

THE OXFORD INTRODUCTION TO PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN
AND THE PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN WORLD

J.P. MALLORY AND D.Q. ADAMS



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Proto-Indo-European World

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**J. P. Mallory and
D. Q. Adams**

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Contents

List of Maps xii

List of Figures xiii

List of Tables xiv

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms xix

Introduction xxii

1 Discovery 1

1.1 Language relations 1

1.2 Indo-European 6

2 The Elements 12

2.1 The Indo-European languages 12

2.2 Celtic 15

2.3 Italic 18

2.4 Germanic 19

2.5 Baltic 23

2.6 Slavic 25

2.7 Albanian 26

2.8 Greek 27

2.9 Anatolian 28

2.10 Armenian 31

2.11 Indo-Aryan 32

2.12 Iranian 33

2.13 Tocharian 35

2.14 Minor languages 36

3 Reconstructing Proto-Indo-European 39

3.1 The Comparative Method 39

3.2 Schleicher's Tale 45

3.3 Laryngeal Theory 48

3.4 Reconstruction and Reality 50

- 4 The System 54**
 - 4.0 The System 54
 - 4.1 Phonology 54
 - 4.2 The Noun 56
 - 4.3 Adjectives 59
 - 4.4 Pronouns 59
 - 4.5 Numerals 61
 - 4.6 Particles and Conjunctions 62
 - 4.7 Prepositions 62
 - 4.8 Verbs 62
 - 4.9 Derivation 65
- 5 Relationships 71**
 - 5.0 Linguistic Relationship 71
 - 5.1 Internal Relationships 71
 - 5.2 External Relations 81
 - 5.3 Genetic Models 83
- 6 A Place in Time 86**
 - 6.0 The Fourth Dimension 86
 - 6.1 Time Depth 86
 - 6.2 Relative Chronologies 88
 - 6.3 Absolute Chronologies 92
 - 6.4 The Dark Ages? 103
- 7 Reconstructing the Proto-Indo-Europeans 106**
 - 7.1 Approaches to the Past 106
 - 7.2 How Many Cognates? 107
 - 7.3 Reconstructed Meaning 110
 - 7.4 Semantic Fields 112
 - 7.5 Folk Taxonomies 113
 - 7.6 Level of Reconstruction 115
 - 7.7 Root Homonyms 115
 - 7.8 How Long a Text? 116
 - 7.9 Vocabulary—What's Missing? 117
- 8 The Physical World 120**
 - 8.1 Earth 120
 - 8.2 Fire 122
 - 8.3 Water 125

- 8.4 Air 128
- 8.5 The Physical Landscape of the
Proto-Indo-Europeans 130
- 9 Indo-European Fauna 132**
 - 9.1 Reconstructing Environments 132
 - 9.2 Mammals 134
 - 9.3 Birds 143
 - 9.4 Fish, Reptiles, Amphibians 146
 - 9.5 Insects, Shellfish, etc. 148
 - 9.6 Indo-European Animals 151
- 10 Indo-European Flora 156**
 - 10.1 Trees 156
 - 10.2 Wild Plants 161
 - 10.3 Domesticated Plants 163
 - 10.4 Agricultural Terms 167
 - 10.5 Proto-Indo-European Flora 169
- 11 Anatomy 173**
 - 11.0 The Body 173
 - 11.1 The Head 173
 - 11.2 Hair 176
 - 11.3 The Upper Body and Arms 178
 - 11.4 The Lower Body and Legs 182
 - 11.5 Internal Organs 185
 - 11.6 Vital Functions 188
 - 11.7 Health and Disease 192
 - 11.8 The Lexicon of the Body 199
- 12 Family and Kinship 203**
 - 12.1 Family and Household 203
 - 12.2 Marriage 206
 - 12.3 Kinship 209
- 13 Hearth and Home 219**
 - 13.1 Dwelling 219
 - 13.2 Construction 223
 - 13.3 Proto-Indo-European Settlement 227

- 14 Clothing and Textiles 230**
 - 14.1 Textiles 230
 - 14.2 Proto-Indo-European Textile Production 236
- 15 Material Culture 239**
 - 15.1 Containers 239
 - 15.2 Metals 241
 - 15.3 Tools 242
 - 15.4 Weapons 244
 - 15.5 Ornament 246
 - 15.6 Transport 247
 - 15.7 Roads 250
 - 15.8 Proto-Indo-European Material Culture 251
- 16 Food and Drink 254**
 - 16.1 Eat and Drink 254
 - 16.2 Preparation 258
 - 16.3 Foods and Meals 260
 - 16.4 Proto-Indo-European Diet 264
- 17 Proto-Indo-European Society 266**
 - 17.1 Social Organization 266
 - 17.2 Give and Take 270
 - 17.3 Exchange and Property 272
 - 17.4 Law and Order 276
 - 17.5 Strife and Warfare 277
 - 17.6 Occupations 283
 - 17.7 Proto-Indo-European Society 284
- 18 Space and Time 287**
 - 18.1 Space 287
 - 18.2 Position 288
 - 18.3 Direction 293
 - 18.4 Placement (Verbs) 295
 - 18.5 Shape 297
 - 18.6 Time 300
 - 18.7 Proto-Indo-European Space and Time 303
- 19 Number and Quantity 307**
 - 19.0 Numerical Systems 307

19.1	Basic Numerals	308
19.2	Measure and Quantity	317
20	Mind, Emotions and Sense Perception	321
20.1	Knowledge and Thought	321
20.2	Sight	325
20.3	Bright and Dark	328
20.4	Colours	331
20.5	Hearing, Smell, Touch and Taste	334
20.6	The Good, Bad and the Ugly	336
20.7	Desire	340
20.8	Love and Hate	342
20.9	Hot, Cold and other Qualities	344
20.10	Proto-Indo-European Perception	348
21	Speech and Sound	352
21.0	Speech and Sounds	352
21.1	Speech	352
21.2	Elevated Speech	355
21.3	Interjections and Human Sounds	359
21.4	Animal Sounds	363
21.5	Proto-Indo-European Speech	365
22	Activities	368
22.1	Existence, Ability and Attempt	368
22.2	Reductive Activities	371
22.3	Rotary and Lateral Activities	377
22.4	Bind, Stick and Smear	380
22.5	Bend and Press	382
22.6	Inflation	385
22.7	Extend	387
22.8	Throw	388
22.9	Clean	389
22.10	Movement	390
22.11	Pour and Flow	393
22.12	Come and Go	394
22.13	Run and Jump	397
22.14	Crawl, Slide and Fall	400
22.15	Travel	401

22.16	Swim	403
22.17	Convey	404
23	Religion	408
23.1	Deities	408
23.2	The Sacred	411
24	Grammatical Elements	415
24.0	Pronouns	415
24.1	Personal and Reflexive Pronouns	415
24.2	Demonstrative Pronouns	417
24.3	Interrogative Pronouns	419
24.4	Relative Pronouns	421
24.5	Conjunctions	421
25	Comparative Mythology	423
25.0	Reconstructing Mythologies	423
25.1	Approaches to Mythology	427
25.2	Deities	431
25.3	Creation	435
25.4	War of the Foundation	436
25.5	Hero and Serpent	436
25.6	Horse Sacrifice	437
25.7	King and Virgin	437
25.8	Fire in Water	438
25.9	Functional Patterns	438
25.10	Death and the Otherworld	439
25.11	Final Battle	439
25.12	Current Trends	440
26	Origins—The Never-Ending Story	442
26.1	The Homeland Problem	442
26.2	Homeland Approaches	444
26.3	What Does the Homeland Look Like?	453
26.4	Evaluating Homeland Theories	454
26.5	Processes of Expansion	458
26.6	Where Do They Put It Now?	460

Appendices

Appendix 1 Basic Sound Correspondences between PIE and the Major IE Groups 464

Appendix 2 A Proto-Indo-European–English Word-list 466

Appendix 3 An English–Proto-Indo-European Word-list 523

References 565

Index of Languages 591

Index of Subjects and Places 619

List of Maps

- 1.1. Map of the Indo-European world 8
- 1.2. Surviving Indo-European groups 9
- 1.3. Major known non-Indo-European groups in
Europe and western Asia 10
- 2.1. Distribution of the Celtic languages 17
- 2.2. Distribution of the Italic languages 20
- 2.3. Distribution of the Germanic languages 21
- 2.4. Distribution of the Baltic and Slavic languages 24
- 2.5. Distribution of the Anatolian and Phrygian languages 29
- 2.6. Distribution of the Indo-Aryan and Iranian languages 32
- 26.1. The Indo-European homeland problem 461

List of Figures

- 5.1. Schleicher's family tree of the Indo-European languages 72
- 5.2. A 'wave model' of some of the interrelationships of the Indo-European languages 73
- 5.3. A modern tree diagram of the Indo-European languages suggested by Eric Hamp (1990) 74
- 5.4. A recent family tree of the Indo-European languages prepared by D. Ringe, T. Warnow and A. Taylor (1995) 80
- 5.5. The Nostratic languages according to A. Bomhard (1996) 84
- 7.1. The levels of Indo-European reconstruction 111
- 12.1. Reconstructed PIE kinship terms for blood relatives 217
- 12.2. Reconstructed PIE in-law terminology (for the husband) 217
- 12.3. Reconstructed PIE in-law terminology (for the wife) 218

List of Tables

- 1.1. Some common words in English, Dutch, Czech and Spanish 2
- 1.2. Comparable words in Old English, Old Norse and Latin 3
- 1.3. Scaliger's language groups based on their word for 'god' 4
- 1.4. Comparable words in the classical languages and Sanskrit 5
- 1.5. The verb 'to carry' in Sanskrit, Greek and Latin 6
- 1.6. Status of Indo-European groups 9
- 2.1. Major and minor groups of Indo-European languages 13
- 2.2. Antiquity of earliest attestation (in units of 500 years)
of each Indo-European group 14
- 2.3. Language group citation frequency in two
Indo-European encyclopedias 15
- 2.4. The evidence of Celtic 16
- 2.5. Continental Celtic and some Old Irish equivalents 18
- 2.6. The evidence of the Italic languages 19
- 2.7. Some IE cognates from the main Italic languages 21
- 2.8. The evidence of the Germanic languages 22
- 2.9. Some basic comparisons between the major
early Germanic languages 23
- 2.10. The evidence of the Baltic languages 23
- 2.11. Some cognate words in the Baltic languages 25
- 2.12. The evidence of the Slavic languages 26
- 2.13. A comparison of some cognate terms in Old
Church Slavonic and Russian with Lithuanian,
a Baltic language 27
- 2.14. The basic Albanian numerals are cognate with
other IE numbers 27
- 2.15. Linear B and Classical Greek 28
- 2.16. The evidence of the Greek language 28
- 2.17. The evidence of the Anatolian languages 30
- 2.18. Selected cognate words in Hittite, Old English and
New English 30
- 2.19. Selected cognates in Armenian, Old English and
New English 31

2.20.	Selected cognates in Sanskrit and Avestan	34
2.21.	Selected cognates in Tocharian, Old English and New English	35
3.1.	The Sanskrit alphabet	40
3.2.	Comparison of three Indo-European words	41
3.3.	Selected sound correspondences across the Indo-European languages	41
3.4.	The singular endings of the verb 'carry' in Indo-European	45
3.5.	Short vowel ablaut patterns in Greek	48
3.6.	Long vowel ablaut patterns in Greek	49
3.7.	The Proto-Indo-European consonant system	51
3.8.	Normal marking of labials	51
3.9.	Proto-Indo-European labials	52
3.10.	The labials in the glottalic system	52
3.11.	The labials in Wu	53
3.12.	The traditional Proto-Indo-European system and its glottalic equivalents	53
4.1.	The Proto-Indo-European phonological system	55
4.2.	Common Indo-European suffixes	57
4.3.	Basic case endings of the Indo-European noun	57
4.4.	Accent shift in case forms	58
4.5.	Endings of o-stem nouns	58
4.6.	h_2 -(or \bar{a})-stem endings	59
4.7.	Personal pronouns	60
4.8.	Some basic numerals	61
4.9.	Proto-Indo-European personal endings	64
4.10.	The verb $*h_1és$ - 'to be' in the present active indicative	64
4.11.	Second conjugation of $*bher$ - 'to carry' in the present active indicative	65
4.12.	Nominal and verbal derivatives of $*steh_2$ - 'stand'	66
4.13.	Derivational tree of $*h_2eh_x$ - 'be hot, burn' (cf. Palaic $h\bar{a}$ - 'be hot').	67
4.14.	Illustration of Indo-European ablaut in derivation (PIE $*sed$ - 'sit' and $*pet$ - 'fly')	68
4.15.	Schleicher's Tale	69
5.1.	Yašt 10.6 from the Avesta and a Sanskrit translation	76
5.2.	Pronouns in Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Uralic and Proto-Afro-Asiatic	83

6.1.	Indo-European words for ‘fire’	91
6.2.	Dates of separation from Proto-Indo-European based on the 100 and 200 word lists (after Tischler 1973)	95
6.3.	The “basic” vocabulary of Proto-Indo-European and its attestation in the major Indo-European groups	97
7.1.	Cognates that are found in all major Indo-European groups	108
7.2.	Number of cognate sets attested per number of groups sharing a cognate	108
7.3.	Cognates of <i>*h₂ówis</i>	112
7.4.	Cognates of <i>*bheh_agós</i>	112
7.5.	Cognates of <i>*m(e)uh_x-</i>	113
7.6.	Cognates of <i>*k^(w)rwis</i>	113
7.7.	Verbs concerned with speaking in Proto-Indo-European	114
7.8.	Some PIE “homonyms”	116
7.9.	Some examples of poetic diction built on <i>*k^hléwos</i> ‘fame’	118
8.1.	Earth	121
8.2.	Fire	123
8.3.	Water	125
8.4.	Air	128
9.1.	Mammals	134
9.2.	Birds	143
9.3.	Fish, reptiles, amphibians	146
9.4.	Insects, shellfish, etc.	149
9.5.	Animal names in Proto-Indo-European and Uralic	151
10.1.	Trees	157
10.2.	Plants (non-domesticated)	162
10.3.	Domesticated plants	164
10.4.	Agricultural terminology	167
11.1.	The head	174
11.2.	Hair	177
11.3.	The upper body and arms	179
11.4.	The lower body and legs	183
11.5.	Internal organs	185
11.6.	Vital functions	189
11.7.	Health and sickness	193

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- 11.8. Frequency of occurrence of body part names
in American English and the number of cognate
groups in Proto-Indo-European 200
 - 12.1. Family and household 204
 - 12.2. Marriage 207
 - 12.3. Kinship 209
 - 13.1. Terms for dwelling 220
 - 13.2. Construction and furnishing 224
 - 14.1. Textile terms 231
 - 15.1. Containers 240
 - 15.2. Metals 241
 - 15.3. Tools 242
 - 15.4. Weapons 245
 - 15.5. Transport 247
 - 15.6. Roads 250
 - 16.1. Hunger, eating and drinking 255
 - 16.2. Food preparation 258
 - 16.3. Foods 260
 - 17.1. Society and social organization 267
 - 17.2. Give and take 270
 - 17.3. Exchange and property 273
 - 17.4. Law and order 276
 - 17.5. Strife and warfare 278
 - 17.6. Occupations 283
 - 18.1. Space 288
 - 18.2. Position 289
 - 18.3. Direction 294
 - 18.4. Placement (verbs) 295
 - 18.5. Shape 298
 - 18.6. Time 300
 - 19.1. Basic numbers 308
 - 19.2. Measure and quantity 317
 - 20.1. Knowledge and thought 322
 - 20.2. Sight 325
 - 20.3. Bright and dark 328
 - 20.4. Colours 331
 - 20.5. Hearing, smell, touch and taste 335
 - 20.6A. Positive qualities 336

20.6B.	Negative qualities	338
20.7.	Desire	341
20.8.	Love and hate	343
20.9.	Qualities	345
21.1.	Speech	353
21.2.	Elevated speech and song	356
21.3.	Human noises	360
21.4.	Animal sounds	363
22.1.	Existence, doing and making	369
22.2.	The verb 'to be' in selected IE languages	369
22.3.	Reductive activities	372
22.4.	Rotary and lateral activities	378
22.5.	Binding	381
22.6.	Bend and press	383
22.7.	Inflation	385
22.8.	Extend	387
22.9.	Throw	389
22.10.	Clean	390
22.11.	Movement	391
22.12.	Pour and flow	393
22.13.	Come and go	395
22.14.	Run and jump	398
22.15.	Crawl, slide and fall	400
22.16.	Travel	402
22.17.	Swim	403
22.18.	Convey	405
23.1.	Deities and mythical personages	409
23.2.	The sacred and sacrifice	412
24.1.	Personal and reflexive pronouns	416
24.2.	Demonstrative pronouns	418
24.3.	Interrogative pronouns	419
24.4.	Relative pronouns	421
24.5.	Conjunctions	422
25.1.	The three heavens of the Indo-Europeans after J. Haudry	428
25.2.	Indo-European social classes	429

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

(All dates are approximate)

Alb = Albanian (16th century onwards).

Arm = Armenian (5th century onwards).

Av = Avestan, Iranian (1st millennium BC).

Bakhtiari = a Southwest Iranian language (modern).

Bret = Breton, Celtic (6th century AD onwards).

Bulg = Bulgarian, a south Slavic language (11th century onwards).

Corn = Cornish, Celtic language of Cornwall.

Cretan Grk = the variety of ancient Greek spoken on Crete.

Czech = Czech, a western Slavic language (11th century onwards).

Doric Grk = Doric Greek, one of the principal groups of the West Greek dialects.

Gallo-Roman = the Latin spoken in Gaul after the Roman conquest.

Gaul = Gaulish, a Continental Celtic language (3rd–1st centuries BC).

Goth = Gothic, an eastern Germanic language (4th century AD).

Grk = Greek (8th century BC onwards).

HierLuv = Hieroglyphic Luvian, an Anatolian language (1300–700 BC).

Hit = Hittite, an Anatolian language (1650–1190 BC).

Homeric Grk = the Greek dialect of the Homeric poems (800 BC).

Ibero-Celtic = the variety of Celtic spoken in Iberia (3rd–1st centuries BC).

Illyr = Illyrian.

Ishkashmi = a Southeast Iranian language (modern).

Kashmiri = Indic language of Kashmir (14th century onwards).

Khot = Khotanese, an Eastern Iranian language (5th–10th centuries AD).

Khowar = Dardic/Northwestern Indic language (modern).

Khufi = a Southeast Iranian language (modern).

Kurd = Kurdish, a North-west Iranian language (modern).

Lat = Latin (7th century BC onwards).

Latv = Latvian, Baltic (16th century onwards).

Ligurian = presumably Celtic language of north Italy.

Lith = Lithuanian, Baltic (18th century onwards).

Luv = Luvian, Anatolian language (17th–8th centuries BC).

Lyc = Lycian, Anatolian language of southwest Anatolia (6th–4th centuries BC).

Lyd = Lydian, Anatolian language of west central Anatolia (6th–4th centuries BC).

Maced = Macedonian, a language closely related to Greek.

MDutch = West (Low) Germanic (c 1300 to 1500).

ME = Middle English, Germanic (12th–15th centuries).

Messapic – non-Italic language of southeast Italy (6th–1st centuries BC).

MHG = Middle High German (AD 1050–1500).

MIr = Middle Irish, Celtic (AD 900–1200).

Mitanni = Hurrian (non-IE) language of the upper Euphrates with elements of Indo-Aryan (15th–14th centuries BC).

MLG = Middle Low German (AD 1050–1350).

MPers = Middle Persian, Southwestern Iranian (200 BC–AD 700).

MWels = Middle Welsh, Celtic (AD 1200–1500).

Myc = Mycenaean, earliest attested Greek (16th? –13th centuries BC).

NDutch = modern Dutch, West Germanic (1500 onwards).

NE = New (Modern) English, Germanic (1500 onwards).

NHG = New High German, Germanic (1500 onwards).

Nice = New Icelandic, North Germanic language (1400 onwards).

NIr = New Irish, Celtic (1200 onwards).

Norw = Norwegian, North Germanic (1800 onwards).

NPers = New Persian, Southwestern Iranian (8th century AD onwards).

OBrit = Old British, Celtic (until 8th century AD).

OCS = Old Church Slavonic, Slavic (9th–13th centuries).

OCzech = Old Czech, West Slavic (13th–16th centuries).

OE = Old English, Germanic (800–1150).

OHG = Old High German, West Germanic (750 to 1050).

OIr = Old Irish, Celtic (600 to 900).

OLat = Old Latin (6th–2nd centuries BC).

OLith = Old Lithuanian, Baltic (16th–18th centuries).

ON = Old Norse, Germanic (1150–1550).

OPers = Old Persian, Southwestern Iranian (6th–5th centuries BC).

OPol = Old Polish, West Slavic (13th–15th centuries).

OPrus = Old Prussian, West Baltic (16th–18th centuries).

ORus = Old Russian, East Slavic (1050–1600).

Osc = Oscan, Italic (5th–1st centuries BC).

Oss = Ossetic, Northeast Iranian (modern).

OSwed = Old Swedish, North Germanic language (13th–14th centuries).

OWels = Old Welsh, Celtic (9th–12th centuries).

Pal = Palaic, Anatolian (c. 16th century BC).

Parth = Parthian, Northwest Iranian (3rd–1st centuries BC).

Pashto = Southeast Iranian (modern).

Phryg = Phrygian (8th–3rd centuries BC and 1st century AD).

PIE = Proto-Indo-European.

Pol = Polish, Western Slavic (13th century onwards).

Roshani = Southeast Iranian (modern).

Runic = language of the earliest Germanic inscriptions (3rd–6th centuries AD).

Rus = Russian, East Slavic (c. 1050 AD onwards).

RusCS = Russian variety of Old Church Slavonic.

Sanglechi = Southeast Iranian (modern).

Sarikoli = Southeast Iranian (modern).

SC = Serbo-Croatian, South Slavic (19th century onwards).

SGael = Scots Gaelic, Celtic (13th century onwards).

Scyth = Scythian, Iranian.

SerbCS = Serbian variety of Old Church Slavonic.

Shughni = Southeast Iranian (modern).

Skt = Sanskrit, Indo-Aryan (1000 BC onwards)

Slov = Slovene, South Slavic (16th century onwards).

Sogdian = Northeast Iranian (4th–8th centuries).

Swed = Swedish, North Germanic (15th century onwards).

Thessalian Grk = classical Greek dialect of Thessaly.

Thrac = Thracian (5th century BC).

TochA = Tocharian A (7th–10th centuries AD).

TochB = Tocharian B (5th–13th centuries AD).

Umb = Umbrian, Italic (3rd–1st centuries BC).

Waigali = Nūristāni, Indo-Iranian (modern).

NWels = New Welsh, Celtic (1500 onwards).

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Introduction

The *Oxford Introduction to Proto-Indo-European and The Proto-Indo-European World* fills the need for a relatively concise introduction to the full range of reconstructed vocabulary of the language that gave rise to the world's largest language family. It addresses two levels of readers. The first comprises general readers and students who want to know more about the Indo-Europeans and how they spoke, as well as professionals in disciplines such as archaeology who need to deal with the early Indo-Europeans. The second consists of linguists interested in refining, challenging, or adding to our understanding of Proto-Indo-European.

The book is broadly divided into two parts. The first, aimed principally at the first group of readers, gives concise introductions to: the discovery and composition of the Indo-European language family (chapters 1 and 2); the way the proto-language has been reconstructed (chapter 3); its most basic grammar (chapter 4); the interrelationships between the different language groups (chapter 5); and the temporal position of the Indo-European languages (chapter 6). Some of the difficulties involved in reconstructing a proto-language are described in chapter 7.

The second part, aimed at all readers, provides accounts by semantic field of the Proto-Indo-European lexicon. Where the evidence suggests that an item may be reconstructed to full Proto-Indo-European antiquity, we provide a summary table giving the reconstructed form, its meaning, and its cognates in English and in the three 'classical' languages of Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit. Our survey of semantic fields travels first into the natural world of the earth and heavens, fauna, and flora, before moving into the human realms of anatomy, kinship, architecture, clothing, material culture, food and drink, and social organization. It then looks at the more abstract notions of space, time and quantity, before turning to considerations of mind, perception, speech, activity, and finally religion. This organization reflects Carl Darling Buck's in his *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages*, and we have indeed aimed to do for Proto-Indo-European something of what Buck did for the individual Indo-European languages.

The final three chapters describe some of the commonest grammatical elements of Proto-Indo-European, survey the methods used to reconstruct the mythology of the Proto-Indo-Europeans, and examine the various attempts at locating the Proto-Indo-European homeland. In addition to standard indexes, the book also contains two word lists: a Proto-Indo-European English list and a list of the Proto-Indo-European vocabulary arranged by its English meaning (which should at least facilitate those who delight in such tasks as translating Hamlet into Klingon).

Students and general readers will be able to gain a broad knowledge from this book of the ancient language that underlies all the modern Indo-European languages. We hope that the arrangement of evidence by semantic group here will also stimulate research by linguists. One cannot be confronted with a list of, say, verbal roots all with the same ‘reconstructed’ meaning without wondering how their semantic valence may have differed in the proto-language and to what extent it might be possible to recover something of their earlier nuances. Although we frequently allude to attempts to discuss the data according to some system of folk taxonomy, this is obviously another area that has been insufficiently examined in the study of Proto-Indo-European. The various regional ascriptions of cognates will doubtless be subject to further scrutiny: the discovery of an Iranian cognate, say, to a word otherwise only found in European languages would change our conception of Proto-Indo-European itself. Other areas for further investigation include quantitative approaches to the Indo-European vocabulary (for example, phoneme preferences and investigation of sound symbolism by semantic class), and the comparison of Proto-Indo-European with other reconstructed proto-languages.

The Proto-Indo-European field of study opens a window on a distant past and presents the scholar and student with many opportunities for investigation and discovery. We hope the present guide will reveal something of its vibrancy, challenge, and endless fascination.

1

Discovery

1.1 Language Relations

1 1.2 Indo-European

6

1.1 Language Relations

One of the first hurdles anyone encounters in studying a foreign language is learning a new vocabulary. Faced with a list of words in a foreign language, we instinctively scan it to see how many of the words may be like those of our own language. We can provide a practical example (Table 1.1) by surveying a list of very common words in English and their equivalents in Dutch, Czech, and Spanish.

A glance at the table suggests that some words are more similar to their English counterparts than others and that for an English speaker the easiest or at least most similar vocabulary will certainly be that of Dutch. The similarities here are so great that with the exception of the words for ‘dog’ (Dutch *hond* which compares easily with English ‘hound’) and ‘pig’ (where Dutch *zwijn* is the equivalent of English ‘swine’), there would be a nearly irresistible temptation for an English speaker to see Dutch as a bizarrely misspelled variety of English (a Dutch reader will no doubt choose to reverse the insult). When our myopic English speaker turns to the list of Czech words, he discovers to his pleasant surprise that he knows more Czech than he thought. The Czech words *bratr*, *sestra*, and *syn* are near hits of their English equivalents. Finally, he might be struck at how different the vocabulary of Spanish is (except for *madre*) although a few useful correspondences could be devised from the list, e.g. English *pork* and Spanish *puerco*.

The exercise that we have just performed must have occurred millions of times in European history as people encountered their neighbours’ languages.

Table 1.1. *Some common words in English, Dutch, Czech, and Spanish*

ENGLISH	DUTCH	CZECH	SPANISH
<i>mother</i>	<i>moeder</i>	<i>matka</i>	<i>madre</i>
<i>father</i>	<i>vader</i>	<i>otec</i>	<i>padre</i>
<i>brother</i>	<i>broer</i>	<i>bratr</i>	<i>hermano</i>
<i>sister</i>	<i>zuster</i>	<i>sestra</i>	<i>hermana</i>
<i>son</i>	<i>zoon</i>	<i>syn</i>	<i>hijo</i>
<i>daughter</i>	<i>dochter</i>	<i>dcera</i>	<i>hija</i>
<i>dog</i>	<i>hond</i>	<i>pes</i>	<i>perro</i>
<i>cow</i>	<i>koe</i>	<i>kráva</i>	<i>vaca</i>
<i>sheep</i>	<i>schaap</i>	<i>ovce</i>	<i>oveja</i>
<i>pig</i>	<i>zwijn</i>	<i>prase</i>	<i>puerco</i>
<i>house</i>	<i>huis</i>	<i>dům</i>	<i>casa</i>

The balance of comparisons was not to be equal, however, because Latin was the prestige language employed both in religious services and as an international means of communication. A medieval monk in England, employing his native Old English, or a scholar in medieval Iceland who spoke Old Norse, might exercise their ingenuity on the type of wordlist displayed in Table 1.2 where we have included the Latin equivalents.

The similarities between Latin and Old English in the words for ‘mother’, ‘father’, and ‘pig’, for example, might be explained by the learned classes in terms of the influence of Latin on the other languages of Europe. Latin, the language of the Roman Empire, had pervaded the rest of Europe’s languages, and someone writing in the Middle Ages, when Latin words were regularly being imported into native vernaculars, could hear the process happening with their own ears. The prestige of Latin, however, was overshadowed by that of Greek as even the Romans acknowledged the antiquity and superior position of ancient Greek. This veneration for Greek prompted a vaguely conceived model in which Latin had evolved as some form of degraded Greek. Literary or chronological prestige then created a sort of linguistic pecking order with Greek at the apex and most ancient, then the somewhat degenerate Latin, and then a series of debased European languages that had been influenced by Latin.

What about the similarities between Old English and Old Norse? Our English monk might note that all ten words on the list appeared to correspond with one another and in two instances the words were precisely the same (‘pig’ and ‘house’). We have no idea whether any Englishman understood why the two languages were so similar. But in the twelfth century a clever Icelandic

Table 1.2. *Comparable words in Old English, Old Norse, and Latin*

ENGLISH	OLD ENGLISH	OLD NORSE	LATIN
<i>mother</i>	<i>mōdor</i>	<i>mōðir^a</i>	<i>māter</i>
<i>father</i>	<i>fæder</i>	<i>faðir</i>	<i>pater</i>
<i>brother</i>	<i>brōðor</i>	<i>brōðir</i>	<i>frāter</i>
<i>sister</i>	<i>sweostor</i>	<i>systir</i>	<i>soror</i>
<i>son</i>	<i>sunu</i>	<i>sunr</i>	<i>fīlius</i>
<i>daughter</i>	<i>dohtor</i>	<i>dōttir</i>	<i>fīlia</i>
<i>dog</i>	<i>hund</i>	<i>hundr</i>	<i>canis</i>
<i>cow</i>	<i>cū</i>	<i>kȳr</i>	<i>bōs</i>
<i>sheep</i>	<i>ēowu</i>	<i>ær</i>	<i>ovis</i>
<i>pig</i>	<i>swīn</i>	<i>svīn</i>	<i>suīnus</i>
<i>house</i>	<i>hūs</i>	<i>hūs</i>	<i>domus</i>

^a The Old English and Norse *ð* is equivalent to a ‘th’ in English, e.g. *this*.

scholar, considering these types of similarities, concluded that Englishmen and Icelanders ‘are of one tongue, even though one of the two (tongues) has changed greatly, or both somewhat’. In a wider sense, the Icelandic believed that the two languages, although they differed from one another, had ‘previously parted or branched off from one and the same tongue’. The image of a tree with a primeval language as a trunk branching out into its various daughter languages was quite deliberate—the Icelandic employed the Old Norse verb *greina* ‘to branch’. This model of a tree of related languages would later come to dominate how we look at the evolution of the Indo-European languages (see Section 5.1).

The similarities between the languages of Europe could then be accounted for in two ways: some of the words might be explained by diffusion or borrowing, here from Latin to the other languages of Europe. Other similarities might be explained by their common genetic inheritance, i.e. there had once been a primeval language from whence the current languages had all descended and branched away. In this latter situation, we are dealing with more than similarities since the words in question correspond with one another in that they have the same origin and then, as the anonymous Icelandic suggests, one or both altered through time.

Speculation as to the identity of the primeval language was largely governed by the Bible that provided a common origin for humankind. The biblical account offered three decisive linguistic events. The first, the creation of Adam and Eve, provided a single ancestral language which, given the authority and origin of the Bible, ensured that Hebrew might be widely regarded as the

‘original’ language from which all others had descended. Hebrew as a common language, however, did not make it past the sixth chapter of Genesis when the three sons of Noah—Shem, Ham, and Japheth—were required to repopulate the world after the Flood. These provided the linguistic ancestors of three major groups—the Semites, the Hamites (Egyptians, Cushites), and the offspring of Japheth to whom Europeans looked for their own linguistic ancestry. By the eleventh chapter of Genesis the world’s linguistic diversity was re-explained as the result of divine industrial sabotage against the construction crews building the Tower of Babel.

During the sixteenth century pieces of the linguistic puzzle were beginning to fall into place. Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609), French (later Dutch) Renaissance scholar and one of the founders of literary historical criticism, who incidentally also gave astronomers their Julian Day Count, could employ the way the various languages of Europe expressed the concept of ‘god’ to divide them into separate groups (Table 1.3); in these we can see the seeds of the Romance, Germanic, and Slavic language groups. The problem was explaining the relationships between these different but transparently similar groups. The initial catalyst for this came at the end of the sixteenth century and not from a European language.

By the late sixteenth century Jesuit missionaries had begun working in India—St Francis Xavier (1506–52) is credited with supplying Europe with its first example of Sanskrit, the classical language of ancient India, in a letter written in 1544 (he cited the invocation *Om Srii naraina nama*). Classically trained, the Jesuits wrote home that there was an uncanny resemblance between Sanskrit and the classical languages of Europe. By 1768 Gaston Cœurdoux (1691–1777) was presenting evidence to the French Academy that Sanskrit, Latin, and Greek were extraordinarily similar to one another and probably shared a common origin. A glance at our wordlist (Table 1.4), now extended to include Greek and Sanskrit, indicates just how striking those resemblances could be.

The correspondences between the language of ancient India and those of ancient Greece and Rome were too close to be dismissed as chance and,

Table 1.3. Scaliger’s language groups based on their word for ‘god’

DEUS GROUP	GOTT GROUP	BOG GROUP	THEOS GROUP
Latin <i>deus</i>	German <i>Gott</i>	Russian <i>bog</i>	Greek <i>theós</i>
Italian <i>dio</i>	Dutch <i>god</i>	Ukrainian <i>bog</i>	
Spanish <i>dio</i>	Swedish <i>gud</i>	Polish <i>bog</i>	
French <i>dieu</i>	English <i>god</i>	Czech <i>buh</i>	

Table 1.4. *Comparable words in the classical languages and Sanskrit*

ENGLISH	LATIN	GREEK	SANSKRIT
<i>mother</i>	<i>māter</i>	<i>mētēr</i>	<i>mātār-</i>
<i>father</i>	<i>pater</i>	<i>patēr</i>	<i>pitār-</i>
<i>brother</i>	<i>frāter</i>	<i>phrētēr</i>	<i>bhrātār-</i>
<i>sister</i>	<i>soror</i>	<i>éor</i>	<i>svásar-</i>
<i>son</i>	<i>filius</i>	<i>huiús</i>	<i>sūnú-</i>
<i>daughter</i>	<i>fília</i>	<i>thugátēr</i>	<i>duhitār-</i>
<i>dog</i>	<i>canis</i>	<i>kúōn</i>	<i>śván-</i>
<i>cow</i>	<i>bōs</i>	<i>boûs</i>	<i>gáu-</i>
<i>sheep</i>	<i>ovis</i>	<i>ó(w)îs</i>	<i>ávi-</i>
<i>pig</i>	<i>suīnus</i>	<i>hûs</i>	<i>sūkará-</i>
<i>house</i>	<i>domus</i>	<i>dō</i>	<i>dām</i>

although similar equations had been noted previously, history generally dates the inception of the Indo-European model to 1786 when Sir William Jones (1746–94), Sanskrit scholar and jurist, delivered his address to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta and observed:

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 the verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologist 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 Sanskrit; and the old Persian might be added to the same family, if this were the place for discussing any question concerning the antiquities of Persia.

Jones's remarks contain a number of important elements. First, they suggest that there is a language 'family' that comprises Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Persian, Gothic (Germanic), and Celtic. All these languages or language groups are derived from a common ancestor—Jones is uncertain whether this common ancestor is still spoken somewhere. And reprising an earlier tradition, he also imagines that Germanic and Celtic are in some ways adulterated languages that sprang from the blending of the original language with other elements that made them appear less closely related to the three classical tongues.

Critical to this entire model is the actual evidence that the various languages belong to the same family. Jones did not base his conclusions on the transparent similarities found in wordlists but rather on the correspondences also found

in grammar (Gaston Cœurdoux also employed grammatical evidence). This was a critical insight because items of vocabulary may well be borrowed from one language to another (e.g. we have English *penicillin*, Irish *pinisilin*, Russian *penitsillin*, Turkish *penisilin*) and there is no question that Latin loanwords have indeed enriched many of the languages of Europe. But while a word may be borrowed, it is far less likely that an entire grammatical system will also be borrowed. A comparison of the present conjugation of the verb ‘carry’ in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin indicates that systematic correspondences go beyond the similarity of the roots themselves (Table 1.5).

Table 1.5. *The verb ‘to carry’ in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin*

	SANSKRIT	GREEK	LATIN
I carry	<i>bhārāmi</i>	<i>phérō</i>	<i>ferō</i>
You carry	<i>bhārasi</i>	<i>phéreis</i>	<i>fers</i>
He/she carries	<i>bhārati</i>	<i>pherei</i>	<i>fert</i>
We carry	<i>bhārāmas</i>	<i>phéromen</i>	<i>ferimus</i>
You carry	<i>bhāratha</i>	<i>phérete</i>	<i>fertis</i>
They carry	<i>bhāranti</i>	<i>phérousi</i>	<i>ferunt</i>

1.2 Indo-European

By 1800 a preliminary model for the relationship between many of the languages of Europe and some of those of Asia had been constructed. The language family came to be known as Indo-Germanic (so named by Conrad Malte-Brun in 1810 as it extended from India in the east to Europe whose westernmost language, Icelandic, belonged to the Germanic group of languages) or Indo-European (Thomas Young in 1813).

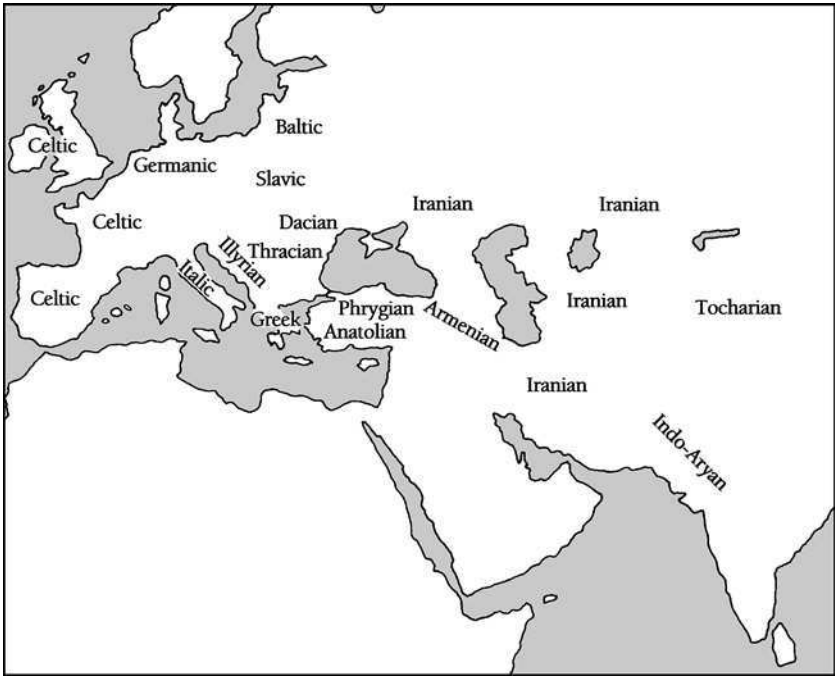
Where the relationships among language groups were relatively transparent, progress was rapid in the expansion of the numbers of languages assigned to the Indo-European family. Between the dates of the two early great comparative linguists, Rasmus Rask (1787–1832) and Franz Bopp (1791–1867), comparative grammars appeared that solidified the positions of Sanskrit, Iranian, Greek, Latin, Germanic, Baltic, Slavic, Albanian, and Celtic within the Indo-European family. Some entered easily while others initially proved more difficult. The Iranian languages, for example, were added when comparison between Iran’s ancient liturgical texts, the *Avesta*, was made with those in Sanskrit. The similarities between the two languages were so great that some thought that the

Avestan language was merely a dialect of Sanskrit, but by 1826 Rask demonstrated conclusively that Avestan was co-ordinate with Sanskrit and not derived from it. He also showed that it was an earlier relative of the modern Persian language. The Celtic languages, which displayed many peculiarities not found in the classical languages, required a greater scholarly effort to see their full incorporation into the Indo-European scheme. Albanian had absorbed so many loanwords from Latin, Greek, Slavic, and Turkish that it required far more effort to discern its Indo-European core vocabulary that set it off as an independent language.

After this initial phase, which saw nine major language groups entered into the Indo-European fold, progress was more difficult. Armenian was the next major language to see full incorporation. It was correctly identified as an independent Indo-European language by Rask but he then changed his mind and joined the many who regarded it as a variety of Iranian. This reticence in seeing Armenian as an independent branch of Indo-European was due to the massive borrowing from Iranian languages, and here the identification of Armenian's original Indo-European core vocabulary did not really emerge until about 1875.

The last two major Indo-European groups to be discovered were products of archaeological research of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Western expeditions to oasis sites of the Silk Road in Xinjiang, the westernmost province of China, uncovered an enormous quantity of manuscripts in the first decades of the twentieth century. Many of these were written in Indic or Iranian but there were also remains of two other languages which are now known as Tocharian and by 1908 they had been definitely shown to represent an independent group of the Indo-European family. It was archaeological excavations in Anatolia that uncovered cuneiform tablets which were tentatively attributed to Indo-European as early as 1902 but were not solidly demonstrated to be so until 1915, when Hittite was accepted into the Indo-European fold. Other Indo-European languages, poorly attested in inscriptions, glosses in Greek or other sources, or personal and place names in classical sources, have also entered the Indo-European family. The more important are Lusitanian in Iberia, Venetic and Messapic in Italy, Illyrian in the west Balkans, Dacian and Thracian in the east Balkans, and Phrygian in central Anatolia.

If we prepare a map of Eurasia and depict on it the various major groups of Indo-European languages (Map 1.1), we find that they extend from the Atlantic to western China and eastern India; from northernmost Scandinavia south to the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. The family consists of languages or language groups from varying periods. As we are currently painting our Indo-European world with a broad brush, we can divide the Indo-European groups into those in which there are languages still spoken today and those that



Map 1.1. Map of the Indo-European world

are extinct (Table 1.6). In some cases the relationship between an ancient language such as Illyrian and its possible modern representative, Albanian, is uncertain.

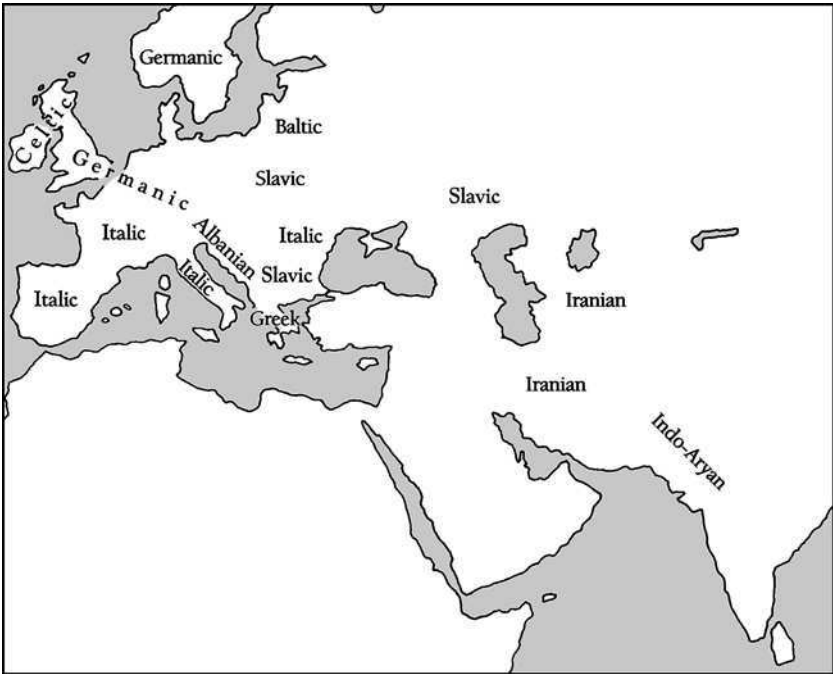
The map of the surviving Indo-European groups (Map 1.2) masks the many changes that have affected the distribution of the various language groups. Celtic and Baltic, for example, once occupied territories vastly greater than their attenuated status today and Iranian has seen much of its earlier territory eroded by the influx of other languages.

The map of the Indo-European languages is not entirely continuous as there are traces of non-Indo-European languages in Europe as well (Map 1.3). Even before a model of the Indo-European family was being constructed, scholars had begun observing that another major linguistic family occupied Europe. Before 1800 the Hungarian linguist S. Gyármathi (1751–1830) had demonstrated that Hungarian, a linguistic island surrounded by a sea of Indo-European languages, was related to Finnish (Hungarian did not take up its historical seat until the Middle Ages). He accomplished this primarily on the basis of grammatical elements, rightly realizing that vocabulary offers the least trustworthy evidence because it may be so easily borrowed. Linguists, including the irrepressible Rask, established the constituent elements of the Uralic

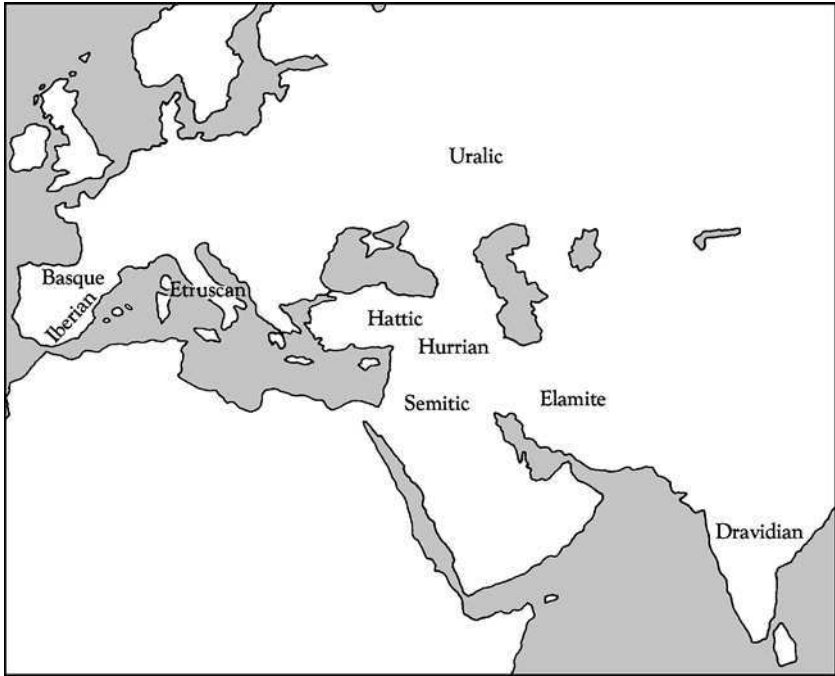
Table 1.6. *Status of Indo-European groups*

SURVIVING GROUPS	EXTINCT GROUPS
Celtic	Anatolian
Italic	Tocharian
Germanic	Phrygian
Baltic	Thracian
Slavic	Dacian
Albanian	Messapic
Greek	Venetic
Armenian	Illyrian(?)
Iranian	
Indic	

language family. In Europe this comprises Finnish, Karelian, Lapp (Saami), Estonian, Hungarian, and a number of languages spoken immediately to the west of the Urals such as Mordvin and Mari. Its speakers also occupy a broad region east of the Urals and include the second major Uralic branch, the Samoyedic languages.



Map 1.2. Surviving Indo-European groups



Map 1.3. Major known non-Indo-European groups in Europe and western Asia

The Caucasus has yielded a series of non-Indo-European languages that are grouped into several major families. Kartvelian, which includes Georgian in the south and two northern varieties, Northern and North-Eastern Caucasian, both of which may derive from a common ancestor. What has not been demonstrated is a common ancestor for all the Caucasian languages.

In Anatolia and South-West Asia Indo-Europeans came into contact with many of the early non-Indo-European civilizations, including Hattic and Hurrian in Anatolia, the large group of Semitic languages to the south, and Elamite in southern Iran. The Indo-Aryans shared the Indian subcontinent with two other language families, most importantly the Dravidian family.

The major surviving non-Indo-European language of western Europe is Basque, which occupies northern Spain and southern France. The other spoken non-Indo-European languages of Europe are more recent imports such as Maltese whose origins lie in the expansion of Arabic. There are also poorly attested extinct languages that cannot be (confidently) assigned to the Indo-European family and are generally regarded as non-Indo-European. These would include Iberian in the Iberian peninsula and Etruscan in north-central Italy.

We have seen that speculations concerning the similarities between languages led to the concept of an Indo-European family of languages comprised of

twelve main groups and a number of poorly attested extinct groups. This language family was established on the basis of systematic correspondence in grammar and vocabulary among its constituent members. The similarities were explained as the result of the dispersal or dissolution of a single ancestral language that devolved into its various daughter groups, languages, and dialects. We call this ancestral language Proto-Indo-European.

Further Reading

For the history of language studies see Robins (1997). The history of the development of Indo-European is covered in Delbruck (1882) and Pedersen (1931). The spread of knowledge of Sanskrit to the West and the precursors to Jones's observations can be found in Amaladass (1992).

2

The Elements

2.1 The Indo-European Languages	12	2.8 Greek	27
2.2 Celtic	15	2.9 Anatolian	28
2.3 Italic	18	2.10 Armenian	31
2.4 Germanic	19	2.11 Indo-Aryan	32
2.5 Baltic	23	2.12 Iranian	33
2.6 Slavic	25	2.13 Tocharian	35
2.7 Albanian	26	2.14 Minor Languages	36

2.1 The Indo-European Languages

We have seen how the Indo-European language family is comprised of twelve major groups and a number of languages, attested in antiquity, whose relationship to the major groups is uncertain or whose own evidence is quite meagre. All the groups are listed in Table 2.1 in very approximate geographical order, reading west to east (Map 1.1; Table 2.1).

The present geographical distribution of the languages, although it highlights some of the potential developmental history and interrelationships between the different groups, is not the way historical linguists might choose to order their material. As we have already seen, in some cases we are dealing with the limited survival of language groups that once enjoyed vastly larger distributions, e.g. Celtic, which was once known over most of western and much of central Europe but is now limited to the fringes of Great Britain, Ireland, and Brittany, or we find the more recent historical expansion of languages, e.g. Germanic and Slavic, once far more confined in space. While there are linguists who are interested in the interactions between current IE languages, e.g. French loanwords in English, the primary interest of the Indo-Europeanist concerns the origins of the Indo-European proto-language and its

Table 2.1. *Major and minor groups of Indo-European languages*

MAJOR GROUPS	MINOR GROUPS
Celtic	Lusitanian
Italic	Rhaetic
Germanic	Venetic
Baltic	South Picene
Slavic	Messapic
Albanian	Illyrian
Greek	Dacian
Armenian	Thracian
Anatolian	Macedonian
Iranian	Phrygian
Indo-Aryan	
Tocharian	

evolution into the different Indo-European languages. This means that an Indo-Europeanist will focus on the earliest attested Indo-European languages as a source closer in time and more valuable in content to the main research agenda. One might then rearrange the list in terms of the antiquity of each group's earliest (usually inscriptional) attestations (Table 2.2).

The antiquity of attestation is at best only a very rough guide to the value of each language group to the Indo-Europeanist. A handful of inscriptions may be useful but often the main body of textual evidence must be drawn from periods long after the earliest attestation, e.g. the earliest evidence of Celtic dates to *c.* 600 BC but most of our Celtic textual evidence dates to the Middle Ages, some 1,300 years later. In Indo-European studies, the comparative linguist will generally focus on the earliest well-attested stage of a language, e.g. Old English (*c.* AD 700–100), and only move into increasingly more recent forms of the language (Middle English at *c.* 1100–1450 or New English *c.* 1450–) when and if the latter stages of a language contribute something that cannot be recovered from the earlier. Where a language is extraordinarily well attested in its ancient form—Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit—there is seldom cause to present the later evidence of these language groups—Italian, Modern Greek, or Hindi/Urdu. On the other hand, where the evidence for the ancient language tends to be more limited, e.g. early Iranian languages such as Avestan and Old Persian, then recourse to more recent Iranian languages can help fill in the gaps.

The antiquity of attestation or even main textual evidence, however, is not a complete guide to the utility of a language group to contribute to our understanding of the development of Indo-European. One of the most recently

Table 2.2. *Antiquity of earliest attestation (in units of 500 years) of each Indo-European group*

2000–1500 BC	Anatolian
1500–1000 BC	Indo-Aryan
	Greek
1000–500 BC	Iranian
	Celtic
	Italic
	Phrygian
	Illyrian
	Messapic
	South Picene
	Venetic
500–1 BC	Thracian
	Macedonian
AD 1–500	Germanic
	Armenian
	Lusitanian
	Tocharian
AD 500–1000	Slavic
AD 1500–2000	Albanian
	Baltic

attested Indo-European groups, Baltic, contributes far more to discussions of Indo-European than a number of the earlier attested groups. One way of measuring the contribution of each group to Indo-European studies is to measure the frequency of its citation in the modern handbooks of Indo-European culture. There are two of these: Thomas Gamkrelidze and Vyacheslav Ivanov’s *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans* (1995=G-I) and J. P. Mallory and D. Q. Adams’s *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture* (1997=M-A). If we take the indices of words cited by language group across both encyclopedias (Table 2.3), the results are reasonably comparable. The Germanic languages have been well studied and a variety of them are routinely employed in Indo-European studies. Nevertheless, no single Germanic language is anywhere near as important as Greek. The Baltic languages, although attested the most recently, play a major part in Indo-European linguistics as does Indo-Aryan, here overwhelmingly Sanskrit. We will examine later how each language group contributes to the reconstruction of the proto-language.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a brief survey of what constitutes the main linguistic groups employed by Indo-European linguists in their

Table 2.3. *Language group citation frequency in two Indo-European encyclopedias*

	G-I	M-A
Germanic	2,168	5,691
Greek	1,847	2,441
Baltic	1,019	2,376
Sanskrit	1,822	2,139
Italic	1,339	1,902
Celtic	687	1,823
Slavic	1,101	1,429
Iranian	1,122	1,408
Tocharian	377	1,111
Anatolian	1,341	765
Armenian	327	595
Albanian	163	445
Other	56	167
Total	13,369	22,292

Note: Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995 = G-I; Mallory and Adams 1997 = M-A.

reconstruction of the earliest relations and culture of the Indo-European family. The evidence will be arranged here according to its approximate geographical position, west to east.

2.2 Celtic

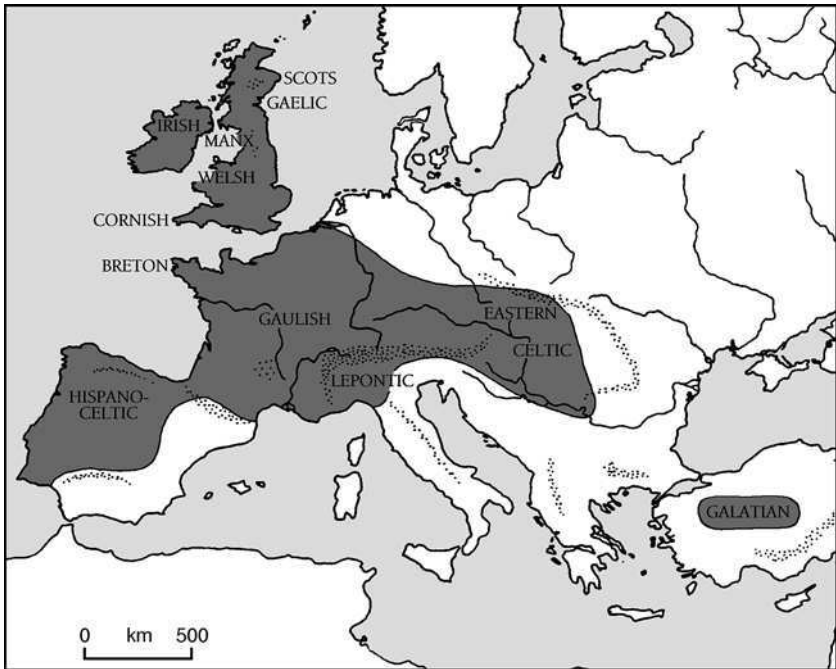
The Celtic languages represent one of the more attenuated groups of Indo-European. In the first centuries BC Celtic languages could be found from Ireland in the west across Britain and France, south into Spain, and east into central Europe. Celtic tribes raided the Balkans, sacked Delphi in 279 BC, and some settled in Anatolia in the same century to become the Galatians. The expansion of the Roman Empire north and westwards and the later movement of the Germanic tribes southwards saw the widespread retraction of Celtic languages on the Continent.

The Celtic languages are traditionally divided into two main groups—Continental and Insular Celtic (Table 2.4; Map 2.1). The Continental Celtic languages are the earliest attested. Names are found in Greek and Roman records while inscriptions in Celtic languages are found in France, northern Italy, and

Spain. The Continental evidence is usually divided into Gaulish, attested in inscriptions in both southern and central France, Lepontic, which is known from northern Italy in the vicinity of Lake Maggiore, and Ibero-Celtic or Hispano-Celtic in the north-western two-thirds of the Iberian peninsula. The inscriptions are very heavily biased toward personal names and do not present a particularly wide-ranging reservoir of the Celtic language. The earliest inscriptions are in the Lepontic language. Celtic inscriptions may be written in the Greek script, modified versions of the Etruscan script, the Roman script, or, in Iberia, in a syllabic script employed by the non-Indo-European Iberians. Where the inscriptions do have value is illustrating the earliest evidence for Celtic speech in its most primitive form. This latter point is quite significant as most of the Insular Celtic languages have suffered such a brusque restructuring that many of the original grammatical elements have either been lost or heavily altered.

Table 2.4. *The evidence of Celtic*

CONTINENTAL CELTIC
<i>Gaulish</i> (c. 220–1 BC)
<i>Lepontic</i> (c. 600–100 BC)
<i>Ibero-Celtic</i> (c. 200–1 BC)
INSULAR CELTIC
Ancient British (c. AD 1–600)
<i>Welsh</i>
Archaic (c. AD 600–900),
Old Welsh (900–1200),
Middle Welsh (1200–1500)
Modern Welsh (1500–)
<i>Cornish</i>
Old Cornish (c. AD 800–1200)
Middle Cornish (1200–1575)
Late Cornish (1575–1800)
<i>Breton</i>
Primitive Breton (c. AD 500–600)
Old Breton (600–1000)
Middle Breton (1000–1600)
Modern Breton (1600–)
<i>Irish</i>
Ogam Irish (c. AD 400–700)
Old Irish (c. AD 700–900)
Middle Irish (c. AD 900–1200)
Modern Irish (1200–)



Map 2.1. Distribution of the Celtic languages

The Insular Celtic languages, so named because they were spoken in Britain and Ireland, are divided into two main groups—Brittonic and Goidelic. The first comprises the languages spoken or originating in Britain. The early British language of the first centuries BC, known primarily from inscriptions and Roman sources, evolved into a series of distinct languages—Welsh, Cornish, and Breton. Welsh developed a rich literary tradition during the Middle Ages and the main body of Welsh textual material derives from the Middle Welsh period. Cornish, which became extinct by the end of the 18th century, yields a much smaller volume of literature, and most of our Cornish data derives from the Middle Cornish period (which also serves as the basis of the Modern Cornish revival). Breton originated in Britain and was carried from southern Britain to Brittany during the fifth to seventh centuries where, some argue, it may have encountered remnant survivors of Gaulish.

The Goidelic languages comprise Irish and two languages derived from Irish—Scots Gaelic and Manx—that were imported into their historical positions in the early Middle Ages.

From a linguistic standpoint, the most important of the Celtic languages is Old and Middle Irish, as the quantity of output for these periods was quite large (the dictionary of early Irish runs to more than 2,500 pages). There is also

Table 2.5. *Continental Celtic and some Old Irish equivalents*

GAULISH	IBERO-CELTIC	OGAM IRISH	OLD IRISH	ENGLISH
<i>uiros</i>	<i>uiros</i>	—	<i>fer</i>	man
<i>uenia</i>	—	—	<i>fine</i>	descendants
<i>ollon</i>	—	—	<i>oll</i>	much
<i>sextametos</i>	—	—	<i>sechtmad</i>	seventh
<i>decametos</i>	—	—	<i>dechmad</i>	tenth
<i>canto(n)</i>	<i>kantom</i>	—	<i>cēt</i>	hundred
<i>mapo-</i>	—	<i>maqi</i>	<i>maic</i>	son
—	—	<i>inigena</i>	<i>ingen</i>	daughter

inscriptional evidence of Irish in Ireland dating to *c.* AD 400–700. These inscriptions are written in the ogam script, notches made on the edges of an upright stone, hence the language of the inscriptions is termed Ogam Irish, and although they are largely confined to personal names, they do retain the fuller grammatical complement of the Continental Celtic inscriptions. Table 2.5, which presents some of the Continental and Insular inscriptional evidence compared with the equivalent words in Old Irish, indicates something of the scale of change in Old Irish compared with the earlier evidence for Continental Celtic languages.

2.3 Italic

Latin is the principal Italic language but it only achieved its particular prominence with the expansion of the Roman state in the first centuries BC. It is earliest attested in inscriptions that date from *c.* 620 BC onwards (Table 2.6; Map 2.2) and are described as Old Latin. The main source of our Latin evidence for an Indo-Europeanist derives from the more familiar Classical Latin that emerges about the first century BC. The closest linguistic relation to Latin is Faliscan, a language (or dialect) spoken about 40 km north of Rome and also attested in inscriptions from *c.* 600 BC until the first centuries BC when the region was assimilated entirely into the Latin language.

South of Rome lay the Samnites who employed the Oscan language, attested in inscriptions, including graffiti on the walls of the destroyed city of Pompeii, beginning about the fifth century BC. There are also about two hundred other documents, usually quite short, in the Oscan language. Oscan finds a close relation in Umbrian, which was spoken north of Rome, and, after Latin, provides the next largest corpus of Italic textual material (Table 2.7). Although

Table 2.6. *The evidence of the Italic languages*

LATIN-FALISCAN*Latin*

Old Latin (c.620–80 BC)

Classical Latin (c.80 BC–AD 120)

Late Latin (AD 120–c.1000)

Faliscan (600–100 BC)**OSCO-UMBRIAN***Oscan* (500–1 BC)*Umbrian* (300–1 BC)

there are a number of short inscriptions, the major evidence of Umbrian derives from the Iguvine Tablets, a series of seven (of what were originally a total of nine) bronze tablets detailing Umbrian rituals and recorded between the third and first centuries BC. In addition to these major Italic languages, there are a series of inscriptions in poorly attested languages such as Sabine, Volscian, and Marsian. While these play a role in discussions of Italic languages, it is largely Latin and occasionally Oscan and Umbrian that play the greatest role in Indo-European studies.

The so-called Vulgar Latin of the late Roman Empire gradually divided into what we term the Romance languages. The earliest textual evidence for the various Romance languages begins with the ninth century for French, the tenth century for Spanish and Italian, the twelfth century for Portuguese, and the sixteenth century for Romanian. As our knowledge of Latin is so extensive, comparative linguists rarely require the evidence of the Romance languages in Indo-European research.

2.4 Germanic

The collapse of the Roman Empire was exacerbated by the southern and eastern expansion of Germanic tribes. The Germans first emerge in history occupying the north European plain from Flanders in the west to the Vistula river in the east; they also occupied at least southern Scandinavia.

The Germanic languages are divided into three major groups: eastern, northern, and western (Table 2.8). Eastern Germanic is attested by a single language, Gothic, the language of the Visigoths who settled in the Balkans where the Bible in the Gothic language (only portions of which survive) was prepared by the Christian missionary Wulfilas. This fourth-century translation



Map 2.2. Distribution of the Italic languages and Etruscan (shaded area)

Table 2.7. *Some IE cognates from the main Italic languages*

LATIN	OSCAN	UMBRIAN
<i>pater</i> ‘father’	<i>patir</i>	<i>pater</i>
<i>cānus</i> ‘grey’	<i>casnar</i> ‘old’	—
<i>lingua</i> ‘tongue’	<i>fangva-</i>	—
<i>testis</i> ‘witness’	<i>trstus</i> ‘third’	—
<i>vir</i> ‘man’	—	<i>ueiro-</i>
<i>avis</i> ‘bird’	—	<i>avi-</i>
<i>probus</i> ‘good’	—	<i>prufe</i> ‘properly’
—	<i>puklum</i> ‘son’	—

survives primarily in a manuscript dated to *c.* AD 500. Eighty-six words of the language of the Ostrogoths were recorded in the Crimea by Oguier de Busbecq, a western diplomat to the Ottoman Empire, in the sixteenth century. Because of its early attestation and the moderately large size of the text that it offers,

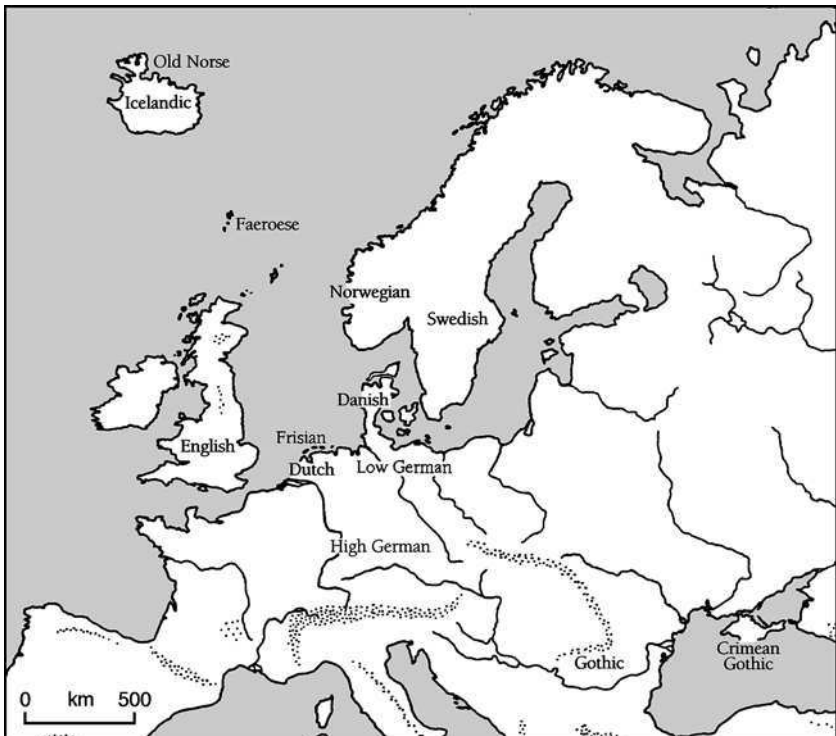
**Map 2.3.** Distribution of the Germanic languages

Table 2.8. *The evidence of the Germanic languages*

EAST GERMANIC
<i>Gothic</i> (350–1600)
NORTHERN GERMANIC
<i>Runic</i> (c. AD 300–1700)
<i>Norse</i>
Primitive Norse (300–700)
Old Norse (700–1350)
WEST GERMANIC
<i>German</i>
Old High German (750–1050)
Middle High German (1050–1350)
New High German (1350–)
<i>Dutch</i>
Old Dutch (–1150)
Middle Dutch (1150–1500)
Modern Dutch (1500–)
<i>English</i>
Old English (700–1100)
Middle English (1100–1450)
New English (1450–)

Gothic plays a significant part of the Germanic set of languages in comparative linguistics.

The northern group of Germanic languages is the earliest attested because of runic inscriptions that date from c. AD 300 onwards. These present an image of Germanic so archaic that they reflect not only the state of proto-Northern Germanic but are close to the forms suggested for the ancestral language of the entire Germanic group. But the runic evidence is meagre and the major evidence for Northern Germanic is to be found in Old Norse. This comprises a vast literature, primarily centred on or composed in Iceland. The extent of Old Norse literature ensures that it is also regarded as an essential comparative component of the Germanic group. By c.1000, Old Norse was dividing into regional east and west dialects and these later provided the modern Scandinavian languages. Out of the west dialect came Icelandic, Faeroese, and Norwegian and out of East Norse came Swedish and Danish.

The main West Germanic languages were German, Frankish, Saxon, Dutch, Frisian, and English. For comparative purposes, the earliest stages of German and English are the most important. The textual sources of both German and English are such that Old High German and Old English provide the primary

Table 2.9. *Some basic comparisons between the major early Germanic languages*

GOTH	ON	OHG	OE	NE
<i>fadar</i>	<i>faðir</i>	<i>fater</i>	<i>fæder</i>	<i>father</i>
<i>sunus</i>	<i>sunr</i>	<i>sunu</i>	<i>sunu</i>	<i>son</i>
<i>daihtar</i>	<i>dōttir</i>	<i>tohter</i>	<i>dohtor</i>	<i>daughter</i>
<i>dags</i>	<i>dagr</i>	<i>tak</i>	<i>dæg</i>	<i>day</i>
<i>wulfs</i>	<i>ulfr</i>	<i>wolf</i>	<i>wulf</i>	<i>wolf</i>
<i>sitls</i>	<i>setr</i>	<i>sezzal</i>	<i>setl</i>	<i>settle</i>

Note: Goth=Gothic, ON = Old Norse, OHG = Old High German, OE = Old English, NE = New English.

comparative evidence for their respective languages (cf. Mallory–Adams where only 23 Middle English words contribute what could not be found among the 1,630 Old English words cited). Incidentally, the closest linguistic relative to English is Frisian followed by Dutch.

2.5 Baltic

The Baltic languages, now confined to the north-east Baltic region, once extended over an area several times larger than their present distribution indicates. The primary evidence of the Baltic languages rests with two sub-groups: West Baltic attested by the extinct Old Prussian, and East Baltic which survives today as Lithuanian and Latvian (Table 2.10; Map 2.4).

The evidence for Old Prussian is limited primarily to two short religious tracts (thirty pages altogether) and two Prussian wordlists with less than a thousand words. These texts date to the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries and were written by non-native speakers of Old Prussian.

Table 2.10. *The evidence of the Baltic languages*

WEST BALTIC
<i>Old Prussian</i> (c.1545–1700)
EAST BALTIC
<i>Lithuanian</i> (1515–)
<i>Latvian</i> (c.1550–)



Map 2.4. Distribution of the Baltic (shaded area) and Slavic languages

The evidence for the East Baltic languages is also tied to religious proselytization and it might be noted that the Lithuanians, beginning to convert to Christianity only in the fourteenth century, were among the last pagans in Europe. Unlike Old Prussian, however, both Lithuanian and Latvian survived and have full national literatures. There is considerable evidence that Latvian spread over an area earlier occupied by Uralic speakers, and within historic times an enclave of Uralic-speaking Livonians has virtually disappeared into their Latvian environment. Although attested no more recently than Albanian, the Baltic languages, especially Lithuanian, have been far more conservative and preserve many features that have disappeared from many much earlier attested Indo-European languages. For this reason, Lithuanian has always been treated as a core language in comparative Indo-European reconstruction (Table 2.11).

Table 2.11. *Some cognate words in the Baltic languages*

OPRUS	LITH	LATV
<i>alu</i> ‘mead’	<i>alūs</i> ‘beer’	<i>alus</i> ‘beer’
<i>anglis</i> ‘charcoal’	<i>anglis</i>	<i>uogle</i>
<i>lynno</i> ‘flax’	<i>linas</i>	<i>lini</i>
<i>muso</i> ‘fly’	<i>musis</i>	<i>muša</i>
<i>sagnis</i> ‘root’	<i>šaknis</i>	<i>sakne</i>
<i>wissa</i> ‘all’	<i>visas</i>	<i>viss</i>
<i>woble</i> ‘apple’	<i>obuolys</i>	<i>ābuol(i)s</i>

Note: OPrus = Old Prussian, Lith = Lithuanian, Latv = Latvian.

2.6 Slavic

In the prehistoric period the Baltic and Slavic languages were so closely related that many linguists speak of a Balto-Slavic proto-language. After the two groups had seen major division, the Slavic languages began expanding over territory previously occupied by speakers of Baltic languages. From *c.* AD 500 Slavic tribes also pushed south and west into the world of the Byzantine Empire to settle in the Balkans and central Europe while other tribes moved down the Dnieper river or pressed east towards the Urals and beyond (Map 2.4).

The initial evidence for the Slavic language is Old Church Slavonic which tradition relates to the Christianizing mission of Saints Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century. Their work comprises biblical translations and was directed at Slavic speakers in both Moravia and Macedonia. The language is regarded as the precursor of the earliest South Slavic languages but it also quite close to the forms reconstructed for Proto-Slavic itself. The prestige of Old Church Slavonic, so closely associated with the rituals of the Orthodox Church, ensured that it played a major role in the development of the later Slavic languages (Table 2.12).

The Slavic languages are divided into three main groups—South, East, and West Slavic. The South Slavic languages comprise Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian, and Slovenian. The earliest attestations of these languages, as distinct from Old Church Slavonic, begin about AD 1000–1100.

The East Slavic languages comprise Russian, Byelorussian, and Ukrainian, and their mutual similarity to one another is closer than any other group. Here too the prestige of Old Church Slavonic was such that the three regional developments were very slow to emerge, generally not until about 1600.

The West Slavic languages were cut off from their southern neighbours by the penetration of the Hungarians into central Europe. The language that

Table 2.12. *The evidence of the Slavic languages*

SOUTH SLAVIC
<i>Old Church Slavonic</i> (c. 860–)
<i>Macedonian</i> (1790–)
<i>Bulgarian</i>
Old Bulgarian (900–1100)
Middle Bulgarian (1100–1600)
Modern Bulgarian (1600–)
<i>Serbo-Croatian</i> (1100–)
<i>Slovenian</i> (1000–)
EAST SLAVIC
<i>Russian</i>
Old Russian (c.1000–1600)
Russian (c.1600–)
<i>Byelorussian</i> (c.1600–)
<i>Ukrainian</i> (c.1600–)
WEST SLAVIC
<i>Polish</i> (c.1270–)
<i>Czech</i> (c.1100–)
<i>Slovak</i> (c.1100–)

Polish, Czech, and Slovak replaced was Latin, not Old Church Slavonic, which had been used in Bohemia-Moravia but was replaced very early by Latin. Unlike the case with East and South Slavic, Church Slavonicisms are almost entirely absent from West Slavic.

The abundance of Old Church Slavonic material, its conservative nature, and the fact that subsequent Slavic languages appear to evolve as later regional developments means that linguists generally find that Old Church Slavonic will suffice for Indo-European comparative studies although its evidence can be augmented by other Slavic languages (Table 2.13).

2.7 Albanian

The earliest reference to an Albanian language dates to the fourteenth century but it was not until 1480 that we begin to recover sentence-length texts and the first Albanian book was only published in 1555. The absorption of so many foreign words from Greek, Latin, Turkish, and Slavic has rendered Albanian only a minor player in the reconstruction of the Indo-European vocabulary,

Table 2.13. *A comparison of some cognate terms in Old Church Slavonic (OCS) and Russian (Rus) with Lithuanian (Lith), a Baltic language*

LITH	OCS	Rus
<i>alūs</i> ‘beer’	<i>olŭ</i> ‘beer’	<i>ol</i>
<i>anglis</i> ‘charcoal’	<i>oglŭ</i> ‘charcoal’	<i>úgolŭ</i>
<i>linas</i> ‘flax’	<i>lŭnĕnŭ</i> ‘linen’	<i>len</i>
<i>musis</i> ‘fly’	<i>mŭšica</i> ‘gnat’	<i>móška</i>
<i>obuolŷs</i> ‘apple’	<i>(j)ablŭko</i> ‘apple’	<i>jábloko</i>
<i>šaknis</i> ‘root’	<i>socha</i> ‘pole’	<i>sokhá</i> ‘plough’
<i>visas</i> ‘all’	<i>vŭsŭ</i> ‘all’	<i>vesŭ</i>

and of the ‘major’ languages it contributes the least number of Indo-European cognates. However, Albanian does retain certain significant phonological and grammatical characteristics (Table 2.14).

Table 2.14. *The basic Albanian numerals are cognate with other IE numbers*

One	<i>nji</i>
Two	<i>dy</i>
Three	<i>tre</i>
Four	<i>katër</i>
Five	<i>pesë</i>
Six	<i>gjashtë</i>
Seven	<i>shtatë</i>
Eight	<i>tetë</i>
Nine	<i>nëndë</i>
Ten	<i>dhjetë</i>

2.8 Greek

The earliest evidence for the Greek language comes from the Mycenaean palaces of mainland Greece (Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos) and from Crete (Knossos). The texts are written in the Linear B script, a syllabary, i.e. a script whose signs indicate full syllables (*ra*, *wa*, etc.) rather than single phonemes, and are generally administrative documents relating to the palace economies of Late Bronze Age Greece (Table 2.15). With the collapse of the Mycenaean

Table 2.15. *Linear B and Classical Greek*

MYCENAEAN	GREEK
<i>a-ka-so-ne</i> ‘axle’	<i>áksōn</i>
<i>do-e-ro</i> ‘slave’	<i>doûlos</i>
<i>e-re-pa</i> ‘ivory’	<i>eléphās</i>
<i>i-qo</i> ‘horse’	<i>hippos</i>
<i>pte-re-wa</i> ‘elm’	<i>ptelēā</i>
<i>ra-wa-ke-ta</i> ‘leader’	<i>lāgētās</i>

civilization in the twelfth century BC, evidence for Greek disappears until the emergence of a new alphabetic writing system, based on that of the Phoenicians, which developed in the period c.825–750 BC. The early written evidence indicates the existence of a series of different dialects that may be assigned to Archaic Greek (Table 2.16). One of these, the Homeric dialect, employed in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, was an eastern dialect that grew up along the coast of Asia Minor and was widely employed in the recitation of heroic verse. The Attic dialect, spoken in Athens, became the basis of the classical standard and was also spread through the conquests of Alexander the Great. This established the line of development that saw the later emergence of Hellenistic, Byzantine, and Modern Greek.

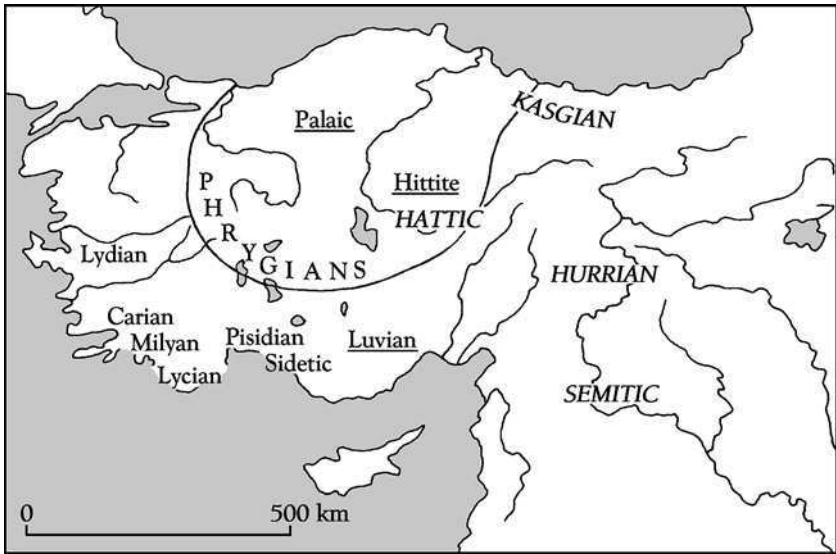
The literary output of ancient Greece is enormous and the grammatical system of Greek is sufficiently conservative that it plays a pivotal role in Indo-European comparative studies.

Table 2.16. *The evidence of the Greek language*

<i>Mycenaean</i> (c. 1300–1150 BC)
<i>Greek</i>
Archaic Greek (c. 800–400 BC)
Hellenistic Greek (c. 400 BC–AD 400)
Byzantine Greek (c. AD 400–1500)
Modern Greek (1500–)

2.9 Anatolian

The earliest attested Indo-European languages belong to the extinct Anatolian group (Map 2.5). They first appear only as personal names mentioned in



Map 2.5. Distribution of the Anatolian and Phrygian (lined area) languages

Assyrian trading documents in the centuries around 2000 BC. By the mid second millennium texts in Anatolian languages are found in abundance, particularly in the archives of the Hittite capital at Hattuša in central Anatolia.

The Anatolian languages are divided into two main branches: Hittite-Palaic and South/West Anatolian (Table 2.17). The first branch consists of Hittite and Palaic. Hittite is by far the best attested of the Anatolian languages. There are some 25,000 clay tablets in Hittite which deal primarily with administrative or ritual matters, also mythology. The royal archives of the Hittite capital also yielded some documents in Palaic, the language of the people of Pala to the north of the Hittite capital. These are of a ritual nature and to what extent Palaic was even spoken during the period of the Hittites is a matter of speculation. It is often assumed to have become extinct by 1300 BC if not earlier but we have no certain knowledge of when it ceased to be spoken.

In south and west Anatolia we find evidence of the other main Anatolian language, Luvian. Excepting the claim that the earliest references to Anatolians in Assyrian texts refer explicitly to Luvians, native Luvian documents begin about 1600 BC. Luvian was written in two scripts: the cuneiform which was also employed for Hittite and a hieroglyphic script created in Anatolia itself. Primarily along the south-west coast of Anatolia there was a string of lesser-known languages, many if not all believed to derive from the earlier Luvian language or, if not derived directly from attested Luvian, derived from unattested varieties of Anatolian closely related to attested Luvian. These include Lycian which is known from about 200 inscriptions on tombs, Lydian, also

Table 2.17. *The evidence of the Anatolian languages*

HITTITE-PALAIC
<i>Hittite</i>
Old Hittite (1570–1450 BC)
Middle Hittite (1450–1380 BC)
New Hittite (1380–1220 BC)
<i>Palaic</i> (?–?1300 BC)
SOUTH/WEST ANATOLIAN
<i>Luvian</i>
Cuneiform Luvian (1600–1200 BC)
Hieroglyphic Luvian (1300–700 BC)
<i>Lycian</i> (500–300 BC)
<i>Milyan</i> (500–300 BC)
<i>Carian</i> (500–300 BC)
<i>Lydian</i> (500–300 BC)
<i>Sidetic</i> (200–100 BC)
<i>Pisidian</i> (AD 100–200)

known from tombs and some coins as well, Pisidian, which supplied about thirty tomb inscriptions, Sidetic about half a dozen, and Carian, which is not only found in Anatolia but also in Egypt where it occurs as graffiti left by Carian mercenaries.

Anatolian occupies a pivotal position in Indo-European studies because of its antiquity and what are perceived to be extremely archaic features of its grammar (Table 2.18); however, the tendency for Anatolian documents to include many

Table 2.18. *Selected cognate words in Hittite (Hit), Old English (OE), and New English (NE)*

HIT	OE	NE
<i>gēnu</i>	<i>cnēo(w)</i>	<i>knee</i>
<i>hāras</i>	<i>earn</i>	<i>erne (eagle)</i>
<i>kēr</i>	<i>heorte</i>	<i>heart</i>
<i>nēwas</i>	<i>nīwe</i>	<i>new</i>
<i>tāru</i>	<i>treōw</i>	<i>tree</i>
<i>wātar</i>	<i>wāter</i>	<i>water</i>
<i>yukan</i>	<i>geoc</i>	<i>yoke</i>

items of vocabulary from earlier written languages, in particular Sumerian and Akkadian, has militated against a comparable importance in contributing to the reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European vocabulary. All too often we do not know the actual Hittite word for a concept because that concept is always expressed as a Sumerian or Akkadian phonogram (which the Hittite speaker would have pronounced as the proper Hittite word much in the way an English speaker says ‘pound’ when confronted with the Latin abbreviation *lb*).

2.10 Armenian

As with many other Indo-European languages, it was the adoption of Christianity that led to the first written records of the Armenian language. The translation of the Greek Bible into Armenian is dated by tradition to the fourth century, and by the fifth century there was a virtual explosion of Armenian literature. The earliest Armenian records are in Old or Classical Armenian which dates from the fourth to the tenth century. From the tenth to nineteenth century Middle Armenian is attested mainly among those Armenians who had migrated to Cilicia. The modern literary language dates from the early nineteenth century.

As we have seen, the Armenian vocabulary was so enriched by neighbouring Iranian languages—the Armenian-speaking area was regularly in and out of Iranian-speaking empires—that its identification as an independent Indo-European language rather than an Iranian language was not secured until the 1870s. It has been estimated that only some 450 to 500 core words of the Armenian vocabulary are not loanwords but inherited directly from the Indo-European proto-language (Table 2.19).

Table 2.19. *Selected cognates in Armenian (Arm), Old English (OE), and New English (NE)*

ARM	OE	NE
<i>akn</i>	<i>ēage</i>	<i>eye</i>
<i>cunr</i>	<i>cnēo(w)</i>	<i>knee</i>
<i>hayr</i>	<i>fæder</i>	<i>father</i>
<i>kin</i>	<i>cwene</i>	<i>quean (woman)</i>
<i>mukn</i>	<i>mūs</i>	<i>mouse</i>
<i>otn</i>	<i>fōt</i>	<i>foot</i>
<i>sirt</i>	<i>heorte</i>	<i>heart</i>

2.11 Indo-Aryan

The ancient Indo-European language of India is variously termed Indic, Sanskrit, or Indo-Aryan (Map 2.6). While the first name is geographically transparent (the people of the Indus river region), Sanskrit refers to the artificial codification of the Indic language about 400 BC, i.e. the language was literally ‘put together’ or ‘perfected’, i.e. *saṃskṛta*, a term contrasting with the popular or natural language of the people, Prākṛit. Indo-Aryan acknowledges that the Indo-Europeans of India designated themselves as Aryans; as the Iranians also termed themselves Aryans, the distinction here is then one of Indo-Aryans in contrast to Iranians (whose name already incorporates the word for ‘Aryan’).

The earliest certainly dated evidence for Indo-Aryan does not derive from India but rather north Syria where a list of Indo-Aryan deities is appended to a



Map 2.6. Distribution of the Indo-Aryan (*italic*) and Iranian (*roman*) languages.

treaty between the Mitanni and the Hittites. This treaty dates to *c.*1400–1330 BC and there is also other evidence of Indo-Aryan loanwords in Hittite documents. These remains are meagre compared with the vast religious and originally oral traditions of the Indo-Aryans. The oldest such texts are the Vedas (Skt *veda* ‘knowledge’), the sacred writings of the Hindu religion. The *R̥gveda* alone is about the size of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* combined and this single work only begins a tradition of religious literature that runs into many volumes. These religious texts, however, were not edited and written down until the early centuries BC, and dating the composition of the Vedas has been a perennial problem. Most dates for the *R̥gveda* fall within a few centuries on either side of *c.*1200 BC. Because of the importance of the Vedas in Indic ritual and the attention given to the spoken word, the texts have probably not suffered much alteration over the millennia. A distinction may be made between Vedic Sanskrit, the earliest attested language, and later Classical Sanskrit of the first millennium BC and more recently. Sanskrit literature was by no means confined to religious matters but also included an enormous literary output, including drama, scientific treatises, and other works, such that the volume of Sanskrit documents probably exceeds that of ancient Greece and Rome combined.

By the middle of the first millennium BC we find evidence for the vernacular languages of India which, as we have seen above, are designated Prākṛit. The earliest attested Indo-Aryan documents are in Prākṛit and these provide the bases of the modern Indo-Aryan languages, e.g. Hindi-Urdu, Gujarati, Marathi, Sinhalese.

2.12 Iranian

In the first millennium BC the distribution of the Iranian languages was truly enormous and not only comprised Iran and Afghanistan but also all of central Asia and the entire Eurasian steppe from at least the Dnieper east to the Yenisei river. The Iranian languages are divided into two major groups, Eastern and Western (Map 2.6).

The Eastern branch is earliest attested in the form of Avestan, the liturgical language of the religion founded by Zarathustra, or Zoroaster as he was known to the Greeks. The *Avesta* is a series of hymns and related material that was recited orally and not written down prior to the fourth century AD. Unlike the *R̥gveda*, the integrity of its oral transmission was not nearly so secure and there are many difficulties in interpreting the earlier passages of the document. These belong to the *Gathas*, the hymns reputedly composed by Zarathustra himself; there is also much later material in the *Avesta*. The dates of its earliest elements

are hotly disputed but generally fall *c.*1000 BC and are presumed to be roughly contemporary with the *R̥gveda*.

Eastern Iranian offers many other more recently attested languages that belong to the Middle Iranian period. In central Asia, Bactrian, Sogdian, and Choresmian were all spoken and occasionally recorded from about the fourth century AD onwards until the Turkish conquest of the region. The European steppelands were occupied by the nomadic Scythians in the west and the Saka in the east, and what little evidence survives indicates that these all spoke an East Iranian language as well. The Saka penetrated what is now western China and settled along the southern route of the Silk Road in the oasis town of Khotan where they have left more abundant documents known as Khotanese Saka. Most of these East Iranian languages have disappeared except for those spoken by peoples who occupied mountainous regions and have survived into the New Iranian period. On the European steppe, East Iranian tribes settled in the Caucasus where they survive today as the Ossetes, and Ossetic provides a valuable source for East Iranian. Sogdian has a distant descendant in the Yaghnobi language of Tadjikistan while the remnants of the Saka languages survive in the Pamirs. The most important modern East Iranian language is Pashto, the state language of modern Afghanistan.

The West Iranian languages were carried into north-west Iran by the Persians and Medes. Old Persian is attested primarily in a series of cliff-carved inscriptions in cuneiform. This material is not particularly abundant and is often repetitively formulaic but it does offer significant additional evidence to Avestan for the early stages of Iranian. By the Middle Iranian period we find Middle Persian, markedly changed from the earlier language. After the Arab conquests of the region (and a major Arabic impact on the Persian language), New Persian arose by the tenth century.

Iranian is closely related to Indo-Aryan and because the latter is far better represented in the earliest periods, there is a greater emphasis on Indo-Aryan

Table 2.20. *Selected cognates in Sanskrit (Skt) and Avestan (Av)*

SKT	Av
<i>ákṣi</i> ‘eye’	<i>aši-</i>
<i>dāru</i> ‘wood’	<i>dāuru</i>
<i>hṛd-</i> ‘heart’	<i>zərəd-</i>
<i>jānu</i> ‘knee’	<i>zānu-</i>
<i>mūṣ-</i> ‘mouse’	NPers <i>mūs</i>
<i>ójas-</i> ‘strength’	<i>aojah-</i>
<i>yugám</i> ‘yoke’	<i>yugam</i>

among comparativists than on Iranian (Table 2.20). Within the wider context of Iranian itself, there are far more languages than have been summarized here. Because the *Avesta* and the Old Persian documents are meagre compared to the volume of Sanskrit material, scholars often exploit the vocabularies of the Middle and even the Modern Iranian languages in order to fill out the range of Iranian vocabulary.

2.13 Tocharian

At the end of the nineteenth century, western expeditions to Xinjiang, the westernmost province of China, began to uncover remains of what are known as the Tocharian languages (Table 2.21). The documents date from the fifth century AD until Tocharian was replaced by Uyghur, a Turkic language, by the thirteenth century AD. There are approximately 3,600 documents in Tocharian but many of these are excruciatingly small fragments. The documents are primarily translations of Buddhist or other Indic texts, monastery financial accounts, or caravan passes. There are two Tocharian languages. Tocharian A, also known as East Tocharian or Agnean, is recovered exclusively from around Qarashahr (the ancient Agni) and Turfan and gives some the impression that it may have been a ‘dead’ liturgical language by the time it was recorded. Tocharian B, otherwise West Tocharian or Kuchean, was spoken from the oasis town of Kucha east across Tocharian A territory. It is better attested and more conservative than Tocharian A. The application of the name ‘Tocharian’ to the remains of the documents is controversial: the Tocharians of classical sources were one of the peoples who occupied Bactria, and the presumption that these were the same people (or a closely related group) as those who lived in the Tarim and Turfan basins derives from several manuscript readings which have been rejected as often as they

Table 2.21. *Selected cognates in Tocharian (Toch), Old English (OE), and New English (NE)*

TOCH B	OE	NE
<i>ek</i>	<i>ēage</i>	<i>eye</i>
<i>kāryā</i>	<i>heorte</i>	<i>heart</i>
<i>keni</i>	<i>cnēo(w)</i>	<i>knee</i>
<i>keu</i>	<i>cū</i>	<i>cow</i>
<i>ñuwe</i>	<i>nīwe</i>	<i>new</i>
<i>or</i>	<i>trēow</i>	<i>tree</i>
<i>pācer</i>	<i>fæder</i>	<i>father</i>

have been accepted. For convenience sake, Tocharian has remained the common designation for this group by most but not all linguists.

2.14 Minor Languages

The expansion of literacy (or at least inscriptions) coupled with the occasional recording of foreign words by Greek authors provides us with our evidence for a number of poorly attested languages, largely found in the periphery of the earliest literate civilizations in the Mediterranean. Dacian, for example, was spoken in the territory roughly approximating modern Romania, and the residue of its language comes to us primarily through personal and place names and a few glosses recorded in Greek; to this one might include the hunt for ‘substrate’ words in modern Romanian. About twenty to twenty-five Dacian words have had reasonable though not certain Indo-European etymologies proposed. To its south, roughly in modern Bulgaria, was the Thracian language, again attested primarily in the form of personal and place names, about thirty-odd glosses in Greek sources, and a few impenetrable inscriptions in the Greek script. Along the west Adriatic (Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Albania) lay Illyrian which is almost entirely known from personal and place names, most of which have not been easy to etymologize. That Illyrian occupied the territory in which we later find Albanian suggests that it may be a predecessor of Albanian, but the evidence for Illyrian is so meagre that this cannot be demonstrated. These three Balkan languages then are extremely minor in terms of the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European but they were hardly minor languages during the periods when the groups speaking them were flourishing. All of them were associated with major tribal confederations and kingdoms of the Iron Age and it is only their early absorption into the Roman Empire and concomitant Latinization that accounts for why we regard them today as minor Indo-European languages.

The expansion of Latin also meant the loss of a series of languages of somewhat uncertain affiliation (although Indo-European) in Italy. In Sicily there is the barely attested Siculan. Closely related to Illyrian (it is believed) is Messapic, spoken in south-eastern Italy (Map 2.2). There are about 260 short inscriptions that date from the sixth to the first centuries BC. Northwards along the Adriatic we find Southern and Northern Picene, again languages known from some inscriptional evidence beginning in the sixth or fifth centuries BC. South Picene is definitely Italic while Northern Picene is anybody’s guess. Still further north we encounter Venetic with its two hundred inscriptions dating from the sixth to first centuries BC; some see it as a possible Italic language while

others have suggested that it occupies a more independent position. To its north lies Rhaetic, again known from a small number of inscriptions, and its linguistic position is even more insecure. In north-west Iberia we find traces of the Lusitanian language, apparently an Indo-European language lying somewhere between Italic and Celtic.

Of all the minor languages, Phrygian has probably the greatest claim to consideration (Map 2.5). The Phrygians carved out a substantial kingdom in north central Anatolia by the ninth century BC, superimposing themselves on earlier Anatolian-speaking populations. The language appears in two forms: Old Phrygian, some 250 inscriptions dating from the eighth to third centuries BC, and New Phrygian, written in the Greek script, and numbering about a hundred inscriptions, dating from the first century AD.

Further Reading

Basic surveys of the Indo-European languages can be found in Lockwood (1972), Baldi (1983), Ramat and Ramat (1998), and Bader (1997), which is particularly good at covering some of the minor attested languages. There are also several general synthetic studies of Indo-European culture, e.g. Mallory (1989), Sergent (1995).

Useful, often essential, works on the various Indo-European groups are listed below by language group.

ALBANIAN: Demiraj (1993, 1997), Hamp (1966), Huld (1984), Mann (1948, 1977), Newmark (1982), Orel (1998, 2000).

ANATOLIAN: Carruba (1970), Drews (2001), Friedrich, Kammenhuber, and Hoffmann (1975–), Kronasser (1962), Laroche (1959), Melchert (1994, 2004), Puhvel (1984–), Sturtevant (1951), Tischler (1977–).

ARMENIAN: Clackson (1994), Godel (1975), Hübschmann (1897), Mann (1963), Schmitt (1981), Solta (1963).

BALTIC: Endzelins (1971), Fraenkel (1950, 1962), Stang (1970).

CELTIC: Delamarre (2003), Lewis and Pedersen (1937), McKone (1996), Schrijver (1995), Vendryès and Lambert (1959–).

GERMANIC: Bammesberger (1979), DeVries (1962), Holthausen (1934), Kluge (1975), Lehmann (1986), Lloyd, Lühr, and Springer (1988–), Nielsen (2000), Prokosch (1938), Robinson (1992).

GREEK: Chantraine (1968–80), Frisk (1960–72), Horrocks (1997), Rix (1976), Schmitt (1977), Sihler (1995).

ILLYRIAN: Katičić (1976), Krahe (1964*a*), Mayer (1957–9), Polomé (1982).

INDO-ARYAN: Burrow (1973), Macdonell (1910), Masica (1991), Mayrhofer (1956–80, 1986–2001), Turner (1966–9).

IRANIAN: Bailey (1979), Bartholomae (1904), Beekes (1988), Jackson (1968[1892]), Kent (1953), Reichelt (1909), Schmitt (1989).

ITALIC: Baldi (1999), Bammesberger (1984), Buck (1928), Ernout and Meillet (1967), Meiser (1998), Palmer (1954), Schrijver (1991), Solta (1974).

MESSAPIC: Haas (1962), De Simone (1964).

PHRYGIAN: Brixhe (1994), Diakonoff (1985), Haas (1966), Orel (1997).

SLAVIC: Charlton (1991), Comrie (1993), Lunt (2001), Trubachev (1974–), Vaillant (1950–77), Vasmer (1953–8).

THRACIAN: Detschew (1957), Georgiev (1977), Polomé (1982), Katičić (1976).

TOCHARIAN: Adams (1988*a*, 1999), Krause and Thomas (1960), Pinault (1989), van Windekens (1976).

VENETIC: Beeler (1949), Lejeune (1974).

3

Reconstructing Proto-Indo-European

3.1 The Comparative Method	39	3.3 Laryngeal Theory	48
3.2 Schleicher's Tale	45	3.4 Reconstruction and Reality	50

3.1 The Comparative Method

Anyone with even the sketchiest notion of phonetics who considers the alphabet of the western languages cannot but be struck by its utter randomness. Vowels are scattered here and there in no sensible order, there is little similarity of sound in respect to placement, nor is there any sense that the more useful letters are gathered together in one place. The arrangement of a Qwerty keyboard (the standard typewriter or computer keyboard, named after the order of the first half of the upper row of letters) makes more sense than the order of the alphabet. This haphazard arrangement, however, is not characteristic of the Sanskrit (or Devanāgarī) alphabet which unlike the Phoenician and Greek alphabets (and their descendants, Latin and Cyrillic) would appear to have been systematically created and arranged on the basis of a thoroughgoing analysis of the phonetics of the language for which it was intended. The Sanskrit alphabet begins with the simple vowels in series between short and long, e.g. *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, then the diphthongs (e.g. *āi*, *āu*), and then the consonants which are as arranged in Table 3.1.

The consonants are arranged by place and method of articulation. First come the velars, those where the sound is made with the back of the throat, i.e. gutturals; then the palatals where the upper surface of the tongue is applied

Table 3.1. *The Sanskrit alphabet*

	unvoiced	unvoiced aspirate	voiced	voiced aspirate	nasal
velars	<i>k</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>ṅ</i>
palatals	<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>ñ</i>
retroflex	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ṭh</i>	<i>ḍ</i>	<i>ḍh</i>	<i>ṇ</i>
dental	<i>t</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>n</i>
labial	<i>p</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>m</i>

to the hard palate; then the retroflexes, a sound made with the tip of the tongue pressed against the palate, rather than the upper surface of the tongue as in the case of the palatal series; then the dentals, the sounds made by pressing the tongue against the teeth; and finally, the labials where the lips are employed in making the sound. The consonants may be voiced, i.e. involve a vibration of the vocal cords, or unvoiced. They may also be aspirated, accompanied by a breath, or unaspirated. Finally, they have nasal equivalents.

This same exemplary rigour was applied to the analysis of words and their constituent elements. Sanskrit grammarians described in detail the root, stems, and endings of verbs or nouns and both the internal and external changes that might alter their meaning or grammatical function. When western scholars began their study of Sanskrit, they not only acquired a new language but also learned a good deal about how to undertake grammatical analysis.

The early comparative philologists, armed with their better understanding of how languages might be studied, set out to demonstrate the systematic correspondence between phonological (sound) and morphological (grammar) elements in the Indo-European languages. In so doing, they invented the techniques of the comparative method. As an introduction to the method and the problems involved, we will take three words from a series of the Indo-European groups and explore how they are related (Table 3.2).

If we take the word for ‘carry’ in the first column and examine the root of the word, we arrive at the list of correspondences given in Table 3.3.

If we wished to describe this in as general terms as possible, we would say that the common shape of this root was LABIAL + VOWEL + R.

We could now investigate how stable some of these correspondences are and note in the second column, where we can now add a Lithuanian example as well, that the correspondences for the labial sound ($b = f = ph = bh = p$) remain precisely the same in the word for ‘brother’ as they do in the word ‘I carry’. When we look to the third column we encounter two easily overcome obstacles. The word for ‘brow’ in Old Irish is obviously part of a compound word here so

Table 3.2. *Comparison of three Indo-European words*

	‘I CARRY’	‘BROTHER’	‘BROW’
OIr	<i>beru</i>	<i>brāthair</i>	<i>forbrū</i>
Lat	<i>ferō</i>	<i>frāter</i>	—
OE	<i>bere</i>	<i>brōðor</i>	<i>brū</i>
Lith	—	<i>broterėlis</i>	<i>bruvis</i>
OCS	<i>berq</i>	<i>bratrŭ</i>	<i>brŭvi</i>
Grk	<i>phērō</i>	<i>phrētēr</i>	<i>ophrūs</i>
Skt	<i>bhārāmi</i>	<i>bhrātar-</i>	<i>bhrŭ-</i>
TochB	<i>parau</i>	<i>procer</i>	<i>pärwāne</i>

we ignore the *for*. In Greek we see that there is an *o* before the labial and we may presume that this reflects a particular development in Greek. Otherwise, all other correspondences hold. Obviously, we could do the same for the *r*.

If the pattern is correctly identified, we expect a predictive relationship so that where we find, for example, a *bh* in Sanskrit, we should expect a *ph* in Greek. So when we look further and compare the Sanskrit and Greek words for ‘cloud’, i.e. Sanskrit *nābhas-* and Greek *néphos*, or ‘divide, share food’, i.e. Sanskrit *bhájati* and Greek *phageîn*, we are not surprised to find the same correspondences of Skt *bh* = Grk *ph*. This process provides us with our initial stage of reconstruction: we have determined a system of correspondences for one of the labial sounds across the Indo-European languages. We have also shown that irrespective of the word, the same sound correspondences are in operation between each of the languages.

We now come to the first real crunch of the comparative method: how should we represent the correspondences that we have found? It is obviously far too cumbersome to drag out a list of the sound equivalences in each language of the twelve main Indo-European groups. We could, of course, suggest a simple algebraic symbol to express the correspondence. For example, we might propose the symbol L^1 , i.e. labial correspondence type 1, so that we have (and here is the full series):

$$L^1 = \text{OIr, OE, Lith, OCS, Alb, Arm, Av } b = \text{Lat } f = \text{Grk } ph = \text{Skt } bh = \text{Hit, Toch } p$$

Table 3.3. *Selected sound correspondences across the Indo-European languages*

OIr, OE, and OSC $b = \text{Lat } f = \text{Grk } ph = \text{Skt } bh = \text{TochB } p$
OIr, Lat, OE, OCS, Grk $e = \text{Skt, TochB } a$
OIr, Lat, OE, OCS, Grk, Skt, TochB all share r

Returning to our first column and the verb ‘I carry’, we could then suggest a symbol for the corresponding vocalic set such that V^1 , i.e. vowel correspondence type 1, would give us:

$V^1 = \text{OIr, Lat, OE, Lith, OCS, Grk, Arm, Hit } e = \text{Alb } ja/je = \text{Av, Skt } a = \text{TochB } (y)a/yä.$

We could then express the root of the verb to carry as $*L^1V^1r-$ but, mercifully, we do not.

The issue here is that although the relationship is abstract and can be expressed in a formula, we know that there was once a language or closely related language group that had a word ‘I carry’ which altered somewhat to give us the transparently similar words we find in all of the different Indo-European groups. It is both an uncontrollable and reasonable temptation to ‘reconstruct’ as closely as possible the original sound.

The reconstruction itself is based on a combination of common sense and observations on how sounds tend to develop in other languages. Common sense indicates that as all twelve groups demonstrate a labial, it is probable that the sound (our L^1) was also a labial in the proto-language. Now was it a voiced (b/bh) or an unvoiced (p/ph) labial? Eight of the twelve groups suggest that it was a voiced labial. If we look to the two languages (Hittite and Tocharian) that show an unvoiced labial (p), we would also discover that neither of these have a voiced labial in their respective languages to begin with, i.e. there could be no other outcome in Hittite or Tocharian for a Proto-Indo-European labial but an unvoiced one. As we also know that most of those languages that show a voiced labial also have an unvoiced labial, we can conclude that they do provide the evidence to distinguish which labial was in the proto-language, and so it appears that both Hittite and Tocharian have simplified the original sound. Can we determine this for certain?

One test would be to look for other words that show the unvoiced labial such as a p in Sanskrit and the other languages. When we do so, we note that Tocharian also gives a p , e.g. Tocharian B *pācer* ‘father’ = Sanskrit *pitár-*, Latin *pater*, etc. So the other languages show a contrast between the voiced (b) and unvoiced labial (p) whereas Tocharian does not. Furthermore, the devoicing of consonants is a frequently observed phenomenon throughout the linguistic world.

The odds are in favour then of a voiced labial and the main question is now whether it was aspirated (bh) or unaspirated (b). Most of the evidence suggests an unaspirated labial, and if we performed a simple head count, it would be seven groups who opt for b and only one, Sanskrit, with an aspirated bh . Numbers alone, however, do not provide a sufficient argument to conclude that the proto-form was a b because all those languages with only a b do not themselves possess an aspirated labial (bh) in the first place; this distinction is

limited to Sanskrit, and there are sound reasons to imagine that it is Sanskrit that retained the original situation while the other Indo-European stocks lost the distinction between aspiration and non-aspirates. How do we know it was not the other way round, i.e. that it was Sanskrit that split the Proto-Indo-European voiced labial into an aspirated (*bh*) and unaspirated (*b*) form?

In deciding in favour of Sanskrit linguists use the tenet of the regularity of sound change, the fundamental discovery of late nineteenth century linguists. In short it states that, if a sound in an earlier stage of a language (here say a *b*) changes into a different sound (*bh*), that change will happen to all instances of that sound, not to just a random subset of its occurrences. It is possible that a single older sound might come to be pronounced in two different ways (i.e. that a *b* might become a *bh* in some situations but a *b* in others), but only in predictable conditions. Such conditions, for example, can be seen in the development of Latin into Spanish, where Latin /k/ (written ‘c’) remained /k/ in Spanish before back vowels (i.e. *a*, *o*, *u*), e.g. in Latin *cantō* ‘I sing’ which became Spanish *canto* ‘I sing’, but became Spanish /s/ or /θ/ (depending on dialect) before front vowels (i.e. *i* and *e*), e.g. Latin *centum* (/kentum/) ‘hundred’ became Spanish *ciento* (/syento/ or /θyento/). But in the question of *bh* versus *b*, we find no evidence of any special situations obtaining where some cognates give a *b* in Sanskrit and others a *bh*; we uniformly find a Skt *bh* regardless of the following sound among cognate words between Sanskrit and other IE languages. When two sounds are not predictably related to one another on the basis of their (original) environments, we must assume that they are independent of one another. If these two sounds are not distinct in some related language, then that non-distinction must reflect a merger of the two originally distinct sounds. This consideration alone should alert us to the probability that it is Sanskrit that retains a distinction between *b* and *bh* which has been lost in the other IE languages. Moreover, the evidence of Greek also supports the primacy of *bh* in that it returns an aspirated *p*, i.e. *ph*.

Comparativists in the nineteenth century, therefore, settled on the voiced aspirate as the form to be reconstructed for the proto-language in the situation where Sanskrit had *bh*, Greek had *ph*, and Slavic had *b*, etc. Because this form is reconstructed and not actually attested—there is no such thing as a Proto-Indo-European document—it is preceded with an asterisk to indicate its hypothetical status, hence Proto-Indo-European **bh*. We already know that the root will end in **r* so we must now turn to the question of the vowel, our *V*¹.

As we have seen, the verb ‘carry’ has as its vowel *-a-* in Sanskrit (and Avestan) but *-e-* in Celtic, Latin, Germanic, Slavic, and Greek. Despite the fact that the majority of Indo-European traditions showed *e* here, early Indo-Europeanists tended to follow the evidence of Sanskrit and reconstruct a Proto-Indo-European **a* on the presumption that Sanskrit had changed least

of all from the proto-language. The principle of the regularity of sound change, however, finally convinced linguists that this time it was Sanskrit that had changed. The problem of blindly accepting Sanskrit as the most archaic language came to a head when linguists had to sort out the PIE velars.

In the example drawn from Spanish above, the nature of the following vowel dictated how Spanish would reflect an earlier Latin *c* /k/. In Sanskrit cognates involving the velars that we now reconstruct as \hat{k} and k^w might be represented by a *k* or a *c* (/č/, as the first and last consonant in New English *church*) in Sanskrit but unlike Spanish, the following vowel was always *a* when followed by a Proto-Indo-European front vowel, e.g. Lat *quod* ‘what’ and Skt *kád* ‘what’ but Lat *-que* ‘and’ and Sanskrit *ca* ‘and’. The unchanging Sanskrit outcomes made no sense unless one compared the following vowels in Latin, Greek, and other IE languages where we would find /e/, /a/, and /o/ where Sanskrit itself made no such distinction and only gave /a/. The other languages indicated that when the word had a front vowel (e.g. /e/) then the outcome of the velar in Sanskrit was *c*, but when it was a back vowel in Greek or Latin (i.e. /a/ or /o/), then Sanskrit gave a *k*. In this case it was evident that it was Sanskrit that had merged *e*, *a*, and *o* in a single /a/.

Thus linguists came to understand that, in this instance at least, Sanskrit was less conservative than its sisters Greek and Latin, and by the last quarter of the nineteenth century Proto-Indo-European **e* was reconstructed where Sanskrit showed *a* but Greek and Latin showed *e*, and likewise **o* was reconstructed where Sanskrit again showed only *a* and Greek and Latin showed *o* (e.g. Sanskrit *aṣṭá*, but Old Irish *ocht*, Latin *octō*, Greek *oktō* all ‘eight’). Proto-Indo-European **a* was reserved for those cases when all three groups showed *a* (e.g. Sanskrit *ájra-* ‘field, plain’, Old Norse *akr* ‘field’, Latin *ager* ‘field’, Greek *agrós* ‘field’). An example of all three Proto-Indo-European vowels is to be seen in Greek *dédorka* ‘I saw’ which may be compared with its Sanskrit cognate *dadárśa*, with its uniform *a*.

As a result of these and other interlocking arguments we can confidently reconstruct the root of the Proto-Indo-European verb ‘carry’ as **bher-*. We can push reconstruction a bit further to see how one reconstructs the morphological system. Returning to **bher-* we can show the verbal endings for the singular of the present active indicative from some of the Indo-European languages (Table 3.4). The ending of the first person is **-ō* (which in turn reflects an earlier *-oh₂*, the last symbol to be explained below in Section 3.3); the exception is Sanskrit, which has attached the first personal ending (*-mi*) of a different class of verbs to the original ending. The second person shows a sibilant ending (*-s*) while the third person shows evidence of a dental (*-t*). The sequence is reconstructed as: **bherō*, **bher-e-si*, and **bher-e-ti* where **bher-* is the root, *-e-* is the stem vowel, and *-si/-ti* are the endings of the second and third

Table 3.4. *The singular endings of the verb ‘carry’ in Indo-European*

	LATIN	GOTHIC	OCS	GRK	SKT
I carry	<i>ferō</i>	<i>baira</i>	<i>berǫ</i>	<i>phérō</i>	<i>bhārāmi</i>
you carry	<i>fers</i>	<i>bairis</i>	<i>bereši</i>	<i>phéreis</i>	<i>bhārasi</i>
she/he carries	<i>fert</i>	<i>bairiþ</i>	<i>beretǫ</i>	<i>phérei</i>	<i>bhārati</i>

persons. In very simplified terms, the earliest reconstructions tended to look very much like slightly modified Sanskrit. As we have noted, by the beginning of the twentieth century reconstructions tended to look more like Greek vowels inserted between Sanskrit consonants. This is when Karl Brugmann published his *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* (1897–1916), which reflected the current status of Indo-European studies, and the term ‘Brugmannian’ is popularly employed by Indo-Europeanists to describe ‘traditional’ reconstructions.

3.2 Schleicher’s Tale

A good measure of the changing appearance of Indo-European reconstructions can be seen in what is known as ‘Schleicher’s Tale’. August Schleicher (1821–68) was one of the great comparativists of the mid nineteenth century. As an exercise he sifted through the reconstructed Indo-European of his day for enough usable words to compose a short narrative tale in Proto-Indo-European. The tale was published in 1868.

Schleicher’s Tale

Avis, jasmin varnā na ā ast, dadarka akvams, tam, vāgham garum vaghantam, tam, bhāram magham, tam, manum āku bharantam. Avis akvabhjams ā vavakat: kard aghnutai mai vidanti manum akvams agantam.

Akvāsas ā vavakant: krudhi avai, kard aghnutai vividvant-svas: manus patis varnām avisāms karnauti svabhjam gharmam vastram avibhjams ka varnā na asti.

Tat kukruvants avis agram ā bhugat.

A sheep that had no wool saw horses—one pulling a heavy wagon, another one a great load, and another swiftly carrying a man. The sheep said to the horses: ‘it pains my heart seeing a man driving horses.’

The horses said to the sheep: ‘listen sheep! it pains our hearts seeing man, the master, making a warm garment for himself from the wool of a sheep when the sheep has no wool for itself.’

On hearing this the sheep fled into the plain.

It is useful to watch how this tale has been updated through time so let us take a closer look at the first line:

<i>avis,</i>	<i>jasmin</i>	<i>varnā</i>	<i>nā</i>	<i>ast,</i>	<i>dadarka</i>	<i>akvams,</i>
sheep	to whom	wool	not	was	saw	horses

The first thing that strikes us about Schleicher's reconstructions is the unremitting use of the vowel *a*, a clear sign of the predominance of Sanskrit in reconstruction. The first word, **avis* 'sheep', is attested in Old Irish *oī*, Latin *ovis*, Old English *ēowu*, Lithuanian *avis*, Old Church Slavonic *ovīnŭ*, Greek *ó(w)īs*, and Sanskrit *ávis*. By 1939, the linguist Hermann Hirt provided an updated ('Brugmannian') version whose first line ran as follows:

owis, jesmin wblnā ne ēst, dedork'e ek'wons,

Some of the changes were purely notational, e.g. *w* (or *u*) is preferred today rather than the *v* of Schleicher's reconstructions (and the Sanskrit language). We now also see that with more attention to the other Indo-European languages the vocalic system is primarily *e* and *o*. There are several other reconstructions, however, that are also new. The words for 'saw horses' (*dedork'e ek'wons*) both indicate a *k* with an apostrophe, Hirt's notation for what is more commonly written as **k̑* today. We have already seen the problem of distinctive sounds in Proto-Indo-European being simplified to single sounds, e.g. PIE **e*, **o*, and **a* > Sanskrit *a*. The velars in Indo-European presented the opposite problem: there were fewer forms in the daughter languages than were being reconstructed to Proto-Indo-European. We can see an example of this when we take three sets of cognate terms in Latin and Sanskrit. Latin *centum* 'hundred', *coxa* 'hip', and *quod* 'that' are cognate with Sanskrit *śatām* 'hundred', *kākṣa-* 'side, flank', and *kād* 'that'. If we place these in series, we reconstruct three different initial velars.

Lat	<i>centum</i>	<i>coxa</i>	<i>quod</i>
Skt	<i>śatām</i>	<i>kākṣa-</i>	<i>kād</i>
	velar 1	velar 2	velar 3

We appear to have a situation where we can match the Latin–Sanskrit correspondences as follows:

vel¹ = Lat **c** = Skt **ś**

vel² = Lat **c** = Skt **k**

vel³ = Lat **qu** = Skt **k**

We seem to need three velars to explain things but, unfortunately, not one of the Indo-European languages has more than two velars. The first velar (our vel¹) would seem to have become palatalized in Sanskrit, a process that happens quite frequently, e.g. whether one pronounces Celtic as /keltik/ or /seltik/.

By Hirt's time this was written as a palatal velar, i.e. $*\hat{k}$ or $*k'$ as Hirt's notation. Our second velar (vel^2) gives the same results in Latin as Sanskrit and is left alone as a pure velar ($*k$). The final velar (vel^3) is a labiovelar in Latin but a pure velar in Sanskrit. Latin appears to have merged the outcomes of vel^1 and vel^2 while Sanskrit merged the outcomes of vel^2 and vel^3 . These two patterns are commonly distinguished as the centum : satem split, taking their names for the words for 'hundred' in Latin (where Latin *c* is always the hard /k/ sound) and Avestan where we have the *s*-sound, *satəm* as also in Indic. The centum groups, those that retain the /k/ sound, are Celtic, Italic, Germanic, Greek, Anatolian, and Tocharian; the satem group, the ones that yield a palatalized sound, comprises Baltic, Slavic, Armenian, Iranian, and Indic. Before the discovery of Hittite and Tocharian, the split was seen as a straightforward east-west split. The question of whether there were actually three velars in the proto-language or whether there were only two that behaved differently in different environments is still a topic of major argument. The evidence of the Anatolian language Luvian strongly suggests a three-way distinction. As suggested above, the three velar series are commonly reconstructed as palatal \hat{k} , velar k , and labiovelar k^w . However, the centum group's change of a palatal to a velar would be phonologically unusual, and one might also suppose that Proto-Indo-European's three velars were k , q (dorso-uvular as the Arabic sound usually transcribed <q>), and q^w .

We move on to a third translation of Schleicher's tale which was published in 1979 by Winfred Lehmann and L. Zgusta.

owis, k^wesyō wļhnā ne ēst, ekwons espeket,

There are two major aspects of this translation that give us an indication of further changes in reconstruction. The first is word order. In the previous translations, the final phrase of the first line (Hirt: *dedork'e ek'wons* or here *ekwons espeket*) translates as 'saw horses'. The subject of the sentence, the sheep, is at the head and so the order of elements is the subject (S), then the verb (V) and then the object (O), i.e. SVO, i.e. 'sheep saw horses'. Since then, however, analysis of Anatolian and other Indo-European languages has suggested that the order of elements in Proto-Indo-European was more normally SOV with the verb at the end, and this is how Lehmann and Zgusta have put it although they have replaced Schleicher's verb with **espeket* which means the same as **dedork'e*. The other matter of interest is the word for 'wool' which has altered considerably since Schleicher's time. The shift from Schleicher's *r* to *l* in the reconstruction was simply another correction of the over-reliance on Sanskrit which largely merged the two sounds. More importantly, however, is that the 1979 version (**wļhnā*) has an *h*. The recognition of this sound in Proto-Indo-European has been called 'the most important single discovery in the

whole history of Indo-European linguistics’ and it was made by Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913) when he was 21 years old.

3.3 Laryngeal Theory

To understand de Saussure’s discovery we need a little background. In English (and the other Germanic languages) we can alter the meaning of a word both by adding endings, e.g. sing/singing/singer, or by changing the root vowel, e.g. sing/sang/sung/song. The second pattern is termed ablaut and it involves a variation in the root vowel. It is a fundamental operation in Sanskrit and Greek as well as Germanic. In our first sentence we have the verb **dedork’e* in Hirt’s translation. The Greek equivalent here is *dédorka* and we will take our example from Greek since it is the vowels that we need to follow. In Table 3.5 is found the ablaut pattern for the verb ‘to see’ in Greek and below each form the root has been isolated, and below that the actual vowel involved. The ablaut pattern here then is *e ~ o ~ ø* and these are known as *e-grade*, *o-grade*, and *zero-grade*. Ablaut is a fundamental part of Indo-European grammar.

The interesting problem arose when one considered other ablaut patterns that appeared to involve long vowels. Another example from Greek is given in Table 3.6. The ablaut pattern here would then be *ē ~ ō ~ e*. Similar patterns were observed with other vowels and there appeared to be two different systems: the first with short vowels that went down to the zero-grade and a second system where long vowels graded down to a short vowel. De Saussure devised a way of explaining them both as part of the same system. He proposed that the long vowels were originally a combination of a short vowel plus a sonant (written *E* in the example below) that was appropriate to each vowel (one for *e*, one for *o*, etc.). This meant that for the two examples given above, the systems ran as follows:

$$\begin{array}{c} e \sim o \sim \emptyset \\ eE \sim oE \sim E \end{array}$$

Eventually, the logic of this proposition was accepted and the missing particles were identified as laryngeals, a sound made by closing the glottis such as the initial

Table 3.5. *Short vowel ablaut patterns in Greek*

<i>dérkomai</i> ‘I see’	<i>dédorka</i> ‘I have seen’	<i>édra^hkon</i> ‘I saw’
<i>derk-</i>	<i>dork-</i>	<i>*d^hrk-</i>
e	o	ø

Table 3.6. *Long vowel ablaut patterns in Greek*

<i>títhēmi</i> ‘I put’	<i>thōmós</i> ‘heap’	<i>thetós</i> ‘put’
<i>thē-</i>	<i>thō-</i>	<i>the-</i>
<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>e</i>

‘catch’ (in phonetic notation /ʔ/) at the beginning of both syllables of the negative ‘uh-uh’, or the ordinary English *h* (a laryngeal fricative), or pharyngeals, sounds made in the pharynx. Collectively the laryngeals and pharyngeals are usually called just laryngeals. Another possibility is to see these consonants as the fricatives corresponding to the velars *k̥*, *k*, and *kʷ* (just as *s* corresponds to *t*). Thus some would reconstruct *ḥ* (the initial sound in *huge*), *x* (as in German *Bach*) and *xʷ* or as *χ*, and *χʷ*, where *χ* is the fricative corresponding to *q*. The laryngeal theory as it was called played a significant part in resolving many problems of Indo-European linguistics, although it also threw up some problems of its own. The problem with it was that the various Indo-European languages did not have laryngeals and so their existence was hypothetical. This situation remained until analysis of the Hittite language, which offered the earliest evidence of written Indo-European, revealed that it preserved some laryngeals, normally written in the form of an *h*. We can now reconsider the word for ‘wool’, i.e. **w_lhnā*. The word is attested in Hittite as *hulana-*, perhaps an unfortunate example as this requires metathesis, that is the Hittites have altered the sequence of the initial syllable and so the pre-Hittite form was actually **ulhna*.

We can now look to our final translation, prepared by Douglas Adams in 1997:

h₂ówis, kʷésyo w_lh₂néh₄ne (h₁é) est, h₁ékwons spéket

By now the notation of reconstruction looks positively algebraic. The simple *h* of Lehmann and Zgusta has become *h₂*, which merely identifies it as the second laryngeal type, i.e. the one that colours vowels *a*, e.g. the Latin word for ‘wool’ is *lāna*. We also note that laryngeals have been placed before the words for ‘sheep’ and ‘horse’ where previously they began with simple vowels. This addition was in order to ensure that the root began with a consonant. Analysis of the root structures of reconstructed Proto-Indo-European revealed that the root was limited in the form it could take and always began and ended with a consonant (C). If we let ‘e’ stand for any vowel (it was the most common vowel in Indo-European), then an Indo-European root could only be *CeC* or *CCeC* or *CeCC*. There were two other limitations on the structure of the root: two voiced stops could not occur together in the root, e.g. **deg-* and **bed-* would be impossible roots in Proto-Indo-European, and an unvoiced consonant and an aspirated

consonant could not occur together, i.e. **tebh-* would also be against ‘root-law’. A laryngeal could be treated as a consonant so even when there was no evidence for them in any surviving Indo-European language except Hittite and its close relatives (and not always there), they would be added in front of the initial vowel. In the case of the word for ‘horse’ (**h₁ék^hwos*) it is theoretical but in the case of ‘sheep’ (**h₂ówis*) it is entirely justified as Luvian, another of the Anatolian languages to retain laryngeals, preserves the Proto-Indo-European word for ‘sheep’ as *hāwa/i-*, i.e. with an *h*. There are different schools of laryngeal use and argument over how many laryngeals should be reconstructed: opinions range from none to as many as six; three or four tend to be the general consensus.

3.4 Reconstruction and Reality

This chapter began with the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European **bh* and this is where we must return to understand one of the other major current issues of reconstruction. How real are our reconstructions? This question has divided linguists on philosophical grounds. There are those who argue that we are not really engaged in ‘reconstructing’ a past language but rather creating abstract formulas that describe the systematic relationship between sounds in the daughter languages. Others argue that our reconstructions are vague approximations of the proto-language; they can never be exact because the proto-language itself should have had different dialects (yet we reconstruct only single proto-forms) and our reconstructions are not set to any specific time. Finally, there are those who have expressed some statistical confidence in the method of reconstruction. Robert Hall, for example, claimed that when examining a test control case, reconstructing proto-Romance from the Romance languages (and obviously knowing beforehand what its ancestor, Latin, looked like), he could reconstruct the phonology at 95 per cent confidence, and the grammar at 80 per cent. Obviously, with the much greater time depth of Proto-Indo-European, we might well wonder how much our confidence is likely to decrease. Most historical linguists today would probably argue that reconstruction results in approximations. A time traveller, armed with this book and seeking to make him- or herself understood would probably engender frequent moments of puzzlement, not a little laughter, but occasional instances of lucidity.

The reality of the reconstructions has emerged in particular because of problems with the structure of the traditional Indo-European phonological system. The consonantal system (and semivowels) of the traditional system may be reconstructed as in Table 3.7.

There are several problems with this system. The first is that **b* is (almost?) non-existent, i.e. it is extremely difficult, though not altogether impossible, to

Table 3.7. *The Proto-Indo-European consonant system*

	unvoiced	voiced	voiced-aspirate
LABIAL	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>bh</i>
DENTAL	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dh</i>
PALATAL VELAR	<i>ḱ</i>	<i>ǵ</i>	<i>ǵh</i>
PALATAL	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gh</i>
LABIO-VELAR	<i>kʷ</i>	<i>gʷ</i>	<i>gʷh</i>

find a solid case for reconstructing a Proto-Indo-European **b*. Second, if one reviews the languages of the world, there is not a single well-attested one known that does not have voiceless aspirates if it has voiced aspirates as well. There are no voiceless aspirates, e.g. **ph*, **kh*, **th*, reconstructed to Proto-Indo-European so it is typologically unique and thus, from the standpoint of its critics, an implausible reconstruction. Another way of looking at the apparent anomaly is to think of each of the distinctive sounds of Proto-Indo-European (or any other language for that matter) not as indivisible units but rather as aggregates of phonological features. For instance, when comparing *p* and *b* we can say that *b* is distinguished from *p* by the presence of voicing while in the case of *p* and *ph* the latter is distinguished from the former because it is characterized by aspiration. We illustrate the phonological relationships in Table 3.8 where + indicates presence and — shows absence of a feature.

A language with these three kinds of stops is a typologically expected one (and a well-attested type) containing one sound without special characterization (*p*), and two others minimally characterized (*b* with voice and *ph* with aspiration). The traditional reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European, however, is problematic precisely because it has a doubly characterized *bh* but not singly characterized *ph* (Table 3.9).

In order to render the reconstructed system of Proto-Indo-European more realistic, that is, more like the range of systems encountered in the living languages of the world, Thomas Gamkrelidze and Vyacheslav Ivanov proposed the Glottalic theory. This theory suggests that the plain voiceless series that is reconstructed above was actually comprised of voiceless aspirated stops,

Table 3.8. *Normal marking of labials*

<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>ph</i>
— voice	+ voice	— voice
— aspiration	— aspiration	+ aspiration

Table 3.9. *Proto-Indo-European labials*

<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>bh</i>
– voice	+ voice	+ voice
– aspiration	– aspiration	+ aspiration

and that the other two series were voiceless glottalized stops, and voiced aspirated stops respectively, i.e. instead of **p* - **b* - **bh* one should reconstruct **ph* - **p'* - **bh*. In this reconstruction the presence of aspiration is held to be non-distinctive, that is phonetically present but not a basic part of the phonological description of the sound (which is, admittedly, cheating a bit), and we might prefer (as some do) to transcribe the sounds as *p(h)*, *p'*, and *b(h)* and array them as in Table 3.10. Others have suggested different revisions of the traditional system to make it typologically more realistic. All of the proposed revisions, however, have their critics. All of them also force one to assume that the attested sounds in the various branches have undergone changes which have few or no parallels or are otherwise complicated (how does one get from Proto-Indo-European **p(h)* and **b(h)* to the attested Greek *p* and *ph* for instance, or why do the majority of Indo-European branches have **p'* and **b(h)* falling together as *b*?). Thus the revisions would seem to fail the test of providing typologically appropriate transitional phases between Proto-Indo-European and the attested Indo-European languages. Finally there are rare but attested systems which show the same sort of imbalance of features necessitated by the traditional reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European. Thus in the Chinese of a large region of China around Shanghai, called Wu, we have *p*, *ph*, and *bh* which are displayed in Table 3.11. This system provides a kind of mirror image to that traditionally reconstructed by Indo-Europeanists (i.e. Proto-Indo-European had **bh* but no **ph* while Wu has *bh* but no *b*). Given the existence of a rare system such as that of Wu, it is hard to deny the possibility of an equally rare system in Proto-Indo-European.

Table 3.10. *The labials in the glottalic system*

<i>p(h)</i>	<i>p'</i>	<i>b(h)</i>
– voice	– voice	+ voice
– glottal	+ glottal	– glottal

Table 3.11. *The labials in Wu*

<i>p</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>bh</i>
– voice	– voice	+ voice
– aspiration	+ aspiration	+ aspiration

Table 3.12. *The traditional Proto-Indo-European system and its glottalic equivalents*

Traditional	Glottalic	Traditional	Glottalic	Traditional	Glottalic
p	p ^[h]	b	(p')	bh	b ^[h]
t	t ^[h]	d	t'	dh	d ^[h]
ḱ	ḱ ^[h]	ǵ	ḱ'	ǵh	ǵ ^[h]
k	k ^[h]	g	k'	gh	g ^[h]
k ^w	k ^{[h]o}	g ^w	k' ^o	g ^w h	g ^{[h]o}

Fortunately, one can interchange the reconstructed forms between the traditional system and the variety of newly proposed systems in a relatively mechanical fashion (Table 3.12). The traditional system is understood by all, and until the weight of scholarly opinion dismisses it for a single new system (if, indeed, that should happen), it remains the one most often cited (as it is in the remainder of this book for which, in any case, the exact phonological shape of words is of secondary importance). The reconstructed phonemes and their outcomes in the main Indo-European groups are summarized in Appendix 1.

Further Reading

There are a number of good introductions to the comparative method in linguistics such as Anttila (1972), Bloomfield (1933), Hock (1991), Hoenigswald (1960), Lehmann (1992), and Campbell (1998) and, at a more exhaustive level, Joseph and Janda (2003). The Glottalic theory is found most extensively in Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1995) and more recent discussion of it in Salmons (1992), Barrach (2002, 2003). For reality in reconstruction see Hall (1960).

4

The System

4.0 The System	54	4.5 Numerals	61
4.1 Phonology	54	4.6 Particles and Conjunctions	62
4.2 The Noun	56	4.7 Prepositions	62
4.3 Adjectives	59	4.8 Verbs	62
4.4 Pronouns	59	4.9 Derivation	65

4.0 The System

Over two centuries of research into the structure of the Indo-European proto-language have produced an enormous body of scholarship about the structure of Proto-Indo-European, and the purpose of this chapter is merely to introduce an extremely basic outline of the phonology and grammar of Proto-Indo-European.

4.1 Phonology

We have already discussed the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European and we can provide a roster of the Proto-Indo-European phonological system (Table 4.1). This amounts to about thirty-two phonemes, i.e. distinctive sounds, although this could be increased depending on whether one wanted to admit other sounds, e.g. diphthongs such as **ay*, **ey*, etc. We might remind ourselves that the English language possesses forty-six phonemes (among the world's living languages the number of phonemes may range from about a low of eleven to a high of 141).

In the last chapter we have already seen that there are a number of issues still very much under debate. The Glottalic theory would alter the reconstructed forms of the first five series. Argument still persists on whether there were three

Table 4.1. *The Proto-Indo-European phonological system*

	unvoiced	voiced	voiced aspirate
labials	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>bh</i>
dentals	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dh</i>
palatals	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gh</i>
velars	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gh</i>
labiovelars	<i>k^w</i>	<i>g^w</i>	<i>g^wh</i>
sibilants	<i>s</i>		
laryngeals	<i>h₁</i>	<i>h₂</i>	<i>h₃ h₄</i>
liquids	<i>r/3</i>	<i>l/C</i>	
nasals	<i>m/i</i>	<i>n/</i>	
semivowels	<i>i/y</i>	<i>u/w</i>	
vowels	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>
	<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ā</i>

series of velars (palatal-, pure, and labio-) and, if there were not, what precisely were the original velars. Many would only reconstruct the first three laryngeals; a few would require six laryngeals. Of the laryngeals presented, **h₁* leaves an adjacent vowel unchanged while an **h₃* will change an adjacent **-e-* to an **-o-*, e.g. **dideh₃-* > Greek *dídōmi* ‘I give’. Both **h₂* and **h₄* change an adjacent **-e-* to **-a-* (e.g. **peh₂s-* ‘protect’ > Latin *pāscō* ‘I protect’ and **h₄elbhós* ‘white’ > Latin *albus* ‘white’ and Hittite *alpā-* ‘cloud’). Only word initially can we distinguish **h₂* and **h₄*, and then only when we have an Anatolian cognate. For **h₂e-* we have *ha-* in Hittite *harkis* ‘white’ (cf. Greek *argós* ‘bright’), for **h₄e-* we have *a-* (as in *alpā-*). (Some have suggested that initial **h₄* is preserved in Albanian as *h-*, e.g. *herdhe* ‘testicle’ from **h₄orǵhiyeh_{a-}* beside Hittite *ark-* ‘mount sexually’). Where we cannot distinguish between **h₂* and **h₄* we will use the symbol **h_{a-}*. In some instances where a laryngeal is posited but we are uncertain which laryngeal should be indicated we will employ **h_x* to indicate the unknown laryngeal.

The liquids, nasals, and semivowels are listed in both their consonantal and vocalic forms, i.e. if they are found between two consonants, they behave like vowels (*i*, *u*), but when they are found next to a pure vowel they behave like consonants (*y*, *w*; also written **ĭ* and **ŭ*). When the other forms behave like vowels, this is indicated with a small circle below the form (*ṃ*, *ṇ*, *ḷ*, *ṛ*). Of the pure vowels, there are some who argue there was no PIE **a*; others suggest that there are no original long vowels: these are short vowels + a laryngeal.

4.2 The Noun

The English noun is a poor place to start for discussing the structure of the Indo-European noun. It distinguishes two numbers—singular and plural, e.g. *man/men*—and only two cases, i.e. the nominative (subject) and the genitive (possessive), e.g. *man/man's* and *men/men's*; it does not distinguish grammatical gender as do many other modern languages such as French or German. Proto-Indo-European distinguished three numbers (singular, dual, and plural), there is (disputed, but generally accepted) evidence for grammatical gender, and it distinguished eight cases. The dual, attested in a number of the historical Indo-European languages, was employed for pairs, often natural pairs, e.g. ‘eyes’, ‘ears’.

If we look at the Indo-European noun from purely a mechanistic standpoint, we would begin with the root which would have to obey the rules laid down in the preceding chapter regarding its structure, i.e. (C)CeC(C)-. To the root might be added a variety of suffixes to create a *stem* and then finally the case endings depending on number and perhaps gender. In some cases, the so-called root-nouns, there are no suffixes before the case ending. Using R for ‘root’, S for ‘stem-creating suffix’, and E for ‘case-number-ending’, we might establish the formula for an inflected word in Proto-Indo-European as R-(S)-E. The suffixes sometimes still convey an earlier underlying meaning, e.g. the suffix **-trom* tends to indicate an instrument, e.g. **h₂erh₃-trom* ‘plough’ from a verb **h₂erh₃ye/o-* ‘to plough’, while kinship names tend to have the suffix **-er-* or **-ter-*, e.g. **sués-ōr* ‘sister’, **bhréh₂-tēr* ‘brother’. The commonest suffixes and their functions are indicated in Table 4.2.

The basic case endings are outlined on Table 4.3. Most securely reconstructed are the nominative, vocative, accusative, and genitive of the singular and plural.

The nominative indicates the subject of the sentence and is formed either with an *-s* or no ending, e.g. *The father sees* (**ph₂atér*). The vocative is used in address, e.g. *O father!* (**ph₂ater*). The accusative denotes the direct object, e.g. *I saw the father* (**ph₂atér̃m*); the genitive indicates possession, e.g. *the father's cow* (**ph₂atrós*). The final four cases are the least well preserved and many languages have abandoned them. The ablative indicates motion from some place, e.g. *I ran from father* (**ph₂atrós*); the dative shows motion to somewhere, e.g. *I ran to father* (**ph₂atréi*); the locative indicates position, e.g. *the flea was on the father* (**ph₂atéri*); and the instrumental indicates the means by which something is done or accompaniment, e.g. *he went with his father* (**ph₂atréh₁*).

The case endings are added directly to the root or to one of the suffixes. The final sound of the stem is used to define which particular type of declension the

Table 4.2. *Common Indo-European suffixes***ACTION NOUNS:**

-o-, -eh_a-, -men-, -es- [all root stressed], -ti-, -tu-, -tr/tn-, -r/n-, -wr/wn-, -yeh_a-

AGENT NOUNS:

-ó-, -tér-, -mén-, -és- [all stem stressed]

NOUNS OF INSTRUMENT:

-tro- (also -tlo-, -dhro-, -dhlo-)

DEADJECTIVAL VERBS:

-eh_a- ('become X'), -eh₁-('be X')

DEVERBAL VERBS:

-se/o-, -eye/o- (iteratives, intensives)

-new-, -eye/o- (causatives)

-h₁se/o- (desideratives)

ADJECTIVES:

-o-, -yo-, -no-, o-, -kó-, -ro-, -lo- [all adjectives of appurtenance]

-to-, -wo-, -went- [adjectives of possession, 'having X']

-en-, -h₁en- ['characterized by X']

noun belongs to, e.g. *nép-ōt 'grandson' is a *t*-stem. If we look more closely at the nominative, accusative, and genitive of *nép-ōt (Table 4.4) we note another feature of Indo-European nouns—a shift in the accent and ablaut of the pattern $\bar{o} \sim o \sim \emptyset$.

The complicated patterns of stress and ablaut are not found in the *o*-stems (Table 4.5), the only stem forms to end in a vowel (if one presumes that the \bar{a} -stems are really *eh*₂-stems) and which have their own set of endings (Table 4.6).

Table 4.3. *Basic case endings of the Indo-European noun*

	singular	plural	dual
nominative	-s, - \emptyset	-es	-h ₁ (e)
vocative	- \emptyset	-es	-h ₁ (e)
accusative	-m	-ns	-h ₁ (e)
genitive	-(o)s	-om	-h ₁ e/oh _x s
ablative	-(o)s; -(e)d	-bh(y)os	-h ₁ e/oh _x s
dative	-ei	-mus	-me/oh _x
locative	-i, - \emptyset	-su	-h ₁ ou
instrumental	-(e)h ₁	-bhi	-bhih ₁

Table 4.4. *Accent shift in case forms*

nominative	<i>*nép-ōt</i>
accusative	<i>*nép-ot-i</i>
genitive	<i>*nep-t-ós</i>

The dative of the *o*-stems reveals one of the more obvious instances of dialectal differences in Indo-European. The dative plural ending **-oibh(y) os* is supported by Sanskrit, e.g. dative-plural *vr̥k-ebhyas* ‘to the wolves’, but Germanic (e.g. Gothic *wulf-am*), Baltic (e.g. Lithuanian *vilk-ams*), and Slavic (e.g. Old Church Slavonic *vlik-omŭ*) support the alternative ending **-omus*.

The *o*-stems were the most productive form of declension. By this is meant that through time, especially at the end of the Proto-Indo-European period and into the early histories of the individual Indo-European languages, the *o*-stems appeared to proliferate and replace other stem types. In Vedic Sanskrit, for example, they constitute more than half of all nouns. High productivity is often interpreted as evidence that the *o*-stems are a later declensional form than many of the other stems. Highly productive forms are ultimately capable of replacing many other forms as they provide the most active model by which speakers might decline a form. For example, in Old English, plurals were formed in a variety of ways, e.g. *cyning* ~ *cyningas* (‘king/kings’) but *cwēn* ~ *cwēne* (‘queen/queens’), *feld* ~ *felda* (‘field/fields’), *spere* ~ *speru* (‘spear/spears’) and *assa* ~ *assan* (‘ass/asses’). All of these were levelled out to the first form with the *s*-ending (that of the Proto-Indo-European *o*-stems) which became the most productive. Regarding the last form, although many common enough words were given an *-an* ending for the plural, e.g. *guman* ‘men’, *froggan* ‘frogs’, *naman* ‘names’, *tungan* ‘tongues’, only one of these has survived, i.e. Old

Table 4.5. *Endings of o-stem nouns*

	Singular	Plural
nominative	<i>-os</i>	<i>-ōs</i> (< <i>*-o-es</i>)
vocative	<i>-e</i>	<i>-ōs</i> (< <i>*-o-es</i>)
accusative	<i>-om</i>	<i>-ons</i>
genitive	<i>-os</i>	<i>-om</i>
ablative	<i>-ōd</i> (< <i>*-o-ed</i>)	<i>-om</i>
dative	<i>-ōi</i> (< <i>*-o-ei</i>)	<i>-oibh(y)os/-omus</i>
locative	<i>-oi</i>	<i>-oisu</i>
instrumental	<i>-oh₁</i>	<i>-ōis</i> (< <i>*-o-eis</i>)

Table 4.6. h_2 - (or \bar{a})-stem endings

	Singular	Plural
nominative	$-eh_2$	$-eh_2es$
vocative	$-eh_2$	$-eh_2es$
accusative	$-eh_2m$	$-eh_2ns$
genitive	$-eh_2os$	$-eh_2om$
ablative	$-eh_2os$	$-eh_2om$
dative	$-eh_2ei$	$-eh_2mus$
locative	$-eh_2i$	$-eh_2su$
instrumental	$-eh_2eh_1$	$-eh_2bhi$

English *oxa* ~ *oxan*, though Middle English created a few new *n*-plurals by adding the *-n* to nouns like *childre*, the plural of *child* ‘child’ to give modern *children*.

The h_2 -stems are associated with feminine nouns, e.g. Lat *dea* ‘goddess’ and, because of their absence in this use in Anatolian, these stems have been regarded by many as late formations. The fact that Proto-Indo-European also forms collectives in $*-h_2$ - (e.g. the Hittite collective *alpaš* ‘group of clouds’ from a singular *alpaš* ‘cloud’) has suggested that this was its original use and that it later developed the specifically feminine meaning.

4.3 Adjectives

The adjectives are constructed and declined very much like the nouns, i.e. a root, a stem, and an ending, with masculine and neuter endings corresponding generally to the *o*-stems and the feminine endings utilizing the h_2 - endings. They are declined according to gender with masculine, feminine, and neuter forms, e.g. from the root $*new$ - ‘new’, we have the nominative singular endings $*néw-os$ (masculine), $*néw-om$ (neuter), and $*néw-eh_2$ (feminine), e.g. Latin *novus*, *novum*, *nova*, Greek *néos*, *néon*, *néā*, Sanskrit *návas*, *návam*, *návā*, and Old Church Slavonic *novŭ*, *novο*, *nova*. The comparative suffix was either $*-yes$ - or (later) $*-tero$ - while the superlative suffix was $*-isto$ - or (again later $*-(t) mo$ -).

4.4 Pronouns

Pronouns are one of the core elements of vocabulary. The evidence for pronouns in Indo-European is abundant and includes personal pronouns (*I*, *you*,

etc.), reflexive pronouns (*one's self*), interrogative (*who, which, how many*), relative (*which*), and demonstrative (*this one, that one*).

Proto-Indo-European had special personal pronouns for the first and second numbers (*I, you*) but not for the third (*he, she, they*) and instead employed a demonstrative pronoun (*that one*) where we would use a personal pronoun. As was the case with nouns, the personal pronouns (Table 4.7) were declined in the singular, dual, and plural.

The first person singular and the first and second persons plural had two roots, one for the nominative and one for the other cases. That situation is still preserved in New English 'I' but 'me' and 'we' but 'us' ('you' historically represents the non-nominative only). However, there has been a strong tendency in the various Indo-European groups for one, usually the non-nominative, to replace the other. Thus Sanskrit retains the Proto-Indo-European situation (i.e. *ahám* 'I' but *mām* 'me', *vayám* 'we' but *nas* 'us', and *yūyám* 'you [nom.]' but *vas* 'you [acc.]') but in later Indic all three show replacement of the nominative by the non-nominative. The same threefold replacement pattern is shown by Old Irish at its earliest attestation. In both Italic and Greek we find the first and second persons plural with the same replacement at their earliest attestations. In Slavic it is only the second person plural that is affected while in Tocharian the non-nominative of the first person singular is extended to the nominative while the nominative and non-nominative of the first and second persons plural merge so completely that it is hard to say which was the dominant ancestor (e.g. Tocharian B *wes* 'we/us' from Proto-Indo-European **wei* + **nos*, *yes* 'you' from **yuh_xs* + **wos* (one should note that Tocharian *-e-* is the regular outcome of Proto-Indo-European **-o-*). Given that nominative pronouns were normally only used for emphasis (the person and number of the subject was normally adequately expressed by the ending of the verb), it is not surprising that the much more frequent non-nominative shape would win out. What is a bit surprising is that in Baltic it is the nominative shape that replaces the non-nominative one in the first and second persons plural.

The reflexive pronoun, used to refer back to oneself, was **séwe*.

The Indo-European languages do not agree on a single relative pronoun, e.g. *the man who killed the bear*, and there are two forms that were widely used, i.e. **yo-* in Celtic, Balto-Slavic, Greek, and Indo-Iranian but **k^wo-* or something

Table 4.7. *Personal pronouns*

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
First	<i>*h₁eg/*h₁éme</i>	<i>*nóh₁</i>	<i>*wéi/*nos</i>
Second	<i>*túh_x</i>	<i>*wóh₁</i>	<i>*yuh_xs/*wos</i>

similar in Italic, Germanic, Albanian, Armenian, Anatolian, and Tocharian. This latter form is also found among the interrogatives, e.g. *who?*, *which?*, all of which begin with **k^w*- (which we find in Old English as *hw*- which then metathesizes in the spelling [shifts the order of elements around] in New English as *wh*-). For example, we have PIE **k^wós*, OE *hwā*, and NE *who*; PIE **k^wód* > OE *hwæt* > NE *what*; and PIE **k^wóteros* > OE *hwæper* > NE *whether*).

As there was no third personal pronoun this function had to be served by a series of demonstrative pronouns such as **so* (masculine), **seh_a* (feminine), and **tód* (neuter) ‘that (one)’, the latter of which survived as Old English *þæt* > *that*. An emphatic pronoun was also employed, i.e. **h₁ei* ‘he, this (one)’, **h₁ih_a* ‘she, this (one)’, and **h₁id*. The latter survives in New English as *it*. New English *he* derives from another demonstrative pronoun, **kís* ‘this (one)’. For every question of ‘where’, ‘when’, ‘how much’, there was a corresponding pronoun to indicate ‘there’, ‘then’, ‘that much’, e.g. PIE **tór*~**tér* > OE *þær* > NE *there* or PIE **tóti* ‘so much, many’ > Lat *tot* ‘so much’ (see Chapter 24).

4.5 Numerals

Numbers tend to be one of the more stable elements of any language (although even these can be replaced) and some of the basic numerals are presented in Table 4.8 (see Section 19.1).

Volumes have been written about the Indo-European numerals as they provide evidence for the construction of a counting system. The number ‘one’

Table 4.8. *Some basic numerals*

1	<i>*h₁oi-no-s</i>	NE <i>one</i> , Lat <i>ūnus</i> , Grk <i>oinē</i> ‘ace on dice’
2	<i>*dwéh₃(u)</i>	NE <i>two</i> , Lat <i>duo</i> , Grk <i>duō</i> , Skt <i>dvā</i> ~ <i>dvē</i>
3	<i>*tréyes</i>	NE <i>three</i> , Lat <i>trēs</i> , Grk <i>treîs</i> , Skt <i>trāyas</i>
4	<i>*k^wétwor-</i>	NE <i>four</i> , Lat <i>quattuor</i> , Grk <i>téssares</i> , Skt <i>catvāras</i>
5	<i>*pénk^we</i>	NE <i>five</i> , Lat <i>quinque</i> , Grk <i>pēnte</i> , Skt <i>pāñca</i>
6	<i>*(s)wéks</i>	NE <i>six</i> , Lat <i>sex</i> , Grk <i>hēks</i> , Skt <i>śas</i>
7	<i>*septn̥ǵ</i>	NE <i>seven</i> , Lat <i>septem</i> , Grk <i>heptá</i> , Skt <i>saptá</i>
8	<i>*h_xoktō(u)</i>	NE <i>eight</i> , Lat <i>octō</i> , Grk <i>oktō</i> , Skt <i>aṣṭā</i> ~ <i>aṣṭáu</i>
9	<i>*h₁nnewh₁n̥</i>	NE <i>nine</i> , Lat <i>novem</i> , Grk <i>ennéa</i> , Skt <i>náva</i>
10	<i>*dék̑n̥(t)</i>	NE <i>ten</i> , Lat <i>decem</i> , Grk <i>déka</i> , Skt <i>dāśa</i>
20	<i>*wīk̑n̥th₁</i>	Lat <i>vīgintī</i> , Grk <i>eíkosi</i> , Skt <i>viṃśatī</i>
30	<i>*trī-kōmt(h_a)</i>	Lat <i>trīgintā</i> , Grk <i>triákonta</i> , Skt <i>trimśát</i>
100	<i>*k̑m̑tóm</i>	NE <i>hundred</i> , Lat <i>centum</i> , Grk <i>hekatón</i> , Skt <i>śatám</i>
1000	<i>*tuh_{as}-k̑m̑tyós-/g̑hesl(iy)os</i>	NE <i>thousand</i> ; Grk <i>khilioi</i> , Skt <i>sahásram</i>

is singular, ‘two’ is dual, and ‘three’ and the higher numerals are plurals except for the number ‘eight’ which appears to have originally been a dual. This apparent anomaly presupposes one to imagine ‘eight’ as ‘two fours’ and that **h₃ek^hteh₃(u)* ‘eight’ contains the basal element **k^wet-* in ‘four’, but the phonological distance is very great. When we examine the numerals ‘ten’, ‘twenty’, etc., we see the element **-k^hmt-* which was no doubt an abstract counting concept, a unit of some kind, on which were based ‘ten’ (two-units), ‘hundred’ (big unit), and, in some areas of the Indo-European world (including Germanic), ‘thousand’ (fat hundred).

4.6 Particles and Conjunctions

The Indo-European languages preserve a number of earlier particles of speech. For example, negation was made with the particle **ne* ‘not’ or **ġhi* ‘certainly not’ or **meh₁* if it were a prohibition, i.e. ‘do not!’. There were also particles of time and place that have changed little, e.g. **new-* ‘now’. The main connective particle was **-k^we* ‘and’, e.g. Latin *-que*, which would be suffixed to the final word in a series (e.g. *Senatus Populusque Romanus* ‘the Senate People-and Roman’; see Section 24.5).

4.7 Prepositions

In English we require prepositions to indicate position or motion; in Proto-Indo-European these would not have been so much required because the different case endings already indicated location (locative), motion to (dative) or from (ablative), and accompaniment (instrumental). Nevertheless, prepositions were required to specify more closely location or movement and there is a fairly large number reconstructed to Proto-Indo-European, e.g. **ni* ‘downward’, **peri* ‘over’, **pro* ‘before’, **som* ‘together’ (see Section 18.2).

4.8 Verbs

The reconstruction of the verbal system is the most complex feature of the Proto-Indo-European language. Difficulties arise both because of its internal complexity and because it would appear that there were more dialectal differences involving the verb within Proto-Indo-European than was the case with the other major grammatical classes. In consequence there is less agreement

among Indo-Europeanists about the verb than there is about the noun or adjective. These are some of the basic features almost all would agree with:

1. As was the case with the noun, the verb was also conjugated in three numbers: the singular (*I eat*), the plural (*we eat*), and the dual (*we two eat*).
2. There were two voices, i.e. indications of whether the subject acted on something else or (on behalf of) himself. There was, therefore, an active voice (*I wash the child*) and a medio-passive (also called the ‘middle’ voice (*I wash myself*)). There is no pure passive in Proto-Indo-European (*The child was washed by the mother*) but the medio-passive could, in the proper context, be used passively as well as medio-passively.
3. The tenses included the present (*I eat*), the aorist (*I ate*), and the perfect (*I have eaten*)—though the perfect has left no trace in Anatolian and many Indo-Europeanists, therefore, would take the perfect to be a late addition to the Proto-Indo-European verbal repertoire of tenses, added only after the separation of pre-Anatolian from the rest of the Indo-European community. In another restricted set of languages there was yet another past, the imperfect (*I was eating*). The best evidence for an inherited imperfect comes from Indo-Iranian, Greek, and Armenian, and thus this imperfect may reflect a south-eastern innovation; other IE groups having the imperfect, Slavic, Italic, and Tocharian, may all have innovated independently. There is only scattered evidence of a future (*I will eat*) and, again, that evidence is not from Anatolian but it does occur on both the extreme east of the Indo-European world (Balto-Slavic and Indo-Iranian) and the extreme west (Celtic) so it may have been another late addition in Indo-European—otherwise the future must have been rendered with the present or the optative.
4. There may have been four moods: indicative (plain statement of objective fact), injunctive (perhaps mild commands or prohibitions), optative (intentions or hoped for action), and imperative (commands). In the Anatolian languages there is only a distinction between the indicative and imperative. In non-Anatolian Indo-European there are greater or lesser traces of a fifth mood, the subjunctive (potentiality, possibility).
5. A series of derivational suffixes could be employed to alter the meaning, e.g. the suffixes **-eye/o-* and **-neu-* could be added to form a causative, e.g. **ters-* ‘dry’ but **torséye/o-* ‘to make dry’; *-eh₂-* changed a noun or adjective into a verb with those qualities, e.g. *new-* ‘new’ but **neweh₂-* ‘make new’ (e.g. Latin *novāre* ‘make new’, Greek *neáo* ‘re-plough’, Hittite *newahh-* ‘make new’).

The personal endings of the verb were divided into two major conjugations, each with a primary and a secondary set of endings (Table 4.9). The conjugations are distinguished by the shape of the singular person endings in the present tense. The first conjugation is traditionally called the ‘athematic’ conjugation

Table 4.9. *Proto-Indo-European personal endings*

	ACTIVE			MIDDLE	
	First Conj	Second Conj Thematic		First Conj	Second Conj
	sec/prim	prim	sec	sec/prim	prim/sec
1st	<i>-m(i)</i>	<i>-oh₂</i>	<i>-om</i>	<i>-h₂é(r)</i>	<i>-oh₂e(r)</i>
2nd	<i>-s(i)</i>	<i>-eth₂e</i>	<i>-es</i>	<i>-th₂é(r)</i>	<i>-eth₂e(r)</i>
3rd	<i>-t(i)</i>	<i>-ei</i>	<i>-et</i>	<i>-ó(r)</i>	<i>-eto(r)</i>
1st	<i>-me(s)</i>	<i>-omes</i>	<i>-ome</i>	<i>-medhh₂</i>	<i>-omedhh₂</i>
2nd	<i>-te</i>	<i>-ete</i>	<i>-ete</i>	<i>-dhwe</i>	<i>-edhwe</i>
3rd	<i>-ent(i)</i>	<i>-onti</i>	<i>-ont</i>	<i>-ntó(r)</i>	<i>-onto(r)</i>

(there being no theme-vowel between the root or stem and the person-number ending) while the most important subtype of the second conjugation is the ‘thematic’ verbs (which have an **-e-* or **-o-* after the root or stem and before the person-number endings). The primary endings were used in the present (and future) of the indicative. The secondary endings were used for the non-present tenses of the indicative, and for the injunctive, optative (and subjunctive). The difference between the primary and the secondary endings of the First Conjugation active is basically the addition of the particle **-i-*, which is argued to be the same particle seen in the locative case and hence it carried (once) the meaning of ‘here and now’. First conjugation verbs generally have a singular where the root vowel is *e* and a plural which shows a zero-grade. This interchange can be seen in the verb **h₁es-* ‘to be’ (Table 4.10). The reflexes of this verb are also shown for Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, and Hittite; we can see that Sanskrit has been the most conservative in preserving the interchange of a full-grade and a zero-grade in this verb.

Table 4.10. *The verb *h₁és- ‘to be’ in the present active indicative*

PIE	Latin	Grk	Sanskrit	Hittite
Singular				
1. <i>*h₁és-mi</i>	<i>sum</i>	<i>eimí</i>	<i>ásmi</i>	<i>ēsmi</i>
2. <i>*h₁és-si</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>eî ~ essí</i>	<i>ási</i>	<i>ēssi</i>
3. <i>*h₁és-ti</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>estí</i>	<i>ásti</i>	<i>ēszi</i>
Plural				
1. <i>*h₁s-més</i>	<i>sumus</i>	<i>esmén</i>	<i>smás</i>	<i>eswani ~ esweni</i>
2. <i>*h₁s-té</i>	<i>estis</i>	<i>esté</i>	<i>sthá</i>	<i>esteni</i>
3. <i>*h₁s-énti</i>	<i>sunt</i>	<i>eisí</i>	<i>sánti</i>	<i>asanzi</i>

Table 4.11. *Second conjugation of *bher- ‘to carry’ in the present active indicative*

PIE	Latin	Greek	Sanskrit
Singular			
1. *bhér-oh ₂	<i>ferō</i>	<i>phérō</i>	<i>bhārāmi</i>
2. *bhér-eth ₂ e	<i>fers</i>	<i>phéreis</i>	<i>bhārasi</i>
3. *bhér-ei	<i>fert</i>	<i>phérei</i>	<i>bhārati</i>
Plural			
1. *bhér-omes	<i>ferimus</i>	<i>phéromen</i>	<i>bhārāmasi</i>
2. *bhér-ete	<i>fertis</i>	<i>phérete</i>	<i>bhārata</i>
3. *bhér-onti	<i>ferunt</i>	<i>phérōusi</i>	<i>bhāranti</i>

We have already encountered a second conjugation thematic verb in *bher- ‘carry’ and its forms are indicated in Table 4.11, along with the reflexes in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit (Hittite has no simple thematic verbs).

In addition to suffixes and endings, there were changes that could be made to the beginning of the verb as well. These comprise the augment and reduplication. The augment was merely the addition of a particle *h₁e- to the beginning of the root. This was used to indicate the past tense and was therefore associated with the imperfect and the aorist, e.g. Sanskrit *á-bharam*, Greek *é-pheron*, Armenian *e-ber* indicate a Proto-Indo-European *h₁e-bher-om ‘I carried’.

The second technique of changing the beginning of the word is reduplication which involves, more or less, repeating the initial consonant followed by the vowel *e* or *i*, e.g. the verbal root *derk- ‘see’ yields Sanskrit *dadarśa*: Greek *dédorka* < Proto-Indo-European *dé-dorke ‘he/she has seen’. In some cases nearly the entire root would be reduplicated, e.g. Sanskrit *várvarti* ‘turns’ < *wer-w(e)rt-.

The participles formed from verbs were of great importance and were formed by the suffixes *-e/ont-, e.g. *bher- ‘carry’ but *bher-ont- ‘carrying’, *-wes- for the perfect and *-mh₁no- for the middle. The participles were then declined like adjectives.

4.9 Derivation

Proto-Indo-European clearly had a rich system of both verbal and nominal derivation, the description and illustration of which would require a large book in itself. However a couple of examples of the derivational processes will give the reader a partial insight into the system and allow him or her better to understand and evaluate the lexical evidence offered up in later chapters in support of the reconstruction of various semantic fields.

Table 4.12. *Nominal and verbal derivatives of *steh₂- ‘stand’*

PRESENT TENSE	*stí-steh ₂ -tí ‘he/she stands (up)’ [cf. Skt <i>tīṣṭhati</i> , Av <i>hištati</i> , Grk <i>hístēsi</i> , Lat <i>sistit</i>]
AORIST TENSE	*h ₁ é-steh ₂ -t ‘he/she stood (up)’ [cf. Skt <i>ásthāt</i> , Grk <i>éstē</i>]
VERBAL DERIVATIVES	
(1) Stative	*steh ₂ -eh ₁ -ti ‘he/she is standing’ [cf. Lat <i>stat</i> , OHG <i>stāt</i> ~ <i>stēt</i> , OIr <i>tā</i> ‘is’, OCS <i>stoiŭ</i>]
(2) w-derivative (no apparent change in meaning)	*steh ₂ -w- ‘stand’ [cf. Lith <i>stóvia</i> ‘stands’, Goth <i>stōjan</i> ‘to stand’, Grk <i>stoá</i> ‘marketplace’ (< ‘where one stands’)]
NOMINAL DERIVATIVES	
(1) -ó-	*-sth ₂ -ó- ‘standing’ [cf. Skt <i>pra-sṭha-</i> ‘stable, firm, solid’, OIr <i>ross</i> ‘promontory’]
(2) -tó-	*sth ₂ -tó- ‘standing, placed’ [cf. Skt <i>sthítá-</i> ‘standing’, Lat <i>status</i> ‘placed’, Grk <i>statós</i> ‘standing, placed’, OIr <i>fo-ssad</i> ‘strong’, ON <i>staþr</i> ‘obstinate’]
(3) -tí-	*sth ₂ -tí- ‘standing, erection’ [cf. Skt <i>sthíti-</i> ‘stay, sojourn’, Grk <i>stásis</i> ‘place, setting, erection [of a statue]’, Lat <i>statim</i> ‘firmly, steadfastly’, NE <i>stead</i>]
(4) -tlo-	*sth ₂ -tlo- ‘something standing’ [cf. Lat <i>obstāculum</i> ‘obstacle’, OE <i>staðol</i> ‘support’, Wels <i>distadl</i> ‘worthless’, Lith <i>stāklės</i> [pl.] ‘loom’]
(5) -no-	*stéh ₂ -no- ‘standing, place’ [cf. Skt <i>sthāna-</i> ‘place’, Grk <i>ástēnos</i> ‘unfortunate’, Lith <i>stónas</i> ‘place’, OCS <i>stanŭ</i> ‘stand’]
(6) -men-	*stéh ₂ -men- ‘place for standing’ [cf. Skt <i>sthāman-</i> ‘seat, place’, Grk <i>stémōn</i> ‘warp’, Lat <i>stāmen</i> ‘warp’, Lith <i>stomuō</i> ‘statue’]

The first example (Table 4.12) shows a number of productive nominal and verbal derivatives from Proto-Indo-European *steh₂- ‘stand’. Each of the derivatives illustrated is reflected in at least three Indo-European groups which makes it relatively likely that the derivation dates to Proto-Indo-European times, rather than being the result of independent creations in the stocks where it is attested.

Table 4.13. *Derivational tree of *h₂eh_x- ‘be hot, burn’ (cf. Palaic hā- ‘be hot’)*

FIRST ‘GENERATION’ DERIVATIVES	SECOND ‘GENERATION’ DERIVATIVES	THIRD ‘GENERATION’ DERIVATIVES
(1) *h ₂ éh _x -tī- ‘heat’ [cf. OIr <i>āith</i> ‘kiln’]		
(2) *h ₂ éh _x -m _i ‘heat’ [cf. Grk <i>émar</i> ‘day’, Arm <i>awr</i> ‘day’ (<i>< *‘heat of day’</i>)]		
(3) *h ₂ eh _x -ter- ‘burner’ > ‘fire’ [cf. Av <i>ātarš</i> ‘fire’]	(3a) *h ₂ eh _x -tr-o- ‘burnt’ [cf. Lat <i>āter</i> ‘black’] (3b) *h ₂ éh _x -tr-o- ‘fiery, hot’ [cf. Latv <i>ātrs</i> ‘quick, sharp, hot’] (3c) *h ₂ eh _x -tr-eh _a - ‘fire-place, hearth’ (3d) *h ₂ eh _x -ter-ye/o- ‘make fire, kindle’ [cf. Arm <i>ayrem</i> ‘kindle’] (4a) *h ₂ eh _x -s ‘ash’ [cf. Hit <i>hās</i> ‘ash, potash’] (4b) *h ₂ (h _x)-s-tér- ‘burner’ > ‘ember’ > ‘star’ [cf. Grk <i>astér</i> ‘star’, Lat <i>stēlla</i> ‘star’, NE <i>star</i>] (4c) *h ₂ eh _x -s-eh _a - ‘burning place, hearth’ [cf. Lat <i>āra</i> ‘altar; hearth’, Hit <i>hāssa</i> ‘hearth, fire-altar’] (4d) *h ₂ eh _x -s-no- ‘fiery’ [cf. OIr <i>ān</i> ‘fiery’]	(3bi) *h ₂ ēh _x tró- ‘quick’ [cf. OHG <i>ātar</i>] (3ci) *h ₂ eh _x -tr-iyo- ‘of the hearth’ [cf. Lat <i>ātrium</i> ‘atrium’ < *‘fire-hall’, (4ai) *h ₂ eh _x -s-o- ‘ash’ [cf. Skt <i>āsa-</i> ‘ash’]

(Cont’d.)

Table 4.13. (Cont'd.)

FIRST 'GENERATION' DERIVATIVES	SECOND 'GENERATION' DERIVATIVES	THIRD 'GENERATION' DERIVATIVES
	(4e) <i>*h₂eh_x-s-dh-</i> 'burn' (no detectable difference)	(4ei) <i>*h₂eh_x-s-dh-eh₁-</i> 'be burning' [cf. Lat <i>ardeō</i> 'burn'] (4eii) <i>*h₂eh_x-s-dh-ro-</i> 'burning' [cf. Toch B <i>astare</i> 'pure']

The second illustration is presented in the form of a (sideways) tree diagram (Table 4.13) and attempts to demonstrate the progressive nature of Indo-European derivation where one derivative presupposes another. In this example some of the derivatives are supported by only one Indo-European branch but the nature of the derivational process is such that derivatives at one point in the 'tree' presuppose derivatives 'higher up' (i.e. to the left) in the tree.

A final illustration (Table 4.14) gives examples from Old English and Greek of the role that ablaut, the interchange of vowels, plays in Proto-Indo-

Table 4.14. Illustration of Indo-European ablaut in derivation
(PIE **sed-* 'sit' and **pet-* 'fly')

	Old English	Greek
Vowel		
ø	<i>nest</i> 'nest' < <i>*ni-sd-ós</i> 'sit down [place]'	<i>pterón</i> 'feather'
e	<i>sittan</i> 'sit' < <i>*sed-ye/o-</i> <i>setl</i> 'settle' < <i>*sed-lo-</i>	<i>pétomai</i> 'fly'
o	<i>gesæt</i> 'act of sitting' < <i>*-sódos</i>	<i>potáomai</i> 'fly hither and thither'
ē	<i>sēt</i> 'lurking-place' < <i>*sēdeh_a-</i>	
ō	<i>sōt</i> 'soot' < <i>*sōdos</i> 'what settles'	<i>pōtáomai</i> 'fly about'

European derivation. If we take the vowel **-e-* as basic, the system of ablaut might be diagramed as follows:

$$\text{ə} \sim \text{e} > \text{o}, \bar{\text{e}} > \bar{\text{o}}.$$

Table 4.15. *Schleicher's Tale*

G^wṛh_xēi h₂ówis, k^wésyo w_lh₂néh_a ne h₁ést, h₁ékwons spékēt, h₁oinom ghe g^wṛh_xúm wóghom wéghont_m h₁oinom-k^we mégh_am bhórom, h₁oinom-k^we ghmén_m h_xóku bhéront_m. H₂ówis tu h₁ékwoibh(y)os weuk^wét: 'kér h_aeghnutór moi h₁ékwons h_aégont_m h_anér_m widntbh(y)ós: h₁ékwōs tu wewk^wont: 'kludhí, h₂ówei, k^wér ghe h_aeghnutór, ṽsméi widntbh(y)ós: h_anér, pótis, h₂éwyom ṛ w_lh₂néh_am sebhi k^wṛnéuti nu g^whermóm wéstrom néghi h₂éwyom w_lh₂néh_a h₁ésti.'

Tód kékluwōs h₂ówis h_aégrom bhuget.

Vocabulary

<i>bhér-</i>	'carry'
<i>bhóros</i>	'what is borne, a load' (from <i>*bher-</i>)
<i>bheug-</i>	'flee'
<i>ghmén-</i>	'man'
<i>ghe</i>	intensifying particle
<i>g^whermós</i>	'warm'
<i>g^wṛh_x-</i>	'hill'
<i>g^wṛh_xu-</i>	'heavy'
<i>h₁ékwos</i>	'horse'
<i>h₁ést-</i>	'is'
<i>h₁oinos</i>	'one'
<i>h₂ówis</i>	'sheep'
<i>h_aék-</i>	'drive, pull'
<i>h_aékros</i>	'field'
<i>h_aeghnutór</i>	'pains, is painful'
<i>h_anēr</i>	'man'
<i>h_xóku</i>	'fast'
<i>kér</i>	'heart'
<i>k^wleu-</i>	'hear'
<i>k^we</i>	'and'
<i>k^wós</i>	'who' (genitive <i>k^wésyo</i>)
<i>k^wer-</i>	'make'
<i>mégh_a-</i>	'large'
<i>moi</i>	'me'
<i>ne</i>	'not'
<i>néghi</i>	'not at all'

Table 4.15. (*Cont'd.*)

<i>nu</i>	‘now’
<i>ṇsméi</i>	‘us’
<i>pótis</i>	‘master’
<i>r̥</i>	intensifying contrastive particle
<i>sebhi</i>	‘for oneself’
<i>spék-</i>	‘see’
<i>tód</i>	‘that one’
<i>tu</i>	‘then’
<i>wégh-</i>	‘move’
<i>wéstrom</i>	‘clothes’ (< * <i>wes-</i> ‘to dress’)
<i>wek^w-</i>	‘speak’
<i>weid-</i>	‘see’
<i>wóghos</i>	‘wagon’
<i>wīh₂neh_a-</i>	‘wool’

Any further discussion takes us into realms of detail unintended for this book. But as an exercise in some of the principles, the reader is invited to tackle, with attendant glossary, the complete text of Schleicher’s tale (Table 4.15).

Further Reading

Good recent surveys of Proto-Indo-European can be found in Fortson (2004), Meier-Brugge (2003), Szemerényi (1996), Tichy (2000), and Beekes (1995); see also Lockwood (1969); the most noteworthy earlier classical accounts can be found in Meillet (1937) and Brugmann (1897–1916). Specialist studies include Benveniste (1935, 1948), Jassanoff (2003), Kuryłowicz (1964, 1968), Lehmann (1952, 2002) Lindeman (1987), Mayrhofer (1986), Schmalstieg (1980), Specht (1944); syntax is discussed in Friedrich (1975) and Lehmann (1974). For Schleicher’s tale (Schleicher 1868), see also Lehmann and Zgusta (1979); other examples of extended Proto-Indo-European text can be found in Sen (1994), Danka (1998), and Macjon (1998).

Etymological dictionaries of Indo-European include Buck (1949) and Delamarre (1991) which are both arranged semantically, and Pokorny (1959) which remains the starting point for most discussion; there are also Mann (1984–7) and Watkins (1985); encyclopedic presentations are to be found in Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1995) and Mallory and Adams (1997). An index of the roots ascribed to Proto-Indo-European can be found in Bird (1993).

5

Relationships

5.0 Linguistic Relationships	71	5.2 External Relations	81
5.1 Internal Relationships	71	5.3 Genetic Models	83

5.0 Linguistic Relationships

The Indo-European languages share both internal and external relationships. The internal relationships are expressed as dialectal relationships among the different Indo-European languages while the external relationships are primarily concerned with the Indo-European language family and how it relates to others of the world's language families.

5.1 Internal Relationships

We have already seen that within any of the Indo-European groups, there are also subgroups. For example, the East Slavic languages of Russian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian are all much more closely related to one another than any of them is related to Polish or Serbo-Croatian, two other Slavic languages. This situation represents subgrouping (Eastern Slavic) within an Indo-European language group (Slavic). What interests us here is, to what extent can we speak of subgroupings within Indo-European itself? August Schleicher (1861–2) proposed one of the earliest models of the relationship between the different Indo-European groups (Fig. 5.1) that portrayed the groups as branches stemming from a common trunk (*Stammbaum*), and the concept of a family tree, although often maligned as oversimplistic, is still the primary method

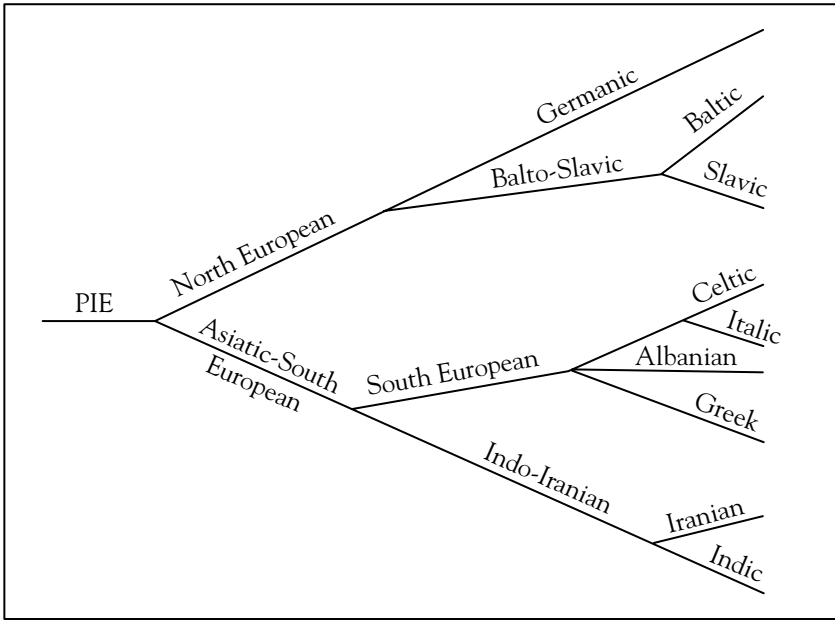


Figure 5.1. Schleicher's family tree of the Indo-European languages

employed in indicating the interrelationships of the Indo-European languages. The problem with the tree's simplicity is that the branching of the different groups is portrayed as a series of clean breaks with no connection between branches after they have split, as if each dialectal group marched away from the rest. Such sharp splits are possible, but assuming that all splits within Proto-Indo-European were like this is not very plausible, and any linguist surveying the current Indo-European languages would note dialectal variations running through some but not all areas, often linking adjacent groups who may belong to different languages. This type of complexity, which saw each innovation welling from its point of origin to some but not all other speakers (dialects, languages), is termed the 'Wave theory' (*Wellentheorie*). A detailed example is provided in Figure 5.2.

The 'Wave theory' provides a useful graphic reminder of the ways different isoglosses, the lines that show the limits of any particular feature, enclose some but not all languages. However, their criteria of inclusion, why we are looking at any particular one, and not another one, are no more solid than those that define family trees. The key element here is what linguistic features actually help determine for us whether two languages are more related or less related to one another. A decision in this area can be extraordinary difficult because we must be able to distinguish between features that may have been present throughout the entire Indo-European world (Indoeuropeia has been employed

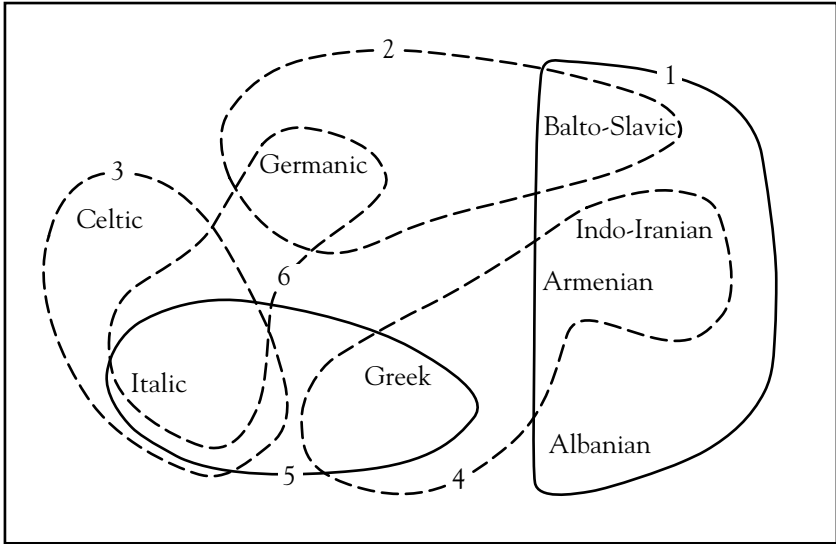


Figure 5.2. A ‘wave model’ of some of the interrelationships of the Indo-European languages

to describe this concept) and have dropped out in some but not others against those features that are innovations in only some of the different groups. The historical linguist is principally looking for shared innovations, i.e. are there traces of corresponding developments between two or more language groups that would indicate that they shared a common line of development different from other language groups? Only by finding shared innovations can one feel confident that the grouping of individual Indo-European linguistic groups into larger units or branches of the tree is real.

Before looking at the picture as a whole, we will review the evidence for those relationships that finds fairly general consensus.

5.1.1 *Anatolian and Residual Indo-European*

Most linguists will argue that Proto-Anatolian was the first Indo-European language to diverge from the continuum of Proto-Indo-European speakers; there are also a considerable number who would argue that the split was made so early that we are not dealing with a daughter language of a Proto-Indo-European mother but rather a sister language (Fig. 5.3). Acceptance of this latter model is the foundation of the Indo-Hittite hypothesis, though many linguists who believe in the early separation of Proto-Anatolian would not use the term ‘Indo-Hittite’ but rather continue to use the term Indo-European.

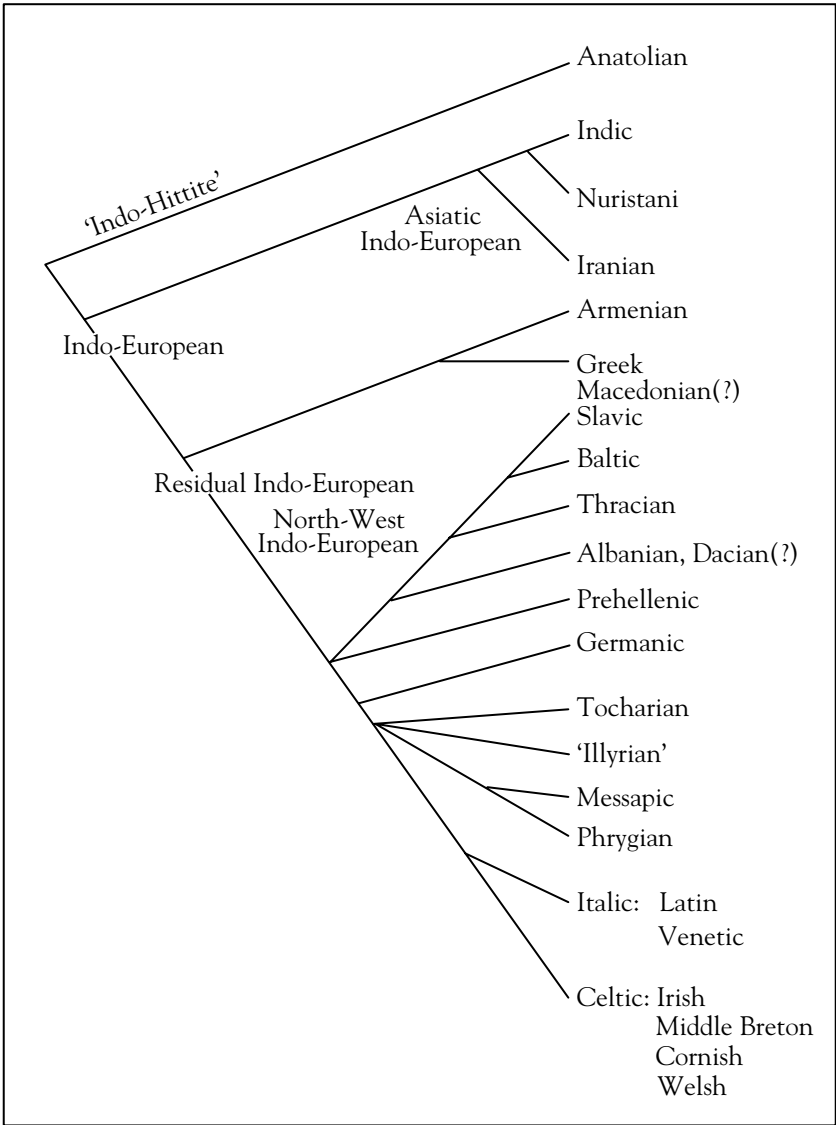


Figure 5.3. A modern tree diagram of the Indo-European languages suggested by Eric Hamp (1990).

The antiquity of the separation of Anatolian from the rest of Indo-European is argued on several grounds. The first is obviously Anatolian's own antiquity: it is the earliest Indo-European group attested in the written record which begins *c.*2000 BC. More important is the fact that when Hittite (the earliest and most substantially attested Anatolian language) is compared with the other

Indo-European languages, especially with its closest contemporaries, Indo-Iranian and Greek, it reveals on the one hand strikingly conservative features and on the other hand an absence of forms that one would have expected in an Indo-European language attested so early—how these absences are explained is one of the fundamental issues of determining the relationship between Anatolian and the other Indo-European languages.

Among the conservative features of Anatolian is the preservation of one laryngeal ($*h_2$) and traces of another ($*h_3$). Another is its productive use of what are known as heteroclitic nouns. One of the more curious types of declension reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European is nouns that have a stem in $*r$ in the nominative but in $*n$ in all other cases. While few traces are found in other Indo-European languages (where the stem is generally levelled one way or the other, for example, OE has r in *wæter* but ON has levelled the same word to n in *vatn* ‘water’), Hittite maintained this type as an active declension pattern (e.g. Hit *wātar* ‘water’ in the nominative but genitive *witenas*). Another conservative trait of Anatolian is the preservation of two separate conjugational types characterized by different person-number endings. One type, easily recognized as cognate with the type found in other Indo-European languages, has *-mi*, *-si*, *-ti* as the endings of the first, second, and third persons singular. The other type, which has left only traces in the other IE groups, has the endings *-hi*, *-ti*, and *-i* instead.

On the other hand, Anatolian has no dual (as found in both Greek and Indo-Iranian), its verb has no subjunctive or optative (again unlike its Bronze Age neighbours), and it is questionable (arguments go both ways) whether there are any traces of a feminine in Anatolian. The augment $*e-$, which is found in the other Bronze Age languages (Indo-Iranian, Greek) and all the surrounding languages, i.e. Phrygian, Armenian, with possible traces elsewhere, is not found in Anatolian. The combination of conservatism on the one hand with absence of features found in the other two groups to emerge in the Bronze Age has led some to suggest that Anatolian did not share in a number of the developments that we find in any of the other Indo-European languages because it was not part of the Proto-Indo-European world when these developments occurred. This supposition then leads to the hypothesis that Proto-Anatolian and Proto-Indo-European were siblings of an earlier Proto-Indo-Hittite language.

Opponents to this theory are highly sceptical of employing *absence of features* in Anatolian as evidence for greater antiquity. They have long argued that as there were non-Indo-European languages in central Anatolia, it is just as likely that the original features were lost as Anatolian was taken up by the substrate population or employed initially as a trade language whose grammar was simplified to facilitate intercommunication.

5.1.2 Indo-Iranian

The sole uncontroversial subgrouping of Indo-European is Indo-Iranian, the super-group, if you will, that unites the Indo-Aryan and the Iranian languages. We have already seen that the similarities between Avestan and Sanskrit were such that there was a period in Indo-European research when Avestan was regarded as a dialect of Sanskrit. Table 5.1 illustrates this similarity in a much cited comparison between a verse from the *Avesta* and its literal transposition into Sanskrit. A comparison between the two texts reveals similarities that are so strong that often one need do no more than make an expected sound change in one language to effect a translation into the other. The two languages are so closely related that we can derive them from a common Indo-Iranian proto-language. This means that between Proto-Indo-European and the Indo-Aryan and Iranian groups, there was also a Proto-Indo-Iranian stage. To this group, it might be noted, belongs one further subgroup. Only recorded since the nineteenth century, the five Nūristāni (also termed Kafiri, a term that means ‘infidel’ and is hardly politically correct today nor since their conversion to Islam is it any longer true) languages of the Hindu-Kush have provided evidence that their ancestor does not appear to have been either Indo-Aryan or Iranian but is more likely to derive directly from Proto-Indo-Iranian and possibly represents a third ‘branch’ of the super-group although there are arguments that set them closer to either Indo-Aryan or Iranian.

Precisely when this stage existed we cannot say, but we already have evidence by c.1400 BC for the existence of a separate Indo-Aryan language. The evidence

Table 5.1. *Yašt 10.6 from the Avesta and a Sanskrit translation*

Avestan	<i>təm amavantəm yazatəm</i>
Old Indic	<i>tām ámavantam yajatām</i>
Proto-Indo-Iranian	<i>*tām ámavantam yaǰatām</i>
	This powerful deity
Avestan	<i>sūrəm dāmōhu səvištəm</i>
Old Indic	<i>śūrām dhāmasu śaviṣṭham</i>
Proto-Indo-Iranian	<i>*ćūrām dhāmasu ćaviṣṭham</i>
	strong, among the living the strongest
Avestan	<i>mīθrəm yazāi zaoθrābyō</i>
Old Indic	<i>mītrām yajāi hótrābhyaḥ</i>
Proto-Indo-Iranian	<i>*mītrām yaǰāi ǰháutrābhyaḥ</i>
	Mithra, I honour with libations

is intriguing in that it does not come from India but rather from northern Syria which was controlled by an ancient people known as the Mitanni. The Mitanni were contemporaries of the Hittites and their language was Hurrian, a non-Indo-European language attested to the south of the Caucasus in eastern Anatolia. But some of their leaders bore Indo-Aryan names, and in a peace treaty between themselves and the Hittites, they appended to a long list of deities guaranteeing the treaty the names of Indara, Mitrašil, Našatianna, and Uruvanaššil which would have been rendered in India as Indra, Mitra, Nāsatya, and Varuṇa, principal gods of the Vedic religion. How much further back the Indo-Aryan languages separated from the Iranian we cannot say but there seems to be a general impression that sets the split to sometime around 2000 BC. Before this period we might imagine the period of Proto-Indo-Iranian.

The grouping of Indo-Iranian together is not based solely on the obvious similarities between the languages but also certain common innovations. There are a number of words that occur in both Indic and Iranian but not in any other Indo-European language. Some of these concern religious concepts, e.g. Proto-Indo-Iranian **atharwan-* ‘priest’, **ṛ̥ši-* ‘seer’, **ućig-* ‘sacrificing priest’, **anću-* ‘soma plant’. Both the ancient Indo-Aryans and Iranians drank the juices of the pressed soma plant (Indo-Iranian **sauma* > Sanskrit *soma* and Avestan *haoma*). Moreover, there are also some names of shared deities as well as a series of animal names (hedgehog, tortoise, pigeon, donkey, he-goat, wild boar, and camel), architectural names (pit, canal, house, peg), and a variety of other terms. These common elements suggest that the Proto-Indo-Iranians borrowed certain words from a presumably non-Indo-European culture before they began their divergence into separate subgroups.

5.1.3 Balto-Slavic

Although there are still some (more often Balticists than Slavicists) to contest the close association of Baltic and Slavic, majority opinion probably favours a common proto-language between Proto-Indo-European and the Baltic and Slavic languages, i.e. during or after the dissolution of Proto-Indo-European there was a stage of Proto-Balto-Slavic before the separation of the two language groups. This proto-language may not have undergone a simple split into Proto-Baltic and Proto-Slavic. Another possibility often put forward is that Balto-Slavic became divided into three subgroups: East Baltic (Lithuanian and Latvian), West Baltic (Old Prussian), and Slavic. In any case the two groups (Baltic and Slavic) or the three groups (East Baltic, West Baltic, and Slavic) remained in close geographical and cultural contact with one another

and have continued to influence one another long after the initial division into separate groups. They share a number of items of vocabulary not found in other Indo-European groups as well as new grammatical features such as the definite adjective built on the adjective plus the relative pronoun **yos*, new accent and comparative adjective patterns, etc. (Oszwald Szemerényi lists fourteen although more than half are disputed). What is particularly interesting is that the Balto-Slavic languages are satem languages like Indo-Iranian and some suggest some form of historical connection between the two super-groups. In addition to satemization, all these groups obey what is known as the *ruki*-rule, i.e. **s* is palatalized to **š* after **r*, **u*, **k*, or **i*, e.g. Grk *térsomai* ‘I become dry’ but Skt *tṛsyáti* ‘he thirsts’, Av *taršna-* ‘thirst’, Lith *tirštas* ‘thirst’.

5.1.4 Contact Groups?

There are a number of other proposed relationships. Some argue that similarities between Greek and Armenian are such that there was a common Graeco-Armenian, while Italo-Celtic has been another long suggested and just as frequently rejected proposition. In both of these cases, we do not require a proto-language between Proto-Indo-European and the individual languages as we do with Indo-Iranian, and so the case for these other sets is simply not as strong as it is for Indo-Iranian and Balto-Slavic. Generally, when similarities between Greek and Armenian, say, or Italic and Celtic are found, it is presumed that they may have been a result of contact relations between the ancestors of the different languages, and these relationships may have been intense, but insufficient to view these similarities as evidence for discrete Proto-Graeco-Armenian or Proto-Italo-Celtic. Here, the concept of the ‘Wave theory’ probably has a significant role to play.

A major group presumably created or maintained by contact is labelled the North-West group and comprises Germanic, Baltic, and Slavic (as one chain whose elements may have been in closer contact with one another), and additionally Italic and Celtic. The link between these languages is largely that of shared vocabulary items: thirty-eight were originally proposed but more recent studies list up to sixty-four lexical innovations, although they do not cross all languages uniformly. Items include words such as ‘rye’ (ON *rugr* ‘rye’, OE *ryge* ‘rye’ (> NE *rye*), Lith (pl.) *rugiai* ‘rye’, OCS *rižī* ‘rye’ from an earlier **rughis*), the type of ‘culture word’ that could be introduced into one area and then spread through a larger region along with the item itself. The evidence suggests that this spread occurred at some time before there were marked divisions between these languages so that these words appear to have been ‘inherited’ from an early period.

In some cases the loans are obviously late and involved an alien phonetic shape that challenged each language, e.g. the word ‘silver’ (Ibero-Celt *śilaPur* (/śilabur/) ‘silver’, ON *silfr* ‘silver’, OE *seolfor* ‘silver’ (> NE *silver*), Goth *silubr* ‘silver’, Lith *sidābras* ‘silver’, Rus *serebró* ‘silver’) where the best we can reconstruct is **silVbVr-* where V stands for unknown vowels.

5.1.5 Family Trees

We can now return to the concept of a family tree and the relationships between the different Indo-European languages.

1. Anatolian is generally recognized as the first Indo-European language to have separated from the remaining languages (or, alternatively, the rest of Indo-European moved away from Anatolian). Whether one wishes to see this separation as an event so early that Anatolian did not share innovations developed by all other Indo-European languages (the Indo-Hittite hypothesis) or whether Anatolian simply departed somewhat earlier but may still be analysed like any other Indo-European language is, as we have seen, still debated.
2. The Indo-Iranian languages form a distinct super-group.
3. The Balto-Slavic languages, although somewhat more questionable than Indo-Iranian, are generally held to form a single super-group.
4. The Indo-Iranian and Balto-Slavic languages share both satemization and the *ruki*-rule and may have developed as some form of west–east (or north–west–south–east) continuum with certain features running through them.
5. There were close contact relations between Greek and Armenian at some period of their existence prior to their emergence as discrete language groups. This contact is plausible as many would see both their origins to lie in the Balkans, so that their ancestors were once more closely situated to one another than their present distribution suggests. There are also connections between this Graeco-Armenian group and Indo-Iranian, particularly with regard to what are probably late Proto-Indo-European morphological innovations, but there are also a series of lexical isoglosses confined to Greek and Indo-Iranian.
6. There were contact relations between the ancestors of Italic and Celtic. Again such contact is entirely plausible as the two groups were historically adjacent to one another in west central Europe.
7. The North-West European languages (Germanic, Baltic, Slavic, Celtic, Italic) shared a series of common loanwords (probably created among themselves as well as derived from some non-Indo-European source) at some period in their antiquity before they emerged as distinct Indo-European groups.

8. The position of Tocharian with respect to the other Indo-European groups is a major issue of contention. However, there is no grammatical evidence that it was strongly associated with its nearest neighbour, Indo-Iranian. Many suggest that its connections appear to lie further west, with Germanic in particular, or that Tocharian represents a peripheral language that separated from the other Indo-European groups at a very early date (Fig. 5.4).
9. In time sequencing Indo-European developments, there has been a tendency to see the more peripheral languages such as Celtic in the west and Tocharian in the east as the language groups that separated earliest (after Anatolian).

How the various relations were played out in three-dimensional (geographical) space is nearly impossible to determine. The assumption that Italo-Celtic relations occurred on the Italian–French border, for example, is purely presumptive and the actual relationship could have been developed distant from both Italy and France/Switzerland before either language group had achieved its historical position. Similarly, the common innovations of other contact groups may have occurred long before the component language groups emerged in their earliest historically attested locations.

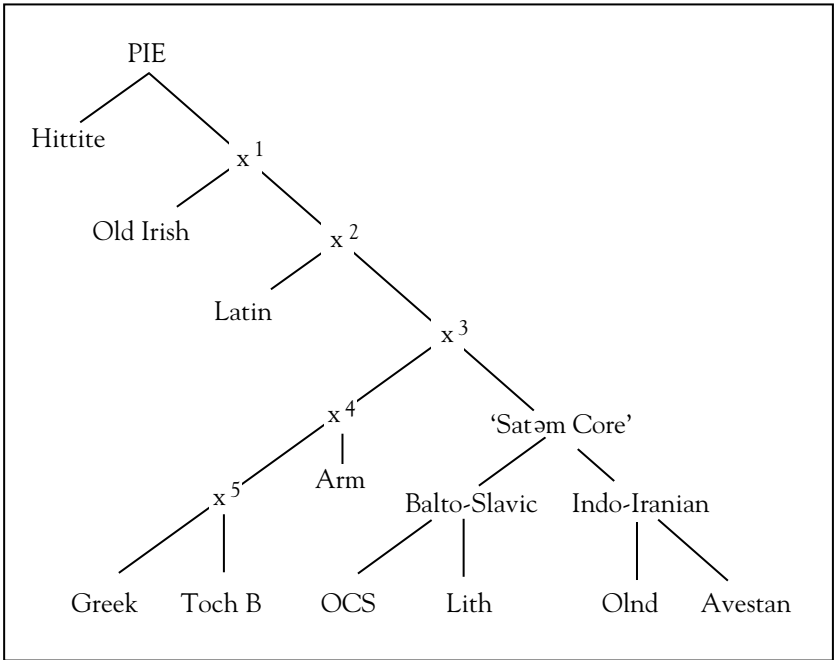


Figure 5.4. A recent family tree of the Indo-European languages prepared by D. Ringe, T. Warnow and A. Taylor (1995).

5.2 External Relations

Indo-European is but one of the world's language families and it obviously had non-Indo-European neighbours both before and over the course of its expansions. There are two ways in which Indo-European may have related to these neighbours: through contact or through genetic inheritance.

A contact relationship would occur when two languages were adjacent to one another and there were loanwords, possibly even grammatical or phonological borrowing, between the two. It should be emphasized that the movement of loanwords need not be the result of direct contact, i.e. Indo-European with language X, but may have been the result of indirect contact, i.e. language Y passes a word to language X which then passes it on to Indo-European (a good example of the circuitous route a loanword might take through space and time is the Avestan word *pairi-daēza-* 'enclosure' that was borrowed into Greek as *parádeisos* 'garden' then into Late Latin as *paradīsus* whence into Old French *paradis*, and, finally, into English *paradise*). Secondly, the contact relationships may have occurred during differing stages of each language family's evolution, e.g. the loan may be between the proto-language of one family and a late descendant of another family.

A genetic relationship is one in which Proto-Indo-European would be seen as a constituent element of a still larger family of languages, i.e. the Proto-Indo-European tree is reduced to a bundle of branches on a still larger linguistic tree.

5.2.1 Indo-European-Uralic

Indo-European shares Europe with one other major language family—Uralic, the family to which Hungarian, Finnish, Estonian, and a number of other languages found to both the west and east of the Urals belong. Relationships between the two have been proposed for many years and primary debate concerns: (1) whether they are evidence of an earlier genetic relationship or contact-induced loanwords, and (2) to which stage precisely of both Indo-European and Uralic these loanwords belong. Károly Rédei offers a total of seven words that are attributed to the earliest period (PIE **mei-* 'exchange': PU **miye-* 'give, sell'; PIE **mesg-* 'dip under water, dive': PU *muške-* 'wash'; PIE **h₁nóm̥* 'name': PU *nime* 'name'; PIE **snéh₁wr̥* 'tendon': PU *sene* 'vein, sinew'; PIE **deh₃-* 'give': PU *toye-* 'bring' (note the representation of the PIE laryngeal by PU **-y-*); PIE **h_aweseh_a-* 'gold': PU *waške* 'some metal'; PIE **wód̥r̥* 'water': PU *wete* 'water'). Some of these words have been also employed to argue a genetic rather than contact relationship between Indo-European and

Uralic. Subsequent loanwords are reputed to be between various stages of Indo-European, generally Indo-Iranian, and the Finno-Ugric languages, i.e. a subgrouping of Uralic, or even more recent stages of the Uralic languages. For example, Finnish *parsas* ‘pig’ could only have come from a satem language such as Iranian (Proto-Iranian **porśos* ‘pig’) rather than an earlier form such as PIE **pórĥos* ‘pig’. A number of these later words concern exchange relationships, e.g. ‘value’, ‘portion’, ‘hundred’, ‘thousand’, ‘commodity’, words associated with agriculture, e.g. ‘grain’, or stockbreeding, e.g. ‘pig’, ‘ox’, and suggest that at various stages of Indo-European, Uralic speakers were absorbing some elements of a farming economy and probably more complex social concepts from Indo-Europeans to their south.

5.2.2 *Indo-European and Semitic*

Unlike the relationship between Indo-European farmers and Uralic hunter-fishers, the Indo-Europeans were likely to have been economically less advanced and socially less complex than contemporary Semitic societies. Relationships with Semitic, one of the subgroups of the Afro-Asiatic language family that spanned the Near East and northern Africa, including ancient Egyptian, have been long discussed in Indo-European studies. The better-known Semitic languages are Hebrew, Arabic, and Aramaic.

In their study of Indo-European origins, Thomas Gamkrelidze and Vyacheslav Ivanov suggest that the Semitic vocabulary borrowed into Indo-European is primarily concerned with farming, technology, and numerals. They list seventeen potential loanwords such as ‘bull’, ‘goat’, ‘lamb’, ‘monkey’, ‘grain’, ‘grinding stone’, ‘honey’, ‘axe’, ‘boat’, ‘sacrifice’, ‘star’, and ‘seven’. Some of these comparisons are far more speculative than others, e.g. the Proto-Indo-European word for ‘goat’ (**ghaidos*) that is compared with Proto-Semitic **gadyi-* is only attested in Latin and Germanic and it is far more easily assumed to be a regional word of North-West Indo-European rather than Proto-Indo-European. If such is the case, the resemblance of **ghaidos* and Semitic **gady-* would be entirely accidental. Similarly, the words for ‘monkey’ occur in only two Indo-European languages, Greek *kēpos* and Sanskrit *kapi-*, but these are far more easily explained as late loans from some Semitic language than as an inheritance from Proto-Indo-European: the export of monkeys as a prestigious gift was known in the eastern Mediterranean from the Bronze Age onwards. The more significant Semitic-Indo-European comparisons are Proto-Indo-European **médhū* ‘honey’: Proto-Semitic **mVtk-* ‘sweet’; Proto-Indo-European **tauros* ‘wild bull, aurochs’: Proto-Semitic **ṭawr-* ‘bull, ox’; Proto-Indo-European **septṛḥ* ‘seven’: Proto-Semitic **sab’atum*; and Proto-

Indo-European **wóinom* ‘wine’: Proto-Semitic **wayn* ‘wine’ (although this last word could also claim to have a decent IE pedigree).

The correspondences between Indo-European and Semitic are generally explained as flowing from Semitic into Indo-European at the level of the Indo-European proto-language itself. As for the mechanics of such loanwords, some maintain that they could only have been made if the Proto-Indo-European- and Proto-Semitic-speaking populations were living adjacent to one another (presumably somewhere in South-West Asia) or that these loanwords had passed through other intermediaries over a greater distance. Lesser claims for borrowing into or out of Proto-Indo-European have been made with reference to Sumerian, Kartvelian, and other Caucasian languages.

5.3 Genetic Models

It is logically imperative that Proto-Indo-European had its own prehistory and was descended from earlier languages and was likely to have had its own linguistic siblings. Attempts to substantiate such hypothetical relationships have been made on the small scale, e.g. with Proto-Indo-Uralic or Proto-Indo-Semitic, and on much larger scales where a series of language families have been combined into a single unit. The evidence for genetic constructs relies heavily on the same type of evidence that others adduce for contact relationships, e.g. that Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Uralic both share a common term for something as basic as ‘water’. But further evidence derives from morphological comparisons which, in the attempt to distinguish between borrowing and inheritance, we already know count for far more. For example, in Table 5.2, we see again the reconstructed Proto-Indo-European pronouns compared with those in Proto-Afro-Asiatic and Proto-Uralic.

Rather than relations between Indo-European and one other family, most effort along these lines is now devoted to the reconstruction (and the confirmation

Table 5.2. *Pronouns in Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Uralic, and Proto-Afro-Asiatic*

	PIE	PUralic	PAfro-Asiatic
I	<i>*h₁eg̃/*h₁éme</i>	<i>*me</i>	<i>*ma-/ *mə-</i>
we two	<i>*nóh₁</i>		<i>*na-/ *nə-</i>
we (plural)	<i>*wéi</i>	—	<i>*wa-/ *wə-</i>
you	<i>*túh_x</i>	<i>*te</i>	<i>*t^[h]_a-/*t^[h]_ə-</i>
who	<i>*k^wós</i>	<i>*ku/*ko</i>	<i>*k^{w[h]}_a-/*k^{w[h]}_ə-</i>

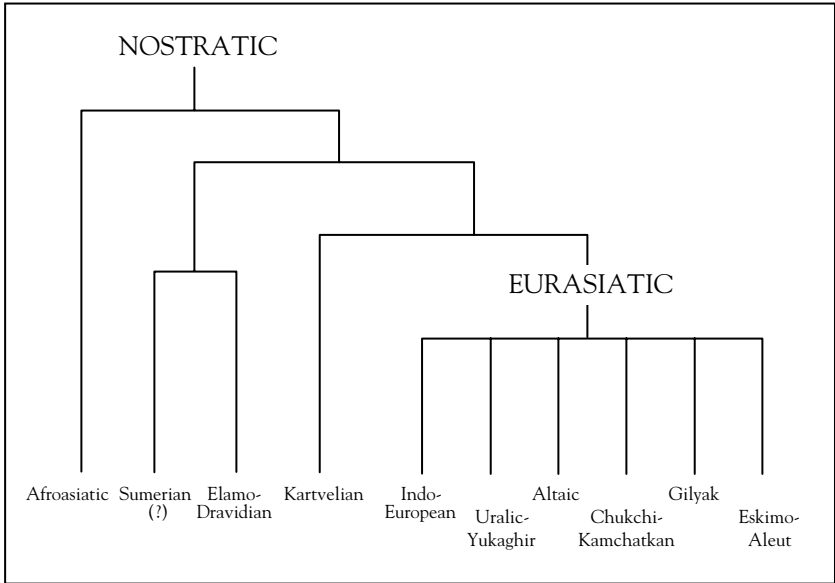


Figure 5.5. The Nostratic languages according to A. Bomhard (1996).

of the existence) of Eurasiatic and Nostratic. Eurasiatic as a hypothesis comprises Indo-European, Uralic-Yukaghir, Altaic, Korean, Japanese, Ainu, Gilyak (Nivkh), Chukotian (Chukchi-Kamchatkan), and Eskimo-Aleut in a single large genetic unit. In its most recent formulation it is based on 72 grammatical features and 437 items of vocabulary. Nostratic is the proposed mega-family that would unite Indo-European, Afro-Asiatic, Uralic, Altaic (Turkish, Mongolian, etc.), Kartvelian (Georgian), and Dravidian (languages of the southern third of India), and possibly several other families (some would exclude Afro-Asiatic and Dravidian from this list). In the dictionary of Nostratic published by Allan Bomhard, there are about 650 Nostratic roots which have been proposed to underlie Indo-European roots. One notes that evidence cited to establish contact relations can find itself being reinterpreted in terms of genetic relations, e.g. Nostratic **madw-/mɛdw-* ‘honey, mead’ is cited as the proto-form for the words for ‘honey’ not only in Indo-European but also Afro-Asiatic and Dravidian.

The Nostraticists propose that Nostratic existed about 15,000–12,000 BC, among hunter-gatherers, generally somewhere in South-West Asia (Fig. 5.5). They have opponents in abundance who challenge the entire concept of Nostratic, and most certainly one’s ability to reconstruct proto-languages at such a time depth and the entire issue of time are so critical that we devote the next chapter to it.

Further Reading

The internal relationships of the Indo-European languages can be found in Porzig (1954), Meillet (1967), and Stang (1972). There is a large literature devoted to external relations: they are discussed at length in Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1995); for IE-Uralic connections see Collinder (1974), Rédei (1988), and the papers to be found in Carpelan, Parpola, and Koskikallio (2001); for IE-Semitic relations see Brunner (1969), Levin (1973), Bomhard (1977), and D'iakonov (1985); for IE-Kartvelian see Klimov (1991); for Eurasiatic see Greenberg (2000–2); and for Nostratic see Bomhard and Kerns (1994), Bomhard (1996), Dolgopolsky (1998), and the many papers in Renfrew and Nettle (1999).

6

A Place in Time

6.0 The Fourth Dimension	86	6.3 Absolute Chronologies	92
6.1 Time Depth	86	6.4 The Dark Ages?	103
6.2 Relative Chronologies	88		

6.0 The Fourth Dimension

We have considered the conceptual space of the Indo-European groups, their interrelationships with one another, and now it is time to enter the fourth dimension and consider their place in time or, as it is usually expressed in linguistics, time depth. Establishing time depth involves a combination of serenely difficult theoretical issues and some extraordinarily tricky practical problems. The theoretical problems stem from the fact that we are ultimately attempting to discuss the absolute dates, i.e. BC/AD dates, of a hypothetical construct. There are a lot easier things to do.

6.1 Time Depth

Many linguists adhere to the concept that Proto-Indo-European in the sense of the linguistic forms that we reconstruct is a hypothetical abstraction. This abstraction goes beyond the argument between those who maintain that our reconstructions are merely formula and those who assert that these formulas are still fair approximations of a real language. Rather, it can be argued that the

abstract formulas, even if they are approximations, are not approximations set in real time, i.e. they do not go back to a common point or a single language but rather simply reflect reconstructable words, morphological forms, and syntactic processes that need not have been contemporary. We can discuss their relative order but this is not the same as the reconstruction of the entire state of a language at a particular moment in time. This concept of the proto-language as a timeless conglomeration of linguistic fragments is contrasted with the idea that there must have been a speech community that spoke a real language that was ancestral to the historically known Indo-European languages. Real people speak real languages in real time. It is interesting that linguists sceptical of joining reconstructed Proto-Indo-European with “real” Proto-Indo-European have tended to rediscover these distinctions every generation since at least the late nineteenth century. Their arguments may be correct but they have not become any better.

Generally, when one attempts to straddle the demands of the pure linguist and the logical needs of the cultural historian who is looking for a prehistoric Proto-Indo-European, the definition is then cautiously reshaped to describe the final state of the Proto-Indo-European language before its break-up and the dispersal or formation of the various daughter groups. The looseness of this definition also has its problems since “dispersal” is not necessarily equivalent to language change although, in time, it will stimulate differentiation.

The bottom line then becomes: what is the latest date that Proto-Indo-European could have existed? This question is partly answered by examining the earliest date that any of the Indo-European groups did exist. The three earliest are Anatolian at *c.* 2000 BC, Indo-Iranian at *c.* 1400 BC (Mitanni treaty), and Greek at *c.* 1300 BC or somewhat earlier (Linear B tablets). If we presume a Proto-Indo-European that includes Anatolian (rather than the Indo-Hittite hypothesis, which makes Anatolian a sister of Indo-European rather than a daughter), then Proto-Indo-European must be set before 2000 BC when Anatolian is historically attested. How long before? Once we ask this question, we enter the slippery world of intuitive extrapolation. The more cautious will not venture far. For example, Stefan Zimmer urges linguists and archaeologists not to use the word Proto-Indo-European for anything ‘linguistic or archaeological’ older than *c.* 2500 BC, but such caution, which in any case may well be misplaced, is not shared by most linguists who venture into the area of time depth.

In this chapter we will review the attempts to push beyond 2500 BC and clarify the chronology, both relative and absolute, of Proto-Indo-European. Relative is all some linguists will grant us anyway so we will begin there.

6.2 Relative Chronologies

A relative chronology simply expresses a relationship between two or more ‘events’, i.e. it seeks to determine whether A is older or younger than B. For at least the past century there have been linguists who have been attempting to discern the different layers of Indo-European and here we can employ the archaeological term ‘seriation’ to describe this process of ordering layers. There have been three basic techniques of linguistic seriation: morphological, semantic, and geographical; these are very crudely equivalent to an archaeologist attempting to order a sequence of artefacts by typology (style), context, and by distribution.

6.2.1 Morphological Seriation

If we consider the morphology of plural formations in English, we would note that the names of many of our most basic livestock tend to have irregular plurals, i.e. not the simple *-s* plural, or, if they do have it, they may still retain older formations, e.g. *cow/kine*, *sheep/sheep*, *ox/oxen*. The conclusion drawn from this situation is that the domestic animals obviously belong to a relatively archaic layer of the English vocabulary.

From time to time linguists such as Alfons Nehring and Franz Specht have attempted to apply similar techniques to the reconstructed morphology of Proto-Indo-European. For example, the heteroclitics, those that have an *-r* ending in the nominative singular but then an *-n* in all the other cases, e.g. **wód-r* ‘water’ but genitive singular **wéd-n̥-s*, are seen to be among the earliest layers of Indo-European nouns. This proposal was supported, it was argued, by the fact that the semantic fields of these heteroclitics are among our most basic vocabulary, e.g. ‘light’, ‘day’, ‘year’, ‘water’. The next level would be the root-nouns and the consonantal stems, with a third and final period marked by our *o*-stems and *-ā-* (or **-eh₂-*) stems. This scheme always worked better in theory than in practice because there were too many *o*-stems that seemed to belong to pretty basic layers of the Indo-European vocabulary. For example, beside the domestic animals of the reconstructed lexicon, there also lurk the **h₂t̥k̥os* ‘bear’ and **wĺkʷos* ‘wolf’, and the forest revealed the **bherh₂ǵos* ‘birch’. These basic items of the lexicon required explaining away and of course explanations were offered. For instance, the names of fierce animals were *o*-stems because they were not the real names of the animals but rather late circumlocutions, e.g. the word for bear could be derived from a root meaning ‘destroy’, and wolf is the adjective ‘dangerous’ changed into a noun with a shift

in accent (Chapter 9). The birch word could be explained as the ‘bright one’. In all these cases, so it is argued, we are reconstructing words of no great antiquity that may have been created either to avoid tabu, i.e. names of fierce animals are often governed by tabu (you don’t say the name of you-know-what or you might find yourself its next meal), or they are derived from poetic language. The conundrum here is fairly obvious—if these words, tabu replacements or poetic epithets, were created to replace another word, they presuppose the existence of the earlier word, i.e. Indo-Europeans surely knew of bears and wolves and had a name for the animals before they replaced it with another word; alternatively, at an equally early date, the Proto-Indo-Europeans burst into a rapture of poetic metaphor in first encountering a wolf or bear. Thus this technique can decide the antiquity of the formation but not of the actual object. An older word might not only be replaced by a newer epithet but also might be rebuilt to look like a newer word itself. Certainly the histories of all attested branches of Indo-European show a pattern of replacement whereby other stem-types are replaced by (the descendants of) *o*-stems, e.g. the history in New English whereby *cow/kine* (where *kine* has itself replaced Old English *cȳ*) has been replaced by *cow/cows*. And, there is no reason to suppose that Proto-Indo-European itself was immune to this same tendency, and therefore a reconstructed *o*-stem may not be a new word at all but merely the morphological renewal of an old word. A good example comes from the word for horse, **h₁ékwos*, since one might presume that the wild horse was known to the Proto-Indo-Europeans. F. Specht got around this by regarding the horse word as a remodelled *u*-stem, i.e. it was an old word in the proto-language with a relatively archaic shape in earlier stages of the language that was then changed to an *o*-stem in a later period.

Other attempts to seriate the Indo-European lexicon argued that we could divide the words between those that indicated ablaut of the root and those that did not and thus were more recent. In this case the reconstructed word for ‘birch’ provides a good example. While some branches of Indo-European would appear to have words for ‘birch’ that reflect a Proto-Indo-European **bherh_xǵos*, others would appear to reflect a Proto-Indo-European **bhrh_xǵos*. The alternation of a full-grade (**-er-*) and a zero-grade (**-r̥-*) makes it reasonable to suppose that the *o*-stem formation of both is a later addition, albeit one of Proto-Indo-European age, to an older ablauting paradigm without it (i.e. something like **bherh_xǵs* [nominative], **bhrh_xǵós* [genitive]). Hans Kuhn added that the reconstructed PIE **a* was another marker of a more recent layer of Indo-European and this could be confirmed by its frequent presence in words associated with agriculture. Robert Beekes and some other linguists would argue that the **a* is not Proto-Indo-European at all but indicates a later formation or loanword from a non-Indo-European substrate. This association of **a* with newness is

today not nearly so strong, as many of the *a*-vocalisms are now treated as the result of an *a*-colouring laryngeals on an adjacent **-e-*.

What then can the morphological system really say about the antiquity of the concept? Probably less than frequently claimed. An archaic formation such as the heteroclitics can support a case for antiquity but the problem still remains, older than what? Older than an *o*-stem noun? If it means that the formation may be older, this may well be true, but unless the concept itself is inherently related to its morphological class, then very little intelligent can be concluded or, worse, something very unintelligent may be deduced. We can survey the English language and note that *cow* has a regular plural in *cows* but *ox* has a more archaic plural as *oxen*. Does this mean that oxen are older in English culture than cows? From the standpoint of linguistic history, such a conclusion is absurd, as both ‘cow’ and ‘ox’ derive from Proto-Indo-European words, **g^wóus* and **uk^(w)sen-* respectively.

6.2.2 Semantic Seriation

Another approach to discerning the layers of Indo-European vocabulary has been the analysis of the different semantic stages of the reconstructed vocabulary. For example, Sanskrit *ayas* clearly indicates ‘copper’ or ‘bronze’ in earlier Indic texts but comes to mean the technologically later ‘iron’ in later texts. This shift in meaning is an example of semantic change within a particular stock where our records of the language can confirm the change over time. The same kind of problem can arise when comparing two or more stocks: while comparative analysis may recover but a single proto-form, the different stocks may reflect different underlying meanings. Thus it has long been observed that PIE **h_aeǵros* ‘field’ revealed a semantic split between Indo-Iranian where it meant ‘plain’ and the European languages where the same root invariably referred to a ‘cultivated field’. Wilhelm Brandenstein regarded this semantic divergence as evidence that the Indo-Europeans had dispersed at various stages of the evolution of the Indo-European vocabulary and that the Indo-Iranians had separated before the word for ‘field’ had come to mean ‘cultivated or arable field’. He collected a large body of lexical evidence to distinguish between what he regarded as an early phase of Indo-European which was primarily pastoral and where its population lived where there were hills, swift running water, and warm weather and then, after expansion into Europe, revealed semantic shifts to colder, wetter weather and the adoption of farming. His conclusions were far more than the slender weight of evidence could carry and were very much anchored in a highly doubtful model of the origins of agriculture, i.e. that nomadic pastoralism preceded settled agriculture, that is generally not found creditable today.

6.2.3 Geolinguistic Seriation

A once popular school of comparative linguistics, perhaps more so in Italy than elsewhere, was *geolinguistics*, an approach to languages which emphasized that one could determine the antiquity of a word from its spatial distribution. According to the geolinguists, the centre of language areas tended to be where innovations developed and then spread, perhaps not entirely, to the periphery; conversely, peripheries tended to be more conservative of earlier layers of speech. A classic for adherents of this school was to be seen in the words for ‘fire’ in Proto-Indo-European. We reconstruct two words as seen in Table 6.1.

Giulio Bonfante argued that the two words were in contrasting distributions (he did not have all the lexical data at hand at the time) and that the more ‘central’ term was **péh₂ur* while the more peripheral word was **h_xǵ^wnis*. Originally, all the languages should have possessed the second term, which appears in Indic as the name of a deity and indicates fire in its ‘animate’ form, while **péh₂ur* was seen to have spread from the centre toward the periphery and begun to replace the more animate word with ‘fire as instrument’. This explanation fails to convince on a number of grounds. To begin with, if the Indo-Hittite hypothesis has any force, then the presence of the innovative form in Anatolian is hardly indicative of its more recent date. One might also note for instance that Tocharian, as far out on the periphery as any Indo-European language, attests only **péh₂ur*, supposedly the innovative, central form. It is also surprising that, in this pair, the supposedly innovative word **péh₂ur* is of the archaic heteroclitc form while the presumably more archaic **h_xǵ^wnis* belongs to what is usually thought to be a younger morphological type. Today, the distinction between animate (**h_xǵ^wnis*) and instrument (**péh₂ur*)

Table 6.1. *Indo-European words for ‘fire’*

PIE	<i>*PÉH₂UR</i> ‘FIRE’	<i>*H_x ǵ^W NIS</i> ‘FIRE’
Italic	Umb <i>pir</i> ‘fire’	Lat <i>ignis</i> ‘fire’
Germanic	OE <i>fȳr</i> ‘fire’	—
Baltic	OPrus <i>panno</i> ‘fire’	Lith <i>ugnìs</i> ‘fire’
Slavic	Czech <i>pýř</i> ‘ashes’	OCS <i>ognĭ</i> ‘fire’
Greek	Grk <i>pŭr</i> ‘fire’	—
Armenian	Arm <i>hur</i> ‘fire’	—
Anatolian	Hit <i>pahhur</i> ‘fire’	—
Tocharian	TochB <i>puwar</i> ‘fire’	—
Sanskrit	—	<i>agní-</i> ‘fire’

would still be made, but these would be regarded as two contrasting concepts both attributed to the proto-language where one or the other stabilized in a particular group. In the case of Italic, the loss of contrast between **péh₂ur* and **h₃ng^wnis* must have occurred after the break-up of that group, since Umbrian shows generalization of the former word and Latin generalizes the latter. A second example leads to the same conclusion. The fact that the word often reconstructed as ‘king’, **h₃rég_s*, is attested only in Celtic (Gaul *rix*, OIr *rī*), Italic (Lat *rēx*), and Indo-Iranian (Skt *rāj-*) suggested to the geolinguists that Proto-Indo-European society had once been ruled by strong kings but a democratic revolution of the centre had replaced them, and hence the absence of the word in the centre of the Indo-European world. However, while the absence of an inherited word for ‘king’ may indeed betoken a major social change, it may also simply reflect a change in the designation of the ruler, whose social function continued largely as it had been. In any case, if the lack of the inherited word for ‘king’ in certain Indo-European branches is due to a social revolution, the revolution would appear to have been independently produced in all of those branches where it took place because the ‘central area’ shows no common replacement terminology.

There are certain core–periphery phenomenon in Indo-European but there would be few if any convinced today by the socio-chronological arguments of the geolinguists.

6.3 Absolute Chronologies

The relative dating of the evolution of Indo-European is all that many linguists might not only aspire to but admit as a possibility. On the other hand, unless Proto-Indo-European can be provided with an approximate absolute date, i.e. a date in years BC, then it will prove impossible to relate the Indo-European languages as a linguistic phenomenon with the prehistoric record. Linguists have proposed four different techniques for assigning an absolute date to a proto-language.

6.3.1 External Contact Dating

A modern English dictionary will reveal that the English language contains the word *sputnik* which refers to any number of artificial satellites. The term need not refer specifically to a Russian satellite but might be loosely employed for any satellite. The date of its introduction into English was 1957 with the launch of the first Russian satellite bearing that particular Russian name. This is a

loanword then that carries with it a specific date. It has been suggested (and rejected) that we might discover similarly datable words in Proto-Indo-European that might suggest an approximate date for the proto-language itself.

The credibility of using loanwords to date Proto-Indo-European rests largely on our ability to date the loanwords in the first place. We already know that Indo-European languages had already differentiated by *c.* 2000 BC because that is the time when we encounter our first evidence of the Anatolian languages. If we seek a language earlier than *c.* 2000 BC, there are not many recorded that we can confidently read other than Egyptian, Sumerian, Elamite, Hurrian, and Akkadian. In 1923 Günther Ipsen thought that he could find such a datable relic when he proposed that Proto-Indo-European **h₂stér* ‘star’ (putting his reconstruction in modern symbols) be derived from Akkadian *istar*, attested *c.* 2000 BC, and not from any other earlier Semitic form, e.g. Proto-Semitic **aṭtar* ~ **aotar*. In so doing, he thought that he had proved that Proto-Indo-European had survived at least until 2000 BC when the form *istar* first appeared in Akkadian texts. Of course, this conclusion is contradicted by the existence of a separate Anatolian stock already by 2000 BC, and there is hardly a step in the reasoning regarding the ‘star’ word that has not been challenged, e.g. some derive it from Proto-Semitic, others claim that the word in Semitic only came to mean ‘star’ (in general) at a later date and hence the meanings are not comparable, and some maintain that the Indo-European word for ‘star’ is home-grown and not a loanword and can be derived from Proto-Indo-European **h₂eh₂-s-* ‘burn’ (see Section 8.4). By and large there are no credible loanwords ascribed to Proto-Indo-European that can provide an absolute date for it unless one wishes to trust the absolute dating of others’ proto-languages (blind leading the . . .).

Günther Ipsen’s foray into dating Proto-Indo-European demonstrates how the technique is employed, and the use of external contacts is very much with us in the dating of prehistoric language phenomena. For example, there are Indo-Iranian (or later) loanwords in the Uralic languages and it has been presumed that as Indo-Iranian as a subgroup of Indo-European first formed *c.* 2500–2000 BC, this is the period to which the loanwords should be ascribed. Unfortunately, this argument rests entirely on the presumption that we have the date for Indo-Iranian correct.

6.3.3 Glottochronology

At about the time that physicists discovered that the constant disintegration of the isotope ¹⁴C (radiocarbon) could be employed to date organic remains in archaeology, the American linguist Morris Swadesh was working on a similar

technique to date languages. Swadesh reviewed the speed at which various languages changed through time by comparing their vocabulary either across their own time trajectory, e.g. Old English to Middle English to New English, or between closely cognate languages, e.g. English, German, and Swedish. He used a comparative wordlist of 200 lexical items which he thought were basic to any human language (e.g. *animal, blood, father, I, mother, sew, tree, two*) and thus resistant to cultural borrowing. Later, feeling that he had been optimistic about how many words were truly resistant to borrowing, he used a 100-word list (wherein, among others, *animal, father, mother, and sew* were excluded). This study was empirical and the surprising result that he announced was that no matter what the language family considered, there appeared to be a constant rate of attrition of the basic core vocabulary—after a period of 1,000 years, 86 per cent of the core vocabulary appeared to remain. He employed this technique (which is called *glottochronology*) against the major Indo-European languages to determine when Proto-Indo-European dissolved and what the chronological differences were between the various Indo-European stocks. He presented his results with the minimum of methodological discussion and even less empirical evidence and we are far better off illustrating the results of the method with a more recent example of the technique published by Johann Tischler in 1973 (Table 6.2).

A glance at Tischler's results should sober any optimist, and by and large the technique of glottochronology has had almost no currency among Indo-Europeanists although it may be found in use among linguists studying other language families (generally where there is no written evidence that might contradict the results), and there seems to be a particular fascination for publishing the results of glottochronology in science periodicals (where there are no apparent linguistic referees). The problem with glottochronology is that it rests on three assumptions, all of which have been challenged, sometimes not only challenged but apparently demolished. The first assumption is that there is a core vocabulary that one can examine to measure linguistic disintegration. However, experience has repeatedly shown that there is not a core vocabulary that is constant across all languages, culture areas, and times. There is no large part of the vocabulary of any language that can be trusted to behave in a consistent manner from which linguists can isolate out a set of words which will yield Swadesh's expected results. Swadesh employed wordlists of decreasing size, starting with 500 and then to 200 and finally the famous 100-word list. Tischler shows us the results of employing both the 200- and 100-word lists where Hittite gains over two thousand years of antiquity by using the 100-word list as opposed to the 200-word list, Albanian moves nearly 3,000 years, and other languages change their relative ordering of antiquity. The shift to the smaller wordlist was stimulated by the fact that so many of the words on the

Table 6.2. *Dates of separation from Proto-Indo-European based on the 100- and 200-word lists (after Tischler 1973)*

200-WORD LIST	DATE	100-WORD LIST
	9000 BC	
		Hittite (8800)
	8000	
	7000	
		Albanian (6600)
		Old Irish (6500)
Hittite (6400)		
	6000	
		Armenian (5700)
	5000	
Armenian (4700)		
		Greek (4700)
		Latin (4400)
	4000	
Greek, Albanian (3800)		
		Sanskrit, Gothic (3700)
Latin (3500)		
		Lithuanian (3400)
	3000	
Sanskrit, OCS (2900)		
Lithuanian (2200)		OCS (2900)
	2000	

longer list were seen not to be ‘culture-free’. Even this shorter list has been recently modified by Sergey Starostin who has replaced ten words from the list which were regarded as less cultural-free. Starostin also recognizes a super core list of thirty-five and a somewhat less diagnostic list of sixty-five words. Glottochronology must be about the only scientific technique where the accuracy of one’s results is enhanced by the removal rather than the augmentation of data! Moreover, the smaller the list, the more an error concerning any individual item on it will affect the accuracy of the result.

A second assumption is that, assuming there is a culture-free list of however many words one wants to propose, it changes at a constant rate. Where the technique can be tested closely, it reveals markedly differing results. Closer examination of changes in English for instance indicates a retention rate not of 86 per cent but 68 per cent, while Icelandic has remained far more conservative with a 97 per cent retention rate over the same period. Finally, the very means

of calculating the separation is methodologically difficult. One seeks to match cognates between the different languages but how cognate must the words be? In some cases residues of the word may remain but in a different semantic form. For example, the Old Irish cognate of the Indo-European word for ‘sun’ only survives in the meaning ‘eye’, i.e. the sun seen as a large eye in the sky. And, finally, how does one convincingly address the problem of comparing languages whose own attestation is separated by great periods of time: how do we compare the ‘basic vocabulary’ of Lithuanian (attested only from the sixteenth century AD onwards) with Hittite which had been dead for over two thousand years?

So what do we get with glottochronology? A series of dates, generally cited to a precision of a century. The level of precision far exceeds anyone’s confidence in the method, so one might imagine that these dates have about the comparable value of a radiocarbon date with a large statistical error, e.g. a date of 5000 ± 100 BP (years before present) indicates that a sample should have lived (with 95 per cent probability) somewhere between 4035 and 3541 BC. Glottochronology cannot even provide this level of precision since the rate of decay is simply not that well fixed. But we cannot avoid the allure of producing a list of the hundred words with their Proto-Indo-European forms and an indication of whether a particular stock shares this form (Table 6.3).

This list, indeed any list, would be far from definitive because there are numerous problems in establishing true cognate terms. Although we may derive the cognate set from the same root morphemes, a number of the sets require us to group together very different endings, dialectal forms, or more distant derivation, e.g. **h₁oi-* is the root morpheme for ‘one’ but the forms underlying the different IE languages include **h₁oi-no-*, **h₁oi-wo-*, and **h₁oi-ko-*. In other cases we find that we cannot be sure of the precise meaning of our reconstructed form, e.g. **pleu-* ‘swim’ but it only means ‘swim’ in Greek and Indo-Iranian; in the other groups it may mean ‘move’, ‘float’, ‘rain’, ‘wash’, or ‘flow’. In a number of instances there are multiple candidates for the PIE root, e.g. **twéks* ‘skin’ rather than **péln-*, or **sméru-* ‘oil, grease’ and/or **h₁opús* ‘(animal) fat’ rather than **sélpes-* ‘fat, grease’; to select a different candidate would result in an entirely different series of correspondences and putative dates of separation.

6.3.4 Informed Estimation

George Trager, unimpressed by the claims of glottochronology, argued that a linguist’s hunch, that is, “informed judgement” based on one’s experience with known language separations and the structure of the language one was dealing

Table 6.3. *The ‘basic’ vocabulary of Proto-Indo-European and its attestation in the major Indo-European groups*

Word	PIE	Ct	It	Gm	Bt	Sl	Al	Grk	Arm	An	Ir	Ind	Toch	Total
I	* <i>h₁eg̃</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12
You	* <i>túh_x</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12
We	* <i>wéi</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12
This	* <i>so</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12
That	* <i>kís</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	8
Who	* <i>k^wós</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	11
What	* <i>k^wíd</i>	0	+	0	0	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	6
Not	* <i>ne</i>	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	+	+	+	9
All	* <i>wik̃-</i>	0	0	0	+	+	0	0	0	0	+	+	0	4
Many	* <i>pélh₁us</i>	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	0	0	+	+	0	6
One	* <i>h₁oin-</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	0	9
Two	* <i>dwéh₃(u)</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	12?
Big	* <i>meg̃h_a-</i>	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10
long	* <i>dl̥h₁ghós</i>	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	9
Small	* <i>pau-</i>	0	+	+	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	0	0	3
Woman	* <i>g^wénh_a</i>	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	10
Man	* <i>h₁nér</i>	+	+	0	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	8
Person	* <i>dhghm-ón-</i>	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Fish	* <i>dhghuh_x-</i>	0	0	0	+	0	0	+	+	0	0	0	0	3
Bird	* <i>h_aewei-</i>	+	+	0	0	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	7
Dog	* <i>k̃(u)wōn</i>	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	11
Louse	* <i>lu-</i>	+	0	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	+	0	5
Tree	* <i>dóru</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	11
Seed	* <i>seh₁men-</i>	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Leaf	* <i>bhel-</i>	0	+	+	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	0	+	4
Root	* <i>wr(h_a)d-</i>	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	5
Bark	* <i>lóubho/eh_a-</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Skin	* <i>péln-</i>	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	0	+	0	7
Flesh	* <i>(s)kwéh_xtis</i>	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	0	0	0	0	+	6
Blood	* <i>h₁ésh₂r̥</i>	0	+	0	+	0	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	7
Bone	* <i>h₂óst</i>	+	+	0	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9
Grease	* <i>sélpes-</i>	0	0	+	0	0	+	+	0	0	0	+	+	5
Egg	* <i>h_aō(w)iom</i>	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	0	0	+	0	0	6
Horn	* <i>k̃er-</i>	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	11
Tail	* <i>puk(eh_a)-</i>	0	0	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	3
Feather	* <i>pet(e)r-</i>	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	0	6
Hair	* <i>k̃ripo-</i>	0	+	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	+	+	0	4
Head	* <i>k̃r̥réh₂</i>	0	+	+	0	0	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	8

(Cont'd.)

Table 6.3. (*Cont'd*)

Word	PIE	Ct	It	Gm	Bt	Sl	Al	Grk	Arm	An	Ir	Ind	Toch	Total
Ear	* <i>h_aóus-</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	0	9
Eye	* <i>h₃ok^w</i>	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	+	10
Nose	* <i>h_xnáss</i>	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	+	+	0	6
Mouth	* <i>h_{1/4} óh₁(e)s-</i>	0	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	0	5
Tooth	* <i>h₁dónt-</i>	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	0	9
Tongue	* <i>dn̥ghuh_a-</i>	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	0	+	+	+	9
Claw	* <i>h₃nogh(w)-</i>	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	0	+	+	+	9
Foot	* <i>péd̥s</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12
Knee	* <i>gónu</i>	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10
Hand	* <i>ǵhes-r-</i>	0	+	0	?	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	7?
Belly	* <i>udero-</i>	0	+	0	+	0	0	+	0	0	+	+	0	5
Neck	* <i>moni-</i>	+	0	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	0	4
Breasts	* <i>psténos/speno-</i>	+	0	+	+	0	0	+	+	0	+	+	+	8
Heart	* <i>k̑ērd</i>	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	11
Liver	* <i>yék^wr̥(t)</i>	0	+	0	+	0	0	+	0	0	+	+	0	5
Drink	* <i>peh₃(i)-</i>	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	10
Eat	* <i>h₁édmi</i>	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	11
Bite	* <i>denk̑-</i>	0	0	+	0	0	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	6
See	* <i>derk̑-</i>	+	0	+	0	0	+	+	0	0	+	+	0	6
Hear	* <i>k̑leu-</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	11
Know	* <i>weid-</i>	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	0	9
Sleep	* <i>swep-</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12
Die	* <i>mer-</i>	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	9
Kill	* <i>nek̑-</i>	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	0	+	+	+	+	8
Swim	* <i>pleu-</i>	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	+	9
Fly	* <i>pet-</i>	+	+	0	+	0	0	+	+	0	+	+	0	7
Walk	* <i>h₁ei-</i>	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	+	+	+	10
Come	* <i>g^wem-</i>	0	+	+	+	0	0	+	0	0	+	+	+	7
Lie	* <i>k̑ei-</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	0	+	+	+	0	4
Sit	* <i>sed-</i>	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	0	9
Stand	* <i>(s)teh₂-</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	11
Give	* <i>deh₃-</i>	0	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	8
Say	* <i>wek^w-</i>	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	0	+	+	+	9
Sun	* <i>séh_aul</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	10
Moon	* <i>méh₁nōt</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	11
Star	* <i>h₂stēr</i>	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	9
Water	* <i>wód̥r̥</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12
Rain	* <i>h₁wers-</i>	+	0	0	0	0	0	+	0	+	+	+	0	5
Stone	* <i>h₄ékmōn</i>	0	0	0	+	+	0	+	0	+	+	+	0	6

(*Cont'd.*)

Table 6.3. (Cont'd)

Word	PIE	Ct	It	Gm	Bt	Sl	Al	Grk	Arm	An	Ir	Ind	Toch	Total
Sand	?*samh _x dhos	0	+	+	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	0	0	3
Earth	*dhéghōm	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	10
Cloud	*nébhes-	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	+	+	0	9
Smoke	*dhuh ₂ mós	0	+	0	+	+	0	+	0	0	0	+	0	5
Fire	*péh ₂ ur	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	0	+	8
Ash	*h ₂ éh _x ōs	0	0	+	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	5
Burn	*dheg ^w h-	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	9
Path	*póntōh ₂ s	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	0	8
Mountain	*g ^w orh _x -	0	0	0	+	+	+	?	0	0	+	+	0	6
Red	*h ₁ reudh-	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	0	+	+	+	9
Green	*k _{yeh} ₁ -	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	+	+	7
Yellow	*ghel-	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	0	+	+	0	8
White	*h ₄ elbhós	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	0	0	0	6
Black	*k ^w ḡsnós	0	0	0	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	+	0	4
Night	*nek ^w t-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	+	10
Hot	*g ^w hermós	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	8
Cold	*gel-	0	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Full	*p _l h ₁ nós	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	0	+	+	+	9
New	*néwos	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	+	+	+	10
Good	*h ₁ (e)su-	+	0	0	+	+	0	+	0	?	+	+	0	7?
Round	*serk-	0	+	0	0	0	+	+	0	+	0	0	+	5
Dry	*saus-	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	0	8
Name	*h ₁ nóm̥	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12
Total		64	82	75	71	62	42	80	48	46	76	82	49	

with, was a far more reliable guide. But how can this task be accomplished? Generally, we find some form of triangulation based on the earliest attested Indo-European languages, i.e. Hittite, Mycenaean Greek, and Indo-Aryan, each of these positioned somewhere between *c.* 2000 and 1500 BC. Given the kind of changes linguists know to have occurred in the attested histories of Greek or Indo-Aryan, etc., the linguist compares the difference wrought by such changes with the degree of difference between the earliest attested Hittite, Mycenaean Greek, and Sanskrit and reconstructed Proto-Indo-European. The order of magnitude for these estimates (or guesstimates) tends to be something on the order of 1,500–2,000 years. In other words, employing some form of gut intuition (based on experience which is often grounded on the known separation of the Romance or Germanic languages), linguists tend to put Proto-Indo-European sometime around 3000 BC plus or minus a millennium.

The explicit reasons for these estimations, however, are hardly clear, never really quantifiable, and there seems no way of testing the validity of such guesses. For this reason, some suggest that these are not informed estimates but groundless guesses and that Proto-Indo-European might go back to 10,000 BC or earlier. Most linguists would probably argue, however, that such a long chronology is even more speculative than the estimates of change between Proto-Indo-European and Hittite, say, as it requires a rate of linguistic change in all descendant groups to be slower than any known historically from *any* attested Indo-European or non-Indo-European family. Unless we are prepared to believe that prehistoric language change is different by an order of magnitude from historic change, it is better to work with a more realistic and shorter chronology than one going back to 10,000 BC.

Of course any assumptions about rate of change (including those upon which glottochronology is built) are only as good as the data upon which they are based. In actuality we have long observable histories of language change only for a very few languages (e.g. Greek, Indo-Aryan, Egyptian, Chinese) and none longer than about 4,000 years. And all of these observed languages are naturally enough languages of high civilizations which have had long histories of interaction with other cultures and languages. It is possible that these interactions have caused a higher rate of change than would have been the case with languages of groups less in the limelight. On the other hand, one might also expect that the weight of the written tradition of these literate societies might have had the effect of slowing change.

6.3.5 *Archaeological Estimation*

If linguists have hunches, archaeologists sometimes propose theories with far greater hubris and far less credibility. The characteristic approach here is to presume that if the archaeologists can identify the archaeological equivalent of the proto-language, then the dates for the archaeological culture must provide us with the dates of the proto-language. When it comes to dating, between an archaeologist and a linguist, there is no contest. The archaeologist has an arsenal of techniques to date prehistoric remains with various degrees of precision. The usual technique employed with respect to the prehistoric record is radiocarbon dating which, for the general time depth that we have been discussing, should be able to come up with a date within about 400 years of the target. And unlike glottochronology, the date is replicable and capable of being tested against even more precise dating techniques such as tree-ring dating. But the archaeologist is normally dating some form of organic remains—wood, charcoal, bone—which can then be employed to date the archaeological culture

(an entity of ambiguous if not dubious social reality) that provides a context for the remains. He or she is not dating a proto-language and the only way the archaeological date then comes into play is if one accepts that the culture in question coincides with the remains of the people who spoke the proto-language. So if one accepts, for example, that Proto-Indo-European was spoken by the first farmers to enter Europe (and only by them), then the archaeologist can put a date of *c.*7000 BC on the event and, hence, the proto-language. Alternatively, if one suggests that Proto-Indo-European was carried into south-eastern Europe with the spread of horse-riding pastoralists from the steppelands and the earliest evidence for this incursion dates to *c.* 4500 BC, then we have another date for Proto-Indo-European.

It takes little thought to realize that this entire means of dating requires one to accept some archaeological identification of the Proto-Indo-Europeans, and when one considers that there is no consensus on this issue after two centuries, there is precious little reason for optimism. Moreover, archaeological cultures, the entities that the archaeologist plays with, for the time in question, say *c.*7000–2000 BC, generally exist for periods of about 600 years, although some cultures can extend for up to 1,500 years. Every culture will have a predecessor (*Homo sapiens sapiens* has been around for *c.*100,000 years in the Near East and about 40,000 years in western Europe). If an archaeologist selects Culture X which dates to *c.*3500–3000 BC as the one to be associated with the spread of (Proto-)Indo-European, you can bet that there was a Culture W that may have occupied the same general area *c.* 4000–3500 BC. Now why has X been selected to date Proto-Indo-European and not the earlier W? Generally, because it is only Culture X that has transcended its earlier borders, which is then read by the archaeologist as an expansion (= linguistic expansion). If so, then the archaeologist is not even pretending to date the proto-language but what he or she takes to be the linguistic dispersal, i.e. an event which defines the break-up of the proto-language rather than the proto-language itself.

6.3.6 Lexico-cultural Dating

Although there is plenty of room to make mistakes or devise erroneous conclusions, lexico-cultural dating does offer at least some hope for generating approximate dates for a proto-language, provided that one's conclusions are properly framed. Much of material culture is time factored, that is, items of material culture have been added to the inventory of human knowledge over time (while some items have been discarded). Elements of the environment might also be time factored in that plants, particularly trees, have followed a

regular and datable procession since the last Ice Age; the spread of domestic plants and animals to different regions of Eurasia also occurred over a specific time. The dating of a proto-language might then be attempted by comparing certain items of the reconstructed vocabulary with the archaeological record, here the general archaeological record rather than one specific to a certain region. For example, we reconstruct terminology associated with wheeled vehicles in Proto-Indo-European and from an archaeological standpoint we know that our earliest evidence for wheeled vehicles anywhere in Eurasia (actually anywhere on this planet) dates to the fourth millennium BC. We also know that dates might be pushed back somewhat in time—discoveries in archaeology are a growth business—and hence the actual date for a particular item may obviously antedate somewhat any of our existing evidence. But if the Proto-Indo-European vocabulary had words pertaining to wheeled vehicles, these should not have come into existence much earlier than *c.* 4000 BC on the basis of our present archaeological knowledge. The presence of words for wheeled vehicle does not date the proto-language to *c.* 4000 BC but it does tell us that any date long anterior to this becomes increasingly implausible. That the proto-language may have existed long after 4000 BC goes without saying; the archaeologist can provide a terminal date (in this case a *terminus a quo*) but there is no reason whatsoever why a proto-language should be correlated with the earliest occurrence of an item of material culture.

So, is there a consistent dating horizon for the reconstructed Proto-Indo-European vocabulary? In broad terms, there is certainly conclusive evidence that the Indo-European languages shared what an archaeologist might term a Neolithic vocabulary. There is a full range of domestic animals (cattle, sheep, goat, pig, dog; the horse was certainly known but its status as a domestic animal is arguable) and cereals (grain, barley) and the tools and techniques to process them (plough, harrow, sow, thresh, chaff, grind) and store the result (pot). The Neolithic economy appears in the Near East by about 8000 BC and in Europe it appears by the seventh millennium BC where it spreads both north and west to reach the western and northern European periphery by about 4000 BC. Although claims are occasionally made—sometimes with an amazing sense of audacity—that Proto-Indo-European should date back to the Palaeolithic or Mesolithic, periods before the advent of a mixed farming economy, such a dating can only be made if you ignore all the linguistic evidence to the contrary. Only archaeologists are likely to make such a gross mistake (there is a reason for making this mistake which we will see later).

What is the most recent date the lexicon offers for Proto-Indo-European? We have already seen that wheeled vehicle terminology tends to be part of the vocabulary and this tends to be no earlier than *c.* 4000 BC. Wool, the product of selectively bred sheep, would also appear to be largely a development of the

fourth millennium BC although it was known somewhat earlier in the Near East. The plough may also join this list of relatively late developments. If silver be admitted as inherited from Proto-Indo-European, its presence would similarly point to a date in the fourth millennium BC. As we mentioned before, any discovery can be advanced in age and so we might imagine that the earliest we are going to be able to set Proto-Indo-European is about the fifth millennium BC if we want it to reflect the archaeological reality of Eurasia. We have already seen that individual Indo-European groups are attested by *c.* 2000 BC. One might then place a notional date of *c.* 4500–2500 BC on Proto-Indo-European. The linguist will note that the presumed dates for the existence of Proto-Indo-European arrived at by this method are congruent with those established by linguists' 'informed estimation'. The two dating techniques, linguistic and archeological, are at least independent and congruent with one another.

6.4 The Dark Ages?

If one reviews discussion of the dates by which the various Indo-European groups first emerged, we find an interesting and somewhat disturbing phenomenon. By *c.* 2000 BC we have traces of Anatolian, and hence linguists are willing to place the emergence of Proto-Anatolian to *c.* 2500 BC or considerably earlier. We have already differentiated Indo-Aryan in the Mitanni treaty by *c.* 1500 BC so undifferentiated Proto-Indo-Iranian must be earlier, and dates on the order of 2500–2000 BC are often suggested. Mycenaean Greek, the language of the Linear B tablets, is known by *c.* 1300 BC if not somewhat earlier and is different enough from its Bronze Age contemporaries (Indo-Iranian or Anatolian) and from reconstructed PIE to predispose a linguist to place a date of *c.* 2000 BC or earlier for Proto-Greek itself. So where we have written documentation from the Bronze Age, we tend to assign the proto-languages to an earlier period of the Bronze Age, i.e. earlier than at least 2000 BC if not 2500 BC.

When we turn to western and northern Europe, however, both our attestation of the different groups and the estimates of their proto-languages tend to be shallower. The Germanic languages, for example, are all derived from Proto-Germanic. Now the earliest runic inscriptions are so close to reconstructed Proto-Germanic that there is a tendency to date the Germanic proto-language to about 500 BC. Similarly, if we examine the earliest Celtic inscriptional evidence, be it Continental or even the much more recent Irish ogham stones, these inscriptions are not that far removed from the reconstructed Proto-Celtic and again we tend to have dates suggested on the order of 1000 BC. The Slavic languages only began differentiating from one another during the historical period, and Proto-Slavic is generally set to about the beginning of the

Christian era while Proto-Baltic and Proto-Balto-Slavic (assuming its existence) are probably envisaged as a second millennium BC phenomenon. In short, where the Indo-European groups are more recently attested, we tend to find that they are also regarded as having differentiated at a more recent time, i.e. between *c.* 1500 and 500 BC.

One explanation for the relatively short time depths of the attested northern and western Indo-European groups is that these groups are the only survivors of a long process of linguistic assimilation that has occurred as small demographic and linguistic groups moved, interacted, and merged. We can see precisely such a process in action in the historic period as Latin assimilated and replaced all the other Italic languages, Umbrian, Oscan, etc., and then went on to assimilate and replace much of the Celtic languages. Also within the historic period Slavic assimilated and replaced such other Indo-European languages as Thracian, and Koine Greek replaced nearly all other varieties of Greek. If we had only contemporary data to work with, we would have to conclude that both Proto-Italic (now equivalent to Proto-Romance) and Proto-Greek flourished around the beginning of the Christian era. These ‘extinction events’ in the history of Italic and Greek had the effect of ‘resetting’ the time depth of the proto-language. This process must have been repeated time and again in the prehistoric period.

A second alternative is that the differences in chronology between the European languages and those of the Aegean-Anatolia and Asia may be an illusion fostered by the lateness of our written sources for most of Europe, i.e. linguists have a tendency to place proto-languages cautiously about 500 to 1,000 years before first attestation, and hence the later the earliest written evidence, the more recent the estimated time depth.

Finally, it might be argued that we should take the time depths of the various Indo-European groups at face value and envisage a process which led to a relatively recent spread of most of the Indo-European languages of Europe, some time after Indo-European languages had been established in Greece, Anatolia, and South-West Asia.

Further Reading

The most recent large-scale discussion of time depth can be found in Renfrew, McMahon, and Trask (2000). Specific discussions on Indo-European can be found in Zimmer (1988) and Mallory (1997*a*, 2002). Morphological seriation is discussed by Nehring (1936), Specht (1944), Arumaa (1949), Kuhn (1954), and most recently in Lehmann (2002). A major attempt at semantic seriation is seen in Brandenstein (1936). Geolin-

guistics in Indo-European is discussed in Bonfante and Sebeok (1944) and Devoto (1962). A rare instance of external contact dating and Proto-Indo-European is seen in Ipsen (1923). The literature on glottochronology is vast: the original application to Indo-European can be found in Swadesh (1960) but a better treatment is Tischler (1973); Bergsland and Vogt (1962) was among the first major criticisms. Trager's 'hunch' is quoted from Trager (1967) while an example of estimate triangulation can be found in Milewski (1968). There have also been attempts to classify different morphological and temporal stages within Proto-Indo-European in Meid (1975) and Adrados (1982).

7

Reconstructing the Proto-Indo-Europeans

7.1 Approaches to the Past	106	7.6 Level of Reconstruction	115
7.2 How Many Cognates?	107	7.7 Root Homonyms	115
7.3 Reconstructed Meaning	110	7.8 How Long a Text?	116
7.4 Semantic Fields	112	7.9 Vocabulary—What’s Missing?	117
7.5 Folk Taxonomies	113		

7.1 Approaches to the Past

There is only one route to the reconstruction of Indo-European culture that offers any hope of reliability and that is language. Although we might compare cultural traditions, behaviour, or material culture among the different Indo-European groups, this exercise would be a very uncertain plunge into comparative ethnography or archaeology and we would be forced to compare peoples at vastly different time depths. For example, a number of Indo-European groups, from whatever period they are attested, indicate the existence of warrior bands or sodalities, *Männerbunde* for those who prefer the German expression. One could (and has) accumulate(d) accounts of these bands from Irish, Germanic, Greek, or Indic sources which themselves extend over a period of some 1,500 years at least. We could then generalize about the characteristics of such groups, e.g. a tendency to represent warriors as wolves with berserker-like behaviour, and then back-project this generalization to the Proto-Indo-Europeans. But why should Proto-Indo-Europeans in, say, 4000 BC have behaved like Irish or Germanic war-bands over 4,000 years later? Had nothing really changed in the structure, tactics, and behaviour of warriors and warrior units in so many thousand years? Could the similarities be merely

independent developments? After all we find comparable institutions among unrelated Amerindians or African tribes. Or are we dealing with something in between—actual remnants of inherited social institutions but, by the time of our earliest written sources, these have been elaborated in similar ways that were independently generated in the different traditions? It is nearly impossible to know at what point to draw the line between acknowledging the existence of the institution and fleshing it out with our ethnographic parallels. Even when the evidence comes from roughly similar temporal horizons we find ourselves confronting dubious ethnographic comparisons. During the Iron Age both the early Celts and the steppe Iranians attest the practice of head-hunting. But so do many other peoples, and there are few if any who would regard this as sufficient evidence to project head-hunting to the time of the proto-language. Clearly we need something more directly associated with the people we are trying to deal with (those who existed at the time of the proto-language) and for that, there is only one, admittedly problematic, source: the reconstructed lexicon offers us our best hope of glimpsing the world of the speakers of Proto-Indo-European. Of course there is a catch, in fact, several catches. The first concerns the very reconstruction of the Indo-European vocabulary.

7.2 How Many Cognates?

How many cognates do we need to declare a word Proto-Indo-European? There are very few instances in which we find a cognate in every major IE group, and Table 7.1 indicates the items that are so fully attested.

The list poses no real surprises as most of the words belong to those regions of the lexicon that are quite basic and more resistant to loss. Of this list five are pronouns, four are numerals, and the rest are some of the more basic nominal concepts. But we should not imagine that this list necessarily indicates word frequency. We might compare it, for example, with the most frequent words in English which, other than pronouns, are primarily confined to prepositions (whose function would usually be met by case endings in PIE), conjunctions, and articles (absent from PIE), i.e. *you, that, it, he, of, to, in, for, on, as, with, the, and, a, and is*.

As we have just seen those reconstructions based on evidence from the full range of IE groups are very much in the minority and if we consider the 1474 reconstructions found in Mallory and Adams (1997) we can gain a rough idea of the size of the cognate sets that form the basis of our reconstructed lexicon (Table 7.2).

Only 1 per cent of the reconstructed lexicon is based on a cognate from all twelve major language groups. Most cognate sets are comprised of far fewer

Table 7.1. *Cognates that are found in all major Indo-European groups*

<i>*wódr</i>	‘water’
<i>*ǵʷóus</i>	‘cow’ ^a
<i>*pód̥s</i>	‘foot’
<i>*dhwór</i>	‘door, gate’
<i>*tréyes</i>	‘three’
<i>*pénkʷe</i>	‘five’
<i>*septṛ̥h₂</i>	‘seven’
<i>*h₁néwh₁m̥</i>	‘nine’
<i>*swep-</i>	‘sleep, dream’
<i>*h₁nóm̥n̥</i>	‘name’
<i>*h₁eg̑-</i>	‘I’
<i>*wéi</i>	‘we’
<i>*túhₓ</i>	‘thou’
<i>*yuhₓs</i>	‘ye’
<i>*so</i>	‘that (one)’

^a A putative Albanian cognate for cow (*ka*) is uncertain.

language groups, with 75 per cent of the reconstructed lexicon based on six or fewer groups and half of our reconstructions based on between four and five groups.

With most of our cognate sets founded on half or less of the various language groups, how do we know that the word existed in Proto-Indo-European and not some later stage of development? There is no hard and fast rule accepted by

Table 7.2. *Number of cognate sets attested per number of groups sharing a cognate*

LANGUAGE GROUPS	COGNATES	PERCENTAGE
12	16	1
11	23	2
10	52	4
9	59	4
8	78	5
7	137	9
6	181	12
5	252	17
4	274	19
3	238	16
2	164	11

all linguists as to what constitutes a solid reconstruction and we feel that one needs to be fairly explicit about what criteria are employed. Because a cognate might exist in two language groups, e.g. Celtic (Old Irish *rucht* ‘tunic’) and Germanic (Old English *rocc* ‘overgarment’), this does not mean that the ancestor of this word (**ruk-*) was also known in Proto-Indo-European. A word confined to Celtic and Germanic might more probably be assigned to a late development in western Europe long after the Indo-European languages had differentiated. There are many such regionally confined cognates (or early borrowings), and to the Celtic-Germanic correspondences we can also add cognate words from Italic (primarily Latin), Baltic, and Slavic. There are so many of these words that are confined within these five language groups (Celtic, Italic, Germanic, Baltic, and Slavic) that most linguists would regard cognates found *exclusively* between any two or among all of these groups as specifically North-West Indo-European and not demonstrably Proto-Indo-European. To accept a series of cognates as reflections of a PIE word requires that the evidence come from further afield than a series of contiguous language groups in Europe.

How about an isogloss between Celtic and Greek? That would be better than a North-West isogloss but this would still leave the word confined to two European groups. It is not that the word *might* not derive from Proto-Indo-European, but there are some fairly popular models of Indo-European dispersals that would see the prehistoric European languages moving west while the Asian languages dispersed south and east, and hence one might well expect innovations to emerge purely among the European (or Asian) groups that were never part of the shared Proto-Indo-European vocabulary. For convenience we will label these non-North-Western groups, that is, the Balkan languages (only Albanian attested in any significant sense), Greek, and Armenian (as we have seen, the suspiciously large number of isoglosses between Greek and Armenian leads many to group these two together), as the ‘Central’ languages. To this we might add Phrygian (it will not add much anyway) because it is generally recognized as a western intruder into Anatolia. Cognates may occur within the four Central languages (where they will be labelled ‘Central’) or between languages of the North-Western group and the Central group where they will be labelled here as ‘West Central’, but not positively Proto-Indo-European.

As we have seen, Anatolian is the earliest attested Indo-European group and is widely but not universally regarded as one of the first if not the first group to have separated from the rest of the Indo-European continuum. For those who accept the concept of Indo-Hittite, this separation, in terms of the evolution of Indo-European, may be even earlier. For this reason, one might propose that if there are cognates between Anatolian and any other Indo-European language, it may be accepted as Proto-Indo-European. Just such an example would be

Hittite *tanau* ‘fir’, OHG *tanna* ‘fir’, or, similarly, Hittite *hates-* ‘adze, axe, hatchet’, NE *adze*. This rule will not please everyone but it will be applied here.

The Asian languages are critical in defining Proto-Indo-European, especially when there is no Anatolian cognate (and given the paucity and nature of our Anatolian sources, such a lack is a very frequent occurrence). From our discussion of internal relationships, we see that the Asian languages must be divided into two groups, i.e. Indo-Iranian and Tocharian. We are not overly concerned if the word occurs in only one Indo-Iranian language since if it has a cognate in another Indo-European language, it is likely then that the word existed in Proto-Indo-Iranian and it is pure luck or loss that we do not find it in the other Indo-Iranian branch. A general rule of thumb would admit as Proto-Indo-European any word that shared cognates in a European language and an Asian language on the argument that they are dispersed so widely that it is unlikely that they are later innovations. Actually, the rule cannot be quite so hard and fast and we need some fine-tuning. An Irish-Indic cognate looks a damn sight stronger than a Greek-Iranian and linguists have long noted that there are a whole series of words that seem to be confined largely to Greek and Indo-Iranian. Here this pattern will be designated GA, i.e. Graeco-Aryan, which does not indicate a special branch of Indo-European but a pattern of isoglosses that we may feel cautious about assigning to full Proto-Indo-European antiquity without additional evidence. A cognate set involving Tocharian places us in the nightmare of determining the internal relationship between Tocharian and the other IE languages. Some would argue that it is merely a North-Western language while others, emphasizing its position so far to the east of the Indo-European world, would suggest that it constitutes independent evidence of an Asian language; this latter interpretation will be followed in the course of this book, i.e. a cognate set found in a European (or Anatolian) language and Tocharian will be regarded as Proto-Indo-European (PIE). On the other hand, in those very few cases where we have a word only in Indo-Iranian and Tocharian, these will be termed Eastern (E). We can summarize these relationships in Figure 7.1.

7.3 Reconstructed Meaning

A second major catch to our recovery of the Proto-Indo-European lexicon concerns the reconstructed meaning of a word. Sometimes there is uniformity across all or almost all the groups offering cognates. Take for example the cognate set of animal names indicated in Table 7.3 in which the odds are pretty well stacked in favour of reconstructing the proto-meaning as ‘sheep’.

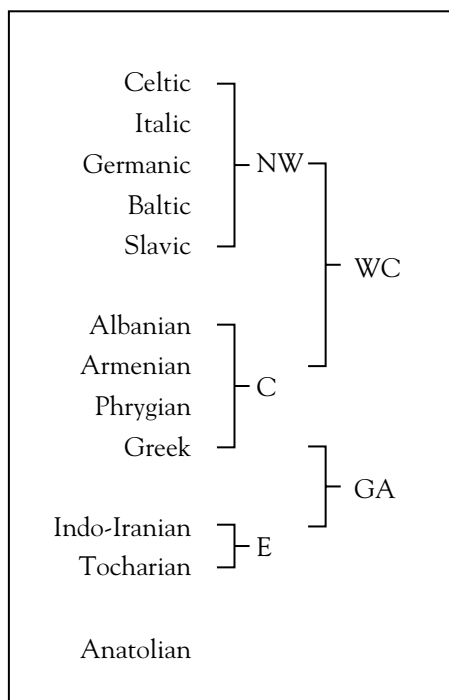


Figure 7.1. The levels of Indo-European reconstruction

On the other hand, Table 7.4 illustrates one of the classic problems of reconstruction in Proto-Indo-European.

