvium, etc.; from athematic lawā are lawātóriom, lavatory, lawābho, lawātrínā, bath, privy, as Lat. lātrīna, etc.
177. The verb 'to be' in Old English was a compound made up of different sources. Bēon and wesan were only used in certain tenses (mixed with original PIE es). Bēon was used in the present tense to express permanent truths (the 'gnomic present'), while wesan was used for the present participle and the preterite.
Wesan comes from Germanic *wissan (cf. Goth. wesan, O.N. vesa, O.E. wesan, O.H.G. wesan, Dutch wezen, Ger. war, Swe. vara) from Indo-European wes, dwell, live, as in Celtic westi- (cf. Old Irish feiss). Common English forms include was (cf. O.E. wæs) and were (cf. O.E. Sg. wāre, Pl. wāron).
178. For PIE men, think, compare zero-grade suffixed (kom)mńtis, mind, as Gmc. (ga)munthiz (cf. Goth. muns, O.N. minni, O.E. gemynd, Ger. minne), Lat. mēns (ment-), in mntālís, mental, demntís, dement, mńtiōn, remembrance, mention; also, mntós, "willing", as Gk. -matos, as in automntikós, automatic; suffixed mnio, be mad, as Gk. mainesthai, and mńios, spirit, as Av. mainiius; also fem. mńiā, madness, mania, as Gk. maniā, in mniakós, maniac; full-grade méntiā, love, as Gmc. minthjō (cf. O.H.G. minna, M.Du. minne); reduplicated mimno, remember, as Lat. meminisse, in mimnéntōd, memento (imperative), kommimnesko, contrive by thought, as Lat. comminīscī, kommentấsiom, comment, remimnesko, recall, recollect, remimneskénts, reminiscent; mántis, seer, as Gk. mantis; méntros, counsel, prayer, hymn, as Skr. mantraḥ; suffixed ménōs, spirit, as Gk. menos; o-grade causative monē, remind, warn, advise, as Lat. monēre, in mónitiōn, monition, monitốr, monitor, mónstrom, portent, monster, admonē, admonish, demonstrā, demonstrate, prāimonítiōn, supmonē, summon; maybe also from this root is suffixed Móntuā, Muse, which gives usual Greek loans montuáikos, mosaic, as Gk. M $\omega \sigma \alpha \ddot{\kappa}$ ós, montuéiom, museum, as Gk. $\mu$ оvб天̃̃ov, montuiká, music, as Gk. $\mu$ ovo๘кń; extended mnā, reduplicated mimnāsko, remember, as Gk . mimnēskein, giving mnāstós, remembered, ṇmnāstós, "not remembered", from which ṇmnāstíā, oblivion, amnesty, as Gk. á av $\eta \sigma t i \alpha, ~ a n d ~ n ̣ m n a ̂ ́ s i a ̄, ~ a m n e s i a, ~ m n(a ́) m n, ~ m e m o r y, ~ a s ~ G k . ~ m n e ̃ m a, ~ m n a ́ m o ̄ n, ~ m i n d f u l, ~ m n a ̄ m o n i k o ́ s, ~$ mnemonic, mnấmā, memory, as Gk. mnēmē; also, from PIE expression mens dhē, "set mind", is compound noun mnsdhē, wise, as Av. maz-d $\bar{a}-$.

A similar IE root is mendh, learn, which in zero-grade mndhā gives Gk. manthanein (Aorist stem math-), as in mndhāmntikós, mathematical, ghrēstomńdheiā, chrestomathy, etc.

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## A Grammar of Modern Indo-European

The European Union and Indo-European Languages in the World Today

A Grammar of Modern Indo-European is a complete reference guide to a modern Indo-European language. It contains a comprehensive description of Proto-Indo-European grammar and offers an analysis of the complexities of the prehistoric language and its reconstruction. Written in a fresh and accessible style, this book focuses on the real patterns of use in a modern Indo-European language. The book is well organized and is filled with full, clear explanations of areas of onfusion and difficulty. It also includes an extensive index, glossary of linguistic terms and numbered paragraphs designed to provide readers easy access to the information they require. An essential reference source for the learner and user of Indo-European, this book will be the standard work for years to come.

Carlos Quiles, co-founder and Chair of the Indo-European Language Revival Association since its legal in corporation, has been working on the revival of Proto-Indo-European as the national language of the European Union for 3 years at the moment of the public release of this book. Before working as a full time employee of the Association, he studied 6 years of Law and Economics at the University Carlos III of Madrid. He is known for is works on the defence and recovery of regional and minority languages of Western Spain, especially on the Asturian-Leonese diasystem.



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