In some instances the level of ambiguity appears truly perverse, especially when the cognates suggest what might seem to be diametrically opposed meanings as we find in Table 7.5.

Here we find the more central groups of Baltic, Slavic, and Greek indicating the process of washing or bathing while the more peripheral groups (Celtic, Indo-Iranian) suggest dirt/urine. The proto-meaning is usually taken to indicate ‘wash’ and the more contradictory meanings are explained as either the target or residue of washing (i.e. the filth one washes away) or, possibly, the use of urine to wash with, a cultural practice that includes several groups of IE speakers.

A third type of problem is when the range of meanings is obviously related but so disparate that we can only hazard a vague proto-meaning which might underlie the original word. Table 7.6 provides an example of a word that we can only reconstruct as ‘some form of tool’ (it is a nominal derivative of **k^wer-* ‘do, make’).

Table 7.3. Cognates of **h₂ówis*

OIr	<i>oī</i>	‘sheep’
Lat	<i>ovīs</i>	‘sheep’
ON	<i>ær</i>	‘sheep’
OE	<i>ēowu</i> (> NE <i>ewe</i>)	‘sheep’
OHG	<i>ou</i> ~ <i>ouwi</i>	‘sheep’
Lith	<i>avìs</i>	‘sheep’
Latv	<i>avs</i>	‘sheep’
OCS	<i>ovīnŭ</i>	‘sheep’
Grk	<i>ó(w)īs</i>	‘sheep’
Luv	<i>hāwa/i-</i>	‘sheep’
Skt	<i>ávi-</i>	‘sheep’
TochB	<i>āu</i>	‘ewe’

7.4 Semantic Fields

We also find ourselves reconstructing multiple words to fill out a single semantic field. It has been observed that in English, for example, nouns are often organized according to some principle of meronymy, i.e. they may be arranged as subparts of a larger entity such as body > leg > foot > toe. While there may be some contrast at each level, e.g. ‘foot’ versus ‘claw’, there is unlikely to be a great proliferation of terms for a single referent. On the other hand, verbs tend to be generated according to a system of troponymy where each is nuanced in a particular way. The reconstructed PIE vocabulary illustrates both of these principles. For example, the reconstructed lexicon provides us simply with **pód̥s* ‘foot’ (similarly *Collins Roget’s International Thesaurus* simply lists *foot*) but when we come to a verb like *speak* the *Thesaurus* provides us with an enormous number of terms. Here is a fraction: *speak, talk, patter, gab, say,*

Table 7.4. Cognates of **bheh_aǵós*

Gaul	<i>bāgos</i>	‘beech’
Lat	<i>fāgus</i>	‘beech’
ON	<i>bōk</i>	‘beech’
OE	<i>bōc</i>	‘beech’
OHG	<i>buohha</i> ~ <i>buocha</i>	‘beech’
Rus	<i>?buz</i>	‘elder’
Alb	<i>bung</i>	‘oak’
Grk	<i>phēǵós</i>	‘oak’

Table 7.5. Cognates of **m(e)uh_x-*

MIr	<i>mūn</i>	‘urine’
OPrus	<i>aumūsnan</i>	‘wash’
Lith	<i>māudyti</i>	‘bathe’
Latv	<i>maudāt</i>	‘bathe’
OCS	<i>myjǫ</i>	‘wash’
Grk	<i>mulāsasthai</i>	‘wash oneself’
Av	<i>mūθra-</i>	‘dirt’
Skt	<i>mūtra-</i>	‘urine’

utter, vocalize, state, declare, remark, allege, give tongue, relate, recite, announce, proclaim, blurt out. One can readily appreciate how difficult it might be to retrieve the precise meanings of each of these terms after several thousand years, yet this difficulty is what confronts the linguist who sorts through the twenty-four odd roots that express for Proto-Indo-European or some subsequent phase the concept of ‘speak’ (Table 7.7). In some cases we can distinguish the differences in the underlying nuance of the word but often we cannot and hence our reconstructed meanings can only be vague approximations (indicated by \pm) of what the word might have meant to its prehistoric speakers.

7.5 Folk Taxonomies

Many semantic fields of a language are structured by its speakers into a hierarchical system of categories. In English, for example, we tend to divide the natural world into three categories, animal, vegetable, and mineral, and these may be further subdivided, sometimes in reasonably Linnaean fashion but also according to different, folk taxonomic, criteria, e.g. Herman Melville’s Ishmael who was adamant that a whale was a fish or the common tendency for English speakers to classify the tomato as a vegetable (a ‘veg’) rather than a fruit (even the US Supreme Court has ruled that tomatoes are ‘vegetables’) or refer to a spider as an insect or bug. Typical areas of folk taxonomies include colour terms, the (five) senses, the (four) seasons, the (four) directions, plants,

Table 7.6. Cognates of **k^wrwis*

Lith	<i>kiŗvis</i>	‘axe’
Rus	<i>cervī</i>	‘sickel’
Skt	<i>kṛvi-</i>	‘weaving instrument’

Table 7.7. *Verbs concerned with speaking in Proto-Indo-European*

<i>*wek^w-</i>	‘speak’
<i>*(s)wer-</i>	‘say, speak’
<i>*h₁eg̃-</i>	‘say’
<i>*ter-</i>	‘± speak out’
<i>*wed-</i>	‘raise one’s voice’
<i>*mleuh_x-</i>	‘speak’
<i>*rek-</i>	‘speak’
<i>?*g^wet-</i>	‘say’
<i>*gal-</i>	‘call out, speak’
<i>*ġar-</i>	‘shout, call’
<i>*neu-</i>	‘± cry out’
<i>*ġheu(h_x)-</i>	‘call to, invite, invoke’
<i>*kelh₁-</i>	‘call out to’
<i>*k̑euk-</i>	‘cry out (to)’
<i>*k̑eh₁-</i>	‘declare solemnly’
<i>*k̑e(n)s-</i>	‘declare solemnly’
<i>*h₁/4ōr-</i>	‘speak a ritual formula’
<i>*(s)pel-</i>	‘say aloud, recite’
<i>*yek-</i>	‘± express, avow’
<i>*h₁erk^w-</i>	‘praise’
<i>*h₁eug^wh-</i>	‘speak solemnly’
<i>*weg^wh-</i>	‘speak solemnly’
<i>*g^werh_x-</i>	‘praise’
<i>*kar-</i>	‘praise loudly’

animals, geometric shapes, or aspects of material culture, e.g. crockery, silverware. Modern English speakers tend to accept the canonical number of seasons, directions, and senses but these are a product of culture and it is perfectly possible to find examples of two seasons (summer versus winter) or to find taste as merely an aspect of touch (with the tongue). The level of taxonomy may operate with a single conceptual division where there are at least two terms in complementary distribution (e.g. the early Germanic system is reputed to have divided the year into only two seasons—‘winter’ and ‘summer’) but may form a multilevel system, e.g. from the main taxonym ‘colour’ (Level 0) we may then descend to a Level I basic colour term such as *red*, then a Level II variety of *red* such as *crimson* or *scarlet*, and then to a Level III specialized term such as *ruddy* which is generally confined to the human complexion. In the following chapters we will be mindful of some of the folk taxonomies that have been proposed for the various semantic fields.

7.6 Level of Reconstruction

The level of reconstruction varies depending on how much evidence we can extract from our cognate forms. In some cases we have sufficient evidence to reconstruct the entire ‘word’, i.e. the root, any extensions, and its nominative case ending (e.g. **g^wōus* ‘cow’) or the present indicative of the verbal form (e.g. **h₁éiti* ‘he/she goes’). In many instances, however, the evidence for the nouns may be ambiguous with regard to the original declension (especially if we lack evidence from Latin, Greek, and Indo-Iranian which maintained so much of the original declension system) and we can only reconstruct the root morpheme, e.g. **sem-* ‘summer’. In some cases, there will even be ambiguities about elements of the root morpheme, e.g. as both Hittite and Tocharian merged the PIE labials, a word reconstructed solely from cognates from these two languages must be unclear as to the nature of any labial, e.g. Hit *warpa* ‘enclosures’, TochA *warp* ‘enclosure’ permits us to reconstruct a PIE **worPo-* where the ‘P’ may indicate a **b*, **bh*, or **p*.

In some instances the reconstruction will be based on cognates drawn from both nouns and verbal forms and sometimes from nouns alone (e.g. **h₁nóm̥* ‘name’ or **h₂ówis* ‘sheep’). Occasionally there are sets of nouns that look very much as though they should be derived from a verb but no verb is found. Such is the case with **yéw(e)s-*, the common PIE word for ‘barley’. On the basis of similar words for ‘grain’ (including *corn* and *grain* itself) we might expect it to have meant **‘ripe (grain)’* or the like and it certainly looks like a banal derivative of ***yeu-*. Not until Tocharian AB *yu-* ‘ripen, mature’ was discovered was either the semantic or the morphological hypothesis confirmed.

In some instances we will find cognate sets that would appear to agree perfectly, almost too perfectly, to be regarded as evidence for the reconstruction of a Proto-Indo-European word. This situation is likely to arise when, for example, we find a widely attested noun that has been clearly formed from a well-attested verb by processes active in most of the Indo-European groups. For example, Grk *edanón*, Hit *adanna-*, and Skt *ádanam* could all be derived from a PIE **h₁edonom* ‘food’, but as all these words are fairly banal extensions of the widespread PIE root **h₁ed-* ‘eat’ (hence the word literally indicates a noun ‘eats’) we may be dealing with independent creations of a noun from an inherited verbal form.

7.7 Root Homonyms

In the basic vocabulary of English, say among the first 1,000 words or so, we might expect about 10 per cent of the words to be homonyms, i.e. two (or more)

Table 7.8. *Some PIE ‘homonyms’*

<i>*der-</i>	‘sleep’
<i>*der-</i>	‘tear off, flay’
<i>*h₁erh₁-</i>	‘quiet, at rest’
<i>*h₁erh₁-</i>	‘row’
<i>*mel-</i>	‘harm’
<i>*mel-</i>	‘good’
<i>*sed-</i>	‘sit (down)’
<i>*sed-</i>	‘go’
<i>*wel-</i>	‘grass’
<i>*wel-</i>	‘die’
<i>*wel-</i>	‘see’
<i>*wel-</i>	‘wish, want’
<i>*wel-</i>	‘turn, wind, roll’

different words sharing the same pronunciation such as *write/right* or *bough* (of a tree)/*bow* (to bend oneself). We find that our reconstructed lexicon indicates about the same percentage, although we have to be mindful that our reconstructions can never be regarded as even approximating phonetic transcriptions. Table 7.8 indicates some of the more peculiar homonyms.

In general, linguists attempt to reduce homonyms if possible under the presumption that what we reconstruct as several roots might, in fact, be a single root. In some cases we find attempts to nudge the proto-sememes (meanings) closer together, e.g. **wel-* has been discussed within the context of IE death beliefs where one might imagine that to die (**wel-*) meant that one went to live in fertile meadows or grass (**wel-*). Needless to say, many of these problems are products of root reconstructions; had we been able to reconstruct more of the word (i.e. its declensional or conjugational membership), we would generally have found that they were not actually homonyms.

7.8 How Long a Text?

We have seen how Schleicher’s tale represents an attempt to reproduce in Proto-Indo-European an extended narrative, and a number of similar exercises have been attempted since Schleicher’s time. But what is the longest text that we can actually reconstruct to Proto-Indo-European from its daughter languages? The answer: not very long, generally two words in combination. The problem here is

that the IE languages have been separated for so long before we encounter them that any common text, e.g. a poem, prayer, or aphorism, that existed in the proto-language has either disappeared or been so much altered that we cannot reconstruct the original text. To give a familiar example, we can recover from Celtic, Germanic, Anatolian, and Sanskrit a specific medical incantation for rejoining a dismembered body. Its basic structure runs something like: ‘joint to joint, limb to limb, blood to blood, skin to skin, etc.’ In Germanic the expression in OHG goes *Ben zi bena, bluot zi bluoda, lid zi geliden* . . . (‘bone to bone, blood to blood, limb to limb . . .’). In Irish we have *ault fri halt di & féith fri féith* (‘joint to joint, and sinew to sinew’). In Sanskrit the charm runs: *sām te majjā bhavatu sá u te páruṣa páruḥ* ‘marrow with marrow should be together, and joint with joint . . .’ and we find similar spells in Hittite, i.e. *hastai-kan hastai handan* ‘bone (is) attached to bone’. The structure is generally the same but nowhere do we find lexical cognates to permit us to reconstruct the text to Proto-Indo-European.

In order to reconstruct beyond the single word we must make recourse to poetic diction, the frozen phrases of poetry which have survived. Generally our evidence comes from those few groups that provide us with extensive poetic traditions when we first encounter their texts, i.e. Indo-Iranian and Greek, although some expressions have also survived in other language groups, occasionally as proper names. Many of these frozen expressions concern the main theme of poetry, the fame of the hero (Table 7.9).

Another expression reconstructed to PIE is $*(h_1e)g^whént h_1óg^whim$ ‘he killed the serpent’, a statement concerning one of the most central mythic deeds of the IE warrior god/hero. It is lexically only attested in Indo-Iranian, i.e. Av *ṣanaṭ aṣīm* ‘[who] killed the serpent’ and Skt *áhann áhim* ‘he killed the serpent’, and then with a substituted verb in Grk *kteine hóphin* ‘he slew the serpent’ and a new noun in Hit *illuyanka kwenta* ‘he killed the snake’; cf. OIr *gono mil* ‘I slay the beast’ which has replaced both noun and verb.

7.9 Vocabulary—What’s Missing?

To what extent does the reconstructed vocabulary mirror the scope of the original PIE language? The first thing we should dismiss is the notion that the language (any language) spoken in later prehistory was somehow primitive and restricted with respect to vocabulary. Counting how many words a language has is not an easy task because linguists (and dictionaries) are inconsistent in their definition or arrangement of data. If one were simply to count the headwords of those dictionaries that have been produced to deal with non-literate languages in Oceania, for example, the order of magnitude is somewhere on the order of 15,000–20,000 ‘words’. The actual lexical units are

Table 7.9 *Some examples of poetic diction built on *kléwos ‘fame’*

PIE * <i>kléwos</i> <i>h₂dhg^w</i> hitom ‘fame everlasting’
Grk <i>kléos áphthiton</i>
Skt <i>śrávas</i> ... <i>ákṣitam</i>
PIE * <i>kléwos</i> <i>wéru</i> ‘wide fame’
Gaul <i>Verucloetius</i>
Grk <i>kléos eurú</i>
Skt <i>urugāyám</i> ... <i>śrávo</i>
PIE * <i>kléwos</i> <i>megh_a-</i> ‘great fame’
Grk <i>mégas kléos</i>
Skt <i>máhi śráva-</i>
Cf. OIr <i>clū mōr</i> ‘great fame’
Cf. ON <i>mikil frægð</i> ‘great fame’
PIE * <i>kléwos</i> <i>wésu</i> ~ * <i>kléwos</i> <i>h₁esu</i> ‘possessing good fame’
Illyrian <i>Vescleves-</i>
Grk <i>Eukleēs</i>
Skt <i>Suśráva-</i>
Cf. OIr <i>sochla</i> (< <i>so+clū</i>) ‘of good fame’
Cf. Av <i>vanhāu sravahī</i>
PIE * <i>kléwos</i> <i>deh₁-</i> ‘acquire fame’
Grk <i>kléos katathésthai</i>
Skt <i>śráva- dhā-</i>
PIE * <i>dus-kléwes-</i> ‘having bad repute’
Grk <i>duskleēs</i>
Av <i>duš-sravahyā-</i>
PIE * <i>kléwos</i> <i>h_agróm</i> ‘fame of (real) men’
Grk <i>kléa andrōn</i>
Skt <i>śrávo</i> ... <i>ṇmāṇ</i>

greater because a single form might have a variety of different meanings, each of which a speaker must come to learn, e.g. the English verb *take* can mean ‘to seize’, ‘to capture’, ‘to kill’, ‘to win in a game’, ‘to draw a breath’, ‘imbibe a drink’, ‘to accept’, ‘to accommodate’ to name just a few of the standard dictionary meanings. Hence, we might expect that a language spoken *c.* 4000 BC would behave very much like one spoken today and have a vocabulary on the order of 30,000–50,000 lexical units. If we apply fairly strict procedures to distinguishing PIE lexical items to the roots and words listed in Mallory and Adams’s *Encyclopedia* or Calvert Watkins’s *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots* (1985) we have less than 1,500 items. The range of

meanings associated with a single lexeme is simply unknown although we occasionally get a hint, e.g. **bher-* indicates both ‘carry (a load)’ and ‘bear (a child)’. So the PIE vocabulary that we reconstruct may well provide the basis for a much larger lexicon given the variety of derivational features in PIE.

Yet we know that our reconstructed lexicon falls far short of the full language, e.g. we can reconstruct ‘eye’ and ‘eyebrow’ but not ‘eyelash’. We can most easily gain an impression of what may be missing when we consider modern ethno-botanical studies. In Proto-Indo-European we can offer about thirty-two plant names and an additional twenty-six tree names. In contrast, Brent Berlin examined the languages of ten traditional farming societies and found that the average number of botanical taxa reported in each language was 520. If we were to treat such comparisons at face value this would suggest that we are recovering only about 11 per cent of the probable botanical lexicon known to the Proto-Indo-Europeans. Or compare, for example, the fact that we can reconstruct only a few terms relating to the horse in Proto-Indo-European; in English this semantic field includes *horse*, *pony*, *nag*, *steed*, *prancer*, *dobbin*, *charger*, *courser*, *colt*, *foal*, *filly*, *gelding*, *hack*, *jade*, *crock*, *plug*, and many more terms, including the many specific terms describing the colour of the horse, e.g. *bay*, *chestnut*, *sorrel*, *pinto*. There is no reason to suspect that PIE did not behave similarly. The following chapters thus present a very incomplete record of Proto-Indo-European; nevertheless, this record brings us about as close to the speakers of the language as we can hope for.

Further Reading

Good discussions of folk taxonomies can be found in Anderson (2003) and Berlin (1992). For classic treatments of Indo-European poetic diction see Schmitt (1967, 1973), Meid (1978), and Watkins (1995).

8

The Physical World

8.1 Earth	120	8.4 Air	128
8.2 Fire	122	8.5 The Physical Landscape of the Proto-Indo-Europeans	130
8.3 Water	125		

8.1 Earth

We begin our review of the reconstructed Indo-European world with a survey of the four elements—earth, fire, water, and air (though there is no evidence that this fourfold division of nature can be dated to Proto-Indo-European times itself). Table 8.1 provides a summary view of the Indo-European lexicon that pertains to the solid world of the earth. It lists the PIE form, the reconstructed meaning, and representative examples drawn from Latin, New English (occasionally well-known forms from other Germanic languages), Greek, and Sanskrit to illustrate the phonological development of the proto-form.

The word for ‘earth’ (**dhéǵhōm*) also underlies the many formations for designating humans, either in the sense that they are ‘earthly’ (and not immortals) or that they were fashioned from the earth itself. Thus for ‘earth’ itself we find OIr *dū* ‘place, spot’, Lat *humus* ‘earth’, Lith *žėmė* ‘earth’, OCS *zemlja* ‘earth’, Alb *dhe* ‘earth’, Grk *khthōn* ‘earth’, Hit *tēkan* ‘earth’, Skt *kṣam-* ‘earth’, Toch A *tkam* ‘earth’. In the meaning ‘human being’ we have OIr *duine* ‘human being’, Latin *homō* ‘human being’ (and the adjective *humānus* ‘human’), Lith *žmuo* ‘human being’, Phrygian *zemelō* ‘human being’ and ‘earthly’; it survives also in NE *bridegroom* where *groom* < OE *guma* ‘man’ which was remodelled after folk etymology.

Table 8.1. *Earth*

<i>*dhéghōm</i>	‘earth’	Lat <i>humus</i> , Grk <i>khthōn</i> , Skt <i>kṣam-</i>
<i>*m̥ldho/eh_a-</i>	‘clay’	NE <i>mould</i> , Grk <i>málthē</i> , Skt <i>mṛd-</i>
<i>*tk^wreh₁yot-</i>	‘clay’	Lat <i>crēta</i>
<i>*reh₁mós</i>	‘dirty; dirt, soot’	Skt <i>rāmá-</i>
<i>*solh_x-</i>	‘dirt; dirty’	NE <i>sallow</i> , Lat <i>salebra</i>
<i>*tih_xn-</i>	‘(be) dirty’	
<i>*pē(n)s-</i>	‘dust’	Skt <i>pāmsú-</i>
<i>*bhergh-</i>	‘high; hill’	NHG <i>Berg</i> , NE <i>barrow</i>
<i>*g^worh_x-</i>	‘mountain; forest’	Skt <i>giri-</i>
<i>*h₄ék^hmōn</i>	‘stone’	Grk <i>ákmōn</i> , Skt <i>ásman-</i>
<i>*péru</i>	‘rock’	Skt <i>párvata-</i>
<i>*pel(i)s-</i>	‘cliff’	Grk <i>pélla</i> , Skt <i>pāṣī-</i>
<i>*dhólh_aos</i>	‘valley; vault’	NE <i>dale</i> , Grk <i>thólos</i> ‘vault’
<i>*lónko/eh_a-</i>	‘valley’	

The first word for ‘clay’ (**m̥ldho/eh_a-*) is tolerably well established (e.g. OE *molde* ‘sand, dust, soil’ [NE *mould*], Grk *málthē* ‘modelling mixture of wax and pith’, Skt *mṛd-* ‘clay, loam’). The second word for ‘clay’ (**tk^wreh₁yot-*) is found on the western and eastern fringes of the Indo-European world, but nowhere in the centre (e.g. OIr *crē* ‘clay’, Lat *crēta* ‘chalk’, Toch A *tukri* and Toch B *kwriye*, both ‘clay’). It is difficult to reconstruct an ordinary word for ‘dirt’. All the possibilities suggest ‘dirtiness’ in contrast to cleanliness. So we have PIE **reh₁mós* (e.g. OE *rōmig* ‘sooty’, Skt *rāmá-* ‘dark, black’ and *Rāmá-* ‘Rama’) and **solh_x-* (e.g. OE *salu* ‘dark, dusky’ [NE *sallow*], *sol* ‘dark, dirty’, Lat *salebra* ‘dirt’, Toch B *sal* ‘dirty’, and perhaps Hit *salpa-* ‘dog-dung’). A verb for ‘be dirty’ (**tih_xn-*) occurs in Tocharian (Toch B *tin-* ‘be dirty’) and in Slavic in a derived noun (OCS *tina* ‘mire, filth’). There is also **pē(n)s-* ‘dust’ (e.g. OCS *pēsūkū* ‘dust’, Av *paṣnu-* ‘dust’, Skt *pāmsú-* ‘crumbling soil, sand, dust’).

The word for ‘hill’ or ‘mountain’ (**bhergh-*, seen, for example, in MIr *brī* ‘hill’, NE *barrow*, NHG *Berg* ‘mountain’, Rus *béreg* ‘river-bank’, Av *bərəz-* ‘hill’) derives from the adjective ‘high’ while **g^worh_x-* (seen for instance in OCS *gora* ‘mountain’, Alb *gur* ‘rock’, Av *gairi-* ‘mountain’, Skt *giri-* ‘mountain’, and possibly Grk *boréas* ‘northwind’ [if < **‘mountain wind’*]) uniformly means ‘forest’ in the Baltic languages (e.g. Lith *girià*), a common enough semantic shift as forests are often found or survived after the introduction of agriculture in upland locations.

Certainly, one of the most troublesome words is **h₄ék^hmōn* ‘stone’ as reflexes of this same word in a number of Indo-European groups render ‘sky’ or ‘heaven’ (e.g. Grk *ákmōn* ‘anvil’, Skt *ásman-* ‘stone’ [also ‘heaven’?], OPrus

asman- ‘heaven’, Lith *akmuõ* ‘stone’, OCS *kamy* ‘stone’, and, in the view of some, the Germanic words for ‘heaven’, e.g. NE *heaven*). This semantic convergence has been variously explained by assuming that the Proto-Indo-Europeans believed that they lived under a stone vault, that the stone hills and mountains rose to the sky, or that stone axes fell out of the sky, i.e. as thunder-stones (e.g., Lith *Perkūno akmuõ* ‘thunder-stone’ [lit. ‘Perkūnas’ stone’, where Perkūnas is the god of thunder]). Restricted solely to the meaning ‘stone’ is PIE **péru* (e.g. Hit *perunant-* ‘rocky’, Av *paurvatā* ‘mountain’, Skt *pārvata-* ‘rock, mountain’). Meaning something like ‘cliff, rock outcrop’ was PIE **pel(i)s-* (e.g. OIr *ail* ‘cliff’ [< **pelis*], Mlr *all* ‘cliff’ [< **p[so-]*], ON *fjall* ‘cliff’ [< **pelsó-*], Grk *pélla* ‘stone’, Pashto *parša* ‘steep slope’, Skt *pāṣī-* ‘stone’ [< **pelsih_a-*]).

Words for ‘valley’ are **dhólh_aos* and **lónko/eh_a-*. The first has reflexes across the geographical spectrum of Indo-European (e.g. NWels *dôl* ‘valley, meadow’, NE *dale*, Rus *dol* ‘valley, under side’, Grk *thólos* ‘vault’ [a sort of ‘upside-down valley’], Sarikoli [an Iranian language of the Pamirs] *ðer* ‘ravine’) while the second is more restricted, occurring in Baltic (e.g. Lith *lankà* ‘valley, river-meadow’), Slavic (e.g. OCS *lōka* ‘gulf, valley, meadow, marsh’), Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *leñke* ‘valley’), and Late Latin (< Gaulish?) **lanca* ‘depression, bed of a river’.

Geographically more restricted words include: North-Western **mai-* ‘soil, defile’ (e.g. NE *mole*, Lith *miėles* ‘yeast’); West Central **h₁er-* ‘earth’ (e.g. NE *earth*, Grk *érā* ‘earth’); **gloiwos* ‘clay’ (e.g. NE *clay*, Grk *gloiós* ‘clay’; cf. Lat *glūten* ‘glue’); **leu-* ‘dirt’ (e.g. Lat *polluō* ‘soil, defile’, Grk *lūma* ‘dirt’); **grúgs* ‘dirt’ (e.g. NE *crook* [as in ‘that’s a bunch of *crook*’], Grk *grúks* ‘dirt under the nails’); **lep-* ‘stone’ (Lat *lapis* ‘stone’ [with unclear *-a-*], Grk *lépas* ‘stone’); **leh₁w-* ‘stone’ (OIr *līe* (gen. *līāc*) ‘stone’, Homeric Grk *lāas* (gen. *lāos*) [rebuilt from (**lēwas*, *lawasos*?)], *léusō* ‘stone’ (vb.), Alb *lerë* ‘rubble’); **kolh₁-ōn* ‘hill’ (e.g. NE *hill*, Lat *collis* ‘hill’, Lith *kálnas* ‘mountain’, Grk *kolōnós* ‘hill’—these are all derivatives of **kelh₁-* ‘rise, stand’); a similar development is seen in the connection between OE *swelle* ‘slope, rise in land’ and Toch B *šale* ‘mountain’, both from PIE **swelno-* ‘slope’; **samh₂dhos* ‘sand’ (e.g. NE *sand*, Lat *sabulum* ‘sand’, Grk *ámathos* ‘sand’).

8.2 Fire

There are two words that explicitly refer to ‘fire’ but have long been seen to stand in semantic contrast. The first, **h₂ng^wnis*, is masculine and is generally understood to indicate fire as an active force; it is deified in India as the god Agni. The second term, **péh₂ur*, is neuter and hence regarded as ‘inactive’, i.e. fire purely as a natural substance without the personification implicit in the first

Table 8.2. *Fire*

<i>*h_xng^wnis</i>	‘fire’	Lat <i>ignis</i> , Skt <i>agní-</i>
<i>*péh₂ur</i>	‘fire’	NE <i>fire</i> , Grk <i>pûr</i>
<i>*h₂eh_xt_ǵ</i>	‘fire’	Lat <i>āter</i>
<i>*h₂éh_xōs</i>	‘ash’	NE <i>ash</i>
<i>?*kenh_xis</i>	‘ash’	Lat <i>cinis</i> , Grk <i>kónis</i>
<i>*h_xóngl_ǵ</i>	‘charcoal’	Skt <i>āṅgāra-</i>
<i>*deh_au-</i>	‘kindle, burn’	Grk <i>daiō</i> , Skt <i>dunóti</i>
<i>*h_aeidh</i>	‘burn; fire’	Lat <i>aedēs</i> , Grk <i>aíthō</i> , Skt <i>indhé</i>
<i>*h_ael-</i>	‘burn’	Lat <i>altar</i> , Skt <i>alātam</i>
<i>*h₂eh_x-</i>	‘burn, be hot’	Lat <i>āra</i>
<i>*dheg^wh-</i>	‘burn’	Lat <i>foveō</i> , Grk <i>téphrā</i> , Skt <i>dāhati</i>
<i>?*k^heh_au-</i>	‘burn’	Grk <i>kaíō</i>
<i>*h₁eus-</i>	‘burn, singe’	Lat <i>ūrō</i> , Grk <i>heúō</i> , Skt <i>ōṣati</i>
<i>*swelp-</i>	‘burn, smoulder’	Lat <i>sulphur</i>
<i>?*preus-</i>	‘burn’	Lat <i>prūna</i> , Skt <i>ploṣati</i>
<i>*teh_a-</i>	‘to melt’	Lat <i>tābeō</i> , NE <i>thaw</i> , Grk <i>tékō</i>
<i>*(s)mel-</i>	‘give off light smoke, smoulder’	
<i>*dhuh₂mós</i>	‘smoke’	Lat <i>fūmus</i> , Grk <i>thūmós</i> , Skt <i>dhūmā-</i>
<i>*g^wes-</i>	‘extinguish’	Grk <i>sbénnūmi</i> , Skt <i>jásate</i>

term. The different Indo-European groups or even languages within a single group generally settled on the exclusive use of one or the other term, i.e. **h_xng^wnis* is found in Lat *ignis*, Lith *ugnis*, Latv *uguns*, OCS *ognĭ*, Rus *ogónĭ* and Skt *agní-*; **péh₂ur* survives in Umb *pīr*, Germanic (e.g. NE *fire*), OPrus *panno*, Czech *pýř* ‘ashes’, Grk *pûr*, Arm *hur*, Hit *pahhur* (genitive *pahhenas*) and Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *puwar*). Another word for ‘fire’ (**h₂éh_xt_ǵ*) is only marginally attested but with cognates in Europe and Asia (e.g. Lat *āter* ‘black’ [$< *$ ‘blackened by fire’], *ātrium* ‘atrium’ [$< *$ ‘chimney space over hearth’], Av *ātarš* [genitive *āθrō*] ‘fire’) it is securely reconstructed. It derives from the verbal root **h₂eh_x-* ‘burn, be hot’ (see below) which also gives us a word for ‘ash’, **h₂éh_xōs* ‘ash’ (e.g. NE *ash*, Hit *hās* ‘potash, soda ash, ashes’). Another word for ‘ash, combustion product’ is PIE *?*kenh_xis* (Lat *cinis* ‘ash’, Grk *kónis* ‘dust, ash’, Toch B *kentse* ‘rust, verdigris’). There is also **h_xóngl_ǵ* ‘charcoal’ with cognates in NĪr *aingéal* ‘light, fire’, Baltic (e.g. Lith *anglis* ‘charcoal’), Slavic (e.g. OCS *qglĭ* ‘charcoal’), and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *āṅgāra* ‘charcoal’).

The abundance of terms for ‘burn’ suggests semantic distinctions, only few of which we can hazard a guess for the proto-language. Getting a fire started may have been indicated by **deh_au-* ‘kindle, burn’ with cognates in Celtic (e.g. OIr

doud ‘burning’), Grk *daiō* ‘kindle, burn’, Skt *dunóti* ‘kindles, burns’, and Tocharian (e.g. TochA *twās-* ‘kindle, ignite, light’). A verbal root **h₂eidh-* ‘burn; fire’ supplies both verbs and nouns, e.g. OIr *āed* ‘fire’, Lat *aedēs* ‘temple’, OE *ād* ‘heat, fire’, Grk *aíthō* ‘burn’, Skt *indhé* ‘kindle’. PIE **h₂ael-* ‘burn’ is based on cognates in Italic (Lat *altar* ‘altar’ and *adoleō* ‘burn a sacrifice’), Germanic (Swed *ala* ‘blaze, flare up’), and Skt *alātam* ‘firebrand, coal’. Our root **h₂eh_x-* ‘burn, be hot’ is attested as such only in Palaic *hā-* ‘be hot’ but, as we have seen, has left a wealth of derivations, including **h₂éh_xōs* ‘ash’, **h₂eh_xtr̥* ‘fire’, and **h₂eh_xmer-* ‘heat (of the day)’ (Grk *hēmérā* ‘day’, Arm *awr* ‘day’). The verb with the meaning ‘burn’ that is most widely spread in Indo-European is **dheg^wh-* (e.g. OIr *daig* ‘flame’, Lat *foveō* ‘heat, cherish’, Lith *degù* ‘burn’, OCS *žegq* ‘burn’, Alb *djeg* ‘burn’, *ndez* ‘kindle’, Grk *téphrā* ‘ash’, Av *dazaiti* ‘burns’, Skt *dāhati* ‘burns’, Toch *tsāk-* ‘burn’). Perhaps also belonging here is Proto-Germanic **dagaz* ‘day’ (e.g. NE *day*), if from ‘heat of the day’ as in **h₂eh_xmer-* (above) and Toch B *kaum* ‘day’ from another word for ‘burn’, PIE **keh₂u-*, as in Grk *kaīō* ‘burn’. There is also **h₁ieus-* ‘burn, singe’ indicated by cognates in Lat *ūrō* ‘burn’, Germanic (e.g. ON *ysja* ‘fire’), Alb *ethe* ‘fever’, Grk *heūō* ‘singe’, and Skt *ōṣati* ‘burns, sings’. A PIE **swelp-* ‘burn, smoulder’, which occurs as an attested verb in Tocharian (i.e. *sālp-* ‘be set alight, burn’), has an old nominal derivative **swēlp̥l̥* (genitive **sulplós*) that shows up in both Germanic (e.g. OE *sweft*) and Lat *sulphur* as the word for ‘sulphur’, i.e. ‘that which burns’. There is a possible PIE **preus-* ‘burn’ if one accepts that Lat *prūna* ‘glowing coals’ and Alb *prush* ‘glowing’ have a reliable cognate in Skt *ploṣati* ‘burns’. We will encounter related words for ‘burn’ when we examine the vocabulary of cooking in Chapter 16. But to these words for ‘burn’ we should add **teh₂-* ‘to melt’ which is attested in Celtic (NWels *toddi* ‘melt’), Lat *tābeō* ‘melt’, Germanic (e.g. NE *thaw*), OCS *tajq* ‘melt’, Grk *tēkō* ‘melt’, Arm *t’anam* ‘moisten’, and a single Indo-Iranian cognate in Oss *tajyn* ~ *tajun* ‘melt’.

An isogloss of the NW and Tocharian can be found in **(s)mel-* ‘give off light smoke, smoulder’ which is seen in Celtic (Middle Irish *smāl* ~ *smōl* ~ *smūal* ‘fire, glow, ashes’), Germanic (NE *smoulder*, *smell*), Baltic (Lith *smilėkti* ‘give off light dust or smoke’), Slavic (Sorbian *smališ* ‘singe’) and Toch B *meli* [pl.] ‘nose’. The best word for ‘smoke’ is **dhuh₂mós* ‘smoke’ with Lat *fūmus*, Lith *dūmai*, OCS *dymu*, Skt *dhūmā-* all ‘smoke’, and Grk *thūmós* ‘spirit’.

Finally, there is wide agreement in meaning, if not in phonetics, for a verb **g^wes-* ‘extinguish’ seen in Baltic (e.g. Lith *gėsti*), Slavic (OCS *ugasiti*), Grk *sbénnumi*, Anatolian (Hit *kist-*), Skt *jásate*, and Tocharian (Toch B *kes-*), which all indicate ‘go out, extinguish’.

To these words may be added North-Western **swel-* ‘burn’ (e.g. OE *swelan* ‘burn’, Lith *svilù* ‘singe’, Grk *hélā* ‘heat of the sun’ [and it is presumably this **swel-* which underlies the extended **swel-p-* above]); **ker-* ‘burn’ (**ker-h_x-* in

Goth *haúri* ‘coal’, ON *hyrr* ‘fire’ OE *heorþ*, whence NE *hearth*, Lith *kùrti* ‘heat’, OCS *kuriti se* ‘smoke’; **kr-em-* in Lat *cremō* ‘burn’ (borrowed in NE *cremate*); and perhaps **ker-s-* if Skt *kaṣāku-* ~ *kuṣāku-* ‘fire, sun’ belongs here; **perk-* ‘glowing ash, coal’ (OIr *riches* [< **pr̥ki-stā-*] ‘glowing coal’, Lith *piṛkšnys* [pl.] ‘ashes with glowing sparks’); **g(e)ulo-* ‘fire, glowing coal’, found only in Celtic (e.g. OIr *gūal* ‘coal’) and Germanic (e.g. NE *coal*). From the West Central region we have *(*s*)*meld-* ‘to melt’ (e.g. NE *melt*, Grk *méldomai* ‘melt’); **k^wap-* ‘smoke, seethe’ (e.g. Lith *kvāpas* ‘breath’, Grk *kapnós* ‘smoke’); and *(*s*)*m(e)ug(h)-* ‘smoke’ (e.g. NE *smoke*, Grk *smūkhō* ‘burn in a smouldering fire’, Arm *mux* ‘smoke’); **kseros* ‘dry’ (Lat *serescunt* ‘they dry’, *serēnus* ‘clear, bright, fair [of weather]’ < **dry* [of weather], OHG *serawēn* ‘become dry’, Greek *kserón* ‘dry land’, *ksērós* ‘dry, solid’).

8.3 Water

The main word for ‘water’ was **wóđ* which is attested in most language groups (e.g. OIr *uisce* ‘water’ [> NE *whiskey*], Lat *unda* ‘wave’, NE *water*, Lith *vanduō* ‘water’, OCS *voda* ‘water’ [and the Russian derivative *vodka*], Alb *ujë* ‘water’, Grk *húdōr* ‘water’, Arm *get* ‘river’, Hit *wātar* [genitive *witenas*] ‘water’, Skt

Table 8.3. *Water*

* <i>wóđ</i>	‘water’	NE <i>water</i> , Grk <i>húdōr</i>
* <i>h₂eP-</i>	‘living water’	Lat <i>amnis</i> , Skt <i>āp-</i>
* <i>we/oh_xr</i>	‘water’	Lat <i>ūrīnārī</i> , Skt <i>vār(i)</i>
* <i>suh_x-</i>	‘rain’	Grk <i>húei</i>
* <i>h₁wers-</i>	‘rain’	Grk <i>eérsē</i> , Skt <i>várṣati</i>
* <i>ṇbh(ro/rī)-</i>	‘rain’	Lat <i>imber</i> , Skt <i>abhrá-</i>
* <i>dhreg-</i>	‘rain/snow lightly’	NE <i>dark</i>
* <i>sneig^wh-</i>	‘to snow’	Lat <i>nīvere</i>
* <i>yeg-</i>	‘ice, icicle’	NE <i>icicle</i>
?* <i>h₁eih_x(s)-</i>	‘ice’	NE <i>ice</i>
* <i>ghel(h₂)d-</i>	‘hail’	Grk <i>khálaza</i>
* <i>rōs</i>	‘dew, moisture’	Lat <i>rōs</i>
* <i>spoh_xino/eh_a</i>	‘foam’	NE <i>foam</i> , Lat <i>spūma</i>
* <i>deh_anu-</i>	‘river’	
* <i>drewentih₂-</i>	(river name)	
* <i>móri</i>	‘sea’	NE <i>mere</i> , Lat <i>mare</i>
* <i>weh_xp-</i>	‘body of water’	Skt <i>vāpī-</i>
* <i>penk-</i>	‘damp, mud’	Skt <i>pānku-</i>

udan- ‘water’) while **h₂eP-* (the labial appears sometimes voiced, sometimes voiceless) is preserved as ‘river’ in a number of languages, more generally as ‘water’ in others (e.g. OIr *ab* ‘river’, MWel *afon* ‘river’ [and thus from British the various English river names *Avon*], Lat *amnis* ‘river’, OHG river names in *-affa-*, OPrus *ape* ‘river’, Hit *hāpa-* ‘river’, Av *āfš* ‘water’, Skt *āp-* ‘water’, Toch AB *āp* ‘water, river’). The combination of attested meanings suggests an original ‘living water’, i.e. ‘water on the move’. Thus these two words for ‘water’ act in much the same way as do the two for ‘fire’. **we/oh_xr* offers divergent meanings, e.g. ‘water’ (Luv *wār(sa)*), ‘rain’ (Av *vār*, Skt *vār(i)*), ON *ūr* ‘fine rain’), ‘pool’ (OPrus *wurs*), ‘moist’ (OE *ūrig*), ‘marsh’ (Arm *gayr*), so that its underlying meaning is extremely obscured.

Judging by the number of words for it, ‘rain’ was something with which the Proto-Indo-European community had considerable experience. We are able to reconstruct the verbs **suh_x-* ‘rain’ (e.g. Grk *húei*, OPrus *suge* ‘rain’, Toch AB *su-* ‘rain’, and perhaps Alb *shi* ‘rains’); **h₁wers-* ‘rain’ (e.g. Grk *eérsē* ‘dew’, *ourēō* ‘urinate’ [*< *make rain*], Hit *warsa-* ‘rainfall’), Skt *várṣati* ‘rains’; **ṇbh(ro/ri)-* ‘rain’ (e.g. Lat *imber* ‘shower’, Skt *abhrá-* ‘rain-cloud’, and probably Grk *ómbros* ‘rain’, Toch B *epprer* ‘sky’); and **dhreg-* ‘rain/snow lightly’ (e.g. NE *dark*, Lith *dérgti* ‘be slushy, sleety’, ORus *padorog* ‘stormy weather’, Toch B *tarkär* ‘cloud’). The root **sneig^wh-* (e.g. OIr *snigid* ‘snows, rains’, Lat *nivit* ~ *ninguit* ‘snows’, OE *snīwan* ‘to snow’, Grk *neíphēi* ‘snows’, Av *snaēžaiti* ‘snows’) gives both the verb ‘to snow’ and two different noun formations of which the zero-grade (**snig^whs* in Lat *nix* ‘snow’ and Grk *nípha* [accusative] ‘snowflake’) is presumed to be the older while Germanic, Baltic, Slavic, and Old Indic yield a full-grade root (**snoig^whos*). ‘Ice’ would appear to be represented by two roots, **yeg-* ‘ice, icicle’ (e.g. OIr *aig* ‘ice’, NE *icicle*, Hit *eka-* ‘ice’, Sarikoli [an Iranian language of the Pamirs] *yož* ‘glacier’) and **h₁eih_x(-s)-* ‘ice’ (e.g. NE *ice*, Lith *ýnis* ‘glazed frost’, Rus *ínej* ‘hoarfrost’, Av *aēxa-* ‘frost, ice’). The meanings of the various reflexes of these words might suggest that the first meant ‘solid expanse of ice’ whereas the second was ‘(hoar)frost’. We also have a possible word for ‘hail’ in PIE **ghel(h₂)d-* which is found in Slavic (e.g. OCS *žlědica* ‘freezing rain’), Grk *khálaza* ‘hail’, and NPers *žāla* ‘hail’.

The root for ‘dew’, **rós* (e.g. Lat *rós* ‘dew’, Lith *rasà* ‘dew’, Rus *rosá* ‘dew’, Alb *resh* ‘it is precipitating’, Skt *rása-* ‘sap, juice’), underlies a number of river names in Indo-Iranian, including the mythical world river of the ancient Indians (*Rasā-*). The word for ‘foam’, **spoh_ximo/eh_a* (e.g. Lat *spūma* ‘foam’, NE *foam*, Lith *spáine* (with dissimilation of *p...m > p...n*) ‘foam (of beer)’), may originally derive from the verb ‘to spit’.

The names for ‘river’ are difficult; often elements in river names are offered as potential roots but it is seldom clear that they really derive from a Proto-Indo-European form. Aside from **h₂eP-* which apparently includes ‘river’ among its

possible meanings, we have **deh_anu*, which is most famously attested in the river names ‘Danube’ and ‘Don’ (from Iranian, e.g. Av *dānu-* ‘river’), while **drewentih₂-* can be seen in river names as widely separated as Gaul (*Druentia*) and India (*Dravantī*).

The word for ‘sea’, **móri*, is firmly attested in Celtic (e.g. OIr *muir* ‘sea’), Italic (e.g. Lat *mare* ‘sea’), Germanic (e.g. NE *mere*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *mārė* ‘sea’), and Slavic (e.g. OCS *morje* ‘sea’) which would leave it a North-Western word were it not for a possible cognate in Ossetic (*mal* ‘deep standing water’), an East Iranian language of the Caucasus, which would provide an Asian cognate. Hit *marmar(r)a-* ‘swamp’ may be a reduplicated version of the word and, if so, would secure this word to Proto-Indo-European. The semantics of the word pose difficulties as well since it only means ‘sea’, i.e. salt-water sea, in Celtic, Italic, and Slavic while Germanic often suggests a ‘lake’. Generally we find that most Indo-European languages have innovated or borrowed terms to indicate the sea, e.g. Germanic, Greek, Indic, and so the balance of opinion suggests that the word referred originally to an ‘inland sea’ or ‘lake’ and was later extended to mean ‘salt water sea’. However, excepting for a moment Germanic, it is noteworthy that those Indo-European groups with maritime locations (Italic, Celtic, Baltic, and Slavic) have the meaning ‘sea’, while those with an inland location (Ossetic and Hittite) have the meaning ‘lake’. Either meaning could have been developed from the other to reflect the local environment. It is languages like English whose speakers live in a maritime environment but use the inherited **móri* for inland waters that tip the balance in favour of an original non-maritime meaning. Another word which could mean anything from a ‘river’ to a ‘lake’ is **weh_xp-* ‘body of water’ found in Baltic (Lith *ùpė* ‘river’), Slavic (OCS *vapa* ‘lake’), Hit *wappu-* ‘wadi, river bank’, and Skt *vāpī-* ‘large pond’. The existence of **penk-* rests on the evidence of Germanic (e.g. OE *fūht* ‘wet’) and Skt *pānku-* ‘mud, mire’.

There are a considerable number of sub-PIE words, e.g. North-Western **h_aek^weh_a-* ‘water’ (e.g. Lat *aqua*, NE *island*); **preus-* ‘frost’ (e.g. NE *frost*, Lat *pruīna* ‘hoarfrost’, with uncertain cognates in Celtic (e.g. OIr *reōd* ‘strong cold’) and possibly Indic (Skt *pruṣvā-* ‘hoarfrost’ or ‘dew, drop?’); **h₃eust(y)o-* ‘estuary, river mouth’ (Lat *ōstium*, Lith *uostas* ‘river mouth, harbour’, Rus *ustīje* ‘river mouth’); **pen-* ‘water’ (e.g. OIr *en* ‘water’, NE *fen*, OPrus *pannean* ‘peat-bog’); West Central **yuh_x-r-* ‘water’ (e.g. Lith *jūrės* ‘sea’, Thracian *iuras* [a river name]); **h_aeghlu (gh?)* ‘rain’ (OPrus *aglo* ‘rain, Grk *akhlūs* ‘fog, cloud’); **mregħ-* ‘rain softly, drizzle’ (e.g. Latvian *merguôt* ‘rain softly’, Grk *brékhei* ‘rains’); **k(er)sno-* ‘hoarfrost, frozen snow’ (e.g. Lith *šarmà* ‘frost’, Rus *séren* ‘frozen snow’, Arm *sain* ‘ice’; **grōdo-* ‘hail’ (Lith *grúodas* ‘frost’, OCS *gradū* ‘hail’, and with unusual derivations, Lat *grandō* ‘hail’, Arm *karkut* [*< *gagrōdo-*] ‘hail’); **bhreh₁wr* (genitive **bhruh₁nós*) ‘spring’ (e.g. OE *brunna* ‘spring’ [*> NE*

burn], Grk *phrēār* ‘fountain’, Arm *albiwr* ‘spring’); ?**k̥sneh_a* ‘spring, wave’ (e.g. OE *hræn* ‘spring’, Grk *krénē* ‘spring’); **sreumen* ‘flowing, streaming (in river names)’ (NE *stream*, Rus *strúmenī* ‘brook’, Grk *rheūma* ‘flow, river’); **h_aeh_x-peros* (?) ‘river bank, shore of sea’ (e.g. OE *ōfer* ‘bank’, Grk *ēpeiros* ‘shore’, Arm *ap’n* ‘shore’); **lokús* ‘lake, water, pond’ (e.g. OIr *loch* ‘lake’, Lat *lacus* ‘lake, cistern’, OE *lagu* ‘water, lake, river’, OCS *loky* ‘pool’, Grk *lákkos* ‘pond, cistern’); **tenh_ag-* ‘shallow water?’ (e.g. Latv *tīgas* ‘deep spot in water’, Grk *ténagos* ‘shoal, shallow water’, possibly Lat *stāgnum* ‘standing water, pool, swamp’); **h_xih_xlu-* ‘mud; swamp’ (Rus *il* ‘mud’, Grk *īlūs* ‘mud, swamp’); Graeco-Aryan **séles-* ‘marsh’ (e.g. Grk *hélōs* ‘marsh, meadow’, Skt *sáras-* ‘lake, pond’, and possibly Celtic cognates e.g. NWels *hêl* ‘river meadow’); and Eastern **h_aélmos* ‘spring’ (Skt *árma-* ‘spring’, Toch B *ālme* ‘spring’).

8.4 Air

The word for the ‘sun’, **séh_aul* (genitive **sh_awéns*), is old (e.g. Lat *sōl* ‘sun’, NE *sun*, Lith *sáulė* ‘sun’, OCS *slŭnice* ‘sun’, Grk *hēēlios* ‘sun’, Av *hvar* ‘sun’, Skt *svār* ~ *sūr(y)a-* ‘sun’); the Old Irish cognate *sūil* means ‘eye’, a concept also reprised in both Greek and Indic mythology.

The main word for ‘moon’, **méh₁-nōt* (or **meh₁-n(é)s-*), derives from the verb **meh₁-* ‘to measure’, and indicates a functional conception of the moon, i.e. marker of the month. The meaning of the reflexes may be ‘moon’ or ‘month’ or both (e.g. OIr *mī* ‘month’, Lat *mēnsis* ‘month’, NE *moon*, *month*, Lith *mėnuo*

Table 8.4. *Air*

* <i>séh_aul</i>	‘sun’	NE <i>sun</i> , Lat <i>sōl</i> , Grk <i>hēēlios</i> , Skt <i>svār</i>
* <i>méh₁-nōt</i>	‘moon’	NE <i>moon</i> , Lat <i>mēnsis</i> , Grk <i>mēn</i> , Skt <i>mās-</i>
*(s) <i>kand-</i>	‘moon’	Skt <i>candrā-</i>
* <i>h₂stēr</i>	‘star’	NE <i>star</i> , Lat <i>stēlla</i> , Grk <i>astēr</i> , Skt <i>tāras</i>
* <i>nēbhōs</i>	‘mist, cloud; sky’	Lat <i>nebula</i> , Grk <i>nēphos</i> , Skt <i>nābhas-</i>
* <i>sneudh-</i>	‘mist, cloud’	Lat <i>nūbēs</i>
* <i>wápōs</i>	‘vapour, steam’	Lat <i>vapor</i> , Skt <i>vāspā-</i>
* <i>h₃meigh-</i>	‘drizzle, mist’	NE <i>mist</i> , Grk <i>omikhlē</i> , Skt <i>meghā-</i>
* <i>h₂weh₁-yús</i>	‘wind’	Skt <i>vāyú-</i>
* <i>h₂weh₁-nt-</i>	‘wind’	NE <i>wind</i> , Lat <i>ventus</i> , Skt <i>vāta-</i>
*(s) <i>tenh_x-</i>	‘groan; thunder’	NE <i>thunder</i> , Lat <i>tonere</i> , Grk <i>sténō</i> , Skt <i>stanáyati</i>

‘moon, month’, OCS *měsēcī* ‘moon, month’, Alb *muaj* ‘month’, Grk *mēn* ‘month’, Arm *amis* ‘month’, Av *mā* ‘moon, month’, Skt *mās-* ‘moon, month’, Toch B *meñe* ‘moon, month’). The other widely found noun, **(s)kand-* (Alb *hënë* ‘moon’, Skt *cāndra-* ‘moon’), derives from the verb **(s)kand-* ‘shine’. The word for ‘star’, **h₂stēr* (e.g. MIr *ser* ‘star’, Lat *stēlla* ‘star’, NE *star*, Grk *astēr* ‘star’, Arm *astl* ‘star’, Hit *hasterza* ‘star’, Skt *tāras* ‘stars’), has long been the subject of debate as to whether it was borrowed from a Semitic source (see Section 6.3.1). Such an origin seems doubtful as one might offer a purely Indo-European etymology for the word and derive it from **h₂eh_x-s-* ‘burn’ (i.e. PIE **h₂(h_x)-s-tér-* ‘ember’, with a semantic development like that of Alb *yll* ‘star’ when compared to OE *ysle* ‘glowing ash’; both words are from PIE **h₁usli-*, a derivative of **h₁eus-* ‘burn’).

Words such as **nébhos* refer primarily to clouds but have often developed secondary meanings of ‘sky’ (e.g. OIr *nem* ‘heaven’, Lat *nebula* ‘mist, fog’, OE *nifol* ‘dark’, Lith *debesis* ‘cloud’, OCS *nebo* ‘sky’, Grk *néphos* ‘sky’, Skt *nábhas-* ‘mist, cloud; sky’, Hit *nēpis-* ‘sky’) while **h₃meigh-*, originally ‘drizzle’, comes to mean ‘cloud’ in some languages (e.g. NE *mist*, Lith *miglà* ‘mist’, Rus *mglà* ‘mist, darkness’, Grk *omikhlē* ‘cloud’, Skt *meghà-* ‘cloud’) as does the more weakly attested **sneudh-* with NWels *nudd* ‘mist’, Lat *nūbēs* ‘cloud, mist’, and Av *snaoda-* ‘cloud’. Slightly different semantically is the word for ‘steam, vapour’ (**wápōs*) seen at opposite ends of the Indo-European world in Lat *vapor* ‘vapour, steam’ and Skt *vāspá-* ~ *bāspá-* (< **vāpśá-*) ‘vapour, steam; tears’.

The atmosphere was not all doom and gloom as derivatives of the verbal root **dei-* ‘to shine’ were also employed to indicate both ‘day’ (Chapter 18) and ‘sky’ as well as a sky deity (Chapter 23); in the specific meaning of ‘sky’ (but with different extensions) we have Lat *dīum* ‘sky’, and Skt *dýáuṣ* ‘sky’. The words for ‘wind’, **h₂weh₁-yús* (Lith *vėjas* ‘wind’ and Skt *vāyú-* ‘wind’) and **h₂weh₁-nt-* (e.g. NWels *gwynt*, Lat *ventus*, NE *wind*, Av *vāta-*, Skt *vāta-*, Toch B *yente*, Hit *huwant-*, all ‘wind’), both derive from the verb ‘to blow’. A verbal root ‘to groan, to thunder’ is **(s)tenh_x-* (e.g. Lat *tonāre* ‘to thunder’, OE *þunor* ‘thunder’ (> NE *thunder*), OCS *stenŏ* ‘groan’, Grk *sténō* ‘thunder’, Skt *stanáyati* ‘thunders’).

The regional words include the following: North-Western **louksneha-* ‘moon’ (Lat *lūna*, OCS *luna* ‘moon’, OPrus *lauxnos* ‘stars’); **meldh-* ‘lightning’; West Central **(s)ķeh₁w(e)r-* ‘north wind’ (NE *shower*, Lat *caurus* ‘north wind’, Lith *šiáure* ‘north wind’, *šiúras* ‘cold, northern’, OCS *sěverŭ* ‘north’, Arm *c’urt* ‘cold; shower’); **ghromos* ‘thunder’ (possibly an independent formation in those languages where it occurs, OCS *gromŭ* ‘noise’, *vŭz-grĭmĕti* ‘to thunder’, Grk *khrómos* ‘noise’, from the verb **ghrem-* ‘groan’).

8.5 The Physical Landscape of the Proto-Indo-Europeans

The picture provided by the reconstructed lexicon is not very informative concerning the physical environment of the speakers of the ancestral language, although there have been scholars enough who have tried to press the slender evidence into revealing the precise location (or type of location) inhabited by the Proto-Indo-Europeans. That they had words for hills, mountains, or swift rivers may suggest a broken topography but hardly indicates, as has been suggested, that the Proto-Indo-Europeans themselves must have lived atop high mountains. The difficulties inherent in recovering a certain meaning for **móri-* ‘sea’ or ‘lake’ have been often rehearsed and consensus is probably still in support of projecting an original meaning of ‘inland body of water’ that was changed to ‘salt water sea’ in some language groups, e.g. Celtic, Italic, and Slavic. In our earliest attested languages we either find a potential cognate in Hit *marmar(r)a-* which refers to a body of shallow standing water or, in the case of the Greeks and Indo-Aryans, they borrowed words for ‘sea’ from non-Indo-European sources which has suggested that the Proto-Indo-Europeans did not originally know or have a word for ‘sea’.

As for the rivers, there is a vast literature on the river names of Europe and Asia that has attempted to discern both a system of river names and, often, their origin. Much of modern discussion takes Hans Krahe’s ‘Alteuropäisch’ as its point of departure. Krahe envisaged a hydronymic system that embraced the linguistic ancestor of what we might term the North-West Indo-European languages coupled with Messapic and Venetic. This system was extended back to Proto-Indo-European by W. P. Schmid, while more recently much of the same hydronymic system has been ascribed to Basque by Theo Venneman. All these systems are comprised of a wide variety of river names that are generally derived from exceedingly small bases (conjectural roots such as **el-*, **al-*, **er-*, **or-*, etc.) that may belong to any number of different languages or language families and whose underlying meaning simply cannot be verified to any confident degree. The actual number of river names that can be reasonably reconstructed to Proto-Indo-European, as we have seen above, is extremely few.

The terms associated with weather attest a basic range of atmospheric phenomena but nothing decisive as to where precisely the Proto-Indo-Europeans lived. One might compare the fairly basic lexicon associated with cold weather in Indo-European with that of the Indo-Europeans’ northern neighbours who spoke Proto-Uralic and from whose reconstructed lexicon we can recover words for ‘thin ice’ (**ćaka*), ‘hard snow’ (**ćäke*), ‘thin snow’ (**kum3*), ‘fine snow’ (**kura*), and other terms that are clearly associated with a colder environment than one commonly reconstructs for the Proto-Indo-Europeans. But

generally, those concerned with locating the Indo-European homeland through its lexicon tend to employ the evidence of its reconstructed fauna (Chapter 9) and flora (Chapter 10).

Finally, the astral vocabulary of the Indo-Europeans disappoints in its meagreness. While the night sky may alter gradually through time one might have hoped that the Indo-Europeans would have retained their names for stars and constellations reasonably well compared with, for example, terms for flora and fauna that might alter over the course of their migrations into different environments. This does not seem to be so, and whatever the original Proto-Indo-European view of the heavens was, it seems largely beyond recovery. Such potentially major sources of astral knowledge as Greek seem to have been remodelled on the basis of Babylonian astronomy. The most solidly ‘reconstructed’ Indo-European constellation is Ursa Major, which is designated as ‘The Bear’ (Chapter 9) in Greek and Sanskrit (Latin may be a borrowing here), although even the latter identification has been challenged. Eric Hamp has suggested that we can also reconstruct a second constellation, a ‘Triangle’ (and not the constellation Triangulum). This is suggested by *Av tištriya-* ‘three-star’ that may be cognate with Grk *Seirios* ‘Sirius, the dog-star’ thus suggesting a ‘three-star’ constellation involving Sirius. Hamp proposes a constellation that would embrace bright stars in Orion (Betelgeuse), Canis Major (Sirius), and Canis Minor (Procyon) (hence we may have a celestial ‘Dog’ contrasted with a ‘Bear’; neither of these is in the Babylonian zodiac where we find instead animals such as the lion, bull, and scorpion).

Further Reading

All natural phenomena are handled in the basic IE handbooks, e.g. Schrader–Nehring (1917–28), Gamkrelidze–Ivanov (1995), Mallory–Adams (1997). For individual topics see the following: earth (Schindler 1967, Hamp 1990*a*), stone (Maher 1973), mountain (Hamp 1967), water (Watkins 1972*b*), rain (Bonfante 1989), snow (Benveniste 1956*b*, Gonda 1955*a*, Hoffman 1965), sun (Beekes 1984, Huld 1986, Hamp 1990*b*), moon (Beekes 1982, Hamp 1983), and star (Scherer 1953, Watkins 1974, Parvulescu 1977, Bomhard 1986, D’iakonov 1985 [against Semitic borrowing]); the fullest description of the Indo-European night sky is to be found in Scherer (1953); see also Hamp (1972*a*) for an additional constellation and Parvulescu (1988*a*: against Ursa Major in Vedic). For the vast topic of river names see Krahe (1964*b*), Kuhn (1967), Schmid (1968, 1972), Georgiev (1966), Blok (1971), and Vennemann (1994).

9

Indo-European Fauna

9.1	Reconstructing Environments	132	9.4	Fish, Reptiles, and Amphibians	146
9.2	Mammals	134	9.5	Insects, Worms, and Shellfish	148
9.3	Birds	143	9.6	Indo-European Fauna	151

9.1 Reconstructing Environments

Many attempts to fix the location of the Proto-Indo-European world have depended heavily on the reconstructed vocabulary that pertains to the environment, both floral and faunal. It is often reasoned that if the reconstructed environment is specific enough, it can either indicate where the Proto-Indo-Europeans once dwelled or at least exclude territories that are incompatible with the reconstructed vocabulary. The problem with utilizing such data is logically self-evident. If an item is severely restricted in space, for example, the camel, then any Indo-European group who moved beyond the natural territory of the camel might do one of three things with their original word ‘camel’:

1. They might simply abandon the word altogether as they and their linguistic descendants were not likely to encounter a camel for the next several thousand years.
2. They might use the name ‘camel’ when they came across another animal that they were unfamiliar with but which bore some similarity in appearance or function. From the perspective of the historical linguist, we might then have to confront a situation where the original meaning ‘camel’ was (or was not) retained in those groups who lived where camels have always dwelled while other languages developed a totally different meaning for this word. The other

languages might well outnumber those who retained the original meaning or, worse, no language might retain the original meaning.

3. The population might retain the name and the meaning of 'camel' for thousands of years as a gesture of benevolence to future historical linguists.

Now, put so baldly, a scenario such as number three is impossible. However, it is certainly not the case that an animal or plant has to be native to the area where a particular language is spoken for the speakers of that language to have or retain a name for it. The lion has been extinct in Europe since classical times (and before then was, in any case, restricted to the Balkans) and the elephant and leopard have never shared Europe with modern humans. Nevertheless all medieval European languages had words for all three and at least the lion and the leopard played important roles in medieval and modern heraldry. Similarly, although snakes have always been absent from Ireland (even before St Patrick!), the Irish retained two inherited Indo-European names for the snake.

Illustrative of both points two and three is the history of English *elk*. When the Angles and Saxons invaded Britain from their continental homes, they were familiar with both *Alces alces* (the 'elk' of European English and the 'moose' of North American English) and *Cervus elaphus* (the 'red deer' of European English and the 'elk' of North American English) and applied those designations to members of the same two species which were also present in Great Britain. By about AD 900 *Alces alces* was extinct in Great Britain but the loss of local referents did not mean that the word 'elk' disappeared since the species was still familiar to some speakers because of its continued existence on the Continent (e.g. Scandinavia, Germany). However, for most speakers the referent was pretty vague, something like 'large deer' or the like. By 1600 or so the inherited designation for *Cervus elaphus* had been replaced by the innovative and descriptive *red deer* and by about the same time or so the species itself had disappeared from most of southern Britain except for a small number kept for the chase. At that point for most speakers of southern British English there were two terms for large deer, 'elk', and 'red deer', without well-known referents.

When some of these southern British English speakers emigrated to New England at the beginning of the seventeenth century they came to live in an environment again with both *Alces alces* and *Cervus elaphus* and they needed names for both. 'Red deer' was not suitable for either since neither *Alces alces* nor the North American variety of *Cervus elaphus* was noticeably red. However, 'elk' was available and was assigned to the commonest large deer in the new environment, *Cervus elaphus*, while a borrowing from the local Algonquian language, 'moose', was pressed into service for *Alces alces*.

In terms of Indo-European as a whole this case is probably not the only one whereby a word, relegated to the periphery of the lexicon and to a vague referent by environmental change, was reassigned to a new referent by yet another environmental change. In any case all three of our options pose real problems in recovering really specific evidence for the one and only Proto-Indo-European world.

9.2 Mammals

As a semantic class, the names for animals, at least mammals, are fairly abundant in the reconstructed lexicon. In reviewing the names associated with mammals, it is not always certain whether one is dealing with a domestic or a wild animal and hence all the words associated with mammals are treated together in Table 9.1.

Table 9.1. *Mammals*

* <i>k^w</i> etwor-pod-	‘animal’	Lat <i>quadrupēs</i> , Grk <i>tetrápous</i> , Skt <i>cátuspad-</i>
* <i>ǵhwēr</i>	‘wild animal’	Lat <i>fera</i> , Grk <i>thēr</i>
* <i>péku</i>	‘livestock’	Lat <i>pecu</i> , NE <i>fee</i> , Skt <i>páśu-</i>
*(s) <i>teuros</i>	‘large (domestic) animal’	NE <i>steer</i>
* <i>wrētos</i>	‘flock, herd’	Skt <i>vrāta-</i>
* <i>demh_a-</i>	‘tame, subdue’	Lat <i>domō</i> , NE <i>tame</i> , Grk <i>dámnēmi</i> , Skt <i>dāmáyati</i>
* <i>g^w</i> yéh ₃ wyom	‘animal’	Grk <i>zōon</i>
* <i>h_{2/3}wédǵ</i>	‘creatures, (wild) animals’	
* <i>léuh_xōn</i>	‘animal’	Grk <i>léōn</i>
* <i>wételos</i>	‘yearling’	Lat <i>vitulus</i> , Grk <i>ételon</i> , Skt <i>sa-vātára-</i>
?* <i>per-</i>	‘offspring (of an animal)’	Grk <i>pór(t)is</i> , Skt <i>pṛthuka-</i>
* <i>ḱoph₂ós</i>	‘hoof’	NE <i>hoof</i> , Skt <i>śápha-</i>
* <i>ḱ_ṛnom</i>	‘horn’	Lat <i>cornum</i> , NE <i>horn</i>
* <i>ḱérh₂s</i>	‘horn’	Grk <i>kéras</i>
* <i>ḱérh₂sr̥</i>	‘horn’	Lat <i>crābrō</i>
* <i>ḱóru</i>	‘horn’	Lat <i>cervus</i> , NE <i>hart</i> , Grk <i>kórudos</i>
* <i>ḱem-</i>	‘hornless’	NE <i>hind</i> , Grk <i>kemás</i> , Skt. <i>śáma-</i>
* <i>h₁eghis</i>	‘hedgehog’	Grk <i>ekhḱnos</i>
* <i>ḱasos</i>	‘hare’	NE <i>hare</i> , Lat <i>cānus</i>
* <i>werwer-</i>	‘squirrel’	Lat <i>viverra</i>
* <i>bhébhrus</i>	‘beaver’	Lat <i>fiber</i> , NE <i>beaver</i>
* <i>mūs</i>	‘mouse’	Lat <i>mūs</i> , NE <i>mouse</i> , Grk <i>mūs</i> , Skt <i>mūś-</i>

(Cont’d.)

Table 9.1. (Cont'd)

<i>*pélh_xus</i>	‘mouse’	
<i>*g_lh_lis</i>	‘dormouse?’	Lat <i>glīs</i> , Grk <i>galēē</i> , Skt <i>giri-</i>
<i>*wl(o)p-</i>	‘(red)fox’	Lat <i>volpēs</i> , Grk <i>alōpós</i>
<i>*wl_lk^wos</i>	‘wolf’	Lat <i>lupus</i> , NE <i>wolf</i> , Grk <i>lúkos</i> , Skt <i>vṛka-</i>
<i>*wl_lk^wih_{a-}</i>	‘she-wolf’	Skt <i>vṛkī-</i>
<i>*h₂ťtkos</i>	‘bear’	Lat <i>ursus</i> , Grk <i>árktos</i> , Skt <i>ṛkṣa-</i>
<i>*k̑(u)wōn</i>	‘dog’	Lat <i>canis</i> , NE <i>hound</i> , Grk <i>kúōn</i> , Skt <i>śvā</i>
<i>*udrós</i>	‘otter’	Lat <i>lutra</i> , NE <i>otter</i> , Grk <i>énudris</i> , Skt <i>udrá-</i>
<i>*keķ-</i>	‘polecat’	Skt <i>kāśa-</i>
<i>?*lōķ-</i>	‘weasel’	
<i>?*bhel-</i>	‘± marten; wildcat’	Lat <i>fēlis</i> , Skt <i>bharuja-</i>
<i>*h_léķwos</i>	‘horse’	Lat <i>equus</i> , Grk <i>hippos</i> , Skt <i>áśva-</i>
<i>*h_léķweh_{a-}</i>	‘mare’	Lat <i>equa</i> , Skt <i>áśvā-</i>
<i>??*os(o)nos</i>	‘ass’	Lat <i>asinus</i> , Grk <i>ónas</i>
<i>*sūs</i>	‘pig (wild or domesticated)’	Lat <i>sūs</i> , NE <i>sow</i> , Grk <i>hús</i> ~ <i>sús</i> , Skr <i>sūkara-</i>
<i>*pórķos</i>	‘young pig, piglet’	Lat <i>porcus</i> , NE <i>farrow</i>
<i>?*tworkós</i>	‘boar’	
<i>*h_lelh_lēn</i>	‘red deer’	Grk <i>élapkos</i>
<i>*h_xólķis</i>	‘elk/American moose’	Lat <i>alcēs</i> , NE <i>elk</i> , Skt <i>ṛśya-</i>
<i>*g^wōus</i>	‘cow’	Lat <i>bōs</i> , NE <i>cow</i> , Grk <i>boûs</i> , Skt <i>gáu-</i>
<i>*h_legh-</i>	‘cow’	Skt <i>ahī-</i>
<i>*wokéh_{a-}</i>	‘cow’	Lat <i>vacca</i> , Skt <i>vaśā-</i>
<i>*uk^(w)sēn-</i>	‘ox’	NE <i>ox</i> , Skt <i>ukán-</i>
<i>?*domh_avos</i>	‘one to be tamed, young bull’	Skt <i>damya-</i>
<i>*tauros</i>	‘aurochs; bull’	Lat <i>taurus</i> , Grk <i>taĩros</i>
<i>?*usr-</i>	‘aurochs’	Skt <i>usrá-</i>
<i>*h₂ówis</i>	‘sheep’	Lat <i>ovīs</i> , NE <i>ewe</i> , Grk <i>óis</i> , Skt <i>ávi-</i>
<i>*h₂owikéh_{a-}</i>	‘ewe’	Skt <i>avikā-</i>
<i>*wřh_lēn</i>	‘lamb’	Grk <i>arēn</i> , Skt <i>urán-</i>
<i>*moisós</i>	‘ram, sheep; fleece, skin’	Skt <i>meśā-</i>
<i>?*(s)ķegos</i>	‘sheep/goat’	NE <i>sheep</i> , Skt <i>chāga-</i>
<i>*h_leri-</i>	‘sheep/goat’	Lat <i>ariēs</i> , Grk <i>ériphos</i> , Skt <i>āreya-</i>
<i>*dķs</i>	‘goat’	
<i>*h_aeig̑s</i>	‘goat’	Grk <i>aĩks</i>
<i>*bhugós</i>	‘buck, he-goat’	NE <i>buck</i> , Skt <i>bukka-</i>
<i>*h_aeğós</i>	‘he-goat’	Skt <i>ajā-</i>
<i>*kápros</i>	‘he-goat’	Lat <i>caper</i>
<i>*h_aeli-</i>	‘he-goat’	
<i>??*(y)ebh-</i>	‘elephant’	
<i>??*lebh-</i>	‘ivory’	

Terms for mammals, both wild and domesticated, are relatively abundant compared with many other semantic categories. There are a number of basic terms for animals that focus on different aspects. For example, **k^wetwor-pod-* ‘animal’ is transparently a ‘four-footer’ and the word is attested in six different groups (Lat *quadrupēs*, Lith *keturkōjis*, Alb *shtazë*, Grk *tetráπους*, Skt *cātuṣpad-*, Toch B *štwerpew*). The word **ǵhwēr* ‘wild animal’ (e.g. Lat *fera* ‘wild animal’, Lith *žvėris* ‘wild animal’, OCS *zvěřī* ‘wild animal’, Grk *thēr* ‘wild animal’; cf. the derived verb in Toch B *šeritsi* ‘to hunt’ [wild animals]) contrasts in meaning with **pékū* ‘livestock’ which exclusively denotes domestic animals or possessions (e.g. Lat *pecu* ~ *pecus* ‘cattle, livestock’, OE *feoh* ‘livestock, property, money’ [> NE *fee*], Lith *pėkus* ‘cattle’, Av *pasu* ‘cattle’, Skt *páśu-* ‘cattle’). The **(s)teuros* ‘large (domestic) animal’ is attested in Germanic (e.g. NE *steer*), Iranian (e.g. Av *staora-* ‘large [domestic] animal [i.e. horse, cow, camel]’), and Alb *ter* ‘bullock’ (in meaning this word has been drawn to the phonetically similar **tauros* ‘aurochs, bull’). The term for an animal collective may have been **wrētos* ‘flock, herd’ although cognates are limited to Germanic (e.g. OE *wrāþ* ‘herd of swine’) and Skt *vrāta-* ‘flock, swarm’ which may have been formed on the verbal root **wer-* ‘bind’. The nuanced meaning of **demh_a-* ‘tame, subdue’ is of considerable interest and difficulty. The word is supported by cognates in seven groups: Celtic (OIr *dammaid* ‘binds, breaks [a horse]’), Lat *domō* ‘break, tame’, Germanic (e.g. NE *tame*), Grk *dámnēmi* ‘break’, Hit *damaszi* ‘presses, pushes’, NPers *dām* ‘tamed animal’, Skt *dāmáyati* ‘subdues’. There are specific associations with horse-breaking in Celtic, Latin, Greek, and Indic, e.g. the Sanskrit agent noun *damítár-* ‘(horse) breaker’. But the meanings also extend to other animals, e.g. OIr *dam* ‘ox’, and frequently refer to the subduing of human opponents in Greek and other groups; also the Hittite cognate does not have a specific association with the maintenance of animals. This word has variously been seen to be an independent root or an o-stem derivative of **dem(h_a)-* ‘build (a house)’ on the argument that the act of taming is literally ‘domestication’.

PIE **g^wyéh₃wyom* ‘animal’ (Grk *zōon* ‘animal’, Toch B *šaiyye* ‘sheep/goat’) is built on the root **g^wyeh₃-* > **g^weih₃-* ‘to live’ and hence relates to living beings while the poorly attested (in ON *vitnir* ‘animal, wolf’ and Hit *huetar* ‘creatures, [wild] animals, wolfpack’ only) **h_{2/3}wéd-* ‘creatures, (wild) animals, wolves’ also seems to derive from an unattested verb ‘to live’, **h_{2/3}wed-*; it is a heteroclitic *r/n*-stem which argues for antiquity and it has some possible Slavic cognates associated with ‘werewolves’ (e.g. Slov *vedevac* ‘werewolf’). Proto-Indo-European **léuh_xōn* ‘animal’ rests only on Greek (*lēōn* ‘lion’) and Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *luwo* ‘animal’) evidence and gives us ultimately through a series of loans (Greek > Latin > English) our NE word *lion*. A yearling, **wételos*, is attested in three stocks (e.g. Lat *vitulus* ‘calf, yearling’, Grk *ételon*

‘yearling’, Skt *sa-vātāra-* ‘having the same calf’) and gives us, among other words, the name of Italy, i.e. ‘land of young cattle’; a related formation gives NE *wether*. The status of **per-* ‘offspring (of an animal)’ is doubted because a number of groups may have created nouns from the verbal root **per-* ‘appear, bring forth’ independently (e.g. OE *fearr* ‘bullock, steer’, Grk *pōris* ~ *pōrtis* ‘calf, heifer’, Skt *pr̥thuka-* ‘child, young of an animal’).

A number of anatomical terms apply specifically to animals. The word for ‘hoof’, **koph₂ós*, is attested in Germanic (e.g. NE *hoof*), Slavic (e.g. Rus *kopyto* ‘hoof’), and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Av *safa-* ‘hoof’, Skt *śápha-* ‘hoof, claw’). There are a number of words for ‘horn’ but all built out of the same basic root, **ker-* ‘horn’, i.e. **k̑r̥nom* (e.g. Lat *cornum*, NE *horn*), **kérh₂(s)* (e.g. Grk *kéras*, Toch B *karse* ‘stag’ [*< *‘horned one’*]), **kérh₂sr̥* (e.g. Lat *crābrō* ‘hornet’, Lith *širšuō* ‘hornet’, Toch B *krorīya* ‘horn’), and **kóru* ‘horn’ (e.g. Lat *cervus* ‘stag’, Lith *kárvė* ‘cow’, Rus *koróva* ‘cow’, Grk *kórudos* ‘crested lark’, *koruphḗ* [of mountain or horse], Av *srva-* ‘horn; claw, talon’). There is a wide range of animals designated **kēm-* ‘hornless’ (Skt *śáma-* ‘hornless’), e.g. ‘hind’ in English and Greek (*kemás* ‘young deer’), ‘sheep’ in Old Prussian (*camstian*), and ‘horse’ in Russian (*konī*) and Old Prussian (*camnet*). The hornless sheep in Old Prussian and the ‘hornless’ horses of Russian and Old Prussian are both presumably in contrast to the other major domesticated animal, horned cattle.

The number of wild mammals’ names attributable to Proto-Indo-European is reasonably extensive. If we work our way systematically beginning with the insectivores, we have only the ‘hedgehog’, **h₁eghis*, whose name survives in Germanic (e.g., OE *igil*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *ežys*), Slavic (e.g. Rus *ež*), Grk *ekhḗnos*, Arm *ozni*, Phrygian *ezis*, and Iranian (Oss *wyzyn*).

The sole lagomorph is the **kásos* ‘hare’ (e.g. NE *hare*, OPrus *sasins*, Skt *śásá-*), whose name derives from the adjective ‘grey’ (or, just possibly, the adjective ‘grey’ was originally ‘hare-coloured’ or the like)—compare Lat *cānus* (*< *kásnos*) ‘grey’.

Several rodents are known and these comprise the ‘squirrel’, **werwer-*, attested in six groups, e.g. ScotsGael *feòrag*, Lat *vīverra*, OE *āc-weorna* (*< *‘oak-squirrel’*), Lith *vėveris*, Rus *vėverica*, and OPers *varvarah*; the ‘beaver’, **bhébhrus* (e.g. Gaul *bebru-*, Lat *fiber*, NE *beaver*, Lith *bebrūs*, Rus *bobr*, Av *bawra-*), which also exhibits a derivative **bhebhṛinos* ‘pertaining to beavers’. (India lacked the beaver and there we find a *babhrú-* ‘mongoose’.) There are three words for the mouse, i.e. the ubiquitous (nine groups) **mūs* ‘mouse’ (e.g. Lat *mūs*, NE *mouse*, OCS *myšī*, Alb *mi*, Grk *mūs*, Arm *mukn*, NPers *mūs*, Skt *múṣ-*, all ‘mouse’, and Toch B *maścīsi* ‘mice, rats’) that derives from the verb **meus-* ‘steal’; **pélh₁us*, another name presumably derived from the adjective ‘grey’ (e.g. OIr *luch*, Rus *polokhók*, Shughni [an Iranian language of the Pamirs] *pūrg*); and **gl̥h₁is* (Lat *glīs* ‘dormouse’, Grk *galēē* ‘weasel’ [*< *‘mouser’*]),

Bakhtiari [an Iranian language] *girza* ‘rat’, Skt *giri-* ‘mouse’) which possibly specified the ‘dormouse’.

The major carnivores, at least those that preyed on livestock or were a potential threat to humans, are well represented although often showing substantial independent re-formation. This is the case with **wl(o)p-* ‘fox’ (e.g. Lat *vulpēs*, Lith *lāpė*, Grk *alōpēks* ~ *alōpós*, Arm *aluēs*, Hit *ulip(pa)na-* ‘wolf’, Av *urupis* ‘dog’, *raopi-* ‘fox, jackal’, Skt *lopāśā-* ‘jackal, fox’), for example, which boasts at least six different potential proto-forms. The word for ‘wolf’, **wĺkʷos* and its feminine *i*-stem derivative, are widely attested (**wĺkʷos* is found in ten groups: Lat *lupus*, NE *wolf*, Lith *vilkas*, Rus *volk*, Alb *ujk*, Grk *lúkos*, Av *vəhrka-*, Skt *vṛka-*, Toch B *walkwe*). The word uniformly means ‘wolf’ in all groups but Anatolian (e.g. Luv *walwa/i-*) which preserves a meaning ‘lion’, and the word has been variously explained as a nominalization of the unattested adjective ‘dangerous’ (**wĺkʷó-*) or derived from a verbal root **wel-* ‘tear’. In either case, the different semantic specifications of ‘the dangerous one’ or ‘the tearer’ in Anatolian and the rest of Indo-European may suggest semantic shift as one (the Anatolians) or the other (residual Indo-Europeans) moved into a new territory (as Greece and the Balkans also possessed lions, it is perhaps more likely that it is the Anatolians who innovated). The word for ‘bear’, **h₂ŕtḱos* (e.g. OIr *art*, Lat *ursus*, Alb *ari*, Grk *árktos*, Arm *ar*, Av *arəša-*, Skt *ṛkṣa-*, all ‘bear’, and Hit *hart(ag)ga-* ‘a cultic official, bear-man’), has been similarly explained as a nominalized ‘destroyer’. The root, **h₂retḱ-*, is otherwise seen only in Skt *rākṣas-* ‘destruction, damage; night demon’. The Bear also is used to designate *Ursa Major* (the Plough or Big Dipper) not only in Latin but also in Greek and Sanskrit. The word for ‘dog’, **k(u)wōn*, is one of the most widely attested words in Indo-European (OIr *cū*, Lat *canis*, OE *hund* [> NE *hound*], Lith *šuo*, Rus *súka* ‘bitch’, Grk *kúōn*, Arm *šun*, Av *spā*, Skt *śvā*, Toch AB *ku*, all ‘dog’, Hit *kuwan-* ‘dog-man’). While it may seem somewhat surprising that in contrast to words for cattle, sheep, goats, and pig, we have only one solidly attested word for the dog, the oldest domesticated animal, in Indo-European, English is similarly served and once we have worked our way through the usual ‘pooch’, ‘bow-wow’, ‘puppy’, ‘bitch’, ‘cur’, and ‘mongrel’ in *Roget’s International Thesaurus* most of the remaining words are attributive, e.g. ‘police dog’, ‘sniffer dog’. The selective breeding of dogs does not appear to have begun till the later prehistoric period.

The smaller carnivores include the **udrós* ‘otter’ (attested in seven groups: e.g. Lat *lutra*, NE *otter*, Lith *ūdra*, Rus *výdra*, Grk *énudris*, Av *udra-*, Skt *udrá-*) which is formed from the word for ‘water’, **wódḡ*; the **keḱ-*, attested in only Baltic (e.g. Lith *šėškas*) and Indic (Skt *káśa-*), refers to a ‘polecat’ or ‘weasel’ respectively. The original referent may have been specifically the ‘polecat’ if one accepts the Balto-Slavic-Iranian correspondence (e.g. Latv *luoss*, Rus *laska*,

NPers *rāsū*) that presupposes Proto-Indo-European **lōk-* which uniformly designates the ‘weasel’. Far more ambiguous is the root **bhel-* which is found in NWels *bele* to mean ‘marten’, Lat *fēlis* to mean any small carnivore (from marten to wild cat), and just possibly Skt *bharuja-* ‘jackal’. It could mean either a ‘marten’ or a ‘wild cat’ or possibly some other small carnivore.

The ungulates are the best attested of the mammals. The word for ‘horse’, **h₁ék_wos*, is nearly universal (e.g. OIr *ech*, Lat *equus*, OE *eoh*, Grk *hippos*, Av *aspa-*, Skt *ásva-*, Toch B *yakwe*, HierLuv *azu(wa)-*, all ‘horse’, Lith *ašvėnis* ‘stallion’, perhaps Arm *ēš* [this may be an unrelated loanword for ‘ass’], and perhaps surviving in Alb *sasë* ‘horsetail rush, *Equisetum spp*’ [presuming a compound where **h₁ék_wo-* is the first element]). absent only in Slavic for sure, while the feminine form, **h₁ék_weh_a-* ‘mare’, is known from four groups (Lat *equa*, Lith *ešvā* ~ *ašvā*, Av *aspā*, Skt *áśvā-*). The status of the animal, whether wild or domesticated, is a major issue of Indo-European studies and will be dealt with later. The word for the ‘ass’ (*?os(o)nos*) is a long shot that requires a genetic relationship between Lat *asinus*, Grk *ónos*, and Luv *tarkasna-* (if from a compound **tarka-asna-* ‘draft-ass’), when there are grounds to suspect that the word was borrowed among these different languages. Far more solid attestation comes for the words for the ‘pig’, **sūs* (eight groups: e.g. Lat *sūs* ‘pig’, NE *sow*, Latv *suvēns* ‘young pig’, Alb *thi* ‘pig’, Grk *sūs* ~ *hūs* ‘pig’, Av *hū-* ‘pig’, Skt *sūkará-* ‘pig, boar’, Toch B *suwo* ‘pig’), and its young, **pórkos* ‘young pig, piglet’ (e.g. Mlr *orc* ‘young pig’, Lat *porcus* ‘young pig’, OE *fearh* ‘pig’ [cf. NE *farrow*], Lith *paršas* ‘young pig; castrated male hog’, Rus *porosēnok* ‘young pig’, Av *pərəsa-* ‘young pig’), which appears to derive from a root **perk-* ‘dig, root up the earth’ (which is not attested as a verb but which also appears in NE *furrow*); this word was also borrowed into the Uralic languages (e.g. Finnish *parsas* ‘pig’). Less certain (only an OIr *torc* and Av *θβərəsa-*, cognate) is **tworkós* ‘boar’.

The ‘red deer’ or ‘elk’ (to North Americans), **h₁elh₁ēn*, is well attested in eastern and central Europe and has an Asian cognate in Tocharian which designates ‘gazelle’ (e.g. Lith *ėlnis*, Rus *olenī*, Grk *élaphos*, all ‘red deer’, Arm *eln* ‘hind’, Toch B *yal* ‘gazelle’); the larger ‘elk’ or for North Americans, ‘moose’, **h_xólkis*, shows a similar pattern of semantic shift where it means ‘elk’ in the European languages but refers to ‘wild sheep’ or ‘antelope’ among the Asian groups (e.g. NE *elk* [Lat *alcēs* is borrowed from West Germanic], Rus *losī* ‘elk’, Khot *rūs-* ‘*Ovis poli*’, Skt *śśya-* ‘male of antelope’). This whole group of words is presumably related to **h₁el_u-* ‘dull red’ (Section 20.4) and the animals denoted by the colour of their hair (cf. the British English designation ‘red deer’).

Terminology relating to cattle is abundant and includes three different words for ‘cow’, i.e. **g^wóus* (e.g. OIr *bō*, Lat *bōs*, NE *cow*, Latv *guovs*, ?Alb *ka*, Grk

boûs, Arm *kov*, HierLuv *wawa-*, Av *gāuš*, Skt *gāu-*, Toch B *keu*, all ‘cow’, OCS *govęždī* ‘of cattle’; **h₁eǵh-* (e.g. OIr *ag* ‘cow’, Arm *ezn* ‘cow’, Skt *ahī-* ‘cow’); and **wokéh_a-* (Lat *vacca* ‘cow’, Skt *vaśā-* ‘cow’) with no clear semantic difference between the three although the first is found in virtually all major groups of Indo-European. The male is more specifically designated by **uk^(w)sēn-* ‘ox’ as in OIr *oss* ‘stag, cow’, NWels *ych* ‘ox’, NE *ox*, Av *uxšan-* ‘bull’, Skt *ukṣān-* ‘bull’, Toch B *okso* ‘ox’ (another term for ‘bull’, **domh_ayos* ‘one to be tamed; young bull’, is known only from Alb *dem* ‘bull, steer’ and Skt *damyā-* ‘[young bull] to be tamed’, and they may be independent creations). The name of the wild cattle of Eurasia, **tauros* (e.g. OIr *tarb* ‘bull’, Lat *taurus* ‘bull’, OPrus *tauris* ‘bison’, Lith *taūras* ‘bull; aurochs’, Rus *tur* ‘aurochs; mountain goat’, Grk *taūros* ‘bull’, Alb *tarok* ‘bullock’, Khot *ttura-* ‘mountain goat’), preserves such a meaning, i.e. ‘aurochs’ where the aurochs survived as a species until the historic period but otherwise shifted to ‘bull’, most probably because the aurochs was much larger and more aggressive than early domestic cattle (alternatively, sexual dimorphism among aurochsen was such that the bulls were very much larger than the cows). A more controversial set of possible cognates supports a PIE **usr-* ‘aurochs’ (which retains such a meaning in Germanic, e.g. OE *ūr* ‘aurochs’, OHG *ūro* ~ *ūrochso* ‘aurochs’, but in the putative Indo-Iranian cognates may mean anything from ‘bull’ to ‘camel’, e.g. Skt *usrā-* ‘bull’, *usrā-* ‘cow’, Pashto *ūš* ‘camel’). It may be significant for emphasizing the long-standing association of Indo-European peoples and their cattle that we can possibly reconstruct a word, **g^wou-sth₂-ó-*, for ‘sheltered place where cattle can lie down for the night’ on the basis of Skt *goṣṭhā-* ‘sheltered place for cattle’ and Celtiberian *boustom* ‘± cattle stall’ (presuming these are not independent creations).

The word for ‘sheep’, **h₂ówis*, comes a close second to the word for ‘cow’ as it is attested in eleven of the main groups (e.g. OIr *oī* ‘sheep’, Lat *ovis* ‘sheep’, NE *ewe*, Lith *avis* ‘sheep’, OCS *ovīnŭ* ‘sheep’, Grk *óis* ‘sheep’, Arm *hoviw* ‘shepherd’, Luv *hāwa/i-* ‘sheep’, Skt *ávi-* ‘sheep’, TochB *āu* ‘ewe’). The feminine derivative, **h₂o-wikéh_a-* ‘ewe’, is found in three groups (e.g. NWels *ewig* ‘hind’, OCS *ovīci* ‘ewe’, Skt *avikā-* ‘ewe’) while the young, **wṛh₁ēn* ‘lamb’, is found in Grk *arēn*, Arm *garñ*, Indo-Iranian (Av *varən-*, Skt *urán-*), and perhaps Tocharian (Toch B *yrīye*) and may be a later regional term. A product of the sheep is suggested by **moisós* which can mean both ‘ram, sheep’ but also ‘fleece, skin’ (e.g. Lith *maišas* ‘bag’, Rus *mekh* ‘skin’, Av *maēša-* ‘ram’, Skt *meśā-* ‘ram, sheep; fleece, skin’, Hit *maista-* ‘strand of wool’). Reconstruction of a PIE **(s)kēgos* ‘sheep/goat’ depends on relating a series of Germanic words (e.g. NE *sheep*, OE *hēcen* ‘kid’) to a strong set of Indo-Iranian ones (e.g. Oss *sæγ* ‘she-goat’, Skt *chāga-* ‘he-goat’). Another word for ‘sheep/goat’ (**h₁eri-*) gives words for ‘lamb/kid’ in Grk *érīphos* ‘young of a goat’, Baltic (OPrus *eristian* ‘lamb’, Lith *ėras* ‘lamb’), Arm *oroj* ‘lamb’, and

perhaps Tocharian (Toch B *yrīye* ‘lamb’) and words for ‘ram’ in Italic (e.g. Lat *ariēs*), Indic (Skt *āreya-*), and Tocharian (Toch B *ariwe*); in Celtic the same word is extended to fallow deer (OIr *heirp* ‘she-goat; fallow deer’).

Words for ‘goat’ are never quite so abundantly attested as those for the economically more important ‘sheep’ but four words can be assigned to Proto-Indo-European antiquity. PIE **dīks* ‘goat’ can designate the ‘she-goat’ in several languages (e.g. OE *ticcen* ‘kid’, Alb *dhi* ‘she-goat’, ?Grk *dīza* ‘she-goat’, Ishkashmi [an Iranian language of the Pamirs] *dec* ‘goatskin bag’) and a similar range of meaning is associated with **h₂eiǵs* ‘goat’ with a range of cognates such as Alb *edh* ‘kid’, Grk *aiks* ‘[she-]goat’, Arm *ayc* ‘[she-]goat’, and Av *izaēnā-* ‘goathide’. All the other terms relate to the male, i.e. **bhuǵos* ‘buck, he-goat’ (OIr *boc* ‘buck’, NE *buck*, Arm *buc* ‘lamb’, Av *būza-* ‘[he-]goat’, Skt *bukka-* ‘[he-]goat’); **h₂eǵós*, which would appear to derive from the verbal root **h₂eǵ-* ‘drive’ (e.g. Lith *ožỹs* ‘he-goat’, Av *aza-* ‘he-goat’, Skt *ajā-* ‘he goat’); **kápros* (e.g. OIr *gabor* ‘he-goat’, Lat *caper* ‘he-goat’, OE *hæfer* ‘he-goat’, NPers *kahra* ‘kid’) which derives from **kápr̥s* ‘penis’; and **h₄eli-* (Toch B *āl* ‘ram, he-goat’, Hit *aliyan(a)-* ‘roebuck’—one should note that roebuck have very undeerlike horns, horns that are closer to those of goats than to those of other deer).

Words associated with the elephant receive some attestation, i.e. **(y)ebh-* ‘elephant’ (Lat *ebur*, Skt *ibha-*) and **lebh-* ‘ivory’ (Myc *e-re-pa*, Grk *elēphās* and Hit *lahpa-*). There are those who would claim that they are both Proto-Indo-European (and indicate an Asian homeland), but the word for elephant is close enough to the Egyptian word (*3bw*) to suggest a *Wanderwort* and objects of ivory were widely traded in the eastern Aegean during the Bronze Age, and borrowing is usually, and surely correctly, suspected here as well.

Regional sets of cognates for mammals include the following: [North-Western] **k₁ormon-* ‘weasel, ermine/stoat’ (e.g. OHG *harmoni* ‘stoat’, Lith *šarmuõ* ‘wild cat; ermine, weasel’); **meli-* ‘badger’ (Lat *mēlēs*, Slovenian *melc* ‘badger’); **kat-* ‘cat’ (Lat *cattus*, but a late loanword perhaps associated with the spread of the domestic cat from Egypt, cf. Nubian *kadīs* ‘cat’, which was in turn widely borrowed by many other European languages); **márkos* ‘horse’ (e.g. OIr *marc* ‘horse’, NE *mare*) and attested only in Celtic and Germanic—some would attempt to relate it to words of east Asia, e.g. Mongol *morin*; **keul-* ‘pig’ (Celtic [MWels *Culhwych*, a mythological figure associated with swineherds and boar-hunting] and Baltic [Lith *kiaũle* ‘pig’]); **h₂elh₁niha-* ‘hind/cow-elk’ (e.g. NWels *elain*, Lith *ėlnė*, OCS *lani* ~ *alni*, all ‘hind’), the feminine derivative from the more widely attested PIE **h₂elh₁ēn* ‘red deer’; **wis-* and/or **ǵ(h)ombhros* ‘bison’ (the first is found in Germanic, e.g. OHG *wisant* [whence by borrowing Lat *bisōn*], the second in some of the Baltic languages, e.g. Lith *stumbras*, Latv *subrs*, and Slavic, e.g. Rus *zubr*, while OPrus *wis-sambris* ‘bison’, combines the two); and **ghaidos*

‘goat’ (e.g. Lat *haedus*, NE *goat*). Those words with a West Central distribution include **meh₁l-* ‘small animal’ (e.g. OIr *mīl* ‘(small) animal’, NDutch *maal* ‘young cow’, with an initial *s*-mobile, this root gives us NE *small*, Grk *mēlon* ‘sheep, goat’); **dibhro-* ~ **dībhiro-* ‘(sacrificial) animal’ (Gothic *tibr* ‘sacrifice’, OE *tīber* ‘offering’, MHG *ungezibere* ‘vermin’ [< ‘animals unsuited for the sacrifice’]), OHG *zebar* ‘offering’ [the only form requiring **dībhiro-*], Arm *tvar* ‘male sheep, herd of cattle’), perhaps a compound whose second member is **bher-* in the latter’s meaning of ‘offer sacrifice’ but the initial part is obscure; **ghēr* ‘hedgehog’ (Lat *ēr*, Grk *khēr*), the regional word in Latin and Greek; **sw(o)r-* or **sworaks* ‘shrew’ (e.g. Lat *sōrex*, Latv *sussuris*, Bulg *səsar*, Grk *hūraks*, all ‘shrew’); possibly **(s)koli-* ‘young dog’ (e.g. Lith *kālė* ‘bitch’, Alb *kēlysh* ‘young dog’, Grk *skúlaks* ‘young dog; young animal’); **wailos* ‘wolf’ (an Irish-Armenian isogloss, OIr *fāel* ‘wolf’, Arm *gayl* ‘wolf’, possible from the ‘wail’ of the wolf); **dhóh_aus* ‘± wolf’ (Phryg *dáos* ‘wolf’, Grk *thōs* ‘jackal; wild dog; panther’, a derivative of which gives Lat *faunus* ‘deity of forests and herdsmen’ with its neo-Lat *fauna*); **(h_a) wiselo-* ‘weasel’ (e.g. Nir *fial* ‘ferret’, NE *weasel*) may be a North-Western word if one does not accept a potential Greek cognate (*aiélouros* ‘cat; weasel’); **luk-* ‘lynx’ (e.g. OIr *lug*, OE *lox*, Lith *lūšis*, Rus *rysī*, Grk *lúgks*, Arm (pl.) *lusanunk* ‘all lynx’; NE borrows its *lynx* from Greek rather than continues the inherited form in OE *lox*); **li(w)-* ‘lion’ (in Slavic, e.g. Rus *lev*, and Greek, i.e. *līs*, the latter suspected by some to be a borrowing from Hebrew *layiṯ* ‘lion’); **mú(k)skos* ‘ass/donkey’ (e.g. Lat *mūlus* ‘mule’, ORus *mūskū* ‘mule’, Grk *mukhlós* ‘he-ass’); **h₁eperos* ‘boar’ (e.g. Lat *aper*, OE *eofor*, Rus *veprī*), a North-Western word whose distribution may be extended by a possible Thracian cognate (*ēbro*s ‘buck’); **bhrentós* ‘stag’ (Germanic-Messapic isogloss, e.g. Swed *brinde* ‘stag’, Messapic *bréndon* ‘stag’), a Celtic-Greek **yórks* ‘roedeer’ (e.g. NWels *iwrch*, Grk *zórks*); **loh_apo-* ‘cow’ (Baltic-Albanian, i.e. Latv *luōps* ‘cow’, Alb *lopë* ‘cow’); **h_aeg^whnos* ‘lamb’ (Lat *agnus*, NE *yeen*, OCS (*j*)*agnę*, Grk *amnós*); and possibly **koǵhéh_a-* ‘goat’ (Slavic-Albanian, e.g. OCS *koza* ‘she-goat’, Alb *kedh* ‘kid’). There are a handful of words confined to the Indo-European centre such as **mendyos* ‘horse’ (where the Romanian *mînz* preserves a Dacian word and is compared to Alb *mëz* ‘foal’) and **ghor-* ‘young pig’ (Alb *derr* ‘pig, hog, swine’, Grk *khoîros* ‘young pig; swine’). There are also several isoglosses that span the centre and east, e.g. **ghéyos* ‘horse’ (Arm *ji* ‘horse’ and Skt *háya-* ‘horse’, both derived from **ghei-* ‘impels, drives’). Several big cat words have exclusively Central and Eastern distributions, e.g. **singhós* ‘leopard’ (where it means ‘leopard’ in Arm *inj* ~ *inc* but ‘lion’ in Skt *siṃhā-*); and **perd-* ‘panther, lion’ (where there are several Iranian cognates, e.g. NPers *palang*, and Grk *párdalis* which may be a loanword). Finally, there is **gordebhós* ‘wild ass’, an Eastern word which is attested in Skt *gardabhā-* and Toch B *kercapo*.

Table 9.2. *Birds*

* <i>h_aewei-</i>	‘bird’	Lat <i>avis</i> , Grk <i>aietós</i> , Skt <i>vi-</i>
* <i>pipp-</i>	‘young bird, nestling’	Lat <i>pipō</i> , Grk <i>pîpos</i> , Skt <i>píppakā-</i>
* <i>h_aō(w)i-om</i>	‘egg’	Lat <i>ōvum</i> , NE <i>egg</i> , Grk <i>ōión</i>
* <i>ger-</i>	‘crane’	Lat <i>grūs</i> , NE <i>crane</i>
* <i>k Vr-C-</i>	‘crow; raven’	Lat <i>corvus</i> , NE <i>rook</i>
* <i>wer-</i>	‘crow’	
* <i>kukū</i>	‘cuckoo’	Lat <i>cucūlus</i> , NE <i>cuckoo</i>
* <i>h_ah_atī-</i>	‘duck’	Lat <i>anas</i> , Grk <i>nēssa</i> , Skt <i>āti-</i>
* <i>pad-</i>	‘duck, teal?’	
* <i>h₃or-</i>	‘eagle’	NE <i>erne</i> , Grk <i>órnis</i>
* <i>teter-</i>	‘gamebird’	Grk <i>tetráōn</i> , Skt <i>tittirá-</i>
* <i>ġhan-s</i>	‘goose’	Lat <i>ānser</i> , NE <i>goose</i> , Grk <i>khēn</i> , Skt <i>ham̐sa-</i>
* <i>kerk-</i>	‘hen’	Grk <i>kérkos</i> , Skt <i>kṛka-vāku-</i>
* <i>h₁epop</i>	‘hoopoe’	Lat <i>upupa</i> , Grk <i>épops</i>
* <i>kik̑-(y)eh_a-</i>	‘jay’	Grk <i>kíssa</i> , Skt <i>kiki-</i>
* <i>h_{2/3}uh₁e/olo-</i>	‘owl’	NE <i>owl</i>
?* <i>b(e)u-</i>	‘owl’	Lat <i>būbō</i> , Grk <i>búas</i>
?* <i>ulu-</i>	‘owl’	Lat <i>ulu(c)us</i> , Skt <i>úlūka-</i>
* <i>sper-</i>	‘?sparrow’	NE <i>sparrow</i> , Grk <i>sparásion</i>
* <i>(s)ter-</i>	‘stork’	NE <i>stork</i>
* <i>(s)p(e)iko/eh_a-</i>	‘bird, woodpecker’	Lat <i>pīcus</i> , Skt <i>piká-</i>

9.3 Birds

The primary word for ‘bird’ (**h_aewei-*) is well attested and found in Celtic (e.g. NWels *hwyad* ‘duck’), Italic (e.g. Lat *avis* ‘bird’), Alb *vida* ‘dove’, Grk *aietós* ‘eagle’, Arm *haw* ‘bird; chicken’, Indo-Iranian (e.g. Av *vīš*, Skt *vi-*). As we can see, it reveals semantic shifts to a variety of very different species, e.g. ‘duck’, ‘dove’, ‘chicken’, and ‘eagle’. The word for the young bird, **pipp-*, is transparently onomatopoeic (e.g. the Latin derivative means ‘peep’) and is attested in Slavic (e.g. Slov *pípa* ‘hen’), Alb *bibë*, Grk *pîpos* ‘young bird’, and Indic (Skt *píppakā-*) as well. The word for ‘egg’, **h_aō(w)i-om* (attested in Celtic (e.g. NWels *wy*), Italic (e.g. Lat *ōvum*), Germanic (e.g. German *Ei*), Slavic (e.g. OCS *ajice*), Grk *ōión*, and Iranian (e.g. Av *-āvaya* ‘having eggs’), is suspiciously close to the primary word for ‘bird’ (**h_aewei-*) and, indeed, a fairly transparent derivative of it; if so, it provides a proxy answer to the age-old question since here the bird came first and the egg second. NE *egg* does not derive directly from the proto-form (as did *āg* in OE) but is a loanword from Old Norse (see Section 13.2 for ‘nest’).

The name of the ‘crane’ (**ger-*) is one of the better-attested bird names and is found in Celtic (e.g. NWels *garan*), Italic (Lat *grūs*), Germanic (e.g. NE *crane*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *gėrvė*), Slavic (e.g. Rus *žeravlj* ‘crane, goose’), Arm *krunk*, and, securing an Asian cognate, Oss *zyrnæg*. The word for ‘crow’, **kVr-C-*, is more problematic in that it is clearly onomatopoeic and the root vowel is unclear. It is attested in Italic (e.g. Lat *corvus*), Germanic (e.g. NE *rook*), Slavic (Bulg *krókon*), Grk *kóraks*, and Skt *karāṭa-* ~ *karāva-*. The same root, probably independently, gave rise to other bird names such as MĪr *cerc* ‘brood hen’ (see below). The second word for ‘crow’, **wer-*, is found in Baltic (e.g. Lith *várna*), Slavic (e.g. Rus *voróna*), and Tocharian (Toch B *wrauña*). Almost the ultimate in onomatopoeia is the name for the ‘cuckoo’, **kukū-*, attested in Celtic (e.g. OIr *cūach*), Italic (e.g. Lat *cucūlus*), Germanic (e.g. NE *cuckoo*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *kukúoti* ‘to cuckoo’), Slavic (e.g. Rus *kukúša*), Grk *kókkuks*, Arm *k(u)ku*, and Indo-Iranian (e.g. NPers *kuku*, Skt *kokilá-*). Similar words are found in other language families, e.g. Akkadian *kugu* and Turkish *guguk*.

There are two words for ‘duck’. The first, **h₃ah₃ti-*, is found in Italic (Lat *anas*), Germanic (e.g. OE *ened*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *ántis*), Slavic (e.g. Rus *úta*), Grk *nēssa*, Iranian (e.g. Oss *acc* ‘wild duck’), and Indic (Skt *ātí-*); the second, **pad-*, is less certain as it is attested primarily in modern languages, e.g. Spanish *pato* and SC *patka* are the sole representatives of Italic and Slavic respectively; it is also known from Arm *bad* ‘drake’ and NPers *ba*. Similar sounding names occur in Arabic and Georgian (e.g. *battī*) and this similarity suggests onomatopoeia. In other words, Indo-European ducks probably did not say ‘quack, quack’ but rather ‘pad, pad’.

The name of the ‘eagle’, **h₃or-*, is preserved with the meaning ‘eagle’ in five groups, i.e. Celtic (e.g. OIr *irar*), Germanic (e.g. NE *erne*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *erėlis*), Slavic (e.g. Rus *orėl*), and Anatolian (Hit *hāras*); derivatives are also found in Grk *órnis* ‘bird’, and Arm *urur* ‘kite’, *oror* ‘gull’, and *ori* ‘raven’. The word does survive in Modern English but citation of *erne* would send most readers to an English dictionary.

The precise meaning of **teter-* is uncertain but the range of meanings suggests a large gamebird such as the capercaillie, pheasant, or partridge; it is attested in Celtic (MĪr *tethra* ‘hooded crow’), Germanic (e.g. ON *þiðurr* ‘capercaillie’), Baltic (e.g. Lith *tetervà* ‘capercaillie’), Slavic (e.g. OCS *tetrěvĭ* ‘pheasant’, Rus *teterev* ‘capercaillie’), Grk *tetrāōn* ‘capercaillie’, Iranian (NPers *tadharv* ‘pheasant’), and Indic (Skt *tittirá-* ‘partridge’). The ‘goose’, **ġhan-s-*, is well attested and is found in Celtic (e.g. OIr *gēis*), Italic (e.g. Lat *ānser*), Germanic (e.g. NE *goose*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *žqsis*), Slavic (e.g. Rus *gusĭ*), Grk *khén*, and Indic (Skt *hamṣa-* ‘waterfowl’); some have derived it from the verbal root **ġhan-* ‘gape, yawn’. The ‘hen’, **kerk-*, which appears in Europe c. 3000 BC, is found in Celtic (MĪr *cerc* ‘brood hen’), dialectal Grk *kérkos* ‘rooster’,

Iranian (Av *kahrka*- ‘hen’), Indic (Skt *kṛkara*- ‘a kind of partridge’, *kṛkavāku*- ‘rooster’), and Tocharian (Toch B *krañko* ‘chicken’); obvious is the suggestion that the name of the bird may be onomatopoeic (compare NE *cluck*) and so its reconstruction is not entirely certain. Unquestionably onomatopoeic is the name of the ‘hoopoe’, **h₁epop*, which is found in Italic (Lat *upupa*), Germanic (e.g. NE *hoopoe*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *pupūtis*), Slavic (e.g. Pol *hupek*), Grk *épops*, Arm *popup*, and Iranian (NPers *pūpū*). In Aristophanes’ *Birds*, the hoopoe cries ‘*epopoi popopopopopopopoi*’. The name of the ‘jay’, **kiĕ-(y)eh_a-*, is found in Italic (only in Italian *cissa*), Germanic (e.g. OE *hig(e)ra*), Grk *kíssa*, and Skt *cisa*- ‘roller’. The names of the ‘owl’ are expectedly onomatopoeic, i.e. **h₂/zuh₁e/olo-* in NE *owl*, NHG *Eule* ‘owl’, and Hit *huwalas* ‘owl’; **b(e)u-* in Italic (Lat *búbō*), Slavic (Bulg *buk*), Grk *búas*, Arm *bu* ~ *bueč*, and Iranian (NPers *būm*) and **ulu-* (Italic, i.e. Lat *uluc(c)us*, and Indic, i.e. Skt *úlūka*-). ‘Sparrow’ is probably too specific for **sper-* which means ‘sparrow’ only in Germanic but ‘crow’ in Celtic (Corn *frau*), ‘starling’ in dialectal Grk *sparásion*, and some form of unidentified bird in Tocharian (e.g. Toch A *špār*). The name of the ‘stork’, **(s)ter-*, would be confined to Germanic (e.g. NE *stork*) if it were not for the cognate form *tarlā* which occurs in Hittite; under one proposal there may also be cognates in Greek and Indic. Finally, **(s)p(e)iko/eh_a-* means ‘woodpecker’ in Italic (Lat *pīcus* ‘woodpecker’ but *pīca* ‘jay; magpie’) and Germanic (e.g. OHG *speh* ‘woodpecker’) but ‘Indian cuckoo’ in Indic (Skt *piká*-).

There are about a dozen regional names of birds. From the North-West we have **h_aemes-l-* ‘blackbird’ (e.g. NWels *mwyllach*, Lat *merula*, OE *ōsle* [> NE *ousel*]); **kap-* ‘hawk, falcon’ (e.g. NE *hawk*, Rus *kóbec* ‘[type of] falcon’) derived from **kap-* ‘seize’; **karh₃keh_a-* ‘magpie’ which is found only in Baltic (e.g. Lith *šárka*) and Slavic (e.g. Rus *soróka*); the onomatopoeic **kǎu-* ‘howl; owl’ (NWels *cuan*, OHG *hūwo*); **storos* ‘starling’ (Lat *sturnus*, NE *starling*, OPrus *starnite* ‘gull’); and **trosdos* ‘thrush’ (e.g. Lat *turdus*, NE *thrush*, Lith *strāzdas*, Rus *drozd*, and perhaps Grk *stroûthos*). From the West Central area we have **bhel-* ‘coot’ (e.g. Lat *fulica*, OHG *belihha*) which has a Greek cognate as well (*phalaris*); **(s)pingo-* ‘finch’ (NE *finch*, Grk *spíggos* ‘finch’) but perhaps Proto-Indo-European if one accepts Skt *phingaka* ‘shrike’ as cognate; **h₁orh₃deh_a-* which is some form of waterbird such as the ‘heron’ (e.g. Lat *ardea* ‘heron’, ON *arta* ‘teal’, SC *róda* ‘stork’, Grk *(e)rōdiós* ‘heron; stork’); and **h₁el-* ‘waterbird, swan’ (e.g. OIr *ela*, Lat *olor*) which has a questionable Greek cognate indicating the ‘reed warbler’ (*eléā*); **kopso-* ‘blackbird’ is confined to Slavic (e.g. OCS *kosŭ*) and Grk *kópsikhos*. **g^wltur-* ‘vulture’ is found in Lat *vultur* ~ *volturis* ~ *volturus*, and Greek *blosur-ōpis* ‘vulture-eyed’. A Greek-Armenian-Indo-Iranian isogloss is found in **kyeino-* ‘bird of prey, kite?’ (Grk *iktînos*, Arm *c’in*, Av *saēna*- ‘eagle’, Skt *śyená*- ‘eagle’) while the name of the ‘quail’, **wortok^w-*, is a Greek-Indic isogloss (Grk *órtuks*, Skt *vartaka*-).

9.4 Fish, Reptiles, and Amphibians

The reconstructed vocabulary pertaining to fish in Proto-Indo-European is quite small, and even when words are reconstructable, the precise meaning may be quite ambiguous. It is an area of the Indo-European vocabulary where Asian cognates are so few that one cannot even reconstruct a generic word for ‘fish’ that meets our full requirements of Proto-Indo-European. The general word for ‘fish’ with the widest potential distribution is **píkskos* ‘fish’ with cognates in Celtic (e.g. OIr *īasc*), Lat *piscis*, Germanic (e.g. NE *fish*), and Skt *picchā-* ‘calf of the leg’. The Indic cognate is semantically far removed but is commonly justified on the widespread folk association of the calf of the leg with the belly of a fish filled with roe. The word is generally derived from **pik-skō-* ‘spotted’ or the like, a derivative of **peik-* ‘paint, mark’, and the original referent is taken to be the ‘trout’ which, given its ubiquity across Eurasia, developed into the more general meaning of ‘fish’. Other cognate sets include a word for ‘carp’, **kóph_aelos*, which is attested in Baltic and Old Indic only (e.g. Lith *šāpalas* ‘chub’, Latv *sapalis* ‘chub, Dvina-carp’, Skt *śaphara-* ‘carp’). A PIE **ghérsos* is attested in Germanic (e.g. Norw *gjørs* ‘pikeperch’), Slavic (e.g. Rus *zérekh* ‘asp’), and possibly Indic with a wide range of meanings (e.g. Skt *jhaṣā-* ‘a kind of large fish’). Equally problematic is **kónkus* which depends on comparing the ON *hār* ‘shark’ with an Indic word referring to some kind of aquatic animal or fish (Skt *śankú-*). Far more secure is **lóks* which is attested in Germanic (e.g. OE *leax* ‘salmon’, OHG *lahs* ‘salmon’ [$>$ NE *lox*]), Baltic (e.g. Lith *lāšis* ‘salmon’), Slavic (e.g. Rus *losósī*, ‘salmon’), Arm *losdi* ‘salmon trout’, Iranian (Oss *læsæg* ‘salmon trout’), and Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *laks*, where it has become the general word for ‘fish’), although its specific referent, be it the Atlantic salmon (*Salmo salar*) or the salmon trout (*Salmo trutta*), has been the subject of major debate, similar in many ways to the beech-argument summarized in Chapter 10. Proponents of the first meaning employed the reconstructed word for ‘salmon’ to set the Indo-European homeland adjacent

Table 9.3. *Fish, reptiles, amphibians*

<i>*píkskos</i>	‘trout, fish’	Lat <i>piscis</i> , NE <i>fish</i> , Skt <i>picchā-</i>
<i>*kóph_aelos</i>	‘carp’	Skt <i>śaphara-</i>
<i>*ghérsos</i>	‘asp’ or ‘pikeperch’?	
<i>*kónkus</i>	‘a kind of fish’	Skt <i>śankú-</i>
<i>*lóks</i>	‘salmonid, salmon(trout)’	cf. NE <i>lox</i>
<i>*(s)k^wálos</i>	‘sheatfish, wels’	Lat <i>squalus</i> , NE <i>whale</i>
<i>*h₁óg^whis</i>	‘snake’	Grk <i>ékhis</i> , <i>óphis</i> , Skt <i>áhi-</i>

to the Baltic Sea while those preferring the anadromous types of salmon trout took it to indicate the Black or Caspian seas. Attempts to also include a range of Indic cognates (e.g. *lākṣā* ‘lac’, if < *‘reddish’ < *‘salmon-coloured’) have also been widely discussed. The precise meaning of **(s)k^wálos*, reconstructed on the basis of Italic (Lat *squalus* ‘± shark’), Germanic (e.g. NE *whale*), Baltic (OPrus *skalis* ‘sheatfish’), Greek (dialectal Grk *áspalos* ‘fish’), and Iranian (e.g. Av *kara-* ‘a kind of fish’), is not entirely secure, but the large ‘sheatfish’ whose meaning is attested in Middle High German and Baltic is far more probable than ‘whale’; the Greek and Iranian cognates simply refer to some kind of fish.

The only reptile securely reconstructed is the ‘snake’, **h₁óg^whis*, which is retained in Celtic (e.g. NWels *euod* ‘sheepworm’), Germanic (e.g. OHG *egala* ‘leech’), Greek (e.g. *ékhis* ‘viper’, *óphis* ‘snake’), Arm *iž* ‘snake, viper’, Iranian (e.g. Av *aži-* ‘snake’), Indic (Skt *áhi-* ‘snake’), and probably Tocharian (Toch B *auk*).

There are some regional cognate sets for some of the fish, reptile, and amphibian names. From the North-West we have: **krek-* ‘fish eggs, frogspawn’ in Germanic (e.g. ON *hrogn* ‘roe’), Baltic (e.g. Lith *kurkulaĩ* ‘frogspawn’), and Slavic (e.g. Rus *krjak* ‘frogspawn’); the NE *roe* is a loanword from Old Norse which does exhibit the cognate form); *?* h_aeḱú-* ‘perch’ is found in Germanic (e.g. ON *qgr* ‘sea-bass’) and Baltic (e.g. Lith *ešerỹs* ~ *ašerỹs* ‘perch’) but, as the word derives from **h_aeḱ-* ‘sharp’ (the perch has spiny fins), it may have been independently created in the two groups. The same root underlies **h_aeḱe(tro)-* ‘sturgeon’ (e.g. Lat *acipenser*, Lith *eškėtras*, Rus *osětr*); **st_ǵ(h_x)yon-* means ‘sturgeon’ in Germanic (e.g. OE *styri(ga)*) but refers to the ‘salmon’ in Celtic (Lat *sariō*, borrowed from Gaulish). An alternative name for the ‘snake’, **néh₁tr-* ~ **nh₁tr-* ‘snake’, is found in OIr *nathir* [gen. *nathrach*] ‘snake’ (which indicates retention of a name that transcended Irish geography although not necessarily experience as snakes are native to neighbouring Britain), Lat *natrix* ‘watersnake; penis’, Goth *nadrs* ‘snake, viper’, OE *næddre* ‘adder’ [ME *a nadder* > NE *an adder*]; a Western innovation meaning ‘the twister’ from **sneh₁-* ‘twist, turn’.

In the West Central region we have a generic word for ‘fish’, **dhǵhuh_x-*, in Baltic (e.g. Lith *žuvìs*), Grk *ikhthūs*, and Arm *jukn* which exhibits an archaic shape that suggests it may have been the word for ‘fish’ in Proto-Indo-European but was replaced by other words on the extremities of the Indo-European world. The root **mǵh_x-* (e.g. NE *minnow*, Rus *men’* ‘burbot’, Grk *mainē* ‘*Maena vulgaris*’) appears to have meant something like ‘minnow; small fish’. The word for ‘eel’, **h_xVnghel-*, is reasonably widely attested with cognates in Italic (Lat *anguilla*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *ungurỹs*), Slavic (e.g. OCS *ogulja*), and Grk *égkhelus*. A second word for the ‘sheatfish’, **kámos*, is found in Baltic (e.g. Lith

šāmas), Slavic (Rus *som*), and Grk *kamasēnes* [pl.] ‘a kind of fish’. The distribution of a word for the ‘tench’, **(s)lei-*, is built on the root of the same shape meaning ‘slimy’ and is well attested in Baltic (e.g. Lith *línis*) and Slavic (e.g. Rus *linī*), possibly in Grk *lineús* ‘blemy’; Germanic uses the same root to form the word for ‘tench, mullet’ (e.g. OE *slīw*) but this may be an independent creation. The name of the ‘frog’, **worh_xd-i/o-*, is found in Baltic (Latv *varde*) and Arm *gort*; a similar word (**worh_xdo-*) gives us the words for ‘wart’ in Germanic (e.g. NE *wart*), Baltic (e.g. Latv *ap-vīrde* ‘abscess’), Slavic (e.g. Rus *véred* ‘abscess’), and Iranian (e.g. NPers *balū* ‘wart’) which suggests that the association between warts and frogs is quite old. Another regional name for ‘snake’, i.e. **h₄éng^whis*, is found in Celtic (OIr *esc-ung* ‘watersnake’), Italic (Lat *anguis*), Germanic (OHG *unc* ‘snake’), Baltic (e.g. Lith *angis* ‘snake’), Slavic (Rus *už* ‘snake’), Illyr *ábeis* ‘snakes’, and Arm *awj* ‘snake’ while **ghéluh_xs* ‘tortoise’ is found in Slavic (e.g. OCS *žely*) and Grk *khélus*. If we were able securely to reconstruct the tortoise to Proto-Indo-European, we would have another marker for the Proto-Indo-European homeland, in that the tortoise is not found further north than southern Scandinavia and central Russia. However, there are abundant reasons otherwise for not assuming a far northern homeland for the Proto-Indo-Europeans and thus the reconstructibility of the tortoise does not tell us much. Finally, playing loose with our strictly zoological classification, we can note that **dr̥k̥-* ‘dragon’ is attested in Celtic (MÍr *muir-drís* ‘sea-monster’) and Grk *drákōn* ‘dragon’ (whence, via Latin, NE *dragon*); it derives from the verbal root **derk̥-* ‘see’ as the dragon fixes its opponent with its baleful gaze.

9.5 Insects, Worms, and Shellfish

The reconstructable names of IE insects are largely a list of nuisances rather than an indication of economic importance. The nuisance factor suggests a certain emotional valence associated with a number of the insects which may well account for many of the phonologically irregular outcomes and metaphorical shifts to other referents. For example, there is no single stable word for ‘ant’ but rather three different (and clearly related) forms: **morwi-* supplies Celtic (e.g. OIr *moirb*), Slavic (e.g. OCS *mravī*), and Iranian (Av *maoirī*); **morm-* underlies the forms in Lat *formīca* and Grk *múrmos*; **mouro-* gives us the Germanic (ON *maurr*); while even more distorted is **worm-* which gives us an alternate Greek form *hórmikas*, Skt *valmīka-*, and Toch B *warne*. Despite the variety of forms, all are agreed in indicating the ‘ant’. There has also been considerable change in the articulation of **plus-* ‘flea’. The Latin word, for example, requires metathesis from **plusek-* to **puslek-* to achieve the historical

Table 9.4. *Insects, shellfish, etc.*

<i>*morwi-</i> ~ <i>*morm-</i> ~	‘ant’	Lat <i>formīca</i> , Grk <i>múrmos</i> , Skt <i>valmīka-</i>
<i>*mouro-</i>		
<i>*plus-</i>	‘flea’	Lat <i>pūlex</i> , ?Grk <i>psúlla</i> , NE <i>flea</i> , Skt <i>plūṣi-</i>
<i>*moḱo-</i>	‘gnat, stinging insect’	Skt <i>maśaka-</i>
<i>*ḡelu-</i>	‘leech’	Skt <i>jalūkā-</i>
<i>*lu-</i> (<i>*lus-</i>)	‘louse’	NE <i>louse</i> , Skt <i>yūkā</i>
<i>*rik-</i>	‘nit, tick’	Lat <i>ricinus</i> , Skt <i>likṣā́</i>
<i>*h_{2/3}wobhséh_a-</i>	‘wasp’	Lat <i>vespa</i> , NE <i>wasp</i>
<i>*k^wṛmis</i>	‘worm, insect’	Skt <i>kṛmi-</i>
<i>*mat-</i>	‘± worm, maggot, insect’	NE <i>moth</i> , Skt <i>matkuṇa-</i>
<i>*kṃh_aros</i>	‘crayfish’	Grk <i>kámaros</i>
<i>*kark-</i>	‘crab’	Lat <i>cancer</i> , Grk <i>karkínos</i> , Skt <i>karkaṭa-</i>
<i>*konkh_aos</i>	‘mussel (-shell) etc’	Grk <i>kógkhos</i> , Skt <i>śaṅká-</i>

form of **pūlek*; and the possible Greek cognate would seem to require a development **plusy(e)h_a-* > **psuly(e)h_a-* > *psúlla*. Baltic and Slavic go one further (e.g. Lith *blusà*, OCS *blŭcha*) and require **blusyeh_a-*. The precise designation of the **moḱo-* eludes us although all cognates are agreed in using this word to designate some stinging insect. Lith *māšalas* and Skt *maśaka-* can both mean ‘gnat’ (the Sanskrit word can also refer to the mosquito) but MPers *makas* refers to the ‘fly’ and Latv *masalas* to the ‘horsefly’. Again we find dialectal variation in a by-form without a palatal, i.e. **moko-* which gives Lith *mākatas* ‘gnat’ and Skt *mākṣ-* ‘fly’. An Indo-Iranian form was borrowed into Finno-Ugric to provide the name for the ‘bee’, e.g. Hungarian *méh* ‘bee’. A word for the ‘leech’, **ḡelu-*, depends on a Celtic-Indo-Iranian cognate set, e.g. OIr *gil* and Skt *jalūkā-*, both ‘leech’, which apparently derives from a verbal root **ḡel-* ‘swallow’. The word for ‘louse’, *lu-*, has seen massive reshaping with more expected outcomes from Celtic (NWels *llau*) and Germanic forms such as NE *louse* but dialectal forms such as Lith *viėvesa*, Rus *vošĭ*, and Skt *yūkā*. The young of the louse, the ‘nit’ (**rik-*), is reconstructed on the basis of an Italic-Indo-Iranian set, e.g. Lat *ricinus*, Skt *likṣā́*. Well attested is the **h_{2/3}wobhséh_a-* ‘wasp’ with cognates in Celtic (e.g. MWels *gw(y)chi* ‘drones’), Italic (Lat *vespa*), Baltic (e.g. OPrus *wobse*), Slav (e.g. OCS *osa*), and Iranian (e.g. MPers *vaβz-*); the noun derives from the verbal root **h_{2/3}webh-* ‘weave’, i.e. one who weaves a wasp nest. The PIE **k^wṛmis* is perhaps best translated as a ‘wug’, i.e. a category that comprises both worms and bugs. It has a ‘worm’ meaning in many of the cognates, e.g. Celtic (OIr *cruim*), Baltic (Lith *kirmis*), Slavic (OCS *črĭvĭ*), Alb

krimb, and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *kṛmi*-) but it can also designate anything from a ‘mite’ (OPrus *girmis*) to a ‘dragon’ (Lith *kirmis*). The PIE **mat-* also has a wide range of meanings and yields both OE *maða* ‘worm, maggot’ and OE *moþþe* (> NE *moth*) as well as Arm *mat’il* ‘louse’ and Av *maðaxa-* ‘grasshopper’.

The **kṃh_aros* is reflected with absolute phonological regularity in both Grk *kámaros* and ON *humarr*. In both languages it means ‘lobster’ but such a meaning cannot be correct for Proto-Indo-European, almost no matter where it was originally spoken. The only reasonable hypothesis is that the word meant ‘crayfish’ in Proto-Indo-European, and in both Germanic and Greek, as these groups adopted a maritime orientation, the word was transferred to the larger, and more important, lobster. A reconstructed **kark-* ‘crab’ is based on Lat *cancer* (< **karkro-*?), Grk *karkinos*, and Skt *karkaṭa-* (< **karkṛto-*) and *karkī-* ‘cancer (as a sign of the zodiac)’. Another possible crustacean is the **kōnkh_aos* ‘mussel’ and any related shellfish. The main cognate set is Grk *kógkhos* ‘mussel(shell)’ and Skt *śaṅká-* ‘(conch)shell’ (with Latv *sence* ‘mussel’ as a derived form).

The North-West offers **bhi-k^wó-* ‘bee, stinging insect’ on the basis of cognates in Celtic (e.g. OIr *bech*), Germanic (e.g. NE *bee*), and Slavic (e.g. OCS *bīčela*) and, with a different suffix in **-tih_a-* we have Baltic cognates such as Lith *būtė*; the underlying etymology is **bhei(h_x)-* ‘strike, attack’. We also have a word associated with the product of the ‘bee’, **wos(h_x)-ko-* ‘wax’ (NE *wax*, Lith *vāškas* ‘wax’, OCS *voskŭ* ‘wax’). For the ‘butterfly’ we have **pelpel-* with related forms in Lat *pāpiliō* and Germanic (e.g. OE *fīfalde*) that have been clearly altered. Etymologically transparent is **kṛh_asro-(h_x)on-* ‘hornet’ from **kṛh₂s-* ‘horn’ with cognates in Lat *crābrō*, Germanic (NDutch *horzel*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *širše*), and Slavic (e.g. OCS *sīrsenī*), all ‘hornet’. Finally, there is **webhel-* ~ **wobhel-* ‘weevil, beetle’ seen in Germanic (e.g. NE *weevil*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *vābalas*), and Slavic (Rus *veblica* ‘(intestinal) worm’). The West Central area offers a range of insect names: there are several words for the ‘drone’ such as the clearly onomatopoeic **dhren-* ‘drone’ (< ‘buzz’) found in Germanic (e.g. NE *drone*, Grk *thrōnaks*) and **kṃh_xp-h_a-* ‘drone’ which is meagrely attested in OHG *humbal* and Grk *kēphēn*; **mus/h_x-* ‘fly, gnat, midge, mosquito’ with cognates in Italic (Lat *musca*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *muša*), Slavic (e.g. OCS *mŭšica*), Grk *muia*, and Arm *mun*; **kóris* ‘± biting insect’ where the root **(s)ker-* ‘cut’ is believed to underlie OCS *korī* ‘moth’ and Grk *kóris* ‘bed-bug’; **h₁empis* ‘gnat, stinging insect’ which is debatedly attested in OE *ymbe* ‘swarm of bees’ and a possible cognate Grk *empis* ‘gnat’; **g^welōn* ‘insect’s stinger’ found in Baltic (e.g. Lith *geluō* ‘stinger’) and Grk *déllithes* ‘wasps’; **k(o)nid-* ‘nit, louse egg’ which is well attested with cognates in Celtic (e.g. OIr *sned* ‘nit’), Germanic

(NE *nit*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *glinda*), Slavic (Rus *gnida*), Alb *thërije*, Grk *konís*, and Arm *anic*; **h_sorki-* ‘tick’ with cognates in Baltic (e.g. Lith *érkė*), and Arm *ork’iwn*; **diġ(h)-* ‘tick’ found in Celtic (MÍr *dega* ‘stag beetle’), Germanic (e.g. OE *ticia*), and Arm *tiz*; **sleimak-* ‘snail, slug’ from a root **(s)lei-* ‘be slimy’ which gives Rus *slimák* ‘snail’ and Grk *leímaks* ‘slug’; and **wǵmis* ‘worm, insect’ which overlaps phonologically with one of the ‘ant’ words above but also yields Lat *vermis*, NE *worm*, Lith *varĩmas* ‘mosquito’, OCS *vermije* ‘grass-hoppers’, and Grk *rhómoks* ‘woodworm’. Finally, there are several words restricted to the Central region: **melítih_a-* ‘honey-bee’ where one of the words for honey, **mélit*, provides the basis for Alb *bletë* and Grk *mélissa*, both ‘honey-bee’; **h_sorghí-* ‘nit’, a regional variant of **h_sorki-* which is seen in Alb *ergjěz* and Arm *orjil*; and **demelis* ‘worm’ or whatever will cover the proto-meaning of Alb *dhemjě* ‘larva, caterpillar, maggot’ and Grk *demeléas* ‘leeches’.

9.6 Indo-European Fauna

The roster of animal names reconstructed to Proto-Indo-European is more extensive than that for plants and we can ascribe about seventy-five names to various animal species. This roster does not come anywhere close, however, to the numbers encountered in the lexicons of traditional societies. Brent Berlin examined a sample of seventeen languages which yielded an average of 435 names of animals per language. Be that as it may, Proto-Uralic also has a sizeable number with about sixty names altogether. It is instructive then to compare the structure of the two reconstructed lexicons in terms of the major orders of animals identified (excluding general names) (Table 9.5).

The differences between the two reconstructed lexicons derive primarily from the difference in the respective economies. The Proto-Indo-Europeans possessed a Neolithic economy with extensive references to domestic livestock

Table 9.5. *Animal names in Proto-Indo-European and Uralic*

	PIE	%	URALIC	%
Mammals	42	56	15	25
Birds	17	23	20	33
Fish	6	8	9	15
Reptiles/amphibians	1	1	2	3
Insects etc.	9	12	14	22
Total	75		60	

(cattle, sheep, goat, pig; possibly horse) while the Proto-Uralics were primarily hunter-gatherer-fishers. It is natural then that the Proto-Uralic vocabulary would reflect these differences with a limited number of mammals (four words for reindeer, marten, hare, fox, squirrel, etc.), and a more extensive vocabulary pertaining to birds (about a third of the words refer to some form of duck) and fish.

The designation of animals has been the focus of taxonomic studies and Cecil Brown has proposed a stadial sequence of expected animal names. Stage 1 lacks any 'life form' term (or word naming a large general category of living beings such as 'mammal', 'fish', etc.) while stages 2 to 4 see the addition of 'fish', 'bird', and 'snake' (in any order) and stages 5 and 6 see the introduction of a specialized term for 'mammal' and 'wug'. We have already used this term to define PIE **k^wrmis* as an animal that comprises both worms and bugs (it might be noted that *insect* did not appear in English until after 1600 and from 1650 it defined a 'wug'). Earl Anderson suggests that Proto-Indo-European was a stage 4 language where it lexicalized terms for 'bird' (**h₂ewei-*), fish (**dhǵhuh_x-*, **pīkskōs*), and 'snake' (**h₁óg^whis*) and had a covert category, i.e. one without a linguistic label, for 'mammal' whose existence is predicated by the fact that Proto-Indo-European made a further (Level Ia) distinction between 'wild animal' (**ǵhwēr*) and 'domestic animal' (**péku*). In some instances we may be in doubt as to whether the word had a generic or more specific meaning. For example, NE *deer*, which today specifies a cervid, derives from OE *dēor* which also covered the meaning 'wild animal' (cf. the cognate NHG *Tier* 'animal'). Multiple meanings or polysemy have been widely observed in animal taxonomies where the name of a focus animal may serve at both the species and a much higher level. That **pīkskōs* may have originally designated the 'trout' and was then abstracted to 'fish' in general is a possible example. Similarly PIE **lóks* 'salmon trout' becomes Toch B *laks* 'fish'.

In their major study of Indo-European culture, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov proposed a hierarchical classification of plant and animal life forms in Proto-Indo-European that makes the distinction seen above between 'wild' (**ǵhwēr*) and 'domestic animal' (**péku*). The wild animals are then divided into three classes depending on mythic location, i.e. an Upper World (birds), Middle World (beasts), and Lower World (vermin, snakes, fish). The domestic animals (which includes humans) are distinguished into rational and speaking humans (with their own subclasses) and quadrupeds. The latter are distinguished as those which are ritually close to humans and which may then be divided into those that are horned (cattle, ovicaprids) and not-horned (horse, donkey); the ritually distant animals are the dog, pig, and cat. Anderson regards such a system as too complex in comparison with those evident throughout the world and finds it unusual for any system to classify humans (and gods)

along with animals. On the other hand, it does encompass a series of oppositions or polarities that may have formed either covert or lexicalized slots in Proto-Indo-European, e.g. **kérh₂s* and related words for ‘horn’ vs. **kém-* ‘hornless’

As for the wild mammalian fauna, our ability to reconstruct words hardly recovers all the animals likely to have been distinguished in the proto-language. Certain species are found so widely over Eurasia that they should have been familiar to the Proto-Indo-Europeans irrespective of where their homeland lay. These would include the mole, bat, a variety of rodents (voles, mole rats, etc.), the badger, and the wild cat. The twenty or so bird names (compare this with the fact that the ancient Greeks knew over 500 bird names!) comprise those that were probably economically salient, e.g. ducks and geese, those that were culturally salient, e.g. eagle, and those where onomatopoeia has supported their survival, e.g. hoopoe.

The ten or so fish and shellfish names are extremely meagre (the ancient Greeks knew at least 570 names and even such a damaged resource as Old Prussian can return twenty-five) nor are they particularly revealing of the location of the IE homeland, although names such as ‘salmon’ and ‘eel’ have been employed to do just that. The salmon or ‘Lachsargument’ as it is known in German was, along with the beech-argument (see Chapter 10), one of the pivots of a north European homeland for the Indo-Europeans under the presumption that PIE **lóks* indicated specifically the Atlantic salmon (*Salmo salar*) that frequented the waters of the Baltic and North Atlantic. More recent opinion has suggested that **lóks* simply indicated a salmonid for which the salmon trout (*Salmo trutta*) was the more likely original referent and that it was later extended to include the Atlantic salmon by the ancestors of the Germans, Balts, and Slavs. Salmon trout are much more widely found across Eurasia than the Atlantic salmon.

The extensive vocabulary concerning domestic animals is pivotal in establishing, along with the words for cereal agriculture, that the Proto-Indo-Europeans possessed a mixed economy based on livestock and arable agriculture, i.e. had achieved at least a Neolithic mode of subsistence. The presence of two words for what was probably the domestic pig, i.e. **sūs* and **pórkos*, suggests that the economy was not, at least originally, that of pastoral nomads, as swine are notoriously difficult to herd over long distances. On the other hand, within any culture, and especially an area as large as that probably inhabited by the earliest Indo-Europeans, there might have been a wide range of economic regimes that also included various degrees of mobility.

In addition to the pig, ovicaprids, the sheep and goats, are also of special interest because these were not native (in their wild state) to much of the later Indo-European world prior to the expansion of the Neolithic economy from

South-West Asia. The route by which sheep spread into Europe certainly included the Balkans and probably also the Caucasus (to the steppelands); much less likely, although sometimes suggested, was the eastern Caspian steppe (to account for early Neolithic sheep in the southern Urals). Terms for sheep such as **h₂ówis* (and also ‘wool’ as we will see in Chapter 14) are virtually ubiquitous across the IE world and that ubiquity can only be explained with reference to the spread of a language whose speakers possessed stock-raising (and wool-procuring) skills.

Of all the (potentially) domestic animals, the main focus of debate has often been the status of **h₁ékʷos* ‘horse’. That some form of horse can be ascribed to the earliest Proto-Indo-Europeans (and with Anatolian cognates in Hieroglyphic Luvian *azu(wa)*- and Lycian *esbe*- we may include the concept of Indo-Hittite) seems secure. Also secure is the importance of the horse in the cultures of the earliest IE groups and their mythologies and rituals. What is not secure, however, is whether we can reconstruct **h₁ékʷos* as ‘domestic horse’ or simply ‘horse’ and, in the event that we can reconstruct the proto-meaning as ‘domestic horse’, whether we can locate in space and time the location of the earliest domestic horses. The linguistic evidence for ‘domestic horse’ is not strong (nor could it be since there is no absolutely clear linguistic marker of a domestic animal) and relies primarily on the contrast between the feminine form, also of PIE date, which employs an **-eh_a-* suffix (i.e. **h₁ékʷeh_a-* ‘mare’) which stands in opposition, some argue, to the feminine of a more certain wild animal, the ‘she-wolf’ (**wl̥kʷih_a-*) with an **-ih_a-* suffix. All other arguments rest on non-linguistic matters such as the presumed location of the homeland, the nature of its economy, and the apparent ‘depth’ at which the concept of a domestic horse appears to be embedded in Indo-European culture, e.g. in rituals, personal names. In terms of the prehistoric exploitation of the horse, the major centre would appear to be across the steppe and forest-steppe from the Dnieper east to the Ural and somewhat beyond, and this is generally the region where most would place the earliest domestication of the horse in the fifth or fourth millennium BC (there are heated arguments as to precisely when and what constitutes clear evidence). Remains of presumably wild horses are known outside the steppelands in Iberia, Atlantic, and northern Europe to the Danube; some horse remains have also been recovered from Early Neolithic Anatolia. There is a general absence of horse remains until the Bronze Age in Greece, most of the Balkans, and Italy. The lack of the horse in these regions has been pressed by some to suggest that the Indo-Europeans were hardly likely to have been resident in these areas until the Bronze Age.

Further Reading

Basic coverages of Indo-European fauna can be found in Schrader–Nehring (1917–28), Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1995), Mallory–Adams (1997). General surveys of livestock can be seen in Benveniste (1949), Diebold (1992), and Blažek (1992). Useful articles on individual species include: bear (Delamarre 1992), beaver (Hamp 1972*b*), cow (Zimmer 1981), deer (Adams 1985*a*, Witczak 1994*a*), dog (Schlerath 1954, Hamp 1980*a*, Melchert 1989), fox (Adrados 1985, Schrijver 1998), horse (Hänsel and Zimmer 1993, Hamp 1990*c*, Bonfante 1996, Huld 2004, Parvulescu 1993*b*; for horse domestication, see Levine 2005), lion (Adams 1984), pig (Benveniste 1973*b*, Hamp 1987*a*), sheep (Hamp 1984*a*, 1987*b*, Lindeman 1990*a*), squirrel (Hamp 1972*c*), wolf (Klimas 1974, McKone 1985, Lehrmann 1987). The IE fauna is discussed archaeologically in Mallory 1982.

The word for ‘bird’ and ‘egg’ is treated in Schindler (1969); other species include the blackbird (Hamp 1982*a*), duck (Hamp 1978), hen (Schlerath 1953), thrush (Hamp 1981*a*), and birds from both an Indo-European and archaeological viewpoint in Mallory (1991).

Literature on the fish includes Adams (1985*b*), Bammesberger (1996), Diebold (1976, 1985), Hamp (1973*a*), Krause (1961), Krogmann (1960), Sadowsky (1973), Seebold (1985), Sevilla Rodriguez (1989), Thieme (1954), and Winter (1982); from an archaeological viewpoint see Mallory (1983).

The ‘bee’ is the subject of Hamp (1971*a*).

For folk taxonomies see Anderson (2003), Berlin (1992), Brown (1984); the count of Greek bird and fish names is based on Thompson (1895, 1947); the Uralic evidence is derived from Häkkinen (2001).

10

Indo-European Flora

10.1	Trees	156	10.4	Agricultural Terms	167
10.2	Wild Plants	161			
10.3	Domesticated Plants	163	10.5	Proto-Indo-European Flora	169

10.1 Trees

As with animals, there is also an extensive reconstructed vocabulary relating to the various forms of plant life in Proto-Indo-European.

The general name for ‘tree’, **dóru*, is attested in eleven different groups, either under its root form (e.g. OIr *daur* ‘oak’, Grk *dóru* ‘tree trunk; wood; spear’. Hit *tāru* ‘tree, wood’. Av *dāuru* ‘tree, tree trunk; wooden weapon’. Skt *dāru* ‘wood’. Toch AB *or* ‘wood’) or in derivation (NE *tree* is a derived form as are, e.g. Grk *drūs* ‘tree, oak’, OCS *drŭva* ‘wood’, Alb *dru* ‘wood, tree’, *drushk* ‘oak’, OCS *drěvo* ‘tree’). In Celtic and Greek, it tends to mean specifically the ‘oak’ and has religious connotations, e.g. a *druid* is a ‘tree-knower’. The word for ‘forked branch’, **kóh₁kōh₂* (e.g. Goth *hōha* ‘plough’, Lith *šakà* ‘branch’, Rus *sokhá* ‘(primitive) plough’, Arm *c’ax* ‘branch’, NPers *šāx* ‘branch’, Skt *śākhā* ‘branch’), has secondary meanings as ‘plough’ in a number of languages as primitive ploughs were originally made from forked branches. The concept of plough also extended to another of the ‘branch’ words, **kánk-* (e.g. OIr *cēcht* ‘plough’, NWels *cainc* ‘branch’, ON *hār* ‘thole-pin’, Lith *atšankė* ‘barb; crooked projection from a tree’, Rus *suk* ‘branch, knot’, Skt *śankú-* ‘peg’). The third word for ‘branch’ reconstructable to Proto-Indo-European is **h₂ósdos* (e.g. OHG *ast* ‘branch’, Grk *ózos* ‘shoot’, Arm *ost* ‘branch’, Hit *hasduēr* ‘twigs, branches’) which has been analysed by some as a compound of the verb *sed-* ‘sit’, i.e. **h₂o-sd-os* ‘what one sits upon’, the branch from the

Table 10.1. *Trees*

* <i>dóru</i>	‘wood, tree’	NE <i>tree</i> , Grk <i>dóru</i> , Skt <i>dāru</i>
* <i>kóh₁kōh₂</i>	‘(forked) branch’	Skt <i>śākhā</i>
* <i>kānk-</i>	‘branch’	Skt <i>śānkū-</i>
* <i>h₂ósdos</i>	‘branch’	Grk <i>ózos</i>
* <i>h₄lōg-</i>	‘branch’	Grk <i>ológinos</i>
* <i>h_xósghos</i>	‘knot (in wood)’	Grk <i>óskhos</i> , Skt <i>ádga-</i>
* <i>bhlh_{ad-}</i>	‘leaf’	NE <i>blade</i>
* <i>h_aógeh_{a-}</i>	‘± berry, fruit’	NE <i>acorn</i>
* <i>g^welh_{a-}</i>	‘acorn’	Lat <i>glāns</i> , Grk <i>bálanos</i> , Skt <i>gula-</i>
?* <i>sap-</i> / * <i>sab-</i>	‘sap’	NE <i>sap</i> , Lat <i>sapa</i> , Skt <i>sabur-dhūk-</i>
* <i>g^wétu</i>	‘pitch’	NE <i>cud</i> , Lat <i>bitūmen</i> , Skt <i>jātu</i>
* <i>sok^wós</i>	‘sap, resin’	Grk <i>opós</i>
* <i>werno/eh_{a-}</i>	‘alder’	Skt <i>varaṇa-</i>
* <i>h_aéliso-</i>	‘alder’	NE <i>alder</i> , Lat <i>alnus</i>
* <i>h_aeb V1-</i>	‘apple’	NE <i>apple</i>
* <i>meh₂lom</i>	‘apple’	Lat <i>mālum</i>
* <i>h₃es(k)-</i>	‘ash’	NE <i>ash</i> , Lat <i>ornus</i> , Grk <i>oksúē</i>
* <i>h_{2/3}osp-</i>	‘aspen, poplar’	NE <i>aspen</i> , ?Skt <i>sphyá-</i>
* <i>bherh_xós</i>	‘birch’	NE <i>birch</i> , Lat <i>farnus/fraxinus</i> , Skt <i>būrjá-</i>
* <i>wi(n)g-</i>	‘elm’	NE <i>wych-[elm]</i>
* <i>pteleyeh_{a-}</i>	‘elm?’	Lat <i>tilia</i> , Grk <i>ptelēā</i>
* <i>dhonu-</i>	‘fir’	NHG <i>Tannenbaum</i>
* <i>péúks</i>	‘(Scotch) pine, conifer’	Grk <i>péukē</i>
* <i>kóss</i>	‘(Scotch) pine’	Grk <i>kônos</i>
* <i>pít(u)-</i>	‘(some form of) conifer’	Lat <i>pīnus</i> , Grk <i>pítus</i> , Skt <i>pītu-</i>
* <i>h₂ed(h)-</i>	‘hawthorn’	
* <i>h₂ēkr</i>	‘maple’	Lat <i>acer</i> , Grk <i>ákastos</i>
* <i>mórom</i>	‘blackberry’	Lat <i>mōrum</i> , Grk <i>móron</i>
* <i>weít-</i>	‘willow’	Lat <i>vītis</i> , Grk <i>ītēā</i> , Skt <i>veta-</i>
* <i>h₁eiwos</i>	‘yew’	NE <i>yew</i>
* <i>taksos</i>	‘yew’	Lat <i>taxus</i> , Grk <i>tókson</i>

bird’s point of view so to speak. The fourth word for ‘branch’, **h₁lōg-*, also seems at times to cover the notion of ‘vine, tendril’ as well (e.g. Rus *lozá* ‘vine, tendril, shoot’, dialectal Grk *ológinos* ‘branchy’, Av *razura-* ‘forest, thicket’, Hit *alkista(n)-* ‘branch’). The place where the branch joins the tree, the ‘knot’ or ‘joint’, was **h_xósghos* (e.g. OIr *odb* ‘knot’, Grk *óskhos* ‘sucker, sprout, vine branch’, NPerš *azy* ‘branch’. Skt *ádga-* ‘knot, joint’). The word for ‘leaf’, **bhlh_{ad-}*, is restricted to Germanic (e.g. NE *blade*) and Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *pilta* ‘leaf’). The word for some type of ‘fruit’, **h_aógeh_{a-}*, probably underlies

NE *acorn* (and e.g. Lith *úoga* ‘berry’, Rus *jágoda* ‘berry’, Toch A and B *oko* ‘fruit’). The ‘acorn’ itself, **g^welh_a-* (e.g. Lat *glāns*, Lith *gìlė*, Rus *želudī*, Grk *bálanos*, Arm *kalin*, Skt *gula-*), has the secondary connotation of the ‘head of the penis’ (*glāns penis*) in Latin (and medical English) and Indic (where it is the only meaning; and, no, we have no evidence for circumcision in Proto-Indo-European) and the presence of this word assures us that the Proto-Indo-European community was acquainted with the ‘oak’, even though a general Proto-Indo-European word specifically meaning ‘oak’ is not recoverable. One word for ‘sap’, **sap-* (e.g. Lat *sapa* ‘must, new wine boiled thick’, OHG *saf* ‘sap’), has a variant **sab-*, which gives NE *sap* and a possible Indic cognate (*sabur-dhūk-* ‘yielding nectar or milk’) which would give this word Proto-Indo-European status. A second ‘sap’ or ‘pitch’ word is **g^wétu* (e.g. Lat *bitūmen* ‘mineral pitch, bitumen’, OE *cwidu* ~ *cudu* ‘mastic’ [> NE *cud*], Skt *játu* ‘lac, gum’) and shows relationships with the birch tree in NWels *bedw* ‘birch’ and Lat *betulla* ‘birch’ (< Gaulish) wherein the latter is the ‘sap-tree’ because of the use of birch sap as a food or as a glue. Finally we have **sok^wós* ‘sap, resin’ seen in Lith *sakaĩ* [pl.] ‘resin’, Rus *sok* ‘juice, sap, sapwood’, Alb *gjak* ‘blood’, Grk *opós* ‘sap, resin’, and Toch B *sekwe* ‘pus’.

The number of trees strongly attested to the level of genus or species is not great because, as we have seen above, the environments of Europe and Asia often differ significantly so that recovery of a common tree name is made more difficult. An additional difficulty with the Asian side of the equation is that the attested records of Tocharian provide almost no tree names so our Asian evidence is restricted to Indo-Iranian.

The word for ‘alder’, **werno/eh_a-* (e.g. Mlr *fern* ‘alder’, Alb *verr* ‘alder’, Arm *geran* ‘alder’), does have an Indic cognate (i.e. Skt *varaṇa-* ‘*Crataeva roxburghii*’) whereas the secure Proto-Indo-European status of **h_aéliso-* (e.g. Lat *alnus*, Lith *aliksniš*, Rus *ólikhna*) depends on acceptance of Hit *alanza(n)* ‘type of tree’ as cognate (and that would depend on the exact meaning of the Hittite word which is not yet recoverable); a Proto-Germanic **aluzo-* gives us NE *alder*. Some argue that **h_aéliso-*, if not reflected in Hittite, is actually a substrate term picked up by the Indo-Europeans in central and western Europe.

Both words for ‘apple’ may be regional terms of the West and Centre of the Indo-European world and are only extended to Proto-Indo-European if one accepts in the case of **h_aebVI-* (e.g. OIr *uball*, NE *apple*, Lith *obuolys*, Rus *jábloko*, all ‘apple’) some possible Indo-Iranian cognates (e.g. Pashto *maṇá* ‘apple’, if from **amarna-* < **abarna-*) and in the case of **meh₂lom*, the Hittite word *mahla-* which may only mean ‘grapevine’ (cf. also Lat *mālum*, Grk *mēlon*, Alb *mollë* [borrowed from Latin or Greek?], all ‘apple’).

Similarly, the status of **h₃es(k)-* ‘ash’ outside of the West Central region (e.g. OIr *uinnis* ‘ash’, Lat *ornus* ‘mountain ash’ (*Sorbus aucuparia*), NE *ash*, Lith

úosis ‘ash’, Rus *jásenī* ‘ash’, Alb *ah* ‘beech’, Grk *oksúē* ‘beech; spearshaft’) depends on acceptance of Hit *hassikk-* ‘some form of tree with edible fruit’. As the ash was a preferred wood for shafts, it often also carries the meaning ‘spear(shaft)’.

The word for ‘aspen’, **h_{2/3}osp-* (e.g. NE *aspen* (*Populus tremula*, *P. alba*), Lith *apušė* ‘ash (*P. nigra*)’, Rus *osína* ‘ash (*P. tremula*)’, Arm *op’i* ‘poplar (*P. alba*)’, is Proto-Indo-European if one accepts Indo-Iranian cognates that denote an ‘oar’ or ‘shovel’ (e.g. NPers *fih* ‘oar’, Skt *sphyá-* ‘oar, pole, shovel’).

The ‘birch’ word, *bherh_xġos* (e.g. Lat *farnus/fraxinus* ‘ash’, NE *birch*, Lith *bėržas* ‘birch’, Rus *berėza* ‘birch’, Oss *bærz* ‘birch’, Skt *būrjā-* ‘birch’), is generally derived from an adjective meaning ‘bright, shine’ and has a long association in several Indo-European groups with virginal purity. Gamkrelidze and Ivanov have used this connection to suggest that Hit *parku-* ‘ritually pure; innocent’ actually derives from the word for ‘birch’ although the Hittites had lost the arboreal term itself.

A Kurdish (Iranian) cognate, *viz* ‘a kind of elm’, helps secure *wi(n)ġ-* ‘common elm (*Ulmus glabra*)’ to Proto-Indo-European rather than a West Central word (cf. NE *wych-elm*, Lith *vinkšna* ‘elm’, Rus *vjaz* ‘elm’, Alb *vidh* ‘elm’). There may be a second word for ‘elm’ in *pteleyeh_{a-}* /*pteleweh_{a-}* (e.g. Mlr *teile* ‘linden’, Lat *tilia* ‘linden’, Grk *pteléā* ‘elm’, *ptélas* ‘wild rowan’, Arm *t’eli* ‘elm’, Oss *fērwe* ‘alder’) but the wide range of meanings makes one cautious.

The word for ‘fir’ (**dhonu-*) is secured by a German-Hittite correspondence (OHG *tanna* ‘fir’ [> NHG *Tannenbaum*], Hit *tanau* ‘fir’) but the other conifers depend largely on the evidence of more recently attested Indo-Iranian languages to secure their ascription to Proto-Indo-European. Thus we have **péuḱs* ‘pine’ (or some combination of ‘pine’, ‘fir’, and/or ‘spruce’—and likewise with the next two words) attested in OIr *ochtach* ‘pine, fir’, OHG *fiuhte* ‘fir’, Lith *pušis* ‘pine, fir’, Grk *peúkē* ‘pine, spruce’, and, on the Asian side, Waigali *puc* ‘species of pine’. **kóss* ‘pine’ by itself is seen only in OE *harap* ‘wood’ and Khot *sara-cara* ‘*Barleria cristata*’, but in the derivative **ké/osno-* in OE *cēn* ‘torch (of resinous pinewood)’, Rus *sosná* ‘pine’, Grk *kōnos* ‘pinecone’, *kōna* ‘pitch’, *kōneion* ‘hemlock’, Khot *sānā-* ‘*Celosia cristata*’. Finally, **pītu-* ‘pine’ is to be seen in Lat *pīnus*, Alb *pishē* ‘spruce, pine, fir’, Grk *pītus* ‘pine, spruce’, and Skt *pītu-* ‘deodar-tree’.

The word for ‘hawthorn’, **h₂ed(h)-*, is secured by an Old Irish (**ad-*, genitive *aide*)-Hittite (*hat(t)-alkisnas*) set, both of which also have ritual or magic connotations.

There is one word at least for ‘maple’, **h₂ēk_ṛ*, attested by Lat *acer* ‘maple’, OHG *ahorn* ‘maple’, Grk *ákastos* ‘maple’, Hit *hiqqar* ‘± maple’. The word for ‘blackberry’, **mórom*, in many languages also serves for the ‘mulberry’ (NWels

merwydd ‘mulberry’, Lat *mōrum* ‘mulberry, blackberry’, Grk *móron* ‘mulberry, blackberry’, Arm *mor* ‘blackberry’, Hit *muri-* ‘[bunch of] grapes’).

‘Willow’, **weit-*, is well attested in nine groups and frequently displays a meaning ‘withies’ or anything that might be produced from bending osiers, e.g. fellos of a tyre (e.g. OIr *fēith* ‘some kind of twining plant’, Lat *vītis* ‘vine’, NE *withy*, Lith *vytis* ‘willow’, Rus *vítina* ‘branch’, Grk *ītēā* ‘willow’, Av *vaēiti-* ‘willow’, Skt *veta-* ‘reed’).

The primary word for ‘yew’ (**h₂eiwos*) is restricted to naming the tree (e.g. OIr *ēo* ‘yew’, OPrus *iūwis* ‘yew’, Lith *ievà* ‘bird cherry’, Rus *íva* ‘willow’, Hit *eya(n)-* ‘± yew’). The second of the ‘yew’ words, **taksos*, has shifted in meaning to ‘bow’ in Greek and Iranian (e.g. Lat *taxus* ‘yew’, Rus *tis* ‘yew’, Grk *tókson* ‘bow’, NPers *taxš* ‘bow’). This shift is not surprising, given the well-known excellence of yew-wood for the manufacture of bows.

If one does not accept some of the more dubious Eastern cognates, some of the Proto-Indo-European tree names are only North-Western or West Central in distribution. There are also many regional words in their own right. From the North-West we have **widhu* ‘tree, forest’ (e.g. OIr *fid* ‘tree’, NE *wood*); **k^wrésnos* ‘tree; brush(wood)’ (e.g. OIr *cramn* ‘tree’, Grk *prīnos* ‘holm-oak [*Quercus ilex*]’); **skwēis* ‘± needle and/or thorn’ (e.g. OIr *scē* ‘hawthorn’, Lith *skujà* ‘fir-needle and cone’, Rus *khvojà* ‘needles and branches of a conifer’); **ghabhlo/eh_a-* ‘fork, branch of tree’ (e.g. OIr *gabul* ‘fork’, OE *gafol* ‘fork’ [> NE *gavel*]); **kneu-* ‘nut’ (e.g. OIr *cnū* ‘nut’, Lat *nux* ‘nut’, NE *nut*); **h₁élem* ‘mountain elm (*Ulmus mantana*)’ (e.g. MIr *lem* ‘elm’, Lat *ulmus* ‘elm’, NE *elm*, Rus *ílem* ‘mountain elm’); **kós(V)los* ‘hazel’ (e.g. OIr *coll* ‘hazel’, Lat *corulus* ‘hazel’, NE *hazel*, Lith *kasùlas* ‘hunter’s stick, spear; bush’); **klēinus* ‘maple’ (e.g. OE *hlīn*, Lith *klēvas*, Rus *klĕn*, Maced *klinó(s)trokhos*—possibly West Central if a potential Greek cognate, *glīno-* ‘a type of maple’, is accepted); **pérk^wus* ‘oak’ (Gaulish *érkos* ‘oak-forest’, Lat *quercus* ‘oak [particularly *Quercus robur*]’, ON *fjor* ‘tree’); **p^{rk}(^w)eh_a-* ‘pine’ (Italian *forca*, NE *fir*); a questionable **dhergh-* ‘sloetree, blackthorn’ (e.g. OIr *draigen* ‘sloetree’, OHG *dirn-baum* ‘cornel cherry’, Rus *derĕn* ‘cornel cherry’); **sal(i)k-* ‘(tree) willow’ (e.g. OIr *sail* ‘willow’, Lat *salix* ‘willow’, OE *sealh* ‘willow’).

From the West Central region comes **némos-* ‘(sacred) grove’ (e.g. OIr *neimid* ‘sacred grove’, Lat *nemus* ‘sacred grove’, Old Saxon *nimidas* ‘sacred grove’, Grk *némos* ‘wooded pasture, glade’); **h₂óiwō/eh_a-* ‘± berry, fruit’ (Lat *ūva* ‘bunch of grapes, fruit’, Grk *óā* ‘service-berry’, Arm *aygi* ‘grapevine’); **sre/oh_ags* ‘± berry, fruit’ (Lat *frāga* ‘strawberries’, Grk *hrōks* ~ *hráks* ‘berry, grape’); **lóubho/eh_a-* ‘bast, bark’ (e.g. Lith *luōbas* ‘rind, bark’, Rus *lub* ‘bast, bark’, Alb *labĕ* ‘rind, bark, crust’, and related Lat *liber* ‘bast; book’ [because bast, especially beech-bast, provided an early writing medium], OHG *louft* ‘bark, bast’); **wr(h_a)d-* ‘root; branch’ (e.g. Lat *rādīx* ‘root’, *rāmus* ‘branch’, Grk *hrádīx*

‘branch; palm-frond’, ON *rōt* ‘root’ [NE *root* is borrowed from Old Norse], OIr *frēn* ‘root’, OE *wyrt* ‘herb, plant’ [> NE *-wort*], Grk *hríza* ‘root’, and perhaps Toch B *witsako* ‘root’); **gwésdos* ‘branch’ (e.g. OHG *questa* ‘tuft of branches’, OPol *gwozd* ‘mountain forest’, Alb *gjeth* ‘leaf’); **gol-* ‘branch’ (Rus *golijá* ‘branch’, Arm *kolr* ‘branch’); **wj̥b-* ‘branch, sprig, twig’ (e.g. Lat *verbēna* ‘leaves and saplings for sacral use’, Lith *vir̥bas* ‘twig, switch’, Grk *hrábdos* ‘twig, rod’); **bhóliom* ‘leaf’ (e.g. Lat *folium*, Grk *phúllon* ‘leaf; plant’); **dhal-* ‘sprout’ (e.g. NWels *dail* ‘leaf’, Alb *dal* ‘arise, appear, emerge’, Grk *thállō* ‘bloom’, Arm *dalar* ‘green’); **h₂er-* ‘nut’ (e.g. Lith *ruošutỹs* ‘nut’, Rus *orékh* ‘nut’, Alb *arrë* ‘walnut, nut tree’, dialectal Grk *árua* ‘nut’) perhaps Proto-Indo-European if Hit *harau-* ‘poplar’ is cognate but the Hittite meaning is certainly distant; **g^wih₃wo-* ‘resin, pitch’ (i.e. the plant’s ‘living material’ from **g^wyeh₃-* ‘live’; cf. OIr *bī* ‘pitch’, Rus *živicá* ‘soft resin’, Arm *kiv* ‘tree pitch, mastic’); **pik-* ‘pitch’ (Lat *pix* ~ *picea* ‘tar, pitch’, OCS *picŭlŭ* ‘tar, pitch’, Grk *píssa* ‘tar, resin’—this word may be related to one of the designations for conifers (**peuk̑-*) in Proto-Indo-European); **kleh_adhreh_a-* ‘alder’ (dialectal NHG *Lutter* ‘mountain alder’, Grk *kléthra* ‘sticky alder’); **bheh_agós* ‘beech’ (e.g. Gaul *bāgos* ‘?beech’, Lat *fāgus* ‘beech’, OE *bōc* ‘beech; book’ [> NE *book*], *bēce* [> NE *beech*], Alb *bung* ‘durmast oak [*Quercus petraea*]', Grk *phēgós* ‘Valonia oak [*Q. aigilops*]', and perhaps Rus *buz* ‘elder’ but phonologically and semantically irregular; **k₉nom* ‘cherry’ (Lat *cornus* ‘cornel cherry’, Lith *Kirnis* ‘divine protector of the cherry’, Grk *krános* ‘cherry’); *(s)*greh_ab(h)-* ‘hornbeam’ (e.g. Umb *Grabovius* ‘oak god’, OPrus *wosi-grabis* ‘spindle-tree’, Lith *skrōblas* ‘hornbeam’, Rus *grab* ‘hornbeam’, Modern Grk *grabúna* ‘hornbeam’, and possibly Lat *carpīnus* ‘hornbeam’); **h₁elew-* ‘juniper, cedar’ (Rus *jálovec* ‘juniper’, Grk *elátē* ‘pine, fir’, Arm *elevin* ‘cedar’); **lenteh_a-* ‘linden’ (e.g. NE *linden*, Lith *lentà* ‘(linden) board’, Rus *lut* ‘(linden) bast’, Alb *lëndë* ‘wood, material’); **h_aebi-* ‘fir’ (e.g. Lat *abiēs* ‘silver fir’, dialectal Grk *ábis* ‘fir’); **wikso-* ‘mistletoe, birdlime’ (e.g. Lat *viscum* ‘birdlime’, OHG *wīchsila* ‘black cherry [*Prunus cerasus*]', Rus *višnja* ‘cherry’, Grk *iksós* ‘mistletoe’); **h_aeig-* ‘oak’ (NE *oak*, Grk *aigilōps* ‘Turkey oak (*Quercus cerris*)’, and perhaps Lat *aesculus* ‘mountain oak [*Quercus farnetto*]',); **weliko/eh_a-* ‘willow’ (NE *willow*, Grk *elikē* ‘willow’).

10.2 Wild Plants

The vocabulary of the wide variety of non-arboreal taxa of the Proto-Indo-European world has barely survived except for those plants specifically associated with agriculture which we will examine separately. A series of vague meanings, e.g. ‘marsh-grass’, ‘flower’, ‘field’, contribute to the vagueness of the proposed semantics of **h₂éndhes-* ‘± flower’ (e.g. Fris *āndul* ‘marsh-grass’,

Table 10.2. *Plants (non-domesticated)*

* <i>h₂éndhes-</i>	‘± flower’	Grk <i>ánthos</i> , Skt <i>ándhas-</i>
* <i>h_aer-</i>	‘reed’	Lat <i>harundō</i> , Grk <i>áron</i>
* <i>nedós</i>	‘reed, rush’	Skt <i>nadá-</i>
* <i>t₁nu-</i>	‘thorn’	NE <i>thorn</i> , Skt <i>t₁ṇam</i>
* <i>kólh_xōm</i>	‘stalk, stem, straw’	Lat <i>culmus</i> , Grk <i>kálamos</i>
* <i>h_aenkulos</i>	‘shoot’	Skt <i>añkurá-</i>

Alb *ëndë* ‘flower’, Grk *ánthos* ‘flower’, Arm *and* ‘field’, Skt *ándhas-* ‘a herb; the soma plant; grassy ground’). There are at least two words for ‘reed’: **h_aer-* generally preserves the general meaning of ‘reed’ or ‘rush’ (Lat *harundō* ‘reed’, Grk *áron* ‘arum’, Khot *arā-* ‘reed, rush’) while **nedós* sees the Arm cognate *net* make the unsurprising shift to ‘arrow’ (cf. also Lith *néndrė* ‘reed’, Luv *nātatta-* ‘reed’, NPers *nai* ‘reed’, Skt *nadá-* ‘±reed’). The ascription of ‘thorn’ as the proto-meaning of **t₁nu-* relies heavily on the evidence from Germanic (e.g. NE *thorn*) and Slavic (e.g. OCS *trǫnǔ* ‘thorn’) as Indo-Iranian exhibits a meaning ‘grass’ (e.g. Khot *tarra-* ‘grass’, Skt *tṛṇam* ‘grass’; Finnish *tarna* ‘sedge, grass’ is borrowed from some early form of Indo-Iranian). The word for ‘stalk’ or ‘stem’, **kólh_xōm*, is found in six groups, including Tocharian (e.g. Lat *culmus* ‘stalk, stem, straw’, OE *healm* ‘stalk, stem, straw’, Latv *salms* ‘stalk, stem, straw’, Rus *solóma* ‘stalk, stem, straw’, Grk *kálamos* ‘reed’, Toch A *kulmänts-* ‘reed, rush’). A possible word for ‘shoot’, PIE **h_aenkulos*, rests on a pair of cognates comprising ON *ōll* ‘bud, shoot’ and Skt *añkurá-* ‘young shoot’ that may derive from the verbal root **h_aenk-* ‘bend’.

Other plant names are more regionally confined as follows. [North-Western] **k_wéndhr/no-* ‘angelica’ (e.g. SGael *contran* ‘wild angelica’, Lat *combretum* [an unidentified aromatic plant]. ON *hvonn* ‘*Angelica silvestris*’). Lith *švėndras* ‘reed; reed-mace’; ?**bhloh_xdho-* ‘flower’ (e.g. Mİr *blāth* ‘flower’, OHG *bluot* ‘flower’, a derivative gives us NE *blossom*); **bhel-* ‘henbane’ (Gaul *belénion*, OE *beolone*, Rus *belená*); **mēus* ‘moss, mould’ (e.g. Lat *muscus* ‘moss’, NE *moss*, Lith *mūsos* [pl.] ‘mould’, Rus *mokh* ‘moss’); **yoinis* ‘reed, rush’ (e.g. Mİr *aīn* ‘reed’, Lat *iuncus* ‘reed’, iūniperus ‘juniper’, ON *einir* ‘juniper’); [West Central] **kemeros* ‘± hellebore’ (e.g. OHG *hemera* ‘hellebore’, Lith *kemėras* ‘marigold’, ORus *čemerū* ‘hellebore’, Grk *kámaros* ‘larkspur’); **ned-* ‘nettle’ (e.g. Mİr *nenaid* ‘nettle’, NE *nettle*, Grk *adikē* ‘nettle’, Lith *nōterė* ‘nettle’, Slovenian *nāt* ‘nettle’); **meh_ak-* ‘poppy’ (OHG *maho* ~ *mago*, OPrus *moke*, Rus *mak*, Grk *mēkōn*, all ‘poppy’); **trus-* ‘reed, rush’ (e.g. Lith *tr(i)ušis* ‘reed, horsetail’, Rus *trostī* ‘reed, cane’, Grk *thrúon* ‘reed, rush’); ?**don-* ‘reed’ (Latv *duonis* ‘reed’, Grk *dónaks* ‘reed’); **kaulós* ‘stalk’ (e.g. Lat *caulis* ‘stalk’, OPrus *caules*

‘thorn’, Lith *káulas* ‘bone’, Grk *kaulós* ‘stalk’); **wreha_{agh}*- ‘thorn’ (e.g. MIr *fraig* ‘needle’, Lith *rāžas* ‘dry stalk, stubble; prong of fork’, Grk *hrākhós* ‘thorn-hedge’, *hrākhīs* ‘spine, backbone’); **alogh*- ‘thorn’ (e.g. SC *glog* ‘thorn’, Grk *glōkhes* [pl.] ‘beard of grain’, *glōkhīs* ‘point, end’, *glōssa* ‘tongue’); and [Eastern] ?**g(h)rewom* ‘reed, rush’, which is attested only in Av *grava*- and Tocharian (e.g. Toch A *kru*).

10.3 Domesticated Plants

There are two words for ‘field’. The first, **h₂érh₃w_ǵ* (e.g. OIr *arbor* ‘seed’, Lat *arvum* ‘ploughed field’, Grk *ároura* ‘field’, Arm *haravunk* ‘field’), can be assigned to Proto-Indo-European if one accepts the somewhat irregular Indo-Iranian cognates, e.g. Skt *urvārā*- ‘fertile soil’, and its underlying meaning is a ploughed field as it derives from **h₂érh₃w-* ‘plough’. The second term (**h_aégros*) has caused much discussion as the European cognates indicate a cultivated field (e.g. Lat *ager*, OE *æcer* [> NE *acre*], Grk *agrós*, Arm *art*, all ‘field’) while the Skt *ájra-* means simply ‘plain’ with no indication of agriculture. This divergence of meaning led to the proposal that the Indo-Iranians separated from the Europeans before they had gained agriculture so that we might posit a pastoral Indo-Iranian world and an agricultural European. Such a distinction is not borne out by the abundant evidence that Indo-Iranians also shared in an agricultural vocabulary, e.g. the Iranian descendants of **kāpos* indicate a cultivated field, e.g. Roshani (an Iranian language of the Pamirs) *sēpc* ‘cultivated field’ (compare OHG *huoba* ‘piece of land’, Grk *kēpos* ‘garden’). The word for ‘meadow’, **wélsu-* (e.g. Hit *wēllu-*), includes the Grk *Elysian* (*ēlūsios*) fields and would appear to be derived from one of the Proto-Indo-European words for ‘grass’, namely **wel-* (e.g. NWels *gwellt* ‘grass’, OPrus *woltis* ‘head of grain’, Hit *wellu(want)-* ‘grass’), as ‘grassy place’ or the like.

There are a number of words for ‘grain’ that are difficult to specify further. For example, **h₂ed-* gives Lat *ador* ‘emmer wheat’, Goth *atisk* ‘grain field’, Arm *hat* ‘grain’, Sog *āduk* ‘crop, cereals’, but Lyc *χθθαhe* ‘hay, fodder’, Toch B *atiyo* ‘grass’; **ses(y)ó-* gives ‘barley’ in NWels *haidd* but ‘rye’ in Ligurian (*asia*) and ‘grain’ in other languages (e.g. Hit *sesa(na)-* ‘fruit’, Av *hahya-* ‘providing grain’, Skt *sasyám* ‘grain, fruit’). The meanings of **yéw(e)s-* are similarly disparate and although it does indicate ‘barley’ in Hit *ewan*, NPers *jav*, and Skt *yáva-* ‘grain, especially barley’, it means ‘wheat’ in Grk *zeiaí* ‘einkorn or emmer wheat’ and ‘millet’ in Oss *jaw* and Toch B *yap* (if from **yébom* by manner of dissimilation from **yéwom*) as well as the less specific ‘grain’ in other languages (e.g. Lith *javaĩ*, Av *java-*). The word derives from the verbal root **yeu-* ‘ripen, mature’ while another root **gherh_a-* ‘ripen’ underlies **ghrh_anóm* ‘grain’ (e.g. OIr

Table 10.3. *Domesticated plants*

<i>*h_aérh₃w_g</i>	‘field’	Lat <i>arvum</i> , Grk <i>ároura</i> , Skt <i>urvārā-</i>
<i>*h_aēgros</i>	‘field, pasture’	NE <i>acre</i> , Lat <i>ager</i> , Grk <i>agrós</i> , Skt <i>ájra-</i>
<i>*kāpos</i>	‘piece of land, garden’	Grk <i>kēpos</i>
<i>?*wēlsu-</i>	‘meadow, pasture’	Grk <i>ēlúsios</i>
<i>*wel-</i>	‘grass’	
<i>*h₂ed-</i>	‘cereal crop, grass’	Lat <i>ador</i>
<i>*ses(y)ó-</i>	‘grain, fruit’	Skt <i>sasyá-</i>
<i>*yéw(e)s-</i>	‘grain’	Grk <i>zeiaí</i> , Skt <i>yáva-</i>
<i>*ġ_gth_{nóm}</i>	‘grain’	NE <i>corn</i> , Lat <i>grānum</i>
<i>*dhoh_xnéh_a-</i>	‘(harvested) grain’	Skt <i>dhānās</i>
<i>*d_gh_xweh_a-</i>	‘± grain’	NE <i>tare</i> , Skt <i>dūrva-</i>
<i>?*h_{2/3}(e)lġ(h)-</i>	‘grain’ (or ‘millet’?)	Grk <i>álíks</i>
<i>*prók_{som}</i>	‘grain’	
<i>*h_aekēs-</i>	‘ear of grain’	NE <i>ear</i> , Lat <i>acus</i> , Grk <i>ákhnē</i>
<i>*h_aekstí-</i>	‘± awn, bristle’	
<i>*pelo/eh_a-</i>	‘chaff’	Lat <i>palea</i> , Skt <i>palāva-</i>
<i>*ġhrésdh(i)</i>	‘barley’	Lat <i>hordeum</i> , Grk <i>krīthē</i>
<i>*h₂élbhit</i>	‘barley’	Grk <i>álphi</i>
<i>*meiġ(h)-</i>	‘barley’ (‘grain’?)	
<i>?*pano-</i>	‘millet’	
<i>*kéres-</i>	‘millet, grain’	Lat <i>cerēs</i>
<i>*rughis ~*rughyo-</i>	‘rye’	NE <i>rye</i>
<i>*h_aewis</i>	‘oats’	Lat <i>avēna</i>
<i>*h_aéreha-</i>	‘± ryegrass’	Grk <i>airai</i> , Skt <i>erakā-</i>
<i>*ālu-</i>	‘± esculent root’	Lat <i>ālium</i> , Skt <i>ālú-</i>
<i>*kēh_{kom}</i>	‘edible greens’ (< *‘foliage’?)	Skt <i>sāka-</i>
<i>?*kaulós</i>	‘± cabbage’	Lat <i>caulis</i> , Grk <i>kaulós</i>
<i>*sepit</i>	‘wheat’	
<i>*ga/ondh-</i>	‘wheat’	
<i>*wóinom</i>	?‘wine’	Lat <i>vīnum</i> , Grk <i>oínos</i>

grān, Lat *grānum*, NE *corn*, Lith *žirnis* ‘pea’, OCS *zrīno*, Alb *grurë* ‘wheat’, Pashto *zaṇnai ~ zaṛai* ‘kernel, seed’). PIE **dhoh_xnéh_a-* is found in Baltic (e.g. Lith *dūona* ‘bread’), Iranian (e.g. NPers *dāna* ‘grain’), Skt *dhānās* [pl.] ‘kernels of grain, fried grain reduced to powder’, and Toch B *tāno* ‘grain, kernel’). It has been argued that in distinction from terms indicating a species of grain such as **yéwos*, **dhoh_xnéh_a-* refers specifically to grain processed for consumption, i.e. ‘cereal’ in the sense of ‘breakfast cereal’. A fifth word for ‘grain’, **d_gh_xweh_a-*, may not be a word for ‘grain’ at all but rather for ‘tare’ (e.g. Gaul *dravoca*

‘darnel, ryegrass’, NDutch *tarwe* ‘wheat’, Skt *dúrva*- ‘panic-grass’ [related to millet]. A sixth possible word for ‘grain’ (or perhaps ‘barley’ or even ‘millet’) is **h_{2/3}(e)lg(h)-* (Hit *halki*- ‘barley; grain’, NPers *arzan* ‘millet’, Grk *álik*s ‘spelt’ [borrowed from some Anatolian language?]); Toch B *lyekšýe* ‘barley’ has also been suggested as a possible cognate. Another ‘grain/millet’ word is seen in Slavic. e.g. Rus *próso* ‘millet’, and Toch B *proksa* [pl.] ‘grain’, reflecting PIE **proksom* [sg.] ~ **prokseha* [pl.]. The word for ‘ear of grain’, **h_aeḱes-*, is attested in three European languages (e.g. Lat *acus*, NE *ear*, Grk *ákhnē*) and Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *āka* [pl.] ‘barley’) and comes from the root **h_aeḱ-* ‘point, sharp’. A derivative, **h_aeḱstí-*, gives the word for ‘awn, bristle’ (e.g. NWels *eithin* ‘furze’, Lith *akstis* ‘spit (for roasting)’, Rus *ostī* ‘awn, bristle’, and perhaps Toch B *āsce* ‘head’). A second word for ‘millet’ may be **kéres-* found in both Germanic (e.g. NHG *Hirse* ‘millet’) and Indic (e.g. Kalasha *karasha* ‘millet’); in Italic, however, we have Lat *cerēs* ‘bread, grain’ (also *Cerēs* ‘goddess of agriculture’) with a much more generic meaning. ‘Rye’ is found mostly in the North-West (e.g. NE *rye*, Lith *rugys*, Rus *rožī*) but also in the Iranian Pamir languages (e.g. Shughni *rožz* ‘ear of rye’). The word for chaff **pelo/eh_a-* (e.g. Lat *palea*, Lith *pela* [pl.], dialectal Rus *pelá*, Skt *palāvās* [pl.]), is attested in Old Indic and appears to be related to words for ‘dust’.

Of the actual plants that were brought into cultivation at various times over Eurasia, there is generally some uncertainty about the specific meaning of the proto-form. **ghrésdh(i)*, for example, means ‘barley’ in Lat *hordeum*, Germanic (e.g. German *Gerste*), and Grk *krī* ~ *krīthē*; ‘wheat’ in its possible Hittite cognate (*karas*); and cereal grain in Alb *drithē*. PIE **h₂élbhit* ‘barley’ (Grk *álphi* ‘barley-meal’, Alb *elb* ‘barley’) exhibits the same suffix found in Hit *seppit* ‘wheat’. **meig(h)-* ‘barley’ (‘grain?’) can be counted Proto-Indo-European rather than North-Western (OIr *mīach* ‘measure of grain, bushel’, Lith *miėžiai*) only if one accepts a Khotanese word for ‘field’ (*māssa-*) as cognate. A word for ‘millet’, **pano-*, rests on a Latin-Iranian isogloss (Lat *pānicum*, Shughni [an Iranian language of the Pamirs] *pīnj*). The weed, **h_aéireh_a-* ‘± ryegrass’, survives in Proto-Indo-European (Lat *aíres* ‘ryegrass’, Grk *áirai* ‘ryegrass’, Skt *erakā*- ‘sedge’). As **ālu-* ‘± esculent root’ is only found in Lat *ālium* ~ *allium* ‘garlic’ and Skt *ālī-* ‘*Arum campanulatum* (an esculent root)’ and, as its meanings are disparate, it is uncertainly reconstructed. The cognates of **ḱeh₁kom* ‘edible greens’ (e.g. ON *hā* ‘aftermath, second cutting of hay’, Lith *šėkas* ‘green fodder’, Skt *śāka-* ‘potherbs, vegetables’) reveal that it was consumed by animals in the West and people in Asia. The distribution of **kaulós* ‘± cabbage’ is confined to the Mediterranean world (Lat *caulis* ‘stalk of the [cabbage] plant’, Grk *kaulós* ‘cole, kail, cauliflower’, Hit *kaluis(sa)na* ‘some sort of vegetable’).

Wheat was the premier cereal of both the ancient and modern world but is not all that well attested. The word **sepit* ‘wheat’ is only found in Hittite and

has no other cognates, but the archaic and unproductive morphology would argue that the word could not have been created in Anatolian but must be earlier, while **ga/ondh-* ‘wheat’ is confined to Anatolian (Hit *kant-* ‘[einkorn?]-wheat’), Indo-Iranian (e.g. Av *gantuma-* ‘wheat’), and Tocharian (Toch B *kanti* ‘bread’) and may have some Asian source. Although included here among the domesticated plants, it is likely that the original referent for **h_aewis* indicated the wild rather than domesticated oats as domesticated oats do not appear in the archaeological record until the second millennium BC. The word is attested in Lat *avēna* ‘(wild) oats’, Baltic (e.g. Lith *āvižos* ‘oats’), Slavic (e.g. OCS *ovišŭ* ‘oats’), and Iranian (Khot *hau* ‘some form of cereal’). The word for ‘wine’, **wóinom*, is found in Lat *vīnum*, Alb *verë*, Grk *oīnos*, Arm *gini*, and Anatolian (e.g. Hit *wiyana-*) and would appear to be old in Indo-European; it may derive from the verbal root **wei(h_x)-* ‘twist’, hence originally ‘that of the vine’ (see below).

There is a considerable number of regional terms associated with fields and the plants that might grow in them. [North-Western] **lendh-* ‘open land, waste’ (e.g. NE *land*, OIr *lann* ‘open land’, OPrus *lindan* ‘valley’, Rus *ljadá* ‘overgrown field’); **polkéh_a-* ‘± fallow land’ (e.g. Gaul *olca* ‘fallow land’, NE *fallow*, Rus *polosá* ‘strip of arable land’); **seh₁men-* ‘seed’ (e.g. Lat *sēmen*, OHG *sāmo*, OPrus *semen*, OCS *sěme* from the root **seh₁-*, i.e. **‘what is sown’*; [West Central]: **rēpéh_a-* ‘turnip’ (e.g. Lat *rāpum*, OHG *ruoba* ~ *rāba*, Lith *rópė*, Grk *hráp(h)us*); **póh_xiweh_a-* ‘open meadow’ (Lith *pieva* ‘meadow’, Grk *póa* ‘grass, grassy place’) which is possibly from the verb **peh₂-* ‘nourish’; **h₁ét(e)no-* ‘kernel’ (MĪr *eitne* ‘kernel’ [*< *h₁etenyom*; NĪr *eitne* and dialectally *eithne*], Grk *étnos* ‘thin soup made from peas or beans’). The semantic equation is excellent, but the usual Irish *-t-* is phonologically irregular (expected is *-th-*); **koino-* ‘grass’ (Lith *šiėnas* ‘hay’, OCS *sěno* ‘hay, fodder, grass’, dialectal Grk *koiná* ‘hay’); **k^wet-* ‘chaff, bran’ (e.g. MĪr *cāith* ‘bran, needle’, dialectal Grk *pētea* ‘chaff’); **bhárs* ‘grain’ (e.g. NE *barley*, Lat *fār* ‘grain; coarse meal’, Rus *bórošno* ‘ryemeal’), a North-Western word with possible Greek (*phēros* ‘food of the gods’) and Albanian (*bar* ‘grass’) cognates—it has been derived from both the Near East and a European substrate; **bhabheh-* ‘bean’ (e.g. both Lat *faba* ‘bean’, NE *bean* [reflecting a Proto-Indo-European **bhabhneh_a*], OPrus *babo* ‘bean’, Rus *bob* ‘bean’—cf. also Alb *bathë* ‘bean’ and Grk *phakós* ‘bean’ from PIE **bhakó/eh_a-*); **kīker-* ‘chickpea’ (Lat *cicer* ‘chickpea’, Maced *kikerroi* ‘birds’ pease’, Arm *sisen* ‘chickpea’); these would be phonologically regular from the proposed PIE form but are also usually taken as borrowings from some non-Indo-European language); **linom* ‘flax’ (e.g. NWels *llin* ‘linen, flax’, Lat *līnum* ‘linen, flax’, Lith *linai* [pl.] ‘linen, flax’, Rus *len* ‘linen’, Grk *līnon* ‘flax, thread, linen’); **kannabis* ‘hemp’ (both Lat *cannibis* and NE *hemp*); **melh₂-* ‘± grain, millet’ (Lat *mīlium*), problematic since the cognates may

simply be independently formed from the verb ‘to grind’ (**melh₂*-) (see below); ?**h₁jereg^w*- ‘pea’ (e.g. Lat *ervum* ‘pea’, OHG *araweiz* ‘pea’, Grk *órobos* ‘pea’), seen by many as a Near Eastern loanword. There is **kremh_{xus}*- ‘(wild) garlic’ (e.g. Mlr *crem* ‘wild garlic’, Grk *krém(m)uon* ~ *króm(m)uon* ‘onion’, a derivative gives us, e.g., dialectal NE *ramsom* ‘(bulb of the) broad-leaved garlic’, Lith *kremùšė* ‘wild garlic’, Rus *čeremšá* ‘wild garlic’); **mṛk-* ‘± carrot’ (e.g. dialectal NE *more* ‘carrot’, Rus *morkóvī*, Grk *brákana* ‘wild vegetables’); **puh_{xrós}*- ‘wheat’ (e.g. Lith *pūrai* ‘winter wheat’, Slov *pîr* ‘spelt’, Grk *pūrós* ‘wheat’); **tris-* ‘± vine’ (e.g. SC *trs* ‘grapevine; reed’, Alb *trishë* ‘offshoot, sapling, seedling’, Cretan Grk *thriniā* ‘vineyard’). Dialectal Greek preserves another word for ‘grapevine’, namely, *uîén* (< Proto-Indo-European **wih₁én*), which may well be old as it would seem to be the underlying noun from which the word for ‘wine’, **wóinom*, is derived (see above).

10.4 Agricultural Terms

There are a number of terms associated with the processing of presumably domesticated cereals. Taken in order of processing, we can begin with **h_{1/4}ek-* ‘rake, harrow’. It appears as a verb in Lith *akėti* ‘harrow’ and in derivatives meaning either ‘rake, harrow’ (e.g. NWels *oged*, Late Lat *occa*, OE *eg(e)ðe*, *ecgan*, dial Grk *oksína*) or ‘furrow’ (e.g. Grk *ógmos*, Oss *adæg* [< **agæd*]). Hit *akkala-* is semantically indeterminate; it may mean ‘furrow’ or ‘type of plough’. PIE **seh₁-* ‘sow’ is, an extension of the meaning ‘throw’ which is seen in Hit *sā(i)-* ‘sow, throw’. The other verbal cognates are restricted to Lat *serō*, Germanic (e.g. NE *sow*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *sėjū*), and Slavic (OCS *sějǫ*); a derived noun **sóh₁r* has produced words for ‘millet’ in Baltic (e.g. Lith *sóra*) and the word for ‘to plant’ in Toch AB *sāry-*. An extended form of this root, **seh₁i-*,

Table 10.4. *Agricultural terminology*

* <i>h_{1/4}ek-</i>	‘rake, harrow’	Lat <i>occa</i> , Grk <i>ógmos</i>
* <i>seh₁-</i>	‘sow’	NE <i>sow</i> , Lat <i>serō</i>
* <i>kerp-</i>	‘pluck, harvest’	NE <i>harvest</i> , Lat <i>carpō</i> , Grk <i>karpós</i> , Skt <i>kṛpāñī</i>
* <i>h₂meh₁-</i>	‘mow’	NE <i>mow</i> , Grk <i>amáo</i>
* <i>peis-</i>	‘thresh, grind’	Lat <i>pīnsō</i> , Grk <i>ptíssō</i> , Skt <i>pináṣṭi</i>
* <i>wers-</i>	‘± thresh’	Lat <i>verrō</i>
* <i>h₂eh₂er-</i>	‘thresh, rake’	Lat <i>ārea</i>
* <i>melh₂-</i>	‘grind’	NE <i>meal</i> , Lat <i>molō</i> , Grk <i>múlē</i> , Skt <i>mṛṇāṭi</i>

however, appears in a number of derivatives in both the east and west of the IE world, e.g. Skt *sīra*- ‘(seed-) plough’, *sīā*- ‘furrow’, Toch B *ṣito* ‘± grainfield’, Grk *sītos* ‘grain (both wheat and barley)’ (with *s*- preserved as in *sūs* ‘pig’). Another basic verbal root **(s)ker-* ‘cut’, underlies **kerp-* ‘pluck, harvest’. The semantics of the cognates vary from instruments that might be employed in cutting, e.g. MIr *corrān* ‘sickle’, Latv *cīrpe* ‘sickle’, Skt *kṛpānī* ‘sword’, to the act of plucking, e.g. Lat *carpō* ‘pluck’, to the object being gathered, e.g. Grk *karpós* ‘fruit’, to the actual act (NE *harvest*) or the period of the harvest (OE *hærfest* ‘autumn’). A word for ‘mow’ (**h₂meh₁-*) is secured with cognates in Germanic (e.g. NE *mow*), Grk *amáoō*, and Hit *hamesha*- ‘spring, ± early summer’ (i.e. ‘mowing [time]’, **h₂meh₁-sh₂o-*) and provides the basis for several regionally attested terms. The process of ‘threshing’ is indicated by several words. A PIE **peis-* is supported by cognates in Italic (Lat *pīnsō* ‘thresh’), Baltic (e.g. Lith *paisýti* ‘thresh’), Slavic (e.g. OCS *pīchati* ‘hit’), Grk *ptíssō* ‘winnow’, and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *pināsti* ‘grinds, threshes’). We also have the semantically more ambiguous **wers-* ‘± thresh’ seen in Lat *verrō* ‘sweep (grain after threshing)’, Baltic (Latv *vārsmis* ‘unwinnowed heap of grain’), Slavic (OCS *vrěšti* ‘thresh’), and Hit *warsi* ‘plucks, harvests’. A root **h₂eh₂er-* ‘thresh, rake’ is attested only in Lat *ārea* ‘threshing floor; open field’ (and source of the more generalized in meaning NE *area*) and Hit *hahhar(a)-* ‘rake’. Finally, the actual grinding of the cereal is indicated by the widely attested **melh₂-* ‘grind’ which is found in most IE groups, i.e. Celtic (e.g. OIr *meilid*), Italic (Lat *molō*), Germanic (e.g. NE *meal*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *malù*), Slavic (e.g. OCS *meljō*), Grk *múlē* ‘mill’, Arm *malem*, Hit *mall(a)-*, Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *mṛṇāti*), and Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *mely-*).

There are also a number of regional terms associated with agriculture. From the North-West we have two words for ‘furrow’: **pṛḱeh-* and **l(ə)iseh-*. The first is attested in Celtic (e.g. NWels *rhych*), Lat *porca* ‘a ridge between two furrows’, and Germanic (e.g. NE *furrow*); it has related forms in other languages, e.g. Skt *pārśāna*- ‘chasm’, but only the North-West region evidences a specifically agricultural meaning. The term is related to the word for ‘pig’ (**porkōs*) and there is the widespread notion of the pig as an animal that leaves a furrow-like track as it roots up the ground. With regard to **l(e/o)iseh_a* Lat *līra* preserves the meaning ‘furrow’ (or ‘track’ and ‘to go off the track/out of the furrow’ is *de-līrus*, i.e. ‘insane’, the source of NE *delirious*). OE *līste* ‘fringe, border’ (> NE *list*) is also cognate along with OPrus *lysa* and OCS *lēcha*, both ‘field bed’. All of these would appear to be derivatives of an unattested verbal root **leis-* ‘± leave a trace on the ground’. In the North-West we have **h₂met-* ‘mow’, an enlargement of an unattested **h₂em-*, like **h₂meh₁-*, which is seen in Celtic (e.g. OIr *meithel* ‘reaping party’), Lat *metō* ‘mow, harvest’, and Germanic (NE *meadow*). From the West Central region we have **worwos* ‘furrow’,

which is seen in Lat *urvāre* ‘to mark out a boundary with a furrow’ and Grk *ōūron* ‘range (of area that could be ploughed up in a day)’; **h₂merg-* ‘gather, harvest’, another enlargement on putative *h₂em-* which is attested in Lat *mergae* ‘reaping boards’ and Grk *amérġō* ‘gather, harvest’; **neik-* ‘winnow’ with cognates in Celtic (NWels *nithiaf*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *niekóti*), and Grk *likmáō*, all ‘winnow’. The aberrant initial of the Grk form (*l* instead of *n*) is due to dissimilation. From this region we also have **ghrendh-* ‘grind’ seen in Lat *frendō* ‘gnash the teeth’, Germanic (e.g. NE *grind*), Baltic (Lith *grėndu* ‘scrape, scratch (off)’), and Grk *khóndros* ‘grain’ with another example of dissimilation (from **khrondrós*). From the Graeco-Aryan region we have **h₄el-* ‘grind down’ with cognates in Grk *aléō* ‘grind’, Arm *alam* ‘grind’, and Skt *aṇu-* ‘fine (< ground down); *Panicum miliaceum*’.

10.5 Proto-Indo-European Flora

As with the ethno-zoological system (see Chapter 9), the reconstructed vocabulary associated with plants is not extensive if we compare this semantic class with that of living ‘natural’ languages in the world which tend to average about 500 generic taxa, roughly the same number that the Greek philosopher Theophrastus (372–287 BC) managed to describe. On the other hand, it may be the right order of magnitude for a reconstructed language. The Uralic-speaking peoples who occupied the forest zone of Eurasia provide evidence of fewer than thirty species of plants (largely trees) from their proto-lexicon and about another twenty-five words identifying the parts of plants.

Linguistic-anthropologists have examined the ethno-botanical systems of many peoples in an attempt to determine whether there existed any universals in their folk taxonomies. What has been observed is a series of stages where we might expect the creation of specific words (lexicalization) for various degrees of botanical distinction. For example, at stage 1 there would be no generic name for life forms. At stage 2 the one generic word would be ‘tree’ (and in two-thirds of the languages that lexicalize ‘tree’, the same word also means ‘wood’). At stage 3 a new word will appear to designate either ‘grass’ or non-grassy herbaceous plants (i.e. a *grerb* < grass + herb). At stage 4 a third generic plant name would be introduced—‘grass’, ‘grerb’, ‘vine’, or ‘bush’. Modern English possesses a stage 6 taxonomy with its basic plant forms of tree, plant, grass, vine, and bush. Earl Anderson has suggested that Proto-Indo-European was a stage 2 language with one life form lexicalized, i.e. **dōru* which, according to expectations, does mean both ‘tree’ and ‘wood’. As the word means specifically ‘oak’ in Celtic and Greek, he suspects that this was originally its meaning (in a

pre-PIE Stage 1 system, where there was no generic name for ‘tree’ but only specific names for the different species of trees) and that it shifted to fill out the stage 2 taxon (note that many North American Indian languages possess a word meaning both ‘tree’ and ‘fir’). More controversially, he suggests the existence of a covert taxon, *grerb*. A covert taxon is a classification that is not lexicalized (no word exists for it) yet is recognized by its speakers. There is a variety of ways in which such a covert category might be discerned, e.g. when types are routinely grouped together or in a consistent pattern that suggests a kinship between the objects being referred to even if there is no specific word to describe the group. For example, although we may commonly lump frogs and toads or alligators and crocodiles together into related groups, we do not actually employ any specific term for these groupings, e.g. *crocogators*. In Anderson’s scheme, *grerb* would comprise both the terms for wild plants (note, however, the paucity of these words in Proto-Indo-European) and also, under another taxon, **h₂ed-* ‘grain’. Actually, assessment of the generic term for ‘grain’ is difficult in that there is not a single term that does not also refer to a species, e.g. Lat *ador* refers more commonly to ‘emmer wheat’ and there would certainly be other candidates for the generic term, e.g. **ǵh₂nóm* ‘grain’ which serves as the basic form in Germanic. Indeed, there very well may be a more complex system of folk taxonomy evident in the distinctions between the uses of the different cereals grains, e.g. **dhoh₂néh₂-* ‘(harvested) grain’. The two principal grains were wheat and barley and although barley may have frequently overtaken wheat in terms of production (it is a much hardier plant and tolerant of poorer soils and temperature), wheat was also the preferred grain, and where we find the two paired in early Indo-European literature, we generally find that wheat is mentioned first, e.g. Hit *seppit euwann-a*, Grk *purōi kai krīthē* both ‘wheat and barley’.

What can we tell about the environment of the Proto-Indo-Europeans from their arboreal vocabulary? The more extensive treatments of this semantic class reveal very different takes on the nature of the Indo-European forest. Paul Friedrich’s *Proto-Indo-European Trees* (1970) sees the arboreal evidence very much at home in the forests of eastern Europe while Thomas Gamkrelidze and Vyacheslav Ivanov set their arboreal landscape in the highlands of South-West Asia. In fact, most of the Indo-European arboreal vocabulary is not geographically very diagnostic—trees such as the alder, ash, and birch are known broadly over much of Eurasia from at least the Rhine to the Urals and through the Caucasus and highlands of west Asia. On occasion, some plants are not attested in the southern Mediterranean, e.g. the birch is absent in general from southern Italy, and here we find that the ancestors of the Latins shifted the meaning of the ‘birch’ word, *fraxinus*, to ‘ash’.

The possibility of reconstructing a word for the ‘beech’, **bheh_aǵós*, has historically been used as an argument for restricting the possible Proto-Indo-European

homeland to an area west of a line drawn from Kaliningrad (= Königsberg) to Odessa since that line demarcates the easternmost range of the common beech (*Fagus sylvatica*). However, this traditional ‘beech-line argument’ ignores (1) the presence of closely related species of beech in the Crimea (*Fagus taurica*) and the Caucasus and northern coast of Anatolia (*Fagus orientalis*) and the presence of *Fagus sylvatica* itself in the forests that line the major rivers of the Ukraine and southern Russia; (2) the possibility that **bheh_aǵós* referred to a variety of oak in Proto-Indo-European (as it does in Albanian and Greek which were spoken in territories where the beech itself is abundantly attested); and (3) the absence of cognates of **bheh_aǵós* in Anatolian or any of the other Asiatic groups which robs it of a secure Proto-Indo-European ancestry. Any of these reasons prevents the ‘beech-argument’ from restricting the potential Proto-Indo-European homeland to central and western Europe.

If there really does not seem to be a single diagnostic tree name that nails down the location of the Proto-Indo-European speakers, can the arboreal evidence be utilized in any other way to help locate the proto-language? While we cannot employ negative evidence, i.e. the absence of arboreal terms, to shed light on the prehistoric situation, it has been suggested that we can perhaps draw some conclusions from semantic shifts. We have already seen that Latin shifts what is unequivocally the word for ‘birch’ in all the other Indo-European languages to ‘ash’ and we have also seen that there are good ecological grounds to explain this shift, i.e. the ancestors of the Latin speakers migrated into a land that lacked birch trees. Paul Friedrich has argued that an even stronger case for semantic shift can be found in Greek. In some cases we find semantic shifts that pertain to species, e.g. PIE **h₂es(k)*-(Grk *oksúē*) ‘ash’ shifted to ‘beech’ and PIE **bheh_aǵós*, the so-called ‘beech word’ (Grk *phēǵós*), became ‘oak’. Other shifts see replacement of the arboreal meaning with a technological one, e.g. PIE **taksos* ‘yew’ becomes *tókson* ‘bow’ in Greek (they borrowed an apparently non-IE word *smílaks* to designate the yewtree); and PIE **h₃es(k)*- ‘ash’ not only designates the ‘beech’ but also becomes ‘spear’. In terms of species shifts, Albanian also agrees with Greek with respect to changes in both the ‘beech’ word and ‘ash’. These would be admittedly limited arguments that the earliest Indo-Europeans did not live in Greece and the southern Balkans—assuming, of course, that these were real shifts of meaning and that they were motivated by a regional ecology different from that of the Proto-Indo-Europeans.

The reconstructed vocabulary for domesticated plants forms a restricted part of the botanical vocabulary as a whole although it is clear from the approximately twenty lexical items that the Proto-Indo-European community was familiar with cereal agriculture, particularly with wheat and barley, and there are at least half a dozen strongly reconstructed terms associated with planting,

harvesting, and processing cereal grains. While this has little geographical importance it does indicate that Proto-Indo-Europeans must have had at least a Neolithic subsistence base, i.e. date no earlier than *c.* 8000 BC, and that there is no question of their adhering to some form of (largely mythic) pure pastoral economy. Assigning exact referents to the several words meaning ‘grain’ or ‘wheat’ or ‘barley’ is not easy, in large part because of the ease by which the designation of a specific grain may become the word for grain in general or vice versa (PIE**ǵʰr̥nóm* > American English *corn*, i.e. maize), and also because the natural development of these words is likely to have been disturbed by interdialect borrowing as new varieties, or even new species, were passed from group to group. In this context it is significant too that at least two of the ubiquitous weeds that infest wheat and barley, that is, ryegrass and (wild) oats, are also reconstructable. The rest of the Neolithic ‘agricultural package’, namely flax, pea, and chickpea, were probably also present in the Proto-Indo-European community, but the reflexes of their designations are found only regionally in the surviving Indo-European branches, principally those of the Mediterranean (Latin, Greek), which raises at least the possibility that they may derive from a non-IE substratum. ‘Millet’ as either an original meaning or a specific designation of a more generic word for ‘grain’ is interesting since it is not normally assigned to the early Neolithic package that entered Europe from the Near East but may have rather originated in central or east Asia (it is also found in the Harppan culture of India) and entered Europe across the steppe-lands.

Further Reading

The main summary source for arboreal terms is Friedrich (1970). For words for ‘branch’ see Knobloch (1987*a*). For individual trees see: apple (Joki 1963, Hamp 1979*a*, Adams 1985*c*, Gamkrelidze 1986, Markey 1988); ash (Normier 1981); beech (Krogmann 1955, 1957, Eilers and Mayrhofer 1962, Lane 1967); hawthorn (Watkins 1993); oak (Hamp 1989*a*); pine (Itkonen 1987); arboreal names as non-Indo-European substrates are in Huld (1990). Discussion of agricultural terminology and the names of cereals can be found in Diebold (1992), Mallory (1997*b*), Markey (1989), Puhvel (1964, 1976*a*), Watkins (1973, 1977), Witczak (2003), Woitilla (1986); for specific topics see: barley (Hamp 1985); oats (Stalmaszczyk and Witczak 1991–2); wine (Bonfante 1974, Beekes 1987*a*). For folk taxonomy see Anderson (2003), Berlin (1992), and Brown (1984).

11

Anatomy

11.0	The Body	173	11.5	Internal Organs	185
11.1	The Head	173	11.6	Vital Functions	188
11.2	Hair	176	11.7	Health and Disease	192
11.3	The Upper Body and Arms	178	11.8	The Lexicon of the Body	199
11.4	The Lower Body and Legs	182			

11.0 The Body

We are able to reconstruct a substantial number of words for human and animal anatomy. This ability reflects both the natural human interest in the human body and the practical knowledge gained by butchery. Nevertheless, it is not altogether surprising that the vocabulary for the various parts of the external anatomy is better represented than that referring to internal organs. The terms for the external features were, of course, known to everyone while those concerned with at least some of the internal organs were a rather more restricted portion of the population. The number of words we can reconstruct in this area also reflects the relative stability of this particular set of words. Most of them are among the first words an infant learns and are thus particularly resistant to replacement.

11.1 The Head

There are four words attested for 'head'. The most widely distributed is **k̑rēh₂* and its derivatives that are found in seven different groups, including Anatolian (e.g. ON *hjarsi* 'crown of the head', Lat *cerebrum* 'brain' [< *(marrow) of the head' as opposed to 'bone-marrow'], Alb *krye* 'head', Grk *kárē* 'head', *karárā*

Table 11.1. *The head*

* <i>k̑ȓrēh₂</i>	‘head’	Lat <i>cerebrum</i> , Grk <i>krānion</i> , Skt <i>śíras-</i>
* <i>ghebhōl</i>	‘head’	NE <i>gable</i> , Grk <i>kephālē</i>
* <i>kapōlo-</i>	‘± head, skull’	Skt <i>kapāla-</i>
* <i>m̑h₂xdh-o-</i>	‘crown of the head’	Skt <i>mūrdhān-</i>
* <i>h₁éni-h₃kʷ-o/ehₐ-</i>	‘face’	Grk <i>enōpē</i> , Skt <i>ánika-</i>
* <i>próti-h₃(ō)kʷ-o/ehₐ-</i>	‘face, front’	Grk <i>prósōpon</i> , Skt <i>prātika-</i>
* <i>h₂ent-</i>	‘forehead’	Lat <i>ante</i> , Grk <i>anti</i> , Skt <i>ánti</i>
* <i>bhólom</i>	‘forehead’	Skt <i>bhālam</i>
* <i>h₃okʷ</i>	‘eye’	Lat <i>oculus</i> , NE <i>eye</i> , Grk <i>ómma</i> , Skt <i>ákṣi-</i>
* <i>bhrúhₓs</i>	‘eyebrow’	NE <i>brow</i> , Grk <i>ophrūs</i> , Skt <i>bhrū-</i>
* <i>hₓnáss</i>	‘nose’	Lat <i>nāris</i> , NE <i>nose</i> , Skt <i>nāsā</i>
* <i>hₐóus-</i>	‘ear’	Lat <i>auris</i> , NE <i>ear</i> , Grk <i>oūs</i>
* <i>h₁/₄óh₁(e)s-</i>	‘mouth’	Lat <i>ōs</i> , Skt <i>ās-</i>
* <i>hₓoust-ehₐ-</i>	‘mouth, lip’	Lat <i>ostium</i> , Skt <i>ósṭha-</i>
* <i>stóm̑</i>	‘mouth’	Grk <i>stóma</i>
* <i>dg̑ghuhₐ-</i>	‘tongue’	Lat <i>lingua</i> , NE <i>tongue</i> , Skt <i>jihvā-</i>
* <i>h₁dónt-</i>	‘tooth’	Lat <i>dēns</i> , NE <i>tooth</i> , Grk <i>odón</i> , Skt <i>dánt-</i>
* <i>gómbhos</i>	‘tooth, set/row of teeth’	NE <i>comb</i>
* <i>gēnu-</i>	‘jaw’	Lat <i>gena</i> , NE <i>chin</i> , Grk <i>génus</i> , Skt <i>hānu-</i>
* <i>smek̑-</i>	‘chin, jaw’	Lat <i>māla</i>
* <i>men-</i>	‘chin’	Lat <i>mentum</i>
* <i>monis</i>	‘neck’	NE <i>mane</i> , Lat <i>monile</i> , Skt <i>mányā-</i>
* <i>gʷrih₃w-ehₐ-</i>	‘neck’	Skt <i>grīvā-</i>

‘head’, *krānion* ‘crown of the head’ [> via Latin into NE *cranium*], Av *sāra-* ‘head’, *sarah-* ‘head’, Skt *śíras-* ‘head’, Toch B *krañiye* ‘neck’ [< *‘occiput’], Hit *kitkar* ‘headlong’). The second word, **ghebhōl*, is found in at least three groups (e.g. ON *gafl* ‘gable, gable-side’ [whence, via Old French, comes NE *gable*], Grk *kephālē* ‘head’, Toch A *śpāl* ‘head’) and yields the meaning ‘gable’ as well as ‘head’ or ‘skull’ in the Germanic languages. PIE **kapōlo-* is attested only in OE *hafola* ‘head’ and Skt *kapāla-* and in the latter it means both ‘head’ and ‘cup’, an association found elsewhere among the Indo-European languages, e.g. French *tête* ‘head’ derives from Lat *testa* ‘pot’. The ‘crown of the head’, **m̑h₂xdh-o-*, is found in at least three groups (e.g. OE *molda* ‘crown of the head’, Av *ka-mərəda-* ‘head of a demonic being’, Skt *mūrdhān-* ‘head’).

There are two words, both compounds indicating ‘what is in front of the eye’, that describe the ‘face’, i.e. **h₁éni-h₃kʷ-o/ehₐ-* (e.g. OIr *enech* ‘face’, Grk *enōpē*

‘face’, Av *ainika*-‘face’, Skt *ánika*-‘face, front’) and **próti-h₃(ō)k^wo/eh_a-* (e.g. Grk *prósōpon* ‘face’, Skt *prátika*-‘face’, Toch B *pratsāko* ‘chest’). There are also two words for ‘forehead’, the first, **h₂ent-*, being the ‘front, the part before’ (e.g. OIr *ētan* ‘forehead’, Lat *ante* ‘in front of, before’, Grk *anti* ‘in front of, opposite’, Hit, *hant-* ‘face, forehead, front part’, Skt *ánti* ‘in front of, opposite’, *ánta-* ‘end, limit’, Toch B *ānte* ‘surface, forehead’) while **bhólom* ‘forehead’ (OPrus *ballo*, Alb *ballë*, Skt *bhālam*, all ‘forehead’) may derive from the verbal root **bhel-* ‘shine’. Such a basic concept as ‘eye’, **h₃ok^w* (e.g. OIr *enech* ‘face’, Lat *oculus*, NE *eye*, Lith *akis*, OCS *oko*, Grk *ómma*, Arm *akn*, Av *aši*-(dual) ‘eyes’, Skt *ákṣi-*, Toch B *ek*, all ‘eye’), is attested in ten Indo-European groups while **bhrúh_xs-*, ‘eyebrow’, can be found in at least nine groups (e.g. OIr *forbrú*, NE *brow*, Lith *bruvìs*, Rus *brovì*, Maced *abrou̯tes*, Grk *ophrús*, Av *brvat-*, Skt *bhrú-*, Toch B *pärwāne*, all ‘brow(s)’). Two other major sense organs, **h_xnáss* ‘nose’ (e.g. Lat *nāris* ‘nostril’, *nārēs* [pl.] ‘nose’, NE *nose*, Lith *nósis* ‘nose’, OCS *nosū* ‘nose’, Av *nāh-* ‘nose’, Skt *nāsā* [dual] ‘nostrils’) and **h_aóus-* ‘ear’ (e.g. OIr *ō*, Lat *auris*, NE *ear*, Lith *ausìs*, Rus *úkho*, Alb *vesh*, Grk *oūs*, Arm *unkn*, Av *uši* [dual], all ‘ear(s)’), are attested in at least nine Indo-European groups. For ‘mouth’ we find three words of antiquity: **h_{1/4}óh₁(e)s-* (Mlr *ā* ‘mouth’, Lat *ōs* ‘mouth’, ON *ōss* ‘mouth of a river’, Hit *a(y)is-* ‘mouth’, Av *āh-* ‘mouth’, Skt *ās-* ‘mouth’), **h_xoust-eh_a-* (Lat *ōstium* ‘mouth of a river’, OPrus *austo* ‘mouth’, Lith *uostà* ‘mouth of a river’, OCS *usta* [pl.] ‘mouth’, Av *aušt(r)a-* ‘lip’, Skt *ósṭha-* ‘lip’), and **stóm̥* (NWels *safr̥n* ‘jawbone’, Grk *stóma* ‘mouth’, Hit *istaman-* ‘ear’, Av *staman-* ‘maw’), which tempt one to find some semantic distinction between the different words. The first two mean both ‘mouth’ and ‘mouth of a river’ with the second word also including ‘lip’ in Indo-Iranian. The third word, **stóm̥*, means ‘mouth’ in Celtic, Greek, and Iranian but ‘ear’ in Anatolian (where the presumed proto- Anatolian meaning may be ‘orifice’). The word for ‘tongue’, **dhǵhuh_a-*, is widely attested (e.g. OIr *tengae*, OLat *dingua*, NE *tongue*) but also widely remodelled, probably by the initial sound in the verb ‘to lick’ (we have three words and they all begin with an ‘l’), e.g. Lat *lingua* but in Old Latin it was *dingua* while Lith *liežùvis* and Arm *lezu* also begin with an initial ‘l’. There is also metathesis, e.g. Proto-Tocharian **kāntwo* (Toch A *kāntu*, Toch B *kantwo*) reverses the syllable-initial consonants of the expected **tānkwo*. Both OPrus *insuwis* and OCS *jezykū* show the loss of the Proto-Indo-European **d*-before **ŋ*, while Av *hizū*- and Skt *jihvā-* show even more reformation. There are two words for ‘tooth’. The presumably older (attested in nine groups) is **h₁dónt-* (e.g. OIr *dēt*, Lat *dēns*, NE *tooth*, Lith *dantìs*, Grk *odón*, Arm *atamn*, Av *dantan-*, Skt *dánt-*, all ‘tooth’, and Rus *desná* ‘gums’) which was originally a participle from the verb **h₁ed-* ‘eat’ (cf. Hit *adant*-‘eaten’); **gómbhos* is found in seven groups (e.g. NE *comb*, Latv *zùobs* ‘tooth’, OCS *zqbŭ* ‘tooth’, Alb *dhëmb* ‘tooth, tusk’, Grk *gómphos* ‘large

wedge-shaped bolt or nail', Skt *jámbha*- 'tooth', Toch B *keme* 'tooth'). There are several words for 'jaw' and 'chin'. Clearly old is **ǵénu*- (nine groups: OIr *gin* 'mouth', Lat *gena* 'cheek', NE *chin*, Grk *génus* 'chin, jaw', Phryg *azén* 'beard', Av *zānu*- 'jaw', Skt *hānu*- 'jaw', Toch A *śanwem* [dual] 'jaws'). We have already seen how **smek̑*- may mean 'chin' as well as 'beard'; the reconstruction of **men*- requires acceptance that the apparently cognate forms in Celtic (MWels *mant* 'mouth, jaw'), Italic (Lat *mentum* 'chin'), and Anatolian (Hit *mēni*- 'chin') were not independent derivatives from **men*- 'project'. The two words for 'neck' seem to offer some semantic distinction in that **monis* (e.g. OIr *muin* 'neck', Lat *monīle* 'necklace', NE *mane*, OCS *monisto* 'necklace', Av *manaoθrī* 'neck', minu- 'necklace', Skt *mānyā*- 'nape'), possibly also a derivative of **men*- 'project', yields derivatives meaning 'necklace' (the neck viewed from the outside) while **g^wrih_{xw}-eh_a*- (e.g. Latv *grīva* 'river mouth', Rus *grīva* 'mane', Av *grīvā*- 'neck [of a demonic being]', Skt *grīvā*- 'neck'), possibly derived from the verb **g^wer(h₃)*- 'swallow', suggests the neck viewed from the inside, i.e. the throat.

The regional Indo-European vocabulary is not nearly so extensive. From the North-West we have **káput* 'head' (e.g. Lat *caput* and less clearly derived NE *head*); **leb*- 'lip' (e.g. Lat *labium* 'lip', NE *lip*, cf. Hit *lipp*- 'lick'); **ǵhéh_a(u)-m̥* 'interior of mouth (gums, palate)' (e.g. NE *gums*, Lith *gomurỹs* 'palate'); and **kólsos* 'neck' (e.g. MÍr *coll* 'head, chief', Lat *collus*, OHG *hals* 'neck'). From the West Central area are **ǵonh_adh-o-s* 'jaw' with cognates in Baltic (e.g. Lith *žándas* 'jaw, cheek'), Grk *gnáthos* 'jaw, mouth', and Arm *cnawt* 'jaw'; **ǵhelu-neh_a*- 'lip' (e.g. ON *gǵolnar* 'jaws', Grk *khelūnē* 'lip', Arm *jelun* 'palate') and **h_aenǵh(w)ēn*- 'neck' (e.g. Rus *vjazī* 'nape', Grk *ámphēn* ~ *aukhēn* 'nape', Arm *awjik* [pl.] 'neck'; from **h_aenǵh*- 'narrow'). A Greek-Indic isogloss (Grk *oûlon*, Skt *bársva*-) is seen in **wólswo*m 'gums' (from **wels*- 'bulge').

11.2 Hair

The abundance of words pertaining to 'hair' is quite striking and in this section we will include both head hair and body hair as the two concepts occasionally overlap (or are too difficult to distinguish). The hair of the head was **kripo*- (e.g. Lat *cr̄nis* 'head hair', Alb *krip* '[short] head hair, facial hair', *krife* 'mane', Av *srifā*- 'plume', Skt *śíprā* [dual] 'moustache and beard') while the oldest word for 'beard' was **smókwr̥* (e.g. Alb *mjekër* 'beard, chin', Arm *mawruk* 'beard', Hit *z(a)munkur* 'beard', Skt *śmáśru* 'beard, [especially] moustache') which also might mean 'chin' (e.g. Lith *smakrà* 'chin', Alb *mjekër* 'beard, chin', and in OE *smāras* [pl.] it came to mean 'lips'). Body hair in general, including especially pubic hair, was **pou-m-s*-, and in several traditions marks the coming of

Table 11.2. *Hair*

* <i>kripo-</i>	‘± head and facial hair’	Lat <i>crīnis</i> , Skt <i>śīprā</i>
* <i>smókw̥r</i>	‘chin, beard’	Skt <i>śmāsru</i>
* <i>pou-m-s-</i>	‘(human) body hair’	Lat <i>pūbēs</i> , Grk <i>pōgōn</i> , Skt <i>púman-</i>
* <i>pulos</i>	‘(a single) hair’	Grk <i>pūligges</i> , Skt <i>pulakās</i>
* <i>pilos</i>	‘(a single) hair’	Lat <i>pīlus</i> , Grk <i>pīlos</i>
* <i>k(e)h_aisVr-</i>	‘mane’	Lat <i>caesariēs</i> , Skt <i>késara-</i>
* <i>ghait(so)-</i>	‘hair, mane’	Grk <i>khaítē</i>
* <i>yóku</i>	‘(animal) body hair’	Skt <i>yāśu</i>
* <i>gów̥r</i>	‘(animal) body hair’	Skt <i>guná-</i>
* <i>réum̃-</i>	‘horsehair’ or ‘fleece’	Skt <i>róman-</i>
* <i>wendh-</i>	‘(a single) hair’	Grk <i>ionthos</i>
* <i>we/ondhso-</i>	‘facial hair’	
* <i>dhrih-</i>	‘± a (coarse) hair’	Grk <i>thríks</i>
* <i>deḱ-</i>	‘thread, hair’	NE <i>tail</i> , Skt <i>daśā-</i>
* <i>koik-</i>	‘cut hair’	Skt <i>késa-</i>
* <i>werg-</i>	‘shave, shear’	
* <i>wólos</i>	‘tail hair (of a horse)’	Skt <i>vāla-</i>
* <i>puk(eh_a)-</i>	‘tail’	NE <i>fox</i> , Skt <i>púccha-</i>
* <i>w̥h₂neh_a-</i>	‘wool’	Lat <i>lāna</i> , NE <i>wool</i> , Grk <i>lénos</i> , Skt <i>úrñā-</i>

adult age, e.g. Lat *pūbēs* also designates ‘adult, one able to bear arms’ while the Sanskrit cognate *púmān* means ‘man, male’ (cf. also dialectal Lith *paustis* ‘animal hair’, Rus *pukh* ‘down’, Alb *pushem* ‘begin to grow a beard, body hair’, Grk *pōgōn* ‘beard’, Shughni *pūm* ‘down, fluff’). Related in some way are various words for ‘a single hair’, **pulos* and **pilos* (e.g. MĪr *ulu* ‘beard’, Grk *pūligges* [pl.] ‘hairs of the body’, Kurd *pūr* ‘head hair’, Skt *pulakās* [pl.] ‘bristling hairs of the body’, and Lat *pīlus* ‘[a single] hair [of the human body]’ *pilleus* ‘felt’, OCS *plüstī* ‘felt’, Grk *pīlos* ‘felt’). The word for ‘mane’ (the meaning in most cognate sets except Latin where *caesariēs* means ‘long flowing hair’) was **k(e)h_aisVr-* (e.g. Skt *késara-*, Toch A *śísri*). Less secure in original meaning is **ghait(so)-* which means ‘stiff hair’ in MĪr *gaṭsid*, ‘mane’ in Grk *khaítē*, and ‘curly hair’ in Av *gaēsa-*. The body hair, probably of animals, seems to underlie words like **yóku* (e.g. Arm *asr* ‘wool’, Skt *yāśu* ‘± pubic hair’, Toch AB *yok* ‘body hair, wool’), **gów̥r* (e.g. MĪr *gūaire* ‘[animal] hair, bristles’, Lith *gaūras* ‘down, tuft of hair’, Av *gaona-* ‘body hair, colour’, Skt *guná-* ‘thread, string’), and **réum̃-* ‘horsehair’ or ‘fleece’ (e.g. OĪr *rōn* ‘horse’s mane’, Rus *runó* ‘fleece’, NPers *rōm* ‘pubic hair’, Skt *róman-* ~ *lóman-* ‘body hair of men or animals’). The root **wendh-* designated ‘(a single) hair’ (e.g. MĪr *find* ‘a single hair’, OHG *wint-brāwa* ‘eyelash’, Grk *ionthos* ‘hair root, young beard; acne’) while the inclusion of a suffix seen in **we/ondhso-* indicated ‘facial hair’ (e.g.

MIr *fēs* ‘lip; beard; pubic hair’, OPrus *wanso* ‘first beard’, OCS *vosŭ* ‘mustache’, Khot *vatca* ‘facial hair’). The quality of hair can be seen in **dhrigh-* ‘± a (coarse) hair’ (e.g. MIr *gairb-driuch* ‘bristle, rough hair’, Grk *thriks* ‘a single hair’, Khot *dro* ‘hair’) while **deġ-*, which originally meant ‘thread’, was extended to mean ‘hair’ (e.g. OIr *dūal* ‘lock of hair’, NE *tail*, Goth *tagl* ‘a single hair’, ON *tāg* ‘thread, fibre’, Khot *dasa-* ‘thread’, Skt *daśā-* ‘fringe’, Toch A *śāku* ‘head hair’). Finally, we have two words associated with the cutting of hair, i.e. **koik-* ‘cut hair’ (in Baltic, e.g. Lith *kaišiu* ‘scrape, shave’, Alb *qeth* ‘cut hair, shear’, and Indic, i.e. Skt *kéśa-* ‘head hair’) and the poorly attested (an Armenian-Tocharian isogloss) **werġ-* ‘shave, shear’ (e.g. Toch B *wärk-* ‘shear’, Arm *gercum* ‘shave, cut hair’). The hair of animals is also attested in the sense that we have two words for ‘tail’, **wólos* (e.g. Lith *valai* [pl.] ‘tail of a horse’, Skt *vāla-* ~ *vāra-* ‘tail of a horse; horsehair’) and **puk(eh_a)-* (e.g. NE *fox*, Torwali *pūš* ‘fox’, Skt *púccha-* ‘tail’, Toch B *pākā-* ‘tail, chowrie’). The first is attested only in Lithuanian and Old Indic and in both languages specifies the ‘tail hair of a horse’. The second is found in Germanic, Indic, and Tocharian and gives us our word ‘fox’. Nine different groups (including Anatolian) attest the Proto-Indo-European word for ‘wool’, **w₁h₂neh_a-* (e.g. NWels *gwlan*, Lat *lāna*, NE *wool*, Lith *vilna*, Rus *vólna*, Grk *lēnos*, Hit *hulana-*, Av *varəṇā-*, Skt *ūrṇā-*, all ‘wool’).

From the North-West we have **bhardh-eh_a-* ‘beard’ (e.g. Lat *barba*, NE *beard*, Lith *barzdà*, all ‘beard’, Rus *borodá* ‘beard, chin’); **ċer(es)-* ‘± (rough) hair, bristle’ (e.g. NE *hair*, Lith *šrys* ‘bristle, animal hair’, Rus *šerstʹ* ‘wool, animal hair’).

11.3 The Upper Body and Arms

There is a single word for the ‘body’ in general, **kréps*, which is attested in Celtic (OIr *crī* ‘body, flesh’), Italic (Lat *corpus* ‘body’), Germanic (e.g. OE *hrif* ‘belly, womb’ [> NE *midriff*]), and Indo-Iranian (Av *kərəfš* ‘body’, Skt *kṛp-* ‘form, beauty’). Of very indeterminate meaning (and not only with respect to body parts) is **poksós* ‘side, flank’ but with meanings as variable as Latv *paksis* ‘corner of a house’, Rus *pákh* ‘flank, loins’, *pakhá* ‘armpit’, Oss *faxs* ‘side’, Skt *paksá-* ‘wing, flank, side’, and possibly OIr *ucht* and Lat *pectus*, both ‘breast’. The semantic range of words relating to ‘skin’, be it human or animal, is not always clear. The word **twéks* means ‘skin’ in Indic (Skt *tvák-*), ‘self’ in Hit *tuekka-* (also ‘body, person’), and ‘shield’ (< skin shield) in Grk *sák(k)os*. Both **(s)kwéh_xtis* (e.g. NWels *es-gid* ‘shoe’ [< ‘foot-hide’], NE *hide*, Lith *kiáutis* ‘skin’, Grk *skūtos* ‘skin, leather, hide’, Toch A *kāc* ‘skin’) and **h₁owes-* (e.g. Lat *ōmentum* ‘fatty membrane or caul covering the intestines’, Toch B *ewe* ‘inner skin, hide’) derive from verbs meaning ‘to cover’, i.e. **(s)keuh_x-* and

Table 11.3. *The upper body and arms*

* <i>kréps</i>	‘body’	Lat <i>corpus</i> , NE <i>midriff</i> , Skt <i>kṛp-</i>
* <i>poksós</i>	‘side, flank’	?Lat <i>pectus</i> , Skt <i>pakṣá-</i>
* <i>twéks</i>	‘skin’	Grk <i>sákkos</i> , Skt <i>tvák-</i>
*(s) <i>kwéh_xtis</i>	‘skin, hide’	NE <i>hide</i> , Grk <i>skûtos</i>
* <i>h₁owes-</i>	‘(inner) skin’	Lat <i>ōmentum</i>
* <i>kérmen-</i>	‘skin’	Skt <i>cárman-</i>
* <i>h_aeġinom</i>	‘hide’	Skt <i>ajinam</i>
* <i>h_{1/4}ómsos</i>	‘shoulder’	Lat <i>humerus</i> , Grk <i>ōmos</i> , Skt <i>āṃsa-</i>
*(s) <i>ċup-</i>	‘shoulder’	Skt <i>śúpti-</i>
* <i>h_aeċs-</i>	‘shoulder (joint); axle’	Lat <i>axis</i> , Grk <i>áksōn</i> , Skt <i>ákṣa-</i>
* <i>h_aeċsleh_a-</i>	‘shoulder’	Lat <i>āla</i> , NE <i>axle</i>
* <i>pl(e)t-</i>	‘shoulder (blade)’	Grk <i>ōmoplátē</i>
* <i>h₂épes-</i>	‘limb, part of the body’	Skt <i>āpas-</i>
* <i>kóks-o/eh_a-</i>	‘hollow of (major) joint’	Lat <i>coxa</i> , Skt <i>kákṣa-</i>
* <i>h_aérh_xmos</i>	‘arm, forequarter’	Lat <i>armus</i> , NE <i>arm</i> , Skt <i>īrmá-</i>
* <i>bhāġhus</i>	‘(fore)arm, foreleg’	NE <i>bough</i> ; Grk <i>pékhus</i> ; Skt <i>bāhú-</i>
* <i>dous-</i>	‘(upper) arm, shoulder’	Skt <i>dós-</i>
* <i>h₃elVn-</i>	‘elbow, forearm’	Lat <i>ulna</i> , NE <i>ell</i> , <i>elbow</i>
* <i>ġhés-r-</i>	‘hand’	Lat <i>hīr</i> , Grk <i>kheir</i>
* <i>ġhós-to-s</i>	‘hand’	Lat <i>praestō</i> , Skt <i>hástā-</i>
* <i>méh_aġ-</i>	‘hand’	Lat <i>manus</i> , Grk <i>márē</i>
* <i>h₃nogh(w)-</i>	‘(finger- or toe-)nail’	Lat <i>unguis</i> , NE <i>nail</i> , Grk <i>ónuks</i> , Skt <i>nakhá-</i>
* <i>pet(e)r-</i>	‘wing, feather’	Lat <i>penna</i> , NE <i>feather</i>
*(s) <i>pornóm</i>	‘wing, feather’	NE <i>fern</i>
* <i>pérċus</i>	‘±breast, rib’	Skt <i>pársva-</i>
* <i>psténos</i>	‘woman’s breast, nipple’	Grl <i>sténion</i> , Skt <i>stána-</i>
* <i>h₁óuh_xdhr̥</i>	‘breast, udder’	Lat <i>über</i> , NE <i>udder</i> , Grk <i>oũthar</i> , Skt <i>ūdhar-</i>
* <i>pap-</i>	‘±mother’s breast, teat’	Lat <i>papilla</i> , Skt <i>pippala-</i>
* <i>kúh_xlos</i>	‘back’	Lat <i>cūlus</i> , Skt <i>kūla-</i>
* <i>h₃nobh-</i>	‘navel, nave’	Lat <i>umbilicus</i> , NE <i>navel</i> , Grk <i>omphalós</i> , Skt <i>nābhi-</i>

**h₁eu-* respectively, while **kérmen-* (e.g. OPrus *kērmens* ‘body’, Av *čarəman-* ‘[animal] skin, leather’, Skt *cárman-* ‘skin’) derives from the verb *(s)*ker-* ‘cut (off)’. Clearly associated with animal hide is **h_aeġinom* (OCS (*j*)*azno* ‘hide, leather’, Skt *ajinam* ‘hide’) which derives from **h_aeġós* ‘goat’ thus originally ‘goat-hide’.

There are several words to indicate the ‘shoulder’. The primary one, attested in seven groups from Italic to Tocharian, is **h_{1/4}ómsos* (e.g. Lat (*h*)*umerus*

‘shoulder’, Goth *ams* ‘shoulder’, Grk *ōmos* ‘shoulder’, Arm *us* ‘shoulder’, Hit *an(as)sa-* ‘hip, buttocks; upper back’, Skt *āṃsa-* ‘shoulder’, Toch B *āntse* ‘shoulder’); **(s)kūp-* is also reasonably widely attested (MLG *schuft* ‘shoulder blade of cow or horse’, Alb *sup* ‘shoulder’, Av *supti-* ‘shoulder’, Skt *śúpti-* ‘shoulder’). The ‘shoulder joint’ is found in **h_aéks-* and its derivative **h_aék-sleh_a-*. The first indicates both the ‘axis’ and the ‘axle’ of a vehicle while the derivative is more closely associated with the ‘shoulder’ itself (e.g. Lat *axis* ‘axis, axle’, *āla* ‘shoulder, wing’, *axilla* ‘armpit’, OE *eax* ‘axle, axis’, *eaxl* ‘shoulder’, Lith *ašis* ‘axle, axis’, OCS *osī* ‘axle, axis’, Grk *áksōn* ‘axle, axis’, Av *aši-* ‘shoulder’, Skt *ákṣa-* ‘axle, axis’). The adjectival root **plet-* ‘broad’ gives a noun **pl(e)t-* in Celtic, Slavic, Greek, and Anatolian that means ‘shoulder’ or ‘shoulder blade’ (Mīr *leithe* ‘shoulder’, Rus *plečó* ‘shoulder’, Grk *ōmo-plátē* ‘shoulder blade’, Hit *paltāna-* ‘shoulder’). There are a few general terms for ‘limb’ or ‘joint’, i.e. **h₂épes-* (e.g. Hit *hapessar* ‘limb, joint, part of the body’, Oss *aƿcæg* ‘projecting part of the body, neck’, Skt *ápsas-* ‘protruding part of the body, breast, forehead, tusk’, Toch A *āpsā* [pl.] ‘limbs’), an admittedly banal derivative of **h₂ep-* ‘to fit, fasten’, and the hollow part of a joint, the **kóks-o/eh_a-*, with a challenging semantic spread, e.g. OIr *cos* ‘foot’, Lat *coxa* ‘hip’, OHG *hāhsa* ‘back of knee’, Av *kaša-* ‘armpit’, Skt *kākṣa-* ‘armpit, loins’, and Toch B *kakse* ‘loins’. Perhaps it originally meant something like ‘hollow of (major) joint’.

The upper limb has a number of words associated with it. Attested in six language groups is **h_aérh_xmos* ‘arm’ which may derive from **h_aérh_x-* ‘attach’ and several languages attest a meaning ‘shoulder’ which suggests that the semantic field for this word may have originally been the ‘upper arm’ (e.g. Lat *armus* ‘forequarter, shoulder [of an animal]’, NE *arm*, OPrus *irmo* ‘arm’, OCS *ramo* ‘shoulder’, Av *arəma-* ‘arm, forearm’, Skt *īrmá-* ‘arm’). But **bhā-ġhus* which can also indicate the shoulder is also reasonably well attested (e.g. OE *bōg* ‘shoulder, arm, bough’ [> NE *bough*], Grk *pēkh_{us}* ‘elbow, forearm’, Av *bāzu-* ‘arm; foreleg’, Skt *bāhú-* ‘forearm, arm, forefoot of an animal’, Toch B *pokai-* ‘arm; limb’) and **dous-*, attested in five groups, may mean ‘upper arm’ or ‘forearm’ (e.g. OIr *doē* ‘arm’, Latv *pa-duse* ‘armpit’ [< ‘that under the arm’], Slovenian *paz-duha* ‘armpit’, Av *daoš-* ‘upper arm, shoulder’, Skt *dós-* ‘forearm, arm’). Six groups attest **h₃elVn-* ‘elbow, forearm’ (e.g. OIr *uilen* ‘corner’, Lat *ulna* ‘forearm, ell’, NE *ell, elbow*, Grk *ōlénē* ‘forearm’, dialectal Grk *ōllón* ‘elbow’, Arm *oln* ‘spine’, Toch B *aliye* ‘palm’; note that in both Latin and Germanic it also indicates the ‘ell’, a unit of measurement) and there are some semantic shifts, e.g. Tocharian ‘palm’. Six groups, including Hittite, give us **ġhés-r-* ‘hand’ (e.g. Lat *hīr* ‘hollow of the hand’, Alb *dorë* ‘hand’, Grk *kheir* ‘hand’, Arm *jeṛn* ‘hand’, Hit *kissar* ‘hand’, Toch B *ṣar* ‘hand’) while a derivative, **ġhós-to-s*, is found in four groups (Lat *praestō* [< **prai-hestōd*] ‘a hand’,

Lith *pa-žastis* ‘armpit’, Av *zasta-* ‘hand’, Skt *hāsta-* ‘hand’). Another word for ‘hand’, **méh_ag* (oblique stem **meh_an-*), has been seen to have an underlying semantic connotation of ‘power’ as in ‘hand over’ (e.g. Lat *manus* ‘hand’, OE *mund* ‘[palm of the] hand, protection’, Goth *manwus* ‘at hand, ready’, Grk *márē* ‘hand’, *iómōros* ‘having arrows at hand’, and the related Alb *marr* ‘take, grasp’, Hit *māniyahh-* ‘hand over’, *māri* ‘manual tool, weapon’). The word for ‘nail’, **h₃nogh(w)-*, is nearly ubiquitous across the Indo-European world (e.g. OIr *ingen*, Lat *unguis*, NE *nail*, Lith *nāgas*, OCS *nogŭti*, Grk *ónuks*, Skt *nakhá-*, Toch B *mekwa* [pl.], all ‘nail’). In some groups the meaning has been generalized to ‘foot’ (e.g. Lith *nagà* ‘hoof’, Rus *nogá* ‘foot, leg’, Skt *ānghri-* ‘foot’). For birds we have two words associated with ‘wing’ or ‘feather’, **pet(e)r/n-* (e.g. OIr *ēn* ‘bird’, Lat *penna* ‘feather’, NE *feather*, Grk *pterón* ‘wing’, Arm *t’rč’im* ‘fly’, Hit *pittar* ~ *pattar* ‘wing’) and **(s)pornóm* (e.g. NE *fern*, Lith *spařnas* ‘wing’, Av *parəna-* ‘feather’, Skt *parṇá-* ‘feather’; also OCS *pero* ‘feather’, Toch B *parwa* [pl.] ‘feathers’). The first derives from the verbal root **pet-* ‘fly’.

The mid section has **pérkus* which may mean either ‘breast’ or ‘rib’ (e.g. dialectal Lith *piršys* ‘forepart of a horse’s chest’, Rus *pérsi* [pl.] ‘breast, chest [especially of a horse]’, Alb *parz* ~ *parzēm* ‘breast’, Av *parəsu-* ‘rib’, Skt *pársu-* ‘rib’, *pārsvá-* ‘region of the ribs, side’) while a ‘woman’s breast’ is indicated by cognates extending from Greek eastwards in **psténos* (e.g. dialectal Grk *stēnion*, Arm *stin*, Av *fštāna-*, Skt *stāna-*, Toch B *pāscane* [dual], all ‘woman’s breast’; we will find a derivative in the North-Western languages). For animals largely we have **h₁óuh_xdhr̥* ‘breast, udder’ (e.g. Lat *uber* ‘udder, teat, [lactating] breast’, NE *udder*, Lith *pa-údre* ‘abdomen’, Grk *oũthar* ‘udder’, Skt *údhār-* ‘udder’); the root **pap-* (e.g. Lat *papilla* ‘teat, nipple, breast’, MHG *buoben* ‘breast’, Lith *pāpas* ‘breast’, Skt *pippala-* ‘nipple’) looks like a continually reinvented children’s word (cf. NE *pap* and *boob*). The word for ‘back’, **kúh_x-los* (OIr *cúl* ‘back’, Lat *cūlus* ‘rear-end’, Skt *kūla-* ‘slope, back; rear of army’), is derived from the root **keuh_x-* ‘be bent (convexly)’ (apparently distinct from **keuh_x-* ‘hollow’; see also ‘hernia’ [Section 11.7]). Finally, **h₃nobh-* ‘navel’ also yields the meaning ‘nave’, and although ‘navel’ is the original meaning, a number of languages form their word for ‘navel’ by applying an extension, e.g. OE *nafu* ‘nave’ but OE *nafela* ‘navel’ (cf. also OIr *imbliu* ‘navel’, Lat *umbilicus* ‘navel’, *umbō* ‘boss on a shield’, OPrus *nabis* ‘nave, navel’, Grk *omphalós* ‘navel’, Skt *nābhi-* ‘navel’, *nābhya-* ‘nave’).

The regional vocabulary includes North-Western words such as the Celtic-Germanic isogloss **letrom* ‘leather’ (e.g. OIr *lethar* ‘leather’, NE *leather*); **pólik(o)s* ‘finger, thumb’ (e.g. Lat *pollex* ‘thumb’, Rus *pálec* ‘finger, toe’); **pŋ(k^w)sti-* ‘fist’ (e.g. NE *fist*, Lith *kùmstė* [< **punkstė*] ‘fist’, OCS *pesti* ‘fist’) which may derive from the word for ‘five’ (**penk^we*); and **speno-* ‘(woman’s) breast, nipple’ (e.g. OIr *sine* ‘teat’, OE *spanu* ‘breast’, Lith *spenys* ‘teat’) which

appears to be a metathesized and simplified Western version of Proto-Indo-European **psténos* listed above. The West Central region also exhibits several words for ‘skin’, i.e. **péln-* ‘animal skin, hide’ (e.g. Lat *pellis* ‘[animal] skin, hide’, NE *fell* and also *film*, Lith *plėnė* ‘film [on milk], scab’, Rus *plená* ‘pelt’, Grk *erusi-pelas* ‘red inflammation of the skin’); and possibly **nák(es)-* ‘± pelt, hide’ (e.g. OE *næsc* ‘dressed fawn’s skin’, OPrus *nognan* ‘leather’, Grk *nákos* ~ *nákē* ‘pelt, fleece, hide of deer or goat’). Other isoglosses include **méles-* ‘limb’ (e.g. Breton *mell* ‘knuckle’, Grk *mélos* ‘limb’); **h₃elek-* ‘elbow, forearm’ (a regional variant of the more widespread **h₃elVn-*, e.g. Lith *úolektis* ‘ell’, *alkúne* ‘elbow’, Rus *lokótī* ‘elbow, ell’, dialectal Grk *álaks* ‘forearm’, Arm *olok* ‘shin, leg’); **pólh_am* ‘palm of the hand’ (e.g. OIr *lām* ‘hand’, Lat *palma* ‘palm’, OE *folma* ‘palm, hand’, Grk *palámē* ‘palm’); **dhén̥-* ‘palm (of the hand)’ (OHG *tenar* ‘palm’, Grk *thénar* ‘palm, sole [of the foot]’), **dheh₁lus* ‘nourishing, suckling’ and **dhh₁ileh_a-* ‘teat, breast’ (e.g. Lat *fēlix* ‘fruitful, prosperous, happy’, Grk *thēlus* ‘nourishing’, Skt *dhārū-* ‘suckling’, MIr *deil* ‘teat’, OE *delu* ‘nipple, teat’), both banal derivatives of the verb **dheh₁(i)-* ‘suckle’; and possibly *teig^w-* ‘± side’ with OIr *tōib* ‘side’ and Arm *t’ekn* ‘shoulder’. Finally, there is the Indo-Iranian-Tocharian isogloss **mustí-* ‘fist’ (Av *mušti-*, Skt *muṣṭī-*, Toch B *maśce*, all ‘fist’).

11.4 The Lower Body and Legs

There is no unambiguous word for ‘hip’ although **klóunis* may mean ‘hip’ in some languages where it also may indicate the ‘haunch’ or ‘thigh’ (e.g. NWels *clun* ‘haunch’, Lat *clūnis* ‘buttocks, haunch [of animals]’, ON *hlaun* ‘buttocks, loin’, OPrus *slaunis* ‘hip’, ?Alb *qēnjē* ‘belt’, Grk *klónis* ‘os sacrum’, Av *sraoni-* ‘buttock’, Skt *śróṇi-* ‘buttock, hip, loin’); the other possible word for ‘hip’ is **srēno/eh_a-* but this is limited to Baltic (e.g. Lith *strėna* ‘loin’) and Iranian (e.g. Av *rāna-* ‘thigh’). The part of the body covered by **sók^wt* certainly seems to include ‘(upper) leg’ (as it is in Hit *sakutt(a)-* ‘upper leg’) but it may also mean ‘hip’ in Slavic and Avestan (e.g. Rus *stegnó* [< **segdno* < **sektno*] ‘hip, groin, thigh’, Av *haxti-* ‘hip’, Skt *sákthi* ‘thigh’). There are two words for ‘loins’, **isghis-* (e.g. Grk *iskhíon* ‘hip’, *iksús* ‘loins, groin’, Hit *iskis(a)-* ‘loins’, Lat *ília* [pl.] ‘abdomen below the ribs, groin, flanks’) and **lórdhu* (e.g. Lat *lumbus* ‘loin’, OE *lendenu* [pl.] ‘loins’, Rus *ljádveja* ‘loin, hip’, Skt *rándhram* ‘loins’). The first is found both in the form given and metathesized as **iḡs-*, e.g. Grk *iksús*. There are two words for ‘rear-end’ or ‘rump’: **h₁órs(o)-* (e.g. NE *arse/ass*, Grk *óros* ‘rump’, Arm *or* ‘rump’, Hit *ār-ra-* ~ *ārri-* ~ *arru-* ‘rump’) and **bulis* (e.g. Lith *bulis* ‘rump’, Skt *buli-* ‘vulva; anus’).

Table 11.4. *The lower body and legs*

* <i>klóunis</i>	‘± haunch, hip’	Lat <i>clūnis</i> , Grk <i>klónis</i> , Skt <i>śróṇi-</i>
* <i>srēno/eh_a-</i>	‘± hip, thigh’	
* <i>sók^wt</i>	‘(upper) leg’	Skt <i>sákthi</i>
* <i>isǵhis-</i>	‘loins’	Lat <i>īlia</i> , Grk <i>iskhion</i>
* <i>londhu</i>	‘loins’	Lat <i>lumbus</i> , Skt <i>rándhram</i>
* <i>h₁órs(o)-</i>	‘rear-end’	NE <i>arse</i> , <i>ass</i> , Grk <i>órros</i>
* <i>bulis</i>	‘± rump’	Skt <i>buli-</i>
* <i>gónu</i>	‘knee’	Lat <i>genū</i> , NE <i>knee</i> , Grk <i>gónu</i> , Skt <i>jānu</i>
* <i>kenk-</i>	‘± hock, back of knee’	NE <i>hough</i> , <i>hock</i>
* <i>póds</i>	‘foot’	Lat <i>pēs</i> , NE <i>foot</i> , Grk <i>poús</i> , Skt <i>pád-</i>
* <i>leh_ap-eh_a-</i>	‘foot, paw’	
* <i>pérśn-eh_a-</i>	‘heel’	Grk <i>ptérna</i> , Skt <i>pārṣṇī-</i>
* <i>pēnt-</i>	‘heel’	
* <i>sprh_x-ó-</i>	‘heel’	NE <i>spur</i> , Grk <i>sphurón</i>
* <i>péses-</i>	‘penis’	Lat <i>pēnis</i> , Grk <i>péos</i> , Skt <i>pásas-</i>
* <i>kápṛ</i>	‘penis’	Lat <i>caper</i> , Grk <i>kápros</i> , Skt <i>kápṛth</i>
* <i>putós</i>	‘± vulva, anus’	Grk <i>púnnos</i> , Skt <i>putau</i>
* <i>kutsós</i>	‘anus, vulva’	Lat <i>cunnius</i> , Grk <i>kūsós</i>
* <i>pisdo/eh_a-</i>	‘vulva’	
* <i>kuḱis</i>	‘± (female) pubic hair, vulva’	
* <i>g^(w)elbhus</i>	‘womb’	NE <i>calf</i> , Grk <i>delphús</i> , Skt <i>gárbha-</i>
* <i>h₄órǵhis</i>	‘testicle’	Grk <i>órkhis</i>
* <i>h₁endróś</i>	‘egg, scrotum’	Skt <i>āṇḍá-</i>

The word for ‘knee’, **gónu*, is a textbook word, attested in ten groups (e.g. OIr *glūn*, Lat *genū*, NE *knee*, Alb *gju*, Grk *gónu*, Arm *cunr*, Hit *gēnu*, Av *žnu-*, Skt *jānu*, Toch B *kenī(ne)* [dual], all ‘knee’). The back of the knee or ‘hock’ is represented by a less widely attested word **kenk-* (e.g. NE *hock*, Lith *kenklė* ‘hock, back of the knee’, Skt *kankāla-* ‘bone, skeleton’). For ‘(human) foot’ in general we have the extremely well-attested **póds* (e.g. Lat *pēs* ‘foot’, NE *foot*, Lith *pādas* ‘sole of foot’, Rus *pód* ‘ground’, Grk *poús* ‘foot’, Arm *otn* ‘foot’, Hit *pata-* ‘foot’, Av *pad-* ‘foot’, Skt *pád-* ‘foot’, Toch B *paiyye* ‘foot’) while for ‘(animal) foot, paw’ there is the less widely attested **leh_ap-eh_a-* (e.g. ON *lōfi* ‘palm’, Lith *lōpa* ‘paw’, Rus *lāpa* ‘paw’, Kurdish *lapka* ‘paw’) and three words for ‘heel’: **pérśn-eh_a-* (e.g. Lat *perna* ‘haunch’, OE *fiersn* ‘heel’, Grk *ptérna* ‘heel’, Hit *parsna-* ‘upper thigh’, Av *pāšna-* ‘heel’, Skt *pārṣṇi-* ‘heel’, Toch B *porsnai-* ‘ankle’), **pēnt-* (e.g. OPrus *pentis* ‘heel’, Rus *pjatá* ‘heel’, Pashto *pūnda* ‘heel’), and **sprh_x-ó-* (e.g. OE *spor* ‘footprint’ [> NE *spoor*], *spure* ‘heel’, *spur*

‘spur’, Grk *sphurón* ‘ankle[bone]’, Toch B *sprāne* [dual] ‘flanks’, with the same kind of semantic development seen in Hit *parsna-*).

Terminology associated with genitalia survives rather well. There are two words for ‘penis’: **péses-* and **kápr-*. The first is attested in five groups, including Anatolian (e.g. Lat *pēnis* ‘penis’, OHG *fasel* ‘penis’, Grk *péos* ‘penis’, Hit *pisna-* ‘man’ [i.e. ‘one provided with a penis’], *pisnatar* ‘penis’, Skt *pásas-* ‘penis’); it has been variously analysed as deriving from a verb ‘rub’, a verb ‘penetrate’, and, most recently, from **pes-* ‘blow, swell’, i.e. a swelling forth of liquid. The second word is basically attested by derivatives, in that Old Indic alone retains a meaning ‘penis’ (Skt *kápr̥th*) while in the other groups an *o*-stem derivative (i.e. ‘one provided with a **kápr̥*’) indicates either a ‘he-goat’ (Celtic, e.g. OIr *gabor*, Italic, e.g. Lat *caper*, Germanic, e.g. OE *hæfer*) or ‘boar’ (Grk *kápros*), i.e. these are archetypically ‘male’ animals. The best-attested word for ‘vulva’ is **putós*, found in Germanic (e.g. MHG *vut* ‘vulva’), Grk *púnnos* ‘anus’, and Skt *putau* [dual] ‘buttocks’. The crossing of ‘anus’ and ‘vulva’ also occurs in **kutsós* (e.g. Lat *cunus* ‘vulva’, dialectal Grk *kūsós* ‘vulva; anus’, NPers *kūn* ass, backside; compare the similar semantic crossing in NE ‘ass’ and the Sanskrit descendant of **bulis* above). Another word for ‘vulva’, **pido/eh_a-* (e.g. Lith *pyzdā*, Rus *pizdá*, Alb *pidh*, Nūristāni *pəri*, all ‘vulva’), is analysed as an old compound **(h₁e)pi-* + *s(e)d-* + *-o-* ‘what one sits on’. A Baltic-Iranian isogloss (e.g. Lith *kūšys* ‘female pubic hair, vulva’, NPers *kus* ‘female genitals’) supports the existence of **kukis* ‘female pubic hair, vulva’. The ‘womb’ is seen in **g^(w)elbhus* ~ **g^(w)ólbhos* (e.g. Grk *delphús*, Av *garəwa-*, Skt *gárbha-*, all ‘womb’) with frequent semantic shifts to ‘newly born animal’ (Av *garəbuš*), either a lamb (OE *cilfor-lamb* ‘ewe-lamb’) or, in its *o*-stem form, **g^(w)olbho-*, the young of a cow, e.g. NE *calf*. The word for ‘testicles’, **h₄órg̃his* (e.g. Mİr *uirge*, Alb *herdhe*, Grk *órkhis*, Arm *orjik*, Hit *arki-*, and Av *əṛəzī*, all ‘testicle(s)’), is a deverbative from **h₄órg̃hei* ‘mounts (sexually)’ (e.g. Hit *ārki* ‘mounts’, Rus *jěrzajet* ‘fidgets, wiggles, moves in coitus’, Grk *orkhéomai* ‘make lascivious motions, dance’; for the semantic relationship cf. American English ‘balls’, i.e. both ‘testicles’ (noun) and ‘copulates’ (verb)). The word for ‘egg’ or ‘scrotum’, **h₁endrós*, is built on a preposition and indicates ‘that which is inside’ (Rus *jadró* ‘kernel, scrotum’, Skt *āṇḍá-* ‘egg, scrotum’, [dual] ‘testicles’).

Regional terms from the West Central region include **kónh_am̃* ‘lower leg, shin’ (e.g. OIr *cnāim* ‘leg’, NE *ham*, Grk *knēmē* ‘tibia, spoke of a wheel’); **n(o)h_xt-* ‘± rear-end’ (Lat *natis* ‘human buttocks’, Grk *nōton* ‘back’); a Greek-Armenian isogloss **pṛh₃któs* ‘anus’ (Grk *prōktós*, Arm *erastank* [pl.]). We also have two Greek-Indic isoglosses: **gh̃ghéno/eh_a-* ‘± buttock’ (Grk *kokhónē* ‘crotch’, Skt *jaghána-* ‘hind end, buttock, pudenda’) and **muskós* ‘male or female sex organ’ (dialectal Grk *múskhon* ‘male or female sex organs’,

Skt *muṣkā-* ‘testicle, scrotum; [dual] vulva’), a word like ‘muscle’ that ultimately derives from ‘mouse’, i.e. a moving bulge under the skin.

11.5 Internal Organs

As mentioned above, we know rather less about the designations for internal organs in Proto-Indo-European than we do about the external parts of the anatomy. Among the internal organs the word for the heart is particularly well reflected in the descendent languages. The liver is also well represented while the lungs and kidneys are less so. It is significant that we can reconstruct at least

Table 11.5. *Internal organs*

* <i>mosghos</i>	‘marrow, brain’	NE <i>marrow</i> , Skt <i>majjān-</i>
* <i>gutr</i> _ḡ	‘gullet, throat’	Lat <i>guttur</i>
* <i>udero-</i>	‘abdomen, stomach’	Lat <i>uterus</i> , Skt <i>udāra-</i> , Grk <i>úteros</i>
* <i>ud̥tero-</i>	‘abdomen, stomach’	Grk <i>hustérā</i>
* <i>wenVst(r)-</i>	‘(ab)omasum’	Lat <i>venter</i> , Grk <i>énustron</i> , Skt <i>vaniṣṭhú-</i>
* <i>reumn-</i>	‘rumen’	Lat <i>rūmen</i> , Skt <i>romantha-</i>
* <i>pant-</i>	‘stomach, paunch’	Lat <i>pantex</i>
* <i>g^wétus</i>	‘stomach, womb’	Lat <i>botulus</i>
* <i>h₁en-t(e)rom</i>	‘innards’	Grk <i>éntera</i> , Skt <i>antrā-</i>
* <i>gudóm</i>	‘intestines’	Skt <i>gudá-</i>
* <i>ǵhorh_xneh_a-</i>	‘entrails’	Lat <i>haruspex</i> , NE <i>yarn</i> , Grk <i>khordē</i> , Skt <i>híra-</i>
* <i>wǵd^stí-</i>	‘bladder’	Lat <i>vēs(s)īca</i> , Skt <i>vastí-</i>
* <i>ǵhóln-~ *ǵhólos</i>	‘gall’	Lat <i>fel</i> , NE <i>gall</i> , Grk <i>khólos</i>
* <i>h₂eh₂(e)r-</i>	‘± kidney’	
* <i>yék^wṛ(t)</i>	‘liver’	Lat <i>iecur</i> , Grk <i>hēpar</i> , Skt <i>yákṛt</i>
* <i>lesi-</i>	‘liver’	
* <i>sploiǵh₂- éñ</i>	‘spleen’	Lat <i>liēn</i> , Grk <i>splēn</i> , Skt <i>plīhán-</i>
* <i>plēmōn</i>	‘lung’	Lat <i>pulmō</i> , Grk <i>pleumōn</i> , Skt <i>klōman-</i>
* <i>h₁eh₁tr-</i>	‘± lung, internal organ’	Grk <i>ētor</i>
* <i>kērd</i>	‘heart’	Lat <i>cor</i> , NE <i>heart</i> , Gkt <i>kardiā</i> , Skt <i>hṛdaya-</i>
* <i>h₁ésh₂ṛ</i>	‘(flowing) blood’	Lat <i>aser</i> , Grk <i>éar</i> , Skt <i>ásṛk</i>
* <i>kréuh_a</i>	‘blood, gore’	Lat <i>cruor</i> , Grk <i>kréas</i> , Skt <i>kráviṣ-</i>
* <i>h₂óst</i>	‘bone’	Lat <i>os</i> , Grk <i>ostéon</i> , Skt <i>ásthi</i>
* <i>mūs(tlo)-</i>	‘(little) mouse; muscle’	Lat <i>mūsculus</i> , Grk <i>mūs</i>
* <i>snéh₁wṛ</i>	‘sinew, tendon’	Lat <i>nervus</i> , Grk <i>neūron</i> , Skt <i>snāvan-</i>

some words for parts of the complex digestive system of ruminants. The relationship between Proto-Indo-European speakers (and their descendants) and their domesticated animals has been a long and close one. We know almost nothing of what Proto-Indo-European speakers might have called nerves and blood vessels. It is quite possible that there was no very elaborate Proto-Indo-European vocabulary for this part of the anatomy.

The word(s) for ‘brain’ and ‘marrow’ are often combined in Indo-European. The only one with a sure claim to PIE status is **mosghos* which means ‘marrow’ in Germanic (e.g. NE *marrow*), both ‘marrow’ and ‘brain’ in Baltic, Slavic, and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Lith *smāgenės* ‘marrow’, *smėgenys* ‘brain’, OCS *mozgŭ* ‘marrow, brain’, Av *mazga-* ‘marrow, brain’, Skt *majjān-* ‘marrow’).

The ‘gullet’ or ‘throat’, **gutṛ-*, is attested as a Latin-Hittite isogloss (Lat *guttur* ‘gullet, throat, neck’, Hit *kuttar* ‘nape of neck’). The stomach, of humans or animals, is well attested in Indo-European. **udero-* (e.g. Lat *uterus* ‘abdomen, womb’, Grk *húderos* ‘dropsy’ [*<**‘swollen stomach’], Av *udara-* ‘stomach’, Skt *udāra-* ‘stomach’) and **udtero-* (e.g. Grk *hustērā* ‘womb’, *hústros* ‘stomach’, Toch B *wästarye* ‘liver’) both derive from **ud* ‘out’, i.e. it is the outer or superficial abdomen in distinction to the ‘entrails’. The ‘omasum’ or ‘abomasum’, the third and fourth chambers of a ruminant’s stomach, is attested in **wenVst(r)-* (e.g. Lat *venter* ‘belly’, OHG *wenist* ‘belly, omasum’, Grk *énustron* ‘abomasum’, Skt *vaniṣṭhú-* ‘part of the entrails of a sacrificial animal’) while the first stomach, the rumen, **reumn-*, may also be ascribed to Proto-Indo-European (e.g. Lat *rūmen* ‘gullet, rumen’, Baluchi *rōmast* ‘rumination’, Skt *romantha-* ‘rumination’). A Latin-Hittite isogloss (Lat *pantex* ‘belly, paunch, guts’, Hit *panduha-* ‘stomach’) gives us **pant-* ‘stomach’. PIE **g^wétus* yields cognates with meanings such as ‘stomach’, ‘womb’, and ‘intestines’ (e.g. OE *cwiþ* ‘belly, womb’, Lat *botulus* ‘intestines, sausage’, Toch B *kātso* ‘belly, womb’). The ‘entrails’ themselves are seen in three roots: **h₁ent(e)rom* (e.g. ON *innr* ‘entrails’, OCS *jetro* ‘liver’, Grk *éntera* [pl.] ‘entrails’, Arm *ənderk* ‘entrails’, Skt *antrá-* ‘entrails’), literally the ‘inner part’ (cf. NE *innards* and **h₁entrós* above); **gudóm* (Low German *küt*, Macedonian *góda*, Skt *gudá-*, all ‘intestines’) which may derive from the verbal root **geu-* ‘bend, twist’; and **ǵhorh₂neh₂-* where Germanic, Greek, and Indic suggest the connotation ‘string of gut’, e.g. NE *yarn*, Grk *khordé* ‘string of gut; sausage’, Skt *híra-* ‘band, strip’ (cf. also Lat *haruspex* ‘entrail-seer’, ON *gorn* ‘guts’, Lith *žarnà* ‘guts’).

The ‘bladder’, **wǵd^stí-*, rests on an Italic-Indic correspondence (Lat *vēs-(s)īca*, Skt *vastí-*). The word for ‘gall’, **ǵhóln-* ~ **ǵhólos* (Lat *fel*, NE *gall*, Grk *khólos* ~ *kholé*, Av *zāra-*, all ‘gall’), is a transparent derivative from **ǵhel-* ‘yellow’. The ‘kidney’ is seen in **h₂eh₂(e)r-* if that is the correct proto-meaning (in Hittite the *hah(a)ri-* is some paired organ and Toch B *arañce* means ‘heart’—cf. OIR

āru ‘kidney, gland’, and maybe Lat *rēnēs* [pl.] ‘kidneys’). Two words indicate the ‘liver’: **yék^wrt* is ancient and a heteroclitic (e.g. Lat *iecur*, Lith (*j*)*ėknos* [pl.], Grk *hēpar*, Av *yākarə*, Skt *yákṛt*, all ‘liver’); **lesi-* is problematic in that it occurs only in Hit *lissi-* and Arm *leard* and while a cognate with Anatolian normally presumes Proto-Indo-European status, this word could be an early loan between two neighbouring languages. The ‘spleen’ is designated by **sploigh₂-én* (e.g. OIr *selg*, Lat *liēn*, OCS *slězena*, Grk *splēn* [> via Latin in NE *spleen*], Arm *p’aycaln*, Av *spərəzan-*, Skt *plihān-*, all ‘spleen’), though, for whatever reason, it has undergone an unusual amount of irregular phonological development.

The ‘lung’ was designated by **pléumōn* (e.g. Lat *pulmō* ‘lung’, Grk *pleúmōn* ‘lung’, Skt *klóman-* ‘right lung’), which derives from **pleu-* ‘float’, i.e. the lung was the ‘floater’. (One might compare the old-fashioned butchers’ term for ‘lungs’ in English, namely *lights*.) A second word, **h₁eh₁tr-*, poses horrendous problems of semantic reconstruction as it means, among other things, ‘entrails’ (Celtic *inathar*), ‘vein’ (Germanic, e.g. OHG *ād(a)ra*), ‘heart’ (Grk *ētor*, and also *ētron* ‘belly, abdomen’), and ‘comfort’ (Av *hv-āθra-*); its association with the lungs is presumed purely because the root appears to be related to **h₁eh₁tmén-* ‘breath’ (e.g. OE *āðre*, Skt *ātmán-*) and so we might suppose that it had something to do with the lungs. The word for ‘heart’, **kērd* or **kṛdyeh_a-*, is found in eleven groups (e.g. OIr *cride*, Lat *cor*, NE *heart*, Lith *širdis*, Rus *sérdce*, Grk *kēr* and *kardiān*, Arm *sirt*, Hit *kir*, Av *zərəd-*, Skt *hṛd-* and *hṛdaya-*, Toch B *käryāñ* [pl.], all ‘heart[s]’). There are two semantically distinct words for ‘blood’. **h₁ésh₂g* indicates ‘flowing blood’ (e.g. archaic Lat *asser*, Grk *éar*, Arm *ariwn*, Hit *ēshar*, Skt *ásṛk*, Toch B *yasar*, all ‘blood’) while **kréuh_a* indicates ‘blood outside the body’ and yields meanings such as ‘gore’, ‘raw flesh’, ‘piece of meat’ (e.g. MIr *crū* ‘blood’, Lat *cruor* ‘thick blood, gore’, Lith *kraūjas* ‘blood’, Rus *króví* ‘blood’, Grk *kréa* ‘raw flesh’, *kréas* ‘piece of meat’, Skt *kráviṣ-* ‘raw flesh’). The word for ‘bone’, **h₂óst*, is seen to be archaic in form and is found in eight groups (e.g. Lat *os*, Alb *asht*, Grk *ostéon*, Arm *oskr*, Hit *hastāi-*, Av *asti-*, Skt *ásthi*, Toch B *āsta* [pl.], all ‘bone[s]’, and OIr *esna* ~ *asna* ‘ribs’). The word for ‘muscle’, **mūs(tlo)-*, is closely associated with the word for ‘mouse’ (it means ‘little mouse’), and words for ‘mouse’ may also mean ‘muscle’ in various Indo-European groups (e.g. Lat *mūsculus* ‘little mouse; muscle’ [> NE *muscle*], OHG *mūs* ‘mouse; muscle [especially the biceps]’, Grk *mūs* ‘mouse; muscle’, Arm *mukn* ‘mouse; muscle’, Khotanese *mūla-* ‘mouse; muscle’). The verbal root **snéh₁(u)-* ‘turn, twist’ is the basis for **snéh₁wṛ-* ‘tendon, sinew’ (e.g. Lat *nervus* ‘sinew, tendon, nerve, muscle’ [> NE *nerve*], Grk *neûron* ‘sinew, tendon, gut’, Arm *neard* ‘tendon’, Av *nāvarə* ‘tendon’, Skt *snāvan-* ‘tendon’, Toch B *ṣñor* ‘tendon, sinew’).

From the West Central region we have **mréghmen-* ‘brain’ (e.g. OE *bregen* > NE *brain*, Grk *brekhmós* ‘forehead’); **bh_erug-* ‘gullet’ (Lat *frūmen*, Grk *pháru(g)ks* ‘gullet’, Arm *erbuc* ‘breast’); **ng^wén-* ‘± (swollen) gland’ (e.g. Lat *inguen* ‘groin, swelling of the groin’, OHG *ankweiz* ‘pustules’, Grk *adén* ‘gland’); **ghelgheh_a-* ‘gland’ (Rus *železá* ‘gland’, Arm *geljk* [pl.] ‘gland’); **neg^whrós* ‘kidney’ (e.g. ME *nēre* ‘kidney’, Grk *nephros* ‘kidney’); and there is an Eastern **móstr* ‘brain, marrow’ (e.g. Av *mastrəγan-* ‘skullwall’ [< **‘brain-case’*], Skt *mastīṣka-* ‘brain’, Toch A *mäsšunt* [pl.] ‘marrow’).

11.6 Vital Functions

The verb ‘to live’ is **g^weih₃-* (e.g. Lat *vīvō* ‘live’, Lith *gyjù* ‘become healthy’, OCS *živq* ‘live’, Av *ǰvaiti* ‘lives’, Skt *ǰīvati* ‘lives’, Grk *zōō* ‘live’, Toch B *šáw-* ‘live’; NE *quick* is related to this root) and the concept of ‘vital force’ or ‘life’ is seen in **h_aóyus* (see below).

There are several words relating to the sexual act. A PIE **h₄órǵhei* ‘mounts’ is found in Germanic (e.g. ON *ergi* ‘lascivious behaviour’), Baltic (e.g. Lith *ar-žūs* ‘lascivious’), Slavic (e.g. Rus *jěrzajet* ‘fidgets, moves in coitus’), Grk *orkhéomai* ‘makes lascivious motion’, Ht *ārki* ~ *arga* ‘mounts (used with respect to a male animal)’, Skt *rghāyáte* ‘is impetuous’. The verbal form also underlies **h₄órǵhis* ‘testicle’, suggesting that the Proto-Indo-Europeans shared the same semantic mindset that yields American slang ‘balls’ to indicate both ‘testicles’ and the sexual act. We also have **yébhe/o-* ‘enter, penetrate’ in the specific meaning ‘copulate’ which is seen in Rus *jebú*, Grki *oíphō*, and Skt *yábhati*, all ‘copulate(s)’; this meaning appears to be a later semantic development which did not take place in Anatolian or Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *yäp-* ‘enter, set [of sun]’), nor is it found in the West. There is also a series of words for the concept ‘bear young’. The most widespread is **bhére/o-*, the verb that can mean ‘carry’ as well as ‘bear a child’ (e.g. OIr *beirid* ‘bears’, Lat *ferō* ‘bear’, NE *bear*, OCS *berq* ‘gather’, Alb *bie* ‘bring, take’, Grk *phérō* ‘bear’, Arm *berem* ‘bear’, Av *baraiti* ‘bears’, Skt *bhárati* ‘bears’, Toch AB *pär-* ‘bear’; a derivative gives the NE *bairn* ‘child’). Another verb is **seu(h_x)-* (e.g. Av *hu-* ‘bear a child’, Skt *sūte* ‘bears, begets’) which also has nominal derivatives, e.g. NE *son*, Grk *huyús* ‘son’, Skt *sūnús* ‘son’, Toch B *soy* ‘son’. **gēnh₁-* gives rebuilt transitive forms (e.g. OLat *genō* ‘beget’, Lat *gignō* ‘produce’, OE *cennan* ‘beget’, Grk *gennáo* ‘beget’, Skt *jánati* ‘begets’) but there is an underlying intransitive form, ‘be born’, that is found in Lat *gnāscor* ‘am born’, Grk *gígnomai* ‘am born’, Skt *jajāna* ‘am born’. The verb **tek-* ‘bear a child’ (Grk *tiktomai* ‘bear, beget’) provides the base of a noun **tek-men-* that gives NE *thane* and Skt *tákman-* ‘child, offspring’.

Table 11.6. *Vital functions*

*g ^w eih ₃ -	‘live’	Lat <i>vīvō</i>
*h _a óyus	‘vital force, life, age of vigour’	Lat <i>aevus</i>
*h ₄ órǵhei	‘mounts’	Grk <i>orkhéomai</i> , Skt <i>ṛghāyāte</i>
*yébhe/o-	‘enter, penetrate, copulate’	Grki <i>oíphō</i> , Skt <i>yábhati</i>
*bhére/o-	‘bear (a child)’	Lat <i>ferō</i> , NE <i>bear</i> , Grk <i>phérō</i> , Skt <i>bhárati</i>
*seu(h _x)-	‘bear a child’	Skt <i>sūte</i>
*ǵenh ₁ -	‘beget a child; be born’	Lat <i>genō</i> , Grk <i>gennáō</i> , Skt <i>jánati</i>
*tek-	‘bear or beget a child’	Grk <i>títkomai</i> , NE <i>thane</i> , Skt <i>tákman-</i>
*h _a eug-	‘grow’	Lat <i>augeō</i> , NE <i>eke</i> , Grk <i>aéksō</i> , Skt <i>úḁṣati</i>
*h _a wokséye/o-	‘grow’	NE <i>wax</i> , Skt <i>vakṣayati</i>
*ǵerh _a -	‘grow, age, mature’	Grk <i>gērásḱō</i> , Skt <i>jīryati</i>
*h ₁ leudh-	‘grow’	Lat <i>liber</i> , Grk <i>eleútheros</i> , Skt <i>ródhati</i>
*kér-	‘grow’	Lat <i>crescō</i> , <i>creō</i> , Grk <i>korénmūmi</i>
*meh ₁ (i)-	‘grow’	Skt <i>mūmīte</i>
*bhengh-	‘grow, increase’	Skt <i>baṇhayate</i>
*wredh-	‘grow, stand, take shape’	Grk <i>orthós</i> , Skt <i>várdhate</i>
*h _a énh ₁ mi	‘breathe’	Skt <i>ániti</i>
*h ₁ eh ₁ tmén-	‘breath’	Skt <i>ātmán-</i>
*h _a énh ₁ mos	‘breath’	Lat <i>animus</i> , Grk <i>ánemos</i>
*k ^w ésh _x mi	‘breathe deeply, sigh’	Lat <i>queror</i> , Skt <i>śvásiti</i>
*dhwésmi	‘breathe, be full of (wild) spirits’	Lat <i>furō</i> , NE <i>dizzy</i>
*bhes-	‘± blow’	Grk <i>psūkhē</i> , ?Skt <i>-psu-</i> NE <i>wheeze</i>
*k ^w eh _a s-	‘cough’	NE <i>tong</i> , Grk <i>dáknō</i> , Skt <i>dásati</i>
*denk-	‘bite’	Lat <i>ēragō</i> , Grk <i>ereúgomai</i>
*h ₁ reug-	‘belch’	Lat <i>vomō</i> , Grk <i>eméō</i> , Skt <i>vámiti</i>
*wémh _x mi	‘spew, vomit’	Lat <i>spuō</i> , NE <i>spew</i> , Grk <i>ptúō</i> , Skt <i>ṣṭhīvati</i>
*(s)py(e)uh _x -	‘spew, spit’	OLat <i>dacruma</i> , Lat <i>lacrima</i> , NE <i>tear</i> , Grk <i>dákru</i> , Skt <i>ásru-</i>
*(d)h ₂ ékru	‘tear’	Lat <i>sūdō</i> , NE <i>sweat</i> , Grk <i>idiō</i> , Skt <i>svédate</i>
*sweid-	‘sweat’	
*h ₄ elh ₁ -n-	‘sweat’ (noun)	
*h ₃ méiǵhe/o-	‘urinate’	Lat <i>meiō</i> , Grk <i>omeikhō</i> , Skt <i>méhati</i>
*sók _ṛ	‘(human) excrement’	Grk <i>skōr</i>
*kerd-	‘± defile, defecate’	Lat <i>-cerda</i>
*g ^w uh _x -	‘defecate’	Skt <i>gūtha-</i>
*ǵhed-ye/o-	‘defecate’	Grk <i>khézō</i>
*kók ^w _ṛ	‘excrement, dung, manure’	Grk <i>kópros</i> , Skt <i>śákṛt</i>
*pérde/o-	‘fart’	NE <i>fart</i> , Grk <i>pérdomai</i> , Skt <i>párdate</i>

The semantic sphere of ‘grow’ or ‘increase’ is abundantly covered in Proto-Indo-European. **h_aeug-* is known in seven groups (e.g. Lat *augeō* ‘augment, increase’, NE *eke*, Lith *áugu* ‘grow’, Grk *aéksō* ‘increase’, Av *uxšyeiti* ‘grows’, Skt *úkṣati* ‘strengthens’, Toch B *auk-* ‘grow, increase’) while its derivative, **h_awokséye/o-*, is attested in three (e.g. NE *wax*, Av *vaxšaiti* ‘grows’, Skt *vakṣayati* ‘grows’); both of these have the connotation ‘increase’. The root **ġerh_a-* suggests a meaning ‘grow old’ (e.g. OCS *zŕěti* ‘ripen’, Grk *gēraskō* ‘age, grow old’, Skt *jīryati* ~ *jūryati* ‘grows old, becomes decrepit’, Toch AB *kwār-* ‘age, grow old’) and provides the base for words meaning ‘old man’ (e.g. Grk *gērōn*, Arm *cer*, Skt *jārant-*). **h₁leudh-* also suggests growth in terms of maturation (e.g. OIr *lus* ‘plant’, Lat *Liber* ‘god of growth’, OE *lēodan* ‘spring up, grow’, Av *raodaiti* ‘grows’, Skt *ródhati* ‘grows’) and in nominal forms it may mean ‘children’ (Lat *liberī* [pl.] ‘children’), ‘free’ (Lat *liber*, Grk *eleútheros*) or ‘people’ (e.g. NHG *Leute* ‘people’, Lith *liáudis* ‘common people’, Rus *ljúdi* ‘people, servants’). The semantic field of **k_{er}-* more precisely concerns the growth of plants; the name of the Latin goddess *Cerēs* derives from this root (cf. also Lat *creō* ‘create’, Grk *korénnumi* ‘satisfy’, *koúros* ‘adolescent’, Arm *sirem* ‘bring forth’, Tocharian *kärk-* ‘sprout’). The root **meh₁(i)-* (e.g. Hit *māi-* ‘grow’, Skt *mīmīte* ‘is conceived, grows [of the fetus in the womb]’, Toch B *maiwe* ‘youth’) has a derivative **meh₁ro-* ‘large’ (see Section 19.2). PIE **bhengh-* ‘grow, increase’ appears as a verb only in Skt *baṃhayate* ‘causes to grow’ but its derivative, **bhéng_hus* ‘thick, abundant’, has left a widespread progeny (see Section 19.2). Finally, **wredh-* is also associated with the concepts of ‘standing up(right)’ and ‘taking shape’ (e.g. Latv *rādīt* ‘bear’, Rus *rodītī* ‘produce’, Grk *orthós* ‘upright, straight, true’, Av *vərədaiti* ‘grows’, Skt *vṛdhāti* ‘grows, increases, becomes strong’, *vṛādhant-* ‘upright’, Toch AB *wrāt-* ‘form, shape’).

Respiratory activities are well attested with the verb **h_aénh₁-*, first person singular **h_aénh₁mi*, ‘breathe’ (Goth *uzanan* ‘breathe one’s last’, Skt *ániti* ‘breathes’, Toch B *anāsk-* ‘breathe [in]’) providing the basis of the noun **h_aénh₁mos* ‘breath’ (e.g. Lat *animus* ‘spirit, wind’, Grk *ánemos* ‘wind’, Arm *holm* ‘wind’). A second word for ‘breath’, **h₁eh₁tmén-* (e.g. OHG *ātum* ‘breath’, Skt *ātmán-* ‘breath, soul’, Toch A *āñcām* ‘self, soul’ [phonologically conflated with the previous word]), lacks an underlying verb although it does appear to be related to **h₁eh₁tr-* which may have meant ‘lung’ (see Section 11.4); the distinction between the two words is unclear (both can also mean ‘spirit’ in some languages). The verb **k_wésh_xmi* can also mean ‘lament’ or ‘sigh’ and so suggests a very audible breathing (e.g. Lat *queror* ‘complain, lament’, Av *suši* [dual] ‘lungs’, Skt *śvásiti* ‘breathes, sighs’, Toch B *kwäs-* ‘lament, bewail’). A wide range of meanings is to be found associated with **dhwésmi*, e.g. ‘rage’ (e.g. OIr *dāsacht*, ‘rage fury’, Lat *furō* ‘rage’), ‘ghost’ (e.g. MHG *tuster* ‘ghost,

spectre', Lith *dvasià* 'ghost, spirit), 'gasp', 'expire' (e.g. Lith *dvesiù*), and there is the suggestion of some form of animated breathing, a suffusion of wild spirits; derivatives give us general names for 'wild animals', including NE *deer*, Lat *bēlua* 'wild animal'. Possibly onomatopoeic is **bhes-* which may have meant something like 'blow' (Grk *psūkhē* 'breath, spirit', Skt *-psu-* 'breath'). The word for 'cough' would appear to be **k^weh_os-* (e.g. MĪr *casachtach* 'act of coughing', OE *hwōsan* 'cough' [related in some way is NE *wheeze*], Lith *kósiu* 'cough', OCS *kašili* 'cough' [noun], Alb *kollë* 'cough' [noun], Skt *kásate* 'coughs', Toch B *kosi* 'cough' [noun]).

The verb 'bite', **denk-*, yields 'tongs' and 'pinchers' in Germanic (e.g. NE *tongs*) and Alb *darë* 'tongs' but its underlying meaning is retained in Greek, Indo-Iranian, and Tocharian (e.g. Grk *dáknō*, Skt *dásati*, Toch B *tsāk-*, all 'bite'). The root **h₁reug-* 'belch' is found in seven groups (e.g. Lat *ērūgō*, OE *rocettan*, Lith *riáuɡmì*, Rus *rygátì*, Grk *ereúgomai*, Arm *orcām*, NPers *ā-rōγ* [noun], all 'belch') and 'spew' or 'vomit' is indicated by two roots: **wémh_xmi* (e.g. Lat *vomō*, Lith *vėmti*, Grk *eméō*, Av *vam-*, Skt *vámiti*, all 'vomit') and **(s)py(e)uh_x-* (e.g. Lat *spuō* 'spit', NE *spew*, Lith *spiáuju* 'spew', OCS *pljujō* 'spew', Grk *ptúō* 'spit out, disgorge', Skt *ṣṭhīvati* 'spews'; a derivative of the latter is NE *spit*). The noun 'tear', **(d)h₂ékru*, is problematic and some groups indicate an initial **d-* and others give no indication of such a form. Those stocks without a **d-* include Baltic (e.g. Lith *ašarà*), Anatolian (Hit *ishahru*), Indo-Iranian (Av *asrū-*, Skt *ásru-*), and Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *akrūna* [pl.]); those with an initial **d-* comprise Celtic (e.g. OIr *dēr*), Italic (e.g. OLat *dacruma*, Lat *lacrima*), Germanic (e.g. NE *tear*), and Grk *dákru*, i.e. there is roughly an East–West dialectal split. The **d-* may either be a prefix or a misdivision, e.g. **tod h₂ékru* 'this tear' (cf. NE *newt* from a misdivision of the earlier *an ewte*). For the concept 'sweat' we have both a widely attested verbal root **sweid-* (e.g. Lat *sūdō*, NE *sweat*, Latv *svīstu*, Alb *dirsem*, Grk *idíō*, Skt *svédate*, Toch B *sy-*, all 'sweat') and the much more confined (Celtic-Anatolian) **h₄elh₁-n-* (OIr *allas* 'sweat' [noun], Hit *allaniye-* 'sweat' [verb]).

The verb 'to urinate', **h₃méighe/o-*, is widely attested (eight groups) while the nominal formation appears to be later and secondary (e.g. Lat *meiō* ~ *mingō*, OE *mīgan*, Lith *minžù*, Serbo-Croatian *mīžati*, Grk *omeikhō*, Arm *mizem*, Av *maēzaiti*, Skt *méhati*, all 'urinate'). There are two words associated with excrement that are strongly attested to Proto-Indo-European (and others more regionally attested). The strongest is **sókg* with cognates in six groups (e.g. OE *scearn* 'dung, manure', Latv *sārni* 'slag', Rus *serú* 'defecate', Grk *skôr* '[human] waste, excrement', Av *sairya-* 'dung'), including Anatolian, e.g. Hit *sakkar* 'excrement'; the base meaning of **kerd-* may have been more general, e.g. 'defile, dirty' as well as 'defecate' (e.g. Lat *mūs-cerda* 'mouse droppings',

bu-cerda ‘cattle dung’, MPers *xard* ‘clay’, Shughni *šarθk-* ‘defecate’, Skt *kar-dama-* ‘mud, slime, mire, dirt, filth’, Toch B *kärkkälle* ‘swamp, mire’). We may also add **g^wuh_x-* ‘defecate’ (Arm *ku* ‘dung, manure’, Av *gūθa-* ‘dirt, excrement’, Skt *gūtha-* ‘dung’), whose Proto-Indo-European status would be enhanced if proposed Lat *imbūbināre* ‘defile with menstrual blood’ and Germanic (OHG *quāt* ‘dirt, excrement’) be admitted; there is also **ghed-ye/o-* ‘defecate’ which is based on cognates from Alb *dhjes*, Grk *khézō*, and Skt *hadati*. The noun **kók^w_g* ‘excrement, dung, manure’ is found only in Baltic (Lith *šikù* ‘defecate’), Grk *kópros* ‘dung, manure’, and Indo-Iranian (Skt *śákṛt* ‘excrement, dung’), and it may be semantically related to PIE **sókr̥* ‘human excrement’ as ‘animal dung’.

Finally, widely distributed (eight groups) also is **pérde/o-* ‘fart’ (e.g. NWels *rech*, NE *fart*, Lith *pérdžiū*, Rus *perdetĩ*, Alb *pjerdh*, Grk *pérdomai*, Av *pərəδ-*, Skt *párdate*, all ‘fart’).

Regional terms for natural functions are well attested. In the North-West zone we have **dher-* ‘shit’ with cognates in Lat *foria* [pl.] ‘swine dung’, *foriō* ‘defecate’, Lith *derėkti* ‘besmire with filth’, and from the extended **dhreid-* in Germanic we have OE *drītan* ‘defecate’, NE *dirt* [*<*drit- <*dhrid-*], dialectal Russian *dristátĩ* ‘suffer from diarrhea’).

The West Central area includes **pelh_x-* ‘bear young’, a term applied to animals (e.g. NE *foal*, Alb *pjell* ‘give birth to, produce’, *pelē* ‘mare’, Grk *pôlos* ‘foal’, Arm *ul* ‘kid, young of deer or gazelle’); **h_ael-* ‘grow’ (e.g. OIr *ailid* ‘nourishes’, Lat *alō* ‘grow’ and the NE derivative *old* and Lat *altus* ‘high’). Of obvious onomatopoeic origin is **pneu-* ‘snort, sneeze’ which underlies a Germanic (OE *fnēosan* ‘sneeze’) -Greek *pnēō* ‘breathe’ isogloss. There are words associated with ‘excrement’, i.e. **kūh_xdós* ‘dung’ (Lith *šūdas* ‘dung, muck’, dialectal Grk *hus-kuthá* ‘pig-dung’) and **kak(k)eh_aye/o-* ‘defecate’ (e.g. MIr *caccaid* ‘defecates’, Lat *cacō* ‘defecate’, Rus *kákatiĩ* ‘defecate’, Grk *kakkáo* ‘defecate’, Arm *k’akor* ‘excrement’) which was originally a children’s word, e.g. NE *caca*, which became the primary word for ‘bad’ in Greek, i.e. *kakós* (compare the semantic development of ‘shitty’ in contemporary NE). Finally, there is a phonetic variant of **pérde/o-* ‘fart’ seen in **pesd-* ‘fart’ (some have claimed the distinction is material, a **perd-* being louder than a **pesd-*) seen in Lat *pedō*, perhaps NHG *fisten*, Lith *bezdũ*, Rus *bzdetĩ*, and Grk *bdēō*, all ‘fart’.

11.7 Health and Disease

As one might expect there are a number of words we can reconstruct for various skin diseases and physical deformities. On the other hand, there are

no words we can reconstruct for invisible diseases, such as a heart attack, stroke, cancer, etc.

Words for ‘strength’ in Proto-Indo-European are testosterone driven. For example, **h_aénr̥* (as a derivative **h_anéř*) yields ‘man’ in seven groups (e.g. Alb *njeri* ‘person’, Grk *anēr* ‘man’, Phryg *anar* ‘man’, Arm *ayr* ‘man, person’, Luv *annar-* ‘man’, Av *nār* ‘man’, Skt *nár-* ‘man, person’) and other derived meanings

Table 11.7. *Health and sickness*

<i>*h_aénr̥</i>	‘(manly) strength, vitality’	Grk <i>anēr</i> , Skt <i>nár-</i>
<i>*wéh_x(e)s-</i>	‘strength, vitality’	Lat <i>vīs</i> , Grk <i>ís</i> , Skt <i>váyas-</i>
<i>*h_aóyus</i>	‘vital force, life, age of vigour’	Lat <i>aevus</i> , Grk <i>aiōn</i> , Skt <i>áyu(s)-</i>
<i>*bélos</i>	‘strong’	Lat <i>dēbilis</i> , Grk <i>bēteros</i> , Skt <i>bálam</i>
<i>*weġ-</i>	‘strong’	Lat <i>vegeō</i> , Skt <i>vāja-</i>
<i>*ken-</i>	‘fresh’	Lat <i>recēns</i> , Grk <i>kainós</i> , Skt <i>kanína-</i>
<i>*sólwos</i>	‘whole’	Lat <i>salvus</i> , Grk <i>hólos</i> , Skt <i>sárva-</i>
<i>*h_{1/4}eis-</i>	‘refresh’	Grk <i>ierós</i> , Skt <i>iṣirá-</i>
<i>*med-</i>	‘heal, cure’	Lat <i>medeor</i>
<i>*losiws</i>	‘weak’	NE <i>lazy</i>
<i>*h_aepus</i>	‘weak’	
<i>*kēmha-</i>	‘grow tired, tire oneself with work’	
<i>*leh₁d-</i>	‘grow slack, become tired’	Lat <i>lassus</i> , Grk <i>lēdeîn</i>
<i>*streug-</i>	‘be fatigued, exhausted’	Grk <i>streúgomai</i>
<i>*seh₄i-</i>	‘± be angry at, afflict’	Lat <i>saevus</i> , NE <i>sore</i> , Grk <i>haimōdiā</i>
<i>*h_aégħleh_a-</i>	‘affliction’	NE <i>ail</i> , Skt <i>ághrā</i>
<i>*h_aéngħes-</i>	‘± suffering, grief, fear’	Lat <i>angor</i> , Skt <i>áhas-</i> , NE <i>anger</i>
<i>*h₁édwōl</i>	‘pain; evil’	
<i>*swergh-</i>	‘be ill’	
<i>*sokto-</i>	‘sickness’	
<i>*h₁ermen-</i>	‘sickness’	
<i>*h₃ligos</i>		
<i>*k^(w)leik-</i>	‘suffer’	Skt <i>kliśyate</i>
<i>?*(p)kórmos</i>	‘± grief, shame’	NE <i>harm</i>
<i>*h_aem(h_x)-ī-weh_a-</i>	‘suffering’	
<i>*k^weh_as-</i>	‘cough’	
<i>?*pster-</i>	‘sneeze’	Lat <i>sternuō</i> , Grk <i>ptárnumai</i>
<i>?*skeu-/kseu-</i>	‘sneeze’	Skt <i>kṣāuti</i>
<i>*k_gh_xwos</i>	‘bald’	Lat <i>calvus</i>
<i>*ne/og^wnós</i>	‘bare, naked’	Lat <i>nūdus</i> , NE <i>naked</i> , Grk <i>gumnós</i> , Skt <i>nagná-</i>
<i>*h_aendhós</i>	‘blind’	Skt <i>andhá-</i>

Table 11.7. *Health and sickness (Cont'd)*

*kolnós	‘one- eyed’	Skt <i>kāṇā-</i>
*káikos	‘one- eyed’	Lat <i>caecus</i> , Skt <i>kekara-</i>
*bhodh _x rós	‘deaf’	Skt <i>bodhirá-</i>
*mū-	‘dumb’	Lat <i>mūtus</i> , Grk <i>mukós</i> , Skt <i>múka-</i>
*melo-	‘bad’	
*méles-	‘fault, mistake’	Lat <i>malus</i> , Grk <i>méleos</i>
*mendo/eh _a -	‘± (bodily) defect’	Lat <i>menda</i> , Skt <i>mindā</i>
*(s)keng-	‘limp’	Skt <i>kañj-</i>
*sromós	‘lame’	Skt <i>srāmá-</i>
*skauros	‘± lame’	Lat <i>scaurus</i> , Skt <i>khora-</i>
*dedrús	‘tetter, skin eruption, leprosy’	NE <i>tetter</i>
*k _l nos	‘callosity’	Lat <i>callus</i>
*worh _x do-	‘wart’	NE <i>wart</i>
*w _g h _x os	‘pimple’	Lat <i>varus</i>
*kreup-	‘± rough, scabby’	NE <i>rough</i>
*h _l élkes-	‘± ulcer’	Lat <i>ulcus</i>
*kéuh _x l	‘hernia’	Grk <i>kālē</i>
*ster-	‘barren, infertile’	Lat <i>sterilis</i> , Grk <i>stériphos</i> , Skt <i>starī-</i>
*wédh _h ris	‘castrated’	Grk <i>ethrís</i> , Skt <i>vádhri-</i>
*wolno/eh _a -	‘(bloody) wound’	Lat <i>volnus</i> , Grk <i>oulē</i> , Skt <i>vraṇá-</i>
*h _a éru(s)-	‘wound’	Skt <i>áruṣ-</i>
*peles-	‘wound’	Grk <i>ápelos</i>
*swero-	‘(suppurating) wound’	
*mer-	‘die’	Lat <i>morior</i> , Grk <i>émorten</i> , Skt <i>mriyáte</i>
*m _g tós	‘dead; mortal’	Lat <i>mortuus</i>
*m _g tís	‘death’	Lat <i>mors</i> , Skt <i>mṛti-</i>
*m _g tóm	‘death’	NE <i>murder</i>
*móros	‘death’	Grk <i>móros</i> , Skt <i>māra-</i>
*nek-	‘perish, die’	Lat <i>necō</i> , Skt <i>náśyati</i>
*neks-	‘death’	Lat <i>nex</i> , Grk <i>néktar</i>
*nékus	‘death; dead’	Grk <i>nékus</i>
*wel-	‘die’	
*dhg ^w hei-	‘perish, destroy’	Grk <i>phthínō</i> , Skt <i>kṣhyáte</i>
*néh _a wis	‘corpse’	
*g ^w es-	‘extinguish’	Grk <i>sbénnūmi</i> , Skt <i>jásate</i>

include ‘will’ (Lith *nóras*), ‘violently’ (Hit *innarā*), and ‘sexually potent’ (Hit *innarawant-*); similarly, *wéih_x(e)s- ‘strength, vitality’ (e.g. Lat *vīs* ‘power’, Grk *ís* ‘power’, Skt *váyas-* ‘vitality, growth’) has the related *wih_xrós ‘man’ (e.g. OIr *fer* ‘man’, Lat *vir* ‘man’, NE *werewolf*, Lith *výras* ‘man, husband’, Av

vīra- ‘man’, Skt *vīrá-* ‘man, husband’). The noun **h_aóyus* is more closely associated with the concept of ‘lifespan’ (e.g. OIr *āes* ‘life, age’, Lat *aevus* ‘lifespan, age’, Goth *aiws* ‘time, eternity’, *aión* ‘vitality, lifespan’, Av *āyū* ‘lifespan’, Skt *āyu(s)-* ‘life, lifespan’). The adjectives for ‘strong’ are both problematic in that **bēlos* (e.g. Lat *dēbilis* ‘weak, infirm’, OCS *bolījī* ‘larger’, Grk *bēlēros* ‘better’, Skt *bálam* ‘power, strength’) requires a Proto-Indo-European **b-* which is exceedingly rare (some would argue non-existent) while **weǵ-* is limited to Lat *vegeō* ‘enliven, stir up’ and Indic (Skt *vāja-* ‘strength’), although there are several other controversial cognates. The word for ‘fresh’ (with also meanings of ‘young (animal)’), **ken-*, may be a regional term (West Central: e.g. MĪr *cana* ~ *cano* ‘young animal [of wolf, dog, etc.]’, Lat *recēns* ‘fresh, just arrived’ [> by borrowing NE *recent*], OCS *začeti* ‘begin’, Grk *kainós* ‘young’) if one does not accept the proposed Indic cognate (Skt *kanīna-* ‘young’). Words for ‘healthy’ or ‘whole’ can be seen in PIE **sólwos* which is found in Lat *salvus* ‘whole, well’, Alb *gjallë* ‘living, agile, deft’, Grk *hólos* ‘whole’, Indo-Iranian (Av *haurva-* ‘entire’, Skt *sárva-* ‘all, whole’), and Tocharian (Toch A *salu* ‘complete’); a West Central regional word, **kóh_ailus* (NE *whole* and, borrowed originally from a Scots dialect, *hale*, OPrus *kailū-sitkan* ‘health’, OCS *cělū* ‘healthy’, dialectal Grk *koīlu* ‘good’), is found in Greek and the Western languages (Celtic, Germanic, Baltic, and Slavic) which suggests to some two competing dialectal terms. There are two words of Proto-Indo-European status that refer to ‘healing’. **h_{1/4}eis-* (e.g. Grk *ierós* ‘manifesting divine power, holy, hallowed’, *iáomai* ‘heal’, Av *iš-* ‘strength’, Skt *iṣ-* ‘refreshment, comfort, strength’, *iṣirá-* ‘strong, lively’) finds cognates in Anatolian indicating ‘salving’ or ‘anointing’ (Hit *iski(ya)-*) while **med-* (which also gives Lat *medicus* ‘doctor’, Av *vī-mad-* ‘healer’) is probably a specialized development of PIE **med-* ‘measure’.

There are a number of words indicating ‘weakness, tiredness’ and related concepts. A different formation of **losiwos* (Goth *lasiws* ‘weak’, Toch B *leswi* ‘attacks of weakness’) provides NE *lazy*. Some associate **h_aepus* (e.g. Grk *ēpedanós* ‘fragile, weak; maimed, halting’, Skt *apuvāyāte* ‘becomes ill, spoils’) with **h_aépo* ‘backwards’. The state of ‘being tired’ is indicated by **kēmha-* (e.g. MĪr *cuma* ‘grief’, Grk *kámnō* ‘be tired, work hard at’, Skt *śāmyati* ‘becomes quiet, fatigues, ceases’) and **leh₁d-* (e.g. Lat *lassus* ‘tired’, OE *læt* ‘sluggish’, Lith *lėnas* ‘lazy, gentle’, OCS *lěnū* ‘lazy’, Alb *lodhet* ‘becomes tired’, Grk *lēdeîn* ‘be tired’, Toch B *lāl-* ‘exert oneself, tire oneself’), the latter also meaning ‘grow slack’ and possibly an extended meaning of the verb of the same form meaning ‘let go’. The verb **streug-* is a Greek-Tocharian isogloss (Grk *streúgomai* ‘am exhausted, worn out; suffer distress’, Toch B *sruk-* ‘die’).

Words associated with ‘pain’ are abundant enough. **seh₄i-* is to be seen in OIr *saeth* ‘pain, sickness’, Lat *saevus* ‘fierce’, NE *sore*, Latv *sīvs* ‘sharp, biting’,

Grk *haimōdiā* ‘kind of tooth-ache’, Hit *sā(i)-* ‘be angry at, resent’, Toch B *saiwe* ‘itch’. **h_aéghleh_a-* is found in Germanic (e.g. NE *ail*) and Indo-Iranian (Av *aγrā* ‘type of disease’, Skt *ághrā* ‘affliction’). **h_aéngheś-* gives ON *anгр* ‘grief’ which was borrowed into English as *anger*, as well as Lat *angor* ‘fear’, Av *azah-* ‘oppression’, Skt *ámhas-* ‘fear’; the word derives from **h_aengh-* ‘narrow’ and brings together the underlying meaning of ‘constriction’. Some form of searing ‘pain’ is indicated by **h₁édwōl* (e.g. Hit *idālu-* ‘evil’, Toch B *yolo* ‘evil’; cf. also OIr *idu* ‘pains, birthpangs’, Grk *odúnē* ‘pain, suffering’) from a root **h₁ed-* ‘eat’ or ‘bite’; the word means ‘evil’ in both Anatolian and Tocharian. The wide distribution and close semantic cluster of **swergh-* ‘be ill’ guarantees its PIE status: it is attested in Celtic (OIr *serg* ‘illness’), Baltic (e.g. Lith *sergù* ‘am ill’), Alb *dergjem* ‘lie ill’, and Tocharian (Toch B *särk-* ‘illness’). A rare Celtic-Hittite isogloss suggests **sokto-* ‘sickness’ where we have OIr *socht* ‘silence, stupor’ compared with Hit *saktāizzi* ‘takes care of, performs sick maintenance’; the word perhaps derives from the root **sek-* ‘dry’, i.e. sickness as a form of dryness. Some form of physical illness is suggested by **h₁erment-* ‘sickness’ which is seen in Germanic (e.g. OE *earm* ‘weak, wretched’), Alb *jerm* ‘stupor’, Arm *olorm* ‘pity’, and Hit *arman-* ~ *ērman-* ‘sickness’. Another word that may indicate ‘ill’ is **h₃ligos* where a medical meaning is retained in Baltic (e.g. Lith *ligà* ‘illness’) and Alb *lig* ‘bad’, while the sense of ‘smallness’ is suggested by Grk *oligos* ‘few’ and Toch B *lykaške* ‘small, fine’; a Greek *o*-grade form with the expected loss of the initial laryngeal, *loigós*, does indicate ‘ruin, harm’. The word **k^(w)leik-* is largely Eastern (Balto-Slavic, e.g. Lith *klišės* ‘crab-claw’, Rus *klestiti* ‘press’, and the Asian languages, e.g. Skt *klišyate* ‘suffers, is tormented’, Toch B *klaiks-* ‘shrivel, wither’). The questionable ascription of **(p)kórmos* to Proto-Indo-European rests on a Germanic-Slavic-Iranian isogloss (e.g. NE *harm*, Rus *sórom* ‘shame’, Av *fšarəma-* ‘shame’) while **h_aem(h_x)-t-weh_a-* is attested as a noun only in Greek (Grk *aniā* ‘grief, sorrow, trouble’) and Indic (Skt *ámīvā* ‘suffering, sickness’) but there are underlying verbal forms in other Indo-European languages (e.g. ON *ama* ‘bother, pester, molest’).

There are a number of words for specific ailments or conditions. The best-attested word for ‘cough’ is **k^weh_s-* (from Irish to Tocharian—see above) while there are two others, **pster-* (e.g. OIr *srēod* ‘sneeze’, Lat *sternuō* ‘sneeze’, Grk *ptárnumai* ‘sneeze’, Arm *p’rngam* ‘sneeze’) and **kseu-/skeu-* (e.g. Lith *skiaudžiu*, Skt *kṣāuti*), that have reasonable distributions but have been regarded as onomatopoeic and hence possibly independent creations. We have seen that there are many words for ‘hair’ in Proto-Indo-European but only one for ‘bald’, **k_lh_xwos* (Lat *calvus*, Av *kaurva-*, Skt *āti-kūrva-*, all ‘bald’) which is possibly related to the regional (West Central) **glo(h_x)wos* ‘bare, bald’ (e.g. NE *callow*, Rus *gólyj* ‘bare’). The word for ‘naked’, **ne/og^wnós* (e.g. Grk *gumnós*, Hit

nekumant-, Av *maγna-*, Skt *nagná-*, all ‘naked’), yields a derivative **nog^wedho-* from which we obtain both Lat *nūdus* and NE *naked*). The word for ‘blind’, **h₂endhós*, is poorly attested and rests on comparing a Gaulish term for a gladiator who fights blind with a helmet without eye-openings (*anda-bata*) with Indo-Iranian (Av *anda-* ‘blind’, Skt *andhá-* ‘blind’). There are two possible words meaning ‘one-eyed’, **kolnós* and **káikos*, the status of the first resting on a putative Celtic cognate (OIr *coll* ‘having lost the right eye’, otherwise a Greek-Indic isogloss, dialectal Grk *kellás* ‘one-eyed’, Skt *kāṇá-* ‘one-eyed’) and the second on a late Indic form (Skt *kekara-* ‘cross-eyed’) extending an otherwise North-Western distribution (e.g. OIr *cāech* ‘one-eyed’, Lat *caecus* ‘blind’, Goth *hailhs* ‘one-eyed’). A strong Celtic-Indic isogloss, **bhodh_xrós* ‘deaf’ (e.g. OIr *bodar*, Skt *bhadirá-*), does secure the word for this infirmity while the word for ‘dumb’, **mū-* (e.g. Lat *mūtus* ‘dumb’ [> by borrowing NE *mute*], Norwegian *mua* ‘be silent’, dialectal Grk *mukós* ‘dumb’, Arm *mun* ‘dumb’, Skt *mūka-* ‘dumb’), is more problematic and may be sound-symbolic (cf. NE ‘keeping *mum*’).

Defects may be moral, e.g. **melo-* and **méles-* (e.g. MÍr *mell* ‘mistake’, Lat *malus* ‘bad’, Lith *mėlas* ‘lie’, Grk *méleos* ‘miserable, fruitless, vain’, Arm *melk’* ‘sin’, Av *mairya-* [an epithet of demonic beings]) or physical **mendo/eh_a-* with meanings ranging from ‘stain’ to ‘defect of the body’ (e.g. OIr *mennar* ‘spot, stain’, Lat *menda* ‘bodily defect’, Lyc *mēte-* ‘damage, harm’, Skt *mindā* ‘defect of the body’). A word for ‘lame’ or a ‘limp’ is seen in **(s)keng-* (e.g. OHG *hinkan* ‘limp’, Grk *skázō* ‘limp’, Skt *kañj-* ‘limp’) and possibly **sromós* (a Slavic-Indo-Iranian isogloss, e.g. Rus *khromój* ‘lame’, Skt *srāmá-*, but possibly a loanword in Slavic from [unattested] Iranian). Also somewhat doubtful is the Latin-Indic isogloss that gives us **skauros* (Lat *scaurus* ‘clubfooted’, Skt *khora-* ‘lame’).

There are six words denoting conditions of the skin. A word for ‘skin eruption’ or ‘leprosy’ survives in OE *teter* (> NE *tetter*) and Skt *dadrú-* ‘skin eruption, a kind of leprosy’ to give **dedrús*, apparently derived from **der-* ‘split’. A Latin-Indic isogloss (Lat *callus* ‘callosity’ [> borrowed in NE *callus*], Skt *kīṇa-* ‘callosity’) yields **kīnos* ‘callosity’ from **kal-* ‘hard’. The word for ‘wart’, **worh_xdo-* (e.g. NE *wart*, NPers *balū* ‘wart’), has the same form as the word for ‘frog’ (see Section 9.3) and indicates that the two have been associated since Proto-Indo-European. Words for ‘pimple’, ‘scabby’, and ‘ulcer’ are found respectively as **wrh_xos* (Lat *varus* ‘pimple’, Lith *vīras* ‘measles’, Toch B *yoro* ‘± pimple’), **kreup-* (e.g. OE *hrēof* ‘rough, scabby’, Lith *kraupūs* ‘rough’, Toch B *kārpiye* ‘common’ [< **rough*]), and **h₁élkēs-* (Lat *ulcus* ‘ulcer’ [> by borrowing NE *ulcer*], Grk *hélkos* ‘ulcer’, Skt *ársās-* ‘haemorrhoids’).

The word for ‘hernia’, **kéuh_xl_g*, is found in five groups (e.g. OE *hēala*, Lith *kūlas*, Rus *kilá*, Grk *kālē*, Oss *k’ullaw*), all of which retain this remarkably specific meaning; the word itself apparently derives from **keuh_x-* ‘be bent (convexly)’ (see also **kuh_xlos* ‘back’, Section 11.3). We retrieve **ster-* ‘barren’

where it generally refers to an animal, usually a ‘barren cow’ (Lat *sterilis* ‘barren’, Nice *stirtla* ‘barren cow’, Bulg *sterica* ‘barren cow’, Grk *stēfra* ‘barren cow’, *stériphos* ‘barren’, Arm *ster* ‘barren’, Skt *starī-* ‘barren cow’; there is also Alb *shtjerrë* ‘lamb’, Toch B *šari* ‘kid’). A word **wédhri-* ‘castrated’ yields this meaning in Grk *ethrís* ‘eunuch’ and Skt *vádhi-* ‘castrated’, and *wether* in NE, but has a more basic meaning ‘strike’ in Luvian so it is not entirely certain that ‘castration’ was the meaning in Proto-Indo-European.

To be included in the vocabulary of violence in Proto-Indo-European are those words referring to a ‘wound’. **wol/rno/eh_a-* is attested in various vowel-grades (e.g. Lat *volnus* ‘wound, injury’, Alb *varrë* ‘wound, injury, sore’, Grk *oulē* ‘scar’, Rus *rána* ‘wound’, Skt *vraṇá-* ‘wound’) while **h_aéru(s)-* and **peles-* are attested by single isoglosses, Germanic-Indic (ON *orr* ‘scar’, Skt *áruṣ-* ‘wound’) and Greek-Tocharian (Grk *ápelos* ‘[unhealed] wound’, Toch B *pīle* ‘wound’), respectively. **swero-* ‘(suppurating) wound’ is found more widely (e.g. NWels *chwarren* ‘ulcer’, OHG *sweren* ‘fester’, Rus *khvóryj* ‘sick’, Av *x^uara-* ‘wound’).

The vocabulary of death is extensive with many words derived from two verbal roots: **mer-* (e.g. Lat *morior* ‘die’, Lith *mīrštu* ‘die’, OCS *mīrǫ* ‘die’, dialectal Grk *émorten* ‘died’, Arm *meṛanim* ‘die’, Hit *mer-* ‘disappear, die off’, Av *mīryeiti* ‘dies’, Skt *mriyáte* ‘dies’) and **nek-* (e.g. Lat *necō* ‘kill’, Av *nasyeiti* ‘disappears’, Skt *násyati* ‘is lost, disappears, perishes’, Toch B *nakštār* ‘disappears, perishes’) which were already nominalized in Proto-Indo-European to indicate ‘death’ and ‘dead person’ (e.g. **mṛtís* ‘death’ in Lat *mors*, Lith *mirtis*, Av *mərəti-*; **móros* ‘death’ in Lith *māras* ‘death’, OCS *morŭ* ‘plague’, Grk *móros* ‘fate, doom, death’, Skt *māra-* ‘death’; **mṛtós* in Lat *mortuus* ‘dead’, Grk *brotós* ‘person’, Skt *mṛtá-*; **nekós* ‘death’ in Lat *nex* ‘death’, Grk *néktar* ‘nectar’ [< **‘death-conquering’*]; **nékus* ‘death, dead’ in Grk *nékus* ‘corpse’, Av *nasu-* ‘corpse’, Toch B *eñkwe* ‘man’ [< **‘mortal’*]). Other roots include **wel-*, whence the ON Valhalla, the ‘hall of the dead’ (cf. also ON *valr* ‘one who dies on the battlefield’, Latv *velis* ‘spirit of the dead’, Czech *valěti* ‘fight, make war’, Toch A *wäl-* ‘die’, *walu* ‘dead’). Those languages attesting **dhg^whei-* nowhere indicate a specific meaning ‘die’ but rather ‘disappear, be destroyed’ (Skt *kṣīyáte*), and ‘dwindle’ (Grk *phthínō*). The word for a ‘corpse’, **néh_awis*, finds this meaning in the North-Western languages (Goth *naus* ‘corpse’, OPrus *nowis* ‘corpse’, ORus *navī* ‘corpse’) but there is a Tocharian cognate indicating ‘sick’ (Toch A *nwām*). And finally, as another type of ‘death’ we have **g^wes-* ‘extinguish’ which is attested in Baltic (e.g. Lith *gèsti* ‘go out’), Slavic (e.g. OCS *ugasiti* ‘extinguish’), Grk *sbénnumi* ‘extinguish’, Hit *kist-* ‘go out’, Skt *jásate* ‘be extinguished’, and Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *kes-* ‘go out’). As to our final reconstruction, Anatolian argues for an initial **g-*, Greek and Indic for **g^w-*; the other languages will allow either.

Regional words from the North-West include **káikos* ‘one-eyed, cross-eyed’ (see above) although there is a possible Indic cognate. There are a number of

West Central words: **kóh_ailus* ‘healthy, whole’ (both NE *hale* and *whole*—see above); **yak(k)-* ‘± cure, make well’ (Celtic, e.g. OIr *icc* ‘cure, treatment’, Grk *ákos* ‘cure, treatment’); **bher-* ‘± cure with spells and/or herbs’ (with problematic Baltic cognates, e.g. Lith *būrti* ‘cast a charm, spell’, and sound Alb *bar* ‘grass, herb, drug, medicine’, and Grk *phármakon* ‘something that brings health or harm, drug, medicine’); **k^went(h)-* ‘suffer’ is found in Celtic (e.g. OIr *cēsaid* ‘suffers’), Baltic (e.g. Lith *kenčiù* ‘suffer’), and Grk *páskhō* ‘suffer’; **seug-* ‘be sick’, is based on a Germanic-Armenian isogloss (e.g. NE *sick*, Arm *hiwcanim* ‘sicken’). We have already seen **gol(h_x)wos* ‘bare, bald’ (NE *callow*) as a regionally attested form alongside the more widely distributed **k_lh_xwos*; Germanic, Baltic, Slavic, and Armenian attest **bhosós* ‘bare, naked’ (e.g. NE *bare*, Lith *bāsas* ‘barefoot’, OCS *bosŭ* ‘barefoot’, Arm *bok* ‘barefoot’). The root **lerd-* underlies **lord(s_k)os* ‘crooked of body’ (Sgael *lorcach* ‘lame’, MHG *lërz* ‘left’, Grk *lordós* ‘bent backwards so the front of the body is convex’). A root **g^weidh-* may have meant something akin to ‘be foul, purulent’ (its attestations range from ON *kveisa* ‘boil, whitlow’ through OCS *židukŭ* ‘sap-filled, juicy [of plants]’ to Grk *deīsa* ‘slime’) while semantically more secure is **pūh_xes-* ‘putrefaction, pus’ (Lat *pūs* ‘pus’ [> by borrowing NE *pus*], Lith *puvės(i)ai* ‘rotten things’, Grk *púos* ‘pus’, Arm *hu* ‘purulent blood’) from a root **peu(h_x)-* ‘stink, rot’. A Baltic-Greek isogloss (e.g. Lith *vočiš* ‘ulcer, abscess, boil’, Grk *ōteilé* ‘wound’) gives **weh_at-* ‘(suppurating) wound’. The verbal root **dheu-* ‘die’ (e.g. OIr *dīth* ‘death, end’, Lat *fūnus* ‘burial’, Goth *diwans* ‘mortal’, OCS *daviti* ‘strangle’, Arm *dī* ‘corpse’) also underlies ON *deyja* whence is borrowed NE *die* (some would see *die* as native rather than borrowed); it is possibly related to **dhwes-* ‘breathe’ as in ‘expire’; we might put here **(s)kerb-~(s)kerbh-* ‘shrink, shrivel’ with some connotations of ‘wasting away’, e.g. Lith *skuřbti* ‘suffer a decline, wither; mourn’, Rus *skórblyj* ‘shrivelled’, Grk *károphō* ‘let shrivel, dry out’. Greek-Indo-Iranian cognates include **péh₁mŋ* ‘misfortune, suffering’ (Grk *pēma* ‘misfortune, suffering, misery’, Av *pāman-* ‘dryness, scab’, Skt *pāmán-* ‘skin disease’) and **mórtos* ‘person, mortal’ (dialectal Grk *mortós* ‘person; dead’, Av *marəta-* ‘person, mortal’, Skt *márta-* ‘person, mortal’). An Indic-Tocharian isogloss (Skt *klām(y)ati* ‘becomes weary, fatigues’, Toch B *klänts-* ‘sleep’) is seen in **kh_xm(-s)-* ‘be fatigued, sleepy’.

11.8 The Lexicon of the Body

In terms of numbers of cognates, terms for the body and bodily functions form the largest semantic category in Proto-Indo-European, and those words

pertaining to health and disease constitute the second largest (followed by terms relating to speech and then kinship terms). The primacy or near primacy of body parts is found across most languages and the semantic categories of body and health constitute the single largest semantic category in proto-Uralic as well. The importance of body parts is also indicated in word frequency lists and it is at least interesting if not instructive to compare the frequency of mention of body parts in American English compared with the frequency of cognate terms to occur in each IE subgroup (Table 11.8).

The figure indicates a broad conformity in the relative popularity of certain organs with both PIE and English rating the words for ‘foot’, ‘heart’, and ‘eye’ as either the three most frequently cited or widely attested words. On the other hand, a word like ‘knee’ would drop to about twentieth position in English although it is as well attested as ‘eye’ in PIE. In some cases the variance in ranking is due to the fact that we can reconstruct multiple words in PIE to fill out what is generally covered by a single word in English, e.g. the PIE words for ‘hair’ and ‘blood’.

Word frequency lists also remind us that the most popular or most frequently spoken form in PIE need not have been the form in which it is usually cited in the handbooks. In English, for example, the word *eye* occurs in about 700th place while the plural *eyes* is the more frequently cited word and falls about 200th place. Similarly, *ears* is at 1,000th place while *ear* is below at 1,500th place; *arms* is at about 800th place and the singular form is at about

Table 11.8. *Frequency of occurrence of body part names in American English and the number of cognate groups in Proto-Indo-European*

PIE BODY PARTS	NO OF COGNATE GROUPS	ENGLISH BODY PARTS	RANK ORDER
Foot	12	foot	1
Heart	11	heart	3
Eye	10	eye	2
Knee	10	tongue	13
Tooth	9	tooth	8
Tongue	9	bone	11
Finger	9	ear	10
Bone	9	shoulder	12
Eyebrow	8	blood	7
Ear	8	hair	4
Chin/jaw	8	nose	9
Breast	8	skin	5
Shoulder	6	arm	6

1,000th. In all these cases, in PIE we might expect that the more often spoken form was in the dual rather than the nominative singular.

Approaches to the folk taxonomy of the body and disease in the Indo-European vocabulary are very few. We have early texts, for example Luvian, that enumerate the twelve parts of the body, but there does not seem to have been much comparative work to see to what extent we may reconstruct a taxonomy of the IE body purely on textual grounds. On the other hand, widespread traces of an Indo-European creation myth that involved the dismemberment of a giant's body (human or bovine) to create the universe and human society does offer some evidence for potential taxonomies. For example, the *R̥gveda* describes how a primeval giant was dismembered and his mouth became the priest class, his hands the warrior, his thighs the farmers, and his feet the workers and artisans. In other traditions there emerges a general pattern of association with the head as the priests, the torso as the warriors, and the lower part of the body equated with the commoners. In his studies of the physical correlations of mythic anatomy, i.e. the creation of the universe from the body parts of a primeval giant, Bruce Lincoln has found widespread evidence among various IE traditions for the following equations: flesh = earth, bone = stone, hair = plants, blood = water, eyes = sun, mind = moon, brain = clouds, head = heaven, and breath = wind.

The reconstructed vocabulary concerning terms for disease is probably extremely partial. A study of the folk taxonomy of disease among the Eastern Subanun of the southern Philippines uncovered 132 single-word labels for disease (and over a thousand words for plants) and discussion of diseases among the Subanun was regarded as the third most popular topic after litigation and botany. As one might expect, there was a taxonomic system which defined by various levels of specificity, e.g. 'skin disease' comprised 'inflammation', 'sores', and 'ringworm' which in turn might be subdivided. This should perhaps warn us then that the reconstructed detritus that gives us six words for skin disease (**dedrús* 'tetter, skin eruption, leprosy', **k̥l̥nos* 'callosity', **worh_xdo*- 'wart', **wr̥h_xos* 'pimple', **kreup-* '± rough, scabby', **h₁él̥kes-* '± ulcer') might be a fraction of a far more complex taxonomy of disease. And unlike plant names, diseases by their very nature may be progressive and, consequently, our reconstructed terms may in places only be designating the various stages in the progression of a disease and its symptoms.

As to the varieties of cures, the lexical evidence does suggest several means. The root **med-*, with specifically medicinal connotations only in Latin and Iranian, suggests healing as the result of undertaking a specified series of practices to restore normality. The root **h_{1/4}eis-* 'refresh' suggests that this might be accomplished with a liquid; the root **yak(k)-* leaves the means of cure unclear, while a possible **bher-* indicates the use of herbs in Albanian and

Greek but spells in Baltic (if the Baltic words are indeed cognate with the Balkan words). A number of early Indo-European traditions distinguish between diseases that can be cured by spells, e.g. blindness, and which are appropriate to the highest social function of the priest; diseases that require surgery with a knife, e.g. wounds, fractures, which are appropriate for the warrior class; and diseases requiring the use of herbs, e.g. fevers, emaciation, which are regarded as most closely associated with the lower food-producing estate. Generally, diseases and their cures are discussed within the context of the tripartite social and mythological system proposed for the early Indo-Europeans (see Chapter 25).

Further Reading

In addition to the handbooks, there is a considerable literature on various body parts, here arranged alphabetically: blood (Hamp 1979*b*, Linke 1985, Parvulescu 1989), body (Stalmaszczy and Witczak 1990), bone (Hamp 1974*b*, 1984*b*), eye (Forssman 1969, Hamp 1973*b*, Dahllöf 1974, Hendriksen 1981, Lindeman 2003), hair (Adams 1985*d*, 1988*b*, Markey 1984*a*), haunch (Huld 1997), head (Hamp 1974*c*, Bernabé 1982, Nussbaum 1986), heart (Szemerényi 1970), limb (Benveniste 1956*a*, Hamp 1970, 1982*b*, Puhvel 1976*b*, Markey 1984*b*, Pedrero 1985, Horowitz 1992, Schwartz 1992), mouth (Lindeman 1967, Wennerberg 1972), nose (Hamp 1960, 1974*a*), penis (Takács 1997), skin (Hilmarsson 1985), spleen (Hamp 2002), teeth (Narten 1965), tongue (Winter 1982, Hilmarsson 1982, Hamp 1989*b*), and wool (Lindeman 1990*b*). Several of the vital functions also have specialist literature: live (Hamp 1976), die (Katz 1983, Barton 1989, Woodhouse 2003), cough (Hamp 1980*b*), breath (Roider 1981).

For the medical vocabulary of the Subanun see Frake (1961); the American word frequency list is based on Carroll (1971); the Uralic data derive from Häkkinen (2001). The relationship between anatomy and mythology is covered by Lincoln (1986).

12

Family and Kinship

12.1 Family and Household	203	12.3 Kinship	209
12.2 Marriage	206		

12.1 Family and Household

One of the best-attested areas of the reconstructed lexicon pertains to the family and kinship relations.

Words for the two sexes are unevenly distributed with the majority associated with males. There are some distinctions in that when descendants of **wih_xrós* (OIr *fer* ‘man, husband’, Lat *vir* ‘man, husband’, OE *wer* ‘man, husband’ [NE *werewolf*], Lith *výras* ‘man, husband’, Av *vīra-* ‘man; person [as opposed to animals]’, Skt *vīrá-* ‘hero; [eminent] man; husband’) and **h_anér* (NWels *nêr* ‘hero’, Umb *ner-* ‘chief’, Alb *njeri* ‘person’, Grk *anêr* ‘man’, Arm *ayr* ‘man, person’, Phryg *anar* ‘man’, Luv *annara/i-* ‘forceful, virile’, Av *nar-* ‘man’, Skt *nár-* ‘man, person’) are found in the same language, the former usually refers to ‘male, husband’ or the like while the latter sometimes may indicate a more honorific position such as a ‘hero’ or ‘chief’, though there is obviously a good deal of overlap. The former may derive from a word meaning ‘young’ (e.g. Toch A *wir* ‘young fresh’ or Alb *ri* ‘young’, if the latter is from **wrih_xos* < **wih_xros*) while the latter indicates ‘power, strength’ (e.g. OIr *nert* ‘strength, power’, Lat *neriōsus* ‘firm’), and even ‘anger’ (OPrus *nertien*). Both words appear to derive from roots originally indicating ‘(youthful) strength’. Perhaps more conjectural is the derivation of **mVnus*, which rests on a not entirely clear Germanic-Indic isogloss (e.g. NE *man*, Skt *mānu-* ‘man, person’),

Table 12.1. *Family and household*

* <i>wih_xrós</i>	‘man, husband’	Lat <i>vir</i> , NE <i>werewolf</i> , Skt <i>vīrá-</i>
* <i>h_anér</i>	‘man, person’	Grk <i>anér</i> , Skt <i>nár-</i>
* <i>mVnus</i>	‘man’	NE <i>man</i> , Skt <i>mánu-</i>
* <i>rsén</i>	‘male’	Grk <i>ársēn</i> , Skt <i>ṛṣabhá-</i>
* <i>wersēn</i>	‘male’	Lat <i>verrēs</i> , Skt <i>vṛṣán-</i>
* <i>ġerh_a-ont-</i>	‘old man’	Grk <i>gérōn</i> , Skt <i>járant-</i>
* <i>g^wénh_a</i>	‘woman’	NE <i>quean</i> , Grk <i>gunē</i> , Skt <i>gnā-</i>
* <i>h_ayeu-</i>	‘young’	Lat <i>iūvenis</i> , Skt <i>yúvan-</i>
* <i>h_ayuh_x-n-kós</i>	‘youth’	Lat <i>iūvencus</i> , NE <i>young</i> , Skr <i>yuvaśá-</i>
* <i>maghus</i>	‘young man’	
* <i>maghwih_a-</i>	‘young woman’	NE <i>maiden</i>
* <i>méryos</i>	‘young man’	Lat <i>marītus</i> , Grk <i>meīraks</i> , Skt <i>márya-</i>
* <i>merih_a-</i>	‘young woman’	
* <i>teknom</i>	‘child, offspring’	NE <i>thane</i> , Grk <i>téknon</i> , Skt <i>tákman-</i>
* <i>ġénh₁es-</i>	‘family’	Lat <i>genus</i> , Grk <i>génos</i> , Skt <i>jánas-</i>
* <i>dóm(h_a)os</i>	‘house(hold)’	Lat <i>domus</i> , Grk <i>dómos</i> , Skt <i>dáma-</i>
* <i>wík-</i>	‘extended family, clan’	Lat <i>vīcus</i> , Grk <i>oikíā</i> , Skt <i>vis-</i>
* <i>prih_xós</i>	‘of one’s own’	NE <i>free</i> , Skt <i>priyá-</i>
* <i>kéiwos</i>	‘belonging to the household’	Lat <i>cīvis</i> , Skt <i>śéva-</i>
* <i>s(w)ebh-</i>	‘lineage’	NE <i>sib</i> , Skt <i>sabhá-</i>
* <i>swedh-o-</i>	‘lineage’	Lat <i>sodālis</i> , Grk <i>éthos</i> , Skt <i>svadhá-</i>

which many claim to go back to **men-* ‘think’, presumably under the illusion that man is a cognitive creature. The two words for ‘male’, **rsén* and **wersēn*, are similar in shape but differ somewhat in meaning; the first generally indicates ‘male’ in opposition to ‘female’ (e.g. Grk *ársēn* ‘male’, Av *arəšan-* ‘male’, Skt *ṛṣabhá-* ‘bull; male animal in general’) while the second indicates the ‘male as sire’ and its meanings may range from Lat *verrēs* ‘boar’, Latv *vērsis* ‘ox’, Av *varəšni* ‘ram’ (also ‘male’) to Toch B *kau_urse* ‘bull’. However, the two words overlap a good deal as well. In Avestan **rsén* is added to words to create a special term for the (adult) male of the species, e.g. *aspa-arəšan-* ‘stallion’ or *gau-arəšan-* ‘bull’, while both in Sanskrit and Tocharian it is **wersēn* that is so used, e.g. Skt *go-vṛṣa-* ‘bull’ and Toch B *kau_urse* ‘bull’. A word for ‘old man’, **ġerh_a-ont-*, is found in Greek and Indo-Iranian (Grk *gérōn* ‘old man’, Oss *zærand* ‘old’, Skt *járant-* ‘old man’). Different PIE formations give Alb *grua* ‘old woman’ and Toch B *śārā-* ‘adult male’.

The closest generic word for ‘woman’ (there are also words for ‘wife’) is *g^wénh_a* with its derivatives (e.g. OIr *ben* ‘woman, wife’, OE *cwene* ‘woman, female serf, prostitute’, OPrus *genna* ‘wife’, OCS *žena* ‘wife’, Grk *gunē*

‘woman, wife’, Arm *kin* ‘wife’, Av *gənā-* ‘woman, wife’, Skt *gnā-* ‘goddess, divine female’, Toch B *šana* ‘woman’). The development of this word in English shows two poles: the *e*-grade gives ultimately English *quean*, i.e. ‘an impudent or disreputable woman’ (but, in OE, also (any) ‘woman or wife’), while a lengthened grade root (**g^wēni-*) gives OE *cwēn* ‘woman, wife, consort’, NE *queen*.

The vocabulary of ‘youth’ is very much concerned with the concepts of ‘strength’ and ‘ability’. Both **h_ayeu-* (OIr *ōa* ‘young’, Lat *iuvēnis* ‘young’, NE *young*, Lith *jáunas* ‘young’, OCS *junŭ* ‘young’, Av *yvan-* ‘youth’, Skt *yúvan-* ‘young’) and the extended form **h_ayuh_x-ŋ-ḱós* (e.g. OIr *ōac* ‘youth’, Lat *iuvencus* ‘young (cow)’, Skt *yuvaśá-* ‘young’) derive from **h_aóyus* ‘strength’ while the masculine and feminine forms, **maghus* and **maghwih_a-* respectively (e.g. Corn *maw* ‘youth; servant’, *mowes* ‘young woman’, OE *mago* ‘son; man; servant’, *mæg(e)þ* ‘maiden, virgin; girl; wife’ [> NE *maiden*], Av *maḍava-* ‘unmarried’), may come from the semantically similar **magh-* ‘be able’. Another masculine and feminine set is seen in **méryos* and **merih_a-* (Lat *marītus* ‘husband; lover, suitor’, Alb *shemër* ‘co-wife; concubine; (female) rival’, Grk *meîraks* ‘young man or woman’, Av *mairya-* ‘young man’, Skt *márya-* ‘young man, lover, suitor’). While the base meaning may indicate a ‘youth’, many of the languages reveal extended meanings to include ‘warrior’, i.e. generalized presumably from ‘young warriors’ (cf. the use in American English of ‘our boys’ in reference to soldiers overseas). A ‘child’ without reference to its sex may have been indicated by the neuter noun **teknom* (e.g. Grk *téknon* ‘child’) from a root **tek-* ‘beget’, hence more properly ‘offspring’. The range of meanings for this word includes a Germanic series all pertaining to servants of a king or followers (e.g. NE *thane*).

The concept of the ‘family’ or ‘household’ is found in **génh₁es-* (e.g. Lat *genus* ‘family’, Grk *génos* ‘family’, Arm *cin* ‘birth’, Skt *jānas-* ‘family’) which derives from **gēnh₁-* ‘be born’ and **dóm(h_a)os* (e.g. Lat *domus* ‘house’, Lith *nāmas* ‘house’ (with nasal assimilation of the initial consonant to the second), OCS *domŭ* ‘house’, Grk *dómos* ‘house’, Skt *dāma-* ‘house’) which is ultimately derived from **dem(h_a-)* ‘build’ on which is formed the noun for ‘house(hold)’; Latin also shows the extended form *dominus* ‘master of the house’. The **wik-* (e.g. Av *vis-* ‘clan’, Skt *viś-* ‘dwelling; clan’, OCS *višŭ* ‘village’, and with a full-grade **we/oikō-* seen underlying Lat *vīcus* ‘village’, Gothic *weihs* ‘village’, Grk *oikīā* ‘house, household’, Toch B *īke* ‘place’) indicates a residence unit larger than the nuclear family and is generally translated as ‘extended family’ or ‘clan’ (see Section 13.1).

Two words are associated with ‘friendship’ although neither specifically means ‘friend’. Four groups attest **prih_xós*; in Celtic and Germanic the cognates indicate one who is ‘free’ while the Indo-Iranian cognates suggest one who is ‘dear’ (NWels *rhydd* ‘free’, NE *free*, Av *frya-* ‘dear’, Skt *priyá-* ‘dear’).

Some have seen this word as derived from a (controversial) root **per-* ‘house’, i.e. ‘those who belong to one’s own household’. Such is also the underlying meaning suggested for **kéiwo-* where the semantics range from ‘citizen’ (Lat *cīvis*, Oscan *ceus*) to ‘household’ (Germanic, e.g. OE *hīwan* ‘household’), ‘wife’ (Baltic, i.e. Latv *sieva*), and ‘dear’ (Indic, e.g. Skt *śivá-* ‘kind, auspicious, dear’, whence also the god Shiva); some derive this word from **kéi-* ‘lie’, i.e. either ‘those who lie together (in sleep)’ or ‘those who depend on one another’. The words for ‘lineage’, **s(w)ebh-* (e.g. NE *sib*, perhaps Lat *sodālis* ‘associate’, OCS *svobodī* ‘free’, Skt *sabhā-* ‘assembly’) and **swedh-o-* (e.g. perhaps Lat *sodālis* ‘associate’, Grk *éthos* ‘custom, habit’, Skt *svadhā* ‘homestead; kindred group’), are both built on the reflexive pronoun ‘self’.

Regionally attested vocabulary from the North-West includes **dhghm-on-* ‘man’ (Lat *homō* ‘person’), which derives from **dhghom-* ‘earth’ (see Section 8.1); it is found in Celtic (OIr *duine* ‘human’), Italic, Germanic (OE *guma* ‘man’), and Baltic (Lith *žmuō* ‘person’) and survives in NE *bridegroom* where the element ‘groom’ derives from OE *guma* ‘man’ which was changed to ‘groom’ by way of (erroneous) folk etymology. The North-West also offers a superb example of how far semantics might diverge between the different Indo-European groups. A **keh_aros* (originally) ‘friendly’ is attested in Celtic, Italic, Germanic, and Baltic: in Celtic (OIr *cara*) and Italic (Lat *cārus*) it means ‘friend’ whereas in Germanic it takes on a different connotation (NE *whore*); in Baltic, on the other hand, it means ‘greedy’ (Latv *kārs*). From the West Central region both Germanic, e.g. Goth *samkunja* ‘of the same lineage’ (NE – *kin*), and Grk *homógnios* ‘of the same lineage’ provide possible evidence of **somo-gh₁-yo-s* ‘same (kinship) line’ although these words may be independently formed in the two groups.

The Central European region provides another word for ‘man’ or ‘mortal’ built on the root ‘to die’, i.e. **mórtos* ‘man, mortal’ (see Section 11.7); this may have been independently derived in Grk *mortós* ‘man, mortal’ in Hesychius, Arm *mard* ‘man’, and Skt *márta-* ‘mortal’. Also of possible independent derivation in Armenian and Iranian is **gherh_a-o-s* ‘old man’ (i.e. Arm *cer*, NPers *zar*). This region also attests the use of **dōm* ‘house(hold), nuclear family’ (Grk *dō*, Arm *tun*, Av *dam-*, Skt *dām*, all ‘house’) where the structure and the social unit of the house are combined under a single term.

12.2 Marriage

There are two possible words for ‘marry’, both from the male point of view. As a verb, **ghemh_x-* only indicates ‘marry’ in Grk *gamēō* but derivatives indicate ‘son-in-law’ (Lat *gener*, Grk *gambrós*, Av *zāmātar-*, Skt *jāmātar-*) and ‘suitor’

Table 12.2. *Marriage*

* <i>gemh_x</i> -	‘marry’	Grk <i>gaméō</i>
* <i>h₂wed(h₂)</i> -	‘lead in marriage, marry’	NE <i>wed</i> , Skt <i>vadhū</i> -
* <i>pótis</i>	‘husband’	Lat <i>hospēs</i> , Grk <i>pósis</i> , Skt <i>pāti</i> -
* <i>pot-nih_a</i> -	‘mistress, lady’	Grk <i>pótnia</i> , Skt <i>pátnī</i> -
* <i>dom(h_a)u-no-s</i>	‘master’	Lat <i>dominus</i> , Skt <i>dámuna</i> -
* <i>h₁esh₂ós</i>	‘master’	Lat <i>erus</i>
* <i>h₁esh₂éh_a</i> -	‘mistress’	Lat <i>era</i>
* <i>prih_xeh_a</i> -	‘wife’	Skt <i>priyā</i> -
?* <i>parikeh_a</i> -	‘± concubine; wanton woman’	
* <i>widheweh_a</i> -	‘widow’	Lat <i>vidua</i> , NE <i>widow</i> , Skt <i>vidhāvā</i> -
* <i>h_{2/3}orbhos</i>	‘orphan, heir’	Lat <i>orbis</i> , Grk <i>orphanós</i> , Skt <i>árbha</i> -
* <i>yemos</i>	‘twin’	Lat <i>geminus</i> , Skt <i>yamá</i> -

(Alb *dhëndër*, Skt *jārā*-). In later Greek, and perhaps already in earlier Greek, this word was used also of the sexual act by which a marriage was consummated. More solidly attested is **h₂wed(h₂)*- which means ‘marry’ in the North-Western group (NWels *dyweddio* ‘marry’, NE *wed*, OPrus *weddē* ‘marry’, Lith *vedù* ‘lead, marry [of a man]’) and generally ‘bride’ in Indo-Iranian (Av *vaδū*-, Skt *vadhū*-). It is a special use of the verb ‘lead’, indicating that the male led away the woman in the early Indo-European system of marriage, a system whose vocabulary might be later recreated, e.g. Lat *uxōrem dūcere* ‘to lead away a wife’, i.e. ‘marry’. The husband and wife constituted the ‘master’ and ‘mistress’ of the household, which might consist of children, grandchildren, and perhaps unrelated slaves or servants. Of course within a given household not every husband and wife, of which there might be several (father and mother, sons and wives), would be ‘master’ and ‘mistress’ but only the most senior ones. Indeed, there is some evidence that, should the senior man die, his eldest son would become the master, but the dowager would remain the mistress. The words for ‘master’ and ‘mistress’ are **pótis* (attested from Celtic to Tocharian: Bret *ozah* [< **potis stegesos*] ‘husband, master of the house’, Latv *pats* ‘master of the house; self’, Rus *gospódi* [< **ghost-poti*-] ‘host’, Alb *zot* [< **wikā-pot*-] ‘master of the house’, Grk *pósis* ‘husband’, Hit *pat* ‘self’, Av *paiti*- ‘husband’, Skt *pāti*- ‘husband, master’, Toch A *pats* ‘husband’) and its feminine derivative **pot-nih_a*- (e.g. OPrus *waispattin* ‘wife, mistress’, Grk *pótnia* ‘lady, wife’, Alb *zonjë* ‘lady, wife’, Skt *pátnī*- ‘lady, wife’). Viewed from the perspec-

tive of householders, we also find **dom(h_a)u-no-s* ‘master’, i.e. the ‘master of the house’ (e.g. Lat *dominus*, Skt *dāmuna-*) as the word is a clear derivative of the word for ‘house’ (cf. **dom(h_a)os* above) with the suffix **-no-* which is used to create words ‘leader of’. A Latin-Hittite isogloss gives us both **h₁esh₂ós* ‘master’ and **h₁esh₂éh_a-* ‘mistress’ with no certain root etymology (Lat *erus* ‘master of the house, lord, owner’, *era* ‘mistress, lady, owner’, Hit *ishā-* ‘master, lord, owner’). Finally there is a Greek-Indo-Iranian isogloss, **dems-pot-* ‘master of the house’ (e.g. Grk *despótēs*, Skt *dám-pati-*) which is structurally part of the same set that gives us ‘master of the clan’, i.e. **wík(-ā)-pot-* (in Baltic, Albanian, and Indo-Iranian). The word **prih_xeh_a-* ‘wife’ is almost a term of endearment as it derives from **prih_xós* ‘be pleasing, one’s own’ (see above) and it provides the wife of the Germanic god Óðinn with a name, e.g. ON *Frigg* (cf. also ON *frī* ‘beloved, wife’, OE *frēo* ‘woman’, Skt *priyā-* ‘wife’). The underlying semantics of **parikeh_a-* are difficult; the word is attested only in MIr *airech* ‘(type of) concubine’ and Av *pairikā-* ‘demonic courtesan’. Presumably the meaning attested in Irish is the older one while in Iranian ‘the other woman’ has suffered a loss of social standing.

The word for ‘widow’ (**widheweh_a-*) is very well attested (nine groups as ‘widow’, e.g. OIr *fedb*, Lat *vidua*, NE *widow*, OPrus *widdewu*, Rus *vdová*, ?Alb *ve* (if not a loan from Latin), Hit ^{SAL}*u(i)dati-*, Av *viḍavā*, Skt *vidhāvā-*, and in a derived form in Grk, *ēitheos*, as ‘bachelor’). This word is usually taken as a nominal derivative of a verb **wi-dheh₁-*, attested only in Anatolian, meaning ‘separate’. A word for ‘orphan’ (**h_{2/3}orbhos*) is reasonably well attested as well (e.g. OIr *orb* ‘heir, inheritance’, Lat *orbus* ‘bereft, childless, orphan’, OCS *rabŭ* ‘servant’, Arm *orb* ‘orphan’, Skt *árbhā-* ‘child’) and derives from a verbal form which was still preserved in Hit *har(ap)p-* ‘change status’. A word for ‘twin’ (**yemos*) is supported by cognates in Celtic (OIr *emon* ‘twins’), Italic (*geminus* ‘twin’), and Indo-Iranian (Av *yəma-*, Skt *yamá-*, both ‘twin’).

There are a few regional terms. A word for ‘marry’ (**sneubh-*) seen from the wife’s point of view is attested in Italic (Lat *nūbere*) with derivatives in Slavic (OCS *snubiti* ‘to pander’) and Grk *númphē* ‘bride’ while a Germanic-Slavic-Greek isogloss (OE *witumo*, OCS *věno*, Grk *hédnon* [< **wedmon*]) gives us **wedmo/eh_a-* ‘bride-price’ (i.e. the price paid by the groom’s family to the bride’s to compensate the latter for the loss of a worker). On the basis of both our Proto-Indo-European terms and some of our regional terms, Eric Hamp has suggested that we can reconstruct terms for four stages or events in the Indo-European marriage. It begins with the **perk-* ‘ask, propose a marriage’ (see Section 21.2) which is then followed by the **wedmo/eh_a-*, the exchange of the bride-price. The newly wed wife would be literally ‘led away’, i.e. **h₂wed(h₂)-* ‘wed’, and **gēmh_x-* would indicate the consummation of the marriage (for the latter two, see above). A regional term for ‘wife’, found in

Slavic and Greek, is **sm̥-loghos* (SerbCS *sulogŭ* ‘wife’, Grk *álokhos* ‘bed-fellow, spouse’). Literally it means ‘bed-fellow’. Finally we have a Graeco-Aryan isogloss where Grk *despótēs* ‘master, lord’ and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *dám-pati-* ‘master’ derive from a compound **dems-pot-* ‘master of the house’.

12.3 Kinship

Kinship terms in Indo-European tend to be limited over three generations. The word **h₂euhsos* ‘grandfather’ is well attested in Anatolian, e.g. Hit *hūhhas*, and a number of groups in both Europe and Asia (e.g. Lat *avus*, ON *afi*, Arm *haw*, Toch B *āwe*, all ‘grandfather’ except Tocharian B which may be ‘uncle’ instead). There is also an Albanian-Indic correspondence that yields **suh_xsos*

Table 12.3. *Kinship*

<i>*h₂euhsos</i>	‘grandfather’	Lat <i>avus</i>
<i>*suh_xsos</i>	‘grandfather’	Skt <i>sūṣā</i>
<i>*pro-</i>	third generation marker	Lat <i>pro-</i> , Grk <i>pro-</i> , Skt <i>pra-</i>
<i>*h₄ep-</i>	fourth generation marker	Lat <i>ab-</i> , NE <i>off-</i> , Grk <i>apo</i> , Skt <i>apa-</i>
<i>*ph₂atēr</i>	‘father’	Lat <i>pater</i> , NE <i>father</i> , Grk <i>patēr</i> , Skt <i>pitár-</i>
<i>*somo-ph₂atōr</i>	‘of the same father’	Grk <i>homopátōr</i>
<i>*ġenh₁-tōr</i>	‘father; procreator’	Lat <i>genitor</i> , Grk <i>genétōr</i> , Skt <i>janitár-</i>
<i>*at-</i>	‘father’	Lat <i>atta</i> , Grk <i>atta</i>
<i>*t-at-</i>	‘father’	Lat <i>tata</i> , Grk <i>tatā</i> , Skt <i>tatā-</i>
<i>*papa</i>	‘father, papa’	Lat <i>pāpa</i> , Grk <i>páppa</i>
<i>*putlós</i>	‘son’	Skt <i>putrá-</i>
<i>*suh_xnús</i>	‘son’	NE <i>son</i> , Skt <i>sūnú-</i>
<i>*suh_xyús</i>	‘son’	Grk <i>huyús</i>
<i>*népōts</i>	‘grandson; (?) nephew’	Lat <i>nepōs</i> , Grk <i>népodes</i> , Skt <i>nápāt</i>
<i>*neptiyos</i>	‘descendant’	Grk <i>anepsiós</i>
<i>*h₂en-</i>	‘father’s mother’	Grk <i>annís</i>
<i>*méh₂atēr</i>	‘mother’	Lat <i>māter</i> , NE <i>mother</i> , Grk <i>métēr</i> , Skt <i>mātár-</i>
<i>*h₄en-</i>	‘(old) woman, mother’	Lat <i>anus</i>
<i>*n-h₄en-</i>	‘mother’	Lat <i>nonnus</i> , Grk <i>nánmē</i> , Skt <i>nanā-</i>
<i>*h₄em-</i>	‘mother’	Lat <i>amma</i> , Grk <i>ammás</i> , Skt <i>ambā-</i>
<i>*m-h₄em-</i>	‘mother’	Lat <i>mamma</i> , Grk <i>mámmē</i>
<i>*h₂ekkeh₂a-</i>	‘mother’	Lat <i>Acca</i> , Grk <i>Akkō</i> , Skt <i>akkā-</i>
<i>*ġenh₁trih₂a-</i>	‘mother, procatrix’	Lat <i>genetrīx</i> , Grk <i>genéteira</i> , Skt <i>jānitrī-</i>

(Cont’d)

Table 12.3 (Cont'd)

* <i>dhug(h_a)tēr</i>	‘daughter’	NE <i>daughter</i> , Grk <i>thugátēr</i> , Skt <i>duhitār-</i>
* <i>neptih_a-</i>	‘granddaughter; (?) niece’	Lat <i>neptis</i> , Grk <i>anepsíā</i> , Skt <i>naptī-</i>
* <i>bhréh_ater-</i>	‘± brother’	Lat <i>frāter</i> , NE <i>brother</i> , Grk <i>phrētēr</i> , Skt <i>bhrātar-</i>
* <i>bhreh_atriyom</i>	‘brotherhood’	Grk <i>phrātriā</i> , Skt <i>bhrātryam</i>
* <i>swésōr</i>	‘sister’	Lat <i>soror</i> , NE <i>sister</i> , Grk <i>éor</i> , Skt <i>svāsar-</i>
* <i>ph_atrōus</i>	‘paternal kinsman’	Grk <i>pātrōs</i>
* <i>ph_atrwyo_s</i>	‘father’s brother’	Lat <i>patruus</i> , Grk <i>patruiós</i> , Skt <i>pitṛvyā-</i>
* <i>daih_awēr</i>	‘husband’s brother’	Lat <i>lēvir</i> , Grk <i>dāēr</i> , Skt <i>devār-</i>
* <i>swēkūrós</i>	‘wife’s brother’	Skt <i>śvāśura-</i>
* <i>syō(u)ros</i>	‘wife’s brother’	Skt <i>syālā-</i>
* <i>ġ (e)m(h_x)ros</i>	‘sister’s husband’	Lat <i>gener</i> , Grk <i>gambrós</i>
* <i>swēkuros</i>	‘father-in-law’	Lat <i>socer</i> , Grk <i>hekurós</i> , Skt <i>śvāśura-</i>
* <i>swekrúh_as</i>	‘mother-in-law’	Lat <i>socrus</i> , Grk <i>hekurá</i> , Skt <i>śvāśrū-</i>
* <i>ġenh₁-tōr</i>	‘father; procreator’	Lat <i>genitor</i> , Grk <i>genétōr</i> , Skt <i>jānitār-</i>
* <i>ġomh_x-ter-</i>	‘son-in-law’	Skr <i>jāmatar-</i>
* <i>snusós</i>	‘son’s wife, brother’s wife’	Lat <i>nurus</i> , Grk <i>nuós</i> , Skt <i>smuśā-</i>
* <i>ġh₃-wos-</i>	‘husband’s sister’	Lat <i>glōs</i> , Grk <i>gālōs</i> , Skt <i>giri-</i>
* <i>h₁yenh_a-ter-</i>	‘husband’s brother’s wife’	Lat <i>ianitricēs</i> , Grk <i>enátēr</i> , Skt <i>yātār-</i>
* <i>swesr(iy)ós</i>	‘pertaining to a sister, sisterly; sister’s son’	Lat <i>cōnsobrīnus</i> , Skt <i>svasrīya</i>
* <i>bhendh₁ros</i>	‘± relation’	Grk <i>pēntherós</i> , Skt <i>bhándhu-</i>

‘grandfather’ (Alb *ġjysh* ‘grandfather’, Skt *sūṣā* ‘paternal grandmother’) from **seuh_x-* ‘beget’, the same root that gave the words for ‘son’ below). Other degrees of descent employ basic prepositions. For example, **pro-* provides the third generation marker, e.g. Lat *pro-avus* ‘great-grandfather’ while **h₄ep-* forms the fourth generation marker, e.g. Lat *av-avus* ‘great-great-grandfather’; these can be, and normally are, also reversed to provide descending generations, e.g. Lat *pro-nepōs* and Skt *prá-napát-* ‘great-grandson’ and Lat *ab-nepōs* ‘great-great-grandson’. We find **h₄ep-* also in NE *offspring*.

There is a series of words for ‘father’. The formal term, attested in eight groups, is **ph_atēr* (e.g. OIr *athir*, Lat *pater*, NE *father*, Grk *patēr*, Arm *hayr*, Av *ptā*, Skt *pitár-*, Toch B *pācer*, all ‘father’) while it also appears in compound form in Germanic, Greek, Iranian, and Toch A as **somo-ph_atōr* ‘of the same father’ (ON *samfeðra*, Grk *homopátōr*, OPers *hamapitar-*, Toch A *šomapācār*). Possibly of Proto-Indo-European date (if not independent creations from the root ‘beget’), is **ġenh₁-tōr* ‘procreator’ (Lat *genitor*, Grk *genétōr*, Skt *janitār-*).

The other terms are widely attested children's words, i.e. **at-*, **t-at-*, and **papa* (e.g. from **at-*: OIr *aithe* 'foster-father; teacher', Lat *atta* 'father', Goth *atta* 'father', Rus *otéc* 'father', Alb *atë* 'father', Grk *áttas* 'father', Hit *attas* 'father'; from **tat-*: NWels *tad*, Lat (inscriptional) *tata*, Grk *tatā*, Luv *tātis*, Skt *tatā-*, all 'father'; from **papa*: Lat *pāpa* 'father' [whence by borrowing NE *pope*], Grk *páppa* 'papa', Pal *pāpa* 'father').

There are two words for 'son', **putlós* (four groups) which is traditionally derived from **p(a)u-* 'small' + the diminutive suffix **-tlo-*, i.e. the 'small one' (e.g. Osc *puklo-* 'son', Arm *ustr* 'son' [remodelled from the expected **usl* after *dustr* 'daughter'], Av *puθra-* 'son', Skt *putrá-* 'son'), and the more widely attested **suh_xnús* (and the semantically identical **suh_xyús*) which derives from **seuh_x-* 'bear, beget', i.e. the 'begotten' (e.g. from **suh_xnús*: NE *son*, OPrus *soūns* 'son', OCS *synŭ* 'son', Av *hūnu-* 'son', Skt *sūnī-* 'son', Toch B *soṃške* '(young) son'; from **suh_xyús*: Grk *huiús* 'son', Toch B *soy* 'son').

The word for 'grandson' (**népōts* which, in a derivative, **neptiyos*, gives a more general word for 'descendant') is one of the most controversial words in the reconstructed lexicon. Formally, the word is attested in Celtic, Germanic, Italic, Baltic, Slavic, Albanian, Greek, and Indo-Iranian; there is no problem reconstructing the shape of the word to Proto-Indo-European. The problem arises when one finds that, in addition to the meaning 'grandson', the word also means 'sister's son (i.e. nephew)' in Celtic (e.g. OIr *nia* 'sister's son, grandson, descendant'), Lat *nepōs* 'grandson, descendant' and in later Imperial Latin also 'nephew', Germanic (e.g. OE *nefa* 'sister's son, grandson'), Baltic (Lith *nepuotis* 'grandson'), Slavic (OCS *netijŭ* 'nephew'), and Alb *nip* 'grandson, nephew'. Thus some would argue that both meanings, 'grandson' and 'sister's son', should be ascribed to Proto-Indo-European. Others argue that 'sister's son' is a secondary development among some and not all the North-Western Indo-European languages and, therefore, this second meaning cannot be ascribed to Proto-Indo-European itself, since in the east of the Indo-European world only 'grandson' or the like is attested (e.g. Grk *népodes* 'descendants', OPers *napā* 'grandson, descendant', Skt *nāpāt* 'grandson, descendant'). Also arguing for a meaning 'grandson' are NWels *kefnder* 'male cousin' (< **kom-nepōt-*) and Grk *anepsíōs* '(male) cousin' (< **sm̥-neptiyo-*). Why should anyone care?

The systems by which people organize their kin vary across the world and anthropologists have long studied and defined a series of basic kinship types, generally named after various ethnic groups among whom they were first studied. Anthropologists have found that these systems of kinship terminology correlate, albeit imperfectly, with social and family organization within the group. Therefore, knowing how a reconstructed language handled kinship terminology suggests how its speakers may have organized certain social and family relationships. A modern English speaker basically utilizes an Eskimo

kinship system which provides separate words for each member of the nuclear family, 'father', 'mother', 'brother', and 'sister', and uses none of these terms to refer to anyone outside the nuclear family. Thus there are different terms for 'aunt', 'uncle', 'cousin', etc. As has often been noted, such a system with its emphasis on the nuclear family and the clear separation of it from other familial relationships fits contemporary, mobile, nuclear-family-oriented, Anglo-American society well. On the other hand, English speakers developed this Eskimo kinship terminology by 1200 AD or so, at a time when social and family relationships were very different from what they are now and seemingly less appropriate to an Eskimo system—a fact which should give us pause when determining how much of an insight kinship terminology can give us concerning social and family roles. In any case, the Eskimo kinship system is quite unlike the Hawaiian one where every term used for a nuclear family member is also used for kin outside of the nuclear family. Thus the term for 'father' includes, beside the 'male parent', all uncles whether paternal or maternal. Similarly 'mother' includes all aunts on both sides of the family and 'brother' includes all male cousins and 'sister' includes all female cousins. Other kinship systems are in some sense intermediate between the Eskimo and the Hawaiian types, with tendencies to merge certain nuclear family kin types, but not all, with kin types outside the nuclear family. Of these 'intermediate' types, Indo-Europeanists have been most interested in the Omaha system, since some branches of the family at least show Omaha features and the Omaha system is often associated with strong patrilineal social organization, and it certainly is the case that early, historically attested, Indo-European groups show such a patrilineal tendency. In the classic Omaha system (and not all Omaha systems, or any other system for that matter, show all the tendencies imputed to it) the father and paternal uncle have the same designation as do the mother and maternal aunt, while the children of the paternal uncle and maternal aunt (technically 'parallel cousins') are designated with the same terms as one's brother and sister. There is also a tendency in Omaha systems towards a 'skewing of generations' whereby the maternal uncle is equated with the maternal grandfather and the maternal uncle's children with the maternal grandfather's children, and conversely one's 'grandson' will be called by the same term as one's 'sister's son', i.e. 'nephew'. If one ascribes both meanings 'grandson' and 'sister's son' to Proto-Indo-European **népōts*, then this particular conflation of kin types would support the identification of the Proto-Indo-European kinship system as of the Omaha type. However, if the Proto-Indo-European word meant only 'grandson', then much of the evidence for considering Proto-Indo-European's kinship terminology to have been of the Omaha type disappears. The Omaha type would be a regional, post-Indo-European, type of the North-West.

Taking now female relatives, we have first **h₂en-* ‘grandmother’, apparently another child’s word but a very old one, e.g. OHG *ana* ‘grandmother’, OPrus *ane* ‘female ancestor’, OCS *vŭnŏkŭ* ‘grandfather’, Grk *annís* ‘grandmother’, Arm *han* ‘grandmother’, Hit *hannas* ‘grandmother’, OPers *nyākā* ‘grandmother’. As might be expected, there are numerous words for ‘mother’, many of them from the language of children (and hence renewable in any given language). The formal term, attested in eleven different groups, is **méh_atēr* (e.g. OIr *māthair*, Lat *māter*, NE *mother*, OPrus *mothe*, OCS *mati*, Grk *mētēr*, Phryg *matar*, Arm *mayr*, Av *mātar-*, Skt *mātār-*, Toch B *mācer*, all ‘mother’). A second term, **h₄en-*, with a different laryngeal from the word for ‘grandmother’, is kept separate from the ‘grandmother’ term only in Armenian and Anatolian, e.g. OIr *Ana* ‘mother of the gods’, Lat *anus* ‘old woman’, and Hit *annas* ‘mother’ distinct from *hannas* ‘grandmother’ where Hittite retains no trace of the **h₄-* in the word for mother but does retain **h₂-* in the word for grandmother. Other terms appear to be possible reduplications, e.g. **n-h₄en-* on **h₄en-* (e.g. NWels *nain* ‘grandmother’, Late Lat *nonnus* ‘nurse’, Alb *nëne* ‘mother’, Rus *njánja* ‘nurse’, Grk *nánnē* ‘female cousin, aunt’, NPers *nana* ‘mother’, Skt *nanā-* ‘mother’) and **m-h₄em-* on **h₄em-* (e.g. NWels *mam* ‘mother’, Lat *mamma* ‘breast; mu/ommy, grandmother’, OHG *muoma* ‘aunt’, Lith *mamà* ‘mother’, Rus *máma* ‘mother’, Alb *mëmë* ‘mother’, Grk *mámmē* ‘mother’ (later ‘grandmother’), Arm *mam* ‘grandmother’, NPers *mām* ‘mother’, Skt *mā* ‘mother’). In addition to ‘mamma/nanna’ type words, Proto-Indo-European also attests **h₄ekkeh_a-*, e.g. Lat *Acca* ‘mother’ (Roman goddess), Grk *Akkō* (nurse of Demeter), Skt *akkā* ‘mother’. And as with the male form for ‘procreator’, there is also an equivalent feminine form, either inherited or independently created in the different languages, **ġenh₁trih_a-* (Lat *genetrīx*, Grk *genéteira*, Skt *jánitrī-*). For the next generation we have the widely attested **dhug(h_a)tér* ‘daughter’ (e.g. Gaul *duxtir*, Osc *fuutír*, NE *daughter*, OPrus *duckti*, OCS *dŭšti*, Grk *thugátēr*, Arm *dustr*, Lyc *kbatra*, Av *duγədar-*, Skt *duhitār-*, Toch B *tkācer*, all ‘daughter’) and then **nepthi_a-* ‘granddaughter’. This latter word behaves very much like that for ‘grandson’ in that the North-Western languages also indicate the meaning ‘niece’ (e.g. OIr *necht* ‘granddaughter, ?niece’, Lat *neptis* ‘granddaughter, female descendant’, and in later Imperial Lat also ‘niece’, OE *nift* ‘niece; granddaughter; stepdaughter’, Lith *neptė* ‘granddaughter; niece’, ORus *nestera* ‘niece’, Alb *mbesë* ‘granddaughter; niece’, but Av *naptī-* ‘granddaughter’, Skt *naptī-* ‘granddaughter’). Though unlike **nepōts*, which meant specifically ‘sister’s son’, **nepthi_a-* meant both ‘sister’s daughter’ and ‘brother’s daughter’ in the languages of the North-West. One might note that English has borrowed, via Old French, the Latin descendants of Proto-Indo-European **nepōts* and **nepthi_a-* with the meanings of ‘nephew’ and ‘niece’ respectively.

Both words for siblings are very strongly attested. The word for ‘brother’, **bhréh_ater-*, carries the specific meaning ‘brother’ in all cognate sets except for Greek where it has come to mean ‘kinsman’, but it also exhibits extended secondary (?) meanings of ‘kinsman, cousin’ in Celtic and Slavic (e.g. OIr *brāthair*, Lat *frāter*, NE *brother*, OPrus *brāti*, OCS *bratrŭ*, Grk *phrētēr*, Arm *elbayr*, Av *brātar-*, Skt *bhrātar-*, Toch B *procer*). Some suspect that it may have had a similarly wider meaning in Proto-Indo-European, cf. English usage of ‘brother’ to indicate a group of males related by kinship or even by common social affiliation, e.g. ‘a band of brothers’. The possibility of a word for ‘brotherhood’, **bhreh_atrīyom*, is supported by apparent cognates in Slavic (OCS *bratřija*), Grk *phrātrīā*, and Skt *bhrātryam* although at least one if not more of the groups may have innovated. The word for ‘sister’, **swēsōr*, is similarly widespread (e.g. OIr *siur*, Lat *soror*, NE *sister*, OPrus *swestro*, OCS *sestra*, Arm *k’oyr*, Av *x^vanhar-*, Skt *svāsar-*, Toch B *ser*, all ‘sister’; Grk *éor* ‘cousin’s daughter’) and, like ‘brother’, absent only in Albanian and Anatolian (Hittite uses the unique forms *nēgna-* and *neka-* respectively for ‘brother’ and ‘sister’). Words that are so basic to any vocabulary have invited interminable speculation as to their ‘deeper’ meaning. For example, the word for ‘sister’ has been variously analyzed as a compound **swe-* ‘own’ + **sōr* ‘woman’, i.e. a ‘woman of one’s own family’ or, alternatively, as **su-* ‘with’ + **hesōr* ‘blood’, i.e. ‘(woman of) one’s own bloodline’. Neither derivation is widely accepted.

Words pertaining to a vague concept of ‘uncle’ or general male relative such as the ‘brother-in-law’ are problematic. **ph_ga ‘(male) paternal relative; father’s brother’ is attested in its basic form only in Grk *pátrōs* ‘paternal relative’ but it does have derived forms that are found in Italic (Lat *patruus*), Baltic (OLith *strījus*), Slavic (OCS *stryjŭ*), Arm *yawray*, and Indo-Iranian (Av *tūrya-* and Skt *pitṛvyá-*) which pretty much confirms both **ph_ga and its derivative **ph_ga to Proto-Indo-European. That the designation for the father’s brother is so obviously a derivative of ‘father’ might be taken as additional evidence that the Proto-Indo-European kinship system was of the Omaha type. (Latin kinship is apparently alone in equating the father’s brother’s children with the father’s, e.g. *frāter (germanus)* ‘brother’ beside *frāter patruelis* ‘father’s brother’s son’). There is no equally secure Proto-Indo-European term for ‘mother’s brother’. The languages of the North-West show derivatives of ‘grandfather’, which would reflect the expected Omaha equation of ‘grandfather’ and ‘mother’s brother’, but then each group shows a different derivation for ‘mother’s brother’, suggesting the Omaha-like equation of ‘grandfather’ and ‘mother’s brother’ was only a very late Indo-European development or even one that independently emerged after the dissolution of Proto-Indo-European unity. A word for ‘husband’s brother’ seems solidly attested in **daih_awēr* (e.g. Lat *lēvir* [the unexpected initial may be due to***

influence from the Sabine dialect], OE *tācor*, Lith *dieveris*, OCS *děverī*, Grk *dāēr*, Arm *taygr*, Skt *devár-*) while ‘wife’s brother’ may be found in **swēkūrós* although this word may have been independently derived from the word for ‘father-in-law’ in the language groups in which it occurs (OHG *swāgur*, Skt *śvāśura-*). PIE **syō(u)ros*, attested in Slavic, Armenian, and Indic, also indicates ‘wife’s brother’ (OCS *šurī* ‘wife’s brother’, Arm *hor* ‘son-in-law’, Skt *syālā-* ‘wife’s brother’).

A word for ‘sister’s husband’ (**ġ(e)m(h_x)ros*) can be reconstructed from Latin and Greek but the same root, rebuilt with a different suffix as **ġ(e)m(h_x)-tēr*, is found in other Indo-European languages of the East (see the discussion under ‘marry’ above).

The words for both ‘father-in-law’ (**swēkūros*) and ‘mother-in-law’ (**swēk-rúh_{as}*) are widely attested (e.g. NWels *chwegrwn* ‘father-in-law’, Lat *socer* ‘father-in-law’, OE *swēor* ‘father-in-law’, Lith *šėšuras* ‘husband’s father’, OCS *svekrū* ‘husband’s father’, Alb *vjehërr* ‘father-in-law’, Grk *hekurós* ‘wife’s father’, Av *x’asur* ‘father-in-law’, Skt *śvāśura-* ‘father-in-law’; and NWels *chwegr* ‘mother-in-law’, Lat *socrus* ‘mother-in-law’, OE *sweger* ‘mother-in-law’, OCS *svekry* ‘husband’s mother’, Alb *vjehërr* ‘mother-in-law’, Grk *hekurā* ‘husband’s mother’, Arm *skesur* ‘husband’s mother’, Skt *śvaśrū-* ‘mother-in-law’). The word for ‘mother-in-law’ is clearly derived from the masculine. There is an interesting problem in reconstructing the original semantics of the words. For example, a number of Indo-European groups (Balto-Slavic, Greek, Armenian) use this Proto-Indo-European word for ‘father-in-law’ to indicate exclusively the ‘husband’s mother’, i.e. the word is used solely from the perspective of the wife and not from that of the husband. Consequently, Oswald Szemerényi suggested that the deeper etymology of the word should be **swē-* ‘own’ + **kōru-* ‘head’, i.e. ‘head of the joint family’, a term which would only make sense from the wife’s point of view in a patrilineal society. But other Indo-European groups utilize the word from both the husband’s and wife’s perspective and it has been suggested that this more general meaning was the original meaning which became more specific in some central Indo-European groups.

Cognates in Albanian and Indo-Iranian suggest the existence of **ġomh_x-ter-* ‘son-in-law’ (see above under ‘marry’) which derives from **ġemh_x-* ‘marry’ or, perhaps more specifically, ‘to pay the bride-price’. Other relations by marriage include the ‘daughter-in-law’, **snusós* (e.g. Lat *snurus* ‘son’s/grandson’s wife’, OE *snoru* ‘son’s wife’, Rus *snokhá* ‘son’s wife; bride’, Grk *nuós* ‘son’s wife; bride’, Arm *nu* ‘son’s wife’, Skt *snuṣā-* ‘son’s wife’), and the ‘sister-in-law’, **ġl_{h3}-wos-* (e.g. Lat *glōs* ‘sister-in-law’, OCS *zŭlŭva* ‘husband’s sister’, Grk *gálōs* ‘sister-in-law’, Arm *tal* ‘husband’s sister’, Skt *giri-* ‘brother’s wife’), here more

specifically the ‘husband’s sister’ (the wife’s sister is attested in a more restrictedly distributed form). A Proto-Indo-European **h₁yen_h_a-ter-* appears to refer to the ‘husband’s brother’s wife’ (e.g. Lat *ianitrīcēs* ‘brothers’ wives’, Lith *jėntė* ‘husband’s brother’s wife’, OCS *jetry* ‘husband’s brother’s wife’, Grk *enátēr* ‘husband’s brother’s wife’, Arm *ner* ‘husband’s brother’s wife’, Skt *yātār-* ‘husband’s brother’s wife’). So apparently specific a word makes sense if the usual social unit was an extended family of parents and married sons. The daughter-in-law in such a situation would be in need of a term to refer to her husband’s brothers’ wives.

The concept of ‘nephew’, as we have seen, is critical to the identification of the Proto-Indo-European kinship system being of the Omaha type. In addition to the word that also (if not originally) meant ‘grandson’, i.e. **népōts* (see above), there is also **swesr(iy)ós* ‘sister’s son’ (e.g. OSwed *swiri* ‘mother’s sister’s son’, Sanglechi [an Iranian language of the Pamirs] *xīr* ‘sister’s son’, Skt *svasrīya-* ‘sister’s son’; literally something like ‘he of the sister’, feminine forms in some languages also indicate ‘sister’s daughter’). Finally, a weakly attested **bhendhros* with meanings such as Lith *beñdras* ‘companion’, Grk *pēntherós* ‘father-in-law’, and Skt *bāndhu-* ‘relative’ defies more precise semantic reconstruction although it is generally presumed to derive from **bhendh-* ‘join, tie’, i.e. someone connected through marriage or other social bond.

There is an abundance of regionally attested kinship terms although few are specifically from the North-West. Here we find **seno-meh_atēr* ‘grandmother’ (literally ‘old mother’) in Celtic and Baltic (OIr *senmāthair*, Lith *senmotė*—possibly independent creations) and **swesri_hnos* ‘sister’s son’ (Lat *cōnsobrīnus* ‘mother’s sister’s son; (any) cousin’, Lith *seserėnas* ‘sister’s son’) probably originally meant ‘pertaining to the sister’; and the **h₂éuh₂-* which certainly indicates the ‘grandfather’ also underlies a number of derivations in the North-West that indicate also the ‘mother’s brother’, e.g. Lat *avunculus*. Words spanning the West Central region are far more numerous: a feminized form of the word for ‘grandfather’, **h₂éuh₂ih_a-* ‘grandmother’, is found in Italic (Lat *avia*), Alb *joshë*, and Grk *āīa*. We have a parallel to ‘paternal kinsman’ (see above) in **méh_atrōus* ‘maternal kinsman; maternal uncle’, occurring only in Grk *métrōs*. The adjective derived from ‘sister’, **swes(ri)yós* ‘pertaining to a sister, sisterly’, might refer specifically to ‘sister’s son’ (see above) or ‘mother’s brother’ (Arm *k’erī*). There is a very uncertain cognate set (Baltic [e.g. Lith *dėdė* ‘uncle’], Slavic [Rus *djádja* ‘maternal uncle’], Grk *thēōs* ‘uncle’) perhaps reflecting a **dheh₁-* ‘uncle’. A Norse-Greek isogloss indicates a word **sweliyon-* ‘wife’s sister’s husband’ (ON *svili*, Grk *eiliones* [pl.]). As noted above, the verb **gēm_h-* ‘marry’ gives **gēm_h-ro-s* ‘son-in-law’ in Celtic, Italic, and Greek. A word for ‘aunt’ is seen in **meh_atruh_a-* ‘mother’s sister’ or perhaps just ‘motherly one’ (e.g. OE *mōdrige* ‘mother’s sister’, Grk *mētruiá* ‘stepmother’, Arm *mawru*

‘stepmother, mother-in-law’) while **swoiniyeh_a*- gives us ‘wife’s sister’, i.e. ‘sister-in-law’ (Lith *svainė* ‘sister-in-law’, Latv *svaine* ‘wife’s sister’, Arm *k’eni* ‘wife’s sister’). In the West Central area the word for ‘granddaughter’, **neptih_a*-, also carries the meaning ‘niece’ as we have seen above. Possible central European isoglosses include the Albanian-Indic correspondence that yields **suh_xsos* ‘grandfather’ (Alb *gjysh* ‘grandfather’, Skt *sūṣā* ‘paternal grandmother’) from **seuh_x*- ‘beget’, the same root that gave the words for ‘son’ above) while **syō(u)ros*, attested in Slavic, Armenian, and Indic, indicates ‘wife’s brother’ (OCS *šurī* ‘wife’s brother’, Arm *hor* ‘son-in-law’, Skt *syālā*- ‘wife’s brother’). A ‘family tree’ of the terminology for blood relatives and those in-laws acquired, as it were, by their marrying into the family is found in Figures. 12.1–3.

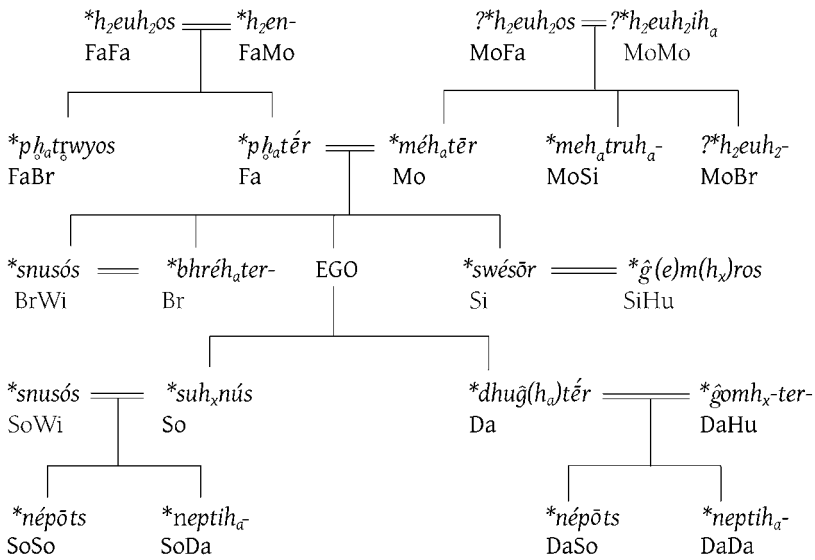


Figure 12.1. Reconstructed PIE Kinship Terms for Blood Relatives

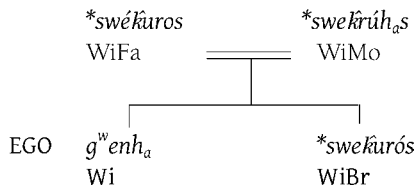


Figure 12.2. In-Law Terminology (for the husband)

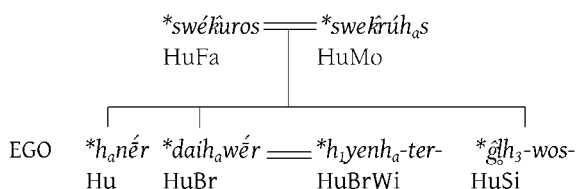


Figure 12.3. In-Law Terminology (for the wife)

Further Reading

General surveys of the IE kinship system have appeared since the nineteenth century, e.g. Delbrück (1889). Among the more important surveys to appear there is Hetterich (1985), Szemerényi (1977), Benveniste (1973*a*), Gates (1971), Wordick (1970), and Friedrich (1966). The terms for marriage are treated in Hamp (1988). The question of mother's brother is discussed in Beekes (1976) and Bremmer (1976). Recent examples of attempts to reduce the kinship terms to their 'basic' meaning can be found in Blažek (2001), Carruba (1995). Other works of interest are Beekes (1992), Bush (1987), Huld (1981), Parvulescu (1989, 1993*a*, 1996), Starke (1987), Wolfe (1993).

13

Hearth and Home

13.1 Dwelling	219	13.3 Proto-Indo-European Settlement	227
13.2 Construction	223		

13.1 Dwelling

Architectural terms constitute a significant category of the Proto-Indo-European lexicon although, as we will see below, most of the vocabulary is so general that it can hardly be diagnostic in relating the linguistic evidence to the archaeological evidence of Eurasia. The main terms associated with dwelling and settlement are provided in Table 13.1.

Although we have a regional term that indicates ‘settle, dwell’ a strongly attested word for ‘dwell’ eludes us and we have only **h₂wes-* ‘dwell, stay, pass the night’. The more limited connotations of ‘passing the night’ are included in Celtic (OIr *foaid*), Grk (*núkta*) *á(w)esa*, Arm *goy*, and Skt *vásati* but some of these languages (Old Irish, Sanskrit) as well as others, e.g. Goth *wisan*, Hit *hues-*, Av *vaḡhaiti*, and Toch B *wäs-*, indicate a meaning ‘live’ or ‘dwell’. The word probably meant originally ‘to spend time’ (a Hittite derivative *huski-* means ‘wait for, linger’) and subsequently developed into meaning ‘dwell’. To this we may add **men-* ‘stay, remain’ although it is a bit diffuse semantically in its various cognates that can be found in Celtic (e.g. OIr *ainmne* ‘duty’), Lat *maneō* ‘remain’, Grk *ménō* ‘stand fast, remain’, Arm *mnam* ‘remain, expect’, possibly Hit *mimma-* ‘refuse’, Skt *man-* ‘delay’, Toch AB *mäsk-* ‘become’.

There are two words for ‘build’, i.e. **dem(h_a)-* and **k^wei-*. The first yields the meaning ‘build’ in Grk *démō* and HierLuv *tama-* but more general meanings in

Table 13.1. *Terms for dwelling*

* <i>h₂wes-</i>	‘dwell, pass the night, stay’	NE <i>was/were</i> , Skt <i>vāsati</i>
* <i>men-</i>	‘remain, stay’	Lat <i>maneō</i> , Grk <i>ménō</i> , Skt <i>man-</i>
* <i>dem(h_a)-</i>	‘build (up)’	NE <i>timber</i> , Grk <i>démō</i>
* <i>k^wei-</i>	‘pile up, build’	Grk <i>poiēō</i> , Skt <i>cinōti</i>
* <i>teks-</i>	‘hew, fabricate’	Lat <i>texō</i> , Grk <i>téktōn</i> , Skt <i>tákṣati</i>
* <i>ghórdhos</i>	‘fence, hedge; enclosure, pen, fold’	Lat <i>hortus</i> , NE <i>yard</i> , Grk <i>khórtos</i> , Skt <i>ghá-</i>
* <i>worPo-</i>	‘enclosure’	
* <i>wrto/eh_a-</i>	‘enclosure’	NE <i>-worth</i> , Skt <i>vṛti-</i>
* <i>pelh_x-</i>	‘fort, fortified place’	Grk <i>pólis</i> , Skt <i>pūr</i>
* <i>wriyo/eh_a-</i>	‘fort’	Grk <i>hríon</i>
* <i>kéiws</i>	‘belonging to the household’	Lat <i>cīvis</i> , Skt <i>śéva-</i>
* <i>wíks</i>	‘(social unit of) settlement, extended family group’	Skt <i>viś-</i>
* <i>dóm</i>	‘house’	Grk <i>dō</i> , Skt <i>dām</i>
* <i>dóm(h_a)os</i>	‘house’	Lat <i>domus</i> , Grk <i>dómos</i> , Skt <i>dāma-</i>
* <i>h₂wóstu</i>	‘dwelling’	Grk <i>ástu</i> , Skt <i>vāstu</i>
* <i>kus-</i>	‘dwelling’	NE <i>house</i>
* <i>kēls</i>	‘(store)room’	Lat <i>cella</i> , NE <i>hall</i> , Grk <i>kalīā</i> , Skt <i>śāla-</i>
* <i>ket-</i>	‘room’	
* <i>gubho/eh_a-</i>	‘(store)room, alcove’	NE <i>cove</i>
?* <i>pér</i>	‘house’	
* <i>h₂elwos</i>	‘elongated cavity, hollow’	Lat <i>alvus</i> , Grk <i>aulós</i>
* <i>ghh_awos</i>	‘gaping hole’	Grk <i>kháos</i>
* <i>h₂éryos</i>	‘cavity’	
* <i>kóuh_xr</i>	‘hole, opening’	Lat <i>caverna</i> , Grk <i>kúar</i> , Skt <i>śūna-</i>
* <i>kóiw-is</i>	‘± tube’	

Germanic (e.g. OHG *zeman* ‘be fitting’ but derived forms in Germanic include NE *timber*), Khot *pa-dīm-* ‘make’, and Toch AB *tsām-* ‘increase, grow’. The second root, found in Slavic (OCS *čini* ‘order’), Grk *poiēō* ‘pile up, make’, and Indo-Iranian (Skt *cinōti* ‘pile up’), suggests an underlying meaning of ‘pile up, build’. Along with these construction words we might add **teks-* ‘hew, fabricate’ with its extensive representation, e.g. Lat *texō* ‘weave, intertwine, put together, construct’, Lith *tašýti* ‘hew, trim’, OCS *tesati* ‘hew’, Skt *tákṣati* ‘fashions, creates; carpenters, cuts’, with a significant set of nominal derivatives: Grk *téktōn* ‘architect’, *tékhne* ‘art, technique’, Skt *tákṣan-* ‘carpenter’, Hit *taksan-* ‘joint’, OHG *dehsa* ‘axe’.

In terms of construction, there are several words for some form of ‘enclosure’. The word **ghórdhos* or **ghórtos* is widely attested with meanings that vary from NWels *garth* ‘pen, fold’ to Rus *górod* ‘town’ or Hit *gurtas* ‘citadel’. It originally derives from a verbal root **gherdh-* ‘gird’ (and from which we have NE *gird*) and seems to have indicated some form of hedge or fence that surrounded an area such as a yard or an entire settlement. A Hittite (i.e. Hit *warpa* ‘enclosures’)-Tocharian (Toch A *warp* ‘enclosure’) isogloss gives us **worPo-* (where the *-P-* indicates any bilabial, i.e. **b*, **bh*, or **p*) which could probably be extended by Lat *urbs* ‘city’ (< **ritual enclosure*). A possible PIE **wrto/eh_a-* or **worto/eh_a-*, attested in Germanic (e.g. OE *worþ* ‘court, courtyard, farm’ which remains in many English place names ending in *-worth*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *var̃tai* ‘gate, gateway’), Slavic (OCS *rata* ‘gate’), Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *vṛti-* ‘enclosure’), and Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *warto* ‘forest’ if from **sacred grove* < **sacred enclosure*), may reflect independent creations in these various groups, all derived from the root **wer-* ‘cover, enclose, protect’.

The existence of a fortified site is indicated by two PIE words. Baltic (Lith *pilis* ‘fort, castle’), Grk *pólis* ‘city’ citadel’, and Indic (Skt *púr* ‘wall, rampart, palisade’ and the second member of many place names, e.g. Nagpur, Singapore) (possibly also Arm *k’alak’*) indicate the existence of **pelh_x-* ‘fort’. The second word is **wriyo/eh_a-*, attested in Thrac *bría* ‘city, town built on a hill’, Messapic (the city name *Uria*), various Celtic place names such as the British names lying behind English Wrekin and Wroxeter, and Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *rīye* ‘city’); both the specific Thracian meaning and the fact that the Greek cognate *hrion* means ‘promontory’ suggests an original meaning of ‘acropolis’ in those IE traditions where the word came to mean ‘city’ and a derivative from **wer-* ‘high’.

Words for a ‘settlement’ tend to be based on social organization rather than architecture. The root **kéiwo-* indicates the concept of ‘citizen’ in Italic (Lat *cīvis*), ‘member of the household’ in Germanic (e.g. OE *hīwan*) and even more abstract concepts such as ‘friendly’ or ‘dear’ in Indic (Skt *śívá-*). The **wíks* is similarly seen as a social term although it tends to have a more specific ‘architectural’ meaning, e.g. ‘village’ in Slavic (OCS *vīsŭ*) and Av *vīs-*, but ‘tribe’ or ‘clan’ in Doric Grk *-(w)ikes* ‘tribes’. It also yields derived forms, e.g. **weíks-* which gives us Lat *vīlla* (< **weíks-leh_a-*) ‘country-house, country estate’ and **woíkos* which underlies Lat *vīcus* ‘village, hamlet; quarter of a city’ and Grk *(w)oíkos* ‘household’ (the source of NE *economy*).

There are a number of words pertaining to the house and rooms of the Proto-Indo-Europeans. Although the distribution of **dóm* ‘house’ is limited to Grk *dō*, Arm *tun*, and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *dām*), it retains an archaic formation (the genitive is **déms*) that suggests PIE status. It may also provide the basis of **dóm(h_a)os* ‘house’, if this latter word is not derived directly from the verbal

root **dem(h_a)-* ‘build’. The verbal root **h₂wes-* ‘dwell, spend the night’ might underlie **h₂wóstu* ‘dwelling’ (reflected in, e.g., Grk *ástu* ‘city’ and Skt *vástu* ‘place, seat’ and with slightly different underlying forms in NWels *gwas* ‘abode’, and Toch B *ost* ‘house’). Something smaller than a house may be indicated by **kēls* where it indicates a ‘storeroom’ in Lat *cella*, a ‘hut’ in Grk *kalīā*; a derivative gives us NE *hall* and it would appear to derive from **kēl-* ‘protect, conceal’. The root **ket-* (e.g. OE *heador* ‘enclosure, prison’, OCS *koťiči* ‘chamber’, Av *kata-* ‘chamber’) similarly refers to a single chamber and was borrowed into the Uralic languages, e.g. Finnish *kota* ‘dwelling, tent, hut’. Since **ket-* shows up elsewhere in Indo-European languages with a meaning ‘hole’ (e.g. Av *čāiti* ‘in a hole’, Skt *cātvāla-* ‘hole for the sacrificial fire’, Toch B *kotai-* ‘hole’), it may be that the ‘chamber’ was originally something like a ‘storage pit’. Another term with ‘subterranean’ connections is **k(o)us-* which appears in the Germanic words for ‘house’, e.g. NE *house*, the Tocharian words for ‘village’ (i.e. a collection of houses), e.g. Toch B *kwašai-*, and Arm *xuc* ‘room’ and *xul* ‘hut’. These would all appear to be derivatives of **keus-* ‘hollow out’, and the use of this root for ‘dwelling’ words presumably reflects structures that were at least once semi-subterranean. Another word for ‘chamber’ is **gubho/eh_a-* where OE *cova* ‘bedchamber’ gives us NE *cove*; the only non-Germanic cognate is from Bajui, an Iranian language of the Pamirs, where we have *bidyāf* ‘lower part of a storeroom’. More controversial is a root **pér* which is only certainly attested in Anatolian (e.g. Hit nominative *pēr*, genitive *parnas*), and its ascription to Proto-Indo-European is largely dependent on seeing it as the underlying concept behind PIE **prih₂ós* ‘dear, beloved’, i.e. ‘of the same household’ and its archaic morphology reflecting a PIE **pér* (< **pérǵ*), genitive **pṛnós*; against such an ascription is the fact that there are similar words for ‘house’ in non-IE languages of the Near East, e.g. Egyptian *pr* ‘house’, and thus some would see the Anatolian words as a borrowing from another language.

Before reviewing the evidence for the concrete elements of construction, there are a number of more abstract terms that suggest the concept of a ‘cavity’ of some sort. **h₂elwos* indicates a ‘cavity’ or ‘tube’ and carries meanings (some derived) that range from the ‘leg of a boot’ (Lith *aūlas*) to a ‘street’ (Rus *úlica*) and a ‘beehive’ (Lat *alv(e)ārium*). The verbal root **gheh₄w-* ‘gape, yawn’ gives us **gh₄awos* which yields, among other words, Grk *kháos* ‘chaos’ and Toch A *ko* ‘mouth’. **h₂érwo-* is limited to Hit *hariya-* ‘valley, dale’ and Arm *ayr* ‘cave’ but there is a related form in Lith *armuō* ‘abyss’. PIE **kóuh₂r_g*, a heteroclitc (with an original genitive **kūh₂nós*), indicates a ‘cave’ in Lat *caverna*, ‘eye of the needle, opening of the ear’ in Grk *kúar*, ‘lack’ in Skt *súna-*, ‘throat’ in Toch B *kor*, and occurs in derived forms in Celtic although its underlying meaning may have been more abstract. Finally, **koiw-is* gives us a word for a ‘tube-shaped object’ such as a ‘spool’ (e.g. Lith *šeivà*).

There is a fairly extensive regional vocabulary associated with dwellings. We begin with the North-West set. Celtic, Italic (if Lat *caul(l)ae* ‘hole, opening’ belongs here), and Germanic (NE *haw* and *hedge*) all derive ultimately from **kagh-* ‘hedge, enclosure’ from a verbal root **kagh-* ‘catch, seize’. There is a regional term for ‘fort’ **dhūnos* (or **dhuh_xnos?*) based on cognates in Celtic (*dun* is a familiar place name element in Ireland and Scotland) and Germanic (NE *down(s)*); the word was also borrowed into Germanic from Celtic (where its Proto-Germanic form was **tūna-*) and it yielded among other things NE *town*. There is a general term **solo/eh_a-* or **selo-* ‘dwelling, settlement’ (Germanic, e.g. OE *sæl* ‘room, hall, castle’, Baltic, e.g. Lith *salà* ‘village’, Slavic, e.g. Rus *seló* ‘village’).

The West Central area also has a good number of cognate sets. These include **bhergh-* ‘height = fort’, a problematic set with good Germanic cognates, e.g. OHG *burg* ‘fortress’ but Greek and Armenian cognates with unexpected forms, e.g. Grk *púrgos* (and not the expected ***párkhos*) which some suggest may derive from a Near Eastern word, e.g. Urartian *burgana-* ‘fortress’, or others suggest may come from some other Indo-European language that may have preceded Greek into the Aegean area but whose population was subsequently assimilated to Greek. The word **kóimos* ‘household, village’ (NE *home*) is related to Lat *cīvis* ‘citizen’ and words that mean ‘dear’ in Sanskrit. Well attested in Celtic, Italic, Germanic, Baltic, and Greek is **trēbs* ‘dwelling’ (e.g. OIr *treb* ‘habitation’, Lat *trabs* ‘wooden beam’, ON *þorp* ‘farm, estate’ [whence NE place names in *-thorp*], Lith *trobà* ‘house, building’, Grk *téramna* ~ *téremna* ‘house, dwelling’).

Finally, from the Greek and Indo-Iranian region we have **mand-* ‘enclosure, stall’ (also found in Thracian); **t̥kei-* ‘settle, dwell’ and its derivative **t̥kītis* ‘settlement’ (Grk *ktisis* ‘settlement’, Av *šiti-* ‘settlement’, Skt *kṣiti-* ‘settlement’). A natural physical feature is seen in **káiw̥r(t)* ‘cave, fissure (in the earth)’ possible seen in (dialectal) Grk *kaíatas* ‘ditches, fissures in the ground opened by earthquakes’ and Skt *kéraṭa-* ‘cave, hollow’. Limited and questionable is **kamareh_a* ‘vault’ which means ‘belt’ in Avestan; this word was loaned from Grk *kamará* into Lat *camera* and then into French *chambre* and on into English (*chamber*).

13.2 Construction

There is no clear word for the ‘wall’ of a house in Proto-Indo-European; rather, we have a word that indicates an ‘enclosing wall’ of a fortification, i.e. **dhíghs*, seen most directly in OPers *didā* ‘(town) wall, fortification’ and Skt

Table 13.2. *Construction and furnishing*

* <i>dhíghs</i>	‘wall, fortification’	Grk <i>teíkhos</i> , Skt <i>dehī-</i>
* <i>serk-</i>	‘to construct/repair a wall’	Lat <i>sarciō</i> , Grk <i>hérkos</i>
* <i>h_aénh_xt(e)h_a</i>	‘doorjamb’	Lat <i>antae</i> , Skt <i>âtā-</i>
* <i>dhwōr</i>	‘door, gate’	Lat <i>foris</i> , NE <i>door</i> , Grk <i>thúrā</i> , Skt <i>dvārau</i>
* <i>telh_x-om</i>	‘floor (of planks)?’	Lat <i>tellūs</i> , Skt <i>tala-</i>
* <i>bhudhnó-</i>	‘bottom’	Lat <i>fundus</i> , NE <i>bottom</i> , Grk <i>puthmén</i> , Skt <i>budhná-</i>
* <i>dhgh(e)m-en</i>	‘on(to) the ground’	Lat <i>humī</i> , Grk <i>khamai</i> , Skt <i>jmán</i> ~ <i>kṣamā</i>
* <i>h₁rebh-</i>	‘cover with a roof’	NE <i>rafter</i> , Grk <i>eréphō</i>
* <i>kred-</i>	‘framework, beams’	NE <i>roost</i>
* <i>klīts</i>	‘post, trimmed log’	Grk <i>klíta</i> , Skt <i>śrít-</i>
* <i>mīts</i>	‘stake, post’	Skt <i>mīt-</i>
* <i>stéh₂ur</i>	‘post’	Grk <i>staurós</i> , Skt <i>sthūñā-</i>
* <i>swer-</i>	‘post, rod’	Lat <i>surus</i> , Grk <i>hérma</i> , Skt <i>svāru-</i>
* <i>pīn-</i>	‘± shaped wood’	Grk <i>pínaks</i> , Skt <i>pínāka-</i>
* <i>stup-</i>	‘± offcut, piece of wood’	NE <i>stump</i> , Grk <i>stúpos</i>
* <i>kókolos</i>	‘splinter’	Skt <i>sákala-</i>
* <i>h₂eh_x-seh_a-</i>	‘hearth’	Lat <i>āra</i>
* <i>sedes-</i>	‘seat’	Grk <i>hédos</i> , Skt <i>sádas-</i>
* <i>nīsdos</i>	‘nest’	Lat <i>nīdus</i> , NE <i>nest</i> , Skt <i>nīḍā-</i>
* <i>lēghes-</i>	‘place for lying, bed, couch’	Grk <i>lékhos</i>
* <i>ster(h₃)mṃ</i>	‘strewn place, ?bed’	Lat <i>strāmen</i> , Grk <i>strōma</i> , Skt <i>stáriman-</i>

sa-dih- ‘mound, heap, wall’, which has a number of derived forms, e.g. the Av *pairi-daēza-* ‘enclosure’ which was borrowed into Greek as *parádeisos* ‘garden’ and then borrowed into English as *paradise*, or Grk *teíkhos* ~ *toíkhos* ‘wall’, Skt *dehī-* ‘wall, bank’. In the North-West languages it refers to claylike substances, e.g. NE *dough*, and suggests that the original concept relates to an ‘earthen bank’. It is possible that **serk-* supplies the root for repairing an enclosure or, perhaps better, completing a circle, e.g. Lat *sarciō* ‘mend, repair’, Grk *hérkos* ‘fence, enclosure’, Hit *sark-* ‘make restitution’ (with a meaning adapted to the legal system).

We fare much better with the concept of ‘door’ as we can reconstruct both **h_aénh_xt(e)h_a* ‘doorjamb’ (e.g. Lat *antae* ‘pillars framing a door’, ON *qnd* ‘foreroom’, Arm *dr-and* ‘door-posts’, Skt *âtā* ‘door-posts’, and **dhwōr* ‘door’, the latter with cognates in all major groups (OIr *dorus*, Lat *foris*, NE *door*, Lith *dūrys*, OCS *dvīrī*, Alb *derë*, Grk *thúrā*, Arm *dur-k-*, Skt *dvāras*, Toch B *twere*, all

‘door(s)’ and Hit *andurza* ‘within’ (literally ‘in-doors’). Often the word for ‘door’ occurs in the dual and indicates two leaves of a door.

The lower and upper extremities of the house are less well established. There is no certain word for the ‘floor’ of the house. The closest word to fit would be **telh_x-om* ‘floor’ but it only exhibits this meaning in Germanic, e.g. OE *þel* ‘floor’, *þille* ‘plank of floor’, and Baltic (e.g. Lith *tilės* ‘planks at the bottom of a ship’), but in Celtic, Italic, and Slavic it means ‘earth’ or ‘ground’ (e.g. OIr *talam* ‘earth, ground’, Lat *tellūs* ‘earth’, Rus *tlo* ‘bottom’); its status as Proto-Indo-European rests on whether one accepts as cognate Skt *tala-* ‘surface, bottom’. We also have a generic word for ‘bottom’, i.e. **bhudhnó-* (e.g. MĪr *bonn* ‘sole of foot’, Lat *fundus* ‘bottom’, OE *botm* [> NE *bottom*], Grk *puthmén*, Skt *budhná-* ‘bottom, foot’) which is extended to mean ‘ground’ (e.g. Av *būna-*) but not in the sense of the floor of a house. (In the south-east of the Indo-European world derivatives of this word are used to name the archetypical monster, i.e. the Greek *Pūthō* and Sanskrit *áhir bhudhnyás* ‘snake of the deep’.) There is also an adverb, **dhgh(e)m-en* ‘on the ground’, which has been formed from the noun **dhghem-* ‘earth’ (see Section 8.1). There is only one word associated with ‘roof’ which is widely enough attested to (perhaps) claim PIE status. The verb **h₁rebh-* ‘cover with a roof’ is found in Grk *eréphō* ‘cover with a roof’ and *oróphē* ‘roof’ and possibly in Khufi (an Iranian language of the Pamirs) *rawűj* ‘plank’; an *o*-grade derivative in Germanic **h₁robh-tro-* gives us NE *rafter* (and by way of borrowing from ON we have NE *reef*).

There are a number of words associated with timber construction. A root **kred-* ‘framework, beams’ is attested in Germanic (e.g. NE *roost*), possibly Slavic (e.g. OCS *krada* ‘funeral pile’, though the initial consonant is phonologically irregular), and Shughni (another Iranian language of the Pamirs) where it means a ‘summer pen for cattle’ (χāδ). The underlying meaning of **klits* ‘post, trimmed log’ depends on its meanings in Celtic (e.g. OIr *clī* ‘housepost’), Germanic (e.g. OE *gehlid* ‘fence’ [< **‘string of posts’*]), and Greek (e.g. *klita* ‘cloister’ [< **‘arcade’* < **‘series of posts’*]) while it tends to indicate a ‘ladder’ in Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *śrit-*). The word **mits* ‘stake, post’ (e.g. Skt *mit-* ‘pillar, post’) does indicate an upright post or pillar and there is an underlying verb **mei-* ‘fix a post in the ground’. The verb **stéh₂-* ‘stand’ is the basis for **stéh₂ur* ‘post’ (e.g. Grk *staurós* ‘cross’, Skt *sthūnā-* ‘post’; a derivative gives NE *steer*) while some form of ‘post’ or ‘rod’ is indicated by **swer-* (e.g. Lat *surus* ‘twig, short stalk’, Grk *hérma* ‘support’, Skt *sváru-* ‘sacrificial post, stake’). Far more ambiguous is **pin-* ‘±shaped wood’, a proto-sememe of desperation generated by such meanings as ‘heap of wood’ (Germanic, i.e. OHG *witu-fīna*), ‘tree trunk’ (Slavic, i.e. OCS *pīnī*), ‘plank’ (Grk, i.e. *pinaks*), and ‘staff, bow’ (Indic, i.e. Skt *pināka-*). A root **stup-* also

has a wide set of meanings, e.g. ‘stump’, ‘broom’, ‘club’, and appears to derive from the verbal root **steup-* ‘strike’ (e.g. Grk *stúpos* ‘stick, post, pole’, NE *stump*, Toch A *stop* ‘club’). Some form of ‘splinter’ or ‘wood-chip’ is indicated by the Baltic-Indic isogloss that derives from **kókolos* (i.e. Lith *šakalys* ‘splinter’, Skt *śákala-* ‘splinter’).

There are few reliably attested words for internal arrangements or furniture. Within the house we are certain that we would find a **h₂eh_x-seh_a-* ‘hearth’ as in Lat *āra* and Hit *hāssa-*, a derivative of the verbal root **h₂eh_x-* ‘burn’ (it also provides the base for NE *ash*). Although we can reconstruct a word **sedes-* ‘seat’, this is a fairly transparent nominalization of **sed-* ‘sit’, and may have been independently created in Celtic (NWels *sedd* ‘seat’), Grk *hédos* ‘seat’, and Indo-Iranian (Av *hadiš-* ‘home’, Skt *sádas-* ‘place’). The same verbal root also gives us **nisdos* ‘nest’ (e.g. NE *nest*, Lat *nīdus* ‘nest’, and Skt *nīdā-* ‘nest’), which is literally a ‘sit-down place, i.e. **ni-* ‘down’ + *sed-* ‘sit’. Both words pertaining to the concept of ‘bed’ are obviously derived from verbal roots and may be independent formations in various groups. These comprise **lēghes-* (e.g. Grk *lékhos* ‘bed, bier’) and also **lóghos* (e.g. Grk *lókhos* ‘place for lying, ambush’, Toch B *leke* ‘bed, resting place’) from **legh-* ‘lie down’ and **ster(h₃)m̥-* ‘strewing, something strewn, strewn place’ (in Greek and Sanskrit it does mean ‘bed’) which derives from **ster(h₃)-* ‘strew’ (Lat *strāmen* ‘straw’, Grk *strōma* ‘straw, bed’, Skt *stáriman-* ‘act of spreading out; bed, couch’).

North-Western terms associated with carpentry include **plut-* ‘plank’ (e.g. Lat *pluteus* ‘movable penthouse, shed’, Lith *plaūtas* ‘plank’); **masdos* ‘post’ (e.g. Lat *mālus* ‘mast; upright in building a tower’, NE *mast*); **perg-* ‘pole, post’ (e.g. Lat *pergula* ‘balcony; outhouse used for various purposes’, ON *forkr* ‘pole’, Rus *poróg* ‘threshold’); **reh₁t-* ‘post, pole’ (e.g. Lat *rētae* ‘trees growing along the bank or in the bed of a stream’, NE *rood*); **sth₂bho/eh_a-* ‘post, pillar’ (e.g. NE *staff*, Lith *stābas* ‘post’) from the root **steh₂-* ‘stand’; and **ghasdhos* ‘rod, staff’ (Lat *hasta* ‘spear’), which yields OE *gierd* ‘staff, measuring pole’ which explains the basis of NE *yard*. Germanic and Slavic attest a meaning ‘roof’ for **krópos* ‘roof’ (NE *roof*, OCS *stropŭ* ‘roof’) while its only Celtic cognate attests a meaning ‘hovel, stall’ (MÍr *cró*).

From the West Central region we have a Germanic-Greek isogloss from **dm̥pedom* ‘floor’ (ON *topt* ‘place for building’, Grk *dápedon* ‘floor’), a compound derived from **dem-* ‘build’ and **ped-* ‘foot’. The root **(s)teg-* ‘cover’ underlies the Celtic-Greek isogloss of **(s)téges-* ‘roof’ (with derivatives such as OÍr *tech* ‘house’, Lat *tectum* ‘roof, ceiling’, *tēgula* ‘roof-tile’, NE *thatch*, Grk *(s)tégos* ‘roof, house’). The array of construction terms comprises **bhélh_aǵs* ‘plank, beam’ (e.g. NE *balk*; cf. also Lat *fulciō* ‘prop up, support’); **k₀h_x-ro-s* ‘plank’ from **(s)kel-* ‘strike, hew’ (e.g. OÍr *clār* ‘plank’, Grk *klēros* ‘piece of wood used for casting lots’) and from the same root we also have **(s)kōlos*

‘stake’ (e.g. Grk *skōlos* ‘pointed stake’); **sph_aen-* ‘flat-shaped piece of wood’ (e.g. Lat *sponda* ‘frame of a bed, bedstead’, NE *spoon*, and in derived form NE *spade*); **swel-* ~ **sel-* ‘plank, board’ (e.g. NE *sill*, Grk *hélmata* ‘planing, decking’); **ksúlom* ‘worked, shaped wood; post, stake’ (e.g. Grk *ksúlom* ‘wood’, OHG *sūl* ‘pillar’, Lith *šūlas* ‘wooden post, stake’); **kroku-* ~ **krókyeh_a-* ‘post’ (Rus *krókva* ‘stake’, Grk *króssai* ‘crenellation’); **(s)teg-* ‘pole, post’ (e.g. Lat *tignum* ‘wooden beam’, NE *stake*) where we may expect a shift from ‘cover’, the meaning of the verbal root, to ‘cover with poles’ > ‘poles’, **stl̥neh_a-* ‘post, support’ from **stel-* ‘stand’ (e.g. OHG *stollo* ‘support’, Grk *stēlē* ‘pillar’); **wálsos* ‘stake’ (e.g. Lat *vallus* ‘post, stake’, NE *wale* ‘stripe left on the skin by a blow’) may be older if one accepts a potential Indic cognate (Skt *vala-* ‘pole, beam’); **ǵhalgheh_a-* ‘pole, stake’ (e.g. NE *gallows*, Lith *žalgà* ‘long thin pole’). The root ‘to burn’ also underlies a West Central isogloss for ‘hearth’, **h₂eh_x-tr-eh_a-* (e.g. Lat *ātrium* ‘hall or entrance way’ [< **large open space above the central fire for the escape of smoke*], Rus *vatra* ‘hearth’) while the verb ‘sit’ yields both **sedlom* and **sedros* ‘seat, chairlike object’ (Lat *sella* ‘seat, chair’, *sedtle* ‘seat’, NE *settle*). A Greek-Armenian isogloss gives us **kīh_xwon-* ‘pillar, post’ (Grk *kīōn*, Arm *siwn*).

13.3 Proto-Indo-European Settlement

The reconstructed lexicon provides a very general picture of the residences and architecture of the Proto-Indo-Europeans. Nevertheless, we can at least make an attempt at translating some of the vocabulary into features that might be recoverable from the archaeological record. To begin with, it seems fairly clear that the Proto-Indo-Europeans occupied substantial houses rather than flimsier shelters. For example, among the fourteen terms for dwelling or settlement reconstructed to the largely mobile hunter-fishers of the Uralic language family, we find terms such as the **śarma* ‘smokehole of a tent’, **ude-me* ‘sleeping tent’, and even the IE loanword **ket-* ‘room’ yields the Uralic **kota* ‘tent, hut, house’. In contrast, Proto-Indo-European possesses sufficient terms for house, room, and upright timber constructions to suggest a more solid dwelling structure.

The reconstructed lexicon also indicates some form of nucleated settlement, i.e. a group of houses, rather than the type of dispersed settlement that one often encounters on the western periphery of Europe during the Neolithic. We have a series of words for some form of enclosure (**ghórdhos*, **worPo-*, **wŕto/eh_a-*, **pelh_x-*, **wriyo/eh_a-*) and the extensions of a term for a

social unit (**wiks*) to indicate a village. Without a precise date and location for the Proto-Indo-Europeans it is difficult to make much archaeologically out of such terms, as broad areas of Europe saw evidence for some form of enclosure from the Early Neolithic onwards, e.g. ditched enclosures around southern Italian Neolithic sites, ditched enclosures around central and west European (Danubian) Neolithic sites, causewayed enclosures in Britain, timber palisade around Balkan tell sites. Moreover, evidence for truly defensive enclosures increases as one enters the Eneolithic and Early Bronze Age, especially in eastern Europe (the steppelands, the Balkans) and Anatolia (e.g. Troy). Regarding the **wiks*, we do not appear to have an obvious designation for a settlement unit much larger than a clan, i.e. there is no suggestion in the reconstructed vocabulary for the type of proto-urbanism that one encounters in South-West Asia, Central Asia, India, or Anatolia during the Neolithic.

As to actual house structure, it is certainly easiest to imagine some form of timber-built structure given the abundance of words for post (**kred-*, **k̑lits*, **mits*, **stéh₂ur*, **swer-*) and perhaps the word for floor (**telh_x-om*) if timber planks are really implicit in our reconstruction. The word **dhighs* is critical if one wishes to imagine some form of clay daub being employed in wall construction. In this case, we might well imagine that the walls involved wattle and daub, especially as there is very good evidence (see Chapter 14) for words for interweaving or wattling, including that concerned with house construction, e.g. **wei(h_x)-* ‘plait, wattle’ which gives ON *veggr* ‘wall’. The existence of several rooms for ‘chambers’ (**k̑ēls*, **ket-*, **gubho/eh_a-*) suggests the presence of either multi-room constructions or specialized outbuildings for storage and other purposes.

Negative evidence is seldom particularly compelling but the reconstructed lexicon not only does not indicate a word for ‘brick’ but where it does occur among Indo-Europeans who employed bricks in construction, as in Proto-Indo-Iranian **išt(y)a-* ‘brick’ (>Av *ištīia-*, Skt *iṣṭakā-*), it is commonly explained as a loanword from a non-Indo-European language, but may be an internal Indo-Iranian derivative of **h_aeis-* ‘burn’ (Toch B shows a different derivative, *aise* < **h_aoiso-* in the meaning ‘pot’). Bricks were made of sun-dried (and later fired) mud/clay and are the diagnostic building technique of the Neolithic (and later periods) in Anatolia, South-West Asia, and central Asia with some evidence from Neolithic Greece, but beyond Macedonia they are essentially unknown during the Neolithic. In short, the evidence for architectural terms in Proto-Indo-European is most consistent with an architectural tradition somewhere in temperate Eurasia where houses were exclusively built of timber rather than brick.

Further Reading

For general discussion see Knobloch (1980), Lejeune (1977); for enclosures see Della Volpe (1986), Driessen (2001), Makkay (1986), and Rau (1973); the hearth is treated in Della Volpe (1990) and Nagy (1974*b*); the bed in Hamp (1987*c*) and Maher (1981).

14

Clothing and Textiles

14.1 Textiles

230 14.2 Proto-Indo-European Textile Production

236

14.1 Textiles

Among the obvious domestic pursuits in any society, at least one inhabiting the temperate regions of Eurasia, is the production of textiles and clothing. The reconstructed lexicon has a considerable number of items pertaining to these activities although they fall far short of providing us with an image of Indo-European fashion. We have already seen that the Indo-European vocabulary includes a very well attested word for ‘wool’ (Section 11.2), a word for ‘linen’ (Section 10.3) is found in the West Central region (as far east as Greece but no further), and there are several words for animal skins, all of which were potentially manufactured into clothes and containers. Table 14.1 presents a list of the basic terms pertaining to textiles.

The word for a skin container, **bhólǵhis*, is well attested and the element ‘skin’ or ‘belly’ is widely found in Celtic (e.g. OIr *bolgr* ‘sack’, Gaul *bulga* ‘leather sack’) and Germanic (OE *bel(i)g* ‘bag’ [> NE *belly*], OHG *balg* ‘skin’) while other groups indicate simply ‘pillow’ (Slovenian uses the word *blazina* for a ‘feather bed’) or ‘bolster’ (Indo-Iranian, e.g. Av *bərəziš* ‘bolster, cushion’, Skt *upa-bārhanī-* ‘cover, bolster’). It derives from the verbal root **bhelǵh-* ‘swell’. The word for ‘net’, **h₁ekt-*, is found in Greek, Anatolian (e.g. Hit *ēkt-*), and Indic (e.g. Skt *ākṣu-*); the Greek forms (Myc *dektu-*, Grk *diktuon*) show a prefix (**d-*) of uncertain origin which also occurs in some other words, e.g. Grk *dákrū* ‘tear’ from **h₂ékrū*.

Table 14.1. *Textile terms*

<i>*bhólǵhis</i>	‘(skin) bag; bolster’	NE <i>belly</i> , Skt <i>upa-bārhanī-</i>
<i>*h₁jekt-</i>	‘net’	Grk <i>diktuon</i> , Skt <i>ákṣu-</i>
<i>*h₁eu-</i>	‘put on clothes, cover’	Lat <i>induō</i> , <i>exuō</i>
<i>*wes-</i>	‘be dressed’	Grk <i>énnūmi</i> , Skt <i>vāste</i>
<i>*wospo/eh_a-</i>	‘garment’	Lat <i>vespa</i>
<i>*drap- ~ *drop-</i>	‘clothes, cloak’	Skt <i>drāpī-</i>
<i>*yéh₃s-</i>	‘gird’	Grk <i>zónnūmi</i>
<i>*gherdh-</i>	‘gird, surround’	NE <i>gird</i> , <i>girdle</i>
<i>*kenk-</i>	‘gird, wrap around’	Lat <i>cingō</i> , Skt <i>kāñcate</i>
<i>*deĕ-</i>	‘thread, hair’	Skt <i>daśā-</i>
<i>*los-</i>	‘cloth’	Skt <i>las-pūjanī-</i>
<i>*p(e)h₂no/eh_a-</i>	‘cloth’	Lat <i>pannus</i> , NE <i>fane</i> , Grk <i>pénē</i>
<i>*peĕ-</i>	‘pull out [wool]’	Lat <i>pectō</i> , Grk <i>pékō</i>
<i>*reu(h_x)-</i>	‘pull out [wool]’	Skt <i>róman-</i>
<i>*kars-</i>	‘scratch; comb (wool)’	Lat <i>carrō</i> , <i>carmen</i>
<i>*kes-</i>	‘comb’	
<i>*nak-</i>	‘press, squeeze’	Lat <i>naccae</i>
<i>*pleĕ-</i>	‘braid, plait’	Lat <i>plectō</i> , Grk <i>plékō</i> , Skt <i>praśna-</i>
<i>*resg-</i>	‘plait, wattle’	Lat <i>restis</i> , NE <i>rush</i> , Skt <i>rājju-</i>
<i>*wei(h₁)-</i>	‘plait, wattle’	Lat <i>vieō</i> , Skt <i>váyati</i>
<i>*kert-</i>	‘plait, twine’	Lat <i>crātis</i> , NE <i>hurdle</i> , Grk <i>kurtía</i>
<i>*mesg-</i>	‘intertwine’	NE <i>mesh</i>
<i>*(s)neh₁(i)-</i>	‘twist fibres into thread’	Lat <i>neō</i> , Grk <i>néō</i> , Skt <i>snáyu-</i>
<i>*sneh₁u-</i>	‘twist fibres into thread’	Lat <i>nervus</i> , Grk <i>neûron</i>
<i>*(s)pen-</i>	‘draw, spin’	NE <i>spin</i> , Grk <i>pénomai</i>
<i>*terk(w)-</i>	‘twist’ (< ‘spin’)	Lat <i>torqueō</i> , Grk <i>átraktos</i> , Skt <i>tarkú-</i>
<i>*h_{2/3}eu-</i>	‘weave’	NE <i>weeds</i> , Skt <i>u-</i>
<i>*h_{2/3}webh-</i>	‘weave’	NE <i>weave</i> , Grk <i>hupháinō</i> , Skt <i>ubhnāti</i>
<i>*weg-</i>	‘plait, weave’	Lat <i>vēlum</i> , NE <i>wick</i>
<i>*melk-</i>	‘plait, spin’	
<i>*syuh₁-</i>	‘sew’	Lat <i>suō</i> , NE <i>sew</i> , Grk <i>kassúō</i> , Skt <i>śívyati</i>
<i>*(s)ner-</i>	‘fasten with thread or cord’	
<i>*ned-</i>	‘knot’	Lat <i>nectō</i> , NE <i>net</i>

There are two words associated with getting dressed (with some wide semantic variation). Although **h₁eu-* ‘put on clothes, cover’ is limited to Italic (Lat *induō* ‘put on [clothes]’, *exuō* ‘take off [clothes]’), Baltic (e.g. Lith *aūti* ‘put on shoes’), Slavic (OCS *obujō* ‘put on shoes’, *izujō* ‘take off shoes’), and Arm *aganim* ‘dress’, there are also nominal derivatives from this verb in Celtic

(e.g. OIr *fūan* ‘tunic’) and Tocharian (Toch B *ewe* ‘inner skin’). As we can see, in Baltic and Slavic it specifically pertains to the wearing or putting on of shoes. More widespread is **wes-* ‘be dressed’ (e.g. Grk *énnūmi* ‘get dressed’, Arm *z-genum* ‘get dressed’, Hit *wess-* ‘be dressed’, Skt *vāste* ‘wear’, Toch B *wās-* ‘be dressed’) with abundant nominal derivations, e.g. Lat *vestis* ‘clothes’. Among the nouns formed from this verb are **wospo/eh_a-* which is found both in Italic and Anatolian where it refers to a specific garment; in Anatolian it means a ‘shroud’ (Hit *was(sa)pa-* ‘garment, shroud’, Luv *waspant* ‘wearing funeral shrouds’) and in Latin the derived *vespa* indicates ‘one who steals clothes from the dead’. The second term **drap-* or **drop-* (e.g. Gallo-Roman *drappus* ‘clothes’, Lith *drāpanos* [pl.] ‘clothes’, Skt *drāpi-* ‘cloak’) and may come from **drep-* ‘split off’, i.e. it originally indicated a skin garment.

Some form of belt is indicated by several terms. The verb **yéh₃s-* ‘gird’ (e.g. Lith *júosiu* ‘gird, girdle, buckle on [a sword]’, OCS *po-jašq* ‘gird’, Alb *n-gjesh* ‘gird, buckle on’, Grk *zōnnūmi* ‘gird’, Av *yāh-* ‘gird’) not only supplies a word for girding on a belt but also a number of nominal formations indicating the ‘belt’ itself, e.g. Grk *zōnē* ‘belt’, whence via Latin we get NE *zone*. Only Germanic retains the verbal root **gherdh-* ‘gird’ (e.g. NE *gird*) but this verb appears to underlie all those words associated with a ‘fence, enclosure’, i.e. **ghórdhs*, which is of Proto-Indo-European date (see Section 13.1). A general verb to ‘gird’ or ‘wrap around’ is found in **kenk-* (e.g. Lat *cingō* ‘gird, surround’, Lith *kinkaũ* ‘bridle, harness [a horse]’, Skt *kāñcate* ‘bind’ *kāñcī-* ‘girdle’).

The basic unit of textile manufacture, the ‘thread’, is attested as **dek-* in Germanic (e.g. ON *tāg* ‘fibre’) and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Khot *dasa-* ‘thread’, Skt *daśā-* ‘fringe’); extended forms tend to mean ‘hair’, e.g. **dok-lo-* give NE *tail* (also OIr *dūal* ‘lock of hair’). Other words for ‘thread’ are regional isoglosses. There are two general words for ‘cloth’: **los-* carries meanings such as ‘rags’ in Germanic (e.g. MHG *lasche*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *lāskana*), and Slavic (e.g. Rus *lóskut*) and ‘cloth’ in Indo-Iranian (e.g. Khot *r(r)aha-* ‘cloth’, Skt *las-pūjanī-* ‘large needle’ [*< *‘cloth piercer’?*])—presuming that all these words go together) while **p(e)h₂no/eh_a-* exhibits wide semantic variance from ‘linen cloth’ (Mir *anan*), ‘piece of cloth, garment’ (Lat *pannus*), ‘thread on the shuttle’ (Grk *pēne*) to ‘sheepskin coat’ (Roshani *warbōn* [*< *vara(h)-pāna-* ‘sheep(skin)-coat’]); also belonging here is NE *fane* from OE *fana* ‘banner, standard’, an archaic term for ‘flag’ in NE where a dialectal term survives better in NE *vane*.

In the preparation of textiles we can begin with the concept of ‘pulling out’ the wool or fibres which is indicated in Proto-Indo-European by **pek-* ‘pull out (e.g. wool), comb out (e.g. wool)’, e.g. Lat *pectō* ‘comb’ [verb], *pecten* ‘comb’ [noun], Lith *pešũ* ‘pull, tear out, pluck [fowl]’, Grk *pékō* ‘comb, shear’, *pēkos* ‘(raw) wool, fleece’, OE *feax* ‘(head) hair’, Toch B *pāk-* ‘±comb out [wool],

shear'. The original meaning must have been something like 'harvest wool [by plucking]' and came to mean successively 'harvest wool [by combing]' and 'harvest wool [by shearing]' as the technology of wool-gathering evolved. The meaning became 'fossilized' at one semantic stage or another in the various Indo-European groups. Another verb with much the same meaning is **reu(h_x)-*. The sense of 'pluck wool' exists only in ON *rýja* (also Norw *ru* 'winter wool') but there are numerous nominal forms such as 'horse's mane' (OIr *rōn*), 'fleece' (Slavic, e.g. Rus *runó*), 'hair' (Indo-Iranian, e.g. NPers *rōm* 'pubic hair', Skt *lóman-* ~ *róman-* 'body hair of men and animals') so that it suggests that the original meaning did involve plucking hairs or wool. There are two words associated with 'combing': **kars-* carries the specific meaning 'comb wool' in Italic (Lat *car(r)ō* 'comb wool', *carmen* 'comb for wool') and Baltic (e.g. Lith *karšiù* 'comb/card wool'); elsewhere it means 'scratch'. The verb **kes-* 'comb' is generally but not exclusively applied to combing human hair (e.g. MIr *cīr* 'comb', Lith *kasà* 'braid', OCS *kosa* 'hair', Hit *kiss-* ~ *kisā(i)-* 'comb') but could be extended to combing either wool (e.g. Grk *ksainō* 'scrape, comb [hair or wool], full [cloth]') or flax (OE *heordan* [pl.] 'hards [of flax], tow').

One of the most basic methods of producing cloth is through 'felting' and there is one verb, **nak-*, that may have expressed this concept in Proto-Indo-European. It provides us with the Latin word *naccae* for 'cloth-fullers' (if the latter is not a Greek loanword, related in some fashion to [dialectal] Grk *naktá* [pl.] 'felt shoes') and we have the root employed in Greek 'felt shoes', but in Hittite it only means 'weighty, important' (*nakki-*) which takes us closer to the basic verbal root meaning 'press', i.e. 'pressing'. If it only meant 'press' in Proto-Indo-European (or Proto-Indo-Hittite), the meaning 'felt' may have been a later and secondary development.

There are a number of words for 'plaiting'. PIE **plek-* is well attested (e.g. Lat *plectō* 'plait, interweave', OE *fleohtan* 'braid, plait', OCS *pleto* 'braid, plait', Grk *plékō* 'braid, plait', Skt *praśna-* 'braiding, basketwork, turban') and in derived form (**plok-so-*) it gives us NE *flax*. Another root, **resg-*, seems to have included coarser plaiting, i.e. wattling (e.g. Lat *restis* 'rope, cord', NE *rush*, Lith *rezg(i)ù* 'knit, do network', OCS *rozga* 'root, branch', NPers *rayza* 'woollen cloth', Skt *rāju-* 'cord, rope'). A root **wei(h₁)-* (cf. Lat *vieō* 'bind, interweave', Skt *váyati* 'weaves') was highly productive in providing nouns, e.g. NE *withy*, Lat *vītis* 'vine', many of which are associated better with the wattling of a house wall (e.g. ON *veggr* 'wall'). Some form of wickerwork attends many of the meanings associated with **kert-* (e.g. Lat *crātis* 'wickerwork, hurdle, honeycomb', NE *hurdle*, OPrus *corto* 'hedge', Grk *kártallos* 'basket', *kurtía* 'wattle') while 'intertwining' is indicated by **mesg-* (e.g. ON *mōskvi* 'mesh', Lith *mezgù* 'knit', *māzgas* 'knot', Toch B *meske* 'joint, knot'); one of the cognate forms, MDutch *maesche*, gives us NE *mesh*.

Twisting the fibres into thread is also well attested with several roots. Both **(s)neh₁(i)-* and **sneh₁u-* supply not only a series of verbs (e.g. Mİr *snūd* ‘twists, binds’, Lat *neō* ‘spin’, OHG *nā(w)en* ‘sew, stitch’, Latv *snāju* ‘twist loosely together, spin’, Grk *néō* ‘spin’) but also nominal forms. For example, the *o*-grade of **(s)neh₁(i)-* with the suffix **-teh_a-* supplies NE *snood* (and Oİr *snāth* ‘thread’, Latv *snāte* ‘linen shawl, cape’) while the root without the initial *s*-mobile coupled with the instrumental suffix **-tleh_a-* gives NE *needle*. The second verbal form underlies Lat *nervus* ‘sinew, tendon’ (metathesized form **neuros*) and Grk *neūron* ‘sinew, tendon’. A root **(s)pen-* yields meanings such as ‘spin’ and ‘weave’ (e.g. NE *spin*, Lith *pinù* ‘weave’, OCS *pīnq* ‘tighten, strain’, Alb *pe* ‘thread’, Grk *pénomai* ‘toil [at household tasks]’, Arm *hanum* ~ *henum* ‘weave’, Toch B *pānn-* ‘draw [out], stretch’). A widely dispersed root **terk(w)-* means ‘twist’ and in a number of languages specifically ‘spin’ or, nominalized, ‘spindle’ (e.g. Lat *torqueō* ‘twist, wind; torment’, Alb *tjerr* ‘spin’, Grk *átraktos* ‘spindle’, Skt *tarkú-* ‘spindle’).

Verbs indicating ‘weaving’ are several. The most basic is **h_{2/3}eu-* where we have the NE cognate *weeds* as in ‘widow’s weeds’ (cf. Skt *u-* ‘weave’, Rus *usló* ‘weaving’) and a derived form **h_{2/3}webh-* (e.g. NE *weave*, Alb *vej* ‘weave’, Grk *huphaínō* ‘weave’, Hit *huppai-* ‘entangle, ensnare’, Skt *ubhnāti* ‘ties together’, Toch B *wāp-* ‘weave’) where we not only find ‘weave’ but also ‘web’ and even ‘spider’ (i.e. Skt *ūrṇa-vābhi-*, literally ‘wool-weaver’). Another possibility is **weg-* (e.g. Oİr *figid* ‘weaves’, Lat *vēlum* ‘sail, cloth’, NE *wick*) although the semantic distance of some of the cognates, e.g. Skt *vāgurā-* ‘net for catching animals’, may suggest something plaited rather than woven. A similar semantic distance is seen among the derivatives of **melk-*; in Hittite we have *mal-* ‘spin, entwine’, Tocharian has *mālk-* ‘joint together, insert’, and OHG *malha* ‘bag’.

‘Sewing’ is indicated with the root **syuh₁-* which is both geographically and semantically robust across the Indo-European languages (e.g. Lat *suō*, NE *sew*, Lith *siuvù*, OCS *šijq*, Grk *kassúō*, Skt *sīvyati*, all ‘sew’). The root **(s)ner-* supplies a meaning of ‘fasten with thread/cord’ in Lith *neriù* ‘thread (a needle)’, Toch B *ñare* ‘thread’ (it gave the OE *snēr* ‘harpstring’ and in its meaning ‘bind close together’ it may have supplied the basis of NE *narrow*).

Finally we have **ned-* ‘knot, bind’ (both verbally and also nominal derivatives, e.g. Oİr *naiscid* ‘binds’, Lat *nectō* ‘knot, bind’ [whose shape has been influenced by *pectere* ‘comb wool’], *nōdus* ‘knot’, NE *net*, Av *naska-* ‘bundle’) and probably also a series of words in Germanic and Greek (i.e. *adikē* ‘nettle’) cognate with NE *nettle*, and there is also a **nedskéh_a-* ‘tie, ring’ from the

same root in Celtic (OIr *nasc* ‘fastening tie, ring’) and Germanic (OHG *nuska* ‘metal clasp’).

The North-West region exhibits a number of cognate terms related to textiles. Italic (Lat *quālus* ‘wicker-basket’, *quasillus* ‘small basket’) and Slavic (e.g. OCS *košī* ‘basket’) both share **k^was-* ‘(wicker-) basket’; Germanic (e.g. ON *hrip* ‘packbasket’) and Baltic (e.g. Lith *krėpšas* ‘large satchel, backpack’) both attest a **kreb-* ‘basket’ which has cognate sets in other languages in its *o*-grade form, e.g. Lat *corbis*, Lith *karbas*, Rus *kórob*, all ‘basket’. Celtic and Germanic share a number of terms such as some form of ‘cloak’ or ‘tunic’ in **ruk-* ‘over-garment’ (e.g. OIr *rucht* ‘tunic’, OE *rocc* ‘over-garment, rochet’); **dhelg-* ‘pin’ (e.g. OIr *delg* ‘thorn, pin, brooch’, OE *dalc* ‘bracelet, brooch’); and a word for ‘thread’, **pe/oth_amo-* (e.g. OWels *etem* ‘thread, yarn’, OHG *fadm* ‘thread’). This word is derived from **pet-* ‘stretch out’, i.e. stretch out the arms while preparing yarn from thread, and in the various languages it means either ‘thread’ or a ‘measure of outstretched arms’, hence the cognate NE *fathom*. There is also a rare Celtic-Slavic isogloss in **kerd-* ‘belt’ (e.g. OIr *cris* ‘belt’, Rus *čéres* ‘leather belt’). Finally, there is an Italic (Lat *plūma* ‘the downy part of a feather’), Germanic (e.g. NE *fleece*), and Baltic (e.g. Lith *plūskos* [pl.] ‘hair’) isogloss of **pleus-* ‘(pluck) fleece, feathers’.

The West Central area provides us with **bh_gw-* ‘(bolt of) cloth’, a Balto-Greek isogloss (e.g. Lith *būrvā* ‘piece of cloth’, Grk *phāros* ‘[bolt of] cloth’) which suggests that it derived from a verbal root such as **bher-* ‘weave, twine’; Germanic and Greek attest a **baitéh_a-* ‘cloak’ (e.g. Goth *paida* ‘tunic, shirt’, Grk *baitē* ‘shepherd’s cloak of skins’) which, with its very rare initial **b-*, has suggested to some a loanword from a non-IE language; Italic-Germanic-Greek and Armenian yield **kéntr/n-* ‘± patch, patched garment’ (e.g. Lat *centō* ‘patchwork clothes’, OHG *hadara* ‘patches’, Grk *kéntrōn* ‘patched clothes’, Arm *k’ot’anak* ‘clothes’) and Germanic-Baltic-Slavic-Greek show a **lōp-* ‘± strip of cloth, bast, or hide used for clothing’ (e.g. OE *lōf* ‘headband’, Lith *lōpas* ‘patch’, Rus *lāpotī* ‘bast shoe’, Grk *lōpos* ‘clothes made from skins’), derived from **lep-* ‘strip (off)’. A word for a ‘strap’ or ‘sling’ is found in the Italic (Lat *funda* ‘sling’) and Grk *sphendōnē* ‘sling’ isogloss in **(s)bhond-neh_a* from **bhendh-* ‘bind’. While we cannot with confidence reconstruct a Proto-Indo-European ‘shoe’ we do have this word from Celtic (e.g. OIr *cairem* ‘shoe-maker’), Baltic (e.g. Lith *kūrpe* ‘shoe’), Slavic (e.g. SC *krplje* ‘snowshoe’), and Grk *krēpīs* ‘shoe’ and possibly Germanic (e.g. ON *hriflingr* ‘shoe’) and less certainly Italic (Late Lat *carpisculum* ‘little shoe’ is surely related but may well be a borrowing from some other Indo-European group) in the form of **k_hh₁pīs* which is usually derived from **(s)ker-* ‘cut’, i.e. a shoe cut out from leather. In terms of textile preparation we have **g^whih_x(slo)-* ‘± sinew, thread’ (e.g. NWels *gāu* [pl.] ‘nerves, sinews’, Lat *fīlum* ‘thread’, Lith *gijà* ‘thread (in a

warp), skein', OCS *žica* 'sinew', Lith *gýsla* 'vein', Arm *žil* 'cord') where the focus is on something fashioned from animal sinew rather than twisted fibres. Both OE *þrum* (NE *thrum*) and Grk *termiόeis* 'be-thrummed' employ **termn-* 'end' in the form of **t(e)rm-* to designate the 'thread-end'. The word for 'a single hair', **pilos*, provides the basis for **pil-so-* or **pil-do-* or, as recently suggested **peld-* 'felt' (Lat *pilleus* 'felt' [adj.], NE *felt*, OCS *plŭstŭ*, Alb *plis*, Grk *pŭlos*). In a number of West Central languages, Germanic (e.g. NE *reel*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *krėklės* 'ragged clothing'), and Greek (e.g. *krékō* 'strike (the web), weave, pluck a stringed instrument', *króks* 'warp') give us **krek-* 'beat the weft with a stick'. The West Central root **knab(h)-* 'pick at, tease out' (e.g. NWels *cnaif* 'fleece', Lith *knabėnti* 'to pick/peck at', M Dutch *noppe* 'nap, pile' [borrowed into NE as *nap*], Grk *knáphō* 'full (cloth)') is our only possible linguistic attestation of the concept of 'fulling' wool, i.e. felting an already woven fabric. Germanic (NE *string*) and Grk *straggós* 'drawn through a small opening', possibly Celtic (M Ir *sreng* 'string, cord' [if not an ON loanword]), give us **strenk-* 'string, to pull (tight)'. Our only two words for some type of headband are confined to Graeco-Aryan correspondences: **puḱ-* 'headband' (Grk *ámpuks* '(metal) headband', Av *pusā-* 'diadem') and **déh₁mṇ-* 'band' (Grk *diádēma* 'diadem', Skt *dāman-* 'band'), the latter from **deh₁-* 'bind'. Finally, our word for 'dye', **reg-*, is attested in Grk *hrézō* 'dye' and Indo-Iranian, in the latter generally indicating a reddish colour (e.g. NPers *rang* 'colour', Skt *rājyati* ~ *rājyate* 'is coloured; reddens').

14.2 Proto-Indo-European Textile Production

It is obvious that we are not able to reconstruct a very elaborate 'wardrobe' for Proto-Indo-European speakers. We are essentially left with a very nondescript development of the verb **wes-* and possibly some form of skin-made garment in **drap-*. The cognate terms supporting a PIE **wospo-* certainly appear to support the notion of some form of blanket rap. This could then be fastened with the help of a **yéh₃s-* 'belt'. Elizabeth Barber reminds us how versatile a simple blanket wrap can be as it may vary in size from a kilt to a cloak to, and as we see in **wospo-*, a shroud. We also have a regional (West Central) word for 'shoe' (**k₂rh₁pís*). This word is usually derived from **(s)ker-* 'cut' which supports the notion of a leather shoe. The Tyrolean 'Iceman', Ötzi, who lived c. 3300 BC, wore leather soles and fur uppers. Neolithic shoes were also made of bast (cf. **lōp-* > Rus *lápoti* 'bast shoe' above). The northern neighbours of the Indo-Europeans, the Proto-Uralics, were no better blessed with clothing terms. Their

reconstructed lexicon yields only eight terms, including some form of shirtlike clothing, two words for belt, and one word for glove (but no word for shoe).

We are, however, able to reconstruct a fairly elaborate vocabulary for textile manufacture, beginning with the harvest of a sheep's wool (by plucking or combing, e.g. **peḱ-*, **reu(h_x)-*, **kars-*, **kes-*) and proceeding through spinning (**(s)neh₁(i)-*, **sneh₁u-*, **(s)pen-*, **terk(w)-*), weaving (**h_{2/3}eu-*, **h_{2/3}webh-*, **weg-*), and sewing (**syuh₁-*), with stops along the way, so to speak, for felting (**nak-*), plaiting (**pleḱ-*, **resg-*, **wei(h_x)-*, **kert-*), fulling (regional **knab(h)-*), and dyeing (regional **reg-*). It seems clear that, in addition to animal skins (**bhólǵhis*, perhaps **drap-* or **drop-*), Proto-Indo-European dress was largely of woollen (**w₁h₂neh_a-*) manufacture with a lesser role played by plant materials such as flax (**linom*).

The material of textile manufacture has been seen to be an important diacritic of the period or place of the Proto-Indo-Europeans. Naturally, skin garments have been employed since long before the existence of Proto-Indo-European and remain in use to this day. The spread of flax (and to a lesser extent hemp) was a product of the Neolithic where it has been attested since about the seventh millennium BC. The production of flax or linen garments predominated during the Neolithic, roughly in the period c.7000–3500 BC, and the recovery of textiles from archaeological sites in Europe during this period is exclusively of linen or some other plant material. Our single cognate term for 'flax' (**linom*) appears to be restricted to the West Central region and there is some question of a loan (Latin into Germanic) here as well. Theoretically, flax could date from the beginnings of the Neolithic onwards; however, in peripheral areas of the Indo-European world, e.g. Ireland and India, it does not appear earlier than the Bronze Age. Moreover, the words for a white linen garment in several Indo-European languages, i.e. Grk *khítōn*, Lat *tunica* (<**ktunika*), and probably Hit *kattanipu-*, all appear to be borrowed from Semitic, e.g. Akkadian *kitinnu-*; this item being one of the linguistic consequences of what has been called the Bronze Age 'international garment industry'. In short, although the Proto-Indo-Europeans may well have worn linen garments, it is by no means certain that we can recover their original word for this term. What also is apparent is that their textile industry seems to have been more narrowly focused on wool.

The earliest domestic sheep lacked a woolly fleece and were rather covered with coarse hairs or kemps. The earliest evidence for a woolly sheep so far (the depiction of clumps of wool on the figurine of a sheep) derives from Iran and dates to the seventh millennium BC. But actually solid evidence for woolly sheep or woollen textiles outside this area does not appear until about the fourth millennium BC when we have evidence from Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Caucasus; among the criteria for identifying woolly sheep is the appearance

of a significantly taller variety and thus height is sometimes employed as proxy evidence for the spread of woolly sheep. Such taller sheep appear in the steppelands by about the fifth and certainly the fourth millennium BC. The importance of these considerations is that by and large, our evidence for woollen textiles or the exploitation of woolly sheep does not in general date before the fourth millennium BC. We have already seen in Chapter 11 that we have a PIE word for ‘wool’ (**w_lh₂neh_a-*), which is unambiguously attested with this meaning in nine IE groups, including Hittite, and there is sufficient corollary evidence in the terms for textile manufacture, e.g. **pek-*, **reu(h_x)-*, that the exploitation of woollen textiles should be reconstructed to the speakers of the proto-language. This has been a substantial argument for those who suggest that the Proto-Indo-Europeans had not experienced serious linguistic divergence much prior to the fourth millennium BC, i.e. the Proto-Indo-Europeans are ‘post-wool’.

Elizabeth Barber has also attempted to provide some further geographical dimension to Indo-European textile terminology by observing that the reconstructed lexicon attests nothing more than the simple band loom, and where different IE groups such as the Greeks or Latins required terminology for the more sophisticated warp weighted loom, they had to borrow the terminology from other languages. As the warp weighted loom was typical for western and central Anatolia, Greece, the Balkans, and throughout central Europe during the Neolithic, this suggests to Barber that the Proto-Indo-Europeans should have been located somewhere outside this zone.

Further Reading

Other than the encyclopedic entry in Mallory and Adams (1997), the main works on IE textiles are to be found in Barber (1975, 1991, 2001); see also Knobloch (1987*b*, 1992), Watkins (1969), and Driessen (2004).

15

Material Culture

15.1 Containers	239	15.6 Transport	247
15.2 Metals	241	15.7 Roads	250
15.3 Tools	242	15.8 Proto-Indo-European	
15.4 Weapons	244	Material Culture	251
15.5 Ornament	246		

15.1 Containers

In addition to textiles and clothing, there is considerable reconstructable vocabulary pertaining to the rest of material culture. While skin, plant fibres, or wool might be fashioned into containers, there were a variety of other materials—wood, ceramics, and possibly metal—that were also employed to contain materials and these are listed in Table 15.1.

A possible word for ‘case’ is **welutrom* (it means ‘case’ in Lat *involūcrum* and Grk *élutron* but ‘cloak’ in Skt *varútra-*) and as a derivative from **wel-* ‘wind, turn’, it may have been independently formed in some or all the languages. The root **h₂em-* ‘hold, contain’ provides a series of words for ‘container’ in Grk *ámē* ‘water bucket, pail’, Arm *aman* ‘container’, and Indo-Iranian (Khot *handra-* ‘jar, pot’, Skt *ámatram* ‘large vessel’) although these may be independently formed as well. Much solidier are the correspondences that suggest **kumbho/eh_a-* ‘bowl’ (e.g. OIr *coim* ‘pot’, Grk *kúmbē* ‘bowl’, Av *xumba-* ‘pot’, Skt *kumbhá-* ‘pot’) which are found from Ireland to India although its derivation, either from **keu-* ‘bend’ or possibly a loanword into Proto-Indo-European, is disputed. A large ‘vessel’ or ‘cauldron’ is indicated by **k^werus* or derivatives, again from Ireland (OIr *coire* ‘cauldron’) to India (Skt *carú-* ‘cauldron’), via Germanic (e.g. OE *hwer* ‘pot, bowl, kettle, cauldron’). Toch B *keru* ‘drum’ might be historically another derivative. The **pēl(h₁)ewis* is some form of

Table 15.1. *Containers*

<i>*welutrom</i>	‘case’	Lat <i>involūcrum</i> , Grk <i>élutron</i> , Skt <i>varútra-</i>
<i>*h₂em-</i>	‘hold on to, contain’	Grk <i>ámē</i> , Skt <i>ámatram</i>
<i>*kumbho/eh_a-</i>	‘bowl, small vessel’	Grk <i>kúmbē</i> , Skt <i>kumbhá-</i>
<i>*k^werus</i>	‘large cooking pot, cauldron’	Skr <i>carú-</i>
<i>*pēlh₁ewis</i>	‘container’	Lat <i>pēlvīs</i> , Grk <i>pélla</i> , Skt <i>pālavi-</i>
<i>*póth_aǵ</i>	‘shallow dish’	Grk <i>patánē</i>
<i>*tek^ssteh_a-</i>	‘plate, bowl’	Lat <i>testa</i>
<i>*h_{2/3}uk^w/p-</i>	‘cooking vessel’	NE <i>oven</i> , Grk <i>ipnós</i> , Skt <i>ukhá-</i>
<i>*kVIVk-</i>	‘cup, drinking vessel’	Lat <i>calix</i> , Grk <i>kúliks</i> , Skt <i>kaláśa-</i>
<i>*poh₃tloṃ</i>	‘drinking vessel’	Lat <i>pōculum</i> , Skt <i>pātra-</i>

‘container’ whose semantics range from ‘goblet’ to ‘milk-can’ and it has usually been derived from **pelh₁-* ‘fill’ (e.g. Lat *pēlvīs* ‘basin’ [whence medical Latin and English *pelvis*], OE *full* ‘goblet’, Grk *pélla* ‘milk-can’, Skt *pālavi-* ‘pot’). Both Grk *patánē* ‘bowl, flat dish’ and Hit *pattar* ‘dish’ suggest that the **póth_aǵ* was something rather shallow such as a ‘dish’ or ‘low bowl’ (though there is also OIr *ān* ‘drinking vessel’) which is supported by its presumed derivation from **peth_a-* ‘spread out’. Derived from **tek^s-* ‘hew, fashion’, one might presume that **tek^ssteh_a-* (Lat *testa* ‘plate, pot’, Av *tašta* ‘cup’) originally indicated a wooden vessel. Many of the cognates of **h_{2/3}uk^w/p-* (Lat *aulla* ‘pot’, OE *ofen* ‘furnace’ [> NE *oven*], OPrus *wumpnis* ‘bake-oven’, Grk *ipnós* ‘oven’, Hit *hūppar(a)-* ‘bowl, pot’, Skt *ukhá-* ‘cooking-pot’) suggest an association with cooking and so it may be presumed that this particular vessel was so employed (although in Hittite it may also indicate a ‘unit of measure’). The vowels that one reconstructs for **kVIVk-* ‘cup’ are uncertain, and as the distribution is limited to Lat *calix* ‘cup, goblet’ [> NE *chalice*], Grk *kúliks* ‘cup’, and Skt *kaláśa-* ‘pot, pitcher’, some suggest we may be dealing with a Near Eastern loanword. The Italic-Indic isogloss of **poh₃tloṃ* ‘drinking vessel’ (Lat *pōculum* ‘cup’, Skt *pātra-* ‘drinking vessel’) derives from **peh₃-* ‘drink’ and may be banal independent formations, i.e. ‘an instrument for drinking’.

From the North-West we have **bhidh-* ‘large pot’ (Lat *fidēlia* ‘earthenware pot’, Icelandic *biða* ‘small tub’), possibly from an otherwise unattested **bheidh-* ‘bend’ (from either coil-built pottery or basketry), and **ha_aenseh_a-* ‘handle’ (Lat *ānsa*, MHG *ōse* ‘ring, loop’, Lith *q̄sà* ‘pot handle’) which refers to a pot handle in Italic and Baltic. From the West Central region there is **louh₁trom* ‘(wash-) basin’ (OIr *lōthar* ‘tub, basin’, Lat *pō-lūbrum* ‘wash-basin’, Grk *loetrón* ‘bath’) from **louh₁-* (also reconstructed as **leuh₃-*) ‘wash’; **kuh_xp-* ‘water vessel’ (e.g. Lat *cūpa*, NE *hive*, Grk *kúpellon* ‘cup’) from **keu(h_x-* ‘curve’; **kelp-* ‘jug, pot’ (OIr *cilorn* ‘pitcher’, Grk *kálpis* ‘jug, [water] pitcher’)—there is a possibility of an

Indic cognate in Skt *karpara*-‘cup, pot’); **(s)pondh(n)os* ‘wooden vessel’ (e.g. ON *spann* ‘pail’, Lith *spandis* ‘pail’, OCS *spodŭ* ‘measure [of grain]’, Arm *p’und* ‘pot’—the German cognates are uncertain). The Central area (Thracian-Greek) suggests the possibility of a **ġh(e)utreh_a-* ‘± pot’ (Thrac *zetraia* ‘pot’, Grk *khútra* ‘pot’) but again they may be independent developments.

15.2 Metals

The rather limited vocabulary pertaining to metallurgy in Proto-Indo-European is listed in Table 15.2.

The basic word for ‘metal’ in Proto-Indo-European is **h₂ey-es-* (e.g. Lat *aes* ‘copper, bronze’, NE *ore*, Av *ayah-* ‘metal (probably bronze)’, Skt *áyas-* [earlier] ‘copper’, [later] ‘iron’) and it is generally presumed to mean ‘copper’ or the copper-tin alloy of ‘bronze’ although it has come to mean ‘iron’ in some of the Indo-European languages, e.g. Indo-Iranian; however, there is clear evidence that it earlier meant ‘copper’ or ‘bronze’. In the Germanic languages it tends to mean ‘ore’ and it is possible it simply meant ‘metal’ rather than a specific type of metal. The second term, **h₁roudhós*, is widely enough attested (e.g. ON *rauði* ‘red iron ore’, OCS *ruda* ‘ore; metal’, NPers *rōd* ‘copper’, Skt *lohá-* ‘copper’) but it is such a banal derivative of **h₁reudh-* ‘red’, i.e. the ‘red metal’ or ‘copper’, that it probably represents independent developments in different Indo-European groups.

There are two potential words for ‘gold’. The more reliably attested is **h₂eusom* ~ **h₂aweseh_a-* (e.g. Lat *aurum*, OPrus *ausis*, Toch B *yasa*, all ‘gold’), a noun ultimately derived from the root **h₂awes-* ‘shine’ which also underlies the word for ‘dawn’, **h₂éusōs* (see Section 18.6). It has been plausibly suggested that an Indo-European form similar to the one ancestral to Tocharian has been widely borrowed into the Uralic languages, e.g. Proto-Balto-Finnic-Lapp-Mordvin **waske* ‘copper, brass’, Proto-Ugric **waś* ‘metal, iron’, Proto-Samoyed **wesä* ‘metal, iron’. The second word, **ġhel-*, is a colour word ‘yellow’ which is often used to supply a word for ‘gold’, and although the

Table 15.2. *Metals*

<i>*h₂ey-es-</i>	‘metal > copper > bronze’	Lat <i>aes</i> , NE <i>ore</i> , Skt <i>áyas-</i>
<i>*h₁roudhós</i>	‘the red metal, i.e. copper’	Skt <i>lohá-</i>
<i>*h₂eusom</i>	‘gold’	Lat <i>aurum</i>
<i>*ġhel-</i>	‘yellow’	NE <i>gold</i>
<i>*h₂erġ-nt-om</i>	‘white (metal), silver’	Lat <i>argentum</i> , Skt <i>rajatám</i>

same root is shared across Germanic-Baltic-Slavic, and Indo-Iranian, the differing ablaut grades and suffixes suggest post-Proto-Indo-European formation (e.g. NE *gold*, Latv *zēlts*, Rus *zóloto*, Av *zaranyam*, Skt *híraṇyam*, all ‘gold’). In addition to the ‘red metal’ (copper) and the ‘yellow metal’ (gold) we have the ‘white metal’ (silver), **h₂erġ-nt-om* ~ **h₂reġ-nt-om* (e.g. OIr *argat*, Lat *argentum*, Arm *arcat*’, Av *ərəzatəm*, Skt *rajatám*, Toch B *ñkante* [with **r* ... *n* assimilated to **n* ... *n*], all ‘silver’). Formed like our first word for ‘gold’, this suggests the use of an adjective (perhaps **h₂érġ-nt*, genitive **h₂rġ-nt-ós*, which was subsequently made thematic) before some noun such as **h_aey-es*, i.e. ‘silver-metal’.

The North-West region provides evidence of an early *Wanderwort* in **silVbVr-* ‘silver’ which occurs in Ibero-Celtic (alone of the Celtic languages) *śilaPur*, Germanic (e.g. NE *silver*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *sidābras*), and Slavic (e.g. Rus *serebró*) and its doubtful vowels and various outcomes of the consonants suggest that it has been borrowed from some non-Indo-European source.

15.3 Tools

The evidence for basic agricultural and woodworking tools is indicated in Table 15.3.

There are four words associated with tillage. The verb ‘to plough’ is attested as **h₂érh₃ye/o-* (e.g. MIr *airid* ‘ploughs’, Lat *arō* ‘plough’, Goth *arjan* ‘plough’, Lith *ariù* ‘plough’, OCS *orję* ‘plough’, Grk *aróō* ‘plough’,

Table 15.3. *Tools*

<i>*h₂érh₃ye/o-</i>	‘plough’	Lat <i>arō</i> , NE <i>ear</i> , Grk <i>aróō</i>
<i>*mat-</i>	‘hoe, plough’	Lat <i>mateola</i> , Skt <i>matyá-</i>
<i>*h_{1/4}okéteh_{a-}</i>	‘harrow, rake’	Lat <i>occa</i>
<i>*ġhel-</i>	‘plough’	Skt <i>halá-</i>
<i>*sr̥po/eh_{a-}</i>	‘sickle’	Grk <i>hárpē</i>
<i>*g^wréh_x-w-on-</i>	‘quern’	NE <i>quern</i> , Skt <i>grāvan-</i>
<i>*h₄edhēs-</i>	‘axe, adze’	NE <i>adze</i>
<i>*pelekús</i>	‘axe’	Grk <i>pélekus</i> , Skt <i>paraśú-</i>
<i>?*tekso/eh_{a-}</i>	‘axe, adze’	
<i>*h_xóleh_{a-}</i>	‘awl’	NE <i>awl</i> , Skt <i>ārā-</i>
<i>*kōh_xnos</i>	‘whetstone, hone’	Lat <i>cōs</i> , NE <i>hone</i> , Skt <i>śāṇa-</i>
<i>*ko(n)gos</i>	‘hook’	NE <i>hook</i>
<i>*h₂ónkos</i>	‘something bent, hook’	Lat <i>uncus</i> , Skt <i>anká-</i> , Grk <i>ógkos</i>
<i>*k^wrwis</i>	‘± tool’	Skt <i>kṛvi-</i>

and perhaps Toch A *āre* if it means ‘a plough’, Hit *hars* ~ *harsiya*- ‘till the earth’—assuming the Hittite word belongs here, the initial has been specified as **h₂*) and the nominal derivative, **h₂érh₃tróm* ‘plough’, is also widely found (e.g. Ml̥r *arathar*, Lat *arātrum*, ON *arðr*, Lith *árklas*, Grk *árottron*, Arm *arawr*, all ‘plough’). The NE cognate *ear* (from OE *erian*) meaning ‘to plough’ survives only dialectally. That the Proto-Indo-European plough was a fairly primitive one may be indicated by OHG *huohhili* ‘wooden hook plough made from a curved branch’ and OCS *sokha* ‘(primitive) wooden plough’ which are both derivatives of a Proto-Indo-European word for ‘branch’ (see Section 10.1). Of course it would not be surprising if the Proto-Indo-European plough were a curved and forked branch since such ploughs are attested well into the Middle Ages. A word ‘hoe, plough’ or perhaps better ‘mattock’ is attested by **mat-* (e.g. Lat *mateola* ‘hoe’, OHG *medela* ‘plough’, OCS *motyka* ‘hoe, mattock’, Skt *matyá-* ‘harrow’; NE *mattock* is generally derived from a Late Latin form of this word). Words for ‘harrow’ or ‘rake’ (or ‘furrow’) derive from **h_{1/4}okéteh_a-* which is widely found among the Indo-European languages (e.g. NWels *oged* ‘harrow’, Lat *occa* ‘harrow’, OE *eg(e)ðe* ‘harrow, rake’, Lith *akėčios* [pl.] ‘harrow’, Oss *adæg* [*< *agæd*] ‘furrow’). Finally, **ghel-* ‘plough’ is attested in Baltic, Armenian, and Indic (Lith *žúolis* ‘sleeper, tie’, Arm *jlem* ‘plough’, Skt *halá-* ‘a plough’). The ‘sickle’, **sṛpo/eh_a-*, is attested in Anatolian (Hit *sarpa-* ‘agricultural tool [used in ritual along with a plough]’) as well as Baltic (Latv *sirpis* ‘sickle’), Slavic (e.g. Rus *serp* ‘sickle’), Grk *hárpē* ‘sickle’, and Iranian (Oss *æxsyrf* ‘sickle’); Lat *sarpō* ‘cut away, prune’ supplies a verbal form while the word was borrowed from Baltic into Finnish as *sirppi* ‘sickle’. The root **g^wr(e)h_a-(u)* ‘heavy’ provides the basis for **g^wréh_x-w-on-* and several other formations that indicate a ‘quern’ (e.g. OIr *brāu* ‘quern’, NE *quern*, Lith *gìrna* ‘millstone’, *gìrnos* [pl.] ‘quern’, OCS *žrŭny* ‘quern’, Arm *erkan* ‘quern’, and perhaps Skt *grávan-* if it does indicate a ‘stone for pressing soma’ and Toch B *kärweñe* ‘stone’ [if *< *‘millstone’*]).

There are three words that fill out the semantic field of ‘axe’ or ‘adze’. One is supported by an English (OE *adesa* > NE *adze*) and Hit *ates-* and *atessa-* isogloss, i.e. **h₄edh_s-*. The second is the much discussed **pelek_s* ‘axe’. We find cognates in Grk *pélekus*, Oss *faræt*, and Skt *paraśú-*, and the proto-form is often compared with Semitic forms, e.g. Akkadian *pilakku* which some translate as ‘axe’ but others translate as ‘spindle’, which is semantically very distant from ‘axe’. Generally, the Proto-Indo-European word is treated as a *Wanderwort*, a loanword that crossed a number of different languages or language families. Finally, the verb **teḱs-* ‘fabricate’ provides the basis of **teḱso/eh_a-* ‘axe, adze’ and several other formations (e.g. OHG *dehsa* ‘axe, hatchet’, Av *taša-* ‘axe’, and with a derivative in **-lo/eh_a-*, OIr *tāl* ‘axe’, OHG

dehsala ‘adze, hatchet’, Russian Church Slavonic *tesla* ‘axe’) that may have been independently created in a number of Indo-European groups but might also have some form of late Proto-Indo-European antiquity.

For working leather or drilling wood, we have the **h_xóleh_a-* ‘awl’ which is attested in Germanic (e.g. NE *awl*), Khot *aiysna-*, and Skt *ārā-*. An instrument for sharpening, the ‘whetstone’ or ‘hone’, is indicated by **kōh_xnos* and various other formatives built on a verb **kēh_x(i)-* ‘sharpen’ (e.g. Lat *cōs* [genitive *cōtis*] ‘whetstone’, NE [a] *hone*, NPers *san* ‘whetstone’, Skt *śāṇa-* ‘whetstone’).

Some form of ‘hook’ is attested by **ko(n)gos* (e.g. MIr *alchaing* ‘weapon rack’, NE *hook*, Rus *kógotī* ‘claw’, Hit *kagas* ‘tooth’) and **h₂ónkos* (e.g. OIr *ēcath* ‘fishhook’, Lat *uncus* ‘hook, barb’, OHG *ango* ‘fishhook’, Lith *ánka* ‘knot’, OCS *qkotī* ‘hook’, Grk *ógkos* ‘barb [of an arrow]’, Av *aka-* ‘hook’, Skt *anká-* ‘curve; hook’), the latter from **h₂enk-* ‘bend’. It is almost anyone’s guess as to the underlying meaning of **k^wrwis* which gives us Lith *kīrvis* ‘axe’, Rus *cervī* ‘sickel’, and Skt *kṛvi-* ‘weaving instrument’, perhaps something like ‘tool’ in general being derived from **k^wer-* ‘do, make’.

The North-West yields **sekūr-* ‘axe’ (Lat *secūris*, OCS *sěkyra*, both ‘axe’) from **sek-* ‘cut’; and **kreidhrom* ‘sieve’ (e.g. OIr *crīathar* ‘sieve’, Lat *crībrum* ‘sieve’, OE *hrīder* ~ *hridder* ‘coarse sieve’ [> NE *ridder*]) from **(s)ker-* ‘cut’. From the West Central region: **h_aegwisy(e)h_a-* ‘axe’ (Lat *ascia* ‘adze of carpenters and masons’, NE *axe*, Grk *aksínē* ‘axe’); **wog^whnis* ‘ploughshare’ (Lat *vōmis* ‘ploughshare’, OHG *waganso* ‘ploughshare’, OPrus *wagnis* ‘coultter’, Grk *ophnīs* ‘ploughshare’); **seh₁(i)-* ‘sift’ which provides the basis for a number of formations that indicate ‘sieve’ (e.g. NWels *hidl*, ON *sādl*, Lith *sietas*, OCS *sito*, Alb *shosh*); **térh₁trom* ~ **térh₁dhrom* ‘auger’ (e.g. OIr *tarathar* ‘auger’, Lat *terebra* ‘auger’, Grk *térettron* ‘borer, gimlet’) from **terh₁-* ‘pierce’; **kleh_awis* ‘bolt, bar; (wooden) hook’ (Lat *clāvis* ‘bolt, key’, Grk *kleis* ‘bar, bolt’); **ghwáks* ‘torch’ (Lat *fax* ‘torch’, Lith *žvākė* ‘candle’); and possibly **dhúbhos* ‘wedge, peg’ (NE *dowel*, dialectal Grk *túphos* ‘wedge’). A Greek-Indic isogloss (Grk *ksurón*, Skt *kṣurá-*) gives us **ksuróm* ‘razor’ from **kseu-* ‘rub, whet’.

15.4 Weapons

Although the Indo-Europeans have been cast often enough as warlike conquerors, their reconstructed arsenal is not particularly extensive. In addition to the ‘axe’ which we have treated under tools but might also indicate ‘battle-axe’, we have the weapons indicated in Table 15.4.

There are four words associated with the ‘spear’. The **g^wéru* means ‘spear’ or ‘spit’ in both Celtic (e.g. OIr *biur*) and Italic (e.g. Lat *verū*) but ‘staff’ in Iranian

Table 15.4. *Weapons*

* <i>g^wéru</i>	‘spear, spit’	Lat <i>verū</i>
* <i>kúh_xlos</i>	‘spear, spit’	Skt <i>śūla-</i>
* <i>kel(h_x)-</i>	‘± (spear)point’	Grk <i>kēla</i> , Skt <i>śalyá-</i>
* <i>ġhai-só-s</i>	‘throwing spear’	NE <i>garlic</i> , Grk <i>khaĩos</i> , Skt <i>hėsas-</i>
* <i>wēben</i>	‘cutting weapon, knife’	NE <i>weapon</i>
* <i>h_{2/3}nsis</i>	‘large (offensive) knife’	Lat <i>ēnsis</i> , Skt <i>así-</i>
?* <i>kos -trom/dhrom</i>	‘knife’	Lat <i>castrō</i> , Skt <i>śāstra-</i>
?* <i>kḷtēr</i>	‘knife’	Lat <i>culter</i> , Skt <i>kuthāra-</i>
* <i>spelo/eh_a-</i>	‘shield’	Skt <i>phālakam</i>

(e.g. Av *grava-*). An Armenian-Indo-Iranian isogloss gives us **kúh_xlos* (Arm *slak* ‘pike, spear, dagger, arrow’, MPers *swl’ck* ‘grill’ [< *‘complex of spits’], Skt *śūla-* ‘pike, spit, javelin’) which does return a meaning ‘spear’ while **kel(h_x)-* can mean anything from ‘spear’ to ‘arrow’ to ‘staff’ (e.g. ON *hali* ‘point of shaft, tail’, OPrus *kelian* ‘spear’, Alb *thel* ‘big nail, spike’, Grk *kēla* [pl.] ‘arrowshafts’, Skt *śalyá-* ‘spear, arrowhead’). Although Greek shows ‘herdsman’s staff’ (*khaĩos*) for **ġhai-sós*, Celtic (e.g. OIr *gae* ‘spear’), Germanic (e.g. OE *gār* ‘spear’ [cf. *gār* + *lēac* ‘leek’ > NE *garlic*]), and Indic (Skt *hėsas-* ‘missile’) all indicate a ‘spear’ or some other form of missile and it would appear to be from **ġhi-* ‘throw’. A Germanic (NE *weapon*)-TocharianAB (*yepe* ‘weapon, knife’) isogloss suggests a PIE **wēben* ‘knife’. Of considerable interest is the word **h_{2/3}nsis* as it means ‘sword’ in Lat *ēnsis*, Av *ahū-*, and Skt *así-*; it can also mean ‘slaughtering knife’. These attested meanings might at first seem to favour a reconstruction as ‘sword’ but the word would generally be regarded as semantically incongruent with any date before c. 2000–1500 BC when the earliest swords began to appear in the archaeological record (there are a very few exceptions). The presumption then is that the word may have originally indicated a ‘dagger’ or ‘knife’ (as it seems to do in the earlier Vedic literature) and that it developed the meaning ‘sword’ independently in each of the language groups in which it is found. Some support for this comes from the fact that there is also a Palaic cognate (*hasūra-*) which gives us our earliest citation of this word and here it means ‘dagger’. Other words for ‘knife’ are of dubious antiquity. A PIE **kos-trom/dhrom* is attested with a denominative verb in Lat *castrō* ‘I prune’, Alb *thadēr* ‘adze’, and Skt *śāstra-* ‘knife, dagger’, all possibly independent creations from **kes-* ‘cut’ and the instrumental suffix. In the case of a potential **kḷtēr* ‘knife’, it is uncertain whether the Lat *culter* ‘(butcher’s) knife’ and Skt *kuthāra-* ‘axe’ are cognate as some take the Indic form to have been borrowed from Dravidian.

Shields are also a more recent item of defensive armament, at least in the archaeological record, and while **spelo/eh_a-* does yield meanings of ‘shield’ in

Indo-Iranian (e.g. MPers *ispar* ‘shield’, Skt *phālakam* ‘shield, board’), its Germanic cognate means ‘board’ (ON *ffjöl*) and the possible Luvian cognate (*palahsa-*) means ‘blanket’ or ‘coat’ so that it may have only developed the meaning ‘shield’ in Indo-Iranian. It is commonly derived from **(s)p(h)el-* ‘strip, tear off’, suggestive of a wooden or leather shield (see Section 22.1).

The North-West provides evidence of **h_aérk^wos* ‘bow and/or arrow’ (Lat *arcus*, NE *arrow*); **skéits* ‘shield, board’ (e.g. OIr *sciath* ‘shield’, OE *scīd* ‘thin piece of wood, shingle’, OCS *štītŭ* ‘shield’, and with an *o*-grade in Lat *scūtum* ‘large leather-covered shield’); and possibly **lorgeha-* ‘club’ (e.g. OIr *lorg* ‘club’, ON *lurkr*, if Germanic has not actually borrowed the word from Celtic). A more widely distributed (West Central) root for ‘club’ is **bak-* (e.g. OIr *bacc* ‘staff’, Lat *baculum* ‘staff’, Grk *báktron* ‘staff’); a Middle Dutch cognate *pegge* supplies NE *peg*; the initial **b-* has been explained either as the mark of a ‘popular word’ (i.e. one apparently used only in informal contexts and subject to the possibility of special phonological changes) or a loanword from some non-Indo-European language. A word for ‘spear’ or ‘spit’ is seen in **h_aeiksmo/eha-* ‘spear, pointed stick’ (e.g. Lith *iėšmis* ‘spit, spear’, Grk *aikhmē* ‘point of spear, arrow, spear’). An Old Norse-Thracian isogloss attests a **skolmeha-* ‘sword’ (ON *skǫlm*, Thrac *skálmē*).

Graeco-Aryan isoglosses include several words pertaining to archery. We have **g^w(i)yēha* (e.g. Grk *biós* ‘bow’, Av *ǰyā* ‘bowstring’, Skt *jyā* ‘bowstring’). This word has cognates in Baltic (Lith *gijà* ‘warp threads’) and Slavic (e.g. OCS *žica* ‘thread’) but here they refer exclusively to ‘thread’ and it seems more probable that the underlying PIE meaning simply referred to a ‘taut thread’ and was specialized to bowstring in Greek and Indo-Iranian. There is also **h₁ísus* ‘arrow’ (Grk *iós*, Av *išu-*, Skt *īṣu-*); **tóksom* ‘bow’ (Grk *tókson*, which must go back to the Bronze Age at least as it is attested in Mycenaean *to-ko-so-wo-ko* ‘bow-makers’, Scyth *taxša-*); and **wágros* ‘cudgel’. The latter gives us the mythical *vájra-* ‘cudgel’ of the Indic god Indra where it also indicates the ‘thunderbolt’ (cf. also Av *vazra-* ‘mace, cudgel’ [whence Finnish *vasara* ‘hammer’]); in Greek it occurs in the personal name of *Meleāgros* which means ‘caring for the cudgel’. There is also a possible Eastern isogloss in **kert-* ‘knife’ with cognates in Indo-Iranian (Skt *kṛtí-* and Av *kərəti* both ‘knife’) and possibly Tocharian B *kertte* ‘sword’ although the latter could have been borrowed from Iranian.

15.5 Ornament

Terms for ornament are extremely few in Indo-European and are largely limited to regional isoglosses. We have already seen the two regional words

for ‘headband’ in Section 14.1. From the West Central area we have **ānos* ‘circle, ring’ which is attested in OIr *āinne*, Lat *ānus*, and possibly Arm *anur*, all ‘ring’. The only possibility of an ornament with PIE distribution may be found in **moni-* ‘necklace’ where cognates may be claimed for Celtic (OWels *minci* ‘collar’), Lat *monīle* ‘necklace’, Germanic (OE *mene* ‘necklace’), Slavic (OCS *monisto* ‘necklace’), and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *maṇi-grīvā-* ‘carrying a neck ornament’). The word clearly derives from **mono-* ‘neck’ but the consistently different stem form (i.e. **-i-* rather than **-o-*) suggests that ‘necklace’ is not just a metaphorical extension of ‘neck’.

15.6 Transport

Words associated with vehicles and boats are listed in Table 15.5.

There are two words that indicate a ‘wagon’. The first is **weǵhnos* from the verbal root **weǵh-* ‘ride in a vehicle’ and the word is found in the *e*-grade in Celtic and Tocharian (e.g. OIr *fēn*, Toch B *yakne* ‘way, manner’) and the *o*-grade in Germanic (e.g. OE *wagn* > NE *wain*; NE *wagon* is a loanword from Middle Dutch) and with a different suffix **weǵhitlom* as Lat *vehiculum* and Skt *vahitram*; still another formation gives us Slavic (e.g. OCS *vozŭ* ‘wagon’) and Grk *ókhos* ‘chariot’, including Mycenaean *wo-ka* ‘chariot’.

Table 15.5. *Transport*

<i>*weǵhnos</i>	‘wagon’	NE <i>wagon</i>
<i>?*h₂em-h_aek̑s-ih_a</i>	‘wagon-chassis’	Grk <i>ámaksa</i>
<i>*k^wek^wlóm</i>	‘wheel’	NE <i>wheel</i> , Grk <i>kúklos</i> , Skt <i>cakrá-</i>
<i>*h_{2/3}ggi-</i>	‘wheel’	
<i>*róth_{2o}/eh_{a-}</i>	‘wheel’	Lat <i>rota</i> , Skt <i>rátha-</i>
<i>*yugóm</i>	‘yoke’	Lat <i>iugum</i> , NE <i>yoke</i> , Skt <i>yugám</i>
<i>*dhwerh_{x-}</i>	‘yoke’	Grk <i>théraps</i> , Skt <i>dhūr</i>
<i>*h_aek̑s-</i>	‘axle’	Lat <i>axis</i> , Grk <i>áksōn</i> , Skt <i>ákṣa-</i>
<i>*h₂nobh-</i>	‘navel; nave’	NE <i>nave</i>
<i>*h₂ensiyo/eh_{a-}</i>	‘reins’	Grk <i>ēniā</i>
<i>*h_{2/3}éih₁os</i>	‘shaft (of a cart or wagon)’	NE <i>oar</i> , Grk <i>oiēion</i> , Skt <i>īṣā-</i>
<i>*néh_aus</i>	‘boat’	Lat <i>nāvis</i> , Grk <i>naūs</i> , Skt <i>nau-</i>
<i>*h_xoldhu-</i>	‘(dugout) canoe, trough’	
<i>*(s)kolmo/eh_{a-}</i>	‘boat’	
<i>*h₁erh₁trom</i>	‘oar, paddle’	Skt <i>aritra-</i>

A Greek-Tocharian isogloss (Grk *ámaksa* ‘[framework or chassis of] a four-wheeled wagon’, Toch A *amākṣ-pānte* ‘wagon-master’) gives us **h₂em-h_aeḱs-ih_a* which has been explained as a compound of **h₂em-* ‘hold on to’ and **h_aeḱs-* ‘axle’, i.e. the chassis of a wagon that holds the axle.

There are three words that indicate the ‘wheel’: **k^wek^wlóm*, **h_{2/3}wrgi-*, and **róth₂o/eh_a-*. The first indicates the ‘wheel’ in Germanic (e.g. NE *wheel*), Phrygian (*kiklēn* ‘Ursa Major’, i.e. ‘the chariot’), and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Av *čaxra-* ‘wheel’, Skt *cakrá-* ‘wheel; sun-disc’); a form **k^wók^wlos* is found in Grk *kúklos* and Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *kokale*, where it means ‘wagon’). The word is derived from **k^wel-* ‘turn’ after reduplication; in some languages we find it without the reduplication, e.g. **k^wólos* underlies OIr *cul* ‘wagon’ while **k^wóles-* yields OCS *kolo* ‘wagon’. An Anatolian-Tocharian isogloss gives us **h_{2/3}wrgi-* ‘wheel’ (e.g. Hit *hurki-* ‘wheel’, Toch A *wärkänt* ‘wheel’) while the meanings of the various languages that yield Proto-Indo-European **róth₂o/eh_a-* are as likely to indicate ‘wagon’ (e.g. Lat *rota* ‘wagon’, Lith *rātai* [pl.] ‘wagon’, Av *raθa-* ‘wagon, chariot’, Skt *rātha-* ‘wagon, chariot’) as they do ‘wheel’ (e.g. OIr *roth* ‘wheel, circle’, Lat *rota* [again] ‘wheel’, OHG *rad* ‘wheel’, Lith *rātas* [sg.] ‘wheel’) and show the easy transference of the concept, comparable to English slang where ‘having wheels’ means having a car. A derivative, **róth₂ikos*, gives Alb *rrëth* ‘ring, hoop, tyre (for carriages)’ and the Tocharian word (Toch B *retke*) for ‘army’ (< **chariotry*).

One word for ‘yoke’, **yugóm*, is widespread (e.g. OWels *iou*, Lat *yugum*, NE *yoke*, Lith *jūngas*, Grk *zugón*, Arm *luc*, Hit *yukan*, Av *yugam*, Skt *yugám*, all ‘yoke’) and derives from **yeug-* ‘join, harness’ (see Section 22.5). There is also **dhwerh_x-* ‘yoke’ seen in Hit *tūriye-* ‘harness’, Skt *dhūr* ‘yoke’, *dhūriya-* ‘draft animal’, Toch B *trusk-* ‘harness’, probably also *pyorye* ‘yoke’ (if Proto-Tocharian **twyoruyen-* < **dhwēr_xuh₁en-*) and Grk *théraps* ‘comrade; servant’ (if < **dhwerh_x-h₂ep-* ‘yoke-joined’) and thus the whole family in English of *therapy*, etc. This looks like a basic root-noun with no verbal antecedents (the verbs in Anatolian and Tocharian are clearly derived from the noun) and may well be older than **yugóm*.

The ‘axle’ was **h_aeḱs-* (e.g. Lat *axis*, OE *eax*, Lith *ašis*, OCS *osī*, Grk *áksōn*, Skt *ákṣa-*, all ‘axle, axis’; NE *axle* is a Norse loanword and derivative of this word) while the root **h₂nobh-* supplies meanings of both ‘nave’ and ‘navel’ (e.g. NE *nave*, *navel*, OPrus *nabis* ‘nave, navel’, Skt *nábhya-* ‘nave’). Incidentally, the Germanic word for an ‘auger’ was a ‘nave-piercer’, i.e. **naba-gaizaz*, e.g. OE *nafo-gar*. With the indefinite article, i.e. **a nauger*, this was falsely analysed as **an auger* and hence NE *auger*. The word for ‘reins’, **h₂ensiyo/eh_a-*, is based on an Irish-Greek isogloss (OIr *ēis(s)e*, Grk *ēniā*, both ‘reins’) with the possibility of an Indic cognate (Skt *nāsyam* ‘nose cord [of a draft-ox, etc.]’ where the form, *nā-* instead of the expected **ān-* may reflect the influence of the word for ‘nose’).

The 'shaft of a wagon' is indicated by **h_{2/3}éih₁os* and similar forms; it means 'pole' or 'shaft' in Slavic (e.g. Rus *vojě*), Anatolian (Hit *hissa-* 'pole, shaft, thill [for harnessing draft animal to a cart]'), and Indo-Iranian (Av *aēša-* '[pole-]plough, pair of shafts', Skt *īṣā-* 'pole, shaft') but has shifted to nautical terminology in Germanic, e.g. NE 'oar', and Grk *oiēion* 'tiller, helm, rudderpost'.

From the reconstructable words it is clear the Proto-Indo-European community were familiar with wheeled vehicles and had the necessary terminology for wheels, axles, shafts, and yokes. It may be significant that the words we can reconstruct for this semantic field are both semantically and morphologically transparent, e.g. **k^wek^wlo-* 'wheel' (< **turner, roller*') or **róth₂os* 'wheel' (< **runner*'). That may suggest that, while well established in late Proto-Indo-European, this terminology (and the objects they represent?) was not particularly ancient in the language. The earliest attested wheels are solid, tripartite disc wheels, i.e. wheels made of three planks joined together by mortise and tenon with their outer edges trimmed to a circle. The invention of the spoke, which made wheels much lighter and therefore transportation much swifter, was considerably later and it may be significant that we can reconstruct no word for 'spoke', even on a regional basis (unless Toch B *p^wenta* 'spokes' and Skt *pavi-* 'wheelband' go together). It is probable that the invention of the spoked wheel (c. 2500–2000 BC) may post-date the time of Proto-Indo-European unity.

Water transport is indicated by four words. The basic word for 'boat' appears to be the widely attested **néh_aus* from **(s)néh_a-* 'swim' (e.g. OIr *nāu*, Lat *nāvis* [> NE *nave* (of a church)], Grk *naūs*, Oss *naw*, Skt *nau-*, all 'boat'). Because **h_xoldhu-* preserves meanings such as Germanic (e.g. OE *ealdop*) 'trough' beside 'boat' in other language groups (e.g. Lith *aldijà* 'boat', Rus *lódka* 'boat', Toch B *olyi* 'boat'), it suggests that the original referent may have been a dugout boat of some sort. A Germanic-Tocharian isogloss (e.g. OHG *skalm*, Toch B *kolmo*, both 'boat') secures **(s)kolmo/eh_a-* which is derived from **(s)kel-* 'cut'. Baltic and Indic attest a **h₁erh₁trom* 'oar, paddle' from **h₁erh₁-* 'row' (Lith *irklas*, Skt *aritra-*). Other formations from the same root include Lat *rēmus* 'oar' and OE *rōðor* 'steering-oar' whence NE *rudder*. None of the reconstructable terminology for boats suggests anything more than canoes or other small craft suitable for crossing rivers or lakes.

Regional transport terms comprise (from the North-West) **k^hrsos* 'wagon' (Lat *currus* 'chariot, wagon', MWels *carr* 'wagon' [> by borrowing NE *car*]) from **k^hers-* 'run' and **tengh-s-* 'pole' (e.g. Lat *temō*, OE *hīsl* 'wagon-pole, shaft') from **ten-* 'pull, stretch'. The root **dhregh-* 'run' supplies the basis for the noun **dhroghós* 'wheel' in Celtic (OIr *droch*), Grk *trokhós*, and Arm *durgn*

‘potter’s wheel’ although this nominalization may have been independently formed.

15.7 Roads

Most words for ‘path’ or ‘road’ tend to be transparent derivations from verbal forms ‘go’. For example, the verbal root **h₁ei-* ‘go’ yields an extended (and heteroclitic) noun **h₁éitr* (genitive **h₁itnós*) ‘way, road’ which is seen in Lat *iter* ‘a going, walk, way’, Hit *itar* ‘a going’, and Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *ytārye* ‘road, way’). The root **pent-* ‘find one’s way’ provides the base of **póntōh₂s* ‘(untraced) path’ seen in Celtic (e.g. OIr *āitt* ‘place’, Lat *pōns* ‘bridge’, OPrus *pintis* ‘way’, OCS *potĩ* ‘way’, Grk *póntos* ‘sea’ (< ‘path through the sea’) and *pátos* ‘path’, Arm *hun* ‘ford’, and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *pánthās* ‘path’); an Iranian form was borrowed into Germanic to give us NE *path*. PIE **per-* ‘go across’ gave **pértus* ‘passage, way’ which is known from Celtic (e.g. Gaul *ritu-* ‘ford’), Lat *portus* ‘harbour’, Germanic (e.g. NE *ford*), and Iranian (e.g. Av *pərətu-* ‘ford, bridge’). And if not independently formed from **sent-* ‘go’, we may have in **sentos* ‘way, passage’ another word of IE antiquity with cognates in Celtic (e.g. OIr *sēt* ‘road’), Germanic (e.g. OE *sīþ* ‘way’), Arm *ənt’ac* ‘way, passage’, and Toch A *šont* ‘street’. Finally, from the noun **ped-* ‘foot’, we have **pedom* ‘footprint, track’, attested in Celtic (MIR *inad* < **eni-pedo-* ‘position, place’), Lat *peda* ‘sole, footprint’, Germanic (ON *fet* ‘step’), Baltic (e.g. Lith *pėdà* ‘footprint’), OCS *podũ* ‘ground’, Grk *pėdon* ‘ground’, Arm *het* ‘footprint, track’, Hit *pėdan* ‘place’, Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *padám* ‘track’), and perhaps Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *pätsa* ‘bottom’).

Regionally, we have from the North-West a possible Latin-Baltic isogloss in Lat *via* ‘way, road’, Latv *veža* ‘track’ (or merely independent derivations from **weġh-* ‘move’ that also yields a series of other similar nominalizations, e.g. **weġhos* > NE *way*). From the West Central region we have **stígħs*

Table 15.6. Roads

<i>*h₁éitr</i>	‘way, road’	Lat <i>iter</i>
<i>*póntōh₂s</i>	‘(untraced) path’	Lat <i>pōns</i> , Grk <i>póntos</i> , Skt <i>pánthās</i>
<i>*pértus</i>	‘passage, way’	Lat <i>portus</i> , NE <i>ford</i>
? <i>*sentos</i>	‘way, passage’	
<i>*pedom</i>	‘footprint, track’	Lat <i>peda</i> , Grk <i>pėdon</i> , Skt <i>padám</i>

‘path’ with cognates in Germanic (ON *stig* ‘step’), Slavic (OCS *stǫdza* ‘step’), and Grk *stikhos* ‘row, line’; it derives from the verbal root **steigh-* ‘step, go’.

15.8 Proto-Indo-European Material Culture

The reconstructed lexicon provides broad categories of PIE material culture that can be compared with the archaeological record. Some of the terms for containers, e.g. **welutrom*, **h₂em-*, **poh₃tlom*, may be independent creations; others may suggest vessels made of wood (**tek₁steh_a-*) or perhaps skin (**pēl* (*h₁*)*ewis*). Nevertheless, there are also words such as **k^werus* that suggest the existence of an originally ceramic container which, over time and space, was transferred to later metal containers such as cauldrons. Another probable ceramic vessel would have been the **h_{2/3}uk^w-* and, regardless of the etymological force of some of the other words, e.g. **kumbho/eh_a-*, they are often described as ceramic. Other terms for the manipulation of clay and the extensive evidence for domestic cereals clearly indicate that the Proto-Indo-Europeans possessed a ceramic inventory. Our failure to reconstruct more terms is probably due to the instability of a semantic category which was so prone to change because the ceramic forms of the Indo-Europeans in their expansions frequently changed so much that many original terms were probably replaced over time (this stylistic instability can be compared with many traditional Chinese vessels whose forms can be traced back to the Neolithic).

The vocabulary associated with metallurgy is very restricted and at best we can attest the existence of copper/bronze, gold, and silver; words associated with later technologies such as ‘iron’ escape reconstruction to any great antiquity. Copper has considerable antiquity and appears from the Early Neolithic in restricted areas of Eurasia (South-West Asia, Anatolia, the Balkans), and by the fourth millennium BC it was widely found over much of Europe. It may be significant that we cannot reconstruct a word for ‘tin’ to any degree of antiquity and so the original meaning of the word was more likely ‘copper’ than the ‘copper-tin’ alloy, i.e. ‘bronze’. Gold is temporally a little more diagnostic in that it does not appear anywhere in quantity until the fifth millennium BC when it is found in abundance, particularly in south-eastern Europe, and by the fourth millennium BC it spread over a substantial area of Eurasia. Silver is the most diagnostic metal in that it does not appear anywhere earlier than about the mid fourth millennium BC when we can find it from eastern Europe to the Yenisei; it appears somewhat later in the Aegean and the rest of Europe. For this reason, acceptance of a metallurgical package that includes copper, gold,

and silver suggests a horizon for Proto-Indo-European in the later Neolithic to Early Bronze Age.

Three of the names for metals are associated with colour terms (see Section 20.4) and it has been argued that such colour terms, i.e. **h₁roudhós* ‘red metal’, **ǵhel-* ‘yellow metal’, and **h₂erǵ-nt-om* ‘silver metal’, are more likely to have been formed on the basis of the metals rather than the reverse, e.g. the plant names ‘rose’ and ‘orange’ give us colour words, the turquoise shell gives the colour ‘turquoise’. Some have claimed that **h₁roudhós* derives from Sumerian *urudu* ‘copper’, hence, the ‘copper colour’. But **h_aeusom* ‘gold’ from a root ‘shine’ indicates that the reverse process might also have obtained in Proto-Indo-European.

Of the terminology for tools, the most diagnostic are those associated with ploughing (**h_aérh₃ye/o-*, **ǵhel-*, **mat-*). The earliest evidence for the plough anywhere is about the sixth millennium BC (Near East) and solid evidence for ploughs or ploughing (archaeologists can occasionally uncover the scratch marks of early ploughs) in Europe dates to about 3500 BC with some potential evidence that might place it a millennium earlier. Cultivation during the Early Neolithic is generally associated with digging sticks and hence the attribution of the plough to the proto-lexicon provides further support for those who believe that Indo-European ‘unity’ existed until the later Neolithic.

Most of the remaining tools refer to fairly generic implement types. Axes, for example, have existed since the Lower Palaeolithic (in stone), and while it is perhaps somewhat more likely that the Proto-Indo-European terms referred (at least initially) to stone axes (either chipped flint or polished stone), copper axes are also fairly widespread by the fourth millennium BC.

The reconstructed Indo-European arsenal is not extensive. In the strict sense the lexical evidence for archery is limited to Greece and the Indo-Iranian world. Since the bow and arrow was ubiquitous across Eurasia during the Mesolithic and Neolithic, there is no doubt that the Proto-Indo-Europeans possessed archery and that the lexicon suffered severe attrition; one major cause of loss was the downgrading (in some cases total abandonment) of archery during the Bronze and Iron ages in some regions of Europe. Spears have an even longer pedigree (extending well back into the Palaeolithic) and may again have suffered lexical attrition due to the proliferation of later bronze and iron spearhead types. The tendency for the reflexes of **h_{2/3}nsis* to mean ‘sword’ makes it attractive to imagine its proto-referent to have been a metal dagger; such daggers, made in copper or bronze, appear during the fourth millennium BC.

The vocabulary concerning wheeled transport has often been regarded as one of the most diagnostic semantic fields in the reconstructed lexicon. The existence of wheeled vehicles in Proto-Indo-European appears unassailable

given the number of terms for the vehicle (**weġhnos*, **h₂em-h_aek̑s-ih_a*), wheel (**k^wek^wlóm*, **h_{2/3}ġgi-*, **róth₂o/eh_a-*), axle (**h_aek̑s-*), shaft (**h_{2/3}éih₁os*), and probably the nave (**h₂nobh-*) and reins (**h₂ensiyo/eh_a-*). The participation of Hittite in this semantic sphere is admittedly weak: it lacks a specifically IE word for the actual wagon (Hittite employs the word *tiyarit-* and *huluganni-* for wheeled vehicles) and the Hittite-Tocharian isogloss **h_{2/3}ġgis* for ‘wheel’ is contested by some; this leaves **h_{2/3}éih₁os* ‘shaft’ and **dhwerh_x-* or **yugóm*, both ‘yoke’, which, some have suggested, might be extended to the pulling of ploughs and not necessarily vehicles. Others would not read this evidence so negatively and would accept that Anatolian also received some of the PIE vocabulary relating to vehicles (and did not separate itself prior to the invention of wheeled vehicles). The earliest evidence for wheeled vehicles, in this case heavy four-wheeled wagons, dates to the fourth millennium BC both in Mesopotamia and in central and eastern Europe, including the north Caucasus.

Further Reading

The basic encyclopedias such as Schrader–Nehring (1917–28) and Mallory–Adams (1997) cover material culture in considerable detail. Other readings include tools (Hamp 1975, Puhvel 1964, Thomson 2001, Wüst 1956); ornament (Mayrhofer 1974); weapons (Huld 1993, Maher 1986, Watkins 1986a, Schlerath 1997, Schrijver 2004); transport (Darden 2001, Raulwing 2000), roads (Benveniste 1954, Kololiec 1984), and metals such as ‘gold’ (Witczak 1994b, Driessen 2003) and ‘silver’ (Mallory and Huld 1984, Untermann 1989).

16

Food and Drink

16.1	Eat and Drink	254	16.3	Foods and Meals	260
16.2	Preparation	258	16.4	Proto-Indo-European Diet	264

16.1 Eat and Drink

The topic of this chapter is hunger, the preparation and ingestion of food, and the limited evidence there is in Proto-Indo-European for various foods and drinks. Table 16.1 lists the vocabulary associated with hunger and the ingestion of food.

There is only one word reconstructed to Proto-Indo-European that means ‘hunger’ (a Hittite-Tocharian isogloss) and even this is problematic in that a comparison between Hit *kāst-* ‘hunger’ and Toch B *kest* ‘hunger’ still only yields a PIE **Kos-t-*, i.e. we can only say that the word begins with a velar but must be uncertain which velar that is (it could be **ges-*, for example) since in both Anatolian and Toch A an initial stop will always be voiceless, whatever voicing or aspiration it may have had in Proto-Indo-European.

Many languages distinguish the consumption of foods by animals from that of humans (e.g. NHG *essen* ‘to eat’ but *fressen* ‘to eat like an animal’) and a number of the verbs listed here may originally have applied exclusively to one or the other. The most widely attested, apparently the basic, word for ‘eat’ is **h₁édmi* which is found in every major IE group save Albanian (e.g. OIr *ithid* ‘eats’, Lat *edō*, NE *eat*, Lith *ėdu* ‘eat’, Grk *édō* ‘eat (up), devour’, Arm *utem* ‘eat’, Hit *ētmī* ‘eat’, Av *aḍāiti* ‘let eat’, Skt *ádmi* ‘eat’, Toch A *nātsw-* ‘starve’ < **‘not-eat’*). Albanian does share a cognate with Indic words that

Table 16.1. *Hunger, eating, and drinking*

* <i>Kos-t-</i>	‘hunger’	
* <i>h₁édmi</i>	‘eat’	Lat <i>edō</i> , NE <i>eat</i> , Grk <i>édō</i> , Skt <i>ádmi</i>
* <i>h₄eu-</i>	‘eat’	Skt <i>āvayati</i>
* <i>gras-</i>	‘eat, graze’	Lat <i>grāmen</i> , Grk <i>gráō</i> , Skt <i>grásate</i>
* <i>ǵeP-</i>	‘± eat, masticate’	NE <i>jowl</i>
* <i>ǵyeuh_{x-}</i>	‘chew’	NE <i>chew</i>
* <i>treg-</i>	‘gnaw’	Grk <i>trōgō</i>
* <i>g^werh₃₋</i>	‘swallow’	Lat <i>vorō</i> , Grk <i>borá</i> , Skt <i>girāti</i>
* <i>k^wem-</i>	‘swallow’	Skt <i>cāmati</i>
* <i>srebh-</i>	‘gulp, ingest noisily’	Lat <i>sorbeō</i> , Grk <i>hrophéō</i>
* <i>h₁ēg^whmi</i>	‘drink’	Lat <i>ēbrius</i>
* <i>peh₃(i)-</i>	‘swallow’ > ‘drink’	Lat <i>bibō</i> , Grk <i>pínō</i> , Skt <i>pibati</i>
* <i>leig^h-</i>	‘lick’	Lat <i>lingō</i> , NE <i>lick</i>
* <i>ǵeus-</i>	‘taste, enjoy’	Lat <i>gustō</i> , NE <i>choose</i> , Grk <i>geúomai</i> , Skt <i>juṣáte</i>
* <i>sweh_ade/o-</i>	‘be tasty, please’	Grk <i>hēdomai</i> , Skt <i>svādate</i>
* <i>dheh₁₋</i>	‘suck’	Lat <i>fēlō</i> , Grk <i>thēsato</i> , Skt <i>dháyati</i>
* <i>h₁edonom</i>	‘food’	Grk <i>edanón</i> , Skt <i>ádanam</i>
* <i>wór(h_x)ǵs</i>	‘nourishment, strength’	Grk <i>orgē</i> , Skt <i>ūrjá-</i>
* <i>dhap-</i>	‘apportion’	Lat <i>daps</i> , Grk <i>dapánē</i>
* <i>tolko/eh_{a-}</i>	‘sacrifice, sacrificial meal’	
* <i>peh₂₋</i>	‘guard, cause to graze’	Lat <i>pāscō</i> , NE <i>fodder</i> , Skt <i>pāti</i>
* <i>wes-</i>	‘graze’	
* <i>pen-</i>	‘feed, fatten’	Lat <i>penus</i>

attest **h₄eu-* ‘eat’ (e.g. Alb *ha* ‘eat’, Skt *āvayati* ‘eats, consumes’). This **h₄eu-* may be the same as the root reconstructed as **h_aeu-* ‘favour, enjoy’ (see Section 20.6). The verb **gras-* generally means ‘eat, swallow’ (e.g. ON *krās* ‘delicacy’, Grk *gráō* ‘gnaw, eat’, Skt *grásate* ‘swallows, consumes’) but as it also yields the word for ‘grass’ in Lat *grāmen*, it is possible that it may have originally referred to herbivores (or Latin transferred the word to herbivores). Variation in the final (ambiguous) labial in **ǵeP-* has suggested that it might have been a popular word (and therefore frequently altered); in Celtic and Germanic it is represented as nouns pertaining to the ‘orifice’, e.g. ‘mouth, beak, jaw, snout’ (OIr *gop* ‘muzzle, snout, beak’, OE *ceafl* ‘jaw, jowl’ [> NE *jowl*]) but it appears in verbal form in Baltic and Slavic (e.g. Lith *žebù* ‘masticate, eat slowly’, Rus *zobáti* ‘eat’); in Avestan a nominal derivative *zafar-* ~ *zafan-* refers exclusively to the ‘mouth of a demonic being’, the *Avesta* often distinguishing words applied to demons from those applied to gods or humans. The verb ‘chew’ is found in **ǵyeuh_{x-}* (e.g. NE *chew*, Rus *žúú* ‘chew’, NPers *jāvīdan* ‘chew’, Toch AB *śuwā-* ‘eat’) and perhaps also as **treg-* (Grk *trōgō* ‘gnaw [particularly

raw fruit], Arm *t'urc* 'jaw', Toch B *tresk-* 'chew') which may also mean 'gnaw'. There are three verbs associated with 'swallowing'. The best attested is **g^werh₃-* (e.g. Lat *vorō* 'swallow [up], devour', Av *jaraiti* 'swallows', Skt *girāti* 'swallows'; some of the cognates indicate swallowing a liquid, e.g. Lith *geriù* 'drink', while others are clearly associated with devouring meat, e.g. Grk *borá* 'meat, food of a predator'. There are fewer distinctions in the meanings descended from **k^wem-* 'swallow' (e.g. Icelandic *hvōma* 'swallow', Arm *k'ink* 'throat', Av *a-šam-* 'sip', Skt *cāmati* 'swallows'), while **srebh-* (e.g. Lat *sorbeō* 'sup, swallow, absorb', Alb *gjerb* 'sip, tippie', Grk *hrophēō* 'gulp down', Arm *arbi* 'drink', Hit *s(a)rap-* 'gulp') often means 'slurp' (in Germanic, e.g. MHG *sürpfeln*, Baltic, e.g. Latv *strebju* 'slurp, spoon', Slavic, e.g. OCS *srūbati* 'drink noisily') and suggests onomatopoeia, i.e. the sound (to a Proto-Indo-European speaker) of one gulping down food; curiously enough, the Toch B cognate (*sārp-*) indicates the 'beating of the heart' (because of the 'lub-dub' noise of the beating heart).

There are two words for 'drink'. Anatolian retains evidence of **h₁ēg^whmi*, e.g. Hit *ekumi* 'I drink', and this is probably the earlier word, found in Italic (Lat *ēbrius* 'having drunk one's fill, drunk'), Grk *nēphō* 'am sober' (< **ne-h₁ēg^whō* 'not drink'), and Tocharian (Toch AB *yok-* 'drink'), which was subsequently replaced (by semantic shift) by **peh₃(i)-* 'drink', originally indicating 'swallow' (e.g. OIr *ibid*, Lat *bibō*, OPrus *poieiti*, OCS *piję*, Alb *pi*, Grk *pínō*, Arm *əmpem*, Skt *pibati*, all 'drink', but Hit *pāsi* ~ *paszi* 'swallows'). This last example is sometimes taken as lexical evidence for the Indo-Hittite hypothesis: the semantic change from 'swallow' to 'drink' happened to the residual Indo-European community after the Anatolian branch had separated from it.

Other oral activities would include the widespread attested **leig^h-* 'lick' (e.g. OIr *ligid*, Lat *lingō*, NE *lick*, Lith *liežiù*, OCS *lizati*, Grk *leikhō*, Arm *lizem*, Av *raēza-*, Skt *leh-*, all 'lick'). The concept of 'taste' was closely bound to ideas of 'enjoy, please' and there are two terms in Proto-Indo-European for this. The root **ġeus-* is widespread and the semantics range from 'taste' to 'test' to 'that which is pleasing' (e.g. OIr *do-goa* 'choose', Lat *dēgunō* and *gustō* 'taste', NE *choose*, Grk *geiūmai* 'taste', Av *zaoš-* 'be pleased', Skt *jušáte* ~ *jōšati* 'enjoys'). The Graeco-Aryan isogloss **sweh_ade/o-* (e.g. Grk *hēdomai* 'rejoice', Skt *svādate* 'becomes savoury') is limited in area but underlies the derived adjective found widely in Proto-Indo-European that indicates 'sweet' (**sweh_adús*). The verb 'suck' is well in evidence as **dheh₁-* (e.g. OIr *denid* 'sucks', Lat *fēlō* 'suck', OHG *tāju* 'suck', Latv *dēju* 'suck', OCS *doję* 'suckle', Grk *thēsato* 'sucked', Arm *diem* 'suck', Skt *dháyati* 'sucks, suckles').

Words for 'food' in general are uncertain. Grk *edanón*, Anatolian (Hit *adanna-*), and Skt *ádanam* all attest a noun which both etymologically and colloquially could be translated as 'eats', i.e. **h₁edonom* from **h₁ed-* 'eat' but

the formation is so banal that the (approximately) same word may have been created independently in the various groups. A word for ‘nourishment, strength’ is seen in **wór(h_x)ǵs* but only in Hit *wargant-* does it mean ‘fat’ while the other cognates all attest more abstract meanings, e.g. ‘anger’ (Grk *orgḗ* ‘natural impulse, mood, anger’), ‘power’ (e.g. Av *varəz-* ‘power’, Skt *ūrj-* ~ *ūrjá-* ‘strength, nourishment’).

We cannot reconstruct a word for ‘meal’ outside a ritual context where we have two words: **dapnom* (cf. Lat *daps* ‘sacrificial meal’, ON *tafn* ‘sacrificial animal’, Grk *dapánē* ‘ostentatious expenditure, consumption’, Arm *tawn* ‘feast’, Hit *tappala-* ‘person responsible for court cooking’, Toch A *tāp-* ‘eat’) which derives from **dap-* ‘apportion’, i.e. share out food in the context of a communal feast, and **tolko/eh_a-* which indicates an ‘afterwork feast’ in Baltic and Slavic (e.g. Lith *talkà* ‘collective assistance; feast after such a work’, Rus *toloká* ‘afterwork feast’) and ‘sacrifice’ in Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *telki*).

Finally, there are three terms that are probably confined in their proto-meanings to livestock. The verb **peh₂-* generally indicates what a herdsman does, i.e. ‘guard, graze’ the livestock (e.g. Lat *pāscō* ‘feed, lead to pasture; nourish’, OCS *pas-* ‘protect, guard’, Hit *pah(ha)s-* ‘protect’, Av *pāiti* ‘guards’, Skt *pāti* ‘guards’, Toch B *pāsk-* ‘guard, protect’), or associated concepts such as ‘meadow’ (NWels *pawr*) or ‘fodder’ (e.g. NE *fodder*; OIr *aīnches* shifts the meaning to ‘bread basket’). As opposed to the transitive activities of what a herdsman does to his herds or flocks, the root **wes-* ‘graze’ indicates what the animals do themselves (e.g. OIr *fess* ‘food’, OE *wesan* ‘feast, cause to graze’, Hit *wesi-* ‘pasture’, *wesiya-* ‘graze’, Av *vāstar-* ‘herdsman’, Toch A *wāsri* ‘grassy area, pasture’). The root **pen-* suggests the ‘fattening up’ of an animal (e.g. Lat *penus* ‘store of food’, Lith *penù* ‘fatten’, Pal *bānnu* ‘liver’ ([<‘the fattened one’])).

North-Western words include **smeg-* ‘taste (good)’ (e.g. OE *smæc* ‘taste’, Lith *smaguriáuti* ‘delight in, nibble on, have a sweet tooth’); **seug/k-* ‘suck’ (e.g. Lat *sūgō*, NE *suck*, Latv *sūzu* ‘suck’, OCS *sūsq* ‘suck’); and possibly **pitus* if the Celtic (OIr *ith* ‘grain’), Baltic (Lith *piētūs* ‘meal’), and Slavic (OCS *pišta* ‘meal’) words are not independent creations from an unattested verbal root **peih_x-* ‘be fat/swollen’ (for other derivatives of this putative root see Section 16.3). The West Central region evidences **kenk-* ‘hunger’ (e.g. NE *hunger*, Lith *kankà* ‘pain, torment’, dialectal Grk *kégkei* ‘is hungry’; **dórkwom* ‘evening meal’ (e.g. Alb *darkë*, Grk *dórpon*, cf. also Alb *drekë* ‘breakfast’, Bret *dibri* ‘lunch’); **mandh-* or **mant-* ‘chew’ (e.g. Lat *mandō*, OIr *mētal* ‘belly’, OHG *mindil* ‘bite’, dialectal Grk *máthuiiai* ‘jaws’) with phonological reshaping suggestive of a ‘popular’ word; **lab-* ‘lick’ (e.g. Lat *lambō*, NE *lap*, Grk *láp̄tō* ‘slurp, drink’, Arm *lap’el* ‘lick’) and **lak-* ‘lick’ (e.g. Lith *lakù* ‘lap up’, OCS *loču* ‘lick’, Arm *lakem* ‘lick’), both ‘popular words’, the first with both uncharacteristic

**a* and **b*, and **sap-* or **sep-* ‘± taste, come to know’ (e.g. OE *sefa* ‘understanding’, Osc *sipus* ‘knowing’), difficult because the Armenian cognate (*ham* ‘taste, juice’ [< **sapno-*?]) is uncertain; Lat *sapiō* ‘taste’ provides a basis for *sapiēns* ‘wisdom’.

16.2 Preparation

There are a number of verbs that may be grouped under a general concept of ‘food or drink preparation’. These are listed in Table 16.2.

There are two words for ‘drawing water’. The first is **h₂eu(h_x)s-* which means ‘draw water’ or ‘pour’ in Italic (Lat *hauriō* ‘draw water’), Germanic (ON *ausa* ‘draw water’), and Anatolian (Pal *hussiya-* ‘pour’) but the Greek cognate (*aiō*) shows a remarkable semantic shift to ‘take fire to’. The second word, **h₂en-*, has cognates in Grk *ántlon* ‘bilge-water’, Arm *hanem* ‘draw out, remove’, and Anatolian (Hit *han-* ~ *haniya-* ‘draw [liquids]’). The concept of ‘mixing’ boasts no less than three possible Proto-Indo-European words. The root **yeuh_x-* appears to be primarily associated with mixing something moist (e.g. Latv *yaut* ‘mix, mix dough’, Skt *yáuti* ‘binds, unites’) in that it also yields nominal

Table 16.2. *Food preparation*

* <i>h₂eu(h_x)s-</i>	‘draw water’	Lat <i>hauriō</i> , Grk <i>aiō</i>
* <i>h₂en-</i>	‘draw (liquids)’	Grk <i>ántlon</i>
* <i>yeuh_x-</i>	‘mix something moist’	Lat <i>iūs</i> , Grk <i>zúmē</i> , Skt <i>yáuti</i>
* <i>kerh_x-</i>	‘mix’	Grk <i>kírnēmi</i> , Skt <i>śrñāti</i>
* <i>meik-</i>	‘mix’	Lat <i>misceō</i> , NE <i>mix</i> , Grk <i>mísgō</i> , Skt <i>mekṣayati</i>
* <i>menth₂-</i>	‘stir’	Skt <i>ma(n)th-</i>
* <i>yeuǵ-</i>	‘stir up, incite; be unquiet’	
* <i>bher-</i>	‘seethe, bubble’	Lat <i>fermentum</i> , Grk <i>porphúrō</i> , Skt <i>bhurāti</i>
* <i>bhreuh-</i>	‘seethe’	Lat <i>ferveō</i> , NE <i>brew</i> , Skt <i>bhurvāti-</i>
* <i>seu-</i>	‘boil (something)’	NE <i>seethe</i>
* <i>yes-</i>	‘boil’	NE <i>yeast</i> , Grk <i>zēō</i> , Skt <i>yásyati</i>
* <i>sret-</i>	‘boil, be agitated, move noisily’	Grk <i>hróthos</i>
* <i>kwat-</i>	‘ferment’	Lat <i>cāseus</i> , Skt <i>kváthati</i>
* <i>bhṛǵ-</i>	‘roast’	Lat <i>frīgō</i> , Grk <i>phrúgō</i> , Skt <i>bhṛjjāti</i>
* <i>pek^w-</i>	‘cook, bake’	Lat <i>coquō</i> , Grk <i>péssō</i> , Skt <i>pācati</i>
* <i>wer-</i>	‘boil, cook’	
* <i>h₂omós</i>	‘raw, uncooked’	Grk <i>ōmós</i> , Skt <i>āmá-</i>

forms meaning ‘pottage’ and ‘soup’ (see Section 16.3). The other two roots, **kērh_x*- (e.g. OE *hrēran* ‘move, stir’, Grk *kírnēmi* ‘mix’, Av *sar-* ‘associate with, mix with’, Skt *śrīṇāti* ‘mixes, mingles’) and **meik̃-* (e.g. OIr *mescaid* ‘mixes, agitates, troubles’, Lat *misceō* ‘mix’, NE *mix*, Lith *miėšti* ‘mix’, OCS *měsiti* ‘mix’, Grk *mísgō* ‘mix’, Av *minašti* ‘mixes’, Skt *mekṣayati* ‘mixes, stirs’), mean ‘mix’ and ‘stir (up)’. The act of ‘stirring’ is found in both **menth₂*- (e.g. ON *mōndull* ‘handle on a pestle’, Lith *mėsti* ‘stir, agitate’, OCS *męsti* ‘disturb, molest’, Skt *má(n)th-* ‘stir, whirl, churn, hurt, destroy’, Toch B *mānt-* ‘remove, destroy, pour out’) and **yeug̃-* (e.g. Goth *jiukan* ‘fight, struggle’, Av *yaozaiti* ‘stirs oneself up’, Toch B *yuk-* ‘overcome, surpass’). Obviously, these roots can also mean ‘stir up’, i.e. ‘agitate’, but the first does show occasional culinary contexts.

There are a number of terms employed to indicate ‘boiling’. The root **bher-* shows considerable semantic variation, e.g. ‘well’, ‘yeast’, ‘bubble’, ‘move quickly’ (e.g. MĪr *fobar* ‘well’, Lat *fermentum* ‘ferment, leaven’, OE *beorma* ‘yeast, leaven’, Grk *porphūrō* ‘bubble’, Skt *bhurāti* ‘moves rapidly, quivers’) so its underlying meaning is somewhat conjectural. However, in its extended form as **bhreu-* it is clearly associated with ‘boiling’ or more specifically with ‘brewing’ in its European cognates (e.g. OIr *berbaid* ‘boils, seethes’, Lat *ferveō* ‘boil’, NE *brew*, Alb *brumë* ‘dough’, Skt *bhurváṇi-* ‘restless, excited’). The meaning ‘brew’ is found only in the Germanic outcomes of **bhreu-* but there are nominal forms in Italic (Lat *dēfrutum*) and Thracian *brūtos* ‘a kind of beer’ that indicate an alcoholic drink. The root **seu-* has both concrete meanings, e.g. ‘boil’ (e.g. NE *seethe*) or ‘stew’ (Av *hāvayeiti*), and more abstract ‘joke around with’ (Rus *šutiti*). More clearly associated with food preparation is **yes-* (e.g. NWels *ias* ‘boiling’, OE *gist* ‘foam, yeast’ [> NE *yeast*], Grk *zēō* ‘boil, cook’, Av *yaēšya-* ‘boil’, Skt *yásyati* ‘boils’, Toch A *yās-* ‘boil’, Toch B *yās-* ‘excite, ravish’ [< **make boil*]) which generally does mean ‘boil’ (in Hittite the derivative *is(s)na-* means ‘dough’) while **sret-* or **sredh-* can mean ‘boil’ but also it can mean ‘be agitated’ (e.g. MĪr *srithit* ‘spurt of milk or blood’, OHG *stredan* ‘effervesce, whirl, boil’, Grk *hróthos* ‘rushing noise, roar of waves, clash of oars’, Toch B *šärtt-* ‘incite, instigate’). A meaning more akin to ‘ferment’ may be suggested for **kwat-* which has meanings ranging from ‘cheese’ (Lat *cāseus*) to ‘leaven, sour drink’ (OCS *kvasū*) and ‘boil’ (Skt *kváthati*), or ‘foam up’ (Goth *hvaþjan*).

Words specifically indicating the ‘cooking’ of food are several. An extension of a root **bher-*, i.e. **bhig-*, may underlie cognate terms for ‘cook’ in Lat *frīgō* ‘roast, bake, fry’ (> NE *fry*), Grk *phrúgō* ‘roast’, and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *bhr̥jjāti* ‘roasts’). More strongly attested and more productive is **pek^w*- which not only provides a word for ‘cook’ in nine groups (e.g. NWels *pobiaf* ‘bake’, Lat *coquō* ‘cook’ [> NE *cook*], Lith *kepù* ‘bake’, OCS *pek* ‘bake, roast’, Alb *pjek*

‘bake’, Grk *péssō* ‘make ripen, cook’, Av *pačaiti* ‘cooks’, Skt *pācati* ‘cooks’, Toch AB *pāk-* ‘become ready for eating [i.e. ripen, be cooked]’) but also yields nominal forms, **pek^wtis* ‘cooking’ in five and even a possible agent noun, **pek^wter-* ‘cook’, in three groups. There is **wer-* which also returns a meaning ‘cook’ or ‘boil’ across a number of Indo-European groups (e.g. Lith *vérdū* ‘cook, boil’, OCS *vīrjǫ* ‘cook, boil’, Hit *war-* ‘burn’, Toch A *wrātk-* ‘cook’). Finally, five groups share a common Proto-Indo-European word for ‘raw’ or ‘uncooked’, i.e. **h₂omós* (e.g. OIr *om*, Grk *ōmós*, Arm *hum*, NPers *xām*, Skt *āmá-*, all ‘raw’).

The West Central region provides **sem-* ‘draw water’ (Lat *sen-tīna* ‘bilge-water’) if one accepts some questionable Greek cognates (e.g. *ámē* ‘bucket’) to go with the Celtic (OIr *do-essim* ‘pours’), Italic, and Baltic (Lith *sémti* ‘draw water’). More secure is **bhōg-* ‘bake, roast’ (e.g. NE *bake*, Grk *phōgō* ‘roast, toast, parch’).

16.3 Foods and Meals

The reconstructed menu of the Proto-Indo-Europeans is limited to the list of cognates indicated in Table 16.3.

Table 16.3. *Foods*

<i>*mē(m)s</i>	‘meat’	Lat <i>membrum</i> , Grk <i>mênigks</i> , Skt <i>mās-</i>
<i>*pīh_xwǵ</i>	‘fat(ness)’	Grk <i>pīar</i> , Skt <i>pīvas-</i>
<i>*sēlpes-</i>	‘oil, fat, grease’	Grk <i>élpos</i> , Skt <i>sarpī-</i>
<i>*sméru-</i>	‘oil, grease’	NE <i>smear</i>
<i>*h₁opús</i>	‘(animal) fat’	Lat <i>ad-eps</i>
<i>*seh_a-(e)l-</i>	‘salt’	Lat <i>sāl</i> , NE <i>salt</i> , Grk <i>háls</i> , Skt <i>salilá-</i>
<i>*h_amelǵ-</i>	‘to milk’	NE <i>milk</i> , Lat <i>mulgeō</i>
<i>*ǵ(ǵ)lākt</i>	‘milk’	Lat <i>lac</i> , Grk <i>gála</i>
<i>*dhédhhi</i>	‘± coagulated (sour) milk’	Skt <i>dádhi</i>
<i>*pīpīh_xusih_a</i>	‘rich in milk’	Skt <i>pīpyúṣī-</i>
<i>?*(k)sweid-</i>	‘milk’	
<i>*ksih_xróm</i>	‘± (skim) milk, whey’	Skt <i>kṣīrām</i>
<i>*ténkǵ</i>	‘buttermilk’	Skt <i>takrá-</i>
<i>?*réughmen-</i>	‘cream’	NE <i>ream</i>
<i>*twóh_xr</i>	‘curds, curdled milk’	Grk <i>tūrós</i>
<i>*mélit</i>	‘honey’	Lat <i>mel</i> , NE <i>mildew</i> , Grk <i>méli</i>

(Cont’d)

Table 16.3. (*Cont'd*)

<i>*médhū</i>	‘mead’	NE <i>mead</i> , Grk <i>méthū</i> , Skt <i>mádhu</i>
<i>*kh_aónks</i>	‘honey-coloured, golden’	Lat <i>canicae</i> , NE <i>honey</i> , Grk <i>knēkós</i> , Skt <i>kánaka-</i>
<i>*kóh_a-ŕ</i>	‘wax’	Grk <i>kērós</i>
<i>*h_aelut-</i>	‘beer’	NE <i>ale</i>
<i>*súleh_a-</i>	‘± (fermented) juice’	Skt <i>súrā-</i>
<i>*medhwih_a-</i>	‘intoxicator’	Skt <i>Mādhavī-</i>
<i>*spend-</i>	‘make an offering’	Lat <i>spondeō</i> , Grk <i>spéndō</i>
<i>*yúh_xs-</i>	‘broth’	Lat <i>iūs</i>
<i>?*korm-</i>	‘broth, mash?’	Lat <i>cremor</i> , Skt <i>karambhā-</i>
<i>*wíss</i>	‘poison’	Lat <i>vīrus</i> , Grk <i>iós</i> , Skt <i>viśā-</i>

Widely and solidly attested, almost invariably with the same meaning of ‘meat’ across eight groups, is **mē(m)s* (e.g. Goth *mimz*, Lith *mėsà*, OCS *měso*, Alb *mish*, Arm *mis*, Skt *mās-* ~ *māsá-*, Toch B *mīsa* [pl.], all ‘meat’) which also has derived forms such as Lat *membrum* ‘member’ (which originally indicated a part of a carcass), Grk *mēnigks* ‘skin, meninges’, OIr *mūr* ‘bit [< *bit of meat], portion, share’, Rus *mjazdrá* ‘meat side of skin’. There are a number of words associated with ‘fat’. A Greek-Indic isogloss guarantees **píh_xwr̥* (Grk *pîar* ‘fat, tallow’, Skt *pívas-* ‘fat’) but it is suggested that it also has Celtic cognates including the name of ‘Ireland’ itself, i.e. both the goddess *Eriu* and the name of the island is ‘fertile’ (< **píh_xweryōn*), i.e. fertile land (one might compare the name of a district in Thessaly, *Pteriā*, and the Homeric phrase *píeiran árouran* ‘fertile land’). The *o*-grade of **sēlpes-* is found in Germanic where it yields NE *salve* and perhaps in Alb *gjalpē* ‘butter’. The *e*-grade is to be seen, for example, in Grk *élpos* ‘oil, fat, grease’, Skt *sarpī-* ‘melted butter’, Toch B *šalype* ‘unguent, fat’ (and possibly Alb *gjalpē*). The Germanic and Tocharian reflexes of **sméru-* indicate ‘oil’ or ‘grease’ (e.g. NE *smear*, Toch B *šmare* ‘oily, greasy’) while the Celtic mean ‘marrow’ (e.g. OIr *miur*). A well-attested series indicates a word for ‘animal fat’, i.e. **h₁opús* (e.g. Lat *ad-eps* ‘lard, suet’, Hit *apuzzi* ‘animal fat, tallow’, Roshani *adawoř* (< **ad-op-eko-*) ‘piece of lard’, Toch B *op* ‘± fatness’, and probably Arm *atoc* ‘abundant, fertile’). The preservation of meat was effected through the use of ‘salt’, **seh_a-(e)l-*, a word attested in no less than ten groups (e.g. OIr *salann*, Lat *sāl*, NE *salt*, Latv *sāls*, OCS *solī*, Grk *hāls*, Arm *al*, Toch B *salyiye*, all ‘salt’, Lith *sólymas* ‘brine’, Alb *ngjelmēt* ‘salty’, Skt *salilā-* ‘sea, flood’).

The dairy vocabulary of the Indo-Europeans is impressively extensive. The verb ‘milk’, **h_amelǵ-*, is widely attested (although not in Indo-Iranian) and also serves as the basis for a series of nominalizations (e.g. for the verb: OIr *bligid* ~ *bluigid*, NE *milk*, Lith *mélžu*, ORus *mūlzu*, Grk *amélgō*, Lat *mulgeō*, Toch A

mālk-; and, e.g., for the noun: OIr *mlicht*, Rus *molokó*, Alb *mjel*, Toch B *malkwer*). Another noun for milk, **ġ(l)ákt*, is attested in Hittite as *galaktar*, a ‘milky fluid from trees and plants’ or, perhaps more generally, ‘soothing substance, balm, nutriment’ and in Grk *gála* ‘milk’, Lat *lac* ‘milk’, and in Nūristāni languages such as Waigali *zōr* ‘milk’. The underlying verb is present only in Hit *kala(n)k-* ‘soothe, satisfy’. The more general meaning in Anatolian as opposed to the more specific ‘milk’ of the rest of Indo-European may be another instance of an ‘Indo-Hittite isogloss’ where residual Indo-European, after the separation from the Anatolian branch (or the reverse), underwent a specific lexical innovation not shared by Anatolian. A ‘sour milk’ is suggested by a noun, **dhédhh₁i* (e.g. OPrus *dadān* ‘milk’, Alb *djathë* ‘cheese’, Skt *dādhi* ‘coagulated milk, thick sour milk, curds and whey’), formed from **dheh₁(i)-* ‘suckle’. Both Baltic and Indic share a participial form of **peih_x-* ‘be fat/swollen’, **pipih_xusih_a*, which means ‘rich (overflowing) in milk’ (e.g. Lith *papijusi* ‘cow which produces milk’, Skt *pipyūṣṭ-* ‘rich in milk’). A possible Baltic-Iranian isogloss (e.g. Lith *sviestas* ‘butter’, Av *xšvīd-* ‘milk’) yields **(k)sweid-* ‘milk’ while Albanian provides the sole European example of an otherwise Asiatic **ksih_xróm* ‘milk’ (e.g. Alb *hirrë* ‘whey’, NPers *šīr* ‘milk’, Skt *kṣīrām* ‘[thickened] milk’). The verbal root **tenk-* ‘become firm, curdle’ yields a noun **ténk_l* ‘buttermilk’ (e.g. ON *þēl* ‘buttermilk’, Skt *takrām* ‘buttermilk mixed with water’). A possible Germanic-Iranian isogloss also suggests a word for ‘cream’, **réughmen-*, which survives in the British dialectal term *ream* (cf. also Av *raoyna-* ‘butter’). A word for ‘curdled milk’ is also indicated by a Slavic-Greek-Iranian isogloss, **twóh_xr*. In Greek this word is reflected in *tūrós* ‘cheese’ and *boútūros* literally ‘cow-cheese’, i.e. ‘butter’, which was borrowed into Lat *būtūrum* - *būtūrum* and then into English as *butter*; in Slavic we have for instance Rus *toróg* ‘curds, soft cheese’, in Iranian we have Av *tūiri-* ‘curdled milk, whey’. Finally, the verbal root **ser-* ‘flow’ has given rise to a number of words for ‘whey’ or ‘cheese’, i.e. Lat *serum* ‘whey, serum’, Alb *gjizë* ‘cottage cheese’, Grk *orós* ‘whey’, Toch B *ṣarwiye* ‘cheese’.

Another semantic field with very good attestation is that of ‘honey’. The noun **mélit* is found widely in the West and Centre (e.g. OIr *mil* ‘honey’, Lat *mel* ‘honey’, NE *mildew* [< **sweet sap*], Alb *bletë* ‘honey-bee’, Grk *méli* ‘honey’, *mélissa* ‘honey-bee’, Arm *melr* ‘honey’, including Anatolian, e.g. Hit *militt-* ‘honey’) and has one Iranian cognate in the form of a reference to *melition*, a drink of the Scythians. The fermented drink made from honey, ‘mead’, is **médh_u* (OIr *mid* ‘mead’, NE *mead*, Latv *medus* ‘honey; mead’, OCS *medŭ* ‘honey; wine’, Grk *méth_u* ‘wine’, Av *maθ_u* ‘berry wine’, Skt *mádhu* ‘honey; wine’, Toch B *mit* ‘honey’, *mot* [< **médhu-*] ‘alcoholic drink’). The Proto-Tocharian antecedent of *mit* ‘honey’ was borrowed into Chinese and appears in contemporary Chinese as *mì* ‘honey’. Although **kh_aónks*

'honey-coloured' is basically a reference to a golden colour (e.g. Lat *canicae* [pl.] 'bran', Grk *knēkós* 'pale yellow', Skt *kánaka-* 'gold'), it does yield the meaning 'honey' in Germanic (e.g. NE *honey*) and 'bee' in Tocharian (Toch B *kronkése*). The related **kóh_a-r* gives us the word for 'wax' or 'honeycomb' (e.g. Lith *korỹs* 'honeycomb', Grk *kērion* 'honeycomb', *kērós* 'wax'). We have already seen that it is possible to reconstruct a word for 'wine' (cf. Section 10.3) and to this we can tentatively meet our criteria for positing a Proto-Indo-European 'beer', **h_aelut-*, if we add to the North-Western forms (e.g. NE *ale*, OPrus *alu* 'mead', Lith *alūs* 'beer', OCS *olŭ* 'beer') an Iranian (Ossetic) cognate *alūton* 'beer'. Some form of intoxicating drink is suggested by **sūleh_a-* with meanings ranging from 'curdled milk' (OPrus *sulo*) and 'kumiss' (Av *hurā*) to '(birch) sap' (Latv *sula*) and an unspecified 'intoxicating drink' (Skt *sūrā-*; perhaps the word originally designated fermented [birch] sap). In addition to intoxicating beverages, one might also find the possible Celtic-Indic cognate **medhwih_a-*, 'intoxicator' (OIr Medb, the queen of Connacht, Skt Mādhavī, a daughter of Yayāti), which is employed as the name of a deity. Within a religious context, the verb **spend-* means 'pour a libation' in both Greek and Hittite (Grk *spéndō*, Hit *sippand-* ~ *ispant-*).

A 'broth' of some sort is clearly indicated by **yúh_xs-* (e.g. Lat *iūs* 'broth, sauce, juice' [> NE *juice*], Lith *jūše* 'fish soup', Rus *ukhá* 'broth, fish soup', Grk *zúmē* 'leaven', Skt *yūṣ-* 'soup, broth, water in which pulses of various kinds have been boiled') from the root **yeuh_x-* 'mix together' and less certainly by **korm-* which may be a 'broth' in Italic (Lat *cremor* 'broth, pap') and Indic (Skt *karam-bhá-* 'barley porridge, soup') but is resolutely consumed as an 'alcoholic drink' in the different Celtic languages (e.g. OIr *cuirm* 'beer').

Finally, the noun 'poison', **wíss*, is unambiguously attested from Celtic to Tocharian (e.g. MIr *fī* 'poison', Lat *vīrus* 'potent liquid, poison, venom', Grk *iós* '[organic fluid] poison; stagnant smell and taste', Av *viš(a)-* 'poison', Skt *viṣá-* 'poison', Toch B *wase* 'poison') and derives from **weis-* 'flow (slowly)'.

From the West Central we have a word for 'butter', **h₃éng^wŋ* (e.g. OIr *imb* 'butter', Lat *ungen* 'fat, grease', OHG *ancho* 'butter', OPrus *anctan* 'butter') from **h₃eng^w-* 'anoint'. A word **polt-* 'pap, porridge' (e.g. OIr *littiu* 'porridge, gruel', Lat *puls* 'pap, porridge, mash', Grk *póltos* 'pap, porridge') is found in Celtic, Italic, and Greek; **dhrogh-* 'dregs' is attested in the West and Albanian (e.g. ON *dregg*, Lith *drągės* [pl.], OCS *droždije*, Alb *dra*, and probably also Lat *fracēs* [pl.], though the phonological development is not altogether regular, all 'dregs'; NE *dregs* is a Norse loanword). An Italic-Greek isogloss yields **leib-* 'pour, make a libation' (Lat *libāre*, Grk *leibō* 'pour out [drop by drop]') while the root **gheu-* 'pour' provides the basis for the nominal **gheumn-* 'libation' in Grk *kheūma* 'that which is poured', Phryg *zeumán* 'libation', and Skt *hóman-* 'libation'. Finally, the Greek food of the gods, *ambrosiā*, finds an Indo-Iranian

cognate in the epithet (Av *aməša-*) or name of a diety (Skt *Amṛta-*) and indicates a regionally attested **ǵ-mṛ-tós* ‘undying’ as an epithet for a sacred drink.

Given the strong evidence for cereal-growing (cf. Section 10.3) in the Proto-Indo-European community, it is a bit surprising that there is no unequivocal word for ‘bread’ (although there are terms for processed cereals). There is, however, a West Central word for ‘dough’, **(s)teh₂ist* (e.g. OIr *taís* ‘dough’, OE *þēsmā* ‘leaven’, OCS *těsto* ‘dough’, Grk *staís* ‘dough of spelt flour’). This is a neuter noun of a very archaic shape and that archaic shape might argue for a greater antiquity for the concept ‘dough’, and hence bread-making in general, than its restriction to the West Central groups might otherwise suggest. That it would appear to be derivative of **(s)teh₂-* ‘stand’ suggests that we may well be reconstructing a term originally meaning ‘leavened dough’ rather than ‘dough’ in general. Words such as NE *bread* and Albanian *brumë* ‘dough’ from **bhreu-* ‘boil, brew’ also suggest leavened bread but it is the archaic nature of **(s)teh₂-ist* that suggests a PIE antiquity for leavened bread.

16.4 Proto-Indo-European Diet

The proto-lexicon emphasizes a diet that included meat, broth, salt, dairy products, the consumption of alcoholic beverages (beer, mead, possibly wine); the reconstructed lexicon of plant remains (Chapter 10) suggests the range of vegetables that may have been consumed. While much of this vocabulary is fairly generic (Proto-Uralic attests the existence of animal fat and broths; its word for honey (**mete*) is, as in the case of Chinese, a loan from Indo-European), some of the reconstructed food terminology is of more specific interest. The word for ‘salt’ (**seh_a-(e)l-*), for example, was a major issue of discussion among linguists of the nineteenth century because it was regarded as diacritical in locating the homeland near a natural source of salt such as the Black Sea or Aegean. In reality, salt springs and later salt mines were exploited over many areas of Eurasia since the Neolithic shift in diet that required salt both for dietary reasons (increasing consumption of cereals resulted in a reduction of salt intake from a meat diet) and for the preservation of meat.

Of greater interest is the abundance of terms associated with milk products, i.e. **h₂amelǵ-*, **ǵ(l)lākt*, **dhédh₁i*, **pipih_xusih_a*, **(k)sweid-*, **ksih_xróm*, **ténkl*, **réughmen-*, **twóh_xt*, which clearly indicates the exploitation of livestock for secondary products. Although both sheep and goats can be milked, the abundance of terms for dairy products in the proto-lexicon suggests the more intensive exploitation of cattle for milk. The chronological significance of dairying is mitigated by our inability to establish the date by which milking was developed in Eurasia. Some would suggest that dairying belongs to the

same horizon as other secondary products such as the plough and wheeled vehicles, i.e. the fourth millennium BC, while others would employ either age-slaughter patterns of cattle or the evidence of possible ceramic (milk) strainers to suggest an earlier date. The consumption of milk by adults also has genetic implications in that many people become lactose intolerant after childhood, i.e. become ill when they consume milk. This situation is particularly prevalent in the Mediterranean while lactose tolerance increases as one moves northwards. The ability to consume milk has been seen as a selective advantage among northern Europeans in that it helps replace the necessary quantities of vitamin D which is reduced in regions of poor sunlight. The processing of milk into butter or cheese reduces the ill effects of lactose intolerance.

The different alcoholic beverages also merit brief discussion. The word for 'mead' (**médhu*) is well attested phonologically although it has seen some semantic shift in some of the Asiatic languages, e.g. Av *madu*- 'berry wine' (the Ossetic cognate *myd*, however, continues a base meaning 'honey'). There is archaeological evidence for mead from the third millennium BC but it may be considerably older. Beer (**h_aelut-*) is earliest attested, about the mid fourth millennium BC (Iran and Egypt), but it too may be older. The proliferation of drinking cups that is seen in central and eastern Europe about 3500 BC has been associated with the spread of alcoholic beverages and, possibly, special drinking cults.

Further Reading

Other than handbooks, see for 'eat and drink' (Hamp 1981*b*, Poetto 1974, Kim 2000, Bader 1992, Benveniste 1973*a*: 470–80), 'beer' (Polomé 1996, Kowal 1984); 'milk' (Szemerényi 1958), 'food' (Starke 1985); salt (Thieme 1961); for the archaeological evidence for 'secondary products' see Sherratt (1981) and for the evidence of alcoholic drinks see Sherratt (1987).

17

Proto-Indo-European Society

17.1	Social Organization	266	17.5	Strife and Warfare	277
17.2	Give and Take	270	17.6	Occupations	283
17.3	Exchange and Property	272	17.7	Proto-Indo-European Society	284
17.4	Law and Order	276			

17.1 Social Organization

There is a large number of words or roots that pertain to the general spheres of society, law, exchange, and warfare that can be reconstructed to various levels of Indo-European. Interpreting these semantic fields in very broad terms, we can indicate those that relate to society and social organization in Table 17.1.

The most loaded term in the reconstructed lexicon is **h₄erós* or **h₄eryós* ‘member of one’s own group’ which in Indo-Iranian is generally represented as ‘Aryan’. From **h₄erós* we have Anatolian, e.g. Hit *arā-* ‘member of one’s own group, peer, friend’, Lyc *arus-* ‘citizens’, while **h₄eryós* yields (perhaps) OIr *aire* ‘freeman’, more certainly Av *airya-* ‘Aryan’, Skt *aryá-* ‘kind’, *ārya-* ‘Aryan’ (cf. *ari-* ‘faithful’). The evidence suggests that the word was, at least initially, one that denoted one who belongs to the community in contrast to an outsider; a derivative of the word is found in Hit *āra* ‘(what is) fitting’ and *natta āra* ‘not right’, cf. the use of *kosher* which originally meant (in Hebrew) ‘what is fitting’. Although in Indo-Iranian the word takes on an ethnic meaning, there are no grounds for ascribing this semantic use to Proto-Indo-European, i.e. there is no evidence that the speakers of the proto-language referred to themselves explicitly as ‘Aryans’. Another word for ‘people’, **h₁leudhos*, is largely confined to the West (e.g. OE *lēod* ‘people, nation’, NHG *Leute* ‘people’, Lith *liáudis* ‘people’, OCS *ljudiŕje* [pl.] ‘people’) but also has an Iranian cognate in Khowar

Table 17.1. *Society and social organization*

* <i>h₄erós</i>	‘member of one’s own group’	Skt <i>ārya-</i>
* <i>h₁leudhos</i>	‘people, freeman’	
* <i>s(w)edh-</i>	‘custom, characteristic’	Lat <i>sodālis</i> , Grk <i>éthos</i> , Skt <i>svadhā</i>
* <i>h₁leuk-</i>	‘become accustomed’	Skt <i>úcyati</i>
* <i>kr(e)u-bh-</i>	‘gather, amass’	Grk <i>krúptō</i>
* <i>sók^w-h₂-ōi</i>	‘follower, companion’	Lat <i>socius</i> , Grk <i>aosséō</i> , Skt <i>sákhā-</i>
* <i>h₄eġmen-</i>	‘troop’	Lat <i>agmen</i> , Skt <i>ájman-</i>
* <i>p_lth₂w-iĥ_a-</i>	‘country, land’	Skt <i>pṛthivī-</i>
* <i>w(n)náchts</i>	‘leader, lord’	Grk (w) <i>ánaks</i>
* <i>h₃rēġs</i>	‘ruler, king’	Lat <i>rēx</i> , Skt <i>rāj-</i>
* <i>tagós</i>	‘leader’	Grk <i>tāgós</i>
* <i>wikpots</i>	‘master of the clan’	Skt <i>viśpáti-</i>
* <i>pótyetoi</i>	‘rules, is master’	Lat <i>potior</i> , Skt <i>pátyati</i>
* <i>wal-</i>	‘be strong, rule’	NE <i>wield</i> , Lat <i>valeō</i>
* <i>h₂entbhi-k^wolos</i>	‘servant’	Lat <i>anculus</i> , Grk <i>amphípolos</i> , Skt <i>abhicara-</i>
* <i>h₄upo-sth₂-i/o-</i>	‘servant’	Skt <i>úpasti-</i>

roi ‘people; man, person’; it derives from the verbal root **h₁leudh-* ‘grow, increase’, which in other forms is found, for example, in Lat *liberī* ‘children’.

The concept of ‘custom’ appears in **s(w)edh-* (e.g. Lat *sodālis* ‘companion’ [< *‘member of a group’], OE *sidu* ‘custom’, Grk *éthos* ‘custom, habit’, Skt *svadhā* ‘character, peculiarity, custom’, Toch B *ṣotri* ‘sign, characteristic’) which has been analysed as a compound of **s(w)e* ‘own’ and **dh(e)h₁-* ‘set, establish’. The verb ‘to become accustomed’ was expressed with **h₁leuk-* (e.g. OIr *do-uccí* ‘understands’, Goth *bi-ūhts* ‘used to’, Lith *junkstu* ‘become accustomed to’, OCS *učiti* ‘teach’, vyknōti ‘become accustomed’, Arm *usanim* ‘learn, be used to’, Skt *úcyati* ‘is accustomed to’). There is no word for ‘assemble’; the closest is ‘gather’, **kr(e)u-bh-*, which can mean ‘herd together’ but does not really indicate a human assemblage (e.g. Grk *krúptō* ‘hide’, Toch B *kraup-* ‘gather, amass; herd’).

A ‘companion’ was quite literally a ‘follower’, i.e. **sók^w-h₂-ōi*, from the verbal root **sek^w-* ‘follow’, and in Germanic explicitly indicates those who follow a leader into battle; Latin and Indo-Iranian tend to denote ‘friend, companion’ (Lat *socius* ‘partner, companion’, OE *secg* ‘follower’, Grk *aosséō* ‘help’, Av *haxā-* ‘friend, companion’, Skt *sákhā-* ‘friend, companion’). Another transparent derivative is **h₄eġmen-* ‘troop’ from **h₄eġ-* ‘drive’ which is found in Lat *agmen* ‘troop, train’ and Skt *ájman-* ‘train’.

There is one word preserved that designates ‘country’ as a landmass, i.e., **p_lt(h_x)-h₂w-ih_a-* which derives from **pleth₂-* ‘broad, flat’, i.e. the ‘broad one’ (e.g. OE *folde* ‘land’, Arm *hol* ‘earth, country’, Skt *pṛthivī-* ‘earth’). The Celtic languages retain the word to designate Brittany (e.g. MlIr *Letha*, NWels *Llydaw*) while the Greeks similarly used it as a place name, i.e. *Plátaia*; both Celtic and Indic also deified the concept as an ‘(earth) goddess’ (Skt *Pṛthivī-* and Gaul *Litavi(s)*).

There are several words associated with leadership positions. A Greek-Tocharian isogloss secures **w(ŋ)nákts* which means ‘lord’ in both groups (Grk *(w)ánaks* ‘ruler, lord, prince’, Toch A *nātāk* ‘lord’). This correspondence is actually a double one since both Greek and Tocharian also reflect the derived feminine equivalent **wnákth_a* (Grk *(w)ánassa* ‘queen’, Toch A *nāši* ‘lady’). The far more widely discussed **h₃rēǵs* is taken to mean ‘king’ as it does carry this meaning in Celtic (e.g. OIr *rī* ‘king’), Italic (e.g. Lat *rēx* ‘king’), and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Av *bərəzi-rāz-* ‘ruling in the heights’, Skt *rāj-* ‘king’) and it is also associated with verbs ‘to rule’. However, it appears not to have been exclusively political in its meaning but rather to have referred to a person who also had religious functions. Indeed in those situations where the monarchy itself disappeared, as in Rome or Athens, the title of ‘king’ remained in its priestly function (e.g. the Roman *rēx sacrōrum*). This word too has beside it a widespread feminine derivative (e.g. OIr *rīgain*, Lat *rēgīna*, Khot *rrīṇa*, Skt *rājñī-*, all ‘queen’), though the details of the formation differ a bit in the various branches. The deeper etymology of this word has been frequently discussed; it is usually explained as an agent noun of **h₃rēǵ-* ‘stretch out the arm, direct’ with some arguing that the word derives from the concept of a king who stretches out his arms in rituals, especially those laying out a precinct, or perhaps a more direct semantic development from ‘direct’ to ‘rule’. Another Greek-Tocharian isogloss is **tagós* which indicates a ‘leader’ in both groups (e.g. Grk *tāgós* ‘leader’, Toch A *tāśši* [pl.] ‘leaders’, and derives from **tāǵ-* ‘put in order, arrange’) while the ‘master of the clan’ is indicated by **wīkpots* (e.g., Lith *viēšpatis* ‘master’, Av *vispaiti-* ‘master of the clan’, Skt *viśpāti-* ‘head of the household’). The verbal expressions of leadership are found in **pótyetoi* (e.g. Lat *potior* ‘I am master’, Av *paiθyeiti* ‘rules’, Skt *pátyati* ‘rules’; a denominative verb derived from **pótis* ‘head of house’; cf. Section 12.2) and **wal-* which is widespread (e.g. Lat *valeō* ‘am strong’, OE *wieldan* ‘govern’ [> NE *wield*], Lith *valdyti* ‘rule’, OCS *vladq* ‘rule’) and means generally ‘rule’ except where it has been nominalized in Tocharian to mean ‘king’ (e.g. Toch B *walo*).

There are two compound nouns, both from verbal roots, to indicate ‘servant’. Latin, Greek, and Indic all attest **h₂entbhi-k^wolos* (Lat *anculus* ‘servant’, Grk *amphipolos* ‘servant, priest’, Skt *abhicara-* ‘servant’), literally one who

‘moves about on both sides’ while Celtic (e.g. MÍr *foss* ‘servant’) and Indic (e.g. Skt *úpasti-* ‘subordinate, servant’) show evidence of having inherited (or perhaps independently created) **h₄upo-sth₂-i/o-* ‘servant’ (literally ‘one standing below’); a Celtic loan into Latin gives us the Late Lat *vassus* or *vassalus*, whence NE *vassal*.

The North-Western region provides evidence of **dhroughós* ‘companion, comrade’ (e.g. OE *ge-drēag* ‘troop’, Lith *draūgas* ‘friend’, OCS *drugŭ* ‘friend, companion’); **ghostis* ‘guest; stranger, enemy’ (e.g. Lat *hostis* ‘stranger, enemy’, *hospēs* ‘foreigner, guest; host’ [< **ghosti-pot-* ‘guest-master’], OE *giest* ‘stranger, guest’ [the related NE *guest* is a loanword from ON], OCS *gostĭ* ‘guest’, *gospodĭ* ‘master’); **slōugos* ‘servant’ (e.g. OÍr *slōg* ‘army, host; crowd, company’, Lith *slauḡa* ‘service’, Rus *slug* ‘servant’). More words derive from the West Central area: **déh_amos* ‘(segment of) people’ (e.g. OÍr *dām* ‘troop, company, retinue’, Grk *dēmos* ‘people’) from the verbal root **deh_a-* ‘cut, divide’; **pleh₁dhwéh₁s* ‘(the mass of) people’ (Lat *plēbēs* ‘plebeians [as opposed to the patricians]’, Grk *plēthūs* ‘throng, crowd; [common] people’) whose root also supplies NE *folk*; and **teutéh_a-* ‘the people (?under arms)’ (e.g. OÍr *tūath* ‘a people, nation; [common] people’, Oscan *touto* ‘community’, OE *þēod* ‘folk’, Lith *tautà* ‘people’). The last and much discussed word may be Proto-Indo-European (if one accepts Hit *tuzzi-* ‘army’ as cognate) and was also employed in tribal and personal names, e.g. it provides NHG *Deutsch* (from OHG *diutisk* ‘belonging to the people’). A verb for meeting is seen in **mōd-* ‘meet’ (NE *meet*) while a nominal form **ger-* ‘herd, crowd’ also suggests the meaning ‘gather’ (e.g. MÍr *graiḡ* ‘horse herd’, Lat *grex* ‘herd, company’, Grk *gárgara* ‘crowd’). A ‘leader’, here specifically military, is seen in **koryonos* ‘leader’ from **koryos* ‘army’ (see Section 17.5). The verbal root **h_aeḡ-* ‘drive’ is at the basis of **h_aeḡós* ‘leader’ (e.g. Grk *agós* ‘leader’, Skt *ajā-* ‘driver’). Among the Graeco-Aryan isoglosses we find **h_xēpis* ‘confederate’ (e.g. Grk *ēpios* ‘gentle, kind, soothing, friendly’, Skt *āpi-* ‘ally, friend, acquaintance’, *āpyam* ‘confederation, alliance, friendship’), possibly from **h₂ep-* ‘join’; a possible **des-* ‘enemy’ exists if one wishes to accept a questionable Greek cognate (*doûlos* ‘slave’ [< **dos-e-lo-*], the semantic shift would result from the pragmatic fact that the source of most slaves was captured enemies); otherwise the word exists only in Indo-Iranian (e.g. Av *dahyu-* ‘region’, Skt *dāsá-* ‘demon, enemy; barbarian; slave’, *dāsyu-* ‘demon, enemy of the gods, impious man’) and has also been explained as a central Asian loanword into Indo-Iranian. Finally, we also have **tkeh₁-* ‘rule’ (e.g. Grk *ktáomai* ‘procure’, Av *xšayati* ‘has power’, Skt *kṣáyati* ‘possesses, rules’) which also supplies nominal derivatives, e.g. OPers *xāyaθiya* ‘king’ > NPers *šāh* ‘king, shah’ (> by borrowing NE *shah* and by a long route into NE *checkmate* in the game of chess [MPers *šāh mat* ‘the king [is] dead’]).

17.2 Give and Take

The verbal expressions of ‘giving’ and ‘taking’ are heavily weighted toward the latter as there are only three words that appear to be specifically ‘give’. The root **h₄ei-* yields ‘give’ in Anatolian and Tocharian (e.g. Hit *pai-* ‘give’ [< **pe-ai-*], Toch B *ai-* ‘give’) but ‘take’ in Grk *ainumai* ‘take, seize’, a situation that we see does have quite a few parallels in that the action requires a ‘giver’ and a ‘taker’ and either side may become the focal point of the word (cf. NE *take to* but also *take from*). The Latin word (*aemulus* ‘emulator, rival’) is not entirely secure here. A far better attested word is **deh₃-* (e.g. Lat *dō* ‘give’, Lith *dúoti* ‘give’, OCS *dati* ‘give’, Arm *tam* ‘give’, Hit *dā-* ‘take’) which is found in the reduplicated present form in Grk *didōmi* ‘give’ and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Av *dadāiti* ‘gives’, Skt *dādāti* ‘gives’), and Italic (e.g. Lat *reddō* [< **re-didō*] ‘give back’). Only Hittite preserves the verbal form of **h_{2/3}enċ-* (*henkzi* ‘bestows’) but there are nominal forms in Grk *ógkos* ‘burden’, Arm *hunjk* [pl.] ‘harvest’, and Indo-Iranian (Av *asa-* ‘group of followers’, Skt *ámśa-* ‘portion, share’) that show the root was once more widely attested.

Table 17.2. *Give and take*

<i>*h₄ei-</i>	‘give’	Lat <i>aemulus</i> , Grk <i>ainumai</i>
<i>*deh₃-</i>	‘give’	Lat <i>dō</i> , Grk <i>didōmi</i> , Skt <i>dādāti</i>
<i>*h_{2/3}enċ-</i>	‘bestow’	Grk <i>ógkos</i> , Skt <i>ámśa-</i>
<i>*h₁ep-</i>	‘take, seize’	Skt <i>āpnóti</i>
<i>*kap-</i>	‘seize’	Lat <i>capīō</i> , NE <i>have</i> , Skt <i>kapaṭī</i>
<i>*ghabh-</i>	‘take, seize’	Lat <i>habeō</i> , Skt <i>gābhastin-</i>
<i>*ghrebh-</i>	‘grasp, take, enclose’	Skt <i>gr̥bhnāti</i>
<i>*la(m)bh-</i>	‘seize’	Grk <i>lambánō</i> , Skt <i>lá(m)bhate</i>
<i>*nem-</i>	‘take/accept legally’	Grk <i>némō</i>
<i>*deċ-</i>	‘take, accept’	Lat <i>decet</i> , Grk <i>dék(h)omai</i> , Skt <i>dāśnóti</i>
<i>*deċes-</i>	‘honour’	Lat <i>decus</i> , Grk <i>dékomai</i> , Skt <i>daśayāti</i>
<i>*h₂erk-</i>	‘hold back’	Lat <i>arceō</i> , Grk <i>arkéō</i>
<i>*dher-</i>	‘be immobile; support’	Lat <i>firmus</i> , Skt <i>dhāráyati</i>
<i>*h₄eik-</i>	‘possess’	Skt <i>īśe</i>
<i>*skabh-</i>	‘hold up’	Lat <i>scamnum</i> , Skt <i>skabhnāti</i>

There are more words for 'take'. Perhaps the oldest word is **h₁ep-* which is found in Anatolian and five other groups (e.g. Alb *jap* 'give', Arm *unim* 'possess', Hit *epzi* 'takes', Av *apayeiti* 'obtains', Skt *āpnóti* 'obtains', Toch B *yapoy* 'land' [< **±* 'dominion']]; the o-grade verb **h₁op-* 'desire' (Lat *optō* 'wish', OCS *za-(j)apŭ* 'presumption, suspicion', Grk *epi-ópsomai* 'choose') would appear to be a derivative. Also widespread is **kap-* which means 'have' in Germanic but tends to mean 'seize' in Baltic and Albanian (e.g. OIr *cāin* 'law, tribute', Lat *capiō* 'take', NE *have*, Latv *kāmpju* 'seize', Alb *kap* 'catch, grab, seize', Grk *káptō* 'gulp down', Skt *kapaṭī* [dual] 'two handfuls'). Although **ghabh-* is primarily attested in the West (e.g. OIr *gaibid* 'takes', Lat *habeō* 'have', Lith *gabenū* 'present', Pol *gabać* 'seize'), it provides one of the Sanskrit words for 'hand' (*gábhastin-*). A verb 'grasp' is seen in **ghrebh-* (Middle Dutch and MHG *grabben* 'seize', Latv *grebju* 'seize', OCS *grabiti* 'snatch up', Hit *k(a)rap-* 'devour', Av *gərəwnāiti* 'takes', Skt *gṛbhñāti* 'grabs'); the NE *grab* is also related but is a loanword, probably from Middle Dutch. The root **la(m)bh-* is generally found to underlie words for 'goods, possessions' but still retains a verbal meaning 'seize' in Indic (e.g. Lith *lōbis* 'possessions, riches', Grk *lambánō* 'seize, take', Skt *lá(m)bhate* 'seizes, takes'). The verb **nem-* yields 'gift' in OIr *nem*, 'rent' in Baltic (e.g. Lith *núoma*), 'loan' in Av *namah-*, 'harvest' in Toch B *ñemek* but 'distribute, possess' in Grk *némō* and 'take' in Germanic (e.g. NHG *nehmen*), again showing the bipolar nature of giving and taking. The root **deḱ-* is associated with the concepts of 'order' and 'proper behaviour' which suggests that it originally meant 'accept properly or graciously' (e.g. Lat *decet* 'it is proper', *doceō* 'seem, appear', OE *teohhian* 'determine, consider; think, propose', ORus *dositi* 'find', Grk *dék(h)omai* 'take, accept; receive graciously; expect', Hit *takki* 'is the same as', Skt *dāśnóti* 'brings an offering'). An extended form **deḱes-* gives us the notion of 'honour', e.g. Lat *decus* 'honour', Av *dasəma-* 'defence, respect', Skt *daśasyāti* 'serves, obliges'; it also gives OIr *dech* 'best'.

The concept of 'hold, possess' sometimes crosses with 'hold up, support' and we include both meanings here. The first meaning is clearly seen in **h₂erk-* which means 'hold, have' in Hittite and some other groups (e.g. Lat *arceō* 'shut in; keep at a distance, prevent', Grk *arkéō* 'ward off, defend; assist', Arm *argelum* 'hinder, restrain, hold back', Hit *hark-* 'hold, have', possibly Toch B *ār-k-* 'be obliged to' [if with a semantic development like NE *have to*]) while possession is also indicated in **h_aeik-* (e.g. OE *āgan* 'possess' [whence NE *own*], Av *ise* 'is lord of', Skt *īše* 'owns, possesses', Toch B *aik-* 'know'). The root **dher-*, on the other hand, may have originally meant something like 'immobile' (e.g. Lat *firmus* 'solid, firm', OE *darian* 'lie motionless, lurk') then 'hold fast' (e.g. Av *dārayat* 'holds fast') and finally 'holds' (as in Skt *dhārāyati*) while the semantic field of **skabh-* also seems to mean 'hold up' (e.g. Lat

scamnum ‘stool, bench’, Av *upa-skambəm* ‘support, prop’, Skt *skabhnāti* ‘supports, fixes’).

There are two North-Western regional terms for ‘take’: **ghreib-* ‘grip, grasp’ (e.g. NE *grip*, *gripe*, and *grope*, Lith *griēbti* ‘seize’), and **h₁em-* ‘take, distribute’ (e.g. Lat *emō* ‘take’, Lith *imù* ‘take’, OCS *imq* ‘take’). Verbal roots from the West Central region are plentiful: **h₁rep-* ‘snatch, pluck’ (e.g. Lat *rapō* ‘snatch away, carry off, plunder’, Lith *ap-rėpti* ‘seize, embrace’, Alb *rjep* ~ *rrjep* ‘flay, rob’, Grk *eréptomai* ‘browse on, feed on’ [< **‘pluck’*]); **ghe(n)dh-* ‘seize, take in’ (e.g. OIr *ro-geinn* ‘finds a place in’, Lat *pre(he)ndō* ‘grasp’, NE *forget*, *begin*, Lith *godóti* ‘guess, suppose’, OCS *gadati* ‘imagine, guess’, Alb *gjej* ‘find, obtain’, Grk *khandánō* ‘take in, comprise’); **kagh-* ‘catch, grasp’ (e.g. NWels *cau* ‘close, clasp’, Lat *cōlō* ‘tend, take care of’, OE *haga* ‘hedge’, Alb *ke* ‘has, holds’); **sel-* ‘seize, take possession of’ (e.g. OIr *selb* ‘possession’, OE *sellan* ‘hand over’ [> NE *sell*], Grk *helein* ‘take’); **twer-* ‘take, hold’ (e.g. Lith *tveriù* ‘seize, take hold of’, *turiù* ‘have, hold’, OCS *tvoriti* ‘shape, make’, Grk *seirá* ‘band, bond’); possibly **dergh-* ‘grasp’ (e.g. MĪr *dremm* ‘troop, band of people’, ON *targa* ‘shield’, NE *targ*, Grk *drássomai* ‘lay hold of, grasp with the hand’, Arm *trc’ak* ‘bundle of brushwood’); **(s)lag’-* ‘take, hold’ (NE *latch*, Grk *lázomai* ‘take, hold’); and **wer-* which means ‘find’ but in extended form also ‘take’ (e.g. Arm *gerem* ‘take prisoner’, Lith *su-resti* ‘catch’).

17.3 Exchange and Property

There are a number of terms specifically associated with the activities involved in exchange (Table 17.3), a better word than ‘trade’ when dealing with the level of social complexity probably obtaining among the Proto-Indo-Europeans.

The basic root indicating ‘exchange’ is **mei-* which underlies verbal forms in Baltic (Latv *miju* ‘exchange’), Indo-Iranian (e.g. Av *fra-mita-* ‘changed’, Skt *máyate* ‘exchanges’, *mināti* ‘exchanges, deceives’), and Tocharian (Toch B *mäsk-* ‘exchange’) but also a number of nominal forms with meanings ranging from ‘treasure’ (OIr *mōin*) to ‘punishment’ (Av *maēni-*); NE *mean* is included here, originally from a meaning ‘common’ in Germanic. One should also compare Lat *communis* ‘common’ (whence, via Old French, comes NE *common*). We also have the root in an extended version, **meit-* (e.g. Lat *mūtō* ‘change’, Goth *maidjan* ‘exchange’, Latv *mietuôt* ‘exchange’, Skt *méthati* ~ *mithāti* ‘exchanges’), which underlies the name of the Indo-Iranian Mitra/Mithra, the god in charge of contractual relationships. The concept of ‘purchase’ is found in **wes-no-* (e.g. Lat *vēnum* ‘that which is sold’, OCS *věno* ‘bride-price’, Arm *gin* ‘price’, Skt *vasná-* ‘price’, and, with a different ablaut grade, Grk *ónos* ‘price [usually of a

Table 17.3. *Exchange and property*

* <i>mei-</i>	‘exchange’	Skt <i>máyate</i>
* <i>meit-</i>	‘exchange’	Lat <i>mūtō</i> , Skt <i>méthati</i>
* <i>wes-no-</i>	‘purchase’	Lat <i>vēnum</i> , Grk <i>ónos</i> , Skt <i>vasná-</i>
* <i>k^wrei(h_a)-</i>	‘pay’	Grk <i>príamai</i> , Skt <i>krñāti</i>
* <i>per-</i>	‘exchange, barter’	Lat <i>inter-pres</i> , Grk <i>pérnēmi</i>
* <i>pel-</i>	‘± sell’	Grk <i>pōlēō</i> , Skt <i>pāñate</i>
* <i>kuh_s-</i>	‘hire’	NE <i>hire</i>
* <i>deu(s)-</i>	‘be lacking’	NE <i>tire</i> , Grk <i>déomai</i> , Skt <i>doṣa-</i>
* <i>h₁eg-</i>	‘be in need, lack’	Lat <i>egeō</i>
* <i>menk-</i>	‘lack’	Lat <i>mancus</i> , Skt <i>mankú-</i>
* <i>das-</i>	‘lack’	Skt <i>dāsyati</i>
* <i>déh₃r/n-</i>	‘gift’	Lat <i>dōnum</i> , Grk <i>dōron</i> , Skt <i>dāna-</i>
* <i>h_{2/3}ónkos</i>	‘what is bestowed’	Grk <i>ógkos</i> , Skt <i>ámśa-</i>
* <i>p_o(h₃)tis</i>	‘what is distributed’	Lat <i>pars</i> , <i>portiō</i> , Skt <i>pūrtá-</i>
* <i>bhag-</i>	‘apportion’	Skt <i>bhága-</i>
* <i>h₂elg^who/eh_a-</i>	‘payment, prize’	Grk <i>alphé</i> , Skt <i>arghá-</i>
* <i>misdhós</i>	‘reward, prize’	Grk <i>misthós</i> , Skt <i>mīḍhá-</i>
* <i>h₂ó/ép(e)n-</i>	‘goods, wealth’	Lat <i>opulentus</i> , Grk <i>áphenos</i> , Skt <i>ápnas-</i>
* <i>réh₁is</i>	‘possessions’	Lat <i>rēs</i> , Skt <i>rayí-</i>
* <i>lóik^wnes-</i>	‘(inherited) possessions’	NE <i>loan</i> , Skt <i>rēkñas-</i>
* <i>wósu</i>	‘goods’	Skt <i>vásu-</i>
* <i>h₁ónh_ses-</i>	‘burden’	Lat <i>onus</i> , Skt <i>ána-</i>
* <i>soru</i>	‘booty’	Lat <i>servus?</i>
* <i>speh₁(i)-</i>	‘be sated, prosper’	Lat <i>spēs</i> , Skt <i>sphāyate</i>
* <i>(s)teh₄-</i>	‘steal’	Grk <i>tētaomai</i> , Skt <i>(s)tāyú-</i>
* <i>mus-</i>	‘steal’	Skt <i>muṣṇāti</i>
* <i>teubh-</i>	‘steal’	NE <i>thief</i>

captive]’) which derives from **wes-* ‘buy’ (e.g. Hit *wasi* ‘buys’) while **k^wrei(h_a)-* ‘pay’ (e.g. OIr *crenaid* ‘buys’, ORus *krīnuti* ‘buy’, Grk *príamai* ‘buy’, Skt *krñāti* ‘buys’, Toch B *kāry-* ‘buy’) has adopted the specific meaning of ‘bride-price’ in Celtic (OIr *tinnsra*) and Baltic (Lith *krieno*) derivatives. Another word for ‘exchange’ is also seen in **per-* (e.g. OIr *renaid* ‘sells, barter, exchanges’, Lat *interpres* ‘go-between’, *pretium* ‘price’, Grk *pérnēmi* ‘sell’, Av *pairyante* ‘they compared’; the Lat *pretium* via French gives NE *price* and *interpres* provides the base of NE *interpret*). The root **pel-* is Proto-Indo-European if one accepts a

potential Indic cognate (e.g. ON *falr* ‘to be sold’, Lith *pelnas* ‘profit’, Rus *polón* ‘booty’, Grk *pōléō* ‘sell’, Skt *pāṇate* ‘bargains, haggles’). A very particular economic term, **kuh₃s-*, ‘to hire (goods or services)’, is preserved in a Germanic-Hittite correspondence (e.g. NE *hire*, Hit *kuss-* ‘hire’).

A number of words indicate ‘lack, want of’. Although **deu(s)-* indicates lack of energy or colour in OE *tēorian* ‘faint, grow weary; fade [of colours]’ > NE *tire*, it indicates a more general ‘lack’ in Grk *déomai* and not only ‘want’ but also ‘crime’ in Indic (Skt *doṣa-*). A wider semantic variability is found in those words that may derive from **h₁eg-* (e.g. Lat *egeō* ‘need’, ON *ekla* ‘lack’, Hit *aki* ‘dies’, Toch AB *yāk-* ‘neglect, be careless about’ [*<**‘be lacking with regard to’]). Semantically more secure is **menk-* which does generally mean ‘lack’ from Latin to Tocharian (e.g. Lat *mancus* ‘maimed’, OHG *mengen* ‘be lacking’, Lith *meñkas* ‘feeble, weak; scanty; insignificant’, Skt *mañkú-* ‘wobbly’, Toch AB *māñk-* ‘be deprived of; lack’). The root **das-* yields a very specific meaning in Hittite, i.e. *das(u)want-* ‘blind’ (cf. dialectal Norw *tasa* ‘unravel’, Skt *dásyati* ‘suffers want, becomes exhausted’).

There are quite a few words to indicate ‘possessions’ of some sort or another. The verbal root **deh₃₋* ‘give’ provides the basis for the well-attested **déh₃r/n-* ‘gift’ (e.g. OIr *dān*, Lat *dōnum*, Lith *duonis*, OCS *danĭ*, *darŭ*, Grk *dōron*, Arm *tur*, Skt *dāna-*, all ‘gift’). Other products of giving are **h₂βónkôs* ‘what is bestowed’ (e.g. Grk *ógkos* ‘burden’, Arm *hunjk* ‘[pl.] ‘harvest’, Hit *henkan-* ‘fate, death’, Skt *ámśa-* ‘portion, share’), a noun formed from the verb **h₂βenċ-* ‘bestow’; and **p_g(h₃)tis* ‘what is distributed’ if the putative cognates (in Latin *pars* ‘part’, *portiō* ‘portion’, and Skt *pūrtá-* ‘gift, granting, reward’) are not independent creations from **per(h₃)-* ‘sell, distribute’. The concept of ‘apportion’, **bhag-*, has religious associations in Phrygian where *Bagaïos* is an epithet of Zeus, and the Skt *bhága-* ‘apportion’ was deified as one of the Vedic gods; an Iranian cognate (e.g. Av *baga-* ‘good fortune’) was borrowed into Slavic to give the word for ‘god’, *bogŭ*; in Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *pāke*) the word retains the meaning ‘share’ (see Chapter 22). The word **h₂elg^who/eh_a-* ‘payment, prize’ (e.g. Lith *algà* ‘payment, salary’, Grk *alphé* ‘earnings’, Hit *halkuessar* ‘produce, supplies [for cultic use]’, Av *arəjah-* ‘value, price’, Skt *arghá-* ‘value, price’) was borrowed from early Indo-Iranian into Uralic, e.g. Finnish *arvo* ‘prize’, while **misdhós* seems to indicate a similar meaning (e.g. OE *meord* ‘reward, pay’, OCS *mĭžda* ‘reward, wages’, Grk *misthós* ‘reward, wages’, Av *mĭžda-* ‘reward, gift’, Skt *mĭdhá-* ‘competition, contest, prize’); both terms range in their meanings from ‘prize’ to ‘wages’. Goods in terms of ‘wealth’ is clearly seen in **h₂ó/ép(e)n-* (e.g. Lat *opulentus* ‘rich, wealthy; opulent’, Ops ‘deity of abundance’, Grk *áphenos* ‘wealth’, Hit *happina(nt)-* ‘rich’, Av *afnah-vant-* ‘wealthy’, Skt *ápnas-* ‘wealth’) although its root derivation is disputed: both **h₃ep-* which underlies a set of Anatolian words relating to ‘business’ and **h₂op-* ‘work’ have

been suggested and here we have followed the latter suggestion. The concept of 'possessions' is also found in **réh₁is* (e.g. Lat *rēs* 'thing, affair, circumstance; possessions, wealth; business matter; law-suit', Av *raēvant-* 'rich, splendid, ostentatious', Skt *rayí-* 'possession, wealth'). Possessions in terms of 'leavings', i.e. inherited possessions, was indicated by **lóik^wnes-* from **leik^w-* 'leave'; it retains the meaning 'inheritance' in Indo-Iranian (e.g. Av *raēxnah-* 'inheritance, goods', Skt *rékṇas-* 'inherited possessions') but tends to mean a 'loan' in Germanic (e.g. OE *lān* 'loan, lease, grant, leased land'; NE *loan* is borrowed from Old Norse). The underlying word 'good' is found nominalized in both Anatolian (Luv *wāsu* 'goods') and Indic (Skt *vāsu-* 'wealth, goods, riches, prosperity') which at least suggests the possibility of a PIE **wósu* 'goods' if these are not independent creations (cf. the same semantic development in NE *goods*). Possessions as a 'burden' is indicated by the Italic-Indic isogloss that yields **h₁ónh_xes-* (Lat *onus* 'burden', Skt *ánas-* 'wagon-load'). Goods in terms of the spoils of war, i.e. 'booty', may be attested in **soru* which exists only in Anatolian (Hit *sāru* 'booty [particularly captured men, cattle, and sheep]') but there are derived forms in Celtic that indicate 'raiding' (perhaps MÍr *serb* 'theft', NWels *herw* 'raid [whose principal goal was usually cattle; outlawry]') which strengthen the reconstruction; possibly Lat *servus* 'slave' is to be placed here if slaves are seen as booty (cf. the possible history of Grk *doûlos* 'slave' in Section 17.1). Those with the 'wealth', one might expect, would be **speh₁(i)-* 'be satisfied, successful' (e.g. Lat *spēs* 'hope', OE *spōwan* 'thrive, succeed', Lith *spėjū* 'have free time', OCS *spěti* 'be successful, prosper', Hit *ispā(i)-* 'get full, be filled, be satiated', Skt *sphāyate* 'grows fat', Toch B *spāw-* 'spread out'; see Section 20.7).

For those without wealth who wish to acquire it illegally, there are three words for 'steal'. The first, **(s)teh₄-*, is closely associated with derivatives meaning 'secret' and hence this indicates stealth (e.g. OÍr *tāid* 'thief', OCS *tajq* 'hide', Grk *tētaōmai* 'deprive, rob', Hit *tāyezzi* 'steals', Av *tāyu-* 'thief', Skt *(s)táyú-* 'thief', Toch B *ene-stai* 'in secret'); no such connotations are indicated by **mus-* which may have originally meant 'move aside' (e.g. OHG [*Lex Salica*] *chrēo-mōsido* 'grave-robbery', Skt *muṣṇāti* 'steals', Toch B *mus-* 'steal', Toch AB *mus-* 'lift, move aside'), perhaps a concept not far removed from modern NE *lift* for 'steal'. A Germanic-Tocharian isogloss supplies us with **teubh-* 'steal' (e.g. NE *thief*, Toch B *cowai* 'theft').

In the North-West the verbal root **kob-* 'suit, fit' yields a nominal **kobom* 'success' (e.g. OÍr *cob* 'victory', ON *happ* 'luck' [NE *hap*, whence the adjective *happy*, is related but is a loanword from ON], OCS *kobī* 'divination'); **lau-* 'benefit, prize' (e.g. OÍr *lōg* 'reward, prize', Lat *lucrum* 'gain, benefit' [slightly pejorative, whence NE *filthy lucre*], OE *lēan* 'reward, recompense'). The West Central region offers **ster-* 'steal' (e.g. perhaps OÍr *serb* 'thief', Grk *sterēō*

‘deprive, rob’) which, in Germanic, reveals itself as **stel-* (e.g. NE *steal*). To be ‘rich’ is indicated in (the poetic language) of Greek and Indic as **h₁su-dhh₁-énos* ‘rich, well-off’, literally ‘well-placed’ (Grk *euthenéo* ‘thrive, flourish’, Skt *su-dhána-* ‘rich’). And a far eastern isogloss (Indo-Iranian-Tocharian) is seen in **yem-* ‘hold’ (e.g. Av *yam-* ‘hold’, Skt *yam-* ‘hold, sustain, offer, grant’, Toch B *yām-* ‘achieve, obtain; reach’ [< ** ‘come to hold’* or the like], *yām-* ‘do, make, effect’).

17.4 Law and Order

The vocabulary of law (Table 17.4) is not extensive in Proto-Indo-European and much of the concept of ‘law’ derives from that of ‘order’ or ‘what is fitting’. For example, we have **h_aértus* from the root **h_aer-* ‘fit’ which had already shifted to an association with cosmic order by the time of Indo-Iranian (e.g. Lat *artus* ‘joint’, MHG *art* ‘innate feature, nature, fashion’, dialectal Grk *artús* ‘arranging, arrangement’, Arm *ard* ‘ornament, shape’, Av *arəta-* ‘order’, Skt *ṛtú-* ‘right time, order, rule’, Toch B *ārtt-* ‘love, praise’). More closely associated with ritual propriety is the Italic-Indo-Iranian isogloss that yields **yew(e)s-* (Lat *iūs* ‘law, right, justice, duty’, Av *yaož-dā-* ‘make ritually pure’, Skt *śámca yósca* ‘health and happiness’) with a derived adjective **yust(iy)os* seen certainly in OIr *uissse* ‘just right, fitting’ and possibly OCS *istŭ* ‘actual, true’. ‘Law’ itself, **dhéh₁-men-/i-*, is ‘that which is established’ and derives from **dhéh₁-* ‘put, establish’ but occurs in that meaning only in Grk *thémis* ‘law’ and Skt *dhāman-* ‘law’ (we also have **dhéh₁tis* [e.g. Lat *conditiō* ‘basis’, NE *deed*, Grk *thésis* ‘order’, and Skt *-dhiti-* ‘position’]) though the same kind of semantic development is seen in Germanic (e.g. NE *law*) and Italic (e.g. Lat *lex*

Table 17.4. *Law and order*

<i>*h_aértus</i>	‘fitting, order’	Lat <i>artus</i> , Grk <i>artús</i> , Skt <i>ṛtú-</i>
<i>*yew(e)s-</i>	‘order’	Lat <i>iūs</i> , Skt <i>yósca</i>
<i>*dhéh₁mi-/men-</i>	‘what is established, law’	Grk <i>thémis</i> , Skt <i>dhāman-</i>
<i>*dhéh₁tis</i>	‘what is established’	Lat <i>con-ditiō</i> , Grk <i>thésis</i> , Skt <i>-dhiti-</i>
<i>*h_{2/3}wergh-</i>	‘± commit a crime’	
<i>*h₁lengh-</i>	‘blame, reproach’	Grk <i>elégkhō</i>
<i>*h₁óitos</i>	‘a going; oath’	NE <i>oath</i> , Grk <i>oātos</i>
<i>*k^woineh_a-</i>	‘compensation’	Grk <i>poinë</i>
<i>*k^wei-</i>	‘pay, compensate’	Grk <i>tínō</i> , Skt <i>cáyati</i>
<i>*serk-</i>	‘make restitution’	Lat <i>sarciō</i>

‘law’), both from **legh-* ‘lie’, i.e. ‘that which is laid out’, and thus the concept is pan-Indo-European. We have **h_{2/3}wergh-* ‘± commit a crime’ (e.g. ON *vargr* ‘felon, criminal; wolf’, OPrus *wargys* ‘evil’, Rus *vórog* ‘enemy, devil’, with different formations in Anatolian [Hit *hurkil* ‘sin, sexual perversion’] and Tocharian [Toch B *wārṣṣe* ‘highwayman, bandit’]) which has taken on the secondary meaning ‘wolf’ in ON. A word for ‘blame’ possibly underlies the Greek-Anatolian isogloss **h₁lengh-* where ‘blame’ is found in Grk *elégkhō* but ‘swear’ in Anatolian, e.g. Hit *li(n)k-* where it is taken to indicate the practice of calling down a curse on oneself if one violated an oath. The word for ‘oath’, **h₁óitos*, is found in Celtic (e.g. OIr *oeth* ‘oath’), Germanic (e.g. NE *oath*), Grk *oîtos* ‘course, fate’, and Tocharian (Toch B *aittanka* ‘directed towards’) but it only carries the meaning ‘oath’ in the two Western language groups. It is commonly derived from the verb **h₁ei-* ‘go’ which has been explained by a practice of walking between slaughtered animals as part of taking an oath (see Section 20.1).

The making of ‘restitution’ is indicated by two roots: **k^woineh_a-* (e.g. Lith *káina* ‘price’, OCS *cěna* ‘price’, Grk *poiné* ‘compensation for a crime, blood-price’, Av *kaēna-* ‘vengeance, hatred’) from the root **k^wei-* ‘pay, compensate’ seen in OPrus *er-kīnint* ‘freed from the devil’, Grk *tínō* ‘make someone pay (a debt, ransom, fine)’, Lyc *tī-* ‘pay, requite’, Av *kāy-* ‘pay, compensate’, Skt *cáyati* ‘pay, compensate’ (compare another derivative from this verb, MĪr *cin* ‘guilt, crime, payment due’) and **serk-* which is a semantic extension of ‘make a circle, complete’, perhaps in the sense of restoring the integrity of the system (e.g. Lat *sarciō* ‘make restitution; make whole [i.e. repair]’, Hit *sarnikzi* ‘makes restitution’, Toch B *serke* ‘circle’; see Section 13.2).

From the North-West is **dh₁gh-* ‘debt’ (e.g. OIr *dligid* ‘is entitled to, is owed’, Goth *dulgs* ‘debt’, OCS *dlǫgŭ* ‘debt’). The West Central region supplies **h_aeig^whes-* ‘shame’ (e.g. Goth *aiwiski* ‘shame’, Grk *aîskhos* ‘shame’). Greek-Indic cognates include **h_aēgos* ‘shame’ (Grk *ágos* ‘guilt, pollution’, Skt *āgas* ‘guilt, sin’) and **h_aemh₃-* ‘lays hold, grasps; swears’ (Grk *ómnūmi* ‘swear’, Skt *āmīti* ‘lays hold of, grasps; swears’); the meaning ‘swears’ may be a late development in the groups involved and reflects the custom of grasping some sacred object while one makes an oath (cf. the practice of swearing with one’s hand on the Bible in a contemporary court).

17.5 Strife and Warfare

The Indo-Europeans are often stereotyped as warriors, and it must be admitted that they did possess a rich vocabulary relating to strife and conflict (Table 17.5)

Table 17.5. *Strife and warfare*

<i>*h₃enh₂-</i>	‘contend, quarrel’	Grk <i>ónomai</i>
<i>*mel-</i>	‘argue, contend’	Grk <i>mōlélō</i>
<i>*reus-</i>	‘± contend with, be angry at’	Skt <i>rōṣati</i>
<i>*h₄erg^w-</i>	‘argue, assert’	Lat <i>arguō</i>
<i>*peh₁(i)-</i>	‘harm’	Lat <i>patior</i> , Grk <i>pêma</i> , Skt <i>pīyati</i>
<i>*dhebh-</i>	‘harm’	Skt <i>dabhnōti</i>
<i>*mel-</i>	‘harm’	
<i>*dhwerh_x-</i>	‘harm’	Skt <i>dhvārati</i>
<i>*keh_au-</i>	‘strike, hew’	NE <i>hew</i>
<i>*k̑er-</i>	‘decay’	Lat <i>cariēs</i> , Grk <i>keraiḗzō</i> , Skt <i>śīryate</i>
<i>*h_aei-</i>	‘assail, afflict’	Skt <i>énas-</i>
<i>*g^when-</i>	‘strike’	Lat <i>dēfendō</i> , Grk <i>theinō</i> , Skt <i>hánti</i>
<i>*wen-</i>	‘strike, wound’	NE <i>wound</i>
<i>*bher-</i>	‘strike (through), split’	Lat <i>feriō</i> , NE <i>bore</i> , Grk <i>pharóō</i> , Skt <i>bhṛṇāti</i>
<i>*wedh-</i>	‘push, strike’	Grk <i>éthei</i> , Skt <i>vadh-</i>
<i>*(s)peud-</i>	‘push, repulse’	Lat <i>pudet</i> , Grk <i>speúdō</i>
<i>*per-</i>	‘strike’	Skt <i>pṛt-</i>
<i>*kreu(-s)-</i>	‘strike’	NE <i>rue</i> , Grk <i>krouō</i>
<i>*pyek-</i>	‘strike’	NE <i>fight</i>
<i>*temh_x-</i>	‘be struck, be exhausted’	Lat <i>tēmētum</i> , Skt <i>támyati</i>
<i>*bheih_a-</i>	‘strike’	Lat <i>perfinō</i>
<i>*h_aeġ-</i>	‘fight’	Grk <i>agón</i> , Skt <i>āji-</i>
<i>*yēudh-</i>	‘moved, stirred up; fight’	Lat <i>iubeō</i> , Grk <i>husmínē</i> , Skt <i>yúdhyati</i>
<i>*dhg^whei-</i>	‘destroy’	Grk <i>phthinō</i> , Skt <i>kṣināti</i>
<i>*h₃elh₁-</i>	‘destroy’	Lat <i>ab-oleō</i> , Grk <i>óllūmi</i>
<i>*h₂erk-</i>	‘rend, destroy’	
<i>*h₂erh_x-</i>	‘destroy’	
<i>*bhreh_xi-</i>	‘destroy, cut to pieces’	Lat <i>friō</i> , Skt <i>bhrīṇānti</i>
<i>*seġh-</i>	‘hold fast, conquer’	Grk <i>ékhō</i> , Skt <i>sáhas-</i>
<i>*g^wyeh_a-</i>	‘physical power; overcome’	Grk <i>bīā</i> , Skt <i>jyā</i>
<i>*h_aeuges-</i>	‘strength’	Lat <i>augustus</i> , Skt <i>ójas-</i>
<i>*weih_xs</i>	‘vital force’	Lat <i>vīs</i>
<i>*h_alek-</i>	‘defend, protect’	Grk <i>aléksō</i> , Skt <i>rákṣati</i>
<i>*ser-</i>	‘protect’	Lat <i>servō</i>
<i>*gheuġh-</i>	‘protect, hide’	Skt <i>gūhati</i>
<i>*k̑eudh-</i>	‘hide’	NE <i>hide</i> , Grk <i>keúthō</i>
<i>*dhers-</i>	‘brave’	NE <i>dare</i> , Grk <i>thérsos</i> , Skt <i>dhṛṣṇóti</i>
<i>*leh₂wós</i>	‘people (under arms)’	Grk <i>lā(w)ós</i>
<i>*koryos</i>	‘people (under arms)’	Grk <i>koiranos</i>

although many of the verbal roots listed below may also have been associated with non-aggressive physical acts (see Section 22.3).

The vocabulary of the quarrel includes at least four verbs. A Celtic-Greek-Anatolian isogloss secures **h₃enh₂-* which takes on the meaning of ‘sue’ in Hit *hann(a)-* ‘contend against, contest, take legal action [against], sue’ and Grk *ónomai* ‘impugn, quarrel with’ but OIr *on* ‘shame, disgrace, dishonour’. There are also legal aspects to some of the German and Greek cognates derived from **mel-* while the Tocharian means ‘argue, contest’ (ON *māl* ‘speech, legal dispute’, Grk *mōlēō* ‘contend, bring an action in a suit’, Toch B *māl-* ‘argue, contest’). The verb **reus-* indicates the notion of anger or rage in its Germanic and Indic forms (e.g. MHG *rūn* ‘make a noise, uproar; bluster, rave, rage’, Skt *roṣ-* ‘displeases, takes offence at’, Toch B *räs-* ‘criticize, accuse, object to’) while the meanings indicated in Lat *arguō* ‘assert, prove, accuse’ and Hit *arkuwai-* ‘plead, argue, make excuses’) suggest that we reconstruct ‘argue, assert’ for **h₄erg^w-*.

Verbs indicating ‘harm’ are several. Although the Lat *patior* is not entirely secure here (it may be **ph₁-t-*, but it need not), there is still enough evidence to postulate **peh₁(i)-* ‘harm’ (e.g. Goth *fijan* ‘hate’, Grk *pēma* ‘suffering, misfortune’, Skt *pīyati* ‘blames, reviles’). The precise underlying semantics of **dhebh-* are somewhat obscure as meanings range from ‘hit’ (Baltic, e.g. Lith *dobiū* ‘beat, hit, kill’), ‘harm’ [in general] (Indic, e.g. Skt *dabhnóti* ‘hurts, injures; deceives; abandons’), ‘belittle’ (Anatolian, e.g. Hit *tepnu-*), and ‘deceives’ (Av *dab-*). A rare Celtic-Tocharian isogloss supports **mel-* (OIr *millid* ‘harms’, Toch B *māl-* ‘wound, damage’) which is perhaps related to the verb **melh₂-* ‘grind’, while **dhwer-* ‘pierce’ may underlie **dhwerh_x-* ‘harm’ which does involve physical damage (e.g. Hit *duwarnai-* ‘break, shatter’, Skt *dhvárati* ‘bends, cause to fall, hurts’). Although **ker-* carries an intransitive meaning ‘decay’ (e.g. OIr *ara-chrin* ‘decays’, Lat *cariēs* ‘decay’, Skt *śīryate* ‘decays’), it also furnishes transitive verbs ‘harm, injure’ (e.g. Alb *ther* ‘slaughter, stab, goad’, Grk *keráizō* ‘devastate, kill’, Av *a-sarəta-* ‘unbroken’). A possible Anatolian-Indo-Iranian isogloss underlies **haēi-* ‘assail’ (e.g. Hit *inan-* ‘illness’, Av *aēnah-* ‘violence, damage’, Skt *éna-* ‘sin, guilt’; also perhaps dialectal Grk *zētrós* ‘executioner’, and Skt *yātár-* ‘avenger’ if from a derivative **h_{aY}-eh_a-*).

The verbal act of striking is very well represented although the semantic differences among the various terms are unclear. The best-attested root is **g^when-* which is found in eleven different groups (OIr *gonaid* ‘wounds, strikes’, Lat *dēfendō* ‘protect’, ON *gunnr* ‘combat’, Lith *genù* ‘drive cattle; hunt’, Rus *gon* ‘a drive, a hunt’, Grk *theínō* ‘strike’, *phónos* ‘murder’, Arm *ganem* ‘strike’, Hit *kuēnzi* ‘strikes’, Av *jainti* ‘strikes, Skt *hánti* ‘strikes’, Toch B *käsk-* ‘scatter [violently]’); this is the predominant verb used in the ‘hero slays a serpent’ motif which plays an important role in Indo-European mythology (see Section 25.5).

The root **wen-* means ‘wound’ in general but the semantics of NWels *gweint* ‘bored through’ and Hit *wen-* ‘copulate with’ suggest a piercing motion (cf. also NE *wound*, Arm *vandem* ‘destroy’). An action involving a boring motion can also be seen in **bher-* (Ml̥r *bern* ‘gap, chasm’, Lat *feriō* ‘strike, pound’, NE *bore*, Lith *bar(i)ù* ‘revile, abuse’, Rus *borjú* ‘subdue, throw down’, Grk *pharōō* ‘plough’, Arm *brem* ‘dig up, hollow out, bore’, NPers *burrad* ‘cuts’, Skt *bṛṇāti* ‘wounds’). The root **keh_au-* is associated with both striking down and forging (e.g. NE *hew*, Lith *káuja* ‘strikes, forges’, OCS *kovq* ‘forge’, Toch B *kau-* ‘strike down, kill, destroy’). Although the root **wedh-* ‘push, strike’ may indicate a meaning ‘press’ in some of its cognate sets, it also carries the connotation of strike (with a weapon or tool) in many others: Celtic (OIr *fāiscid* ‘presses’ but *fodb* ‘weapon’), Baltic (e.g. Lith *vedegà* ‘a kind of axe’), Grk *éthei* ‘destroys’, Anatolian (e.g. Hit *wezz-* ‘strike, urge’), Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *vadh-* ‘strikes, pushes, slays’), Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *wāt-* ‘fight’). The derivative **wedhris* ‘castrated’ (Grk *ethrís*, Skt *vádhri-*) certainly suggests a striking blow. Another word for ‘push’ or something similar (the semantic range of the cognates is wide) is indicated by **(s)peud-* which underlies Lat *pudet* ‘shames’ and *repudium* ‘casting off; divorce’, Baltic (Lith *spáudiu* ‘press, squeeze’), Alb *punë* ‘work’, Grk *speúdō* ‘urge on, hasten’, Arm *p’oyt* ‘zeal’, and NPers *poy* ‘haste, speed’.

Beating and battle are concepts associated with **per-* (e.g. Lith *periù* ‘beat with brushwood, flog’, Rus *pru* ‘press, oppress’, Alb *pres* ‘cut down, cut off, split’, Arm *hari* ‘struck’, Av *pərət-* ‘battle, strife’, Skt *pṛt-* ‘battle, strife’). With or without the *s*-extension, the root **kreu-(s)-* indicates ‘strike’ (e.g. NE *rue*, Grk *kroainō* ‘stamp, strike with the hoof [of a horse]’, Toch AB *kärn-* ‘strike, afflict’; ON *hrosti* ‘mashed malt’, Lith *krušù* ‘smash, crash; grind’, OCS *sukrušiti* ‘shatter’, Grk *kroúō* ‘strike [together], strike a stringed instrument with a plectrum, knock [at the door]’). Germanic develops the idea of ‘fight’ (e.g. NE *fight*) from **pyek-* which otherwise means ‘strike’ (e.g. Alb *për-pjek* ‘strike’, Toch B *pyāk-* ‘strike [downward], batter, beat [of a drum], penetrate [as the result of a downward blow]’). Only Slavic exhibits the active meaning ‘torture’ for **temh_x-* (OCS *tomiti* ‘torture, harass, tire’); the other cognates indicate the state of being struck down (by disease, drink, exhaustion) (e.g. Ml̥r *tām* ‘sickness, death’, Lat *tēmētum* ‘any intoxicating drink’, NHG *damisch* ‘foolish, silly’, Skt *tāmyati* ‘gasps for breath, is faint, stunned, exhausted’). The root **bheih_a-* uniformly supplies meanings of ‘strike’ (e.g. OIr *benaid* ‘strikes’, Lat *perfinō* ‘break through, shatter’, OCS *bijq* ‘strike’, Av *byente* ‘they struggle, strike’). The verb to ‘fight’ is also indicated through the use of **h_aeg-* ‘drive’ which was already extended in Proto-Indo-European times to mean ‘combative activity’ (e.g. Grk *agōn* ‘athletic contest’, Skt *ājman-* ‘career, passage, battle’, ājī- ‘race, fight’, OIr *tāin* [*< *to-ag-no-*] ‘raid’). A meaning of ‘fight’ survives in

Celtic, Greek, and Indo-Iranian to reconstruct **yeudh-* (e.g. Lat *iubeō* ‘order, command’, Lith *judù* ‘move, stir’, Grk *hustmînē* ‘battle’, Av *yūīdyeyti* ‘fights’, Skt *yūdhyati* ‘fights’, Toch A *yutk-* ‘be anxious’).

Increasing the effect of the violence, we can move to ‘destroy’ which includes **dhg^whei-* with a secure Greek-Indo-Iranian correspondence (Grk *phthínō* ‘destroy’, Av *dəjīt.arəta-* ‘destroying Arta’, Skt *kṣināti* ‘destroys’) and less secure cognates from Celtic (OIr *tinaid* ‘vanishes’) and Italic (Lat *situs* ‘abandonment’). Along with Latin and Greek we can also include Anatolian to support the reconstruction of **h₃elh₁-* ‘destroy’ (e.g. Lat *ab-oleō* ‘destroys’, Grk *óllāmi* ‘destroy’, Hit *hullā(i)-* ‘combat, fight’). Hittite and other correspondences secure both **h₂erk-* (e.g. OIr *oirgid* ‘slays’, Arm *harkanem* ‘split, fell’, Hit *harkzi* ‘is destroyed’) and **h₂erh_x-* (e.g. Lith *irti* ‘dissolve, go asunder’, OCS *oriti* ‘destroy’, Hit *harra-* ‘destroy’) to this semantic set. More questionable is **bhreh_xi-* (e.g. Lat *friō* ‘tear apart’, Rus *britī* ‘shave’, Skt *bhrṇānti* ‘injure, hurt’) with a doubtful Celtic cognate (OIr *ro-bria* [subj.] ‘may spoil, destroy’). To conquer one’s enemy is indicated by **segh-* and its derivatives which mean ‘conquer’, ‘victory’ (e.g. OIr *seg* ‘strong’, NHG *Sieg* ‘victory’, Grk *ekhurós* ‘firm, strong’, Hit *sakkuriya-* ‘overcome’, Skt *sāhas-* ‘victory’, *sāhuri-* ‘victorious’), and ‘hold fast’ (it supplies the basic Greek verb *ékhō* ‘hold’). The word was also a popular element in personal names among the Celts (e.g. Gaulish *Sego-marus*) and Germans (ON *Sigurðr*). Probably originally a nominal root, **g^wyeh_a-* which means ‘physical force’ in both Greek and Indic can also mean ‘overcome’ (e.g. ON *kveita* ‘make an end to, kill’, Grk *bíā* ‘physical force, violence’, Skt *jyā* ‘force, violence’, *jināti* ‘overpowers, suppresses’). Other words indicating ‘physical strength’ include **h_aeuges-* (e.g. Lat *augustus* ‘sacred’, Av *aojah-* ‘strength’, Skt *ójas-* ‘strength’), which has generally been linked to the type of strength required of a warrior. The word **weih_xs* ‘strength’ (e.g. Lat *vīs*, Grk *ís* both ‘strength’) seems to be a ‘vital force’ and has been linked with one of the words for ‘man’, **wih_xrós* (see Section 12.1).

There are several words for ‘protect’ or ‘defend’. A verbal root **h_alek-* is attested in Germanic (OE *ealgian* ‘protect’), Grk *aléksō* ‘defend’, Arm *aracel* ‘tend’, and Skt *rákṣati* ‘protect’; in Germanic and Baltic this root was extended to include temples and sacred groves, e.g. OE *ealh* ‘temple’, Lith *alkas* ‘sacred grove’. Three groups attest a root **ser-* ‘protect’ (Lat *servō* ‘guard’, Lydian *sarēta* ‘protector’, and Av *haraiti* ‘defends’). A root **gheugh-* ‘protect, hide’ is attested in Baltic (Lith *gūžti* ‘cover with something warm’) and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Av *gūzra-* ‘hidden, secret’, Skt *gūhati* ‘conceals’). Another root, **kēudh-* ‘hide’, appears in Germanic (e.g. NE *hide*), Grk *keúthō* ‘hide’, and Arm *suzanem* ‘hide’ and then, after metathesis into **dheuk-*, in Germanic (e.g. for Tolkien fans OE *dēagol* ‘secret, hidden’) and Tocharian (Toch B *tuk-* ‘be hidden’). And the quality associated with warriors is suggested by a PIE

**dhers-* ‘brave’ with cognates in Germanic (e.g. NE *dare*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *dresù* ‘dare’), Grk *thérsos* ‘bravery’, and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *dhṛṣṇóti* ‘is bold, dares’).

A Proto-Indo-European word for ‘army’ remains illusive with the best candidate being **leh₂wós* from a root **leh₂-* ‘military action’. It is attested in Grk *lā(w)ós* ‘people’, [pl.] ‘army’, Doric Grk *lāgétās* ‘leader of the people’, and Phryg *lawagtei* ‘military leader’ in terms of a military leader or his unit; only Hit *lahha-* ‘campaign’ increases the number of cognates but the Hittite word does not actually indicate a military unit, but rather military action. A second and similar word **koros* appears as OPers *kāra-* ‘people, army’ and Lith *kāras* ‘war’ and in derived form, **koryos* ‘army, war-band, unit of warriors’, in Mİr *cuire* ‘troop, host’, OE *here* ‘army’, Lith *kārias* ‘army’, Grk *koíranos* ‘army leader’ (see Section 17.1).

The North-West region yields evidence of **katu-* ‘fight’ (e.g. Oİr *cath* ‘battle’, OHG *hadu-* ‘fight’, OCS *katora* ‘fight’; also widely employed in Celtic [e.g. Gaul *Catu-rīx*] and Germanic [e.g. OHG *Hadubrant*] personal names); **weik-* ‘fight’ (e.g. Oİr *fichid* ‘fights’, Lat *vincō* ‘conquer’, OE *gewegan* ‘fight’, Lith *apveikiù* ‘defeat’, Rus *vek* ‘force’); the noun **nant-* ‘combat, fight’ (Oİr *nēit* ‘battle, combat’, ON *nenna* ‘strive’); **bheud-* ‘strike, beat’ (e.g. Oİr *bibdu* ‘guilty; enemy’, Lat *fūstis* ‘cane, cudgel’, NE *beat*); **bhlag-* ‘strike’ (Lat *flagrum* ‘whip’, ON *blekkja* ‘strike’, Lith *blaškaũ* ‘throw, fling’); **slak-* ‘strike’ (e.g. Mİr *slacc* ‘sword’, NE *slay*), and the participle from **kap-* ‘seize’, **kaptos* ‘captive’ (e.g. Lat *captus* ‘captive’, NE *haft*); **bhergh-* ‘keep, protect’ in Germanic (e.g. OE *beorgan* ‘keep’), Baltic (Lith *birginti* ‘be parsimonious’) and Slavic OCS *brěšti* ‘care for’; and possibly **wreg-* ‘press, oppress’ if Lat *urgeō* ‘press, oppress’ is indeed cognate with a Germanic series (e.g. ON *reka* ‘avenge, punish’, OE *wrecan* ‘avenge, punish’ > NE *wreak*). The West Central area shows **sket(h)-* ‘injure, harm’ (e.g. Oİr *scīth* ‘tired’, OE *skaðian* ‘injure’ [NE *scathe* is related but a Norse loanword], Grk *askēthēs* ‘uninjured’), and to add to the number of words for ‘strike’ we have **pleh_ak/g-* ‘strike, strike one’s breasts’ (e.g. in various forms seen as Lat *plectō* ‘strike, punish’ and *plangō* ‘strike, strike one’s breast in lamentations, bewail’, OE *flōcan* ‘strike, clap’, Lith *plàkti* ‘strike’, OCS *plakati se* ‘weep, be sorrowful’, Grk *plássō* ‘strike’); **g^wel-* ‘strike, stab’ (e.g. NWels *ballu* ‘die’, NE *kill* and *quell*, OPrus *gallan* ‘death’, Lith *gėlti* ‘sting’, ‘ache’, Arm *kelem* ‘torture’), a word that also provides the base for an ‘insect’s stinger’, i.e. **g^welōn* (Lith *geluō* ‘insect’s stinger’, dialectal Grk *dēllithes* [pl.] ‘wasps’); another verb **kelh₁-* ‘strike’ (e.g. Lat *calamitās* ‘loss, injury, damage, misfortune’ [> by borrowing NE *calamity*], Lith *kalì* ‘strike, forge’, OCS *koljǫ* ‘stab, slaughter’, Grk *keleós* ‘green woodpecker’); **bhlih_xg-* ‘strike’ (e.g. Lat *fligō* ‘strike’, Latv *blaižīt* ‘crush, strike’, Grk *phlībō* ‘press’), and a Serbo-Croatian-Armenian isogloss **deph_x-* ‘strike’ (SC *depiti* ‘strike’, Arm *top'em* ‘strike’. Baltic and Greek provide **yeh₁g^weh_a-* ‘power, youthful vigour’

(e.g. Lith *jegà* ‘strength, power’, Grk *hēbē* ‘youth, vigour, puberty’). The Graeco-Aryan isoglosses comprise **tĕken-* ‘strike’ (Grk *kteínō* ‘kill’, Skt *kṣaṇóti* ‘hurts, injures, wounds’) and **dusmenēs* ‘hostile’, literally ‘bad-thought’ (Grk *dusmenēs* ‘hostile’, Av *dušmanah-* ‘hostile’, Skt *durmanās* ‘sad’).

17.6 Occupations

The creation of agent nouns in the different Indo-European languages is so productive that there are few words for occupations that can be attributed to Proto-Indo-European with any degree of certainty. The lack of reconstructable occupational terms may also suggest that Proto-Indo-European society was not one with much occupational specialization.

A word **teĕs-(t)or/n-* can be reconstructed from Italic, Greek, and Indo-Iranian; the meanings range from ‘weaver’ (Lat *textor*) to ‘carpenter’ (Grk *téktōn*, Skt *tákṣan-*) to ‘creator’ (Av *tašan-*). It derives from the verbal root **teĕs-* ‘fabricate’, and the semantic divergence may be due either to the fact that the verbal root itself is ambiguous or the fact that the craft of the carpenter also included the construction of wattled (‘woven’) walls. The herdsman, **wéstor-*, is reconstructed from Hit *westara-* ‘herdsman’ and Av *vāstar-* ‘herdsman’ and derives from the verbal root **wes-* ‘graze’. The verb **yeudh-* ‘fight’ underlies **yudhmós* ‘fighter’ which is attested in Slavic (OCS *o-jīminŭ* ‘warrior’) and Indic (Skt *yudhmá-*).

Regionally attested occupations are from the West Central region and comprise a word for ‘craft’, **kérdos*, attested in Celtic (OIr *cerd* ‘craftsman’, NWels *cerdd* ‘song, poem; craft’) and Greek (*kérdos* ‘profit’ but in the plural it means ‘cunning arts; craft’); **dhabhros* ‘craftsman’ (Lat *faber* ‘workman, artificer, smith’, Arm *darbin* ‘smith’) from the root **dhabh-* ‘put together’ and two words for ‘herdsman’, **g^wou-k^wolos* ‘cowherd’, literally ‘one who turns/moves cows’ (e.g. MĪr *būachail* ‘cowherd’, Grk *boukólos* ‘cowherd’), and **poh₂imén-* ‘herdsman’ (Lith *piemuō* ‘herdsman’, Grk *paimén* ‘herdsman’) from **poh₂(i)-* ‘watch (cows)’.

Table 17.6. *Occupations*

<i>*teĕs-(t)or/n-</i>	‘one who fabricates’	Lat <i>textor</i> , Grk <i>téktōn</i> , Skt <i>tákṣan-</i>
<i>*wéstor-</i>	‘herdsman’	
<i>*yeudhmós</i>	‘fighter’	Skt <i>yudhmá-</i>

17.7 Proto-Indo-European Society

The degree of social complexity generally correlates with the size of the social aggregates and the nature of the economic system involved. Although there are always exceptions to the rule, hunter-gatherer societies are most often egalitarian, lacking strong positions of leadership and social ranking; moreover, they tend to be organized into relatively small social aggregates—families, bands, possibly small tribes. A presumably hunter-gathering society such as Proto-Uralic reveals little more than a word for ‘lord’ which is itself a loanword from Indo-Iranian. The Proto-Indo-Europeans with their clear evidence for an economy based on domesticated plants and animals, settled life, metallurgy, and the more advanced technology (plough, wheeled vehicles) of the so-called Secondary Products Revolution would suggest that we might find a larger semantic field for social institutions. And this, indeed, is precisely what we do find although we must always beware of attempting to reconstruct an entire social system from the residue of the lexical debris that has survived.

Proto-Indo-European seems to have had some form of social ranking with various degrees of social status. Leadership positions would include the **w(η)nákts* ‘leader, lord’, **h₃rég̑s* ‘ruler, king’, **tagós* ‘leader’, and **wik̑pots* ‘master of the clan’ and there are even verbal expressions of authority seen in **pótyetoi* ‘rules, is master’, **wal-* ‘be strong, rule’, and possibly **h₃rég̑ti* ‘rules’. The nature of leadership probably involved a sacerdotal element if we can correctly recover the etymological nuances of **h₃rég̑s*. But terms such as **tagós* ‘leader’, i.e. ‘the one who puts in order’, and **sók̑w-h₂-ōi* ‘follower, companion’ suggest at least the image of leaders in warfare as well, and this possibility is greatly enhanced by the recovery of other names for warrior sodalities i.e. **leh₂wós* ‘people (under arms)’, **h_aeǵmen-* ‘troop’, and **koryos* ‘people (under arms)’ with its own West Central designation **koryonos* ‘leader (of the *koryos*)’. To what extent the realia of these institutions can be painted in with later ethnographic evidence of war-bands from Ireland to India is not entirely clear but it is difficult to deny the existence of such institutions. Moreover, the vocabulary of strife, as we have seen, is fairly extensive (at least twenty-seven verbs) and while a number may be dismissed as purely expressions of the general application of physical force, e.g. striking an object, others such as **seǵh-* ‘hold fast, conquer’ certainly make better sense in a military context. For some time Indo-European homeland research has found itself all too often cast in the form of an insidious dichotomy: did the Indo-Europeans expand as peaceful farmers or warlike herdsman? That farmers may also be aggressive and belligerent is well known to anyone who has encountered, for example, agricultural African societies; conversely, pastoralists need not be painted in

the same terms as the Golden Horde. In any event, there does seem to be sufficient retention of the vocabulary of strife and warfare in the reconstructed lexicon to suggest at least that those who wish to portray the Proto-Indo-Europeans as some form of New Age agrarian movement are strongly contradicted by the lexical evidence.

Our recovery of legal institutions, at least on the basis of the reconstructed lexicon, is meagre. There seems to be an acceptance of a concept of **h_aértus* ‘what is fitting’, i.e. the cosmic order that must be maintained. This should be done by adhering to **dhéh₁mi-/men-* ‘what is established, law’, here generally taken (on the basis of Greek and Indo-Iranian comparative studies) to be the law that has been established (**dhéh₁-*) by the gods for humans. The other term, **yew(e)s-*, ‘law, ritual norm’, has been seen to express the notion of ritual prescriptions, the recitation of which led to the establishment (or re-establishment) of order. Punishment for violation of the law such as murder or failure to abide by an oath required some form of compensation seen in both **k^woineh_a-* and **serk-* ‘make restitution’.

The range of vocabulary concerned with exchange and wealth is reasonably extensive and supports the hypothesis that the Proto-Indo-Europeans were involved in some degree of social ranking. If we read the nuances of the terms rightly, then both **mei-* and **meit-* ‘exchange’ are terms concerned with the concept of balanced reciprocity, i.e. an exchange relationship where neither side seeks an advantage. This is the type of exchange that one might expect to operate within families, clans, or perhaps at the tribal level. The exchange might have involved material goods (**wes-no-*) but possibly also the payment of a bride-price (**k^wrei(h_a)-*). More distant exchange is suggested by **per-* ‘exchange, barter’ which may have derived from the concept of ‘transport across’ and is employed so in Homeric Greek where it designates the sale of slaves overseas. Exchange outside one’s group might lead to negative reciprocity where each side seeks a more advantageous recovery from the transaction.

There are a series of terms for lack or poverty (**deu(s)-* ‘be lacking’, **h₁eg-* ‘be in need, lack’, **menk-* ‘lack’, **das-* ‘lack’), as well as words for wealth (e.g. **h₂ó/ép(e)n-* ‘goods, wealth’, **réh₁is* ‘possessions’, **wósu* ‘goods’). These may have been acquired through a lifetime but also they may have been inherited (**lóik^wnes-*). The context of use in both Greek and Indic derivatives of **h₂elg^who/eh_a-* ‘payment, prize’ supports the notion that human chattels were a Proto-Indo-European commodity. The noun **soru* ‘booty’ also suggests wealth in the forms of captured men or livestock and this is supported by expressions built on **h_aeġ-* ‘drive’, e.g. OIr *tāin bō* ‘cattle-raid’, Lat *bovēs agere* ‘raid for cattle’, Av *gəm varətaqm az-* ‘drive off cattle as booty’, and, the widespread practice of cattle-raiding attested in the earliest Indo-European literature from Ireland to

India. This manner of gaining wealth should probably be set outside the semantic ramifications of **(s)teh₄-*, **mus-*, and **teubh-*, all ‘steal’ in a presumably culturally unsanctioned manner.

Further Reading

On the problem of ‘Aryan’ see the Thieme–Dumézil debate in Thieme (1938, 1957), Dumézil (1941, 1958); also Thurneysen (1936), Bailey (1959, 1960), Szemerényi (1977), Cohen (2002). The Indo-European ‘king’ is discussed in Gonda (1955*b*), Sihler (1977), Scharfe (1985), Strunk (1987), Watkins (1995); other aspects of social organization can be found in Benveniste (1973*a*), Buti (1987), Della Volpe (1993), Duhoux (1973), Ivanov (1960), Losada Badia (1992), Nagy (1987), Scheller (1959), Schlerath (1987), Winter (1970), Zimmer (1987). Exchange is discussed in Benveniste (1973*a*), Markey (1990), Parvulescu (1988*b*), and Ramat (1983) and law in Palmer (1956), Watkins (1970*a*, 1986*b*), Puhvel (1971), and the collected readings in Puhvel (1970). The IE war-band has been much discussed from the seminal Wikander (1938) through Crevatin (1979), McKone (1987), Weitenberg (1991), and most recently in a conference edited by Das and Meiser (2002); for PIE ‘booty’ see Watkins (1975).

18

Space and Time

18.1	Space	287	18.5	Shape	297
18.2	Position	288	18.6	Time	300
18.3	Direction	293	18.7	Proto-Indo-European	
18.4	Placement (Verbs)	295		Space and Time	303

18.1 Space

The semantic categories of space and time are so fundamental to any language that there is an impressive degree of retention of a range of words, particularly those relating to position. The general terms for space are listed in Table 18.1.

The concept of an ‘open space’ is found in **réuh_xes-* which indicates ‘open fields’ in Celtic (e.g. OIr *rōi* ‘field, open land’) and Italic (e.g. Lat *rūs* ‘country-side, open fields’) and ‘space’ in Av *ravah-*. The same root with a different extension gives us NE *room*. The underlying verb (**reuh_x-*) is preserved only in Toch AB *ru-* ‘be open’. Semantically more opaque is **ghóh₁ros* which is a ‘free space, area between, land’ in Grk *khōros* but a ‘pit, hole’ in Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *kāre*); an *e*-grade gives a Greek word for ‘widow’ (*khērā*). The verbal concept of ‘have room’ is found in **telp-* (e.g. OIr *-tella* ‘have room for something’, Lith *telpù* ‘find or have room enough; enter’, Skt *tālpa-* ‘bed’, Toch B *tālp-* ‘be emptied of, purge’). General words for a ‘place’ are built on the verbal root **steh₂-* ‘stand’, hence we have **stéh₂tis* (e.g. Lat *statiō* ‘position, station’, NE *stead*, Lith *stāčias* ‘standing’, Grk *stásis* ‘place, setting, standing, stature’, Av *stāiti-* ‘station’, Skt *sthíti-* ‘position’) and **stéh₂mōn* (e.g. Lat *stāmen* ‘warp’, NE *stem*, Lith *stomuō* ‘stature’, Grk *stēmōn* ‘warp’, Skt *sthāman-* ‘position’, Toch B *stām* ‘tree’). As we can see, the first generally does indicate a ‘place’ or ‘station’ while the range of meanings of the second word is

Table 18.1. *Space*

<i>*réuh_xes-</i>	‘open space’	Lat <i>rūs</i>
<i>*ǵhóh₁ros</i>	‘gap, empty space’	Grk <i>khōros</i>
<i>*telp-</i>	‘have room’	Skt <i>tálpa-</i>
<i>*stéh₂tis</i>	‘place’	Lat <i>statiō</i> , NE <i>stead</i> , Grk <i>stásis</i> , Skt <i>sthiti-</i>
<i>*stéh₂mōn</i>	‘what stands, stature’	Lat <i>stāmen</i> , NE <i>stem</i> , Grk <i>stēmōn</i> , Skt <i>sthāman-</i>
<i>*h₄erh₂os</i>	‘border, line, limit’	Lat <i>ōra</i>
<i>*morǵ-</i>	‘border’	Lat <i>margō</i>
<i>*térmm̥</i>	‘border’	Lat <i>termen</i> , Grk <i>térma</i> , Skt <i>tárman-</i>

much wider, e.g. ‘warp’ of a loom (Latin, Greek), ‘stem’ (Germanic), and ‘tree’ (Tocharian).

There are three words that indicate ‘border’. Hit *arha-* ‘line, boundary’ preserves PIE **h₄erh₂os* while derivatives may be found in Italic (Lat *ōra* ‘brim, edge, boundary, region’), Germanic (e.g. OE *ōra* ‘border, bank, shore’), and Baltic (e.g. Latv *āra* ‘border, boundary; country; limit’). Another word, **morǵ-*, indicated a ‘border’ or ‘district’ from Celtic to Avestan (e.g. OIr *mruig* ‘district’, Lat *margō* ‘edge’ [> by borrowing NE *margin*], OE *mearc* ‘border, district’ [NE *marches* is from Old French, in turn from Germanic], Av *marəza-* ‘border country’). The root **ter-* ‘cross over’ underlies the third word, **térmm̥* (e.g. Lat *termen* ‘border’, Grk *térma* ‘border, goal, end point’, Arm *t’arm* ‘end’, Hit *tarma-* ‘stake’, Skt *tárman-* ‘point of sacrificial post’); both Hittite and Indic provide a concrete meaning here, i.e. ‘post, stake’, a device employed to mark the limit of something.

18.2 Position

Words indicating position, with respect to both space or time, include the adpreps, i.e. adverbs and prepositions, which are both basic and well preserved in the Indo-European languages. The rather extensive list is indicated in Table 18.2.

There are four words to indicate position ‘before’ or ‘in front’. The first, **h₂enti* (e.g. Lat *ante* ‘in front of’, Lith *añt* ‘on, upon; at’, Grk *antí* ‘instead of, for’, Arm *ənd* ‘for’, Hit *anti* ‘facing, frontally; opposite, against’, *hanza* ‘in front of’, Skt *ánti* ‘opposite’), is in fact a frozen case form of **h₂ent* ‘face, forehead’ (cf. Lith *añtis* ‘breast(s)’, Hit *hant-* ‘forehead, front’, Toch B *ānte* ‘brow’). The other three are all derived ultimately from the preposition **per* ‘through’, here in the extended meanings ‘through, beyond, in front of’. These are **pǵh_aéh₁*

Table 18.2. *Position*

<i>*h₂enti</i>	‘in front’	Lat <i>ante</i> , Grk <i>antí</i> , Skt <i>ánti</i>
<i>*p_ṛh_aé_h₁</i>	‘in front of; before (of time)’	NE <i>fore</i> , Grk <i>pará</i> , Skt <i>purā</i>
<i>*p_ṛh_aé_i</i>	‘in front of; before (of time)’	Lat <i>prae</i> , Skt <i>paré</i>
<i>*pro</i>	‘forward, ahead, away’	Lat <i>prō</i> , Grk <i>pró</i> , Skt <i>prá-</i>
<i>*terh₂-</i>	‘across, through, above’	Lat <i>trāns</i> , NE <i>through</i> , Skt <i>tiráś</i>
<i>*pro_ti</i>	‘against, up to’	Grk <i>protí</i> , Skt <i>práti</i>
<i>*h₁entér</i>	‘into, between’	Lat <i>inter</i> , Skt <i>antár</i>
<i>*(s)me</i>	‘middle, among’	Grk <i>metá</i> , Skt <i>smat</i>
<i>*per</i>	‘over, through, about’	Lat <i>per</i>
<i>*h₁en(i)</i>	‘in, into’	Lat <i>in</i> , NE <i>in</i> , Grk <i>en</i>
<i>*h₁én-do</i>	‘into’	Lat <i>endo</i> , Grk <i>éndon</i>
<i>*h_aed</i>	‘at, to’	Lat <i>ad</i> , NE <i>at</i>
<i>*do ~ *de</i>	‘to, toward’	Lat <i>dō-nec</i> , NE <i>to</i> , Grk <i>-de</i>
<i>*ko(m)</i>	‘with, side by side’	Lat <i>cum</i> , Skt <i>kám</i>
<i>*sek^wo-</i>	‘following’	Lat <i>secus</i> , Skt <i>sácā</i>
<i>*som-</i>	‘(together) with’	Skt <i>sam-</i>
<i>*h₁énh₁u</i>	‘without’	NHG <i>ohne</i> , Grk <i>áneu</i>
<i>*b(h)eġh</i>	‘without’	Skt <i>bahí-</i>
<i>*sen-i-/u-</i>	‘apart’	Lat <i>sine</i> , Skt <i>sanitúr</i>
<i>*wi-</i>	‘apart, in two, asunder’	Lat <i>vitium</i> , Skt <i>vi-</i>
<i>*h₄eu</i>	‘away (from)’	Lat <i>au-ferō</i> , Skt <i>áva</i>
<i>*h₄et</i>	‘away, beyond’	Lat <i>at</i> , Grk <i>atár</i> , Skt <i>átas</i>
<i>*h₄épo</i>	‘back, behind’	Lat <i>ab</i> , Grk <i>apó</i> , Skt <i>ápa</i>
<i>*h₄ep-ér-</i>	‘back, behind’	Skt <i>ápara-</i>
<i>*post_i</i>	‘after’	Lat <i>post(e)</i>
<i>*po-sk^wo-</i>	‘behind’	Skt <i>páścāt</i>
<i>*witeros</i>	‘far’	NE <i>withershins</i> , Skt <i>vitarám</i>
<i>*h₂entbhi-</i>	‘around, on both sides’	Lat <i>ambi-</i> , Grk <i>amphí</i> , Skt <i>abhūta-</i>
<i>*h₄upó</i>	‘up (from underneath)’	NE <i>up</i> , Grk <i>hupó</i> , Skt <i>úpa</i>
<i>*ūd</i>	‘upward, out (from under)’	NE <i>out</i> , Skt <i>ud-</i>
<i>*h_aen-h_ae</i>	‘up (onto), upwards, along’	NE <i>on</i> , Grk <i>aná</i>
<i>*h₁epi ~ *h₁opi</i>	‘near, on’	Lat <i>ob</i> , Grk <i>epí</i> , Skt <i>ápi</i>
<i>*(s-)h₄upér(i)</i>	‘over’	Lat <i>s-upper</i> , NE <i>over</i> , Grk <i>hupér</i> , Skt <i>upári</i>
<i>*bh_ṛġhús ~ *bh_ṛġhént-</i>	‘high’	Skt <i>bṛhánt-</i>
<i>*h₂er_{du}s</i>	‘high, lofty’	Lat <i>arduis</i>
<i>*worh₂dh_us</i>	‘upright, high’	Grk (w) <i>orthós</i> , Skt <i>ūrdh_{vá}-</i>
<i>*wers-</i>	‘peak’	Lat <i>verrūca</i> , Grk <i>hérma</i> , Skt <i>várśman-</i>
<i>*ni</i>	‘downwards’	NE <i>nether</i> , Skt <i>ní</i>

Table 18.2. (*Cont'd*)

<i>*kat-h_ae</i>	'down'	Grk <i>katá</i>
<i>*dheub-</i>	'deep'	NE <i>deep</i>
<i>*ǵdhés ~ *ǵdhero-</i>	'under, low'	NE <i>under</i> , Skt <i>ádharma-</i>
<i>*ner</i>	'under'	NE <i>north</i> , Grk <i>nérthen</i>
<i>*s-h₄upó</i>	'underneath'	Lat <i>sub</i>

(e.g. NE *fore*, Grk *pará* 'by, near, alongside of, beyond', Arm *ar* 'near, at', Av *parə* 'before', Skt *purā* 'formerly'), **prh_aéi* (e.g. Gaul *are-* 'before, by; east' ['east' is in front of anyone who orients him- or herself by the sun which appears to have been the Proto-Indo-European custom], Lat *prae* 'before', Lith *priē* 'by, at, near; in the time of', Grk *parai* 'before', Skt *paré* 'thereupon') and **pro* (e.g. Lat *prō ~ pro* 'before, in front of, before', OHG *fir-* 'before', OPrus *pra* 'through', Grk *pró* 'in front of; before [of time]', Hit *parā* 'forward, further', Av *frā* 'in front of', Skt *prá-* 'before'). The equivalent of 'across' is seen in **terh₂-* which includes among its NE forms both *through* and *thorough* (cf. also OIr *tar* 'across, above', Lat *trāns* 'across', Av *tarō* 'over, to', Skt *tirás* 'over, across, apart'). 'Against' is **proti* which is formed from **pro* + an adverbial suffix **ti* (e.g. Latv *pretī* 'against', OCS *protivŭ* 'towards', Grk *protí* 'at, in front of, looking towards', Skt *práti* 'against'). The word for 'between', **h₁entér* (e.g. OIr *eter* 'into, between', Lat *inter* 'between', OHG *untar(i)* 'between', OCS *qtrī* 'inside', Alb *ndër* 'between, among', Av *antarə* 'within, between', Skt *antár* 'between'), is derived from **h₁en* 'in'. The word for 'middle' was **(s)me(-th_a)* (e.g. OE *mid* 'with', Alb *me* 'with', Grk *metá* 'with, among', Av *mat* '(together) with', Skt *smat* 'with') but was extended in a series of widespread derivatives, e.g. **medhyos* underlies both Lat *medius* and NE *mid* (cf. also MIr *mide* 'middle', OPrus *median* 'forest' [< 'that which lies between (settlements)'], Rus *mežá* 'border', Alb *mjesditë* 'noon', Grk *mésos* 'middle', Arm *mēj* 'middle', Av *maiðya-* 'middle', Skt *mádhya-* 'middle').

The preposition 'in' is indicated by **h₁en(i)* and **h₁én-do* (e.g. OIr *in* 'in(to)', Lat *in* 'in(to)', NE *in*, Lith *iñ* 'in', Alb *inj* 'up to', Grk *en* 'in', Arm *i* 'in', ToCh AB *y(n)-* 'in, among'; and Lat *endo* 'in', Alb *ndë* 'in', Grk *éndon* 'within', Hit *anda(n)* 'in'). The widespread **h₄ed* meant 'to' (e.g. Irish *ad-* 'to', Lat *ad* 'to, at', NE *at*, Phryg *ad-* 'to') as did **do* or **de* (e.g. OIr *do*, Lat *dō-nec* 'up to', NE *to*, Lith *da* 'up to', OCS *do* 'up to', Grk *-de* 'toward', Av *-da* 'to'). The concept of accompaniment is indicated by three words meaning 'with'. The first, **ko(m)* (e.g. OIr *com-* 'with', Lat *cum* 'with', OCS *kŭ* 'toward', Skt *kám* 'toward'), is widespread and old while **sek^wo-* indicates the 'following' (e.g. OIr *sech* 'past, beyond', Lat *secus* 'after, beside, otherwise', Latv *secen* 'by,

along', Av *hačā* 'from, out of; in accordance with', Skt *sacā* 'together with', *sakām* 'with') and derives from the verbal root **sek^w*- 'follow'. The third, **som-* (e.g. OHG *samn* 'together', Lith *sam-* 'with', OCS *so-* 'with', Av *ha(m)-* 'together', Skt *sam-* 'with'), is an *o*-grade derivative of **sem-* 'one'. There are two words to indicate 'without': **h₁énh₁u* and **b(h)eǵh* (e.g. NHG *ohne* 'without', Grk *áneu* 'without', Oss *ænae* 'without'; and Lith *bè* 'without; but', OCS *bez* 'without', Skt *bahí-* 'outside'). Separation is also indicated by two words meaning 'apart', i.e. **sen-i-/u-* (e.g. OIr *sain* 'especially', Lat *sine* 'without', Hit *sanizzis* 'excellent', Av *hanarə* 'except, without', Skt *sanitúr* 'apart from', Toch B *snai* 'without'; a derived form gives us NE *sunder*) and **wi-* (e.g. Av *vi-* 'apart, off', Skt *vi-* 'asunder', and derivatives in Lat *vitium* 'defect' [> by borrowing NE *vice*], NHG *wider*).

Those words indicating distance or 'back' are relatively numerous. The word 'away' was conveyed by **h₄eu* (e.g. OIr *ō* 'from', Lat *au-ferō* 'carry away', Lith *au-* 'away', OCS *u-* 'away', Hit *awan* 'away', *u-* 'hither', Av *ava* 'down, off', Skt *áva* 'from') and **h₄et* (e.g. OIr *aith-* 'back, out of', Lat *at* 'but', Goth *aþ-þan* 'however', Lith *ato-* 'back, away', OCS *ot-* 'away, out', Grk *atár* 'however', Skt *átas* 'from there', Toch B *ate* 'away'). The terms 'back' and 'behind' have at least four reconstructable words. The first **h₄épo* (e.g. Lat *ab* 'from', Goth *af* 'from, since', Grk *apó* 'from', Hit *āppa* 'behind', Av *apa* 'away from', Skt *ápa* 'away, forth') also has a shortened version **(h₄)po* which is used as a verbal prefix in Baltic (e.g. Lith *pa-*) and Slavic (e.g. OCS *pa-*), Av (*pa-*), and can also be seen in Lat *po-situs* 'situated', and perhaps Alb *pa* 'without'. Another derived form is **h₄ep-ér-* (e.g. Goth *afar* 'after', Av *apara-* 'behind, following, other', Skt *ápara-* 'later') which, with a different extension, gives us NE *after*. The third word, **posti* (e.g. Lat *post(e)* 'after', Arm *əst* 'after', Toch B *postām* 'after'), is derived from **pos* (e.g. Lat *posterus* 'behind', Lith *pàs* 'at, with', *pāstaras* 'last, furthest behind', OCS *po* 'after', dialectal Grk *pós* 'near, by', and perhaps Alb *pa* 'without') which may itself derive (as the genitive form) from either **h₁ep-* 'near' or **h₄ep-* 'back'. The final form (**po-sk^wo-*, cf. Lith *paskuē* 'behind; after that, later on', Alb *pas* 'after', Av *paskāt* ~ *pasča* 'behind', Skt *pásčāt* ~ *paścā* 'behind, westerly' [because the west is to one's back when oriented to the rising sun]) is a compound of **po* 'back' and **sek^w*- 'follow'. The original meaning of **witeros* (e.g. NE *withershins*, Av *vītara-* 'a further one', Skt *vitarám* 'far away') is not entirely clear but may have been 'far' (as in Indo-Iranian, although it is 'against' in Germanic); it is a compound of **wi-* 'apart, in two' and **-tero-*, the comparative suffix.

A derivative of **h₂ent-* 'face' provides a word for 'around, on both sides'; i.e. **h₂(e)nt-bh-i* (e.g. OIr *imm-* ~ *imb-* 'about, mutually', Lat *ambi-* 'on each side of, around, about', OHG *umbi* 'about', Alb *mbi* 'over', Grk *amphí* 'about, near', Arm *amb-olj* 'complete', Av *aiwitō* 'on both sides', Skt *abhūta-* 'on both sides').

A number of words can be reconstructed to mean 'up'. The oldest is perhaps **h₄upó* (e.g. OWels *gwo-* [preverb], OE *ufe-* 'on', and with doubled consonant, OE *upp(e)* 'up' [> NE *up*], Grk *hupó* '(to) under, by, towards', Av *upa* 'towards', Skt *úpa* 'upwards, towards') which has an underlying verbal root **h₄up-* that means 'go up, rise' (e.g. Hit *ūpzi* '[the sun] rises', Alb *hypem* 'go up'). A good example of how prepositions may alter their meaning in various languages is seen in the fact that the other two words for Proto-Indo-European 'up', **ūd* and **h_a en-h_{ae}*, yield the NE prepositions 'out' and 'on' respectively (cf. also dialectal Grk *hu-* 'on', Skt *ud-* 'out'; Grk *aná* 'up on, up along, over, through, among', Av *ana* 'onto'). The widespread (ten groups) **h₁epi* indicates a meaning of 'near' or 'on' (e.g. OIr *iar* 'after', Lat *ob* 'towards', Lith *ap-* 'about', OCS *ob* 'on', Grk *epi* 'on, upon, on top of', *ópisthen* 'behind', Arm *ev* 'and, also', Av *aipi* 'upon', Skt *ápi* 'also, in addition'). Also widespread are descendants of **(s)-h₄upér(i)* 'over' (e.g. OIr *for-* 'over', Lat *super* 'over', NE *over*, Grk *hupér* 'over; beyond', Av *upairi* 'over', Skt *upári* 'over'). The adjective 'high' is indicated by **bh₁ǵhús* (Arm *barjr* 'high', Anatolian, e.g. Hit *parku-* 'high', Toch B *pärkare* 'long' [with a change to a horizontal perspective from the original vertical one]) or **bh₁ǵhént-* (Celtic, e.g. OIr *Brigit* [proper name], Germanic, e.g. ON *Borgundarholmr* 'Bornholm' [an island that rises high out of the sea], Indo-Iranian, e.g. Av *bərəzant-* 'high', Skt *bṛhánt-* 'high, great'). Among other derived forms is Lat *for(c)tis* 'strong'. A nominal form **bherǵhs* gives both NE *barrow* and *borough* (as well as NHG *Berg* 'mountain' and *Burg* 'fortress' and Av *bars* 'height'). Another adjective for 'high' is seen in **h₂erduš* (e.g. OIr *ard* 'high', Lat *arduus* 'steep, lofty; difficult', ON *qrðugr* 'steep', Hit *harduppi-* 'high'). A PIE **worh₂duš* 'upright, high' is seen in Grk (w)*orthós* 'upright, standing', Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *ūrdhvá-* 'upright; high'), and Toch A *orto* 'from above'. The word for 'peak' was **wers-* (e.g. OIr *ferr* 'better' [< **higher*], Lat *verrūca* 'varus, pimple', OE *wearr* 'sill', Lith *viršūs* 'highest point', Rus *verkh* 'peak', Grk *hérma* 'point, top', Skt *várṣman-* 'height, peak'). The Greek word for 'heaven', *ouranós*, may belong here as well if, as has been suggested, it comes from **worsm̥nó-*.

In the opposite direction we have **ni* (e.g. OIr *ne* 'down', NE *nether*, OCS *nizŭ* 'down', Arm *ni-* 'down, back, into', Skt *ní* 'down') and **kat-h_{ae}* (e.g. Grk *káta* ~ *katá* 'down; through, among; according to', Hit *katta* 'down, by, with, under', *katkattiya-* 'kneel, go down', Toch B *kätk-* 'lower'), both 'down(-wards)'. The word for 'deep', **dheub-*, is attested in Celtic (possibly, e.g. NWels *dufn* 'deep'), Germanic (e.g. NE *deep*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *dubùs* 'deep'), Slavic (e.g. OCS *dŭno* 'ground, floor' *dŭbrŭ* 'ravine, valley'), Alb *det* 'sea', and, with a radical shift in meaning to 'high', also Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *tapre*; for the semantic change we might compare NE 'high seas'). It is a much discussed word since it offers evidence for the elusive (and very rare)

Proto-Indo-European **b-*; otherwise, if the Tocharian and Albanian forms are not accepted, it has been seen as a north-west European substrate term, borrowed possibly from a non-Indo-European language. The word ‘under’ or ‘low’ is seen in **ṇdhés* (e.g. ON *und* ‘under’, Arm *ənd* ‘under’, Lyc *ēti* ‘down, below’, Skt *adhás* ‘under’, Toch B *ette* ‘downward, under’) or with the comparative suffix (i.e. ‘lower’) **ṇdhero-* (e.g. Lat *infernus* ‘lower’, NE *under*, Goth *anderas* ‘lower’. Lycian *ētre/i-* ‘lower’, Av *aḍara-* ‘the lower’, Skt *ádharma-* ‘lower’). The peculiar semantic development of **ner* ‘under’ (e.g. NE *north*, Grk *nérthen* ‘from below’, Tocharian *ñor* ‘below, beneath, under’) to Germanic ‘north’ is explained by the Indo-European system of orientation which involves facing the sun so that straight ahead is east and the left or north is ‘low’ compared with the right or south where the sun will be high. The underlying verbal meaning is preserved in Lith *neriù* ‘plunge, dive into’. We have already seen how **h₄upó* meant ‘up’ or, in its verbal form, ‘going up’; the activity suggests ‘rising from underneath’ and the meaning of the related form **s-h₄upó* is exclusively ‘underneath’ (e.g. Lat *sub* ‘underneath’, *animālia suppa* ‘animals [on all fours]’, Arm *hup* ‘near’, Hit *sup-pala-* ‘animal’, Toch B *spe* ‘near’).

Regional terms for position included from the North-West **h_aelno-* ‘beyond, yonder’ (e.g. OIr *oll* ‘ample’, Lat *uls* ‘beyond’, NE *all*, OCS *lani* ‘last year’) which is based on the same root that gives Proto-Indo-European ‘other’; **dē* ‘away (from)’ (e.g. OIr *di* ‘away’, Lat *dē* ‘away’). From the West Central region are **dis-* ‘apart, asunder’ (Lat *dis-* ‘asunder’, Goth *dis-* ‘apart’, Alb *sh-* ‘apart’, Grk *diá* ‘through, on account of’) from the numeral ‘two’; **h_aed-* ‘at, to’ which is found in the North-West and Phrygian (e.g. OIr *ad-* [preverb], Lat *ad* ‘to, at’, NE *at*, Phryg *ad-* ‘to’); **ksun* ‘with’ (Lith *sù* ‘with’, Rus *s(o)* ‘with’, Grk *ksún* ~ *sun* ‘with’); **pos* ‘immediately adjacent; behind, following’ (Lat *posterus*) which we have already seen in extended form in Proto-Indo-European; **ǵhō-* ‘behind’ (Lith *až(ù)* ‘behind’, Rus *za* ‘by, to’, Arm *z-* ‘with regard to’); **h₁eǵhs-* ‘out (of)’ (e.g. OIr *ess-* ‘out’, Lat *ex* ‘out (of)’, Latv *iz* ‘out’, OCS *iz* ‘out’, Grk *eks* ‘from, out of’). A Greek-Indo-Iranian isogloss is seen in **dh₃ǵhmós* ‘aslant’ (e.g. Grk *dokhmós* ‘slanting, oblique’, Skt *jihmá-* ‘athwart, oblique’) and an ‘easternism’, i.e. Indo-Iranian-Tocharian isogloss, is **h_aen-u* ‘up (onto), upwards, along’ (e.g. Av *anu* ‘after, corresponding to, towards’, Skt *ánu* ‘after, along, over, near’, Toch B *onışmen* ‘from above’).

18.3 Direction

There are a handful of terms in Proto-Indo-European concerned with ‘direction’, which, as we will see, plays a significant role in Indo-European conceptualization of their world. The words are listed in Table 18.3.

Table 18.3. *Direction*

<i>*deik-</i>	‘rule, canon, measure’	Grk <i>dikē</i> , Skt <i>diś-</i>
<i>*dēksinos</i>	‘right’	Lat <i>dexter</i> , Grk <i>deksiós</i> , Skt <i>dākṣina-</i>
<i>*h₃reǵtos</i>	‘right’	Lat <i>rēctus</i> , NE <i>right</i> , Grk <i>orektós</i>
<i>*laiwós</i>	‘left’	Lat <i>laevus</i> , Grk <i>laiós</i>
<i>*seuyós</i>	‘left’	Skt <i>savyá-</i>
<i>*h_aeust(e)ro-</i>	‘east’	Lat <i>auster</i> , NE <i>eastern</i>

There is no word specifically for ‘direction’ that we can reconstruct although the concept would fit broadly into the meanings one might ascribe to **deik-* which does mean ‘direction’ in Indic (e.g. Skt *diś-* ~ *diśā-*) but ‘justice’ in Grk *dikē*. An *o*-grade form gives meanings as varied as ‘plot of land’ (ON *teigr*) and ‘direction’ (e.g. OHG *zeiga* ‘directions’, Skt *deśá-* ‘direction, region’) and the base meaning of the word has been explained as ‘norm’ or ‘fixed point’ which might then develop into meaning ‘direction’, a ‘fixed area’ such as a plot of land, etc.

There are two words for ‘right’: **dēksinos* and related formations that are found in nine groups (e.g. OIr *dess*, Lat *dexter*, OHG *zeso*, Lith *dėšinas*, OCS *desnŭ*, Alb *djathtë*, Grk *deksiós*, Av *dašina-*, all ‘right’, Skt *dākṣina-* ‘right, south’) and **h₃reǵtos* which derives from **h₃reǵ-* ‘stretch out’ (e.g. OIr *recht* ‘law, authority’, Lat *rēctus* ‘right’, NE *right*, Grk *orektós* ‘stretched out’, Av *rašta-* ‘right, straight’), the same root that underlies the word for ‘king’ (cf. Section 17.1). There are also two Proto-Indo-European words (at least) for ‘left’: **laiwós* (Lat *laevus*, OCS *lěvŭ*, Grk *laiós*, all ‘left’, Toch B *laiwo* ‘lassitude’) and **seuyós* (OCS *šujŭ*, Av *haoya-*, Skt *savyá-*), neither of which has any certain root connection.

Only one cardinal direction can be reconstructed. The word for ‘east’, **h_aeust(e)ro-*, (e.g. Lat *auster* ‘south wind; south country’, NE *eastern*, Latv *austrums* ‘east’, OCS *ustrŭ* ‘summer’, Av *ušatara-* ‘east’) is a transparent derivative from **h_aeus-* ‘dawn’, i.e. the direction of the rising sun. However, the evidence is good that the corresponding cardinal direction, i.e. ‘west’, could also be denominated by reference to the sun, more particularly by reference to the evening (e.g. NE *west*) or the setting of the sun though no particular Proto-Indo-European word is reconstructable. A competing system of orientation in Proto-Indo-European was one that presumed the speaker was facing the rising sun. ‘East’ was then ‘forward’, ‘west’ was ‘behind’, etc. (cf. the discussions of **po-sek^wo-*, **ner*, and **dēksinos* above). Nevertheless, while this system itself is reconstructable, the individual manifestations of the system are all creations of the individual stocks.

We can add a regional term from the West Central languages: **skaiwós* ‘left’ (Lat *scaevus*, Grk *skaiós*), a rhyme word of **laiwós*.

18.4 Placement (Verbs)

Among the more fundamental verbs in any language are those that indicate the positioning of an object and this is no less so with respect to Indo-European. The verbal expressions of putting, standing, lying, setting, etc. are indicated in Table 18.4.

The primary verb for putting something into place is **dheh₁-* which forms a reduplicated present (in Greek, Hittite, Indo-Iranian, and Tocharian), i.e. Grk *títhēmi* ‘I set’, Hit *tittiya-* ‘establish’, Av *dadāiti* ‘puts, brings’, Skt *dádhāti* ‘puts, places, lays’, Toch B *tattam* ‘will put’, or new formations in other groups (e.g. Lat *facere*, NE *do*, Lith *dėti* ‘lay’, OCS *děti* ‘lay’, Arm *dnem* ‘put, place’, Hit *dāi* ‘puts, places’, *tēzzi* ‘says’, Toch AB *tās- ~ tās-* ‘put, lay’). To put into a standing position we have **stel-* (e.g. NE *stall*, NHG *stellen* ‘put, place’, OPrus *stallit* ‘stand’, Alb *shtjell* ‘fling, toss, hurl’, Grk *stéllō* ‘make ready; send’, Skt *sthālam* ‘eminence, tableland; dry land, earth’). To ‘set in place’ is indicated by **tāg-* with meanings as varied as ‘get married’ (Baltic, e.g. Lith *sutógti* ‘get married;

Table 18.4. *Placement (verbs)*

<i>*dheh₁-</i>	‘put, place’	Lat <i>facere</i> , NE <i>do</i> , Grk <i>títhēmi</i> , Skt <i>dádhāti</i>
<i>*stel-</i>	‘put in place, (make) stand’	NE <i>stall</i> , Grk <i>stéllō</i> , Skt <i>sthālam</i>
<i>*tāg-</i>	‘set in place, arrange’	Grk <i>tāgós</i>
<i>*yet-</i>	‘put in the right place’	Skt <i>yātati</i>
<i>*kei-</i>	‘lie’	Grk <i>keîmai</i> , Skt <i>śáye</i>
<i>*legh-</i>	‘lie’	Lat <i>lectus</i> , NE <i>lie</i> , Grk <i>lékhetai</i>
<i>*h₁ēs-</i>	‘sit’	Grk <i>ēsthai</i> , Skt <i>āste</i>
<i>*sed-</i>	‘sit (down)’	Lat <i>sīdō</i> , NE <i>sit</i> , Grk <i>hízō</i> , Skt <i>sīdati</i>
<i>*sed-</i>	‘set’	NE <i>set</i>
<i>*(s)teh₂-</i>	‘stand (up)’	Lat <i>sistō</i> , Grk <i>hístēmi</i> , Skt <i>tīṣṭhati</i>
<i>*stembh-</i>	‘make stand, prop up’	Grk <i>astemphēs</i> , Skt <i>stámbhate</i>
<i>*klei-</i>	‘lean’	Lat <i>clīvus</i> , NE <i>lean</i> , Grk <i>klínō</i> , Skt <i>śráyate</i>
<i>*reh₁-</i>	‘put in order’	Lat <i>reor?</i> , Skt <i>rādhnóti</i>
<i>*sem-</i>	‘put in order/together’	Skt <i>samayati</i>
<i>*ser-</i>	‘line up’	Lat <i>serō</i> , Grk <i>eirō</i> , Skt <i>sarat-</i>
<i>*reik-</i>	‘scratch; line’	NE <i>row</i> , Grk <i>ereikō?</i> , Skt <i>rekḥā ~ lekhā</i>
<i>*wórgḥs</i>	‘chain, row, series’	Grk <i>órkhos</i>

ally oneself with') and the actions of a military 'commander' (Thessalian Grk *tāgós* 'military leader', Iranian, i.e. Parth *tgmdr* '± commander', Tocharian, e.g. Toch B *tās* 'commander'). Very wide semantic variation attends the root **yet-* which might be taken to mean 'put in the right place' (e.g. NWels *addiad* 'longing', SC *jatiti se* 'flock together', Av *yataiti* ~ *yatayeiti* 'puts oneself in the right or natural place', Skt *yātati* 'puts oneself in the right or natural place', Toch AB *yāt-* 'adorn', *yāt-* 'be capable of [intr.]; have power over; tame').

Other verbs place an object or find an object in a particular position. There are, for example, two verbs for 'lie'. The root **kei-* (e.g. Grk *keīmai* 'lie', Hit *kittari* 'lies', Av *saēte* 'lies, rests', Skt *śāye* 'lies') is conjugated in the middle rather than the active voice and in poetic language the word is also used to indicate the position of the deceased (e.g. Homeric Grk *keītai Pátroklos* '[here] lies Patroclus'). The other root **legh-* not only supplies NE *lie* but in derived forms also *law*, i.e. what is laid down, and *low*, i.e. lying down flat (cf. also MlR *laigid* 'lies', Lat *lectus* 'bed', OCS *ležati* 'lie', Grk *lékhetai* 'lies', Hit *lāki* 'lays aslant', Toch B *lyāk-* 'lie'). There are two verbs for 'sit'. Greek, Anatolian, and Indo-Iranian attest **h₁ēs-* (e.g. Grk *ēsthai* 'sit', Hit *ēsa* 'sits', *āszi* 'stays, remains, is left', Av *āste* 'sits', Skt *āste* 'sits') which appears to be an intensive of **h₁es-* 'be' (one might note that Spanish employs both the original verbs 'be' and 'sit' in its paradigm for 'be'). Nine groups attest **sed-* 'sit' (e.g. OIr *saidid* 'sits', Lat *sīdō* 'sit down', *sedeō* 'sit, be sitting', NE *sit*, Lith *sėdu* 'sit down', OCS *sěsti* 'sit down', Grk *hízō* 'sit', Arm *nstim* 'sit', Av *hiḍaiti* 'sits', Skt *śīdati* 'sits') and this also supplies a causative **sodye/o-* 'set'. The basic verb for 'stand' is seen in **(s)teh₂-* which indicates a reduplicated present (e.g. OIr *-sissedar* 'stands', Lat *sistō* 'stand up', Grk *hístēmi* 'stand', Av *hištaiti* 'stands', Skt *tīṣṭhati* 'stands'). Other formations exist, however, and yield Lat *stō* 'stand' and NE *stand*. The same root also underlies **stembh-* 'make stand' (e.g. Lith *stem̃bti* 'produce a stalk [of plants]', Grk *astemphēs* 'imperturbable, firm', Av *stəmbana-* 'support', Skt *stāmbhate* 'prop, support; hinder, restrain', Toch AB *stām-* 'stand'). The verb **klei-* 'lean' (e.g. Lat *clīvus* 'slope', NE *lean*, Lith *šliėti* 'lean against', Rus *sloj* 'layer, level', Grk *klīnō* 'cause to lean', Av *sray-* 'lean', Skt *śráyate* 'clings to, leans on', Toch B *klāsk-* 'set [of sun]') has developed secondary meanings in Celtic and Italic for 'left' (e.g. OIr *clē*) and 'inauspicious' (e.g. Lat *clīvīs*) along the same lines as we have already seen for 'bent', i.e. 'what is not straight'.

Placement in order is indicated by a series of words. PIE **reh₁-* 'put in order' maintains a strongly verbal connotation in the West, e.g. OIr *rād-* 'say', Goth *rōdjan* 'talk', OCS *raditi* 'take care of'; but it means 'prepare' in Indo-Iranian, e.g. Skt *rādhnóti*; there is a potential Latin cognate in *reor* 'count, calculate' that is not universally accepted. There is also a denominative **sem-* 'put in order/together' from **sem-* 'one, unity' with cognates in Germanic

(ON *semja* ‘put together’), Indic (Skt *samayati* ‘puts in order’), and Tocharian (Toch B *šāms-* ‘count’). The more specific meaning of ‘line up’ is found in **ser-* with OIr *sernaid* ‘arranges’, Lat *serō* ‘line up, join, link’, Lith *sėris* ‘thread’, Grk *eírō* ‘line up’, Hit *sarra-* ‘break’, and Skt *sarat-* ‘thread’ with more than a hint that this term derives from the world of textiles. An extended form of **rei-* ‘scratch’ gives us **reik-* ‘scratch, line’ with cognates in Celtic (NWels *rhwyg* ‘break’), Germanic (e.g. NE *row*), Baltic (Lith *riekė* ‘slice [of bread]’), possibly Grk *ereikō* ‘bend, bruise’, and Skt *rekḥā* ~ *lekḥā* ‘line’. There is also a *wórghs* ‘chain, row, series’ based on Alb *varg* ‘chain, row, string, strand’, Grk *órkhos* ‘row of vines’, and Toch B *warke* ‘chain, garland’.

There are two North-West isoglosses: possibly **dheig^w* ‘stick, set up’ (if one can live with comparing Lat *fīgō* ‘fasten’ and if one accepts the possible Germanic cognates, NE *dike*; cf. also Lith *diegiu* ‘prick; plant, sow’); and **knei-g^wh-* ‘lean’ (Lat *cōnīveō* ‘blink’ which is borrowed as NE *connive*; cf. also Goth *hneiwan* ‘bow’).

18.5 Shape

The words describing shapes or forms are indicated in Table 18.5.

Several words are associated with circularity. We have already seen (Section 17.4) **serk-* which is associated with ‘restitution’ in the sense of ‘completing a circle’. There is also **h₃érbhis* ‘circle, disc’ in both Latin and Tocharian (e.g. Lat *orbis* ‘ring, circle, cycle; disc, world, orb’, Toch B *yerpe* ‘disc, orb’). A meaning something like ‘crooked’ may be suggested for **(s)keng-* that means ‘limp’ in a number of language groups (e.g. OIr *scingim* ‘spring’, ON *skakkr* ‘skewed, distorted’, OHG *hinken* ‘go lame’, Grk *skázō* ‘limp, go lame’, Skt *khāñjati* ‘limps’). The concept ‘broad’ is reconstructed as **p_lth₂ús* (e.g. Lith *platūs* ‘broad’, Grk *platús* ‘broad’, Av *pərəθu-* ‘broad, wide’, Skt *pṛthú-* ‘broad, wide’) which is derived from **pleth₂-* ‘spread’. Related is **pelh_ak-* ‘spread out flat’ (e.g. OE *flōh* ‘flagstone’, Lith *plākanas* ‘flat’, Grk *pláks* ‘flat surface’) whose Latin (*placeō* ‘please, be acceptable to’, *plācō* ‘soothe, calm’) and Tocharian (Toch AB *plāk-* ‘be in agreement’) attestations tend to mean ‘please, be agreeable’, i.e. ‘be level, even’ (see Section 20.6). What might be otherwise a Graeco-Aryan isogloss, i.e. **wérh_xus* ‘broad, wide’ (e.g. Grk *eurús* ‘broad, wide’, Av *vouru-* ‘broad, wide’, Skt *urú-* ‘broad, wide’), may be extended by Toch B *wartse* ‘wide’ and indicate a word of PIE date.

‘Narrow’ is indicated by **h_aenghus* (e.g. OIr *cum-ung* ‘narrow, restricted’, Lat *angi-portus* ‘narrow street, cul de sac’, OE *enge* ‘narrow’, Lith *añkštas* ‘narrow’, MPers *hnzgw-* ‘narrow’, Skt *amhú-* ‘narrow’).

Table 18.5. *Shape*

<i>*serk-</i>	‘make a circle, complete’	Lat <i>sarciō</i> , Grk <i>hérkos</i>
<i>*h₃érbhis</i>	‘circle, orb’	Lat <i>orbis</i>
<i>*(s)keng-</i>	‘crooked’	Grk <i>skázō</i> , Skt <i>khāñjati</i>
<i>*p_lth₂ús</i>	‘broad, wide’	Grk <i>platús</i> , Skt <i>pṛthú-</i>
<i>*pelh_ak-</i>	‘spread out flat’	Lat <i>placeō</i> , Grk <i>pláks</i>
<i>*wérh₃us</i>	‘broad, wide’	Grk <i>eurús</i> , Skt <i>urú-</i>
<i>*h_aenghu-</i>	‘narrow’	Lat <i>angi-portus</i> , Skt <i>amhú-</i>
<i>*h_aérdhis</i>	‘point’	Grk <i>árdis</i> , Skt <i>ali-</i>
<i>*bhṛstís</i>	‘point’	Lat <i>fastīgō</i> , NE <i>bristle</i> , Skt <i>bhṛṣṭi-</i>
<i>*h_aek-</i>	‘sharp, pointed’	Lat <i>ācer</i> , Grk <i>aké</i> , Skt <i>ásri-</i>
<i>*kent-</i>	‘sharp’	Grk <i>kentēō</i>
<i>*men-</i>	‘project’	Lat <i>mentum</i>
<i>*dheb-</i>	‘thick, packed’	NE <i>dapper</i>
<i>*tegas</i>	‘thick, fat’	NE <i>thick</i>
<i>*ténus</i>	‘thin, long’	Lat <i>tennis</i> , NE <i>thin</i> , Grk <i>tanaós</i> , Skt <i>tanú-</i>
<i>*k_ṛkós</i>	‘thin’	Skt <i>karś-</i>
<i>*makros</i>	‘thin, long’	Lat <i>macer</i> , Grk <i>makrós</i>
<i>*duh_aros ~ dweh_aros</i>	‘long (of time, space)’	Lat <i>dūrāre</i> , Grk <i>dēros</i> , Skt <i>dūrā-</i>
<i>*dl_hghós</i>	‘long’	Lat <i>in-dulgeō</i> , Grk <i>dolikhós</i> , Skt <i>dīrghá-</i>
<i>*dlonghos</i>	‘long’	Lat <i>longus</i> , NE <i>long</i>

A ‘point’ or ‘pointed’ shape is indicated by several words. Both **h_aérdhis* (e.g. OIr *aird* ‘point; direction’, ON *erta* ‘to goad’, Grk *árdis* ‘arrowhead’, Skt *ali-* ‘bee’) and **bhṛstís* (e.g. OIr *barr* ‘point, tip’, Lat *fastīgō* ‘make pointed, bring to a point’, NE *bristle*, Rus *boršč* ‘hogweed’, Skt *bhṛṣṭi-* ‘point’) mean a ‘point’ while ‘sharp’ or ‘pointed’ is attested by **h_aek-* (e.g. NWels *hogi* ‘to sharpen’, Lat *ācer* ‘sharp; pungent, sour’, *acus* ‘needle’, Lith *aš(t)rūs* ‘sharp’, OCS *ostrūs* ‘sharp’, Alb *athēt* ‘sour’, Grk *aké* ‘point’, Arm *aseln* ‘needle’, NPers *ās* ‘grinding stone’, Skt *ásri-* ‘[sharp] edge’) and **kent-* (e.g. Goth *handugs* ‘wise’, Latv *sīts* ‘hunting spear’, Grk *kentēō* ‘prick’). A verbal root **men-* ‘project’ is suggested by several cognates for jutting parts of the face or projections, e.g. NWels *mant* ‘mouth, lip’, Lat *mentum* ‘chin’, *prō-mineō* ‘project’, Hit *mēni-* ‘face, cheek’, Av *fra-manyente* ‘gain prominence’.

Both words for ‘thick’ are placed in the category of Proto-Indo-European because of Anatolian cognates (otherwise they are confined to the North-West). The root **dheb-* has meanings such as ‘thick’ and ‘strong’ (e.g. OHG *tapfar* ‘weighty, strong’, OPrus *debīkan* ‘large’, Rus *debělyj* ‘strong’) and it is

the latter which supplies the underlying semantics to the Hittite cognate *tabarna-* ‘ruler’ (cf. Luvian *tapar-* ‘rule’). A Middle Dutch cognate supplies NE with *dapper*. The other root, **teġus*, is otherwise confined to Celtic (e.g. OIr *tiug* ‘thick’) and Germanic (e.g. NE *thick*) but Hit *tagu-* ‘fat, swollen’ is a plausible candidate as well. There are three words for ‘thin’. The verbal root **ten-* ‘extend, stretch’ provides the basis for **ténus* ‘thin’ (e.g. OIr *tanae* ‘thin’, Lat *tenuis* ‘thin, fine’, NE *thin*, Lith *tévas* ‘thin, slim’, OCS *tĭnŭkŭ* ‘slender, thin’, Grk *tanaós* ‘long, elongated’, MPers *tanuk* ‘thin, weak’, Skt *tanú-* ‘thin, slender, small’), in this case, ‘that which is stretched’. The meaning ‘thin’ found in **kr̥kós* would appear to come originally from a verb ‘be thin, emaciated’ and may mean anything from a ‘shrivelled tree’ (Czech *krs*) to ‘lean cows’ (Indo-Iranian, e.g. Av *kərəsa-gu-*, Skt *kr̥śa-gu-* ‘having lean cows’); one should compare also ON *horr* ‘thinness’, Czech *krsati* ‘lose weight, wane’, Lith *káršti* ‘be aged or decrepit’, Skt *karś-* ‘grow/be thin or lean’. A third word for ‘thin’, **makrós* ‘thin, long’ (e.g. Lat *macer* ‘lean, meagre, thin’ [which via French is borrowed into English as *meagre*], ON *magr* ‘thin’, Grk *makrós* ‘long, big, high; deep, long-lasting’) is found in this form only in the Centre and West of the Indo-European world, but related are Hit *maklant-* ‘thin’ and Av *mas-* ‘long’ in the East.

There are several words to express ‘length’. A PIE **duh₂ros* ~ *dweh₂ros* which could express both ‘a long time’ and physical length is attested in Lat *dūrāre* ‘to last’, Grk *dēros* ‘long’, Arm *erkar* ‘long’, Av *dūire* ‘far’, and Skt *dūrā-* ‘far’, and with a different suffix we have Hit *tūwa-* ‘far, distant’. We also have **dl̥h₁ghós* ‘long’ found in Lat *in-dulgeō* ‘long-suffering’, Goth *tulgus* ‘firm’, Lith *ilgas*, OCS *dlŭgŭ*, Alb *gjatë*, Grk *dolikhós*, Hit *daluki-*, Skt *dūrghá-*, all ‘long’, and **dlonghos* ‘long’ seen in Lat *longus*, NE *long*, and MPers *derang*, all ‘long’.

There are some regionally attested words. From the North-West comes **pandos* ‘curved’ (Lat *pandus* ‘curved, bent’, ON *fattr* ‘bent back’) and **g^wret-sos* ‘thick’ (e.g. MÍr *bres* ‘large, thick’, Lat *grossus* ‘thick’); **bhar-* ‘projection’ which appears to underlie several derived forms such as **bharko-* (MÍr *barc* ‘spear shaft’, SC *břk* ‘point’) and the word for ‘barley’ (**bhárs-* > OIr *bairen* ‘bread’, Lat *fār* ‘spelt, grain’, NE *barley*) and words for ‘beard’ (Section 10.1); and **seh₁ros* ‘long’ (OÍr *sīr* ‘long lasting’, Lat *sērus* ‘late’, OE *sīd* ‘long’. From the West Central region are: **(s)kel-* ‘crooked’ (e.g. OE *scēolh* ‘crooked’, OPrus *culczi* ‘thigh’, Bulg *kúlka* ‘thigh’, Alb *çalë* ‘lame’, Grk *skēlos* ‘thigh’); **(s)kamb-* ‘curve’ (e.g. OÍr *cam* ‘curve’, Grk *skambós* ‘curve’); **kan-t(h)o-* ‘corner, a bending’ (e.g. NWels *cant* ‘tyre’ [Lat *canthus* or *cantus* ‘wheel rim’ comes from Gaul], Rus *kut* ‘angle’, Grk *kanthós* ‘corner of the eye’); possibly a Germanic-Greek isogloss **sten-* ‘narrow’ (e.g. ON *stinnr* ‘stiff, hard’, Grk *stenós* ‘narrow’) but the semantic difference is great; **skidrós* ‘thin’ (OHG *sceter* ‘thin’, Latv *šķidrs* ‘thin’, dialectal Grk *skidarós* ‘thin, slender’).

18.6 Time

The reconstructed vocabulary relating to time is listed in Table 18.6.

There is one word in Proto-Indo-European that can be reconstructed to indicate (some) ‘period of time’, i.e. **prest-*; it means a ‘period of time’ in Germanic (e.g. ON *frest* ‘period of time, interval’, OHG *frist* ‘period of time, interval’) and a more general ‘time, occasion; season’ in Tocharian (e.g. Toch A *prašt*). The word for ‘now’, **nu-*, is a good example of one of those small words that is phonetically stable and, with either a short or long vowel, it is attested as *nu* in no less than nine Indo-European groups (e.g. Lat *num*, NE *now*, Lith *nù*, OCS *nŭ*, Grk *nũ(n)*, Hit *nu*, Av *nũ*, Skt *nú*, Toch B *no*, all ‘now’); it is related in some way to the adjective **néwos* ‘new’ (see below). The word ‘soon’ was indicated by **moċs* (e.g. OIr *mō* ‘soon’, Lat *mox* ‘soon’, Av *mošu* ‘as soon as’, Skt *makṣú* ‘soon’).

Table 18.6. *Time*

<i>*prest-</i>	‘(period of) time’	
<i>*nu-</i>	‘now’	Lat <i>num</i> , NE <i>now</i> , Grk <i>nũ(n)</i> , Skt <i>nú</i>
<i>*moċs</i>	‘soon’	Lat <i>mox</i> , Skt <i>makṣú</i>
<i>*h_aeyer-</i>	‘early’	Grk <i>ēérios</i>
<i>*prō-</i>	‘early, morning’	Grk <i>prōí</i> , Skt <i>prātár</i>
<i>*h_aéusōs</i>	‘dawn’	Lat <i>aurōra</i> , NE <i>Easter</i> , Grk <i>héōs</i> , Skt <i>uṣá-</i>
<i>*h_a(e)us-skēti</i>	‘it lights up, dawns’	Skt <i>ucchāti</i>
<i>*h_aéġhr̥</i>	‘day’	NE <i>day?</i> , Skt <i>áhar-</i>
<i>*deino-</i>	‘day’	Lat <i>nundinae</i> , Skt <i>dinam</i>
<i>*dye(u)-</i>	‘day’	Lat <i>diēs</i> , Grk <i>éndios</i> , Skt <i>dīvasá-</i>
<i>*(dh)ġhyes</i>	‘yesterday’	Lat <i>herī</i> , NE <i>yester</i> , Grk <i>khthēs</i> , Skt <i>hyá-</i>
<i>*nek^wt-</i>	‘night’	Lat <i>nox</i> , NE <i>night</i> , Grk <i>núks</i> , Skt <i>nákt-</i>
<i>*ġk^wtus</i>	‘end of the night’	Grk <i>aktís</i> , Skt <i>aktú-</i>
<i>*k^wsep-</i>	‘night’	Grk <i>pséphas</i> , Skt <i>kṣáp-</i>
<i>*wésr̥</i>	‘spring’	Lat <i>vēr</i> , Grk <i>éar</i> , Skt <i>vasantá-</i>
<i>*sem-</i>	‘summer’	NE <i>summer</i> , Skt <i>sámā</i>
<i>*h_{es}-en-</i>	‘autumn’	Grk <i>op-ōrē</i>
<i>*ġheim-</i>	‘winter, snow’	Lat <i>hiems</i> , Grk <i>kheíma</i> , Skt <i>héman</i>
<i>*wet-</i>	‘year’	Lat <i>vetus</i> , NE <i>wether</i> , Grk <i>étos</i> , Skt <i>vatsá-</i>
<i>*(h₁)yēro/eh_a-</i>	‘year, new season’	Lat <i>hōrnus</i> , NE <i>year</i> , Grk <i>hōros</i>
<i>*perut-</i>	‘last year’	Grk <i>pérusi</i> , Skt <i>parút</i>
<i>*h_xōk-us</i>	‘fast’	Lat <i>ōciōr</i> , Grk <i>ōkús</i> , Skt <i>āsú-</i>
<i>*h_aēġilos</i>	‘fast’	Lat <i>agilis</i> , Skt <i>ajirá-</i>
<i>*néwos</i>	‘new’	Lat <i>novus</i> , NE <i>new</i> , Grk <i>néos</i> , Skt <i>náv(y)a-</i>
<i>*sénos</i>	‘old’	Lat <i>senex</i> , Grk <i>hénos</i> , Skt <i>sána-</i>

If we begin concretely with the beginning of the day, we can start with those expressions for ‘early’, **h_ae_yer-* and **prō-*. The first means ‘early’ in Germanic (e.g. OHG *ēr*, ‘morning meal’ in Grk *ἄριστον*, cf. also *ēérios* ‘of the morning, in the morning’ and ‘day’ in Av *ayarə*). The second shows a similar variation in meanings from ‘early’ to ‘morning’ (e.g. OHG *fruo* ‘early’, Grk *prōi* ‘early, in the morning’, Skt *prātár* ‘early’) and appears to have been a lengthened grade of a form ultimately based on **per-* ‘forward, through’. The word ‘dawn’ and its derived verbal form are **h_aéusōs* (cf. above and e.g. OIr *fāir* ‘sunrise’, Lat *aurōra* ‘dawn’, OE *ēastre* ‘goddess of springtime’ [> NE *Easter*], Lith *aušrà* ‘dawn’, OCS *ustra* ‘morning’, Grk *héōs* ‘dawn’, Av *ušā-* ‘dawn’, Skt *ušā-* ‘dawn’) and **h_a(e)us-skēti* (e.g. Lith *aūšta* ‘it dawns’, Av *usaiti* ‘it dawns’, Skt *ucchāti* ‘it dawns’), formed from the verbal root **h_aewes-* ‘shine’ (Section 18.3) which also underlies the word for ‘gold’ (see Section 15.2). As we have seen above, this word also provided the basis for ‘east’ in many Indo-European traditions (e.g. NE *east*) and in others it was the dawn which provided the *orientation* (cf. Lat *oriēns* ‘east’) to the cardinal directions; in both Celtic and Sanskrit the east is the ‘forward direction’ and the west ‘the behind direction’ (though in Iranian it is the south and north which are ‘forward’ and ‘behind’ which probably tells us something interesting about the history of Proto-Iranian or Proto-Iranians if we only knew what). The ‘dawn’ was also deified as a goddess in Proto-Indo-European culture (see Section 23.1).

There are three words reconstructable for ‘day’. The first of these, **h_aéǵh_ṛ*, is problematic in that it is supported only by Germanic (e.g. NE *day*) and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Av *azan-* ‘day’, Skt *áhar-* ‘day’) and all the Germanic forms show the result of an initial **d-* which has been variously explained (away) as having crossed with the Proto-Germanic **dāz_waz* ‘warm time of the year’ ([< **dhōg^who-* ‘burning’] or from the false division of an expression such as **tod h_aéǵh_ṛ* ‘that day’ into **to(d) dh_aéǵh_ṛ*. Neither explanation has inspired much confidence. The other two words, **deino-* ~ **dino-* (e.g. with the full-grade: Goth *sinteins* ‘daily’, Lith *dienà* ‘day’; and with the zero-grade: OIr *trēdenus* ‘three-day period’, Lat *nundinae* ‘the ninth [market] day’, OCS *dīnī* ‘day’, Skt *dīnam* ‘day’) and **dye(u)-* (e.g. OIr *dīa* ‘day’, Lat *diēs* ‘day’, Grk *éndios* ‘at mid-day’, Arm *tiw* ‘day’, Hit *sīwatt-* ‘day’, Skt *divasá-* ‘day’), both derive from **dei-* ‘shine’. The latter **dyeu-* has also furnished derivatives meaning ‘sky’ (see Section 8.4), ‘heaven’, ‘god’ (see Section 23.1). The word for ‘yesterday’, reconstructed from seven groups, was **(dh)ǵhyes* (e.g. OIr *indē* ‘yesterday’, Lat *herī* ‘yesterday’, NE *yester-*, Alb *dje* ‘yesterday’, Grk *khthēs* ‘yesterday’, Av *zyō* ‘yesterday’, Skt *hyá-* ‘yesterday’). So far as we can tell, for the Proto-Indo-Europeans there was no ‘tomorrow’.

For ‘night’ we have the root **nek^wt-* which is found in ten groups and clearly means ‘night’ in all of them (e.g. OIr *innocht* ‘at night’, Lat *nox* ‘night’,

NE *night*, Lith *naktis* ‘night’, OCS *noštī* ‘night’, Alb *natë* ‘night’, Grk *núks* ‘night’, Hit *nekuz* ‘at night’, Skt *nákt-* ‘night’, Toch A *nokte* ‘at night’. Perhaps more interesting is **ḡk^wtus*, apparently a zero-grade of the former root, which means ‘early morning’ (Germanic, e.g. OE *ūhte*), ‘ray of sunlight’ (Grk *aktís*) and ‘night’ (Skt *aktú-*). Indic also retains a meaning ‘end of night’ and given the derivation and the semantics of the cognate forms in the daughter languages, this would appear to be the earliest meaning. Emphasis on ‘darkness’ is found in **k^wsep-* where both Greek and Avestan mean ‘darkness’ (Grk *pséphas*, Av *xšap-*) while Hittite and Indic indicate the ‘night’ (Hit *ispant-*, Skt *kṣáp-*).

The names of four seasons are reconstructable to Proto-Indo-European. The word for ‘spring’, **wésr-*, is a heteroclititic, e.g. Lith *vāsara* but Skt *vasantá-* (cf. also OIr *errach*, Lat *vēr*, OCS *vesna*, Grk *éar*, Arm *garun*, all ‘spring’, Av *vaŋri* ‘in spring’). We may be able to add Tocharian to the list of languages attesting **wes-* ‘spring’ if, as has been suggested, the Tocharian word for ‘grain’ (e.g. Toch B *ysāre*) is from a derivative, **wes-eh_a-ro-*, originally ‘spring wheat’. ‘Summer’ was **sem-* (e.g. OIr *sam* ‘summer’, NE *summer*, Arm *am* ‘year’, Av *ham-* ‘summer’, Skt *sāmā* ‘season, year’, Toch A *šme* ‘summer’). A word for ‘autumn’ or ‘harvest time’, **h₁es-en-*, is attested in five groups, including Anatolian (e.g. Goth *asans* ‘summer, harvest time’, OPrus *assanis* ‘harvest’, OCS *jesenī* ‘autumn’, Grk *op-órē* ‘end of summer harvest time’ (< **op-osar-ā*), Hit *zena(nt)-* ‘autumn’) but it is the only season for which we do not find a reflex in Indo-Iranian. No such problem with **ḡheim-* ‘winter’ which is certainly attested in ten groups and is probably to be seen in the eleventh, Germanic, as well (e.g. Gaul *Giamonios* [name of a winter month], Lat *hiems* ‘winter’, Lith *žiemà* ‘winter’, OCS *zima* ‘winter’, Alb *dimër* ‘winter’, Grk *kheīma* ‘winter’, Arm *jivn* ‘snow’, Hit *gimmant-* ‘winter’, Av *zyām-* ‘winter’, Skt *hēman* ‘in winter’; in Germanic we have ON *gymbr* ‘ewe lamb one year old’ [whence by borrowing dialectal English *gimmer* ‘ewe between the first and second shearing’]). The word for the entire ‘year’ was **wet-* (e.g., Grk *étos* ‘year’, Hit *witt-* ‘year’, Skt *vatsá-* ‘year’) which often takes on the derived meaning of ‘yearling’, e.g. Celtic ‘sow’ (OIr *feis*), Germanic (e.g. NE *wether*), and with the addition of **-u(so)-* we have the meaning ‘old’ (e.g. Lat *vetus*, Lith *vėtušas*, OCS *vetúchŭ*, Sogdian *wṭšnyy*, all ‘old’), presumably from the notion of ‘having [many] years’. The zero-grade of **wet-* can be found in the compound **perut-*, i.e. **per* + **wet-* ‘last year’ (e.g. ON *fjorð* ‘last year’, Grk *pérusi* ‘last year’, Arm *heru* ‘last year’, Skt *parút* ‘in past years’). Another word for ‘year’ was **(h₁)yēro/eh_a-* (e.g. Lat *hōrnus* ‘of this year’, NE *year*, OCS *jara* ‘spring’, Grk *hōros* ‘time, year’, Luv *āra/i-* ‘time’, Av *yārə* ‘year’) which overlaps both the notion of ‘time’ in general and that of ‘new season’.

Finally, we have several adjectives. The concept of velocity is seen in **h_xōk-us* ‘fast’ (e.g. OIr *dī-auc* ‘not-fast’, Lat *ōcior* ‘faster’, Grk *ōkús* ‘fast’, Av *āsu-* ‘fast’, Skt *āśú-* ‘fast’) which is apparently derived from **h_xeḱ-* ‘sharp’. The Latin-Indic isogloss **h_aeḡilos* ‘fast’ (Lat *agilis* ‘quick’, Skt *ajirá-* ‘quick, agile’) may be independent formations built on the verbal root **h_aeḡ-* ‘drive’. The word for ‘new’, **néwos*, is found across the Indo-European languages (e.g. Lat *novus*, OCS *novŭ*, Grk *néos*, Hit *nēwas*, Av *nava-*, Skt *náva-*, Toch B *ñuwe*, all ‘new’); an extended form, **néwyos*, gives us e.g. NE *new*, Lith *naũjas*, Ionic Grk *nefos*, Skt *návya-*, all ‘new’. Both **néwos* and **néwyos* are related to **nu* ‘now’ (cf. above). Also widespread are the descendants of **sénos* ‘old’ (e.g. OIr *sen* ‘old’, Lat *senex* ‘old’, Goth *sinista* ‘eldest’, Lith *sėnas* ‘old’, Grk *hénos* ‘last year’s’, Arm *hin* ‘old’, Av *hana-* ‘old’, Skt *sána-* ‘old’).

Regional words include (from the North-West): **yam/yau* ‘now, already’ (e.g. Lat *iam* ‘now, already’, OHG *ju* ‘already’, Lith *jaũ* ‘already’, OCS *ju* ‘already’); **h_aetnos* ‘year’ (e.g. Lat *annus* ‘year’, Goth *apna-* ‘year’), from the verbal root **h_aet-* ‘go’ (i.e. ‘what’s gone’); **h₂ēh_xtrō-* ‘quick, fast’ (e.g. OHG *ātār* ‘quick’, Lith *otrūs* ‘lively’; from **h₂eh_x-* ‘burn’); **kēigh-* ‘fast’ (e.g. OE *hīgian* ‘hasten’ [> obsolete or archaic NE *hie*], Rus *sigátī* ‘spring’, with a possible but uncertain Indic cognate, i.e. Skt *sighrá-* ‘quick, fast’); and a problematic **bhris-* ~ **bhers-* ‘fast’ (e.g. NWels *brys* ‘haste, speed’, Lat *festinō* ‘hurry oneself’, Lith *burzdūs* ‘fast’, Rus *borzój* ‘fast’). From the West Central area we have **kēs(ḱ)eh_a-* ‘time’ (a Slavic-Albanian isogloss), e.g. OCS *časŭ* ‘time’, Alb *kohë* ‘time, period, epoch; weather’; **wēsperos* ~ **wékeros* ‘evening’ (e.g. Lat *vesper*, Lith *vākaras*, OCS *večerŭ*, Grk *hēsperos*, Arm *gišer*, all ‘evening’) whose root lies at the base of the Germanic words for ‘west’ (NE *west*), i.e. the direction of sunset (cf. the discussion of the cardinal directions above); **h₁en-* ‘year’ (e.g. Grk *énos* ‘year’, and derivatives in Lith *pér-n-ai* ‘in the last year’, dialectal Rus *lo-ni* ‘of last year’). A Greek-Armenian isogloss for ‘day’ is **h₂eh_x-mer-*, a derivative of **h₂eh_x-* ‘burn’ (i.e. Grk *ēmérā*, Arm *awr*), and both Greek and Indic extend the meaning of the colour term ‘white’ to also include ‘fast’, e.g. ‘flashing’ in **h_ag̑-rós* which is used to describe fast dogs and horses (Grk *agrós*, Skt *rjrá-*).

18.7 Proto-Indo-European Space and Time

It has been commonly accepted that the concepts of space and ownership would have been altered by the shift from hunting-gathering to agriculture. Rigid definitions of territorial ownership were likely to be weak among seasonally mobile populations except for those who attempted to defend fixed year-round resources such as fishing rights to particular tracts of waterway or

coast. On the other hand, the transition to sedentary society would have seen not only the emergence of the concept of material wealth but also territorial possession. Moreover, the production of stable upstanding structures, it is argued, would have resulted in the creation of abstract geometric terms that would not have existed in what anthropologists might term a previously ‘uncarpentered’ world.

When we review the spatial terminology of Proto-Indo-European we find evidence enough for the concept of territorial boundaries or regional entities seen, for example, in words such as **h₄erh₂o-*, **morg̃-*, and **térmn̥*, all ‘border’. The last suggests the use of physical markers such as posts to define a precinct or territory while **morg̃-* displays a remarkably stable meaning of ‘district, region’ from one end of the Indo-European world to the other. With respect to the concept of ‘place’ the use of derivatives of **steh₂-* ‘stand’ correlates well enough with the concept of the erection of structures.

The expression of position is accomplished through the use of adpreps, i.e. words that function as both an adverb and preposition. Although Indo-European could express position through its nominal case endings, clearly there was a need to employ individual words as well to indicate the precise nuances of location. Some of these words clearly reveal the specialized use of nominal case forms, e.g. **h₂ent-* ‘face’ > **h₂enti* ‘in front’. The adpreps were often employed with verbs and fused with them to form single words in many IE groups, e.g. NE *understand*, *undertake*, *undercut*, *underline*; Early Irish seems to have delighted in compounding prepositions before verbs, e.g. *do-opir* ‘takes away’ < **d̥r̥+uss+ber-*, i.e. ‘from-away-carry’.

Geometric shapes have been the subject of taxonomic research where H. W. Burris’s study of seventy-two languages has revealed an evolution of geometric terms. The simplest, stage 1, possess no geometric terms; at stage 2 there are terms for circle or curve; at stage 3 the concept of the square or angularity is added to the circle; stage 4 adds the triangle and stage 5 also reveals a word for rectangle. It has been claimed that Proto-Indo-European belonged with the nine languages of stage 1 in that it lacked any terms for geometric shapes. Nevertheless, there are two potential candidates: **serk-* if we can presume that the original meaning was ‘make a circle’ and then its more common meaning ‘make restitution’ is merely a metaphorical extension of the geometric term, and **h₃érbhis* ‘circle, orb’ on the basis of a Latin-Tocharian isogloss. We should not be surprised if a language that possessed the terminology of wheeled vehicles (and had at least three words for ‘wheel’) also possessed a term for ‘circle’, and if the evolutionary scale has any validity, then Proto-Indo-European should probably be placed at stage 2 rather than stage 1.

The Proto-Indo-Europeans appear to have employed two systems of establishing and naming directions. One was based on a literal 'orientation', i.e. facing east so that there would be a series of equations: east = front, west = back, north = left (unpropitious, female), south = right (propitious, male). Residues of this can be found in various IE languages, e.g. **dḗksinos* yields OIr *dess*, Av *dašina-*, and Skt *dākṣina-*, all both 'right' and 'south'; OIr *clē* 'left' underlies OIr *fochla* 'north' while the words for north in Germanic (e.g. NE *north*) are cognate with Umbrian *nertru* 'left'. The polar opposition is also seen to embody a sexual opposition and a contrast between the propitious right/south and the unpropitious left/south. For example, OIr *clē* not only means 'left' but also 'inauspicious, bad' while in Latin loanwords English still preserves the contrast between *dexter* 'right' (*dexterous*) and *sinister* 'left, wrong, perverse'

The second system is keyed to sunrise so that east or south, for example, is associated with the dawn, e.g. PIE **h₂éusōs* 'dawn' underlies Lat *auster* 'south wind' and OE *ēaste* 'east'.

Time reckoning in Proto-Indo-European involves a number of areas that might involve folk taxonomies of which we might want to know far more. As any traveller who has grasped a phrase book of useful expression knows, different cultures have varying concepts as to what parts of the day are most appropriate for a 'good afternoon' or 'good evening' (consider the contextual meaning of 'good night' which may suggest either spending a 'good night' out or the finality of going to bed). The multiplicity of terms for the parts of the day suggest that PIE may have had more diverse nuances than our reconstructed meanings indicate. For example, did the day begin with **h₂éusōs* 'dawn' when the sun began to shine (and hence *deino-* and **dye(u)-*, both 'day' and derived from **dei-* 'shine') or at **n₂k^wtus* 'night, end of night', the latter probably a zero-grade derivative of **nek^wt-* 'night' but with meanings attested such as OE *ūhte* 'early morning', and Grk *aktís* 'ray of sunlight'? What, if any, was the distinction between **nek^wt-* and **k^wsep-*, both 'night'?

The seasons of the year are also an area of folk taxonomy. It has been suggested, for example, that Old English (and other Germanic languages) shows evidence of a two-seasonal system (*sumer*, *winter*) recently crossed with a four-seasonal (*lencten* 'Lent', *hærfest* 'harvest') system, and a two-season system has also been attributed by some to the Proto-Indo-Europeans. This seems to be contradicted by the lexical evidence that strongly attests (at least) a **wésr̥* 'spring', **sem-* 'summer' and **ǵheim-* 'winter, snow'; if the set for **h₁es-en-* 'autumn' is secure with cognates in the North-West (Germanic, Baltic, Slavic), the Central region (Greek), and Anatolian, then it can hardly be denied to the Proto-Indo-Europeans. Moreover, the terms for spring, autumn, and

winter are all heteroclitics which is generally an additional argument for antiquity.

Further Reading

The concept of borders in IE is treated in Della Volpe (1992); PIE adpreps are discussed in Friedrich (1987); direction is treated in Hamp (1974*d*), Markey (1982), Meid (1987), Parvulescu (1985), Van Leeuwen-Turnovcová (1990), and Winter (1988); the ‘evolutionary’ pattern of shapes is provided in Burris 1979, the folk taxonomy of the Indo-European seasons is covered in Anderson (2003); for aspects of time see Puhvel (1987*b*), Szemerényi (1959), and for size, see Winter (1980).

19

Number and Quantity

19.0 Numerical Systems	307	19.2 Measure and Quantity	317
19.1 Basic Numerals	308		

19.0 Numerical Systems

The numerical system of Indo-European is one of its more stable elements, but even here there has been considerable remodelling of words although the roots have often been retained. Some of the remodelling is due to the fact that numbers are often recited in series which enhances the chances of a preceding number affecting a later number in the sequence or the latter affecting an earlier one by anticipation, e.g. the expected outcome of the numeral ‘nine’ in Latin (under one hypothesis) should have been ***noven* but the ending was altered to *novem* on the analogy of the preceding ‘seven’, *septem*, and the following ‘ten’, *decem*. Another, more certain example is provided by Skt *aṣṭamā-* ‘eighth’ and possibly *navamā-* ‘ninth’ which owe their ordinal suffix *-mā-* (rather than the expected *-vā-* and possibly *-ná-* respectively) to the combined influence of *saptamā-* ‘seventh’ and *daśamā-* ‘tenth’. Also, since counting systems were evolutionary, i.e. began quite simple, often based on finger counting, linguists have often sought an underlying system of complexity through composition, i.e. joining previous numbers together to make larger ones, and hence there has been quite a lot of etymological speculation as to the underlying meaning or formation of many of the numerals. However, while it is almost certainly the case that the Proto-Indo-European system of numbers was built up over a long period of time, that period of building is likely to have been so long in the past that the constituent elements of the numbers are beyond etymological

recovery. Since all known cultures which herd animals have fully formed counting systems (one might assume from sheer economic necessity in keeping track of sheep, goats, etc.) and since the archaeological evidence is strong that Proto-Indo-Europeans, whoever they were exactly, had a long familiarity with domestic animals, it is almost certain that the system of numbers we can reconstruct for Proto-Indo-European had a long history in pre-Proto-Indo-European.

19.1 Basic Numerals

The basic cardinal and ordinal numbers plus some additional forms are provided in Table 19.1. Here the great variation in reconstructed forms has been simplified and many of the alternatives suggested by different language groups

Table 19.1. *Basic numbers*

	<i>Cardinal</i>	
1	<i>*h₁oi-no-s</i> <i>*sem-s</i> ‘united as one, one together’	Lat <i>ūnus</i> , NE <i>one</i> , Grk <i>oīnē</i> Grk <i>heīs</i>
2	<i>*dwéh₂(u)</i>	Lat <i>duo</i> , NE <i>two</i> , Grk <i>duō</i> , Skt <i>dvā</i>
3	<i>*tréyes</i>	Lat <i>trēs</i> , NE <i>three</i> , Grk <i>treīs</i> , Skt <i>tráyas</i>
4	<i>*k^wetwóres</i>	Lat <i>quattuor</i> , NE <i>four</i> , Grk <i>téssares</i> , Skt <i>catvāras</i>
5	<i>*pénk^we</i>	Lat <i>quīnque</i> , NE <i>five</i> , Grk <i>pēnte</i> , Skt <i>pāñca</i>
6	<i>*ksweḱs</i>	Lat <i>sex</i> , NE <i>six</i> , Grk <i>héks</i> , Skt <i>śás</i>
7	<i>*septṛḥ</i>	Lat <i>septem</i> , NE <i>seven</i> , Grk <i>heptá</i> , Skt <i>saptá</i>
8	<i>*h₃oktṓ(u)</i>	Lat <i>octō</i> , NE <i>eight</i> , Grk <i>oktṓ</i> , Skt <i>aṣṭá</i>
9	<i>*h₁newh₁m̥</i> (<i>*h₁néwh₁n̥?</i>)	Lat <i>novem</i> , NE <i>nine</i> , Grk <i>ennéa</i> , Skt <i>náva</i>
10	<i>*déḱm̥(t)</i>	Lat <i>decem</i> , NE <i>ten</i> , Grk <i>déka</i> , Skt <i>dāśa</i>
12	<i>*dwō déḱm̥(t)</i>	Lat <i>duodecim</i> , Grk <i>dōdeka</i> , Skt <i>dvādaśa</i>
15	<i>*penk^we déḱm̥(t)</i>	Lat <i>quīndecim</i> , Skt <i>pāñcadaśa</i>
20	<i>*wīkitih₁</i>	Lat <i>vīgintī</i> , Grk <i>eikosi</i> , Skt <i>viṃśatī</i>
30	<i>*trī-komt(h_a)</i>	Lat <i>trīgintā</i> , Grk <i>triákonta</i> , Skt <i>triṃśát</i>

(Cont'd)

Table 19.1. (*Cont'd*)

50	<i>*penk^wē-kōmt(h_a)</i>	Lat <i>quīnquāgintā</i> , Grk <i>pentēkonta</i> , Skt <i>pañcāśāt</i>
60	<i>*ksweks-kōmt(h_a)</i>	Lat <i>sexāgintā</i> , Grk <i>heksēkonta</i>
100	<i>*kṃtóm</i>	Lat <i>centum</i> , NE <i>hundred</i> , Grk <i>hekatón</i> , Skt <i>śatá-</i>
<i>Ordinals</i>		
1	<i>*per(h_x) -</i>	Lat <i>prīmus</i> , NE <i>first</i> , Grk <i>prōtos</i> , Skt <i>pūrva-</i>
2	<i>*dwi-yos ~ *dwi-tos</i>	Skt <i>dvitīya-</i>
3	<i>*tri-y-os</i>	
4	<i>*k^wtur-yós ~ *k^wetwor-to-</i>	Lat <i>quārtus</i> , NE <i>fourth</i> , Grk <i>tétartos</i> , Skt <i>turīya-</i>
5	<i>*pnk^w-tós</i>	Lat <i>quīntus</i> , NE <i>fifth</i> , Grk <i>pémtos</i> , Skt <i>pakthá-</i>
6	<i>*ksweks-os</i>	Lat <i>sextus</i> , NE <i>sixth</i> , Grk <i>héktos</i> , Skt <i>śaṣṭhá-</i>
7	<i>*septm-mós</i>	Lat <i>septimus</i> , NE <i>seventh</i> , Grk <i>hébdomos</i> , Skt <i>saptamá-</i>
8	<i>*h_xokto-wós</i>	Lat <i>octāvus</i> , NE <i>eighth</i> , Grk <i>ógdoos</i> , Skt <i>aṣṭamá-</i>
9	<i>*h₁nēwh₁m₁/ṃ-mos</i>	Lat <i>nōnus</i> , NE <i>ninth</i> , Grk <i>énatos</i> , Skt <i>navamá-</i>
10	<i>*dekṃ(t)-os</i>	Lat <i>decimus</i> , NE <i>tenth</i> , Grk <i>dékatos</i> , Skt <i>daśamá-</i>
	<i>*dwoi-</i> 'two, group of two'	
	<i>*dwi-</i> 'bi-'	Lat <i>bi</i> , NE <i>twi-</i> , Grk <i>di-</i> , Skt <i>dviṣ-</i>
	<i>*dwis</i> 'twice'	Lat <i>bis</i> , Grk <i>dís</i> , Skt <i>dviṣ</i>
	<i>*dwoyos</i> 'double(d), twofold'	Grk <i>doiós</i> , Skt <i>dwayá-</i>
	<i>*dw(e)i-plos</i> 'double, twofold'	Lat <i>duplus</i> , Grk <i>diplós</i>
	<i>*bhōu</i> 'both'	Lat <i>ambō</i> , NE <i>both</i> , Grk <i>ámphō</i> , Skt <i>ubháu</i>
	<i>*tris</i> 'thrice'	Lat <i>ter</i> , Skt <i>trís</i>

have been omitted. There follows a discussion of the various basic numbers, one by one, with attention paid to the etymological speculations that have been offered. And they are speculative indeed, in many cases more revealing of the ingenuity of etymologists than the actual history of Proto-Indo-European.

The basic numeral 'one' is **h₁oi-* followed by the suffix *-no-* in Celtic (e.g. OIr *oīn* 'only one, single'), Lat *ūnus* 'one', Germanic (e.g. NE *one*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *vienas* 'one'), Slavic (e.g. OCS *ino-* 'one-' [as a prefix], *jed-in-* 'one'), perhaps Alb

njě ‘one’, Grk *oínē* ‘ace on a die’, or *-wo-* (Grk *ofo*s ‘single, alone’, Av *aēva-* ‘one’), or *-ko-* (Skt *éka-* ‘one’). The root etymology is generally presumed to be the anaphoric pronoun, i.e. **h₁ei-*, cf. NE *one* in the sense ‘One does what one’s told’. Although there are a number of other theories, this etymology is one of the few thought up for any of the numbers that is at all likely to be correct. Because **h₁oinos* (etc.) is etymologically transparent it is probably a relatively recent addition to the number system. The variation in suffixes (**-no-*, **-wo-*, **-ko-*) in the various stocks also suggests the form of this number was still somewhat plastic at the time that Proto-Indo-European unity was dissolving. Another way of expressing ‘one’ is **sem-s* (again with different suffixes and grades) which probably originally indicated ‘one united together’ (e.g. perhaps Alb *njě* ‘one’, certainly Grk *hefs* [m.], *mía* [f.], *hén* [nt.] ‘one’, Arm *mi* ‘one’, Toch B *še* [m.], *sana* [f.] ‘one’). The ordinal ‘first’ is derived in a variety of forms from the root **per(h_x)-* or **pro-*, e.g. Lat *prīmus* which is **pri-is-* + the superlative suffix *-mo-*, Alb *parē* ‘first’, Av *paurva-* ‘prior’, Skt *pūrva-* ‘first’, Toch B *parwe* ‘first’, all from **prh_x-wo-*, OE *frum* ‘primal, original, first’, Lith *pirmas* ‘first’, both from **prh_x-mo-*, NE *first* from **prh_x-isto-*.

The number ‘two’ was **dwoh₃(u)* (neuter: **dwoih₁*) which may have originally been **du* but was progressively extended by suffixes to indicate ‘duality’, i.e. a dual ending, and markers to indicate gender distinctions as it was declined (e.g. OIr *dāu* [m.], *dī* [f.], *dā* [nt.], Lat *duo* [m./nt.], *duae* [f.], NE *two*, Lith *dù* [m.], *dvi* [f.], OCS *dŭva* [m.], *dŭvě* [f./nt.], Alb *dy*, Grk *dúō*, Arm *erku*, Av *dva* [m.], *baē* [f./nt.], Skt *dvā* [m.], *dvē* [f./nt.], Toch A *wu* [m.], *we* [f.]) The ordinal shows both **dwi-to-* and **dwi-t(i)yo-* (e.g. Alb *dytë*, Av *daibitya-* ~ *bitya-* [< pre-Av **dwitya-*], Skt *dviṭīya-* [cf. also *dviṭā* ‘doubly so’], Toch B *wate*). An even older form, **dwi-yo-*, is probably reflected in Hit *duyanalli-* ‘± second officer’ (a particular functionary in the Hittite court). The same numerical root also supplies a series of other words associated with duality. **dwoi-* indicated a ‘twosome’ (cf. OIr *dīas* ‘couple’, Hit *tān* ‘for the second time’), while **dwi-* was employed as a prefix ‘bi-’ (e.g. Lat *bi-*, NE *twi-*, Grk *dī-*, Av *bi-*, Skt *dvi-*). The multiplicative ‘twice’ was indicated with **dwis* (e.g. OIr *fo di*, Lat *bis*, NE *twice*, Grk *dīs*, Av *biš*) while both **dwoyos* (e.g. Grk *doiós* ‘doubled’, Skt *dvayā-* ‘duplicity’) and **dw(e)i-plos* (e.g. OIr *dīabul*, Lat *duplus*, Grk *diplós*) meant ‘twofold’. The root etymology has often been taken as a demonstrative pronoun indicating ‘that one further away’ that developed into a cardinal number; alternatively, it has been suggested that the reverse process makes better sense. Neither suggestion seems at all likely. A different root, **bhōu-*, was employed, almost always with various intensifying prefixes, to indicate ‘both’ (e.g. Lat *ambō* ‘both’, OE *bēgen* ‘both’ [NE *both* is an Old Norse loanword], Lith *abū* ‘both’, OCS *oba* ‘both’, Grk *ámphō* ‘both’, Av *uba-* ‘both’, Skt *ubháu* ‘both’, Toch B *antapi*).

The number 'three', **tréyes* (neuter: **trih_a*), is also marked by different forms for the different genders and was declined as an *i*-stem plural (e.g. OIr *trī*, Lat *trēs*, NE *three*, Lith *trỹs*, OCS *trije* [m.], *tri* [f./nt.], Alb *tre* [m.], *tri* [f.], Grk *treĩs*, Arm *erek*¹, Hit *tēri-*, Av *θrayō* [m./f.], *θri* [nt.], Skt *tráyas* [m./f.], *trī* [nt.], Toch B *trai* [m.], *tarya* [f.]). In some languages we have reflections of a very unusual feminine form, **t(r)is(o)res*, i.e. OIr *teōir*, Av *tišrō*, Skt *tisrás*. The underlying derivation of **tréyes* is generally sought in either **ter* 'further', i.e. the number beyond 'two', or from a **ter-* 'middle, top, protruding', i.e. the middle finger, assuming one counted on one's fingers in Proto-Indo-European. Again, the probability that either suggestion is correct is very low. The ordinal number is indicated by a variety of forms similar to **triy-o* (e.g. Arm *eri* 'third', Hit *teriyān* 'third', *tariyanalli-* '± third officer'), or **tri-to-* (e.g. Alb *tretë*, Grk *trítos*, Skt *tritá-*, Toch B *trite*), or finally **t(e)r(e)tiyo-* (e.g. NWels *tryddyd*, Lat *tertius*, NE *third*, Lith *trėčias*, Rus *trétij*, Av *θritiya-*, Skt *ṛtīya-*) which is presumably a conflation of sorts, in various ways, of the previous two while **tris* supplies the multiplicative (e.g. Lat *ter*, Grk *trís*, Av *θriš*, Skt *trís*; despite its apparent phonetic similarity, NE *thrice* is of a different origin).

'Four' is indicated by **k^wetwóres* (neuter: **k^wetwórh_a*) and is found in all the major groups (e.g. OIr *cethair* [m.], Lat *quattuor*, NE *four*, Lith *keturi*, OCS *četyre* [m.], *četyri* [f./nt.], Alb *katër*, Grk *téssares* [m./f.], *téssara* [nt.], Arm *č'ork*¹, Av *čaθwārō* [m.], Skt *catvāras* [m./f.], *catvāri* [nt.], Toch B *štwer* [m.], *štwärā* [f.]) except for Anatolian which employs **mei-wos* (Hit *meyu-*, Luv *māwa*). Some languages reflect the presence, as with 'three', of a morphologically very unusual feminine form, **k^wetes(o)res*, i.e. OIr *cethēoir*, Av *čataṛrō*, Skt *cátasras*. In Germanic, the influence of the following **pénk^we* explains the aberrant initial **f-*, e.g. OE *fēower* (NE *four*), OHG *fior*, rather than the expected **hw-*. There has been a host of attempts to etymologize **k^wetwóres*, with two of the most popular (among many) being some relationship to the concept of either little finger or span of four fingers (where **k^wet-wor* would be a derivative of **k^wet-* 'stretch' found otherwise only certainly in the Baltic languages, e.g. Lith *ket-*), or the word has been analysed as the enclitic **k^we* 'and' + **tur-* (derived from **tur-* 'three'), i.e. 'after three' = 'four' (though of course the attested forms of 'three' are unanimous in demanding a reconstruction **ter-* or *trei-*, not **tur-*). The Anatolian form has been derived from **mei-* 'be small' and hence reference either to the 'little finger' or to a subtractive basis, i.e. 'five minus one' (as one does with the Roman numeral IV); alternatively, the opposite meaning 'large', associated with **meh₁-* 'large', has also been suggested, hence 'the large span'. And both of these have been combined into a single expression, alternatively, **meh₁u-* **k^wetwor* 'big span' or **meyu-* **k^wetwor* 'little finger', with Anatolian preserving the first element and the rest of Proto-Indo-European the second. Neither (highly unlikely) suggestion

explains the universal morphological plural of the attested forms for ‘four’, nor offers an explanation for the strange feminine form. The ordinal is **k^wetw(o)r-to-s* (e.g. Lat *quārtus*, NE *fourth*, Lith *ketviřtas*, Rus *čtvěrtij*, Alb *katërt*, Grk *tétartos*, Av *čaθru-*, Skt *caturthá-*, Toch B *štarte*). Though geographically restricted in its attestation, a zero-grade **k^wturyos* (e.g. Hit *kutruwa(n)-* ‘witness’ [i.e. ‘fourth party to a transaction’ (after the two originals and the judge/arbitrator/recorder)] from a pre-Hit **k^wtruyos*, itself by metathesis from **k^wturyós*, Av *tūřya-* ‘fourth’, Skt *turīya-* ‘fourth’), is probably older. (One can at least imagine that the Hittite butchers’ term, *kudur* ‘leg of beef, sheep, etc.’, might have originally meant ‘quarter’ [as in the English butchers’ term] and reflect an even older Proto-Indo-European form, **k^wturóm* ‘fourth’.)

The numeral ‘five’, **pénk^we* (e.g. OIr *cōic*, Lat *quīnque*, NE *five*, Lith *penkì*, Grk *pénte*, Arm *hing*, Av *panča*, Skt *pāñca*, Toch B *piś*), is, like all the other higher numbers to ‘ten’, uninflected for number or gender. There is also evidence of a derivative **pénk^wti-* (e.g. OCS *petī* ‘five’, Alb *pesë* ‘five’, Skt *pāñkti-* ‘group of five’). Celtic and Italic show the regular assimilation of Proto-Indo-European **p...k^w* to **k^w...k^w*, hence Lat *quīnque* rather than the otherwise expected **pīnque*, while the Germanic forms show an irregular assimilation of **p...k^w* to **p...p*, giving a Proto-Germanic **fimfi*. NWels *pimp* looks as if it has undergone the assimilation we see in Germanic but actually it is a regular descendant of Proto-Celtic **k^wenk^we*, since in the branch of Celtic to which Welsh belongs all Proto-Celtic **k^w* become *p*. Thus the apparent agreement of NWels *pimp* and Proto-Germanic **fimfi* illustrates the possibility of a single result being the product of very different processes and histories. The ordinal was **pñk^wtós* (e.g. Av *puxda-*, Skt *pakthá-*). Most stocks show a presumably later, and independently created full-grade, form, **pénk^w-tos* (e.g. Lat *quīntus*, NE *fifth*, Lith *penktas*, OCS *petŭ*, Alb *pestë*, Grk *pémptos*, Toch B *piñkte*).

The number **pénk^we* has plausibly been connected etymologically with **pñ(k^w)stí-* ‘fist’ (e.g. NE *fist*, Lith *kūmstė* [*< *punkstė*] ‘fist’, OCS *pestī* ‘fist’). Presumably the latter was originally then ‘group of five [fingers]’ or the like though it has been suggested that the derivation went the other way and that the basic word for ‘hand’ or ‘fist’ came to be the ordinary word for ‘five’ and was replaced in its originally primary meaning of ‘hand’ by other words. The Germanic words for ‘finger’, e.g. NE *finger*, have also been made part of the equation, assuming that they are to be derived from a Proto-Indo-European **pénk^wrós* ‘one of five’ or the like (one might compare Arm *hinger-ord* ‘fifth’). However, the absence of any nominal inflection on the word for ‘five’ makes a nominal origin ‘hand’ for it most unlikely, though there is no bar to seeing ‘fist’ and ‘finger’ as nominal derivatives of the numeral ‘five’ (Section 11.3). **pénk^we* has also been linked to Hit *panku-* ‘all, totality’, hence the numeral would have

originally meant something like ‘completing the count of all fingers of the hand’. The supposed semantic development is hardly compelling and, in any case, the Hittite word is more plausibly taken as representing **bhonghu-* ‘thickness’ (see Section 19.2).

The only external comparison for **penk^we* that has any plausibility is the comparison with Proto-Uralic ‘palm of the hand’ (cf. Finnish *pivo* ‘palm’) but here again both the phonological and semantic equations are pretty loose and not very convincing.

The word for ‘six’ shows a multiplicity of reconstructions. Phonologically most complex, and probably the oldest, is **ksweks* which lies behind Av *xšvaš*. Other languages show some sort of simplification of the initial consonant cluster. From **kseks* we have Lith *šeši*, OCS *šestī*, dialectal Grk *kséstriks krithē* ‘six-rowed barley’, and Skt *ṣaṣ*. From **(s)weks* we have OIr *sē*, NWels *chwech*, and possibly Grk *héks* (dialectal Grk *wéks*), Arm *vec’*, Toch B *ṣkas*. From **seks* we have Lat *sex*, NE *six*, Alb *gjashtë*, and possibly Toch B *ṣkas*. Finally, from **weks* we have possibly Grk *héks*, Arm *vec’*. We lack evidence from Anatolian as in Hittite ‘six’ is always represented symbolically rather than being written out. The ordinal shows similar phonological diversity combined with the morphological divergence between those forms expanded by **-o-* (only in Gaul *suexos*, and that has sometimes been taken as an engraver’s mistake for **suextos*) and those expanded by **-to-* (e.g. OIr *seissed*, Lat *sextus*, NE *sixth*, OPrus *usts* ~ *uschts*, Lith *šėštas*, Bulg *šestī*, Alb *gjashtë*, Grk *hēktos*, Av *xštva-* (< **Proto-Iranian *xšušta-*?), Skt *ṣaṣṭhá-*, Toch B *ṣkaste*).

The most complex ‘home-grown’ etymological explanation would involve the reduction of a compound involving **ghés-r-* ‘hand’ + **haeug-* ‘increase, grow’ > **ghs-weks* > **ksweks*, which would have meant ‘hand-overgrowing’, i.e. having to shift your finger count to the second hand. However, such an explanation can be charitably called strained from both the phonological and morphological point of view. The complex, and otherwise unexampled, initial consonant cluster **ksw-* has suggested to several investigators that we may be looking at a word that was originally borrowed from some non-Indo-European source. Foreign parallels to the Proto-Indo-European forms have been noted since the time of Franz Bopp who compared the Proto-Indo-European form with Proto-Kartvelian (a language group of the Caucasus composed of Georgian and closely related languages) **ekšw-* ‘six’; other comparisons are Hurrian (an extinct language of eastern Anatolia) *šeeže*, Akkadian *ši/eššum* (the form used to modify definite feminine nouns) ‘six’. These are variously explained as borrowing into or from (in the Kartvelian case) Proto-Indo-European. However, with the exception of the Kartvelian forms, the proposed models for the Proto-Indo-European word are only vaguely similar phonetically and there is no good reason why a

foreign *š*- or the like should generate a Proto-Indo-European **ksw-*. One might also note that the attested Akkadian form is far too late to have been the model for Proto-Indo-European borrowing, no matter where the Proto-Indo-Europeans may have been located, and the earlier Proto-Semitic form of ‘six’, **šid̥t(at)*, looks even less promising as a model for **ksweks*.

The word for ‘seven’, **septm̥*, is attested in almost all Indo-European groups and is firmly reconstructable to Proto-Indo-European (e.g. OIr *secht*, Lat *septem*, NE *seven*, Lith *septyni*, OCS *sedmī*, Alb *shtatë*, Grk *heptá*, Arm *ewt’n*, Av *hapta*, Skt *saptá*, Toch A *špät*), as is its ordinal counterpart (e.g. OIr *sechtmad*, Lat *septimus*, NE *seventh*, Lith *sėkmas* ~ [analogical] *septiñtas*, OCS *sedmŭ*, Alb *shtatë*, Grk *hēbdomos*, Av *haptaθa-*, Skt *saptamā-* ~ [analogical] *saptátha-*, Toch A *špätänt*). How it arrived in Proto-Indo-European has been a subject of long discussion. Generally, the fact that many other language families in the surrounding region possess a similar word for ‘seven’ has argued for borrowing. Generally, the source is taken to be from pre-Akkadian **sabátum* (the form used to modify masculine definite nouns) ‘seven’. However, as was the case with ‘six’, the pre-Akkadian form would be too late to serve as a model for the Proto-Indo-European word and the Proto-Semitic **šab’(at)* looks considerably less helpful.

The reconstruction of the numeral ‘eight’, **h_xok̑toh₃(u)* (e.g. OIr *ocht*, Lat *octō*, NE *eight*, Lith *aštuoni*, OCS *osmī*, Alb *tetë*, Grk *oktō*, Arm *ut’*, Lycian *ait-*, Av *ašta*, Skt *aṣṭā(u)*, Toch B *okt*), is, in form, the dual of the *o*-stem. The ordinals are formed regularly (e.g. OIr *ochtmad*, Lat *octāvus*, NE *eighth*, Lith *āšmas* ~ *aštuñtas*, OCS *osmŭ*, Alb *tetë*, Grk *ógdo(w)os*, Av *aštama-*, Skt *aṣṭamā-*, Toch B *oktante*). The dual morphology suggests that ‘eight’ consists of two **h_xok̑to-* which simple arithmetic would suggest meant ‘four’, yet we have already seen that the word for ‘four’ in Proto-Indo-European was not **h_xok̑to-*. A way around this problem has been to see the basic root here as **h_aek̑-* ‘sharp, pointed’ and the semantic development to involve the fingers as the ‘pointed’ sticking-out parts of the hand. In this way the numeral ‘eight’ would be ultimately **h_aok̑toh₁(u)* ‘two sets of points (fingers) of a hand’. Though a **h_xok̑to-* ‘foursome [of fingers]’ is otherwise unattested in Indo-European, such a Proto-Indo-European word may lurk in the form of a borrowing into Proto-Kartvelian in the form of **otxo-* ‘four’ in that language. It has also been suggested that an *i*-stem version of **h_xok̑to-* might be attested in the Av *ašti-* ‘four-fingers’ breadth’ though the Avestan word has also plausibly been taken as an Iranian semantic development of a Proto-Indo-Iranian word meaning ‘reaching’ seen otherwise in Skt *aṣṭi-* ‘reaching’.

As with ‘six’, the reconstructed shape of ‘nine’ presents several problems which might be summed up in two questions: does the number begin with **h₁(e)n-* or just **n-* and does it end in **-m̥* or **-ŋ*? The forms are, e.g., OIr *noī*,

Lat *novem*, NE *nine*, Lith *devyni*, OCS *devęti* (the Baltic and Slavic initial consonant influenced by that of ‘ten’), Alb *nëndë*, Grk *ennéa* (with difficult *-nn-* instead of *-n-*), Arm *inn*, Av *nava*, Skt *náva*, Toch AB *ñu*. The ordinal forms are similar: OIr *nōmad*, Lat *nōnus*, NE *ninth*, Lith *deviñtas*, OCS *devętu*, Alb *nëndë*, Grk *énatos*, Av *naoma-*, Skt *navamá-*, Toch B *ñunte*. The evidence for **h₁(e)n-* is limited to Greek and Armenian, but if the actual initial was **h₁n-*, those would be the only two Indo-European branches to show any trace of the laryngeal anyway. Lat *nōnus* would be much simpler to explain if the Proto-Indo-European original ended in **-n̥*, whereas OIr *nōmad*, Skt *navamá-* are harder, and Toch B *ñmuk* ‘90’ almost impossible, to explain unless we start from **-m̥*. The evidence of Baltic and Germanic would seem to favour **-n̥* except we know that all final *m*’s became *n* in the histories of those branches, so they really give no evidence one way or another.

Etymologically, the reconstructed form has been variously explained as derived from **néwos* ‘new’ (see Section 18.6), hence the ‘new number’ (after ‘eight’), or from **h₁énh₁u* ‘without’. The first explanation has only the phonological similarity of ‘nine’ and ‘new’ going for it. If the latter, it would be another example of a subtractive formation where the number ‘nine’ would then be explained as ‘ten without (= less) one’. Such an explanation is strengthened by undoubted examples in Indo-European of ‘eleven’ being [ten] with one left over’. Thus the most likely reconstruction for Proto-Indo-European ‘nine’ is **h₁néwh₁m̥* (an accusative to a consonant stem?), with **h₁néwh₁n̥* (an old locative to an *n*-stem?) also a strong contender.

Proto-Indo-European was a decimal-based system (other systems cannot be entirely excluded) whose indeclinable “cornerstone” form was **dék̑m̥* or **dék̑mt* (e.g. OIr *deich*, Lat *decem*, NE *ten*, Lith *dešimtis*, OCS *desęti*, Alb *dhetë*, Grk *déka*, Arm *tasn*, Av *dasa*, Skt *dáśa*, Toch B *śak*). The form with a final **-t* appears most clearly in the formation of the decades and of the word for ‘hundred’. It is probably the original form from which the shorter variant was created by the loss of the final **-t* in the otherwise very rare cluster **-m̥t*. The oldest reconstructable formation of the ordinal numbers would appear to involve the addition of the inflectible suffix **-o-* to the cardinal number (hence **triyós* ‘third’, **ksweksos* ‘sixth’, **septmós*, **h_xok̑towós* ‘eighth’, **h₁néwh₁m̥mós* ‘ninth’, and **d(e)k̑m̥tós* ‘tenth’). The loss of the final **-t*, if such it was, in the word for ‘ten’ created the basis of a morphological reanalysis in **dék̑mtos* ‘tenth’ from **dék̑mt-os* to **dék̑m̥-tos* or the creation of a new ordinal **dék̑mm-os*. The new **-to-* was extended as an ordinal-deriving ending even in Proto-Indo-European times (witness **pn̥k̑w̑tós* ‘fifth’) and continued its extension to other numbers in the individual stocks. In any case, both **dék̑mtos* and **dék̑mmos* are reflected in the cardinal forms found in the various branches (e.g. OIr *dechmad*, Lat *decimus*, NE *tenth*, Lith *dešimtas*,

OCS *desetī*, Alb *dhjetë*, Grk *dékatos*, Av *dasəma-*, Skt *daśamá-*, Toch B *škante*). Among the numerous etymological speculations, three are particularly popular. Some analyse the word as **de-* ‘two’ + *komt-* ‘hand’, i.e. the numeral ‘ten’ is the result of counting all the fingers on both hands. Among the more notable problems with this theory is that it is not all that clear why **dwéh₃(u)* ‘two’ should give **de*, and the ‘hand’ word which forms the second half of the putative compound is limited to several groups at best. Moreover, we do not find the expected dual form as in ‘eight’ if the first element really was ‘two’. It has also been analysed as **dek-* ‘right’ + *komt-* ‘hand’, i.e. presuming that one began with the left hand, the numeral ‘ten’ was what one completed with the right hand. Alternatively, the root has been interpreted as **dek-* ‘reach’, i.e. what has been reached, the end, the last number of the basic counting system. None of these proposals is at all persuasive.

The unit ‘ten’ is employed in forming the teens, e.g. **dwō dekṃ* ‘twelve (two-ten)’ (e.g. NWels *deuddeg*, Lat *duodecim*, Grk *dōdeka*, Arm *erkotasan*, Av *dvasa*, Skt *d(u)vādaśá*), **penk^we dekṃ* ‘fifteen (five-ten)’ (e.g. Lat *quīndecim*, NE *fifteen*, Arm *hingetasan*, Av *pañcadasa*, Skt *pāñcadaśa*). For the decades, we find that the word for ‘twenty’, **wīkṃti_h* (e.g. OIr *fiche*, Lat *vīginti*, Alb *njëzet* [*një-* is ‘one’], Grk *eikosi*, Arm *k’san*, Av *visaiti*, Skt *vimśatī*, Toch B *ikām*), is easily analysable as **dwī-* ‘two’ + **kṃti_h* ‘tens’ while the other decades are formed on the full-grade, e.g. **trī-komt(h_a)* ‘thirty’ (e.g. OIr *trīcho*, Lat *trīgintā*, Grk *triákonta*, Arm *eresun*, Av *θrīsa(n)t-*, Skt *triśát*, Toch B *täryāka*); **penk^wē-komt(h_a)* ‘fifty’ (e.g. OIr *coīca*, Lat *quīnquāgintā*, Grk *pentēkonta*, Arm *yisun*, Av *pañcāsatəm*, Skt *pañcāśát*, Toch B *piśāka*), **(k)s(w)eks-komt(h_a)* ‘sixty’ (e.g. OIr *sesca*, Lat *sexāgintā*, Grk *eksēkonta* [both Latin and Greek with an analogical medial vowel], Arm *vat’sun*, Toch B *škaska*). The length of the vowel in **wīkṃti_h*, **trī-komt(h_a)*, etc., almost surely reflects the simplification of an earlier cluster **dk-* with concomitant lengthening of the preceding vowel.

The word for ‘ten’ is obviously related to the word for ‘hundred’, **kṃtóm* (e.g. OIr *cēt*, Lat *centum*, NE *hundred*, Lith *šimtas*, OCS *sūto*, Grk *hekatón*, Av *satəm*, Skt *śatām*, Toch B *kante*) and is generally explained as a shortened version of **dkṃtóm*, itself a shortening of **dkṃt dṃtóm* ‘ten tens’ or ‘tenth ten’.

To sum up the etymological discussion, it would seem that two of the basic numbers, one of the words for ‘one’ (**h₁oinos* [etc.]) and the word for ‘hundred’, have excellent etymologies while two more, ‘eight’ and ‘nine’, have plausible ones. The rest remain mysterious.

Regional terms for numerals are few and both the reconstructed words for ‘thousand’ have limited distributions. The North-West yields **tuh_{as}-kṃtyós* (e.g. NE *thousand*, Lith *tūkstantis*, OCS *tyšęsti*) which is literally a ‘swollen (or ‘strong’) hundred’, while a Greek-Indo-Iranian isogloss is seen in **ghesl(iy)os* (e.g. Grk *khílioi* [pl.], Av *hazayra-*, Skt *sa-hásram*) where the initial element

**ghes-* is probably related to the word for ‘hand’ (see Section 11.3) and the number is possibly an expression of a handful or two handfuls of grain.

19.2 Measure and Quantity

In addition to the numerical system we can also reconstruct a vocabulary associated with the measurement of articles and expressions of quantification. Those assigned to Proto-Indo-European are listed in Table 19.2.

The verbal root **meh₁-* (e.g. Alb *mat* ‘measure’, Av *mā-* ‘measure’, Skt *mīmāti* ‘measures’) provides the basis for the noun **méh₁tis* ‘measure’ (e.g. Lat *mētior*

Table 19.2. *Measure and quantity*

* <i>méh₁tis</i>	‘measure’	Lat <i>mētior</i> , Grk <i>mētis</i> , Skt <i>māti-</i>
* <i>med-</i>	‘measure, weigh’	Lat <i>meditor</i> , NE <i>mete</i> , Grk <i>mēdomai</i>
* <i>wi-dhh₁-</i>	‘put asunder’	Lat <i>dīvidō</i> , Skt <i>vidhā-</i>
* <i>deh_a(i)-</i>	‘cut up; divide’	NE <i>tide</i> , Grk <i>daíomai</i> , Skt <i>dāti</i>
* <i>bhag-</i>	‘divide, distribute’	Grk <i>phageîn</i> , Skt <i>bhájati</i>
* <i>kaiwelos</i>	‘alone’	Lat <i>cae-lebs</i> , Skt <i>kévala-</i>
* <i>sem-go-(lo)s</i>	‘single one’	Lat <i>singulī</i>
* <i>sem-</i>	‘at one time, once’	Lat <i>semper</i> , <i>semplex</i> , Grk <i>haploûs</i>
* <i>somos</i>	‘same’	NE <i>same</i> , Grk <i>homós</i> , Skt <i>samá-</i>
* <i>snímós</i>	‘some, any’	NE <i>some</i> , Grk <i>hamós</i> , Skt <i>samá-</i>
* <i>sēmis</i>	‘half’	Lat <i>sēmi</i> , Grk <i>hēmi-</i> , Skt <i>sāmi-</i>
* <i>h_aélyos</i>	‘other’	Lat <i>alius</i> , NE <i>else</i> , Grk <i>állos</i>
* <i>pelh₁-</i>	‘fill’	Lat <i>pleō</i> , Grk <i>pimplēmi</i> , Skt <i>píparti</i>
* <i>p_lh₁nós</i>	‘full’	Lat <i>plēnus</i> , NE <i>full</i> , Skt <i>pūrā-</i>
* <i>pélh₁us</i>	‘much’	Grk <i>polús</i> , Skt <i>purú-</i>
* <i>bhénghus</i>	‘thick, abundant’	Lat <i>pinguis</i> , Grk <i>pakhús</i> , Skt <i>bahú-</i>
* <i>g^whonós</i>	‘± thick, sufficient’	Grk <i>euthenéō</i> , Skt <i>ghaná-</i>
* <i>sph₁rós</i>	‘± fat, rich’	Lat <i>prosper</i> , NE <i>spare</i> , Skt <i>sphirá-</i>
* <i>megh_a-</i>	‘large, great’	Lat <i>magnus</i> , Grk <i>mégas</i> , Skt <i>māhi-</i>
* <i>h₁eu(h_a)-</i>	‘empty, wanting’	Lat <i>vānus</i> , NE <i>wan</i> , <i>wane</i> , Grk <i>eūnis</i> , Skt <i>ūná-</i>
* <i>wak-</i>	‘be empty’	Lat <i>vacō</i>
* <i>tusskýos</i>	‘empty’	Skt <i>tucchya-</i>
* <i>mei-</i>	‘less’	Lat <i>minus</i> , Grk <i>minuórios</i>
* <i>mrg̃hus</i>	‘short’	Lat <i>brevis</i> , NE <i>merry</i> , Grk <i>brakhús</i> , Skt <i>múhu-</i>
* <i>menus/menwos</i>	‘thin (in density)’	Grk <i>mánu</i> , Skt <i>manāk</i>
* <i>tenk-</i>	‘become firm, thicken; shrink’	Skt <i>tanákti</i>
* <i>reuk/g-</i>	‘shrink, wrinkle up’	Lat <i>rūga</i>

‘measure’, OE *māþ* ‘measure’, Alb *mot* ‘season; rainstorm’, Grk *mêtis* ‘plan, Skt *māti-* ‘measure’) and other derivatives, e.g. NE *meal* which in OE *mæl* meant ‘measure, mark, appointed time’, which then specialized to ‘meal time’, and Hit *mēhur* ‘time’. The root **med-* also meant ‘measure’ (e.g. OIr *midithir* ‘judges’, Lat *meditor* ‘meditate’, OE *metan* ‘measure, mete out’ [> NE *mete*], Grk *médōmai* ‘provide for, be mindful of’, *mēdomai* ‘intend; plot’, Arm *mit* ‘thought, reason’) and in Latin (*medeor* ‘cure’, *medicus* ‘doctor’), Greek (Mēdos, god of medicine), and Avestan (*vi-madaya* ‘act as a healer’), it took on special medical connotations.

Another way of measuring out is through division for which there are several words in Proto-Indo-European. The meanings for **wi-dhh₁-* are fairly wide-ranging, e.g. ‘divide’ (Lat *dīvidō*), ‘interior’ (Baltic, e.g. Latv *vidus*), ‘bring’ (Hit *widā(i)-*), and ‘distribute’ (Skt *vi-dhā-*), but the nominal derivative **widh₁eweh_a-*, ‘widow’ (see Section 12.2), helps secure the proto-meaning as ‘put asunder’. The verbal root **deh_a(i)-* means ‘divide’ in most languages (e.g. Alb *për-daj* ‘distribute, divide, scatter’, Grk *daíōmai* ‘divide; feast on’, Skt *dāti* ‘cuts up, divides’) or indicates a portion of what has been divided up, e.g. OIr *dām* ‘host, retinue’ or Grk *dēmos* ‘people’ and ‘tide’ (as in a time of year) in Germanic (e.g. NE *tide* and *time*) and Arm *ti* ‘age, time’. The root **bhag-* is similarly attested in verbal form as ‘divide, apportion’ (e.g. Grk *phagēn* ‘eat’, Av *bag-* ‘distribute’, Skt *bhājati* ‘divides, distributes, enjoys’) and nominal, i.e. ‘portion’ (e.g. Rus *bog* ‘god’, Av *baγa-* ‘god’, Skt *bhāga-* ‘lord’, Toch B *pāke* ‘share, portion’), and underlies the name of a deity (see Section 17.1, 23.1).

Other than the numeral ‘one’, **h₁oinos*, there are other singulatives (with the extension **-ko-*, e.g. **h₁oinoko-*, we have NE *any*). A Latin-Sanskrit (and possibly Baltic) isogloss gives us **kaiwelos* (Lat *caelebs* ‘living alone, celibate’, Skt *kévala-* ‘alone’) while the much used **sem-* appears in **sem-go-(lo)s* ‘single one’ (Lat *singulū* ‘single, individual’). It also provides the basis for the multiplicative of ‘one’, i.e. ‘once’, **sem-* (Lat *sem-per* ‘always’, *sim-plex* ‘single’, Grk *haploūs* ‘singly, in one way’) or **semlo-m* (OIr *samlith* ‘like, as’, Lat *simul* ‘simultaneously, together, at the same time’, OE *simbel(s)* ‘always’). An *o*-grade nominal form **somos* gives us the meaning ‘same’ (e.g. OIr *-som* ‘self; that one’, NE *same*, OCS *samŭ* ‘himself’, Grk *homós* ‘similar, same’, Arm *omn* ‘some, certain, any’, Av *hama-* ‘same’, Skt *samá-* ‘equal, like, same’, Toch AB *sam* ‘like, even’) while a zero-grade **sm̥mós* meant ‘some, any’ (e.g. NE *some*, Grk *hamós* ‘anyone’, Arm *amen(ain)* ‘all, each’, Av *hama-* ‘anyone’, Skt *samá-* ‘anyone’). Less certain is the word for ‘half’, **sēm̥is* (or **seh₁mis?*; e.g. Lat *sēmi-* ‘half-’, OHG *sāmi-* ‘half-’, Grk *hēmi-* ‘half-’, Skt *sāmi-* ‘half-’), which has been variously interpreted as a lengthened grade of **sem-* ‘one’ or derived from the verbal root **seh₁-* ‘separate’; certainly the latter makes more sense semantically. The Proto-Indo-European word for ‘other’ was **h_aélyos* (e.g. OIr *aile*, Lat *alius*, NE *else*, Grk *állos*, Arm *ayl*, Toch B *alyek*).

The verb **pelh₁-* ‘fill’ is conjugated as a reduplicated present in Grk *pímplēmi* and Skt *píparti* and it is attested in other formations elsewhere (e.g. OIr *línaid* ‘fills’, Lat *pleō* ‘fill’, Arm *helum* ‘pour’, Av *par-* ‘fill’). It also provides the basis for the adjective **pl_h₁nós* (e.g. OIr *lān*, NE *full*, Lith *pilnas*, OCS *plūnŭ*, Av *pərəna-* ‘filled’, Skt *pūrṇá-* ‘full’, Toch B *pällew* ‘full [of the moon]’; Lat *plēnus* is from the full-grade) and the word for ‘much’, **pélh₁us* (e.g. OIr *il*, OE *fela*, Grk *polús*, Av *pouru-*, Skt *purú-*, all ‘much’); the comparative form **pleh₁yos* is the basis of Lat *plūs* ‘more’ and likewise OIr *līa* ‘more’, Av *frāyah-* ‘more’, and Skt *prāyá-* ‘mostly, commonly’. Other expressions of ‘abundance’ were **bhēnghus* (e.g. Lat *pinguis* ‘fat’ [with mysterious initial *p-*], OHG *bungo* ‘bump’, Latv *biezs* ‘thick’, Grk *pakhús* ‘thick, compact’, probably Hit *panku-* ‘total, entire, general’ [see also above], Skt *bahú-* ‘much, many; numerous, compact; abounding in’) which has a basic meaning of ‘thick’ and derives from the verbal root (attested only in Skt *báhate* ‘increases’) **bhēngh-* ‘grow, increase’. The concepts of ‘thickness’ and ‘fullness’ also lie behind **g^whonós* (e.g. Lith *ganà* ‘enough’, OCS *goněti* ‘suffice’, perhaps Grk *euthenēō* ‘flourish’, Arm *y-ogn* ‘much’, certainly again OPers *āganīš* ‘full’, Skt *ghaná-* ‘thick’). The verbal root **speh₁(i)-* ‘flourish’ yielded **sph₁rós* ‘fat, rich’ (e.g. Lat *prosper* ‘lucky’, NE *spare*, OCS *sporŭ* ‘rich’, Skt *sphirá-* ‘fat’). Finally, the adjective ‘large, great’, **meg_ha-*, is well attested in ten groups (e.g. OIr *maige* ‘great, large’, Lat *magnus* ‘large’, OE *micel* ‘large’, Alb *madh* ‘large’, Grk *mégas* ‘large’, Arm *mec* ‘large’, Hit *mēkkis* ‘much, many, numerous’, Av *maz-* ‘large’, Skt *māhi-* ‘large’, Toch B *māka* ‘many’); only *much* (with unexpected loss, dating to Middle English, of the final *-l*) and the dialectal *mickle* (corresponding in form to Grk *megálos*) survive as direct descendants in English, although the Greek-derived prefix *mega-* is quite productive in modern English.

There are also words to indicate ‘emptiness’ or ‘lack’. Widespread is **h₁eu(h_a)-* with consistent meanings across six groups (e.g. Grk *eūnis* ‘deprived’, Arm *unayn* ‘empty’, Lat *vānus* ‘empty’, NE *wan*, *wane*, Av *ūna-* ‘wanting’, Skt *ūná-* ‘lacking’). A Latin-Hittite isogloss attests **wak-* (Lat *vacō* ‘am empty’, Hit *wakk-* ‘fail, be lacking’) while the verbal root **teus-* ‘to empty’ (Av *taošayeiti* ‘lets fall, lets go’) supplies **tusskýos* which is attested in Balto-Slavic (e.g. Lith *tūšcias* ‘empty, poor’, Rus *tóščyj* ‘empty’) and Indo-Iranian (e.g. NPers *tuhī* ‘empty’, Skt *tucchyá-* ‘empty’). A root **mei-* ‘less’ supplies both the adjective **minus* (Lat *minus* ‘small’, Goth *minnists* ‘smallest’, Grk *minuórios* ‘short-lived’) and a verb **minéuti* (e.g. Corn *minow* ‘lessen’, Lat *minuō* ‘lessen’, Grk *minúthō* ‘lessen, decrease’, Skt *minóti* ‘lessens’). The meaning ‘short’, with respect to both time and space, is indicated by **m₁ghus* (e.g. Lat *brevis* ‘short’, NE *merry*, Grk *brakhús* ‘short [of time or space]’, Av *mərəzu-* ‘short’, Skt *múhu-* ‘short’) where the Lat *brevis* and Grk *brakhús* are presumed to involve a change of **mr-* > *br-*. Another expression of smallness is seen in **menus/menwos* ‘thin,

sparse, fine' (e.g. OIr *menb* 'small, tiny', Grk *mánu* 'small', Arm *manr* 'small, fine', Skt *manāk* 'a little, slightly'). A root **tenk-* covers a semantic bundle that includes 'shrink' and 'make thick/compact' which suggests that the original referent concerned the behaviour of congealing dairy products. It is found in Celtic (OIr *tēcht* 'coagulated'), Germanic (ON *þēl* 'buttermilk'), Baltic (Lith *tānkus* 'thick, copious'), Indo-Iranian (Skt *tanākti* 'pulls together', *takráṃ* 'buttermilk'), and Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *taiki* 'very, fully; full'). A Latin-Baltic-Tocharian isogloss secures **reuk/g-* 'shrink, wrinkle up' (Lat *rūga* 'wrinkle', Lith *runkù* 'shrivel up', Toch B *ruk-* 'grow lean (with hunger)').

From the North-West we have **h₁ónteros* 'other' (e.g. NE *other*, Lith *añtras* 'other, second', OCS *vŭtorŭ* 'second'); **w(e)h_astos* 'empty' (e.g. OIr *fās* 'empty', Lat *vastus* 'empty, unoccupied', NE *waste*) which may be an enlargement of the PIE **h₁eu(h_a)-* 'empty'; **(s)keup-* 'bundle' (e.g. NE *sheaf*, Rus *čup* 'tuft, head of hair, crest'); **menegh-* 'abundant' (e.g. OIr *meinic(c)* 'abundant', NE *many*, OCS *mŭnogŭ* 'abundant'), possibly Proto-Indo-European if one accepts Skt *maghā-* 'gift, reward, wealth' as cognate; and **kerdheh_a-* 'herd, series' (e.g. NE *herd*, Lith *(s)keřdžius* 'herdsman', OCS *črěda* 'herd, series'). From the West Central region we have **meh₁ro-* ~ **moh₁ro-* 'large' (e.g. OIr *mār* 'large', ON *mærr* 'known, famous, great', OCS *Vladi-měřŭ* [personal name], Grk *egkhesí-mōros* 'mighty with a spear') from **meh₁-* 'grow'; **pau-* 'little, few' (e.g. Lat *pauper* 'poor', *paucus* 'few', *parvus* 'small', NE *few*, Grk *pāuros* 'little'); **sm₁teros* 'one or the other of two' (e.g. NWels *hanner* 'half', Grk *héteros* 'one or the other of two'); possibly **méuh_xkō(n)* 'heap' (e.g. NE *hay-mow*, dialectal Grk *múkōn* 'heap'); **h_arei(h_x)-* 'number, count (out)' (e.g. OIr *āram* 'number', *rīm* 'number, computation', NE *rhyme* [with unetymological, Greek-influenced spelling], Grk *arithmós* 'number') and with extensions we have Lat *ratīō* 'calculation, reckoning' and the element *-red* in NE *hundred*; **del-* 'aim, compute' (e.g. NE *tell*, Grk *dólos* 'guile, bait', Arm *tol* 'row'). A Greek-Armenian isogloss is seen in **kenós* 'empty' (Grk *kenós* 'empty', Arm *sin* 'empty') and a Greek-Indic isogloss is **h₁er(h₁)-* 'separate' (i.e. Grk *erēmos* 'desolate, lonely, solitary', Skt *ṛté* 'except, without' [it is interesting that there is apparently no relationship between **h_arei(h_x)-* 'count out' and **h₁er(h₁)-* 'separate']]).

Further Reading

There have been recent surveys of the IE numerical system. The most extensive is Gvozdanivic (1992); see also Blažek (1999a), Schmidt (1992), Schmid (1989), Justus (1988), and Szemerényi (1960); the root for 'measure' is discussed in Haudry (1992), 'size' in Winter (1980), and 'weight' in Peeters (1974).

20

Mind, Emotions, and Sense Perception

20.1	Knowledge and Thought	321	20.7	Desire	340
20.2	Sight	325			
20.3	Bright and Dark	328	20.8	Love and Hate	342
20.4	Colour	331	20.9	Hot, Cold, and other Qualities	344
20.5	Hearing, Smell, Touch, and Taste	334			
20.6	The Good, Bad, and the Ugly	336	20.10	Proto-Indo-European Perception	348

20.1 Knowledge and Thought

There is a rich reconstructable vocabulary in Indo-European pertaining to the mental and sensory processes. Those words specifically concerned with knowing and thinking are indicated in Table 20.1.

There are two widely attested verbs for ‘know’ in Proto-Indo-European. The first, **ǵneh₃-*, with its many derivatives, denotes becoming acquainted with, i.e. knowing (a person), recognizing. The present may either be **ǵnh₃-neh_a-* (e.g. OIr *ad-gnin* ‘recognizes’, OE *cunnan* ‘know, be able to’, Lith *žinóti* ‘known’, Av *zānāiti* ‘knows’, Skt *jānāti* ‘knows, recognizes’, Toch A *knānā-* ‘know’), or formed with the suffix **-skē/o-*, (e.g. Lat *(g)nōscō* ‘know’, Alb *njoh* ‘know’, Grk *gignōskō* ‘know’). The same root also provides a series of deverbatives, e.g. **ǵneh₃tis* ‘knowledge’ (e.g. Lat *nōtiō* ‘a becoming acquainted, investigation; conception’, Rus *znatī* ‘[circle of] acquaintances’, Grk *gnōsis* ‘knowledge’, Skt *pra-jñāti-* ‘knowledge’), **ǵn(e)h₃tēr* ‘knower’ (e.g. Lat *nōtor*, Grk *gnōstēr* (with analogical *-s-*), Av *žnātar-*, Skt *jñātár-*, all ‘knower’), and **ǵnh₃tós* ‘known’ (e.g. OIr *gnāth* ‘used to, known’, Lat *nōtus* ‘known’, Grk *gnōtós* ‘known’, Skt *jñātá-* ‘known’). The second root, **weid-*, indicates ‘seeing’ or ‘knowing as a

Table 20.1. *Knowledge and thought*

* <i>ġneh</i> ₃ -	‘know, be acquainted with’	Lat <i>gnōscō</i> , NE <i>can</i> , Grk <i>gignōskō</i> , Skt <i>jānāti</i> ;
* <i>weid</i> -	‘see, know (as a fact)’	Lat <i>videō</i> , NE <i>wit</i> , Grk <i>oīda</i> , Skt <i>vēda</i>
* <i>men</i> -	‘think, consider’	Lat <i>meminī</i> , Grk <i>mémōna</i> , Skt <i>mamnē</i>
* <i>ménmġ</i>	‘thought’	Skt <i>mánman</i> -
* <i>méntis</i>	‘thought’	Lat <i>mēns</i> , NE <i>mind</i> , Skt <i>matī</i> -
* <i>meino</i> -	‘opinion’	NE <i>mean</i> , <i>bemoan</i>
* <i>teng</i> -	‘think, feel’	Lat <i>tongeō</i> , NE <i>think</i> , <i>thank</i>
* <i>men(s)-dh(e)h</i> ₁ -	‘learn’	Grk <i>manthánō</i> , Skt <i>medhā</i>
* <i>(s)mer</i> -	‘remember, be concerned about’	NE <i>mourn</i> , Grk <i>meríaimna</i> , <i>mártus</i> , Skt <i>smárati</i>
* <i>mers</i> -	‘forget’	NE <i>mar</i> , Skt <i>mṛṣyate</i>
* <i>kred-dheh</i> ₁ -	‘believe’	Lat <i>crēdō</i> , Skt <i>śrād-dhāti</i>
* <i>h_{2/3}eh_x</i> -	‘trust in, believe’	Lat <i>ōmen</i>
* <i>h₁ger</i> -	‘awake’	Grk <i>egrēgora</i> , Skt <i>jāgārti</i>
* <i>der</i> -	‘sleep’	Lat <i>dormiō</i> , Grk <i>édrastron</i> , Skt <i>drāti</i>
* <i>ses</i> -	‘rest, sleep, keep quiet’	Skt <i>sāsti</i>
* <i>swep</i> -	‘sleep, dream’ (vb)	Lat <i>sōpiō</i> , Skt <i>svāpiti</i>
* <i>swópnos</i>	‘sleep, dream’ (noun)	Lat <i>somnus</i>
* <i>swópniyom</i>	‘dream’	Lat <i>somnium</i> , Grk <i>enúpnion</i> , Skt <i>svápnīyam</i>

fact’ rather than recognizing a person. It was essentially a perfect, **wóide* ‘have seen’, that was reinterpreted as a present ‘know’ (e.g. OIr *ro-fetar* ‘knows’, Lat *videō* ‘see’, OE *witan* ‘know’ [cf. NE *wit*], Lith *vėizdmi* ‘see’, OCS *vědě* ‘know’, Grk *oīda* ‘know’, Arm *gitem* ‘know’, Av *vaēda* ‘know[s], see[s]’, Skt *vēda* ‘know[s]’). It too supplies a number of other words, e.g. **widmén*- ‘knowledge’ (e.g. Grk *ídmōn* ‘skilled’, Skt *vidmán*- ‘wisdom’, Toch B *ime* ‘consciousness, awareness, thought’), **weides*- ‘what is seen’ (e.g. MIr *fīad* ‘face to face’, NE *-wise* as in ‘lengthwise’, Lith *vėidas* ‘face’, OCS *vidŭ* ‘appearance’, Grk *eīdos* ‘appearance’, Skt *vēdas*- ‘knowledge’).

The verb to ‘think’ is also evidenced by two verbs. The most productive is **men*- which also took a perfect **memónh₂e* ‘think, remember’ (e.g. Lat *meminī* ‘remember’, Grk *mémōna* ‘yearn’, Skt *mamnē* ‘thinks’) and two different presents, i.e. **mġyétor* seen in Celtic (OIr *do-moinethar* ‘believes’), Baltic (Lith *miniù* ‘remember’), Slavic (OCS *mŋjŋq* ‘think’), Grk *maínomai* ‘rage, be mad’,

Indo-Iranian (Av *mainyeite* ‘thinks’, Skt *mányate* ‘thinks’) and **mnéh_ati* (Grk *mnēma* ‘remembrance’, Luv *m(a)nā-* ‘see, look upon’). From this root we also have **ménm̃* (e.g. OIr *menma* ‘spirit, sense’, Skt *mánman-* ‘mind, perception’) and **méntis* (e.g. Lat *mēns* ‘thought’, NE *mind*, Lith *mintis* ‘thought’, OCS *pa-mětī* ‘thought’, Av *-maiti-* ‘thought’, Skt *matí-* ‘thought’), both centring on the notion ‘thought’. Semantically different is **meino-* ‘opinion’ (e.g. OIr *mīan* ‘wish, desire’, NE *mean*, *bemoan*, OCS *měnjō* ‘mention’, Toch B *onmim* ‘remorse’). The verb ‘learn’ is formed with a compound of the root, i.e. **men(s)-dh(e)h₁-* ‘mind-place/put’ (e.g. NWels *mynnu* ‘wish’, OHG *mendōn* ‘rejoice’, *munter* ‘lively’, Lith *mañdras* ‘lively, awake’, OCS *mōdroq* ‘wise’, Alb *mund* ‘be able’, Grk *manthánō* ‘learn’, Av *mąz-dā-* ‘stamp in the memory’, *mazdā* ‘wisdom’, Skt *medhā* ‘wisdom’). The sense of ‘think’ as ‘to be of the opinion, feel’ seems to have been indicated by **teng-* where the concept of ‘feel’ is seen in Germanic (e.g. NE ‘thank’ as well as ‘think’) and Tocharian (Toch B *tañkw* ‘love’ as well as *cāñk-* ‘please’) while Albanian clearly took a negative emotional turn to yield *tëngë* ‘resentment, grudge’; more purely cognitive in meaning is Lat *tongē* ‘know’.

The verb to ‘remember’ was **(s)mer-* (e.g. NE *mourn*, Lith *merėti* ‘worry about’, Grk *mérimna* ‘thought, care, anxiety’, *mártus* ‘witness’ [> by borrowing NE *martyr*], Av *maraiti* ‘observes’, Skt *smáratī* ‘remembers, longs for’) which also appears in reduplicated form, e.g. Lat *memoria* ‘remembrance’, OE *mimorian* ‘remember’, Arm *mormok* ‘care’. It is interesting that the two antonymic verbs ‘remember’ and ‘forget’ should resemble each other so closely in form. PIE **mers-* indicates ‘forget’ in Baltic (e.g. Lith *mirštū* ‘forget, overlook’), Arm *mořanam* ‘forget’, Skt *mřsyate* ‘forgets, neglects’, and Toch AB *mārs-* ‘forget’ but shows a different set of meanings in Germanic (e.g. OE *mierran* ‘disturb, confuse, hinder’ [> NE *mar*]) which has led to some doubt that the Germanic set belongs here.

Belief was indicated by a compound **kred-dheh₁-* (e.g. OIr *creitid* ‘believes’, Lat *crēdō* ‘believe’, Av *zrazdā-* ‘believing’, Skt *śrād-dhāti* ‘believes, has trust in’, *śrad-dhā-* ‘faith’). Although there are problematic forms involved in Iranian, this compound is traditionally explained as ‘heart-put/place’ and it is surely old in Indo-European as it occurs as an uncompounded expression in Hit, i.e. *k(a)ratān dai-* ‘place the heart’. There is a possible Irish-Parthian (an Iranian language) isogloss (OIr *iress* ‘belief’, Parth *parast* ‘ardor’) indicating **peristeh₂-* ‘stand before’ > ‘belief’ although it is just as likely that these are independent creations in the two languages. Another root is supplied by **h_{2/3}eh_x-* (e.g. Lat *ōmen* ‘sign, omen’, Hit *hā(i)-* ‘believe, take as truth’) with which some would also include the Celtic (e.g. OIr *oeth*) and Germanic words for ‘oath’ (including NE *oath*)(see Section 17.4).

We have at least one root indicating 'awake', **h₁ger-*, found in Alb *ngre* 'awake, raise up, lift', Grk *egrēgora* 'was awake', and Indo-Iranian (Av *jagāra* 'was awake', Skt *jāgārti* 'is awake, awakes') but also perhaps in Lat *expergō* 'I waken' (if from **ex-per-gr-*). There are more words associated with 'sleep'. A series of enlargements of a root **der-* gives us verbs to 'sleep' in Italic (Lat *dormiō* 'sleep'), Slavic (OCS *dremljō* 'doze'), Grk *édrastron* 'slept', and Skt *drāti* 'sleeps' but there is no clear survival of the original unenlarged verbal form. An Anatolian-Indo-Iranian isogloss gives us **ses-* 'sleep' (e.g. Hit *sess-* 'sleep', *sessnu-* 'put to bed', Av *hah-* 'sleep', Skt *sāsti* 'sleeps') which may be onomatopoeic if Proto-Indo-Europeans counted *s*'s rather than *z*'s when they snored. The verbal root **swep-* supplied two presents: **swépti* 'sleeps, dreams' (e.g. OE *swefan*, OCS *sŭpati*, Hit *supp-*, Av *x^uap-*, Skt *svápiti*, all 'sleep') and a causative **swopéyeti* ~ **swōpéyeti* 'puts to sleep' (Lat *sōpiō* 'lull to sleep', OE *swebban* 'lull to sleep, kill', Skt *svapáyati* ~ *svāpáyati* 'lulls to sleep'). In addition there is the derived noun **swópnos* ~ **swépnos* 'sleep, dream' (e.g. Lat *somnus* 'sleep', Lith *sāpnas* 'dream', OE *swefn* 'sleep', Grk *húpnos* 'sleep', Av *h^uafna-* 'sleep', Skt *svápna-* 'sleep', Toch B *špane* 'sleep, dream'). Similar is the **supnós* that lies behind OCS *sŭnŭ* 'sleep', Alb *gjumë* 'sleep', and Arm *k'un* 'sleep'. When we add to this mix Lat *sopor* 'overpowering sleep', Grk *húpar* 'true dream, vision; walking reverie', Hit *suppariya-* 'dream', it would appear that early Proto-Indo-European had a noun **swópr̥* ~ **swépōr* (genitive **supnós*) that was morphologically rebuilt in various ways to give all of these various reflexes. The two concepts of 'sleep' and 'dream' regularly fall together in many Indo-European languages and there does not seem to be a set of different roots to distinguish the two activities in Proto-Indo-European. The closest we can come to a Proto-Indo-European 'dream' is **swópr̥niyom* seen in Lat *somnium* 'dream', Baltic (Lith *sapnŭs* 'sleep, dream'), perhaps Grk *enúpnion* 'dream', Skt *svápn-nyam* 'vision in a dream'; similar is the **supn(iy)om* of Slavic (OCS *sŭnije* 'dream'), Tocharian (Toch B *sänmetse* 'in a trance'), and perhaps Grk *enúpnion* 'dream' but the different groups may have independently created these words from **swep-*.

From the North-West we have **sent-* 'perceive, think' (e.g. Lat *sentīō* 'feel', *sēnsus* 'feeling, meaning', NHG *Sinn* 'meaning', Lith *sentėti* 'think', OCS *seštī* 'wise'). From the West Central region there is **ghou-* 'perceive, pay heed to' (e.g. Lat *faveō* 'favour', ON *gā* 'pay attention to', OCS *gověje* 'honour', Arm *govem* 'praise'); **g^uhren-* 'think' (a Germanic-Greek isogloss): on the Germanic side we have ON *grunnr* 'suspicion' and *grundr* 'meditation' while the Greek cognates include both *phronéō* 'think' and *phrén* 'midriff; spirit', suggesting that the Greeks or their ancestors once placed the organ of knowledge in the chest and not the head; an Albanian-Greek-Armenian isogloss gives **h₃én̥* 'dream' (Alb *ëndërr*, Grk *ónar*, Arm *anur*). There are several Graeco-Aryan isoglosses:

from the root **men-* ‘think’ comes **ménes-* ‘thought’ (i.e. Grk *ménos*, Av *manah-*, Skt *máнас-*), and several shared formations are built on **dens-* ‘teach, inculcate a skill’ (e.g. Grk *didáskō* ‘teach’, Av *dīdaighē* ‘am instructed’).

20.2 Sight

In terms of the five senses, sight provides far more reconstructable items of vocabulary than any of the other senses. The basic Proto-Indo-European vocabulary associated with vision is indicated in Table 20.2.

There are several terms for ‘appear’. We can supply ‘appear’ as the tentative meaning to **k^wek̑/g̑-* whose range of meanings comprises ‘show’ (OCS *kažq*), ‘sign’ (Grk *tékmar*), ‘teaches’ (Av *čašte*), and ‘appears’ (Skt *cášte* ‘sees,

Table 20.2. *Sight*

<i>*k^wek̑/g̑-</i>	‘appear’	Grk <i>tékmar</i> , Skt <i>cášte</i>
<i>*weik-</i>	‘appear’	Grk <i>eikón</i> , Skt <i>viśati</i>
<i>*derk̑-</i>	‘glance at’	Grk <i>dérkomai</i> , Skt <i>dṛṣṭi-</i>
<i>*leuk-</i>	‘see’	Grk <i>leússō</i> , Skr <i>lókate</i>
<i>*(s)pek̑-</i>	‘observe’	Lat <i>speciō</i> , Grk <i>sképtomai</i> , Skt <i>páśyati</i>
<i>*sek^w-</i>	‘see’	NE <i>see</i>
<i>*wel-</i>	‘see’	Lat <i>voltus</i>
<i>*leg̑-</i>	‘see’	Lat <i>legō</i> , NE <i>look</i>
<i>*bheudh-</i>	‘pay attention, be observant’	Grk <i>peúthomai</i> , Skt <i>bódhati</i>
<i>*bhoudhéye/o-</i>	‘waken, point out’	Skt <i>bodháyati</i>
<i>*swerh_xK-</i>	‘watch over, be concerned about’	NE <i>sorrow</i>
<i>*wer-</i>	‘perceive, give attention to’	Lat <i>vereor</i> , NE <i>ware</i> , <i>wary</i> , Grk <i>oráō</i>
<i>*wet-</i>	‘see (truly)’	Lat <i>vātēs</i> , Skt <i>vatati</i>
<i>*wer-b(h)-</i>	‘oversee, protect’	
<i>*h₃eu-</i>	‘perceive’	Lat <i>audiō</i> , Grk <i>aisthánomai</i> , Skt <i>uvé</i>
<i>*k^wei-</i>	‘perceive’	Grk <i>atízō</i> , Skt <i>cikéti</i>
<i>*(s)keuh₁-</i>	‘perceive’	Lat <i>caveō</i> , Grk <i>koēō</i>
<i>*seh_ag-</i>	‘perceive acutely, seek out’	Lat <i>sāgiō</i> , NE <i>seek</i> , Grk <i>hēgēomai</i>
<i>*h₃ēwis</i>	‘obvious’	
<i>*meigh- ~ *meik-</i>	‘close the eyes’	Lat <i>micō</i>

appears', *kāśate* 'appears, is brilliant, shines'). Another root, **weik-*, is sometimes associated with the concept of 'appear, come into sight' (e.g. Lith *vỹkti* 'come, go', Grk *eīke* 'it appeared good', Av *visaiti* 'presents itself', Skt *viśati* 'enters') but also has nominal forms indicating 'image' in both Germanic and Greek (e.g. OE *wīh* ~ *wēoh* 'image, idol', Grk *eikōn* 'image, likeness' (our NE *icon* is a loanword from Greek)).

There are a series of words meaning 'see'; some of these are independent roots and others involve ancient semantic shifts from other verbs. To the former belong **derk-* (e.g. OIr *ad-con-darc* 'have seen', Goth *ga-tarhjan* 'distinguish, note', Alb *dritë* 'light', Grk *dérkomai* 'see', Skt *dṛṣṭi-* 'sight') with its textbook reduplicated perfects in Grk *dédorka*, Av *dādarəsa*, and Skt *dadārśa*. This verb may have been the expression *par excellence* of the baleful look of the dragon or monster of Proto-Indo-European mythology. Both Greek (*drákōn* whence, via Latin, NE *dragon*) and OIr (*muidris* '± sea-dragon') have derivatives of this root as the word for 'dragon' (though the formations are different and independent: **dṛkōnt-* and **dṛk̑si-* respectively). The root **(s)pek-* is similarly widespread (e.g. Lat *speciō* 'see', OHG *spehōn* 'spy', Grk *sképtomai* 'look at', Av *spasyeiti* 'spies', Skt *pásyati* 'sees', Toch AB *pāk-* 'intend') while **wel-* is limited to Celtic (e.g. NWels *gweled* 'see') and Tocharian (Toch B *yel-* 'examine, investigate') but there are derived forms in Italic (Lat *vultus* 'facial expression, appearance, form') and Germanic (e.g. OE *wuldor* 'fame'). Those verbs where there has been semantic specialization include **leuk-* which generally means 'see' in most groups (e.g. NWels *amlwg* 'evident', OPrus *laukū* 'seek', OCS *lučiti* 'meet someone', Grk *leússō* 'see', Skt *lókate* 'perceives') but can hardly be separated from **leuk-* in the sense of 'shine' (see Section 20.3). The verb 'follow', **sek^w-*, also yields 'see' in many languages in the sense of 'follow with the eyes' (e.g. NE *see*, Lith *sekù* 'follow, keep an eye on', Alb *shoh* 'see'); it is an ancient metaphoric shift and is found in Anatolian where Hittite attests *sākuwa* 'eye' and Lydian *saw-* 'see'. Finally, the verb 'gather', **leg-*, gives us 'see' in Italic (e.g. Lat *legō* 'gather; read'), Germanic (e.g. NE *look*), and Tocharian (AB *lāk-* 'see').

To these verbs for 'see' we can add a series of words that hover around 'perception', sometimes visible. For example, **bheudh-* carries the meaning 'observe' in Slavic, Greek, and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Rus *bljudū* 'observe, pay attention to', Grk *peúthomai* 'examine, experience', Av *baodaiti* 'notices, observes', Skt *bódhati* 'is awake, wakes up; observes, understands'; a buddha is someone who is 'awake', i.e. understands how the world works); in Germanic it has shifted to 'ask, offer' (e.g. OE *bēodan*, NE *bid*). The root supplies a causative **bhoudhéye/o-* 'waken, point out' (e.g. Lith *baudžiù* 'waken', OCS *buditi* 'waken', Av *baodayeiti* 'indicates', Skt *bodháyati* 'wakens'). To 'watch over' or 'be concerned about' underlies **swerh_xK-* where it generally denotes

something closer to ‘guarding’ than actually employing a visual sense (e.g. OE *sorgian* ‘grieve, be sorry for, be anxious about’, Lith *sérgti* ‘keeps watch over’, Skt *súrksati* ‘takes care of’). The English ‘wary’ or ‘beware’ probably provides a reasonable approximation of the underlying meaning of **wer-* (e.g. Lat *vereor* ‘honour, fear’, NE *ware* and *wary*, Latv *vērt* ‘look, gaze, notice’, Grk *oûros* ‘guard’, *oráō* ‘see’, Hit *werite-* ‘put one’s attention’, Toch AB *wār-* ‘smell’). The extended form **wer-b(h)-* involves a Baltic-Tocharian isogloss, again with meanings ‘guard’ as well as ‘observe’ (OPrus *warbo* ‘protects’, Toch AB *yārp-* ‘oversee, observe, take care of’). A specialized, possibly sacred vision is to be found in **wet-* ‘see (truly)’ with cognates in Celtic (OIr *fethid* ‘sees, pays attention to’), Lat *vātēs* ‘seer, prophet’, and Skt *ápi vatati* ‘is familiar with, is aware of’; derived forms include **wōto-* ‘(true) knowledge, shamanic wisdom’ (OIr *fāth* ‘prophetic wisdom’, OE *wōþ* ‘song, poetry’, **wōtó-* ‘having (true) knowledge’ > OE *wōd* ‘furious, frenzied’ (> archaic NE *wood* ‘mad’) and **wōtonó* ‘who incarnates’ **wōto-* seen in the Germanic divine names of OE *Woden*, ON *Oðinn* (see Section 23.2). The root **h₃eu-* does mean ‘see’ in Anatolian (Hit *ūhhi* ‘see’) and Indic (Skt *uvé* ‘I see’) but the extended form **h₃ewis-* gives ‘hear’ in Italic (Lat *audiō*) and ‘perceive’ in Grk *aisthánomai*; the derived causative means ‘show, reveal’ (i.e. ‘make see’) in OCS (*aviti*). An extended form **h₃ēwis* gives us a Slavic-Iranian isogloss that means ‘obvious’ in both groups (OCS (*j*)*avě*, Av *āviš*). Enlarged forms of **k^wei-* ‘perceive’ yield the meaning ‘see’ in Celtic and ‘read’ in Baltic-Slavic (e.g. OIr *ad-ci* ‘sees’, Lith *skaitaũ* ‘count, read’, OCS *čítq* ‘count, reckon, read’); the unextended root is found in Grk *a-tízō* ‘pay no attention’ and Skt *cinóti* ~ *cikéti* ‘perceives’. Another root rendering two different senses is **keuh₁-* whose outcomes include ‘see’, ‘seer’ (Lyd *kawés* ‘priest’, Av *kavā* ‘seer’, Skt *kaví-* ‘wise, seer’) but also (in extended form) NE *hear*, Grk *akoúō* ‘hear’, Lat *custōs* ‘watchman’, and, with *s-*mobile, NE *show* and Arm *c’uc’anem* ‘show’ (cf. also Lat *caveō* ‘take heed’, OE *hāwian* ‘look at’, OCS *čujq* ‘note’, Grk *koéō* ‘note’). A PIE **seh_{ag}-* ‘perceive acutely, seek out’ is attested in Celtic (e.g. OIr *saigid* ‘seeks out’, Italic (Lat *sāgiō* ‘perceive acutely’, *sāga* ‘fortune-teller’), Germanic (e.g. NE *seek*), Grk *hēgέomai* ‘direct, lead’, and Anatolian (Hit *sākiya-* ‘make known’).

A root **meigh-* or **meik-* (the evidence is ambivalent about the ending) is reconstructed to mean ‘close the eyes’ (Toch B *mik-*) either as ‘fall sleep’ (Baltic, e.g. Lith (*už-*)*mìgti*) or merely as ‘blink’ (Slavic, e.g. Rus *mžati*; and metaphorically in Italic, e.g. Lat *micō* ‘move quickly, flash’).

The West Central area gives **prep-* ‘appear’ (e.g. OIr *richt* ‘form’, Grk *prépō* ‘appear’, Arm *erewim* ‘am evident, appear’) and a nominal derivative of **ǵnéh₃-* ‘know’, i.e. **ǵnéh₃m̃* (Lat *cognōmen* ‘surname’, Rus *znamja* ‘sign, mark’, Grk *gnōma* ‘distinctive mark’); in both Grk *ópōpa* ‘have seen’, *opīpeĩō* ‘stare at’, and Indic (Skt *īksate* ‘sees’) one could literally ‘eye’ something, i.e. ‘see’ (**h₃ek^w-*), a

unique verbal use of the word for ‘eye’. Again in Greek and Indic, either inherited or independently created, we find from **derk-* ‘see’ an adjective (from the participle) **derketos* ‘visible’ (Grk *-derketos*, Skt *darśatá-*).

20.3 Bright and Dark

There is an extensive reconstructed vocabulary relating to brightness, so much so that a perusal of some etymological dictionaries gives one the impression that the central concepts of the Indo-Europeans might be reduced to ‘bright’ and ‘swell’. Darkness has a much more limited vocabulary associated with it. The relevant forms are indicated in Table 20.3.

The verbal root **leuk-* ‘shine’ was highly productive in Indo-European (e.g. Lat *lūceō* ‘shine’, Hit *lukke-* ‘shine’, Skt *rócate* ‘shines’, Toch AB *luk-* ‘shine’; Lat *lūceō* ‘kindle’, Hit *lukke-* ‘kindle’, Av *raočayeiti* ‘makes shine’, Skt *rocáyati* ‘makes shine’) and underlies the noun **lóuk(es)-* ‘light’ (e.g. Lat *lūx*, Arm *loys*, Av *raočah-*, Skt *rocí-*, Toch B *lyuke*, all ‘light’) and the *o*-stem adjective **leukós*

Table 20.3. *Bright and dark*

<i>*leuk-</i>	‘shine’	Lat <i>lūceō</i>
<i>*lóuk(es)-</i>	‘light’	Lat <i>lūx</i> , Skt <i>rocí-</i>
<i>*leukós</i>	‘light, bright, clear’	Grk <i>leukós</i> , Skt <i>rocá-</i>
<i>*dei-</i>	‘shine, be bright’	Grk <i>déato</i> , Skt <i>dīdeti</i>
<i>*lap-</i>	‘shine’	Grk <i>lámḗō</i>
<i>*bheh₂-</i>	‘shine’	Grk <i>phainō</i> , Skt <i>bhāti</i>
<i>*bhleg-</i>	‘burn, shine’	Lat <i>fulgō</i> , NE <i>black</i> , Grk <i>phlégō</i> , Skt <i>bhrājate</i>
<i>*bherh_{xg}-</i>	‘shine, gleam’	NE <i>bright</i>
<i>*(s)kand-</i>	‘shine, glitter’	Lat <i>candeō</i> , Grk <i>kándaros</i> , Skt <i>cándati</i>
<i>*sweid-</i>	‘shine’	Lat <i>sīdus</i>
<i>*mer-</i>	‘shine, shimmer’	Lat <i>merus</i> , Grk <i>marmairō</i> , Skt <i>mārīci-</i>
<i>*keuk-</i>	‘shine, burn’	Grk <i>kúknos</i> , Skt <i>sócate</i>
<i>?(s)plend-</i>	‘shine’	Lat <i>splendeō</i>
<i>*(s)koitrós</i>	‘bright, clear’	Skt <i>citrá-</i>
<i>*dh(o)ngu-</i>	‘dark’	
<i>*tómh_{xes}-</i>	‘dark’	Lat <i>temere</i> , Skt <i>támas-</i>
<i>*h₁reg^w-es-</i>	‘(place of) darkness’	
<i>*swer-</i>	‘darken’	Lat <i>sordēs</i>
<i>*skóyh_a</i>	‘shade’	Grk <i>skiáz</i> , Skt <i>chāyá-</i>

‘bright’ (e.g. OIr *lōch* ‘glowing white’, Lith *laūkas* ‘blazed, with a white spot on the forehead [of animals]’, Grk *leukós* ‘light, bright, clear’, Skt *rocá-* ‘shining, radiant’). Another root **dei-* (e.g. ON *teitr* ‘glad’, Grk *déato* ‘is seen’, Skt *đīdeti* ‘shines is bright’) may have been primarily concerned with the brightness of the sky as it provides the basis of the name of the Indo-European sky deity (**d(i)yēus* ‘sky god’, **deiwós* ‘god’, see Section 23.1). A third root **lap-* also means ‘shine’ (cf. NWels *llachar* ‘shining’, Grk *lámpō* ‘give light, shine’) but its connections with fire, e.g. ‘flames’ (OIr *lasaid*, ‘torch’ (Baltic, e.g. Lith *lopė*), and ‘glows’ (Hit *lāpzi*), suggest that it may have been specifically related to the brightness of fire. The root **bheh₂-* also means ‘shine’ and it is difficult to discern any more specific semantic connotation (e.g. OIr *bān* ‘white’, OE *bōnian* ‘ornament, polish’, Alb *bej* ‘do’ [*< *bring to light*], Grk *phainō* ‘bring to light’, Luv *piha-* ‘splendur’, Av *bā-* ‘shine’, Skt *bhāti* ‘shines’, *bhās-* ‘light, splendour’). A fifth root **bhleg-* yields meanings associated with burning in Lat *flamma* ‘flame’, *fulmen* ‘lightning’, NE *black*, i.e. ‘burned’, and Greek and elsewhere (e.g. Grk *phlégō* ‘burn’, Av *brāzaiti* ‘gleams, shines’, Skt *bhrājate* ‘gleams, shines, glitters’, Toch AB *pālk-* ‘shine’), which may suggest again an association with the brightness of fire. The root **bherh₂-* means ‘shine’ (e.g. NWels *berth* ‘shiny’, NE *bright*, Lith *brėkšta* ‘dawns’, Pol *brzask* ‘dawn’, Alb *bardhë* ‘white’) and underlies the Proto-Indo-European word for the ‘birch’ because of its shiny white or silver bark (see Section 10.1). A seventh root **(s)kand-* ‘shine’ (e.g. NWels *cann* ‘white, bright’, Lat *candeō* ‘glitter, shine’, Skt *cādati* ‘shines, is bright’) has reflexes in Albanian and Indic that indicate the ‘moon’ (Alb *hënë*, Skt *candrá-* ‘shining; moon’); in dialectal Greek the reflex means ‘coal’ (*kándaros* [*< presumably from *glowing*]). Among the Latin cognates are *candidātus* ‘candidate for office’ because of the white toga which was worn. The root **sweid-* ‘shine’ (e.g. OE *switol* ‘distinct, clear’, Lith *svidù* ‘shine, am glossy’, Av *x^vaēna-* ‘glowing’) not only gives us a Latin word for ‘star’ (*sīdus*) but also *considerō* ‘consider’ which literally meant ‘consult the stars’. Another Proto-Indo-European word for ‘shine’ is **mer-* (e.g. Lat *merus* ‘pure, bare’, OE *āmerian* ‘test, examine; purify’, Rus *mar* ‘blaze of the sun’, Grk *marmairō* ‘shimmer’, Skt *mārci-* ‘shining beam’) and a tenth root is **keuk-*, which also carries meanings relating to burning in Indo-Iranian and Tocharian (e.g. Av *suč-* ‘burn, flame’, Skt *śocate* ‘shines, glows, burns’, Toch B *śukye* ‘shining’) but *kúknos* ‘swan’ in Greek. Another possible root is *?(s)plend-* ‘shine’ (e.g. OIr *lēs* ‘light’, Lat *splendeō* ‘shine, glitter’, Lith *spléndžiu* ‘light’); its Asian attestation depends on the acceptance of Tocharian *plāntā-* ‘rejoice, be glad’ as cognate, i.e. ‘be shining’ (cf. such an English sentence as, ‘She was positively glowing’). An adjective ‘bright’ **(s)koitrós* is attested on the one hand by a Germanic-Baltic isogloss (e.g. OE *hādor* ‘clear’, Lith *skaidrūs* ‘bright, clear [of weather], limpid [of

water]') and a related Indo-Iranian (Av *čiθra-* 'clear', Skt *citrá-* 'excellent, bright') that may all derive from an otherwise unattested noun **(s)kóit-*.

There are four roots assignable to Proto-Indo-European that convey 'darkness'. A Hit *dankuis* 'dark' secures the antiquity of **dh(o)ngu-* (otherwise limited to Celtic, e.g. NWels *dew* 'mist, smoke', and Germanic, NHG *dunkel* 'dark'). The root **tómh_xes-* (e.g. Lith *tamsà*, Av *təmah-*, Skt *tāmas-*, all 'darkness') would appear to be a deverbative (the underlying verb being preserved in Lith *tėmti* 'become dark'); the Latin cognate *temere* 'by chance' derives its meaning from being 'in the dark'. A 'place of darkness' is suggested by **h₁reg^w-es-* (Goth *riqis* 'darkness', Toch B *orkamo* 'dark') which means 'evening' (Arm *erek*), 'night' (Skt *rājas-*) but also supplies the word for the Greek underworld *érebos*. The darkening of a surface was indicated with **swer-* or an extended form such as **swerd-*, e.g. Lat *sordēs* 'dirt, soil, uncleanness', NE *swart* (the underlying verb is preserved only in Iranian, e.g. Oss *xuarun* 'to colour'). Finally, the word for 'shade' or 'shadow' was **škóyh_a-* (e.g. Latv *seja* 'shadow; ghost', Rus *sen* 'shade, shadow', Alb *hie* 'shade, shadow; ghost, spectre', Grk *skiā* 'shade, shadow; reflection, image; ghost, spectre', Av *asaya-* 'who throws no shadow', Skt *chāyā-* 'shade, shadow', Toch B *skiyo* 'shadow').

There are a considerable number of regionally restricted words for light and dark. From the North-west region we have **g_{her}-* 'shine, glow' (e.g. NE *grey*, Lith *žeriù* 'shine', OCS *zřję* 'glance, see'); **leip-* 'light, cause to shine' (e.g. ON *leiptr* 'lightning', Lith *liepsnà* 'flame, blaze'); **bhleindh-* 'be/make cloudy' (e.g. NE *blind*, *blunder*, Lith *blandūs* 'unclean', Rus *blud* 'unchastity, lewdness'); and **merk-* '± darken' (e.g. OIr *mrecht-* 'variegated', NE *morn*, Lith *mérkiu* 'close one's eyes, wink', OCS *mrakŭ* 'dark'). From the West Central region: **g^whaid-rós* 'bright, shining' (e.g. Lith *gaidrūs* 'fine, clear [of weather], bright, limpid [of water]', Grk *phaidrós* 'beaming [with joy], cheerful'); **(h_a)merh_{xg}^w-* 'dark' (e.g. ON *myrkr* 'darkness' [which was borrowed as NE *murk*], Lith *márgas* 'variegated', Alb *murg* 'black', Grk *amorbós* 'dark'); **(h_a)mauros* 'dark' (Rus *(s)muryj* 'dark grey', Grk *amaurós* 'dim, faint'); and **skótos* 'shadow, shade' (e.g. OIr *scāth* 'shadow, reflection; ghost, spectre', NE *shadow*, Grk *skótos* 'darkness, gloom; shadow'). The Central (Albanian-Greek) region offers **h₂eu_g-* 'shine, become bright' (Alb *agon* 'dawns', Grk *augé* 'beam of light'). Graeco-Aryan isoglosses include **kal-* 'beautiful' (e.g. Grk *kalós* 'beautiful', Skt *kalya-* 'healthy, prepared for, clever', *kalyāṇa-* 'beautiful'); from **bheh₂-* 'shine' both **bhéh₂(e)s-* 'light' (e.g. Grk *phōs*, Skt *bhās-* 'light') and **bhéh₂tis* 'light' (e.g. Grk *phásis* 'star rise', Skt *bhāti-* 'splendour'); and **dhwenh₂-* 'cover over, darken' (e.g. Skt *dhvāntá-* 'covered, veiled, dark; darkness, night'; the Grk cognates have shifted to 'die' [*thnēskō*], 'mortal' [*thnētós*], and 'death' [*thánatos*]).

20.4 Colour

Words pertaining to colours reconstructable to Proto-Indo-European are indicated in Table 20.4.

A widely attested **peik-* provides a word for ‘paint, colour’ in Indo-European (e.g. Lat *pingō* ‘paint, colour’, OE *fāh* ‘coloured’, Lith *piešti* ‘draw, write’, OCS *pisati* ‘write’, Grk *poikilos* ‘coloured’, Av *paēsa-* ‘colour’, Skt *piṃśāti* ‘colours, paints’, Toch AB *pik-* ‘write, paint’).

There are two words reconstructible to Proto-Indo-European for ‘black’. The one with the greatest distribution is **mel-n-* (e.g. Latv *melns* ‘black’, Grk *mélās* ‘black’, Skt *malinā-* ‘dirty, black’) which, in addition to ‘black’, yields ‘yellow’ (NWels *melyn*), ‘reddish’ (Lat *mulleus*), and ‘blue’ (OPrus *melne* ‘blue spot’, Lith *mėlas* ‘dark blue’, *mėlynas* ‘blue’ but ‘black’ in Latvian). The range

Table 20.4. *Colours*

<i>*peik-</i>	‘paint, mark’	Lat <i>pingō</i> , Grk <i>poikilos</i> , Skt <i>piṃśāti</i>
<i>*mel-n-</i>	‘dull or brownish black’	Lat <i>mulleus</i> , Grk <i>mélās</i> , Skt <i>malinā-</i>
<i>*k^w_ṛsnós</i>	‘black’	Skt <i>kṛṣṇā-</i>
<i>*h₂ǵ(u)</i>	‘white’	Lat <i>argentum</i> , Grk <i>árguros</i> , Skt <i>árjuna-</i>
<i>*h₄elbhós</i>	‘white’	Lat <i>albus</i> , Grk <i>alphós</i>
<i>*bhelh₁-</i>	‘white’	NE <i>ball</i>
<i>*k^weitos</i>	‘white’	NE <i>white</i> , Skt <i>śvetá-</i>
<i>*bhelh₁-</i>	‘white’	Lat <i>flāvus</i> , Skt <i>bhālam</i>
<i>*bhrodhnós</i>	‘± pale’	Skt <i>bradhná-</i>
<i>*h₁reudh-</i>	‘(bright) red’	Lat <i>rūfus</i> , NE <i>red</i> , Grk <i>eruthrós</i> , Skt <i>rudhirá-</i>
<i>*h₁elu-</i>	‘dull red’	Skt <i>aruṣá-</i>
<i>*kóunos</i>	‘red’	Skt <i>śóna-</i>
<i>*k^weyh₁-</i>	‘deep intense shade, ± green’	NE <i>hue</i> , Skt <i>śyāvá-</i>
<i>*ker- ~ *k^w_ṛ-wos</i>	‘greyish blue, greyish green’	Skt <i>sārā-</i>
<i>*modheros</i>	‘blue/green’	NE <i>madder</i>
<i>*ǵhel- ~ *ghel-</i>	‘yellow’	Lat <i>helvus</i> , NE <i>yellow</i> , Skt <i>hári-</i>
<i>*bher-</i>	‘brown’	NE <i>brown</i> , Grk <i>phrūnos</i> , Skt <i>babhrú-</i>
<i>*kas-</i>	‘grey’	Lat <i>cānus</i> , NE <i>hare</i> , Skt <i>śaśá-</i>
<i>*p^h_ḷh_x-</i>	‘grey, pale’	Lat <i>pallidus</i> , NE <i>fallow</i> , Grk <i>poliós</i> , Skt <i>palitá-</i>
<i>*perk-</i>	‘speckled’	Lat <i>pulcher</i> , Grk <i>perknós</i> , Skt <i>pṛṣṇí-</i>

has suggested a ‘dull or brownish black’. Still, while ‘(dark) blue’ and ‘black’ seem a natural enough combination, the words for ‘yellow’ and ‘reddish’ are semantically rather difficult. A Baltic-Slavic-Indic isogloss yields $*k^w rsnós$ (e.g. OPrus *kirsnan* ‘black’, OCS *črŭnŭ* ‘black’, Skt *kṛṣṇá-* ‘black’) with a derived form in Alb *sorrë* meaning ‘crow’. This may be a somewhat later word and indicate a ‘shiny black’ (cf. also Lith *kéršas* ‘black and white, piebald’).

As with roots indicating ‘shine, bright’, there are also a number of words for ‘white’. The most widespread and productive root is $*h_2rǵ(u)-$ (e.g. Hit *harkis* ‘white’; and a *u*-stem in Grk *árguros* ‘silver’, Skt *árjuna-* ‘light, white’, Toch B *ārkwī* ‘white’) which also gives a full-grade $*h_2erǵ-nt-om$ ‘silver’ (e.g. OIr *argat*, Lat *argentum*, Arm *arcat*, Av *ərəzatəm*, Toch B *ñkante* [with assimilation at some point of $*r \dots n$ to $*n \dots n$]) and an *s*-stem adjective $*h_2rǵ-es-$ ‘white’ (i.e. Grk *argés*). A whitish colour is also denoted by $*h_4elbhós$ which yields ‘swan’ in OHG *albiz* and OCS *lebedī* and ‘cloud’ in Hit *alpā-*; otherwise it means ‘white’ (e.g. Lat *albus* ‘white’, Grk *alphós* ‘white leprosy’). Baltic, Slavic, and Indo-Iranian all attest $*ǩwoitós \sim *ǩwitrós$ ‘white’ (e.g. Lith *švitrūs* ‘bright’, OCS *svīti* ‘light’, Av *spaēta-* ‘white’, Skt *śvetá-* ‘white, bright’, *śvitrá-* ‘whitish, white’). The Germanic family represented by NE *white* must also belong here, though it seems to presuppose a related $*ǩweidos$ (cf. also the Germanic family represented by NE *wheat*, from $*ǩwoidis$, i.e. ‘the white/light [grain]’). Another widespread word is $*bhelh_1-$ ‘white’ (e.g. NWels *bal* ‘white’, Lith *bālas* ‘white’, Grk *phalós* ‘white’, OCS *bělŭ* ‘white’) with a host of derived forms including Lat *flāvus* ‘blond’, NE *ball* (= horse with white blaze), Skt *bhālam* ‘gleam, forehead’. The underlying verb appears in Lith *bālti* ‘grow white, pale’. More ambiguous is $*bhrodhnós$ which may fall between ‘white’ in Slavic (e.g. OCS *bronŭ* ‘white, variegated [of horses]’) and ‘pale red’ in Indic (i.e. Skt *bradhná-* ‘pale red, yellowish, bay [of horses]’, Kashmiri *bodur*^u ‘tawny bull’). It is noteworthy that the two traditions that reflect this word largely restrict it to animals.

There are three words for ‘red’. The most secure is $*h_1reudh-$ which is generally represented in most languages as an *o*-grade adjective, i.e. $*h_1roudhós$ (e.g. OIr *rūad* ‘red’, Lat *rūfus* ‘red’, NE *red*, Lith *raūdas*, Rus *rúdyj* ‘blood-red, red-haired’, Av *raoidita-* ‘red’, Skt *róhita-* ‘red’, *lohá-* ‘reddish’). A second widely found form is $*h_1rudhrós$ (e.g. Lat *ruber* ‘red’, Grk *eruthrós* ‘red’, Skt *rudhirá-* ‘red’, Toch B *ratre* ‘red’). The second root, $*h_1el-$, shows considerable semantic deviation, e.g. ‘yellow’ (Germanic, e.g. OHG *elo*), ‘white’ (Av *auruša-*), but ‘reddish’ (Indic, i.e. Skt *aruṣá-* and *aruṇá-* ‘reddish, golden’). It has often been supposed that the $*h_1el-$ of $*h_1el-$ is the base of the designation of the red deer (cf. Chapter 9.1). Perhaps the difference between $*h_1reudh-$ and $*h_1el-$ is between ‘high-intensity red’ and ‘low-intensity red’, a kind of distinction that is not unknown in other languages. A Slavic-Indic isogloss secures

**kóunos* ‘red’ (e.g. Rus *sunica* ‘wild strawberry’, Skt *śoṇa-* ‘red’) and may be extended to Celtic if we accept ‘lovely’ as an acceptable semantic shift (seen in Mlr *cūanna* and NWels *cun*).

The perceptual variation between ‘blue’ and ‘green’ is often ambiguous between different languages and this ambiguity is strikingly obvious in the reconstructed Proto-Indo-European lexicon. We have, for example, **k̑yeh₁-*, from which we have OE *hāwen* ‘blue, purple, green, azure, grey’ (and OE *hīw* ‘colour’, giving NE *hue*) and the range of meanings across the other Indo-European cognates is similarly impressive, e.g. ‘(light/dark) grey’ (Lith *šyvas* ‘light grey’, OPrus *sywan* ‘grey’, OCS *sivŭ* ‘dark grey’, Alb *thinjë* ‘grey’, Lith *šėmas* ‘blue-grey’), ‘sea green’ (Serbo-Croatian *sinji*), ‘(dark) brown, dark green’ (Skt *śyāmá-* ‘dark brown, dark green’, *śyāvá-* ‘brown’), ‘black, dark grey’ (Sogdian *š’w* ‘dark-coloured’, Toch B *kwele* ‘black, dark grey’). The root **k̑er-* yields meanings suggesting a ‘greyish blue/green’ (e.g. Lith *širvas* ~ *šiřmas* ‘blue-grey’ [cf. *širvis* ‘hare’], Alb *thjermë* ‘(blue-)grey’, *surmě* ‘dark grey, black’, Skt *śārā-* ‘coloured’). Somewhat tighter in terms of semantics are the Germanic, Slavic, Anatolian, and Tocharian reflecting PIE **m(o)dhro-* (e.g. NE *madder*, SC *modar* ‘blue’ [the Germanic and Slavic reflect Proto-Indo-European **modhrós*], Hit *āntara-* ‘blue’ [< **m̑dhrós*], Toch B *motartse* ‘green’ [< **modr-tyo-*]). This word would be the best candidate for a Proto-Indo-European word for ‘blue’ or at least ‘blue/green’. The association of the Germanic words for ‘red’ arises from the use of the madder root as a red dye. The current use of madder and its cognates in Germanic to designate the plant *Rubia tinctorum* is itself a secondary transfer, on the basis of the root’s use in dyeing, from an earlier reference to the bedstraws, some of whose species also have roots used to produce red dye. The bedstraws, however, may have been called **modhrós* because of their characteristic yellow-green flowers.

There is one root reconstructed for ‘yellow’, **ǵhel-* ~ **ghel-*. Meanings generally fall around ‘yellow’ or ‘gold’ (e.g. OIr *gel* ‘white’, NWels *gell* ‘yellow’, Lat *helvus* ‘honey yellow’, NE *yellow*, Lith *gėltas* ‘yellow’, *žėlvas* ‘golden’, Av *zairi-* ‘yellow’, and Skt *hári-* combines both ‘yellow’ and ‘green’) but as we see we also find that this root provided a base for ‘green’ in Slavic and Greek, e.g. OCS *zelenŭ* ‘green’, Grk *khlōrós* ‘green’, and Skt *hári-* ‘yellow, green’. That its original meaning was indeed ‘yellow’ is indicated by the number of words for ‘gold’ (i.e. ‘the yellow [metal]’) built on this root (e.g. NE *gold*, Latv *zēlts*, OCS *zlato*, Av *zaranyam*, Skt *hīraṇyam*).

A root **bher-* meant ‘brown’ and was quite productive in that it underlies the Proto-Indo-European word for ‘beaver’ (Section 9.1) and the Germanic words for ‘bear’ (Section 9.1); it also renders ‘toad’ in Greek and is a horse colour in Mitanni. The colour words from this root come in many different formal shapes. We have **bhruh₁nos* in NE *brown* and Grk *phrūnos* ‘toad’ [<‘the

brown one’], **bhebhru-* in Mitanni *papru-* ‘brown [of horses]’, Skt *babhrú-* ‘reddish brown’ (and in the Proto-Indo-European word for ‘beaver’), and **bhēro-* in Lith *bėras* ‘bay [of horses]’.

There are also two roots for ‘grey’ in addition to the ‘blue/grey’ above. The first is **k̑as-*, and although it can mean ‘grey’ in Lat *cānus* and ON *hǫss* (or ‘old’ in Osc *casnar*), it generally means ‘hare’ (e.g. NWels *ceinach*, NE *hare*, OPrus *sasins*, Khot *saha-*, Skt *śaśá-*) and shows that this animal was originally ‘the grey one’ (Section 9.1). The second is **p̑h_x-*; it means ‘grey’ in Celtic (e.g. MÍr *liath*), Baltic (Lith *pilkas*), Grk *pelitnós*, *poliós*, Indo-Iranian (Av *pouruša-*, Skt *palitá-*), ‘pale’ in Lat *pallidus*, ‘fallow’ in Germanic, e.g. NE *fallow*, ‘old man’ in Alb *plak*, but ‘white’ in Arm *alik*; this root is probably the basis for **pél(h_x)us* ‘mouse’ which would be then another ‘grey one’ (Section 9.1).

Finally, **perk̑-* renders ‘speckled’ across most languages in which it is preserved (MÍr *erc*, Grk *perknós*, Skt *pȓṣṇí-*); Latin has shifted in meaning to ‘beautiful’ (*pulcher*, and with dissimilation of **r ... r* to *l ... r*) and in Germanic, e.g. NHG *Farbe*, to ‘colour’ in general.

There are a few regionally attested colour terms. From the North-West we have **sl̑h_{xu}-* ‘plum-coloured’ (e.g. OÍr *l̑* ‘colour’, Lat *l̑vor* ‘bluish colour’, NE *sloe*, Rus *slíva* ‘plum’); and **rei-* ‘striped, spotted’ (e.g. OÍr *ȓiābach* ‘streaked, striped’, Latv *rāibš* ‘spotted’, Rus *ribyj* ‘variegated’ and perhaps NE *roe*); and a Celtic-Italic isogloss **badyos* ‘(yellow) brown’ (OÍr *buide* ‘yellow’, Lat *badius* ‘bay (of a horse)’); from the West Central region is **k̑eir-* ‘dull or brownish black’ (e.g. OÍr *c̑ar* ‘dark brown’, NE *hoar*, OCS *s̑eru* ‘grey’, Alb *thirr* ‘soot’, Grk *kiraphos* ‘fox’, *kirrós* ‘orangy’). A Greek-Indic isogloss is seen in the expression **p̑h_u-poik̑/kos* ‘many-coloured, variegated’ (Grk *polupoikilos*, Skt *puru-péśa-*); a possible Gothic cognate *filu-faihs* ‘very diverse’ is somewhat doubtful as it may have been created purely to resemble the Greek cognate which it was translating (although it would provide a nearly irresistible though egregiously false etymology for NE *filofax*).

20.5 Hearing, Smell, Touch, and Taste

Words directly describing the other four senses are far more sparsely reconstructed than sight (see Table 20.5). This observation is not meant to suggest any particular insight into the Proto-Indo-European mind as the vocabulary associated with ‘what is audible’, i.e. speech, is enormous and is handled elsewhere in Chapter 21. And if we extend the general meaning of ‘touch’ to all those activities involving the manipulation of objects, we will see that the associated vocabulary, here reviewed in Chapter 22, is also very extensive.

Table 20.5. *Hearing, smell, touch, and taste*

* <i>k̑leu-</i>	‘hear’	Lat <i>chueō</i> , Grk <i>kléō</i> , Skt <i>śṇóti</i>
* <i>k̑leus-</i>	‘hear’	NE <i>listen</i> , Skt <i>śróṣati</i>
* <i>pū-</i> (* <i>puh_x-?</i>)	‘stink’	Lat <i>pūteō</i> , Grk <i>púthō</i> , Skt <i>pūyati</i>
* <i>deg-</i>	‘touch’	
* <i>m̑l̑k̑-</i>	‘touch lightly’	Lat <i>mulceō</i> , Skt <i>mṛśāti</i>
* <i>klep-</i>	‘± lay hand to’	NE <i>helm</i> , <i>halter</i> , Grk <i>kléptō</i>
* <i>sweh_adús</i>	‘sweet’	Lat <i>suādus</i> , NE <i>sweet</i> , Grk <i>hēdús</i> , Skt <i>svādhú-</i>
* <i>h₂em-ro-s</i>	‘bitter, sour’	Lat <i>amārus</i> , Skt <i>amlá-</i>

There is only one root for ‘hear’, **k̑leu-* (e.g. OIr *ro-chluinethar* ‘hears’, Lat *chueō* ‘am called’, Goth *hliuma* ‘hearing’, OCS *sluti* ‘be called’, Alb *quaj* ‘call, name; consider’, Grk *kléō* ‘tell of, make famous’, Arm *lsem* ‘hear’, Av *suru-naoiti* ‘hears’, Skt *śṇóti* ‘hears’, Toch B *klautso* ‘ear’), which also appears extended as **k̑leus-* (e.g. OIr *clūas* ‘ear’, NE *listen*, Lith *klausau* ‘I hear’, OCS *slyšati* ‘hear’, Messapic *klaohi* ‘hear!’, Skt *śróṣati* ‘hears’, Toch B *klyaus-* ‘hear’). The root is ubiquitous and also appears in a number of derived forms, e.g. **k̑lutós* ‘what is heard’, i.e. ‘fame’, a central concept of the Indo-European poetic heritage (e.g. OIr *cloth* ‘fame’, Lat *inclutus* ‘famous’, Grk *klutós* ‘famous’, Arm *lu* ‘known’, Skt *śrutá-* ‘famous’; see Section 21.5); a lengthened grade e.g. **k̑lūtós* in Germanic gives us NE *loud*.

There is no word reconstructable to Proto-Indo-European for ‘to smell’, i.e. perceive the odour of something, as opposed to smell = stink. The latter concept can be expressed with **pū-* (**puh_x-?*) which is recovered from Italic (Lat *pūteō* ‘stink’), Baltic (e.g. Lith *púdu* ‘rot’), Grk *púthō* ‘become rotten’, and Indo-Iranian (Av *puyeiti* ‘rots’, Skt *pūyati* ‘stinks’) and which is believed to be the equivalent of NE interjection *pew!* and hence of onomatopoeic origin.

There are at least three words that broadly indicate ‘touch’. A Germanic-Tocharian isogloss (ON *taka* ‘touch’: Toch B *täk-* ‘touch’) indicates a root **deg-* ‘touch’. A Latin-Indic isogloss of **m̑l̑k̑-* ‘touch lightly’ is based on meanings of ‘stroke’ in both languages (Lat *mulceō* ‘stroke, touch lightly, fondle’, Skt *mṛśāti* ‘strokes, touches’). A more general (or sinister) ‘lay hand to’ would seem to be the meaning of **klep-* (e.g. NE *helm*, *halter*, OPrus *anklipts* ‘concealed’, Toch AB *kälp-* ‘find, get, achieve, obtain’, Toch B *klep-* ‘touch with the hands, investigate, test’). Verbal forms in Gothic, Greek, and Tocharian means ‘steal’ (Goth *hlifan*, Grk *kléptō*, Toch B *kälyp-*).

Finally, taste is expressed in a well-attested **sweh_adús* ‘pleasing to the senses, tasty’ where a specific meaning of ‘sweet’ is suggested in Germanic (e.g. NE

sweet), Skt *svādhū-* ‘sweet’, and Toch B *swāre* ‘sweet’, while a zero-grade gives us Lith *sūdyti* ‘to salt’; Lat *suāvis* ‘pleasing to the senses’, and Grk *hēdūs* ‘what is pleasing to the senses’ carries a more general meaning while the Celtic examples are retained only in Gaulish personal names, e.g. *Suadu-rīx*. Other examples relating to taste may be found in Chapter 16. Finally, a word for ‘bitter’ **h₂em-ro-s*, from a root **h₂em-* ‘raw, bitter’, is also widely attested (e.g. Lat *amārus* ‘bitter’, OE *ampre* ‘sorrel, dock’, Skt *amlā-* ‘bitter’) though not without curious semantic inversions, e.g. Arm *amok* ‘sweet’, Alb *ëmbël* ‘sweet’.

To these we may add a few regional terms from the West Central area: **h₃ed-* ‘give off a smell’ (e.g. Lat *oleō* ‘smell, stink’, Lith *uodžiū* ‘smell’, OCzech *jadati* ‘sniff out, investigate’, Grk *ózō* ‘smell’, Arm *hotim* ‘smell’); **tag-* ‘touch’ (e.g. Lat *tangō* ‘touch’ OE *þaccian* ‘touch lightly, stroke’, Grk *tetagōn* ‘seizing’); and **ghrei-* ‘touch lightly’ (e.g. Lith *gr(i)ejù* ‘skim [cream]’, Grk *khriō* ‘touch the surface of a body lightly, graze; [hence] rub or anoint with oil, coat with colour’ [the past participle of this verb, *khristós*, was used to translate the Hebrew *Messiah*, whence, by borrowing, NE *Christ*]).

20.6 The Good, Bad, and the Ugly

Here we have grouped together what are largely adjectives and some verbs indicating major positive and negative qualities (Table 20.6a).

Table 20.6a. *Positive qualities*

<i>*wesu-</i>	‘excellent, noble’	Lat <i>Vesuna</i> , Skt <i>vāsu-</i>
<i>*h₁(e)su-</i>	‘good’	Grk <i>eûs</i>
<i>*(h₁)su-</i>	‘good’	Grk <i>eu-</i> , Skt <i>su-</i>
<i>*h₁sónt-</i>	‘real, true’	Lat <i>sōns</i> , NE <i>sooth</i> , Skt <i>satyá-</i>
<i>*mel-</i>	‘good’	Lat <i>melior</i>
<i>*h_aeu-</i>	‘favour’	Lat <i>aveō</i> , Skt <i>ávati</i>
<i>*h₁erh_as-</i>	‘be well disposed to someone’	Grk <i>éramai</i>
<i>*teu-</i>	‘look on with favour’	Lat <i>tueor</i>
<i>*teus-</i>	‘be happy’	Skt <i>túsyati</i>
<i>?*h₃ens-</i>	‘be gracious to, show favour’	Grk <i>prosēnēs</i>
<i>*pleh_ak-</i>	‘please’	Lat <i>placeō</i>
<i>*geh_au-</i>	‘rejoice’	Lat <i>gaudeō</i> , Grk <i>gánumai</i>
<i>*geh_adlh-</i>	‘rejoice’	Grk <i>gēthéō</i>
<i>*meud-</i>	‘be merry’	Skt <i>módate</i>

There are four words or roots indicating ‘good’ attributable to Proto-Indo-European. The root **wesu-* (e.g. OIr *feib* ‘in excellence’, Luv *wāsu* ‘good’, Av *vohu-* ‘good’, Skt *vāsu-* ‘good’) not only means ‘good’ but frequently appears in personal or tribal names among different Indo-European groups, e.g. Gaul *Vesu-avus*, Lat *Vesuna* (name of a goddess), the Germanic tribal name *Wisi* (e.g. the Visigoths). The rhyming **h₁(e)su-* yields ‘good’ in Greek and Anatolian (e.g. Grk *eús* ‘good, useful’, Hit *āssu-* ‘good’) and may also be seen in Lat *erus* ‘master’ and the Celtic divine name *Esus*, though both the Latin and Celtic have other possible etymologies. As a prefix **(h₁)su-* is even more widespread (e.g. OIr *so-* ‘good’, OCS *sū-dravŭ* ‘healthy’, Grk *hu-giēs* ‘healthy’, *eu-* ‘good’, Av *hu-* ‘good’, Skt *su-* ‘good’, Toch B *saswe* ‘lord’ [*< *h₁su-suh₃ó-* ‘well-born’]). This entire complex is usually derived from **h₁es-* ‘to be’. The same verb provides the basis for a word for ‘true’, **h₁sónt-*, the participial of **h₁es-* ‘be’, with certain legal connotations in Lat *sōns* ‘guilty’, Germanic (e.g. OE *sōðian* ‘bear witness, prove true’ > NE *soothe* and also NE *soothsayer*), and also Hit *asānt-* ‘being, existing’ but also *asān-at iyanun-at* ‘it (is) true, I did it’. It also indicates ‘true’ in Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *satyá-*). An Italic-Baltic-Anatolian isogloss gives us **mel-* ‘good’ (e.g. Lat *melior* ‘better’, Lith *malonùs* ‘pleasant’, Hit *malā(i)-* ‘approve, be favourable’).

Words indicating something akin to ‘favour’ include **h_aeu-* (e.g. OIr *con-ōi* ‘guards’, Lat *aveō* ‘desire strongly’, Runic *auja* ‘good fortune’, Doric Grk *aítas* ‘friend’, Av *avaiti* ‘cares for, helps’, Skt *ávati* ‘is pleased, promotes’). If Alb *ha* ‘eat’ belongs here (< * ‘enjoy [food]’), then the PIE root is **h_aeu-*. A second ‘favour’ word is manifested in the Greek-Tocharian isogloss **h₁erh_as-* (e.g. Grk *éramai* ‘love’, Toch AB *yärs-* ‘be deferential, respectful’). Another root for ‘look on with favour’ is **teu-* (e.g. OIr *tūath* ‘north’, Lat *tueor* ‘observe, protect’, OE *þēaw* ‘custom’) which requires acceptance of a potential Luvian cognate *tāwa/i-* ‘eye’ to broaden the distribution of cognates beyond the North-West. The underlying logic here is ‘look on with favour’ > ‘look/observe’ > ‘eye’. The Old Irish cognate is the direction word *tūath* ‘north, left’ which is normally the unfavourable direction in Indo-European, hence it is presumed that here ‘favour’ is being used euphemistically. A fourth possible root is **h_{1/4}ens-* which involves a Germanic-Greek-Hittite isogloss (e.g. OHG *anst* ‘favour’, Grk *pro-sēnēs* ‘gentle, kind, soft’, Hit *ass-* ~ *assiya-* ‘be favoured, be dear, be good’). A Latin-Tocharian isogloss gives us **pleh_ak-* ‘please’, a verb derived from the adjective **pleh_ak-* ‘flat’, i.e. ‘make level, smooth’ as in Lat *plācō* ‘smooth, calm’, the source of NE *placate* and *placeō* ‘please’ (through Old French) *please*, and Toch AB *plāk-* ‘be in agreement’ (see Section 18.5). A Proto-Indo-European **teus-* ‘be happy’ (arguably an extended form of **teu-* ‘favour’) is indicated by a Hittite-Indic isogloss (Hit *duski-* ‘be happy’, Skt *túsyati* ‘is delighted with’). A Greek-Tocharian isogloss yields **geh_adh-* ‘rejoice’ (e.g. Grk *gēthéō* ‘am

happy, rejoice', Toch AB *kātk-* 'rejoice'); another form derived from the same (unattested) root (**geh_{a-}*) is **geh_{au-}* 'rejoice, swell with joy' (e.g. OIr *gūaire* 'noble', Lat *gaudeō* 'am happy, rejoice', Lith *džiaugiuos* (<**gaudžiūos*) 'am happy', Grk *gánumai* 'rejoice', *gaûros* 'proud') which is restricted to the West Central region. The root **meud-* 'be merry' is found in Indo-Iranian (Av *maoðanō-kara-* 'lust-inducing', Skt *módate* 'is cheerful', *mudrá-* 'merry, cheerful') and in derived form also in Baltic (e.g. Lith *mudrùs* 'cheerful, lively').

The other regional terms are (from the North-West): **meh_{a(t)-}* 'good' (e.g. OIr *maith* 'good', Lat *mānis* 'good'); **weh_{1ros}* (or **wēros*) 'true' in Celtic (OIr *fīr*), Lat *vērus*, Germanic (OHG *wār*), all 'true' and possibly OCS *věru* 'belief' if it is not a borrowing from Germanic; the West Central area: **ghleu-* 'revel' (e.g. NE *glee*, Lith *gláudoti* 'joke', Rus *glum* 'joke', Grk *khleúē* 'joke'); **loid-* 'play, jest' (e.g. Lat *lūdō* 'play', Grk *lízei* 'plays'); Greek and Indic preserve or have independently created the compound **h_{1su-}menes-ye/o-* 'be well disposed to', i.e. 'good' + 'thought' + verbal suffix (Grk *eumenéō* 'am gracious', Skt *sumanasyāte* 'is favourable').

A possible word **h_aegh-lo-* from a root **h_aegh-* 'unpleasant' may be attested between the North-Western languages and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Mīr *ālad*

Table 20.6b. *Negative qualities*

<i>*h_aegh-los</i>	'unpleasant'	Skt <i>aghalá-</i>
<i>*dus-</i>	'bad' (as prefix)	Grk <i>dus-</i> , Skt <i>duṣ-</i>
<i>*ġhalh_{xros}</i>	'evil, unpleasant, unhealthy'	NE <i>gall</i>
<i>*h_{2/3wop-}</i>	'treat badly'	NE <i>evil</i>
<i>*rabh-</i>	'± ferocity'	Lat <i>rabiēs</i> , Skt <i>rābhas-</i>
<i>*bhibhóih_xe</i>	'is afraid'	NHG <i>beben</i> , Skt <i>bibhāya</i>
<i>*dwei-</i>	'fear'	Grk <i>deidō</i> , Skt <i>dvéṣṭi</i>
<i>*neh₂₋</i>	'be timid'	
<i>*k^weh_{1(i)-}</i>	'fear, revere'	Grk <i>tíō</i> , Skt <i>cāyati</i>
<i>*perk-</i>	'fear'	NE <i>fright</i>
<i>*tres-</i>	'tremble, fear'	Lat <i>terreō</i> , Grk <i>tréō</i> , Skt <i>trásati</i>
<i>*ġheis-</i>	'frighten'	NE <i>ghost</i> , Skt <i>hēḍa-</i>
<i>*terg^w-</i>	'scare'	Lat <i>torvus</i> , Grk <i>tarbéō</i> , Skt <i>tárjati</i>
<i>*ghres-</i>	'± threaten, torment'	
<i>*sker-</i>	'± threaten'	
<i>*dhreugh-</i>	'deceive'	Skt <i>drihyati</i>
<i>*(s)weig-</i>	'deceive'	
<i>*(s)mel-</i>	'deceive'	
<i>*meh_{a-}</i>	'wave/trick (with the hand)'	Skt <i>māyā</i>
<i>*meng-</i>	'± charm, deceive'	Grk <i>mágganon</i>

‘wound’, OE *egle* ‘disagreeable, loathsome’, Av *aγō-* ‘bad’, Skt *aghá-* ‘bad’, *aghalá-* ‘terrible’); alternatively, the **-lo-* suffix may have been added independently in the two regions. The prefix **dus-* ‘bad’ or, in English terms, ‘un-’ or ‘ill-’, is well attested across the Indo-European world (e.g. OIr *do-* ‘bad, mis-’, OE *tor-* ‘un-’, NHG *zer-* [verbal prefix], Grk *dus-* ‘bad, mis-’, Av *duš-* ‘bad, mis-’, Skt *duṣ-* ‘bad, mis-’); Lat *dif-* may be cognate here. It occurs residually in Slavic, e.g. in Rus *doždī* ‘rain, bad weather’, originally ‘bad-sky’. An OIr *galar* ‘sickness, distress’: Hit *kallara-* ‘something unpleasant’ isogloss is the basis for the reconstruction of **ǵhalh_xros* ‘evil, unpleasant’ although there are related forms in some other groups (e.g. NE *gall* [on the skin], Lith *žalà* ‘damage, loss; injury; wrong’, Ukrainian *zolak* ‘painful place of a wound’). A verbal root **h_{2/3}wop-* ‘treat badly’ is recovered from Celtic (OIr *fel* ‘bad’), Germanic (e.g. NE *evil*), and Anatolian (*huwappi* ~ *huwapzi* ‘ill-treats, despoils’). A possible root **rabh-* underlies an Italic-Indic isogloss (Lat *rabiēs* ‘violence’, Skt *rābhas-* ‘ferocity’) to mean something like ‘ferocity’.

The semantic field of ‘fear’ is well represented in the reconstructed lexicon. Germanic (e.g. OE *beofian* ‘tremble’, NHG *beben* ‘tremble’) and Indic (Skt *bibhāya* ‘is afraid’) attest an old perfect (rebuilt in Germanic with present endings) **bhibhóih_xe* ‘is afraid’. The verb **dwei-* is variously recovered meaning ‘fear’ and ‘frighten’ (e.g. Grk *deidō* ‘fear’, Arm *erknč’im* ‘frighten’, perhaps Luv *kuwaya-* ‘fear’, Av *dvaēš-* ‘be hostile, provoke’, Skt *dvéṣti* ‘hates, is hostile’, Toch A *wi-* ‘be frightened’); it appears to derive from the numeral **dwi-* ‘two’ and its etymology may have been something like ‘be of two minds’ or, in the hindsight of modern psychological theory, express the natural decision-making process between ‘fight and flight’ when confronted with a danger. A Mİr *nār* ‘modest’: Hit *nāh-* ‘be afraid’ isogloss furnishes **neh₂₋* ‘be timid’. The concept of devotional ‘fear’ or ‘reverence’ is found in **k^weh₁(i)-* (e.g. OCS *čajq* ‘(a)wait, hope’, Grk *tiō* ‘honour, revere’, perhaps Luv *kuwaya-* ‘fear’, Skt *cāyati* ‘reveres, pays attention to’). The root **perk-* ‘fear’ is based on a Germanic-Tocharian isogloss (e.g. NE *fright*, Toch AB *pārsk-* ‘be afraid’). The physical manifestation of fear is found in **tres-* ‘tremble, fear’ (e.g. Mİr *tarrach* ‘fearful’, Lat *terror* ‘terror’, Lith *trišù* ‘tremble’, Grk *tréō* ‘tremble, flee’, Av *tərəsaiti* ‘fears’, Skt *trāsati* ‘trembles, is afraid’; see also Section 22.4). To ‘frighten’ or ‘scare’ is also indicated by various words. The verbal root **ǵheis-* ‘frighten’ also occurs as an *o*-grade in Germanic to give us NE *ghost* (cf. also ON *geiska-fullr* ‘full of fear’, Av *zaēša-* ‘horrible’, Skt *hēḍa-* ‘anger’). Something on the order of ‘scare’ or ‘threaten’ lies behind **terg^w-* (e.g. NWels *tarfu* ‘hunt’, Lat *torvus* ‘piercing wild [of the eyes]’, OE *þracian* ‘fear, feel dread, shudder’, Grk *tarbéō* ‘scare’, Skt *tārjati* ‘threatens, scolds’). Two isoglosses involving Tocharian provide us with two roots for ‘threaten’: **ghres-* (Toch AB *krās-* ‘vex, torment’ with Baltic, e.g.

Lith *gresiù* ‘threaten, menace’) and **sker-* (Toch B *skär-* ‘speak hostilely, threaten; reproach’ with Germanic, e.g. MLG *scheren* ‘ridicule’).

The Proto-Indo-Europeans had a vocabulary of deception. The root **dhreugh-* ‘deceive’ is attested in both verbal forms, e.g. OHG *triogan* ‘deceives’, Skt *drúhyati* ‘harms, is hostile to’, and also provides nominal forms indicating spectres in the West (e.g. MĪr *aur-fraich* ‘ghost’, ON *draugr* ‘ghost’ and abstracts in Indo-Iranian (e.g. Av *draoga-* ‘lie’); it also underlies the Germanic words for dream (as a false vision), e.g. ON *draumr* ‘dream’. A Germanic (e.g. OE *swīcan* ‘betray’) -Tocharian (Toch A *wek-* ‘to lie’) isogloss secures the root **(s)weig-* ‘deceive’. A PIE **(s)mel-* ‘deceive’ is based on cognates in Baltic (e.g. Lith *mėlas* ‘lie’), Arm *mel* ‘sin’, Iranian (Av *mairya-* ‘deceitful’), and Tocharian (Toch A *smale* ‘lie’). A physical dimension to deception is suggested by PIE *meha-* ‘wave/trick (with the hand)’ where the Baltic cognates suggest a simple motion, e.g. Lith *móju* ‘wave, signal with the hand’, but the other cognate groups indicate an element of deception, e.g. Rus *ob-manūtī* ‘trick, deceive’, Skt *māyā* ‘trick, illusion’, Toch A *māsk-* ‘switch, juggle’. Finally, there is the somewhat questionable equation of MĪr *meng* ‘deceit, guile’, Grk *mágganon* ‘charm, philtre’, Oss *mæng* ‘deceit’ to propose a PIE **meng-* ‘± charm, deceive’.

From the North-West we have **leud-* ‘act hypocritically, badly’ (e.g. OE *lot* ‘deception’, OPrus *laustinti* ‘humble, abase’, OCS *ludŭ* ‘foolish’); **saiwos* ‘hard, sharp, rude’ (e.g. Lat *saevus* ‘hot-headed, raging, furious’, Latv *sievs* ‘hard, curt’); and **meug-* ‘± cheat, deceive’ (e.g. OIr *formūchtha* ‘smothered, concealed’, Lat *muger* ‘dice cheat’, and NE *meecher*). From the West Central region **bhorg^wo-* ‘angry, violent’ (e.g. OIr *borb* ‘stupid, violent’, Latv *baĩgs* ‘hard, unfriendly’, Arm *bark* ‘angry, violent’); **h₁óistro/eha-* ‘anger, any strong feeling’ (e.g. Lith *aistrà* ‘passion’, Grk *oĩstros* ‘gadfly, sting, anger’; from **h₁eis-* ‘set in motion’; *oĩstros* is borrowed, via Latin, in NE *estrus*); **haegh-* ‘be afraid, be downcast’ (e.g. OIr *ad-āgathar* ‘fears’, ON *agi* ‘terror’, Grk *ákhos* ‘mental pain or distress’); **garǵos* ‘frightening, threatening’ (e.g. OIr *garg* ‘rough’, OCS *groza* ‘shudder, horror’, Arm *karer* ‘hard’, Grk *gorgós* ‘terrible, frightful, savage’); and **kel-* ‘deceive’ (Lat *calvor* ~ *calvō* ‘deceive’, OE *hōl* ‘slander’, Grk *kēlēō* ‘bewitch, deceive’). A possible Greek-Indic isogloss is seen in **ket-* ‘be angry’ (Grk *kótos* ‘spite, anger’, Skt *sátru-* ‘enemy’).

20.7 Desire

Expressing a wish or desire in Indo-European could be accomplished both by the optative mood of the verb and by a relatively extensive vocabulary associated with the concept of ‘desire’.

Table 20.7. *Desire*

* <i>wenh_x</i> -	‘desire, strive to obtain’	Lat <i>venus</i> , Skt <i>vānas</i> -
* <i>ghor</i> (<i>ye/o</i>)-	‘desire’	Lat <i>horior</i> , NE <i>yearn</i> , Skt <i>hāryati</i>
* <i>gheldh</i> -	‘desire’	Skt <i>gṛdhyati</i>
* <i>h_xih_xiġh</i> -(<i>e/o</i>)-	‘desire (strongly)’	Grk <i>īkhar</i> , Skt <i>īhate</i>
* <i>?moud</i> -	‘desire strongly’	
* <i>wēk</i> -	‘wish, want’	Grk <i>hekōn</i> , Skt <i>vāsmi</i>
* <i>wel</i> -	‘wish, want’	Lat <i>volō</i> , NE <i>will</i> , Skt <i>ṽṇūte</i>
* <i>h_eeis</i> -	‘wish for, seek out’	Lat <i>aeruscāre</i> , NE <i>ask</i> , Skt <i>icchāti</i>
* <i>las</i> -	‘be greedy, lascivious’	Lat <i>lascīvus</i> , NE <i>lust</i> , Grk <i>lilaíomai</i> , Skt <i>lasati</i>
* <i>seh₂</i> (<i>i</i>)-	‘satisfy, fill up’	Grk <i>āmenai</i> , Skt <i>asinvā-</i>
* <i>terp</i> -	‘take (to oneself), satisfy oneself’	Grk <i>tērpomai</i> , Skt <i>tṛpyati</i>
* <i>speh₁</i> -	‘be satisfied, be filled, thrive’	Lat <i>spēs</i> , Skt <i>sphāyate</i>

The verbal root **wenh_x*- yields a variety of meanings ranging from the relatively tame, e.g. ON *vinr* ‘friend’ or Av *vantā* ‘wife’, across ‘lust’ (Lat *venus*, Skt *vānas*-) and possibly as far as Hit *wen*- ‘copulate’ if it is not from **wen*- ‘strike’ (cf. also Toch B *wīna* ‘pleasure’). An *-*sk*- suffixed form gives NE *wish* and Skt *vāñchati* ‘wishes, desires’. ‘Desire’ is also the meaning of the widely attested **ghor*(*ye/o*)- where some groups retain the emphasis on striving and yearning, e.g. Italic and Germanic (e.g. Lat *horior* ‘exhort, incite’, NE *yearn*), while others emphasize completion of desire, e.g. Grk *khairō* ‘rejoice’, Skt *hāryati* ‘finds pleasure in, desires’, and Toch B *ker*(*y*)- ‘laugh’. A Slavic-Indic isogloss gives us **gheldh*- ‘desire’ (e.g. OCS *žlǫdǫti* ‘desire’, *gladŭ* ‘hunger’, Skt *gṛdhyati* ‘is envious’, *gardha*- ‘envy’), while perhaps a stronger yearning is to be found in **h_xih_xiġh*-(*e/o*)- (e.g. Grk *īkhar* ‘violent desire’, Av *ižā*- ‘desire’, Skt *īhate* ‘strives for, wants’, Toch B *ykāsse* ‘concupiscence’). Baltic-Slavic and Tocharian provide evidence for **moud*- ‘desire strongly’ (e.g. Lith *maudžiū* ‘desire passionately’, Czech *mdlíti* ‘desire’, Toch B *maune* ‘avarice, avidity’).

There are several verbs that seem to express ‘wish’. Hittite and Indo-Iranian all attest **wēk*- (e.g. Hit *wēkmi* ‘I wish’, Av *vasəmi* ‘I wish’, Skt *vāsmi* ‘I wish’) while the Greek cognate, *hekōn*, means ‘willingly’. There is no clear semantic distinction between this and **wel*(*h_x*)- ‘wish’ (e.g. MWels *gwell* ‘better’, Lat *volō* ‘want’, NE *will*, Lith *pa-vėlmi* ‘wish’, OCS *veljō* ‘wish’, Arm *gel* ‘beauty’, Av *var*- ‘choose, wish’, Skt *ṽṇūte* ‘chooses’). On the other hand there is a strong sense of ‘seek out’ to be found in **h_eeis*- where this is the meaning exhibited in Baltic (e.g. Lith *ieškau* ‘seek’) and Indo-Iranian (Av *isaiti* ‘seeks, wishes’, Skt *ēsati* ‘seeks’, *icchāti* ‘wishes, seeks’); Lat *aeruscō* and Germanic (e.g. NE *ask*)

tend to mean ‘ask’. Finally, desire is also expressed in the widely found outcomes of **las-* ‘be greedy’ (e.g. OIr *lainn* ‘eager, greedy’, Lat *lascīvus* ‘lascivious’, NE *lust*, Lith *lokšnūs* ‘loving, amorous, tender’, OCS *laskati* ‘flatter’, Grk *lilaíomai* ‘desire’, dialectal Grk *lástē* ‘courtesan’, Skt *lasati* ‘strives, plays, is delighted’).

There were several different ways to indicate ‘satisfy’. A verbal root **seh₂(i)-* ‘satisfy’ (e.g. Grk *ámenai* ‘satisfy oneself’, Arm *hač* ‘contented’, Hit *sāh-* ‘stuff full, clog up’, Skt *asinvá-* ‘unsatisfied’, TochA *si-* ‘be satisfied’) provides a noun **séh₂tis* ‘satisfaction’ (e.g. OIr *saith* ‘satisfaction’, Lat *satis* ‘enough’, Lith *sótis* ‘satiety’). An adjective **sh_atós* ‘satisfied’ (e.g. OHG *sat* ‘satisfied’ Grk *áatos* ‘insatiable’) underwent an interesting semantic development in English: OE *sæd* ‘satisfied’ came to mean ‘heavy’ (as if one were full) which ultimately yields NE *sad*. The semantic range of **terp-* is rather wide in that Germanic indicates ‘need’ (e.g. OE *þurfan* ‘need, lack’), Av ‘steal’ (*tarəp-*, presumably the meaning developed from a euphemistic extension of ‘satisfy oneself’; cf. also Skt *paśu-ṭṭp-* ‘cattle stealing’), while Greek and Indic indicate the basic meaning ‘satisfy’ (e.g. Grk *térpomai* ‘satisfy myself’, Skt *tṛpyati* ‘be sated’; cf. also Lith *tarpstù* ‘flourish’, OCS *trǔpěti* ‘suffer, endure’, Toch A *tśārwā-* ‘be confident, rejoice’); it also exists in a widespread derived form **térptis* (gen. **tṛptéis*) ‘satisfaction’ found in Germanic (ON *purft* ‘need’), Grk *térpsis* ‘satisfaction’, Skt *tṛpti-* ‘satisfaction’. While the Latin reflex of **speh₁-* (e.g. OE *spōwan* ‘thrive, succeed’, Lith *spėjū* ‘have free time’, OCS *spěti* ‘be successful, prosper’, Toch B *spāw-* ‘± spread out’), i.e. *spēs*, only means ‘hope’, the Indic indicates completion of the desire in the meaning ‘grows fat’ (Skt *spháyate*) and the root is the basis for one of the words for ‘fat’, **sph₁ros* (see Section 17.3).

The few regionally restricted words are (from the West Central region) **h₁op-* ‘desire’ (e.g. Lat *optō* ‘wish’, OCS *za-(j)apŭ* ‘presumption, suspicion’, Grk *epiόpsomai* ‘choose’), perhaps from **h₁ep-* ‘grasp’; **g^whel-* ‘wish, want’ (e.g. OCS *želěti* ‘wish’, Grk *thélō* ‘wish’); an Avestan-Tocharian isogloss yields **k^wlep-* ‘desire’ (Av *xrap-* ‘desire’, Toch AB *kulyp-* ‘desire’).

20.8 Love and Hate

Frequently, roots for ‘desire’ or ‘want’ also yield meanings ‘love’ but there are a series of words that are more specifically associated with the vocabulary of ‘love’ and ‘hate’.

The verbal root **keh_a-* is only found as such in Indo-Iranian (e.g. Av *kā-* ‘long for’, Skt *kāyamāna-* ‘liking’) but in derived form **keh_a-ro-* we find it

Table 20.8. *Love and hate*

* <i>keh_a</i> -	‘love’	Lat <i>cārus</i> , NE <i>whore</i>
* <i>kem</i> -	‘love’	Skt <i>kāmáyati</i>
* <i>ken</i> -	‘love’	Skt <i>cánas</i> -
* <i>prih_x-eh_a</i> -	‘love’	NE <i>friend</i> , Skt <i>priyāyáte</i>
* <i>leubh</i> -	‘love, desire’	Lat <i>lubet</i> , NE <i>love</i> , Skt <i>lúbhyati</i>
* <i>h_xleh_ad</i> -	‘dear’	
* <i>kus</i> -	‘kiss’	NE <i>kiss</i> , Grk <i>kunéō</i>
* <i>h₃ed</i> -	‘hate’	Lat <i>ōdī</i> , <i>odium</i> , Grk <i>odúsasthai</i>
* <i>kéh_ades</i> -	‘±concern; hate’	NE <i>hate</i> , Grk <i>kédos</i>
* <i>peik/k-</i>	‘be hostile, hate’	NE <i>foe</i> , Skt <i>písuna</i> -
*(<i>h_x</i>) <i>neid</i> -	‘insult’	Grk <i>oneidizō</i> , Skt <i>níndati</i>
* <i>pih_x(y)</i> -	‘revile’	Skt <i>pīyati</i>

providing words for endearment in Celtic (e.g. OIr *cara* ‘friend’, *caraid* ‘loves’) and Italic (Lat *cārus* ‘dear’) while it shifted to ‘adulterer’ and ‘whore’ in Germanic (e.g. NE *whore*). Probably related to this root are two others beginning with the same velar, **kem*- (e.g. Lith *kamaros* [pl.] ‘lasciviousness’, Skt *kāmáyati* ‘longs for, is in love with, copulates with’, Toch B *kāñm*- ‘play’) and **ken*- (e.g. MĪr *cin* ‘love, tendency’, Av *čanaḥ*- ‘demand, request’, Skt *cánas*- ‘pleasure’), both of which can be given a proto-meaning of ‘love’. The root **prih_x-eh_a*-, found from Germanic to Indic (e.g. Goth *frijōn* ‘love’, *frijōnds* ‘friend’, OCS *prijaję* ‘am favourable’, Skt *priyāyáte* ‘befriends’), tends to give verbal meanings of ‘love’, as in OE *frīgan* ‘love’, and nominal meanings of ‘friend’. This **prih_x-eh_a*- is a verbal derivative of **prih_x-ós* ‘of one’s own’ (e.g. ON *frī* ‘beloved, spouse’, Av *frya*- ‘dear’, Skt *priyá*- ‘dear’, and, significantly, NE *free*, NWels *rhydd* ‘free’). In turn, this **prih_x-ós* may be an adjectival derivative of **pēr* ‘house’ (if this word is truly Proto-Indo-European, cf. Sections 12.1, 13.1) originally ‘of one’s own household’. Meanings of both ‘desire’ and ‘love’ can be credited to **leubh*- (e.g. Lat *lubet* ~ *libet* ‘pleases’, *lubīdō* ~ *libīdō* ‘desire, pleasure’, NE *love*, Lith *liaupsė* ‘glorification’, OCS *lyby* ‘love’, Alb *laps* ‘wish’, dialectal Grk *luptá* ‘courtesan’, Skt *lúbhyati* ‘desires ardently’). A derivative in the North-West gives us a standard word for ‘dear’ (e.g. OE *lēof* ‘dear’ [> (archaic) NE *lieſ*], OCS *ljubŭ* ‘dear’; cf. also the corresponding noun in Skt *lóbha*- ‘desire’). The root **h_xleh_ad*- supplies words for ‘dear’ in Slavic (e.g. Rus *ládyj* ‘dear’) and Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *lāre* ‘dear’), ‘love, caress’ in Arm *alalem* and ‘desires’ in Skt *lāḍayate* (-*d* < **-dr*-) while in Lycian it yields *lada*- ‘wife’ (cf. also Rus *láda* ‘wife’). A verbal root **kus*- ‘kiss’ is reconstructed on the basis of Grk *kunéō* ‘kiss’, Hit *kuwaszi* ‘kisses’, and possibly Germanic; doubt exists for the Germanic words, e.g.

ON *kyssa*, OHG *kussen*, NE *kiss*, because Proto-Indo-European **k* should give Germanic **h* and not **k* unless the *k* was employed for some sound-symbolic reason, i.e. somehow a hard *k*-sound was thought to be appropriate for a kissing noise among the speakers of Proto-Germanic.

There are several words for ‘hate’. The root **h₃ed-* tends to mean either ‘hate’ or ‘fearsome’ (e.g. Lat *ōdī* ‘hate’ [verb], *odium* ‘hate’ [noun], OE *atol* ‘atrocious’, Grk *odūsasthai* ‘be angry at, hate’, Arm *ateam* ‘hate’, Hit *hatukzi* ‘is terrible’) and underlies the name of the Greek hero *Odysseus*. There seems to be a semantic divergence in the meaning of **keh_ades-* which indicates ‘hate’ in the West (Celtic, e.g. MlIr *cais* ‘hate’, and Germanic, e.g. NE *hate*) but ‘care for’ in Grk *kēdos* ‘care, concern, sorrow’ and Indo-Iranian (Av *sādra-* ‘grief’ and perhaps Skt *ri-śādas-* if the latter means ‘caring for a stranger’). Hostility of some sort is more uniform across the cognates derived from **peik/k-* ‘hate’ (e.g. NE *foe*, Lith *peikti* ‘blame, rebuke, censure’, Arm *hēk* ‘unfortunate, suffering’, Skt *pīṣuna-* ‘backbiting, wicked’). One can actively implement one’s hostility through two verbs for ‘insult’ or ‘revile’. Six groups evidence **(h_x)neid-* ‘insult, despise, curse’ (e.g. Goth *ga-naitjan* ‘treat shamefully’, Lith *niedėti* ‘despise’, Grk *oneidízō* ‘revile’, Arm *anēc* ‘curse’, Av *naēd-* ‘insult’, Skt *nīdati* ‘insults’) while a verbal **pih_x(y)-* ‘revile’ (e.g. OE *fēon* ‘hate’, NE *fiend*, Skt *pīyati* ‘insults’) would appear to derive from **peh_x-* ‘misfortune’ (e.g. Grk *pēma* ‘suffering, misfortune’).

To these we can add the regional (West Central) form **h_aleit-* ‘± do something hateful or abhorrent’ (e.g. OIr *lius* ‘abhorrence’, NE *loath*, Grk *alitaínō* ‘trespass, sin’) and **kaunos* ‘humble, lowly’, despised’ seen in Germanic (OE *hēan* ‘lowly, despised’), Baltic (Latv *kāuns* ‘shame, disgrace’), and Grk *kaunós* ‘bad, evil’.

20.9 Hot, Cold, and other Qualities

In Table 20.9 we gather together a series of words that describe basic perceptions such as hot, cold, wet, dry, heavy, light, etc.

The root **g^wher-* ‘warm’ reveals several derived forms such as **g^whermós* ‘warm’ which is almost ubiquitous (nine groups: e.g. Lat *formus* ‘warm’, NE *warm*, OPrus *gorme* ‘heat’, Thrac *germo-* ‘warm’, Alb *zjarm* ‘fire’, Grk *thermós* ‘warm’, Arm *jerm* ‘warm’, Av *garəma-* ‘hot’, Skt *gharmá-* ‘heat, glow’) and the more limited Celtic-Indic isogloss **g^whrensós* ‘warm’ (e.g. OIr *grīs* ‘heat, fire’, Skt *ghraṃsá-* ‘heat of the sun’). The semantic temperature of **tep-* may have been hotter than the two previous words, while it is ‘lukewarm’ in Lat *tepeō* ‘be lukewarm’, it is ‘hot’ otherwise (e.g. OIr *te* ‘hot’, Umb *tefru* ‘burnt sacrifice’, OE *þefian* ‘gasp, pant’, Rus *topiti* ‘heat’, Grk *téphrā* ‘ashes’, Hit *tapissa-* ‘fever, heat’,

Table 20.9. *Qualities*

*g ^w hermós	‘warm’	Lat <i>formus</i> , NE <i>warm</i> , Grk <i>thermós</i> , Skt <i>gharmá-</i>
*g ^w hrensós	‘warm’	Skt <i>ghraṃsá-</i>
*tep-	‘hot’	Lat <i>tepeō</i> , Grk <i>téphra</i> , Skt <i>tápati</i>
*kelto-	‘cold’	Lat <i>calidus</i>
*k ^w rustēn	‘(freezing) cold’	Lat <i>crusta</i> , Grk <i>krustainomai</i>
*h ₂ es-	‘be/become dry’	Lat <i>āreō</i>
*sausos	‘dry’	Lat <i>sūdus</i> , NE <i>sear</i>
*ters-	‘dry’	Lat <i>torreō</i> , Grk <i>térsomai</i> , Skt <i>tṛṣyati</i>
*siskus	‘dry’	Lat <i>siccus</i>
*se(n)k-	‘cease to flow, dry up’	Skt <i>ásakra-</i>
*h ₁ res- ~ *h ₁ ers-	‘liquid, moisture’	Lat <i>rōs</i> , Skt <i>rása-</i>
*m(e)h _a d-	‘become wet, moist, fat’	Lat <i>madeō</i> , NE <i>meat</i> , Grk <i>madáō</i> , Skt <i>māda-</i>
*g ^w reh _x -u-	‘heavy’	Lat <i>gravis</i> , Grk <i>barús</i> , Skt <i>gurú-</i>
*tengh-	‘be heavy, difficult’	
*h ₁ le(n)g ^w h-	‘light (of weight)’	Lat <i>levis</i> , NE <i>light</i> , Grk <i>elakhós</i> , Skt <i>laghū-</i>
*kreup-	‘rough’	NE <i>rough</i>
*pastos	‘firm’	NE <i>fast</i> , Skt <i>pastyám</i>
*ġhers-	‘stiffen (of hair), bristle’	Lat <i>horreō</i> , NE <i>gorse</i> , Skt <i>hárṣati</i>
*(s)terh ₁ -	‘stiff’	NE <i>stare</i> , Grk <i>stereós</i>
*sth ₂ ei-	‘become hard, fixed’	Lat <i>stīria</i> , Skt <i>styáyate</i>
*st(h ₂)eug-	‘stiff’	
*mel(h ₁)-	‘soft’	Lat <i>mollis</i> , Grk <i>bladús</i> , Skt <i>mṛdú-</i>
*(s)lag-	‘slack’	Lat <i>laxus</i> , NE <i>slack</i> , Grk <i>lagarós</i>
*(s)lei-	‘sticky, slimy, slippery’	Lat <i>līmus</i> , NE <i>slime</i> , Grk <i>leimaks</i> , Skt <i>limpāti</i>

Av *tāpaiti* ‘be warm’, Skt *tápati* ‘warms, burns’. That derivatives tend to be hotter than just warm suggests that the underlying meaning was ‘hot’. The Albanian cognate is *ftoh* ‘make cold’, which seems surprising semantically but is understandable once one realizes that the initial *f-* reflects a PIE **h₂eps-* ‘from’ and thus *ftoh* is originally ‘make from-heat’ or the like. That temperatures may have been experienced among the Indo-Europeans according to intensity rather than degrees is seen in **kelto-* ‘cold’ whose Latin and Welsh cognates are *calidus* ‘warm, hot’ and *clyd* ‘sheltered, warm, snug’ respectively (but ‘cold’ in Baltic, e.g. Lith *šáltas*, Iranian, e.g. Av *sarəta-*, and in some of its derived forms such as Skt *śíśira-* ‘cold season’). Really ‘freezing cold’ is indicated by a Greek-Tocharian isogloss that gives **k^wrustēn* (e.g. Grk *krustainomai* ‘am congealed with cold,

freeze', *krūmós* 'icy cold, frost', Toch B *krošce* 'cold'); Grk cognates include *krustállos* 'ice; crystal'. Derived forms also include Lat *crusta* 'crust', OHG *hroso* 'ice, crust', and Latv *kruvesis* 'frozen mud'.

There are at least four Proto-Indo-European words for 'dry', some verbal and some adjectival. The root **h₂es-* means 'be(come) dry' (e.g. Lat *āreō* 'be dry', *āridus* 'dry', Czech *ozditi* 'dry malt', Grk *ázomai* 'become dry', Toch AB *ās-* 'become dry'). Sometimes connected here are words for ash and hearth (e.g. NE *ash*, Lat *āra* 'hearth') but they are probably better connected with **h₂eh₁-* 'burn'. The adjectival **sus-* ~ **sausos* is widespread (e.g. Lat *sūdus* 'dry, without rain', Alb *thaj* 'dry up', Av *haoš-* 'wither away', Skt *śuṣ-* 'become dry'; OE *sēar* [> NE *sere*], Lith *sausas*, OCS *suchŭ*, Grk *aĩos*, all 'dry'). Another word **ters-* 'dry' (e.g. Lat *torreō* 'dry', ON *þerra* 'dry', Alb *ter* 'dry off', Grk *térsomai* 'become dry', Arm *t'arāmim* 'wilt, fade', Skt *tṛṣyati* 'thirsts') also yields an extended form **tṛsus/*tṛstos* 'dry' (e.g. Lat *torrus* 'dried out', ON *þurr* 'parched', Av *taršu-* 'dry', Skt *tṛṣú-* 'greedy, desirous, vehement') which is semantically consistent except for Skt *tṛṣú-* 'greedy, vehement'. Another term for 'dry up', **se(n)k-*, seems to have specifically referred to the drying up, i.e. the ceasing to flow, of streams or the like (e.g. NE *singe*, Lith *senkù* 'ebb, drain away, dry up [of water]', OCS *i-seknŭti* 'dry up [of water]', Skt *ásakra-* 'not drying up') and it yields a reduplicated form **siskus* 'dry' (e.g. NWels *hysb*, Lat *siccus*, Av *hišku-*, all 'dry'); in Old Irish this word (*sesc*) has shifted semantically to 'sterile' (of livestock).

There are numerous regional terms for 'wet' but a few may be assigned to Proto-Indo-European. A root **h₁res-* or **h₁ers-* means 'dew' in Lat *rōs*, Baltic (e.g. Lith *rasà*), and Slavic (e.g. OCS *rosa*) but it tends to mean something moister in the other languages (in Avestan it supplies the name of the river Volga, *Raṇha*, while in Sanskrit it provides *rása-* 'liquid, moisture', and in Albanian it gives *resh* 'rains'). More semantically divergent are the outcomes of **mad-* which seem to include 'become wet' but also 'become fat' (e.g. OIr *maidid* 'breaks, bursts forth, gushes', Lat *madeō* 'am moist, drip', Alb *maj* 'feed, fatten [of animals]', Grk *madáō* 'am damaged by wetness or humidity, drip'); in Indo-Iranian it yields 'alcoholic drink' (i.e. Av *maḍa-*, Skt *māda-*) but in Germanic 'meal' (NE *meat* is an even more specific use of OE *mete* 'food').

There are two words for 'heavy'. The basic sense of weight was conveyed by **g^wreh₁-u-* which gives us Grk *barús* (see the loan in NE *barometer*; cf. also Mlr *bair* '± heavy', Lat *gravis* 'heavy', Latv *grūts* 'heavy', Toch B *krāmār* 'weight, heaviness'); the Sanskrit cognate *gurú-* 'heavy' also gives us the name of an Indian sage. Heavy in the sense of 'difficult' seems to have been conveyed by **tengh-* (e.g. ON *þungr* 'heavy, difficult, unfriendly', Lith *tingùs* 'idle, lazy, sluggish', OCS *o-tęžati* 'become heavy, loaded', Toch B *tāñk-* 'hinder, obstruct'). There is one word for 'light of weight', **h₁le(n)g^wh-* (e.g. OIr *laigiú*

'lighter, poorer', Lat *levis* 'light', NE *light*, Lith *leñgvas* 'light, easy, slight', OCS *ligŭkŭ* 'light', Alb *lehtë* 'light, soft, slight, nimble', Grk *elakhós* 'small, little', Oss *ræwæg* 'light', Toch B *lank_utse* 'light') which, in some languages (Germanic, Greek, Indic), shifted to mean 'rapid', i.e. light of foot (e.g. OHG *lungar* 'rapid', Grk *elaphrós* 'light, fast', Skt *laghú-* 'fleet, fast').

The concept of 'rough' was indicated by **kreup-*, an isogloss of Germanic (e.g. NE *rough*), Baltic (Lith *kraupūs* 'dreadful, rough; timid'), and Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *kärpiye* 'common, raw, rough'). A word **pastos* 'firm' may be considered Proto-Indo-European if one accepts Skt *pastyám* 'habitation' as cognate with the Germanic (e.g. NE *fast* [as in 'stand fast']) and Arm *hast* words for 'firm'. There are four words to convey 'stiff'. The root **ǵhers-* (e.g. NE *gorse*, Lat *horreō* 'bristle', Av *zaršayamna-* 'feathers upright', Skt *háršati* 'bristles, becomes erect or rigid; becomes sexually excited') is certainly to be associated with **ǵher-* 'hedgehog' (see Section 9.2) and possibly **ǵhor-* 'young pig' (see Section 9.2; perhaps from the bristles of the pig). A **(s)terh₁-* is well attested in the North-West (e.g. NE *stare*, Lith *starinù* 'tighten, stretch, make stiff', OCS *strada* 'hard work') but also has Greek and Tocharian cognates (e.g. Grk *stereós* 'stiff, firm', Toch B *šcīre* 'hard, rough'). The basic verbal root **steh₂-* 'stand' provides the basis for two other words: **sth₂ei-* 'become hard, fixed' (e.g. Lat *stīria* 'icicle', Frisian *stīr* 'stiff', Lith *stóras* 'stiff', Skt *styáyate* 'becomes fixed, coagulated, hardens', Toch B *stināsk-* 'be silent') and **st(h₂)eug-* 'stiff' (e.g. Lith *stúkti* 'stand tall', Rus *stúgnuti* 'freeze', Toch B *staukk-* 'swell, bloat').

The root **mel(h₁)-* 'soft' is found in a number of derived forms, e.g. **mł̥dus* (e.g. Lat *mollis* 'soft', OPrus *mal dai* 'young', OCS *mladŭ* 'young, soft', Grk *bladús* 'slack', Arm *melk'* 'soft, limp', Skt *mṛdú-* 'soft, tender, mild'), that secure its assignment to Proto-Indo-European. 'Slimy' was indicated by **(s)lei-*, often found in extended form **leip-* (e.g. OIr *as-lena* 'pollute', Lat *linō* 'anoint', OCS *slina* 'spit', Grk *alínō* 'anoint'; OIr *slemon* 'slippery, slick, polished', Lat *līmus* 'mud', *līmax* 'slug', NE *slime*, Rus *slimák* 'slug', Grk *leímak's* 'slug, snail'; NHG *bleiben* 'remain, stay', Lith *lipti* 'stick, be sticky', OCS *pri-līpję* 'stick on/to', Skt *līmpāti* 'smears', Toch A *lip-* 'remain') (see Section 22.5).

There are numerous regionally attested words to be added here. From the North-West come **keh_xi-* 'hot' (e.g. NE *hot*, Lith *kaĩsti* 'heat, become hot'); **gel-* 'cold, to freeze' (e.g. Lat *gelū* 'cold, frost', NE *cold*); **leh_at-* 'wet, moist' (e.g. MIr *lathach* 'mud', OHG *letto* 'clay', Grk *látaks* 'drops', and various Baltic river names); **welk-* or **welg-* 'wet' (e.g. OIr *folc* 'heavy rain', OHG *welk* 'wet, moist, mild', Lith *vilgau* 'moisten', OCS *vlaga* 'moisture juice of plants'); **h₁wes-* 'moist, especially of the ground or plants' (e.g. Umb *vestikatu* 'offer a libation', OE *wōs* 'juice, broth', Latv *vasa* 'forest with wet ground and blue clay'); **senh_xdhr-* 'congealed moisture, slag' (e.g. NE *cinder*, RusCS *sjadry*

‘clotted blood’); **ghleh_xdh-(ro)-* ‘smooth’ (Lat *glaber* ‘smooth’, NE *glad*, Lith *glodūs* ‘smooth(ed)’, OCS *gladiti* ‘to smooth’) from the root **ghel-* ‘shine’; **l(e)nto-* ‘soft’ (NWels *llathr* ‘smooth’, Lat *lentus* ‘soft, tender’, NE *lithe*, Lith *leñtas* ‘quiet, calm’); and **suh_x-ros* ‘sour, acid’ (NE *sour*, Lith *sūras* ‘salty’, OCS *syřũ* ‘wet’). From the West Central region: **wel-* ‘warm, heat’ (e.g. NE *well* as ‘well up’ [from *‘boil’], Alb *valë* ‘heat, boiling’, Arm *gol* ‘heat’); **h₃eug-* ‘cold’ (e.g. OIr *ūacht* ‘cold’, Lith *áušti* ‘become cold’, Arm *oyc* ‘cold’); **srīges-* (or **srih_xges-*) ‘cold, frost’ (Lat *frīgus* ‘cold, frost’, Grk *rhīgos* ‘frost, cold’); **teng-* ‘to moisten, soak’ (Lat *tingō* ‘moisten’, OHG *thunkōn* ‘dunk’, Grk *téggō* ‘moisten’); **reġ-* or **rek-nos* ‘moist, make wet’ (e.g. Lat (*ir*)*rigāre* ‘water, irrigate’, NE *rain*, Lith *rōkia* ‘drizzles’, Alb *rrjedh* ‘flow, pour’); **weg^w-* ‘wet’ (e.g. Lat *ūvidus* ‘wet’, ON *vōkr* ‘wet, moist’, Grk *hugrós* ‘liquid, fluid’); **(s)meug-* ~ **(s)meuk-* ‘slick, slippery’ (e.g. OIr *mocht* ‘soft, tender’, Lat *mungō* ‘blow the nose’, ON *mjūkr* ‘soft, malleable’, Grk *mússomai* ‘blow the nose’)—the verbal forms indicate ‘blow the nose’, cf. Lat *mūcus* ‘mucus’, and this set has been related to a larger (potentially PIE) group of words meaning ‘to run away’, e.g. Lith *mūkti* ‘slip away from’, Skt *muñcāti* ‘looses, frees’, Toch B *mauk-* ‘to let go’; and just possibly **swombhos* ‘spongy’ (e.g. OE *swamm* ‘mushroom’, Grk *somphós* ‘spongy’). There is somewhat disputable evidence for **menkus* ‘soft’ seen in a Baltic-Slavic-Albanian isogloss (Latv *mīkst* ‘soft’, OCS *mekūkū* ‘soft’, Alb (Gheg) *mekan* ‘weak’. An adjective ‘slack’ is indicated by **slag-* with cognates in Celtic (OIr *lac* ‘slack, weak’), Lat *laxus* ‘slack, loose’, Germanic (e.g. NE *slack*), Baltic (Latv *legans* ‘slack, soft’), and Grk *lagarós* ‘slack’ (there are also quite disputable cognates in both Indic and Tocharian). There is one Greek-Indic correspondence (Grk *ksērós* ‘dry, dried up’, Skt *kṣārā-* ‘caustic, burning’) in **ksēros* ‘dry (of weather or land)’, a lengthened grade derivative of **kseros* seen in cognates in other groups (e.g. Lat *serēnus* ‘dry, clean’, OHG *serawēn* ‘become weak’, Arm *č’or* ‘dry’).

20.10 Proto-Indo-European Perception

The sensual perception of the Proto-Indo-European lexicon is another area that may be appropriately analysed from the point of folk taxonomy. Although we customarily list five senses for ourselves: sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch, Aristotle counted only four (taste was merely a form of touching). As Earl Anderson reminds us in his *Folk-Taxonomies in Early English*: “the five senses are a linguistic construct and a cultural convention.” The Classical and Christian worlds tended to rank the senses with taste and touch at the bottom as they are shared by all animals; the logic of this may escape us but we are told by Aulus Gellius that humans are the ones who are best delighted through sight

and hearing. Even a fairly parsimonious acceptance of the numerous words for 'see' would result in at least about half a dozen verbs: **derk̑-* 'glance at', **leuk-* 'see', **(s)pek̑-* 'observe', **sek̑-* 'see', **wel-* 'see', **leg̑-* 'see', whereas only one root serves for 'hear' (**kleu-*). This apparent focus on 'sight' among the senses is hardly unique as sight was regarded by Plato as the most important of the senses and this theory has been echoed since in western tradition. The concept of 'touch' is perhaps more ambiguous to localize within the several words which cover this semantic field, i.e. **deg-*, **ml̑k̑-*, and probably more remotely **klep-*. 'Smell' as a sense is lacking although **pū-* 'stink' indicates its cognitive existence and there is no evidence for the lexicalization of 'taste' although again there is certainly enough evidence that the Proto-Indo-Europeans experienced the differences between 'sweet' and 'bitter'.

Proto-Indo-European cognition is another area where our lexical evidence hints at various levels of perception that invite our attention. We have seen how one of the main means of expressing knowledge is through a verb associated with sight, i.e. **weid-*, and that 'thinking' is handled by a different root, **men-*, a split in the cognitive process that we would share today (in many languages this can also be handled by different verbal systems). It is interesting then that the concept of belief is expressed through a frozen expression 'to put heart' (**k̑red-dheh₁-*) which would lead one to suspect either that the cognitive organ was the heart and not the brain in Proto-Indo-European or that belief was not strictly a cognitive process but more an act of faith.

One area that has seen considerable discussion is that of colour categories, especially since the publication of Berlin and Kay's influential works on colour terms. They proposed a seven-stage evolutionary system whereby primary colours have been lexicalized. By primary colour terms we mean words that cannot be further analysed nor seen to be subsets of another colour term (as 'scarlet' is a type of 'red') nor employed for a restricted range of objects, e.g. 'blond', 'brunette' for hair colours or 'bay' and 'roan' for horses. The ultimate test is the native perception of the speaker of a language which, of course, is denied to us when we must work with a reconstructed lexicon. In the evolutionary system of Berlin and Kay, stage 1 is marked by distinctions for only WHITE and BLACK; stage 2 adds ROW, a category that embraces what we might regard as 'red' and 'yellow'; stage 3 adds a fourth colour (WHITE, BLACK, RED, YELLOW or WHITE, BLACK, ROW, and GRUE [a category that combines our 'green' and 'blue']); stage 4 adds one further category by deconstructing ROW into RED and YELLOW and possessing GRUE; in the next stage GRUE is deconstructed into its components, i.e. separate words for BLUE and GREEN are not expected until all the other categories have been filled out. Later categories see the introduction of BROWN, PINK, PURPLE, ORANGE, and GREY. One has generally presumed that one can move up through the stages but it would be unusual to move

down, i.e. lose colour terms or combine them, though development in the latter direction is exemplified. So when we find that Homeric Greek is classified as a stage 3 or even stage 2 language, then how do we reconcile our list of no less than eight potential colour categories in PIE, i.e. BLACK (**mel-n-*, **k^wṛsnós*), WHITE (**h₂ǵ(u)*, **h₄elbhós*, **bhelh₁-*, **k^wweitós*), RED (**h₁reudh-*, **h₁eluh-*, **k^wóunos*), GREEN (**k^wyeh₁-*, **k^wer-* ~ **k^wṛ-wo-?*), BLUE (**modhr-?*), YELLOW (**ǵhel-* ~ **ghel-*), BROWN (**bher-*), and GREY (**k^was-*)?

First, it is evident that our reconstructed proto-meanings are not necessarily the precise colour categories required in ‘yellow’ (Celtic), ‘red’ (Italic), ‘blue’ (Baltic), ‘black’ (Baltic, Greek, Indic). **k^wṛsnós* is at least semantically consistent as ‘black’ but it is confined to Balto-Slavic and Indic. In any event, there is no one who would dispute our ability to reconstruct the categories WHITE, BLACK, and RED to Proto-Indo-European. Now do we really have RED or only ROW? If we only had the evidence of **h₁eluh-* which returns meanings of ‘yellow’ (Germanic), ‘gold’ (Indic), ‘white’ (Iranian), and ‘red’ (Indic) we might well regard this as reflecting the different potential outcome of an original ROW. But we also have PIE **h₁reudh-* which is the best-attested colour term in Indo-European and bears the meaning ‘red’ in the nine different groups in which it survives. As for YELLOW, we have **ǵhel-* or **ghel-* which tends to mean ‘yellow’ or ‘golden’ across seven language groups; where it attests a different meaning, it is noteworthy that it is ‘white’ (Celtic), ‘brown’ (Celtic), or ‘green’ (Slavic, Greek) but never ‘red’. If the stadial system has any validity, we might then expect GRUE or, if more advanced, separate categories for GREEN and BLUE. PIE **k^wyeh₁-* behaves with all the semantic variability that one might expect at this end of the colour scale. It can mean ‘green’ (Slavic, Indic), ‘grey’ (Germanic, Baltic, Slavic, Albanian, Tocharian), ‘blue’ (Germanic, Slavic), and ‘black’ or ‘dark’ (Iranian, Indic, Tocharian). PIE **k^wer-* offers a similar disparate range of meanings. The word for ‘blue’ (**modhr-?*) is consistent in its meaning in Germanic, Slavic, and Hittite but its Germanic meaning is consistently ‘madder’, the plant that provides a reddish dye, and hence there is reason to suspect that it is not a primary colour term. Similarly, the words for BROWN (**bher-*), are so frequently associated with animals, e.g. the bear (Germanic), toad (Greek), horses (Baltic, Indic), and the word for GREY (**k^was-*) with the meaning ‘hare’ in Celtic, Germanic, Baltic, and Indo-Iranian, that we have good reasons to doubt their status as primary terms in Proto-Indo-European. This would all suggest that our primary colours in Proto-Indo-European were probably confined to BLACK, WHITE, RED, YELLOW, and perhaps GRUE, thus indicating at least a stage 3 if not stage 4 language in terms of colour terminology.

Further Reading

Colour perception is discussed in Berlin and Kay (1969), Kay and McDaniel (1978), Anderson (2003), Shields (1979), Wescott (1975); more specific language studies are to be found in Lazar-Meyn (1994), Moonwomon (1994), and Lerner (1951); other aspects are in Bader (1986), Crepajac (1967), and Hamp (1971*b*). For ‘good–bad’ see Costa (1990). There are a number of articles on ‘sleep’ and ‘dream’: Barton (1985), Jamison (1982–3), Schindler (1966), Watkins (1972*a*); ‘seeing/knowning’ is treated in Hamp (1987*d*), Jassanoff (1988), Lindeman (2003), Porzio Gernia (1989). Seebold (1973); for ‘shine’ see Mazjulis (1986); for ‘sweet/taste’ see Lindeman (1975), Stang (1974); ‘hearing’ is treated in Frisk (1950).

21

Speech and Sound

21.0	Speech and Sounds	352	21.4	Animal Sounds	363
21.1	Speech	352			
21.2	Elevated Speech	355			
21.3	Interjections and Human Sounds	359	21.5	Proto-Indo-European Speech	365

21.0 Speech and Sounds

There is a rich vocabulary pertaining to speech and sound that may be reconstructed to Proto-Indo-European. Below we briefly review the evidence, first of ‘speech’ in its more general aspect and then at higher registers, e.g. the language of poets, and finally in terms of the various sounds that might be emitted by either a human or animal. Because of the very nature of this latter semantic sphere, many roots or words will be by their very nature onomatopoeic and there will be frequent instances where it is simply impossible to determine whether the root in question was inherited, borrowed, or independently created.

21.1 Speech

The primary roots and words concerned with speaking or calling out are listed in Table 21.1.

There were at least two basic words for ‘speak’. The root **wek^w-* with its o-grade present formation **wok^wti* is widespread and old in Indo-European (e.g. OIr *focal* ‘word’, Lat *vocō* ‘call’, OHG *giwahanem* ‘recall’, OPrus *wackitwei* ‘entice’, Grk *eîpon* ‘spoke’, Arm *gočem* ‘call’, Av *vak-* ‘say’, Skt *vivakti* ‘speaks,

Table 21.1. *Speech*

* <i>wek</i> ^w -	‘speak’	Lat <i>vocō</i> , Grk <i>eîpon</i> , Skt <i>vivakti</i>
*(s) <i>wer</i> -	‘say, speak’	Lat <i>sermō</i> , NE <i>swear</i> , Grk <i>eirō</i>
* <i>h₁eġ</i> -	‘say’	Lat <i>aiō</i> , Grk <i>ē</i>
* <i>ter</i> -	‘± speak out’	
* <i>wed</i> -	‘raise one’s voice’	Skt <i>vādati</i>
* <i>mleuh_x</i> -	‘speak’	Skt <i>brāviti</i>
* <i>rek</i> -	‘speak’	
?* <i>g</i> ^w <i>et</i> -	‘say’	NE <i>quoeth</i> , Skt <i>gādati</i>
* <i>gal</i> -	‘call out, speak’	Lat <i>gallus</i> , NE <i>call</i>
* <i>ġar</i> -	‘shout, call’	Lat <i>garriō</i> , NE <i>care</i> , Grk <i>gêrus</i>
* <i>neu</i> -	‘± cry out’	Lat <i>nūntius</i> , Skt <i>nāvate</i>
* <i>ġheu</i> (<i>h_x</i>)-	‘call to, invite, invoke’	NE <i>god</i> , Skt <i>hāvate</i>
* <i>kelh₁</i> -	‘call out to’	Lat <i>calō</i> , Grk <i>kalēō</i> , Skt <i>uṣā-kala-</i>
* <i>kēuk</i> -	‘cry out (to)’	
* <i>deik</i> -	‘show’	Lat <i>dīcō</i> , Grk <i>deiknumi</i> , Skt <i>diśāti</i>
* <i>d</i> (<i>h</i>) <i>ek</i> ^w - <i>s</i> -	‘show’	
* <i>t</i> (<i>e</i>) <i>h₂u-s</i> -	‘be silent’	Skt <i>tūṣṇīm</i>
* <i>h₁erh₁</i> -	‘quiet, at rest’	Grk <i>erêmos</i> , Skt <i>rámate</i>
* <i>k</i> ^w <i>eih₁</i> -	‘rest, quiet’	Lat <i>quiēs</i>

says’, Toch B *wesk*- ‘speak, say’). Equally widespread is *(s)*wer*- ‘say, speak’ (e.g. OPrus *wertemmai* ‘we swear’, Rus *vru* ‘lie’, Grk *eirō* ‘say’, Hit *wer(i)ye*- ‘call, summon’; Lat *sermō* ‘conversation, lecture’ [> by borrowing NE *sermon*], NE *swear*, OCS *svariti* ‘despise; battle’, Lyd *šfarwa*- ‘± oath’, Toch B *šarm* ‘origin’) with no clearly discernible distinction between it and the preceding word. Greek employs *(s)*wer*-, i.e. Grk *eirō*, in the present and **wek*^w-, i.e. Grk *eîpon*, in the aorist and it is possible that such a paradigm from two different roots derived from a still earlier period. In derived form, *(s)*wer*- also yields NE *word* (cf. also Lat *verbum* ‘word’ and Lith *vardas* ‘name’). A root **h₁eġ*- ‘say’ is found in Lat *aiō* ‘say’, Grk *ē* ‘said’, Arm *asem* ‘say’, and Toch AB *āks*- ‘announce, proclaim, instruct’ and is clearly of Proto-Indo-European age. A root **ter*- probably had some semantic specialization in Proto-Indo-European; in Hit *tar*- and Lith *tariù* it renders ‘say’ but in other languages we find ‘noise’, e.g. Celtic (Mlr *to(i)rm* ‘noise, din, uproar’), Baltic (OPrus *tārin* ‘noise’), Slavic (Rus *torotōriti* ‘chatter, prattle’), in Luvian it means ‘curse’ (*tātariya*-) and in Tocharian ‘implore’ (Toch B *tār*-). The root **wed*- ‘raise one’s voice’ also has meanings that connote at least a loud or solemn sound (e.g. OHG *far-wāzan* ‘deny, disavow’, Lith *vadimù* ‘call, name’, OCS *vaditi* ‘accuse’, dialectal Grk *wodāō* ‘lament’, Skt *vādati* ‘speaks, says; raises one’s

voice, sings'). A Slavic-Indo-Iranian-Tocharian isogloss gives us **mleuh_x-* 'speak' (e.g. OCS *mlŭvati* 'create a disturbance', Av *mraoiti* 'says, recites', Skt *brāviti* 'says', Toch B *pälw-* 'mourn') while **rek-* is attested only in Slavic and Tocharian (e.g. OCS *rešti* 'say', Toch B *reki* 'word'). A possible root **g^wet-* 'say' (there is some doubt about the status of some of the proposed cognates) is based on Germanic, Armenian, and Indo-Iranian (e.g. OE *cweðan* 'say' [whose past tense is reflected in (archaic) NE *quoth*], Arm *koč'em* 'call', Sogdian *žut* 'says', Skt *gádati* 'says').

Other words broadly meaning 'call (out)' include **gal-*, a word largely of the North-West but extended by an Ossetic cognate (e.g. OIr *gall* 'swan', NWels *galw* 'call', Lat *gallus* 'cock', OE *ceallian* 'call' [NE *call* is not directly from Old English but rather borrowed from the latter's ON cognate *kalla*], Lith *gālsas* 'echo', OCS *glasŭ* 'voice', Oss *yalas* 'sound'). The root **ġar-* (e.g. OIr *do-gair* 'call', Lat *garriō* 'chatter, prattle', OE *cearu* 'care, sorrow, mourning' [> NE *care*], Grk *gêrus* 'voice, call') is similarly extended in its distribution to Asia by virtue of an Ossetic cognate (*zarun* 'sing'); its meanings generally indicate a calling out or 'shout' (in Armenian we again find it forming bird names, *cicaṛn* 'swallow', *cicaṛnuk* 'nightingale'). The Germanic meaning 'mourn' may give some indication of Proto-Indo-European, or at least Pre-Germanic, mourning customs involving wailing by the mourners. A loud 'call' or 'cry' is also indicated by the semantic range of **neu-* (e.g. OIr *nūall* 'cry, noise', Lat *nūntius* 'message; messenger', Latv *nauju* 'cry', NPers *navīdan* 'cry', Skt *návate* 'shouts cries', Toch AB *nu-* 'roar'). The connotation of 'invoke' seems to lie behind some of the cognates derived from **ġheu(h_x-* (e.g. OIr *guth* 'voice', OCS *zovŭ* 'call', Av *zavaiti* 'calls', Skt *hávate* 'calls, invokes', Toch B *kuwā-* 'call, invite'); it supplies the Germanic word for 'god' as 'what is invoked' (**ġhutóm*) and probably also in Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *ñakte* 'god' < **ní-ġhuto-* i.e. 'the one invoked downward') and, as we have seen, it may carry the meaning 'invoke' also in Indic. Another noisy 'call' is seen in **kelh₁-* which gives the 'cock' in Celtic and Indic (e.g. OIr *cailech*, Skt *uṣā-kala-* < **dawn-singer*) and more formal acts of announcement, e.g. Lat *calendae* 'the first days of the month on which the ides and nones were announced', the ultimate origin of NE *calendar*, and Grk *kalēō* 'call', *kalētōr* 'herald' (cf. also ON *hjala* 'chatter, talk', Latv *kaļuôt* 'chatter', Hit *kallless-* 'call'). A Baltic-Tocharian correspondence gives us **kéuk-* 'cry out' (e.g. Lith *šaukiù* 'call, cry, shout; summon', Toch B *kuk-* 'call out to').

What we would translate as 'show' indicates a strong if not primary verbal component. The widely attested **deik-* may mean 'say', 'accuse', 'announce', as well as 'show' in the various languages where it is attested (e.g. Lat *dīcō* 'say', OE *tēon* 'accuse', Grk *deiknumi* 'show', Av *disyeiti* ~ *dašayeiti* 'shows', Skt *diśāti* ~ *deśayati* 'shows'). A Hittite-Avestan isogloss supports the reconstruction of **d(h)ek^w-s-* 'show' (Hit *tekkussa-* 'show', Av *daxša-* 'teach, show').

The most widely attested word for ‘be silent’ is **t(e)h₂us-* (e.g. OPrus *tusnan* ‘quiet’, Hit *tuhussi(i)ye-* ‘keep quiet, acquiesce’, Av *tušni-* ‘sitting quietly’, Skt *tūṣṇīm* ‘quiet, silent’). To this we might add words for ‘quiet’ such as **h₁erh₁-* ‘quiet, at rest’ with cognates in Celtic (e.g. NWels *araf* ‘quiet, calm’, Gothic *rimis* ‘rest’, Baltic (e.g. Lith *rimti* ‘to be calm’, Grk *erēmos* ‘lonely’, and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *rāmate* ‘stays still, calms down’). We might also add **k^weih₁-* ‘rest, quiet’ seen in Lat *quiēs* ‘quiet’, OE *hwīl* ‘while, time’ (> NE *while*), OCS *pokojī* ‘peace, quiet, rest’, Arm *han-gist* ‘rest, quiet’, OPers *šiyāti* ‘comfort’ (note also Lat *quiētus* ‘quiet’, Av *šyāta-* ‘happy’).

Regionally attested cognates comprise (from the North-West) **talk^w-* ‘speak’ (e.g. OIr *ad-thuichetar* ‘gives thanks, rejoices’, Lat *loquor* [< **tloquor*] ‘speak’, OCS *tlūkū* ‘meaning, explanation’); **(s)trep-* ‘± cry out, dispute’ (e.g. Lat *strepō* ‘cry loudly, make noise’, OE *prafian* ‘restrain, reprove; urge, demand’); **weh_ab-* ‘cry, scream’ (NE *weep*, Lith *vōbyti* ‘summon at court’, OCS *vabljǫ* ‘cry’); **leugh-* ‘lie, tell a lie’ which yields ‘lie’ in Germanic (e.g. NE *lie*) and Slavic (e.g. OCS *lǫžǫ* ‘lie’) but ‘ask’ in Baltic (e.g. Lith *lūgóti* ‘ask’); **tak-* ‘be silent’ (e.g. OIr *tachtaid* ‘chokes, stifles’, Lat *taceō* ‘am silent’, ON *þegja* ‘be silent’); and **(s)tel-* ‘be still, quiet’ may involve the absence of speech in some of its cognates in Celtic (OIr *tuilid* ‘sleeps’), Germanic (e.g. NE *still*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *tylā* ‘quiet person’). From the West Central region: **bheh_a-* ‘speak’ (e.g. Lat *for* ‘speak’, NE *ban*, Rus *báju* ‘relate’, Grk *phēmí* ‘say’, Arm *bay* ‘says’) with derived **bheh_ameh_a-* ‘saying’ (Lat *fāma* ‘talk, reputation, fame’, Grk *phēmē* ‘saying, speech’); **(s)preg-* ‘speak’ (e.g. NE *speak*, Alb *shpreg* ‘express, voice, utter’); **ghel-* ‘cry out, sing’ (e.g. NE *yell*, Rus *na-gáliti* ‘cry, sing’, Grk *khelīdōn* ‘swallow [the bird]’); **(s)weh_agh-* ‘± cry out; resound’ (e.g. Lat *vāgiō* ‘cry, squall [of babies], scream’, NE *sough*, Lith *svagėti* ‘sound’, Grk *ēkhē* ‘noise’, *ēkhēō* ‘sound, ring’); **bheidh-* ‘persuade, compel, confide’ (Lat *fīdō*, OE *bædan* ‘urge’, OCS *běditi* ‘constrain’, Alb *be* ‘oath’, Grk *peithō* ‘persuade’); **swīg/k-* ‘be silent, hush’ with a possible onomatopoeic origin (e.g. OE *swīgian* ‘be silent’, Grk *siḡáoō*); and **neu-* ‘nod’ (Lat *ad-nuō* ‘agree by nodding’, Grk *neuō* ‘nod’) which does have a putative but semantically distant and therefore unsecure Indic cognate (Skt *návate* ‘goes, moves’).

21.2 Elevated Speech

While it is not always possible to distinguish the register associated with different words, we can attempt a rough division between those words that simply convey the act of speech and those which carry a more formal nuance, e.g. the distinction between ‘say’ and ‘proclaim’. In Table 21.2 we have

Table 21.2. *Elevated speech and song*

* <i>keh</i> ₁ -	‘declare solemnly’	
* <i>ke(n)s</i> -	‘declare solemnly’	Lat <i>cēseō</i> , Skt <i>śāṃsati</i>
* <i>h</i> _{1/4} <i>ōr</i> -	‘speak a ritual formula’	Lat <i>ōrō</i> , Grk <i>arā</i> , Skt <i>āryati</i>
*(<i>s</i>) <i>pel</i> -	‘say aloud, recite’	NE <i>spell</i> , Grk <i>apeilēō</i>
* <i>yek</i> -	‘± express, avow’	Lat <i>iocus</i> , Skt <i>yācati</i>
* <i>h</i> ₁ <i>erk</i> ^w -	‘praise’	Skt <i>ārcati</i>
* <i>h</i> ₁ <i>eug</i> ^w <i>h</i> -	‘speak solemnly’	Grk <i>eúkhomai</i> , Skt <i>ójate</i>
* <i>weg</i> ^w <i>h</i> -	‘speak solemnly’	Lat <i>voveō</i> , Skt <i>vāghát-</i>
* <i>g</i> ^w <i>erh</i> _x -	‘praise’	Lat <i>grātēs</i> , Skt <i>gṛhātī</i>
* <i>kar</i> -	‘praise loudly’	Skt <i>carkarti</i>
* <i>seng</i> ^w <i>h</i> -	‘sing, make an incantation’	NE <i>sing</i> , Grk <i>omphē</i>
* <i>geh</i> ₁ (<i>i</i>)-	‘sing’	Skt <i>gāti</i>
* <i>pei</i> -	‘sing’	
* <i>sh</i> ₂ <i>ómen</i> -	‘song’	Grk <i>húmnos</i> , Skt <i>sāman-</i>
* <i>kléwes</i> -	‘fame’	Lat <i>cluar</i> , Grk <i>kléos</i> , Skt <i>śrávas-</i>
* <i>h</i> ₁ <i>nóm̐</i>	‘name’	Lat <i>nōmen</i> , NE <i>name</i> , Grk <i>ónoma</i> , Skt <i>nāma</i>
* <i>meldh</i> -	‘pray, speak words to a deity’	NE <i>meld</i>
* <i>g</i> ^w <i>hedh</i> -	‘ask, pray’	NE <i>bid</i> , Grk <i>théssasthai</i>
* <i>h</i> ₂ <i>eru</i> -	‘± pray, curse’	Grk <i>aráomai</i>
* <i>telh</i> _x -	‘± pray’	
* <i>perk</i> ₁ -	‘ask, ask for (in marriage)’	Lat <i>poscō</i> , Skt <i>pr̥cchati</i>
* <i>kreuk</i> ₁ -	‘cry out, raise the hue and cry’	Skt <i>króśati</i>

assembled those words which we might associate with a higher register or more formally specialized area of speech.

A verbal root **keh*₁- with a present **keh*₁*ti* (e.g. Alb *thotē* ‘says’, OPers *θātiy* ‘says, proclaims’) conveys a more formal manner of speaking in Indo-Iranian and may be translated as ‘declare solemnly’. More certain of its formal connotations is **ke(n)s*- whose meanings range from ‘proclaim solemnly’ to ‘praise’, i.e. in both judicial and religious spheres (e.g. Lat *cēseō* ‘proclaim solemnly, judge, assess, estimate, tax’, OE *herian* ‘praise’, Av *sənghaiti* ‘proclaims’, Skt *śāṃsati* ‘recites, praises, declares, vows’); see also below. The root **h*_{1/4}*ōr*- ‘speak a ritual formula’ underlies the Latin word (*ōrō*) for ‘address the gods’ and *ōrāculum* ‘oracle’, a Greek word (*arā*) for ‘prayer’ and Hit *ariya-* ‘consult an omen’ (cf. also Rus *orú* ‘cry out’, Skt *āryati* ‘acknowledges, praises’). The root *(*s*)*pel*- is sometimes associated with formal recitation, e.g. NE *spell* (as in *gospel*, i.e. good-story, but also *spell* as ‘incantation’ and the derived verb *to spell*), Alb *fjalē* ‘tale’ (also ‘word, statement’), and Arm *ara-spel* ‘saying, riddle’ (cf. also Latv *pelt* ‘revile, slander’, Grk *apeilēō* ‘hold out in promise or in

threat', Toch AB *pāl-* 'praise'). More ambiguous is **yek-* where the range of meanings is disparate, e.g. Lat *iocus* 'joke' but Umb *iuka* 'prayers' (cf. also MWels *ieith* 'speech', OHG *jēhan* 'express, explain', Skt *yācati* 'asks, solicits, entreats'); about the only thing we can say is that it meant some form of verbal expression.

Among the formal expressions, those that comprise the concept of 'praise' are well represented in Indo-European. We have both the verbal root **h₁erk^w-* 'praise' (e.g. Hit *arkuwai-* 'explain, answer', Skt *ārcati* 'praises') and a nominal derivative **h₁erk^wós* 'song of praise' (e.g. OIr *erc* 'heaven', Arm *erg* 'song', Oss *arɣaw* 'tale', Skt *arká-* 'song', Toch B *yarke* 'honour'). The verbal root **h₁eug^w-h-* 'praise' takes a present **h₁éug^whetor* and renders 'praises' and 'proclaims' (e.g. Grk *eúkhomai* 'pray [for], vaunt', Lyd *ow-* '± proclaim', Av *aojaite* 'says, pronounces', Skt *ójate* 'they praise'). Probably related to it is **weg^w-h-* which returns meanings of 'vow, promise solemnly, consecrate' in Lat *voveō* and 'sacrificer, supplicant, institutor of a sacrifice' in Skt *vāghāt-*, as well as the more mundane Arm *gog* 'say'. The root **g^werh_x-* 'praise' (e.g. OPrus *girtwei* 'praise', Alb *gërshas* 'invite to a marriage', Av *gar-* 'praise', Skt *gṛñāti* 'sings, praises') gives us the Irish and Welsh words for *bard* (*bardd* in Welsh, on which see further below); a derivative is Lat *grātēs* [pl.] 'thanks' (i.e. 'praisings'). The root **kar-* indicates 'praise' in Indo-Iranian (Av *čarəkərə-* 'praise', Skt *carkarti* 'praises') and 'fame' (e.g. OE *hrēþ*) and 'report' (e.g. ON *herma*) in Germanic.

There are several words associated with singing. Ascription of **seng^w-h-* 'sing' to Proto-Indo-European rests on whether one accepts Prakrit *saṃghai* 'say, honour' as cognate with a series of Celtic, Germanic, and Greek words (e.g. MWels *dehongli* 'explain', NE *sing, song*, Grk *omphē* 'divine voice, prophecy'). The root **geh₁(i)-* 'sing' is restricted to Baltic, Slavic, and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Lith *giedóti* 'sing [hymns]', ORus *gajati* 'crow', Av *gāthā-* 'metre, line of poetry', Skt *gāti* ~ *gāyati* 'sings', *gāthā-* 'song'); the Av *gāthā-* 'metre', is also the name of the earliest section of the *Avesta*. A Slavic-Tocharian isogloss gives us **pei-* 'sing' (e.g. OCS *pěti* 'sing', Toch B *pi-* 'sing'). Another possible Proto-Indo-European word for 'sing' is **kan-*, on which see below. The Proto-Indo-European word for 'song' was **sh₂ómen-*, e.g. Grk *húmnos* 'song, festival song (of praise in honour of gods and heroes)' (borrowed into NE as *hymn*), Hit *ishamai-* 'song, melody', Skt *sáman-* 'song, chant').

As we have already seen, acts of 'praising' and 'singing' would have been closely associated with the concept of 'fame'. Proto-Indo-European **kléwes-* 'fame' (e.g. OIr *clū* 'fame', Lat *clor* 'glory', OCS *slovo* 'word', Grk *kléos* 'fame', Av *sravah-* 'word', Skt *śrávas-* 'fame', Toch B *-kālywe* 'fame') is from **kleu-* 'hear' (see also Section 20.5), i.e. 'what is heard', a central feature of the Indo-European poetic tradition. As one's fame attaches to one's name, we should add here **h₁nóm^h* 'name' which is attested in all major Indo-European

groups (e.g. OIr *ainm*, Lat *nōmen*, NE *name*, OPrus *emens*, OCS *ime*, Alb *emër*, Grk *ónoma*, Arm *anum*, Hit *lāman*, Av Skt *nāma*, Toch B *ñem*, all ‘name’). The actual expression for giving a name was **h₁nóm̥d̥ dheh₁-* ‘name-put’ which is seen in OCzech *dieti jmě*, Hit *lāman dā-*, Skt *nāma dhā-* and as a noun in Grk *onomatothētēs* ‘name-giver’. Although there are regionally attested words for the ‘poet’, there is no single well-attested form for Proto-Indo-European. As we have seen, the Celtic word for ‘bard’ (OIr *bard*, NWels *bardd*) was based on the verbal root **g^werh_x-* ‘praise’. It is actually from a nominal compound **g^wṛh_x-dhh₁-ós* which itself derives from the verbal compound **g^wṛh_x-dheh₁-* ‘praise-put’. This collocation exists as an uncompounded expression in Indo-Iranian, i.e. Av *garəm dā-*: Skt *giram dhā-* ‘give praise’ but the Indo-Iranian and Celtic evidence is insufficient to allow us to reconstruct ‘praise-put’ to Proto-Indo-European; the phrase may well have been independently created at either end of the Indo-European world.

In addition to some of the words for ‘praise’ or ‘speak solemnly’, which may also be translated as ‘pray’, we have several more words that can be simply rendered ‘pray’. Although the Germanic cognates of **meldh-* do not have obviously religious connotations (e.g. OE *meld(i)an* ‘announce, declare, proclaim, reveal’; NE *meld* ‘show a combination of cards in a game’ is a loan borrowed from German [cf. OHG *meldōn* ‘report’]), the other cognates in Baltic (e.g. Lith *meldžiù*), Slavic (e.g. OCS *moljǫ*), Arm *mal’tem*, and, most significantly, Hit *maldā(i)-*, all mean ‘pray’. Those words derived from **g^whedh-* rather consistently mean ‘pray’ (OIr *guidid* ‘asks, prays’, Lith *gedáuju* ‘desire’, OCS *žęždq* ‘desire’, dialectal Grk *théssasthai* ‘ask, pray’, Av *jaiḍyemi* ‘ask, pray’); to these we might add NE *bid*. A Greek-Luvian correspondence gives **h₂eru-* which can mean both ‘pray’ and ‘call down a curse’ (Grk *aráomai* ‘pray, vow; call down a curse’, Luv *hīrūt-* ‘curse’). A Germanic-Hittite isogloss yields **telh_x-* ‘pray’ (e.g. ON *pulr* ‘wiseman, sage, sayer of sacred rituals’, Hit *talliya-* ‘appeal to a god for help’).

Although **perk̑-* ‘ask’ (e.g. OIr *arcu* ‘ask’, Lat *poscō* ‘ask’, *precor* ‘ask for’, OHG *forscōn* ‘ask, examine’, Lith *prašau* ‘request’, OCS *prosiiti* ‘ask’, Arm *harc’anem* ‘ask’, Av *pərəsaiti* ‘asks’, Skt *ṛcchāti* ‘asks’, Toch AB *pärk-* ‘ask’) may carry a general meaning it is also the best candidate we have in Proto-Indo-European for ‘to ask for someone in marriage’ (cf. particularly Lat *procus* ‘wooer’, Lith *peršù* ‘ask in marriage’, Arm *harsn* ‘bride’; see Section 12.2). Finally, a judicial connotation adheres to **kreuk̑-* which has both Germanic and Indic cognates that mean ‘raise a hue and cry’ (OE *hrēam* ‘[judicial] outcry’, Av *xraos-* ‘call’, Skt *[āmu] krósati* ‘cries out, raises the hue and cry’).

From the West Central region: **kan-* ‘sing’ (e.g. OIr *canaid* ‘sings’, Lat *canō* ‘sing’, *carmen* ‘song, prophecy, form of incantation’ OHG *hano* ‘cock’, Grk *ēi-kanós* ‘cock’ [literally ‘dawn-singer’ just as in Skt *uṣā-kala-*], and probably

Toch B *kene* ‘song, tune’, in which case we have a general Proto-Indo-European word rather than a regionalism) and **sek^w*- ‘say, recount publicly’ (e.g. OIr *insce* ‘discourse’, Lat *inseque* ‘say!’, NE *say*, Lith *sakaũ* ~ *sekù* ‘say’, OCS *sočiti* ‘indicate’, Grk *ennépō* ‘say’). Greek-Indo-Iranian correspondences (Grk *kēruks* ‘herald’, Skt *kāru-* ‘one who sings or praises, poet’) comprise **kāru-* ‘poet’ (from **kar-* ‘praise’ although the Indo-European status of the Greek word has been challenged) and **steu-* ‘praise’ (Grk *steūtai* ‘make a gesture of or show of [doing something], promise, engage oneself, or threaten [to do something]’, Av *staoiti* ‘praises’, Skt *stāuti* ‘praises’). Indo-Iranian and Tocharian share a regional development of **keh₁-* ‘declare solemnly’ as **keh₁s-* ‘instruct’ (Av *sāh-* ‘say instruct, call’, Skt *śāsti* ‘punishes, controls, commands, instructs’, Toch A *kās-* ‘chide, reprimand’) and a common root **yeha-* ‘ask for, beg’ (e.g. Skt *yā-* ‘beg, entreat’, Toch B *yāsk-* ‘beg’).

21.3 Interjections and Human Sounds

Here we have gathered together in Table 21.3 those words which may be described as interjections or describe the type of noises that might issue from a human (laugh, babble, moan, etc.); animal noises will be treated separately in Section 21.4 although there will be some crossing between these two spheres, e.g. both people and wolves ‘howl’ in English. Obviously, when dealing with words that may be sound symbolic, there may be independent onomatopoeia involved rather than genetic inheritance.

The instrument responsible for making the following noises is the **wōk^ws* ‘voice’ (e.g. Lat *vōx*, Grk [acc.] *ōpa*, Av *vāxš*, Skt *vāk*, Toch B *wek*, all ‘voice’), a nominal derivative from **wek^w*- ‘speak’. The standard vocative particle in Proto-Indo-European was **ō* where it meets this formal use in Celtic (e.g. OIr *ā*), Germanic (MHG *ā*, NE *O*), Baltic (Lith *ō*), Slavic (OCS *o*), Grk (*ō*), and Indic (Skt *ā*). In Lat *ō* it is a cry (as it may also be in Greek) and in Goth *ō* it means ‘alas’. The expression of grief seen in **wai* ‘alas’ has undergone irregular phonological developments but would seem to be strongly reconstructed nevertheless (e.g. OIr *fae*, Lat *vae*, OE *wā*, Lith *va*, Grk *ouai*, Av *vayōi*, all ‘alas’, and NE *woe*, Alb *vaj* ‘lament’, Arm *vay* ‘woe, misfortune’—compare also Yiddish, and now English, *oy veh*).

The word for ‘laugh’ in Proto-Indo-European was obviously onomatopoeic and although it is provided a root reconstruction, i.e. **kha-*, it is generally found in reduplicated form, e.g. in addition to the Lat *cachinnō* ‘laugh’ we have OE *ceahhettan*, OCS *chochotati*, Grk *ka(g)kházō*, Arm *xaxank*, Skt *kákhati* ~ *khákkhati*, all ‘laugh’, suggesting that one might have laughed **kha kha!* in

Table 21.3. *Human noises*

*wōk ^w _s	‘voice’	Lat vōx, Grk ópa, Skt vāk
*ō	‘O’	Lat ō, NE O, Skt ā
*wai	‘alas’	Lat vae, NE woe, Grk ouai
*kha-	‘laugh’	Lat cachinnō, Grk ka(g)kházō, Skt ká(k)kati
*ha ha	(laughing sound)	Lat hahae, Grk hà há, Skt ha ha
*ha	(sound of surprise)	Lat hā, Grk hā, Skt ha
*smei-	‘smile, laugh’	NE smile, Grk meidiāō, Skt smáyate
*baba-	‘babble’	Lat babit, NE baby, babble, Grk babázō, Skt bababā-karōti
*balba-	‘± stammer’	Lat balbus, NE babble
*lal-	‘babble’	Lat lallō, NE lullaby, Grk laléō, Skt lalallā-
*reudh _a -	‘mourn, lament’	Lat rudō, Skt rōditi
*glagh-	‘cry out, lament’	Skt grhāti
*leug-	‘grieve, be pained’	Lat lūgeō, Grk lugrós
*sten-	‘moan’	Grk stónos, Skt stánati
*murmur-	‘murmur’	Lat murmurō, Grk mormúrō, Skt marmar-
*mug-	‘± make a (low) noise’	Lat mūgiō, Grk múzō, Skt mūñjati
*(s)prh _{xg} -	‘crackle, sputter’	Grk spharagéomai, Skt sphúrjati
*meh _{l(i)} -	‘± mumble’	Grk mimikhmós, Skt mīmāti
*dhren-	‘± rumble, drone’	Lat drēnsō, NE drone, Grk thrēnos, Skt dhrānati
*ḱwesh _x -	‘± breathe; sigh, groan’	Lat queror, NE wheeze, Skt śvásiti
*gh(h _l)īy-eh _a -	‘yawn’	Lat hiāre, NE yawn
*dhwen-	‘sound’	NE dīn, Skt dhvánati
*swenh _x -	‘(re)sound’	Lat sonō, NE swan, Skt svánati
*klun-	‘resound’	
*gerg-	‘± crack, resound’	NE crack, Skt gárjati
*ghwonos	‘a sound, voice’	
*kléutrom	‘a sound’	Skt śrótra-

Proto-Indo-European. Alternatively, we have the more familiar *ha ha (Lat hahae, Grk hà há, Skt ha ha). A single *ha tended to indicate surprise (Lat hā, Grk hā, Skt ha). The root *smei- means ‘smile’ in ME and NE smile, Grk meidiāō and Indic smáyate but ‘laugh’ in Norw smila, Baltic (Latv smeju), Slavic (OCS smějŕ), and Tocharian (Toch B smi-).

Words for ‘babble’ are so clearly onomatopoeic that certainty of reconstruction is impossible. There are three widespread words or, perhaps more accurately, sounds: *baba- (e.g. Lat babit ‘bears himself proudly, prances’, babiger ‘foolish, simple’, NE baby, babble, Lith bóba ‘old woman’, OCS baba ‘old

woman', Alb *bebe* 'newborn child', Grk *babázō* 'babble', Skt *bababā-karōti* 'crackles [of a fire]'); **balba-* (and **balbal-* and **barbar-*), e.g. Lat *balbus* 'stammer', NE *babble*, Lith *blebėnti* 'stammer', Czech *beblati* 'stammer'; Grk *bárbaros* 'non-Greek speaker' [whence via Latin to NE *barbarian*], Skt *barbara-* 'stammerer, non-Indic speaker'); and **lal-* (e.g. Lat *lallō* 'sing to sleep', NE *lullaby*, NHG *lallen* 'stammer, babble, speak indistinctly', Lith *lalioti* 'stammer', Rus *lál* 'babbler', Grk *láros* 'babbling, loquacious', *lalēō* 'talk, chat, prattle', Hit *lala-* 'tongue', Skt *lalallā-* 'indistinct or lisping utterance'). The first exhibits the meaning 'babble', e.g. Grk *babázō* 'babble' or, in Indic, 'crackle' but is also associated with infants and shows a two-way semantic development such that we have a meaning 'baby' in English and Albanian but a reversed perspective in Middle High German, Lithuanian, and Old Church Slavonic where we find 'old woman' or 'mother'. Clearly related are those that close the initial syllable with an **-l-* or **-r-*. The meaning of these extended forms seems to have also included a pejorative for 'speak in a foreign way'. Hence both Grk *bárbaros* and its Skt equivalent *barbara-* could refer to one who did not speak the respective language concerned, i.e. a barbarian was literally someone whose speech sounded like *bar-bar*. The third word generally means 'babble' but in Hit *lala-* means 'tongue'.

A number of words fill out the vocabulary of 'grief'. The verbal root **reudh_a-* (with a present **réudh_ati*) 'mourn' (Lat *rudō* 'roar, bellow, bray', ON *rauta* 'roar' [whence by borrowing NE *root* (for someone)], OE *rēotan* 'moan', Lith *raumi* 'mourn, lament', Slov *rydati* 'weep, cry, sob', Av *raod-* 'lament, mourn', Skt *róditi* 'weeps, roars') also yields a derivative **roudh_aos* 'cry' (OHG *rōz*, Lith *graudà*, Skt *róda-*, all 'cry'). There is also **glagh-* 'cry out' (e.g. OHG *klagōn* 'bewail, complain about', Av *gərəzaiti* 'laments, cries', Skt *grhāte* 'lament'). Latin, Greek, and Tocharian all point to a **leug-* 'weep' (Lat *lūgeō* 'mourn, lament', Grk *leugalēos* 'sad, horrible', *lugrós* 'baneful, mournful', Toch B *lakle* 'pain, suffering'). A 'moan' was conveyed by **sten-* (e.g. OE *stenan*, Lith *stenu*, OCS *stenjǫ*, all 'moan', Grk *sténō* 'roar', *stónos* 'moaning', Skt *stánati* 'thunders') which is probably related to **(s)tenh_x-* 'thunder' (see Section 8.4).

Another reduplicated form is **murmur-* 'murmur', e.g. Lat *murmurō* [whence by borrowing NE *murmur*], Lith *murmėnti*, Grk *mormúrō*, Arm *mrmm*, all 'murmur', and Skt *marmar-* 'roaring'. There are a series of sounds that defy easy semantic reconstruction. Probably the clearest is **mug-* whose meanings run from Hit *mugā(i)-* 'entreat' to low moaning sounds (e.g. Lat *mūgiō* 'low, bellow', OHG *muckazen* 'grumble', Grk *múzō* 'mutter, moan, growl', Skt *múñjati* 'makes a noise'); it would appear to be an enlargement of **mu-* a low sound of some sort (in Czech it does mean to 'moo' like a cow). Germanic, Baltic, and Greek agree that their derivatives from **(s)p_grh_{xg}-* mean 'crackle' (e.g. ON *spraka*, Lith *spragėti*, Grk *spharagéomai*); the Indic cognate means

‘thunders’ (Skt *sphūrjati* ‘thunders, rumbles’). The sound indicated by **meh_l(i)-* is difficult to ascertain as it means ‘stammer’ in OCS *mūmati*, ‘neigh’ in Grk *mimikhmós*, ‘bleat’ in Armenian and Indic (*mayem* and *mīmāti* respectively), but ‘speak’ in the oldest attested language, Hit *memma-*. The sound made in **dhren-*, if Germanic, Lithuanian, and Greek are anything to go by, should approximate that of a bee as it does produce the word ‘drone’ in these different groups (e.g. NE *drone*, Lith *trānas*, Grk *thrônaks*; cf. also MĪr *dresacht* ‘creaking noise’, Lat *drēnsō* ‘cry [of a swarm]’, Grk *thrēnos* ‘funeral lamentation’, Arm *drnč’im* ‘toot, resound’, Skt *dhraṇati* ‘resounds’, and perhaps Toch B *treiṅ-* ‘speak’). A ‘sigh’ or some other breathing sound is associated with **kʷesh_x-*; it can mean ‘lament’ in Lat *queror* and Toch B *kwäs-* but in Germanic and Indic we have ‘cough’ (OE *hwōsan*), ‘snort’, ‘hiss’, etc., Skt *śvásiti*; NE *wheeze* is a loanword from Old Norse. The concept of ‘yawn’ or ‘open the mouth wide’ is provided by various forms related to **gh(h_l)iy-eh_a-* which provide the North-Western words (Lat *hiāre*, OHG *gīen*, NE *yawn*, Lith *žióju*, Rus *zījātī*, all ‘yawn’) but with an o-grade we have Toch B *kāyā-* ‘yawn, gape’.

There is a series of totally ambiguous sounds. A Germanic-Baltic-Indic isogloss delivers **dhwen-* which seems to be some form of ‘loud noise’ (e.g. NE *din*, Lith *dundėti* ‘rumble, roar, thunder’, Skt *dhvánati* ‘sounds, roars’). Although the Sanskrit word derived from **swenh_x-*, *svánati*, means ‘roars, makes sound’, the fact that the word means ‘resound’ in other languages (e.g. Lat *sonō*, Latv *sanēt*), ‘sing’ in OE *swinsian*, and ‘play a musical instrument’ in OIr *seinnid* suggests a meaning ‘resound’ or something less noisy; derivatives of the verbal root include Lat *sonus* ‘sound’ and NE *swan* (< **singer*). A Germanic-Tocharian isogloss preserves **klun-* ‘resound’ (e.g. OE *hlynn* ‘sound, noise, roaring stream’, Toch AB *kāln-* ‘resound’). The root **gerg-* is regarded as onomatopoeic but it is by no means clear what that sound signifies; it means ‘creak’ and ‘crack’ in Germanic and Baltic (e.g. OE *cearcian* ‘creak, gnash’, NE *crack*, Lith *gìrgždžiu* ‘creak’) but ‘roars, howls’ in Indic (Skt *gárjati*) and simply ‘noise’ in Arm *karkač*. The verbal root **gheu(h_x)-* ‘call’ yields the derivative **ghwonos* ‘sound, voice’ (OCS *zvonŭ* ‘noise’, Alb *zë* ‘voice’, Arm *jayn* ‘voice’) while from the the root **kleu-* ‘hear’ (see also Section 20.5) regularly (and perhaps independently) derived **kléutrom* ‘a sound’ (e.g. OE *hlēodor* ‘sound’, Av *sraoθram* ‘song’, Skt *śrótra-* ‘tone’).

Regional correspondences are all from the West Central region and offer frequent question marks over the solidity of their reconstruction (so many are onomatopoeic). We have **gag-* ‘cackle’ (e.g. NE *cackle*, Lith *gagù*, Rus *gogolātī*, Arm *kakač’em*, all ‘cackle’) and a possible Welsh-Greek isogloss **sward-* ‘laugh’ (NWels *chwarddiad* ‘laugh’, Grk *sardánios* ‘(bitter) laughter’, *sardázō* ‘scoff, jeer’ [whence by borrowing NE *sardonic*]); **leh_a-* ‘complain, cry out’ (e.g. OIr *liid* ‘complains’, Lat *lāmenta* ‘lamentation’, dialectal Grk *laío*

‘± make a sound’, Arm *lam* ‘cry, weep’) which might be the same as **leh_a*- ‘bark’ (see Section 21.4); **ġem*- ‘weep, lament, moan’ (e.g. NIr *geamh* ‘prattle’, Lat *gemō* ‘sigh, moan, lament, groan’, Arm *cmrim* ‘grieve’); **yu*- ‘± shout (for joy)’ (e.g. MIr *ilach* ‘victory cry’, Lat *iūbilō* ‘shout’, NE *yowl*, Grk *iúzō* ‘shout’); **sner*- ‘± rattle, growl’ (e.g. NE *snore*, *snarl*, Lith *niūniū* ‘growl, grumble’, dialectal Grk *énuren* ‘± cried out’); **ger*- ‘± hiss, howl’ (e.g. OE *ceorran* ‘creak’, Lith *gūrti* ‘yell’, Alb *nguron* ‘howls [of the wind]’); **srenk*- ‘snore’ (OIr *sreinnid* ‘snores’, Grk *hrégkō* ‘snore’); and **gheh_a*- ‘yawn’ (ON *gan* ‘yawn’, Grk *kháskō* ‘yawn’).

21.4 Animal Sounds

We have already seen that the words for the names of birds are often onomatopoeic and in addition to these there are a number of other words associated with the speech of animals. That the language of animals is specific to one’s individual language is easily illustrated by the fact that an English-, German- and Greek-speaking dog all bark slightly differently, i.e. NE *bow-wow*, NHG *wau-wau*, and Grk *baubau*. Noises associated with animals are listed in Table 21.4.

The root **bhrem*- would seem to involve some sort of buzzing or roaring sound and it tends to mean ‘roar’ in Germanic (e.g. OE *bremman*) but returns a Sanskrit word for ‘bee’ (*bhramarā*-); cf. also Lat *fremō* ‘growl, roar’, NHG *brummen* ‘growl, grumble, hum’, Pol *brzmieć* ‘resound’). A Proto-Indo-European dog was said to **leh_a*- ‘bark’ (e.g. Lat *lātrō* ‘bark [at]; rant, roar’, Lith *lóju* ‘bark’, OCS *laję* ‘bark’, Alb *leh* ‘bark’, Oss *ræjun* ‘bark’, Skt *rāyati* ‘barks’) or **bhels*- ‘howl’ (e.g. OE *bellan* ‘roar, howl’, Skt *bhaṣati* ‘barks, yelps’) or **bukk*- ‘howl’ (SC *būkati* ‘howl’, Grk *búktēs* ‘howling’, Av *buxti*- ‘howling’, Skt *bukkati*

Table 21.4. *Animal sounds*

* <i>bhrem</i> -	‘± make a noise (of animals)’	Lat <i>fremō</i> , Skt <i>bhramarā</i> -
* <i>leh_a</i> -	‘bark’	Lat <i>lātrō</i> , Skt <i>rāyati</i>
* <i>bhels</i> -	‘yelp, howl’	Skt <i>bhaṣati</i>
* <i>kau(k)</i> -	‘cry out; cry out as a bird’	Lat <i>cavannus</i> , Grk <i>kēks</i> , Skt <i>kōka</i> -
* <i>ker</i> -	‘± caw’	Lat <i>corvus</i> , Grk <i>kóraks</i> , Skt <i>karaṭa</i> -
* <i>ul</i> -	‘± howl, hoot’	Lat <i>ululāre</i> , Grk <i>hulāō</i> , Skt <i>ulūhī</i> -
* <i>gher</i> -	‘± cry (of animals or birds)’	Lat <i>hirrīre</i> , Skt <i>ghārghara</i> -
* <i>bukk</i> -	‘howl’	Grk <i>búktēs</i> , Skt <i>bukkati</i>
* <i>reu</i> -	‘roar, howl’	Lat <i>rūmor</i> , Grk <i>ōrūomai</i> , Skt <i>ruvāti</i>

‘barks’). The first word means ‘bark’ in the six groups in which it is attested and it is not obviously onomatopoeic but seems to be firmly inherited from Proto-Indo-European. It is also curious that the other two roots do not themselves appear to be onomatopoeic or, at least, if **bukk-* is, it does not reflect a sound that an English speaker would intuitively regard as a ‘howling noise’.

There are several words for ‘bird cry’. The raucous-sounding **kau(k)-* (e.g. Skt *kāuti* ‘cries out’, Lith *kaukiù* ‘howl’, Grk *kōkūō* ‘cry, lament’ Arm *k’uk* ‘sighing, groaning’, Skt *kokūyate* ‘cries out’) has been associated with the word for ‘owl’: Celtic (NWels *cuan* ‘nightowl’), Italic (Lat *cavannus* ‘nightowl’), Germanic (OHG *hūwo*); the ‘tern’ (Grk *kēks*), and the ‘goose’ (Skt *kóka-* ‘kind of goose’). Lat *corvus* and Grk *kóraks* return ‘raven’ as a derivative of **ker-* while the Indic cognate (Skt *karaṭa-*) means ‘crow’ (cf. also Czech *krákorati* ‘cackle’, Grk *skorakízō* ‘dismiss contemptuously’). Both Latin and Indic mean ‘owl’ (Lat *uluc(c)us* ‘[screech] owl’, Skt *úlūka-*) as a name built on **ul-* although this can also mean ‘howl’ (Grk *huláō*, Lat *ululāre*), ‘ululate’ (Skt *ulūli-* ‘ululating’), and even ‘shout hello’ (Lith *ulūlōti*). A more general ‘animal cry’ was **gher-* which may be independently invented over a number of its putative cognate languages (e.g. Lat *hīrrīre* ‘howl like a rabid dog’, ON *garpr* ‘warlike man’, RusCS *gŭrkati* ‘coo’, Skt *gharghara-* ‘gurgling’). Certainly the semantic disparities seen in this group would seem to favour the notion of independent creation rather than inheritance.

Finally, **reu-* ‘roar, howl’ can be found with this meaning in Germanic (e.g. ON *rymjā* ‘roar’), Slavic (e.g. OCS *rovq* ‘roar’), Grk (*ōrūomai* ‘howl’), and Indic (Skt *ruvāti* ‘roars, bellows’); in Lat *rūmor* it has come to mean ‘rumour, common talk’.

Regional words from the North-west comprise **kem-* ‘hum’ (e.g. NE *hum*, Latv *kamines* ‘bee, bumble-bee’, Rus *cmelī* ‘bumble-bee’) returning ‘bee’ in Baltic and Slavic; **bherg-* ‘± bark, growl’ (e.g. NE *bark*, Lith *burgėti* ‘spurt, splash, splutter, howl’); and **bhleh₁-* ‘bleat’ (e.g. Lat *fleō* ‘weep, cry, lament; shed tears’, MHG *blæjen* ‘bleat’, Latv *blēju* ‘bleat’, Rus *blēju* ‘bleat’). From the West Central region: **baub-* ‘bark, low’ (Lat *baubor* ‘bark’, Lith *baūbti* ‘low [of cows]’, Grk *baüzō* ‘bark’) with ‘bark’ in Latin and Greek but ‘low (of cattle)’ in Lithuanian; **kla(n)g-* ‘scream (of birds)’ (Lat *clangō* ‘cry [of birds]’, ON *hlakka* ‘cry [of an eagle]’, Lith *klagėti* ‘cackle’, Grk *klázō* ‘resound’, *klaggódēs* ‘shouting, screaming [of people and birds], barking or baying [of dogs]’); **g(h)ru(n)(d)-* ‘grunt’ (e.g. Lat *grunniō* ~ *grundiō* ‘grunt’, NE *grunt*, Grk *grúzō* ‘grunt’); and **b(h)(o)mb(h)-* ‘± muffled noise’ (e.g. ON *bumba* ‘drum’, Lith *bambėti* ‘roar’, Rus *búben* ‘drum’, Alb *bumbullit* ‘it thunders’, Grk *bómbos* ‘muffled noise’) with related words for ‘bee’ in Lith *baĩbalas*, Grk *bombúlē*, and Skt *bambhara-*.

21.5 Proto-Indo-European Speech

In their typological distinctions between humans and beasts, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov emphasize speech as a major defining characteristic of humans (a feature also found in many non-IE traditions) and in Old English we find *reordberend* ‘speech-bearers’ as a kenning for human beings. The category of speech in Indo-European is one of its larger semantic fields. If these are divided into twenty-five categories, speech trails only after words concerning the body and health and the large variety of action verbs. Interestingly enough, if the same semantic fields are superimposed on Proto-Uralic, speech is one of the least represented categories and ties for twentieth place. What this says about the loquaciousness of Indo-Europeans vis-à-vis Uralics is anyone’s guess.

Among the variety of words for speech reconstructed to Proto-Indo-European is fairly convincing evidence of different registers. In English we can ‘utter’, ‘declare’, ‘pronounce’, ‘asseverate’, or, dropping a level, we can ‘talk’ and ‘say’, and now in free fall, ‘yak’, ‘gab’, and ‘yap’, and ultimately enter a world where we are unsure whether it is humans or animals making the noises, e.g. ‘growl’, ‘grunt’, ‘yelp’. A similar range of expression seems to have been open to the Proto-Indo-Europeans. Words based on **ke(n)s-* and **h_{1/4}ōr-*, for, example, appear to fill out special formal contexts of speech associated with religion or the law. It is likely that the less nuanced expressions of speech include the more widely attested forms such as **wek^w-* and **(s)wer-* while at the bottom we might have some of the expressions associated with children or foreigners, e.g. **lal-*, **baba-*.

Among the key functions of speech was prayer. Words for ‘pray’ are well attested in Proto-Indo-European, e.g. **meldh-*, **g^whedh-*, and the structure of the earliest IE prayers appears to follow a basic pattern of invocation to the deity, statement of why the deity should assist one or be honoured, and then the actual request, often with an imperative verb. In some IE traditions, e.g. Phrygian, Italic, we have abundant evidence for curses as well as prayers, especially in the context of protecting graves from defilement, and this is further supported by the evidence in Greek and Anatolian for **h₂eru-* ‘± pray, curse’. We have also seen the specialized use of the verb **perk^h-* ‘ask’ to indicate a marriage proposal.

In addition to the verbs listed above that indicate recite or sing, e.g. **(s)pel-*, **seng^wh-*, there are a number of isoglosses, generally involving Greek and Indo-Iranian, that suggest specific collocations associated with the art of poetry. For example, the standard verb for ‘make’ (**tek^s-*) is found associated with ‘speech’ (**wék^wos*) in Grk *epéōn téktones*, Av *vačastašti-*, and Skt *vācas takṣ-* to suggest a PIE ‘fashion speech’. Another technical verb that enters the realm of poetry is

**webh-* ‘weave’ where we find that words can be woven in OE *wordcræft wæf* ‘he wove poetry’, Grk *múthous kai mēdea pāsīn hūphainon* ‘they have woven words and thoughts for all’, and Avestan where *vaf* can mean both ‘weave’ and ‘praise’.

Recitation of poetry and the fame of heroes appears in almost all IE traditions and the entire vocabulary of ‘fame everlasting’ (**kléwos ḡdhg^whitom*) has already been mentioned in Section 20.5 and we have listed some of the reconstructed poetic phrases in Table 7.9. These examples of poetic diction are unfortunately the closest we can get to reconstructing Proto-Indo-European poetry although comparisons between the different Indo-European traditions permit us to suggest some of the general features of the verse. For example, there are widespread examples in a number of poetic traditions for what Martin West terms the ‘Augmented Triad’. This involves a verse line where three names are indicated and the last is marked by some form of epithet, e.g. in the *R̥gveda* we have *Indrāñī, Agnāyī, Áśvīni rāt* ‘Indrāñī, Agnāyī, Áśvīnī the queen’, in Homer one finds *ē Aías ē Idomeneús ē dīos Odusseús* ‘Ajax and Idomeneus or lordly Odysseus’, in Beowulf an example would be *Heorogār ond Hrōðgar ond Hālga til* ‘Heorogar, Hrothgar, and Halga the good’. To go further and reconstruct the actual metrical system of the Proto-Indo-Europeans has been attempted a number of times and there is no doubt that there are striking similarities between some of the earliest poetic traditions, especially Greek and Indic, e.g. both offer examples of lines that are twelve, eleven, or eight lines long. But the only concrete observation that includes all the relevant evidence indicates that the Proto-Indo-Europeans probably had a variety of metres with stable patterns of long and short syllables and numbers of syllables per line.

A number of IE traditions recognize a distinction between the language of gods and that of humans. In Norse poetry we find a series of pairs where the first is the divine word and the second is that of humans, e.g. *fold/jorð* ‘earth’, *sunna/sól* ‘sun’, *mýlinn/máni* ‘moon’. Other traces derive from Greek, e.g. *khalkís/kúmindis* ‘some type of bird’, Skt, e.g. *háya-/áśva-* ‘horse’, and, especially, in Avestan where certain words are only associated with the demons of Zarathustra’s religion.

Finally, is there any evidence for Proto-Indo-European personal names? Probably, if some of the examples of poetic diction are truly evidence of cognate personal names, e.g. Illyr *Vescleves-*, Grk *Eukleēs*, and Skt *Suśráva-* all derive from PIE **kléwos wésu* ~ **kléwos hjesu-* ‘possessing good fame’. The other area where we may suspect the retention of ancient Proto-Indo-European names (though find it difficult to prove) is the use of cognate animal names or numerals as a personal name among various Indo-European groups, e.g. OIr *Olc*, OE *Wulf*, Grk *Lúkos*, Skt *Vṛka-*, all from PIE **wṛk^wos* ‘wolf’; Lat *Quārta*, Lith *Keturai*, Rus *Četvertoj*, Grk *Tetartiōn*, all ‘Fourth’.

Further Reading

The word for ‘name’ and possible Indo-European names can be found in Beekes (1987*b*), Markey (1981), Pinault (1982), Schmitt (1973), and Watkins (1970*a*). Indo-European verse has been frequently discussed and the reader is directed to just some of the works: Bader (1989), Campanile (1977, 1990), Kurlyowicz (1975), Meid (1978, 1990), Nagy (1974*c*), Schmitt (1967), Watkins (1995), West (1973, 2004). For ‘speech’ see Turcan (1982); against a PIE **kāru-* see Beekes (2003); the interjections were treated long ago in Schwenter (1924); for the ‘language of gods and men’ see Watkins (1970*b*).

22

Activities

22.1	Existence, Ability and Attempt	368	22.9	Clean	389
			22.10	Movement	390
22.2	Reductive Activities	371	22.11	Pour and Flow	393
22.3	Rotary and Lateral Motion	377	22.12	Come and Go	394
22.4	Bind, Stick, and Smear	380	22.13	Run and Jump	397
22.5	Bend and Press	382	22.14	Crawl, Slide, and Fall	400
22.6	Inflation	385	22.15	Travel	401
22.7	Extend	387	22.16	Swim	403
22.8	Throw	388	22.17	Convey	404

22.1 Existence, Ability and Attempt

Verbs associated with ‘being’ and ‘doing’ are obviously a fundamental concept in any vocabulary and such words are often very strongly reconstructable to Proto-Indo-European. A list of the basic verbs is provided in Table 22.1.

The basic verb ‘to be’, **h₁es-*, is reconstructed in its principal parts which may be displayed in tabular form (Table 22.2).

The origin of the verb is often associated with **h₁ēs-* ‘sit’, which looks like a lengthened grade derivative of **h₁es-*. One might compare the paradigm of Spanish *ser* ‘be’ which historically is a mixture of the Latin words for ‘be’ and ‘sit’. The English verb ‘to be’ (also, e.g., OIr *-bū* ‘become’, Lat *fīō* ‘become’, Lith *būti* ‘be’, OCS *byti* ‘be’) derives from our second form, **bheu(h_x)-* ‘come into being’, and this form tends to supply the aorist forms in a number of Indo-European groups (e.g. Grk *éphūn* ‘would be’, Skt *ábhūt* ‘was’, and perhaps Lat *fūī* ‘was, have been’, OCS *by* ‘was’). It also exhibits nominal derivatives such as **bhuto-* ‘dwelling’ (e.g. OIr *both* ‘hut’, NWels *bod* ‘dwelling’, OPrus *buttan* ‘house’, Lith *būtas* ‘house’).

Table 22.1. *Existence, doing, and making*

<i>*h₁es-</i>	‘be’	Lat <i>est</i> , NE <i>is</i> , Grk <i>estí</i> , Skt <i>ásti</i>
<i>*bheu(h_x)-</i>	‘come into being, be; grow’	Lat <i>fīō</i> , NE <i>be</i> , Skt <i>bhāvati</i>
<i>*magh-</i>	‘be able’	NE <i>may</i> , Skt <i>maga-</i> [?]
<i>*sen(h_a)-</i>	‘seek, accomplish’	Grk <i>ánūmi</i> , Skt <i>sanóti</i>
<i>*dhers-</i>	‘venture, be bold; undertake’	Skt <i>dhṛṣṇóti</i>
<i>*k^wer-</i>	‘do, make, build’	Skt <i>karóti</i>
<i>*yeh₁-</i>	‘do, make; act vigorously’	Grk <i>hḗrōs</i> , Skt <i>yātú-</i>
<i>*kon-</i>	‘do, make’	Lat <i>cōnor</i>
<i>*h_aer-</i>	‘prepare, put together’	Lat <i>ars</i> , Grk <i>arariskō</i> , Skt <i>ará-</i>
<i>*sep-</i>	‘handle (skilfully), hold (reverently)’	Lat <i>sepeliō</i> , Skt <i>sápāti</i>
<i>*dheugḥ-</i>	‘be useful, produce something useful’	Grk <i>teúkhō</i> , Skt <i>doháti</i>
<i>*bheug-</i>	‘use’	Lat <i>fungor</i> , Skt <i>bhunákti</i>
<i>*werǵ-</i>	‘work’	NE <i>work</i> , Grk <i>hrézō</i>
<i>*h_xópes-</i> (noun)	‘work’	Lat <i>opus</i> , Skt <i>ápas-</i>
<i>*dheiǵh-</i>	‘work clay; build up’	Lat <i>fingō</i> , NE <i>dough</i> , Skt <i>déhmi</i>

A verb ‘be able’, **magh-*, is widespread within the West and Centre of the Indo-European world (e.g. NE *may*, Lith *magėti* ‘please, be agreeable’, OCS *mogŭ* ‘am able’) but it lacks clear cognates in the East unless one accepts a number of potentially derived forms such as Av *moγu-* (whence ultimately Lat *magus*, plural *magi*) and Skt *maga-* ‘magician’, i.e. ‘one who has power’ (though the *-g-* of Sanskrit rather than the expected **-gh-* is difficult). The verb ‘accomplish’ or ‘seek to accomplish’ is seen in **sen(h_a)-* where the meanings run from ‘strive’ to ‘win’ (e.g. OIr *do-seinn* ‘pursues, strives’, Grk *ánūmi* ‘accomplish, get [somewhere, something]’, Hit *sanhzi* ‘seeks, plans, demands’, Av *han-* ‘gain, obtain’, Skt *sanóti* ‘wins, gets; grants’). Another verb ‘attempt’, **dhers-* (e.g. Lith *dṛēsù* ‘dare’, Skt *dhṛṣṇóti* ‘is bold, dares’), also yields adjectival formations, e.g. Germanic **dorso-* > NE *dare* and words for ‘brave’ in Grk *thérsos* ‘bravery’ and Iranian (Av *darši-* ‘brave’).

Table 22.2. *The verb ‘to be’ in selected IE languages*

PIE	OIr	Lat	OE	Lith	Grk	Hit	Skt
<i>*h₁ésmi</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>sum</i>	<i>eom</i>	<i>esmi</i>	<i>eimí</i>	<i>ēsmi</i>	<i>ásmi</i> (‘I am’)
<i>*h₁ésti</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>ēsti</i>	<i>estí</i>	<i>ēszí</i>	<i>ásti</i> (‘she/he is’)
<i>*h₁énti</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>sunt</i>	<i>sind</i>	—	<i>entí</i>	<i>asanzi</i>	<i>sánti</i> (‘they are’)

The actual 'doing' or 'making' was conveyed by a number of different verbs. Hittite and Tocharian alone preserve the underlying verb form **yeh₁-*, i.e. Hit *iēzi* 'does, makes', Toch A *ya-* 'do, make', but nominal derivatives are widely found including Grk *hērōs* 'hero' and the name of the goddess *Hērā*; here Indo-Iranian has shifted the meaning to the occult, e.g. Skt *yātú-* 'witchcraft'. A similar partial shift to magic is seen in the descendants of **k^wer-* (e.g. OIr *cruth* 'form', Lith *kuriù* 'make, build, create', OCS *kružǫ* 'smith', Av *kəṛənaoiti* 'does, makes', Skt *kṛṇóti* 'does, makes, performs; executes, builds'; but Lith *kēras* 'magician', Rus *čáry* 'sorcery'). An Ossetic cognate (*kæn-* 'make') of what is otherwise a Western and Central distribution of **kon-* (e.g. OWels *di-goni* 'makes, does', Lat *cōnor* 'put myself in motion, attempt', Czech *konat* 'do, achieve') secures its Proto-Indo-European antiquity; the root is preserved in NE *deacon* which is borrowed from Grk *diākonos*. A primarily south-eastern distribution (e.g. Grk *ararískō* 'put together', Arm *aṛnem* 'make', Av *arānte* 'they set themselves, remain') is associated with **h_aer-* (our Skt cognate *ará-* means 'spoke [of a wheel]') but it also has more widespread nominal derivatives such as Lat *ars* 'art', Arm *ard* 'structure, ornament', Skt *ṛtú-* 'fixed time, time appointed for some purpose'). Semantically more distant (and also difficult in terms of establishing a more precise proto-meaning) is **sep-* which conveys such concepts as 'touch, serve, prepare' (in Grk *hépō* 'serve, prepare', Av *hap-* 'hold', Skt *sápati* 'touches, handles, caresses; venerates', and the Latin derivative *sepeliō* 'bury', i.e. 'prepare a body', which is the formal equivalent of Skt *saparyáti* 'honours, upholds') and is associated with the management of horses in both Greek and Sanskrit (Grk *methépō* ~ *ephépō* 'manage [horses]', Skt *sápti-* 'team of horses').

There are two verbs to 'use' indicated for Proto-Indo-European. The most widely attested is **dheugh-* whose meanings fluctuate around 'use', 'be fitting', 'succeed' in most of its Western and Central cognates (e.g. OIr *dūal* 'fitting', OE *dugan* 'be useful', NE *doughty*, Rus *dúžyj* 'strong, healthy', Grk *teúkhō* 'prepare') but is associated with the act of 'milking' in Skt *dóhati* 'extracts, milks'; both this semantic shift and its implications for a more precise reconstruction of the proto-meaning have been widely discussed (most recently it has been interpreted as 'be strong, have force'). A root **bheug-* 'use' is based on a Latin-Sanskrit isogloss (Lat *fungor* 'am engaged in, perform', Skt *bhunákti* 'aids, serves, protects', *bhuñkté* 'enjoys, uses, consumes').

There are a number of words for 'work'. Widespread are the forms attesting **werǵ-* 'work' which are semantically consistent except for Tocharian where the meaning is 'strength, power' (e.g. NE *work*, Grk *hrézō* 'do', Av *vəṛəzyeiti* 'works', Toch B *warkšäl* 'power, strength, energy'). A noun 'work' is attested as **h₂ópes-* (e.g. Lat *opus* 'work', OE *æfnan* 'to work, make', Av *-apah-* 'work', Skt *ápas-* 'work') which may be related (by way of an early avatar of the 'Protestant work ethic') to **h₂op-* 'wealth' (e.g. Lat *opēs* [pl.] 'possessions,

abundance, wealth', Grk *áphenos* 'wealth', Hit *happina(nt)-* 'rich', Av *afnavant-* 'wealthy', Skt *ápnas-* 'wealth'). The underlying semantics of **dheigh-* indicate that it was specifically associated with the working of clay (e.g. Lat *fingō* 'fashion', Skt *déhmi* 'smear, anoint', Toch AB *tsik-* 'fashion [pots, etc.]'), hence the English cognate *dough*; in Greek and Indo-Iranian it is also associated with building walls, e.g. Av *pairi-daēzayeiti* 'build a wall around' which, via Greek then Latin then French, gives us NE *paradise*, but there are also cognates of more general meaning, e.g. OIr *con-utainc* 'builds', Lith *diežti* 'whip, beat', Arm *dizanem* 'heap up'.

From the North-West we have **gal-* 'be physically able' in Celtic (e.g. NWels *gallu* 'is able') and Baltic (e.g. Lith *galiù* 'am able'); **kob-* 'fit, suit, accomplish' from Celtic (OIr *cob* 'victory'), Germanic (ON *happ* 'chance, luck', whence by borrowing NE *happy*), and Slavic (OCS *kobī* 'divination'); and two roots confined to Germanic and Baltic: **kelb-* 'help' (e.g. NE *help*, Lith *šelpiù* 'help, support') and **neud-* 'use, enjoy' (e.g. OE *nēotan* 'use, enjoy' [where the NE cognate *neat* 'work animal, cattle' is now rarely heard, although one can still buy neat's foot oil], Lith *naudà* 'use, property'). From the West Central area we have **per-* 'trial, attempt', found in Lat *experior* 'attempt', Grk *peîra* 'attempt', and Arm *p'orj* 'test, proof'; and a Baltic-Greek isogloss **derh_a-* 'work' (e.g. Lith *dar(i)aũ* 'do, make', Grk *dráō* 'make, do'). A Greek-Indic isogloss (Grk *-kmētós* 'made, worked', Skt *śamitá-* 'prepared') furnishes us with **k_{meh}a-* 'made, prepared' from **k_{meh}a-* whose transitive meaning is 'work' and intransitive is 'become tired'.

22.2 Reductive Activities

In this general category we have assembled all those words that relate to reducing material in some way by breaking, crushing, grinding, cutting, or carving. The vocabulary, as one can see in Table 22.3, is fairly extensive and could obviously be augmented if we were to include the verbs of aggressive action listed in Table 17.5 and some of the verbs associated with construction in Section 13.1.

A number of roots express the concept of breaking or crushing. The meaning 'break' is associated with the Irish, Armenian, and Indic descendants of **bheg-* (e.g. OIr *boingid*, Arm *bekanem*, Skt *bhanákti*); the Baltic cognates (e.g. Lith *beĩgti*) indicate 'finish, end', perhaps from 'breaking off'. The semantic range attested under **leug-* is even wider with 'break' in Baltic (Lith *láužti*) and Skt *rujāti* but Latin and Tocharian indicate 'pain' (Lat *lūgeō* 'mourn', Toch B *lakle* 'pain, suffering') while the Celtic cognates (e.g. OIr *lucht* 'load, cargo') mean 'burden'. The putative Sanskrit cognate, *rúpyati*, from **reup-* 'break' has been challenged

Table 22.3. Reductive activities

<i>*bheg-</i>	‘break’	Skt <i>bhanákti</i>
<i>*leug̃-</i>	‘break, break off’	Lat <i>lūgeō</i> , Skt <i>rujāti</i>
<i>*reup-</i>	‘break’	Lat <i>rumpō</i> , NE <i>rifi</i> , ?Skt <i>rúpyati</i>
<i>*mer-</i>	‘crush, pulverize’	Grk <i>marainō</i> , Skt <i>mṛṇāti</i>
<i>*wes-</i>	‘crush, grind, pound, wear out; wither’	
<i>*(s)tergh-</i>	‘± crush’	Skt <i>tṛṇédhi</i>
<i>*weld-</i>	‘crush, grind, wear out’	NE <i>wilt</i>
<i>*del-</i>	‘carve, split, cut’	Lat <i>dolō</i> , Grk <i>daidállō</i> , Skt <i>dálati</i>
<i>*(s)ker-</i>	‘cut apart, cut off’	NE <i>shear</i> , Grk <i>keirō</i> , Skt <i>kṛṇāti</i>
<i>*skeh₁i(-d)-</i>	‘cut’	Lat <i>scindō</i> , NE <i>shit</i> , Grk <i>skhízō</i> , Skt <i>chyāti</i>
<i>*sek-</i>	‘cut’	Lat <i>secō</i>
<i>*k^wer-</i>	‘cut’	Skt <i>-kṛt</i>
<i>*put-</i>	‘cut’	Lat <i>putāre</i>
<i>*bheid-</i>	‘split’	Lat <i>findō</i> , NE <i>bite</i> , Grk <i>pheidomai</i> , Skt <i>bhinádmi</i>
<i>*waḡ-</i>	‘split’	Lat <i>vāḡna</i> , Grk <i>agnūmi</i> , Skt <i>vájra-</i>
<i>*(s)kel-</i>	‘split (apart), cut’	NE <i>skill</i> , Grk <i>skállō</i>
<i>*bher-</i>	‘strike (through), split’	Lat <i>feriō</i> , NE <i>bore</i> , Grk <i>pharáō</i> , Skt <i>bhṛṇāti</i>
<i>*wel(h₂)-</i>	‘strike, tear at’	Lat <i>vellō</i> , Grk <i>oulé</i>
<i>*der-</i>	‘tear off, flay’	NE <i>tear</i> , Grk <i>dérō</i> , Skt <i>dṛṇāti</i>
<i>*drep-</i>	‘scratch, tear’	Grk <i>drépō</i>
<i>*rendh-</i>	‘rend, tear open’	NE <i>rend</i> , Skt <i>rándhram</i>
<i>*reu(h_x)-</i>	‘tear out, pluck’	Lat <i>ruō</i>
<i>*h₁reik-</i>	‘tear (off)’	Grk <i>ereikō</i> , Skt <i>rikháti</i>
<i>*(s)pel-</i>	‘tear off, split’	Lat <i>spolium</i> , Grk <i>spólia</i> , Skt <i>phāla-</i>
<i>*(s)pelt-</i>	‘split’	NHG <i>spalten</i> , Skt <i>pātati</i>
<i>*leup-</i>	‘peel’	Skt <i>lumpāti</i>
<i>*bhedh-</i>	‘dig, burrow’	Lat <i>fodiō</i>
<i>*h₃reuk-</i>	‘dig up’	Lat <i>runcō</i> , Grk <i>orússō</i> , Skt <i>lūncati</i>
<i>*keuh_x-</i>	‘hollow out’	Lat <i>cavus</i> , Grk <i>kúar</i> , Skt <i>śūnya-</i>
<i>*keh_au-</i>	‘hollow out’	Lat <i>cūpa</i> , Grk <i>kúpē</i> , Skt <i>kūpa-</i>
<i>*keus-</i>	‘hollow out’	Skt <i>kóṣa-</i>
<i>*terh₁-</i>	‘pierce by rubbing’	Lat <i>terō</i> , Grk <i>teirō</i> , Skt <i>tārā-</i>
<i>*h_{2/3}weg(h)-</i>	‘pierce’	
<i>*dhwer- ?</i>	‘pierce’	Grk <i>túrkhē</i>
<i>*steig-</i>	‘prick’	Lat <i>īn-stīgō</i> , NE <i>stick</i> , Grk <i>stízō</i> , Skt <i>téjate</i>
<i>*kel-</i>	‘prick’	NE <i>holly</i> , Skt <i>kaṭamba-</i>

Table 22.3. (*Cont'd*)

*red-	‘gnaw, scrape’	Lat <i>rōdō</i> , NE <i>rat</i> , Skt <i>rādati</i>
*bhes-	‘rub’	Grk <i>psāō</i> , Skt <i>bābhasti</i>
*merd-	‘± rub, scrape’	Lat <i>mordeō</i> , Skt <i>mṛṇāti</i>
*keh _x (i)-	‘sharpen, hone’	Lat <i>catus</i> , NE <i>hone</i> , Skt <i>śīśāti</i>
*kseu-	‘rub, whet’	Grk <i>ksūō</i> , Skt <i>kṣṇāti</i>

as it means ‘suffer racking pain’. However, if it is accepted, then the distribution is Proto-Indo-European (cf. also Lat *rumpō* ‘break’, NE *rift*, Lith *rūpėti* ‘grieve, afflict’). The meaning ‘crush’ is found in four more roots. The active meaning behind *mer- ‘crush’ is preserved only in Greek, Hittite, and Sanskrit (Grk *marainō* ‘extinguish [a fire]’, Hit *mariyattari* ‘is smashed’, Skt *mṛṇāti* ‘crushes, grinds’) while the other cognates yield the results, e.g. OIr *meirb* ‘lifeless’, OE *mearu* ‘soft’. Hittite preserves a meaning ‘press’ from *wes- (*wesuriya*- ‘press, oppress’) while the Germanic and Albanian cognates mean ‘wither’ (e.g. OE *wisnian* ‘dry up, wither, waste away’, Alb *veshk* ‘wither, shrivel, wilt’). A PIE *(s)terǵh- ‘± crush’ rests on a Hittite-Indic isogloss where both exhibit a rare and presumably archaic *ne*-present, i.e. *(s)tr-né-ǵh-ti (Hit *istarninkzi* ‘afflicts’, Skt *trṇédhi* ‘crushes, bruises’). Although there are few cognate sets for *weld-, i.e. NWels *gwlydd* ‘mild, soft, tender’, NE *wilt*, and Tocharian (Toch B *wāłts*- ‘crush, grind’), their distribution indicates Proto-Indo-European status.

The concept of ‘cut’ is well represented in Proto-Indo-European. A root *del- ‘cut’ is widely found in Europe (e.g. OIr *dello* ‘form’, Lat *dolō* ‘hew’, ON *telgja* ‘carve’, Lith *dalti* ‘divide’, Alb *dalloj* ‘cut’, Grk *daidállō* ‘work cunningly’) and its ascription to Proto-Indo-European depends on acceptance of a potential late Indic cognate (Skt *dālati* ‘bursts, cracks’); as we see, it means ‘cut’ in Germanic, ‘divide’ in Baltic, but shows extended meanings associated with manufacture in Greek (cf. Daedalus who invents wings for himself and his too high-flying son Icarus) and in Celtic ‘form’. The meaning ‘cut apart/off’ appears to underlie the widely attested *(s)ker-, e.g. Hit *karsmi* ‘cut off, castrate’ (and also OIr *scaraid* ‘separates, divides’, NE *shear*, Lith *skiriù* ‘separate, divide’, Rus *krojù* ‘cut’, Alb *shqerr* ‘tear apart’, Grk *keirō* ‘cut’, Arm *k’erem* ‘scrape off, scratch off’, Skt *kṛṇāti* ‘wounds, kills’). It also exists in an extended form *(s)kert- (e.g. Lith *kertù* ‘hew’, Arm *k’ert’em* ‘skin’, Hit *kartai*- ‘cut off’, Av *kərəntaiti* ‘cuts’, Skt *kṛntāti* ‘cuts’) and the word underlies ON *skor* ‘notch’ (i.e. ‘what has been cut’) which is borrowed into English to give us *score*. A word *skeh₁i-d- generally yields meanings of ‘cut’ or ‘split’ (e.g. Lat *scindō* ‘cut’, Lith *skiedžiu* ‘separate’, OCS *čediti* ‘filter, strain’, Grk *skhizō* ‘split, tear’) but in Germanic it gives us ‘defecate’, e.g. OE *be-scītan* > NE *shit*. An unextended *skeh₁i- gives Skt *chyāti* ‘cuts’. The even more fundamental root

**sek-* ‘cut’ (e.g. MĪr *eiscid* ‘cuts off’, Lat *secō* ‘cut’, Lith *į-sėkti* ‘dig’, OCS *sěko* ‘cut’) also gives us Lat *sciō* ‘know’ and Hit *sakk-* ‘know’. The semantic change from ‘cut’ to ‘know’ is not, admittedly, an obvious one, but it is confirmed by the same change in the history of **ker-s-*, another enlargement of **ker-* (above) which means ‘cut’ in Hit *karsmi*, as we would expect, but ‘know’ in Tocharian (AB *kärs-*). The root **k^wer-* retains its original verbal meaning ‘cut’ in Anatolian (e.g. Hit *kuerzi* ‘cuts’) but NWels *pryd* ‘time’, Osc *-pert* ‘... time[s]’, and Skt *-kṛt* ‘... time[s]’ all employ this root also to mean ‘time(s)’, i.e. a ‘slice of time’. A Latin-Tocharian isogloss supports a PIE **put-* ‘cut’ (Lat *putō* ‘prune’, Toch AB *putk-* ‘divide, share, separate’). To these we may add the words for ‘split’. A PIE **bheid-* ‘split’ (e.g. Lat *findō* ‘split’, Skt *bhinádmi* ‘bite’) supplies the Germanic words for ‘bite’ and the Grk cognate *phéidomai* ‘spare’ develops from the idea of ‘separating oneself from’ something. The root **waǵ-* retains verbal meaning ‘split’ in Grk *ágnūmai* ‘break apart, snap, crush’, Anatolian (Hit *wāki* ‘bites’), and Tocharian (Toch AB *wāk-* ‘split open, separate but remain attached; bloom’) but reveals nominal forms in Latin (where we have *vāgīna* ‘sheath, scabbard’, the encasement of a weapon), and in India the mythical *vájra-*, the ‘club’ or ‘splitter’ of the god Indra. Another verb, *(*s*)*kel-*, ‘split’ (e.g. Grk *skállō* ‘hoe, stir up’, Arm *skalim* ‘split, be splintered’, Hit *iskalla-* ‘slit, slash, tear’) or ‘chip’ in Celtic and Baltic (e.g. MĪr *scoiltid* ‘chips’, Lith *skeliù* ‘chip’), develops a secondary meaning of ‘that which is apart, distinguished’ in Germanic, hence ON *skil* ‘distinction’ which is borrowed into English as *skill*. Finally, we have **bher-* ‘strike (through), split’ with cognates in Lat *feriō* ‘strike, pound’, OE *borian* > NE *bore*, Lith *bar(ì)ù* ‘revile, abuse’, OCS *borjē* ‘fight, struggle’, Grk *pharáo* ‘plough’, Skt *bhṛṇāti* ‘wounds’.

Words that suggest the concept of ‘tearing’ include **wel(h₂)-* with meanings of ‘strike’, e.g. Hit *walh-* ‘strike, attack’ as well as ‘pluck, tear’ (e.g. Lat *vellō*); in Hieroglyphic Luvian (*wal(a)-*) and Tocharian (Toch A *wäl-*) it means ‘die’ and in Germanic it is employed to denote either a ‘corpse on a battlefield’, e.g. ON *valr* (whence we have both *Valhalla* and *Valkyrie*), or the ‘battlefield’ itself. The root **der-* is more properly ‘tear’ or ‘flay’ as in NE *tear*, Lith *diriù* ‘flay’, OCS *derō* ‘flay’, Grk *dérō* ‘skin, flay’, Arm *terem* ‘flay, strip bark’, Av *darədar-* ‘split’, Skt *dṛṇāti* ‘causes to burst, tears’, Toch AB *tsār-* ‘separate’. An extended form, **drep-* ‘scratch, tear’, is widely found (e.g. Rus *drjapati* ‘scratch, tear’, Grk *drépō* ‘pluck’); the possible Tocharian cognates (Toch A *rāp-*, Toch B *rāp-*) show the meaning ‘dig’, and the possible Anatolian cognates show the meaning ‘plough’ (e.g. Hit *tēripzi* ‘ploughs’). A Germanic-Indic isogloss secures **rendh-* ‘rend’ (e.g. NE *rend*, Skt *rándhram* ‘opening, split, hole’). A meaning ‘tear out’ or ‘pluck’ is seen in **reu(h_x)-* (e.g. MĪr *rūam* ‘spade’, Lat *ruō* ‘tear off; fall violently’, ON *rýja* ‘pluck wool from a sheep’, Lith *ráuju* ‘pull out, weed’, OCS *rŭvō* ‘pull out’, Toch AB *ruwā-* ‘pull out [from below the surface with violence]’). Both the

Welsh and Greek cognates derived from **h₁reik-* mean ‘tear’ (NWels *rhygo*, Grk *ereikō*) while other cognates yield meanings of ‘pull a thread’ (OHG *rīhan*), ‘cut bread’ (Lith *riekiù*), and ‘scratch’ (Skt *rikhāti*). As a verb **(s)pel-* is only attested in Skt *phálati* ‘bursts, splits in two’ with its derivative *phāla-* ‘ploughshare’ (< **splitter*), but there is a widespread PIE derivative **spoli_hxom* ‘something torn or split off’ in Lat *spolium* ‘hide stripped from an animal; booty, spoils’, dialectal Grk *spólia* [pl.] ‘wool plucked from the legs of sheep’, Lith *spāliai* [pl.] ‘refuse of hemp and flax’, as well as other derivatives meaning ‘hide, skin’ (see Section 11.3). An enlarged **(s)pelt-* ‘split’ is more widespread as a verb (e.g. OHG *spalten*, OCS *ras-platiti*, Skt *sphāṭati*, all ‘split’, and Skt *pāṭati* ‘splits, apart, bursts’). Other, less widespread, enlargements of **(s)pel-* are common (e.g. NE *split*). A Balto-Slavic-Indic isogloss gives us **leup-* ‘peel’ (e.g. Lith *lupù* ‘peel’, Skt *lumpāti* ‘break, violate, hurt’).

Although we find ‘dig’ in some of the daughter languages, there are several more specific forms reconstructed to Proto-Indo-European. The underlying meaning of **bhedh-* is clearly ‘dig’ (Lat *fodiō*, Hit *padda-* ~ *pidda-*) with obviously derived meanings in other language groups, e.g. ‘grave’ (NWels *bedd*), ‘plough’ (Toch A *pāt-*). There have been attempts to place the Germanic set that includes NE *bed* here under the reasoning that the Proto-Germans once slept in hollows in the ground like animals but this set is far more likely to derive from a homophonous **bhedh-* ‘bend’ which yields ‘cushion’. The verb **h₁reuk-* means ‘dig’ in Baltic and Greek (Latv *rūkīt*, Grk *orússō*, and indirectly in Celtic, i.e. OIr *rucht* ‘pig’ [i.e. **one who digs up*]) but the idea of ‘plucks’ appears in Latin (where the cognate *runcō* means ‘weeds’) and Skt *lūncati* ‘tears, plucks’.

The notion of ‘hollowing out’ is seen in three roots with largely nominal derivatives. The first, **keuh_h-*, is to be seen in MIr *cūa* ‘hollow’, Lat *cavus* (Early Lat *covus*) ‘cave’, Alb *thellë* ‘deep’, Grk *kúar* ‘eye of a needle’ *koīlos* ‘hollow, deep’, Arm *soyl* ‘hole’, Skt *sūnya-* ‘empty, hollow’, Toch B *kor* ‘throat’. The second, **keh_hu-*, appears enlarged with a **-p-* in Lat *cūpa* ‘cask’, Grk (Hesychius) *kúpē* ‘cave’, Skt *kūpa-* ‘hole, hollow, cave’. Enlarged with **-l-* we have, e.g. Lat *caulis* ‘stalk’, NE *hollow*, Grk *kaulós* ‘stalk’, Lith *káulas* ‘bone’, Skt *kúlyam* ‘bone’, and perhaps Hit *gullant-* if, as seems likely, it means ‘hollow’. Finally, we have **keus-* in the Lithuanian verb *kaūšti* ‘hollow out’ and various nominal derivatives, e.g. ON *hauss* ‘skull’, Lith *káušas* ‘skull, ladle’, Skt *koṣa-* ‘vessel’, and various words for ‘dwelling’ of some sort, e.g. NE *house*, Arm *xuc* ‘room’, Khot *kūṣda-* ‘mansion’, Toch B *kuṣā-* ‘village’ [< **collection of dwellings*], all suggesting that one type of Proto-Indo-European dwelling was at least partially dug below ground level (see Section 13.1).

There are several terms for ‘pierce’. The first, **terh₁-* might be glossed as ‘pierce by rubbing’ and is widely attested, e.g. in OIr *tarathar* ‘instrument for drilling’, Lat *terō* ‘rub, wear away’, Lith *trinù* ‘rub’, OCS *tīrq* ‘rub’, Alb *tjerr*

‘spin’ [<*rub yarn back and forth’], Grk *teirō* ‘pierce’, Skt *tārā-* ‘piercing’ (see Section 15.3). The other two verbs of piercing are much less abundantly seen. The first, **h_{2/3}weg(h)-*, is found in both Hit *hwēk-* ‘slaughter, butcher, slay’, and OPers *vag-* ‘pierce’. The second, **dhwer-*, shows up in Lith *duriù* ‘thrust, stab’, Grk *túrkhē* ‘two-pronged fork’, Arm *dur* ‘tool, gimlet’; an enlarged **dhwerh_x-* may appear in Hit *dwarnai-* ‘break, shatter’, Skt *dhvárati* ‘bends, causes to fall, shatters’.

There are two verbs for ‘prick’. A root **steig-* is both widely attested and semantically reasonably congruent across the various Indo-European groups (e.g. Lat *instīgō* ‘goad’, NE *stick* and *stitch*, Grk *stízō* ‘prick, tattoo’, Av *bi-taēya-* ‘having two edges’, Skt *téjate* ‘is sharp, makes sharp’). A second root, **kel-*, has a verbal meaning but no verbs: here we have a set of nouns, e.g. ‘holly’ (Celtic, Germanic), ‘ear of grain’ (Slavic, e.g. OCS *klasŭ*), ‘barley meal’ (Toch B *klese*), ‘straw, chaff’ (Alb *kallī*), and ‘arrow’ (Skt *kaṭamba-*), from which we presume an underlying verbal root for something ‘sharp’ or ‘prickly’. It may be related to the homophonous root **kel-* ‘cut’. The English *rat* takes its name from **red-* ‘gnaw, scrape’ (cf. also Lat *rōdō* ‘gnaw’, MPers *randītan* ‘scrape, smooth’, Skt *rādati* ‘bites, gnaws, cuts, makes way, opens’).

For ‘rubbing’ we have two Proto-Indo-European terms, **bhes-* and **merd-*. The former occurs in Alb *fshij* ‘sweep, wipe, brush’, Grk *psáo* ‘rub’, Skt *bábhasti* ‘chews thoroughly, devours’, *psáti* ‘chews, swallows’. The latter also shows a connection with oral activities in Lat *mordeō* ‘bite’, but Skt *mydnāti* ‘rubs’, Toch B *mārtk-* ‘shave [hair]’.

Two words appear to be reconstructable for ‘sharpen, hone’. The first, **keh_x(i)-*, appears as a verb only in Indic, i.e. in Skt *śísāti* ~ *śyāti* ‘sharpen, whets’, but much more widely in a number of old derivatives (e.g. Lat *catus* ‘wise’, perhaps Grk *kōnos* ‘pinecone, fircone; peak of a helmet’ [if < *sharp(ened) object’], Skt *sāṇa-* ‘whetstone’, Toch B *kāntsā-* ‘sharpen’, Arm *srem* ‘sharpen’, NE *hone*). The second, **kseu-*, appears in Lat *novācula* (< **ksnewā-tlā-*) ‘razor’, Grk *ksúō* ‘sharpen’, *ksurón* ‘razor’, Av *hu-xšnuta-* ‘well-sharpened’, Skt *kṣṇāuti* ‘sharpen, whets’, *kṣurá-* ‘razor’.

There are many regional terms for breaking, cutting, and other reductive activities. From the North-West we have **bhreg-* ‘break’ (e.g. Lat *frangō* ‘break’, NE *break*); **dhelbh-* ‘dig’ (e.g. NE *delve*, Lith *dálba* ‘crowbar’); **ghrebh-* ‘dig’ (e.g. NE *grave*, Lith *grėbti* ‘rake’, OCS *pogrebq* ‘bury’); **dhelg-* ‘sting, pierce’ (e.g. OIr *delg* ‘needle, pin’, Lat *falx* ‘curved blade’, OE *dalc* ‘bracelet, brooch’, Lith *dilgùs* ‘stinging, smart’); **skebh-* ‘scratch, shave’ (e.g. Lat *scabō* ‘shave, scratch’, NE *shave*, Lith *skabùs* ‘sharp’, OCS *skoblī* ‘scraping knife’); and **k^wed-* ‘whet, sharpen’ (Lat *triquetrus* ‘having three corners’, NE *whet*).

From the West Central region there is **bhreus-* ‘break, smash to pieces’ (e.g. OIr *bruid* ‘breaks, crashes’, Lat *frustum* ‘piece’, NE *bruise*, Alb *breshër* ‘hail’),

perhaps an enlargement of **bher-* ‘strike (through), split’; **h₃lem-* ‘break’ (e.g. OIr *ro-laimethar* ‘dares, ventures’, NE *lame* [*< *broken*], Latv *lemesis* ‘plough-share’, OCS *lomljq* ‘break’, Alb *lemë* ‘threshing floor’, Grk *nōlemés* ‘without a break, unceasingly’); **wreh₁ǵ-* ‘break, tear to pieces’ (e.g. Lith *rėžti* ‘cut, scratch’, OCS *rězati* ‘cut, hew’, Grk *rhēgnūmi* ‘break’); **gleubh-* ‘cut off, cut out’ (e.g. Lat *glūbō* ‘peel’, NE *cleave*, Grk *glúphō* ‘carve out’ whence *glyph*); **(s)grebh-* ‘scratch, cut’ (e.g. NE *carve* [NE *scrape* is borrowed from ON *skrapa*], OPrus *gīrbīn* ‘number’, OCS *žrěbŭ* ‘lot’, Grk *gráphō* ‘scratch’); **kerd-* ‘cut into, carve’ (e.g. OIr *cerd* ‘art, handicraft’, Grk *kérdos* ‘profit’); **h₁reip-* ‘tear’ (e.g. Lat *rīpa* ‘river bank’, ON *rīfa* ‘tear out’, Grk *erīpnai* [pl.] ‘broken cliff’) is an extended form of the unextended, and unattested, **h₁rei-* also seen in the more widely attested **h₁reik-* (above); **plek̑-* ‘± break, tear off’ (e.g. NE *flay*, Lith *plėšiù* ‘tear off’, Alb *plas* ‘burst, break’); **lak-* ‘rend, tear’ (Lat *lacer* ‘worn out’, Alb *lakur* ‘naked’, Grk *lakízō* ‘tear’); **lep-* ‘peel’ (Grk *lépō* ‘peel’ and nominal derivatives in other groups, e.g. OE *lōf* ‘headband’, Lith *lāpas* ‘leaf’, Rus *lāpotī* ‘bast-shoe’, Alb *lapë* ‘dewlap of an ox’); **g^wel-* ‘sting, pierce’ (e.g. Lith *gėlti* ‘sting [as a bee]’, Grk *belónē* ‘needle’); **geid-* ‘tickle’, a Germanic-Armenian isogloss, both with the same meaning (e.g. OE *citelian*, Arm *kcem*); **peug-* ‘prick, poke’ (Lat *pungō* ‘prick’, Grk *pugmē* ‘fist’); **ter(i)-* ‘rub, turn’ (e.g. Lat *terō* ‘rub’, Lith *trinù* ‘rub’, OCS *tīrq* ‘rub’, Grk *teirō* ‘rub’); **treu(h_x)-* ‘rub away, wear away’ (e.g. NE *throw*, OCS *tryjq* ‘rub’, Grk *trúō* ‘rub down’), an enlargement of **ter(i)-*. A Greek-Indo-Iranian isogloss attests **h₃merǵ-* ‘wipe off’ (Grk *omórgnūmai* ‘wipe off’, Av *marəzaiti* ‘strokes’, Skt *mṛṇākti* ‘wipes off’). Finally, there is **(s)kerbh-* ~ **(s)kerbh-* ‘shrink, shrivel’ with the following cognates: ON *skorpna* ‘shrivel’, Lith *skuṛbti* ‘suffer a decline, wither; mourn’, Rus *skórblyj* ‘shrivelled’, Grk *károphō* ‘let shrivel, dry out’.

22.3 Rotary and Lateral Motion

Grouped here are verbal activities involving twisting, turning, shaking, and covering over.

A verb ‘turn’ is well attested in Proto-Indo-European. The root **k^wel-* and its extended form **k^wleu-* both mean ‘turn’ and arguably suggest rotary or circular motion. The evidence for rotary motion is suggested by its association with wheels (one of the nominal forms for ‘wheel’, **k^wek^wlóm* or **k^wek^wlós*, is a reduplicated form of this verb and the Old Irish cognate of the unreduplicated verbal form is *cul* ‘wagon’ while Greek also provides a nominal derivative *pólos* ‘axle’). The other cognate forms are all verbs with more generalized meanings, e.g. Indo-Iranian ‘circulate, wander’ (Av *čaraiti* ‘circulates’, Skt *cáрати* ‘moves, wanders, drives’), possibly suggesting the type of cyclic movements attributed

Table 22.4. *Rotary and lateral activities*

* <i>k^wel-</i>	‘turn’	Lat <i>colō</i> , Grk <i>pélō</i> , Skt <i>cārati</i>
* <i>k^wleu-</i>	‘turn’	
* <i>trep-</i>	‘turn’	Lat <i>trepit</i> , Grk <i>trépō</i> , Skt <i>trápate</i>
* <i>wert-</i>	‘turn’	Lat <i>vertō</i> , Grk <i>bratánon</i> , Skt <i>vártate</i>
* <i>weig/k-</i>	‘± turn, yield’	Grk <i>eikō</i> , Skt <i>vijáte</i>
* <i>wendh-</i>	‘wind, twist’	NE <i>wind</i> , Grk <i>kánnathron</i> , Skt <i>vandhúra-</i>
* <i>derbh-</i>	‘turn, twist’	Skt <i>dṛbhāti</i>
* <i>k^werp-</i>	‘turn’	NE <i>wharve</i> , Grk <i>karpós</i>
* <i>twer-</i>	‘stir, agitate’	Lat <i>trua</i> , Grk <i>otrúnō</i> , Skt <i>tvárate</i>
* <i>weip-</i> ~ * <i>weib-</i>	‘turn’	Lat <i>vibrāre</i> , NE <i>wave</i> , <i>wipe</i> , Skt <i>vépate</i>
* <i>wel-</i>	‘turn, wind, roll’	Lat <i>volvō</i> , Grk <i>eilēō</i> , Skt <i>válati</i>
?*(<i>w</i>) <i>rep-</i>	‘turn, incline’	Grk <i>rhépō</i>
*(<i>s</i>) <i>pre(n)g-</i>	‘wrap up, constrict’	Grk <i>spárgō</i>
* <i>weis-</i>	‘twist, wind around’	NE <i>ware</i> , Skt <i>vēṣa-</i>
* <i>kem-</i>	‘cover’	Skt <i>sāmūla-</i>
*(<i>s</i>) <i>keu(h_x) -</i>	‘cover, wrap’	Lat <i>ob-scūrus</i> , Grk <i>skúlos</i> , Skt <i>skunāti</i>
* <i>trem-</i>	‘shake, tremble (in fear)’	Lat <i>tremō</i> , Grk <i>trémō</i>
* <i>tres-</i>	‘tremble, shake with fear’	Lat <i>terrēre</i> , Grk <i>tréō</i> , Skt <i>trásati</i>
* <i>rei-</i>	‘tremble, be unsteady’	Skt <i>lelēya</i>
* <i>kseubh-</i>	‘shake’	Skt <i>kṣubhyati</i>
* <i>wer-</i>	‘surround, cover, contain’	Lat <i>aperio</i> , Grk <i>érumai</i> , Skt <i>vṛṇóti</i>

to pastoralists (cf. also Alb *sjell* ‘turn around’, *qell* ‘carry’, Grk *pélō* ‘be in motion; be’). The Latin cognate *colō* can mean ‘till; dwell; care for’. That the first meaning may have been original, i.e. ‘turn the earth over’, is perhaps suggested by **trep-* ‘turn’ whose potential Hittite cognate is *tēripp-* ‘plough’ (if, indeed, this word belongs here and not with **drep-* in Section 22.3); the other cognate forms indicate simply ‘turn’ (Lat *trepit* ‘turns’, Grk *trépō* ‘turn’) except for Skt *trápate* ‘becomes perplexed’. A root **wert-* also indicates ‘turn’ (e.g. OIr *do-fortad* ‘pour out’, Lat *vertō* ‘turn’, Lith *verčiù* ‘turn’, OCS *vritěti se* ‘draw around’, dialectal Grk *bratánon* ‘ladle’, Av *varət-* ‘turn’, Skt *vártate* ‘turns’, Toch A *wärt-* ‘throw’) and in Indo-Iranian has specific associations with chariotry, e.g. Sog *wrtñ* ‘chariot’ or Mitanni *-wartanna* ‘lap around a horse track’. This root supplies the Germanic languages with their verb ‘become’, e.g. OE *weorþan* ‘become’, OHG *werdan* ‘become’. Semantically more vague is **weig/k-* which does yield the meaning ‘turn’ in ON (*vīkja* ~ *vīkva*), but also ‘yield’ in the other Germanic languages and Greek (e.g. OE *wīcan*, Grk *eikō*), ‘throw’ in Av *vaēg-*, and ‘disappear’ in Toch AB *wik-*.

The related concept of ‘wind’ or ‘twist’ can be seen in **wendh-* whose reflexes are both verbs, e.g. NE *wind*, and nominal forms that suggest any object

produced by twisting flexible branches or osiers, e.g. Grk *kánnathron* ‘basket-carriage’ or Skt *vandhúra-* ‘wicker carriage’ (cf. also Umbrian *pre-uendu* ‘turn’, Arm *gind* ‘ring’, Toch AB *wänt-* ‘± cover, envelop’). Similarly, **derbh-* can mean simply ‘turn’ in Germanic (e.g. OE *tearflian* ‘turn, roll, wallow’) but it indicates something bound by twisting in Armenian and Indo-Iranian (Arm *toin* ‘cord’, Av *dərəβda-* ‘bundle of muscles’, Skt *dṛbhāti* ‘knots, ties’). Germanic also preserves a basic meaning ‘turn’ for **k^werp-* (e.g. OE *hweorfan* ‘turn, change’) which gives us nominal forms such as Grk *karpós* ‘wrist’ and words for ‘spear’ in Celtic (MlIr *carr*, NWels *pâr*) and, by metaphorical extension, ‘be concerned with’ (<**turn* oneself toward’) in Toch AB *kurp-*. To ‘turn’ in the sense to ‘stir’ is suggested by **twer-* which means both ‘stir’ and ‘agitate, stir up’ (e.g. Lat *trua* ‘scoop, ladle’, OE *þweran* ‘stir, churn, agitate’, Grk *otrúnō* ‘drive, agitate’, Skt *tvárate* ‘hurry’)(see also Section 16.2 for terms associated with food preparation). A possible Greek-Tocharian isogloss suggests **(w)rep-* ‘turn, incline’ (Grk *hrépō* ‘incline oneself, be inclined to’, Toch A *rapurñe* ‘desire, cupidity’).

More distant concepts are ‘wrap up, constrict’ seen in **(s)pre(n)g-* whose outcomes suggest a meaning ‘wind around’ (for Greek ‘swaddle’ in *spárgō*) or Baltic ‘constrict’ (e.g. Lith *springstù* ‘choke, become choked or constricted’), cf. also MHG *phrenge* ‘oppress’, Toch AB *pränk-* ‘restrain oneself, hold back’. Surviving in English only dialectally is *ware* in the meaning of ‘seaweed’ which is derived from **weis-* ‘twist, wind around’ and attests just one of the ways this verbal concept was preserved in different Indo-European groups; others include Lith *výstyti* ‘swaddle’ and Skt *véṣa-* ‘dress’, Rus *vikh(o)ri* ‘whirlwind’, and Arm *gi* ‘juniper’.

There are several words for ‘cover’ which often take nominal formations. Proto-Indo-European **kem-* ‘cover’ gives us words for clothing in Late Lat *camisia* ‘linen shirt, nightgown’ (perhaps borrowed from Gaulish), Germanic (e.g. OE *hama* ‘dress, covering’), and Skt *śāmūla-* ‘thick woollen shirt’ while **(s)keu(h_x)-* preserves its original meaning in Lat *ob-scūrus* ‘dark, obscure’, i.e. ‘covered’, and Indic (i.e. Skt *skunāti* ‘covers’) or in words for ‘hide’ (NE *hide* is derived from this root with a *t*-extension while Grk *skúlos* ‘pelt, skin’ shows an **-l-*) or ‘leather’ (Grk *skūtos*).

The lateral motion of shaking or, by extension, trembling is indicated by four words. A Proto-Indo-European **trem-* ‘shake, tremble’ is well attested in five groups (e.g. Lat *tremō* ‘shake’, Lith *trìmti* ‘shake’, Alb *tremb* ‘scare, startle, shock’, Grk *trémō* ‘shake’, Toch A *träm-* ‘be enraged’); NE *tremble* is ultimately borrowed from Late Latin. The semantic range of **tres-* includes both ‘shaking’ and ‘fear’ itself (e.g. MlIr *tarrach* ‘fearful’, Lat *terrēre* ‘terrify’, *terror* ‘terror’, Lith *trišù* ‘tremble’, OCS *tręsq* ‘tremble’, Grk *tréō* ‘tremble, flee’, Av *tərəsaiti* ‘fears’, Skt *trāsati* ‘trembles, is afraid’; see also Section 20.6) and both

trem-* and **tres-* may derive from a common though unattested verbal root *ter-*. A PIE **rei-* rests entirely on a Gothic-Sanskrit correspondence (Goth *reiran* ‘tremble, shake’, Skt *lelāyati* ‘swings, is unsteady’) and there is a Polish-Indo-Iranian isogloss that gives us **kseubh-* ‘shake’ (Polish *chybnąć* ‘shake’, Av *xšaob-* ‘agitate’, Skt *kṣúbhyati* ‘shakes’).

From the North-West there is **kret-* ‘shake’ (e.g. MlIr *crothaid* ‘shakes’, OE *hraðe* ‘quick’, Lith *krečiù* ‘shake, jolt; strew by shaking’); *(s)*ku(n)t-* ‘shake, jolt’ (e.g. NE *shudder*, Lith *kuntù* ‘recover, get better’ [i.e. ‘shake something off’], OCS *skytati se* ‘wander’); **kreut-* ‘± shake’ (e.g. ON *hraustr* ‘quick’, Lith *krutù* ‘move, stir’); **slenk-* ‘turn, twist (like a snake)’ (e.g. NWels *llyngyr* ‘worms’, NE *sling*, Lith *slenkù* ‘crawl [like a snake]’); **swerbh-* ‘turn, move in a twirling motion’ (e.g. NWels *chwerfan* ‘spindlewhorl’, OE *sweorfan* ‘wipe, rub’, Latv *svārpstīt* ‘bore’, OCS *svrabū* ‘scabies’). The West Central region offers a possible **k^wat-* ‘shake’, a Latin (*quatiō* ‘shake’)-Greek (*pássō* ‘strew’) isogloss; **sper-* ‘wrap around’, a Baltic (Lith *spartas* ‘band, ribbon’)-Greek (*speira* ‘coils’)-Armenian (*p’arem* ‘enclose, surround’) isogloss; **kel-* ‘conceal, cover’ (e.g. OIr *ceilid* ‘conceals, dissembles’, Lat *cēlō* ‘conceal’, OE *helan* ‘conceal’, Grk *kalíptō* ‘cover’); *(s)*teg-* ‘cover’ (e.g. Lat *tegō* ‘cover’, NE *thatch*, Lith *stiegiu* ‘put on a thatch roof’, Grk *stégō* ‘cover’), which has a possible Sanskrit cognate in *sthaḡayati* ‘covers’ which, if accepted (the *-th-* suggests to some a non-Indo-European origin for the word in Indic), would point to Proto-Indo-European status. There is a Greek-Indo-Iranian isogloss in **tweis-* ‘shake’ (Grk *seíō* ‘shake’, Av *θwaēšah-* ‘fear, anxiety’, Skt *tvéṣate* ‘is excited’).

22.4 Bind, Stick, and Smear

The concept of attachment, both natural and artificial, is reflected in a series of roots, largely verbal, to describe the act of binding, both metaphorically and through the use of an instrument, sticking, and smearing. These are listed in Table 22.5.

The root **bhendh-* ‘bind’ exhibits verbal reflexes in Germanic and Indo-Iranian, e.g. NE *bind*, Av *bandayeiti* ‘binds’, Skt *badhnāti* ‘binds’, but is also reflected in nominal forms in Grk *peīisma* ‘rope’ and, evidently in an extended sense to indicate a social binding, as kinship terms such as ‘companion’ or ‘father-in-law’ in Baltic (Lith *beñdras* ‘companion’), Grk *pentherós* ‘father-in-law’, and Skt *bāndhu-* ‘kinsman; connection, kinship’ (see Section 12.3). A small group of correspondences (Albanian-Greek-Sanskrit) indicates **deh₁-* ‘bind’ (the Alb *duaj* is nominal ‘sheaves’, but Grk *dēō* and Skt *dyāti* are verbal ‘bind’). A root **h₂ep-* is attested in Latin, Anatolian, and Tocharian (e.g. Lat *aptus*

Table 22.5. *Binding*

*bhendh-	‘bind’	NE <i>bind</i> , Grk <i>peîsma</i> , Skt <i>badhnâti</i>
*deh ₁ -	‘bind’	Grk <i>dêō</i> , Skt <i>dyāti</i>
*h ₂ ep-	‘fasten, join’	Lat <i>aptus</i>
*ghedh-	‘join, fit together’	NE <i>together</i> , Skt <i>gádhya-</i>
*yeu-	‘bind, join together’	Skt <i>yáuti</i>
*h ₂ emġh-	‘tie, constrain’	Lat <i>angō</i> , Grk <i>ágkhō</i>
*dherġh-	‘bind fast’	Skt <i>dhṛīyati</i>
*peh _a ġ- ~ *peh _a k-	‘fasten securely’	Lat <i>pangō</i> , Grk <i>pégnūmi</i> , Skt <i>pāśáyati</i>
*seg-	‘fasten’	Skt <i>sájati</i>
*kerġh-	‘bind’	
*h ₃ eng ^w -	‘anoint (with salve), (be)smear’	Lat <i>unguō</i> , Skt <i>anākti</i>
*leip-	‘adhere, stick; smear’	Skt <i>límpāti</i>
*h _a lei-	‘smear’	Lat <i>linō</i> , Grk <i>alínō</i> , Skt <i>lināti</i>

‘fitted to; appropriate, fitting’ [> by borrowing NE *apt*], Hit *happ-* ‘join, attach’, Toch A *āpsā* [pl.] ‘limbs’) and like *bhendh- it may underlie words with extended social meanings such as Skt *āpī-* ‘ally’. The root *ghedh- ‘join, fit together’ (e.g. NE *together*, Lith *guōdas* ‘honour, respect’, OCS *godŭ* ‘appointed time’, Skt *gádhya-* ‘what really holds fast, what suits one’) also means ‘fitting’ and yields an *o*-grade *ghōdho- in Germanic whence we have NE *good*. The basic root *yeu- ‘bind, join together’ (e.g. Lith *jáutis* ‘ox, steer’ [< *‘that which is yoked’], Skt *yáuti* ‘binds, unites’) is more widely found in the extended form *yeu-g- ‘yokes’ and yields that meaning in Italic (Lat *iungō*), Baltic (Lith *jūngti*), Grk *zeúgnūmi*, and Skt *yunákti* (see also Section 15.5). The meaning ‘constrain’ as well as simply ‘tie’ is suggested in *h₂emġh- where Lat *angō* can mean anything from ‘tie’ to ‘throttle’ while Slavic (e.g. OCS *qžq*) and Av *qz-* indicate ‘constrain’; the Hittite cognate *hammenk-* can mean ‘tie’ or ‘betroth’. Constraint is also suggested in *dherġh- where we find a Baltic nominal form meaning ‘belt’ (Lith *dirža*) and Av *darəzayeiti* ‘fetters’. The semantic range of *peh_aġ- ~ *peh_ak- suggests a meaning such as ‘fasten securely’ as many of the Germanic cognates indicate ‘capture’ (e.g. Goth *fahan*) while Grk *pégnūmi* means ‘plant, make solid’ (cf. also Lat *pangō* ‘drive in’, Skt *pāśáyati* ‘binds’). It may be that Lat *pāx* ‘peace’ [> via Old French NE *peace*] also belongs here as *‘a binding together by treaty’. A root *seg- ‘fasten’ is found from Ireland (where it is nominalized as OIr *sūainem* ‘cord’) to India (Lith *sėgti* ‘fasten, buckle’, OCS *segnŏti* ‘take, grab’, Skt *sájati* ‘fastens’). A Baltic-Tocharian isogloss secures *kerġh- ‘bind’ (Lith *keṛgti* ‘tie, bind’, Toch AB *kärk-* ‘bind’).

A root **h₃eng^w*- supplies the basis for both a verb ‘anoint, smear’ (e.g. Lat *ung(u)ō* ‘(be)smear, anoint’, Arm *awcanem* ‘anoint’, Skt *anākti* ‘anoints’) and nominal derivatives that indicate either ‘butter’ in the West (e.g. OIr *imb*, OHG *ancho*, OPrus *anctan*) or ‘salve’ in the East, e.g. Skt *āñjas-*. The semantic field of **leip-* suggests a proto-meaning of ‘smear’ (as in Hit *lipp-*) or ‘adhere’ (as in Baltic and Slavic, e.g. Lith *limpù*, OCS *pri-lipjǫ* ‘stick on’) which also developed into ‘remain’ or ‘be left over’ (still attached?) in Germanic and Tocharian (e.g. OE *bilţfan*, Toch AB *lip-*). Related is Grk *liparós* ‘fat, anointed’ (see Section 20.10). Meanings of ‘smear’ or ‘stick’ are fairly uniform across those cognates that derive from **h_alei-* ‘smear’ (e.g. OIr *as-lena* ‘stain’, Lat *linō* ‘smear’, Lith *laistaũ* ‘smear’, Grk *alínō* ‘spread, smear’, Skt *lināti* ‘pastes’, Toch B *linā-* ‘stick, place’).

West Central words comprise **mer-* ‘braid, bind’ (e.g. NE *moor* [a boat] [<MLG *mören*], Grk *mérmtis* ‘cord’); **(h₂)wer-* ‘± attach’ (a Balto-Slavic-Albanian isogloss [e.g. Lith *vėrti* ‘thread a needle’, Rus *verátī* ‘prick’, Alb *vjerr* ‘hang up’] though one might possibly include Grk *aétrō* ‘attach’ here); **kol-* ‘glue’ (e.g. MLG/MDutch *hēlen* ‘stick’, Grk *kólla* ‘glue’), and possibly **smeid-* ‘smear’ if one can accept Arm *mic* ‘dirt’ as cognate with various German words (e.g. Goth *ge-smeitan* ‘smear’).

22.5 Bend and Press

The vocabulary associated with bending, pressing, and folding is indicated in Table 22.6.

The vocabulary associated with the concept ‘bend’ is fairly large and we are in some instances able to suggest specific differences in meaning between the different words. The semantics of **h₂enk-* ‘bend’ suggests that this word was used to describe an object that held a bent shape; the meaning ‘hook’ or ‘barb’ can be found in Celtic (OIr *ēcath*), Germanic (OHG *ango* ‘fishhook’), Slavic (OCS *qkotī*), Grk *ógkos* ‘barb’, and Iranian (Av *aka-*). The underlying verb is only certainly found in MPers *ančītan* ‘bend’, but may also be seen in Hit *hinkzi* ‘bows (reverentially), curtsies’ though there are phonological difficulties. The object bent in **bhedh-* seems to have been the human body, e.g. Toch B *pauto* ‘honour’, i.e. bend one’s knees; the Germanic cognates that have been sometimes placed here are all associated with the concept of ‘ask’, i.e. ‘request on bended knee’ (NE *bid*), while Alb *bind* means ‘convince’. Less clear is **bheug-* ‘bend’ which yields meanings of both ‘bend’ (OHG *biogan*, Skt *bhujāti*) and ‘break’ (Goth *biugan*) or survives merely in terms of a curved shape (Latv *bauga* ‘hill’).

Two roots provide interesting case studies. The root **geu-* is treated as a verbal root which only survives in a number of nominal forms, e.g. **gudom*

Table 22.6. *Bend and press*

* <i>h₂enk-</i>	‘bend’	Lat <i>uncus</i> , Grk <i>ógnos</i> , Skt <i>āñcati</i>
* <i>bhedh-</i>	‘bend (one’s body)’	NE <i>bid</i> , Skt <i>bádhatē</i>
* <i>bheug-</i>	‘bend (an object)’	Skt <i>bhujāti</i>
* <i>geu-</i>	‘curve’	
* <i>keu-k-</i>	‘curve’	NE <i>high</i> , Skt <i>kucāti</i>
* <i>kleng-</i>	‘bend, turn’	Lat <i>clingō</i> , NE <i>link</i>
* <i>leng-</i>	‘bend’	Skt <i>rāngati</i>
* <i>lenk-</i>	‘bend; traverse, divide’	
* <i>nem-</i>	‘bend’	Skt <i>námati</i>
* <i>pel-</i>	‘fold’	Lat <i>duplus</i> , Grk <i>diplóos</i>
* <i>swe(n)g-</i>	‘bend, swing’	NE <i>swing</i> , Skt <i>svájate</i>
* <i>weng-</i>	‘bend’	NE <i>wink</i> , Skt <i>vāngati</i>
* <i>prem-</i>	‘press down or back’	Lat <i>premere</i>
* <i>menk-</i>	‘press’	Grk <i>mássō</i> , Skt <i>mácate</i>
* <i>bhrak-</i>	‘squeeze together’	Lat <i>farcīō</i> , Grk <i>frássō</i>
* <i>puḱ-</i>	‘press together’	Grk <i>ámpuks</i>

‘intestines’, **gu-ro-s* ‘lock of hair’, **gu-r-nos* ‘back’, all presumably derived from a no longer extant (or at least recoverable) verbal form. The wide semantic range of the meanings associated with the cognate forms derived from **keu-k-* ‘curve’ are truly daunting. Skt *kucāti* ‘bends, curves’ provides a base verbal meaning which is also seen in nominal form as *kuca-* ‘breast’ which takes us into the realm of anything ‘curved’, e.g. OIr *cūar* ‘curved’ which may include a ‘hill’, e.g. Lith *kaūkaraš*, and then on to the abstract meaning ‘high’, e.g. NE *high*, Toch B *kauc* ‘high’; Baltic words for ‘devil’ (OPrus *cawx*) or ‘goblin’ (Lith *kaūks*) are explained either by the fact that goblins are covered with warts, boils, have crooked backs or noses (cf. OCS *kukonosŭ* ‘curve-nosed’), or, alternatively, such creatures live in or under hills.

A root **kleng-* ‘bend’ is attested in the North-West with meanings such as ‘gird’ (Lat *clingō*) and ‘chain’ (NE *link*) while the Tocharian cognates indicate a ‘vehicle/way of arriving at knowledge’ (Toch B *kleinke*) and ‘doubt’ (Toch B *klāink-*). Two similar roots, **leng-* and **lenk-*, both mean ‘bend’; Lithuanian preserves both of these words in *lingúoti* ‘soar’ and *leñkti* ‘tilts, bends’ respectively (cf. also Slov *lagāc* ‘bend’, OCS *raz-lqcity* ‘separate, divide’, Alb *lëngor* ‘flexible’, Skt *rāngati* ‘moves here and there’, Toch AB *lāink-* ‘hang’ [< *‘dangle’]), Toch B *leinke* ‘valley, cleft’). We have seen how ‘bend’ > ‘curve’ > ‘hill’ above in the discussion of **keu-k-*; the example of Toch B *leinke* shows that semantic evolution might also lead to a concave shape such as a ‘valley’, also seen in NWels *nant* or Gaul *nanto*, both derived from **nem-* ‘bend’. Some would assign to this root a series of words indicating a ‘sacred grove’, e.g. OIr

neimed, Lat *nemus*, Fris *nimidas*, Grk *némos*, on the supposition that we have ‘bend’ > ‘bow in reverence’ > ‘place where one honours the gods’. The verb itself is to be seen in Av *nəmaiti* ‘bends’, Skt *námati* ‘bends, bows, submits oneself to’, Toch AB *nām-* ‘bend’. A root **pel-* indicates ‘fold’, both in the literal sense, e.g. NE *fold* as in to fold a piece of cloth (similarly Alb *palë* ‘fold’) or Grk *péplos* ‘garment that falls in folds’ to the more abstract multiplicative, e.g. OIr *dīabul*, Lat *duplus*, Grk *diplóos* ‘double’, i.e. ‘twofold’. Of less certain status is **swe(n)g-* with cognates in the West in Celtic and Germanic, e.g. NE *swing*, and a possible cognate in Skt *svájate* ‘embraces’ and possibly Toch B *suk-* ‘hand over’. Similarly, the status of a PIE **weng-* ‘bend’ (NE *wink*, Lith *vėngti* ‘try to avoid’, Alb *vang* ‘felloe’) depends on acceptance of the existence of a Skt *vāngati* ‘limps’ which occurs in medieval dictionaries but nowhere in texts.

The meaning ‘press’ or ‘squeeze’ is found in three possible Proto-Indo-European roots. A Latin-Tocharian isogloss secures **prem-* where Lat *premere* ‘press down’ is compared with Toch B *prām-* ‘restrain’. More widely attested is **menk-* which gives us a Greek word for ‘knead’, i.e. *mássō*, and Skt *mácate* ‘crushes’, as well as Germanic, e.g. OE *mengan* ‘mix’, Lith *minkyti* ‘knead, touch’, OCS *mekūkū* ‘soft, delicate’. The underlying meaning of **bhrak-* is more difficult; Grk *phrássō* can mean ‘push together’ and the root may also have indicated that this resulted in making something firm, e.g. Toch B *prākre* ‘firm’ and Lat *fartus* ‘thick’; to this series is also added the far more semantically opaque OIr *barc* ‘storm, fury’ (perhaps indicating that one is in the ‘thick’ of things). Finally, **puḱ-* ‘press together’ provides the base for both the Greek and Iranian words for a ‘headband’ (Grk *ámpuks*, Av *pusā-*) as well as Alb *puṭh* ‘kiss’.

Regional words from the North-West include **māk-* ‘press’ (e.g. Lat *mācerō* ‘tenderize by marination’, Latv *mākt* ‘oppress, depress’, Czech *mačkatí* ‘press, squeeze’) and **greut-* ‘± compress’, an Irish (OIr *gruth* ‘cheese’)-English (NE *crowd*) isogloss. Far more words derive from the West Central area: **kam-p-* ‘bend (of terrain)’ (e.g. Lat *campus* ‘field’, Goth *hamfs* ‘maimed’, Lith *kaĩpas* ‘corner; region’, Grk *kampé* ‘bend of river’); **k^welp-* ‘arch’, a Germanic-Greek (e.g. OE *hwealf* ‘vault’, Grk *kólpos* ‘fold, hollow’) isogloss; **lerd-* ‘± crooked’ (Scots Gaelic *lorcach* ‘lame’, Grk *lordós* ‘stooped’, Arm *lorc’k* ‘twisted bodies’); **leug-* ‘bend; bend together, entwine’ (e.g. OIr *fo-long-* ‘sustains, supports’, Lat *luctō* ‘struggle’, NE *lock* (of hair) and *lock* of door (a bending together), Lith *lūgnas* ‘flexible, pliable’, Grk *lugízō* ‘fold, bend’); **gem-* ‘press, squeeze together, squeeze’ (e.g. MĪr *gemel* ‘fetters’, Umb *gomia* ‘pregnant’, OE *cuml* ‘swelling, wound’, Lith *gūmstu* ‘seize, grasp’, OCS *žimo* ‘press’, Grk *gémō* ‘am full’, Arm *čmlem* ‘press together’); **treud-* ‘thrust, press’ (e.g. OIr *trom* ‘oppressive’, Lat *trūdō* ‘thrust’, Goth *us-þriutan* ‘bother, persecute’, OCS *truditi*

se ‘exert oneself’, Alb *tredh* ‘castrate’); **kem-* ‘± press together’ (e.g. NE *hamper*, Lith *kamúoti* ‘press together’, Rus *komítĩ* ‘press into a ball’, Grk *kōmos* ‘band of revellers (= crowd)’, Arm *k’amel* ‘press, squeeze, filter’); **gen-* ‘± compress’ which underlies many extended forms, e.g. NE *knock*, *knife*, dialectal Grk *knuzóō* ‘draw together’. A Greek-Indic isogloss is seen in **pisd-* ‘press’ (Grk *piézō* ‘press’, Skt *pīḍáyati* ‘presses’).

22.6 Inflation

The vocabulary associated with swelling and blowing is rich in Proto-Indo-European and is listed below in Table 22.7.

The semantic field of the derivatives of **bhleu-* ‘swell, overflow’ is rather varied and none specifically means ‘swell’ but rather ‘roar’ (Baltic, e.g. Lith *bljauju*), ‘spew’ (Slavic, e.g. OCS *bljujō*), and ‘gush, teem, overflow’ (Grk *phléō*). Extended forms in **-d*, however, include Toch B *plutk-* ‘swell’ and Grk *phludāō* ‘have an excess of moisture’; an extended form in **-g-* yields Lat *fluō* ‘flow’ and *flūmen* ‘river’, Grk *phlúzō* ‘boil up, boil over’. The meaning ‘swell’ is better attested in **bhelgh-*, e.g. OIr *bolgaid* ‘swells’, OHG *belgan* ‘swell up’, and it underlies the widespread PIE **bhólghis* ‘bag’. A metaphorical use of ‘swell’ is to be found in **keuh₁-* whose semantics may either focus on pregnancy, e.g. Lat *inciēns* ‘pregnant’, Grk *kuéō* ‘am pregnant’, or the concept of ‘swells with power, be powerful’, e.g. Skt *śváyati* ‘swells, becomes powerful’ which in derived forms yields NWels *cawr* ‘giant’, Grk *kúrios* ‘lord’, and ‘powerful’ in Indo-Iranian (e.g. Av *sūra-*, Skt *śūra-*). Similarly, **teuh_a-* ‘swell’ also means

Table 22.7. *Inflation*

<i>*bhleu-</i>	‘swell, overflow’	Grk <i>phléō</i>
<i>*bhelgh-</i>	‘swell’	
<i>*keuh₁-</i>	‘swell, grow great with child’	Lat <i>inciēns</i> , Grk <i>kuéō</i> , Skt <i>śváyati</i>
<i>*teuh_a-</i>	‘swell (with power), grow fat’	Grk <i>sáos</i> , Skt <i>távīti</i>
<i>*h₂weh₁-</i>	‘blow’	Grk <i>áēsi</i> , Skt <i>vāti</i>
<i>*bhel-</i>	‘blow, blow up, swell’	Lat <i>flō</i> , NE <i>blow</i> , Grk <i>phallós</i> , Skt <i>bhāṇa-</i>
<i>*peis-</i>	‘blow to make a noise’	Lat <i>spīrō</i> , Skt <i>picchorā</i>
<i>*swei-</i>	‘blow to hiss or buzz’	Grk <i>sízō</i> , Skt <i>kṣvédati</i>
<i>*p(h)eu-</i>	‘blow, swell’	Lat <i>pustula</i> , Grk <i>phūsa</i> , Skt <i>púsyati</i>
<i>*per-</i>	‘blow (on a fire)’	Grk <i>préthō</i>
<i>*bhes-</i>	‘blow’	Grk <i>psúkhō</i> , Skt <i>bábhasti</i>

‘powerful’ or ‘strong’ (e.g. Av *tav-* ‘be capable of’, Skt *távīti* ‘is strong, powerful’). This word may take a literal meaning of ‘fat’ as well (rather than pregnant) with the interesting contrast in meanings between ORus *tyju* ‘become fat’ and Grk *sáos* ‘healthy’. The **tuh_{as}-k̑mto-* ‘fat-hundred’ is the basis for ‘thousand’ (see Section 19.1) in Germanic (e.g. NE *thousand*), Baltic (Lith *tūkstantis*), and Slavic (OCS *tysešta*) and Tocharian ‘ten thousand’ (e.g. ToCh B *tumane*).

The clearest root designating ‘blow’ is **h₂weh₁-* with derivatives (including extended forms) in nine Indo-European groups (e.g. OE *wāwan* ‘blow’, OCS *věžjati* ‘blow’, Grk *áesi* ‘blows’, Av *vāiti* ‘blows’, Skt *vāti* ‘blows’). The verbal form universally means ‘blow’ while the nominalized participle **h₂weh₁-ntos* gives us our Proto-Indo-European word for ‘wind’, e.g. NWels *gwynt*, Lat *ventus*, NE *wind*, Hit *huwant-*, Skt *vāta-*, ToCh B *yente*. The verb ‘blow’ is also attested by **bhel-* although only Germanic and Italic (e.g. NE *blow*, Lat *flo* ‘blow’) retain the verbal sense while other groups have nominalized the root, e.g. Lat *follis* ‘leather sack inflated with air’; two groups (OIr *ball ferda* and Grk *phallós*) employ the root to form their words for ‘penis’. In Indic we have a different kind of metaphorical transfer in Skt *bhāṇḍa-* ‘pot’. To ‘blow to make a noise’ is indicated by **peis-* which means ‘to whistle’ in OCS *piskati* and ‘flute’ in Skt *picchorā*; more prosaically we have OE *fisting* ‘fart’, but a simple ‘blow’ in Lat *spīrō* and ‘blow an instrument’ in ToCh A *pis-*. Another musical ‘blow’ is to be seen in **(k)swei-*, e.g. OIr *sēitid* ‘blows’, OCS *svistati* ‘whistle’, Grk *sízō* ‘crackle’, Skt *kṣvédati* ‘buzzes, hums, murmurs’, and the extended form in Goth *swiglōn* ‘play the flute’. A root **p(h)eu-*, surely onomatopoeic in origin, and its extended forms may have originally meant ‘swell’ or ‘blow’; literal meanings such as Grk *phūsa* ‘wind, blast’ exist alongside other cognates that indicate an inflated shape, e.g. both OPrus *pounian* and Grk *pugē* mean ‘buttocks’, Rus *púlja* means ‘ball’, and Mİr *ūan* mean ‘foam’. Associations with burning or smoke in OCS and Greek suggest that **per-* might have meant ‘blow on a fire’ (e.g. OCS *para* ‘steam, smoke’, Grk *préthō* ‘blow, pímprēmi ‘burn’, Hit *p(a)rāi-* ‘breathe, blow’). A Greek-Indic-Tocharian isogloss has been suggested to support **bhes-* ‘blow’ (Grk *psúkhō* ‘cool off’ [*<**cool off by blowing?], Skt *bābhasti* ‘blows’, ToCh B *pās-* ‘whisper’).

There are few regional terms. From the North-West comes **bhreus-* ‘swell’ (e.g. OIr *brū* ‘belly, breast’, NE *breast*, Rus *brostī* ‘bud’) and from the West Central region: **bhlei-* ‘± become inflated’ (Latv *blīstu* ‘become thick’, Grk *phlidáo* ‘overflow of moisture’), an enlargement on Proto-Indo-European *bhel-* ‘blow’; **haeid-* ‘swell’ (e.g. OHG *eiz* ‘abscess’, Lat *aemidus* ‘swollen’, Grk *oidéō* ‘swell’, *Oidípous* ‘Oedipus’ [literally ‘swollen-foot’], Arm *aytnum* ‘swell’).

22.7 Extend

A number of words, grouped together under the general meaning of ‘extend’, ‘stretch’, or ‘hang’, are listed in Table 22.8.

Nine groups provide evidence for a PIE **h₃reǵ-* ‘extend’ which provides the base for two other important concepts: ‘correct’ and ‘king’. The semantic field normally covered by the cognate forms is ‘extend’ or ‘stretch’ (e.g. OIr *rigid* ‘stretches’, OE *reccan* ‘stretch out; be concerned about’ [> NE *reck*], Lith *rėžti* ‘stretch’, Grk *orégō* ‘stretch’, Skt *ṛñjáti* ‘stretches’) but in Lat *regō* ‘direct in a straight line’ and Av *rāzayeiti* ‘adjusts, arranges’, we find the notion of ‘order’ which provides the semantic link to **h₃reǵtos* ‘right, correct’, i.e. ‘ordered’, and **h₃rēǵs* ‘ruler, king’, perhaps ‘one who puts/keeps things in order’ (see Section 17.1). A root **ten-* ‘stretch’ is well attested, both in its root form and with various extensions (e.g. Lat *tendō* ‘stretch’, OE *þenian* ‘stretch’, Lith *tinti* ‘swell’, Alb *ndej* ‘extend, stretch, spread’, Grk *tanúō* ‘stretch’, Skt *tanóti* ‘expands, stretches’). It yields such derivatives as Lat *tenuis* ‘thin’ and NE *thin*, as well as a participial form **tē-tó-s* which is reflected perfectly in Lat *tentus*, Grk *tatós*, and Skt *tatá-* ‘stretched’. The same root with an *s*-extension, **ten-s-*, yields ‘pull’ if the Germanic and Baltic cognates in the West (e.g. OHG *dinsan* ‘pull’, Lith *tėsti* ‘stretch, pull’) and the corresponding Indic word (Skt *taṃsayati* ‘draws to and fro’) are not independent creations. Also meaning ‘pull’ is **teng(h)-* where the verbal meaning is retained in Slavic and Iranian (OCS *ras-tego* ‘pull apart’, Av *θang-* ‘pull’) but the word has been nominalized in both Latin and Germanic to refer to the ‘pole’ on a vehicle (e.g. Lat *tēmō* ‘chariot pole’, OE *þīxl* ‘wagon-pole, shaft’). The set of cognates that suggests a **ten-p-*, which through assimilation is reconstructed as **temp-* ‘stretch’, shows such wide semantic variation that the status of some of the cognate forms is not

Table 22.8. *Extend*

<i>*h₃reǵ-</i>	‘extend, stretch’	Lat <i>regō</i> , NE <i>reck</i> , Grk <i>orégō</i> , Skt <i>ṛñjáti</i>
<i>*ten-</i>	‘stretch’	Lat <i>tendō</i> , Grk <i>tanúō</i> , Skt <i>tanóti</i>
<i>*temp-</i>	‘stretch’	Lat <i>tempus</i> ?
<i>*teng(h)-</i>	‘pull’	Lat <i>tēmō</i>
<i>*ten-s-</i>	‘pull’	Skt <i>taṃsayati</i>
<i>*seik-</i>	‘reach for’	Grk <i>híkō</i>
<i>*pleth₂-</i>	‘spread out’	Lat <i>plantō</i> , Skt <i>práthati</i>
<i>*ster-</i>	‘spread out’	Lat <i>struō</i> , NE <i>strew</i> , Grk <i>stórñūmi</i> , Skt <i>strñóti</i>
<i>*kōnk-</i>	‘hang’	Lat <i>cunctor</i> , NE <i>hang</i> , Skt <i>sánkate</i>
<i>*lamb- ~ *remb-</i>	‘hang down’	Lat <i>limbus</i> , Skt <i>rámbate</i>

entirely secure. Baltic (e.g. Lith *tẽmpti* ‘stretch out, pull out’) shows the meaning ‘stretch’ while Germanic (ON *þambr*) and Slavic (OCS *topŭ*) show ‘thick’ (and not ‘thin’!). The Tocharian cognate, e.g. Toch A *tampe*, means ‘power’ (and Toch AB *cāmp-* ‘be able to’) while Lat *tempus* ‘time’ which is set here by some suggests conceiving of time as a linear object, a concept that we have no problem with today but which raises problems when extrapolated into antiquity. A root **seik-* ‘reach for’ can mean ‘reach with the hands’ as in Lith *siekti* ‘reach for something’, but Toch B *sik-* ‘set foot’, i.e. ‘reach out the foot’, indicates that the lower limbs may be also envisaged; the latter would also seem to be the case with Grk *hikō* ‘arrive, reach’. A root **pleth₂-* ‘spread out’ (e.g. OIr *lethaid* ‘extends, expands’, Lat *plantō* ‘plant’, Lith *plečiù* ‘widen, spread out’, Skt *práthati* ‘spreads out’) also yields the widespread adjectival form **p_lth₂ús* ‘broad, wide’ (see Section 18.5). A productive root **ster-* occurs with several enlargements, e.g. Lat *struō* ‘build up’ and *sternō* ‘spread out’, NE *strew*, Alb *shtrij* ‘stretch’, Grk *stórnūmi* ‘spread out’, Av *stərənaoiti* ~ *stərənāiti* ‘spreads out’, Skt *stṛhóti* ~ *stṛhāti* ‘spreads out’).

There are two forms for ‘hang’. A root **konk-* is well attested in this meaning in Germanic (e.g. NE *hang*) and Hit *kank-* ‘hang’ but has undergone a shift to an emotional state in Indic, e.g. Skt *sáṅkate* ‘doubts, fears’ (as in ‘left hanging’), while Lat *cunctor* ‘delay’ would seem to be ‘hang about’. A word **lemb-* or **remb-* ‘hang down’ retains this meaning in Skt *rámbrate* ‘hangs down’ and is nominalized in Lat *limbus* ‘hem, border’.

From the North-West we have **reiġ-* ‘extend, stretch out (a body part)’ (e.g. OIr *ringid* ‘twists, tortures’, NE *reach*, Lith *reižti* ‘stretch, tighten’) and **kleh_a-* ‘spread out flat’ (e.g. Lith *klóju* ‘spread out’, and with extensions NE *lade*, OCS *kladq* ‘load, lay’); and from the West Central region: **peth_a-* ‘spread out (the arms)’ (Lat *pandō* ‘spread out’, NE *fathom*, Grk *pítnēmi* ‘spread out’) where not only Germanic but also Celtic, e.g. OWels *etem* ‘fathom’, and Lat *passus* ‘step, fathom’, all employ the root as a unit of measurement, the ‘fathom’.

22.8 Throw

Words indicating ‘throw’ are listed in Table 22.9.

A verb **(s)keud-* ‘throw’ is attested by cognates in Germanic (e.g. NE *shoot*), Slavic (e.g. Rus *kidátī* ‘throw’), and Alb *hedh* which all mean ‘throw’ and, in the East, Skt *códati* ‘incites’ and Tocharian. The Tocharian cognates, e.g. Toch B *kaume*, indicate the ‘shoot of a plant’, a semantic development paralleled in English where the same part of a plant derives ultimately from the Middle English verb *shooten* ‘throw’. An alternative root with the same meaning is **h₁es-* ‘throw’

Table 22.9. *Throw*

<i>*(s)keud-</i>	‘throw, shoot’	NE <i>shoot</i> , Skt <i>códati</i>
<i>*h₁es-</i>	‘throw, hurl’	Skt <i>ásyati</i>
<i>*g^welh₁-</i>	‘throw’	Grk <i>bállō</i>
<i>*swep-</i>	‘throw, sweep’	Lat <i>supō</i> , NE <i>sweep</i> , Skt <i>svapú</i>
<i>*smeit-</i>	‘throw’	Lat <i>mittō</i>
<i>*pers-</i>	‘sprinkle’	Skt <i>pṛṣat-</i>
<i>*sper-</i>	‘strew, sow’	Grk <i>speirō</i>
<i>*(s)ked-</i>	‘scatter’	NE <i>scatter</i> , Grk <i>skidnēmi</i>

which is attested in Hittite and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Hit *siyēzi* ‘throws, hurls’, Av *as-* ‘throw’, Skt *ásyati* ‘throws, hurls’). The root **g^welh₁-* ‘throw’ supplies the same meaning again (e.g. NWels *blif* ‘catapult’, Grk *bállō* ‘throw’, Av *nī-yar-* ‘be thrown down’). Although **swep-* ‘throw’ retains its verbal meanings in Latin (e.g. *supō* ‘throw’) and Slavic (e.g. OCS *sŭpŭ* ‘strew, pour about’), it is often nominalized into an object that is either thrown or might make a sweeping motion, e.g. ON *svāf* ‘spear’ and *sōfl* ‘broom’, Skt *svapú* ‘broom’, and Toch B *sopi* ‘net, snare, throwing net’. A possible Latin-Avestan isogloss suggests **smeit-* ‘throw’ (Lat *mittō* ‘let go, send’, Av *maēθ-* ‘throw’).

Semantically more distant are words for ‘sprinkle’ and ‘scatter’. A root **pers-* ‘sprinkle’ indicates either the verbal action, e.g. Hit *pappars-* and Toch AB *pārs-*, both ‘sprinkle’, or the type of material that might be sprinkled, e.g. Skt *pṛṣat-* ‘drop’, OCS *prachŭ* ‘dust’, or from which one might be sprinkled, e.g. ON *fors* ‘waterfall’. The alternation between verbal form and nominalization is also seen in **sper-* ‘strew, sow’ where both Grk *speirō* and Hit *ispāri* retains the verbal forms and OHG *sprāt* ‘scattering’ the underlying meaning, but we also have Alb *farë* and Grk *spërma*, both ‘seed’, and more distantly, OIr *sreb* ‘stream’. Another word for ‘scatter’ is **(s)ked-* with cognates in Germanic, Baltic, Greek, and Tocharian (e.g. NE *scatter*, Lith *kedėti* ‘burst’, Grk *skidnēmi* ‘scatter, strew, sprinkle’, Toch AB *kätnā-* ‘scatter, strew, sow’).

From the North-West: **sperh₂g-* ‘strew, sprinkle’ (Lat *spargō* ‘strew’, NE *spark* and *sprinkle*); from the West Central area we have a Latin (*iaciō*)-Greek (*hiēmī*) correspondence that attests a **yeh₁-* ‘throw’.

22.9 Clean

There are four words associated with ‘cleaning’ or ‘washing’ that may be attributed to Proto-Indo-European.

Widespread are cognates derived from **neig^w*- ‘wash’ which carries that meaning in Celtic (OIr *nigid*), Grk *nízō*, and Indo-Iranian (Av *naēnižaiti* ‘washes’, Skt *nénekti* ‘washes’) although there are problems with the Irish form (as Proto-Indo-European **g^w* > Celtic *b* and not *g*). Tocharian *lik*- ‘wash’ may belong here too, if the initial *l*- can be explained as resulting from the contamination of some other root (e.g. **leuh_l*- ‘wash’). PIE **neig^w*- also exhibits a derived form **nig^w-tos* ‘washed’, seen in OIr *necht*, Grk *ániptos* ‘unwashed’, and Skt *niktá*-. In Germanic the root is nominalized to designate a ‘water spirit’, e.g. NE *nix* ~ *nixie*. An Anatolian (Hit *ārr(a)*-)-Tocharian (Toch A *yär*-) isogloss secures **h₁erh_x*- ‘wash’. The precise semantics of **m(e)uh_x*- ‘wash’ presents an interesting puzzle. In Baltic (e.g. OPrus *amūsnan*), Slavic (OCS *myjo*), and Cypriot Grk *mulásasthai*, the cognates all mean ‘wash’; however, in both MİR *mūm* and Skt *mūtra*- the meaning of the nominal derivatives found in those languages is ‘urine’. Some have suggested that the meaning here has shifted from ‘wash’ to ‘dirt’ although it should be noted that urine was employed by the Romans as a mouthwash and was a component of toothpastes and mouthwashes up the eighteenth century; in India, the walls of a room might be washed in cow’s urine to honour a guest, so there is some evidence that the notion of urine as a cleanser is of Proto-Indo-European age. A verbal root **peuh_x*- ‘clean’ is found in both Germanic (OHG *fowen* ‘sieve, clean grain’) and Skt *paváyati* ‘cleanses’ and in various derivatives, e.g. **puh_x-to-s* ‘cleaned’ (e.g. Lat *putus* ‘clean’, Av *pūtika*- ‘serving as purification’, Skt *pūtá*- ‘clean’) and **puh_x-ro-s* ‘clean’ (e.g. OIr *ūr* ‘new, fresh’, Lat *pūrus* ‘pure’).

There are two West Central regional words: **kleu*- ‘clean’ (OLat *cloāca* ‘gutter’, OE *hlūttor* ‘clean’, Lith *šlūoju* ‘sweep’, Grk *klúzō* ‘wash’) and **leuh_l*- ‘wash, bathe’, (Lat *lavō* ‘wash’, Grk *louō* ‘wash’, Arm *loganam* ‘bathe, wash myself’). There is also a Greek-Indic isogloss in **h_aidhrós* ‘pure’ (Grk *itharós* ‘glad; pure’, Skt *vīdhrá*- [*< *wi-h_aidhro*- ‘burned away’] ‘clean, pure’ which derives from **h_aeidh*- ‘burn’ and may either be inherited or independent developments).

22.10 Movement

There are a considerable number of roots that have been reconstructed with the general semantic field of ‘set in motion’ or ‘move’. In some cases, the recon-

Table 22.10. *Clean*

<i>*neig^w</i> -	‘wash’	Grk <i>nízō</i> , Skt <i>nénekti</i>
<i>*h₁erh_x</i> -	‘wash’	
<i>*m(e)uh_x</i> -	‘wash (in urine?)’	Grk <i>mulásasthai</i> , Skt <i>mūtra</i> -
<i>*peuh_x</i> -	‘clean’	Skt <i>paváyati</i>

structed meanings are reasonably justified by the evidence from the various Indo-European groups while in other cases they reflect an act of semantic desperation to attempt to find a common core that might account for a wide range of meanings that have something vaguely to do with motion. The list of movement words is found in Table 22.11.

Both **h₁er-* ‘set in motion (horizontally)’ and **h₃er-* ‘set in motion (vertically)’ seem assured for Proto-Indo-European but their similarity in meaning made them liable to confusion, probably even before the loss of laryngeals made them largely homophonous. Surely belonging to the first are Grk *érkhomai* ‘set out; come; got’ and Skt *ṛcchāti* ‘goes towards, reaches’; while surely belonging to the second is Lat *orior* ‘rise’ (whence NE *orient*). There is a set of forms with a **neu-*present, i.e. Skt *ṛnóti* ‘sets in motion’, Av *ərənaoiti* ‘sets in motion’, Grk *ornūmi* ‘stir up’, and Arm *y-arnem* ‘stand up’ which would seem to have both meanings. Finally there is Hit *arta* ‘stands, is present, occurs’ which must reflect **h₁er-* but which is semantically compatible only with **h₃er-*.

For the root **h₁eis-* the Indo-Iranian cognates, e.g. Skt *iṣṇāti* and Av *aēš-*, do indicate ‘set in motion’ while other cognates indicate slightly different activities, e.g. ON *eisa* ‘go dashing’ or, further removed, Grk *ináō* ‘pour’. The derivatives of a root **kei-* also generally indicate ‘set in motion’ (e.g. Lat *cieō* ‘set in motion’, Grk *seúō* ‘set in motion’, Arm *c‘vem* ‘set off’, Av

Table 22.11. *Movement*

<i>*h₁er-</i>	‘set in motion (horizontally)’	Grk <i>érkhomai</i> , Skt <i>ṛcchāti</i>
<i>*h₃er-</i>	‘set in motion (vertically)’	Lat <i>orior</i>
<i>*h₁eis-</i>	‘set in motion’	Grk <i>ináō</i> , Skt <i>iṣṇāti</i>
<i>*kei-</i>	‘set in motion’	Lat <i>cieō</i> , Grk <i>seúō</i> , Skt <i>cyávate</i>
<i>*h₂lei-</i>	‘set in motion’	Grk <i>áleison</i>
<i>*yeudh-</i>	‘set in motion, stir up’	Lat <i>iubeō</i> , Grk <i>husmíne</i> , Skt <i>yúdhryate</i>
<i>*wegh-</i>	‘shake, set in motion’	Lat <i>vexāre</i> , NE <i>wag</i> , Grk <i>gaiē-okhos</i>
(* <i>wegh-</i> ?)		
<i>*seuh₃-</i>	‘set in motion’	Skt <i>suvāti</i>
<i>*neik-</i>	‘begin’	
<i>*meu(h_x)-</i>	‘move’	Lat <i>moveō</i> , Grk <i>ameúsasthai</i> , Skt <i>mívati</i>
<i>*meus-</i>	‘move; remove’	Skt <i>muṣṇāti</i>
<i>*dheu(h_x)-</i>	‘be in (com)motion’	Lat <i>suf-fiō</i> , Grk <i>thúō</i> , Skt <i>dhūnóti</i>
<i>*h₁rei-</i>	‘move’	NE <i>run</i> , Grk <i>orínō</i> , Skt <i>riṇvati</i>
<i>*h₁eig-</i>	‘move’	Grk <i>epeígō</i> , Skt <i>éjati</i>
<i>*selǵ-</i>	‘release, send out’	Skt <i>srjáti</i>
<i>*TerK-</i>	‘release, allow’	

š(y)avaite ‘sets off’, Skt *cyávate* ‘goes forth’; Alb *qoj* means ‘wake’). The root **h₂lei-*, however, retains ‘set in motion’ only in Anatolian (e.g. Hit *halā(i)-*) but elsewhere is associated with liquids, either in a verbal sense, e.g. Lith *lėju* ‘pour’, OCS *lějo* ‘pour’, or nominalized into some form of liquid, e.g. OHG *lith* ‘fruit wine’, OIr *lie* ‘sea’, or something associated with liquids, e.g. Lat *litus* ‘beach’ Grk *áleison* ‘cup’. The semantic field of **yeudh-* ‘set in motion’ (e.g. Lat *iubeō* ‘order’, Lith *judù* ‘move oneself, stir’, Pol *judzić* ‘incite’, Av *yaozaiti* ‘becomes agitated [of water and emotions]’, Toch A *yutk-* ‘become upset, worry’) also includes specialized developments associated with combat, e.g. Grk *husmīnē* ‘combat’, Skt *yūdhyate* ‘fights’. A ‘shaking motion’ lies behind a number of the cognates derived from **wegh-* or **weġh-*, e.g. Lat *vexāre* ‘shake, vex’, Goth *wagjan* ‘shake’, and Grk *gaiē-okhos* ‘earth-shaking’ (cf. also Tocharian *wāsk-/wäsk-* ‘move, budge, have motion [intr.]; move [tr.]’). A root **seuh₃-* ‘set in motion’ retains this precise meaning in Skt *suváti* (cf. also OIr *soid* ‘twists, turns’, Hit *suwāi-* ‘push, urge’, Av *hunāiti* ‘seeks to create; drives forward’, Toch B *šewi* ‘pretext, excuse’); in Anatolian we have both Hit *sunna-* ‘fill’ and Palaic *sūnat* ‘poured out’, which suggests again an association with liquids. We also have **neik-* ‘begin’ attested in Baltic (e.g. Lith *u-ninkù* ‘begin’), OCS *vŭz-nŭknoti* ‘regain consciousness’, and Hit *nini(n)k-* ‘start up, mobilize’.

We can reconstruct a meaning ‘move’ for at least three roots. A widespread root is **meu(h_x)-* (e.g. Lat *moveō* ‘set in motion’, Lith *mājuju* ‘put on or off’, Grk *ameúsasthai* ‘surpass, outstrip; pass over’, Hit *mauszi* ‘falls’, Av *ava-mīva-* ‘take away’, Skt *mívati* ‘shoves, moves, sets in motion’, to Toch B *miw-* ‘shake’ which also appears in an old enlarged form **meus-* where the semantics suggests not so much ‘move’ as ‘remove’, e.g. OHG *chrēo-mōsido* ‘grave-robbers’, Khot *muśśa* ‘robbers’, Skt *muṣṇāti* ‘steals’, Toch AB *musnā-* ‘lift, move [aside]’, *musk-* ‘disappear’, *mās-* ‘go’; the verb would appear to underlie the root noun **mūs* ‘mouse’, i.e. the ‘stealer’ (see Section 9.1). A root **dheu(h_x)-* indicates movement in the sense of ‘being stirred up (like dust or smoke)’, e.g. Lat *suf-fiō* ‘smoke’, ON *dýja* ‘shake’, Goth *dauns* ‘dust, smoke’, Lith *dujā* ‘dust’, OCS *duņq* ‘blow’, Alb *deh* ‘intoxicate, make drunk’, Grk *thúō* ‘rush on’, Arm *dedevim* ‘shake’, Av *dvažaiti* ‘flutters’, Skt *dhūnóti* ‘shakes, moves about; kindles a flame’, *dhūli-* ‘dust’, Toch B *tweye* ‘dust’. The movement indicated by **h₁rei-* often suggests both ‘run’ and ‘flow’, e.g. NE *run*, OCS *vy-rinoti* ‘thrust out’, Skt *rínvati* ‘lets flow’; Greek shows semantic extensions, e.g. Grk *orínō* ‘stir’, *erínúō* ‘be angry with’, i.e. ‘be stirred up’, Toch AB *rin-* ‘renounce’. A possible root **h₁eig-* ‘move’ is based on ON *eikinn* ‘furious’, OCS *igrati* ‘play’, Grk *ep-eígō* ‘drive on’, and Skt *ējati* ‘stirs’. PIE **selġ-* ‘release, send out’ can be found in Celtic where it is associated with hunting, i.e. releasing hunting dogs? (OIr *selg* ‘hunt’), Germanic (e.g. MHG *silken* ‘drip’),

and Indo-Iranian (Av *hərəzaiti*, Skt *syjáti*, both ‘releases’). And, finally, a Hittite (*tarna-* ‘let, release’)-Tocharian (Toch AB *tärk-* ‘let go, allow’) isogloss suggests a PIE **TerK-* ‘release’. Both languages reflect a PIE present stem **TrK-neh_a-*.

From the North-West (a Celtic-Italic isogloss) we have **pelh_a-* ‘set in motion’ (e.g. OIr *ad-ella* ‘seeks’, Lat *pellō* ‘push’). Indo-Iranian and Tocharian offer two isoglosses: **kerh_x-* ‘propel’ (Skt *kiráti* ‘pour out, throw’, Toch B *kärsk-* ‘propel’) and **weip-* ‘set in motion, agitate’ (e.g. Av *vip-* ‘throw, ejaculate’, Skt *vépati* ‘trembles’, Toch B *wip-* ‘shake’).

22.11 Pour and Flow

Gathered here in Table 22.12 are those words that are specifically concerned with the movement of liquids, either transitively, i.e. ‘pour’, or intransitively, i.e. ‘flow’.

The meaning ‘pour’ is clearly reconstructed for **gheu-* where its reflexes either appear in the verbal form, e.g. Grk *khé(w)ō* ‘pour’, Toch AB *ku-* ‘pour’, or nominalized either as the object from which something is poured, e.g. Lat *fūtis* ‘pitcher’, Av *zaoθra-* ‘libation’, or the one who does the pouring, e.g. Skt *hótar-* ‘priest’ who *juhóti* ‘pours out the sacrificial libation’. We also have **seik-* ‘pour’ where it means ‘strain’ in Grk *ikmázō* and ‘sprinkles’ in Indo-Iranian, e.g. Av *hičaiti*, Skt *siñcáti*; and ‘overflow’ in Toch A *sik-*; the now obsolete NE *syē* ‘sink’ belongs here and probably also Lat *siat* ‘urinates’ (in baby talk). Only Hittite retains the verbal meaning of **leh₂-* ‘pour, make flow’, i.e. *lahhuzi* ‘overflows, pours’ (and also *lahni-* ‘bottle, pitcher’); elsewhere we only have nominalizations, e.g. Lat *lāma* ‘bog’, Grk *lénós* ‘tub’, Toch B *lāñe* ‘flood’.

Table 22.12. *Pour and flow*

<i>*gheu-</i>	‘pour’	Lat <i>fūtis</i> , Grk <i>khé(w)ō</i> , Skt <i>juhóti</i>
<i>*seik-</i>	‘pour out; overflow’	Lat <i>siat</i> , NE <i>syē</i> , Grk <i>ikmázō</i> , Skt <i>siñcáti</i>
<i>*leh₂-</i>	‘pour, wet, make flow’	Lat <i>lāma</i> , Grk <i>lénós</i>
<i>*h₁ers-</i>	‘flow’	Lat <i>errō</i> , Grk <i>aperāō</i> Skt <i>ārṣati</i>
<i>*h₁reih_x-</i>	‘move’	Skt <i>riñāti</i>
<i>*g^wel(s)-</i>	‘well up, flow’	Grk <i>phūō</i> , Skt <i>gálati</i>
<i>*h_ael-</i>	‘well up, flow’	Skt <i>árma-</i>
<i>*sreu-</i>	‘flow’	Grk <i>rhéō</i> , Skt <i>srávati</i>
<i>*weis-</i>	‘ooze out’	NE <i>ooze</i> , Skt <i>aveṣan</i>

Verbal roots for ‘move’ and ‘run’ may either have encompassed the movement of liquids as well or have served as the base (with extensions) to form new words for ‘flow’. One such possible enlargement is from **h₁er-* ‘move’ where we have **h₁ers-* ‘flow’. The original verbal meaning is attested in Hit *arszi* ‘flows’, Skt *ārṣati* ‘flows’, Grk *aperáo* ‘pour out’, while in the West the word has come to mean ‘go off course’, e.g. Lat *errō* ‘go astray’, OHG *irran* ‘confused’ (with a somewhat different semantic specialization we have Arm *erām* ‘seethe, be disquieted’). Another extended form, the verbal root **h₁reih_x-* ‘move’, has been further extended as **h₁rih_xtis* to give ‘waterfall’ in Celtic (OIr *riathor*), Skt *rīti-* ‘stream, run’, also related is Lat *rīvus* ‘brook’. Both the Germanic and Greek reflexes of **g^wel(s)-* mean ‘well up’, e.g. OHG *quellan*, Grk *blúō*, while Skt *gálati* and Toch B *käls-* mean something like ‘trickle, ooze’. A root **h_ael-* ‘well up, flow’ is based on the connection between Lith *almės* ‘serum, pus’ on the one hand, and Skt *árma-* and Toch B *älme*, both ‘spring’ on the other (cf. also Latv *aluōgs* ‘spring’); to these are also added a number of European river names, e.g. *Almus*, *Alma*. A root **sreu-* ‘flow’ is attested in its basic verbal form, e.g. Lith *sraviù* ‘ooze’, Grk *rhéō* ‘flow’, Arm *ařoganem* ‘moisten’, *srávati* ‘flows’, or in extended forms, e.g. NE *stream*. The verbal root **weis-* survives only in Skt *aveṣan* ‘they flowed’ but it underlies the noun **wis-* ‘poison’, NE *ooze*, and a number of European river names, e.g. *Weser*, *Vistula*.

In the North-West we find **gheud-*, an enlargement of **gheu-* ‘pour’, in Italic (e.g. Lat *fundō* ‘pour’) and Germanic (e.g. NHG *giessen*). In the West Central area is **del-* ‘flow’ (e.g. NE *tallow*), **ser-* ‘flow’ (which underlies **sreu-* above), seen in verbal form solely in Mİr *sirid* ‘wanders through’ but nominalized elsewhere, e.g. Lat *serum* ‘whey’, Alb *gjizë* ‘whey, cheese’, Grk *orós* ‘whey’, Toch B *řarwiye* ‘cheese’; **leg-* ‘drip, trickle’ (e.g. OIr *legaid* ‘perishes, melts’, NE *leach*, Arm *lič* ‘bog’) and **stag-* ‘seep, drip’ (e.g. Lat *stāgnum* ‘standing water’, Grk *stázō* ‘drip’). A Greek-Indo-Iranian isogloss is seen in **dhg^wher-* ‘flow (away)’, e.g. Grk *phtheirō* ‘ruin, waste’, Av *γzaraiti* ‘flows’, Skt *kṣārati* ‘flows, perishes’.

22.12 Come and Go

The concepts of ‘come’ and ‘go’ are so basic that we are hardly surprised that there are a large number of roots associated with these concepts. They are listed in Table 22.13.

There are two variants of the basic root ‘come’, **g^wem-* (Lat *veniō* ‘come’, NE *come*, Grk *bainō* ‘come’, Skt *gácchati* ‘goes’, Toch B *kām-* ‘come’; in Baltic there has been a semantic specialization to ‘come into the world’, e.g. Lith *gimù* ‘am

Table 22.13. *Come and go*

*g ^w em-	‘come’	Lat <i>veniō</i> , NE <i>come</i> , Grk <i>bainō</i> , Skt <i>gáčhati</i>
*g ^w eh _a -	‘come’	Grk <i>bibánti</i> , Skt <i>jígāti</i>
*h ₁ ei-	‘go’	Lat <i>eō</i> , Grk <i>eîmi</i> , Skt <i>éti</i>
*h _a et-	‘go’	Lat <i>annus</i> , Skt <i>átati</i>
*sed-	‘go’	Skt <i>ā-sad-</i>
*sent-	‘go’	NE <i>send</i>
*yeh _a -	‘go, travel’	Skt <i>yāti</i>
*leit(h _x)-	‘go away, go forth’	NE <i>lead</i> , Grk <i>loiteuō</i>
*h ₁ leudh-	‘go (out)’	Grk <i>êluthon</i>
*seh ₁ (i)-	‘go forward, advance’	Grk <i>îthúō</i> , Skt <i>sádhate</i>
*per-	‘pass through’	Lat <i>portāre</i> , NE <i>fare</i> , Grk <i>peráō</i> , Skt <i>píparti</i>
*terh ₂ -	‘bring across; overcome’	Lat <i>intrāre</i> , Grk <i>trānēs</i> , Skt <i>tárati</i>
*tem-	‘reach, attain’	Grk <i>témei</i>
*h ₁ enek-	‘attain’	Lat <i>nanciō</i> , Grk <i>enegkeîn</i> , Skt <i>ásnóti</i> – <i>násati</i>
*serK-	‘pass, surpass’	
?*ked-	‘± pass through’	Lat <i>cēdō</i>
*steigh-	‘step (up), go’	Grk <i>steikhō</i> , Skt <i>stighnóti</i>
*ghhengh-	‘step, walk’	Skt <i>jámhas-</i>
*ghredh-	‘step, go’	Lat <i>gradior</i>
*spleigh-	‘step, go’	Grk <i>plíssomai</i> , Skt <i>pléhate</i>

born’). Related in root but less clearly indicating motion towards the speaker is *g^weh_a-, e.g. OIr *baid* ‘dies’, Latv *gāju* ‘go’, dialectal Grk *bibánti* ‘they stride’, Skt *jígāti* ‘goes’. This alteration *g^wem-: *g^weh_a- is paralleled in the verbal root ‘to run’, i.e. *drem-*: *dreh_a- (see Section 22.14).

The basic (or at least most widely attested) verb for ‘go’ is *h₁ei- which is found in all major groups save Albanian and Armenian (e.g. Lat *eō* ‘go’, Goth *iddja* ‘went’, Lith *eimi* ‘go’, OCS *iti* ‘go’, Grk *eîmi* ‘will go’, Hit *yanzi* ‘they go’, Av *āēiti* ‘goes’, Skt *éti* ‘goes’, Toch AB *i-* ‘go’). The semantics are regularly ‘go’, e.g. Lat *eō* ‘go’, Grk *eîmi* ‘go’, except for Celtic where it appears as NWels *wyf* ‘am’. Skt *átati* ‘goes’ alone preserves the verbal meaning of *h_aet- ‘go’ which otherwise we find meaning ‘year’, e.g. Lat *annus*, Goth *aþn*. Here the presumed semantic development runs ‘go’ > ‘cycle’ > ‘year’. A root *sed- ‘go’ would be problematic in that it is homophonous with the basic verb ‘sit’. It is preserved as such only in Indo-Iranian and there only with a prefix, e.g. Av *āsnaoiti* ‘approaches’, Skt *ā-sad-* ‘enter’, but is found elsewhere in derived form, e.g. the Greek *o*-grade noun *hodós* ‘way’, OCS *chodŭ* ‘walk’. A verbal root *sent- ‘go’ underlies the Germanic and Baltic words for ‘send’ (e.g. NE *send*, Lith *suntù* ‘send’) but a more general meaning survives in OHG *sinman* ‘go’, Av *hant-* ‘arrive’, and in nominal derivatives such as OIr *sēt* ‘way’, OHG *sind* ‘way, side’,

Arm *ənt'ac* 'way, passage', Toch A *ʃont* 'street'. A verb **yeh_a-*, possibly an iterative-intensive derivative of **h₁ei-*, i.e. **h₁y-eh_a-*, means 'ride' in Baltic and Slavic, e.g. Lith *jóju* 'ride', OCS *jadŭ* 'ride', but simply 'go' in Indo-Iranian (Av *yā-* 'go', Skt *yāti* 'goes, travels') and Tocharian (AB *yā-* 'go, travel').

Other verbs suggest motion in a particular direction. For example, **h₁leudh-* 'go (out)' appears in the form of the same thematic aorist (**h₁leudhét*) in OIr *lod* 'went', Grk *éluthon* 'went', and Toch AB *lac-* 'went out'. The meaning of **leit(h_x)-* would also appear to include 'go away', e.g. Toch B *lit-* 'pass on' (cf. also OE *līðan* 'go, travel', NE *lead*); three groups all suggest an association with death, i.e. Germanic (OHG *beleite* 'burial'), Grk *loiteuō* 'bury', and Iranian (Av *raēθ-* 'die'), suggesting that this verb may also have indicated 'pass away'. Movement that is forward or, perhaps better, 'straight on' seems to have been indicated by **seh₁(i)-* where we have Grk *īthúō* 'press forward', Phryg *sideto* 'succeeded, achieved', and Skt *sádhatē* 'succeeds'; Hit *zāi-* means 'cross over'. To 'go beyond' was **per-*, a verbalization of the preposition **per* 'through'. It is widely attested both as a verbal form, e.g. Lat *portāre* 'lead', NE *fare*, OCS *na-perŭ* 'bore through', *perŭ* 'fly', Alb *sh-pie* 'send, carry, take to, lead', Grk *perāō* 'pass through', *peirō* 'pierce, bore through', Arm *hordan* 'go away', Av *-par-* 'convey across', Skt *pīparti* 'conveys across; saves', and in derived form as the nouns **pértus* 'passage way', e.g. Lat *portus* 'harbour', ON *fjorðr* 'estuary' [whence by borrowing NE *fjord*], NE *ford*, Av *pəratu-* 'bridge'. Another preposition similarly verbalized into a motion was **ter* 'through' which yields **terh₂-* 'bring across; overcome', the second meaning seen in Hit *tarhzi* 'defeats', Skt *tārati* 'overcomes'; we also have Lat *intrāre* 'enter' (cf. also Skt *trāyati* 'protects, shelters', Grk *trānós* 'penetrating, clear'). A Greek (*témei* 'arrives, reaches')–Tocharian (Toch AB *tām-* 'be born') isogloss secures a PIE **tem-* 'reach, attain'; the notion of birth in Tocharian can be compared with the development of PIE **g^wem-* 'come' which yields 'be born' (e.g. Lith *gemu*) in Baltic. A more widely distributed word with the meaning 'attain' is **h₁enek-* which is found in OIr *ro-icc* 'reaches', Lat *nanciō* 'attain', OE *geneah* 'is adequate' (cf. NE *enough*), Lith *nešū* 'carry', OCS *nesŭ* 'carry', Grk *enegkeîn* 'to carry', Arm *hasanem* 'arrive', Skt *ásnōti* ~ *násati* 'gains', and Toch A *ents-* 'take, grasp, seize'. A Hittite-Tocharian isogloss indicates **serK-* 'pass' (Hit *sarku-* 'projecting, immense, powerful', Toch B *šark-* 'pass, surpass, go beyond') while a Latin-Tocharian isogloss gives us **ked-* 'pass through' seen in Lat *cēdō* 'go from', Toch AB *kātk-* 'cross over'.

The original semantics of **steigh-* 'step, go' are imprecise: we have 'stride' in Celtic (OIr *tāgu*), 'climb' in Germanic (e.g. OHG *stīgan*) and Indic (Skt *stighnóti*), 'hurry' in Baltic (e.g. Lith *steigiū*), 'step, go' in Grk *steikhō*, and simple 'come' in OCS *stignŭ*. It provides the basis for several widespread derivatives such as **stíghs* 'step' (e.g. ON *stig* 'step', OCS *stīdza* 'footstep';

street', Grk *stikhos* 'row, line') and **stóigho/eh_a*- 'way' (e.g. OHG *steiga* 'step, way', Alb *shteg* 'path', Grk *stoîkhos* 'row, line'). There are several other words that indicate 'step'. Verbal forms of **ghengh-* 'step' are preserved in Celtic, e.g. OIr *cingid* 'steps', Germanic, e.g. OE *gangan* 'go', Baltic, e.g. Lith *žengiù* 'stride, step', or in nominalized forms, e.g. Av *zanga-* 'ankle', Skt *jámhas-* 'step, wing-beat'. Also reasonably widespread is **ghredh-* 'step, go', seen in, for example, OIr *in-greinn* 'pursue', Lat *gradior* 'stride', *gradus* 'step' (whence by borrowing NE *grade*), Goth *griþs* 'step', Lith *gridyju* 'go, wander about', Rus *grjadù* 'go'. Finally, **spleigh-* 'step, go' is attested verbally in Greek and Indic (Grk *plisso-mai* 'stride out', Skt *pléhate* 'goes') and also shows some interesting nominalization in Grk *plikhás* 'space between the thighs' and OIr *slíasait* 'thigh'.

From the North-West is **meih_x*- 'go', e.g. MWels *mynet* 'go', Lat *meō* 'go, wander', OCS *minq* 'pass away, pass by'. From the West Central area we have **h₁el-* 'go', e.g. MWels *el* 'may go', Grk *elaínō* 'drive', Arm *el* 'climbed, came out'. And if not independently formed in Greek and Indo-Iranian, there is evidence for **peri-h₁es-* 'surpass', i.e. Grk *periesti* 'comes round', Skt *pary asti* 'surpasses'.

22.13 Run and Jump

The vocabulary of motion also includes a variety of words to indicate more specialized activities such as running, hurrying, jumping, and flying, which are listed in Table 22.14.

There are at least four PIE roots for 'move quickly, hurry'. The verbal reflexes of **speud-*, e.g. Lith *spáusti* 'press', Grk *speúdō* 'hurry', and its *o*-grade derivative **spoudeh_a*-, e.g. Lith *spaudà* 'press', Grk *spoudē* 'haste', Arm *p'oyt* 'zeal', NP *poy* 'haste', indicate swift movement (or, in the case of Armenian, a metaphorical extension) while a derived nominal form in Germanic yields the word for 'spear', e.g. OHG *spioz*, whereas Alb *punë* yields the general term for 'work'. NE *spring* derives from a PIE **spergh-* 'move energetically', seen also in Grk *spérkhō* 'drive, press' and with further semantic developments in Indic, e.g. Skt *spṛháyati* 'desires' (cf. Av *ā-spərəza-* 'excited'), and Tocharian, e.g. Toch AB *spärk-* 'disappear, perish'. The root **sel-* 'move quickly' probably has its original meaning preserved in Skt *ucchalati* (< **ud-sal-*) 'hurries forward' (cf. also Toch AB *säl-* 'fly' and *säl-* 'throw [down]') which develops into 'send', Arm *ylem*, OCS *sūljq*, and into 'deliver', e.g. OE *sellan* (NE *sell*); we also have nominalizations of the one delivering, e.g. OCS *sūlū* 'messenger'. A Celtic-Germanic-Tocharian isogloss suggests the existence of **krob-* 'hurry', e.g. OIr *crip* 'quick', ON *hrapa* 'fall, hurry', Toch AB *kārpā-* 'descend, come down, step down'.

Table 22.14. *Run and jump*

*speud-	‘hurry’	Grk <i>speúdō</i>
*sperǵh-	‘move energetically’	NE <i>spring</i> , Grk <i>spérkhō</i> , Skt <i>spháyati</i>
*sel-	‘move quickly’	NE <i>sell</i> and <i>sale</i> , Skt <i>ucchalati</i>
?*krob-	‘hurry’	
*bheg ^w -	‘run’	Grk <i>phébomai</i>
*dreha-	‘run’	Grk <i>édrán</i> , Skt <i>drāti</i>
*drem-	‘run’	Grk <i>drameîn</i> , Skt <i>drámati</i>
*tek-	‘run, flow swiftly’	Skt <i>tákti</i>
*reth ₂ -	‘run’	Skt <i>rátha-</i>
*dhen-	‘run, flow’	Lat <i>fōns</i> , Skt <i>dhānvati</i>
*ķers-	‘run’	Lat <i>currō</i> , Grk <i>epíkouros</i>
*preu-	‘jump’	Skt <i>práivate</i>
*preug-	‘jump’	NE <i>frog</i>
*h ₁ leig-	‘jump’	Grk <i>elelízō</i> , Skt <i>réjate</i>
*lek-	‘jump, scuttle along’	Grk <i>lēkáō</i>
*dher-	‘leap, spring’	Grk <i>thorós</i> , Skt <i>dhārā</i>
*skand-	‘jump’	Lat <i>scandō</i> , Skt <i>skāndati</i>
*skek-	‘± jump’	Skt <i>khacati</i>
*pet(h _a)-	‘fly’	Lat <i>petō</i> , Grk <i>pétomai</i> , Skt <i>pátati</i>
*dih ₁ -	‘fly; move swiftly’	Grk <i>diēmi</i> , Skt <i>dīyati</i>

A root **bheg^w-* ‘run’ is attested in Baltic (e.g. Lith *bėgu* ‘run, flee’), Slavic (e.g. Rus *begú* ‘run, flee’), and Grk *phébomai* ‘flee’ and finds its Asian cognate preserved solely in modern Indic, i.e. Hindi *bhāgnā* ‘flee’. As mentioned above, we have the related pairing of **dreha-*, (reduplicated) ON *titra* ‘tremble’, Grk *édrán* ‘ran’, Skt *drāti* ‘runs’, and **drem-*, e.g. OE *trem* ‘footstep’, Grk *drameîn* ‘run’, Skt *drámati* ‘runs about’; the Toch B reflex of this root is *rmer* ‘swift’, originally from **dremor-*. The verbal reflexes of **tek-*, e.g. OIr *teichid* ‘flees’, Lith *tekù* ‘run, flow [of water], rise [of sun]’, Rus *tekú* ‘flow’, Alb *ndjek* ‘follow’, Skt *tákti* ‘hurries’, occasion no surprise; in Germanic the root has been nominalized into the *o*-stem **tekwós* ‘runner’ where it survives as ‘servant’, e.g. OE *pēow*, OHG *deo*; a semantically very different nominalization appears in Toch B *cake* ‘river’.

The basic verbal meaning of **reth₂-* ‘run’ survives only in Celtic, e.g. OIr *reithid* ‘runs’, NWels *rhedaf* ‘run’, but it is well known as a deverbative noun **roth₂eh_a-* or **róth₂os* ‘wheel’, e.g. OIr *roth* ‘wheel’, Lat *rota* ‘wheel’, OHG *rad* ‘wheel’, Lith *rātas* ‘wheel’ (and plural *rātai* ‘wagon’), Alb *rreth* ‘ring, hoop, tyre’, Av *raθa-* ‘chariot, wagon’, Skt *rátha-* ‘chariot, wagon’; the Tocharian word for ‘army’, e.g. Toch B *retke*, is probably derived from PIE **róth₂ikos* ‘pertaining to chariot’, i.e. the army was originally the ‘chariotry’. As with ‘go’,

one might also combine the concept of ‘run’ with ‘flow’ as in **dhen-* where Skt *dhanáyati* ‘runs, sets in motion’ exists alongside *dhánvati* ‘runs, flows’ (cf. also OPers *danuvatiy* ‘flows’, Toch AB *tsän-* ‘flow’); Lat *fōns* ‘spring’ is another example of the meaning ‘flow’. The root **kers-*, on the other hand, seems exclusively to have meant ‘run’, e.g. Lat *currō* ‘run’, MHG *hurren* ‘hasten’, Grk *epikouros* ‘running for help’; it is also nominalized as in OIr *carr* ‘vehicle’ (the source of NE *car* is Lat *carrus* which was itself a borrowing from Celtic) and perhaps in the family of NE *horse*.

Several roots served for ‘jump’ in Proto-Indo-European. Both **preu-* and an extended form **preug-* yield both verbal reflexes, e.g. Skt *práivate* ‘jumps’ and from the extended form we have, e.g., Lith *sprúgti* ‘leave, escape’, Rus *prýgnutí* ‘leap’, Toch B *pruk-* ‘make a leap’, and agree on giving a nominal form ‘the jumper’ to the ‘frog’, e.g., NE *frog*, Skt *plava-*. Semantically less clear is **h₁leig-* ‘jump’ which does retain that meaning in Germanic, e.g. OE *lācan* ‘leap, fly’ or NPers *ālēxtan* ‘jump’, but it also means ‘tremble’ (Skt *réjate*) and ‘whirl around’ (Grk *elelízō*) or ‘run around wildly’ (Lith *láigyti*). The root **lek-* can be found in various derived forms to give ‘jump’, e.g. Grk *lēkáo* ‘dance’, *likertízō* ‘jump’, MHG *lecken* ‘hop’, Latv *lēkāju* ‘jump about’, or nominalizations such as Lat *lōcusta* ‘locust’ and NE *lire* that survives in British dialect to refer to the ‘calf of the leg’ (< OE *lira*). Alongside MÍr *dar-* ‘spring’, Grk *thrōískō* ‘leap, spring, attack, assault’, and Skt *dhārā* ‘flood’, Greek contributes *thorós* ‘semen’ (presumably with the emphasis on ejaculation rather than the substance) as part of the cognate set from **dher-* ‘leap, spring’. The root **skand-* is attested in Celtic (OÍr *sceinnid* ‘leaps’), Lat *scandō* ‘climb’, and Skt *skándati* ‘jumps’. The semantic fields of the various cognates that derive from **skək-* are not quite so transparent. Lith *skataũ* (where **skak-* has been dissimilated to **skat-*) has ‘jump’ and OCS *sکوčiti* ‘jump’, but Germanic, e.g. ON *skagi* ‘point of land sticking out’, Indic, e.g. Skt *khacati* ‘projects (of teeth)’, and Toch AB *skāk-* ‘balcony’ (as something that projects) all suggests a positional nuance to the original semantics.

The basic root for ‘fly’ is **pet(h_a)-* which is well attested, e.g. NWels *hedeg* ‘fly’, Lat *petō* ‘fly at, attack’, Grk *pétomai* ‘fly’, Hít *peta-* ‘fly’, Skt *pátati* ‘flies’. The precise action found in **dih₁-* ‘flies, moves swiftly’ is less clear and while we have Skt *dīyati* ‘flies’ we also have Grk *díō* ‘run away’ and Latv *diēt* ‘dance’ (and *dīan* ‘fast’ in OÍr).

The North-West provides another example of a base meaning ‘run’ that yields derivatives ‘runner, servant’, i.e. **tregħ-* ‘run’, e.g. Goth *þragjan* ‘run’ but ON *þræll* ‘servant’; in Celtic the verbal root has been nominalized to indicate ‘foot’, e.g. OÍr *traig*, NWels *troed*, both ‘foot’. Related possibly in some way is the similar **dhregh-* ‘run’, a West Central word, which yields both verbal meanings, e.g. Latv *drāžu* ‘run fast’, Grk *trékhō* ‘run’, and nominalizations, e.g. OÍr *droch*,

Grk *trokhós*, Arm *durgn*, all ‘wheel’. An Italic-Greek isogloss secures **sel-* ‘jump’ (Lat *saliō*, Grk *hállomai*, both ‘jump’), which may be a local semantic development of **sel-* ‘move quickly’ (see above), while a Baltic-Greek (i.e. Lith *šókti* ‘jump, dance’: Grk *kēkiō* ‘jump’) isogloss attests **keh_ak-* ‘jump’. For **sker-* we attribute some meaning such as ‘± hop about’ because we have Grk *skairō* ‘jump, hop, dance’, OHG *scerōn* ‘be mischievous’, and words for ‘locust’; in OE *scere-gescēre* and Lith *skėrys*. Running to some purpose is suggested by the West Central word **bheug-* ‘flee’, e.g. Lat *fugiō* ‘flee’, Grk *phéugō* ‘flee’. Greek and Indo-Iranian yield cognate forms derived from **dheu-* ‘run’ (Grk *théo* ‘run’, MPers *dawīdan* ‘run’, Skt *dhāvate* ‘runs’) but the word may be PIE if one accepts possible Germanic cognates such as NE *dew*. A laryngeal extension on the base root ‘fly’, **pet-*, namely **peth_a-*, is seen in Grk *petámai* ‘fly’ and Skt *patiṣyáti* ‘will fly’.

22.14 Crawl, Slide, and Fall

In this section we summarize the small number of words associated with crawling, sliding, and falling (see Table 22.15).

The standard term for to ‘crawl on one’s belly’ (rather than on all fours) would appear to have been **serp-* with its textbook series of cognates: Lat *serpō*, Grk *hépō*, Skt *sárpati*, all ‘crawl’, and the congeries of its nominal derivatives, i.e. Lat *serpēns*, Alb *gjarpër*, Skt *sarpá-*, all ‘snake’ (see Section 9.3). A second word, **(t)sel-* ‘sneak up on, creep, crawl’, generally means precisely this in its various cognates, e.g. Lith *selù* ‘sneak, prowl, step softly’, Arm *solim* ‘crawl’, Av *srvant-* ‘crawling’, Skt *tsárati* ‘creeps up on, sneaks’; it also has nominal forms that might indicate the ‘snake’, e.g. Alb *shligë*, but also the ‘turtle’ or ‘snail’ (OIr *selige*). To ‘slip’ may be at least one of the semantic connotations of **(s)meug-* or **meuk-* which means ‘slide, slip’ in OE *smūgan* or ‘slip away from’ in Lith *munkù*; in Lat *ē-mungō* and Grk *apomússō* we have either ‘blow’ or ‘wipe’ one’s nose (and

Table 22.15. *Crawl, slide, and fall*

<i>*serp-</i>	‘crawl’	Lat <i>serpō</i> , Grk <i>hépō</i> , Skt <i>sárpati</i>
<i>*(t)sel-</i>	‘sneak up on, crawl up on’	Skt <i>tsárati</i>
<i>*(s)meug-</i> ~ <i>*meuk-</i>	‘slip’	Lat <i>-mungō</i> , Grk <i>apomé<u>ússō</u></i> , Skt <i>muñcáti</i>
<i>*(s)leidh-</i>	‘slide’	NE <i>slide</i> , Grk <i>olisthainō</i> , Skt <i>srédhati</i>
<i>*kad-</i>	‘fall’	Lat <i>cadō</i> , Skt <i>śad-</i>
<i>*pteh₁-</i>	‘fall’	Grk <i>aptēs</i>
<i>*ped-</i>	‘fall’	Lat <i>pessum</i> , Skt <i>pádyate</i>

compare Lat *mūcus* and the NE borrowing of the same spelling and meaning); Skt *muñcāti* indicates ‘lets loose, frees’ while OCS *mŭčati* ‘chase’ and Toch B *māk-* ‘run’ both have reference to swift motion. NE *slide* derives from **(s)leidh-* ‘slide’ which generally means ‘slip’ or ‘slide’ (cf. also Lith *slýstu* ‘slide, slip’, OCS *slědŭ* ‘track [in the grass]’, Grk *olisthainō* ‘slip’) except Skt *srédhati*, which is problematic (whether it is a certain cognate), as it means ‘fails, errs’, perhaps from **slides off*’.

There are three words for ‘fall’. Four groups (Celtic, Italic, Armenian, and Indic) attest **kad-* ‘fall’, e.g. OIr *casar* ‘hail’, Lat *cadō* ‘fall’ and the nominalized *cadāver* ‘corpse’, i.e. the ‘fallen’, Arm *c’acnum* ‘fall’, Skt *śad-* ‘fall’. The negative Grk *aptēs* means ‘not-falling’ and the derived Av *tāta-* ‘fallen (of rain)’ supports a **pteh₁-* ‘fall’ although the possible Hittite cognate *piddāi-* means ‘flees’. The root for ‘foot’, **ped-*, also serves as a verb ‘fall’, e.g. Lat *pessum* ‘to the ground’, OE *gefetan* ‘fall’, OCS *padq* ‘fall’, Av *paīdyaiti* ‘moves down, plunges down’, Skt *pādyate* ‘falls’.

From the North-West we have **rēp-* ‘crawl’, e.g. Lat *rēpō* ‘crawl, go on all fours’, Lith *rėpliōti* ‘crawl, go on all fours’, whose cognates in both Italic and Baltic indicate crawling on all fours; this word then contrasts semantically with the more widely found root **serp-* ‘crawl on one’s belly’ (see above), hence we have (via loanwords from Latin), both NE *serpent* and *reptile*. Another possible North-West word (an Italic-Germanic isogloss) is **sleubh-* ‘slide’, e.g. Lat *lūbricus* ‘slippery, NE *sleeve*. From the West Central region there is **phōl-* (**ph_xōl-*?) ‘fall’, e.g. NE *fall*, Lith *pūolu* ‘fall’, Arm *p’ul* ‘fall, crush’.

22.15 Travel

Here we group all of the other words for motion which are either too vague, e.g. ‘find one’s way’, or too specific, e.g. ‘hunt’, to be placed in the other categories. These are listed in Table 22.16.

The reconstructed meaning of **pent-* comes by a logical but curious (and hardly foolproof) route. Only Germanic offers a verbal form, e.g. NE *find*, which must then be combined with its widespread nominal derivative **póntōh₂s* ‘path’, e.g. Lat *pōns* ‘bridge’, Grk *pátos* ‘path’, Skt *pánthās* ‘path’, hence we have ‘find’ + ‘path’, i.e. ‘find one’s way’. ‘Leave’ in the sense of ‘leave behind’ was expressed with **leik^w-* seen in Lat *linquō* ‘leave’, NE *loan*, Lith *liekù* ‘leave’, Grk *leípō* ‘leave’, Arm *lk’anem* ‘leave’, Av *irinaxti* ‘releases’, Skt *riṇákti* ‘leaves’ while ‘leave’ in the sense of ‘go away’ is found in **deuh₄-*, e.g. Grk *dén* ‘long, far’, Hit *tūwa* ‘to a distance’, Skt *dāvati* ‘goes’, *dūrā-* ‘distant, remote’. The basic verb of motion in English, NE *go*, derives from **ġheh₁-* ‘leave’, e.g. Grk *kikhánō*

‘meet with’, Av *zizāmi* ‘leave off’, Skt *jāhāti* ‘leaves’. NE *let* comes from **leh₁d-* ‘leave’ which is limited to the Western and Central regions (e.g. also Lith *lėidžiu* ‘leave’, Alb *lë* ‘leave, let, abandon, allow’) but has an unextended form in Hit *lā(i)-* ‘let go’.

The semantics of **nes-* ‘return home’ are hardly precise. Grk *néomai* does mean ‘return home’ and the Iranian cognate Av *asta-* ‘house’, but in Germanic the word means ‘be saved, heal’, e.g. OE *ge-nesan* ‘be saved’ and Skt *násate* means ‘unite with’. The verbal root **h₂el-* provides more problems since its reflexes in Lat *ambulō* ‘take a walk’, Baltic (Latv *aluôt(iēs)* ‘go astray’), and Grk *aléomai* ‘go astray’ all suggest ‘wander’ while Greek also offers *aleúomai* ‘avoid’ and Toch AB *āl-* ‘keep off’. Either we have a single verb with divergent semantic histories or two homophonous verbs: ‘wander’ and ‘avoid’.

There are two verbs for ‘lead’. The root **neih_x-* ‘lead’ is limited to Anatolian, e.g. Hit *nāi-* ‘leads’, and Indo-Iranian, e.g. Skt *náyate* ‘leads’, while the other form **h₂wed(h_x)-* ‘lead’ carries the specific meaning of ‘take a wife’ in the various IE groups except for Anatolian, e.g. Hit *huett(iya)-* ‘draw, pull’; this word and its meaning is discussed under kinship and marriage in Section 12.2. For ‘follow’ we have **sek^w-*, e.g. OIr *sechithir* ‘follows’, Lat *sequor* ‘follow’, Lith *seku* ‘follow, keep an eye on’, Grk *hépomai*, Skt *sácate* all ‘follow(s)’ as well as a nominal derivative **sók^wh₂ōi* ‘follower’, e.g. ON *seggr* ‘follower’, Skt *sákhā-* ‘friend’. This verb is probably the same as **sek^w-* ‘see’ (Section 20.2), where ‘see’ is a development of ‘follow with the eyes’. ‘Follow’ in the sense of ‘pursue’ is suggested by **wei(h_x)-* ‘go after’, e.g. Lat *vīs* ‘thou wantest’, Lith *vejù*

Table 22.16. *Travel*

<i>*pent-</i>	‘find one’s way’	NE <i>find</i>
<i>*leik^w-</i>	‘leave (behind)’	Lat <i>linquō</i> , NE <i>loan</i> , Grk <i>leípō</i> , Skt <i>riṇákti</i>
<i>*deuh₄-</i>	‘leave, go far away’	Grk <i>dēn</i> , Skt <i>dávati</i>
<i>*ġheh₁-</i>	‘leave’	NE <i>go</i> , Grk <i>kikhānō</i> , Skt <i>jāhāti</i>
<i>*leh₁d-</i>	‘leave’	NE <i>let</i>
<i>*nes-</i>	‘return home’	Grk <i>néomai</i> , Skt <i>násate</i>
<i>*h₂el-</i>	‘wander’	Lat <i>ambulō</i> , Grk <i>aléomai</i>
<i>*neih_x-</i>	‘lead’	Skt <i>náyate</i>
<i>*sek^w-</i>	‘follow’	Lat <i>sequor</i> , Grk <i>hépomai</i> , Skt <i>sácate</i>
<i>*wei(h_x)-</i>	‘go after’	Lat <i>vīs</i> , Skt <i>véti</i>
<i>*leuh_x-</i>	‘hunt’	
<i>*wreg-</i>	‘track, hunt, follow’	Lat <i>urgēre</i> , NE <i>wreak</i>
<i>*h₂egreh_a-</i>	‘hunt’	Grk <i>ágrā</i>

‘chase, drive, pursue’, Grk *hiemai* ‘strive’, Skt *véti* ‘follows, strives’, Toch B *wāyā-* ‘will drive, lead’. Words more explicitly suggesting hunting include **leuh_x-* where Slavic retains the verbal meaning, e.g. Rus *lov* ‘capture, catch’, but the nominal derivative **léuh_xōn* ‘he of the hunt’ is found in Greek and Tocharian (Grk *léōn* ‘lion’ [$< *the\ hunter$]; whence by borrowing the words for ‘lion’ in most European languages, including English], Toch B *luwo* ‘animal’ [$< *the\ hunted$]). The root **wreg-* ‘track, hunt’ is solidly attested with cognates in Lat *urgēre* ‘press’, Germanic (NE *wreak*), Anatolian (Hit *ūrki-* ‘track’), and Tocharian (Toch B *werke* ‘chase, hunt’). The verbal root **h_aeġ-* ‘drive’ provides the basis for **h_aeġreh_a-* ‘hunt’ which is attested in Celtic, e.g. OIr *ār* ‘carnage’, Grk *ágrā* ‘hunt’, and Av *azrō-* ‘hunt’ (see Section 22.18).

22.16 Swim

There are a small number of words associated with motion through water, i.e. swimming, diving, and bathing, which have been assembled here in Table 22.17.

A verbal root ‘dive’ is reconstructed for **mesg-* which yields Lat *mergō* ‘dip, dive’ and *mergānsēr* ‘duck’ (literally, **diving goose* or the like), Lith *mazgóti* ‘wash up’ (i.e. **dip repeatedly*), and Skt *májjati* ‘sinks’. Another possible root—if one accepts all the potential cognate forms—is **g^wādh-* (**gweh_adh-?*) ‘dive’: the Celtic correspondences are without much difficulty, e.g. OIr *bāidid* ‘dives, drowns’, but the other potential cognates are land forms, i.e. Grk *bēssa* ‘valley’, Av *vi-gāθa-* ‘ravine’. Another possibility is **g^wabh-* ‘dip’ with ON *kafa* ‘dive’, and Grk *báptō* ‘dip in’ (whence by borrowing NE *baptism* and related words) which some would relate to the Indo-Iranian words for ‘deep’, e.g. Skt *ga(m)bhīrá-*. Much more convincing is **sneh_a-* ‘swim’ with cognates in Celtic (OIr *snāid*), Italic (Lat *nō*), Grk *nēkhō*, Indo-Iranian (Skt *snāti*), and Tocharian (Toch B *nāsk-*), all ‘bathe, swim’ (cf. also Av *snayeiti* ‘washes’). Another word

Table 22.17. *Swim*

<i>*mesg-</i>	‘dip under water, dive’	Lat <i>mergō</i> , Skt <i>májjati</i>
<i>?*g^wādh-</i>	‘dive’	Grk <i>bēssa</i>
<i>?*g^wabh-</i>	‘dip’	Grk <i>báptō</i>
<i>*sneh_a-</i>	‘swim’	Lat <i>nō</i> , Grk <i>nēkhō</i> , Skt <i>snāti</i>
<i>*pleu-</i>	‘float, swim; wash’	Lat <i>pluit</i> , NE <i>flow</i> , Grk <i>plé(w)ō</i> , Skt <i>plávate</i>
<i>*geh_xġh-</i>	‘± enter water, wade’	Skt <i>gāhate</i>
<i>*h₁erh₁-</i>	‘row’	NE <i>row</i>

for ‘swim’ is **pleu-* where the meaning ‘swim’ is retained in Grk *plé(w)ō* and Skt *plávate*, but other cognates include OIr *luïd* ‘moves’, Lat *pluit* ‘it rains’, NE *flow*, OCS *plovq* ‘flow’, Arm *luanam* ‘wash’, and Toch B *plus-* ‘float’. A Slavic-Indic isogloss suggests **geh_xĝh-* ‘wade, enter water’, e.g. Slov *gáziti* ‘wade’, Skt *gāhate* ‘wade’. Finally, with respect to propelling a boat, we have **h₁erh₁-* ‘row’ with the verbal meaning confined to the North-West, e.g. OIr *rāid* ‘rows’, NE *row*, but the derived noun **h₁erh₁tér* ‘rower’ also found in Grk *erētēs* and Skt *arítár-*.

There are two words from the North-West associated with movement in water. A root **swem-* ‘swim’ is built on a Celtic-Germanic isogloss where the Germanic cognates, e.g. NE *swim*, are not problematic but the Celtic words, e.g. OIr *do-seinn* ‘moves’, are not specifically related to movement within water. Semantically better supported is **wadh-* ‘wade’, e.g. Lat *vādō* ‘ford a river’, NE *wade*, and nominal derivatives that indicate ‘ford’ or ‘water’ (e.g. Lat *vadum* ‘ford’, OE *gewæd* ‘ford’).

22.17 Convey

Our final selection of verbal roots concerns those that involve setting in one way or another something else in motion, either by conveyance, e.g. ‘carry’, or some other form of propulsion, e.g. ‘push’, ‘pull’. The relevant verbs are indicated in Table 22.18.

Although absent in Anatolian, the root **bher-* ‘carry’ is otherwise a textbook root, whose paradigm frequently graces handbooks of Indo-European linguistics (including ours, see Table 1.5). The meaning in the different groups is fairly uniform as ‘carry’, e.g. OIr *beirid*, Lat *ferō*, NE *bear*, Alb *bie*, Grk *phérō*, Arm *berem*, Skt *bhárati*, Toch AB *pär-*, or ‘take’ (in Slavic, e.g. Rus *berú*); only Baltic poses a problem where the phonetic equivalent, e.g. Lith *beriù*, means ‘strew’. The root also provides a basis for a series of nominal forms, e.g. **bhérmn-* ‘load’ (OCS *brěmę* ‘load’, Grk *férma* ‘fruit’, Skt *bhárman-* ‘load’); **bhṛtís* ‘carrying’ (Lat *fors* ‘luck’, NE *birth*, Skt **bhṛtí-* ‘carrying’). As in English, this word is often used to indicate ‘bear a child’. Also widely attested is **weĝh-* ‘carry’, e.g. Lat *vehō* ‘bear’, NE *weigh* (as in ‘weigh anchor’), Lith *vežù* ‘drive’, OCS *vezq* ‘drive’, Alb *vjedh* ‘steal’, Grk (w)*ekhétō* ‘he should bring’, Skt *váhati* ‘carries’. The difference between the semantics of this root and **bher-* is not entirely clear; however, the verbal cognates in Celtic, Latin, Baltic, and Indo-Iranian can also mean ‘ride/drive (a vehicle)’ and there are nominal derivatives, e.g. **weĝhitlom* ‘vehicle’ (Lat *vehiculum*, Skt *vahíttram*). It is possible that the

Table 22.18. *Convey*

* <i>bher-</i>	‘carry’	Lat <i>ferō</i> , NE <i>bear</i> , Grk <i>phérō</i> , Skt <i>bhárati</i>
* <i>wegh-</i>	‘bear, carry also ride’	Lat <i>vehō</i> , NE <i>weigh</i> , Grk (w) <i>ekhéto</i> , Skt <i>váhati</i>
* <i>deuk-</i>	‘pull’	Lat <i>dūcō</i> , NE <i>tow</i> , Grk <i>deúkei</i>
* <i>selk-</i>	‘pull’	Lat <i>sulcāre</i> , NE <i>sullow</i> , Grk <i>hélkō</i>
* <i>h₄welk-</i>	‘pull’	Grk <i>ólka</i>
* <i>dhreg-</i>	‘glide, pull (something) across’	Skt <i>dh_hrājati</i>
*(s) <i>teud-</i>	‘push, thrust’	Lat <i>tundō</i> , Skt <i>tudāti</i>
* <i>reudh-</i>	‘± push back’	NE <i>rid</i> , Skt <i>rudh-</i>
* <i>sperh₁-</i>	‘kick, spurn’	Lat <i>spernō</i> , NE <i>spurn</i> , Grk <i>spairō</i> , Skt <i>sphurāti</i>
* <i>telh₂-</i>	‘lift, raise’	Lat <i>tollō</i> , NE <i>thole</i> , Grk <i>talássai</i> , Skt <i>tuḷā</i>
* <i>kel(h_x)-</i>	‘lift, raise up’	Lat <i>ante-cellō</i> , Grk <i>keléontes</i>
* <i>h_aeġ-</i>	‘drive’	Lat <i>agō</i> , Grk <i>ágō</i> , Skt <i>ájati</i>
* <i>kel-</i>	‘drive’	Lat <i>celer</i> , Grk <i>kéllō</i> , Skt <i>kaláyati</i>

original PIE meaning also contained the concept of ‘ride’ or ‘drive’ but we cannot be certain that this meaning was not a secondary development in later Indo-European.

There are at least three roots for ‘pull’. The root **deuk-* ‘pull’ is largely confined to the West and Centre regions but with Toch A *tkā-* ‘will stir, consider’, it can be assigned to Proto-Indo-European. The groups not only retain the basic verbal meaning, e.g. Lat *dūcō* ‘lead’, NE *tow*, *tie*, Alb *nduk* ‘pull hair out’, but also extended meanings where Lat *dūcō* may also mean ‘deduce’ while the Greek cognate *deúkei* means ‘considers’ as it does in Tocharian A. Toch B *sālk-* ‘pull out’ offers the sole Asian cognate from **selk-* ‘pull’, e.g. Lat *sulcāre* ‘to plough’, Grk *hélkō* ‘pull’, and NE *sullow*, which survives as a dialect word for ‘plough’. Possibly related to **selk-* as a rhyme word is **h₄welk-* ‘pull’ which is attested in Baltic (e.g. Lith *velkù* ‘pull’), Slavic (e.g. OCS *vlěkq* ‘pull’), Alb *heq* ‘pull [out], remove’, Grk *ólka* ‘furrow’, and Iranian (Av *frāvarčātiti* ‘carries off’). Finally, there is **dhreg-* ‘glide, pull (something) across’ which is attested in ON *drak* ‘stripe’, Lith *drežóti* ‘tear apart’, and Skt *dh_hrājati* ‘move’.

Several words served for ‘push’. A root *(s)*teud-* ‘push’ can be attested from both the West, e.g. OIr *do-tuit* ‘makes to fall’, Lat *tundō* ‘push, strike’ and with the *s-*, *studeō* ‘strive’ (i.e. ‘push oneself’), *studium* ‘zeal’ (borrowed into NE as *study*), Goth *stautan* ‘push’, Alb *shtyj* ‘push’, and the East, e.g. Skt *tudāti* ‘pushes, strikes’. To ‘push back’ seems to have been the underlying meaning of **reudh-* seen in NE *rid*, Skt *rudh-* ‘check, restrain’, and Toch AB *rutk-* ‘move,

remove'. Here we might also include 'move with the foot', i.e. 'kick', **sperh₁-* with derivatives such as Lat *spernō* 'separate; spurn', NE *spurn*, Latv *speīt* 'kick', Grk *spairō* 'palpitate, give a start', Skt *sphurāti* 'springs, spurns', and Hit *ispar-* 'tread down, destroy'.

There are two verbs for 'raising' or 'lifting': **telh₂-*, e.g. Lat *tollō* 'lift', NE *thole*, Grk *talāssai* 'bear, suffer', Arm *t'ulow* 'let, permit', Skt *tulā* 'scales'. Both the NE *thole* (which survives in dialect form to mean 'suffer, endure') and Greek suggest that the meaning has been extended to 'hold up' in the metaphorical sense; other cognates, e.g. Toch AB *tāl-* 'uphold, raise', preserve the original meaning while Mİr *tlenaid* 'takes away' reveals a further semantic shift. The second verb, **kel(h_x)-* has cognates such as Lat *ante-cellō* 'surpass', Grk *keléontes* 'vertical beams in an upright loom', augmented by Lith *kélti* 'raise up' and Toch AB *käly-* 'stand'. There are also nominal derivatives to indicate a raised topographical feature, e.g. NE *hill*.

Very well attested is the verb **h_aeg-* 'drive', e.g. Lat *agō*, Grk *ágō*, Skt *ájati*, all 'drive(s)', also known in Celtic, e.g. OIr *ad-aig* 'drive', Germanic, e.g. ON *aka* 'travel', Arm *acem* 'lead', and Toch AB *āk-* 'lead'. The explicit context of the verb often indicates that one of its original meanings was probably 'drive cattle' and it occurs in expressions indicating raiding for cattle, e.g. OIr *tāin* (< **to-ag-no-*) *bō* 'cattle raid', Lat *bovēs agere* 'to drive or raid for cattle', Av *gām varətəm az-* 'drive off cattle as booty'. A root **kel-* is seen in Lat *celer* 'swift', Grk *kéllō* 'drive a ship to land', Skt *kaláyati* 'impels'; related are the Germanic words for 'hold', e.g. NE *hold*, which in Gothic is *haldan* 'pasture cattle'; an extended form in Tocharian, i.e. Toch B *kälts-* means 'press, goad, drive'.

A number of regional words are found in the North-West. A root **dhregh-* 'pull, tear (out)', is found in Germanic (e.g. NE *draw*), Baltic (e.g. Latv *dragāju* 'tear'), Slavic (e.g. Rus *děrgatī* 'pluck, tear'), and possibly in Lat *trahō* 'pull', though the initial *t-* is problematic; **skeubh-* 'push away, push ahead' is also found in the same three groups, e.g. NE *shove*, Lith *skùbti* 'hurry', OCS *skubq* 'pluck, tear off'; **telk-* 'push, thrust' is found in Celtic, Baltic, and Slavic (e.g. OIr *tolc* 'blow', Lith *tilkti* 'be tame', Rus *tolkátī* 'push, shove'); Germanic, e.g. NE *drive* and *drove* (of cattle), and Baltic (e.g. Lith *drimbù* 'slowly drop down') provide evidence for **dhreibh-* 'drive'; both Old Norse and Lithuanian employ this verb to describe the fall of snow. A Celtic-Germanic isogloss gives us **reidh-* 'ride', e.g. Mİr *rīdaigid* 'rides', NE *ride*. There is one purely Asiatic isogloss: **neud-* 'push (away)', attested in Skt *nudāti* 'pushes' and Toch B *nätk-* 'thrust, push away'.

Further Reading

The basic assemblage of Indo-European verbs is in (Rix et al. 2001). Other thematic discussions are Vendryès (1932) and Niepokuj (1994); for **sek^w*- see Baldi (1974), **bher*- see Hamp (1982*c*), and for a recent interpretation of **dheugh*- see Krasukhin (2000).

23

Religion

23.1 Deities

408 23.2 The Sacred

411

23.1 Deities

Approaches to the study of Indo-European religion and mythology differ substantially from those of the other semantic categories. There are several reasons for this difference. First, and obvious, is the paucity of terms for the names of deities reconstructable to Proto-Indo-European; with the exception of a few reconstructions that are found in almost any textbook, a number listed in Table 23.1 are of uncertain or, frankly, doubtful validity. Second, given the very nature of the subject—the ideological content of an ancient culture (here substituting ‘culture’ for ‘reconstructed proto-language’)—it has attracted far more attention than many other semantic categories. Finally, unlike most other semantic categories, there exists an entire academic field devoted to the study of comparative religion or mythology that has devised techniques other than strictly philological to reconstruct the deities and ideological content of Proto-Indo-European mythology. This chapter will briefly review the linguistic evidence while other approaches to Indo-European religion will be surveyed in Chapter 25.

The basic word for ‘god’ in Proto-Indo-European appears to have been **deiwós*, itself an *o*-stem derivative of **dyeu-* ‘sky, day’ < **dei-* ‘shine, be bright’ and it is widely attested across the Indo-European groups, e.g. OIr *dīa*, Lat *deus*, Lith *diēvas*, Hit *sius*, Skt *devá-*, all ‘god’ in turn; in both Slavic and Iranian, e.g. Av *daēva-*, the word means ‘demon’, a result of a religious

Table 23.1. *Deities and mythical personages*

<i>*deiwós</i>	‘god’	Lat <i>deus</i> , NE <i>Tuesday</i> , Skt <i>devá-</i>
<i>*dhēh₁s</i>	‘god’	Lat <i>fēriae</i> , Grk <i>theós</i> , Skt <i>dhiṣā</i>
<i>*h₄énsus</i>	‘god, spirit’	Skt <i>ásu-</i>
<i>*dyēus ph₁atér</i>	‘sky father’	Lat <i>Jūpiter</i> , Grk <i>Zeús patér</i> , Skt <i>dyáuṣ pitā</i>
<i>*dhugh₁atér diwós</i>	‘sky daughter’	Grk <i>thugátēr Diós</i> , Skt <i>duhitā diváh</i>
<i>*h₄éusōs</i>	‘dawn goddess’	Lat <i>Aurōra</i> , Grk <i>Ēōs</i> , Skt <i>Uśás-</i>
<i>*bhrǵh₁tiha-</i>	‘high one’	Skt <i>bṛhatī</i>
<i>*neptonos ~</i>	‘grandson of waters’	Lat <i>Neptūnus</i> , Skt <i>Apām Nápāt</i>
<i>*h₂epōm nepōts</i>		
<i>*w₆lkānos/ *w₆lkeh₁nos</i>	‘smith god’	Lat <i>Volcānus</i>
<i>*bhagos</i>	‘apportioner’	Skt <i>Bhága-</i>
<i>*perk^wunos</i>	‘thunder god’	?Skt <i>Parjanya</i>
<i>??*māwort-</i>	‘god of war’	Lat <i>Mārs</i> , Skt <i>Marutás</i>
<i>*manu-</i>	‘Man, ancestor of humankind’	Skt <i>Mānu</i>
<i>*dthroughós</i>	‘phantom’	Skt <i>drógha-</i>
<i>?*h₄(e)lbh-</i>	‘elf’	NE <i>elf</i> , Skt <i>ṛbhú-</i>

reformation that degraded prior deities to demons to make way for the new religion preached by Zarathustra. (The change, which began in Iranian, presumably spread to Slavic during the long period of prehistoric cultural exchange, centered on the south Russian steppes, between Iranian and Slavic.) In Germanic, the word for ‘god’ survives as the name of the god Tyr, a Germanic war god, e.g. OE *Tīw* and NE *Tuesday*, a specific deity whose name is built on the same word was **dyēus ph₁atér* ‘sky father’. There are both exact cognates of this form, e.g. Lat *Jūpiter*, Illyr *Dei-pátrows*, Grk *Zeús patér*, Skt *dyáuṣ pitā*, and modified reworkings employing other words for ‘father’, e.g. Pal *tiyaz* . . . *pāpaz*. A derived adjective, **diwyós* ‘divine’, is attested in Lat *dñus*, Grk *dños*, and Skt *divyá-*.

We also have some evidence for a feminine deity as well, i.e. **dhugh₁atér diwós* ‘sky daughter’, whose name is preserved in Lith *diėvo duktė* ‘Saulytė’ who was represented as the ‘daughter of the sky’, Grk *thugátēr Diós*, Skt *duhitā diváh*. This epithet is specifically applied to the ‘dawn goddess’, **h₄éusōs*, in Baltic, Greek, and Indic tradition. The cognate set is Lat *Aurōra*, Lith *Aušrine*, Latv *Auseklis*, Grk *Ēōs*, and Skt *Uśás-*.

The celestial nature of the Proto-Indo-European gods is also supported by the two etymologically unrelated words for ‘god’ in Germanic and Tocharian. NE *god* and its congeners (e.g. NHG *Gott*) is from Proto-Indo-European **ǵhutóm* ‘that which is called/invoked’ while in Toch B we have *ñakte* (Toch A

ñkā́t) from Proto-Indo-European **ní-ǵhutos* ‘he who is invoked downwards (i.e. from the sky)’.

Another word for ‘god’ is supplied by **dhēh₁s* where the meaning ‘god’ survives in Grk *theós* and Arm *dik* ‘the gods’ but is attested otherwise in the remaining cognate forms, e.g. Lat *fēriae* ‘festival day’, Skt *dhiṣāna-* (epithet of various gods) and *dhiṣā* ‘with impetuosity’; the latter’s semantic development might be compared with NE *enthusiasm*, ultimately borrowed from Greek and meaning ‘(having) a god inside’. There is also **h₂énsus* ‘god, spirit’ which is based on a Germanic-Indo-Iranian isogloss. The Germanic forms include ON *ōss* ‘god’ (in the nominative plural we have the famous *Æsir* of Norse mythology) while in Iranian we have *ahura-* ‘god, lord’ and *Ahura-mazdāh*, the highest of the gods in the pantheon of Zarathustra, and in Indic there is Skt *ásu-* ‘powerful spirit’ and the *Asura-*, a special class of Indic deities.

The remaining names of the “special-purpose” deities all pose special problems. One may, for example, propose a **bhṛǵhntih_a-* ‘high one’ where Celtic offers the name of a goddess, e.g. OBrit *Brigantia*, Germanic offers a female personal name, e.g. OHG *Burgunt*, and Indic provides a cognate adjective, Skt *bṛhatī* ‘high, lofty’, but no corresponding deity or myth, leaving it likely that, as a divine name, it is a Celtic innovation. Some propose a **neptonos* or **h₂epom nepōts* ‘grandson/nephew of waters’. The latter is solidly reconstructed to Indo-Iranian, e.g. Skt *Ap ām Nápāt*, but both of the putative Western reflexes, OIr *Nechtain* and Lat *Neptūnus*, have been challenged, in terms of their relationship both with the Indo-Iranian deity and with each other. A PIE **w₁lkānos/*w₁lkeh_anos* ‘smith god’ is also insecure and based on the proposed correspondence between the Roman smith god, Lat *Volcānus* (which is otherwise derived from Etruscan or some Aegean language), and Oss *wærgon*, a smith god. In this case the proposed cognates are desperately few (and the proposed equation suffers by not being attested in an ancient Iranian language), but the phonological relationship would be perfect. The divine nature of a deified **bhagos* ‘apportioner’ is secure only in Indo-Iranian (Skt *bhāga-*, Av *baga-*, the latter of which was borrowed into Slavic to provide the standard word for ‘god’, *bogŭ*); it also serves as an epithet of Zeus in Phrygian *Bagaŋos* but retains its purely etymological meaning (< **bhag-* ‘apportion’) in Tocharian, e.g. Toch B *pāke* ‘share, part’ (see Section 17.3). A ‘thunder god’ is indicated by **perk^wunos* which is attested in Germanic, e.g. Fjǫrgyn, mother of the Norse thunder god Thor, the Lithuanian thunder god *Perkūnas*, and the Old Russian thunder god *Perŭmŭ*; his identification as a Proto-Indo-European deity, rather than a specifically North-Western Indo-European one, depends on whether one accepts that Skt *Parjanya* (presupposing a Proto-Indo-European **perg^wenyo-*), a weather god, is also cognate. Even more dubious are attempts to postulate a ‘war god’, **māwort-*, on the basis of Lat *Mārs* and Skt

Marutás, the companions of the Vedic war god Indra. In these last two cases, and more particularly in the last one, the amount of irregular sound change one has to assume, in the absence of an exact semantic equation, is more than most historical linguists are prepared to accept.

If the individual deities do not fare well (at least in terms of reconstruction), there is more widespread acceptance of the ancestor of humans, **manu-* based on Germanic *Mannus*, the mythological ancestor of the Germans, and the Indo-Iranian ancestor of humanity, e.g. Skt *Mánu*. Another possible reconstruction is **h₄(e)l̥bh-* which is attested in Germanic, e.g. NE *elf*, and Skt *ṛbhú-* ‘an artisan deity’. Finally, a ‘phantom’, **dhroughós*, is suggested on the basis of Celtic (OIr *airdrech* ‘phantom’, Germanic, e.g. ON *draugr*); as a personalized form it is limited to the North-West but it is cognate with Skt *drógha-* ‘deceiving’ and derives from **dhreugh-* ‘deceive’ (see Section 20.6).

Regionally reconstructed deities are neither numerous nor always secure. From the North-West we have a possible **dhwes-* ‘spirit’ from the verb **dhwes-* ‘breathe’ found in Celtic (Gaul *dušios* ‘type of demon’), MHG *getwās* ‘fantom’, and Baltic (Lith *dvasià* ‘spirit’). For the West Central region there is OIr *tríath* ‘sea’ which is phonetically close to and semantically not too distant from the name of the Greek sea god *Trítōn*, the son of Poseidon, but a proto-form **trih_atōn* ‘watery (one?)’ remains highly speculative. Perhaps more probably related are Lat *lemurēs* ‘nocturnal spirits who devour the dead’ and Grk *lámia* ‘a female flesh-eating monster used to scare children with’ which might derive from **lem-* ‘(nocturnal) spirit’. Greek-Indo-Iranian isoglosses comprise several potential cognate deities (and their names). An Indo-European *péh₂usōn* ‘pastoral god’ is predicated on Grk *Pán* and Skt *Pūṣā*; the suggested underlying root, *peh₂-* ‘protect, feed cattle’, is congruent with the fact that both deities are depicted as pastoral gods within their respective pantheons. Similarly, the word *kérberos* ‘spotted’ would seem to underlie the names of both the Greek hound of Hades *Kérberos* and the epithet (*śárvara-*) of one of the dogs of Yama, the Indic god of the dead. There are fewer semantic reasons to link the Greek fury *Erīnūs* with the Indic goddess *Saranyū*, wife of the Sun, although the phonological correspondence of both their names (**seren(v)uh_xs*) does seem sound enough.

23.2 The Sacred

The vocabulary of the sacred (Table 23.2) challenges us to understand the underlying connotations of each of the terms we can reconstruct. On a comparative basis the idea of the sacred is often associated with some form of rite

Table 23.2. *The sacred and sacrifice*

* <i>sakros</i>	‘holy’	Lat <i>sacer</i>
* <i>weik-</i>	‘consecrate’	Lat <i>victima</i> , NE <i>witch</i> , Skt <i>vinákti</i>
* <i>kwen(to)-</i>	‘holy’	
* <i>noibhos</i>	‘holy’	
* <i>seup-</i>	‘pure’	
* <i>wōtis</i>	‘god-inspired’	NE <i>Wednesday</i> , Skt <i>api-vat-</i>
* <i>kouh₁ros</i>	‘powerful’	Grk <i>kúrios</i> , Skt <i>śúra-</i>
* <i>h_aeuges-</i>	‘strength’	Lat <i>augustus</i> , Skt <i>ójas-</i>
* <i>kouh₁ēi(s)</i>	‘priest’	Grk <i>kōēs</i> , Skt <i>kavi-</i>
* <i>bhlaǵhmēn</i>	‘priest’	Lat <i>flāmen</i> , Skt <i>brahmán-</i>
?* <i>pent-</i> + * <i>dheh₁-</i> /* <i>k^wer-</i>	‘priest’	Lat <i>pontifex</i> , Skt <i>pathi-kṛt-</i>
?* <i>bhertōr</i>	‘priest’	
* <i>h_aed-bher-</i>	‘sacrifice’	cf. Skt <i>prá-bhartar-</i>
* <i>d(h₃)eu-</i>	‘be favourable to’	Lat <i>bonus</i> , Skt <i>dúvas-</i>
* <i>h_xolu-</i>	‘± spell’	

by which something or someone is separated apart from the secular world. Alternatively, the sacred may be associated with being complete, infused with a special power. PIE **sakros*, for example, exhibits cognates in Lat *sacer* ‘sacred’ and *sacerdōs* ‘priest’ and Tocharian, e.g. Toch B *sākre-* ‘happy’, with a more distant connection with Hit *saklāi-* ‘rite, custom’; one might then envisage a rite by which something is made sacred and some would derive this form from the verbal root **sek-* ‘cut’, i.e. cut off from the world. The cognates of **weik-* ‘consecrate’ can be both nominal, e.g. Lat *victima* ‘sacrificial victim’ and NE *witch*, and verbal where Indo-Iranian suggests that the act of consecration involves setting something or someone apart, e.g. Goth *weihan* ‘consecrate’ (and *weihs* ‘holy’; cf. NHG *Weihnachten* ‘Christmas Eve’) but Skt *vinákti* ‘select out’. Similarly, the Western cognates of **wōtis* ‘god-inspired’ are nominal, usually names of priests such as OIr *fáith* ‘prophet’ or gods, e.g. ON *Óðinn* ‘Odin’, while the verbal forms are found in Indo-Iranian, e.g. Skt *api-vat-* ‘inspires’ (see Sections 20.2, 21.2). A verbal origin probably underlies both **kwen(to)-* ‘holy’ (e.g. Lith *šveñtas* ‘holy’, OCS *svętŭ* ‘holy’, Av *spənta* ‘holy’) which is derived from **k^weu(h₁)-* ‘swell’, hence, ‘swollen (with some form of sacred force)’ and **noibhos* ‘holy’ (OIr *noib*, OPers *naiba-*, both ‘holy’) from **nei-* ‘be excited’, again some form of sacred animation. The first root also provides the basis for **kouh₁ros* ‘powerful (i.e. swollen)’, although in its derivatives it generally refers to a powerful human, a hero, as in OIr *cora(i)d*, Skt *śúra-*; it is also a proper name in Thracian *Soura-*. A division between physical and spiritual strength, however, is far less clear in **h_aeuges-* ‘strength’, where Skt *ójas-* can refer both to the physical might of a warrior and also

the spiritual potential of a deity, and in Latin the semantic sphere is purely sacred, e.g. Lat *augustus* ‘sacred’ and the related *augur* ‘priest, seer’. Only Umb *supa* and Hit *suppa-* provide evidence of a PIE **seup-* ‘pure’ but both indicate the ‘viscera of a sacrificed animal’, i.e. something tabu for humans, while Hit *supp-i-* renders ‘pure’. Despite the fewness of cognates, the perfect semantic and phonological correspondences would seem to make this a certain Proto-Indo-European word.

Reconstructed words for a Proto-Indo-European ‘priest’ are insecure but there are at least three candidates. A word for priest, **kouh₁ēi(s)*, is found in Grk *kōēs* ‘priest’, Lyd *kawēs* ‘priest’, and Skt *kavi-* ‘seer’, from **(s)keuh₁-* ‘perceive’. A Latin-Messapic-Indo-Iranian isogloss (Lat *flāmen* ‘priest’, Messapic *blamini* ‘priest’, OPers *brazman-* ‘appropriate form, appearance’, Skt *brahmán-* ‘priest’) indicates a (remote) possibility for **bhlaǵhmēn* ‘priest’ which is primarily challenged because the *-ǵh-* of the reconstructed form is nowhere evident in the Latin word nor can one find any further evidence of a root **bhlaǵh-* in any of the other Indo-European languages. Even more remote is **pent-* + **dheh₁-*/**k^wer-*, a compound of **pent-* ‘path’ and either **dheh₁-* ‘put, establish’ (in Lat *ponti-fex*) or **k^wer-* ‘make’ in Skt *pathi-kṛt-* ‘path-maker’, also a religious title applied to priests. Both suggest the concept of a ‘path-maker’ which in Latin is exclusively employed in a religious context, i.e. ‘one who makes a path to the gods’ while the Indic form can be applied to priests. The root **bher-* ‘carry’ provides the basis for another weakly attested word for ‘priest’, i.e. **bhertōr* ‘one who bears (offerings)’ which is found in Umb *ars-fertur* ‘priest’ and Av *fra-bərətar-* ‘priest’ which could certainly be the result of independent creation. The same root is found in the compound **h_aed-bher-* ‘sacrifice’, literally ‘brings to’, that is ‘make an offering’, which is attested in Celtic (OIr *ad-opair* ‘sacrifice’), Italic (Umb *arsfetur* ‘priest’), and Indo-Iranian, e.g. Skt *prá-bhartar-* ‘one who brings’; again assignment to Proto-Indo-European is uncertain as the Indo-Iranian cognates employ a different preposition (*pro-*) from the Western languages.

The semantic sphere of **d(h₃)eu-* ‘be favourable to’ (probably from **deh₃-* ‘give’) may extend to the religious idea of ‘worship’, e.g. the cognate Skt *dūvas-* ‘worship’, *duvasyāti* ‘honours’, although its Western cognates may mean ‘strong’ (OIr *de(i)n*) or ‘good’, Lat *bonus* from OLat *duenos*). Finally, we have a Germanic-Hittite isogloss to support a vaguely understood **h₃olu-* or **alu-* ‘±spell’; the Hit *alwanzatar* means ‘witchcraft, spell’ while the Germanic forms, e.g. Runic *alu*, may mean ‘spell’ and are more certainly associated with the supernatural.

We have a Celtic-Germanic isogloss that yields **soito/eh_a-* ‘sorcery’ (NWels *hud* ‘magic’, ON *seið* ‘magic’) and a Slavic (OCS *čudo* ‘wonder’)-Greek (*kūdos* ‘renown’), both from **keudes-* ‘magic force’. There are several

Greek-Indo-Iranian isoglosses. A root **yaǵ-* ‘honour, worship’ is attested by Grk *hádomai* ‘dread’ (and *hágios* ‘holy’) and Skt *yájati* ‘worships’; here the Greek denotes the fear one feels in the presence of the deities while both the Greek and Indic reflexes of **tyeg^w*- ‘give way, pull oneself back (in awe)’ suggest such negative connotations (Grk *sébomai* ‘worship, honour’, *sobéō* ‘frighten off, drive away’, Skt *tyájati* ‘stands back from something’). ‘Sacred power’, **ish₁ros*, is indicated by a series of cognates in both Greek, e.g. *hierós* ‘sacred, powerful’, and Skt *iṣirá-* ‘powerful’, cf. the cognate expression Grk *hieròn ménos*: Skt *iṣiréna mánasā* ‘sacred strength’.

Further Reading

For a general treatment of all the deities see Puhvel (1987*a*). Specific discussions can also be found in Nagy (1974*a*), Polomé (1980), Polomé (1986), Kazanas (2001), Haudry (1987), Motz (1998), Euler (1987), and Seebold (1991).

24

Grammatical Elements

24.0	Pronouns	415	24.3	Interrogative Pronouns	419
24.1	Personal and Reflexive Pronouns	415	24.4	Relative Pronouns	421
24.2	Demonstrative Pronouns	417	24.5	Conjunctions	421

24.0 Pronouns

Generally, along with numerals and some kinship and body terms, the most persistent elements in any language tend to be basic grammatical forms such as pronouns and conjunctions. Indo-European is no exception here and we can reconstruct on a fairly broad basis the various pronouns of Proto-Indo-European.

24.1 Personal and Reflexive Pronouns

Although most modern European-derived languages recognize three personal pronouns, i.e. first person *I* and *we*, second person *you*, and third person *he/she/it* and *they*, there is no evidence for a third person in Proto-Indo-European. Instead, we find well-supported evidence for demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *this* or *that*. Of the first two persons, we find, as we might expect, that these words were in such frequent use in any language that there are variable forms depending on whether the pronoun was merely stated, e.g. **h₁eĝ* ‘I’, emphasized, e.g. **h₁eĝóm* ‘I myself’, or an enclitic, i.e. placed as a particle at the end of another word, e.g. **h₁me*. The emphatic forms involve the addition of a suffix **-om* to the base form. Also, in addition to the singular and plural forms, each of the pronouns also attests the existence of a dual form to express pairs,

i.e. ‘we two’, ‘you two’. The primary personal pronouns are indicated in Table 24.1.

The nominative form of the first person pronoun in the various IE groups might be derived from the PIE first person or from the emphatic form or from the accusative. Those drawing directly on the PIE nominative (**h₁eg̃*) include Italic (e.g. Lat *ego* ‘I’), Germanic (e.g. OE *ic* ‘I’ (> NE *I*), Baltic (e.g. Lith *aš* ‘I’), Arm *es* ‘I’; the emphatic form (**h₁eg̃óm*) supplied Slavic (e.g. OCS **(j)azŭ* (< **h₁eg̃óm*), Alb *unë*, Grk *egō(n)*; and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *ahám* ‘I’); the accusative (**h₁me*) is found as the base form for Celtic (OIr *mē* ‘I’), Anatolian (e.g. Lyc *amu* ~ *ēmu* ‘I, me’), and Tocharian (Toch B *ñās* [< *h₁mé-ge*]). The first person dual is less widely attested but found in Germanic (e.g. OE *wit* ‘we two’), Baltic (Lith *mùdu* ‘we two, us two’), Slavic (e.g. OCS *vě* ‘we two’), Grk *nó* ‘we two, us two’, Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *āvām* ‘we two, us two’), and Toch B *wene* ‘we two, us two’. More widespread is the plural form **wéi* ‘we’ (emphatic **weyóm*) that is found in Celtic (e.g. OIr *nī* ‘we, us’), Italic (e.g. Lat *nōs* ‘we, us’), Germanic (e.g. OE *wē* ‘we’), Baltic (e.g. Lith *mēs* ‘we’), Slavic (e.g. OCS *my* ‘we’), Alb *ne* (< **nōs*) ‘we, us’, Grk *hēmeîs* ‘we’, Arm *mek* ‘we’, Hit *wēs* ‘we’, Skt *vayám* ‘we’, and Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *wes* ‘we, us’). Here again there have been shifts from other forms and influences from different numbers seen, for example, in the tendency of Baltic, Slavic, and Armenian to replace the initial **n-* by *m-*, either influenced by the first person singular pronoun or because of the influence of the first person plural verbal endings in **-m-*, or both.

The second personal pronoun also possessed a nominative **túh_x* ‘thou’, emphatic **tuh_xóm*, accusative **téwe*, and enclitic **te* although these were better differentiated in the different IE groups than was the case of the first person. Cognates are found in Celtic (e.g. OIr *tū* ‘thou, thee’), Italic (e.g. Lat *tū* ‘thou’, *tē* ‘thee’), Germanic, e.g. OE *þū* ‘thou’ [> NE *thou*], *þe* [> NE *thee*]), Baltic (e.g. Lith *tù* ‘thou’, *tavē* ‘thee’), Slavic (e.g. OCS *ty* ‘thou’, *tę* ‘thee’), Alb *ti* ‘thou’, *ty* ‘thee’ (enclitic *të*), Doric Grk *tú* ‘thou’, Arm *du* ‘thou’, *z-k’ez* (< **twe-*) ‘thee’, Anatolian (e.g. Hit *zīg* ‘thou’ (with a *-g* from the first person)), Indo-Iranian

Table 24.1. *Personal and reflexive pronouns*

<i>*h₁eg̃</i>	‘I’	Lat <i>ego</i> , NE <i>I</i> , Grk <i>egō</i> , Skt <i>ahám</i>
<i>*nóh₁</i>	‘we two’	Grk <i>nó</i> , Skt <i>āvām</i>
<i>*wéi</i>	‘we’	Lat <i>nōs</i> , NE <i>we</i> , Grk <i>hēmeîs</i> , Skt <i>vayám</i>
<i>*túh_x</i>	‘thou’	Lat <i>tū</i> , NE <i>thou</i> , Grk <i>sú</i> , Skt <i>tvám</i>
<i>*wóh₁</i>	‘you two’	Skt <i>yuvām</i>
<i>*yuh_xs</i> , <i>*uswé</i> ~ <i>*swé</i>	‘ye’	Lat <i>vōs</i> , NE <i>ye</i> , Grk <i>humeîs</i> , Skt <i>yūyám</i>
<i>*séwe</i>	‘-self’	Lat <i>sē</i> , Grk <i>heé</i> , Skt <i>svá-</i>

(e.g. Skt *tvám* 'thou', *tvām* 'thee'), and Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *tuwe* 'thou', *ci* 'thee'). There were two forms for the dual: nominative **wóh₁* 'ye two, you two' and accusative **uh₁wé* 'you two' with cognates in Germanic (e.g. OE *git* 'ye two', *inc* ~ *incit* 'you two'), Baltic (e.g. Lith *jùdu* 'ye/you two'), Slavic (e.g. OCS *va* 'ye/you two'), Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *yuvām* 'ye/you two'), and Toch B *yene* 'ye/you two'. The second person plural has seen massive rebuilding of its forms, i.e. **yuh₂s* 'ye', **uswé* ~ **swé* 'you', and enclitic **wos*, e.g. the accusative serves as the nominative form for Celtic, Italic, Slavic, Albanian, Greek, and Anatolian. The plural forms include Celtic (e.g. OIr *sī* 'ye, you'), Lat *vōs* 'ye, you', Germanic (e.g. OE *gē* 'ye' [> NE *ye*], *ēow* 'you' [> NE *you*]), Baltic (e.g. Lith *jūs* 'ye', *jus* 'you'), Slavic (e.g. OCS *vy* 'ye, you'), Alb *ju* 'ye', Grk *humeîs* 'ye', *huméas* 'you', Arm *i-jez* 'you', Anatolian (e.g. Hit *sumēs* 'ye, you'), Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *yūyām* 'ye', *yusmán* 'you', enclitic *vas*), and Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *yes* 'ye, you').

The reflexive pronoun (**séwe*) is well attested across most IE groups such as Italic (e.g. Lat *sē* 'him-/her-/itself'), Germanic (e.g. OHG *sih* 'him-/her-/itself'), Baltic (e.g. Lith *savē* '-self'), Slavic (e.g. *sę* '-self'), Alb *u* 'him-/her-/itself', Grk *hé* ~ *heé* 'him-/her-/itself', Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *svá-* 'one's own'), and Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *šañ* 'one's own').

24.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

To complete the basic paradigm of our modern personal pronoun, PIE employed three genders of one of the demonstrative pronouns. There were two that could have served. The most likely was built on **h₁ei-* 'this (one)', i.e. **h₁éi* (with an emphatic **h₁eyóm* 'he, this (one)', **h₁iha-* 'she, this (one)', **h₁id* (emphatic **h₁idóm* ~ **h₁idéha*) 'it'. Alternatively, Proto-Indo-European also offered a pronoun indicating 'that (one)', i.e. **so* 'that one, he', **seha* 'that one, she', **tód* 'that one, it'. Most of the other demonstrative pronouns may be derived from these two with the addition of suffixes that will reappear when we examine the interrogative and relative pronouns. The main demonstrative forms are listed in Table 24.2.

The demonstrative pronouns are spottily attested across the entire IE world. The pronoun 'this one', i.e. **h₁éi* / **h₁iha-* / **h₁id*, designates all three genders (he/she/it) as can be seen in the list of cognates: Lat *is* ~ *īs/eā/id* 'he/she/it', Germanic (e.g. OHG *ir* ~ *er/iz* ~ *ez* 'he/it'), Baltic (e.g. Lith *jìs/jì* 'he/she'), Cypriot Grk *ín* 'him, her', Anatolian (e.g. HierLuv *is* 'this'), and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *ayám/iyám/idám* 'he/she/it;this'). Its corresponding 'that one', **so* / **seha* / **tód*, is also widely attested in Celtic (e.g. OIr *-so/-d* 'this one'), Lat *is-te/is-ta/is-tud* 'this (one)', Germanic (e.g. OE *sē/sēo/pæt* (> NE *that*) 'the',

Table 24.2. *Demonstrative pronouns*

<i>*h₁éi</i> / <i>*h₁iha-</i> / <i>*h₁id</i>	‘this one’	Lat <i>īs/eā/id</i> , NE <i>it</i> , Grk <i>ín</i> , Skt <i>ayám/iyám/idám</i>
<i>*so</i> / <i>*seh_a</i> / <i>*tód</i>	‘that one’	Lat <i>is-te/is-ta/is-tu</i> , NE <i>that</i> , Grk <i>ho/hē/tó</i> , Skt <i>sá/sā/tát</i>
<i>*kís</i>	‘this (one)’	Lat <i>cis</i> , NE <i>he</i> , Grk <i>sētes</i>
<i>*h₁iteros</i>	‘(an)other’	Lat <i>iterum</i> , Skt <i>ítara-</i>
<i>*h₁ith_a</i>	‘thus’	Lat <i>item</i> , Skt <i>íti</i>
<i>*h₁idh_a</i>	‘here’	Lat <i>ibī</i> , Grk <i>ithāgenēs</i> , Skt <i>ihá</i>
<i>*tór</i>	‘there’	NE <i>there</i> , Skt <i>tár-hi</i>
<i>*todéha</i>	‘then’	Skt <i>tadā</i>
<i>*téha_awot(s)</i>	‘so many, so long’	Grk <i>téōs</i> , Skt <i>(e-)tāvat</i>

OHG *der/die/daz* ‘the’, Goth *sa/sō/pata* ‘that (one)’, Baltic (Lith *tàs/tà* ‘that [one]’), Slavic (e.g. OCS *tŭ/ta/to* ‘that [one]’), Alb *ai/ajo* ‘he/she’, Grk *ho/hē/tó* ‘the’, Arm *ay-d* ‘that’, Hit *ta* ‘and, then’, Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *sá/sā/tát* ‘that [one]’), and Toch B *se/sā/te* ‘such (a one)’. This pronoun supplies the definite article in Germanic and Greek. Another word for ‘this (one)’ was **kís* with cognates in Celtic (e.g. OIr *cē* ‘here, on this side’, Lat *cis* ‘on this side of’, Germanic (e.g. OE *hē* ‘he’ [> NE *he*]), Baltic (e.g. Lith *šis* ‘this [one]’), OCS *sī* ‘this (one)’, Alb *sot* (< **k₁yeh_a-dih_xtei*) ‘today’, Grk *sētes* (< **k₁yeh_a-wetes*) ‘in this year’, and Hit *ki* ‘this’.

The pronoun **h₁iteros* ‘(an)other’ is based on a Latin-Sanskrit isogloss (Lat *iterum* ‘again’, Skt *ítara-* ‘the other, another’). Somewhat more widespread is **h₁ith_a* ‘thus’ with cognates in Celtic (e.g. MWels *yt-* (verbal particle), Lat *item* ‘also, likewise’, *ita* ‘so, thus, in this manner’, Baltic (e.g. Lith [dial.] *it* ‘as’), and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *íti* ‘thus, in this manner’). The pronoun **h₁idh_a* ‘here’ is attested in Celtic (e.g. OIr *-id-* [infixing particle]), Lat *ibī* ‘there’, Grk *ithāgenēs* ‘here born’, and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *ihá* ‘here’). ‘There’, **tór*, is limited to cognates in Germanic and Indic, i.e. OE *pār* ‘there’ (> NE *there*), Skt *tár-hi* ‘at the time, then’. The temporal pronoun **todéha* ‘then’ is also limited to two main groups, Baltic (Lith *tadà* ‘then’) and Indo-Iranian (Av *taða* ‘then’, Skt *tadā* ‘then’). A pronoun **téha_awot(s)* ‘so many, so long’ is found in Grk *téōs* ‘so long, meanwhile’, Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *(e-)tāvat* ‘so much, so many; so great, so far’), and Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *tot* ‘so much, so many; so great; so far’).

Demonstrative pronouns were relatively productive in the different IE regional groups and we have several isoglosses. From the West Central region we have **tóti* ‘so much, many’ (Lat *tot* and Grk *tósos* both ‘so many’); **teh_ali* ‘of that sort or size’ (Lat *tālis* ‘of that sort’, Lith *tōlei* ‘so long’, Grk *tēlikos* ‘so old’); **téha_amot(s)* ‘then, at that place’ (Latv *nuo tām* ‘from there’, OCS *tamo* ‘thither’,

Grk *tēmos* ‘then’); and **h_aen-* ‘that’ (OIr *an-d* ‘here’, Lat *an* ‘or; whether’, Lith *añs* ‘yon’, OCS *onŭ* ‘he; yon’, Alb *a* ‘whether’, and Grk *án* ‘possibly’).

24.3 Interrogative Pronouns

Proto-Indo-European interrogative pronouns are built on the stem **k^wo-* after which we will often find the same form of extensions, temporal or spatial, that we have encountered in the demonstrative pronouns. This form is well represented across most of the IE groups, e.g. this is the NE *wh-* group (*who, what, which, why?*) which was phonetically more transparent in OE *hw-* or the Latin *qu-* words. The interrogatives formed part of a systemic relationship with the relatives and demonstratives so that many of the terms can be placed into a set, e.g. **k^wóteros* ‘which (of two)’: **yóteros* ‘which of the two’, **k^wodéh_a* ‘when’: **todéh_a* ‘then’, **k^wór* ‘where’: **tór* ‘there’. The main interrogatives reconstructed for PIE are given in Table 24.3.

There is evidence from the various IE groups for the relatively extensive list of interrogative pronouns. PIE **k^wós* ‘who’ is found in Celtic (e.g. OIr *nech* [< **ne-k^wos*] ‘someone, anyone’), Germanic (e.g. OE *hwā* ‘who’ [> NE *who*]), Baltic (e.g. Lith *kàs* ‘who, what’), Slavic (e.g. OCS *česo* ‘whose’), Alb *kë* ‘whom’, Grk *toû* ‘whose’, Arm *ov* (< **k^wos/k^wom*) ‘who’, Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *kás* [masc.] ‘who’, [fem.] *kā́* ‘who’, *kásya* ‘whose’). There is also a form **k^wís* ‘who’ which is confined to Lat *quis* ‘who, which one’, Grk *tís* ‘who’, Hit *kuis* ‘who’, and Av *čiš* ‘who’. PIE **k^wód* ‘what’ is found in Celtic (OWels *pa* ‘what’), Lat *quod* ‘in respect to which; that, in that’ (conj.), Germanic

Table 24.3. *Interrogative pronouns*

<i>*k^wós</i>	‘who’	NE <i>who</i> , Grk <i>toû</i> , Skt <i>kás</i>
<i>*k^wís</i>	‘who’	Lat <i>quis</i> , Grk <i>tís</i>
<i>*k^wód</i>	‘what’	Lat <i>quod</i> , NE <i>what</i> , Skt <i>kád</i>
<i>*k^wíd</i>	‘what, what one’	Lat <i>quid</i>
<i>*k^wóteros</i>	‘which (of two)’	Lat <i>uter</i> , NE <i>whether</i> , Grk <i>póteros</i> , Skt <i>katará-</i>
<i>*k^wóm</i>	‘when’	Lat <i>cum</i>
<i>*k^wodéh_a</i>	‘when’	Skt <i>kadā́</i>
<i>*k^wór</i>	‘where’	Lat <i>quōr</i> , NE <i>where</i> , Skt <i>kárhi</i>
<i>*k^wu ~ *k^wú</i>	‘where’	Lat <i>ubi</i> , Grk <i>pu-</i> , Skt <i>kú</i>
<i>*k^wóti ~ *k^wéti</i>	‘how much/many’	Lat <i>quot</i> , Grk <i>pósos</i> , Skt <i>káti</i>
<i>*k^woih_xos</i>	‘pertaining to whom/what’	Lat <i>cūius</i> , Grk <i>poîos</i>

(e.g. OE *hwæt* ‘what’ [> NE *what*]), Anatolian (e.g. Pal *-kuwat* [generalizing particle]), and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *kád* ‘what’). A PIE **k^wid* ‘what, what one’ is attested in Lat *quid* ‘what, what one’, Slavic (e.g. OCS *čto* ‘what’), Arm *in-č* ‘some’, Hit *kuit* ‘what’ (interrogative), and Iranian (e.g. Av *čit* [generalizing particle]).

To express ‘which (of two)’, PIE utilized **k^wóteros* which is found in Lat *uter* ‘which’, Germanic (e.g. OE *hwæðer* ‘which’ [> NE *whether*]), Baltic (e.g. Lith *kataràs ~ katràs* ‘which’), OCS *koteryjĭ* ‘which’, Grk *póteros* ‘which’, and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *katará-* ‘which’). The initial labiovelar exhibits the expected different treatment in Greek where we find **k^wi-* > Grk *ti-* but **k^wo-* or **k^wu-* > Grk *po-/pu-*.

The temporal interrogative **k^wóm* ‘when’, which was a special development of the masculine accusative of **k^wós*, is found as a relative pronoun in Lat *cum* ‘when’, but as interrogatives in Goth *han* ‘when’, Baltic (e.g. OPrus *kan* ‘when’), OCS *ko-gda* ‘when’, Alb *kë* ‘when’, and Av *kə́m* ‘how’. Another expression for ‘when’ was **k^wodéh_a* which can be found in Baltic (Lith *kadà* ‘when’) and Indo-Iranian (Av *kaða* ‘when’, Skt *kadā* ‘when’).

The spatial interrogative **k^wór* ‘where’ is attested in OLat *quōr* ‘why, wherefore’, Germanic (e.g. OE *hwær* ‘where’ [> NE *where*]), and Skt *kārhi* ‘when, at what time’. There is also **k^wu ~ *k^wú* ‘where’ seen in Celtic (e.g. OIr *co* ‘how; where’), Lat *ubi* ‘where’ (the unexpected loss of the labiovelar in Latin for PIE **k^wu* is explained by false analysis, i.e. old compounds such as *nēc-cubi* ‘so that nowhere’ were falsely split *nēc-ubi* [negation – where]), Baltic (e.g. OPrus *quei* ‘where’), OCS *kŭde* ‘where’, Alb *kush* ‘who’, Grk *pu-* ‘where’, Hit *kuwapi* ‘where’, Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *kú* ‘where’), and Tocharian (e.g. Toch B *k_{use}* ‘who’); from an extended form **k^wúr* we have Lith *kur̃* ‘where’, Alb *kur* ‘where’, and Arm *ur* ‘where’.

There are variable forms attesting a PIE **k^wóti ~ *k^wéti* ‘how much/many’. The first underlies Lat *quot* ‘how many’, Grk *pósos* ‘how much, how many’, and Skt *kāti* ‘how much, how many’ while the latter gives us Bret *pet der* ‘how many days’ and Av *čaiti* ‘how many’. Finally, **k^woih_xos* ‘pertaining to whom/what’ is limited to Lat *cūius* ‘whose’, and Grk *poîos* ‘of what kind’.

There are a few regional terms. From the North-West we may have **k^weh_ak-* ‘of what sort’ seen in Celtic (OIr *cāch* ‘everyone’), Baltic (Lith *kók(i)s* ‘of what sort; any, some; whatever [relative]’), and Slavic (OCS *kakŭ* ‘of what sort’). From the West Central region we have **k^weh_ali* ‘of what sort, of what size’ seen in Lat *quālis* ‘of what sort, of what kind’, Baltic (Lith *kōlei* ‘how long’), Grk *pēlikos* ‘how old, how large’, and from a form **k^woli* we have OCS *kolikŭ* ‘how large’, *kolĭ* ‘how much’. There is also a Latin (*quam* ‘how, in what way; as’)-Armenian (Arm *k’an* ‘as’, *k’cani* ‘how many?’) isogloss (**k^weh_am*).

24.4 Relative Pronouns

Although interrogative pronouns could develop a relative meaning in the later Indo-European languages (e.g. *Who* ate the apple? It was John *who* ate the apple), the PIE relative was formed on **yo-* with the same suffixes we have already seen in the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns. There are fewer true relatives reconstructable than interrogatives and a number are solely attested in Greek and Indo-Iranian. These are listed in Table 24.4.

The set **yós*/**yéha*/**yód* is also attested in Celtic (e.g. Gaul *dugiionti-io* ‘who serve’) and as a suffix in Baltic (e.g. Lith *geràs-is* ‘good’) and Slavic (e.g. OCS *dobrŭ-jŭ* ‘kind, good’). The other **yo-* examples are represented solely by Greek (*hós/hě/hó* ‘who, what, that’) and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *yás/yá/yád* ‘who, what, that’), although their correlative interrogatives and demonstratives may be better attested, e.g. although **yóti* ‘as much’ lacks any other European examples than Greek, both **k^wóti* ‘how much’ and **tóti* ‘so much’ are also preserved in Latin. Outside this ‘system’ is another interrogative or relative particle, **me/o-*, which is attested in Celtic (Bret *ma* ~ *may* ‘that’), Anatolian (Hit *masi* ‘how much’), and Tocharian (Toch A *mänt* ‘how’).

All other relatives, although clearly part of the same system of suffixes found elsewhere, only survive (or were created?) in Greek and Indo-Iranian. They include **yoterós* ‘which of the two’ seen in Doric Grk *óteros* ‘which of the two’, Av *yatāra-* ‘which of the two’, Skt *yatará-* ‘which of the two’; **yóti* ‘as much, as many’: Grk *hósos* ‘as many’, Skt *yáti* ‘as many as, as often as’; and **yéha**wot(s)* ‘as many, as long’ seen in Grk *héōs* ‘as long as’, and Skt *yāvat* ‘as much, as many; as great, as large; as often, as far’.

24.5 Conjunctions

Such frequent particles of speech as conjunctions have survived reasonably well in the IE languages and are listed below in Table 24.5.

PIE ‘and’ is attested primarily as an enclitic, i.e. a word attached to or following another word, e.g. the familiar (to any student who survived their first day of Vergil) Latin *arma virumque* ‘arms man-and’, i.e. ‘the arms and the man’. This pattern is evident in both the use of **-k^we* ‘and’ seen in Celtic (e.g.

Table 24.4. *Relative pronouns*

<i>*yós</i> / <i>*yéha</i> / <i>*yód</i>	‘who, what, that’	Grk <i>hós/hě/ho</i> , Skt <i>yás/yá/yád</i>
<i>*me/o-</i>	(interrogative/relative)	

Table 24.5. *Conjunctions*

*-k ^w e	‘and’	Lat <i>-que</i> , Grk <i>te</i> , Hit <i>-ki</i> , Skt <i>ca</i>
*-yo	‘and’	Hit <i>-ya-</i>
*h ₁ eti	‘and, in addition’	Lat <i>et</i> , Grk <i>héti</i> , Skt <i>áti</i>
*ar	‘and, thus’	Grk <i>ára</i>
*it-	‘thus’	Lat <i>ita</i> , Skt <i>íti</i>
*ne	‘thus’	Lat <i>nē</i> , Grk <i>tóne</i> , Skt <i>ná</i>
*-wē	‘or’	Lat <i>-ve</i> , Grk <i>hē-(w)é</i> , Skt <i>vā</i>
*ne	‘not’	Lat <i>ne-fās</i> , NE <i>no</i> , Hit <i>natta</i> , Skt <i>ná</i>
*mē	‘not’	Grk <i>mē</i> , Skt <i>mā</i>

OIr *na-ch* ‘not’), Lat *-que* ‘and’, Germanic (Goth *-h*), Mycenaean Grk *-qe* (Grk *te* ‘and’), Arm *-k* ‘and’, Hit *-ki* ‘and’, and Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *ca* ‘and’) and *-yo ‘and’ seen in Myc *jo-* ‘and’, Hit *-ya-* ‘and’, and Toch A *-yo* ‘with’. There is, however, also the word **h₁eti* that might convey ‘and’ as well as ‘further, yet’ (Gaulish *eti* ‘also, further’, Lat *et* ‘and also’, Goth *ip* ‘but’, Grk *éti* ‘yet, further’) or, in Indo-Iranian, ‘over’ (Skt *áti* ‘over, towards’), and **ar* which can indicate ‘and, also’ in Baltic (e.g. OPrus *ir* ‘and, also’) and Prākrit (*ira* ‘and’) but ‘now, thus’ in Greek *ára*. Other words for ‘thus’ are found as **it-* with cognates in Celtic (MWels *yt-* [preverb]), Lat *ita* ‘thus’, Baltic (Lith *it* ‘very’), and Skt *íti* ‘thus’, and *nē* which can mean ‘as, thus’ in Baltic (e.g. Lith *ne*), Slavic (e.g. OCS *neže*), Grk *tóne*, ‘like’ in Skt *ná*, and appears as an interrogative particle in both Latin (*nē*) and Germanic (e.g. OHG *ne*). The meaning ‘or’ is universal across the descendants of **-wē* in Celtic (OIr *nō*), Lat *-ve*, Grk *ē-(w)é*, Indo-Iranian (e.g. Skt *vā*), and Tocharian (Toch B *wat*).

There are two negatives, **ne* and **mē*. The first, which is very widely attested in a variety of negative forms, e.g. both ‘no, not’ and ‘un-’, appears to be the usual form for expressing negation (e.g. Lat *nōn*, OE *ne*, Lith *ne*, OCS *ne*, Hit *natta*, Skt *ná*), and in a phonologically reduced form **n̥-*, it appears as the ubiquitous Indo-European prefix of negation (e.g. Lat *in-*, Gmc *un-*, Grk-Av-Skt *a-*). On the other hand, **mē*, which does not appear in the North-West, appears to have been employed in marking a prohibition and is attested in Alb *mos*, Grk *mē*, Arm *mi*, Skt *mā*, Toch B *mā*, all ‘not’.

Further Reading

The Indo-European pronouns have been surveyed in Schmidt (1978) and Katz (2003).

25

Comparative Mythology

25.0	Reconstructing Mythologies	423	25.7	King and Virgin	437
25.1	Approaches to Mythology	427	25.8	Fire in Water	438
25.2	Deities	431	25.9	Functional Patterns	438
25.3	Creation	435	25.10	Death and the Otherworld	439
25.4	War of the Foundation	436	25.11	Final Battle	439
25.5	Hero and Serpent	436	25.12	Current Trends	440
25.6	Horse Sacrifice	437			

25.0 Reconstructing Mythologies

As we have seen in Chapter 23, the reconstructed vocabulary pertaining to religion is somewhat limited, certainly when compared with various other semantic categories such as flora, fauna, and material culture. The problems of reconstructing the names of the deities and other mythological concepts are several.

First, there is the problem of recovering the proper names of deities in the proto-language as they would appear to be highly susceptible to attrition and innovation, as anyone who has ever compared lists of popular given names through time can observe. Moreover, deities, by their very nature, frequently attract numerous epithets or by-names, e.g. ‘lord’, ‘deliverer’, ‘almighty’; as these will suffer differential survival among sister groups or replace existing names, references to what were once the same deity may well be lost over time.

Second, we have the problematical context of our sources. Most of the evidence from European traditions, e.g. Celtic, Germanic, Baltic, Slavic, provides us evidence only after it has been ‘sieved’ through a Christian

filter (or, in the case of Gaulish, a Roman filter). Other traditions such as Anatolian have clearly crossed with local religious traditions, e.g. Hattic, Hurrian, or in the case of Greek religion, we suspect major interference from an unknown substrate and Near Eastern adstrates. Greek mythology then impacted heavily on Roman myth which, some would argue, went underground into early Roman history. Excluding those traditions which are poorly known or obviously intermixed with non-Indo-European traditions, this leaves only Indo-Iranian mythology, and yet we know that Iranian religion passed through a major religious restructuring under Zarathustra. The assumption that Indo-Aryan mythology as espoused in the Vedas is 'pure' is just that—an assumption—and we might recall that the three main deities worshipped by Hindus, Vishnu, Śiva, and Śākti, were very much minor deities of the *R̥gveda* where most hymns are dedicated to Indra, Agni, and Soma. So there is no assurance that even the earliest Indic religious traditions that we can recover in the Vedas represent something that can be projected back into distant antiquity.

All previous reconstruction of Indo-European semantic categories has relied exclusively on the actual evidence of language. We have not attempted (nor regarded it as a valid approach) to compare, for example, weapons across the Indo-European world to 'reconstruct' the armament of the Proto-Indo-Europeans. Nor would we feel on particularly solid ground examining the comparative evidence for political systems, settlement patterns, or economic strategies as a route to the Proto-Indo-European past. All of these are so heavily influenced by their contemporary environments that it would be nearly impossible to distinguish between what was old and inherited and what was the product of the existing state of technology or the natural environment. Yet the desire to compare mythological systems, irrespective of whether they offer comparable lexical matches between different Indo-European groups, has been sufficient to generate an entire academic discipline—comparative mythology.

The premisses and purposes of comparative mythology vary considerably. Already by the early eighteenth century it was possible to discern striking similarities between some Greek myths and those of some Native American tribes. The reasons for such similarities vary from one school of thought to the next and none is mutually exclusive, i.e. there is no single 'right way' to examine mythology and each approach has something to recommend itself. We will briefly review the major approaches to Indo-European mythology below but first it is useful to describe the three types of results that scholars may uncover when comparing the mythologies of different traditions or languages.

25.0.1 Search for Universals

Some examine mythological systems for universal motifs that might develop independently in different regions throughout the world, e.g. the widespread human tendency to distinguish between four directions and attribute to each a different symbolism, colour, or role in their society or the tendency to associate a cluster of social or gender concepts with the distinction between left and right, e.g. right = male, strong while left = female, weak. Warrior and fertility deities can be found in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the New World. If there is a highly developed metallurgical technology, we often find smith gods. In reviewing the mythologies of the various Indo-European traditions there will always remain a problem in discerning between that which is generic (the tendency for war gods to also double as weather gods, employing bolts of lightning as their weapon) and what may be evidence for a historical connection. Indo-European is just as much (or little) a repository of such widespread beliefs as any other tradition and is often mined for elucidating universal motifs.

25.0.2 Search for Historical Origins

While some myths may well reflect universals, sometimes the correspondence strikes researchers as so close that it seems to require a historical explanation. For example, the Greek myth that a widowed husband (Orpheus) journeys to the Otherworld to retrieve his dead wife can also be found in North America. If one believes that this correspondence is too close and too unusual to be a product of some ‘universal’, then some form of historical connection is sought. Folklorists have sought and traced the origins of many folktales that have travelled widely across the globe, and mythology, especially when repackaged (some would say ‘debased’) to a folk narrative, can make the same journey. In some cases, we must be particularly on our guard since we know of historical connections, either between different traditions in general or between the class of society that was likely to preserve and reshape the mythological record. The Romans obviously appreciated, adopted, and reworked Greek mythology, and the Greeks in turn were exposed to the mythologies of non-IE Near East civilizations, and also that of their perennial enemies but linguistic cousins, the Iranians. And for those whose mythology has come through a Christian prism, we may find examples where native tradition has been restructured to satisfy a biblical framework, e.g. in Irish learned tradition the first settler in Ireland was the granddaughter of Noah while the Germans sought their ancestor in Ashkenaz, the grandson of Noah.

25.0.3 *Search for Genetic Connections*

If the similarities are so great that one is forced to assume some connection between two traditions, then we may be dealing with a common genetic origin rather than some historical contact. In this case, the family tree of a linguistic group provides a rough proxy of the group's mythological evolution as well. If the names of the deities can be reconstructed to Proto-Indo-European, then surely there may also be traces of the mythology, the sacred narratives, surrounding the deities. The problem here is that the hard lexical evidence, the names of Proto-Indo-European deities that we have reviewed in Chapter 23, is not particularly abundant nor do they provide much in the way of comparable narratives. From the standpoint of a comparative mythologist, we should not be limited to studying only those deities that offer a lexical correspondence but also examine the broad pattern of characteristics associated with the different deities and narratives concerning them to recover what we can of the ancestral Proto-Indo-European myth from which they are derived. In the end, we may not know the name of the deities but we will be able to recover something of their career, their abilities and function within Proto-Indo-European mythology. This approach is not unique to Indo-European and can be undertaken with any language family.

Finally, the actual sources to reconstruct a Proto-Indo-European mythology vary greatly among the different Indo-European traditions. India offers a vast literature and its hymns and rituals as described in the Vedas provide one of the fundamental sources of Indo-European mythology. In addition, its major epic literature, especially the *Mahābhārata*, provides abundant reworking of mythic elements, and offers further evidence of Indo-Aryan mythology. The reconstruction of Proto-Indo-Iranian religion is hampered by the much smaller residue of Iranian mythology and the fact that it has largely passed through Zarathustra's religious revolution before our earliest texts. It still provides us with some lexical and thematic evidence of the Indo-Iranian pantheon in either different guises (names) or altered characters, e.g. there was a systematic demonization of a number of earlier Indo-Iranian divinities.

Although Greek mythology is often regarded as 'The Mythology', it does not serve this function in Indo-European comparative studies. There appear to be far too many aspects that are more easily explained as the product of extraneous influences, either substrates or adstrates, e.g. the goddess Aphrodite was 'borrowed' from the Near East, and far too little that is directly comparable with other Indo-European mythologies. Here again, epic literature, particularly the works of Homer, can be pressed into comparative service. Although Greek mythology was adopted by the Romans and reworked in primarily

literary creations of Virgil and Ovid, original Roman mythology was reinterpreted by the Romans as history and comparativists have been able to use that ‘history’ as a mainstream of inherited Indo-European mythology. This history, coupled with Roman ritual, provides one of the major props of Indo-European comparative mythology.

In western Europe, Germanic, more specifically Norse, mythology provides a third major source of comparanda. Here we have both works that are explicitly of a mythological nature (the Norse Eddas) and material which probably houses mythic residues (the sagas). To a lesser extent, Celtic offers similar evidence in its tales of the Irish mythological cycle and in the heroic literature of both Ireland and Wales.

The sources of mythology for eastern Europe are much poorer. Much of it consists of the accounts of Christians who wrote of the customs of their pagan neighbours, or snippets that have survived in native folk poetry, e.g. Lithuanian folk songs, or early historical sources, e.g. Russian chronicles. Recent work has also exploited the Armenian epic literature for its mythological residue. Among the poorest sources are Anatolian which has derived so much of its mythology and ritual from its non-Indo-European neighbours and Tocharian whose attested religious content is essentially limited to Buddhism.

25.1 Approaches to Mythology

How one approaches the sacred narrative itself that comprises mythology has varied through time, and from which discipline one comes from to study mythology. The following approaches are the main ones that have been employed to unravel the ‘meaning’ of Indo-European myths.

25.1.1 Meteorological School

The meteorological (also naturist or solar) school emphasizes natural phenomena as a key to understanding mythology. We have already seen that PIE **deiwós* ‘god’ derives from the same root (**dyeu-*) that gives us ‘sky, day’. To this we can add the similarly derived **dyéus ph₂atér* ‘father sky’ (at the apex of both Greek and Roman mythology and present in Indic) as well as a **dhugh₂atér diwós* ‘sky daughter’ which appears to be an ancient epithet for the ‘dawn’ (*h₂éusōs*), who is deified (we have cognates in India, Greece, Italy, and the Baltic). A solar (female) deity may also be tentatively reconstructed. Some would accept a PIE **perk^wunos* as a ‘thunder god’. A ‘mother earth’ is confined

Table 25.1. *The three heavens of the Indo-Europeans after J. Haudry*

Day	Celestial	white
Dawn/twilight	Bridging	red
Night	Night spirits	dark

to east European languages (Baltic, Slavic, Thracian, Phrygian). To these we might add **h₄(e)lbh-* ‘elf’ on the basis of Germanic and Sanskrit, a word which apparently derives from **h₄elbhós* ‘white’, hence the ‘shining ones’ who, in Vedic tradition, are associated with the New Year. Clearly there is some evidence then for the deification of natural phenomena but the associated narratives that we might expect concerning such deities are extremely meagre and largely limited to their cosmic function. The Dawn, for example, is portrayed in several traditions as a reluctant bringer of day who was punished for her delay in bringing light. The major recent attempts to employ a largely meteorological approach to Indo-European mythology can be found in the works of Jean Haudry who suggests that the Proto-Indo-European cosmos consisted of three ‘heavens’ along the lines indicated in Table 25.1.

The problem with the meteorological approach is that it is extremely limited: if we get little enough narrative out of the nature divinities that we can reconstruct lexically, it is extremely unlikely that we are going to be able to do much with the vast amount of mythic narrative where meteorological divinities are not apparent. For some, any god that was described as ‘shining’ or ‘bright’ was a manifestation of the sun god and every action undertaken by the deity could then be interpreted as the course of the sun through the day or the year. The meteorological school has largely been replaced by other approaches that do not attempt to reduce all deities into natural phenomena.

25.1.2 *Ritual School*

This school argues that myths are best understood in the context of the rituals which they are employed to explain. If one accepts that the ancient Indo-Europeans made sacrifice to their deities to maintain fertility, order, or to deliver specific services such as wealth or protection, then we may expect a body of mythology to explain how such rituals came into being or what the specific acts of the ritual are meant to represent. For example, Bruce Lincoln has written on the fundamental relationship between the sacrifice of animals in early Indo-European society and the cosmogonic myth that explains the

creation of the world from a single sacrifice (see below). In this way, every sacrifice is a re-enactment of the original sacrifice (cf. the Christian concept of communion as a re-enactment of the Last Supper and subsequent sacrifice).

25.1.3 *Functionalist School*

From the perspective of a functionalist, such as the great anthropologist Emile Durkheim (1858–1917), religion was ‘society personified’ and the various deities were collective representations of the different classes of society. When one considers the various pantheons of the different Indo-European traditions, we find an assortment of deities who broadly fill out the social roles of the (archaic) societies that worshipped them. The palace intrigues of Near Eastern and Aegean pantheons mirror the social structure of the palace society that created them; these may be contrasted with the Norse pantheon which reflects the war-band mentality of the early Germanic peoples. The Christian tradition with its ‘Good Shepherd’, ‘Lamb of God’, and church pastors (< Lat *pastor* ‘shepherd’) provides useful hints of its roots in the pastoral culture of the ancient Jews.

A comparison of social institutions among the different Indo-European traditions from India to western Europe reveals a recurrent pattern of three social ‘estates’: priests, warriors, and herder-cultivators (Table 25.2), a socio-ideological system that continued into the Middle Ages where we find the same system of *oratores*, *bellatores*, and *laboratores*, and if one wishes to push it to extreme lengths, to the ideology of the American government which has a judiciary (priests), executive (warriors, e.g. ‘Commander-in-chief’), and a Congress ([the representatives of the] assembled masses).

Can these three culturally widespread ‘estates’ be reconstructed to Proto-Indo-European society? Certainly not, at least on the basis of purely lexical evidence, and even if we could show broad sets of cognates for each ‘estate’, we would still be hard pressed to define what precisely these different ‘estates’ actually represented in Proto-Indo-European society. Given what we might

Table 25.2. *Indo-European social classes*

Classes	India (castes)	Iran	Greece (Athens)	Gaul (from Caesar)
priest	<i>brahman</i>	<i>āθravan-</i>	<i>hieropoioi</i>	<i>druides</i>
warrior	<i>kṣatriya</i>	<i>raθaēštar</i>	<i>phulakes</i>	<i>equites</i>
herder-cult.	<i>vaiśya</i>	<i>vastryō fšuyant-</i>	<i>georgoi</i>	<i>plēbēs</i>

expect from their level of socio-economic complexity, it is unlikely that the Proto-Indo-Europeans would have had hard and fast 'classes' such as are found in historical India into which one was born and remained through one's life. Rather, we might expect that these represented general organizing principles or, as Georges Dumézil (1898-1986), the leading exponent of the functional approach to Indo-European mythology, described them, *fonctions*.

Dumézil argued that an analysis of the mythology of the different Indo-European traditions revealed an underlying tripartite structure that constantly replicated or emphasized the three Indo-European 'functions'. This structure could be revealed by the sequence in which the appropriate deities might be mentioned, e.g. the Mitanni treaty lists the Indo-Aryan gods Mitra and Varuna (often joined together in the *Rgveda* and associated with priests), Indra (the war god), and the Nasatya (twins associated with the lower orders). In Greek tradition we find three deities, each associated with a different divine sphere, offering bribes to Paris: Hera offered kingship, Athena offered military victory, and Aphrodite promised the love of the most beautiful woman, arguably a reference to fertility. As Dumézil argued, the Roman equivalents were reinterpreted as history rather than mythology. This is reflected in Livy's account of the first Roman kings where Romulus and Numa appear to fill the function of priests, Tullus Hostilius excelled as a warrior, and Ancus Martius undertook the type of public works projects that might assign him to the third function.

Over decades of research, Dumézil's system was refined by both himself and others. The first function, rulership, was divided into two different aspects which, according to Dumézil, tended to be represented by two different deities in various Indo-European traditions. In Vedic tradition sovereignty is held by two deities, Varuna and Mitra, which reflected the priestly and juridical aspects of kingship (Mitra was 'contract' personified). Other 'Varunaic' deities include the Roman Jūpiter (revealing that the lexical reflex of the sky god may have a specific function), and Germanic Oðinn while the Mitraic equivalents are Dius Fidius and Tyr respectively.

A number of scholars have proposed an additional fourth function. In some cases this is motivated by explicit statements that indicate an ancient fourth or artisan class division of early Indo-European societies; in other cases a fourth element derives from the practice of quartering mythic landscapes, each of the cardinal directions serving to indicate a single social function, as was the case in early Ireland. For N. Allen, the Fourth Function is the one set outside the other three, an alien otherness that must be incorporated into the mythic scheme, while E. Lyle suggests that an essentially female function was juxtaposed against the other three primarily male-oriented functions.

25.1.4 Structuralist School

The structuralist approach analyses mythology (and phenomena in general) in terms of binary oppositions, e.g. left–right, male–female, black–white. Derived from the structural school in linguistics, this approach was developed by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908–) for anthropology. It fundamentally argues that the organization of binary opposites is a basic property of the human mind and how we view the world around us. Its application to mythology, which is itself a product of the human attempt to understand our universe, is understandable although its product tends to reflect an approach to mythology that emphasizes universals rather than genetic connections. Nevertheless, refinements of the Dumézilian system which distinguish between opposites within the same function, e.g. the protective but also destructive aspects of the Second Function, indicate where a structural approach may also be useful.

25.2 Deities

Below are summarized the names or types of deities that have generally been reconstructed to Proto-Indo-European as we have seen in Section 23.1. It should be emphasized that the proto-categories are perhaps more abstract than their single name might suggest, i.e. what is meant by a war god may have actually included a number of different deities within the earlier system. In some cases we may find the same individual under two different names, e.g. ‘sky daughter’ and ‘dawn’ would appear to be the same deity. In other cases, a single deity from one of the Indo-European traditions may be included under a number of different headings. Just as a screenwriter when working from a literary source will routinely collapse different characters into a single individual to have a manageable cast for his script, so also did the different Indo-European groups juggle with their deities to fill out sometimes multiple roles, e.g. the use of the sky god in Greece and Rome to fulfil roles of the thunder god, war god, and others.

Sky god (**dyḗus ph₂tér*). The sky god or ‘father sky’ is lexically the most secure deity and heads the pantheons of Greece and Rome but apparently receded in importance in Indic tradition to a vague ancestral figure. Here the equivalencies involve either lexical cognates: Skt (Vedic) *dyáuṣ pitṛ́* = Grk *Zeús patér* = Lat *Jūpiter* = Illyrian *Dei-pátrous* or semantic cognates where there has been replacement of the lexical elements but a retention of the underlying meaning, e.g. Hit *attas Isanus* ‘father sun god’, Latv *Dievs*, *Debess tēvs* ‘god, father of heaven’, and possibly Russian *Stribogŭ* ‘father god’. Other than ruling

in respective pantheons, and serving as father to several other Indo-European deities, the sky god is also seen (at least in some traditions) to unite with 'mother earth'. A potential functional (though not lexical) correspondence includes the Norse ancestral deity *Heimdallr*.

Sky daughter (**dhugh_atēr diwós*). The existence of a 'sky daughter', who is also identified as the 'dawn', is supported by the lexical correspondences of Skt *duhitā diváh*, Grk *thugatēr Diós*, and Lith *diėvo dukė*.

Dawn goddess (**h₂éusōs*). Identified with the 'sky daughter', the Proto-Indo-European word for 'dawn' is deified in a number of Indo-European traditions: Skt *Uṣās* = Grk *Eōs* = Lat *Aurōra* = Lith *Aušrinė*.

Divine twins. There is no convincing lexical set for these 'sons of the sky god' but they are abundantly represented at every level (myth, history, folklore) in the various Indo-European traditions. Here we find the regular association between the two sons of the sky god, depicted as young men and closely associated with horses (or in some case they are represented as horses, e.g. the Greek Kastōr and Polydeukēs, possibly the Anglo-Saxon Hengist and Horsa, the Welsh Bran and Manawydan), who share a sister or consort (Greek Helenēs, Welsh Branwen) who is the daughter of the sun or sky god. Their origin has been sought in a meteorological explanation: the divine twins are the steeds who pull the sun across the sky and by the Bronze Age we find representations of solar chariots. The twin brothers are often differentiated: one is represented as a young warrior while the other is seen as a healer or concerned with domestic duties. Collectively, they are identified as follows: Skt *Aśvin* ~ *Nasatya* = Av *Nāghaiθya* ~ Grk *Dioskuri* ~ Latv *Dievo sunēli*.

First Function (juridical). This marks a deity type who fills out the first (sovereign) function in its juridical aspect, i.e. a deity that oversees the relations between humans and guarantees pacts. Within the various Indo-European pantheons the standard equivalencies are given as: Skt (Vedic) *Mitra* ~ Skt (*Mahābhārata*) *Yudhiṣṭhira* ~ Av *Mithra* ~ Lat *Dius Fidius* ~ Lat (Livy's history of Rome) *Numa Pompilius* ~ Lat (Livy) *Mucius Scaevola* ~ ON *Tyr* ~ OIr *Núadu*. The Sanskrit and Iranian evidence indicates a Proto-Indo-Iranian **Mitra*. There is evidence from the Roman and Germanic traditions of a critical false-swearing by this deity who protects oaths with a consequent loss of the left arm. Irish tradition does not offer the motif of a false oath but the equivalent character (*Núadu*) does lose his arm in battle.

First Function (sacred). This deity is primarily in charge of the relationship between humans and sacred order. The equivalencies are Skt (Vedic) *Varuna* ~ Skt (*Mahābhārata*) *Pāṇḍu* ~ Av *Ahura Mazdāh* ~ Lat (Livy) *Romulus* ~ Lat (Livy) *Horatio Cocles* ~ ON *Oðinn* ~ OIr *Esus* ~ Lith *Velinas*. Both the Roman *Horatio Cocles* and the Norse *Oðinn* are closely associated with the loss of one eye.

Second Function (warfare). One cannot retrieve a single name of a Proto-Indo-European war god. A proposed lexical correspondence (that would yield a PIE **māwort-*) between the names of the Latin war god *Mārs* and the Skt *Marutás* is doubtful; the latter are companions of the war god Indra. Rather we have, with the exception of Indo-Iranian, a series of differently named war gods: Skt Indra ~ Skt (*Mahābhārata*) Arjuna ~ Av Indara ~ Lat *Mārs* ~ Lat (Livy) Tullus ~ ON Thōrr ~ Gaul Taranis ~ OIr Ogma.

The second function can also be viewed in terms of two aspectually contrasting warrior functions—: defensive (good) and offensive (wild, destructive to the community itself)—and this opposition is seen to be played out among some of the pantheons. The more destructive manifestations are seen in the following correspondences: Skt (Vedic) *Vāyu* (a storm god) ~ Skt (*Mahābhārata*) *Bhīma* ~ Av *Vayu*.

*Thunder god (*perk^wunos).* The lexical set consists of ON *Fjörgyn*, Lith *Perkūnas*, ORus *Perúnú*, and perhaps Skt *Parjanya*. The underlying root is probably **per-* ‘strike’ with different extensions built in different groups. The North-West European set is relatively coherent with associations with the thunder god (*Fjörgyn* was the mother of the Norse thunder god Thōrr), hurling lightning, use of the club both in battle but also as a fertility symbol at weddings. The association of the North-Western deities with the Sanskrit deity is not so clear, although the latter is depicted as a rain god in the Vedas.

Third Function. No lexical correspondence here but rather a series of gods who find themselves third in canonical order of deities and who are associated with fertility. These may especially include the divine twins but also single deities such as Lat Quirinus or ON Freyr, Gaul Teutates and OIr Bres.

Transfunctional goddess. There is no lexical evidence for such a deity but the different Indo-European traditions are replete with examples of goddesses whose qualities either comprise or dispense the three functional categories. Such goddesses may be provided with a trifunctional epithet, e.g. the name of the Iranian goddess Arədvī Sūra Anāhitā may be rendered ‘moist, strong, and pure’ just as Athena is showered with the epithets *pólias*, *nikē*, and *hugíea* ‘protectress, victory, well-being’ and Juno is *Seispes Māter Regīna* ‘safe, mother, queen’, in all cases—although not necessarily in canonical order—words suggesting the three Dumézilian functions. We have already seen how the three functions may also be split among three associated goddesses, e.g. the Greek judgement of Paris where Hera promises rulership, Athena military victory and Aphrodite offers the love of the most beautiful woman, or the three semi-divine Machas of early Irish literature.

*Aryan god (*h₄erós).* A deity in charge of welfare is indicated by a number of lexical correspondences (Skt *Aryaman*, Av *airyaman*, Gaul *Ariomanus*, OIr *Eremon*, and non-cognate functional correspondences, e.g. Vidura in the

Mahābhārata. The Aryaman-type deity is associated with the building and maintenance of roads or pathways, with healing, especially involving a ritual where cattle urine or milk is poured in a furrow, and the institution of marriage. In this sense he is seen as a ‘helper’ to the First Function deity of the Mitra type.

In addition to these there are a number of deities that have been proposed either on the basis of limited isoglosses (Greek-Sanskrit) or on questionable linguistic evidence.

Pastoral god (**péh₂usōn*). Primarily a Greek (*Pán*)-Sanskrit (*Pūṣā*) correspondence, possibly from **peh₂*- ‘protect, feed (cattle)’. Both deities are pastoral gods and are closely associated with goats. In Greek mythology some of Pan’s original characteristics may also have been assimilated by his father Hermes.

Medical god. Both the Indic god Rudra and Greek Apollo inflict disease from afar by their bows and are also known as healers; both are also associated specifically with rodents, Rudra’s animal being the ‘(rat) mole’ and Apollo was also known as *Smintheus* ‘rat god’.

Decay goddess. This is based on an Indic-Latin isogloss where both traditions indicate a goddess (Skt *Nīrti*-, Lat *Lūa Mater*) whose names derive from verbal roots ‘decay, rot’ and are associated with the decomposition of the human body.

Wild god (**rudlos*). The only certain deity by this name is the Skt *Rudrá*-although there is an ORus *Rūglū* (name of a deity) that might be cognate. Problematic is whether the name derives from **reud*- ‘rend, tear apart’ as Lat *rullus* ‘rustic’ or from the root for ‘howl’.

River goddess (**deh_anu*). This is largely a lexical correspondence, e.g. Skt *Dānu*, whose son holds back the heavenly waters, and Irish *Danu*, Wels *Dôn*, both ancestor figures. The same root underlies the names of many of Europe’s larger rivers, including the Danube, Don, Dnieper, and Dniester (the latter three as Iranian loans). Other than the deification of the concept of ‘river’ in Indic tradition, there is really no evidence for a specific river goddess.

Sea god (**trih_atōn*). Even more doubtful is the Celtic-Greek possible correspondence between OIr *triath* ‘sea’ and the Greek sea god *Trítōn*, the son of Poseidōn. The lexical correspondence is only just possible and with no evidence of a cognate sea god in Irish (there are other sea deities but these are not lexically cognate), there is really no certain evidence of a god of the sea.

Smith god (**włkānos*/**włkeh_anos*). This is based on a linguistically doubtful comparison of the name of the Latin smith god *Volcānus* and the Ossetic smith god *wærgon*. The problem here lies in the etymology of the Latin name which

may be derived from Etruscan or an Aegean loanword. There are no mythological elements, other than those generic to most smith gods, that might unite the Latin and Iranian deities.

25.3 Creation

Although the various Indo-European groups exhibit different creation myths, there appear to be elements of a Proto-Indo-European creation myth preserved either explicitly or as much altered resonances in the traditions of the Celts, Germans, Slavs, Iranians, and Indo-Aryans. These traditions all indicate a proto-myth whereby the universe is created from a primeval giant—either a cow such as the Norse Ymir or a ‘man’ such as the Vedic Puruṣa—who is sacrificed and dismembered, the various parts of his anatomy serving to provide a different element of nature. The usual associations are that his flesh becomes the earth, his hair grass, his bone yields stone, his blood water, his eyes the sun, his mind the moon, his brain the clouds, his breath the wind, and his head becomes the heavens. This body not only fills out the material world but the dismemberment also provides the social tiers with the head associated with the First (ruling) Function, the arms being equivalent with the warrior function, and the lower torso, with its sexual organs, the fertility function.

As to the identity of the sacrificer we have hints in a related sacrifice that serves as the foundation myth for the Indo-Iranians, Germans, and Romans (with a possible resonance in Celtic). Here we find two beings, twins, one known as ‘Man’ (with a lexical cognate between Germanic *Mannus* and Skt *Manu*) and his ‘Twin’ (Germanic *Twisto*, Skt *Yama* with a possible Latin cognate if *Remus*, the brother of Romulus, is derived from **Yemonos* ‘twin’). In this myth ‘Man’, the ancestor of humankind, sacrifices his ‘Twin’. The two myths, creation and foundation of a people, find a lexical overlap in the Norse myth where the giant *Ymir* is cognate with Skt *Yama* and also means ‘Twin’.

The dismemberment of the primeval giant of the creation myth can be reversed to explain the origins of humans and we find various traditions that derive the various aspects of the human anatomy from the results of the original dismemberment, e.g. grass becomes hair, wind becomes breath.

The creation myth is then essentially a sacrifice that brought about the different elements of the world. Conversely, as Bruce Lincoln has suggested, the act of sacrifice itself is a re-enactment of the original creation. There is evidence in various Indo-European traditions, e.g. Rome, India, that the parts

of the sacrificed animal were dispersed according to the prevailing social patterns and, therefore, we may view the act of sacrifice as an attempt to restore the balance of the world. This same notion may be carried also into the burial ritual of at least some of the Indo-European traditions where it was imagined that the deceased disintegrated back into its constituent parts, e.g. in the *R̥gveda*, the eye of the deceased goes back to the sun, his breath to the wind. In a sense then, after the initial creation, life is essentially recycled.

25.4 War of the Foundation

This myth is attested primarily on the basis of Germanic (Norse) and Roman sources but elements of it have also been claimed for Greek and Sanskrit. The myth depicts the forceful incorporation of Dumézil's Third (fertility) Function into a social world run by the first two functions. In Norse mythology, the myth is expressed as a war between the *Æsir*, the gods of the first two functions, led by Oðinn and Thōrr, against the Vanir who were led by the fertility gods Freyr, his sister Freya, and Njörðr. After a period of warfare the two sides conclude a pact of peace with the three fertility deities coming to live among the *Æsir*, thus providing representatives of all three functions within a single social group. The Roman parallel is found in the legend of Romulus who, finding Rome lacking in women (fecundity), wars with the Sabines. The Sabine women intercede and bring about peace between the two sides and, again, the incorporation of the Third Function into society. The Trojan War has also been interpreted in such light (the Greeks as the first two functions and the Trojans with Helen as the third). In Indic mythology, the *Ásvins*, representatives of the Third Function, find their way into the world of the other gods blocked by Indra until he is tricked into letting them in, thus securing a three-function society.

25.5 Hero and Serpent

One of the central myths of the Indo-Europeans involves the slaying of a serpent, often three-headed, by the archetypal hero, either deity or human. Calvert Watkins has argued that this deed has left some lexical evidence in the frozen expression **(h₁e)g^whént h₁óg^whim* 'he killed the serpent', preserved as such in Indo-Iranian with lexical substitutions in Hittite, Greek, and Germanic. The association with three heads or some aspect of triplicity is indicated either by descriptions of the monster, e.g. the three-headed dog

Kérberos who guards the Greek Underworld, the name of the hero, e.g. the Skt *Trita Āptya*, or in some other aspect of triplicity, e.g. Horatio Cocles' defeat of three opponents in early Roman history. Bruce Lincoln has suggested that the context of this slaying is during the first cattle-raid where a monster runs off with the cattle of a hero whom he designates **Tritos* 'the third' who then sets off in pursuit, accompanied by **H₂nér* 'Man', kills the serpent, and recovers his cattle. Traces of this myth are seen in Indo-Iranian, Hittite, Greek, and Norse traditions.

25.6 Horse Sacrifice

It is largely the residue of ritual rather than explicit myths that points to the existence of a specific association between the assumption of kingship and the ritual mating with and sacrifice of a horse. The Indic *ásvamedha*, an inauguration ceremony, and the Roman *Equus October* both involve the sacrifice of a horse either to a warrior deity or on behalf of the warrior class; the victim was a stallion that excelled on the right side of the chariot, and the victim was dismembered, different parts of the anatomy going to either different locations or functionally different deities. The medieval inauguration of an Irish king in County Donegal which involved the king-designate bathing in a cauldron with the dismembered pieces of a horse may also be a reflex. The underlying myth, particularly in Indic, suggests some form of mating between the king and the horse (mare), the latter of which behaves as a transfunctional goddess and passes to the king the gifts of the three functions that make up the totality of society.

25.7 King and Virgin

A recurrent theme, though not without considerable modifications (if genetically inherited) or differences, is that of a virgin rescuing a king which is found in Indic, Roman, Scandinavian, and Celtic sources. The basic structure involves a king whose future (including his descendants) is endangered because of his immediate male relatives (sons, uncle, etc.) but is allowed to prevail because of a virgin (often his daughter) who provides the offspring necessary to the king's survival. In the Indic tale, for example, King Yayāti is rescued by four sons born to his daughter (who mated with three kings and a teacher); in Roman tradition King Numitor's line is ensured by the birth of Romulus and Remus because his virgin daughter, Rhea Silvia, was made pregnant by Mārs.

25.8 Fire in Water

This mythic element is postulated on the basis of several disputed divine names and some general mythic elements found in several Indo-European traditions (Celtic, Italic, and Iranian). The lexical argument (Section 23.1) posits a PIE **neptonos* or **h₂epōm nepōts* ‘grandson/nephew of waters’ on the basis of Skt *Apām Nápāt*, Av *Apam Napāt*, and much less securely OIr *Nechtain* and Lat *Neptūnus*. The myth itself depicts a divine being associated with fire who inhabits water (in the Celtic myth there is a sacred well of Nechtain whose fire burns out the eyes of those who approach it, in the *Avesta* the fiery power is the *xvarənah*, the burning essence of kingship, which was placed in Lake Vourusaka) and who can only be approached by someone especially designated for the task. Although there is no corresponding mythic evidence from Germanic, the ON kenning *sævar niðr* ‘son of the sea’, i.e. ‘fire’, may provide some linguistic support for the equation.

25.9 Functional Patterns

There are a number of patterns in Indo-European narratives that replicate the three functions. Among the more striking are the motifs known as the ‘the sins of the warrior’ and the ‘threefold death’. The first motif deals with a representative of the Second Function whose downfall involves sins against all three functions, e.g. the Germanic Starkaðr slays a king (violation of the First Function), flees in battle as a coward (violating his Second Function as a warrior), and kills for money (a violation here taken to be against the third estate). Traces of this motif also occur in other Indo-European traditions, e.g. Greek where Hēraklēs manages three comparable sins or the *Mahābhārata* where Śiśupāla commits three similar sins.

The ‘threefold death’ associates a particular type of death with a particular function or functional deity. For example, classical sources indicate that among the Gauls victims dedicated to the First Function figure (Esus) were hanged; the Second Function (Taranis) received victims who had been burnt; and victims dedicated to the Third Function (Teutates) were drowned. The motif is also found in Germanic where the First Function deity, Oðinn, is known as the ‘hanged god’ while victims to the fertility (Third Function) deity Nerthus were drowned. These patterns are replicated in the heroic literatures of the Celtic and Germanic peoples although the motif is believed to have been more widespread. Essentially, it establishes a pattern of death which is directly associated with the three functions where the First receives hanging, the Second

burning or bloodshed (by sword or other appropriately military weapon), and the Third Function victim is drowned.

25.10 Death and the Otherworld

There is an abundance of evidence for various beliefs concerning death and the afterlife in the different Indo-European traditions but ferreting out an original belief is difficult. Many Indo-European traditions portray death as a journey and in the case of Celtic, Germanic, and Greek, and to a lesser extent Slavic and Indic, this may involve a journey across a river where the deceased is ferried by a **ġerh_{ont}-* ‘old man’. On this journey they may also encounter a dog who serves either as a guardian of the Otherworld or as a guide. Here we have some linguistic evidence in the cognate names of Greek *Kérberos*, the three-headed dog of Hades, and the Indic *Śárvara*, one of Yima’s dogs, both deriving from a PIE **kérberos* ‘spotted’. Both Greek and Indic traditions also have a river ‘washing away’ either memories or sins while Germanic and Celtic traditions attest a belief of wisdom-imparting waters; Bruce Lincoln has suggested that these two may be joined together where the memories of the deceased are washed away into a river but others, lucky enough, may drink of such water and gain inspiration. The actual afterlife is attested in so many different ways—as a pleasant meadow, a place of darkness, island, house, walled enclosure—that it is difficult to ascribe any particular belief to Proto-Indo-European. The ruler of the dead, however, may well be the sacrificed twin of the creation myth as suggested by Indo-Iranian tradition and to a lesser degree by Germanic.

25.11 Final Battle

Celtic, Italic, Germanic, Indo-Iranian, Armenian, and Greek all reveal traces of an Indo-European eschatological myth, i.e. a myth that describes the end of the world in terms of a cataclysmic battle, e.g. the Battle of Kurukshetra from the *Mahābhārata*, the Second Battle of Mag Tured in Irish tradition, Ragnarök in Norse tradition, the Battle of Lake Regillus in Roman history, Hesiod’s Titanomachy, and the Plain of Ervandavan in Armenian history. In all these traditions the end comes in the form of a major battle in which gods (Norse, Greek), demi-gods (Irish), or major heroes (Roman, Indo-Aryan, Armenian) are slain. The story begins when the major foe, usually depicted as coming from a different (and inimical) paternal line, assumes the position of authority among the host of gods or heroes, e.g. Norse Loki, Roman Tarquin, Irish

Bres. In this position he exploits the labour of the protagonists until he is driven out and returns to his own people. A new leader then springs up among the protagonists (e.g. Irish Lug, Greek Zeus) often the **nepōt*- ‘grandson’ or ‘nephew’ of the deposed leader. The two sides then prepare for a major war (in Germanic and Iranian myth there is also a great winter) and the two forces come together and annihilate each other in a cataclysmic battle. Since a new order is called into existence after the battle, the myth may not be eschatological in the strict sense but rather represent a mythic encounter that brought a past golden age to an end.

25.12 Current Trends

Current trends in Indo-European comparative mythology are taking several directions. The evidence for trifunctional (or quadri-functional) patterns is continually being augmented by further examples both from well-researched sources, e.g. Indic, Roman, Norse, and from other traditions such as Greek and Armenian that have seen far less attention. Moreover, an increasing number of scholars have been examining the narrative structure of the earliest literary traditions of the various Indo-European groups to reveal striking parallels between different traditions. For example, N. B. Allen has shown how much of the career of the Greek Odysseus is paralleled by distinct incidents in the lives of Arjuna in the *Mahābhārata*, the Buddha in the earliest Buddhist texts, and CúChulainn in early Irish heroic literature. Other scholars such as Claude Sterckx, Stepan Ahyon, and Armen Petrosyan have uncovered detailed correspondences in other early Indo-European traditions. According to Allen, the close coincidences go beyond both the type of random generic parallels that one might expect between different literary traditions and beyond what we might ascribe to some form of distant diffusion. He argues that such comparisons provides us with at least some of the detritus of the Proto-Indo-European narrative tradition.

Further Reading

The best general treatise is Puhvel (1987*a*); for the core of Dumézil see Dumézil (1968–73) and Littleton (1973); cases for a ‘Fourth Function’ can be found in Allen (1987), Lyle (1990); the mythic structure of IE medicine is to be found in Benveniste (1945); the “three sins of the warrior” are the subject of Dumézil (1970); representative new approaches within the Dumézilian tradition that seek new patterns of underlying Indo-European narratives include Ahyon (1998), Allen (2000*a*, 2000*b*, 2002), Miller

(2000), Petrosyan (2002), Sterckx (1994); a different approach to IE mythology can be found in Haudry (1987). The topics of creation, sacrifice, death, and the Otherworld can be found in the various works of Lincoln (1980, 1981, 1986, 1991, 1995); various deities are discussed in Dexter (1996), Nagy (1974*a*), Watkins (1995); the divine twins are treated in Ward (1968), Lehmann (1988), Grottanelli (1986), Dubuisson (1992), and York (1995); the subject of sacred vocabulary is handled in York (1993); summaries of the eschatological model are found in O'Brien (1976) and more recently Bray (2000); death beliefs are in Puhvel (1969), Hansen (1980), and Lincoln (1980), while burial is discussed by Jones-Bley (1997).

26

Origins: The Never-Ending Story

26.1	The Homeland Problem	442	26.4	Evaluating Homeland Theories	454
26.2	Homeland Approaches	444	26.5	Processes of Expansion	458
26.3	What Does the Homeland Look Like?	453	26.6.	Where Do They Put it Now?	460

26.1 The Homeland Problem

Sir William Jones had hardly postulated the existence of what we now term the Indo-European language family before he set future Indo-European studies its longest and most frustrating problem. In the same lecture (see Section 1.1) in which he described the relationship between the various ancient languages, he also remarked that in a future discourse he would attempt to follow them back to ‘some central country’. In his later lectures he argued that the homeland lay in greater Iran. This assertion set off a legacy of debate in which homelands have been set anywhere from the North to the South Poles, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Before we briefly review the different approaches and solutions to the homeland problem, we should ask ourselves whether this is even a legitimate problem.

Why must the Indo-European languages be derived from a smaller geographical area than that in which we find them when they begin to enter the historical record? Why couldn’t they have always been there, at least since the time of *Homo sapiens sapiens*? This is indeed an argument made by a several scholars who locate the Indo-Europeans right across Europe from the beginning of the Upper Palaeolithic onwards, i.e. *c.* 40,000 years ago. The reasons for not making such an assumption are several.

First, from our initial historical records onwards we can see Indo-Europeans expanding centrifugally, at least beyond the periphery of their historical distribution (Maps 1.1, 1.3). Iberia maintains evidence of both prehistoric and current non-Indo-European populations, e.g. Basques, as does Italy (Etruscans). The Iranian language expanded south to absorb the earlier Elamite language of southern Iran and Indo-Aryan languages spread southwards and eastwards to absorb, at least partially, Munda and Dravidian languages. The Anatolian languages are so laced with loanwords from their non-Indo-European neighbours that languages such as Hittite are often seen as having been superimposed on a Hattic substrate.

Second, the reconstructed lexicon, no matter how narrow or broadly we interpret it, makes it abundantly clear that the proto-language possessed a mixed arable agriculture-stockbreeding economy, some metals, ceramic technology, and wheeled transport. As agriculture did not exist in either Europe or India prior to the seventh millennium, it is difficult to sustain an argument that the Indo-Europeans were scattered across Eurasia from the fortieth millennium BC onwards. As a cultural phenomenon, Proto-Indo-European cannot have begun disintegrating until it had already adopted a Neolithic economy and technology.

Third, the greater an area that we assign to a language (whatever continuum of dialects that we might imagine for Proto-Indo-European), the greater the opportunity for language divergence over time. In concrete terms, the larger the area that we imagine for the speakers of what we notionally reconstruct as a proto-language, the more rivers, mountains, seas, variation in economic strategies, social systems, contacts with non-Indo-European substrates, we must imagine contributing to linguistic diversity. While we cannot assign a one-to-one relationship between language change, time, and area, we do know that all of these features are factors. Conversely, if we find a single language over a large area we tend to presume a short period of time for its spread.

There have been periods of broad consensus, e.g. an Asian homeland was the favourite for much of the nineteenth century but a European homeland (where in Europe was another question altogether) has been the primary choice of most scholars since the early twentieth century. Now, the consensus is still probably European but there are a number of scholars who would support Anatolia (Turkey) or other areas of Asia. With so much dispute and with everyone working with the same general body of evidence, we are clearly dealing with profound methodological differences. How do we determine the centre of the spread of a language? Are there universal principles that we can employ to determine the prehistoric location of a language?

The most obvious approach to finding the Indo-European homeland, i.e. selecting a geographical location in time and convincing the rest of the world

that one is right, is examining the distribution of languages from their centres in many historically controlled situations so that we can observe the processes and principles involved. The problem with this approach is that there is really nothing suitable. Where we can observe the expansion of a major language group, e.g. Romance or Germanic, it is under historical circumstances that are hardly likely to have obtained at the time of Indo-European expansions. Where we find language families that more closely approximate the social conditions of Proto-Indo-European, e.g. Chinese, Uralic, Algonquian, we find ourselves dealing with other unresolved homeland problems. In short, no language family has provided a suitable laboratory to work out confidently the rules of the game. That is not to say that many solutions do not try to argue from what are posited to be well-established principles, but few if any of such principles can be regarded as wholly compelling from an empirical standpoint.

26.2 Homeland Approaches

The search for the Indo-European homeland is an exercise in logic and the diversity of solutions is primarily due to the variety of approaches that have been taken. Below follows a brief compendium of the type of more serious arguments that have been adduced to locate the original location of the Indo-Europeans.

26.2.1 *External Language Relations*

Just as adjacent languages may mutually influence each other when in contact so also do adjacent language families. Linguists have discerned loanwords or grammatical loans (or mutual inheritances) between Indo-European on the one hand and Uralic, Afro-Asiatic (here Semitic), and Kartvelian. These presumed contacts have supported homelands set in the steppelands of Eurasia (with the Uralics in the forest zone to the north), in eastern Anatolia (to accommodate an interface between Kartvelian and Semitic), and in central Asia (distant Semitic relations and again with Uralics to the north). The problems with such an approach have been discerning the time depth of the 'contacts', i.e. what have been interpreted as Uralic-Proto-Indo-European loans by some have been seen to be much later contacts between Iranians or Indo-Iranians and Uralics. The nature of the contacts may also be disputed, i.e. where we may find apparent loanwords between two language families, it is presumptive that these must have been in direct contact with one another when the language groups could

still have been geographically distant and the lexical connections are *Wanderwörter*, i.e. far-travelled cultural loanwords. Third, it may be disputed whether the relationship reflects a contact relationship between two different language families or whether the evidence points to the retention of shared terms from genetically related language families which share a common origin, i.e. the similarities go back to a time long prior to the formation of the two proto-languages involved. It should also be emphasized that language families are not synchronic, i.e. there is no reason to postulate the same time depths to every language family. Some uniform proto-language may have been spoken over a geographically compact area at the same time when their neighbours had already differentiated into different language groups of an already expanded family.

26.2.2 *Centre of Gravity*

The distribution of the different language groups, it is argued, should provide important clues as to their origin. In the biological sciences, for example, a map of the different genera and species of a plant or animal often indicates the probable area of origin. This argument generally involves an appeal to maximum diversity to indicate the centre of a language dispersal. The English language is most uniform in areas where it has expanded most recently (Australia, New Zealand) and shows more evidence of regional dialects in areas settled somewhat earlier (North America) and greatest diversity in areas where it has existed longest (England). If we continue this approach, we would argue that as there are far more Germanic languages in north-west Europe it is far more likely that English derived from there rather than the reverse, i.e. that the other Germanic languages spread from England to the Continent. This approach has been a staple of homeland solutions everywhere in the world. It also has a converse principle: where we find the greatest homogeneity of languages, that area is likely to have been most recently occupied. In general, these principles have selected for homelands in or adjacent to the Balkans. Here we can list a series of language groups, e.g. Greek, Albanian, Illyrian, Thracian, Dacian, Slavic, which are portrayed as a central core while on the periphery we find large areas occupied by single language groups (Indo-Iranians in the east and Celtic (here seen in terms of its broad Iron Age distribution) in western and central Europe).

The problem with this approach is that it is extremely difficult to apply at a consistent date or with a suitable control of the actual diversity of the languages involved. We may be able to pack our putative Balkan core with Illyrian, Thracian, and Dacian but we have no idea how different they were from each

other or from neighbouring Indo-European groups. Moreover, we have no absolute measure of difference in the first place. Although we tend to use languages as the common unit of measurement, the diversity between languages of the same family is hardly uniform. For example, the major Scandinavian languages of Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish are very broadly mutually intelligible as also are the Eastern Slavic languages of Russian and Byelorussian, more distantly Ukrainian. If we simply count the number of early languages we know and their diversity in specific locations, it is probable that Italy would be judged the winner with its numerous, poorly attested Iron Age languages that shared the peninsula along with Latin. In Italy the linguistic diversity attested by our earliest linguistic records has been replaced with relative linguistic uniformity by the spread of Latin. In Anatolia the linguistic diversity of our earliest records was replaced by the spread of Greek and then, later, by the spread of Turkish. How many other areas where our earliest knowledge is of linguistic uniformity are the products of exactly the same process?

26.2.3 *Cladistic Correlation*

The family tree of the Indo-European languages has often been seen as a partial proxy to the geographical relationships between the different languages. For example, many if not most linguists would see the separation between Anatolian and the other Indo-European languages as among the earliest ‘splits’. For this reason, homeland solutions are devised to accommodate these intrafamily relationships, generally by having the homeland not too distant from the historical seats of the Anatolian languages. Following this line of reasoning, the Proto-Indo-European homeland is placed in Anatolia, requiring all the other Indo-European languages to separate off from Anatolia (either to the east or to the west), or the homeland is placed somewhere not too distant from Anatolia, e.g. the steppelands, so that the future Anatolians might be accounted for by the initial Indo-European expansions. The problems involved with this method are several. First, there are competing family trees to explain the Indo-European languages and the differences will govern the nature of the geographical relationships proposed. Second, it is presumptuous to read geographical co-ordinates into a linguistic relationship. For example, although many trees will suggest reasons for placing the Indo-Iranians linguistically close to the Greeks and Armenians (see Figs. 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3), how do we translate this relationship into a geographical expression of where they may have shared this mutual development (or contact)? It may have been in India, Iran, the steppes, Anatolia, the Balkans, Greece itself, or somewhere outside this broad band.

26.2.4 *Onomastics*

This approach presumes that the proto-language itself might have left identifiable traces on the named landscape. The primary use of such an approach has been in the area of river names on the assumption that these represent the oldest and lexically least altered component of the landscape. Hence, if one can discern Proto-Indo-European names for rivers, we can presume that we have found an area in which the Proto-Indo-Europeans once lived. Such an approach has thrown up homelands in the Baltic or central and eastern Europe. These hydronymic solutions run into very serious problems. Many would dispute the interpretation of the empirical evidence, i.e. that one can confidently etymologize the names of rivers beyond an existing language system. The systems of ancient river names require appeals not to specific Indo-European languages but to derivations from Proto-Indo-European roots, and there is no way of checking the credibility of assigning river names like ‘the bright’, ‘the runner’, etc. One linguist’s Indo-European names become another’s proto-Basque, or Caucasian or anything else.

There are several other onomastic approaches although these play little part in more recent research. Iranian tradition spoke of an *Airyana vaeja* ‘seed of the Aryans’ as a particular (but unspecified) geographical location and that tradition set many scholars off to localize it in some particular place. Moreover, it was often assumed by such scholars that the homeland of the ‘Aryans’ could be assumed, without much further ado, to be the homeland of their ancestors, the Proto-Indo-Europeans, as well. In actuality the *Airyana vaeja* would have been the homeland of (a major branch of) the Iranians alone.

26.2.5 *Conservation Principle*

One of the recurrent arguments employed to determine the Indo-European homeland on the basis of purely linguistic evidence is the assumption that the homeland is most likely in the area where we find the least altered Indo-European language. This presumption is based on the logic that, if a language has not moved, it will have experienced far less impetus to change, e.g. impact of substrates or contacts with other languages, than those languages that have spread through more distant migration. This principle was initially applied in the nineteenth century when it was assumed that Sanskrit was the closest to the proto-language, but over the course of the next century two other contenders appeared. The archaic nature claimed for Anatolian made it possible to suggest that it was the least moved language, but this conclusion was mitigated by the

clear evidence of loanwords from a variety of its neighbours (Semitic, Hattic, Hurrian) and the internal evidence that indicated that Hittite had been adopted by a non-Indo-European substrate. Alternatively, the Baltic languages, particularly Lithuanian, were seen to be remarkably conservative, especially in light of their late attestation. This conservatism provided one of the cornerstones for those who sought an Indo-European homeland on the shores of the Baltic Sea.

The conservation principle suffers from several serious defects. Its application requires one to measure how conservative were the various Indo-European languages, but this comparison cannot be done on a level playing field because the various languages entered the historical record at different times. To compare Sanskrit with a putative date of c.1200 BC with Lithuanian at AD 1800 is patently unfair (and assessing the state of Lithuanian at 1200 BC requires a time machine). As it is impossible to compare any more than three language groups at c. 1000 BC (Indo-Iranian, Greek, and late Anatolian) one is not comparing the full range of Indo-European languages. If one applies the principle by a time when all the languages can be brought into play, we then find ourselves comparing the modern languages of India (Hindi-Urdu, Bengali, etc.) with the Romance languages (French, Italian, etc.) and we will have to ignore all earlier evidence, including whole language groups (Anatolian, Tocharian) or well-attested earlier stages of the language groups (Sanskrit, Latin). Secondly, there is no empirical measuring device to ascertain in any reliable quantitative manner how conservative or how innovative the Indo-European languages are. There is no commonly agreed scale by which one could compare each language group against a standard (reconstructed Proto-Indo-European). Third, the underlying logic of the exercise is largely based on the assumption that language change is a product of language contact, i.e. the reason that a language spread through migration is likely to experience more change is that it has undergone imperfect learning by substrate populations (or come into contact with foreign languages). While these may influence language change, they are hardly the only reasons for it. Finally, if conservation did indicate lack of movement from a putative homeland we would expect that there would be a corresponding gradient of conservatism running from the homeland to the most travelled language group; in fact, there is no such evidence of a graduated abandonment of the 'mother tongue' over distance.

26.2.6 Linguistic Palaeontology

The analysis of the reconstructed proto-lexicon for clues as to the location of a proto-language is a widely employed technique although many prefer a different term, e.g. lexico-cultural analysis, from the original nineteenth-century term,

linguistic palaeontology, that led to discredited results. The underlying premiss is that if we can reconstruct the environment and technology known to the Proto-Indo-Europeans, we should be able to determine their location. The main areas of interest are the words for trees, animals, and material culture, all of which may have had restricted distributions in the past. The technique requires an appeal to archaeological and palaeo-environmental evidence to set broad limits on where the proto-language may have been spoken. This exercise is often only intelligible when we also have some idea of *when* Proto-Indo-European was spoken (see Chapter 6) because the distribution of plants, animals, and most especially material culture has varied greatly through time. If one accepts the broad dates provided earlier, i.e. c. 4500-2500 BC, for Proto-Indo-European, the lexico-cultural evidence does little to confine the potential area of the homeland. The difficulty is that the more geographically specific the reconstructed item, the less likely it is for the word to have survived once the Indo-Europeans expanded beyond a region where it existed. Or, the word might then be applied to a new species of plant or animal and we will be left with critical uncertainty as to what the proto-lexeme actually meant. We have already seen this in three of the classic Indo-European homeland arguments which required us to determine whether **lóks* meant 'Atlantic salmon' or 'salmon trout', **bheh_aǵós* meant the common beech (*Fagus silvatica*) or some other species of beech (*Fagus taurica* or *Fagus orientalis*) or some other tree altogether, and whether **h₁ék_wos* referred to the 'domestic horse' or the 'wild horse' (or both)? There is no cultural item that clinches a homeland in any specific location but it should not be imagined that the lexical cultural evidence is altogether useless. It does provide us with a fairly consistent impression of the time of Proto-Indo-European (Late Neolithic/Eneolithic) and it provides us with evidence that renders some potential homelands much less likely than others, e.g. the absence of the evidence of the horse altogether from both Greece and Italy before the Bronze Age makes it less likely that these were the earliest seats of the Indo-Europeans.

26.2.7 Physical Anthropology

The use of physical anthropological evidence (now the term 'bio-archaeological' is often preferred) emerged as a major technique of the latter nineteenth century but after the excesses of twentieth-century racists it has few supporters, at least within the sphere of Indo-European studies, as this area is precisely where the excesses were inflicted. The assumption here is that human physical type may serve as proxy evidence for the speakers of a language family. There were several approaches. One depended on phenotypic differences, i.e. the outward appearance of different peoples. Scholars mined historical records

and literature for descriptions of the earliest Indo-Europeans and then argued whether they were blond or brunette (given the range of meanings of colour terms in ancient literatures this is not always an easy task) and employed such evidence to determine the likely homeland. This method produced arguments of truly staggering illogic as pseudo-scientists sought the epicentre of European blondness under the assumption that only there could one have acquired light hair and only there could have been the homeland. As cloning techniques were unlikely to have been present during the period 4500–2500 BC, it is difficult to see why the phenotype of the original population of so physically disparate speakers as the Indo-Europeans had to be uniformly blond, brunette, or whatever colour one might imagine.

A second approach involved the analysis of skeletal anatomy, primarily the human skull, which was divided into certain ‘subracial’ categories, e.g. Nordic, Armenian, Mediterranean, or into the broader categories of skull length to breadth ratio, i.e. brachycephalics (brachycranials if it was your skull and not your living head) who had wide heads and dolichocephalics (dolichocranials) with long heads. The problem here is that if children of dolichocephalics could turn out brachycephalic, how could one seriously regard such broad distinctions as meaningful? It has proven difficult to sort out which measurements of the human skull are measuring something that is entirely genetic, i.e. inherited, versus those which may differ either randomly or because of the environment, especially the diet. Those who still measure skulls generally do so within the context of multivariate analysis where a number of different, and presumably more reliable, measurements are analysed statistically in order to determine the direction of gene flow from one population to another. Even this technique is not widely employed simply because many, perhaps most, physical anthropologists have abandoned such analysis.

A third approach is genetic, i.e. either the analysis of the genetic composition of modern populations or the extraction of genetic data (ancient DNA) from skeletal material. This method has proved to be a growth industry in language studies (there is grant money out there to be gained) but the results are still far from reliable. Analysis of modern populations as proxy evidence for past migrations, especially migrations that should have occurred thousands of years earlier, have yielded quite conflicting interpretations. One of the earliest and still discussed is the work of Luca Cavalli-Sforza and his colleagues on the distribution of human genes in European populations where the first principal component, indicated by a genetic path from South-West Asia westwards across Europe, has been interpreted as the result of the expansion of the first farmers in the seventh millennium BC or, alternatively and in no way in association with the spread of Indo-European speech, that of modern *Homo sapiens sapiens* populations c. 40,000 BC. The temptation to read every cline on a map of genetic features

as a migration and tie it to a putative linguistic movement has led to ostensibly circular reasoning. As for the use of ancient DNA, actually establishing gene flow among ancient populations where there is control for the date of the gene flow, the techniques involved are of a far higher magnitude of difficulty. Ancient DNA is often very poorly preserved, expensive to recover, and without analysis of a large area, valid conclusions cannot be made. The technique may in time become a useful tool but that day is some way off.

Finally, the problem with both genetic and phenetic approaches is that there is an assumed correlation between language and human physical type. Studies of current language boundaries do reveal some correlations but many of these involve natural barriers (seas, mountains) and none can be reliably factored for time, i.e. there is no way to distinguish whether a currently observable border between, say, Romanian (Italic) and Bulgarian (Slavic) is a modern feature or reflective of an earlier border between Dacian and Thracian or a still earlier border. The requirement of a genetic trail could only be accepted if one required that for language shift to occur there must be a constant human vector involved so that there was major directional gene flow. Given the fact that in most cases we are probably speaking of language shift between neighbouring peoples, there is no requirement whatsoever that the trail of language shift should also leave a clearly defined genetic trail as well. Nor for that matter can we assume that if we do find a genetic trail, this necessarily resulted in a language shift favourable for those carrying the gene rather than their absorption by local populations.

26.2.8 Retrospective Archaeology

We have already seen archaeological involvement in the use of linguistic palaeontology but it may be employed in a number of other ways as well. The most obvious is the retrospective method where one examines those archaeological cultures that must have been associated with different Indo-European language groups and attempts to work backwards to the 'proto-culture'. The unit of analysis here is the so-called 'archaeological culture', a classification device employed by archaeologists to deal with similar and geographically confined material culture and behaviour. This method fails to convince for at least two major reasons.

The retrospective technique presumes that one can employ cladistic techniques to provide an archaeological family tree much like a linguistic tree. But this is not at all what one actually does because the archaeologically defined cultures show constant mutual contact in terms of ornamental styles, architecture, metallurgy, or any other phenomenon of cultural life, i.e. there is no single line of 'gene flow' within a continuum of archaeological cultures. Moreover, the

definition of the individual units may well vary through time, e.g. in the Neolithic ceramics tend to be critical for distinguishing one culture from another but by the Bronze Age, metallurgical tradition and mortuary practice become more critical elements.

Secondly, even if one were convinced of the underlying logic of the retrospective method, it still falls apart on empirical grounds once one has worked back to *c.*3000 BC (in some cases the retrospective method disappears altogether). Many of the language groups of Europe, i.e. Celtic, Germanic, Baltic, and Slavic, may possibly be traced back to the Corded Ware horizon of northern, central, and eastern Europe that flourished *c.*3200–2300 BC. Some would say that the Iron Age cultures of Italy might also be derived from this cultural tradition. For this reason the Corded Ware culture is frequently discussed as a prime candidate for early Indo-European; in the past it was even suggested as the Proto-Indo-European culture. However, the Corded Ware cannot even remotely explain the Indo-European groups of the Balkans, Greece, Anatolia, nor those of Asia. For the steppeland regions of Eurasia, the retrospective method takes us back through the Bronze Age Andronovo and Timber-grave cultures of the Eurasian steppe to the underlying Yamna culture of *c.*3600–2200 BC. This method can supply us with an archaeological proxy for the Eastern Iranians but that is about all the retrospective method gets us. We may argue that the Yamna culture should minimally reflect the proto-Indo-Iranians if not more; however, we cannot do this by the retrospective method since there is no ancestral culture that territorially underlies the Iranians or Indo-Aryans, i.e. there is no specific culture X that both embraces the historical seats of the Indo-Iranians and can also be traced back to the Yamna culture. Similarly, there is really no solid evidence in the retrospective method in Greece that takes us anywhere that we can confidently tie to one of the other two ‘ancestral cultures’; nor Anatolia. Sooner or later the retrospective method leads us to a series of what seem to appear to be independent cultural phenomena that somehow must be associated with one another. In that lies most of the archaeological debate concerning Indo-European origins.

26.2.9 Prospective Archaeology

The opposite method to a retrospective approach is a prospective approach where one starts with a given archaeological phenomenon and tracks its expansion. This approach is largely driven by a theory connected with the mechanism by which the Indo-European languages must have expanded. Here the trajectory need not be the type of family tree that an archaeologist might draw up but rather some other major social phenomenon that can move

between cultures. For example, in both the nineteenth century and then again in the later twentieth century, it was proposed that Indo-European expansions were associated with the spread of agriculture. The underlying assumption here is that only the expansion of a new more productive economy and attendant population expansion can explain the widespread expansion of a language family the size of the Indo-European. This theory is most closely associated with a model that derives the Indo-Europeans from Anatolia about the seventh millennium BC from whence they spread into south-eastern Europe and then across Europe in a Neolithic ‘wave of advance’. A later alternative mechanism is the spread of more pastoral societies who exploited the horse (and later the chariot) and carried a new language across Europe and Asia from the fourth millennium BC onwards. The underlying assumption here is that the vector of Indo-European language spread depended on a new, more aggressive social organization coupled with a more mobile economy and superior transportation technology. As this theory sets the homeland in the steppelands north of the Black and Caspian seas among different cultures that employed barrows for their burials (Russian *kurgan*), it is generally termed the Kurgan theory.

Although the difference between the Wave of Advance and Kurgan theories is quite marked, they both share the same explanation for the expansion of the Indo-Iranians in Asia (and there are no fundamental differences in either of their difficulties in explaining the Tocharians), i.e. the expansion of mobile pastoralists eastwards and then southwards into Iran and India. Moreover, there is recognition by supporters of the Neolithic theory that the ‘wave of advance’ did not reach the peripheries of Europe (central and western Mediterranean, Atlantic and northern Europe) but that these regions adopted agriculture from their neighbours rather than being replaced by them.

In short, there is no easy way to locating the Indo-European homeland; there is no certain solution.

26.3 What Does the Homeland Look Like?

One of the problems of homeland research is that often those searching for it are not clear what they are looking for or likely to find. If we consider the problem from first principles, then there is absolutely no reason to imagine that Proto-Indo-European began with the origins of human speech. Once that is accepted, then obviously Proto-Indo-European must have had ancestral stages that pre-date its appearance. In some cases, linguists have attempted to reconstruct Pre-Proto-Indo-European, generally through internal reconstruction. Often the ancestry is traced to earlier proposed linguistic stages, e.g. Proto-Indo-Uralic or Nostratic, but even here one is seldom proposing a language stage earlier than

c.15,000–10,000 BC. Moreover, as we trace Indo-European along the developmental line of a still longer language tree, our control of time and space becomes increasingly weaker. If one, for example, wished to derive Proto-Indo-European from Nostratic, there is an overwhelming temptation to locate a Nostratic homeland and use this as a proxy homeland for Proto-Indo-European. But once this is done, we exclude from the equation vast tracts of Eurasia whose cultures will then remain linguistically anonymous for they fall outside the geographical area of anyone's Nostratic (generally localized to somewhere in South-West Asia). We are accumulating unknowables at an alarming rate.

The result is that Proto-Indo-European defines that stage in a linguistic continuum retrievable by the comparative method. It was not an 'instant' in the life of a language nor was it a recognizable event to those who spoke it (occasionally in the nineteenth century scholars provided explicit scenarios where the Proto-Indo-Europeans resided in some confined, possibly isolated, territory where they 'perfected' their language). If we must accept that the temporal boundaries of our definition are blurred over many centuries, perhaps on the order of one or two thousand years, then it follows that the territorial boundaries of the proto-language are also very blurred. It is almost inconceivable that the linguistic borders of Proto-Indo-European could have remained static for a millennium or two. The best we can hope for is a dead reckoning of an area at a particular range of time in the hope that it encompasses much of what we believe to have been the ancestral speech of the Indo-Europeans.

26.4 Evaluating Homeland Theories

In a world with so many competing theories, how can we evaluate which are the most probable? Many homeland solutions depend on the reiteration (often in tones of vastly greater confidence than is warranted) of one or two pieces of evidence and selective amnesia concerning all the objections to the theory. Although there is not a single solution that may not be regarded as damaged goods, there are some that seem beyond repair, but we need some explicit guidelines to separate these from the real contenders. The following comprises a partial arsenal of criteria by which one might assess a potential solution.

26.4.1 *Temporal Relationship*

A solution cannot date after 2000 BC by which time we may expect to find an already differentiated Anatolian as well as Indo-Iranian and probably Greek.

How early a solution is admitted depends on individual decisions regarding the temporally most diagnostic vocabulary. That the vocabulary is clearly one reflecting at least a Neolithic economy and technology, i.e. domesticated plants and animals, ceramics, means that it cannot be set anywhere on this planet prior to *c.* 8000 BC. Although there are still those who propose solutions dating back to the Palaeolithic, these cannot be reconciled with the cultural vocabulary of the Indo-European languages. The later vocabulary of Proto-Indo-European hinges on such items as wheeled vehicles, the plough, wool, which are attested in Proto-Indo-European, including Anatolian. It is unlikely then that words for these items entered the Proto-Indo-European lexicon prior to about 4000 BC. This is not necessarily a date for the expansion of Indo-European since the area of Proto-Indo-European speech could have already been in motion by then and new items with their words might still have passed through the continuum undetected, i.e. treated as inheritances rather than borrowings. All that can be concluded is that if one wishes to propose a homeland earlier than about 4000 BC, the harder it is to explain these items of vocabulary.

26.4.2. Linguistic Relationship

Any solution should accommodate the broad requirements of whatever family tree is being proposed. In general, there is probably some broad although not universal consensus that would see a separation between Anatolian and the other Indo-European languages (see Figs. 5.3 and 5.4). Many have argued that Greek, Armenian, and Indo-Iranian share a number of innovations that suggest that there should have been some form of linguistic continuum between their predecessors. This line of thinking then presupposes various peripheries such as Germanic, Baltic, and Slavic in some form of relationship and possibly Celtic and Italic in another, still related to the north European languages. The position of Tocharian still remains beyond solid consensus other than the fact that it cannot be brought into the same continuum as Indo-Iranian. If a solution to the homeland can avoid totally contradicting these relationships, it can be regarded as a potential model.

26.4.3 External Relationship

There is evidence for loanwords and possibly genetic connections between Proto-Indo-European and other language families, most particularly Uralic

and Semitic. The interpretation of the empirical evidence here is not now (nor ever has been) the subject of much consensus and attempts to dead reckon the Proto-Indo-European homeland on a notional idea of its relationship with these other language families have plenty of problems. At best a solution should be able to devise a way by which Proto-Indo-European could have borrowed from and loaned words to these two major groups. It would, however, be a mistake to imagine that these relations can be translated into specific geographic co-ordinates, especially when we do not know the prehistoric location of the other language families any better than Indo-European.

26.4.4 Total Distribution Principle

The correct solution to the Indo-European homeland problem explains the origins and distribution of all the Indo-European languages. All too often a solution proceeds from some form of argument for the local continuity of a language in a particular area and then extrapolates this back to the homeland itself. In the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, the model of continuity helped drive a north European solution to the homeland problem, i.e. if there is no evidence that anyone brought a new language into northern Europe, then there must have been local continuity in this region and all the other Indo-European languages derive from northern Europe. Today there is an entire school that makes a similar argument for local continuity in northern India and argues that there lies the homeland. In both cases—or any other case for regional continuity—a solution is made for one area and the rest of the Indo-European world is forced to accommodate it, generally without the slightest credible evidence. No solution is valid if it only rests on local continuity; it must provide a viable model for the spread of all the Indo-European languages.

26.4.5 Plausible Vector Principle

The expansion of the Indo-European languages was a social phenomenon or many individual phenomena that spanned much of Eurasia. This expansion could not have taken place without a social vector that should have left some trace in the archaeological record (ancient DNA may eventually have some role to play here). Generally, all solutions can be divided into two main models: demographic replacement and language shift. In the first, the primary vector will be a new population speaking some form of Indo-European that

swamps or replaces an earlier non-Indo-European-speaking population. The most popular model for demographic replacement is the ‘wave of advance’ that sees the greater productivity of the farming economy as the factor that drove both farming populations and their expansion through Europe where they carried the Indo-European speech. One might also suggest that there may have been regional migrations where an influx of Indo-European speakers settled an area after a major socio-economic collapse (e.g. there is major cultural change and relocation in the Balkans in the fourth millennium BC, or the collapse of the Indus Valley Civilization in the second millennium BC).

Alternatively, there are language shift models that do not require population replacement but rather the spread of a language, perhaps through a minimum number of individuals, due to a variety of social processes that encouraged local non-Indo-European peoples to shift their language. Identifying the social processes is a major challenge. Generally, language shift models have employed some form of ‘elite dominance’, i.e. postulated that the Indo-Europeans expanded through military aggression and superimposed themselves on substrates who eventually adopted Indo-European speech. One of the most popular theories, that of Marija Gimbutas, emphasized the role of the horse and horse riding as a key element in the expansion of Indo-European populations off the steppe into south-eastern and central Europe.

26.4.6 *Exclusion Principle*

Although this is not a hard and fast principle, where we find very early in the historical record evidence for non-Indo-European populations, it is unlikely that we would have reason to set the Proto-Indo-European homeland in the same place. We have written records from the third millennium BC onwards that provide either direct or reasonable inferential evidence as to the location of the Egyptian, Semitic, Sumerian, Hattic, Hurrian, Elamite, and other lesser-known non-Indo-European languages. It is not impossible for the Indo-European homeland to have been located in an area later occupied by a non-Indo-European language, but the earlier our evidence for a non-Indo-European language, the more difficult it becomes to place Indo-Europeans in the same place. Moreover, unless one wishes to explain Indo-European migrations in terms of a refugee model, i.e. the Indo-Europeans were pushed out of their homeland by a more powerful people (and somehow then went on to dominate much of Eurasia), it is difficult to imagine what economic or social process might have given the Indo-Europeans the edge in their expansions. A corollary of this principle is the expectation that if one wishes to place the homeland in the

same area or adjacent to a non-Indo-European language (family), one might expect evidence of linguistic contacts between the two.

26.5 Processes of Expansion

A language, certainly a prehistoric language, cannot spread on its own but requires a vector. Essentially there are two vectors: human beings and their social institutions. The most obvious vector is the human vector, i.e. the migration of a population speaking a particular language who carry it beyond its former territory. For much of the history of the Indo-European homeland problem, human vectors have been the most popular. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, one often read of a Proto-Indo-European people who spilled out from their homeland to cover (often conquer) much of Eurasia. Currently, the most popular human vector is that associated with an Anatolian homeland which links the spread of the Indo-Europeans with the expansion of the earliest farmers. The hunter-gatherer economies of Eurasia may be generally characterized as small and occupying certain ecological niches while the introduction of farming permitted larger families, greater population increase, and density and promoted the expansion of farming populations at the expense of local Mesolithic hunter-gatherers. Population movement is also invoked for a number of the Later Bronze Age and Iron Age cultures which may be seen to adumbrate the later mass 'folk wanderings' of the Celts, Germans, and other peoples of early historic Europe.

The second vector is a social one where a language spreads because it is associated with particular social institutions. This is not to deny that there may also be some population movement but the vector most responsible for the spread of a language is seen to be social rather than strictly biological. For a language to spread over previous populations who have not been deliberately exterminated (unlikely in prehistory) or been entirely swamped by a much more fertile immigrant population, this requires some form of language shift. The rules for language shift are not hard and fast, and generalizing from a handful of cases, often drawn from modern societies or population groups vastly different in technologies, may be an unsuitable model for Proto-Indo-European. But there are certain obvious principles that we may expect operated in the time of early Indo-European expansions. The first is that societies do not immediately shift their language but rather experience a period of societal bilingualism before they acquiesce to the full adoption of a new language.

Societal bilingualism requires some form of social impetus. There must be some reason for people to make the effort to learn a new language in addition to their own, and an equally compelling reason for them to ultimately abandon

their former language for the new one. A social perspective on language use indicates that it is employed in different social domains. For example, there is the domestic domain, the language spoken at home; there is a religious domain, the language spoken when talking to one's deities or in ceremonial precincts; a domain of exchange, the language of the marketplace. If Indo-European spread through language shift, then we might expect that when its speakers came into contact with non-Indo-European-speaking populations, there was some attraction for them to enter one or more of the social domains of the Indo-Europeans: to do this, they had to learn Indo-European. As time progressed, and we may not be talking about more than two generations for any individual group, the local population came to think of themselves more and more as Indo-European speakers and began abandoning their original language in its other social domains. Generally, the last to go will be the domestic domain where, in the most extreme cases, we are left with the poignant image of a grandparent who cannot converse with his or her grandchildren.

So what might have attracted non-Indo-European speakers to enter the social domains of the Indo-Europeans? As fundamentally logical as this question might seem, answers are remarkably few and conclusions even scarcer. One of the obvious and most frequent models was that of a very brusque elite dominance, i.e. the Indo-European speakers conquered local populations and somehow forced them to adopt the new language. Other models focus on Indo-European religion and perhaps religious institutions that may have attracted local populations. There have certainly been enough examples where religion and the military worked hand in hand, e.g. the expansion of Spanish Catholicism in the Americas, Arabic Islam in North Africa and the Middle East. Exchange systems have also been invoked on occasion with the suggestion that Indo-European was a *lingua franca*, a trade language that was adopted among many different peoples. Warrior sodalities (war-bands) have also been invoked—not because they in themselves subjected new populations but rather because they would have attracted young males into an acculturizing institution that offered room for advancement in the new system. Finally, we might invoke the Indo-European social system itself with its admittedly limited evidence for kings and tribes which may have attracted new members, especially if their own political systems were in a state of collapse or lacked centralized institutions.

We should avoid a false dichotomy between the population and social vector as if the spread of the Indo-European languages was due purely to one or the other means. It may well have fluctuated from one instance to the next and it is easy to see how populations who have experienced language shift might be the next population to migrate and carry it into a new territory. A number of the cultures most closely associated with current theories of Indo-European

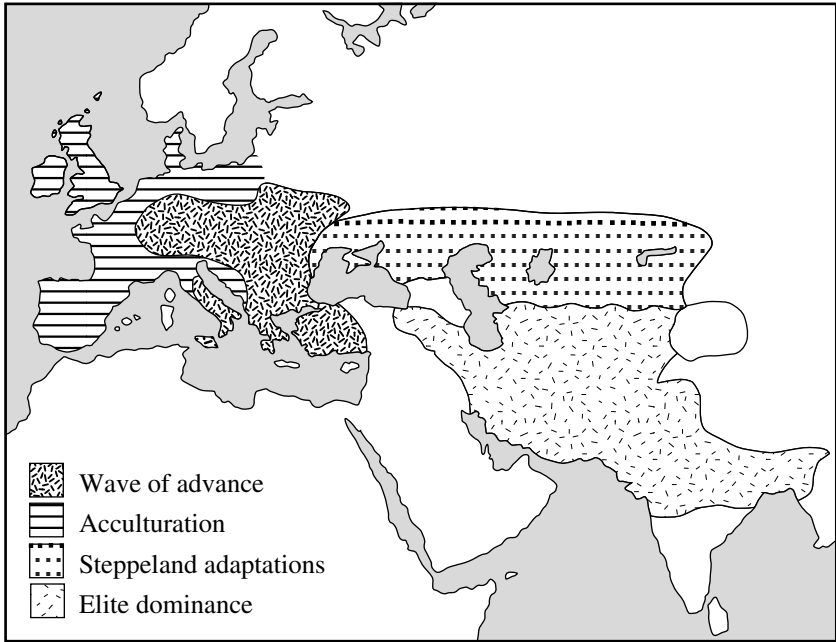
expansions, e.g. the Corded Ware culture of northern and central Europe, the BMAC of central Asia and the Indian borderlands, can be variously interpreted as the result of population movements or primarily social phenomena (cults). From an archaeological point of view, it may well be worth distinguishing the two phenomena, but from the standpoint of linguists, either phenomenon may have served as a vector for language shift.

26.6. Where Do They Put it Now?

All too often surveys of the Indo-Europeans eventually conclude with something on the order of ‘scholars have concluded that the most likely area of the homeland is . . . X’ with a brief defence of one particular solution (this type of scholarship has been going on since the late nineteenth century). In fact, we not only lack total consensus but where we seem to find something of a major school it is often formed by deference rather than conviction, i.e. linguists or archaeologists indicate agreement with a particular theory that they have not themselves investigated in any depth. This situation means that a small number of advocates—at times, very vigorous advocates—provide an assortment of homeland theories for the rest of their colleagues to comply with passively. The homeland is an interesting question but it is so difficult to resolve (we have over two centuries of dispute to prove that) and requires the application of so many less than robust means of argument that most archaeologists and historical linguists do not find it a worthwhile enterprise, at least for themselves. The last word is, therefore, far from written and in this remaining section we only attempt to prepare the reader to engage the current state of argument critically.

Currently, there are two types of models that enjoy significant international currency (Map 26.1).

There is the Neolithic model that involves a wave of advance from Anatolia *c.* 7000 BC and, at least for south-eastern and central Europe, argues primarily for the importation of a new language by an ever growing population of farmers. This part of the model has reasonable archaeological support in that there is a fair amount of archaeologically informed consensus that derives the earliest farming communities in the Balkans from somewhat earlier farming communities in Anatolia. For the periphery of Europe the means of explanation become less clear, and rather than a language expansion driven primarily by Early Neolithic population expansion, this model now seems to admit of later (Late Neolithic, Bronze, or Iron Age) movements into Mediterranean, Atlantic, and northern Europe. For the steppelands, it envisages the spread of an agricultural economy from the Balkans to the steppes where it was then carried, in the Bronze Age, beyond the Urals and then south into the territories



Map 26.1. The Indo-European homeland problem

of the historic Indo-Iranians and Tocharians. Some opponents of this solution admit that the initial archaeological scenario may be true but suggest that the Early Neolithic farmers spoke an unknown non-Indo-European language, possibly related to the historically attested non-Indo-European languages of Anatolia (e.g. Hattic, or possibly one of the Caucasian languages).

Alternatively, there is the steppe or kurgan model which sees the Proto-Indo-Europeans emerging out of local communities in the forest-steppe of the Ukraine and south Russia. Expansion westwards is initiated *c.* 4000 BC by the spread from the forest-steppe of mobile communities who employed the horse and, within the same millennium, wheeled vehicles. These intruded into south-eastern Europe at a time when there was major restructuring of local societies (variously attributed to climatic change, local social evolution, or intrusive steppe populations or a combination of the three). The hard archaeological evidence, i.e. the recurrence of the classic steppe burial type in the Balkans, is reasonably solid as far as the river Tisza. Beyond Hungary, this model relies on far less stringent archaeological evidence. A central component is that it requires some form of genetic derivation of the Corded Ware culture of the north European plain from the steppe cultures (one can talk either of direct derivation or the spread of a symbolic and social system that was initiated in the steppe). As for the Asiatic Indo-Europeans, it offers the model that was

adopted later by those who support the Neolithic model. Opponents of this theory would tend to see the steppe cultures as the ancestors of the Indo-Iranians and possibly the Tocharians but not of the entire Indo-European family.

The dispute here is thus one of degree, both temporal and spatial. The Neolithic model implicitly suggests that separation should have begun in the seventh millennium while the steppe theory would set a terminal date for Proto-Indo-European in about the end of the fifth or fourth millennium BC. For those who believe that the most recent technological items reconstructed to Proto-Indo-European, e.g. wheeled vehicles, wool, plough, provide a broadly congruent terminal date, then the Neolithic model is too early unless it is modified to suggest that the Proto-Indo-European territory during the seventh to fifth millennia was still so relatively confined that loanwords of the fourth millennium could pass through it indistinguishable from the inherited vocabulary. In terms of spatial differences, the Neolithic model subsumes the steppe by arguing that the steppe cultures expanded westwards from the south-west corner of the Black Sea. This is an area where there is considerable archaeological dispute as there is also evidence that the Neolithic economy may have entered the steppe region via the Caucasus, which would provide a markedly different origin not only for livestock and cereals but also for the Neolithic vocabulary reconstructed to Proto-Indo-European. In any event, there is really no case for a ‘wave of advance’ across the Ukraine and south Russia from the Balkans. Another critical spatial issue is raised if we position the Proto-Indo-Europeans in Anatolia and derive the Anatolians from local Neolithic populations (4,000 years earlier). One must reconcile this with the consensus that Anatolian was a superstrate on local non-Indo-European language families. To avoid this issue, either the Proto-Indo-Europeans must be moved to the far west of Anatolia during the Neolithic or the non-Indo-European Hatti must be introduced later to the story, not as the indigenous population but themselves as intrusive.

As both theories explain the Asian Indo-Europeans in the same manner, there is no dispute there although it does militate against one of the most attractive aspects of the “wave of advance”. The archaeological evidence for an expansion from the steppelands across historical Iran and India varies from the extremely meagre to total absence: both the Anatolian and the Kurgan theory find it extraordinarily difficult to explain the expansion of the Indo-European languages over a vast area of urbanized Asian populations, approximately the same area as that of Europe. To assert, as some supporters of the ‘Wave of Advance’ theory do, that only a major change such as agriculture could explain the distribution of the Indo-European languages does seem to be contradicted even by their own models. In terms of the Europeans west

of the Black Sea, the Neolithic model provides a larger area for the initial Indo-Europeanization, i.e. both south-east and central Europe. The steppe model is not nearly so secure for explaining central Europe. As for the peripheries of Europe, both confront analogous problems of language shift.

We can speculate what the future might hold for homeland studies. Although much now appears about the relationship between DNA and language, it will remain to be seen how appropriate the techniques of genetics are in unravelling linguistic phenomena. From historical linguistics we may look for greater attention to that part of the vocabulary of various Indo-European groups that is not easily assignable to Proto-Indo-European. This is the area of substrate studies which has often lain on the periphery of Indo-European studies, at least when the substrate was a wholly unknown language, but which may see some useful and credible developments that could suggest what parts of the vocabulary of the different Indo-European groups were absorbed outside the inherited vocabulary. From archaeology we might hope for greater attention to social models that bridge the gap between the phenomenon of language and the material remains and patterns that constitute the archaeological record.

Further Reading

General surveys or assessments are found in Mallory (1989, 1997*a*). The classic Anatolian/Neolithic theory is presented in Renfrew (1987) and then modified in (1996, 1999); variations on an Anatolian homeland can be found in Sherratt and Sherratt (1988), Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1995), Dolgopolsky (1987), Drews (1988), Zvelebil and Zvelebil (1988); and in opposition Diakonoff and Nerosnak (1985). The classic steppe theory is presented in Gimbutas (1991, 1997), Anthony (1991), Mallory (2002); other theories are to be found in Häusler (2002) and Nichols (1997, 1998). Physical anthropology and the Indo-European problem is exhaustively treated in Day (2001), see also Mallory (1995).

Appendix 1
Basic Sound Correspondences between PIE and the Major IE Groups^a

PIE	Celt OIr	Ital Lat	Gmc OE	Balt Lith	Slav OCS	Alb Alb	Grk Grk	Arm Arm	Anat Hit	Iran Av	Ind Skt	Toch TochB
*p	ø	p	f	p	p	p	p	h ~ ø ~ p' ~ y ~ w	p ~ pp	p	p	p
*b	b	b	p	b	b	b	b	p	p	b	b	p
*bh	b	f/b	b	b	b	b	ph	b	p	b	bh	p
*t	t	t	þ	t	t	t	t	t' ~ d ~ y	t ~ tt	t	t	t [c]
*d	d	d	t	d	d	d	d	t	t	d	d	t ~ ø [ts]
*dh	d	f/d	d	d	d	d	th	d	t	d	dh	t [ts]
*k̂	c	c	h	š	s	th	k	s ~ j	k ~ kk	s	ś	k [ś]
*ĝ	g	g	c	ž	z	dh	g	c ~ t	k	z	j	k [ś]
*ĝh	g	h	g	ž	z	d	kh	j	k	z	h	k [ś]
*k	c	c	h	k	k [č/c]	k [q]	k	k' ~ g	k ~ kk	k [č]	k [c]	k [ś]
*g	g	g	c	g	g [ž/z]	g [gj]	g	k ~ c	k	g [ǰ]	g [ǰ]	
*gh	g	h	g	g	g [ž/z]	g [gj]	kh	?	k	g [ǰ]	gh [h]	k [ś]
*k ^w	c	qu	hw	k	k [č/c]	k [s]	p ~ t	k' ~ h ~ g [č']	ku ~ kku	k [č]	k [c]	k ~ kw [ś]
*g ^w	b	v/gu	cw	g	g [ž/z]	g [z]	b ~ d	k	ku	g [ǰ]	g [j]	k ~ kw [ś]
*g ^w h	g	f/u	w	g	g [ž/z]	g [z]	ph ~ th	g [ǰ]	ku	g [ǰ]	gh [h]	k ~ kw [ś]
*s	s	s	s	s	s	gj ~ sh	h ~ ø ~ s	h ~ ø	s	h ~ s- š	s ~ ś	s [ś]
*y	ø	i	gi	j	j	gj	h ~ z	z ~ ø	y	y	y	y
*w	w	v	w	v	v	v	ø	g	w	v	v	w [y]
*m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
*n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n [ñ]

(Cont'd)

Appendix 1 (Cont'd.)

PIE	Celt OIr	Ital Lat	Gmc OE	Balt Lith	Slav OCS	Alb Alb	Grk Grk	Arm Arm	Anat Hit	Iran Av	Ind Skt	Toch TochB
*l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	r	l ~ r	l
*r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r ~ l	r
*m	em	em ~ im	um	im	e	e	a	am	am	a	a	am/ām
*n	en	en ~ in	un	in	e	e	a	an	an	a	a	an/ān
*l̥	li ~ al	ol	ul	il	īl	li ~ le	al	al	al	ərə	ṛ	al/āl
*r̥	ri ~ ar	or	ur	ir	īr	ri ~ re	ar	ar	ar	ərə	ṛ	ar/ār
*i	i	i	i	i	ī	i ~ e	i	i	i	i	i	(y)a/y(ä) ~ a/ä
*ī	ī	ī	ī	y	i	i	ī	i	ī	ī	ī	(y)i
*e	e	e	e	e	e	ja ~ je	e	e ~ (- a)	e (~ a ~ i)	a	a	(y)a/(y)ä
*ē	ī	ē	æ	é	ě	o	ē	i	ē	ā	ā	(y)e
*o	o	o	æ ~ a	a	o	a	o	o ~ u (- a)	a ~ ā	a	a	e
*ō	ā	ō	ō	uo	a	e	ō	u	ā	ā	ā	ā
*a	a	a	æ ~ a	a	o	a	a	a	a	a	a	ā
*ā	ā	ā	ō	o	a	o	ā ~ ē	a	ā	ā	ā	ā
*u	u	u	u	u	ū	u	u	u	u	u	u	a/ā
*ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	y	y (- i)	ū	u	ū	ū	ū	o
*h ₁	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø
*h ₂	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø ~ h	h ~ hh	ø	ø	ø
*h ₃	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø ~ h	h	ø	ø	ø
*h ₄	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	h	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø

^a Only what might be called the ‘major’ outcomes are listed here. All languages show other outcomes of some of these Proto-Indo-European sounds that are conditioned by special environments. Outcomes enclosed in square brackets are those resulting from palatalization, i.e. when the sound was (originally) followed by a front vowel (ī, ē).

Appendix 2 Proto-Indo-European to English Wordlist

*a

<i>*ālu-</i>	‘± esculent root’
<i>*ānos</i>	‘circle, ring’
<i>*ar</i>	‘and, thus’
<i>*at-</i>	‘father’

*b

<i>*baba-</i>	‘babble’
<i>*badyos</i> (NW)	‘(yellow) brown’
<i>*baitéh_a-</i> (WC)	‘cloak’
<i>*bak-</i> (WC)	‘club’
<i>*balba-</i> ~ <i>barbar-</i>	‘± stammer’
<i>*baub-</i> (WC)	‘bark, low’
<i>*bélos</i>	‘strong’
<i>*b(e)u-</i>	‘owl’
<i>*bukk-</i>	‘howl’
<i>*bulis</i>	‘± rump’

*bh

<i>*bhabheh_a-</i> (WC)	‘bean’
<i>*bhag-</i>	‘divide, distribute’
<i>*bhagos</i> [<i>*bhag-</i> ‘divide’]	‘apportion(er)’
<i>*bhāghus</i>	‘(fore)arm, foreleg’
<i>*bhakó/eh_a-</i> (WC)	‘bean’
<i>*bhar-</i> (NW)	‘projection’
<i>*bhardheh_a-</i> (NW) [<i>*bhar-</i> ‘project’]	‘beard’
<i>*bhares-</i> (NW) [<i>*bhar-</i> ‘project’]	‘barley’
<i>*bharko-</i> (NW) [<i>*bhar-</i> ‘project’]	‘pointed object’
<i>*bhárs</i> (WC?) [<i>*bhar-</i> ‘project’]	‘barley’
<i>*bhébhhus</i> [<i>*bher-</i> ‘brown’]	‘beaver’
<i>*bhedh-</i>	‘bend (one’s body)’
<i>*bhedh-</i>	‘dig, burrow’
<i>*bheg-</i>	‘break’
<i>*b(h)egh</i>	‘without’

<i>*bheg^w</i> -	‘run’
<i>*bheh₂</i> -	‘shine’
<i>*bhéh₂(e)s</i> - (GA)	‘light’
<i>*bhéh₂tis</i> (GA)	‘light’
<i>*bheh_a</i> - (WC)	‘speak’
<i>*bheh_aǵós</i> (WC)	‘beech’
<i>*bheh_ameh_a</i> - (WC) [<i>*bheh_a</i> - ‘speak’]	‘saying’
<i>*bheid</i> -	‘split’
<i>*bheidh</i> -	‘bend’
<i>*bheidh</i> - (WC)	‘persuade, compel, confide’
<i>*bhei(h_s)</i> -	‘strike’
<i>*bhel</i> -	‘blow, blow up, swell’
<i>*bhel</i> -	‘bloom, blossom’
<i>*bhel</i> -	‘shine’
<i>*bhel</i> - (NW)	‘henbane’
<i>*bhel</i> - (NW)	‘wildcat; ± marten’
<i>*bhel</i> - (WC)	‘coot’
<i>*bhelǵh</i> - [<i>*bhel</i> - ‘blow’]	‘swell’
<i>*bhelh₁</i> - [<i>*bhel</i> - ‘shine’]	‘white’
<i>*bhélh_aǵs</i> (WC)	‘plank, beam’
<i>*bhels</i> -	‘yelp, howl’
<i>*bhendh</i> -	‘bind’
<i>*bhendh₁ros</i> [<i>*bhendh</i> - ‘bind’]	‘± relation’
<i>*bhénǵh</i> -	‘draw together, be thick’
<i>*bhénǵhus</i> [<i>*bhénǵh</i> - ‘draw together’]	‘thick, abundant’
<i>*bher</i> -	‘brown’
<i>*bher</i> -	‘weave, twine’
<i>*bher</i> -	‘seethe, bubble; roast’
<i>*bher</i> -	‘strike (through), split, cut’
<i>*bher</i> -	‘carry’
<i>*bher</i> - (WC?)	‘± cure with spells and/or herbs’
<i>*bhére/o</i> - [<i>*bher</i> - ‘carry’]	‘bear (a child)’
<i>*bherg</i> - (NW)	‘± bark, growl’
<i>*bhergh</i> - (NW)	‘keep, protect’
<i>*bherǵh</i> -	‘high; hill’
<i>*bherǵh</i> - (WC) [<i>*bherǵh</i> - ‘high’]	‘height = fort’
<i>*bherh_xǵ</i> -	‘shine, gleam’
<i>*bherh_xǵós</i> [<i>*bherh_xǵ</i> - ‘shine’]	‘birch’
<i>*bhertōr</i> [<i>*bher</i> - ‘carry’]	‘priest’
<i>*bherug</i> - (WC)	‘gullet’
<i>*bhes</i> -	‘blow’
<i>*bhes</i> -	‘rub’
<i>*bheud</i> - (NW)	‘strike, beat’
<i>*bheudh</i> -	‘pay attention, be observant’

<i>*bheug-</i>	‘bend (an object)’
<i>*bheug-</i>	‘use’
<i>*bheug-</i> (WC)	‘flee’
<i>*bheu</i> (<i>h_x</i>)-	‘come into being, be; grow’
<i>*bhibhóih_xe</i>	‘is afraid’
<i>*bhidh-</i> (NW?)	‘large pot’
<i>*bhik^wó-</i> (NW) [<i>*bheih_a</i> ‘strike’]	‘bee, stinging insect’
<i>*bhlaġ-</i> (NW)	‘strike’
<i>*bhlaġhmēn</i>	‘priest’
<i>*bhleg-</i>	‘burn, shine’
<i>*bhleh₁-</i> (NW)	‘bleat’
<i>*bhlei-</i> (WC) [<i>*bhel-</i> ‘blow’]	‘± become inflated’
<i>*bhlendh-</i> (NW)	‘be/make cloudy’
<i>*bhleu-</i>	‘swell, overflow’
<i>*bhlh_ad-</i> [<i>*bhel-</i> ‘bloom’]	‘leaf’
<i>*bhlih_xġ-</i> (WC)	‘strike’
<i>*bhloh_xdho-</i> (NW) [<i>*bhel-</i> ‘bloom’]	‘flower’
<i>*bhodh_xrós</i>	‘deaf’
<i>*bhōg-</i> (WC)	‘bake, roast’
<i>*bhólġhis-</i> [<i>*bhel-</i> ‘blow’]	‘(skin) bag; bolster’
<i>*bhóliom-</i> (WC) [<i>*bhel-</i> ‘bloom’]	‘leaf’
<i>*bhólom-</i> [<i>*bhel-</i> ‘shine’]	‘forehead’
<i>*b(h)(o)mb(h)-</i> (WC)	‘± muffled noise’
<i>*bhorg^wo-</i> (WC)	‘angry, violent’
<i>*bhósós</i> (WC)	‘bare, naked’
<i>*bhōu</i>	‘both’
<i>*bhoudhéye/o-</i> [<i>*bheudh-</i> ‘pay attention’]	‘waken, point out’
<i>*bhrak-</i>	‘squeeze together’
<i>*bhreg-</i> (NW)	‘break’
<i>*bhreh₁wṛ-</i> (WC)	‘spring’
<i>*bhréh_ater-</i>	‘± brother’
<i>*bhreh_atríyom</i> [<i>*bhréh_ater-</i> ‘brother’]	‘brotherhood’
<i>*bhreh_xi-</i>	‘destroy, cut to pieces’
<i>*bhrem-</i>	‘± make a noise (of animals)’
<i>*bhrentós</i> (WC)	‘stag’
<i>*bhreu-</i> [<i>*bher-</i> ‘seethe’]	‘seethe’
<i>*bhreu-</i> [<i>*bher-</i> ‘strike’]	‘cut, break up’
<i>*bhreu-</i> (WC)	‘boil, brew’
<i>*bhreus-</i> (WC) [<i>*bher-</i> ‘strike’]	‘break, smash to pieces’
<i>*bhreus-</i> (NW)	‘swell’
<i>*bhṛġ-</i> [<i>*bher-</i> ‘seethe’]	‘roast’
<i>*bhṛġhṛti_ha-</i> [<i>*bherġh-</i> ‘high’]	‘high one’
<i>*bhṛġhús ~ *bhṛġhént-</i> [<i>*bherġh-</i> ‘high’]	‘high’
<i>?*bhris-</i> ~ <i>*bhers-</i> (NW)	‘fast’

<i>*bhrodhnós</i>	‘± pale’
<i>*bhr̥stís</i>	‘point’
<i>*bhrúh_xs</i>	‘eyebrow’
<i>*bhr̥w-</i> (WC) [<i>*bher-</i> ‘weave’]	‘(bolt of) cloth’
<i>*bhudhnó-</i>	‘bottom’
<i>*bhugós</i>	‘buck, he-goat’
*d	
<i>*daih_awér</i>	‘husband’s brother’
<i>*dap-</i>	‘apportion’
<i>*dapnom</i> [<i>*dap-</i> ‘apportion’]	‘sacrificial meal’
<i>*das-</i>	‘lack’
<i>*de ~ do</i>	‘toward’
<i>*dē</i> (NW) [<i>*de ~ do</i> ‘toward’]	‘away (from)’
<i>*dedrús</i> [<i>*der-</i> ‘tear off’]	‘tetter, skin eruption, leprosy’
<i>*deg-</i>	‘touch’
<i>*deh₁-</i>	‘bind’
<i>*deh₁m̥n̥</i> (GA) [<i>*deh₁-</i> ‘bind’]	‘band’
<i>*deh₃-</i>	‘give’
<i>*deh₃r/n-</i> [<i>*deh₃-</i> ‘give’]	‘gift’
<i>*deh_a(i)-</i>	‘cut up; divide’
<i>*deh_amos</i> (WC) [<i>*deh_a(i)-</i> ‘cut up’]	‘(segment of) people’
<i>*deh_anu-</i>	‘river’
<i>*deh_au-</i>	‘kindle, burn’
<i>*dei-</i>	‘shine, be bright’
<i>*deik̥-</i>	‘rule, canon, measure’
<i>*deik̥-</i>	‘show’
<i>*deino-</i> [<i>*dei-</i> ‘shine’]	‘day’
<i>*deiwós</i> [<i>*dei-</i> ‘shine’]	‘god’
<i>*deḱ-</i>	‘thread, hair’
<i>*deḱ-</i>	‘take, accept’
<i>*deḱes-</i> [<i>*deḱ-</i> ‘take’]	‘honour’
<i>*deḱm̥(t)</i>	‘ten’
<i>*deḱm̥(t)os</i> [<i>*deḱm̥(t)</i> ‘ten’]	‘tenth’
<i>*deḱsinos</i>	‘right’
<i>*del-</i>	‘carve, split, cut’
<i>*del-</i> (WC)	‘flow’
<i>*del-</i> (WC) [<i>*del-</i> ‘carve’]	‘aim, compute’
<i>*demelis</i> (C)	‘wug’
<i>*dem(h_a)-</i>	‘build (up)’
<i>*demh_a-</i>	‘tame, subdue’
<i>*dems-pot-</i> (GA) [<i>*dem(h_a)-</i> ‘build’ +	
<i>*pótis</i> ‘husband’]	‘master of the house’

<i>*denk-</i>	‘bite’
<i>*dens-</i> (GA)	‘teach, inculcate a skill’
<i>*deph_x-</i> (WC)	‘strike’
<i>*der-</i>	‘sleep’
<i>*der-</i>	‘tear off, flay’
<i>*derbh-</i>	‘turn, twist’
<i>*dergh-</i> (WC)	‘grasp’
<i>*derh_a-</i> (WC)	‘work’
<i>*derk-</i>	‘glance at, see’
<i>*derketos</i> (GA) [<i>*derk-</i> ‘see’]	‘visible’
<i>*des-</i> (GA)	‘enemy’
<i>*deuh₄-</i>	‘leave, go far away’
<i>*deuk-</i>	‘pull’
<i>*deu(s)-</i>	‘be lacking’
<i>*(d)h₂ékru</i>	‘tear’
<i>*d(h₃)eu-</i>	‘be favourable to’
<i>*dh₃ǵhmós</i> (GA)	‘aslant’
<i>*dibhro- ~ *dibhro-</i> (WC)	‘(sacrificial) animal’
<i>*diǵ(h)-</i> (WC)	‘tick’
<i>*dih₁-</i>	‘fly; move swiftly’
<i>*diks</i>	‘goat’
<i>*dis-</i> (WC) [<i>*dwéh₃(u)</i> ‘two’]	‘apart, asunder’
<i>*dl₁ghós</i>	‘long’
<i>*dlonghos</i>	‘long’
<i>*dñpedom</i> (WC) [<i>*dem(h_a)-</i> ‘build’ +	
<i>*pōds</i> ‘foot’]	‘floor’
<i>*dñǵhuh_a-</i>	‘tongue’
<i>*do ~ *de</i>	‘to, toward’
<i>*dóm</i> [<i>*dem(h_a)-</i> ‘build’]	‘house’
<i>*dóm</i> (GA) [<i>*dem(h_a)-</i> ‘build’]	‘house(hold), nuclear family’
<i>*dóm(h_a)os</i> [<i>*dem(h_a)-</i> ‘build’]	‘house(hold)’
<i>*dom(h_a)unos</i> [<i>*dem(h_a)-</i> ‘build’]	‘master’
<i>*domh_ayos</i>	‘one to be tamed; young bull’
<i>*don-</i> (WC)	‘reed’
<i>*dork^wom</i> (WC)	‘evening meal’
<i>*dóru</i>	‘wood, tree’
<i>*dous-</i>	‘(upper) arm, shoulder’
<i>*drap- ~ *drop-</i> [<i>*der-</i> ‘tear off’]	‘clothes, cloak’
<i>*dreha-</i>	‘run’
<i>*drem-</i>	‘run’
<i>*drep-</i> [<i>*der-</i> ‘tear off’]	‘scratch, tear, split off’
<i>*dreu-</i>	‘run’
<i>*drewentih₂-</i> [<i>*dreu-</i> ‘run’]	(river name)

<i>*d_hweh_a-</i>	‘± grain’
<i>*d_hk̑-</i> (WC) [<i>*derk̑-</i> ‘see’]	‘dragon’
<i>*duh_aros</i>	‘long (of time/space)’
<i>*dus-</i>	‘bad’ (as prefix).
<i>*dusmenēs</i> (GA)	
[<i>*dus-</i> ‘bad’ + <i>*men-</i> ‘think’]	‘hostile’, literally ‘bad-thought’
<i>*dwéh₃(u)</i>	‘two’
<i>*dwei-</i> [<i>*dwéh₃(u)</i> ‘two’]	‘fear’
<i>*dw(e)i-plos</i> [<i>*dwéh₃(u)</i> ‘two’]	‘double, twofold’
<i>*dwi-</i> [<i>*dwéh₃(u)</i> ‘two’]	‘bi-’
<i>*dwis</i> [<i>*dwéh₃(u)</i> ‘two’]	‘twice’
<i>*dwiyo~ *dwitos</i> [<i>*dwéh₃(u)</i> ‘two’]	‘second’
<i>*dwō dekm̑(t)</i> [<i>*dwéh₃(u)</i> ‘two’]	‘twelve’
<i>*dwoi-</i> [<i>*dwéh₃(u)</i> ‘two’]	‘two, group of two’
<i>*dwoyo~</i> [<i>*dwéh₃(u)</i> ‘two’]	‘double(d), twofold’
<i>*dye(u)-</i> [<i>*dei-</i> ‘shine’]	‘day’
<i>*dyēus ph_atēr</i> [<i>*dei-</i> ‘shine’]	‘sky-father’
*dh	
<i>*dhabh-</i>	‘put together’
<i>*dhabhros</i> (WC) [<i>*dhabh-</i> ‘put together’]	‘craftsman’
<i>*dhal-</i> (WC)	‘sprout’
<i>*dheb-</i>	‘thick, packed’
<i>*dhebh-</i>	‘harm’
<i>*dhédhh₁i-</i> [<i>*dheh₁-</i> ‘suck(le)’]	‘± coagulated (sour) milk’
<i>*dhéghōm</i>	‘earth’
<i>*dheg^wh-</i>	‘burn’
<i>*dheh₁-</i>	‘suck(le)’
<i>*dheh₁-</i>	‘put, place’
<i>*dheh₁-</i> (WC)	‘uncle’
<i>*dheh₁lus-</i> (WC) [<i>*dheh₁-</i> ‘suck(le)’]	‘nourishing, suckling’
<i>*dhéh₁mi-/men-</i> [<i>*dheh₁-</i> ‘put’]	‘what is established, law’
<i>*dhēh₁s</i>	‘god’
<i>*dhéh₁tis</i> [<i>*dheh₁-</i> ‘put’]	‘what is established, law’
<i>*dheigh-</i>	‘work clay; build up’
<i>*dheig^w-</i> (NW)	‘stick, set up’
<i>*d(h)ek^ws-</i>	‘show’
<i>*dheh₁bh-</i> (NW)	‘dig’
<i>*dheh₁g-</i> (NW)	‘sting, pierce’
<i>*dheh₁g-</i> (NW) [<i>*dheh₁g-</i> ‘sting’]	‘pin’
<i>*dhen-</i>	‘run, flow’
<i>*dhén₁</i> (WC)	‘palm (of the hand)’
<i>*dher-</i>	‘be immobile; support’

* <i>dher-</i>	‘leap, spring’
* <i>dher-</i> (NW)	‘shit’
* <i>dherġh-</i>	‘bind fast’
* <i>dhers-</i>	‘venture, be bold, brave; undertake’
* <i>dheu-</i> (GA/PIE?)	‘run’
* <i>dheu-</i> (WC)	‘die, breathe one’s last’
* <i>dheub-</i>	‘deep’
* <i>dheugh-</i>	‘be useful, produce something useful’
* <i>dheu(h_x)-</i>	‘be in (com)motion’
* <i>dhġh(e)m-en</i> [* <i>dhéġhōm</i> ‘earth’]	‘on(to) the ground’
* <i>dhġhmjón-</i> (NW) [* <i>dhéġhōm</i> ‘earth’]	‘man’
* <i>dhġhuh_x-</i> (WC)	‘fish’
* <i>(dh)ġhyes</i>	‘yesterday’
* <i>dhg^whei-</i>	‘destroy, perish’
* <i>dhg^wher-</i> (GA)	‘flow (away)’
* <i>dh_hjileh_a-</i> [* <i>dheh_l-</i> ‘suck(le)’]	‘teat, breast’
* <i>dhġghs</i> [* <i>dheigh-</i> ‘work clay’]	‘wall, fortification’
* <i>dh_lġh-</i> (NW)	‘debt’
* <i>dhóh_aus</i> (WC)	‘± wolf’
* <i>dhoh_xnéh_a-</i>	‘(harvested) grain’
* <i>dhólh_aos</i>	‘valley; vault’
* <i>dh(o)ngu-</i>	‘dark’
* <i>dhonu-</i>	‘fir’
* <i>dhreg-</i>	‘rain/snow lightly’
* <i>dhreġ-</i>	‘glide, pull (something) across’
* <i>dhregh-</i> (NW)	‘pull, tear (out)’
* <i>dhregh-</i> (WC)	‘run’
* <i>dhreghes-</i> (NW)	‘berry’
* <i>dhreibh-</i> (NW)	‘drive’
* <i>dhren-</i> (WC)	‘drone’ (<‘buzz’)
* <i>dhreugh-</i>	‘deceive’
* <i>dhriġh-</i>	‘± a (coarse) hair’
* <i>dhrogh-</i> (WC)	‘dregs’
* <i>dhroghós</i> (WC) [* <i>dhregh-</i> ‘run’]	‘wheel’
* <i>dhroughos</i>	‘phantom’
* <i>dhroughós</i> (NW)	‘companion, comrade’
* <i>dhúbhos</i> (WC)	‘wedge, peg’
* <i>dhug_l(h_a)têr</i>	‘daughter’
* <i>dhug_hatêr diwós</i>	‘sky-daughter’
* <i>dhuh₂mós</i> [* <i>dheu(h₂)-</i>]	‘be in (com)motion’] ‘smoke’
* <i>dhūnos</i> (NW)	‘fort’
* <i>dhwen-</i>	‘sound’
* <i>dhwenh₂-</i> (GA) [* <i>dheu(h₂)-</i>]	‘be in (com)motion’] ‘cover over, darken’
* <i>dhwer-</i>	‘pierce’

<i>*dhwerh_x-</i> [<i>*dhwer-</i> ‘pierce’]	‘harm’
<i>*dhwerh_x-</i>	‘yoke’
<i>*dhwes-</i>	‘breathe’
<i>*dhwes-</i> (NW) [<i>*dhwes-</i> ‘breathe’]	‘spirit’
<i>*dhwésmi</i> [<i>*dhwes-</i> ‘breathe’]	‘breathe, be full of (wild) spirits’
<i>*dhwór</i>	‘door, gate’
*e	
<i>*eheu</i>	‘alas’
*g	
<i>*gag-</i> (WC)	‘cackle’
<i>*gal-</i>	‘call out, speak’
<i>*gal-</i> (NW)	‘be physically able’
<i>*ga/ondh-</i>	‘wheat’
<i>*gargós</i> (WC)	‘frightening, threatening’
<i>*geh₁(i)-</i>	‘sing’
<i>*geh_a-</i>	‘rejoice’
<i>*geh_adh-</i> [<i>*geh_a-</i> ‘rejoice’]	‘rejoice’
<i>*geh_au-</i> [<i>*geh_a-</i> ‘rejoice’]	‘rejoice’
<i>*geh_xgh-</i>	‘± enter water, wade’
<i>*geid-</i> (WC)	‘tickle’
<i>*gel-</i> (NW)	‘cold, to freeze’
<i>*gem-</i> (WC)	‘press, squeeze together, squeeze’
<i>*gen-</i> (WC)	‘± compress’
<i>*ger-</i>	‘crane’
<i>*ger-</i> (WC)	‘gather; herd, crowd’
<i>*ger-</i> (WC)	‘± hiss, howl’
<i>*gerg-</i>	‘± crack, resound’
<i>*geu-</i> ~ <i>*geh_xu-</i>	‘curve’
<i>*g(e)ulo-</i>	‘fire, glowing coal’
<i>*glağh-</i>	‘cry out, lament’
<i>*gleubh-</i> (WC)	‘cut off, cut out’
<i>*g[h₁ís</i>	‘dormouse?’
<i>*glogh-</i> (WC)	‘thorn’
<i>*gloiwos</i> (WC)	‘clay’
<i>*gol-</i> (WC)	‘branch’
<i>*gol(h_x)wos</i> (NW/WC?)	‘bare, bald’
<i>*gordebhós</i> (E)	‘wild ass’
<i>*gówr̥</i> [<i>*geu-</i> ‘curve’]	‘(animal) body hair’
<i>*gras-</i>	‘eat, graze’
<i>*greut-</i> (NW)	‘± compress’
<i>*grōdo-</i> (WC)	‘hail’
<i>*grúğs</i> (WC)	‘dirt’

<i>*gubho/eh_a-</i> [<i>*geu-</i> ‘curve’]	‘(store-)room, alcove’
<i>*gudóm</i> [<i>*geu-</i> ‘curve’]	‘intestines’
<i>*gutr_o</i>	‘gullet, throat’
<i>*gwésdos</i> (WC)	‘branch’
*ġ	
<i>*ġar-</i>	‘shout, call’
<i>*ġelu-</i>	‘leech’
<i>*ġem-</i> (WC)	‘weep, lament, moan’
<i>*ġemh_x-</i>	‘marry’
<i>*ġ(e)m(h_x)ros</i> [<i>*ġemh_x-</i> ‘marry’]	‘sister’s husband’
<i>*ġenh_l-</i>	‘beget a child; be born’
<i>*ġénh_les-</i> [<i>*ġenh_l-</i> ‘beget’]	‘family’
<i>*ġenh_ltōr</i> [<i>*ġenh_l-</i> ‘beget’]	‘father; procreator’
<i>*ġenh_ltrih_a-</i> [<i>*ġenh_l-</i> ‘beget’]	‘mother, procreatrix’
<i>*ġénu-</i>	‘jaw’
<i>*ġeP-</i>	‘± eat, masticate’
<i>*ġerh_a-</i>	‘grow, age, mature’
<i>*ġerh_aont-</i>	‘old man’
<i>*ġerh_aos</i>	‘old man’
<i>*ġeus-</i>	‘taste, enjoy’
<i>*ġ_oh₃wos-</i>	‘husband’s sister’
<i>*ġ(l)lākt</i>	‘milk’
<i>*ġm_hros</i> (WC) [<i>*ġemh_x-</i> ‘marry’]	‘son-in-law’
<i>*ġneh₃-</i>	‘know, be(come) acquainted with’
<i>*ġnéh₃m_o</i> (WC) [<i>*ġneh₃-</i> ‘know’]	‘sign’
<i>*ġómbhos</i>	‘tooth, set/row of teeth’
<i>*ġomh_xter-</i> [<i>*ġemh_x-</i> ‘marry’]	‘son-in-law’
<i>*ġonh_adhos</i> (WC)	‘jaw’
<i>*ġonu</i>	‘knee’
<i>*ġr_hnóm</i>	‘grain’
<i>*ġwelh_x-</i>	‘burn, glow’
<i>*ġyeuh_x-</i>	‘chew’
*gh	
<i>*ghabh-</i>	‘take, seize’
<i>*ghabhlo/eh_a-</i> (NW)	‘fork, branch of tree’
<i>*ghaidos</i> (NW)	‘goat’
<i>*ghait(so)-</i>	‘hair, mane’
<i>*ghebhōl</i>	‘head’
<i>*ghedh-</i>	‘join, fit together’
<i>*ghéh_a(u)m_o</i> (NW)	‘interior of mouth (gums, palate)’
<i>*gheiġh-</i>	‘protect, hide’
<i>*ghel-</i>	‘shine’

<i>*ghel-</i> (WC)	‘cry out, sing’
<i>*gheldh-</i>	‘desire’
<i>*ghelǵheh_a-</i> (WC)	‘gland’
<i>*ghel(h₂)d-</i>	‘hail’
<i>*ghéluh_xs</i> (WC)	‘tortoise’
<i>*gheluneh_a-</i> (WC)	‘lip’
<i>*ghe(n)dh-</i> (WC)	‘seize, take in’
<i>*gher-</i>	‘± cry (of animals or birds)’
<i>*gherdh-</i>	‘gird, surround’
<i>*ghérsos</i>	‘asp; pikeperch’?
<i>*gheuǵh-</i>	‘protect, hide’
<i>*ghleh_xdh(ro)-</i> (NW) [<i>*ghel-</i> ‘shine’]	‘smooth’
<i>*ghleu-</i> (WC)	‘revel’
<i>*ghórdhos</i> [<i>*gherdh-</i> ‘gird’]	‘fence, hedge; enclosure, pen, fold’
<i>*ghostis</i> (NW)	‘guest; stranger, enemy’
<i>*ghou-</i> (NW)	‘perceive, pay heed to’
<i>*ghrebh-</i>	‘grasp, take, enclose’
<i>*ghrebh-</i> (NW)	‘dig’
<i>*ghredh-</i>	‘step, go’
<i>*ghrei-</i> (WC)	‘touch lightly’
<i>*ghreib-</i> (NW)	‘grip, grasp’
<i>*ghrem-</i>	‘rumble’
<i>*ghrendh-</i> (WC)	‘grind’
<i>*ghres-</i>	‘± threaten, torment’
<i>*g(h)rewom</i> (E)	‘reed, rush’
<i>*ghromos</i> (WC) [<i>*ghrem-</i> ‘rumble’]	‘thunder, ‘groan’
<i>*g(h)ru(n)(d)-</i> (WC)	‘grunt’
*ǵh	
<i>*ǵhaisós</i> [<i>*ǵhi-</i> ‘throw’]	‘throwing spear’
<i>*ǵhalgheh_a-</i> (WC)	‘pole, stake’
<i>*ǵhalh_xros</i>	‘evil, unpleasant, unhealthy’
<i>*ǵhan-s</i>	‘goose’
<i>*ǵhasdhos</i> (NW)	‘staff’
<i>*ǵhedye/o-</i>	‘defecate’
<i>*ǵheh₁-</i>	‘leave’
<i>*ǵheh_aw-</i>	‘gape, yawn’
<i>*ǵhei-</i>	‘impels’
<i>*ǵheim-</i>	‘winter, snow’
<i>*ǵheis-</i>	‘frighten’
<i>*ǵhel-</i>	‘plough’
<i>*ǵhel- ~ *ghel-</i>	‘yellow’
<i>*ǵhengh-</i>	‘step, walk’
<i>*ǵher-</i> (NW)	‘shine, glow’

<i>*ghér</i> (WC) [<i>*ghers-</i> ‘stiffen (of hair)’]	‘hedgehog’
<i>*ghers-</i>	‘stiffen (of hair), bristle’
<i>*ghesl(iy)os</i> (GA)	‘thousand’
<i>*ghésr-</i>	‘hand’
<i>*gheu-</i>	‘pour’
<i>*gheud-</i> (NW) [<i>*gheu-</i> ‘pour’]	‘pour’
<i>*gheu(h_x)-</i>	‘call to, invite, invoke’
<i>*gheumn-</i> [<i>*gheu-</i> ‘pour’]	‘libation’
<i>*gh(e)utreh_a-</i> (C) [<i>*gheu</i> ‘pour’]	‘± pot’
<i>*ghéyos</i> [<i>*ghei-</i> ‘impels’]	‘horse’
<i>*gh(h₁)iye_ha-</i>	‘yawn’
<i>*ghh_gwos</i>	‘gaping hole’
<i>*ghi-</i>	‘throw’
<i>*ghnghéno/eh_a-</i> (GA)	‘± buttock’
<i>*ghō-</i> (WC)	‘behind’
<i>*ghóh₁ros</i>	‘gap, empty space’
<i>*ghóln- ~ *ghólos</i> [<i>*ghel-</i> ‘yellow’]	‘gall’
<i>*ghor-</i> (C) [<i>*ghers-</i> ‘stiffen (of hair)’]	‘young pig’
<i>*ghorh_xneh_a-</i>	‘entrails’
<i>*ghor(ye/o)-</i>	‘desire’
<i>*ghóstos</i> [<i>*ghés-r-</i> ‘hand’]	‘hand’
<i>*ghrésdh(i)</i>	‘barley’
<i>*ghwáks</i> (WC)	‘torch’
<i>*ghwēr</i>	‘wild animal’
<i>*ghwonos</i> [<i>*gheu(h_x)-</i> ‘call’]	‘a sound, voice’
<i>*ghy- ~ *gyei-</i> (C)	‘bird of prey, kite?’
*g^w	
<i>*g^wabh-</i>	‘dip’
<i>*g^wādh-</i>	‘dive’
<i>*g^weh_a-</i>	‘come’
<i>*g^weidh-</i> (WC)	‘be foul, purulent’
<i>*g^weih₃-</i>	‘live’
<i>*g^wel-</i> (WC)	‘strike, stab, pierce’
<i>*g^(w)elbhus</i>	‘womb’
<i>*g^welh₁-</i>	‘throw’
<i>*g^welh_a-</i>	‘acorn’
<i>*g^welōn</i> (WC) [<i>*g^wel-</i> ‘strike’]	‘stinger’
<i>*g^wel(s)-</i>	‘well up, flow’
<i>*g^wem-</i>	‘come’
<i>*g^wén-</i>	‘± (swollen) gland’
<i>*g^wénh_a</i>	‘woman’
<i>*g^werh₃-</i>	‘swallow’

<i>*g^werh_x-</i>	‘praise’
<i>*g^wéru</i>	‘spear, spit’
<i>*g^wes-</i>	‘extinguish’
<i>*g^wet-</i>	‘say’
<i>*g^wétu</i>	‘pitch’
<i>*g^wétus</i>	‘stomach, womb’
<i>*g^wih₃wo-</i> (WC) [<i>*g^wyeh₃-</i> ‘live’]	‘pitch’
<i>*g^w(i)yēh_a</i> (GA)	‘bowstring; taut thread’
<i>*g^włtur-</i>	‘vulture’
<i>*g^worh_x-</i>	‘mountain; forest’
<i>*g^wou-k^wolos</i> (WC)	
[<i>*g^wōus</i> ‘cow’ + <i>*k^wel-</i> ‘turn’]	‘cowherd’
<i>*g^wōus</i>	‘cow’
<i>*g^wreh₂u-</i>	‘heavy’
<i>*g^wrēh₂-w-on-</i> [<i>*g^wr(e)h_a(-u)-</i> ‘heavy’]	‘quern’
<i>*g^wretsos</i> (NW)	‘thick’
<i>*g^wrih₃weh_a-</i> [<i>*g^werh₃-</i> ‘swallow’]	‘neck’
<i>*g^wuh_x-</i>	‘defecate’
<i>*g^wyeh₃-</i>	‘live’
<i>*g^wyeh_a-</i>	‘physical power; overcome’
<i>*g^wyéh₃wyom</i> [<i>*g^wyeh₃-</i> ‘live’]	‘animal’
*g^wh	
<i>*g^whaidrós</i> (WC)	‘bright, shining’
<i>*g^whedh-</i>	‘ask, pray’
<i>*g^whel-</i> (WC)	‘wish, want’
<i>*g^when-</i>	‘strike’
<i>*g^wher-</i>	‘warm’
<i>*g^whermos</i> [<i>*g^wher-</i> ‘warm’]	‘warm’
<i>*g^whih_x(slo)-</i> (WC)	‘± sinew, thread’
<i>*g^whonós</i>	‘± thick, sufficient’
<i>*g^whren-</i> (WC)	‘think’
<i>*g^whrensós</i> [<i>*g^wher-</i> ‘warm’]	‘warm’
*h	
<i>*ha</i>	‘surprise’
<i>*ha ha</i>	‘laughter’
*h₁	
<i>*h₁dónt-</i> [<i>*h₁édmi</i> ‘eat’]	‘tooth’
<i>*h₁édmi</i>	‘eat’
<i>*h₁edonom</i> [<i>*h₁édmi</i> ‘eat’]	‘food’
<i>*h₁édwōl</i> [<i>*h₁édmi</i> ‘eat’]	‘pain; evil’
<i>*h₁eg-</i>	‘be in need, lack’

<i>*h₁eġ-</i>	‘say’
<i>*h₁eġ</i>	‘I’
<i>*h₁eġh-</i>	‘cow’
<i>*h₁eġhis</i>	‘hedgehog’
<i>*h₁eġhs (WC)</i>	‘out (of)’
<i>*h₁ēġ^whmi</i>	‘drink’
<i>*h₁eh₁tmén-</i>	‘breath’
<i>*h₁eh₁tr- [<i>*h₁eh₁tmén-</i> ‘breath’]</i>	‘± lung, internal organ’
<i>*h₁éi / *h₁iĥ_{a-} / *h₁id</i>	‘this one’
<i>*h₁ei-</i>	‘go’
<i>*h₁ei-</i>	‘red’
<i>*h₁eig-</i>	‘move’
<i>*h₁eiĥ_s(s)-</i>	‘ice’
<i>*h₁eis-</i>	‘set in motion’
<i>*h₁éit_o- [<i>*h₁ei-</i> ‘go’]</i>	‘way, road’
<i>*h₁eiwos</i>	‘yew’
<i>*h₁ekt-</i>	‘net’
<i>*h₁ékweĥ_{a-} [<i>*h₁ék^wos</i> ‘horse’]</i>	‘mare’
<i>*h₁ék^wos</i>	‘horse’
<i>*h₁el-</i>	‘brown’
<i>*h₁el- (WC?)</i>	‘waterbird, swan’
<i>*h₁el- (WC)</i>	‘go’
<i>*h₁élem (NW)</i>	‘mountain elm (<i>Ulmus mantana</i>)’
<i>*h₁elew- (WC)</i>	‘juniper, cedar’
<i>*h₁elh₁ēn [<i>*h₁el-</i> ‘brown’]</i>	‘red deer’
<i>*h₁elh₁niĥa- (NW) [<i>*h₁el-</i> ‘brown’]</i>	‘hind/cow-elk’
<i>*h₁élkēs-</i>	‘± ulcer’
<i>*h₁elĥ-</i>	‘dull red’
<i>*h₁em- (NW)</i>	‘take, distribute’
<i>*h₁empis (WC)</i>	‘gnat, stinging insect’
<i>*h₁en- (WC)</i>	‘year’
<i>*h₁en-</i>	‘that’
<i>*h₁én-do [<i>*h₁en(i)</i> ‘in’]</i>	‘into’
<i>*h₁endró^s [<i>*h₁en(i)</i> ‘in’]</i>	‘egg, scrotum’
<i>*h₁enek-</i>	‘attain’
<i>*h₁eng^w-</i>	‘swell’
<i>*h₁énĥ₁u</i>	‘without’
<i>*h₁en(i)</i>	‘in, into’
<i>*h₁éni-h₃k^w-o/ĥ_{a-}</i>	
[<i>*h₁en(i)</i> ‘in’ + <i>*h₃ek^w-</i> ‘eye’]	‘face’
<i>*h₁entér [<i>*h₁en(i)</i> ‘in’]</i>	‘into, between’
<i>*h₁en-t(e)rom [<i>*h₁en(i)</i> ‘in’]</i>	‘innards’
<i>*h₁ep-</i>	‘take, seize, grasp’
<i>*h₁eperos (NW/WC?)</i>	‘boar’

<i>*h₁epi</i> ~ <i>*h₁opi</i>	‘near, on’
<i>*h₁epop</i>	‘hoopoe’
<i>*h₁er-</i>	‘set in motion’
<i>*h₁er-</i> (WC)	‘earth’
<i>*h₁ereg^wo-</i> (WC)	‘pea’
<i>*h₁erh₁-</i>	‘quiet, at rest’
<i>*h₁erh₁-</i>	‘row’
<i>*h₁er(h₁)-</i> (GA)	‘separate’
<i>*h₁erh₁trom</i> [<i>*h₁erh₁-</i> ‘row’]	‘oar, paddle’
<i>*h₁erh_{as}-</i>	‘be well-disposed to someone’
<i>*h₁erh_x-</i>	‘wash’
<i>*h₁eri-</i>	‘sheep/goat’
<i>*h₁erk^w-</i>	‘praise’
<i>*h₁ermen-</i>	‘sickness’
<i>*h₁ers-</i>	‘flow’
<i>*h₁es-</i>	‘be’
<i>*h₁es-</i>	‘throw, hurl’
<i>*h₁ēs-</i> [<i>*h₁es-</i> ‘be’]	‘sit’
<i>*h₁esen-</i>	‘autumn’
<i>*h₁esh₂éh_a-</i> [<i>*h₁esh₂ós</i> ‘master’]	‘mistress’
<i>*h₁esh₂ós</i>	‘master’
<i>*h₁ésh₂ǵ</i>	‘(flowing) blood’
<i>*h₁(e)su-</i> [<i>*h₁es-</i> ‘be’]	‘good’
<i>*h₁ét(e)no-</i>	‘kernel’
<i>*h₁eti</i>	‘and, in addition’
<i>*(h₁eti)loik^wos</i> [<i>*h₁eti</i> ‘addition’ +	
<i>*leik^w-</i> ‘leave’]	‘remains’
<i>*h₁eu-</i>	‘cover; put on clothes’
<i>*h₁eug^wh-</i>	‘speak solemnly’
<i>*h₁eu(h_a)-</i>	‘empty, wanting’
<i>*h₁eu_xdh-</i>	‘swell with fluid’
<i>*h₁euk-</i>	‘become accustomed’
<i>*h₁eus-</i>	‘burn, singe’
<i>*h₁ger-</i>	‘awake’
<i>*h₁idh_a</i>	‘here’
<i>*h₁ísus</i> (GA) [<i>*h₁eis-</i> ‘set in motion’]	‘arrow’
<i>*h₁iteros</i>	‘(an)other’
<i>*h₁ith_a</i>	‘thus’
<i>*h₁leig-</i>	‘jump’
<i>*h₁lengh-</i>	‘blame, reproach’
<i>*h₁le(n)g^wh-</i>	‘light (of weight)’
<i>*h₁leudh-</i> [<i>*h₁el-</i> ‘go’]	‘go (out)’
<i>*h₁leudh-</i>	‘grow’
<i>*h₁leudheros</i> (WC) [<i>*h₁leudh-</i> ‘grow’]	‘people, freeman’

<i>*h₁leudhos</i> [<i>*h₁leudh-</i> ‘grow’]	‘people, freeman’
<i>*h₁neġh-</i>	‘stab’
<i>*h₁neġhes-</i> (WC) [<i>*h₁neġh-</i> ‘stab’]	‘± spear’
<i>*h₁newh₁ŋ₀</i> (<i>*h₁néwh₁ŋ₀?</i>)	‘nine’
<i>*h₁newh₁ŋm/ŋ₀-mos</i> [<i>*h₁newh₁ŋ₀</i> ‘nine’]	‘ninth’
<i>*h₁ŋónŋ</i>	‘name’
<i>*h₁óg^whis</i>	‘snake’
<i>*h₁oinos</i>	‘one’
<i>*h₁óistro/eh_a-</i> (WC) [<i>*h₁eis-</i> ‘set in motion’]	‘anger, any strong feeling’
<i>*h₁óitos</i> [<i>*h₁ei-</i> ‘go’]	‘a going; oath’
<i>*h₁óiwo/eh_a-</i> (WC) [<i>*h₁ei-</i> ‘red’]	‘± berry, fruit’
<i>*h₁ōk⁻us</i>	‘fast’
<i>*h₁ónh_xes-</i>	‘burden’
<i>*h₁ónteros</i> (NW) [<i>*h₁en-</i> ‘that’]	‘other’
<i>*h₁op</i> (WC?) [<i>*h₁ep-</i> ‘take’]	‘desire’
<i>*h₁orh_xdeh_a-</i> (WC)	‘± waterbird’
<i>*h₁órs(o)-</i>	‘rear-end’
<i>*h₁óuh_xdhr₀</i> [<i>*h₁euh_xd-</i> ‘swell’]	‘breast, udder’
<i>*h₁owes-</i> [<i>*h₁eu-</i> ‘cover’]	‘(inner) skin’
<i>*h₁rebh-</i>	‘cover with a roof’
<i>*h₁reg^w-es-</i>	‘(place of) darkness’
<i>*h₁rei-</i>	‘move’
<i>*h₁reih_x-</i> [<i>*h₁rei-</i> ‘move’]	‘move’
<i>*h₁reik-</i>	‘tear (off)’
<i>*h₁reip-</i> (WC)	‘tear’
<i>*h₁rep-</i> (WC)	‘snatch, pluck’
<i>*h₁res-</i> ~ <i>*h₁ers-</i>	‘liquid, moisture’
<i>*h₁reudh-</i>	‘(bright) red’
<i>*h₁reug-</i>	‘belch’
<i>*h₁roudhós</i> [<i>*h₁reudh-</i> ‘red’]	‘the red metal, i.e. copper’
<i>*h₁sónt-</i> [<i>*h₁es-</i> ‘be’]	‘real, true’
<i>*h₁su-dhh₁énos</i> (GA) [<i>*h₁es-</i> ‘be’ +	
<i>*dheh₁-</i> ‘put’]	‘rich, well-off’
<i>*h₁su-menesye/o-</i> (GA)	
[<i>*h₁es-</i> ‘be’ + <i>*men-</i> ‘think’]	‘to be well disposed to’
<i>*h₁wers-</i>	‘rain’
<i>*h₁wes-</i> (NW)	‘moist, especially of the ground or plants’
<i>*h₁yenh_a-ter-</i>	‘husband’s brother’s wife’
<i>*(h₁)yēro/eh_a-</i> [<i>*h₁ei-</i> ‘go’]	‘year, new season’
 <i>*h_{1/4}</i>	
<i>*h_{1/4}eis-</i>	‘refresh’
<i>*h_{1/4}ek-</i>	‘rake’

<i>*h_{1/4}er-</i>	‘ask the gods, consult an oracle’
<i>*h_{1/4}óh₁(e)s-</i>	‘mouth’
<i>*h_{1/4}okéteh_a-</i> [<i>*h_{1/4}ek-</i> ‘rake’]	‘harrow, rake’
<i>*h_{1/4}ómsos</i>	‘shoulder’
<i>*h_{1/4}ōr-</i>	‘speak a ritual formula’
*h₂	
<i>*h₂eb(h)-</i>	‘river’
<i>*h₂ed-</i> (WC/PIE?)	‘grain, barley’
<i>*h₂ed(h)-</i>	‘hawthorn’
<i>*h₂eh₂er-</i>	‘thresh, rake’
<i>*h₂eh₂(e)r-</i>	‘± kidney’
<i>*h₂eh_x-</i>	‘burn, be hot’
<i>*h₂eh_xmer-</i> (C) [<i>*h₂eh_x-</i> ‘burn’]	‘day’
<i>*h₂éh_xōs</i> [<i>*h₂eh_x-</i> ‘burn’]	‘ash’
<i>*h₂eh_xseh_a-</i> [<i>*h₂eh_x-</i> ‘burn’]	‘hearth’
<i>*h₂éh_xtr</i> [<i>*h₂eh_x-</i> ‘burn’]	‘fire’
<i>*h₂eh_xtreh_a-</i> (WC) [<i>*h₂eh_x-</i> ‘burn’]	‘hearth’
<i>*h₂ēh_xtró-</i> (NW) [<i>*h₂eh_x-</i> ‘burn’]	‘quick, fast’
<i>*h₂ēk_g</i>	‘maple’
<i>*h₂ek̑-</i>	‘sharp, pointed’
<i>*h₂élbhit</i>	‘barley’
<i>*h₂elg^who/eh_a-</i>	‘payment, prize’
<i>*h₂elwos</i>	‘elongated cavity, hollow’
<i>*h₂em-</i>	‘hold on to, contain’
<i>*h₂em-</i>	‘raw, bitter’
<i>*h₂em-</i>	‘mow’
<i>*h₂emġh-</i>	‘tie, constrain’
<i>*h₂em-h_aek̑s-ih_a-</i> [<i>*h₂em-</i> ‘hold on to’ + <i>*h_aek̑s-</i> ‘shoulder-joint; axle’]	‘wagon-chassis’
<i>*h₂emros</i> [<i>*h₂em-</i> ‘raw’]	‘bitter, sour’
<i>*h₂en-</i>	‘draw (liquids)’
<i>*h₂en-</i>	‘father’s mother’
<i>*h₂éndhes-</i>	‘± flower’
<i>*h₂enk-</i>	‘bend’
<i>*h₂ensiyo/eh_a-</i> [<i>*h₂em-</i> ‘hold on to’]	‘reins; handle’
<i>*h₂ent-</i> [<i>*h₂enti</i> ‘in front’]	‘forehead’
<i>*h₂entbhi-</i> [<i>*h₂enti</i> ‘in front’]	‘around, on both sides’
<i>*h₂entbhi-k^wolos</i> [<i>*h₂enti</i> ‘in front’ + <i>*k^wel-</i> ‘turn’]	‘servant’
<i>*h₂enti</i>	‘in front’
<i>*h₂ep-</i>	‘fasten, join’

<i>*h₂eP-</i>	‘living water’
<i>*h₂épes-</i> [<i>*h₂ep-</i> ‘fasten’]	‘limb, part of the body’
<i>*h₂er-</i> (WC/PIE?)	‘nut’
<i>*h₂erdus</i>	‘high, lofty’
<i>*h₂erġ-</i>	‘white’
<i>*h₂erġntom</i> [<i>*h₂erġ-</i> ‘white’]	‘white (metal), silver’
<i>*h₂erh_x-</i>	‘destroy’
<i>*h₂erk-</i>	‘hold back’
<i>*h₂erk-</i>	‘rend, destroy’
<i>*h₂eru-</i>	‘± pray, curse’
<i>*h₂éryos</i>	‘cavity’
<i>*h₂es-</i>	‘be/become dry’
<i>*h₂eug-</i> (C)	‘shine, become bright’
<i>*h₂eu_hih_a-</i> (WC)	
[<i>*h₂eu_hios-</i> ‘grandfather’]	‘grandmother’
<i>*h₂eu_hios</i>	‘grandfather; uncle’
<i>*h₂eu(h_x)s-</i>	‘draw water’
<i>*h₂lei-</i>	‘set in motion’
<i>*h₂meh₁-</i> [<i>*h₂em-</i> ‘mow’]	‘mow’
<i>*h₂merg-</i> (WC) [<i>*h₂em-</i> ‘mow’]	‘gather, harvest’
<i>*h₂met-</i> (NW) [<i>*h₂em-</i> ‘mow’]	‘mow’
<i>*h₂nobh-</i>	‘navel; nave’
<i>*h₂omós</i>	‘raw, uncooked’
<i>*h₂ónkos</i> [<i>*h₂enk-</i> ‘bend’]	‘something bent, hook’
<i>*h₂ó/ép(e)n-</i>	‘goods, wealth’
<i>*h₂ósdos</i> [<i>*h₂o</i> ‘on’ + <i>*sed-</i> ‘sit’]	‘branch’
<i>*h₂óst</i>	‘bone’
<i>*h₂owikéh_a-</i> [<i>*h₂ówis</i> ‘sheep’]	‘ewe’
<i>*h₂ówis</i>	‘sheep’
<i>*h₂rétġes-</i>	‘destruction’
<i>*h₂rg-rós</i> (GA)	‘fast’
<i>*h₂rg(u)-</i> [<i>*h₂erġ-</i> ‘white’]	‘white’
<i>*h₂rtġos</i> [<i>*h₂rétġes-</i> ‘destruction’]	‘bear’
<i>*h₂stér</i> [<i>*h₂eh_x-</i> ‘burn’]	‘star’
<i>*h₂weh₁-</i>	‘blow’
<i>*h₂weh₁nt-</i> [<i>*h₂weh₁-</i> ‘blow’]	‘wind’
<i>*h₂weh₁yús</i> [<i>*h₂weh₁-</i> ‘blow’]	‘wind’
<i>*(h₂)wer-</i> (NW)	‘± attach’
<i>*h₂wes-</i>	‘dwell, pass the night, stay’
<i>*h₂wóstu</i> [<i>*h₂wes-</i> ‘dwell’]	‘dwelling’
 <i>*h_{2/3}</i>	
<i>*h_{2/3}eh_x-</i>	‘trust in, believe’

<i>*h_{2/3}éih₁os</i>	‘shaft (of a cart or wagon)’
<i>*h_{2/3}(e)lǵ(h)-</i>	‘grain’ (or ‘millet’?)
<i>*h_{2/3}enk-</i>	‘bestow’
<i>*h_{2/3}eu-</i>	‘weave’
<i>*h_{2/3}nsis</i>	‘large (offensive) knife’
<i>*h_{2/3}ónkos</i>	‘what is bestowed’
<i>*h_{2/3}orbhos</i>	‘orphan, heir’
<i>*h_{2/3}osp-</i>	‘aspens, poplar’
<i>*h_{2/3}rgis</i>	‘wheel’
<i>*h_{2/3}uh₁e/olo-</i>	‘owl’
<i>*h_{2/3}uk^w-</i>	‘cooking vessel’
<i>*h_{2/3}webh-</i>	‘weave’
<i>*h_{2/3}wed-</i>	‘be alive’
<i>*h_{2/3}wed(h₂)-</i>	‘lead in marriage, marry’
<i>*h_{2/3}wéd_ǵ [*h_{2/3}wed- ‘be alive’]</i>	‘creatures, (wild) animals’
<i>*h_{2/3}weg(h)-</i>	‘pierce’
<i>*h_{2/3}wergh- (NW/PIE?)</i>	‘± commit a crime’
<i>*h_{2/3}wobhseh_a- [*h_{2/3}webh- ‘weave’]</i>	‘wasp’
<i>*h_{2/3}wop-</i>	‘treat badly’
*h₃	
<i>*h₃ed-</i>	‘hate’
<i>*h₃ed- (WC)</i>	‘give off a smell’
<i>*h₃ek^w- [*h₃ek^w- ‘see’]</i>	‘eye’
<i>*h₃ek^w- (GA)</i>	‘see’
<i>*h₃elek- (WC)</i>	‘elbow, forearm’
<i>*h₃elh₁-</i>	‘destroy’
<i>*h₃elVn-</i>	‘elbow, forearm’
<i>*h₃eng^w-</i>	‘anoint (with salve), (be)smear’
<i>*h₃éng^w_ǵ (WC) [*h₃eng^w- ‘anoint’]</i>	‘butter’
<i>*h₃enh₂-</i>	‘contend, quarrel’
<i>*h₃én_ǵ (C)</i>	‘dream’
<i>*h₃ens-</i>	‘be gracious to, show favour’
<i>*h₃ep-</i>	‘roast’
<i>*h₃er-</i>	‘set in motion (vertically)’
<i>*h₃érbhis</i>	‘circle, orb’
<i>*h₃es(k)-</i>	‘ash (tree)’
<i>*h₃eu-</i>	‘perceive’
<i>*h₃eug- (WC)</i>	‘cold’
<i>*h₃eust(y)o- (NW)</i>	‘estuary, river mouth’
<i>*h₃ēwis [*h₃eu- ‘perceive’]</i>	‘obvious’
<i>*h₃lem- (WC)</i>	‘break’
<i>*h₃ligos</i>	‘ill; bad’
<i>*h₃meigh-</i>	‘drizzle, mist’
<i>*h₃méighe/o-</i>	‘urinate’

<i>*h₃merġ-</i> (GA)	‘wipe off’
<i>*h₃nobh-</i>	‘navel, nave’
<i>*h₃nogh(w)-</i>	‘(finger- or toe-)nail’
<i>*h₃or-</i>	‘eagle’
<i>*h₃reġ-</i>	‘extend, stretch’
<i>*h₃reġs</i> [<i>*h₃reġ-</i> ‘extend’]	‘ruler, king’
<i>*h₃reġtos</i> [<i>*h₃reġ-</i> ‘extend’]	‘right’
<i>*h₃reuk-</i>	‘dig up’
*h₄	
<i>*h₄edhés-</i>	‘axe, adze’
<i>*h₄éċmōn</i>	‘stone’
<i>*h₄el-</i>	‘grind down’
<i>*h₄(e)lbh-</i>	‘elf’
<i>*h₄elbhós</i>	‘white’
<i>*h₄elh₁-</i>	‘burn’
<i>*h₄elh₁n-</i> [<i>*h₄elh₁-</i> ‘burn’]	‘sweat’ (noun)
<i>*h₄eli-</i>	‘he-goat’
<i>*h₄em-</i>	‘mother’
<i>*h₄en-</i>	‘(old) woman, mother’
<i>*h₄ep-</i> [<i>*h₄épo</i> ‘back’]	fourth generation marker
<i>*h₄épér-</i> [<i>*h₄épo</i> ‘back’]	‘back, behind’
<i>*h₄épo</i>	‘back, behind’
<i>*h₄erg^w-</i>	‘argue, assert’
<i>*h₄erh₂os</i>	‘border, line, limit’
<i>*h₄erós</i>	‘member of one’s own group’
<i>*h₄eu-</i>	‘eat’
<i>*h₄eu</i>	‘away (from)’
<i>*h₄log̃-</i>	‘branch’
<i>*h₄órġhei</i>	‘mounts’
<i>*h₄órġhis</i> [<i>*h₄órġhei</i> ‘mounts’]	‘testicle’
<i>*h₄upó</i>	‘up (from underneath)’
<i>*h₄upo-sth₂i/o-</i> [<i>*h₄upó</i> ‘up’ +	
<i>*(s)teh₂-</i> ‘stand’]	‘servant’
<i>*h₄welk-</i>	‘pull’
*h_a	
<i>*h_aebi-</i> (WC)	‘fir’
<i>*h_aebVl-</i>	‘apple’
<i>*h_aed</i> (WC)	‘at, to’
<i>*h_aed-bher-</i> [<i>*h_aed</i> ‘to’ + <i>*bher-</i> ‘carry’]	‘sacrifice’
<i>*h_aēgos</i> (GA)	‘shame’
<i>*h_aegwis(y)eh_a-</i> (WC)	‘axe’
<i>*h_aeġ-</i>	‘drive; fight’

<i>*h_aeǵilos</i> [<i>*h_aeǵ-</i> ‘drive’]	‘fast’
<i>*h_aeǵinom</i> [<i>*h_aeǵós</i> ‘goat’]	‘hide’
<i>*h_aeǵmen-</i> [<i>*h_aeǵ-</i> ‘drive’]	‘troop’
<i>*h_aeǵós</i>	‘he-goat’
<i>*h_aeǵós</i> (GA) [<i>*h_aeǵ-</i> ‘drive’]	‘leader’
<i>*h_aeǵreh_a-</i> [<i>*h_aeǵ-</i> ‘drive’]	‘hunt’
<i>*h_aeǵros</i> [<i>*h_aeǵ-</i> ‘drive’]	‘field, pasture’
<i>*h_aegh-</i> (WC)	‘be afraid, be downcast’
<i>*h_aéghleh_a-</i>	‘affliction’
<i>*h_aeghlos</i> [<i>*h_aegh-</i> ‘be afraid’]	‘unpleasant’
<i>*h_aeghlu</i> ~ <i>*h_aeǵhlu</i> (WC)	‘rain’
<i>*h_aeǵh_ṛ</i>	‘day’
<i>*h_aeg^whmos</i> (WC)	‘lamb’
<i>*h_aeh_xperos</i> (?) (WC)	‘river bank, shore of sea’
<i>*h_aei-</i>	‘assail, afflict’
<i>*h_aei-</i>	‘give’
<i>*h_aeid-</i> (WC)	‘swell’
<i>*h_aeidh-</i>	‘burn; fire’
<i>*h_aeig-</i> (WC)	‘oak’
<i>*h_aeigs</i>	‘goat’
<i>*h_aeig^whes-</i> (WC)	‘shame’
<i>*h_aeik-</i>	‘possess’
<i>*h_aeiksmo/eh_a-</i> (WC)	‘spear, pointed stick’
<i>*h_aeis-</i>	‘wish for, seek out’
<i>*h_aekkeh_a-</i>	‘mother’
<i>*h_aekē(tro)-</i> (NW) [<i>*h_aek-</i> ‘sharp’]	‘sturgeon’
<i>*h_aek̑s-</i>	‘shoulder(-joint); axle’
<i>*h_aek̑sleh_a-</i> [<i>*h_aek̑s-</i> ‘shoulder’]	‘shoulder’
<i>*h_aek̑sti-</i> [<i>*h_aek̑-</i> ‘sharp’]	‘± awn, bristle’
<i>*h_aek̑ú-</i> (NW) [<i>*h_aek̑-</i> ‘sharp’]	‘perch’
<i>*h_aek^weh_a-</i> (NW)	‘water’
<i>*h_ael-</i> (WC)	‘grow’
<i>*h_ael-</i>	‘wander’
<i>*h_ael-</i>	‘well up, flow’
<i>*h_ael-</i>	‘burn’
<i>*h_aéliso-</i>	‘alder’
<i>*h_aélmos</i> (E) [<i>*h_ael-</i> ‘well up, flow’]	‘spring’
<i>*h_aelnos</i> (NW)	‘beyond, yonder’
<i>*h_aelut-</i>	‘beer’
<i>*h_aélyos</i>	‘other’
<i>*h_aemesl-</i> (NW)	‘blackbird’
<i>*h_aemh₃-</i> (GA)	‘lays hold, grasps; swears’
<i>*h_aem(h_x)ñweh_a-</i>	‘suffering’
<i>*h_aen-</i> (WC)	‘that’

<i>*h_aendhós</i>	‘blind’
<i>*h_aéngĥes-</i> [<i>*h_aéngĥu-</i> ‘narrow’]	‘± suffering, grief, fear’
<i>*h_aéngĥus-</i>	‘narrow’
<i>*h_aéngĥ(w)ēn-</i> (WC) [<i>*h_aéngĥu-</i> ‘narrow’]	‘neck’
<i>*h_aéng^whis</i> (WC)	‘snake’
<i>*h_aénh₁-</i>	‘breathe’
<i>*h_aénh₁mi</i> [<i>*h_aénh₁-</i> ‘breathe’]	‘breathe’
<i>*h_aénh₁mos</i> [<i>*h_aénh₁-</i> ‘breathe’]	‘breath’
<i>*h_aen-h_ae</i>	‘up (onto), upwards, along’
<i>*h_aénh_{xt}(e)h_a</i>	‘doorjamb’
<i>*h_aenk-</i>	‘bend’
<i>*h_aenkulos</i> [<i>*h_aenk-</i> ‘bend’]	‘shoot’
<i>*h_aénŋ</i>	‘(manly) strength, vitality’
<i>*h_aenseh_a-</i>	‘handle’
<i>*h_aénsus</i>	‘god, spirit’
<i>*h_aen-u</i> (E)	‘up (onto), upwards, along’
<i>*h_aepus</i>	‘weak’
<i>*h_aer-</i>	‘prepare, put together’
<i>*h_aer-</i>	‘reed’
<i>*h_aérdhis</i>	‘point’
<i>*h_aéreh_a-</i>	‘± ryegrass’
<i>*h_aérh₃wŋ</i> [<i>*h_aérh₃ye/o-</i> ‘plough’]	‘field’
<i>*h₂érh₃ye/o-</i>	‘plough’
<i>*h_aérkwos</i> (NW)	‘bow and/or arrow’
<i>*h_aértus</i> [<i>*h_aer-</i> ‘prepare’]	‘fitting, order’
<i>*h_aéru(s)</i>	‘wound’
<i>*h_aet</i>	‘away, beyond’
<i>*h_aet-</i>	‘go’
<i>*h_aetnos</i> (NW) [<i>*h_aet-</i> ‘go’]	‘year’
<i>*h_aeu-</i>	‘favour’
<i>*h_aeug-</i>	‘grow, increase’
<i>*h_aeuges-</i> [<i>*h_aeug-</i> ‘grow’]	‘strength’
<i>*h_aeusom</i> [<i>*h_aewes-</i> ‘shine’]	‘gold’
<i>*h_aéusōs</i> [<i>*h_aewes-</i> ‘shine’]	‘dawn’
<i>*h_a(e)ussċeti</i> [<i>*h_aewes-</i> ‘shine’]	‘it lights up, dawns’
<i>*h_aeust(e)ro-</i> [<i>*h_aewes-</i> ‘shine’]	‘east’
<i>*h_aewei-</i>	‘bird’
<i>*h_aewes-</i>	‘shine’
<i>*h_aewis</i>	‘oats’
<i>*h_aeyer-</i>	‘early’
<i>*h_aeyes-</i>	‘metal > copper > bronze’
<i>*h_aidhrós</i> (GA) [<i>*h_aeidh-</i> ‘burn’]	‘pure’
<i>*h_alei-</i>	‘smear’
<i>*h_aleit-</i> (WC)	‘± do something hateful or abhorrent’
<i>*h_alek-</i>	‘defend, protect’

<i>*(h_a)mauros</i> (WC)	‘dark’
<i>*h_amelǵ-</i>	‘to milk’
<i>*(h_a)merh_{xS}^w</i> (WC)	‘dark’
<i>*h_anēr</i>	‘man, person’
<i>*h_aph_atī-</i>	‘duck’
<i>*h_aógeh_a-</i>	‘± berry, fruit’
<i>*h_aóus-</i>	‘ear’
<i>*h_aō(w)i-om</i>	‘egg’
<i>*h_aóyus</i>	‘vital force, life, age of vigour’
<i>*h_arei(h_x)-</i> (WC) [<i>*h_aer-</i> ‘prepare’]	‘number, count (out)’
<i>*(h_a)wiselo-</i> (NW/WC?) [<i>*weis-</i> ‘stink’]	‘weasel’
<i>*h_awokséye/o-</i> [<i>*h_aeug-</i> ‘grow’]	‘grow’
<i>*h_ayeu-</i> [<i>*h_aóyus</i> ‘vital force’]	‘young’
<i>*h_ayuh_x-ŋ-kós</i> [<i>*h_aóyus</i> ‘vital force’]	‘youth’
*h_x	
<i>*h_xēpis</i> (GA) [<i>*h₂ep-</i> ‘fasten’]	‘confederate’
<i>*h_xih_xiǵh(e/o)-</i>	‘desire (strongly)’
<i>*h_xih_xlu</i> (WC)	‘mud; swamp’
<i>*h_xleh_ad-</i>	‘dear’
<i>*h_xnáss</i>	‘nose’
<i>*(h_x)neid-</i>	‘insult’
<i>*h_xng^wnis</i>	‘fire’
<i>*h_xoktō(u)</i>	‘eight’
<i>*h_xoktowós</i> [<i>*h_xoktō(u)</i> ‘eight’]	‘eighth’
<i>*h_xoldhu-</i>	‘(dugout) canoe, trough’
<i>*h_xóleh_a-</i>	‘awl’
<i>*h_xólkis</i>	‘elk/American moose’
<i>*h_xolu-</i>	‘± spell’
<i>*h_xóngl</i>	‘charcoal’
<i>*h_xópes-</i>	‘work’ (noun)
<i>*h_xorghi-</i> (C)	‘nit’
<i>*h_xorki-</i> (WC)	‘tick’
<i>*h_xósghos</i>	‘knot (in wood)’
<i>*h_xousteh_a-</i>	‘mouth, lip’
<i>*h_xVnghel-</i> (WC)	‘eel’
*i	
<i>*isǵhis-</i>	‘loins’
<i>*ish₁ros</i> (GA)	‘sacred power’
<i>*it-</i>	‘thus’
*k	
<i>*kagh-</i> (WC)	‘catch, grasp’
<i>*kagh-</i> (NW) [<i>*kagh-</i> ‘catch’]	‘hedge, enclosure’

<i>*kaghlos</i> (WC)	‘hail’
<i>*káikos</i> (NW/PIE?)	‘one-eyed, cross-eyed’
<i>*kai-welos</i>	‘alone’
<i>*káiwŕ(t)</i> (GA)	‘cave, fissure (in the earth)’
<i>*kak(k)eh_aye/o-</i> (WC)	‘defecate’
<i>*kal-</i> (GA)	‘beautiful’
<i>*kamareh_a</i> (GA) [<i>*kam-er-</i>]	‘vault’
<i>*kam-er-</i>	‘bend’
<i>*kam-p-</i> (WC)	‘bend (of terrain)’
<i>*kan-</i> (WC/PIE?)	‘sing’
<i>*kannabis</i> (WC)	‘hemp’
<i>*kant(h)o-</i> (WC)	‘corner, a bending’
<i>*kap-</i>	‘seize’
<i>*kap-</i> (NW) [<i>*kap-</i> ‘seize’]	‘hawk, falcon’
<i>*kapōlo-</i>	‘± head, skull’
<i>*kápr</i>	‘penis’
<i>*kápros</i> [<i>*kápr</i> ‘penis’]	‘he-goat’
<i>*kaptos</i> (NW) [<i>*kap-</i> ‘seize’]	‘captive’
<i>*káput</i> (NW)	‘head’
<i>*kar-</i>	‘praise loudly’
<i>*kar-</i>	‘hard’
<i>*karkr(o)-</i>	‘crab’
<i>*kars-</i>	‘scratch; comb (wool)’
<i>*kāru-</i> (GA) [<i>*kar-</i> ‘praise’]	‘poet’
<i>*kat-</i> (NW)	‘cat’
<i>*kath_ae</i>	‘down’
<i>*katu-</i> (NW)	‘fight’
<i>*kǎu-</i> (NW)	‘howl; owl’
<i>*kau(k)-</i>	‘cry out; cry out as a bird’
<i>*kaulós</i> (WC) [<i>*kul-</i> ‘hollow’]	‘± cabbage, stalk’
<i>*kaunos</i> (WC)	‘humble, lowly’
<i>*ked-</i>	‘± pass through’
<i>*keh_a-</i>	‘love’
<i>*k(e)h_ais Vr-</i>	‘mane’
<i>*keh_aros</i> (NW) [<i>*keh_a-</i> ‘love’]	‘friendly’
<i>*keh_au-</i>	‘strike, hew’
<i>*keh_xi-</i> (NW)	‘hot’
<i>*kei-</i>	‘set in motion’
<i>*keĕ-</i>	‘polecat’
<i>*kel-</i>	‘drive’
<i>*kel-</i>	‘strike, hew’
<i>*kel-</i>	‘prick’
<i>*kel-</i>	‘raise’
<i>*kel-</i> (WC)	‘deceive’

<i>*kel(h₁)-</i>	‘lift, raise up’
<i>*kelh₁-</i>	‘call out to’
<i>*kelh₁-</i> (WC) [<i>*kel-</i> ‘strike’]	‘strike’
<i>*kelp-</i> (WC/PIE?)	‘jug, pot’
<i>*kem-</i>	‘love’
<i>*kem-</i> (WC)	‘± press together’
<i>*kem-</i> (NW)	‘hum’
<i>*kemer_{os}</i> (WC)	‘± hellebore’
<i>*ken-</i>	‘fresh’
<i>*ken-</i>	‘love’
<i>*kenh_xis</i>	‘ash’
<i>*kenk-</i>	‘± hock, back of knee’
<i>*kenk-</i>	‘gird, wrap around’
<i>*kenk-</i>	‘burn’
<i>*kenk-</i> (WC)	‘hunger’
<i>*ként_r/n-</i> (WC)	‘± patch, patched garment’
<i>*ker-</i>	‘± caw’
<i>*ker-</i> (NW)	‘burn’
<i>*kerd-</i>	‘cut into, carve’
<i>*kerd-</i>	‘± defile, defecate’
<i>*kerd-</i> (NW)	‘belt’
<i>*kér_{dos}</i> (WC)	‘craft’
<i>*kerdheh_a-</i> (NW)	‘herd, series’
<i>*kergh-</i>	‘bind’
<i>*kerh_x-</i> (E)	‘propel’
<i>*kerk-</i>	‘hen’
<i>*kérmen-</i> [<i>*kerd-</i> ‘cut’]	‘skin’
<i>*kerp-</i> [<i>*kerd-</i> ‘cut’]	‘pluck, harvest’
<i>*kert-</i>	‘plait, twine’
<i>*kert-</i> (E) [<i>*kerd-</i> ‘cut’]	‘knife’
<i>*kes-</i>	‘comb’
<i>*kēs(<i>k̂</i>)eh_a-</i> (WC)	‘time’
<i>*ket-</i>	‘room’
<i>*keudes-</i> (WC) [<i>*keuh₁-</i> ‘perceive’]	‘magic force’
<i>*keuh₁-</i>	‘perceive’
<i>*keu(h_x)-</i>	‘curve’
<i>*kéuh_xl</i> [<i>*keu(h_x)-</i> ‘curve’]	‘hernia’
<i>*keu-k-</i>	‘curve’
<i>*keul-</i> (NW)	‘pig’
<i>*keus-</i>	‘hollow out’
<i>*kh_aónks</i>	‘honey-coloured, golden’
<i>*kiĕ-(y)eh_a-</i>	‘jay’
<i>*kla(n)g-</i> (WC)	‘scream (of birds)’
<i>*kleh_a-</i> (NW)	‘spread out flat’

<i>*kleh_adhreh_a-</i> (WC)	‘alder’
<i>*kleh_awis</i> (WC)	‘bolt, bar; (wooden) hook’
<i>*kléinus</i> (NW/WC?)	‘maple’
<i>*kleng-</i>	‘bend, turn’
<i>*klep-</i>	‘± lay hand to’
<i>*kl_hm(s)-</i> (E)	‘be fatigued, sleepy’
<i>*kl_h-ro-s</i> (WC) [<i>*kel-</i> ‘strike’]	‘plank’
<i>*kl_hwos</i>	‘bald’
<i>*kl_lnos</i>	‘callosity’
<i>*kl_ltér</i> [<i>*(s)kel-</i> ‘cut’]	‘knife’
<i>*klun-</i>	‘resound’
<i>*km_hros</i>	‘crayfish’
<i>*km_hp-h_a-</i> (WC)	‘drone’
<i>*knab(h)-</i> (WC)	‘pick at, tease out’
<i>*knei-g^wh-</i> (NW)	‘lean’
<i>*kneu-</i> (NW)	‘nut’
<i>*kob-</i> (NW)	‘fit, suit, accomplish’
<i>*kobom</i> (NW) [<i>*kob-</i> ‘fit’]	‘success’
<i>*koǵhéh_a-</i> (WC)	‘goat’
<i>*kóh_ailus</i> (WC)	‘healthy, whole’
<i>*kóh_a-r</i>	‘wax’
<i>*koik̃-</i>	‘cut hair’
<i>*kõkes-</i>	‘inner part, nook’
<i>*kókso/eh_a-</i> [<i>*kõkes-</i> ‘inner part’]	‘hollow of (major) joint’
<i>*kol-</i> (WC)	‘glue’
<i>*kolh_lōn</i> (WC) [<i>*kel(h_l)-</i> ‘lift’]	‘hill’
<i>*kolnós</i>	‘one-eyed’
<i>*kólsos</i> [<i>*kel-</i> ‘raise’]	‘neck’
<i>*ko(m)</i>	‘with, side by side’
<i>*kon-</i>	‘do, make’
<i>*ko(n)gos</i>	‘hook’
<i>*kónh_am-</i> (WC)	‘lower leg, shin’
<i>*kopso-</i> (WC)	‘blackbird’
<i>*kóris</i> (WC) [<i>*kerd-</i> ‘cut’]	‘± biting insect’
<i>*korm-</i>	‘broth, mash?’
<i>*koryonos</i> (WC) [<i>*koryos</i> ‘army’]	‘leader’
<i>*koryos</i>	‘army, people under arms’
<i>*Kos-t-</i>	‘hunger’
<i>*kós(V)los</i> (NW)	‘hazel’
<i>*kouh_lēi(s)</i> (GA) [<i>*(s)keuh_l-</i> ‘perceive’]	‘priest’
<i>*kreb-</i> (NW) [<i>*(s)kerbh-</i> ‘turn’]	‘basket’
<i>*kreidhrom</i> (NW) [<i>*kerd-</i> ‘cut’]	‘sieve’
<i>*krek-</i> (WC)	‘beat the weft with a stick’
<i>*krek-</i> (NW)	‘fish eggs, frogspawn’

<i>*kremh₂us</i> (WC)	‘(wild) garlic’
<i>*kréps</i>	‘body’
<i>*kret-</i> (NW)	‘shake’
<i>*kr(e)ubh-</i>	‘gather, amass’
<i>*kréuh_a</i>	‘blood, gore’
<i>*kreuk-</i>	‘cry out, raise the hue and cry’
<i>*kreup-</i>	‘± rough, scabby’
<i>*kreu(-s)-</i>	‘strike’
<i>*kreut-</i> (NW)	‘± shake’
<i>*k_ṛh₁pís</i> (WC) [<i>*kerd-</i> ‘cut’]	‘shoe’
<i>*k_ṛh₂ós</i>	‘thin’
<i>*k_ṛnom</i> (WC)	‘cherry’
<i>*krob-</i>	‘hurry’
<i>*kroku-</i> ~ <i>*krókyeh_a-</i> (WC)	‘post’
<i>*k_ṛsneh_a</i> (WC)	‘spring, wave’
<i>*kseros-</i>	‘dry’
<i>*kseu-</i>	‘rub, whet’
<i>*kseubh-</i>	‘shave’
<i>*kseubh-</i> [<i>*skeubh-</i> ‘push away’]	‘shake’
<i>*ksih₂róm</i>	‘± (skim) milk, whey’
<i>*ksun</i> (WC)	‘with’
<i>*ksuróm</i> (GA) [<i>*kseu-</i> ‘rub, whet’]	‘razor’
<i>*(k)sweid-</i>	‘milk’
<i>*ksweks</i>	‘six’
<i>*ksweks-kómt(h_a)</i> [<i>*ksweks</i> ‘six’ +	
<i>*dék_ṛm₁(t)</i> ‘ten’]	‘sixty’
<i>*ksweksos</i> [<i>*ksweks</i> ‘six’]	‘sixth’
<i>*kúh₂los</i>	‘back’
<i>*kuh₂p-</i> (WC)	‘water vessel’
<i>*kuh₂s-</i>	‘hire’
<i>*kukū</i>	‘cuckoo’
<i>*kukís</i>	‘± (female) pubic hair, vulva’
<i>*kul-</i>	‘hollow’
<i>*kumbo/eh_a-</i>	‘bowl, small vessel’
<i>*kus-</i>	‘kiss’
<i>*kus-</i>	‘dwelling’
<i>*kutsós</i>	‘anus, vulva’
<i>*kVIVk-</i>	‘cup, drinking vessel’
<i>*kVr-C-</i>	‘crow; raven’
<i>*kwat-</i>	‘ferment’
<i>*k̑</i>	
<i>*k̑ad-</i>	‘fall’
<i>*k̑ámos</i> (WC)	‘sheatfish’
<i>*k̑ank-</i>	‘branch’

<i>*kāpos</i>	‘piece of land, garden’
<i>*kār_hka-</i> (NW)	‘magpie’
<i>*kas-</i>	‘grey’
<i>*kasos</i> [<i>*kas-</i> ‘grey’]	‘hare’
<i>*keh_l-</i>	‘declare solemnly’
<i>*keh_lkom</i>	‘edible greens’ (< <i>*‘foliage’</i> ?)
<i>*keh_ls-</i> (E) [<i>*keh_l-</i> ‘declare’]	‘instruct’
<i>*keh_ades-</i>	‘± concern; hate’
<i>*keh_ak-</i> (WC)	‘jump’
<i>*keh_au-</i>	‘burn’
<i>*keh_x(i)-</i>	‘sharpen, hone’
<i>*kei-</i>	‘lie’
<i>*keigh-</i> (NW/PIE?)	‘fast’
<i>*keir-</i> (NW)	‘dull or brownish black’
<i>*kéi_wos</i> [<i>*kei-</i> ‘lie’]	‘belonging to the household’
<i>*kek^w-</i>	‘defecate’
<i>*kel-</i> (WC)	‘conceal, cover’
<i>*kelb-</i> (NW)	‘help’
<i>*kel(h_x)-</i>	‘± (spear)point’
<i>*kēls</i> [<i>*kel-</i> ‘conceal’]	‘(store)room’
<i>*kelto-</i>	‘cold’
<i>*kem-</i>	‘cover’
<i>*kem-</i>	‘hornless’
<i>*kemh_a-</i>	‘grow tired, tire oneself with work, work’
<i>*kenós</i> (C)	‘empty’
<i>*ke(n)s-</i>	‘declare solemnly’
<i>*kent-</i>	‘sharp’
<i>*ker-</i>	‘grow’
<i>*ker-</i>	‘decay’
<i>*ker-</i> ~ <i>*k_or-wos</i>	‘greyish blue, greyish green’
<i>*ker-</i>	‘horn’
<i>*kérberos</i> (GA)	‘spotted’
<i>*kērd</i>	‘heart’
<i>*ker(es)-</i> (NW)	‘± (rough) hair, bristle’
<i>*kérh₂s</i> [<i>*ker-</i> ‘horn’]	‘horn’
<i>*kérh₂s_o</i> [<i>*ker-</i> ‘horn’]	‘horn’
<i>*kerh_x-</i>	‘mix’
<i>*kers-</i>	‘run’
<i>*ker(s)no-</i> (WC)	‘hoarfrost, frozen snow’
<i>*kes-</i>	‘cut’
<i>*ket-</i> (GA)	‘be angry’
<i>*keudh-</i>	‘hide’
<i>*keuh_l-</i>	‘swell, grow great with child’
<i>*keu(h_x)-</i>	‘hollow out’

<i>*kéuh_x-</i>	‘hernia’
<i>*kéuk-</i>	‘cry out (to)’
<i>*kéuk-</i>	‘shine, burn’
<i>*kíhk_xwon-</i> (C) [<i>*keh_x(i)-</i> ‘sharpen’]	‘pillar, post’
<i>*kíker-</i> (WC)	‘chickpea’
<i>*kís</i>	‘this one’
<i>*kílei-</i>	‘lean’
<i>*kíleu-</i>	‘hear’
<i>*kíleu-</i> (WC)	‘clean’
<i>*kíleus-</i> [<i>*kíleu-</i> ‘hear’]	‘hear’
<i>*kíléutrom</i> [<i>*kíleu-</i> ‘hear’]	‘a sound’
<i>*kíléwes-</i> [<i>*kíleu-</i> ‘hear’]	‘fame’
<i>*kílits</i> [<i>*kílei-</i> ‘lean’]	‘post, trimmed log’
<i>*kílounis</i>	‘± haunch, hip’
<i>*kmeh_a-</i> (GA) [<i>*kemh_a-</i> ‘grow tired’]	‘made, prepared’
<i>*kṛṇtóm</i>	‘hundred’
<i>*kóh₁kōh₂</i>	‘(forked) branch’
<i>*kóh_xnos</i> [<i>*keh_x(i)-</i> ‘sharpen’]	‘whetstone, hone’
<i>*kóimos</i> (WC)	‘household, village’
<i>*kóino-</i> (WC)	‘grass’
<i>*kóiwis</i>	‘± tube’
<i>*kókolos</i>	‘splinter’
<i>*kók^w_ṛ</i> [<i>*kek^w-</i> ‘defecate’]	‘excrement, dung, manure’
<i>*kólh_xōm</i>	‘stalk, stem, straw’
<i>*k(o)níd-</i> (WC)	‘nit, louse egg’
<i>*kónk-</i>	‘hang’
<i>*kónkh_aos</i> [<i>*kónk-</i> ‘hang’]	‘mussel(-shell), etc.’
<i>*kónkus</i>	‘a kind of fish’
<i>*kóph₂ós</i>	‘hoof’
<i>*kóph_aelos</i>	‘carp’
<i>*kórmon-</i> (NW)	‘weasel, ermine/stoat’
<i>*kóru</i> [<i>*ker-</i> ‘horn’]	‘horn’
<i>*kóss</i>	‘(Scotch) pine’
<i>*kóstrom</i> ~ <i>*kosdhrom</i> [<i>*kes-</i> ‘cut’]	‘knife’
<i>*kóuh₁ros</i> [<i>*kéuh₁-</i> ‘swell’]	‘powerful’
<i>*kóuh_xṛ</i>	‘hole, opening’
<i>*kóunos</i>	‘red’
<i>*kíred-</i>	‘framework, beams’
<i>*kíred-dheh₁-</i> [<i>*kērd</i> ‘heart’ + <i>*dheh₁-</i> ‘put’]	‘believe’
<i>*kṛh₂sro(h_x)on-</i> (NW) [<i>*ker-</i> ‘horn’]	‘hornet’
<i>*kṛipo-</i>	‘± head and facial hair’
<i>*kṛṇom</i> [<i>*ker-</i> ‘horn’]	‘horn’
<i>*kṛópos</i> (NW)	‘roof’
<i>*kṛrēh₂</i>	‘head’

<i>*k̂rsos</i> (NW) [<i>*k̂ers-</i> ‘run’]	‘wagon’
<i>*k̂seh₁-</i>	‘burn, singe’
<i>*k̂súlom</i> (WC)	‘worked, shaped wood; post, stake’
<i>*k̂uh_xdós</i> (WC)	‘dung’
<i>*k̂úh_xlos</i>	‘spear, spit’
<i>*k̂(u)wōn</i>	‘dog’
<i>*k̂weitos</i>	‘white’
<i>*k̂wéndhr/no-</i> (NW)	‘angelica’
<i>*k̂wen(to)-</i> [<i>*k̂euh₁-</i> ‘swell’]	‘holy’
<i>*k̂wesh_x-</i>	‘± breathe; sigh, groan’
<i>*k̂wesh_xmi</i> [<i>*k̂wesh_x-</i> ‘breathe’]	‘breathe deeply, sigh’
<i>*k̂yeh₁-</i>	‘deep intense shade, ± green’
<i>*k̂yeino-</i> (GA)	‘bird of prey, kite’
*kh	
<i>*kha-</i>	‘laugh’
*k^w	
<i>*k^wap-</i> (WC)	‘smoke, seethe’
<i>*k^was-</i> (NW)	‘(wicker-) basket’
<i>*k^wat-</i> (WC)	‘shake’
<i>*- k^we</i>	‘and’
<i>*k^wed-</i> (NW)	‘whet, sharpen’
<i>*k^weh₁(i)-</i>	‘fear, revere’
<i>*k^weh_ak-</i> (NW)	‘of what sort’
<i>*k^weh_ali</i> (WC)	‘of what sort/size’
<i>*k^weh_am</i> (WC)	‘how; as’
<i>*k^weh_as-</i>	‘cough’
<i>*k^wei-</i>	‘pile up, build’
<i>*k^wei-</i>	‘perceive’
<i>*k^wei-</i>	‘fine, punish’
<i>*k^weih₁-</i>	‘rest, quiet’
<i>*k^wek̂/ĝ-</i>	‘appear’
<i>*k^wek̂^wlóm</i> [<i>*k^wel-</i> ‘turn’]	‘wheel’
<i>*k^wel-</i>	‘turn’
<i>*k^welp-</i> (WC)	‘arch’
<i>*k^wem-</i>	‘swallow’
<i>*k^went(h)-</i> (WC)	‘suffer’
<i>*k^wer-</i>	‘cut’
<i>*k^wer-</i>	‘do, make, build’
<i>*k^werp-</i>	‘turn’
<i>*k^werus</i>	‘large cooking pot, cauldron’
<i>*k^wet-</i> (WC)	‘chaff, bran’

<i>*k^wetwóres</i>	‘four’
<i>*k^wetwor-pod-</i> [<i>*k^wetwóres</i> ‘four’ +	
<i>*pōds</i> ‘foot’]	‘animal’
<i>*k^wíd</i>	‘what, what one’
<i>*k^wís</i>	‘who’
<i>*k^(w)leik-</i>	‘suffer’
<i>*k^wlep-</i> (E)	‘desire’
<i>*k^wleu-</i> [<i>*k^wel-</i> ‘turn’]	‘turn’
<i>*k^wód</i>	‘what’
<i>*k^wodéh_a</i>	‘when’
<i>*k^woih_{xos}</i>	‘pertaining to whom/what’
<i>*k^woineh_a-</i> [<i>*k^wei-</i> ‘fine’]	‘compensation’
<i>*k^wóm</i>	‘when’
<i>*k^wór</i>	‘where’
<i>*k^wós</i>	‘who’
<i>*k^wóteros</i>	‘which (of two)’
<i>*k^wóti ~ *k^wéti</i>	‘how much/many’
<i>*k^wrei(h_a)-</i>	‘pay’
<i>*k^wrésnos</i> (NW)	‘tree; brush(wood)’
<i>*k^wgmis</i>	‘worm, insect’
<i>*k^wgsnós</i>	‘black’
<i>*k^wrustēn</i>	‘(freezing) cold’
<i>*k^wgwis</i> [<i>*k^wer-</i> ‘do’]	‘± tool’
<i>*k^wsep-</i>	‘night’
<i>*k^wturyós ~ *k^wetwortos</i>	
[<i>*k^wetwóres</i> ‘four’]	‘fourth’
<i>*k^wu ~ *k^wú</i>	‘where’
*l	
<i>*lab-</i> (WC)	‘lick’
<i>*laiwós</i>	‘left’
<i>*lak-</i> (WC)	‘lick’
<i>*lak-</i> (WC)	‘rend, tear’
<i>*lal-</i>	‘babble’
<i>*la(m)bh-</i>	‘seize’
<i>*lap-</i>	‘shine’
<i>*las-</i>	‘be greedy, lascivious’
<i>*lau-</i> (NW)	‘benefit, prize’
<i>*leb-</i> (NW)	‘lip’
<i>*lebh-</i>	‘ivory’
<i>*leg-</i> (WC)	‘drip, trickle’
<i>*leġ-</i>	‘gather; see [gather with the eyes]’
<i>*legħ-</i>	‘lie’
<i>*léghes-</i> [<i>*legħ-</i> ‘lie’]	‘place for lying, bed, couch’

<i>*leh₁d-</i>	‘grow slack, become tired’
<i>*leh₁d-</i>	‘leave’
<i>*leh₁w-</i> (WC)	‘stone’
<i>*leh₂-</i>	‘pour, wet, make flow’
<i>*leh₂-</i>	‘military action’
<i>*leh₂wós</i> [<i>*leh₂-</i> ‘military action’]	‘people (under arms)’
<i>*leh_a-</i>	‘bark’
<i>*leh_a-</i> (WC)	‘complain, cry out’
<i>*leh_ad-</i>	‘dear’
<i>*leh_apeh_a-</i>	‘foot, paw’
<i>*leh_at-</i> (NW)	‘wet, moist’
<i>*lei-</i>	‘bent’
<i>*leib-</i> (WC)	‘pour, make a libation’
<i>*leigh-</i>	‘lick’
<i>*leik^w-</i>	‘leave (behind)’
<i>*leip-</i>	‘adhere, stick; smear’
<i>*leip-</i> (NW)	‘light, cause to shine’
<i>*leis-</i>	‘leave a trace on the ground’
<i>*l(e/o)iseh_a-</i> (NW) [<i>*leis-</i> ‘leave a trace’]	‘furrow’
<i>*leit(h_x)-</i>	‘go away, go forth’
<i>*lek-</i>	‘jump, scuttle along’
<i>*lem-</i> (WC)	‘(nocturnal) spirit’
<i>*lomb-</i> ~ <i>*remb-</i>	‘hang down’
<i>*lendh-</i> (NW)	‘open land, waste’
<i>*leng-</i>	‘bend’
<i>*lenk-</i>	‘bend; traverse, divide’
<i>*lēnos</i> (NW)	‘quiet’
<i>*lenteh_a-</i> (WC)	‘linden’
<i>*l(e)nto-</i> (NW)	‘soft’
<i>*lep-</i> (WC)	‘stone’
<i>*lep-</i> (WC)	‘strip, peel’
<i>*lerd-</i> (WC)	‘± crooked’
<i>*lesi-</i>	‘liver’
<i>*letrom</i> (NW)	‘leather’
<i>*leu-</i> (WC)	‘dirt’
<i>*leubh-</i>	‘love, desire’
<i>*leud-</i> (NW)	‘act hypocritically, badly’
<i>*leug-</i>	‘grieve, be pained’
<i>*leug-</i> (WC)	‘bend; bend together, entwine’
<i>*leuġ-</i>	‘break, break off’
<i>*leugh-</i> (NW)	‘lie, tell a lie’
<i>*leuh₁-</i> (WC)	‘wash, bathe’
<i>*leuh_x-</i>	‘hunt, release, cut off’
<i>*léuh_xōn</i> [<i>*leuh_x-</i> ‘hunt’]	‘animal’

<i>*leuk-</i>	‘shine’
<i>*leukós</i> [<i>*leuk-</i> ‘shine’]	‘light, bright, clear’
<i>*leuk-</i> [<i>*leuk-</i> ‘shine’]	‘see’
<i>*leup-</i>	‘peel’
<i>*linom</i> (WC)	‘flax’
<i>*li(w)-</i> (WC)	‘lion’
<i>*loh_apo-</i> (WC)	‘cow’
<i>*loid-</i> (WC)	‘play, jest’
<i>*lóik^wnes-</i> [<i>*leik^w-</i> ‘leave’]	‘(inherited) possessions’
<i>*lokús</i> (WC)	‘lake, water, pond’
<i>*lók-</i>	‘weasel’
<i>*lók^s</i>	‘salmonid, salmon (trout)’
<i>*londhu</i>	‘loins’
<i>*lónko/eh_a-</i> [<i>*lenk-</i> ‘bend’]	‘valley’
<i>*lōp-</i> (WC) [<i>*lep-</i> ‘strip’]	‘± strip of cloth, bast, or hide used for clothing’
<i>*lord(śk)os</i> (WC) [<i>*lerd-</i> ‘± crooked’]	‘crooked of body’
<i>*lorgeh_a-</i> (NW?)	‘club’
<i>*los-</i>	‘cloth’
<i>*losiws</i>	‘weak’
<i>*lóubho/eh_a-</i> (WC)	‘bast, bark’
<i>*louh₁trōm</i> (WC) [<i>*leuh₁-</i> ‘wash’]	‘(wash-)basin’
<i>*lóuk(es)-</i> [<i>*leuk-</i> ‘shine’]	‘light’
<i>*louksneh_a-</i> (NW) [<i>*leuk-</i> ‘shine’]	‘moon’
<i>*lu-</i> (<i>*lus-</i>)	‘louse’
<i>*luk-</i> (WC)	‘lynx’
*m	
<i>*magh-</i>	‘be able’
<i>*maghus</i> [<i>*magh-</i> ‘be able’]	‘young man’
<i>*maghwih_a-</i> [<i>*magh-</i> ‘be able’]	‘young woman’
<i>*mai-</i> (NW)	‘soil, defile’
<i>*mak-</i> (WC)	‘poppy’
<i>*mak-</i>	‘thin, long’
<i>*makrós</i> (WC) [<i>*meh_ak-</i> ‘thin’]	‘thin, long’
<i>*mand-</i>	‘enclosure, stall’
<i>*mandh-</i> or <i>*mant-</i> (WC)	‘chew’
<i>*manu-</i>	‘Man’, ancestor of humankind
<i>*márkos</i> (NW)	‘horse’
<i>*masdos</i> (NW)	‘post’
<i>*mat-</i>	‘± worm, maggot’
<i>*mat-</i>	‘hoe, plough’
<i>*māwort-</i>	‘god of war’
<i>*me/o-</i>	interrogative/relative

<i>*mē</i>	‘not’
<i>*med-</i>	‘measure, weigh’
<i>*med-</i> [<i>*med-</i> ‘measure’]	‘heal, cure’
<i>*médh<u>u</u></i>	‘mead’
<i>*medhwih_{a-}</i> [<i>*médh<u>u</u></i> ‘mead’]	‘intoxicator’
<i>*meġh_{a-}</i>	‘large, great’
<i>*meh₁(i)-</i>	‘grow’
<i>*meh₁(i)-</i>	‘± mumble’
<i>*meh₁l-</i> (WC)	‘small animal’
<i>*meh₁l-nōt</i> [<i>*meh₁(i)-</i> ‘grow’]	‘moon’
<i>*meh₁ro-</i> ~ <i>*moh₁ro-</i> (WC)	
[<i>*meh₁(i)-</i> ‘grow’]	‘large’
<i>*méh₁tis</i> [<i>*meh₁(i)-</i> ‘grow’]	‘measure’
<i>*meh₂lom</i>	‘apple’
<i>*meh_{a-}</i>	‘wave/trick (with the hand)’
<i>*m(e)h_ad-</i>	‘become wet, moist, fat’
<i>*méh_ar</i>	‘hand’
<i>*meh_a(t)-</i> (NW)	‘good’
<i>*méh_atēr</i>	‘mother’
<i>*méh_atṛous</i> (WC) [<i>*méh_atēr</i> ‘mother’]	‘maternal kinsman; maternal uncle’
<i>*meh_atruh_{a-}</i> (WC) [<i>*méh_atēr</i> ‘mother’]	‘mother’s sister’
<i>*mei-</i>	‘less’
<i>*mei-</i>	‘exchange’
<i>*meigh-</i> ~ <i>*meik-</i>	‘close the eyes’
<i>*meiġ(h)-</i>	‘barley’ (‘grain’?)
<i>*meih_{x-}</i> (NW)	‘go’
<i>*meik-</i>	‘mix’
<i>*meino-</i>	‘opinion’
<i>*meit-</i> [<i>*mei-</i> ‘exchange’]	‘exchange’
<i>*mei-wos</i> [<i>*mei-</i> ‘less’]	‘belonging to little hand’
<i>*mel-</i>	‘argue, contend’
<i>*mel-</i>	‘good’
<i>*mel-</i>	‘fail, harm’
<i>*meldh-</i>	‘pray, speak words to a deity’
<i>*meldh-</i>	‘soft, weak’
<i>*meldh-</i> (NW)	‘lightning’
<i>*méles-</i> [<i>*mel-</i> ‘harm’]	‘fault, mistake’
<i>*méles-</i> (WC)	‘limb’
<i>*mel(h₁)-</i>	‘soft’
<i>*melh₂₋</i>	‘grind’
<i>*melh₂₋</i> (WC?) [<i>*melh₂₋</i> ‘grind’]	‘± grain, millet’
<i>*meli-</i> (NW)	‘badger’
<i>*mélit</i>	‘honey’
<i>*melitih_{a-}</i> (C) [<i>*mélit</i> ‘honey’]	‘honey-bee’

<i>*melk-</i>	‘plait, spin’
<i>*mel-n-</i>	‘dull or brownish black’
<i>*melo-</i> [<i>*mel-</i> ‘harm’]	‘bad’
<i>*mē(m)s</i>	‘meat’
<i>*men-</i>	‘think, consider’
<i>*men-</i>	‘remain, stay’
<i>*men-</i>	‘project’
<i>*men-</i> [<i>*men-</i> ‘project’]	‘chin’
<i>*mendo/eh_a-</i>	‘± (bodily) defect’
<i>*mendyos</i> (C)	‘horse’
<i>*menegh-</i> (WC/PIE?)	‘abundant’
<i>*ménes-</i> (GA) [<i>*men-</i> ‘think’]	‘thought’
<i>*meng-</i>	‘± charm, deceive’
<i>*menk-</i>	‘press’
<i>*menk-</i> [<i>*menus/menwos</i> ‘thin’]	‘lack’
<i>*menkus</i> (C) [<i>*menk-</i> ‘press’]	‘soft’
<i>*ménm̃</i> [<i>*men-</i> ‘think’]	‘thought’
<i>*men(s)-dh(e)h₁-</i> [<i>*men-</i> ‘think’ +	
<i>*dheh₁-</i> ‘put’]	‘learn’
<i>*menth₂-</i>	‘stir’
<i>*méntis</i> [<i>*men-</i> ‘think’]	‘thought’
<i>*menus/menwos</i>	‘thin (in density)’
<i>*mer-</i>	‘crush, pulverize’
<i>*mer-</i>	‘die’
<i>*mer-</i>	‘shine, shimmer’
<i>*mer-</i>	‘disturb, forget’
<i>*mer-</i> (WC)	‘braid, bind’
<i>*merd-</i>	‘± rub, scrape’
<i>*merih_a-</i> [<i>*méryos</i> ‘young man’]	‘young woman’
<i>*merk-</i> (NW)	‘± darken’
<i>*mers-</i> [<i>*mer-</i> ‘disturb’]	‘forget’
<i>*méryos</i>	‘young man’
<i>*mesg-</i>	‘intertwine’
<i>*mesg-</i>	‘dip under water, dive’
<i>*meud-</i>	‘be merry’
<i>*meug-</i> (NW)	‘± cheat, deceive’
<i>*m(e)uh_x-</i>	‘wash (in urine?)’
<i>*meu(h_x)-</i>	‘move’
<i>*méuh_xkō(n)</i> (WC)	‘heap’
<i>*meus-</i>	‘move; remove’
<i>*mēus</i> (NW)	‘moss, mould’
<i>*m-h₄em-</i>	‘mother’
<i>*misdhós</i>	‘reward, prize’
<i>*míts</i>	‘stake, post’

<i>*m[₉dh_o/eh_a-</i> [<i>*meldh-</i> ‘soft’]	‘clay’
<i>*mleuh_x-</i>	‘speak’
<i>*m[₉h₂dh-o-</i>	‘crown of the head’
<i>*m[₉k-</i>	‘touch lightly’
<i>*m[₉h_x-</i> (WC)	‘minnow; small fish’
<i>*mōd-</i> (WC)	‘meet’
<i>*modheros</i>	‘blue/green’
<i>*moisós</i>	‘ram, sheep; fleece, skin’
<i>*moko-</i>	‘gnat, stinging insect’
<i>*moks</i>	‘soon’
<i>*mono-</i> [<i>*men-</i> ‘project’]	‘neck’
<i>*mono/i-</i> [<i>mono-</i> ‘neck’]	‘neck ornament’
<i>*morg̃-</i>	‘border’
<i>*móri</i>	‘sea’
<i>*mórom</i>	‘blackberry’
<i>*móros</i> [<i>*mer-</i> ‘die’]	‘death’
<i>*mórtos</i> (GA) [<i>*mer-</i> ‘die’]	‘person, mortal, man’
<i>*morwi-</i> ~ <i>*morm-</i> ~ <i>*mouro-</i>	‘ant’
<i>*mosghos</i>	‘marrow, brain’
<i>*móstr₆</i> (E)	‘brain, marrow’
<i>*moud-</i>	‘desire strongly’
<i>*mregh-</i> (WC)	‘rain softly, drizzle’
<i>*mréghmen-</i> (WC)	‘brain’
<i>*m[₉ghus</i>	‘short’
<i>*m[₉k-</i> (WC)	‘± carrot’
<i>*m[₉tís</i> [<i>*mer-</i> ‘die’]	‘death’
<i>*m[₉tóm</i> [<i>*mer-</i> ‘die’]	‘death’
<i>*m[₉tós</i> [<i>*mer-</i> ‘die’]	‘dead; mortal’
<i>*mū-</i>	‘dumb’
<i>*mug-</i>	‘± make a (low) noise’
<i>*mú(k)skos</i> (WC)	‘ass/donkey’
<i>*murmur-</i>	‘murmur’
<i>*mus-</i>	‘steal’
<i>*mūs</i> [<i>*meus-</i> ‘move’]	‘mouse’
<i>*mus/h_x-</i> (WC)	‘fly; gnat, midge, mosquito’
<i>*muskós</i> (GA) [<i>*meus-</i> ‘move’]	‘male or female sex organ’
<i>*mustí-</i> (E)	‘fist’
<i>*mūs(tlo)-</i> [<i>*meus-</i> ‘move’]	‘(little) mouse; muscle’
*n	
<i>*nak-</i>	‘press, squeeze’
<i>*nák(es)-</i> (WC)	‘± pelt, hide’
<i>*nant-</i> (NW)	‘combat, fight’
<i>*[₉bh(ro/ri)-</i> [<i>*nébhos</i> - ‘mist’]	‘rain’

<i>*ḡdhés ~ *ḡdhero-</i>	‘under, low’
<i>*ne</i>	‘not’
<i>*ne</i>	‘thus’
<i>*nébhes-</i>	‘mist, cloud; sky’
<i>*ned-</i>	‘knot’
<i>*ned-</i> (WC)	‘nettle’
<i>*nedós</i>	‘reed, rush’
<i>*nedskéh_a-</i> (NW) [<i>*ned-</i> ‘knot’]	‘tie, ring’
<i>*ne/og^wnós</i>	‘bare, naked’
<i>*neg^whrós</i> (WC) [<i>*h₁eng^w-</i> ‘swell’]	‘kidney’
<i>*néh₁tr- ~ *nh₁tr-</i> (NW) [<i>*(s)neh₁-</i> ‘twist’]	‘snake’
<i>*neh₂-</i>	‘be timid’
<i>*néh_aus</i>	‘boat’
<i>*néh_awis</i>	‘corpse’
<i>*nei-</i>	‘be excited’
<i>*neig^w-</i>	‘wash’
<i>*neih_x-</i>	‘lead’
<i>*neik-</i>	‘begin’
<i>*neik-</i> (WC)	‘winnow’
<i>*nek-</i>	‘perish, die’
<i>*nek_s</i> [<i>*nek-</i> ‘die’]	‘death’
<i>*nek_{us}</i> [<i>*nek-</i> ‘die’]	‘death; dead’
<i>*nek^wt-</i>	‘night’
<i>*nem-</i>	‘bend’
<i>*nem-</i>	‘take/accept legally’
<i>*némos-</i> (WC)	‘(sacred) grove’
<i>*népōts</i>	‘grandson; (?) nephew’
<i>*neptih_a-</i> [<i>*népōts</i> ‘grandson’]	‘granddaughter; (?) niece’
<i>*neptiyos</i> [<i>*népōts</i> ‘grandson’]	‘descendant’
<i>*neptonos ~ *h₂epōm nepōts</i> [<i>*népōts</i> ‘grandson’]	‘grandson of waters’
<i>*ner</i>	‘under’
<i>*nes-</i>	‘return home’
<i>*neu-</i>	‘± cry out’
<i>*neu-</i> (WC/PIE?)	‘nod’
<i>*neud-</i> (E)	‘push (away)’
<i>*neud-</i> (NW)	‘use, enjoy’
<i>*néwos</i> [<i>*nu-</i> ‘now’]	‘new’
<i>*n-h₄en-</i>	‘(old) woman, mother’
<i>*ni</i>	‘downwards’
<i>*nisdos</i> [<i>*ni</i> ‘down’ + <i>*sed-</i> ‘sit’]	‘nest’
<i>*ṛk^wtus</i> [<i>*nek^wt-</i> ‘night’]	‘end of the night’
<i>*ṛ-mṛtós</i> (GA) [<i>*ne</i> ‘not’ + <i>*mer-</i> ‘die’]	‘undying’ (drink)
<i>*nóh₁</i>	‘we two’

<i>*n(o)h_xt-</i> (WC)	‘± rear-end’
<i>*noibhos</i> [<i>*nei-</i> ‘be excited’]	‘holy’
<i>*nu-</i>	‘now’
*o	
<i>*ō</i>	‘O’
<i>*os(o)nos</i>	‘ass’
*p	
<i>*pad-</i>	‘duck, teal?’
<i>*pandos</i> (NW)	‘curved’
<i>*pano-</i>	‘millet’
<i>*pant-</i>	‘stomach, paunch’
<i>*pap-</i>	‘± mother’s breast, teat’
<i>*papa</i>	‘father, papa’
<i>*parikeh_a-</i>	‘± concubine; wanton woman’
<i>*pastos</i>	‘firm’
<i>*pau-</i> (WC)	‘little, few’
<i>*ped-</i>	‘fall’
<i>*pedom</i> [<i>*pōds</i> ‘foot’]	‘footprint, track’
<i>*peh₁(i)-</i>	‘harm’
<i>*péh₁m̃_o</i> (GA) [<i>*peh₁(i)-</i> ‘harm’]	‘misfortune’
<i>*peh₂-</i>	‘guard, cause to graze’
<i>*p(e)h₂no/eh_a-</i>	‘cloth’
<i>*péh₂ur</i>	‘fire’
<i>*péh₂usōn</i> (GA) [<i>*peh₂-</i> ‘guard’]	‘pastoral god’
<i>*peh₃(i)-</i>	‘swallow’ > ‘drink’
<i>*peh_aĝ- ~ *peh_aĕ-</i>	‘fasten securely’
<i>*pei-</i>	‘sing’
<i>*peih_x-</i>	‘be fat’
<i>*peik/<i>k̃</i>-</i>	‘be hostile, hate’
<i>*peik̃-</i>	‘paint, mark’
<i>*peis-</i>	‘blow to make a noise’
<i>*peis-</i>	‘thresh, grind’
<i>*pek-</i>	‘pull out [wool]’
<i>*péku</i>	‘livestock’
<i>*pek^w-</i>	‘cook, bake’
<i>*pel-</i>	‘± sell’
<i>*pel-</i>	‘fold’
<i>*pel-</i>	‘be grey’
<i>*pel-</i>	‘hide’
<i>*peld-</i>	‘felt’
<i>*pelek̃us</i>	‘axe’
<i>*peles-</i>	‘wound’

<i>*pelh_l-</i>	‘fill’
<i>*pēl(h_l)ewis</i> [<i>*pelh_l-</i> ‘fill’]	‘container’
<i>*pélh_lus</i> [<i>*pelh_l-</i> ‘fill’]	‘much’
<i>*pelh_a-</i> (NW)	‘set in motion’
<i>*pelh_ak-</i>	‘spread out flat’
<i>*pelh_x-</i>	‘fort, fortified place’
<i>*pelh_x-</i> (WC)	‘bear young’
<i>*pel(i)s-</i>	‘cliff, stone, rock’
<i>*péln-</i> (WC) [<i>*(s)pel-</i> ‘tear off’]	‘animal skin, hide’
<i>*pelo/eh_a-</i>	‘chaff’
<i>*pelpel-</i> (NW)	‘butterfly’
<i>*pél(h_x)us</i> [<i>*pel-</i> ‘be grey’]	‘mouse’
<i>*pen-</i>	‘feed, fatten’
<i>*pen-</i> (NW)	‘water’
<i>*penk-</i>	‘damp, mud’
<i>*pénk^we</i>	‘five’
<i>*penk^we dékṃ(t)</i>	
[<i>*pénk^we</i> ‘five’ + <i>*dékṃ(t)</i> ‘ten’]	‘fifteen’
<i>*penk^wē-kōmt(h_a)</i> [<i>*pénk^we</i> ‘five’	
+ <i>*dékṃ(t)</i> ‘ten’]	‘fifty’
<i>*pē(n)s-</i>	‘dust’
<i>*pēnt-</i>	‘heel’
<i>*pent-</i>	‘find one’s way’
<i>*pent-</i> + <i>*dheh_l-</i> / <i>*k^wer-</i>	
[<i>*pent-</i> ‘find one’s way’ + <i>*dheh_l-</i>	
‘put’/ <i>*kwer-</i> ‘make’]	‘priest’
<i>*per-</i>	‘blow (on a fire)’
<i>*per-</i>	‘exchange, barter’
<i>*per-</i>	‘strike’
<i>*per-</i>	‘pass through’
<i>*per</i>	‘over, through, about’
<i>*per-</i>	‘appear, bring forth’
<i>*per-</i> [<i>*per-</i> ‘appear’]	‘offspring (of an animal)’
<i>*per-</i> (WC)	‘trial, attempt’
<i>*pér</i>	‘house’
<i>*perd-</i> (GA)	‘panther, lion’
<i>*pérde/o-</i>	‘fart’
<i>*perg-</i> (NW)	‘pole, post’
<i>*per(h_x)-</i>	‘first’
<i>*peri-h_les-</i> (GA)	
[<i>*peri</i> ‘over’ + <i>*h_les-</i> ‘be’]	‘surpass’
<i>*perk-</i>	‘fear’
<i>*perk-</i> (NW)	‘glowing ash, charcoal’
<i>*perk-</i>	‘ask, ask for (in marriage)’

<i>*perĕ-</i>	‘speckled’
<i>*perĕ-</i>	‘dig’
<i>*pérĕkus</i>	‘± breast, rib’
<i>*perk^wunos</i>	‘thunder god’
<i>*pérĕ^wus</i> (NW)	‘oak’
<i>*pers-</i>	‘sprinkle’
<i>*péršneh_a-</i>	‘heel’
<i>*pértus</i> [<i>*per-</i> ‘pass through’]	‘passage, way’
<i>*peru-</i>	‘rock’
<i>*perut-</i> [<i>*per-</i> ‘over’ + <i>*wet-</i> ‘year’]	‘last year’
<i>*pesd-</i> (WC)	‘fart’
<i>*péses-</i>	‘penis’
<i>*pet-</i>	‘fly’
<i>*pet-</i>	‘stretch’
<i>*pet(e)r-</i> [<i>*pet-</i> ‘fly’]	‘wing, feather’
<i>*peth_a-</i>	‘spread out (the arms)’
<i>*peth_a-</i> (GA) [<i>*pet-</i> ‘fly’]	‘fly’
<i>*pe/oth_amo-</i> (NW) [<i>*pet-</i> ‘stretch’]	‘thread’
<i>*peug-</i> (WC)	‘prick, poke’
<i>*peu(h_x)-</i>	‘stink, rot’
<i>*peuh_x-</i>	‘clean’
<i>*péuks</i>	‘(Scotch) pine, conifer’
<i>*p(h)eu-</i>	‘blow, swell’
<i>*phōl-</i> (<i>*ph_xōl-</i> ?) (WC)	‘fall’
<i>*ph_atér</i>	‘father’
<i>*ph_atrōus</i> [<i>*ph_atér</i> ‘father’]	‘paternal kinsman’
<i>*ph_atrwyo-</i>	‘father’s brother’
<i>*pih_xwr</i>	‘fat(ness)’
<i>*pih_x(y)-</i> [<i>*peh_l(i)-</i> ‘harm’]	‘revile’
<i>*pik-</i> (WC)	‘pitch’
<i>*piĕ-skō-</i>	‘spotted’
<i>*piĕskōs</i> [<i>*piĕ-skō-</i> ‘spotted’]	‘trout, fish’
<i>*pildo-</i> (WC) [<i>*pilos</i> ‘a hair’]	‘felt’
<i>*pilos</i>	‘(a single) hair’
<i>*pin-</i>	‘± shaped wood’
<i>*pipih_xusih_a</i> [<i>*peih_x-</i> ‘be fat’]	‘rich in milk’
<i>*pipp-</i>	‘young bird, nestling’
<i>*pis-</i>	‘crush, pound’
<i>*pisd-</i> (GA) [<i>*pis-</i> ‘crush’]	‘press’
<i>*pido/eh_a-</i> [<i>*h_lepi</i> ‘on’ + <i>*sed-</i> ‘sit’]	‘vulva’
<i>*pit(u)-</i>	‘(some form of) conifer’
<i>*pitus</i> (NW?) [<i>*peih_x-</i> ‘be fat’]	‘grain, meal’
<i>*(p)ĕórmōs</i>	‘± grief, shame’
<i>*pleh_ldhwéh_ls</i> (WC) [<i>*pelh_l-</i> ‘fill’]	‘(the mass of) people’

<i>*pleh_ak-</i>	‘flat’
<i>*pleh_ak-</i> [<i>*pleh_ak-</i> ‘flat’]	‘please’
<i>*pleh_ak/g-</i> (WC)	‘strike, strike one’s breasts’
<i>*plek̑-</i>	‘braid, plait’
<i>*plek̑-</i> (WC)	‘± break, tear off’
<i>*plet-</i>	‘broad’
<i>*pl(e)t-</i> [<i>*plet-</i> ‘broad’]	‘shoulder (blade)’
<i>*pleth₂-</i>	‘spread out’
<i>*pleu-</i>	‘float, swim; wash’
<i>*pléumōn</i> [<i>*pleu-</i> ‘float’]	‘lung’
<i>*pleus-</i> (NW)	‘(pluck) fleece, feathers’
<i>*p_lh₁nós</i> [<i>*pelh₁-</i> ‘fill’]	‘full’
<i>*p_lh₁u-poik/kos</i> (GA/PIE?)	
[<i>*pelh₁-</i> ‘fill’ + <i>*peik̑-</i> ‘paint’]	‘many-coloured, variegated’
<i>*p_lh_x-</i>	‘grey, pale’
<i>*p_lh₂w-ih_a-</i> [<i>*pleth₂-</i> ‘spread out’]	‘country, land’
<i>*p_lh₂ú-</i> [<i>*pleth₂-</i> ‘spread out’]	‘broad, wide’
<i>*plus-</i>	‘flea’
<i>*plut-</i> (NW)	‘plank’
<i>*pneu-</i> (WC)	‘snort, sneeze’
<i>*p_l(k^w)stí-</i> (NW) [<i>*pénk^we</i> ‘five’]	‘fist’
<i>*p_lk^wtós</i> [<i>*pénk^we</i> ‘five’]	‘fifth’
<i>*pód̑s</i>	‘foot’
<i>*poh₂(i)-</i>	‘watch over cattle’
<i>*poh₂imén-</i> (WC) [<i>*poh₂(i)-</i>	
‘watch over cattle’]	‘herdsman’
<i>*póh₂iweh_a-</i> (WC) [<i>*poh₂(i)-</i>	
‘watch over cattle’]	‘open meadow’
<i>*poh₃tlom</i> [<i>*peh₃(i)</i> ‘drink’]	‘drinking vessel’
<i>*poksós</i>	‘side, flank’
<i>*pólh_am</i> (WC)	‘palm of the hand’
<i>*pólik(o)s</i> (NW)	‘finger, thumb’
<i>*polkéh_a-</i> (NW)	‘± fallow land’
<i>*polt-</i> (WC)	‘pap, porridge’
<i>*póntōh₂s</i> [<i>*pent-</i> ‘find one’s way’]	‘(untraced) path’
<i>*pórkos</i> [<i>*perk̑-</i> ‘dig’]	‘young pig, piglet’
<i>*pos</i> (WC)	‘immediately adjacent; behind, following’
<i>*posk^wo-</i> [<i>*pos</i> ‘behind’ + <i>*sek^w-</i> ‘follow’]	‘behind’
<i>*posti</i> [<i>*pos</i> ‘behind’]	‘after’
<i>*póth_ar</i> (WC) [<i>*peth_a-</i> ‘spread out’]	‘shallow dish’
<i>*pótis</i>	‘husband’
<i>*potnih_a-</i> [<i>*pótis</i> ‘husband’]	‘mistress, lady, wife’
<i>*pótyetoi</i>	‘rules, is master’

<i>*poums-</i>	‘(human) body hair’
<i>*prem-</i>	‘press down or back’
<i>*prep-</i> (WC)	‘appear’
<i>*prest-</i>	‘(period of) time’
<i>*preu-</i>	‘jump’
<i>*preug-</i> [<i>*preu-</i> ‘jump’]	‘jump’
<i>*preus-</i>	‘burn’
<i>*preus-</i>	‘freeze’
<i>*p_gh₃któs</i> (C)	‘anus’
<i>*p_g(h₃)tis</i> [<i>*per-</i> ‘exchange’]	‘what is distributed’
<i>*p_gh_aéh_l</i> [<i>per</i> ‘over’]	‘in front of; before (of time)’
<i>*p_gh_aéi</i> [<i>per</i> ‘over’]	‘in front of; before (of time)’
<i>*prih_xeh_a-</i> [<i>*prih_xós</i> ‘of one’s own’]	‘love’
<i>*prih_xeh_a-</i> [<i>*prih_xós</i> ‘of one’s own’]	‘wife’
<i>*prih_xós</i>	‘of one’s own’
<i>*p_gkeh_a-</i> (NW) [<i>*perk-</i> ‘dig’]	‘furrow’
<i>*p_gk^(w)eh_a-</i> (NW) [<i>*pérk^wus</i> ‘oak’]	‘pine’
<i>*pro</i> [<i>per</i> ‘over’]	‘forward, ahead, away’
<i>*pro-</i>	third generation marker
<i>*prō-</i> [<i>*per-</i> ‘pass through’]	‘early, morning’
<i>*próksom</i>	‘grain’
<i>*proti</i> [<i>per</i> ‘over’]	‘against, up to’
<i>*próti-h₃(ō)k^wo/eh_a-</i> [<i>*proti</i> ‘against’]	‘face, front’
+ <i>*h₃ek^w</i> - ‘eye’]	
<i>*psténos</i>	‘woman’s breast, nipple’
<i>*pster-</i>	‘sneeze’
<i>*pteh_l-</i> [<i>*pet-</i> ‘fall’]	‘fall’
<i>*pteleyeh_a-</i>	‘elm?’
<i>*pū-</i> (<i>*puh_x-</i> ?)	‘stink’
<i>*púh_xes-</i> (WC) [<i>*peu(h_x)-</i> ‘stink’]	‘putrefaction, pus’
<i>*puh_xrós</i> (WC)	‘wheat’
<i>*puk(eh_a)-</i>	‘tail’
<i>*puĕ-</i>	‘press together’
<i>*puĕ-</i> (GA)	‘headband’
<i>*pulos</i>	‘(a single) hair’
<i>*put-</i>	‘cut’
<i>*putlós</i> [<i>*pau-</i> ‘little’]	‘son’
<i>*putós</i>	‘± vulva, anus’
<i>*pyek-</i>	‘strike’
 *r	
<i>*rabh-</i>	‘± ferocity’
<i>*red-</i>	‘gnaw, scrape’
<i>*reg-</i> (GA)	‘dye’

<i>*reġ-</i> / <i>*rek-nos</i> (WC)	‘make wet’
<i>*reh₁-</i>	‘put in order’
<i>*reh₁-</i>	‘give’
<i>*réh₁is</i> [<i>*reh₁-</i> ‘give’]	‘possessions’
<i>*reh₁mós</i>	‘dirty; dirt, soot’
<i>*reh₁t-</i> (NW)	‘post, pole’
<i>*rei-</i> (NW)	‘striped, spotted’
<i>*rei-</i>	‘tremble, be unsteady’
<i>*rei-</i>	‘scratch’
<i>*reidh-</i> (NW)	‘ride’
<i>*reiġ-</i> (NW)	‘extend, stretch out (a body part)’
<i>*reik-</i> [<i>*rei-</i> ‘scratch’]	‘scratch; line’
<i>*rek-</i>	‘speak’
<i>*rendh-</i>	‘rend, tear open’
<i>*rēp-</i> (NW)	‘crawl’
<i>*rēpéh_a-</i> (WC)	‘turnip’
<i>*resg-</i>	‘plait, wattle’
<i>*reth₂-</i>	‘run’
<i>*reu-</i>	‘roar, howl’
<i>*reudh_a-</i>	‘mourn, lament’
<i>*reudh-</i>	‘± push back’
<i>*réughmen-</i>	‘cream’
<i>*reu(h_x)-</i>	‘be open’
<i>*reu(h_x)-</i>	‘tear out, pluck’
<i>*réuh_xes-</i> [<i>*reu(h_x)-</i> ‘be open’]	‘open space’
<i>*reuk/g-</i>	‘shrink, wrinkle up’
<i>*reumn-</i>	‘rumen’
<i>*réumn-</i> [<i>*reu(h_x)-</i> ‘pluck’]	‘horsehair’ or ‘fleece’
<i>*reup-</i>	‘break’
<i>*reus-</i>	‘± contend with, be angry at’
<i>*rik-</i>	‘nit, tick’
<i>*rós</i>	‘dew, moisture’
<i>*róth₂o/eh_a-</i> [<i>*reth₂-</i> ‘run’]	‘wheel’
<i>*ḡsén</i>	‘male’
<i>*rughis</i> (NW)	‘rye’
<i>*ruk-</i> (NW)	‘over-garment’
*s	
<i>*saiwos</i> (NW)	‘hard, sharp, rude’
<i>*sakros</i>	‘holy’
<i>*sal(i)k-</i> (NW)	‘(tree) willow’
<i>*samh_xdhos</i> (WC)	‘sand’
<i>*sap-</i> ~ <i>*sep-</i> (WC)	‘± taste, come to know’
<i>*sap-</i> ~ <i>*sab-</i>	‘sap’

<i>*sausos</i>	‘dry’
<i>*(s)bhond-neha</i> (WC) [<i>*bhendh-</i> ‘bind’]	‘strap, sling’
<i>*sed-</i>	‘go’
<i>*sed-</i>	‘sit (down), set’
<i>*sedes-</i> [<i>*sed-</i> ‘sit’]	‘seat’
<i>*sedlom</i> (WC) [<i>*sed-</i> ‘sit’]	‘seat’
<i>*sedros</i> (WC) [<i>*sed-</i> ‘sit’]	‘seat, chairlike object’
<i>*seg-</i>	‘fasten’
<i>*seġh-</i>	‘hold fast, conquer’
<i>*seh₁-</i>	‘sow’
<i>*seh₁(i)-</i>	‘throw, neglect’
<i>*seh₁(i)-</i>	‘go forward, advance’
<i>*seh₁(i)-</i> (WC)	‘sift’
<i>*seh₁men-</i> (NW) [<i>*seh₁-</i> ‘sow’]	‘seed’
<i>*seh₁ros</i> (NW) [<i>*seh₁(i)-</i> ‘throw’]	‘long’
<i>*seh₂(i)-</i>	‘satisfy, fill up’
<i>*séh₂tis</i> (NW) [<i>*seh₂(i)-</i> ‘satisfy’]	‘satisfaction’
<i>*seh₄i-</i>	‘± be angry at, afflict’
<i>*seh_a-(e)l-</i>	‘salt’
<i>*seh_ag-</i>	‘perceive acutely, seek out’
<i>*séh_aul</i>	‘sun’
<i>*seik-</i>	‘reach for’
<i>*seik-</i>	‘pour out; overflow’
<i>*sek-</i>	‘cut’
<i>*sek-</i>	‘dry up’
<i>*sekūr-</i> (NW) [<i>*sek-</i> ‘cut’]	‘axe’
<i>*sek^w-</i>	‘follow’
<i>*sek^w-</i> [<i>*sek^w-</i> ‘follow’]	‘see’
<i>*sek^w-</i> (WC)	‘say, recount publicly’
<i>*sek^wo-</i> [<i>*sek^w-</i> ‘follow’]	‘following’
<i>*sel-</i>	‘move quickly’
<i>*sel-</i> (WC)	‘seize, take possession of’
<i>*sel-</i> (WC) [<i>*sel-</i> ‘move quickly’]	‘jump’
<i>*selġ-</i>	‘release, send out’
<i>*selk-</i>	‘pull’
<i>*séles</i> (GA)	‘marsh’
<i>*sélpes-</i>	‘oil, fat, grease’
<i>*sem-</i>	‘at one time, once’
<i>*sem-</i> [<i>*sem-</i> ‘once’]	‘put in order/together’
<i>*sem-</i>	‘summer’
<i>*sem-</i> (WC)	‘draw water’
<i>*semgo(lo)s</i> [<i>*sem-</i> ‘once’]	‘single one’
<i>*sēmīs</i> [<i>*sem-</i> ‘once’]	‘half’
<i>*sems</i> [<i>*sem-</i> ‘once’]	‘united as one, one together’

<i>*seng^wh-</i>	‘sing, make an incantation’
<i>*sen(h_a)-</i>	‘seek, accomplish’
<i>*senh_xdhr-</i> (NW)	‘congealed moisture, slag’
<i>*sen-i/u-</i>	‘apart’
<i>*senk-</i> (NW) [<i>*sek-</i> ‘dry up’]	‘make/become dry, singe’
<i>*seno-mehatēr</i> (NW)	
[<i>sénos</i> ‘old’ + <i>*méh_atēr</i> ‘mother’]	‘grandmother’
<i>*sénos</i>	‘old’
<i>*sent-</i> (NW)	‘perceive, think’
<i>*sent-</i>	‘go’
<i>*sentos</i> [<i>*sent-</i> ‘go’]	‘way, passage’
<i>*sep-</i>	‘handle (skilfully), hold (reverently)’
<i>*sepit</i>	‘wheat’
<i>*septm̥</i>	‘seven’
<i>*septm̥-mós</i> [<i>*septm̥</i> ‘seven’]	‘seventh’
<i>*ser-</i>	‘line up’
<i>*ser-</i>	‘protect’
<i>*ser-</i> (WC)	‘flow’
<i>*seren(y)uh_xs</i> (GA)	name of goddess
<i>*serk-</i>	‘make a circle; complete; construct/repair a wall, make restitution’
<i>*serK-</i>	‘pass, surpass’
<i>*serp-</i>	‘crawl’
<i>*ses-</i>	‘rest, sleep, keep quiet’
<i>*ses(y)ó-</i>	‘grain, fruit’
<i>*seu-</i>	‘boil (something)’
<i>*seu-</i>	‘turn’
<i>*seug-</i> (WC)	‘be sick’
<i>*seug/k-</i> (NW)	‘suck’
<i>*seuh₃-</i>	‘set in motion’
<i>*seu(h_x)-</i>	‘bear a child’
<i>*seu(h_x)-</i>	‘express a liquid’
<i>*seup-</i>	‘pure’
<i>*seuyós</i> [<i>*seu-</i> ‘turn’]	‘left’
<i>*séwe</i>	‘-self’
<i>*sewos</i> [<i>*séwe</i> ‘-self’]	‘own’
<i>*(s)grebh-</i> (WC)	‘scratch, cut’
<i>*(s)greh_ab(h)-</i> (WC)	‘hornbeam’
<i>*sh₂ómen-</i>	‘song’
<i>*sh₂tós</i> (WC) [<i>*seh₂(i)-</i> ‘satisfy’]	‘satisfied’
<i>*(s-)h₄upér(i)</i>	‘over’
<i>*s- h₄upó</i> [<i>*h₄upó</i> ‘up’]	‘underneath’
<i>*silVbVr-</i> (NW)	‘silver’
<i>*singhós</i>	‘leopard’

* <i>siskus</i> [<i>*sek</i> - ‘dry up’]	‘dry’
* <i>skabh-</i>	‘hold up’
* <i>skaiwós</i> (WC)	‘left’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>kamb-</i> (WC)	‘curve’
* <i>skand-</i>	‘jump’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>kand-</i>	‘shine, glitter; moon’
* <i>skauros</i>	‘± lame’
* <i>skebh-</i> (NW) [<i>*sek</i> - ‘cut’]	‘scratch, shave’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>ked-</i>	‘scatter’
* <i>skēh₁i(-d)-</i> [<i>*sek</i> - ‘cut’]	‘cut’
* <i>skéits</i> (NW)	‘shield, board’
* <i>skēk-</i>	‘± jump’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>kel-</i> (WC)	‘crooked’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>kel-</i> [<i>*sek</i> - ‘cut’]	‘cut, split apart’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>keng-</i>	‘crooked, limp’
* <i>sker-</i>	‘± threaten’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>ker-</i> [<i>*sek</i> - ‘cut’]	‘cut apart, cut off’
* <i>sker-</i> (WC)	‘± hop about’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>kerbh-</i>	‘turn’
* <i>sket(h)-</i> (WC)	‘injure, harm’
* <i>skeu-</i>	‘sneeze’
* <i>skeubh-</i> (NW)	‘push away, push ahead’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>keud-</i>	‘throw, shoot’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>keuh₁-</i>	‘perceive’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>keu(h_x)-</i>	‘cover, wrap’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>keup-</i> (NW)	‘bundle’
* <i>skidrós</i> (WC)	‘thin’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>koitrós</i>	‘bright, clear’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>koli-</i> (WC)	‘young dog’
* <i>skolmeh_a-</i> (WC) [<i>*(<s>)kel-</s></i> ‘cut’]	‘sword’
(<i>s</i>) <i>kolmos</i> [<i>(<s>)kel-</s></i> ‘cut’]	‘boat’
(<i>s</i>) <i>kōlos</i> (WC) [<i>(<s>)kel-</s></i> ‘cut’]	‘stake’
* <i>skótos</i> (WC)	‘shadow, shade’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>ku(n)t-</i> (NW)	‘shake, jolt’
(<i>s</i>) <i>kwéh_xtis</i> [<i>(<s>)keu(h_x)-</s></i> ‘cover’]	‘skin, hide’
* <i>skwēis</i> (NW)	‘± needle and/or thorn’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>ķegos</i>	‘sheep/goat’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>ķeh₁w(e)r-</i> (WC)	‘north wind’
* <i>skōy_{1a}</i>	‘shade’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>ķup-</i>	‘shoulder’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>ķ^wálos</i>	‘sheatfish, wels’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>lag-</i> ~ *(<i>s</i>) <i>leh₂g-</i> (WC)	‘slack’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>lag^w-</i> (WC)	‘take, hold’
* <i>slak-</i> (NW)	‘strike’

<i>*(s)lei-</i>	‘sticky, slimy, slippery’
<i>*(s)lei-</i> (WC) [<i>*(s)lei-</i> ‘sticky’]	‘tench’
<i>*(s)leidh-</i>	‘slide’
<i>*sleimak-</i> (WC) [<i>*(s)lei-</i> ‘sticky’]	‘snail, slug’
<i>*slenk-</i> (NW)	‘turn, twist (like a snake)’
<i>*sleubh-</i> (NW)	‘slide’
<i>*slih_{xu}-</i> (NW)	‘plum-coloured’
<i>*slóugos</i> (NW)	‘servant’
<i>*(s)me</i>	‘middle, among’
<i>*smeg-</i> (NW)	‘taste (good)’
<i>*smei-</i>	‘smile, laugh’
<i>*smeid-</i> (WC)	‘smear’
<i>*smeit-</i>	‘throw’
<i>*smék-</i>	‘chin, jaw’
<i>*(s)mel-</i>	‘deceive’
<i>*(s)mel-</i>	‘give off light smoke, smoulder’
<i>*(s)meld-</i> (WC)	‘to melt’
<i>*(s)mer-</i>	‘remember, be concerned about’
<i>*sméru-</i>	‘oil, grease’
<i>*(s)meug-</i> ~ <i>*(s)meuk-</i>	‘slick, slippery’
<i>*(s)m(e)ug(h)-</i> (WC)	‘smoke’
<i>*sm̥-loghos</i> (WC)	
[<i>sem</i> ‘together’ + <i>*leg-</i> ‘lie’]	‘spouse’
<i>*sm̥mós</i> [<i>*sem-</i> ‘once’]	‘some, any’
<i>*smókwr̥</i> [<i>*smék-</i> ‘chin’]	‘chin, beard’
<i>*sm̥teros</i> (WC) [<i>*sem-</i> ‘once’]	‘one or the other of two’
<i>*(s)neh₁-</i>	‘twist, turn’
<i>*(s)neh₁(i)-</i> [<i>*(s)neh₁-</i> ‘twist’]	‘twist fibres into thread’
<i>*sneh_{1u}-</i> [<i>*(s)neh₁-</i> ‘twist’]	‘twist fibres into thread’
<i>*snēh_{1wr̥}</i> [<i>*(s)neh₁-</i> ‘twist’]	‘sinew, tendon’
<i>*sneh_a-</i>	‘swim’
<i>*sneig^wh-</i>	‘to snow’
<i>*(s)ner-</i>	‘fasten with thread or cord’
<i>*sner-</i> (WC)	‘± rattle, growl’
<i>*sneubh-</i> (WC)	‘marry’
<i>*sneudh-</i>	‘mist, cloud’
<i>*snig^wh-s</i> [<i>*sneig^wh-</i> ‘snow’]	‘snow’
<i>*snusós</i>	‘son’s wife, brother’s wife’
<i>*so/*seh_a/*tód</i>	‘that one’
<i>*soito/eh_a-</i> (NW)	‘sorcery’
<i>*sokto-</i>	‘sickness’
<i>*sókr̥</i>	‘(human) excrement’
<i>*sókw^w-h₂ōi</i> [<i>*sek^w-</i> ‘follow’]	‘follower, companion’
<i>*sok^wós</i>	‘sap, resin’

<i>*sók^wt</i>	‘(upper) leg’
<i>*solh_x-</i>	‘dirt; dirty’
<i>*solo/eh_a- ~ selo-</i> (NW)	‘dwelling, settlement’
<i>*sólwos</i>	‘whole’
<i>*som-</i> [<i>*sem-</i> ‘once’]	‘(together) with’
<i>*somo-ǵnh₁-yo-s</i> (WC)	
[<i>*sem</i> ‘together’ + <i>*ǵenh₁-</i> ‘beget’]	‘same (kinship) line’
<i>*somo-ph_{ga}tōr</i>	
[<i>*sem</i> ‘together’ + <i>*ph_{ga}tēr</i> ‘father’]	‘of the same father’
<i>*somos</i> [<i>*sem-</i> ‘once’]	‘same’
<i>*soru</i>	‘booty’
<i>*speh₁-</i>	‘be satisfied, be filled, thrive’
<i>*(s)p(e)iko/eh_a-</i>	‘bird, woodpecker’
<i>*(s)pek-</i>	‘observe’
<i>*(s)pel-</i>	‘say aloud, recite’
<i>*(s)pel-</i>	‘tear off, strip’
<i>*spelo/eh_a-</i> [<i>*(s)p(h)el-</i> ‘strip’]	‘shield’
<i>*(s)pen-</i>	‘draw, spin’
<i>*spend-</i>	‘make an offering’
<i>*sper-</i>	‘?sparrow’
<i>*sper-</i>	‘strew, sow’
<i>*sper-</i> (WC)	‘wrap around’
<i>*sperǵh-</i>	‘move energetically’
<i>*sperh₁-</i>	‘kick, spurn’
<i>*sperh_{xg}-</i> (NW)	‘strew, sprinkle’
<i>*(s)peud-</i>	‘push, repulse’
<i>*speud-</i>	‘hurry’
<i>*sph₁rós</i> [<i>*speh₁-</i> ‘be satisfied’]	‘± fat, rich’
<i>*sph_aen-</i> (WC)	‘flat-shaped piece of wood’
<i>*(s)py(e)uh_x-</i>	‘spew, spit’
<i>*(s)pingo-</i> (WC/PIE?)	‘finch’
<i>*spleigh-</i>	‘step, go’
<i>*(s)plend-</i>	‘shine’
<i>*sploigh₂-én</i>	‘spleen’
<i>*spoh_xino/eh_a</i>	‘foam’
<i>*(s)pondh(n)os</i> (WC)	‘wooden vessel’
<i>*(s)pornóm</i>	‘wing, feather’
<i>*(s)preg-</i> (WC)	‘speak’
<i>*(s)pre(n)g-</i>	‘wrap up, constrict’
<i>*sprh₁ó-</i> [<i>*sperh₁-</i> ‘kick’]	‘heel’
<i>*(s)prh_{xg}-</i>	‘crackle, sputter’
<i>*srebh-</i>	‘gulp, ingest noisily’
<i>*sre/oh_{ag}s</i> (WC)	‘± berry, fruit’
<i>*srenk-</i> (WC)	‘snore’
<i>*srēno/eh_a-</i>	‘± hip, thigh’

* <i>sret-</i>	‘boil, be agitated, move noisily’
* <i>sreu-</i>	‘flow’
* <i>sreumen-</i> (WC) [<i>*sreu-</i> ‘flow’]	‘flowing, streaming (in river names)’
* <i>srīges-</i> (WC)	‘cold, frost’
* <i>sromós</i>	‘lame’
* <i>srpo/eh_a-</i>	‘sickle’
* <i>stag-</i> (WC)	‘seep, drip’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>teg-</i> (WC/PIE?)	‘cover’
(<i>s</i>) <i>teg-</i> (WC) [<i>(<s>)teg-</s></i> ‘cover’]	‘pole, post’
(<i>s</i>) <i>téges-</i> (WC) [<i>(<s>)teg-</s></i> ‘cover’]	‘roof’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>teh₂-</i>	‘stand’
(<i>s</i>) <i>teh₂ist</i> (WC) [<i>(<s>)teh₂-</s></i> ‘stand’]	‘dough’
* <i>stéh₂mōn</i> [<i>*(<s>)teh₂-</s></i> ‘stand’]	‘what stands, stature’
* <i>stéh₂tis</i> [<i>*(<s>)teh₂-</s></i> ‘stand’]	‘place’
* <i>stéh₂ur</i> [<i>*(<s>)teh₂-</s></i> ‘stand’]	‘post’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>teh₄-</i>	‘steal’
* <i>steig-</i>	‘prick’
* <i>steigh-</i>	‘step (up), go’
* <i>stel-</i>	‘put in place, (make) stand’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>tel-</i> (NW)	‘be still, quiet’
* <i>stembh-</i> [<i>*(<s>)teh₂-</s></i> ‘stand’]	‘make stand, prop up’
* <i>sten-</i>	‘moan’
* <i>sten-</i> (WC)	‘narrow’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>tenh_x-</i> [<i>*sten-</i> ‘moan’]	‘groan; thunder’
* <i>ster-</i>	‘barren, infertile’
* <i>ster-</i>	‘spread out’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>ter-</i>	‘stork’
* <i>ster-</i> (WC)	‘steal’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>terġh-</i>	‘± crush’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>terh₁-</i>	‘stiff’
* <i>ster(h₃)-</i>	‘strew’
* <i>ster(h₃)mn̥</i> [<i>*ster(h₃)-</i> ‘strew’]	‘strewn place, ?bed’
* <i>steu-</i> (GA)	‘praise’
*(<i>s</i>) <i>teud-</i>	‘push, thrust’
* <i>steup-</i>	‘strike’
* <i>steuros</i>	‘large (domestic) animal’
* <i>sth₂bho/eh_a-</i> (NW) [<i>*(<s>)teh₂-</s></i> ‘stand’]	‘post, pillar’
* <i>sth₂ei-</i> [<i>*(<s>)teh₂-</s></i> ‘stand’]	‘become hard, fixed’
* <i>st(h₂)eug-</i> [<i>*(<s>)teh₂-</s></i> ‘stand’]	‘stiff’
* <i>stīghs</i> [<i>steigh-</i> ‘step’]	‘path’
* <i>stl̥neh_a-</i> (WC) [<i>*stel-</i> ‘put in place’]	‘post, support’
* <i>stóm̥n̥</i>	‘mouth’
* <i>storos</i> (NW)	‘starling’
* <i>strenk-</i> (WC)	‘string, to pull (tight)’

* <i>(s)trep-</i> (NW)	‘± cry out, dispute’
* <i>streug-</i>	‘be fatigued, exhausted’
* <i>st_g(h_x)yon-</i> (NW)	‘sturgeon/salmon’
* <i>stup-</i> [<i>*steup-</i> ‘strike’]	‘± offcut, piece of wood’
* <i>su-</i> [<i>*h₁es-</i> ‘be’]	‘good’
* <i>suh_x-</i>	‘rain’
* <i>suh_xnús</i> [<i>*seu(h_x)-</i> ‘bear a child’]	‘son’
* <i>suh_xros</i> (NW)	‘sour, acid’
* <i>suh_xsos</i> [<i>*seu(h_x)-</i> ‘bear a child’]	‘grandfather’
* <i>suh_xyús</i> [<i>*seu(h_x)-</i> ‘bear a child’]	‘son’
* <i>súleh_a-</i> [<i>*seu(h_x)-</i> ‘express a liquid’]	‘± (fermented) juice’
* <i>sūs</i> [<i>?*seu(h_x)-</i> ‘bear a child’]	‘pig (wild or domesticated)’
* <i>sward-</i> (WC)	‘laugh’
* <i>s(w)ebh-</i> [<i>*swe</i> ‘-self’]	‘lineage’
* <i>s(w)edh-</i>	‘custom, characteristic’
* <i>swedh-o-</i>	‘lineage’
* <i>sweh_ade/o-</i>	‘be tasty, please’
* <i>sweh_adus</i> [<i>*sweh_ade/o-</i> ‘be tasty’]	‘pleasing (to the senses), tasty’
* <i>(s)weh_agh-</i> (WC)	‘± cry out; resound’
* <i>swei-</i>	‘blow to hiss or buzz’
* <i>sweid-</i>	‘sweat’
* <i>sweid-</i>	‘shine’
* <i>(s)weig-</i>	‘deceive’
* <i>swekrúh_as</i> [<i>*swéku_{ros}</i> ‘father-in-law’]	‘mother-in-law’
* <i>swéku_{ros}</i>	‘father-in-law’
* <i>swéku_{ros}</i> [<i>*swéku_{ros}</i> ‘father-in-law’]	‘wife’s brother’
* <i>swel-</i> (NW)	‘burn’
* <i>swel-</i> ~ <i>*sel-</i> (WC)	‘plank, board’
* <i>sweliyon-</i> (WC)	‘wife’s sister’s husband’
* <i>swelno-</i>	‘rise’
* <i>swelp-</i> [<i>*swel-</i> ‘burn’]	‘burn, smoulder’
* <i>swem-</i> (NW)	‘swim’
* <i>swe(n)g-</i>	‘bend, swing’
* <i>swenh_x-</i>	‘(re)sound’
* <i>swep-</i>	‘sleep, dream’ (vb).
* <i>swep-</i>	‘throw, sweep’
* <i>swer-</i>	‘post, rod’
* <i>swer-</i>	‘darken’
* <i>(s)wer-</i>	‘say, speak’
* <i>swerbh-</i> (NW)	‘turn, move in a twirling motion’
* <i>swergh-</i>	‘be ill’
* <i>swerh_xK-</i>	‘watch over, be concerned about’
* <i>swero-</i>	‘(suppurating) wound’
* <i>swésōr</i>	‘sister’

<i>*swesrih_xnos</i> (NW) [<i>*swésōr</i> ‘sister’]	‘sister’s son’
<i>*swesr(iy)ós</i> [<i>*swésōr</i> ‘sister’]	‘sisterly, sister’s son’
<i>*swīg/k-</i> (WC)	‘be silent, hush’
<i>*swoiniyeh_a-</i> (WC)	‘wife’s sister’, i.e., ‘sister-in-law’
<i>*swombhos</i> (WC)	‘spongy’
<i>*swópnīyom</i> [<i>*swep-</i> ‘sleep’]	‘dream’
<i>*swópnos</i> [<i>*swep-</i> ‘sleep’]	‘sleep, dream’ (noun)
<i>*sw(o)r- ~ *sworaks</i> (WC)	‘shrew’
<i>*syō(u)ros</i>	‘wife’s brother’
<i>*syuh₁-</i>	‘sew’
*t	
<i>*tag-</i> (WC)	‘touch’
<i>*tāg-</i>	‘set in place, arrange’
<i>*tagós</i> [<i>*tāg-</i> ‘arrange’]	‘leader’
<i>*tak-</i> (NW)	‘be silent’
<i>*taksos</i>	‘yew’
<i>*t-at-</i>	‘father’
<i>*tauros</i>	‘aurochs; bull’
<i>*tegas</i>	‘thick, fat’
<i>*t(e)h₂us-</i> (NW/PIE?)	‘quiet, silent’
<i>*teh_a-</i>	‘to melt’
<i>*teh_ali</i> (WC)	‘of that sort or size’
<i>*téh_amot(s)</i> (WC)	‘then, at that place’
<i>*téh_awot(s)</i>	‘so many, so long’
<i>*teig^w-</i> (WC)	‘± side’
<i>*tek-</i>	‘bear or beget a child’
<i>*tek-</i>	‘run, flow swiftly’
<i>*teknom</i> [<i>*tek-</i> ‘bear a child’]	‘child, offspring’
<i>*teĕs-</i>	‘fabricate’
<i>*teĕso/eh_a-</i> [<i>*teĕs-</i> ‘fabricate’]	‘axe, adze’
<i>*teĕsteh_a-</i> [<i>*teĕs-</i> ‘fabricate’]	‘plate, bowl’
<i>*teĕs-(t)or/n-</i> [<i>*teĕs-</i> ‘fabricate’]	‘one who fabricates’
<i>*telh₂-</i>	‘lift, raise’
<i>*telh_x-</i>	‘± pray’
<i>*telh_x-om</i>	‘floor (of planks)?’
<i>*telk-</i> (NW)	‘push, thrust’
<i>*telp-</i>	‘have room’
<i>*tem-</i>	‘reach, attain’
<i>*temh_x-</i>	‘be struck, be exhausted’
<i>*temp-</i> [<i>*ten-</i> ‘pull’]	‘stretch’
<i>*ten-</i>	‘pull, stretch’
<i>*teng-</i>	‘think, feel’
<i>*teng-</i> (WC)	‘to moisten, soak’

<i>*tengh-</i>	‘be heavy, difficult’
<i>*teng(h)-</i>	‘pull’
<i>*tengh-s-</i> (NW) [<i>*ten-</i> ‘pull’]	‘pole’
<i>*tenh_{ga}-</i> (WC)	‘shallow water?’
<i>*tenk-</i>	‘become firm, thicken; shrink’
<i>*tenk_l</i> [<i>*tenk-</i> ‘become firm’]	‘buttermilk’
<i>*ten-s-</i> [<i>*ten-</i> ‘pull’]	‘pull’
<i>*ténus</i> [<i>*ten-</i> ‘pull’]	‘thin, long’
<i>*tep-</i>	‘hot’
<i>*ter-</i>	‘± speak out’
<i>*ter-</i>	‘crossover’
<i>*terg^w-</i>	‘scare’
<i>*terh₁-</i>	‘pierce, pierce by rubbing’
<i>*térh₁trom ~ *térh₁dhrom</i> (WC)	
[<i>*terh₁-</i> ‘pierce’]	‘auger’
<i>*terh₂-</i>	‘bring across; overcome, through, above’
<i>*ter(i)-</i> (WC) [<i>*terh₁-</i> ‘pierce’]	‘rub, turn’
<i>*TerK-</i>	‘release, allow’
<i>*terk(w)-</i>	‘twist’ (< ‘spin’)
<i>*termn-</i> [<i>*ter-</i> ‘cross over’]	‘end, border; thread-end’
<i>*terp-</i>	‘take (to oneself), satisfy oneself’
<i>*térptis</i> [<i>*terp-</i> ‘satisfy oneself’]	‘satisfaction’
<i>*ters-</i>	‘dry’
<i>*teter-</i>	‘gamebird’
<i>*teu-</i>	‘look on with favour’
<i>*teubh-</i>	‘steal’
<i>*teuh_a-</i>	‘swell (with power), grow fat’
<i>*teus-</i>	‘be happy’
<i>*teus-</i>	‘to empty’
<i>*teutéh_a-</i> (WC/PIE?) [<i>*teuh_a-</i> ‘swell’]	‘the people (?under arms)’
<i>*tih_{xn}-</i>	‘(be) dirty’
<i>*tkeh₁-</i> (GA)	‘rule’
<i>*t_hkei-</i> (GA)	‘settle, dwell’
<i>*t_hken-</i> (GA)	‘strike’
<i>*t_hkítis</i> (GA) [<i>*t_hkei-</i> ‘settle’]	‘settlement’
<i>*tk^wreh₁yot-</i>	‘clay’
<i>*todéh_a</i>	‘then’
<i>*tóksom</i> (GA)	‘bow’
<i>*tolko/eh_a-</i>	‘sacrifice, sacrificial meal’
<i>*tolk^w-</i> (NW)	‘speak’
<i>*tómh_{xes}-</i>	‘dark’
<i>*tór</i>	‘there’
<i>*tóti</i> (WC)	‘so much, many’
<i>*trēbs</i> (WC)	‘dwelling’

<i>*treg-</i>	‘gnaw’
<i>*tregħ-</i> (NW)	‘run’
<i>*trem-</i>	‘shake, tremble (in fear)’
<i>*trep-</i>	‘turn’
<i>*tres-</i>	‘tremble, shake with fear’
<i>*treud-</i> (WC)	‘thrust, press’
<i>*treu(h_x)-</i> (WC) [<i>*terh₁-</i> ‘pierce’]	‘rub away, wear away’
<i>*tréyes</i>	‘three’
<i>*trih_atōn</i> (WC)	‘watery (one?)’
<i>*trī-komt(h_a)</i>	
[<i>*tréyes</i> ‘three’ + <i>*dékm̥(t)</i> ‘ten’]	‘thirty’
<i>*tris</i> [<i>*tréyes</i> ‘three’]	‘thrice’
<i>*tris-</i> (WC)	‘± vine’
<i>*triyós</i> [<i>*tréyes</i> ‘three’]	‘third’
<i>*tṛnu-</i>	‘thorn’
<i>*trosdos</i> (NW/WC?)	‘thrush’
<i>*trus-</i> (WC)	‘reed, rush’
<i>*(t)sel-</i>	‘sneak up on, crawl up on’
<i>*tuh_as-k̥mtiyós</i> (NW) [<i>*teuh_a-</i> ‘swell’]	‘thousand’
+ <i>*k̥mtóm</i> ‘hundred’]	
<i>*tūh_x</i>	thou
<i>*tusskýos</i> [<i>*teus-</i> ‘be empty’]	‘empty’
<i>*tweis-</i> (GA)	‘shake’
<i>*twéks</i>	‘skin’
<i>*twer-</i>	‘stir, agitate’
<i>*twer-</i> (WC)	‘take, hold’
<i>*twerk-</i>	‘cut off’
<i>*twóh_xḡ</i>	‘curds, curdled milk’
<i>*twor̥kós</i>	‘boar’
<i>*tyeg^w-</i> (GA)	‘give way, pull oneself back (in awe)’
*u	
<i>*ūd-</i>	‘upward, out (from under)’
<i>*uđero-</i> [<i>*ud-</i> ‘out’]	‘abdomen, stomach’
<i>*udrós</i> [<i>*wódr̥</i> ‘water’]	‘otter’
<i>*ud^ftero-</i> [<i>*ud-</i> ‘out’]	‘abdomen, stomach’
<i>*uk^(w)sēn-</i>	‘ox’
<i>*ul-</i>	‘± howl, hoot’
<i>*ulu-</i> [<i>*ul-</i> ‘hoot’]	‘owl’
<i>*usr-</i>	‘aurochs’
*w	
<i>*wadh-</i> (NW)	‘wade’
<i>*wag̥-</i>	‘split’

*wágros (GA) [<i>*wag̃-</i> ‘split’]	‘cudgel’
*wai	‘alas’
*wailos (WC) [<i>*wai</i> ‘alas’]	‘wolf’
*wak-	‘be empty’
*wal-	‘be strong, rule’
*wálsos (WC/PIE?)	‘stake’
*wápōs	‘vapour, steam’
*-wē	‘or’
*wēben	‘cutting weapon, knife’
*webhel- ~ *wobhel- (NW)	‘weevil, beetle’
*wed-	‘raise one’s voice’
*wedmo/eh _a - (WC)	‘bride-price’
*wedh-	‘push, strike’
*wédhris [<i>*wedh-</i> ‘push’]	‘castrated’
*weg-	‘plait, weave’
*weġ-	‘strong’
*wegh- (<i>*weġh-</i> ?)	‘shake, set in motion’
*weġh-	‘bear, carry also ride’
*weġhnos [<i>*weġh-</i> ‘bear’]	‘wagon’
*weġhyeh _a - (WC) [<i>*weġh-</i> ‘bear’]	‘track, road’
*weg ^w - (WC)	‘wet’
*weg ^w h-	‘speak solemnly’
*weh ₁ r-	‘confidence, faithfulness’
*weh ₁ ros (NW) [<i>*weh₁r-</i> ‘confidence’]	‘true’
*weh _a b- (NW)	‘cry, scream’
*w(e)h _a stos (NW)	‘empty’
*weh _a t- (WC)	‘(suppurating) wound’
*weh _x p-	‘body of water’
*we/oh _x r	‘water’
*wēi	‘we’
*weid-	‘see, know (as a fact)’
*weig/k-	‘± turn, yield’
*wei(h ₁)-	‘plait, wattle’
*wei(h _x)-	‘go after’
*weih _x -	‘be strong’
*wéih _x (e)s- [<i>*weih_x-</i> ‘be strong’]	‘strength, vitality, vital force’
*weik-	‘appear’
*weik-	‘consecrate’
*weik- (NW)	‘fight’
*weip- ~ *weib-	‘turn’
*weip- (E)	‘set in motion, agitate’
*weis-	‘twist, wind around’
*weis-	‘ooze out’
*weis-	‘stink’

* <i>weit-</i>	‘willow’
* <i>wék-</i>	‘wish, want’
* <i>wék^w-</i>	‘speak’
* <i>wel-</i>	‘die’
* <i>wel-</i>	‘grass’
* <i>wel-</i>	‘see’
* <i>wel-</i>	‘turn, wind, roll’
* <i>wel-</i>	‘wish, want’
* <i>wel-</i> (WC)	‘warm, heat’
* <i>weld-</i>	‘crush, grind, wear out’
* <i>wel(h₂)-</i>	‘strike, tear at’
* <i>weliko/eh_a-</i> (WC)	‘willow’
* <i>welk-</i> ~ * <i>welg-</i> (NW)	‘wet’
* <i>wels-</i>	‘bulge’
* <i>wélsu-</i> [* <i>wel-</i> ‘grass’]	‘meadow, pasture’
* <i>welutrom</i> [* <i>wel-</i> ‘turn’]	‘case’
* <i>wémh_xmi</i>	‘spew, vomit’
* <i>wen-</i>	‘strike, wound’
* <i>wendh-</i>	‘wind, twist’
* <i>wendh-</i> [* <i>wendh-</i> ‘wind’]	‘(a single) hair’
* <i>we/ondhso-</i> [* <i>wendh-</i> ‘wind’]	‘facial hair’
* <i>weng-</i>	‘bend’
* <i>wenh_x-</i>	‘desire, strive to obtain’
* <i>wenVst(r)-</i>	‘(ab)omasum’
* <i>wer-</i> (WC)	‘find, take’
* <i>wer-</i>	‘boil, cook’
* <i>wer-</i>	‘crow’
* <i>wer-</i>	‘perceive, give attention to’
* <i>wer-</i>	‘surround, cover, contain’
* <i>wer-</i>	‘burn’
* <i>werb(h)-</i> [* <i>wer-</i> ‘perceive’]	‘oversee, protect’
* <i>werġ-</i>	‘shave, shear’
* <i>werġ-</i>	‘work’
* <i>wérh_xus</i>	‘broad, wide’
* <i>verno/eh_a-</i>	‘alder’
* <i>wers-</i>	‘± thresh’
* <i>wers-</i>	‘peak’
* <i>wersēn</i>	‘male’
* <i>wert-</i>	‘turn’
* <i>werwer-</i>	‘squirrel’
* <i>wes-</i>	‘crush, grind, pound, wear out; wither’
* <i>wes-</i>	‘graze’
* <i>wes-</i>	‘buy’
* <i>wes-</i>	‘be dressed, dress’

<i>*wesno-</i> [<i>*wes-</i> ‘buy’]	‘purchase’
<i>*wésperos</i> ~ <i>*wékeros</i> (WC)	‘evening’
<i>*wésr̥</i>	‘spring’
<i>*wéstor-</i> [<i>*wes-</i> ‘graze’]	‘herdsman’
<i>*wesu-</i>	‘excellent, noble’
<i>*wet-</i>	‘year’
<i>*wet-</i>	‘see (truly)’
<i>*wételos</i> [<i>*wet-</i> ‘year’]	‘yearling’
<i>*wi-</i>	‘apart, in two, asunder’
<i>*widh-</i> [perhaps <i>*wi-</i> ‘apart’ + <i>*dheh₁-</i> ‘put’]	‘separate, put asunder’
<i>*widheweh_a-</i> [<i>*widh-</i> ‘to be separated’]	‘widow’
<i>*widhu</i> (NW) [<i>*widh-</i> ‘to be separated’]	‘tree, forest’
<i>*wih₁én</i> [<i>*wei(h₁)-</i> ‘plait, wattle’]	‘grapevine’
<i>*wih_xrós</i> [<i>*weih_x-</i> ‘be strong’]	‘man, husband’
<i>*wikso-</i> (WC)	‘mistletoe’
<i>*wik̑mtih₁</i> [<i>*dwi-</i> ‘bi’ + <i>*dékm̑(t)</i> ‘ten’]	‘twenty’
<i>*wik̑pots</i> [<i>*wik̑s-</i> ‘extended family’ +	
<i>*pótis</i> ‘husband’]	‘master of the clan’
<i>*wik̑s</i>	‘(social unit of) settlement’, extended family, clan’
<i>*wi(n)ġ-</i>	‘elm’
<i>*wis-/ *ġ(h)ombhros</i> (NW)	‘bison’
<i>*wíss</i> [<i>*weis-</i> ‘ooze out’]	‘poison’
<i>*witeros</i> [<i>*wi-</i> ‘apart’]	‘far’
<i>*w₁h₂neh_a-</i>	‘wool’
<i>*w₁kānos</i>	‘smith god’
<i>*w₁k^wih_a-</i> [<i>*w₁k^wós</i> ‘dangerous’]	‘she-wolf’
<i>*w₁k^wos</i>	‘dangerous’
<i>*w₁k^wos</i> [<i>*w₁k^wós</i> ‘dangerous’]	‘wolf’
<i>*wl(o)p-</i>	‘(red) fox’
<i>*w₁nd^stí-</i>	‘bladder’
<i>*w(p)nákts</i>	‘leader, lord’
<i>*wódr̥</i>	‘water’
<i>*wog^whnis</i> (WC)	‘ploughshare’
<i>*wóh₁</i>	‘you two’
<i>*wóinom</i> (PIE?) [<i>*wei(h_x)-</i> ‘plait’]	‘wine’
<i>*wokéh_a-</i>	‘cow’
<i>*wōk^ws</i> [<i>*wek^w-</i> ‘speak’]	‘voice’
<i>*wolno/eh_a-</i>	‘(bloody) wound’
<i>*wólos</i>	‘tail hair (of a horse)’
<i>*wólswom</i> (GA) [<i>*wels-</i> ‘bulge’]	‘gums’
<i>*wórghs</i>	‘chain, row, series’
<i>*worh_xd-i/o-</i> (WC) [<i>*worh_xdo-</i> ‘wart’]	‘frog’

<i>*worh_xdo-</i>	‘wart’
<i>*worh_xdhus</i>	‘upright, high’
<i>*wór(h_x)ġs</i>	‘nourishment, strength’
<i>*worPo-</i>	‘enclosure’
<i>*wortok^w- (GA)</i>	‘quail’
<i>*worwos (WC)</i>	‘furrow’
<i>*wos(h_x)-ko- (NW)</i>	‘wax’
<i>*wospo/eh_a- [*wes- ‘be dressed’]</i>	‘garment’
<i>*wósu</i>	‘goods’
<i>*wōt- (NW) [*wet- ‘see truly’]</i>	‘poet, seer’
<i>*wōtis [*wet- ‘see truly’]</i>	‘god-inspired’
<i>*wŷb- (WC)</i>	‘branch, sprig, twig’
<i>*wredh-</i>	‘grow, stand, take shape’
<i>*wreg-</i>	‘track, hunt, follow’
<i>*wreg- (NW)</i>	‘press, oppress’
<i>*wreh₁ġ- (WC)</i>	‘break, tear to pieces’
<i>*wreh_agh- (WC)</i>	‘thorn’
<i>*(w)rep-</i>	‘turn, incline’
<i>*wrētos</i>	‘flock, herd’
<i>*wŕh₁ēn</i>	‘lamb’
<i>*wr(h_a)d- (WC)</i>	‘root; branch’
<i>*wŕh_xos</i>	‘pimple’
<i>*wriyo/eh_a-</i>	‘fort’
<i>*wŕmis (WC)</i>	‘worm, insect’
<i>*wŕto/eh_a- [*wer- ‘surround’]</i>	‘enclosure’
<i>*y</i>	
<i>*yaġ- (GA)</i>	‘honour, worship’
<i>*yak(k)- (WC)</i>	‘± cure, make well’
<i>*yam ~ yau (NW)</i>	‘now, already’
<i>*(y)ebh-</i>	‘elephant’
<i>*yébbhe/o-</i>	‘enter, penetrate, copulate’
<i>*yeg-</i>	‘ice, icicle’
<i>*yeh₁-</i>	‘do, make; act vigorously’
<i>*yeh₁- (WC)</i>	‘throw’
<i>*yeh₁ġ^weh_a- (WC)</i>	‘power, youthful vigour’
<i>*yéh₃s-</i>	‘gird’
<i>*yeh_a-</i>	‘go, travel’
<i>*yeh_a- (E)</i>	‘ask for, beg’
<i>*yéh_awot(s) (GA)</i>	‘as many, as long’
<i>*yek-</i>	‘± express, avow’
<i>*yek^w_f(t)</i>	‘liver’
<i>*yem- (E)</i>	‘hold’
<i>*yemos</i>	‘twin’
<i>*yes-</i>	‘boil’

*yet-	‘put in the right place’
*yeu-	‘bind, join together’
*yeudh-	‘moved, stirred up; fight’
*yeudhmós [<i>*yeudh-</i> ‘fight’]	‘fighter’
*yeug- [<i>*yeu-</i> ‘bind’]	‘joins, harnesses’
*yeug̃-	‘stir up, incite; be unquiet’
*yeuh _x -	‘mix something moist’
*yéw(e)s-	‘order, law’
*yéw(e)s-	‘grain’
*-yo	‘and’
*yoinis (NW)	‘reed, rush’
*yóku	‘(animal) body hair’
*yórks (WC)	‘roedeer’
*yós/ <i>*yéh_d</i> <i>*yód</i>	‘who, what, that’
*yoteros (GA)	‘which of the two’
*yóti (GA)	‘as much, as many’
*yu- (WC)	‘± shout (for joy)’
*yugóm [<i>*yeu-</i> ‘bind’]	‘yoke’
*yuh _x -r- (WC)	‘water’
*yuh _x s ~ <i>*uswé</i> ~ <i>*swé</i>	‘ye’
*yúh _x s- [<i>*yeuh_x-</i> ‘mix’]	‘broth’

Appendix 3

An English to Proto-Indo-European Wordlist

ABDOMEN	<i>*udero-</i> , <i>*ud^stero-</i>
ABLE (BE PHYSICALLY)	<i>*magh-</i> , NW <i>*gal-</i>
(AB)OMASUM	<i>*wenVst(r)-</i>
ABOUT	<i>*per</i>
ABOVE	<i>*terh₂-</i>
ABUNDANT	<i>*bhénǵhus</i> , NW/PIE? <i>*menegh-</i>
ACCEPT	<i>*deḱ-</i> , <i>*nem-</i>
ACCOMPLISH	<i>*sen(h_a)-</i> , NW <i>*kob-</i>
ACCUSTOMED	<i>*h₁leuk-</i>
ACID	NW <i>*suh_x-ros</i>
ACORN	<i>*g^welh_a-</i>
ACQUAINTED WITH	<i>*ǵneh₃-</i>
ACROSS	<i>*terh₂-</i>
ACT HYPOCRITICALLY	NW <i>*leud-</i>
ACT VIGOROUSLY	<i>*yeh₁-</i>
ADDITION (IN)	<i>*h₁eti</i>
ADHERE	<i>*leip-</i>
ADJACENT	WC <i>*pos</i>
ADVANCE	<i>*seh₁(i)-</i>
ADZE	<i>*h₄edh_s-</i> , <i>*teḱso/eh_a-</i>
AFFLICT	<i>*h_aei-</i> , <i>*seh₄i-</i>
AFFLICTION	<i>*h_aéǵhle_a-</i>
AFRAID	<i>*bhibhóih_xe</i> , WC <i>*h_aegh-</i>
AFTER	<i>*posti</i>
AGAINST	<i>*proti</i>
AGE	<i>*ǵerh_a-</i>
AGE OF VIGOUR	<i>*h_aóyus</i>
AGITATE	<i>*twer-</i> , E <i>*weip-</i>
AGITATED	<i>*sret-</i>
AHEAD	<i>*pro</i>
AIM	WC <i>*del-</i>
ALAS	<i>*eheu</i> , <i>wai</i>
ALCOVE	<i>*gubho/eh_a-</i>
ALDER	<i>*h_aéliso-</i> , <i>*verno/eh_a-</i> , WC <i>*kleh_adhreh_a-</i>

ALIVE	<i>*h_{2/3}wed-</i>
ALLOW	<i>*TerK-</i>
ALONE	<i>*kaiwelos, *h₁oinos</i>
ALONG	<i>*h_aenh_ae, E *h_aen-u</i>
ALREADY	NW <i>*yam/yau</i>
AMASS	<i>*kr(e)u-bh-</i>
AMONG	<i>*(s)me</i>
AND	<i>*ar, *h₁eti, *-k^we, *-yo,</i>
ANGELICA	NW <i>*k^wéndhr/no-</i>
ANGER	WC <i>*h₁óistro/eh_a-</i>
ANGRY	<i>*reus-, *seh₄i-, WC *bhorg^wo-, GA *k^het-</i>
ANIMAL	<i>*g^wyéh₃wyom, *k^wetwor-pod, *léuh_xōn</i>
ANIMAL (LARGE DOMESTIC)	<i>*steuros</i>
ANIMAL (SMALL)	WC <i>*meh₁l-</i>
ANIMAL (WILD)	<i>*ġhwēr, *h₂wédŕ</i>
ANOINT (WITH SALVE), (BE)SMEAR	<i>*h₃eng^w-</i>
(AN)OTHER	<i>*h₁iteros, WC *sm̥teros</i>
ANT	<i>*mori- ~ *morm- ~ *mouro-</i>
ANUS	<i>*kutsós, *putós, C *p^hh₃któs</i>
ANY	<i>*sm̥mós</i>
APART	<i>*seni/u-, *wi-, WC *dis-</i>
APPEAR	<i>*k^wek/ġ-, *weik-, WC *prep-</i>
APPLE	<i>*h_aebVl-, *meh₂lom</i>
APPORTION	<i>*dap-</i>
APPORTION (ER)	<i>*bhagos</i>
ARCH	WC <i>*k^welp-</i>
ARGUE	<i>*h₄erg^w-, *mel-</i>
ARM	<i>*dous-, *h_aérh_xmos</i>
ARMY	<i>*koryos</i>
AROUND	<i>*h₂entbhi-</i>
ARRANGE	<i>*tǎg-</i>
ARROW	NW <i>*h_aérkwos, GA *h₁ísus</i>
AS	WC <i>*k^weh_am</i>
ASH	<i>*h₂éh_xōs, *kenh_xis, NW *perk-</i>
ASH (TREE)	<i>*h₃es(k)-</i>
ASK FOR	<i>*g^whedh-, *h_{1/4}er-, *perk-, E *yeh_a-</i>
ASLANT	GA <i>*dh₃ġhmós</i>
ASP (FISH)	<i>*ghérsos</i>
ASPEN	<i>*h_{2/3}osp-</i>
ASS	<i>*os(o)nos, WC *mú(k)skos</i>
ASSAIL	<i>*h_aei-</i>
ASSERT	<i>*h₄erg^w-</i>
AT	WC <i>*h_aed</i>
AT ONE TIME	<i>*sem-</i>

ATTACH	<i>*h_aér(h_x)-</i> , NW <i>*(h₂)wer-</i>
ATTAIN	<i>*h₁enék-</i> , <i>*tem-</i>
ATTEMPT	WC <i>*per-</i>
ATTENTION (PAY)	<i>*bheudh-</i> , <i>*wer-</i>
AUGER	WC <i>*térh₁trom</i> ~ <i>*térh₁dhrom</i>
AUROCHS	<i>*tauros</i> , <i>*usr-</i>
AUTUMN	<i>*h₁esen-</i>
AVOW	<i>*yek-</i>
AWAKE	<i>*h₁ger-</i>
AWAY	<i>*h₄eu</i> , <i>*h_aet</i> , <i>*pro</i> , NW <i>*dē</i>
AWL	<i>*h_xóleh_a-</i>
AWN	<i>*h_aékstí-</i>
AXE	<i>*h₄edhés-</i> , <i>*pelekús</i> , <i>*tekso/eh_a-</i> , NW <i>*sekūr-</i> , WC <i>*h_aegwis(y)e)h_a-</i>
AXLE	<i>*h_aéks-</i>
BABBLE	<i>*baba-</i> , <i>lal-</i>
BACK	<i>*h₄epér-</i> , <i>*h₄épo</i>
BACK (SIDE)	<i>*kúh_xlos</i>
BAD	<i>*dus-</i> , <i>*h₃ligos</i> , <i>*melo-</i>
BADGER	NW <i>*meli-</i>
BAG	<i>*bhólghis-</i>
BAKE	<i>*pek^w-</i> , WC <i>*bhōg-</i>
BALD	<i>*k₆lh_xwos</i> , NW/WC? <i>*gol(h_x)wos</i>
BAR	WC <i>*kleh_awis</i>
BARE	<i>*ne/og^wnós</i> , NW/WC? <i>*gol(h_x)wos</i> , WC <i>*bho-</i> <i>sós</i>
BARK (DOG)	<i>*leh_a-</i> , NW <i>*bhereg-</i> , WC <i>*baub-</i>
BARK (TREE)	WC <i>*lóubho/eh_a-</i>
BARLEY	<i>*ghrésdh(i)</i> , <i>*h₂élbhit</i> , <i>*meig(h)-</i> , NW <i>*bhar-</i> <i>es-</i> , WC /PIE? <i>*h₂ed-</i> , WC <i>*bhárs</i>
BARREN	<i>*ster-</i>
BARTER	<i>*per-</i>
BASIN	WC <i>*louh₁trom</i>
BASKET	NW <i>*kreb-</i> , NW <i>*k^was-</i>
BAST	WC <i>*lōp-</i> , WC <i>*lóubho/eh_a-</i>
BATHE	WC <i>*leuh₁-</i>
BE	<i>*bheu(h_x)-</i> , <i>*h₁es-</i>
BEAM	<i>*kred-</i> , WC <i>*bhélh_aǵs</i>
BEAN	WC <i>*bhabheh_a-</i> , WC <i>*bhaǵó/eh_a-</i>
BEAR (A CHILD)	<i>*bhére/o-</i> , <i>*seu(h_x)-</i> , <i>*tek-</i> , WC <i>*pelh_x-</i>
BEAR (ANIMAL)	<i>*h₂ǵtkos</i>
BEAR (VERB)	<i>*bhére/o-</i> , <i>*wegh-</i>
BEARD	<i>*smókwǵ-</i> , NW <i>*bhardheh_a-</i>
BEAT	NW <i>*bheud-</i>

BEAT THE WEFT WITH A STICK	WC *krek-
BEAUTIFUL	GA *kal-
BEAVER	*bhébh _h rus
BED	*léghes-, *ster(h ₃)m _h
BEE	NW *bhik ^w ó-, C *melítih _a -
BEECH	WC *bheh _a ǵós
BEER	*h _a elut-
BEETLE	NW *webhel- ~ *wobhel-
BEFORE	*p _h h _a éh ₁ , *p _h h _a éi
BEG	E *yeh _a -
BEGET A CHILD	*ǵénh ₁ -, *tek-
BEGIN	*neik-
BEHIND	*h ₄ épér-, *h ₄ épo, *po-sk ^w ó-, WC *ǵhō-, WC *pos
BEING (COME INTO)	*bheu(h _x)-
BELCH	*h ₁ reug-
BELIEVE	*h _{2/3} eh _x -, *k ^h red-dheh ₁ -
BELT	NW *kerd-
BEND	*bheidh-, *bheug-, *bhedh-, *h ₂ enk-, *kamer-, *kleng-, *leng-, *lenk-, *nem-, *weng-, *swe(n)g-, WC *leug-
BEND (OF TERRAIN)	WC *kam-p-
BENEFIT	NW *lau-
BENT	*h ₂ ónkos, *lei-
BERRY	*h _a ógh _a -, NW *dhreghes-, WC *h ₁ óiwo/eh _a -, WC *sre/oh _{ag} s
BESTOW	*h _{2/3} en ^h ċ-
BESTOWED	*h _{2/3} ón ^h ċkos
BETWEEN	*h ₁ entér
BEYOND	*h _a et, NW *h _a elnos
BI-	*dwi-
BIND	*bhendh-, *deh ₁ -, *dherǵh-, *kergh-, *yeu-, WC *mer-
BIRCH	*bherh _x ǵós
BIRD	*h _a eweī-, *pipp-
BIRD (TYPE OF)	*(s)p(e)iko/eh _a -, *teter-
BIRD OF PREY	GA *k ^h yeino-, C *ǵhy- ~ *ǵyei-
BISON	NW *wis-/ *ǵ(h)ombhros
BITE	*den ^h ċ-
BITTER	*h ₂ em-, *h ₂ em-ro-s
BLACK	*k ^w ǵsnós, *mel-n-, NW *k ^h eir-
BLACKBERRY	*mórom
BLACKBIRD	NW *h _a emesl-, WC *kopso-

BLADDER	*w _ṛ nd ^s tí-
BLAME	*h ₁ lengh-
BLEAT	NW *bhleh ₁ -
BLIND	*h _a endhós
BLOOD	*h ₁ ésh ₂ ṛ, *kréuh _a
BLOOM	*bhel-
BLOSSOM	*bhel-
BLOW	*bhel-, *bhes-, *h ₂ weh ₁ -, *peis-, *per-, *p(h)eu-, *swei-, *wet-
BLUE	*kér- ~ *k _ṛ -wos, modheros
BOAR	*twoṛkós, NW/WC ?*h ₁ eperos
BOARD	NW *skéits, WC *swel- ~ *sel-
BOAT	*néh _a us, *(s)kolmos
BODY	*kréps
BOIL	*seu-, *sret-, *yes-, WC *bhreu-
BOLD	*dhers-
BOLSTER	*bhólghis-
BOLT	WC *kleh _a wis
BONE	*h ₂ óst
BOOTY	*soru
BORDER	*h ₄ erh ₂ os, *morǵ-, *térmm̃
BORN	*ǵenh ₁ -
BOTH	*bhōu
BOTTOM	*bhudhnó-
BOW	NW *h _a érkwos, GA *tóksom
BOWL	*kumbo/eh _a -
BOWSTRING	GA *g ^w (i)yēh _a
BRAID	*plek̃-, WC *mer-
BRAIN	*mosghos, WC *mréghmen-, E *móstr̃
BRAN	WC *k ^w et-
BRANCH	*h ₂ ósdos, *h ₄ log̃-, *k̃ank-, *k̃óh ₁ kōh ₂ , NW *ghabhlo/eh _a -, WC *gol-, WC *gwésdos, WC *wṛb-, WC *wṛ(h _a)d-
BRAVE	*dhers-
BREAK	*bheg-, *bhreu-, *leuǵ-, *reup-, NW *bhreǵ-, WC *bhreus-, WC *h ₃ lem-, WC *plek̃-, WC *wreh ₁ ǵ
BREAST	*dhh ₁ ileh _a -, *h ₁ óuh _χ dh _ṛ -, *pap-, *pérkus, *psténos-
BREATH	*h ₁ eh ₁ tmén-, *h _a énh ₁ mos
BREATHE	*dhwes-, *h _a énh ₁ -, *h _a énh ₁ mi, *k̃wesh _χ -
BREATHE ONE'S LAST	WC *dheu-
BREW	WC *bhreu -
BRIDE-PRICE	WC *wedmo/eh _a -

BRIGHT	<i>*dei-</i> , <i>*ġhers-</i> , <i>*leukós</i> , <i>*(s)koitrós</i> , WC <i>*g^whaidrós</i> , C <i>*h₂eug-</i>
BRING ACROSS	<i>*terh₂-</i>
BRING FORTH	<i>*per-</i>
BRISTLE	<i>*ġhers -</i> , <i>*h_aek^hstí-</i> , NW <i>*ker(es)-</i>
BROAD	<i>*plet-</i> , <i>*pl^hth₂ú-</i> , <i>*wérh_xus</i>
BROTH	<i>*korm-</i> , <i>*yúh_xs -</i>
BROTHER	<i>*bhréh_ater-</i>
BROTHERHOOD	<i>*bhréh_atríyom</i>
BROTHER'S WIFE	<i>*snusós</i>
BROWN	<i>*bher-</i> , <i>*h₁el-</i> , NW <i>*badyos</i>
BRUSH(WOOD)	NW <i>*k^wrénos</i>
BUBBLE	<i>*bher-</i>
BUCK	<i>*bhugós</i>
BUILD	<i>*dem(h_a)-</i> , <i>*dheigh-</i> , <i>*k^wei-</i> , <i>*k^wer-</i>
BULGE	<i>*wels-</i>
BULL	<i>*domh_ayos</i> , <i>*tauros</i>
BUNDLE	NW <i>*(s)keup-</i>
BURDEN	<i>*h₁ónh_xes-</i>
BURN	<i>*bhleg-</i> , <i>*deh_au-</i> , <i>*dheg^wh-</i> , <i>*ġwelh_x-</i> , <i>*h₁eus-</i> , <i>*h₂eh_x-</i> , <i>*h₄elh₁-</i> , <i>*h_aeidh-</i> , <i>*h_ael-</i> , <i>*kenk-</i> , <i>*êeh_au-</i> , <i>*k^heu_k-</i> , <i>*k^hseh₁-</i> , <i>*preus-</i> , <i>*swelp-</i> , <i>*wer-</i> , NW <i>*ker-</i> , NW <i>*swel-</i>
BURROW	<i>*bhedh-</i>
BUTTER	WC <i>*h₃éng^wŋ</i>
BUTTERFLY	NW <i>*pelpel -</i>
BUTTERMILK	<i>*tenk^l</i>
BUTTOCK	GA <i>*ġhngghéno/eh_a-</i>
BUY	<i>*wes-</i>
CABBAGE	<i>*kaulós</i>
CACKLE	WC <i>*gag-</i>
CALL	<i>*gal-</i> , <i>*ġar-</i> , <i>*ġheu(h_x)-</i> , <i>*kelh₁-</i>
CALLOSITY	<i>*k^lŋnos</i>
CANOE	<i>*h_xoldhu-</i>
CAPTIVE	NW <i>*kaptos</i>
CARP	<i>*k^hóph_aelos</i>
CARROT	WC <i>*m^hk-</i>
CARRY	<i>*bher-</i> , <i>*weġh-</i>
CARVE	<i>*del-</i> , <i>*kerd-</i>
CASE	<i>*welutrom</i>
CASTRATED	<i>*wédh^ris</i>
CAT	NW <i>*kat-</i>

CATCH	WC * <i>kagh-</i>
CAULDRON	* <i>k^werus</i>
CAVE	GA * <i>káiwŕ(t)</i>
CAVITY	* <i>h₂elwos</i> , * <i>h₂éryos</i>
CAW	* <i>ker-</i>
CEDAR	WC * <i>h₁elew-</i>
CHAFF	* <i>pelo/eh_{a-}</i> , WC * <i>k^wet-</i>
CHAIN	* <i>wórghs</i>
CHARACTERISTIC	* <i>s(w)edh-</i>
CHARCOAL	* <i>h_xóngl̥</i> , NW * <i>perk-</i>
CHARM	* <i>meng-</i>
CHEAT	NW * <i>meug-</i>
CHERRY	WC * <i>kŕnom</i>
CHEW	* <i>ǵyeuh_{x-}</i> , WC * <i>mandh</i> - or * <i>mant-</i>
CHICKPEA	WC * <i>kíker-</i>
CHILD	* <i>teknom</i>
CHIN	* <i>men</i> , * <i>smék-</i> , * <i>smókŵŕ</i>
CIRCLE	* <i>ānos</i> , * <i>h₃érbhis</i> , * <i>serk-</i>
CLAN	* <i>wík-</i>
CLAY	* <i>m̥ldho/eh_{a-}</i> , * <i>tk^wreh₁yot-</i> , WC * <i>gloiwos</i>
CLEAN	* <i>peuh_{x-}</i> , WC * <i>k̥leu-</i>
CLEAR	* <i>leukós</i> , *(<i>s</i>) <i>koitrós</i>
CLIFF	* <i>pel(i)s-</i>
CLOAK	* <i>drap-</i> ~ * <i>drop-</i> , NW * <i>ruk-</i> , WC * <i>baitéh_{a-}</i>
CLOSE THE EYES	* <i>meigh-</i> ~ * <i>meik-</i>
CLOTH	* <i>los-</i> , * <i>p(e)h₂no/eh_{a-}</i> , WC * <i>bhr̥w-</i> , WC * <i>lōp-</i>
CLOTHES	* <i>drap-</i> ~ * <i>drop-</i> , * <i>wospo/eh_{a-}</i> , WC * <i>kéntr/n-</i>
CLOUD(Y)	* <i>nébhes-</i> , * <i>sneudh-</i> , NW * <i>bhlendh-</i>
CLUB	NW * <i>lorgeh_{a-}</i> , WC * <i>bak-</i> , GA * <i>wáǵros</i>
COAL	* <i>g(e)ulo-</i>
COLD	* <i>kélto-</i> , * <i>k^wrustēn</i> , NW * <i>gel-</i> , WC * <i>h₃eug-</i> , WC * <i>srīges-</i>
COLOUR (DEEP INTENSE SHADE)	* <i>k̥yeh₁₋</i>
COMB	* <i>kars-</i> , * <i>kes-</i>
COMBAT	NW * <i>nant-</i>
COME	* <i>g^weh_{a-}</i> , * <i>g^wem-</i>
COMMIT A CRIME	NW/PIE? * <i>h_{2/3}wergh-</i>
COMMOTION (BE IN)	* <i>dheu(h_{x-})</i> -
COMPANION	* <i>sók^w-h₂-ōi</i> , NW * <i>dthroughós</i> , GA * <i>h₂ēpis</i>
COMPEL	WC * <i>bheidh-</i>

COMPENSATION	<i>*k^woineh_a-</i>
COMPLAIN	WC <i>*leh_a-</i>
COMPLETE	<i>*serk-</i>
COMPRESS	NW <i>*greut-</i> , WC <i>*gen-</i>
COMPUTE	WC <i>*del-</i>
CONCEAL	WC <i>*kel-</i>
CONCERN	<i>*keh_ades-</i> , <i>*(s)mer-</i> , <i>*swerh_xK-</i>
CONCUBINE	<i>*parikeh_a-</i>
CONFIDE	WC <i>*bheidh-</i>
CONFIDENCE	<i>*weh₁r-</i>
CONGEALED MOISTURE	NW <i>*senh_xdhr-</i>
CONIFER	<i>*péuk_s</i> , <i>*pit(u)-</i>
CONQUER	<i>*segh-</i>
CONSECRATE	<i>*weik-</i>
CONSIDER	<i>*men-</i>
CONSTRAIN	<i>*h₂emgh-</i>
CONTAIN	<i>*h₂em-</i> , <i>*wer-</i>
CONTAINER	<i>*pēl(h₁)ewis</i>
CONTENT	<i>*h₃enh₂-</i> , <i>*mel-</i> , <i>*reus -</i>
COOK	<i>*pek^w-</i> , <i>*wer-</i>
COOT	WC <i>*bhel-</i>
COPPER	<i>*h₁roudhós</i> , <i>*h_aey-es-</i>
COPULATE (< EARLY PIE 'ENTER')	<i>*yēbhe/o-</i>
CORNER	WC <i>*kan-t(h)o-</i>
CORPSE	<i>*néh_awis</i>
COUCH	<i>*léghes-</i>
COUGH	<i>*k^weh_as-</i>
COUNT (OUT)	WC <i>*h_arei(h_x)-</i>
COUNTRY	<i>*p_lth₂wih_a-</i>
COVER	<i>*h₁eu-</i> , <i>*h₁rebh-</i> , <i>*kēm-</i> , <i>*(s)keu(h_x)-</i> , <i>*wer-</i> , WC/PIE? <i>*(s)teg-</i> , WC <i>*kel-</i> , GA <i>*dhwenh₂-</i>
COW	<i>*g^wōus</i> , <i>*h₁eğh-</i> , <i>*wokéh_a-</i> , WC <i>*loh_apo-</i>
COWHERD	WC <i>*g^wou-k^wolos</i>
CRAB	<i>*karkr(o)-</i>
CRACK	<i>*gerg-</i>
CRACKLE	<i>*(s)p_rh_xg-</i>
CRAFT	WC <i>*kērdos</i>
CRAFTSMAN	WC <i>*dhabhros</i>
CRANE	<i>*ger-</i>
CRAWL	<i>*serp-</i> , <i>*(t)sel-</i> , NW <i>*rēp-</i>
CRAYFISH	<i>*k_ṛh_aros</i>
CREAM	<i>*réughmen-</i>
CREATURES	<i>*h_{2/3}wéd_r</i>

CROOKED	<i>*(s)keng-</i> , WC <i>*lerd-</i> , WC <i>*lord(sk)os</i> , WC <i>*(s)kel-</i>
CROSS-EYED	NW/PIE? <i>*káikos</i>
CROSSOVER	<i>*ter-</i>
CROW	<i>*kVr-C-</i> , <i>*wer-</i>
CROWD	WC <i>*ger-</i>
CROWN OF THE HEAD	<i>*m_hh₂dho-</i>
CRUSH	<i>*mer-</i> , <i>*pis-</i> , <i>*(s)tergh-</i> , <i>*weld-</i> , <i>*wes-</i>
CRY	<i>*glagh-</i> , <i>*gar-</i> , <i>*gher-</i> , <i>*kau(k)-</i> , <i>*keuk-</i> , <i>*kreuk-</i> , <i>*neu-</i> , <i>*wed-</i> , NW <i>*(s)trep-</i> , NW <i>*weh_ab-</i> , WC <i>*ghel-</i> , WC <i>*leh_a-</i> , WC <i>*(s)weh_agh-</i>
CUCKOO	<i>*kukū</i>
CUP	<i>*kVIVk-</i> , <i>*poh₂tlom</i>
CURDS	<i>*twóh_xr</i>
CURE	<i>*med-</i> , WC <i>*bher-</i> , WC <i>*yak(k)-</i>
CURSE	<i>*h₂eru-</i>
CURVE	<i>*geu-</i> ~ <i>*geh_xu-</i> , <i>*keu(h_x)-</i> , <i>*keu-k-</i> , WC <i>*(s)kamb-</i>
CURVED	NW <i>*pandos</i>
CUSTOM	<i>*s(w)edh-</i>
CUT	<i>*bher-</i> , <i>*bhreh_xi-</i> , <i>*bhreu-</i> , <i>*deh_a(i)-</i> , <i>*del-</i> , <i>*kerd-</i> , <i>*kes-</i> , <i>*k^wer-</i> , <i>*put-</i> , <i>*sek-</i> , <i>*skeh_hi(-d)-</i> , <i>*(s)kel-</i> , <i>*(s)ker-</i> , <i>*twerk-</i> , WC <i>*gleubh-</i> , WC <i>*(s)grebh-</i>
CUT HAIR	<i>*koik-</i>
CUTTING WEAPON	<i>*wēben</i>
DAMP	<i>*penk-</i>
DANGEROUS	<i>*w_hl_k^wós</i>
DARK	<i>*dh(o)ngu-</i> , <i>*tómh_xes-</i> , WC <i>*(h_a)mauros</i> , WC <i>*(h_a)merh_xg^w-</i>
DARKEN	<i>*swer-</i> , NW <i>*merk-</i> , GA <i>*dhwenh₂-</i>
DARKNESS	<i>*h₁reg^w-es-</i>
DAUGHTER	<i>*dhuǵ(h_a)tér</i>
DAWN	<i>*h_aéusōs</i>
DAWNS	<i>*h_a(e)us-skēti</i>
DAY	<i>*deino-</i> , <i>*dye(u)-</i> , <i>*h_aéǵh_g</i> , C <i>*h₂eh_x-mer-</i>
DEAD	<i>*mṛtós</i> , <i>*nékus</i>
DEAF	<i>*bhodh_xrós</i>
DEAR	<i>*h_xleh_ad-</i> , <i>*leh_ad-</i>
DEATH	<i>*móros</i> , <i>*mṛtis</i> , <i>*mṛtóm</i> , <i>*neks</i> , <i>*nékus</i>
DEBT	NW <i>*dh_hgh-</i>
DECAY	<i>*ker-</i>

DECEIVE	<i>*dhreugh-</i> , <i>*meng-</i> , <i>*(s)mel-</i> , <i>*(s)weig-</i> , NW <i>*meug-</i> , WC <i>*kel-</i>
DECLARE SOLEMNLY	<i>*keh₁-</i> , <i>*ke(n)s-</i>
DEEP	<i>*dheub-</i>
DEER	<i>*h₁elh₁ēn</i> , WC <i>*yórks</i>
DEFECATE	<i>*ghedye/o-</i> , <i>*g^wuh_x-</i> , <i>*kerd-</i> , <i>*kék^w-</i> , WC <i>*kak(k)eh_aye/o-</i>
DEFECT	<i>*mendo/eh_a-</i>
DEFEND	<i>*h_alek-</i>
DEFILE	<i>*kerd-</i> , NW <i>*mai-</i>
DESCENDANT	<i>*neptiyos</i>
DESIRE	<i>*gheldh-</i> , <i>*ghor(ye/o)-</i> , <i>*h_xih_xigh-(e/o)-</i> , <i>*leubh-</i> , <i>*moud-</i> , <i>*wenh_x-</i> , WC <i>*h₁op</i> , E <i>*k^wlep-</i>
DESTROY	<i>*bhreh_xi-</i> , <i>*dhg^whei-</i> , <i>*h₂erh_x-</i> , <i>*h₂erk-</i> , <i>*h₃elh₁-</i>
DESTRUCTION	<i>*h₂rétkēs-</i>
DEW	<i>*rōs</i>
DIE	<i>*mer-</i> , <i>*nek-</i> , <i>*wel-</i> , WC <i>*dheu-</i>
DIFFICULT	<i>*tengh-</i>
DIG UP	<i>*bhedh-</i> , <i>*h₃reuk-</i> , <i>*perk-</i> , NW <i>*dhelbh-</i> , NW <i>*ghrebh-</i>
DIP	<i>*g^wabh-</i> , <i>*mesg-</i>
DIRT(Y)	<i>*reh₁mós</i> , <i>*solh_x-</i> , <i>*tih_xn-</i> , NW <i>*mai-</i> , WC <i>*grúgs</i> , WC <i>*leu-</i>
DISH	WC <i>*póth_a</i>
DISPUTE	NW <i>*(s)trep-</i>
DISTRIBUTE	<i>*bhag-</i> , <i>*pr_o(h₃)tis</i> , NW <i>*h₁em-</i>
DISTURB	<i>*mer-</i>
DIVE	<i>*g^wādh-</i> , <i>*mesg-</i>
DIVIDE	<i>*bhag-</i> , <i>*deh_a(i)-</i> , <i>*lenk-</i>
DO	<i>*kon-</i> , <i>*k^wer-</i> , <i>*yeh₁-</i>
DOG	<i>*k(u)wōn</i> , WC <i>*(s)koli-</i>
DONKEY	WC <i>*mū(k)skos</i>
DOOR	<i>*dhwōr</i>
DOORJAMB	<i>*h_aénh_xt(e)h_a</i>
DORMOUSE	<i>*g_oh₁ís</i>
DO SOMETHING HATEFUL	WC <i>*h_aleit-</i>
DOUBLE	<i>*dw(e)i-plos</i> , <i>*dwoyos</i>
DOUGH	WC <i>*(s)teh₂ist</i>
DOWN	<i>*kath_ae</i>
DOWNCAST	WC <i>*h_aegh-</i>
DOWNWARDS	<i>*ni</i>
DRAGON	WC <i>*drk-</i>

DRAW (LIQUIDS)	<i>*h₂en-</i> , <i>*h₂eu(h_x)s-</i> , WC <i>*sem-</i>
DRAW (SPIN)	<i>*(s)pen-</i>
DRAW TOGETHER, BE THICK	<i>*bhéngh-</i>
DREAM	<i>*swep-</i> , <i>*swópniyom</i> , <i>*swópnos</i> , C <i>*h₃énr̥</i>
DREGS	WC <i>*dhrogh-</i>
DRESS(ED)	<i>*wes-</i>
DRINK	<i>*h₁ēg^whmi</i>
DRIP	WC <i>*leg-</i> , WC <i>*stag-</i>
DRIVE	<i>*h_aég-</i> , <i>*kel-</i> , NW <i>*dhreibh-</i>
DRIZZLE	<i>*h₃meigh-</i> , WC <i>*mreggh-</i>
DRONE (< BUZZ)	WC <i>*dhren-</i>
DRONE (BEE)	WC <i>*kṃh_{xp}-h_a-</i>
DRY	<i>*h₂es-</i> , <i>*kseros</i> , <i>*sausos</i> , <i>*sek-</i> , <i>*sisku-</i> , <i>*ters-</i> , NW <i>*senk-</i> , GA <i>*k̑sēros</i>
DUCK	<i>*h_aṇh_ati-</i> , <i>*pad-</i>
DUMB	<i>*mū-</i>
DUNG	<i>*kók^wr̥</i> , <i>*sók^{r̥}</i> , NW <i>*dher-</i> , WC <i>*kūh_xdós</i>
DUST	<i>*pē(n)s-</i>
DWELL	<i>*h₂wes-</i> , GA <i>*t̑kei-</i>
DWELLING	<i>*h₂wóstu</i> , <i>*kus-</i> , NW <i>*solo/eh_a-</i> ~ <i>*selo-</i> , WC <i>*trēbs</i>
DYE	GA <i>*reg-</i>
EAGLE	<i>*h₃or-</i>
EAR	<i>*h_aóus-</i>
EARLY	<i>*h_aeyer-</i> , <i>*prō-</i>
EAR OF GRAIN	<i>*h_aēkes-</i>
EARTH	<i>*dhéghōm</i> , WC <i>*h₁er-</i>
EAST	<i>*h_aeust(e)ro-</i>
EAT	<i>*gras-</i> , <i>*ġeP-</i> , <i>*h₁édmi</i> , <i>*h₄eu-</i>
EEL	WC <i>*h_xVnghel-</i>
EGG	<i>*h₁endróš</i> , <i>*h_aō(w)i-om</i>
EIGHT	<i>*h_xók̑tō̑(u)</i>
EIGHTH	<i>*h_xók̑to-wós</i>
ELBOW	<i>*h₃elVn-</i> , WC <i>*h₃elek-</i>
ELEPHANT	? <i>*(y)ebh-</i>
ELF	<i>*h₄(e)ḷbh-</i>
ELK/AMERICAN MOOSE	<i>*h_xólkis</i> , NW <i>*h₁elh₁niha-</i>
ELM	<i>*pteleyeh_a-</i> , <i>*wi(n)ġ-</i> , NW <i>*h₁élem</i>
EMPTY	<i>*h₁eu(h_a)-</i> , <i>*teus-</i> , <i>*tusskýos</i> , <i>*wak-</i> , NW <i>*w(e)h_astos</i> , C <i>*k̑enós</i>
ENCLOSE	<i>*ghrebh-</i>
ENCLOSURE	<i>*ghórdhos</i> , <i>*mand-</i> , <i>*worPo-</i> , <i>*wṛto/eh_a-</i> , NW <i>*kagh-</i>

END	<i>*termin-</i>
ENEMY	NW <i>*ghostis</i> , GA <i>*des-</i>
ENJOY	<i>*gêus-</i> , NW <i>*neud-</i>
ENTER	<i>*yêbhe/o-</i>
ENTRAILS	<i>*ghorh_xneh_a-</i>
ENTWINE	WC <i>*leug-</i>
ERMINE	NW <i>*kormon-</i>
ESTABLISHED	<i>*dhéh₁mi-</i> , <i>*dhéh₁men-</i> , <i>*dhéh₁tis</i>
ESTUARY	NW <i>*h₃eust(y)o-</i>
EVENING	WC <i>*wésperos</i> ~ <i>*wékeros</i>
EVENING MEAL	WC <i>*dórk^wom</i>
EVIL	<i>*ghalh_xros</i> , <i>*h₁édwōl</i>
EWE	<i>*h₂owikéh_a-</i>
EXCELLENT	<i>*wesu-</i>
EXCHANGE	<i>*mei-</i> , <i>*meit-</i> , <i>*per-</i>
EXCITED	<i>*nei-</i>
EXCREMENT	<i>*kók^w_r</i> , <i>*sók^r_o</i> , NW <i>*dher-</i>
EXHAUSTED	<i>*streug-</i> , <i>*temh_x-</i>
EXPRESS	<i>*yek-</i>
EXPRESS A LIQUID	<i>*seu(h_x)-</i>
EXTEND	<i>*h₃regê-</i> , NW <i>*reigê-</i>
EXTINGUISH	<i>*g^wes-</i>
EYE	<i>*h₃ek^w-</i>
EYEBROW	<i>*bhrúh_xs</i>
FABRICATE	<i>*tek_s-</i>
FABRICATOR	<i>*tek_s-(t)or/n-</i>
FACE	<i>*h₁éni-h₃k^w-o/eh_a-</i> , <i>*próti-h₃(ō)k^w-o/eh_a-</i>
FACIAL HAIR	<i>*we/ondhso-</i>
FAIL	<i>*mel-</i>
FAITHFULNESS	<i>*weh₁r-</i>
FALCON	NW <i>*kap-</i>
FALL	<i>*kad-</i> , <i>*ped-</i> , <i>*pteh₁-</i> , WC <i>*phōl-</i> (<i>*ph_xōl-</i> ?)
FALLOW LAND	NW <i>*polkéh_a-</i>
FAME	<i>*kléwes-</i>
FAMILY	<i>*génh₁es-</i> , <i>*wik-</i> , <i>*wiks</i> , GA <i>*dóm</i>
FAR	<i>*witeros</i>
FART	<i>*pérde/o-</i> , WC <i>*pesd-</i>
FAST	<i>*h_aegīlos</i> , <i>*h₁ōk^w-us</i> , NW /PIE? <i>*keigh-</i> , NW <i>*bhris-</i> ~ <i>*bhers-</i> , NW <i>*h₂ēh_xtro-</i> , GA <i>*h₂g^w-rós</i>
FASTEN	<i>*h₂ep-</i> , <i>*peh_agê-</i> ~ <i>*peh_ak^w-</i> , <i>*seg-</i> , <i>*(s)ner-</i>

FAT(NESS)	<i>*m(e)h_ad-</i> , <i>*peih_x-</i> , <i>*pen-</i> , <i>*píh_xwŕ_g</i> , <i>*sélpes-</i> , <i>*sph₁rós</i> , <i>*tegus</i> , <i>*teuh_a-</i>
FATHER	<i>*at-</i> , <i>*ġen_{h1}tōr</i> , <i>*papa</i> , <i>*ph_atér</i> , <i>*t-at-</i>
FATHER (OF THE SAME)	<i>*somo-ph_atōr</i>
FATHER-IN-LAW	<i>*swékuros</i>
FATHER'S BROTHER	<i>*ph_atrwyoŝ</i>
FATHER'S MOTHER	<i>*h₂en-</i>
FATIGUED	<i>*streug-</i> , E <i>*kŕ_gh_xm(-s)-</i>
FAULT	<i>*méles-</i>
FAVOUR	<i>*d(h₃)eu-</i> , <i>*h₃ens-</i> , <i>*h_aeu-</i> , <i>*teu-</i>
FEAR	<i>*bhibhóih_xe</i> , <i>*dwei-</i> , <i>*h_aéngĥes-</i> , <i>*k^weh₁(i)-</i> , <i>*perk-</i> , <i>*tres-</i>
FEATHER	<i>*pet(e)r-</i> , <i>*(s)pornóm</i>
FEED	<i>*pen-</i>
FELT	<i>*peld-</i> , WC <i>*pildo-</i>
FENCE	<i>*ghórdhos</i>
FERMENT	<i>*kwat-</i>
FEROCITY	<i>*rabh-</i>
FEW	WC <i>*pau-</i>
FIELD	<i>*h_aeġros</i> , <i>*h_aérh₃wŕ_g</i>
FIFTEEN	<i>*penk^we dekŕ_g(t)</i>
FIFTH	<i>*pŕk^wtós</i>
FIFTY	<i>*penk^wē-kómt(h_a)</i>
FIGHT	<i>*h_aeġ-</i> , <i>*yeudh-</i> , NW <i>*katu-</i> , NW <i>*nant-</i> , NW <i>*weik-</i>
FIGHTER	<i>*yeudhmós</i>
FILL	<i>*pelh₁-</i> , <i>*seh₂(i)-</i> , <i>*speh₁-</i>
FINCH	WC/PIE? <i>*(s)pingo-</i>
FIND	WC <i>*wer-</i>
FIND ONE'S WAY	<i>*pent-</i>
FINE (PUNISHMENT)	<i>*k^wei-</i>
FINGER	NW <i>*pólik(o)s</i>
FIR	<i>*dhonu-</i> , WC <i>*h_ae_{bi}-</i>
FIRE	<i>*g(e)ulo-</i> , <i>*h₂éh_xtr_g</i> , <i>*h_aeidh-</i> , <i>*h_xgg^wnis</i> , <i>*péh₂ur</i>
FIRM	<i>*pastos</i> , <i>*tenk-</i>
FIRST	<i>*per(h_x)-</i>
FISH	<i>*píksĥos</i> , WC <i>*dhġhuh_x-</i>
FISH (KIND OF)	<i>*kónkus</i>
FISH (SMALL)	WC <i>*mŕh_x-</i>
FISH EGGS	NW <i>*kre_k-</i>
FISSURE	GA <i>*káiwŕ_g(t)</i>
FIST	NW <i>*pŕ_g(k^w)stí-</i> , E <i>*mustí-</i>
FIT	<i>*ghedh-</i> , <i>*h_aér(h_x)-</i>

FIT (SUIT)	NW <i>*kob-</i>
FITTING	<i>*h_aértus</i>
FIVE	<i>*pénk^we</i>
FIXED	<i>*sth₂ei-</i>
FLANK	<i>*poksós</i>
FLAT	<i>*pleh_ak-</i>
FLAX	WC <i>*linom</i>
FLAY	<i>*der-</i>
FLEA	<i>*plus-</i>
FLEE	WC <i>*bheug-</i>
FLEECE	<i>*moisós, *réumn-</i>
FLOAT	<i>*pleu-</i>
FLOCK	<i>*wrētos</i>
FLOOR	<i>*telh_xom, WC *d̥npedom</i>
FLOW	<i>*dhen-, *g^wel(s)-, *h₁ers-, *h_ael-, *leh₂-, *sreu-, *tek-, WC *del-, WC *ser-, GA *dhg^wher-</i>
FLOWER	<i>*h₂éndhes-, NW *bhloh_xdho-</i>
FLOWING (IN RIVER NAMES)	WC <i>*sreumen-</i>
FLY (INSECT)	WC <i>*mus/h_x-</i>
FLY (VERB)	<i>*dih₁-, *pet-, GA *peth_a-</i>
FOAM	<i>*spoh_xino/eh_a</i>
FOLD	<i>*pel-</i>
FOLLOW	<i>*sek^w-, *wreg-</i>
FOLLOWER	<i>*sók^w-h₂-ōi</i>
FOLLOWING	<i>*sek^wo-, WC *pos</i>
FOOD	<i>*h₁edonom</i>
FOOT	<i>*póds, *leh_apeh_a-</i>
FOOTPRINT	<i>*pedom</i>
FOREARM	<i>*bhāghus, *h₃elVn-, WC *h₃elek-</i>
FOREHEAD	<i>*bhólom-, *h₂ent-</i>
FORELEG	<i>*bhāghus</i>
FOREST	<i>*g^worh_x-, NW *widhu</i>
FORGET	<i>*mer-, *mers-</i>
FORK	NW <i>*ghabhlo/eh_a-</i>
FORT	<i>*dhíghs, *pelh_x-, *wriyo/eh_a, NW *dhūnos, WC *bhergh-</i>
FORWARD	<i>*pro</i>
FOUL	WC <i>*g^weidh-</i>
FOUR	<i>*k^wetwóres</i>
FOURTH	<i>*k^wturyós ~ *k^wetwor-tos</i>
FOX	<i>*wl(o)p-</i>
FRAMEWORK	<i>*kred-</i>
FREEZE	<i>*preus-, NW *gel-</i>

FRESH	<i>*ken-</i>
FRIENDLY	NW <i>*keh_aros</i>
FRIGHTEN	<i>*ǵheis-</i>
FRIGHTENING	WC <i>*garǵos</i>
FROG	WC <i>*worh_xdi/o-</i>
FROGSPAWN	NW <i>*krek-</i>
FRONT	<i>*h₂enti</i> , <i>*pǵh_aéh₁</i> , <i>*pǵh_aéi</i> , <i>*próti-h₃(ō)k^w-o/eh_a-</i>
FROST	WC <i>*srīges-</i>
FRUIT	<i>*h_aógeh_a-</i> , <i>*ses(y)ó-</i> , WC <i>*h₁óiwo/eh_a-</i> , WC <i>*sre/ohags</i>
FULL	<i>*p_ǵh₁nós</i>
FURROW	NW <i>*(l(o)iseh_a-</i> , NW <i>*pǵkeh_a-</i> , WC <i>*worwos</i>
GALL	<i>*ǵhóln- ~ *ǵhólos</i>
GAMEBIRD	<i>*teter-</i>
GAP	<i>*ǵhóh₁ros</i>
GAPE	<i>*ǵheh_aw-</i>
GARDEN	<i>*kāpos</i>
GARLIC	WC <i>*kremh_xus</i>
GATE	<i>*dhwōr</i>
GATHER	<i>*kr(e)u-bh-</i> , <i>*lēǵ-</i> , WC <i>*ger-</i> , WC <i>*h₂merg-</i>
GENERATION MARKER (FOURTH)	<i>*h₄ep-</i>
GENERATION MARKER (THIRD)	<i>*pro-</i>
GIFT	<i>*déh₃r/n-</i>
GIRD	<i>*gherdh-</i> , <i>*kenk-</i> , <i>*yéh₃s-</i>
GIVE	<i>*deh₃-</i> , <i>*h_aei-</i> , <i>*reh₁-</i>
GIVE WAY	GA <i>*tyeg^w-</i>
GLANCE AT	<i>*derk-</i>
GLAND	<i>*g^wén-</i> , WC <i>*ghelǵheh_a-</i>
GLEAM	<i>*bherh_xǵ-</i>
GLIDE	<i>*dhreg-</i>
GLITTER	<i>*(s)kand-</i>
GLOW	<i>*ǵwelh_x-</i> , NW <i>*ǵher-</i>
GLUE	WC <i>*kol-</i>
GNAT	<i>*moko-</i> , WC <i>*h₁empis</i> , WC <i>*mus/h_x-</i>
GNAW	<i>*red-</i> , <i>*treg-</i>
GO	<i>*deuh₄-</i> , <i>*ghredh-</i> , <i>*h₁ei-</i> , <i>*h_aet-</i> , <i>*h₁leudh-</i> , <i>*leit(h_x)-</i> , <i>*seh₁(i)-</i> , <i>*sed-</i> , <i>*sent-</i> , <i>*spleiǵh-</i> , <i>*steigh-</i> , <i>*wei(h_x)-</i> , <i>*yeh_a-</i> , NW <i>*meih_x-</i> , WC <i>*h₁el-</i>

GOAT	<i>*bhuǵos</i> , <i>*diks</i> , <i>*h₁eri</i> , <i>*h₄eli-</i> , <i>*h_aeǵós</i> , <i>*h_aeǵs</i> , <i>*kápros</i> , <i>*(s)kégos</i> , NW <i>*ghaidos</i> , WC <i>*koǵhéh_a-</i>
GOD	<i>*deiwós</i> , <i>*dhēh₁s</i> , <i>*h_aénsus</i>
GODDESS (NAME OF)	GA <i>*seren(y)uh_xs</i>
GOD-INSPIRED	<i>*wōtis</i>
GOD OF WAR	? <i>*māwort-</i>
GOLD	<i>*h_aeusom</i>
GOOD	<i>*h₁(e)su-</i> , <i>*mel-</i> , <i>*su-</i> , NW <i>*meh_a(t)-</i>
GOODS	<i>*h₂ó/ép(e)n-</i> , <i>*wósu</i>
GOOSE	<i>*ǵhan-s</i>
GORE	<i>*kréuh_a</i>
GRAIN	<i>*dṛh_xweh_a-</i> , <i>*dhoh_xnéh_a-</i> , <i>*ǵrh_anóm</i> , <i>*h_{2/3}(e)lǵ(h)-</i> , <i>*meiǵ(h)-</i> , <i>*prók̑som</i> , <i>*ses(y)ó-</i> , <i>*yéw(e)s</i> , NW <i>*pitus</i> , WC/PIE? <i>*h₂ed-</i> , WC <i>*melh₂-</i>
GRANDDAUGHTER	<i>*neptih_a-</i>
GRANDFATHER	<i>*h₂euh₂os</i> , <i>*suh_xsos</i> , NW <i>*h₂éuh₂-</i>
GRANDMOTHER	<i>*h₂en-</i> , NW <i>*seno-meh_atér</i> , WC <i>*h₂euh₂ih_a-</i>
GRANDSON	<i>*népōts</i>
GRANDSON OF WATERS	<i>*neptonos</i> ~ <i>*h₂epōm nepōts</i>
GRAPEVINE	<i>*wih₁én</i>
GRASP	<i>*ghrebh-</i> , <i>*h₁ep-</i> , NW <i>*ghreib-</i> , WC <i>*dergh-</i> , WC <i>*kagh-</i> , GA <i>*h_aemh₃-</i>
GRASS	<i>*wel-</i> , WC <i>*koino-</i>
GRAZE	<i>*gras-</i> , <i>*peh₂-</i> , <i>*wes-</i>
GREASE	<i>*sélpes-</i> , <i>*sméru-</i>
GREAT	<i>*meǵh_a-</i>
GREEDY	<i>*las-</i>
GREEN	<i>*kér-</i> ~ <i>*k̑r-wos</i> , <i>*k̑yeh₁-</i> , <i>*modheros</i>
GREENS (EDIBLE)	<i>*k̑eh₁kom</i>
GREY	<i>*k̑as-</i> , <i>*pel-</i> , <i>*p̑h_x-</i>
GRIEF	<i>*h_aénǵhes-</i> , <i>*(p)k̑órmos</i>
GRIEVE	<i>*leug-</i>
GRIND	<i>*h₄el-</i> , <i>*melh₂-</i> , <i>*peis-</i> , <i>*weld-</i> , <i>*wes-</i> , WC <i>*ghrendh-</i>
GRIP	NW <i>*ghreib-</i>
GROAN	<i>*k̑wesh_x-</i> , <i>*(s)tenh_x-</i> , WC <i>*ghromos</i>
GROUND (ON[TO] THE)	<i>*dhǵh(e)m-en</i>
GROVE	WC <i>*némos-</i>
GROW	<i>*bheu(h_x)-</i> , <i>*ǵerh_a-</i> , <i>*h₁leudh-</i> , <i>*h_aeug-</i> , <i>*h_awokséye/o-</i> , <i>*kér-</i> , <i>*meh₁(i)-</i> , <i>*wredh-</i> , WC <i>*h_ael-</i>
GROWL	NW <i>*bhereg-</i> , WC <i>*sner-</i>

GRUNT	WC *g(h)ru(n)(d)-
GUARD	*peh ₂ -
GUEST	NW *ghostis
GULLET	*gut _ɾ , WC *bherug-
GULP	*srebh-
GUMS	NW *ghéh _a (u)-m _ɣ , GA *wólswom
HAIL	*ghel(h ₂)d-, WC *grōdo-, WC *kaghlos
HAIR	*dek̂-, *dhrigh-, *gów _ɣ , *ghait(so)-, *kripo-, *pou-m-s-, *pilos, *pulos, *wendh-, *we/ondhso-, *yóku, NW *k̂er(es)-
HALF	*sēm̃is
HAND	*ghésr-, *ghóstos, *méh _a r
HAND (BELONGING TO LITTLE)	*mei-wos
HANDLE	*h ₂ enseh _a -
HANDLE (SKILFULLY)	*sep-
HANG	*lemb- ~ *remb-, *k̂onk-
HAPPY	*meud-, *teus-
HARD	*kar-, *sth ₂ ei-, NW *saiwos
HARE	*k̂asos
HARM	*dhebh-, *dhwerh _x -, *mel-, *peh ₁ (i)-, WC *sket(h)-
HARROW	*h _{1/4} okéteh _a -
HARVEST	*kerp-, WC *h ₂ merg-
HATE	*h ₃ ed-, *k̂eh _a des-, *peik̂/k̂-
HAUNCH	*k̂lóunis
HAWK	NW *kap-
HAWTHORN	*h ₂ ed(h)-
HAZEL	NW *kós(V)los
HEAD	*ghebhōl, *kapōlo-, *k̂rrēh ₂ , NW *káput
HEADBAND	GA *déh ₁ m̃ _ɳ , GA *puk̂-
HEAL	*med-, WC *bher-, WC *yak(k)-
HEALTHY	WC *kóh _a ilus
HEAP	WC *méuh _x kō(n)
HEAR	*k̂leu-, *k̂leus-
HEART	*k̂ērd
HEARTH	*h ₂ eh _x seh _a -, WC *h ₂ eh _x treh _a -
HEAT	WC *wel-
HEAVY	*g ^w r(e)h _a (-u)-, *tengh-
HEDGE	*ghórdhos, NW *kagh-
HEDGEHOG	*h ₁ eg̃his, WC *ghér
HEEL	*pēnt-, *pérsneh _a -, *sp̃h ₁ ó-
HE-GOAT	*bhugós, *h _a egós, *h ₄ eli-, *kápros

HEIGHT = FORT	WC <i>*bherǵh-</i>
HEIR	<i>*h_{2/3}orbhos</i>
HELLEBORE	WC <i>*kemeros</i>
HELP	NW <i>*kelb-</i>
HEMP	WC <i>*kannabis</i>
HEN	<i>*kerk-</i>
HENBANE	NW <i>*bhel-</i>
HERD	<i>*wrētos</i> , NW <i>*kerdheh_a-</i>
HERDSMAN	<i>*wéstor-</i> , WC <i>*poh₂imén-</i>
HERE	<i>*h₁idh_a</i>
HERNIA	<i>*kéuh_x-</i> , <i>*kéuh_x!</i>
HEW	<i>*keh_au-</i> , <i>*kel-</i>
HIDE (CONCEAL)	<i>*gheigh-</i> , <i>*gheugh-</i> , <i>*kéudh-</i>
HIDE (SKIN)	<i>*h_aeǵinom</i> , <i>*pel-</i> , <i>*(s)kwéh_xtis</i> , WC
	<i>*nák(es)-</i> , WC <i>*péln-</i>
HIGH	<i>*bherǵh-</i> , <i>*bhrǵhús ~ *bhrǵhént-</i> , <i>*h₂erdus</i> ,
	<i>*worh_xdlhus</i>
HIGH ONE	<i>*bhrǵhǵtih_a-</i>
HILL	<i>*bherǵh-</i> , WC <i>*kolh_xōn</i>
HIND/COW-ELK	NW <i>*h₁elh₁nih_a-</i>
HIP	<i>*klóunis</i> , <i>*srēnos/eh_a-</i>
HIRE	<i>*kuh_xs-</i>
HISS	WC <i>*ger-</i>
HOARFROST	WC <i>*ker(s)no-</i>
HOCK	<i>*kenk-</i>
HOE	<i>*mat-</i>
HOLD	<i>*h₂em-</i> , <i>*h₂erk-</i> , <i>*seǵh-</i> , <i>*skabh-</i> , WC
	<i>*(s)lag^w-</i> , WC <i>*twēr-</i> , E <i>*yem-</i>
HOLE	<i>*ǵhh_awos</i> , <i>*kóuh_x!</i>
HOLLOW	<i>*h₂elwos</i> , <i>*kul-</i>
HOLLOW OF (MAJOR) JOINT	<i>*kóks-o/eh_a-</i>
HOLLOW OUT	<i>*kéu(h_x)-</i> , <i>*keus-</i>
HOLY	<i>*kwen(to)-</i> , <i>*noibhos</i> , <i>*sakros</i>
HONE	<i>*keh_x(i)-</i> , <i>*koh_xnos</i>
HONEY	<i>*mélit</i>
HONEY-COLOURED, GOLDEN	<i>*kh_aónks</i>
HONOUR	<i>*dekes-</i> , GA <i>*yaǵ-</i>
HOOF	<i>*koph₂ós</i>
HOOK	<i>*h₂ónkos</i> , <i>*ko(n)gos</i> , WC <i>*kleh_awis</i>
HOOPOE	<i>*h₁epop</i>
HOOT	<i>*ul-</i>
HOP ABOUT	WC <i>*sker-</i>
HORN	<i>*ker-</i> , <i>*kérh₂s</i> , <i>*kérh₂s_ǵ</i> , <i>*kóru</i> , <i>*kǵnom</i>
HORNBEAM	WC <i>*(s)greh_ab(h)-</i>

HORNET	NW * <i>k̑h₂sro-(h_x)on-</i>
HORNLESS	* <i>k̑em-</i>
HORSE	* <i>ǵhéyos</i> , * <i>h₁ék_{wos}</i> , NW * <i>márkos</i> , C * <i>mendyos</i>
HORSEHAIR	* <i>réumn-</i>
HOSTILE	* <i>peik/k̑-</i> , GA * <i>dusmenēs</i>
HOT	* <i>h₂eh_x-</i> , * <i>tep-</i> , NW * <i>keh_xi-</i>
HOUSE(HOLD)	* <i>dóm</i> , * <i>dóm(h_a)os</i> , * <i>k̑éiwos</i> , * <i>pér</i> , WC * <i>k̑óimos</i> ,
HOW	WC * <i>k^weh_am</i>
HOWL	* <i>bukk-</i> , * <i>bhels-</i> , * <i>reu-</i> , * <i>ul-</i> , NW * <i>kǎu-</i> , WC * <i>ger-</i>
HOW MUCH/MANY	* <i>k^wóti</i> ~ * <i>k^wéti</i>
HUE AND CRY	* <i>kreuk̑-</i>
HUM	NW * <i>kem-</i>
HUMBLE	WC * <i>kaunos</i>
HUNDRED	* <i>k̑m̑tóm</i>
HUNGER	* <i>Kos-t-</i> , WC * <i>kenk-</i>
HUNT	* <i>h_aeǵreh_a-</i> , * <i>leuh_x-</i> , * <i>wreg-</i>
HURL	* <i>h₁es-</i>
HURRY	* <i>krob-</i> , * <i>speud-</i>
HUSBAND	* <i>pótis</i> , * <i>wih_xrós</i>
HUSBAND'S BROTHER	* <i>daih_awér</i>
HUSBAND'S BROTHER'S WIFE	* <i>h₁yen_a-ter-</i>
HUSBAND'S SISTER	* <i>ǵ̑h₃wos-</i>
HUSH	WC * <i>swīg/k-</i>
I	* <i>h₁eǵ</i> , * <i>h₁me</i>
ICE	* <i>h₁eih_x(s)-</i> , * <i>yeg-</i>
ICICLE	* <i>yeg-</i>
ILL	* <i>h₃līgos</i> , * <i>swergh-</i> , WC * <i>seug-</i>
IMMEDIATELY	WC * <i>pos</i>
IMMOBILE	* <i>dher-</i>
IMPELS	* <i>ǵhei-</i> , * <i>yeuǵ-</i>
IN	* <i>h₁éndo</i> , * <i>h₁en(i)</i> , * <i>h₁entér</i>
INCLINE	* <i>(w)rep-</i>
INCREASE	* <i>h_aeug-</i>
INFERTILE	* <i>ster-</i>
INFLATED	WC * <i>bhlei-</i>
IN FRONT OF	* <i>h₂enti</i> , * <i>p̑h_aéh₁</i> , * <i>p̑h_aéi</i>
INJURE	WC * <i>sket(h)-</i>
INNARDS	* <i>h₁ent(e)rom</i>
INNER PART	* <i>kok̑es-</i>
INSECT	* <i>k^w̑mis</i> , * <i>mat-</i> , WC * <i>w̑mis</i>

INSECT (BITING)	WC * <i>kóris</i>
INSECT (STINGING)	* <i>moko-</i> , NW * <i>bhik^wó-</i> , WC * <i>h₁empis</i>
INSTRUCT	E * <i>keh_{1s}-</i>
INSULT	*(<i>h_x</i>) <i>neid-</i>
INTERNAL ORGAN	* <i>h₁eh₁tr-</i>
INTERROGATIVE/RELATIVE	* <i>me/o-</i>
INTERTWINE	* <i>mesg-</i>
INTESTINES	* <i>gudóm</i> , * <i>h₁ent(e)rom</i>
INTOXICATOR	* <i>medhwhi_a-</i>
INVITE	* <i>gheu(h_x)-</i>
INVOKE	* <i>gheu(h_x)-</i>
IVORY	? * <i>lebh-</i>
JAW	* <i>génu-</i> , * <i>smek^á-</i> , WC * <i>gonh_adhos</i>
JAY	* <i>kik(y)eh_a-</i>
JEST	WC * <i>loid-</i>
JOIN, FIT TOGETHER	* <i>ghedh-</i> , * <i>h₂ep-</i> , * <i>yeu-</i> , * <i>yeug-</i>
JUICE	* <i>súleh_a-</i>
JUG	WC/PIE? * <i>kelp-</i>
JUMP	* <i>h₁leig-</i> , * <i>lek-</i> , * <i>preu-</i> , * <i>preug-</i> , * <i>skand-</i> , * <i>skek-</i> , WC * <i>keh_ak-</i> , WC * <i>sel-</i>
JUNIPER	WC * <i>h₁elew-</i>
KEEP	NW * <i>bhergh-</i>
KERNEL	* <i>h₁ét(e)no-</i>
KICK	* <i>sperh₁-</i>
KIDNEY	* <i>h₂eh₂(e)r-</i> , WC * <i>neg^whrós</i>
KINDLE	* <i>deh_au-</i>
KING	* <i>h₃rég^ás</i>
KINSHIP LINE (SAME)	WC * <i>somo-g^hh₁-yo-s</i>
KINSMAN (MATERNAL)	WC * <i>méh_atrōus</i>
KINSMAN (PATERNAL)	* <i>ph_oa^htrōus</i>
KISS	* <i>kus-</i>
KITE	GA * <i>k^hyeino-</i> , C * <i>g^hhy-</i> ~ * <i>g^hyei-</i>
KNEE	* <i>gónu</i>
KNEE (BACK OF)	* <i>kenk-</i>
KNIFE	* <i>h_{2/3}nsis</i> , * <i>k^hl^htér</i> , * <i>kostrom</i> ~ * <i>kosd^hrom</i> , * <i>wē-</i> <i>ben</i> , E * <i>kert-</i>
KNOT	* <i>ned-</i>
KNOT (IN WOOD)	* <i>h_xósghos</i>
KNOW	* <i>gneh₃-</i> , * <i>weid-</i> , WC * <i>sap-</i> or * <i>sep-</i>
LACK	* <i>das-</i> , * <i>deu(s)-</i> , * <i>h₁eg-</i> , * <i>menk-</i>
LADY	* <i>pot-nih_a-</i>

LAKE	WC <i>*lokús</i>
LAMB	<i>*wr̥h₁ēn</i> , WC <i>*h_aeg^whnos</i>
LAME	<i>*skauros</i> , <i>*sromós</i>
LAMENT	<i>*glaǵh-</i> , <i>*reudh_a-</i> , WC <i>*ǵem-</i>
LAND	<i>*p_lth₂-ih_a-</i>
LAND (FALLOW)	NW <i>*polkéh_a-</i>
LAND (OPEN)	NW <i>*lendh-</i> , WC <i>*póh_xiweh_a-</i>
LAND (PIECE OF)	<i>*k̑āpos</i>
LARGE	<i>*megh_a-</i> , WC <i>*meh₁ro-</i> ~ <i>*moh₁ro-</i>
LASCIVIOUS	<i>*las-</i>
LAUGH	<i>*ha ha</i> , <i>*kha-</i> , <i>*smei-</i> , WC <i>*sward-</i>
LAW	<i>*dhéh₁mi/men-</i> , <i>*dhéh₁tis</i> , <i>*yéw(e)s-</i>
LAY HAND TO	<i>*klep-</i> , GA <i>*h_aemh₃-</i>
LEAD	<i>*neih_x-</i>
LEADER	<i>*tagós</i> , <i>*w(̑)nákts</i> , WC <i>*koryonos</i> , GA <i>*h_ae- ǵós</i>
LEAF	<i>*bhlh_ad-</i> , WC <i>*bhóliom-</i>
LEAN	<i>*k̑lei-</i> , NW <i>*knei-g^wh-</i>
LEAP	<i>*dher-</i>
LEARN	<i>*men(s)-dh(e)h₁-</i>
LEATHER	NW <i>*letrom</i>
LEAVE	<i>*deuh₄-</i> , <i>*ǵheh₁-</i> , <i>*leh₁d-</i> , <i>*leik^w-</i>
LEAVE A TRACE ON THE GROUND	<i>*leis-</i>
LEECH	<i>*ǵelū-</i>
LEFT	<i>*laiwós</i> , <i>*seuyós</i> , WC <i>*skaiwós</i>
LEG (LOWER)	WC <i>*kónh_am-</i>
LEG (UPPER)	<i>*sók^wt</i>
LEOPARD	<i>*singhós</i>
LEPROSY	<i>*dedrús</i>
LESS	<i>*mei-</i>
LIBATION	<i>*ǵheumn-</i> , WC <i>*leib-</i>
LICK	<i>*leigh-</i> , WC <i>*lab-</i> , WC <i>*lak-</i>
LIE	<i>*k̑ei-</i> , <i>*leg-</i>
LIE (DECEIVE)	NW <i>*leugh-</i>
LIFE	<i>*h_aóyus</i>
LIFT	<i>*kel(h_x)-</i> , <i>*telh₂-</i>
LIGHT (OF WEIGHT)	<i>*h₁le(n)g^wh-</i>
LIGHT (SHINE)	<i>*leukós</i> , <i>*lóuk(es)-</i> , NW <i>*leip-</i> , GA <i>*bhéh₂(e)s-</i> , GA ? <i>*bhéh₂tis</i>
LIGHTNING	NW <i>*meldh-</i>
LIMB	<i>*h₂épes-</i> , WC <i>*méles-</i>
LIMIT	<i>*h₄erh₂os</i>
LIMP	<i>*(s)keng-</i>
LINDEN	WC <i>*lenteh_a-</i>

LINE	<i>*h₄erho-</i> , <i>*reik-</i>
LINEAGE	<i>*s(w)ebh-</i> , <i>*swedh-o-</i>
LINE UP	<i>*ser-</i>
LION	WC <i>*li(w)-</i> , GA <i>*perd-</i>
LIP	<i>*h_xousteh_a-</i> , NW <i>*leb-</i> , WC <i>*gheh_uneh_a-</i>
LIQUID	<i>*h₁res-</i> ~ <i>*h₁ers-</i>
LITTLE	WC <i>*pau-</i>
LIVE	<i>*g^weih₃-</i> , <i>*g^wyeh₃-</i>
LIVER	<i>*lesi-</i> , <i>*yek^w_o(t)</i>
LIVESTOCK	<i>*péku</i>
LOG (TRIMMED)	<i>*k_lits</i>
LOINS	<i>*isg_hhis-</i> , <i>*londhu</i>
LONG (AS)	<i>*yéh_awot(s)</i>
LONG (OF TIME/SPACE)	<i>*dl_oh₁ghós</i> , <i>*dlonghos</i> , <i>*duh_aros</i> , <i>*mak-</i> , <i>*ténus</i> , NW <i>*seh₁ros</i> , WC <i>*makrós</i>
LORD	<i>*w(ŋ)ákts</i>
LOUSE	<i>*lu-</i> (<i>*lus-</i>)
LOUSE EGG	WC <i>*k(o)nid-</i>
LOVE	<i>*keh_a-</i> , <i>*kem-</i> , <i>*ken-</i> , <i>*leubh-</i> , <i>*prih_xeh_a-</i>
LOW (NOISE)	WC <i>*baub-</i>
LOW (POSITION)	<i>*ŋdhés</i> ~ <i>*ŋdhero-</i>
LUNG	<i>*h₁eh₁tr-</i> , <i>*pléumōn</i>
LYING (PLACE FOR)	<i>*léghes-</i>
LYNX	WC <i>*luk-</i>
MADE	GA <i>*k_meh_a-</i>
MAGGOT	<i>*mat-</i>
MAGIC FORCE	WC <i>*keudes-</i>
MAGPIE	NW <i>*k_{ar}h_xka-</i>
MAKE	<i>*kon-</i> , <i>*k^wer-</i> , <i>*yeh₁-</i>
MALE	<i>*g_sén</i> , <i>*wersēn</i>
MAN	<i>*h_anér</i> , <i>*maghus</i> , <i>*méryos</i> , <i>*mVnus</i> , <i>*wih_xrós</i> , NW <i>*dhg_hmōn</i> , GA <i>*mórtos</i>
MAN (ANCESTOR OF HUMANKIND)	<i>*manu-</i>
MANE	<i>*ghait(so)-</i> , <i>*k(e)h_aisVr-</i>
MANY (AS)	GA <i>*yéh_awot(s)</i>
MANY-COLOURED	GA/PIE? <i>*p_lh₁u-poik/kos</i>
MAPLE	<i>*h₂ēkr_o</i> , NW/WC? <i>*kléinus</i>
MARE	<i>*h₁ékweh_a-</i>
MARK	<i>*peik-</i>
MARROW	<i>*mosghos</i> , E <i>*móstr_o</i>
MARRY	<i>*gémh_x-</i> , <i>*h₂wed(h₂)-</i> , WC <i>*sneubh-</i>
MARSH	GA <i>*séles</i>
MARTEN	NW <i>*bhel-</i>

MASH (NOUN)	<i>*korm-</i>
MASTER	<i>*dom(h_a)unos</i> , <i>*h₁esh₂ós</i> , <i>*pótyetoi</i> , <i>*wikpots</i> , GA <i>*dems-pot-</i>
MATERNAL KINSMAN	WC <i>*méh_atrōus</i>
MEAD	<i>*médhu</i>
MEADOW	<i>*wélsu</i> , WC <i>*póh₂iweh_a-</i>
MEAL	<i>*dapnom</i> , <i>*tolko/eh_a-</i> , NW <i>*pitu</i> , WC <i>*dórk^wom</i> ,
MEASURE	<i>*deik̃-</i> , <i>*med-</i> , <i>*méh₁tis</i>
MEAT	<i>*mē(m)s</i>
MEET	WC <i>*mōd-</i>
MELT	<i>*teh_a-</i> , WC <i>*(s)meld-</i>
MEMBER OF ONE'S OWN GROUP	<i>*h₄erós</i>
MERRY	<i>*meud-</i>
METAL	<i>*h_aeyes-</i>
MIDDLE	<i>*(s)me</i>
MIDGE	WC <i>*mus/h_x-</i>
MILITARY ACTION	<i>*leh₂-</i>
MILK	<i>*dhédh₁i-</i> , <i>*g̃(l)ákt</i> , <i>*h_amelg̃-</i> , <i>*ksih_xróm</i> , <i>*(k)sweid-</i> , <i>*pipih_xusi_a</i> , <i>*twóh_xr</i> <i>*h_{2/3}(e)lg̃(h)-</i> , <i>*pano-</i> , WC <i>*melh₂-</i>
MILLET	WC <i>*m₁ph_x-</i>
MINNOW	GA <i>*péh₁m₁</i>
MISFORTUNE	<i>*h₃meigh-</i> , <i>*nébhes -</i> , <i>*sneudh-</i>
MIST	<i>*méles-</i>
MISTAKE	WC <i>*wikso-</i>
MISTRESS	<i>*h₁esh₂éh_a-</i> , <i>*potnih_a-</i>
MIX	<i>*k̃erh_x-</i> , <i>*meik̃-</i> , <i>*yeuh_x-</i>
MOAN	<i>*sten-</i> , WC <i>*g̃em-</i>
MOIST(URE)	<i>*h₁res- ~ *h₁ers-</i> , <i>*m(e)h_ad-</i> , <i>*rós</i> , NW <i>*h₁wes-</i> , NW <i>*leh_at-</i> , NW <i>*senh_xdhr-</i> , WC <i>*teng-</i>
MOON	<i>*méh₁nōt</i> , <i>*(s)kand-</i> , NW <i>*louksneh_a-</i>
MORNING	<i>*prō-</i>
MORTAL	<i>*m₁tós</i> , GA <i>*mórtos</i>
MOSQUITO	WC <i>*mus/h_x-</i>
MOSS	NW <i>*mēus</i>
MOTHER	<i>*g̃enh₁trih_a-</i> , <i>*h₄em-</i> , <i>*h₄en-</i> , <i>*h_aekkeh_a-</i> , <i>*méh_atēr</i> , <i>*m-h₄em-</i> , <i>*n-h₄en-</i>
MOTHER-IN-LAW	<i>*swekrúh_as</i>
MOTHER'S SISTER	WC <i>*meh_atruh_a-</i>
MOTION (BE IN)	<i>*dheu(h₂)-</i>
MOULD	NW <i>*mēus</i>
MOUNTAIN	<i>*g^worh_x-</i>

MOUNTS (SEXUALLY)	<i>*h₄órǵhei</i>
MOURN	<i>*reudh_a-</i>
MOUSE	<i>*mūs, *mūs(tlo)-, *pél(h_x)us</i>
MOUTH	<i>*h_{1/4}óh₁(e)s-, *h_xoust-eh_a-, *stómŋ</i>
MOVE	<i>*dih₁-, *h₁rei-, *h₁eig-, *h₁reih_x-, *meu(h_x)-, *meus-, *sel-, *sperǵh-, *sret-</i>
MOVED	<i>*yeudh-</i>
MOW	<i>*h₂em-, *h₂meh₁-, NW *h₂met-</i>
MUCH (AS)	<i>*pélh₁us, GA *yóti</i>
MUD	<i>*penk-, WC *h_xih_xlu</i>
MUMBLE	<i>*meh₁(i)-</i>
MURMUR	<i>*murmur-</i>
MUSCLE	<i>*mūs(tlo)-</i>
MUSSEL(-SHELL), ETC.	<i>*kónkh_aos</i>
NAIL	<i>*h₃nogh(w)-</i>
NAKED	<i>*ne/og^wnós, NW/WC? *gol(h_x)wos, WC *bhosós</i>
NAME	<i>*h₁nómŋ</i>
NARROW	<i>*h_aenǵhus, WC *sten-</i>
NAVE	<i>*h₃nobh-</i>
NAVEL	<i>*h₃nobh-</i>
NEAR	<i>*h₁epi ~ *h₁opi</i>
NECK	<i>*g^weih₃weh_a-, *mono-, NW *kólsos, WC *h_aenǵh(w)ēn-</i>
NECK ORNAMENT	<i>*mono/i-</i>
NEED	<i>*h₁eg-</i>
NEEDLE	NW <i>*skwēis</i>
NEGLECT	<i>*seh₁(i)-</i>
NEPHEW	<i>*népōts</i>
NEST	<i>*nisdos</i>
NESTLING	<i>*pipp-</i>
NET	<i>*h₁ekt-</i>
NETTLE	WC <i>*ned-</i>
NEW	<i>*néwos</i>
NIECE	<i>*neptih_a-</i>
NIGHT	<i>*k^wsep-, *nek^wt-, *ŋk^wtus</i>
NINE	<i>*h₁newh₁ŋ (*h₁néwh₁ŋ?)</i>
NINTH	<i>*h₁newh₁ŋm/ŋ-mos</i>
NIPPLE	<i>*psténos, NW *speno-</i>
NIT	<i>*rik-, WC *k(o)nid-, C *h_xorghi-</i>
NOBLE	<i>*wesu-</i>
NOD	WC /PIE? <i>*neu-</i>
NOISE	<i>*mug-, WC *b(h)(o)mb(h)-</i>

NOISE (OF ANIMALS)	<i>*bhrem-</i>
NOOK	<i>*ko̥kes-</i>
NORTH WIND	WC <i>*(s)k̑eh₁w(e)r-</i>
NOSE	<i>*h_xnáss</i>
NOT	<i>*mē, *ne</i>
NOURISHING	<i>*wór(h_x)ġs, WC *dheh₁lus-</i>
NOW	<i>*nu-, NW *yam/yau</i>
NUMBER	WC <i>*h_arei(h_x)-</i>
NUT	NW <i>*kneu-, WC /PIE? *h₂er-</i>
O	<i>*ō</i>
OAK	NW <i>*pérk^wus, WC *h_aeig-</i>
OAR	<i>*h₁erh₁trom</i>
OATH	<i>*h₁óitos</i>
OATS	<i>*h_aewis</i>
OBSERVE	<i>*bheudh-, *(s)pek̑-</i>
OBVIOUS	<i>*h₃ēwis</i>
OFFER (MAKE AN OFFERING)	<i>*spend-</i>
OFFSPRING (ANIMAL)	<i>*per-</i>
OFFSPRING (HUMAN)	<i>*teknom</i>
OIL	<i>*sēlpes-, *sméru-</i>
OLD	<i>*sénos</i>
OLD MAN	<i>*ġerh_aont-, *ġerh_aos</i>
OLD WOMAN	<i>*h₄en-, *n-h₄en-</i>
ON	<i>*h₁epi ~ *h₁opi</i>
ONCE	<i>*sem-</i>
ONE	<i>*h₁oinos</i>
ONE-EYED	<i>*kolnós, NW/PIE? *káikos</i>
ONE OR THE OTHER OF TWO	WC <i>*sm̑teros</i>
OOZE OUT	<i>*weis-</i>
OPEN	<i>*reu(h_x)-</i>
OPEN SPACE	<i>*réuh_xes-</i>
OPINION	<i>*meino-</i>
OPPRESS	NW <i>*wreg-</i>
OR	<i>*-wē</i>
ORACLE (CONSULT AN)	<i>*h_{1/4}er-</i>
ORDER	<i>*h_aértus, *yéw(e)s-</i>
ORPHAN	<i>*h_{2/3}orbhos</i>
OTHER	<i>*h_aélyos, NW *h₁ónteros</i>
OTTER	<i>*udrós</i>
OUT	<i>*ud-, WC *h₁eġhs</i>
OVER	<i>*per, *(s-)h₄upér(i)</i>
OVERCOME	<i>*g^wyeh_a-, *terh₂-</i>
OVERFLOW	<i>*bhleu-, *seik-</i>

OVERSEE	*werb(h)-
OWL	*b(e)u-, *h _{2/3} uh ₁ e/olo-, *ulu-, NW *kǎu-
OWN	*prih _x ós, *sewos
OX	*uk ^(w) sēn-
PACKED	*dheb-
PADDLE	*h ₁ erh ₁ trom
PAIN	*h ₁ édwōl
PAINT	*peik-
PALE	*bhrodhnós, *p _l h _x -
PALM (OF THE HAND)	WC *dhén _o , WC *pólh _a m
PANTHER	GA *perd-
PAP	WC *polt-
PASS	*per-, *serK-
PASSAGE	*pértus, *sentos
PASS THE NIGHT	*h ₂ wes-
PASS THROUGH	*ked-
PASTORAL GOD	GA *péh ₂ usōn
PASTURE	*wélsu
PATCH	WC *ként _r /n-
PATERNAL KINSMAN	*p _h a _o trōus
PATH	*póntōh ₂ s, *stighs
PAW	*leh _a p-eh _a -
PAY	*k ^w rei(h _a)-
PAY ATTENTION	*bheudh-
PAYMENT	*h ₂ elg ^w ho/eh _a -
PEA	WC *h ₁ ereg ^w o-
PEAK	*wers-
PEEL	*leup-, WC *lep-
PEG	WC *dhúbhos
PELT	WC *nák(es)-
PENIS	*kápr, *péses-
PEOPLE	WC *déh _a mos, *h ₁ leudhos, *leh ₂ wós, WC/PIE? *teutéh _a -, WC *h ₁ leudheros, WC *pleh ₁ dhwéh ₁ s
PERCEIVE	*h ₃ eu-, *keuh ₁ -, *k ^w ei-, *seh _a g-, *(s)keuh ₁ -, *wer-, NW *ghou-, NW *sent-
PERCH (FISH)	NW *h _a ékú-
PERISH	*dhg ^w hei-, *nek-
PERSON	*h _a nér, GA *mórtos
PERSUADE	WC *bheidh-
PERTAINING TO WHOM/WHAT	*k ^w oih _x os
PHANTOM	*dthroughos

PHYSICAL POWER	*g ^w ye _h _a -
PICK AT	WC *knab(h)-
PIERCE	*dhwer-, *h _{2/3} weg(h)-, *terh ₁ -, NW *dhelg-, WC *g ^w el-,
PIG	*pór _k os, *sūs, NW *keul-, C *ghor-
PIKEPERCH	*ghérsos
PILE UP	*k ^w ei-
PILLAR	NW *sth ₂ bho/eh _a -, C *k _i h _x won-
PIMPLE	*w _ṛ h _x os
PIN	NW *dhelg-
PINE	*kóss, *péuk _s , NW *prk ^(w) eh _a -
PITCH	*g ^w étu, WC *g ^w ih ₃ wo-, WC *pik-
PLACE	*stéh ₂ tis
PLAIT	*kert-, *melk-, *plek _s -, *resg-, *weg-, *wei(h ₁)-
PLANK	NW *plut-, WC *bhélh _a ġs, WC *k _l h _x ro-s, WC *swel- ~ *sel-
PLATE	*tek _s teh _a -
PLAY	WC *loid-
PLEASE	*pleh _a k-, *sweh _a de/o-
PLEASING (TO THE SENSES)	*sweh _a dus
PLOUGH	*ghel-, *h ₂ érh ₃ ye/o-, *mat-
PLOUGHSHARE	WC *wog ^w hnis
PLUCK	*kerp-, *reu(h _x)-, NW *pleus-, WC *h ₁ rep-
PLUM-COLOURED	NW *slih _x u-
POET	NW *wōt-, GA *kāru-
POINT	*bh _ṛ stis, *h _a ér _s dhis
POINTED OBJECT	NW *bharko-
POINT OUT	*bhoudhéye/o-
POISON	*wíss
POKE	WC *peug-
POLE	NW *perg-, NW *reh ₁ t-, NW *tenghs-, WC *ghalgheh _a -, WC *(s)teg-
POLECAT	*kek _s -
POND	WC *lokús
POPLAR	*h _{2/3} osp-
POPPY	WC *mak-
PORRIDGE	WC *polt-
POSSESS	*h _a eik _s -
POSSESSIONS	*lóik ^w nes-, *réh ₁ is
POST	*k _l its, *míts, *swer-, *stéh ₂ ur, NW *masdos, NW *perg-, NW *reh ₁ t-, NW *sth ₂ bho/eh _a -, WC *kroku- ~ *krókyeh _a -, WC *k _s ulom, WC *(s)teg-, WC *st _l neh _a -, C *k _i h _x won-

POT	<i>*h_{2/3}uk^w-</i> , <i>*k^werus-</i> , <i>*poh₃tlom</i> , <i>*teksteh_a-</i> , NW <i>*bhidh-</i> , WC/PIE? <i>*kelp-</i> , WC <i>*kuh_xp-</i> , WC <i>*louh₁trom</i> , WC <i>*póth_{ad}x</i> , WC <i>*(s)pondh(-n)os</i> , C <i>*gh(e)utreh_a-</i>
POUND	<i>*pis-</i> , <i>*wes-</i>
POUR	<i>*gh<u>eu</u>-</i> , <i>g^wyeh_a-</i> , <i>*leh₂-</i> , <i>*seik-</i> , NW <i>*gh<u>eu</u>d-</i> , WC <i>*leib-</i>
POWER	WC <i>*yeh₁g^weh_a-</i> , GA <i>*ish₁ros</i>
POWERFUL	<i>*k<u>ou</u>h₁ros</i>
PRAISE	<i>*g^werh_x-</i> , <i>*h₁erk^w-</i> , <i>*kar-</i> , GA <i>*steu-</i>
PRAY	<i>*g^whedh-</i> , <i>*h_{1/4}er-</i> , <i>*h₂eru-</i> , <i>*meldh-</i> , <i>*telh_x-</i>
PREGNANT	<i>*k<u>eu</u>h₁-</i>
PREPARE(D)	<i>*h_aer-</i> , GA <i>*k<u>m</u>eh_a-</i>
PRESS	<i>*menk-</i> , <i>*nak-</i> , <i>*prem-</i> , <i>*pu<u>k</u>-</i> , NW <i>*m<u>a</u>k-</i> , NW <i>*wreg-</i> , WC <i>*gem-</i> , WC <i>*kem-</i> , WC <i>*treud-</i> , GA <i>*pisd-</i>
PRICK	<i>*kel-</i> , <i>*steig-</i> , WC <i>*peug-</i>
PRIEST	<i>*bhert<u>or</u></i> , <i>*bhlaghm<u>en</u></i> , <i>*pent-</i> + <i>*dheh₁-</i> / <i>*k^wer-</i> , GA <i>*kouh₁ei(s)</i>
PRIZE	<i>*h₂elg^who/eh_a-</i> , <i>*misdh<u>os</u></i> , NW <i>*lau-</i>
PROJECT	<i>*men-</i>
PROJECTION	NW <i>*bhar-</i>
PROPEL	E <i>*kerh_x-</i>
PROPOSE (MARRIAGE)	<i>*per<u>k</u>-</i>
PROP UP	<i>*stembh-</i>
PROSPER	<i>*speh₁(i)-</i>
PROTECT	<i>*gheigh-</i> , <i>*gheugh-</i> , <i>*h_alek-</i> , <i>*ser-</i> , <i>*werb(h)-</i> , NW <i>*bhergh-</i>
PUBIC HAIR	<i>*ku<u>k</u>is</i>
PULL	<i>*deuk-</i> , <i>*dhreg-</i> , <i>*h₄welk-</i> , <i>*selk-</i> , <i>*ten-</i> , <i>*teng(h)-</i> , <i>*ten-s-</i> , NW <i>*dhreg(h)-</i> , WC <i>*strenk-</i>
PULL OUT (WOOL)	<i>*pek-</i> , <i>*reu(h_x)-</i>
PUNISH	<i>*k^wei-</i>
PURCHASE	<i>*wesno-</i>
PURE	<i>*seup-</i> , GA <i>*h_aidhr<u>os</u></i>
PUS	WC <i>*pu<u>h</u>_xes-</i>
PUSH	<i>*reudh-</i> , <i>*(s)peud-</i> , <i>*(s)teud-</i> , <i>*wedh-</i> , NW <i>*skeubh-</i> , NW <i>*telk-</i> , E <i>*neud-</i>
PUT ASUNDER	<i>*wi-dhh₁-</i>
PUT IN ORDER	<i>*reh₁-</i> , <i>*sem-</i>
PUT IN PLACE	<i>*dheh₁-</i> , <i>*stel-</i> , <i>*yet-</i>
PUT ON CLOTHES/SHOES	<i>*h₁eu-</i>
PUTREFACTION	WC <i>*pu<u>h</u>_xes-</i>
PUT TOGETHER	<i>*dhabh-</i> , <i>*h_aer-</i>

QUAIL	GA *wortok ^w -
QUARREL	*h ₃ enh ₂ -
QUERN	*g ^w réh _x -won-
QUICK	NW *h ₂ ēh _x tro-
QUIET	*h ₁ erh ₁ -, *k ^w eih ₁ -, *ses-, NW/PIE? *t(e)h ₂ u-s-, NW *lēnos, NW *(s)tel-
RAIN	*dhreg-, *h ₁ wers-, *ḡbh(ro/ri)-, *suh _x -, WC *h _a eghlu (ǵh?), WC *mreggh-
RAISE	*kel-, *telh ₂ -
RAKE	*h _{1/4} ek-, *h _{1/4} okéteh _a -, *h ₂ eh ₂ er-
RAM	*moisés
RATTLE	WC *sner-
RAVEN	*k Vr-C-
RAW	*h ₂ em-, *h ₂ omós
RAZOR	GA *ksuróm
REACH	*tem-
REACH FOR	*seik-
REAL	*h ₁ sónt-
REAR-END	*h ₁ órs(o)-, WC *n(o)h _x t-
RECITE	*(s)pel-
RED	*h ₁ ei-, *h ₁ elu-, *h ₁ reudh-, *kóounos
RED DEER	*h ₁ elh ₁ ēn
RED FOX	*wl(o)p-
REED	*h _a er-, *nedós, NW *yoinis, WC *don-, WC *trus-, E *g(h)rewom
REFRESH	*h _{1/4} eis-
REINS	*h ₂ ensiyo/eh _a -
REJOICE	*geh _a -, *geh _a dh-, *geh _a u-
RELATION	*bhendh _ḡ ros
RELEASE	*leuh _x -, *selǵ-, *TerK-
REMAIN	*men-
REMAINS	*(h ₁ eti)loik ^w os
REMEMBER	*(s)mer-
REMOVE	*meus-
REND	*h ₂ erk-, *rendh-, WC *lak-
REPROACH	*h ₁ lengh-
REPULSE	*(s)peud-
RESIN	*sok ^w ós
RESOUND	*gerg-, *klun-, *swenh _x -, WC *(s)weh _a gh-
REST	*k ^w eih ₁ -, *ses-
RESTITUTION	*serk-
RETURN HOME	*nes-
REVEL	WC *ghleu-

REVERE	<i>*k^weh₁(i)-</i>
REVILE	<i>*pih_x(y)-</i>
REWARD	<i>*misdhós</i>
RIB	<i>*pérkus</i>
RICH	GA <i>*h₁su-dhh₁énos</i>
RICH IN MILK	<i>*pipih_xusih_a</i>
RIDE	<i>*weġh-</i> , NW <i>*reidh-</i>
RIGHT	<i>*dék_sinos</i> , <i>*h₃reġtos</i>
RING	<i>*ānos</i> , NW <i>*nedskéh_a-</i>
RISE	<i>*swelno-</i>
RIVER	<i>*deh_anu-</i> , <i>*h₂eb(h)-</i>
RIVER BANK	WC <i>*h_aeh_xperos(?)</i>
RIVER NAME	<i>*drewentih₂-</i>
ROAD	<i>*h₁éitr_o-</i> , WC <i>*weġhyeh_a-</i>
ROAR	<i>*reu-</i>
ROAST	<i>*bher-</i> , <i>*bhrg-</i> , <i>*h₃ep-</i> , WC <i>*bhōg-</i>
ROCK	<i>*peru-</i>
ROD	<i>*swer-</i>
ROEDEER	WC <i>*yórks</i>
ROOF	<i>*h₁rebh-</i> , NW <i>*krópos</i> , WC <i>*(s)téges-</i>
ROOM	<i>*ket-</i>
ROOM (HAVE)	<i>*telp-</i>
ROOT	<i>*ālu-</i> , WC <i>*wr(h_a)d-</i>
ROT	<i>*peu(h_x)-</i>
ROUGH	<i>*kreup-</i>
ROW (BOAT)	<i>*h₁erh₁-</i>
ROW (SERIES)	<i>*wórghs</i>
RUB	<i>*bhes-</i> , <i>*kseu-</i> , <i>*merd-</i> , WC <i>*ter(i)-</i> , WC <i>*treu(h_x)-</i>
RUDE	NW <i>*saiwos</i>
RULE	<i>*deik̂-</i> , <i>*pótyetoi</i> , <i>*wal-</i> , GA <i>*tkeh₁-</i>
RULER	<i>*h₃réġs</i>
RUMBLE	<i>*ghrem-</i>
RUMEN	<i>*reumn-</i>
RUMP	<i>*bulis</i>
RUN	<i>*bhegw-</i> , <i>*dreh_a-</i> , <i>*drem-</i> , <i>*dreu-</i> , <i>*dhen-</i> , <i>*kers-</i> , <i>*reth₂-</i> , <i>*tek-</i> , NW <i>*tregh-</i> , WC <i>*dhregh-</i> , GA/PIE? <i>*dheu-</i>
RUSH (REED)	<i>*nedós</i> , NW <i>*yoinis</i> , WC <i>*trus-</i> , E <i>*g(h)re-wom</i>
RYE	<i>*h_aéreh_a-</i> , NW <i>*rughis</i>
SACRED POWER	GA <i>*ish₁ros</i>
SACRIFICE	<i>*h_aed-bher-</i> , <i>*tolko/eh_a-</i>

SACRIFICIAL ANIMAL	WC <i>*dibhro-</i> ~ <i>*dībhro-</i>
SACRIFICIAL MEAL	<i>*dapnom</i> , <i>*tolko/eh_a-</i>
SALMONID	<i>*lók_s</i> , NW <i>*st_ŕ(h_x)yon-</i>
SALT	<i>*seh_a-(e)l-</i>
SAME	<i>*somos</i>
SAND	WC <i>*samh_xdhos</i>
SAP	<i>*sap-</i> ~ <i>*sab-</i> , <i>*sok^wós</i>
SATISFACTION	<i>*térptis</i> , NW <i>*séht₂tis</i>
SATISFIED	<i>*spéh₁-</i>
SATISFY	<i>*seh₂(i)-</i> , <i>*terp-</i> , WC <i>*sh₂tós</i>
SAY	<i>*g^wet-</i> , <i>*h₁eg̃-</i> , <i>*(s)pel-</i> , <i>*(s)wer-</i> , WC <i>*sek^w-</i>
SAYING	WC <i>*bheh_ameh_a-</i>
SCABBY	<i>*kreup-</i>
SCARE	<i>*terg^w-</i>
SCATTER	<i>*(s)ked-</i>
SCRAPE	<i>*merd-</i> , <i>*red-</i>
SCRATCH	<i>*drep-</i> , <i>*kars-</i> , <i>*rei-</i> , <i>*reik-</i> , NW <i>*skebh-</i> , WC <i>*(s)grebh-</i>
SCREAM	NW <i>*weh_ab-</i>
SCREAM (OF BIRDS)	WC <i>*kla(n)g-</i>
SCROTUM	<i>*h₁endró_s</i>
SCUTTLE ALONG	<i>*lek-</i>
SEA	<i>*móri</i>
SEASON	<i>*(h₁)yēro/eh_a-</i> ,
SEAT	<i>*sedes-</i> , WC <i>*sedlom</i> , WC <i>*sedros</i>
SECOND	<i>*dwi-yos</i> ~ <i>*dwi-tos</i>
SEE	<i>*derk̃-</i> , <i>*leġ̃-</i> , <i>*leuk-</i> , <i>*sek^w-</i> , <i>*weid-</i> , <i>*wel-</i> , <i>*wet-</i> , GA <i>*h₃ek^w-</i>
SEED	NW <i>*seh₁men-</i>
SEEK	<i>*h_aeis-</i> , <i>*seh_ag-</i> , <i>*sen(h_a)-</i>
SEEP	WC <i>*stag-</i>
SEER	NW <i>*wōt-</i>
SEETHE	<i>*bher-</i> , <i>*bhreu-</i> , WC <i>*k^wap-</i>
SEIZE	<i>*ghabh</i> , <i>*h₁ep-</i> , <i>*kap-</i> , <i>*la(m)bh-</i> , WC <i>*ghe(n)dh-</i> , WC <i>*sel-</i>
SELF	<i>*séwe</i>
SELL	<i>*pel-</i>
SEND OUT	<i>*selġ-</i>
SEPARATE(D)	<i>*widh-</i> , GA <i>*h₁er(h₁)-</i>
SERVANT	<i>*h₂entbhi-k^wolos</i> , <i>*h₄upo-sth₂i/o-</i> , NW <i>*slou-gos</i>
SET	<i>*sed-</i> , NW <i>*dheig^w-</i>

SET IN MOTION	<i>*h₁eis-</i> , <i>*h₁er-</i> , <i>*h₂lei-</i> , <i>*h₃er-</i> , <i>*kei-</i> , <i>*seuh₃-</i> , <i>*wegh-</i> (<i>*wegh_h-?</i>), <i>*yeudh-</i> , NW <i>*pelh_a-</i> , E <i>*weip-</i>
SET IN PLACE	<i>*lāg-</i>
SETTLE	GA <i>*t_hkei-</i>
SETTLEMENT	<i>*wiks</i> , NW <i>*solo/eh_a-selo-</i> , GA <i>*t_hk_itis</i>
SEVEN	<i>*sept_hē</i>
SEVENTH	<i>*septm-mós</i>
SEW	<i>*syuh₁-</i>
SEX ORGAN	GA <i>*muskós</i>
SHADE	<i>*skōy_h_a</i> , WC <i>*skótos</i>
SHADOW	WC <i>*skótos</i>
SHAFT (OF A CART OR WAGON)	<i>*h_{2/3}éih₁os</i>
SHAKE	<i>*kseubh-</i> , <i>*trem-</i> , <i>*wegh-</i> (<i>*wegh_h-?</i>), NW <i>*kret-</i> , NW <i>*kreut</i> , NW <i>*(s)ku(n)t-</i> , WC <i>*k^wat-</i> , GA <i>*tweis-</i>
SHALLOW WATER?	WC <i>*ten_h_ag-</i>
SHAME	<i>*(p)kórmos</i> , WC <i>*h_aeig^whes-</i> , GA <i>*h_aēgos</i>
SHARP	<i>*h₂ék-</i> , <i>*kent-</i> , NW <i>*saiwos</i>
SHARPEN	<i>*keh_x(i)-</i> , NW <i>*k^wed-</i>
SHAVE	<i>*kseubh-</i> , <i>*werġ-</i> , NW <i>*skebh-</i>
SHEATFISH	<i>*(s)k^wálos</i> , WC <i>*k_hamos</i>
SHEEP	<i>*h₁eri-</i> , <i>*h₂ówis</i> , <i>*moisés</i> , <i>*(s)kēgos</i>
SHE-WOLF	<i>*w_lk^wih_a-</i>
SHIELD	<i>*spelo/eh_a-</i> , NW <i>*skéits</i>
SHIMMER	<i>*mer-</i>
SHIN	WC <i>*kónh_am</i>
SHINE	<i>*bheh₂-</i> , <i>*bhel-</i> , <i>*bherh_xġ-</i> , <i>*bhleg</i> , <i>*dei-</i> , <i>*deiw-</i> , <i>*ghel-</i> , <i>*h_aewes-</i> , <i>*k_heuk-</i> , <i>*lap-</i> , <i>*leuk-</i> , <i>*mer-</i> , <i>*(s)kand-</i> , <i>*(s)plend-</i> , <i>*sweid-</i> , NW <i>*ġher-</i> , NW <i>*leip-</i> , C <i>*h₂eug-</i>
SHINING	WC <i>*g^whaidrós</i>
SHOE	WC <i>*k_hrh₁pís</i>
SHOOT (PLANT)	<i>*h_aenkulos</i>
SHOOT (THROW)	<i>*(s)keud-</i>
SHORE	WC <i>*h_aeh_xperos</i> (?)
SHORT	<i>*m_hġhus</i>
SHOULDER	<i>*dous-</i> , <i>*h_{1/4}ómsos</i> , <i>*h_aek_sleh_a-</i> , <i>*pl(e)t-</i> , <i>*(s)k_hup-</i> , <i>*pl(e)t-</i>
SHOULDER BLADE	<i>*h_aek_s-</i>
SHOULDER JOINT	<i>*ġar-</i> , WC <i>*yu-</i>
SHOUT	<i>*deik_h-</i> , <i>*d(h)ek^ws-</i>
SHOW	
SHREW	WC <i>*sw(o)r-/</i> <i>*sworaks</i>

SHRINK	<i>*reuk/g-</i> , <i>*tenk-</i>
SICK	WC <i>*seug-</i>
SICKLE	<i>*srpo/eh_a-</i>
SICKNESS	<i>*h₁ermen-</i> , <i>*sokto-</i>
SIDE	<i>*poksós</i> , WC <i>*teig^w-</i>
SIDE BY SIDE	<i>*ko(m)</i>
SIDES (ON BOTH)	<i>*h₂entbhi-</i>
SIEVE	NW <i>*kreidhrom</i>
SIFT	WC <i>*seh₁(i)-</i>
SIGH	<i>*k^hwesh_x-</i>
SIGN	WC <i>*ġnéh₃m_ŋ</i>
SILENT	<i>*t(e)h₂u-s-</i> , NW <i>*tak</i> , WC <i>*swīg/k-</i>
SILVER	<i>*h₂erġntom</i> , NW <i>*silVbVr-</i>
SINEW	<i>*snēh₁wr_o</i> , WC <i>*g^whih_x(slo)-</i>
SING	<i>*geh₁(i)-</i> , <i>*h₁eus-</i> , <i>*k^hseh₁-</i> , <i>*pei-</i> , <i>*seng^wh-</i> , WC/PIE? <i>*kan-</i> , WC <i>*ghel-</i>
SINGE	NW <i>*senk-</i>
SINGLE ONE	<i>*semgo(lo)s</i>
SISTER	<i>*swésōr</i>
SISTERLY	<i>*swesr(iy)ós</i>
SISTER'S HUSBAND	<i>*ġ(e)m(h_x)ros</i>
SISTER'S SON	<i>*swesr(iy)ós</i> , NW <i>*swesrih_xnos</i>
SIT	<i>*h₁ēs-</i> , <i>*sed-</i>
SIX	<i>*kswek̑s</i>
SIXTH	<i>*kswek̑sos</i>
SIXTY	<i>*kswek̑s- kōmt(h_a)</i>
SKIN	<i>*h₁owes-</i> , <i>*kérmen-</i> , <i>*moisós</i> , <i>*(s)kwéh_xtis</i> , <i>*twéks</i> , <i>*wer-</i> , WC <i>*pēln-</i>
SKIN ERUPTION	<i>*dedrús</i>
SKULL	<i>*kapōlo-</i>
SKY	<i>*nébhes-</i>
SKY DAUGHTER	<i>*dhuġh_atēr diwós</i>
SKY FATHER	<i>*dyēus ph_atēr</i>
SLACK	WC <i>*(s)lag- ~ *(s)leh₂g-</i>
SLAG	NW <i>*senh_xdhr-</i>
SLEEP(Y)	<i>*der-</i> , <i>*ses-</i> , <i>*swep-</i> , <i>*swópnos</i> , E <i>*k_oh_xm(-s)-</i>
SLICK	<i>*(s)meug- ~ *(s)meuk-</i>
SLIDE	<i>*(s)leidh-</i> , NW <i>*sleubh-</i>
SLIMY	<i>*(s)lei-</i>
SLING	WC <i>*(s)bhondneh_a</i>
SLIPPERY	<i>*(s)lei-</i> , <i>*(s)meug- ~ *(s)meuk-</i>
SLUG	WC <i>*sleimak-</i>
SMASH	WC <i>*bhreus-</i>
SMEAR	<i>*h₃eng^w-</i> , <i>*h_alei-</i> , <i>*leip-</i> , WC <i>*smeid-</i>

SMELL (STINK)	WC <i>*h₃ed-</i>
SMILE	<i>*smei-</i>
SMITH GOD	<i>*w_lkānos ~ *w_lkeh_anos</i>
SMOKE	<i>*dhuh₂mós, WC *k^wap-, WC *(s)m(e)ug(h)-</i>
SMOOTH	NW <i>*ghleh_xdh-(ro)-</i>
SMOULDER	<i>*(s)mel-, *swelp-</i>
SNAIL	WC <i>*sleimak-</i>
SNAKE	<i>*h₁óg^whis, NW *néh₁tr- ~ *nh₁tr-, WC *h_aéng^whis</i>
SNATCH	WC <i>*h₁rep-</i>
SNEAK UP ON	<i>*(t)sel-</i>
SNEEZE	<i>*pster-, *skeu-, WC *pneu-</i>
SNORE	WC <i>*srenk-</i>
SNORT	WC <i>*pneu-</i>
SNOW	<i>*dhreg-, *gheim-, *sneig^wh-, *snig^wh-s, WC *kér(s)no-</i>
SOAK	WC <i>*teng-</i>
SOFT	<i>*meldh-, *mel(h₁)-, NW *l(e)nto-, C *menkus</i>
SO MANY	<i>*téh_awot(s), WC *tóti</i>
SOME	<i>*smós</i>
SO MUCH	WC <i>*tóti</i>
SON	<i>*putlós, *suh_xnús, *suh_xyús</i>
SONG	<i>*sh₂ómen-</i>
SON-IN-LAW	<i>*gomh_x-ter-, WC *g_mh_x-ro-s</i>
SON'S WIFE	<i>*snusós</i>
SOON	<i>*mo_ks</i>
SOOT	<i>*reh₁mós</i>
SORCERY	NW <i>*soito/eh_a-</i>
SORT (OF WHAT)	NW <i>*k^weh_ak-, WC *k^weh_ali</i>
SORT OR SIZE (OF THAT)	WC <i>*teh_ali</i>
SOUND	<i>*dhwen-, *ghwonos, *k_léutrom</i>
SOUR	<i>*h₂emros, NW *suh_xros</i>
SOW (VERB)	<i>*seh₁-, *sper-</i>
SPARROW	<i>*sper-</i>
SPEAK	<i>*gal, *h₁eug^wh-, *h_{1/4}ōr-, *mleuh_x-, *rek-, *(s)wer-, *ter-, *weg^wh-, *wek^w-, NW *tolk^w-, WC *bheh_a-, WC *(s)preg- *ghaisós, *g^wéru, *kúh_xlos, WC *h₁neghes-, WC *h_aeiksmo/eh_a-</i>
SPEAR	<i>*kel(h_x)-</i>
SPEARPOINT	<i>*perk_l-</i>
SPECKLED	<i>*h_xolu-</i>
SPELL	<i>*(s)py(e)uh_x-, *wémh_xmi</i>
SPEW	<i>*melk-, *(s)pen-</i>
SPIN	<i>*h_aénsus, NW *dhwes-, WC *lem-</i>
SPIRIT	

SPIT (SPEAR)	*g ^w éru, *kúh _x los, WC *h _a eíksmo/eh _a -
SPIT (SPEW)	*(s)py(e)uh _x -
SPLEEN	*sploigh ₂ -én
SPLINTER	*kókolos
SPLIT	*bheid-, *bher-, *del-, *drep-, *skel-, *wag-
SPONGY	WC *swombhos
SPOTTED	*píksko-, NW *rei-, GA *kérberos
SPOUSE	WC *sm ₁ -loghos
SPREAD OUT	*peth _a -, *pelh _a k-, *pleth ₂ -, *ster-, NW *kleh _a -
SPRING (SEASON)	*wésr
SPRING (WATER)	WC *bhreh ₁ wr̥, WC *krsneh _a , E *h _a élmós
SPRINKLE	*pers-, NW *sperh _x g-
SPROUT	WC *dhal-
SPURN	*sperh ₁ -
SPUTTER	*(s)pr̥h _x g-
SQUEEZE	*bhrak-, *nak-, WC *gem-
SQUIRREL	*werwer-
STAB	*h ₁ negh-, WC *g ^w el-
STAFF	NW *ghasdhos
STAG	WC *bhrentós
STAKE	*míts, WC/PIE? *wálsos, WC *ghalgheh _a -, WC *kúsúlom, WC *(s)kōlos
STALK	*kólh _x ōm, WC *kaulós
STALL	*mand-
STAMMER	*balba- ~ barbar-
STAND	*(s)teh ₂ -, *stembh-, *wredh-
STAR	*h ₂ stēr
STARLING	NW *storos
STATURE	*stéh ₂ mōn
STEAL	*mus-, *(s)teh ₄ -, *teubh-, WC *ster-
STEAM	*wápōs
STEM	*kólh _x ōm
STEP	*ghredh-, *ghengh-, *spleigh-, *steigh-
STICK (ADHERE)	*leip-, NW *dheig ^w -
STICKY	*(s)lei-
STIFF	*(s)terh ₁ -, *st(h ₂)eug-
STIFFEN (OF HAIR)	*ghers-
STILL	NW *(s)tel-
STING	NW *dhelg-, WC *g ^w el-
STINGER	WC *g ^w elōn
STINK	*peu(h _x)-, *pū- (*puh _x -?), *weis-
STIR	*menth ₂ -, *twer-
STIR UP	*yeudh-, *yeuġ-
STOAT	NW *kormon-

STOMACH	<i>*g^wétus</i> , <i>*pant-</i> , <i>*udero-</i> , <i>*ud^rtero-</i>
STONE	<i>*h₄ék^mōn</i> , <i>*pel(i)s</i> , WC <i>*leh₁-w-</i> , WC <i>*lep-</i>
STOREROOM	<i>*gubho/eh_a-</i> , <i>*kēls</i>
STORK	<i>*(s)ter-</i>
STRANGER	NW <i>*ghostis</i>
STRAP	WC <i>*(s)bhondneh_a</i>
STRAW	<i>*kólh_xōm</i>
STRENGTH	<i>*h_aén_g</i> , <i>*h_aeuges-</i> , <i>*wéih_x(e)s-</i> , <i>*wór(h_x)ġs</i>
STRETCH	<i>*h₃reġ-</i> , <i>*pet-</i> , <i>*temp-</i> , <i>*ten-</i> , NW <i>*reiġ-</i>
STREW	<i>*sper-</i> , <i>*ster(h₃)-</i> , NW <i>*sperh_xg-</i>
STREWN PLACE	<i>*ster(h₃)m_g</i>
STRIKE	<i>*bhei(h_x)-</i> , <i>*bher-</i> , <i>*g^when-</i> , <i>*keh_au-</i> , <i>*kel-</i> , <i>*kreu(-s)-</i> , <i>*per-</i> , <i>*pyek-</i> , <i>*steup-</i> , <i>*wedh-</i> , <i>*wel(h₂)-</i> , <i>*wen-</i> , NW <i>*bheud-</i> , NW <i>*bhlaġ-</i> , NW <i>*slak-</i> , WC <i>*bhlih_xġ-</i> , WC <i>*deph_x-</i> , WC <i>*g^wel-</i> , WC <i>*kelh₁-</i> , WC <i>*pleh_ak/g-</i> , GA <i>*t^ken-</i>
STRIKE ONE'S BREASTS	WC <i>*pleh_ak/g-</i>
STRING	WC <i>*strenk-</i>
STRIP	<i>*(s)pel-</i> , WC <i>*lep-</i>
STRIPED	NW <i>*rei-</i>
STRIVE	<i>*wenh_x-</i>
STRONG	<i>*bélos</i> , <i>*wal-</i> , <i>*weġ-</i> , <i>*weih_x-</i>
STRUCK	<i>*temh_x-</i>
STURGEON	NW <i>*h_aeġke(tro)-</i> , NW <i>*st_g(h_x)yon-</i>
SUBDUE	<i>*demh_x-</i>
SUCCESS	NW <i>*kobom</i>
SUCK(LE)	<i>*dheh₁-</i> , NW <i>*seug/k-</i>
SUCKLING	WC <i>*dheh₁lus-</i>
SUFFER	<i>*k^(w)eik-</i> , WC <i>*k^went(h)-</i>
SUFFERING	<i>*h_aem(h_x)īweh_a</i> , <i>*h_aéng^hes-</i> , GA <i>*péh₁m_g</i>
SUFFICIENT	<i>*g^whonós</i>
SUMMER	<i>*sem-</i>
SUN	<i>*séh_aul</i>
SUPPORT	<i>*dher-</i> , WC <i>*st_lneh_a-</i>
SURPASS	<i>*serK-</i> , GA <i>*peri-h₁es-</i>
SURPRISE (SOUND OF)	<i>*ha</i>
SURROUND	<i>*gherdh-</i> , <i>*wer-</i>
SWALLOW	<i>*g^werh₃-</i> , <i>*k^wem-</i> , <i>*peh₃(i)-</i>
SWAMP	WC <i>*h_xih_xlu</i>
SWAN	WC <i>?*h₁el-</i>
SWEAR	GA <i>*h_aemh₃-</i>
SWEAT	<i>*h₄elh₁n-</i> , <i>*sweid-</i>
SWEEP	<i>*sweep-</i>

SWELL	<i>*bhel-</i> , <i>*bhelǵh-</i> , <i>*bhleu-</i> , <i>*h₁eng^w-</i> , <i>*h₁eu_h_xdh-</i> , <i>*k₁eu_h₁-</i> , <i>*p(h)eu-</i> , NW <i>*bhreus-</i> , WC <i>*h_aeid-</i>
SWELL (WITH POWER)	<i>*teuh_a-</i>
SWIM	<i>*pleu-</i> , <i>*sneh_a-</i> , NW <i>*swem-</i>
SWING	<i>*swe(n)g-</i>
SWORD	WC <i>*skolmeh_a-</i>
TAIL	<i>*puk(eh_a)-</i> , <i>*wólos</i>
TAKE	<i>*dék-</i> , <i>*ghabh-</i> , <i>*ghrebh-</i> , <i>*h₁ep-</i> , <i>*nem-</i> , NW <i>*h₁em-</i> , WC <i>*(s)lag^w-</i> , WC <i>*twer-</i>
TAKE (TO ONESELF)	<i>*terp-</i>
TAME(D)	<i>*demh_a-</i> , <i>*domh_ayos</i>
TASTE	<i>*g₁eus-</i> , NW <i>*smeg-</i> , WC <i>*sap-</i> ~ <i>*sep-</i>
TASTY	<i>*sweh_ade/o-</i> , <i>*sweh_adus</i>
TEACH	GA <i>*dens-</i>
TEAL	<i>*pad-</i>
TEAR (OFF)	<i>*der-</i> , <i>*drep-</i> , <i>*h₁reik-</i> , <i>*rendh-</i> , <i>*reu(h_x)-</i> , <i>*(s)pel-</i> , <i>*wel(h₂)-</i> , NW <i>*dhregh-</i> , WC <i>*h₁reip-</i> , WC <i>*lak-</i> , WC <i>*plek-</i> , WC <i>*wreh₁ǵ-</i>
TEAR (OF THE EYE)	<i>*(d)h₂ékru</i>
TEASE OUT	WC <i>*knab(h)-</i>
TEAT	<i>*dhh₁ileh_a-</i> , <i>*pap-</i>
TEN	<i>*dék_m(t)</i>
TENCH	WC <i>*(s)lei-</i>
TENDON	<i>*snēh₁w_ǵ</i>
TENTH	<i>*dék_m(t)-os</i>
TESTICLE	<i>*h₄órǵhis</i>
TETTER	<i>*dedrús</i>
THAT	<i>*h₁en-</i> , WC <i>*h_aen-</i>
THAT ONE	<i>*so/*seh_a/*tód</i>
THEN	<i>*todéh_a</i> , WC <i>*téh_amot(s)</i>
THERE	<i>*tór</i>
THICK	<i>*bhénǵhus</i> , <i>*dheb-</i> , <i>*g^whonós</i> , <i>*tegu_s</i> , <i>*tenk -</i> , NW <i>*g^wretsos</i>
THIGH	<i>*srēno/eh_a-</i>
THIN	<i>*kr_ǵkós</i> , <i>*mak-</i> , <i>*menus/menwos</i> , <i>*ténus</i> , WC <i>*makrós</i> , WC <i>*skidrós</i>
THINK	<i>*men-</i> , <i>*teng-</i> , NW <i>*sent-</i> , WC <i>*g^whren-</i>
THIRD	<i>*triyós</i>
THIRTY	<i>*trī-komt(h_a)</i>
THIS ONE	<i>*h₁éi/*h₁ih_a-/*h₁id</i> , <i>*kís</i>
THORN	<i>*t_ǵnu -</i> , NW <i>*skwēis</i> , WC <i>*glogh-</i> , WC <i>*wreh_aǵh-</i>

THOU	<i>*te</i> , <i>*túh_x</i>
THOUGHT	<i>*ménmn_o</i> , <i>*mén_{tis}</i> , GA <i>*ménes-</i>
THOUSAND	NW <i>*tuh_as-ḳṃtyós</i> , GA <i>*ghesl(iy)os</i>
THREAD	<i>*de̋-</i> , NW <i>*pe/oth_amo-</i> , WC <i>*g^whih_x(slo)-</i> , GA <i>*g^w(i)yēh_a</i>
THREAD-END	WC <i>*t(e)rmn-</i>
THREATEN	<i>*ghres-</i> , <i>*sker-</i>
THREE	<i>*tréyes</i>
THRESH	<i>*h₂eh₂er-</i> , <i>*peis-</i> , <i>*wers-</i>
THRICE	<i>*tris</i>
THRIVE	<i>*speh₁-</i>
THROAT	<i>*gut_o</i>
THROUGH	<i>*per</i> , <i>*terh₂-</i>
THROW	<i>*ghi-</i> , <i>*g^welh₁-</i> , <i>*h₁es-</i> , <i>*seh₁(i)-</i> , <i>*(s)keud-</i> , <i>*smeit-</i> , <i>*swep-</i> , WC <i>*yeh₁-</i>
THRUSH	NW /WC? <i>*trosdos</i>
THRUST	<i>*(s)teud-</i> , NW <i>*telk-</i> , WC <i>*treud-</i>
THUMB	NW <i>*pólik(o)s</i>
THUNDER	<i>*(s)tenh_x-</i> , WC <i>*ghromos</i>
THUNDER GOD	<i>*perk^wunos</i>
THUS	<i>*ar</i> , <i>*h₁ith_a</i> , <i>*it-</i> , <i>*ne</i>
TICK	<i>*rik-</i> , WC <i>*diġ(h)-</i> , WC <i>*h_xorki-</i>
TICKLE	WC <i>*geid-</i>
TIE	<i>*h₂emġh-</i> , NW <i>*nedskéh_a-</i>
TIME	<i>*prest-</i> , WC <i>*kēs(ḳ)eh_a-</i>
TIMID	<i>*neh₂-</i>
TIRED	<i>*kēmh_a-</i> , <i>*leh₁d-</i>
TO	<i>*do</i> ~ <i>*de</i> , WC <i>*h_aed</i>
TONGUE	<i>*ḍḡghuh_a-</i>
TOOL	<i>*k^wṛwis</i>
TOOTH	<i>*ġómbhos</i> , <i>*h₁dónt-</i>
TORCH	WC <i>*ġhwáks</i>
TORMENT	<i>*ghres-</i>
TORTOISE	WC <i>*ghéluh_xs</i>
TOUCH	<i>*deg-</i> , <i>*mḷk-</i> , WC <i>*ghrei-</i> , WC <i>*tag-</i>
TOWARD	<i>*do</i> ~ <i>*de</i>
TRACK (NOUN)	WC <i>*weġhyeh_a-</i>
TRACK (VERB)	<i>*wreg-</i>
TRAVERSE	<i>*lenk-</i>
TREAT BADLY	<i>*h_{2/3}wop-</i>
TREE	<i>*dóru</i> , NW <i>*k^wrésnos</i> , NW <i>*widhu</i>
TREE (TYPE OF)	NW <i>*sal(i)k-</i>
TREMBLE	<i>*rei-</i> , <i>*trem-</i> , <i>*tres-</i>
TRIAL	WC <i>*per-</i>

TRICK (WITH THE HAND)	<i>*meh_a-</i>
TROOP	<i>*h_aeġmen-</i>
TROUGH	<i>*h_xoldhu-</i>
TROUT	<i>*píkškos</i>
TRUE	<i>*h₁sónt-, NW *weh₁ros</i>
TRUST IN	<i>*h_{2/3}eh_x-</i>
TUBE	<i>*k_{oiw}-is</i>
TURN	<i>-*derbh-, *kleng-, *k^wel-, *k^werp-, *k^wleu-, *seu-, *(s)kerbh-, *(s)neh₁-, *trep-, *weig/k-, *weip- ~ *weib-, *wel-, *wert-, *(w)rep-, NW *slenk-, NW *swerbh-, WC *ter(i)-</i>
TURNIP	WC <i>*rēpéh_a-</i>
TWELVE	<i>*dwō dek_{m̃}(t)</i>
TWENTY	<i>*wík_{m̃}tih₁</i>
TWICE	<i>*dwis</i>
TWIG	WC <i>*w_{rb}-</i>
TWIN	<i>*yemos</i>
TWINE	<i>*bher-, *kert-</i>
TWIST FIBRES INTO THREAD	<i>*derbh-, *(s)neh₁(i)-, *sneh₁u-, *terk(w)-, *weis-, *wendh-, NW *slenk-</i>
TWO	<i>*dwéh₃(u)</i>
TWO (GROUP OF)	<i>*dwoi-</i>
TWOFOLD	<i>*dw(e)i-plos, *dwoyos</i>
UDDER	<i>*h₁óuh_xdhr̥</i>
ULCER	<i>*h₁élkēs-</i>
UNCLE	<i>*ph_atr̥wyos, NW *h₂éuh₂-, WC *dheh₁-, WC *méh_atrōūs</i>
UNDER	<i>*ndhés ~ *ndhero-, *ner, *s-h₄upó</i>
UNDYING (DRINK)	GA <i>*n_{m̃}-tós</i>
UNHEALTHY	<i>*ġhalh_xros</i>
UNITED AS ONE	<i>*sem-s</i>
UNPLEASANT	<i>*ġhalh_xros, *h_aegh-los</i>
UNQUIET	<i>*yeuġ-</i>
UNSTEADY	<i>*rei-</i>
UP(WARD)	<i>*h₄upó, *h_aen-h_ae, *ž_{ud}, E *h_aenu</i>
UPRIGHT	<i>*worh_xdhus</i>
UP TO	<i>*proti</i>
URINATE	<i>*h₃méiġhe/o-</i>
USE	<i>*bheug-, NW *neud-</i>
USEFUL	<i>*dheuġh -</i>
VALLEY	<i>*dhólh_aos, *lónko/eh_a-</i>
VAPOUR	<i>*wápōs</i>

VARIEGATED	GA/PIE? *p _l h ₁ u-poik/ <i>k</i> os
VAULT	*dhólh _a os, GA *kamareh _a
VENTURE	*dhers-
VILLAGE	WC *kóimos
VINE	W *tris-
VIOLENT	WC *bhorg ^w o-
VISIBLE	GA *derkētos
VITAL FORCE	*h _a én _g , *h _a óyus, *weih _x s
VOICE	*ghwonos, *wōk ^w s
VOMIT	*wémh _x mi
VULTURE	*g ^w l _o tur-
VULVA	*kukis, *kutsós, *pisdo/eh _a -, *putós
WADE	*geh _x gh-, NW *wadh-
WAGON	*weghnos, NW *k _o rsos
WAGON-CHASSIS	*h ₂ em-h _a ék _s ih _a -
WAKEN	*bhoudhéye/o-
WALK	*ghengh-
WALL	*dhíghs
WALL (REPAIR)	*serk-
WANDER	*h _a el-
WANT	*h _a eis-, *wek ^é -, *wel-, WC *g ^w hel-
WANTING	*h ₁ eu(h _a)-
WARM	*g ^w her-, *g ^w hermos, *g ^w hrensós, WC *wel-
WART	*worh _x do-
WASH	*h ₁ erh _x -, *m(e)uh _x -, *neig ^w -, *pleu-, WC *leuh ₁ -
WASP	*h _{2/3} wobhseh _a -
WATCH OVER	*swerh _x K-
WATCH OVER CATTLE	*poh ₂ (i)-
WATER	*h ₂ eP-, *we/oh _x r, *weh _x p-, *wódr, NW *h _a ek ^w eh _a -, NW *pen-, WC *tenh _o ag-, WC *yuh _x -r- WC *h ₁ el-, WC *h ₁ orh _x deh _a -
WATERBIRD	WC *trih _a tōn
WATERY (ONE?)	*resg-, *wei(h ₁)-
WATTLE	WC *k _o rsneh _a
WAVE (NOUN)	*meh _a -
WAVE (VERB)	*kóh _a g _g , NW *wos(h _x)ko-
WAX	*h ₁ éit _g -, *pértus, *sentos
WAY	*nóh ₁ , *wéi
WE	*h _a epus, *losiwos, *meldh-
WEAK	*h ₂ ó/ép(e)n-, *wósu
WEALTH	WC *treu(h _x)-
WEAR AWAY	*weld-, *wes-
WEAR OUT	

WEASEL	*lōk-, NW/WC? *(h _a)wiselo-, NW *kormon-
WEAVE	*bher-, *h _{2/3} eu-, *h _{2/3} webh-, *weg-
WEDGE	WC *dhúbhos
WEEP	WC *ġem-
WEEVIL	NW *webhel- ~ *wobhel-
WELL-DISPOSED	*h ₁ erh _a s-, GA *h ₁ su-menesye/o-
WELL UP	*g ^w el(s)-, *h _a el-
WELS	*(s)k ^w álos
WET	*leh ₂ -, *m(e)h _a d-, NW *leh _a t-, NW *welk-/ *welg-, WC *reg- / *reknos, WC *weg ^w -
WHAT	*k ^w íd, *k ^w ód
WHEAT	*ga/ondh-, *sepit, WC *puh _x rós
WHEEL	*h _{2/3} rgis, *k ^w ek ^w lóm, *róth ₂ o/eh _a -, WC *dhro- ghós
WHEN	*k ^w odéh _a , *k ^w óm
WHERE	*k ^w ór, *k ^w u ~ *k ^w ú
WHET	*kseu-, NW *k ^w ed-
WHETSTONE	*kōh _x nos
WHEY	*ksih _x róm
WHICH (OF TWO)	*k ^w óteros, GA *yoteros
WHITE	*bhelh ₁ -, *h ₂ erġ-, *h ₂ r ġ(u), *h ₄ elbhós, *k ^w eitos
WHO	*k ^w ís, *k ^w ós, *yós/ *yéh _a / *yód
WHOLE	*sólwos
WIDE	*plet-, *płth ₂ ú-, *wérh _x us
WIDOW	*widheweh _a -
WIFE	*potnih _a -, *prih _x eh _a -
WIFE'S BROTHER	*swēkúros, *syō(u)ros
WIFE'S SISTER, i.e. SISTER-IN-LAW	WC *swoiniyeh _a -
WIFE'S SISTER'S HUSBAND	WC *sweliyon-
WILD ANIMAL	*ġhwēr
WILD ASS	E *gordebhós
WILDCAT	NW *bhel-
WILLOW	*weit-, NW *sal(i)k-, WC *weliko/eh _a -
WIND (NOUN)	*h ₂ weh ₁ nt-, *h ₂ weh ₁ yús
WIND (VERB)	*wel-, *wendh-
WINE	*wóinom
WING	*pet(e)r-, *(s)pornóm
WINNOW	WC *neik-
WINTER	*ġheim-
WIPE OFF	GA *h ₃ merġ-
WISH	*h _a eis-, *wek-, *wel-, WC *g ^w hel-
WITH	*ko(m), *som-, WC *ksun

WITHER	*wes-
WITHOUT	*b(h)eġh, *h ₁ énh ₁ u
WOLF	*w _{l̥} k ^w os, WC *dhóh _a us, WC *wailos
WOMAN	*g ^w énh _a , *maghwih _a -, *merih _a -
WOMAN (WANTON)	?*parikeh _a -
WOMB	*g ^(w) elbhus, *g ^w étus
WOOD	*dóru
WOOD (WORKED)	*pín-, *stup-, WC *k̂súlom, WC *sph _a en-
WOODEN VESSEL	WC *(s)pondh(n)os
WOODPECKER	*(s)p(e)iko/eh _a -
WOOL	*w _{l̥} h ₂ neh _a -
WORK	*h _x ópes-, *werg̃-, WC *derh _a -
WORK CLAY	*dheigh-
WORM	*k ^w ̥rmis, *mat-, *w̥rmis
WORSHIP	GA *yaġ-
WOUND	*h _a éru(s), *peles-, *swero-, *wen-, *wolno/eh _a - , WC *weh _a t-
WRAP	*kenk-, *(s)keu(h _x -), *(s)pre(n)g-, WC *sper-
WRINKLE UP	*reuk/g-
WUG	*k ^w ̥rmis, WC *w̥rmi, C *demelis
YAWN	*ġheh _a w, *ġh(h ₁)iy-eh _a -
YEAR	*(h ₁)yēro/eh _a -, *wet-, NW *h _a etnos, WC *h ₁ en-
YEAR (LAST)	*perut-
YEARLING	*wételos
YELLOW	*ġhel- ~ *ghel-
YELP	*bhels-
YESTERDAY	*(dh)ġhyes
YEW	*h ₁ eiwos, *taksos
YIELD	*weig/k-
YOKE	*dhwerh _x -, *yugóm
YONDER	NW *h _a etnos
YOU	*uswé ~ *swé, *wóh ₁ , *yuh _x s
YOUNG	*h _a yeu-
YOUNG BIRD	*pipp-
YOUNG DOG	WC *(s)koli-
YOUNG MAN	*maghus, *méryos
YOUNG PIG	*pórkos, C *ġhor-
YOUNG WOMAN	*maghwih _a -, *merih _a -
YOUTH	*h _a yuh _x ̥k̂ós

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General Index

- abdomen 185, 186
ability 205
ablaut 48
able 205, 369, 371
about 289
above 289
abundance 319
abundant 317, 320
accept 271
accomplish 369, 371
accuse 354
accustomed 267
acid 348
acorn 157, 158
acropolis 221
across 289, 290
act badly 340
Adam 3
Adams, D. Q. 14, 23, 49, 107, 118
adhere 381
adze 242, 243
Aegean 251, 264
Aegean pantheon 429
Aesir 436
afflict 193, 278
Afghanistan 33
afraid 338, 340
African 107
Afro-Asiatic 444
after 289, 291
against 289, 290
agitate 259, 378, 379
Agnean 35
Agni (god) 122, 424
Agni (town) 35
agriculture 153, 163, 453
ahead 289
Ahura Mazdāh 410, 432
Ahyān, S. 440
aim 320
Airyana vaejā 447
Akkadian 31, 313–14
alas 359, 360
Albania 36
Albanian 5, 6, 7, 13, 14, 15, 24, 26, 27, 36, 109, 111, 445
alcoholic drink 263
alcove 220
alder 157, 158, 161, 170
Alexander the Great 28
Algonquian 133, 444
all 97
Allen, N. 430, 440
allow 391
alone 317
already 303
Alteuropäisch 130
amass 267
ambrosia 263
Amerindian 107
among 289
Anatolia 6, 10, 15, 29, 37, 109, 154, 171, 238, 251, 443, 444, 446, 452, 453, 460, 461, 462
Anatolian 13, 14, 15, 28, 29, 47, 50, 103, 109, 110, 111, 117, 424, 446, 447, 448, 454, 455, 458, 462
Ancus Martius 430
and 311, 421, 422
Anderson, E. 152, 169, 170, 348
Andronovo 452
angelica 162
anger 203, 279
Angles 133
angry 193, 278, 340
animal 134, 136, 142, 152

- announce 354
anoint 263, 381, 382
another 418
ant 148, 149
anus 183, 184
any 317, 318
apart 289, 291, 293
Aphrodite 426, 430
Apollo 434
appear 137, 325, 326, 327
apple 157, 158
apportion 255, 257, 273, 318
Arab 34
Arabic 10, 47
arch 384
Aredvi Sūra Anāhitā 433
argue 278, 279
Aristophanes 145
Aristotle 348
Arjuna 433, 440
arm 179, 180, 200, 435
Armenian 6, 14, 15, 31, 47, 109, 111, 439, 455
Armenian epic 427
Armenians 446
army 269, 282
around 289, 291
arrange 268, 295
arrow 245, 246, 252
articles 107
artisan god 411
Aryaman 434
Aryan(s) 32, 266
Aryan god 433
ash (tree) 157, 158, 170, 171
ash (charcoal) 99, 123, 124, 125, 346
Ashkenaz 425
Asia Minor 28
Asiatic Society 5
ask 208, 356, 358, 359, 365
aslant 293
asp 146
aspen 157, 159
aspirate 42, 43, 51
aspiration 52
ass 135, 139, 142
assail 278, 279
assert 278
Assyrian 29
asunder 293
Asura- 410
asvamedha 437
Ásvins 436
at 289, 293
Athena 433
Athens 28, 268
attach 180
attack 150
attain 395, 396
attempt 371
Attic 28
auger 244, 248
augmented triad 366
aunt 212
aurochs 135, 140
Australia 445
autumn 300, 302, 305
Avesta 5, 33, 35, 438
Avestan 6, 13, 33, 43, 47
avow 356
awake 322, 324, 326
away 289, 291, 293
awl 242, 244
awn 164, 165
axe 242, 243, 244, 252
axis 180
axle 179, 180, 247, 248, 248, 249

babble 360, 361
Babylonian 131
back (body) 179, 181, 383
back (direction) 197, 289, 291, 305
Bactria 35
Bactrian 34
bad 194, 338, 339
badger 141, 153
bag 231
bake 258, 260

- bald 193, 196, 199
 Balkan(s) 6, 15, 25, 109, 133, 154, 171,
 238, 251, 445, 446, 452, 457, 460,
 461, 462
 Baltic 5, 7, 13, 14, 15, 23, 24, 25, 47, 104,
 109, 111, 423, 448, 452, 455
 Balto-Slavic 25, 104
 bank (earthen) 224
 bar 244
 Barber, E. 236, 238
 bare 196, 199
 bark (n) 97, 160
 bark (v) 363, 364
 barley 102, 163, 164, 165, 170, 171,
 172, 299
 barren 194, 197, 198
 basin 240
 basket 235
 Basque 10, 130, 447
 Basques 443
 bast 160, 236
 bat 153
 bathe 113, 390
 battle 280
 Battle of Kurukshetra 439
 Battle of Lake Regillus 439
 be 296, 368, 369
 beam(s) 224, 225, 226
 bean 166
 bear (n) 131, 135, 138, 333, 350
 bear (v) 188, 189, 192, 211, 404, 405
 beard 176, 177, 178, 299
 beat 282
 beat the weft 236
 beautiful 330
 beaver 134, 137, 333
 bed 224, 226
 bee 149, 150, 151, 364
 beech 112, 153, 161, 170, 171, 449
 beer 261, 264, 265
 beetle 150
 before 288, 289, 290
 beg 359
 beget 205, 211, 391, 392
 behind 289, 291, 293, 294
 belch 189, 191
 belief 323, 349
 believe 322, 323
 belly 98, 230
 beloved 222
 belt 232, 235, 236, 237
 bend 186, 239, 244, 382–4
 benefit 275
 Bengali 448
 bent 181, 197, 242
 Beowulf 366
 Berlin, B. 119, 151, 349
 berry 157, 160
 bestow 270, 273, 274
 Betelgeuse 131
 between 289, 290
 beyond 289, 293
 Bhima 433
 bi- 309, 310
 bible 3, 19, 31
 big 97
 bilingualism 458
 bind 136, 234, 235, 380–1, 382
 birch 157, 158, 159, 170, 171, 329
 bird 97, 143, 152, 363
 bird cry 364
 bird of prey 145
 birdlime 161
 bison 141
 bite 98, 189, 191, 196
 bitter 335, 336, 349
 black 99, 331, 332, 334, 349, 350, 431
 Black Sea 264, 453
 blackberry 157, 159, 160
 blackbird 145
 blackthorn 160
 bladder 185, 186
 blame 276, 277
 bleat 364
 blind 193, 197, 202
 blond 450
 blood 97, 185, 187, 200, 201, 214, 435
 blow 129, 184, 191, 385, 386

- blue 331, 333, 349, 350
BMAC 460
boar 135, 142
board 227, 246
boat 247, 249
body 178, 179
Bohemia 26
boil (v) 258, 259, 260, 264
bolster 231
bolt 244
bone 97, 185, 187, 200, 201, 435
booty 273, 275, 285
Bopp, F. 5, 313
border 288, 304
born 205
Bosnia 36
botanical 119
both 309, 310
bottom 225
bow (n) 160, 246, 252
bowl 239, 240
bowstring 246
braid 231, 382
brain 185, 186, 188, 201, 349
bran 166
Bran 432
branch 156, 157, 160, 161, 243
brave 278, 282
bread 264
break 371, 372, 376, 377
breast 98, 179, 181, 182, 200
breath 187, 189, 190, 199, 201, 436
breathe 189, 360
Bres 433, 440
Breton 16, 17
brew 264
brick 228
bride-price 208, 215, 285
bright 159, 328, 329, 330, 408
bring 137, 395, 396, 413
bring forth 137
bristle 164, 165, 345
Britain 12, 15, 17, 133, 147
Brittany 12, 17
Brittonic 17
broad 180, 268, 297, 298
bronze 241, 251
broth 261, 263, 264
brother 210, 214
brother's wife 210
brotherhood 214
brother-in-law 214
brown 331, 333–4, 349, 350
Brown, C. 152
Brugmann, K. 45
Brugmannian 46
bubble 258
buck 141
Buddha 440
Buddhism 427
Buddhist 35
build 136, 205, 219, 220, 222, 226, 369
Bulgaria 36
Bulgarian 25, 26, 451
bull 131, 135, 140
burden 273, 275
burn 99, 123, 124, 129, 226, 227, 228, 303,
328, 329, 346
Burris, H. W. 304
burrow 372
Busbecq, Oguier de 21
bush 169
business 274
butter 263
butterfly 150
buttermilk 260, 262
buttock 184
Byelorussian 25, 26, 446
Byzantine 28
Byzantine Empire 25

cabbage 164, 165
cackle 362
Caesar 429
Calcutta 5
call 114, 353, 354, 362, 409
callosity 194, 197, 201
camel 132, 140

-
- Canis Major 131
 Canis Minor 131
 canoe 247
 capercaille 144
 captive 282
 care 344
 Carian 30
 carp 146
 carrot 167
 carry 404, 405
 carve 372, 377
 case 239, 240
 Caspian 154, 453
 caste 429
 castrated 194, 198, 280
 cat 141, 152
 catch 223, 272
 cattle 102, 138, 140, 152, 264, 406, 437
 cattle-raid 285, 437
 Caucasian 447, 461
 Caucasus 170, 171, 237, 253, 462
 cauldron 239, 240
 Cavalli-Sforza, L. 450
 cave 223
 cavity 220, 222
 caw 363
 cedar 161
 Celtic 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14, 15–18, 37, 43, 46,
 103, 104, 109, 111, 117, 423, 437, 438,
 439, 445, 452
 Celts 107, 435, 458
 Central 109
 centre of gravity 445–6
 centum 47
 cereal 164
 chaff 102, 164, 165, 166
 chain 295, 297
 chambers 228
 characteristic 267
 charcoal 123
 charm 338, 340
 cheat 340
 cheese 394
 cherry 161
 chew 255, 257
 chickpea 166, 172
 chief 203
 child 204, 205
 children 190
 chin 174, 176, 177, 200
 China 6, 34, 35, 52
 Chinese 100, 444
 Choresmian 34
 Cilicia 31
 circle 247, 277, 297, 298, 304
 clan 204, 205, 228
 class 430
 Classical Latin 18
 claw 98
 clay 121, 122
 clean 389–90
 clear 328
 cliff 121
 cloak 231, 235, 236
 close the eyes 325, 327
 cloth 231, 232, 235
 clothes 231
 cloud 99, 128, 129, 201
 cloudy 330
 club 246
 coal 125
 cock 354
 Cœurdoux, Gaston 4, 6
 cold 99, 345, 346, 347, 348
 colour 114, 331–4, 349
 comb 231, 232, 233, 237
 combat 282
 come 98, 394, 395, 396
 commit a crime 276, 277
 commotion 391
 companion 267, 269, 284
 compel 355
 compensate 276, 277
 compensation 276, 285
 complain 362
 complete 277, 298
 compress 384, 385
 compute 320

- comrade 269
conceal 380
concubine 207, 208
confederate 269
confide 355
conifer 157, 161
conjunction 107
conquer 278, 281, 284
consecrate 412
consider 322
constellation 131
constrict 378, 379
constriction 196
contain 239, 240, 378
container 230, 239, 240, 251
contend 278
contest 279
Continental Celtic 18
cook 240, 258, 259, 260
coot 145
copper 241, 242, 251
copulate 188, 189
Corded Ware 452, 460, 461
Cornish 16, 17
corpse 194, 198
couch 224
cough 189, 191, 193, 196
count 320
country 267, 268
cover 221, 226, 227, 231, 378, 379, 380
cow 108, 115, 135, 139, 140, 142
crab 149, 150
crackle 361
craft 283
craftsman 283
crane 143, 144
crawl 400, 401
crayfish 149, 150
cream 260, 262
creation myth 435–6
creatures 134
Crimea 21
Croatia 36
crooked 297, 298, 299, 384
cross over 288
cross-eyed 198
crow 143, 144
crowd 269
crown of head 174
crush 372, 373
cry 114, 353, 354, 355, 356, 360, 361,
362, 363
CúChulainn 440
cuckoo 143, 144
cudgel 246
Culhwych 141
cup 240, 265
curdle 262
curds 260
cure 193, 199
curse 365
curve 240, 299, 304, 383
Cushites 4
custom 267
cut 150, 168, 235, 244, 245, 249, 269, 317,
372, 373, 374, 376, 377
cut hair 177, 178
Cyrillic 39
Czech 1, 26

Dacian 6, 13, 14, 36, 445, 451
Daedalus 373
dagger 245
Dalmatia 36
damp 125
dangerous 138
Danish 22, 446
Danube 127, 154, 434
dark 328, 428
darkness 302, 330
daub 228
daughter 210, 213
daughter-in-law 215
dawn 241, 294, 300, 301, 305, 427, 432
dawn goddess 409, 428, 432
day 124, 129, 300, 301, 303, 305, 408,
427, 428
deaf 194, 197

-
- dear 222, 343
 death 116, 194, 198
 debt 277
 decay 278, 279
 decay goddess 434
 deceive 338, 340, 411
 declare 114, 356, 359
 declension 115
 deep 290, 292
 deer 133
 defecate 189, 191, 192
 defect 197
 defend 281
 defile 122, 189, 191
 Delphi 15
 dental 40
 descendant 209, 211
 desire 271, 341, 342, 343
 destroy 194, 278, 281
 Devanāgarī 39
 dew 125, 126, 346
 die 98, 116, 194, 198, 206
 difficult 345, 346
 dig 372, 374, 375, 376
 dip 403
 direct (v) 268
 direction 293, 294, 301, 305
 dirt 113, 121, 122
 dirty 121, 191
 dish 240
 dispute 355
 distribute 272, 273, 274, 317
 district 304
 Dīus Fidius 430, 432
 dive 403
 divide 269, 317, 318
 divine twins 432
 DNA 450–1, 456, 463
 Dnieper 25, 33, 154, 434
 Dniester 434
 do 244, 369, 370
 dog 97, 102, 135, 138, 142, 152, 363, 436, 439
 Don 127, 434
 Donegal 437
 donkey 142, 152
 door 108, 224, 225
 doorjamb 224
 dormouse 135, 138
 double 309
 dough 264
 down 226, 290, 292
 downwards 289
 dragon 148, 326
 Dravidian 10, 443
 draw water 258
 dream 108, 322, 324
 dregs 263
 dress 231, 232
 drink 98, 255, 256
 drip 394
 drive 267, 269, 280, 285, 303, 403, 405, 406
 drizzle 128, 129
 drone 150, 360, 362
 druid 156
 dry 99, 125, 196, 345, 346, 348
 duck 143, 144, 152, 153
 dumb 194, 197
 Dumézil, G. 430, 436
 Dumézilian 431, 433
 dung 189, 192
 Durkheim, E. 429
 dust 121, 165
 Dutch 1, 22, 23
 dwell 219, 220, 222, 223
 dwelling 220, 222, 223, 368, 375
 dye 236, 237
 eagle 143, 144, 153
 ear 98, 174, 175, 200
 ear of grain 164, 165
 early 300, 301
 earth 99, 120, 121, 122, 201, 206, 225, 435
 east 294, 301, 305
 East Baltic 23, 24
 East Norse 22
 East Slavic 25

- East Tocharian 35
Eastern 110
Eastern Germanic 19
eat 98, 175, 196, 254, 255, 256
Eddas 427
greens (edible) 164, 165
eel 147, 153
egg 97, 143, 150, 183
Egypt 30, 141, 237
Egyptian 4, 100, 457
eight 308, 314, 316
eighth 307, 309, 315
Elamite 10, 443, 457
elbow 179, 180, 182
elder 112
elephant 133, 135, 141
elf 409, 428
elite dominance 457, 459
elk 133, 135, 139
elm 157, 159, 160
empty 317, 319, 320
enclose 220, 221, 223, 227, 228, 232
end 236
enemy 269
England 445
English 1, 12, 22, 23
enjoy 255, 256, 371
enter 188
entrails 185, 186, 187
Equus October 437
ermine 141
Eskimo 211, 212
establish 267, 413
established 276, 285
Estonian 9
estuary 127
Esus 432, 438
Etruscan 10, 16
Etruscans 443
Europe 253
Eve 3
evening 294, 303
evil 193, 196, 338, 339
ewe 135, 140
excellent 336
exchange 272, 273, 285
excrement 189, 191, 192
exhausted 193, 195, 278
express 356
extend 299, 387, 388
extinguish 123, 124, 194, 198
eye 98, 174, 175, 200, 201, 327–8, 435
eyebrow 174, 175, 200
fabricate 220, 243, 283
face 174, 291, 304
Faeroese 22
falcon 145
Faliscan 18, 19
fall 400, 401
fame 118, 335, 356, 357, 366
family 204, 205, 206
family tree 446; *see also* tree model
far 289
farmer 201
fart 189, 192
fast 300, 303
fasten 231, 381
fat 257, 260, 261, 262, 298, 317, 319, 345, 346
father 209, 210, 211, 212, 214
father sky 431
father's brother 210
father's mother 209
father-in-law 210, 215
fatten 255, 257
fault 194
favour 336, 337
favourable 412, 413
fear 193, 338, 379
feather 97, 179, 181
feed 255
feel 322, 323
feet 201
felt 233, 237
female 425, 431
fence 220, 221, 232
ferment 258, 259

-
- fermented juice 261
 ferocity 338, 339
 fertility 435
 fertility god 425
 few 320
 field 163, 164
 fifteen 308, 316
 fifth 309, 312, 315
 fifty 309, 316
 fight 278, 280, 281, 282
 fighter 283
 fill 240, 317, 319
 finch 145
 find 272
 find one's way 250, 401, 402
 finger 181, 200, 311
 Finnish 7, 9
 fir 157, 159, 161
 fire 99, 122, 123, 124, 126, 329
 firm 262, 317, 345, 347
 first 309, 310
 First Function 430, 432, 434, 435, 438
 fish 97, 146, 147, 148, 152, 153, 182
 fish-eggs 147
 fist 181, 312
 fit 275, 276, 371, 381
 fitting 276, 285
 five 108, 181, 308, 312–13
 fixed 345, 347
 Flanders 19
 flank 178, 179
 flat 268, 337
 flax 166, 172, 237
 flay 372, 374
 flea 148, 149
 flee 400
 fleece 135, 140, 177
 flesh 97, 201
 float 187, 403
 flock 134, 136
 Flood 4
 floor 224, 225, 226, 228
 flourish 319
 flow 262, 263, 392, 393, 394, 399
 flower 161, 162
 fly (n) 150
 fly (v) 98, 398, 399, 400
 foam 125, 126
 fold (n) 220,
 fold (v) 383, 384
 folk taxonomy 113
 folktales 425
 follow 267, 291, 326, 402
 follower 267, 284
 following 289, 290, 293
 food 255, 256
 foot 98, 108, 112, 181, 183, 200, 226
 footprint 250
 force 281
 forearm 179, 180, 182
 forehead 174, 175
 foreleg 179
 forest 121, 160
 forget 322, 323
 fork 160
 form 370
 fort 220, 221, 223
 fortification 224
 forward 289, 294, 301
 foul 199
 four 308, 311–12, 314
 foursome 314
 fourth 309, 312, 366
 fourth function 430
 fox 135, 138, 152, 178
 framework 224, 225
 France 10, 15, 16
 Frankish 22
 freeman 267
 freeze 347
 French 12, 19, 448
 fresh 193, 195
 Freya 436
 Freyr 433, 436
 Friedrich, P. 170, 171
 friend 205
 friendly 206
 friendship 205

- frighten 338, 339
frightening 340
Frisian 22, 23
frog 148, 399
frogspawn 147
front 174, 175, 288, 289, 304, 305
frost 126, 127, 348
fruit 157, 160, 164
full (v) 237
full [adj] 99 317
fullness 319
furrow 167, 168, 243, 434
further 311
- Galatians 15
gall 185, 186
gamebird 143, 144
Gamkrelidze, T. 14, 51, 152, 159, 170, 365
gap 288
gape 144, 222
garden 164
garment 231, 232, 235, 236
gate 108, 224
Gathas 33
gather 169, 267
Gaulish 16, 17, 424
Gauls 438
Gellius, Aulus 348
generation marker 209, 210
Georgian 10
German 22
Germanic 103, 4, 5, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 22,
43, 47, 48, 99, 106, 109, 111, 117, 423,
429, 436, 438, 439, 444, 452, 455
Germans 19, 425, 435, 458
Germany 133
gift 273, 274
Gimbutas, M. 457
gird 231, 232
give 98, 270, 274
glance 325
gland 187
gleam 328
glide 405
glitter 328
glottalic theory 51–3
glove 237
glow 330
gnat 149, 150
gnaw 255, 256, 373, 376
go 115, 116, 250, 251, 277, 394–6
goat 102, 135, 138, 140, 141, 142, 152,
153, 184, 264
god 354, 366, 408, 409, 410, 427
god of dead 411
god-inspired 412
Goidelic 17
gold 241, 242, 251, 261, 263, 301
Golden Horde 285
good 99, 116, 336, 337, 338
goods 271, 273, 275, 285
goose 143, 144, 153
Gothic 5, 19, 22
Graeco-Aryan 110
grain 102, 163, 164, 165, 166, 170, 172
granddaughter 210, 213, 217
grandfather 209, 216, 217
grandmother 213, 216
grandson 209, 211, 212, 440
grandson of waters 409, 410, 438
grasp 270, 271, 272, 277, 342
grass 116, 163, 164, 166, 169, 435
graze 255, 257
grease 97, 260, 261
great 319
Greece 4, 154, 238, 427, 431, 446, 449, 452
greedy 341, 342
Greek 2, 4, 5, 6, 13, 14, 15, 16, 26, 27, 28,
33, 36, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 48, 99,
100, 104, 106, 109, 110, 111, 115, 425,
436, 437, 439, 445, 446, 448, 454, 455
Greek myth 426, 427
Greeks 153, 238, 446
green 99, 331, 333, 349, 350
grey 137, 331, 334, 349, 350
grid 221
grief 193, 361
grieve 360

-
- grind 102, 167, 168, 169, 279, 372
 grip 272
 groan 128, 129, 360
 ground 224, 225
 grove 160
 grow 189, 190, 192, 267, 319, 369
 grow old 190
 growl 363, 364
 grunt 364
 guard 255, 257
 guarding 327
 guest 269
 Gujarati 33
 gullet 185, 186, 188
 gulp 255, 256
 gums 176
 gut 186
 Gyármathi, S. 7

 Hades 439
 hail 125, 126
 hair 97, 176–8, 200, 201, 231, 232, 236, 383, 435
 half 317, 318
 Hall, R. 50
 Ham 4
 Hamites 4
 Hamp, E. 131
 hand 98, 179–81, 201, 312, 313, 316, 317
 handle (n) 240
 hang 387, 388
 happy 336, 337
 Harappan 172
 hard 197, 340, 347
 hare 134, 137, 152, 334, 350
 harm 116, 278, 279, 282
 harness 248
 harrow 102, 167, 242, 243
 harvest 168, 169
 hate 343, 344
 Hatti 462
 Hattic 10, 424, 448, 457, 461
 Hattuša 29
 Haudry, J. 428

 haunch 182, 183
 have 271
 Hawaiian 212
 hawk 145
 hawthorn 157, 159
 hazel 160
 he 417
 head 97, 173–6, 201, 215, 435
 headband 236, 247, 384
 head-hunting 107
 head of house 268
 heal 193, 195, 201, 434
 healthy 195, 199
 heap 320
 hear 98, 335, 349, 357
 heart 98, 185, 187, 200, 323
 hearth 224, 226, 227, 346
 heat 124, 348
 heaven 121, 122, 201, 435
 heavy 243, 345, 346
 Hebrew 3, 4
 hedge 220, 221, 223
 hedgehog 134, 137, 142, 347
 heel 183
 height 223
 Heimdalr 432
 heir 207
 Helen 436
 Helenēs 432
 hellebore 162
 Hellenistic 28
 help 371
 hemp 237
 hen 143, 144
 henbane 162
 Hengist 432
 Hera 430, 433
 Hēraklēs 438
 herb 202
 herd 134, 136, 269
 herder-cultivator 429
 herdsman 283
 here 418
 Hermes 434

- hernia 194, 197
hero 117, 203
hero and serpent 436–7
heron 145
hew 220, 240, 278
hide (n) 179, 182
hide (v) 278, 281
high 121, 289, 292
high one 409
hill 121, 122, 130, 383
hind (deer) 141
Hindi 13, 33, 424, 448
Hindu 424
hip 182, 183
hire 273, 274
Hirt, H. 46, 47
Hispano-Celtic 16
hiss 363
Hittite 15–16, 29, 30, 31, 33, 42, 47, 49,
50, 99, 115, 436, 437, 443, 448
hock 183
hoe 242, 243
hold 239, 240, 248, 270, 271, 272, 276,
278, 284, 369
hole 220, 222
hollow 181, 220, 222, 372, 375
holy 412
homeland 153, 154, 442–63
Homer 426
homonym 115, 116
hone 242, 244, 373, 376
honey 151, 260, 262, 264
honeycomb 263
honour 270, 271, 414
hoof 134, 137
hook 242, 244
hoopoe 143, 145, 153
hoot 363
Horatio Cocles 432, 437
horn 97, 134, 137, 150, 153
hornbeam 161
hornet 150
hornless 134, 137, 153
Horsa 432
horse 50, 101, 102, 119, 135, 139, 141,
142, 152, 154, 154, 333, 370, 449,
457, 461
horse sacrifice 437
horse-breaking 136
horsehair 177
hostile 283
hot 99, 123, 124, 345, 347
house 206, 220, 221, 222, 227, 343
household 204, 205, 206, 220,
222, 223
how many 419
how much 419, 421
howl 363, 364
hum 364
human 120
humble 344
hundred 309, 316
Hungarian 7, 9, 25
Hungary 461
hunger 254, 255, 257
hunt 402, 403
Hurrian 10, 313, 424, 448, 457
hurry 397, 398
husband 203, 204, 207, 210
husband's brother 210, 214
husband's brother's wife 210, 216
husband's sister 210

I 97, 108, 415, 416
Iberia 6, 154, 443
Iberian 10
Iberians 16
Ibero-Celtic 16
Icarus 373
ice 125, 126, 130
Iceland 2, 22
Icelanders 3
Icelandic 2, 5, 22
icicle 125, 126
Iguvine Tablets 19
Iliad 28, 33
ill 193
Illyrian 6, 7, 13, 14, 36, 445

- immobile 270, 271
 in 289, 290
 increase 189, 190, 267, 313, 319
 Indara 433
 India 4, 5, 32, 33, 122, 172, 237, 239,
 286, 427, 429, 430, 435, 446, 453,
 456, 462
 Indian Ocean 6
 Indic 6, 32, 47, 106, 110, 437, *see also*
 Indo-Aryan, Sanskrit
 Indo-Aryan 10, 13, 14, 32, 34, 99, 100,
 103, 424, 443
 Indo-Aryan myth 426
 Indo-Aryans 33, 435
 Indo-Germanic 5
 Indo-Hittite 109, 154, 233, 256, 262
 Indo-Iranian 103, 110, 111, 115, 117, 437,
 439, 448, 455
 Indo-Iranians 163, 446, 453, 461, 462
 Indra 246, 374, 411, 424, 430, 433, 436
 Indus 32
 Indus Valley 457
 infertile 194
 inflate 386
 inheritance 275
 inherited 285
 injure 279, 282
 in-law terminology 217–18
 insect 148, 149, 150, 151
 insectivore 137
 instruct 359
 Insular Celtic 17, 18
 insult 343, 344
 intertwine 231
 intestines 185, 186, 383
 into 289
 intoxicator 261, 263
 invite 114, 353
 invoke 114, 353, 354, 410
 Iran 33, 237, 443, 446, 453, 462
 Iranian 5, 6, 7, 13, 14, 15, 31, 33, 34, 47,
 110, 424, 438
 Iranian myth 426
 Iranians 32, 107, 425, 435, 452
 Ireland 12, 15, 17, 133, 237, 239, 261,
 285, 425
 Irish 16, 18, 103, 106, 110
 Irish myth 427
 it 417
 Italian 13, 19, 448
 Italic 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 36, 37, 47, 104,
 111, 438, 439, 451
 Italy 6, 10, 15, 16, 36, 137, 154, 170, 427,
 446, 449, 452
 Ivanov, V. 14, 51, 152, 159, 170, 365
 ivory 135, 141
 Japeth 4
 jaw 174, 176, 200
 jay 143
 Jews 429
 join 216, 248, 269, 381
 joint 179, 180
 Jones, W. 5, 442
 joy 338
 Julian Day Count 4
 jump 398, 399, 400
 juniper 161
 Juno 433
 Jupiter 430
 Kaliningrad 171
 Karelian 9
 Kartvelian 10, 313, 314, 444
 Kastör 432
 Kay, P. 349
 keep 282
 kernel 166
 Khotan 34
 Khotanese Saka 34
 kick 405, 406
 kidney 185, 186, 187, 188
 kill 98
 kindle 123
 king 267, 268, 284, 294, 387,
 437, 459
 kinship terminology 211–12
 kinsman 214, 216

- kiss 343, 344
kite 145
knee 98, 183
knife 245
knot 157, 231, 234
know 98, 321, 322, 327
knowledge 321, 322
Krahe, H. 130
Kucha 35
Kuchean 35
Kurgan theory 453, 462
- labial 40, 41, 42, 115
lack 273, 274, 285, 319
lactose 265
lagomorph 137
lake 127, 128, 130
Lake Maggiore 16
Lake Vourusaka 438
lamb 135, 142
lame 194, 197, 199
lament 190, 360, 363
land 166, 267
language shift 457, 458, 463
Lapp 9
large 190, 311, 317, 319, 320
laryngeal 48, 49, 50
laryngeal theory 48, 49,
Latin 2, 3, 4, 6, 13, 18, 19, 26, 31, 36, 39,
43, 44, 46, 47, 50, 26, 104, 109, 115,
446, 448
Latins 238
Latvian 23
laugh 359–60, 362
law 285, 276, 277
lay hold 277, 335
lead (v) 402
leader 267, 268, 269, 284
leaf 97, 157, 161
lean 295, 296
leap 398, 399
learn 322, 323
leather 181
leave 275, 402
- leavings 275
leech 149
left 294, 295, 305, 425, 431
leg 182, 183, 184
Lehmann, W. 47, 49
leopard 133, 142
Lepontic 16
leprosy 194, 197
less 317, 319
Lévi-Strauss, C. 431
lexico-cultural analysis 448–9
libation 263
lick 175, 256, 257
lie (deceive) 355
lie (recline) 98, 206, 226, 277, 295, 296
life 189, 193
lifespan 195
lift 405, 406
light (weight) 345, 346–47
light (bright) 328, 330
lightning 129
limb 179, 182
limit 288
limp 194, 197
Lincoln, B. 201, 428, 435, 437, 439
line 288, 295, 297
line up 295, 297
lineage 204, 206
Linear B 27, 103
linguistic paleontology 448–9
lion 131, 133, 136, 138, 142
lip 174, 175, 176
liquid 345
Lithuanian 23, 40, 448
Lithuanian folk songs 427
Lithuanians 24
little 320
live 136, 188, 189
liver 98, 185, 187
livestock 134, 136, 151, 153
Livonians 24
Livy 430, 432
load 404
loan 275

-
- log 224, 225
 loins 182, 183
 Loki 439
 long 97, 298, 299
 long time 299
 loom 238
 lord 267, 268, 284
 loud noise 362
 louse 97, 149
 love 342–4
 low 290, 293
 lowly 344
 Lūa Mater 434
 Lug 440
 lung 185, 187, 190
 Lusatian 6, 37
 Lusitanian 13, 14
 Luvian 29, 30, 47, 50
 Lycian 29, 30
 Lydian 29, 30
 Lyle, E. 430
 lynx 142

 Macedonia 25
 Macedonian 13, 14, 25, 26
 Machas 433
 madder 350
 Mādhavī 263
 maggot 149
 magic force 413
 magpie 145
Mahābhārata 426, 432, 433, 434, 438, 440
 make 244, 365, 369, 370, 371
 make restitutions 276
 male 203, 204, 425, 431
 Mallory, J. 14, 23, 107, 118
 Malte-Brun, C. 5
 Maltese 10
 mammal 152
 man 97, 204, 206, 281
 Man 409, 435, 437
 mane 177
Männerbunde 106
 manure 189, 192

 Manx 17
 many 97
 many-coloured 334
 Manywydan 432
 maple 157, 159, 160
 Marathi 33
 mare 135, 139, 154
 Mari 9
 mark 146, 331
 marriage 358, 365
 marrow 185, 186, 188
 marry 206, 207, 208, 215, 216
 Mārs 433, 437
 Marsian 19
 marten 135, 139, 152
 master 207, 208, 209
 master of clan 267, 268, 284
 mattock 243
 mature 189
 mead 261, 262, 264, 265
 meadow 163, 164, 166
 meal 257
 measure 195, 294, 317, 318
 meat 260, 261, 264
 Medb 263
 medical god 434
 Mediterranean 6, 170, 172, 265
 meet 269
 melt 123, 124, 125
 Melville, H. 113
 member of one's group 266–7
 merry 336, 338
 Mesolithic 102
 Mesopotamia 237, 253
 Messapic 6, 13, 14, 36, 130
 metal 241
 Methodius, St 25
 middle 289, 290, 311
 Middle Cornish 17
 Middle English 13, 23
 Middle Irish 17
 Middle Welsh 17
 military action 282
 milk 260, 261, 262, 264, 265, 370, 434

- millet 164, 165, 166, 167, 172
- Milyan 30
- mind 201, 323, 435
- minnow 147
- misfortune 199
- mist 128
- mistake 194
- mistletoe 161
- mistress 207, 208
- Mitanni 33, 430
- Mithra 432
- Mitra 430, 432, 434
- mix 258, 259, 263
- moan 360, 361, 363
- Modern Greek 13
- moisten 348
- moisture 125, 345, 347
- mole 153, 434
- mole rat 153
- monster 326, 436
- month 129
- moon 98, 128, 129, 201, 329, 435
- moose 133, 135
- Moravia 25, 26
- Mordvin 9
- more 319
- morning 301, 302
- mortal 194, 199, 206
- moss 162
- mother 209, 212, 213
- mother earth 427, 432
- mother-in-law 210
- mould 162
- mountain 99, 121, 122, 130
- mounts (sexually) 184, 188, 189
- mourn 354, 360, 361
- mouse 134, 135, 137, 185, 185, 187, 392
- mouth 98, 174, 175
- move 278, 391, 392, 393, 394, 397, 398, 400
- mow 168
- much 317, 319
- much (as) 421
- Mucius Scaevola 432
- mud 125, 128
- mulberry 159, 160
- mumble 360
- Munda 443
- murmur 360, 361
- muscle 185, 187
- mussel 149, 150
- Mycenae 27
- Mycenaean 27, 99, 103
- nail 179, 181
- naked 193, 196, 197, 199
- name 99, 108, 356, 357–8
- names (personal) 366
- narrow 196, 297, 298, 299
- Nasatya 430
- nation 266
- nave 179, 247, 248, 253
- navel 179, 181, 247, 248
- near 289, 292
- Near East 102, 103, 252, 425, 426
- Near East pantheon 429
- neck 98, 174, 176, 247
- necklace 176, 247
- Neolithic 102, 153, 154, 455
- Neolithic model 462
- nephew 209, 211, 216, 440
- nephew of waters 410, 438
- Nerthus 438
- nest 224, 226
- net 230, 231
- nettle 162
- new 99, 300, 303, 315
- New England 133
- New Persian 34
- New Year 428
- New Zealand 445
- niece 210, 213
- night 99, 300, 301, 302, 305, 428
- nine 108, 307, 308, 314–15, 316
- ninth 307, 309, 315
- nipple 181
- Nirṛti- 434
- nit 149, 150, 151

-
- louse 150
 Njörðr 436
 Noah 4, 425
 noble 336
 noise 364
 norm 294
 Norse 437
 Norse myth 427
 Norse pantheon 429
 north 305
 North America 425, 445
 north wind 129
 Northern Germanic 22
 Northern Picene 36
 North-West Indo-European 109,
 110, 130
 Norwegian 22, 446
 nose 98, 174, 175, 200
 Nostratic 453–4
 not 97, 355, 422
 noun 115
 nourish 166, 182
 nourishment 255, 257
 now 300, 303
 Núadu 432
 Numa Pompilius 430, 432
 number 307–17, 320
 numeral 107
 Numitor 437
 nut 161

 O 360
 oak 112, 156, 158, 160, 161, 169, 171
 oar 247, 249
 oath 276, 277, 432
 oats 164, 166, 172
 observe 325, 326, 327
 obvious 325
 Odessa 171
 Odin 412
 Óðinn 430, 432, 436, 438
 Odysseus 440
Odyssey 28, 33
 offer 261
 offspring 134, 137, 204, 205
 ogam 18, 103
 Ogam Irish 18
 Ogma 433
 oil 260, 261
 old 300
 Old Church Slavonic 25, 26
 Old English 2, 13, 22, 23
 Old High German 22
 Old Irish 17, 18, 40
 Old Latin 18
 old man 204, 206, 439
 Old Norse 2, 3, 22
 Old Persian 13, 34, 35
 Old Prussian 23, 24, 153
 old woman 209
 Omaha 212, 214
 on 289, 292
 once 317, 318
 one 97, 291, 296, 308, 309–10, 316, 318
 one-eyed 194, 197, 198
 onion 167
 onomastics 447
 ooze 393, 394
 open space 287, 288
 opinion 322, 323
 oppress 282
 or 422
 orange 349
 order 271, 276
 orientation 293
 Orion 131
 orphan 207, 208
 Orpheus 425
 Orthodox church 25
 Oscan 18, 19, 104
 Ossetes 34
 Ossetic 34
 Ostrogoths 21
 other 317, 318, 320
 Otherworld 439
 otter 135, 138
 Ottoman Empire 21
 Ötzi 236

- out 186, 293
over 289, 292
overcome 278
oversee 325
ovicaprids 153
Ovid 427
owl 143, 145, 364
own 204, 208, 214, 215, 267, 343
ox 135, 140
- paddle 247, 249
pain 193, 195, 196
paint 146, 331
Pala 29
Palaeolithic 102
Palaic 29, 30
palatal 39
palm 182
Pamirs 34
Pan 434
Pāṇḍu 432
panther 142
pap 263
Paris 430, 433
partridge 144
pass 396
pass the night 219, 220
passage 250
pastoral god 434
pasture 164
patch 235
path 99, 250, 251, 401, 413
pathway 434
Patrick, St 133
paunch 185
paw 183
pay 273, 276, 277
pay attention 325
payment 273, 274
pea 167, 172
peak 289, 292
peel 372, 375, 377
peg 244
pelt 182
- pen 220
penetrate 184, 188, 189
penicillin 5
penis 158, 183, 184
people 266–67, 269, 278, 284
perceive 324, 325
perch (fish) 147
Perkūnas 122
Persia 5
Persian 5, 6
Persians 34
person 97, 199, 204
persuade 355
Petrosyan, A. 440
phantom 409, 411
pharyngeal 49
pheasant 144
Philippines 201
Phoenician(s) 28, 39
Phrygian 6, 13, 14, 37, 109, 111
physical anthropology 449–51
pick at 236
pierce 244, 279, 372, 375, 376
pig 102, 135, 138, 139, 141, 152, 153,
168, 347
piglet 135, 139
pikeperch 146
pimple 194, 197, 201
pin 235
pine 157, 159, 160
pink 349
Pisidian 30
pitch 157, 158
place 287, 288, 295, 304 323
Plain of Ervandavan 439
plait 228, 231, 237
plaiting 233
plank 226, 227, 228
plant 152
plants 201
plate 240
Plato 349
please 255, 256, 297, 336, 337
pleasing 208

-
- plough 102, 156, 163, 168, 242, 243, 252, 253, 265, 455, 462
 ploughshare 244
 pluck 168, 233, 235, 237, 272, 374
 plum-coloured 334
 poet 358
 poetry 365–6
 point 165, 298
 pointed 298, 314
 poison 261, 263
 pole 226, 227, 249, 387
 polecat 135, 138
 Polish 26
 Polydeukēs 432
 Pompeii 18
 pond 128
 poplar 157
 poppy 162
 porridge 263
 Portuguese 19
 Poseidōn 411, 434
 possess 270, 271
 possession 271, 273, 275, 275, 285
 post 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 288, 304
 pot 240, 241
 pound 372
 pour 263, 393, 394
 power 181, 203, 278
 powerful 385, 386, 412
 praise 114, 356, 357, 358
 Prākṛit 32, 33
 pray 356, 358, 365
 prepare 370
 preposition 107
 press 231, 233, 282, 383, 384, 385
 prick 372, 376
 priest 201, 412, 413, 429
 prize 273, 274, 275
 proclaim 357
 procreator 210
 Procyon 131
 project 176, 298
 projection 299
 pronoun 107
 pronouns (demonstrative) 415
 pronouns (interrogative) 419–20
 pronouns (relative) 421
 propel 393
 propose a marriage 208
 prosper 273
 protect 221, 278, 281, 282, 325
 pubic hair 176, 184
 pull 249, 387, 405, 406, 414
 pull out (wool) 231, 232
 purchase 272, 273
 pure 413
 purple 349
 Puruṣa 435
 push 278, 280, 405, 406
 put 295, 323, 358, 413
 put asunder 317, 318
 put in order 268, 295
 put in place 296
 put on clothes 231
 putrefaction 199
 Pylos 27

 Qarashahr 35
 quail 145
 quarrel 278
 queen 268
 quern 242, 243
 quick 303
 quiet 116, 353, 355
 Quirinus 433

 rage 279
 Ragnarök 439
 rain 98, 125, 126, 127
 raise 405
 rake 167, 168, 242, 243
 ram 135, 140
 rapid 347
 Rask, R. 5, 6, 7
 rat 434
 rattle 363
 raven 143
 raw 258, 260

- razor 376
reach 316, 387, 388, 395, 396
real 336
rear 184
recite 114, 356
rectangle 304
red 99, 114, 139, 241, 252, 331, 332, 333,
349, 350, 428
red deer 133, 135, 139, 141, 332
reed 162, 163
refresh 193, 201
region 304
reindeer 152
reins 247, 248, 253
rejoice 336, 337–8
relation 210
relative 216
release 391, 392, 393
remain 219, 220
remember 322, 323
remove 392
Remus 437
rend 278, 374, 375, 434
reproach 276
resin 157, 158, 161
resound 362
rest 322, 353, 355
restitution 277, 285, 297, 304
retroflex 40
retrospective archaeology 451–2
return 402
revel 338
revere 338
reverence 339
revile 343, 344
R̥gveda 33, 34, 201, 366, 424, 430, 436
Rhaetic 13, 37
Rhea Silvia 437
Rhine 170
rib 179
rich 276, 319
ride 406
right 294, 305, 316, 425, 431
ring 247
ripe 163
ritual formula 356
river 125, 126, 127, 130, 175, 434
river bank 128
river goddess 434
river mouth 127
river names 447
road 250, 434
roar 363, 364
roast 258, 260
rock 121
rod 224, 226
rodent 137
roebuck 141
roedeer 142
roll 116
Roman 16, 17, 18, 424, 437
Roman Empire 2, 19, 36
Roman myth 426, 427
Romance 4, 19, 36, 50, 99, 104, 444
Romania 36
Romanian 19, 36, 451
Romans 2, 425
Rome 4, 18, 33, 268, 431, 435
Romulus 430, 432, 436, 437
roof 225, 226
room 221, 227, 287
room (have) 288
root 97, 160, 161
root, esculent 164, 165
rot 199
rough 201, 345, 347
round 99
row (n) 295, 297
row (v) 114, 249, 403, 404
rub 184, 244, 373, 377
rude 340
Rudra 434
rule 268, 269, 284, 294
ruler 267, 284, 387
rules 267
rumble 360
rumen 185, 186
rump 182, 183

-
- run 249, 392, 394, 398, 399
 Runic 22
 rush (n) 162, 163
 Russia 171, 461, 462
 Russian 25, 26
 Russian chronicles 427
 rye 164, 165
 ryegrass 164, 165, 172

 Saami 9
 Sabines 19, 436
 sacred 411, 412
 sacred power 414
 sacrificial meal 255
 sacrifice 142, 255, 412, 413, 428–9, 435
 Saint Cyril 25
 Saka 34
 Śākti 424
 salmon 146, 147, 152, 153, 449
 salt 260, 261, 264
 same 317, 318
 Samnites 18
 Samoyedic 9
 sand 99, 122
 Sanskrit 4, 5, 6, 13, 14, 15, 32, 35, 39, 40,
 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 99, 117, 447
 sap 157, 158
 satem 47
 satisfaction 342
 satisfied 275, 342
 satisfy 341, 342
 Saussure, F. de 48
 Saxon(s) 22, 133
 say 98, 114, 353, 354, 356, 359
 saying 355
 scabby 194, 197, 201
 Scaliger, J. 4
 Scandinavia 6, 19, 133
 Scandinavian 22, 437, 446
 scare 338, 339
 scatter 389
 Schleicher, A. 45, 46, 47
 Schleicher's tale 45, 47, 116
 Schmid, W. P. 130

 scorpion 131
 Scots Gaelic 17
 scrape 373, 376
 scratch 231, 295, 297, 374, 376, 377
 scrotum 183, 184
 Scythians 34, 262
 sea 125, 127, 130, 411
 sea god 434
 seasons 114
 seat 224, 226, 227
 second 309, 310
 Second Battle of Mag Tured 439
 Second Function 431, 433, 438
 Secondary Products Revolution 284
 see 98, 116, 148, 321, 322, 325, 326,
 327, 349
 seed 97, 166
 seek 369
 seer 327
 seethe 125, 258
 seize 145, 223, 270, 271, 272, 282
 self 206, 416, 417
 sell 273, 274
 Semites 4
 Semitic 10, 314, 444, 448, 456, 457
 send 391, 392
 separate 208, 318, 320
 Serbo-Croatian 25, 26
 series 295, 297
 serpent 436, 437
 servant 267, 268, 269
 serve 370
 set 267, 295
 set in motion 391, 392, 393
 set up 297
 settle 219, 223
 settlement 220, 221, 223, 227
 seven 108, 308, 314
 seventh 307, 309
 sew 231, 234, 237
 sex organ 184
 shade 328, 330
 shadow 330
 shaft 247, 249, 253

- shake 378, 379, 380, 391, 392
shame 193, 277
Shanghai 52
sharp 147, 165, 298, 314, 340
sharpen 373, 376
shave 177, 178, 376
she 417
shear 177, 178
sheatfish 146, 147
sheep 50, 102, 110, 112, 135, 138, 140,
152, 153, 154, 237, 238, 264
shellfish 153
Shem 4
shield 245, 246
shine 129, 241, 252, 301, 305, 326, 328,
329, 330, 348, 408
shining 330
shit 192
shoe 235, 236, 237
shone 159, 175
shoot (n) 162
shoot (v) 389
shore 128
short 317, 319
shoulder 179, 180, 200
shout 353
show 353, 354
shrew 142
shrink 199, 317, 320, 377
shrivel 199, 377
shroud 236
Sicily 36
sick 199
sickle 168, 242, 243
sickness 193, 196
Siculan 36
side 178, 179, 182
side by side 289
Sidetic 30
sieve 244
sift 244
sigh 190, 360, 362
sight 348, 349
sign 189
silent 353, 355
Silk Road 6, 34
silver 103, 185, 187, 241, 242, 251,
252, 332
sinew 236
sing 356, 357, 359
singe 123, 124
single 317, 318
Sinhalese 33
sins of the warrior 438
Sirius 131
sister 210, 216
sister's husband 210, 215
sister's son 212, 216
sister-in-law 215, 217
sisterly 210
sit 98, 116, 146, 226, 227, 295,
296, 368
Śiva 424
six 308, 313–14
sixth 309, 315
sixty 309, 316
skin 97, 135, 140, 178, 182, 200, 230,
237, 251
skin disease 201
skin eruption 197
skull 174
sky 121, 128, 129, 131, 408, 427
sky daughter 409, 427, 431, 432
sky father 409
sky god 129, 329, 430, 432
slack 345
slag 347
Slavic 4, 5, 6, 12, 15, 25, 26, 43, 47,
103, 104, 109, 111, 423, 439, 445, 451,
452, 455
Slavs 435
sleep 98, 108, 116, 322, 324
slick 348
slide 400, 401
slimy 148, 151, 345, 347
sling (n) 235
slip 400
slippery 345, 348

-
- sloetree 160
 slope 122
 Slovak 26
 Slovenian 25
 slurp 256
 small 97, 211, 311
 smash 376
 smear 381, 382
 smell 336, 349
 smile 360
 smith god 409, 410, 425, 434
 smoke 99, 123, 124, 125
 smooth 348
 smoulder 123, 124
 snake 133, 146, 147, 152
 snatch 272
 sneak 400
 sneeze 192, 193
 snore 363
 snort 192
 snow 125, 126, 127, 130, 300, 305
 so long 418
 so many 418
 so much 418
 soak 348
 soft 345, 347, 348
 Sogdian 34
 solar school 427
 Soma 424
 some 317, 318
 son 209, 211
 son's wife 210
 song 356, 357
 son-in-law 210, 215
 soon 300
 soot 121
 sorcery 413
 sound 360, 362
 sound change 43, 44
 sour 348
 south 305
 South Picene 13, 14, 36
 South Slavic 25
 South-West Asia 154, 170, 251, 450
 sow (seed) 102, 167, 389
 Spain 10, 16
 Spanish 1, 19, 43, 44
 sparrow 143, 145
 speak 112, 114, 352–4, 355, 356
 spear 159, 171, 244, 245, 246, 252
 speckled 332, 334
 speech 365
 spell 412
 spend the night 222
 spend time 219
 spew 189, 191
 spin 231, 234, 237
 spindle 234, 243
 spirit 409, 410, 411
 spit (n) 244, 245, 246
 spleen 185, 187
 splinter 224, 226
 split 232, 278, 372, 374, 375
 spoke (n) 249
 spongy 348
 spotted 146, 334
 spread 240, 298, 387, 388
 sprig 161
 spring (season) 300, 302, 305
 spring (v) 398, 399
 spring (water) 127, 128
 sprinkle 389
 sprout 161
 spurn 405
 square 304
 squeeze 231, 383, 384
 squirrel 134, 137, 152
 stab 282
 staff 226
 stag 142
 stake 224, 225, 227, 288
 stalk (n) 162
 stall (n) 223
 stammer 360
 stand 98, 189, 190, 225, 226, 227, 264, 287, 288, 295, 296, 304, 347
 stand before 323
 star 98, 128, 129

- Starkaďr 438
starling 145
stay 219, 220
steal 137, 273, 275, 276, 286
steam 128, 129
stem 162
step 251, 395, 396, 397
Sterckx, C. 440
stick (v) 297, 382
sticky 345
stiff 345, 347
still 355
sting 376
stinger 150, 282
stinging insect 149, 150
stink 199, 335, 349
stir 258, 259, 378, 379, 392
stoat 141
stomach 185, 186
stone 98, 121, 122, 201, 435
storeroom 220, 222
stork 143, 145
stranger 269
strap 235
straw 162
strength 193, 203, 205, 255, 257, 278, 281, 412
stretch 235, 249, 268, 294, 299, 311, 387, 388
strew 226, 389
strike 150, 198, 226, 278, 279, 280, 282, 283, 341, 372, 374, 377
string 236
strip 246
striped 334
strong 193, 195, 267, 268, 284, 386, 425
sturgeon 147
Subanum 201
subdue 134, 136
succeed 370
success 275
successful 275
suck 255, 256, 257
suckle 182, 262
suckling 182
suffer 193, 199
sufficient 317
suit 275, 371
Sumerian 31, 457
summer 114, 115, 300, 302, 305
sun 98, 128, 201, 294, 435, 436
sun god 411, 428
support 270, 271
surpass 397
surround 232, 378
swallow (v) 149, 176, 255, 256
swamp 128
swan 145
swear 277
sweat 189, 191
Swedish 22, 446
sweet 256, 335, 336, 349
swell 184, 230, 385, 386
swim 98, 249, 403, 404
swing 383
swollen 257
sword 245, 246, 252
Syria 32
Szemerényi, O. 215

tabu 413
Tadjikistan 34
tail 97, 177, 178
take 270, 271, 272
take shape 190
tame 134, 136, 140
Taranis 433, 438
tare 164
Tarim 35
Tarquin 439
taste 114, 255, 256, 257, 258, 335, 348, 349
teach 325
teal 143
tear (n) 189, 191
tear (v) 116, 138, 246, 372, 374, 375, 377, 434

- tease out 236
 teat 179, 182
 ten 307, 308, 316
 tench 148
 tendon 185, 187
 tenth 307, 309, 315
 testicle 183, 184, 188
 tetter 194, 197
 Teutates 433, 438
 that 97, 108, 418, 421
 that size 418
 that sort 418
 then 418
 Theophrastus 169
 there 418
 thick 298, 299, 317, 320
 thickness 319
 thigh 182, 183, 201
 thin 298, 299, 317, 319
 think 204, 322, 323, 324–5
 thinking 349
 third 309, 311, 315
 Third Function 433, 436, 438, 439
 thirty 308, 316
 this 97, 417, 418
 thorn 162, 163
 Thōrr 433, 436
 thou 108, 416
 thought 322, 323, 325
 thousand 316, 386
 Thracian 6, 13, 14, 36, 104, 445, 451
 thread 177, 178, 231, 232, 234, 235, 246
 thread-end 236
 threaten 338
 threatening 340
 three 108, 308, 311
 threefold death 438
 thresh 102, 167, 168
 thrice 309
 throat 176, 185, 186
 through 288, 289, 301, 396
 throw 245, 388–9
 thrush 145
 thrust 384, 406
 thumb 181
 thunder 128, 129, 361
 thunder god 122, 409, 410, 427, 433
 thunderbolt 246
 thus 418, 422
 tick (insect) 149, 151
 tickle 377
 tie 216, 381
 time 300, 303, 305
 timid 338, 339
 tin 251
 tired 193, 371
 tiredness 195
 Tiryns 27
 Tisza 461
 Titanomachy 439
 to 289, 290, 293
 toad 350, 333
 Tocharian 6, 13, 14, 15, 35, 42, 47, 110,
 111, 115, 448
 Tocharian A 35
 Tocharian B 35
 Tocharian religion 427
 Tocharians 461, 462
 tongue 98, 174, 175, 200
 tool 111, 242, 252
 tooth 98, 174, 175, 200
 torch 244
 torment 338
 torso 201
 tortoise 148
 touch 114, 335, 336, 348, 349, 370
 toward 289
 Tower of Babel 4
 track (n) 250
 track (v) 402, 403
 tree 97, 156, 157, 160, 169, 170
 tree model 3
 tremble 338, 339, 378, 379–80
 trial 371
 Triangle 131
 trick 338, 340
 trickle 394
 tripartite 430

- Trojan War 436
troop 267, 284
trough 247, 249
trout 146, 147, 152, 153, 449
Troy 228
true 336, 337, 338
tube 220, 222
Tullus Hostilius 430, 433
tunic 235
Turfan 35
Turkic 35
Turkish 6, 26, 34, 446
turn 116, 187, 239, 248, 377, 378, 379, 380, 383
turnip 166
twelve 308, 316
twenty 308, 316
twice 309, 310
twig 161
twin 207, 208
Twin 435
twine 231, 235
twist 166, 187, 231, 234, 378, 379, 380
two 97, 293, 308, 309, 310, 316, 339
twofold 309, 310
twosome 310
Tyr 409, 430, 432

udder 179, 181
Ukraine 171, 461, 462
Ukrainian 25, 26, 446
ulcer 194, 197, 201
Umbrian 18, 19, 104
unaspirated 42
uncle 212, 214, 216
uncooked 258, 260
under 290, 293
underneath 293
undying 264
unhealthy 338
unity 296
unpleasant 338, 339
up 289, 292, 293
upright 289, 292
upwards 293
Ural 154
Uralic 7, 24, 130, 139, 151, 152, 169, 236, 365, 444, 453, 455
Urals 25, 170, 460
Urdu 33, 448
urinate 189, 191
urine 111, 113, 434, 390
Ursa Major 131, 138
use 369, 370, 371
Uyghur 35

vájra- 246
valley 121, 122, 383
vapour 128, 129
Varuna 430, 432
vault 121, 223
Vāyu 433
Vedas 33, 425, 426, 433
vehicle 252, 253, 265, 304, 387, 455, 461, 462
velar 39, 46, 47
Velinas 432
Venetic 6, 13, 14, 36 130
Venneman, T. 130
venture 369
verb 115
Vergil 421, 427
vessel 239, 240–1
Vidura 433
village 223, 228
vine 157, 166, 169
violent 340
Vishnu 424
visible 328
Vistula 19
vital force 278
vitality 193
vocative particle 359
voice 359, 360, 362
vole 153
Volscian 19
vomit 189
Vulgar Latin 19

-
- vulture 145
 vulva 183, 184

 wade 403, 404
 wagon 247, 249; *see also* vehicle
 wagon-chassis 247
 waken 325
 walk 98, 395
 wall 223, 224
 wander 402
 want 116, 341, 342
 wanting 317
 war god 409, 410, 431, 433
 war of foundation 436
 war-bands 459
 warm 344, 345, 348
 warrior 201, 205, 429, 435, 459
 warrior band 106
 warrior god 117, 425
 warrior sodality 284
 wart 148, 194, 197
 wash 111, 113, 240, 390, 403
 wasp 149
 watch 325, 326
 water 98, 108, 125, 126, 127, 128, 138,
 201, 435
 waterbird 145
 Watkins, C. 118
 wattle 228, 231, 233
 wave (n) 128
 wave (v) 338, 340
 wave of advance 453, 462
 wax 150, 261, 263
 way 397
 we 97, 108, 416
 weak 193, 425
 weakness 195
 wealth 273, 274, 285, 370–1
 weary 199
 weasel 135, 138, 139, 141, 142
 weather god 425
 weave 149, 231, 234, 235, 237, 366
 weaver 283
 wed 208
 wedge 244
 weep 363
 weevil 150
 weigh 317
 well disposed 338
 well up 394
 wells 146
 Welsh 16, 17
 werewolves 136
 west 303, 305
 West Baltic 23
 West Germanic 22
 West Slavic 25
 West Tocharian 35
 West, M. 366
 wet 345, 346, 348
 what 97, 419, 420, 421
 what sort 420
 wheat 163, 164, 166, 167, 170,
 171, 172
 wheel 247, 248, 249, 253, 304,
 377, 398
 when 419, 420
 where 419, 420
 whet 244, 373, 376
 whetstone 242, 244
 whey 262, 394
 which 419, 420, 421
 whistle 386
 white 99, 241, 331, 332, 349, 350, 428, 431
 who 97, 419, 421
 whole 193, 195, 199
 wickerwork 233
 wide 297, 298
 widow 207, 208, 318
 wife 204, 208
 wife's brother 210, 215, 217
 wife's sister's husband 216
 wild cat 135, 139, 153
 wild god 434
 willow 157, 160, 161
 wind (n) 128, 129, 201, 436
 wind (v) 116, 239, 378, 379
 wine 166, 167, 263, 264

- wing 179, 181
winter 114, 300, 302, 305, 306
wipe 377
wish 116, 341, 342
with 289, 290, 291
withies 160
without 289, 291, 315
wolf 106, 135, 138, 142, 154, 366
woman 97, 204, 214
womb 183, 184, 185, 186
wood 157, 169, 224, 225, 227, 251
woodpecker 143, 145
wool 102, 154, 177, 178, 237, 238,
455, 462
work 274, 369, 370
work clay 369, 371
worker 201
worm 149, 151
worship 414
wound 194, 198, 199, 202, 278, 280
wrap 378
wrinkle 317, 320
Wu 52
wug 149, 152
Wulfilas 19

Xavier, F. 4
Xinjiang 6, 35

Yaghnobi 34
Yama 411
Yamna 452
yawn 144, 222, 360, 362
Yayāti 263, 437
ye 108, 416, 417
year 300, 302, 303, 395
yearling 134, 136
yellow 99, 186, 241, 252, 331, 332, 333,
349, 350
Yenisei 33, 251
yesterday 300, 301
yew 157, 160, 171
yield 378
Yima 439
Ymir 435
yoke 247, 248, 249, 253
yonder 293
you 97, 416, 417
young 203, 204
Young, T. 5
youth 205
Yudhiṣṭhira 432

Zarathustra 33, 410, 424, 426
Zeus 274, 440
Zgusta, L. 47, 49
Zoroaster 33

Index Verborum

Index Verborum

Proto-Indo-European

Albanian

Anatolian Languages

Hittite

Luvian

Hieroglyphic Luvian

Lycian

Lydian

Palaic

Armenian

Baltic Languages

Latvian

Lithuanian

Old Prussian

Celtic Languages

Gaulish

Ligurian

Ibero-Celtic

Insular Celtic

Old British

Old Welsh

Middle Welsh

New Welsh

Cornish

Breton

Ogham Irish

Old Irish

Middle Irish

New Irish

Scots Gaelic

Germanic Languages

Early Germanic

Runic

Gothic

Old High German

Middle High German

New High German

Middle Low German

New Low German

Middle Dutch

New Dutch

Old Saxon

Frisian

Yiddish

Old English

Middle English

New English

Old Norse

New Icelandic

Norwegian

Swedish

Greek

Mycenaean

Greek

New Greek

Indo-Iranian Languages

Indo-Aryan

Mitanni

Sanskrit

Hindi

Kalasha

Kashmiri

Khowar

Prakrit

Torwali

Nuristani

Waigali

Iranian

Avestan

Old Persian

Middle Persian

New Persian

Bajui

Bakhtiari

Baluchi

Ishkashmi

Khotanese

Khufi

Kurdish

Ossetic

Parthian

Pashto

Roshani

Sanglechi

Sarikoli

Scythian

Shughni

Sogdian

Italic Languages

Oscan

Umbrian

Old Latin

Latin

French

Italian

Romanian

Spanish

Slavic Languages

Old Church Slavonic

Bulgarian

Serbian Church Slavonic

Serbo-Croatian

Slovenian

Russian Church Slavonic

Old Russian

New Russian

Ukrainian

Old Czech

Czech

Old Polish

Polish

Sorbian

Tocharian Languages

Tocharian A

Tocharian B

Non-Indo-European Languages

Nostratic

Afro-Asiatic

Proto-Afro-Asiatic

Egyptian

Nubian

Proto-Semitic

Pre-Akkadian

Akkadian

Hebrew

Altaic Languages

Mongolian

Turkish

Uralic Languages

Proto-Uralic

Proto-Samoyed

Proto-Ugric

Finnish

Hungarian

Hurro-Urartian Languages

Hurrian

Urartian

Kartvelian

Proto-Kartvelian

Georgian

Sino-Tibetan Languages

Chinese

Sumerian

Proto-Indo-European

Proto-Indo-European

**a, b, bh, d, dh, e, g, ĝ, gh,
ĝh, g^w, g^wh, h₁, h₂, h₃,
h₄, h_a, h_x, i, k, k̂, kh,
k^w, l/l̥, m/m̥, n/n̥, o, p,
ph, r/r̥, s, t, u, w, y**

**alu-* 413
**ālu-* 164, 165
**ānos* 247
**ar* 422
**at-* 209, 211
**baba-* 360, 365
**babhrú-* 137
**badyos* 334
**baitéh_a-* 235
**bak-* 246
**balba-* 360, 361
**balbal-* 361
**barbar-* 361
**baub-* 364
**bélos* 193, 195
**b(e)u-* 143, 145
**bukk-* 363, 364
**bulis* 182, 183
**bhabheh_a-* 166
**bhabhneh_a-* 166
**bhag-* 273, 274, 317, 318, 410
**bhagos* 409, 410
**bhāĝhus* 179, 180
**bhaċó/eh_a-* 166
**bhar-* 299
**bhardheh_a-* 178
**bharko-* 299
**bhárs* 166, 299
**bhébhhus* 134, 137, 333
**bhedh-* 372, 375, 382, 383
**bheg-* 371, 372

**b(h)egh* 289, 291
**bheg^w-* 398
**bheh₂-* 328, 329
**bhéh₂(e)s-* 330
**bhéh₂tis* 330
**bheh_a-* 330, 355
**bheh_aĝós* 113, 161, 170, 171, 449
**bheh_ameh_a-* 355
**bhei(h_x)-* 150
**bheidh-* [bend] 240
**bheidh-* [persuade] 355
**bheid-* [split] 372, 374
**bheih_a-* 278, 280
**bhel-* [blow] 385, 386
**bhel-* [coot] 145
**bhel-* [henbane] 162
**bhel-* [leaf] 97
**bhel-* [marten] 135, 139
**bhel-* [shine] 175
**bhelĝh-* 230, 385
**bhelh₁-* 331, 332, 350
**bhéll_aĝs* 226
**bhels-* 363
**bhendh-* 216, 235, 380, 381
**bhendh₂ros* 210, 216
**bhengh-* 189, 190, 319
**bhénĝhus* 190, 317, 319
**bher-* [boil] 258, 259
**bher-* [brown] 331, 333, 350
**bher-* [carry] 44, 65, 69, 119, 142, 404, 405, 413
**bher-* [cure] 199, 201
**bher-* [strike] 278, 280, 372, 374, 377
**bher-* [weave] 235

**bhére/o-* 188, 189
**bhérei* 65
**bheresi* 44
**bhérete* 65
**bhéreth₂e* 65
**bhereti* 44
**bherg-* 364
**bhergh-* 282
**bherĝh-* 121, 223
**bherĝhs* 292
**bherh_xĝ-* 328–9
**bherh_xĝós* 88, 89, 157, 159
**bhérmn-* 404
**bherō* 44
**bhēro-* 334
**bhéroh₂* 65
**bhéromes* 65
**bheront-* 65
**bhéronti* 65
**bhers-* 303
**bhertōr* 412, 413
**bherug-* 188
**bhes-* [blow] 189, 191, 385, 386
**bhes-* [rub] 373, 376
**bheud-* 282
**bheudh-* 325, 326
**bheug-* [bend] 382, 383
**bheug-* [flee] 69, 400
**bheug-* [use] 369, 370
**bheu(h_x)-* 368, 369
**bhibhóih_xe* 338, 339
**bhidh-* 240
**bhiċ^wó-* 150
**bhlaĝ-* 282
**bhlaĝh-* 413
**bhlaĝhmēn* 412, 413

- *bhleg-* 328, 329
**bhleh₁-* 364
**bhlei-* 386
**bhle_{ndh}-* 330
**bhleu-* 385
**bhlh_ad-* 157
**bhlih_{xg}-* 282
**bhloh_xdho-* 162
**bhodh_xrós* 194, 197
**bhög-* 260
**bhólg_{his}* 230, 231, 237, 385
**bhóliom* 161
**bhólom* 174, 175
**b(h)(o)mb(h)-* 364
**bhong_{hu}-* 313
**bhorg^wo-* 340
**bhóros* 69
**bhosós* 199
**bhōu* 309, 310
**bhoudhéye/o-* 325, 326
**bhrak-* 383, 384
**bhreg_̃-* 376
**bhreh₁w₁-* 127
**bhréh_{ater}-* 56, 210, 214, 217
**bhréh_atriyom* 210, 214
**bhréh_{xi}-* 278, 281
**bhrem-* 363
**bhrentós* 142
**bhreu-* [boil] 258, 259, 264
**bhreus-* [break] 376
**bhreus-* [swell] 386
**bhrg-* 258, 259
**bhrghént-* 289, 292
**bhrghéntih_a-* 409–10
**bhrghús* 289, 292
**bh₁h_{xg}ós* 89
**bhris-* 303
**bhrodhnós* 331, 332
**bh₁stís* 298, 404
**bhruh₁nós* 127
**bhruh_xnos* 333
**bhrúh_xs* 174, 175
**bh₁w-* 235
**bhudhnó-* 224, 225
**bhu_gós* 135, 141
**bhuto-* 368
**-d* 385
**daih_awér* 210, 214, 218
**dap-* 257
**dapnom* 257
**das-* 273, 274, 285
**de* 289, 290, 316
**dē* 293
**dédor_{ke}* 65
**dedrús* 194, 197, 201
**deg-* 335, 349
**deh₁-* 236, 380, 381
**déh₁m₁-* 236
**deh₃-* 81, 98, 270, 274, 413
**déh₃r/n* 273, 274
**deh_a-* 269
**deh_a(i)-* 317, 318
**déh_amos* 269
**deh_anu-* 125, 127, 434
**deh_au-* 123
**dei* 129, 301, 305, 328, 329, 408
**deik_̃-* 294, 353, 354
**deino-* 300, 301, 305
**deiwós* 329, 408, 409, 427
**dek_̃-* [hair] 177, 178, 231, 232
**dek_̃-* [take] 270, 271, 316
**dekes-* 270, 271
**dék_m* 61, 315
**dek_mmos* 315
**dék_m(t)* 308, 315
**dek_m(t)os* 309, 315
**d(e)k_mtós* 315
**déksinos* 294, 305
**del-* [aim] 320
**del-* [cut] 372, 373
**del-* [flow] 394
**dem-* 226
**demelis* 151
**dem(h_a)-* 136, 205, 219, 220, 222
**demh_a-* 134, 136
**dems-pot-* 208, 209
**den_{k̃}-* 98, 189, 191
**dens-* 325
**deph_x-* 282
**der-* [split] 116, 197, 372, 374
**der-* [sleep] 116, 322, 324
**derbh-* 378, 379
**dergh-* 272
**derh_a-* 371
**der_{k̃}-* 65, 98, 148, 325, 326, 328, 349
**derketos* 328
**des-* 269
**deuh₄-* 401, 402
**deuk-* 405
**deu(s)-* 273, 274, 285
**(d)h₂ék_{ru}* 189, 191
**d(h₃)eu-* 412, 413
**dh_{3g}h_mós* 293
**dibhro-* 142
**dībhro-* 142
**dideh₃-* 55
**dig_̃(h)-* 151
**dih₁-* 398, 399
**diks* 135, 141
**dino-* 301
**dis-* 293
**diw_yós* 409
**d(i)yēus* 329
**dk_mt dk_mtóm* 316
**dk_mtóm* 316
**dlh₁ghós* 97, 298, 299
**dlonghos* 298, 299
**dn₁pedom* 226
**dn₁ghuh_a-* 98, 174, 175
**do* 289, 290
**dok_{lo}-* 232
**dóm* 206, 220–1

- *dóm(h_a)os* 204, 205, 208, 220, 221
**dom(h_a)unos* 207
**domh_avos* 135, 140
**don-* 162
**dórk^wom* 257
**dorso-* 369
**dóru* 97, 156, 157, 169
**dous-* 179, 180
**drap-* 231–3, 236–7
**dreh_a-* 395, 398
**drem-* 395, 398
**dremor-* 398
**drep-* 232, 372, 374, 378
**drewentih₂-* 125, 127
**dṛh_xweh_a-* 164
**dṛḱ-* 148
**dṛḱónt-* 326
**dṛḱsí-* 326
**drop-* 231, 232, 237
**du* 310
**duh_aros* 298, 299
**dus-* 338, 339
**dusklewes-* 118
**dusmenēs* 283
**dvéh₃(u)* 61, 97, 308, 316
**dveh_aros* 298, 299
**dvei-* 338, 339
**dw(e)i-plos* 309, 310
**dwi-* 309–10
**dwi-* 316, 339
**dwī deḱm̃* 316
**dwis* 309, 310
**dwit(i)yo-* 310
**dwitos* 309, 310
**dwiyo-* 309, 310
**dwō deḱm̃(t)* 308
**dvoḥ₃(u)* 310
**dvoi-* 309–10
**dvoih₁* 310
**dvoyos* 309, 310
**dye(u)-* 300, 301, 305
**dyeu-* 301, 408, 427
**dyēus ph_atēr* 409, 427
**dhabh-* 283
**dhabhros* 283
**dhal-* 161
**dhap-* 255
**dheb-* 298
**dhebh-* 278, 279
**dhédhh₁i* 260, 262, 264
**dhéghōm* 99, 120, 121
**dheg^wh-* 99, 123, 124
**dheh₁-* [uncle] 216
**dheh₁-* [suck] 255, 256
**dhéh₁-* [put] 276, 285, 295, 413
**dh(e)h₁-* 267
**dheh₁(i)-* 182, 262
**dheh₁lus* 182
**dhéh₁men/i-* 276
**dhéh₁mi/men-* 276, 285
**dhēh₁s* 409, 410
**dhéh₁tis* 276
**dheigh-* 369, 371
**dheig^w-* 297
**d(h)ek^w-s* 353, 354
**dheibh-* 376
**dheig-* 235, 376
**dhen-* 398, 399
**dhéñ* 182
**dher-* [shit] 192
**dher-* [immobile] 270, 271
**dher-* [leap] 398, 399
**dhergh-* 160
**dhergh-* 381
**dhers-* 278, 282, 369
**dheu-* [die] 199
**dheu-* [run] 400
**dheub-* 290, 292
**dheugh-* 369, 370
**dheu(h_x)-* 391, 392
**dheuk-* 281
**dhghem-* 225
**dhgh(e)men* 224, 225
**dhghmón-* 97, 206
**dhghom-* 206
**dhghuh_x-* 97, 147, 152
**(dh)ghyes* 300, 301
**dhg^whei-* 194, 198, 278, 281
**dhg^wher-* 394
**dhh₁ileh_a-* 182
**dhighs* 223, 224, 228
**dh₁gh-* 277
**-dhlo-* 57
**dhōg^who-* 301
**dhóh_aus* 142
**dhoh_xnéh_a-* 164, 170
**dhólh_aos* 121, 122
**dh(o)ngu-* 328, 330
**dhonu-* 157, 159
**dhreg-* 125, 126
**dhreg-* 405
**dhregh-* 249, 399, 406
**dhreibh-* 406
**dhreid-* 192
**dhren-* 150, 360, 362
**dhreugh-*
 [companion] 338, 340
**dhreugh-* [spirit] 411
**dhrih-* 177, 178
**-dhro-* 57
**dhrogh-* 263
**dhroghós* 249
**dhroughós*
 [companion] 269
**dhroughos*
 [phantom] 409, 411
**dhúbhos* 244
**dhuḡ(h_a)tēr* 209, 213, 217
**dhuḡh_atēr diwós* 409, 427, 432
**dhuh₂mós* 99, 123, 124
**dhuh_xnos* 223
**dhūnos* 223
**dhwen-* 360, 362
**dhwenh₂-* 330
**dhwer-* 279, 372, 376
**dhwerh_x-* [break] 376
**dhwerh_x-* [harm] 278, 279

- *dhwēr_x-* [yoke] 247, 248, 253
**dhwēr_x-h₂ep-* 248
**dhwes-* 199, 411
**dhwésmi* 189, 190
**dhwōr* 108, 224
**-e/ont-* 65
**-eh₁-* 57
**-eh₂-* 63
**-eh_a-* 57
**-en-* 57
**-er-* 56
**-es-* 57
**-és-* 57
**espekēt* 47
**-eye/o-* 57, 63
**-g-* 385
**gag-* 362
**gal-* [able] 371
**gal-* [call] 114, 353, 354
**ga/ondh-* 164, 166
**garǵos* 340
**geh₁(i)-* 356, 357
**geh_a-* 338
**geh_adh-* 336, 337
**geh_au-* 336, 338
**geh_xǵh-* 403, 404
**geid-* 377
**gel-* 99, 347
**gem-* 384
**gen-* 385
**ger-* [crane] 143, 144
**ger-* [herd] 269
**ger-* [hiss] 363
**gerg-* 360, 362
**ges-* 254
**geu-* 186, 382, 383
**g(e)ulo-* 125
**glaǵh-* 360, 361
**gleubh-* 377
**glh₁is* 135, 137
**glogh-* 163
**glo(h_x)wos* 196
**gloiwos* 122
**gol-* 161
**gol(h_x)wos* 199
**gónu* 98
**gordebhós* 142
**gówr* 177
**gras-* 255
**greut-* 384
**grōdo-* 127
**grúǵs* 122
**gubho/eh_a-* 220, 222, 228
**gudóm* 185, 186, 382
**gurnos* 383
**guros* 383
**gut_ǵ* 185, 186
**gwésdos* 161
**ǵar-* 114, 353, 354
**ǵel-* 149
**ǵelu-* 149
**ǵem-* 363
**ǵemh_x-* 206, 207, 208, 215, 216
**ǵ(e)m(h_x)ros* 210, 215, 217
**ǵ(e)m(h_x)tēr* 215
**ǵenh₁-* 188, 189, 205
**ǵénh₁es-* 204, 205
**ǵenh₁tōr* 209, 210
**ǵenh₁trih_a-* 209, 213
**ǵénu-* 174, 176
**ǵeP-* 255
**ǵerh_a-* 163, 189, 190
**ǵerh_aont-* 204, 439
**ǵerh_aos* 206
**ǵeus-* 255, 256
**ǵlh₃wos-* 210, 215, 218
**ǵ(l)lák_t* 260, 262, 264
**ǵmh_xros* 216
**ǵnh₃neh_a-* 321
**ǵrh_anóm* 163, 164, 170, 172
**ǵneh₃-* 321, 322, 327
**ǵnéh₃m_ǵ* 327
**ǵneh₃tēr* 321
**ǵneh₃tis* 321
**ǵneh₃tós* 321
**ǵómbhos* 174, 175
**ǵomh_xter-* 210, 215, 217
**ǵonh_adhos* 176
**ǵónu* 183
**ǵyeuh_x-* 255
**ǵhabh-* 270, 271
**ǵhabhlo/eh_a-* 160
**ǵhaidos* 82, 141
**ǵhait(so)-* 177
**ǵhe* 69
**ǵhebhōl* 174
**ǵhedh-* 381
**ǵheh_a-* 363
**ǵhéh_a(u)m_ǵ* 176
**ǵhel-[cry]* 355
**ǵhel-* [shine] 348
**ǵhel-* [yellow] 99, 331, 333
**ǵheldh-* 341
**ǵhelǵheh_a-* 188
**ǵhel(h₂)d-* 125, 126
**ǵhéluh_xs* 148
**ǵheluneh_a-* 176
**ǵhe(n)dh-* 272
**ǵher-* 363, 364
**ǵhēr* 142
**ǵherdh-* 221, 231, 232
**ǵhērsos* 146
**ǵheuǵh-* 278, 281
**ǵhleh_xdh(ro)-* 347
**ǵhleu-* 338
**ǵhōdho-* 381
**ǵhórdhos* 220, 221, 227
**ǵhórdhs* 232
**ǵhórtos* 221
**ǵhosti-pot-* 269
**ǵhostis* 269
**ǵhou-* 324
**ǵhrebh-* [dig] 376
**ǵhrebh-* [grasp] 270, 271
**ǵhredh-* 395, 397
**ǵhrei-* 336
**ǵhreib-* 272

- *ghrem- 129
 *ghrendh- 169
 *ghres- 338, 339
 *g(h)rewom 163
 *ghromos 129
 *g(h)ru(n)(d)- 364
 *ghaisós 245
 *ghalgheh_a- 227
 *ghalh_{xros} 338, 339
 *ghan- 144
 *ghans 143, 144
 *ghasdhos 226
 *ghedye/o- 189, 192
 *gheh₁- 401, 402
 *gheh_aw- 222
 *ghei- 142
 *gheim- 300, 302, 305
 *gheis- 338, 339
 *ghel- [plough] 243, 252
 *ghel- [yellow] 186, 241, 242, 331, 333, 350
 *ghengh- 395, 397
 *gher- [hedgheg] 347
 *gher- [shine] 330
 *ghers- 345, 347
 *ghes- 317
 *ghesl(iy)os 61, 316
 *ghésr- 98, 179, 180, 313
 *gheu- 263, 393, 394
 *gheud- 394
 *gheu(h_x)- 114, 353, 354, 362
 *gheumm- 263
 *gh(e)utreh_a- 241
 *ghéyos 142
 *gh(h₁)iyeh_a- 360, 362
 *ghh_awos 220, 222
 *ghi 62
 *ghi- 245
 *ghmén- 69
 *ghnghéno/eh_a- 184
 *ghō- 293
 *ghóh₁ros 287, 288
 *ghóln- 185, 186
 *ghólos 185, 186
 *g(h)ombhros 141
 *ghor- 142, 347
 *ghorh_xneh_a- 185, 186
 *ghor(ve/o)- 341
 *ghóstos 179, 180
 *ghrésdh(i) 164, 165
 *ghs-weks 313
 *ghutóm 354, 409
 *ghwáks 244
 *ghwēr 134, 136, 152, 152
 *ghwonos 360, 362
 *g^wabh- 403
 *g^wādh- 403
 *g^weh_a- 395
 *g^weh_adh- 403
 *g^weidh- 199
 *g^weih₃- 136, 188, 189
 *g^wel- 282, 377
 *g^(w)elbhus 183, 184
 *g^welh₁- 389
 *g^welh_a- 157, 158
 *g^welōn 150, 282
 *g^wel(s)- 393, 394
 *g^wem- 98, 394, 395, 396
 *g^wén- 188
 *g^wénh_a 97, 204, 217
 *g^wer (h₃)- 176, 255, 256
 *g^wer (h_a)- 243
 *g^werh_x- 114, 356, 357, 358
 *g^wéru 244, 245
 *g^wes- 123, 124, 194, 198
 *g^wet- 114, 353, 354
 *g^wétu 157, 158
 *g^wétus 185, 186
 *g^wih₃wo- 161
 *g^w(i)yēh_a 246
 *g^wltur- 145
 *g^(w)olbho- 184
 *g^worh_x- 99, 121
 *g^wou-k^wolos 283
 *g^wōus 90, 108, 115, 135, 139
 *g^wousth₂ó- 140
 *g^wréh_xwon- 242, 243
 *g^wreh_{xu}- 345, 346
 *g^wretsos 299
 *g^wr_hx- 69
 *g^wr_hx-dheh₁- 358
 *g^wr_hx-dhh₁ós 358
 *g^wr_hxu- 69
 *g^wrih₃weh_a- 174, 176
 *g^wuh_x- 189, 192
 *g^wyeh₃- 136, 161
 *g^wyéh₃wyom 134, 136
 *g^wyeh_a- 278, 281
 *g^whaidrós 330
 *g^whedh- 356, 358, 365
 *g^whel- 342
 *g^when- 278, 279
 *g^wher- 344
 *g^whermós 69, 99, 344, 345
 *g^whih_x(slo)- 235
 *g^whonós 317, 319
 *g^whren- 324
 *g^whrensós 344, 345
 *ha 360
 *ha ha 360
 *h₁dónt- 98, 174, 175
 *h₁e- 65
 *h₁eberhom 65
 *h₁ed- 115, 175, 196, 256
 *h₁édmi 98, 254, 255
 *h₁edonom 115, 255, 256
 *h₁édwōl 193, 196
 *h₁eg- 273, 274, 285
 *h₁eg- [I] 97, 108, 60, 83, 415, 416
 *h₁eg- [say] 114, 353
 *h₁egóm 415, 416
 *h₁egh- 135, 140
 *h₁eghis 134, 137
 *h₁eghs 293
 *(h₁e)g^whénth₁óg^w him 117, 436
 *h₁ēg^whmi 255, 256
 *h₁eh₁tmén- 187, 189, 190

- *h₁eh₁tr-* 185, 187, 190
**h₁ei-* [go] 98, 250, 277, 395, 396
**h₁éi* [this] 61, 310, 417, 418
**h₁eig-* 391, 392
**h₁eih_x(s)-* 125, 126
**h₁eis-* 340, 391
**h₁éiti* 115
**h₁éit_ɾ* 250
**h₁eiwos* 157, 160
**h₁ekt-* 230, 231
**h₁ékw_{eh}_a-* 135, 139, 154
**h₁ékwos* 50, 69, 89, 135, 139, 154, 449
**h₁el-* [go] 397
**h₁el-* [red] 332
**h₁el-* [waterbird] 145
**h₁élem* 160
**h₁elew-* 161
**h₁elh₁ēn* 135, 139, 141
**h₁elh₁ni_h_a-* 141
**h₁élk_{es}-* 194, 197, 201
**h₁elu-* 139, 331, 332, 350
**h₁em-* 272
**h₁éme* 60, 83
**h₁empis* 150
**h₁en* [in] 290
**h₁en-* 303
**-h₁en-* 57
**h₁(e)n-* 314, 315
**h₁éndo* 289, 290
**h₁endróš* 183, 184
**h₁enek₁-* 395, 396
**h₁énh₁u* 289, 291, 315
**h₁en(i)* 289, 290
**h₁éni-h₃k^wo/eh_a-* 174
**h₁entér* 289, 290
**h₁en-t(e)rom* 185, 186
**h₁entrós* 186
**h₁ep-* [near] 291
**h₁ep-* [take] 270, 271, 342
**h₁eperos* 142
**h₁epi* 289, 292
**(h₁e)pi-* 184
**h₁epop* 143, 145
**h₁er-* [move] 391, 394
**h₁er-* [earth] 122
**h₁er(h₁)-* 320
**h₁ereg^wo-* 167
**h₁erh₁-* [row] 116, 249, 403, 404
**h₁erh₁-* [quiet] 116, 353, 355
**h₁erh₁tér* 404
**h₁erh₁trom* 247, 249
**h₁erh_as-* 336, 337
**h₁erh_x-* 390
**h₁eri-* 135, 140
**h₁erk^w-* 114, 356, 357
**h₁erk^wós* 357
**h₁ermen-* 193, 196
**h₁ers-* 345, 346
**h₁ers-* 393, 394
**h₁ēs-* 295, 296, 368
**h₁es-* [be] 64, 296, 337, 368, 369
**h₁es-* [throw] 388, 389
**h₁esen-* 300, 302, 305
**h₁esh₂éh_a-* 207, 208
**h₁esh₂ós* 207, 208
**h₁esh₂ɾ_ɾ* 97, 185, 187
**h₁ésmi* 64, 369
**h₁esōr* 214
**h₁éssi* 64
**h₁ést-* 69
**h₁ésteh₂t* 66
**h₁ésti* 64, 369
**h₁(e)su-* 99, 336, 337
**h₁ét(e)no-* 166
**h₁eti* 422
**h₁eu-* 179, 231
**h₁eug^wh-* 114, 356, 357
**h₁éug^whetor* 357
**h₁eu(h_a)-* 317, 319, 320
**h₁euk-* 267
**h₁eus-* 123, 124, 129
**h₁eyóm* 417
**h₁ger-* 322, 324
**h₁id* 61, 417, 418
**h₁idéh_a* 417
**h₁idh_a* 418
**h₁idóm* 417
**h₁i_h_a-* 61, 417, 418
**h₁ísus* 246
**h₁iteros* 418
**h₁i_{th}_a* 418
**h₁itnós* 250
**h₁leig-* 398, 399
**h₁lengh-* 276, 277
**h₁le(n)g^wh-* 345, 346
**h₁leudh-* [go] 395, 396
**h₁leudh-* [grow] 189, 190, 267
**h₁leudhét* 396
**h₁leudhos* 266, 267
**h₁me* 415, 416
**h₁něr* 97
**h₁néwh₁ŋ* 308, 315
**h₁néwh₁ŋ_m* 108, 308, 315
**h₁néwh₁ŋmós* 315
**h₁nēwh₁ŋ_mmos* 309
**h₁nómŋ* 81, 99, 108, 115, 356, 357
**h₁nómŋ dheh₁-* 358
**h₁óg^whis* 146, 147, 152
**h₁oi-* 96, 309
**h₁oiko-* 96
**h₁oin-* 97
**h₁oino-* 96
**h₁oinoko-* 318
**h₁oinos* 61, 69, 308, 310, 316, 318
**h₁óistro/eh_a-* 340
**h₁óitos* 276, 277
**h₁oiwo/eh_a-* 96
**h₁ónh_xes-* 273, 275
**h₁ónteros* 320
**h₁op-* 271, 342
**h₁opi* 289
**h₁opús* 96, 260, 261
**h₁orh_xdeh_a-* 145

- *h₁órs(o)-* 182, 183
**h₁óuh_xdhr* 179, 181
**h₁owes-* 178, 179
**h₁rebh-* 224, 225
**h₁reg^wes-* 328, 330
**h₁rei-* [move] 391, 392
**h₁rei-* [tear (v)] 377
**h₁reih_x-* 393, 394
**h₁reik-* 372, 374, 377
**h₁reip-* 377
**h₁rep-* 272
**h₁res-* 345, 346
**h₁reudh-* 99, 241, 331, 332, 350
**h₁reug-* 189, 191
**h₁reuk-* 375
**h₁rih_xtís* 394
**h₁roudhdós* 241, 252, 332
**h₁rudhdós* 332
**-h₁se/o-* 57
**h₁sénti* 64, 369
**h₁smés* 64
**h₁sónt-* 336, 337
**h₁sté* 64
**(h₁)su-* 336, 337
**h₁su-dhh₁énos* 276
**h₁su-menesye/o-* 338
**h₁su-suh_xó-* 337
**h₁usli-* 129
**h₁wers-* 98, 125, 126
**h₁wes-* 347
**h₁yeh_a-* 396
**h₁yenhd_ater-* 210, 216, 218
**(h₁)yēro/eh_a-* 300, 302
**h_{1/4}eīs-* 193, 195, 201
**h_{1/4}ek-* 167
**h_{1/4}ens-* 337
**h_{1/4}óh₁(e)s-* 98, 174, 175
**h_{1/4}okéteh_a-* 242, 243
**h_{1/4}ómsos* 179
**h_{1/4}ōr-* 114, 356, 365
**h₂ed-* 163, 164, 170
**h₂ed(h)-* 157, 159
**h₂eh₂(e)r-* [kidney] 185, 186
**h₂eh₂er-* [thresh] 167, 168
**h₂eh_x-* 123, 124, 226, 303, 346
**h₂eh_xmer-* 124, 303
**h₂éh_xmr* 67
**h₂éh_xōs* 99, 123, 124
**h₂eh_xs-* 67, 93, 129
**h₂eh_xsdh-* 68
**h₂eh_xs-dheh₁-* 68
**h₂eh_xsdhro-* 68
**h₂eh_xseh_a-* 67, 224, 226
**h₂eh_xsno-* 67
**h₂eh_xso-* 67
**h₂eh_xter-* 67
**h₂eh_xterye/o-* 67
**h₂éh_xti-* 67
**h₂eh_xtr* 123, 124
**h₂eh_xtreh_a-* 67, 227
**h₂eh_xtriyo-* 67
**h₂éh_xtro-* 67
**h₂ēh_xtró-* 67, 303
**h₂ēkr* 157, 159
**h₂ēk̃-* 314
**h₂ēk̃ru* 230
**h₂élbh_{it}* 164, 165
**h₂elg^who/eh_a-* 273, 274, 285
**h₂elwos* 220, 222
**h₂em-* [bitter] 336
**h₂em-* [hold] 239, 240, 248, 251
**h₂em-* [mow] 168, 169
**h₂emgh-* 381
**h₂em-h_aek̃sih_a-* 247, 248, 253
**h₂emros* 335, 336
**h₂en-* [old woman] 209, 213, 217
**h₂en-* [draw water] 258
**h₂éndhes-* 161, 162
**h₂enk-* 244, 382, 383
**h₂ensiyo/eh_a-* 247, 248, 253
**h₂ent-* 174, 175, 288, 291, 304
**h₂entbhi-* 289, 291
**h₂entbhi-k^wolos* 267, 268
**h₂enti* 288, 289, 304
**h₂eP-* 125, 126, 269, 380, 381
**h₂épes-* 179, 180
**h₂epōm nepōts* 409, 410, 438
**h₂eps-* 345
**h₂er-* 161
**h₂erdus* 289, 292
**h₂érġnt* 242
**h₂erġntom* 241, 242, 252, 332
**h₂érh₃trom* 56, 243
**h₂érh₃w-* 163
**h₂érh₃wr* 163
**h₂érh₃ye/o-* 242
**h₂erh_x-* 278, 281
**h₂erk-* [destroy] 278, 281
**h₂erk-* [hold back] 270, 271
**h₂eru-* 356, 358, 365
**h₂érwo-* 222
**h₂éryos* 220
**h₂es-* 345
**h₂eug-* 330
**h₂éuh₂-* 216, 217
**h₂éuh₂i_ha* 216, 217
**h₂éuh₂os* 209, 217
**h₂eu(h_x)s-* 258
**h₂(h_x)stér-* 67, 129
**h₂lei-* 391, 392
**h₂meh₁-* 167, 168
**h₂merg-* 169
**h₂met-* 168
**h₂nobh-* 247, 248, 253
**h₂ó/ép(e)n-* 273, 274, 285
**h₂omós* 258, 260
**h₂ónkos* 242, 244

- *h₂op-* 274, 370
**h₂ósdos* 156, 157
**h₂óst* 97, 185, 187
**h₂owikéh_a-* 135, 140
**h₂ówis* 50, 69, 112, 115, 135, 140, 154
**h₂regñtom* 242
**h₂retk̃-* 138
**h₂r̥ges-* 332
**h₂r̥gñtós* 242
**h₂r̥g̃(u)-* 331, 332, 350
**h₂r̥tkos* 88, 135, 138
**h₂stēr* 93, 98, 128, 129
**h₂wed(h₂)-* 207, 208
**h₂wed(h_x)-* 402
**h₂weh₁-* 385, 386
**h₂weh₁nt-* 128, 129
**h₂weh₁ntos* 386
**h₂weh₁yūs* 128, 129
**(h₂)wer-* 382
**h₂wes-* 219, 220, 222
**h₂wóstu* 220, 222
**h_{2/3}eh_x-* 322, 323
**h_{2/3}éihos* 247, 248, 253
**h_{2/3}(e)lg̃(h)-* 164, 165
**h_{2/3}enk̃-* 270, 274
**h_{2/3}eu-* 231, 234, 237
**h_{2/3}ēsis* 245, 252
**h_{2/3}ónkos* 273, 274
**h_{2/3}orbhos* 207, 208
**h_{2/3}osp-* 157, 159
**h_{2/3}rgis* 247, 253
**h_{2/3}uh₁e/olo-* 143, 145
**h_{2/3}uk^w-* 251
**h_{2/3}uk^w/p-* 240
**h_{2/3}webh-* 149, 231, 234, 237
**h_{2/3}wed-* 136
**h_{2/3}wédq̃* 134
**h_{2/3}weg(h)-* 372, 376
**h_{2/3}wergh-* 276, 277
**h_{2/3}wobhséh_a-* 149
**h_{2/3}wop-* 338, 339
**h_{2/3}wrgi-* 248
**h₃ed-* [hate] 343, 344
**h₃ed-* [smell] 336
**h₃ék̃teh₃(u)* 61, 62
**h₃ek^w-* 327
**h₃elek-* 182
**h₃elh₁-* 278, 281
**h₃elVn-* 179, 180, 182
**h₃eng^w-* 263, 381, 382
**h₃éng^wñ* 263
**h₃enh₂-* 278, 279
**h₃énr̥* 324
**h₃ens-* 336
**h₃ep-* 274
**h₃er-* 391
**h₃érbhis* 297, 298, 304
**h₃es(k)-* 157, 158, 171
**h₃eu-* 325, 327
**h₃eug-* 348
**h₃eust(y)o-* 127
**h₃ewis-* 327
**h₃ēwis* 325, 327
**h₃lem-* 377
**h₃ligos* 193, 196
**h₃meigh-* 128, 129
**h₃méig̃he/o-* 189, 191
**h₃merg̃-* 377
**h₃nobh-* 179, 181
**h₃nogh(w)-* 98, 179, 181
**h₃ok^w* 98, 174, 175
**h₃or-* 143, 144
**h₃reg̃-* 268, 294, 387
**h₃r̥ég̃s* 92, 267, 268, 284, 387
**h₃r̥ég̃ti* 284
**h₃reg̃tos* 294, 387
**h₃reuk-* 372
**h₄edh̃s-* 242, 243
**h₄ékmōn* 98, 121
**h₄el-* 169
**h₄(e)l̥bh-* 409, 411, 428
**h₄elbhós* 55, 99, 331, 332, 350, 428
**h₄elh₁n-* 189, 191
**h₄eli-* 135, 141
**h₄em-* 209, 213
**h₄en-* 209, 213
**h₄ep-* 209, 210, 291
**h₄epér-* 289, 291
**h₄épo* 289, 291
**h₄erg^w-* 278, 279
**h₄erh₂os* 288, 304
**h₄erós* 266, 267, 433
**h₄eryós* 266
**h₄eu* [away] 289, 291
**h₄eu-* [eat] 255, 337
**h₄log̃-* 157
**h₄órgh̃ei* 184, 188, 189
**h₄órgh̃his* 183, 184, 188
**h₄orgh̃iyeh_a* 55
**(h₄)po* 291
**h₄up-* 292
**h₄upó* 289, 292, 293
**h₄upo-sth₂i/o-* 267, 269
**h₄welk-* 405
**h₄ebi-* 161
**h₄ebVI-* 157, 158
**h₄ed* 289, 290, 293
**h₄ed-bher-* 412, 413
**h₄ēgos* 277
**h₄egwis̃y(e)h_a-* 244
**h₄eg̃-* [drive] 69, 141, 267, 269, 285, 303, 403, 405, 406
**h₄eg̃-* [fight] 278, 280
**h₄eg̃ilos* 300, 303
**h₄eg̃inom* 179
**h₄eg̃men-* 267, 284
**h₄eg̃ós* [goat] 135, 141, 179
**h₄eg̃ós* [leader] 269
**h₄eg̃reh_a-* 402, 403
**h₄eg̃ros* 69, 90, 163, 164
**h₄egh-* 338, 340
**h₄eg̃hleh_a-* 193, 196
**h₄eghlos* 338
**h₄egh(gh̃?)lu* 127
**h₄eghnutór* 69
**h₄eg̃hr̥* 300, 301

- *h_aeg^whmos* 142
**h_aeh_xperos* (?) 128
**h_aei-* [give] 270
**h_aei-* [assail] 278, 279
**h_aeid-* 386
**h_aeidh-* 123, 124, 390
**h_aeig-* 161
**h_aeig_s* 135, 141
**h_aeig^whes-* 277
**h_aeik-* 270, 271
**h_aeik_smo/eh_a-* 246
**h_aéireh_a-* 165
**h_aeis-* 22, 341
**h_aekkeh_a-* 209, 213
**h_aek-* 147, 165, 298
**h_aek_s-* 164, 165
**h_aek_e(tro)-* 147
**h_aek_s-* 179, 180, 247, 248, 253
**h_aek_sleh_a-* 179, 180
**h_aek_stí-* 164, 165
**h_aekú-* 147
**h_aek^weh_a-* 127
**h_ael-* [burn] 123, 124
**h_ael-* [flow] 393, 394
**h_ael-* [grow] 192
**h_ael-* [wander] 402
**h_aéliso-* 157, 158
**h_aélm_s* 128
**h_aeln_s* 293
**h_aelut-* 261, 265
**h_aély_s* 317, 318
**h_aem(h_x)īweh_a-* 193, 196
**h_aemesl-* 145
**h_aemh₃-* 277
**h_aen-* 418
**h_aendh_s* 193, 197
**h_aengh-* 176, 196
**h_aéng_hes-* 193, 196
**h_aeng_hus* 297, 298
**h_aeng_h(w)ēn-* 176
**h_aéng^whis* 148
**h_aénh₁-* 190
**h_aénh₁mi* 189, 190
**h_aénh₁mos* 189, 190
**h_aenh_ae* 289, 292
**h_aénh_xt(e)h_a* 224
**h_aenk-* 162
**h_aenkulos* 162
**h_aén_g* 193
**h_aenseh_a-* 240
**h_aénsus* 409, 410
**h_aenu* 293
**h_aépo* 195
**h_aepus* 193, 195
**h_aer-* [prepare] 369, 370
**h_aer-* [reed] 162
**h_aérdhis* 298
**h_aéreh_a-* 164
**h_aérh₃w_g* 164
**h_aérh₃ye/o-* 252
**h_aérh_x-* 180
**h_aérh_xmos* 179, 180
**h_aérk^wos* 246
**h_aértus* 276, 285
**h_aeru(s)-* 194, 198
**h_aes-* 346
**h_aet* [away] 289, 291
**h_aet-* [go] 303, 395
**h_aetnos* 303
**h_aeu-* 255, 336, 337
**h_aeug-* 189, 190, 313
**h_aeuges-* 278, 281, 412
**h_aeus-* 294
**h_aeusom* 241, 252
**h_aéusōs* 241, 300, 301, 305, 409, 427, 432
**h_a(e)ussketi* 300, 301
**h_aeust(e)ro-* 294
**h_aewei-* 97, 143, 152
**h_aewes-* 241, 301
**h_aewis* 164, 166
**h_aeyer-* 300, 301
**h_aeyes-* 241, 242
**h_aidhrōs* 390
**h_alei-* 381, 382
**h_aleit-* 344
**h_alek-* 278, 281
**(h_a)mauros* 330
**h_amelg-* 260, 261, 264
**(h_a)merh_{xg}^w-* 330
**h_anēr* 69, 193, 203, 204, 218, 437
**h_anh_ati-* 143, 144
**h_aógeh_a-* 157
**h_aóus-* 98, 174, 175
**h_aō(w)iom* 97, 143
**h_aóyus* 188, 189, 193, 195, 205
**h_arei(h_x)-* 320
**h_argrōs* 303
**h_aweseh_a-* 81, 241
**(h_a)wiselo-* 142
**h_awokséye/o-* 189, 190
**h_aveh_a-* 279
**h_ayeu-* 204, 205
**h_ayuh_xñkōs* 204, 205
**h_xek-* 303
**h_xep-* 180
**h_xēpis* 269
**h_xih_xigh(e/o)-* 341
**h_xih_xlu-* 128
**h_xleh_ad-* 343
**h_xnáss* 98, 174, 175
**(h_x)neid-* 343, 344
**h_xng^wnis* 91, 92, 122, 123
**h_xóiwo/eh_a-* 160
**h_xokto-* 314
**h_xokto_h(u)* 314
**h_xokto_h(u)* 314
**h_xoktō(u)* 308
**h_xoktōwōs* 309, 315
**h_xōkū* 69
**h_xōkūs* 300, 303
**h_xoldhu-* 247, 249
**h_xóleh_a-* 242, 244
**h_xólkis* 135, 139
**h_xolu-* 412, 413
**h_xóngl* 123
**h_xópes-* 369, 370
**h_xorgh_i-* 151
**h_xorki-* 151

- *h_xósghos* 157
**h_xousteh_a-* 174, 175
**h_xVnghel-* 147
**iġs-* 182
**isġhis-* 182, 183
**ish₁ros* 414
**-isto-* 59
**it-* 422
**kagh-* 223, 272
**káikos* 194, 197, 198
**kaiwelos* 317, 318
**káiwŕ(t)* 223
**kak(k)eh_aye/o-* 192
**kal-* [beautiful] 330
**kal-* [hard] 197
**kamareh_a* 223
**kamp-* 384
**kan-* 357, 358
**kannabis* 166
**kant(h)o-* 299
**kap-* [hawk] 145
**kap-* [sieze] 270, 271, 282
**kapōlo-* 174
**kápr₁* 141, 183, 184
**kápros* 135, 141
**kaptos* 282
**káput* 176
**kar-* 114, 356, 357, 359
**kark-* 149, 150
**kars-* 231, 233, 237
**kāru-* 359
**kat-* 141
**kath_ae* 290, 292
**katu-* 282
**kāu-* 145
**kau(k)-* 363, 364
**kaulós* 162, 164, 165
**kaunos* 344
**ked-* 395, 396
**keh_a-* 342, 343
**k(e)h_aisVr-* 177
**keh_aros* 206, 342
**keh_au-* [burn] 124, 278, 280
**keh_au-* [hollow out] 372, 375
**keh_xi-* 347
**kei-* 391
**kek-* 135, 138
**kel-* [deceive] 340
**kel-* [drive] 405, 406
**kel-* [prick] 372, 376
**kel(h_x)-* 405, 406
**kelh₁-* [call] 114, 353, 354
**kelh₁-* [stand] 122, 162
**kelh₁-* [strike] 282
**kelp-* 240
**kem-* [hum] 364
**kem-* [love] 343
**kem-* [press] 385
**kemeros* 162
**ken-* [fresh] 193, 195
**ken-* [love] 343
**kenh_xis* 123
**kenk-* [gird] 231, 232
**kenk-* [hunger] 257
**kenk-* [hock] 183
**kéntŕ/n-* 235
**ker-* [burn] 124
**ker-* [caw] 363, 364
**ker-* [cut] 374
**kerd-* [belt] 235
**kerd-* [cut] 377
**kerd-* [defile] 189, 191
**kérdos* 283
**kerdheh_a-* 320
**kéres-* 164, 165
**kergh-* 381
**kerh_x-* [propel] 393
**kerh_x-* [burn] 124
**kerk-* 143, 144
**kérmen-* 179
**kerp-* 167, 168
**kers-* [burn] 125
**kers-* [cut] 374
**kert-* 231, 233
**kert-* 237, 246
**kes-* 231, 233, 237
**kēs(k̄)eh_a-* 303
**ket-* 220, 222, 227, 228, 239
**keu-* 239
**keu(h_x)-* 240
**keudes-* 413
**keuh₁-* 327
**keuh_x-* 181, 197
**kéuh_xl* 194, 197
**keuk* 383
**keul-* 141
**keus-* 222, 372, 375
**kh_aónks* 261, 262
**kík(y)eh_a-* 143, 145
**kla(n)g-* 364
**kleh_a-* 388
**kleh_adhréh_a-* 161
**kleh_awis* 244
**kléinus* 160
**kleng-* 383
**klep-* 335, 349
**klh_xm(s)-* 199
**klh_xros* 226
**klh_xwos* 193, 196, 199
**klnos* 194, 197, 201
**klitér* 245
**klun-* 360, 362
**km̃h_aros* 149, 150
**km̃h_aph_a-* 150
**knab(h)-* 236, 237
**kneig^wh-* 297
**kneu-* 160
**-ko-* 57, 310, 318
**ko(m)* 289, 290
**ko(n)gos* 242, 244
**kob-* 275, 371
**kobom* 275
**koġhéh_a-* 142
**kóh_a* 261, 263
**kóh_ailus* 195, 199
**koik̄-* 177, 178
**kókso/eh_a-* 179, 180
**kol-* 382
**kolh₁ōn* 122

- *kolnós* 194, 197
**kólsos* 176
**kon-* 369, 370
**kónh_am* 184
**kopso-* 145
**kóris* 150
**korm-* 261, 263
**koros* 282
**koryonos* 269, 284
**koryos* 269, 278, 282, 284
**Kost-* 254, 255
**kós(V)los* 160
**kouh_iēi(s)* 412, 413
**k(o)us-* 222
**kreb-* 235
**kreidhrom* 244
**krek-* [beat weft] 236
**krek-* [fish eggs] 147
**krem-* 125
**kremh_xus* 167
**kréps* 178, 179
**kret-* 380
**kr(e)ubh-* 267
**kréuh_a* 185, 187
**kreu(s)-* 278, 280
**kreuĕ-* 356, 358
**kreup-* 194, 197, 201, 345, 347
**kreut-* 380
**kṛth_ipis* 236
**kṛṭkós* 298, 299
**kṛnom* 161
**krob-* 397, 398
**kroku-* 227
**krókyeh_a-* 227
**kṛsneh_a* 128
**kseĕs* 313
**kseros* 125
**kseu-* [rub] 244, 373, 376
**kseu-* [cough] 193, 196
**kseubh-* 378, 380
**ksih_xróm* 260, 262, 264
**ksun* 293
**ksuróm* 244
**(k)swei-* 386
**(k)sweid-* 260, 262, 264
**ksweĕs* 308, 313, 314
**(k)s(w)eĕs-kómt(h_a)* 309, 316
**ksweĕsos* 309, 315
**kúh_xlos* 179, 181, 197
**kuh_xp-* 240
**kuh_xs-* 273, 274
**kukū* 143, 144
**kukís* 183, 184
**kumbho/eh_a-* 239, 240, 251
**kus-* 220, 343
**kutsós* 183, 184
**kVIVĕ-* 240
**kVrC-* 143, 144
**kwat-* 258, 259
**ĕad-* 400, 401
**ĕámos* 147
**ĕank-* 156, 157
**ĕāpos* 163, 164
**ĕarh_xkeh_a-* 145
**ĕas-* 331, 334
**ĕas-* 350
**ĕasos* 134, 137
**ĕeh_i-* 114, 356, 359
**ĕeh_ikom* 164, 165
**ĕeh_is-* 359
**ĕēh_iti* 356
**ĕeh_ades-* 343, 344
**ĕeh_ak-* 400
**ĕeh_au-* 123
**ĕeh_x(i)-* 244, 373, 376
**ĕēi-* 206, 295, 296
**ĕeigh-* 303
**ĕeir-* 334
**ĕéiws* 204, 206, 220, 221
**ĕel-* [conceal] 380
**ĕel-* [protect] 222
**ĕelb-* 371
**ĕel(h_x)-* 245
**ĕēls* 220, 222, 228
**ĕelto-* 345
**ĕem-* [cover] 378, 379
**ĕem-* [hornless] 134, 137, 153
**ĕemh_a-* 193, 195, 371
**ĕenós* 320
**ĕe(n)s-* 114, 356, 365
**ĕent-* 298
**ĕe/osno-* 159
**ĕer-* [blue] 331, 333, 350
**ĕer-* [decay] 278, 279
**ĕer-* [grow] 189, 190
**ĕer-* [horn] 137
**ĕēr* 69
**ĕer(es)-* 178
**ĕérberos* 411, 439
**ĕērd* 185, 187
**ĕérh₂s* 134, 137, 153
**ĕérh₂s_r* 134, 137
**ĕerh_x-* 258, 259
**ĕers-* 249, 398, 399
**ĕer(s)no-* 127
**ĕes-* 245
**ĕet-* 340
**ĕeudh-* 278, 281
**ĕeu(h_i)-* 385, 412
**ĕeuh_x-* 372, 375
**ĕeuk-* [cry] 114, 353, 354
**ĕeuk-* [shine] 328, 329
**ĕih_xwon-* 227
**ĕiker-* 166
**ĕis* 61, 418
**ĕlei-* 295, 296
**ĕleu-* [hear] 69, 335, 349, 357, 362
**ĕleu-* [clean] 390
**ĕleus-* 335
**ĕléutrom* 360, 362
**ĕléwes-* 118, 356, 357
**ĕléws ūdhg^whitom* 366
**ĕlĭts* 224, 225, 228
**ĕlóunis* 182, 183
**ĕlutós* 335
**ĕlūtós* 335
**ĕmeh_a-* 371

- *k̥mt-* 62
**k̥mtih₁* 316
**k̥mtóm* 61, 309, 316
**k̥oh₁kd̥h₂* 156, 157
**k̥oh_xnos* 242, 244
**k̥óimos* 223
**k̥oino-* 166
**k̥oiwis* 220, 222
**k̥ókolos* 224, 226
**k̥ók^w_r* 189, 192
**k̥ólh_aōm* 162
**k̥omt-* 316
**k̥(o)nid-* 150
**k̥onk-* 387, 388
**k̥onkh_aos* 149, 150
**k̥ónkus* 146
**k̥oph₂ós* 134, 137
**k̥oph_aelos* 146
**k̥ormon-* 141
**k̥óru* 134, 137, 215
**k̥óss* 157, 159
**k̥ostrom/dhrom* 245
**k̥ouh₁ros* 412
**k̥óuh_x* 220, 222
**k̥óunos* 331, 332, 350
**k̥rdyeh_a-* 187
**k̥red-* 224, 225, 228
**k̥red-dheh₁-* 322, 323, 349
**k̥r̥h₂s-* 150
**k̥r̥h_asro(h_x)on-* 150
**k̥ripo-* 176, 177
**k̥r̥nom* 134, 137
**k̥rópos* 226
**k̥r̥rēh₂* 173, 174
**k̥r̥sos* 249
**k̥r̥wos* 331, 350
**k̥seros* 348
**k̥sēros* 348
**k̥súlom* 227
**k̥uh_xdós* 192
**k̥úh_xlos* 245
**k̥(u)wōn* 135, 138
**k̥weidos* 332
**k̥weitos* 331, 350
**k̥wen(to)-* 412
**k̥wéndhr/no-* 162
**k̥wesh_x-* 360, 362
**k̥wésh_xmi* 189, 190
**k̥witrós* 332
**k̥woidis* 332
**k̥yeh₁-* 331, 333, 350
**k̥yeino-* 145
**k̥ha-* 359, 360
**k̥ha k̥ha!* 359
**k̥^wap-* 125
**k̥^wat-* 380
**k̥^we* 62, 69, 311, 422
**k̥^wed-* 376
**k̥^weh₁(i)-* 338, 339
**k̥^weh_ak-* 420
**k̥^weh_ali* 420
**k̥^weh_am* 420
**k̥^weh_as-* 189, 191, 193, 196
**k̥^wei-* [build] 219, 220
**k̥^wei-* [pay] 276, 277
**k̥^wei-* [perceive] 325, 327
**k̥^weih₁-* 353, 355
**k̥^wek̥/g̥-* 325
**k̥^wek̥^wlo-* 249
**k̥^wek̥^wlóm* 247, 248, 253, 377
**k̥^wek̥^wlós* 377
**k̥^wel-* 248, 377, 378
**k̥^welp-* 384
**k̥^wem-* 255, 256
**k̥^went(h)-* 199
**k̥^wer-* 69, 111, 244, 369, 370, 372, 374, 413
**k̥^werp-* 378, 379
**k̥^werus* 239, 240, 251
**k̥^wésyo* 69
**k̥^wet-* 62, 166, 311
**k̥^wetes(o)res* 311
**k̥^wéti* 419, 420
**k̥^wétwor-* 61, 311
**k̥^wetwóres* 308, 311
**k̥^wetwórh_a* 311
**k̥^wetwor-pod-* 134, 136
**k̥^wetworto-* 309
**k̥^wetw(o)rtos* 312
**k̥^wi-* 420
**k̥^wíd* 97, 419, 420
**k̥^wís* 419
**k̥^wleik̥-* 193, 196
**k̥^wlep-* 342
**k̥^wleu-* 377, 378
**k̥^wo-* 419, 420
**k̥^wód* 61, 419
**k̥^wodéh_a* 419, 420
**k̥^woi* 276
**k̥^woih_xos* 419, 420
**k̥^woineh_a-* 277, 285
**k̥^woiús* 332
**k̥^wók^wlos* 248
**k̥^wóles-* 248
**k̥^woli* 420
**k̥^wólos* 248
**k̥^wóm* 419, 420
**k̥^wór* 419, 420
**k̥^wós* 61, 69, 83, 97, 419, 420
**k̥^wóteros* 61, 419, 420
**k̥^wóti* 419, 420, 421
**k̥^wrei(h_a)-* 273, 285
**k̥^wrésnos* 160
**k̥^wrmis* 149, 152
**k̥^wrsnós* 99, 331, 332, 350
**k̥^wrustēn* 345
**k̥^wr̥wis* 113, 242, 244
**k̥^wsep-* 300, 302, 305
**k̥^wtruyos* 312
**k̥^wturóm* 312
**k̥^wturyós* 309, 312
**k̥^wu* 419, 420
**k̥^wu-* 420
**k̥^wú* 419, 420
**k̥^wúr* 420
**lab-* 257
**laiwós* 294, 295
**lak-* [lick] 257

- *lak-* [tear (v)] 377
**lal-* 360, 361, 365
**la(m)bh-* 270, 271
**lap-* 328, 329
**las-* 341, 342
**lau-* 275
**leb-* 176
**lebh-* 135, 141
**leg-* 394
**leg-* 325, 326, 349
**leg-* 226, 277, 295, 296
**lēghes-* 224, 226
**leh₁d-* [slack] 193, 195
**leh₁d-* [leave] 402
**leh₁w-* 122
**leh₂-* [military action] 282
**leh₂-* [pour] 393
**leh₂wós* 278, 282, 284
**leh_a-* 362, 363
**leh_apeh_a-* 183
**leh_at-* 347
**leib-* 263
**leigh-* 255, 256
**leik^w-* 275, 401, 402
**leip-* [light] 330
**leip-* [slimy] 347, 381, 382
**leis-* 168
**leit(h_x)-* 395, 396
**lek-* 398, 399
**lem-* 411
**lomb-* 387, 388
**lendh-* 166
**leng-* 383
**lenk-* 383
**lente_a-* 161
**l(e)nto-* 348
**l(e/o)iseh_a* 168
**lep-* 122, 235, 377
**lerd-* 199, 384
**lesi-* 185, 187
**letrom* 181
**leu-* 122
**leubh-* 343
**leud-* 340
**leug-* [bend] 384
**leug-* [grieve] 360, 361
**leug-* 371, 372
**leugh-* 355
**leuh₁-* 390
**leuh₃-* 240
**leuh_x-* 402, 403
**léuh_xōn* 134, 136, 403
**leuk-* 325, 326, 328, 349
**leukós* 328
**leup-* 372, 375
**linom* 166, 237
**li(w)-* 142
**-lo-* 57, 339
**lóghos* 226
**loh_apo-* 142
**loid-* 338
**lóik^wnes-* 273, 275, 285
**l(o)iseh_a-* 168
**lokús* 128
**lōk-* 135, 139
**lōks* 146, 152, 153, 449
**lón_adhu* 182, 183
**lónko/eh_a-* 121, 122
**lōp-* 235, 236
**lord(s_k)os* 199
**lorgeh_a-* 246
**los-* 231, 232
**losiwos* 193, 195
**lóubho/eh_a-* 97, 160
**louh₁-* 240
**louh₁trom* 240
**lóuk(es)-* 328
**louksneh_a-* 129
**lu-* 97, 149
**luk-* 142
**mad-* 346
**magh-* 205, 369
**maghus* 204, 205
**maghwih_a-* 204, 205
**mai-* 122
**māk-* 384
**makros-* 298, 299
**mand-* 223
**mandh-* 257
**mant-* 257
**manu-* 409, 411
**márkos* 141
**masdos* 226
**mat-* [hoe] 242, 243, 252
**mat-* [wug] 149, 150
**māwort-* 409, 410, 433
**mādhros* 333
**mē* 422
**me/o-* 421
**med-* 193, 195, 201, 317, 318
**médhu* 82, 260, 262, 265
**medhwih_a-* 261, 263
**medhyos* 290
**megh_a-* 69, 97, 317, 319
**meh₁-* [large] 311
**meh₁-* [measure] 128, 317, 320
**meh₁* [not] 62
**meh₁(i)-* [grow] 189, 190
**meh₁(i)-* [mumble] 360, 362
**meh₁l-* 142
**meh₁m(ē)s-* 128
**mēh₁nōt* 98, 128
**meh₁ro-* 190, 320
**mēh₁tis* 317
**meh₁u-* **k^wetwor* 311
**meh₂lom* 157, 158
**meh_a-* 338, 340
**m(e)h_ad-* 345
**meh_ak-* 162
**mēh_ar* 179, 181
**meh_a(t)-* 338
**mēh_atēr* 209, 213, 217
**mēh_atrōus* 216
**meh_atruh_a-* 216, 217
**mei-* [exchange] 81, 272, 273, 285
**mei-* [fix] 225
**mei-* [less] 311, 317, 319
**meigh-* 325, 327

- *meig(h)-* 164, 165
**meih_x-* 397
**meik-* 325, 327
**meik-* 258, 259
**meino-* 322, 323
**meit-* 272, 273, 285
**meiwos* 311
**mel-* [argue] 278
**mel-* [good] 116, 336, 337
**mel-* [harm] 116, 279
**meldh-* [lightning] 129
**meldh-* [pray] 356, 358, 365
**méles-* [fault] 194, 197
**méles-* [limb] 182
**mel(h)₁-* 345, 347
**melh₂-* 166, 167, 168, 279
**meli-* 141
**mélit* 151, 260, 262
**melítih_a-* 151
**melk-* 231, 234
**mel-n-* 331, 350
**melo-* 194, 197
**memónh₂e* 322
**mē(m)s* 260, 261
**men-* [chin] 174, 176
**men-* [project] 298
**men-* [remain] 219, 220
**men-* [think] 204, 322, 325, 349
**-men-* 57, 66
**mendo/eh_a-* 194, 197
**mendyos* 142
**menegh-* 320
**ménes-* 325
**meng-* 338, 340
**menk-* [lack] 273, 274, 285
**menk-* [press] 383, 384
**menkus* 348
**ménm̃* 322, 323
**men(s)-dh(e)h₁-* 322, 323
**menth₂-* 258, 259
**méntis* 322, 323
**menus/menwos* 317, 319
**mer-* [braid] 382
**mer-* [crush] 372, 373
**mer-* [die] 98, 194, 198
**mer-* [shine] 328, 329
**merd-* 373, 376
**merih_a-* 204, 205
**merk-* 330
**mers-* 322, 323
**méryos* 204, 205
**mesg-* [dip] 81, 403
**mesg-* [intertwine] 231, 233
**meu(h)_x-* 391, 392
**meud-* 336, 338
**meug-* 340
**m(e)uh_x-* 113, 390
**méuh_xkō(n)* 320
**meuk-* 400
**mēus* 162
**meus-* 137, 391, 392
**meyu-* **k^wetwor* 311
**-mh₁no-* 65
**mh₄em-* 209, 213
**minéuti* 319
**minus* 319
**misdhós* 273, 274
**mits* 224, 225, 228
**m̃dus* 347
**m̃[dho/eh_a-* 121
**mleuh_x-* 114, 353, 354
**m̃[h_{2x}dho-* 174
**m̃k̃-* 335, 349
**mnéh_ati* 323
**m̃h_x-* 147
**m̃nyétor* 322
**-mo-* 310
**mōd-* 269
**modheros* 331
**modhr-* 350
**m(o)dhros* 333
**moh₁ro-* 320
**moi* 69
**moisós* 135, 140
**moko-* 149
**moko-* 149
**mōks* 300
**moni-* 98, 247
**monis* 174, 176
**mono-* 247
**morg̃-* 288, 304
**móri* 125, 127, 130
**morm-* 149
**mórom* 157, 159
**móros* 194, 198
**mórtos* 199, 206
**morwi-* 149
**mosghos* 185, 186
**móstr̃* 188
**moud-* 341
**mouro-* 149
**mregh-* 127
**mréghmen-* 188
**mr̃ghus* 317, 319
**mr̃k-* 167
**mr̃tís* 194, 198
**mr̃tóm* 194
**mr̃tós* 194, 198
**mu-* 361
**mū-* 194, 197
**mug-* 360, 361
**mú(k)skos* 142
**murmur-* 360, 361
**mus-* 273, 275, 286
**mús* 134, 137, 392
**mus/h_x-* 150
**muskós* 184
**mustí-* 182
**mūs(tlo)-* 185, 187
**mVnus* 203, 204
**-n-* 57
**ñ-* 422
**nak-* 231, 233, 237
**nák(es)-* 182
**nant-* 282
**ñbh(ro/ri)-* 125, 126
**ñdhero-* 290, 293
**ñdhés* 290, 293

- *ne* 62, 69, 97, 422
**nē* 422
**nébhes-* 99, 128, 129
**ned-* [knot] 231, 234
**ned-* [nettle] 162
**nedós* 162
**nedskéh_a-* 234
**néghi* 69
**neg^whrós* 188
**neh₁ēg^whō* 256
**neh₁tr-* 147
**neh₂-* 338, 339
**néh_aus* 247, 249
**néh_awis* 194, 198
**nei-* 412
**neig^w-* 390
**neih_x-* 402
**neik-* [begin] 391, 392
**neik-* [winnow] 169
**nek̂-* 98, 194, 198
**neks-* 194, 198
**nékus* 194, 198
**nek^wt-* 99, 300, 301, 305
**nem-* 270, 271
**nem-* 383
**némos-* 160
**ne/og^wnós* 193, 196
**népōts* 57, 58, 209, 211, 212, 213, 216, 217, 449
**neptih_a-* 210, 213, 217
**neptiyos* 209, 211
**neptonos* 409, 410, 438
**neptós* 58
**ner* 290, 293, 294
**nes-* 402
**neu-* [call] 114, 353, 354, 355
**neu-* [nod] 355
**-neu-* 63, 391
**neud-* [push] 406
**neud-* [use] 371
**neuos* 59
**new* 62
**new-* 63
**-new-* 57
**new-* 59
**neweh₂-* 63
**néwos* 99, 300, 303, 315
**néwyos* 303
**nh₁tr-* 147
**nh₄en-* 209, 213
**ni-* 226
**ni* 62, 289, 292
**ní-ghutos* 410
**nig^wtos* 390
**nisdos* 68, 224, 226
**ñk^wtus* 300, 302, 305
**ñ-mrtós* 264
**-no-* 57, 66, 309, 310
**nog^wedho-* 197
**nóh₁* 60, 83, 416
**n(o)h_xt-* 184
**noibhos* 412
**nōs* 60, 416
**ñsmēi* 70
**nu-* 300
**nu* 70, 303
**-o-* 57, 315
**-ó-* 57, 66
**ō* 360
**-om* 415
**os(o)nos* 135, 139
**pad-* 143, 144
**pandos* 299
**pano-* 164, 165
**pant-* 185, 186
**pap-* 179, 181
**papa* 209, 211
**parikeh_a-* 207, 208
**pastos* 345, 347
**p(a)u-* 97, 211, 320
**ped-* [fall] 400, 401
**ped-* [foot] 226, 250
**pedom* 250
**péd_s* 98
**peh₁(i)-* 278, 279
**péh₁mñ* 199
**peh₂-* 166, 240, 255, 257, 411, 434
**p(e)h₂no/eh_a-* 231, 232
**peh_{2s}-* 55
**péh₂ur* 91, 92, 99, 122, 123
**péh₂usōn* 411, 434
**peh₃(i)-* 98, 255, 256
**peh_ag̃-* 381
**peh_ak̂-* 381
**peh_x-* 344
**pei-* 356, 357
**peih_x-* 257, 262
**peik/k̂-* 343, 344
**peik̂-* 146, 331
**peis-* [blow] 385, 386
**peis-* [thresh] 167, 168
**pek̂-* 231, 232, 237, 238
**péku* 134, 136, 152
**pek^w-* 258, 259
**pek^wter-* 260
**pek^wtis* 260
**pel-* [fold] 383, 384
**pel-* [sell] 273
**pēl(h₁)ewis* 239, 251
**pēl(h_x)us* 334
**pel(i)s-* 121, 122
**peld-* 236
**pelekus* 242, 243
**peles-* 194, 198
**pelh₁-* 240, 317, 319
**pēlh₁ewis* 240
**pēlh₁us* 97, 317, 319
**pelh_a-* 393
**pelh_ak-* 297, 298
**pelh_x-* [bear] 192
**pelh_x-* [fort] 220, 221, 227
**pēlh_xus* 135, 137
**pel(i)s-* 121, 122
**pēln-* 96, 97, 182
**pelo/eh_a-* 164, 165
**pelpel-* 150
**pen-* [feed] 255, 257
**pen-* [water] 127

- *penk-* 125, 127
**pénk^we* 61, 108, 308, 311, 312
**penk^we* 181, 312, 313
**penk^we dekm̃* 316
**penk^we dekm̃(t)* 308
**penk^wē-komt(h_a)* 309, 316
**penk^wrós* 312
**pénk^wti-* 312
**pénk^wtos* 312
**pē(n)s-* 121
**pēnt-* 183
**pent-* 250, 401, 402, 413
**pent-* + **dheh₁-/*k^wer-* 412
**pe/oth_amo-* 235
**per-* [attempt] 371
**per-* [blow] 385, 386
**per-* [exchange] 273, 285
**per-* [go across] 250, 395, 396
**per-* [house] 206, 220, 222, 343
**per-* [offspring] 134
**per* [over] 288, 289, 301, 302
**per-* [strike] 278, 280, 433
**perd-* 142, 192
**pérde/o-* 189, 192
**perg-* 226
**per(h₃)-* 274
**per(h_x)-* 309, 310
**peri* 62
**peri-h₁es-* 397
**peri-steh₂-* 323
**perk-* [ash] 125
**perk-* [fear] 338, 339
**perk̃-* [ask] 208, 356, 358, 365
**perk̃-* [dig] 139
**perk̃-* [speckled] 331, 334
**pérkus* 179, 181
**perk^wunos* 409, 410, 427, 433
**pérk^wus* 160
**pers-* 389
**pér sneh_a-* 183
**pértus* 250, 396
**péru* 121, 122
**perut-* 300, 302
**pes-* 184
**pesd-* 192
**péses-* 183, 184
**pet(e)r-* 97, 179
**pet(e)r/n-* 181
**pet(h_a)-* [fly] 68, 98, 181, 398, 399, 400
**peth_a-* [spread] 240, 388
**peu(h_x)-* 199
**peug-* 377
**peuh_x-* 390
**peuk̃-* 161
**péuk̃s* 157, 159
**p(h)eu-* 385, 386
**phōl-* 401
**ph₁t-* 279
**ph₂a-tér* 56, 209, 210, 217
**ph₂a-trōus* 210, 214
**ph₂a-trwyos* 210, 214, 217
**ph_xmo-* 310
**pih_xwr̃* 260, 261
**pih_xweryōn* 261
**pih_x(y)-* 343, 344
**pik-* 161
**pik̃sko-* 146
**pik̃skos* 146, 152
**pildo-* 236
**pilos* 177, 236
**pilso-* 236
**pin-* 224, 225
**pipih_xusih_a* 260, 262, 264
**pipp-* 143
**pisd-* 385
**pismo/eh_a-* 183, 184
**pit(u)-* 157
**pítu-* 159
**pítus* 257
**(p)kórmos* 193, 196
**pleh₁dhwéh₁s* 269
**pleh₁yos* 319
**pleh_ak-* 336, 337
**pleh_ak/g-* 282
**plek̃-* [break] 377
**plek̃-* [plait] 231, 233, 237
**pl(e)t-* 179, 180
**pleth₂-* 267, 297, 387, 388
**pleu-* 96, 98, 187, 403, 404
**pléumōn* 185, 187
**pleus-* 235
**plh₁nós* 99, 317, 319
**plh₁u-poik̃/kos* 334
**plh_x-* 331, 334
**pl̃th₂ú-* 297, 298
**pl̃th₂ús* 297, 298, 388
**pl̃th₂wih_a-* 267
**plus-* 149
**plusek-* 149
**plut-* 226
**pneu-* 192
**pñ(k^w)stí-* 181, 312
**pñk^wtós* 309, 312, 315
**po* 291
**póds* 108, 112, 183
**poh₂(i)-* 283
**poh₂imén-* 283
**poh₃tlom* 240, 251
**póh_xiveh_a-* 166
**poksós* 178, 179
**pólh_am* 182
**pólik(o)s* 181
**polk̃éh_a-* 166
**polt-* 263
**póntōh₂s* 99, 250, 401
**pórkos* 82, 135, 139, 153, 168
**pos* 291, 293
**posek^wo-* 294
**posk^wo-* 289, 291
**posti* 289, 291
**póth_at̃* 240
**pótis* 70, 207, 268
**potnih_a-* 207

- *pótyetoi* 267, 268, 284
**poums-* 176, 177
**prem-* 383, 384
**prep-* 327
**prest-* 300
**preu-* 398, 399
**preug-* 398, 399
**preus-* 123, 124, 127
**pr_hh₃któs* 184
**pr_h(h₃)tis* 273, 274
**pr_hxisto-* 310
**pr_hxwo-* 310
**pr_haéh₁* 288, 289
**pr_haéi* 289, 290
**priamai* 273
**prih_xeh_a-* 207, 208, 343
**prih_xós* 204, 205, 208, 222, 343
**priis-* 310
**pr_hkeh_a-* 168
**pr_hk^(w)eh_a-* 160
**pro* 60, 289, 290
**pro-* 209, 210
**prō-* 300, 301, 310, 413
**prok_seh_a* 165
**prók_som* 164, 165
**proti* 289, 290
**próti-h₃(ō)k^wo/eh_a-* 174, 175
**psténos* 98, 179, 181, 182
**pster-* 193, 196
**pteh₁-* 400, 401
**pteleweh_a-* 159
**pteleveh_a-* 157, 159
**pū-* 335, 349
**puh_x-* 335
**puh_xes-* 199
**puh_xrós* 167, 390
**puh_xtos* 390
**pu_k-* [band] 236
**pu_k-* [press] 383, 384
**puk(eh_a)-* 97, 177, 178
**pulos* 177
**put-* 372, 374
**putlós* 209, 211, 217
**putós* 183, 184
**pyek-* 278, 280
**-r-* 57
**r_h* 70
**rabh-* 338, 339
**red-* 373, 376
**reg-* 236, 237
**reġ-* 348
**reh₁-* 295, 296
**réh₁is* 273, 275, 285
**reh₁mós* 121
**reh₁t-* 226
**rei-* [scratch] 297
**rei-* [striped] 334
**rei-* [tremble] 378, 380
**reidh-* 406
**reig-* 388
**reik-* 295, 297
**rek-* 114, 353, 354
**reknos* 348
**remb-* 387, 388
**rendh-* 372, 374
**rēp-* 401
**rēpéh_a-* 166
**resg-* 231, 233, 237
**reth₂-* 398
**reu-* 363, 364
**reud-* 434
**reudh_a-* 360, 361
**réudh_ati* 361
**reudh-* 405
**réughmen-* 260, 262, 264
**reuh_x-* 287
**reu(h_x)-* 231, 233, 237, 238, 372, 374
**réuh_xes-* 287, 288
**reuk/g-* 317, 320
**réum_h-* 177
**reumn-* 185, 186
**reup-* 371, 372
**reus-* 278, 279
**rik-* 149
**-ro-* 57
**rós* 125, 126
**roth₂eh_a-* 398
**róth₂ikos* 248, 398
**róth₂o/eh_a-* 247, 248, 253
**róth₂os* 249, 398
**roudh_aos* 361
**r_sén* 204
**rudlos* 434
**rughis* 164
**rughyo-* 164
**ruk-* 109, 235
**sab-* 157, 158
**saiwos* 340
**sakros* 412
**sal(i)k-* 160
**sam_hx₂dhos* 98, 122
**sap-* [sap] 157, 158
**sap-* [taste] 258
**saus-* 99
**sausos* 345, 346
**(s)bhondneh_a* 235
**-se/o-* 57
**sebhi* 70
**sed-* [sit] 68, 98, 116, 156, 226, 295, 296
**sed-* [go] 116, 395
**s(e)d-* 184
**sēdeh_a-* 68
**sedes-* 224, 226
**sedlo-* 68
**seldom* 227
**sedros* 227
**sedye/o-* 68
**seg-* 381
**seġh-* 278, 281, 284
**seh₁-* [separate] 318
**seh₁-* [sow] 166, 167
**seh₁(i)-* [go] 395, 396
**seh₁(i)-* [sift] 244
**seh₁i-* [sow] 167
**seh₁men-* 97, 166
**seh₁mis* 318
**seh₁ros* 299
**seh₂(i)-* 341, 342

- *séh₂tis* 342
**seh₄i-* 193, 195
**seh_a* 61, 417, 418
**seh_a(e)l-* 260, 261, 264
**seh_ag-* 325, 327
**séh_aul* 98, 128
**seik-* [pour] 393
**seik-* [reach] 387, 388
**sek-* [cut] 244, 372, 374, 412
**sek-* [dry] 196
**sekūr-* 244
**sek_s* 313
**sek^w-* [follow] 267, 291, 402
**sek^w-* [say] 359
**sek^w-* [see] 325, 326, 349
**sek^wo-* 289, 290
**sel-* [move] 397, 398, 400
**sel-* [plank] 227
**sel-* [seize] 272
**seldom* 227
**selġ-* 391, 392
**selk-* 405
**séles-* 128
**selo-* 223
**sélpes-* 96, 97, 260, 261
**sem-* [arrange] 295, 296
**sem-* [draw water] 260
**sem-* [one] 291, 317, 318
**sem-* [summer] 300, 302, 305
**semgo(lo)s* 317, 318
**sēmīs* 317, 318
**semlom* 318
**sems* 308, 310
**sen(h_a)-* 369
**seng^wh-* 356, 357, 365
**senh_xdhr-* 347
**seni/u-* 289, 291
**se(n)k-* 345, 346
**seno-meh_atér* 216
**sénos* 300, 303
**sent-* [go] 250, 395
**sent-* [perceive] 324
**sentos* 250
**sep-* [handle] 369, 370
**sep-* [taste] 258
**sepit* 164, 165
**septīn* 61, 82, 108, 308, 314
**septīmós* 309
**septmós* 315
**ser-* [flow] 262, 394
**ser-* [line up] 295, 297
**ser-* [protect] 278, 281
**seren(y)uh_xs* 411
**serk-* [circle] 99, 297, 298, 304
**serk-* [construct] 224
**serk-* [make restitution] 276, 277, 285
**serK-* [pass] 395, 396
**serp-* 400, 401
**ses-* 322, 324
**ses(y)ó-* 163
**seu-* 258, 259
**seu(h_x)-* 188, 189
**seug-* 199
**seug/k-* 257
**seuh₃-* 391, 392
**seuh_x-* 210, 211, 217
**seup-* 412, 413
**seuyós* 294
**séwe* 416, 417
**(s)grebh-* 377
**(s)greh_ab(h)-* 161
**sh₂ómen-* 356, 357
**(s)h₄upér(i)* 289, 292
**sh₄upó* 290, 293
**sh_atós* 342
**sh_awéns* 128
**silVbVr-* 79, 242
**singhós* 142
**siskus* 345, 346
**-sk-* 341
**skabh-* 270, 271
**skaiwós* 295
**(s)kamb-* 299
**(s)kand-* 128, 129, 328, 329
**skand-* 398, 399
**skauros* 194, 197
**skebh-* 376
**(s)ked-* 389
**skeh_i-* 373
**skeh_i(d)-* 372, 373
**skéits* 246
**skek-* 398, 399
**(s)kel-* [crooked] 299
**(s)kel-* [cut] 249, 372, 374
**(s)kel-* [strike] 226
**(s)keng-* 194, 197, 297, 298
**sker-* [jump] 400
**sker-* [threaten] 338, 340
**(s)ker-* [cut] 150, 168, 179, 235, 236, 244, 372, 373
**(s)kerb-* 199, 377
**(s)kerbh-* 199, 377
**(s)kert-* 373
**sket(h)-* 282
**skeu-* 193, 196
**skeubh-* 406
**(s)keud-* 388, 389
**(s)keuh_i-* 325, 413
**(s)keuh_x-* 178
**(s)keu(h_x)-* 378, 379
**(s)keup-* 320
**skidrós* 299
**(s)kóit-* 330
**(s)koitrós* 328, 329
**(s)koli-* 142
**(s)kolmo/eh_a-* 246, 247, 249
**(s)kōlos* 226
**skótos* 330
**(s)ku(n)t-* 380
**(s)kwéh_xtis* 97, 178, 179
**skwēis* 160

- *(s)kēgos* 135, 140
**(s)kēh₁w(e)r-* 129
**-skē/o-* 321
**skōyh_a* 328, 330
**(s)kup-* 179, 180
**(s)k^wálos* 146, 147
**slag-* 348
**(s)lag-* 345
**(s)lag^w-* 272
**slak-* 282
**(s)lei-* 148, 151, 345, 347
**(s)leidh-* 400, 401
**sleimak-* 151
**slenk-* 380
**sleubh-* 401
**slih_xu-* 334
**slóugos* 269
**(s)me* 289
**smeg-* 257
**smei-* 360
**smeid-* 382
**smeit-* 389
**smek̃-* 174, 176
**(s)mel-* [deceive] 338, 340
**(s)mel-* [smoke] 123, 124
**(s)meld-* 125
**(s)mer-* 322, 323
**sméru-* 96, 260, 261
**(s)me(th_a)* 290
**(s)meug-* 348, 400
**(s)m(e)ug(h)-* 125
**(s)meuk-* 348
**sm̃-loghos* 209
**sm̃mós* 317, 318
**smók̃wr̃* 176, 177
**sm̃teros* 320
**sneh₁-* 147
**(s)neh₁(i)-* 231, 234, 237
**sneh₁u-* 187, 231, 234, 237
**snéh₁wr̃* 81, 185, 187
**sneh_a-* 403
**(s)néh_a-* 249
**sneig^wh-* 125, 126
**sner-* 363
**(s)ner-* 231, 234
**sneubh-* 208
**sneudh-* 128, 129
**snig^whs* 126
**snoig^whos* 126
**snusós* 210, 215, 217
**so* 61, 97, 108, 417, 418
**-sódos* 68
**sōdos* 68
**sodye/o-* 296
**sóh₁l̃* 167
**soito/eh_a-* 413
**sokto-* 193, 196
**sók̃r̃* 189, 191, 192
**sók^wh₂ōi* 267, 284, 402
**sok^wós* 157, 158
**sók^wt* 182, 183
**solh_x-* 121
**solo/eh_a-* 223
**sólhwos* 193, 195
**som(-)* 62, 289, 291
**somo-gh̃h₁yos* 206
**somo-ph̃atōr* 209, 210
**somos* 317, 318
**sōr* 214
**soru* 273, 275, 285
**speh₁-* 341, 342
**speh₁(i)-* 273, 275, 319
**(s)p(e)iko/eh_a-* 143, 145
**(s)pek̃-* 70, 325, 326, 349
**(s)pel-* [say] 114, 356, 365
**(s)pel-* [tear (v)] 372, 375
**spelo/eh_a-* 245
**(s)pelt-* 372, 375
**(s)pen-* 231, 234, 237
**spend-* 261, 263
**speno-* 98, 181
**sper-* [sparrow] 143, 145
**sper-* [strew] 389
**sper-* [wrap] 380
**spergh-* 397, 398
**sperh₁-* 405, 406
**sperh_xg-* 389
**speud-* 397, 398
**(s)peud-* 278, 280
**(s)p(h)el-* 246
**sph̃₁rós* 317, 319, 342
**sph_aen-* 227
**(s)py(e)uh_x-* 189, 191
**(s)pingo-* 145
**spleigh-* 395, 397
**(s)plend-* 328, 329
**sploigh₂én* 185, 187
**spoh_ximo/eh_a* 126
**spoh_xino/eh_a* 125
**spolih_xom* 375
**(s)pondh(n)os* 241
**(s)pornóm* 179, 181
**spoudeh_a-* 397
**(s)preg-* 355
**(s)pre(n)g-* 378, 379
**(s)pr̃h_xg-* 360, 361
**spr̃h_xó-* 183
**srebh-* 255, 256
**sredh-* 259
**srenk-* 363
**srēno/eh_a-* 182, 183
**sre/oh_xgs* 160
**sret-* 258, 259
**sreu-* 393, 394
**sreumen* 128
**sr̃iges-* 348
**srih_xges-* 348
**sromós* 194, 197
**sr̃po/eh_a-* 242, 243
**stag-* 394
**(s)teg-* 226, 227, 380
**(s)téges-* 226
**(s)teh₂-* 66, 98, 225, 226, 264, 287, 295, 296, 304, 347
**steh₂eh₁ti* 66
**(s)teh₂ist* 264
**stéh₂men-* 66
**stéh₂mōn* 287, 288
**stéh₂no-* 66
**stéh₂tis* 287, 288

- *stéh₂ur* 224, 225, 228
**steh₂w-* 66
**(s)teh₄-* 273, 275
**steig-* 372, 376
**steigh-* 251, 395, 396
**stel-* 227, 276, 295
**(s)tel-* 355
**stembh-* 295, 296
**sten-* [moan] 360, 361
**sten-* [narrow] 299
**(s)tenh_x-* 128, 129, 361
**ster-* [barren] 194, 197
**ster-* [spread] 387, 388
**ster-* [steal] 275
**(s)ter-* 143, 145
**(s)tergh-* 372, 373
**(s)terh₁-* 345, 347
**ster(h₃)-* 226
**ster(h₃)mñ-* 224, 226
**steu-* 359
**(s)teud-* 405
**steup-* 226
**(s)teuros* 134, 136
**sth₂bho/eh_a-* 226
**sth₂ei-* 345, 347
**st(h₂)eug-* 345, 347
**-sth₂ó-* 66
**sth₂tí-* 66
**sth₂tlo-* 66
**sth₂tó-* 66
**stíghs* 250, 396
**stísteh₂ti* 66
**stlñeh_a-* 227
**stóigho/eh_a-* 397
**stómñ* 174, 175
**storos* 145
**strenk-* 236
**(s)trep-* 355
**streug-* 193, 195
**str(h_x)yon-* 147
**(s)trñéghti* 373
**stup-* 224, 225
**su-* 214
**suésör* 56
**suh_x-* 125, 126
**suh_xnús* 209, 211, 217
**suh_xros* 348
**suh_xsos* 209, 217
**suh_xyús* 209, 211
**súleh_a-* 261, 263
**supn(iy)om* 324
**supnós* 324
**sus-* 346
**sūs* 135, 139, 153
**sward-* 362
**s(w)e* 267
**swé(-)* 214, 215, 416, 417
**s(w)ebh-* 204, 206
**s(w)edh-* 267
**swedho-* 204, 206
**sweh_ade/o-* 255, 256
**sweh_adús* 256, 335
**(s)weh_agh-* 355
**swei-* 385
**sweid-* [shine] 328, 329
**sweid-* [sweat] 189, 191
**(s)weig-* 338, 340
**swekrúh_{as}* 210, 215, 218
**(s)wéks* 61, 313
**swéku_{ros}* 210, 215, 218
**swéku_{ros}* 210, 215, 218
**swel-* [burn] 124
**swel-* [plank] 227
**sweliyon-* 216
**swelno* 122
**swelp-* 123, 124
**swélp_l* 124
**swem-* 404
**swe(n)g-* 383, 384
**swenh_x-* 360, 362
**swep-* [sleep] 98, 108, 322, 324
**swep-* [throw] 389
**swépnos* 324
**swépör* 324
**swépti* 324
**swer-* [darken] 328, 330
**swer-* [post] 224, 225, 228
**(s)wer-* 114, 353, 365
**swerbh-* 380
**swerd-* 330
**swergh-* 193, 196
**swerh_xK-* 325, 326
**swero-* 194, 198
**swésör* 210, 214, 217
**swesrih_xnos* 216
**swesr(iy)ós* 210, 216
**swīg/k-* 355
**swoiniyeh_a-* 216
**swombhos* 348
**swópr_e* 324
**swopéyeti* 324
**swópéyeti* 324
**swópníyom* 322, 324
**swópnos* 322, 324
**sw(o)r-* 142
**sworaks* 142
**syō(u)ros* 210, 215, 217
**syuh₁-* 231, 234, 237
**tāg-* [arrange] 268, 295
**tag-* [touch] 336
**tagós* 267, 268, 284
**tak-* 355
**taksos* 157, 160, 171
**t-at-* 209, 211
**tat-* 211
**tauros* 82, 135, 136, 140
**te* 416
**tegu_s* 298, 299
**t(e)h₂us-* 353, 355
**teh_a-* 123, 124
**teh_ali* 418
**téh_amot(s)* 418
**téh_awot(s)* 418
**teig^w-* 182
**tek-* [beget] 188, 189, 205
**tek-* [jump] 398
**tekmen-* 188
**teknom* 204
**tekwós* 398
**téks-* 220, 243, 283, 365
**téks-* 240

- *tekso/eh_a-* 242, 243
**teḱsteh_a-* 240, 251
**teḱs(t)or/n-* 283
**telh₂-* 405, 406
**telh_x-* 356, 358
**telh_x-om* 224, 225, 228
**telk-* 406
**telp-* 287, 288
**tem-* 395, 396
**temh_x-* 278, 280
**temp-* 387
**ten-* 249, 299, 387
**teng-* [moisten] 348
**teng-* [know] 322, 323
**teng(h)-* 387
**tengh-* 345, 346
**tengh-s-* 249
**tenḥag-* 128
**tenk-* 262, 317, 320
**ténkŋ* 260, 262, 264
**tenp* 387
**tens-* 387
**ténus* 298, 299
**tep-* 344, 345
**ter-* [speak] 114, 353
**ter-* [cross] 288, 396
**ter-* [middle] 311
**ter-* [shake] 380
**ter-* [through] 311
**-tér-* [agent suffix] 57
**-ter-* [kinship suffix] 56
**t(e)r(e)tiyo-* 311
**ter(i)-* 377
**terg^w-* 338, 339
**terh₁-* 244, 372, 375
**térh₁dhrom* 244
**térh₁trom* 244
**terh₂-* 289, 290
**terh₂-* 395, 396
**TerK-* 391, 393
**terk(w)-* 231, 234, 237
**térmṇ* 288, 304
**-tero-* 59, 291
**terp-* 341, 342
**térptis* 342
**ters-* 63, 345, 346
**teter-* 143, 144
**teu-* 336, 337
**teubh-* 273, 275, 286
**teuh_a-* 385
**teus-* [empty] 319
**teus-* [happy] 336, 337
**teutéh_a-* 269
**téwe* 416
**ti* 290
**-ti-* 57, 66
**tih_xn-* 121
**tkeh₁-* 269
**tḱei-* 223
**tḱen-* 283
**tḱítis* 223
**tk^wreh₁yot-* 121
**-tlo-* 57, 66
**-(t)mo-* 59
**-tn-* 57
**tṇtós* 387
**-to-* 57, 66, 313, 315
**tód* 61, 70, 417, 418
**to(d) dh_aégħr* 301
**todh₂éḱru* 191
**todéh_a* 418, 419
**tóksom* 246
**tolko/eh_a-* 255, 257
**tolk^w-* 355
**tómh_xes-* 328, 330
**tór* 61, 418, 419
**torséye/o-* 63
**tótí* 61, 418, 421
**-tr-* 57
**trēbs* 223
**treg-* 255
**tregħ-* 399
**trei-* 311
**trem-* 378, 379, 380
**trep-* 378
**tres-* 338, 339, 378, 379, 380
**treud-* 384
**treu(h_x)-* 377
**tréyes* 61, 108, 308, 311
**trih_a* 311
**trih_atōn* 411, 434
**trī-kōmt(h_a)* 61, 308, 316
**tris* [thrice] 309, 311
**tris-* [vine] 167
**t(r)is(o)res* 311
**trito-* 311
**Tritos* 437
**triyo* 311
**triyós* 309, 315
**TṛKneh_a-* 393
**tṛnu-* 162
**-tro-* 57
**trosdos* 145
**trptéis* 342
**trstos* 346
**trsus* 346
**trus-* 162
**t(sel)-* 400
**-tu-* 57
**tu* 70
**tuh_as-ḱṇto-* 386
**túh_x* 60, 83, 97, 108, 416
**tuh_xóm* 416
**tuh_as-ḱṇtyós* 61, 316
**tur-* 311
**tussḱyos* 317, 319
**tweis-* 380
**twéks* 96, 178, 179
**twer-* [stir] 378, 379
**twer-* [take] 272
**twóh_xr* 260, 262, 264
**tworkós* 135, 139
**tyeg^w-* 414
**-u(so)-* 302
**ũd* 186, 289, 292
**udero-* 98, 185, 186
**udrós* 135, 138
**ud^rtero-* 185, 186
**uh₁wé* 417
**uk^(w)sen-* 90, 135, 140
**ul-* 363, 364

- *ulu- 143, 145
*usr- 135, 140
*uswé 416, 417
*wadh- 404
*wag- 372, 374
*wágros 246
*wai 359, 360
*wailos 142
*wak- 317, 319
*wal- 267, 268, 284
*wálsos 227
*wápōs 129, 128
*-wē 422
*wēben 245
*webh- 366
*webhel- 150
*wed- 114, 353
*wedmo/eh_a- 208
*wédŋs 88
*wedh- 278, 280
*wédhris 194, 198, 280
*weg- 231, 234, 237
*wēg- 193, 195
*wegh- 391, 392
*wēgh- 70, 247, 250, 391, 392, 404, 405
*wēghitlom 247, 404
*wēghnos 247, 253
*wēghos 250
*weg^w- 348
*weg^wh- 114, 356, 357
*weh₁ros 338
*weh_ab- 355
*w(e)h_astos 320
*weh_at- 199
*weh_xp- 125, 127
*wēi [we] 60, 83, 97, 108, 416
*weib- 378
*weid- 70, 98, 321, 322, 349
*weides- 322
*weig/k- 378
*wei(h₁)- 166, 228, 237, 231, 233
*wei(h_x)- 402
*wēih_x(e)s- 193, 194
*weih_xs 278, 281
*weik- [appear] 325, 326
*weik- [consecrate] 412
*weik- [fight] 282
*weik_s- 221
*weip- 378, 393
*weis- [ooze] 263, 393, 394
*weis- [twist] 378, 379
*weit- 157, 160
*wékeros 303
*wēk- 341
*wēk_s 313
*wek^w- 70, 98, 114, 352, 353, 359, 365
*wék^wos 365
*wel- [die] 116, 194, 198
*wel- [grass] 116, 163, 164
*wel- [see] 116, 325, 326
*wel- [turn] 116, 239, 378
*wel- [tear] 138
*wel- [warm] 348, 349
*wel- [wish] 116, 341
*weld- 372, 373
*welg- 347
*wel(h₂)- 372, 374
*wel(h_x)- 341
*weliko/eh_a- 161
*welk- 347
*wels- 176
*wēlsu- 163, 164
*welutrom 239, 240, 251
*wémh_xmi 189, 191
*wen- 278, 280, 341
*wendh- [hair] 177
*wendh- [twist] 378
*weng- 383, 384
*wenh_x- 341
*-went- 57
*wenVst(r)- 185, 186
*we/oh_xr 125, 126
*we/oikō- 205
*we/ondhso- 177
*wer- [bind] 136
*wer- [boil] 258, 260
*wer- [cover] 221, 378
*wer- [crow] 143, 144
*wer- [find] 272
*wer- [perceive] 325, 327
*werb(h)- 325, 327
*werg- 177, 178
*werg- 369, 370
*wérh_xus 297, 298
*werno/eh_a- 157, 158
*wēros 338
*wers- [peak] 289, 292
*wers- [thresh] 167, 168
*wersēn 204
*wert- 378
*werw(e)rt- 65
*werwer- 134, 137
*wes- [buy] 273
*wes- [crush] 372, 373
*wes- [dress] 70, 231, 232
*wes- [graze] 255, 257, 283
*wes- [spring] 302
*-wes- 65
*weseharo- 302
*wesno- 272, 273, 285
*wésperos 303
*wésr 300, 302, 305
*wéstor- 283
*wéstr- 70
*wesu- 336, 337
*wet- [see truly] 325, 327
*wet- [year] 300, 302
*wételos 134, 136
*weyóm 416
*wi- 289, 291
*widmén- 322
*wi-dheh₁- 208
*widheweh_a- 207, 208
*wi-dhh₁- 317, 318
*widhh₁eweh_a- 318
*widhu 160
*wih₁én 167
*wi-h_aidhro- 390

- *wih_xros* 194, 203, 204, 281
**wikso-* 161
**wik-* [all] 97
**wik-* [family] 204, 205
**wik(ā)-pot-* 208
**wik₁ntih₁* 61, 308, 316
**wik₁pots* 267, 268, 284
**wiks* 220, 221, 228
**wi(n)g-* 157, 159
**wis-* [bison] 141
**wis-* [poison] 394
**wíss* 261, 263
**witeros* 289, 291
**w₁h₂neh_a-* 70, 177, 178, 237, 238
**wlkānos* 409, 410, 434
**wlkeh_anos* 409, 410, 434
**wlk^wih_a-* 135, 154
**wlk^wos* 88, 135, 138, 366
**wl(o)p-* 135, 138
**-wn-* 57
**wnák₁tih_a* 268
**wn^qtí-* 185, 186
**w(ŋ)nákts* 267, 268, 284
**-wo-* 57, 310
**wobhel-* 150
**wódr̥* 81, 88, 98, 108, 125, 138
**wóghos* 70
**wog^whnis* 244
**wóh₁* 60, 416, 417
**woide* 322
**woikos* 221
**wóinom* 83, 164, 166, 167
**wokéh_a-* 135, 140
**wōk^ws* 359, 360
**wok^wti* 352
**wol/rno/eh_a-* 194, 198
**wólos* 177, 178
**wólswom* 176
**wórghs* 295, 297
**worh_xdi/o-* 148
**worh_xdo-* 148, 194, 197, 201
**worh_xdhus* 289, 292
**wór(h_x)g̃s* 255, 257
**worm-* 149
**worPo-* 115, 220, 221, 227
**wors₁nnó-* 292
**worto/eh_a-* 221
**wortok^w-* 145
**worwos* 168
**wos* 60, 417
**wos(h_x)ko-* 150
**wospo-* 236
**wospo/eh_a-* 231, 232
**wósu* 273, 275, 285
**wōtis* 412
**wōtó-* 327
**wōto-* 327
**wōtonó* 327
**-wr-* 57
**wr̥b-* 161
**wredh-* 189, 190
**wreg-* [press] 282
**wreg-* [track] 402, 403
**wreh₁g̃-* 377
**wreh_agh-* 163
**-(w)rep-* 378, 379
**wrētos* 134, 136
**wr̥h₁ēn* 135, 140
**wr(h_a)d-* 97, 160
**wr̥h_xos* 194, 197, 201
**wriyo/eh_a-* 220, 221, 227
**wr̥mis* 151
**wr̥to/eh_a-* 220, 221, 227
**yag̃-* 414
**yak(k)-* 199, 201
**yam* 303
**yau* 303
**(y)ebh-* 135, 141
**yébhe/o-* 188, 189
**yeg-* 125, 126
**yeh₁-* [do] 369
**yeh₁-* [throw] 389
**yeh₁g^weh_a-* 282
**yéh_{3s}-* 231, 232, 236
**-yeh_a-* [suffix] 57
**yeh_a-* [ask] 359
**yeh_a-* [go] 395, 396
**yéh_a* [relative pronoun] 421
**yéh_awot(s)* 421
**yek-* 114, 356, 357
**yék^wr̥(t)* 98, 185, 187
**yem-* 276
**Yemonos* 435
**yemos* 207, 208
**yes-* 258, 259
**-yes-* 59
**yet-* 295, 296
**yeu-* [bind] 381
**yeu-* [ripen] 163
**yeudh-* 278, 280, 283, 391, 392
**yeudhmós* 283
**yeug-* 248, 381
**yeug̃-* 258, 259
**yēuh_x-* 258, 263
**yew(e)s-* [grain] 115, 163, 164
**yew(e)s-* [order] 276, 285
**yo-* 421
**-yo* 422
**-yo-* 57
**yód* 421
**yoinis* 162
**yóku* 177
**yórks* 142
**yós* 421
**yoteros* 419, 421
**yóti* 421
**yu-* 363
**yudhmós* 283
**yugóm* 247, 248, 253
**yuh_x* 60
**yuh_{xr}-* 127
**yúh_{xs}* [broth] 261, 263
**yuh_{xs}* [ye] 108, 416, 417
**yust(iy)os* 276

Albanian**Albanian [Alb]**

**a, b, c, ç, d, e, ë, f, g, gj, h, I,
j, k, l, ll, m, n, nj, o, p,
q, r, rr, s, sh, t, th, u, v,
x, xh, y, z, zh**

a 419

agon 330

ah 159

ai 418

ajo 418

ari 138

arrë 161

asht 187

atë 211

athët 298

ballë 175

bar 166, 199

bardhë 329

bathë 166

be 355

bebe 361

bej 329

bibë 143

bie 188, 404

bind 382

bletë 151, 262

breshër 376

brumë 259, 264

bumbullit 364

bung 113, 161

çalë 299

dal 161

dalloj 373

darë 191

darkë 257

deh 392

dem 140

derë 224

dergjem 196

derr 142

det 292

dimër 302

dirsem 191

djathë 262

djathtë 294

dje 301

djeg 124

dorë 180

dra 263

drekë 257

dritë 326

drithtë 165

dru 156

duaj 380

drushk 156

dy 27, 310

dytë 310

dhe 120

dhëmb 175

dhemjë 151

dhëndër 207

dhi 141

dhjes 192

dhjetë 27, 315, 316

edh 141

elb 165

ëmbël 336

emër 358

ëndë 162

ëndërr 324

ergjës 151

ethe 124

farë 389

fjalë 356

fshij 376

ftoh 345

gërshas 357

gjak 158

gjallë 195

gjalpë 261

gjarpër 400

gjashtë 27, 313

gjatë 299

gjej 272

gjerb 256

gjeth 161

gjizë 262, 394

gju 183

gjumë 324

gjysh 209, 217

grua 204

grurë 164

gur 121

ha 255, 337

hedh 388

hënë 129, 329

heq 405

herdhe 55, 184

hie 330

hirrë 262

hypem 292

inj 290

jap 271

jerm 196

joshë 216

ju 417

ka 108, 139

kallí 376

kap 271

katër 27, 311

katërt 312

ke 272

kë 419, 420

kedh 142, 134

këlysh 142

kohë 303

kollë 191

krifë 176

krimb 150

krip 176

krye 173

kur 420

kush 420

labë 160

lakur 377

lapë 377

laps 343

lë 402

leh 363

lehtë 347

-
- lemë* 377
lëndë 161
lëngor 383
lerë 122
lig 196
lodhet 195
lopë 142
madh 319
maj 346
marr 181
mat 317
mbesë 213
mbi 291
me 290
mekan 348
mëmë 213
mëz 142
mi 137
mish 261
mjekër 176
mjel 262
mjesditë 290
mollë 158
mos 422
mot 318
muaj 129
mund 323
murg 330
natë 302
ndë 290
ndej 387
ndër 290
ndez 124
ndjek 398
nduk 405
ne 416
nëndë 27, 315
nëne 213
ngjelmët 261
n-gjesh 232
ngre 324
nguron 363
nip 211
një 310
një- 316
njeri 193, 203
njëzet 316
nji 27
njoh 321
pa 291
palë 384
parë 310
parz 181
parzëm 181
pas 291
pe 234
pelë 192
për-daj 318
për-pjek 280
pesë 27, 312
pestë 312
pi 256
pidh 184
pishë 159
piek 259
piell 192
pjerdh 192
plak 334
plas 377
plis 236
pres 280
prush 124
punë 280, 397
pushem 177
puth 384
qell 378
qënjë 182
qeth 178
qoj 392
quaj 335
resh 126, 346
ri 203
rjep 272
rreth 248, 398
rrjedh 348
rrjep 272
sasë 139
sjell 378
sorrë 332
sot 418
sup 180
surmë 333
sh- 293
shemër 205
shi 126
shligë 400
shoh 326
shosh 244
sh-pie 396
shpreg 355
shqerr 373
shtatë 27, 314
shtazë 136
shteg 397
shtjell 295
shtjerrë 198
shtrij 388
shtyj 405
tarok 140
të 416
tëngë 323
ter 136, 346
tetë 27, 314
ti 416
tjerr 234, 375
tre 27, 311
tredh 385
tremb 379
tretë 311
tri 311
trishë 167
ty 416
thadër 245
thaj 346
thel 245
thellë 375
ther 279
thërije 151
thi 139
thinjë 333
thirr 334
thjermë 333

thotë 356

u 417

ujë 125

ujk 138

unë 416

vaj 359

valë 348

vang 384

varg 297

varrë 198

ve 208

vej 234

verë 166

verr 158

vesh 175

veshk 373

vida 143

vidh 159

vjedh 404

vjehërr 215

vjerr 382

yll 129

zë 362

zjarm 344

zonjë 207

zot 207

Anatolian Languages

Hittite [Hit]

a, d, e, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, p, r,

s, t, u, w, y, z

adamma- 115, 256

adant- 175

aki 274

akkala- 167

alanza(n) 158

aliyan(a)- 141

alkista(n)- 157

allaniye- 191

alp 55

alpā- 55, 332

alpaš 59

ahwanzatar 413

an(as)sa- 180

anda(n) 290

andurza 225

annas 213

āntara- 333

anti 288

āppa 291

apuzzi 261

arā- 266

āra 266

arga 188

arha- 288

ariya- 356

arki- 184

ārki 184, 188

arkuwai- 279, 357

arman- 196

ārra- [rear end] 182

ārr(a)- [wash] 390

ārri- 182

arru- 182

arszi 394

arta 391

asān-at iyanun-at 337

asānt- 337

asanzi 64, 369

ass- 337

assiya- 337

āssu- 337

āszī 296

ates- 243

atessa- 243

attas 211

attas Isanus 431

awan 291

a(y)is- 175

dā- 270

dāi 295

daluki- 299

damaszi 136

dankuis 330

das(u)want- 274

duski- 337

duwarnai- 279

duyanalli- 310

dwarnai- 376

eka- 126

ēkt- 230

ekumi 256

epzi 271

ērman- 196

ēsa 296

ēshar 187

ēsmi 64, 369

ēssi 64

esteni 64

eswani 64

esweni 64

ēszi 64, 369

ētmi 254

euwann-a 170

ewan 163

eya(n)- 160

galaktar 262

gēnu 30, 183

gimmant- 302

gullant- 375

gurtas 221

hah(a)ri- 186

hahhar(a)- 168

hā(i)- 323

halā(i)- 392

halki- 165

halkuessar 274

hamesha- 168

hammenk- 381

han- 258

haniya- 258

hann(a)- 279

hannas 213

hant- 175, 288

hanza 288

hāpa- 126

hapessar 180

happ- 381

happina(nt)- 274, 371

har(ap)p- 208

hāras 30, 144

-
- harau-* 161
harduppi- 292
hariya- 222
hark- 271
harkis 55, 332
harkzi 281
harra- 281
hars- 243
harsiya- 243
hart(ag)ga- 138
hās 67, 123
hasduēr 156
hāssa- 67, 226
hassikk- 159
hastāi- 187
hasterza 129
hates 110
hat(t)-alkisnas 159
hatukzi 344
henkan- 274
henkzi 270
hinkzi 382
hiqqar 159
hissa- 249
hues- 219
huetar 136
huett(iya)- 402
hūhhas 209
hulana- 49, 178
hullā(i)- 281
huluganni- 253
huppai- 234
hūppar(a)- 240
hurki- 248
hurkil 277
huski- 219
huwalas 145
huwant- 129, 386
huwappi 339
huwapzi 339
hwek- 376
idālu- 196
iēzi 370
illuyanka kwenta 117
inan- 279
innarā 194
innarawant- 194
ishā- 208
ishahru 191
ishamai- 357
iskalla- 374
iskis(a)- 182
ispā(i)- 275
ispant- 263, 302
ispar- 406
ispāri 389
is(s)na- 259
istaman- 175
istarninkzi 373
itar 250
kagas 244
kala(n)k- 262
kallara- 339
kalless- 354
kaluis(sa)na 165
kank- 388
kant- 166
karas 165
k(a)rap- 271
k(a)ratān dai- 323
karsmi 373, 374
kartai- 373
kāst- 254
katkattiya- 292
katta 292
kattanipu- 237
kēr 30
ki 418
-ki 422
kīr 187
kisā(i)- 233
kiss- 233
kissar 180
kist- 124, 198
kitkar 174
kittari 296
kudur 312
kuēnzi 279
kuerzi 374
kuis 419
kuit 420
kuss- 274
kutruwa(n)- 312
kuttar 186
kuwan- 138
kuwapi 420
kuwaszi 343
lahha- 282
lahhuzi 393
lahni- 393
lahpa- 141
lā(i)- 402
lāki 296
lala- 361
lāman 358
lāman dā- 358
lāpzi 329
li(n)k- 277
lipp- 176, 382
lissi- 187
lukke- 328
mahla- 158
māi- 190
maista- 140
maklant- 299
malā(i)- 337
maldā(i)- 358
malk- 234
mall(a)- 168
māniyahh- 181
māri 181
mariyattari 373
marmar(r)a- 127, 130-
masi 421
mauszi 392
mēhur 318
mēkkis 319
memma- 362
mēni- 176, 298
mer- 198
meyu- 311
militt- 262

- mimma*- 219
mugā(i)- 361
muri- 160
nāh- 339
nāi- 402
nakki- 233
natta 422
natta āra 266
nēgna- 214
neka- 214
nekumant- 197
nekuz 302
nēpis- 129
newahh- 63
nēwas 30, 303
nini(n)k- 392
nu 300
padda- 375
pah(ha)s- 257
pahhenas 123
pahhur 91, 123
pai- 270
paltāna- 180
panduha- 186
panku- 312, 319
pappars- 389
parā 290
p(a)rāi- 386
parku- 159, 292
parnas 222
parsna- 183, 184
pāsi 256
paszi 256
pat 207
pata- 183
pattar 181, 240
pēdan 250
pēr 222
perunant- 122
peta- 399
pidda- 375
piddāi- 401
pisna- 184
pisnatar 184
pittar 181
sā(i)- 167, 196
sāh- 342
sākiya- 327
sakk- 374
sakkar 191
sakkuriya- 281
saklāi- 412
saktāizzi 196
sakutt(a)- 182
sākuwa 326
salpa- 121
sanhzi 369
sanizzis 291
s(a)rap- 256
sark- 224
sarku- 396
sarnikzi 277
sarpa- 243
sarra- 297
sāru 275
seppit 165, 170
sesa(na)- 163
sess- 324
sessnu- 324
sippand- 263
sius 408
sīwatt- 301
siyēzi 389
sumēs 417
sunna- 392
supp- 324
suppa- 413
suppala- 293
suppariya- 324
supp-i- 413
suwāi- 392
ta 418
tabarna- 299
tagu- 299
takki 271
taksan- 220
talliya- 358
tān 310
tanau 110, 159
tapissa- 344
tappala- 257
tar- 353
tarhzi 396
tariyanalli- 311
tarlā 145
tarma- 288
tarna- 393
tāru 30, 156
tāyezzi 275
tēkan 120
tekkussa- 354
tepnu- 279
tēri- 311
tēripp- 378
tēripzi 374
teriyan 311
tēzzi 295
tittiya- 295
tiyarit- 253
uekka- 178
tuhussi(i)ye- 355
tūriye- 248
tūwa- 299, 401
tuzzi- 269
u- 291
ūhi 327
^{SAL}*u(i)dati*- 208
ulip(pa)na- 138
ūpzi 292
ūrki- 403
wāki 374
wakk- 319
walh- 374
wappu- 127
war- 260
wargant- 257
warpa 115, 221
warsa- 126
warsi 168
was(sa)pa- 232
wasi 273
wātar 30, 75, 125

wēkmi 341
wēllu- 163
wellu(want)- 163
wen- 280, 341
wer(i)ye- 353
werite- 327
wēs 416
wesi- 257
wesiya- 257
wess- 232
westara- 283
wesuriya- 373
wezz- 280
widā(i)- 318
witenas 125
witenas 75
witt- 302
wiyana 166
-ya- 422
yanzi 395
yukan 30, 248
zāi- 396
z(a)munkur 176
zena(nt)- 302
zīg 416

Luvian [Luv]

annar- 193
annara/i- 203
āra/i- 302
hāwa/i- 50, 112, 140
hūrūt- 358
kuwaya- 339
m(a)nā- 323
māwa 311
nātatta- 162
palahsa- 246
piha- 329
tapar- 299
tarkasna- 139
tātariya- 353
tātis 211
tāwa/i- 337

walwa/i- 138
wār(sa) 126
waspant 232
wāsu 275, 337

Hieroglyphic Luvian [HierLuv]

azu(wa) 139, 154
is 417
tama- 219
wal(a)- 374
wawa- 140

Lycian [Lyc]

ait- 314
amu 416
arus- 266
ēmu 416
esbe- 154
ēti 293
ētre/i- 293
kbatra 213
lada- 343
mēte- 197
tti- 277
χθθαhe 163

Lydian [Lyd]

kawes 327, 413
ow- 357
sarēta 281
saw- 326
šfarwa- 353

Palaic [Pal]

bānnu 257
hā- 67, 124
hasīra- 245
hussiya- 258
-kuwat 420
pāpa 211
sūnat 392
tiyaz pāpaz 409

Armenian

Armenian [Arm]

a, b, c, c', č, č', d, e, ə, g, h, i,
j, j, k, k, k', l, l, t, m, n,
o, p, p', r, r, s, š, t, t', u,
v, w, x, y, z, ž

acem 406
aganim 231
akn 31, 175
al 261
alalem 343
alam 169
albiwr 128
alik' 334
aluēs 138
am 302
aman 239
amb-olj 291
amen(ain) 318
amis 129
amok' 336
and 162
anēc 344
anic 151
anum 358
anur 247, 324
ap'n 128
ar 138, 290
aracel 281
arawr 243
arbi 256
arcat' 242, 332
ard 276, 370
argelum 271
ariwn 187
art 163
arā-spel 356
arñem 370
aroganem 394
aseln 298
asem 353
asr 177

- astl* 129
atamn 175
ateam 344
atoc' 261
awcanem 382
awj 148
awjik' 176
awr 67, 124, 303
ayc 141
ay-d 418
aygi 160
ayl 318
ayr 193, 203, 222
ayrem 67
aytnum 386
bad 144
barjr 292
bark 340
bay 355
bekanem 371
berem 188, 404
bok' 199
brem 280
bu 145
buc 141
bueč 145
cer 190, 206
cicařn 354
cicařnuk 354
cin 205
cmrim 363
cnawt 176
cunr 31, 183
c'acnum 401
c'ax 156
č'ork' 311
c'uc'anem 327
c'urt 129
c'vem 391
c'in 145
čmlem 384
čor 348
dalar 161
darbin 283
dedevim 392
di 199
diem 256
dik' 410
dizanem 371
dnem 295
dr-and 224
drnč'im 362
du 416
dur 376
durgn 249, 400
dur-k' 224
dustr 213
eber 65
el 397
elbayr 214
elevin 161
eln 139
erastank' 184
erbuc 188
erek 330
erek' 311
eresun 316
erewim 327
erg 357
eri 311
erkan 243
erkar 299
erknč'im 339
erkotasan 316
erku 310
eřam 394
es 416
ěš 139
ev 292
ewt'n 314
ezn 140
əmpem 256
ənd 288, 293
ənderk' 186
ənt'ac' 250, 396
əst 291
ganem 279
gařn 140
garun 302
gayl 142
gayr 126
gel 341
geljk 188
geran 158
gercum 178
gerem 272
get 125
gi 379
gin 272
gind 379
gini 166
giřer 303
gitem 322
gočem 352
gog 357
gol 348
gort 148
govem 324
goy 219
hač 342
ham 258
han 213
hanem 258
han-gist 355
hanum 234
haravunk' 163
harc'anem 358
hari 280
harkanem 281
harsn 358
hasanem 396
hast 347
hat 163
haw 143, 209
hayr 210
hēk' 344
helum 319
henum 234
heru 302
het 250
hin 303
hing 312

-
- hinger-ord* 312
hingetasan 316
hiwcanim 199
hol 268
holm 190
hor 215, 217
hordan 396
hotim 336
hoviw 140
hu 199
hum 260
hun 250
hunjik 270, 274
hup 293
hur 91, 123
i 290
i-jez 417
inc 142
in-č 420
inj 142
inn 315
iž 147
jayn 362
jelun 176
jerm 344
jern 180
ji 142
jiwn 302
jlem 243
jukn 147
jil 235
kakač'em 362
kalin 158
karcr 340
karkač 362
karkut 127
kcem 377
kelem 282
kin 31, 205
kiv 161
koč'em 354
kolr 161
kov 140
křunk 144
k(u)ku 144
-k' 422
k'akor 192
k'alak 221
k'amel 385
k'an 420
k'cani 420
k'eni 217
k'erem 373
k'eri 216
k'ert'em 373
k'imk' 256
k'ot'anak 235
k'oyr 214
k'san 316
k'uk' 364
k'un 324
lakem 257
lam 363
lap'el 257
leard 187
lezu 175
lič 394
lizem 256
lk'anem 401
loganam 390
lorc'k' 384
losdi 146
loys 328
lsem 335
lu 335
luanam 404
luc 248
lusanunk' 142
malem 168
malt'em 358
mam 213
manr 320
mard 206
mat'il 150
mawru 216
mawruk' 176
mayem 362
mayr 213
mec 319
měj 290
mek' 416
mel 340
melk' 197, 347
melr 262
meranim 198
mi 310, 422
mis 261
mit 318
mizem 191
mnam 219
mor 160
mormok' 323
mořanam 323
mrmrm 361
mukn 137, 187
mun 150, 197
mux 125
neard 187
ner 216
net 162
ni- 292
nstim 296
nu 215
olok' 182
olorm 196
omn 318
op'i 159
orb 208
orcam 191
ori 144
orjik' 184
orjil 151
ork'iwn 151
oroj 140
oror 144
or 182
oskr 187
ost 156
otn 31, 183
ov 419
oyc 348
ozni 137

- popup* 145
p'arem 380
p'aycaln 187
p'orj 371
p'oyt' 280, 397
p'rngam 196
p'ul 401
p'und 241
saɾn 127
sin 320
sirem 190
sirt 31, 187
sisen 166
siwn 227
skalim 374
skesur 215
slak' 245
solim 400
soyl 375
srem 376
ster 198
stin 181
suzanem 281
šun 138
tal 215
tam 270
tasn 315
tawn 257
taygr 215
teɾem 374
ti 318
tiw 301
tiz 151
tol 320
top'em 282
toɾn 379
trc'ak 272
tun 206, 221
tur 274
tvar 142
t' 288
t'anam 124
t'aɾamim 346
t'ekn 182
t'eli 159
t'řč'im 181
t'ulow 406
t'urc 256
ul 192
unayn 319
unim 271
unkn 175
ur 420
urur 144
us 179
usanim 267
ustr 211
ut' 314
utem 254
vandem 280
vat'sun 316
vay 359
vec' 313
xaxank 359
xuc 222
xuc' 375
xul 222
y-arnem 391
yawray 214
yisun 316
ylem 397
y-ogn 319
z- 293
z-genum 232
z-k'ez 416
Baltic Languages
Latvian [Latv]
ābuol(i)s 25
aīres 165
aluôgs 394
aluôt(iêš) 402
alus 25
ap-viřde 148
āra 288
ātrs 67
Auseklis 409
āustrums 294
avs 112
bařgs 340
bauga 382
biezs 319
blaizît 282
blêju 364
blîstu 386
cîrpe 168
Debess tēvs 431
dêju 256
dīan 399
diêt 399
Dievo suneliai 432
Dievs 431
dragāju 406
drāžu 399
duonis 162
gāju 395
grebju 271
grīva 176
grūts 346
guovs 139
iz 293
kaļuôt 354
kamines 364
kāmpju 271
kārs 206
kāuns 344
kruvesis 346
legans 348
lēkāju 399
lemesis 377
lini 25
luôps 142
luoss 138
mākt 384
masalas 149
maudât 113
medus 262
melns 331
merguôt 127
mietuôt 272
mīju 272

mīkst 348
muša 25
nauju 354
nuo tām 418
pa-duse 180
paksis 178
pats 207
peļt 356
pretī 290
rādīt 190
rāibs
rūkīt 375
sakne 25
salms 162
sāls 261
sanēt 362
sapalis 146
sārni 191
secen 290
seja 330
sence 150
sieva 206
sievs 340
sirpis 243
sīts 298
sīvs 195
smeju 360
snāju 234
snāte 234
speīt 406
strebju 256
subrs 141
sula 263
sussuris 142
suvēns 139
sūzu 257
svaine 217
svārpstūt 380
svīstu 191
šķidrs 299
tīgas 128
uguns 123
ūogle 25
vaīde 148

vārsmis 168
vasa 347
velis 198
vērsis 204
vērt 327
veža 250
vidus 318
viss 25
yaut 258
zēlts 242, 333
zūobs 175

Lithuanian [Lith]

a, b, c, č, d, e (ę, è), f, g, h, i
(j, y), j, k, l, m, n, o, p,
r, s, š, t, u, ū, v, z, ž

abū 310
aistrā 340
akėčios 243
akėti 167
akis 175
akmuō 122
akstis 165
aldijā 249
algā 274
alīksnis 158
alīkas 281
alkūnē 182
ālmēs 394
alūs 25, 27, 263
angis 27, 148
anglis 25, 123
ānka 244
ap- 292
ap-rēpti 272
apušē 159
apveikiū 282
ariū 242
ārklas 243
armuō 222
aržūs 188
aš 416
aš(t)rūs 298
asā 240

ašarā 191
ašerjys 147
ašis 180, 248
āšmas 314
aštuñtas 314
aštuoni 314
ašvā 139
ašvienis 139
ato- 291
atšankē 156
au- 291
āugu 190
aūlas 222
ausis 175
aušrā 301
Aušrinē 409, 432
aūšta 301
āušti 348
aūti 231
avis 46, 112, 140
āvižos 166
až(ū) 293
bālas 332
bālti 332
bambēti 364
bañbalas 364
bar(i)ū 280, 374
barzdā 178
bāsas 199
baūbti 364
baudžiū 326
bē 291
bebrūs 137
bēgu 398
beñdras 216, 380
beñgti 371
bēras 334
berīū 404
bērzas 159
bezdu 192
birginti 282
bītē 150
blandūs 330
blaškaū 282

- blebēnti* 361
bljauju 385
blusà 149
bóba 360
brēkšta 329
broterēlis 41
bruvis 41, 175
bulis 182
burgēti 364
būrti 199
būrva 235
burzdūs 303
būtas 368
būti 368
da 290
dálba 376
dalti 373
dantis 175
dar(i)au 371
debesis 129
degù 124
derēkti 192
dérgti 126
dešimtīs 315
dešim̃tas 315
dēšinas 294
deviņtas 315
devyni 315
dēdē 216
dēti 295
diēgiu 297
dienà 301
diēvas 408
dieveris 215
diēvo duktē 409, 432
diežti 371
dilgūs 376
diriù 374
diřža 381
dobiù 279
drāges 263
drāpanos 232
draūgas 269
drēsù 282, 369
drežóti 405
drimbù 406
dù 310
dubùs 292
dujà 392
dūmai 124
dundēti 362
dúona 164
duonis 274
dúoti 270
duriù 376
dūrys 224
dvasià 191, 411
dvesiù 191
dvì 310
džiaugúos 338
ēdu 254
eimì 395
ēlnē 141
ēlnis 139
ēras 140
erēlis 144
érkē 151
esmì 369
ēsti 369
ešerỹs 147
eškētras 147
ešvà 139
ežỹs 137
gabenu 271
gagù 362
gaidrūs 330
galiù 371
gaļsas 354
ganà 319
gaūras 177
gedáuju 358
geļtas 333
gēlti 282, 377
geluō 150, 282
gemù 396
genù 279
geràs-is 421
geriù 256
gervē 144
gēsti 124, 198
giedóti 357
gijà 235, 246
gilē 158
gimù 394
gīrgždžiu 362
girià 121
gīrna 243
gīrnos 243
gláudoti 338
glinda 150
glodūs 348
godóti 272
gomurỹs 176
graudà 361
grēbti 376
grēndu 169
gresiù 340
grīdyju 397
griēbti 272
gr(i)ejù 336
grúodas 127
gūmstu 384
guōdas 381
gūrti 363
gūžti 281
gyjù 188
gýsla 235
ieškau 341
iēšmis 246
ievà 160
ilgas 299
imù 272
iñ 290
īrklas 249
irti 281
ī-sēkti 374
it 418
it 422
jaū 303
jáunas 205
jáutis 381
javaĩ 163

-
- jègà* 283
(j)èknos 187
jéntè 216
jì 417
jìs 417
jóju 396
judù 281, 392
jùdu 417
jùngas 248
jùngti 381
jùnkstu 267
júosiu 232
jūrès 127
jus 417
jūs 417
júšè 263
kadà 420
káina 277
kaisti 347
káišiu 178
kālè 142
kálnas 122
kalù 282
kamaros 343
kañpas 384
kamúoti 385
kankà 257
kāras 282
kařbas 235
kārias 282
karšiù 233
kāršti 299
kárvè 137
kàs 419
kasà 233
kasùlas 160
kataràs 420
katràs 420
káuja 280
kaũkaras 383
kaukiù 364
kaũks 383
káulas 163, 375
káušas 375
kaušti 375
kedèti 389
kélti 406
kemēras 162
kenčìù 199
kenklē 183
kepù 259
kēras 370
keřgti 381
kéršas 332
kertù 373
ket- 311
Keturai 366
keturi 311
keturkōjis 136
ketvīrtas 312
kiaulè 141
kiáutis 178
kinkaũ 232
kirmis 149, 150
Kīrnis 161
kiřvis 114, 244
klagēti 364
klausau 335
klēvas 160
klīšès 196
klóju 388
knabénti 236
kók(i)s 420
kōlei 420
korỹs 263
kósiu 191
krēklēs 236
kraujas 187
kraupùs 197, 347
krečìù 380
kremùšè 167
krēpšas 235
krieno 273
krušù 280
krutù 380
kukúoti 144
kūilas 197
kūmstè 181, 312
kuntù 380
kuř 420
kuriù 370
kurkulaĩ 147
kùrpè 235
kùrti 125
kūšỹs 184
kvāpas 125
láigyti 399
laistaũ 382
lakù 257
lahúoti 361
lankà 122
lāpas 377
lāpè 138
lāskana 232
lāšis 146
laukas 329
laužti 371
lėidžiu 402
lēju 392
lēnas 195
leņgvas 347
leñkti 383
lentà 161
leñtas 348
liáudis 190, 266
liaupsē 343
liekù 401
liepsnà 330
liežiù 256
liežūvis 175
ligà 196
lìmpù 382
linai 166
līnas 25, 27
lingúoti 383
lipti 347
lōbis 271
lóju 363
lokšnùs 342
lōpa 183
lōpas 235
lópè 329

- lūgnas* 384
lūgóti 355
luōbas 160
lupù 375
lūšis 142
lýnis 148
magėti 369
maišas 140
mākatas 149
malonūs 337
malù 168
mamà 213
mañdras 323
māras 198
mārė 127
mārgas 330
māšalas 149
māudyti 113
maudžiù 341
máuju 392
māzgas 233
mazgóti 403
mėlas 197, 340
mėlas 331
meldžiù 358
mėlynas 331
mėlžu 261
meñkas 274
mėnuo 128
merėti 323
mérkiu 330
mės 416
mėsà 261
męsti 259
mezgù 233
miėles 122
miėšti 259
miėžiai 165
miglà 129
miniù 322
minkyti 384
mintis 323
minžù 191
mirštu 198
mirštu 323
mirtis 198
móju 340
mudrūs 338
mùdu 416
mùkti 348
munkù 400
murmėnti 361
musis 25, 27
mūsos 162
muša 150
nagà 181
nāgas 181
naktis 302
nāmas 205
naudà 371
naūjas 303
ne 422
nėndrė 162
neptė 213
nepuotis 211
neriù 234, 293
nešù 396
niedėti 344
niekóti 169
niùrniu 363
nóras 194
nósis 175
nōterė 162
nù 300
núoma 271
ō 359
obuolys 25, 27, 158
otrūs 303
ožys 141
pa- 291
pādas 183
paisýti 168
pāpas 181
papijusi 262
pàs 291
paskuĩ 291
pāstaras 291
pařsas 139
pa-ūdrė 181
paustis 177
pa-vėlmi 341
pa-žastis 180
pėdà 250
peĩkti 344
pėkus 136
pela 165
pelnas 274
penkì 312
peñktas 312
penù 257
pėrdžiu 192
periù 280
Perkūnas 410, 433
Perkūno akmuo 122
pér-n-ai 303
peršù 358
pešù 232
piemuo 283
piėšti 331
piētūs 257
pieva 166
pilis 221
pilkas 334
pilnas 319
pinù 234
pirekšnys 125
pirmas 310
piršys 181
plākanas 297
plàkti 282
platūs 297
plaūtas 226
plečiù 388
plėnė 182
plėšiù 377
plūskos 235
prašaũ 358
priė 290
púdaũ 335
púolu 401
pupútis 145
pūrai 167

- pušis* 159
puvės(i)ai 199
pyzdà 184
rasà 126, 346
rātai 248, 398
rātas 248, 398
raūdas 332
ráuju 374
raumi 361
rāžas 163
rėižti 388
rėplióti 401
rezg(i)ù 233
rėžti 377
rėžti 387
riáuarmi 191
riekė 297
riekiù 375
rimti 355
rōkia 348
rópė 166
rugiaĩ 78
rugys 165
runkù 320
ruošutys 161
rūpėti 373
sakaĩ 158
sakaũ 359
salà 223
sam- 291
sāpnas 324
sapnys 324
sáulė 128
saūsas 346
savė 417
sėgti 381
sekù 326, 359, 402
selù 400
sėmti 260
sėnas 303
senkù 346
senmotė 216
sentėti 324
septiñtas 314
septyni 314
sėrgti 327
sergù 196
sėris 297
s eserėnas 216
sėdu 296
sidābras 79, 242
siekti 388
sietas 244
siju 167
siuvù 234
skabùs 376
skaidrùs 329
skaitaũ 327
skataũ 399
skeliù 374
(s)keřdžius 320
skėrys 400
skiaudžiu 196
skiedžiu 373
skiriù 373
skrōblas 161
skuřbti 199, 377
skùbti 406
skujà 160
slaugà 269
slenkù 380
slýstu 401
smāgenės 186
smaguriáuiti 257
smakrà 176
smėgenys 186
smilėkti 124
sōlymas 261
sóra 167
sótis 342
spáinė 126
spāliai 375
spandis 241
spařnas 181
spartas 380
spaudà 397
spáudiu 280
spáuisti 397
spėju 275, 342
spenys 181
spiauju 191
splėndžiu 329
spragėti 361
springstù 379
sprūgti 399
sraviù 394
stābas 226
stāčias 287
stāklės 66
starinù 347
steigiù 396
stembti 296
stenù 361
stiegiu 380
stomuō 66, 287
stónas 66
stóras 347
stóvia 66
strāzdas 145
strėna 182
strūjus 214
stúkti 347
stumbras 141
sù 293
sūdyti 336
suntù 395
sūras 348
su-rėsti 272
sutógti 295
svagėti 355
sváinė 217
svidù 329
sviestas 262
svilù 124
šakà 156
šakalys 226
šaknis 25, 27
šáltas 345
šāmas 148
šāpalas 146
šárka 145
šarmà 127

- šarmuõ* 141
šaukiù 354
šeivà 222
šėkas 165
sėkmas 314
šelpiù 371
šėmas 333
šers 178
šeši 313
šėškas 138
šėštas 313
šėšuras 215
šiáurė 129
šiėnas 166
šikù 192
šiĩntas 316
širdis 187
šiĩrmas 333
šiĩršė 150
šiĩršuõ 137
šiĩrvas 333
šiĩrvis 333
šis 418
šiũras 129
šliėti 296
šlúoju 390
šókti 400
šúdas 192
šúlas 227
šuõ 138
švéndras 162
šveĩntas 412
švitriùs 332
šývas 333
tà 418
tadà 418
talkà 257
tamsà 330
tánkus 320
tariù 353
tarpstù 342
tàs 418
tašýti 220
taũras 140
tautà 269
tavė 416
tekù 398
telpù 287
temĩpti 388
tėmti 330
tėsti 387
tetervà 144
tėvas 299
tilės 225
tilkti 406
tingùs 346
tinti 387
tiĩštas 78
tõlei 418
trānas 362
trėčias 311
trimti 379
trinù 375, 377
trišù 339, 379
tr(i)ušis 162
trobà 223
trỹs 311
tù 416
túkstantis 316, 386
turiù 272
tušcias 319
tveriù 272
tylà 355
údra 138
ugniùs 91, 123
ulūlóti 364
ungurỹs 147
u-ninkù 392
úodžiu 336
úoga 158
úolektis 182
úosis 159
uostà 175
úostas 127
ùpė 127
(už-)-mìgti 327
vābalas 150
vadinù 353
vākaras 303
valai 178
valdýti 268
vanduõ 125
vaĩdas 353
vaĩmas 151
vārna 144
vaĩtai 221
vāsara 302
vāškas 150
vedegà 280
vedù 207
vėidas 322
vėizdmi 322
vėjas 129
vejù 403
velkù 405
vėmti 191
vėngti 384
verčù 378
vėrdu 260
vėrti 382
vėtušas 302
vėveris 137
vežù 404
vėnas 309
viėšpatis 268
vėevesa 149
vilgau 347
vilkams 58
vilkas 138
vilna 178
vinkšna 159
vĩras 197
viĩrbas 161
viršùs 292
vĩsas 25, 27
võhyti 355
votis 199
vỹkti 326
výras 194, 203
výstyti 379
vytis 160
ýnis 126

žalà 339
žalgà 227
žādas 176
žarnà 186
žasīs 144
žēbiù 255
žēļvas 333
žēmē 120
žengiu 397
žeriù 330
žiemà 302
žinóti 321
žióju 362
žirnis 164
žmuō 120, 206
žúolis 243
žuvis 147
žvākē 244
žvēris 136

Old Prussian [OPrus]

aglo 127
alu 25, 263
amūsnan 390
anctan 263, 382
ane 213
angles 25
anklipts 335
ape 126
asman- 122
assanis 302
aumūsnan 113
ausis 241
austo 175
babo 166
ballo 175
brāti 214
buttan 368
camnet 137
camstian 137
caules 162
cawx 383
corto 233
culczi 299

dadān 262
debīkan 298
duckti 213
emens 358
eristian 140
er-kīnint 277
gallan 282
genna 204
gūrbīn 377
girmis 150
girtwei 357
gorme 344
insuwis 175
ir 422
irmo 180
iūwis 160
kailūsitkan 195
kan 420
kelian 245
kērmens 179
kirsnan 332
laukīt 326
laustinti 340
lauxnos 129
lindan 166
lynno 25
lysa 168
maldai 347
median 290
melne 331
moke 162
mothe 213
muso 25
nabis 181, 248
nertien 203
nognan 182
nowis 198
pannean 127
panno 91, 123
pentis 183
pintis 250
poieiti 256
pounian 386
pra 290

quei 420
sagnis 25
sasins 137, 334
semen 166
skalis 147
slaunis 182
soūns 211
stallit 295
starnite 145
suge 126
sulo 263
swestro 214
sywan 333
tārin 353
tauris 140
tusnan 355
uschts 313
usts 313
wackitwei 352
wagnis 244
waispattin 207
wanso 178
warbo 327
wargs 277
weddē 207
wertemmai 353
widdewu 208
wissa 25
wis-sambris 141
woble 25
wobse 149
woltis 163
wosī-grabis 161
wumpnis 240
wurs 126

Celtic Languages
Continental Celtic
Gaulish [Gaul]
anda-bata 197
are- 290
Ariomanus 433
bāgos 113, 161
bebru- 137

belénion 162
bulga 230
canto(n) 18
Catu-rīx 282
decametos 18
drappus 232
dravoca 164
Druentia 127
dugiionti-io 421
dusios 411
duxtir 213
érkos 160
Esus 337
eti 422
Giamonios 302
Litavi(s) 268
mapo 18
nanto 383
olca 166
ollon 18
ritu- 250
rix 92
Sego-marus 281
sextametos 18
Suadu-rīx 336
suexos 313
uenia 18
uiros 18
Verucloetius 118
Vesu-avus 337

Ligurian

asia 163

Ibero-Celtic

boustom 140
kantom 18
śilaPur 79, 242
uiros 18

Insular Celtic

Old British

Avon 126
Brigantia 410

Old Welsh [OWels]

di-goni 370
etem 235, 388
gwo- 292
iou 248
minci 247
pa 419

Middle Welsh [MWels]

afon 126
Culhwych 141
carr 249
dehongli 357
el 397
gw(y)chi 149
gwell 341
ieith 357
mant 176
mynet 397
yt- 418, 422

New Welsh [NWels]

addiad 296
amlwg 326
araf 355
bal 332
ballu 282
bardd 357, 358
bedd 375
bedw 158
bele 139
berth 329
blif 389
bod 368
brys 303
cainc 156
cann 329
cant 299
cau 272
cawr 385
ceinach 334
cerdd 283
chwarddiad 362
chwarren 198

chwech 313
chwegr 215
chwegrwn 215
chwerfan 380
chun 182
clyd 345
cnaif 236
cuan 145, 364
cun 333
dail 161
deuddeg 316
dew 330
distadl 66
dôl 122
Dôn 434
dufn 292
dyweddio 207
eithin 165
elain 141
es-gid 178
euod 147
ewig 140
gallu 371
galw 354
garan 144
garth 221
gell 333
gïau 235
gwas 222
gweint 280
gweled 326
gwellt 163
gwlan 178
gwlydd 373
gwynt 129, 386
haidd 163
hanner 320
hedeg 399
hêl 128
herw 275
hidl 244
hogi 298
hud 413
hwyad 143

hysb 346
ias 259
iwrch 142
kefnder 211
llachar 329
llathr 348
llau 149
llin 166
Llydaw 268
llyngyr 380
mam 213
mant 298
melyn 331
merwydd 160
mwylach 145
mynnu 323
nain 213
nant 383
nêr 203
nithiaf 169
nudd 129
oged 167, 243
pâr 379
pawr 257
pimp 312
pobiaf 259
pryd 374
rech 192
rhedaf 398
rhwyg 297
rhych 168
rhydd 205, 343
rhygo 375
safn 175
sedd 226
tad 211
tarfu 339
toddi 124
troed 399
tryddyd 311
wy 143
wyf 395
ych 140

Cornish [Corn]

maw 205
minow 319
mowes 205

Breton [Bret]

dibri 257
ma 421
may 421
mell 182
ozah 207
pet der 420

Ogham Irish

inigena 18
maqi 18

Old Irish [OIr]

ā 359
ab 126
ad- 290, 293
**ad-* 159
ad-āgathar 340
ad-aig 406
ad-ci 327
ad-con-darc 326
ad-ella 393
ad-gnin 321
ad-opair 413
ad-thuichetar 355
āed 124
āes 195
ag 140
aide 159
aig 126
aíl 122
aíle 318
ailid 192
ānches 257
ainm 358
ainmne 219
āinne 247
aird 298

airdrech 411
aithe 211
āitt 250
allas 191
am 369
ān 240, 67
Ana 213
an-d 418
ār 403
ara-chrin 279
āram 320
arbor 163
arcu 358
ard 292
argat 242, 332
art 138
āru 187
as-lena 347, 382
asna 187
athir 210
bacc 246
baid 395
bāidid 403
baigen 299
ballferda 386
bān 329
barc 384
bard 358
barr 298
bech 150
beirid 188, 404
ben 204
benaid 280
berbaid 259
beru 41
bī 161
bibdu 282
-bū 368
biur 244
bligid 261
bluigid 261
bō 139
boc 141

- bodar* 197
boingid 371
bolgaid 385
bolgr 230
borb 340
both 368
brāthair 41, 214
brāu 243
Brigit 292
brū 386
bruid 376
buide 334
cāch 420
cāech 197
cailech 354
cāin 271
cairem 235
camm 299
canaid 358
cara 206, 343
caraid 343
carr 399
casar 401
cath 282
cē 418
cēcht 156
ceilid 380
cerd 283, 377
cēsaid 199
cēt 18, 316
cethair 311
cethē 311
cīar 334
cilorn 240
cingid 397
clār 226
clē 296, 305
clī 225
cloth 335
clū 357
clū mōr 118
clūas 335
cnāim 184
cnū 160
co 420
cob 275, 371
cōic 312
coīca 316
coim 239
coire 239
coll 160, 197
com- 290
con-ōi 337
con-utainc 371
cora(i)d 412
cos 180
crann 160
crē 121
creitid 323
crenaid 273
crī 178
crīathar 244
crīde 187
crīp 397
cris 235
cruim 149
cruth 370
cū 138
cūach 144
cūar 383
cuirm 263
cūl 181
cul 248
cum-ung 297
dā 310
daig 124
dam 136
dām 269, 318
damnaid 136
dān 274
dāsacht 190
dāu 310
daur 156
de(i)n 413
dech 271
dechmad 18, 315
deich 315
delg 235, 376
dello 373
denid 256
dēr 191
dess 294, 305
dēt 175
dī 293
dī 310
dīa 301, 408
dīabul 310, 384
dīas 310
dī-auc 303
dīth 199
dligid 277
do 290
do- 339
doē 180
do-essim 260
do-fortad 378
do-gair 354
do-goa 256
do-moinethar 322
do-opir 304
dorus 224
do-seinn 369, 404
do-tuit 405
do-ucci 267
doud 124
draigen 160
droch 249, 399
dū 120
dūal [lock of hair] 178, 232
dūal [fitting] 370
duine 120, 206
dun 223
ēcath 244, 382
ech 139
ēis(s)e 248
ela 145
emon 208
en 127
ēn 181
enech 174, 175
ēo 160
erc 357

-
- Eremon* 433
Eriu 261
errach 302
esc-ung 148
esna 187
ess- 293
ētan 175
eter 290
fae 359
fāel 142
fāir 301
fāiscid 280
fāith 412
fās 320
fāth 327
fedb 208
feib 337
feis 302
fēith 160
fel 339
fēn 247
fer 18, 194, 203
ferr 292
fess 257
fethid 327
fiche 316
fichid 282
fid 160
figid 234
fine 18
fīr 338
fo di 310
foaid 219
focal 352
fochla 305
fodb 280
folc 347
fo-long- 384
for- 292
forbrū 41, 175
formūchtha 340
fo-ssad 66
frēn 161
fūan 232
gabor 141, 184
gabul 160
gae 245
gaibid 271
galar 339
gall 354
garg 340
gēis 144
gel 333
gīn 176
glūn 183
gnāth 321
gonaid 279
gono mil 117
gop 255
grān 164
grīs 344
gruth 384
gūaire 338
gūal 125
guidid 358
guth 354
heirp 141
iar 292
īasc 146
ibid 256
īcc 199
-id- 418
idu 196
il 319
imb 263, 382
imb- 291
imbliu 181
imm- 291
in 290
inathar 187
indē 301
ingen 18, 181
in-greinn 397
innocht 301
insce 359
irar 144
iress 323
is 369
it 369
ith 257
ithid 254
lac 348
laigiu 346
lainn 342
lām 182
lān 319
lann 166
lasaid 329
legaid 394
lēs 329
lethaid 388
lethar 181
līr 334
līa 319
līac 122
lie 392
līe 122
ligid 256
liūd 363
līnaid 319
littiu 263
lius 344
loch 128
lōch 329
lod 396
lōg 275
lorg 246
lōthar 240
luch 137
lucht 371
lug 142
luūd 404
lus 190
maic 18
maidid 346
maige 319
maith 338
mār 320
marc 141
māthair 213
mē 416
Medb 263

- meilid* 168
meinic(c) 320
meirb 373
meithel 168
menb 320
menma 323
mennar 197
mescaid 259
mētal 257
mī 128
mīach 165
mīan 323
mid 262
midithir 318
mīl 142
mil 262
millid 279
mīr 261
miur 261
mlicht 262
mō 300
mocht 348
mōin 272
moirb 149
mrecht- 330
mruig 288
muin 176
muir 127
muirdris 326
na-ch 422
naiscid 234
nasc 234
nathir 147
nathrach 147
nāu 249
ne 292
nech 419
necht 213
necht 390
Nechtain 410, 438
neimed 384
neimid 160
nēit 282
nem 129
nem 271
nert 203
nī 416
nīa 211
nīgid 390
nō 422
noī 314
noīb 412
nōmad 315
nūall 354
ō 175
ō 291
ōa 205
ōac 205
ocht 44, 314
ochtach 159
ochtmad 314
odb 157
oeth 277, 323
oī 47, 112, 140
ōin 309
oirgid 281
Olc 366
oll 18, 293
om 260
on 279
orb 208
oss 140
rād- 296
rāid 404
recht 294
reithid 398
renaid 273
reōd 127
rī 92, 268
rīabach
rīathor 394
riches 125
richt 327
rīgain 268
rigid 387
rīm 320
ringid 388
ro-bria 281
ro-chuinethar 335
ro-fetar 322
ro-geinn 272
rōi 287
ro-icc 396
ro-laimethar 377
rōn 177, 233
ross 66
roth 248, 398
rūad 332
rucht 109, 235, 375
saeth 195
saidid 296
saigid 327
sail 160
sain 291
saith 342
salann 261
sam 302
samlith 318
scaraid 373
scāth 330
scē 160
sceinnid 399
scīath 246
scingim 297
scīth 282
sē 313
sech 290
sechithir 402
secht 314
sechtmad 18, 314
seg 281
seinnid 362
seissed 313
sēitid 386
selb 272
selg 187, 392
selige 400
sen 303
senmāthair 216
serb 275
serg 196
sernaid 297

-
- sesca* 316
sēt 250, 395
sī 417
sine 181
sīr 299
-sissedar 296
siur 214
slemon 347
slīasait 397
slōg 269
snāid 403
snāth 234
sned 150
snigid 126
so- 337
-so/-d 417
sochla 118
socht 196
soīd 392
-som 318
sreb 389
sreinnid 363
srēod 196
sūainem 381
sūil 128
tā 66
tachtaid 355
tāid 275
tāin 280
tāin bō 285, 406
taīs 264
tāl 243
talam 225
tanae 299
tar 290
tarathar 244, 375
tarb 140
te 344
tech 226
tēcht 320
teichid 398
-tella 287
tengae 175
torc 139
traig 399
treb 223
trēdenus 301
trī 311
trīath 411
triāth 434
trīcho 316
trom 384
tū 416
tūath 269, 337
tuilid 355
ūacht 348
uball 158
ucht 178
uilen 180
uinnis 158
uisce 125
uísse 276
ūr 390

Middle Irish [Mlr]
ā 175
ān 162
airech 208
airid 242
ālad 338
alchaing 244
all 122
anan 232
arathar 243
aur-fraich 340
bair 346
barc 299
bern 280
blāth 162
bonn 225
bres 299
brī 121
būachail 283
caccaid 192
cais 344
cāith 166
cana 195
cano 195
carr 379
casachtach 191
cerc 144
cín 277, 343
cīr 233
coll 176
corrān 168
crem 167
crō 226
crothaid 380
crū 187
cūa 375
cūanna 333
cuire 282
cuma 195
dar- 399
dega 151
deil 182
dremm 272
dresacht 362
eiscid 374
eitne 166
erc 334
fern 158
fēs 178
fī 263
fīad 322
find 177
fobar 259
foss 268
fraig 163
gairb-driuch 178
gaīsid 177
gemel 384
graig 269
gūaire 177
ilach 363
inad 250
laigid 296
lathach 347
leithe 180
lem 160
Letha 268
līath 334

mell 197
meng 340
mide 290
mūm 390
mūn 113
nār 339
nenaïd 162
orc 139
rīadaigīd 406
rūam 374
scoiltid 374
ser 129
serb 275
sirid 394
slacc 282
smāl 124
smūal 124
snīd 234
sreng 236
srithit 259
tām 280
tarrach 339, 379
teile 159
tethra 144
tlenaid 406
to(i)rm 353
ūan 386
uirge 184
ulu 177

New Irish [Nir]

aingeal 123
eithne 166
eitne 166
fial 142
geamh 363
pinisilin 6

Scots Gaelic [SGael]

contran 162
feòrag 137
lorcach 199, 384

Germanic Languages

Early Germanic

Mannus 411, 435
Twisto 435

Runic

alu 413
auja 337

Gothic [Goth]

af 291
afar 291
aiwiski 277
aiws 195
ams 179
anderas 293
arjan 242
asans 302
atisk 163
atta 211
aþn 395
aþna- 303
aþ-þan 291
baira 45
bairis 45
bairiþ 45
biugan 382
bi-ūhts 267
dags 23
daūhtar 23
dauns 392
dis- 293
diwans 199
dulgs 277
fadar 23
fahan 381
fijan 279
filu-faihs 334
frijōn 343
frijōnds 343
ga-naitjan 344
ga-tarhjan 326

ge-smeitan 382
griþs 397
-h 422
haihs 197
haldan 406
hamfs 384
handugs 298
haūri 125
hlifan 335
hliuma 335
hneiwan 297
hōha 156
hvaþjan 259
hvan 420
iddja 395
iþ 422
jiukan 259
lasiws 195
maidjan 272
manwus 181
mimz 261
minnists 319
nadrs 147
naus 198
ō 359
paida 235
reiran 380
rimis 355
riqis 330
rōdjan 296
sa 418
samkunja 206
silubr 79
sinista 303
sinteins 301
sitls 23
sō 418
stautan 405
stōjan 66
sunus 23
swiglōn 386
tagl 178
tibr 142

-
- tulgus* 299
ḡata 418
ḡragjan 399
us-ḡriutan 384
uzanan 190
wagjan 392
weiḡan 412
weiḡs 205, 412
wisan 219
Wisi 337
wulḡ-am 58
wulḡs 23
- Old High German [OHG]**
- ād(a)ra* 187
-affa- 126
ahorn 159
albiz 332
ana 213
ancho 263, 382
ango 244, 382
ankweiz 188
anst 337
araweiz 167
ast 156
ātar 67, 303
ātum 190
balg 230
beleite 396
belgan 385
belihha 145
biogan 382
bluot 162
bungo 319
buocha 113
buohha 113
burg 223
Burgunt 410
chrēo-mōsido 275, 392
daz 418
dehsa 220, 243
dehsala 244
deo 398
- der* 417
die 418
dinsan 387
dirn-baum 160
diutisk 269
egala 147
eiz 386
elo 332
ēr 301
er 417
ez 417
fadm 235
far-wāzan 353
fasel 184
fater 23
fior 311
fīr- 290
fīuhte 159
forsecōn 358
fowen 390
frist 300
fruo 301
gṡēn 362
giwahanem 352
hadara 235
hadu- 282
Hadubrant 282
hāhsa 180
hals 176
hano 358
harmo 141
hemera 162
hinkan 197
hinken 297
hroso 346
humbal 150
huoba 163
huohhili 243
hūwo 145, 364
ir 417
irran 394
iz 417
jēhan 357
- ju* 303
klagōn 361
kussen 344
lahs 146
letto 347
līth 392
louft 160
lungar 347
mago 162
maho 162
malha 234
medela 243
meldōn 358
mendōn 323
mengen 274
mindil 257
muckazen 361
munter 323
muoma 213
mūs 187
nā(w)en 234
ne 422
nuska 234
ou 112
ouwi 112
quāt 192
quellan 394
questa 161
rāba 166
rad 248, 398
rīhan 375
rōz 361
ruoba 166
saf 158
sāmi- 318
samm 291
sāmo 166
sat 342
scerōn 400
sceter 299
serawēn 125, 348
sezzal 23
sih 417

sind 395
sinnan 395
skalm 249
spalten 375
speh 145
spehōn 326
spioz 397
sprāt 389
stāt 66
steiga 397
stēt 66
stīgan 396
stollo 227
stredan 259
sül 227
sunu 23
swāgur 215
sweren 198
tāju 256
tak 23
tanna 110, 159
tapfar 298
tenar 182
thunkōn 348
tohter 23
triogan 340
umbi 291
unc 148
untar(i) 290
ūro 140
ūrochso 140
waganso 244
wār 338
welk 347
wenist 186
werdan 378
wīchsila 161
wint-brāwa 177
wisant 141
witu-fīna 225
wolf 23
zebar 142
zeiga 294
zeman 220

zeso 294

Middle High German
[MHG]

ā 359
art 276
blæjen 364
buoben 181
getwās 411
grabben 271
hurren 399
lasche 232
lecken 399
lërz 199
ōse 240
phrenge 379
rūn 279
silken 392
sürpfeln 256
tuster 190
ungezibere 142
vut 184

New High German [NHG]

beben 338, 339
Berg 121, 292
bleiben 347
brummen 363
Burg 292
damisch 280
Deutsch 269
dunkel 330
Ei 143
essen 254
Eule 145
Farbe 334
fisten 192
fressen 254
Gerste 165
giessen 394
Gott 4, 409
Hirse 165
lallen 361
Leute 190, 266

Lutter 161
nehmen 271
ohne 289, 291
Sieg 281
Sinn 324
spalten 372
stellen 295
Tannenbaum 157, 159
Tier 152
wauwau 363
Weihnachten 412
wider 291
zer- 339

Middle Low German
[MLG]

hêlen 382
mören 382
scheren 340
schuft 180

New Low German
küt 186

Middle Dutch [MDutch]

grabben 271
hêlen 382
maesche 233
noppe 236
pegge 246

New Dutch [NDutch]

broer 2
dochter 2
god 4
hond 1, 2
horzel 150
huis 2
koe 2
maal 142
moeder 2
schaap 2
tarwe 165
vader 2

zoon 2
zuster 2
zwijn 1, 2

Old Saxon

nimidas 160

Frisian

ândul 161
nimidas 384
stîr 347

Yiddish

oy veh 359

Old English [OE]

āc-weorna 137
ād 124
adesa 243
āgan 271
āmerian 329
ampre 336
assa 58
assan 58
atol 344
æcer 163
æfnan 370
æðre 187
æg 143
bædan 355
bēce 161
bēgen 310
bel(i)g 230
bellan 363
bēodan 326
beofian 339
beolone 162
beorgan 282
beorma 259
bere 41
be-scītan 373
biltfan 382
bōc 113, 161
bōg 180
bōnian 329
borian 374
botm 225
bregen 188
bremman 363
brōðor 3, 41
brū 41
brunna 127
ceafl 255
ceahhettan 359
ceallian 354
cearcian 362
cearu 354
cēn 159
cennan 188
ceorran 363
cilfor-lamb 184
citelian 377
cnēo(w) 30, 31, 35
cova 222
cū 3, 35
cudu 158
cuml 384
cunnan 321
cwēn 58, 205
cwene 31, 58, 204
cweðan 354
cwidu 158
cwiþ 186
cȳ 80
cyning 58
cyningas 58
dalc 235, 376
dæg 23
darian 271
dēagol 281
delu 182
dēor 152
dohtor 3, 23
drītan 192
dugan 370
ēage 31, 35
ealdop 249
ealgian 281

ealh 281
earm 196
earn 30
ēaste 305
ēastre 301
eax 180, 248
eaxl 180
ecgan 167
eg(e)ðe 167, 243
egle 339
ened 144
enge 297
eofor 142
eoh 139
eom 369
ēow 417
ēowu 3, 46, 112
erian 243
fāh 331
fana 232
fæder 3, 23, 35
fearh 139
fearr 137
feax 232
fela 319
feld 58
felda 58
feoh 136
fē 344
fēower 311
fiersn 183
fīfalde 150
fisting 386
fleohtan 233
flōcan 282
flōh 297
fnēosan 192
folde 268
folma 182
fōt 31
fȳr 91
frēo 208
frīgan 343
froggan 58

- frum* 310
fūht 127
full 240
gafol 160
gangan 397
gār 245
gē 417
ge-drēag 269
gefetan 401
gehlid 225
geneah 396
ge-nesan 402
geoc 30
gesæt 68
gewæd 404
gewegan 282
gierd 226
giest 269
gist 259
git 417
guma 120, 206
guman 58
hādor 329
hafola 174
haga 272
hama 379
harap 159
hāwian 327
hæfer 141, 184
hærfest 168, 305
hāwen 333
hē 418
heaðor 222
hēala 197
healm 162
hēan 344
hēcen 140
helan 380
heordan 233
heorte 30, 31, 35
heorþ 125
here 282
herian 356
hig(e)ra 145
hīgian 303
hīw 333
hīwan 206, 221
hlēodor 362
hlīn 160
hlūttor 390
hlýnn 362
hōl 340
hraðe 380
hræn 128
hrēam 358
hrēof 197
hrēran 259
hrēþ 357
hridder 244
hrīder 244
hrif 178
hund 3, 138
hūs 3
hwā 61, 419
hwār 420
hwæt 61, 420
hwæðer 61, 420
hwealf 384
hweorfan 379
hwer 239
hwīl 355
hwōsan 191, 362
ic 416
igil 137
inc 417
incit 417
is 369
lācan 399
lagu 128
lān 275
læt 195
lēac 245
lēan 275
leax 146
lencten 305
lendenu 182
lēod 266
lēodan 190
lēof 343
līðan 396
līra 399
liste 168
lōf 235, 377
lot 340
lox 142
magō 205
maða 150
mæg(e)þ 205
māel 318
māþ 318
mearc 288
mearu 373
meld(i)an 358
mene 247
mengan 384
meord 274
metan 318
mete 346
micel 319
mid 290
mierran 323
mīgan 191
mimorian 323
mōdor 3
mōdrige 216
molda 174
molde 121
moþþe 150
mund 181
mūs 31
nafela 181
nafo-gar 248
nafu 181
naman 58
næddre 147
næsc 182
ne 422
nefa 211
nēotan 371
nest 68
nifol 129
nift 213

- nāwe* 30, 35
ofen 240
ōfer 128
ōra 288
ōsle 145
oxa 59
oxan 59
reccan 387
reordberend 365
rēotan 361
rocc 109, 235
rocettan 191
rōmig 121
rōðor 249
ryge 78
sæd 342
salu 121
sæl 223
sæt 68
scearn 191
scēolh 299
scere-gescēre 400
scīd 246
sē 417
sealh 160
sēar 346
secg 267
sefa 258
sellan 272, 397
sēo 417
seolfor 79
setl 23, 68
sīd 299
sidu 267
simbel(s) 318
sind- 369
sittan 68
sīþ 250
skaðian 282
slīw 148
smæc 257
smāeras 176
smūgan 400
snēr 234
snīwan 126
snoru 215
sōðian 337
sol 121
sorgian 327
sōt 68
spanu 181
spere 58
speru 58
spor 183
spōwan 275, 342
staðol 66
stenan 361
styri(g)a 147
summer 305
sunu 3, 23
swamm 348
swebban 324
swefan 324
swefl 124
swefn 324
sweger 215
swelan 124
swelle 122
swēor 215
sweorfan 380
sweostor 3
swīcan 340
swīgian 355
swīn 3
swinsian 362
switol 329
tācor 215
tearflian 379
teohhian 271
tē 354
tēorian 274
teter 197
tīber 142
ticcen 141
ticia 151
Tīw 409
tor- 339
trem 398
treōw 30, 35
tungan 58
þaccian 336
þær 418
þæsma 264
þæt 61, 417
þe 416
þēaw 337
þefian 344
þel 225
þenian 387
þēod 269
þēow 398
þille 225
þīsl 249
þīxl 387
þær 61
þracian 339
þrafian 355
þrum 236
þū 416
þunor 129
þurfan 342
þweran 379
ufe- 292
ūhte 302, 305
upp(e) 292
ūr 140
ūrig 126
wā 359
wāwan 386
wægn 247
wæter 30, 75
wē 416
wearr 292
wēoh 326
weorþan 378
wer 203
wesan 257
wīcan 378
wieldan 268
wīh 326
winter 305
wisnian 373

wit 416
witan 322
witumo 208
wōd 327
Woden 327
wordcræft wæf 366
worþ 221
wōs 347
wōþ 327
wrāþ 136
wrecan 282
wuldor 326
wulf 23, 366
wyr̥t 161
ymbe 150
ysle 129

Middle English [ME]

child 59
children 59
nadder 147
nēre 188
shooten 388

New English [NE]

acorn 157, 158
acre 163, 164
adder 147
adze 110, 242, 243
after 291
ail 193, 196
alder 157, 158
ale 261, 263
all 293
anger 193, 196
any 318
apple 157, 158
apt 381
area 168
arm 179, 180
arrow 246
arse 182, 183
ash [charcoal] 123, 226,
346

ash [tree] 157, 158
ask 341
aspen 157, 159
ass 183
at 289, 290, 293
auger 248
awl 242, 244
axe 244
axle 179, 248
babble 360, 361
baby 360
bairn 188
bake 260
balk 226
ball 331, 332
ban 355
baptism 403
barbarian 361
bare 199
bark 364
barley 166, 299
barometer 346
barrow 121, 292
be 369
bean 166
bear 188, 189, 404, 405
beard 178
beat 282
beaver 134, 137
bed 375
bee 150
beech 161
begin 272
belly 230, 231
bemoan 322, 323
bid 326, 356, 358, 382, 383
bind 380, 381
birch 157, 159
birth 404
bite 372
black 328, 329
blade 157
blind 330
blow 385, 386

blunder 330
boob 181
book 161
bore 278, 280, 372, 374
borough 292
both 309, 310
bottom 224, 225
bough 179, 180
bow-wow 363
brain 188
bread 264
break 376
breast 386
brew 258, 259
bridegroom 120, 206
bright 328, 329
bristle 298
brother 2, 3, 5, 210, 214
brow 174, 175
brown 331, 333
bruise 376
buck 135, 141
burn 128
butter 262
caca 192
cackle 362
calamity 282
calendar 354
calf 183, 184
call 353, 354
callow 196, 199
callus 197
can 322
car 249, 399
care 353, 354
carve 377
chalice 240
chamber 223
checkmate 269
chew 255
children 59
chin 174, 176
choose 255, 256
Christ 336

cinder 347
clay 122
cleave 377
cluck 145
coal 125
cold 347
comb 174, 175
come 394, 395
common 272
connive 297
cook 259
corn 115, 164, 172
cove 220, 222
cow 2, 3, 5, 35, 89, 90, 135, 139
crack 360, 362
crane 143, 144
cranium 174
cremate 125
crook 122
crowd 384
cuckoo 143, 144
cud 157, 158
dale 121, 122
dapper 298, 299
dare 278, 282, 369
dark 125, 126
daughter 2, 3, 5, 23, 210, 213
day 23, 124, 300, 301
deacon 370
deed 276
deep 290, 292
deer 152, 191
delirious 168
delve 376
dew 400
die 199
dike 297
din 360, 362
dirt 192
dizzy 189
do 295
dog 2, 3, 5

door 224
dough 224, 369, 371
doughty 370
dowel 244
down(s) 223
drag 148, 326
draw 406
dregs 263
drive 406
drone 150, 360, 362
drove (of cattle) 406
ear 164, 165, 174, 175, 242
earth 122
east 301
Easter 300, 301
eastern 294
eat 254, 255
economy 221
egg 143
eight 61, 308, 314
eighth 309, 314
eke 189, 190
elbow 179, 180
elf 409, 411
elk 135, 139
ell 179, 180
elm 160
else 317, 318
enough 396
enthusiasm 410
erne 30, 143, 144
estrus 340
evil 338, 339
ewe 112, 135, 140
ewte 191
eye 31, 35, 174, 175
fall 401
fallow 166, 331, 334
fane 231, 232
fare 395, 396
farrow 135, 139
fart 189, 192
fast 345, 347

father 2, 3, 5, 23, 35, 209, 210
fathom 235, 388
feather 179, 181
fee 134, 136
fell 182
felt 236
fen 127
fern 179, 181
few 320
fiend 344
fifteen 316
fifth 309, 312
fight 278, 280
film 182
filofax 334
finch 145
find 401, 402
finger 312
fir 160
fire 123
first 309, 310
fish 146
fist 181, 312
five 61, 308, 312
fjord 396
flax 233
flay 377
flea 149
fleece 235
flow 403, 404
foal 192
foam 125, 126
fodder 255, 257
foe 343, 344
fold 384
folk 269
foot 31, 112, 183
ford 250, 396
fore 289, 290
forget 272
four 61, 308, 311
fourth 309, 312
fox 177, 178

- free* 204, 205, 343
friend 343
fright 338, 339
frog 398, 399
frost 127
fry 259
full 317, 319
furrow 139, 168
gable 174
gall 185, 186, 338, 339
gallows 227
garlic 245
gavel 160
ghost 338, 339
gimmer 302
gird 221, 231, 232
girdle 231
glad 348
glee 338
glyph 377
go 401, 402
goat 142
god 4, 353, 409
gold 241, 242, 333
good 381
goods 275
goose 143, 144
gorse 345, 347
gospel 356
grab 271
grade 397
grain 115
grave 376
grey 330
grind 169
grip 272
gripe 272
grope 272
grunt 364
guest 269
gums 176
haft 282
hair 178
hale 195, 199
hall 220, 222
halter 335
ham 184
hamper 385
hang 387, 388
hap 275
happy 275, 371
hare 134, 137, 331, 334
harm 193, 196
hart 134
harvest 167, 168
hate 343, 344
have 270, 271
have to 271
haw 223
hawk 145
hay-mow 320
hazel 160
he 61, 418
head 176, 327
heart 30, 31, 35, 185, 187
hearth 125
heaven 122
hedge 223
helm 335
help 371
hemp 166
herd 320
hew 278, 280
hide [conceal] 278, 281, 379
hide [skin] 178, 179
hie 303
high 383
hill 122, 406
hind 134
hire 273, 274
hive 240
hoar 334
hock 183
hold 406
hollow 375
holly 372
home 223
hone 242, 244, 373, 376
honey 261, 263
hoof 134, 137
hook 242, 244
hoop 145
horn 134, 137
horse 399
hot 347
hough 183
hound 1, 135, 138
house 2, 3, 5, 220, 222, 375
hue 331, 333
hum 364
hundred 61, 309, 316, 320
hunger 257
hurdle 231, 233
hymn 357
I 416
ice 126, 125
icicle 125, 126
ic 326
in 289, 290
innards 186
interpret 273
is 369
island 127
it 61, 418
jowl 255
juice 263
kill 282
-kin 206
kine 89
kiss 343, 344
knee 30, 31, 35, 183
knife 385
knock 385
lade 388
lame 377
land 166
lap 257
latch 272
law 276, 296
lazy 193, 195
leach 394

lead 395, 396
lean 295, 296
leather 181
let 402
lick 255, 256
lie [deceive] 355
lie [recline] 295, 296
lie 343
lift 275
light 345, 347
lights 187
linden 161
link 383
li 136
lip 176
lire 399
list 168
listen 335
lithe 348
loan 273, 275, 401, 402
loath 344
lock (of hair) 384
lock (of door) 384
long 298, 299
look 325, 326
loud 335
louse 149
love 343
low 296
lox 146
lucre 275
lullaby 360, 361
lust 341, 342
madder 331, 333
maiden 204, 205
man 203, 204
mane 174, 176
many 320
mar 322, 323
marches 288
mare 141
margin 288
marrow 185, 186
martyr 323

mast 226
mattock 243
may 369
mead 261, 262
meadow 168
meagre 299
meal 167, 168, 318
mean 272, 322, 323
meat 345, 346
meecher 340
meet 269
meld 356, 358
melt 125
mere 125, 127
merry 317, 319
mesh 231, 233
mete 317, 318
mickle 319
mid 290
mid-riff 178, 179
mildew 260, 262
milk 260, 261
mind 322, 323
minnow 147
mist 128, 129
mix 258, 259
mole 122
month 128
moon 128
moor 382
more 167
morn 330
moss 162
moth 149, 150
mother 2, 3, 5, 209, 213
mould 121
mourn 322, 323
mouse 31, 134, 137
mow 167, 168
much 319
mum 197
murder 194
murk 330
murmur 361

muscle 187
mute 197
nail 179, 181
naked 193, 197
name 356, 358
narrow 234
nave 247, 248, 249
navel 179, 248
neat 371
needle 234
nerve 187
nest 224, 226
net 231, 234
nether 289, 292
nettle 162, 234
new 30, 35, 191, 300, 303
night 300, 302
nine 61, 308, 315
ninth 309, 315
nit 150
nix 390
nixie 390
no 422
north 290, 293, 305
nose 174, 175
now 300
nut 160
O 359, 360
oar 247
oath 276, 277, 323
off- 209
off-spring 210
old 192, 289
one 61, 308, 309, 310
ooze 393, 394
ore 241
orient 391
other 320
otter 135, 138
ousel 145
out 289
oven 240
over 289, 292
owl 143, 145

- own* 271
ox 90, 135, 140
oxen 90
pap 181
paradise 81, 224, 371
path 250
peace 381
peg 246
pelvis 240
penicilin 6
pew 335
pig 2, 3, 5
placate 337
please 337
pope 211
pork 1
price 273
pus 199
quean 31, 204, 205
queen 205
quell 282
quern 242, 243
quick 188
quoith 353, 354
rafter 224, 225
rain 348
ransom 167
rat 373
reach 388
ream 260, 262
recent 195
reck 387
-red 320
red 331, 332
reef 225
reel 236
rend 372, 374
reptile 401
rhyme 320
rid 405
ridder 244
ride 406
rift 372, 373
right 294
roe 147, 334
rood 226
roof 226
rook 143, 144
room 287
roost 224, 225
root [plant] 161
root [shout] 361
rough 194, 345, 347
row [boat] 403, 404
row [series] 295, 297
rudder 249
rue 278, 280
run 391, 392
rush 231, 233
rye 78, 164, 165
sad 342
sale 398
sallow 121
salt 260, 261
salve 261
same 317, 318
sand 122
sap 157, 158
sardonic 362
say 359
scathe 282
scatter 389
score 373
scrape 377
sear 345
see 325, 326
seek 325, 327
seethe 258, 259
sell 272, 397, 398
send 395
sere 346
serm 353
serpent 401
set 295
settle 23, 227
seven 308
seven 61, 314
seventh 309, 314
sew 231, 234
shadow 330
shave 376
sheaf 320
shear 372, 373
sheep 2, 3, 5, 135, 140
shit 372, 373
shoot 388, 389
shove 406
show 327
shower 129
shudder 380
sib 204, 206
sick 199
sill 227
silver 79, 242
sing 356, 357
singe 346
sister 2, 3, 5, 210, 214
sit 295, 296
six 61, 308, 313
sixth 309, 313
skill 372, 374
slack 345, 348
slay 282
sleeve 401
slide 400, 401
slime 345, 347
sling 380
sloe 334
small 142
smear 260, 261
smell 124
smile 360
smoke 125
smoulder 124
snarl 363
snood 234
snore 363
some 317, 318
son 2, 3, 5, 23, 188, 209, 211
song 357
sooth 336

-
- soothe* 337
soothsayer 337
sore 193, 195
sorrow 325
sough 355
sour 348
sow [pig] 135, 139
sow [plant] 167
spade 227
spare 317, 319
spark 389
sparrow 143
speak 355
spell 356
spew 189, 191
spin 231, 234
spit 191
spleen 187
split 375
spoon 227
spoor 183
spring 397, 398
sprinkle 389
spur 183
spure 183
spurn 405, 406
staff 226
stake 227
stall 295
stand 296
star 67, 128, 129
stare 345, 347
starling 145
stead 66, 287, 288
steal 276
steer [cow] 134, 136
steer [guide] 225
stem 287, 288
stick 372, 376
still 355
stitch 376
stork 143, 145
stream 128, 394
strew 387, 388
string 236
study 405
stump 224, 226
suck 257
sallow 405
summer 300, 302
sun 128
sunder 291
swan 360, 362
swart 330
swear 353
sweat 189, 191
sweep 389
sweet 335, 336
swim 404
swine 1
swing 383, 384
syce 393
tail 177, 178, 232
take 270
tallow 394
tame 134, 136
tare 164
targ 272
tear [eye] 189, 191
tear [rip] 372, 374
tell 320
ten 61, 308, 315
tenth 309, 315
tetter 194, 197
thane 188, 189, 204, 205
thank 322
that 61, 417, 418
thatch 226, 380
thaw 123, 124
thee 416
there 61, 418
thick 298, 299
thief 273, 275
thin 298, 299, 387
think 322
third 311
thole 405, 406
thorn 162
thorough 290
–thorp 223
thou 416
thousand 61, 316, 386
three 61, 308, 311
thrice 311
through 289, 290
throw 377
thrum 236
thrush 145
thunder 128, 129
tide 317, 318
tie 405
timber 220
time 318
tire 273, 274
to 289, 290
together 381
tong 189
tongs 191
tongue 174, 175
tooth 174, 175
tow 405
town 223
tree 30, 35, 156, 157
tremble 379
Tuesday 409
twi- 309, 310
twice 310
two 61, 308, 310
udder 179, 181
ulcer 197
under 290, 293
undercut 304
underline 304
understand 304
undertake 304
up 289, 292
vane 232
vassal 269
vice 291
wade 404
wag 247, 391
wain 247

wale 227
wan 317, 319
wane 317, 319
ware 325, 327, 378, 379
warm 344, 345
wart 148, 194, 197
wary 325, 327
was 220
wasp 149
waste 320
water 30, 125
wave 378
wax 150, 189, 190
way 250
we 416
weapon 245
weasel 142
weave 231, 234
wed 207
Wednesday 412
weeds 231, 234
weep 355
weevil 150
weigh 404, 405
well 348
were 220
werewolf 194, 203, 204
west 303
wether 137, 198, 300, 302
whale 146, 147
wharve 378
what 61, 419, 420
wheat 332
wheel 247, 248
heeze 189, 191, 360, 362
where 419, 420
whet 376
whether 61, 419, 420
while 355
whiskey 125
white 331
who 61, 419
whole 195, 199
whore 206, 343

why 419
wick 231, 234
widow 207, 208
wield 267, 268
will 341
willow 161
wilt 372, 373
wind [blow] 128, 129
wind [turn] 378, 386
wink 383, 384
wipe 378
–*wise* 322
wish 341
wit 322
witch 412
withershins 289, 291
withy 160, 233
woe 359, 360
wolf 23, 135, 138
wood 160, 327
wool 177, 178
word 353
work 369, 370
worm 151
–*wort* 161
–*worth* 220, 221
wound 278, 280
wreak 282, 402, 403
wych-elm 157, 159
yard 220, 226
yarn 185, 186
yawn 360, 362
ye 416, 417
yea 142
year 300, 302
yearn 341
yeast 258, 259
yell 355
yellow 331, 333
yester 300
yester- 301
yew 157
yoke 30, 247, 248
you 417

young 204, 205
yowl 363
zone 232

Old Norse [ON]

**a, ā, b, d, ð, e, ē, f, g, h, i, ī,
j, k, l, m, n, o, ō, p, q, r, s, t,
u, ū, v, x, y, y̆, þ, æ, ø, ę**
aʃi 209
agi 340
aka 406
akr 44
ama 196
angr 196
arðr 243
arta 145
ausa 258
blekkja 282
bök 113
Borgundarholmr 292
brōðir 3
bumba 364
dagr 23
deyja 199
dýja 392
dóttir 3, 23
drak 405
draugr 340, 411
draumr 340
dregg 263
eikinn 392
einir 162
eisa 391
ekla 274
ergi 188
erta 298
faðir 3, 23
falr 274
fattr 299
fet 250
ʃjall 122
ʃjql 246
ʃjqr 160
ʃjqrð 302

-
- fjorðr* 396
Fjörgyn 410, 433
fold 366
forkr 226
fors 389
frest 300
frī 208, 343
Frigg 208
gā 324
gafl 174
gan 363
garpr 364
geiska-fullr 339
gjölnar 176
gorn 186
greina 3
grundr 324
grunr 324
gunnr 279
gymbr 302
hā 165
hali 245
happ 275, 371
hār 146, 156
hauss 375
herma 357
hjala 354
hjarsi 173
hlakka 364
hlaun 182
horr 299
hrapa 397
hraustr 380
hrifflingr 235
hrip 235
hrogn 147
hrosti 280
humarr 150
hundr 3
hūs 3
hvönn 162
hyrr 125
høss 334
innr 186
jorð 366
kafa 403
kalla 354
krās 255
kveisa 199
kveita 281
kyssa 344
kȳr 3
leiptr 330
lōfi 183
lurkr 246
magr 299
māl 279
māni 366
maurr 149
mikil frægð 118
mjúkr 348
mōðir 3
myrkr 330
mýlinn 366
mærr 320
mōndull 259
mōskvi 233
nenna 282
Öðinn 327, 412
öll 162
ōss 175
ōss 410
rauði 241
rauta 361
reka 282
rīfa 377
rōt 161
rugr 78
rymja 364
rȳja 233, 374
sādl 244
samfeðra 210
seggr 402
seið 413
semja 297
setr 23
Sigurðr 281
silfr 79
skagi 399
skakkr 297
skil 374
skor 373
skorpna 377
skrapa 377
skqlm 246
sōfl 389
sōl 366
spann 241
spraka 361
staþr 66
stig 251, 396
stinnr 299
sunna 366
sunr 3, 23
svāf 389
svili 216
svīn 3
systir 3
tafn 257
tāg 178, 232
taka 335
targa 272
teigr 294
teitr 329
telgia 373
titra 398
topt 226
ulfr 23
und 293
ūr 126
Valhalla 198, 374
Valkyrie 374
valr 198, 374
vargr 277
vatn 75
vegg 228, 233
vīkja 378
vīkva 378
vinr 341
vitnir 136
vōkr 348
Ymir 435

ysja 124
þambr 388
þegja 355
þēl 262, 320
þerra 346
þiðurr 144
þorþ 223
þræll 399
þulr 358
þungr 346
þurft 342
þurr 346
ær 3, 112
Æsir 410
qgr 147
qnd 224
qrðugr 292
orr 198

New Icelandic [Nlce]

biða 240
hvōma 256
stirtla 198

Norwegian [Norw]

gjørs 146
mua 197
ru 233
smila 360
tasa 274

Swedish [Swed]

ala 124
brinde 142
gud 4
swiri 216

Greek**Mycenaean**

a-ka-so-ne 28
dektu- 230
do-e-ro 28
e-re-pa 28, 141

i-qo 28
jo- 422
pte-re-wa 28
-qe 422
ra-wa-ke-ta 28
to-ko-so-wo-ko 246
wo-ka 247

Greek [Grk]

á 289
a- 422
áatos 342
ábis 161
adēn 188
adikē 162, 234
aeirō 382
aéksō 189, 190
āēsi 385, 386
ágkhō 381
ágnūmai 374
ágnūmi 372
ágō 405, 406
agón 278, 280
agós 269
ágos 277
ágrā 402, 403
agrós 44, 163, 164, 303
aīa 216
aiélouros 142
aietós 143
aigilōps 161
aikhmē 246
aīks 135, 141
aīnumai 270
aiōn 193, 195
airai 164, 165
aīskhos 277
aisthánomai 325, 327
aītas 337
aīthō 123, 124
ákastos 157, 159
aké 298
akhlūs 127
ákhnē 164, 165

ákhos 340
Akkō 209, 213
ákmōn 121
ákos 199
akouō 327
aksīnē 244
áksōn 28, 179, 180, 247, 248
aktís 300, 302, 305
álaks 182
áleison 391, 392
aléksō 278, 281
alēō 169
aléomai 402
aleúomai 402
álikos 164, 165
alínō 347, 381, 382
alitaínō 344
állos 317, 318
álokhos 209
alōpēks 138
alōpós 135, 138
alphē 273, 274
álphi 164, 165
alphós 331, 332
ámaksa 247, 248
amāō 167, 168
ámathos 122
amaurós 330
ambrosiā 263
ámē 239, 240, 260
amélgō 261
āmenai 341, 342
amérgō 169
ameúsasthai 391, 392
ammás 209
amnós 142
amorbós 330
ámphēn 176
amphí 289, 291
amphípolos 267, 268
ámphō 309, 310
ámpuks 236, 383, 384
án 419

- aná* 289, 292
ánemos 189, 190
anepsiá 210
anepsiós 209, 211
anēr 193, 203, 204
áneu 291
aniā 196
ániptos 390
annís 209, 213
ánthos 162
antí 174, 175
antí 288, 289
ántlon 258
ánūmi 369
aosséō 267
apeiléō 356
ápelos 194, 198
aperáō 393, 394
áphenos 273, 274, 371
apo 209
apó 289, 291
apoméussō 400
apomússō 400
aptēs 400, 401
ára 422
ará 356
aráomai 356, 358
ararískō 369, 370
árdis 298
arēn 135, 140
argēs 332
argós 55
árguros 331, 332
áriston 301
arithmós 320
arkéō 270, 271
árktos 135, 138
áron 162
aróō 242
árottron 243
ároura 163, 164
ársēn 204
artús 276
árua 161
askēthēs 282
áspalos 147
astemphēs 295, 296
ástēnos 66
astēr 67, 128, 129
ástu 220, 222
atár 289, 291
atízō 325, 327
átraktos 231, 234
atta 209
áttas 211
augē 330
aukhēn 176
aulós 220
auō 258
aūos 346
ázomai 346
babázō 360, 361
bainō 394, 395
baítē 235
báktron 246
bálanos 157, 158
bállō 389
báptō 403
bárbaros 361
barús 345, 346
baubau 363
baüzō 364
bdēō 192
belónē 377
bélteros 193, 195
bēssa 403
biā 278, 281
bibánti 395
biós 246
bladús 345, 347
blosur-ōpis 145
blúō 394
bómbos 364
bombúlē 364
borá 255, 256
boréas 121
boukólos 283
boūs 5, 135, 140
boútūros 262
brákana 167
brakhūs 317, 319
bratánon 378
brékhei 127
brekhmós 188
brotós 198
búas 143, 145
búktēs 363, 364
dāēr 210, 215
daidállō 372, 373
daiō 124, 123
daíomai 317, 318
dáknō 189, 191
dákru 189, 191, 230
dámnēmi 134, 136
dápánē 255, 257
dápedon 226
-de 289, 290
déato 328, 329
dédorka 44, 48, 65, 326
deidō 338, 339
deiknumi 353, 354
deísa 199
déka 61, 308, 315
dékatos 309, 316
dékomai 270
dék(h)omai 270, 271
deksiós 294
déllithes 150, 282
delphús 183, 184
demeléas 151
démō 219, 220
dēmos 269, 318
dēn 401, 402
dēō 380, 381
deómai 273, 274
-dérketos 328
dérkomai 48, 325, 326
dērō 372, 374
dērós 298, 299
despótēs 208, 209
deukei 405
di- 309, 310

- diā* 293
diādēma 236
didāskō 325
didōmi 55, 270
diēmi 398
dikē 294
diktuon 230, 231
diō 399
diōs 409
Dioskuri 432
diplōos 383, 384
diplōs 309, 310
dīs 309, 310
diākonos 370
dīza 141
dō 5, 206, 220, 221
dōdeka 308, 316
doiōs 309, 310
dokhmōs 293
dolikhōs 298, 299
dólos 320
dómos 204, 205, 220
dónaks 162
dōron 273, 274
dórpon 257
dōru 156, 157
doūlos 28, 269, 275
drākō 148
drākōn 326
drameīn 398
drāō 371
drássomai 272
drépō 372, 374
drūs 156
duo ~ *duō* 61, 308, 310
dus- 338, 339
duskleḗs 118
dusmenēs 283
ē 353
e 395
éar 185, 187, 300, 302
edanón 115, 255, 256
édō 254, 255
édracon 48
édrañ 398
édrasthon 322, 324
ēerios 300, 301
eērsē 125, 126
égkhelus 147
egkhesi-mōros 320
egō(n) 416
egrēgora 322, 324
eī 64
eīdos 322
ēi-kanós 358
eīke 326
eikō 378
eikōn 325, 326
eikosi 61, 308, 316
eilēō 378
eiliones 216
eimí 64, 369
eīmi 395
eīpon 352, 353
eirō 295, 297, 353
eisi 64
ēitheos 208
ēkhē 355
ēkhēō 355
ekhīnos 134, 137
ēkhis 146, 147
ēkhō 278, 281
ekhurós 281
eks 293
eksēkonta 316
elakhós 345, 347
élaphos 135, 139
elaphrós 347
elātē 161
elaūnō 397
elēā 145
elégkhō 276, 277
elélizō 398, 399
eléphās 28, 141
eleútheros 189, 190
elikē 161
élpos 260, 261
ēlúsios 163, 164
ēluthon 395, 396
élutron 239, 240
ēmar 67
eméō 189, 191
ēmérā 303
émorten 194, 198
empís 150
en 289, 290
enátēr 210, 216
énatos 309, 315
éndiōs 300, 301
éndon 289, 290
enegkeīn 396
ēniā 247, 248
ennēa 61, 308, 315
ennépō 359
ēnnūmi 231, 232
enōpē 174
énos 303
éntera 185, 186
entí 369
énudris 135, 138
enúpñion 322, 324
énuren 363
ēnustron 185, 186
éor 5, 210, 214
Ēōs 409, 432
ēpedanós 195
epeígō 391, 392
ēpeiros 128
epéōn téktones 365
ephépō 370
épheron 65
éphūn 368
epí 289, 292
epikouros 398, 399
epiōpsomai 271, 342
ēpios 269
ēpops 143, 145
ērā 122
éramai 336, 337
érebos 330
ereikō 295, 297, 372, 375

-
- erēmos* 320, 353, 355
erēphō 224, 225
erēptomai 272
erētēs 404
ereúgomai 189, 191
erīnūō 392
Erīnūs 411
ériphos 135, 140
erípnai 377
érkhomai 391
(e)rōdiós 145
érumai 378
erusi-pelas 182
eruthrós 331, 332
esmén 64
essí 64
esté 64
éstē 66
ēsthai 295, 296
estí 64, 369
ételon 134, 136
éthei 278, 280
éthos 204, 206, 267
ethrís 194, 198, 280
éti 422
étnos 166
ētor 185, 187
étos 300, 302
ētron 187
eu- 336, 337
eúkhomai 356, 357
Eukleēs 118, 366
eumenéō 338
eūnis 317, 319
eurús 297, 298
eūs 336, 337
euthenēō 276, 317, 319
ē-(w)é 422
gaiē-okhos 391, 392
gála 260, 262
galēē 135, 137
gálōs 210, 215
gambrós 206, 210
gaméō 206, 207
gánumai 336, 338
gárgara 269
gaúros 338
gémō 384
genéteira 209, 213
genétōr 209, 210
gennáō 188, 189
génos 204, 205
génus 174, 176
georgoi 429
gēraskō 189, 190
gérōn 190, 204
gērus 353, 354
gēthēō 336, 337
geúomai 255, 256
gígnomai 188
gígnōskō 321, 322
glíno- 160
gloiós 122
glōkhes 163
glōkhís 163
glōssa 163
glúphō 377
gnáthos 176
gnōma 327
gnōsis 321
gnōstēr 321
gnōtós 321
gómphos 175
gónu 183
gorgós 340
gráō 255
gráphō 377
grúks 122
grúzō 364
gumnós 193, 196
gunē 204
hā 360
hā há 360
hágios 414
haimōdiā 193, 196
hállomai 400
hāls 260, 261
hamós 317, 318
haploūs 317, 318
hárpē 242, 243
házomai 414
hé 417
hē 418
hē 421
hébdomos 309, 314
hēbē 283
hédnon 208
hédomai 255, 256
hédos 224, 226
hēdús 335, 336
heé 416, 417
hēēlios 128
hēgéomai 325, 327
heís 308, 310
hekatón 61, 309, 316
hekón 341
héks 61, 308, 313
heksēkonta 309
héktos 309, 313
hekurā 210, 215
hekurós 210, 215
hēlā 124
heleîn 272
hélkō 405
hélkos 197
hélmata 227
hélos 128
hēmeís 416
hēmērā 124
hēmi- 317, 318
hén 310
hénos 300, 303
héōs 300, 301, 421
hēpar 185, 187
hépō 370
hépomai 402
heptá 61, 308, 314
Hērā 370
hérkos 224, 298
hérma 224, 225, 289, 292
hērōs 369, 370
hépō 400

- hēspēros* 303
hēteros 320
hēti 422
heūō 123, 124
hē-(w)é 422
hiēmai 403
hiēmi 389
hieròn ménos 414
hieropoioi 429
hierós 414
hikō 387, 388
híppos 28, 135, 139
hístēmi 295, 296
hístēsi 66
hízdō 295, 296
ho 418, 421
hodós 395
hólos 193, 195
homógnios 206
homopátōr 209, 210
homós 317, 318
hórmikas 149
hōros 300, 302
hós 421
hósos 421
hrábdos 161
hráðix 160
hrákhis 163
hrākhós 163
hrāks 160
hráp(h)us 166
hrégkō 363
hrépō 379
hrézō 236, 369, 370
hríon 220, 221
hríza 161
hrōks 160
hrophēō 255, 256
hróthos 258, 259
hu- 292
húderos 186
húdōr 125
húei 125, 126
hu-giēs 337
hugrós 348
huiús 5, 211
hulāō 363, 364
huméas 417
humeïs 416, 417
húmnos 356, 357
húpar 324
hupér 289, 292
huphainō 231, 234
húpnos 324
hupó 289, 292
húraks 142
hūs 5, 135, 139
hus-kuthá 192
husmînē 278, 281, 391, 392
hustērā 185, 186
hústros 186
huyús 188, 209
iáomai 195
idiō 189, 191
ídmōn 322
ierós 193, 195
ikhar 341
ikhthūs 147
ikmázō 393
iksós 161
iksús 182
iktīnos 145
ilūs 128
in 417, 418
ināō 391
iómōros 181
ionthos 177
iós 246, 261, 263
ipnós 240
īs 193, 194, 281
iskhion 182, 183
itēā 157, 160
ithāgenēs 418
itharós 390
īthūō 395, 396
iüzō 363
ka(g)kházō 359, 360
kaíatas 223
kainós 193, 195
kaiō 123, 124
kakkāō 192
kakós 192
kálamos 162
kalēō 353, 354
kalētōr 354
kalīā 220, 222
kalós 330
kálpis 240
kalúptō 380
kamará 223
kámaros 149, 150, 162
kamasēnes 148
kámmō 195
kampē 384
kándaros 328, 329
kánnathron 378, 379
kanthós 299
kapnós 125
kápros 183, 184
káptō 271
karārā 173
kardīā 185, 187
kārē 173
karkínos 149, 150
kárphō 199, 377
karpós 167, 168, 378, 379
kártallos 233
kassūō 231, 234
katá 290, 292
kaulós 163, 164, 165, 375
kaunós 344
kēdos 343, 344
kégkei 257
keimai 295, 296
keirō 372, 373
keittai Pátroklos 296
kēkiō 400
kēks 363, 364
kēla 245
kēlēō 340
keléontes 405, 406
keleós 282

- kellás* 197
kéllō 405, 406
kemás 134, 137
kenós 320
kentéō 298
kéntrōn 235
kephálē 174
kēphēn 150
kēpos [ape] 82
kēpos [garden] 163, 164
kēr 187
keraízō 278, 279
kéras 134, 137
Kérberos 411, 439
kérdos 283, 377
kērion 263
kérkos 143, 144
kērós 261, 263
kēruks 359
keúthō 278, 281
khaĩos 245
khairō 341
khaitē 177
khálaza 125, 126
khalkís 366
khamai 224
khandānō 272
kháos 220, 222
kháskō 363
kheĩma 300, 302
kheir 179, 180
khelídōn 355
khelánē 176
khélus 148
khēn 143, 144
khēr 142
khērā 287
kheĩma 263
khé(w)ō 393
khézō 189, 192
khīlioĩ 61, 316
khitōn 237
khleuē 338
khlōrós 333
khoĩros 142
kholē 186
khólos 185, 186
khóndros 169
khordē 185, 186
khōros 287, 288
khórtos 220
khriō 336
khristós 336
khrómos 129
khthés 300, 301
khthōn 120, 121
khútra 241
kikhānō 401, 402
kĩōn 227
kiraphos 334
kirnēmi 258, 259
kirrós 334
kíssa 143, 145
klaggōdēs 364
klázō 364
kléa andrōn 118
kleís 244
kléō 335
kléos 356, 357
kléos áphthiton 118
kléos eurú 118
kléos katathésthai 118
kléptō 335
klēros 226 o
klēthrā 161
klīnō 295, 296
klíta 224, 225
klónis 182, 183
klutós 335
klúzō 390
-kmētós 371
knáphō 236
knēkós 261, 263
knēmē 184
knuzōō 385
koēō 325, 327
kóēs 412, 413
kógkhos 149, 150
koĩlos 375
koilu 195
koíná 166
koĩranos 278, 282
kokhōnē 184
kókkuks 144
kōkúō 364
kólla 382
kolōnós 122
kólpos 384
kōmos 385
kōna 159
kōneion 159
kónis 123
konis 151
kōnos 157, 159, 376
kópros 189, 192
kópsikhos 145
kóraks 144, 363, 364
korēnnūmi 189, 190
kóris 150
kórudos 134, 137
koruphé 137
kótos 340
koũros 190
krānion 174
krānos 161
kréa 187
kréas 185, 187
krém(m)uon 167
krēnē 128
krēpis 235
krī 165
krīthē 164, 165, 170
kroainō 280
króks 236
króm(m)uon 167
króssai 227
krouō 278, 280
krūmós 346
krúptō 267
krustainomai 345
krustállos 346
ksainō 233

- kserón* 125
ksērós 125, 348
kséstriks krithē 313
ksúlom 227
ksún 293
ksúō 373, 376
ksurón 244, 376
ktáomai 269
kteine hóphin 117
kteínō 283
ktísis 223
kúar 220, 222, 372, 375
kūdos 413
kuéō 385
kúklos 247, 248
kúknos 328, 329
kúlikos 240
kúmbē 239, 240
kúmindis 366
kunéō 343
kúōn 5, 135, 138
kúpē 372, 375
kúpellon 240
kúrios 385, 412
kurtía 231, 233
kūsós 183, 184
kālē 194, 197
lāas 122
lagarós 345, 348
lāgētās 28, 282
laiō 363
laiós 294
lakízō 377
lákkos 128
lalēō 360, 361
lālos 361
lambánō 270, 271
lámia 411
lámpō 328, 329
lāos 122, 278, 282
lāptō 257
lástē 342
látaks 347
lázomai 272
lēdeîn 193, 195
leibō 263
leikhō 256
leímaks 151, 345, 347
leípō 401, 402
lēkāō 398, 399
lékhetai 295, 296
lékhos 224, 226
lēnos 177, 178
lēnós 393
lēōn 134, 136, 403
lépas 122
lépō 377
leugalēos 361
leukós 328, 329
leúsō 122
leússō 325, 326
likertízō 399
likmāō 169
lilaíomai 341, 342
lineús 148
línōn 166
liparós 382
lís 142
lízei 338
loetrón 240
loigós 196
loiteúō 395, 396
lókhos 226
lōpos 235
lordós 199, 384
louō 390
lugízō 384
lúgks 142
lugrós 360, 361
lúkos 135, 138
Lúkos 366
lūma 122
luptá 343
madāō 345, 346
mágganon 338, 340
mainē 147
mainomai 322
makrós 298, 299
málthē 121
mámmē 209, 213
manthánō 322, 323
mánu 317, 320
marainō 372, 373
mārē 179, 181
marmairō 328, 329
mártus 322, 323
mássō 383, 384
máthuiiai 257
mē 422
médomai 317, 318
mēdomai 318
Mēdos 318
mega- 319
megálos 319
mégas 317, 319
mégas klēos 118
meidiāō 360
meīraks 204, 205
mēkōn 162
mélās 331
mēldomai 125
Meleāgros 246
mēleos 194, 197
mēli 260, 262
mélissa 151, 262
mēlon 142, 158
mēlos 182
mémōna 322
mēn 128, 129
mēnigks 260, 261
mēnō 219, 220
mēnos 325
mérimna 322, 323
mérmis 382
mēsos 290
metá 289, 290
mētēr 5, 209, 213
methépō 370
mēthu 261, 262
mētis 317, 318
mētrōs 216
mētruia 216

- mía* 310
mimikhmós 360, 362
minuōrios 317, 319
minúthō 319
mísgō 258, 259
misthós 273, 274
mnēma 323
mōlēō 278, 279
mormúrō 360, 361
móron 157, 160
móros 194, 198
mortós 199, 206
muīa 150
mukhlós 142
múkōn 320
mukós 194, 197
mulásasthai 113, 390
múlē 167, 168
múrmos 149
mūs 134, 137, 185, 187
múskhon 184
mússomai 348
múzō 360, 361
nákē 182
nákos 182
naktá 233
nánnē 209, 213
naūs 247, 249
néā 59
neāō 63
neīos 303
neíphei 126
nēkhō 403
néktar 194, 198
nékus 194, 198
nēmō 270, 271
nēmos 160, 384
néō 231, 234
néomai 402
neon 59
néos 300, 303
nēphō 256
néphos 41, 128, 129
nephros 188
népodes 209, 211
nérthen 290, 293
nēssa 143, 144
neúō 355
neûron 185, 187, 231, 234
nípha 126
nízō 390
nō 416
nōlemés 377
nōton 184
nū(n) 300
núks 300, 302
núkta á(w)esa 219
númphē 208
nuós 210, 215
ō 359
ōā 160
odōn 174, 175
odúnē 196
odúsasthai 343, 344
Odyseus 344
ógdo(w)os 309, 314
ógkos 242, 244, 270, 273, 274, 382, 383
ógmos 167
oīda 322
oidéō 386
Oidípous 386
oiēion 247, 249
oikiā 204, 205
oīnē 61, 308, 310
oīnos 164, 166
ōión 143
oīos 310
oíphō 188, 189
óis 135, 140
oīstros 340
oītos 276, 277
ókhos 247
oksína 167
oksúē 157, 159, 171
októ 44, 61, 308, 314
ókús 300, 303
ōlénē 180
olígos 196
olisthainō 400, 401
ōlka 405
ōllón 180
ōllūmi 278, 281
ológinos 157
ómbros 126
omeikhō 189, 191
omikhlē 128, 129
ómma 174, 175
ómnūmi 277
ōmoplátē 179, 180
omórgnūmai 377
ōmos 179
ōmós 258, 260
omphalós 179, 181
omphē 356, 357
ónar 324
ónas 135
oneidízō 343, 344
ónoma 356, 358
ónomai 278, 279
onomatothētēs 358
ónos 139
ōnos 272
ónuks 179, 181
ópa 359, 360
óphis 146, 147
ophnís 244
ophrūs 41, 174, 175
opīpeúō 327
ópisthen 292
ópōpa 327
op-ōrē 300, 302
opós 157, 158
oráo 325, 327
orégō 387
orektós 294
orgē 255, 257
orínō 391, 392
orkhéomai 184, 188, 189
órkhis 183, 184
órkhos 295, 297
órnis 143, 144

- ornūmi* 391
órobos 167
oróphē 225
orós 262, 394
orphanós 207
órros 182, 183
orthós 189, 190
órtuks 145
ōrūomai 363, 364
orússō 372, 375
óskhos 157
ostéon 185, 187
ōteilē 199
óteros 421
otrúnō 378, 379
ouai 359, 360
oulē 194, 198, 372
oûlon 176
ouranós 292
ouréō 126
oûron 169
oûros 327
oûs 174, 175
oûthar 179, 181
ó(w)is 5, 46, 112
ózō 336
ózos 156, 157
pakhús 317, 319
palámē 182
Pân 411, 434
páppa 209, 211
pará 289, 290
parádeisos 81, 224
parai 290
párdalis 142
páskhō 199
pássō 380
patánē 240
patēr 5, 209, 210
pátos 250, 401
pátrōs 210, 214
patruíos 210
paîros 320
pédon 250
pēgnūmi 381
peîra 371
peirō 396
peîsma 380, 381
peithō 355
pēkhús 179, 180
pékō 231, 232
pēkos 232
pēlekus 242, 243
pēlíkos 420
pelitnós 334
pēlla 121, 122, 240
pélō 378
pēma 199, 278, 279, 344
pémptos 309, 312
pēnē 231, 232
pénomai 231, 234
pēnte 61, 308, 312
pentēkonta 309, 316
pentherós 210, 216, 380
péos 183, 184
pēplos 384
peráō 395, 396
pērdomai 189, 192
periesti 397
perknós 331, 334
pérnēmi 273
pérusi 300, 302
péssō 258, 260
petámai 400
pētea 166
pétomai 68, 398, 399
peúkē 157, 159
peúthomai 325, 326
phageîn 41, 317, 318
phaidrós 330
phainō 328, 329
phakós 166
phalarís 145
phallós 385, 386
phalós 332
pharáo 372, 374
phármakon 199
pharóō 278, 280
phâros 235
pháru(g)ks 188
phásis 330
phēbomai 398
phēgós 113, 161, 171
phēidomai 372, 374
phēmē 355
phēmi 355
phérei 6, 45, 65
phéreis 6, 45, 65
phérete 6, 65
phérma 404
phérō 6, 41, 45, 65, 188, 189, 404, 405
phéromen 6, 65
phēros 166
phérousi 6, 65
phéugō 400
phlégō 328, 329
phléō 385
phlībō 282
phlidáō 386
phludáō 385
phlúzō 385
phógō 260
phónos 279
phôs 330
phrássō 383, 384
phrātriā 210, 214
phréār 128
phrēn 324
phrētēr 5, 41, 210, 214
phronéō 324
phrūgō 258, 259
phrūnos 331, 333
phtheirō 394
phthínō 194, 198, 278, 281
phulakes 429
phúllon 161
phûsa 385, 386
pîar 260, 261
pîeiran árouran 261
Pîeriā 261
piézō 385

- pilos* 177, 236
pímplēmi 317, 319
pímprēmi 386
pínaks 224, 225
pīnō 255, 256
pīpos 143
píssa 161
pítinėmi 388
pítus 157, 159
pláks 297, 298
Plátaia 268
platús 297, 298
plé(w)ō 403, 404
plékō 231, 233
plēssō 282
plēthūs 269
pleúmōn 185, 187
plikhás 397
plíssomai 395, 397
plūō 393
pnēō 192
po 420
pōā 166
pōgōn 177
poiēō 220
poikilos 331
poimēn 283
poinē 276, 277
poios 419, 420
pōlēō 273, 274
poliós 331, 334
pólis 220, 221
pōlos 192
pólos 377
póltos 263
polupoikilos 334
polús 317, 319
póntos 250
póris 137
porphūrō 258, 259
pór(t)is 134, 137
pós 291
pósis 207
pósos 419, 420
potáomai 68
póteros 419, 420
pótnia 207
pouís 183
prépō 327
préthō 385, 386
príamai 273
prínos 160
pro- 209
pró 289, 290
prōi 300, 301
prōktós 184
prosēnēs 336, 337
prósōpon 174, 175
proti 289, 290
prōtos 309
psaō 373, 376
pséphas 300, 302
psūkhē 189, 191
psūkhō 385, 386
psúlla 149
ptárnumai 193, 196
ptélas 159
pteléā 28, 157, 159
ptérna 183
pterón 68, 181
ptíssō 167, 168
ptiúō 189, 191
pu- 419, 420
pugē 386
pugmē 377
púligges 177
púnmos 183, 184
púos 199
pūr 91, 123
púrgos 223
puroi 170
pūrós 167
puthmēn 224, 225
Pūthō 225
púthō 335
rhēgnūmi 377
rhēō 393, 394
rhépō 378
rheūma 128
rhīgos 348
rhómoks 151
sákkos 178, 179
sáos 385, 386
sardánios 362
sardázō 362
sbénnūmi 124, 194, 198, 123
sébomai 414
seió 380
seirá 272
Seirios 131
sētes 418
seúō 391
sīgāō 355
sítos 168
sízō 385, 386
skaiós 295
skairō 400
skállō 372, 374
skambós 299
skázō 197, 297, 298
skélos 299
sképtomai 325, 326
skhízō 372, 373
skidarós 299
skidnēmi 389
skiā 328, 330
skōlos 227
skōr 189, 191
skorakizō 364
skótos 330
skúlaks 142
skúlos 378, 379
skátos 178, 179, 379
smīlaks 171
smūkhō 125
sobēō 414
somphós 348
spairō 405, 406
sparásion 143, 145
spárgō 378, 379
speíra 380
speirō 389

spéndō 261, 263
spérkhō 397, 398
spérma 389
speúdō 278, 280, 397, 398
spharagéomai 360, 361
sphendónē 235
sphurón 183, 184
spíggos 145
splén 185, 187
spólia 372, 375
spoudé 397
staís 264
stásis 66, 287, 288
statós 66
staurós 224, 225
stázō 394
stégō 380
(s)*tégos* 226
steíkhō 395, 396
steíra 198
stēlē 227
stéllō 295
stémōn 66, 287, 288
sténion 179, 181
sténō 128, 129, 361
stenós 299
sterēō 275
stereós 345, 347
stériphos 194, 198
steūtai 359
stíkhos 251, 397
stízō 372, 376
stoā 66
stoíkhos 397
stóma 174, 175
stónos 360, 361
stórñūmi 387, 388
straggós 236
streúgomai 193, 195
strōma 224, 226
stroúthos 145
stúpos 224, 226
sú 416
sun 293

sūs 135, 139, 168
tágós 267, 268, 295, 296
talássai 405, 406
tanaós 298, 299
tanúō 387
tarbéō 338, 339
tatā 209, 211
tatós 387
taūros 135, 140
te 422
téggō 348
teíkhos 224
teírō 372, 376, 377
tékhne 220
tékmar 325
téknon 204, 205
tékō 123, 124
téktōn 220, 283
tēlíkos 418
témei 395, 396
tēmos 418
ténagos 128
téōs 418
téphrā 123, 124, 344, 345
téramna 223
térettron 244
térma 288
termióeis 236
téropomai 341, 342
térpsis 342
térsomai 78, 345, 346
téssara 311
téssares 61, 311, 308
tetagōn 336
tētáomai 273, 275
Tetartíōn 366
téartos 309, 312
tetráōn 143, 144
tetrápous 134, 136
teúkhō 369, 370
thállō 161
thánatos 330
theínō 278, 279
theios 216

thélō 342
thēlus 182
thēmis 276
thénar 182
thēō 400
theós 4, 409, 410
thēr 134, 136
théraps 247, 248
thermós 344, 345
thérsos 278, 282, 369
thésato 255, 256
thésis 276
théssasthai 356, 358
thetós 49
thnēskō 330
thnētós 330
thólos 121, 122
thōmós 49
thorós 398, 399
thōs 142
thrēnos 360, 362
thrónaks 150
thriks 177, 178
thriniā 167
thrōiskō 399
thrōnaks 362
thruōn 162
thugátēr 5, 210, 213
thugátēr Diós 409, 432
thūmós 124, 123
thúō 391, 392
thurā 224
ti- 420
tíktomai 188
tínō 276, 277
tiō 338, 339
tis 419
tithēmi 49, 295
títkomai 189
tó 418
toíkhos 224
tókson 157, 160, 171, 246
tóne 422
tósos 418

toū 419
trānēs 395
trānós 396
treīs 61, 308, 311
trékḥō 399
trémō 378, 379
tréō 338, 339, 378, 379
trépō 378
triákonta 61, 308, 316
trís 311
Trítōn 411, 434
trítos 311
trōgō 255
trokhós 249, 400
trúō 377
tú 416
túphos 244
túrkḥē 372, 376
tūrós 260, 262
úderos 185
uiēn 167
(w)ánaks 267, 268
(w)ánassa 268
(w)ekhéto 404, 405
wéks 313
-(w)ikes 221
wodáō 353
(w)otkos 221
(w)orthós 289, 292
zeiaí 163, 164
zéō 258, 259
zētrós 279
zeúgnūmi 381
Zeüs patēr 409, 431
zōnē 232
zōnnūmi 231, 232
zōō 188
zōon 134, 136
zorks 142
zugón 248
zúmē 258, 263

New Greek

grabúna 161

Indo-Iranian Languages

Indo-Aryan

Mitanni

papru- 334
-wartanna 378

Sanskrit [Skt]

a, ā, b, bh, c, ch, d, e, g, gh,
h, i, ī, j, jh, k, kh, l, m, n, o,
p, r, ṛ, s, ś, ś, t, th, u, ū, v, y
a- 422
ābharam 65
abhicara- 267, 268
abhīta- 289, 291
abhrá- 125, 126
ābhūt 368
ādanam 115, 255, 256
ādga- 157
ādharma- 290, 293
adhás 293
ādmi 254, 255
agní- 91, 123
aghá- 339
aghalá- 338, 339
āghrā 193, 196
ahám 60, 416
āhann āhim 117
āhar- 300, 301
āhas- 193
ahī- 135, 140, 146, 147
āhir bhudhnyás 225
ajā- 135, 141, 269
ājati 405, 406
ājīnam 179
ājirā- 300, 303
ājman- 267, 280
ājra- 44, 163, 164
akkā- 209, 213
ākṣa- 179, 180, 247, 248
ākṣi- 34, 174, 175
ākṣu- 230, 231
aktú- 300, 302
alātam 123, 124
ali- 298

āmatram 239, 240
ambā- 209
āmhas- 196
aṃhú- 297, 298
āmīti 277
āmīvā 196
amlá- 335, 336
Amṛta- 264
āmśa- 179, 180
āmśa- 270, 273, 274
āna- 273
anākti 381, 382
ānas- 275
āñcati 383
andhá- 193, 197
āndhas- 162
āṅgara- 123
āṅghri- 181
āniti 189, 190
ānīka- 174, 175
āñjas- 382
anká- 242, 244
anīkurá- 162
ānta- 175
antár 289, 290
ānti 174, 175, 288, 289
antrá- 185, 186
aṇu- 169
ānu 293
apa- 209
āpa 289, 291
āpara- 289, 291
āpas- 369, 370
Apām Nāpāt 409, 410, 438
āpi 289, 292
api-vat- 412
āpi vatati 327
āpnas- 273, 274, 371
āpsas- 179, 180
apuvāyāte 195
ará- 369
ārbha- 207, 208
ārcati 356, 357

- arghá-* 273, 274
arí- 266
arítár- 404
aritra- 247, 249
árjuṇa- 331, 332
arká- 357
árma- 127, 393, 394
ársas- 197
árṣati 393, 394
aruṇá- 332
áruṣ- 194, 198
aruṣá- 331, 332
aryá- 266
Aryaman 433
ásakra- 345, 346
ási 64
así- 245
asinvá- 341, 342
ásmi 64, 369
ásṛk 185, 187
ásti 64, 369
ásthāt 66
ásthi 185, 187
ásu- 409, 410
ásyati 389
aṣṭamá- 307, 309, 314
aṣṭáu 44, 61, 308, 314
áṣṭi- 314
áśman- 121
áśnóti 395, 396
ásri- 298
ásru- 189, 191
ásva- 135, 139, 366
ásvā- 139
Aśvin 432
átas 289, 291
átati 395, 395
āti 422
āti-kūrva- 196
áva 289, 291
ávati 336, 337
aveṣan 393, 394
ávi- 5, 112, 135, 140
aviká- 135, 140
avis 46
ayám 417, 418
áyas- 241
ā 359, 360
āgas 277
ājí- 278, 280
ālú- 164, 165
āmá- 258, 260
āṇḍá- 183, 184
āp- 125, 126
āpí- 269, 381
āpnóti 270, 271
āpyam 269
ārā- 242, 244
ārya- 266
ārya- 267
āryati 356
āreya- 135, 141
ās- 174, 175
āsa- 67
ā-sad- 395
āste 295, 296
āśú- 300, 303
ātā 224
ātí- 143, 144
ātmán- 187, 189, 190
āvayati 255
āvām 416
āyu(ṣ)- 193, 195
bababā-karóti 360, 361
bābasti 376
bābhasti 373, 376, 385, 386
babhrú- 331, 334
badhnāti 380, 381
bāhate 319
bahí- 289, 291
bahú- 317, 319
bálam 193, 195
bambhara- 364
baṇḥayate 189, 190
bándhu- 216, 380
barbara- 361
bársva- 176
bád hate 383
bāhú- 179, 180
bāṣpá- 129
bibhāya 338, 339
bódhati 325, 326
bodháyati 325, 326
bodhirá- 194
bradhná- 331, 332
brahmán- 412, 413, 429
brávit 353, 354
bṛhánt- 289, 292
bṛhatī 409, 410
bṛñāti 280
budhná- 224, 225
bukka- 135, 141
bukkati 363, 364
buli- 182, 183
būrjá- 157, 159
bhadirá 197
bhága- 273, 274, 318, 410
Bhága- 409
bhájati 41, 317, 318
bhanákti 371, 372
bhándhu- 210
bhárāmas 6
bháranti 6, 65
bhárasi 6, 45, 65
bhárata 65
bhárati 6, 45, 65, 188, 189, 404, 405
bháratha 6
bhárāmasi 65
bhárāmi 4, 6, 45, 65
bhárman- 404
bharuḥja- 135, 139
bhaṣati 363
bhávati 369
bhālam 174, 175, 331, 332
bhāṇa- 385
bhāṇḍa- 386
bhās- 329, 330
bhāti 328, 329, 330
bhinádmi 372, 374
bhramará- 363
bhrájate 328, 329

- bhrātar-* 5, 41, 210, 214
bhrātryam 210, 214
bhrīṇānti 278, 281
bhrījāti 258, 259
bhr̥ṇāti 278, 372, 374
bhr̥ṣṭi- 298
bhrū- 41, 174, 175
bhujāti 382, 383
bhunākti 369, 370
bhūṇkté 370
bhurāti 258, 259
bhurvāi- 258
bhurváni- 259
ca 422
cakrá- 247, 248
cānas- 343
cāndati 328, 329
candrā- 128, 129, 329
cārati 377, 378
carkarti 356, 357
cārman- 179
carú- 239, 240
cāṣṭe 325
cātasras 311
caturthā- 312
cātuṣpad- 134, 136
catvāras 61, 308, 311
catvāri 311
cāyati 276, 277
cāmati 255, 256
cātvāla- 222
cāyati 338, 339
cikéti 325, 327
cinóti 220, 327
cisa- 145
citrā- 328, 330
códati 388, 389
cyávate 391, 392
chāga- 135, 140
chāyā- 328, 330
chyāti 372, 373
dabhnóti 278, 279
dadārśa 44, 65, 326
dādāti 270
dadrú- 197
dādhāti 295
dādhi 260, 262
dāhati 123, 124
dākṣina- 294, 305
dālati 372, 373
dāma- 204, 205, 220
damitār- 136
dām-pati- 208, 209
dāmuna- 207, 208
dāmya- 135, 140
dānt- 174, 175
darśatā- 328
daśā- 177, 178, 231, 232
dāśa 61, 308, 315
daśamā- 307, 309, 316
daśasyāti 271
dāśati 189, 191
daśayāti 270
dāsyati 273, 274
dāsyu- 269
dāvati 401, 402
dām 5, 206, 220, 221
dāman- 236
dāmāyati 134, 136
dāna- 273, 274
Dānu 434
dāru 34, 156, 157
dāśa- 269
dāśnóti 270, 271
dāti 317, 318
dehī- 224
dēhmi 369, 371
deśā- 294
deśayati 354
devā- 408, 409
devār- 210, 215
dīnam 300, 301
dīś- 294
dīśāti 353, 354
dīśā- 294
divasā- 300, 301
divyā- 409
ḍideti 328, 329
ḍirghā- 298, 299
ḍīyati 398, 399
dohāti 369, 370
dōṣ- 179, 180
doṣa- 273, 274
drāmati 398
Dravantī 127
drāpi- 231, 232
drāti 322, 324, 398
ḍṛbhāti 378, 379
ḍṛṇāti 372, 374
drógha- 409, 411
ḍṛṣṭi- 325, 326
drūhyati 338, 340
duhitā divāh 409, 432
duhitār- 5, 210, 213
dumóti 123, 124
durmanās 283
duṣ- 338, 339
dúvas- 412, 413
duvasyāti 413
d(u)vādaśā 316
dūrā- 298, 299, 401
dūrva- 164, 165
dvayā- 309, 310
dvā 61, 308, 310
dvādaśā 308
dvāras 224
dvārau 224
dvē 61, 310
dvēṣṭi 338, 339
dvi- 309, 310
dvīṣ 309
dvitā 310
dvitīya- 309, 310
dyāti 380, 381
dyáuṣ pitā 409, 431
dyāús 129
dhanāyati 399
dhānvati 398, 399
dhāvate 400
dhāyati 255, 256
dhāman- 276
dhānās 164

- dhārā* 398, 399
dhārāyati 270, 271
dhārū- 182
dhīṣā 409, 410
dhīṣāna- 410
-dhiti- 276
dhṛājati 405
dhṛāṇati 360, 362
dhṛhyati 381
dhṛṣṇōti 278, 282, 369
dhūriya- 248
dhūli- 392
dhūmā- 123, 124
dhūnōti 391, 392
dhūr 247, 248
dhvānati 360, 362
dhvāṇati 278, 279, 376
dhvāntā- 330
ējati 391, 392
ēka- 310
ēnas- 278, 279
erakā- 164, 165
ēsati 341
(e-)tāvat 418
ēti 395
gābhastin- 270, 271
gācchati 394, 395
gādāti 353, 354
gādhya- 381
gālāti 393, 394
ga(m)bhīrā- 403
gārbha- 183, 184
gardabhā- 142
gardha- 341
gārjati 360, 362
gāu- 5, 135, 140
gāhate 403, 404
gāti 356, 357
gāthā- 357
gāyati 357
giram dhā- 358
girāti 255, 256
giri- 121, 135, 138, 210, 215
gnā- 204, 205
goṣṭhā- 140
go-vṛṣa- 204
grāsate 255
grāvan- 242, 243
grīvā- 174, 176
gr̥bhnāti 270, 271
gr̥dhyati 341
gr̥hā- 220
gr̥hāte 361
gr̥hāti 360
gr̥hāti 356, 357
gudā- 185, 186
gula- 157, 158
guṇā- 177
gurū- 345, 346
gūhati 278, 281
gūtha- 189, 192
ghanā- 317, 319
gharmā- 344, 345
ghārgghara- 363, 364
ghraṃsā- 344, 345
ha 360
ha ha 360
hadati 192
halā- 242, 243
haṃsa- 143, 144
hānti 278, 279
hānu- 174, 176
hāri- 331, 333
hārṣati 345, 347
hāryati 341
hāsta- 179, 180
hāvate 353, 354
hāya- 142, 366
hēḍa- 338, 339
hēman 300, 302
hēṣas- 245
hīra- 185, 186
hīraṇyam 242, 333
hōman- 263
hōtar- 393
hṛd- 34, 187
hṛdaya- 185, 187
hyā- 300, 301
ibha- 141
icchāti 341
idām 417, 418
ihā 418
indhé 123, 124
īṣ- 195
īṣā- 247
īṣirā- 193, 195, 414
īṣirēna mānasā 414
īṣṇāti 391
īṣṭakā- 228
īṣu- 246
ītara- 418
īti 418, 422
iyām 417, 418
īhate 341
īkate 327
īrmā- 179, 180
īṣā- 249
īṣe 270, 271
jaghāna- 184
jāhāti 402
jajāna 188
jālūkā- 149
jāmbha- 176
jāṃhas- 395, 397
jānas- 204, 205
jānati 188, 189
janitār- 209, 210
janitrī- 209, 213
jārant- 190, 204
jāsate 123, 124, 194, 198
jātu 157, 158
jāgārti 322, 324
jāmātar- 206, 210
jānāti 321, 322
jānu 34, 183
jārā- 207
jīgāti 395
jihmā- 293
jihvā- 174, 175
jināti 281
jīryati 189, 190

- jīvati* 188
jmán 224
jñātá- 321
jñātár- 321
jōṣati 256
juhóti 393
juṣáte 255, 256
jūryati 190
jyā 246, 278, 281
jhaṣá- 146
ká(k)kati 360
kád 44, 46, 419, 420
kadā 419, 420
kákhati 359
kákṣa- 46, 179, 180
kaláśa- 240
kaláyati 405, 406
kalya- 330
kalyāṇa- 330
kám 289, 290
kánaka- 261, 263
kāñcate 231, 232
kanīna- 193, 195
kañj- 194, 197
kankāla- 183
kaṇṇāṭi 270, 271
kaṇṇāla- 174
kapí- 82
kāpṛth 183, 184
karambhá- 261, 263
karaṭa- 144, 363, 364
karāva- 144
kardama- 192
kārhi 419, 420
karkaṭa- 149, 150
karkī- 150
karóti 369
karpara- 241
karś- 298, 299
kás 419
kásya 419
kaṣāku- 125
káśa- 135, 138
katará- 419, 420
kāti 419, 420
kaṭamba- 372, 376
kāuti 364
kaví- 327, 412, 413
kā 419
kāmáyati 343
kāñá- 194, 197
kāñcī- 232
kāru- 359
kāsate 191
kāsate 326
kāyamāna- 342
kekara- 194, 197
késara- 177
kéśa- 177, 178
kévala- 317, 318
kéraṭa- 223
kikī- 143
kīṇa- 197
kirāti 393
klām(y)ati 199
klīṣyate 193, 196
klóman- 185, 187
kóka- 363, 364
kokilá- 144
kokūyate 364
kóṣa- 372, 375
kráviṣ- 185, 187
krñāti 273
kṛkara- 145
kṛkavāku- 143, 145
kṛmi- 149, 150
kṛñāti 372, 373
kṛñóti 370
kṛntāti 373
króṣati 356, 358
kṛp- 178, 179
kṛpāñī 167, 168
kṛṣṇá- 331, 332
kṛśa-gu- 299
-kṛt 372, 374
kṛtí- 246
kṛvi- 114, 242, 244
kṣam- 120, 121
kṣamā 224
kṣaṇóti 283
kṣāp- 300, 302
kṣāratī 394
kṣātriya 429
kṣāuti 193, 196
kṣáyati 269
kṣārā- 348
kṣināti 278, 281
kṣití- 223
kṣīrám 260, 262
kṣīyáte 194, 198
kṣñāuti 373, 376
kṣūbhyati 380
kṣurá- 244, 376
kṣvédati 385, 386
kuca- 383
kucāti 383
kúlyam 375
kumbhá- 239, 240
kuṣāku- 125
kuthāra- 245
kú 419, 420
kúla- 179, 181
kúpa- 372, 375
kváthati 258, 259
khacati 398, 399
khákkhati 359
khāñjati 297, 298
khora- 194, 197
laghú- 345, 347
lalallā- 360, 361
lá(m)bhate 270, 271
lasati 341, 342
las-pūjanī- 231, 232
lādayate 343
lākā 147
leh- 256
lekhá 295, 297
lelāya 378
lelāyati 380
likṣá 149
limpāti 345, 347, 381
lināti 381, 382

- lóbha-* 343
lohá- 241, 332
lókate 325, 326
lóman- 177, 233
lopāśá- 138
lúbhyati 343
lumpāti 372, 375
lūñcati 372, 375
mácate 383, 384
máda- 345, 346
mádhu 261, 262
mádhya- 290
maga- 369
maghá- 320
máhi- 317, 319
máhi śráva- 118
majján- 185, 186
mājñati 403
mākṣ- 149
makṣú 300
maliná- 331
mamné 322
man- 219, 220
mána- 325
manāk 317, 320
mañi-grīvá- 247
mankú- 273, 274
mánman- 322
ma(n)th- 258, 259
mánu- 203, 204
Mánu 409, 411, 435
mánya- 174, 176
mányate 323
mārīci- 328, 329
marmar- 360, 361
márta- 199, 206
Marutás 409, 410, 433
márya- 204, 205
maśaka- 149
mastīśka- 188
matí- 322, 323
matkuṇa- 149
matyá- 242, 243
máyate 272, 273
mā 213, 422
Mādhavī- 261, 263
mām 60
māra- 194, 198
mās- 128, 129, 260, 261
māsá- 261
mātár- 5, 209, 213
māti- 317, 318
māyā 338, 340
medhá 322, 323
meghá- 128, 129
méhati 189, 191
mekṣayati 258, 259
meṣá- 135, 140
mēthati 272, 273
mímāti 317, 360, 362
mímūte 189, 190
mināti 272
mindā 194, 197
minóti 319
mít- 224, 225
mīthāti 272
mīḍhá- 273, 274
mīvati 391, 392
módate 336, 338
mṛd- 121
mṛdnāti 373, 376
mṛdú- 345, 347
mriyáte 194, 198
mṛṇakti 377
mṛṇāti 167, 168, 372, 373
mṛṣyate 322, 323
mṛṣāti 335
mṛtá- 198
mṛti- 194
mudrá- 338
múhu- 317, 319
muñcati 348, 400, 401
múñjati 360, 361
mušká- 185
muṣṇāti 273, 275, 391, 392
muṣti- 182
múka- 194, 197
mūrdhán- 174
mūṣ- 34, 134, 137
mūtra- 113, 390
ná 422
nábhas- 41, 128, 129
nábhya- 181, 248
naddá- 162
nagná- 193, 197
nakhá- 179, 181
nákt- 300, 302
námati 383, 384
nanā- 209, 213
nápāt 209, 211
naptí- 210, 213
nár- 193, 203, 204
nas 60
násate 402
Nasatyá 432
násati 395, 396
násyati 194, 198
nau- 247, 249
náv(ya)- 300
náva- 303
náva 61, 308, 315
navamá- 307, 309, 315
návas
návate 353, 354, 355
návya- 303
náyate 402
nābhi- 179, 181
nāma 356, 358
nāma dhā- 358
nāsā 174, 175
nāsyam 248
né 390
nénekti 390
ní 289, 292
niktá- 390
nindati 343, 344
nīdā- 224, 226
nú 300
nudāti 406
ójas- 34, 278, 281, 412
ójate 356, 357
óṣati 123, 124

- óṣṭha-* 174, 175
pácatī 258, 260
pád- 183
padám 250
pádyate 400, 401
pakṣá- 178, 179
pakthá- 309, 312
paláva- 164, 165
palitá- 331, 334
pánate 273
pánate 274
pāñca 61, 308, 312
pāñcadaśa 308, 316
pañcāśāt 309, 316
pánkti- 312
pánku- 125, 127
pánthās 250, 401
paraśú- 242, 243
párdate 189, 192
paré 289, 290
Parjánya 409, 410, 433
parṇá- 181
pársāna- 168
pársu- 181
pársva- 179
parút 300, 302
párvata- 121, 122
pary asti 397
pásas- 183, 184
pastyám 345, 347
pañcā 291
pāścāt 289, 291
páśu- 134, 136
paśu-tp- 342
páśyati 325, 326
pátati 398, 399
páṭati 372, 375
pāti- 207
patisyáti 400
pátnī- 207
pátyati 267, 268
pathi-kṛt- 412, 413
paváyati 390
paví- 249
pālavī- 240
pāmán- 199
pāṁsú- 121
pārṣṇi- 183
pārśvá- 181
pāṣī- 121, 122
pāśáyati 381
pāti 255, 257
pātra- 240
pībati 255, 256
picchā- 146
picchorā 385, 386
piká- 143, 145
piṁśāti 331
pināṣṭi 167, 168
pināka- 224, 225
pīparti 317, 319, 395, 396
pīppakā- 143
pippala- 179, 181
pipyūṣṭ- 260, 262
pīśuna- 343, 344
pitár- 5, 42, 209, 210
pitṛvyá- 210, 214
pīḍáyati 385
pītu- 157, 159
pīvas- 260, 261
pīyati 278, 279, 343, 344
plava- 399
plávate 403, 404
pléhate 395, 397
plīhán- 185, 187
ploṣati 123, 124
plūṣi- 149
pra- 209, 289, 290
prá-bhartar- 412, 413
pra-jñāti- 321
prá-napát- 210
praśna- 231, 233
pra-stha- 66
prāti 289, 290
prátika- 174, 175
práthati 387, 388
právate 398, 399
prātár 300, 301
prāyá- 319
prīyá- 204, 205, 343
prīyāyáte 343
prīyā- 207, 208
pruśvá- 127
pr̥cchāti 356, 358
pr̥ṣat- 389
pr̥ṣṇi- 331, 334
pr̥t- 278, 280
pr̥thivī- 267, 268
pr̥thú- 297, 298
pr̥thuka- 134, 137
psāti 376
-psu- 189, 191
púccha- 177, 178
pulakās 177
púman- 177
purā 289, 290
purú- 317, 319
puru-péśa- 334
púśyati 385
putau 183, 184
putrá- 209, 211
pūr 220, 221
pūrā- 317
pūrṇá- 319
pūrtá- 273, 274
pūrva- 309, 310
Pūṣá 411, 434
pūtá- 390
pūyati 335
phāla- 372
phálakam 245, 246
phálati 375
phāla- 375
phingaka 145
rābhas- 338, 339
rádati 373, 376
rājas- 330
rajatám 241, 242
rájju- 231, 233
rájyate 236
rájyati 236
rākṣas- 138

- rākṣati* 278, 281
rámate 353, 355
rāmbate 387, 388
rāndhram 182, 372, 374
raṅgati 383
rāsa- 126, 345, 346
Rasā- 126
rātha- 247, 248, 398
rayi- 273, 275
rādhnóti 295, 296
rāj- 92, 267, 268
rājñī- 268
Rāmá- 121
rāmá- 121
rāyati 363
réjate 398, 399
rékṣas- 273, 275
rekḥā 295, 297
rikhāti 372, 375
riṇákti 401, 402
riṇāti 393
riṇvati 391, 392
ri-sādas- 344
rīti- 394
rocá- 328, 329
rócate 328
rocáyati 328
roci- 328
róda- 361
ródhati 189, 190
róditi 360, 361
róhita- 332
róman- 177, 231, 233
romantha- 185, 186
roṣ- 279
róṣati 278
rudh- 405
rudhirá- 331, 332
Rudrá- 434
rujāti 371, 372
rupyati 371, 372
ruvāti 363, 364
ṛbhú- 409, 411
ṛcchāti 391
ṛghāyáte 188, 189
ṛjrá- 303
ṛkṣa- 135, 138
ṛñjāti 387
ṛnóti 391
ṛṣabhá- 204
ṛśya- 135, 139
ṛté 320
ṛtú- 276, 370
sá 418
sabhá- 204, 206
sabur-dhúk- 157, 158
sácā 289, 291
sácate 402
sádas- 224, 226
sád hate 395, 396
sa-dih- 224
sáhas- 278, 281
sahásram 61, 316
sáhuri- 281
sájati 381
sakám 291
sákhā- 267, 402
sákthi 182, 183
salilá- 260, 261
sam- 289, 291
samá- 317, 318
samayati 295, 297
sámā 300, 302
sána- 300, 303
sanitúr 289, 291
sanóti 369
sánti 64, 369
saparyāti 370
sápati 369, 370
saptá 61, 308, 314
saptamá- 307, 309, 314
saptátha- 314
sápti- 370
Saranyū 411
sáras- 127
sarat- 295, 297
sarpá- 400
sárpati 400
sarpi- 260, 261
sárva- 193, 195
sásti 322, 324
sasyá- 164
sasyám 163
satyá- 336, 337
sa-vātára- 134, 137
savyá- 294
sā 418
sāman- 356, 357
sāmi- 317, 318
siṅhá- 142
siñcāti 393
sídati 295, 296
sīghrá- 303
sīra- 168
sītā- 168
sívyati 231, 234
skabhnāti 270, 272
skándati 398, 399
skunāti 378, 379
smárati 322, 323
smás 64
smat 289, 290
smáyate 360
snāti 403
snāvan- 185, 187
snáyu- 231
snuṣā- 210, 215
soma 77
sprháyati 397, 398
sphátati 375
sphāyate 273, 275, 341, 342
sphirá- 317, 319
sphurāti 405, 406
sphūrjati 360, 362
sphyá- 157, 159
srávati 393, 394
srāmá- 194, 197
srédhati 400, 401
srjāti 391, 393
stámbhate 295, 296
stána- 179, 181

- stánati* 360, 361
stanáyati 128, 129
starĩ- 194, 198
stáriman- 224, 226
stáuti 359
(s)táyú- 273, 275
stighnóti 395, 396
str̥ṇāti 388
str̥ṇóti 387, 388
styá̌yate 345, 347
sthá 64
sthagayati 380
sthálam 295
stháman- 66, 287, 288
sthāna- 66
sthitá- 66
sthití- 66, 287, 288
sthūñā- 224, 225
su- 336, 337
sudhāna- 276
sumanasyáte 338
súrā- 261, 263
Suśráva- 118, 366
suváti 391, 392
sūkará- 5, 135, 139
sūnú- 5, 209, 211
sūnús 188
sūr̥kṣati 327
sūr̥(y)a- 128
sūsā 209, 210, 217
sūte 188, 189
svá- 416, 417
svadhá- 204, 206, 267
svájate 383, 384
svánati 360, 362
svapáyati 324
svápiti 322, 324
svápna- 324
svápnīyam 322, 324
svapú 389
svār 128
sváru- 224, 225
svásar- 5, 210, 214
svasr̥īya 210, 216
svādate 255, 256
svādhú- 335, 336
svédate 189, 191
syālā- 210, 215, 217
śāṣ 61, 308, 313
ṣṭhīvati 189, 191
śad- 400, 401
śákala- 224, 226
śákṛt 189, 192
śalyá- 245
śāma- 134, 137
śām̐ca yōśca 276
śamitá- 371
śāmsati 356
śānká- 149, 150
śānkate 387, 388
śankú- 146, 156, 157
śápha- 134, 137
śaphara- 146
śárvara- 411
Śárvara 439
śástra- 245
śaṣṭhá- 309, 313
śasá- 331, 137, 334
śatá- 309
śatám 46, 61, 316
śátru- 340
śáye 295, 296
śāka- 164, 165
śākhā 156, 157
śāla- 220
śāmūla- 378, 379
śāmyati 195
śāṇa- 37 6, 242, 244
śārā- 331, 333
śāsti 359
śéva- 204, 220
śíprā 176, 177
śíras- 174
śísāti 373, 376
śísira- 345
śívá- 206, 221
śīryate 278, 279
śmáśru 176, 177
śócate 328, 329
śóna- 331, 333
śrad-dhā- 323
śrād-dhāti 322, 323
śráva-dhā- 118
śrávas- 356, 357
śrávas...ākṣitam 118
śrávo...ṇṇāṃ 118
śráyate 295, 296
śrít- 224, 225
śrūṇāti 258, 259
śṛṇóti 335
śróṇi- 182, 183
śróṣati 335
śrótra- 360, 362
śrutá- 335
śūla- 245
śūna- 222
śūna- 220
śūnya- 372, 375
śúpti- 179, 180
śūra- 385, 412
śus- 346
śván- 5
śvásiti 189, 190, 360, 362
śvaśrū- 210, 215
śváśura- 210, 215
śváyati 385
śvā 135, 138
śváśura- 215
śvetá- 331, 332
śvitrá- 332
śyáti 376
śyāmá- 333
śyāvá- 331, 333
śyená- 145
tadā 418
tákman- 188, 189, 204
takrá- 260
takráṃ 262, 320
tákṣan- 220, 283
tákṣati 220
tákti 398

tala- 224, 225
tálpa- 287, 288
támas- 328, 330
tamṣayati 387
tanákti 317, 320
tanóti 387
tanú- 298, 299
tápati 345
táratī 395, 396
tár-hi 418
tárjati 338, 339
tarkú- 231, 234
tárman- 288
tát 418
tatá- 209, 211, 387
távīti 385, 386
tāmyati 278, 280
tārá- 372, 376
tāras 128, 129
tējate 372, 376
tírás 289, 290
tisrás 311
tīṣṭhati 66, 295, 296
tittirá- 143, 144
trápate 378
trásati 338, 339, 378, 379
tráyas 61, 308, 311
trāyati 396
trī 311
triṃśat 61, 308
triṣ 309, 311
triśat 316
tritá- 311
Trita Āptya 437
ṭṇam 162
ṭṇédhi 372, 373
ṭṇpti- 342
ṭṇpyati 341, 342
ṭṇśú- 346
ṭṇṣyáti 78
ṭṇṭiya- 311
ṭṇṣyati 345, 346
tsáratī 400
tucchyá- 317, 319

tudáti 405
tulā 405, 406
turīya- 309, 312
túṣyati 336, 337
tūṣṇīm 353, 355
tvák- 178, 179
tvám 416, 417
tvárate 378, 379
tvām 417
tvēṣate 380
tyájati 414
u- 231, 234
ubháu 309, 310
ubhnáti 231, 234
ucchalati 397, 398
uccháti 300, 301
úcyati 267
ud- 289, 292
udan- 126
udára- 185, 186
udrá- 135, 138
ukán- 135
ukṣán- 140
úḥṣati 189, 190
ukhá- 240
úlūka- 143, 145, 364
ulūhú- 363, 364
úpa 289, 292
upa-bárhani- 230, 231
upári 289, 292
úpasti- 267, 268
urán- 135, 140
urú- 297, 298
urugāyám...śrávo 118
urvārā- 163, 164
usrá- 135, 140
Uśás- 409, 432
uśá- 300, 301
uśā-kala- 353, 354, 358
uvé 325, 327
úddhar- 179, 181
ūná- 317, 319
ūrdhvá- 289, 292
ūrj- 257

ūrjá- 255, 257
ūrṇā- 177, 178
ūrṇa-vābhi- 234
ūyám 417
vácas takṣ- 365
vádati 353
vadh- 278, 280
vádhi- 194, 198, 280
vadhú- 207
váhati 404, 405
vahitram 247, 404
vaiśya 429
vájra- 246, 372, 374
vakṣayati 189, 190
vala- 227
válati 378
valmīka- 149
vámīti 189, 191
vānas- 341
vandhūra- 378, 379
vāṅgati 383, 384
vaniṣṭhú- 185, 186
varaṇa- 157, 158
várdhate 189
várṣati 125, 126
várṣman- 289, 292
vartaka- 145
vártate 378
varútra- 239, 240
várvarti 65
vas 60, 417
vasantá- 300, 302
vásati 219, 220
vasná- 272, 273
váste 231, 232
vastí- 185, 186
vásu- 273, 275, 336, 337
vaśá- 135, 140
vásmi 341
vatati 325
vatsá- 300, 302
vayám 60, 416
váyas- 193, 194
váyati 231, 233

vā 422
 vāgurā- 234
 vāghāt- 356, 357
 vāja- 193, 195
 vāk 359, 360
 vāla- 177, 178
 vāñchati 341
 vāpī- 125, 127
 vāra- 178
 vār(i) 124, 125
 vāstu 220, 222
 vāṣpā- 128, 129
 vāta- 128, 129, 386
 vāti 385, 386
 vāyú- 128, 129
 véda 322
 védas- 322
 vépate 378
 vépati 393
 véṣa- 378, 379
 veta- 157, 160
 véti 402, 403
 vi- 143, 289, 291
 vidmán- 322
 vidhávā- 207, 208
 vi-dhā- 318
 vidhā- 317
 vijáte 378
 viṃśatī 61, 308, 316
 vinákti 412
 viṣá- 261, 263
 viś- 204, 205, 220
 viśati 325, 326
 viśpāti- 267, 268
 vitarám 289, 291
 vívakti 352, 353
 vīdhrá- 390
 vīrá- 195, 203, 204
 vraṇá- 194, 198
 vrādhant- 190
 vrāta- 134, 136
 vṛdhāti 190
 vṛka- 135, 138
 Vṛka- 366

vṛkebhyas 58
 vṛkī- 135
 vṛñīte 341
 vṛñóti 378
 vṛṣán- 204
 vṛti- 220, 221
 yábhati 188, 189
 yád 421
 yájati 414
 yákṛt 185, 187
 yam- 276
 yamá- 207, 208
 Yama 435
 yás 421
 yásyati 258, 259
 yatará- 421
 yátati 295, 296
 yāti 421
 yáuti 258, 381
 yáva- 163, 164
 yā- 359
 yā 421
 yācati 356, 357
 yāśu 177
 yātár- 210, 216, 279
 yāti 395, 396
 yāti- 369, 370
 yāvat 421
 yóśca 276
 yudhmá- 283
 yúdhyate 391, 392
 yúdhyati 278, 281
 yugám 34, 247, 248
 yunákti 381
 yuṣmān 417
 yúvan- 204, 205
 yuvaśá- 204, 205
 yuvām 416, 417
 yūkā 149
 yūṣ- 263
 yūyám 60, 416

Hindi

bhāgnā 398

Kalasha

karasha 165

Kashmiri

bodur^u 332

Khowar

roi 267

Prakrit

ira 422

saṃghai 357

Torwali

pūš 178

Nuristani

pəṛi 184

Waigali

puc 159

zōr 262

Iranian

Avestan [Av]

a (ǎ), ā (ǎ), b, β, č, d, δ, e,
 ə, f, g, γ, h, i (ī), j, k, m, n,
 o, p, r, s, š, t, θ, u (u), v, x,
 x^y, y, z, ž

a- 422

aḍara- 293

aḍāiti 254

aēiti 395

aēnah- 279

aēš- 391

aēša- 249

aēva- 310

aēxa- 126

afnah-vant- 274,
 371

ayō- 339

ayrā 196

ahū- 245

ahura- 410

- Ahura-mazda* 410
ainika- 175
aipi 292
airya- 266
aiwitō 291
aka- 244, 382
aməša- 264
ana 292
anda- 197
antarə 290
anu 293
aojaite 357
aojah- 34, 281
apa 291
-apah- 370
Apqm Napāt 438
apara- 291
apayeiti 271
arānte 370
arəjah- 274
arəma- 180
arəša- 138
arəšan- 204
arəta- 276
as- 389
qsa- 270
a-sarəta- 279
asaya- 330
aspa- 139
aspa-arəšan- 204
aspā 139
asrū- 191
asta- 402
asti- 187
a-šam- 256
aši- 34, 175, 180
ašta 314
aštəma- 314
ašti- 314
auruša- 332
aušt(r)a- 175
ava 291
avaiti 337
ava-mīva- 392
ayah- 241
ayarə 301
qz- 381
aza- 141
qzah- 196
azan- 301
azrō- 403
aži- 147
āfš 126
āh- 175
āснаoiti 395
ā-spərvəza- 397
āste 296
āsu- 303
ātarš 67, 123
āθravan- 429
āθrō 123
-āvaya 143
āviš 327
āyū 195
baē 310
bag- 318
baga- 274, 410
bandayeiti 380
baodaitei 326
baodaitei 326
baraiti 188
barš 292
bawra- 137
baγa- 318
bā- 329
bāzu- 180
bərvəz- 121
bərvəzant- 292
bərvəzi-rāz- 268
bərvəziš 230
bī- 310
bīš 310
bī-taēγa- 376
bitya- 310
brātar- 214
brāzaiti 329
brvat- 175
būna- 225
buxti- 364
būza- 141
byente 280
čaiti 222, 420
čanah- 343
čaraiti 377
čarəkərə- 357
čarəman- 179
čašte 325
čataγrō 311
čaθru- 312
čaθwārō 311
čaxra- 248
čiš 419
čit 420
čiθra- 330
-da 290
dab- 279
dadāiti 270, 295
daēva- 408
dahyu- 269
daibitya- 310
dam- 206
dantan- 175
daoš- 180
daēsayeiti 354
darədar- 374
darəzayeiti 381
darši- 369
dasa 315
dasəma- 271, 316
dašina- 294, 305
daxša- 354
dazaiti 124
dādarəsa 326
dānu- 127
dārayat 271
dāuru 34, 156
dəjūt.arəta- 281
dərvəβda- 379
disyeiti 354
dīdaiγhē 325
draoga- 340
duγədar- 213

- duš-* 339
dušmanah- 283
duš-sravahyā- 118
dūire 299
dva 310
dvadasa 316
dvaēš- 339
dvažaiti 392
əṛənaoiti 391
əṛəzatəm 242, 332
əṛəzī 184
frā 290
fra-bəṛətar- 413
fra-manyente 298
fra-mīta- 272
frāvarčātiti 405
frāyah- 319
frya- 205, 343
fšarəma- 196
fštāna- 181
gaēsa- 177
gairi- 121
gəm varəṭəm az- 285, 406
gantuma- 166
gaona- 177
gar- 357
garəma- 344
garəm dā- 358
garəwa- 184
gau-arəšan- 204
gāuš 140
gāṭā- 357
gəṇā- 205
gəṛəbuš 184
gəṛəwnāiti 271
gəṛəzaiti 361
grava- 163, 245
grīvā- 176
gūzra- 281
gūṭa- 192
γzaraiti 394
hačā 291
hadiš- 226
hah- 324
hahya- 163
ha(m)- 291
ham- 302
hama- 318
han- 369
hana- 303
hanarə 291
hant- 395
haoma 77
haoš- 346
haoya- 294
hap- 370
hapta 314
haptaṭa- 314
haraiti 281
haurva- 195
haxā- 267
haxti- 182
hazagra- 316
hāvayeiti 259
həṛəzaiti 393
hičaiti 393
hiḍaiti 296
hišku- 346
hištaiti 296
hištati 66
hizū- 175
hu- 188, 337
hunāiti 392
hurā 263
hu-xšnuta- 376
hū- 139
hūnu- 211
h'afna- 324
hvar 128
hv-āṭra- 187
irinaxti 401
isaiti 341
ise 271
ištiia- 228
išu- 246
izaēnā- 141
iš- 195
ižā- 341
jagāra 324
jaiḍyemi 358
jainti 279
jaraiti 256
janaṭažīm 117
ḵvaiti 188
ḵyā 246
kaḍa 420
kaēna- 277
kahrka- 145
ka-məṛəḍa- 174
kara- 147
kaša- 180
kata- 222
kaurva- 196
kavā 327
kā- 342
kāy- 277
kəm 420
kəṛəfš 178
kəṛənaoiti 370
kəṛəntaiti 373
kəṛəsa-gu- 299
kəṛəti 246
madu- 265
maēni- 272
maēša- 140
maēṭ- 389
maēzaiti 191
maiḍya- 290
mainyeite 323
mairya- 197, 205, 340
-maiti- 323
manah- 325
manaoṭrī 176
maoḍanō-kara- 338
maoirī 149
maraiti 323
marəta- 199
marəza- 288
marəzaiti 377
mas- 299
mastrəγan- 188
mat 290

- maz-* 319
māz-dā- 323
mazga- 186
mayna- 197
maḍa- 346
maḍava- 205
maḍaxa- 150
maṭu 262
mā- 317
mā 129
mātar- 213
mārāti- 198
mārāzu- 319
minašti 259
minu- 176
miryeiti 198
mīžda- 274
moγu- 369
mošu 300
mraoiti 354
mušti- 182
mūθra- 113
naēd- 344
naēnižaiti 390
namah- 271
naoma- 315
naptī- 213
nar- 203
naska- 234
nasu- 198
nasyeiti 198
nava- 303
nava 315
nāh- 175
Nāḡhathya 432
nār 193
nāvarə 187
nəmaiti 384
ni-γar- 389
nū 300
pa- 291
pačaiti 260
pad- 183
paēsa- 331
pairi-daēza- 81, 224
pairi-daēzayeiti 371
pairikā- 208
pairyante 273
paiti- 207
paiḍyaiti 401
paiṭyeiti 268
panča 312
pančadasa 316
pančāsātəm 316
par- 319
-par- 396
parə 290
parəna- 181
parəsu- 181
pasča 291
paskāt 291
pəsmu- 121
pasu 136
paurva- 310
paurvatā 122
pāiti 257
pāman- 199
pāšna- 183
pəṛəna- 319
pəṛəsa- 139
pəṛəsaiti 358
pəṛət- 280
pəṛətu- 250, 396
pəṛəḍ- 192
pəṛəṭu- 297
pouru- 319
pouruša- 334
ptā 210
pusā- 236, 384
puxḍa- 312
puyeiti 335
pūtika- 390
puθra- 211
raēθ- 396
raēvant- 275
raēxnah- 275
raēza- 256
Raḡha 346
raoča- 328
raočayeiti 328
raod- 361
raodaiti 190
raoγna- 262
raoidita- 332
raopi- 138
rašta- 294
raṭaēštar 429
raṭa- 248, 398
ravah- 287
razura- 157
rāna- 182
rāzayeiti 387
saēna- 145
saēte 296
safa- 137
sairya- 191
sar- 259
sarah- 174
sarəta- 345
satəm 316
sādra- 344
sāh- 359
sāra- 174
səḡghaiti 356
snaēžaiti 126
snaoḍa- 129
snayeiti 403
spaēta- 332
spasyeiti 326
spā 138
spənta 412
spəṛəzan- 187
sraoni- 182
sraoθram 362
sravah- 357
sray- 296
sriḡā- 176
srva- 137
srvant- 400
staman- 175
staoiti 359
staora- 136

- stāiti*- 287
stāmbana- 296
stārānāiti 388
stārānaoiti 388
suč- 329
supti- 180
surunaoiti 335
suši 190
sūra- 385
šiti- 223
šyāta- 355
š(y)avaite 392
taḍa 418
taoṣayeiti 319
tarəp- 342
tarō 290
taršna- 78
taršu- 346
taša- 243
tašan 283
tašta 240
tav- 386
tāpaiti 345
tāta- 401
tāyu- 275
təmah- 330
tərəsaiti 339, 379
tišrō 311
tištṛiya- 131
tūiri- 262
tūirya- 214, 312
tušni- 355
θang- 387
θβərəsa- 139
θrayō 311
θri 311
θrisa(n)t- 316
θriš 311
θritiya- 311
θwaēšah- 380
uba- 310
udara- 186
udra- 138
upa 292
upairi 292
upa-skambəm 272
urupis 138
usaiti 301
uṣatara- 294
uṣā- 301
uši 175
uxšan- 140
uxšyeiti 190
ūna- 319
vačastašti- 365
vaḍū- 207
vaēḍa 322
vaēg- 378
vaēiti- 160
vaf 366
vak- 352
vam- 191
vantā 341
vaṇhaiti 219
vaṇhāu sravahī 118
vaṇri 302
var- 341
varən- 140
varənā- 178
varəšni 204
varət- 378
varəz- 257
vasəmi 341
vastryō fšuyant- 429
vaxšaiti 190
vayōi 359
vazra- 246
vāiti 386
vār 126
vāstar- 257, 283
vāta- 129
vāxš 359
vəhrka- 138
vərədaiti 190
vərəzyeiti 370
vi- 291
viḍavā 208
vi-gātha- 403
vi-madaya 318
vīp- 393
vis- 205
visaiti 326
vispaiti- 268
viš(a)- 263
vī-mad- 195
vīra- 195, 203
vīs- 221
vīsaiti 316
vīš 143
vītara- 291
vohu- 337
vouru- 297
xraos- 358
xrap- 342
xšaob- 380
xšap- 302
xšayati 269
xštva- 313
xšvaš 313
xšvīd- 262
xumba- 239
x^vaēna- 329
x^vaṇhar- 214
x^vap- 324
x^vara- 198
x^vasur 215
yaēšya- 259
yam- 276
yaozaiti 259, 392
yaož-dā- 276
yataiti 296
yatayeiti 296
yatāra- 421
yava- 163
yā- 396
yāh- 232
yākarə 187
yārə 302
yəma- 208
yugam 34, 248
yūiḍyeiti 281
yvan- 205

zaēša- 339
zafan- 255
zafar- 255
zairi- 333
zanga- 397
zaoš- 256
zaoθra- 393
zaranyam 242, 333
zaršayamna- 347
zasta- 180
zavaiti 354
zāmātar- 206
zānāiti 321
zānu- 34, 176
zāra- 186
zərəd- 34, 187
zizāmi 402
zrazdā- 323
zyām- 302
zyō 301
žnātar- 321
žnu- 183

Old Persian [OPers]

āganiš 319
brazman- 413
danuvatiy 399
didā 223
hamapitar- 210
kāra- 282
naiba- 412
napā 211
nyākā 213
šiyāti 355
θātiy 356
vag- 376
varvarah 137
xāyaθiya- 269

Middle Persian [MPers]

ančūtan 382
dawīdan 400
derang 299
hnzwwg- 297

ispar 246
makas 149
randītan 376
swl'ck 245
šāh mat 269
tanuk 299
vaβz- 149
xard 192

New Persian [NPers]

arzan 165
azγ 157
ālēxtan 399
ā-rōγ 191
ās 298
ba 144
balū 148, 197
būm 145
burrad 280
dām 136
dāna 164
fih 159
jāvīdan 255
jav 163
kahra 141
kuku 144
kūn 184
kus 184
mām 213
mūs 34, 137
nai 162
nana 213
navīdan 354
palang 142
poy 280, 397
pūpū 145
rang 236
rayza 233
rāsū 139
rōd 241
rōm 177, 233
san 244
šāh 269
šāx 156

šīr 262
tadharv 144
taxš 160
tuhī 319
xām 260
zar 206
žāla 126

Bajui

bidγāj 222

Bakhtiari

girza 137

Baluchi

rōmast 186

Ishkashmi

dec 141

Khotanese [Khot]

aiysna- 244
arā- 162
dasa- 178, 232
dro 178
handra- 239
hau 166
kūšda- 375
māšša- 165
mūla- 187
mušša 392
pa-dīm- 220
r(r)aha- 232
rrīṇa 268
rūš- 139
saha- 334
sara-cara 159
sānā- 159
tarra- 162
ttura- 140
vatca 178

Khufi

rawūj 225

Kurdish [Kurd]*lapka* 183*pūr* 177*viz* 159**Ossetic [Oss]***acc* 144*adæg* 167, 243*arɣaw* 357*æfcæg* 180*ælūton* 263*ænæ* 291*æxsyrf* 243*bærz* 159*færæt* 243*færwe* 159*faxs* 178*ɣalas* 354*jæw* 163*kæn-* 370*k'ullaw* 197*læsæg* 146*mal* 127*mæng* 340*myd* 265*naw* 249*ræjun* 363*ræwæg* 347*sæɣ* 140*tajun* 124*tajyn* 124*wærgon* 410, 434*wyzyn* 137*xuarun* 330*zarun* 354*zærand* 204*zyrnæg* 144**Parthian [Parth]***parast* 323*tgmdr* 296**Pashto***maná* 158*parša* 122*pūnda* 183*ūš* 140*zaṇai* 164*zaṛai* 164**Roshani***aḍawoj* 261*sēpc* 163*warbōn* 232**Sanglechi***xīr* 216**Sarikoli***ḍer* 122*yoz* 126**Scythian***melition* 262*taxša-* 246**Shughni***pīnj* 165*pūm* 177*pūrg* 137*roɣz* 165*šarθk-* 192*xāḍ* 225**Sogdian***āḍuk* 163*š'w* 333*wrtn* 378*wṭšnyy* 302*žut* 354

Italic languages

Oscan [Osc]

casnar 21, 334
cues 206
fangva- 21
fiutūr 213
patir 21
-pert 374
puklum 21, 211
sipus 258
touto 269
trstus 21

Umbrian [Umb]

arsfetur 413
avi- 21
gomia 384
Grabovius 161
iuka 357
ner- 203
nertru 305
pater 21
pir 91, 123
pre-uendu 379
prufe 21
supa 413
tefru 344
ueiro- 21
vestikatu 347

Old Latin [OLat]

cloāca 390
dacruma 189, 191
dingua 175
duenos 413
genō 188
quōr 420

Latin [Lat]

ab 289, 291

ab- 209
abiēs 161
ab-nepōs 210
ab-oleō 278, 281
Acca 209, 213
acer 157, 159
ācer 298
acipēns 147
acus 164, 165, 298
ad 289, 290, 293
ad-eps 260, 261
ad-nuō 355
adoleō 124
ador 163, 164, 170
aedēs 124, 123
aemidus 386
aemulus 270
aeruscāre 341
aeruscō 341
aes 241
aesculus 161
aevus 189, 193, 195
ager 44, 163, 164
agilis 300, 303
agmen 267
agnus 142
agō 405, 406
aiō 353
āla 179, 180
albus 55, 331, 332
alcēs 135, 139
ālīum 164, 165
alius 317, 318
allium 165
alnus 157, 158
alō 192
altar 123, 124
altus 192

alv(e)ārīum 222
alvus 220
amārus 335, 336
ambi- 289, 291
ambō 309, 310
ambulō 402
amma 209
amnis 125, 126
an 418
anas 143, 144
anculus 267, 268
angi-portus 297, 298
angō 381
angor 193, 196
anguilla 147
anguis 148
animālia suppa 293
animus 189, 190
annus 303, 395
ānsa 240
āns 143, 144
antae 224
ante 174, 175, 288, 289
ante-cellō 405, 406
anus 209, 213
ānus 247
aper 142
aperio 378
aptus 381
aqua 127
āra 67, 123, 224, 226, 346
arātrum 243
arceō 270, 271
arcus 246
ardea 145
ardeō 68
arduus 289, 292
ārea 167, 168

-
- āreō* 345, 346
argentum 241, 242, 331, 332
arguō 278, 279
āridus 346
ariēs 135, 141
armus 179, 180
arō 242
ars 369, 370
artus 276
arvum 163, 164
ascia 244
aser 185
asinus 135, 139
asser 187
at 289, 291
āter 67, 123
ātrium 67, 123, 227
atta 209, 211
audiō 325, 327
au-ferō 289, 291
augeō 189, 190
augur 413
augustus 278, 281, 412, 413
aulla 240
auris 174, 175
aurōra 300, 301
Aurōra 409, 432
aurum 241
auster 294, 305
av-avus 210
avēna 164, 166
aveō 336, 337
avia 216
avis 21, 143
avunculus 216
avus 209
axilla 180
axis 179, 180, 247, 248
babiger 360
babit 360
baculum 246
badius 334
balbus 360, 361
barba 178
baubor 364
bēlua 191
betulla 158
bi 309
bi- 310
bibō 255, 256
bis 309, 310
bisōn 141
bitūmen 157, 158
bonus 412, 413
bōs 3, 5, 135, 139
botulus 185, 186
bovēs agere 285, 406
brevis 317, 319
būbō 143, 145
bu-cerda 192
būtŕum 262
būtūrum 262
cachinnō 359, 360
cacō 192
cadāver 401
cadō 400, 401
caecus 194, 197
caelebs 317, 318
caesariēs 177
calamitās 282
calendae 354
calidus 345
calix 240
callus 194, 197
calō 353
calvō 340
calvor 340
calvus 193, 196
camera 223
camīsia 379
campus 384
cancer 149, 150
candeō 328, 329
candidātus 329
canicae 261, 263
canis 3, 5, 135, 138
cannibis 166
canō 358
canthus 299
cantō 43
cantus 299
cānus 21, 134, 137, 331, 334
caper 135, 141, 183, 184
capiō 270, 271
captus 282
caput 176
cariēs 278, 279
carmen 231, 233, 358
carpīnus 161
carpisculum 235
carpō 167, 168
car(r)ō 231, 233
carrus 399
cārus 206, 343
cāseus 258, 259
castrō 245
cattus 141
catus 373, 376
caulis 162, 164, 165, 375
caul(l)ae 223
caurus 129
cavannus 363, 364
caveō 325, 327
caverna 220, 222
cavus 372, 375
cēdō 395, 396
celer 405, 406
cella 220, 222
cēlō 380
cēnseō 356
centō 235
centum 43, 46, 61, 309, 316
–cerda 189
cerebrum 173, 174
cerēs 164, 165
Cerēs 165, 190
cervus 134, 137
cicer 166

cieō 391
cingō 231, 232
cinis 123
cis 418
cīvis 204, 206, 220, 221, 223
clangō 364
clāvis 244
clingō 383
clīvus 295, 296
clueō 335
clūnis 182, 183
cluor 356, 357
cognōmen 327
collis 122
collus 176
cōlō 272, 378
combretum 162
commūnis 272
conditiō 276
cōnīveō 297
cōnor 369, 370
consīderō 329
cōnsobrīnus 210, 216
coquō 258, 259
cor 185, 187
corbis 235
cornum 134, 137
cornus 161
corpus 178, 179
corulus 160
corvus 143, 144, 363, 364
cōs 242, 244
cōtis 244
covus 375
coxa 46, 179, 180
crābrō 134, 137, 150
crātis 231, 233
crēdō 322, 323
cremō 125
cremor 261, 263
creō 189, 190
crescō 189
crēta 121

crībrum 244
crīnis 176, 177
cruor 185, 187
crusta 345, 346
cucūlus 143, 144
cūius 419, 420
culmus 162
culter 245
cūlus 179, 181
cum 289, 290, 419, 420
cunctor 387, 388
cunnus 183, 184
cūpa 240, 372, 375
currō 398, 399
currus 249
custōs 327
daps 255, 257
dē 293
dea 59
dēbilis 193, 195
decem 61, 307, 308, 315
decet 270, 271
decimus 309, 315
decus 270, 271
dēfendō 278, 279
dēfrutum 259
dēgunō 256
de-līrus 168
dēns 174, 175
deus 4, 408, 409
dexter 294, 305
dīcō 353, 354
diēs 300, 301
dif- 339
dīngua 175
dis- 293
dūm 129
dūus 409
dīvidō 317, 318
dō 270
dō- 289
doceō 271
dolō 372, 373
dominus 205, 207, 208

domō 134, 136
domus 3, 5, 204, 205, 220
dō-nec 290
dōnum 273, 274
dormiō 322, 324
drēnsō 360, 362
druides 429
duae 310
dūcō 405
duo 61, 308, 310
duodecim 308, 316
duplus 309, 310, 383, 384
dūrāre 298, 299
eā 417, 418
ēbrius 255, 256
ebur 141
edō 254, 255
egeō 273, 274
ego 416
emō 272
ēmungō 400
endo 289, 290
ēnsis 245
eō 395
equa 135, 139
equites 429
equus 135, 139
ēr 142
era 207, 208
errō 393, 394
ērūgō 189, 191
erus 207, 208, 337
ervum 167
es 64, 369
est 64, 369
estis 64
et 422
ex 293
expergō 324
experior 371
exuō 231
faba 166
faber 283

- facere* 295
fāgus 113, 161
falx 376
fāma 355
fār 166, 299
farcio 383
farnus 157, 159
fartus 384
fastīgō 298
fauna 142
faunus 142
faveō 324
fax 244
fel 185, 186
fēlis 135, 139
fēlix 182
fēlō 255, 256
fera 134, 136
fēriae 409, 410
ferimus 6, 65
feriō 278, 280, 372, 374
feris 45
ferit 45
fermentum 258, 259
ferō 6, 41, 45, 65, 188, 189, 404, 405
fers 6, 65
fert 6, 65
fertis 6, 65
ferunt 6, 65
ferveō 258, 259
festinō 303
fiber 134, 137
fidēlia 240
fidō 355
figō 282, 297
fīlia 3, 5
fīlius 3, 5
fīlum 235
findō 372, 374
fiṅgō 369, 371
fīō 368, 369
firmus 270, 271
flagrum 282
flāmen 412, 413
flamma 329
flāvus 331, 332
fleō 364
flō 385, 386
flūmen 385
fluō 385
fodiō 372, 375
folium 161
follis 386
fōns 398, 399
for 355
for(c)tis 292
foria 192
foriō 192
foris 224, 224
formīca 149
formus 344, 345
fors 404
foveō 123, 124
fracēs 263
frāga 160
frangō 376
frāter 3, 5, 41, 210, 214
frāter (germanus) 214
frāter patruelis 214
fraxinus 157, 159, 170
fremō 363
frendō 169
frīgō 258, 259
frīgus 348
friō 278, 281
frūmen 188
frustum 376
fugiō 400
fuī 368
fulciō 226
fulgō 328
fulica 145
fulmen 329
fūmus 123, 124
funda 235
fundō 394
fundus 224, 225
fungor 369, 370
fūnus 199
furō 189, 190
fūstis 282
fūtis 393
gallus 353, 354
garriō 353, 354
gaudeō 336, 338
gelū 347
geminus 207, 208
gemō 363
gena 174, 176
gener 206, 210
genetrīx 209, 213
genitor 209, 210
genō 189
genū 183
genus 204, 205
gignō 188
glaber 348
glāns 157, 158
glīs 135, 137
glōs 210, 215
glūbō 377
glūten 122
gnāscor 188
(g)nōscō 321, 322
gradior 395, 397
gradus 397
grāmen 255
grandō 127
grānum 164
grātēs 356, 357
gravis 345, 346
grex 269
grossus 299
grundiō 364
grunniō 364
grūs 143, 144
gustō 255, 256
guttur 185, 186
hā 360
habeō 270, 271
haedus 142

- hahae* 360
harundō 162
haruspex 185, 186
hasta 226
hauriō 258
helvus 331, 333
herī 300, 301
hiāre 360, 362
hiems 300, 302
hīr 179, 180
hīrrūre 363, 364
homō 120, 206
hordeum 164, 165
hōrior 341
hōrnus 300, 302
horreō 345, 347
hortus 220
hospēs 207, 269
hostis 269
humānus 120
(h)umerus 179
humī 224
humus 120, 121
iaciō 389
iam 303
ianitrīcēs 210, 216
ibī 418
id 417, 418
iecur 185, 187
ignis 91, 123
īlia 182, 183
imber 125, 126
imbūbināre 192
in 289, 290
in- 422
inciēns 385
inclutus 335
in-dulgeō 298, 299
induō 231
īnfernus 293
inguen 188
īnseque 359
īnstīgō 372, 376
inter 289, 290
interpres 273
intrāre 395, 396
involūcrum 239, 240
iocus 356, 357
(ir)rigāre 348
is 417
īs 417, 418
is-ta 417, 418
is-te 417, 418
is-tu 418
is-tud 417
ita 418, 422
item 418
iter 250
iterum 418
iubeō 278, 281, 391, 392
iūbilō 363
iugum 247
iuncus 162
iungō 381
iūniperus 162
Iūpiter 409, 431
iūs 258, 261, 263, 276
iuvencus 204, 205
iuvenis 204, 205
labium 176
lac 260, 262
lacer 377
lacrima 189, 191
lacus 128
laevus 294
lallō 360, 361
lāma 393
lambō 257
lāmenta 363
lāna 49, 177, 178
lanca 122
lapis 122
lascīvus 341, 342
lassus 193, 195
lātrō 363
lavō 390
laxus 345, 348
lectus 295, 296
legō 325, 326
lemurēs 411
lentus 348
lēvir 210, 214
levis 345, 347
lex 276
libāre 263
liber 160
līber 189, 190
Līber 190
liberī 190, 267
libet 343
libīdō 343
liēn 185, 187
līmax 347
limbus 387, 388
līmus 345, 347
līngō 255, 256
līngua 21, 174, 175
linō 347, 381, 382
linquō 401, 402
līnum 166
līra 168
lītus 392
līvor 334
lōcusta 399
longus 298, 299
loquor 355
lubet 343
lubīdō 343
lūbricus 401
lūceō 328
lucrum 275
luctō 384
lūdō 338
lūgeō 360, 361, 371, 372
lumbus 182, 183
lūna 129
lupus 135, 138
lutra 135, 138
lūx 328
macer 298, 299
mācerō 384
madeō 345, 346

- magi* 369
magnus 317, 319
magus 369
māla 174
mālum 157, 158
malus 194, 197
mālus 226
mamma 209, 213
mancus 273, 274
mandō 257
maneō 219, 220
mānis 338
manus 179, 181
mare 125, 127
margō 288
marītus 204, 205
Mārs 409, 410, 433
mateola 242, 243
māter 3, 5, 209, 213
medeor 193, 318
medicus 195, 318
meditor 317, 318
medius 290
meiō 189, 191
mel 260, 262
mēlēs 141
melior 336, 337
membrum 260, 261
meminī 322
memoria 323
menda 194, 197
mēns 322, 323
mēnsis 128
mentum 174, 176, 298
meō 397
mergae 169
mergānsēr 403
mergō 403
merula 145
merus 328, 329
mētior 317
metō 168
micō 325, 327
miliūm 166
mīngō 191
minuō 319
minus 317, 319
misceō 258, 259
mittō 389
mollis 345, 347
molō 167, 168
monīle 174, 176, 247
mordeō 373, 376
moriōr 194, 198
mors 194, 198
mortuus 194, 198
mōrum 157, 160
moveō 391, 392
mox 300
mūcus 348, 401
muger 340
mūgiō 360, 361
mulceō 335
mulgeō 260, 261
mulleus 331
mūlus 142
munḡō 348
-munḡō 400
murmurō 360, 361
mūs 134, 137
musca 150
mūs-cerda 191
māsculus 185, 187
muscus 162
mūtō 272, 273
mūtus 194, 197
naccae 231, 233
nanciō 395, 396
nārēs 175
nāris 174, 175
natis 184
natrix 147
nāvis 247, 249
nē 422
nebula 128, 129
necō 194, 198
nectō 231, 234
nē-cubi 420
nēc-ubi 420
ne-fās 422
nemus 160, 384
neō 231, 234
nepōs 209, 211
neptis 210, 213
neptūnus 409
Neptūnus 409, 410, 438
neriōsus 203
nervus 185, 187, 231, 234
nex 194, 198
nīdus 224, 226
ninguit 126
nīvere 125
nivit 126
nix 126
nō 403
nōdus 234
nōmen 356, 358
nōn 422
nonnus 209, 213
nōnus 309, 315
nōs 416
nōtiō 321
nōtor 321
nōtus 321
nova 59
novācula 376
novāre 63
novem 61, 307, 308, 315
novum 59
novus 59, 300, 303
nox 300, 301
nūbere 208
nūbēs 128, 129
nūdus 193, 197
num 300
nundinae 300, 301
nūntius 353, 354
nurus 210
nux 160
ō 359, 360
ob 289, 292
ob-scūrus 378, 379

obstāculum 66
occa 167, 242, 243
ōcior 300, 303
octāvus 309, 314
octō 44, 61, 308, 314
oculus 174, 175
ōdī 343, 344
odium 343, 344
oleō 336
olor 145
ōmen 322, 323
ōmentum 178, 179
onus 273, 275
opēs 370
Ops 274
optō 271, 342
opulentus 273, 274
opus 369, 370
ōra 288
ōrāculum 356
orbis 297, 298
orbus 207, 208
oriēns 301
orior 391
ornus 157, 158
ōrō 356
ōs 174, 175
os 185, 187
ōstium 127, 174, 175
ovis 3, 5, 46, 112, 135, 140
ōvum 143
palea 164, 165
pallidus 331, 334
palma 182
pandō 388
pandus 299
pangō 381
pānicum 165
pannus 231, 232
pantex 185, 186
pāpa 209, 211
pāpiliō 150
papilla 179, 181
paradīsus 81

pars 273, 274
parvus 320
pāscō 55, 255, 257
passus 388
pastor 429
pater 3, 5, 21, 42, 209, 210
patior 278, 279
patruus 210, 214
paucus 320
pauper 320
pāx 381
pecten 232
pectere 234
pectō 231, 232
pectus 178, 179
pecu 134, 136
pecus 136
peda 250
pedō 192
pellis 182
pellō 393
pēlvis 240
pēnis 183, 184
penna 179, 181
penus 255, 257
per 289
perfinō 278, 280
pergula 226
perna 183
pēs 183
pessum 400, 401
petō 398, 399
pīca 145
pīcea 161
pīcus 143, 145
pilleus 177, 236
pīlus 177
pīngō 331
pīnguis 317, 319
pīnsō 167, 168
pīnus 157, 159
pīpō 143
piscis 146
pīx 161

placeō 297, 298, 336, 337
plācō 297, 337
plangō 282
plantō 387, 388
plēbēs 269, 429
plectō 231, 233, 282
plēnus 317, 319
pleō 317, 319
pluit 403, 404
plūma 235
plūs 319
pluteus 226
pōculum 240
pollex 181
polluō 122
pō-lūbrum 240
pōns 250, 401
pontifex 412, 413
porca 168
porcus 135, 139
portāre 395, 396
portiō 273, 274
portus 250, 396
poscō 356, 358
po-situs 291
post(e) 289, 291
posterus 291, 293
potior 267, 268
prae 289, 290
praestō 179, 180
precor 358
pre(he)ndō 272
premere 383, 384
pretium 273
prīmus 309, 310
pro- 209
pro 290
prō 289, 290
pro-avus 210
probus 21
procus 358
prō-mineō 298
pro-nepōs 210
prosper 317, 319

-
- pruīna* 127
prūna 123, 124
pūbēs 177
pudet 278, 280
pulcher 331, 334
pūlex 149
pulmō 185, 187
puls 263
pungō 377
pūrus 390
pūs 199
pustula 385
putāre 372
pūteō 335
putō 374
putus 390
quadrupēs 134, 136
quālis 420
quālus 235
quam 420
Quārta 366
quārtus 309, 312
quasillus 235
quatiō 380
quattuor 61, 308, 311
—que 44, 62, 422
quercus 160
queror 189, 190, 360, 362
quid 419, 420
quiēs 353, 355
quiētus 355
quīndecim 308, 316
quīnquāgintā 309, 316
quīnque 61, 308, 312
quīntus 309, 312
quis 419
quod 44, 46, 419
quōr 419
quot 419, 420
rabiēs 338, 339
rādīx 160
rāmus 160
rapō 272
rāpum 166
ratio 320
recēns 193, 195
rēctus 294
reddō 270
rēgīna 268
regō 387
rēmus 249
Remus 435
rēnēs 187
reor 295, 296
rēpō 401
repudium 280
rēs 273, 275
restis 231, 233
rētae 226
rēx 92, 267, 268
rēx sacrōrum 268
ricinus 149
rīpa 377
rīvus 394
rōdō 373, 376
rōs 125, 126, 345, 346
rota 247, 248, 398
ruber 332
rudō 360, 361
rūfus 331, 332
rūga 317, 320
rullus 434
rūmen 185, 186
rūmor 363, 364
rumpō 372, 373
runcō 372, 375
ruō 372, 374
rūs 287, 288
sabulum 122
sacer 412
sacerdōs 412
saevus 193, 195, 340
sāga 327
sāgiō 325, 327
sāl 260, 261
salebra 121
saliō 400
salix 160
salvus 193, 195
sapa 157, 158
sapiēns 258
sapiō 258
sarciō 224, 276, 277, 298
sariō 147
sarpō 243
satis 342
scabō 376
scaevus 295
scamnum 270, 271
scandō 398, 399
scaurus 194, 197
scindō 372, 373
sciō 374
scūtum 246
sē 416, 417
secō 372, 374
secūris 244
secus 289, 290
sedeō 296
sedīle 227
sella 227
sēmen 166
sēmi 317
sēmi- 318
semper 317, 318
semplex 317
senex 300, 303
sēnsus 324
sen-tīna 260
sentīō 324
sepeliō 369, 370
septem 61, 307, 308, 314
septimus 309, 314
sequor 402
serēnus 125, 348
serescunt 125
sermō 353
serō 167, 295, 297
serpēns 400
serpō 400
serum 262, 394
sērus 299

- servō* 278, 281
servus 273, 275
sex 61, 308, 313
sexāgintā 309, 316
sextus 309, 313
siat 393
siccus 345, 346
sīdō 295, 296
sīdus 328, 329
sim-plex 318
simul 318
sine 289, 291
singulī 317, 318
sinister 305
sistit 66
sistō 295, 296
situs 281
snurus 215
socer 210, 215
socius 267
socrus 210, 215
sodālis 204, 206, 206,
267
sōl 128
somnium 322, 324
somnus 322, 324
sonō 360, 362
sōns 336, 337
sonus 362
sōpiō 322, 324
sopor 324
sorbeō 255, 256
sordēs 328, 330
sōrex 142
soror 3, 5, 210, 214
spargō 389
speciō 325, 326
spernō 405, 406
spēs 273, 275, 341, 342
spīrō 385, 386
splendeō 328, 329
spolium 372, 375
sponda 227
spondeō 261
spūma 125, 126
spuō 189, 191
squalus 146, 147
stāgnum 128, 394
stāmen 66, 287, 288
stat 66
statim 66
statiō 287, 288
status 66
stēlla 67, 128, 129
sterelis 194
sterilis 194, 198
sternō 388
sternuō 193, 196
stīria 345, 347
stō 296
strāmen 224, 226
strepō 355
struō 387, 388
studeō 405
studium 405
sturnus 145
suādus 335
suāvis 336
sub 290, 293
sūdō 189, 191
sūdus 345, 346
suf-fiō 391, 392
sūgō 257
suīnus 3, 5
sulcāre 405
sulphur 123, 124
sum 64, 369
sumus 64
sunt 64, 369
suō 231, 234
super 289, 292
supō 389, 389
surus 224, 225
sūs 135, 139
tābeō 123, 124
taceō 355
tālis 418
tangō 336
tata 209, 211
taurus 135, 140
taxus 157, 160
tē 416
tectum 226
tegō 380
tēgula 226
tellūs 224, 225
temere 328, 330
tēmētum 278, 280
temō 249, 387
tempus 387, 388
tendō 387
tennis 298
tentus 387
tenuis 299, 387
tepeō 344, 345
ter 309, 311
terebra 244
termen 288
terō 372, 375, 377
terreō 338
terrēre 378, 379
terror 339, 379
tertius 311
testa 174, 240
testis 21
texō 220
textor 283
tignum 227
tilia 157, 159
tingō 348
tollō 405, 406
tonāre 128, 129
tongeō 322, 323
torqueō 231, 234
torreō 345, 346
torrus 346
torvus 338, 339
tot 61, 418
trabs 223
trahō 406
trāns 289, 290
tremō 378, 379

- trepit* 378
trēs 61, 308, 311
trīgintā 61, 308, 316
triquetrus 376
truea 378, 379
trūdō 384
tū 416
tueor 336, 337
tundō 405
tunica 237
turdus 145
über 179, 181
ubi 419, 420
ulcus 194, 197
ulmus 160
ulna 179, 180
uls 293
uluc(c)us 143, 145, 364
ululāre 363, 364
umbilicus 179, 181
umbō 181
uncus 242, 244, 383
unda 125
ung(u)ō 382
ungen 263
unguis 179, 181
unguō 381
ūnus 61, 308, 309
upupa 143, 145
urbs 221
urgeō 282
urgēre 402, 403
ūrīnārī 125
ūrō 123, 124
ursus 135, 138
urvāre 169
uter 419, 420
uterus 185, 186
ūva 160
ūvidus 348
vacca 135, 140
vacō 317, 319
vādō 404
vadum 404
vae 359, 360
vāgīna 372, 374
vāgiō 355
valeō 267, 268
vallus 227
vānus 317, 319
vapor 128, 129
varus 194, 197
vassalus 269
vassus 269
vastus 320
vātēs 325, 327
-ve 422
vegeō 193, 195
vehiculum 247, 404
vehō 404, 405
vellō 372, 374
vēlum 231, 234
veniō 394, 395
venter 185, 186
ventus 128, 129, 386
vēnum 272, 273
venus 341
vēr 300, 302
verbēna 161
verbum 353
vereor 325, 327
vermis 151
verrēs 204
verrō 167, 168
verrūca 289, 292
vertō 378
verū 244, 245
vērus 338
vēs(s)īca 185, 186
vespa 149, 231, 232
vesper 303
vestis 232
Vesuna 336, 337
vetus 300, 302
vexāre 391, 392
via 250
vibrāre 378
victima 412
vīcus 204, 205, 221
videō 322
vidua 207, 208
vieō 231, 233
vīgintī 61, 308, 316
vīlla 221
vincō 282
vīnum 164, 166
vir 21, 194, 203, 204
vīrus 261, 263
vīs 193, 194, 278, 281, 402
viscum 161
vītis 157, 160, 233
vitium 289, 291
vitulus 134, 136
vīverra 134, 137
vīvō 188, 189
vocō 352, 353
Volcānus 409, 410, 434
volnus 194, 198
volō 341
volpēs 135
voltur 145
volturis 145
volturus 145
voltus 325, 326
volvō 378
vōmis 244
vomō 189, 191
vorō 255, 256
vōs 416, 417
voveō 356, 357
vōx 359, 360
vulpēs 138
yugum 248
French
chambre 223
dieu 4
paradis 81
tête 174
Italian
cissa 145

dio 4

forca 160

Romanian

mînz 142

Spanish

canto 43

casa 2

ciento 43

dio 4

hermana 2

hermano 2

hija 2

hijo 2

madre 1, 2

oveja 2

padre 2

pato 144

perro 2

puerco 1, 2

ser 368

vaca 2

Slavic Languages

Old Church Slavonic

[OCS]

a, b, c, ch, č, d, e, ě, ę, g, i
(ī), j, k, l, m, n, o, p, r,
s, š, t, u (ǔ), v, z, ž

aǵice 143
alni 141
Aviti 327
baba 360
beresi 45
beretǔ 45
berq 41, 45, 188
bez 291
běľǔ 332
běditi 355
bičela 150
bijq 280
bljujq 385
blūcha 149
bogǔ 274, 410
bolǵi 195
borjq 374
bosǔ 199
bratřija 214
bratrǔ 41, 214
brěme 404
brěšti 282
bronǔ 332
brǔvi 41
buditi 326
by 368
byti 368
cito 420
chochotati 359
chodǔ 395
čajq 339
časǔ 303
česo 419

četyre 311
četyri 311
čediti 373
čělǔ 195
cěna 277
činǔ 220
čitq 327
čředa 320
čřivǔ 150
čřunǔ 332
čudo 413
čujq 327
danǔ 274
darǔ 274
dati 270
daviti 199
derq 374
desetǔ 315–16
desnǔ 294
devetǔ 315
devetǔ 315
děti 295
děverǔ 215
dñi 301
dlǔgǔ 277, 299
do 290
dobrǔ-jǔ 421
dojq 256
domǔ 205
dremľq 324
drěvo 156
droždije 263
drugǔ 269
druva 156
dǔbrǔ 292
dǔno 292
dunq 392
dǔšti 213

dǔva 310
dǔvě 310
dvǔri 224
dymu 124
gadati 272
gladiti 348
gladǔ 341
glasǔ 354
godǔ 381
goněti 319
gora 121
gospodi 269
gosti 269
govějq 324
gověždǔ 140
grabiti 271
gradǔ 127
gromǔ 129
groza 340
igrati 392
ime 358
imq 272
ino- 309
i-seknqti 346
istǔ 276
iti 395
iz 293
izujq 231
(j)ablǔko 27
jadq 396
(j)agne 142
jara 302
(j)avě 327
(j)azno 179
**(j)azǔ* 416
jed-in- 309
jeseni 302
jetro 186

- jetry* 216
językū 175
ju 303
junū 205
kakū 420
kamy 122
kašīlī 191
kažq 325
kladq 388
klasū 376
kobī 275, 371
ko-gda 420
kolī 420
kolikū 420
koljq 282
kolo 248
korī 150
kosa 233
kosū 145
košī 235
koteryjī 420
kotiči 222
kotora 282
kovq 280
koza 142
krađa 225
kručījī 370
kū 290
kūde 420
kukonosū 383
kuriti sę 125
kvasū 259
lajq 363
lani 141, 293
laskati 342
lebedī 332
lēcha 168
lējq 392
lěnū 195
lěvū 294
lēžati 296
līgūkū 347
līnēnū 27
lizati 256
ljubū 343
ljudīje 266
loču 257
lqka 122
loky 128
lomljq 377
lučiti 326
ludū 340
luna 129
lūžq 355
lyuby 343
mati 213
medū 262
meljq 168
měnjq 323
měsēcī 129
měsiti 259
mėkūkū 348, 384
męso 261
męsti 259
mūnjq 322
minq 397
mīrq 198
mīžda 274
mladū 347
mlūvati 354
mqdrq 323
mogq 369
moljq 358
monisto 176, 247
morje 127
morū 198
motyka 243
mozgū 186
mrakū 330
mravi 149
mūčati 401
mūmati 362
mūnogū 320
mūšīca 27, 150
my 416
myjq 113, 390
myšī 137
na-perjq 396
ne 422
nebo 129
nesq 396
netijī 211
neže 422
nizū 292
nogūtī 181
nosū 175
noštī 302
nova 59
novo 59
novū 59, 303
nū 300
o 359
ob 292
oba 310
obujq 231
qglī 27, 123
ognī 91, 123
qgulja 147
o-jūminū 283
oko 175
qkoī 244, 382
olū 27, 263
onū 419
oriti 281
orjq 242
osa 149
osī 180, 248
osmī 314
osmū 314
ostrū 298
ot- 291
o-tęžati 346
qtrī 290
oviči 140
ovīnū 46, 112, 140
ovišū 166
qžq 381
pa- 291
padq 401
pa-męti 323
para 386
pas- 257

-
- pek* 259
pero 181
perq 396
pěsūkū 121
pěti 357
pěstī 181, 312
peťi 312
peťū 312
pīchati 168
picūhū 161
pijq 256
pīnū 225
pīnq 234
pisati 331
piskati 386
pišta 257
plakati sę 282
pletq 233
pljujq 191
plovq 404
plūnū 319
plūstī 177, 236
po 291
podū 250
pogrebq 376
po-jašq 232
pokoji 355
potī 250
prachū 389
prijajq 343
pri-līpjq 347, 382
prositi 358
protivū 290
rabū 208
raditi 296
ramo 180
ras-platiti 375
ras-tegq 387
rata 221
raz-lqčiti 383
rešti 354
rězati 377
rosa 346
rovq 364
rozga 233
ruda 241
rūvq 374
rūžī 78
samū 318
sedmī 314
sedmū 314
sestra 214
sějō 167
sějō 374
sěkyra 244
sěmę 166
sěno 166
sěru 334
sěsti 296
sěverū 129
šestī 313
sę 417
sęgnqti 381
sęštī 324
sī 418
sīrsenī 150
sito 244
sivū 333
skoblī 376
skočiti 399
skubq 406
skytati sę 380
slědū 401
slězena 187
slina 347
slovo 357
slūnice 128
sluti 335
slyšati 335
smějō 360
snučiti 208
so- 291
socha 27
sočiti 359
sokha 243
solī 261
spěti 275, 342
spqđū 241
sporū 319
srūbati 256
stanū 66
stenjq 361
stenq 129
stīdza 251, 396
stignq 396
stoitū 66
strada 347
stropū 226
stryjī 214
suchū 346
sū-dravū 337
su-krušiti 280
sūljō 397
sūlū 397
sūnije 324
sūmū 324
sūpati 324
sūpq 389
sūsq 257
sūto 316
svariti 353
svekrū 215
svekry 215
světū 412
svistati 386
svītī 332
svobodī 206
svrabū 380
synū 211
syrū 348
šijq 234
štītū 246
šujī 294
šurī 215, 217
ta 418
tajq 124, 275
tamo 418
tesati 220
tesla 244
tetrěvī 144
těsto 264
tę 416

tina 121
tīnūkū 299
tīrǫ 375, 377
tlūkū 355
to 418
tomiti 280
topū 388
trēsǫ 379
tri 311
trije 311
truditi se 384
trūnū 162
trūpēti 342
tryjǫ 377
tū 418
tusešta 386
tvoriti 272
ty 416
tyssti 316
u- 291
učiti 267
ugasiti 124, 198
usta 175
ustra 301
ustrū 294
va 417
vablǫ 355
vaditi 353
vapa 127
večerū 303
velǫ 341
vermije 151
vesna 302
vetūchū 302
vezǫ 404
vě 416
vědě 322
vějati 386
věno 208, 272
věru 338
vidū 322
vīrǫ 260
vīšī 27, 205, 221
Vladi-měřū 320

vladǫ 268
vlagā 347
vlěkǫ 405
vlīk-omū 58
voda 125
voskū 150
vǫsū 178
vozū 247
vrěšti 168
vrītēti se 378
vūnǫkū 213
vūtorū 320
vūz-grīmēti 129
vūz-nīknoti 392
vy 417
vyknǫti 267
vy-rinǫti 392
začēti 195
za-(j)apū 271, 342
zelenī 333
zemlja 120
zima 302
zīrǫ 330
zlato 333
zǫbū 175
zovǫ 354
zrīno 164
zūlūva 215
zūrēti 190
zvěrī 136
zvonū 362
žegǫ 124
želēti 342
žely 148
žena 204
žęždǫ 358
žica 235, 246
židukū 199
žimǫ 384
živǫ 188
žlědica 126
žlīdēti 341
žrěbū 377
žrūny 243

Bulgarian [Bulg]

buk 145
krókon 144
kúlka 299
sāsar 142
sterica 198
šěstī 313

**Serbian Church Slavonic
[SerbCS]**

sulogū 209

Serbo-Croatian [SC]

bīk 299
búkati 364
depiti 282
glog 163
jatiti se 296
krplje 235
mīžati 191
modar 333
patka 144
róda 145
sinji 333
trs 167

Slovenian [Slov]

blazína 230
gáziti 404
lagāc 383
melc 141
nāt 162
paz-duha 180
pípa 143
pír 167
rydati 361
vedevec 136

**Russian Church Slavonic
[RusCS]**

gūrkatī 364
sjadry 347

Old Russian [ORus]

čemerū 162

- dositi* 271
gajati 357
krīnuti 273
mūlzu 261
mūskū 142
navī 198
nesterā 213
padorog 126
Perinū 433
Rūglū 434
tyju 386
- New Russian [Rus]**
a, b, c, č, d, e (ě), g, i, j, k,
kh, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, š, t, u,
v, z, ž
bāju 355
begū 398
belenā 162
béreg 121
berēza 159
berú 404
bléju 364
bljudú 326
blud 330
bob 166
bobr 137
bog 4, 318
borjú 280
borodā 178
bórošno 166
boršč 298
borzój 303
britī 281
brostī 386
brovī 175
búben 364
buz 113, 161
bzdetī 192
cervī 114, 244
cmelī 364
čáry 370
čeremšā 167
čéres 235
- Četvertoj* 366
četvėrtyj 312
čup 320
debělyj 298
derěn 160
děrgatī 406
desná 175
djádja 216
dol 122
doždī 339
dristātī 192
drjápati 374
drozd 145
dúžy 370
ež 137
ghum 338
gnída 151
gogolātī 362
golījā 161
gólyj 196
gon 279
górod 221
gospódī 207
grab 161
gríva 176
grjadū 397
gusī 144
il 128
ilem 160
inej 126
íva 160
jábloko 27, 158
jadró 184
jágoda 158
jálovec 161
jásenī 159
jebú 188
jěrzajet 184, 188
kákatī 192
kidātī 388
kilā 197
klěn 160
klestītī 196
kóbec 145
- kógotī* 244
komítī 385
konī 137
kopýto 137
kórob 235
koróva 137
krjak 147
krojū 373
krókva 227
krónvī 187
kukúša 144
kut 299
khromój 197
khvojā 160
khvóryj 198
láda 343
ladyj 343
lál 361
lápa 183
lápótī 235–6, 377
láska 138
len 27, 166
lev 142
linī 148
ljadá 166
ljádveja 182
ljúdi 190
lódka 249
lokótī 182
lo-ni 303
losī 139
lóskut 232
losósī 146
lov 403
lozá 157
hub 160
lut 161
mak 162
máma 213
mar 329
mekh 140
menī 147
mežā 290
mgla 129

- mjazdrá* 261
mokh 162
molokó 262
morkóvi 167
móška 27
mžatī 327
na-gálitī 355
njánja 213
nogá 181
ob-manútī 340
ogónī 123
ol 27
olenī 139
ólikhna 158
orékh 161
orěl 144
orú 356
osětr 147
osína 159
ostī 165
otéc 211
pákh 178
pakhá 178
pálec 181
pelá 165
penitsillín 6
perdětī 192
pérsi 181
Perúnū 410
pizdá 184
pjatá 183
plečó 180
plená 182
pód 183
polokhók 137
polón 274
polosá 166
poróg 226
porosěnok 139
próso 165
pru 280
prýgnutī 399
pukh 177
púlja 386
rána 198
ríbyj 334
rodítī 190
rosá 126
roží 165
rúdyj 332
runó 177, 233
rygátī 191
rysī 142
seló 223
sen 330
sérdce 187
serebró 79, 242
séren 127
serp 243
serú 191
sigátī 303
skórblyj 199, 377
slimák 151, 347
slíva 334
sloj 296
slug 269
(s)muryj 330
snokhá 215
s(o) 293
sok 158
sokhá 27, 156
solóma 162
som 148
soróka 145
sórom 196
sosná 159
stegnó 182
Stribogū 431
strúmenī 128
stúgnutī 347
suk 156
súka 138
suníca 333
šerstī 178
šutítī 259
tekú 398
teterev 144
tis 160
tlo 225
tolkátī 406
toloká 257
topitī 344
toróg 262
torotóritī 353
tóščyj 319
trétij 311
trostī 162
tur 140
úgolī 27
ukhá 263
úkho 175
úlica 222
usló 234
ustīje 127
útka 144
už 148
vatra 227
vdová 208
veblica 150
vek 282
vepri 142
verátī 382
véred 148
verkh 292
vesī 27
véverica 137
vikh(o)rī 379
višnja 161
vítina 160
vjaz 159
vjazī 176
vodka 125
vojě 249
volk 138
vólna 178
vórog 277
voróna 144
vošī 149
vru 353

výdra 138
 za 293
 zérekh 146
 zijátí 362
 znamja 327
 znatí 321
 zobátí 255
 zóloto 242
 zubr 141
 železá 188
 želudí 158
 žeravlí 144
 žujú 255

Ukrainian

bog 4
 zolok 339

Old Czech

dieti jmě 358

jadati 336

Czech

beblati 361
 bratr 1, 2
 buh 4
 dcera 2
 dům 2
 konat 370
 krákorati 364
 kráva 2
 krs 299
 krsati 299
 mačkati 384
 matka 2
 mdlíti 341
 otec 2
 ovce 2
 ozditi 346
 pes 2

prase 2
 pýř 91, 123
 sestra 1, 2
 syn 1, 2
 valěti 198

Old Polish

gwozd 161

Polish [Pol]

bog 4
 brzask 329
 brzmieć 363
 chybnąć 380
 gabać 271
 hupek 145
 judzić 392

Sorbian

smališ 124

Tocharian Languages

**a, ā, ä, c, e, i (ī), k, l, ly, m
(m̐), n (ñ), ñ, o, p, r, s, ś, ś, t,
ts, u (ū), w, y**

Tocharian A [TochA]

amäkṣ-pänte 248

āk- 406

āks- 353

āl- 402

āñcām 190

āp 126

āpsā 180, 381

āre 243

ās- 346

cāmp- 388

ents- 396

i- 395

kāc 178

kārpā- 397

kās- 359

kātk- 338

kāln- 362

kālp- 335

kāly- 406

kāntu 175

kār-k- 381

kärn- 280

kärs- 374

kātk- 396

kātnā- 389

knānā- 321

ko 222

krās- 339

kru 163

ku 138

ku- 393

kulmänts- 162

kulyp- 342

kurp- 379

kwär- 190

lac- 396

läk- 326

lärik- 383

lip- 347, 382

luk- 328

mālk- 262

māsk- 340

mālk- 234

mānk- 274

mānt 421

mārs- 323

mäs- 392

māsk- 219

māśśunt 188

mus- 275

musk- 392

musnā- 392

nāsi 268

nātāk 268

nām- 384

nātsw- 254

nokte 302

nu- 354

nwām 198

ñkāt 410

ñu 315

oko 158

or 156

orto 292

pats 207

pāt- 375

pāk- 260, 326

pāl- 357

pālk- 329

pār- 188, 404

pār-k- 358

pārs- 389

pārsk- 339

pik- 331

pis- 386

plāk- 297, 337

praṣt 300

prānk- 379

putk- 374

rapurñe 379

rāp- 374

rin- 392

ru- 287

rutk- 405

ruwā- 374

salu 195

sam 318

sāry- 167

sāl- 397

si- 342

sik- 393

skāk- 399

smale 340

spärk- 397

stām- 296

ṣāptānt 314

ṣme 302

ṣomapācār 210

ṣont 250, 396

ṣpār 145

ṣpāt 314

ṣtop 226

śanweṃ 176

śāku 178

śisri 177

ṣpāl 174

śuwā- 255

tampe 388

tā- 295

tāp- 257

tāšši 268
tāl- 406
tām- 396
tärk- 393
täs- 295
tkam 120
tkä- 405
träm- 379
tsärwā- 342
tsäk- 124
tsäm- 220
tsän- 399
tsär- 374
tsik- 371
tukri 121
twās- 124
warp 115, 221
wāk- 374
wäl- 198, 374
walu 198
wänt- 379
wär- 327
wärkänt 248
wärt- 378
wäsri 257
we 310
wek- 340
wi- 339
wik- 378
wir 203
wrāt- 190
wrātk- 260
wu 310
ya- 370
yā- 396
yāt- 296
yäk- 274
yär- 390
yärp- 327
yärs- 337
yäs- 259
yät- 296
yepe 245
y(n)- 290

–yo 422
yok 177
yok- 256
yutk- 281, 392

Tocharian B [TochB]

ai- 270
aik- 271
aise 228
aittanka 277
akrūna 191
aliye 180
alyek 318
anāsk- 190
antapi 310
arañce 186
ariwe 141
astare 68
ate 291
atiyo 163
auk- 190
āk- 406
āka 165
āks- 353
āl 141
āl- 402
ālme 128, 394
ānte 175, 288
āntse 180
āp 126
ārḱ- 271
ārḱwi 332
ārtt- 276
ās- 346
āsta 187
āsce 165
āu 112, 140
āwe 209
cake 398
cāmp- 388
cānk- 323
ci 417
cowai 275
ek 35, 175

ene-stai 275
eñkwe 198
epprer 126
ette 293
ewe 178, 232
i- 395
ikām 316
ime 322
īke 205
kakse 180
kante 316
kanti 166
kantwo 175
karse 137
kau- 280
kauc 383
kaum 124
kaume 388
kauruṣe 204
kāñm- 343
kāntsā- 376
kāre 287
kārpā- 397
kātḱ- 338
kātso 186
kāyā- 362
kāln- 362
kālp- 335
kāls- 394
kāltṣ- 406
kāly- 406
kālyp- 335
-kālywe 357
kām- 394
kārḱ- 190, 381
kārkkālle 192
kārñ- 280
kārpiye 197, 347
kārs- 374
kārsk- 393
kārweñe 243
kāry- 273
kāryā 35, 187
kāsk- 279

- kätk-* 292
kätk- 396
kätnā- 389
keme 176
kene 359
keni 35
kenī(ne) 183
kentse 123
ker(y)- 341
kercapo 142
kertte 246
keru 239
kes- 124, 198
kest 254
keu 35, 140
klaiks- 196
klānk- 383
klautso 335
klānts- 199
klāšk- 296
klenke 383
klep- 335
klese 376
klyaus- 335
kokale 248
kolmo 249
kor 222, 375
kosi 191
kotai- 222
kraņīye 174
kraņko 145
kraup- 267
krāmār 346
krās- 339
kronkše 263
krorīya 137
krošce 346
ku 138
ku- 393
kuk- 354
kulyp- 342
kurp- 379
kuse 420
kušā- 375
kuwā- 354
kwašai- 222
kwār- 190
kwās- 190, 362
kwele 333
kwriye 121
lac- 396
laiwo 294
lakle 361, 371
laks 146, 152
lankutse 347
lāl- 195
lāñe 393
lāre 343
lāk- 326
lānk- 383
leke 226
lenke 122
lenke 122, 383
leswi 195
lik- 390
linā- 382
lip- 347, 382
lit- 396
luk- 328
luwo 136, 403
lyäk- 296
lyekšye 165
lykaške 196
lyuke 328
maiwe 190
malkwer 262
mašce 182
maščīsi 137
mauk- 348
maune 341
mā 422
mācer 213
māka 319
māk- 401
māl- 279
mālk- 234
mānk- 274
mānt- 259
mārs- 323
mārtk- 376
mās- 392
māšk- 219, 272
mekwa 181
meli 124
mely- 168
meñe 129
meske 233
mik- 327
mīsa 261
mit 262
miw- 392
mot 262
motartse 333
mus- 275
musk- 392
musnā- 392
nakštār 198
nāšk- 403
nām- 384
nātk- 406
no 300
nu- 354
ñare 234
ñakte 354, 409
ñas 416
ñem 358
ñemek 271
ñkante 242, 332
ñmuk 315
ñor 293
ñu 315
ñunte 315
ñuwe 35, 303
oko 158
okso 140
okt 314
oktante 314
olyi 249
oņšmeņ 293
onmiņ 323
op 261
or 35, 156

-
- orkamo* 330
ost 222
paiyye 183
parau 41
parwa 181
parwe 310
pauto 382
pācer 35, 42, 210
pāke 274, 318, 410
pās- 386
pāsk- 257
pāk- 232, 260, 326
pākā- 178
pāl- 357
pālk- 329
pāllew 319
pālw- 354
pānn- 234
pār- 188, 404
pārk- 358
pārkare 292
pārs- 389
pārsk- 339
pārwanē 41, 175
pāścane 181
pātsa 250
pi- 357
pik- 331
pīle 198
pīlta 157
pīnkte 312
piš 312
pišāka 316
plāk- 297, 337
plāntā- 329
plus- 404
plutk- 385
pokai- 180
porsnai- 183
postām 291
pratsāko 175
prākre 384
prām- 384
prānk- 379
procer 41, 214
proksa 165
pruk- 399
putk- 374
puwar 91, 123
pwenta 249
pyāk- 280
pyorye 248
ratre 332
rāp- 374
rās- 279
reki 354
retke 248, 398
rin- 392
rīye 221
rmer 398
ru- 287
ruk- 320
rutk- 405
ruwā- 374
saiwe 196
sal 121
salyiye 261
sam 318
sana 310
saswe 337
sā 418
sākre- 412
sāry- 167
sāl- 397
sālk- 405
sālp- 124
sānmetse 324
sārk- 196
sārp- 256
se 418
sekwe 158
serke 277
sik- 388
skāk- 399
skār- 340
skiyo 330
smi- 360
snai 291
soṃške 211
sopi 389
soy 188, 211
spāw- 275, 342
spārk- 397
spe 293
sprāne 184
sruk- 195
staukk- 347
stām 287
stām- 296
stināsk- 347
su- 126
suk- 384
suwo 139
swāre 336
sy- 191
šale 122
šalype 261
šaṇ 417
šar 180
šarm 353
šarwiye 262, 394
šāms- 297
šārk- 396
šārtt- 259
še 310
šer 214
šewi 392
šito 168
škas 313
škaska 316
šmare 261
šñor 187
šotri 267
špane 324
šaiyye 136
šak 315
šana 205
šari 198
šāw- 188
šārā- 204
šcīre 347
šeritsi 136

škante 316
štarte 312
štwāra 311
štwer 311
štwerpew 136
šukye 329
šuwā- 255
tañki 320
tañkw 323
tapre 292
tarkär 126
tarya 311
tattaṃ 295
tā- 295
tāno 164
tāš 296
tāk- 335
tāl- 406
tālp- 287
tām- 396
tāñk- 346
tär- 353
tärk- 393
täryāka 316
täs- 295
te 418
telki 257
tin- 121
tkäcer 213
tot 418
trai 311
trenk- 362
tresk- 256
trite 311
trusk- 248
tsāk- 191
tsärwā- 342
tsäk- 124
tsäm- 220
tsän- 399
tsär- 374
tsik- 371
tuk- 281
tumane 386

tuwe 417
twere 224
tweye 392
walkwe 138
walo 268
warke 297
warkšäl 370
warme 149
warto 221
wartse 297
wase 263
wat 422
wate 310
wāyā- 403
wāk- 374
wälts- 373
wāp- 234
wāršše 277
wāsk- 392
wänt- 379
wär- 327
wärk- 178
wäs- 219, 232
wäsk- 392
wästarye 186
wät- 280
wek 359
wene 416
werke 403
wes 60, 416
wesk- 353
wi- 339
wik- 378
wīna 341
wīp- 393
wītsako 161
wrauña 144
wrāt- 190
y(n)- 290
yakne 247
yakwe 139
yal 139
yap 163
yapoy 271

yarke 357
yasa 241
yasar 187
yā- 396
yām- 276
yās- 259
yāsk- 359
yāt- 296
yäk- 274
yām- 276
yäp- 188
yärp- 327
yärs- 337
yät- 296
yel- 326
yene 417
yente 129, 386
yepe 245
yerpe 297
yes 417
ykässe 341
yok 177
yok- 256
yolo 196
yoro 197
yrīye 140, 141
ysäre 302
ytārye 250
yu- 115
yuk- 259

Non-Indo-European Languages

Nostratic

**madw-/mədw-* 84

Afro-Asiatic

Proto-Afro-Asiatic

**k^{w[h]}a-* 83

**k^{w[h]}ə-* 83

**ma-* 83

**mə-* 83

**na-* 83

**nə-* 83

**t^[h]a-* 83

**t^[h]ə-* 83

**wa-* 83

**wə-* 83

Egyptian

3bw 141

pr 222

Nubian

kadīs 141

Proto-Semitic

**attar* 93

**aṭtar* 93

**gadyi* 82

**mVtk-* 82

**šab'(at)* 314

**sab'atum* 82

**šidī(at)* 314

**tawr-* 82

**wayn* 83

pre-Akkadian

**sabátum* 314

Akkadian

istar 93

kitinnu- 237

kugu 144

pilakku 243

ši/eššum 313

Hebrew

layiw 142

Altaic

Mongolian

morin 141

Turkish

guguk 144

penisilin 6

Uralic

Proto-Uralic

**ćaka* 130

**ćäke* 130

**ko* 83

**kota* 227

**ku* 83

**kumɜ* 130

**kura* 130

**me* 83

**mete* 264

**miye-* 81

**muške-* 81

**nime* 81

**šarma* 227

**sene* 81

**te* 83

**toye-* 81

**ude-me* 227

**waške* 81, 241

**wete* 81

Proto-Samoyed

**wesä* 241

Proto-Ugric

**waś* 241

Finnish

arvo 274

kota 222

parsas 82, 139

pivo 313

sirppi 243

tarna 162

vasara 246

Hungarian

méh 149

Hurro-Urartian

Hurrian

šeeže 313

Urartian

burgana- 223

Kartvelian

Proto-Kartvelian

**ekšw-* 313

**otxo-* 314

Georgian

batti 144

Sino-Tibetan

Chinese

mì 262

Sumerian

urudu 252